

Encyclopædia
of
Religion and Ethics

Volumes III and IV

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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VOLUME III

BURIAL—CONFESSIONS

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

A. H. = Anno Hijrae (A. D. 622).
 Ak. = Akkadian.
 Alex. = Alexandrian.
 Amer. = American.
 Apoc. = Apocalypse, *Apocalyptic*.
 Apocr. = Apocrypha.
 Aq. = Aquila.
 Arab. = Arabic.
 Aram. = Aramaic.
 Arm. = Armenian.
 Ary. = Aryan.
 As. = Asiatic.
 Assyr. = Assyrian.
 AT = Altes Testament.
 AV = Authorized Version.
 AVm = Authorized Version *margin*.
 A. Y. = Anno Yazdigird (A. D. 639).
 Bab. = Babylonian.
 c. = *circa*, about.
 Can. = Canaanite.
 cf. = compare.
 ct. = contrast.
 D = Deuteronomist.
 E = Elohist.
 edd. = editions or editors.
 Egypt. = Egyptian.
 Eng. = English.
 Eth. = Ethiopic.
 EV = English Version.
 f. = and following verse or page: as Ac 10²⁴.
 ff. = and following verses or pages: as Mt 11²².
 Fr. = French.
 Germ. = German.
 Gr. = Greek.
 H = Law of Holiness.
 Heb. = Hebrew.
 Hel. = Hellenistic.
 Hex. = Hexateuch.
 Himy. = Himyaritic.
 Ir. = Irish.
 Iran. = Iranian.

Isr. = Israelite.
 J = Jahvist.
 J" = Jehovah.
 Jerus. = Jerusalem.
 Jos. = Josephus.
 LXX = Septuagint.
 Min. = Minean.
 MSS = Manuscripts.
 MT = Massoretic Text.
 n. = note.
 NT = New Testament.
 Onk. = Onkelos.
 OT = Old Testament.
 P = Priestly Narrative.
 Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
 Pent. = Pentateuch.
 Pers. = Persian.
 Phil. = Philistine.
 Phoen. = Phœnician.
 Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
 R = Redactor.
 Rom. = Roman.
 RV = Revised Version.
 RVm = Revised Version *margin*.
 Sab. = Sabæan.
 Sam. = Samaritan.
 Sem. = Semitic.
 Sept. = Septuagint.
 Sin. = Sinaitic.
 Skr. = Sanskrit.
 Symm. = Symmachus.
 Syr. = Syriac.
 t. (following a number) = times.
 Talm. = Talmud.
 Targ. = Targum.
 Theod. = Theodotion.
 TR = Textus Receptus.
 tr. = translated or translation.
 VSS = Versions.
 Vulg. = Vulgate.
 WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.	Ca = Canticles.
Ex = Exodus.	Is = Isaiah.
Lv = Leviticus.	Jer = Jeremiah.
Nu = Numbers.	La = Lamentations.
Dt = Deuteronomy.	Ezk = Ezekiel.
Jos = Joshua.	Dn = Daniel.
Jg = Judges.	Hos = Hosea.
Ru = Ruth.	Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.	Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.	Ob = Obadiah.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.	Jon = Jonah.
Ezr = Ezra.	Mic = Micah.
Neh = Nehemiah.	Nah = Nahum.
Est = Esther.	Hab = Habakkuk.
Job.	Zeph = Zephaniah.
Ps = Psalms.	Hag = Haggai.
Pr = Proverbs.	Zec = Zechariah.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.	Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.	To = Tobit.
	Jth = Judith.

Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.	Sus = Susanna.
Wis = Wisdom.	Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.	Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
Bar = Baruch.	1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.
Three = Song of the Three Children.	

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.	1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
Mk = Mark.	1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Lk = Luke.	Tit = Titus.
Jn = John.	Philem = Philemon.
Ac = Acts.	He = Hebrews.
Ro = Romans.	Ja = James.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.	1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
Gal = Galatians.	1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Eph = Ephesians.	Jude.
Ph = Philipians.	Rev = Revelation.
Col = Colossians.	

III. FOR THE LITERATURE

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

- Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
 Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901-1905.
 Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (²1894).
 Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
 Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897-1902.
 Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
 Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
 Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886-90.
 De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*, ¹1905.
 Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
 Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
 Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*, ¹3 vols. 1875-1878, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882-1888.
 Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (²1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
 Holder = *Alteltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
 Holtzmann-Zöpfel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*, 1895.
 Howitt = *Native Tribes of S. E. Australia*, 1904.
 Jastrow = *Die Religion Babylonien u. Assyriens*, 2 vols. 1902-1905.
 Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.-xii., 1883 ff.
 Lagrange = *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 1904.
 Lane = *An Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1863 ff.
 Lang = *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, 2 vols. 1899.
 Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Egypten u. Äthiopien*, 1849-1860.
 Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
 Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
 McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894-1896.
 Muir = *Sanskrit Texts*, 1858-1872.
 Muss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
 Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.
 Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1893-1895.
 Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 1881 ff.
 Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
 Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
 Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*, 1893-1894.
 Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1856.
 Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884.
 Schaff-Herzog = *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Relig. Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
 Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869-1875.
 Schürer = *GJV*, 3 vols. 1898-1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
 Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
 Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
 Smend = *Lehrbuch der ältest. Religionsgesch.*, 1899.
 Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1896.
 Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*, 1894.
 Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*, 1885-1896.
 Spencer-Gillen = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
 Spencer-Gillen = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
 Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
 Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*, 1891 [¹1903].
 Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872-1874.
 Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*, ¹1897.
 Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
 Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
 Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopedias, and other standard works frequently cited.

- AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
 AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
 ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
 AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
 AEG = Assyriol. und Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
 AGG = Abhandlungen d. Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
 AHR = American Historical Review.
 AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
 AJPh = American Journal of Philosophy.
 AJP = American Journal of Psychology.
 AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
 AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
 AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
 APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
 APF = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
 AR = Anthropological Review.
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
 AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
 ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.
 ASWI = Archaeological Survey of W. India.
 AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
 BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
 BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
 BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
 BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
 BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
 BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
 BL = Bampton Lectures.
 BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
 BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
 BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
 BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
 BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
 BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
 BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
 BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
 BTS = Buddhist Text Society.
 BW = Biblical World.
 BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

CAIBL=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CF=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI=Census of India.
CIA=Corpus Inscrip. Atticarum.
CIG=Corpus Inscrip. Græcarum.
CIL=Corpus Inscrip. Latinarum.
CIS=Corpus Inscrip. Semiticarum.
COT=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*²; see below].
CR=Contemporary Review.
CeR=Celtic Review.
CIR=Classical Review.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL=Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinorum.
DACL=Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB=Dict. of the Bible.
DCA=Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).
DCB=Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).
DCG=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB=Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWA W=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi=Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr=Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
ERE=The present work.
Exp=Expositor.
ExpT=Expository Times.
FHG=Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1885).
FL=Folklore.
FLJ=Folklore Journal.
FLR=Folklore Record.
GA=Gazette Archéologique.
GB=Golden Bough² (Frazer).
GGA=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GIrP=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV=Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HDB=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE=Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI=History of Israel.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
HJP=History of the Jewish People.
HN=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB=Handwörterbuch.
IA=Indian Antiquary.
ICC=International Critical Commentary.
ICO=International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR=Indian Census Report (1901).
IGA=Inscrip. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI=Imperial Gazetteer of India² (1885); new edition (1908-1909).
IJE=International Journal of Ethics.
ITL=International Theological Library.
JA=Journal Asiatique.
JAFI=Journal of American Folklore.
JAI=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD=Journal des Débats.
JDTh=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.

JE=Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS=Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ=Jenäer Literaturzeitung.
JPh=Journal of Philology.
JPh=Jahrbücher f. protest. Theologie.
JPTS=Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBe=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal branch.
JRASBo=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASJ=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., Japan.
JRGS=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JThSt=Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT²=Die Keilinschriften und das AT (Schrader), 1883.
KAT³=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding [really a totally distinct work], 1903.
KB or **KIB**=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCB=Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt=Leipziger sem. Studien.
M=Mélusine.
MAIBL=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW=Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ=Monatsbericht f. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV=Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR=Methodist Review.
MVG=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ=Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC=Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC=Nineteenth Century.
NHWB=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ=North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ=Notes and Queries.
NR=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED=Oxford English Dictionary (Murray).
OLZ=Orientalische Literaturzeitung.
OS=Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.
PASB=Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.
PB=Polychrome Bible (English).
PBE=Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.
PEFM=Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs.
PEFSt=Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
PG=Patrologia Græca (Migne).
PJB=Preussische Jahrbücher.
PL=Patrologia Latina (Migne).
PNQ=Punjab Notes and Queries.
PR=Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).
PRe²=Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).

- PRR**=Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
PRS=Proceedings of the Royal Society.
PRSE=Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
PSBA=Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
PTS=Pāli Text Society.
RA=Revue Archéologique.
RAnth=Revue d'Anthropologie.
RAS=Royal Asiatic Society.
RAssyr=Revue d'Assyriologie.
RB=Revue Biblique.
RBEW=Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).
RC=Revue Critique.
RCel=Revue Celtique.
RCh=Revue Chrétienne.
RDM=Revue des Deux Mondes.
RE=Realencyclopädie.
REG=Revue des Études Grecques.
REg=Revue Égyptologique.
REJ=Revue des Études Juives.
REth=Revue d'Ethnographie.
RHLR=Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses.
RHR=Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
RN=Revue Numismatique.
RP=Records of the Past.
RPh=Revue Philosophique.
RQ=Römische Quartalschrift.
RS=Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.
RSA=Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.
RSI=Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.
RTAP=Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.
RTP=Revue des traditions populaires.
RThPh=Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.
RTr=Recueil de Travaux.
RWB=Realwörterbuch.
SBAW=Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
SBE=Sacred Books of the East.
SBOT=Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
SDB=Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
SK=Studien u. Kritiken.
SMA=Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie.
- SSGW**=Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
SWAW=Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
TAPA=Transactions of American Philological Association.
TASJ=Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
TC=Tribes and Castes.
TES=Transactions of Ethnological Society.
ThLZ=Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThT=Theol. Tijdschrift.
TRHS=Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
TRSE=Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
TS=Texts and Studies.
TSBA=Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology.
TU=Texte u. Untersuchungen.
WAI=Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM=Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA=Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZÄ=Zeitschrift für ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
ZATW=Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZCK=Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
ZCP=Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
ZDA=Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZDMG=Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV=Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZE=Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZKF=Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKT=Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
ZKWL=Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.
ZM=Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
ZNTW=Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.
ZPhP=Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
ZTK=Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche.
ZVK=Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
ZVRW=Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZWT=Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT¹*, *LOT²*, etc.]

ENCYCLOPÆDIA

OF

RELIGION AND ETHICS

B

BURIAL.—See DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

BURIATS.—1. *Language and population.*—The Buriats form a branch of the Eastern Mongols, and speak a dialect of the Mongolian language which differs both from the spoken tongue of the true Mongols of Khalkas and from the language of Mongolian literature. The Buriat language is distinct also from the Kalmuk. The degree of relationship between these four groups of the Mongol language has not yet been clearly defined, and, indeed, no thorough study of all the Mongol dialects has yet been made.

Speaking generally, the Buriats are found within the following territorial limits, viz. the Baikal Basin and the upper course of the river Angara from Irkutsk to the point where the river Ilim flows into the Angara; but a number of them—the Aga Buriats—live about the tributaries of the rivers of the Amur Basin—the Onon, Ingoda, and Argun—while in Mongolia itself, along the Russian frontier, a small tribe—the Bargu Buriats—is found. Further, Buriats are met with in other places within the limits of the Russian Empire, viz. on the upper tributaries of the Vitim, which is a right tributary of the Lena, and also on the upper left tributaries of the Lena itself. All the above-mentioned homes of the Buriats are within the boundaries of the two administrative territorial divisions of Eastern Siberia, viz. the Irkutsk Province and the Trans-Baikal Region. According to data obtained in 1831, the Buriats were estimated in all at 152,000 souls. Castrén reckons them as being about 190,000, but at the present time their number may be fixed at 250,000.

2. *Lamaism and Shamanism.*—According to their religious beliefs, the Buriats may be divided into two groups—the Southern and the Northern. The Southern Buriats, who dwell on the confines of Mongolia, are zealous Buddhists, and belong to the Yellow-hat men, or Lamaists, followers of Tsön-ka-pa, the well-known Tibetan reformer of Northern Buddhism, and founder of the above-mentioned sect. This sect has a predominating influence in Tibet, and prevails, without any division, over Mongolia. Its doctrines, which have

so large a following, are contained in a voluminous literature and require no special examination, seeing that Buriat Lamaism does not differ in any way from the Mongolo-Tibetan Lamaism. The Buriat Lamaist studies under the Mongolian and Tibetan Lamas, and he finds his religious literature in the sacred Tibetan language. Lamaism did not reach the Buriats earlier than the end of the 17th cent., viz. at the time of and after the Djungar wars, when, as is known, a multitude of peaceful people (amongst whom, of course, were Buddhist teachers) sought a quiet refuge amongst the Buriats. Buddhism, therefore, is a comparatively new factor in the religious life of the Buriats. Animated, as it has been, by a very tolerant spirit, this religious teaching, in crossing over from India into Tibet, not only brought with it a host of non-Buddhist beliefs, but also incorporated a whole body of local ones in Tibet, and a great many still more extraneous ones in Mongolia. And it was in this condition that it finally reached the Buriat plains. Now Lamaism is the predominating belief among the Buriats dwelling to the south of Lake Baikal. An exception is furnished only by the Buriats living at the mouth of the river Selenga; but these do not belong to the original inhabitants of Trans-Baikalia, being colonists from the northern shores of Lake Baikal, who migrated southwards in the first half of the 18th century. Further, we must note that about the north-eastern extremity of Baikal, among the Bargudji Buriats, who are kinsmen of the Bargu Buriats living in Mongolia, there is, along with Buddhism, an extensive cult of Shamanism. Until recently, our investigators, among whom was the author of this article, thought that there could not be any room for the adherents of the old religion in the southern part of Trans-Baikalia among the zealous Lamaists, who were under the influence of their teachers, and many of whom had received their religious education in Urga—the residence of the first enlightener of Mongolia, Djebsun-damba-kutukta (see LAMAISM)—and some in Lhāsa. But this opinion was due only to our insufficient acquaintance with the religious life of the Buriats. A young investigator, Djamtsaranoff, himself a native Buriat, in the year 1903 discovered in his native district, viz. in the valley of the river Aga, worshippers of the

old faith along with their priests, the so-called Shamans. And he asserts that the Buddhist Buriats of the Alar district are semi-Shamanists, and that their Lamas perform many Shaman rites. (For the sake of completeness, it should be mentioned that the Russian Mongolian scholar Professor Pozdneyeff discovered genuine Buriat Shamanists among the Chakars, living to the north of Kalgan on the southern frontier of Gobi.) To the west and north of Lake Baikal, Lamaism is by no means wide-spread. It is met with to the south-west of the Baikal, in the valley of the river Tunka, along the Irkut, the Oka, and the White River, and on the small rivers Alar and Golumet. According to the traditions of the inhabitants, both the Tunka and the Alar Buriats are settlers from Mongolia. The rest of the Buriats of the Irkutsk Province profess the religion common to the whole north of Asia and to the non-Aryan north-east of Europe—a religion which is well known in scientific literature under the name of Shamanism (*q.v.*).

This term, originally employed only for the beliefs of the north-east of Europe and of Asia, has in comparatively recent times received an extended signification, which has been adhered to in the work of the Moscow scholar Mikhailovski on this subject—a work which, unfortunately, has not been completed. Taking a general, ethnological point of view, he includes as Shamanism the beliefs of the American Indians and the aborigines of Africa, Polynesia, etc. Without here entering into an unsuitable polemic, we shall merely remark that, for convenience's sake and to be strictly methodical, we shall speak of Shamanism only in the restricted sense of the word. We do not dispute that in the New World and in southern countries we meet with forms of belief at the same stage of development as contemporary Shamanism; but, indeed, we also know that there exists a whole series of monotheistic religions, whose monotheism does not prevent their differing from one another in their conceptions about the Deity and His relations to men and to the world, in ritual, forms of worship, and ideas about the destiny of mankind, etc. One must not lose sight of the fact that in the various beliefs of the Siberian tribes a very close connexion is noticeable, and, likewise, there can be observed an uninterrupted identity in the foundations of their mythology and in their rites, even extending as far as the nomenclature—all of which gives one the right to suppose that these beliefs are the result of the joint work of the intellectual activity of the whole north of Asia. The Buriat Shamanism is one of the most highly developed forms, but, in order to elucidate certain rites and beliefs, we must draw parallels from other Shaman beliefs.

3. Religious development.—In determining the degree of development of the religious belief of the Buriat Shamanists, we must assert that, like some other Shamanist modes of worship among the more enlightened Siberian tribes, such as the Yakuts and the South Siberian Turks, it has reached a degree of somewhat advanced polytheism, reminding one of the Homeric polytheism. The Shamanists have their own Olympus, while among the Yakuts and Turks, who come more into contact with Christianity, there is noticeable a tendency to hierarchical monotheism. The supreme deity of the Altaians—Ulghen, or, as he is called in some places, Khormusta-Tengri (the Uyun-artoyen of the Yakuts)—stands far higher and farther removed from mortals than the thunder-bearing Zeus. These deities are freer from human weaknesses and stand on a more unattainable height, in comparison with the minor gods and genii, than Olympic Zeus. Buriat Shamanism has not evolved from itself such a Supreme Deity; it has, however, a whole assembly of heaven-dwellers (Tengris), some of whom are well-disposed to mankind, and some hostile. To some of them sacrifices are offered regularly, to others only on rare occasions. The Buriats have a whole series of thunder-gods. The influence of Buddhism in its later form, with its numerous Buddhas—Buddhas of non-earthly origin, Dhyani-Buddhas, and deities—has obscured the monotheistic tendency. Amongst almost all Shamanists we see a cosmogony pervaded with dualism, a complex doctrine of the soul, and a conception about a future life and about requital. The priestly hierarchy remains in a primitive form, out of which caste has not yet

been evolved; one must take into consideration that such evolution can be effected only in a more advanced and developed social state, to which the Buriats have never attained, although the hierarchy of the Shaman, as we shall see, has already been elaborated somewhat distinctly. In Homer we often see Agamemnon, Ulysses, and Achilles offering sacrifices to the gods. Here leaders and chiefs of clans enter into direct relations with the gods, but in Shamanism this has now almost disappeared. On important occasions they always resort to the Shaman.

One constantly hears it stated that, in Shamanism, there are to be found, together with polytheistic beliefs, examples of animism, fetishism, the worshipping of animals, of trees, and of hills, and other lower forms of religious belief. We can answer to this, that, owing to the conservatism of mankind and to their lack of initiative, primitive habits of life and old-fashioned beliefs very seldom disappear altogether. Many Christian sects, even among highly-civilized peoples, maintain, alongside of the Gospel teachings, a whole series of heathen survivals in the shape of prejudices, superstitious rites, and so on. The folk-tales and traditions collected by the brothers Grimm still live among the people. The German folk-lore still continues to collect a rich harvest of living antiquity in Bavaria and the Tirol. Slavonic countries are full of dual beliefs in which paganism survives in Christian form. In Russia, especially amongst the common people but also in the higher classes of society, rationalism often flourishes along with the belief in fortune-tellers and sorcerers, and belief in the production of miracles. What are the spiritualism and occultism, by which Europe is periodically carried away, but survivals of barbarous times? The determining of the average level of the religious horizon of some civilized people would present a far more difficult task than, for example, that with which we are now occupied; for a semi-civilized people, like the Buriats, does not present such a variety in the character of its development as a more highly civilized people. We may take it then for granted that the majority of the Buriats profess a polytheistic religion in the shape of Shamanism. It is at least the predominating feature of their present-day belief.

In comparison with the more studied and more highly elaborated polytheism of the classical peoples, the Buriat polytheism must be characterized as immature, and, in a sense, chaotic. The anthropomorphization of even the highest divinities of the Buriat pantheon has been by no means completed; throughout it there is apparent a simple worshipping of the phenomena of Nature. Individualization into separate personages has only been aimed at. There is no need to look here for such plastic images as we see in Zeus, Phoebus, Pallas Athene, Aphrodite, and so on. The Buriats and Mongols possess neither the poems of Homer, nor odes, nor hymns; they have not the *Rāmāyana* or even the Finnish *Kalevala*. They possess only a series of detached narratives, incantations, and prayers, in which is represented to us, with very indistinct features, the topography of this nomad people, who had only here and there adopted a settled mode of life, being at the same time occupied with hunting and trapping wild animals, not by way of sport, but as an indispensable element of their economic existence.

4. Tengris or heaven-gods.—The higher heaven-dwelling deities among the Buriats are called by the name of 'Tengris.' *Tengri*, *tegrī*, *tiger*, *tangara* in all the Turco-Mongolian dialects signifies 'the heavens.' One of the leading experts in Mongol-Buriat mythology, Dordji Banzaroff, in his book, *Black Faith, or Shamanism* (St. Petersburg, 1892), adduces a whole series of proofs of the existence of the worship of the heavens among the Mongol races. Mongolian official documents usually begin with the formulæ, *munku tengriin khutun dor*, 'by the power of the eternal heavens'; *tengri chi midnya*, 'heaven, know thou'; *tengri chi shiteghuy*, 'heaven, be thou judge'; which are common expressions among the Mongols. They assert also that Jenghiz-Khan appeared by the command of Heaven. The worship of the heavens does not in itself present anything exceptional among pastoral peoples; but among the Buriats a remarkable metamorphosis

took place in this worship. Instead of one single eternal heaven, they acknowledge 99 different Tengris, of which 55 are Western and 44 Eastern. The sharply defined dualism, peculiar to the whole Siberian Shamanism, honours in the Western Tengris the divinities or forces that are well-disposed to mankind, in the Eastern the forces that are destructive and hostile to man. Everywhere else where Shamanism is professed these hostile forces are placed, not in any part of the heavens, but in the lower regions, notwithstanding the fact that the cosmogony, about which we shall speak further on, testifies that once upon a time Father Ena, Erlik-Khan, or Erlen-Khan, lived in the heavens, whence, after a struggle with the spirit of light, he was cast down with his servants into the lower world. His assistants appear upon the earth and work evil there, but in heaven there is no place for them. Agapitoff and Khangaloff (of whom the latter is still actively investigating the Shamanism of his native country), being firm believers in the theory of the atmospheric explanation of myths, in their first work, *Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia* (Irkutsk, 1883), were of the opinion that, in the 99 Tengris, the heavens in their various states are personified: in a quiet, a clear, a dull state, during storms, gales, winter snow-storms, wind, etc. But the Tengris not only control the atmospheric phenomena—they bring about diseases, they bestow happiness upon mankind, protect particular tribes, trades, etc., and perform a number of other acts.

One must not lose sight of the fact that there is, indeed, another name for 'heaven'—*oktorgoi*—viz. the physical heaven (the sky), with its phenomena; and the word *tengri* among the Mongols has a double signification, viz. the heavens, and the particular beings inhabiting the heights beyond the clouds of the worldly mountain Sumeru, with their leader Khormusta-Tengri. The Tengris have their antagonists in the Asseuris—beings living under the mountain Sumeru. The Tengris are holy and benevolent; the Asseuris are spiteful and quarrelsome. Between them a constant war is carried on. It does not seem to us improbable that the division of the Buriat Tengris into two hostile camps is inspired partly by this idea about the Tengris and Asseuris, borrowed from the Buddhist mythology. We shall meet with similar examples more than once in our discussion of the subject. It appears almost superfluous to mention that the Tengris, at any rate those about whom we have fuller information, in their life appear as genuine Buriat nomads. They, just like the Buriats, possess flocks and herds acquired from sacrifices, and betake themselves to the Shamans in circumstances of difficulty. All about whom we possess any information have families, and their children for the most part occupy a position inferior to that of the Tengris in the Buriat mythology, and bear the title of *Khan*.

The Buriats who live along the river Kuda, a tributary of the Angara, regard Zayan-Sagan-Tengri, the white deity of the Tengris, as the eldest among the Tengris. (Among the Balagans, instead of Zayan-Sagan-Tengri, stands Khan Tiurmes-Tengri, who has three sons, Zasa, Isykhur, and Akha.) Merchen-Tomch, the second one, came down to earth to save people (the Balagan Buriats call him Abay-Ghesser-Bogdo), and the third, Erkke-Bashatey (the great wise man), wrote laws for the government of nations. Here, under the influence of the written Tibetan narratives, the old local names have partly given way to foreign ones. Khan Tiurmes, as the Russian folk-loreist Potanin has proved by numerous comparisons

and parallels, is identical with Khormusta-Tengri. Abay-Ghesser-Khan, in the well-known heroic tale, is the second son of Khormusta, viz. Ulu-Butugekhechi (the accomplisher of works) (see the Mongol text of this tale, published by the Russian Academician Schmidt). He comes down to this world to eradicate the sources of the ten evils.

The most popular among the Western Tengris, who is constantly mentioned in the Shaman incantations and the narratives of the Buriats, is Esseghe-Malan-Tengri. According to some narratives, he is one of the sons of the Monkhon Tengri. This name Agapitoff and Khangaloff translate by the words 'heaven—bottom of the vessel.' We prefer to leave the word *tengri* untranslated, since it has a double signification, meaning at the same time the heavens, as an object of worship, and an anthropomorphized being dwelling in the heavens. Other narratives affirm that Esseghe-Malan was a man, who lived on the earth and promised certain nine deities to build a palace up to the sky, on condition that, in the event of his carrying out the undertaking, the nine gods should come down to earth to mankind and give up to him their place in heaven. Esseghe-Malan carried out the proposed undertaking, the gods took up their abode on earth, and he in heaven. In the Buriat narratives Esseghe-Malan sometimes lives not in heaven, but on earth, somewhere beyond a high mountain. He often appears in these narratives as a simple-minded Buriat; in the story 'Girgulai-Mergen,'¹ the sister of the hero Agu-Nogon-Abakhai, the maiden Vatiáz, in order to resuscitate a brother who had been killed, and to obtain a bride for him, goes as a suitor to seek the hand of the three daughters of Esseghe-Malan-Tengri; she vanquishes the other claimants for marriage with the daughters of Esseghe, in all warlike sports and exercises. Esseghe-Malan is prepared to give his daughters to the victor, but the Shamans warn the god that he is giving them in marriage to a woman; yet the god, notwithstanding this, gives his daughters. The clever girl-heroine makes the daughters of Esseghe-Malan bring her dead brother to life, and afterwards gives them in marriage to him. In the tale about the old man Khoridai, the hero does not fulfil the orders of Esseghe-Malan, and the enraged Buriat thunder-bearer prepares to strike him with lightning. The old man Khoridai appeases the wrath of the god by a sacrifice, and excuses himself for his transgressions with somewhat flat excuses and sophisms. In heaven Esseghe-Malan has a box with round stones; by throwing them on the earth he produces thunder and lightning. One clever Buriat, during a period of drought on earth, made his way to heaven, and, taking advantage of the absence of the person who was entrusted with the box containing the stones, began to throw them down of his own accord, and produced a storm and rain-shower on earth. Esseghe-Malan has a somewhat large family and an extensive household. His wife, Ekhe-Urani, is mentioned in all ritual offerings to the Tengri, although she herself appears as rather a colourless person. This couple have nine daughters, according to the incantations of the Shamans, but only three according to the narratives of the Buriats. These have the power of making the poor rich and bringing the dead to life. The eldest of them (according to the Buriat accounts) steps over the bones of the deceased person, spits on them, waves a black handkerchief, and the skeleton is put together; the second one, having executed the same manipulations, completely restores the phy-

¹ Records of the East-Siberian Section of the Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc., Section of Ethnography, vol. I, pt. I., 'Buriat Tales and Superstitions,' Irkutsk, 1889, pp. 33-43.

sical outline of the deceased; the third one gives life. In addition to his daughters, Esseghe-Malan has three sons. The eldest of these is regarded as ruler of the large island of Olkhon on Lake Baikal; but, by other accounts, the lord of Olkhon is Oren, who will be referred to more fully in describing animal-worship; the second son appears before the Tengris as the principal representative of the elder earthly gods (children and kinsfolk of the Tengris); the youngest son is the patron of Kiakhta (a trading station on the frontier of China), and lord of the red goat. Besides children, Esseghe-Malan possesses also three shepherds, the first of whom, Makita-Mangi, acts as intermediary between the Tengris and mankind, and is the patron of the Shamans, whom he protects from the evil Tengris, hostile gods, and genii. The second, Badshindai, having been present at the creation of man, protects people from diseases sent upon them by the hostile Eastern Tengris. Debetsoi, the third, is the patron-shepherd of flocks and herds; he rides on horseback with a quiver, a bow, and lasso in his hands.

Besides the thunder-bearer, Esseghe-Malan, there are others, both Eastern and Western, who control atmospheric phenomena, such as, for example, Mundur-Tengri (*mundur*=hail), the god of hail, loud thunder, and lightning; Galta-Ulan-Tengri (the fire-red Tengri), the god of heat and drought and storm-lightning causing conflagrations. In some places the Buriats assert that from this Tengri people received fire; but, generally, the principal lord of storms and lightning is considered to be Zayan-Sagan-Tengri. He sends forth storms against unclean and evil spirits, and he hurls upon earth *sakhilgata budav*—stones from heaven causing lightning. Such a stone was found by the white Shaman of Unga, Barnak-Khognuyev, and is preserved as a relic by his descendants.

There are, further, a whole body of Tengris who throw stones upon the earth. Some of these cast down special red stones, the *zada*, by means of which storms can be caused at will. There are three Tengris of the Northern, and three of the Southern winds, Tengris of gentle, warm rain, and of cold rain. As to the family position and actions of these Tengris we have no information; it is evident that here anthropomorphization has scarcely yet commenced. Of the remaining Tengris we shall mention only those whom it is necessary to notice in giving an account of other beliefs of the Buriats; for example, Seghen-Tengri, who, it is said, was the cause of the dissensions between the Western and Eastern Tengris. He had a beautiful daughter, for the possession of whom rivalry sprang up among the heaven-dwellers, Dolon-Khukhu-Tengri (the seven blue Tengris). They are the bestowers of rain; but when rain is required, one does not apply directly to them, but offers sacrifices to the Ukhan Khans, the water divinities, and asks for their mediation with the seven blue Tengris. Shara-Khasar-Tengri (the yellow-cheeked one) has been indirectly connected with the legends about the origin of the Buriats. His three daughters, dressed in swans' skins, came down to earth to bathe in a lake, and there they took off the swan's dress; the Buriat Khoridai was watching them, and he hid the dress of one of them, Khoboshi-Khatun. The heavenly maiden could not fly up to heaven without the wings of the swan's dress. Khoridai, having seized her, married her, and had children by her, from whom sprang the Buriat tribes Khanghin and Sharat. Subsequently the wife of Khoridai discovered her swan's dress and flew off to heaven in it, leaving her husband and children behind. Budurga-Sagan-

Tengri deserves mention, as being the progenitor of many persons who play a foremost part in the Buriat mythology—his eldest son, Ukha-Solbon, being the patron of horses. This Ukha-Solbon had two wives of heavenly origin, but his third was snatched by him from earth. Whilst she, as a Buriat bride, was being conducted to her bridegroom, Ukha-Solbon sent down a storm, during which he seized the maiden. The second son of Budurga-Sagan-Tengri is Bukha-Noin-Baobai (father-master-ox), the hero of a whole series of narratives. No less significance have the third son of the above-mentioned Tengri, Sakhidai-Noin, and his wife, Sakhala-Khatun, the rulers of fire.

5. **Folklore of the smith.**—In many primitive religions, a divine origin is ascribed not only to fire and domestic animals, but to various handicrafts. The lame god Vulcan, the wise cripple, son of Jupiter and Hera, is not the sole instance of a blacksmith god, a god-artisan. But the blacksmith is regarded in two ways: the Hellene, with his bright intellect and his artistic creativeness, saw in him a divinity favourable to mankind, the teacher of the artist; among many other peoples the blacksmith is a magician, living and working amid fire and smoke and covered with soot. He, in an incomprehensible manner, works iron out of stone. He is acquainted with the dark forces of Nature. He is wise and yet terrible. Such a view might easily establish itself where the blacksmith's handicraft was borrowed from some immigrant foreign people; and this view prevails also among the Siberian natives. There traditions have been preserved about one-legged men, dwarfs dressed in skins, living in caves, and possessors of various mineral treasures and precious metals. In the Buriat mythology both views about blacksmiths have been maintained at one and the same time. They have both white and black smiths, just as there are white and black Shamans; the former are favourable and well-disposed to men, the latter are malicious and hostile towards them. The patron of the white smiths is considered to be the Western Tengri, Daiban-Khukhu-Tengri, who, by command of all the Western Tengris, sent on earth his smith Bojntoi. The latter descended on the Tunka mountains, to the south-west of Lake Baikal, and began to teach people his trade. The patron and progenitor of the black smiths is an Eastern Tengri.

6. In concluding our discussion of the Western Tengris it is necessary to refer to a special act of benevolence which several of them perform. During rain and storms they send down from heaven to the houses of their favourites, in the shape of a small cloud, *urak*, thick cow's milk. This is collected and preserved when it comes down in visible manner; when unseen, the gift is made known by the results. The possessor of the *urak* becomes successful in everything—he grows rich, his children thrive well, his cattle multiply. This *urak* appears in the shape of a scum which forms on the puddles during heavy showers.

7. **Hostile Tengris.**—The Eastern Tengris inhabit the eastern half of the heavens. They are hostile to man, or, speaking more accurately, they are in general wicked, irascible, exacting. They afflict people with infectious diseases, storms, and misfortunes. They are the patrons of the black Shamans, who often punish people and steal their souls, and of the black smiths, who, at one and the same time, are master-artisans and magicians who ruin people. In the Eastern Tengris is personified, as it were, the negative principle of evil, which carries on an irreconcilable struggle with good and light; but in the Buriat Shamanism this struggle has become obscured, and it has not such a definite,

permanent character as among the other followers of Shamanism.

According to the cosmogony of the Shamanists, the enmity between good and evil begins with the Creation. Here this antagonism is preached with the same consistency and inexorability as in the ancient teachings of Iran and in the dualistic Christian sects. Erlik-Khan carries on an implacable struggle with the spirit of light, Ulghen, or the Khan Turmes of the Altaians, the Kudai of the South Yenisei Turks. Erlik once lived in heaven, but for his impiety and struggle against good was thrown into the nethermost parts. At one time the Eastern and the Western Tengris lived at peace with one another, but they quarrelled after a while; then they became reconciled and even entered into relationship with one another. Thus a daughter of a Western Tengri was given in marriage to an Eastern, and her father endowed her with a chestnut steed and a red cow. In honour of this occasion the Kuda Buriats consecrate to the Eastern Gujir-Bogdo-Tengri a chestnut steed and a red cow. Afterwards, however, the feud was again renewed. As eldest among the Eastern Tengris we find not Erlik-Khan, as one would have expected, but only some little-known personages; among the Balagan Buriats inhabiting the district round the town Balagansk, Ata-Ulan-Tengri, and among the Kuda, Khimkhir-Bogdo-Tengri. Erlik-Khan is not even to be found among the Tengris; this Satan and Ahriman of Shamanism is here degraded from his high position to that of a Khan; he appears as judge of the dead, as a Buriat Minos. We shall speak more in detail about him when we reach the subject of the Khans. The Eastern Tengris, like the Western, are divided into groups. Among these a prominent place is occupied by the Yukhun-Shukhan-Tengris, nine bloodthirsty Tengris—the cause of destructive hailstorms and of bloody rain; they are also the patrons of the Eastern Khans. In the exorcism consecrated to them it is said:

'Red blood is (our) beverage
Food consists of human flesh
Black wine is our knowledge (wisdom, inspiration)
Black is (our) kettle
Food is black as tar. . . '

After these bloodthirsty heaven-dwellers come 13 Assaranghi Tengris, the mighty patrons of the blacksmiths, of the black Shamans. Among these Assaranghis, Khara-Dargakhi-Tengri (= the blacksmith's Tengri), or Boron-Khara-Tengri (= the Tengri of black rain), by order of the others taught a man named Khojir the blacksmith's handicraft, and the seven sons of Khojir became blacksmiths. The exorcism says: 'Wisdom was taught by Boron-Khara-Tengri, one of the 44 Eastern Tengris; he it was who placed in our hands the magic art.' Some Shamans consider certain Tengris of darkness and Tengris of multi-coloured mists as teachers of the blacksmiths. The invocation addressed to them says: 'From the dark Tengris, Tengris of the mists, Tengris of the multi-coloured mists, take their origin the seven blacksmiths, sons of Khojir.' Among the Eastern Tengris we find a whole series of such as inflict various grave maladies, as frenzy or insanity, on people, and epidemics on cattle. Cattle being the chief source of livelihood, some of the incantations against epizootics are especially touching; thus, in the exorcism of the Trans-Baikal Buriats, taken down by the writer upon the occasion of an epizootic, it is not the originator of the misfortune, Ukhin-Boom-Tengri, but his father Gujir-Tengri, who is thus addressed: 'Thou, owner of 400 milk-cows and 40 bulls, thou, bellowing Tengri, who possessest 99 cattle-yards, 13 fences, and 13 lassos, deliver us from troubles and maladies, and do thou restrain Ukhin-Boom-Tengri! And do thou help also, father Aikuehi (another Tengri), and thou, too, mistress Almoshi (his wife). . . ' Such is the approximate characteristic of the higher aristocracy of the Buriat Olympus; and this aristocracy is quite recent in the Shamanist pantheon, which has been largely renovated by borrowing from Buddhism. In Trans-Baikalia, among the Shamanists of the mouth of the river Selenga, there appears, as the progenitor of some Tengris, a purely Buddhist personage, not Khan Turmes, whose identity with Khoromusta-Tengri has been established by approximation, but the chief Tengri of Mount Sumeru himself, under his own name of Khoromusta-Tengri. The Dalai-Lama of Tibet and Bogdo-Gegen of Urga appear as gods of the dawn. The next rank in the descending order of the deities is occupied by the Khans living on earth, but related, for the most part, to the Tengris, although here also the same relations to man are maintained as among the Tengris: the Eastern are hostile, the Western favourable to man. But even among the Tengris one and the same person is looked upon by different Buriat tribes now as an Eastern, now as a Western Tengri; among the Khans such intermixture occurs oftener. The most popular among the Western Khans is Bukha-Noin-Baobal, a mythical bull and progenitor of one of the Buriat tribes. He appears, according to some narratives, as the son of Budurgu-Sagan-Tengri; according to others, of Zayan-Sagan-Tengri; while again other narratives give him the name Elbit-Khara-Noin, an official attached to the person of Erlik-Khan, the judge of the dead, the guardian of the infernal dungeons, the most terrible of the Eastern Khans.

8. Origin of strife among the Tengris.—Once upon a time men led a peaceful, happy life on earth, lived to an advanced age, and died, after having enjoyed life to the full, peacefully and without regret, like the patriarchs of the Bible. Such a life, free from cares, was led by the Western

Tengris; but the Eastern Tengris did not slumber, and propagated diseases among mankind. (Here also one cannot help noticing an echo of Buddhist traditions.) The Western Tengris once happened to open the window through which they probably not very frequently cast glances down upon earth, and noticed the frightful devastation which was being caused by their rivals. They decided to send down the Tengri Shargai-Noin, distinguished for his intellectual and physical powers, who used to beat the Eastern Tengris at all warlike sports, and who successfully brought about the marriage of a maiden of the Western Tengris with an Eastern Tengri. Shargai-Noin, however, could not alone overcome the malicious Tengris and their representatives on earth, so he was reinforced by Bukha-Noin, and finally a third associate was sent, and then only were they able to subdue the fury of the enemies of mankind. According to some accounts, Bukha-Noin, the son of one of the Western Tengris [another tradition reckons them as Eastern Tengris], is transformed into a young bull, having been born of one of the cows belonging to Esseghe-Malan's son (see above), and descends to earth. He is followed thither by Esseghe-Malan's son; his father calls him back, since he has no one to talk to during the son's absence. 'You can talk to the son of the Tengri Jenghiz-Khan,' rejoined the son of Esseghe-Malan, and he remained on earth. The chief episode in the history of Bukha-Noin is his struggle with another beast of divine origin. The Eastern Tengri Gujir transforms himself into a speckled bull in the herd of Taidji-Khan on the southern shore of Lake Baikal, and challenges other bulls to fight him. Bukha-Noin from the northern shore hears the bellowing, swims across the lake, and accepts the challenge; the combat lasts several days. Bukha-Noin fights with his adversary, and, from time to time transforming himself into a handsome young man, makes love to Taidji-Khan's daughter, who, as the result of this liaison, gives birth to a son. The father is indignant with his daughter. Bukha-Noin places his son in an iron cradle and throws him over the Baikal; then he himself swims across the waters and nurses his son. Two childless Shaman women, wishing to have children, sacrifice to Bukha-Noin. He gives his son to the Shaman woman Assukhan as her child. The infant is named Bulagat. He grows up and runs about playing on the shore of Lake Baikal. From the water a boy emerges, and plays with him. The Shaman women, hearing of this, give their boy some well-cooked food (*ben*), with the intention that his playmate may partake of it also. The children, having played, partake of the nice dish and fall asleep. The Shaman women come to the shore and carry the sleeping boys away with them; thus the second Shaman woman also came into possession of a son, who was named Ikhirat. From these boys originated the two Buriat tribes Bulagat and Ikhirat. Tradition also asserts that Bukha-Noin, during the time of his struggle with the bull, Bukha-Mul, journeyed along the mountains Khukhu-Mundurgu (the Tunka Alps to the south-west of Lake Baikal); at the places through which Bukha-Noin passed, there grew up juniper bushes (*Juniperus communis*) and pitch pines (*Abies sibirica*). These plants are considered sacred, and are used for incense at the sacrificial rites.

9. The Khans.—Among the Western Khans, according to the traditions of the Kuda Buriats, are reckoned the nine sons of Bukha-Noin. These persons are accounted lords of different localities in the Province of Irkutsk, as, for instance, the mouth of the Angara, the source of the river Irkut, Kiakhta in Trans-Baikalia, etc. Among the Balagan Buriats, whose traditions and beliefs have,

in general, borrowed largely from the Buddhist mythology, we again find Khan Shargai-Tengri as founder on earth of the Western Khanate; but the tradition concerning him is a repetition of the tale about Bogdo-Ghesser-Khan descending upon earth, with the sole difference that he appears here not as a son, but as a grandson of Khormusta-Tengri, the chief of the 33 Tengris inhabiting Mount Sumeru. Among the Balagan Buriats also we find the same Khans—lords of various localities, as among the Kuda Buriats, but under different names. New personages are also to be found here, as, for instance, the Khans—protectors of wedlock, and of young children, of both the male and the female sex. Among the Trans-Baikalian Shamanists, the Eastern Khans are specially respected. This, we think, is due, not to any special strongly developed worship of the terrible gods, but to the fact that local gods, lords of various regions lying to the East, far away from the dwelling-places of the Idgins on the northern side of Lake Baikal, were turned into Khans. Of these Idgins there is an infinite number, and, as far as their rôle is concerned, they are often completely identical with the Khans. The difference is often a purely external one. The majority of the Idgins are deified human beings,—the Khans are the children of celestials. Similar in character to the cult of these Idgins is the worship of the Water Khans. These latter, Ukhan-Khat (*khat*=plural of *khan*), like the various terrestrial Khans, came down from heaven, having made for themselves bridges out of rays of light—some of red, others of yellow, and others, again, of blue rays. By means of these bridges they first descended upon Mount Sumeru, and afterwards into the water. A fourth party, however, came down from the heavens on the wings of a blue eagle. In the invocation to the Water Khans, 12 Western Tengris, or heavens, are mentioned, whence the Water Khans descended. Here the Tengris have positively a dual character; they may be regarded both as personalities and as divers divisions of the heavens. In the Shamanist cosmography, e.g. among the Altaians, there are 13 heavens covering each other like concentric envelopes, and over each heaven presides its own peculiar deity. There the anthropomorphization is more sharply pronounced than in the Buriat Shamanism. Agapitoff states positively that in the different personages of the Ukhan Khans the various properties of water are personified: its glitter, its mobility, its faculty of being agitated, and so on. Being in possession of but scanty materials—only a single prayer addressed to the Ukhan Khans—we cannot undertake to say how far the personality of the deity is here separated from the element itself which he controls.

The subsequent stages of the settlement of the Water Khans in their new surroundings are as follows. In the sea they became kings of the fishes; after that they travelled along the bottom of the sea, where among their attendants was the Uriankhai Shaman, Unukhuiff; then they visited the *yurta* of Ukha-Lobsan-Khan, the eldest of the Water Khans, whence they flew away by the smoke-outlet, transforming themselves into a whole series of new beings, which we do not enumerate. Here we shall make one remark: the designation 'the eldest among the Water Khans—Ukha-Lobsan,' as Agapitoff and Khangaloff give it, seems to us incorrect. This passage probably should read 'Ukha Lusan,' or 'Lusat.' In that case, the name would be explicable—*Lu*, *Lus* meaning a water-dragon, the lord of the seas among the Chinese and Mongol Buddhists, whereas Lobsan is simply a proper name borrowed from the Tibetan, and has no relation whatever to the element of water. In a prayer to the Ukhan Khans, mention is made of their possessing a meadow, full of snakes and buzzing bees, and also a lake swarming with frogs. Side by side with this, just as the blacksmiths have patrons of their handicraft, so among the Ukhan Khans there are patrons of fishing and navigation. We find there the lord of the boat, of the oar, of the pole, etc. The Water Khans, descended as they are from the Western Tengris, are generally well-disposed towards mankind.

In describing the water kings, one is involuntarily confronted by the question: What about the Khan-king of the great Baikal? Does he exist? If there are lords of the river-sources

and of insignificant tracts of land, can it be then that the Baikal has no king of its own? Agapitoff in 1883 expressed himself as certain of the existence of one, and probably, wherever the Buriat Shamans in their prayers mention the sea, Lake Baikal is really meant. The writer in 1883 succeeded in recording among the Buriats living on the shores of Lake Baikal, at the mouth of the river Selenga, invocations to several deities connected with the lake. The shortest of them is uttered by people starting on a voyage or fishing expedition in the sea, and is in the form of a prayer or petition: 'Chief of the eighty black water-drags (Lu—see above) and of the eight black Belkites (the Shaman could not explain of what kind these water beings were), we pray to thee.' . . . Then follows the exposition of the request, according to the needs of the supplicant—for mild, quiet weather in the case of coasting, for a fair wind in the case of distant voyages, for success in fishing, and so on. In an invocation addressed to Khagat-Noin, one of the Eastern Khans, the following is sung: 'Thou, O son of Khormusta-Tengri, Khagat-Noin, art our father; thy wife, the hairy mistress, is our mother! The lowland of Olkhon (the island) and the small stormy black sea are thy dwelling-place; the mountainous Olkhon, the wide stormy sea, is thy dwelling-place.' . . . This is followed by the supplication. The name, *small sea*, small Baikal, is given to the straits between the island of Olkhon and the northern shore of Lake Baikal, that of *great sea* to the remaining part of the lake.

Exactly in the same manner to another Khan, Kharharai-Noin, is sung as follows: 'High is thy dwelling-place, O Idjibey, upon the dark, wind-swept, wide black sea. On the one side, thou art descended from a bird, the swan, and the warlike Mongols, from father Khaga-Tai-Noin, from the sacred bird and a hairy mother, and from the thirteen Khalkhases. Thy distant relatives are the seven Dokshids (terrible Buddhist deities) and lords of the Dalai-Lama and the Bogdo-Gegen.' The name of Bogdo-Gegen is usually given to the regenerator of the famous Buddhist teacher in Tibet, the historian of Buddhism, Taranatha. He became incarnate in the person of a saint of Urga, in Mongolia. There is another prayer (to the lord of the black ram) in which there is also a reference to domination over the Baikal and its transference from the Baikal to the river Lena.

Here we discern an indication of the Mongolian and non-Buriat origin of one of the gods; but there are several of them. With regard to the water kings, it has already been noticed that their cult was established by Unukhui's son from Uriankhai. The connexion between the Buriat Shamanism and the Shamanism of the neighbouring peoples is, however, not limited to this. Among the gods and the spirits of the dead, the Buriat Shaman in his prayers often mentions the Shamans of the Karagases (a small tribe inhabiting the Eastern Sayan mountains), and especially those of the Tunguses. In the prayer to the lord of the black ram, mention is made of his pulling up a larch tree and making a scourge of it; also of his subsequently entering into relationship with the 90 and the 77 Orotchons—Eastern Trans-Baikal Tunguses.

10. Tea-gods.—Side by side with the Khans, descendants of the Western Tengris, a peculiar, as yet little known, worship of 'tea-gods,' who are also well-disposed to mankind, like the Western Khans, is gradually being elucidated; but nothing beyond a few names is known concerning it. In this cult the name of Bejin-Khatun, 'self-created mistress. Bejin,' demands particular attention. From the fragments of exorcisms which have been written down, one observes only indications concerning palaces of the watery sea; these are described as having drawn up before them 90 black steeds, and 90 grey ones, their saddles covered with costly fur cloaks. Together with the sea-palaces, a palace of the Dalai-Lama is mentioned; it has been introduced into the exorcism probably for no other reason than the temptation presented by the word *dalai*, 'sea.'

Mention is made in this prayer of 50 burning candles (a novelty borrowed from Christians or Buddhists), and of 99 mallets for the Shamans' tambourines. The deities dealt with here are called *tea-gods* because no bloody sacrifices are offered to them, and libations are made not in wine, but in tea. This cult is developed among the Buriats living along the river Kuda, a tributary of the Angara. They have also a certain other cult—that of the Western, white gods, favourable to men. These are not descended from the Tengris, but have them as protectors. Side by side with the *tea-burkhans* (-gods) there is to be found among the Kuda and Balagan Buriats a cult of similar beings, favourable to men—*khorduts*. The only thing that is known concerning them is that they are under the protection of Oer-Sagan-Tengri, and

that their daughters and sons have at various times been great Shamans and Shamans.

11. **Erlík-Khan.**—The Eastern Khans, children and relatives of the 44 terrible Tengris, are as ferocious as their celestial progenitors. The first place among them is occupied by Erlík-Khan or Erlík-Khan, the judge and overseer of the subterranean dungeons. He has children, sons-in-law, and other relatives. It is remarkable that the court and numerous retinue of Erlík present, in regard to their organization, an exact copy of Russian judicial and administrative institutions. Erlík-Khan has his own chancelleries, his own functionaries for special missions, couriers, etc. One of these, Som-Sagan-Noín, in executing the Khan's instructions, is in the habit of riding in a cart, which flies through the air without wheels or horses. The functionaries of the Siberian viceroys and governors boasted of the speed with which they moved from one place to another. Besides that, Som-Sagan-Noín tries law-suits. The Buriats who have litigation or suits pending in the Russian courts offer sacrifice to Som-Sagan-Noín. As most of the Siberian functionaries have subordinates, assistants, factotums, so Som-Sagan-Noín has two such assistants: Ukha-Tolegor-Khovduieff of the black Shamans, and Khan-Khórmo-Noín, whose origin is not clear. They are commissioned by Erlík-Khan to preside at various tribunals. Besides these, Erlík-Khan has yet another important official, Khurmen-Edjin, overseer of 88 prisons, to which again hundreds of clerks and other functionaries are attached. They are all engaged in examining the affairs of men, whilst evil spirits are busy catching the souls of the guilty; men do not, however, die on that account, but only sicken. The souls remain in these prisons until their earthly possessors die. Powerful Shamans are able to deliver a soul from its prison, but with great difficulty. There are also other prisons whence a Shaman can deliver a soul only with the help of the ancestors of the Shamans. There are some from which souls cannot be freed. The world is full of evil—hence, besides Erlík-Khan, there are others who, in the opinion of some Buriats, are even more terrible than Erlík himself; such are Albin-Khan and Kharlak-Khan, who also have their tribunals. Albin-Khan is remarkable for the extraordinary swiftness of his movements and actions. The Buriats have a saying, 'to drive like Albin,' i.e. very fast.

If in other Buriat deities we see true Buriat nomads and hunters possessing supernatural powers, as far as Erlík is concerned, we have before us a real 'culte moderne.' In the transformation of Erlík from the spirit of darkness, Ahriman, to the judge of the dead, Minos, a Lamaist influence may be discerned, but his attributes are certainly modern. The Erlík-Khan of the Shamans does not even make use of a mirror to see the deeds of a deceased person. Erlík-Khan has become a judge, an official, a governor-general sent by the celestial gods. Wishing to depict the sufferings of the sinful soul, the Buriat could think of nothing more terrible and unrelenting than Russian red-tapeism and the Russian prison system. The image of Erlík obscured the more ancient idea of retribution in another world for the deeds committed in this one. We shall enlarge on these things in examining the question of Animism and its part in the beliefs of the Buriats. Other Eastern Khans harm man in various ways, by destroying his cattle (see above), or by inflicting maladies, especially infectious ones. Smallpox, typhoid fever, syphilis, measles, cancer, and other malignant diseases have their own lords.

12. **Deified human beings.**—The Buriat pantheon, as we have described it, presents a suffi-

ciently familiar picture of a dualistic religion at its polytheistic stage; but it is not yet complete. Deified human beings, Shamans, and, in general, prominent persons who have attained to the rank of *zayans* (deities) and protectors of various localities, must be included in it. According to some narratives, Esseghe-Malan himself was a man who had migrated to heaven, and there became a Tengri; Jenghiz-Khan also is looked upon as a Tengri. The process of canonization has not been completed up to the present time, and we have contemporary examples of it.

A retired major in the Russian army, Yefim Pavlovich Sedykh, a poor solitary wretch, settled on the river Selenga in the village of Fofanova; he was in the habit of taking a walk every Sunday up a hill situated near the village. For his amusement on these occasions he drank vodka, and under its influence he sang and danced till sleep overpowered him, when a Buriat servant brought him home without waking him. And so it happened that Yefim Pavlovich Sedykh died and was nearly forgotten. His memory, however, was resuscitated during a severe epizootic of horned cattle, a calamity that came from Mongolia and made its way down the river Selenga. The Shamans exhausted all their arts in adjurations and sacrifices, but the epizootic rapidly advanced to the mouth of the Selenga, and ruin threatened the Kudara Buriats. Now, one of the Buriats, having remembered Major Sedykh, proposed to offer sacrifices to him, as the lord of the Fofanov hill. Shamans were found who were able to compose an invocation to him, and a hymn in his praise; sacrifices were offered, and the epizootic, so it is affirmed, ceased. Now Major Sedykh is considered as the lord of the Fofanov hill, and colleague of the lord of the river Selenga. The second instance of contemporary canonization took place almost under the eyes of the writer. Two girls were terribly persecuted by their step-mother. Being unable to endure their sufferings or to obtain protection from their father, they complained to the local authorities; but the latter did not take any steps in the matter, since it is the duty of children to obey their parents, and not to make complaints against them. The girls, showing extraordinary pluck and energy, applied to all the numerous tribunals of the Russian judicial and administrative system; they got as far as the Governor-General of Irkutsk, but here also they failed to obtain redress. They returned to Trans-Baikalia, and probably died forgotten by everybody. Traditions concerning a wicked step-mother persecuting her step-daughters may be found among many Buriats. In 1889 a destructive epidemic of influenza broke out among the Buriats at the mouth of the river Selenga. Again the local Shamans were at their wits' end, and, notwithstanding all their efforts and their prayers, could not succeed in warding it off. They decided to send some Shamans to the isle of Olkhon to ask the old and experienced Shamans of that place for counsel and help. The wise men of Olkhon found that the malady, being a new one, required prayers to new *zayans*. The two sisters above mentioned were remembered; information was collected to the effect that, after their return from Irkutsk, they began to practise Shamanism. Girls and, to a certain extent, women, according to the Buriat tales, often possess a magic power, foretell the future, perform heroic deeds, and the like. Thus a cult of the two sisters was formed, and ceremonies, almost mysteries, were arranged, in which not only the Shamans, but also the youth of both sexes, depicted the adventures and trials of the two sisters. In these invocations it is asserted that the unhappy sisters went in search of protection, not only to the Governor-General of Irkutsk, but even to the Chinese Emperor, the Bogdo-Gegen of Urga, and the Dalai-Lama. The last, indeed, prophesied that their misery would end on their return to their native place.

13. **Idgins.**—Idgins, i.e. lords, protectors of localities and of the phenomena of nature, originating from posthumously deified human beings, are very numerous. The famous Shamans of old are mostly looked upon as protectors of their own tribesmen, of certain localities, and even of particular animals. Every *taiga* (a primeval forest thicket) has its lord. Often, when hunting has been unsuccessful in a certain place, one hears that the lord of the *taiga* has lost his squirrels, sables, etc., to the master of a neighbouring *taiga* at cards. The multitude of these lords will become quite comprehensible when we leave the regions of polytheism and come down to the more ancient strata of Buriat beliefs.

14. **Animism.**—Here, above all, we encounter a widely developed Animism. In stories, a hero, when encountering his adversary, especially if the latter is a monster, a multi-headed semi-snake, or semi-man (*mangus*), often hears the following question: 'What is that standing behind thee?—thy soul or the soul of thy steed?'

Not men only, but also certain objects and animals, have souls—not such, however, as men have, but of a lower sort. In answer to the question whether all objects possess a *sunessun*, a soul of inferior quality, a Kudara Shaman said 'No!' It appeared from questioning that only self-moving objects possess a *sunessun*, or such as, although incapable of moving themselves, appear to have the power of manifesting or producing motion, as, for instance, a gun or a bow. An arrow, according to Buriat stories, is certainly endowed not only with a *sunessun*, but even with traces of a rational soul. A discharged arrow gives chase to its fleeing victim; it threatens it. Here we come into contact with the question of the complexity of the soul. This idea, extremely wide-spread as it is among uncivilized nations, is a further step in the development of primeval Animism. Believing that everything in nature has a spirit, man nevertheless observes that the capabilities and sphere of action of different beings are not identical, and that their faculties also are different. Evidently in many of these, besides an 'animus,' and besides a breath, similar to a breeze or atmosphere, there is also a whole series of other capabilities; consequently in them the soul also is different. In man, and in the higher animals also, capabilities are not at once developed; consequently they do not acquire a complete soul immediately.

The doctrine concerning the complexity of the soul, and the existence of several kinds of souls, has long since been noticed by European and American ethnologists among almost all the Indians of North America. Its existence among the Eskimos has been demonstrated by Kranz, among the Polynesians by Ellis, and among the West Africans by M. H. Kingsley, while this belief among the ancient Egyptians is too well known to require more than a mere mention. As far as the Siberian Shamanists, and especially the Buriats, are concerned, this subject was first broached by Podgorbunski, a priest, who based his researches on materials previously collected by Khangaloff, Shashkoff, and Potanin. His article, 'Conceptions about the soul, the next world, and the life hereafter, among the Shamanist Buriats,' was published in the Records of the Eastern Siberian Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, 1892. Later, the same thing was brought to light by Trostshansky among the Yakuts, and by Shvetsoff among the Altaians.

Among some Buriats a belief exists that a child acquires a soul only at the age of four years. The Olkhonian Buriats, according to observations of the young Buriat investigator Djamtsaranoff, consider that man has three souls: the least important one rests on the bones, and the intermediate one flies in the air, and after death becomes a 'Dakhul' (see below). We have already mentioned that the souls languish in Erik-Khan's prisons, but their possessors do not die, they only sicken; and a good Shaman may deliver the soul. Shashkoff ('Shamanism in Siberia,' *Rec. of the Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc.*, 1864, i.) tells us why the Shamans of the present day do not possess the same power as their predecessors. The son of a rich man had fallen ill. A wise Shaman guessed that the invalid's soul had been taken and was in the possession of the highest amongst the gods. The Shaman went to him and saw that the soul in question was kept by the god in an empty bottle, which he had closed with his finger. The Shaman transformed himself into a vicious fly, and bit the god so painfully in the cheek that he pulled his finger out of the bottle and grasped his cheek; the captive soul jumped out of the bottle, and the Shaman took it up and brought it back to the invalid. After this unpleasant incident the god thought fit to limit the power of the Shamans. Sometimes the Tengris take human souls to themselves, and if they are pleased with them they call the souls up a number of times. Such attention on the part of the higher beings is not particularly flattering to the Buriats, the chosen persons having to pay for the favour by sacrificing their longevity. The Buriat scholar Dordji Banzaroff, in his book *The Black Faith* (2nd

ed., St. Petersburg, 1893), has already shown that the souls of the wicked remain *zakhura-ben*, or occupy the middle part between heaven and earth. The more circumstantial information of which we are now in possession goes to explain that the soul which neither has been stolen nor has accidentally departed from the body, but has been removed only by way of natural death, cannot at first comprehend the change in its situation, and does not know what to do. It suspects that something unusual has happened, on noticing that its feet leave no traces behind them on the ashes of the hearth, and that walking through woods or over grass does not make the shrubs bend beneath its weight or the grass to appear trampled.

As these wandering souls often injure the living, it happens that among many Shamanist tribes the remaining members of the family in which death has taken place migrate to other localities. The influence of this fear of the defunct is very great. In Mongolia the writer has seen Buddhists, in the case of someone's death in a house late in the autumn, move their winter camp away from places where they had already collected large stores of fuel—a thing by no means easy either to obtain or to keep there—to other places, while their former neighbours were afraid to make use of the neglected fuel and other winter stores collected by the fugitives.

15. Souls of the dead.—The Buriats, like many other semi-civilized peoples, believe in the existence of several categories of souls that after death become injurious to the living. The best known of them are the *Dakhuls*, *Mu-Shubu*, *Bokholdoys*, and *Adas*. The 'Dakhuls' mostly spring from the souls of the poor, both men and women. Every Buriat hamlet has its Dakhul; but it is injurious only to little children. Adults treat them with indifference. Children of the gods themselves also suffer from Dakhuls. Ukha-Solbon-Tengri, having married a common Buriat woman, thereby offended the goddess of the sea, and she transformed herself into a Dakhul and attacked Ukha-Solbon's son. The Tengri sought the help of two Shamans, the second of whom managed to save the semi-divine child from his sickness. The Alar Buriats have another enemy of children, a human blood-sucker of the vampire kind; this little creature, called Aniukha, has never been seen by any one. It sucks up the life blood of an infant. In these cases the help of a Shaman is sought.

The souls of deceased young women or girls are transformed into creatures called 'Mu-Shubu'—a bad or injurious bird—if their father puts tinder with them into the grave. A Mu-Shubu has the appearance of a woman, but its lips project like a bird's beak; it can transform itself into various animals, but its beak remains unchanged. It always carries tinder under its right armpit; if the tinder is taken away from it, it cries, 'Look in your hand'; if the person does so, the tinder turns into worms; if he does not, the tinder is preserved, and by means of it one may become rich. Beyond trifling annoyances, the Mu-Shubu cannot do people any harm. Souls of the dead sometimes take the shape of more injurious beings, such as the so-called 'Bokholdoys,' which steal human souls.

In the story *Upitel-Khubun* (= 'Orphan') (*Records of the East-Siberian Section of the Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc.*, Ethnol. Section, vol. I, pt. 2nd, Irkutsk, 1890), the hero, who understands the language of birds, finds the means of curing the king's son. He accordingly presents himself before the Khan, cures the latter's son, and, having been rewarded, departs. On his way he meets a number of Bokholdoys dragging away the stolen soul of the king's son, and enters into conversation with the kidnappers. He asks them what the Bokholdoys are afraid of. It appears that they are most afraid of prickly shrubs. The Bokholdoys, in their turn, ask him why the grass he is walking on gets trampled, and why the shrubs break under his feet. 'Because I died only recently, and have not yet learned to walk as you do,' comes the answer from the living man. Then a second question is put to him: 'What were you most afraid of when

'you were alive?' It turns out that he was most afraid of fat meat. He then asks them to teach him how to steal souls. 'Come and just carry this soul,' reply the Bokholdoids, but the cunning Buriat, having got hold of the soul, hides himself with it in a thicket of thorny shrubs. The Bokholdoids, in order to compel the man to give up the soul, throw pieces of fat meat at him. He screams terribly, but does not part with the soul. In the end the Bokholdoids depart without having achieved anything, and the orphan returns the soul to the king's son and thus completes his cure.

The 'Adas' are the souls of dead children. They look like miniature human beings, but their mouth is situated under the lower jaw, and opens not upwards and downwards, but to the right and left. On meeting people they hide the lower part of their face in their sleeves in order to avoid being recognized. People often see the Adas, particularly the Shamans. The Adas greatly fear horned owls, and in houses where there are children the skin of one of these birds is hung up. The Adas are injurious to children, drink up the milk in the *yurtas*, eat up the food, and spoil things. When the Adas become too troublesome to a family, a Shaman is summoned. One Shaman forced thirteen Adas into a cauldron, shut them in with the lid, and burnt them over the fire. The Adas can be killed. When dead they resemble a little animal. Besides evil Adas there are also good ones that keep watch over dwellings and guard them from thieves. If a thief or an unknown person takes anything belonging to the owner of the house, the Adas will not give it up, and shout: '*Manai, manai!*' ('Ours, ours!').

Like most other semi-civilized and primitive tribes, the Buriats have no marked boundary between life and death. The heroes in their stories rise up from their graves, and not only they but the monsters—the Mangkhatais—slain by them do so too. To prevent a slain Mangkhatai from returning to life, it is necessary to scatter its bones and reduce its flesh to ashes. Notwithstanding the wide-spread cult of snakes, we do not consider that of the Mangkhatais to be merely a local Buriat one. Agreeing with Podgorbunski, we consider it to have been brought from the South. The Mangkhatais are absolutely identical with the Mongolian Mangus and the Rakshasas of India; the same must be said of the winged snakes. But let us now return to the question about life and death. Besides the idea of life after death, retribution also is not unknown to the Buriats. Among the *Records of the East Siberian Section of the Geographical Society*, which have so often been quoted, there are in the section relating to the ethnography of the Buriats characteristic data on the above question.

In the story about Mu-Monto, the hero set out for the other world in order to induce his grandfather to give him a horse and a saddle which the father of Mu-Monto had promised him. He got to the other world by holding on to a fox's tail. There he saw a drove of horses pasturing on bare stones, and yet they were very fat; farther on he saw a herd of lean domestic cattle on a splendid pasture-ground. After that he came across some women sewn together in pairs by their mouths; then he encountered Shamans and officials being boiled in cauldrons, men with hands and feet tied, and naked women embracing knotty stumps of wood. In another place farther on he saw women apparently not possessing anything at all, but living in plenty; and finally, starving ones surrounded by riches. At last he found his grandfather, who gave to the hero the coveted horse and saddle, and explained to him everything he had seen. The fat horses fattening on the stones belonged during their lifetime to a good master, the lean cattle to a bad one. The women sewn together by their mouths were slanderers and gossip-mongers; the women embracing stumps were in the habit of leading an immoral life; the officials and Shamans were being boiled in a cauldron for oppressing the people; the contented-looking women were compassionate to the poor. In another story the hero goes to the Sun's mother, and on his way meets with three women: one hanging on a door, another on a cow's horns, and a third fixed with her back to a boat. The first drove the poor from her door, the second refused milk to them, the third would not give even water.

The souls of the dead have a chief of their own over them who has only one eye. He can be killed by shooting him in the eye. After being killed

this chief becomes transformed into a pelvis, which must be burnt.

16. **Worship of ancestors.**—Having to deal with such a widely developed Animism, one is involuntarily confronted by the question of the worship of ancestors. Among the materials hitherto collected there are few data relating to this subject. Only distinguished persons are venerated. Here perhaps the very ancient custom of depriving old people of their lives did not pass away without leaving a certain lasting influence. Aged men and women were dressed in their very best clothes, were seated in the place of honour among the circle of their relatives and friends, and, after conversation and libations of wine, were made to swallow a long strip of fat. This, of course, resulted in their death from suffocation. The custom, according to tradition, was dropped by order of Esseghe-Malan-Tengri himself; but, notwithstanding this, we heard of a Buriat who drove away with his feeble grandfather and left him to die in the forest. Stories full of examples of parents causing the destruction of their children for fear of being maltreated by them are not rare. At the same time, between brothers and sisters we find again and again examples of tender affection and self-denial. Young women are distinguished for their perspicuity, their supernatural knowledge, their bravery, strength, and proficiency in the use of weapons. Such heroines often vanquish the most famous warriors and monsters.

17. **Worship of animals.**—From the example of the above-mentioned horses (§ 15) we have seen that animals also pass over into the world beyond the grave, and live there after death. So it should be, for a horse is the closest friend of its master. The knight and his steed are inseparable. When a hero is born in a family, a rare and heroic horse is born for him too. Each hero speaks of himself as 'I, So-and-so, rider of a chestnut, or a black, or a steed of some other colour.' The horse gives his master advice, extricates him from calamities, and dies defending his rider. In Bukha-Noin-Baobai, the bull that subsequently became one of the Western Khans, a Tengri's son and progenitor of two Buriat tribes, are clearly seen the germs of totemism, the only difference being the fact that Bukha-Noin is not claimed as the protector of any particular clan, but is worshipped by all Buriats. Not less honoured is the eagle. In the Mongolian history of Sanan-Sezen-Khan (of Ordos) it is mentioned that the Buriats presented an eagle to Jenghiz-Khan in token of submission. The eagle is looked upon as the son of Khagat-Noin, Khormusta-Tengri's son. The eagle was born without feathers, and went to the Western Tengris, who stuck feathers over the right half of its body; the other side was covered with feathers by the Eastern Tengris. The eagle was the first Shaman; but, being unable to communicate with men, it requested that its duties should be transferred to a man, and a human son was born to it; this son became the first Shaman in human form. Considerable respect by reason of its wisdom is enjoyed by the hedgehog, concerning which many legends are current.

One of them relates that the lord of the earth, Dibia-Sagan-Noin, whilst visiting Khormusta-Tengri, asked the latter to make him a present of the rays of the sun and moon. Khormusta was puzzled. To refuse his guest's request was impossible, and to gratify it meant to deprive mankind of light. The master of the earth took his departure, threatening to vent his vengeance on mankind for the violation of the rules of hospitality. Khormusta, wishing to save man from such a calamity, tried to catch the rays of the sun and moon, but did not succeed. A council of all the Tengris was convoked, and the hedgehog was invited to it. The hedgehog's appearance among the Tengris caused general laughter, because it rolled like a ball (as the Buriats think) instead of using its limbs. The hedgehog took offence and went home. Khormusta sent spies after it to listen in case the animal on its way might talk to itself. (In all the

legends the hedgehog shows an inclination to express its thoughts aloud.) The hedgehog on its way home was, indeed, talking to itself. 'To catch the rays of the sun and moon is impossible,' it was saying; 'the lord of the earth must be compelled to withdraw his demand. Were Khornusta to visit him, and ask of him as a present a horse out of the sun's reflexion and an arrow made of an echo, the lord of the earth would be unable to procure them.' This speech, overheard by spies, was communicated to Khornusta-Tengri, who acted on the hedgehog's advice, and in this way extirpated himself from the difficulty and saved the human race from misfortune.

The wise hedgehog is often subjected to ridicule; but it also takes revenge. Once, while it was passing by a herd of oxen, and, later on, some horses, the animals laughed at it. The hedgehog cursed them, and declared that they should be men's slaves. After that people began to domesticate oxen and horses and to make them work. On another occasion, when a bridegroom, after taking up his abode in his bride's house (this was a Tengri wedding), soon left his wife, the hedgehog said that the bride ought to be sent to the bridegroom, because a bride would not leave her husband's house, whereas a husband is prone to escape at the first favourable opportunity from his father-in-law's house. After this both the Tengris and mankind discarded the old custom and followed the hedgehog's advice. Swans are also highly honoured, since in their form the Tengris' daughters frequently appear. Swans have their lord and protector. Any one killing a swan is doomed to die soon afterwards; the same is affirmed by the Buriats respecting ravens and kites. The fox, too, in Eastern lands, retains the traits of cunning Reynard; but they are not so malicious as those of his Western brother. Neither on the wolf nor on the bear does he play his malicious tricks. The fox more frequently plays the part of protector, of simpleton, and helps them on in the world. In one story two swans get the better of the fox in cunning, and almost drown that animal in the sea.

The Buriats, being a race of cattle-breeders, and at the same time hunters, have an immense number of legends about various animals, of which many have their Idgins (lords).

Besides that of the Mangkhatais, or monsters, there exists also a snake-cult widely spread over the whole Shamanist world. Ribbons, straps, and twisted thongs over the Shaman's vestments represent snakes or their souls. Even the world of lower animals is not forgotten: these are supposed to possess an organization similar to that of human society. Ants have their king—Sharagoldgi-Khan; field-caterpillars and worms are also divided into communities governed by chiefs, who in their turn are under kings. All the animal kingdoms have their sovereigns: the birds have Khan Garideh, a mythical bird of the Indian tales; the beasts—Arslan-Zon, the lion; the snakes—Abyrga-Mogoi, the snake; Abarga-Ekhe-Zagassun, the great fish, ranks as king of the fishes; it has 13 fins. The bat alone is not subject to any one, it being neither bird, nor beast, nor fish, nor insect. The bear, which is so prominent in the cult of other Shamanists, does not play an important part in the beliefs of the Buriats.

18. Tree-worship.—The vegetable world also has its sacred trees, with their corresponding Idgins (lords). A sacred tree must have red pith; it is known by the name of Gan-mod, the fire-tree. If used for building houses, it will be warm in winter, but it is insecure in cases of fire and lightning. In woods, along footpaths, at fords, and on the highest points of mountain-passes, trees decorated with ribbons (*iren*) are often met with. It does not, however, follow that such sacrifices are offered to the tree itself. More frequently they are intended for the lord of the mountain-pass, ford, or forest. Only trees of a

strange and uncommon aspect are considered worthy of worship. Some plants, according to the belief of the Buriats and other Shamanists, cause rain and thunderstorms, if dug out; such is the root of the *Statice gmelini*. Others, such as the *Juniperus communis*, *Picea sibirica*, *Thymus serpyllum*, *Betula alba*, and *Betula daurica* are considered pure and sacred, and are used in religious rites. Along with these there exist also unclean trees, such as the aspen tree (*Populus tremulans*). Wicked black Shamans of both sexes sometimes drive even gentle and peaceful Buriats to the most extreme degree of exasperation and even to murder. But to kill a Shaman does not mean to have got rid of him. To deprive the corpse of the power of working harm, it must be fixed down in the grave with aspen poles and covered over with aspen logs.

19. Nature-worship.—In inorganic Nature also Shamanists find objects of worship. We refer here to mountain summits, cliffs, etc., which have their own lords or Idgins, one of the most terrible of whom is the lord of a cliff at the source of the river Angara. At this spot runs a range of submerged rocks, and amongst them rises a high and steep cliff, past which the stream rushes with incredible rapidity, the high foaming waves unceasingly hurling their spray at the rocky ramparts. In former times Buriats suspected of great crimes were sworn in before this rock. The Russian Government, however, has been specially requested by them to put an end to this practice, as it frightened not only the accused but also those who had to administer the oath. 'An ungodly man even there, at that awful spot, would not be afraid of lying, whilst believers and god-fearing men do not dare to disturb the terrible *zayan* even in a right cause, and, however innocent, rather take the guilt upon themselves' (see Samokvasoff, *The Law of Custom among the Siberian Aborigines*). According to the Altaians, the lords of mountains quarrel with one another, enter into relationship, get married, and form alliances.

20. Fetishism.—In the part dealing with the Tengris we mentioned the stones cast down by them from heaven—the *buman shulun* and *zada*. Here we have already real fetishes, possessing magic properties similar to a magnet, which has the property of attracting iron. The Shamanist Turks do not stop here: every strange-looking little stone is regarded as a *saat* and *tchaat tash* (*saat* and *zada* reveal the common origin of the names). Such stones are often worn on the girdle, together with their knife and tinder, by the Uriankhai Sojots. In localities which abound in ancient archaeological monuments, tumuli, and statues of stone, these are called *tchaa tas*, and to some of them even sacrifices are offered. According to tradition, Jenghiz-Khan was in possession of a very powerful magic stone, and in a decisive battle with the Naimans, after which the Mongol conqueror acquired a powerful influence over Eastern politics, he made use of his stone, causing a terrible snow-storm to arise against his enemies and thus putting them to flight.

21. Earth-worship.—Among the Buriats and Mongols earth-worship exists, but it assumed different forms among the two. To the Mongols, according to Banzaroff, the earth appears as a female principle, and heaven as a male one. This ancient belief has, according to Banzaroff's statement, been observed by older travellers among the Kumans who inhabited the steppes of South Russia, and in ancient Russian historical documents were known under the name of Polovtsi, as well as among an earlier people that lived in the present Northern Mongolia—the Tuki, according to the Chinese transcription, and Turks, according to

ancient runes, like lapidary inscriptions, first deciphered in 1893 by the Danish scholar Thomsen. The name of the goddess of the earth was Etugen; by the Mongols she is more often called Teleglen-Edzen, the master or mistress of the surface of the earth. In the higher style on Mongolian documents the earth is called Altan-telgey (the golden surface). Banzaroff's remarks lead one to believe that the word Etugen was also used in the collective sense of the 77 Etugens as a 'pendant' to the 99 Tengris. The indications relating to the existence of this cult among the Kumans and the Tukin, the ancient Turks, and the number 77, which is a favourite with the Siberian Turks, instead of the multiple of 9, which is usual among the Mongols, make one suspect the non-Mongolian origin of the cult. Simpler, more original, and more exact is the conception concerning the lord of the earth among the Balagan Buriats. His name is Daban-Sagan-Noin, he is an old man with white hair; his wife is a grey-haired old woman called Deleyte-Sagan-Khatun. The Olkhonian Buriats, living as they do in the midst of the Baikal, offer sacrifice to the mistress of the sea—Aba-Khatun—whilst as lord of the whole earth we find here Bukha-Noin, with whom we have already acquainted the reader. Sacrifices to the lord of the earth are made when the agricultural season is over.

22. The cult of the heavenly bodies.—This is but slightly developed in the Buriat Shamanism. The sun is said to have its Idgin—a woman to whom it is the custom to sacrifice a ram. A former investigator, Shashkoff, saw *ongons* of the sun and moon in the shape of discs covered with red stuff; but Khangeloff and Agapitoff could find no trace of them; thus one may perhaps agree with Agapitoff that this cult is passing into oblivion. The moon is better remembered: according to Shashkoff, it is sometimes the cause of a woman's pregnancy. In the short Mongolian annals, *Altan Tobchi* (golden button), it is mentioned that one of Jenghiz-Khan's ancestors was conceived of a moon's ray. A legend about a malicious woman and her step-daughter, whom a wolf wanted to devour, but who was saved by the sun and the moon, is wide-spread among all the Shamanist tribes. The sun and the moon descended and carried off the persecuted girl to the heavens, together with the pail she was using to get water with, and the shrub by which she held herself whilst coming down to the water's edge. The moon prevailed upon the sun to leave the girl to him, because of his feeling lonely on his tedious nightly rounds. In the spots which appear on the moon's surface the Buriats and other Shamanists discern a girl with a pail and a shrub in her hands. We have already mentioned Venus—Ukha-Solbon, the evening star, which is considered a Tengri's son. The conceptions concerning heavenly bodies are probably very ancient ones. The Great Bear is called by the Buriats and the Mongols 'seven old men,' and sometimes 'seven Tengris.' Banzaroff tells us that, in the book of sacrifices, or the veneration of the stars and gods, there is a prayer to seven Tengris, but he does not quote it. The Turks of Siberia call the Great Bear *Djity Kudai*, 'seven gods,' and also *Djity Khyz*, 'seven maidens.' The common name is here an indication of ancient origin. In the constellation of Orion every one can see three marals (*Cervus maral*) chased by a huntsman and three dogs. The star with a reddish tint has been wounded by the hunter's arrow. We have heard that this hunter is the son-in-law of Eriik-Khan. The dogs in time will overtake the marals, and that will be the end of the world. The Polar star along with the two bright stars of the Little Bear group is called the picket, to

which two lassoed horses are tethered and around which they move. We have already spoken of the fact that certain occupations (*e.g.* the fisherman's and the blacksmith's) have their protectors.

23. Fire-worship.—There are also gods of the chase and of the household, as 'Udeshi-Burkhat,' the doorkeepers; but the Tengri of fire, the brother of Ukha-Solbon—Sakhidai-Noin—stands above all and commands the greatest respect; his wife is known by the name of Sakhala-Khatun. The master of fire is called in incantations the maker of happiness; he sits by the hearth nodding his head, and with his tinder strikes fire and kindles a flame. His wife sits swinging to and fro like a person in a state of intoxication (depicting the dancing flame on the hearth). Just as among the Indo-European nations, fire has a sacred importance to the Mongols and Buriats. 'His fire is out,' one says of the head of an extinct or ruined family. The Mongols, when selling a person's property for debt, close up his dwelling and extinguish the fire by pouring water down the smoke-outlet. A bride, in taking leave of the paternal house in the company of her friends, walks round the fire. On entering her husband's house she bows before the fire, arranges the firewood, and, by way of sacrifice, throws pieces of mutton grease on to the hearth. Among many Shamanists, tinder, being the means of procuring fire, is never placed with the deceased. The explanation of this is twofold: a corpse is considered unclean, and tinder may not be placed alongside of one, as it is the symbol of fire, the all-cleansing element. Likewise a deceased person, as he may perhaps show hostility towards the living, must not be given the dangerous implement possessing the mysterious power of creating fire.

24. Cosmogony.—The cosmogony of the Buriats is not distinguished by originality. Other Shamanists have more elaborate cosmogonies: from the very beginning they evolve in regular sequence the idea of two principles of good and evil. In the four Buriat variations known to us we discover only fragments, retained in the memory of the people, of an entire epic which has been preserved in the greatest detail in the Altai tales. The Buriats say that formerly there was nothing except water; then the god Sombov-Burkhan, or (according to others) three gods or Burkhan, Esseghe-Burkhan, Maidari-Burkhan, and Shibegeni-Burkhan (in the last two are clearly seen the Buddhist Maitreya and Sakyamuni), met a bird, Anghir (*Anas rutilla*), that swam on the waters, and compelled it to dive to the bottom of the sea and fetch up from there some earth. Anghir brought up some black earth in its beak, and on its feet some red clay. Thereupon God, or the gods, threw both the black and the red earth round about, and thus hard soil was formed, upon which grew up both trees and a variety of grass. Afterwards the gods created man (man and woman) covered with wool, and in order to decide to whom should fall the honour of giving life to the couple so created, they agreed to place each a candle in a vessel and to retire to rest. He whose candle should burn till morning and in whose vessel a flower should blossom was to give life to men. Shibegeni awoke before the others, and observing that only Maidari's candle was still burning, and that there was also a flower grown, whereas his own candle was already extinguished and there was no flower in his vessel, hastened to change candles with Maidari and to transplant his flower into his own pot. When the others woke up and found the flower and burning candle in Shibegeni's vessel, they decided that he was to give life to men. Maidari, however, in virtue of his capability of knowing everything, was aware of the deception

perpetrated, and said to Shibegeni: 'Thou hast deceived us, and consequently the men given life by thee will be deceivers.' Thereupon the two Burkhans flew up to heaven, and Shibegeni gave life to men, and set a dog to watch them. Here there appears on the scene a new person, Shitkur (devil), who promised to feed the dog and give it a hair covering to ward off the attacks of winter frosts, if the dog permitted his approach to men (the dog was created naked, without any hair). The dog was tempted by this promise of food and hair, and admitted Shitkur to men; the latter was spat upon, and the dog got covered with coarse hair. Shibegeni thereupon came down to earth and cursed the dog, saying that notwithstanding its hair it would suffer from frosts in winter, and would be enslaved by man; it would get beaten, and to satisfy its hunger it would have to gnaw bones and to devour excrement. As to man, Shibegeni shaved off all his hair, excepting that on the head, so that now man became naked, and only here and there, when he is grown, does he get some hair on his body. According to this legend men were created by a deceiver. In the Altai version, over the waters there appear the god of light and his assistant Erlik-Khan. The latter plunges down to get earth, but on handing it to the god he keeps back a part of it; it grows in his mouth, and he is compelled to pray to God to be delivered from this infliction. The earth taken out of the mouth of Erlik forms, later on, mountains and stones. Between the two principles a struggle is carried on, until at last the giant of the god of light, Mandygoshun, precipitates Erlik-Khan into the abyss. At the present time, according to the Altai cosmology, the god of light, Ulghen the Good, governs the world, but his goodness prevents him from persecuting and punishing men for their faults. He only deprives them of his protection; then it is Erlik who assumes his right to torture men. Having suffered his infliction, men improve again, and return to Ulghen. The god of light restrains Erlik.

25. Ongons.—Turning now to the material and ritual side of the cult, we shall first treat of the ongons. The Turks of Yenisei call the ongon *tyus*, whereas among the Altaians it is named *kurmes*. On the one hand, it is an image of God, and, on the other, God himself, a fetish possessed of his own power. The tyus, or ongon, reminds us of the rôle which among some Christian peoples is filled by the images of saints.

In the teaching of the Church the icon is a representation of some saint, and has for its object to call up in believers pious reminiscences of the life and deeds of the depicted person, and to arouse the desire to follow his example, but the common people look upon the icons in a different light. Candles lighted before the icons are not merely an outward sign of veneration, but also a sacrifice to God; bowings and prayers are petitions and thanksgivings for benefits vouchsafed. The saints have their own special spheres of influence. St. Humbert is looked upon as the patron of hunters; St. Nicholas as the patron of sailors. There are patrons of cattle, and healers of diseases. Even one and the same person possesses different qualities on different icons. In every chapel one can find several pictures of the Madonna, and yet we see the lame and the crippled make their pilgrimages of hundreds of miles to pray to a Madonna, the healer of the cripple; others go to another icon to free themselves from nervous fits, hysteria, and epilepsy. The icons perform miracles; consequently in one way or another, either by their own power or by that obtained from another source, they manifest their capability of acting, and therefore cannot be considered as simple representations, or as pictures which engender certain feelings and dispositions, but as an independent power. The conception of the ongons is much more coarse and naive. Together with the ongons, pictures are also known under the name of ongons; these represent the deities of a lower order. According to Banzaroff, all the relatives and forefathers of Jenghiz-Khan have become ongons; as ongons also are accounted some dead, but renowned shamans. The method of representing the ongon does not present much variety. Generally speaking, it is either a piece of some material, or several pieces with designs, mostly of human figures, and various accessories in the shape of owl-feathers or bits of otter fur. In some instances we find a coarsely made wooden figure of man. The Baikali Buriats (of Kuda, Olkhon, and Verkholensk) acknowledge the so-called mountain ongons. These are

found mostly among newly married couples. On a small piece of brocade or silken material are designed a few coarsely made human figures, the trunk being represented by a straight line, as also the hands and legs, while the eyes are made of glass beads sewn on, over the head being fixed the feathers of an owl; from the upper side of the ends of the piece with the above designs ribbons hang down; on the breast of every image are suspended little figures made of tin. Among the antiquities found on the Ural Mountains in the Government of Perm, one frequently meets with bronze figures of birds with their wings outstretched, and of human beings with small human figures on their breasts. A probable explanation of these little figures found on bronze articles and upon ongons is that they represent the souls of the large figures. The number of figures and their names vary in different localities. The mountain ongons are not kept inside the *yurta*, but in the yard, and more frequently in the neighbourhood of the winter quarters. A niche is cut out in a column, and therein is placed an ongon, which is first deposited in a wooden case or a felt bag, in which, by way of an offering, are also placed branches of the *Thymus serpyllum* and tobacco. The Buriats of Olkhon construct a low deal enclosure with an overhanging roof, and suspend their ongons within the enclosure; sometimes they cut down a birch tree and put it with its branches in the ground, suspending their ongons in felt bags from the branches, just as birds are suspended in their cages; then they erect over the tree a protecting roof of deals. The acquirement of mountain ongons after a wedding, when the couple are moving into their own house, and the variety of figures on the ongons and of their names, seem to point to their representing local, specially venerated, household deities. Each of these ongons serves only for its particular owner; after his death the ongon is burnt, and the new master calls in a Shaman to consecrate a new one and place it in position. Among some Shamanists, as, for example, those of Altai, the ongon is fixed for a time only. They make ongons of hares' skins and keep them for seven years only, after which period they are replaced by new ones. The ongons which are kept inside the *yurtas* are divided into men's and women's; the former are kept on the left-hand side of the entrance, or husband's part; the latter on the right-hand side, which is destined for women and their special belongings. Speaking of men's ongons, Agapitoff mentions a very ancient one among the Balagan Buriats, which was brought from Mongolia by a proprietor of one tribe of Buriats. It consisted of a coarsely made human head with hair on it and a beard of sheepskin, and had iron rattles round the neck. It was called Borto. Judging from the name, it may represent an ancient, semi-mythical ancestor of Jenghiz-Khan, Borte-Chono. Its Mongolian origin is corroborated by the fact also that devotions before it are performed in the same way as the Buriat Lamaists bow before their Buddhas. Although the ongon spirits are accounted as lower deities, the ongon pictures are sometimes representations also of the highest personages of the Buriat Olympus. The son of a Tengri, the god of fire, Sakhidai-Noin, and Sakhalakhatun, his consort, have their own ongons—two coarse wooden figures covered with red cloth. Such an ancient ongon Agapitoff saw in the house of a Buriat fifty years old, who told him that it belonged to his grandfather, i.e. to the period of the expedition of Pallas and of Georgy. Some ongons of fir wood by Agapitoff were evidently of a more, but we know no origin (*ongons zurukhan*—ongons with designs on them). The Ukhian-Khat ongons, i.e. those of the Water Khans, present, on comparison with the above described, the peculiarity that, besides the pictures of men, on the upper part of the pieces of stuff there is a line representing heaven, the human figures are drawn in two rows, one beneath the other, and under the lower row there are representations of the camel, the snake, and the frog. On many ongons which are to be seen in the Russian Museum of the Emperor Alexander III., over the human heads and above the line roughly representing heaven, a number of points stand for the stars. Among the latter one can always distinguish the constellation of the Great Bear; other stars are also indicated, but their arrangement has not the slightest resemblance to the actual arrangement in the heavens; sometimes a cloud in the sky is represented on the ongons by a curved line.

The ongons are very numerous, and would almost require an article to themselves. It will suffice here to mention only a few of them. Women's ongons, placed on the right-hand of the entrance, are generally considered as protectors of children, but there are also some which protect child-bearing. Ongons of the lords of animals, such as the ferret, the ermine, and the warden, are also met with. As lord of the ferret is considered a famous ancient Shaman Olengha, who came from Mongolia, learned Shamanism in Pekin, and travelled not on horseback, but on a ferret. This Shaman, according to tradition, lived at the time when the Buriats were subjugated by Russia, and was the first to pay tribute to the White Czar. The distinguishing feature of the ongons of animals, with the exception of the lord of the goat, consists in the skin of the animal, or a part of it, entering into the composition of the design. The Baikali Buriats have an ongon with a human figure representing a Shaman with a tambourine. This ongon was known to Georgy, but we have little information about it. Agapitoff affirms that, according to the accounts of the Buriats, it is a representation of an ancient Shaman. There are also ongons of diseases. The one which is considered helpful in cases of swellings and boils consists of a bit of skin cut up into strips in the form of a ring, and there is an ongon of the itch—viz. a bit of sheepskin. Extremely complicated is the Balagan Khotkho ongon. It is dedicated to fifty-eight personages, among whom are included both

Ukha-Solbon and the nine daughters of Eseghe-Malan and Gaizushin—two girls who had died in winter of cold and hunger, and who are invoked in the places at the estuary of the Selenga in cases of influenza (see above)—and the lord of the moon and sun. But all the Khotkho ongons seen by the writer had less than fifty-eight pictures. The most complete ongon, which is preserved in the Museum of the East Siberian section of the Geographical Society, has only thirty-eight pictures.

The ongons of the white smiths—the sons of Bojntol—stand quite apart. They, it is asserted, came down from heaven, and each one held some smith's implement in his hand. Their ongons represent small human figures of iron, holding smith's implements in their hands.

With the ongons should be mentioned also the so-called *zya*. If a person desires to destroy his enemy, he draws a figure of him on a bit of cloth-stuff or paper, and, with adjurations, hides it in, or somewhere near, the house of his victim. This is a very dangerous thing, especially if done with the help of a black Shaman. The victim begins to sicken, and his only safety is to be found in calling in a good Shaman, who finds the *zya* and burns it.

26. Dedication of animals.—Alongside of the ongons, there is a custom among Shamanists of dedicating to their gods domestic animals. The Turks of Yenisei and the Altai black Tatars, even at the time when an ongon or tyus is being prepared, frequently deem it necessary to dedicate to the ongon some animal possessed of certain definite marks. The process of dedication consists in fumigating the animal with the smoke of a burning *Juniperus communis*, in sprinkling it with wine, and hanging coloured ribbon on it, whilst the Shaman chants his adjurations. The colour of the ribbon depends on the ongon and the god to whom the animal is consecrated. The consecrated animal is then sent to the herd, and becomes something like a Polynesian tabu. It must not be ridden (if it be an animal for riding) by any one but its own master; a married woman may not touch it, and it must not be used for any heavy work. An animal may be so consecrated either for a time or for life. These animals are called by the Turks of Yenisei *yazykh*, by the Sojots *adykh*, by the Mongols *setertey*. All these words denote both the dedication and the tabu. This custom prevails also among the Mongolian Buddhists. In Pozdneyeff's book, *The Life of the Buddhist Monks in Mongolia* (St. Petersburg, 1894), there is a table showing the colour which horses must have when they are dedicated to certain Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Evidently Buddhism, in its toleration of religious superstition among its followers, whilst spreading over Mongolia, adopted the ancient custom of dedicating animals to the higher beings, but changed the ancient Shamanist names of the deities into the new Buddhist ones. These animals may be considered as living ongons up to a certain point, although there is a substantial difference between the two. The ongon, be it what it may, is at all events a god, but the *setertey* is merely an animal dedicated to God, and is frequently adopted as an addition to the ongon. To every ongon offerings are made of wine, meat, incense, etc. In the writer's work on the tyuses (ongons) of the South Yenisei Turks, the order of offering sacrifices to them is given in detail. The sacrifices are extremely varied. An animal dedicated only to a god is carefully kept, but no offerings are made to it. The Buriats also have the same custom. Georgy, in his time, saw a horse dedicated to a god. To Bukha-Noin is dedicated a grey uncastrated ox; to the Water Khans, a red breeding-ox, and sometimes also fish or eels; to the Shaman Itzerkel-Aiakhanzaieff, a piebald horse; to the lord of the black horse and his wife, a dark bay horse, and, in sacrifice, a raven-black one; to the Eastern Tengris are dedicated a chestnut horse and a cow of the same colour. To some deities are also dedicated wild animals or birds: for example, to the lord of the island of Olkhon, a pigeon. Among the Buriats' neighbours—the Karagals—the traces of totemism are clear. According to their traditions,

their people sprang from four brothers—the mole, the bear, the eelpout, and man. A totem of the mole—the eldest brother—is to be found in the *yurta* of almost every Karagal; but these people are dying out, for in 1888 there were only 300 of them, and now there are not more than 150. They are dying both physically and morally, as may be seen in their forgetting of their traditions and customs.

27. Imitative dances.—An interesting phenomenon is presented in the so-called *nadan ongoner* (= merry-making ongons). At the evening parties of young people a Shaman is frequently invited to enliven the company. Before entering the assembly, he stops at the door and takes off his boots and girdle (i.e. he follows the customary proceeding when deities are to be invoked), takes into his hands the conjuring wands (*morim-khorbo* = horse-staves; see p. 16^v), and begins his invocation to the *zayans* (gods). Having finished his invocation, he calls forth one of the deities, and thereupon turns himself into that deity, and plays the part of the latter. The themes vary greatly. Sometimes he plays the part of Batya-ubugun—an old man who complains of the infidelity of his wife, tells stories of her scandalous on-goings, and seeks her among those present. Thereupon the woman herself comes forth, and enlivens the young people by her cynical sallies. Afterwards Ukha-Solbon, with his three wives, is invoked. The most popular personages are the belted ongon and the joking ongon. Sometimes a scene of taming a horse is played. But more frequently the Shaman induces the young people to dance, to go through different gymnastic tricks, and awkward persons he jokingly rewards with blows from his staff. The Shaman also plays the part of the bear, ox (Bukha ongon), wolf, pig, and, among the Kuda Buriats, also of Zarya-Asarghi, i.e. the porcupine. In all these rôles the Shaman imitates the personages whom he represents. The funny nature of these displays does not obscure their signification. Here we may see the origin of those masquerades which have a sacred meaning, and in which the youth of Polynesia still participate; there, not one person only, but a whole assembly or club, a secret society, participate in the mystery. With fearful masks of ghouls on their faces, they terrify the spectators (see Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, Leipzig, 1900, and his more detailed work, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, Berlin, 1902). Masks are by no means unknown to the Shamanists. Formerly the Shamans used to wear leather and metallic masks on their faces; nowadays they have plaits which fall down from their hats over their faces. The complete costume of a Buriat or Tungus Shaman, by its numerous projections, imitates a human skeleton whose toes are provided with claws. At sacrifices, especially great ones, the Shaman carries on dialogues consecutively with different deities. Not infrequently he performs the ceremony with assistants. In Shamanism, however, the dramatization of religious rites stopped short in the primary stage, but it became highly developed in Northern Buddhism, in Tibet, also here and there in Mongolia, and partly among the Buriat Lamaists. In Tibet they represent whole dramas and mysteries from the life of Sakyamuni in his former transmigrations (see Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 515).

28. As regards the rites of Buriat Shamanism, the presence of a Shaman is by no means required in all of them. The feeding of ongons is done by the master of a house; even some women's ongons are made by women themselves, without the participation of a Shaman. When crossing a mountain, there is hardly a Shamanist who would not jump off his horse to cast *tarasun* (wine of milk) before the lord of the pass, and a person of import-

ance ties a piece of ribbon and horse's hair to a tree on the pass, near a heap of stones which has been collected by the faithful. Banzaroff, in his time, noticed that even public sacrifices were not all celebrated in the presence, and with the participation, of a Shaman. The Turks of Yenisei, in summer, celebrate the so-called mountain sacrifices (*tag-tai*) and heavenly sacrifices (*tiger-tai*), the latter being performed by the oldest of the tribe but not by a Shaman. Certain sacrifices, on the occasion of the birth of a child, and also of its passing from childhood to adolescence, are made without the assistance of a Shaman, just as on the above-mentioned occasions. Here everything is done by the eldest of a family, and, in case the rites and the prayers are forgotten by him, he is helped by some experienced person acting as a prompter. Divination and foretelling the future are done also by ordinary competent people. The future is guessed by the sound of the string of a bow, but the most popular way of divination is by means of a sheep's shoulder-blade burnt on the fire. This has been known from the times of Attila, and in Mongolia a large literature exists on the subject. Divination is practised also during the sacrifices to the Water Khans, and consists of pouring melted tin into water: if the tin comes out entire at once, without being separated into parts, it is regarded as a favourable sign. If the tin poured out does not form a regular figure, the latter is examined with a view to determining the future accordingly. Divination is also practised by arrows, for the discovery of missing things. A thick arrow is taken, placed on the hand, and the direction towards which it inclines is followed. This kind of divination is now practised by some Buriat Lamas, although every indication points to its Shamanist origin. It probably stands in connexion with the stories about divining arrows which of themselves seek out the object aimed at.

29. **Sacrifice.**—In their form the Buriat sacrifices may be divided into private (*kirik*) and public (*tailgan*).

Indispensable adjuncts of every sacrifice are sprinkling with wine, milk, sometimes tea, and libations. These are the simplest forms of offerings, and are made almost daily. Before a Buriat drinks a cup of wine, he throws some drops of it into the fire, upwards, and round about. Further, in more complicated forms of appeal to the gods, there come real sacrificial offerings, which are slain to the accompaniment of divers ceremonies. In this case the soul of the proceedings is the Shaman. He directs the libations and invokes the deities; then he himself plays the part of a deity, and in the latter's name relates the story and adventures of the god or gods whom he has invoked previously. There is still another very simple way of making offerings, which, in the majority of cases, does not require a Shaman. This consists in tying ribbons and throwing coins in those places in which the presence of some deity is expected. By far the most common and frequent occasion for sacrifices is supplied by diseases. For that reason, the Shaman is considered by many rather as a physician and diviner than as a priest. The simplest form of exorcism against an illness consists in the sick person's being seated with his hat on near the fire, when a cup of wine is handed to him; by his side a Shaman takes his stand, fumigates him with sacred herbs, and utters an invocation to the particular deity; he relates the biography of the latter, and entreats the deity to help the sick one. During the prayer a libation of wine is made thrice; the fourth libation is for the ongon, lord of the ferret, who is considered as the patron of the hearth; after this a cup of wine is handed to the Shaman, who, after sprinkling to the lord of fire and drinking some of the contents, hands the cup back to the members of the household; the next cup is poured out for the sick person, who shares it with his relatives; and the last cup is intended for the Shaman. There are other ways of curing diseases, into which is introduced, together with the mystic acts, an element of a purely therapeutic character: such are the *tarims*. *Ukhan-tarim*, viz. the water-tarim, consists in the sick man, most frequently suffering from rheumatism, being, after divers exorcisms and aspersions made by a Shaman, besprinkled or (as in a Russian bath-house) beaten with a bunch of sacred herbs dipped in boiling and consecrated water. In doing this the Shaman raves like a madman, calling out 'Khalkai, khalkai', 'Hot, hot'; and then 'Tyty, tyty', 'Cold, cold,' in this way driving out the disease. This rite over, the patient, who has been perspiring very freely, is wrapped in his fur coat and put to bed. The fire-tarim is the rite at which the Shaman brings iron to a white heat, rubs his foot on it, and places it over the diseased spot.

Sometimes, but rarely, the water- and fire-tarims follow one another, i.e. first the water cure is applied, and then the fire.

Very interesting are the cures consisting in the substitution for a sick man of another person or animal. An astonishing historical example of this was shown in the sickness of a Mongolian Khan. The illness would not yield to either Lama's or Shaman's treatment, therefore recourse was had to an extreme measure: instead of the Khan's soul, the souls of a hundred or his subjects who inhabited the woodlands of the Mongolian mountain chain, 'Ghentye,' were presented to the evil spirit Shitkur. The details of this remarkable rite are not known to us; but evidently the bargain was struck, since the Khan recovered; and yet the people offered to the devil remained alive also. This Khan and his successors did not dare any longer to interfere in the government of another's subjects, and asked the Bogdo-Gegen of Urga to transfer them to himself. The Bogdo-Gegen himself is the incarnation of a deity, and he has no fear of the devil. This small group of the inhabitants of Northern Mongolia is known even now under the name of 'the devil's subjects.' People shun them, and avoid any relationship with them as unclean. The only obligation which they have to perform consists in supplying a yearly tribute of game to the Bogdo-Gegen, of wild boars, wild goats, and zerens (*Antelope gutturosa*). But the Bogdo-Gegen does not himself partake of this tribute; he distributes it in presents. The Buriats, however, have no means to pay to the devils such costly ransoms, and they manage to dispense therewith by a simple device. Should a child suffer from dysentery, the women of the family fill a sheep's stomach with sheep's blood, boil it in a pot, and put it, whilst still warm, over the child's stomach, and then, taking three pieces of tinder and giving them the names of three of the oldest women in the neighbourhood, they place these pieces so named in the sheep's stomach, over the child's body, and set it on fire. If one of the three pieces of tinder begins to crackle in burning, it denotes a favourable issue, since it is supposed that, instead of the child, the old woman whose name was given to the crackling piece will die. In carrying out this rite, neither the Shaman nor men generally take any part; everything is done by child-loving mothers and experienced neighbours. At another similar rite, *dobo*, no Macbeth-like witches take any part. An experienced Shaman is brought to a dangerously ill person, and, in some cases, he offers, in the place of the sick man's soul, stolen by an evil spirit, some animal known by certain definite signs, which the Shaman with great care and minute details specifies. This animal is led into the *yurta*, thrice it is dragged up to the sick-bed, and the patient thrice times spits upon it. Thereupon the latter is killed, its flesh boiled, and the patient is made to inhale the steam of the soup. The meat is eaten by those present, but a part of it is left until the recovery of the patient; of this a bit is thrown into the fire, and the remainder eaten.

Kirik, like the preceding rites, belongs in intention to propitiatory rites, but it presents a generalized form. It is performed not only in cases of sickness, but of any misfortune. The sacrifice in this rite does not denote a substitute for the soul of the sick man, but is rather a propitiatory offering. Generally domestic animals are sacrificed, and only in rare cases fish. The selection of an animal for the sacrifice, as well as the enumeration of its signs and peculiarities, is left to the Shamans. In *kirik* we can distinguish three chief moments of action. The first is devoted to the consecration of the dishes and beverages prepared for the sacrifice, viz. milk-wine and sour milk. The invited Shaman fumigates them with the smoke of the fir bark; then he walks out of the *yurta*, followed by men carrying the prepared food; outside, the Shaman begins to sing a hymn to the invoked *zayan* (deity), three of those present, singing with him, whilst the others arrange the food, previously prepared at a spot which is called *turphe*, and light the fire under the pot in which the sacrificial meat is to be boiled. The consecration of the victim goes on, the Shaman reads a prayer and sprinkles wine. This sprinkling may be considered as a distinct moment; it is called *sasali barokhu* (= to make *sasali*, i.e. a libation). This rite is an essential feature and an invariable adjunct of all sacrificial offerings when a Shaman is present, as well as a shortened form of a sacrifice which every one offers almost daily. When *sasali* is over, the animal is killed, its skin is taken off with the head and legs, and the larynx, lungs, and heart are left with the skin. The skin is stuffed with straw, and birch branches are stuck in the nostrils; on the forehead, by means of a small stick, is fixed a bit of the bark of *Picea sibirica* called *ido*; afterwards the skin is hung on a birch tree, full of branches, previously set in the ground, care being taken that the animal's head shall look in the direction where, in the opinion of the participants, the invoked *zayan* (deity) resides. The boiled meat is separated from the bones, the latter being scraped for the removal of the adhering flesh, and the whole is placed in a wooden vessel; part of the contents is burnt later on, but the greater portion is consumed. The Shaman, who during the performance of the rites above described is seated with his hosts and drinks *tarasun*, stands up after the sacrificial mounted skin has been hung, and begins his invocations to the *zayan*. The latter makes his approach, and the Shaman trembles, feeling the breath of the deity; he now goes up to the latter, now springs back from him, under the influence of fear; at last, getting into a most ecstatic state, he suddenly changes his manner: the deity has entered into him, and in a tone of authority begins to talk within him. The *zayan*, having entered the Shaman, relates his whole history, his exploits, and foretells the future. Having accomplished what he was invoked for, the *zayan* comes out of the Shaman, and the latter at that moment groans, cries loudly, shivers; he undergoes a very painful process; the deity forsakes him, the

light and the power which were in him disappear, move away from him; he feels weak; round about him is darkness; his thoughts get confused, and sometimes he falls down in a fit, or continues standing as if hypnotized; it is only by degrees, and as if awakening from a deep sleep, that he returns to his usual mode of life. Such is the description of his state given to the writer by a young and popular Turkish Shaman.

The *tailgan* is a public sacrifice, performed on behalf of a whole community, the sacrificial animals being supplied by several households, according to their means; but the meat after the sacrifice is divided equally amongst the participants. The *tailgan*, at the same time, is enjoyed as a popular festival, at which the youths engage in wrestling and jumping, whilst in older times there was arrow-shooting. The *tailgans* dedicated to the various *zayans* are performed at certain definite seasons of the year: the one to the Western Tengris in spring corresponds to the Yakutsk spring festival called *ylsyekh*; that to the Water Khans is in summer, and to the mother-earth at the end of the summer season. All the *tailgans* have a general character; the only special features are connected with the character of the deities invoked. The most widely-spread and common form of the ritual is that which is practised at the sacrifices in honour of the Western Khans. For this sacrifice people go into the fields and select there a fine commodious space at the foot of a hill. In this festivity only men and girls take part; married women and widows have to stay at home. The utensils, wine, and sour milk are fumigated with pine bark, before starting for the selected spot, by one of the men (cf. *kirik*). The sprinkling with *tarasun* is done by the Shaman at the house of one of the more respected participants in the *tailgan*, where the others also assemble and take part in the rite. On an appointed spot utensils with provisions are arranged in a row from west to east, whereas the participants take their seats towards the south; the place where they sit is called *turpha*; in front of the utensils are stuck birch branches, which are also called *turpha*. The sacrificial animals are kept apart; there also are steaming the big kettles for boiling meat. When everything is arranged, birch trees are stuck into the ground, on which later on are hung the skins of the sacrificed animals; thereupon every participant has to supply a white rope of hair intertwined with white and black ribbons, which each one prepares beforehand. These ropes are tied together, and to them is affixed a white hare skin. By means of this rope they bind the tops of the birch trees; the latter are placed in an inclined position and are supported with pegs. After the trees have been fixed and their tops united with the rope, the Shaman reads a prayer, and the participants, having cups filled to the brim in their hands, at the command of the Shaman, '*Seg!*' pour out the contents of their cups. This libation is repeated three times, after which they throw away their empty cups. For him whose cup falls on its bottom the omen is considered favourable; this person is acclaimed by all with '*Torokh! torokh!*' These libations are further repeated, but previously the Shaman places in every cup a branch of the *Picea* (*jido*). Afterwards sour milk is offered to the sacrificial animals. Among classical peoples it was also a custom to offer drink to the sacrificial animals before they were killed. Afterwards the sacrificial animals are killed, and their skins and meat are treated as has been already described at the *kirik*. The bones of the animals, each one separately, are collected on little tables made of birch sticks and burnt; the ends of the intestines of the animals are burnt on a separate fire. The principal rite is performed after the contents of the cups. Every one takes a pail, in which meat is put, and stands up; the Shaman invokes the Western *zayans*; they come in turns and relate their own stories, until it is the turn of Bukha-Noin-Baobai. The Shaman, then stands on all fours, bellows like a bull, butts those present as if with horns, and attempts to upset the birch trees tied with white rope, whilst several men keep them in position. After his unsuccessful attempts at upsetting the trees, Bukha-Noin goes away, bellowing ten times more. On his return, the Shaman invokes another *zayan*, Nagad-Zarin, and then the rite is concluded by petitions and entreaties to the Western gods for divers favours. This ends the whole ceremony. Strictly speaking, the *tailgan* is, in its form, a more solemnly performed *kirik*. At other *tailgans* the ritual observed is almost identical, but at the *tailgan* to the lord of fire the principal part is done in the *yurta*, since the sacrifice is offered to the lord of the domestic hearth; the *tailgan* to the Water Khans is arranged at a river, the participants drinking the water thereof, and divining not by means of throwing down the cups, but by pouring melted tin upon the water. The Shaman here does not butt with his horns, but tries to throw himself into the river.

At the domestic sacrifices of the blacksmiths, the master heats the iron and strikes it with a hammer, whilst the Shaman reads the prayers. Striking the heated iron enters also into the ritual of the *tailgan* to the Eastern Khans.

30. The Shaman. — In all the religious ceremonies the Shaman is the principal actor. No people nowadays call their priests by that name. Banzaroff derived the word 'Shaman' from a Manchu root. A Samoyed would call a Shaman *Taibey*; a Lapp, *Noyda*; a Siberian Tatar, *Kam*; a Buriat and Mongolian, *Boo*. Banzaroff assures us that the word 'Shaman' is met with in Chinese writings of the 7th cent., when Northern Mongolia was dominated by Yuan-Yuan, a people

of Tungus-Manchu origin. But, generally speaking, the most ancient mention of Shamanism may be found in Herodotus's reference to priests who used to divine by means of rods. In his works we find also that the way of killing animals by means of compressing the aorta is exactly the same as that which is made use of by the Shaman at sacrifices (iv. 60, 67). The Shamans of the Buriats believe in their origin from the eagle, the son of a Tengri, and many of the black and white Shamans boast of long pedigrees; they have also many a quarrel and reckoning amongst themselves. The ancestors of many became *zayans*, whose memory is honoured by sacrifices. A real Shaman has to possess many qualifications. First of all, his organism has to be sensitive, full of nerve, and receptive. He must have a good memory to remember the manifold formulas and conjurations necessary for him to repeat by heart; he has also to make extempore prayers for certain occasions, and consequently must be able to give rhythmical form to his speech. Above all, he must not doubt his own calling and abilities, and has to be sincere. Many of the Shamans are capable of most sincerely and devotedly giving themselves up to the rôle they have to fill. When a nervous child cries in its sleep or is inclined to hallucinations, the aborigines say he is troubled by spirits and must become a Shaman. It must also be mentioned that the native races in Siberia are very liable to suffer from nervous diseases. Young girls, during their monthly periods, frequently fall into a temporary aberration; the young men also suffer from aimless yearning, which drives many to suicide. All this, of course, may account also for the Shamans' disposition and hallucinations. Among some tribes there are epileptic Shamans, who murmur disjointed words during the services; such Shamans are provided with assistant interpreters. We have not, however, seen such Shamans among the Buriats. Although among them any man who shows certain qualifications may become a Shaman, yet, his abilities notwithstanding, he would find himself in an unfavourable position in comparison with others who had a Shaman's origin and a whole series of Shaman ancestors; these help him and mediate for their client, even before Erlik-Khan himself. It is possible, however, to note even among the Buriats the commencement of an evolution of hereditary priesthood, which keeps up not only the education of the people, but also the memory of the achievements of their ancestors. The black Shamans of the Buriats have gone still further: they conceal from the crowd the secret of their mysterious lore. They monopolize it in order to keep ordinary mortals in fear. It is owing to this circumstance that the efforts of native investigators, and of persons closely connected with the Buriats, are so barren of results in respect of knowledge of the servants of the awe-inspiring Tengris. There are some cases of grown-up and even aged people becoming Shamans; but these are exceptional. Generally it is a child of Shaman origin who begins almost from infancy to learn his business. The writer saw among the Uriankhis a boy of ten years old singing the conjurations with his mother during Shamanic attendance on a sick man.

The future Shaman visits the *tailgans* and the *kiriks*, watches the proceedings attentively, learns of experienced elders how to sing prayers and conjurations; but, whilst preparing, he frequently retires into the mountains and forests, and there spends many days at a stretch in solitude. There, by the side of a log fire, he utters conjurations, brings himself into a state of ecstasy, and masters the technique of Shamanic actions. Sometimes, after such practice, a neophyte comes straight out and begins his work; but generally it is necessary for him to obtain the consecration which enlightens the Shaman's mind. In this case the principal actor is the father-Shaman, usually the early

instructor of the candidate. The consecration begins with the rite of purification by water. The water is taken from three springs, at which an offering of wine is made to the lords of the springs. The water is then carried home and warmed; at the same time, bundles of young birches, plucked with their roots, are also brought in. Into the water are thrown the *fungus peris*, *Thymus serpyllum*, and the bark of the *Picea sibirica*. Then follows the sacrifice of a goat, which is killed not by compressing the aorta with the hand through a cut made in the side of the animal, but by a thrust of a knife into the heart. Some drops of the blood are poured into the water. The father-Shaman, helped at the ceremony by nine assistants who are called sons of the Shaman, divines by means of the shoulder-blade, and makes a libation to the ancestors of the Shaman; then, lowering the birches into the cauldron and making them soft, he strikes the naked Shaman with them, at the same time giving him instruction regarding his future duties. These deserve to be mentioned in detail. (1) When a poor man calls thee in, go to him on foot, claim from him no remuneration and be satisfied with what is given thee. (2) Always take good care of the poor, help them, defend them from evil spirits, and intercede for them with the good spirits. (3) If a rich man should call thee in, proceed to him on an ox (only the poor make use of such conveyance), and do not claim much for thy trouble. (4) If a rich and a poor man should call thee in at the same time, go first to the poor man. The consecrated one swears duly to obey the instructions imparted to him.

After the purification, in a few days, follows the first consecration. There are in all nine of them; but there appear to be no longer any Shamans who have undergone all these. In the first place, every consecration requires some expenditure; in the second place, the persecutions and extraneous hindrances to which all Christian religions are subjected make the native races avoid and shun all public ceremonies. At the first consecration, the neophyte, with the nine sons of the father-Shaman, goes about the houses to collect the means for defraying the expenses of the ceremony. Afterwards the father-Shaman, his nine sons, and the consecrated one proceed into solitude to hold a nine days' fast, their food consisting only of tea and toasted flour. To keep away evil spirits from the *yurta*, or rude hut, in which the fasters reside, it is tied three times round with a rope of hair, and some wooden ornaments having a symbolical meaning are here and there attached to it. On the eve of consecration a Shaman arrives, and along with those fasting sings a hymn to the *zayans*. For the day of consecration the following preparations are made. (1) A birch tree is planted in the *yurta* of the Shaman, the top of the tree being passed through the upper aperture of the *yurta*. This tree is called *Udeshi-burkhan*—a symbol of God opening the gate of heaven to the Shaman. (2) A birch tree decorated with coloured ribbons—red and yellow if a black Shaman is being consecrated, white and blue if it be a white Shaman, or all four colours if the Shaman is going to serve both the black and the white *zayans*—is also placed in position. (3) A birch tree (*Azarghi serghe*) to which is tied a small bell and a sacrificial horse. (4) *Ekhe-sharimes* (i.e. the large yellow tree) with incisions made on it in the sides, so that the Shaman can spring up it. Afterwards posts are fixed to which to tie the sacrificial animals, as well as the trees on which the bones of the sacrificial animals will have to be burnt. From these fixed to the ground to the point of the tree either a coloured ribbon is stretched or a path of turf is laid out—the way for the neophyte to his high calling. Next, the Shaman's implements are consecrated, viz. the horse-staves (which, among the Buriats, are a substitute for tambourines), little bells—*khesed* (*khesed*, *khesm*, strictly speaking, means a tambourine, but among the Buriats, who have the horse-staves, its place is taken by a little bell)—and the *khur*, a musical instrument somewhat resembling a tuning-fork, having a thin wire of steel fixed between the two side-pins. When being played, it is put into the mouth, which serves as a resonant, and the middle wire is set in motion, which then gives a dull, jarring sound. The consecration is accompanied by prayers chanted to the Western Tengris, and by the smearing of the ends of the staves with blood. Over the *khur* is sprinkled *zayasan* prepared on the spot. After the consecration of the implements a fresh invocation to the Tengris commences, in which the neophyte also takes part. Thereupon they all proceed from the *yurta* outside, and here, as at the purification with water, hot water is prepared and mixed with the blood of the sacrificial goat; with this is smeared the head, the eyes, and the ears of the neophyte, who is then again subjected to strokes of the birch on the bare body, the instructions given him at the preceding purification by water being repeated. The new Shaman, with the staves and the *khesed* in his hands, chants along with the others the adjurations, above all to the lord of the pole-cat, who established the rites of consecration, viz. the learned Shaman who brought to Baikal from Fehin the science of Shamanism. The Shaman then climbs up the birch tree to the very top, followed by the others. Such, at least, is the assertion of Agapitoff and Khangaloff. According to others, however, the Shaman, at his first consecration, springs up only to the first notch made in the tree, the second consecration entitling him to climb up to the second notch. Every new consecration gives the Shaman new privileges, e.g. to add new stripes and to hang new rattles on his costume. After the fifth consecration he acquires the right to carry the *shird*, i.e. a box on four legs, the sides of which are filled with representations of the sun and the moon and other symbolic figures. It is asserted that with every new consecration, up to the ninth, the dimensions and the height of the *shird* go on increasing. This statement, however, cannot now be verified, since there

are no longer such multi-consecrated Shamans to be found; more especially, as the custom of carrying the *shird* has been preserved only among the poorest of the Olkhon Buriats. Be that as it may, we have here the beginning of a priestly hierarchy. The meaning of the notches on the tree can be easily explained from the Altaian Lamaism. Whilst praying to the god of light, Ulghen, the Shaman also by degrees raises himself higher and higher during the ceremony. Every such notch denotes a special heaven, including the ninth; every heaven has its special deity, whom the Shaman consecutively meets and with whom he holds converse.

A consecrated Shaman, like the ministers of other religions, is distinguished from ordinary mortals by special outward attributes, besides having obligations of service to the gods and natural characteristics of his own. As the most essential implement of a Buriat Shaman must be considered the horse-staves—*morini-khorbo*; without them he cannot perform any of the principal rites. The staff is about 80 centimetres in length; the upper end is bent, and out of it is cut the figure of a horse's head; at some distance from the upper end the staff forms a small knot; in the middle part the staff is thicker (the knee-joints of the horse), and on the lower end a hoof is cut out. On the upper half of the staff are fixed miniature stirrups, little bells, conical weights of iron (*shamshorgo*), and coloured ribbons. The staves are cut, for the newly consecrated Shaman, from a live birch tree standing in a forest where Shamans lie buried. It is considered desirable to cut off the pieces for the staff in such a manner that the tree shall not perish, otherwise it is of bad omen for the Shaman. A Shaman who has already had five consecrations may provide himself with iron horse-staves. Their signification can be gathered from the description: they are the horses on which Shamans fly to heaven and to the earthly *zayans*. As to the tambourine (*khesed*), it is but little known among the Buriats, although among the Mongol Shamanists and Mongolized Uriankhis it is in use. At great Shaman ceremonies, in which a Shaman and his nine sons take part, and some of which the writer witnessed at the estuary of the river Selenga, among the Kuda Buriats, one of the assistants holds in his hands a small tambourine; but neither the meaning of the tambourine, nor the rôle of the assistant, is quite clear. Next, as an appurtenance of a Shaman may be considered the *khur*, a tuning-fork, with a wire tongue between the sides (see above), an implement largely in use among Shamanists. It may be met with from the sources of the Amur to the Ural, and from the Arctic Ocean down to Tashkent. Here and there it is merely a musical instrument. The Shaman's mantle (*orgoy*) is now in some parts put on only after death, for burial; with the white Shamans it is of white stuff, and among the black Shamans of a blue colour. One no longer hears about the Shaman's boots, or about the metal diadem, consisting of an iron ring with two convex arches, also of iron, crossing one another at right angles, and with a long jointed chain, which hangs down from the nape of the neck to the heels—we know of them only from the descriptions of travellers, and from specimens preserved in a few museums. The old-fashioned *orgoy* was shorter than the *orgoy* of the present day. In front, over the chest part, there used to be sewn at the sides thin iron plates, and on these were hung iron figures of single- and double-headed birds, with pictures of small fishes and animals. The whole of the back part was covered with twisted strips of iron, which represented snakes and their rattles (*shamshorgo*). On the back also were suspended two planchets, with a whole row of little bells and tambourine-bells. On the chest, above the thin plates, used to hang little copper planchets with radii. On the sleeves were also hung thin iron plates, in imitation of the shoulder, forearm, and

ray bones (*os radialis*). On the shoes there were also sewn thin plates in imitation of the tibia, and toes of iron with claws. This prompted Gmelin to assert that two Shamans who came to him from Nizhne-udinsk resembled chained devils. About the masks on the faces we have spoken above. Sometimes the Buriat Shaman has, besides, a whip with bells. A proper explanation of all the parts of a Shaman's costume has still to be given. The existing accounts are extremely contradictory, since the old travellers were so little prepared for the study of Shamanism at the period of its development.

31. Thus equipped, the priest enters upon his difficult calling. If he be a white Shaman and his first efforts are successful, he is beloved and received by all. But if he be a black (or a female) Shaman, he (or she) is feared rather than loved. Cases of murdering female and male Shamans, simply on their being suspected of having stolen souls, spread disease, or caused drought and other misfortunes, are not infrequent. Shamans are rarely well-to-do or possessed of means; they are unpractical people, and sometimes, when their work is hard, they have recourse to stimulants, which shatter still more their disordered nervous system. The writer saw a big Shaman the day after he had worked throughout the night. He was lying utterly exhausted and could scarcely breathe. We offered him a glass of brandy, in the hope that it would refresh him, and that he would take food to strengthen him; but instead of taking food he at once jumped off his bed, snatched his tambourine, and, in token of gratitude, wished to entreat the gods to grant a favourable issue to our travels; but the excitement soon passed off, and he fell down and went to sleep. We had to leave the place without his blessing, as we could not wait until he awoke. Nearing the end of his earthly travels, when there no longer remains any hope of recovery, notwithstanding all the efforts of his brethren, the Shaman begins to foretell his own future, what Tengris he will serve, promises to take care of his own people, and names the horse which should be despatched with him. A dead Shaman's body is kept in the *yurta* for three days, dressed in a new costume, over which his *orgoy* is put. The young people, his nine sons, compose and sing hymns to his memory, and fumigate his body with sacred herbs. Thereupon the body is put on the back of the horse named by the deceased, one of those present sitting with the body and supporting it on the horse's back. When the horse has been led three times round the *yurta*, the dead body is taken into a wood, to the cemetery for Shamans. His relatives and clients accompany the dead man, making libations, and at a place halfway to the cemetery they set a table with eatables. On arrival at the grave, the dead body is placed upon a felt matting, and the ninth arrow is discharged in the direction of the house, the remaining eight, with quiver and bow, being placed with the body to enable the deceased to defend good people from evil spirits. All the other marks of the Shaman's calling are either broken or burnt. A pyre is then erected, they set the body on fire, kill the horse, and return home. On the third day they return to collect the Shaman's bones, put them into a sack, and, having made a hole in a thick pine, put the sack into it, cover the hole, and plaster it over. Sometimes the Shamans' bodies are not burnt, but placed upon a scaffolding erected for the purpose in a wood. This kind of burial is also practised by the Yenisei Uriankhis.

32. The present decay of Shamanism is to be explained not so much by persecutions as by the fact that under the influence of Buddhism and Christianity the religious horizon of the people has expanded to a great extent. The religious

missionary polemicists saw in the Shaman nothing but a cheat and a conjurer, a man morally depraved. His religion was unhesitatingly pronounced to be the worship of the evil spirit. One of the most enlightened and impartial Russian missionaries, who has done a very great deal for the study of Shamanism in the Altai, the Archpriest Basil Verbitsky, asserted that in some of the mysteries of the Shamans one could not deny the participation of the spirit of darkness.

Let us conclude this sketch by the words of another authority on Shamanism, the academician Radloff, taken from his *Aus Sibirien*, 1884: 'It is perfectly comprehensible when a minister of a certain religion and a missionary, preaching and glorifying his own teaching, criticizes what he considers to be a delusion; but it is absurd to be obliged to read and to hear such asseverations as that the Shamanist religion is the worship of the spirit of falsehood and of evil, whereas the most important of the Shamanist rites—the worship of the god of light, Ulghen (among the Altaians)—consists entirely of prayers and entreaties for protection against the enemy of mankind—the evil spirit! This dirty, half-savage Shaman, illiterate inhabitant of the forest—ignorant and poor man as he is—after all appears as a propagator of the idea of truth, goodness, and mercy in the midst of his countrymen, who are ignored by the civilized world.'

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DEMETRIUS KLEMENTZ.

BURMA.—In order to arrive at definite ideas on the religious notions of the population of a country like Burma, which is a meeting-point of distinct varieties of mankind and distinct civilizations, its geographical, ethnological, linguistic, and historical positions and the resultant ethics have all to be taken into consideration.

I. GEOGRAPHY.—Geographically the country known as Burma lies east of India, south of China, and west of Siam and modern Indo-China; and the population has been deeply affected by all the surrounding religious influences. Politically it is divided into Upper and Lower Burma—divisions

that do not at all affect religious considerations. Upper Burma is a fairly compact area, roughly between 92° and 101° E. longitude, and between 28° and 20° N. latitude in its extreme limits. Lower Burma is a very long-drawn-out and straggling area along the N.E. and E. coasts of the Bay of Bengal, stretching from about 20° N. a long way down the Malay Peninsula as far as 10° N. The whole country, therefore, covers a large irregular space, within which dwells an apparently heterogeneous population of some ten and a half million people, of many nationalities, and certainly presenting a great variety of appearance and civilization.

II. *ETHNOLOGY*.—The whole of the existing indigenous, *i.e.* non-immigrant, population of Burma belongs to the general Indo-Chinese type of mankind in one form or another. Ethnologically it was, nevertheless, originally an immigrant population from the North, migrating from Western China—probably from between the upper courses of the Yangtse Kiang and Hoang Ho rivers—which in very early times entered the area now known as Burma in three main waves. These invasions are represented at the present time by the three chief races inhabiting the country—the Talaings, the Shans, and the Burmese—spreading over it in that order. Belonging ethnologically to these races, themselves all considerably civilized, there are a great many lesser tribes in every stage of civil development from practical savagery upwards. These crop up all over the country, which is mainly mountainous. They have been left in the wilder parts as backwaters in the rolling stream of invasion. The congeners of these tribes are to be found all about the long frontiers of Burma, in Tibet and the Northern borders of India, in isolated patches in India itself to the westwards, eastward all over the Indo-China of to-day as far as the shores of the ocean, and beyond doubt in many parts of Southern China as well. The foundations of the religious notions of the whole people must be sought, therefore, in those of the aboriginal Indo-Chinese races.

1. *The Talaings*.—Of the principal races now inhabiting Burma, the Talaings, as the Burmese and Europeans call them, or Peguans, as they are known to Europeans particularly, or Mons, as they still call themselves in their own language, are the remains of the earliest irruption (Mon-Annam or Mon-Khmer) of the Indo-Chinese into the S.E. corner of Asia, which once presumably covered the great area between the Khāsi Hills of Assam and the Pacific Ocean. Although nowadays, as the result of conquest by the Burmans as late as the middle of the 18th cent., the Talaings are almost altogether absorbed by the predominating Burman, they always before that exercised an enormous influence on the population generally as a ruling race; and their religious ideas have consequently greatly coloured those of the other occupants of a large part of the country.

2. *The Shans*.—The Shans, as they are known to the Burmese, or Tai, as they call themselves, represent what may be termed the mid-irruption (Siamese-Chinese) from the North—this time, so far as there is acceptable evidence, from S.W. China. Beyond the Eastern borders of Burma their best known representatives are the Laos and the Siamese, while to the West they became powerful as the Āhoms (*q.v.*) of Assam. In fact, they have at some time or other extended from the Brahmaputra to the Gulf of Tongking, and even into the islands of the China Sea. They, too, have been a ruling race in many parts of Burma, and have exercised a great influence on the religious notions of the people.

3. *The Burmese*.—The *Bamā* (written *Mramma*),

whom we call the Burmese, constitute the results of the latest of the great expansions of the Indo-Chinese, which took place in comparatively recent times, southwards into Burma and the Eastern borders of India, and westwards into Tibet, where they formed respectively the chief divisions of a great Tibeto-Burman race represented by themselves and a number of allied tribes in all stages of civilization, from the Western Himalayas down to the southernmost portion of Burma. After a long and varying struggle for supremacy, the Burman has succeeded in the land of his adoption in attaining an overwhelming influence, which is still increasing owing to the beaten races seeking to merge their nationality where they can in that of the conqueror.

4. *Classification of allied tribes*.—In a country where the population is practically of one ultimate stock, language plays the most important part of all considerations in relation to internal classification and to establishing local affinities and differences. It must obviously have a great influence over the religions professed by the people. In Burma, consciously or unconsciously, students of ethnology have almost invariably tended to classify race by language, and language no doubt in that country is the surest criterion of difference.

5. *Burman tribes*.—Adopting the above method now, it may be stated that attached to the Burmans proper are eighteen minor tribes and divisions. Of these the Maghs or Arakanese, on the Bengal borders to the S.W., and strongly influenced by situation, form the chief civilized division; while the Lihsaw wild tribes, living among the Shans on the Chinese frontier to the N.E., are the principal representatives of the lower culture.

6. *The Kachins*.—Then follows, in many petty subdivisions, the important race of the Kachins, also known as Chingpaws and Singhphos. These are a specially interesting people as relics of a post-Mon-Annam irruption of Tibeto-Burmans left behind in the Northern Hills of Burma, after the branches that subsequently became the Tibetans, Nagās, Burmans, and Kuki-Chins had passed onwards. Their most interesting feature is that they are still following the ancient instinct of the main race and spreading steadily southwards, showing all the old fight and turbulence that no doubt served to bring success to their ancestors in their emigrations of long ago. Though minutely subdivided, they are all one people. All the chiefs are considered to be of one family, and a Szi Kachin, for instance, settling under a Maran chief becomes a Maran.

7. *The Kuki-Chins*.—All along the western frontier of Burma, and spreading far into the Assam hills to the West, lies the Tibeto-Burman race of the Kuki-Chins in eighteen tribes, known under a bewildering variety of synonyms, according as they have been reported on by Assamese or Burmese officials. This people in its still existing wild condition probably preserves to the present day many of the customs once prevalent among the whole Burman race, before the civilizing influences of Buddhism acted on that nationality. On this ground the Chins are of special interest to the student of the religions prevailing in Burma.

8. *Shan divisions*.—Turning to the minor congeners of the Shans, we find them spread about the country as widely as the Burmans from N. to S., but chiefly round by the East. Of the Shans proper we have the Southern Shans with Siamese influence, and the Northern Shans with the older Chinese and Ahom (ancient Assamese) influence.

9. *The Karens*.—For our present purpose the Karens are perhaps the most interesting and valuable division of the Siamese-Chinese race. They are now spread, in fifteen tribes, over the

S.E. frontier and the Talaing area, and are also wedged in between the Shans and Burmians proper in Upper Burma. The Karen undoubtedly had his original home in China, and his speech belongs to the Siamese-Chinese sub-family; but his ethnic peculiarities are many, and he is not readily to be identified with the other races among whom he dwells, and with whom his affinities lie. A striking modern characteristic is his readiness to adopt the teachings of Christianity.

10. **Talaing divisions.**—As in the case of the other two main races in Burma, the Mon-Annam tribes allied to the Talaings are to be found scattered about the country, chiefly on the N.E. frontiers of the Shan States, and even in the centre of Upper Burma, sometimes in a very primitive condition. The Talaings themselves may be referred to the Northern Cambodian people, and the allied tribes, numbering a dozen, may be called the **Wa-Palaung group**. Of these the 'Wild Was' are chiefly known, outside their habitat, for head-hunting on religious ceremonial principles, though their close relations, the Palaungs, are peaceful and industrious Buddhist traders of some education.

11. **Relative strength of the races.**—By language the Census of 1901 returned roughly 77½ per cent of the indigenous population as speaking Burmese, 5 per cent Tibeto-Burmese, 17 per cent Siamese-Chinese, ½ per cent Mon-Khmer. The extent to which the Burman is absorbing the other races, as shown by domination of language, may be stated thus, so far as it is possible to co-ordinate the Census statements on this point: of the indigenous population the Burmese number 69 per cent, the other Tibeto-Burmans 4 per cent, the Siamese-Chinese 26 per cent, and the Mon-Khmer 1 per cent.

12. **Minute subdivisions.**—One cause of the enormous number of subdivisions of the hill peoples especially is well illustrated by the remarks made in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. i. p. 592, when speaking of the Akhās (also Akhōs, Kaws, Hka-Kaws), a remote Lihsaw tribe of the higher hills in the Shan State of Kengtung on the Chinese border. They have strong Chinese leanings, and are of a simple, timid, unresourceful nature. Akhā girls will marry any stranger.

'One often finds half a dozen Chinamen with Akhā wives living in an Akhā village. Akhā settlements, in which a good proportion of the male inhabitants are Chinese, or in which the inhabitants are of mixed Chinese and Akhā descent, style themselves *Khochia*, or Communities of Guests. It is as well to record this fact, because the word will certainly become corrupted and unintelligible before long, and the people will have a distinctive type of feature, which may well puzzle the ethnographer of the future.'

Such communities will have also a confused mixture of Chinese ancestral and Burmese animistic worship. Such must also be the case with the offspring of the numerous marriages permitted between free men and Kachin and Chin female slaves.

13. **List of tribes.**—The locally recognized divisions of the people are usually spoken of as if their names and ethnical reference were well known, and in describing superstitions and customs it is difficult to avoid making references to small sub-tribes. It is necessary, therefore, to give here a list of those more commonly spoken of under their best known names, grouped together according to the ethnology above adopted.

INDO-CHINESE TRIBES.

I. TIBETO-BURMAN RACE.

(a) Burmese Group.

Burmese, Arakanese, Tavoyan, Yaw, Chāungthā, Yābain, Inthā, Taungyo, Kadū, Mro, Hpon.

Lihsaw Sub-group.

Lihsaw, Lahū, Akhā, Akhō.

(b) Kachin Group.

Chingpaw, Singhpho, Kauri, Szi, Lashi, Marū, Malngthā.

(c) Kuki-Chin Group.

Northern: Thaddō, Sokte, Siyin.

Central: Tashōn, Lai, Shonshe, Kyaw.

Southern: Chinmē, Wēlaung, Chinbōk, Yawdwin, Yindu (Shendu), Chinbōn, Taungthā, Kami, Anū, Sak (Thet), Yoma Chin.

II. SIAMESE-CHINESE RACE.

(a) Tai (Shan) Group.

Northern: Burmese Shan, Khāmīl, Chinese Shan.

Southern: Siamese, Lao, Hkun, Lū.

(b) Karen Group.

Northern: Karenni (Red Karen), Bre, Manō, Sawngtung, Padeng

Zayin, Banyang Zayin, Kawnsawng, Yintālē, Sinhmag

Menauk, Yinbaw, White Karen.

Southern: Sgau, Fwo, Mopghā, Taungthū.

III. MON-ANNAM RACE.

(a) North Cambodian Group.

Talaing.

(b) Wa-Palaung Group.

Hka Muk, Lemet, Palaung, Wa, Tai Loi, En, Heen Sum, Mōng Lwe, Hka La, Son, Kiāng, Danaaw.

III. **HISTORY.**—The history of Burma, so far as the present purpose is concerned, is that of a struggle for supremacy among the Burmans, the Shans, and the Talaings, lasting through all historical times, with practically no intervention on the part of alien races until the arrival of the English in 1824. The story is a veritable tangle of successive conquests and re-conquests of the whole or part of the country by these races, whose influence as such may be said to have been paramount roughly in the following regions: the Burmans in the valleys of the Irrawaddy and Sittang Rivers above Prome and Toungoo; the Talaings in the deltas of these two rivers below those points, and in that of the Salween and what is now the Province of Tenasserim; and the Shans in all the country in the hills to the East and North. For considerable periods each of these races has been supreme over the whole area, the last to rule being the Burmans after the middle of the 18th cent. A.D.

Taking as comprehensive a view of the situation as is possible in the face of the kaleidoscopic changes presented to us, we may say that there were Burman dynasties at Tagaung in the North at any rate in the early cents. A.D., followed by a dynasty connected with them at Prome, succeeded in its turn by another at Pagān, which lasted till 1298. This last gave way to two contemporary Shan dynasties at Pinyā and Sagaing up to 1364, while a Burman dynasty was set up at Toungoo from 1313 to 1540. Contemporaneously there was an ancient Talaing dynasty at Thatōn and Pegu from 573 to 1050, which then became tributary to the Burmans of Pagān till 1287, at which date a Shan dynasty was set up at Pegu till it was ousted by the Burman line of Toungoo mentioned above, which then became the Burman dynasty of Pegu in 1540.

In 1364 the Shan lines of Pinyā and Sagaing became merged in the Burman dynasty of Ava, and this in its turn was upset by the Burman line of Pegu in 1551. This general dynasty of Pegu and Ava lasted, with a good many Shan irruptions from Siam, as regards Pegu, till 1740, when for 17 years a second Shan line was established at Pegu, giving way finally to the Alompra dynasty of Shwebo, Ava, Amarapura, and Mandalay till 1886, when the whole country came under the domination of the English. The English had in the meantime taken Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826, and all Burma as far north as Thayetmyo and Toungoo in 1852.

All this time there had been an independent State in Arakan from early times with varying capitals, the last of which was Myaukū (Myohaung, the Old City), near Akyab, until it was conquered by the Alompra dynasty in 1782.

The main point to grasp in all this confusion of struggle is that the conquerors for the time being

usurped the chief influence over the population, and did their best to destroy the individuality of the conquered, with varying success almost up to the point of extinction, as in the case of the Talaings by the Burmans after 1757. And so the result has been thoroughly to mix up the ethical ideas of the people subjected to so much change of influence.

The capitals of the various dynasties have existed all over the country as centres of religious influence. Tagaung and Shwebo are to the North. Then come Ava, Sagaing, Myinzaing, Pinyā, Amarapura, and Mandalay, all close together. Some distance to the South lie Pagān, Toungoo, and Prome. The rest, Martaban, Thān, Pegu, and Rangoon, are all in the deltas near the sea. Rangoon, however, though containing the most important Buddhist shrine in the East, the Shwēdagōn Pagoda, was never a native capital. Arakan was always a district apart, and in Tenasserim proper there was never an important town.

The religious history of Burma, apart from the indigenous influences created by the conflicts of the native population, has been materially affected by the introduction of Buddhism from India and the consequent Indian modifications of the ethics of the people. The history of that introduction is still a controversial subject, but it may be generally stated thus: The Northern (Mahāyāna), or debased ritualistic School of Buddhism, was the first to come into Burma from the North, and also among the Talaings in the South with a considerable admixture of pure Hinduism. This brought with it a perceptible leaven of Hindu and Indian animistic ceremony. In the early centuries A.D. the Southern (Hīnayāna), or purer School of Buddhism from Ceylon, began to have influence in the Talaing country, and was introduced into Burma proper by the conqueror Anawrahtā of Pagān in the 11th cent. wherever he had power. There was then a further overwhelming revival of the same school in the 15th cent., again among the Talaings, under the whim monk, King Damazedi or Yazadibadi of the Kalyāni Inscriptions at Pegu. This has spread all over Burma, and has so wiped out the Northern School that the very existence of the latter in the country at any time is denied by the orthodox natives of the present day.

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IV. **ETHICS AND RELIGION.**—It will be clear that the basis of the religious notions and ethics of the people now inhabiting Burma must lie in those of the general Indo-Chinese race, as preserved in the three great branches thereof that have spread themselves over the land. The superstructure must be the result of such variations as partial isolation, caused by local antipathies covering a very long period, has brought about in the case of individual tribes and associations, and of such accretions and modifications as contact with surrounding aliens has produced in the course of migrations.

1. **Buddhism.**—The professed religion of Burma is Buddhism (see next art.). It counts among its adherents, according to the Census of 1901, practically the whole indigenous population; but the Census returns are in reality entirely misleading, as will be explained below (§ 3).

2. **Alien religions.**—Of the other great religions,

professed chiefly by alien immigrants and temporary residents, the representatives are insignificant in numbers. There are about 300,000 Hindus, mostly foreigners; some 340,000 Muhammadans; and about 150,000 Christians, many of whom belong to the native population. All the natives professing these religions present interesting phenomena to the student. There are also a few Jews, Jains, Sikhs, and Parsis, who need not be considered here.

(1) *Hindu Animists.*—Among the Hindus are some 50,000 Paraiyans and Malas, representing the 'low-caste' pariahs of the Madras Presidency. The interest attaching to these classes in Burma is that they are regarded as Hindus, and are likely to increase largely in immigrant numbers. In reality, however, they go to swell the ranks of the undiluted Animists in the country. In their Indian homes they are classified as followers of the Śaiva form of the Hindu religion, but they are nevertheless 'Devil-worshippers,' i.e. Animists, just as the great majority of the inhabitants of Burma are Animists at heart, as will be shown later on.

(2) *Manipuris Hindus.*—There is in Upper Burma, and spread in families over many parts of the country, a considerable community of Manipuris from Assam, across the hills on the Western borders. They were originally Hindu captives from Manipur, brought over in the 18th and early 19th cents., and settled about Upper Burma. The lower classes of these forced immigrants are now known as Kathes, and the upper classes as Pōnnas. The former have mostly become Buddhists, while retaining many of their old Hindu customs, but the latter have exercised a great influence as priests and astrologers over all classes of their conquerors from the former Royal Court downwards, and have no doubt had much to do with the existing unorthodox practices and beliefs of the professedly Buddhist population. Their name implies that they are Brāhmins (*Punyā*), though very few could have had any claim to be such in their own homes before capture.

(3) *Muhammadans.*—Among the Muhammadans there are in Burma two native communities which attract considerable general attention—the Zairbādis or Panthas, and the Panthays. The Zairbādis are in various ways descendants of Indian Muhammadans, who acquired a Burmese domicile and reared families by local wives. They have, except in the case of the products of recent intermarriages in Arakan, thoroughly mixed with the people, and in appearance, manner, and costume are not easily distinguishable from the ordinary Burman. They are apt to be fanatical Muhammadans, with an admixture of belief and custom adopted from their surroundings. For instance, their women have the same extreme freedom of movement as the other indigenous women enjoy. No doubt it would repay the student to give the Zairbādis a closer examination than has hitherto been accorded them. The Panthays are the well-known Muhammadan Chinese of Yunnan, of mixed alien military and native descent, who until quite recently ruled there. Some of them are settled on the extreme North-Eastern borders, and numbers wander about the country as traders, but they can hardly be said to influence the religion of the people.

(4) *The Chinese.*—There are altogether some 65,000 Chinese in Burma, chiefly from the Southern parts of China, who were all returned at the Census of 1901 as Animists, except such as definitely called themselves Christians, Muhammadans, or Buddhists. In the words of the *Census Report* (p. 35), 'Taoism and Confucianism differ but little in their essence from the national worship of the people of Burma.'

(5) *The Selungs.*—In the Mergui Archipelago off the coast of Tenasserim is a small race of 'Wild Malays,' known as the Selungs, who are primitive Animists, but do not properly belong to Burma and its civilization at all.

(6) *Christianity.*—The strength of the various forms of Christianity among the native population is purely a question of missionary effort. The Protestants compare with Roman Catholics as 90 to 36, and of the Protestants, the Baptists (American) compare with the rest as 67 to 23, the great bulk of the remainder being Anglicans.

(7) *The 'Christian' sect.*—In addition to these there were no fewer than 18,000 persons, or over 11 per cent of the whole community, that returned themselves in 1901 merely as 'Christians.' They largely represent a secession from the Baptists, which is of interest as illustrating the manner in which sects can arise in obscure and unexpected places. In 1884, certain members of the American Baptist Church at Lamadaw, Rangoon, had a diavide with their missionary and were formally excommunicated, a proceeding acutely felt in an isolated community such as any body of Christians must be in a country like Burma. Among these people were some who held prominent official and other positions, and they formed themselves into a sect labelled merely 'Christian' without any qualification. They elected pastors of their own, and created their own ritual and literature, all printed in Burmese at Rangoon and elsewhere.

(8) *Christianity among the Karens.*—Christianity among the wilder converts, as in the case of the Karens, of whom whole villages are now reckoned as Baptist Christians (American), is largely tinged with the old Animism. The mental attitude of these people towards religion is still best illustrated by a legend recorded in Sneathon's *Loyal Karens of Burma*, p. 184, often quoted because it so clearly explains so many phenomena of

religious practice in general, and because it admirably describes 'the whole spirit of compromise in which rude uncultured minds regard new faiths that appeal more to the reason than to the instinct—that heritage of an immemorial past' (*Census Report*, 1901, p. 24). The story relates that some children, along with a litter of pigs, had been left by their parents on a high platform, out of the way of a dangerous tiger. The tiger came, and, disappointed of his prey in the house, soon accented out the children. He sprang at them, but fell short. He tried to climb, but the hard, smooth surface of the bamboo defied his claws. He then frightened the children by his terrible roars. So in terror the children threw down the pigs to him, one after another. Their eyes, however, were fixed not on the tiger, but on the path by which they expected to see their father come. Their hands fed the tiger from fear, but their ears were eagerly listening for the twang of their father's bowstring, which would send the arrow quivering into the tiger's heart. And so, say the Karens, 'although we have to make sacrifices to the demons, our hearts are still true to God. We must throw sops to the foul demons who afflict us, but our hearts are ever looking for God.'

3. Animism: Nat-worship.—It is now a recognized fact that, whatever the profession of faith may be, the practical everyday religion of the whole of the Burmese peoples is Animism, called generally in Burmese 'Nat-worship,' *nat* being the generic term for all kinds of supernatural beings.

The term *nat* is probably not derived from the Indian imported word *nātha*, 'lord,' though that term has precisely the same scope and sense. Its use to describe the indigenous spirits, and also those adopted from India, is possibly the result of its happening exactly to translate such Indian terms as *dēva*, *dēvatā*, and the like, denoting subordinate gods, so far as the Burman is concerned with them.

To the Burman Buddhists, even among the members of the late Royal Court and the *pongyis* (Buddhist monks and teachers) themselves, the propitiation of the Nats (called also by the Karens *Las*, and by the Talaings *Kalukis*) is a matter of daily concern, and in this they are followed by the Buddhist Shans and Talaings. Meanwhile, as Sir J. G. Scott says, the formal exercise of their professed religion need only 'be set about in a business-like way and at proper and convenient seasons.' In daily life, from birth to marriage and death, all the rites and forms observed are Animistic in origin, the spirit-worshipper's object being to avert or mitigate calamity. Nat-worship is the most important and the most pervading thing in religious life. Even the Buddhist monasteries are protected by the Nats, the spirit-shrines (*natkun*, *natsin*, usually tr. 'nat-houses') stand beside pagodas, and the Buddhist monks themselves take part in Animistic rites and act as experts in astrology and fortune-telling.

'The Burman has much more faith in ascertaining lucky and unlucky days and in the deductions from his horoscope than in the virtue of alms (to Buddhist monks) and the efficacy of worship at the pagoda' (*Thirty-Seven Nats*, p. 2).

At the extremity of every village (*yañson*) there is a *natsin* for the guardian *nats* of the neighbourhood, in whose honour feasts are held at regulated seasons. Certain feasts in honour of the Nats were also formally recognized by the former Burmese Court. Ministers of State, and even the King himself, who was the religious as well as the secular chief, attended them in their official capacity; while the ritual to be observed was carefully set forth in the *Lavaka Byāhā*, the *Shwe Ponniñān*, and other treatises on Court etiquette and duties. A highly educated Talaing has thus described (*Thirty-Seven Nats*, p. 2) the prevailing feeling:

'Not only has every human being, but also every conspicuous object and every article of utility, a guardian spirit. When people die, it is said that they become spiritual bodies requiring spiritual food; and in order that these spirits or *nats* may not harm the living, they make certain customary offerings to them. Some persons who have familiar spirits make annual offerings to the *nats*.' He then goes on to say that the great Buddhist reforming conqueror in Burma, Anawrahta, in the 11th cent. A.D., attempted to destroy the worship, with the result that, when the people came to hear about the order of the king directing the destruction of their *nat*-houses, they obeyed it, but they hung up a coconut in their houses to represent them, and as an offering to the dispossessed *nats*.'

In Nat-worship, as practised at the present day, we have, in fact, presented to us a composite faith, the result of all the influences which have through

the ages been brought to bear on the modern inhabitant of Burma. Perhaps the best way to define the Nats is as supernatural beings derived from three separate sources: (1) The tutelary spirits that fill the earth and all that is thereon, man himself and all the creatures, objects, and places among which he lives and moves and has his being—springing out of the ancient indigenous Animistic beliefs of the people. (2) The ghosts and spirits of the departed—the ancestor-worship of the Chinese and Indo-Chinese races to the North and East. (3) The supernatural beings of the Buddhists, celestial, terrestrial, and infernal—imported with the professed faith, derived westward from the old Brāhmanic cosmogony of India, and indicating in its terminology and form the sources of importation. The Nats and their worship represent, indeed, a mixture of three distinct cults—nature-worship, ancestor-worship, and demon-worship. The comparatively recent imports from India are not yet, however, completely assimilated in the minds of the Burmese with their indigenous spirits. They more or less clearly distinguish between them, and keep the ancestors and the spirits of nature distinct from the demons and godlings that have come to them from across the western borders.

The multiple origin of the modern Nat-worship accounts for the long-established attitude of the educated and the late Royal classes towards the cult of the Nats, in that it has made them accept in its entirety the demonolatri accompanying the importation of Buddhism, and reject the grosser forms of nature-worship inherited from their forebears. It also accounts for the opposite attitude of the uneducated classes, who have accepted in a confused way the Indian demonolatri, and have at the same time adhered to the old mixed nature- and ancestor-worship of their inheritance as their chief cult. Among the wild tribes, the further they are removed from civilization the more surely do their beliefs and practices accord with their descent or with their environment.

This mixture of variant indigenous Animistic influences and Indian Brāhmanic demonolatri with Buddhist modifications thereof pervades all the religion and ethics of the civilized Burmans, Shans, and Talaings, and colours all their customs, ceremonies, beliefs, and superstitions, and the practices resulting therefrom. It is by no means absent from those of the uncultured peoples, and even wild tribes, who have come and are steadily coming year by year in greater numbers, under the influence of Buddhism, and in the case of the Karens both under Buddhism and Christianity. This fact should never be lost sight of by any one who wishes to describe or to study the mental equipment and attitude of the peoples of Burma.

Eclecticism in Burma.—A confused intermingling of everything around them is often observable in the religious ideas of the more uncultivated tribes of mixed origin, e.g. the Taws, Danus, Danaws, Dāys, Kadus, Yaws, Hpons, etc., but it reaches a climax in the Lahis or Muhsis (called also Lahuns, Lahu-hsi, and Kio), who are the Musus, Mossos, and Luchais of Garnier, Prince Louis of Orleans, Bons d'Anty, and other French observers. The Lahis are a Tibeto-Burman tribe of the Burmese group and Lihaw sub-group, living among the Shans and Was on the N.E. frontier bordering on China. Their traditions are Tibetan, and their cult an amalgam of ancestral Animism, Chinese Buddhism, and Burmese practices, with an admixture of Confucianism. They worship *tiwara*, guardians of houses, villages, the flood, the fell, and so on, of the ordinary type, and also a great general sky-spirit, Ne-u. They had priests (*huye*) in charge of shrines (*fu-fang*), under a *ta-faye*, or high priest. All this is Tibetan Buddhism with Chinese nomenclature. There is still a *ta-faye*, the Chief of Mōng Hka, who is civil and ecclesiastical ruler. His abode and the temple he controls are Confucian in form, but with the usual Burmese Buddhist accessories. The shrines are called indifferently *kauma* (Burmese) or *fu-fang* (Chinese), and are decorated with Chinese inscriptions. Their chief festivals (*wawlong* and *wawunoi*) are held at the Chinese New Year (like those of the Lihaws generally), with Chinese and Indo-Chinese characteristics.

4. **Attitude towards Divinity.**—There is no doubt that the idea of a single universal God is foreign to the Indo-Chinese mind as developed in Burma. There is no tendency towards a belief in God, or in idols or priests, as the symbols or interpreters of Divinity, or towards the adoration of stocks and stones.

The nearest approach to an apprehension of the idea of God-head is among the Kachins, who in one series of legends refer to Chinun Way Shun. He is said to have existed before the formation of the world, and to have created all the Nats. But, under the name Ka, he is also the Spirit of the Tilt.

Nevertheless, there has always been much made of the possession by the Karens of traditions concerning God and of ethics of a distinctly Christian type before 1828, when the existing American Baptist missionary influence commenced. The pronounced Christian and Judaistic tone of these traditions has naturally excited much comment, but there can be no doubt that they are imported, probably through early Roman Catholic missionaries about 1740 (*Vita di Gian Maria Perotto*, 1781). Their strongly Jewish form has given rise to a rather vague conjecture that they were learnt from early Nestorian Christians, during the wanderings of the Karens southwards from their original Indo-Chinese home.

5. **The soul.**—To the Burman the soul is an independent immaterial entity, bound by special attraction to an individual body, and giving life to it. But the soul can leave the body and return to it at will, or be captured and kept away. It is, however, essential to the life of the body that the soul should be in it, and so when it wanders the person affected is thrown into an abnormal condition, and dreams and swoons, or becomes ill. In a general way these ideas are shared by the Kachins, Chins, and Karens. The soul is materialized in the form of an invisible butterfly (*leippyā*), which hovers a while in the neighbourhood of the corpse after death. The *leippyā* of King Mindōn Min, who died in 1878, dwelt in a small, flat, heart-shaped piece of gold (*thenyōn*), which was suspended over his body until burial.

Sickness is caused by the wandering *leippyā* being captured by an evil spirit or a witch. It is recalled by ceremonies (*leippyā-hkaw*) for adults, consisting of offerings to the spirit to induce it to give up the *leippyā*. Infants whose mothers have died are in great danger lest the dead woman, having become a spirit, should retain the *leippyā* of her child. The ceremony in this case consists in propping up a mirror near the child, and dropping a film of cotton on it. If the film slips down into a kerchief placed below the mirror, it is laid on the child's breast, and thus the *leippyā* is saved.

Among the Kachins there is a belief that persons with the evil eye have two souls (*numkā*), while all other people have only one. The evil eye is caused by the secondary soul. The Kachins say also that the spirit of a man lives in the sun, which is the universal essence (probably an echo of Indian Vedāntic philosophy through Burmese Buddhism), and from it the threads of life spread out to each individual, in whom life lasts until the thread snaps.

The soul is so much mixed up with the idea of a spirit in the popular philosophy of all the races, that European observers have called the Karen *ka*, which is really a synonym for an ordinary spirit or *nat*, the soul. Thus, the Sawngtung Karens, the Taungthins, and the Taungyōs have a *sabā-leippyā* (paddy-butterfly), which is the Spirit of the Tilt. So essential is this spirit to the success of the tilt of the Karens that, when paddy is sold, a handful is always retained out of each basket, to preserve the *sabā-leippyā* to the sellers. Allied to this belief, among the Sgau and Pwo Karens, is the Spirit of Harvest, *Pibiya*, which is a cricket that lives in a crab-hole. And so the earth thrown up by crabs is used on the threshing-floor, and crickets are placed on the yoke-supports of ploughing oxen.

6. **The future life.**—Ideas as to a future life are but feebly developed in the Indo-Chinese mind as exhibited in Burma; and, where distinct notions of heaven and hell are reported (as amongst Kauri and Szi Kachins, and amongst Siyin and other Chins), they are due to contact with Burmese Buddhists.

The Kachins generally do not go beyond consigning the spirit of the dead to a position among the Nats, or to the place where

its fathers and mothers have gone, accordingly as harm does or does not befall the family or any of its members after the death. By certain ceremonies they induce the spirits of the recently dead to go away and not return, but they do not know where they go. Siyin Chins after death still enjoy drinking and bunting, but in no definite place. The Haka Chins believe in Mithikwa (Deadman's Village), divided into Pwethikwa and Sattikwa, pleasant and unpleasant. Every one goes to the former except those who are slain by the enemy, for they have to remain his slaves in Sattikwa until avenged by blood. This presents an Animistic explanation of the blood-feud. When Sawngtung Karens die they go to Loi Maw Hill, the home of Lei, the tribal guardian.

7. **Benevolent spirits.**—The Kachins say that Shingrawa, the man-creator of the earth, which he shaped with a hammer, is kind and good, and therefore little notice is taken of him, and shrines to him are few and neglected. This attitude towards benevolent *nats* is important as explaining the absence of their worship in Burma, and also the statement of most European observers that all *nats* and spirits are malevolent, which is not the case. The Southern Chins also have a national spirit, Kozin, who is indifferent. The house-guardian (*cing-saung nat*) of the Burmans and Talaings is another instance of a spirit who is described as simply indifferent.

Besides Shingrawa, the Kachins recognize as beneficent *nats*: Sinlap, the giver of wisdom; Jan, the sun; and Shitta, the moon. These may be worshipped only by the chief, once a year or at the periodical national festival (*manaw*), and then without sacrifices. Trikurat, or Kyam, is a good spirit of the forest, who fascinates the game which the hunter stalks. He is propitiated by treading on ashes from the house-hearth on return from a hunting expedition, and sprinkling the blood of the victim towards the jungle. The Spirit of the Forest himself, Chitōn, is, however, of doubtful character. In some places he is represented as malignant and in others as good-natured.

The attitude of the ordinary Burman Buddhist in regard to this point is shown by an extract from the inscription in Burmese on a bell for a village pagoda: 'May the *nats* who dwell in the air and on the earth defend from evil creatures the two fat bullocks which plough the fields. May the guardian *nats* of the house and the village keep from harm Chit-ū, our son, and little Mā Mi, our darling daughter.'

8. **Nature-worship.**—There is a distinct worship, or propitiation, of spirits representing Nature generally among all the tribes, in addition to that of the individual, familiar, or tribal guardians. There are everywhere national spirits of the Sky, the Sun and Moon, Rain and the Flood, of the Fell, the Forests and Trees, and of Agriculture. But the tendency to localize the national spirit is everywhere visible, and in reality the national spirit is often hardly differentiated from the tribal. Good instances of this are to be found in Uyingyi, the Spirit of the Neighbourhood, among the Talaings, and in the 'District' *nat* of the Burmans and Talaings, who is known as 'the Lord' (*Ashingyi* in Burmese, *Okkayā* in Talaing).

(1) *Spirits of the Sky.*—Mu, or Mushang, is the *nat* of the heavens among the Kachins. Ponphyoi of the Kachins dwells in the sky, and generally interests himself in the affairs of mankind, and so does Upakā of the Burmans; but his interest is sinister, as he snaps up mortals. On the other hand, Sinlap, the Kachin Spirit of Wisdom, also dwells in the sky.

(2) *Spirits of the Sun and Moon* are found in various places. The best instances are the Kachin Jan, the Sun, and Shitta, the Moon, already mentioned.

(3) *Spirits of Rain.*—The *Them nats* of the Burmese are the Spirits of the Showers. They cause showers by coming out of their houses, the stars, to sport in mimic fight. Thunder and lightning are the clash of their arms.

(4) *Spirits of the Wind.*—Mbon, the Spirit of the Wind among the Kachins, may be worshipped only

at the national harvest festival (*manau*), and then by the chiefs alone. The periodical winds bring the fertilizing rain; hence, no doubt, the cult and its importance.

(5) *Spirits of the Flood*.—The Burmans and Talaings believe that Maung Ingyi lives in the water, and causes death by drowning. He has a feast to himself in Waso (the Buddhist Lent). The wild head-hunting Was are careful to appease Ariyuum, the Spirit of the Flood, on their expeditions after heads.

(6) *Spirits of the Fell*.—The Wild Was are careful also to propitiate Hkumturu, the Spirit of the Fell, on their head-hunting expeditions.

(7) *Spirits of the Forests and the Trees*.—The most widely spread nature-cult of all is that of the forest and tree *nats*. All the hill tribes dread them, and the most characteristic superstitions of the people of the cultivated plains are related to them. Every prominent tree, every grove, every area of jungle, besides the forest in general, has its special *nat* (*seikthā* in Burmese), often with a specialized name. Everywhere the ordinary home of the non-personal and non-familiar *nat* attached to the earth is in the trees. Among all the tribes, every dark and prominent hill-coppice has a *nat*-shrine in it. Among the Karens and all the allied tribes, the village-guardian lives in a tree, coppice, or dense grove near the village, where he has a shrine. Among the Tame Was also the village *nat* dwells in a tree, while the Wild Was always hang the guardian heads taken in head-hunting on the avenue approaches to the villages. The general character of the forest-*nat* is that of an evil spirit. Among the Burmans, Hmin Nat drives mad those who chance to meet him; and, despite his occasional good character, Chitōn, the forest-*nat* of the Kachins, represents the evil principle. Wannein, or Ple, Nat of the Taungyos is feared throughout a district which is larger than the habitat of the tribe. The familiar Burmese Akāthasō, Seikkasō, and Bōmmasō, who live respectively in the tops, trunks, and roots of trees, are, however, direct importations, names and all, from India.

The attitude of the more civilized peoples in the hills towards the forest spirits is well explained in an account of the Buddhist Palaungs in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (i. 491):

'Their *nats* live in a big tree, a well marked hill, a large rock, or some such natural feature. They are male and female, and all of them have names. The most powerful is the spirit who dwells on Loi Seng Hill and is called Takāli. Others of note are: Turi-Rheng, who lives near the group of pagodas at Zeyān Village; Peng-Mong, who frequents the dense jungle on the west side of the big hill near Zeyān; Tahkūlong used to live close to the ruin of an old pagoda near Payāgyi or Sēlan Village, but he was much neglected, and has been invited to bestow himself in the clump of jungle on the hillock at the east gate of Namshan, due east of the Sawbwa's (chief's) palace; the Loilan Nat lives on a hill near Myōthit, and there are many more.'

Palaung customs are often illuminating, and one of the most instructive is the national festival held in March on Loi Seng Hill for the worship of the 'first tea tree.' Tea is their chief form of agriculture, and the interest in this worship and annual festival is that this tree is said to have been introduced only three hundred and seventy years ago. Here we have, then, before us the actual rise of an Animistic ritual.

(8) *Spirits of Agriculture*.—These are, of course, universal, and are best dealt with generally, when discussing festivals and ceremonies. The Burmans and Talaings have Būmadi (Indian origin) and Nāgyi, Spirits of the Earth and Grain respectively. Among the Kachins, Wawm or Chinwawm can be worshipped by the chiefs alone, and only at festivals. The *sasā-leippya* (paddy-butterfly), the Spirit of the Tilt among the Karens, is worshipped by sprinkling lighted distilled liquor over the ground at the time of jungle-clearing by fire (*taungyā*

cultivation). Often the tribal guardian and the Spirit of Agriculture are mixed up, as in the case of the Nat of Loi Maw Hill among the Karens, whose festival is in May.

9. National Festivals. —(1) *Quasi-Buddhist*.—The Burman has a natural talent for making his proceedings attractive and beautiful, and his national festivals have, therefore, attracted much attention, but the chief of them are now Buddhist, or so overlaid with Buddhism as not to come within the present purview, the Animism in them being more or less directly Indian. Such as these are the New Year's Feast, Thingyān Pwe, a feast of offerings (to the monks), the Water Feast of European observers held in Tagū (April); the illuminations in Thadingyut (October); the Tāwadeinthā in Tasaungmōn (November).

At the *New Year's Feast*, the dousing of every one met with is perhaps the most remarkable custom that the European observes in the country, but it is really a reference to Indian Brāhmanism, as the water represents consecrated water used for washing the sacred images. The root-idea of throwing it on human beings is to honour them by treating them as sacred. Its true ceremonial nature comes out well in the words of Sir J. G. Scott (*The Burman*, ii. 51):

'The wetting is considered a compliment. A clerk comes up to his master, *shakes* to him, and gravely pours the contents of a silver cup down the back of his neck, saying, "Ye kadoo mt," "I will do homage to you with water."

At the *Tāwadeinthā Festival*, the *padēthā bin*, a sort of Christmas tree, representing the abode of the *nats* and covered with gifts of all kinds, including money, is of an Indo-Chinese type. It is, however, deposited at the pagoda or monastery, and is used for the maintenance of the place or for alms at the disposal of the custodians (*kyawng-thugyi, kāppiyā dayakā*).

(2) *Indigenous seasonal*.—The majority of the indigenous festivals are seasonal feasts connected more or less directly with agriculture, and they exhibit two prominent phenomena: There is no prayer for assistance connected with them, but plenty of precaution that the spirits may not interfere, and they mostly include a drunken orgy. The root-idea of much of the ceremonial is illustrated by the great October *nat*-feast of the Palaungs held at Namshan, in which the *nats* are simply invited to join, their arrival being signified by atmospheric changes determined by the wise man called in.

The Red Karens have a *seedtime* festival in April, at which the ceremony is chiefly a maypole dance round a ceremonially selected post; and before sowing, the Kachins have six holidays, all connected with agricultural operations. What the object of the Karen festival is does not appear, but that of the Kachins is distinctly to avert danger to the coming crop.

Averting danger is also the clear object of the *harvest* festivals. At the Edu festival of the Red Karens (the term implying merely a 'public ceremony'), a tribal scape-goat in the shape of an image of an elephant or horse is provided. The same idea runs through the harvest feast of the Talaings and Burmans, at which a straw woman, clothed in skirt (*tamein*), kerchief, and articles of female attire, and a quantity of *kauk-hnyin* (sticky rice confection) are put into a cart and driven round the fields, and finally set up at the place selected for the *bin*. The village boys usually eat the rice, though in some fear and trembling for the vengeance of the *nat*. The Red Karens are not, however, satisfied with their scape-goat, but further proceed to frighten away the ghosts of friends and relatives by noise, and to appease them by small pieces of roasted bullock or pig sent in

procession to the next village, to be eaten by friends there. They thus avert danger in all the occult ways known to them.

10. *Ancestor-worship*.—The obvious origin of the races inhabiting Burma would argue strong proclivities towards pronounced ancestor-worship, but it is a matter of great interest and importance in the study of religion in the Far East that the facts point the other way. The further removed tribes are from the Chinese frontier and influence, the vaguer is the nature of the worship of ancestors, and the more do their spirits become mixed up with the worship of the *nats* in general. Thus, among the Southern Chins, as well as among the cultured Talains, Shans, and Burmans, strongly imbued with Indian ideas, the ancestors and the general *nats* are all mixed up. Among the Kachins any one may, but does not necessarily, become a *nat* after death, and additions are constantly being made to the number of such ancestral *nats*, on the motion of the mediums called in when sickness occurs. The most primitive form of ancestor-worship is observable among the Hpons, a wild nomad waterways tribe of the Burmese group who worship only the dead parents, and not even the grand-parents. When there is any sickness about, food is placed at the north end of the house, perhaps indicating the origin of immigration, and the head of the family prays to his parents to help themselves and him.

On the other hand, tribes along the Eastern frontiers show strong Chinese proclivities. The recently arrived Mengs (Miaotzu) to the N.E. are practically purely ancestor-worshippers, with very vague ideas of a general over-ruling power. The Yaos, also strongly Chinese, have a particular dread of the ancestors, who are worshipped shortly after a marriage, at a special altar, which is carried into the hills and left there. The more secluded the place, the less chance have the ancestors of finding their way home. The Akhās propitiate the ancestors (*miksas*), who are said to live in the regions of the setting sun, in order to prevent their returning home and injuring them. They enter the house by the *west* door, which is tabued to males, though women may use it reverently. Similarly, the gates and great entrance arches to Akhā villages are meant to keep out the ancestors, and are closed when a sacrifice is going on. It may here be noted that among Karens and other tribes the house *nats* live to the *west* of the house. The Akhās will not talk about the ancestors, as they might avenge any derogatory remarks on the speaker. The allied Akhōs believe that the ancestors dwell at a special hearth in the house tabued to all but the family. The Lihsaws, who have many Chinese leanings, have a mixed worship of ancestors and *nats* of the forest and fell.

11. *Totemism*.—Totemism may be said to exist in Burma in certain indications to be found only in customs relating to eating and marriage, and doubtfully in the naming of children. The tendency throughout the country is to eat all edible living creatures, without superstitions being attached to those selected; but the tribes will sometimes eschew certain animals. Kachins except from their diet snakes, wild cats, monkeys, and usually dogs. Karens will not eat any monkeys, except the white-eyed monkey. Among Kachins and Karens there is in some instances a very strict limitation of marriage to certain villages. In the Burmese Royal Family marriage between the king and his sister (half-sister preferred) was prescribed, and such marriages between the original ancestors are the rule in tales of origin. Kadū villages are divided into two factions, Amā and Apwā, which take each other's girls in marriage; the girls then belong to the faction into which they have married.

The strongest indication of a former totemism is in a custom among the Kachins by which persons of the same 'family name' are all considered to be of the same blood, and may not marry even when belonging to different tribes. The Shan and Kachin system of naming children after animal 'birthday' names, and of changing and concealing personal names in after life, has been referred to a former totemism; but this is an extremely doubtful reference, especially as the Burmese *nan* (Indian *nāma*), or animal name, distinguishing the birthdays of Burmans, relates solely to astrological ideas.

12. *Tales of origin*.—The meaning and objects of tales of origin told by the tribes in Burma, where not directly intended to connect a tribe with some revered personage or people of a higher civilization, are obscure, and it would be difficult to trace any connexion even between tales of animal origin and totemism. Most of the tales are merely historical, or meant to be historical, as in the cases where origin is traced to a certain village (Sokte and Kweshin Chins), or in the common ascription of the birthplace of a tribe to a rock or hill with a special name, usually in remembrance apparently of some place before migration. Other tales are obviously attempts at an explanation, such as coming out of the bowels of the earth (Thadō and Yo Chins). The more civilized tales are old-world stories, partly out of their Scriptures, dishd up afresh, as when the Burmans relate in a circumstantial way their descent from nine celestial beings—five men and four women. Sometimes we find incompatible origins recorded by different observers of the same tribes or groups of tribes. Thus Was are variously said, in different stories, to be descended from celestial beings, frogs, and gourds.

(a) *Human origin*.—Tales of human origin generally contain a miraculous element, but not always. The White Karens say that they came from the children of a married brother and sister that quarrelled and separated. Kachins also claim descent from a married brother and sister—Pawpaw Nan-chaung and Chang-hko—and the fragments of her child cut up by a *nat*. White Chins came from a man and a woman that fell from the clouds. The miraculous element sometimes involves the idea of virgin conception, perhaps more or less directly Buddhist. Thus, a variant of the Kachin tale of Chang-hko describes her as having no husband; and the Inthās claim descent from a Burmese princess by the spirit of a lover whom she had never met. The miraculous element often involves descent from an egg. The Yahao Chins are descended from an egg laid by the sun and hatched in a pot by a Burmese woman, the Palaungs from one of three eggs laid by a Naga (serpent) princess; but this last legend is largely of Buddhist origin. The Taws, however, simply say that they came out of an egg. Magic is sometimes brought into play to account for tribal origin, as when the Sgau and Pwo Karens say that they are descended from a primeval ancestor, Tawmaipah, through the magical powers of a boar's tusk.

(b) *Animal origin*.—Hsenwī (Theinni) Shans are descended from tigers, and all their *sawbwas* (chiefs) include *hsō* (tiger) in their personal name. Yokwā, Thettā, and Kapi Chins were all born of a wild goat. The ancestor of the Marū Kachins was a *nat* married to a monkey, and their children were the bear and the rainbow, and a brother and sister that married. All these were *nats*.

(c) *Vegetable origin*.—According to the Kachins, the Creator, Chinun Way Shun, made the first man, Shingrawa, out of a pumpkin with the aid of the *nats*. Shingrawa made the earth. The primeval pair of the Siyin Chins came out of a gourd that fell from heaven and split open as it fell. The Tame was also came out of a gourd.

13. *Deluge tales*.—Closely connected with tales of origin, stories of a Deluge are common in Burma among Shans, Kachins, and Karens. The Kachins say that the world was destroyed by a flood, and only a brother and sister were saved in a boat, though the *nats* were unaffected by it. This seems to point to a partial flooding of the country at some period, as the Deluge tale of the Kengtung Shans refers directly to the time before the great lake in the Kengtung State was naturally drained off.

14. *Evil spirits*.—(1) *General characteristics*.—The root characteristic of the *nats* is power. They can do as they like, and the fulfilment of wishes depends on them. They are all-powerful, and

irresistible so far as mankind is concerned. As to the supposed exercise of their powers, it is commonly said by observers that among the wild tribes all the spirits are maleficent (*natsō*); but this is an obvious error, arising out of the fact that worship is almost entirely devoted to the warding off of the evil spirits, the kindly ones being not usually worshipped at all. This is shown in the notable instance, *inter alia*, of the Kachin belief that the ghosts of the murdered cannot trouble the murderer, as they would be too much afraid of his ghost after his death to worry him while still alive.

The general attitude of the people of Burma towards the evil spirits is well illustrated by that taken respectively by the Chins, and the Sgau and Pwo Karens. To the Chins the evil spirits are individual, and belong to everything—village, house, clan, family, person, the flood, the fell, the air, the trees, and especially the groves in the jungle. They are innumerable. In the house alone there are twenty, of whom the following six are important:

'Dwopi lives above the door of the house, and has the power of inflicting madness. Imnal lives in the post in the front corner of the house, and can cause thorns to pierce the feet and legs. Nokpi and Nalwun live in the verandah, and can cause women to be barren. Naonō lives in the wall, and causes fever and ague. Awaia lives above and outside the gate, and can cause nightmare and bad dreams' (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. I. vol. I. p. 473). The Sgau and Pwo Karens believe that Nā is incarnate in all dangerous animals, and he is ceremonially driven away from the fields and houses. The Seven Nā destroy by the tiger, old age, sickness, drowning, man, fall, and 'every other means.'

(2) *Ghosts*.—*Tasē* is the generic term for malignant ghosts, which are the spirits of those who have existed as human beings and are still endowed with passions and material appetites. They roam about after sunset in search of human prey. There is a great fear of the ghosts of the recently dead. This is illustrated in various ways. Thus to the Kachins the ordinary evil spirit is the ghost of a recently deceased ancestor, and among the Red Karens no dead body may be taken through the village, or by any way but that nearest to the cemetery, even if a hole in the house wall is entailed thereby. Burmans have a modified form of the Karen idea as to carrying the dead to burial.

(a) *Haunting ghosts*.—To the Burmans *natsēin* are the ghosts of persons who have died a violent death (*thayē*) and haunt the place of death. Under Buddhist influence the idea has been extended to monks and nuns who break their vows.

(b) *Ghosts of women who die in childbirth*.—In common with every part of India, all the people of Burma have a special dread of the ghosts of women who die in childbirth (*thabēt*). Among the Red Karens (Bre) no man may help to bury such a woman. The Kachin *swawon* is a vampire, composed of a woman dying in childbirth and her child, which transmigrates into animals; but this notion is, no doubt, due to mixed Brāhmanic and Buddhist influence, from propinquity to Shans and Burmans.

(3) *Forms assumed by evil spirits*.—The ideas current in the most civilized parts among the Burmans as to the forms which evil spirits assume are typical of the whole country. They may become incarnate in dangerous animals, especially the large poisonous snake, hamadryad. They may be contained in anything, such as a large wooden *limbān* (low food-stand), which disappears on being touched, or a stone pillar embedded in the ground, which will rise and disappear suddenly (Mandalay District). They take terrifying forms—a leopard, a black pig swelling into an enormous black shadowy figure, a white apparition rushing at its victim (Mandalay District). *Hminzā* are the ghosts of children in the form of cats and dogs. *Thayē* and *thabēt* are hideous giants with long slimy tongues, which they use as an elephant uses his trunk (borrowed from India).

(4) *Disease and death*.—Disease and death are always due to the action of evil spirits. The origin

of this belief is well illustrated by the Red Karens, who say that Lu is a particularly wicked spirit, living on corpses and causing disease and death in order to supply himself with food. So among the Talangs the house guardian will cause fever, unless offerings of money, rice, eggs, sugar, and fruit are made to him, as he has to be kept well fed.

Much of the belief in the causing of disease and death by spirits is due to the idea of vengeance on the living for misfortunes that the spirits have suffered during life. The spirits of the unfortunate (*tasē*, *thayē*, *thabēt*) all cause death or epidemics. This idea has brought about a peculiar form of vengeance, inflicted by the living on the man who introduces an epidemic into a Karen village. The unlucky individual incurs a perpetual debt, payable by his descendants until the 'value' of each life lost in consequence is wiped out. Vengeance for slights and injuries inflicted on spirits is, of course, expected. Thus, fever is the natural consequence of mocking at a spirit-shrine (*natsēin*, *nat-thūtpin*).

There is a mixture of the ideas of the benevolent guardian and the malignant spirit in this connexion, no doubt due to the notion of vengeance above alluded to. This comes out clearly in the legend of Mahāgiri or Māgāyē Nat, one of the Thirty-seven. He was in the story a blacksmith put to a cruel death at Tagaung, the first capital of the Burmans, and he is also the house guardian of to-day (*eingaung nat*). He causes a fatal colic, known as Tagaung colic, and recognized as such in Burmese pharmacy. Among the Kachins disease and death are caused by the action of ancestors, who have become *nats*, and pain by the bite of *nats*. In 1902 a quantity of circumstantial evidence was produced to the Land Revenue Settlement Office of Mandalay as to a number of deaths occurring in succession in consequence of cultivating certain fields of the Kannizā and Namadawzā *kuins* (cultivated areas), all attributed to the action of the guardian *nats*.

15. *Guardians*.—The people of Burma regard guardian spirits with mixed feelings. They look to them for support and safety in all conditions of life, and at the same time consider them to be decidedly capable of infinite mischief. They occupy a place midway between the indifferent benevolent spirit and the actively malignant spirit. The predominant feeling towards the guardians is that they have to be kept in a good temper.

Guardians are, of course, infinite in their variety, as everything connected with mankind and his environment has its guardian. The propitiatory candles offered everywhere at pagodas are in the shape of the guardian *nat* of the day on which the worshipper was born. The combination of the guardians of the birthdays of the bridal pair controls the lucky and unlucky days for marriage. All this, however, is Brāhmanic influence on a Buddhist people.

(a) *Human guardians*.—The Sgau and Pwo Karens say that every man has his guardian (*ta*), which may wander in his sleep or be stolen by demons, and then follow sickness and death. Sickness can be removed only by a sacrifice at which every member of the family must be present, or it is unavailing. Incidentally this is a cause for reluctance to being baptized as a Christian, as refusal to join in the ceremony is looked on as committing murder; or, on the other hand, it may lead to entire families being baptized together. A convert to Christianity is treated as dead, and there is a mock burial to induce his *ta* to believe that the convert really is dead, so as not to miss him at the next sacrifice for restoration to health.

(b) *House guardians*.—The *eingaung nat*, or house guardian, is regarded and treated in a great variety of ways. One use made of him by the Talangs is to scare away burglars. The Burmese have largely incorporated their ideas regarding him into their acquired Buddhism, and make images of Buddha (*thayā*) out of the bones of respected relatives who have been cremated, ground to powder, and mixed with wood-oil (*thiayā*). They pray to these images as the house guardians. The incorporeal house *nat* of the Burman, however, lives in the south post of the house (*thabyēting*), and so it is adorned with leaves, and all corpses are placed beside it when laid out. Among the Taungthins the interest of the house guardian in the people is so great that he must be informed if the family is increased or decreased in size. The Karens think that the best way to propitiate the house guardian is to supply him with liquor—an instance of anthropomorphism. The abiding terrors of the Wild We are Ariya and Liyea, his house guardians, and he propitiates them with perpetual sacrifices of considerable value whenever anything goes wrong.

(c) *Village and town guardians*.—The terror of the house

guardian exhibited by the Wild Wa is intensified to such an extent when he contemplates Hkum Yeng, the village guardian, that it has led to the human sacrifice and to the head-hunting for that purpose which have made him famous throughout Burma and Indo-China and many parts of China itself. Among the Burmans and the people generally the village and town *nats* (*Ywa saung, Myoma*) are regarded much in the same light as are the house *nats*.

(d) *Tribal and national guardians.*—Among the Chins the founders of clans (*khun*) are the guardians of all their descendants—a fact which gives a clue to the institution of tribal or State guardians generally. Sometimes the State or national guardian exists at a special locality, but has no particular ceremonial attached to him. Thus Lei, the national guardian of the Sawngtung Karens, lives on Loi Maw Hill, but is not propitiated; and Nang Naga, the female *nat* of Yang Hpa Hin Hill at Kengtung, who is the guardian of that State, has no particular ceremonies belonging to her. This is modified usually to an annual festival, as with the Hpons, who are said to know of no other spirit than the Great Nat (*Natgyi*), and have the idea of the national guardian in its simplest form. Formal worship on a large scale is, however, fairly common, as with the Kachins. It is sometimes most reverential, as when the Szi Kachins worship Yunnun with bared head and crouching attitude Wannei or Pie Nat of the Taunggyos is a generic name for the guardians of groups of villages. He is worshipped at a considerable festival held annually.

(e) *Property guardians.*—The guardians of objects belonging to or connected with mankind assume an infinite variety of form. Examples are the spirit maidens (*nat-thamsi*) who guarded the eleven royal umbrellas at the Palace of Mandalay, one being specially attached to each. Racing boats, and therefore the royal boats, are possessions of great value in Burma, and the whole world of the *nats* was called in to guard those at the Royal Palace of the late dynasty. The guardians were represented by carvings and pictures in great variety all over the boats: squirrels, tigers, fish, birds, centipedes, *nats* of Indian origin, men, centaurs (*athamkiki*), crocodiles, parrots, *nats* of the sun and moon, and the man-lion (*manuthika*). The lake-dwellers of the Yawng Hwa Lake, the Inthas, have copied this idea in the worship of the *Hprungdaw-u*, five images of Buddha, on their ancestral barge. To this category of *nats* belong the Oktazaung, or treasure-guardians, of the Burmese, who are spirit maidens in charge of treasures buried in the earth. Sawlapaw, the late great chief of the Red Karens, had a special spirit-guarded treasury above ground (*aunkhaw*); but this was due to Shan influence.

16. *Propitiation.*—(1) *Ceremonies.*—All propitiatory ceremonies among the wild tribes end in drinking and dancing, and commonly in drunken orgies. Among the Burman villagers a typical instance of the procedure at such a ceremony is that here extracted from the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 30:

'The rites were performed in a stretch of thick jungle, about a quarter of a mile from the village. There were about twenty men and as many boys, but no women. Although women are most commonly the hierophants in the exorcism of *nats*, they are never present at formal *nat* feasts. The *natson* (shrine) was a small wooden house on piles at the foot of a fine *padauk* tree which was connected at the back of the door of the shrine by a number of piles of white thread, called the *nats'* bridge. The spirit ordinarily lived in this tree, and only came to the shrine to secure the offerings. He was a jungle spirit, a hamadryad. Their officiating wise man was an old Burman of no particular position in the village. He commenced proceedings by offering a corked bottle of *kawngya* (rice beer) to the *seiktha* (jungle spirit) of the *padauk* tree. This was followed by another of water, and then little heaps of *lapet* (tea salad) placed on large leaves were deposited with the same genuflections as are customary at the pagoda. This was done by the assembled villagers, and, while it was going on, the *sayā* (wise man) sprinkled water all round the shrine, and strewn rice in handfuls about it. This rice was furnished by each household in the village. The officiating *sayā* then recited a long prayer for rain from the north and from the south (which was the main object of the ceremony), and for peace and deliverance, and for immunity from evil generally.'

A formal tug-of-war is performed by the whole village taking sides. This is a Burman ceremony, and its object is to rouse the *thein nats*, spirits of the showers, to come out of the stars, which are their houses. In the Chindwin district a bamboo basket, on which is painted a woman's face, swathed in a jacket and skirt (*tamein*), is carried on a man's shoulders, to the dancing of youths and maidens.

(2) *Offerings and sacrifices.*—The Kachins give an explanation of the objects of animal sacrifices and of the common practice of consuming the flesh of the sacrifice. They say that, when they are in trouble, their primeval mother, Chang-lko, demands the pigs and the cattle, or she will eat out their lives. So, when any one is sick, they say, 'We must eat to the *nats*.' The Kachins have, further, an illuminating custom of being able to promise the sacrifice ordered by the *tumsa* (exor-

cist) at some future time, if it be not available when first ordered. Here we seem to have the embryo of the idea leading to the pictures and effigies, in lieu of actual sacrifice, used by the Chinese and their followers in Indo-China.

The principle of sacrifice is to give a small portion of the animal or thing sacrificed to the *nats* and to devour the rest, or to eat up what has temporarily been deposited as an offering. Sometimes only the useless parts of the sacrifice are offered. Thus the White Karens give up small portions only, and the Kachins a portion, cut off by the village butcher (*kyang-jong*), of all animals taken in hunting, to the house guardians as '*nats'* flesh.' Among the Burmans the edible parts of large animals sacrificed are placed on the *nats'* shrine for a short time. The commoner practice, however, is to give what is useless. Burmans hang round shrines the entrails of fowls used for divination. Some Kachins give only the offal of sacrificed animals, while Red Karens deposit the head, ears, legs, and entrails, on the shrines of *nats*.

Absolute sacrifice, though uncommon on any considerable scale, is not unknown. In times of sickness, Red Karens give offerings of pigs, fowls, rice, and liquor, at the cemetery, to the evil spirit, Lu. Akhās offer a portion of all feasts to the ancestors, at the place where the last death occurred, or to the *west* of the house 'where the ancestors live,' in a pot which is afterwards buried.

On a small scale, absolute sacrifice is common enough. Burmans always pour out a libation (*yēseikya*) at alms-givings and funerals. Marū Kachins make a libation to the *nats* before drinking any liquor. Talaings offer the first morsel of all food to the village guardian, by holding the platter in the air. At the great national pastime, boat-racing, there is always a preliminary paddle over the course by both sides to propitiate the guardian spirits of the river; 'at the stem of each boat a man crouches, holding with outstretched arm a bunch of plantains, some cooked rice, flowers, and betel' (Scott, *The Burman*, ii. 59).

The animals and food sacrificed are usually those used for food by the people: buffaloes, pigs, fowls (Kachins, Chins, Karens); pigs and fowls (Was, Shans, Burmans, White Karens); dogs (Kachins, Chins); cows and goats (Kachins, Chins); fish and eggs (most tribes). Of vegetable foods, cooked rice is the usual offering, and also the locally made liquors. Taungthūs offer annually fish (*ngāpein*), liquor, rice, and the household stew in Kasōn (April–May) to the house *nats*; and fish, rice, ginger, salt, and chillies in Nayōn (May–June) to the village *nats*.

17. *Human sacrifice.*—There can be no doubt that human sacrifice prevailed in Burma until recent days, both as a propitiatory and as a preventive action in reference to the unseen powers; and, in the case of the Wild Was, the extension of the practice even to the present time in the form of head-hunting is of the greatest interest, because that custom has there a direct ceremonial origin.

(1) *Burmans.*—When Alaungpayā, the founder of the last or Alompra dynasty of Burma, founded Rangoon in 1755, he sacrificed a Talaing prince, whose spirit became the Sūlē Natgyi, or Guardian (*Myōsadē*), of Rangoon, still worshipped at the Sūlē Pagoda, a prominent shrine in the heart of the now great city. When his last great successor, Mindōn Min, father of Thibaw who was deposed in 1885, founded Mandalay in 1857, he caused a pregnant woman to be slain at night on the advice of a *pōnnā* (Hindu astrologer), in order that her spirit might become the guardian *nat* of the new city. Offerings of fruit and food were openly made by the king in the palace to the spirit of the dead woman, which was supposed to have taken the

shape of a snake. It should be borne in mind that the word 'Alaungphayā' as a name means 'a coming Buddha,' and that Mindōn Min was a strict Buddhist in ordinary life. In the Anglo-Burman war of 1826, the commander of the Burmese army, the Pukhān Wungyi, proposed to offer the European prisoners at Ava as a sacrifice to the *nats*, and sent them to the Aungbinlē Lake, near Mandalay, for the purpose.

In addition to this direct evidence, there is that afforded by the stone figures, grasping clubs, as guardians (*sade*), at the corners of the city walls at Mandalay, seated above jars filled with oil of various kinds. Circumstantial tales exist of human sacrifices on the setting up of such figures both at Amarapura (1782) and at Mandalay.

The object of such human sacrifices, also attached to the foundation of the main city gates, is that the haunting ghost (*natsein*) of the deceased shall hover about the place, and attack all strangers who come with evil intentions. The frequent change of capital which has occurred throughout Burmese history is said by the Burmans to have been due to the loss of efficiency on the part of the guardians, as shown by the disappearance of the oil in the jars under their images, and other portents.

(2) *Shans*.—About a hundred years ago the boundary at Kenglaw between the Shan States of Kengtung and Kenghung, now the British and Chinese boundary, was fixed by burying two men alive, one facing north and the other south. In British times two images of Buddha were substituted, back to back, at the same place for the same purpose.

(3) *White Karens and Danaws*.—White (Mepū) Karens have abandoned slavery, but, while it existed, slaves were buried alive with their masters. A small hole was left through which they could breathe, and food was supplied to them for seven days. If they could then rise unaided from their graves, they became free. The same thing is said of the Danaws.

(4) *Wild Was: head-hunting*.—The Wild Was expose human heads for the general propitiation of guardian spirits, the custom being one of the most instructive among those to be observed in Burma, as these people have to hunt annually for the heads they thus set up. The Wild Was' own description of the origin of their head-hunting is thus given in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1896:

'Ya Htawm and Ya Htai are the father and mother spirits of the Was, and of all their spirits alone were genial and benignant. The most seemly offering to them was a snow-white grinning skull. The ordinary sacrifices on special occasions were, however, to be buffaloes, bullocks, pigs, and fowls, with plentiful libations of rice spirit. The special occasions were marriage, the commencement of a war, death, and the putting up of a human skull. In addition to these meat offerings, a human skull was always desirable under exceptional circumstances, or for special objects. Thus, when a new village was founded, a skull was an imperative necessity. If there were a drought which threatened a failure of the crops, no means would be so successful in bringing rain as the dedication of a skull. If disease swept away many victims, a skull alone would stay the pestilence. But the good parental ogres expressly said it was not necessary that the villagers should slay a man in order to get his head. They might get the skull by barter.'

The regulated posting up of men's heads ensures plenty of dogs (to eat), corn, and liquor. The Wa regards his skulls as a protection against the spirits of evil. Without a skull his harvest might fail, his kine might die, the ancestral spirits might be enraged, or malignant spirits might gain entrance to the village and kill the inhabitants or drink all the liquor.

The skulls are placed on posts (*tak-keng*) or in an avenue approaching the village, usually under over-arching trees or dense undergrowth, after the fashion of the Kachin avenue approach, which

consists of posts ornamented with symbols and imitation weapons to keep off evil spirits.

A Wa never misses an opportunity of taking a head, because the ghost of the dead man hangs about his skull and resents the approach of other spirits. For this reason the skulls of strangers are the most valuable, for such a ghost does not know his way about, and cannot possibly wander from his earthly remains. An unprotected stranger is therefore pretty sure to lose his head if he wanders among the Wild Was, no matter what the time of the year may be. The more eminent he is, the more sure he is to die.

There is a regular season for head-hunting—in March and April—to protect the crops, and at least one new head is required annually. The head-hunting party is usually about a dozen strong. Villages are never attacked, nor does the party leave its own country. They sometimes meet and attack each other for heads, but this does not provoke revenge. There is a tariff for heads when bought, according to ease in securing them. Lem are lowest; Lahū much more expensive; Chinese very expensive; ordinary Shan are rare; Burmese never secured.

When heads are brought home there is a general dance ending in drunken orgies. They are cleaned before being put up. No offerings are ever made in the avenue of skulls, and sacrifices are all made at the spirit-house in the village, while the bones, skins, horns, hoofs, and feathers are deposited there or in individual houses, never in the avenue.

One proof of the sacrificial nature of the human head-hunting lies in the treatment of buffalo heads. Each house stands apart on its own plot of uneven ground, and is usually enclosed within a slight fence. Inside this is the record of the number of buffaloes the owner has sacrificed to the spirits. For each beast he puts up a forked stick, in shape like the letter Y, and there are usually rows of these from three or four to hundreds. The heads thus represented are piled up in a heap at the end of the house, as a guarantee of good faith in the matter of the sticks.

As a consequence of this head-hunting habit, Wa villages are cleverly contrived savage fortresses; but, except in this matter, the Wild Was are harmless, unenterprising agriculturists, well behaved and industrious.

The breaking down of the custom from actual head-hunting to mere symbolism is seen from the Chinese view of the Was. They reckon the Wa's civilization by his method of head-collecting. The most savage, the Wild Was proper, are those who take any heads, next those who take heads in fights only, next those who merely buy them, and the most civilized are those who substitute heads of bears, panthers, and other wild beasts for human heads. There are, however, real Wild Was who ring all these changes round the head-hunting centre, which is about the Nawng Hkeo Lake.

18. *Protective action*.—Apart from the employment of such agents as mediums, exorcists, and the like, with their arts, such as necromancy, magic, and so on, the peoples of Burma take protective action on their own account against the unseen powers of evil. This is roughly a residuum of the various kinds of knowledge that their 'wise men' have taught them. No part of the population is free from the resultant practices. Buddhism is quite powerless not only to restrain these practices, but even to help the people to escape from them. Orthodox Buddhist monks will not, in the more civilized parts and under the ordinary conditions of life, join in the more openly Animistic protective ceremonies, yet they will be present on sufficiently important occasions, and take, as it were, a scriptural share in them. The use of the monk at deathbeds, with which he is not professionally concerned, and which he is not always asked to attend, is that the good influence of his pious presence may keep away evil spirits. His pres-

ence is, in fact, an additional protective charm against the *nats*.

(1) *General protection*.—In all Burmese houses there is kept a pot of charmed water (*nyauungye-ō*), over which an astrologer has uttered spells. This water is sprinkled about the house, as a protection against evil spirits generally. Another specific for protection against troublesome familiar spirits is a change of name practised by Burmans and Shans. Burmans when on a journey keep away evil spirits by tying a bunch of plantains and a twig of the *thabyé* tree to a cart or boat. An offering to the nearest shrine (*natsin*) each time a fishing boat is launched will prevent the *nats* from interfering with a haul. Hunters tie back the twigs of any large tree they meet in their way, to scare away the forest demons (*lawung nadi*). At all boat-races the main object of the preliminary paddle over the course with offerings is to prevent the *nats* who inhabit that particular reach of the river from interfering with the race.

(2) *Specific action*.—(a) *Protection against the spirits of the recently deceased*.—The Kachins and other tribes put up entanglements to prevent the dead from entering their villages, and supply them with models of whatever they may be supposed to want. The protective nature of the death ceremonies comes out clearly in those of the Taungthús, who tie the thumbs and great toes together, and release the spirit by measuring the corpse with twisted cotton, setting food before it, taking it to the cemetery, pouring water over the face as an emblem of the division between the quick and the dead 'as a stream divides countries,' and setting a torch in front of the biers of persons dying on holidays (when domestic ceremonies are impossible) 'to show the way.' Among the Padaungs the bodies of women who die in childbirth are first beaten with sticks to ascertain death, and are then cut open, so that the infant may be buried separately. The protection here is found in the idea that the woman's spirit will hover round the infant and leave the village alone.

(b) *Protection against epidemics*.—The avowed attitude of the Karens towards ceremonials in times of distress explains them. They say that at such times it is well to make peace with all religions. This feeling comes out in all popular efforts in Burma to scare away the spirits that cause epidemics. Burmans paint the figure of an ogre (*bañu*) on a pot, which is then broken. On three nights the whole village turns out to frighten away the spirits of disease by noise. If that fails, the Buddhist monks are called in to preach away the pestilence. If that fails, the village and the sick are abandoned. Before the people return, the monks read 'the Law' (*Dammathat*) through the streets, the *nat* shrine is repaired, and new offerings are abundantly supplied. Among the Talaings, when the Buddhist ceremonial has failed, the Village Saving Ceremony (*yua-hkye*) is resorted to. This is pure devil-dancing on the part of the people, who impersonate evil spirits (*tase*), ogres (*bañu*), *nats*, witches, dogs, and pigs. The object is to get an answer from the spirits that the sick will recover. There is always a favourable answer, whereupon there is a wild rush for the *leippiyās* (errant butterfly souls of the sick). They are captured in loin-cloths (*pasō*) and shaken over the head of the sick. Burmans drive away the cholera *nat* by beating the roof and making as much noise as possible (*thayetōp*), after a (Buddhist) ceremony of consecrating water-vessels (*payet-ō*), which contain, *inter alia*, sticks with yellow strings wound round them. These strings are afterwards worn as prophylactic bracelets, and are also hung round the eaves of the houses in bags. The noise-making in all these ceremonies is largely copied from the Chinese.

(c) *Protection of houses and sacred buildings*.—The Talaings suspend a coco-nut wrapped in yellow or red cloth in the south-east angle-post of a house, to invoke the protection of the house guardian (*ein-gaung nat*). Min Magayé, one of the Thiriv-ayaw. The Burmans place a piece of white cloth, with fragrant *thanakā* ointment, on the tops of all the posts, or on one in three, to protect all wooden buildings, houses, wayside rest-houses (*zayats*), and bridges from the ill-luck brought by the evil spirits inhabiting the knots in the wood of the posts. The object of striking the great bells on Buddhist pagoda platforms is spirit-scaring. During the foundation ceremony of a village pagoda built by a Shan, a round earthen vase, containing gold, silver, and precious stones, besides rice and sweetmeats, was closed with wax, in which a lighted taper was stuck, and deposited by the builder in the south-eastern hole made for the foundation. The builder also repeated a long prayer while earth was being filled into the hole and sprinkled with water. All this was to scare away the great serpent in whose direction the south-eastern corner of the foundation pointed (Anderson, *Mandalay to Momein*, 62).

(3) *Transfer of evil spirits: scape-goats*.—The ideas of inducing evil spirits to betake themselves elsewhere and of making scape-goats in some form or other are universal in Burma. Red Karens have a scape-goat in the shape of an image of a horse or elephant carved on the top of a post set up at the harvest festival (*edu*), and surrounded by offerings of rice spirit, fruit, and flowers. The animal is supposed to carry off all evil spirits to a safe distance. Sgau and Pwo Karens never forgive injuries, real or fancied, of village to village. When it is necessary, however, to combine in times of common danger, they create a scape-goat in the shape of a man chosen 'to confess the sins of the nation.' He runs off, and is captured and made to repeat each injury in turn, which is settled then and there. Burmans, on occasions of sickness, set up small figures of clay outside the house, and draw pictures of peacocks and hares (representing the spirits of the sun and moon respectively) on small fans kept in the house. Small coffins, with miniature effigy of the sick persons (*ayōt*)

inside them, are buried to the east or the west of the house. This ceremony (*payataya*) is a protection against further sickness, and the image and pictures are scape-goats for carrying away the spirits of disease.

19. *Divination*.—(1) *General methods*.—In Burma, divination is left to the people by the monks, and the *Deittōn* (*Ditthavana*, The Collection of False Doctrines), the great book used by the Bēdinsayās (imported Indian astrologers), is not admitted into the monasteries. The governing principle is, as elsewhere, augury from uncontrollable chance. The Kachins heat bamboos (*saman*) till they split, and the length of the resulting fibres settles the augury. So do the knots in torn leaves (*shippā wot*)—a system of augury copied by the Hpons under another name. Szi Kachins count the odd sticks in each group placed haphazard between the fingers of one hand, out of thirty-three selected bamboos. Chins go by the direction in which the blood of sacrifices flows. Burmans boil eggs hard, and judge by the whiteness: the whiter the egg, the more favourable the omen.

The most important form of divination in Burma is that of the Karens, from the bones of fowls. This has spread far and wide, and decides everything in the Red Karen's life, even the succession to the chieftainship. Any one can divine. The thigh and wing bones are scraped till holes appear, and that bone is selected in which the holes are even. Bits of bamboo are placed in the holes, and the augury is taken from the slant of the bamboos: outwards, for; inwards, against. Among the Kachins the bones are kept until they are grimed with the smoke of years, as they have then acquired an established reputation. War chiefs keep such old bones in carved bamboo phials, and usually store them in the roof.

Kachins use also the brains, sinews, and entrails of fowls, and the entrails of cattle and pigs. Divining from the entrails of fowls is common among the Burmans. The birds are cut open from the tail, and the entrails are extracted and turned larger side uppermost. The longer and thicker they are, and the larger the stomach, the more favourable the omen. The White Karens extend the idea to the livers of fowls and pigs: smooth, straight, or pale wins; malformed or dark loses. This augury is so trusted that it will serve to break off a love match.

Spirit action is also brought into play for the purposes of divination. Among the Taungthús, if the offerings at the annual festival to the village guardian are insufficient for the appetites of those present, there will be a bad harvest. The heaviness of a good crop depends on the surplus after all have finished. At funerals, Kachins place heaps of rice-flour at or near graves. If they are found to have been disturbed in the morning, there will be another death in the family. One kind of augury the Burmese people have in common with most of the world. Sgau and Pwo Karens place a clod of earth under the pillow, so that dreams may point out the proper site for hill-side cultivation (*taungyā*, forest-burning).

The Chins employ an obscure method of divination from the contents of eggs blown through a hole at each end. After the operation the shells are placed on sticks with some cock's feathers.

(2) *Ordeals and oaths*.—Ordeals and oaths are hardly separated in the native mind in Burma, and each is in reality a form of divination. Oaths of the native sort are in consequence much dreaded, whereas the form adopted by the English (*chanzā*) from the Buddhists, with its Indian spiritual horrors, has not now any supernaturally terrifying effect.

(a) *Ordeals*.—Trial by ordeal (*kabā*) was constantly in requisition in the native courts, and the treatment of witches was horrible. There were four regular kinds of judicial ordeal

(1) *Candle-burning (mi-hun)*. Candles are placed on an altar, and the party loses whose candle goes out first. (2) *Thrusting the finger into molten lead (hke-htauk)*. The fore-finger is protected except at the tip; the least hurt, as decided by the flow of serum on pricking, wins. (3) *Water ordeals (yēla)*. Whichever party can stay under in deep water longest wins. (4) *Chewing or swallowing rice (sanwa)*. The guilty cannot swallow, probably through anxiety affecting the nerves. This is also a common Indian idea.

Kachins deposit stakes on each side. Rice is then boiled on a leaf; the best boiled rice wins. Among chiefs the accused puts his hand into water boiled in a bamboo ceremonially selected by an exorcist (*umasa*). If the skin comes off, he loses.

(b) *Oaths*.—Among Lai Chins, the oaths most feared are drinking water which has been poured over a tiger's skull, and drinking blood mixed with liquor. Among the Northern Chins, contracting chiefs pour liquor over a cow and shoot or stab the animal, cut off the tail, and smear their faces, to an imprecatory chant. A stone is set up to mark the spot. The oath most feared by the people is to eat earth. Sgau and Pwo Karens lay hands on the sacrifice (buffalo) in settlement of claims, and divide it into portions, each party eating half his portion and burying the rest.

(c) *Oaths of allegiance*.—Among Sgau and Pwo Karens, individuals, villages, and clans are bound together by drinking spirits in which the blood of the parties has been mixed. Blood-brotherhood of this nature is also known among the Burmans. Another method of swearing allegiance is to divide an ox exactly in two, and every member of each contracting party eats a part of the half belonging to his party. Each side also takes one horn so marked that they are recognized as being a pair. Production of the horn compels either party to aid the other in any circumstances. See BROTHERHOOD (art.) l. 3.

(3) *Astrology*.—The Burman is so fettered by his horoscope (*sadā*) and the lucky and unlucky days for him recorded therein, which are taught him in rhymes (*lingā*) from childhood, that the character has been given him by strangers of alternately idleness and energy. But both are enforced by the numerous days and seasons when he may not work without disaster to himself. Unlucky days (*pyatthadanē*) cause him so much fear that he will resort to all sorts of excuses to avoid business on them. Similarly, on lucky days (*yēt-yāza*) he will work beyond his strength, because he is assured of success. These facts are worthy of careful attention, as it is so easy for European observers to mistake Asiatics: e.g., the character of laziness given to the Nicobarese is greatly due to their habit of holding their very frequent feasts and necromantic ceremonies all through the night.

Burmese astrology, and the superstitions on which it is based, are *prima facie* Indian. Many of the terms used are certainly Indian. Nevertheless, they are only partially Indian, and Chinese influence has had much to do with the development of Burmese astrology as we now find it. The astrologers of the Burmese Court were all *pōnnās* (supposed Brāhmins from Manipur), whose chief study was the *Sāmaveda*, and whose books were the *Tantra*, *Jyoti*, and *Kāma Sāstras* of Bengal. Their title was *Bēdinsayā*, 'learned in the Vedāngas.' Their astronomy is purely Hindu. They worked the Royal clepsydra, calculated the incidence of the year and the intercalary months, drew up the horoscopes, calculated the lucky days, and told fortunes. But they are dying out, and at no time did they have much influence on the astrology of the country side, which followed the *Hpēwān*—the Shan system of the Sixty-Year Cycle, so well known in China, Siam, Cambodia, Annam, etc.—for reckoning the calendar. Shan soothsayers are considered the most learned, and all their prognostications are worked out from the *Hpēwān*. Almost all the Burmese superstitions about the path of the dragon (*nagā-hē*), which regulates the lucky days, and the lucky rhymes (*mīngalā lingā*) that control marriages, are taken direct from this table, which in its main lines is exactly that of Taoist fortune-tellers in China.

The *Hpēwān* is used to work out horoscopes, settle marriages (by the theory of hostile pairs taught in *yan-pet-lingā*, rhymes known to every Burmese girl), partnerships, and undertakings generally; and since, in Burma, the Shans have

partially adopted the Buddhist calendar, such confusion is caused in the almanac that much practice and experience are required to work it. Hence partly its charm and power. Its influence is proved by the fact that the Buddhist monks nowadays issue annually an almanac (*mahā-thin-gān*), which shows many traces of the *Hpēwān*.

Based on this difficult method of calculation, a very complicated astrological system has been set up, which has, however, a strong admixture of Buddhist astrological notions in it. The day of birth is one governing point, and on horoscopes the days of the week are represented by numbers and symbols of 'the presiding animal of the day.' Another governing point is the position of the dragon (*topai, nagā*), as the great thing to aim at is to avoid facing its mouth in any transactions, especially cattle-buying. This is ascertained by the terminal syllables of the names of the days. The *Hpēwān* is also used to ascertain, by a simple calculation, which looks like a real puzzle to the uninitiated, what offerings to the *nats* are suitable on any given day.

Lucky and unlucky days are fixed according to the Shan and not the Burmese calendar; and, as they do not correspond, the Burman cannot calculate them for himself, and is thus forced to go to the astrologer. There is a long list of lucky days for building operations, picked, in eclectic fashion, out of the imported Buddhist and indigenous animals and *nats*; the unlucky days depend on the final syllable of the names. Lastly, a long series of days are individually unlucky for a very great variety of enterprises, practically for all the business of native life. The lucky days in the month are in a considerable minority.

There is a curious superstition as to bleeding, which has an astrological basis. The centre of vigour in the human body is believed to shift downwards during the week: on Sunday it is in the head, Monday in the forehead, Tuesday in the shoulders, Wednesday in the mouth, chin, and cheeks, Thursday in the waist and hands, Friday in the breast and legs, Saturday in the abdomen and toes. Bleeding from any of these parts on their particular day is considered very dangerous and sinister (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 63).

20. *Necromancy*.—(1) *Nature of necromancy in Burma*.—'The object of the Burmans' necromancy is to acquire influence over the spirits and make them do their bidding. Witches and wizards are supposed to be materialized spirits or beings who can project their bodies into space and regulate their movements' (Taw Sein Ko, *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 73). Such beings are usually women. Although the familiar spirits and spells of the Burman necromancer can be shown to be chiefly Indian in origin, his incantations are composed in Sanskrit, Pali, Burmese, Talaing, and Shan, or in an unintelligible jargon made up of one or more of these languages, thus showing both their eclectic and their indigenous nature. They are used in conjunction with something to be worn or kept with a view to protection from disease or injury of a pronounced kind—gunshot wounds, famine, plague, epidemics, hydrophobia, enemies in general, and the like.

All necromancers (*wēzā*, 'wise men') are mixed up in the Burman's mind, and are divided into good (mediums and exorcists) and bad (wizards and witches), and each of the two categories is divided into four classes, according to the element with which they work—mercury (*pyādā*), iron (*than*), medicine (*se*), magic squares (*in*). All this is Indian.

Medicine, which among the Burmans is Indian in origin is not clear of necromancy. The doctor

(*sēthamā*) is a mere quack, with an empirical knowledge of leaves, barks, flowers, seeds, roots, and a few minerals. The *dātsayā* is a dietist, and the *beindawsayā* is a druggist, but a doctor seldom combines both practices, and in either case is largely necromantic, professing to cure the witch-caused diseases (*son*) commonly believed in. The position of the moon and the stars has more to do with the cure than the medicine, and the horoscope than the diet. Cases of death or failure to cure are attributed to error in the astrological or horoscopic information supplied. In Lower Burma there is supposed to be a wizards' town at Kalé Thaungtot on the Chindwin River, with a wizard king, who can undo the effects of bewitchment in those who go on a pilgrimage there.

The methods of wild necromancy appear in the practice of the Kachins. Somebody wants a powerful man to be made ill. The *tumsa* (exorcist, wizard) recites the special charm necessary to cause the particular sickness desired, and meanwhile his client plants a few stalks of long grass by the side of the road leading towards the victim's house. Then either a dog or a pig is killed, and the body is wrapped in grass and placed by the road and left there, while spears are cast and shots fired in the same direction. The ceremony closes by the *tumsa* and each of those present taking up four or five stalks of grass and casting them similarly towards the person who is to be charmed (*kumpachin khyemnai*) (E. C. S. George, *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 427).

(2) *Alchemy and palmistry.*—The Burmese are inveterate alchemists and palmists, and their practice is a mixture of all the occult superstitions known to the people, from Indian alchemy and palmistry to Karen augury from chicken bones.

(3) *Exorcism.*—Evil spirits and malignant ghosts (*tase, hminzā, thayē, thabēt*) are exorcized by the general public by making a loud jarring noise, by beating anything that comes in their way—walls and doors of houses, kettles, metal trays, cymbals, and so on. In cases of spirit-caused sickness the *nat* is sometimes simply scared away by threats; but it is usual to apply drastic measures, such as severely beating the patient and rubbing pungent substances into the eyes. The argument is that the ill-treatment falls on the spirit, and that, therefore, when it has departed, the patient will be free from any after effects. The methods of the exorcists are usually as eclectic as possible; but among the Chins every spirit has its own special sacrifice, known only to the wise men and women, and will accept no other.

Every professional curer of disease—physician, priest, medium, wise man, necromancer, or wizard—is an exorcist, following practices that are hardly to be differentiated one from the other.

(a) *Priests.*—The idea of a priesthood is foreign to the untutored Indo-Chinese mind, and a recognized priestly class does not exist among the uncultivated tribes in Burma, or indeed among the more civilized population. The persons who profess to deal with supernatural matters follow in ordinary life occupations carrying no particular respect, often the reverse. The Burman, Talain, or Shan *pōngyi*, or Buddhist monk, is not technically a minister of religion, and the only approach to priesthood among the Kachins is the *jaiwa*, who is an exorcist (*tumsa*) practising his art for powerful chiefs (*duwas*). Some tribes, notably the Kachins, have an incipient priesthood, however, in the persons of their chiefs, who alone can perform certain tribal and national sacrifices; and the idea of personal sanctity in its very infancy is to be seen in the triennial feast of the White Karens, in which men only may be present. The cases of the *tafuye*, high priest chief of the Lahis, and of the *damadā saubud*, the hereditary priest of the *nats* among the Palaungs, are not to the point. The former is the result of a jumble of Chinese and Indo-Chinese ideas on the part of a tribe of Tibeto-Burman origin with strong Chinese proclivities, and the latter of a Mon-Annam tribe settled in the Shan country, of some education derived from Burmese sources. This last hereditary priesthood is an inaccurate adaptation of the Burmese *thathānabaring*, or 'head of religion,' whose title is usually with equal incorrectness translated by the English term 'arch-

bishop,' as he is merely the chief of the heads of the Monastic Order, *primus inter pares*. Ordinarily the priestly personage is not to be distinguished from the necromancer or exorcist, and acquires his qualifications in the same way.

(b) *Wise men and women.*—The Burman wise men and women and diviners generally (*natsaw, tumsa, mitwe*) are merely ordinary villagers of no social standing, who act in a quasi-priestly capacity as occasion demands. The chief professional exorcist (of Indian origin) is the wise-man physician who 'works in iron' (*than wēza*), and is a vendor of charms against injury. The female medium is known as the *nat's* wife (*natkadaw*), and retains her powers only so long as the *nat* possesses her and keeps her in an hysterical condition. This condition is recognized as necessary, and a formal marriage with the *nat* is celebrated. At the late Royal Court, under Indian influence, mediums and professional exorcists, both male (*natsayā, natōk, natsaw, natthunge*) and female (*natkadaw, natmeimma*), were employed to chant and pray in the proper form at the State festivals.

(c) *Qualifications.*—The qualifications of an exorcist or wise man commence with none at all, as in the case of the Wild Was, who have no priests or mediums, and among whom any old man can conduct the invocations. The Red Karens require very slight qualifications, and the diviners are usually selected old men, who carry out the national chicken-bone divination, and have charge of the village *nat*-shrine. But the Kachin exorcist (*tumsa*) succeeds to the office by natural selection after a voluntary apprenticeship, and the Kachin diviner (*mitwe*), who is a medium entirely under spirit possession, divining while in a state of frenzy, has to undergo a severe apprenticeship and ordeal to prove that he has communications with the spirit world.

Among the civilized Burmans, the qualifications of the exorcists (*hamsawsayā*) are much more sophisticated. They drink water in which ashes of scrolls containing cabalistic squares and mystic figures have been mixed, or take special medicines, or are tattooed with figures of *nats*, magic squares, and incantations. Some of these exorcists maintain their reputation by conjuring tricks (*nkotelet pwe*) which are regarded as miracles.

(d) *Methods.*—The ordinary use of an exorcist or medium is to restore health, and the methods usually employed are magic and dancing. In the Chindwin District, Aung Nang Nat causes cattle disease, and he is exorcized by placing a betel box and a pipe in a bag hung from a bamboo pole, and by dancing round the diseased animal, which is tied to a post. Some exorcists have a divining rod (*gyatān*), with which they thrash the possessed to drive out the witch in possession. The true dancing mediums are generally women (*natwun*), who limit their operations, as a rule, to hysterical chanting and whirling dances, though they occasionally exorcize as well. Such women wear a distinctive garment in the shape of a red cloth wrapped round the head. Among the Talains the dancing medium is of importance, and is employed at the triennial national feast to the village guardians, to dance away sickness in general. A costume suited to the particular spirit to be addressed or invoked is customary among Burmans, Kachins, and others—a custom that is specially noticeable in the festivals in honour of the Thirty-seven Nats, when the dress of the medium is an essential part of the ceremony.

(e) *Ceremonies.*—A typical instance of a Burman exorcizing ceremony, applicable also to the Kachins, to drive out sickness is the following: 'A bamboo altar is constructed in the house, and various offerings (boiled fowl, pork, plantains, coco-nuts, rice, etc.) are placed on it for the *nat*. The exorcist (*natsayā*) then stands a bright copper or brass plate on end near the altar, and begins to chant, at the same time watching for the shadow of the *nat* on the polished copper. When this appears, the officiant begins to dance, and gradually works herself into a state of ecstasy. The state of tension produced frequently causes the patient to do the same thing, with obvious results one way or the other, especially if, as not uneldom happens, this invocation of the possessing spirit is continued for two or three days' (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 29).

Sick children are afflicted by Chaungzōn Nat, the Spirit of the Junction of the Waters. Little boys, in which are placed an egg, some of the child's hair, and some sweetmeats, are made and consigned, by way of providing a scape-goat, to the Irrawaddy after such a ceremony as that just described.

(f) *Spirit possession.*—The idea of spirit possession in other creatures than mediums has not been much developed in Burma; but Burmans, possibly under Indian influence, believe that evil spirits and malignant ghosts enter into alligators and tigers and cause them to destroy human life.

(4) *Magic.*—The object of Burmese magic (*pyin-salēt*) is to secure hallucination in respect of the five senses, and to confer temporary invulnerability. This is achieved by potent mixtures, such as the following: equal parts of the livers of a human being, monkey, black dog, goat, cobra, and owl, and a whole lizard, pounded from midnight till dawn, and kept in a gold or silver box, and rubbed on various parts of the body. This will secure second sight, invisibility, death of an enemy, and a good many other objects of desire.

(a) *Indian influence.*—Certain specific kinds of magic have no doubt come from India—which accounts for the otherwise

puzzling fact that Buddhist monks (*pōnyis*) themselves are much addicted to it. That they have drawn on native Animistic sources to enlarge their knowledge is but natural. The name, story, and exorcism of Ponnakā Nat are all from the West. He does mischief through an invisible agency in three ways: throwing stones at a house, beating people with a stick, and burning houses or villages. Invisible stone-throwing on the roofs of houses, attributed to *nats*, is a common grievance in Burma.

(b) *Wild tribes*.—Among the wilder tribes, magic takes a simpler and more directly unsophisticated form. The Sgau and the Pwo Karens, when embarking on an expedition, kill a hog or a fowl, and roll up in a leaf, with some salt, a portion of the heart, liver, and entrails. This ties up the heads of the enemy.

(c) *Articles subjected to magic*.—(i.) *Boats*. The Great Nat (Buddhist in origin) of the Palauings visited Loi Beng Hill in Tawngpeng in a magic barge (*hpawng setkyā*). Inthas, who are lake-dwellers on the Yawng Hwe Lake, worship the magic boat (*hpawng-daw*) in which their original ancestor came (probably of Burmese origin).—(ii.) *Stones*. At Nyauing-i there is a twisted stone, in which dwells Ape Shwe Myōsin, a spirit. If the sick can lift it, they will recover; if not, they will die. On Mandalay Hill, before a shrine, there is a flat oval stone. If the stone is heavy to lift, it is a bad sign for a journey.—(iii.) *Charms*. There are numerous charms for invulnerability and security from violence, which consist of internal medicine, bathing in medicated water, carrying balls of mercury, iron, or orpiment, and amulets and talismans about the body, especially in the head-dress (*gaungbaung*), or wearing small silver charms inserted under the skin, which is tattooed with figures and cabalistic squares. The main charms for invulnerability are Indian, and are connected with the legend of Bawdithāda, the miraculous leaper, which is but the Burmese pronunciation of an uncorrupted Pali form.

(5) *Evil eye*.—Except as the result of Hindu influence, the idea of the evil eye (*lusōnkya*) has never developed in Burma, though it exists; and among the Kachins some people who have two souls (*numla*), one of which possesses the evil eye, are looked upon as dangerous, and are murdered.

(6) *Tatuing*.—Every self-respecting Burman is extensively tattooed from the waist to the knee. The practice is largely connected with magic.

(a) *Male tatuing*.—Among Burmans the tatuing is almost always for reasons of magic. Exorcists (*amasayā*) attain their powers by being tattooed with figures of *nats*, incantations, and cabalistic squares (*wn*). With these also every Burman is tattooed. Being tattooed with figures of *nats* in red, by means of a charmed mixture of vermilion and human fat, gives protection against wounds inflicted by sword, gun, or cudgel, and confers reckless courage. Figures of *nats* and cabalistic squares confer invulnerability. Conventional figures of tigers on the legs confer swiftness of foot, and are sought after by thieves and highwaymen. The sources of this kind of magic are eclectic, and even Buddhist inscriptions in Pali are brought into requisition.

Shan military officers of rank were tattooed in order to acquire the powers of deceased heroes, and the ceremony was accompanied with ceremonial cannibalism. Red Karens are tattooed in red with the tribal emblem of the rising sun on the small of the back, as a magic symbol. Sawngtung Karens had two black squares beneath the chin for the same reason. Was are occasionally tattooed on the arms and breast with charms.

The tatuing of the Burman from waist to knee is nowadays a mere custom for 'beauty,' but was beyond doubt originally a protective magical charm, as is shown by the figures ordinarily selected, and by the incantations repeated during the operation. Shan tatuing of the same kind is more extensive, down the calves and up the back and chest, and is still more avowedly of a necromantic nature, as are all the additional figures about the bodies of some Burmans. Tatuing with the figure of Bawdithāda, the miraculous leaper, as a symbol of fighting capacity, and carried out with occult ceremonies, is a notable instance of necromancy adopted originally from Indian sources.

The Burman has an ineradicable belief in the efficacy of tattooed charms. In 1881 a youth in Rangoon was tattooed with a *bying* (paddy-bird) as a protection from drowning, and was thrown with his consent into the Rangoon River and was drowned. The tattooers (*saya*) were convicted of manslaughter; but all the Burmans thought it a miscarriage of justice, as the drowning was due in their minds to some mistake in the ceremony (Scott, *The Burman*, i. 56).

(b) *Female tatuing*.—Among Burmans, female tatuing is rare and disreputable, and is resorted to as a love-charm—a small triangle of three red dots.

Lai Chin women are tattooed in black all over the face and breast, originally probably as a means of identification if captured by outsiders. A similar custom is said to exist in the North at the source of the Nam Ma, the extreme north-east of the Shan States. Maru Kachin women used to be tattooed in a series of rings from the foot to the knee, perhaps for identification.

(c) *Tatuing as a badge*.—Burman soldiers were tattooed with the animal badge of their regiments on the small of the back—dragon, lion, rat, etc.—no doubt as a charm.

(d) *Tatuing as a punishment*.—Burman criminals were tattooed with a circle on the cheek (*paguē*), or with descriptive devices on the chest, to show that they were murderers (*buhat*), thieves (*thu-hko*), or dacoits (*damyā*, highwaymen). Sometimes the offence was tattooed on them in words.

(7) *Witchcraft*.—Brāhmanic influence, through Buddhism, has had a distinct effect on the modern Burmese practice of witchcraft, which is recognized in the Burmese 'Law-Books,' wherein are instructions as to the finding of witches and as to the manner of punishing them. The Talauings consider that witches and wizards are the result of the 'devil-dances' instituted to drive away epidemics.

Witches (*sōnmā*) and wizards (*sōn*) can harm others by occult influence, and by sending out their own spirits (*leippyā*) to possess them. Proofs of their action in case of death used to be found by cremating the body of the person affected, and discovering pieces of hide or beef (*apin*) in the fire; in the case of the living, similar information is sought by placing food in a platter outside the house at nightfall, for the dogs to eat. If in the morning grass was found in the platter, the victim was under a witch's displeasure; if stones, he would recover; if earth, he would certainly die.

If a witch confessed on accusation, she was merely banished. If she would not confess, she had to go through a cruel and disgusting ordeal by water, when, if she floated, she was judged to be guilty, because she must have floated on account of the charmed empty gourd or bladder in her stomach. If she sank, she was not guilty, and had to be heavily compensated. She was not allowed to drown.

Among the Kachins, some exorcists (*tumsa*) are also wizards, and can cause sickness by bewitching their victims (*marong matsai*). The 'wild' attitude generally towards witchcraft and its professors is thus well described by George in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. i. p. 427, when summarizing a case between Kachins before himself:

'C, the brother of A and B, happened to die of fever, and before dying declared that D had bewitched him. Within a fortnight A and B collected a following, attacked D's house, shot him dead, and capturing the whole of the household and relations, some thirteen in all, sold them into slavery. Even on trial A and B would not admit the possibility of C having made a mistake, and were scandalized that the British Government should interfere on the behalf of the wizard.'

21. *Cannibalism*.—Cannibalism is persistently, but quite doubtfully, ascribed to the Wild Was, Kachins, and even Shans. It probably always existed in a ceremonial form, to obtain magical powers, among Shan military officers of distinction, while undergoing a particular form of tatuing. In 1888 the captured rebel chief Twet Ngālū was shot and buried by his guard. He had been a monk, had a great name as a sorcerer, and was elaborately tattooed. The nearest Shan *sawbwa* (chief) dug up the corpse, and boiled down the head and other portions of the body into a potent decoction, and was with difficulty dissuaded from sending a small phial of this for the use of the British Chief Commissioner (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 37). The existing head-hunting of the Wild Was is a relic of cannibalism, as is admitted by themselves, and it has been attributed to them as long as there have been Europeans in the East (see Camoens, *Lusiadas*, cant. x. 86).

22. *Domestic customs*.—(1) *Pregnancy*.—Customs connected with pregnancy are not common. Kachin women must not eat honey or porcupine flesh at that time, as they cause miscarriage. Among Shans the husband should not drive pigs, carry the dead, dig or fill in holes, or mock at others.

(2) *Birth*.—Kachin customs explain the reason for the observances at birth. Normal births are under the protection of the house guardian. Abnormal births occur when the jungle *nats* (*sawn*) have driven out the guardians—a situation which the exorcist ascertains by divination from bamboos

(*chippawot*). Therefore, by way of general propitiation, at all births two pots of beer are prepared: one for the general company and one named after the child immediately on its appearance, and drunk in its honour. So also it is necessary to notify the fact of the birth to the *nats* by sacrifices. After a normal birth the mother remains at home out of the *nats'* way for three days, and on the fourth she is formally protected from the *nats* who desire to carry off her child, by throwing a spear at a spring. At abnormal births the *nats* are appeased by sacrifices, and driven away by noise and the burning of foul-smelling things.

The Red Karens improve on the beer-drinking of the Kachins by turning their birth feasts into orgies of meat and drink, and teaching the infant to drink liquor while still at the breast. When the child is three or four days old, the mother takes it and a hoe in her arms, and hoes a little ground, soon after which the ear-boring ceremony, usually a function at puberty, takes place, showing its protective origin. Sawngtung Karens on the birth of a child place a brass ring and a skein of white cotton on the shrine (*natsin*) of the house guardians. Among them, too, twins and triplets, being spiritually dangerous, are always killed.

Spirit-scaring, combined with spirit protection, under cover of driving out evil humours—an idea acquired from Indian medicine of no very early date—is no doubt responsible for the extraordinarily cruel birth-customs of the modern Burman. Immediately after the birth of the child, the mother is rubbed over with turmeric (*nā-nwin*), and then heated with fire, blankets, and hot bricks (*ōt pū*) for seven days. She is then steamed over a jar of boiling water, and finally has a cold bath. All this time she perpetually drinks *sein*, a secret green concoction prepared by midwives (*wunzwe*), and smells at *samōnnet* (balls of the *Nigella sativa*).

Among Shans, and Red Karens especially, a good many articles of food are forbidden to the mother, and even to her husband, for from seven days to a month. Impurity of the mother is recognized by the Shans for seven days, and purification is effected by exposure to the fire of any wood that does not exude milk or gum, and finally by bathing.

Among Red and White Karens there are curious traces of the *couvade*. Among the Red Karens only the father may act as midwife, and he may not speak to any one after the birth of his child. Among the White Karens (*Mēpū*) no one may leave the village after a birth until the umbilical cord is cut, this event being announced by bursting a bamboo by heating. This custom is said to be extended to the birth of domestic animals. No stranger may enter the house of a woman during her confinement. No customs seem to exist connected with the umbilical cord, except that the Red Karens hang up all the cords of the village in sealed bamboo receptacles (*kyedauk*) on a selected tree. The Shans have a custom, borrowed from India, of bathing male infants in a bath containing articles of value.

(3) *Names and naming*.—Kachins give a child a name immediately after birth, or the *nats* will give it a name that will kill it. There is a good deal of restriction in naming children. Shans, copied in this by the Kachins and White Karens, are confined to quite a small choice of names, according to the order in which the child is born. Among the Bre and Sawngtung (Red Karens) a child must be named after its maternal grandparent, according to sex—by the mother, unless the chicken-bone augury is against her, when the father has the right. Burmans are named after the initial of the name of the day of the week on which they are born (Indian influence), and the

future character of the child is deduced from the name of the birthday.

There is a good deal of changing of names. All boys, on entering on the obligatory probation in a monastery, are given a scholastic name in Indian horoscopic fashion, which is retained for life if they become monks, but may not be used if they return to lay life. But amongst Shans, if there is illness or misfortune or suspected hostile spirit influences, the name is changed, to avert evil and procure better luck, according to horoscopic rules which are Buddhist, subjected to Chinese influence. In the case of infants, a lucky name is given by a supposed exchange of the child for something after which it is named: e.g. cloth, silver, weight, roast meat, visitor, moon, birth-marks, alms (to a monastery). A Burman, however, may change his name at any time by merely sending a packet of tea salad (*lapēt*) to all concerned, and announcing the fact. Among Sgau and Pwo Karens the parents change their names on the birth of a child.

(4) *Puberty* is not much noticed domestically. Ear-boring is obligatory on all girls, but is optional with boys, among the Burmans. All Bre (Red Karen) children stain their teeth black with much ceremony at about ten years of age—no doubt in connexion with puberty.

(5) *Marriage*.—Marriages in Burma present an astonishing variety of practice and principle, and nearly all the methods known to mankind are there in vogue somewhere or other. The only general guide disclosed as to the mental attitude of the people towards the subject is that marriage is on the whole regarded as a purely civil matter with which religion has very little concern—an attitude that is encouraged by the Buddhist religion, but not at all suited to the notions of Brahmanism, or of the modern Hindu astrologers, who have introduced all the ceremony possible to them in the conditions.

(a) *Forbidden degrees*.—The rule is that marriage with parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren, brothers and sisters, is forbidden, but sometimes uncles and aunts are added (Shans). A Burman may marry his stepmother. The matriarchal system of forbidden degrees is in vogue among the Kachins, so that the usual marriage is with the daughter of the mother's brother, but never with the daughter of the father's or mother's sister. Likewise any one, even a stranger, with the same family name (father's side) is within the forbidden degrees, and consequently all blood-relationship runs through the females. The same idea obliges a Kachin or a Chin to marry his elder brother's widow, or in extreme cases to provide a substitute for her re-marriage.

A severely restricted area of marriage found among the Karens looks like a relic of totemism, but probably has quite a different explanation. Among Sgau and Pwo Karens, in times of general danger, the girls of allied villages are given in exchange as brides to become hostages for the good faith of the villagers towards each other. Hence we seem to have an explanation of some curious Karen customs. The Sawngtungs may marry only among cousins residing in specified villages, and then not without the consent of the elders. The area of choice is so small that many aged enforced bachelors and spinsters exist, and it results in great irregularity of age in the married couple. This is carried to an extreme extent by the Banyoks of Banyin in Loi Seng, where the field of choice is among six families at the order of the chief official of the district (*taungsa*). It has nearly wiped out the tribe.

The Sei Kachins have a custom which looks like an instance of Indian hypergamy, but is probably really referable to those above mentioned. They have permanently connected families, one of which gives daughters to another, but cannot receive them back. E.g., Chumliut girls may marry Malangs, but Malang girls may not be married to Chumliuts.

(b) *Freedom of choice*.—Absolute freedom of action is a characteristic of the Burman woman. She has separate property, whether owned before or acquired after marriage, and she takes this property with her on divorce. She marries whom she pleases, and separates or divorces, if offended, without any ceremony beyond the consent of the village elders. She has a voice in all domestic matters and in purchases and sales of family property, and acts with her husband's authority in his absence, when he is a village official. All this is in direct contradiction of the equally prevalent marriages by capture or by purchase.

(c) *Courtship*.—Courtship among Burmans and Shans is formally conducted according to social rules, so as to prevent improprieties. The exactly opposite custom of recognized experimental cohabitation before marriage is practised by the Kachins, who provide 'bachelors' huts' (*dum-nā*) for the

purpose. A child born in consequence is a 'debt' to the girl's father, and its father has to pay a fine or marry the girl. On the other hand, among Sawngtung Karens boys on attaining puberty must live entirely in a bachelor's hut (*hau*) outside the village, and may not speak to a girl until married, except at death-feasts and marriages.

Among the Meng (Miaotzu) there is a sort of irrevocable betrothal, at which the engaged couple sing and dance and go off together at intervals for years, or until the girl is *enacted*. The Yao have the same custom, but less crude—the girl remaining at home until claimed, and the singing of the couple being by way of strophe and antistrophe, while there is some consultation of horoscopes. Karens, however, have infant marriage, or irrevocable betrothal between children of five or six, when a feast, consisting of orgies, takes place, and another is held at the subsequent marriage. Breach of such a betrothal is expiated by a fine.

(d) *Marriage by purchase*.—Palaung girls are bought and retained for life in the husband's family. Lihaw girls are bought at fixed customary prices, become their husbands' property, and are saleable if they cannot agree with them.

(e) *Marriage by capture*.—Marriage by capture is a widespread custom among hill tribes. Kachin marriages are preceded by actual capture, after a respectable householder in the girl's village has fixed her dower. The girls are not consulted, and are bound by their parents' wishes. Even the bought wives of the Lihaws are actually abducted as a preliminary. Among the Palaungs, boys and girls first romp together and are subsequently drawn by lot in pairs. The marriage is a concerted elopement, without ceremonies. Among Akhās, the pair leave the hut for the night, and in the morning inform the girl's parents.

Among Burmans, throwing stones on the roof of the bridal pair on the marriage night, and tying a string across the bridegroom's path in order to demand a present, are probably relics of a hygone marriage by capture. This last custom is practised also by secluded tribes on the eastern frontiers.

(f) *Absence of ceremonial*.—Everywhere the feeling is that marriage does not require any ceremony. There is none amongst the Mengs, Chins, Akhās, Taungyos, or Banyok Karens, or among Shans and Burmans in the villages.

(g) *Ceremonial*.—It rarely happens that anything takes place beyond public announcement to friends or a feast of rejoicing. The Red Karens and Kachins indulge in drunken orgies. Amongst educated Burmans, Shans, and others who copy them, there are sometimes ceremonies of an Indian type conducted by *pōnnās*, but these are foreign to the indigenous ideas. Kachins have a simple ceremony, the essential point of which is feeding each other in public. The Akhōs tie the arms of the bridal pair together. The Sgau and Pwo Karens are more elaborate in their ceremonies. They drench the bride with water as she enters the bridegroom's house, and the binding ceremony is the drinking of a cup of spirits by the elders representing the parties. Among Red Karens the cup is drunk by the bridal pair themselves in each other's houses. The only approach to a regular ceremony is among the Kadūs. Both they and the Taungthās ask the daughter of the house from the house *nat*, but the Kadū bridegroom makes a present of a bamboo, full of tea, equal in length to the king-post of the bride's house; and small packets of *lapet* are suspended by a string, the whole length of the king-post. The hands of the young couple are then joined, and they go hand in hand down the stairs and *shikho* to the *nat* of the house at the foot.

(h) *Adultery*.—One hears but little of married adultery, but a good deal of connexion between the unmarried. The usual penalty is expulsion from the village among some tribes, as the Taungthās, who resent it when it results in illegitimate children. Among Taungyos, the mother of an illegitimate child must either be married or compensated. If she cannot prove the affiliation, she is turned out of the village. Sawngtung Karens expel the runaway couples of their villages, but punish elopements of their own girls with strangers by enforced suicide of the guilty parties or by hanging.

(i) *Polygamy*.—Polygamy is unrestricted among the Chins, and is the rule among the Akhās. It is permitted to the Taungyos, where the wife is merely cook and household servant. Among the Kachins, it is the result only of the obligation to marry a widow of an elder brother. It is not forbidden, but rare, among Burmans, Talangs, Shans, and Padaungs. It is forbidden to all Karens, except Padaungs, and to Akhōs.

(j) *Divorce*.—Among Burmans, Shans, and Red Karens, divorce is by mutual consent; nevertheless it is neither common nor reputable. Palaungs copy the Burmese, but adultery demands compensation merely, not divorce. Among Akhōs it is easy on a money payment. It is unknown among Sawngtung and White Karens, and among Chins, whose absconding wives, if recovered, are taken back on the murder of the seducer.

(k) *Death*.—Throughout Burma the object of the death ceremonies is to prevent the spirits of the dead, especially of the person just deceased, from injuring the living; and the origin of the universal wakes and feasting is to propitiate the spirits by letting them have a share in them. The ceremonies are a combined exorcism and propitiation. This is shown in the practice of postponing funerals until

the community can properly carry out the necessary ceremonies.

Among Palaungs, bodies are kept unburied for some time under the control of the village elders, and the whole village is feasted in the interval. All funerals are public, the entire community attending. If a Red Karen dies away from home, his funeral cannot be celebrated until his guardian spirit permits it. Feasting, dancing, and noise-making go on until the spirit announces its arrival by tinkling a cow-bell, when the funeral takes place over a straw effigy. Here the sense of the funeral ceremonies clearly comes out.

Postponement of funerals is general. A prominent example is the often described *pōngyibyan*, or funeral of a respected monk long after his death. Lihaws keep their dead in a wooden coffin surrounded by stakes, until the spirits are consulted. Siyin Chins artificially dry corpses for a year or more before burial, by smoking and sun-drying, until they are reduced to a quarter of their original size. The Kachins bury the dead at once, without ceremony, but postpone the funeral ceremonies till a convenient period. In the case of chiefs, the body is kept in a coffin supported above the earth.

Kachins commence the funeral ceremonies (*manmakhoi*) by presenting the *nats'* portion of a sacrifice (buffalo, bullock, pig, or fowl), chosen by an exorcist (*tumsa*) in consultation with the spirit of the deceased (*manshippawt nai*), at his temporary shrine (*manjang*) at the back of the house, where the household *nats* are worshipped. The sacrifice is then devoured. Among the Akhās, the slaughter of five buffaloes and a drinking-feast are the only ceremonies, even at the death of a man of position. Wakes are universal, and are intended to be propitiatory in the sense that the spirits can join in them. The Siyin Chins commence the funeral ceremony (*mithi*) with a slow measured dance, with locked hands and bent heads, round a platform on which the corpse is set upright, covered with gay cloths and ornaments. They wind up with a drunken debauch, such as is common on similar occasions among Red Karens, Kachins, and others.

The Kachin's elaborate death ceremonies, after he has propitiated the spirit of the deceased, are all designed to frighten it away. There is a death-dance and a wild rush into the jungle to frighten the ghost and drive it away. The spirit is requested not to become a *nat* and worry the living. The reason is made clear by the belief that a man returns six days and a woman seven days after a funeral; therefore the temporary shrine to the deceased (*manjang*) is destroyed so that it may not be found, and the first thing caught in the interval is offered to the ghost with spirits, with the avowed object of inducing the ghost to keep away. There is a death-dance after the destruction of the shrine, and a general drinking bout ends the ceremonies. Red Karens fire off guns at an approaching death, and make all the noise possible at funerals, to frighten away the *nats*. Burmans still do the same, although the practice is discouraged by their Buddhism, and was not permitted under native rule. So great is the fear of the returning spirit that, among Sgau and Pwo Karens, widows and orphans are banished the house, lest their misfortune should prove contagious. Shans sweep the place selected for the grave, with brambles and thorns, to clear off the evil spirits.

Kachins and some Karens have disconcerting notions as to exacting compensation for injury of whatever kind, real or fancied. Deaths, and even any debts or injuries, are avenged by murder or blood-money, or by reprisal against the place or thing causing the injury, at any time thereafter as long as memory lasts. A stream (in theory its *nat*) will be hacked with swords (*dās*) if any one is drowned in it.

Both Burmans and Shans have special customs, which do not appear to be indigenous, and are due to the Brāhmanism introduced with Buddhism. Of these may be mentioned placing 'ferry-money' (*kadokā*) between the teeth of the deceased: swing

ing the corpse three times over the grave, and throwing in a handful of earth by each person present (*uteik*) before the body is lowered into the grave; allowing no marks of a burn on the wrappings of the corpse; and not allowing people who have touched the corpse to enter the village without bathing.

(7) *Disposal of the dead.*—The various peoples and tribes in Burma dispose of the dead by burying the body, or burning it and burying the ashes, or by both these methods. Where burial is resorted to, coffins are universal, and there is much variety as to place of burial. With different tribes there are customs of burying in formal cemeteries, in separate graves, and in lonely places in the jungle. So also there are many ways of dealing with graves—from ignoring and forgetting them to elaborate monuments, dolmens, cromlechs, and barrows. The principle determining all the ceremonies and practices seems to be the prevention of injury to the living from the spirits of the dead by haunting.

(a) *BURIAL.*—(i.) *Burial in cemeteries.*—Formal public cemeteries are used by Burmans, Karens, and Chins (Lai, Siyin, Sokte, Thado, and Tashon), the last named burying their dead outside the village in structures of mud and stone erected on the surface of the ground. In the Wild Wa country, barrows are found near the villages, three feet high by three wide, and up to a hundred yards long.

(ii.) *Separate burial.*—Tame Was bury inside their villages, and Wild Was at the foot of the steps leading to the house. Northern Chins (Haka, Shunkla) bury in deep catacombs in the yard in front of the house. Among Chins also (Siyin, Sokte, Thado, Tashon), superior families have vault-like structures entered by a door, and surrounded by stone pillars and tall carved posts. Chiefs are separately buried on the road leading to the village.

(iii.) *Burial in remote places.*—The object of burial in remote and lonely places is to keep the spirit from haunting the living. The living forget the place, and the dead their way home. The idea in an attenuated form is seen in the Shan custom of burying separately in the jungle or near the village, and in the Burman custom of putting up no stone or other mark on or near the grave. Lihsaws merely bury the corpse at a distance. Akhais simply bury in a lonely place without ceremonies, and forget the grave, which is made level with the earth. Yaos bury in some remote spot, and mark the grave by three stones placed in a small triangle, but the poorer classes make no mark on the grave. Mengs (Miaozi) bury in the deep jungle, and the nearest relative tends the grave for three years, after which it is forgotten. Kachins explain all these customs by their habit of burying at any spot chosen by a Chinese soothsayer (*sensen*) as favourable for security from the ghost of the deceased.

(iv.) *Coffins.*—Burial is nearly always in a coffin, but the poorer Yaos merely wrap the corpse in matting. The usual coffin in the jungles is made from a trunk, hollowed out for the purpose. Those of the Red Karens are large, and contain, besides the corpse, food, clothing, implements, and necessities of life. They are decorated during life as handsomely as the owner can afford. The Burman, on the other hand, is buried in a light coffin roughly nailed together.

(b) *CREMATION.*—(i.) *Objects of cremation.*—Cremation is resorted to both for reasons of safety and of honour. All Kachins burn lunatics (*mará*), victims of violent deaths (*sawá*) or of smallpox, and women dying in childbirth (*atang*)—i.e. all persons likely to become dangerous ghosts. Palaungs burn their chiefs, and the Yaos their wealthy personages, in coffins. Some tribes burn all their dead (Szi, and formerly Marú Kachins and Lai Chins). The ashes of cremated bodies are always buried. Lai Chins bury them together with the clothes of the deceased.

(ii.) *Cremation of the respected and holy dead.*—The well-known cremation of a respected *póngyi*, or Buddhist monk (*póngyibhān*), with all its Indian Buddhist ceremonial, is in reality an indigenous ceremony. Burmans burn especially respected and aged persons as well, collect the bones, wash them, and bury them in a pot in the cemetery or near a pagoda. Over the ashes they erect a small pagoda without the crowning umbrella (*htá*), but over the ashes of a great *póngyi* an ordinary pagoda is erected.

(c) *Burial at ancestral home.*—In direct contradiction to the lonely grave, which is to be forgotten as soon as possible, there is the strong feeling among Karens and Chins of the necessity of being buried at the ancestral home. The explanation is to be found in the Red Karen funeral ceremonies, which show that the guardian spirit of the deceased will haunt the living until the corpse has been disposed of with its permission. All Chins attach great importance to burial in the ancestral villages, and Chinbón Chins who die at a distance from home are burnt, and their ashes are carried to the ancestral cemetery. Among Red Karens the body should be taken, if possible, to the grave from the deceased's house; if that is impossible, there must be a mock funeral over an effigy.

(d) *Monuments.*—The object of the ordinary monument in Burma is to provide a home for the spirit of the deceased, in the hope that it may remain there. Kachins erect a conical thatch (*hup*) over graves, but Szi Kachins a *hup* or a hut. The Chinbón Chins build a miniature house of the ordinary type, and the Red Karens a miniature shed containing food. In the Wild Wa country are found cromlechs and collections of boulders, with pointed stones in the centre which are said to be the abode of house *nats*. This statement is supported by the Meng custom of raising oblong heaps of stones over the lonely graves they make in the deep jungle, evidently in the hope of keeping the spirits of the deceased, or house *nats*, at a distance. Lai Chins erect a dolmen over the ashes of the cremated dead.

(8) *Slavery.*—Slavery is almost universal among the hill tribes. It has a distinct effect on their physical development, and accounts for the great variety of form and feature, and sometimes of custom, observable where it is prevalent. Usually it is the result of raids on neighbours, but people of the same tribe and even of the same village (Kachins, Chins, Karens) and also relatives (Red Karens) may be enslaved or sold into slavery. Slavery for debt is everywhere recognized, and the general principle of legalized slavery is clearly shown by the Sgau and Pwo Karen custom of selling into slavery defaulting debtors, captives in forays, and confirmed thieves. This principle, in its extreme application common in the Far East, is visible in the Akhais custom of selling themselves into slavery when their crops fail. The Chins prefer monks (*póngyis*) and women as slaves, because they are the least likely to escape, and Sgau and Pwo Karens killed the men and the children in forays, but saved the women as slaves.

The custom is to treat slaves well, and not to make them work harder than their masters, provided they give no trouble. The female slaves are not turned into concubines, and are not made to suffer indignities (Red Karens, Chins, and Kachins). They may marry free men, the master acting as father-in-law (Kachins), and slaves may marry free women (Kachins). But the abiding principle in Burmese slavery is—once a slave always a slave for all succeeding generations. All the children of slaves are slaves. It is the only idea of 'caste' that has reached the Indo-Chinese races in Burma, and it has been applied to religious uses with cruel effect. It begins with a superstition. The Sgau and Pwo Karens sell into slavery widows and widowers who cannot pay the 'price' of the deceased, and those who introduce epidemics—a principle that was extended to the tillers of the Royal lands (*lamaing*) in Mandalay, who were all slaves *ipso facto*. With the help of imported Brāhmanical ideas, the principle was further extended to the attendants at Buddhist shrines, the so-called pagoda slaves (*parāgyūn*). The pagoda slave, absolutely dedicated to the service of the pagoda, is a familiar spectacle in Burma. He could not be liberated or find a substitute, and the slavery descended for ever to all children, wives, and husbands of pagoda slaves, and to any free children they might have had on marriage. The duty was to keep the pagodas in order, and the slave might be employed in no other capacity, on pain of the employer being sent to the lowest (Buddhist) hell. The pagoda slaves are, in fact, a 'low caste.' The whole idea is Indian, no doubt introduced with Buddhism from the analogy of the dedicated attendants of Hindu shrines, with the help of the indigenous practices as to slavery. So great is the stigma attached to slavery of this nature, that all the prestige and authority of the British Government have been unable materially to alter the status or means of livelihood of this unfortunate class since the emancipation granted them under British rule.

23. *Palace customs.*—The customs of the late Royal Court of Burma, up to the British occupation of the country in 1885, are preserved in the *Lavakāyāhā Inyōn* volume, and in the *Yasawindav*

(Royal Chronicle) of Mandalay. They not only present a faithful picture of all the religious and superstitious ideas of the people, but are also a sort of epitome of them, whether indigenous or imported. Many of the allusions contained in the religious or quasi-religious practices of the Palace refer directly to Buddhism, or to the old Brāhmanism which accompanied it, or to the modern Hinduism introduced by the Royal astrologers. The references to the indigenous Animism are also numerous, and of these the most instructive and important for the study of religion in Burma are recorded in the following account:

(1) *Enthronement ceremonial*.—At the enthronement of the kings of the last dynasty, a temporary palace was erected, called the Thagyānān (the Palace of Thagyā, the arch-nat of the Thirty-seven and Buddhist 'archangel'), where the king performed the ceremonial washing of his head before ascending the throne. Here was also deposited a golden casket containing some 'golden quicksilver' with the nine precious stones (Indian) and some charmed water. After the washing the king was 'anointed' with water blessed by eight Hindu astrologers (*pōnnās*), and presented by them with a charmed flower (*payetpān*). After this ceremony a *pōnnā* fixed the auspicious day for ascending the throne, which was made of *pīpāl* wood (the Indian sacred fig). As soon as the royal couple were seated thereon, the lucky silver gong (*mīngalā ngēmawung*) was sounded.

(2) *The king's sacred position*.—The king's title was Athēt-ū-san-paing-than-ashin, 'Lord of the life, head, and hair of all human beings.' His word was above the law and infallible. His orders were Divine communications (*byā-theit*). He was immeasurably above every other human being; all, even the chief queen, were obliged to treat him and all his personal property with the utmost respect as sacred, and a special honorific language was used in his presence with respect to him.

(3) *The royal wives*.—The king was obliged to have eight queens and as many concubines as Chinese and Shan potentates presented to him. The neglect of Thibaw, the last king, to comply with this custom caused much concern among his most law-abiding subjects. The chief queen was usually a half-sister, but sometimes even a sister.

(4) *The Order of the 'Salwē'*.—This was an Order established in the persons of those who were entitled to wear the *salwē*, a belt of golden chains tied together by bosses, worn over the shoulder, the number of strands indicating the rank. The regulations concerning it are recorded in the *Salwēdin Sadān* (Book of the Order of the Salwē). These show that the *salwē* is nothing but the Indian *janēu* (Brāhmanical cord) turned to secular purposes.

(5) *Court festivals*.—In every month of the year there was a Royal feast for the Court and the public. Some of these were national, some peculiar to Mandalay, some almost exclusively Court functions. Animistic practices were current at many of them.

(a) March-April, *Tagū*: *Hnit-thit Thigyāndaw Pwe*, New Year's Day and Water Feast.—On New Year's Day water from the Irrawaddy, doubly sacred from the blessing of the *pōnnās* and the handling of the king, was used to wash the sacred images in the pagodas. The king and chief queen washed their hair in water from the hollows of sacred cotton trees growing in the villages of Bōk and Kyūnaw, while *pōnnās* invoked the *nats* of *hōn* (fire) and *gyū* (planets).

(b) April-May, *Kasōn*: *Ngayungyēdaw Pwe*, Charmed Water Feast.—Water from the Irrawaddy was formally presented to the king and chief queen, and given by them to the courtiers and maids of honour to wash the sacred images within the palace walls.

(c) May-June, *Nayōn*: *Mōnāl Pūzaw* (Hindu *Moghanāthapūjā*), Worship of the Lord of the Clouds.—This consisted of prayers for rain (*nga-payēik*) by the *sadaw*s (heads of Buddhist monasteries), also known as Ngayān Min's Prayer. He was king of the murrel fish (snake-head), whose prayer when his

lagoon dried up is known all over Burma. At this ceremony *pōnnās* prayed to figures representing the *nats* of the rain, which are human spirits, and the *nats* of the water, which are the spirits of alligators, frogs, and murrel fish. These were set up in *tasawngs* (temporary seven-tier structures), and finally thrown into the Irrawaddy. The whole festival has a strong Indian bias.

(d) In the same month was held the feast of the *Mīngalā Lēdān Pwe*, the Feast of the Lucky Ploughing, when the king, in full military costume, ploughed and harrowed a certain field to procure a good harvest, while *pōnnās* offered prayers to fifteen Hindu gods, and male and female necromancers (*natsayās*, *natōks*, *natayās*) invoked the Thirty-seven Nats.

(e) July-August, *Wāgung*: *Sayēdān Pwe*, the Feast of the Offerings.—The king sent officials (*natōks* and *natteins*) with offerings of clothing to the shrine (*natkūn*) of the Shwēbyin Nyinaung Nats, two of the Thirty-seven, at Taungbyōn.

(f) October-November, *Tasawngmōn*: *Kateindaw Pwe*, the Feast of the Presentation of Robes (to the monks).—The wives of the Court officials had to perform, between sunset and sunrise, the whole process of making cloth for draping the most sacred images in the Seven Nānthin Pagodas, from spinning to the woven material, out of raw cotton supplied by the king. At the full moon the fifteen chief *nats* of the royal family (all really Hindu deities), whose metal images were kept in a special building with a three-tier roof, were worshipped by the Court.

(g) At the *Tasawngdaing Pwe*, the Feast of Burning the Shrines, also held in this month, eight large *pyāthās* (ornamented wicker work spires) and many small bamboo models of pagodas were displayed to the king and chief queen and then burnt.

(h) November-December, *Nadaw*: *Mahā-peinnā Pwedaw*, the Feast of the Royal First-fruits.—The first-fruits of the royal fields from the crown predial lands (*lamaing*), were sent by the king to the Mahā-peinnā Nat at the Arakan Pagoda at Amarpura. Mahā-peinnā represents Mahāvīra or Gaṇeśa, the Hindu god of learning, and the whole ceremony was largely Indian, including the distribution of largesse in the shape of Maundy money (*kyūlōn*), received as revenue from Bhamo.

(i) February-March, *Tabawng*: *Payit Pwe* or *Thepōn Zēddāw Pwe*, the Feast of the Shrines.—This is the month for worshipping the *nats*, and royal offerings were sent to the Nats, Aungwāmagyi, Ngazishin, and Mahāgiri (Māgaye) of Pōpā Hill (all of the Thirty-seven), and also to the guardians (*nats* *bañs*) of the four great gates of the city of Mandalay. Pagodas of sand were also reared to gain or retain good health.

24. *Hindu influence*.—In cases where the old Brāhmanism (introduced with Buddhism) and the modern Hinduism (introduced by the Manipuri astrologers) have affected the religious ideas of the natives of Burma, the fact has been already pointed out in each instance. But there are certain other prominent examples of the influence of Hinduism which require to be considered separately.

(1) *On the Royal Court*.—The late Royal Court was strongly impregnated with Hindu superstition, which was prominently present in the punishment by the legal flogging of persons who habitually killed cows or ate beef. It came out strongly after the king had been deposed, in the doings of various persons who had been connected with the Court. A Hindu Manipuri astrologer (*pōnnā*) was employed by the two Chaunggāwā princes in a plot against the British Government at Mandalay in 1886, though they were accompanied by a Burman Buddhist priest (*pōngyi*). He drew their horoscopes, prophesying that the younger brother only would succeed. The party of the elder brother thereupon dissolved. The *sadaw* (abbot) of the Mōdi Monastery at Mandalay was in the plot, and during a second plot, hatched in 1888 in that Monastery, the horoscope of the prince, a charmed bullet-proof image, and a jar of sacred water were found, when the place was attacked. The jar had been used for taking the oath of allegiance to the prince, and the ceremony had consisted of drinking a cupful of the water from the jar, in which an image of Gautama Buddha, made out of wood from the Bo-tree at Bodh Gayā, had been dipped. The Indian proclivities of the Court also appear in the magic stone in the courtyard of the Shwēdagōn Pagoda at Rangoon, which is engraved with the hare (moon) and the peacock (sun), symbolical of the claim of the last dynasty to both 'lunar and solar' descent (Rājput). The worship of the *White*

Elephant was greatly mixed up with the Court ceremonial, and, though apparently a peculiarly Burmese and Far Eastern institution, is nevertheless an instance of Indian influence introduced with Buddhism. The *Saddān*, or *Sinbyūdaw*, or White Elephant, was not white, but was an animal endowed with mystical signs and powers of so pronounced an Indian type that Hindus greatly revered it.

(2) *On the people.*—Among the people it is perhaps natural to find, considering their source, that powers of witchcraft, sorcery, and necromancy generally should follow the typical Indian custom of running in families. Hindu influence also causes much confusion in belief, and *nats* (Burman), *balūs* (ogres, doubtfully Burman), and *pyeittās* (ghosts, clearly Indian *prēta*) are all found mixed up in the same story as disease- and death-bringing spirits. Most of the Animistic customs of the Burmans, Talaings, and Shans are nowadays referred incorrectly to a Brāhmanic origin through Buddhism. Hindu influence, too, much affects the Burmans as to lucky and unlucky days of the week, and these in their turn exercise so great an influence on their actions, ceremonies, and medicinal dieting as seriously to interfere with daily life.

(3) *Pagoda slaves and other outcasts.*—The Pagoda slaves (*parāgyūn*) [see above, 'Slavery'] are an 'outcast' caste of the true Indian type—an idea entirely foreign to the Indo-Chinese mind. There is the same feeling towards professional wandering beggars (*tadaungṣā*), who may follow no other occupation; and with these are associated lepers, the deformed and the maimed (recalling the Indian idea of the 'sin of misfortune'), conductors of funerals, makers of coffins, and diggers of graves (*sandālē*). The feeling was extended to the slave tillers of the government lands (*lamaing*), to the lictors (*letyātaung thingyeing*), and to those specially tattooed for crime (*pagwēt*), who were also constables, jailors, and executioners. No one associated with them, and they were often denied burial, being thrown out along with the town offal.

(4) *The Nawngtung vestals.*—The marriage of four virgins every three years to Sao Kaing, the Spirit of Lake Nawngtung at Kengtung (Shan States) is Hindu in type, the influence in this case probably coming up from the South through Siam from Cambodia. There is little dedication, however, as the girls go home after the ceremony and may marry; but if one of them dies soon afterwards, the *nat* has 'accepted' her.

(5) *On festivals.*—Hindu influence clearly appears again at the New Year Festival at Kengtung, when an indecent figure of Lahū Nat, a frog, is carried through the town, and thrown into the river with obscene antics, 'for the public welfare.'

(6) *On superstitions.*—A *pinnā*, by means of necromantic dreams, successfully cultivated a field in Nanmadawzā Kwin near Mandalay, in which dwelt a death-dealing *nat*, when every Burman who tried to cultivate it came to an untimely end. The posts of a house are believed to be male, female, neuter, and the ogre's (*balū*) respectively, or according as they are of one size throughout, or bulge at the bottom, in the middle, or at the top. Female posts are the best for building, next the male; the others must be avoided. *Nat* shrines in trees are connected to the trees by a bridge made of threads for the use of the *nat*.

(7) *Serpent-worship.*—The accepted Burmese tradition is that King Anawrahtā (Anawrahtāzaw) of Pagān, the Buddhist reformer of the 11th cent. A.D., put an end to the *nāgā*- (pronounced in Burma *nāgā*), or serpent-worship then prevalent. He probably merely scotched it, as is shown by the *naga* images about the Shwēzīgōn Pagoda at

Pagān, built after his death. The cult must, however, as its name implies, have been imported from India, and the numerous legends and folk tales now current of *naga* maidens and *naga* heroes may safely be referred to a form of Animism that is not indigenous in the country, or be regarded as indigenous animal fables coloured by the cosmogony received through Buddhist sources. The presentation of a monster *naga* to the Pagoda is still an annual ceremony at the Tāwadeinthā (Buddhist) festival in Tasaungmōn (November), and on either side of the Mintet Tagū, or State Staircase at the Palace at Mandalay, are four guardian images (*pyawthā tayinthā*) directly referable to Indian *naga*-worship.

(8) *The Five Nats.*—Burmese books lay much stress on the Five Nats, which have all Indian names combined with the native word *so*, meaning 'ruler.' They are all 'nature' spirits: Mekkasō, Lord of the Rain (*mēgha*); Bōmmasō, Lord of the Earth (*bhummi*); Yōkkasō, Lord of the Trees (*rukka*); Akāthasō, Lord of the Sky (*ākāsa*); and Thārasō, Lord of the Waters (*sāra*, lake).

(9) *The Thirty-seven Nats.*—The Thirty-seven Nats, famous throughout Burma, are clearly of Buddhist origin, and represent the inhabitants of Tāwadeinthā, the *tāvātimsa* heaven, the abode of the Thirty-three, where dwell the ruling spirits that interfere with mankind. To the Thirty-three four have been added in modern times, making up the now orthodox number of Thirty-seven. The existing spirits are not by any means, in name, form, or representation, identical with the original Thirty-three, whose images, much debased from the Indian form, are still in existence at the Shwēzīgōn Pagoda at Pagān, which was constructed at various dates from A.D. 1094 to 1164. At the present day, the Thirty-seven are all, with one exception, national heroes or heroines, whose story or life has caught the popular fancy. Consequently there is some vagueness in the orthodox list, though there is an extraordinary unanimity, among those who profess to know the subject, as to their names, and even the order in which they should come. In their existing form they exhibit in a remarkable manner the tendency of all mankind to fasten old-world stories and attributes on popular heroes. The Thirty-seven Nats are now purely Animistic in nature. The one *nat* of this Order that retains his original characteristics is Thagyā Nat, who represents Indra in the form of Sakra (by Burmese phonetics *Thāgyā*), the *primus inter pares* in the heaven of the Thirty-three in Buddhism, and the Recording Angel of Burmese orthodoxy. He is the first or chief of the Thirty-seven among the Burmans, but the Talaings find no place for him, and rank the second of the Burmans, Mahāgiri or Māgayē, the house *nat* personified, as the first.

On analysis, the Thirty-seven Nats resolve themselves into five groups, each connected with a cycle of quasi-historical tales, an explanation of which in detail would involve an examination of the very complicated history of Burma, often in its more obscure passages. Roughly, the five cycles of tales are all connected with royal families, including several kings, and therefore with great heroes and heroines. They commence with stories of mythical times in Tagaung and Prome, and are continued all through Burmese history to modern times. The great king of Pegu, Tabin Shwēdi (1580-1550), and a prisoner of war taken by Bayin Naung of Pegu (1551-1581), the Branginoo (Bayingyinaungzaw) of the contemporary Portuguese writers, are included in the list. Even the great-grandson of Branginoo, alive in the middle of the 17th cent., is one of the Thirty-seven. Only one of the Order besides Thagyā Nat belongs to no special category. He was a personage of no particular consideration, Maung Po Tu, a trader of Pinya, who was killed by a tiger, and became famous by his tragic death. Tragedy in life, indeed, has been the usual passport to inclusion in the Thirty-seven.

Each member of the Order has his or her own particular festival, and there is a well-known book, the *Mahāgita Mēdanigyān*, which purports to be

a book of odes to the Thirty-seven Nats, though, strictly speaking, it contains a series of short biographical and genealogical sketches in verse for recitation under spirit possession by female mediums (*nat-kadaw*) at the festivals. They are by way of being moralities, and are meant to impress on the audience the sins of treason, rebellion, and assassination. The ceremonial at the festivals of the Thirty-seven Nats is distinctly Animistic in tone.

25. **Superstitions.**—The superstitions of Burma naturally embody tags of every kind of belief that has at one time or other attracted the attention of the people. Superstitions are apt to run through the country without regard to origin. Those of the Burmans may be looked on as common, at any rate, to the Talaings and Shans also, and to the tribes that have come in contact with them. They all have, however, some that are peculiar, more or less, to themselves. Of these superstitions some are now selected as samples:

(1) **Burmans and general.**—Combs of hair and parings of nails are tied to a stone and sunk in deep water. Water soiled by washing clothes, and saliva, are carefully disposed of. Children's cauls bring promotion in life to the possessor. The smell of cooking brings on fever, especially trying in oil. The mother of seven sons or daughters will become a witch. Women dying in childbirth are cut open and the child (*alun*) is buried in some secret spot to prevent necromancers (*manavayā*) from digging it up and misusing it. At the funeral of a *pōngyi* (*pōngyibhān*) there is a tug of war (*ōmsuē*), to ascertain which side is to have the merit (*kiithō*) of dragging the body to the pyre. The natural 'spirit flames' at Kamā, between Prome and Thayetmyō, are the fire of a spectral blacksmith. A live boat-constrictor (*sabgyi*) is kept on fishermen's boats as a warning of storms, as, when one is coming, it slips overboard and makes for the shore. The gall bladder of the snake is a good medicine, and the fat a remedy for rheumatism. It is unlucky for bees to hive under the house, but lucky on the house-top. Shavings of rhinoceros horn cure epilepsy and poisons. Horns of buffaloes, when flawless and solid (*thanat-hpi*), are a charm for invulnerability. Stones found in the heads of birds, in trees, and in animals (*anade*) are highly prized as amulets. In the Mandalay Palace grounds there stood the Hkōnān, the palace of the king of the pigeons. If a hen lays an egg on a cloth, the owner will lose money. A snake crossing the path will delay a lawsuit, a journey, or a raid. If a dog carries an unclean thing into the house, it denotes riches to the owner. The steps of a monastery (*kyauing*) must be in odd numbers. Knots in the side pieces (*hlegati*) of the steps leading to the house determine its luck. Oil at the Yēnangyaung oil-wells is found by the direction in which a marble elephant on a flat stone moves of itself, or in which its shadow falls on the surrounding offerings. Scrapings from meteoric stones cure ophthalmia. Eating *lapet* (tea salad) settles all bargains, and is sometimes the binding part of a marriage ceremony. In all the native Courts, except the Supreme Court (*Hlutdaw*), decisions were finally settled when the parties had received and eaten a packet of *lapet*. Appeal after that in any circumstances was a crime, punished by public flogging (*maung-kyau*) round the roads. Omens are drawn from the sun and moon, howling of dogs, flight and song of birds, twitching of the eyelids or any part of the body. If a mushroom is met with at the beginning of a journey, it will succeed. Small charms (*hkaung-beit-set*) to secure invulnerability, up to as many as thirty, are let in under the skin; they consist of discs of gold, silver, lead, pebbles, tortoise-shell, and horn. Charmed necklaces and bracelets are worn for the same purpose.

(2) **Shans.**—Inhaling the smoke of pine-wood or taking a mixture of monkey's blood and turmeric prevents bleeding at the nose and mouth in lying-in women. Corpses of the unmarried are married to stumps by being knocked against them on the way to burial.

(3) **Talaings.**—It is dangerous to mention any one by name during a devil-dance held to frighten away an epidemic, as the evil spirits might afflict the owner with it.

(4) **Kachins.**—Eclipses are caused by a dog (*shittākwa*) swallowing the moon. The rainbow is from a crab (*chikān*), which lives in marshy hollows connected with a subterranean ocean. Thunder is the voice of Mushang, the Nat of the Heavens. Lightning is represented by a phrase, *myit hpyap kalamat*, 'rolling and shaking the eyes (of Mushang)'. Earthquakes are caused by crocodiles burrowing in the earth from the subterranean ocean. The markings of the moon are due to the foliage of the rubber tree. It offends the house *nat* if a visitor goes out at the back door. Snakes and porcupines across the path are unlucky; deer, hedgehog, rhinoceros, and otter are lucky. The wild cat is doubtful, being classed both ways in different places. It is unlucky for young men to drink the beer named at births after a new-born child.

(5) **Karens.**—It is lucky if a crisis, representing the Harvest Spirit, crawls up the yoke-support of the oxen and flies upwards from the top. Lights on graves are the spirits of the dead, and are the occasion of an annual festival. The Bre Karens drink,

for strength and courage, the blood of any animal they kill. Among the Sawngtung Karens no one may leave the village on the day of the birth of a child in it, and no eggs may be kept in the village while the fields are being reaped. The first ancestor of the White Karens had a magic wishing drum. Taungthū ghosts do not walk on festival days. Giving away anything at all on sowing or planting days means blight for the crop. Among the Taungthū Karens no paddy may be taken out of the bins during Pyāthō (December-January).

(6) **Was and Palauings.**—Among the Palauings, if a person dies on the last day of the month, the body must be buried at once, or there will be fire, epidemic, or murder in the village. Among the Ens, if a tree is felled, a man dies, and so over extensive areas the people will not work hill-fields, for fear of offending the spirits.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned at the end of § III. the following may be consulted:

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BURMA AND ASSAM (Buddhism in).

i. BURMA.—1. **Origin and history.**—The common assertion is that Buddhism was first established in Burma by Buddhaghosa from Ceylon about A.D. 450. The delta lands were not even called Burma then, and the Mons or Talaings were the inhabitants, to the complete exclusion of the Burmese proper. The capital of the Burmese was then Pagān. It is supposed that the fighting, which ended in the destruction of Tharekettara (the modern Prome) and the building of Pagān, was carried on by settlers from India, some of whom had come by ship to Prome, which was then on the sea, and others who had come to Northern Burma by way of Manipur. These last were certainly Mahayānists, who followed the canon drawn up by Kanishka, at the synod held at Jālandhara in the Panjāb. The Mon converts, and assumedly the Indian immigrants, were Hinayānists, who adopted the canon of Aśoka, formulated by him at his synod in 250 B.C., held at Pātaliputra. This canon was taken to Ceylon, where it has been followed ever since. Pagān was established about the beginning of our era, and Tharekettara, the site of which is a short distance east of the modern Prome, had been a famous capital for something like five centuries before this.

There is no real history of Burma till the time of Anawrahtā, who succeeded to the throne of Pagan in A.D. 1010, and is renowned as the first Burmese national hero—a sort of Alfred the Great. He began the struggle between Burma proper and Yamanya, between the Burmese and the Mons, which did not end till 1755, when Pagan was captured and Rangoon founded. This was also the struggle between Buddhists of the Northern canon and Buddhists of the Southern; between Sanskrit and Magadhi, as the Burmese call Pāli; between the Mahāyānists and the Hinayānists, the Great Vehicle and the Little Vehicle. The doctrinal form of the conquered was imposed on the conquerors, but this came about through the personality of the originator of the great struggle.

Serpent-worship had been followed for about a hundred years before the time of Anawrahtā. It was grafted on the Kanishka canon by a usurper king, Saw Yahan, and the ministers of this debased religion were called *Art* or *Ariya*, 'the Noble.' They lived in monasteries, but are said to have been of dissolute life. Their robes were blue like those of the lāmas of Tibet and China, and they let their hair grow two inches long. Anawrahtā was converted to the purer form of Buddhism by a wandering monk, who is called Arahan, and is therefore practically nameless. The first act of the proselyte king was to send a messenger to the Mon king, Manuha of Thatōn, asking for a copy of the *Tripiṭaka*, the three Baskets of the Law. King Manuha refused. Anawrahtā made no second request. He raised an army, marched to Thatōn, levelled the city with the ground, and brought everything—the Books of the Law, the king Manuha, and the people—in a body to Pagan. From this time dates the erection of the temples which make Pagan so remarkable a ruined city, and also the spread of the present form of Buddhism over all the land of Burma.

This is the common story, and it may very well represent the establishment of Buddhism of the Southern school throughout Burma; but the slow disinterment of buried cities and the study of Chinese and Tai annals seem to show that Buddhaghosa had predecessors as missionaries, and it is quite certain that there were Buddhists in Burma proper long before Buddhaghosa's time.

Hitherto the assumption has been that Buddhism firmly established itself in Burma about the time when it was beginning to disappear in India. It may be true that it was then first universally accepted in the form which it retains to the present day. It seems very clear, however, that Buddhism had been introduced long before, perhaps only to struggle with the Animists, who then inhabited the country, but at any rate had been introduced and stayed, and was certainly not merely a tolerated religion.

Buddhaghosa landed at, or near, Thatōn with his volume of the Scriptures. Thatōn was then certainly on the sea-coast, but Forchhammer maintained that the apostle landed, not at the modern Thatōn, but at Golanagara, which lies twenty-two miles north-west of it. This is quite possibly the site of the original Thatōn, for the changing of capitals was always a characteristic of the peoples of Burma, whether Burman, Mon, or Tai. There are frequent references to the struggle between Brāhmins and Buddhists in the coastwise lands before this, and it seems quite probable that there is some truth in the legend, believed by all Burmans, that king Dhammathawka, as they call Aśoka, sent two missionaries, Thawna and Ottara, to what we call Burma, after the sitting of the third great synod in 241 B.C.

Kanishka, the last and probably the greatest of the three great Buddhist monarchs of Northern India, is commonly called the Constantine of the East. His date is very uncertain, but the best authorities seem to agree that he ascended the throne about A.D. 120. He carried Buddhism to far-away Khotan. He defeated the armies of the emperor of China, and he beat back the attacks of the Parthians. It is possible that it was he who introduced Buddhism into China and Japan.

But the name of the Buddhist monarch best known in Burma is that of Aśoka (Dhammathawka), who was crowned in 269 B.C. and reigned till 231 B.C. He was the grandson of Chandragupta, the petty chief who founded the Maurya dynasty, the great military monarchy that held the whole of India from Patna to the Panjāb. Aśoka was the greatest of these Maurya monarchs. He was converted to Buddhism, and made it the State religion of all Northern India. Kanishka is called the Constantine of the East, but Aśoka was both a Paul and a

Constantine. He sent missionaries over all the world known to him. He ordered the dedication of *stūpas* to the Buddha in the remotest parts. It is nearly certain that he introduced Buddhism into the Tai kingdom of Nanchao, which had its capital at Talifu, and remained there till it was overthrown by Kublai Khan.

The Burmese Buddhists know little of Kanishka, but the name of Dhammathawka is well known, and tradition credits him with the foundation of many pagodas with the bones and relics of the Buddha (see art. BUDDHA in vol. ii. p. 884^b f.). There are such *stūpas* at Tavoy, Moulmein, Toungoo, and Thayet in Lower Burma. There are many of these *shwemōkthos* and *shwemōkḍaras* in the Upper Province, and even farther off still, in the tributary Shan States: at Kyaukse, Sampe-nago, in the Bhamo District; at Pwela in the Myelat, round the Inle lake, and in many parts of the hills. They are all implicitly credited to Dhammathawka, and it can hardly be that some of them are not on the list of the 84,000 which he ordered to be built. It is perhaps significant that the Burmese royal history says that a band of *ksatriyas* came after the founding of Tagaung (old Pagan) and established a capital which they called Mawriya, in the neighbourhood of the present village of Mweyen.

When the Maurya empire broke up, Buddhism did not cease to be the dominant religion of the north of India. The *Questions of Milinda* give us the history of the conversion of the Greek Menander and of his disputations with the sage Nāgasena. The Bactrian Greeks, though they were pushed southward and farther south by the Śākya, or Hun tribes of the Scythian steppes, established a great kingdom in the Panjāb, and Menander's empire was hardly less extensive than that of the warlike Aśoka, and even included for a time the sacred Magadha. The Scythians themselves were not content with driving the Greeks across the Oxus. They pushed on and established the Kushan dynasty, and seized the Middle Land itself, the sacred heart of India. It was then that Kanishka fixed his home in the holy city of Peshāwar, and it was there that he received and befriended Yüan-Chang (Hüen-Tsiang), the Master of the Law, the great traveller and writer. Kanishka built a great audience-hall for the monks, and a noble relic-tower. It is not impossible that this is the shrine discovered in 1909. Kanishka also convened a great council to examine and codify all the Buddhist writings. The canon which we now have was laboriously drawn up and engraved on copper. It was buried in the relic-chamber of a pagoda, and, since the ashes of the Buddha claim to have been found after more than 2500 years, possibly this canon also will be discovered in the same neighbourhood.

With the death of Kanishka the decay of Buddhism in India began. It seems likely that the growth of Buddhism in Burma began at least then, and probably earlier. At any rate, everything seems to show that the theory that it did not begin till five centuries later is mistaken. All the researches of the very poorly supported Archaeological Department in Burma tend to establish the certainty of the early connexion of Burma with India, and indeed to prove that the Burmese race came from the north-west, and not from the north-east; from the northern slopes of the Thian Shan range, and not from any part of the modern China. The Burmese Chronicle, the *Mahāyāzawin*, asserts this, and all recent discoveries tend to prove that it is right.

In the year 1908-09, excavations conducted under the direction of Taw Sein Ko at Hmawza have conclusively proved that the Northern school of Buddhism was established at Prome, the ancient

Tharekettara. Votive tablets found at the Legu pagoda, and the sculpture there, are in the same style as the familiar Gupta work of Northern India. It seems, therefore, indisputable that there was communication between the kingdom of Tharekettara and Northern India, when the Guptas (A.D. 319-606) rose in Kanauj, and the term 'Pāli' began to be used instead of 'Magadhi.' Magadhi declined as the Guptas rose, just as Kosali declined when Magadha conquered and annexed Kosala. It may be asserted with some confidence that communications did not begin with the Guptas, and that there was connexion between Burma and India long before, and that Buddhism came much earlier than has been hitherto believed.

Neither the Mahāyānists nor the Hinayānists use the tongue in which the Buddha Gautama preached, the widely diffused dialect of Kosala, or Koshala, where he was born and brought up. After his death Kosala was conquered, and Magadha took its place. The edicts of Aśoka were issued in Magadhi, though history records that the Sanskrit of the Veda was still in official use at the court of his grandfather, Chandragupta. Kosala was the ancient land of Oudh, and Magadha is the modern Behar. Rhys Davids, however, points out that the official tongue of Magadha differed from the local Magadhi, or Kosali, in many little ways, because it was based on the tongue which Gautama spoke, the dialect which had been the form of speech used by Rama and his race. The literary form of Kosali was known as Pāli, that is to say, 'canonical,' because the Pāli, or canon, of the Buddhists was composed in the ancient dialect of Oudh.

The relation of Pāli to Sanskrit may be roughly compared with that which the Romance languages bear to Latin. Because it became the language of the Buddhist canon, Magadhi gradually came to be called Pāli, and so identified itself with the reformers. Sanskrit remained the form in which the orthodox Brāhmins expressed themselves. It may be noted that the people of Burma and Ceylon still prefer to use the old name 'Magadhi' instead of 'Pāli.' Magadhi, at the time of the missionary journeys of the first Buddhist apostles, was a sort of *lingua franca*, as Hindustani or Malay is now, and the Sinhalese language is, as a matter of fact, derived from Magadhi. Any one talking Pāli could probably make himself understood by the people of Ceylon, just as a Yün-nanese can understand a Peking Chinaman, or a Lao Shan can follow a Siamese on the one side, or a British Tai on the other.

It seems to be proved beyond reasonable doubt that Buddhism was established both in Southern and in Western Burma long before the hitherto accepted dates. Very probably it got no great hold on the country. It is also probable that the Mahāyānist school was much the more strongly represented until the time of Anawrahtā. It can hardly be doubted that some of Aśoka's apostles visited and settled in both Upper and Lower Burma. Probably, however, the missionaries of Kanishka were much more numerous and more successful.

By the time of Kanishka, Indian Buddhism had lost the simple morality and 'agnostic idealism,' as Waddell calls it, of its founder, and had taken in much from the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and from Saivism. It had become 'a speculative theistic system with a mysticism of sophistic nihilism in the background' (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 10).

It is unfortunate that the age of Kanishka is very imperfectly determined. We have so far records varying from the year 8 to the year 18, and the learned are at variance as to whether these are years of reign or years of an era. Fleet holds that they refer to the Samvat era, while others take them to refer to other eras with omitted hundreds. The net result is that Kanishka may be placed anywhere between 56 B.C. and A.D. 283—rather a wide interval for a monarch who made his influence felt from the upper reaches of the Tigris to the Great Wall of China.

It has been authoritatively asserted that the Mahāyānist form of Buddhism was introduced into Burma by Chinese missionaries in the 4th century. If for this we read Tai or Shan missionaries between the 1st and 4th cents., it will probably be much nearer the truth. Hinayānist Buddhism had probably come in a tentative way with Aśoka's apostles before this, and, as is clearly established, Mahāyānism penetrated even as far as the Malay Peninsula, not at all impossibly through Burma, at the time when Buddhism is generally credited with being first planted in Burma itself.

The Northern school may certainly be called corrupted in comparison with the first teaching of the Buddha, and it was still further corrupted by the Tantra system. This was founded by Asaṅga, a noted monk of Peshāwar in the Panjāb, and is a mixture of magic and witchcraft with Siva-worship. This was grafted on the already corrupted Buddhism, and has left many traces in Burmese Buddhism. The religion which existed in Pagān before Anawrahtā's rape of the king and the religious books and the people of Thatōn was a medley of *naga*- or serpent-worship, Tantrism, and Mahāyānism, with not a few traces of Tibetan lāmaism, which came with the 8th cent. and possibly gave the country the word *pōngyi*, or 'monk,' which may be compared with *bōn-gyepa*, the Tibetan *bon*, 'mendicant.'

The professors of the Northern school of Buddhism, the *Ariya* of Pagān, were full of superstitions, and they were workers of miracles. Burnouf had little respect for them. 'The pen,' he says, 'refuses to transcribe doctrines as miserable in respect of form as they are odious and degrading in respect of meaning.' How long they had been found in Pagān there is nothing to show. It is, however, quite certain that the autocrat Anawrahtā effected the fusion of the two schools in the 11th century. He finally put an end to the *Ariya*, but traces of Mahāyānism have clung to the outward form of Hinayānism in Burma ever since. If the religion may be said certainly to belong to the Southern school, it may no less certainly be asserted that it was moulded by the Northern. But Buddhism can hardly be called a religion. In its concrete form it is rather a sort of philosophy practised by a monastic organization like that of the Dominican or Franciscan Orders.

2. Buddhist Scriptures and religious works.—

The canons of Buddhism may have been the work of an immediate disciple of the Buddha, drawn up at the first council in the year after the Benign One's death, but it is certain that the canon of the *Tripitaka* was really first settled at the council held under Aśoka in the 3rd cent. B.C. From the inscriptions we may rest assured that at that time the most important part of the Buddhist canon existed, as we now have it, divided into five portions.

The miracle-mongering Mahāyānists enlarged the original canon to a huge extent by expanding the texts of the original documents, by adding material of their own, and by entering into compromises with any local form of popular superstition; but however the individuals may have affected Burmese forms, this canon was never adopted in Burma. The Buddhist of the Southern school may be a scientific freethinker, as Lillie calls him, but he maintained with great tenacity the purity of the early Buddhist teaching. This exists in the canon of Ceylon, and it is this form which Burmese Buddhism implicitly adopts. The Burmese also recognize only the Pāli, the canon language. This is as distinctively the language of the Hinayānist school as Sanskrit is of the Mahāyānist. When the natives of India began to use Sanskrit as their literary language, from the 2nd cent. A.D. onwards, the people we call Buddhists gave up writing in Pāli, though they probably understood it. But the books they wrote in Buddhist Sanskrit were new books. We find that the Buddhist Sanskrit texts abound in wild, extravagant, and exasperating digressions. Such works as the *Lalitā Vistara*, the *Buddha Charita*, and some others are based on the old myths of Asia. In these we can detect the common origin of the story of Bacchus, of Kṛṣṇa, and of many other gods and heroes.

The last census of India showed that out of

nearly nine and a half million Buddhists in the Indian Empire, all but about 300,000 are in Burma. Ceylon may be regarded as the holier place by the Buddhist, possibly even by the Burmese Buddhist, but, since very shortly after the permanent establishment of Buddhism in Pagan by Anawrahta, Burma has consistently held a very high place in the interpretation of the authentic Buddhist Scriptures in the language which they call Magadhi, or the Mula-bhasa, and Western scholars call Pali. This Magadhi, or Pali, has been to the Burmese what Latin was to the mediæval scholastics and scholars of Europe. This has been so much the case that Burmese writings dealing with matters of religion or philosophy are as full of Magadhi terms as European scientific phraseology is filled with classical terminology.

Since the 11th cent. there have been produced in Burma, in the Pali language, great numbers of religious works, grammatical treatises, and dissertations on philosophy, which have attained a reputation far beyond the limits of Burma. They have been studied in Siam and perhaps not least in Ceylon itself.

The palm-leaf manuscripts spread so much that copies may be found both in Ceylon and in Siam, in any monastery which pretends to a respectable library; and of later years, when all the more noteworthy works of Burmese authorship have been printed at the local presses, Burmese treatises have become still more common.

The reputation is well deserved. The Burmese *bhikkus*, since the days of the Pagan monarchy, have been noted, not merely for their study of the *Abhidhamma*, but for scholarly researches in the canons which deal with metaphysics and psychology. For centuries monks from Siam and from Ceylon have come to study in Burmese monasteries, which have always been rich in commentaries and exegeses on the *Abhidhamma* (q.v.). Only one specimen of this literature is to be read in any Western language. The *Dhamma-saṅgāṇi* was translated in the first few years of the 20th cent. by Mrs. Rhys Davids under the title of *Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*. This introduction to Buddhist metaphysics is the shortest of the canonical works, but it is to be followed by a translation of the *Saṅgāṇi* by Mrs. Rhys Davids in collaboration with a Burmese scholar, Maung Shwe Zan Aung. A Pali dictionary is also in process of production to take the place of Childers' dictionary, which has fallen far short of the knowledge and needs of the Western student of Pali.

3. Religious education.—While the Buddhist monks of Burma have long been noted for their scholarship, the Buddhist people of Burma have been no less noted for their education. The percentage of literates among the men is almost as high as it is in Ireland, and is higher than the proportion in Italy. Burma has less than a third of the population of the Madras Presidency, yet the number of literate persons is very nearly the same. The census figures of 1901 are not nearly so favourable as those of 1891, because at the latter census a much higher proportion of hill peoples were enumerated, and, besides this, the number of natives of India in the country had largely increased. Still, even on this less favourable estimate it appears that, on an average, of every five persons in Burma one individual would have been found who could read and write. The proportion of literates is much higher in the rural districts, and especially in Upper Burma, than in the delta, where the number of illiterate immigrants from India is very considerable.

The credit for the superiority of the Burman is entirely due to the monastic schools. These have existed for centuries, much as they may be seen now in country places. If the *brāhmanas* had done nothing else, they would deserve honour for the way in which they instruct the boys of the country. The theory of Buddhism is essentially selfish, or at any rate it encourages selfishness. Each individual must work out his own salvation, and no one else can help him, except by example, just as the Buddha is a model not only for the

people, but for the *bhikkus* himself. There are no regular services held by the mendicants; no preaching of sermons at stated times; no assembling of congregations; no religious forms for burials, or births, least of all for marriages. Some energetic and zealous monks do read homilies and deliver sermons, but there is no need for them to do so, and there is no summoning of the religious to attend. The one religious ceremony is the admission of the novice to the Order, when the postulant has completed his studies, has decided to put off the world and join the company of the *samanera*, and this is really a continuation of the teaching of the youth of the country. It enables the creature to become a human being, for no Burman can claim to have attained humanity until he has put on the yellow robe, and the ceremony of initiation is intended merely to provide that no one defective mentally or physically shall enter the Noble Order.

At the age of eight or nine every Burman boy goes to the monastery school, except in the towns, where the people are degenerate, and, as often as not, are half-Chinese, half-Muhammadian, half-Hindu, or half-English, and go to the Government or Mission schools. In the country villages—and the Burman is not a lover of towns, but essentially a tiller of the soil—it may be taken for certain that every one sends his boys to the monastery. There they begin by learning the alphabet, shouting out the letters at the top of their voices, and copying them out with steatite pencils from the roughly made black wooden board on which the teacher-monk has written them.

As soon as the boy has learnt his alphabet thoroughly he is started on his first text. This is practically always the *Mingala-thut* (*Mingala Sutta*), which may be translated, 'the Buddhist Beatitudes.' It is made up of twelve Pali verses, with a short introductory preface. In the version given to the schoolboy each Pali word has its Burmese equivalent. This is learnt ploddingly word by word, and verse by verse, and the pupil is not considered to have mastered it till he can repeat the text and its translation without blundering or hesitation of any kind. After this the meaning is taken up word by word and stanza by stanza, and the whole is explained in simple language. The choice of this poem is a most admirable one, for the Pali is exceedingly simple, and the sentiments are of the most elevating kind. After the text and its meaning have been thoroughly learned, the easiest rules of grammar in connexion with the *Mingala-thut* are explained. Time is of no object to the monk or the boy, or to the Burman of any age or position; and the study of 'the Beatitudes' in many cases takes a year, more or less, according to the application and the intelligence of the pupil. But when he does know the text, he knows it thoroughly.

The second text taken up is generally the *Nāma-kāra* of Buddhaghosa, which is a short lyric, composed in a moment of inspiration by that apostle. A small treatise giving a list and description of the most excellent things is often studied instead of the *Nāma-kāra*. These are: the Nine Excellences of the Buddha; the Six Excellences of the Law; and the Nine Excellences of the Assembly of the Perfect. This also is in verse, as indeed is the case with by far the greater part of the literature not merely of Burma, but of the rest of Indo-China and of India. By the time the monastery schoolboy has got through the *Mingala-thut*, the *Nāma-kāra*, and the Book of the Excellent Characteristics of the Church and its Founder, he has acquired considerable proficiency in both reading and writing, and he is able to go on to the study of the works of Shin Silavamsa, Shin Rathasara, and others of the poetical composers of the Burmese classics. These are the most noted writers, and it is only after he has mastered them that the young Burman student begins to read the Ten Great *Zats*, the descriptions of the *avatāras* of the Buddha, which are in prose. It is with these prose works that the Western student usually begins his Pali reading.

But the monastic school does not merely read these easier poetical works. Step by step he continues his grammatical studies with them, and the meaning of the text, and its applications to the Buddhist religion, are exhaustively explained to him by his bedesman teacher. From the very beginning the boy is taught, with many illustrative examples and stories from the Scriptures and from the Commentaries, to shun evil in thought as much as in deed, because it is an obstacle to progress towards a higher form of life, and final emancipation from the sorrow of earthly existence. He is taught to be upright and pure, not in the hope of escaping punishment, but because of the peace of mind which rewards him. He is taught to reverence parents, wife, children, and teachers; and, above all, the duties which every Buddhist owes to the Lord, the Law, and the Assembly are impressed upon him. He is in fact educated in everything that a proper citizen owes to his country, to society, and to himself. The theory is excellent, and the education of the monasteries far surpasses the instruction of the Anglo-vernacular schools from every point of view, except that of immediate success in life and the obtaining of a

post under Government. At the time when the boy is at his most impressionable stage, his mind is built up, instead of being buried in a mass of ill-digested information; and his heart is being trained instead of being ignored.

A boy whose parents can permit him to stay on in the monastery, and are willing that he should learn the literature of his country, instead of the science and wisdom of the Western nations, now passes on to the *Paṛeitam*, the *Lawkaniti*, the *Dhammaniti*, and the *Rājaniti*. The *Paṛeitam*, or Book of Protection, is a collection of excerpts in prose and verse from the *Tripitakas*, each of which is supposed to be a safeguard against some calamity or danger: against evil spirits, plague, pestilence, and famine, fire, battle, and murder, snake-bite, and even against poison. The *Lawkaniti* teaches him worldly wisdom; the *Dhammaniti* gives further moral instruction; and the *Rājaniti* is a work like *The Prince of Machiavelli*, compiled, to suit Oriental tastes, by the sage Chanakya.

Many pupils stop far short of this. In the old days all parents who could afford to keep their son idle let him proceed as far as this if he had the necessary intelligence and industry. At this point, however, ordinary teaching ended. If the pupil continued his studies, it was usually as a *samanera*, or novice. The boy was dressed up in princely robes to recall Siddhartha's renunciation of the world. He made the tour of the town or village in jubilant procession, with troops of gaily dressed maidens. He bade farewell to parents, relatives, and friends, entered the monastery, and went through the customary examination before the head of the community. Then his head was shaved. He was robed in the yellow monkish garments, had the begging bowl hung round his neck, and fell in among the body of the mendicants. He received his religious name, which he kept for the rest of his life if he remained in the Order, and remembered only as an incident if he went back to secular life.

The old-fashioned rule was that every youth should spend three Lents (roughly from July to October) in the monastery and conform to all its rules, including fasting after noon and going the begging round in the morning. One Lent was for the father, one for the mother, and one for the *samanera* himself. To spend less than one entire Lent was considered hardly decent. Western influences, however, have taught many that life is not long enough for this, and the Lent is often cut down to a month, a week, or even a few days. Three days is considered the shortest period that is respectable. The novices, of course, go on with their studies. The code of the *Vijaya*, the Buddhist *Anuren Kirta*, the doctrine taught in the *Dighanikāya*, and, finally, the psychological ethics of the *Abhidhamma*, are as much as the most apt are able to study before they are qualified for formal admission to the Order.

The Southern school of Buddhism has never recognized a hierarchy. There is nothing like the system of Tibet, which is so surprisingly like that of the Church of Rome, even to the practice of the confessional and the recognition of purgatory. The need for unity and the requirements of church discipline, however, call for some sort of grading, and a system of classes is recognized, which is very much the same as existed in the time of the Buddha himself.

There is, firstly, the *shin*, the novice, or *samanera*, who is not a professed member of the Order; secondly, the *upasīn*, who, after the prescribed time, has been formally admitted to the Order, and becomes a *śrāmana* or *bhikkū*; and thirdly, the *pōngyi*, or 'great glory,' who, by virtue of not less than ten years' stay in the monastery, has proved his steadfastness, and becomes a *thera*. In actual practice there is a slightly extended system of grades: first, the *shin*, or postulant; second, the *pyīshin*, the full member of the Order; third, the *sayā*, the head of the monastery, who never has fewer than ten Lents; fourth, the *paingōk*, whose control extends over groups of monasteries; and fifth, the *sadaw*, who might be compared to a vicar-general. The *thathanapaing*, or Grand Superior of the Order, in the time of the Burmese monarchy, was appointed from among the *sadaws*, and had a council, called the *thudhamma*, varying in number from eight to twelve. In 1904 the British Government recognized in formal *darbar* a *thathanapaing*, chosen by the *sadaws*, and gave him a formal patent, and it is probable that this course will be followed in the future.

Notwithstanding these ranks, however, the religion is eminently republican in character. The monasteries are open to all,—to the peasant and to the highest dignitary,—and the longest stayer has the greatest honour. Rank counts by number of Lents spent in the monastery, no matter whether the *bhikkū* is a provincial or merely a wandering friar, and individual dignity releases no one from the duty of the daily begging round. Nothing except the frailty of age excuses the most learned and famous *sadaw* from the morning round. The bedesman's robes are the same for the postulant and the member of the *thudhamma*. The monk has no obligation to bestir himself on behalf of his

fellow-monks or the laity. He is not called upon to convert the unbeliever or to reassure the doubter. All he has to do is to work out his own salvation. But he teaches the youth of the country, and this binds the entire population to his support. He not merely teaches them letters, but forms their mind and character. The nightly vespers, when the lauds are chanted and all bow three times before the figure of the Buddha, and three times before the head of the monastery, are more impressive than the most eloquent sermon would be.

4. Schism.—There is very little non-conformity, to say nothing of heresies, among the Burmese Buddhists. For years there were bitter disputes as to ordination, after *Anawrahtā* had established *Hinayānism* in Pagān. Chapada, the monk, had received the *upasampadā* ordination from the *theras* of the Mahāvihāra in Ceylon, and he loftily denied the validity of the orders conferred on the Burmese religions of the old school, called the *Maramma-sangha*, not less than those of Purima Bhikku Sangha, who claimed apostolic sanction from Sona and Uttara, said to have been sent forth by King Aśoka. These bickerings ended, only with the destruction of Pagān itself, and they have never since been revived.

The sects of modern times have mostly risen out of revolt against excessive austerity, or as a protest against reprehensible laxity. There are a few communities, called *Sawtis* or *Mans*, who are anticlerical. They neither reverence the mendicants nor support the monasteries, and some do not even worship before the pagodas, but recite their prayers in the open fields instead. The doxologies which they use are the same as those repeated by the ordinary orthodox Buddhists, and the schism is unimportant. The disputes between the *Mahāgandis* and the *Sulagandis* are simply the sempiternal quarrel between the ascetic and the weak of flesh, between the High Churchman and the Low, the Catholic and the Puritan, the emotional and the austere. These differences have some dignity imparted to them by the assertion of the *Mahāgandis* that man is endowed with free will. This the *Sulagandis* deny, claiming that a man's whole life is controlled entirely by *kan* (*karma*), the influence of past good and evil deeds on existences to come. The *Sulagandis* attribute all importance to the intention; the *Mahāgandis* think that action is sufficient and the intention immaterial.

5. Spirit-worship.—But doctrinal schisms are insignificant compared with the undoubted fact that all Burmese Buddhism is tainted with spirit-worship. The Southern form of the faith triumphed, but the Northern belief in magic and devil-worship has left lasting traces on the religion of Burma, and still more on the Buddhism of the Shan States. It is not merely that they recognize the Twelve Guardian Spirits, whom they have borrowed from the Hindus. The *nats*, the spirits of the air, the flood, and the fell, are much more present influences to the Burman than the calm, philosophic model of the Buddha. The *nats* are constantly consulted and propitiated. The Buddha is, as a rule, directly addressed only on worship days. Spirit-trees sometimes intrude into the limits of the monastic grounds, and spirit-shrines are to be seen in the shadow of the pagoda, and have as many offerings as the relic-shrine. And the spirits, as always, are malignant, and have to be propitiated. The World-Renowned One is long-suffering and benign. Moreover, he is only a model. The spirits are everywhere, and they are malicious, and constantly active. So the Burman does his best to serve both, and has the greater bias towards the spirits.

There is a pagoda at, or near, every village in the

country, and probably also a monastery, but there is a spirit-shrine in every house, and the spirits are consulted before houses are built, marriages made, bargains struck, or journeys begun. In the times of native rule, spirit-feasts were formally recognized by the State, and the ritual was very carefully set forth in lengthy treatises. Moreover, there is a precise list of 'The Thirty-seven Nats (spirits) of Burma,' with forms of the odes to be sung to them, the dances to be performed before them, the vestments to be worn on the occasion, and the life histories of these anthropomorphic deities.

All this is written at length in the *Mahāgita Medani*, and presentments of the Thirty-seven Nats are to be seen in the curtilage and enclosure of the Shwēzīgōn pagoda at Pagān. Further details of spirit-worship are to be found in the *Deitton*, of which a summary is given in Father Sangermano's *Burmese Empire* (1833).

Notwithstanding all this, the Burman would be greatly offended if he were called a spirit-worshipper, and genuinely believes himself to be a most orthodox Buddhist.

The census of 1901 showed that there were 15,371 monasteries in Burma. This gives an average of over two for each village and town in the province, and implies one monastery for every ninety-three houses. In these religious houses there were 46,278 fully ordained monks and probationers, and 45,369 acolytes, wearing the yellow robe. There were thus more than 91,500 wearing the bedesman's robes, and this represents 2½ per cent of the male population of Burma. Perhaps Burma is not so conspicuously the centre of Buddhist religious life and learning in Indo-China as it was in the time of the Pagān dynasty, from the 10th to the 13th century. In those days fraternities came to Pagān from Ceylon, then called Sihaldipa; from the conquered Hainsavati (Pegu); from Ayuttara (Siam); from Kamboja (the Shan States); from Nepāl, and from China; and each sect or fraternity had separate quarters given in which it could live. But even now, notwithstanding the spirit-worshipping taint, Burma can claim to maintain Buddhism in a form nearer that of the Buddha's teaching than any other country.

6. Buddhist architecture.—(a) *Monasteries.*—The Burmese monastery never varies in design. Some few may be built of bricks; most are of timber. In very poor neighbourhoods, they may be of bamboo, but the ground plan is always the same. The *pōngyi-kyaung* so strongly resembles the wooden temples of Nepāl that it can hardly be doubted that the model came from there, or that both have a common origin. The whole building stands on piles, and there are technically only two rooms (if they can be called rooms). In some cases there may be partitions, but there are never any doors, so that the whole interior is practically one hall. A staircase, generally of brick and stucco, frequently embellished with dragons, leads up to the verandah. The verandah, called *zingyan*, is open to the sky, and runs round three sides of the building, and from this there is free entrance on all three sides to the main body of the monastery, which is really one big chamber. The flooring rises in steps. There is one grade from the verandah to the outer chamber, where lay visitors find their place; another step up marks the entrance to the inner chamber, where the monks sit; and a third rises to the structure, always on the eastern side of the building, where the image of Gautama Buddha is enthroned. Over this is built the tiered spire, called the *pyathat*, shooting up in regularly diminishing, super-imposed roofs to the *hti*, or umbrella, which is placed on the top. Both the spire and the umbrella are marks of sanctity, and the spire has three, five, or seven roofs, according to the dignity of the *pōngyi-kyaung*, or rather of

its head. The wood for a monastery is always chosen from the best and most seasoned logs available, or within the means of the pious founder. Sometimes these are excessively large. At the south-west corner there is a chamber, which is used as a store-room. On the west side there is another, which the younger members of the community use as a dormitory. The head of the house, whether *sadaw*, *gaingōk*, or plain *pōngyi*, sleeps at the south-east corner of the building, that is to say in the part closest to the *hpaya-kyaung*, where the image of the Buddha is. The north-eastern part is used as the schoolroom and for the reception of visitors, and has the appearance of a separate room, but is not really so.

Outwardly the monastery looks as if it had several storeys, but this is never the case. The national, and still more the religious, feeling against having any one's feet above the indweller's head is very strong. The outside line is broken up into apparent pavilions, with a profusion of gabled roofs, culminating in the eastern spire, all adorned with carvings, lavished on gables, ridges, eaves, finials, and balustrades, greater or less, according to the wealth of the founder. No monk, it may be remarked, can build a monastery for himself, nor can he ask to have one built for his accommodation. The monasteries are the only national buildings, now that there is no palace, which make any attempt at ornamentation.

A *pōngyi-kyaung* is never, at any rate when it is first built, inside a village or a town. Dwellings may spring up around it later, but always at a considerable distance. The monastery always has the best and quietest site, and stands in a spacious compound, fenced in and planted with umbrageous trees and bamboos, and often with fruit trees, flowering shrubs, and rare and curious plants. The monastic library is invariably detached from the main building, to avoid danger from fire. Within a certain limit from the monastery fence, pillars mark out a boundary, inside which the taking of any kind of life is forbidden. All Buddhist visitors take off their shoes or sandals as soon as they enter the *hparawaing*, as the monastic curtilage is called, and carry them to the foot of the staircase, where they are left until the visit is over. Inside the monastery compound, but perhaps more frequently on a site of its own, is the *thein*, where monks are admitted to the holy Order. This is seldom more than a spire, rising over a lofty pillared space for the ceremony.

(b) *Pagodas.*—The characteristic pagoda of Burma is a solid pyramidal relic-shrine, such as is called a *tope* or a *stūpa* in India. The masonry temples are almost entirely confined to Pagān. The Arakan temple, the Mahāmyatmuni of the suburbs of Mandalay, is almost the only notable example outside of that ruined city.

Pagoda is almost certainly a metathesis for *dagoba*. The Burmese name is *zedi* or *hpaya*. The Burmese recognize four kinds of *zedi*: first, *dat-dav zedi*, containing relics of a Buddha or of a *rahanda*; second, *paribhanga zedi*, erected over the clothing or utensils of a Buddha or of a sainted personage; third, *dhamma zedi*, built over sacred books or texts; and fourth, *udeiksa zedi*, containing images of the Buddha or models of sacred buildings. The last two classes are naturally by far the most numerous.

It is the desire of every Burman Buddhist to be known as the founder of a pagoda, and sacred texts and facsimiles of noted shrines are obviously more easily obtained than relics, or even exact models of relics. The vast majority of *zedis* are of brick, covered over with stucco, and white-washed at intervals during the founder's life-time. Very rich men gild either the whole shrine or the spire.

Many of the most famous shrines, notably the Shwēdagōn in Rangoon, have been cased and re-cased and cased again many times. The original shrine was of quite modest dimen-

sions, and a tunnel, which was driven into the centre of the Rangoon *zedi* at the time of the First Burmese War, showed that it had been enlarged in this way seven times. The original pagoda is thought to have been only twenty-seven feet high and to have been erected in 586 B.C. The present spire rises to a height of three hundred and sixty-five feet.

The modern Burmese pagoda is undoubtedly the lineal descendant of the ancient Buddhist *stūpas* of India, and the development of the type can therefore be traced for a period of over two thousand years. The oldest forms were massive and simple. The modern ones have fined away into slender spires, and have added a great deal in the way of exterior adornment. They have gained in elegance, but have lost in grandeur.

All the more notable pagodas have palm-leaf *thamings*, or chronicles, very often containing much that is of interest in secular history. Like the monasteries, they all stand on a wide open platform, and on this there are built numbers of smaller pagodas, shrines, rest-houses, *tazaung pyathats*, crowded with tier upon tier of images of the Buddha, altars for offerings, and *tagōn-daings*, flag-staffs crowned with umbrella *hñis*, metal caps, or figures of heraldic creatures. The approaches to the pagodas in very many cases are along covered ways called *saungdan*, the sides of which are adorned with fresco paintings, and the stairways are mostly in groups of steps of uneven numbers, just as, according to immemorial rule, the stair to a monastery must have an odd number of steps.

Pagodas, as far as structure is concerned, are divided into four distinct parts. There is first the terrace. This is square, and is usually of brick or mason work. At the corners are often found the *manōthñha*, the curious, human-faced lions, with one head and two bodies, embellished with wings. They inevitably recall the ancient winged lions of Assyria. Upon this terrace stands the plinth, usually of an elaborate polygonal form, and with a boldly moulded, stepped contour. Above this rises the bell-shaped body of the pagoda, divided into an upper and a lower part by an ornamental band. Upon this stands the spire, which is made up of a number of rings: a lotus-leaf belt, with a bead moulding in the centre, and lotus leaves fringing it above and below. The spire ends in a spike-shaped cone, which is finished off with the metal-work crown, or *hñi*. This is usually very graceful in design, made of open metal-work, very commonly gilt, and always hung with bells, sometimes of gold and silver and studded with gems. The Burmese divide important pagodas into twelve parts, most of which are symbolical subdivisions of the spire portion of the *zedi*.

The symbolical meaning of the different parts of the pagoda is not universally recognized by the Burmese, but it is a favourite subject of discourse with many monks, and seems to have come to Burma from the Shan States and perhaps from China. According to this view, the four-sided base is intended to represent the dwellings of the four great world-kings, 'Chaturlokapālas,' whose figures are enthroned within the four arched shrines, and who act as guardian spirits of the world. The eight-sided centre, called *shittatung*, is the *tuṣṭita* heaven. It is here that Arimadeya or Maitreya, the Buddha of the next world-cycle, dwells, and with him are all the other Bodhisattvas, or Buddhas in embryo, awaiting the season when they will descend to the earth as Buddhas. The upper bell-shaped portion, above the circular moulding, called the *kyinaung*, is intended to represent the highest heaven, where the Buddhas go after they have attained to complete enlightenment and have fulfilled their high mission. This is called the *kaung-layngphōn*. Another symbolization represents the five diminishing terraces of the base, to stand for Mount Meru in its five-fold division; or a triple basement recalling the three worlds of *kāmaloka* (sense), *rūpaloka* (form), and *arūpaloka* (shapelessness), the Benign One, called *Tiṣṭakamahita*, being 'the revered of the three worlds.'

(c) *Temples*.—The masonry temples of Pagān are not nearly so characteristic of the country, though they are the pride of Burma. They are absolutely different from the national *zedi*, and the general details may almost all be traced to Indian art, but at the same time there are notable originalities. The arches and vaults resting on their pilasters, with cornice, capital, and base, are

quite foreign to Hindu architecture, and suggest rather the Bactrian Greeks of the time of Milinda. In one sense, therefore, they are Burmese, for nothing like them is to be found anywhere else. Unlike the pagodas, the purpose of these temples is to contain, not relics, but huge images of the Buddha. This naturally affects their plan, and instead of rising in bell-shape they are constructed in gradually diminishing terraces, and are only capped by a spire of the type of the ordinary Hindu *śivalaya*, or perhaps more like the Jain temples of Northern India. The Thapinyu temple has only one shrine, directly below the *sikra*, to receive the image, but the Ananda has four, with presentments of all four Buddhas of this world-cycle, fronting to the four cardinal points of the compass. A striking feature is the narrow slit windows, so placed that a shaft of light falls full on the placid features of the Buddha.

Such temples have always been rare in Buddhist countries, and are foreign to the idea of Buddhism, which does not recognize idol-worship. The only example existing in India is that of the Mahābawdi at Bodhi Gaya, in the charge of Hindu *mahants*. A model of it may be seen at Pagān, and the original is believed to date from about A.D. 500, when Mahāyānism was the form of North Indian Buddhism. There is no similarity between the Mahābawdi and any of the Pagān temples. Of late years a fashion has sprung up, especially in the Shan States, of building temples of this kind, on the model of the Mahāyāmuni in Mandalay—the Arakan pagoda of the tourist, and presumably 'the old Moulmein Pagoda' of Rudyard Kipling.

(d) *Images*.—It seems clearly established that the making of images of the World-Renowned One did not appear in Buddhism until some time after the beginning of the Christian era. They are extraordinarily abundant in Burma now. Only three forms are recognized: seated images, figures standing erect, and recumbent images, called by the Burmese respectively *tinbinkwe*, *mayat-daw*, and *shinbin tha-lyang*. They represent the Buddha in the act of meditation under the Bo-tree, where he attained to supreme wisdom; in the act of preaching; and after death, when he had attained to the blissful calm of *nirvāṇa*. The seated form is by far the most common. In the Eastern Shan States, in the Lao country, and in Siam, figures which suggest the worship of Indra are not uncommonly found and suggest Mahāyānism. So also do the images, enthroned in vaults, under the bell-shaped pagodas, which are not uncommon in the Shan States, but are rarely, if ever, found in Burma.

ii. ASSAM.—The Buddhism of Assam is fast disappearing. At the time of the census of 1901 there were only 9065 Buddhists in the country, that is to say, no more than 16 of the population. At one time they held the whole, or at any rate the whole of the Brahmaputra area, which is the main portion, of Assam. The rest, even to the present day, is inhabited by hill tribes: Chingpaws, Nagas, Mishmis, and the like. In the early part of the 13th cent. the Tais invaded and occupied the country. They gave themselves, or were given, the name of *Ahoms*, from which the name Assam is derived. The Shans called it *Wehsali-lōng*, and the Buddhistical name of the province is *Wehsali*. The invaders were an army sent by Hsō Hkan-hpa, the Tai king, who founded the Mōng Mao empire, which may not possibly have been the 'kingdom of Pōng.' They settled on two long islands, formed by branches of the Brahmaputra, and never returned to their Shan homes. Gradually they occupied the whole of the valley, or main part of Assam, and established Buddhism everywhere except in the hills. For four hundred years they maintained themselves and Buddhism, and then in 1611 their ruler Chu-cheng-hpa (an essentially Tai name) was converted to Hinduism, and practically the whole of his subjects followed his example.

At the present day the *Kalitas*, as the monks of the Ahoms were called, are found in only a few remote recesses of Assam, and it seems probable that even these will disappear before long, and with them Assamese Buddhism. All that will remain will be the Mongolian features which characterize a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Assam. The Tai language is almost as much changed, where it is used at all, as the religion of the country. The few pagodas, fast crumbling away, are of the same type as the pagodas of Burma and of the Shan States, and none has any special celebrity. The monasteries of the *Kalitas* seem to be of the immemorial type of the Buddhist monastic buildings, which, some say, reproduce the traditional forms of ancient wooden architecture in India, Assyria, and parts of Central Asia. They may represent to us the wooden palaces of Nineveh, and hint at the architecture of King Solomon's temple, built of the cedars of Lebanon.

Buddhism has never been a propagandist religion among the Eastern peoples who have adopted it. In quite recent times, however, the faith has been adopted, chiefly in Burma, by Europeans of zeal, education, and energy, who are writing and preaching its merits and beauties. It is possible that they may revive Buddhism in Assam and plant it elsewhere, but it does not seem very probable.

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BURNING.—See **DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD**.

BUSHIDO.—See **ETHICS (Japanese)**.

BUSHMEN.—See **BANTU**.

BUSHNELL.—**1. Life.**—Horace Bushnell was born on April 14th, 1802, in Litchfield, Connecticut, U.S.A. His father, Ensign Bushnell, came of a family with a Huguenot strain of mental alertness and religious sincerity. His mother, Dotha (*née* Bishop), had been brought up in the Episcopal Church. When the family removed to New Preston, Connecticut, in 1805, they joined the Congregational Church there. The mingling of religious traditions in his home saved Horace from being brought up in the strict and arid Calvinism of the time. He described his mother as 'rising even to a kind of sublimity in the attribute of discretion.' There was no atmosphere of 'artificial pious consciousness in the home, but stress was laid on industry, order, time, fidelity, reverence, neatness, truth, intelligence, prayer.' In this way he experienced the meaning of 'Christian nurture' before he attempted to interpret it as a theory of the beginning of the religious life. Similarly, his practical education in household duties is described in the lecture on the 'Age of Homespun,' in his book, *Work and Play* (1864).

He entered Yale College in 1823, when he was 21 years old, and, having graduated, became Tutor in Law in 1829. He threw off his doubts and hesitations in a College revival. His own account was: 'When the preacher touches the Trinity and logic shatters it all to pieces, I am all at the four winds; but I am glad I have a heart as well as a head. My heart wants the Father; my heart

wants the Son; my heart wants the Holy Ghost, and one just as much as the other' (Cheney, p. 56).

In 1831 he took leave of his pupils, telling them as his parting advice: 'Be perfectly honest in forming all your opinions and principles of action; never swerve in conduct from your honest conviction. If between them both you go over Niagara, go' (*ib.* p. 62).

He was ordained pastor of the North Church in Hartford in 1833. In the same year (13th Sept.) he was married to Mary Apthorp, a lineal descendant of John Davenport, the first minister of New Haven.

The main part of his life was passed in Hartford, where his public service to the town is kept in memory by the Bushnell Park. The important events of his life were the publication of his books challenging the dogmas held by the Churches of the 'standing order' (*i.e.* the original Congregational Churches of New England), the replies made to his challenge, and the public and private consequences of his views. He was a keen but sweet-tempered controversialist, and without bitterness accepted what came. He had four children, of whom two, a daughter and a son, died. Two daughters, to whom he wrote some delightful letters, survived him. Other events were his holidays in search of health, some of which were spent in California and in Europe, and his invitations to important lectureships and appointments. He lived 'till all men were at peace with him,' and died at the age of 74, on 17th Feb. 1876.

2. Theology.—Bushnell's life work was largely determined by the theological atmosphere in which he found himself. In his own Church there was an old and a new school, and he found himself 'daintily inserted between an acid and an alkali, having it for his task both to keep them apart and to save himself from being bitten by one or devoured by the other.'

The religious atmosphere of New England was still more heavily charged with theological animus. Bellamy, Hopkins, Emmons, the younger Edwards, Dwight, and Taylor were engaged nominally in making improvements on the Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards, really in trying to accommodate that system to the pressure of modern thought by introducing, in various degrees, a leaven of pantheism. In 1828, Dr. W. N. Taylor of New Haven had made an unqualified assertion of the self-determining power of the will. Bushnell brought into this environment both a fresh and vigorous personality and a new method. He was a builder, but on a new foundation, rejecting fundamentally the syllogisms of Calvinism, and endeavouring to interpret rationally the religious experience of the Christian heart.

Outlined against the theological background of New England Calvinistic theology, Bushnell's work may be described as the work of a mediator between old and dualistic, and new and monistic schemes of Divine and human relations.

His eye is always on the Christian experience of spiritual things. If it be the nature of religion to deal with the things of the Spirit, Bushnell makes his impression by keeping close to nature. He is deferential to tradition but not bound by it, and frankly distrustful of all dogmatic definitions, as creating more difficulties than they allay. Although strenuously critical of the theologies which he found in possession, his aim was always constructive, and in intention comprehensive.

(1) In *Christian Nurture* (1847) he criticized the revivalism which had become the popular method of recruiting the Church. He recognized that the revival movement had displaced an era of formality and brought in the demand for a genuinely supernatural experience. His criticism was that it

makes nothing of the family and the Church—organic powers which God has constituted as channels of grace. His thesis is that the child is to grow up a Christian, and never know himself as being otherwise. He repudiates baptismal regeneration as a superstition, but finds a reason for infant baptism in the organic unity of the parents with their child, 'who is taken to be regenerate presumptively on the ground of his known connexion with his parents' character, and with the Divine or church life which is the life of that character.' His conception of Christian nurture begins with a kind of ante-natal nurture, and he looks to the Church to possess the world by the 'out-populating power of the Christian stock.' The plea contained in the book is as one-sided in its emphasis as the religion—beginning in an explosion and ending in a torpor—against which he protests. But Bushnell gave a great truth—the law of Christian growth—which has never been better expressed, a home in New England Churches. The materials for a complete synthesis between him and his opponents are only now slowly accumulating in the work of religious psychologists and in the comparative study of historic religions.

(2) The second challenge to current conceptions was an interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity intended to get rid of a form of statement which could be criticized as tritheistic. He found a convenient instrument for his task in his theory of language, which is described in 'A Dissertation on the Nature of Language as related to Thought and Spirit,' and forms the introduction to the volume *God in Christ* (1849). He regards language as essentially symbolic and pictorial, relative to the subject rather than to the object, and therefore argues that the doctrine of the Trinity might be true for man and yet not give him real information as to the inner nature of the Godhead.

God in Christ was an outcome of 'a personal discovery of Christ and of God as represented in Him.' The change was from faith into faith—a fuller sense of the freeness of God and the ease of approach to Him—and it was associated with an experience in sleep in which he 'saw the Gospel' (see Munger, p. 114). Coleridge, Madame Guyon, Upham, and Fénelon had much influenced him, and led him to a position which he believed could mediate between the old and the new schools of thought. He accepted invitations in one year to lecture in the Divinity School at Cambridge, which was Unitarian; in the Theological School at Andover, which stood by historical Christianity; and in the Divinity School in New Haven. The permanent value of Bushnell's contribution is his insistence that the Christian 'Trinity' is a result of the fact that the revelation of God to man is by historic process. He does not deny that the Persons of the Trinity have real existence in the Godhead. He is not to be classed as a Sabellian, though this charge was made against him. The revelation of God is, in fact, historical. It is only through relations, contrasts, actions, and reactions that we come into a knowledge of God. As the norm or ideal of the race, God will 'live Himself into the acquaintance and biographic history of the world.' Bushnell coins a phrase to express this, and speaks of an 'Instrumental Trinity,' and of the Persons as 'Instrumental Persons' (*God in Christ*, p. 175). In dealing with the Trinity his eye is on experience. He writes on the 'Christian Trinity a Practical Truth.' He maintains that the Trinity is necessary to satisfy the demands of the heart. On the other hand, he makes room for nothing that does not ally itself with experience.

This book led to an unsuccessful attempt to put the author on trial for heresy before the Association,

or Associated Churches of the District. Bushnell replied to his critics in a series of brilliant and vigorous essays. In these he approaches more nearly to the historic Christian tradition by recognizing that the Trinity has immanent and permanent existence in the Godhead, but he still regards it as necessary only for purposes of revelation and expression.

(3) His third challenge to the prevailing orthodoxy was more directly in line with the first. In *Nature and the Supernatural* (1858) he challenged the view of miracles which regards them as a suspension of natural law. His object is to defend miracles by regarding them as not contrary to the fundamental constitution and laws of the universe, but as exceptional illustrations of the continuous action of God immanent in the universe. He wishes 'to find a legitimate place for the supernatural in the system of God, and show it as a necessary part of the Divine system itself.' The world was made to include Christianity. The coming of God in Christ is part of its proper and complete order; all the appointments, events, and experiences of human history are consummated in this revelation of God; and in this the final cause of the world's creation is revealed. Miracles belong to the revelation of this higher and final order. It was an essential development of Bushnell's teaching, that religion is man's ascent into the sphere of the liberty of the children of God. On the other hand, he gets rid of the idea of miracle as an infringement of law, by including miracle under law, and naming the law supernatural. What ordinarily prevents man from entering into this freedom is not human nature as such, but sin. 'There is no hope for man or human society, under sin, save in the supernatural interposition of God' (p. 250). In the chapter on 'Miracles and Spiritual Gifts not Discontinued,' he accepts the full logical consequences of his position. Criticism attacked him as a 'demolisher of nature,' but no criticism has invalidated his position as bringing the principle and law of miracles within the sphere of rational statement.

His work on the Atonement (*Vicarious Sacrifice*, 1865, cf. *Forgiveness and Law*, 1874) is noticed elsewhere (see EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT [Chr.]). It is mentioned here only to call attention to its essential harmony with the rest of his work. His central position is that the Vicarious Sacrifice declares the supreme law of human life, and is grounded in principles of duty and right that are universal. 'It is not goodness over-good, and yielding a surplus of merit in that manner for us, but it is just as good as it ought to be, or as the highest right required it to be, a model in that view for us, and a power, if we can suffer it, of ingenerated life in us' (*Vicarious Sacrifice*, p. 32). As in parallel monistic systems of thought, Bushnell does not stop short of Patristianism.

Apart from his work as a religious teacher, Bushnell made great and permanent contributions to sermonic literature, and to the analysis of the function and method of preaching. His sermons rank with F. W. Robertson's as an example of insight into moral law and the spiritual order. They surpass Robertson's in wealth of poetic imagery and the use of imaginative and rhetorical statement. His sermons and essays are still alive with the frank, vivid, personal perceptions of a man intensely alive, observant of everything he saw, and led step by step by the Divine Spirit into the categories required for registering his experience. His daughter said of him that 'he had no unrelated facts.' His scheme of religion was large enough to include public affairs of town, State, and nation, and to include all work which made for the

education of the whole man—music, art, economics, and politics. His excursions into these subjects led to his receiving invitations to leave the ministry for other spheres, such as that of President of the University of California. On his visit to San Francisco he did actually lay out the site for the present University buildings. But he felt rightly that his own work was central, and kept to it.

Bushnell's theological work has hardly received the attention it deserves in England. His books are well known in Scotland, and his ideas are the basis of the work of many subsequent New England teachers, such as Theodore Munger, George D. Gordon, Lyman Abbott, William Newton Clarke, and others. They were introduced into English religious thought by Alexander Mackennal and Charles Berry, but, owing to want of sufficient theological training, the representatives of the monistic tradition have strayed into pantheism.

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DUGALD MACFADYEN.

BUSINESS.—I. 'Business' is a term used with several slight variations in meaning. Primarily it implies a man's occupation or employment, the labour by which he obtains his maintenance as contrasted with that which he expends upon pleasure. Thus the *Times* writes: 'Who and what are those 2000 athletes whose struggles we have been watching for the last two weeks? In the first place they are almost without exception business men, they are an integral part of the community that labour in their several countries.' Again, 'business' conveys the idea of attention to a man's affairs, his investments of capital or stock by the management of which, in factory, shop, or bank, he obtains his income. In *Pr* 22²⁹ we read, 'Seest thou a man diligent in his business? he shall stand before kings.'

'Business' is also used to indicate the legitimate employment of a man's powers, his right to act in certain affairs in contrast with action in other matters which would be deemed interference or meddling. St. Paul (1 Th 4¹¹) advises his Christian disciples: 'Study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands.'

2. Business, in the broad sense, then, implies systematic attention to those affairs and duties by which the necessities and comforts of life are obtained, and by which the social organization is supported. It thus becomes co-extensive and practically coincident with the field of economic inquiry, i.e. the production, distribution, and exchange of wealth. Economic science has come to be regarded as 'a theory of business,' and the exposition of the principles which determine and regulate the making and sharing of wealth constitutes a scientific treatment of business, since these principles set forth the fundamental ideas and laws which underlie business phenomena and procedure.

In 1876, Walter Bagehot wrote in the *Fortnightly Review*: 'The science of political economy as we have it in England may be defined as the science of business, such as business is in large production and trading communities; it is an analysis of that world—the great commerce—by which England has become rich.' The financial and commercial policy of nations, i.e. their national and inter-

national business, is based on and embodies the economic ideas which prevail at the time. Of this the so-called Mercantilism of the 17th and 18th cents. is an example, and the change in policy effected in the 19th cent. by the writings of Adam Smith further illustrates the same fact.

For the purposes of investigation of the phenomena of business, economics, according to Bagehot, has created an abstract science, that is, one which detaches the peculiar phenomena or aspects of trade and considers them in a scientific manner in isolation. It assumes that men are actuated in business affairs only by motives of business; this is the hypothesis of the 'economic man,' which regards men in matters of business as acting only from motives of gain; in buying and selling they have only this one consideration, and the market is assumed to be composed of men animated by the same force. From this abstract treatment emerge the principles which mainly determine prices, rate of interest, rent, wage-values, etc.

That men are constituted entirely in this way no one suggests; it is purely an abstraction of one aspect of life, a mental separation of certain motives from other influences in order to ascertain what are the laws which operate in the conditions of the isolation of those motives. Just as in dealing with quantities the mathematician ignores other attributes and seeks to ascertain mathematical relations, and as the physicist endeavours to isolate his phenomena so as to learn the laws of electricity, light, and heat, so the hypothesis of the 'economic man' is an attempt to study separately the effects of conduct under such influences as constitute the economic or business attitude, in order to ascertain their tendencies. Of course these tendencies are modified and counteracted in actual life by the action of other forces; but scientific knowledge consists in ascertaining the laws of each force; the method is by isolation where possible, and the economist only follows scientific method in mentally separating certain phenomena for special study. Bagehot says: 'The history of a panic is the history of a confused conflict of many causes, and unless you know what sort of an effect each cause is likely to produce you cannot explain any part of what happens; it is trying to explain the bursting of a boiler without knowing the theory of steam.'

This hypothesis of the economic man has been much criticized, because it has been misunderstood. It has been thought that economists treated the concrete or real man in such a way as to ignore the nobler and moral elements. To such objectors the 'economic man' seemed to postulate a human race governed only by selfish considerations and a universal egoism. This is entirely a misapprehension: in the first place, in business most men are engaged in providing sustenance for their families; the industrious members of society are those who strive to be self-supporting, and these by taxes and voluntary aids help in supporting many of the less industrious. No motive of gratitude, sympathy, or charity is excluded by the fact that a man's industry in business gives him a larger means of expenditure.

Again, the science of economics advocates nothing; it only investigates and explains the manner in which certain business tendencies operate, it does not say what ought to be the case; its laws, as Marshall puts it, are in the *indicative*, not in the *imperative*. Economics deals, in fact, with those motives alone which are measurable and can be represented in terms of money-values. It is because business motives can be expressed by a common measure that explanations can be offered of the phenomena of business which can afford guidance and warning for the

future. Explanation and prediction are of the very essence of science, and it is in the economic rather than in the ethical aspects of conduct that appropriate measurement is attainable.

Ricardo's Economics has been much assailed on account of his abstract method; succeeding economists have, however, sufficiently demonstrated both the use of the abstract method and the importance and necessity of inductive methods and historical investigation; modern Economics emphasizes equally the value of the abstract method and the collection of facts and statistics, and their joint application to the solution of social problems, in which also many other factors besides the economic have to be considered. This point need not here be further pursued; it is sufficient for the present purpose that the complexity of modern business has come to be recognized as a subject for scientific treatment. Principles of business, applicable alike to commerce, manufactures, transport, and public administration, can be discovered by investigation, and the varied forms of business are conducted with greater efficiency and profit by those who have made themselves acquainted with these principles and methods. Business becomes more sure, more serious, more dignified, when it is seen to be no mere matter of haphazard, rule of thumb, or personal genius, but a system capable of explanation and demonstration, and one which can be taught on scientific methods. There still remains scope for individual talent, industry, and that peculiar insight which contributes to personal success; but general education in business principles and methods contributes to public convenience, efficiency, and economy, just as scientific training does in engineering or in medicine.

3. The recognition of business as a subject for scientific treatment has taken a very practical form by its introduction into public education and University curricula. At Birmingham and the northern Universities, Faculties of Commerce have been established, in London University a Faculty of Economics. The object in all alike is the encouragement of the investigation of business phenomena and the systematic training of business men. As Professor Ashley stated in his address at Owen's College: 'The Academic teacher will interpret to the business world that world's own experience by his wider acquaintance with the field of inquiry than most men actually engaged in trade have time to acquire.'

These new Faculties, starting with Economics, comprise in their syllabuses the whole technique of commerce—the analysis of banking and the money market, the principles of transport in all its forms, industrial and commercial history, accounting, statistics, logic and scientific method, geography commercial and regional, an account of the British constitution, public administration imperial and local, industrial and commercial law, constitutional and international law and history, principles of insurance, etc. The curriculum is sufficiently wide to allow of specialization in its final courses: at the same time it is sufficiently broad to compel a general knowledge of all the important aspects of business life, and to secure a liberal training and intellectual discipline. Cambridge has not been slow to adopt the new idea, and has instituted a Tripos in Economics and the associated branches of Political Science. America and Germany have also made provision for commercial training in their schools and Universities.

The conclusion is that business is now regarded as offering a career similar to professional and scientific pursuits, and one demanding serious equipment and special training for success. Its scientific bases are established, its methods are formulated, and are capable of exposition and

acquisition. It is now accepted that matters which touch so profoundly the well-being of men cannot be left to mere empirical methods, but that the highest efficiency and progress can be attained only by scientific treatment; thus business has come to rank as a University subject with a large and varied curriculum—a proceeding which at once adds to its dignity and importance while it tends to advance civilization and comfort.

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G. ARMITAGE-SMITH.

BUTLER.—1. Life.—The greatest name among English philosophical theologians—Newman said 'the greatest name in the Anglican Church'—is that of Joseph Butler, the author of the *Analogy*. He was born of respectable Presbyterian parents at Wantage on 18th May 1692, and was at first destined for the Presbyterian ministry. To this end, he was educated at an academy for Non-conformist theological students, which enjoyed a deservedly high repute, carried on, first at Gloucester and afterwards at Tewkesbury, by a Mr. Samuel Jones. Here, among Butler's contemporaries, were several men who afterwards attained to eminent positions in Church and State. Secker, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, has described (in an interesting letter to Isaac Watts, 18th Nov. 1711) the severe and prolonged study which candidates for the ministry were there required to undertake. After some years, the young Butler felt that his intellectual and theological convictions called him to the service of the Established Church rather than to that of the Nonconformist bodies; and, with his father's consent, he matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, on 17th March 1715. There was nothing remarkable, so far as we know, in his Oxford career.

'We are obliged,' he wrote to Dr. S. Clarke, 'to mis-spend so much time here in attending frivolous lectures and unintelligible disputations, that I am quite tired out with such a disagreeable way of trifling.'

However, he took his degree in 1718, and in the same year was ordained deacon by Bp. Talbot at Salisbury, his ordination as priest following two months later. He was immediately appointed Preacher at the Rolls Chapel, where his famous series of Fifteen Sermons was preached. His first rectory was that of Haughton-le-Skerne, near Darlington, and in 1725 he was appointed to the wealthy benefice of Stanhope. Shortly after this he resigned the Rolls readership; he became a prebendary of Rochester in 1733, and Clerk of the Closet to Queen Caroline in 1736. In this year he published *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, the work by which he is best known.

Butler was a special favourite of the Queen, whose taste for learned conversation was indulged at her private parties, to which Butler was frequently bidden, in company with Hoadley, Secker, Sherlock, and other divines of the then fashionable latitudinarian school. An interesting account of Butler's conversation at this period is preserved in the *Journal of John Byrom*,¹ in which the future bishop is represented as urging the fallibility of Church authority in matters of religious belief. 'The Doctor,' says Byrom, 'talked with much mildness, and myself with too much impetuosity.'

Butler attended the Queen in her last moments, and she took occasion to charge the King with his advancement—a recommendation which led to his

¹ Letter to Clarke (*Works*), I. 332. References are given throughout to the edition of Butler's writings in two volumes, published by the writer of this article in 1900.

² Printed for the Chetham Society, 1864-66, vol. II. p. 96: cf. also p. 498.

preferment to the see of Bristol, the poorest bishopric in England, in 1738. The dissatisfaction, plainly expressed, of the new bishop with the provision thus made for him, was allayed by the addition of the Deanery of St. Paul's, which he held *in commendam* while he remained at Bristol. That he was by no means a lover of money was, however, evident throughout his career; and his private charity was as splendid as it was unostentatious. While at Bristol, he published six remarkable sermons preached on public occasions, which give his views on great questions. Foreign Missions, Poor Relief, Hospitals, Primary Education, the Nature of Liberty, and the Genius of the British Constitution are their respective subjects;¹ and they are still worthy of study. It is interesting to observe the development of Butler's thought, as years went on, in the direction of a more definitely ecclesiastical position than that from which he started. Bred a Nonconformist, as we have seen, he became attracted to Anglicanism as a student. His earliest writings, the Letters to Clarke,² written when he was only 21 years of age, are occupied with the deepest and most abstract of all arguments, the *a priori* arguments for the Being of God. He passed on to review the foundations of morality in his ethical discourses at the Rolls; and the last of these, on 'The Ignorance of Man,' contains in germ the dominant thought of the *Analogy*. This great contribution to the Philosophy of Religion deals, indeed, in the Second Part, with topics peculiarly Christian; but there is little in Butler's treatment that was distinctive of his position as a member of the Church of England (unless the mention of a visible Church in *Anal.* ii. 1. 10 be taken to imply this). He does not mention the Sacraments at all, although the nature of his argument would readily admit of an application of it to Sacramental doctrine. But three years after the publication of the *Analogy*, we find him, as Bishop of Bristol, strenuously insisting on the prerogatives of his clergy; and John Wesley records in his *Diary* (August 1739) that Butler wished to prevent him from preaching in the diocese of Bristol. Butler's dread of extravagance and emotionalism was, no doubt, at the root of his objection to Wesley's ministrations; and it is necessary for a bishop to follow ecclesiastical precedent more closely than would be expected of a simple presbyter. But, for all that, the episode is significant. And Butler's charges to his clergy, both at Bristol³ and at Durham,⁴ are definitely assertive of the doctrines and practices of Anglicanism, in a degree for which the student of his earlier works is hardly prepared. It was said of him, indeed, both at Bristol and at Durham, that his proclivities were towards Roman Catholicism—a foolish calumny which hardly needed an answer.

Butler's wide views as to the needs and opportunities of the Church abroad were markedly illustrated by the proposals which he put forward in 1750 for the appointment of bishops to rule the clergy serving in North America.⁵ His scheme came to nothing, as political difficulties were urged against it, and the Church in America remained without bishops of its own for a generation after Butler's death. But it was a remarkable illustration of his sagacity that he foresaw the necessities of the situation. In the same year (1750) he was translated to the see of Durham; but his work was nearly finished. He died at Bath on 16th June 1752, and was buried in Bristol Cathedral, where a monument with a fine inscription by Southey marks his grave. It has often been said that in

1747 he refused the Archbishopric of Canterbury, but the story is not sufficiently authenticated. Little is known of his capacity as a ruler of men; but both in regard to intellectual power and to sanctity of character he occupies a very high—perhaps the highest—place in the hierarchy of the Anglican Church.

2. **Writings.**—Butler's position as a moralist is defined in his *Fifteen Sermons* and in the *Dissertation on Virtue* appended to the *Analogy*. The ethical and political philosophy of Hobbes was fashionable in England during the first half of the eighteenth century, and it was mainly with the view of combating its conclusions, which Butler regarded as dangerous to public and private morals, that the *Sermons* were published. The first three are 'Upon Human Nature.' In Sermon i. he expounds the several constituent principles of human nature, of which self-love, benevolence, and conscience are regarded as primary. Its principal thesis—which is in direct conflict with Hobbes—is that

'there are as real and the same kind of indications in human nature, that we were made for society and to do good to our fellow-creatures; as that we were intended to take care of our own life and health and private good' (i. 5).

In Sermon ii. he argues for the *supremacy of conscience*, as the guide of man's higher nature, and he insists strongly on its superiority to the natural passions and instincts (a point which he found Shaftesbury to have neglected). This is further brought out in Sermon iii., where, the soul being compared to an organized constitution in which the inferior elements are subordinated to the superior, the obligation to virtue is expounded. 'Follow nature' is a reasonable rule, provided that it be recognized that the constitution of human nature is adapted to virtue as truly as the constitution of a watch is adapted to the measurement of time. The two sermons on 'Compassion' (v. and vi.) develop further his polemic against Hobbes. Not so directly controversial are the important discourses on 'Resentment' and the 'Forgiveness of Injuries' (viii. and ix.), in which the distinction between sudden anger (*θυμὸς*) and deliberate indignation against wrongdoing (*δρῶν*) is brought out, and the precept 'Love your enemies' is explained. Of much psychological interest are the sermons on 'Self-Deceit' (x.) and on 'Balaam' (vii.); and in those on the 'Love of our Neighbour' (xi. and xii.) there is a valuable account of the relation between pleasure and desire, where once again Hobbes' psychology provokes the discussion. It is a fundamental principle with Butler (as with most modern psychologists) that desire seeks its appropriate object directly, and that it is not aroused, as Hedonism would teach, by the anticipation of its own satisfaction.

'All particular appetites and passions are towards external things themselves, distinct from the pleasure arising from them' (xi. 6).

Thus Love of our Neighbour, or Benevolence, may be described as 'disinterested'; it is a natural principle which primarily seeks its own gratification. That indirectly it ministers to personal happiness does not rob it of its disinterested character, or afford any excuse for resolving it into self-love, as the school of Hobbes would do. From this, Butler is led on to treat of the 'Love of God' in two noble and almost eloquent discourses (xiii. and xiv.), in which, with Fénelon and the mystics of every age, he defends its 'disinterested' quality.

A part of his ethical system which has found many critics is his conception of the relation between self-love and conscience. Both, in his view, are 'superior' principles; and in his anxiety to recommend his system as reasonable to those who have been attracted by Hedonist doctrines, he allows much to prudence and self-love.

¹ See *Works*, I. 203 ff.

² *Ib.* i. 311 ff.

³ *Ib.* i. 302.

⁴ *Ib.* i. 287.

⁵ See *Tiffany's History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, 1895, p. 269.

'So far as the interests of virtue depend upon the theory of it being secured from open scorn, so far its very being in the world depends upon its appearing to have no contrariety to private interest and self-love' (xl. 21).

And it is Butler's conviction, and it lies behind his whole argument, that under the control of a benevolent Providence conscience and self-love will, in the end and at last, be found always to have pointed the same way. But he recognizes (as every observer must) that cases arise in life in which the two do not give the same counsel for the guidance of personal conduct, and in which honesty does not appear to be the best policy, so far as the present world is concerned. In such cases there is no hesitation in his teaching as to the supremacy of conscience; and even if he permits or encourages the man who is thus perplexed to look forward to the equity of the future life, where the wrongs of the present will be redressed, he does not allow this to be the dominant motive of his action. His ethics are *intuitional*, not *utilitarian*, like those of Hobbes, and they are not stained by that taint of 'otherworldliness' which is manifest in the moral doctrines of Paley and his school.

Butler's fame rests more securely on his contribution to Christian Apologetic than upon his Ethics, and the *Analogy* has always been more widely read than the *Sermons*. The title of this famous work is self-explanatory. *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* falls into two parts, the first concerned with the analogy of 'Natural' Religion to what we know of Nature and her laws, and the second with the analogy of 'Revealed,' i.e. the Christian, Religion to the same model. His aim throughout is to present the reasonableness of religious belief to those who recognize a Supreme Author and Governor of the world, but who hesitate as to the religious doctrines of a Future Life, of Future Reward and Retribution, of the Moral Government of the world, of Miracles, of the Redemption of Christ, and so forth. He is not arguing the case of Theism against Atheism or Pantheism. He has, in his mind, the Deistical philosophy prevalent in England and France, which had not only affected minds hostile to religious influences, but had infected the teaching of professedly Christian theologians (see DEISM). In his early correspondence with Clarke, to which reference has been made above, he shows that he had pondered deeply the abstract and metaphysical arguments for the Being of God; but in the *Analogy* he is not directly concerned with these. John Toland (1670-1722) and Matthew Tindal (1656-1733) are the writers whom he has most clearly in view,¹ although he does not directly name them as he names his ethical opponent, Hobbes, in the *Sermons*. Their books, *Christianity not mysterious*, and *Christianity as old as the Creation*, were intended to rationalize the Christian system, and to show that the idea of revelation is a quite unnecessary element, while incidentally their tendency was to undermine the foundations of natural religion as well as of revealed, by urging the grave difficulties with which the theory of religion is beset. Butler's line of defence is bold and original. He takes as his text a saying of Origen, that

'he who believes the Scriptures to have proceeded from Him who is the Author of Nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the constitution of Nature' (*Introd.* 6);

and he urges that difficulties in the theory of religion, whether natural or revealed, cannot be regarded as insuperable by practical men, if similar difficulties remain unexplained in nature. His argument from analogy is mainly a negative

¹ Tindal, in *Christianity as old as the Creation* (1732, p. 251), had tried to controvert the doctrine of benevolence put forward in his sermons by 'the judicious Mr. Butler.'

one. He never claims that natural law may be discerned everywhere in the spiritual world; he does not pretend to offer a 'natural' analogue to every spiritual fact. But he urges that for many of the difficulties which Deists and their disciples find in religious theory natural analogies may be found, and that thus an answer is provided to those who rely on these difficulties as destructive of belief. Probability is, for men, the guide of life; and exact demonstration of the purposes of the Eternal is hardly to be expected by those who recognize man's ignorance and the Divine Infinitude.

The opening chapter of the *Analogy* upon 'A Future Life' is, perhaps, the least convincing, as it seems to suggest a materialistic doctrine of the soul which is incredible. But Butler's argument does not necessarily involve this. We do not know, he urges, that the soul is extended in space and consequently 'discernible,' and hence we cannot infer its destruction or the cessation of its activities from the analogy of bodily dissolution. He does not venture to argue positively from the immateriality of the soul to its immortality, as many of his metaphysical predecessors had done. Chapter ii. is concerned with the rewards and punishments of a future state, and he urges the analogy between what religion teaches about these and what experience teaches us about the temporal punishments of this present life. The Moral Government of the world is next passed under review (ch. iii.); if a perfect moral administration is not to be observed now, yet its *beginnings* may be traced, the natural tendency of virtue seems to be in the direction of happiness, and it may be reasonably expected that this tendency will hereafter be actualized in a perfect manner. A state of probation implies trial, difficulties, and danger (ch. iv.), which are also the conditions of our life under the natural government of the world. Such a state is intended for moral discipline and improvement (ch. v.), and the present order of things seems peculiarly fit to serve this purpose. Theoretical doctrines of necessitarianism (ch. vi.) need be no hindrance to religious belief, for religion is a practical matter, and in all the practical affairs of life we act as if we were free. And, finally, our inevitable ignorance of the whole scheme of Providence (ch. vii.) should make us cautious in laying stress on difficulties which we cannot completely resolve.

In Part II. of the *Analogy*, Butler begins by explaining the *importance* of revelation, supposing it to be a fact (ch. i.), in opposition to the Deistical doctrine that reason is a quite sufficient and satisfactory guide without it; and he is urgent in pointing out that we are not competent to determine *a priori* what is the method or the content of revelation (i. 28). True to his practical good sense throughout, he insists that *a priori* methods in theology are apt to mislead, as the subject is really beyond our powers. There is no special presumption, he proceeds, against a revelation because it involves miracle (ch. ii.)—an argument which he develops with vigour, but which is not entirely satisfying. He returns in ch. iii. to the question of our competence for theological speculation, and his answer is decisive: 'Reason can, and it ought to judge, not only of the meaning, but also of the morality and the evidence of revelation' (iii. 13)—a far-reaching proposition. Conscience, he teaches, is the gift of God quite as much as Scripture; and no alleged dictum of revelation can be allowed to outweigh the unmistakable dictates of our moral faculty. We could not predict, that is, what course a true revelation must take; but if an alleged revelation contain clear immoralities or inconsistencies, we may safely pronounce it to be false. The stately chapter on the Redemption of

Christ (v.) is notable chiefly for its insistence on the great principle that it is the Death of Christ, and not theories as to the manner of its influence in the spiritual world, which brings redemption. That the evidence of Christianity does not amount to demonstration, and that the Christian religion has not gained the allegiance of all mankind, are often urged as obstacles to its acceptance (ch. vi.); but probable evidence is all that nature provides, and truth always takes time to win its way.

So brief an account of the contents of the *Analogy* does not exhibit either the power of the argument or its extent; but Butler's style is so severely concise that it is all but impossible to make a *précis* of his reasonings. It is sufficient if some idea has been provided of the scope of his work, the most remarkable feature of which is, perhaps, the sagacity with which he has anticipated objections. Most of the apologetic literature of the eighteenth century is useless in the twentieth century, but this cannot be said of the *Analogy*. The author was conscious, in a degree to which his contemporaries, whether heterodox or orthodox, did not attain, of the limitations of human knowledge—of the greatness of God and the littleness of man; and the pleas of modern Agnosticism, accordingly, hardly affect his carefully considered argument. Pitt is reported to have said that the *Analogy* is 'a dangerous book, raising more doubts than it solved'; but this would be a shallow criticism. The difficulties with which it deals are not of Butler's making; they had been suggested openly by the writers whose influence he set himself to combat; and although many hasty readers may remember the difficulties while they forget the answers to them, that is not the fault of the book, but of human nature. It may be said, on the contrary, that there is no better tonic, even in the twentieth century, for weakness of spirit when a man is confronted with the perplexities of religious theory than the manly and straightforward work of Butler.

3. Influence.—It is curious that the *Analogy* is little quoted by the professedly-apologetic writers of the age immediately succeeding that of the author. Leland, in his *View of the Deistical Writers* (1754), does not mention Butler at all, although he is at the pains of collecting various answers to Deistical doctrines; nor is it easy to find references to the *Analogy* for fifty years after its author's death, although it passed through a

good many editions, and, as we have seen, his reputation as a metaphysical theologian stood high in his lifetime. But in the nineteenth century Butler's writings exerted a truly remarkable influence upon divines of every school, and no writer was more frequently quoted in English theological circles. The study of the *Analogy*, says Newman (*Apologia*, ch. i.), 'has been to so many, as it was to me, an era in their religious opinions.' And Newman mentions specially Butler's doctrine of Probability, and his doctrine of Analogy suggestive of a sort of sacramentalism of Nature, as underlying much that he himself taught in after years. At first sight, the connexion between Butler and the Tractarians is not obvious; but it may have been real, nevertheless, and the banishment of Butler's works from the curricula of the Oxford schools as a result of the anti-Newman reaction in 1845 may not have been so unreasonable as it seemed. The fact is that Butler's system had little in common with the simple evangelical piety of Wesley and the successors of Wesley in the English Church in the beginning of the nineteenth century; he laid more stress on reason as a judge of revelation, and spoke more warmly of the importance of a visible Church, than was agreeable to the popular divinity of the period between 1760 and 1830. Butler was, indeed, markedly independent of the influences of his time. There is no trace in his works of wide or extensive reading.¹ He was a wise rather than a learned man; and he was little affected, to all appearance, by the currents of opinion in his own day. This may serve to explain at once his aloofness from contemporary controversy, to the personalities of which he never descends, and the slight impression which he made on the literature of his time, as contrasted with the massive reputation which he achieved a hundred years after his death.

LITERATURE.—For Butler's career: T. Bartlett's *Memoirs of Joseph Butler* (1839) is the main authority; see also the *Life* prefixed to Fitzgerald's edition of the *Analogy* (1860); W. Lucas Collins, *Butler* (1881); W. A. Spooner, *Bishop Butler* (1901); and W. M. Egglestone, *Stanhope Memorials of Bishop Butler* (1878). Of the various editions of Butler's works the most complete are those by W. E. Gladstone (2 vols., 1895), with supplementary volume of Butler studies; and by J. H. Bernard (2 vols., 1900); both of these have notes, and the latter provides an Introduction. Steere's edition of the *Sermons* (1862) is specially noteworthy as including a Memoir and some hitherto unpublished fragments; and Fitzgerald's edition of the *Analogy* (1860) is excellent. The essays upon Butler's writings and influence are innumerable.

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C

CABBALISM.—See KABBALISM.

CÆSARISM.—From the time of Augustus to the time of Diocletian, what is called 'Cæsarism' is the most noted feature of the Roman Empire. Cæsarism was the outcome of many tendencies. It was a stream which was fed from many sources. It was, for instance, the culmination of the Greek conception of the city-State, in which the latter was regarded as the sphere in which the citizen was to realize himself, the measure and the goal of all his efforts, towards which his whole strength was to be directed. The rights and the duties of the citizen were alike exhausted within the city-State. This relationship governed the whole activity of the citizen. There was no limit to the duty which he owed to the State. For it he was bound to live, for it he ought willingly to die. Within the city-State there was no room for differ-

ence of view. State ideals were to be the ideals of the citizen, nor was there any room for the modern idea of freedom as against the State, or any distinction between religion and politics. The citizen was bound to worship and to serve the gods of the State. To refuse the gods their due was treason, and he was liable to punishment by the authorities for refusing to worship the city-gods, as he was liable for any refusal to serve the State in the time of danger or of war. This view, which obtains full expression in the works of Plato and Aristotle, was also the view of Rome. Only it obtained in Rome a more thorough expression. Like everything Roman, it was practical and utilitarian. Devotion to the State—patriotism as it was then understood—had really no limit. It had not only all the

¹ See, for a discussion of the authors who were probably well known to him, a paper on 'The Predecessors of Bishop Butler' by the writer of this article, in *Hermathena*, 1894.

characteristic marks of what we now call patriotism; it had the deepest religious sanction as well. Negatively, to refuse service to the State was treason, and not to recognize and serve the gods was also treason. For the gods and the State were one. They were bound up together, and the highest officer of the State might also be, and often was, the Pontifex Maximus.

Reserving for a little the question of the influences of the Roman provinces on the official Imperial religion, let us glance at the Roman religion itself and its character at the time of the Cæsars, since the advent of the Imperial religion coincided with the decay of the religion of Republican Rome. The old Roman religion was practically inoperative in the Imperial time. The worship of Janus, and of some other Latin and Sabine deities, was continued and offered by the State. But the worship of other Roman deities had decayed. As early as the close of the Punic wars there was a tendency on the part of the people to transfer their devotion to the gods of other peoples. The gods of Olympus were identified with the gods of Rome, and the more abstract forms of the Roman deities were made concrete and anthropomorphic by their identification with the more lively gods of Greece. Nor were these identifications limited to the gods of Greece and Rome. From Egypt there came the worship of Isis, and after a long struggle this worship was allowed by the Roman authorities. The worship of Aesculapius and Cybele also had a recognized place and validity. As Rome proceeded on her conquering career, and as district after district fell under her sway, the thoughts of the citizens were widened, new problems arose, wider horizons needed newer principles and larger methods than were required in the olden times. Means which were used in the narrower spheres had become inadequate. Thus religious rites and ceremonies, which were relied on to avert disaster or to win success, seemed, as the sphere of government enlarged itself, to be quite inadequate to the magnitude of the new situation. It was the custom in earlier Rome, in times of great peril, when all other means had failed, to choose a dictator for the sole purpose of driving a nail into the temple-wall of Jupiter. This remedy seems never to have been used after the time of Scipio. In Rome itself those rites which appeared adequate and sufficient in the old city-States seemed out of all proportion when the city had become a world-wide government. What had seemed sufficient when Rome was simply a city-State among other Italian States, or even when she had brought all Italy under her sway, had become clearly inadequate when her dominion extended from Persia to Britain, and from the Rhine to the Great Desert. Rome had attained to Imperial dominion, the world had attained to some unity under her sway, the decrees of the Senate were operative everywhere, but where was any unity in the world of the gods to correspond with the visible unity of the Roman rule? The Roman citizen could not but feel in some measure that he was a member of an imperial race; he must have felt that adversity and prosperity were now on a larger scale than formerly, that disaster now meant something infinitely more serious than in the olden time. His religious instincts, his feeling that he must somehow have the gods on his side continued, but how was he to propitiate them, or which were the gods to be propitiated? Could there be a power supreme over all the gods, one deity to whom he might surrender himself and the State, one deity who could support and protect him in all situations and difficulties? Thus even on the subjective side, from the pressure of his own needs, there was a necessity which drove the Roman away

from the multiplicity of the gods to some Divine centre of unity. For how was he to know which god he had offended or neglected? Or, if he could ascertain this, how was he to propitiate him? Or, if he could answer these questions, how could he know that the god he had offended and had propitiated could avert the disaster? Might not the propitiation of one god offend the others?

On the other hand, there were difficulties in reaching the one Divine power to whom one could surrender oneself and be at peace. It is difficult to reach unity where the gods are the personified powers of Nature. For these powers are so unlike. The sea is unlike the land. Streams are different from mountains. Light has no resemblance to darkness, and the gods, who are these powers personified, can never be reduced to a common denominator. The gods of Greece were so well defined, each of them had attributes so distinctive, that it was scarcely possible to reach unity except by discarding the individual gods. They belonged also to a numerous Divine society, in which each had his place and function, and thus none of them could serve the new need which a world-wide government had brought into prominence. The more clearly defined the gods in the Olympic system, and the more definite their separate functions the less fitted were they for the function of unifying the Divine action, needed by the Roman religious citizen. As a matter of history, we find that the search after Divine unity led the Roman away from his own ancestral gods, and away from the well-marked gods of Greece, to the more vague and mysterious deities of Egypt or the nearer East. Thus the vague, undefined, and mysterious attributes of Isis attracted the Roman worshipper, and her worship rapidly spread in the later Republic and the early Empire. The priests of the goddess claimed that she cured diseases of every kind; she was identified with the female deities of Greece and Rome, possessed all their attributes, and usurped all their functions. Even more intense and absorbing, and affording more scope for passionate devotion, was the service of the Phrygian Mother of the Gods. Her name appears frequently on inscriptions, and she is 'the one, who is all' (Orelli, *Inscr.* no. 1871). We need not dwell here on other signs of the decay of the religion of old Rome, or on the passionate quest of the Romans for a satisfying religion, or for a religion which would justify them in surrendering themselves to its guidance. It is enough to refer to Mithraism and its wide-spread influence over the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries of our era (see the masterly and exhaustive account of its extent and character in Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*). It is sufficient for our purpose at present to point out that one element in the formation of the Imperial religion was the wide-spread unrest in every class of society, in Rome itself, and in all the provinces of Rome. Faith in the reality and efficiency of the gods of Rome and Greece had passed away, and the need of a Divine protecting power was felt more than ever. The need of devotion was as clamant as ever, or even more so, inasmuch as men's thoughts had widened, and their imaginations could people the universe with pictures of disasters unknown heretofore. They felt the need of one god—a god approachable, placable, able and ready to help. And this need went far to create its object, and to make them fill up with all Divine attributes the visible form of the power of Rome, till it attained an elevation fitted to inspire their trust and reward their devotion.

The ancient throne of the gods was vacant, and there was placed on it the figure of the Emperor, the visible holder of the greatest power known

to man. Many influences helped to make this apotheosis reasonable and fit to the people of the time. There was the fact already noted of the identity of religion and rule in the city-State. The belief that the State and the god were one easily led to the thought of the divinity of the State. Then the decay of belief in the ancient gods, and the need, deep-seated in the human spirit, of something to worship, led on to the worship of visible and beneficent power as embodied in the majesty of Rome. Further, it was no new thing to worship men, either in Rome itself or in the provinces of Greece and of Asia Minor. In Greek story men were raised to Divine rank, or raised themselves to it, as the reward of work well done, and of heroic tasks completed at the cost of labour and of life. So we read the story of Heracles, of Theseus, and of many others. In truth, in no race of the world save the Hebrew was the conception of man far removed from the conception of God. Gods might become men, and men might be raised to Divine rank. And this universal attitude of mind helped to make the thought of the divinity of the Emperor not an absurd or untenable idea. None of the races within the Empire, save only the Jews, had any unalterable or invincible objection to the conception of a Divine humanity. In truth, in the old Roman religion the Divine and the human were thought of as inseparable. This appears very clearly in what is perhaps the most marked feature of the old Roman religion, namely the belief—one of the most universal and effective of the beliefs which ruled the Roman mind—in the Genius of the home, of the city, of the State. This belief peopled all existence, in all its forms, with beings, living, energetic, and helpful, with whom men stood in most intimate relations, and without whom and whose help it was impossible to prosper. It was necessary to invoke the help of the Genius in every transaction, and every process, was carried on under the direction and with the help of its presiding spirit. Merchants, setting forth with their goods to some foreign land, invoked the protection of the Genius of the Roman people and of trade. They sought to conciliate, as they journeyed, the Divine power who presided over that way, and whose province it was to give them protection. But more intimate still was the relation of the family to its household Genius, who shared the family meal, who presided over the family's destiny, and was identified with it in weal and woe. The Lares, the Penates, the Genius, were described in many ways, and they had many functions; and the worship of them persisted, despite the opposition of the Church, far down into Christian times. The worship of the Genius of the household prepared the way for the acceptance of the worship of the Emperor and of the Roman State. It was simply an extension of the common belief, on the one hand; and, on the other, it was the identification of the belief in tutelary deities generally with the Genius of the reigning house. As the merchant and the traveller were wont to invoke the protection of the Genius of the Roman people, so now they invoked that same Genius, but as embodied in the reigning Emperor. Thus on this side also there was an open way that led to the worship of the Cæsar.

We must leave to other articles in this Encyclopædia to trace the influence of philosophy and science and speculation generally on the religious beliefs of the Roman people, meaning by that phrase all the populations of the Roman Empire. Only we must affirm that from the literature of the period, and from the philosophy and speculation of the time, no sure indication of the religious state can be obtained. In the speculation of the time there were many tendencies which affected

only the cities, and only the educated and the learned. The tendencies to monotheism, to pantheism, to atheism, and to scepticism influenced only a limited number. The larger number, particularly outside of the greater cities, were intensely religious, if they only had known what to worship. Even if their faith in their ancestral gods had become faint, yet the trust in the Divine continued, and they sought for and obtained a more fitting expression. The Genius of their own house became one with the Genius of the Imperial house, and thus Emperor-worship was hallowed by the associations of many memories of former generations; the good ascribed to the action of the family Genius during all the family history was ascribed to the Genius of the Emperor; and so the sacredness of the past was carried over into the new worship. In this way the devotion to the new cult could become fervid and intense, and the delights of devotion could be experienced.

Thus in many ways and through many avenues Emperor-worship was prepared for as the official religion of the Empire. If we glance at the provinces, we can easily see that the preparation for the reception of this official religion was even more effective. As we have seen, in Greece proper the worship of the human as Divine was not foreign to the people. Heroes had been deified, and temples had been erected to them. Founders of States and founders of religions were regarded as Divine. Laws were thought of as Divine, and the traditional givers of laws, like the Athenian and Spartan lawgivers, were regarded as Divine, feared, worshipped, and obeyed. But when we pass further east, among the Grecian peoples of Asia Minor, or into Egypt, we find a condition of things which facilitated the acceptance of the official worship of the Empire. The sacredness which hedged the persons of the kings of Babylon and Assyria passed over to the persons of the Persian kings; and they, if not regarded as incarnations of the Divine, were yet thought of as representatives of it. Titles of honour were heaped on them, and the resources of language were exhausted in order to set forth their unapproachable majesty. In their hands was the power of life and death; peace and gladness were the lot of those on whom they smiled, dishonour and death lay in their frown. The successors of Alexander fell heirs to the reverence shown to their predecessors. Read the history of the Ptolemys of Egypt, note the titles bestowed on them and the reverence accorded them, and it will be evident that to the Egyptian the new religion presented no strange feature. Nor would the claim seem strange to the subjects of the Syrian monarchs, the successors of Alexander in Asia Minor. They also made Divine claims, and to them worship was offered, or something not to be distinguished from it. We cannot enter into detail, but enough has been said to show that to all races, except the Jews, there was no historical reason why they should reject the claim of Rome to Divine obedience.

But the visible power of Rome was greater and more extensive than any other dominion which the world had ever seen. If it did not extend as far eastward as Alexander had reached in his meteoric career, it had penetrated into regions which Alexander had never entered. The dominion of Alexander was broken up into many parts. Rome had grown from more to more throughout the ages, and her dominion appeared to the subject populations to be as stable as the stars. Now, all that symbolized the Roman power was gathered into one hand, and embodied in the Emperor. It was the one supreme power in all lands around the Mediterranean Sea. But that power was not merely the power which could set the legions in motion

and direct them along the Roman roads, east and west, and south and north. That of itself was sufficient to ensure the respect of the subject populations. But the physical power was strengthened and supported by all other sources of power. And all the sources of power lay in the hand of Rome. Moral and spiritual forces were added to her splendid physical resources. The nations were subdued in every sense of the term. With the fall of the nations their gods also were held to be subdued. The gods of the besieged city were invited to leave it ere the final assault was made. When the city or the State fell, the gods were dishonoured. They had not been able to defend their followers. This result was modified by the practice which grew up of identifying the gods of the conquered peoples with the gods of Rome. We have seen how this was accomplished in the case of the gods of Greece. Though the names were different, yet it was thought that in principle and essence they were the same. Thus the gods of the peoples with whom Rome was brought into contact came to be regarded as local forms of the gods known under other names as gods of Rome. This identification was made easier by the fact that the gods of Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt were known to the Romans under the names already given to them in Greece. Julius Caesar and Tacitus illustrate the process, for they thought they recognized the Gallic and Teutonic deities as other forms of Mercury, Juppiter, Mars, and Minerva. Thus there was established a sort of identity between the gods of the victors and those of the vanquished; and the latter received a place within the pantheon of Rome. In the temples which were speedily erected within the provinces, Roman and barbarian deities were worshipped; and, remote though they were from each other in their original attributes and character, in the temples they were recognized as one.

Still this process did not lead to satisfactory results. There was needed a universal religion for the Empire. This was pressed on the governing minds of the Empire from many points of view. While there was toleration for the religions of the subject races, as long as they did not interfere with the public peace, yet Rome was absolutely intolerant of religious practices and observances which seemed to interfere with the proper ends of government. If a doctrine interfered with the worship of the State-gods, if it assumed a hostile attitude towards Roman religion, if a strange god, so individual as not to be brought into harmony with the supremacy of Juppiter Capitolinus, was worshipped, then that form of religion was persecuted until it disappeared. Thus Druidism was persecuted to the death. It had a tradition and an organization which stoutly resisted any assimilation with the Roman system, and it was the boast of the Emperor Claudius that he had completely annihilated Druidism (Suet. *Claudius*, 25). This may be taken as an illustration of the usual process, and of the method of Rome with regard to religions which proved refractory to the process of assimilation. But the need of a common religion for the Empire became more obvious to the ruling class. In fact, such a need was apparent to many empires before the problem became a practical one to the rulers of Rome. It was the main motive of the action of Antiochus Epiphanes in his persecution of the Jews. It was also a spur to action and a leading force in the active process of Hellenization carried on by the successors of Alexander. But the need of Rome was greater, for the differences of races and of religions and of languages were more conspicuous in the Roman Empire than in any former period of history. In order to unify the Empire, there was needed not only the outward

power of military supremacy; there was needed a moral, and especially a religious, bond; there was needed a common oath whereby every one in the service of the Empire could profess his fidelity to the Empire. Soldiers, magistrates, officials, people in office all over the Empire, must have some common symbol of allegiance. This was found in the *sacramentum*, the oath of allegiance by which they swore fidelity to the Empire. This oath was made sacred and universal, for it was sworn by the Genius of Augustus, which was made one with the Genius of the Roman people. A common bond was required for the preservation and the consolidation of the common interests of the Empire, and this was found in the worship of the Emperor as the visible symbol of Roman strength. This, as we have seen, was not inconsistent with the tradition and character of the subject peoples. They were familiar with the thought of the divinity of the State, and of its rulers. Apotheosis was not strange to them. That visible tangible power which was seen in the hand of the masters of many legions was reinforced by the more dreaded forthcoming of supernatural consequences. Thus religion added its sanction to the forces of Imperial might.

While the needs of the time almost forced the Roman rulers to institute this religion of Imperial unity, there are many testimonies to the fact that the earlier Emperors were somewhat reluctant to accept the necessity. There are evidences that Augustus was unwilling to accept the Divine honours which were thrust upon him. But he could not withstand the force of the current. Even in Rome itself the popular current pressed strongly in the direction of ascribing Divine honours to the head of the State. The Senate had set apart and made sacred the place in which Augustus was born (Suet. *Cæsar Augustus*, 5). Many stories of portents and wondrous signs which accompanied his birth were in circulation, and these seemed to have grown with the years. Men looked back from the elevation to which Augustus had attained, and found or feigned many premonitions of it in the past. It is not necessary to dwell on these; it is sufficient to say that in Rome itself a glad welcome was given to the doctrine of the divinity of the Emperor. It is true that this was discouraged by Augustus himself. It is also true that Tiberius followed in this respect the example of his predecessor. It is told by Tacitus how Tiberius refused the petition of ambassadors from farther Spain, who asked for leave to build a temple to the Emperor and his mother, as had been done in Asia. Tacitus even gives a speech which Tiberius was said to have made on the occasion (*Annal.* iv. 37, 38).

Notwithstanding the apparent reluctance of the Emperors to accept Divine honours, the new religion of the Empire made rapid progress. Augustus had permitted temples and altars to be dedicated to him and the goddess Roma at Pergamum (Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 36). At other places also the practice was permitted. After the death of Augustus, his worship was introduced into Italy and Rome, where it was not allowed during his lifetime. Thus during the reign of Tiberius the worship of the Emperor was widely spread over the whole world. Some testified that they had seen Augustus ascend to heaven. It soon became a crime to profess reluctance to worship the Imperial god. On his death, Divine honours had been decreed to Augustus by the Senate. There were instituted a new order of priests and a new series of religious rites in the service of the Imperial god. As if to give éclat to the new departure, names to the number of twenty-one, from the most prominent citizens, were chosen, and the names

of Tiberius, Drusus, Clandius, and Germanicus were added to the number (Tacitus, *Annal.* i. 54). Repeated references are made in the *Annals* of Tacitus to the existence of the Augustan priesthood. A lawsuit was raised against a Roman citizen because he had sold, among other effects, a statue of Augustus. Nor was the name of the Emperor, *Augustus*, without religious significance. It had a religious meaning from the beginning, and the people were conscious of this. Suetonius speculates as to the meaning, but he is persuaded that it did mean something worthy, great, and religious. He tells that the new ruler was called Augustus, because this name was new, and was of higher dignity, and because places devoted to religion and consecrated by augury were called 'august.' He even makes an excursion into philology, and says that it was derived from *augustus*, which signifies 'increase,' or *ab avium gestu gustive*, 'from the flight of birds' (Suet. *Cæsar Augustus*, 7). Whatever we may think of the etymology, there is no doubt about the fact that the name challenged the reverence of the people, and had a religious significance from the first. What was implied in it is seen from the fact that the crime of *majestas* meant not only treason to the reigning Emperor, but disrespect towards the object of the adoration of the people, whether of the Emperor who had attained to an apotheosis, or of the reigning ruler. The significance of the title Augustus is further made manifest from the following, which we take from Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*², part 2, 'St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp,' 1889, vol. iii. p. 405: 'Imperator cum Augusti nomen accepit, tamquam præsentī et corporali deo fidelis est præstanda devotio' (Veget. ii. 5). A part of this passage is also quoted by Dollinger, *The Gentile and the Jew*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 166.

However reluctant Augustus and Tiberius were to accept the new honours, the pressure of events was too strong for them. The new worship speedily became imperative. It became a crime not to worship, and the citizens of Cyzicus were deprived of their privileges because they had suffered the ceremonies in honour of Augustus to fall into contempt (Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 36). In this case Imperial pressure was brought to bear on the people in favour of the new Imperial religion. This, however, was almost a solitary instance. There was no unwillingness to accept it. Rather there was keen competition between cities for the honour and the privilege of building temples and organizing priesthoods for the cult of the new religion. It is recorded by Tacitus that eleven Asiatic cities strove for the honour of building a temple to the reigning Emperor: 'Eleven cities rivalled each other, not in power and opulence, but with equal zeal contending for the preference' (*Annal.* iv. 55). If it was an honour to institute a religious organization, with proper buildings and persons for the Imperial worship, it was a very costly honour, as would appear from the fact that the claim of some cities was refused as they could not bear the expense. In the final issue the claim of Smyrna was allowed, mainly because 'of all the cities of Asia, they were the first that built a temple to the Roman name' (Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 56). Other testimonies might be added to show how rapidly the new religion spread throughout the Empire, and how greatly esteemed was the honour of having a temple to the Cæsar-god within the city. The Senate of Rome was besieged by the cities of the Empire for the privilege of styling themselves *neocori*, servants of the Cæsar-god, and for the privilege of inserting that title on their coins. It is evident that the honour was highly esteemed. But it is time to ask why the provinces, in particular, welcomed the new religion with such eagerness and enthusiasm.

In answer we must remember what the advent of the Empire meant for the provinces. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate their misery and wretchedness in the later ages of the Republic. The proconsuls raged furiously, knowing that their time was short. It is not necessary to dwell on this, or to cite the authorities for it. But we may refer to the miseries of civil war, and to the terror of the times when Marius and Sulla strove for the mastery. The wars between Julius Cæsar and Pompey, the wars between Augustus and Antony, had brought unspeakable misery on the peoples and places where they were conducted. With the advent of the Emperor Augustus wars ceased, the temple of Janus was shut, a government which might fairly be called just held sway in all the provinces. The people felt a sense of security unknown for ages. Cæsar was their friend, their ruler, their defender from enemies without their gates, and from oppression by those within. He gave them security and a peaceful time in which they could live and work. He enabled them to provide for their wants, to accumulate property without the haunting dread that its possession would serve only to make them the mark for the envy and the greed of those possessed of power. Thus the Emperor became an earthly providence, which grew ever greater, as the peoples became more accustomed to its care. Imagination delighted to picture the greatness and the goodness of the Imperial power; orators discoursed on it, and philosophers dwelt on the thought of the great community of the universe, in which gods and men had their places and their functions. Then the common people gathered into one all that they or their ancestors had conceived of greatness and goodness, and piled that upon the head of the Cæsar-saviour. If we had space, we might easily gather from the inscriptions a collection of epithets, descriptive of the glory thus ascribed to the Roman Emperors. These epithets are not merely adulation; they are the outcome of a real religious persuasion. Nor were the Imperial Cæsars without a feeling of reciprocal devotion to the ideal of their calling, and to the duty devolving on them as beings invested with powers and responsibilities more than human. Seneca—to refer only to one instance—reminds Nero that he has succeeded to a vicegerency of God on earth. He is the arbiter of life and death, on whose word depend the fortunes of citizens, the happiness and misery of the people. His innocence raised the highest hopes. The Emperor is the one bond that holds the world-empire together; he is its vital breath. The Imperial task is heavy, and its perils are great. Man, the hardest of animals to govern, cannot be governed long except by love, and can be won only by beneficence and gentleness. In his godlike place, the prince should imitate the mercy of the gods. Wielding illimitable power, he is the servant of all, and cannot usurp the licence of the private subject. He is like one of the heavenly orbs, bound by inevitable law to move onward in a fixed orbit, unswerving and unresting. Such was the teaching of Seneca to his pupil; and this was the ideal of the best Emperors, who felt that they were in the place of an earthly providence to their people. But the consciousness of power led the holders of it from one stage to another. While some felt that this was a power entrusted to them by the gods, others came to regard the divinity by which they ruled as possessed of some inherent significance, and regarded themselves as Divine. Domitian issued his rescripts and formally claimed Divine power under the formula 'Dominus et Deus noster' (Suet. *Domitian*, 13).

On the one hand, the Emperors increasingly

brought forward their claims to Divine power, and insisted on the popular recognition of the claims; on the other hand, the people, especially in the provinces, were forward in ascribing to them all the attributes recognized as Divine by them. Nor was there any other power which could reasonably enter into competition with this. Behind the visible majesty of the Emperor there lay all the prestige of the unrivalled history of Rome. The might of possession belonged to it, and all the visible forces of the world were at his command. Nor can we forget that the deification of the ruling power seemed the fulfilment of a hope which had been cherished for a long time by all the peoples of the East. There was a hope, there were prophecies, of a coming deliverer, and there are evidences extant of the wide-spread character of such a hope. The hope of the individual races was coloured by their history and by their idiosyncrasy. It took one form in Judæa, another in Asia Minor, and another in Greece, but the ferment caused by such an expectation can be traced over all the known world. It is very marked in the inscriptions which still remain. It is not necessary to multiply examples. But a quotation from one inscription may be made, because it illustrates the universal expectation, and describes what it was. The inscription will be found in *Mittheilungen Inst. Athen.* xxiv. [1889] 275 ff.; cf. also W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Græcæ Inscriptiones Selectæ*, Leipzig, 1895, ii. 366. The date of the inscription seems to be about 9 B.C.; Sir William Ramsay dates it 9-4 B.C. (*The Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 436). The inscription refers to the birthday of Augustus. We quote a passage from it:

'This day has given the earth an entirely new aspect. The world would have gone to destruction had there not streamed forth from him who is now born a common blessing. Rightly does he judge who recognizes in this birthday the beginning of life and of all the powers of life: now is that ended when men pitied themselves for being born. . . . From no other day does the individual or the community receive such benefit as from this natal day, full of blessing to all. The providence which rules over all has filled this man with such gifts for the salvation of the world as designate him the Saviour for us and for the coming generations: of wars will he make an end, and establish all things worthily. By his appearing are the hopes of our forefathers fulfilled: not only has he surpassed the good deeds of men of earlier time, but it is impossible that one greater than he can ever appear. The birthday of God has brought to the world glad tidings that are bound up in him. From his birthday a new era begins.'

Speaking of this inscription, Ramsay says that it records 'the decree of the Commune of Asia instituting the new Augustan Year, and ordered to be put up in all the leading cities' (*op. cit.* 436). Of the language of the inscription he says: 'All this was not merely the language of courtly panegyric. It was in a way thoroughly sincere, with all the sincerity that the people of that over-developed and precocious time, with their artificial, highly stimulated, rather feverish intellect, were capable of feeling' (p. 54). Other inscriptions to other Emperors might be quoted, but this is sufficient to show the feeling in the Commune of Asia towards the new cult. Reference might be made to the effect which the perusal of such inscriptions had on the attitude of the people. It would enhance their feeling of the majesty and worth of the Roman Emperor. It would stimulate their loyalty, and deepen it into devotion.

But the missionary energy of the new religion was not left to the passive power and effect of mere inscriptions, however effective these might be in their own way. The new religion had for its propagation an effective organization, a powerful priesthood, with many privileges, with ample powers, and with functions of a large order. While it is probable that, wherever there was a temple built for the worship of the Emperor, there was also an organized priesthood, yet it was in the provinces, especially in the province of Asia, that

the priesthood attained to the highest organization and to the greatest efficiency.

'To the confederation of towns the Roman Government in Asia Minor had no occasion to oppose special obstacles. In Roman as in pre-Roman times nine towns of the Troad performed in common religious functions and celebrated common festivals. The diets of the different provinces of Asia Minor, which were here, as in the whole Empire, called into existence as a fixed institution by Augustus, were not different from those of the other provinces. Yet this institution developed itself, or rather changed its nature, here in a peculiar fashion. With the immediate purpose of these annual assemblies of the civic deputies of each province—to bring its wishes to the knowledge of the governor or the government, and generally to serve as organ of the province—was here first combined the celebration of the annual festival for the governing Emperor and the Imperial system generally. Augustus, in the year 725, allowed the diets of Asia and Bithynia to erect temples and show divine honour to him at their places of assembly, Pergamum and Nicomedia. This new arrangement soon extended to the whole Empire, and the blending of the ritual institution with the administrative became a leading idea of the provincial organization of the Imperial period. But, as regards pomp of priests and festivals and civic rivalries, this institution nowhere developed itself so much as in the province of Asia, and, analogously, in the other provinces of Asia Minor, and no where, consequently, has there subsisted, alongside of, and above, municipal ambition, a provincial ambition of the towns still more than of the individuals, such as in Asia Minor dominates the whole public life' (Mörmann, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., 1886, i. 344 f.).

The diets of the different provinces in Asia Minor were thus constituted for certain civil and religious purposes. They had the name of Commune Bithyniæ, Ciliciæ, Galatiæ, Pamphylia. The presiding officers of these unions were called 'Bithyniarch,' 'Ciliciarch,' 'Pamphylarch,' according to the name of the province. We find, for instance, in A.C. 19th the title 'Asiarch,' used to describe certain friends of Paul, who 'besought him not to adventure himself into the theatre.' As the province of Asia was the earliest and the most distinguished of all the provinces of Asia Minor, we naturally hear more of it than of the others. Not to dwell on the history of these Communes, the important matter for our present purpose is to note their bearing on the Imperial religion. In these Communes, temples were erected and priesthoods were established for the maintenance of this worship. 'In six at least of the cities comprised in the Commune Asia (Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamum, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Cyzicus), periodic festivals and games were held under the auspices of the confederation' (Lightfoot, *op. cit.* 405, where the authorities for the statement are given).

It appears, also, that each of these cities had a temple or temples dedicated to the worship of the Emperors. As the separate cities were united in the Commune, so they were united in relation to religion. There were local chief priests, and there was a provincial high priest, who had supreme control of this worship over the whole province. The various designations were 'the chief priest of the temple in Smyrna,' 'in Ephesus,' according to the place in which the temple was situated. The provincial high priest was designated 'the high priest of Asia,' or 'of the Commune of Asia.' It was keenly debated for a time whether the high priest of Asia and the Asiarch were descriptions of different offices, or whether they were identical. The question may now be regarded as settled by the investigation of Lightfoot. The evidence which he has brought forward for the view that the chief priest of the province of Asia was also the Asiarch seems quite conclusive. Equally conclusive is the evidence he brings forward as to the tenure of the office. Many authorities assumed that the tenure of the office was for one year. This may have been the case with regard to the local priesthoods, but, as the Asiarch had to preside over the games which were held every fifth year, it is likely that the tenure of the office extended over that period. It is not

necessary for our present purpose to enter minutely into this controversy. All we are concerned with is the importance of the office, and the testimony which these facts bear to the prevalence, the influence, and the seriousness of this form of religion. The position of Asiarch was highly honoured and eagerly sought after. It was a position which no one could maintain unless he had great resources at his command.

'In spite of the expense, this was an honorary position much sought after, not on account of the privileges attached to it, e.g. of exemption from trusteeship, but on account of its outward splendour. The festal entrance into the town, in purple dress and with chaplet on the head, preceded by a procession of boys swinging their vessels of incense, was in the horizon of the Greeks of Asia Minor what the olive-branch of Olympia was among the Hellenes. On several occasions this or that Asiatic of quality boasts of having been not merely himself Asiarch, but descended also from Asiarchs' (Mommson, *op. cit.* 346).

The civil, religious, and social standing of the Asiarch, the organized priesthood in every city of the province, the solidarity of the whole priesthood, ruled and directed by the Asiarch, and the favour of the Imperial government were factors in the popularity and effectiveness of the Imperial religion. It was a visible, tangible religion, invested with all the influence which the favour of the Government and the applause of the people could give it. If, as is probable, the Asiarch had control, not only over the priesthood of the Imperial religion, but also over religion in general, one can easily see how much its power and prestige would be enhanced.

'It is probable that this superintendence, although it primarily concerned the Emperor-worship, extended to the affairs of religion in general. Then, when the old and the new faith began to contend in the Empire for the mastery, it was probably, in the first instance, through the provincial chief priesthood that the contrast between them was converted into conflict. These priests, appointed from the provincials of mark by the diet of the province, were by their traditions and by their official duties far more called and inclined than were the Imperial magistrates to animadvert on neglect of the recognized worship, and, where discussion did not avail, as they had not themselves a power of punishment, to bring the act punishable by civil law to the notice of the local or Imperial authorities, and to invoke the aid of the secular arm—above all, to force the Christians to comply with the demands of the Imperial cultus' (Mommson, *op. cit.* 343f.).

This quotation from Mommson brings us face to face with the principle of all the persecutions of the Christian Church, from the first century down to the time of Diocletian. It was the refusal of the Church to submit to the Imperial cult that led to the declaration that they were outlaws, with no rights, and with no legal standing before the rulers. The test of their standing was whether they were willing to burn incense, or to offer worship to Cæsar. The Imperial religion became more and more eager, militant, and oppressive. It was filled with the spirit of aggressive persecution. In its militant aspect, as against all those who refused to bow the knee to Cæsar, it was intolerant, aggressive, and exclusive. Whether it could long continue to command the inward assent of its adherents, or would long be able to satisfy the religious needs of its votaries, is another question. The fervid feeling, and the intense devotion expressed in the inscription quoted above, did not last very long. It lessened after the death of Augustus. As a religious force it is not apparent in the end of the 2nd century. But it still continued to fulfil its purpose as an official religion, and as a test of the loyalty of the citizen. It was well fitted to act the part of an engine of persecution. Its social power remained long after its energy as a religion had passed away. We shall end this article with a quotation from Ramsay, mainly to show what was the real character of this Imperial religion. He is expounding a passage in the Apocalypse (13^{22nd}).

"It maketh the earth and all that dwell therein to worship the first beast," for the provincial administration organized the State religion of the Emperors. The Imperial regulation that

all loyal subjects must conform to the State religion and take part in the Imperial ritual, was carried out according to the regulations framed by the Commune, which arranged the ritual, superintended and directed its performance, ordered the building of temples and the erection of statues, fixed the holidays and festivals, and so on—"saying to them that dwell on the earth that they should make an image to the beast. . . . And it was given him to give breath to the statue of the beast, that the statue of the beast should both speak and cause that as many as should not worship the statue of the beast should be killed." The last statement is familiar to us; it is not directly attested for the Flavian period by pagan authorities, but it is proved by numerous Christian authorities, and corroborated by known historical facts, and by the interpretation which Trajan stated about twenty-five years later of the principles of Imperial procedure in this department. It is simply the straightforward enunciation of the rule as to the kind of trial that should be given to those who were accused of Christianity. The accused were required to prove their loyalty by performing an act of religious worship of the statue of the Emperor, which (as Pliny mentioned to Trajan) was brought into court in readiness for the test: if they performed the ritual, they were acquitted and dismissed; if they refused to perform it, they were condemned to death. No other proof was sought; no investigation was made; no accusation of any specific crime or misdeed was made, as had been the case in the persecution of Nero, which is described by Tacitus. That short and simple procedure was legal, prescribed by Imperial instructions, and complete' (*The Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 97-99).

LITERATURE.—Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1904; Döllinger, *The Gentile and the Jew*, Eng. tr. 1862; Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, 1909; L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sitten-gesch. Roms* 7, 1901, *Rom. Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, Eng. tr. 1908 f.; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* 2, part 2, 'St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp', 1889; Mommson, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr. 1886, new ed. 1909; Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904 [numerous references to Emperor-worship abound in other works of Sir William Ramsay]; Westcott, 'The Church and the Empire', Dissertation in Com. on the *Epistles of John*, 1883; Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, 1906; Kennedy, 'Apostolic Teaching and Emperor Worship,' in *Expositor*, 7th ser., vii (1909) 289.

JAMES IVERACH.

CAGOTS.—The Cagots are a despised and formerly persecuted people of unknown origin, scattered in small groups under diverse names throughout the Western Pyrenees and in Brittany. They are the *Cagots*, *Cahets*, *Agotacs*, and *Gafets* of the French, the *Agotes* or *Gafos* of the Spaniards, and the *Cacots* of the Bretons, although, strange to say, they are first mentioned as 'Chrestianos' in the year 1288. In 1460 the States of Béarn, where they were most numerous, called on the king of France to curtail their liberties; and in the towns the Cagot communities were then confined to separate quarters called *cagoteries*, which answered to the ghettos of the Jews. In the country districts they dwelt in wretched huts apart from the villagers; they were everywhere obliged to enter the church by a separate door; and after death they were buried by themselves, apparently in unconsecrated ground. In the church they were raised off from the rest of the congregation, a *benitier* ('holy-water font') was reserved for their exclusive use, and they were either barred from the communion or else obliged to take the host from the end of a stick. In fact, everything was done to humiliate them, until they were emancipated by the French Revolution, at least from all these restrictions, though not from the hatred and contempt of their neighbours, which still largely persist. The side-doors of the churches were built up, but the separate fonts may still be seen in many districts, and other indications survive of the ostracism under which they formerly suffered.

Even in France the odium attaching to this 'infamous and accursed race' is by many attributed to some physical taint, such as goitre, cretinism, or leprosy, and, in 1872, Littré defined the Cagots as 'a people of the Pyrenees affected with a kind of cretinism.' In England, too, they were supposed to be 'afflicted with extreme bodily deformity and degeneracy, and with deficiency of intellect' (Guy and Ferrier, *Forensic Medicine*, 1875). But Dr. Hack Tuke, who visited several

of the groups in 1879, could find no evidence of goitre or cretinism amongst them, and he believes that they have been confounded with the inhabitants of the Pyrenees who really suffer from these complaints. Nor could he find any outward indications which marked them off as a people physically distinct from the surrounding inhabitants, except that some are not dark like their neighbours, but blue-eyed and light-haired. Otherwise the Agotacs of the Basques, who are chiefly weavers, blacksmiths, and joiners, but have no land, differ in no respects from the Basques (*q.v.*) themselves, whose language they speak, while, like them, they are strict Roman Catholics. As recently as 1842 in some districts they occupied a separate place during the service, and on Rogation Days they join in a procession which sometimes gives rise to disorders, due to the ill-feeling of their Basque co-religionists.

Although now free from any taint of leprosy, weighty arguments have been advanced to show that the Cagots were originally subject to this disease, and that to it was due their separation from the other inhabitants. This is the opinion of M. de Rochas, one of our chief authorities, who pointed out in 1876 that the Breton word *cacodd* meant 'leprous,' and that this word would easily assume both the French form *Cagot* and the present Breton form *Cacou*. He further remarks that they were also called 'Mézegs,' and that *mézeau* is French for 'leprous.' But such etymologies are seldom to be trusted, and the more general popular belief may still be the more correct one, that the Cagots are descended from some Visigoths or Vandals who were left behind in the Pyrenees when these barbaric hordes pushed through into Spain and Africa in the 5th century. Thus would be explained the above-mentioned blue eyes and light hair, the word *Cagot* itself (*canes Gothi* = 'dogs of Goths'), and the charge of heresy that in early times was very generally brought against them. For it is to be noticed that these Visigoths themselves were heretics, being members of the then wide-spread Arian sect, to which the orthodox peoples of Gaul and Spain were bitterly opposed. Hence Guillebeau, quoted by Tuke, may most probably be right in holding that the 'Agoths,' as he calls them, 'were originally heretics,' or 'the descendants of certain heretics.' We can now understand why from the very first they were subject to cruel persecutions in Gaul, just as the orthodox inhabitants of Spain were persecuted by their Arian Visigothic conquerors till the heresy was stamped out under King Riccardus soon after the third Council of Toledo in 589.

No clear explanation has been given of the curious designation 'Christianos,' which dates from the 13th cent.; but Tuke writes that at times 'many were no doubt falsely suspected of leprosy'; and as lepers were actually called *pauperes Christi*, the term may have originated in this way. The suggestion is the more probable since the cretins, who, we have seen, were constantly confounded with the Cagots, were also called Christians.

LITERATURE.—Michel, *Hist. des races mardistes de la France et de l'Espagne*, 1847; De Rochas, *Les Parias de France et d'Espagne*, 1876; Krause, *Die Pariavölker der Gegenwart*, 1903; Webster, *Bulletin de la Société Ramon*, 1867; Hack Tuke, *JAI* ix. (1880) p. 376 ff. A. H. KEANE.

CAINITES.—See OPHITES.

CAIRN.—See STONES.

CAKES AND LOAVES.—1. Cakes made of firstfruits.—In primitive communities, and as a ritual custom surviving into much later stages,

firstfruits are the subject of solemn ceremonial observances, before the bulk of the harvest can be eaten. They are eaten sacramentally, in order that the eaters may obtain the Divine life which is present in them (for example, that of the corn-spirit). Or, probably at a later stage, they are offered sacrificially to the gods, who are supposed to have given the fruits of the earth to man; or sometimes both rites are combined (see FIRST-FRUIT).

The earliest form in which grain was cooked was probably that of roasting, grinding, and making it into rude cakes. This preceded that of baking it into loaves. Hence we find that the grain of the first sheaves is made into a cake, later a loaf, which is eaten, or presented, sometimes with a few sheaves, to the god. The transition stage was probably that of boiling grain, or mixing it with milk or honey—the mixture being poured out as a libation, or eaten. Thus in N.W. India, the first of the grain is mixed with milk and sugar, and eaten by each member of the family (Elliot, *Hist. of N.W. Prov. of India*, 1869, i. 197). Among the Basutos the grain is boiled and presented to the gods (Frazer, *GB*² ii. 459).

Some instances of this sacramental use of cakes formed of the firstfruits may be given. The Solomon Islanders, at the ingathering of the canarium nut, eat flat cakes made of the pounded nuts (Woodford, *Head Hunters*, 1890, pp. 26–28). The Ainus make new millet into cakes, which are worshipped by the old men. Then the cakes are eaten, after which the new millet may be used (Batchelor, *Ainus and their Folklore*, 1901, p. 204). Among the Natchez, the women gathered the first sheaves of maize; part was used as an offering, and part made into unleavened cakes, which were presented to the setting sun, and eaten in the evening (Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique*, Paris, 1870, pp. 130–136). The Quichés of Central America, after gathering in the firstfruits, presented them to the priests. Some of the firstfruits were baked into cakes, which were offered to the idols who guarded their fields. These cakes were afterwards given to the poor (Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. des nations civil. du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*, Paris, 1857–59, ii. 566). The Totonacs made a dough of firstfruits and the blood of three slain infants, of which certain of the people partook every six months (*NR* iii. 440). The cakes made of maize by the Virgins of the Sun in Peru at the festival of the Sun were eaten sacramentally by the Inca and his nobles (Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, 1890, p. 51). Among the Coorgs of Southern India, after the first sheaf of rice is cut, enough of it is prepared and made into flour to provide a cake, which the whole family must eat. The man who cuts the rice afterwards kneads a cake from the meal, mixed with other things. Every one must partake of this cake. The Burghers, a tribe in the Nilgiri Hills, choose a man of another tribe to reap the first sheaf of grain. This grain is made into meal and baked into cakes, when it is offered as a firstfruit oblation. Afterwards these cakes are partaken of by the whole family (Harkness, *Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, 1832, p. 56 ff.). The pagan Cheremisses eat sacramentally of the new loaf made from the new corn, the pieces being distributed by the sorcerer to each person (*GB*² ii. 321). Modern European folk-survivals show many instances of the ceremonial eating of a cake or loaf made of the new crops, and this doubtless represents an earlier sacramental eating of a cake or loaf containing the life of the corn-spirit, especially as the bread is often in the shape of a man or an animal. In Sweden the grain of the last sheaf is made into a

loaf in the form of a girl, the loaf being divided among the entire household and eaten by them. At La Palisse, in France, a similar use is made of the grain of the last sheaf, which is baked into the shape of a man. This is kept until the harvest is over, when the Mayor breaks it into bits, and distributes it among the people, to be eaten by them. The Lithuanian peasant used the grain of the sheaf which was first threshed and winnowed. This was baked into small loaves, of which each member of the household received one. These were eaten, accompanied by an elaborate ritual (*GB*² ii. 318, 319). In Sweden, Denmark, and Esthonia, the cake or loaf is in the form of a boar, a characteristic representative of the corn-spirit (*GB*² ii. 236 ff.; Grimm, *Teut. Mythology*, pp. 63, 213).

The sacrificial or other ritual use of cakes baked from firstfruits is of frequent occurrence. At Athens, during the Thargelia, the first loaf, made after the carrying home of the harvest, was called the *thargelos*. Part of the processional ritual consisted in carrying the *eiresione*, a bough of olive or laurel, tied up with wool, and laden with fruits and cakes (Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, 1903, p. 78 ff.). At Rome, the cakes which the Vestals prepared from the firstfruits were called *mola salsa*. The corn for making these was plucked in May by the Vestals, and the cakes were prepared and offered by them in June. At the Vestalia, donkeys were also decorated with wreaths and cakes (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Republic*, 1899, pp. 148-149; Ovid, *Fasts*, vi. 283 ff.). Among the Hebrews, at the feast of Pentecost, two loaves of fine flour made from the first of the wheat were offered as a wave-offering, and kept sacred for the priest (Lv. 23^{15ff.}). In Nu 15^{20f.} the Hebrews are ordered to make a cake of dough from the firstfruits of the land of Canaan, and use it for a heave-offering. See FESTIVALS (Hebrew).

The Celtic Beltane cakes, of which so many survivals have been noted in Scotland, may have been made of some of the firstfruits kept over till spring, though this is not stated. But they were generally divided, and eaten ritually. In some cases the pieces were drawn by lot, and he who received a blackened piece was regarded as 'devoted,' and was the subject of a mock sacrifice. The cakes were sometimes rolled down hill, and, if one broke, it determined the fate of its owner throughout the year. In another instance the cake was divided, and offered sacrificially to various noxious animals. The cakes were prepared in a special manner, and sometimes sprinkled with whipped eggs, milk, etc. In some cases they were made with raised knobs (Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1774, i. 97; Sinclair, *Statistical Account*, 1791, v. 84, xl. 620, xv. 517; *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, 1888, ii. 439 ff.; *FL*, 1896, i. 2 ff.; see also *Festivals* (Celtic)). Cf. with these the Teutonic custom of making a loaf of every kind of grain, and placing it in the first furrow—a custom resembling the Roman offering of meal cakes in the corn-fields. Both of these were sacrificial, and they were probably sprinkled with milk and honey and eaten sacramentally by the ploughmen (Grimm, 1239). In parts of England, ploughmen, at the end of wheat-sowing, are feasted with seed cakes, and, at sheep-shearing, with wafers and cakes (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 1870, i. 45).

In many parts of the world cakes stamped with the symbols or with the actual form of a divinity, or dough and paste images of gods and goddesses, are commonly found, and are frequently ritually eaten. Among the Egyptians, according to Plutarch, a cake stamped with the figure of a donkey (the symbol of Typhon) was baked on certain days (Jablonski, *Pantheon Aegyptiorum*, Frankfurt, 1760, li. 74). The Mexicans, at the festivals of various divinities, made images of dough and seeds, or of seeds kneaded with the blood of children, which were carried in procession or otherwise revered. The heart was then cut out, as in ordinary human sacrifices, and the image was distributed among the people and eaten ritually. The most marked instance was that of the god Huizilopochtli, whose image was ritually slain, while the ceremonial eating was called *tequolalo*, 'god is eaten' (*NR* iii. 299, and *passim*). The Haniia, an Arab tribe, made an idol of *hais* (a mass of dates kneaded with butter and milk), and ate it in time of famine (W. R. Smith, p. 225). The cakes offered by Hebrew women to the queen of heaven (Jer 7¹⁸) may have been stamped with the figure of Astarte. In India, married women make an image of Parvati with flour, rice, and grain, which after some days is taken outside the village and left there (Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 438). A snake tribe in the Panjab, every year on the same day make a snake of dough,

which is carried round the village and afterwards buried (*GB*² ii. 441). Among the Teutons baked figures of sacred animals or of gods were revered, and probably, to judge by folk-survivals, ritually eaten. In the *Fridthiofsage* we hear of images of gods baked by women and anointed with oil. The *Indiculus Superstitiorum* (8th cent.) contains a section, 'De simulacro de conspersa farina,' showing that the making of such images continued into Christian times, while pastry and dough figures in much later times are a direct continuation of the earlier pagan instances (Grimm, 68, 501, 1806; Saupe, *Indiculus Superstitiorum*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 30 f.).

2. Cakes in sacrifice and ritual.—Cakes are also offered in sacrifices of propitiation or thanksgiving, either alone or with other articles of food, or are made use of in other ritual ways. The Sea Dayaks offer cakes, with many other things, to the god or spirit who partakes of their essence (Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, 1896, i. 189). Similarly, the Malays propitiate the spirits of sickness by placing fourteen cakes—seven cooked and seven uncooked—along with numerous other articles, in a frame of bamboo, which is hung on a tree (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, p. 414). In Mexico, women who had died in childbed were deified and propitiated by offerings of bread, kneaded into various shapes, and pies. Balls of dough and pies were offered on one of the feasts of Tlaloc; and to Quetzalcoatl no bloody sacrifice was offered, but only bread, flowers, etc. (*NR* iii. 250, 334, 363). On the South American pampas, Darwin saw a tree on which were hung offerings of bread (*Journal of Researches*, 1897, p. 82). An interesting instance of the use of cakes, among other offerings, for purposes of propitiation and subsequent divination is recorded among the pagan Prussians by Jan Malecki (ed. Speyer, 1582, p. 259 f.). In their worship of 'Putscætus, qui sacris arboribus et lucis præest' (concerning whom see, further, Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 99 f.), and who was believed to have his abode beneath an elder tree, the Prussians

'litant pane, cerevisia, aliisque cibis sub arbore sambuco positus, precantes a Putscæto ut placatum efficiat Marcopollum deum magnatum et nobilium ne graviore servitute a dominis ipsi premantur: utque sibi iuvantur Barsucæ qui subter rane vocantur. His enim dacumonibus in domo versantibus se fieri credunt fortunatiōres: eisque collocant vesperi in horreo super mensam mappa stratum panes, caseos, butyrum et cerevisiam: nec dubitant de fortunarum accessione si mane reperiant cibos illic assumptos.'

In similar fashion, in India, cakes, sweetmeats, and parched or fried grain are frequent forms of sacrifice; and this custom dates from ancient times, since the Vedas prescribe an offering of cakes (*apūpa*) to be made to the gods (Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, v. 463). At the present time the ordinary propitiatory offerings at village shrines in India are cakes, milk, and flowers. Cakes are also offered to the earth-goddess by the Pataris and Majhwārs (*PR* i. 32, 98), and Siva is daily fed with cakes and pastry. Among the ancient Hindus the fortnightly religious services consisted chiefly in the preparation of sacrificial cakes of rice pounded in a mortar, kneaded into a ball by the head of the family, and baked on the fire. The consecrated cake was then cut up, and pieces, sprinkled with butter, were thrown into the flames, in the names of the various gods, including the god of flame himself. Other pieces were reverently eaten by the family (Monier Williams, *Rel. Thought and Life in India*, London, 1883, pt. i. pp. 93, 367). Among offerings in the Shinto ritual in Japan, food and drink take a very important place. Cakes made of rice are found among these offerings. At the present time these rice cakes, or *mochi*, are among the annual offerings at the tomb of the first Mikado, Jimmu. At every new moon the female attendants at the palace solemnly offered, in the 'place of reverence,' cakes to the sacred mirror which represented the sun-goddess. Among the New Year's Day observances in Japan one of the ceremonial rites consists in the laying on the domestic shrine of unleavened cakes made of glutinous pounded rice. These cakes are

called 'mirror' cakes on account of their shape, which is that of a flattened sphere. They are two in number—one representing the sun, or male principle; the other the moon, or female principle. This kind of cake is also called the 'tooth-hardening' cake, because it is supposed to strengthen the constitution (Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, pp. 212–13, 291, 313). In ancient Egypt, cakes were an invariable part of the offerings to the gods, and are referred to in the inscriptions. The formula of offering says: 'I give you a thousand cakes,' etc. These cakes were of different shapes, some being round or oval, and others triangular. Sometimes also they were made in the form of leaves, or even of animals. The round or oval were sometimes sprinkled with seeds. In the sacrifices to Isis at Bubastis the body of the sacrificial victim was filled with cakes and other meats, and then buried (Herod. ii. 40). Strabo (p. 811 f.) describes the offering to the sacred crocodile, Sukhos, as consisting of a cake, meat, and honey wine, which were put by the priests into its mouth (Wilkinson, iii. 416, 418, ii. 457; Wiedemann, Eng. tr. 192).

Among the ancient Hebrews, cakes or loaves were offered, either alone or together with animal sacrifices. These cakes were unleavened, sometimes made with oil or sprinkled with oil, and were baked either in an oven or in a pan (Lv 24⁵). The peace-offering consisted of unleavened cakes mixed with oil, leavened wafers anointed with oil, and cakes mixed with oil and fried. Leavened bread was also offered in this case (Lv 7^{12, 13}). Cereal offerings, sometimes in the form of cakes, accompanied animal sacrifices (Lv 5¹¹ 8²⁸ 14¹⁰, Nu 6³⁷ 15^{4, 6, 9}). The most typical offering was that of the shewbread, consisting of twelve loaves or cakes of unleavened bread, which were placed in two heaps before the Lord in the Holy Place every Sabbath. On these frankincense was sprinkled, and the old loaves were eaten by the priests (Lv 24⁵, Nu 4⁷, 1 S 21⁴; Jos. *Ant.* iii. x. 7). The Hebrew ritual of the shewbread may have been derived from the similar Bab. custom. In the chamber of Bel-Merodach, at his temple in Babylon, stood a golden table on which were placed 12, 24, 36, or even 72 cakes of unleavened bread, which the god was supposed to eat (Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der bab. Rel.*, 1901, pp. 94, 95; Haupt, *JBL*, 1900, p. 59; Bel, vv.^{2, 6}); and offerings of cakes are occasionally represented on early Bab. seals (Ward, in Curtiss, *Primitive Sem. Religion To-day*, New York, 1902, p. 267 f.).

In Greece, cakes (*πίλαρος*, *πέμμα*, *πόπανον*) formed an important part of all sacrificial offerings, or were offered separately. Plato speaks of those who thought it impious to stain the altars of the gods with blood, and whose sacrifices consisted only of cakes and fruit mixed with honey (*de Legibus*, vi. 782). In many of the principal temples of Apollo, great importance was attached to bloodless sacrifices. There was an altar at Delos, called the 'altar of the pious,' on which only cakes of wheat and barley were placed (Porphry, *de Abstinencia*, ii. 28). At Delphi, cakes and frankincense were consecrated in sacred baskets. At Patara the cakes took the form of bows and arrows, or lyres, symbolic of the two aspects of the deity (C. O. Müller, *Hist. and Ant. of the Doric Race*, 1839, ii. 331). In the ritual of Artemis Tauropolos the sacrifices were maintained with cakes and honey. Associated with this was the ritual of Artemis Munychia, where we hear of *ἀμφόφωτες*, which were probably cheese-cakes stamped with torches (*CGS* ii. 454 f.). The Chæronians worshipped a sceptre of Agamemnon, to which there was no temple, it being kept in the house of the priest; and daily sacrifices of all kinds of flesh and cakes were offered beside it (Pausanias,

ix. 40. 11–12). The priests of Ægium had the custom of taking cakes, ordinarily used in that place, and flinging them into the sea, to be sent to Arethusa at Syracuse (Paus. vii. 24. 3). The Lileans, on stated days, took cakes and threw them into the spring of the Cephissus, believing that they appeared again in Castalia (Paus. x. 8. 10). In a sanctuary dedicated to Sosipolis, a native Elean deity, it was the daily custom to lay before him barley cakes kneaded with honey (Paus. vi. 20. 2). In the Eleusinian mysteries the cakes offered were made from barley sown on the Rarian plain (Paus. i. 38. 6). At Athens a sacrificial cake, with twelve knobs on it, was offered to Kronos every spring, on the 15th day of the month Elaphebolion. In the cult of Ge, cakes of barley and honey were yearly thrown into a chasm in the earth, near which her sanctuary stood (*CGS* i. 27 f., iii. 24). In the cult of Demeter, during the processions of the Thesmophoria, cakes were carried. It was also customary at this festival to throw pigs and dough cakes into certain sacred vaults, called the chasms of Demeter and Proserpine. Serpents were said to live there, and these used to consume most of the flesh and cakes thrown in. Afterwards, probably at the next year's festival, women went down into the caverns, and, fetching up the remains, placed them on the altar. Whoever was lucky enough to get a piece of the decayed flesh or cakes sowed it with his corn, and it was believed to ensure good crops (*GB* ii. 300; *CGS* iii. 99). At the new or full moon the 'suppers of Hekate' were offered by rich people, and, at these feasts, small round cakes set with candles were placed at the cross-roads, as sacred to her and to Artemis (*CGS* ii. 511). At the Diasia, or spring festival, cakes of every imaginable shape appeared in the sacrifices (Harrison, *op. cit.* p. 14). At the Thargelia, cakes of barley, cheese, and figs were placed in the hands of the *pharmakos*, or human victim (*ib.* p. 98). At Athens, during the Plynteria, a cake of dried figs, called the *hegeteria*, was carried in procession (*ib.* p. 116). Cakes steeped in honey were offered to sacred snakes on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Lebadeia, in the shrine of Trophonios. The women in the 4th mime of Herondas offer a *πίλαρος* to the snake of Asklepios (*ib.* p. 349). In the vestibule of the Erechtheum at Athens there stood an altar of Zeus. On this altar no living sacrifice was offered, but merely cakes without a libation of wine (Paus. i. 26. 6). Cakes made of flour, mixed with honey and olive oil, and into which flower blossoms had been kneaded, were offered to Adonis; and in the Dionysiac rites the women also offered mystic cakes—three to Semele and nine to Dionysos (Theoc. *Id.* xv., xxvi.).

In Roman religion, cakes (*libum*) were also offered separately or in conjunction with other sacrifices (for those connected with firstfruits, see § 1). At the Palilia, shepherds offered to Pales baskets of millet and cakes made of the same (Ovid, *Fasts*, iv. 741 ff.). At the Liberalia, old women, crowned with ivy, sold cakes of oil and honey in the streets. These old women were named *sacerdotes Liberi*, and carried with them a small altar, for the convenience of the buyers of these cakes. From each cake that was sold they detached a small piece, which was offered on the altar to Liber in the name of the buyer (*ib.* iii. 725 ff.). At the rustic festivals of Ceres—the *Feriae Sementivæ* and the *Paganalia*—cakes, along with a pregnant sow, were offered. Cakes of the most primitive kind seem to have been offered in each house in every *curia* during the *Fornacalia*, or feast of ovens. These cakes were made of *far*, a coarse meal, and formed into cakes by crushing in a primitive manner. Matrons offered to Mater Matuta, at the *Matralia*, cakes cooked in old-fashioned pans of earthenware (*liba*

testu) (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 482 ff.). On the festival of Summanus, cakes, which Festus describes as 'liba farinacea in modum rotæ ficta,' were offered or eaten (for moulds of a wheel shape or divided into segments, used for making such cakes, see Evans, *JHS*, 1886, p. 44 ff.).¹ The head of the 'October horse,' perhaps as a representative of the corn-spirit, was decked with cakes or loaves (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 178 ff.). In the sacrificial ritual, after the head of the victim had been sprinkled with morsels of the sacred cake, or *mola salsa*, it was killed by the assistants of the priests. In the old Roman marriage ceremonial (the *confarreatio*) the bride and bridegroom ate together a kind of cake, *panis farreus*, as a sacramental offering to Jupiter (Gaius, i. 108 ff.). In other forms of marriage, cakes sometimes formed part of the sacrifice, which was an important portion of the ceremony. On a bronze hand in the Payne Knight collection in the British Museum, believed to be of the time of the Roman Empire before Constantine, there is a table with three cakes, supposed to be offerings to Jupiter. Upon two other hands are objects which seem to be round offering-cakes, divided by cross lines into four parts. These are like the cakes found at Pompeii.

Offerings of cake or bread still occur occasionally in quarters where Christianity has ousted the ancient paganism. In Bohemia, when a man has been drowned, a loaf of new bread is thrown into the river. In Franconia, on entering a forest, people put offerings of bread and fruit on a stone, to propitiate the demon of the woods; and the bakers, for luck, throw rolls into the flues of their ovens (Tylor, ii. 195, 369).

Cakes were frequently part of the food offered to the dead. In Egypt, cakes were laid beside the dead in the tomb, for the *ka* to feed upon; and the goddess who dwelt in the sycamore trees around the cemetery is represented holding a tray of cakes for the food of the *ba*. Sometimes such offerings were not made of perishable bread, but of stone-ware, which by virtue of magic formulae produced the actual food for the requirements of the dead (Wilkinson, iii. 459; Flinders Petrie, *Rel. of Ancient Egypt*, 1906, pp. 13, 82; Wiedemann, Eng. tr. p. 297). The Ainus offer millet cakes to the dead, and also partake of the same at the

¹ In the Umbrian ritual for the purification of the Sacred Mount and the lustration of the people, as recorded in the Iguvine Tables, the use of cakes (*struata*) and of cakelets (*akla*) played an important part. The nature of the offerings is typically enumerated in ii. a. 17-19: *Huntia fentu katu arvia struhgla fikla pune vinu salu maletu mantrakku veska enata asnata umen fentu*: 'At the Huntia (festival) let him bring a whey, fruits of the field, cakes, cakelets, mixed wine and vinegar (?), wine, pulverized salt, a mantle, vessels moist and unmoist, and unguent let him bring.' This Huntia was plainly an infernal goddess (cf. on her nature Bücheler, *Umbria*, Bonn, 1883, p. 128). In the sacrifice to Pœmians (a deity of fruits corresponding to the Lat. Pomona [Usener, *op. cit.* p. 34]), to whom a sheep was also offered, the cake played an equal rôle (iii. 27 ff.); and it is especially significant that in the analogous offering to his wife or daughter (*Pesune Pœmines*) the cake was to be in the shape of the female pudenda (*struhgla petenata*)—a peculiarly appropriate sacrifice to a fertility goddess (iv. 3 ff.). In like manner, a cake, together with three pregnant sows, fruits of the fields, mixed wine and vinegar, and cakelets, must be offered to Trebus Iovius, a deity of uncertain function (vi. a. 53 f.). Somewhat similar offerings were also to be made to Pœus Sancius (the patron deity of the Sacred Mount of Iguvium: vi. b. 3 ff.), to Tefer Iovius (a god of fire?; cf. Umbrian *tefra*, Oscan *tefûrûm*, 'burnt-offering'; vi. b. 22 ff.), to Cerrus Martius (probably the war-god [on the etymology of the word, see Walde, *Etymolog.*, lat. Wörterbuch, Heidelberg, 1906, p. 114 f., and the literature there cited]; vii. a. 3 ff.), to Torra Cerria (probably the personification of Terror [cf. Bücheler, p. 98]; vii. a. 41 ff.), and to Torra Iovia ('Terror inspired by Jupiter,' vii. a. 53 f.). Besides the instances already noted, the offering of cakelets (*akla*) was also prescribed among the sacrifices to Jupiter Grabovius (an epithet connected by Bücheler, p. 52, with the Hesychian gloss γαβάρ βόβορ; vi. a. 56), Mars Grabovius (vi. b. 2), Mars Hodius (a deity of uncertain function; vi. b. 44), and Hontus Cerrus (the genius of the under world; vi. b. 46).—Louis H. Gray.]

funeral banquet (Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, 1892, p. 205). At the festival of the dead in Japan, tables of food, such as cakes and fruit, are laid out near the shrine for three days for the use of the dead (Hearn, *Unfamiliar Japan*, 1894, p. 106 ff.). At the elaborate funeral ceremonies of the Hindus, balls of rice (*pinḍas*) and flat wheat cakes, on which boiled rice, ghi, and sugar are piled up, are placed beside the deceased for his nourishment; and in the *śrāddha* ceremonies the characteristic feature is the offering of similar *pinḍas* and cakes of meal, which are said to represent the deified bodies of the *pitris*, and which supply them with nutriment, and accumulate merit for them. The *pinḍas* are left for animals to eat. The feeding of a Brahman with cakes, etc., concludes the ceremonies (Sir William Jones, *Works*, London, 1799, iii. 129 ff. ['Laws of Manu']; Monier Williams, *Religious Thought*, etc., 285 ff.). The Bengali Musalmāns have adopted these characteristic features of the *śrāddha* as an observance on the Shat-i-Barat (Arnold, *Trans. 3rd Inter. Cong. Hist. of Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, i. 319). In European folk-observances connected with funeral rites, survivals of the offering of bread or cakes to the dead are sometimes found. Thus, in the Tirol, on All Souls' Day, cakes are left out for the dead to feed upon (Tylor, ii. 33, 34); and in Russia, gingerbread and tarts are put on the graves by the common people. In some parts of England bread is given to the poor at a funeral, and, on All Souls' Day, 'soul-cakes' are begged for at farmhouses by peasant girls (for this and other references to 'soul-cakes,' cf. Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, 1870, i. 216 ff.).

Images, representing human or animal victims, made of baked or unbaked dough, are sometimes used in sacrifice as substitutes for those. The Egyptians, on account of poverty, made pigs of dough, and, having baked them, offered them instead of the actual animal (Herod. ii. 47). For the same reason, the Greeks, at the festival of Zeus Melichius, offered little figures of dough in the shape of swine and other animals (Thuc. i. 126). This was a common practice among the ancients, where animals were beyond the means of the worshippers. Bakers made a regular business of baking cakes in the shapes of the various animals sacrificed to the gods (see *GB* ii. 344 n.). Among the Romans, loaves in the shape of men were called *maniae*, and in their ritual use were probably substitutes for earlier human victims. The Hindus, where human sacrifices was not permitted, made human figures of paste or dough, and cut off their heads in honour of the gods (Dubois, *Description of India*, 1817, p. 490). The Brahmanic sacrifices, in order to avoid taking life, took the form of models of the victim animals in meal and butter (Tylor, ii. 405). The Malays offer to the spirits, on the sacrificial tray, a dough model of a human being called the substitute (Skeat, *op. cit.* 72). Loaves bearing human figures are thrown into a river to disperse gho in China. The custom is said to have been invented in A.D. 220 by an official who was shocked at the barbarity of offering human victims for this purpose (Dennys, *Folklore of China*, 1876, p. 140). Dough images in the form of human beings are made to appease demons of disease and of death, in Bombay, Bhutan, and Borneo. In Borneo, also, if any one has been attacked by a crocodile and has escaped, he casts into the water a substitute for himself, in the shape of an image of a man made from dough or meal. This is done to appease the water-god (*GB* ii. 348, 350). The Pueblo Indians offered dough models of animals after success in the chase (*NR* iii. 174).

3. Cakes in folk-survivals.—Some of the cakes which have a prominent place in folk usage at certain periods of the year, e.g. at Christian festivals and holy days, as well as on other occasions, are probably lineally descended from cakes used sacrificially or sacramentally in pagan times. This is suggested by the customs observed in the making of these cakes, or the eating of them, by their division among the members of the family, or by their being marked with sacred symbols (the Cross [hot cross buns]) or figures (those of Christ or the Virgin [Simnel cakes]). These last probably replace the cakes stamped with pagan images or symbols. As in so many other instances where pagan ritual was Christianized, nothing is more likely than that the cakes used at pagan festivals became, by an easy transition, cakes associated with Christian festivals. Among cakes which may have had this

history may be mentioned Yule cakes, made in the form of a child, Twelfth cakes, pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, cakes eaten on various Sundays in Lent (Mothering, Simnel, Whirlin cakes), hot cross buns on Good Friday, Easter cakes, Michaelmas cakes, Hallowe'en or All Souls' Day cakes. The Twelfth cake was divided into as many pieces as there were persons in the house. Portions also were assigned to Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the Magi, and these were given as alms. The member of the household who got the bean or piece of money hidden in the cake was hailed as king. In Devonshire, cakes were eaten and cider was drunk

on Twelfth Day; parts of the cakes were presented to the apple and pear trees, and a libation of cider was poured over them. This was to secure a good crop (Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1865, i. 62-63; Brand, *op. cit.* i. 15 ff.). Older customs associated with wedding-cakes point to the connexion of this cake with some rite resembling the Roman *confarreatio* (Brand, *op. cit.* ii. 58). For many details regarding these cakes see Brand, *op. cit.*, and cf. the remarks of Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 63, 501.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the course of the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CALAMITY.—See SUFFERING.

CALENDAR.

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African (L. H. GRAY), p. 64.

American (L. SPENCE), p. 65.

Armenian (F. MACLER), p. 70.

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Buddhist (J. H. BATESON), p. 78.

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Christian (J. G. CARLETON), p. 84.

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Hindu.—See FESTIVALS (Hindu).

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Teutonic (H. M. CHADWICK), p. 138.

CALENDAR (Introductory).—By the term 'calendar' we understand the system by which days are named in relation to their place in larger units of time. In this sense the subdivision of the day into hours or other small units is independent of the calendar, while the era or other method by which years are named or numbered is also, as a rule, independent of it. Even the point from which the year is reckoned may be independent, and the Julian calendar has notoriously been used along with many different eras and many different New Year's Days. Wherever months have been used, the days have usually derived their names from their position in the months, and the system of reckoning months has therefore been a part of the calendar; but the months have sometimes been reckoned independently of the method of numbering the years, and even of the point from which each year has been made to run, so that the calendar is less concerned with the names of years than with the names of months.

1. **Natural phenomena on which calendars are based.**—The recurrence of day and night and the seasons of the year are so closely bound up with the conditions of human existence, that it is necessary for all men to have regard to them, and it is therefore natural that the day and year should be used everywhere as units for the measurement of time. The recurrence of the phases of the moon, governing as it does the supply of light at night, provides another measure which has been almost universally used from the earliest times, and the convenience of having a unit intermediate between the day and the year has led to the retention of the month, even where it has become an artificial unit independent of the phases of the moon. It is probable that the subdivision of the month has given us the week, though this again has become independent both of the moon and of the month.

2. **Elementary principles of calendar construction.**—It has been an almost universal practice to name or number the days according to their position in the month, and to name or number the months according to their position in the year. In order to do this it is convenient to have a fixed point for the beginning of each month, and a fixed point for the beginning of each year. Such

a point is provided, in the case of the month, by the reappearance of the lunar crescent in the evening sky, after conjunction with the sun. This is what is known as the apparent new moon or phasis, and it probably served to mark the beginning of the month in all primitive calendars, and this phasis still regulates the beginning of the Muhammadan fast of Ramadan. But though Nature provides an obvious starting-point for the month, it is otherwise with the year. Except in extreme northerly and southerly latitudes, there is no annual return of the sun after a period of absence, corresponding to the monthly return of the moon; the seasons slide gradually one into another, and a definite starting-point must be obtained either artificially or by astronomical observation. The result is that early calendars, while, for the most part, adhering to the rule that the month must begin at the phasis, have no definite rule for the beginning of the year. The year had to begin at a fixed season, and was made to consist generally of twelve months, sometimes of thirteen months, so as to keep each month fixed to a particular season. The natural desire to make the calendar year correspond with the physical year was often seconded by the desire to connect some religious festival at once with a fixed day of the month (often the full moon, for the sake of evening light) and with a fixed season of the year. The earliest calendars were generally strictly empirical. The new month was determined by simple observation of the phasis, and the number of months in each year was settled from time to time by a civil or religious authority, which was in its turn guided by the state of the weather or of the crops. Father Kugler has shown (*ZA* xxii. [1908] p. 70) that this was the case in Babylonia in the time of the dynasty of Ur (26th-25th or 25th-24th cent. B.C.), as it was certainly the case with the Jews before the calendar reform of Hillel in the 4th cent. A.D. The great problem of ancient calendar-reformers was to discover a rule to determine which years were to contain twelve and which thirteen months, or, as it is more usually expressed, to discover a rule to govern intercalation, as the insertion of the thirteenth, or intercalary, month was called. As astronomical science developed, a second problem arose—that of finding a fixed rule to take the

place of observation in determining the duration of each month. In one or two cases the months were given an artificial length. Thus, in the Egyptian calendar (see CALENDAR [Egyptian]), which must be very ancient, though there is no evidence that it is as ancient as Ed. Meyer supposes (viz. 4241 B.C.), there are twelve months of thirty days each, and five additional days, making a year of the fixed duration of 365 days. On the other hand, the Romans had four months of 31 days, seven months of 29 days, and one month of 28 days, making a total duration of 355 days (approximately equal to twelve lunar months) for the year. When an intercalation was necessary, the Romans inserted 22 or 23 days only, so that the calendar months ceased to correspond with the lunar months. A further feature, peculiar to the Roman calendar, is the longer average duration of the six months from March to August than of the six months from September to February. This is merely an exaggeration of a natural phenomenon, the mean interval between conjunction and phasis being at its minimum at the vernal equinox in March and at its maximum at the autumnal equinox in September, so that the lunar months from March to August are on an average about eight hours longer than those from September to February.

3. The solar year and intercalation.—The oldest approximation to the length of the solar year, of which we have any knowledge, is the Egyptian calendar year of 365 days. It would appear, however, that the Egyptians were early acquainted with a more exact value. Of all the annual astronomical phenomena those most easily observed without instruments of measurement are the heliacal risings of the fixed stars. A star which rises in the daytime or shortly before sunrise is invisible, or visible only in the evening; at the end of this period of invisibility comes a day when the star can just be seen before it is lost in the morning twilight. This is called the heliacal rising of the star. The Egyptians specially observed the heliacal rising of Sirius, the brightest of the fixed stars, and reckoned the mean interval between one heliacal rising and the next at 365 days, 6 hours. Modern calculations have been unable to improve upon this value. We have several references to the date of the heliacal rising of Sirius, the oldest belonging to the reign of Senwosri III., about 1880 B.C. But, in spite of their knowledge of this more exact value for the year, the Egyptians continued to use the year of 365 days till after the introduction of the Julian calendar at Rome (see CALENDAR [Egyptian]). Where a lunar calendar was in use, the observation of annual astronomical phenomena was valuable for the regulation of intercalations, and must from an early date have been considered in addition to the state of the crops. Thus at Babylon the heliacal risings of different zodiacal stars and asterisms were observed, and some rules have come down to us for controlling intercalations in this way. But for the regulation of intercalations it was of more importance to determine the relative lengths of the natural year and natural month than the actual length of either. It would appear that as early as the 6th cent. B.C. a cycle of three intercalations in eight years was introduced both at Athens and at Babylon. Such a cycle assumed that the mean year contained $12\frac{3}{8}$ or $12\frac{3}{8}$ mean months. The most exact value that modern astronomy can give with certainty is 12·368267 for the number of mean lunar months in the tropical year, on which the seasons depend, and 12·368746 for the number of mean lunar months in the sidereal year, on which the heliacal risings of the fixed stars depend. These values are accurate for the present day; but, while it remains

uncertain whether the earth's motion is subject to an acceleration, it is impossible to give the corresponding values in ancient times to more than four decimal places. We thus get 12·3683 for the number of lunar months in the tropical year, and 12·3687 for the number of lunar months in the sidereal year. A value almost identical with these was first proposed in 432 B.C. by the Greek astronomer Meton, who framed a cycle of seven intercalations in nineteen years, reckoning $2\frac{3}{8}$ or $12\frac{3}{8}$ mean months to the mean year. It is not certain whether the Metonic cycle was ever adopted at Athens (see CALENDAR [Greek]). The same cycle was brought into use in Babylonia in the 4th cent. B.C. at the latest, and has been generally adopted wherever intercalations have been regulated by cycles at all.

4. The calendar month.—Meton and his Greek successors aimed, however, not merely at establishing a cycle of intercalations, but at the establishment of a cycle which should regulate at once the length of the month and the number of months in the year, and which should thus render the calendar entirely independent of observation. For this purpose it was necessary to express the mean length of the month as a number of days represented by a fraction with 235 or a multiple of 235 as its denominator. Meton himself proposed $2\frac{3}{8}$ = $29\frac{1}{2}$ 12^h 45^m $57\cdot45^s$. Callippus in 330 B.C. proposed $2\frac{3}{8}$ = $29\frac{1}{2}$ 12^h 44^m $25\cdot53^s$. Finally, about 143 B.C., Hipparchus proposed $2\frac{3}{8}$ = $29\frac{1}{2}$ 12^h 44^m $2\cdot55^s$. The true length of the mean lunar month is $29\frac{1}{2}$ 12^h 44^m $2\cdot81^s$ for the present day, or $29\frac{1}{2}$ 12^h 44^m $3\cdot3^s$ for the time of Hipparchus, so that the cycles successively proposed mark a gradual approach to the true value. Elsewhere the length of the month was beginning to be obtained by calculation instead of by observation, but it was apparently among the Greeks only that these calculations were combined with those governing intercalation to form a cycle. The Elephantine papyri show that the Jews of that city were already, in the 5th cent. B.C., beginning their months not at the phasis of the moon, but at the sunset following the mean conjunction of the sun and moon, which they found by calculation; they adopted a value for the mean lunar month of not less than $29\frac{1}{2}$ 12^h 43^m $44\cdot63^s$ and not more than $29\frac{1}{2}$ 12^h 44^m $51\cdot15^s$ (*Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, lxi. 19). But, while they found the beginning of the month by calculation, they appear to have had irregular intercalations, governed perhaps by the state of the crops. In the 2nd cent. B.C. both Hipparchus and his Babylonian contemporaries adopted $29\frac{1}{2}$ 12^h 44^m $3\cdot3^s$ as the true length of the mean lunar month—a value as exact as any that modern astronomy can assign. The Babylonian astronomers even went the length of computing the time of the true conjunction of the sun and moon, having regard to the anomalistic motion of both luminaries, and then performed the still more complex problem of computing the time of phasis, which determined the beginning of the calendar month.

5. The Julian calendar.—In the 1st cent. B.C. there was a reaction throughout the Roman Empire against the lunar calendar. In 46 B.C., Julius Cæsar, with the aid of the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes, constructed the famous Julian calendar, in which the motion of the moon was entirely ignored, and the mean year was taken at the value current in Egypt, 365 days, 6 hours. Each month was given a fixed number of days, with the single exception of February, which received 28 days in ordinary years, and 29 in every fourth year. The example set by Rome was rapidly followed, and different cities and communities in the Roman Empire either adopted the Julian calendar, or

framed calendars of their own based on the same principle. Sometimes the old calendar and the new lived on together, but lunar dates are rare in documents subsequent to the Christian era. The lunar calendar survived among the Jews, who, when they substituted calendar rules for observation in the 4th cent. A.D., adopted the Metonic cycle of intercalations and the Babylonian value for the mean lunar month.

6. **The agricultural year.**—Where the lunar calendar held good for religious, political, and commercial purposes, it was necessary for agricultural purposes to fix the seasons in some other way. The position of a particular month in the solar year might vary by a month within the space of a few years, and, where intercalation was irregular, might vary by considerably more. It was necessary therefore to have recourse to those phenomena which occupy a fixed place in the solar year, and from an early date Greek farmers recognized the season by observing the solstices and equinoxes, and the annual risings and settings of the fixed stars. They also noted what would be less easy to determine directly—in what sign of the zodiac the sun was stationed. No calendar, properly so called, was constructed out of these materials, but the interval between these different phenomena was early noted, and was connected with the change in the seasons and the state of the weather. Several of these intervals are given by Hesiod. When Meton published his calendar, he inserted the dates of the equinoxes and solstices and the heliacal rising of Sirius. Later astronomers compiled *paraepgmata*, giving the exact intervals between those astronomical phenomena which recur annually, with the weather that ought to accompany each; and it was thus possible to obtain by dead reckoning from any single observation an accurate knowledge of the season of the year. These astronomical phenomena were inserted in Caesar's calendar, often against the wrong date, and long continued in use to designate the season of the year, though their dates were doubtless taken in practice from the published calendar, and not from actual observation (*JPh*, No. 57, pp. 87–99).

7. **The lunar calendar in the East.**—It is believed that the modern Indian lunar calendar, first expounded in the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* belonging to one of the early centuries of our era, is based on Babylonian astronomy, from which several of its lunar values appear to be derived. The months are reckoned in some places from the true conjunction, in some from the true opposition, of the sun and moon; both are elaborately computed with reference to the anomalistic motion of both sun and moon. An intercalation takes place when two conjunctions or two oppositions occur while the sun is in the same sign of the zodiac. Here we have for the first time scientific computation entirely supplanting cycles and observations for both the number of days in the month and the number of months in the year. It is interesting to observe that, in order to accommodate the calendar the better to the anomalistic motion of the sun, the anomalistic year, i.e. the mean interval between two successive solar perigees, is taken as the solar year, and its duration is fixed at $365^d\ 6^h\ 12^m\ 6^s$, whereas the correct duration at the present day is $365^d\ 6^h\ 13^m\ 9^s$, and the duration in ancient times, for which it is impossible to determine the fraction of a minute, must have been $365^d\ 6^h\ 14^m$. It is interesting to observe that the Babylonians of the 2nd cent. B.C. reckoned $365^d\ 6^h\ 13^m$, so that Indian astronomy is in this instance a little inferior to Babylonian (Kugler, *Die bab. Mondrechnung*, 1900, p. 95; Ginzell, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronol.* i.

[1906] 310–402). The Chinese calendar resembles the Indian lunar calendar in its general principles, both as regards the rule governing intercalation and the reckoning of the calendar month from the true conjunction as obtained by a strict astronomical computation; but the constants used are not Babylonian, and appear to have been derived from native astronomy, until this was superseded by Western science in the 17th century.

8. **The week.**—The Babylonians appear to have observed a Sabbath on every seventh day of the lunar month, and it is probable that this usage was originally connected with the four quarters of the moon. Among the Jews the seven days' week was reckoned independently of the moon, and we already find traces in the 1st cent. B.C. of its connexion at Rome with the sun, moon, and five planets, which have given their names to the seven days. In the modern Jewish calendar the length of the month is so arranged with regard to the days of the week as to prevent certain of the great festivals from falling on the day next to a Sabbath.

9. **The lunar month and the week in the Christian calendar.**—The connexion of the Christian festival of Easter with the Jewish Passover, and of the Christian Sunday with the Jewish week, has given rise to movable feasts in the Christian calendar. These feasts fall on a fixed day of the week, which is generally at a fixed interval from Easter, which falls on a Sunday on or near the date of Passover. From a very early period the Christians reckoned the date of the Passover and the consequent date of Easter for themselves. For this purpose we find an inaccurate 84 years' cycle used at Rome. Gradually the cycle of 19 years supplanted all others, and, in the form in which it was accommodated to the Julian calendar, the effect on the assumed date of Passover was the same as if the Callippic cycle had been adopted. It therefore assigned on an average 22^h too much to the lunar month. The result was that by the 16th cent. the calculated new moons fell on an average four days later than the true new moons. In the form which eventually won its way to acceptance the rule was that Easter fell on the first Sunday after that 14th day of a lunar month which fell on or next after March 21, where March 21 was supposed to represent the date of the vernal equinox, and it was widely, but erroneously, supposed that this rule was established by the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325.

10. **The Gregorian calendar.**—The Julian year had been based on the mean interval between two consecutive heliacal risings of Sirius in Lower Egypt. This was a species of sidereal year. Already in the 2nd cent. B.C. Hipparchus had discovered a difference between the sidereal year, which governs the sun's position in relation to the fixed stars, and the tropical year, which governs the time of the equinoxes and solstices; but this discovery received little attention till the time of Ptolemy in the 2nd cent. A.D. The result was that the dates of the equinoxes and solstices moved slowly backward in the calendar year, until the date of the vernal equinox came to be March 11 instead of March 21. In consequence a new calendar was issued in the year 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII., assisted by the mathematician Clavius. Ten days were omitted at once so as to restore the vernal equinox to the date which it had occupied at the time of the Council of Nicaea; and the mean length of the calendar year was fixed at $365^d\ 5^h\ 49^m\ 2^s$. The true length of the mean tropical year is at the present time $365^d\ 5^h\ 48^m\ 8^s$, and must in 1582 have been $365^d\ 5^h\ 49^m$, the fraction of a minute being uncertain. It would appear, therefore, that the Gregorian calendar

adequately represents the tropical year. At the same time, provision was made for a correction of the lunar dates, by means of which Easter is calculated. The new calendar assumed for the lunar month a mean duration of $29^d 12^h 44^m 2.71^s$ —a duration which will be correct about 400 years after the present date. The reformed calendar was immediately adopted in nearly all Catholic countries, but only slowly among Protestant States, and has not yet been accepted by the Greek Church. It has the merit of checking the slow movement of the seasons backwards, which characterizes the Julian calendar; but it is a cumbersome system for calculations spread over long periods, and astronomers generally prefer to use the Julian and not the Gregorian year as the unit of time.

II. The Muhammadan lunar year.—The Muhammadan religion has given currency to an Arabian lunar calendar, in which the calendar year is a purely artificial period of twelve lunar months which is not correlated with the solar year, and which may begin at any season of that year. The beginnings of the months have usually been determined empirically; but calendar rules have been devised for astronomical purposes, and the empirical dates are rapidly giving way, except for religious purposes.

LITERATURE.—Ideler, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronol.*, Berlin, 1825, 1826; Lersch, *Einleit. in die Chronol.*, Freiburg i. Br. 1899; Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronol.*, I, Leipzig, 1906; Schram, *Kalendarograph. und chronolog. Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

CALENDAR (African).—Data regarding the African calendar are scanty, and concerning many tribes are thus far entirely lacking; but in general it may be affirmed that the degree of development was only meagre. A typical African calendar seems to be presented by that of the Warumbi, a people centred between lat. 0° – 1° N., long. 27° – 28° E. According to Maes (*Anthropos*, iv. 627),

'Ils comptent les mois par lunes, distinguent les saisons et divisent l'année d'après elles. L'année des Warumbi va d'une saison sèche à l'autre. Celle-ci commence en décembre et finit vers la fin de janvier. L'année comporte approximativement 13 lunes, mais les Warumbi n'en comptent point le nombre. Ils ne savent d'ailleurs point déterminer exactement le nombre de jours d'une année. Quelquefois ils comptent par lunes, vous diront qu'il y a quatre ou cinq lunes, que telle ou telle chose est arrivée, mais n'en tiennent point compte pour déterminer leur âge, dont ils n'ont que peu ou point de notion. Chez eux l'on est jeune ou vieux, mais on ne compte jamais le nombre d'années de la vie.'

Perhaps the acme of African calendrical development is shown by the Yoruba, who have a year (*odun*) which is divided into a dry season (*ewo-erun*), the season of the Harmattan wind (*ewo-oye*), and the rainy season (*ewo-ojo*), the latter subdivided into the first rains (*aro-ko*) and the last rains (*aro-kuro*). They have a system of moons and weeks. The week consists of 5 days:¹ *Ako-ojo* ('First Day'), *Ojo-awo* ('Day of the Secret' [sacred to Ifal]), *Ojo-Ogun* ('Day of Ogun' [the god of iron]), *Ojo-Shango* ('Day of Shango' [the god of thunder]), and *Ojo-Obatala* ('Day of Obatala'). The first of these days is unlucky, and during it all work is forbidden; while, in addition, all followers of a particular god must abstain from labour on the day sacred to that god; blacksmiths, for example, are not allowed to ply their craft on *Ojo-Ogun*. Six of these weeks are supposed to make a lunar month, about 12 hours being subtracted from the last week in the moon to make it synchronize with the lunar month. The Yoruba are unacquainted with the hour, but divide the day (*osan*) into 5 periods, and the night (*oru*) into 3 'cock-crowings.' The

¹ Cf. the five-day *pasar* week of Java and Sumatra (below, p. 131b). With this may be compared the Bab. *kamutu*, a period of 5 days (based on the sexagesimal system) used in commercial transactions (Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 94, 119); for further details regarding the Bab. five-day week, see below, p. 70a.

week of five days is also in use among the Akpasa of W. Africa; these are named *Eyla*, *Ewa*, *Imle*, *Ekpe*, and *Ewle* or *Uwolowo*-day, the last being sacred to that divinity. No work may be performed on the second day, when worship is paid to deities other than Uwolowo (Müller, *Anthropos*, ii. 201). The Ahanta, of the W. Gold Coast, on the other hand, divide the lunar month into two periods of 10 days and one of about 9½, while a week of 8 days is recorded in Old Calabar (Daniell, *L'Institut*, ii. 90).

The Tshi-speaking peoples of W. Africa divide their year, which consists of 13 lunar months (*infi*), into the 'little Hohbor' (*Ahohbor kakrabah*, May–August) and the 'great Hohbor' (*Ahohbor kassi*, September–April), although some of the northern members of this stock have 12 months of 30 or 32 days, named from the seasons, etc. The lunar months are divided into 4 periods of 7 days each: *Adjivo-da* ('Kwadjo's Day'), *Iba-da* or *Bna-da* ('Kobina's Day'), *Wuku-da* ('Kwaku's Day'), *Yaw-da* ('Yow's [or Kwow's] Day'), *Iffi-da* ('Kwofi's Day'), *Memin-da* ('Kwamin's Day'), and *Kwasi-da* ('Kwasi's Day'), these names apparently being those of distinguished chiefs apotheosized after death. Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday are considered feminine and lucky; Tuesday is a day of rest for fishermen, Friday for agriculturists, etc. The Tshi weeks begin at different times of the day, and both the Tshi and the Ga add to each seven-day week, to make the period of 4 weeks agree with the lunar month. Besides this system, the Tshi also reckon by periods of 40 or 42 days, the end of each of these periods being the great Aday feast, which is followed, after 18 or 20 days, by the little Aday, these Adayes, like the weeks, beginning at different periods of the day.

Even where the system of lunar months has been developed, the older method may still persist, an admirable example of this being found among the Basuto of S.E. Africa.

'More or less they keep or purely reckon their time by the seasons of the year (their changes), by animals (their birth time), by plants (their annuality or growth), by the stars, such as the Pleiades (their position, time of rising and setting), but more especially by the moon itself. A full moon consists of that space of time from the beginning of the evening when the new moon is to be seen in the west . . . to the last day of its appearance in the heavens; and, moreover, includes two more days when the moon cannot be seen at all in the heavens. . . . The first of these two days is called or said by them that the moon *e ile mefela*, lit. 'is gone into the darkness'; and the second, *e laka ke tsoene*, lit. 'is being greeted by the apes.' . . . After these days the new moon will be plainly visible to everybody, and therefore on this account they begin on this day to count a new month. Little regard is paid as to counting the number of days in any month, since the bulky moon itself fills up the deficiency' (Secheho, *Anthropos*, iv. 981 f.).

The twelve lunar months of the Basuto year (*selemo*, also meaning 'spring,' 'plough-time') begin in August, and bear the following names: *Phato*, *Loetse* ('Anointer,' because, in the quaint words of Secheho, himself a native Basuto, 'the hardy month of Phato [August] has truly been syringed, anointed, and sweetened by the present Loetse [anointer] anointing the land as it were by the sweet oil of delicacy and smiling verdure'), *Mphalane* (apparently from *Liphatlana*, 'glitters,' because 'the fields are sparkling and glittering as if it were oceans of water gently moved by the soft breezes, and thus dancing under the brilliant sun'; this was formerly the month for the rite of female circumcision), *Pulungoana* ('young gnu,' these animals being born at this time of the year), *Tritoe* ('grasshopper,' being the time of the hatching of such insects), *Pherekhong* ('inter-joining of sticks' [for building the huts of the watchers who keep the birds from destroying the crops]), *Thakola* ('wiping off' [of the green but impregnated husks of

¹ Because the apes, seated on the mountain-peaks, can see the new moon before it becomes visible to men dwelling lower down.

the mabele crop]], *Tlhakubele* or *Hlakubele* ('the mabele in grain'), *Mesa* ('fire-kindling' [by the bird-scarers in the chill early morning] or 'roasting' [of mealies, which are plentiful in this month]), *Motseamong* ('laughter at birds' [the mabele now being ripe and able to mock the attacks of the birds, thus relieving the bird-scarers of their tasks]), *Phupjoane* ('beginning of swelling' [of the *senyarela-balemi*, a sort of bulb]), and *Phupu* ('bulging out' [of plants]).

It need scarcely be said that in parts of Africa, Muhammadanism has influenced the calendar, as is clearly seen, for instance, in the divisions of the day among the inhabitants of Bornu (Koelle, *African Native Literature*, London, 1854, p. 284).

The recurrence of sacred days among the Yoruba and Tshi has already been noted. In like fashion, Tuesday and Sunday, and especially Friday, are unlucky in Senegal; among the Mandingan Bambarra of the Sudan lucky days were the first of the month, even days not containing 6, and odd days containing 5; in Akkra, on the Gold Coast, a distinction was even drawn between lucky days of a greater or less degree of good fortune; and in Ashanti only about 150 days were recognized as sufficiently lucky for the commencement of important undertakings. Besides these days, there were festivals at greater intervals, such as the feast celebrating the planting of the yam in Dahomey, Ashanti, Fernando Po, etc., and that held at the harvest of the same fruit on the Gold Coast.

LITERATURE.—Waitz, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1880-77, II. 201-L, 224; Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, London, 1882, pp. 215-221, and *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, pp. 142-151; Secheho, 'The Twelve Lunar Months among the Basuto,' in *Anthropos*, IV. 931-941, v. 71-81. The special thanks of the writer are due to Father Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., editor of *Anthropos*, for his courtesy in sending him advance sheets of the second part of Secheho's study expressly for the completion of the present article.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

CALENDAR (American).—I. Calendar systems of the North American Indians.—The North American Indians may, broadly speaking, be classed among those peoples who stand midway between the hunter state and the agricultural condition of existence. Some of the tribes among them possess calendar systems rich in varied festivals and celebrations, all more or less of an agricultural character; whilst others scarcely appear to notice the passage of time and the seasons, and possess almost no distinguishing feasts or other social observances. But all, even those living upon a more or less fixed agricultural basis, are at one in the simplicity of their methods of computing time, varying only in the more or less elaborate manner in which they celebrate its principal seasonal stages. Day and night, the changes of the moon and the seasons, the growth of vegetation and annual plants, and the habits of animals and birds, form the data upon which their systems are based. By some of the tribes four daily divisions were recognized—sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight; whilst the diurnal round was usually designated a 'night' or 'sleep.' The manner of reckoning the years depended upon the locality in which the tribe was situated. Thus, in the more northerly latitudes they were known as 'snows,' and in the south as 'summers.' The four seasons were very generally recognized, and were named according to the natural phenomena incidental to their recurrence in various latitudes.

The lunation is by far the most important of the time divisions known to the Northern Amerinds. Before the coming of the white man there was, it is supposed, but little attempt at the construction of anything like a lunar year, and, where this attempt was made, the number of lunations embraced

by a 'year' was generally 12. Some of the tribes, however, reckoned 13 moons to a year; and in one calendar—that of the Kiowa, which possesses 12 moons—half a moon is intercalated in one of the unequal four seasons, and the other half in the following season, the year commencing with the second half of a moon. Among the Zuni of New Mexico the year is known as a 'passage of time,' and the seasons as 'the steps of the year.' The new year is called 'mid-journey of the sun,' to designate the middle of the solar round between the summer solstices. With the Zuni, half of the months are 'nameless,' and the other six months 'named'; that is, the first six months have definite names, and the last six of the year have ritualistic names (such as Yellow, Blue, Red, White, Variegated, and Black), derived from the colours of the prayer-sticks offered up at the height of each 'crescent,' or moon, to the gods of the north, west, south, east, zenith, and nadir, who are severally represented by these colours.

Compensation for the surplus days in the solar year appears to have occurred to the Sioux or Ojibwas. Captain Jonathan Carver, in his *Three Years' Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (1796), says:

'Some nations among them reckon their years by moons, and make them consist of twelve synodical or lunar months, observing, when thirty moons have waned, to add a super-numerary one, which they term the lost moon; and then begin to count as before' (p. 161).

He proceeds to relate that the first appearance of each moon was hailed by the Indians with joy. They gave a name to each month as follows, the year beginning at the first new moon after the vernal equinox:

March, Worm Month; April, Month of Plants; May, Month of Flowers; June, Hot Moon; July, Buck Moon; August, Sturgeon Moon; September, Corn Moon; October, Travelling Moon; November, Beaver Moon; December, Hunting Moon; January, Cold Moon; February, Snow Moon.

They called the last days of each moon the 'naked days,' and its first appearance its 'coming to life again.' They had no division of weeks, but counted days by 'sleeps,' half days by pointing to the sun at noon, and quarters by the rising and setting of the sun, for all of which they possessed hieroglyphic signs. The Haidah intercalated what they called a 'between-month,' because it was between the two periods into which they divided the year; and it is possible that this was sometimes omitted in order to rectify the calendar. The Creeks counted 12½ moons to the year, adding a moon at the end of every second year, reckoned half in the preceding and half in the following year, much as did the Kiowa. Many tribes kept records of events by means of symbolic figures or hieroglyphs. One of the most remarkable of these is the Dakota 'Lone-dog winter count,' painted on a buffalo skin, and depicting the events embraced between the years 1800 and 1871. The calendar history of the Kiowa is a similar record of tribal affairs. The Sioux tribes of the East measure time by leather thongs knotted in various ways—a device which was adopted by the Governor of South Carolina in his dealings with them (Mooney). They divide the year into five seasons, but do not possess so minute and peculiar a division of it as the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia, who resolve the year into two parts, separated by the winter and summer solstices, which they regard as periods of indefinite length, and between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks (Bons).

The tribes of California, though related ethnologically in a more or less intimate manner, differ considerably from one another in their calendar system. The Hupa keep no account of time, as they consider it superfluous to do so, and guess at

one's age by examining the teeth. The Maidu believe that Kodoyamph, the Creator, established the seasons, which they divide into *Kum-men-ni*, the rain season; *Yo-ho-men-ni*, the leaf season; *I-hi-lak-ki*, the dry season; and *Mat-men-ni*, the falling-leaf season. The Pima of Southern Arizona have long been accustomed to record events by means of notched sticks.

Four sticks, says Russell, 'were "told" to me by the men in whose charge they were. To any other person they would have been absolutely meaningless' ('Pima Annals' in *American Anthropologist*, vol. v.).

The years are marked on these sticks by transverse notches; the events by smaller notches or rude symbols. The oldest of these annals date from the time of the meteoric shower of 13th Nov. 1833, but older sticks were remembered by aged members of the tribe.

The Algonquin Indians of Virginia reckoned years by 'winters,' or *cohonks*—a name taken by them from the note of the wild geese during that season. They divided the year into the budding or blossoming season (spring), highest sun season (summer), corn-gathering season (autumn), and *cohonk* (winter). The months they designated as the moon of stags, corn moon, first and second moon of *cohonk*, etc. They made no distinction between one hour and another; but they divided the day into three parts—the rise, power, and lowering of the sun. They kept a calendar by making knots in string, not unlike the *quipu* records of the Peruvians.

The modern Creeks commence the New Year immediately after the celebration of the *Busk*,¹ or ripening of the new corn, in August (see below). They divide the year into two seasons only, viz. winter and summer; and subdivide it by the successive moons, as follows:

Hepthlucocor (Big ripening moon), August; *Otauvocokoches* (Little chestnut moon), September; *Otauvocokilucoc* (Big chestnut moon), October; *Heircolde* (Falling-leaf moon), November; *Tauvucoc* (Big winter moon), December; *Thlufichsee* (Little winter moon, or Big winter moon's young brother), January; *Hootlilhassee* (Windy moon), February; *Taisaitchocsee* (Little spring moon), March; *Taisaitcheelucoc* (Big spring moon), April; *Keeshsee* (Mulberry moon), May; *Kochohassee* (Blackberry moon), June; *Hoyetchee* (Little ripening moon), July.

They count the number of days or years, either past or to come, by tens, and can rarely compute more nearly than within a moon the date upon which a given event took place.

The Comanches, says Schoolcraft (*Hist. of Indian Tribes*, ii. 129), possess

'no computation of time beyond the seasons, which they count by the rising height of the grass, falling of the leaves, and the cold and hot seasons. They seldom count by new moons. With them one sun is one day.'

The Dakotas, says the same authority (ii. 177), 'count time by seasons, and 28 days to the moon.' The names of the moons are:

January, Hard moon; *February*, Moon in which racoons run; *March*, Moon of sore eyes; *April*, Moon when the geese lay; *May*, Moon for planting; *June*, Moon for strawberries and hoeing corn; *July*, Midsummer; *August*, Moon in which corn is gathered; *September*, Wild rice moon; *October* and *November*, Running of the doe; *December*, Moon when the does shed their horns.

The Mandans and Minnetarees, Dakotan tribes, are generally aware that there are more than 12 lunations in a year, but have no formal names for the lunar periods. The Hidatsa, a people of the same nation, speak of the seasons of 'cold weather' or of 'snow,' of 'warm weather,' and of 'death' or 'decay'; but they do not regularly allot a certain number of moons to each of these seasons.

2. Festivals connected with the calendar of the N. American Indians.—To a tribe subsisting upon an agricultural basis the prime object of keeping a calendar is the proper recognition and timely remembrance of seasonal festivals. In latitudes where the seasons are by no means exact in their

recurrence, the lack of a stated calendar would quite disorganize all these celebrations; and, even with its aid, some confusion prevails in certain tribes as to the exact dates upon which certain ceremonies should be held. Many of these functions are of a highly elaborate nature, and occupy many days in their observance, the most minute attention being paid to the proper performance of the various rites connected with them. They consist, for the most part, of a preliminary fast, followed by symbolic dances or magical ceremonies, and concluding with a gluttonous orgy. A wide similarity prevails among these ordinances in North America, and, broadly speaking, it may be laid down that visible differences may be accounted for by circumstances of environment or variations in seasonal changes.

Of the Indians of Virginia (Algonquins), who were the first to come under the notice of Europeans, it was observed that they held regularly recurring festivals to celebrate the ripening of fruits and grain, and more irregular feasts to mark the return of wild fowl and the hunting season in general. These were obviously the celebrations of a people subsisting on a basis midway between the hunting and the agricultural states. That they were being slowly impelled towards the latter phase, however, is evident from the fact that their most important annual festival marked the period of harvest, the celebration of which lasted several days. Dances were engaged in, and heroic songs recited; and the entire observance appears to have been identical, in its general aspects, with the Indian festivals of the present day. The Creeks, as noted above, commence their New Year at a similar period, after the celebration of the *Busk*. The Cherokees recognize the same feast, at which time they burn all rubbish, and cleanse their habitations. A fast is then held for three days, during which time purgatives are taken. All crimes except murder are pardoned, so that the community as a whole may commence the new period free of sin. On the fourth morning the high priest produces a new fire by friction, and the members of the tribe are supplied from it. Feasting and dancing are then indulged in for three days, after which the people return to their usual avocations. This festival of the *Busk*, however, appears to have had other significance besides that of a mere seasonal offering of first-fruits. All the dances, invocations, and rites were shaped and ruled by the application of the number four and its multiples in every imaginable relation. Besides being a seasonal celebration, it possessed the significance of a sacrifice to the four winds—the rain-bringers. Four logs were placed in the shape of a cross pointing to the four cardinal points, and then consumed by fire, thus symbolizing the four winds to which they were a burnt-offering. The four winds originally typified the four ancestors of the human race.

Adhering to our classification of tribes according to the chronological sequence by which they became known to Europeans, we find that the Mandans (Dakotas) celebrated each year, as their principal festival, the 'Buffalo Dance'—a feast which marked the return of the buffalo-hunting season. The actions of buffaloes were imitated by eight men wearing the skins of these animals on their backs, with horns, hoofs, and tails remaining. Their bodies were painted black, red, or white; and a lock of buffalo hair was tied round their ankles. In their right hand they held a rattle, and in the left a slender rod, 6 ft. long, while on the back a bunch of green willow boughs was worn. The ceremony took place at the season of the year when the willow leaves fully expand under the bank of the river. Pairing off,

¹ Derived from Creek *puskita* = 'fasting'

the dancers took up their positions on four different sides of a large canoe, to represent the four cardinal points of the compass. Two figures were painted black, to represent night; and two red, to represent day. Two men, dressed as grizzly bears, stood beside the canoe, continually threatening to devour any one who interfered with the ceremony; and these had to be appeased with food, which, in turn, was snatched away from them, and carried off to the prairie by two other men. These were chased by a swarm of urchins, who relieved the men of their spoil. During the ceremony the old men beat upon sacks, chanting supplications for buffaloes and other provender. On the fourth day a man entered in the guise of an evil spirit, who was driven from the vicinity with stones and curses.

Although, on the surface, this festival would appear to be wholly a seasonal celebration, the introduction of the four cardinal points, which are therein symbolized, renders it more complex in its aspect. Essentially a hunter, the red man has ever these points present to his mind, and indeed they are to him, as to Empedocles, 'the source of ever-flowing nature.' Catlin, who recounts the circumstances of the festival, did not detect its origin in the veneration of the cardinal points, but numerous cognate myths since collected prove it to have had this conception as its foundation. The Buffalo Dance was probably a purely seasonal feast, which became confounded with the older idea of worshipping the four points of the universe.

The festivals of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia have been fully investigated by Teit. They appear to be almost wholly social in their nature, and to possess but little true seasonal significance. In the winter-house feasts of these people a messenger is sent ahead by the visitors to announce their coming, so that the function takes somewhat the shape of a 'surprise party.' He further lets down food through a hole in the hut. Another custom of this tribe is to let down a kettle bedecked with feathers, and a lighted slow match, into the hut of the person to be visited, and to swing it violently, to the accompaniment of a rhythmic song. Those who have inserted it keep withdrawing it, while those inside attempt to catch and detain it when captured. Bundles of clothing and food are thrown down to the inmates of the hut as presents, and later on they return the visit. The semi-public feasts of the Thompson River Indians are known as 'pot-latches,' and the staple food at these entertainments is usually horse-flesh. When this tribe gathers at the spring-house (*nskapsé'la*) for the annual fishing, a great dance-feast takes place. The people assemble in full festival paint, and commence dancing at sunrise, the married and unmarried men and women forming four separate groups. One chief stands at the west, and another at the east. These help to keep time for the dancers, and lead the singing, at intervals praying and prophesying. The unmarried people choose their husbands and wives during the first dance of the morning, and this part of the ceremony would seem symbolic of the spring mating season. At sunset the people again dance four times, and then disperse to their homes. After sunset a ceremonial smoke is held by the older men, when four pipes are smoked to the four cardinal points, or their spiritual prototypes. About fifty or sixty years ago the chief of the ceremonies began to hold these dances once a week, on Saturdays, and kept the days by cutting notches in sticks.

The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia have a winter dance, connected with the refunding of the purchase-money for a wife. It is most elaborate, but consists chiefly in rigorous cleanliness, and dancing in character, and closes with a veritable orgy.

One of the most highly developed and elaborate festival-systems of the Amerinds is that of the Hopi or Moki of Arizona, which has been ex-

haustively studied by several prominent anthropologists. It is typical of the snake-dances of all the Pueblo Indians, and is almost theatric in its performances. The *Soyalunwu* is a winter-soistice ceremony, held in December, and lasting about 9 days. It is purely an initiatory ceremony, in which the young men of the tribe are put through tests akin to those generally supposed to form part of the Masonic system. On passing the tests, the candidate is admitted to one or other of the secret societies of the tribe. The *Powamu* ceremony (*powamu* = 'put in order') is celebrated under the direction of the chief priest of the Powamu fraternity. By this rite the fields and gardens are symbolically put in order, and protected against sand-storms, ants, and other destructive forces, and finally are consecrated for the coming planting season. From 8 to 12 men participate, belonging to the different totem clans—Badger, Crow, Rabbit, etc. The high priest is assisted by the chief of the Katcina clan, the head of a kindred society. The period of the *Powamu* ceremony is in February. The *Mishonguori* ceremony is held in August, in alternate years, and is performed by the Snake and Antelope fraternities. It is announced on the fourth day following the last day of the *Niman*, or farewell ceremony of the Katcina brotherhood's season. It is essentially a seasonal festivity, the principal object of which is to obtain a good rain-supply, and it lasts 24 days. It is divided into groups of four days each—two of four days each, before the *yungya*, or assembly day; then, two of four days each of the ceremony pure and simple; and, finally, four days following the public performance, which are exclusively devoted to merrymaking. The *Oráibi*, summer-snake-ceremony, has been more fully analyzed than any of the others. It is preceded by a preliminary ceremony sixteen days before, and by a nine-day ceremony which commences eight days before the snake-dance. In the years when the snake-dance is not performed, a complicated 'flute ceremony' takes its place. There exist two factions who never take part in the same festivities, called by Voth the 'Conservatives' and 'Liberals,' who are hostile to one another. The exact time for the performance of the snake-dance is difficult to place, as much depends on the condition of the melon and other crops. If the drought is great, the crops suffer, and the ceremony is hastened, but the date is partly regulated by that of the last *Katcina* ceremony in July, the snake-dance usually taking place on the fourth day after the last dance of the *Katcina* ceremony. There is also a winter ceremony lasting nine days, which is celebrated in January. The same *kivas*, or dance-houses, are made use of as in the summer ceremony, and the same songs introduced. This is the *Katcina* festival, which usually takes place in years with even numbers, and lasts intermittently until the summer festival season. These snake-charming ceremonies have their origin in the universal reverence shown to the serpent tribe all over America—a reverence based on the idea that the snake underwent an annual rejuvenescence in the casting of its skin, or perhaps that the symbol of the serpent with its tail in its mouth represented the round, full sun of August, the season of the ceremony of the snake-dance. The latter hypothesis is the more probable, as in the *Katcina* winter ceremony snakes are never used.

The Pima tribe of the Southern branch of the Athapascan family mark their drinking festivals or *Tiswin* drinks on their notched stick calendars by the letter 'T.' These take place at the harvest season of the *saguaro* cactus, which marks the beginning of the year. It also coincides with the maize and mesquite harvest, and the torrid heat

of summer. These festivals partake more of the nature of debaucheries than of ritualistic ceremonies, and are purely seasonal celebrations.

'Illness feasts' are common with the Apache Indians. These are held for the purpose of banishing illness, and consist in the patient who suffers being fed by the medicine-man with choice food and *iswin* drink, to the accompaniment of chanting. Should an epidemic be prevalent, however, a regular festival with dancing takes place, for the purpose of exorcizing those powers of evil who are regarded as answerable for the misfortune. The Apaches are not, however, overburdened with reverential ideas, or prone to self-humiliation, and have few religious festivals. Their principal celebrations are the 'Scalp Dance,' held after a successful combat, a ceremony for the purification of weapons, and burial-feasts attendant upon the sepulture of famous warriors.

The Iroquois have a 'Feast of the Dead' which occurs once in twelve years. The tribe proceed to the burying-place, and, after 'reviving' the names of those who have been dead for twelve years, exhume their bodies and cast them into a pit, along with clothing and provender, much in the spirit in which pre-historic man supplied his dead with things material.

The festivals of the tribes of California have been fully examined by Stephen Powers, who has skilfully analyzed the seasonal ceremonies of the Maidu, Konkan, Karok, Yuki, and other confederacies. The Maidu have four great festivals in the year: the *Hok-tom-we-dah* (open-air festival), in the spring; *I-lak-kum-we-dah* (dry season festival), about 1st July; *Ush-ti-naoh* (burning of the dead), about 1st September; and *Yak-kri-we-dah* (winter festival), about the end of December—all seasonal. Other important festivals of this tribe are the 'Manganita Dance,' held to celebrate the ripening of the manganita berry, and the 'Great Spirit Dance' in propitiation of demons. The Konkan, in the *Tsi-pi ka-mi-ni*, or 'Weeping Dance,' have a ceremony akin to the Iroquois 'Feast of the Dead' and the Maidu 'Burning of the Dead.' It is held in the last days of August, begins in the evening, and lasts till daybreak. The celebrants bring food and clothing to the place of sepulture, all of which articles must be new. These they hang on a semicircle of boughs. In the centre burns a large fire, close to the graves, round which a solemn dance is executed. The goods are then burned, and their 'astral' counterparts are supposed to reach those deceased persons for whom they were intended. This occasion marks the New Year's Day of the tribe. The Karok have a 'Dance of Propitiation' on 1st September, for the purpose of propitiating the spirits of earth and forest, when a fire is kindled—the first of the rainy season. Their 'Salmon Dance' is held at the opening of the salmon-fishing season, to ensure a good catch. The Yurok have a similar festival. The Wailakki celebrate a 'Clover Dance,' which is held when the burr clover is fit to eat; the Yuki have a 'Green Corn Dance' at a similar season; and the Tatu and Pomu have an 'Acorn Dance.' The last mentioned race possesses a curious festival, or rather ceremonial observance, known as the 'Grand Devil Dance.' It is held under the auspices of the fraternity of the 'Woman-Tamers' once in 7 years, and is looked forward to with terror by the women of the tribe. *Yu-ku-ku-la* (the devil) is supposed to visit the tribe in the guise of certain of its members. With these Satanic emissaries the men of the tribe engage in sham combat in defence of the women. This quaint custom is said to have had its rise in the intractability of the women of the Pomu, whom the men hoped to render more amiable by this means. The Nishinam celebrate

a 'First Grass Dance' after the rainy season, and a 'Second Grass Dance' in the spring. Another vernal festival of theirs is the *We-da*, held in the early spring to guard against snake-bites. The *Ta-tu-lo-vis*, or 'Rattlesnake Dance,' of the Yokuts is held by the medicine-men of the tribe for the purpose of giving immunity to the Indians, for a year, from the dreaded snake-bite.

3. **Fasts of the N. American Indians.**—The practice of fasting is observed far and wide among the Indians, and, although frequently practised in connexion with public ceremonials, is perhaps more generally carried out in private. The first fast of life is usually the *puberty-fast*, when the youth or girl is sent to a deserted locality to remain alone for a period ranging from one day to a week, during which time he or she is supposed to be granted visions by means of which their career in life, or sometimes the nature of their totemic connexion with the supernatural, is to be made clear. The fast is usually accompanied by signs of self-abasement, such as torn garments or complete denudation, and earth-strewn head.

The most complete account of a puberty-fast is that of Catherine Wabose, or Ogeewahnockwut Oquay, an Indian prophetess, whose experiences thereof were taken from her own lips by Mrs. Schoolcraft. When she was 12 or 13 years old, she left her mother's lodge, and built a small one for herself. After a fast of four days, she was visited by her mother, who gave her a little snow-water to drink. On the night of the sixth day, whilst still fasting, she was conscious of a supernatural voice, which invited her to walk along a shining path, which led forwards and upwards. There she met *Kau-ge-gay-be-gua*, the 'Everlasting Standing Woman,' who told her her supernatural name. She next met *Monido-Winnees*, or the 'Little Man Spirit,' who told her that his name would be the name of her first son. She was next addressed by *O-Shau-uau-e-geeghik*, or the 'Bright Blue Sky,' who endowed her with the gift of life. She was then encircled by bright points of light, and by sharp painless instruments, but, mounting upon a fish-like animal, she swam through the air back to the lodge. On the sixth day her mother fed her with a little dried trout, and on that night she experienced a repetition of the vision. On the seventh day she was fed with a little pounded corn in snow-water. After the seventh day she beheld a large round object like a stone descend from the sky and enter the lodge. It conferred upon her the gift of prophecy, and by virtue of this she assumed the rank of a prophetess upon her return to the tribe.

Before embarking upon a *warlike expedition*, or prior to a *great hunt*, it is quite common for the warrior or hunter to fast, and medicine-men regarded the practice as one which conferred upon them special powers of illumination. *Initiation into secret or religious societies* is almost invariably preceded by more or less rigorous abstinence, and in some of the great festivals the chief participants were obliged to fast prior to the ceremony. The length of these varied with the tribe, but in general their duration was from one to four days, a day being counted as from midnight to sunset. Water as well as solid food is generally prohibited in an Indian fast. The native standpoint as regards fasting is succinctly put by a Cherokee medicine-man, who explains its necessity as 'a means to spiritualize the human nature, and quicken the spiritual vision by abstinence from earthly food.' It is not uncommon to regard it as a means by which the 'smell' of worldly things may be removed. Tribal fasts are often announced, to avert any disaster which the medicine-men believe threatens the community.

4. **South American calendars and seasonal festivals.**—(1) *Peru*.—The only species of chronology known in the Peru of the Incas was a lunar reckoning. The four cardinal points in the sun's course were ascertained by means of the *intihuatana*, a device consisting of a high flattened rock surmounted by a small cone, the shadow of which, falling on certain notches on the stone below, marked the date of the great sun-festivals. The Peruvians, however, had no true calendar. At Cuzco, the capital, the solstices were measured

by pillars called *pachacta unanchac*, or indicators of time, which were erected in four groups on eminences—two in the direction of sunrise, and two in that of sunset—to mark the extreme points of the sun's rising and setting. The solstices were known to have arrived when the sun rose and set between the middle pair in each group. The nearest approximation to the year known to the Incan astronomers was the primitive one of 360 days, divided into 12 moons of 30 days each. These moons were not calendar months in the correct sense, but merely a succession of lunations, commencing with the winter solstice; and no method appears to have existed by which the reckoning might be co-ordinated with the succession of years. The names of the twelve moons, so far as can be ascertained from various sources, were as follows:

Huechuy Pucuy Quilla (Small-growing moon), approximately January; *Hatun Pucuy Quilla* (Great-growing moon), approximately February; *Paucar Pucuy Quilla* (Flower-growing moon), approximately March; *Ayrihua Quilla* (Twin-ears moon), approximately April; *Aymuray Quilla* (Harvest moon), approximately May; *Aucay Cusqui Quilla* (Breaking-soil moon), approximately June; *Chahua Huarqui Quilla* (Irrigation moon), approximately July; *Tarpuy Quilla* (Sowing moon), approximately August; *Ccoya Raymi Quilla* (Moon of the Moon-feast), approximately September; *Uma Raymi Quilla* (Moon of the Feast of the province of Una), approximately October; *Ayamarcay Raymi Quilla* (Moon of the Feast of the province of Ayamarca), approximately November; *Ccapac Raymi Quilla* (Moon of the Great Feast of the Sun), approximately December.

That the natural course of the moon was the standard of time with the Peruvians is inferred chiefly from the fact that the principal religious festivals began on the new moon following a solstice or equinox. The ceremonies in connexion with the greatest festival, the *Ccapac Raymi*, were made to approximate to the lunar phases, the various stages commencing with the 9th day, full moon, and 21st day, or last quarter. But there is good reason to believe that the ruling authorities often determined upon which moon a certain festival was to take place, and were by no means rigid in their acceptance of ecclesiastical chronology.

With the Peruvians each month had its approximate festival, or rather a festival was apportioned to each lunation. But the solstices and equinoxes were the occasions of established ceremonies. The arrival of the winter solstice, which in Peru occurs in June, was celebrated by the *Intip Raymi*, or great feast of the sun. The principal Peruvian festival was the *Ccapac Raymi*, the national feast of the great god Pachacamac, which took place at the summer solstice, when the New Year was supposed to begin. Molina, Fernandez, and Garcilasso, however, date the New Year from the winter solstice. The vernal equinox, which in Peru occurs in September, and coincides with the beginning of the rainy season, was the occasion of the third great feast of the Inca year, the *Ccapac Situa*, or *Ccoya Raymi* (moon-feast).

The general character of these festivals appears to have been mild, and indeed almost child-like. They usually consisted in the sacrifice of llamas from the sacred herds, libations of *maguey* or maize-spirit, and the performance of symbolic dances. One of the most picturesque was that of the *Citoc Raymi*, or gradually increasing sun, held in June, when nine days were given up to festival. For three days previous to the event a rigorous fast was observed, and no fire might be kindled in any house. On the fourth day the Inca, accompanied by the people *en masse*, proceeded to the great square of Cuzco to hail the rising sun, the advent of which they awaited in silence. On its appearance they greeted it with a joyous tumult, and, forming in procession, marched to the golden Temple of the Sun, where llamas were sacrificed, and a new fire was kindled by means of a concave

mirror. Grain, flowers, animals, and aromatic gums were the usual sacrificial offerings on such occasions. This festival was broadly typical of all the seasonal celebrations of the Peruvians.

The calendar of Incan Peru was purely agricultural in its basis, and marked in its great festivals the renewal or abandonment of the labours of the field. It owed little to astronomical observation, and was not more advanced than the calendars of races otherwise much inferior in civilization.

(2) *Chili*.—The Araucans, the aboriginal inhabitants of Chili, observed the solstices by the shadows of rocks, reckoning time independently by a succession of 12 lunations having seasonal names.

(3) *Brazil*.—The Bakairi Caribs of Brazil possess a calendar which is almost unique in its nomenclature, illustrating, as it does, the transition from a merely seasonal reckoning to one in which the period of harvest is indicated. It is as follows:

Khopolateri = 'hardest rain' (about January); *Khopopogeto*, 'less rain' (February); *Khopohoketatile*, 'rain ceases' (March); *Kharatile*, 'it (the weather) becomes good' (April); *Sajheho*, 'wood-cutting' (May and June); (July nameless); *Ihutabe*, 'end-of-the-day-time' (August); *Khopowile*, 'the-rain-coming' (September and October); (Nov. nameless); *Anazitule*, 'the-maize-ripenes' (December).

The Uapes of Brazil have a calendar to mark the recurrence of the *Dabucuri* festival, or initiation of the young men of the tribe. This occurs six times in the year as follows:

The *assaby* on 1st Jan.; the *ucuyui* on 2nd Feb.; the *miritz* on 3rd March; the *pataud* on 4th May; the *umari* on 5th July; and the *uiga* on 6th November.

These revels are of the most riotous description. The neophytes, painted black and red, are wedded to women of the tribe, to the accompaniment of mournful chants and dances. The myth of the god Jurupari is symbolized (see art. BRAZIL), and the proceedings end in a saturnalia.

(4) *Paraguay*.—The Abipones of Paraguay had a feast on the 'Recovery of the Pleiades.' When they disappeared, they were said to be 'sick,' and much rejoicing was evinced at their reappearance and supposed recovery. The principal festivals of this tribe were occasional, and signalized victories, burials, birth of caciques, shaving of widowers and widows, the changing of names, and councils of war. Upon news of a victory, a public crier was dispatched from house to house, who saluted the women with a kiss, and the men with a spear to which a bell was attached. The spear was returned to him when he left the dwelling after inviting the inmates to the festival. This office was usually filled by a medicine-man of advanced age. The house of celebration was decorated with the scalps of the slain enemies, hung on an erection made of reeds. The victors spent the time from sunset until morning in chanting their victories, and in drinking a species of liquor resembling mead.

(5) *Patagonia*.—The Tehuelches of Patagonia signalize the birth of a child by slaughtering a mare or cow, and removing the stomach, in which the newly-born infant is laid. The tribe then feast on the remainder of the animal. They appear to have no seasonal festivals. See, further, the 'Mexican and Mayan' article.

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CALENDAR (Armenian).—When they became a Christian nation, the Armenians felt the need of a regular calendar for their religious ceremonies, and hence there was developed among them the study of the science of time. So long as they were pagans, this people, like the Egyptians and Persians, had a year of exactly 365 days, while, according to our calendar, the year has 365½ days. This is why we reckon 366 days every fourth year. In 1460 years there would be a difference of a year between these two computations, so that the Julian year 1460 corresponds to the year 1461 of the Armenian era.

To indicate the relation of events in time, the Armenian chronologists, in the course of ages, invented various eras. These we shall pass in succinct review, referring for fuller details to the special works dealing with them. There are the *great Armenian era*, in which the year is a vague quantity (this is the era usually employed), and the *lesser eras*, the year of which is a fixed quantity.

1. **The great Armenian era.**—(a) '*Vague*' year. —According to Dulaurier (*Recherches*, p. 6), it is probable that the '*vague*' year, which is found very early among the Persians, came into Armenia with Zoroastrianism, which, according to Iranian traditions, took its rise in Atropatene; and this transmission was carried out under the successors of Tigranes I., when Armenia passed into the hands of the Achemenians. The designation '*vague year*' is derived from the fact that, in the Armenian year, the days change their positions; similarly, the festivals, in four years, change by a day.

(b) *Months*.—The year is divided into twelve months of thirty days, with five additional days (*aweleach*, pronounced *aweliats*) which are intercalated after the twelfth month. The names are given here according to the scheme of transliteration explained by the present writer in Bishop Sebô's *Histoire d'Héraclius*, Paris, 1904, p. xv:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Nawasard. | 7. Mehekan. |
| 2. Hori. | 8. Areg. |
| 3. Sahmi. | 9. Ahekan. |
| 4. Trê. | 10. Mareri. |
| 5. Khaloch (pron. Qarote). | 11. Margach (pron. Margats). |
| 6. Arach (pron. Arats). | 12. Hrotich (pron. Hrotits). |

Aweleach.

The meaning of the month-names is still very obscure, in spite of the explanations that have been suggested, e.g., by Dulaurier and Hübschmann. First of all, it must be noted that these names are often in the genitive, because they are under the government of the phrase '*month of*,' understood before them.

Nawasard means '*New Year*' (Dulaurier, *op. cit.* p. 11; Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1897, i. 202). It is a word of Iranian origin; for meaning, cf. Persian *Nawruz*.

Hori and *Sahmi* are of very uncertain derivation; it has been observed that these words meant '*two*' and '*three*' in Georgian; these would therefore be the second and third months of the year.

Trê.—Galust Ter Mkrttsean found in a manuscript the older form *Treay*, which explains the common form *Trê*. *Treay* is a genitive; it must, then, be connected with the name of the god *Tir* or *Twar*, whom we find mentioned by Apollonios. Thus the fourth month of the ancient Armenian year is the month of the god *Tir*.

Khaloch would be the month of harvest (Dulaurier, p. 11 f.); it may also be the Armenian form of a different word, of foreign origin, introduced into the Armenian calendar.

Arach also looks like a genitive plural. All etymologies proposed for it down to the present day are unsatisfactory.

Mehekan.—A good explanation of this word is given by Hübschmann (*op. cit.* p. 194). It means the month sacred to the festival of Mihr or Mithra.

Areg looks like an Armenian word, meaning '*sun*'; but it also may be a foreign Armenianized word.

Ahekan, according to Hübschmann (p. 95), corresponds to the Pahlavi word *Adaragan*, '*das Monatstest am Tage Adar des Monats Adar*'. The form *Aheki* is also found, recalling the Armenian word *ahel* or *ahak*, which means '*left*'.

Mareri, according to its form, may be either a nominative or a genitive singular. The etymologies proposed as yet do not seem satisfactory.

Margach is, in form, a genitive plural. It is an Armenian form of a Persian name, *Markezan* or *Markazan* (cf. Hübschmann, p. 506).

Hrotich is an Armenianized Persian word (cf. Hübschmann, p. 184 f.).

(c) *Days*.—These are practically the same in the ancient and the modern calendar:

Sunday = Mašabathi or Kiraki.

Monday = Yrkousabathi.

Tuesday = Erekhšabathi.

Wednesday = Chorekhšabathl.

Thursday = Hingsabathi.

Friday = Urbath.

Saturday = Šabath.

The ancient Armenians had no continuous era for counting indefinitely. They reckoned by the years of the kings, patriarchs, etc. But when they became Christians they had to fix the Easter feast; they therefore borrowed the computation of Easter from the Alexandrians, who were the best Christian mathematicians at that time. They had Andrew of Byzantium's Paschal canon of 200 years, which lasted down to the 6th century. Then they borrowed the quincenary canon (532) of Æas of Alexandria.¹ It must be carefully borne in mind that, when we speak of the establishment of an era, we mean the establishment of a canon.

When was the Armenian era established? Historical data on the subject will be found discussed at length in Dulaurier's work (p. 52). This author has shown that the beginning of the Armenian era is 552—the year when the 1st of Nawasard fell on the 11th of July. Chronologists have often fixed their synchronisms by writing 551; but this is a mistake. In spite of the disagreement amongst historians, it appears to be proved that, in 552, Nerses, and not Moses, was catholicos (cf. Kalemkian's app. ii. in his Armenian tr. [Vienna, 1897, p. 107 ff.] of Gelzer's '*Armenien*' in *PRE*³ ii. 63 ff.; and the anonymous list of catholicos [ed. Mgr. Ormanian] in *Calendrier de l'hôpital arménien*, Constantinople, 1908, p. 172). It is clear to the present writer that Nerses did not establish the Armenian era; for we must not confuse the starting-point of an era with the date of its establishment. It was while Moses was catholicos that the Armenian era was established, entirely for a canonical, viz. a Paschal, purpose. The starting-point of this era was fixed at 552 because the 200 years' canon of Andrew of Byzantium was completed then, and for several years there had been great difficulty in fixing the Easter feast. But the era could not have been actually established in 552, for the quincenary cycle was not yet known. The latter computation was made at Alexandria by Æas in 562; it was the cycle of 532 (19 × 28). The Armenians reckoned 562 the tenth year of their cycle, and 552 became the first year. They must have required some time to acquaint themselves with this system and to adopt it. The result was that, by the end of the 6th cent., they had established an era to fix the computation of Easter, this era being based on the quincenary canon of Alexandria, and started with the year 552. The catholicos Nerses, therefore, had nothing to do with this question.

¹ See Dulaurier (p. 36) for a very accurate list of canons, and for full information on the establishment and adoption of the various canons.

There was still, however, a great difficulty to face, since the reckoning was by Armenian 'vague' years, whereas for a Paschal cycle a fixed year was a necessity. In the 7th cent., we are told, Anania of Shirak tried to remedy this defect, but his work has not yet been discovered. The catholicos Anastasius (661-667) had deputed Anania to study the fixed calendar, and for this purpose he convoked the bishops to a national council. Anastasius died, however, before the meeting, and the Armenian era remains 'vague' down to this day (Dulaurier, p. 183). Dulaurier (pp. 383-389) gives an excellent table, which may still be employed, showing when the 1st of Nawasard falls for each year of the Armenian 'vague' chronology.

2. Lesser Armenian eras.—It was the end of the 11th cent. before Armenia had a fixed calendar, and she owed it to John the Deacon. His work consisted in the substitution of the Julian for the old 'vague' system; he intercalated the bissextile day of the Roman calendar after the fifth additional day, in imitation of the Alexandrians, and counted five instead of six additional days every fourth year, besides making the fixed year begin on the 11th of August. The Feasts of the Saints were made stable, and Armenian Menology received a regular definite form. The correspondence between the Armenian and the Roman months became absolutely fixed. The 'little era' of John the Deacon had vogue especially in Upper Armenia, but it is never used in the chronicles, and obtained no acceptance with the generality of the nation (Dulaurier, pp. 111-115).

Whereas the 'vague' year is called the 'great era', the lesser eras have fixed years. The beginning of the 'little era' of John the Deacon is 1084, i.e. just a quincenary after the opening of the 'great' Armenian era. Here, again, care must be taken not to confuse the starting-point of this era with the date of its establishment. John the Deacon established his 'little era' ten years after its commencement. It began in 1084, because that was exactly the first year of the second quincenary; then he added an intercalary day (*Awelikh*), and thus obtained complete correspondence with the Julian year. Every four years there came a leap-year. Now a fixed year was established; the feasts changed no longer. John the Deacon kept the names of the days and months as they were in the ancient system, and his era is met with quite frequently in documents of the Middle Ages.

One question still remains obscure: in 1084 the 1st of Nawasard fell on the 29th of February; John the Deacon took as the beginning of his year the 11th of August. This fact has not yet received a satisfactory explanation (cf. von Gutschmid, 'Das iranische Jahr,' in *Berichte über d. Verh. der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.*, 1862, *passim*). In any case, John the Deacon established a purely ecclesiastical era, and brought it into agreement with the Julian era of the Martyrology.

After John the Deacon we have a third era, employed by the Armenians of Persia and the Indies—the 'little era' of Azaria, beginning with the year 1616 (1084+532). Like John the Deacon, Azaria employed the Julian year, with its intercalation every four years. He made a fixed year, but he added a day to the month of Nirhan and so kept *Awelikh* unaltered. The year of Azaria began with the vernal equinox, i.e. 21st March, Julian = 2nd April, Gregorian. The names of the months in the calendar of Azaria are as follows:

	JULIAN.	GREGORIAN.
7. Thiray . . .	17 September.	29 September.
8. Damay . . .	17 October.	29 October.
9. Hamiray . . .	16 November.	28 November.
10. Aram . . .	16 December.	28 December.
11. Ovdan . . .	15 January.	27 January.
12. Nirhan . . .	14 February.	26 February.
Awelikh . . .	16 March.	25 March.

Dulaurier (p. 116) explains these names as follows:—*Sams*, 'the sun,' and *Lamar*, 'the moon,' are two Arabic words; *Thiray* is exactly the same as *Tir*, the 4th month in the Persian calendar; *Sath* suggests the Hebrew *ṣṣṣ* (Dulaurier confuses this word with *ṣṣṣ*, which was the 11th month, from the February new moon till the March new moon (Gesenius, *Heb. und aram. Handwörterb.*¹³, Leipzig, 1899)); *Hamiray* is the Arab. *Amir* or *Emir*; *Adam* is the name of the first man; *Aram*, that of the seventh descendant of Haik, the founder of the Armenian nation. The names of these months are, indeed, more or less comprehensible; but Dulaurier's explanations cannot be accepted. It must be remembered that the calendar of Azaria was employed by the Armenians of Persia and the Indies; the explanation of these names, then, must be sought in the direction of Persian and Hindustani.

From 1320 onwards (=760 of the Armenian era), the difference between the two eras was 550 years instead of 551. Nevertheless, to find the popular Christian year corresponding to a year of the Armenian era, it is necessary, as a rule, to continue adding 551. The reason for this is probably the fact that the fixed year of John the Deacon gained the ascendancy, so that the fixed year was used far oftener than the 'vague' year even by writers who employed the months of the latter [this theory will be developed by Galust Ter Mkrttschian in the preface to his edition of Agathangelos].

Although the 'vague' year of the Egyptians, Persians, and Armenians is the same (for the ancient Persians, cf. Tabari, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, tr. Nöldeke, Leyden, 1879, p. 436), there is a difference of five days between the Armenians and the Persians. The first day of the ancient Persian year fell on the 1st Awelikh of the Armenians, and not on 1st Nawasard. The Egyptian and Armenian computations, on the other hand, correspond exactly. An important question now arises. If, as is generally admitted on the evidence of the names of the months, the Armenians borrowed from the Persians, why did they not keep the same starting-point for their year? In the present writer's opinion, the Armenian computation was borrowed indirectly from the Egyptians, through the Aramæans of the South of Armenia; and then later, under Persian influence, the forms of the month-names changed. It was the Persians who, in borrowing from Egypt after its conquest by the Achemenians, changed the method of computation for the beginning of the year. Von Gutschmid (*passim*) has tried to explain the cause and manner of this change; his explanation is ingenious but not convincing. Probably it was due to religious reasons.

The charts of the Rubenians, who ruled in Cilicia or Lesser Armenia, are dated by the Dionysian era of the Incarnation and by the Indiction, and occasionally, at the same time, by the Armenian era (Dulaurier, p. 122).

Galust Ter Mkrttschian, a monk of the monastery of Etchmiadzin, discovered a new Armenian era, the work of a certain Stephanos. In this era the months have the ancient names, and each has 30 days. It is probably a fixed era, and was used in Cilicia; the year began on 1st March (Julian). We have no further data. (This information is gathered from manuscript notes. It has not yet been published.)

There are other dates employed by the Armenians. On the walls of the cathedral of Ani and in certain manuscripts we find mentioned *thiw horomoch*, (pron. *horomots*), i.e. the 'Roman' or 'Byzantine era.' But it is not the well-known Byzantine era. This expression is explained by Brosset (*Collection des historiens arméniens*, St. Petersburg, 1874-76,

	JULIAN.	GREGORIAN.
1. Sams . . .	21 March.	2 April.
2. Adam . . .	20 April.	2 May.
3. Sath . . .	20 May.	1 June.
4. Naxay . . .	19 June.	1 July.
5. Lamar . . .	19 July.	31 July.
6. Nadar . . .	18 August.	30 August.

ii. 360), who makes this era begin in 248-249 (Julian)—the beginning of the second millennium from the foundation of Rome (751+249=1000).

There is another era called *thukan Xosrovayin*, i.e. 'era of Khosrov,' but it has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Mention should be made, finally, of a somewhat rare formula of the manuscripts, 'the era of the reign of the Lord,' in Armenia. This formula is found in an account of the Gospel of the Thargmanichkh, preserved among the Antonian Fathers at Ortakey (Constantinople), and would correspond to an era of Gregory the Illuminator, or of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity—301 of the Julian era (see Chamchean, *Hist. of Armenia* [in Armenian], Venice, 1784-86, iii. 2, 13; Karekin, *Catal. des anc. traductions armén.*, Venice, 1889, p. 606; Dashian, *Catal. der armen. Handschriften in der Mechitharisten Bibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna, 1895, p. 4, col. 2 of the Armenian text; *Survey of Armen. Palaeography*, Vienna, 1898, p. 190 [in Armenian]). Dulaurier (p. 289f.) also mentions a manuscript in the library of the patriarchal monastery of Etchmiadzin, which alludes to an era of the conversion of Armenia to Christianity, beginning with the year 304 (Julian), the time of Gregory the Illuminator's arrival at the patriarchal see.

3. The conversion of an Armenian into a Julian date.—The various chronologists who have turned their attention to the correspondence of Armenian dates with dates of other calendars, have invented systems more or less ingenious and more or less practical (which will be found in the works cited at end of art.). The following is a new method of converting an Armenian date into a Julian. Multiply the Armenian year by 365, add 191 and the number of the day reckoned from the commencement of the Armenian year, and call the result *a*. Divide *a* by 1461, calling the quotient *b* and the remainder *c*. Multiply *b* by 4, and add one of the numbers 0, 1, 2, 3, respectively, according as *c* is equal to or greater than the numbers 0, 365, 730, 1095, respectively, and call the result *d*. Add 551 to *d*, and the result is the Julian year in which the given Armenian date falls. Take from *c* one of the numbers 0, 365, 730, 1095, according as *c* is equal to or less than the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th of these numbers, and the result will be the place in the Julian year, already found, of the given Armenian date. The order 0 in a year means the last day of the preceding year. If the Armenian era is divisible by 4, it is necessary, finally, to add 1 to the Julian date.

Let us take two examples :

(1) Thomas Arctruni (10th cent.), *Hist. of Armenia* (tr. Brosset), p. 174, says: 'Ashot finished his days and died in the country of Vantop, on Thursday, the 6th of the month of *Horhi*, 323 by Armenian computation, and was conveyed by his brethren in the monastery of Surb-Khatsh, in the province of Agbbag':

$$\begin{array}{l} 323 \times 365 + 191 + 36 = 118122 = a \\ 118122 \\ 1461 \end{array} = 80 = b \text{ and remainder} = 1242 = c$$

$$80 \times 4 = 320$$

$$320 + 3 = 323 = d$$

$$323 + 551 = 874$$

$$1242 - 1095 = 147 = 27\text{th May.}$$

The Dominical Letter of the year 874 is *C*. The 1st of May is a Saturday, the 27th is a Thursday. Therefore, Thursday, the 6th *Horhi*, 323 of the Armenian era = Thursday, 27th May, 874 of the Julian era.

(2) Stephen Orbelian (18th cent.), *Hist. of Siunia* (tr. Brosset), p. 134, says: 'In the year 344, Easter falling on the 4th of Nawasard, I, Ter Hovhannes, ordained Bishop of Siounie, successor of Ter Soghomon, began the building of this church':

$$\begin{array}{l} 344 \times 365 + 191 + 4 = 125755 = a \\ 125755 \\ 1461 \end{array} = 86 = b \text{ and remainder} = 109 = c$$

$$86 \times 4 = 344$$

$$344 + 0 = 344 = d$$

$$344 + 551 = 895$$

$$109 - 0 = 109; 109 + 1 = 110 = 20\text{th April.}$$

The Dominical Letter is *E*. The 1st of April is a Tuesday, the 20th is a Sunday. In the year 895, Easter fell on 20th April.

Therefore, Sunday, the 4th of Nawasard, 344 of the Armenian era = Sunday, 20th April, 895 of the Julian era. (This is unpublished matter, following a manuscript note of Reverend Father Seraphin Abdullah, who will soon publish a complete, authoritative discussion of the Armenian era.)

Since the 'vague' Armenian year began on Thursday, 11th July 552, for the figures of the days of the week we count Thursday 1, Friday 2, etc., and Wednesday 7 or 0. To find the 1st of the Armenian year or the 1st of Nawasard, we must divide the year by 7; the remainder is the day of the week of 1st Nawasard.

4. Peculiarities of the Armenian liturgical calendar.—The Armenian Church has not only the same feasts as other Christian Churches, but several peculiar to herself. While the other Churches celebrate their feasts on dates fixed by the civil calendar, with the exception of Easter and the feasts dependent thereon (movable feasts), the Armenian Church has only six fixed feasts: (1) the Theophany; (2) the Purification; (3) the Annunciation, formerly celebrated in the octave of the Nativity, on the fifth day; (4) the Nativity; (5) the Presentation; (6) the Conception. The Nativity of the Virgin was introduced among the Armenians in the 13th cent.; the Presentation and Conception are of a still later date (18th cent.). The Theophany was originally always celebrated on a Sunday; it was only in later times that it was fixed for the 6th of January.

The Armenian Church distributes the various feasts according to the days of the week. All the Sundays are consecrated to the Resurrection. Every Friday is sacred to the Crucifixion; fasting or very sparing diet is the rule on that day, and hymns of penitence are sung at service. A Dominical Feast may be held on a Friday; a Saint's Feast cannot take place either on a Sunday or on a Friday. Wednesdays, like Fridays, are given up to fasting and works of penitence; Wednesday, being considered the day on which the Annunciation took place, became the Feast of the Incarnation. The same rules, therefore, bind Friday and Wednesday; and no Saint's Feast can take place on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday.

The Feasts of the Saints then may be celebrated only on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday; and, even on these days secured to them, they have to give place to a Dominical Feast or a fast-day falling on the same date. The Feasts of Saints falling on a Monday, Tuesday, or Thursday may be changed into Dominical Feasts or into days of fasting; those falling on a Saturday cannot be changed except into a Dominical Feast. There are about 125 days in the year on which the Feasts of the Saints may be celebrated, and the Armenian Church has also thought fit to group the memorials of several saints on one day.

The Dominical Feasts comprise all those connected with the Incarnation, the feasts of the Virgin, of the Holy Cross, and of the Church. These feasts have their own special hymns. The Feasts of the Saints are more simple, only some of them having special hymns; for the others, hymns are borrowed from the services of the Apostles or prophets, etc. On fast-days the hymns, psalms, and spiritual songs have a penitential tone.

The Easter Feast has a variability of 35 days (from 22nd March to 25th April), and there is accordingly a period in the liturgical year whose variability is determined by that of Easter. This period is divided into two parts: the days before and the days after Easter. The Armenians count back ten weeks from Easter Sunday, and fix for the tenth Sunday before Easter the day of Arad-javor, the beginning of their Paschal period. The second part contains fourteen weeks, seven from Easter to Pentecost, and seven from Pentecost to the Transfiguration (= *Vardavar*, the Feast of

Roses). This Paschal period of 24 weeks may begin at any date between 11th January and 15th February, and end between 28th June and 1st August.

The following are the prescriptions of the Armenian Church for the celebration of the Assumption of the Virgin and the Exaltation of the Cross.

If 15th August and 14th September fall on a Sunday, these feasts are held on those days. If 15th August and 14th September do not fall on a Sunday, they are celebrated on the Sundays nearest the dates in question. The Feast of the Assumption may fall on any day from the 12th to the 18th of August, and is preceded by a week of fasting, beginning on the preceding Monday. The Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross may fall between the 11th and the 17th of September. The period of Advent begins on the nearest Sunday to 18th November, and lasts on to the Theophany (see Tondini de Quarengli, *op. cit. infra, passim*).

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CALENDAR (Babylonian).—It is coming to be more and more clearly recognized that the Babylonian festivals and the rites connected with them are related in the most intimate way with the calendar, which, again, is as old as civilization itself. As the ancient Egyptians had already fixed upon a year of 360 days, dividing it into three seasons of four months each, and as the actual source of this computation was Babylonia, it is clear that the cycle of 360, representing the earliest attempt to make an adjustment between the lunar year of 354 days and the solar year of 365½ days, goes back to a very remote antiquity. 'Twelve are the months of the year; six sosses (i.e. 6 × 60 = 360) are the days of the measure of the year's beginning'—so runs the well-known and frequently cited passage in *W&I* iii. 52, 37, which reproduces an Assyrian copy of the early Bab. work on astrology known as *Enu-ma Bel*. The Egyptians and the Babylonians, in fact, differed only in their methods of intercalation, which the aberration from the true solar year soon rendered necessary: the Egyptians inserted the five so-called *epagomenæ* at the end of every year, while the Babylonians intercalated a whole month every fifth or sixth year, as required; or, in districts where the lunar year of 354 days prevailed—as, e.g., the city of Ur—every second or third year. In reality, therefore, the Egyptians had a year of 365 days, retaining the older tradition of 360 days only by marking off the intercalary five as *epagomenæ* dedicated to special deities. Even this increment was in time found to be inadequate, the deficiency amounting to one day in four years, or, otherwise, to a month in 120 years, and a quarter of a year in 360; and accordingly we find, as far back as the period of the Old Empire, a further correction in the so-called Sothis or Sirius year (1461 common years = 1460 stellar years). We

cannot say whether the Babylonians had recourse to any such astronomical method of adjustment, but it is possible that the 'year of the great red serpent' (mentioned but once, in a text dating from c. 2000 B.C., *Cun. Texts*, xxii. 48, line 5) with its train of over a dozen—originally perhaps nineteen—names of animals, may refer to an intercalary cycle recognized in the period of the kings of Nisin.

The earliest Bab. calendar known to us shows a remarkable combination of purely agricultural operations and religious festivals, the calendar of the husbandman being thus interwoven with that of the priest. This consists of the names of months occurring in the temple archives found at Telloh, and dating from the period anterior to Sargon (i.e. the time of the *patesis* Lugal-anda and Uru-kagina, c. 3000 B.C., or even earlier). H. de Genouillac (*Tablettes sumer. arch.* p. xx, no. 3) has essayed to arrange the names as follows:

1. Month of the festival of the goddess Ba'u (subsequently Tishri, i.e. the beginning of autumn).
2. Month of the Ab-ud-du festival (Tebeth).
3. " the Amar-a-si-zid-da festival (Shebat).
4. " the Se-kin-kud-du festival ('corn-reaping'; Adar), with the variants *Gur-dub-ba* and *Gur-im-dû-a* (written *-gab-a*), likewise referring to the apportionment of the corn.
5. Month of Se-illa (lit. 'corn-lifting,' possibly 'winnowing'; Nisan), with the variants 'Lu-ku-se-a-illa of the god Nin-Girsu,' 'Lu-ku-se-a-illa of the goddess Is-khanna', and *An-ta-sur-ra*.
6. Month of the festival Se-ku ('corn-eating') of the goddess Is-khanna.
7. Month of the festival Gud-du-bil-sar-a of the goddess Is-khanna (Iyyar).
8. Month of the festival of the god Bil-dar.
10. " the festival Dim-ku ('corn-eating') of Nin-Girsu.
11. " the festival of the corn-eating of Nin-Girsu.
12. " the festival Dim-ku of the goddess Is-khanna.

To these, however, must be added a few names which have not been identified, viz.:

- Month Mal-lu-ur (meaning unknown).
- Month of the god Lugal-uru-ki ('king of the city'), or *Lugal-uru-bar-ra*.
- Month Si-nam-am-ni-ba-duru-ba-a (meaning unknown).

One of these three would, no doubt, supply the name of the missing ninth month.

Tablets of a date slightly later, i.e. the period of the earlier Sargon of Agade (Akkad), furnish us with the following series, side by side with which we place the closely related series found in tablets dating from the times of the kings of Ur:

- | SARGON. | | UR. | |
|-------------------------|--|-----|---|
| 1 or 7. | Month of Gan-maš. | 2. | Month of Gan-maš. |
| 2 or 8. | Gud-du-bil-sar-sar. | 3. | Gud-du-bil-sar-sar. |
| 3 or 9. | Month of the god Bil-dar. | 4. | Month of the festival of the god Bil-dar. |
| 4 or 10. | Month of Su-numun ('sowing'). | 5. | Month of Su-numun (the later Tammuz). |
| 5 or 11. | Month of Se-dim-ka. | 6. | Month of Dim-ka. |
| 6 or 12. | the god Tur-zi (Tammuz). | 7. | the festival of the god Tur-zi. |
| Ur = intercalary month. | | 8. | Month of the festival of the deified Dungi. |
| 7 or 1. | Month of the festival of the goddess Ba'u. | 9. | Month of the festival of the goddess Ba'u. |
| 8 or 2. | Month of Mu-si-du. | 10. | Month of Mu-si-du. |
| 9 or 3. | Mes-en-du-se-a-ni. | | |
| 10 or 4. | Month of the festival Amar-a-si. | 11. | Amar-a-si. |
| 11 or 5. | Month of Se-se-kin-a. | 12. | Se-kin-kud (the later Adar). |
| 12 or 6. | Se-illa. | 1. | Month of Se-illa. |

The comparison of these lists is most instructive. While the meaning of the Sumerian names is in many cases obscure, the fact that in the Sargon list the intercalary month is placed after Tammuz (the later Elul) makes it clear that in this calendar

¹ The goddess whose name is formed by the ideogram *ab* (or *ab*) and the inscribed symbol *kha*; in the period of Hammurabi it occurs in the phonetic form *Is-kha-ra*, and is commonly, though wrongly, transcribed *Nina*, as the goddess was also the deity of the later town Ninua.

² Written *Mu-si-gab*.

³ Written *Mu-si-ut*.

⁴ Side by side with this we also find a month *Dir-se-kin-kud* i.e. the later *We-Adar*, or 2nd Adar (intercalary).

the year began in autumn, and that, accordingly, the festival of the New Year was observed on the 1st of Tishri, the month of 'the festival of Ba'u.' We see, moreover, that in course of time the month associated with the new festival of the deified king Dungi took the place of the intercalary month (the so-called second Elül). A further modification, however, must have been introduced at the same time, as the new month of the 'Dungi-festival' lost its intercalary significance, while, coincidentally, the New Year festival was transferred to the first day of *Se-illa*, as follows indirectly from the fact that a second *Se-kin-kud* now makes its appearance as an intercalary month, thus fixing, of course, the end of the year. This modification also explains why the month of *Mes-en-du-se-a-na* simply drops out, thus making *Amar-a-si* follow immediately upon *Mu-su-dü*.

It is unfortunate that the inscriptions of Gudea, which we must refer to a period shortly before the rise of the dynasty of Ur, supply only two names of months, viz., the 'festival of Ba'u,' or 'New Year' (Statue G, iii. 5 f. = E, v. 1 f.), and 'temple-month,' following immediately thereafter; but with the help of the partially mutilated third series of the calendar K. 104 (*WAI* v. 43) we can so far restore the calendar of Gudea, thus:

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1. Festival of Ba'u | = Tishri (Autumn). |
| 2. Temple-month | = Arakhsamna. |
| 3. (unknown) | = Kislev. |
| 4. " | = Tebeth. |
| 5. <i>Sin-ga-zu</i> ¹ | = Shebat. |
| 6. <i>Me-e-ki-gal</i> | = Adar. |
| 7. (unknown) | = Nisan (Spring). |
| 8. <i>Gud-bil-sar-sar</i> | = Iyyar. |
| 9. Festival of the goddess <i>Nin-DAR</i> ² | = Sivan. |
| 10. <i>Shu-numun-na</i> | = Tammüz. |
| 11. Festival of [<i>Gudea</i>] <i>a</i> | = Ab. |
| 12. <i>Ki-sig (?) Ba'u</i> | = Elül. |

The following list (in Radau, *Early Bab. Hist.* p. 299) also dates from the period of the dynasty of Ur:

- | |
|---|
| 1. Month of <i>Se-kin-kud</i> ('corn-reaping': the later Adar). |
| 2. " <i>Mas-azag-kü</i> (cf. <i>Gan-naš</i>). |
| 3. " <i>Shu-da-kü</i> ('eating of the Dunda fruit'). |
| 4. " <i>Khu-si-bil-khu-kü</i> ('eating of the <i>Khu-si-bil</i> bird'). |
| 5. " <i>Ki-sig (?) Nin-a-zu</i> ('mourning for Nin-a-zu'). |
| 6. " <i>Išin-Nin-a-zu</i> ('festival of the god Nin-a-zu'). |
| 7. " <i>A-ki-ti</i> ('new year'). |
| 8. " <i>Išin-Dungi</i> ('festival of Dungi'). |
| 9. " <i>Shu-IT-shä</i> ('third month'). |
| 10. " <i>Išin-makh</i> ('sublime festival'). |
| 11. " <i>Išin-an-na</i> ('festival of ears' [?]). |
| 12. " <i>Išin-Me-ki-gal</i> . |

This series clearly bears a close relationship to that which we have re-constructed for Gudea's time. It certainly begins the year with the month of *Se-kin-kud* (beginning of spring), but it still calls the seventh month 'new year,' and also retains *Me-ki-gal* as the last month of the autumn half-year, precisely as does the list of Gudea; and, as it embraces a festival of Dungi, it cannot have been redacted before the deification of that monarch (in the thirty-seventh year of his reign).

Although the various series of months given above are drawn from documents discovered in the ruins of Telloh, and must accordingly have been in use in the kingdom of Sirgulla or Girsu in particular, yet in these lists, dating from the period anterior to Sargon till that of the kings of Ur, a considerable degree of diversity presents itself. Lists current in other districts would of course show a still greater diversity. Thus in Nippur, for instance, as is shown by the documents of the University of Pennsylvania about to be published by P. Engelbert Huber, there was, in the period of the kings of Ur, a different set of names in use, viz., the Sumerian designations recognized through-

out Babylonia from the days of Hammurabi till the late Bab. period (and also in Assyria); which designations, however, were generally read as Semitic, and accordingly had at a later date simply the value of so-called ideograms. This Sumerian group current in Nippur at that early date is as follows (we give in a second column the usual Semitic renderings which subsequently came into use, and which, as is well known, were adopted by the Jews during the Exile, and are retained to this day in the Jewish calendar):

<i>Bär</i> , <i>Bär-bär-garra</i> , <i>Bär-zag-garra</i> ('New Year's month')	Nisan.
<i>Gud-si</i> , <i>Gud-si-su(ga)</i> ('direction of the ox')	Iyyar.
<i>Shig-ga</i> , <i>Shig-a-ga-se-ga</i> ('month of bricks')	Sivan.
<i>Shu-numun-a</i> ('month of sowing, seed-month')	Tammüz.
<i>Bil-bil-gar</i> , <i>Bil-bi-gar</i> ('month of fire-making')	Ab.
<i>Kin</i> , <i>Kin-Ištar</i> ('work, or mission of Ištar')	Elül.
<i>Dul</i> , <i>Dul-azagga</i> ('sacred hill')	Tishri.
<i>Gish-apin-dü-a</i> , <i>Apin-dü-a</i> ('plough-tillage')	Marchesvan.
<i>Gan-gan</i> , <i>Gan-gan-ud-du</i> ('coming forth of the clouds' [?])	Kislev.
<i>Ab-pa-ud-du</i> , <i>Ab-ud-du</i> ('coming forth of the flood')	Tebeth.
<i>Ash-a</i> ('curse of water') or simply <i>Ash</i> ('curse')	Shebat.
<i>Se-kin-kud</i> ('grain-harvest')	Adar.
(<i>Dirig-se-kin-kud</i> , <i>Se-kin-kud II-kam-na</i>)	Intercalary Adar. ¹

The names of the Sumerian list recur commonly in contracts and letters dating from the Hammurabi dynasty, and are thenceforward found in the following fixed forms:

Bär-zag-gar, *Gud-si-sä*, *Shig-a*, *Shu-numun-na*, *Bil-bil-gar*, *Kin-Ištar*, *Dul-azag*, *Apin-dü-a* (or *Gish-apin-dü-a*), *Gan-gan-ud-du* (subsequently *Gan-gan-na* always, but *Gan-gan-ud-du* as late as the Kassite period), *Ab-ud-du*, *Ash-a* (subsequently *Ash-a-na* was common), *Se-kin-kud*;² in the Assy. and later Bab. period, however, the names were generally written in an abbreviated form, thus: *Bär* (or *Bär-azag*), *Gud*, *Shig*, *Shü*, *Bil*, etc.

From the period of the Hammurabi dynasty onwards, however, we note the important fact that, besides the Sumerian names enumerated above, their Semitic renderings are occasionally met with, but not always the same designations as in later times.

Thus we have *Arakh Rabäti* (month of the 'great' gods Anu and En-Il) for *Bär-zag-gar* (subsequently Nisan); *Arakh Ayari* for *Gud-si-sä* (= Iyyar); *Arakh She-wa-numu*, and probably also *Khumtu*, for *Shig-a* (= Sivan); *Arakh Tur-zi* (= month of Tammüz) for *Shu-numun-na* (= Tammüz, or Du'uz); *Arakh Elunu* and *Arakh Eluli* for *Kin-Ištar* (subsequently *Ubulu* = Elül); *Arakh Šidäti* (month of the Seven Stars or Pleiades) for *Se-kin-kud* (later Adaru); as also *Tiru*, *Kinānu* ('brazier,' probably = Kislev), *Nabri*, *Sandäti* (with the variant *Šandäti*), *Namti* (= Tebeth [?]) and 'festival of Ramman' (= Shebat)—designations not yet precisely identified.

The usual Semitic series of names (K. 8521) seems to have become permanently established in the days of the Kassite period, and in the Assy. age. We give it here, together with the names of the corresponding month-deities (K. 2049 + 129 = *WAI* iv. 33):

<i>Nisannu</i>	(Nisan)	Anu and En-Il.
<i>Arīru</i>	(Iyyar)	Ea as the 'lord of mankind.'
<i>Simannu</i>	(Sivan)	Sin (moon-god).
<i>Du'uzu</i>	(Tammüz)	The 'hero' Nin-ib (= Tammüz, or the Sun of Spring).
<i>Abu</i>	(Ab)	Nin-gish-zidda (fire-god).
<i>Utušu</i>	(Elül)	Ištar (the planet Venus).

¹ Along with these, as the writer is privately informed by Pater E. Huber, occur names—singly, it is true—which we are already acquainted from the lists given above, such as *A-ki-ti*, *Su-esch-sha*, *Išin-makh*, *Išin-an-na*, *Išin-Me-ki-gal*, *Mas-azag-kü*, *Kul-da-kü* (cf. above *Dun-da-kü* or *Šil-da-kü*), *Išin-Nin-a-zu*, i.e. eight names, elsewhere specifically vouchered for only in Radau's list, together with a few otherwise unknown designations, such as *Azag-shim*, *Sha-sir-a-she-de-a-sar*, *Mi-du-du* (or *Mi-ush-ush* [?]).

² We find, further, in this period a month called *St-a-ga* (perhaps also *Išin-a-ga*, which should probably be identified with the *Shig-a-ga-se-ga* (hence a variant of *Shig* = Sivan) of the Nippur list; also a month called *Shu-gar-gi-na* (= Tiru [?]; cf. *Shu-gar-gi* = turrū).

¹ Incorrectly transcribed from *Se-kin-kud* or from *Se-illa*?
² As V. Rawl. 43 gives the form *Nin-DAR-na* (with the prolongation -na), the name of this god, who is mentioned in the inscriptions of Gudea as the consort of Iškhanna, would probably be more accurately transcribed *Nin-gan-na*.

<i>Tishritu</i>	(Tishri)	Shamash, the 'hero.'
<i>Arakh-samna</i>	(Marchesvan)	Marduk (the planet Jupiter).
<i>Kislimu</i>	(Kislev)	Nergal (the planet Saturn).
<i>Tebethu</i>	(Tebeth)	Papsikal (messenger of Anu and Ishtar).
<i>Shabatu</i>	(Shebat)	Ramman (storm-god).
<i>Addaru</i>	(Adar)	Seven-god.
Intercalary Adar		Assur, father of the gods. ¹

The etymology of these Semitic names is much more obscure than that of the corresponding Sumerian designations, which are for the most part quite intelligible. *Nisan* seems originally to have meant 'intercalary month';² *Airu*, 'the month of blossom or sprouting'; *Addaru* is perhaps the 'dark' or 'gloomy' month, and *Kislimu* probably comes from the name of the river-goddess *Ka-silim*; a definite origin can be assigned only to *Du'uzu* (=Tammuz) and *Arakh-samna*, 'month of the numeral eight.'

It is obvious that the basis of this official Bab. calendar, more especially of its Sumerian terminology, is formed by the conception of a mythical world-year, which also dimly appears in the list of ten patriarchs given by Berossus and the Book of Genesis (before the Deluge). The first two months, viz. that of the 'Divine throne of destiny' (*Bár-zag-gar*) and the Ox-month (*Gud-si-sá*), belong to the highest triad of gods, and also to the first man, as being the creation of Ea (cf. in Berossus, *Aloros* [= Aruru], who creates man; *Adapados*, the Divine mediator or λόγος; *Amelon* = *amēlu*, 'man'). Then follow seven months assigned severally to the planets, as also to the zodiacal signs from Gemini to Sagittarius, viz. *Sivan*, 'brick-month,' or the month of the heavenly twins Sin and Nergal, and of the building of the first city (cf. Gn 4²⁷); *Tammuz* (Cancer); *Ab* (month of the 'descent of fire,' in the period of the Assy. king Sargon; cf. the Sumer. designation 'fire-month' and the name of the sixth Heb. patriarch *I-yarad*, 'fire came down,' abbreviated *Yared*); *Elul* (Ishtar, the Virgo of the zodiac); *Tishri* (*Dul-azag*, the 'sacred mount,' i.e. the altar of incense formed like a terraced tower in the sky near Libra); *Arakh-samna* (Scorpio; as regards 'plough-month,' cf. the Sumer. *lam*, 'plough,' and *Lamech*, the name of the corresponding Heb. patriarch), and *Kislev* (the 'clouds' of which foreshadow the Deluge). Moreover, just as in Genesis the Deluge takes place in connexion with Noah, so the next two months in this calendar, viz. *Tebeth* and *Shebat* (Sumer. 'coming of the flood' and 'curse of rain,' respectively, and, in the zodiac, Capricornus and Aquarius, the watery region of the sky), carry an unmistakable reference to the Deluge, while the future burning of the world is symbolized by the last month, *Adar* (Pisces, but in Bab. astronomy, also 'lighthouse' or Pharos).³ These cosmological ideas must, therefore, have been stamped upon the calendar system not later than the age of the kings of Ur.

Besides the Semitic names of the months already specified, there must have been other Semitic systems of nomenclature, of which, unfortunately, only a few isolated examples have come down to us. Thus we find, as far back as the days of the Ur dynasty, a month called *Dapitam* (sometimes *Dabi*), which was perhaps identical with the Sumer.

¹ The assigning of the intercalary month to the supreme deity of Assyria shows that the Assy. calendar likewise is of Bab. origin.

² Cf. the Arab. *naṣā'a*, 'to intercalate a month.' This derivation would suggest that at an earlier period the year began with *Airu*, the 'coronation-month' of the Assyrian kings; and, in point of fact, the inscriptions bear witness to a 'second Nisan,' i.e. an intercalary Nisan.

³ To the constellation Pisces corresponds the 'great mountain' of Zec 4⁷, which in Rev 8⁸ is actually called ὄρος μέγα πύρι καίμενον; quite close to it, in Aries, stands what in Zec 4² is called the *menōrah*, and in Rev 8⁷ πύρ. The 'mountain' which Bel climbs with shouts (*WAI* iv. 11, 41a) is depicted on the Bab. seal-cylinders in storey-form.

Bil-lal (= *dabāti*; possibly we have here the origin of the later Tebeth). From Mesopotamia, again, in the period of Hammurabi, comes the name *Biriz-zarru* (from *Birid-sarru*, 'hostile coldness' [?]). The Assyrians, too, were acquainted with the usual Semitic appellations, but also used names like *Khi-bur*, *Kusallu* (=Sivan), *Tamkhiru*, or *Tamtiru* (?), the last of which would mean 'rain-month' (=Tebeth), *Pit-bābi*, 'opening of the gate,' probably some religious ceremony (=Tammuz), *Mukhur-ilāni* (as early as Hadad-nirāri I.), and others found in the so-called Cappadocian tablets discussed by Goletschneff and Delitzsch. It is therefore interesting to note the list in V. Rawl. 43, which, though a mere fragment, originally contained three series of names, for the most part purely Semitic:

Sivan:	<i>Apinūm</i>	<i>Shir'-eburu</i>	<i>Kusalli</i> .
Tammuz:	<i>Apal</i>	<i>Pite-bābi</i>	<i>Allandi</i> .
Elul:	<i>Zargātum</i> (? <i>ḡruti</i>)	....	[<i>Tirradi</i>].
Tishri:	....	<i>Lahulē</i>	<i>Liki-taṭi</i> .
Shebat:	<i>Ibtāzu</i>	<i>Silitti</i>	
Adar:	<i>Khul-dubba-uddu</i>	<i>Iein-Me-ki-gd</i>	<i>Kardāti</i> .

The second group seems to have been current especially among the Semitic inhabitants of Elam; for, according to Scheil, *Mémoires*, x. 19, Semitic contract tablets from Elam of the early Babylonian age furnish the following important series:

Tishri:	the month of	<i>Lahum</i> (=Tishri).
Arakh-samna:	" "	<i>Ekil-ili, epinu</i> ('the ploughing of the field of God').
Kislev:	" "	<i>Sherkham, epinu</i> .
Tebeth:	" "	<i>Tamkhirum</i> (cf. the Assyrian month <i>Mukhurilāni</i>).
Shebat:	" "	<i>Zililitum</i> . ²
Adar:	" "	<i>Ekil-ili-She-kin-kud</i> ('ear-harvest of the field of God'), and <i>Adarum</i> .
Nisan:	" "	<i>Sherkham-She-kin-kud-a</i> .
Iyyar:	" "	<i>Kharshubum</i> (cf. <i>kharshā</i> , 'land-cultivation' [?]).
Sivan:	" "	<i>Lakkhum</i> (?).
Tammuz:	" "	<i>Datum</i> (?).
Ab:	" "	<i>Abum</i> .
Elul:	" "	<i>Ebiti</i> .

A dislocation to the extent of one month, introduced into Elam probably at a later period, is indicated by an isolated reference in II. Rawl. 49, No. 1, col. 1, 2: 'the month *Bár-azag-gar* (Nisan) = the month *Gud* (Iyyar) in Elam.' Another Elamite name, *Ra-khal* ('sheep-month' [?]; cf. the name of the Elamite deity *Lakhrat-il* = *Rukhratir*), is mentioned in Scheil, *op. cit.* ix. 32, as occurring in documents of the 6th and 7th cents. B.C., which elsewhere make use of the ordinary abbreviated Bab. ideograms. As every month but Tishri has been traced in these, Scheil is probably correct in supposing that *Ra-khal* was an Elamite name for it. It is also possible that the twelve Elamite gods enumerated by Ashurbanipal immediately after the seven deities worshipped by the kings, i.e. the planetary deities, were originally gods of the months. The twelve are as follows: Ragiba (cf. the Arab. spring-month *Rajab*), Sunu-gursara ('the great king'), Karsa, Kirsamas, Shudānu, Aipak-sina, Bilala, Paningirri (rather than Panintimri), Silagara, Nabsa, Nabirtu, and Kindakarbu. The list is a *mélange* of Semitic (Ragib, Shudānu, Bilala, Nabsa, Nabirtu) and native Elamite names.

We have thus seen that in Babylonia the nomenclature of the months varied according to period and locality, and that eventually that particular system which is first attested by documents from Nippur in the age of the kings of Ur superseded all the others. The two great divisions of the year began respectively in spring (previous to 3000 B.C., in the sign of Gemini; from

¹ This name is transmitted in Sumerian only; *Khul-dubba* is a frequently mentioned tool of worship.

² Inexact spelling of *Silitti*; in the Gilgamesh epic (Song 6), *Silitti* is the name applied to the mother of the horse that Ishtar loved, i.e. probably the astronomical Pegasus (*Silitti* is therefore the plur. *majest.* for Pegasus).

3000 to 1000 B.C. in Taurus; from 1000 B.C. in Aries), and in autumn (Sagittarius, Scorpio, and Libra, for corresponding periods). At first the year itself might begin either in spring or in autumn, but in no long time there arose the recognition of a definite date for its commencement, viz. either in Nisan or in Tishri, with a second Adar or second Elul as intercalary, according to period and locality. It may well be the case that the practice of beginning the year with autumn was a Chaldean one, thus covering Ur, Girsu, and the region east of the Tigris, and that the beginning with spring belonged to Babylonia proper—Nippur, Babylon, etc. While it was the custom under Hammurabi to intercalate a second Elul, we find that under his successors the intercalation of a second Adar already prevailed; in the reign of Abeshua, in fact, we have one instance of an intercalary Nisan, with which should be compared the hemerology in K. 2514+4101, as also the suggestion already made, that at one time the year began with Iyyar. Perhaps this was actually the early Assyrian practice.

Similarly it is probable that the observance of a lunar year of 354 days, with months of 30 and 29 days alternately, and with an intercalary month every 2nd or 3rd year, was of Chaldean origin, whereas the year of 360 days may be hypothetically assigned to Babylonia (see above). As a matter of fact, the temple archives of Telloh, dating from the period of the kings of Ur, suggest in all probability an intercalary cycle of 19 years, the additional month being introduced in the third year four times successively, and in the second year three times successively. Thus, e.g., the intercalary year synchronized with the 28th and 31st years of king Dungi, and likewise with his 42nd, 44th, and probably his 46th year; as also with the 3rd, 5th (7th), and 9th years of Gimil-Sin; so that during the intermediate reign of Bûr-Sin the intercalation would fall in his 3rd, 6th, and 9th years (cf. L. Messerschmidt's list in A. Jeremias, *Das Alter der bab. Astr.*², Leipzig, 1909, p. 88 f.).

In regard to the *week*, we find a similar contrast between the practice in Chaldean, i.e. among the nomadic and West Semitic tribes, and that of the Bab. state religion, in which the worship, not of the moon, but of Shamash and Marduk, was the dominant factor. As has been ingeniously argued by Sayce—with the independent support of Winckler and Jensen—from early Assyrian contract tablets found in Cappadocia, the most ancient division of the month was into weeks of five days, the year accordingly having 72 weeks (which presupposes, moreover, a year of 360 instead of 354 days), as was also the case in ancient Egypt, where a week of ten days—originally, no doubt, a double-week of 2×5 days—was recognized (for other instances of the five-day week in Africa, Java, and Sumatra, see p. 64*). In the hemerologies of the library of Ashurbanipal, however, in which apparently every month consisted of 30 days,¹ we find entries from a Chaldean calendar with months of 30 and 29 days, according to which new moon fell on the 1st day of the 1st month and of alternate months thereafter, while a penitential day of some kind was observed on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the 1st month, and on the [5th, 12th, and] 19th of the 2nd month, and so on throughout the year; here, therefore, we have quite plainly a week

¹ The complete series consisted of fifteen tablets. Of these, Nos. 2 (II Nisan), 4 (Sivan), 8 (II Elul), 10 (Marchesvan), 12 (Tebeth), 13 (Shebat) and 15 (II Adar) have survived, in full or in part; but only tablets 8 and 10 have been published (*WAI* iv. 2 32, 33). From the variants furnished by Pinches we may infer that all the tablets contained approximately the same festivals. The name of the series was *Inbu* (the moon-god as 'fruit' that grows of itself [cf. *WAI* iv. 9 22] *bel-arbim* (i.e. as lord of the month)).

of 7 days.¹ A like result follows from the division given in K. 170 (*Cun. Texts*, xxv. 50), viz., 1st day, new moon; 7th day, moon as a kidney, i.e. half-moon; 15th day, full moon (elsewhere *shabattu*; Old Egypt. *smḏ-t*), and from the Creation epic, 5, 15 ff.²

According to this hemerology, the festivals observed every month—apart from the specifically Chaldean festivals already named—were as follows:—

The *Nubattu*, or 'nuptial couch' of the god Marduk of Babylon and his consort *Sarpanit* (cf. *Asurb.* ix. 11), on the 3rd, 7th, and 16th days, and on the following days (the 4th, 8th, and 17th) the *Ab-ab* or *Essešu* festival of the god Nebo.

On the 1st, 2nd, 13th, 15th and 16th, 18th and 19th, 20th and 21st and the 22nd days, sacrifices to the gods Shamash, Belit-matati ('mistress of lands'), Sin and Makh (i.e. *Rābatu*, 'the exalted'), and to Sin and Makh only, on the 29th.

The *Se-gar* festival of En-lil and Nin-lil (cf. *Asurb.* i. 12) on the 12th, and the 'bright day', the *Se-gar* festival of Sin and Shamash on the 20th.

The festival of Shamash and Ramman (summer sun and winter sun) on the 23rd.

The festival of En-egal ('lord of the palace,' i.e. probably, of the under world) and of Nin-egal ('mistress of the palace') on the 24th.

The festival of the goddess Gur as the consort of Nergal on the 27th; this was associated with the imminent disappearance of the waning (or so-called Nergal) moon, as was also the *Bubbulu* ('to be borne or washed away'; cf. Heb. *mabbûl*, 'the Flood') of Nergal on the 28th. Sacrifices to Ea, the god of the watery region of the heavens, and his consort Makh, were also made on the 26th and 28th.

That the majority of these festivals were of astral origin appears from their manifest connexion with the course of the moon; from the fact that most of the sacrifices had to be offered in the evening or by night; and, finally, from the explicit mention of the worship of the 'star of the waggon' on the 10th and 25th of the month.

The calendar in *WAI* v. 48 refers not to festivals, but to the performance or omission of certain actions; we are told, e.g., that the 10th of Iyyar and the 27th of Tammûz are 'favourable for judgment' (or, 'for administering justice'), the 20th of Iyyar is a time for 'killing a goose,' the 21st for 'quarrels,' the 25th 'not to take a wife,' etc.

There were also festivals, however, which were observed not every month, but in some particular month, thus resembling the great festivals of modern times. Chief among these was the New Year festival (*Zag-mug* or *Akitu*), which was celebrated with great pomp from the 1st to the 10th of Nisan: on the 8th Marduk came forth in solemn procession from his temple of E-sag-illa, to the house of prayer or sacrifice situated outside the city in order to celebrate his marriage with Sarpanit, returning thereafter from the suburb of Shu-anna to Babylon on the 11th of Nisan (cf. *Nebuchadn.* ii. 57). In Sippar the corresponding festival of Shamash was held on the 7th of Nisan, and was repeated at the beginning of the second half-year, on the 7th of Tishri.

On the 4th of Iyyar was celebrated the marriage-feast of Nebo and his consort Tashmit (K. 501 = Harper, *Letters*, No. 113, and cf. above the *Ab-ab* festival), and on the 10th of Iyyar there was in Sippar a festival of Shamash, with which the coronation festival in Assyria—the king being regarded as the incarnation of the sun-god (cf. 20, number of Shamash and ideogram for king)—was perhaps connected.

¹ This required to be adjusted, however, by reckoning a week of ten days (from the 20th to the 29th) at the end of every second month.

² On the other hand, the week of five days is presupposed in *WAI* iii. 55, No. 3, lines 17-20; 1st-5th day, new moon; 6th-10th, kidney (half-moon); 11th-15th, full moon.

On the 17th of Sivan—the month of the moon-god—the *Akitu* festival was held in Hārān, the ancient lunar city of Mesopotamia; in Arbēla, however, it fell on the 17th of Elūl, the month of the goddess Ishtar, who was greatly venerated in that city. A processional festival of the ‘mistress of Babylon’ was held there on the 25th of Sivan (Asurb. viii. 96–100).

On the 3rd of Tammūz the gods of Erech returned from a procession at Eridu—a ceremonial undoubtedly connected in some way with the ‘death-mourning’ (*ki-bad*) held in that month on account of the summer languishing of Tammūz, the god of spring and of vegetation (cf. Ezk 8⁴). In Ab, the month of the Sirius festival and of the zodiacal constellation Leo—the sacred beast of Ishtar—a great feast was celebrated in honour of that goddess (Asurb. cylinder B. 5, 16), but it was presumably repeated in the following month, Elūl (‘the corn-ears of Ishtar’), as we know to have been actually the case in Arbēla (see above).

Corresponding to the festival of Shamash in Sippar on the 10th of Iyyar, a sacrificial feast in honour of the sun-god was also observed in that city in the month of Marchesvan. This, however, took place on the 15th of the month—the precise date, therefore, on which Jerobam instituted the festival of the two golden calves in Bethel (1 K 12³²), the calves being emblematic, at least in the first instance, of the waxing and waning moon, though the festival may have been intended simply to represent that of *Sukκόth* (‘Booths’), with a postponement from the 15th of Tishri to the same day of the following month.

For the month of Kislev a special ephemeris in a late-Babylonian transcript has been preserved (Reisner, *Hymnen*, 1896, No. vii. p. 144). With certain days of this ninth or winter month, viz. the 4th and 7th, 8th, 10th, 12th and 13th, 15th and 16th, 22nd and 25th, and finally the 29th, this document associates certain temple-festivals in various cities; e.g. with the 4th, that of Marduk in E-Temen-an-ki (in Babylon), the Ishtar festival in Dūr-Kurigalzu, and that of the ‘mistress of Ninā’ (in the district east of the Tigris); with the 15th that of Ash-kur in Sadirim. As the 29th is associated with the festival ‘of the god Nergal’ without indication of locality,—and therefore probably common to all Babylonia,—this function presumably represents the day of Nergal’s death at the winter solstice (21st Dec.) or ‘the mourning for the death of En-me-sharra.’

In the month of Shebat, as we learn from Asurb. ii. 134, the city of Kalakh observed the festival of Ninib, the chief deity of Nineveh, and there was a similar celebration in Elūl, the month of Ishtar. According to the list of month-gods in K. 2049 + 129 (*WAI* iv.² 33 a, at the foot), Shebat was dedicated to Papsukal, the messenger (*sukallu*) of Anu and Ishtar—in reality a representation of Tammūz as a youth (cf. Bab. *bābu* = ‘child’), and thus a deity allied in character to Ninib.

Finally, on the 15th of Adar a solemn sacrifice was offered to Shamash in the city of Sippar, as also on the 3rd of Elūl, the corresponding month of the other half-year. Whether the Jewish feast of Purim, which was likewise observed on the 15th of Adar, was in any way connected with this Shamash festival still remains a matter for investigation. The celebration of the Jewish festival lasted from the 13th to the 15th of Adar, while on the 13th of Iyyar the Assyrian eponyms entered upon office by pronouncing the words *pāru Asur Hadad agruru*, ‘as I cast the lot of Asur and Hadad’ (cf. the conjunction of Shamash and Hadad everywhere else; and with *garāru* cf. the Heb. *gōrāl*, ‘lot,’ probably an altered form of *gōrār*). In Est 3⁷ the act of casting lots (גורל = *gōrāl*)

is manifestly associated with the accession and deposition (Nisan to Adar) of Haman, the Persian grand vizier, i.e. the chief eponym: it would therefore seem that the name of the feast takes its origin from this event.

Had we a single complete calendar of the annual festivals observed in any of the more important centres of worship in Babylonia or Chaldaea, as, e.g., Nippur or Babylon, or again, Ur or Eridu, we could, of course, give a more exact description of the various festivals. Even as it is, however, the astral origin of most of the functions is quite unmistakable. We have here, accordingly, a fresh corroboration of the fact that amongst the people of the ancient East there was no such thing as an agricultural festival without a religious basis. The two interests were combined from the first, even amongst nomads, but most completely, of course, amongst tillers of the soil.

In conclusion, something remains to be said with regard to the probable origin of the Babylonian—or more precisely, perhaps, the Chaldaean—calendar. This problem is closely connected with that regarding the origin of the zodiac with its twelve divisions. The crux of the problem lies in the further question whether the Chaldeans had observed the phenomenon of precession, i.e. the advance of the equinoctial point by one zodiacal sign every 2160 (one-twelfth of 25920) years—a question undoubtedly to be answered in the affirmative. The list of monthly stars, with their relative degrees, given by Pinches in *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 573–5, shows clearly that the Babylonians, on the ground of early tradition, fixed the beginning of the zodiacal series at the eastern end of Gemini (cf. Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.*, 1901, p. 459), and that accordingly their calendar must have originated c. 5000 B.C. This is corroborated by the delineations carved upon boundary stones dating from the Kassite period, these being based upon an equatorial zodiac beginning with the twin dragons. The figure corresponding to the latter—two heads of panthers or lions upon one neck—also plays an important part on the seal-cylinders, and sometimes occurs in conjunction with the severed head of Adapa, the god of creation, of whose blood mankind was formed on the morning of creation (or at the beginning of the world). The actual beginning of the world, however, which is anterior to the creation of man, was dated as far back as the period of Cancer, i.e. about 7000 B.C.; and this ancient astrological tradition is also implied by the Egyptian zodiac found in Denderah (dating from the Roman imperial period, but of Chaldaean origin), which likewise begins with Cancer. For in Cancer were situated the two contiguous dragons, one—that with the head of a lion—representing Tiāmat, the other—with the vulture’s head—Kingu, her consort. The dragon with the lion’s head, as a symbol of the beginning of the world, is found upon ancient seal-cylinders almost as frequently as the twin-dragon with two heads upon one neck just alluded to.

The Taurus era (c. 3000–1000 B.C.), immediately succeeding that of Gemini, is indicated by a sketch frequently reproduced on seal-cylinders, that, namely, in which the hero Gilgamesh waters the wild-ox at the streams flowing from the vase bearing the young shoot—the treelet of Tammūz; while the twin-heroes Gilgamesh and En-ki-kak (Eabani?), who are quite as frequently depicted together, point rather to the previous era. The shoot of Gilgamesh, *idakku* (earlier *isdakku*,

¹ As Chaldaea, i.e. the district to the west of the Euphrates, and perhaps embracing Eastern Arabia, was the native soil of astrology, and thus, too, of the earliest knowledge of the stars, it is altogether likely that the ‘Babylonian’ calendar has its origin in the same region, and not in Babylonia proper, which lies between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Sumer. *giš-a-am*, i.e. 'tree of the water of the wild-ox'), the *vápoñē* of Prometheus, is not referred to in the surviving fragments of the epic, but it is mentioned in the ancient Sumerian hymn of Nergal (*Cun. Texts*, xv. 14, line 35). It is quite in keeping with this that we find Gilgamesh (Orion) with his ship (Argo), the Bull, and the river Eridanus (cf. Eridu in Chaldaea?) in close proximity to one another among the stars.

The most ancient names of months so far identified, viz. those current in the period of Lugal-anda and the earlier Sargon, are not directly connected with the signs of the zodiac. The relation is of a more indirect kind, inasmuch as the festivals of the gods (including, in particular, Nin-Girsu = Ninih, Ish-ikhanna, the Scorpion-goddess, Bildár, and Ba'u, and also, even at that early date, Tur-zi = Tammúz) are of astral origin. Nevertheless, in the case of the Sumerian series, traceable from the age of the kings of Ur and current till the later Bab. period—a series which must at one time have begun with the ox-month (Gud-sidi = Iyyar; cf. above, the Assy. coronation festival, and the ancient practice of intercalating a month after Nisan instead of Adar)—the connexion with the zodiac is perfectly obvious. The reader should compare what has already been said (in dealing with the world-year) regarding the various names. The appellations Gud-sidi (Taurus), Brick-month (Gemini, and the building of the first city), the 'Ishtar month' Elul, and the 'sacred hill' (the altar in the constellation Libra) are of themselves quite sufficient to place the matter beyond doubt.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned throughout the article, reference may be made to the following: F. Thureau-Dangin, 'Anciens noms de mois chaldéens,' in *JA* vii. 339-343 (cf. *RAssy* iv. 83 f., v. 73); H. Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, 1900, pp. 287-307 ('The Names of the Months'), with the very full review by F. Thureau-Dangin in *ZA* xv. 409-412; C. H. W. Johns, 'The Amorite Calendar,' in *Expositor*, 7th ser. vol. i. (1906) pp. 123-132 (cf. also the present writer's *Grundriss der Geogr. u. Gesch. des alten Orients*, Munich, 1904, p. 221, note 1); H. Winckler, 'Himmel, Kalender, u. Mythos,' in *Altor. Forsch.* ii. (1900) 354-395, and 'Astronomisches-mythologisches,' *ib.* iii. (1901) 179-211; F. X. Kugler, 'Darlegungen u. Thesen über altbab. Chronologie,' in *ZA* xxii. (1908) 68-78; T. G. Pinches, *The Amherst Tablets*, London, 1908, Introd. iii. 'The Calendar' (pp. xix-xxiii).

FR. HOMMEL.

CALENDAR (Buddhist).—Buddhism has no general system of its own for measuring times and seasons. In the land of its birth the new religion was, in almost every particular, influenced by prevailing Brāhmanical thought and practice. In ancient India the months were lunar, and the calendar varied in different parts of the country. Every month, including the intercalary, or thirteenth, had its *māhātmya*, or 'excellence.' The Buddhist year was based upon the ancient Brāhmanical rule that every new-moon day (*darsā*), and every full-moon day (*purnamāsa*), should be set apart for religious observances. In later times the intermediate quarter-moon days were also held sacred. The number of fast days (*upavasatha*) was consequently increased in Buddhism to four every month, or one per week.

Another Hindu idea was incorporated into Buddhism in its observance of seasons. Hinduism celebrated the junction of six seasons, viz. spring, summer, the rains (*varṣa*), autumn, winter, and the season of dew and mist. Buddhism added to these others of its own, but now generally observes only three seasons—summer, the rains, and winter.

The festival of the New Year has been universally observed from earliest times. It celebrates the victory of light over darkness. In Buddhist countries it signifies the triumph of Buddhism over ignorance. The corresponding Hindu festival is called *Makara Sankarānti*. In

India, this marks the termination of the inauspicious month Pausa, and the beginning of the sun's northern course (*uttarāyana*) in the heavens.

Four eras are commonly current among Hindus in India, but none is of Buddhist origin. In Burma, however, the third, the religious era, dates from 543 B.C., the year in which Gautama Buddha is supposed to have entered *nirvāṇa*.

In China the Buddhists have arranged their calendar of festivals and fasts to suit the Chinese months, which are lunar. In the popular calendar there is no mention of anything astronomical. Cf. art. CALENDAR (Chinese).

In Ceylon each Buddhist monk is supposed to keep a calendar (*lita*), from which he learns the *awich-hāwa* (the length of the shadow, by which, according to rules laid down, varying with the time of year, the hour of the day may be known), the age of the moon, and the years that have elapsed since the death of Buddha.

In the Japanese calendar, as introduced from China, the year is divided into lunar months (see CALENDAR [Japanese]). In 1872 the Japanese Government decided to discontinue the system of lunar months and adopt the Gregorian calendar.

The Tibetan system of reckoning time is of mixed Western and Chinese origin. It is by the twelve year and sixty year cycles of Jupiter, which have been derived through India from the West, but with the substitution of some Chinese astrological terms for the Indian, the Tibetans having derived their chronological system mainly from India, with their Buddhism.

In all Buddhist lands the weekly fast is more or less strictly observed. The commemorative and other festivals, in the various countries, differ considerably, both in regard to the time of their observance and the manner in which they are celebrated.

See, further, FESTIVALS (Buddhist).

LITERATURE.—Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism* 4, 1891, also *Buddhism*, 1889; A. M. B. Irwin, *The Burmese Calendar*, 1901; R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 1850; J. G. Scott, *The Burman*, 1882, 1896, also *Burma*, 1906; *Ceylon Almanac*, 1862; Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, 1880; William Bramsen, *Japanese Chronological Tables*, 1880; L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 1905.

J. H. BATESON.

CALENDAR (Celtic).—I. Precedence of night.

—A certain knowledge of astronomy is ascribed to the Druids by Caesar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14: 'They discuss and impart to the youth many things regarding the stars and their motion, the extent of the universe and the earth') and Pomponius Mela (iii. 2), and some passages of Irish texts support their statements. But this knowledge probably did not surpass the primitive astronomy of barbaric races everywhere, sufficient to adjust roughly the lunar and solar years; and it was doubtless mingled with astrology (see DRUIDS). Our acquaintance with the old Celtic calendar depends mainly on a few classical references, on scattered notices in Irish and Welsh texts, and on the fragments of the calendar of Coligny. The Celtic year was a lunar year. This is attested by a passage in Pliny (*HN* xvi. 44) referring to the plucking of the mistletoe by the Druids. This is done 'ante omnia sexta luna, quae principia mensium annorumque his facit, et seculi post tricesimum annum, quia jam virium abunde habent nec sit sui dimidia.' While it has been supposed from this passage that the Celts counted periods of time from the sixth day of the moon, there is reason to believe, as de Ricci points out (*RCel* xix. 26), that 'the phrase quae . . . facit . . . tricesimum annum is a general indication of the place of the moon in the Gaulish calendar, and that the subject of *facit* represented by quae is luna and not sexta luna.' Thus each month, year, and cycle of thirty

years would begin with a new moon, not on the sixth day of the moon (cf. Jullian, *Recherches sur la rel. gaul.*, Bordeaux, 1903, p. 63, where this view is also adopted). This custom of counting time by the moon is further attested by Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 18), who says that the Gauls 'define the divisions of every season, not by the number of days, but of nights; their birthdays and the beginning of months and years they observe in such an order that the day follows the night.' Many passages in Irish and Welsh texts show incidentally that this method of counting by nights prevailed; 'three nights' or 'nine nights' are frequently referred to, or a space of time is counted from such a night; or, when a certain number of days and nights is referred to, 'nights' precedes 'days.' Generally also when 'night' is used, it means a night and a day (cf. our 'se'nnight,' 'fortnight'). This is in accordance with Indo-European usage (see Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 845 f.).

2. The calendar of Coligny.—A number of bronze fragments of a calendar were discovered, together with fragments of a statue of a god, at Coligny, near Lyons (the region formerly inhabited by the Seguni), in 1897. The calendar had probably been set up in a temple dedicated to the god. While some philologists have maintained that its language is Ligurian, it is generally believed to be Celtic, though its place in the Celtic group is not precisely fixed. The calendar is generally dated towards the second half of the 1st cent. A.D. The fragments as restored show that it had been engraved on a long bronze tablet, and that it covered at least a period of five years. There are in all sixteen columns, fourteen of which give vertically four months each, and two three months each; in all, sixty-two months. These two columns are headed by an intercalary month, which occupies double the space of an ordinary month. Each month is headed by its title, preceded in the case of the month called *Samon* by the word *MID*, and in other cases by the initial *M*. This word *mid* has been explained as meaning 'month' (*RCel* xix. 215, xxi. 23; cf. *Ir. mî*, Welsh *mis*, 'month'); but Loth contests this interpretation (*RCel* xxv. 130). To the title are added in the case of months of 30 days, *MAT*, and in the case of months of 29 days, *ANM*, except in the case of the month *Equos* of 30 days, which has *ANM*. Seven months have 30 days, and five 29 days. Each month has its days numbered from 1 to 15; then follows the word *ATENOUX*, and the remaining days are again numbered 1 to 14 or 15. When they are 14 in number the word *DIVERTOMV* or *DIVORTOMV* follows. Each number is followed by symbols, initial letters, or words, the significance of which, save in a few cases, has not been discovered, and is preceded by a small circular hole in which a peg may have been inserted to mark each day as it arrived. The names of the months as they occur in the calendar are:

Samon (30 days)	Giamon (29 days)
Duman or Dumannos (29 days)	Simivis (30 days)
Rivos (30 days)	Equos (30 days)
Anacan or Anacantlos (29 days)	Elembiv (29 days)
Ogron (30 days)	Edrini (30 days)
Cutios (30 days)	Cantlos (29 days)

The name of the intercalary month of 30 days is Ciallos.

Samon is the summer-month, from **samo-* (cf. O. Ir. *sam*, summer; ? *tramon*, the winter-month, from **gaismo-* (cf. Old Welsh *gaem*, 'winter'); *Ogron*, 'cold' (cf. Welsh *oer* = 'ogro-s', 'cold'); *Rivos*, the month of the god Rivos, the harvest-month, probably August. Rivos, according to Rhys, is the god whose statue was found along with the calendar.

He is represented as Apollo, or perhaps as Augustus in the rôle of Apollo. Augustus, who had given his name to the month of August, was chosen to represent Rivos, the god whose name gave the month *Rivos* = August (see Rhys, *Trans. 3rd Inter. Cong. Hist. Rel.*, Oxford, 1903, ii. 223 f.).

The calendar is obviously lunar. The months are roughly lunar months; seven of 30 days each and five of 29 days each give a year of 355 days, instead of the usual lunar year of 354 days as with the Greeks. Loth (*RCel* xxv. 120) compares for this extra day the Irish, Welsh, and Breton phrase in contracts, promises, etc., 'a year and a day,' and states that the formula belongs to an epoch when the lunar year varied in duration from time to time by a day. While the popular current year of 354 days was retained, all chance of error in fulfilling the contract was avoided by prolonging the duration of the contract by a day; and it may have been religious and judicial scruples which led the Druids officially to augment the year by a day. We may compare Numa's Roman year (lunar) of 355 days, the number being decided because of the belief in the virtue of odd numbers. In the calendar of Coligny a month of 30 days is intercalated every two and a half years, in effect making each year a year of 367 days. This is evidently part of a system by which a given number of lunar years was made to synchronize with a given number of solar years.

De Ricci (*RCel* xix. 217, xxi. 25) finds the key to the system in Pliny's reference to a period of 30 years. In 30 lunar years, with 30 days intercalated every 2½ years, there are 11,010 days, the difference between this and 30 solar years of 365·24 days (=10,957·20 days) being 52·80 days. De Ricci supposes (1) that every 15 years a month of 29 days was omitted, equivalent to 58 days in 30 years, thus reducing the difference to a fraction over 5 days; or (2) noting that the month *Equos*, of 30 days, has attached to it the letters *ANM*, reserved for months of 29 days, he supposes an error in the drawing up of the calendar. Altering *Equos* to a month of 29 days, and including the intercalary days (=366 days in the year), we obtain in the 30 years' cycle 10,980 days. In 30 solar years there are 10,957·20 days, which is nearly equivalent to 371 lunations of 29·53 days, viz. 10,955·63 days. If, then, a month of 30 days were omitted from the calendar every 30 years, this would give 10,950 days, increasing the error by 5·63 days. These, however, are problematical solutions, and it is unlikely that those who framed the calendar knew with mathematical exactitude the true duration of solar and lunar years. On the other hand, if they reckoned a solar year as consisting of 366 days, and if we assume the error in the month *Equos*, then the intercalated month of 30 days would give, in 2½ years, 915 days—exactly the number of days contained in 2½ solar years of 366 days. On such a system, if *Equos* were really a month of 30 days, the solar year may have been reckoned as containing 367 days, which would produce the same result.

The intercalary month of thirty days in 2½ years, equivalent to twelve days in each year, has its days called by the name of the months in the calendar, beginning with *Samon*. Thus the twelve names are repeated two and a half times. Among the Germans and Hindus, as well as among the Celts, are found traces of twelve intercalary days or 'nights' in the year; and relics of the custom still exist in Brittany, where the first twelve days of January or the last six days of December and the first six of January are called *gourdeziou*, or 'supplementary days.' There is evidence also of their existence in Wales, where the twelve days added to the lunar year of 354 days were called *Dyddiau Dyddon*, 'days of days' (William ab Ithel, *Barddas*, Llandovery, 1862, p. 422 ff.), equivalent to the 'blank days' of the Welsh laws. We are thus, evidently, in presence of an old Indo-European method of accommodating the lunar year of 354 days to the solar year of 366 days (Loth, *RCel* xxiv. 310, xxv. 118). But in Brittany each of these days is regarded as prognosticating the character or quality of a month in the coming year. With this may be compared the fact that in Brahmanic belief the twelve days are 'an image of the coming year' (Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 391). De Ricci, therefore, surmises (*RCel* xxv. 316) that this superstition was entertained by the framers of

the calendar, and that it is denoted by the fact that the days of the intercalary month bear the names of the thirty months which follow, and in the same order.

On one of the fragments which contains the month *Ciallos* that name is followed by *Sonnocingos* and a mutilated passage, which appears to refer to a 13th month and a year of 385 days, i.e. the lunar year of the calendar (355 days), plus a month of 30 days. *Sonnocingos*, according to Loth and Thurneysen, means 'course of the sun,' while Loth supposes *ciallos* to be connected with a root *ki*, 'to collect,' giving it the meaning of 'collection' or *résumé*—'an etymology confirmed by the fact that the intercalary month collects in effect the 12 intercalary days of 2 years, and the half of these 12 or 6 days of the first half of the third year' (*RCel* xxv. 119, cf. xxi. 14, 23).

A fragment of another calendar was discovered in 1892 in the Lake of Antre, near Môtans (Jura); on it the month *Ogron* appears to be mentioned (Villemosse, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Insér.* xxvii. [1898] 256).

3. Division of the year.—Apart from counting by months or moons, the earliest division of time was probably by seasons rather than by years—summer and winter, and later also spring. The fourth season, autumn, was with the Aryans the last of the seasons to receive a distinctive name (Taylor, *Origin of the Aryans*, London, n.d., 164, 187; cf. also Schrader, *op. cit.* 366 f., 395-7). The adaptation of the lunar months to a course of the seasons finally issued in the attempts to synchronize lunar and solar time, but it is doubtful whether among the Celts generally the course of the year was divided by the equinoxes or solstices. Traces of the division by 2, 3, or 4 seasons are found in Celtic remains. Like the Teutons, they divided the year primarily into two parts. This is shown by the calendar of Coligny, since the intercalary month appears now before Samon, now before Giamon, each of them the first of six months. It appears also from Irish texts, which tell that 'the year was divided into two parts, i.e. the *Samradh*, from Beltine to Samfhuin, and the *Geimhredh*, from Samfhuin to Beltine' (cited in O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, Dublin, 1847, Introd. liii.). The year is also expressed by *dá se mis*, 'twice six months,' in the Irish laws, where also a division into two unequal parts is referred to—*Samh-fucht*, a summer period of five months, and *Gamh-fucht*, a winter period of seven months. But 'this division was evidently made to regulate the price of grazing lands' (O'Donovan, *lv.*). In Welsh texts two divisions also occur, the calends of May (*Calan Mei*, May 1st), and the calends of winter (*Calan Gwyaf*, Nov. 1st) (*Ancient Laws of Wales*, ed. Owen, London, 1841, i. 396, 588). The year probably began with the winter half; this seems to have been the case in Ireland, where *Foghamhar* ('the harvest') is defined as the name given to the last month, and where the year commenced with *Samhain* (*Samfhuin*), the day of the feast of Tara, i.e. Nov. 1st; cf. the phrase 'from one feast of Tara to another' (O'Donovan, *liv. f.*; Loth, *RCel* xxv. 126). In the Isle of Man, the beginning of the year with *Samhain* is still commemorated by mummers, who, on its eve, go round singing, 'To-night is New Year's night, Hogunnau' (Kelly, *Eng. and Manx Dict.*, Douglas, 1866, s.v. 'Blein'). There was also a custom of reckoning years as winters, e.g. Kulhwch's horse is said in the *Mabinogion* to be four winters old (*Rhys, Celtic Heathendom*, London, 1888, p. 360). The calendar of Coligny affords no evidence as to whether *Giamon* or *Samon* began the year. But if *Rivros* is the harvest month, approximately August, and if *Ogron* means 'cold,' then *Samon* cannot be May, since that would make *Ogron*, a cold month=September. Probably, therefore, *Samon* is approximately June, and *Giamon* approximately December. Loth (*RCel*, xxv. 130) points out that the name *Mid Samon* is almost exactly equivalent to the Welsh, Breton, and Irish names for June (Ir. *mis mithemain*=

med-samain=*medio-samoni*, 'middle of summer'). In this case the twofold division of the year in the calendar differs from that followed in Ireland and Wales, though, if *Mid Samon* is 'middle of summer,' there is here a trace of the division which made summer begin with May.

A threefold division of the year may have obtained among the Celts at some period. In all Aryan languages there is no primitive name for autumn—the last of the four seasons to receive a name. For the Celts this appears from the fact that, out of the Celtic names for the four seasons, three only are Indo-European,—those of winter, spring, and summer,—while those for autumn have arisen during the Celtic epoch. Some passages in the Welsh laws may point to this threefold division (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 127 f.). Possibly, too, the triple Celtic *Matres*, goddesses of that fertility with which the course of the seasons was connected, may owe their number to a threefold division of the year.

The later fourfold division is shown clearly by the old Irish method of arranging the four seasons, arrived at by subdividing the two halves of the year:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| A. Geimhredh
(winter half) | 1st quarter, <i>Geimhredh</i> , beginning with the festival of <i>Samhain</i> , Nov. 1st.
2nd quarter, <i>Earrach</i> , beginning Feb. 1st (sometimes called <i>Oimele</i>).
3rd quarter, <i>Samhradh</i> , beginning with the festival of <i>Beltane</i> , May 1st (called also <i>Cét-soman</i> or <i>Cét-samain</i> , 1st day of <i>Samono-s</i> ; cf. Welsh <i>Cyntefym</i>).
4th quarter, <i>Foghamhar</i> , beginning with the festival of <i>Lughnasadh</i> , Aug. 1st (sometimes called <i>Brontroghain</i>). |
| B. Samhradh
(summer half) | |

For the texts and for the old explanations of these names, see O'Donovan, *lii. ff.*

This fourfold division must have been general over the Celtic area, for traces of the great festivals, with which three of the divisions began, still survive in folk-custom or can otherwise be discovered. Thus survivals of *Samhain*, *Beltane*, and *Lughnasadh* are found in Brittany, Ireland, Wales, the Isle of Man, and the Scottish Highlands, while a festival in honour of the god Lug occurred in Gaul on Aug. 1st (see these fully discussed under FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Traces of a festival to open the spring are lacking. If such a festival existed, it is now completely effaced by St. Bridget's Day, Feb. 1st. The ritual of these festivals, in accordance with the Celtic rule that night preceded day, began on the evening before with the moon's rising (*RCel* iv. 189; Monnier, *Traditions comparées*, Paris, 1854, p. 222).

None of these festivals is connected with the times of equinox and solstice. This points to the fact that originally the Celtic year was independent of these, that 'it was more thermometric than astronomical, and the Lughnasadh was, so to say, its summer solstice' (Rhys, 419; Lughnasadh comes midway between Beltane and Samhain in the summer half of the year). On the other hand, there is ample evidence in folk-custom over the whole Celtic area, as in general over Europe, of the ritual observance of Midsummer day, June 24th, and its eve, while this ritual is scarcely to be distinguished from that of Beltane. It has been argued that the ritual of an old pagan summer feast was transferred, under Christian influence, to that of St. John Baptist on Midsummer day, and tradition in Ireland alleges that the change from Beltane to this feast was made

by St. Patrick (O'Donovan, li.; cf. Bertrand, *Rel. des Gaulois*, Paris, 1897, p. 105; Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, London, 1899, p. 91; Keating, *Hist. of Ireland*, tr. O'Mahony, 1866, p. 300; Grimm, *Teut. Mythol.* ii. 624). But, in spite of the Christian elements in the Midsummer festival, which at all events denote a desire to bring it under Church influence, the pagan elements, even in folk-custom, are strongly marked, while the festival is so deeply rooted in an earlier paganism all over Europe that this theory of transference must be given up. Without much acquaintance with astronomy, men must have noted the period of the sun's longest course from very early times; and it would probably be observed ritually. Whether this ritual observance existed before that of Beltane, or whether the two feasts arose independently and entered into competition with each other, it is impossible to say. Perhaps Beltane was an early pastoral festival marking the beginning of summer, when the herds went out to pasture (in its ritual cattle were passed through the fire), and Midsummer was a more purely agricultural festival. And, since their ritual aspect and purpose are similar, they may have borrowed each from the other, thus representing different currents of early custom. Or they may be later fixed dates of an earlier movable summer festival. Practically we may now regard them as twin halves of such a festival (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]). The Celts may have observed in some fashion the solstices and equinoxes, as the survivals of Midsummer Day tend to show, and as may be suggested by such facts as that of the Helvetii appointing a day close to the March equinox for an assembly of forces, perhaps because this was a sacred day (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* i. 6). Some trace of this may also be found in the phrase 'from the middle of spring to the middle of autumn,' i.e., according to the old computation, from mid-March to mid-September, in each case near the time of the equinoxes. (The phrase occurs in 'Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel,' *RCel* xxii. 167.)

The solar arrangement, however, did not affect the Samhain festival at the beginning of the Celtic year, or that of Lughnasadh. These remained, and still remain in folk-custom, constant. Probably very ancient village rituals for fertility, which may have been more or less liable to variation in the time of celebration, mark the origin of these greater periodic Celtic festivals. The latter were connected mainly with the anthropomorphic divinities of growth and with magical rites to induce fertility, and were apparently, in some cases, held at a stated centre in each large district. Where the Celts came under Roman influence, the observance of the Roman calendar tended to dislocate some of the festivals. Thus, in Gaul, much of the ritual of Samhain was transferred to the calends of January. Germanic influences may elsewhere have affected the Celtic calendar, since some of the Samhain ritual has passed over to Yule. The influence of the Christian calendar, with its list of feasts and saints' days, must also be taken into account. Not only did the introduction of the Roman calendar finally demolish the old Celtic method of computing time, but the Church attempted, with varying success, to hallow the older ritual by giving it a Christian colouring or by substituting holy days for the old festivals. Thus All Saints' and All Souls' Days occupy the place of Samhain; St. Bridget's Day occurs on Feb. 1st; St. John Baptist's Day at Midsummer; Llammas at Lughnasadh. Again, while some of the ritual of the old festivals still survives on their actual date in folk-custom, some of it now occurs on saints' days within the range of the pagan festival days. Specially is this the case

with the Samhain ritual, some of which is found on St. Martin's Day (Martinmas) and on other saints' days in Nov. and Dec., while in Wales and the Isle of Man Lughnasadh rites occur on the first Sunday in August (see Rhys, 421 f.).

4. **Periods of years.**—Certain periods of years seem to have been regarded by the Celts as significant, perhaps as sacred. In Irish and Welsh texts these periods are referred to as if they were well-marked divisions of time; or certain events, mythical or historical, are mentioned as occurring within them or are dated by them, showing that the mental outlook of the scribe, or of the folk among whom such traditional events were told, had been prepossessed by the influence of these periods. In the calendar of Coligny, 2½ years is clearly marked out as such a period, and the same period is mentioned in Irish texts, e.g. king Laegaire entered Leinster at the end of 2½ years (*RCel* xiii. 52). But the period of 3 years is much more usual. This is due, doubtless, to the sacred character of the number three among the Celts, as is evidenced by the three-headed gods and the number of triads, Divine, mythical, and customary, etc., in Celtic belief (cf. Rhys, Index, s.v. 'Three'; Usener, 'Dreihheit,' *Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* lviii. [1903] 31). Note especially the three gods of Danu, the triple war-goddesses, triple Matres, the three cranes, three blemishes, three satires, the grouping of heroes by three, the triads of Welsh literature, etc. Wishes are made for three years; mythic kings reign for the same period; and—still more significant—the fair of Carman, celebrated at Lughnasadh, was held every three years (Windisch and Stokes, *Ir. Texte*, Leipzig, iv. [1900] 273; *RCel* xv. 312). In the Welsh *Mabinogion* and in the Welsh laws the same period occurs as a round measure of time (Loth, *Mat.*, Paris, 1889, i. 83, ii. 25, 30; *Anc. Laws*, i. 263, 488). Still more frequent both in Ireland and in Wales is the period of 7 years, which had evidently a well-marked and sacred significance, due, doubtless, to the fondness for the number itself. Thus mythic kings very frequently reign for that time; various events happen every 7 years, or occur at the end of 7 years, or continue during 7 years (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 138 ff., 147 ff.). The feast of Tara, held at Samhain, was celebrated every 7th (or perhaps every 3rd) year (O'Donovan, l.). Finally, the period of 30 years, referred to by Pliny, is mentioned as a round number of years in certain passages in Irish texts (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 140). In the absence of definite statements regarding such periods of years in the calendar of insular Celts, these references must be taken for what they are worth, but they seem at least to indicate the actual measurement of time by 3 and 7 years.

5. **The month.**—The oldest Indo-European name for periods of time was the 'month'; and there are traces, among the Teutons, Slavs, and other peoples, of a custom of grouping the months by two, considering them as brothers, as male and female, or as full and empty months, and using one name for two successive months qualified by 'great' and 'little,' etc. (Grimm, *op. cit.* ii. 788). Loth (*RCel* xxv. 124) considers that this usage may have been current among the Celts, since with some groups six of the twelve months have taken Latin names, as if originally each two months had but one name, while, occasionally, one month still bears popularly the name of the preceding month qualified by 'little.' Be this as it may, a primitive method of dividing the months into half-months by the light half and dark half of the moon is found among the Celts. In Celtic ritual the influence of a waxing or waning moon

was believed to be significant (see NATURE [Celtic]). Hence the lunar month was naturally divided into two parts, one before and one after full moon, in accordance with primitive usage. The calendar of Coligny divides the first 15 days from the second 15 (or 14), which are also numbered consecutively from 1 onwards, and between each half is placed in large letters the word ATENOUX, indicating the night of the full moon, 'great night,' or, as Thurneysen translates it, 'renewal' (*Ztschr. f. celt. Phil.*, Halle, 1899, ii. 523 ff.; cf. Mid. Ir. *athnughudh*), the period at which the month renewed itself. The same division occurs in Wales, where *pythwynnos*, a fortnight, means 'a fifteen night,' and in Ireland, where *cóicthiges* had a similar meaning and where *teóra cóicthiges* meant 'three fifteens,' i.e. a month and a half (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 131; Rhys, 361).

6. The week.—Indo-European names for the week were late in being devised, and it is doubtful whether with the Celts, in spite of the sacredness of the number 7, a week of 7 days or nights existed before Christian influences were felt among them. Thus the Irish *seachtmain*, 'a week,' is due to Christian missionary teaching and is a corruption of Lat. *septimana* (cf. Gael. *seachdain*, Cornish *seithun*, Bret. *sizun*). The new week in Wales was, however, called by a native name, *wythnos*, 'eight nights,' in accordance with the custom of reckoning a period with the night on which it began and the night on which it ended. Thus *wythnos* would be equivalent to 7½ days, and it is possible that here the name of an earlier subdivision of the *pythwynnos* has been used for the later week of 7 days. Native to the Celts are periods of 9 and of 3 nights and days. The number 9 is of frequent occurrence and evidently of sacred significance in Celtic texts, and a period of 9 nights, or of 9 nights and days, is found as a well-marked portion of time in Ireland, and is called by Rhys (*op. cit.* 360) 'the nine-night week.' In Irish its title is *nómad*, 'a space of 9 days' (Stokes, *RCel* xxii. 428); cf. *co cend nómaide*, 'until the end of a ninth,' i.e. of a 9-night week,—a phrase of frequent occurrence in the texts (cf. *RCel* xxii. 193),—while delays of 9 nights and periods of 9 nights are found in the Irish laws (Rhys, *op. cit.* 363; Loth, *RCel* xxv. 134; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le droit celt.*, Paris, 1895, i. 365, ii. 112). Equally in Welsh texts and laws the same period is found, e.g. delays of 9 days (*Anc. Laws*, i. 84, 94, 142, etc.), while both in Wales and Ireland the names for the 9-night week were sometimes applied popularly to the new week.

Rhys (*op. cit.* 368) supposes that the 9th night was held to contain all the others, 'as being the boundary or limit within which the week was comprised.' If this be so, in accordance with the old rule of counting the night with which a period ended as well as that with which it began, the period consisted of 9 nights and 8 days. Thus a 'day' must have intervened between each week, if each began with a night, unless, as is probable, the 9th night originally ended one week and began another, i.e. it was common to both. Later the period is one of 9 nights and 9 days. Rhys also finds mythical personifications of the 9-night week according to two methods, and he cites cases of 9 personifications of a more or less uniform character, or a single personification with the attribute of 9 attaching to it (*op. cit.* 366 ff.). These must be regarded as hypothetical. Probably the 9-night week was divided into halves called *nóinden*, of 5 nights and 4 days (cf. the case *nóinden Ulad*, 'the Ulster men's sickness of a week,' explained as 5 nights and 4 days). If 2 *nóinden* thus made up the 9-night week, the 5th night must have been reckoned to each half, ending one and beginning another, as the 9th night also ended one week and began another (cf. Rhys, 363, 368, 370).

The week of 9 days being found among many races, its origin has been sought in various ways. Some have seen in it a multiple of the sacred number 3 (cf. the numerous triads and enneads of beings in 'Da Derga's Hostel,' *RCel* xxii. *passim*); others have adopted Kant's view that, before the synodical month of 29½ days was

adopted, the sidereal month of 27½ days, divided into three parts, originated the period of 9 days (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 135 f.); Rhys offers another but by no means convincing explanation (*op. cit.* 364).

If the sidereal month divided into three parts produced roughly a period of 9 days, this again divided by 3 gave a period of 3 days. In any case 3 was a sacred number with the Celts, and a period of 3 days and nights occurs frequently in Irish and Welsh texts. Thus a delay of 3 nights in judicial matters is frequent (D'Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit. passim*), and 3 nights and days of fasting, of hospitality, of a sojourn, of a journey, of a truce, etc., are common (Loth, *RCel* xxv. 132 f.; 'Tain bo Fraich,' *ib.* xxiv. 132; 'Finn and the Man in the Tree,' *ib.* xxv. 347, etc.).

7. The day.—The old Celtic names of days have been replaced by others borrowed from other sources and due to Latin and Christian influences (see MacBain, *Etymol. Dict. of the Gaelic Language*, Inverness, 1896, p. 117 f.). As has been seen, the days during which the moon was waxing were with the Celts, as with other peoples, considered propitious for many undertakings, especially for ritual purposes. This is gathered mainly from later folk-survivals; but older evidence is found in the case of the mistletoe cut on the 6th day of the moon, and in the fact that the Celtiberians danced in honour of their god on the night of the full moon (Strabo, III. iv. 6). Some evidence of 'lucky' days is also derived from the Irish texts (cf. e.g. 'Songs of Buchet's House,' *RCel* xxv. 27). Certain days, or groups of days, as well as certain hours of the day or night, were doubtless considered lucky or unlucky, as popular survivals show. Midday and midnight, according to Lucan (*Pharsal.* iii. 404 ff.), were hours when the Divine guardian of the grove showed himself, and when the priest himself dreaded to approach it. Certain days were appropriated to greater or lesser festivals, e.g. *Samhain*, *Beltane*, *Lughnasadh*, on the first of the respective months, as well as to other periodic festivals, in some cases to divinities on their festal days—the communal sacrifice of the hunters of Galatia to their Artemis 'on the day of her birth' (Arrian, *Cyneg.* 33), the yearly sacrifices of the Irish to Cenn Cruaich (*RCel* xvi. 35), the periodic holocausts of the Gauls (Diod. Sic. v. 32). Reference may also be made to the meeting of the Druids of Gaul 'at a fixed time of the year' (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13).

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CALENDAR (Chinese).—The Chinese calendar, which was practically copied by the Japanese, with the substitution of Japanese for Chinese names, is scarcely so ancient as is generally supposed. It is true that at an early period the Chinese became acquainted with a twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, depending on that planet's progress through the twelve signs of the zodiac; but this cycle had in China only astrological significance, whereas in India it became part of the calendrical system. It is equally true that the Chinese early endeavoured to formulate a luni-solar year, and there is evidence of a year of 360

days side by side with one of 366 days, the discrepancy between the latter and the purely lunar year of 354 days being adjusted by intercalation at intervals of three or five years. Chinese tradition ascribes to the Emperor Yao (24th cent. B.C.) the institution of an astronomical board for the regulation of the calendar, and this tribunal, which still issues the official calendar each year, was profoundly influenced by the science of the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century.

1. Era.—The Chinese have no initial point from which succeeding years are numbered. When recording dates, they usually give the name of the Emperor and the year of his reign (the first year of his reign being reckoned as beginning on the New Year's Day after his accession), as is the practice in England with regard to Acts of Parliament. Besides this, however, they also employ a sexagesimal cycle, beginning with 2637 B.C., for the years and days, and, to a limited extent, for the months. The basis of this cycle is the five elements, wood, fire, earth, metal, water (*mu*, *huo*, *t'u*, *kin*, *shui*), which, being divided into antitheses (active-passive, male-female, etc.), give the sub-cycle of the ten heavenly stems (*kan*): *kia* ('growing wood'), *yi* ('building wood'), *ping* ('natural fire'), *ting* ('artificial fire'), *wu* ('earth'), *ki* ('earthen ware'), *keng* ('metal'), *sin* ('wrought metal'), *jin* ('running water'), *kwei* ('standing water'). The second sub-cycle is formed by the twelve earthly branches (*tschi*), each designated by the name of an animal. This duodenary cycle, which is also found in Tibet, among the Tai and Khmer, and, at least in part, in Egypt, Old Turkish inscriptions, and the Turfan fragments (Ginzler, *Chronologie*, i. 85 ff., 404, 411, 413, 501 f.; F. W. K. Müller, "Persische" Kalenderausdrücke im chines. Tripitaka, in *SBW*, 1908, pp. 460-463), is as follows: *tsé* ('mouse'), *tscheu* ('ox'), *yin* ('tiger'), *mao* ('hare'), *schin* ('dragon'), *sze* ('snake'), *ngu* ('horse'), *wei* ('sheep'), *schin* ('monkey'), *yeu* ('cock'), *siu* ('dog'), *hai* ('swine'). The *kan* and *tschi* are grouped together, beginning with *kia-tsé*, and when the denary cycle has been repeated six times and the duodenary five times, the initial combination is repeated, and the cycle begins anew.

The year 1910 is the 47th year of the present cycle; and, as Chinese chronologists begin their cyclic reckoning with the year 2637 B.C., the present is the seventy-sixth cycle. But they have not adopted the system of numbering their cycles; and therefore a reader cannot tell to which cycle a date may belong, unless he be assisted by the context. In some historical works one finds both the cyclic number and the year of the reign given.

2. Year and month.—The Chinese year consists of twelve (synodic) lunar months, and is made to correspond with the solar year by the occasional insertion of an additional, or intercalary, month. The space of time covered by twelve of these lunar months being less than the solar year by 10 days 21 hours, in every nineteen years there are seven years of thirteen months. We shall now explain the rule under which the intercalary months are inserted. The length of a Chinese month is 29·53 mean solar days; and the time which the sun occupies in passing through one of the twelve signs of the zodiac averages 30·44 days. These two periods being of so nearly the same length, it happens in most cases that a Chinese month begins when the sun is in one sign of the zodiac, and terminates when it is in another sign. But, as the month is the shorter of the two periods, occasionally there must come a time when a month begins and ends when the sun still remains in the same sign. Every such month is adopted as an intercalary month; and by this simple plan there is provided exactly the right number of intercalary months to

correct the divergence of the Chinese from the solar year. The intercalary month never occurs in the winter—not, as is generally supposed, because of some arbitrary rule, but because the sun (which moves faster in winter than in summer) is then travelling at more than its average rate of speed, and passes through a sign of the zodiac in less time than is occupied by a lunar month, so that at that season a month cannot possibly begin and end while the sun remains in the same sign.

At the present time the first month of the year is known in Chinese by a special name, *Tsching-yüe*, 'hallowed (or true) month'; but the remaining months are called the 'second month,' 'third month,' and so on. Anciently, however, the months were designated according to the characters of the *tschi*, which also corresponded to the twelve zodiacal signs (*kung*), although the latter were counted in reverse order. These old Chinese month-names were as follows: *Tsé-yüe*, *Tscheu-yüe*, *Yin-yüe*, *Mao-yüe*, *Schin-yüe*, *Sze-yüe*, *Ngü-yüe*, *Wei-yüe*, *Schin-yüe*, *Yeu-yüe*, *Siu-yüe*, *Hai-yüe*, their names being equivalent respectively to 'child,' 'bud,' 'plant-basket,' 'open door,' 'motion,' 'completion,' 'encounter,' 'laden trees,' 'ripeness,' 'jug,' 'destruction,' 'return to rest.'

An intercalary month takes its name from the month which precedes it. Thus, if it follows the fourth month, it is called the 'intercalary fourth month.' Every month begins with the first day of a new moon; and the new year begins with the first new moon after the sun enters Aquarius. New Year's day thus varies between 20th January and 19th February. As the length of a month is 29·53 days, it must consist sometimes of 29, sometimes of 30 days, the latter the more frequently.

It results from the above-described conditions that the equinoxes occur regularly in the second and eighth months, the solstices in the fifth and eleventh months.

The Chinese have no formal division of the month; but it is a common practice among them to speak of anything as happening in the first decade (1st to 10th day), middle decade (11th to 20th day), or last decade, of such a month, much as we say, 'first week in June,' etc.

The first month of the luni-solar year was originally *Yin-yüe*, as ordered, according to tradition, by Tschuan-hüi (2513 B.C.). In the second dynasty (1766-1123 B.C.) the beginning of the year had retrograded a month, in the third (1122-255 B.C.) two months, and in the fourth (255-209 B.C.) three months, until the Emperor Wu-ti, in 104 B.C., in his reformation of the calendar, is said to have made the year once more begin with *Yin-yüe*—a tradition which must not be taken too strictly.

3. Day.—As already noted, the Chinese divide their days into sexagesimal periods, their names being identical with those of the corresponding years:—*Kia-tsé*, *Yi-tscheu*, *Ping-yin*, *Ting-mao*, *Wu-schin*, *Ki-sze*, *Keng-ngü*, *Sin-wei*, *Jin-schin*, *Kwei-yeu*, *Kia-siu*, *Yi-hai*, *Ping-tse*, *Ting-tscheu*, *Wu-yin*, *Ki-mao*, *Keng-schin*, *Sin-sze*, *Jin-ngü*, *Kwei-wei*, *Kia-schin*, *Yi-yeu*, *Ping-siu*, *Ting-hai*, *Wu-tsé*, *Ki-tscheu*, *Keng-yin*, *Sin-mao*, *Jin-schin*, *Kwei-sze*, *Kia-ngü*, *Yi-wei*, *Ping-schin*, *Ting-yeu*, *Wu-siu*, *Ki-hai*, *Keng-tse*, *Sin-tscheu*, *Jin-yin*, *Kwei-mao*, *Kia-schin*, *Yi-sze*, *Ping-ngü*, *Ting-wei*, *Wu-schin*, *Ki-yeu*, *Keng-siu*, *Sin-hai*, *Jin-tsé*, *Kwei-tscheu*, *Kia-yin*, *Yi-mao*, *Ping-schin*, *Ting-sze*, *Wu-ngü*, *Ki-wei*, *Keng-schin*, *Sin-yeu*, *Jin-siu*, *Kwei-hai*. This cycle of days is found in the most ancient historical records, the dates of important events being recorded by mention of the cyclic day, as well as of the day of the month, month, and year of reign. These cycles, though not used for ordinary purposes, have been continued without interruption to the present time. Besides this the

Chinese have long possessed a cycle of 28 days, designated by the names of the 28 lunar mansions (*sieu, kung*):—*kio* ('horn'), *k'ang* ('neck'), *ti* ('fundament'), *fang* ('room'), *sin* ('heart'), *wei* ('tail'), *ki* ('dung-basket'), *teu* ('winnowing fan'), *nieu* ('cattle'), *nüü* ('virgin'), *hiü* ('grave-mound'), *wei* ('house-ridge'), *schü* ('sacificial hearth'), *pi* ('wall'), *kuei* ('sandal'), *leu* ('harvest woman'), *wei* ('field watchman'), *mao* ('setting sun'), *pi* ('net'), *tsui* ('mouth'), *ts'an* ('exalted'), *tsing* ('well'), *kuei* ('manes'), *liu* ('pasture'), *sing* ('constellation'), *tschang* ('net'), *yi* ('wing'), *tschen* ('waggon'). The week of seven days, on the other hand, is unknown, except in commercial centres frequented by Europeans, where for Monday, Tuesday, etc., the names 'first day,' 'second day,' etc. (*Li pai yi, Li pai ü, etc.*), have been coined.

The day begins at midnight, and is divided into 12 *tshi* (see above, 1), each of which is subdivided into two parts, the former called *tsh'u* ('beginning') or *kiao* ('odd'), and the latter *tsching* ('even'). Each of these halves is subdivided into four *ko*, or 'quarters' (*tsh'u-ko*, 'beginning quarter,' *yi-ko*, 'first quarter,' etc.); and a *ko* falls into 15 *fen* ('minutes'), while European influence has introduced further divisions corresponding to 'seconds,' 'forenoon,' and 'afternoon.'

4. Other divisions.—An additional method of marking time is afforded by the 'Twenty-four Solar Terms,' which are divisions of a solar year, and quite independent of the official year with its twelve or thirteen lunar months. These Solar Terms commence alternately on the day of the sun's entry into a sign of the zodiac, and on the day of its reaching the 15th degree in the sign. Their length thus averages 15.22 days, though it varies between 14 and 16 days. The first term begins when the sun reaches the 15th degree in Aquarius, or approximately on the 5th of February. These 'Terms,' which are alternately odd (*tsie*) and even (*k'ü*), have the following names:—*Li-tsch'ün* ('beginning of spring'), *Yu-schui* ('rain-water'), *King-tschü* ('coming-forth of worms'), *Tsch'ün-fen* ('spring equinox'), *Ts'ing-ming* ('pure clearness'), *Ku-yü* ('seed rain'), *Li-hia* ('beginning of summer'), *Siao-man* ('little fertility'), *Mang-tschung* ('grain in granaries'), *Hia-tschü* ('turning of summer'), *Siao-schu* ('little heat'), *Ta-schu* ('great heat'), *Li-ts'ieu* ('beginning of autumn'), *Tach'u-schu* ('boundary of heat'), *Pe-lu* ('white dew'), *Ts'ieu-fen* ('autumn equinox'), *Han-lu* ('cold dew'), *Schuang-kiang* ('fall of hoar-frost'), *Li-tung* ('beginning of winter'), *Siao-süe* ('little snow'), *Ta-süe* ('great snow'), *Tung-tschü* ('turning of winter'), *Siao-han* ('little cold'), *Ta-han* ('great cold'). These terms are marked in the almanac published annually by the Government; and agricultural operations, sowing, etc., are always regulated by them. Closely connected with them is the twelve days' cycle often called the 'cycle of choice,' whose twelve signs are associated with the 24 *tsie-k'ü* just enumerated, inasmuch as the last day of a *k'ü* and the first day of the following *tsie* come under the same sign. The names of the signs of this twelve days' cycle, which has some connexion with astrology, are as follows:—*kien* ('attain'), *tshu* ('exclude'), *man* ('full'), *p'ing* ('indifferent'), *ting* ('determinative'), *tshi* ('seize'), *p'o* ('break'), *wei* ('dangerous'), *tsch'ing* ('complete'), *scheu* ('conceive'), *k'ai* ('open'), *pi* ('close').

Mention should also be made of the three Chinese eras *tschang, pu*, and *ki*. The *tschang* is 10 lunisolar years, when the relation between the rise of the new moon and the beginning of the *k'ü* again begins; the *pu* is a cycle of 72 years, when the difference between the tropical solar year and the lunar year is very nearly equal to the product of the sidereal and synodical time of revolution of the

moon; and the *ki* is equal to 20 *pu*=1440 years, and represents 261 sexagesimal cycles.

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CALENDAR (Christian).—The Christian calendar derived its name (in the languages of Western Europe), as it did its form, from the Roman pagan calendar (see CALENDAR [Roman]), which it gradually superseded. The germ of the Christian calendar is to be sought in the customary observance, in each local church, of the death-days of its martyrs and bishops. Lists of these were preserved in the diptychs of each church. References to such lists meet us in St. Cyprian's letters. Writing (*Ep.* 37) about recent martyrs, he gives direction that the day of their death should be noted in order that their commemorations might be celebrated among the memorials of martyrs. In another letter (*Ep.* 34) he mentions as a well-known custom the celebration of the anniversaries of the Passions of martyrs. Tertullian (*de Corona*, xiii.), reproving Christians for taking part in pagan commemorations, reminds them that they have their own registers and *fasti*. Sozomen (*HE* v. 3) testifies in regard to two neighbouring towns in Palestine, Gaza and Constantia, that, although they were united by Julian under one civil government, each retained the festivals of its martyrs and the commemorations of the priests who had presided over it. See, further, COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD.

1. Calendar of Filocalus.—The earliest festival lists which have come down to us belong to the local church of Rome. They are contained in a compilation of chronological documents of the date A.D. 354—itself a re-publication of an edition of 336. The title-page is inscribed 'Furius Dionysius Filocalus titulavit.' The name of this calligrapher is found in two inscriptions in Rome, in one of which he describes himself as 'Damasi Papae cultor atque amator.' He appears to have been employed by Damasus in designing the lettering for the metrical epitaphs which that Pope wrote for the tombs of the martyrs. The compilation commences with a civil calendar giving the national pagan festivals, but marking the Christian week by the letters A-G, which are prefixed in regular sequence to the days, side by side with the nundinal letters A-H. This probably had become a feature of the State calendar since the observance of Sunday had been legally sanctioned by Constantine in 321. There is a list of consuls from B.C. 510 to A.D. 354, in connexion with which certain Christian events are noted, viz. the birth and the death of Christ, and the arrival in Rome of SS. Peter and Paul, and their martyrdom. Other civil documents are also given. Of special Christian interest are a table of the days of the occurrence of Easter from 312 to 411, a catalogue of Bishops of Rome from Peter to Liberius, and two lists entitled respectively 'Depositio episcoporum' and 'Depositio martyrum,' which note in calendar order the days of the burial of the Roman bishops and martyrs, with the place of their interment, where the memorial service was annually held. In these two lists, which we may assume were copied from official archives, we have the calendar of the Church of Rome, as concerned immovable feasts, of the year 354.

With very few exceptions all the entries appear in the Roman calendar of the present day.

An analysis of this primitive calendar yields the following results. The 'Depositio episcoporum' contains the names of twelve bishops from Lucius (254) to Julius (352). The last two, Marcus and Julius, are inserted at the end, out of calendar order, by the second editor. One bishop of the period, Marcellus, is omitted, and another, Xystus (Sixtus), is placed in the martyr list. In the 'Depositio martyrum' 52 names appear, of which several are frequently assigned to a single day—that, no doubt, on which they suffered together, as we know to have been the case with Perpetua and Felicitas. 24 days in all are observed—Christmas, which heads the list, and St. Peter's Chair, Feb. 22 ('VIII. Kal. Martias, Natale Petri de cathedra') being included. The only entries relating to foreigners are: 'Non. Martias [March 7] (depositio) Perpetuae et Felicitatis, Africae'; and 'XVIII. Kal. Octob. [Sept. 14] Cypriani, Africae, Romae celebratur in (coemeterio) Callisti.' There is no notice of martyrs who suffered before the 3rd century. The earliest mentioned are Perpetua and Felicitas (202). The oldest Romans are Callistus (222), Oct. 14, and Hippolytus and Pontianus (235), Aug. 13. We may therefore conclude that the practice of celebrating the anniversaries of the martyrs at their graves did not arise at Rome until the 3rd century. If the festival of any martyr of the 1st or 2nd cent. had become traditional, it would hardly have failed to find mention in the 'Depositio martyrum'. The entry 'Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense Tusco et Basso Cons.' (June 29) is not the anniversary of the martyrdom of these Apostles, but the commemoration of the translation of their remains in the year 258. The collection of Filocalus was preserved until recent times in two MSS of the 8th or 9th century. One of these has totally disappeared, but two 17th cent. copies remain, one at Brussels and the other at Rome. Of the second MS, two fragments only survive in the library of Berne, but a copy made from it when entire is in the Imperial library at Vienna. (Mommson has published the civil calendar in *CIL* i. 834, the other documents in *Mon. Germ. Auct. Ant.* ix. 131. For a summary of the contents of the collection, see Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, i. 1892, p. vi. f., and also Rossi-Duchesne, *Acta Sanct.*, Nov., tom. 2, pars i. p. xlviii. f.)

2. Gothic calendar.—A fragment of a list of martyrs, in the Gothic language, of the end of the 4th cent., has been published by Mai from an ancient palimpsest in the Ambrosian library at Milan (*Script. Vet.* v. 66), and by Migne (*PL* xviii. 878). It contains 38 days only,—from Oct. 23 to Nov. 30,—and in addition to national saints includes the Apostles Philip and Andrew, and the Emperor Constantine.

3. Calendar of Polemius Silvius.—A calendar of complete framework, i.e. with all the days of the year inserted, was drawn up by Polemius Silvius in 448—in an appendix he names the consuls of the following year—and addressed to Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons (d. 450). Silvius had before him another calendar, which, as he says in the preface, he set himself to simplify for the use of the unlearned. The calendar has a curious resemblance to a modern almanac. Historical dates are entered, as, e.g., the day of the capture of Rome by the Gauls (Id. Feb.). The words 'Kalendæ' 'Nonæ,' 'Idus,' 'Epiphania' are explained by the author after a manner of his own. Weather indications are given. A few pagan festivals are recorded, evidently as legal or business dates. Christian commemorations are connected with 10 days only, and include Christmas, St. Stephen, Epiphany, St. Vincent (Jan. 22), the Passion (March 25), the Resurrection (March 27), St. Lawrence (Aug. 10), Hippolytus (Aug. 12), and the Depositio SS. Petri et Pauli, which is assigned to Feb. 22 instead of June 29. The Maccabees (Aug. 1)—the one O.T. commemoration in the West—appears here for the first time. This calendar is preserved in a single MS of the 12th cent. in the public library at Brussels (edited Boll. *Acta SS.*, June, vol. vii., Migne, *PL* xiii. 676, and Mommson, *CIL* i. 335).

4. Calendar of Tours.—A list of the fasts and vigils in the diocese of Tours instituted by Bishop Perpetuus (461-490) finds a place in the *Historiæ Francorum* of Gregory, Bishop of Tours (x. 31). It mentions only the chief festivals, i.e. those preceded by a vigil. These are Christmas, Epiphany, the Resurrection on the fixed day March 27 (VI. Kal. April.—the only date given), as well as Easter and Ascension Day; also, among

others, the Nativity and Passion of St. John Baptist,¹ St. Martin, St. Hilary, St. Peter's Chair (Natale SS^u Petri episcopatus), and SS. Peter and Paul. The station days, *quarta et sexta feria*, from Quinquagesima to St. John Baptist's day, are appointed for observance amongst the fasts.

5. Calendar of Carthage.—This calendar was first edited in 1682 by Mabillon in his *Vetere Analecta*, Paris, iii. 398. It was discovered by him in the monastery of Clugny, written on two parchment sheets, since lost, which formed the covering of a copy of St. Jerome's commentary on Isaiah. In this calendar, of the earlier Carthaginian bishops Cyprian (d. 258) alone is mentioned, being honoured as a martyr; eight bishops are commemorated as such, from Gratus who was present at the Council of Sardica (343) to Eugenius (d. 505). This latter date therefore marks the age of the final redaction of the calendar. From the names of the bishops, and that of St. Augustine (Aug. 29), we conclude that the calendar belonged to the Catholic Church and not to the Donatists. It begins on XIII. Kal. Maias (19th April), and ends on XIV. Kal. Mart. (Feb. 16)—the nine weeks during which Lent occurs being omitted, either through compliance with the Eastern custom, attested by the Council of Laodicea (between 343 and 381), which discouraged festivals at that time, or simply owing to a defect in the MS. The heading is: 'Hic continentur dies nataliciorum martyrum et depositionum episcoporum quos ecclesia Cartagenis anniversaria celebrant.' Martyrs and bishops are not separated, as in the Roman calendar, but the distinction is maintained by the different descriptions—*natalicia* (birthdays, i.e. into the higher life) and *depositiones* (burials)—of their days in the heading. Moreover, in the list 'depositio' is prefixed to each bishop, except in the case of Cyprian (Sept. 14), who is classed among the martyrs. The number of days commemorated—79—shows a large increase when compared with the 12 and 24 of the Roman lists of a century and a half before. The calendar has also become wider in its scope: 18 foreign names appear in it, as compared with the 2 in the Roman. Among these we observe 9 Roman saints, 3 of whom are not found in Filocalus, though no doubt at this time they were commemorated also at Rome. And, as regards the African saints, they do not belong exclusively to Carthage, as the names in the Roman calendar are all Roman. Martyrs are included from the three ancient African provinces, viz. Africa proper, Numidia, and Mauretania. Festivals in honour of NT events and personages have multiplied. Christmas is now followed by its attendant feasts, St. Stephen (Dec. 26), St. John,² here coupled with his brother James (Dec. 27), and the Holy Infants (Dec. 28). With Christmas is also connected the day of St. John Baptist, i.e. his Nativity (VIII. Kal. Jul.—VIII. Kal. Jan. representing the six months' interval of Lk 1²⁹). We find also Epiphany (Jan. 6), SS. Peter and Paul (June 29), St. Luke (Oct. 13), and St. Andrew (Nov. 29). The Maccabees (Aug. 1) has now gained a firm footing in the West (see Calendar of P. Silvius above, § 3).

6. Syrian calendar.—The calendars which have hitherto occupied us were mainly of a local character. We come now to a calendar which takes a wider range, being formed by the inclusion of the Saints' lists of several Churches.

In 1837 there was discovered by Dr. Henry Tattam in the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, on the Nitrian Lakes in

¹ In the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* the mass for St. John Baptist (i.e. his Nativity) is followed by a mass for his Passion (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* 1748, 878, 9).

² The text has 'sancti Iohannis Baptistæ'—undoubtedly a copyist's error for *Apostoli*, as the Baptist is commemorated in the calendar on June 24.

Egypt, a codex containing—in addition to the *Clementine Recognitions*, Eusebius on the *Theophania*, and other works—an ancient calendar written in Syriac. Tatann acquired the MS for the British Museum, where it now lies. The calendar was first edited by W. Wright in the *Journ. of Sacred Lit.*, 1886, viii, 45 ff., with an Eng. tr. 423 ff., and subsequently by R. Graffin in the 2nd Nov. vol. of the *Acta Sanctorum*, lli., the names being turned into Greek by Duchesne. A note in the last page of the codex is to the effect that it was completed at Edessa in 411.

The calendar consists of two parts. Part I. is arranged according to the Roman months (to which Syriac titles are given), and contains the names of martyrs belonging to the Roman Empire. It begins on the day after Christmas (Dec. 26),¹ and ends on Nov. 24. Part II. contains a list of Persian martyrs, arranged in the order of their ecclesiastical standing as bishops, presbyters, and deacons. As no dates are given, it must be regarded as a historical record, not as a calendar of martyr-festivals.

The calendar proper (i.e. Part I.) is evidently compiled from the martyr-lists of the chief cities in the Eastern (trans-Adriatic) part of the Empire. Only one local Roman feast (*Xystus*) occurs in it, and one African (*Perpetua* and her companions). The place of honour is given to *Nicomedia*, which has been credited with by far the largest number (32) of entries. From this and other indications we may infer that the first editor had his home in *Nicomedia*, and wrote in Greek. The date of his work is not earlier than 362, as martyrs are recorded who are mentioned by *Socrates* and *Sozomen* as having suffered under *Julian*. Owing to careless editing, many saints are mentioned twice or even thrice. The names of distinguished martyrs had found place not only in their own but in other calendars, and when the lists were combined, in cases where the day of celebration differed, they were allowed to appear again and again. The compilation is made up of Arian calendars. In the list received from *Alexandria*, *Athanasius* is omitted, but *Arius* is included. 'At *Alexandria*, *Areios* the presbyter' is the entry opposite *July 6*. *Lucian* (of *Antioch*), *Jan. 7*, and *Eusebius* (of *Cesarea*), *May 30*, are also commemorated. Possibly also 'Eusebius,' *Nov. 8*, is the Arian bishop of *Nicomedia*. But in substance the Catholic and Arian calendars must have been much the same, as after the schism both parties, no doubt, retained the old lists, merely adding distinguished partisans. In 15 entries the words 'of the ancient martyrs' are added to the name. If, as seems likely, this means that the martyrs mentioned suffered before the persecution of *Diocletian*, it follows that by far the greater number of the names of this calendar date from that persecution. From *Nicomedia*—the calendar in all probability came to *Antioch*, and there received the long list of martyrs, falling little short of the *Nicomedian*, credited to that city. Thence it was carried to *Edessa*, where it was translated into the Syriac vernacular, and again augmented by the addition of local saints. Here also the list of Persian martyrs was appended; and, as thus edited, the calendar in the MS of 411 has come down to us. In this calendar the only festivals other than *Saints' days* noted are *Epiphany* and *Easter*, the latter in connexion with the commemoration of *All Martyrs*, which is assigned to the following Friday. The only Apostles commemorated are *SS. John* and *James* (*Dec. 27*), and *SS. Paul* and *Peter* (*Dec. 28*). *St. Stephen*, who is also called an Apostle, appears on *Dec. 26*.

7. The *Hieronymian Martyrology*.—The tendency to combine local festival records in one list, which we observe in the Syriac calendar, finds its fullest development in the compilation which came to be popularly known as the *Hieronymian Mar-*

tyrology.¹ It comprises, as its chief elements, the calendars of *Rome*, *Carthage*, and *Syria*. The nucleus of the work is the Roman calendar, but of a later stage than that presented to us by *Filocalus*. As it appears in *H.M.*, it shows a great increase in martyr festivals. The 22 days marked for observance in A.D. 354 have grown to some 150, and, instead of the one or two names then allotted to each day, groups—sometimes large groups—of names are almost invariably found. The calendar has, moreover, ceased to be merely urban and suburban. It includes all Middle Italy. Opposite 'Romæ' are placed festivals of places a considerable distance from the city, even as far off as *Forum Sempronii*, 174 miles away—the number of miles from *Rome* being here, as elsewhere, noted in the text. The list of Roman bishops, kept separate from that of the martyrs by the chronographer of 354, has been made a part of the general calendar, and has been continued (with the sole omission of *Zosimus*) to *Boniface I.*, of whom both the consecration day (*IV. Kal. Jan.*) and the death day (*II. Non. Sept.*) are given. As the consecration day would be observed only during the lifetime of the bishop, it may be concluded that the Roman calendar was received into the work shortly after the death of *Boniface* (422). After *Boniface* only Popes of wide-spread fame appear—such as *Leo the Great*, *Hilary*, and *Gregory the Great*—attached to whose names often occurs a notice showing that they were exceptionally added: e.g. *IV. Id. Sept.* 'Hilarius per quem *Victorius ordinem paschalem conscripsit*.' With the Roman calendar were incorporated the calendars, in part or whole, of other Italian cities—which probably already formed two collections (of Upper and Lower Italy) before they came into the compiler's hands—and the calendar of *Carthage*. To the calendar of the West thus formed, a later editor added the Syriac festival list—that is, its first part, for of the second he seems wholly ignorant—and thus gave a kind of ecumenical character to the work. Like the Roman, the two other chief sources have been received into *H.M.* with augmentations, as compared, that is, with the independent forms known to us. The African list has been swollen by a number of martyrs who, it has been conjectured, suffered during the raid of *Genseric*, 428 (*Achelis, Die Mart.* pp. 103, 107). The Syriac calendar has been extended to 460, as the translation of the remains of *St. Simeon Stylites*, which took place in that year, is commemorated on *Jan. 5*. It is noteworthy that the editor, who evidently accepted the calendar as Catholic, has in all innocence taken over its Arian colouring, the commemoration of the two bishops *Eusebius* being retained, and even that of *Arius* himself, his name appearing in the corrupted forms *Arthoei*, *Artores*, or *Ari Thoti* in different MSS.

The preface to *H.M.* takes the form of a letter addressed to *St. Jerome* by two bishops of North Italy, *Chromatius* of *Aquileia* and *Heliodorus* of *Altinum*, in which they beg him to send them from the archives of *Cesarea* the famous festival calendar of *Eusebius*; and of his reply, stating that he was sending them this calendar in a cartailed form which included only the most notable martyrs, and with the names arranged according to the months and days of the year. It was through this fabulous association of the work with *St. Jerome* (d. 420) that the *Martyrology* received its name, and no doubt won in large measure the prominent position which it attained. The preface is first cited by *Cassiodorus* (*de Institutione Divin.* liti. xxxii, Migne, PL lxx. 1148) in 544. As *H.M.* must have been then in currency, its final compilation, i.e. that which united its Eastern with its Western elements, may be assigned to an earlier date (c. 530) in the 6th century. Towards the end of that cent. the knowledge of it had reached the East. In 598, *Eulogius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, requested *Gregory the Great* to send him 'the deeds of the martyrs collected by *Eusebius*,'—a clear reference to the preface of *H.M.*,—and the Pope in his reply alludes plainly to the *Martyrology*. The compiler of *H.M.* was undoubtedly a native of North Italy. The additions which he made to his ancient materials are, as we have seen, mainly

¹ The omission of Christmas is remarkable. It probably stood at the commencement of the year in the original Greek text, and was struck out by the Syriac copyist, influenced by the usage of his own Church.

¹ Hereafter cited as *H.M.*

Italian, and the memorials of the northern cities seem best known to him. He has also selected North Italian bishops as correspondents with St. Jerome in the preface.

A work like H.M. would naturally receive augmentations from time to time. The most remarkable of these took place in Gaul. The numerous, almost daily, notices of Gallican saints, with other indications of Gallican use, point to this. Probably this expansion of H.M. occurred at Auxerre, which, although a comparatively insignificant town, furnishes more festivals than any other, and has all its bishops noticed but one. The last bishop whose name is recorded is Annacharius, and, as his 'natale,' i.e. entrance upon office (Frid. Kal. Aug.), only—and not his death—is commemorated, we may assume that the pension was made during his lifetime or shortly after (c. 592). All existing MSS of H.M. are derived from this Gallican edition. The Martyrology contains more than 8000 names of saints, large groups being allotted to each day. On June 2 the names of 220 saints appear. It frequently happens that the same martyr is commemorated on different days, in connexion with different places. This was a natural result of an uncritical combination of several calendars, when no care was taken to avoid repetitions. Transcriptional errors abound, in many cases rendering the entries unmeaning. We find often, as in the instance given above, names divided, or two names fused into one. 'Milia' is sometimes changed into 'milites.' The names of cemeteries are regarded as names of martyrs. So great is the confusion, that de Buck, the first critical reviewer of H.M., gives as his verdict: 'Nullus forte in universa antiquitate horribilior liber' (Prooemium to *Index Hagiologicus ad Acta SS. Supplementum*, Oct.). And the latest editors, de Rossi and Duchesne, in despair of emending the text, have simply printed the three chief MSS in parallel columns (their edition is prefixed to *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., tom. ii., pars prior).

8. The later Martyrologies.—Martyrologies, called 'Menologies' by the Greeks, are distinguished from calendars in this, that they do not merely give the names and dates of saints, but add historical or legendary accounts of their martyrdoms. Occasionally in H.M. the entries of the deaths of martyrs are thus enlarged, but this feature became characteristic in the works which succeeded and were based upon it, and which are therefore properly termed Historical Martyrologies. The chief sources from which these accounts are derived are, in addition to H.M., the *Passions* and *Acts* of the *Martyrs*, the works of Eusebius, Rufinus, Jerome, Cyprian, Gregory the Great, the *Liber pontificalis*, etc.

The series of Historical Martyrologies commences with the *Martyrologium Romanum Parvum*,¹ composed at Rome about 700. It makes a rather sparing use of biographical matter, so that the *Passions* found in H.M. are often more diffuse. About the same time Bede drew up his Martyrology. He made large extracts from his authorities, and added several English and Frankish saints to the Roman list, and also, contrary to the Western usage, introduced some names from the OT, taking their dates from Greek Menologies. He left many days vacant, but these were filled up by later hands, so that it is impossible to decide how much of the Martyrology ascribed to Bede is actually his. Bede was followed by a line of successors, each of whom used the works of his predecessors, while availing himself of other materials. These subsequent writers were Florus of Lyons (c. 830); Wandelbert of Prüm, who composed a metrical Martyrology (c. 848); Hrabanus Maurus (c. 850), whose work, in the opinion of Achelis, is independent of Bede; Ado, Bishop of Vienne (c. 870); Usuard, a monk of St. Germain-des-Prés, Paris (c. 875), whose book is practically an epitome of Ado's, and was the most used of all the Historical Martyrologies; and Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall (c. 896). The *Martyrologium Romanum*, which was compiled by Baronius at the instance of Gregory XIII., is a revised and augmented edition of Usuard. It was prescribed for exclusive use in choir, at the canonical hours, by a Papal brief in 1584.

Achelis traces a twofold series of Martyrologies, starting from H.M.: a Roman-French line, viz. M.R.P., Ado, Usuard, and Baronius; and an Anglo-Saxon German line, viz. Bede, Florus, Wandelbert, Hrabanus Maurus, and Notker. Dom Quentin does not make this distinction. He regards Bede as the source of all the later Martyrologies, and places M.R.P. late in the series, after 848.

The forementioned Martyrologies were written in

Latin. A Martyrology in Anglo-Saxon, which is probably a translation made c. 850 from a Latin original of 750, has been edited by Herzfeld, London, 1900. Two others, in Irish, and including many Irish saints, have come down to us—the Martyrology of Oengus, of the date 804, composed in rhymed verse, and the Martyrology of Gorman, also metrical, written between 1166 and 1174 (both edited by Whitley Stokes for Henry Bradshaw Society, 1895 and 1905). The need for Historical Martyrologies arose from the practice of reading the *Passions of the Saints* during Divine Service. This custom is first mentioned by Aurelian, Bishop of Arles (545) (*Regula ad monachos*, Migne, PL lxviii. 396). It was the origin of the Lections subsequently inserted in the Breviary. The earlier practice was to read passages from Holy Scripture alone.

9. Later calendars.—We have seen that H.M. is essentially a collection of the calendars of local churches. Such calendars, in fact, could be in many cases reconstructed from the materials which it furnishes. But, apart from H.M. and the early calendars of which we have already treated, we do not meet with calendars proper until the 8th century. In the West, however, the lack of calendars is supplied by the liturgical books of the Roman and Gallican (i.e. non-Roman) rites, as in them provision is made for special Masses on Sundays and other days of observance, following the local festival lists. The books of the Greek Church do not help us here, as it has never been the Eastern custom to vary the Liturgy according to the day or season. In the Western Service-books the Sunday cycle appears for the first time, and thus an important feature is supplied, in which the early calendars and the Martyrologies, which, with rare exceptions, notice immovable feasts only, are lacking. At first the Saints' days were distributed through the whole year, but eventually, as their number continued to increase, they were placed together in a separate division of the Service-books, the *Proprium de sanctis*, apart from the cycle of Sunday services, the *Proprium de tempore*.

Belonging to the 7th cent., among books of the Gallican rite, we have the *Missale Gothicum*, which was apparently drawn up for the diocese of Autun; the Lectionary (i.e. book of Lections read in the Mass throughout the year) of Luxeuil, which probably represents the use of the church of Paris (Dom Morin, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1893, p. 438); and the Lectionary of Silos (ed. Morin, Bruges, 1893, under the title *Liber Comicus*),¹ which shows the festival list of the ancient ecclesiastical province of Toledo. To the 7th cent. also belongs the Gelasian Sacramentary, a Roman Service-book in use in France before the time of Charlemagne. The earlier Leonine Sacramentary, being a private collection of Masses, is an uncertain guide as to the calendar of its age.

Coming to the 8th cent., we have the Gregorian Sacramentary, containing the Roman liturgical services of the time, adapted for use in France (for the Roman Sacramentaries, see art. *COLLECTOR*). In it, with Alcuin's supplement, the Sunday cycle, as represented in the *Proprium de tempore* of the later missals, is almost complete. We have also the Calendar of Charlemagne (ed. Piper, Berlin, 1858)—a Roman calendar with many Frankish saints inserted. Of the same age is a Lectionary published by Fronteau in 1652, from a MS written in gold characters belonging to the Church of St. Genevieve, Paris. The East is represented in this century by Coptic calendars published by Selden (de *Synedriss*, iii. 15, London, 1650-55) from MSS which have since disappeared; and by the Menology of Constantinople, which gives a long list of the martyrs, confessors, and doctors of the Eastern Church, but only three martyrs of the West—Lawrence, Gervasius, and Protasius (ed. by Morelli, Rome, 1788).

To the 9th cent. belongs the Sacramentary of Cologne, which contains a complete calendar—that of Rome, with the addition of the local saints of Cologne. The Sacramentary has been printed, but without the calendar, by Fanelius, *Liturgicon Eccles. Lat.*, tom. ii., Cologne, 1571. The 'Comes' of Ado at Trier, with full festival list, is also of this cent. (ed. in *Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 16-27); so is the marble calendar of Naples, which is remarkable as containing several Eastern features; e.g. OT personages are admitted, the Council of Ephesus is commemorated (Aug. 4), also Constantine (May 21), Theodosius (Nov. 10), and a few Bishops of Constantinople (ed. Mai, *Nova Coll. Script. Vet.*, Rome, 1821). Another calendar of the 9th cent. is incorporated in a treatise de *Computo*

¹ From 'Comes' = 'Lectionarius,' i.e. the book which is the 'companion' of the priest in Divine worship.

¹ Hereafter cited as M.R.P.

by an unknown author (Migne, *PL* cxxix. 1274). It seems to belong to the diocese of Sens. The *Leofric Missal* (ed. Warren, Oxford, 1883) contains the calendar of Glastonbury, c. 970. At foot of p. xiv, the editor gives a list of English calendars in MSS of 9th to 11th centuries. The Bosworth Psalter (ed. Gasquet and Bishop, London, 1908), gives the calendar of Canterbury (between 988 and 1023) practically as it stood before Archbishop Lanfranc substituted for it the calendar of Winchester, the capital.

When Missals and Breviaries took the place of the earlier Sacramentaries, Lectionaries, etc., they were generally provided with calendars. A great number of these, and also of separate calendars, have survived, and many have been published. See for specimens Hampson, *Medii ævi Kalendariūm*, vol. I., London, 1841.

With the exception of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon documents already referred to, vernacular calendars are hardly met with until towards the close of the Middle Ages. A calendar in French, of the 13th cent., is preserved in the Library of Paris. Another in Norman French of the 14th cent. (Harl. MSS. Cod. 273) is included in Hampson's collection (see above). Calendars in German also appear for the first time in the 14th century. The mediaeval calendars, like those prefixed to modern missals and breviaries, and to the Book of Common Prayer, are 'perpetual,' i.e. not for any special year, but containing only the invariable elements common to all years, tables being generally provided by which the movable feasts for any particular year may be ascertained. The first printed calendars imitate the MSS in their arrangement, and, like them, are perpetual. Weale (*Analecta liturgica*, vol. I., Lille and Bruges, 1889) gives calendars of the 15th and early 16th cent. belonging to several continental dioceses. Heitz (*Hundert Kalender-Inkunabeln*, Strassburg, 1905) has reproduced in facsimile 100 calendars printed for popular use in Germany in the 16th century. They consist of single broadsheets, are mainly written in German, and mostly contain only a few dates, ecclesiastical and civil. The first calendar for a definite year was printed in German and Latin by John Regiomontanus at Nuremberg in 1475. It is arranged for the years 1475, 1494, and 1513, as the first years of a nineteen-year cycle, and so designed that the dates for other years can be calculated from it.

10. The Sunday cycle.—(1) *Western*.—All Sundays in the year, like the movable festivals, depend upon the date of Easter, with the exception of those connected with Advent and Christmas, i.e. those which occur from Nov. 27 to Jan. 6, both inclusive. The Sunday cycle begins with Advent Sunday, which is always the nearest Sunday to the Feast of St. Andrew (Nov. 30), either before or after. Three more Sundays in Advent follow; then two after Christmas, in case Advent Sunday falls on a day from Nov. 28 to Dec. 1, otherwise only one. Next come Sundays after Epiphany—from one to six, according to the position of Easter; Septuagesima; Sexagesima; Quinquagesima; six Sundays in Lent—the two last being generally known as Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday; Easter Day; five Sundays after Easter; Sunday after Ascension; Whitsunday; Trinity Sunday; and lastly, Sundays after Trinity—from twenty-two to twenty-seven, according as Easter falls later or earlier. The reckoning of Sundays after Trinity is that of the Church of England, and the one that appears in most English almanacs. The Church of Rome and the Greek Church number the Sundays after Pentecost (Whitsunday).

(2) *Eastern*.—In the East, all the Sundays except those immediately before and after Christmas Day, Epiphany, and the Exaltation, depend upon Easter. According to the calendar of Constantinople, with which the Russian and Georgian practically agree, the cycle of Sunday observance begins with the Sunday which in the West immediately precedes Septuagesima; i.e. it starts with the season preparatory to Easter. The Sundays usually take their names from the Gospel of the day. The 1st Sunday is called the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee (Lk 18¹⁰⁻¹⁴). Then follow in order: the Sunday of the Prodigal Son (Lk 15¹¹⁻³²); Abstinence Sunday, κυριακή τῆς ἀνόκτῳ (the Western Sexagesima)—so called because it is the last day on which flesh is eaten, though the fast does not begin until the following week; Cheese-eating Sunday, κυριακή τῆς τυροφάγου (Quinquagesima)—thus named because cheese and butter are allowed to be eaten until the end of the day; 1st Sunday of the Fast, or of Orthodoxy (1st Sunday in Lent)—com-

memorating the conclusion of the iconoclastic controversy; 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th Sundays of the Fast; Palm Sunday [Holy and Great Monday, Tuesday, etc.]; Easter Day (κ. τοῦ Πάσχα), sometimes called Bright (Ἀδύπτα) Sunday [Monday, Tuesday, etc., of the Renewal (Διακαινώσιμος)]; Antipascha, or Sunday of St. Thomas (Jn 20¹⁹⁻³¹); Sunday of the Ointment-Bearers (Mk 15^{43-16⁸}); Sunday of the Paralytic (Jn 5¹⁻¹⁵); Sunday of the Samaritan Woman (Jn 4⁵⁻⁴²); Sunday of the Blind Man (Jn 9¹⁻³⁸) [Ascension Thursday]; Sunday of the 318 Fathers of Nicæa; Holy Pentecost; and All Saints' Sunday (Trinity Sunday). The Sundays that follow are numbered after Pentecost, or are styled the Sundays of St. Matthew. Next come Sunday before the Exaltation, i.e. of the Holy Cross (Sept. 14); and Sunday after the Exaltation. The Sundays onwards, up to that which corresponds with the Western 2nd Sunday in Advent, are numbered after Pentecost, or are styled Sundays of St. Luke. Then follow: Sunday of the Holy Forefathers; Sunday before the Nativity of Christ; Sunday after the Nativity; Sunday before the Lights, i.e. Epiphany; and Sunday after the Lights. The remaining Sundays, up to the Sunday of the Publican, are reckoned after Pentecost, or are called Sundays of St. Luke.

11. The computation of Easter.—The primitive Christians all agreed in celebrating Christ's death and resurrection at the season when they actually occurred, that is, at the time of the Jewish Passover. They also agreed that the Crucifixion took place on a Friday which coincided with the 14th day of the first Jewish (lunar) month Nisan, the day on which the Paschal lamb was slain. But a division of opinion prevailed as to the days or day on which the death and resurrection should be commemorated. The Christians of Rome and of the West, claiming the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, with many Eastern Churches, attached most importance to the days of the week, Friday and Sunday, on which these events happened. If 14th Nisan did not fall upon a Friday, they celebrated the death of Christ on the Friday following it, and the resurrection on the Sunday that succeeded, continuing their fast until the latter date. On the other hand, the Christians of Asia (proconsular) and of some neighbouring provinces, who traced their tradition back to St. John and St. Philip, insisted upon the observance of the day of the month on which our Lord suffered, hence receiving the name of 'Quartodecimans.' They always celebrated Christ's death on 14th Nisan, irrespective of the day of the week, and, ending their fast at 3 p.m. (the hour when our Lord expired), then began their Paschal feast, thus commemorating the death and resurrection on the same day. It is noteworthy that 'Pascha,' which subsequently came to mean the day of the resurrection, was employed, when first used as a Christian term, to designate the day of the passion (Tertullian, *adv. Jud.* 10; *de Bapt.* 19). The distinction of πάσχα σταυρώσιμον, Good Friday, from πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον, Easter Day, marks a transitional use of the word (Suicer, *Theas. eccl.* ii. 621 f., i. 304).

The first recorded occasion on which the two customs came into competition was the visit of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, to Anicetus, Bishop of Rome (c. 158). It was then judged fitting that each party should abide by its own usage. The controversy was renewed in 198 by a later Bishop of Rome, Victor. At his instance, apparently, several Councils were held in the East and West, which decided against the Quartodecimans. These refused to give up their traditional usage, and found a champion in Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, who wrote a vigorous letter to Victor in defence of their position. Victor excommunicated the Quartodecimans, and endeavoured, but without success, to induce other Churches to do the same. Finally, mainly through the mediation of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, who, as a native of Asia and a Western bishop, was in touch with both parties, peace was restored, and the Asiatics were allowed to retain their usage until the Council of Nicæa (Eusebius, *HE* v. 23, 24).

As Christians made their Paschal anniversaries coincide in season with the Passover, so, for a long period, they were satisfied to accept the Jewish computation of the time of that festival, which should fall on the first full moon after the vernal equinox. But in the 3rd cent., owing to supposed errors in the Jewish calculation, which was based on a lunar cycle of 84 years, and also doubtless with the desire to be independent of the Jews, Christians began to frame lunar cycles for themselves. The earliest of such cycles extant is one drawn up at Rome by Hippolytus, about the year 222. This was a 16-year cycle, that is, it assumed that the new moons fell on the same days of the month at the end of every 16 years. So highly esteemed was Hippolytus for his work, that a statue of him, still in existence, was erected in Rome, with his cycle engraved on the sides. But the cycle proved faulty, and although emended in 243 by another calculator, the author of *de Pascha computus* (published as an appendix to St. Cyprian's works), it was not retained in use. In the beginning of the 4th cent. we find an 84-year cycle again employed at Rome (Ideler, *ii.* 238). At Antioch the computation according to the Jewish methods was maintained until the Council of Nicaea. It was at Alexandria that special study was given to the question, and from it ultimately came the ruling which found general acceptance. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, in a Festal Epistle (c. 250) published the earliest Greek Paschal canon on record. It was calculated on an 8-year cycle, and it specified that Easter should not be celebrated until after the vernal equinox (Eusebius, *HE* vii. 20). Subsequently (c. 277) Anatolius, a native of Alexandria and afterwards Bishop of Laodicea, took the momentous step of making Meton's cycle (see below) of 19 years the basis of a new Paschal canon (*ib.* vii. 32). This was adopted at Alexandria, with the important change that the vernal equinox, which, according to Anatolius, fell on March 19, was assigned to March 21.

It should here be stated, for the sake of clearness, that the need for the employment of cycles for fixing the date of Easter arises from the fact that the conditions for determining it involve both the solar and the lunar year. As Easter day must be a Sunday, and one subsequent to the vernal equinox, the solar year is involved. As, again, Easter day bears a certain relation to the age of the moon, the lunar month and year become a necessary element in the calculation. The Metonic cycle was that upon which the determination of Easter was finally based. Meton, an Athenian astronomer, discovered (c. 433 B.C.) that in 19 solar years there are almost exactly 235 lunar synodic months, so that after the completion of every cycle of 19 years the new moons, and therefore all other phases of the moon, recur in the same order and on the same days of the month as they did at the beginning of the cycle. An error in the Metonic cycle was pointed out and corrected by Callippus of Cyzicus in 340 B.C. Meton calculated that 19 solar years contained 6940 days. He therefore assumed that the length of the solar year was $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, that is $\frac{1}{4}$ longer than $365\frac{1}{2}$ days—a more approximate length, as was afterwards ascertained, and later on adopted in the Julian calendar. This excess would amount to a whole day in 76 years. The Metonic cycle, therefore, would be a day wrong at the end of that time, and should be corrected by dropping a day. This was done by a rule introduced by Callippus that every fourth cycle should consist of 6939 days instead of 6940. Some 200 years later a further correction was made by Hipparchus. He found that the Callippic year of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days was about $\frac{1}{30}$ of a day too long, and therefore proposed to omit one day at the end of every 304th year.

The lack of uniformity as to the date of Easter caused many inconveniences, and exposed Christians to the derision of pagans (Epiphanius, *Hæc.* lxx. 14). In the West the 1st Council of Arles (314) attempted, but without success, to make the existing Roman use universal by decreeing 'ut Pascha Dominicum uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur' (Mansi, *Collect. Concil.* ii. 471). The Council of Nicaea (325), at the request of the Emperor Constantine, next took up the matter. Its deliberations, we know, resulted in the decision—involving the condemnation of the Quartodecimans—that Easter day should always be kept on a Sunday and never at the same time as the Jewish Passover (Socrates, *HE* i. 9; Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* iii. 18), but what the Council further decreed on the subject is involved in doubt. St. Ambrose, in a letter written about 60 years afterwards, states that it resolved that the moon of the first month should be determined by the cycle of 19 years (Ambrose, *Oper.* ii. 880, *Epist.* 23). But in the extant records of the Council no trace of such a decree exists. The most probable solution of the difficulty is that the Council commissioned the Church of Alexandria, as most skilled in astronomical science, to frame a rule based on the 19-year cycle.¹ After the Council of Nicaea, the Paschal computation of Alexandria was generally accepted throughout the East, but the Roman Church retained its own rules of calculation; so that it frequently happened that Easter was celebrated on different days at Rome and Alexandria. At last, through the instrumentality of Dionysius, a Scythian and a Roman monk, the question was settled. The Alexandrian computation, as modified by him in 525, was adopted at Rome, and subsequently gained universal acceptance in West and East.

The countries which fell latest into line with the rest of the Church in the matter were the British Isles and Gaul. The British and Irish Christians had learnt to compute Easter according to the cycle of 84 years which had been in use at Rome in the beginning of the 4th cent., and they continued this practice unaffected by changes elsewhere. Not only was this cycle erroneous in its method, but it permitted the occurrence of Easter Sunday from 14th to 20th Nisan (Bede, *HE* ii. 2, 4, 19). As 16th Nisan is the earliest day on which Easter can fall, we may probably see here the result of a confusion between the earlier and the later meaning of *pascha*—that word, which in 300 meant Good Friday, had now come to mean Easter day. The bitter controversies on the Easter question which followed the arrival of the Roman St. Augustine in England were not settled until 747, when the Council of Cloveshoe decided in favour of the Roman usage. In Gaul a Paschal cycle of Victorius, Bishop of Aquitaine, drawn up at Rome in 457, which had been employed by Dionysius as the basis of his table, found such acceptance that it continued in use until the time of Charlemagne.

The conditions which were finally adopted for the determination of Easter are these: 1. It must be kept on a Sunday. 2. (a) This Sunday must be the next after the 14th day of the Paschal moon reckoned from the day of the new moon inclusive. (b) If the 14th day should happen to be Sunday, Easter must not be kept until the following Sunday. 3. The Paschal moon is the calendar moon whose 14th day falls on, or follows next after, the day of the vernal equinox. 4. The 21st March is to be taken as the invariable day of the vernal equinox. The object of the second rule is to prevent Easter from being kept either *before*

¹ Cyril of Alexandria ('Prologus paschalis,' ed. Patavium, *de Doctrina Temporum*, Paris, 1627, ii. Append. p. 583), claims for his Church such a synodical commission to calculate Easter, but does not mention the Council which conferred it.

the day of the Jewish Passover—which would put the Resurrection day before the day of the Passion; or on the Passover day—a coincidence which Christian prejudice regarded as intolerable. The following brief summary of these conditions is given in the chapter 'De anno et ejus partibus' prefixed to the Roman Missal and Breviary:

'Ex decreto sacri Concilii Nicaeni Pascha, ex quo reliqua Festa mobilia pendent, celebrari debet die Dominico, qui proxime succedit xiv Lunae primi mensis; is vero apud Hebraeos vocatur primus mensis, cuius xiv Luna vel cadit in diem verni aequinoctii, quod die 21 mensis Martii contingit, vel propius ipsum sequitur.'

It is important to bear in mind that, as stated in rule 3 above, the moon¹ by which Easter day is calculated is the calendar moon or moon of the lunar cycle, and not the actual moon of the heavens. The real motions of the sun and moon, being variable, have not been employed by the Church for the fixing of her festivals. Similarly the vernal equinox in rule 4 is not the true but the calendar equinox. The true equinox obviously cannot be fixed to a single day, because, in consequence of the intercalary day every fourth year, it must necessarily oscillate between two days (Clavius, v. §§ 12, 13).

The Dionysian Easter canon had been generally accepted throughout Christendom; but it suffered from two defects which in process of time compelled attention. (a) Taking for its basis the Julian calendar (see CALENDAR [Roman]), it assumed that the solar year consisted of exactly 365½ days. But the solar year falls short of the Julian estimate by somewhat more than 11 minutes, and this error would accumulate to one day in about 128½ years. (b) It further assumed that 235 lunar months are exactly equal to 19 Julian years, whereas they are nearly ¼ hours shorter—a difference which would accumulate to one day in 308 years. Notice was directed to the matter at the beginning of the 13th cent. in the *Computus* of Conrad, and later on by an anonymous writer, generally supposed to be Vincentius of Beauvais. A treatise of Roger Bacon, 'De reformatione calendæ,' which was addressed by him to Pope Clement IV., is still in MS at Rome. In the East also, Isaac Argyrus, a Greek monk, contributed (1372) an essay on the subject (criticized in Petavius' *Uranologion*, Paris, 1630, lib. viii.). In the 15th century the matter was brought before the Council of Constance (1414) by Cardinal Peter D'Ailly and before that of Basel (1436) by Cardinal Cusanus. It was again mooted at the Lateran Council under Leo X. Finally, the Council of Trent delegated the revision of the calendar to the Pope, and Gregory XIII. carried it out in 1582. The Papal commission appointed for this purpose worked upon proposals made by Luigi Lilio, a Calabrian astronomer. The commission was presided over by a distinguished mathematician, Christopher Schlüssel, who is better known by his Latinized name Clavius. To him the reformed calendar is mainly due.² For these earlier suggestions about revision see the 'Proœmium' to Clavius's work, and Ideler, ii. 300 ff.

At the time that the Gregorian revision was set on foot, the error arising from the undue length of the Julian year amounted to nearly 10 days. The true equinox, therefore, had receded nearly 10 days from the calendar equinox, March 21. The error also of the lunar cycle had grown to more than 4 days, so that what was accounted the 14th day of the moon was really the 18th day. Different methods were suggested for getting rid of this accumulation of errors. That which was adopted

by Gregory's mathematicians was to drop 10 days at once out of the calendar, and thus to restore the equinox to March 21, the day on which it fell about the time of the Nicene Council. It was accordingly ordered in the Pope's Bull that the 4th October, the Feast of St. Francis, 1582, should be immediately followed by the 15th, 10 days being thus omitted from the calendar. As regarded the rectification of the lunar cycle, it was decreed that the new moon should be drawn back 3 days. Consequently in the first rectified year of the cycle, the first new moon was removed from Jan. 3 to Dec. 31 preceding. To prevent the recurrence of similar confusion, rules were made that 3 bissextile days should be omitted every 400 years, and that the new moon should be carried back 1 day 8 times in 25 centuries, beginning from 1800.

The Gregorian calendar, or 'New Style,' was almost immediately adopted by Roman Catholic nations. In Germany the Emperor Rudolf II. and the Roman Catholic States accepted it in 1583, but the Elector of Saxony and the Protestant States adhered to the Old Style, objecting to the New, not merely as coming from Rome, but because of certain defects which Scaliger and other authorities pointed out in its astronomical accuracy. This difference of calendar was productive of much dissension and inconvenience, especially in places where populations were mixed. In 1700, at the instance of Leibniz, the Protestant States agreed to omit 11 days from their calendar, and so far conformed to the Gregorian revision. But, instead of following the rule that Easter should depend on the 14th day of the calendar moon, they determined it by the true astronomical full moon. Thus it still happened that in some years Easter was kept on different days by the two parties, and much confusion resulted. At last, in 1775, on the proposal of Frederick the Great, the Corpus Evangelicorum resolved to accept frankly the Reformed Calendar, thus producing uniformity of practice in Germany. In England the change was made in 1752, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament passed the year before, which enacted that the day next following the 2nd September 1752 should be called and reckoned the 14th September, the 11 intermediate days of the common calendar being omitted; and that the centennial years 1800, 1900, etc., should be common years, with the exception of every 400th year, beginning with 2000, which should be regarded as leap-years; also that for the future Easter day and the movable feasts depending upon it should be celebrated according to new tables and rules which, with a new calendar, were annexed to the Act, and which were directed to be substituted for the existing calendar, etc., in the Book of Common Prayer. The new tables and rules were prepared by the then Astronomer Royal, Dr. Bradley. All Eastern Christians, including Greeks and Russians, with the exception of the Romanized Uniate, still adhere to the Old Style. At present their reckoning is 12 days behind that of the rest of the civilized world.

12. Calendar letters.—In the Julian (pagan) calendar, days of the year were arranged in successive groups of 8, called *nundinae*, with the letters A–H attached to them. This suggested to Western Christians—for the plan was never adopted by the Easterns—the marking of the days of the week in the Christian calendar with the 7 letters A–G, repeated throughout the year. These 'calendar or ferial letters,' as they are called, were, as has been noticed above, introduced probably at the time when the Christian Sunday was legalized by Constantine. We have seen that they occur in the pagan calendar of Filocalus side by side with the *nundinae*. The Sunday, or Dominical, letter of each year is that

¹ Church chronologers were in the habit of giving the name 'Full Moon' to the 14th day of the calendar moon (Ideler, ii. 106). In the definition of Easter in the Book of Common Prayer, 'Full Moon' is used in this sense.

² Clavius, in a work (*Romani Calend. explicatione*) published at Rome in 1603, gave an exhaustive account of the whole subject.

which stands opposite the first (and every successive) Sunday in the year; and, when it is known, the week day of any day in that year can be ascertained. The 29th Feb., which occurs only in leap year, has no letter in the regular sequence affixed to it; it takes the letter of March 1, which therefore occurs twice. This has the effect of changing the Sunday letter for the rest of the year. A leap-year, therefore, has two Sunday letters; the first applicable to January and February; the second, which in the order of the letters of the alphabet is always one behind the first, to March and the remaining months. The Roman Catholic calendar still follows the Julian in placing the intercalary day between the 23rd and 24th Feb., thus making two 24ths, as in the Julian calendar there were two VI. Kalend. Hence the change in the Sunday letter takes place in the Roman calendar after Feb. 24. The English Church calendar retained the ancient practice until 1662.

13. Golden numbers and epacts.—The designation 'golden numbers' was given in the Middle Ages to the numerals in the calendar which denoted the 19 years of the Metonic lunar cycle (see above), either as an expression of the great value attached to them or as having been rubricated. These numbers were formerly marked throughout the year in the first column of the calendar, being affixed to the days of the occurrence of the new moons in each year of the cycle. But since 1752 they indicate in the Prayer Book the days upon which the full moons of the respective years fall, and they are inserted in the calendar only from March 22 to April 18, the Paschal full moon limits. Easter day itself occurs at earliest on March 22, and at latest on April 25. In the Roman calendar, since the Gregorian reformation, 'epact,' which represent the number of days of the moon's age at the beginning of each year in the 19-year cycle, have taken the place of the 'golden numbers' in the first column.

14. Christian era.—As the Christian calendar was based, as regards its form and divisions, on the official (Julian) calendar of the Roman Empire, so during the earlier centuries Christians employed the eras used by their pagan countrymen. About the year 532, Dionysius, whose part in framing the Easter canon has been mentioned, proposed that the epoch of the birth of Christ, which he assigned to Dec. 25 A.U.C. 753, should be adopted by Christians. This was called the *Vulgar* or *Dionysian Era*, and gradually gained almost general acceptance. Dionysius did not make the epoch commence on the day of the Nativity, Dec. 25, but on Jan. 1 in the following year A.U.C. 754. Thus A.D. 1 is not the year of the Nativity, but the first current year after it. It is well known that Dionysius was incorrect in his calculation, and that the birth of Christ should more probably be assigned to A.U.C. 749 or B.C. 4.

15. Commencement of the year.—The acceptance by the Church of the framework of the Julian calendar involved the placing of Jan. 1 at the beginning of the Christian calendar. But, besides this New Year's Day, to which the calendar bore witness, other beginnings of the year, of more purely ecclesiastical origin, have been observed in Christendom. The chief of these are the following: (1) March 1, kept in Merovingian France, among the Lombards, in the Republic of Venice, and for a long time in Russia; (2) Easter, observed chiefly in France, and hence called *Mos Gallicus*; (3) Sept. 1, according to the custom of the Greek and Russian Churches; (4) Christmas Day—the usage in England in Anglo-Saxon times, also in Scandinavia, Prussia, Hungary, Switzerland, etc., in early times; (5) March 25, the Annunciation B.V.M., used first in the North of Italy, whence it passed into France and Germany. It was adopted

in England as a Church reckoning in the 12th cent.—superseding Jan. 1, which had been the beginning of the year since 1066—and in the 14th came into civil use. This continued to be the legal and ecclesiastical usage until the revision of the calendar in 1751. It was then enacted

'that the supputation according to which the year of our Lord beginneth on the 25th day of March shall not be made use of from and after the last day of December 1751; and that the 1st day of January next following . . . shall be reckoned . . . to be the first day of the year 1752.'

It should, however, be noted that, although in the successive editions of the English Prayer Book from 1559 to 1662 it is stated that the year of our Lord begins on March 25, yet the expression New Year's Day is applied, in the rubric following the collect for St. Stephen's day, to Jan. 1. It is also to be observed that from 1549 onwards the series of daily lessons are arranged in the calendar with reference to Jan. 1. Thus both usages, the legal-ecclesiastical and the calendar, are recognized. While this double commencement of the year prevailed, it was customary, in giving the date of an event between Jan. 1 and March 25, to write both years—the legal first, the calendar afterwards; thus 20 Feb. 1721-2. A somewhat similar practice came into use, and was kept up for many years, after the introduction of the New Style, namely, that of writing the two dates in the form of a fraction, the old above, and the new below the line, thus $\frac{17}{18}$ May 1760.

Yet another arrangement of the year is that connected with the cycle of church services. The Latin and English Churches in the West, and the Nestorian in the East, commence their ritual year on Advent Sunday, or, as the Nestorians name it, the first Sunday of the Annunciation. The Armenians begin theirs on Epiphany, Jan. 6. The Constantinopolitan rite, with the Russian and Georgian, makes, as we have seen, the starting-point of its round of movable festivals the Sunday of the Pharisee and Publican, which coincides with the Western Sunday before Septuagesima. See also **FESTIVALS AND FASTS** (Christian).

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CALENDAR (Egyptian).—I. INTRODUCTION.—The calendar is always one of the most important elements in a society, for it denotes civilization. It is especially so in Egypt, where it explains a large part of the religion, and gave rise to some of the mythology. It is not only the fundamental basis of worship, but it is probably the element which has had the greatest influence on

the evolution of religious ideas, and, consequently, on the organization of ethics. The Egyptian calendar is also one of those for which we have the richest collections of information and documents. It may therefore be considered from two points of view: (1) by examining it with regard to its absolute divisions, its improvements, and its application to chronology; or (2) by studying the conception which gave rise to it, its original characteristics, and the very large part it played in connexion with religion. In the present state of science, everything seems to have been said and written from the first point of view.

II. *DOCUMENTS*.—These are particularly abundant, and, fortunately, they extend from Memphite times to the Roman period. We may note the following as real calendars in chronological order: (1) the Palermo Stone (Vth dynasty, copied partly from documents of great antiquity), (2) the Kahun Papyrus (XIIth dynasty), (3) portions of the calendar of Thothmes III. at Karnak (XVIIIth dynasty), (4) portions of the same king's calendar at Elephantine, (5) calendar of Medinet-Habu (XIXth dynasty), (6) calendar of Sallier Papyrus (XIXth dynasty, cf. British Museum Papyrus 10,174), (7) calendar of Edfu (Ptolemaic age), (8) that of Ombos (same period), (9) that of Denderah (Roman period), (10) that of Esneh (same period), (11) that of the Leyden Papyrus (same period).

Further, the tombs and stelæ from the end of the IIIrd dynasty to the close of the classical period present thousands of *funerary calendars*, sometimes with long lists of dates, anniversaries, and commentaries. We have them also for all the historical periods, and scattered throughout all the provinces (cf. below, § IX.).

Lastly, in addition to calendars properly so called, we may mention: (1) the series of calendric anniversaries quoted in all the Books of the Dead (even the very earliest known specimens), on papyri, and on the inner sides of coffins, and evidently copied from pre-historic versions; (2) the innumerable references in the texts in general, from the famous Texts of the Pyramids to the papyri, as well as the inscriptions in the temples, the accounts of historians, the texts connected with local festivals, the references on stelæ, tombs, etc.—the whole from the Memphite to the Roman period (for the chief bibliography on these documents, see § XVIII. of lit. at end of art.).

There is good reason for believing that the 'ancient plaquettes' of the monuments of the earliest dynasties are fragments of a calendar of the Thinite and pre-Thinite epoch, and therefore the oldest in the world, and also that the vases of the Negadeh period reproduce still older calendric indications. On this hypothesis, which has not yet been formulated, see below, § IX., in connexion with the notation of time on the Palermo Stone and on the 'plaquettes.'

III. *DIVISIONS OF TIME*.—Egypt was never acquainted with anything like an era, referring to a cosmogonic date, such as the Creation, to a noteworthy meteorological event, to an imaginary episode, or to a legendary or historical fact. With the exception of the stele of San, dated the 400th year of an ancient king, Egypt never had any idea of dating her annals except by the years of rule of the reigning Pharaoh (see below, § VI.). Nor did she try to imagine periods and cycles; all that modern science has from time to time thought to discover in this sphere regarding so-called divisions of time has always been disproved by a more careful study of the texts. The Sothic period and the Sothic half-period (see below) were not invented until the time of the Antonines. The supposed *Sadu* period does not at all correspond to a cycle of thirty years, but to royal jubilees with variable anniversaries, not based on the ordinary calendar (except under the Ptolemy = *triakon-taeteris*), but perhaps on facts of astrological char-

acter; the *hunti* (simple or double) has in modern times been translated sometimes by 'cycle of 60 (and 120) years,' sometimes by 'millions of years' (de Rouge, *Chrestomathie*, ii. 129)—which clearly shows the absence of ancient texts. As a matter of fact, the *hunti* forms part of the group of vague terms by means of which the language tried to express 'great length,' and which may be translated, more or less inexactly, 'many years,' 'innumerable years,' 'as long as the existence of the sun,' 'indefinite length of time' (but not 'infinite'), etc. The Egyptian did not even know the century, or the fraction of the century. The four year cycle of Brugsch is no longer taken seriously; Borchardt's hypothesis (*Verhandl. Orient. Congr.*, 1902, p. 329) of a *census* cycle of fourteen years, under the first Thebans, is ingenious but nothing more; and if Breasted has noted that the moon occupied the same place in the calendar every nineteen years, no text shows that the Egyptians turned this to account in order to form a calendric division. These modern attempts seem destined to the same failure as the hypothesis of the 'period of the Phoenix'—a rubric which no longer figures in Egyptological publications (cf. Naville, *Festival-hall*, p. 7). And the year (*ronpit*), with its divisions, remains positively the only certain measure by which Egypt reckoned time.

The year began—in theory at least—on 19th July, and the 365 days of which it was composed were divided into three seasons (*tetramenies*) of four months, each month containing thirty days. The five complementary or epagomenal (cf. below) days, placed at the end of the twelfth month, form a sort of distinct period, intercalated between the 'small year' (360 days) and the 'large year' (365 days). The uniform months (*abudu*) were divided into three periods of ten days.¹ They were known as that of the beginning (*hati*), that of the middle (*abi*), and that of the end (*pahu*)—and this at least as early as the Xth dynasty (cf. Daressy, *Décans*, etc.). The day itself (*haru*), divided into twelve hours (*ubnu*) of daytime and twelve of night, obeyed the demands of tripartite and quadripartite symmetry of the whole system by dividing its hours of day and hours of night into three periods (*tôri*) of four hours each. There is no ground for saying that the subdivisions of the hour into minutes (*at*) and seconds (*hat*) were known in the Pharaonic period. Lepsius (*Chronol.*) has shown that they are far more probably the work of scholars of the Ptolemaic age. The division of the second into 'thirds' (*anit*) is a modern invention of Egyptologists who took the words 'twinkling of an eye' literally for the measurement of an exact space of time. But even in the latest times the Egyptians were not aware of the existence of such a fraction.

The division of the day into three parts, marked by sunrise, midday, and sunset, is uncertain. The fact, often mentioned, of offerings of resin, myrrh, and incense, made to the sun of Heliopolis at these three moments of the day, is reported by Plutarch (*de Isid.* 80). Probably this simply indicates a local sacerdotal custom, and not an absolute division of time.

The names of the three seasons, *shait*, *pirit*, and *shômu*, refer roughly to the appearances of the valley of the Nile during the year, and to the cycle of irrigation. The first alone corresponds more or less exactly to the four months of *inundation*. The second and third are of artificially symmetrical composition; the second (*pirit*) may resemble in some measure the four months of the *growing of the crops* in Upper Egypt (the end of November to the end of March). The third (*shômu*) is clearly artificial. It is usually translated 'season of harvest'—a reading which is simply inferred by deductive reasoning, for neither the word nor the

¹ Daressy recently contended (in *Annales du Service des ant. de l'Égypte*, 1909) that they were formerly divided into four weeks of seven days; but there is no sufficient evidence for this.

sign refers positively in Egyptian to any such concept as the primitive meaning, and it is by inference that the meanings 'harvest' and 'products of the soil' have come from the sign for the season. Originally it probably designated works of irrigation preceding the rising of the waters (cleansing of canals, etc.).

The names of the months do not seem to have been in use in the earliest times. At least the official inscriptions never mention them. They say: first, second, third, fourth month of such and such a season. It seems probable that, at an uncertain date, popular custom gave currency to the use of nomenclature denoting the months by the characteristic religious episode which was commemorated in them. Some of these are cited by the classical writers. The fact that they are exactly those which the Copts use for the corresponding months gives reason for thinking that the same thing is the case with those which they do not cite, and science has adopted the habit of giving the names of the twelve Coptic months to the Egyptian months. They are, for the first season, *Thot, Paophi, Athyr, Choiak*; for the second, *Tybi, Meshir, Phamenot, Pharmuti*; and for the third, *Pakhon, Payni, Epiphi, Mesort*.

IV. HISTORY.—1. From earliest known origins to the year 238 B.C.—As it has just been described in its simplicity and relative perfection, the Egyptian calendar appears throughout the whole of its history. However far back we may trace it, we cannot reach the moment of a change in it—any more than we can show an authentic improvement during the series of centuries down to Ptolemy Euergetes I. It has been said that the year was at first a lunar one of 354 days, in which the dates were given by the days of the moon, and that there are clear traces of it, for example, in the manner of writing the month by the sign of the crescent, or in the fact that the reign of Osiris had lasted twenty-eight years, which, says Plutarch (*de Isid.* 42), corresponds with the days of the lunar month. This is extremely plausible, because almost all the calendars known in the world began in this way, and because the movement of the moon was the only noteworthy division perceptible to man in his early efforts. This is proved clearly enough by the etymology of the word 'month' in the principal Aryan languages—to speak only of the calendars of our races. But, so far as Egypt is concerned, it is a mere assumption, for there are no real traces of it, and it is not right to say, as many writers have done, that 'the lunar year preceded the solar year, in Egypt as in India.' It has also been contended that there was a year of 360 days, traces of which are preserved in the religion; e.g. in the fact, quoted by Diodorus (*l.* 22), of the 360 cups of milk on the tomb of Osiris at Philæ. This is confusing a demand for symmetry—which is really a mark of civilization—with initial gropings. The year of 360 days is a year of administration, and of sacerdotal accounting, which we find in use in the height of the historical period, parallel with that of 365 days, and which naturally was completed by the five epagomenal days (cf. the calendar of Medinet-Habu or the 'contracts of Syut'); hence the terms 'small' and 'large' year used to denote the temple year and the ordinary year respectively. The efforts of all races show, on the contrary, that even comparatively civilized peoples, like those of Benin or the Baviil, have never passed from the lunar year to the year of 360 days, with months of 30 days, but have, as a rule, compensated for the error between the number of lunar months (12 lunations = 354·367 days) and the apparent revolution of the solar year by introducing after the twelve lunar months a complementary month of some days, often qualified by

the name 'season.' The most probable supposition, then, if we want a hypothetical history of the Egyptian calendar, is that the lunar year (or the 13 sidereal months) was originally followed by an epagomenal month. The use of the numeration by ten, and especially the need for practical symmetrical divisions, naturally led (but undoubtedly much later) to the creation of the month of 30 days, which, owing to its artificial character, corresponding neither to the sun nor to the moon, denotes a distinct step in advance. The fraction remaining to be harmonized was thus reduced to the five epagomenal days.

We find these epagomenal days in the very earliest mentions of the calendar. The first Egyptologists for a long time believed that the invention did not go further back than the XIIth dynasty. It is now proved that these five days over and above the year (*haru dwaît hiru ronpit*) existed not only under the Memphite Empire but long before, since mention is made of them in the Texts of the Pyramids (Pepi 2, line 754). This, to all appearance, carries them back to the pre-historic period, and it is quite incorrect to ascribe the 'invention of the year of 365 days' to the year 4241 (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, p. 40). That is merely the earliest date postulated by those scholars who believe in the Sothic period (cf. below), but there is nothing to prove that these epagomenal days are not as old as Egypt itself. The legend of their invention by Thoth playing chess with the moon was long believed to be of comparatively recent date, on account of the Greek form which Plutarch (*de Isid.* 12) gives to it. But the Leyden Papyrus (*l.* 346) has shown that the legend existed in its essential features in the time of the Thebans, and the Texts of the Pyramids have carried it back to the very beginnings of Egyptian mythology. These five days preserve a further sign of their extreme antiquity in their designation 'little month,' which brings them peculiarly near to the 'short month' of the Baviil and the 'supplementary month' of Benin, and which was kept until the time of the Coptic calendar.

These *ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι* were regarded under the Ptolemys as a complement of the year. The Leyden Papyrus presents a theory which is probably different. These days are really 'in addition to the year,' but religiously (and especially from the point of view of the dead, and of astrological influences on the living) they seem to be a sort of 'preface' to the new year. They form a period quite apart, which has its special calendar, its names (cf. Chabas, *Œuvres*, iv. 207), its horoscopes, its gods, and its spirits. If the whole is referred to the old tables of funerary calendars, the result seems to be that the 'year' ended with the last day of the twelfth month. The first of the epagomenal days, therefore, marked the 'opening of the year,' and the beginning of the year (*tap ronpit*) was the first day of the first month of the new year (cf. the five Mexican epagomenal days, which are called *nemontemi* = 'useless,' or 'unfit for work').

This calendar has justly been cited with admiration, and classed with those which mark most clearly the height reached by ancient civilizations; and Breasted (*Ancient Records*, p. 25) was right in pointing out the immense advance it was for humanity. It is sufficient to recall what were, down to a very late date, the best Hellenic calendars, and the testimony of Strabo (xvii.) on this point, or to think of what the Roman calendar was down to the end of the Republic. All the classical writers, from Herodotus onwards, were only performing an act of justice when they spoke of the Egyptian system in a tone of respect. If ancient Egypt knew nothing about the learned and manifold complications of the Indian cycles (length of

ancient Indian year = 13 sidereal months or 355-1823 days), the needs of absolute chronology may deplore the fact, but the historian can point out the superiority of this simple system, which harmonizes practical and symmetrical divisions so skilfully with real time. The whole world, from the time of the earliest civilizations, has proved the impossibility of adjusting to the course of the moon a notation of time suitable for human activity. And it was probably in this that the first superiority of the Egyptians consisted. If they did not know, as it seems, the famous period of 223 lunations recognized by the Babylonians, their 12 months of 30 days, followed by five days, were far superior to the lunar year of Chaldea, with its very imperfect remedy supplied by the 'second month of *Adar*,' or the 'second *Elul*,' or the 'second *Nisan*,' added every six years; and far superior also to the 18 months of 20 days each of the Mexican calendar, with its five *nemontemi*. Undoubtedly, non-civilized races, like the Kikuyu, have also discovered the month of thirty days, but their double period of six months is what really accounts for this. If Egypt had kept to the lunar month, she would have experienced all the inconveniences of those peoples who have persisted in making use of it. The 'seasons,' to which it is customary to point as one of the merits of the Egyptian calendar, have been discovered in Africa by societies far less advanced. The 8 months' season and the 4 months' season of the Bavili correspond, as a matter of fact, to the 3 Egyptian *tetramenies*, and Benin possesses the 3 *tetramenies*. The great difference is that the Egyptians reduced the 'thirteenth month' to five days, by the adoption of the month of 30 days. At the same time Egypt made the very useful subdivision of the month into decades, instead of having recourse, like her sister nations of Africa, to the unsymmetrical week of 8 days, or to that of 4, or to the artifices of pastoral peoples like the Basutos. They might also, like ourselves, have absorbed the 365 days in their twelve months, by accepting the inconvenience of months of 31 days. Would any one dare to assert that their months, all symmetrical, are not better? And have we not heard it proposed in our day to place the five supplementary days apart at the end of the year, without the authors of these propositions having any idea that they were simply asking for a return to the calendar of the ancient Egyptians?

2. From Ptolemy *Euergetes* I. to the end of Egyptian civilization.—The system, nevertheless, presented two defects of very unequal importance: (1) the hours had only an approximate value, variable throughout the year; and (2) the year itself was shorter than the real solar year by 5 h. 48 m. 57 s. (length of the tropical year in 3000 B.C. = 365-24249916 days).

(1) The former of these faults proceeded from the basis on which the hour was introduced. The majority of African races had the same idea as the Egyptians: to divide the day into the same number of equal fractions as the year is divided into (excluding the 13th month). This was to obtain the division by twelve. It may be preserved, with a rough approximation, if the division is applied, as it is in the Upper Congo, to the space of time between one sunrise and another. In making special divisions for the day and for the night, the Egyptians encountered serious difficulties. As the first hour of the day began at dawn, and the twelfth ended with sunset, the length of each hour naturally varied according to the season. For a long time the Babylonians had the 12 equal fractions of the day, *τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς ἡμέρας* (Herod. ii. 109)—undoubtedly owing to the regular divisions which the use of the *πλόος*

had taught them to draw on the line described by the shadow of the pin of the sun-dial. It was not, however, until Asia had taught the Greeks the use of the two series of twelve similar hours, and the Ptolemys had come to Egypt, that this advance was realized. We saw above (p. 92^b) that it was at this same time that the minutes were instituted, from the same Asiatic source.

(2) The second defect of the system was more serious. It had affected all calendars, including the Chaldean, and still affects that of many systems in vogue at the present day. The quarter of a day, which the year of the Egyptian calendar neglected, in the long run produced errors which were manifestly intolerable, and it does not seem ever to have occurred to the Egyptians to adopt such a simple but clever correction as that of the Mexican *tonalpouhque* ('sun's examiners'), who added 13 complementary days after a cycle of 52 years. Authentic examples, taken from texts and cited by all Egyptologists, prove that the discrepancy might reach several months; and papyrus have bequeathed to us complaints by the employees of the administration on the matter. The date of the low Nile in the inscription of Uni (VIth dynasty), the Ebers Papyrus under Amenhotep I. (XVIIIth dynasty), a date of the heliacal rising of Sothis under Thotmes III. (XVIIIth dynasty), and the date of the rising of the waters under Shabataka (XXVth dynasty) are four good examples of divergence between the calendar and the astronomical truth. The practical necessities of worship and of economic life could not put up with these discrepancies, which went so far beyond the limits of the reasonable. From time to time an administrative measure cut off, or added, the necessary number of days, and made the calendar year and the solar year start on the same day. Then things once more went on getting worse until the day when the too evident inconveniences made the government again have recourse to the forcible regularization of the two years, the real and the calendric. It had undoubtedly taken place shortly before the time of Herodotus, for he speaks (ii. 4) of the year of 365 days as a perfect instrument, agreeing with the seasons.

Nothing definite is known concerning these manipulations. Only it is probable that the further we descend in history the less frequent they were, because in the earliest times the direct observation of the sky and of Nature was more the basis of the calendar, and would thus speedily note the error. The increasing power exerted by what was written, as is always the case, must have resulted in a longer continued observance of the official calendar, in spite of the contradictions offered by the stars and the seasons; hence the paradoxical result that the discrepancies were more prolonged in proportion as the centuries of civilization increased in number. It is certain, in any case, that one of the largest discrepancies that we know is precisely the latest in date—that which existed at the time of the reform of the year 238 B.C. The heliacal rising of Sothis took place in that year on 1st Payni—an error of ten months.

This way of setting right the discrepancy by sudden leaps seemed intolerable to the astronomers, steeped in Asiatic science improved in Greece, who devoted their attention under the Ptolemys to the defects of the Egyptian year. Their calculations led them to the discovery that it was necessary to increase the duration of the year by about six hours. The easiest solution was to group these six hours in a supplementary day every four years, and, as a result, the world had the 'leap-year' introduced by the celebrated *Decree of Canopus* in the year IX, 17 Tybi of the reign of Ptolemy III. *Euergetes* I. (7th March 238). The fact that the definitely fixed year contained the mention of the appearance of the star Sothis, and that the heliacal rising of this star took place on the 19-20th of July, later on led the contemporaries of the Antonines to infer that the Egyptians had possessed, at least in the science of the temples, the knowledge of a perfect cycle in connexion with the

heliacal rising of this star. Noting the annual difference between the ancient calendric year of 365 days and the date of the appearance of Sothis exactly at sunrise, they were easily able to calculate that, after 1460 astronomical years, exact agreement would be re-established, so that these 1460 years were equal to 1461 years of 365 days. They imagined then that the priests had noticed the equation, and they therefore created the famous 'Sothic period,' which they affirmed had been known and used from the most ancient times by the national chronology. Egypt was thus supposed to have possessed two calendars—the one conforming to scientific truth, the other, in spite of all its inconveniences, used for administrative life, the two tallying exactly on one single day every 1460 years. Censorinus, who noted it in A.D. 239, attributed an indefinite antiquity to this period of Sothis, of which the only one that history has ever mentioned, and which ended, according to him, exactly 100 years previously (A.D. 139), was the last of a whole series. The statement of the author of the *de Die Natali*, taken up and commented on, represented from that time the view of official Egypt, which, in order not to stop half-way, imagined a Sothic half-period. 'Thy divine festival, Sothis, is celebrated every 730 years,' says the Philæ inscription.

The idea that the priests knew and employed the period of 1460 years led naturally to the inference that they were acquainted with, and employed, an exact Sothic year reserved for their use. The supposed use of a double year in Egypt and the idea of comparing the whole with the astronomical year have been further complicated, in modern science, by the use of a terminology (vague year, civil year, astronomical year, sacerdotal year, heliacal year, solar year, etc.) whose meanings vary according to the authors. The whole has been the subject of most difficult controversies from the time of Champollion down to the present day. It is strange to notice that the two initial data of the whole debate have been neglected—(1) Did the Egyptian word *pirît* mean 'heliacal rising,' or simply 're-appearance of the star on the horizon'? (2) Do the exact astronomical calculations adapt themselves to the argument? Nevertheless, it was not until 1909 that Legge (see literature at end of art.) raised these questions.

The reality of the Sothic period has given birth to infinite discussions for or against its existence (cf. the innumerable works on the subject in Egyptology). An incredible amount of patience, calculation, science, and ingenuity has been expended for a hundred years without the question having advanced one step, and the Egyptological School remains, to-day as formerly, divided into two equal camps. For the long and ingenious pleas of the ancient Fourier or of Wilkinson in favour of the Sothic period, too feeble to cope with the objections of a Krall, modern defenders have substituted more sound reasoning based on the monuments. But, in proportion as their scientific weapons were being improved, their opponents were striving after progress in the same direction. Neither the clever refutations of Maspero nor the objections, full of practical common sense, of Budge, were able to convince Borchardt, Mahler, or Sethe, any more than Birch long ago succeeded in persuading Rouge; and the latest works of Meyer or the vehement assertions of Breasted show that the Sothic period can always count on a number of determined and serious partisans. Each new discovery of an Egyptian document mentioning the heliacal 'rising' (?) of Sothis is therefore the signal for heated discussions for at least three or four years; cf. e.g. the bibliography on the subject which followed the publication, in 1898, of the Kahun calendar (XIIth dynasty). The intermediate opinion of Erman (holding to an exact agricultural year, and, up to a certain point, a sacerdotal one which agreed with the rising of the waters and the indications of Nature for practical life, while the year of 365 days remained in use on account of the value of its administrative symmetry) does not seem to have secured the support of either party. The refutation of Meyer by Torr (*Memphis and Mycenæ*), also quite recent, seemed to sum up the strongest practical objections which had been raised, with discussion based on the detail of the monuments and the nature of the above-mentioned astronomical facts. The attempt of F. A. Jones (*PSBA xxx. [1908] 85*) does not seem to be of any practical value. Lastly, Legge (*Recueil des Travaux*, xxxi. [1909]) was the first

who thought of bringing the question on to scientific ground, which was what ought to have been done first. His strictly mathematical statements allow none of the proposed dates to hold good, and seem to give the *coup de grâce* to all attempts to draw chronological inferences from the system of Meyer.

A similar number of works, during almost a hundred years, not only shows the difficulty of the problem, but tells plainly of its importance. It does not consist in the question of the degree of science to which Egypt had reached, but in the application of the data to chronology, which the absence of every era and synchronism outside of Egypt renders extremely obscure when we go further back than the XVIIIth dynasty. The fact of finding at least six or seven references to the calendric date of the supposed heliacal rising of Sothis or of the height of the Nile at a given month, and the circumstance that these texts reach from the VIth to the XVIIIth dynasty, would give the key to the whole system, if it could be established that the calendar remained unchanged from the Ancient to the Modern Empire. A simple calculation would be sufficient to fix these guiding marks, and consequently to obtain from them the exact date, or very nearly so, of all the reigns or adjacent events. This is enough to show the value which all the historian partisans of the Sothic period may place upon the demonstration. The doubt which may legitimately be conceived does not arise from the degree of science which the system supposes. It does not imply any more patient observation than others known to less perfectly evolved civilizations; e.g. those which the fine works of Seler have brought to light for pre-Columbian America (Venetian period, etc.). The objection derived from the inexhaustible patience implied in the Egyptians resigning themselves to see the two calendars in agreement only once in fifteen centuries is not absolutely decisive. The chief obstacle is found elsewhere: (1) in the complete absence of any formal mention of such a period in the classical texts; (2) in the actual contradiction presented by monuments like the Medinet-Habu calendar, or the significant silence of Herodotus on the divergences between the real year and the official computation of time; (3) in the technical objections of an exclusively astronomical kind, which have attracted too little attention throughout the whole controversy (secular shortening of the length of the solar year from equinox to equinox, confusion with the sidereal year [star to same star again], and omission of the problem of the anomalistic year [perihelion to perihelion]); and (4) in the evident impossibility of making any indications of the supposed Sothic period without arriving at impossible chronologies (e.g. for the date of the XIIth dynasty, as Wiedemann has clearly shown (*OLZ iii. 322*); or F. A. Jones's deduction that the Great Pyramid was built in 2170 a.c.). The series proposed by Breasted is itself subject to objections which in the end throw the whole matter into question again. See the conclusions of Jones, *PSBA xxx. 5*; Lefébure, *Act. Orient.* xiv.; Lieblein, *ZA xiv. 101*, and *Chronologie*; or the interminable unsettled discussions, during the years 1904 and 1905, of Meyer, Brix, Borchardt, Sethe, and Mahler in *ZA xli. 26, 34, 38*, *OLZ viii. 6*, *Untersuchungen*, iii. etc.); also the literature on the subject at end of article.

The magnificent reform of Ptolemy III. was very far from being accepted with the obedience which history manuals usually attribute to ancient Egypt. The old national year persisted in practice until the time when the edict of Augustus (A.D. 10) made the year of 365½ days compulsory. The type was henceforth proposed to the classical world, and in its eyes Egypt was the country of high scientific culture to which it had to look for its models of reform. It is well known that it was the Egyptian Sosigenes of Alexandria (Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 13) who definitely reformed the intolerable Roman calendar, and who, under Julius Cæsar (year 'of confusion'), at last gave the Mediterranean world a date derived from a calendar copied from the Egyptian model, with the necessary modifications for the seasons. We may therefore say that it is Egypt that has given us our calendar. The twelve minutes and twenty-nine seconds of deviation from the real time which it presents every year, and which make it necessary to drop out a day every 131 years (Gregorian year = 365.2425 days; solar year = 365.242918 days—in the year 1910), did not need to be taken account of until many centuries later. The Julian (properly speaking, Egyptian) calendar continues to be law in Russia and in the Oriental Christian world, which ignored the reform of Gregory XIII. (1582), as England itself did until 1752. Lastly, the Copts preserved not only the Julian year, but also the 1st of Thoth for the beginning of their year, which now falls on the 11th of September, after having started on the 29th of August in the year regulated by Euergetes.

V. FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTER.—If the Egyptian calendar is compared with other calendars,

not for its perfection but for the characteristics of its original elements, it reveals significant differences. The basis of its divisions, of its conspicuous dates, and of its festivals seems to be neither solar nor of a really agricultural nature.

Neither the solstices nor the equinoxes were used, as with so many other races, to mark the beginning, or the internal divisions, of the year; and the significant absence of myths or ceremonies referring to these phenomena (although Egypt was acquainted with them, as Brugsch noticed in his *Myth.* p. 671) is a decisive fact, which is corroborated by an examination of the Books of the Dead or the Texts of the Pyramids. The legend of Râ grown old is of late date. The statements of Plutarch referring to the feast of the autumnal equinox (22nd of Paophi) and of the winter solstice should not lead us astray any more than the 'little sun' or the 'infant sun,' which is assimilated with Socharis, and is the sun of the winter solstice. The whole thing, like the festival of the 30th of Epiphi, or that of the 'beginning of Summer,' belongs to Roman times. The interpretation of the sources in order to find out facts of this kind shows two elements combined in equal quantities: the influence of Græco-Roman civilization, and the final assimilation of ancient myth to the sun's courses (e.g. the winter solstice assimilated to the search for the parts of Osiris). The dates themselves, however, often show the recent entrance of these solar characteristics into the Egyptian calendar (e.g. the self-styled winter-solstitial character of the festival of Socharis, celebrated from the very beginning in the month of Choiak, necessarily supposes that month to have become the month of December, and consequently the 1st of Thoth carried back to the end of August, i.e. the accomplishment of the Ptolemaic reform).

This statement does not in any way contradict the high degree of Egyptian astronomical knowledge, or the position held in Egypt by the worship of all the primitive sun-gods, or the importance of the Râ-sun from proto-historic times to the historic period. But everything connected with its existence, its powers, its battles, the risks it ran, its birth, its zenith, its disappearance, and its travels over the world, had, from the time of the earliest theologies, been included in the daily cycle. The archaic texts or the compositions of the Theban age give sure evidence of it. It should also be noted that the prediction of eclipses was never attempted, and that this phenomenon was always to the Egyptian the unforeseen danger, and not the mythical theme which gives rise to symbolical allusions inserted in calendric cycles. The moon, with the sudden changes connected with it, had the same fate. Except the facts of the lunar month, there is nothing to be found resembling a cycle, or attempts to systematize eclipses. A sun whose whole existence is contained in a day, a moon with a longer and more varied life, the daily struggle between light and darkness, the fears of evil connected with this fact, the risks suddenly arising from the diminution at unforeseen times of the brightness of one or other of the two great luminaries—all these things are closely related to primitive religions, which the uncivilized races of the present day have not yet been able to get beyond. And the statement that these rudimentary data became solidified, *without evolving*, in the Egyptian religion of the historical period, shows of itself that, if the Egyptian calendar acquired its technical value and the superiority of its symbolical views or its moral character, it must have got them from other elements.

The absence of characteristics based on climatological or meteorological phenomena is no less remarkable. There are no anniversary dates, or seasons connected with states of the clouds, régime of the winds, or periods of cold or heat. Gods like those of the winds, who played important parts elsewhere (e.g. in Chaldea and America), are unknown in the classical Egyptian calendar. And its divisions are not arranged according to anything resembling phases of germination, blossoming, or maturity of the natural or cultivated products of the earth, and, however far back we go, there is not a trace of a pastoral calendar, like that of Basutoland, for example. An exclusively agricultural country like Egypt should *prima facie* have based its calendar on the changes of the

cultivation of the earth. But the latter did not play any direct part in it, except irrigation (see below). There is nothing to be found resembling the festivals of ploughing and sowing, and the panegyric of Min at Medinet-Habu is the only example where the harvest intervenes, as a simple episode, in a religious festival. We saw above (p. 92b) that the seasons of four months had above all a symmetrical character, but no real agricultural one. In the description of the seasons, it is stated that for the months neither agricultural denominations are to be found, nor legends, proverbs, adages, popular poems, nor any of the hundreds of significant facts which so clearly mark the months of uncivilized races throughout Africa in general. The festivals themselves might deceive by their titles when we hear of them only from Plutarch or Strabo, or through the brief allusion in a papyrus to a festival at which honey or lentils are eaten, where one inhales the perfume of the *honit* or the *tekhui* flowers, or to festivals of 'fishing' or 'ploughing.' When the monuments give the commentary on them, we see at once that the principle of the festival has no direct connexion with these references, or that our translations are veritable mistranslations. Honey, e.g., is eaten at the 'feast of the valley,' and this originally refers to the annual exodus of the souls of the dead when the protecting gods come for them. The *honit* flowers are a simple episode in a group of funeral offerings, in a festival based on the *dénouements* of the Osirian drama. The so-called 'ploughing' means 'digging the ground,' and the texts show that the reference is to a nocturnal rite connected with the mysterious wars against the spirits of evil. The Memphite festival of 'fishing' is a fragment of the crowning ceremony, in which the king catches the fish, or the game of the moor, 'as Horus captured and destroyed the cursed,' etc. And the *ἑσπερίαι* of the Alexandrian calendars, if it is not a recent invention, must certainly have had an origin connected either with the Osirian cycle or with the warlike themes of pre-historic legends, before it assumed the peaceful character in apparent connexion with the seasons which it has according to the Græco-Roman classics. In short, if it is evident that a country like Egypt necessarily associated its rural and agricultural life with rejoicings and ceremonies of every kind, and if Egyptian literature occasionally shows that this was so, it is none the less certain that nothing of all this served as a formative element in the establishment of the calendar of the year, either for its divisions or for its anniversaries (but see Frazer, *Adonis*, 1907, p. 283 ff.).

These circumstances are quite easily justified by the conditions of the Egyptian portion of the Nile Valley. Being nearer the equator, the people here paid less attention than those in the north to the gradual diminution of the power of the sun's rays, to its sinking on the horizon, or to the difference (much less noticeable there) between the summer day and the winter day. The winter solstice was not noticed there as the signal of a deliverance, or spring as the awakening of Nature; hence an original suppression of calendric elements which increased in importance the further north one ranged. And, just as Egypt was ignorant of all the myths arising from the melting of ice or snow, so she did not know of the great annual events which are marked by the aspect of high mountains, or the successive verdure of the forest; her year and her mythology received none of these impressions, so strongly marked elsewhere that they are a part of our own intellectual equipment. At the same time she was safe from all those great meteorological phenomena which, further south, determine the divisions of the year. She had no

'rainy seasons,' 'periods of storms,' 'monsoons,' or prevailing winds sufficiently marked to characterize a complete portion of the year. Her gods, who inhabited neither the mountain peaks nor the rain nor the thunder clouds, had certainly to be situated very high among the stars, or very low on the same plane as human societies. In the end, soil or climatology, latitude or geography, all tended to leave Egyptian thought face to face with a single remarkable phenomenon, the only one of vital importance for her, viz. the fluctuations of that river on which all life depended in the fragment of the universe known to her. And, after all, it was with the study of its movements and the anticipation of them that everything had to be connected that had a bearing on the measuring of time.

The dates and festivals relating to inundation are well known to us. The 'reception of the Nile,' which denotes the opening of dikes and canals at the time of the rising of the waters, is indicated in a number of funerary calendars (cf. below), but no mention is made of the day of the month on which it was inserted. It was a movable festival, as it is in modern Muhammadan Egypt. Libanius (*Ethiopia*, xi.) has described the festivals of Silsileh, during which a wooden statue of the Nile-god was carried in procession. This was simply the form of the festivals of the 'opening of the canals' of Middle Egypt, adapted to local geography, and with a different name. The present-day Arab 'night of the tear-drop' is merely the modern transposition of the 'night of the tears of Isis,' the announcement of the first perceptible sign of the annual inundation (20th June). Lastly, the festivals of Socharis in the beginning of October are perhaps an adaptation, to Memphite funeral ideas, of the first sign of the retreat of the waters.

There are not many of them in all; if Libanius, Heliodorus, and the Egyptian inscriptions give us different names according to localities and times, these Nilotic festivals altogether number at most two or three: the first quivering of the rising waters, the time of opening the Egyptian fields for irrigation, and probably the time when the Nile begins to decrease. But the principal date was not there. It was the date of the exact moment when the height of the waters reached the level necessary for fertilizing the ground, after almost a month of rising (about the 20th of July in the classical age, but probably later in pre-historic times, before the disappearance of several of the upper cataracts of Nubia). It was a question of finding a sure index, somewhere in Nature, which would mark the fact that a new year had just become manifest to the Egyptians.

While intent on detecting in the sky some coincidence between the coming of the waters and the appearance of the stars, the Egyptians noticed (and undoubtedly long before the time to which we can go back by means of the monuments) a remarkable phenomenon. Sirius (one of the seven stars of the constellation *Canis Major*), which was invisible from the beginning of June, again appeared in the east, some minutes before sunrise, towards the middle of July. Its re-appearance coincided exactly with the time when the Nile entered the period of high water for Middle Egypt. In this unfailing coincidence there seemed to be the most manifest sign of an indissoluble connexion between the spring-tide of the river and the rebirth of the star. It was, therefore, the re-appearance of Sirius that was adopted to mark the beginning of the new year: *νομίζεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἑρῶν γραμμῶν νέον ἔτος εἶναι* (*Decree of Canopus*). The brightness of the star in the firmament was like the resplendent signal which unerringly an-

nounced the re-commencement of the gifts of the river. It was called 'a second sun in the sky.' Sirius (Egyp. *Sopdu*; Hellenized form *Sothis*) saw his glory associated with that of the sun; for it was 'like a crown on the head'; it was regarded as 'taking its place in his divine barque' on this first day of the new year. 'To be able to shine in the sky like Sopdu at sunrise' was a wish formulated in the texts for the destiny of the dead. Such a place in the national conceptions sooner or later caused the assimilation of the Dog-star with the greatest female deities of Egypt. The star 'by whose rising the years are counted' was the living image of Bastit and Sokhit, successively, and, according to local theologies, became the dwelling place of Isis, the star of Isis (*ῥὸ ἀστέριον τῆς Ἰσιδος* [*Dec. of Canopus*]), or that of Hathor, or, rather, Isis and Hathor themselves. The confusion with the great Hathor of Denderah explains the strange ceremony of this temple, when on the first day of the year the statue of the goddess was brought on to the terrace of the sanctuary, there to receive the first rays of the rising sun. This was in order to realize literally and in this world what was going on at the same time in heaven. Syut, Assuân, and the temple of Thebes guarded most carefully the 'Ship of the Rising Waters,' which so many of the inscriptions attest to have been one of those relics which the kings tried to embellish and restore. Deified and assimilated with Sirius-Hathor, it was led to the river with great pomp on the first day of the year, and the local god—sun or companion of the sun—travelled on the bank that day, as if in material evidence of the fact that the return of Sirius, that of the annual Nile, and the new year of the sun were three aspects of the same act. Nor did the Egyptians hesitate to see in the rising of the star the real cause of the inundation; it was to Sopdu-Sirius that 'the abundant waters which spread over all the earth' were due (cf. Brugsch, *Matériaux*, p. 27). Once more in the religious history of humanity the relation was declared between what is seen in the sky and what happens on this earth. The most important date of the calendar thus became connected with the general theory of astrology. And the admirable constancy of the phenomenon, by urging the Egyptians to increase their observation of the coincidences, must have helped them to deduce the remainder of the calendar from the whole.

VI. *STELLAR NATURE; RELIGIOUS CONSEQUENCES*.—If the appearance of Sopdu was a remarkable case of the influence of the stars on our world, it was not an isolated one. This is not the place to repeat what is said of astrology in general, or to trace in detail its natural foundation, based on experimental pseudo-verification (see art. STARS [Egyptian]). The manner in which coincidences and the foreseeing of the return of influences were established in Egypt could not have differed in any way from what had taken place in the astrologies of other peoples (cf. e.g. for the Chaldeans, the excellent résumé of Maspéro, *Hist.* i. 777). To these re-commencements of the same events, always in agreement with certain aspects of the sky, which man promptly determined, the animistic tendency immediately added another element. To these stars and their movements, to their combinations and their journeys, it gave the life and the representations of beings who struggle and act in this world. Because they seemed to draw silhouettes of men or animals, to appear like new-born children, to unite, or to knock against each other, people began to speak of their births, marriages, and struggles. These representations, made up of assembled stars, a Cambodian or Mayan calendar may draw differently; but they express

the same idea as that of an Egyptian or a Chaldean. They are as old as the observation of man. From these two combined notions, influences, and representations, issued the detailed description of the forces by which this world is governed every hour. From these facts, duly noted, with the moment of their arrival, the Egyptian calendar emerged complete, portioned out with certainty, for the whole length of that year of which the appearance of a star was the important moment.

A third element determined its principal characteristics. Just as in the case of primitive, and modern non-civilized, races in general, this earth presented the spectacle of a perpetual struggle between thousands of visible and invisible beings. It was inexplicable in its confusion, so that it was almost impossible to discover whether the gods and spirits were the friends or the enemies of man. Thrown into the conflict, man did his best to conciliate the former and drive back the latter. The Egyptian, like the others, had very early connected the gods and good spirits with the sun, and the evil spirits with the darkness. The system did not lead him any further than the others, either for religious history or for ethics. On the contrary, when he conceived the notion of associating the spectacle of the terrestrial struggle and its combatants with that of the apparent conflict of the celestial beings, and when he combined the whole with the astrological data of influences, he realized one of the most decided advances ever known in the history of religions. At the same time, not only were the events of the terrestrial universe the result of those which happened in the sky, but they were the clear image, capable of being read in good order, of all that seemed so confused in this world. Henceforward the Egyptian became gradually more skilled in classifying the latter, and also the beings who took part in it.

The indissoluble link created in religion between the stellar world and the earth is repeatedly attested, at every time of ritual, by magic or so-called religious texts. The Texts of the Pyramids are a mine of valuable information for the very earliest times. They speak of 'the disturbances which we see in the sky,' of stars 'which fight,' and of 'bow-bearers who go their rounds'; and the study of allusions of this kind, not yet attempted, gives a long list. 'If the sky speaks, the earth trembles,' 'When the doors of the sky open, the doors of the earth open,' etc., on the other hand, are well-known phrases, among many others, of the ritual of the classical epoch.

The connexion established between the two armies of combatants led first to the assimilation of the facts, and then to that of the beings who were their agents. The astrological coincidences had given an opportunity of arranging, as far as the celestial world was concerned, the powers which were regarded as good and those which had to be looked upon as evil. The good naturally attracted to themselves the Divine beings or 'spirits' of this world who had a tendency to be rather the allies of man, and the evil did the same in the case of his constant enemies; hence the fusion of the stars (1) with the innumerable spirits or genii of primitive beliefs, (2) with the classical gods who took part in the life of man. It would be out of place here to justify the mechanism of these assimilations. They sometimes arise from the apparent form of the figures of the sky, sometimes from combinations of the conflict which seemed to be going on in the sky, and sometimes from purely astrological coincidences. Not only were the characteristics and representations of the Divine world particularly specified, but so also was the history of the gods, which the daily struggle of the sun interpreted too summarily ever to draw a complete mythology from it. There was the creation of legendary episodes in the life of the gods. It was putting into stories the battles which the stars seemed to fight, or the influences

which they brought to bear on this earth. Formerly these things took place in the sky and on our earth at the same time. Henceforward they re-commenced on high, and annually subjected the domain of man to the same conditions as those experienced in legendary history. The anniversaries of marriages, travels, and 'births' (e.g. the Palermo Stone) of the gods were henceforward placed at fixed times by these re-commencements which man could note and predict by consulting the book of the celestial vault. At the same time, Egypt assimilated to this history, written for the celestial regions, the whole mass, which was up to that time confused, of its traditional, historical possessions: traditions more or less pure, more or less synthesized by legend or allegory, of great actual events of early times (invasions, wars, national catastrophes, organizations of society, etc.), or pseudo-historical summaries of origins. All this became incorporated by assimilation in the annual history of the stars; all this fixed the days. Facts, precisely stated, were henceforward inscribed, and their anniversaries were fixed for the days when the sky, by its tables and its different parts, presented the same arrangement as it had had before, at the time of these events. The whole gave rise to a national history, in which the gods and their legends were connected with the calendar by an indissoluble bond, and in which all that was seen in the country of Egypt still bore the material trace of their actions. For each part of the valley the theologies found etymologies which explained, in alliteration, the names of towns, sanctuaries, or hills by one of the legendary acts of the life of the gods, at the same time as they fixed the date of each of his acts in the year (Brugsch's *Dict. géographique* contains several hundreds of remarkable examples [cf. e.g. pp. 101, 174, 198]). The tendency to see this world only as a dependence and a momentary aspect of perpetual re-commencements was so strong that it marked the historical facts themselves with this trait. If kings are supposed to re-commence their terrestrial life *ad infinitum* in heaven, with the gods with whom they have become identified, the opposite is none the less true. What Pharaoh does on this earth is merely the repetition of the legendary Divine actions. And even their real historical victories—at least up to a certain point—were regarded as re-commencements by the calendars in which their anniversaries were inserted (e.g. for Useratesen in the XIIth dynasty, Thothmes III. in the XVIIIth, etc.).

The Divine and historical legend, formed by these successive elements, gradually became a whole, so coherent and so closely connected with the calendar that the sky became a sort of index where people day by day read the annals of legendary Egypt. Each year the cycle was renewed with the return of the same influences. Pictographic reproduction and written notation of direct observations gave rise to books or pictures of them, the interpretation of which supplied both a date and a whole page of this history. For it was sufficient to read the positions of the stellar Divine beings to understand who they were, what they were doing at that precise moment, and what events had followed in the sky, of which the events of the present moment were the mere consequence.

We shall confine ourselves to noticing the Egyptian point of view of the matter. It may be said that Egypt came very near the possession of an astrological scripture, with all the imperfections and all the obstacles encountered by the civilizations which have attempted it, when they have reached the time for the application of scripture to economic and non-religious life. Egypt escaped this owing to causes which cannot be explained here. The point which must be noted by specialists is the interest which arose in establishing in what measure and up to what point other scriptures—notably in America—have

assumed similar characteristics, being at the same time astrological and mytho-historical; so that they possess a double value of great importance for modern science.

The result of such a system was to subject each moment of the calendric year to an influence of one or more of the Divine beings. Egypt made a detailed application of it. Naturally the months, the seasons, and the 'decades' had their protecting deities, and the general theory could not fail to extend the system to the days. Those gods who governed the months ended by giving them for the most part the names which have just been cited (although the lists of the monuments are far from agreeing; cf. Budge, *Gods*, ii. 293). The names of the gods governing the 360 days (cf. Brugsch, *Matériaux*, p. 47) have been regarded as an invention of late date, but always in ignorance of older documents. They are perhaps as old as the gods of the 'decades,' of which we now possess lists of the time of the Xth dynasty (cf. below). Theology could not fail to push the distribution of Divine protectors to its furthest limit, and charge a god or a spirit with each hour of the day (Budge, *Gods*, ii. 294, 302). In short, there is not a moment when special influence, denoted by name, is not being exercised, either on the whole of Nature or specially on each of the creatures of this world.

The consequences of this calendar had infinite applications. At first haltingly, then less awkwardly, theology realized in these infinite re-commencements the notion that time does not exist, since it is reversible. The perpetual renewal of the conflicts assumed, in a theoretical form which gradually became more dogmatically abstract, the problem, confronting primitive man, of the conflict, also infinite, which goes on in this world between good beings and harmful beings. In describing and organizing it, the calendar not only created astrology; it attracted the attention of man to what he could do on those vital dates when the battle returned to decisive moments. Everywhere, even where religion had succeeded in reading in the sky that events re-commence continually and endlessly on this earth, experience, nevertheless, showed that the *kósmos* is unceasingly disturbed by the return of evil. The endless duration of the re-commencements of victorious good was therefore an endless duration *in fact*, but in no way guaranteed for the future. There was always doubt concerning the final success of the beneficent powers. This distress of mind was greater in the religions which were unable to rise to the calendar. But both classes attempted to evolve the manner in which man may intervene in order to contribute to the success of the good spirits. The less civilized knew no way of taking part in the conflict except at the times when they were surprised unawares by its spectacle in the sky (e.g. the numerous accounts of intervention at the moment of eclipses of the sun or of the moon). Elsewhere the conflicts are precisely stated at lunar dates, especially equinoctial or solstitial. In every case the intervention of man made use of the same resources—a mixture of mimetic and sympathetic magic. Images of dolls, of battles, of travels, of voyages were and are still made all over the world. The Eskimos, the Aleuts, the Columbians (cf. artt. *ESKIMOS*, *ALEUTS*, etc.), in this encyclopedia, and see *GB*³, for many examples), when intervening in favour of friendly gods, acted in the same way as in the case of the collective mimetic ceremonies for fishing or hunting. The Indians of California and the Polynesians carried about on certain dates a sun manufactured and conceived in the same way as the *Rá*-sun which Egyptian processions made to sail in a barge. But if the Egyptian concept has not a less humble origin, the perfection of the

calendar has given us the opportunity of tracing the information much further back. Bound not to the agricultural world, but to the history of the heavens, the calendar multiplied the *foreseen* and *precise* occasions of human intervention. The pretended battles of the worshippers of the Egyptian gods, or the manufactured images, were similar to what the Banks Islanders, for example, were able to make in this order of ideas. But the details, shown in the sky, of the history of the gods supplied a multitude of remarkable details concerning what these worshippers could do. Festivals worthy of the name, processions, and real dramas followed. The imitation of the acts of the gods gave rise to the imitation of episodes in their life, and then to the imitation of their whole life. Symbolism and the progress of meditation, starting from this point, were able to lead to the obtaining of moral information from the esoteric sense (created, of course, afterwards) of the anniversaries of all the calendar. Thus a whole section of religious information is derived from those festivals of the Egyptian calendar which—a significant fact for their stellar origin—almost all have their starting-point in *night*. To this possibility of co-operating, exactly at the propitious moment, in the struggle for good, magic naturally brought its ordinary resources. Mimetic and sympathetic data, brought to perfection (costumes, statues, etc.), combined with the infinite power given by the knowledge of names (*q.v.*), and with the power of the voice, and of the chant in the incantation—in a word, with the complete arsenal common to humanity. In associating it with the science of the calendar, Egyptian religion was able to guarantee that, if the same gods (or their mimetic substitutes) repeated the same acts in the same places (or in their equivalents by 'geographical magic') and on the same days (fixed by the calendar), the order of the world was assured. And the worshippers who had contributed to them were sure to have acquired the most important merits in the eyes of the gods.

The consequences of such a system (which has necessarily been only very briefly stated) are evident:

(1) First there is the importance for each person of knowing the propitious moment for accomplishing an action or for abstaining from it, and of knowing the sum of the influences for each instant of life; hence the important rôle among the clergy which was played by 'the people of the hours,' or priests charged with controlling and fixing them. Hence also the position held in the life of the temple by those people of the *sdu* (the Ptolemaic *φύλας*), who, month after month, took charge of the whole service. These men were not so often scholars as watchmen (*urshai*), sentinels entrusted with the defence of the Divine castle.

The question of the technical perfection of Egyptian astronomy will not be examined here (see art. *STARS* [Egyptian]). Cf. as examples of its material implements, the apparatus published by Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvi. 67, and the emblems connected with measurement of time belonging to the religious observatory of Heliopolis, in Naville's *Festival-hall*, pl. ix.

(2) There is the part played in the life of the Egyptian by participation, in all its forms, in the dramas and mysteries, which, throughout the whole calendric year, reproduced in the sanctuaries, and for the purpose explained above, the phases of the life of the national gods.

The whole was translated into three practical applications, as far as the religion of living beings is concerned. Two are of a passive kind, and the third is active. (a) The production in pictures of the calendric influences common to all or belonging specially to one individual. These are the stellar pictures, the *decani*, and the *zodiacs*. (b) The drawing up of the list of influences for each day

(calendars of lucky and unlucky days). (c) The organization of anniversary days, when man intervenes on behalf of his gods, and repels the evil gods. These are the festivals, the processions, and the mysteries. Intervention of the dead or for the dead will be examined separately.

VII. *PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS.*—1. *Astronomical charts, etc.*—The number of documents and of works cited below on this subject permits only of a résumé of the chief notions, keeping in view the present state of science and the points not yet treated.

(a) *Astronomical charts.*—Charts of the sky, properly so called, considered in their connexion with the influences of each of the stars or groups of stars, must have existed from the very earliest times. As a matter of fact, as no ceilings of the temple of the Middle Empire have been preserved, we do not know of them any further back than the beginning of the second Theban Empire (Ramesseum). But the Texts of the Pyramids contain clear allusions to ordinances of the stellar gods, in astronomical pictures. These important references have never been pointed out, any more than the question has been discussed whether chapters xviii. to xx. of the Book of the Dead are not descriptions (more or less mutilated) of ancient astronomical pictures belonging to the oldest temples. Those of the temples of Esneh, Edfu, Denderah, and Kom-Ombo, although of Ptolemaic or Roman times, and permeated with non-Egyptian ideas, are, in the main part of their wording, drawn from national chronicles. The collection and general comparison of all those pictures are still awaiting a special publication.

(b) *Zodiac.*—Babylonian influences, transmitted by Greece, brought into Egypt the generalization of the use of signs of the zodiac, the most famous types of which—those of Esneh and Denderah—have been the subjects of very numerous works, which are, however, already out of date, and disregarded by modern Egyptology. It seems to be admitted in a general way that the zodiacs were unknown in Egypt before the Græco-Roman period. Their elements, nevertheless, are found on the tomb of Seti I., and they figure on a certain number of sarcophagi of the Saite epoch, or previous to the Greek period (cf. British Museum, No. 6678). Lastly, there are real indications that the signs of the zodiac were known and used as early as the first Theban Empire, according to certain allusions in the funerary texts, which have not yet been carefully studied.

(c) *Decani.*—Besides the course of the five planets, the Egyptians had noticed the rise, culmination, and setting of the stars. Among the constellations they attached special importance to those which they saw at fixed times sinking towards the horizon, disappearing, and then imperceptibly taking their original place after this disappearance. The 36 decades of the 12 months were placed under the protection of a number corresponding to these constellations when situated on the horizon. Hephæstion (4th cent. A.D.) has given in Greek a list of their names, the comparison of which with the Egyptian monuments has established greater exactness. For a long time Egyptologists thought that their invention belonged to the Theban epoch. They were found at Abydos, at the Ramesseum, at the tomb of Seti I., in that of Rameses IV., then on the sarcophagus of Nectanebo, in the temples of Edfu, Esneh, Denderah, etc. The discovery of sarcophagi with texts of the Middle Empire has led to their recovery, with extremely curious details, as early as the Xth dynasty at least (coffin of Masahiti, and fragments of coffins of Akhmim). It seems certain to the present writer that allusion is made to them

in the pre-historic formulæ of the Texts of the Pyramids. Each of the three *decani* of the month presides in turn over the decade of the head (*tapi*) of the month, that of the heart (*abi*), and that of the hind portion (*pahu*). Their variants and variations, as well as the remnants of time when the *decani* combine with the influences of the planets, laid bare to astrological research a vast region for special studies (cf. Lit. below, § VII., Daressy's recent contribution, 1909).

(d) *Stellar tables.*—The rôle of the *decani* is quite distinct from the chequered stellar tables noticed in the royal tombs (especially Rameses VI. and Rameses IX.). Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr. Tirard, pp. 349–391) has explained their part very clearly, as well as the mechanism of the series of pictures, and the value of the legends. The positions of the stars, for a fixed time, and in connexion with the different parts of the body of an imaginary man supposed to contemplate them, are inscribed with respect to the configuration of the stars themselves. Unfortunately, the workmen who copied them have done so carelessly, and these tables are almost useless from the astronomical point of view. Nor is the religious nature of these strange documents very apparent. The opinion of Petrie (*PSBA* xxiv. 319), that they are simply horoscopic pictures referring to the nativity of the kings, is an ingenious way of reconciling the chronology based on the Sothic period with the contradictions presented in the tablets of the Royal Tombs; but no proof has been given of this explanation, which is too briefly stated.

2. *Calendars of lucky and unlucky days.*—Apart from the allusions in the religious or literary texts, the famous Sallier Papyrus and the Leyden Papyrus (i. 366) are the sources of the most valuable information. The methodical comparison with the similar tables of the Assyrians would be a fruitful study. Up to the present this has been too much neglected, most of the publications during the last fifty years limiting themselves to quoting and abridging the masterly work of Chabas, who is no longer at the height of present-day knowledge, either for translation or for commentary. The only advance made has been to point out, thanks to the Kahun Papyrus, that that sort of book existed as early as the XIIIth dynasty. We have therefore another proof of the extreme antiquity of everything connected with the Egyptian calendar. It is necessary to call attention in a general way to the manner in which horoscopes are clearly connected, for each day of the calendar, with influences resulting from the chart of the sky on that day. The most striking proof lies in the importance—which till now has not been pointed out—of the division of the day into three parts, each of which is subjected to the influences which have control of the world at that moment. We may therefore have completely good days, completely bad days, or days partly good and partly bad.

The connexion is remarkable for the days on which one must not go out 'at nightfall,' or, on the contrary, 'as long as it is daylight,' or 'during the morning,' or 'at mid-day.' Each time the sign corresponding to this third of the day is marked as bad, the others remaining good.

The days are not simply good or bad, as we are usually informed. There are three degrees: the good, those which are prohibitive or purely bad, and those on which there is 'a struggle' in the world between good and evil. The facts of the celestial war by which these statements are justified are day by day put opposite this first diagnostic. Although they are deformed, as usual, by the unification caused by the Osirian legend absorbing all the old legends of the primitive gods, we can recognize the antiquity of all the facts mentioned. When events and dates are noticed, we find most

of these facts either in the temple calendars (see below) or in the pre-historic texts of the Books of the Dead. Such a work, carefully treated, may lead to the explanation of a day in connexion with some of the scenes or the mystic texts of the tombs and temples. It must be said that the popular character of collections of the type of the Salier Papyrus has been exaggerated. It is rather the practical application which deserves such a qualifying character, although even this point is doubtful. In order to give the document its full value, we have first to make a table of its interdictions, and see to what mythological (i.e. stellar) facts they refer. The most frequent prohibitions are against leaving the house, going out at a certain time, traveling, sailing, undertaking a piece of work, or undertaking anything whatsoever. Speaking, singing, and sexual intercourse come next. Certain things or persons bring misfortune if they are looked at on a particular day. Prohibitions against killing or eating certain animals are equally numerous, as well as those against setting fire to or burning certain substances. The whole, at first strange and childish, may be justified in each case by the study of the astrological myths connected with corresponding episodes in the history of the gods.

The corresponding *fortunes* have to be divided into quite distinct classes. Some are *risks* from which people may escape by observing the calendar: drowning; dying from plague or fevers; losing one's life 'by encountering spirits'; being killed by a bull or a serpent into which these same spirits have entered; remaining ill for the rest of one's life; 'dying for ever' (i.e. with no second existence), etc. Others are inevitable *destinies*, which happen whatever is done by the person born on that day. Very seldom good (long life, riches), they usually predict death by animals, by contagion, from a wound, from the annual epidemics (fever?), by drowning, or by sudden indigestion (sic). The mildest of them foretell deafness or blindness. The case of the child born on a certain day, who will lose its hearing 'because that is the day on which the ears of Osiris were sealed,' shows sufficiently the kind of deductions made for each day from the examination of the corresponding mythological facts.

The whole, subsequently adapted to popular superstition, gave rise to the base applications of sorcery, and to that caricature of real astrology which has reached us from the Egyptians of the last centuries, and from the Roman world, which was infested with their ignorant juggleries. The 'on that day' (*am haru peu*) of the sorcerers' formulae is simply a return to the notion of ancient magic—placing oneself in the calendric conditions of time and surroundings necessary to reproduce the rôle of the god or the spirit who is most influential at that moment. It is, as a matter of fact, being inspired with the universal notion applied even at the present day by a fetishist sorcerer of the Congo. If a separation was made in Egypt between the puerility of these horoscopes, or practices, and the really religious ceremony of the official cult, that separation did not exist at the beginning. It took place when the notion of the calendar allowed the priest to go further, and to put in place of simple mimetic magic the noble theory of re-commencements, with a commemorative character, and with participation on the part of the worshippers. Priesthoods which are still rudimentary, like those of the southern tribes of the Victoria Nyanza, show how processions and sacrifices may arise from primitive barbarism when the calendric observation is more or less formulated. The Egyptian race, being better placed by nature, arrived at real temple-calendars, with the immense reserve of religious and moral forces implied by their final adoption.

3. Temple calendars, festivals, ceremonies.—The really surprising number of calendar festivals had caused even the Greeks to marvel (cf. Herod. ii. 69), but it is sufficiently proved by the origin and the value of such ceremonies as have just been explained. It will be noticed that cults regulated

by astronomy (especially in Mexico, where the innumerable series of festivals astounded the first conquerors) have always been remarkable for the number of festivals, and probably for the same reason as in Egypt.

On account of the numerous documents of every kind (cf. § I. above), we are still able, not only to recover a large number of these festivals, but also (although with serious difficulties in the present state of science) to form an exact and detailed idea of the ceremonies and the precise purpose which they had in view. Such an important subject cannot be treated fully in the present article (see art. FESTIVALS [Egyptian]). All that need be recalled for our present purpose is what has direct connexion with the calendar, i.e. with the notation of the dates of the religious year, the relation of the episodes mentioned to the ceremonies carried through on the chosen anniversaries, and the religious character which gradually evolved, through these festivals, from primitive astrology.

The great majority of these innumerable festivals have a double common character which has never been pointed out. They begin at night, and have a dramatic and warlike signification. Many, indeed, are entitled day-festivals; but in every case in which it is possible to get back to the sources, they are seen to be in reality the continuation of an original festival or rite which took place during the night—a fact which is most important for the astronomical nature of their origins (see above). As regards the inward essence of the chief ceremony, it is very seldom of a joyful character. Undoubtedly, as throughout the world, the course of centuries and popular fancies added comic episodes and burlesques to it, and the assembling of great crowds has frequently introduced noisy rejoicings (cf. Herod. ii. 48). The real foundation of the ceremony is a battle, and the official rejoicing, noted by the calendars, is not manifested until afterwards, as a consequence of the victory.

The different kinds of anniversary festivals may be divided into twelve chief classes: (1) births of the gods, (2) episodes in the life of Osiris, (3) circumnavigations and voyages of the gods, (4) wars of the gods, (5) cosmogonic anniversaries, (6) funerals of the gods, (7) births and anniversaries of the kings, (8) commemorations of foundations, (9) festivals of the sun, (10) festivals connected with the Nile and agriculture, (11) exclusively funerary festivals, and (12) *miscellaneous*, or of doubtful meaning (planting of the willow, inscription of the *Ashdu* tree, erection of the obelisk, etc.). We must not be led astray by such a classification. It is absolutely artificial, optical (if one may say so), because it takes account only of external features resulting simply from the titles. In every case in which we can see the details from the monuments, it may be said that the act *par excellence* of the ceremony consists in a conflict, in which the priests and the worshippers play the different parts of a real warlike drama. (We omit the anniversaries of births, the travelling of the Amon family to Luxor and its sojourn in its houses of rest, the festivals of the opening of canals, and others of the same type.) But festivals of apparently simple rejoicing, like those perpetual journeys of the gods to visit each other (Hathor to Edfu, Horus to Denderah, Hathor to Fayyum, etc.), or of simple *exoduses* (*khdu*=*ἐξοδεία*) of the gods round the temple, or on their sacred lake, might at first sight be classed among the series of peaceful rejoicings *par excellence*. Nevertheless, as soon as the evidence of a classic (e.g. Herodotus at Papremis [ii. 63 f.]) frees them from chance, or as soon as texts (as at Edfu) detail them minutely, the episode of the battle appears—all as is shown, *a priori*, in

the brief mentions of the calendar of the Palermo Stone (killing the hippopotamus, striking the Anu, binding the Barbarians, etc.). Everywhere the gods attack reptiles or crocodiles, and cleave them in two—the serpent Apopi, and the serpent Sebau, etc.; at Heliopolis, Bastit, the Divine cat, cuts off the head of the serpent; the people of Pu and Dapu rush at each other, like those of Papremis; the partisans of the gods are attacked by hostile gods, escorted by their followers. Monsters of wax, of clay, of wood, or of rope (like the serpent made of rope which Plutarch says was cut in pieces at the festivals of Osiris) are pierced with blows, lacerated, cut in fragments by the priests or worshippers. Ra 'gets rid of his enemies' at Illahun. Every year, at the same 'place of massacre,' Edfu celebrates the 'defeat of the opponents of Horus.' If the feasts of the month of Choiaak (they come from Memphis and are the result of the gradual fusion of Osiris and Socharis) are taken from the calendar of Abydos, the legend of the 'good god' seems to be formed from a series of warlike anniversaries, older than the oldest history. His barques are attacked, and his enemies are overthrown and cut in pieces. On the road to Pagar and on the lake of Nadit, the train of the procession fight with each other continually. Who would have suspected this character of the Osirian festivals, with titles so unwarlike, if we had not happened to possess the evidence of a dozen inscriptions on the point? Without the frescoes of a Theban tomb (Tomb of Kheriuf, who would ever have known that an apparently peaceful date like the planting of the *Dadu* included pitched battles with sticks between the priests and the accessories? Would it ever have been suspected that at the Memphis festival of fishing, the officiant, when capturing the fish, was 'seizing the enemies'? Hundreds of other festivals are distributed throughout the year, and warn us that these dates of the ancient calendars of the Book of the Dead are speaking of real festivals when they mention 'the night on which the children of the rebellion were destroyed' (it is represented on the pre-historic 'palettes'), that on which 'the cursed are exterminated,' or on which 'the enemies of Nib er-Dzer are massacred.'

From the examples just given, we may be allowed to infer that these battles also characterized the exoduses of Anubis from Syut, of Hathor from Denderah, etc. This induction is singularly confirmed when suddenly, for a festival whose warlike character is not mentioned by a single Egyptian text, the witness of Herodotus or Plutarch shows us the representation of wars or of the slaying of monsters overcome in them. Actually, as in the Sallier Papyrus, there seems each day to have been a battle in this world. But these are fought in the temples of Egypt, now here and now there, at places fixed by legend. This is the point that must be remembered for the present study, the classification and origin of the festivals as well as their picturesque details being treated in another article (FESTIVALS [Egyptian]).

The connexion between the character of these festivals and the origin of the calendar is evident. The festivals, which are neither anniversaries nor commemorations, in our sense of the word, but re-commencements, give rise to the detail of repetition in this world of this drama of the sky, of which they are the representation. And the participation of spectators in the massacre of the evil gods, the insistence by the worshippers (especially at Abydos) on the active rôle they filled in these sacred dramas, when they 'helped their god,' show a fundamental agreement between the magical data and the calendric data as the basis of the Egyptian cult.

This character of the anniversaries of temple calendars explains also the dates when the gods travelled and visited each other. These are not simply neighbourly relations, or reminiscences of the alliances of the pre-historic tribes of the Nile Valley. Although the course of centuries gives a character of rejoicing and pilgrimage to these festivals, the real origin is the imitation of the martial acts of the mythological life of the gods, thus shown forth with great pomp. And we saw above how—at least for the most part—it was the reading of the sky that suggested the principal episodes in it.

Thus by natural consequence the unchanged character of the temple calendar from the beginning to the end of history is proved. The study of historical documents shows that, as they existed under the Memphites, so we find the festivals under the Roman dominion. The only work done by theology was to generalize for the whole of Egypt some festivals which originally were merely local. But Egyptology has accomplished thus only part of its task. The study of the pre-historic texts of the Books of the Dead and the Book of the Pyramids proves that the festivals and calendric dates of these collections appear again, with names hardly modified, in documents of the historic age, like the Palermo Stone or the stelæ of the ancient Empire, and that the whole fits into the lists of the classical calendar.

The chief importance of the anniversary date is sufficiently justified by what has already been said. (The exact dates of the principal festivals will be given in the article FESTIVALS [Egyptian].) The way of marking it in the classical epoch consists simply in the indication of the season, the month, and the day. A different method seems to have existed in Heliopolis. Its character is difficult to grasp. The present writer proposes simply as a hypothesis of his own to read as calendric dates the numbers marked in the celebrated Palermo Stone, which have always been interpreted as agrarian measurements or as the heights of the Nile. He thinks it possible to see in them notions of height taken with some very simple instrument, or more specially the height of the shadow of some arrangement like the Babylonian *zôros*—perhaps even the height of an emblem like a sacred stone, the prototype of Banbou of the Great Temple (cf. Naville, *Festival-hall*, pl. ix.). With the same restrictions he thinks that the pre-historic vases or Thinite tablets of Nekkadeh and Abydos contain indications of beginning, culmination, and end of phenomena used to date the festivals represented on these tablets. The correct interpretation, however, is not yet forthcoming.

The development of the theory of the anniversary festival in the calendar seems therefore to have been briefly: (1) the idea of the influences of the stars; (2) the putting of their positions into living images in the form of beings, conflicts, travels, births, etc.; (3) the notation of corresponding myths; (4) the assimilation of the conflicts which take place on the earth with this mythology; (5) as a consequence, the assimilation of the gods or spirits of this world and their legends with the conflicts and acts of the inhabitants of the firmament; (6) the combination of the whole into a unique cycle, the dates of which are given by the appearance of the sky; (7) the artificial creation, in order to correspond with these dates, of pseudo-historical or purely legendary facts; (8) the invention of the great Osirian drama, incorporating the myths or the disconnected accounts of the local proto-history of the various parts of Egypt (if necessary, with the aid of alliterations or artificial etymologies); (9) the tendency to confuse Osiris with the Ra-sun, and to see in the legend of Osiris a symbolical figure of the struggle between the desert and the Nile; (10) the gods, combined in the latest epoch, induce symbolism, the concept of the struggle between darkness and light; and (11), as a last result, there is the struggle of moral light with the darkness of sin, the struggle between good and evil, with the defence and active obligations which it entails for the worshipper.

The living worshippers of the god are not the only persons who participate in these annals of the calendar. The dead also take part in them, and fight on their side. The explanation of the theory of death among the Egyptians will be found in art. STATE OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).

VIII. FUNERARY CALENDAR.—I. Festivals.—

The remarkable fixity of this calendar is attested by several thousands of monuments (not including the texts of the Book of the Dead type), from the Memphite *mastabas* to the titles of the tombs, or the stelæ of the latest epoch. From Memphis to the first cataract, every necropolis has supplied sufficient funerary calendars to draw up the inventory and to show the importance of its character. As far back as we can go at the present time (IVth dynasty), the work of unification for the whole of Egypt is completed (cf. e.g. the sarcophagus of Khufu-Anku). Two classes of dates and festivals appear: the first are common to all the provinces of Egypt; the second remain, throughout the course of history, local and peculiar to certain necropolises. The exegetic examination of those of the first class shows that they are the product of a list which combined festivals that were formerly peculiar to such and such a region. They began by belonging properly to the dead subjects of Socharis at Memphis, of Anubis at Syut, of Uap-Matonu at Abydos, of Hathor at Denderah, etc. The fact that as early as the IVth dynasty they are the common property of all the Egyptian dead, almost everywhere unified by the Osirian legend, is of sufficient significance to give an idea of the immense preparatory work that was necessary before the period known to us.

The chief list, identical at the beginning and at the end of history, gives: (1) the day of the year (1st Thoth), with the festival of lighting the new fire (the festival of 'lamps' of Herodotus, ii. 62), the 'service of the dead,' and the 'surrounding of the temple in procession,' a visit to the local god, in great pomp, at the dwelling-places of the dead (Beni-Hasan, Syut, Denderah, Thebes, Edfu, etc.); (2) the great festivals of the dead on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of Thoth (festival of lamentations, of the flame, and the *Uagait*); (3) the festivals of Socharis in the month of Choiak: sacred night, sacred morning, procession round the walls of the temple (originally round the sanctuary of the white wall at Memphis, then, later, in all the chapels of Socharis in Egypt). This is one of the most solemn moments in the life of the dead and in the calendar connected with it; in the Palermo Stone we find the feasts of Socharis mentioned in the whole historic series, sometimes with valuable details (cf. Revillout, *Revue Egyptol.* i. 43, with an incomplete bibliography, but full of important examples; cf. also the Kahun Papyrus of the XIIth dynasty and the very important text of the calendar of Nofir-hetep at Thebes [XVIIIth dynasty]); and (4) the festivals of the five epagomenal days. To the first group may be added the following calendric list, which is simply a table of funerary services to be offered to the dead, rather than festivals with processions or ceremonies of a mythical character: the beginning of each season, the beginning of the month, and the day of the half-month, the 4th, 5th, 6th, 17th (*sadzaru*), and 30th of each month (see Munich, stele no. 3). There is no ground for asserting a relation between the monthly festivals and the moon, from the funerary point of view.

The indications of the stelæ enumerate afterwards a certain number of festivals already known to the non-funerary calendar: the rising of Sirius, the arrival of the Nile, the 'reception of the river,' the 'travels of the gods' from one town to another, visiting each other, etc.

Lastly, festivals probably common to the whole of Egypt are local in appearance, either because we have not enough documents, or because they bear different names according to the localities, although they are really identical (removal of sand, scattering of the sand, festivals 'of the mountain' or 'of

the valley,' transferring of the statue to the temple). Thus at Thebes the 25th of Choiak is called *Nutirit*.

The festivals of Memphis (Exodus of Min, Assembly of Osiris Nib Dzoto), those of Beni-Hasan (great and small 'catching'), and those of Thebes (morning of Neheb-kau, festival of the two enchantresses, of the 'Assembly of Bailu,' of the 'hearing of speeches,' and of the 'opening of the chapel') are simple examples given here of the titles of local festivals. They have not yet been studied. It is probable that it will turn out that, under other names, they were celebrated throughout the whole of Egypt, and that their triple link will be found with mythology, with the corresponding formulae in the Book of the Dead, and with the representations in the temples or the hypogæa. It seems to be already proved that these festivals, when they are mentioned, come from another part of Egypt—which presupposes a long preliminary work of fusion (cf. e.g. the Theban festival of Bailu, which is said to be consecrated 'to the souls of the dead of the Lord of Hermopolis').

The whole is accompanied, for the statues 'of millions of years' of deceased kings, by a complete special calendar. It is sufficient to state here that it consists chiefly of festivals of the clothing of statues, processions to the temples, and participation in the majority of the great festivals of the ordinary local calendar.

2. Historical summary: probable formation.—

The fact that the calendar appears fully formed as early as the Memphites, and undergoes no essential change down to the end, admits only of a hypothetical explanation of the way in which it is formed: (1) by the examination of the peculiarities of the festivals; (2) by the direct or indirect mention of their origin; or, above all (3), by the archaic traces of a previous state of affairs in the Book of the Dead. The sarcophagi of the first Theban Empire are in this respect the next source of considerable discoveries. The most important at the present time are those of Babel, found by Petrie at Denderah (Cairo Museum), and those exhumed by Garstang at Beni-Hasan. As in the case of the festivals, we shall treat here only what is connected with the calendar, the rest of the funerary theory being more conveniently treated in the art. STATE OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).

The faculty, which at first was restricted to those who had within them one or more Divine souls (i.e. to chiefs, sons and heirs of the gods), of reuniting with the gods of this earth and of sharing in the direct offering of worship, was extended to those who were capable of understanding the necessary magical prescriptions, and who had received the necessary talismans. They were then able 'to walk on good roads'—to return to this world. They could do so only once a year, when the local god at his festival came to look for them in the necropolis. They then accompanied him as worshippers (*amkhu*) or as companions (*shosu*), and, along with the living in the procession, participated in the whole drama of the festival, and then in the offering. The whole thing could take place only in the locality in which the famous mythological fact had formerly occurred, and at the time when the sky indicated the exact date when the fact should be renewed by the festival (typical examples at Syut, at Hermopolis for the festival of Bailu, at Thebes for the 'festival of the valley,' at Denderah, etc.). This festival took place in many provinces, at the time of the annual rising of the waters and at the New Year—the resurrection of all the things of the valley (e.g. Fayyum, Heracleopolis, Abydos, Denderah, Edfu, Assuan). But in other places it was at different dates (month of Choiak at Memphis, Pharmuti at Hermopolis, etc.). The continuance of the happiness of the dead was due to a triple series of continued actions, the benefit of which was evidently at first confined to the kings, but afterwards extended to ordinary men: (1) the introduction into the local calendar, with all its results, of the festivals of strange gods which fell on a different date, making the local

dead benefit thereby; (2) multiplying the circumstances in which each of these gods had the power of making the 'living soul' of the dead return to this earth; and (3) not restricting to a single place in Egypt the possibility of accomplishing the magical rite necessary for each day, but extending the benefit of it to all in the necropolises. This work in course of formation is seized on in texts like that of Babel, where the calendar already enumerates one hundred dates of festivals, in which, at a certain place, the dead person may take his share of such and such rejoicing of such and such a god (see also chs. xviii.-xx. of the Book of the Dead, which are very instructive on this point). The whole leads to the final possibility of communicating with the dead throughout the whole year. Then the long series of magical dates, which had become useless, was eliminated. There remains a unique calendar, general for Egypt, where the festivals simply mark the most outstanding remains of the ancient elements of formation. The final product is almost reduced to unity by the Osirian theme, which substitutes for the pre-historic *raison d'être* of these dates explanations drawn from anniversaries of the life, death, and resurrection of Osiris. It is precisely this theological work, accomplished almost entirely in the time of the Memphites, which makes the discovery and real meaning of the original festivals so difficult. The search for these offers a large scientific reward to the person who will undertake it.

IX. CONCLUSION.—What has been said above may perhaps suffice to show that the calendar in Egypt played an important part in the degree of perfection reached by the evolution of religious thought in that country. If, as everything indicates, the material supplied by the gods and the concepts at the disposal of the ancient Egyptian cults was no better than that still employed by the groups of less civilized races of the rest of Africa, we must find out the reason why Egypt was able to profit more by it. And if, in a similar fashion, the organization of worship is one of the most important factors, it seems clear that the calendar, as it was instituted in that country, was one of the most powerful forces in ensuring this organization. The question leads to the search for the causes which favoured the perfecting of the calendar and gave it the form and the value which have been examined above (p. 97). The conditions of geographical and meteorological surroundings were perhaps not the only favourable elements in this first cause. They were certainly elements of the first rank.

Considering now not the causes but the consequences, we see that the calendar succeeded in identifying, dating, and, in definite mythologies, fixing, the limits of the apparent incoherence between the appearance of the perceptible world and its incessant struggles between good and evil. The intervention of man, foreseen and organized on certain fixed dates, arranged and defined relations with the gods, and multiplied the connexions with them, then the obligations towards them, at the same time as the rôle of the gods became more noble. It matters little that originally this human intervention was grossly magical; the essential fact was the possibility of man's helping the powers that were regarded as good to struggle against those regarded as evil. To define, in a gradually more elevated sense, the words 'good' and 'evil,' and to reach the duty of being morally a partisan of the good gods, was the long-protracted effort of thousands of years of Egyptian thought. The final notion of dualism, with its wholesome lesson of energy, existed in germ from the very day on which the year of the religious calendar definitely

specified the rôle of each person, and the certain effects of the acts of man, in the ceaseless struggle in which he takes part.

It marked the race for ever with its stamp. Even after Egypt became Christian, it will be found that it kept this stamp and is distinguished by it from the rest of the peoples who believe in Christ. For the Copts, St. Michael and St. George on high every day conduct the celestial hosts to battle against the soldiers of Satan's armies. They seize them, beat them, hang them; but they do not destroy them, for 'their hour is not yet come.' In this way the Egyptians reconcile the new dogma and the ineradicable conception of the perpetual celestial battle, in which the worshipper, by his acts and prayers, comes to the assistance of his Protectors on high.

LITERATURE.—Roughly speaking, the bibliography of the Egyptian calendar exceeds a thousand publications, articles, etc., not including those dealing exclusively with astronomy, astrology, or pure chronology. A selection being necessary, there is given below a list which will be found to contain all the literature that is essential on the subject. Only a few items have been extracted from the long list of articles which have appeared in Egyptian periodicals, e.g. *ZA*, *OLZ*, *PSBA*, *RTAP*, and *Sphinx*. Such a bibliography, in view of the great variety of questions involved, would not be of much service if simply arranged alphabetically or even chronologically. A classification according to the subject-matter has appeared advisable. We have included also a list of the documents properly so called, i.e. the list of ancient monuments published with or without translation or commentaries, but without a synthetic article on the calendar. A list of the chief ancient authors who wrote on the subject has also been added. The most important authorities have an asterisk prefixed.

I. DIDACTIC TREATISES, ACCOMPANIED BY DOCUMENTS.—Biot, *Année vague des Egyptiens*, Paris, 1853; Brugsch, **Nouvelles recherches sur la division de l'année des anciens Egyptiens*, Berlin, 1856; **Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du calendrier des anciens Egyptiens*, Leipzig, 1864, *Thesaurus*, pt. ii. 'Kalendarischriften,' Leipzig, 1833; Chabas, *Mélanges*, Paris, 1862, 1873; Champollion, *Mém. sur les signes employés à la notation du temps*, Paris, 1831; Dümichen, **Altäg. Kalendarischriften*, Leipzig, 1863-65; Fasselius, *Altäg. Kalendarstudien*, Strassburg, 1873; Gumpach, *On the historical Antiquity of the People of Egypt, their Calendar*, etc., London, 1863; Lepsius, **Chronologie der Aegypter*, Einleitung, Berlin, 1849; Letronne, *Nouvelles recherches sur le calendrier des anciens Egyptiens*, Paris, 1863.

II. DIDACTIC RESUMÉS OF THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.—Breasted, **Ancient Records*, Chicago, 1906-07, p. 26; Budge, **Book of Kings*, xliii-lix, London, 1908; Maspero, **Histoire*, Paris, 1894-99, i. 204-213 (with list of the most important literature down to 1893).

III. POPULAR WORKS.—Bénédict, *Egypte* (Guide), Paris, 1900, preface, p. 99; Breasted, *Hist. of Anc. Egyptians*, London, 1903; Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections of the British Museum*, London, 1899, p. 180, *Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1903, i. 435, 438, 517, ii. 110; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr. Tirard, London, 1894, p. 350, *Egypt. Religion*, London, 1907, p. 217 ff.; Pierret, *Dict. d'archéol. égypt.*, Paris, 1875.

IV. DIVISIONS OF THE YEAR, CYCLES, PHENIX AND 'HUNT' PERIODS.—Brugsch, *Nouvelles recherches* (see above), and *Rel. and Mythol.*, 1884, p. 671; Champollion, *Mémoire* (see above); Gardiner, **Mesoré as the first month of the Egyptian Year*, in *ZA* xlii. 186; Griffith, **The Ancient Egyptian Year*, *PSBA* xiv. (1892) 260; Hincks, *On the Years and Cycles used by the Egyptians*, London, 1859, and *On the Various Years and Months in use among the Egyptians*, London, 1865; Mahler, *ZA*, 1890, p. 122; Martin, *Période égypt. du Phoenix*, 1864; Naville, **Festival-hall*, London, 1892, pp. 7, 21; Vincent, *Recherches sur l'année égyptienne*, Paris, 1865.

V. ON THE SOTHIC PERIOD IN PARTICULAR.—Borchardt, in *ZA* xlvii. 80; Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, London, 1907; Fournier, *Recherches sur les sciences et le gouvernement de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1828; Krall, 'Studien,' in *SWAW* xcvi., Vienna, 1880; Lauth, *Aegypt. Tetraeteris*, Munich, 1878, *Sothis- oder Siriusperiode*, Munich, 1874; Lefebure, in *Revue Egyptol.* ix. 71; Legge, **Is the "Pirit-Sopdou" a Heliacal Rising?* in *Recueil de Travaux*, 1909; Lesage, *Le Lever héliaque de Sothis le 16 Pharmouti*, Paris, 1860; Mahler, *Die Apisperiode*, in *SWAW*, 1894, p. 332 ff., **Sothis und Monddaten der alten Aegypter*, in *Actes du xiv. Congr. Orient.* 1906; Martin, *Dates historiques d'un renouvellement de la période sothiaque*, Paris, 1869; Maspero, **Notes au jour le jour*, in *PSBA* xlii. 308, and *Revue Critique*, 27th Nov. 1906; Oppolzer, *Länge des Siriusjahres und der Sothisperiode*, Vienna, 1884, *Sothisperiode und Siriusjahr*, Vienna, 1885; Rougé, in *Revue Archéol.* 1849; Sharpe, *On the Return of Phenix and Sothic Period*, 1849; Torr, **Memphis and Mycenae*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 57 ff.; Wiedemann, in **OLZ* lii. 322.

VI. CALENDAR APPLIED TO CHRONOLOGY.—Ginzler, *Handbuch der math. und techn. Chron.*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 226; Griffith, in *PSBA*, 1896, p. 99; F. A. Jones, **The Ancient Year and Sothic Cycle*, *PSBA* xxx. 95; Lefebure, **Principales consé-*

quences de la période sothiaque,' in *Rev. Egypt.* viii, 1; Lieblein, 'Chronologie,' Upsala, 1873, *PSBA* xxii. 352, and *ZA* xlv. 101; Mahler, 'Die ägypt. Finsternisse der Bibel,' Vienna, 1855, *Chronol. Vergleichungstabellen*, vol. i, 'Aegypten,' Vienna, 1888, 'Études sur le calendrier égypt.' (tr. Moret, Bibl. Musée Guimet, vol. xxiv.); Meyer, 'Aegypt. Chronologie' (*Abhandl. Königl. Preuss. Akad.*), 1904, 'Nachträge zur ägypt. Chronologie' (*Abhandl. Berlin. Akad.*), 1907; Reisner, *Naga-ed-Dér*, i, Leipzig, 1907, p. 28; Sethe, *Beiträge* (Untersuchungen, iii.), 1905, p. 127. As has already been said, it is impossible to give the complete list of publications or articles on the points of detail of the calendar applied to chronology. We shall call attention merely to Brix, *ZA* xii. 26, 36; Borchardt, *ZA* xxxvii. 80, xli. 34; Legge, *Report*, etc., *PSBA* xli. 261; Meyer, *ZA* xli. 93; Lefébure, *Rev. Egyptol.* ix. 71, and *Actes du xiv. Congr. Orient.* i. 26; Lieblein, *ZA* xlv. 101, and *PSBA* xxii. 352; Mahler, *OLZ* iii. 202, v. 243, viii. 6, 473, 535, ix. 94, *ZA* xl. 73; Sethe, *ZA* xli. 35 (as examples of discussions, in a single period, on chronology in connexion with a particular fact).

VII. ON THE DECAN IN PARTICULAR.—Brugsch, 'Theasaurus,' Leipzig, 1883-91, p. 131, 'Aegyptologie,' Leipzig, 1889-90, p. 329; Darussy, 'Une ancienne liste de décans égyptiens,' *Annales*, iv. [1904] 260, *Statues de divinités*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 351, 'Le semaine des Égyptiens,' *Annales*, x. [1909] 21; Goodwin, *Sur un horoscope grec contenant les noms de plusieurs décans*, London, 1865; Lepsius, 'Chronologie,' Einleit., Leipzig, 1849, p. 63 ff.; Romieu, *Lettres à Lepsius sur un décan du ciel égyptien*, Paris, 1870.

VIII. ASTRONOMICAL AND STELLAR TABLES.—Bilfinger, 'Die Sternstafeln in den ägypt. Königsgräbern,' Leipzig, 1862; Biot, *Calendrier astronomique . . . trouvé à Thèbes*, Paris, 1862; Birch, *Astronomical Observations in the 26th Century B.C.*, London, 1864; Brugsch, 'Aegyptologie,' Champollion, 'Mémoires' (see above), *Lettres d'Égypte*, Paris, 1833, p. 230, *Notices*, Paris, 1844, ii. 547 ff.; Lepage-Renouf, 'Calendar of astronomical Observations from Tomba of the XXth Dyn., London, 1874; Petrie, *PSBA* xxiv. 318 (in *Ann.*); Rougé, 'Mémoire sur quelques phénomènes célestes,' in *Rev. Archéol.* ix. [1852], 'Texte du document astron. et astrol. découvert par Champollion à Thèbes' (*Mém. Acad. Sciences*, xxiv. [1858] 465).

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CALENDAR (Greek).¹—I. The day (*ἡμέρα*, later *νυχθημερον*).—As in English, so in Greek, the word 'day' is ambiguous, and may mean the time between sunrise and sunset, or the time occupied by one complete revolution of the earth on its axis, or, on the ancient theory, of the sun around the earth.² The latter is the strict meaning of *ἡμέρα*—hence the later coinage, *νυχθημερον*, to avoid ambiguity, though in popular speech the former meaning prevailed.³ Hence, in official reckonings, a day is a day and a night. It began, like the Jewish day, at twilight; e.g., by Greek reckoning, July 2 begins at twilight on July 1.⁴

Divisions.—Unger thinks—we have not been able to discover on what grounds—that the Bab. division of the day into 12 hours, by means of the gnomon and sun-dial, reached Greece as early as 550 B.C. or thereabouts. In common parlance, however, *ᾠρα* did not mean 'hour,' but only 'season,' till much later. The ordinary way of measuring time was, if any accuracy was required, by the water-clock (*κλεψύδρα*), while the popular divisions of time were, for the day: *ἑως* (dawn, including morning twilight), *πρωτ.* *μεσημβρία* (midday), and *δελή* (late afternoon),⁵ to which we may add *ἀγρόρα*

¹ Abbreviations: Ung.—Unger in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, 1892 ff.; Farn.—L. Farnell, *Cuts of the Greek States*, 1896; Gem.—Geminus of Rhodes, Teubner ed.; Mom.—A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, Leipzig, 1898.

² There were counter-theories (see Plut. *De facie in orbe lunæ*, 923 A), but they found no favour, and were mere unsupported guesses.

³ e.g. Aristoph. *Nub.* 2, οὐδένος ἡμέρα γυναικῶν; and the familiar Homeric μέσος ἡμέρας.

⁴ i.e. 'civil' not astronomical twilight (see Ung.).

⁵ Theophrastus, *De sig. temp.*

πλήθουσα, i.e. about mid-morning, and the Homeric βουλῆς, which, despite its name, indicating the end of the day's farm-work, does not seem to signify a very late hour; and, for the night: ἑσπέρα, ἀφαί (lamp-lighting), μέσαι νύκτες, ὄρθρος (the dark hour before the dawn), and cock-crow,¹ which was the labourer's hour of rising.² Such a division of time, though very rough, corresponded to objective natural phenomena, and to the routine of daily life, and did well enough for popular use.

2. The month (μήν).—It is a somewhat vexed question³ whether the month or the year came first, i.e. whether the Greeks, of their own invention or by foreign (Babylonian?) influence, divided one year into 12 months, or whether they put 12 months together to form one year. Certain it is that both year and month, as well as the names of the seasons, occur in Homer, while Hesiod has a complete account of the reckoning of the month, and of lucky and unlucky days. The present writer's view is that both year and month, being natural divisions of time, are of native origin in Greece, and sprang up simultaneously. For, quite apart from the keen astronomical observation, aided perhaps by outside influences, which is so marked a feature of the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, the facts that it is about 30 days from one new moon to the next, and that 12 such moons bring us back to the season we started from, are common property, shared by such backward races as the N. Amer. Indians before the coming of the white man.

Divisions.—The 'moon' was divided not into quarters, but into thirds; μὴν ἱστέμενος (waxing), μισὼν⁴ (central), and φθίνων (waning). Hence the usual reckoning of the days, say of Boedromion at Athens, was (after the 1st) 2nd, 3rd, etc., ἱσταμένον; 11th, 12th, 3rd 'after the 10th' (ἐπὶ δέκα), '4th after the 10th,' etc.; 20th, and then, by a curious inversion, 10th, 9th, etc., of the wane, counting backwards, to the 29th (δευτέρα φθίνοντος); though a direct method of counting (δευτέρα μετ' ἐκτάδας, . . . τριακάς) was also used. 'First tenth' and 'second tenth' were also used for 20th and 21st in Attica, while the 30th was ἐνῆ καὶ νέα (see below, 'Year').

Both the month and its divisions are connected with certain vague beliefs of a religious nature—or perhaps 'magical' would be a more accurate word to use. Just as with us superstitious people regard Friday as unlucky, so the Greeks⁵ regarded both the 4th and the 24th as dangerous days for some enterprises; the 5th as utterly unlucky; the 16th as an unlucky birth- or marriage-day for a girl; the 14th as a good day to break in cattle, etc., and so on through the whole month; 'one day is like a step-mother, another like a mother.'⁶ But especially—this is probably a belief of later origin—certain days are sacred to certain gods. Thus the 7th⁷ is Apollo's birthday, the 4th is that of Hermes and of Herakles, and so with several other deities. The great festivals of the various deities were yearly, though often on the god's particular day of the month. Obviously the mere question of expense prevented a costly feast to Apollo or Zeus being celebrated monthly; but it is at least probable that the old monthly holy days were recognized to some extent in the regular temple-worship, just as every Sunday commemorates, by its position in the week, the Resurrection, although Easter Sunday occurs once only in the year.⁸

¹ See Aristoph. *Nub.*, ad init.

² Lucian, *Gallus*, ad init.

³ See Ung., and contrast Mom. p. 3.

⁴ This term is very rare.

⁵ At least, Hesiod's compatriots; *Op. et Di.* 765 ff.

⁶ *ib.* 825.

⁷ *ib.* 770 ff., with Götting's notes.

⁸ It must be remembered that, as the Greeks had no week, any superstitions or practices connected with days occurring oftener than once a year would naturally be monthly only.

3. The year (ἔτος ἐνιαυτός).—Very early in the history of Greece, either by native observation or by imported science of a rudimentary kind, a smattering of practical astronomy became fairly widely diffused. Hesiod¹ indicates the beginning of the reaping-season (summer) and the ploughing-season (autumn) by the rising and setting of the Pleiades—a constellation which had attracted the attention of many primitive races²—and frequently makes similar observations. This, together with the observation of the equinoxes and the solstices,³ provided them with the material for calculating a solar year. At the same time it led to endless confusion, for the lunar month was adhered to throughout: i.e., whereas our (Julian) year is purely solar, and the new moon may or may not fall on the first day of any particular month, without in any way affecting our calculations of dates,⁴ the Greek year was sol-lunar—almost a contradiction in terms, since the solar year is roughly 365½ days, and the lunar month about 29½ days. This gives a lunar year of 354 days—a discrepancy which more exact calculations, such as the Greeks of the historical period could and did make, render still more apparent.⁵ But the month, with its holy days, was a fixture. To a Greek, it would seem wholly unsatisfactory to celebrate Christmas on the 25th day of the last calendar month of the year; he would think it necessary to celebrate it, nominally at least, 5 days from the end of the last moon of the year. Similarly, a New Year's day which was not a day of new moon would seem an absurdity, even if it coincided exactly with a solstice or an equinox.

'It was,' says Gem., 'the endeavour of the ancients to conduct the months in accordance with the moon, but the year in accordance with the sun. For the direction given by laws and oracles, to "sacrifice according to the ancestral rites," was interpreted throughout Greece in those terms. Now, to conduct the year according to the sun means to offer the same sacrifices to the gods at the same seasons of the year, e.g. always to offer the spring sacrifice in spring; which is impossible, unless the solstices and the equinoxes fall always in the same months, while conducting the month in accordance with the moon means to name the days in accordance with her phases.'⁶

Hence, despite all difficulties, the sol-lunar year was adhered to persistently in Greece proper, and even in the Middle Ages we find Byzantine pedants speaking of it as if it were still in being. Thus Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 770 (13th cent.), gives the Attic month Hekatombaion the equivalent it would have had in his day if the Attic calendar had still remained in use. Apart from this trifling, which reminds one of Bélise begging the notary to 'dater par les mots d'ides et de calendes,' we have the evidence of Julian⁷ that in the 4th cent. the Roman and Egyptian solar calendars were not in use among the Greeks.

The Greek year of 12 lunar months contained, as has been said, 354 days, the months having alternately 30 days (μὴν πλήρης) and 29 days (μὴν κοῖλος). The former was regarded as the normal number, hence the last day even of a 'hollow' month was generally called τριακάς, or 30th. In Athens, however, the name ἐνῆ καὶ νέα ('old and new') was frequently used to denote the day which belonged half to one month of 29½ days, and half to the next. This year, being 11½ days too short,

¹ *Op. et Di.* 383, 615.

² Such as the Australian blacks (see Lang, *Custom and Myth*, London, 1885, 'Star-Myths').

³ The latter—ἡλίον τροπαί—are several times mentioned in Hesiod.

⁴ The movable date of Easter is an interesting survival of more ancient systems.

⁵ Gem. viii. 37 gives the lunar month as 29½ + ½ days, or 29 days 12 hr. 48 min. 38 sec. nearly. The impossibility of adapting this period, for practical purposes, to the solar year is obvious. He is speaking, of course, of the 'synodic' month, from one σύνδοτος, or true new moon, to the next.

⁶ Gem. viii. 6-10, somewhat abbreviated. The last sentence refers, as he goes on to explain, to such names as ρουανία for the 1st of the month.

⁷ *Orat.* iv. 155b.

led at a very early date¹ to an attempt at reform. The years were arranged in groups of eight (*ὀκταετηρίδες*), containing 3 leap-years (3rd, 5th, and 8th), each of which had an extra month (*μῆν ἐμῆρόλυμος*) of 30 days. This gave a total of 2922 days; whereas the actual total of 99 lunar months is roughly 2923½ days. The next stage was to add 3 intercalary days in 2 *ὀκταετηρίδες*. This in turn resulted in getting 30 days ahead of the solar year in 160 years. This was rectified by leaving out one intercalary month.

Thus, by correcting alternately for the sun and the moon, something like a reasonable system of reckoning was arrived at. Throughout Greek history we meet the *ὀκταετηρίς*, which, it would seem, they came to regard as a natural period of time, like the solar year itself. At any rate, various festivals are arranged in relation to it. Thus, the Olympic games were celebrated every four years (half an *ὀκταετηρίς*), and the Pythian at the same interval, always coming in the 3rd year of an Olympiad; the Nemean fell in the 1st and 3rd, and the Isthmian in the 2nd and 4th years of the Olympiads. From the Olympic games came the familiar system of reckoning, which enables us, from 776 B.C. onwards, to extract fairly exact dates from Greek chronological notices. The various cities, however, all had local methods of reckoning—Athens dating by its archons, Argos by the priestesses of the temple of Hera, and so on. Even the Olympiad was not exactly reckoned in Athens, but was fitted to the local calendar, by being made to begin on the 1st of Hekatombaion,² whereas it really began on the 18th. We mention these facts, a little out of their order, to indicate why the *ὀκταετηρίς* was so tenaciously adhered to in spite of its fundamental errors.

For it was fundamentally wrong, owing to the constitution of the year, which always consisted of alternate 'full' and 'hollow' months.³ Averaging as they did 29½ days, they gave a lunar year of 354 days, the real length being about 354 days 8 hours; i.e., the difference between 8 lunar and 8 solar years is not 90, but 87½ days, so that the 3 intercalary *μῆνες πληρεῖς* made the *ὀκταετηρίς* 2 days 16 hours too long. It would take some little time to notice this, as there was little exact science in Greece, but in the end it made itself felt—some of the festivals were clearly on the wrong days. Hence comes the bitter complaint of the Moon in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes:

'For,' say her messengers, the Clouds, 'she is abominably ill-treated, after all her kindnesses to you—real kindness, not just talk. . . . You calculate the days all wrong, you jumble them topsy-turvy, . . . when you ought to be sacrificing, you rack witnesses and try cases; and often, when we gods are keeping a fast, in memory of poor Memnon, or of Sarpedon, you pour out libations and laugh.'⁴

If the Moon had just cause to protest, the Sun got no better usage. The Athenian year was supposed to begin with the summer solstice; but, as its first month must begin with a new moon, it never did, unless the two events happened to coincide. So serious did the whole matter become, that we actually find in late inscriptions a double system of dating, *κατ' ἔτος* (in accordance with the civic year) and *κατὰ θεόν* (in accordance with the actual position of the heavenly bodies). The latter was the method used for dating the *prytanies*. The year, in trying to be both solar and lunar, succeeded in being neither.

¹ There are allusions to it in various myths, as that of Cadmus' 8-year penance (see Ung. for a full discussion). For a brief account of the *ὀκταετηρίς*, see Gem. vii. 27 ff. The inventor is said, however, to have been Cleostratus (latter half of 6th cent.); Athen. vii. 278.

² See below, 'Divisions of the year.'

³ Intercalary days were not dated; they were named by the date of the preceding day, with the word *ἐμῆρόλυμος* added. Hence they could not make a 'hollow' month 'full.'

⁴ *Nub.* 610 ff., with Blaydes' notes.

In order to give a clearer idea of what the Greek year was like, we append an outline calendar of the civic year at Athens. The first month (Hekatombaion) began nominally at sunset on the day of the summer solstice (end of June); actually, on the next new moon, which might be the middle of July:—

Hekatombaion, 30 days; Metageitnion, 29 days; Boedromion, 30 days; Pyanopsion, 29 days; Meimakterion, 30 days; Poseideon, 29 days. Then second Poseideon, 30 days (in leap-year only); Gamelion, 29 days; Anthesterion, 30 days; Elaphebolion, 29 days; Munychion, 30 days; Thargelion, 29 days; Shirophorion, 30 days. Next year, Hekatombaion, 29 days, and so on. In later times, Poseideon 'the second' was called Hadrianion, after the Emperor. Other States repeated the twelfth month in a leap-year; but it was always twelfth or sixth. This example shows clearly enough the continual inconveniences to which the fixed alternation of 'full' and 'hollow' months subjected the Greeks; for the average number of days in a year was frequently one too few or too many, owing to the clumsy device of the intercalary month; hence the necessity for intercalary days.

Athenian astronomers were not slow to perceive the practical and theoretical disadvantages of the *ὀκταετηρίς*, and one of them—Meton—brought forward, in the year 432 B.C., a reformed calendar which, with the later improvements of Callippus of Cyzicus (a contemporary of Aristotle) and Hipparchus of Nicea (2nd cent. B.C.), is surpassed in accuracy only by the purely solar calendars. He arranged the years in cycles of 19, with 7 intercalary months, giving a total of 6940 days, and allotting 29 d. 12 h. 45 m. 57 s. to the average month, and 365½ days to the average year—only 30 m. 10 s. too long. Callippus combined 4 of these cycles into one, and subtracted one day, securing an average year of 365½ days, and an average month only 22½ sec. longer than the actual lunar month. By a repetition of this process, Hipparchus, with a cycle of 304 years minus 1 day, attained almost absolute accuracy, but, it should be noted, still at the expense of anything like conformity with the sun; for, while the *average* year was accurate, any actual year was always 1½ days too short, or else 18½ days too long.¹

But these cycles were merely theoretical; the *ὀκταετηρίς* was never, so far as we know, actually abandoned by any Greek State. Indeed, no State save Athens, for whose calendar it was calculated, could adopt Meton's cycle, and the evidence of Aristophanes (*loc. cit.*) and of late inscriptions as to double dating (see above) indicates that Athens did not. Diodorus, indeed,² says that 'most of the Greeks' accepted Meton's calendar; but this clearly refers only to individuals, for whose use, also, the almanacs (*παρηγήματα*) of which we occasionally hear³ were constructed. The frequency of *pentatectic*⁴ feasts kept the *ὀκταετηρίς* in use. Hence, as has been already mentioned, the old imperfect calendar remained officially in use, getting farther and farther from the actual dates, until we find Macrobius equating Anthesterion (February, roughly speaking) with April.

Divisions of the year.—The Attic months have already been given. Other years, which began at the same time, were the Delian, whose months were Hekatombaion, Metageitnion, Buphoniaion,

¹ We omit small fractions; of course, 365½ is a little more than the actual length of the solar year.

² xii. 36.

³ e.g. Gem. xvii. 19.

⁴ We should call them quadrennial. They came every four years, i.e. on the first and fifth of each period of five years, as the Greeks looked at it; hence twice in an *ὀκταετηρίς*. See, e.g. [Aristotle], *Ad. Hec.* liv. 6, 7.

Apaturion, Aresion, Poseideen, Lenaion, Hieros, Galaxion, Artemision, Thargeion, and Panenos; and the Delphic (Apellaios, Bukatios, Boathoos, Heraios, Dadophorios, Poitropios, Amalios, Bysios, Theoxenios, Endyspoitropios, Herakleios, and Ilaios). Boötia began its year at the winter solstice (January), but the order of the months is somewhat obscure. Achaia, Phocis, and Laconia began in October (autumn equinox)—the first two simply numbered their months; the Spartan calendar is not yet re-constructed. After the rise of Macedon, their year (Dios [October], Apellaios, Audynaos, Peritios, Dystros, Xandikos, Artemisios, Daisios, Panemos, Doos, Gorpiaios, and Hyperberetaios) came into use in Asia Minor; while the Ptolemy used the Egyptian solar calendar (see CALENDAR [Egypt.]), as did also some astronomers outside Egypt.

A glance at the names of the months will show that they gather around and are named after certain festivals. Thus Boedromion is 'the month of the Helpers' (*βοηδρόμιος*), i.e. the gods and heroes who give victory in battle. Accordingly, we find most of the Athenian anniversaries of victories celebrated in them (see art. FESTIVALS [Greek], 'Attic ecclesiastical calendar'). Apellaios is connected with the name of Apollo; Dios with Zeus; Lenaion with Dionysos Lenaos, 'god of the wild women'; Galaxios recalls the Athenian feast of Galaxia, held in honour of Cybele; and Hyperberetaios is 'month of the Hyperboreans,' those 'carriers round' of the sacred offerings to Apollo, whose name in ancient and modern times alike gave rise to so much false etymologizing till Ahrens' masterly explanation finally threw light on the mystery.¹

The position of the feasts, and consequently of the months named after them, depended very largely on the season of the year; for, in the long run, nearly every Greek festival or fast has an agricultural origin.² By whatever name the Greek might call his months, and however he might calculate the year, he divided it, in early times, into summer (*θερος* [*ἄνθος*], later *ὥρα*), and winter (*χειμὼν*); or into spring (*ἔαρ*), summer, autumn (*φθινόπωρον*), and winter.³

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2. Modern works: Boeckh, *Über die vierjährigen Sonnenkreise*, Berlin, 1868; Aug. Mommsen, *Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1883; Ad. Schmidt, *Handbuch der gr. Chronologie*, Jena, 1888; Unger, 'Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer,' in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch* (Munich, 1892), vi. 711f.

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CALENDAR (Hebrew).—1. Adaptations to meet astronomical difficulties.—As with other peoples, the basis of the Hebrew calendar was astronomical. The year was, roughly speaking, the solar year; the month was a moon period or lunation; the week comprised very nearly a quarter of a lunation; and the day was, of course, the period of the earth's rotation on its axis. The chief difficulty arose, as in other cases, from the fact that these periods stood in no distinct ratio to each other. The true solar year was not an exact number of moons, weeks, or days. The lunation was not an exact number of either weeks or days. The week of 7 exact days, whatever its origin may have been, had become a purely conventional measure of time. As the solar year is nearly 365½ days, and the 12 lunations over 354½, the lunar year of 12 lunations was about 10½ days short of the solar year. The difference was at a later period, at any rate, adjusted by the insertion, about every 3 years, of an intercalary month; and, finally, by adopting a regular cycle of years,

the slight irregularities were kept within bounds (see CALENDAR [Jewish]). The 12th lunation was called Adar, the intercalary month *we-Adar* ('and Adar'). Some such arrangement, though not so definitely systematized, must have been in vogue from early times. Similarly, as a lunation averages a little over 29½ days, the month must have averaged 29 and 30 days alternately, with the further occasional omission of a day.

It has sometimes been assumed that there was no system among the ancient Hebrews for determining the commencement and duration of each month, and that it was merely a question of observation, the month practically beginning when the new moon first became visible—that is, about 2 days after the real new moon, and that without any calculation of the number of days since the previous new moon. There are two very strong, if not absolutely fatal, objections to this view. (1) The Feast of the New Moon was evidently of very early and general obligation (see 1 S 20^{5, 12}, 2 K 4²³, Am 8⁵, Is 1^{13, 14}). It was practically necessary that it should be known beforehand when it would occur. That this was in fact the case we know from 1 S 20^{5, 12}, where Jonathan and David act on the knowledge that the next day would be the New Moon feast. (2) The fact that, even in early times, the months were definitely distinguished and had their several names (see below, 2. A. (2)), points obviously in the same direction.

It may be further questioned whether there ever was among the early Hebrews any attempt to adapt the week of 7 days to the lunation. There is some ground for such a supposition, in the fact that in the most ancient Babylonian calendar every 7th day of the moon—the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th—was a *dies nefastus*, on which no public or official work could be done (Sayce, *Higher Crit.*, 1894, p. 74). The similar treatment of the 19th day has been ingeniously explained as due to the fact that it was 49 (= 7 × 7) days after the previous new moon; but this would be true only for artificial months of 30 days. It would seem, then, that the old Babylonian month was practically a period of 4 weeks, with one or two intercalary days added at the end to make it agree with the lunation. As to whether this system was ever adopted by the Hebrews we have no direct evidence; but, were it so, its obvious inconvenience must sooner or later, as with the Babylonians, have caused the substitution of the regularly recurring conventional week of 7 days.

2. History of Hebrew calendar.—It is not unlikely that the Hebrew calendar varied considerably at different times, and possibly in different places. We can at any rate, with considerable probability, make a broad distinction between the systems prevailing before and after the Exile.

A. (1) *In pre-exilic times* the year, depending, as naturally it would with an agricultural people, on the yearly course of the crops, appears to have ended with the ingathering of the vintage, 'the end of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labours out of the field' (Ex 23¹⁶). This is confirmed by the fact that the Sabbatical year (Ex 23^{10, 11} [E], Lv 25^{1-7, 18-22} [H]) and the year of jubile (Lv 25⁸⁻¹⁷ [H and P]) were natural agricultural years, sowing, pruning, reaping, and the vintage being mentioned in their order. As regards the last, the enactment that the trumpet was to be blown on the 10th day of the 7th month shows that the idea of the year beginning in the autumn survived into a time when it could be called the 7th month.

It has been contended that, while for religious purposes, depending as they did on the agricultural seasons, the year continued to begin with the autumn ploughing, the civil year, on the other hand, from about the beginning of the monarchy,

¹ See Farn. iv. 102.

² See FESTIVALS (Greek).

³ See Hes. *Op. et Di.* 383 ff., with Götting's note.

began in the spring. This view is based chiefly on the phrase, 'at the return of the year' (2 S 1¹, 1 K 20^{22, 23}), which is used with reference to the resumption of hostilities, and is followed in the first quotation by the curious remark, 'at the time when kings go forth.' But the first phrase, *בְּשׁוּבוֹת מַלְכֵי*, might mean 'at the turning-point,' i.e. the middle of the year—the idea being that the year moves forward to a certain point and then goes back; or what was intended may have been a year from the time of speaking (cf. Gn 18¹⁰, where this is obviously the meaning of a somewhat similar phrase), and the words, 'at the time when kings go forth,' taken by themselves, merely state the obvious fact that military operations commence in the spring.

(2) During the same period the names of the months were probably adopted from the Canaanites. Two of the four pre-exilic names which occur in the OT have been found in Phœnician inscriptions—*Bul* thrice, and *Ethanim* twice (cf. CIS i. No. 86a). The four names are:

(a) *Ethanim* (1 K 8², where the editor, following later usage, calls it the 7th month). It is explained by *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* as 'month of steady flowings,' i.e. the month in which only perennial streams contain any water.

(b) *Bul* ('the eighth month' in 1 K 6²⁸), prob. = 'rain month.'

(c) *Abib* (Ex 13⁴ 23¹⁶ 34¹⁸ [JE], Dt 16¹), in P (e.g. Ex 12²) the first month. The name, which means an 'ear of corn,' was no doubt derived from the fact that it was the beginning of the harvest (cf. Dt 16¹⁻⁹).

(d) *Ziv* ('the second month' in 1 K 6¹⁻²⁷), 'splendour,' with reference, Gesenius supposes, to the beauty of the flowers; but it might be to the general beauty of Nature at this season, before vegetation has suffered from the summer drought.

There are, besides, in Phœnician inscriptions several other names of months which are not actually found, or at any rate with this significance, in OT, but were not improbably used by the early Hebrews. Thus we have *Murpeh*, *Phaduloth*, *Mirzah*, *Mapha*, *Hir*, *Zebah-shishim*. But we have no means of ascertaining definitely to what months these names belong. On the other hand, *Abib* and *Ziv* have not yet been found on any Phœnician inscription.

B. (1) *After the Exile* the religious year, at any rate, began about the vernal equinox, or, to be more exact, with the first lunation of which the full moon fell after the vernal equinox. This was at least the intention. But very probably, with the early arrangement of intercalary months, as certainly with the more systematic adoption of definite cycles at a later time, it sometimes happened that what was regarded as the first full moon either slightly preceded the equinox or was in reality the second after the equinox. The whole cycle of feasts, according to the laws of the Priestly Code, depended on this theory. The first lunation was what had been known as *Abib* (see above). The express provision that this was to be the first month of the year (Ex 12² [P], cf. 13⁴ [J]) suggests what was at the time a new departure, but came to be regarded as an ancient tradition.

It is at least possible that, through Assyrian or Babylonian influence, the custom of reckoning the year from the spring for secular purposes had come into use a little before the Exile. That it was so reckoned in the record of Jehoiakim's treatment of Jeremiah's roll (Jer 36) is evident from the fact that there was a fire in the brazier in the 9th month (v. 23). But this by itself is not conclusive, because the record was probably taken from a biography of Jeremiah, which may well have been

written in the time of the Exile, when the new custom had come in.

(2) As a rule, the months were now, for religious purposes, designated in the order of their occurrence as the first, second, third, etc. (Gn 7¹¹ [P] 8⁴ [P], Lv 23^{6a} [H], Hag 1², Zec 1^{1-7a}). With this we may compare the similar designation of the months by their numbers, by the Society of Friends. As in the latter case, the object was probably to avoid names which had a heathen association.

For civil and historical purposes the Babylonian names of the months were now adopted. Of these, 7 only are mentioned in the OT and the Apocrypha, viz.:

Nisan (1st mo.), Neh 2¹, Est 3⁷.

Sivan (3rd mo.), Est 8⁹.

Elul (6th mo.), Neh 6¹⁵, 1 Mac 14²⁷.

Kislev (8th mo.), Zec 7¹, Neh 1¹, 1 Mac 4⁵², 2 Mac 10¹⁸ 18¹⁰⁵.

Tebeth (10th mo.), Est 2¹⁶.

Shebat (11th mo.), Zec 7¹, 1 Mac 10¹⁴.

Adar (12th mo.), Ezr 6¹⁵, Est 8⁷ 13 8¹², 1 Mac 74² 40,

2 Mac 15⁸⁶.

The other 5 months were: *Tygar* (2nd mo.); *Tammiz* (4th mo.), cf. Ezk 8¹⁴, where the name appears as that of a god; *Ab* (6th mo.); *Tishri* (7th mo.); *Marcheshvan* (8th mo.). It was probably not till after the destruction of the Temple by the Romans that the Babylonian names of the months were regularly employed in the religious calendar.

(3) Before the Exile, beyond the weekly festival of the Sabbath or the 7th day of the week, and the New Moon on the 1st day of the month, it is doubtful whether any sacred day or season was absolutely fixed (see FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Heb.]; cf. Dt 16 with Lv 23), unless we are to suppose that the regulations of Lv 23 [H] imply that some provisions of the kind were made at the close of the monarchy. From the Priestly Code, including H, we find that a definite religious calendar was certainly in use in the Second Temple. Thus we have, in addition to New Moons and Sabbaths, from the 14th to the 21st of the 1st month the Feasts of Passover and Unleavened Bread (Lv 23⁶⁻⁸), including also the sheaf-offering on the 1st day of the week which fell within this period (Lv 23¹⁰⁻¹⁴). Seven weeks after the latter, on another Sunday falling within the 3rd month, was the Feast of Weeks (Lv 23¹⁵⁻²¹). In the 7th month were three important celebrations—the Feast of Trumpets on the 1st day (Lv 23²⁴ 25, Nu 29¹⁻⁶), the Great Day of Atonement on the 10th (Lv 16. 23²⁷⁻³²), and the Feast of Booths, 15th–22nd (Lv 23³⁴⁻³⁶ 39–45).

Certain other fasts, which had come to be observed during the Exile (Zec 7³ 5 8¹⁹), commemorating, it is said, events connected with the siege and capture of Jerusalem, were no longer enacted by law. On the other hand, some feasts were afterwards added, viz. that of Dedication, which commemorated the re-dedication of the Temple after its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 4⁵⁰). This lasted for 8 days from the 25th of the 9th month (Kislev). The Feast of Nicanor, on the 13th of the 12th month (Adar), was appointed to celebrate the victory of Judas over Nicanor (1 Mac 7⁴⁹). The Feast of Purim, on the 14th and 15th of the same month, was, so it was said, appointed to commemorate the vengeance taken by the Jews on their enemies, as recorded in the Book of Esther (9¹⁵⁻²²; but see FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Heb.]).

LITERATURE.—Schlaparelli, *Astronomy in OT*, Eng. tr., Oxf. 1905, chs. vii.–ix.; Landau, *Beiträge zur Alterthumskunde des Orients*, Leipzig, 1893–1906; Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxf. 1903; Dillmann, 'Ueber das Kalendernetz der Israeliten vor dem Bab. Exil,' in *Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. der Wissen.* Assyr., Bab. Monats und their Regents., in *JBL* xi. [1892] 72–94, 180–170; Schürer, *GV* 73 i. [1901] 745 ff.; Nowack, *Lehrb. d. Heb. Arch.*, Freib. i. B., 1894, i. 214 ff.; Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*, ib. 1894, p. 198 ff.; I. Abrahams, art. 'Time,' in *HDB* iv.; art. 'Chronology,' i. Day, 'Week,' 'Month,' 'Year,' in *EB*; cf. also Lit. at end of art. CALENDAR (Jewish). F. H. WOODS.

CALENDAR (Indo-Chinese). — I. ANNAM (Cochin-China, Annam, Tongking). — The peoples of French Indo-China, as a rule, use a calendar of Indian origin, although Chinese influence (see **CALENDAR [Chinese]**) is clearly seen in the calendar that is peculiar to the Annamese. There are three cycles employed by the Annamese to express their dates: the duodenary cycle, or cycle of the twelve animals (ox, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, goat, monkey, hen, dog, pig, rat), which is of Turkish origin;¹ the denary cycle, the ten 'trunks'² of which have the names of the five elements and the five cardinal points; the repetition of the first cycle five times, combined with six repetitions of the second, makes the great cycle of sixty years.

The year is a lunar one, and is composed of twelve months of 29 and 30 days alternately, making 354 days; to this they add a thirteenth intercalary month every three or four years arbitrarily. In a period of 19 years there are therefore seven years with thirteen months.

The first month of the year has always 29 days;

of melons (*qua ng.*); the eighth, the month of cinnamon (*quê ng.*); the ninth, the month of chrysanthemums (*cúc ng.*); the tenth, the month of rest (*nhàn ng.*); the eleventh, the month of the solstice (*gia ng.*); the twelfth, the month of offerings (*lạp ng.*).

The civil day begins at midnight, and contains 12 hours, each equal to two hours of our time. The last day of the month is called the 'day of darkness' (*hối nhật*)—an allusion to the waning of the moon. The Annamese night is often measured, according to the Chinese custom, by five watches: the first begins at 7 p.m., the second at 9 p.m., the third at 11 p.m., the fourth at 1 a.m., the fifth at 3 a.m.

The farmers' calendar in Annam, as in China, has, besides the four chief seasons, twenty-four smaller intermediary seasons.

An Annamese almanac indicates, in short, the current year in the great cycle and in the other two cycles; the full, incomplete, and intercalary (if there are such) months; the day of the month, with its order in the year; the name of the one of

Name of Year.			Translation.	Year of Cycle.		
				Era of Buddha.	Great Era.	Lesser Era.
<i>Chnăm kôr</i>	<i>Ekasâk</i>	(Pâli, <i>ekasaka</i>)	Year of the Pig	1	31	21
"	<i>cût</i>	<i>Tôsâk</i>	" " Rat	2	32	22
"	<i>chlau</i>	<i>Trêisâk</i>	" " Ox	3	33	23
"	<i>khâl</i>	<i>Cêthvâsâk</i>	" " Tiger	4	34	24
"	<i>thâs</i>	<i>Pañcâsâk</i>	" " Hare	5	35	25
"	<i>rôn</i>	<i>Chasâk</i>	" " Dragon	6	36	26
"	<i>msaï</i>	<i>Sapsâk</i>	" " Serpent	7	37	27
"	<i>moni</i>	<i>Atthasâk</i>	" " Horse	8	38	28
"	<i>momê</i>	<i>Nûpsâk</i>	" " Goat	9	39	29
"	<i>vok</i>	<i>Samrêthtisâk</i>	" " Monkey	10	40	30
<i>Chnăm rokâ</i>	<i>Ekasâk</i>	...	Year of the Cock	1	41	31
"	<i>cha</i>	<i>Tôsâk</i>	" " Dog	2	42	32
"	<i>kôr</i>	<i>Trêisâk</i>	" " Pig	3	43	33
"	<i>cût</i>	<i>Cêthvâsâk</i>	" " Rat	4	44	34
"	<i>chlau</i>	<i>Pañcâsâk</i>	" " Ox	5	45	35
"	<i>khâl</i>	<i>Chasâk</i>	" " Tiger	6	46	36
"	<i>thâs</i>	<i>Sapsâk</i>	" " Hare	7	47	37
"	<i>rôn</i>	<i>Atthasâk</i>	" " Dragon	8	48	38
"	<i>msaï</i>	<i>Nûpsâk</i>	" " Serpent	9	49	39
"	<i>moni</i>	<i>Samrêthtisâk</i>	" " Horse	10	50	40

in the Chinese astronomical year it begins on the 22nd of December; in the civil year, it always begins between the 20th of January and the 19th of February. The month has a regular division into three decades, but this division is being gradually superseded by the European division into weeks of seven days.

As a general practice, the Annamese name their months by successive numbers from one to twelve (first month, second month, etc.). But there is another system of names, which is employed only in the literary world: the first month is always designated by the number one (*chîn nguyệt*, 'first month'); the second is the month of flowers (*hoa nguyệt*); the third, the month of peaches (*đào ng.*); the fourth, the month of plums (*môi ng.*); the fifth, the month of cakes (*bô ng.*); the sixth, the month of heat (*thư' ng.*); the seventh, the month

the five elements or of the twenty-eight constellations that corresponds to it; the accepted sign for lucky and unlucky days; the phases of the moon; eclipses of the sun and moon; the one of the twenty-four seasons of the year in which each month falls; the things that are permitted and forbidden on each day; and the days of civil observance. For some years now, the Chinese-Annamese almanac has also indicated the corresponding day in the European almanac.

LITERATURE.—A+B (E. Souvignet), *Varités tonkinoises* . . . Hanoi, 1903, 'Calendrier impérial (Hoàng lịch)', pp. 217-238; L. Cadière, 'Expressions populaires [annamites] pour désigner le temps,' in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, II, 387.

II. CAMBODIA.—In Cambodia there are in use three eras of Hindu origin, and three cycles that come from China.

1. Eras.—There is a religious era, or 'era of the Buddha' (Khmer *prah pût sakrâc*=Skr. *buddha-sakarâja*), dating from the death of the Buddha (543 B.C.), which is commonly used in religious writings; a political or 'great era' (Khmer *mahâ sakrâc*=Skr. *mahâsakarâja*), still used in the editing of

¹ See Edouard Chavannes, 'Le Cycle turo des douze animaux,' in *Toung-pao*, series II, vol. VII, No. 1.

² In accordance with Chinese ideas, the denary cycle is regarded as having ten 'heavenly trunks,' the twelve 'earthly branches' of which form the duodenary cycle.

³ Skr. *samrâdhi*= 'completion.'

royal annals, which is the Hindu era named after *saka* and beginning A.D. 78; a civil or 'lesser era' (Khmer *côt sakrâc*=Pāli *chullasakarāya*), employed by the Khmers in everyday actions, transactions, and correspondence, which is of astronomical origin, and dates from A.D. 638.

2. **Cycles.**—The principal cycle is that of the twelve animals (see above, 1.), with names as follows: *cūt*, 'rat'; *chlau*, 'ox'; *khāl*, 'tiger'; *thās*, 'hare'; *rōh*, 'dragon'; *msān*, 'serpent'; *momi*, 'horse'; *mome*, 'goat'; *vok*, 'monkey'; *rokā*, 'cock'; *cha*, 'dog'; *kōr*, 'pig.' The names of these animals are not Khmer, but seem to belong to some dialect of the south of China. This cycle, repeated five times, is combined with a secondary cycle of ten years, the years in which are distinguished by means of ordinal numbers borrowed from Pāli. In other words, the series of the twelve animal-names (the principal cycle), repeated five times in succession in the same order, gives a period of sixty years, which is divided into six decades (secondary cycles). It is the same system as the one brought by China into Annam, except that the denary cycle is not named in the same way. The foregoing table gives an idea of the composition of the Cambodian cycle.

3. **Year and months.**—The Cambodians have a lunar year. It contains twelve months, of 29 and 30 days alternately, with the following Indian names: (1) *cēt* (Skr. *chaitra*); (2) *pisāk* (Skr. *vaiśākha*); (3) *ēs* (Skr. *jyēṣṭha*); (4) *āsāth* (Skr. *āṣāḍha*); (5) *erap* (Skr. *śrāvaṇa*); (6) *photrābōt* (Skr. *bhādrapada*); (7) *āsōē* (Skr. *āṣvayuja*); (8) *kātēk* (Skr. *kārttika*); (9) *mākosir* (Skr. *mārgaśīrṣa*); (10) *bōs* (Skr. *pauṣa*); (11) *mākḥ* (Skr. *māgha*); (12) *phālōin* (Skr. *phālguna*).

The months are divided into two periods of fifteen days: the period of the waxing moon (clear fortnight), and the period of the waning moon (dark fortnight). The Buddhists of Cambodia keep the eighth and, more especially, the fifteenth day of each of these periods as holidays.

The year begins in *cēt* (March–April); but although the New Year festivals are celebrated in this month, it is the custom not to begin the year until the month of *pisāk* (April–May), or sometimes even *mākosir* (Nov.–Dec.), in memory of the death of the Buddha. As the Cambodian year has only 354 days in all, an intercalary month is inserted every three or four years by the *horas*, or royal astrologers, by doubling the month of *āsāth* (June–July); hence there is a first and a second *āsāth* (*prathomosāth*, *tūtiyāsāth*=Skr. *prathamā*-, *dvitiyā-āṣāḍha*). A period of nineteen years thus contains seven years with thirteen months.

4. **Days.**—The names of the days are also of Indian origin: *thnai* 'atit' (Skr. *āditya*), 'Sunday'; *t. cān* (Skr. *chandra*), 'Monday'; *t. aṅkār* (Skr. *angāraka*), 'Tuesday'; *t. pūt* (Skr. *budha*), 'Wednesday'; *t. prahas* (Skr. *brhaspati*), 'Thursday'; *t. sōk* (Skr. *śukra*), 'Friday'; *t. sau* (Skr. *śanaiśchara*), 'Saturday'; no day is a holiday in itself.

5. **Hours.**—The Cambodians divide the day into two parts of twelve hours each: the part from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. is day, and that from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. is night. In Cambodia, from 6 to 7 a.m. is 1 a.m., 7 to 8 a.m. is 2 a.m., 11 to 12 mid-day is 6 a.m., mid-day to 1 p.m. is 1 p.m., 1 to 2 p.m. is 2 p.m., 5 to 6 p.m. is 6 p.m. The hour is divided into *bāt*, each of which is equal to five minutes. The night is sometimes divided into four watches (*yām*; Skr. *yāma*, 'watch') of three hours each: the first from sunset to 9 p.m., the second from 9 p.m. to midnight, the third from midnight to 3 a.m., and the fourth from 3 a.m. till day-time, i.e. 6 a.m.

1 *Thnai*=*'day.'*

6. **Seasons.**—The Cambodians have three seasons (*rodōv*, *khē*): (1) rainy season (*rodōv phlēn*, *khē prāh vōsā* [=Pāli *vassa*]); (2) cold season (*rodōv rōhār*, *khē rōmho* 'ī); (3) dry or warm season (*rodōv prān*, *r. kḍau*).

7. **Almanac.**—The name given to the almanac in Cambodia is *mahāsākrān* (Skr. *mahāsāmrānti*, 'great transit'). The Skr. expression *samkrānti* is used to designate the passing of one sign of the zodiac into the next sign; as the 'great transit' is the one that marks the beginning of the new year, the derivation of the Cambodian expression is obvious.

The *horas*, or royal astrologers, arrange the Cambodian calendar year by year. For each month it gives the relation of the days of the week to the 1st, 8th, and 15th days of the waxing moon (*ko*'), to the 1st and 8th days of the waning moon (*rōc*), and to the last day of the month (*khē dāc*). It is followed by a public notice giving various information on the beginning of the year, and rules connected with the position of the different orders of the State, with the temperature, rain, harvest, rise of the river, prices of commodities, eclipses of the moon, and, lastly, fixing the initial day of the *vassa*, or retirement of the religious, during the rainy season.

L. Finot (see Lit. below), from whom these details are borrowed, adds that the basis of the Cambodian almanac is Hindu, and that the very language it employs is a witness to the deep and persistent influence of Indian science.

LITERATURE.—G. Jeanneau, 'Notice sur le calendrier cambodgien,' in *Annuaire de la Cochinchine*, 1870; 'Un Almanach cambodgien,' tr. Ph. Hahn and L. Finot in *Revue Indo-Chinoise*, Hanoi, 1904, pp. 138–148; Moura, *Vocabulaire français-cambodgien et cambodgien-français*, Paris, 1878, pp. 15–17.

III. **CHAMPA.**—It is probable that in ancient times the Chams, like their neighbours the Khmers, had a calendar of Hindu origin, but they have lost it and have also completely forgotten the *saka* era (A.D. 78) which their ancestors employed in inscriptions. Nowadays they simply use the Chinese–Annamese calendar for the needs of daily life, the only difference being that their year starts in April–May.

1. **Cycles.**—(1) *Sexagenary cycle.*—The Chams adopted the Chinese–Annamese sixty-year cycle.

(2) *Duodenary cycle.*—This is the cycle used for naming and calculating the years. The twelve year-names are borrowed from animals, but—a peculiarity which is worthy of remark—they are also the names employed in ordinary everyday language. The names of the twelve years are: (1) *tikuh*, 'rat'; (2) *kabav*, 'buffalo'; (3) *rimavin*, 'tiger'; (4) *kapaiy*, 'hare'; (5) *nōgarai*, 'dragon'; (6) *ulā anaiḥ*, 'little serpent'; (7) *asaiḥ*, 'horse'; (8) *pabaiy*, 'goat'; (9) *krā*, 'monkey'; (10) *mōnuk*, 'hen'; (11) *asdu*, 'dog'; (12) *pabwēi*, 'pig.'

(3) *Eight-year cycle.*—There is another Cham calendar¹ based on the eight-year cycle, called *windu* by the Javanese, and probably introduced into Champa by Muslim missionaries from Java. In Java, the Javanese–Muslim civil year is lunar, and it originated from the Indian luni-solar year; hence it differed somewhat from the real Arabian lunar year. Efforts were made to bring these years back to correspondence, and the means employed was the *windu*, or cycle of eight years.

We need not enter into details here, but it may be noticed that in Java the years of the *windu* have the following Malaysian names: *alip*, 'ehē, *jim awal*, *jē* or *asē*, *dāl*, *bē*, *wāu*, *jim ahir*, and are represented by the Arabic letters: *a*, *h*, *j*, *dh*, *d*, *o*, *w*, *z*. The Chams have the same names slightly modified: *aliach*, *hak*, *jimawal*, *cēi*, *dāl*, *bak*, *wau*, *jimahir*, and represent them by the same letters, though sometimes substituting *h* for *h*, and *z* for *dh* in their calendars, and often putting the figures 1, 4, 6, etc., meaning 1st, 4th, 6th day, under the

¹ A phototypic reproduction of a perpetual Cham calendar will be found in the present writer's article, 'Les Chams musulmans de l'Indo-Chine,' in *Revue du monde musulman*, April 1907, No. 6, p. 176.

Arabic names of the days *aḥad*, *arbā*, *sabī*, etc., instead of writing out the days of the Cham week in full.

As the Chams combined their 12-year cycle with the *windu*, or 8-year cycle, the years in which are designated by letters, it follows that three 8-year series and two 12-year series

two series was covered, in theory, by means of an embolismic year, and more simply by adopting the corrections of the Chinese-Annamese calendar.

Predictions based on coincidences of years and days, analogous to the *āṅgara-kasih*¹ of the Javanese, take place among the Chams. If, for instance, the cycles of the 'rat' and the 'pig' coincide in

TABLE of the Cham Duodenary Cycle.

Order.	Animal of Cycle.	Nature of Year.	Letter of 8-Year Cycle.	1st Day of Waxing Moon.	Seat of Year. ²
1	Rat	{ full incomplete	a d	<i>suk</i> 'Friday' <i>son</i> 'Monday'	forehead eye
2	Buffalo	{ full incomplete	b b	<i>anar</i> 'Tuesday' <i>sanar</i> 'Saturday'	eyebrow ear
3	Tiger	{ full incomplete	j w	<i>adit</i> 'Sunday' <i>but</i> 'Wednesday'	mouth nose
4	Hare	{ full incomplete	dh j ²	<i>jip</i> 'Thursday' <i>adit</i> 'Sunday'	liver mouth
5	Dragon	{ full incomplete	a d	<i>suk</i> 'Friday' <i>son</i> 'Monday'	forehead eye
6	Serpent	{ full incomplete	b b	<i>anar</i> 'Tuesday' <i>sanar</i> 'Saturday'	eyebrow ear
7	Horse	{ full incomplete	j w	<i>adit</i> 'Sunday' <i>but</i> 'Wednesday'	mouth nose
8	Goat	{ full incomplete	dh j ²	<i>jip</i> 'Thursday' <i>adit</i> 'Sunday'	liver mouth
9	Monkey	{ full incomplete	a d	<i>suk</i> 'Friday' <i>son</i> 'Monday'	forehead eye
10	Cock	{ full incomplete	b b	<i>anar</i> 'Tuesday' <i>sanar</i> 'Saturday'	eyebrow ear
11	Dog	{ full incomplete	j w	<i>adit</i> 'Sunday' <i>but</i> 'Wednesday'	mouth nose
12	Pig	{ full incomplete	dh j ²	<i>jip</i> 'Thursday' <i>adit</i> 'Sunday'	liver mouth

TABLE showing correspondence of Christian era, Musalmān era (Hijra), śaka era, eight-year cycle (*windu*), and twelve-year cycle.

Christian Era.	Hijra.	Śaka.	Eight-year Cycle.	Twelve-year Cycle.
1900	1317-18	1822	4. <i>ēi</i> dh	1. <i>tikuh</i> 'rat'
1901	1319	1823	5. <i>dal</i> d	2. <i>kabav</i> 'buffalo'
1902	1320	1824	6. <i>bak</i> b	3. <i>rimau</i> 'tiger'
1903	1321	1825	7. <i>wau</i> w	4. <i>tapay</i> 'hare'
1904	1322	1826	8. <i>jin ahir</i> j ²	5. <i>nōgarai</i> 'dragon'
1905	1323	1827	1. <i>aliah</i> a	6. <i>ulā anaih</i> 'serpent'
1906	1324	1828	2. <i>hak</i> b	7. <i>asaih</i> 'horse'
1907	1325	1829	3. <i>jin aval</i> j	8. <i>pabay</i> 'goat'
1908	1326	1830	4. <i>ēi</i> dh	9. <i>krā</i> , 'monkey'
1909	1327	1831	5. <i>dal</i> d	10. <i>mōnuk</i> 'hen'
1910	1328	1832	6. <i>bak</i> b	11. <i>asū</i> 'dog'
1911	1329-30	1833	7. <i>wau</i> w	12. <i>pawēi</i> 'pig'
1912	1331	1834	8. <i>jin ahir</i> j ²	1. <i>tikuh</i> 'rat'
1913	1332	1835	1. <i>aliah</i> a	2. <i>kabav</i> 'buffalo'
1914	1333	1836	2. <i>hak</i> b	3. <i>rimau</i> 'tiger'
1915	1334	1837	3. <i>jin aval</i> j	4. <i>tapay</i> 'hare'
1916	1335	1838	4. <i>ēi</i> dh	5. <i>nōgarai</i> 'dragon'
1917	1336	1839	5. <i>dal</i> d	6. <i>ulā anaih</i> 'serpent'
1918	1337	1840	6. <i>bak</i> b	7. <i>asaih</i> 'horse'
1919	1338	1841	7. <i>wau</i> w	8. <i>pabay</i> 'goat'
1920	1339	1842	8. <i>jin ahir</i> j ²	9. <i>krā</i> 'monkey'

brought round a coincidence of the first two terms of the series, namely, *tikuh*, 'rat,' and *aliah* (= *ali*), a.

The discrepancy that had arisen between the

¹ A coincidence regarded as of good augury in a month is that of *āṅgara* (Skr. *āṅgaraka*), 'Tuesday,' a day of the seven days' week, with *kliwon*, the last day of the Malayo-Polynesian week. The months with no *āṅgara-kasih* are unlucky.

² Referring to the body of Muhammad.

year and days, there will be a great number of births that year, and flocks and herds and rice in abundance: under the opposite conditions the year will be unlucky.

2. Months.—The Cham year, whether full or incomplete, is divided into twelve lunar months; it begins in April–May. The first ten months are simply distinguished by numbers, while the last two have special names of Indian origin.

The Bani, or Musalmān, Chams borrowed the names of their lunar months from the Arabs with slight alterations. The lunar months of both peoples, which have alternately 30 days (full month) and 29 days (incomplete month), are divided into two fortnights, according as the moon is waxing or waning—the second fortnight sometimes counting fifteen, sometimes fourteen days; but, owing to complications which are not easy to explain, the days of the months of the Brāhmanist Chams do not coincide with those of the Musalmān Chams. Official documents are dated according to the days of the Annamese month.

3. Days.—The Chams have our week. The names of the seven days correspond exactly to ours, are of Sanskrit origin, and are borrowed from the planets. The Musalmān Chams, especially in Cambodia, sometimes use the names of the days of the Arabian week with modifications.

(a) Week of the Brāhmanist Chams: 1. *adit*

Months of Brāhmanist Chams.		Months of Musalmān Chams.	
1. <i>bulan sa</i>	First month.	1. <i>muḥarrōm</i>	(Arab. <i>muḥarram</i>), Muḥarram.
2. <i>bulan dua</i>	Second month.	2. <i>sakphwōr</i>	(Arab. <i>ṣafar</i>), Ṣafar.
3. <i>bulan klāu</i>	Third month.	3. <i>rabi' ul aṣal</i>	(Arab. <i>rabi' u 'l-awwal</i>), Rabi' I.
4. <i>bulan pak</i>	Fourth month.	4. <i>rabi' ul aḥir</i>	(Arab. <i>rabi' u 'l-akhir</i>), Rabi' II.
5. <i>bulan limō</i>	Fifth month.	5. <i>jamōdi lula</i>	(Arab. <i>jamādā 'l-ūlā</i>), Jamādā I.
6. <i>bulan nam</i>	Sixth month.	6. <i>jamōdi ahir</i>	(Arab. <i>jamādā 'l-ukhrā</i>), Jamādā II.
7. <i>bulan tijuḥ</i>	Seventh month.	7. <i>raḡap</i>	(Arab. <i>raḡab</i>), Raḡab.
8. <i>bulan dalapan</i>	Eighth month.	8. <i>saban</i>	(Arab. <i>sha'ban</i>), Sha'ban.
9. <i>bulan salapan</i>	Ninth month.	9. <i>ramōvan</i>	(Arab. <i>ramadān</i>), Ramadān.
10. <i>bulan sapluḥ</i>	Tenth month.	10. <i>ṣaphwōl, sakwal</i>	(Arab. <i>shawwāl</i>), Shawwāl.
11. <i>bulan pwaś</i>	Puaś (Skr. <i>parvāṣa</i>). ¹	11. <i>dul kōdāḥ</i>	(Arab. <i>dhū'l-qa'da</i>), Dhul-qa'da.
12. <i>bulan mak</i>	Mak (Skr. <i>māgha</i>).	12. <i>dul huji</i>	(Arab. <i>dhū'l-ḥijja</i>), Dhul-ḥijja.

(Skr. *āḍitya*), 'Sunday'; 2. *som* (Skr. *soma*), 'Monday'; 3. *aṇar* (Skr. *angāraka*), 'Tuesday'; 4. *but* (Skr. *budha*), 'Wednesday'; 5. *jip* (Skr. *jīva*), 'Thursday'; 6. *ṣuk* (Skr. *śukra*), 'Friday'; 7. *sanḥar* (Skr. *śanaiśchvara*), 'Saturday'.

(b) Week of the Musalmān Chams: 1. *āhat* (Arab. *al-aḥad*); 2. *ōssanai* (Arab. *āl-ithnain*); 3. *asalasak* (Arab. *ath-thalāṣā*); 4. *roṣbaā* (Arab. *al-arba'*); 5. *kemis* (Arab. *al-khamis*); 6. *jumāt* (Arab. *al-jum'a*), 'day of Assembly'; 7. *sabat*, *sōttō* (Arab. *as-sabt*), 'Sabbath day'.

4. Hours.—The day is divided into twelve hours, each equal to two hours of our time. One text even says that a day and night contain eight hours (each). The hours are reckoned from the first cock-crow; those between sunset and sunrise are called 'night hours,' and correspond to the five watches of the night.

The hour again is divided into eight parts, each equal to our $\frac{1}{8}$ hour. The time is told by means of expressions like 'the cock crows'=1 a.m.; 'the cock jumps to the ground'=2 a.m.; 'the sun is risen'=6 a.m.; 'the sun is a perch above the horizon'=6.30 a.m., etc. The twelve hours of the day are also reckoned by giving each the name of one of the animals of the cycle—*tuk tikuh*, 'hour of the Rat'; *tuk kabaw*, 'hour of the Buffalo'; *tuk rimawin*, 'hour of the Tiger,' etc.

¹ Cf. the Malayian *bulan puaśa* (=Skr. *upavāsa*), 'the month of fasting,' 'the fast of Ramaḍān'.

5. Mystical speculations of the Chams concerning the calendar.—According to the mystical speculations of the Musalmān Chams, which are adopted also by the Brāhmanist Chams, each year of the cycle comes from a part of the body of Muhammad. The year of the Rat, *e.g.*, comes from the left ear, the year of the Buffalo from the left nostril, the year of the Tiger from the right ear, etc. Allāh created the year of the Serpent first of all; among the months Ramadān was first, among the days *jumāt*, 'Friday.' The first three days of lunation are presided over by the three favourite wives of Muhammad. The seven days of the week come from the seven parts of the Prophet's body; the first four Muhammadans—Ubakar (Abū Bakr), Umar ('Umar), Uthamōn ('Uthmān), and Ali ('Alī)—are the angels of Allāh's glory and the four *imāms* of the cardinal points. The watches of the night or day are male or female. Of the hours of day the first comes from Allāh; the second from Muhammad; the third from Gabriel; the fourth from 'Alī; the fifth from Phwatimōh (Fātima); the sixth from Ḥasan; the seventh from Ḥusain; the eighth comes back to Allāh. The thirty days of the month come from the thirty teeth of Adam; the upper jaw is the origin of the fifteen days of the waxing moon, the lower jaw gives the fifteen days of the waning moon. Adam's other two teeth are

the seats respectively of Lord Muhammad and Lord 'Alī, etc. The root of all these speculations must lie in Islām.

LITERATURE.—E. Aymonier and A. Cabaton, *Dict. éam-français*, Paris, 1906, p. xxix ff.; A. Cabaton, *Nouvelles Recherches sur les Chams*, Paris, 1901, p. 93 ff., also 'Les Chams musulmans de l'Indo-Chine française,' in *Revue du monde musulman*, vol. II., April 1907, No. 6; E. M. Durand, 'Notes sur les Chams,' in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient*, July–Dec. 1907, p. 332 ff.

IV. LAOS.—The Laotians have a calendar very like that of the Siamese, which is also the calendar of the Khmers, and is of Indian origin (see above, II. [Cambodia], and CALENDAR [Siamese]).

1. Eras.—These are the same as among the Siamese and the Cambodians.¹

2. Cycles.—The Laotians give to the animals of the duodenary cycle names very like those adopted by the Siamese, and not belonging to the everyday language. The names they use to denote the years of the denary cycle are ordinal numbers from Pāli.

3. Years and months.—The Laotian year is lunar, begins in December, and contains twelve months of 29 and 30 days alternately. In a series of three years, the first has 354 days, the second has 355 days, and the third is a compensating year with thirteen months = 384 days. It is the duty

¹ Laotian, which is a Tai dialect like Siamese, bears so close a resemblance to the latter that the art. CALENDAR (Siamese) may be referred to for the technical expressions.

of the *bonzes* to arrange the calendar so that the festivals shall fall at their proper seasons, and to determine how many days the intercalary month is to have. This is done without fixed rules, and according to the necessities of the case.

The months have no special names, but are merely numbered in order from one to twelve, as in Siam. The month is divided into two periods of fifteen days; the eighth, and especially the fifteenth, day of each period of the waxing or waning moon is a holiday; hence the growing custom in Laos of reckoning by weeks.

4. Days.—These are the same as among the Siamese and Cambodians: 1. *vân* (=day) *thit* (Siam. *vân atthit*); 2. *vân ban* (Siam. *v. cân*); 3. *vân khan* (Siam. *v. ânchan*); 4. *vân phut* (Siam. *v. phut*); 5. *vân pâhat* (Siam. *v. prahât*); 6. *vân suk* (Siam. *v. sũk*); 7. *vân sau* (Siam. *v. sãu*). *Vân thit* (Sunday) always appears four times every month; a day is sometimes added and sometimes omitted, in order to make the eighth and fifteenth days of the waxing or waning moon always fall on a Sunday.

5. Hours.—The Laotians, like the Khmers and Chams, reckon their hours by dividing the day into two parts of twelve hours each: from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. is day, and from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. is night. Mid-day corresponds to the end of the sixth hour of the day; midnight to the end of the sixth hour of the night. This is the Siamese system; formerly the day (from sunrise to sunset) was divided into eight *niam* of $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours' length, and mid-day corresponded to the fifth *niam*. A *niam* was equal to ten *bat*, or about nine minutes of our time: a *bat* was equal to ten *nathi*, and a *nathi* almost equal to five and a half seconds of European time.

LITERATURE.—Gouvernement général de l'Indo-Chine: *Notice sur le Laos français*, published at the command of Paul Doumer, Governor-General of Indo-China, by the governing staff of Laos, under the direction of Lieut.-Col. Tournier, Resident Superior, Hanoi, 1900, pp. 186-188; Pionnier, 'Notes sur la chronologie et l'astrologie au Siam et au Laos,' *Anthropos*, lii. 489-507.

V. NORTHERN TONGKING.—There is a mass of little known ethnic groups, more numerous than important, ranged on the borders of Tongking and China, China and Laos, and Laos and Burma, which are classed together in French Indo-China under the administration of the military territories of Tongking and, in the case of a very small portion, under that of Northern Laos. These people seem reducible to a few ethnic groups: Tibeto-Burman, South Mongolian, and Indonesian. We may mention the Tais or Pou-Tais (divided generally into white, black, and red) and Nõa-Tais; the Pou-Ôn, the Yun; the Man, the Mo, the Pa-Teng, the Kõ-Lao, the Lolos, etc. They all use the Chinese or Laotian calendar more or less according to locality. Alongside of, and a degree below, these mixed peoples of the frontiers of Tongking are several semi-savage groups, possibly aboriginal, called by their neighbours of Annam, Cambodia, and Laos respectively *mõ*, *phnõn*, or *kha*, i.e. 'savages.' These peoples, who are slowly tending to disappear, are continually being driven back into the mountains and uncultivated parts of the country by the forward progress of the more civilized races surrounding them, and have scarcely begun to be the object of serious study. They have the various names of Bahnars, Sedangs, Jarais, Kalangs, Churus, Rõngaos, Bolovens, Lovés, Samrés, Pors, Kuy Dek, etc. They do not seem to have a fixed calendar; all their computation of time is oral, empirical, and purely agricultural, based on the return of the principal seasons of rain and drought, and the sowings and harvests that bring round the return of certain rites. The year is lunar, the day is divided into several parts, according to the position of the sun

or to the various occupations, and the time is told by means of such expressions as 'at the first, or second, cock-crow,' 'sunrise,' 'sunset,' 'when children go to bed,' 'after a first sleep,' 'the time of smoking a pipe,' 'the time of cooking rice,' etc.

LITERATURE.—E. Lunet de Lajonquière, *Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional* . . ., Paris, 1906 (an important place is given in this volume to the partly unpublished works of Commandant Bonifacy); Bonifacy, 'Les Groupes ethniques du bassin de la Rivière Noire,' in *BSAP*, 6th July 1907, and 'Monographie des Mâns, Dai-Ban, Cóc ou Sũng,' in *Rev. indo-chinoise*, 1908, Nos. 84-85; Dourisboure, *Dict. bahnar-français*, Hongkong, 1889. A CABATON.

CALENDAR (Japanese).—The Japanese have several ways of reckoning the days, months, years, and other periods. They have both solar and lunar time; Japanese, Chinese, and Occidental time; two national calendars, and several special periods; so that they have literally 'a time for everything,' and, in some cases, they are very particular to do a certain thing on 'time.' Of the two Japanese calendars, one reckons from the mythological founding of the Japanese Empire by Jimmu Tenno in 660 B.C., and is known as *kigen* (history-beginning); and the other is the system of special periods called *nengõ*.

1. In the old style of reckoning, the years were named according to the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac, taken in conjunction with the ten 'celestial stems' (*jikkan*), obtained by dividing into two parts each of the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, water). These elements are known in Japanese as *ki*, *hi*, *tsuchi*, *ka* (for *kane*), and *mizu*; and the subdivisions are called *e* (or *ye*) and *to*, of which the former is said to represent the active element and the latter the passive element. Rein's explanation is as follows: 'They [the Japanese] distinguish accordingly (with special Chinese signs) *ki-no-ye*, wood in general, and *ki-no-to*, worked wood; *hi-no-ye*, natural fire (of the sun, volcanoes), and *hi-no-to*, domestic fire; *tsuchi-no-ye*, raw earth, and *tsuchi-no-to*, manufactured earth; *ka-no-ye*, native metal, and *ka-no-to*, worked metal; *mizu-no-ye*, running water, and *mizu-no-to*, stagnant water.' This will all be made clear by reference to the table on p. 115.

2. The lunar year was divided into 12 months of 29 or 30 days each, and thus contained only 354 or 355 days; but this discrepancy from the solar year was made up by adding to certain years of every lunar cycle an intercalary month of varying length. An intercalated year contained 383 or 384 days. The months were named numerically, as follows:

<i>Ichigatsu</i>	First Moon
[or <i>Shûgatsu</i>	True Moon]
<i>Nigatsu</i>	Second Moon.
<i>Sangatsu</i>	Third Moon.
<i>Shigatsu</i>	Fourth Moon.
<i>Gogatsu</i>	Fifth Moon.
<i>Rokugatsu</i>	Sixth Moon.
<i>Shichigatsu</i>	Seventh Moon.
<i>Hachigatsu</i>	Eighth Moon.
<i>Kugatsu</i>	Ninth Moon.
<i>Jûgatsu</i>	Tenth Moon.
<i>Jûichigatsu</i>	Eleventh Moon.
<i>Jûnigatsu</i>	Twelfth Moon.

The months had also poetical, but no less practical, appellations, as follows:

1. *Mutsuki* (Social month), *Umutzuki* (Birth month), or *Taro-zuki* (Eldest-son month).
2. *Kisaragi* (Putting on new clothes).
3. *Yayoi* (Great growth).
4. *Uzuki* (Hare month), or *Mugi-aki* (Wheat harvest).
5. *Satsuki* (Early moon).
6. *Minazuki* (Waterless month [period of drought]).
7. *Fumizuki* (Rice-blooming month, or Composition month).
8. *Hatsuki* (Leafy month), or *Trukimi-zuki* (Moon-viewing month).¹
9. *Nagatsuki* (Long moon), or *Kikuzuki* (*Oryzanthemum* month).

¹ Or *Ina-agari-zuki* (Month when the rice comes up), or *Memizuki* (Red-leaves month).

10. *Kannazuki* (Godless month),¹ or *Koharu* (Little Spring).²
 11. *Shimotsuki* (Frost month), or *Yogetsu* (Sunny month).
 12. *Shiwatsu* (Finishing-up month), or *Gokugetsu* (Last moon).

The appropriateness of these names will be more evident if one bears in mind that the New Year of the lunar calendar begins from 3 to 6 weeks later than January 1.

3. The four seasons of spring, summer, autumn, and winter were recognized; and there were 24 periods³ of 14 or 15 days each, which to a great extent indicated the weather, and which the farmer carefully followed in planning his labours. These were as follows, beginning in February, about the time of the beginning of the New Year (Old Cal.):

1. <i>Rissun</i> (Rise of Spring)	February.
2. <i>Usui</i> (Rain Water)	
3. <i>Keichitsu</i> (Awakening of Insects)	March.
4. <i>Shunbun</i> (Vernal Equinox)	
5. <i>Seimei</i> (Clear and Bright)	April.
6. <i>Koku-u</i> (Cereal Rain)	
7. <i>Rikka</i> (Rise of Summer)	May.
8. <i>Shōman</i> (Little Filling)	
9. <i>Bōshu</i> (Grain in Ear)	June.
10. <i>Geshi</i> (Summer Solstice)	
11. <i>Shōsho</i> (Little Heat)	July.
12. <i>Taisho</i> (Great Heat)	

official holiday, and with names adapted from the Occidental names, as follows:

<i>Nichiyōbi</i> ¹	(Sun-day)=Sunday.
<i>Getsuyōbi</i>	(Moon-day)=Monday.
<i>Kwayōbi</i>	(Mars-day)=Tuesday.
<i>Suiyōbi</i>	(Mercury-day)=Wednesday.
<i>Mokuyōbi</i>	(Jupiter-day)=Thursday.
<i>Kinyōbi</i>	(Venus-day)=Friday.
<i>Doyōbi</i>	(Saturn-day)=Saturday.

There was, moreover, another division of the month more or less common even at the present day. By it each month is divided into three periods, called *jun*, of about ten days, known as *jōjun*, *chūjun*, and *gejun* (upper, middle, and lower decades).

5. The days of each month were named, not only in numerical order, but also according to the sexagenary tables mentioned above in connexion with the names of the years in 'a cycle of Cathay.' And the latter names were perhaps more important than the numerical ones, because, according to these special names, a day was judged to be either lucky or unlucky for particular events.

SYNOPSIS OF THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE.

Names of the constellations in the Sino-Japanese zodiac.	Wood.		Fire.		Earth.		Metal.		Water.		Names of our corresponding constellations.
	<i>Ki-no.</i>		<i>Hi-no.</i>		<i>Tsuchi-no.</i>		<i>Ka[ne]-no.</i>		<i>Mizu-no.</i>		
	<i>e.</i>	<i>to.</i>	<i>e.</i>	<i>to.</i>	<i>e.</i>	<i>to.</i>	<i>e.</i>	<i>to.</i>	<i>e.</i>	<i>to.</i>	
Rat (<i>ne[zu]mi</i>) . . .	1		13		25		37		49		Aries.
Ox (<i>ushi</i>)		2		14		26		38		50	Taurus.
Tiger (<i>tora</i>)	51		3		15		27		39		Gemini.
Hare (<i>u[sagi]</i>) . . .		52		4		16		28		40	Cancer.
Dragon (<i>tatsu</i>) . . .	41		53		5		17		29		Leo.
Serpent (<i>mi</i>) [<i>hebi</i>] .		42		54		6		18		30	Virgo.
Horse (<i>uma</i>)	31		43		55		7		19		Libra.
Goat (<i>hitsuji</i>) . . .		32		44		56		8		20	Scorpio.
Monkey (<i>saru</i>)	21		33		45		57		9		Sagittarius.
Cock (<i>tori</i>)		22		34		46		58		10	Capricornus.
Dog (<i>inu</i>)	11		23		35		47		59		Aquarius.
Boar (<i>i</i>) [<i>wi</i>]		12		24		36		48		60	Pisces.

13. *Rissshū* (Rise of Autumn) } August.
 14. *Shōsho* (Limit of Heat) }
 15. *Hakuro* (White Dew) } September.
 16. *Shūbun* (Autumnal Equinox) }
 17. *Kamro* (Cold Dew) } October.
 18. *Sōkō* (Frost Fall) }
 19. *Rittō* (Rise of Winter) }
 20. *Shōsetsu* (Little Snow) } November
 21. *Taishetsu* (Great Snow) }
 22. *Tōji* (Winter Solstice) } December.
 23. *Shōkan* (Little Cold) }
 24. *Daikan* (Great Cold) } January.

4. In Old Japan the week was unknown; and it was not until the present era [Meiji] that the *ichi-roku*, or holidays on the 'ones' and 'sixes' of each month,⁴ were introduced. This was speedily abandoned for the week system, with Sunday as an

¹ The Shinto gods (*kami*), except Ebisu (god of wealth), who is deaf and does not hear the summons, were all supposed to leave the other parts of the country and to assemble in 'annual conference' in their ancestral home of Idzumo. And as the gods had thus neglected their usual business of watching over the people, it was not considered of any use to offer prayers or sacrifices, and that month was called *kami-naki-tsuki*, or *kami-na-zuki*, or *kanna-zuki*.

² Corresponding to 'Indian summer.'

³ There were also 72 periods, more minute.

⁴ 1st, 6th, 11th, 16th, 21st, 26th, 31st.

6. The hours were named both numerically and zoologically. The first plan was as follows:

<i>Kokonotsu-doki</i> (ninth hour)	11 p.m.-1 a.m. and 11 a.m.-1 p.m.
<i>Yatsu-doki</i> (eighth hour)	1-3 a.m. and p.m.
<i>Nanatsu-doki</i> (seventh hour)	3-5 a.m. and p.m.
<i>Mutsu-doki</i> (sixth hour) ²	5-7 a.m. and p.m.
<i>Itsutsu-doki</i> (fifth hour)	7-9 a.m. and p.m.
<i>Yotsu-doki</i> (fourth hour)	9-11 a.m. and p.m.

With reference to this old-fashioned way of marking the hours, we quote further words of explanation from Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* (p. 470):

'Why, it will be asked, did they count the hours backwards? A case of Japanese topsy-turvydom, we suppose. But then why, as there were six hours, not count from six to one, instead of beginning at so arbitrary a number as nine? The reason is this: Three preliminary strokes were always struck, in order to warn people that the hour was about to be sounded. Hence, if the numbers one, two, and three had been used to denote any of the actual hours, confusion might have arisen between them and the preliminary strokes—a confusion analogous to that which, in our own still imperfect method of striking the hour, leaves us in doubt whether the single stroke we hear is half-past twelve, one o'clock, half-past one, or any other of the numerous half-hours.'

¹ These names are directly derived from the names of the planets.

² In reckoning the hours, a distinction was sometimes made between the morning and evening, as follows: *ake-mutsu*. (6 a.m.) and *kure-mutsu* (6 p.m.).

We may add that this style of computation is based on multiples of 'nine' ($1 \times 9 = 9$, $2 \times 9 = 18$, $3 \times 9 = 27$, $4 \times 9 = 36$, $5 \times 9 = 45$, $6 \times 9 = 54$), and in each case the 'tail' figure of the product was chosen as the name of the hour (9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4).

The second plan, based upon the heavenly menagerie, was as follows:

1. Hour of the Rat,	11 p.m.-1 a.m.
2. " " Ox,	1-3 a.m.
3. " " Tiger,	3-5 a.m.
4. " " Hare,	5-7 a.m.
5. " " Dragon,	7-9 a.m.
6. " " Serpent,	9-11 a.m.
7. " " Horse,	11 a.m.-1 p.m.
8. " " Goat,	1-3 p.m.
9. " " Monkey,	3-5 p.m.
10. " " Cock,	5-7 p.m.
11. " " Dog,	7-9 p.m.
12. " " Boar,	9-11 p.m.

By both of these systems, each 'hour' was 120 minutes in length; but it was also divided into *jōkoku* and *gekoku* (upper and lower *koku*), each of which was thus equivalent to 60 minutes.

There is also a division of the night into watches (*kō*), five in number, as follows:

Shōkō, First Watch—Fifth Hour, 7-9 p.m.
Nikō, Second Watch—Fourth Hour, 9-11 p.m.
Sankō, Third Watch—Ninth Hour, 11 p.m.-1 a.m.
Shikō, Fourth Watch—Eighth Hour, 1-3 a.m.
Gokō, Fifth Watch—Seventh Hour, 3-5 a.m.

7. Festivals and holidays demand some attention in connexion with the calendar.

The *go-sekku*, or five festivals, were, and are, carefully observed, although their dates have been changed to fit the new solar calendar. They fell on the first¹ (or, as some say, seventh) day of the first month, the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, the seventh day of the seventh month, and the ninth day of the ninth month. They have various names, of which the most general are those made from the names of the months, such as *Shōgatsu-no-Sekku* (First Moon's Festival), etc. But these names are not so commonly used as more specific ones, which describe more or less particularly the nature of the festival. For instance, the festival of the Third Month is well known as *Jōmi-no-Sekku* (the Girls' Festival), or *Hinamatsuri* (Dolls' Festival); that of the fifth month is the famous *Tango-no-Sekku* (the Boys' Festival), or *Nobori-no-Sekku* (Banner Festival); that of the seventh month is commonly called *Tanabata-no-Sekku* (Festival of the Star Vega); while that of the ninth month is called *Chōyō-no-Sekku* (Indian Summer Festival), or *Kiku-no-Sekku* (Chrysanthemum Festival). Moreover, the Girls' Festival is also called *Momo-no-Sekku* (Peach Festival), and the Boys' Festival is called *Shōbu-no-Sekku* (Sweet Flag Festival).²

The national holidays are as follows:

Shinhōai	January 1.
Genji-sai	January 3.
Kōmei Tennō Sai	January 30.
Kigen-setsu	February 11.
Shunki Kōrei Sai	(about) March 21.
Jimmu Tennō Sai	April 3.
Shūki Kōrei Sai	(about) September 24.
Kanname Sai	October 17.
Tenchō-setsu	November 3.
Ninname Sai	November 23.

Shinhōai means 'four-sides-worship,' i.e. from the four points of the compass, or from all sides. *Genji-sai* means 'first-beginning-festival.' *Tenchō-setsu* is the Emperor's birthday. *Kigen-setsu* was originally a festival in honour of the ascension of Jimmu, the first Emperor, to the throne, and was thus the anniversary of the establishment of the Old Empire; but it is now observed also as the celebration of the promulgation of the Constitution (Feb. 11, 1889), and is thus the anniversary of the establishment of the New Empire. The *Jimmu Tennō* Festival, on April 3, is the so-called anniversary of the death of the Emperor Jimmu. The *Kanname* Festival in October celebrates the offer-

¹ Originally so established in the reign of the Emperor Uda (A.D. 888-897).

² See also the present writer's *Japanese Floral Calendar*, and J. Conder's elaborate paper in *TASSI*, vol. xvii. pt. II. pp. 1-96.

ing of first-fruits to the ancestral deities, and the *Niname* Festival in November celebrates the tasting of those first-fruits by the Emperor. The Spring and Autumn Festivals, in March and September, are adaptations of the Buddhist equinoctial festivals of the dead, *Higan*, and are especially observed for the worship of the Imperial ancestors. The Emperor Kōmei was the father of the present Emperor, Mutsu Hito, and reigned from 1847 to 1867. The 16th of January and July were and still are special holidays for servants and apprentices. The 17th of each month is a regular holiday for Tōkyō barbers.

Another special occasion is that known as *Setsubun*, which directly marks the end of winter and indirectly the end of the year. Theoretically, the two should correspond, but they do so only once in a few years. And yet *Setsubun* is a kind of 'New Year's Eve' and is an important festival. It is the time when beans are scattered around in every house to scare away the devils, and the following formula is also supposed to be effective:

O-ni wa soto! *Fuku wa uchi,*

'Out with the devils! In with good fortune.'

This is also the occasion when 'each person present eats one more [bean] than the number of the years of his age.' The food eaten then is known as *azukimeshi*, and consists of red beans mixed with rice. This was likewise eaten in olden times on the 1st, 15th, and 28th of each month, which were the 'three days' (*sanjitsu*) then regularly observed as holidays. For a fuller description of *Setsubun*, see Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, vol. ii. pp. 498-503; and for interesting notes on the New Year's Festival, see pp. 493-498 of the same volume.

8. A few words of explanation of the system of *nengō* may be interesting. Those eras do not regularly, but only occasionally, correspond with the reigns of the Emperors, because 'a new one was chosen whenever it was deemed necessary to commemorate an auspicious or ward off a malign event.' But hereafter the era will correspond with the reign of an Emperor. The names of some of these eras are quite famous, like the Elizabethan or the Victorian Era in English history. As the first era was a time of great reforms, it is known as the Taikwa Reformation; the Engi era, in the tenth century, is celebrated for important legislation; the Genroku era, in the seventeenth century, was 'a period of great activity in various arts'; and the Tempō era, of recent days, was 'the last brilliant period of feudalism before its fall.' This name was also given to the large 8-*rin* piece coined in that era. The Wadō era, in the fourteenth century, was so named on account of the discovery of copper; and the second era, Hakuchi, commemorates a 'white pheasant' presented to the Emperor. The present era is known as Meiji, which means 'enlightened rule.' The names of these periods are formed by the various combinations, more or less appropriate, of 68 Chinese words of good omen.

9. An explanation is necessary concerning the Japanese method of reckoning, which is 'inclusive.' Moreover, in the case of ages, the computation was made from New Year's Day, which thus became a kind of national birthday, as the birthday of the individual was not considered of sufficient importance. Thus a child born on the last day of a year would be considered two years old on the first day of the next year, because he had lived in both of these years. Therefore, in case of inquiring a person's age, it would be very important to know whether the reply gave 'Japanese years' or full years. Ignorance or forgetfulness of this

¹ But in shipping and express companies it is unlucky to repeat the first stanza, because *o-ni* may mean 'honourable freight,' or 'baggage.'

distinction has often led to mistakes, and quite serious ones, in the case of historical records, chronicles, and genealogical tables. The inclusive reckoning must also be carefully noted in such expressions as 'ten days ago,' 'ten days later,' 'for ten days,' etc., which may mean what Occidentals would express by 'eleven days.'

There is now, of course, considerable confusion between the old and the new calendars, of which the latter is official, but the former is popular and still observed in country districts. This confusion naturally leads to some ludicrous anachronisms. For instance, the 7th day of the 1st month (O.C.) was known as *Nanakusa* ('Seven Herbs'), because the people were wont to go out into the fields and gather seven certain kinds of vegetables for use on that day; but January 7 is too cold and too early. In some cases, however, the old day is retained, no matter whether it fits the new calendar or not.

LITERATURE.—Clement, 'Japanese Calendars,' in *TASJ*, vol. xxx, pt. 1; Braunsen and Clement, 'Jap. Chron. Tables,' *ib.* vol. xxvii, suppl.; Rein, *Japan*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1881-86; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, London, 1905; Inouye, *Sketches of Tokyo Life*, Tokyo, 1897; Tamura, *Japanese Bride*, New York, 1893; Griffiths, *The Mikado's Empire*, New York, 1888; Honda, *the Samurai*, Boston, 1890; Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Boston, 1894; *Japanese Miscellany*, Boston, 1901; *Shadows*, Boston, 1900; Mrs. Harris, *Log of a Japanese Journey*, Meadville, 1891; *Official History of the Empire of Japan*, Tokyo, 1893; *The Japanese Months*, Tokyo, 1898; Hachihama, *Superstitious Japan* (in Japanese), Tokyo; Clement, *Japanese Floral Calendar*, Chicago, 1905; J. Conder, *Flowers of Japan*, Tokyo, 1892, and *Floral Art of Japan*, London, 1900; Piggett, *Garden of Japan*, London, 1892; Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, I., Leipzig, 1906, pp. 450-498; Lanegge, *Mizuhogusa*, III., Leipzig, 1886, pp. 289-296; Schram, *Kalenderographische und chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. xxvi-xxx, 239-276 (conversion tables).

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CALENDAR (Jewish).—I. Historical.—The Exile in Babylon had considerable effect upon the calendar used by the Jews, as upon so many other features of their religious life. It was during the Exile that they became acquainted with the names of the months which they retain to the present day, and to which a Bab. origin is actually assigned by the Talmud (Jerus. *Rōsh Hashshānā*, I. fol. 56*a*, l. 13 from bottom). Our earliest authority for these names is now the Assuan Papyri (ed. Sayce-Cowley, London, 1906), which make mention of the following months: Ab (Pap. F), Elul (A. H), Tishri (G), Kislev (B, C, D, E, J), and Shebat (K). In the later discovered papyri edited by Sachau (Berlin, 1907) we find, further, Tammūz (*Document* i. 1. 4. 19) and Marcheshvan (*ib.* l. 30; *ib.* ii. 1. 28). Of the former group the post-exilic books of the Bible mention Elul, Kislev, and Shebat, and in addition furnish the names Nisan (Neh 2, Est 3), Sivan (Est 8), Tēbeth (2⁶), and Adar (3¹⁸ etc.). But the older practice of distinguishing the months by numbers must have remained in force alongside of the new nomenclature, and accordingly we find such expressions as 'in the first month, which is the month Nisan' (Est 3), or simply 'in the first month' (3¹²). This is the case likewise in 1 Mac., where we find τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνάρτου οὗτος ὁ μὴν χάσθην (4⁵²), and also τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ πρώτου (9³), etc. (cf. Schürer, *GVJ*³ i. 32). A complete list of the twelve months—*Iyyar* being added to the foregoing names—is given in the so-called *Megillath Ta'anith* ('Roll of Fasts'), which probably dates from the beginning of the 1st cent. A.D. (cf. Schürer, i. 745; *JE* viii. 427). The name of the 13th, or intercalary, month is first met with in the Mishna (*Megilla*, i. 4; *Nēdarim*, viii. 5), occurring there as יָרֵחַ אָדָר ('second Adar'). In the Mishna, too, the number of days in a lunar year is fixed at 354, and in a solar year at 364 (cf. esp. *Tosefta Nazir*, i. 3, ed. Zuckerman). From which some of the material here used is taken by permission.

del, *Pasewalk*, 1880, p. 284, l. 5); but this would, of course, apply only to common years.

As regards the intercalary month, it has been maintained, especially by Mahler (cf. Schürer, i. 748, n. 2), that, as the Babylonians had an intercalary cycle of 19 years, this may well have been adopted by the Jews. But the investigations of Oppert (*ZDMG* li. 138) and Weissbach (*ib.* iv. 195) have shown the futility of the assumption.¹ The Assuan Papyri yield ample proof of the fact that at the time after the Exile no such fixed cycle was in use among the Jews, and this would appear to be true also of the Talmudic period.² An eight-year cycle (*oktaeteris*) is probably referred to in the Book of Enoch (74¹³⁻¹⁶), and Sextus Julius Africanus (early 3rd cent.) says that both the Greeks and the Jews intercalate three extra months every eight years (cf. Poznański, *JQR* x. 156); but the statements are somewhat indefinite (Schürer, i. 751). Explicit mention of the nineteen-year cycle is first made in post-Talmudic writings (see below).

In two pseudepigraphs which date probably from Maccabean times, viz. the Book of Enoch (*Ioc. cit.*) and the Book of Jubilees (ch. 6), it is assumed that the year consists of 364 days, i.e. 52 complete weeks.³ In each case the reckoning is by solar years, but it is hardly likely that this method was in general use at that time. It is recorded by David b. Merwān al-Mikmās (or al-Mukāmmes), a writer of the 9th cent., that the Sadducees observed months of 30 days, i.e. solar months (Poznański, *REJ*, vol. i. p. 19). This testimony, however, adds the disadvantage of obscurity to that of lateness. It finds no support in Talmudic sources.

Records dating from the closing years of the Second Temple inform us that the time of new-moon was fixed on the evidence of observers who declared that they had desecrated the crescent in the sky. This would imply that no one knew beforehand whether the month was to have 29 days (hence called 'defective,' וָחֹסֶר) or 30 days ('full,' מָלֵא; cf. Bornstein, *op. cit.* 26 ff.). The regulation of the month was probably at first in the hands of the priests,⁴ and was afterwards committed to the Sanhedrin. Similarly, a leap-year was decided upon only when required, the main factor in the question being the state of the young crops, as it was desired that the Passover

¹ Also the hypothesis that this cycle was observed in ancient Babylonia, as held by Winckler, Jeremias, and others, must be unequivocally rejected (cf. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sternnamen in Babel*, Münster, 1907 ff., II. 192; Ungnad, in *OLZ*, 1910, p. 66). Moreover, to judge from the data collected by Kugler (i. 212), the regular employment of a nineteen-year cycle cannot be attributed to the Babylonians till the Seljūk era, by which time the influence of Greece may well have been making itself felt (see also Schürer, l. 745).

² In reference to the calendar of the Assuan Papyri, see Schürer and Ginzel in *Th. Lxxvii.* (1907), nos. 1 and 2; Gutschman, *REJ* lvi. (1907) 194; Bornstein, *The Chronological Data of the Assuan Papyri* (in Heb.), Warsaw, 1909; and Westberg, *Die bibl. Chronologie nach Flavius Josephus*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 103 ff. Belléu (*An independent Examination of the Assuan and Elephantine Aramaic Papyri*, London, 1909) assumes that the dates given in these papyri must in all respects harmonize with the cycle of either eight or nineteen years, and then, finding this to be so in neither case, he maintains that the papyri are spurious—a most preposterous conclusion. It is related in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin*, 12*a*) that Aḳiba (first half of 2nd cent. A.D.) reckoned three successive years as intercalary—a fact which proves the non-existence of any intercalary cycle at that time. The same thing took place among the Karaites, who relinquished the method of computing the calendar for that of observing the moon (see below), as is attested by Levi b. Yofeth (beginning of 11th cent.; cited in Pinsker, *Likutei Kadmoniot*, Vienna, 1860, II. 90).

³ According to Epstein (*REJ* xxii. 11; *Eldad ha-Dani*, 1892, p. 156 ff.), the Book of Jubilees has a twofold determination of the year: the civil, with 12 months, eight of which had each 30 days, and four 31 days; and the religious, with 13 months of 28 days. But the theory has not yet been finally confirmed.

⁴ See Zuckermann, *Materialien zur Entwick. der altjüd. Zeitrechnung im Talmud* (Breslau, 1882), p. 7. This work contains a careful and exhaustive compilation of the data supplied by the Talmudic literature with reference to the method of determining both the ordinary and the intercalary month.

should coincide with the earing of the corn (אָרֶז וְאֵינִי);¹ the intercalary month was therefore always an Adar. It was not till a later day that the position of the sun was also taken into account (מִשְׁמַח, *tequfa*; cf. *Tosefta Sanh.* ii. 7). This procedure was continued after the destruction of the Temple, though we are informed that the Patriarch Gamaliel II. (c. 100 A.D.), when examining the first observers of the crescent moon, made use of drawings of the lunar phases (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, ii. 8). He is also said to have fixed the duration of the month at 29½ days, ½ of an hour, and 73 parts of an hour, but the last two terms are undoubtedly a late interpolation (cf. Schwarz, *Der jüd. Kalender*, Breslau, 1872, p. 20; Slonimski, *Yesode ha-'Ibbūr*², p. 34). In course of time less and less attention was paid to the evidence of observers, and various devices of computation were increasingly resorted to, though the Patriarch and his council still continued to fix the time of new moon in the traditional way. This constituted, in fact, one of the strongest elements of cohesion amongst the Jews of the Dispersion, and, as a special prerogative of Palestine, it was most jealously guarded. An attempt made by the Babylonian Jews to free themselves in this regard from the domination of Palestine proved altogether abortive (cf. the story about Hananya the nephew of Joshua b. Hananya [1st half of 2nd cent.] in the *Jerus. Nedarim*, viii. 13 fol. 40 a, l. 30, etc.; also Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, i.² [Strassburg, 1903], 385).

At first the beginning of the month was announced to the various communities by fire-signals, but, as the Samaritans and Boethuseans would sometimes deceive the watchers by false signs, the tidings were afterwards conveyed by special messengers (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, ii. 2). As the messengers, however, could not always reach the communities outside Palestine in time to announce whether new moon would fall on the 30th or the 31st of the old, these outlying groups of Jews kept on the safe side by observing their festivals both on the day appointed by the Scriptures and on the following day, the latter thereby acquiring the name יוֹם שֵׁנִי לַיּוֹם ('Second feast-day of the Diaspora'). The Day of Atonement, however, was celebrated on the 10th of Tishri only, and thus formed an exception to the rule (but cf. *Jerus. Hallā*, i. 1, fol. 57c, l. 14).

In the period of the Amoraim, of whom some were resident in Palestine, and others in Babylonia (3rd–5th cent.), we hear with increasing frequency of calculations and regulations for the calendar. One of the most eminent workers in this field was Samuel, 'the astronomer' (first half of the 3rd cent.), who taught in Babylonia, and who, it appears, sought to systematize the calendar, but was unable to carry out his design (Schwarz, *op. cit.* p. 32, n. 1). He is said to have drawn up a calendar available for 60 years (*Hullin*, 95a), and was the first of his nation to maintain that the year consists of 365½ days (*ʿErubin*, 56a), though he was still unaware of other essential principles of the calendar (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, 20b). One by one, however, these principles were adopted, though the general practice remained somewhat capricious in its adhesion thereto (see, e.g., Zuckermann, *op. cit.* 46). One of the Palestinian Amoraim, Simon by name (c. 300 A.D.), speaks of 'calculators of the calendar' (אֲלֵי תַּחְסֵּבִין); *Jerus. Sukkā*, iv. 1, fol. 54b, l. 17; cf. Zuckermann, p. 61); while another, Huna b. Abin (middle of 4th cent.), enjoined that, in deciding upon an intercalary month, regard should be had exclusively to the position of the sun (*tequfa*; *Rōsh Hashshānā*, 21a), etc. Political

occurrences and the constantly increasing despotism of Rome simply forced the Jews to devise a means of determining the times of new moons and feasts independently of eye-witnesses. It is even recorded that during the campaign of Gallus (from A.D. 351 onwards), who dealt very harshly with the communities in Palestine, an intercalary month was inserted after Ab instead of Adar (*Sanhedrin*, 12a; cf. Graetz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, 1868–78, iv. note 31). It is also stated by Jose, an Amora who lived about this time, that the Feast of Purim (celebrated on 14th Adar) must never fall upon a Sabbath or a Monday, as in that case the Day of Atonement would fall upon a Friday or a Sunday—a contingency which on many grounds was forbidden (*Jerus. Megillā*, i. 2, fol. 70b, l. 23). By that time, therefore, the sequence of months from Adar to Tishri must have been precisely laid down. Jose is also reported to have sent a fixed order of festivals to the communities of the Diaspora (*Jerus. ʿErubin*, iii. end fol. 24c, l. 24). These various items, however, form but the rudiments of a continuous calendar.

Such a continuous calendar, according to a tradition that goes back to Hai Gaon (†1038), was constructed by the Patriarch Hillel II. in A.D. 359 (or, according to another version, 500, though by this time the day of Patriarchs was past). But the tradition, which stands quite alone, is confronted with grave objections. Of these the following two are of special weight: (1) The supposed calendar is never referred to in the Talmud, which received its final redaction at the end of the 5th cent. A.D. Nothing whatever is said there about the length of the month or the nineteen-year cycle, or anything else of the kind. (2) It is psychologically improbable that the Patriarch would of his own initiative divest himself of his highest privilege, and likewise of his most powerful means of influence amongst the Jewish communities both in Palestine and beyond it. Moreover, from the early post-Talmudic age we have dates which cannot be reconciled with the regular calendar in use to-day.¹ In point of fact, everything goes to indicate that the calendar, like all other productions of the kind, passed through a developing series of forms, and that it assumed its final shape in the schools of the official representatives of Judaism (called Geonim) in Babylonia.² To the period of the Geonim, say the 7th and 8th cents., likewise belong two treatises relevant to the subject. One of these is entitled *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, and contains almost all the elements of the modern calendar (chaps. 6–8), but it shows so many instances of self-contradiction that we must assume the presence of various interpolations (cf. also Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*³, 1892, p. 287 ff.). The other, *Baraita de Samuel (ed. princeps, Salonica, 1861)*, is wholly engaged with astronomy, and yields a single date, 776 (beginning of cap. v.; cf. below, and *JE* ii. 520), but says nothing at all about regulations for the calendar.

In the 7th and 8th cents., again, Judaism in the East was disturbed by the rise of various sects, many of which refused to recognize the existing calendar. One of its outstanding assailants was Anan b. David, the founder of Karaism (2nd half of 8th cent.), who abandoned the method of computation, as being repugnant to Scripture, and reinstated that of lunar observation (see art.

¹ One such date is the year 506, and another the year 776; cf. Bornstein, מְחֻלָּק רֵב קִדְּוִי נָאֻךְ וְכֵן אֲחֵרִי (Warsaw, 1904), p. 18.

² The first to indicate Babylon as the birthplace of the Jewish calendar was Th. Reinach (*REJ* xvii. 90 ff.), but the grounds on which he builds are false. Conclusive proof of the view that the continuous calendar had its origin in Babylonia during the post-Talmudic period is furnished at the earliest by the proceedings of Ben Meir (see below), the inference therefrom having been drawn by the present writer (*JQR* x. 152 ff.), and then elaborated by Bornstein in the treatise just cited.

³ Cf. the story told of Gamaliel I. (at a time, therefore, when the Temple was still in existence) in *Tosefta Sanhedrin*, ii. 6 (p. 417a).

KARAISM). It is said, however, that in taking this step 'Anān simply wished to make a concession to the predominant power of Islām, and thus ingratiate himself with the Khalif (cf. Poznański, *REJ* xliv, 167). He is also said to have maintained that the intercalary month might be inserted as legitimately after Shebat as after Adar (Kirkisāni, *Kitāb al-'amwār*, ed. Harkavy, p. 313, l. 7; al-Biruni, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1876-78, p. 69 [Arab. text] = p. 69 [Eng. tr.]). One of Anān's successors, Benjamin al-Nahawendi (9th cent.), states that there are two kinds of months: religious or lunar months of 29 or 30 days, which serve to fix the dates of feasts and fasts, and civil or solar months of 30 days. In order to allow for the residual five days (he ignores the odd hours altogether), he proposes that a month be intercalated every six years, so that after a cycle of 42 years (7×6) the months will again begin on the same day (cf. Poznański, *REJ* l. 19). That the 1st of the month, or the feast-day, should always coincide with the same day of the week—as would be possible only if the year contained an integral number of weeks, or 364 days—was a desideratum also of the sect of Maghāriya ('cave-dwellers'), whose period remains unascertained, and the Okbarites, whose founder, Meswi al-Okbari, lived in the latter part of the 9th cent. (*REJ*, loc. cit.). Jehuda the Persian, another heretic of that age, affirms that the Jews had always reckoned by solar months (ib.). The importance attached to the recognition or repudiation of the then existing calendar may be gauged by the fact that the official circles of Judaism were free to intermarry with the Isawites,¹ who actually recognized Jesus and Muhammad as prophets, but not with the Karaites, the ground of distinction being simply that the former received the calendar while the latter did not (*JQR* x, 159).

Against all these sectaries and heretics a stand was made by the Gaon Saadya b. Joseph al-Fayyūmi (892-942). In order to safeguard the existing system of calendar, he broached the remarkable theory that it was of immemorial antiquity, and that months and festivals had always been determined by calculation. He maintained that observation of the moon was introduced only in the time of Antigonus of Socho (3rd cent. B.C.), as heretics had arisen who questioned the accuracy of the calculations, and that this step was taken simply to show that calculation and observation were in perfect accord (see *REJ* xliv, 176).² It was an easy matter for the Karaites to quash this theory by means of data from the Talmud (cf. Poznański, *JQR* x, 271; also *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadia Gaon*, London, 1908, *passim*), and the majority of Rabbinical authorities had likewise to admit that Saadya's contentions were absurd.

The last great controversy regarding the validity of the now universally recognized calendar broke out in 921. In that year, Ben Meir, a character otherwise unknown, made his appearance in Palestine, claiming to be a descendant of the Patriarchs. He sought to restore the prerogative of the Holy Land in the fixing of new moons and festivals, the means to be employed, however, being no longer observation but calculation. He proceeded to modify one of the most important regulations of the calendar. It had been laid down that, if the conjunction of sun and moon which marks the

beginning of Tishri took place after noon on a particular day, the statutory beginning of that month should be transferred to the day following, and that, if the latter happened to be Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday, on none of which Tishri could legally begin (see below), a delay of two days should be made. Now, Ben Meir professed to have a tradition to the effect that the month of Tishri is to begin on the day of conjunction, save only in the case where that event takes place 642 parts of an hour after midday—the hour comprising 1080 parts (see below). On this principle the variation in fixing the months and festivals might amount to one or even two days. A case in point occurred in the years 921-923, and a cleavage between the Palestinian and the Babylonian Jews was the result. This dispute is referred to by the Karaite Sahl b. Masliah (end of 10th cent.; see Pinsker, *Liḥkute Kadmōniot*, ii, 36) and the Syrian Elia of Nisibis (*Frag. syr. u. arab. Historiker*, ed. Baethgen, Leipzig, 1884, p. 84), neither of whom, however, mentions Ben Meir by name. The Jewish exilarch of the day invoked the aid of the young but erudite Saadya al-Fayyūmi, who disputed the position of the innovator with complete success. The definite interval selected by Ben Meir, viz. 642 parts of an hour, is, no doubt, traceable to the fact that, while the Jewish calendar was based upon the meridian of Babylonia, Ben Meir and his predecessors reckoned from that of Palestine. Now, in Palestine the year began with Nisan; in Babylonia, with Tishri. But the particular new moon of Nisan which formed the starting-point of the Palestinian reckoning fell on a Wednesday at nine hours of the day and 642 parts of an hour. When this number was transferred to Babylonia the fractional part was dropped, and hence the variation introduced by Ben Meir.¹ In any case, the controversy shows that the Jewish calendar had its origin in Babylonia during the period of the Gaons; and this conclusion is abundantly confirmed by other facts, which will be further discussed below, in the systematic part. But even Ben Meir never ventured to propose a return to the method of lunar observation.

The sole adherents of the latter were the Karaites, who had reverted in all respects to the ancient practice of determining the time of new moon by observation, and intercalating a thirteenth month when required by the state of the crops, i.e. the ripening ears ('*Abib*'). One of the earliest of that sect, Daniel al-Kūmisi, held, indeed, that all recourse to astronomical calculation was mere cloud-peering and star-gazing, quoting against it Dt 18¹⁰ (Harkavy, *Studien u. Mitteilungen*, viii, i, 189), and his example was followed by nearly all the Karaites. Only if the atmospherical conditions rendered observation impossible was it allowable to resort to approximative calculations (Heb. קרבה, cf. Bornstein, *Chronological Data*, p. 38). Not till the 14th cent. did they accept the nineteen-year cycle, and even then only for regions far away from Palestine, such as Byzantium, the Crimea, Poland, etc. In Egypt, for instance, as late as the 17th cent., we still find the practice of intercalating a supplementary month as necessity required (cf. Gurland, *Ginze Israhel*, Lyck, 1865, i, 5). But the Karaites, scattered as they were in various countries, fell into confusion in the matter, and celebrated the same festival on different days. They were thus compelled gradually to fall back upon the expedient of calculation, and to construct astronomical tables for the purpose. One of the first to draw up such tables was Elia Bashiatchi of Constantinople

¹ The founder of this sect, 'Abū 'Isā al-Isfahāni, arose c. 700 A.D., and adherents were still to be found in the 10th cent. (cf. Poznański, *JQR* xvi, 770).

² A second theory was advanced by Maimonides († 1204), viz. that the method of calculation was always known, but could be legally resorted to only if the method of observation were abandoned, i.e. if there should no longer be a Sanhedrin in Palestine (see Bornstein, *op. cit.* 151).

¹ The first to call attention to this matter was Bornstein in the monograph already cited. The strictures of Epstein (*Eggoren*, v, 1906, 118-142) are incompetent. Cf. also Joffe in the Heb. *Encyc. Osar Israel*, s.v. 'Ben Meir' (Hil., New York, 1909, p. 100 ff.).

(† 1490), whose book was called *Adderet Eliyahu* (ed. princeps, Constantinople, 1531). A thoroughgoing reformer appeared in Isaac b. Salomo of Chufut-Kale, in the Crimea (1755–1826), who, in his *Or ha-Lebāna* (Zitomir, 1872), maintained that perpetually repeated observations were unnecessary. He takes as his starting-point the new moon of Tishri 1779, when the so-called limits of visibility, i.e. the sum of the elongation and the arc of vision (*arcus visionis*), amounted to 13° 7', and makes this the minimal limit, so that the day for which that particular result is given by calculation is thereby constituted the beginning of the month. He lays it down as a necessary condition that the moon shall not set before the sun. His followers, however, have discarded even the latter provision, and, in fact, take into account only the elongation, whose minimal limit is fixed at a little over 4° (cf. Jehuda Kokizov, *Binā la-Ittim*, ii., Odessa, 1879, p. 2 ff.). Among the Karaites of the present day, accordingly, the determination of new moons and festivals depends wholly on the interval between conjunction and sunset, thus approximating—in theory—very closely to the method of the Rabbanites. In practice, however, the difference in the dating of festivals may amount to one or even two days. Nor do the modern Karaites recognize the so-called *dehiyoth*, 'displacements' (see below).

2. **System and principles.**—The Jewish calendar now in use is based upon a luni-solar system. The months are lunar, but provision is made for a periodic adjustment with the solar year. This is effected by the device of intercalating a month seven times in a cycle of 19 years, viz. in the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th years (see below). As in all calendars of this type, the day commences with sunset, but the calendar day is reckoned from 6 p.m., and comprises 24 successive hours. The hour is divided into 1080 *halagim*, 'parts,' the *heleg* being thus equal to $\frac{1}{36}$ seconds. This division is presupposed in works referring to the above-mentioned controversy between Ben Meir and Saadya (A.D. 921), but its origin is assigned to the sons of Issachar, who are said to have pursued the study of astronomy.¹ The number 1080 was fixed upon probably because it has many different sets of factors (Schwarz, *op. cit.* p. 48). Now, as the days of the week are distinguished in Hebrew not by names but by ordinal numbers, any definite point of time is commonly indicated by three numbers, specifying day, hour, and *heleg* respectively. Thus, e.g., 3 d. 17 h. 480 p. (Heb. ה'י"ז ב'י"ג) signifies Tuesday, 11 h. 26' 40" a.m. In one particular instance, viz. the so-called *tegufo* of R. Adā—to be mentioned later—the *heleg* itself was divided into 76 *rega'im*.

The duration of the synodical month, i.e. the interval between one conjunction (*molad*) and the next, is 29 d. 12 h. 793 p. (י"ב כ"ט ב'י"ג)=29d. 12 h. 44' 3" 20". But, as the calendar month must have an integral number of days, it has either 30 days (never 31), and is then called 'full' (כלי' (מלא), or 29 (never 28), in which case it is called 'defective' (חסר). In the calendar now in use the months Nisan, Sivan, Ab, Tishri, and Shebat are always full, while Iyyar, Tammūz, Elul, Tebeth, and Adar are always defective. Marcheshvan and Kislew may be both full or both defective; or, again, Marcheshvan may be full and Kislew defective.²

¹ A Karaite, still [1910] living (see Poznański, *Die karäische Literatur der letzten 30 Jahre*, Frankfurt, 1910, p. 10).

² Cf., e.g., the passage from the *Sefer 'Ibrōnot* given in Schwarz, p. 21, n. 2. The tradition regarding the astronomical knowledge of the sons of Issachar was derived from 1 Ch 12:3. Saadya Gaon appealed to the same verse as an evidence of the high antiquity of the continuous Jewish calendar, and was on this account assailed by the whole Karaite school (cf. Poznański, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadyah Gaon*, p. 89).

³ We cannot well say why these two months in particular should vary in this way. It may have seemed desirable, how-

In order to ascertain the exact time at which a year begins, it is necessary first of all to fix the conjunction which ushers in its first month, Tishri. This again involves the selection of a definite point from which the reckoning shall proceed. Now, as the world, according to a Talmudic tradition (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, 11a), was created in the month of Nisan, and as the recognized era is reckoned from that event, an attempt was made to calculate the date of the conjunction which began the first Nisan of history, the result thus arrived at being 4 d. 9 h. 642 p., i.e. Wednesday, 3 h. 35' 40" after midnight. The conjunction fixing the first Tishri could then be determined in two ways. One was to calculate half a year backwards from Nisan, giving the result 2 d. 5 h. 204 p. (ב'י"ד); such was the practice in Palestine, and the formula thus found is that in general use. The other method was to calculate the date of the conjunction beginning the following Tishri, with the result 6 d. 14 h. (י"ה)—the formula used in the Bab. schools (Bornstein, *Mahloket*, p. 112). The imaginary conjunction is called 'the *molad* of nothing' (*molad tohu*). Accordingly, if the conjunction of any particular month has been ascertained, it is an easy matter to fix that of the month following, as the date already known needs but to be supplemented by 29 d. 12 h. 793 p., or, as the four complete weeks may be eliminated without affecting the result, 1 d. 12 h. 793 p. (י"ב כ"ט ב'י"ג), which gives what is called the 'character' of the month.

Now the year comprises 12×29 d. 12 h. 793 p., or 354 d. 8 h. 876 p., and a leap-year 13×29 d. 12 h. 793 p., or 383 d. 21 h. 589 p. But as the year, like the month, must have an integral number of days, an ordinary year has either 354 or 355 (but sometimes, as we shall see below, 353), and a leap-year 383 or 384 (sometimes also 385).¹ Hence, if the date of the conjunction of Tishri in any given year is known, we have simply to eliminate the complete weeks, i.e. 350—or 378—days, and then add, for a common year, 4 d. 8 h. 876 p. (י"ד ח'י"ג), and, for a leap-year, 5 d. 21 h. 589 p. (י"ה כ"א ח'י"ג). These two sets of numbers are called 'remainders' (רימיח), and each forms the 'character' of its kind of year.

In order to fix the beginning of the year, i.e. the 1st of Tishri, the date of its conjunction must be calculated. But four possible cases may thus occur, the New Year being delayed by one or even two days. These four contingent delays (*dehiyoth*) are as follows:

1. The New Year cannot begin on a Sunday, or a Wednesday, or a Friday (א"ח, א"ד, ו"ה). The last two days were excluded because otherwise the Day of Atonement (the 10th of Tishri) would fall on a Friday or a Sunday. As early as the Talmudic period, however, the Day of Atonement, for various ceremonial reasons, was not observed on the day immediately before or after the Sabbath (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, 20a). The Sunday, again, was excluded because otherwise the so-called Palm-day (*Hoshāna Rabba*, the 22nd of Tishri) would also fall upon a Sunday—a concurrence likewise prohibited on ritual grounds (*Sukka*, 49b).² In such contingencies, therefore, the New Year is transferred to the following day.

2. Similarly, the New Year must begin a day later when the conjunction takes place after 12 o'clock noon, i.e. after 18 hours of the calendar day, the reason being that the crescent of the new moon is not visible on that evening. A conjunction of this character is called 'old *molad*,' and the rule bearing upon it is already given in the Talmud (*Rōsh Hashshānā*, 20a). But, if

ever, to regulate exactly the months from Nisan to Tishri inclusive, so that the dates of the festivals might be easily ascertained; the irregularities could then be confined to the two months which follow immediately after Tishri.

¹ The reason for placing the limit lower in the case of the common year, and higher in that of the leap-year, was probably that the numbers 353 and 385 respectively approximate more nearly to the actual duration than do the numbers 355 and 383.

² The reasons for which the variation was made were thus of a ritual character in every case, as Geiger (*Jüd. Zeitschr.* vi. 141 ff.) has rightly recognized. The attempts that have been made (so already Maimonides; cf. Schwarz, p. 54 ff.) to give an astronomical explanation of the variation must be regarded as too artificial.

the following day be a Sunday, a Wednesday, or a Friday, the New Year is delayed by two days.

3. If in any year following upon a common year the conjunction of Tishri takes place at or after 3 d. 9 h. 204 p. (א"ו ב' א'), the New Year cannot begin on that day or on the following day—Wednesday (by 1)—and in that case is delayed till Thursday. For, if 3 d. 9 h. 204 p. be added to the 'remainder' of a common year, i.e. 4 d. 8 h. 876 p., the result is 7 d. 18 h. As the Tishri of the following year, however, must not begin on Saturday (by 2) or Sunday (by 1), it would have to be delayed till Monday. But in that case the current year would have 355 days, which exceeds the statutory limit.

4. If the conjunction of Tishri in any year following upon a leap-year takes place at or after 2 d. 15 h. 589 p. (ב' ט"ו חק"ט), the New Year must be transferred to the Tuesday. For, if from these figures, or rather from 7 d. + 2 d. 15 h. 589 p., i.e. 9 d. 15 h. 589 p., the 'character' of a leap-year, viz. 5 d. 21 h. 589 p., be subtracted, the result is 3 d. 18 h. The Tishri of the previous year must, therefore, have begun on a Thursday, as Tuesday is excluded by (2), and Wednesday by (1). But if the current year were made to begin on Monday, the previous (embolismic) year would have only 352 days, which falls short of the lower statutory limit.

The duration of any particular year, i.e. the number of days in it, may accordingly be determined as follows: Calculate the date of the conjunction of Tishri, and also of the Tishri in the year following, allow for the 4 *dehiyoth*, and observe whether the year—if an ordinary year—has 353, 354, or 355 days, or, again—if a leap-year—whether it has 383, 384, or 385 days. If the number be 353 (or 383), the months of Marcheshvan and Kislev are both defective, and the year itself is in that case also called a 'defective' one (חסרה, abbreviated נ). If it has 354 (or 384) days, Marcheshvan is defective

between two leap-years.¹ The various items have been set forth in a table, as given below.

The use of this table may be explained by an example. The *qebia'* ב"ב denotes a year which begins on a Monday (ב) and has 353 days (ה = חסרה, 'defective'). The earlier limit is 7 d. 18 h., for, if the conjunction takes place after 12 o'clock noon on Saturday, the New Year cannot begin on Saturday (*dehiya* 2) or Sunday (*dehiya* 1), but must be delayed till Monday. If the year under consideration be a common year, as, e.g., in Groups II–IV, the following year will begin after 353 days, i.e. on a Thursday. But this, again, is permissible only if the conjunction of the corresponding Tishri takes place at or before 5 d. 17 h. 1079 p. Now, if we subtract from this formula the 'remainder' of a common year, or 4 d. 8 h. 876 p., the result is 1 d. 9 h. 203 p. But if this 'limit' be exceeded, i.e. if the difference amount to 1 d. 9 h. 204 p. or more, the conjunction of the following Tishri will take place at 5 d. 18 h. In that case, however, the following year will not begin before Saturday (by *dehiyoth* 1 and 2), i.e. after 355 days, and the year under consideration would then be 'complete' (ש). Its *qebia'* would thus be no longer ב"ב, but ב"ש. Hence the 'limits' for ב"ב in a common year are, on one side, 7 d. 18 h., and, on the other, 1 d. 9 h. 204 p.

The term *tequfa* ('course of the sun') signifies the moment at which the sun arrives at the equinoctial or solstitial point, or, in other words, the mean beginning of one of the four seasons. Thus we have *tequfat Nisan* (beginning of spring), *tequfat Tammuz* (beginning of summer), *tequfat Tishri* (beginning of autumn), and *tequfat Tebeth* (beginning of winter). The interval between two *tequfoth* was fixed in the 3rd cent. A.D. by the Amora Samuel (see above) at 91 d. 7½ h., the starting-point of the enumeration being made to coincide with the beginning of Nisan, and the first

QEBI'OTH.

Group.	Year of Cycle.	ב"ב	ב"ש	ג"ב	ה"ב	ה"ש	ז"ב	ז"ש
I.	3. 6. 8. 11. 14. 17. 19	7 d. 18 h.	1 d. 20 h. 491 p.	2 d. 18 h.	3 d. 18 h.	4 d. 11 h. 695 p.	5 d. 18 h.	6 d. 20 h. 491 p.
II.	2. 5. 10. 13. 16.	7 d. 18 h.	1 d. 9 h. 204 p.	2 d. 18 h.	3 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 18 h.	6 d. 9 h. 204 p.
III.	1. 4. 9. 12. 15	7 d. 18 h.	1 d. 9 h. 204 p.	2 d. 15 h. 589 p.	3 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 18 h.	6 d. 0 h. 408 p.
IV.	7. 18	7 d. 18 h.	1 d. 9 h. 204 p.	2 d. 15 h. 589 p.	3 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 9 h. 204 p.	5 d. 18 h.	6 d. 9 h. 204 p.

and Kislev full, the year being then designated as 'regular' (בשורה, abbr. ב). Finally, if the number be 355 (or 385), Marcheshvan and Kislev are both full, and such a year is called 'complete' (שלם, abbr. ש). Hence, as the first days of all the other months are determined on antecedent grounds, the complete sequence of festivals and seasons is now known. It is also usual to specify the day of the week on which the Passover begins, and the symbol employed is combined with symbols for New Year's Day and the length of the year in order to indicate the *qebia'* of the year. Thus, for example, the *qebia'* ב"ב signifies that New Year begins on Monday (ב = 2nd day of week), that the year is defective (ה = חסרה, i.e. Marcheshvan and Kislev with 29 days each), and that the Passover begins on Tuesday (ג = 3rd day of week). It may be shown without difficulty that there can be only 14 types of yearly calendars, 7 for common years, and 7 for leap-years.¹

For common years: ו"ש, ח"א, ז"ב, ח"ב, ח"ג, ח"ד, ח"ה, ח"ו, ח"ז, ח"ח, ח"ט.

For leap-years: ו"ש, ח"א, ז"ב, ח"ב, ח"ג, ח"ד, ח"ה, ח"ו, ח"ז, ח"ח, ח"ט.

But the *qebia'* of a year can also be determined without calculating when the ensuing Tishri shall begin. All that is necessary is to take cognizance of the extreme 'limits' (גבולות) within which the conjunction of Tishri must fall. It must then be noted whether the year is a leap-year (Group I.) or a common year; and if the latter, whether it immediately precedes (Group II.) or immediately follows (Group III.) a leap-year, or, finally, occurs

¹ See the detailed proof in Schwarz, p. 62 ff.

tequfa of the series fixed exactly at 4 d. 0 h. (Tuesday, 6 o'clock p.m.), 7 d. 9 h. 642 p. (ב' ו' חס"ב) before the conjunction of the new moon of Nisan. This interval is precisely one quarter of the Julian year. The first *tequfa*, however, moves forward every successive year by 7½ h. × 4 = 1 d. 6 h., which in 28 years amounts to 1 d. 6 h. × 28 = 5 weeks, so that, after a period of 28 years, the first *tequfa* falls on the same day of the week and at the same instant of time as before. This period was therefore called the 'solar cycle' (*mahzôr hamma*) or the 'great cycle' (*mahzôr gādol*). Now, according to Samuel, the length of the solar year is 4 × 91 d. 7½ h., or 365½ days. But it was observed that this did not quite agree with the astronomical facts, and accordingly we find still another *tequfa*, named after Rabbi Adda, which gives 365 d. 5 h. 997 p. 48 rg. (*heleg* = 76 *rega'im*), or 365 d. 5 h. 55' 25.44", as the length of the year, and places the first *tequfat Nisan* only 9 h. 642 p. (ב' חס"ב) before the conjunction. This corresponds very closely with the Ptolemaic year, in which the odd seconds are given sometimes as 10, sometimes as 12. But although the figures of the Rabbi Adda are nearer to the facts than those of Samuel, yet they too

¹ These limits were at a very early date grouped in the so-called 'four gates' (*Arba'ah She'arim*), corresponding to the four days of the week—Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday—on which alone the New Year could begin. So far as we know, the earliest writer to apply the method was Saadya Gaon; cf. Poznanski, *REJ* xl. 87, and Bornstein, *Mahtoket*, p. 99.

show an error, as the precise length of the year is only 365 d. 5 h. 48' 48".

The earliest known reference to the 'tequfa of R. Adda' under that designation is made by Isaac b. Baruch Albala of Cordova (A.D. 1035-1094; cf. Abraham b. Hiya's *Sefer ha-Ibbur*, III, 4), but the period it indicates is already referred to by al-Biruni (Arab. text, p. 183 = Eng. tr. p. 163). He states that, when

the Jews wish to determine the year precisely (أنا دتقوا), they reckon its length as 365 d. 5½ h., which corresponds exactly with the *tequfa* of R. Adda. But this *tequfa* must go still further back, as it agrees with a date (776) mentioned in the *Baraitha* of Samuel (see above).¹ Moreover, the intercalary system in common use among the Jews, of which we shall treat presently, could never have been framed except on the basis of R. Adda's—not Samuel's—*tequfa*.² In all probability, therefore, its duration was calculated about the 8th cent. A.D., i.e. at the period in which the Jews in the East began to study astronomy, and became acquainted with the *Almagest*.³

As already indicated, the Jewish year is a composite arrangement. Its months are lunar, but from time to time an extra month is intercalated in order to effect an adjustment with the solar year. This was done even before the establishment of the continuous calendar. It was regarded as a matter of special importance that the month of Nisan should not begin before its *tequfa* (beginning of spring), and a second Adar was intercalated as required; but at that time nothing was as yet known of a regular and periodic intercalation, recurring according to definite rules. Such an arrangement was in all probability first introduced along with the continuous calendar itself, when the Metonic cycle was adopted. It had been observed that 235 lunar months are equal to 19 solar years. But, as $235 \div 19$ gives the quotient 12, with 7 as remainder, an additional month, a second Adar, was intercalated 7 times in the period of 19 years, which was called the 'little cycle' (*mahzōr qātān*). But while, according to the majority of scholars, the leap-years of both the Metonic and the Callippic system are the 2nd, 5th, 8th, 10th, 13th, 16th, and 18th years of the cycle (cf. *JQR* x. 161), in the Jewish calendar they are the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th (as in the Heb. formula נ"ח נ"ח נ"ח). The most probable explanation of the Jewish order is that the position of the heavenly bodies at the time when the intercalary system was instituted did not require the supplementary month till the 3rd year of the cycle, then the 6th, 8th, etc.; and, as has been said, exact astronomical calculations show that this sequence is in harmony with the *tequfa* of R. Adda. We have also information to

¹ It is here stated, at the beginning of Section V., that 'sun and moon and years of release and *tequfot* were readjusted' in A.M. 4536, and that *tequfat Tishri* (of A.M. 4537) took place on Tuesday, towards the end of the day, and 2 hrs. before the conjunction of the month of Tishri, which occurred at the beginning of Wednesday (= Tuesday, 6 p.m.). This was the 17th of September, A.D. 776. The *tequfa* of Samuel, however, fell 6 d. 11 h. later, i.e. on the 24th of Sept. 5 a.m. Now, if we calculate the *tequfat Nisan* of the Creation by the measurement of R. Adda, we get 4 d. 13 h., which differs from his *tequfa* by 13 h. only. This has been duly emphasized by Bornstein (*Mahloket*, p. 22).

² As the Feast of the Passover could not take place before the beginning of the *tequfat Nisan* (beginning of spring), i.e. the 26th of March, then, according to Samuel's *tequfa*, an intercalary month would already be required at the end of one year, and thereafter at successive intervals of 8, 3, 2, 3, 8 years. This intercalary sequence would not be the ordinary one נ"ח נ"ח נ"ח, see below), נ"ח נ"ח נ"ח. A similar system is found among the Samaritans, who, in fixing the Passover, take account only of the *tequfa*, and had thus, during the 16th cent., the intercalary sequence נ"ח נ"ח נ"ח.

³ The earliest known Jewish astronomer, Mashallah, lived in the reign of the Khalif al-Mansur (A.D. 754-775; cf. Steinschneider, *Die arab. Literatur d. Juden*, 1902, p. 15). Here, therefore, we find a corroboration of our theory that the constant calendar of modern Judaism is of relatively late date. The calculation of conjunctions, for instance, cannot have been finally established even as late as A.D. 776, for, according to the *Baraitha* of Samuel, the conjunction of Tishri in that year took place at 4 d. 0 h.; while, according to the modern reckoning, it did not occur till 4 d. 8 h. 388 p. This fact is of great importance in the history of the Jewish calendar (cf. Bornstein, *loc. cit.*).

the effect that there were other intercalary systems in operation, viz. ב"ח נ"ח (2. 5. 7. 10. 13. 16. 18), א"ח נ"ח (1. 4. 6. 9. 12. 15. 17), and נ"ח א"ח (3. 5. 8. 11. 14. 16. 19). But all these are in reality forms of the normal sequence, the variation depending simply on the particular year of the cycle with which the intercalation begins. Thus, if the figures of the first formula be increased by 1, those of the second by 2, and those of the third by 3, the result in each case is the ordinary formula.¹ Hence we ought to speak, not of different intercalary series, but of different mnemonic formulae.

The length of the year as fixed by the *tequfa* of Samuel (= the Julian year of 365½ days) is not an exact measure of the 19-year cycle, as in that period it shows an aggregate excess of 1 h. 485 p. But even the *tequfa* of R. Adda, which was adapted to this cycle, does not fully agree with the facts, as the exact duration of the year is 365 d. 5 h. 48' 48", not 365 d. 5 h. 55' 25' 44". Thus, while 235 lunar months are equivalent to 235×29 d. 12 h. 793 p. = 6939 d. 16 h. 595 p. = 6939 d. 16 h. 33' 34", 19 (true) solar years amount only to 6939 d. 14 h. 27' 12", the former quantity being in excess by 2 h. 5' 54". In 1000 years the cumulative error is 4' 6 days, and in 2000 more than 9 days. But this discrepancy was simply left out of account.

The 'remainder' of a common year, as already stated, is 4 d. 8 h. 376 p., and that of a leap-year 5 d. 21 h. 589 p. But in the cycle of 19 years (12 common and 7 leap-years) the conjunction of the *molad* of Tishri moves forward by 2 d. 16 h. 595 p. (כ"ב ו' קצ"ה), and in 13 such cycles (13×2 d. 16 h. 595 p. =) 34 d. 23 h. 175 p., or by discarding the complement of full weeks, 6 d. 23 h. 175 p., which falls short of an additional week by only 905 p. Ignoring the odd parts (such fractions having in many cases no influence upon the determination of the months), we have thus a cycle of ($13 \times 19 =$) 247 years, after which the *qebi'oth* of the years might recur. But they can never recur exactly, as it sometimes happens that even a single part (*heleq*) alters the *qebia'*; thus, e.g., 17 h. 1079 p. + 1 p. is a so-called 'old *molad*'.² An exact repetition of *qebi'oth* would ensue, in fact, only after 36288 19-year cycles, or 689472 years—a period of no practical use. A perpetual Jewish calendar that would be serviceable in any real sense is thus out of the question.

A partial approximation to such a calendar, however, is furnished by the so-called 'Table of the 61 beginnings' (טבלת עולמי ראשית), which exhibits the *qebi'oth* of a complete 19-year cycle. As we saw above, there are 7 varieties of *qebi'oth*, and, therefore, in a cycle ($7 \times 19 =$) 133. But in actual practice it is found that 72 of these combinations

¹ Such apparently dissimilar intercalary series are given by Joshua b. 'Alan (9th or 10th cent.; see the bibliography at the end), al-Biruni (ed. Sachau, p. 55 [text], p. 64 [tr.]), Hai Gaon († 1038) in Abraham b. Hiya, p. 97, and Isaac Israeli (in an ancient *Baraitha* in *Yesod Olam*, iv. 2). Al-Biruni says that the first two series were in use among the Jews of Palestine (أهل

الشام: not of Syria, as Sachau translates), while the third was the universally received order, and emanated from the Jews of Babylonia (أهل البابل): not Babylonians, as rendered by Sachau. Cf. also *JQR* x. 197 ff.

² The above computation is said to have been made by the Gaon Nafshon b. Sadoq (last quarter of 9th cent.), who, it is also stated, instituted a corresponding cycle, called 'Iggu'. This 'Iggu' is first mentioned by Abraham b. Ezra († 1067) (cf. *Shene ha-Meoroth*, ed. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1847, p. 1), though without the name of its originator. This is given for the first time by Joseph b. Shemtov b. Jeshu'a of Turkey, who published the 'Iggu' in his *She'erith Josef*, a work on the calendar, composed in 1489 and issued at Salonica in 1521 (cf. Steinschneider, *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1894, p. 102, where mention is made also of the Lat. tr. of the 'Iggu' by Seb. Münster).

³ First mentioned by Isaac b. Joseph Israeli in his *Yesod Olam* (composed 1310), iv. 10.

recur, so that there remain only (133-72 =) 61 possible forms, which are duly calculated and set forth in tables (cf. e.g. Schwarz, p. 79).

There exist also formulae and tables for synchronizing Jewish dates with the Julian and the Gregorian calendar, with which devices, however, we cannot deal here, and must simply refer to the books and tables cited at the end of this article. A formula for assimilating Jewish dates with the Muhammadan reckoning has recently been devised by A. Fränkel (*Ztschr. f. mathem. u. naturwissensch. Unterricht*, 1908, pp. 698-606; *MGWJ*, 1909, pp. 736-743).

3. Eras.—After the return from the Exile the Jews reckoned by the years of the Persian kings. This is the practice in the newly discovered papyri of Elephantine (ed. Cowley-Sayce, and also Sachau), and in the post-exilic books of the Bible (e.g. Hag 1¹, Zec 1¹⁻⁷, Dn 9¹, Ezr 1¹ etc.). Subsequently they made use of the era of the Seljuks, or the so-called 'contracts-era' (*minyān shetaroth*), which began in the autumn of 312 B.C., and is first cited in 1 Mac. (cf. e.g. 1¹⁰). This era was in use among the Jews in the East till the 16th cent., and is still observed by them in Yemen (cf. Saphir's 'Travels,' *Eben Sappir*, i. 62b). During the period of independence under the Maccabees, dates were indicated by the year of the reigning prince, and a national epoch was found in the year when Judaea gained its freedom under Simon (1 Mac 13⁴²; cf. Schürer, i. 3 242), i.e. 170 ar. Sel. = 143-142 B.C. After the Jews lost their independence and their national rulers, they probably reckoned by the years of the Roman governor or consul. The Book of Jubilees fixes its dates by jubilee periods of 49 years divided into 7 year-weeks of 7 years each, but it is unlikely that this method was ever followed in practical life. The Talmud, however, may possibly allude to such an era in *Sanhedrin*, 97b (cf. Isr. Lévi, *REJ* i. 110).

After the destruction of the second Temple, dates were reckoned from that event (*Le-herban ha-bayit*; cf. *Seder Olam*, cap. 30, *Abdā Zārā*, 9-10), as also, especially in documents, by the years of the reigning Emperor, or perhaps of the eponyms (see Bornstein, *Mahloket*, p. 65); both methods were in vogue in Palestine, and the former also in Southern Italy (Ascoli, *Iscrizioni inedite*, nos. 24-33). In Babylonia, on the other hand, and generally throughout the Diaspora in the East, the Jews continued to use the era of the Seljuks, which, as said above, is still observed in some districts. In the Talmud, moreover, in the tractates just cited, the era of the Creation (*Li-bri'ath 'olām*; in a later epoch it is called *Li-yesira*) is mentioned, but it was not used in ancient times, except, at most, in learned works (e.g. the *Baraita* of Samuel), nor do we know when it was adopted. Rühl's conjecture (in *Deutsche Ztschr. für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 1898, p. 185; referred to in *JE*, s.v. 'Era'), that the introduction of this era was coincident with the change from the 8-year to the 19-year cycle, which is said to have taken place between A.D. 222 and 276, conflicts with the view advanced here regarding the gradual development and relatively late establishment of the continuous calendar among the Jews, and, what is more, it is at variance with historical facts, as nothing is known of this method of dating even in Talmudic times (cf. Harkavy, *Altjüd. Denkmäler aus d. Krim*, p. 161). In Europe it is first met with in epitaphs in the catacombs of Venosa, dating from 822 and 827 (Ascoli, *op. cit.*, nos. 25, 31); thereafter we find it used by Sabbataj Donnolo, also of Southern Italy, in the year 925 (cf. his *Commento sul Libro della Creazione*, ed. Castelli, p. 3); likewise in a document, of date 1034, from Kairwan (*JQR* xvi. 576). The beginning of this era coincides with the year 2760 B.C., but its accuracy was questioned in the 16th cent. by Azaria de Rossi in his *Meor Enayim* (ed. princ., Mantua, 1584). The well-known

Karaite Firkowitch professes to have discovered another mundane era in epitaphs from the Crimea; this begins 151 years before the ordinary Jewish era, i.e. in 3911 B.C., but is undoubtedly spurious (cf. Harkavy, *op. cit.* 152). An era reckoned from the captivity of Samaria, which is assumed to have begun in 596 B.C. (*Le-galuthenu*), and found in similar epitaphs, which are said to date from the years A.D. 6, 30, 65, 89, and 369 (Firkowitch, *Abne Zikkaron*, nos. 1-4 and 25), is likewise a fabrication, as is conclusively shown by Harkavy (p. 144 ff.). In recent times the Zionists also have adopted the era of *Le-galuthenu*; but in this case the term denotes the destruction of the second Temple, which they assign to A.D. 70.

LITERATURE.—A complete catalogue of works upon the Jewish calendar will be found in the relative passages of Steinschneider, 'Die Mathematik bei d. Juden' (*Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1898-1901; *Abhandl. zur Gesch. d. Mathematik*, ix. 473-488; *MGWJ*, 1905-1907). The oldest surviving treatise is that of Joshua b. 'Alan (9th or 10th cent.), preserved in a work (ed. Harkavy, in *Haggaron*, iv. 75-79; cf. Poznański, *Ztschr. f. hebr. Bibliog.* vii. 130-131) of Ben Meshiah, a Karaite (1st half of 10th cent.). The calendar was dealt with in Saadya Gaon's lost Arab. work, *Kitāb al-ibbār*; see, most recently, Poznański, *loc. cit.* xii. 122, no. 27, and Marx, *REJ* lviii. 299. The first complete and systematic account that has come down to us is that given in al-Birūnī's *Chronology of Ancient Nations* (ed. Sachau, Leipzig, 1878; Eng. tr., London, 1879), chs. vii. xiv. The earliest Jewish writer on the subject in Europe was Hasan ha-Dayyan of Cordova (fl. 973); three works on the calendar are attributed to him, but survive only in a few quotations. The treatise of Isaac b. Baruch ibn Abialia of Cordova (1035-1094) is also lost, but fairly large quotations therefrom are found in the work of Abraham b. Hiya of Barcelona (beginning of 12th cent.), whose *Sefer ha-ibbār* (ed. Filipowski, London, 1851) is one of the most important on the subject. A short treatise bearing the same name was composed by Abraham ibn Ezra (1092-1167; ed. Halberstam, Lyck, 1874); Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), at the age of 23, wrote a small monograph entitled *Ma'amār ha-ibbār* (ed. princ. 1489; Germ. by Dünner, *Die älteste astronom. Schrift d. Maimonides*, Würzburg, 1902), which, however, is of little value; but the relative section of his *Religious Code* (*Hilchoth Qiddush ha-Hodesh*; Germ. trs. and edd. by Hildesheimer [1881], Mabler [1889], Baneth [1898-1903]) is of eminent value. A work dealing with principles, *Yesod Olām*, was written in 1310 by Isaac b. Joseph Israel in Toledo (ed. princ., Berlin, 1777; critical ed., Berlin, 1846-48; the section dealing with the literary history [apart], ed. Weikert, Rome, 1901). The *She'arith Josef* (Salonica, 1521, 1568) of Joseph b. Shemtob b. Jeshu'a, written in 1489, has already been mentioned. The following also deserve notice: Seb. Münster, *Kalendarium Heb.* (Basel, 1537), which contains an anonymous Heb. work upon the calendar with Münster's Lat. tr.; Issachar ibn Sausan, *Tikkun Issachar* (ed. princ., Constantinople, 1564); Eliezer b. Jacob Belin, *Ibromoth* (Lublin, 1614-16), and Scaliger, *de Emendatione Temporum* (3rd [best] ed. 1629).

The following works, from the 19th cent. and later, are worthy of note: Ideler, *Handb. d. math. u. techn. Chronologie*, i. (Berlin, 1825) pp. 477-583; L. M. Lewissohn, *Gesch. u. System d. jüd. Kalendarrechnung* (Leipzig, 1856); Slonimski, *Yesod ha-ibbār* (ed. princ., Warsaw, 1853, 3rd [last] ed., Warsaw, 1889); A. Schwarz, *Der jüd. Kalender historisch u. astronomisch untersucht* (Breslau, 1872); J. Lurie, *Matematicheskaja teorija jevrejskago kalendarja* ('Mathematical Theory of the Jewish Calendar,' in Russian, Mohilev, 1887; cf. Bornstein in the *Hakkerem*, i. 317-336); S. B. Burnaby, *Elements of the Jewish and the Muhammadan Calendars* (London, 1901), pp. 1-384; Schürer, *GJV* I 3 (Leipzig, 1901) 745-760; C. Adler and M. Friedländer, art. 'Calendar,' in *JE* (iii. [1902] pp. 498-508); A. Kistner, *Der Kalender d. Juden* (Carlsruhe, 1905).

Tables for synchronizing Jewish dates with the Christian era, and for other purposes, as also calendars for prolonged periods, have been framed by the following: Isidore Loeb, *Tables du Calendrier juif depuis l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à l'an 2000* (Paris, 1880), which likewise gives the older literature; Sossnitz, *Idem Olām*, (Warsaw, 1888); E. Mahler, *Chronol. Vergleichungstabellen*, etc., Heft ii. (Vienna, 1889) pp. 69-140; M. Simon, *400-jähriger Kalender zur Umwandlung des jüd. Datums*, etc. (for A.D. 1781-2000, Berlin, 1889), and *1200-jähriger Parallel-Kalender d. jüd. u. christl. Zeitrechnung* (for 800-1996, Berlin, 1895); B. Zuckermann, *Anleitung u. Tabellen z. Vergleichung jüd. u. christl. Zeitangaben* (Breslau, 1898); E. Juséu, *Tablas de reducción del computo hebraico al cristiano y vice-versa* (Madrid, 1904); Schram, *Kalendariographische u. chronologische Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1908), etc.

Special questions relating to the calendar and its history are dealt with by the following (names in alphabetical order): Azaria de Rossi (1584) in *Maysef la-Kosef* (ed. Filipowski, London, 1854); L. Bendaia, *Zur Berechnung u. Gesch. d. jüd. Kalenders* (Berlin, 1817), refutation by M. Kornick, *Dabas be-Itto* (Breslau, 1817); A. Epstein, *Mikdamomiyoth ha-Yehudim* (i. [Vienna, 1887] 1-22, cf. Bornstein in *Hakkerem*, i. 290-317); A. Geiger in *Jüd. Ztschr.* vi. 141-151; B. Goldberg, *Note sur*

Le calendrier juif (Paris, 1833); D. Oppenheim, in *MGWJ* v. 412-419; H. M. Pineles, *Darka shel Tora* (Vienna, 1861, pp. 211-262); Th. Reinach, in *REJ* xviii. 90-94; A. Schwarz, in *MGWJ* xxxii. 375-388; M. Steinschneider, in *Hayyona* (ed. S. Sachs, 1. [Berlin, 1851] pp. 17-35), and in Brann's *Jüd. Volkskalender* (1896-96); B. Zuckermann in *MGWJ* v. 132-136, etc.

SAMUEL POZNAŃSKI.

CALENDAR (Mexican and Mayan).—The ancient Mexicans and Mayas, as well as the Zapotecs, who inhabited the tract of country lying between these peoples, represented the same general type of civilization, and used a calendar essentially the same in character. We are more conversant with this calendar than with any other of their institutions; and, especially in regard to the Mexican and Mayan hieroglyphics, where it plays a commanding part as a medium of divination, it forms in reality the basis of all our knowledge. For its reconstruction we are indebted mainly to the researches of E. Seler and E. Förstemann, but we possess as yet no conclusive answers to the following vital questions: (1) To what shall we trace the *tonalamatl* (Mex. 'book of days') of 260 days, which, in conjunction with the solar year of 365 days, forms the foundation of the calendar? (2) Was provision made for intercalations in the solar year? (3) How are the dates of the Dresden Mayan MS¹ and the Mayan monuments to be adjusted to our own chronology?

1. The *tonalamatl*, one of the two main constituents of the calendar, consists of 260 days, reckoned by means of 20 distinct symbols of days in combination with the numbers 1 to 13. The peculiar nature of the arrangement may be learned from the accompanying table, as found in the Mexican Codex Borgia² and the related hieroglyphics. (For the sake of convenience the order of sequence is given here as from left to right and downwards, instead of from right to left and upwards, as in the original. The Roman numbers represent the several day-symbols.)

TABLE I.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III
XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III
XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III
XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III
XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III
XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III
XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III
XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV
XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V
XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
XIX	XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
XX	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV
IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI
V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII
VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I
X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	I	II
XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI</							

days, any given entry in the former moved forward upon the annual reckoning by five symbols and one cipher. Only 4 of the 20 symbols, therefore, coincided with New Year's Days, while the ciphers could vary 13 times; whence it follows that the *tonalamatl* provided distinctive combinations for the first days of $4 \times 13 = 52$ successive years. But the New Year's Days fell, not, as might be expected, on the days indicated by the *tonalamatl* symbols I (Cipactli), VI (Miquiztli), XI (Ocomatl), and XVI (Cozcaquauhli), but upon XIII (Acatl), XVIII (Tecpatl), III (Calli), and VIII (Tochtli), and thus the fifty-two-year cycle may be represented as follows:

1	XIII	XVIII	III	VIII
2	XVIII	III	VIII	XIII
3	III	VIII	XIII	XVIII
4	VIII	XIII	XVIII	III
5	XIII	XVIII	III	VIII
6	XVIII	III	VIII	XIII
7	III	VIII	XIII	XVIII
8	VIII	XIII	XVIII	III
9	XIII	XVIII	III	VIII
10	XVIII	III	VIII	XIII
11	III	VIII	XIII	XVIII
12	VIII	XIII	XVIII	III
13	XIII	XVIII	III	VIII

Similarly, in the Dresden Mayan MS and the Mayan monuments the years begin in regular order with days XIII (Been), XVIII (E'tznab), III (Akbal), and VIII (Lamat), while in historical times, according to tradition, the years were reckoned in the order: IV (Kan), IX (Muluc), XIV (Ix), and XIX (Cauac).¹

As the *tonalamatl* datings, however, were simply repeated after 260 days, and could not therefore definitely fix a particular day even within the year, the system was supplemented by a division of the year into 18 twenties, with 5 residual days. We give here the usual enumeration of these periods of twenty days, but it should be stated that the Mexican and the Mayan lists did not synchronize:

MEXICAN.

1. Atl caualo or Quauhtl eua.
2. Tlacaxipeualiztli.
3. Toxocotli.
4. Ueistocotli.
5. Toxcatl.
6. Etziquializtli.
7. Tecuilhuitontli.
8. Ueiteculhuitl.
9. Miccailhuitontli, or Tlaxochimaco.
10. Uemicailhuitl, or Xocouetl.
11. Ochpaniztli.
12. Teotl eco.
13. Tepelhuitl.
14. Quecholtli.
15. Panquetzaliztli.
16. Atemoztli.
17. Tliltli.
18. Izcalli.

MAYAN (YUCATAN).

1. Pop.
2. Uo.
3. Zip.
4. Zo'tz.
5. Tzec.
6. Xul.
7. Yaxkin.
8. Mol.
9. Ch'en.
10. Yax.
11. Zac.
12. Ceh.
13. Mac.
14. Kankin.
15. Muan.
16. Pax.
17. Kayab.
18. Uumku.

These 18 'months' (Mayan, *uinal*) are followed by the five residual days (Mex. *nemontemi*, 'super-numerary'; May. *ama kaba kin*, 'days without name') at the end of the year.

At the time of the conquest, according to Sahagun, the beginning of the first (Mexican) month, Atl caualo, coincided approximately with that of our February,² and this would harmonize with the succession of Nature-festivals assigned to the several months, and necessarily associated with the seasons of the year. The first (Mayan) month, Pop, began about the middle of our July.³ But, as no intercalations were made—so far as known—for relatively short periods, the reckoning fell behind by one day in four years. This being duly allowed for, the statement that the Mayan

year began with the 1st of Pop has been authenticated and found correct, while the earlier notices of Atl caualo as the first month of the Mexican year do not accord with our calculations. According to these, in fact, the Mexican year began with the 1st of Toxcatl,¹ i.e. at the beginning of May, when the sun in his northern journey passed through the zenith, and was revived by the sacrifice of his human counterpart. But if we may argue from the fact that there was among the Mayas a festival covering the five residuary days at the close of the year, that people likewise must at some earlier period have begun their year with other months, viz. Yaxkin and Pax—two dates, that is, in force at the same time, and separated from each other by 180 days.² Allowance having been made for the neglected intercalary days, the beginning of the Mexican year—the 1st of Toxcatl—synchronizes with our reckoning as follows:

Year 1 Acatl.....4th May 1519-1520.

Year 2 Tecpatl.....3rd May 1520-1521.

Year 3 Calli.....3rd May 1521-1522, etc.³

Although, as has already been said, there is nothing to show that the calendar was adjusted by means of intercalary days, the statements of the early writers having proved to be altogether illusory, yet, as the sequence of the Nature-festivals must have corresponded with that of the months, it is absolutely certain that the discrepancy was compensated for in some way. As yet, however, the hieroglyphics have yielded no quite incontrovertible evidence to show that the Mexicans gave any theoretical recognition to the difficulty.⁴ This also holds good of the *katun*-periods of the Mayas, with which we are now to deal, and in connexion with which we shall discuss the problem of synchronism in fuller detail.

3. The *Katun*-periods of the Mayas.—The Mexican calendar was quite inadequate for any term beyond 52 years, as after that period the characterization of dates began simply to recur, and there was no successive enumeration of the 52-year cycles. The Mayas, however, had a supplementary reckoning by means of *katun* (periods of 20×360 days), the subdivision of 360 days being called a *tun* ('stone'). These periods were designated according to the days on which they severally began, and, while this first day always coincided with the same one of the 20 day-symbols, viz. *Ahau*, its numerical coefficient increased by 11 in every

successive *katun*, as $\frac{20 \times 360}{13} = 553 + 11$. It was

therefore possible to discriminate 13 such periods by prefixed numerals as follows: 13 (Ahau), 11, 9, 7, 5, 3, 1, 12, 10, 8, 6, 4, and 2. Chronological references that pass beyond the resultant cycle (c. 13×20 years) do not merit serious regard. The calculations of Seler,⁵ which are based upon the identity of 2 Ix, 1 Pop with 14th July 1543, yield the following synchronism:

Katun.	Year.	First Day of Katun.	Date of the Julian Calendar.
8 Ahau	11 Ix	7 Ch'en	29th January 1496
6 Ahau	6 Ix	7 Zo'tz	15th October 1455
4 Ahau	11 Muluc	12 Kayab	3rd July 1475
2 Ahau	5 Muluc	12 Ceh	19th March 1495
13 Ahau	12 Muluc	12 Yaxkin	6th December 1514
11 Ahau	6 Muluc	12 Uo	22nd August 1534
9 Ahau	12 Kan	17 Muan	9th May 1554
7 Ahau	6 Kan	17 Yax	24th January 1574
5 Ahau	13 Kan	17 Tzec	16th October 1593

¹ Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I. 1771.

² *Id.* I. 708.

³ Cf. the table given by de Jonghe, 'Der altmexicanische Kalender,' in *ZE* (1906) p. 612.

⁴ Seler (iii. 199 f.) has made an attempt to prove intercalations in the hieroglyphics.

⁵ *Op. cit.* I. 583 f.

¹ Landa, *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan*, ed. Brasseur de Bourbourg (1864), p. 206.

² Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Bustamante (Mexico, 1829), I. 50.

³ Landa, *op. cit.* p. 276.

In the Dresden MS and upon the monuments—especially the stelæ of Copan (Honduras), Quirigua (Guatemala), and Palenque (Chiapas)—eras of still longer duration are referred to by simple enumeration of the days that had elapsed from a certain mythical date indicated by the expression 4 Ahau, 8 Cumcu. But as the terminating date that is to be fixed is likewise specified by the day of the *tonalamatl* and the year, it is plain that the sum of the simply enumerated days will represent the period lying between the termini. Here the figures carry us beyond a total of $9 \times 20 \times 20 \times 360$ days, i.e. more than 9×20 *katuns*, or 9 cycles, or $3550 \times 365 + 250$ days. But the dates of the monuments themselves all fall within the following or 10th cycle, and are all embraced within a span of little more than 350 years, or—if we also take into account the most extreme dates in the Leyden nephrite plinth (from the frontier of Honduras and Guatemala), which belong to the 9th cycle, and in the stelæ fragments from Sacchaná (Guatemala)—560 years. Unfortunately, however, this chronology cannot be brought into relation with our own, for the simple reason that, as already noted, in Yucatan during historical times the years were designated by a different series of day-symbols.

4. The Venus-period.—Both in Mexican and in Mayan MSS the periodic time of the planet Venus is indicated by means of the *tonalamatl* symbols and the dates of the month respectively. Leaves 46–50 of the Mayan MSS in Dresden exhibit 5 such revolutions of 584 days each, which, corresponding approximately to the sum of the two periods of visibility and the intermediate intervals, are severally divided into stages of 90, 250, 8, and 236 days.¹ In the Codex Borgia, foll. 53–4, however, there is noted, along with other Venus-periods, one of $5 \times 13 = 65$ revolutions.² Now 5 revolutions amount to $5 \times 584 = 8 \times 365$ days; and 65 revolutions to $65 \times 584 = 2 \times 52 \times 365$ days, i.e. twice the Mexican cycle of 52 years. Then, as $\frac{584}{20} = 29 + \frac{4}{5}$, and $\frac{584}{13} = 44 + \frac{12}{13}$, the symbol and cipher of the *tonalamatl* move forward upon each successive revolution of Venus by 4 and 12 days respectively, so that the first day of each revolution will recurrently coincide with only 5 of the 20 day-symbols, thus:

THE 65 VENUS-PERIODS.

1	I	XIII	V	XVII	IX
13	V	XVII	IX	I	XIII
12	IX	I	XIII	V	XVII
11	XIII	V	XVII	IX	I
10	XVII	IX	I	XIII	V
9	I	XIII	V	XVII	IX
8	V	XVII	IX	I	XIII
7	IX	I	XIII	V	XVII
6	XIII	V	XVII	IX	I
5	XVII	IX	I	XIII	V
4	I	XIII	V	XVII	IX
3	V	XVII	IX	I	XIII
2	IX	I	XIII	V	XVII

The Venus-period, however, was not used for determining dates.

LITERATURE.—E. Förstemann, *Erläuterungen zur Maya-Handschrift der kgl. öffentl. Bibl. zu Dresden* (1886), also *Zur Entzifferung der Mayahandschriften*, i.–v. (Dresden, 1887–95); E. Selzer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Berlin), i. (1902) pp. 162, 417, 507, 577, 588, 600, 618, 663, 712, 792, iii. (1908) p. 199; Cyrus Thomas, 'The Maya Year,' 18 Bull. BE (1894), and 'Mayan Calendar Systems,' 19 and 22 REEW (1900, 1903); Zelia Nuttall, 'The Periodical Adjustments of the Ancient Mexican Calendar,' in *American Anthropologist*, vi. (1904) 486; Goodman, *The Archaeology of Maya Inscriptions* (1897), in Maudsley, *Biologia Centrali-Americana*, viii.; de Jonghe, 'Der altmexicanische Kalender,' in ZE xxxviii. (Berlin, 1906) p. 485; Brinton, *Native Cal. of Cent. Amer. and Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1893).

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¹ Förstemann, *Erläuterungen zur Mayahandschrift der kgl. öffentl. Bibl. zu Dresden* (1886), p. 662.

² Given also in the allied Codex Vaticanus No. 3773, foll. 80–84.

CALENDAR (Muslim).—Although the era of Islām begins with the 15th (16th) of July A.D. 622 (Buhārī, iv. 248 f.), the lunar year, peculiar to the Muslims, was not established till the year A.H. 10. When Muhammad in that year (A.D. 631) made his last pilgrimage to Mecca (*hijjat-al-wadā'*), and in a solemn address (*ḥuṭba*) enlightened his following of believers concerning the essentials of Islām, he arranged, among other matters, that the year should consist of 12 lunar months of 29 (28, 30) days each, and that intercalation (*nasi'*) was to be forbidden (Qur'ān, ix. 36 ff.; Ibn Hishām, p. 968; Vakidi-Wellhausen, p. 431; Buhārī, ii. 212, 9 f.). Four months, Dhū-l-qa'da, Dhū-l-hijja, Muḥarram, and Rajab, were to be inviolable (*ḥurum*), i.e. were not to be disturbed by internecine warfare (Qur'ān, ix. 36; Buhārī, vi. 224, 3 f.). It is evident from this arrangement alone that the Arabs, or, more accurately, the Meccans, had had a more or less perfect solar year. This assumption finds support also in the names of the months, which in part indicate clearly certain definite seasons of the year—a situation, in the case of a changeable lunar year, evidently out of the question. If we take the etymology of the names together with historical, literary, and climatic data, we shall have the following arrangement of the pre-Islamic year:

The two *Jumāda* months indicate the real winter, from about the middle of Dec. till the middle of Feb. Then the two *Rabi'* months, which signify etymologically the *grazing* season, must indicate the time of year when the herbage of the desert and the steppes, springing up after the autumn rains, affords the herds of the nomads a glorious relief from the summer's discomforts; i.e. from the middle of Oct. to the middle of Dec. In agreement with this, the month *Ṣafar* (Sept.–Oct.) is the transition from the height of summer to autumn. The preceding month, with which the year begins, reveals its character in its name *al-Muḥarram*; it is the *sacred* month, in pre-Islamic times sacred perhaps on account of the harvest and the vintage, with which the Hebrews (Ex 23^{1d} 34²²) also connected a festival. Instead of *Muḥarram-Ṣafar*, one may also say 'the two Ṣafars'; so that for the first half of the year we have not 6 months, but 3 double months. Proceeding from *Jumāda*, the etymologically obscure months *Rajab*, *Sha'bān*, and *Shawwāl* must include, respectively, Feb.–March, March–Apr., and May–June. *Ramādān*, suggesting *heat*, indicates the coming of the warmth of summer (April–May). The month *Rajab* was, before Islām, and has remained in Islām, a holy month. Perhaps the original reason for this is that it designated the springtime and the firstborn. Ewald and W. Robertson Smith were right in seeing in it a parallel to the Hebrew *pesah*; *Rajab* and *Sha'bān* together are called also *ar-Rajabānī*. The names of the two last months, *Dhū-l-qa'da* and *Dhū-l-hijja*, indicate the time of rest and of pilgrimage. The Islamic festival of sacrifices is celebrated in the latter month (cf. FESTIVALS [Muslim]). The pagan festival that lies at the basis of it had probably some solar significance. This is indicated by the Islamic name (*adhā*, etc.), which in itself has nothing to do with the sacrificial animal, and also by the part which the *Shaitān* plays in it, for *shaitān* meant originally the heat of the sun (*ṣhyt*), though in Islām it became identified with Satan. It is important to note that the Arabs, like the Hebrews, began their year in autumn and always celebrated spring and autumn festivals.

Besides the above-mentioned names of months, there have come down to us also some archaic ones which have a local significance; cf. Lane's *Lex.*, 1868–89, iv. 1612b, s.v. 'Shahr'; Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. 496 (following Goltius). In Islām such names of months as are not distinguished by I or II usually received pious epithets, as: *al-Muḥarram al-ḥaram*

Safar al-hair, 'the bringer of good,' euphemistically, because it was held to be the month of ill-luck; *Rajab al-jard*, 'the isolated,' because it stood apart from the other holy months, or *R. al-asamm*, 'the deaf,' because it heard no clash of arms (?); *Shab'ân al-mu'azzam* or *ash-sharîf*; *Shawwâl al-mukarram*. The names used in the Maghrib (western North Africa) differ from those elsewhere, in that the months there are named after the Islamic festivals: 'Ashûrâ = Muharram; Shâye 'Ashûrâ = Safar; al-Mûlûd = Rabi' I; Shâye 'al-M. = R. II; 'Id al-Fitr = Shawwâl; Bain al-ayyad (between the Festivals) = Dhûl-q'ada; al-'Id al-Kabir = Dhûl-hijja. It is noteworthy that the custom of reckoning three double months in the first half of the year (see above) has been there preserved.

The Arabs adopted the week (cf. FESTIVALS [Muslim]) from the Jews and Christians. Besides archaic names for the days of the week, they generally use the designations that are current in the Christian Church (F. Rühl, *Chronologie*, p. 58); i.e. from Monday to Thursday = days II-V; Sunday = I; Friday is called *al-jum'a*, 'the meeting' (for worship); Saturday = *as-sabt*, the Sabbath.

Moreover, the Arabs had and still have more general designations for the seasons, based on the constellations, rain, and temperature. But these names change according to the country and the climate (cf. Lane's *Lex.* iii. 1254, s.v. 'Zaman'; A. Socin, *Divân*, 1900, i. 291).

If what has been said above makes it quite certain that the Arabs once knew a solar year, it is just as indubitable that they originally and locally followed the lunar reckoning down to the time of Islam. The old Hebrew custom, as well as the traces of moon-worship among all the Semites, makes this quite probable. Especially may be cited the ritual expressions *hallala*, *ahalla* (Heb. *hillel*, 'to praise' [God]), which is explained by *hîlâl*, 'new moon,' 'crescent.' Moreover, Muhammad could not have ventured to establish an institution of such weighty consequences if he had not found a popular basis for it. There has been much speculation as to the reasons why this step was taken by him. These can hardly have been other than religious. As we have seen, the heathen festivals were connected with the solar year. Further, the nomadic Arabs observed the stars closely, and explained natural phenomena by their influence. Through a radical separation from these conditions, Muhammad wished to draw the believers away from Nature to his God (Allâh) as the creator, causer, and preserver of all things (*Lisân al-'Arab*, i. 172, s.v. 'Naw'). While the Christian Church did not succeed in doing away with the 1st of January as the beginning of the year, which day it condemned as 'antiquus error,' Muhammad accomplished this, although with disastrous consequences. So patent are the evils of a purely lunar year whose length varies (cf. FESTIVALS [Muslim]), owing to primitive methods of observation and determination of the new moon, that efforts to correct them have never ceased from the beginning to the present day.

Apart from the determination of the times of prayer, there lies in this the main cause why astronomy so flourished among the Muslim peoples. The festivals, which have thus been detached from their natural bases, run now through all the seasons of the year; and in about 33 solar years the Arabic year returns to its starting-point. The era was formed by Friday (Thursday) the 16th (15th) of July, 622 A.D., i.e. the 1st of Muharram of the year in which Muhammad finished his *Hijra* (emigration) from Mecca to Medina. Of this beginning Ideler says: 'The 15th is to be accepted when it is a matter of astronomical observations, but the 16th when it is a matter of bringing about an agreement between the cyclic reckoning, the appearance of the moon, and the popular Arabian calendar.' A new month begins when two trustworthy Muslims have observed (*ar-ru'yâ*) the crescent moon (*hîlâl*) in open field or on mountains and notify this to the authorities, the *Hakim* or

the *Qadi*. The day is reckoned from one sunset (*maghrib*) to another. The days of the month are counted either consecutively or in the same way as in the mediæval *consuetudo Bononiensis*, which took its origin in upper Italy in the 8th cent. A.D. and spread from there to France and Germany (cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. 'Mensis'; Rühl, *Chronologie*, p. 75f.; Wright, *Arab. Gram.*, 1875, ii. § 111; Caspari, *Arab. Gram.*, 1887, § 476).

As a remedy for the vague duration of the purely popular lunar year of the Muslims, the astronomers have established a cyclic year, which has been adopted also by historians. The months are reckoned alternately as 30 and 29 days. The ordinary year contains 354 days. The intercalation, which in pre-Islamic times was attended to by the Fuqaim, a clan of Kinana, is now carried out in the following fashion: In a cycle of 30 years, the years 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 16 (15), 18, 21, 24, 26, 29 add a day to their last month. Such a year is called *sana kabisa*, but the common year *sana basita*. As in this case scholars, so also many enlightened rulers of Islam, endeavoured, in the face of the prohibition of the Prophet, to substitute for the purely lunar year a solar year that would meet better the needs of the peasantry, the collecting of taxes, and the administration of the State. In this connexion may be mentioned the efforts of the Fâtimid al-'Aziz, about 366 A.H., whose reform lasted until 501; further, the efforts of the 'Abbâsid Khalîf at-Tâ'i (ruling 363-381 A.H.), whose reform continued even under the Ottomans; of the Seljûk Malik Shâh, about 471 A.H., who reformed the old Persian calendar with the help of the well-known poet 'Omar Hayyâm and other astronomers; several attempts under the Il-Hâns, the Persian Mongols, and the partial reform by the Ottoman Government in the 19th century. In Egypt, at present, the Gregorian calendar is used for non-religious purposes. Frequent use is also made of the Coptic calendar in Egypt, and of the old Greek calendar in Syria. Among the Berbers of the Maghrib the Julian names of the months have remained in use down to the present day.

Since the 18th cent. efforts have been made to prepare for scholarly purposes a concordance of the Islamic and European chronologies. It was after an attempt in *L'Art de vérifier les dates* (1821-44) that Ideler first fixed astronomically the relation between the two systems. The tables published by Wüstenfeld in 1854, and the numerous reprints of them, make a knowledge of Islamic lunar dates accessible now to all. The Genevan physicist and numismatist Fr. Soret has laid down a very handy formula for converting the one date into the other (*Lettres sur la numismatique musulmane*, 1864, p. 34 ff.): Given the year of the Hijra (A), if we wish to know the Christian year (X) the formula

$$\text{is } A - \frac{3A}{100} + 622 = X.$$

LITERATURE.—On the old Arabic calendar and the Islamic reform of it: Canssin de Perceval, 'Mémoire sur le Calendrier arabe avant l'Islamisme,' *J. A.*, 1848, i. 342-379; Mahmud Efendi (al-Falaki), 'Sur le Cal. arab.,' *J. A.*, 1868, i. 109-192; A. Sprenger, 'Über den Kalender der Araber vor Muhammad,' *ZDMG* xlii. (1882), 134-175; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums* (1897), p. 94 ff., cf. *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, 1899, iii. On the conversion of dates: F. Wüstenfeld, *Vergleichungstabellen des Muham. u. Christl. Zeitrechnung*, 1864; a continuation (1300-1500 A.H.) by Ed. Mahler, 1887; *Catal. of Orient. Coins in the Brit. Mus.* ix. 391-405; Mas Latrie, *Traité de Chronologie*, 1889 ff.; R. Schram, *Kalendar und chronol. Tafeln*, 1908, pp. 283-319; E. Jussé, *Tables de Réduction du Compteur Musulman au Christiano*, Madrid, 1903; A. M. Laredo, *Rapports entre les dates du cal. musulman et celles des calendriers julien et grégorien*, Tanger, 1887 (to 1500 A.H.).

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K. VOLLERS.

CALENDAR (Persian).—The ancient Iranian calendar falls into two distinct categories—the Old Persian and the Avesta—which differ from each other in important respects, although the former system, dating, at least, from the period of the Achemenians (*q.v.*), shows certain tendencies which were later fully developed in the Avesta reckoning of time.

1. The Old Persian calendar was divided into twelve months, but the names of only nine of these are known, and their exact sequence is a matter of doubt. The Old Persian inscription of Darius at Behistūn records the names as follows: Garmapada ('footstep of heat'), Thūravāhara ('mighty spring'), Thāigarci ('garlic-gatherer' [?]), Bāgayādi ('homage to the deities'), Adukani ('digging of the canals'), Athriyādiya ('worship of the fire'), Anāmaka ('nameless'), and Viyakhna ('ice-free' [?], 'assembly-month' [?]), to which the New Elamitic version (iii. 43) adds Markazanash (Old Persian **Margazana*, 'brood of birds'). It is clear, from a comparison of the Old Persian and Babylonian versions of the Behistūn inscriptions, that Thūravāhara 30 corresponded to Iyyar (April-May) 30, Thāigarci 9 to Sivan (May-June) 9, Athriyādiya 26 to Kislev (November-December) 26, Anāmaka 27 to Tebeth (December-January) 27, and Viyakhna 14, 22 to Adar (February-March) 14, 22. Several divergent orders of the Old Persian months have been proposed, particularly by Rawlinson, Oppert, Unger, Justi, and Prašek (and King and Thompson), whose sequences are thus tabulated by Ginzel, *Hdbch. d. mathemat. und techn. Chronologie*, i. (Leipzig, 1906) 276:—

	BABYLONIAN.		OLD PERSIAN			
	RAWLINSON.	OPPERT.	UNGER.	JUSTI.	PRAŠEK.	
Nisan	Bāgayādi	Garmapada	Thūravāhara	Thūravāhara	.....	
Iyyar	Thūravāhara	Thūravāhara	Thāigarci	Thāigarci	Thūravāhara	
Sivan	Thāigarci	Thāigarci	Adukani	Adukani	Thāigarci	
Tammūz	Adukani	.....	Margazana	.....	Garmapada	
Ab	Garmapada	.....	Garmapada	Garmapada	.....	
Elul	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Tishri	.....	Bāgayādi	Bāgayādi	Bāgayādi	Bāgayādi	
Marcheshvan	Margazana	Adukani	.....	.....	Adukani	
Kislev	Athriyādiya	Athriyādiya	Athriyādiya	Athriyādiya	Athriyādiya	
Tebeth	Anāmaka	Anāmaka	Anāmaka	Anāmaka	Anāmaka	
Shebat	.....	Margazana	.....	Margazana	Margazana	
Adar	Viyakhna	Viyakhna	Viyakhna	Viyakhna	Viyakhna	

Of all these series, Oppert's seems the most probable to the present writer, who has abandoned the view expressed by him in Geiger-Kuhn's *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. (Strassburg, 1904) 677.

The date at which the year began is as uncertain as the order of the months. Oppert suggests that it commenced with Bāgayādi (September-October), which is admitted by all to have corresponded with the Babylonian Tishri. This would, of course, correspond with the beginning of the Hebrew civil year (cf. Ex 23¹⁶ 34²²), and might receive a certain degree of support from the name of the month, 'homage to the deities.' It seems far more probable, however, that the year actually began with Garmapada (or, according to Justi, with Thūravāhara), corresponding to Nisan (March-April). This would make the commencement of the old Persian year harmonize with both the Avesta and the Babylonian systems, as well as with the Hebrew sacred year (cf. Ex 12¹⁸).

The days of the month were numbered, instead of named, as in the Avesta calendar, except that the last day of the month was termed *jiyamna*, 'diminishing,' 'ending.' There were, apparently, thirty days in each month, as in the Avesta and the early Babylonian calendars. The year contained 365 days, as is shown by the only reference

in any classical author to the Iranian calendar: 'Magos trecenti et sexaginta quinque iuvenes sequebantur puniceis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero: quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus' (Quintus Curtius, III. iii. 10). Nothing is known of any method of intercalation employed in the Old Persian calendar.

2. The Avesta calendar is much better known than the Old Persian, although the Avesta writings themselves contain no formal list of months. *Afringān* iii. 7-11, it is true, gives the names of five months and five days, and both the *Sirōzas* give the names of the thirty days of the month; but the most reliable source for the month-list is the Pahlavi literature, which is supplemented to a certain extent by Perso-Arabic writers and a few Byzantine chronologists. Thus *Būndahishn* xxv. 20 (tr. West, *SBE* v. 97) states that 'the auspicious month Fravartin, the month Artavahist, and the month Horvadat are spring; the month Tir, the month Amerōdat, and the month Satvairō are summer; the month Mitrō, the month Avān, and the month Atarō are autumn; the month Din, the month Vohūman, and the month Spendarmat are winter.' The days of the month were named as follows: Aūharmazd, Vohūman, Artavahist, Satvairō, Spendarmat, Horvadat, Amerōdat, Din pa Atarō, Atarō, Avān, Xursēt, Māh, Tir, Gōš, Din pa Mitrō, Mitrō, Srōš, Rašnū, Fravartin, Vāhrām, Rām, Vāt, Din pa Din, Din, Art, Astāt, Āsmān, Zamyāt, Māraspend, and Anirān (cf. *Būndahishn* xxvii. 24; *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* xxii.-xxiii.; and the *Mādigān-i Sī-rōz*, tr. Darab

Peshotan Sanjana, in Karaka, *History of the Persia*, London, 1884, i. 134-144). This order, both of months and of days, receives abundant confirmation from the Arabic al-Birūnī (*Chronol. of Ancient Nations*, tr. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 52 f.), Mas'ūdī (*Prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861 1877, iii. 413 f.), Ulugh Beg (*Epochae celeberrimes*, ed. Gravius, London, 1650, pp. 23-26, 101 f.), and al-Farghani (*Elementa Astronomica*, ed. Golius, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 4), as well as from the Greek Isaac Argyrus and Theodorus Meliteniotes (Gray, *Byzant. Ztschr.* xi. 470), and from a MS said by Burton (*Aeliyara veteris linguae Persicae*, Lübeck, 1720, p. 6; cf. Lagarde, *Gesam. Abhandl.*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 229-232) to have been used by him at Lambeth, although all trace of it is now lost.

The problem of the origin of the names of the Avesta months is a difficult one. Kuka (*R. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 54-78) and Gray (*AJSL* xx. 194-201) have sought explanations from divergent points of view, the former maintaining that the Avesta year originally began with Din, which was primarily the first month of spring (falling gradually behind because of the lack of a system of intercalation, until, by the time of the composition of the *Būndahishn*, Fravartin had become the commencement of spring); and the latter holding to the *Būndahishn*, and endeavouring to trace a borrowing from the Babylonian system on the part of the Iranians. While the arguments of Kuka have certain points in their favour, his fundamental assumption is doubtful. The entire evidence at our disposal makes Fravartin (March-April) the first month of the

year, and the parallels with the Babylonian calendar, which Kuka practically overlooks, are too striking to be ignored. For a full elaboration of the position here taken, reference may be made to the study of Gray noted above, in which the name of the month Fravartīn is interpreted as referring to the ghosts of the righteous dead; Artavahišt as the re-vivification of the earth after its death in winter (cf. *Dinkart* vii. xxx. 14, viii. xxxvii. 14, ix. xxx. 14); Horvadašt as the vernal rains preparing for the coming harvest; Tir as the month of the rising of the dog-star; Amerōdašt as the vegetation of harvest time; Satvairō as the month either of new ploughing, or, more probably, of building; Mitro as the sun month (cf. Shamash as the guardian of Tishri, the seventh Babylonian month); Avān as the rains of autumn; Atarō as the fire which protects against the cold winter; Din possibly in defiance of Ahriman, who created winter; Vohūman as the first-born of Din=Ormazd; and Spendarmat as a fertility-deity of early spring. (For the naive etymologies of a Parsi *ricāyat*, see Unvala, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, p. 202 f.)

3. In each Avesta month, followed by the Armenian system, there were thirty days, each named as noted above, and preserving, for the first seven days, the regular order of Ormazd and the Amshaspands, which was violated in the series of month-names, perhaps for the reasons just noted. The fact that the first, eighth, fifteenth, and twenty-third days of each month are named in honour of Ormazd has led some to suppose that the Avesta recognizes a sort of week. Of this there is no evidence whatever. It has been shown, however, by Nadershah (*Cama Memorial Volume*, pp. 246-249) that this order of names of the days rests upon *Yasna* xvi. 3-6, and that it comprises four groups, containing respectively the Amshaspands, the seven planets, moral objects, and religious objects, each headed by the supreme god Ormazd, the entire group primarily representing the twenty-seven lunar mansions (cf. Ginzler, *op. cit.* pp. 70-77). To the end of the year, which thus comprised 360 days, were added five Gāthā-days, each sacred to one of the five great divisions of the Gāthās: Ahunavaiti, Uštavaiti, Spenta Mainyu, Vohu Xšathra, and Vahistōišti (cf. al-Birūnī, *op. cit.* pp. 53-54, 383; Ginzler, *op. cit.* p. 287). To allow for the quarter-day thus lost each year, a month was intercalated every 120 years.

4. The Avesta year was primarily divided into a summer (*ham*) of seven months and a winter (*zayan*, *zyam*) of five (gloss to *Vendidad* i. 3; *Bundahishn* xxv. 7). Spring and autumn seem not to be recognized in the Avesta. In later times, however, the year was divided into spring (*vahār*), summer (*hāmīn*), autumn (*pātīz*), and winter (*zamistān*), each of three months (*Bundahishn*, xxv. 20). The Avesta itself, on the other hand, has a division of the year into six unequal parts, called *gāhanbārs*, which, though later interpreted as celebrating the six periods of creation (*Bundahishn*, xxv. 1), were doubtless originally popular festivals.

The *gāhanbārs* were as follows: *maidyōizaremaya*, 'mid-spring' (corresponding theoretically to May 1-5), *maidyōisema*, 'mid-summer' (June 31-July 4), *paitishahya*, 'grain-bringing' (Sept. 12-16), *ayābrima*, 'home-coming' (Oct. 12-16), *maidyāirya*, 'mid-year' (Dec. 31-Jan. 4), and *hamaspāmaēdaya*, of uncertain meaning (Mar. 15-20); slightly varying days are given by others, depending on the day taken as the first of the year—March 8 or 15 (as by Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1904, coll. 1118 f., 838, 160, 1117, 1776, and Ginzler, *op. cit.* p. 285). The *gāhanbārs* accordingly fell at varying intervals, so that *maidyōizaremaya*-*maidyōisema*=45 days, *maidyōisema*-*paitishahya*=60 days, *paitishahya*-*ayābrima*=75 days, *ayābrima*-*maidyāirya*=30 days, *maidyāirya*-*hamaspāmaēdaya*=80 days, and *hamaspāmaēdaya*-*maidyōizaremaya*=75 days. Perhaps the best explanation of the *gāhanbārs* is that of Cama (*Actes du vi. Congr. Internat. des Orientalistes*, iii. 583-592), who com-

bines the twofold division of the year into a winter of five months and a summer of seven, and four seasons of three months each. The first, second, and fifth *gāhanbārs*, according to Cama, fell in mid-seasons, i.e. in the middle of the spring of three months, the summer of seven months, and the winter of five months; while the third, fourth, and sixth *gāhanbārs* fell at the ends of seasons, i.e. at the end of the spring of three months, the summer of seven months, and the winter of three months. It may also be noted in passing that attempts have been made, as by Nadershah (*op. cit.* pp. 267-270), to establish a double year, one (*sarēd*) commencing with the vernal equinox and the other (*yār*) with the autumnal equinox. This, however, is extremely doubtful.

5. The day was divided into five parts, called *gāhs*. These were *hāvani*, 'time of preparation of the haoma' (dawn to noon), *rapitvina* (noon to 3 p.m.), *uzayerina*, 'afternoon' (3 p.m. to twilight), *aivisrūbrima aibigaya*, of uncertain meaning (twilight to midnight), and *usahina*, 'dawn' (midnight to dawn). In winter, however, *rapitvina* was omitted, and *hāvani* was extended from dawn to the middle of the afternoon. The night, in like manner, was divided into four parts, which were also included in the *gāhs*. These were (*Frāhang-i-ām*, ed. Reichelt, Vienna, 1900, p. 36; Jamaspji and Haug, *An Old Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, Stuttgart, 1867, pp. 42, 76-77) *hū frās-mōdāiti*, 'sunset' (sunset to darkness), *erezaurovaesa*, 'turning of darkness' (darkness to midnight), *usām sūrām*, 'holy dawn' (midnight to grey dawn), and *raocanhām fragati*, 'coming forth of light' (grey dawn to sunrise).

6. The Avesta year, as here outlined, is the ideal one. In the course of time the dates gradually fell behind, both in the normal method of reckoning, and as a result of the neglect of intercalation in consequence of the troublous times which followed the downfall of the Sasanians on the death of Yazdagird (A.D. 651). In the very earliest period, according to al-Birūnī (*op. cit.* 13), the Persian year contained but 360 days, one month being intercalated every six years, and two months every 120 years.

According to Persian tradition, moreover, the entire system of intercalation dates from the period of Zoroaster (*ib.* p. 55; *Cama Memorial Volume*, p. 235 f.). Seventy years before the death of Yazdagird, two months were again intercalated, despite the five epagomenal days of each year, one as the necessary proceeding, and the second 'with regard to the future, that no other intercalation might be needed for a long period' (*ib.* p. 38; cf. pp. 12, 54). The position of the intercalated month varied. Shah Khulji, quoted by Hyde (*Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, Oxford, 1700, p. 203 ff.), states that the first month intercalated was put after Fravartīn, the second after Artavahišt, and so on, until after the lapse of 1440 years the intercalated month should normally come again after Fravartīn. By the time of Shah Khulji, Ulugh Beg (*Epochæ cel.* p. 23), Kutb-ad-dīn (*ap.* Hyde, p. 205), and al-Birūnī (*op. cit.* 53), the five epagomenal days, and, by implication, the intercalated month, came after Avān. No attempt was made to correct the confusion of the Persian year until the reign of the Seljūk sultan Jalāl-ad-dīn Malik Shāh (A.D. 1073-1092), who re-established the old system firmly, taking as the first of Fravartīn, the New Year, March 15, 1079, and placing the epagomenal days in their original position at the end of Fravartīn. This reformed era, known as the 'era of Jalāl-ad-dīn,' still remains in force among the Zoroastrians. There is, however, a sectarian division among the Parsis of India (although not among the Zoroastrians of

Persia), since, after the Persians lost their independence, they failed, for some reason, to make the proper intercalation, whereas those Zoroastrians who sought refuge in India had, according to tradition, made this intercalation while still in Khorasan. The Shahinshai sect, which claims that intercalation is allowable, is, therefore, one month ahead of the Kadmis, who regard intercalation as merely political in origin, not religious. This difference is of importance as affecting the religious festivals, each set denying the validity of the feasts of the other. The divergence was formerly the cause of bitter dissensions, which are now, happily, appeased (see Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, i. 105-117).

7. The reduction of dates of the 'era of Jalāl-ad-din' to those of the Christian era is somewhat involved, and varies by a day, unless the precise name of the day of the original calendar be given. If tables (noted in the Bibliography) be not at hand, the following method may be used (see Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 302 ff.). Multiply the expired year of the 'era of Jalāl-ad-din' (not the one of which the date is given) by 365/242535. Add to the product the sum of days of the unexpired year plus 393812 (the sum of days from 1st Jan. A.D. 1 to 15th March A.D. 1079, the beginning of the 'era of Jalāl-ad-din'). Divide the sum by 1461 (the days in a four-year cycle, A.D.). Multiply the quotient by four, and add the remainder, reduced from days to years, months, and days of the Christian era. The result will be the corresponding date A.D. Conversely, to reduce dates A.D. to the 'era of Jalāl-ad-din' (usually termed A.Y., i.e. Anno Yazdagirdis), divide the expired year A.D. by four, and multiply the quotient by 1461. Add to the product the number of days in the unexpired year A.D., and subtract from this sum 393812. Divide the remainder by 365/242535, the quotient being the years A.Y. Reduce the remainder to months and days A.Y., and the result will be the corresponding date A.Y. which is desired.

8. Mention may be made in passing of two documents giving exact equivalents for dates A.Y. and A.D. The first of these is an anonymous Byzantine author (ed. Scaliger, *Canones saeculorum*, Paris, 1658, p. 814 f.; Petau, *de Doctrina Temporum*, Paris, 1708, ii. 213; Gray, *Byzant. Ztschr.* xi. 471 f., and *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of . . . Sānjana*, Bombay, 1904, p. 174 f.), who states that in A.D. 1443 (= A.Y. 812) Tir 17 corresponded to March 11, Mihr 20 to June 12, Din 24 to Sept. 14, and Fravartin 18 to Dec. 12. The other text is an Oriental chronicle-table for A.D. 1687 (*Ephemerides Persarum per totum annum*, ed. Beck, Augsburg, 1695), which shows that in that year Fravartin 1 of the Old Avesta calendar = Mihr 22 of the 'era of Jalāl-ad-din' = Sept. 28, etc., thus indicating that between A.D. 1443 and 1687 the calendar had fallen behind two months.

9. The influence of the Iranian calendar was far-reaching. Not only were the Cappadocian month-names borrowed *in toto* from the Avesta-Pahlavi system (Benfey and Stern, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alten Völker*, Berlin, 1836, pp. 76-120; Lagarde, *op. cit.* pp. 258-264), but many of the names of the months in the Armenian (given by Dulaurier, *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne*, Paris, 1859, pp. 10-14), Chorasmanian, and Sogdian (al-Birūnī, *op. cit.* pp. 56 f., 82 f.; cf. *SBW*, 1907, p. 465) menologies were taken from the Zoroastrian calendar, while sporadic borrowings may be traced in the month-names of Albania (given by Dulaurier, p. 167, Azaria of Julfa [early 17th cent.], *op. cit.* p. 115 ff.), Seistan (al-Birūnī, p. 52 f.), Bukhārīk (Bokhara [?]; al-Birūnī, p. 82 f.), and Qubā (a large city of Farghana, near Shash; *ib.* p. 82 f.). Those month-names of these various calendars which seem to show Zoroastrian influence (the Old Persian system here plays no part, unless Marquart, *Philologus*, lv. 235, be right in explaining the Armenian name of the eleventh month, Margac, as a loan-word from the Old Persian *Margazana*), are as follows, summarized

from Gray, 'On Certain Persian and Armenian Month-Names as influenced by the Avesta Calendar,' in *JAOS* xxviii. [1907] 331-344:

1. Fravartin = Chorasmanian Nūsārjī (this, like the four following names, representing the Avesta **nasa-sarəša*, 'new year'), Sogdian-Bukhārīk Nūsard, Armenian Navasard, Albanian Navasardus, while the Seistanian Kavāš may represent the Avesta hero Kavāta, the legendary founder of the Kayanian dynasty, whose home was in Seistan (*Yasht* xix. 65 f.; cf. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, p. 411; Azaria of Julfa's Sams is borrowed from the Arabic *sams*, 'sun').
2. Artavahist = Chorasmanian Ardūst (the Sogdian Fādī Nūsard may be for Avesta **paiti-navasərəša*, 'after the new year').
3. Horvadašt = Chorasmanian Harūdāš (the Sogdian Nisan and Azaria of Julfa's Sbat' are loan-names from the Hebrew calendar).
4. Tir = Chorasmanian Jiri, Seistanian Tirkāyānā (uncertain vocalization), Armenian Trē (if the Albanian Yilē be connected with Albanian *ut*, 'star' [cf. Meyer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1891, p. 460], it may possibly be a reminiscence of the Zoroastrian name of this month).
5. Amerōdat = Chorasmanian Hamād (Azaria of Julfa's Gamar is the Arabic *qamar*, 'moon').
6. Satvairō = Chorasmanian Axšarivari (the vocalization, except for the *matres lectionis*, uncertain, as in many of these names).
7. Mitrō = Qubān Mihr, Armenian Mihekan (Azaria of Julfa, probably through retrogression of the calendar, has Tir = Tir, Chorasmanian Pīy (Turān Bay[aykān] = Baya, 'god', i.e. Mihrā).
8. Avān = Sogdian Abānj. 9. Ātarō = Chorasmanian Arū (read, with some of the variants, Adū), Armenian Ahekan (Lagarde, p. 9; Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1897, i. 95; Azaria of Julfa has Hamir = Arabic *amir*, while the Sogdian Pīy (Turān Būyī) represents a dialectic development of the Avesta *baya*, 'god').
10. Din (Avesta *dabōuš* [month] of the Creator) = Chorasmanian Rīmāzd (the Sogdian Masāfuy, 'great god', is clearly a reminiscence of the Avesta name of the month, while Azaria of Julfa's Aram is the eponymous hero of Armenia, and the Bukhārīk Sivan the Hebrew Sivan, calendrical retrogression again playing a part).
11. Vohūman = Chorasmanian Asman (cf. al-Birūnī, p. 384; the Seistanian Karsā = uncertain vocalization—may represent the Karsa of *Yasht* xii. 106, 108, who may, perhaps, be the eponymous hero of the Qavēn dynasty which played an important part in the Arsacid and Sassanian periods [Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 686, note 212]).
12. Spēndarmat = Chorasmanian Asbandarmāji (the Armenian Hrotic is a loan-name from the Pahlavi *spāvaratākan*, 'the [five epagomenal days] dedicated to the Fravashis'; Hübschmann, p. 184 f.; Lagarde, p. 163).

The correspondences in the names of the days between the Zoroastrian and the Chorasmanian and Sogdian calendars are as follows: 1. Ašharmāzd = Chorasmanian Rīmāzd, Sogdian Karmāzd. 2. Artavahist = Chorasmanian Ardūst, Sogdian Ardāxūšt. 3. Satvairō = Chorasmanian Axšarivari, Sogdian Xastūr. 4. Spēndarmat = Chorasmanian Asbandarmāji, Sogdian Šbandārmāz. 5. Horvadašt = Chorasmanian Harūdāš, Sogdian Radad (?) 6. Amerōdat = Chorasmanian Hamādāš, Sogdian Marčad. 7, 15, 23. Din = Chorasmanian Dašt, Sogdian Dast. 9. Ātarō = Chorasmanian Arū (read Adū), Sogdian Atas. 11. Xurōšt = Chorasmanian Axir, Sogdian Xvir. 12. Māh = Chorasmanian Māh, Sogdian Mās. 13. Tir = Chorasmanian Jiri, Sogdian Tīs. 14. Gōš = Chorasmanian Fūšt, Sogdian Fūs. 17. Srōš = Chorasmanian Asrūš (read Asrūš(?)), Sogdian Rus. 18. Rašnū = Chorasmanian Rašn, Sogdian Rasn. 19. Fravartin = Sogdian Frūš. 21. Rām = Chorasmanian Rām, Sogdian Rāmn. 22. Vāt = Chorasmanian and Sogdian Vāt. 24. Din = Chorasmanian Dini, Sogdian Din. 25. Arj = Chorasmanian Arjūxi (cf. Nöldeke, *SWA IV* cxvi. 418, note 4), Sogdian Arš. 26. Āštāt = Chorasmanian Āštād, Sogdian Āštād. 27. Āsmān = Chorasmanian Āsmān, Sogdian Samn. 28. Zamyāt = Sogdian Rāmjid (read Zāmjid). 29. Māraspānd = Chorasmanian Marasband.

The Sogdians likewise gave special names to each of the five epagomenal days (al-Birūnī, p. 57), and the Chorasmanians had names for the six *gāhanbārs* (*ib.* p. 225, cf. p. 425 f.), while the Armenians, it has been suggested (Dulaurier, p. 13), also did so originally; but the exact meanings of the appellations, even when compared with their corresponding terms in the Zoroastrian calendar, are uncertain. According to al-Birūnī, moreover, both these nations, like the Armenians and Albanians (Dulaurier, p. 115 ff., 167), placed the epagomenal days at the end of the year, as in the early Avesta calendar, instead of violating this custom, as in the middle period of the Avesta system. The Chorasmanians had, in addition, a series of eras, first from the commencement of their colonization of the country, 980 years before Alexander the Great; then from the coming of Siyavush ben Kai Kaus to Chorasma, ninety-two years later; and, finally, according to the reigns of sovereigns.

The Avestan custom of naming the days of the month also existed among the Armenians (Alishan, *Ancient Faith of the Armenians* [in Armenian], Venice, 1895, p. 143 f.). Although the majority of these names are Christian or geographical, Zoroastrian influence is evident in at least five: Mihr, the eighth day (corresponding to the seventh month and the sixteenth day of each month in the Zoroastrian calendar); Aramazd, the fifteenth day (corresponding to the first day of each month in the Zoroastrian calendar); Anahit, the nineteenth day (corresponding to the Iranian goddess Anāhita); Npat, the twenty-sixth day (corresponding to the Indo-Iranian water-deity Apām Napāt, but confused with the Armenian mountain called Npat); and Vahagn, the twenty-seventh day (corresponding to the twentieth day of each month in the Zoroastrian calendar) [cf. above, vol. i. p. 802]. Six of the Iranian names here considered were even borrowed, through their Sogdian forms, as planet names in Chinese (*SBW*, 1907, p. 459), these being, in Cau-

tonese pronunciation; Mit (Sogdian Mīr, 'Mithra'), Mok (Sogdian Māk, 'Māh'), Wen-hon (Sogdian Wunxān, 'Bahram'), Tit (Sogdian Tūr, 'Tūr'), Wun-mut-si (Sogdian Wurmazd, 'Ormazd'), and Nak'it (Sogdian Nāhi, 'Anāhita').

It should also be noted that an attempt was made by Yazdagird III. to give both the months and days of the Zoroastrian year entirely different names, but his innovations soon met the oblivion they richly merited (Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, p. 195-200).

10. In conclusion, the comparative table given below¹ may serve to elucidate the mutual correspondences of the ideal Babylonian, Old Persian, Avesta, and Julian months.

LITERATURE.—The principal literature on the Iranian calendar, together with the chief references to the original texts, is given by Gray, 'Der iranische Kalender,' in *Deutscher Kultur, Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 675-678, Strassburg, 1904. Older works of importance, there overlooked, and later treatises are Ulugh Beg, *Epochas celeberrimes*, ed. Gravins, London, 1650, *Ephemerides Persarum per totum annum*, ed. Beck, Augsburg, 1695; Usener, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola*, Bonn, 1867 (valuable for Byzantine texts on the Persian calendar); Gray, 'Zu den byzantinischen Angaben über den altiran. Kalender,' in *Byzantin. Zeitschr.* xi. 466-472, 'Medieval Greek References to the Avestan Calendar,' in *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of . . . Sānjana*, Bombay, 1904, pp. 167-175, 'The Origin of the Names of the Avesta Months,' in *AJSL* xx. 194-201, 'On Certain Persian and Armenian Month-Names as Influenced by the Avesta Calendar,' in *JASO* xxviii. 381-344; six studies in the *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900: Bharucha, 'Pāzend and English Versions of a Chapter of the Pahlavi Dinkard, relating to the Solar and Luni-Solar Years in the Zoroastrian Religion,' pp. 12-28; Kuka, 'An Enquiry into the order of the Parsi Months and the Basis of their Nomenclature,' pp. 64-78; Karkaria, 'The Parsi and the French Revolutionary Calendars,' pp. 146-158; Unwala, 'Two Persian Passages about the Kabiseh (Intercalation),' pp. 235-238; Desai, 'The Persian Year,' p. 241 ff.; and Nadershah, 'The Zoroastrian Months and Years with their Divisions in the Avesta Age,' pp. 244-273; two studies in the *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, by Unwala, 'A Few Parsee Festivals (Jashans) according to an Old Parsee Manuscript,' p. 201 ff., and K. R. Cama, 'The Zoroastrian Calendar,' p. 230 ff.; Margart, *Philologus*, iv. 234 ff., and Supplementband, x. [1907] 198-215; F. W. K. Müller, 'Die "persischen" Kalenderausdrücke im chinesischen Tripitaka,' *SBW*, 1907, pp. 458-466; Inostrancev, *Sasaniidskie Etyudy*, St. Petersburg, 1909, pp. 82-109; Ginzler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, I. 276-309. Comparative chronological tables of the Persian and Christian eras are given in the edition of Ulugh Beg noted above, and in Schram, *DWAW*, mathematische Klasse, xiv. 323-331, Vienna, 1882, and *Kalendariographische und chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. xxi-xliii, 159, 173-181.

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CALENDAR (Polynesian).—The calendrical development of the islands of the Pacific was considerably higher than that of Africa, with which, however, it offers more than one analogue. In the western portion much influence has been exercised by higher civilizations. This is especially clear in Java, where the Muhammadan lunar year of 354 days is reckoned according to the Indian *saka* era (beginning with A.D. 78); the month, with Muhammadan names, is divided, in Indian fashion, into a 'light' and a 'dark' half; seven days of the week bear two sets of names, one being Muhammadan and the other Indian; and one of the two systems of intercalation is Arabic, while the other is Turkish (for details, see Ginzler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 414-418).

A cycle of 210 days is formed by 30 seven-day weeks, each of which is ruled by an ancient Javanese deity and has its own name: *Sinto*, *Landep*, *Wukir*,

Kurantil, *Tolu*, *Grumbreg*, *Warigo*, *Wariga-gung*, *Julung-wangi*, *Sungsang*, *Galungan*, *Kuningan*, *Lankir*, *Mondhosio*, *Julung-pujat*, *Pahang*, *Kuruwelut*, *Marakeh*, *Tambir*, *Madhan-kungan*, *Maktal*, *Wuye*, *Manahil*, *Prang-bakat*, *Bolo*, *Wugu*, *Wayang*, *Kulawu*, *Dhukut*, and *Watru-gunung*; and this cycle (*wuku*) is divided, for purposes of divination, into periods of 10, 9, 8, 6, 4, 3, 2, and 1 days. Side by side with the *wuku* is the *pasar*, or market-week, of 5 days—*Pahing* (or *Pa*), *Pon*, *Wagē*, *Kaliwon*, and *Legi* (or *Manis*)—which finds a parallel in the Yoruba week (see above, p. 64*), and which is also observed by the non-Muhammadan Lampong of Sumatra. The days of the *pasar* are combined with the seven-day week of the *wuku* (*Buddha-Kaliwon*, *Respati-Manis*, . . . *Buddha-Pahing*, *Respati-Pon*, etc.), so that, after the thirty-fifth combination, the initial point (*Buddha-Kaliwon*, etc.) is again reached. Six of these periods coincide with a *wuku*, and twelve give the *wuku* year of 420 days, an astrological year.

Besides this lunar year, the Javanese have the solar year, which is divided into 12 *mangsas* (Skr. *māṃsa*, 'time' [a meaning found only in the native lexicographers, not in Skr. literature]), which vary in length: *Kasa* (41 days), *Karo* (23 days), *Katiga* (24 days), *Kapat* (25 days), *Kalima* (27 days), *Kanem* (43 days), *Kapitu* (43 days), *Kawolu* (26 days), *Kasanga* (25 days), *Kasadasa* (24 days), *Desta* (23 days), *Sada* (41 days), this year of 365 days being that determined, after much previous irregularity in reckoning, by Sultan Paku Buwana VII. and beginning 22 June 1855. Every 4 years *Kawolu* is given an extra day for intercalation; and it is this solar year which is the one indigenous to Java. The native Javanese day has only general divisions into early dawn, dawn, sunrise, forenoon, etc., but the five Muhammadan hours of prayer and the Indian astrological divisions are also kept.

The lunar year is observed by the inhabitants of the Tennger range in S.E. Java. This has 12 months (alternately 29 and 30 days in length), or 354 days, but in each last year of its five-year cycle a month of 30 days is intercalated. This *windu*, or cycle, accordingly has 1800 days, thus corresponding almost precisely to the Indian *yuga*, which consists of 5 years or 1830 days. In other respects the usual Javanese system is closely followed; and the same statement holds good of the neighbouring island of Bali, except that here intercalation is more irregularly performed, normally taking place at the expiration of 64 months, of which 30 have 29 days, while 34 have 30, this total of 1890 days corresponding to 9 Javanese *wukus* of 210 days each, and also to 5 Indian years of 378 days each (on this Indian year, cf. Ginzler, *op. cit.* p. 322). It is especially noteworthy that both in the Balinese and in the Javanese *mangsas* the first ten names, already listed, are based on the Javanese ordinals, while the last two (*Desta* or *Yesta*, and *Sada*, *Sodha*, or *Asada*) are borrowed from the Skr. month-names *Jyestha* and *Āṣāḍha* (approximately May-June and June-July).

¹ BABYLONIAN.	OLD PERSIAN.	AVESTA.	JULIAN.
Nisan	Garmapada	Fravartin	March-April
Iyyar	Thuravahara	Artavahist	April-May
Sivan	Thaigardi	Horvadaṭ	May-June
Tammuz	.....	Tir	June-July
Ab	.....	Amerodaṭ	July-August
Elul	.....	Satvairō	August-September
Tishri	Bagayadi	Mitro	September-October
Marcheshvan	Adukanī	Avan	October-November
Kislev	Athriyadiya	Atarō	November-December
Tebeth	Anamaka	Din	December-January
Shebat	Margazana	Vohūman	January-February
Adar	Viyakhna	Spendarmaṭ	February-March

This may imply that the Bali-Javanese year originally had only 10 months (cf. Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 425)—a curious phenomenon which is recorded for the Gilbert Islands by Hale (*U.S. Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology*, Philadelphia, 1846, p. 105 f.), and is seen also among the Maori and possibly in the Caroline Islands, although, as Gerland (*Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1869-77, vi. 72 f.) well urges, all these cases of alleged ten-month years may be based on error. At the same time, one involuntarily thinks of the Roman tradition that previous to Numa, who added Jan. and Feb., the year consisted of only ten months (cf. Plutarch, *Vita Numæ*, xviii. f., and see below, p. 134^a).

With diminishing influence from Hinduism and Muhammadanism goes a decrease in the calendrical skill of the Malayo-Polynesian and allied peoples. This comes out clearly in the case of the Sumatran Lampong and Achinese (the latter having an elaborate system of synchronizing the lunar year with the season by *kenongs* evidently borrowed from the Indian *naksatra* year [see Ginzel, *Hdb. d. math. u. tech. Chron.* pp. 423-430]), as contrasted with the pagan Battak, even though the latter show, in their names of the days of the month, reminiscences of the Indian names of the seven-day week (cf. the list given by Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 427). Yet these Battak, though they reckon their months from new moon to new moon, have no real era, but compute extra-annually by *remis* of from 9 to 12 years, while they do not even have a fixed period for the beginning of each year. The Battak year is essentially a terrestrial one, as contrasted with the lunar, solar, or luni-solar year, being determined by terrestrial phenomena such as the monsoons, the growth of vegetation, etc., though observations are also made of the Pleiades, Orion, Scorpio, and Venus. None of the Sumatran peoples are acquainted with the hour; the day receives, as already noted for Java, only general subdivisions for early afternoon, late afternoon, sunset, mid-night, etc.

In Melanesia the system of reckoning time is most primitive. The standard of measure is, of course, the moon, but there is no indigenous concept of the year; *tau* or *niulu*, commonly used for 'year', properly connoting only 'season' (as the 'tau of the yam', the banana having no tau, since it is in fruit throughout the year).

'It is impossible to fit the native succession of moons into a solar year; months have their names from what is done and what happens when the moon appears and while it lasts; the same moon has different names' (Coddington, *Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 349). For example, the moons of the year on Mota, of the Banks Islands group, may be given as follows: *Magoto yaro* ('fresh grass', corresponding to April), *Magoto ranga* ('withered grass'), *Magoto rara* ('face of winter, the rare, or erythrina flowering in the cold season'), *Tur rara* ('fullness of winter'), *Kere rara* ('end of winter'), *Un rig* or *un gogona* ('little or bitter palolo', a few of these annelids appearing at this full moon), *Un iava* ('great palolo', the annelid appearing on the reef in immense numbers on one night at full moon, this serving in part as the beginning of a new year, especially as the yam is harvested during this moon), *Un verei* ('rump of the palolo'), *Vule votgoro* ('moon of shooting up' [of the reeds into flower]), *Vusiaru* (when the wind beats the casuarina trees on the cliffs), *Tetemavuru* (when the hard winds detach fragments from the seeded reeds), and *Lamasag noronoro* ('rattling of dry reeds').

In the Caroline Islands a phenomenon is found, which is, in a sense, characteristic of the Pacific calendar, and which outside this region occurs only in the Armenian and Persian systems (see above, pp. 70, 128)—the naming of the days of each month or moon. In Ponape, for example, the names of the 27 days of the moon are as follows (Christian, *Caroline Islands*, London, 1899, p. 387 f.): *Ir*, *Lel-eti*, *Chanok*, *Chanok-en-komóni*, *Chanok-en-komána*, *Epenok-omur*, *Epenok-omoa*, *Chau-pot-mur*, *Chau-pot-moa*, *Arichau*, *Chutak-ran*, *Eü*, *Aralok*, *At*, *Arre*, *Echil*, *Apang*, *Alim*, *Aon*, *Eich*, *Aval*, *Malatuatu*, *Takai-en-pai*, *Aro-puki*, *Olo-pua*, *Olo-mai*, and *Mat* (similar lists for Lamotrek, the Mortlock Islands, Yap, and Uleai are given by Christian, *op. cit.* pp. 392-395). In Ponape, moreover, as elsewhere in the Carolines, the month is

divided into 3 parts: *Rot* ('darkness,' 13 days), *Mach* ('new moon,' 9 days), and *Pul* ('waning moon,' 5 days). The number of months in the Caroline year is 12 (in Lamotrek, for example, *Sarabol*, *Aramaus*, *Tumur*, *Mai-rik*, *Mai-lap*, *Seuta*, *Lahk*, *Kü*, *Ul*, *Alliel*, *Mán*, and *Ich*); and Freycinet's record of only 10 (*Voyage autour du monde*, Paris, 1827-29, ii. 105)—*Tungur*, *Mol*, *Mahelap*, *Sota*, *La*, *Kuhu*, *Halimatu*, *Margar*, *Hiolikel*, and *Mal*—was probably based, as he himself suspected, on erroneous information, especially as each *maram* ('moon,' 'month') possessed but 30 days. In the Ladrões the same explorer (*op. cit.* p. 380) found 13 lunar months (*pulan*) in the year (*sakkan*): *Tumeguini*, *Maino*, *Umotaraf*, *Lumuhu*, *Magnamoa*, *Mananaf*, *Semo*, *Tenhos*, *Lumamlam*, *Fagualu*, *Sumongsugn*, *Umadjangan*, and *Umagahaf*; and in the same group Chamisso ('Bemerkungen auf einer Entdeckungsreise,' *Gesammelte Werke*, Cotta ed. iv. 285) found time reckoned by days and moons, but in the Carolines by nights and moons.

Throughout Polynesia time was reckoned by the moon, from 28 to 30 nights forming the month, of which there were, as occasion required, 12 or 13 in the year. This year (or, rather, annual season, for the concept 'year' was scarcely known in its strict sense in Polynesia) began at various periods corresponding to our May, June, March, late December, etc., while the names of the months varied from island to island, and even within the same island (cf. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*², London, 1832-36, i. 86-89; for further details, with abundant references to older literature, see Gerland, *op. cit.* p. 71 ff.).

In Tahiti, where the year (*tàoo*) began about March, the months (*marama*, *malama*) bore, according to Forster (*Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, London, 1778, p. 504 f.), the following names (cf. the slightly divergent list in Hale, *op. cit.* p. 169 f., where lists for Samoa and Hawaii are also recorded): *O-porore-o-moba*, *O-porore-o-mobree*, *Moorehā*, *Oohē-ērya*, *Hoore-āma*, *Tāvua*, *Hoore-erre-erre*, *O-te-āree*, *O-te-tai*, *Warehoo*, *Wā-ahou*, *Pipirree*, and *A-oo-moonoo*. Each month had 29 days, all with individual names, special names also being borne by each of the six divisions of the day and the six of the night. In Lakemba, in the Fiji group, the 11 months recorded by Hale (*op. cit.* p. 68)—*Sesē-ni-ngasdu-lailai* ('little reed-flower', corresponding to Feb.), *Sesē-ni-ngasdu-levu* ('great reed-flower'), *Vulai-mbotambota* ('moon of scattering' [the fallen leaves]), *Vulai-kelikel* ('moon of digging'), *Kavakatangāre*, *Kawakā-lailai*, *Kawakā-levu* (these three referring to the growth of the yam), *Mbalolo-lailai* ('little palolo' [for the allusion, cf. preceding col.]), *Mbalolo-levu* ('great palolo'), *Nunga-lailai* ('little nunga' [a sort of fish]), and *Nunga-levu* ('great nunga')—recall by their grouping the seasonal nomenclature of the oldest Indian months—*Sukra* ('bright'), *Suci* ('burning'); *Nabhas* ('cloud'), *Nabhasya* ('cloudy'); *Tapas* ('warmth'), *Tapasya* ('warm'); etc. (Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 316). In Rotuma Island, belonging to Fiji, we find a 'monsoon year' of 6 moons, the months being repeated semi-annually on account of the regular blowing of westerly and easterly winds: *Ōpapa* (March, September), *Taftāfi*, *Hāua*, *Kasēpi*, *Fōson-hāu*, and *Abapudna* (Hale, *op. cit.* p. 169).

With this may perhaps be compared the Nicobarese custom of reckoning by the south-west monsoon (*sho-hong*, May-Oct.) and the north-east monsoon (*fūl*, Nov.-April), two *shom-en-yuh*, or monsoon half years, making approximately a solar year. At the same time, the *kāhēs* (new moons) are named consecutively throughout the year, not re-

peated semi-annually as in Rotuma (see, further, Ginzell, *op. cit.* p. 431 f.). In the Society Islands the year (*matahiti*) was similarly divided into half-years according to the position of the Pleiades: *Matarii i nia* ('Pleiades above' [the horizon]), and *Matarii i raro* ('Pleiades below' [the horizon]). Here again the nights of each lunar month, which were, as necessity required, 12 or 13 in number, and had 30 days each, were named individually, while various seasons (as *Tetau*, 'autumn'; *Te-tau-miti-rati*, 'time of high sea'; and *Te-tau-poi*, 'season of drought and scarcity') were also recognized. Ellis (*loc. cit.*) further states that, while the Society Islanders were unacquainted with hours or weeks, they 'marked the progress of the day with sufficient accuracy, by noticing the position of the sun in the firmament, the appearance of the atmosphere, and the ebbing and flowing of the tide.' In like fashion the Hawaiians began their year when the Pleiades rise at sunset. During five months, beginning with *Kaelo* (Jan.), war might be waged, but peace was enjoined during the remainder of the year. Similarly in Tahiti, according to Wilkes (*Narrative of U.S. Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1850, iv. 42 f.), the first three months were for war; during the fourth the *opelu* was tabu, and in the fifth it was caught; the two moons following were for taxing; the eighth was devoted to prayers, games, and merriment; the ninth contained the annual feast for the payment of taxes; in the tenth the idols were carried about, and taxes were demanded; the eleventh was for the offerings to the dead and the catching of the *boneta*; and the twelfth for the fishing of the same fish. Elsewhere each month had analogous divisions. Thus, in Hawaii,

'during each month there were four tabu periods of two nights and one day each, dedicated severally to each of the four great gods. All their religious rites, as well as their fishing, planting, etc., were regulated by the moon' (Alexander, *Brief Hist. of the Hawaiian People*, New York, 1891, p. 49 f.).

In New Zealand the year also began with the rising of the Pleiades. According to Maori tradition, this year (*tau*, lit. 'season') originally contained only ten months, until Whare-patari, a magician, taught the people better (cf. the curiously parallel tradition of Numa, above, p. 132*), after which they had the customary Polynesian number of 12 or 13: *Te-tahi* (June), *Te-rua*, *Te-toru*, *Te-wha*, *Te-rima*, *Te-onu*, *Te-whitu*, *Te-waru*, *Te-iwa*, *Te-ngahuru*, *Te-ngahuru-tahi*, *Te-ngahuru-rua*, and *Te-ngahuru-tahi-arohua* (Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, London, 1856, pp. 219-222). These months had the following names for their days (Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dict.*, Wellington, 1891, p. 666, where similar lists are given for Hawaii, Tahiti, Rarotonga, and the Marquesas): *Whiro* (from *whiri*, 'twist', 'plait', because on this first night the moon looks like a twisted thread), *Tirea* (cf. *tirau*, 'peg', 'stick'), *Hoata* ('long spear'), *One*, *Okou* (cf. *oko*, 'wooden bowl or other open vessel' [?]), *Tamatea-kai-ariki*, *Tamatea-ananga*, *Tamatea-aio*, *Tamatea-whakapau*, *Huna*, *Ari-roa*, *Manharu*, *Maurea*, *Atua-whakahaehae*, *Tvru*, *Rakau-nui*, *Rakau-matohi*, *Takirau*, *Oika*, *K rekore*, *Korekore-turua*, *Korekore-piri-ki-Tangeroa*, *Tangaroa-amua*, *Tangaroa-a-roto*, *Tangaroa-a-kiokio*, *O-Tane* (sacred to Tane), *O-Rongo-nui* (sacred to Rongo), *Mauri*, *O-Mutu*, and *Mutuwhenua* (cf. *mutu*, 'brought to an end').

In Australia, as one would expect, the lowest degree of calendrical development in the Pacific region is found. Here, in the words of Spencer-Gillen*, p. 25 f.,

'time is counted by "sleeps" or "moons," or phases of the moon, for which they have definite terms: longer periods they reckon by means of seasons, having names for summer and winter. They have further definite words expressing particular

times, such as morning before sunrise (*ingunwunthagunwuntha*), . . . day after to-morrow (*ingunwunthairipina*), . . . in a long time (*ingunwuntha arbaramaninga*).'

The citation of additional data from the remainder of the Pacific world would scarcely add new principles to the Polynesian calendar, which may be described, from the evidence already presented, as a system of lunar months (or 'moons'), 12 or 13 to what we should call a year (a concept developed only imperfectly, if at all, by the peoples under consideration), usually named according to the natural phenomena, the occupations, or the religious festivals connected with them, and—in many places subdivided into two or three periods of unequal length—having from 28 to 30 days, only roughly divided into parts (anything corresponding to the hour being quite unknown), but normally named each with a special designation—the latter being, in fact, the most striking superficial characteristic of this entire system of the reckoning of time.

LITERATURE.—Abundant references, in addition to those mentioned in the art., may be found in Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1880-77, v. a, 125, b, 86, vi. 71-74, 613-615, 763 f.; Ginzell, *Handbuch der mathemat. und techn. Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, i. 414-432, 449.

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CALENDAR (Roman).—The ordering of time at Rome was always a matter of religious importance, and, as we may conjecture with confidence, was also from the first in the hands of religious authorities. The reason of this is to be found in the nature of Roman religious ideas. In the life of the *gens* and family on the land, before the city-State came into being, each agricultural operation had a religious side, since the *numen* or *numina* concerned with it had to be propitiated at the right time in order that they might be of service to the husbandman or might abstain from injuring him. The proper times for agricultural operations and the rites concerned with them were learnt only from the nature of the season, and from the motions of the heavenly bodies, without (as we must suppose) any systematic arrangement of them in an *annus*, or ring of the solar year. When city life began, it was naturally found necessary to have a more exact measure of this *annus* and the religious events included in it. Agriculture was still the economic basis of the life of the people; and in keeping up the agricultural religious rites within the city it was convenient, if not absolutely necessary, to fix them to particular days. This was, beyond doubt, the origin of the earliest calendar of which we know anything. In this all religious festivals are permanently fixed in date (*feriae stativae*); only a very few, which did not concern the State as a whole, but certain component parts of it, e.g. the *pagi* (Paganalia, Compitalia), and the *lustratio* of the *ager Romanus*, which had to be celebrated on the land itself, remained unfixed (*feriae conceptivae*).

The process of fixation is entirely lost to us. It was part of that transition from rural to city life of which we have no record, and of which archaeology as yet hardly affords us a glimpse. When we begin to know anything about the Roman city-State, it is already a well-developed organization, provided with a calendar based mainly on the needs of the old agricultural life, but showing distinct signs of military and legal activity. The year, or *annus*, to which this calendar applied was probably a lunar year; its length (354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes) nearly coincides with a lunar year of 12 months. It was itself divided into 12 months, of which March, May, July, and October had 31 days, and the rest 29, except February, which had 28. All the months had thus an odd number of days, except the last, which was mainly devoted to the care or cult of the dead, following here the world-wide superstition, especially pre-

valent in Italy, that odd numbers are lucky, even numbers unlucky. This principle held good in the calendar throughout Roman history, and all religious festivals (with two exceptions, which can be accounted for) were fixed on days of odd number.

There was, indeed, a tradition, mentioned by Censorinus (*de Die Natali*, ch. xx.), and attested, according to him, by Varro and other writers (see also Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 27 ff.; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 123; Plutarch, *Vita Num.* xviii. f.), of a year of ten months, called the year of Romulus, which began with March and ended with December, the period between December and March being left undivided. Of such a ten-month year there are traces in Roman life, but they are not concerned so much with religion as with legal matters, such as the payment of debts and the calculation of interest. Mommsen's conjecture may be regarded as still holding the field, that it was adopted at a later period for purposes of business, to avoid the confusion which would arise, as we shall see directly, from the varying length of successive years, caused by intercalation (see his *Röm. Chronol.* p. 48 ff.). We may at any rate leave it out of account in this article. We may be fairly sure that it was not this year, but that mentioned above, ascribed by the Romans to Numa (Censorinus, xx. 4), which was the frame in which the religious festivals were fixed.

The year of 12 months = about 354½ days must inevitably soon have called for modification. Being 11 days short of the solar year, it must before long have got out of harmony with the seasons, thus causing discrepancy between them and the dates of the religious festivals which marked agricultural operations. Such discrepancy would cause *religio*, or scruple and anxiety about the right relations between the citizens and the *numina* on whom they were dependent. The necessary adjustment was probably one of the earliest difficulties which called into existence the body of experts in religious law, who throughout Roman history had charge of the calendar, viz. the *pontifices*, and who were doubtless originally advisers of the *rex* in matters of this kind (see ROMAN RELIGION [Second Period]). Some knowledge was necessary of the methods of adjusting the solar principle to a lunar year, and it probably came from Greece (see above, p. 106 f.). There may have been a succession of such adjustments, the last of them dating from the Decemvirate, 450 B.C. (Macrobius, i. 13, 21); but the Roman year, as we know it in historical times (which lasted till the revision of the calendar by Julius Caesar), was based on a cycle of four years, of which the first had 355 days, the second 377 (obtained by an intercalation of 22 days after 23rd February [Terminalia]), the third 355, and the fourth 378. The whole number of days in the cycle was 1465, or about one day too many in each year; and the work of intercalation and occasional adjustment fell again to the *pontifices*, who, as is well known, neglected or misunderstood it, so that in the time of the late Republic the calendar was constantly out of harmony with the seasons, and all relation was lost between religion and agricultural operations.

The final adjustment was, therefore, a somewhat violent one: Cæsar and his astronomer Sosigenes extended the year 46 B.C. to 445 days, and started afresh on 1st Jan. 45 with a cycle of four years of 365 days each, to the last of which an extra day was added after the Terminalia. This cycle produced the solar year under which we still live, needing only an occasional adjustment. It brought no change in the dates of the religious festivals. Ten days were added to the old normal year of 355 days, but they were all placed at the end of months, viz. two at the end of January, August, and December; and one at the end of April, June, September, and November, so that the festivals remained, as might have been expected from Roman conservatism, even under Cæsar as dictator and pontifex maximus, exactly in the same positions which they had always occupied.

All the surviving fragments of the Roman calendar date from 31 B.C. or later, and thus represent it as revised by Cæsar (see art. ROMAN RELIGION). After that revision the official year began with the month of January, and in fact, since 153 B.C., the consuls had entered on office on the first day of that month. But it is certain that the old religious year began with March, which marks the season when all living things, man included, break into fresh activity, and which bears the name of the deity who represented at once the agricultural and the military activity of the community. The names of the second and third, and probably of the fourth month—Aprilis, Maius, Junius (mensis)—indicate the processes of Nature, viz. opening, increasing, and maturing. After this the months are named according to their order, Quintilis (July) being the fifth after March, and so on to December. The interval between December and March was occupied by two months, Januarius and Februarius, the first of which seems to be named after the ancient deity of entrances and beginnings, Janus, perhaps indicating the natural opening of the *annus* after the winter solstice; the second takes its name from the word *februum*, an instrument of purification (see Paulus, 85, ed. Müller; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 19; Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 13), apparently because the festivals of the month, e.g. the Parentalia and Lupercalia, called for the use of such instruments. Like the Lent of the Christian calendar, this was the period in which the living were made ready for the civil and religious work of the coming year, and in which the yearly duties to the dead were performed.

The internal arrangement of each month had originally been based on the phases of the moon, and this system was maintained, for convenience of reckoning, long after all relations between these phases and the calendar had been lost. The two chief points in a lunar month are the first appearance of the moon's crescent (*Kalendæ*), and the full moon (*Idus*); between the two is the point when the moon reaches the first quarter, which is an uncertain one. It originally was the duty of the *rex*, afterwards of the *pontifices*, as soon as the new moon was discerned, to let it be known whether the first quarter was to be reckoned for the fifth or the seventh day after the Kalends (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* vi. 27), and whether the Ides were to be on the 13th or the 15th day of the month. The Ides were always on the eighth day after the first quarter, which was called *Nonæ*, according to the Roman method of counting a period so as to include both the day on which it began and that on which it ended (*Nonæ* is thus the ninth day before the Ides). All Kalends were sacred to Juno, whose connexion with the moon is beyond question (Wissowa, *Rel. und Kult. der Römer*, p. 116).

Owing to the uncertainty about the date of the Nones, there were no other religious festivals in the interval between Kalends and Nones, with the exception of the obscure Poplifugia on 5th July, nor were the Nones sacred to any particular deity. But the Ides were sacred to Juppiter as the supreme deity of the light of heaven, for on that day the two great heavenly bodies supplied continuous light during the twenty-four hours. On the Nones the *rex*, and, in the Republican period, his successor in certain religious duties, the *rex sacrorum*, announced the dates of the festivals of the month. These festivals are fully dealt with, and their religious significance explained, in art. ROMAN RELIGION. Here it will suffice to note that, like the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, they are all, with one or two exceptions which admit of a possible explanation, fixed on

days of odd number, i.e., as noted above, on lucky days. This superstition is in many instances discernible also in their position with regard to each other. Where a festival occupies more than one day in a month, an interval of one or three days elapses between each celebration, making the whole number three or five. Thus Carmentalia occur on 11th and 15th Jan.; Lemuria on 9th, 11th, and 13th May; Lucaria on 19th and 21st July. In August and December we find traces of an arrangement by which different festivals, which seem to have some connexion with each other, are arranged on this principle; e.g. in August six festivals, all concerned in some way with the fruits of the earth and the harvest, occur on 17th, 19th, 21st, 23rd, 25th, and 27th. It has recently been suggested that e.g. these are arranged round one central festival, the Volcanalia on Aug. 23, which gives some kind of colouring to the rest (see von Domaszewski in *ARW* x. [1907] p. 333 ff.); and that, where this principle does not hold, we may see traces of an older system unaffected by the superstition. But, on the whole, there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for this ingenious conjecture.

A principle of greater importance for the life of the Roman people is that whereby the days of each month were divided, so to speak, between the human and the divine inhabitants of the city. In the ancient so-called calendar of Numa, distinguishable by the large capitals in which it is reproduced in the surviving calendars of the Julian era (see *ROMAN RELIGION* [First Period]), a letter is prefixed to each day in each month. Where this is the letter N (or NP, of which the meaning is practically the same, though its origin is uncertain [Wissowa, *op. cit.* 371]), it means that the day is made over to the gods (*nefastus dies*), and that to perform civil business on it would be a violation of *fas*, i.e. of that which is allowable under the *ius divinum*. The letters F and C, on the other hand, i.e. *fastus* and *comitialis*, indicate that such performance will be *fas*, i.e. religiously permissible. Of the 355 days of the original Roman normal year, 109 belonged to the Divine, 235 to the human, inhabitants of the city; the remaining 11 were divided between the two. Of these 11, 8 are marked EN, i.e. *endotercius*, or 'cut into two parts'; the morning and evening being *fastus*, while the interval between the slaying of the victim and the placing of the entrails on the altar (*porrectio*) was *nefastus* (Varro, vi. 31; Macrobi. i. 16. 3; and the note in the *Fasti Praenestini* for 10th Jan., believed to be the work of Verrius Flaccus). The letters Q.R.C.F. (*quando res comitavit fas*) occur on 24th March and 24th May, and also indicate a division of the day into sacred and profane (Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 63). So, too, does the Q.St. D.F. (*quando stercus delatum fas*) of 15th June; for the explanation of this expression see Varro, vi. 32 (Fowler, *op. cit.* p. 146 ff.).

This brief account will have been sufficient to show that, as was said at the beginning of this article, the Roman calendar was based on the religious ideas of the Roman people, and mainly on the root-idea of the essential difference between the sacred and the profane, or that which legally belonged to the gods and that which belonged to man. For this reason it was in fact a part, and originally the most important part, of the *ius divinum*, or religious law, which was itself a part of the law of the State (*ius civile*); and the word by which it was known, *Fasti* (*anni Romani*), i.e. *dies fasti*, indicates that its main object was to set apart the days sacred to the deities from the days on which the citizens might go about their legal or other business. For this reason, too, the control of it was in the hands of a priestly authority, viz. the *pontifices*, after the abolition of the kingship;

and for some two hundred years after that event it remained matter of their knowledge only, until the publication of the *Fasti* by the curule aedile Cn. Flavius in 304 B.C. (Livy, ix. 46). As the collegium of *pontifices* was, during this period, filled up by co-optation, it is easy to see how powerful a political influence that priestly authority must have exercised. The publication of the *Fasti* was in fact a most important step in the emancipation of the Romans from what threatened to become at one time a hierarchical oligarchy. Even after the publication, the fact that the *pontifices* had the charge of the rectification of the calendar by intercalation gave them the means of interfering unduly in political matters; and it was not until the period of the Empire, when, from 12 B.C. onwards, the Emperor was always pontifex maximus, that the calendar finally ceased to be an instrument of aristocratic intrigue and corruption.

LITERATURE.—Apart from the ancient authorities quoted above, of which the most important is Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, ch. xx., and the fragments of the calendar of the Julian era, collected with a commentary by Mommsen in vol. i. of *CIL* 2, p. 297 ff., the following works may be mentioned as necessary for the study of the subject: Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Chronol. bis auf Caesar*, Berlin, 1859; A. Bouché-Lecleq, *Les Pontifes*, Paris, 1871, pp. 113 ff., 227 ff.; J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* (ed. Wissowa, Leipzig, 1885), p. 281 ff.; H. Matzat, *Röm. Chronol.*, Berlin, 1883-84. Succinct accounts will be found also in Smith, *Dict. of Gr.-Rom. Ant.* 3, London, 1890, vol. i. p. 840 ff.; and in the Intro. to the *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899, by W. Warde Fowler. The introduction to H. Peter's edition of the *Fasti* of Ovid (Leipzig, 1874) also contains a useful account. On all points connected with the religious aspect of the calendar, reference should be made to G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, which appeared in 1902, i.e. later than any of the works mentioned above.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

CALENDAR (Siamese).—As a result of the constant intercourse between Cambodia and Siam, and of their having the same religion and civilization, the Siamese calendar is almost exactly the same as that of the Khmers (see *CALENDAR* [Indo-Chinese], II.). As in Cambodia, so in Siam three eras of Hindu origin are used, along with three cycles of Chinese provenance.

1. Eras.—The three eras usually employed by the Siamese are the following: (1) the religious era, or the era of the Buddha (*phūtthāsākkārāt* = Skr. *buddhaśakāraja*),¹ which begins at full moon, May 543 B.C.; (2) the great era (*ma:hāsākkārāt* = Skr. *mahāśakāraja*); this is the Hindu *saka* era, established in A.D. 78, which used often to be employed in official and historical documents; (3) the lesser era (*chūlasākkārāt* = Pāli *chullasakāraja*), beginning with the year 638 B.C., and whose exact commencement has been fixed by the astronomer Dominic Cassini. This is the civil era, which has not yet been supplanted in everyday usage by the new era (see below, § 7).

In addition to these three eras, only two of which—the religious and the lesser—are in current use, the present king, wishing to give his country a calendar in agreement with the European calendar, introduced a new era, on 1st April 1889, called *rāttāndkōsinsōk*, or *rāttānd kōsīnthārā* (or *kōsīn*) *sākkārāt* (Skr. *ratnakosendrasakāraja*), 'era of Indra's casket of pearls.' It begins at the time when the capital of Siam, formerly established at Ayuthia, was transferred to Bangkok, i.e. 1st April 1781.

We may mention, in passing, two eras that are met with in the astrological writings of the Brahmins. The one, called *āxama:sōnti*, begins in 643 B.C., i.e. 100 years before the religious era; the other, called *āxanāthip*, starts 86 years before the same era, i.e. in 629 B.C.

2. Cycles.—These are the same as in Cambodia.

¹ This era is also called *phūtthāttēttānāhan*, 'era of the religion of the Buddha.'

The following are the names of the animals of the duodenary cycle (the Siamese do not, any more than the Khmers, give them native names): *xuēt*, 'rat'; *xālu*, 'ox'; *khar*, 'tiger'; *tho*, 'hare'; *ma.rōng*, 'great dragon' or 'dragon'; *ma.sēng*, 'little dragon' or 'serpent'; *ma.mia*, 'mare' or 'horse'; *ma.mē*, 'goat'; *vōk*, 'monkey'; *ra.ka*, 'cock'; *cho*, 'dog'; *kūn*, 'pig'.¹ These words bear a very close resemblance to those used by the Khmers to denote the twelve animals of the cycle, and probably they have the same linguistic origin.

As happens among the Chinese, Annamese, and Cambodians, the duodenary cycle is combined five times with the denary cycle. These two cycles, called minor cycles, when counted concurrently and repeated as often as is necessary—in such a way that the last year of the denary cycle coincides with the last year of the duodenary, a coincidence which occurs at the end of 60 years—form the major cycle.

The years of the denary cycle are denoted by ordinal numbers borrowed from Pāli; *ēkasōk* (P. *ekasaka*), 1st year; *thōsōk* (Skr. **dosaka*), 2nd year; *trisōk* (P. *trisaka*), 3rd year; *chāttūsōk* (P. *chatusaka*), 4th year; *bēnchasōk* (P. *pañchasaka*), 5th year; *sōsōk* (P. *chhasaka*), 6th year; *sāttasōk* (P. *sattasaka*), 7th year; *āttasōk* (P. *aṭṭhasaka*), 8th year; *nā.vasōk* (P. *navasaka*), 9th year; *sām.riththīsōk* (Skr. *samrddhiśaka*), year of completion, last year.

3. Year and months.—The Siamese year is lunar; the months have twenty-nine and thirty days (or rather 'nights') alternately, and are generally denoted by ordinal numbers: *du'en nū'ng*, 'first month'; *d. sōng*, 'second month'; *d. sām*, 'third month', etc. They have also Indian names: (1) *chitra.māt* (Skr. *chaitra*; P. *chitto* [Siam. *māt*=Skr. *māsa*, 'month']); (2) *visākha.māt* (Skr. *vaiśākha*; P. *vesākho*); (3) *āetha.māt* (Skr. *jyēṣṭha*; P. *jeṭṭho*); (4) *asāthamāt* (Skr. *āṣāḍha*; P. *āṣāḍho*); (5) *savāna.māt* (Skr. *śrāvaṇa*; P. *sāvāno*); (6) *phōthrabamāt* (Skr. *bhādrapada*; P. *poṭṭhapādo*); (7) *asūzā.māt* (Skr. *āṣvayuj*; P. *assaṃyujjo*); (8) *kattika.māt* (Skr. *kārttika*; P. *kattiko*); (9) *mikkhosīra.māt* (Skr. *mārgaśīrṣa*; P. *māgasīro*); (10) *busōja.māt* (Skr. *pauṣa*; P. *puṣso*); (11) *makkha.māt* (Skr. and P. *māgha*); (12) *phokhūna.māt* (Skr. *phālguna*; P. *phagguno*).

The months with 29 days (odd: 1st, 3rd, 5th, etc.) are called *du'en khāt*, 'defective months'; those with 30 days (even: 2nd, 4th, 6th, etc.) have the name of *d. thuen*, 'complete months'.

Each month is divided into two fortnights: the clear fortnight, or fortnight of the waxing moon (*khàng khūn*, 'waxing moon'), from new moon to full moon; and the dark fortnight (*khàng rēm*, 'waning moon'), from full to new moon. In official and exact writings, these fortnights are often divided into *sūk pōkos* (Pāli *pakāso*, 'light', 'lustre'), 'bright half'; and *kala pōkos*, 'dark half', as also takes place in India.

As regards the practice of beginning the year in *Visākha* (April–May), of adding an intercalary month every two or three years so that seven intercalary months are introduced in a period of 19 years, and of increasing by a supplementary day the month preceding the commencement of the *vasso*, or Buddhist retreat, i.e. towards July, everything takes place exactly as in Cambodia. The intercalary year, which is called *pi aṭṭhika.māt* (Skr. *adhikamāsa*, 'intercalary month'), has 384 days or 13 months; it makes the agreement of the lunar and solar years possible by bringing the rotation of the seasons into regularity.

¹ Several official documents employ Pāli names for these animals: *muakho*, *uachho*, *vyaggho*, *saso*, *nāgo*, *sappo*, *asso*, *afako*, *makkajo*, *kukkajo*, *vogo*, *sukaro*.

4. Days.—In Siam, as in Cambodia, the names given to the days are Indian in origin: *vān aṭhīl* (Siam. *vān*, 'day'; Skr. *āditya*), 'Sunday'; *vān chān* (Skr. *chandra*), 'Monday'; *vān āngkhan* (Skr. *āṅgāraka*), 'Tuesday'; *vān phūt* (Skr. *budha*), 'Wednesday'; *vān prā.hāt* (Skr. *brhaspati*), 'Thursday'; *vān sūk* (Skr. *śukra*), 'Friday'; *vān sō* (Skr. *śanaischara*), 'Saturday'.

5. Hours.—The hours (*nalika*=Skr. *nādikā*) are divided into hours of day (*mōng*) and hours of night (*thūm*). The hour is subdivided into 10 *bāt*, the *bāt* into 6 (formerly 4) *nathi* (Skr. *nādikā*, '60th part of the sidereal day,' or Indian hour), the *nathi* into 60 *vinathi* (Skr. *vinādi*, *ṣṭṭh nādikā*), or 15 *phexanathi*. But this old method of measuring hours is giving way more and more to the European system of the hour equal to 60 *minūt* (Eng. 'minute'); the word *bāt*, besides, has now got the current meaning of 'quarter of an hour, 15 minutes.' The day-hours are from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.; the night-hours, from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., form four watches, or *jam* (cf. Khmer *yām*), each of three hours' duration.

6. Seasons.—There are three seasons (*ra.du*, *rādu*=Skr. *rtu*): (1) *ra.du rōn*, the warm season, from March to the middle of May; (2) *ra.du fōn*, the rainy season, from May to the end of October; (3) *ra.du nāo*, the cold season, from November to February. In the literature we find also the following names for these seasons: (1) *khimhānta*: *ra.du* (P. *gimhāna*, 'warm season'); (2) *vasānta*: *ra.du* (P. *vasanto*, 'spring'); (3) *hēmanta*: *ra.du* (P. *hemanto*, 'cold season').

7. The new era.—As we have seen, the new era, or *rōttānakōsīnsōk*, in use in Siam is based on the European era. The names of the months are taken from the signs of the zodiac. The list is as follows: (1) *mesajōn* (Skr. *meṣa*, 'Aries'), April; (2) *phrūtisaphakōm* (Skr. *vr̥ṣa*, 'Taurus'), May; (3) *mīthūnājōn* (Skr. *mīthuna*, 'Gemini'), June; (4) *kārākkādakhōm* (Skr. *karka*, 'Cancer'), July; (5) *sinhakhōm* (Skr. *simha*, 'Leo'), August; (6) *kānjājōn* (Skr. *kanyā*, 'Virgo'), September; (7) *tūlakhōm* (Skr. *tulā*, 'Libra'), October; (8) *pru'tch'kajōn* (Skr. *vr̥ścika*, 'Scorpio'), November; (9) *thānvakhōm* (Skr. *dhanu*, 'Sagittarius'), December; (10) *makkārakhōm* (Skr. *makara*, 'Capricornus'), January; (11) *kūmphaphōn* (Skr. *kumbha*, 'Aquarius'), February; (12) *mīnakhōm* (Skr. *mīna*, 'Pisces'), March.¹ This solar, or rather stellar, year begins in April, and, as in Cambodia, the passing of one sign of the zodiac into the next that marks the beginning of the new year is called *mahāsōngkrānt* (=Skr. *mahāsamkrānti*, 'great passage').

LITERATURE.—S. de La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1691, vol. II, pp. 74–80, 142; J. B. Falleguier, *Diet siamoise française-anglaise*, revised by J. L. Vey, Bangkok, 1890, pp. 24 ff., 47 ff.; F. J. Verschoven, *Lehr- und Lesebuch der siam. Sprache*, Vienna, 1892; *Elements of Siamese Grammar*, with appendices by O. Frankfurter, Bangkok, 1900; Ed. Lorgeou, *Grammaire siamoise*, Paris, 1902, p. 163 ff. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1906, I. 409–418. ANTOINE CABATON.

CALENDAR (Slavic).—Of all the Indo-Germanic calendars, that of the Balto-Slavs was unquestionably the least developed. Yet, for this very reason, it possesses a peculiar interest, for it is well known that the pagan Balto-Slavs preserved in many respects the most primitive conditions of Indo-Germanic times (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, *passim*). If we seek for analogical, though of course entirely independent, parallels outside the Indo-Germanic region, we may perhaps find them among some of the Polynesian peoples (cf. CALENDAR [Polynesian]), while within the

¹ The terminations *khōm* (Skr. *gama*, 'going'), *jōn* (Skr. *yāna*, 'going'), *phān* (Skr. *bāndha*, 'binding'), mean 'to enter into conjunction'.

Indo-Germanic race much may be gleaned from the Teutonic calendar (*q.v.*).

x. There appears to be no record of anything like an era among the Balto-Slavs, or any system of enumerating by a series of years. Nevertheless, the year and the seasons were well known. The year was named *godŭ* (lit. 'time' [cf. Miklosich, *Etymolog. Wörterb. der slav. Sprachen*, Vienna, 1886, p. 61 f.; Berneker, *Slav. etymolog. Wörterb.*, Heidelberg, 1908 ff., pp. 316-318) among the Slavs, and *metas* (lit. 'time' [cf. Old Pruss. *mettan*, 'year,' Albanian *mot*, 'year,' 'weather,' Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 390]) among the Lithuanians. At least four seasons have distinct names.¹

Spring bears the name *vesna* in O. Church Slav. (cognate with Skr. *vasanta*, Gr. *ēap*, 'spring,' Lith. *vasarà*, 'summer,' Skr. *vas*, 'shine,' etc. [see Schrader, pp. 258, 394]), and also, as in Slovenian, Czech, and Polish, the name *yar* (cognate with Eng. *year* [Miklosich, p. 100; Schrader, p. 258, 395]). Summer was *lëto* (connected probably with Lith. *lytus*, Lett. *lëtus*, 'rain,' or possibly with Anglo-Sax. *līða*, 'June-July' [cf. CALENDAR (Teutonic); and see Schrader, p. 782; Miklosich, p. 167]) in O. Church Slav., *vasarà* in Lith., and *dagis* (cf. Lith. *dāgas*, 'harvest,' Skr. *nādagha*, 'heat,' 'summer,' *dah*, 'burn,' Goth. *dags*, 'day' [Schrader, pp. 782, 845]) in O. Prussian. Autumn was *yeseni* in O. Church Slav., *assinis* in O. Pruss. (both cognate with Goth. *asans*, 'summer,' O.H. Germ. *aran*, 'harvest'), and *rudŭi* (cognate with Lith. *ridas*, 'reddish-brown' [because of the colour of the leaves]) in Lith. (Schrader, p. 367). Winter was *zima* in O. Church Slav., *žimà* in Lith., *sima* in Lett., and *semo* in O. Pruss. (all cognate with Skr. *hemantā*, Gr. *χεμών*, Irish *gam*, 'winter' [Schrader, p. 958]); and a special name for the season immediately preceding winter is implied in the Czech word *podzimí* and the Sloven. *prëdzima*, 'pre-winter' (Schrader, p. 367).

2. It is in their names for the months (O. Church Slav. *měseci*, 'moon,' 'month,' Lith. *mėnesiai*, *mėnu*, 'moon,' 'month' [other Balto-Slavic words are given by Miklosich, p. 195], all cognate with the Indo-Germ. term for 'moon') that the Balto-Slavs display a wealth of nomenclature that is paralleled only by such primitive calendars as the Teutonic and Polynesian. To this subject a most valuable study has been contributed by Miklosich, in his 'Slavonische Monatsnamen' (*DWA* xvii. [1868]), in which he makes a sixfold classification, though only the first four classes concern us here, the month-names based on religious feasts being without exception of Christian origin among the Balto-Slavs, and those derived from numerical sequence (such as Goth. *Fruma Juleis*, 'November' [lit. 'first Yule-month']) not being represented in the Balto-Slavic calendar. The remaining four groups are: from plants, from animals, from natural phenomena, and from the operations of agriculture. These month-names, however, did not apply to months in the strict sense of the term until after the Roman period. Originally they denoted merely general seasons of the year, as is obvious both from their meanings and from the fact that the same name is given by different Balto-Slavic peoples to different months, sometimes separated by a considerable interval of time.

The length of the Balto-Slavic month is quite uncertain; though perhaps there is some survival of primitive conditions in the practice of

¹ The contention of Schrader, pp. 394-397, that the Indo-Germanic peoples knew of only three seasons, seems to the writer scarcely proven, especially as the theory is based solely on the argumentum *e silentio* (cf. further, Hirt, *Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1907, pp. 542, 749).

the modern Huzuls, who in many places reckon 30 days to all their months except the last (March), which has 33, their year thus having 363 days (Kaluzniacki, *Archiv für slav. Philologie*, xxvii. 271). But among large numbers of the Balto-Slavic peoples calendrical reckoning is still in a most backward state; and the writer is informed by Mr. Hermann Rosenthal, Chief of the Russian Department of the New York Public Library, that he has seen in northern Russia the walls of a peasant's hut covered with notches made to indicate the passage of the days.

Some idea of the richness of Balto-Slavic nomenclature for the months may perhaps be gained from the following selection from the study of Miklosich just mentioned, the arrangement here being in the ordinary sequence of the Julian calendar, instead of according to etymological derivation, as in Miklosich.

January: O. Church Slav. *Prosintet*, Sloven. *Prosinet*, Croat. *Prosinac* ('time of increasing day-light'); Sloven. *Sečen*, Serb. *Syčani* ('wood-jutting time'); Sloven. *Zimac*, Lett. *Zēmas mēnesia* ('winter month'); Czech *Hrudni* ('cold month'), or *Leden* ('ice time').

February: O. Church Slav. *Sčeniš*, Bulg. *Sežka*, Croat. *Sičen* ('wood-jutting time'); Little Russ. *Lutyi*, Pol. *Luty*, Huz. *Lutyi* ('rigid [with cold]'); Czech *Únor*, *Onor* ('melting or breaking up [of ice]'); Russ. *Bokogri* ('side-warming' [the cattle leaving their stalls to warm themselves in the open air]); Lith. *Kovinis* ('month of jackdaws').

March: O. Church Slav. *Suchyj*, Sloven. *Sušec*, Croat. *Sušac* ('dry month' [when land can be ploughed]); O. Church Slav. *Lazuyek*, Bulg. *Lazu*, Serb. *Ozuyak* ('treacherous'); Lith. *Karvelnis mėnu*, Lett. *Baloschu mēnesia* ('dove month' [when the doves go from the woods to the fields]); Sloven. *Bržen*, Little Russ. *Berezozol* ('month of the birch tree').

April: O. Church Slav. *Bržiniš*, Little Russ. *Berezen*, Huz. *Berezni* ('month of the birch tree'); O. Church Slav. *Berezozolŭ* ('shedding birch sap'); Lith. *Sūtekis* ('flowing of birch sap'); Lett. *Sulu mēnesia* ('month of birch sap'); Croat. *Coitani* ('flower month'); Czech *Duben* ('oak month'); Serb. *Travanj* ('grass month'); Lith. *Gegūznis* ('cuckoo month').

May: O. Church Slav. *Travniš*, Little Russ. *Travenč*, Huz. *Traveni*, Czech *Tráven* ('grass month'); Sloven. *Čvoten* ('flower month'), *Sviban* ('cornel month'), and *Zoltopušnik* ('yellow month'); dialectic Russ. *Murŭ* ('grass month'); Upper Sorb. *Rozovo* ('rose bloom'); Ruthen. *Yareč* ('spring month'); Lith. *Berzelis* ('birch month'); Lett. *Sēyu mēnesia* ('seed month').

June: O. Church Slav. *Izokŭ* ('grasshopper time'); Sloven. *Prasnik*, Upper Sorb. *Smažnik*, Lith. *Padiamo mėnu*, Lett. *Papnis mēnesia* ('fallow month'); Sloven. *Bobov cvet* ('bean bloom'), *Klaseŭ* ('ear month'), *Mlāžen* ('milk month'); Sloven. *Lipanj*, Serb. *Lipani* ('linden month'); Czech *Rozen cvět*, Czech *Ruzen* ('rose bloom'); Bulg. *Črvenik*, Little Russ. *Cerven* ('time for gathering the *Coccus polonicus*' [for the preparation of a red dye]); Russ. *Sēnokos* ('hay month'); Serb. *Svibnik* ('cornel month') and *Črēmyarŭ* ('cherry month'); Lith. *Sėjynis* ('seed month'); Lett. *Žēdu mēnesia* ('month of flowers').

July: O. Church Slav. *Srŭpnŭi*, Sloven. *Srpen*, Serb. *Srpans* ('sickle time'); O. Church Slav. *Črŭvŭnŭ* ('time for gathering the *Coccus polonicus*'); Russ. *Sēnozornŭi*, Lett. *Senu mēnesia* ('hay month'); Serb. *Žar*, Bulg. *Gorenikŭt* ('hot month'); Lower Sorb. *Zhoizki* ('harvest month'); Serb. *Lipstak*, Little Russ. *Lypel*, *Lypel*, Lith. *Lėpos mėnu*, Lett. *Lėpu mēnesia* ('linden month').

August: O. Church Slav. *Zarevŭ* ('beginning of hallowing' [of sages, etc.]); Russ. *Zornikŭk*, Croat. *Zrŭvoca* ('ripening'); Little Russ. *Serpeh*, Czech *Srpen* ('sickle time'); Sloven. *Kolovoz* ('time for going with waggons'); Upper Sorb. *Znieho*, Lower Sorb. *Yacmarŭski*, Lith. *Pūmenė*, Lett. *Lab-bības mēnesia* ('harvest month'); Little Russ. *Kyven* ('fly month'); Lith. *Rugpiūtė*, Lett. *Rudzū mēnesia* ('rye month'); Lith. *Degšis* ('hot month'); Lett. *Sufu mēnesia* ('dog month').

September: O. Church Slav. *Vrēstŭi*, Little Russ. *Voreseŭ*, Pol. *Wrzesień*, Czech *Vresen*, Lett. *Silū mēnesia* ('heather month'); O. Church Slav. *Kyuyŭnŭi*, Serb. *Rujan*, Czech *Zrŭi*, Lith. *Rūjis* ('rutting month'); Russ. *Osent*, Sloven. *Yasenŭi* ('autumn month'); Sloven. *Kimave* ('fly month'); Slovac. *Hruden* ('cold month'); Little Russ. *Babnye ŭto*, Pol. *Babie lato* ('old woman's summer'); Little Russ. *Sičen* ('seed month').

October: O. Church Slav. *Listopadŭi*, Serb. *Listopad*, Huz. *Padolyst*, Lith. *Lapkristis*, Lett. *Lazu mēnesia* ('month of falling leaves'); Little Russ. *Zolten*, Lith. *Rudugis*, Lett. *Rudens mēnesia* ('yellow month'); Sloven. *Vinotok*, Lower Sorb. *Vĩnski mjasec* ('wine month'); Russ. *Gryaznikŭ* ('time when the roads become usable'); Sloven. *Obročnik* ('hoop month').

November: O. Church Slav. *Grudŭnŭi*, Russ. *Grudent*, Huz. *Hrudni* ('cold month'); Sloven. and Pol. *Listopad*, Little Russ. *Lypstap* ('month of falling leaves'); Serb. *Studenŭi* ('cold month').

December: O. Church Slav. *Russ*, Little Russ. *Studenŭi*, Pol. *Styczen* ('cold month'); Czech *Vičenec*, Upper Sorb. *Vyělŭi mēnac*, Lett. *Vĩlku mēnesia* ('wolf month'); Little Russ.

Trusym, Lett. *Putenu mēnesis* ('month of snow drifts'); Serb. *Prosinac*, Czech *Prosincec*, Huz. *Prosynec* ('time of increasing daylight'); Sloven. and Croat. *Gruden*, Lith. *Grōdinis* ('cold month'); Russ. *Solnovorotū* ('[winter] solstice'); Lower Sorb. *Zymski* ('winter month'); Lith. *Sausis* ('dry [frost] month'), and *Sėkis* ('wood-jutting time').

It will be obvious, from the examples just given, that many month-names are applied by the Balto-Slavs to different months of the Julian calendar. Thus, the 'birch month' may be March (Sloven. *Brēzen*), April (O. Church Slav. *Brēzinū*), or May (Lith. *Berzēlis*); the 'flower month' may be April (Croat. *Cvitani*), May (Sloven. *Cvėten*), or June (Lett. *Zēdu mēnesis*); the 'yellow month' may be May (Sloven. *Zoltopušnik*) or October (Little Russ. *Zolten*); and the 'cold month' may be September (Slovak. *Hruden*), November (Huz. *Hrudeni*), December (Lith. *Grōdinis*), or January (Czech *Hruden*).

3. The Balto-Slavic calendar originally had nothing corresponding to the week, the names for which properly mean 'Sunday' (O. Church Slav. *Nedēlja*, Lith. *Nedėlė* [lit. 'day on which nothing is done'], O. Pruss. *Sawaitis* [perhaps a loan-word from Gr. *σάββαρον*]). The days of the week, which here begins with Monday, were numbered, in conformity with ecclesiastical usage, instead of being named, as in the Teutonic and other calendars. Thus the Lithuanian designations of the days of the week, which are here perfectly typical of the whole Balto-Slavic system, are as follows: Sunday, *Nedēlja* ('day on which nothing is done'); Monday, *Panediēlis* ('day after Sunday'); Tuesday, *Udiarninkas* ('second day'); Wednesday, *Serēdā* ('heart' [i.e. middle of the week]); Thursday, *Ketvergus* ('fourth day'); Friday, *Pėtnycia* ('fifth day'); Saturday, *Subatā* ('Sabbath'). For further details, see Schrader, pp. 963-965; Miklosich, 'Christliche Terminologie der slav. Sprachen,' in *DWA* xxiv. [1876], pp. 19-21, where it is held that the Balto-Slavs borrowed their calendar through the Germanic peoples in Pannonia.

4. The Balto-Slavs divided their day (O. Church Slav. *dīn*, Lith. *dėnā*, cognate with Skr. *dīna*, 'day' [for further cognates, see Berneker, p. 253 f.]) into at least four parts: dawn, morning (Lith. *auszrā*, O. Pruss. *angstainai*; cf. Schrader, p. 559); noon (Lith. *piltūs*; cf. Schrader, p. 2); evening (O. Church Slav. *večerū*, Lith. *vakarās*, O. Pruss. *bitai*; cf. Schrader, p. 1 f.); and night (O. Church Slav. *nošti*, Lith. *naktis*; cf. Schrader, p. 569); and they were early acquainted with some sort of hour, as shown by O. Church Slav. *casū*, 'hour' (properly 'time'; cf. the cognate O. Pruss. *kisman*, 'time,' Alban. *kohe*, 'time,' 'weather' [for further cognates, see Berneker, p. 137]).

Among the Russian peasants certain days receive special names. Thus Jan. 16 (the Feast of St. Peter's Chains in the Eastern Church) is called 'Peter Half-Food,' because by that time half the winter store of food has been consumed; Jan. 18 (the Feast of SS. Athanasius and Cyril) is 'Athanasius Break-Nose' (the cold then being so intense as to freeze the nose stiff); Jan. 22 (the Feast of St. Timothy) is 'Timothy-Half-Winter'; Feb. 2 is 'Meeting Day' (when winter and summer are supposed to meet); Apr. 12 is 'Take the Waggon out'; May 2 is 'Nightingale Day'; June 13 is 'Buckwheat Day' (this grain then being sown), etc. Many foreign words receive folk-etymologies in this connexion, as when Russ. *martū*, 'March' (a loan-word from Lat. *Martius*) is thus associated with *maritū*, 'to burn' (of the sun), because in that month the sun begins to burn the earth (for abundance of further examples, see Afanasiev, *Poetič. vozr. Slavjan na prirodu* [i. Poetic Views of the Slavs on Nature], Moscow, 1869, iii. 670-676).

The months and seasons play some part in Slavic folk-tales. According to a White Russian tradition, spring is a young and most beautiful maiden; summer, a sensually lovely woman; autumn, a lean and elderly man, three-eyed, and with unkempt and bushy hair; and winter, an aged man, with white hair, a long grey beard, barefooted and bareheaded, clad in white, and

bearing an iron club (Krek, *Einleitung in die slavische Literaturgeschichte*², Graz, 1887, p. 519, with a reference to Afanasiev, *op. cit.* iii. 676-682).

A folk-tale 'of the twelve months,' of rather exceptional interest in this connexion, is recorded by Wenzig, *Westslav. Märchenschatz*, Leipzig, 1857, pp. 20-26. A certain woman had a daughter named Holena, as hateful in soul as in body, and a stepdaughter named Marushka, as good as she was beautiful. In the depths of the ice-month (December), Marushka was compelled by Holena, under threat of being killed if unsuccessful, to fetch her violets. After much wandering, Marushka saw a light in the distance, and, following this, she 'came to the top of the hill. Here a great fire burns, about the fire are twelve stones, on the stones sit twelve men. Three were grey-bearded, three were younger, three were still younger, and the three youngest were the handsomest. They spoke not; they looked silently into the fire. The ice-month sat at the head; he had hair and beard white as snow. In his hand he held a staff.' Marushka conducted herself with the utmost respect for these personages, and, on learning of her quest, 'the ice-month rose, went to the youngest month, put the staff in his hand, and said: "Brother March, sit at the head." March took his seat at the head, and swung the staff over the fire. On the instant the fire flamed higher, the snow began to melt, the trees dropped down buds,' and at the bidding of March, Marushka plucked the violets for which she had been sent, after which she politely thanked the months and returned to her wretched home. Soon, however, the cruel Holena sent her out again, this time for strawberries. Now it was June, the *vis-à-vis* of the ice-month, to whom the staff was given. A third time Marushka was sent for apples, and the ice-month gave the staff to September. By this time Holena, angered beyond measure by Marushka's success in her impossible tasks, herself set forth; but she displayed the utmost insolence to the months, whereupon 'the ice-month frowned and swung the staff over his head. Instantly the heaven was darkened, the fire burned low, snow began to fall as though a feather-bed were shaken out, and a biting wind blew through the wood,' all causing the death of the wicked Holena, and ultimately of her equally evil mother, while Marushka 'lived happily ever afterward.'

In this story the hill is plainly the sky; the fire is the sun, which is warmer or cooler according to the various months of the year; and perhaps there may be a covert moral that the powerful seasons are to be treated with respect, or disaster will follow.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the course of the article, and further references may be found in Krek, *Einleit. in die slav. Literaturgesch.*², Graz, 1887, pp. 610-620.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

CALENDAR (Teutonic).—For the earliest and fullest account which we possess of any native Teutonic calendar we are indebted to Bede's treatise, *de Temporum Rationis* (ch. 15). Bede says that in former times the Angli calculated their months according to the course of the moon, whence the name (A.-S. *mōnaþ*, from *mōna*).¹ The months individually bore the following names:

Jan. <i>Giuli</i> .	May, <i>Thrimilci</i> .	Sept. <i>Halegmonath</i> .
Feb. <i>Solmonath</i> .	June, <i>Līda</i> .	Oct. <i>Winterfylleth</i> .
Mar. <i>Rhedmonath</i> .	July, <i>Līda</i> .	Nov. <i>Blotmonath</i> .
Apr. <i>Eosturmonath</i> .	Aug. <i>Woodmonath</i> .	Dec. <i>Giuli</i> .

The meaning of these names was as follows. The months called *Giuli* derived their name a *conversione solis in autumnum diei*, since one preceded the solstice and the other followed it. *Solmonath* denoted 'month of cakes,' which they used to offer at that time to their gods. *Rhedmonath* and *Eosturmonath* derived their names from two goddesses, *Rheda* (*Hrēð*?) and *Eostre* (*Eastre*), to whom sacrifices were offered in these months. *Thrimilci* was so called because at that time the cattle were milked thrice a day, 'for such was once the fertility of Britain, or of Germany, from whence the English nation came to Britain.' *Līda* (*Liða*) meant *blandus siue navigabilis*; *Woodmonath*, 'month of tares,' which were then most abundant; *Halegmonath* was *mensis sacrorum*. *Winterfylleth* might be rendered by the coined word *hiemiplenium*. *Blotmonath* denoted *mensis immolationum*, because they then devoted to their gods the live stock which they were going to slaughter.

The year began on Dec. 25, and that night (probably the preceding night) was called *Mod-raniht* ('night of the mothers'), on account (so

¹ Reference may also be made to the Anglo-Saxon monology of the Vercelli MS (ed. Wülker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, Leipzig, 1894, ii. 282-293).

Bede suspected) of certain ceremonies which they observed. In ordinary years three months were reckoned to each season; but when there was an intercalation—it is not stated how often this took place—the extra month was added to summer. Such a year was called *Thrilidi*, because the name *Lida* was then borne by three months. Another and more customary division of the year was into two seasons, winter and summer, calculated according to the relative length of the nights and days. The first month of winter (*Winterfylleth*) acquired its name, which was a compound of 'winter' and 'full moon,' from the fact that winter was reckoned to begin from the full moon of that month.

Some modern writers have taken exception to this account, on the ground that it presents an impossible combination of solar and lunar reckoning. The explanation, however, may be that the solar reckoning had begun to encroach on the other before the adoption of Christianity. Originally the year may have begun with the interlunium nearest to the winter solstice. The word *Giuli* is clearly related to the A.-S. name for Christmas, *Geohhol*, *Geol*, 'Yule.' In a fragment of a Gothic calendar, dating probably from the 6th cent., we find *Naubaimbair: fruma Juleis* (i.e. 'the first Juleis'), which is the exact Gothic equivalent of the same word. Here also the name seems to have been given to more than one month (*afruma Juleis*, 'the second Juleis,' probably being the name of Dec.), though apparently these months were Nov. and Dec., instead of Dec. and Jan.—a discrepancy which is due probably to the difficulty of equating lunar months with divisions of the Roman (solar) year.

Later English authorities show comparatively few variations from the list of month-names given by Bede. Dec. and Jan. are distinguished as *æðra Gēola* and *æ æftera Gēola* respectively, as in Gothic; and a similar distinction is made between the two months called *Līða*. We find also *Hlyða* for March, *Séarmónað* ('dry-month') for June, *Hærfestmónað* ('harvest-month') and *Rugern* (probably 'rye-harvest') for September, and *Fulmónað* ('Yule-month') for December.

The earliest Continental reference is a passage in Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni* (ch. 29), where Charlemagne is said to have fixed German names for the months. Before his time they were called partly by Latin and partly by native names. The authorized list was as follows:

- | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>Wintarmanoth.</i> | 5. <i>Winnemanoth.</i> | 9. <i>Witumanoth.</i> |
| 2. <i>Hornung.</i> | 6. <i>Brachmanoth.</i> | 10. <i>Windumemanoth.</i> |
| 3. <i>Lenzimanoth.</i> | 7. <i>Hevimanoth.</i> | 11. <i>Herbistmanoth.</i> |
| 4. <i>Ostarmanoth.</i> | 8. <i>Aranmanoth.</i> | 12. <i>Heilagmanoth.</i> |

For *Hornung* we find in later times *der kleine Horn*, and so also *der grosse Horn* for January. The name is probably connected with O. Norse *hiarn*, 'frozen snow.' *Ostarmanoth* corresponds to the Anglo-Saxon name for April, but *Herbistm.* and *Heilagm.* to the two Anglo-Saxon names for September. *Lenzinnm.*, *Winnem.*, *Brachm.*, *Hevum.*, *Arznm.*, *Witum.*, and *Windumem.* appear to mean 'spring-month,' 'pasture-month,' 'fallow-month,' 'hay-month,' 'reaping-month,' 'wood-month,' and 'grape-gathering-month' respectively.

Among German-speaking peoples in later times the Latin names appear to have been almost exclusively used for March, April, May, and August, in many districts also for January. The other names in common use were: for Jan. *Hartmonet* ('sharp-month') and several others; for Feb. *Hornung*, etc., and *Sporkel*, the latter word probably being borrowed from medieval Latin *spurcalis*, 'Shrove Tuesday,' in allusion to the merriment, often very questionable, which characterized this day, especially as the *Indiculus Superstitionum*

(8th cent.) has a notice *de Spurcalibus in Februario*. For June we find *Brachmanet*, *Brachot*, or 'second May' (ander *Meije*, etc.); for July *Houmanet*, *Houwoot*, or *Hundemaen*; for Sept. *Herbest*, or 'second August' (ander *Ougest*, etc.); for Oct. *Winmanet* ('wine-month'), *Herbest*, or *ander Herbest*; for Nov. *Wintermanet*, *erste Winterm.*, *dritta Herbest*, *Louprise* ('fall of the leaf'), *Wolfm.*, *Hälegm.* etc.; for Dec. *Wintermanet*, *ander Winterm.*, *Hartm.* etc.

Concerning the form of calendar which prevailed in Germany in heathen times we have no definite information; but the fact that several of the above names are applied to different Roman months perhaps suggests that they originally denoted lunar months.

The month-names used in the Netherlands, both now and in the past, differ somewhat from the German. The following are the commonest varieties: (1) *Louwmaand* (meaning doubtful), *Hardm.*; (2) *Sprokkelmaand*, *Sporkel*, *Sille* (the latter unexplained); (3) *Lentemaand*; (4) *Grasmaand* ('grass-month'); (5) *Bloeimaand* ('blossom-month'), etc.; (6) *Zomermaand* ('summer-month'), *Braakm.* etc.; (7) *Hooimaand*, etc.; (8) *Oogstmaand*, etc.; (9) *Herfstmaand*, *Evenmaand* ('oats-month'); (10) *Wijnmaand*, etc.; (11) *Slagtmáand* ('slaughter-month'), etc.; (12) *Wintermaand*, etc. The modern Frisian names practically all agree with the Dutch.

The native month-names used in Denmark are as follows: (1) *Glugmaaned* ('window-month'); (2) *Blidemaaned* ('cheerful-month') or *Gøjemaaned* ('giant-month'); (3) *Tormaaned* ('winter-month'); (4) *Faarremaaned* ('sheep-month'); (5) *Mejmaaned*; (6) *Sommermaaned* or *Søersommer* ('bright summer'); (7) *Ormemaaned* ('worm- or snake-month'); (8) *Hømaaned* ('hay-month') or *Høstmaaned* ('autumn-month'); (9) *Fiskemaaned* ('fish-month'); (10) *Sædemaaned* ('sowing-month') or *Ridmaaned* ('riding-month'); (11) *Vintermaaned*; (12) *Julemaaned* ('Yule-month').

In Sweden we find: (1) *Thore* ('giant-month'); (2) *Göja* ('winter-month'); (3) *Blidemånad*, *Blida*; (4) *Vårant* ('spring-work'); (5) *Mai*; (6) *Mid-sommer*; (7) *Hömanad*, *Höant* ('hay-making'); (8) *Skördemånad*, *Skortant* ('reaping-work'); (9) *Höstmanad*; (10) *Blotmanad*, *Slagtmånad* (cf. the A.-S. and Dutch names for Nov.); (11) *Vintermanad*; (12) *Julmanad*.

In Norway a peculiar and apparently archaic calendar has continued in use down to the present time. The first three months are called respectively *Torre* ('giant'), *Gjö* ('winter'), and *Krikla* or *Kvine* (the latter two unexplained). For the 4th and 5th months we find only the name *Voarmoaanar* ('spring-months'); for the 6th and 7th, *Sumarmoanar*; for the 8th and 9th, *Haustmoanar*; for the 10th and 11th, *Vinterstid*; for the 12th, *Jolemoane* or *Skammtid* ('short-time'). All these months are lunar. *Jolemoane* is said to denote the lunar month in which Yule (Christmas) falls, provided that it lasts until Jan. 6; otherwise the name is applied to the following lunar month. The Norwegian year is divided into summer and winter. The former begins on Apr. 14, which is called *Sumarmaal*, and the latter on Oct. 14, called *Vetternættér*. This arrangement can be traced back to early times.

In Iceland the first month has always been called *Thorri*, the second *Góti*, the third usually *Eimánadr* (supposed to mean 'one month' before the beginning of summer). After this there is much variation. *Sáðtíð* ('seed-time') varies between 3 and 4, *Egg tíð* ('egg-time') and *Stekk-tíð* ('fold-time' or 'lambing-time') between 4 and 5, *Sól-mánaðr* ('sun-month') between 5 and 6. We find also: (4) *Gaukmánaðr* ('cuckoo-month'), *Harpað* (unexplained); (5) *Skerpla* (unexplained) (6) *Sel-*

mánaðr ('mountain-pasture-month'); (7) *Heyannir* ('hay-making'), *Miðsumar*; (8) *Tvimánaðr* ('double-month'), *Kornskurðmån.* ('reaping-month'); (9) *Haustmån.*; (10) *Gormån.* ('slaughter-month'); (11) *Frermån.* ('frost-month'), *Ylir* (supposed to mean 'howler,' but perhaps identical with the Anglo-Saxon *Giuli*); (12) *Hrútman.* ('ram-month'), *Jólmån.*, and *Mörsumr* ('marrow-sucker'). The majority of these names can be traced back to the 13th cent.; but, with the exception of the first two or three, they do not seem to have been much used.

The Icelandic months are not lunar, but they do not really correspond to ours. The year contained 364 days, i.e. exactly 52 weeks, and was divided into winter and summer, the first three and last three months being included in winter and the rest in summer. Each month contained 30 days, except the third month of summer, which had an additional 4 days, known as *Aukanætr*. The beginning of the fourth month, i.e. the beginning of summer, fell always on a Thursday, between Apr. 9 and 15 (O.S.), while the beginning of winter fell always on a Saturday, between Oct. 11 and 18. These dates were called respectively *Sumarmál* and *Vetrnætr* (the Norw. *Sumarmaal* and *Vetternætter*), though in each case the name was applied to the first three days. 'Midsummer' proper was the beginning of the fourth month of summer, and fell always on a Sunday, between July 13 and 20, while 'mid-winter' was the beginning of Thorri, and fell always on a Friday, between Jan. 9 and 16. Every five or six years, a whole week, called *Sumarauki*, was intercalated after the *Aukanætr*, i.e. immediately before 'midsummer.' The usual method of dating was by the number of the week in summer or winter.

An attempt has recently been made to show that this peculiar calendar is merely a modification of the Julian, determined by greater convenience in the reckoning of Easter. The number of dates on which Easter could fall was reduced thereby from thirty-five to five, while the beginning of summer coincided with the mean date for Thursday in Easter week. It is likely enough that Church influence did contribute towards the fixing of this date, but the assumption on which the theory as a whole mainly rests, viz. that the Northern peoples could not have known the week before they adopted Christianity, can hardly be admitted. According to native tradition, the *Sumarauki* was invented by a certain *Þórsteinn Surtr* shortly after the middle of the 10th cent., at a time when it was found that the year of 364 days, which was already in use, did not really coincide with the solar year. The week may very well have been adopted quite early in Icelandic history as the standard division of the year, in place of the lunar month. Such a change is probably to be ascribed to the isolation of the settlers, and the difficulty which they consequently found in determining or agreeing as to when intercalation should take place according to the lunar system.

In spite of the great variety of names shown by the above lists, there is yet an appreciable number of cases in which several Teutonic peoples agree in using the same term. These are, as a rule, derived from occupations peculiar to certain periods of the year, e.g. 'hay-month,' 'harvest-month,' 'slaughter-month.' Again, there is no doubt that some names have become obsolete in certain countries. Thus in some parts of Sweden the marsh-marigold is called *trimjölksgräs*, which points to the former existence of a month-name corresponding to the A.-S. *Thrimilci*. It has also been suggested that the A.-S. name *Līða* may be related to Old Church Slavic *lěto*, 'summer.' If so, it must be very ancient.

The most important case of agreement, however, is that of Goth. *Juleis*, A.-S. *Giuli*, and perhaps

Icel. *Ylir*; for, though this word is clearly related to A.-S. *Geohhol*, *Geól*, O. Norse *Jól*, it is certainly not a recent derivative from it. The etymology of the whole series of forms is quite obscure, but there is no reasonable ground for doubting the antiquity of a midwinter festival among many, if not all, of the Teutonic peoples. Procopius, writing in the middle of the 6th cent., says (*Goth.* ii. 15) that the inhabitants of Thule (i.e. Scandinavia) were for forty days in winter without the light of the sun. When thirty-five days had passed, it was their custom to send messengers to the mountains, and, as soon as they heard from them of the sun's return, they began to celebrate the greatest of their festivals. This story as it stands is difficult to credit, for such a phenomenon could, of course, occur only in the extreme north of the peninsula; but, at all events, it gives evidence for the existence of a festival about the end of the first week in January, i.e. at precisely the same time as we find the Yule festival in later days. Apart from the sagas, we should notice especially a passage in the *Chronicle* of Thietmar of Merseburg (i. 9), where it is stated that the great nine-yearly festival at Leire (in Sjælland) took place about the time of Epiphany.

Other festivals were doubtless held at various seasons in the year, and the assumption that uniformity prevailed everywhere is neither necessary nor probable. In the North, however, we hear frequently of two specially important festivals, one at the beginning of summer or 'towards summer,' the other at the beginning of winter. The former may have coincided with the great festival at Upsala, which, according to a scholion (No. 137) in Adam of Bremen's *History*, took place every nine years about the vernal equinox, though this cannot be regarded as quite certain. The latter was doubtless held at 'the winter nights' (*Vetrnætr*) in October. We hear also of religious festivals among the heathen Old Saxons about this time, and the A.-S. name *Winterfylleth* seems rather to suggest something of the same kind. Tacitus (*Germ.* 11) says that the ancient Germani usually held their tribal gatherings either at the full moon or at the new moon, and in another passage (*Ann.* i. 50) he mentions a religious festival which seems to have taken place at a full moon in autumn. It is held by many scholars that the Teutonic year originally began at this time; and, though incapable of actual proof, the view has much in its favour, especially as the ancient Gauls also appear to have begun their year in the autumn.

As regards the interdependence between the festivals, Icelandic custom fixed an interval of ninety days (which points to the lapse of three full lunar months) between *Vetrnætr* and 'midwinter' (the old Yule), whereas the English year would seem to have begun at the third new moon after the beginning of winter. This accounts for the difference between the two midwinter festivals, if we are to suppose that *Vetrnætr* was originally a mean date for the third full moon before the solstice, corresponding to the A.-S. *Winterfylleth*. The Scandinavian Yule may have been shifted from the solstitial new moon to the following full moon, in consideration of the obviously greater convenience which the latter would present in northern latitudes; but this, of course, can be regarded only as conjectural.

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H. MUNRO CHADWICK.

CALF.—See BULL.

CALIFORNIA.—Fundamentally the religion of the Indians of California is very similar to that of savage and uncivilized races all the world over. Like all such peoples, they cherished animistic notions, attributing life, intelligence, and especially supernatural power, virtually to all things. Nor did they lack the beliefs and practices of shamanism, which is founded on the conception that certain men, through communication with the animated supernatural world, have the power to accomplish what is contrary to, or above, the events of ordinary experience. As elsewhere, belief in shamanistic powers circled mainly around disease and death, which were generally believed to be not only dispelled but entirely caused by shamans.

In common with the other American Indians, those of California made dancing, always accompanied by singing, a conspicuous part of nearly all their public ceremonies. They differed from almost all other tribes of North America in exhibiting a much weaker development of the ritualism and symbolism which are perhaps the most distinctive feature of the religion of the Americans as a whole. Practically all the approaches to a system of writing devised in North America, whether in Mexico, Yucatan, or among the tribes of the United States and Canada, are the direct outcome of a desire for symbolic religious expression. The California Indians, however, are remarkably free even from traces of this graphic tendency, alike in their religion and in the more practical aspects of their life. In many parts of North America there is a considerable amount of fetishism, not of the crass type of Africa, but rather as a result of over-symbolism. This fetishistic tendency is very slightly developed in California, and that in spite of—or, as an Americanist would more properly say, on account of—the generally rude and primitive condition of culture. By contrast, as actions and visible symbols are here a less important means of religious expression, words, both spoken and sung, are of greater significance.

As an ethnographic province, the greater part of California plainly forms a unit. Two portions of the present political State, however, were sharply distinguished from the remainder in point of culture during the native period, and these must usually be kept apart in all matters that concern ethnology and religion. One of these distinctive culture areas comprises the extreme N.W. corner of the State, in the drainage of the lower Klamath and about Humboldt Bay. The other consists of what is usually known as Southern California, extending from the Tehachapi Pass and mountains in the interior, and from Pt. Concepcion on the coast, southward to the Mexican boundary. The culture of the small N.W. area was in every way, and that of the larger Southern province at least in some respects, more highly organized and complex than that of the still larger and principal Central region, which comprised at least two-thirds of the State, and which, if such a selection is to be made, must be considered as the most typically Californian.

The religious practices of the Indians of California fall into three well-marked divisions: (1) such observances as are followed and executed by individuals, although their perpetuation is traditional and tribal—that is to say, *customary observances*; (2) individual practices resting upon a direct personal communication of an individual

with the supernatural world—in other words, *shamanism*; (3) observances and practices which are not only the common property of the tribe by tradition, but in which the entire tribe or community directly or indirectly participates—in other words, *ceremonies*. After discussing these three divisions of their religious practices, we shall conclude with a fourth section on their mythology.

1. Customary observances.—These are as strongly developed here as farther north along the Pacific slope. This W. coast region thus differs as a whole from the interior and E. parts of the continent, where such observances are usually a less conspicuous feature than tribal ceremonies. By far the most important of the observances in California are those relating to death. Next come those connected with birth and sexual functions. Beliefs and practices centring in the individual's name are of importance particularly in so far as they are connected with the customs relating to death. There are also restrictions and superstitions as to food.

Death was considered to bring defilement, and almost everywhere entailed purification ceremonies. In the N.W. region these were particularly important, and among such tribes as the Hupa and Yurok the observance of this purification, the most essential part of which was the recitation of a formula, was the most stringently exacted religious custom. The method of disposing of the dead varied locally between burial and cremation, cremation being practised over at least half of the State. Air-burial and sea-burial have nowhere been found. Mourning, which consisted primarily of singing and wailing, began immediately upon the occurrence of death, and continued for about a day, although it was sometimes longer protracted by the nearest relatives of the deceased. Among some tribes this mourning commenced with full vigour some time before impending death, often during the full consciousness of the patient and with his approval. Mutilations on the part of the mourners were not practised to any great extent, except that the hair was almost universally cut more or less, especially by the women. Mourning observances were almost always carried further by women than by men. Among some tribes of the Sierra Nevada the widow did not speak from the time of her husband's death until the following annual tribal mourning ceremony. Except in the case of the N.W. tribes, who possessed more elaborately constructed dwellings of wood, the house in which a death had occurred was not used again but was burned. Objects that had been in personal contact or associated with the deceased were similarly shunned and destroyed. The name of the dead was not spoken. Even the word which constituted his name was not used in ordinary discourse, a circumlocution or newly coined word being employed. It is certain that this stringently observed custom has been a factor in the marked dialectic differentiation of the languages of California. In N.W. California even the accidental mention of the name of the dead could be compensated for only by the payment of a considerable sum. Some property and food were buried with the corpse. The idea that the articles were for use in the world of the dead was not so strong a motive for such acts as the feeling that the objects had been defiled by association with the dead, and the desire to express sincerity of mourning.

On the whole, the immediate observances of death pale in importance before the annual public mourning ceremony, which is everywhere, except in the N.W. region, one of the most deeply-rooted and spectacular acts of worship.

Observances connected with *sexual functions*, including birth, are next in importance after those relating to death. The menstruating woman was everywhere regarded as unclean, and was excluded especially from acts of worship. Not infrequent was the conception that she contaminated food, especially meat. Among many tribes she was excluded from the house and confined to a menstrual hut. Her refraining from all but the most necessary activity was sometimes deemed essential. All these observances were greatly intensified at the time of a girl's first menstruation, a condition for which most of the languages of California possess a distinctive word. The girl at this period was thought to be possessed of a particular degree of supernatural power. One of the injunctions most strongly laid upon her was not to look about her. She kept her head bowed, and was forbidden to see the world and the sun. Some tribes covered her with a blanket. Many of the customs in this connexion most strongly resembled those of the North Pacific coast, *e.g.* the prohibition against the girl's touching or scratching her head with her hand, a special implement being furnished for the purpose. Some form of public ceremony, often accompanied by a dance and sometimes by a form of ordeal for the girl, was practised nearly everywhere.

Religious customs connected with *birth* consisted in part of observances before the birth of the child, in part of observances after birth, and especially of restrictions imposed on one or both of the parents after its birth. Practices affecting the child itself, or the mother before its birth, related in great part to food. The newly-born child was usually washed, often repeatedly. The mother after a birth was regarded as more or less defiled. Either the mother was, or both father and mother were, usually inhibited from activity for some time after a birth. The *couvade* in its strict form, with restrictions imposed entirely upon the father to the exclusion of the mother, does not seem to be found.

In N.W. California there is a special development of *spoken formulae*, whose content is little else than a myth, and which not only constitute the basis and essential element of public ceremonies, but are connected with almost all customary observances. To such an extent had these formulae grown into the mind of these Indians as being what is most sacred and most efficacious in all aspects of religion, that they partly supplanted shamanism. Not only purification from death and other defilement, but luck in hunting and fishing, and success in felling trees and making baskets, in the acquisition of wealth, in short, in the proper achievement of every human wish, were thought to be accomplished by the proper knowledge and recitation of these myth-formulae.

2. **Shamanism.**—Shamanism, the supposed individual control of the supernatural through a personally acquired power of communication with the spirit-world, rests upon much the same basis in California as elsewhere in North America. In general, among uncivilized tribes, the simpler the stage of culture the more important the shaman. There is thus a contrast between the rude, simple-minded Indians of California and those of the Plains and of the South-West, where the supremacy of the shaman is rather obscured by that of the priest conversant with ceremonies.

The most common way of acquiring shamanistic power in California, as in so many other parts of the world, is by *dreaming*. A spirit—be it that of an animal, a place, the sun or other natural object, of a deceased relative, or an entirely unembodied spirit—visits the future medicine-man in his dreams, and the connexion thus established

between them is the source and basis of the latter's power. This spirit becomes the guardian-spirit or 'personal.' From it he receives the song or rite, and the knowledge, which enable him to cause or remove disease, and to do and endure what other men cannot. In California, with a few special exceptions, the custom of having an animal as guardian-spirit does not seem so prevalent as elsewhere. Occasionally it is the ghost of a person who has once lived, usually a relative. Perhaps more frequently it is merely a spirit as such, not connected with any tangible embodiment or form. In certain regions the *waking vision*, or *trance*, is recognized as a means of acquiring shamanistic power. A person is in a wild desolate place, perhaps hunting. Suddenly there is an appearance before him. He becomes unconscious, and while in this state receives his supernatural power (cf. also COMMUNION WITH DEITY [Amer.]). On his return to his people he is for a time demented or physically affected. The concept of a guardian-spirit is much less clearly defined among the N.W. tribes, with whom the possession of 'pains'—the small material but supernatural objects which cause disease—rather than of true spirits, seems to be what is generally associated with shamanistic power. The majority of the shamans here, and those supposed to be most powerful, are women.

In parts of Southern California also the idea of the guardian-spirit does not seem to be well developed. Here the method of acquiring shamanistic power is almost exclusively by dreams. Among the Mohave, myths and not a personal meeting or communion with an individual spirit constitute the subject of the dreams. The Mohave shamans believe that they were present at the beginning of the world, before mankind had separated into tribes. They were with the great leader and semi-creator Mastamho. They saw him singing, blowing, and rubbing over the body of a sick man, and from him they thus learned the actions and speeches which constitute their power. The Mohave universally speak of having dreamed these scenes, but also state that they dreamed them before birth; in other words, that they were present in spirit form at the beginning of the world, at the time when all power, shamanistic and other, was established and allotted. It is obvious that, with this conception as the basis of their whole religion, there is but little room among them for any beliefs as to guardian-spirits of the usual kind. Of course nothing limits the shaman to one spirit, and among many or most tribes, such as the Maidu, a powerful medicine-man may possess a great number.

Frequently in Central and N.W. California there is some more or less public ceremony at which a new shaman is, so to speak, initiated before he exercises his powers. The body of initiated shamans do not form any society or association, nor do they otherwise appear to act in concert. The ceremony is rather an occasion that marks the first public appearance of the novice, in which he receives for his own good, and presumably for that of the community also, the assistance of the more experienced persons of his profession. This ceremony is usually held in the ceremonial chamber, and is accompanied by dancing. The efforts of the older shamans are directed towards giving the initiate a firm and permanent control of the spirits, which have only half attached themselves to him, and which are thought to be still more or less rebellious.

A special class of shamans, found to a greater or less extent probably among all the Central tribes, are the so-called *bear-doctors*—shamans who have received power from grizzly bears. Not only can

the bear-shamans assume the form of bears, as they do in order to inflict vengeance on their enemies, but it is believed that they can be killed an indefinite number of times when in this form, and each time return to life. The *rattlesnake-doctor*, who cured or prevented the bite of the rattlesnake, was usually distinct from other medicine-men. Among the Yuki, his power, like that of the rattlesnake, was associated with the sun; among the Maidu, with the thunder. Among the Yokuts the rattlesnake-shamans annually held a public ceremony designed to prevent rattlesnake bites among the tribe. On this occasion they displayed their power over the snakes by handling them in a manner analogous to that of the Hopi, and by even allowing themselves to be bitten. *Rain-doctors* were much looked up to in the southern half of California.

As everywhere else, the practice of shamanism in California circles about disease and death. It is probably more narrowly limited to this phase than in almost any other portion of North America. That the medicine-men who could cure disease were also those who must cause it, unless it were the direct consequence of an infraction of some religious observance or prohibition, was an almost universal belief. The killing of medicine-men was therefore of frequent occurrence. Among some tribes, as the Yokuts, the medicine-man who had lost several patients was held responsible for their death by their relatives. Among the Mohave also, murder seems to have been the normal end of the medicine-man. In the N.W. region the shaman who failed to cure was forced to return the fee which he had received in advance.

Disease, as among most primitive peoples, was usually held to be caused by small material objects which had in a supernatural way been made to enter the body. Their determination and extraction was the principal office of the medicine-man, and, as elsewhere, extraction was most frequently accomplished by sucking. In certain regions, especially the South, the tubular pipe was brought into requisition for this purpose. The disease-causing object might be a bit of hair, a stick, an insect or small reptile, a piece of bone, deer sinew, or almost any other material. In N. California it was not an ordinary physical object working mischief by its mere presence in the body, but an object itself supernatural and called a 'pain.' These 'pains' are variously described, frequently as being sharp at both ends, clear as ice, and possessing the power of moving. In some cases two classes of medicine-men were distinguished, one diagnosing, the other treating the patient. Sucking is not always resorted to. The Mohave blow or spit over their patients and stroke or knead their bodies. Medicines and drugs are but little used, and in a manner that gives no opportunity for their physiological efficacy. Four or five drops—the number varying according to the ceremonial number of the tribe—of a weak decoction may be given to the patient or even applied to him only externally. Tobacco is employed to a considerable extent by shamans, but is of equal importance in other aspects of religion.

3. *Ceremonies*.—Apart from such public observances as the shaman-initiation, menstrual dance, and victory-celebration, which, while generally participated in, are performed primarily for the benefit of individuals, the ceremonies of the California Indians which are of a really public or communal purpose and character fall into three classes: (1) mourning ceremonies; (2) initiation ceremonies connected with a secret society; and (3) a more varied group of dances and other observances, all of which have as a common aim the benefit either of the community or of the world at

large, as, for instance, when they cause a good crop of acorns and natural products, make the avoidance of rattlesnake bites possible, or prevent the occurrence of disease, earthquake, flood, and other calamities.

(1) Of these three classes the *mourning ceremonies* are at least as important as the others, and by far the most distinctive of the State as an ethnographic province, although neither they nor the secret society are found in the specialized N.W. area. The mourning ceremonies are absent also from the Athapaskan, Yuki, and Pomo tribes in the coast region as far south as the Bay of San Francisco, but outside of this strip in the N. coast region they are universal in the State. Among the Maidu they are usually known as 'burning,' among the Miwok as 'cry'; among the Yokuts they have been called 'dance of the dead,' and among the Mohave and Yuma 'annual.' These ceremonies are usually participated in by a number of visiting communities or villages. They last for one or more nights, during which crying and wailing, sometimes accompanied by singing and exhortation, are indulged in, and find their climax in a great destruction of property. While those who have recently lost relatives naturally take a prominent part, the ceremony as a whole is not a personal but a tribal one. Among the Yokuts, and probably other tribes, it is immediately followed by a dance of a festive nature, and usually there is a definitely expressed idea that this general ceremony puts an end to all individual mournings among the participants. Participation in the ceremony is sometimes obtained by producing a membership-string or necklace, the receipt and the return of which are both marked by payments or presents. Among the Maidu the purpose of the burning of property is to supply the ghosts of the dead with clothing, property, and food. In some cases images are made to represent the dead, and are burned with the property offered.

(2) *Initiation ceremonies*, which result in something analogous to a secret society, are found in the whole State with the exception of the N.W. region and the agricultural tribes of the extreme S.E. There are usually no paraphernalia or insignia of a society, no degrees or ranks, no membership or other organization, nor is there the definite purpose of an actual society. In so far as a society may be said to exist, its principal purpose and its only public function is the initiation of boys as new members. To a certain extent the initiates are regarded as a class or council having a more or less indefinite authority over religious matters affecting the community. The precepts imparted to the initiates, other than ritualistic knowledge, seem to be of the most general kind. In many ways this initiation may be regarded as a puberty ceremony for boys, corresponding to the first-menstruation ceremony of girls. Among the Yokuts of Central California and in S. California the initiation was accompanied by the drinking of toloache or jimson-weed, the stupor and visions produced by which were regarded as supernatural. In S. California boys were made to undergo severe tests of pain and endurance at the initiation ceremony.

(3) The public ceremonies other than mourning and initiation observances, in other words the *tribal dances* of California, differ entirely in the three culture regions, which must therefore be considered separately.

(a) In the Central area these dances were mostly held in the large assembly-house, and either lasted for a number of nights or consisted of a series of successive dances extending over a considerable period. Some of the dances were named after animals, and in these there was usually some

imitation of the actions of animals. Actual masks were never employed. In the Sacramento valley and adjacent region there was some impersonation of mythical characters, as of the creator Taikomol among the Yuki, and of the mythical Kuksu among the Pomo and others. There seems to have been nothing corresponding to an altar. The dancers were painted, but crudely and with simple symbolism. An important character in most ceremonies was the clown or buffoon, part of whose duties was to caricature the more serious performance.

The exact nature and relation of the various dances of most of the tribes of the Central region are very little known. Probably a typical example is furnished by the Maidu of the Sacramento valley, who declare that their ceremonies were obtained from their neighbours the Wintun. Among the Maidu the ceremonies were performed in winter, and constituted a series of fifteen or more distinct dances, coming for the most part in a definite order. These, so far as known, are the following: Hesi, Luyi, Loli, Salalu-ngkasi, Duck, Bear, Coyote, Creeper, Turtle, Aloli-ngkasi, Yokola-ngkasi, Moloko-ngkasi, Deer, Aki, Hesi. The majority of these dances were performed by men, but some by women only. Each has its characteristic paraphernalia. At least some of these seem to represent mythical characters. Farther to the south, among the Yokuts of the Tulare basin, such ceremonies do not seem to have been practised. Here the majority of the public ceremonies, like the rattlesnake ceremony which has been mentioned, are of the nature of shamanistic performances.

(b) In N.W. California the more important ceremonies can be held only at certain spots, and the performance of the same ceremony always varies somewhat in different localities. The performers do not represent mythological or other characters, and do not imitate animals. The essential religious portion of the ceremony consists in the recital of a sacred formula. These formulae relate specifically to the exact locality at which the dances are held, and therefore vary considerably from spot to spot. The public portions of the ceremony, such as the dancing, are practically dissociated from this purely religious element. The dancers are mostly young men, without any knowledge of the ceremony other than of the simple dance-step and songs. The paraphernalia which they wear belong neither to them nor to the priests, but to wealthy men of the tribe, to whom the occasion is an all-important opportunity for the display of their wealth, which consists in large part of the dancing regalia, the possession of which is the chief condition of their social prominence. The most important ceremonies are the deer-skin dance and the jumping dance, the former held at six or eight, the latter at a somewhat larger number of places. The purpose of both dances is the good of the world, earthquake and disease being prevented and a food supply ensured by their performance.

(c) In S. California such ceremonies as partake of the nature neither of mourning nor of initiation rites are conspicuous by the prominence of the myth element. They consist essentially of long series of songs, occupying one or more nights, which recount, in part directly, but more often by allusion, a myth. In some cases dancing by men or women accompanies the singing, but this is never spectacular. Being only ceremonial recitations of myths, these ceremonies are not attached in their performance to specific localities; when dancing regalia are used, they are of the simplest character; nor is there opportunity for either altar or ritual. The predominance of the

mourning element in the ceremonies of this region is further shown by the fact that among some tribes, as the Mohave, these singing ceremonies, besides being performed independently, are also continued for many hours at every death.

The *ceremonial chamber* has a distinctive character in each of the three culture areas. In the Central region it is a large, circular, dome-shaped structure, partly underground and with a covering of earth. It serves also as a place of assembly, and probably, at least at times, as a sudatory, whence its popular name of 'sweat-house.' In the N.W. the sweat-house is quite small, always entirely underground, and its roof consists of boards without a covering of earth. It is used primarily for sweating, and is the regular sleeping-place of all adult males. It is not used for public ceremonies except in the case of the dance at the initiation of shamans. In the South the ceremonial structure is not a house, but either a mere enclosure of brush, as among the Mission tribes, or a simple shade of brush on upright posts, as among the Mohave. This type of ceremonial structure is also found in the southern part of the Central region among the Yokuts.

4. *Mythology.*—In mythology an important difference between the three culture areas again appears. The N.W. mythologies are characterized primarily by a very deeply-impressed conception of a previous, now vanished race, which, by first living the life and performing the actions of mankind, was the producer of all human institutions and arts, as well as of many of the phenomena of nature. Second in importance are myths dealing with culture-heroes, more or less of the trickster type familiar from so many other parts of North America. In Central California, on the other hand, there is always a true creation of the world, of mankind, and of its institutions. The conception of the creator is often quite lofty, and tricky exploits are not usually connected with him. Often there is an antithesis between this beneficent and truly Divine creator and a second character, usually the coyote, who in part co-operates with the creator, but in part thwarts him, being responsible for the death of mankind and other imperfections in the scheme of the world. In the northern half of the Central region the creator is generally anthropomorphic; if not, he is merged into one personage with the coyote. In the southern half of the Central region the creators seem always to be animals, with the dignified and wise eagle as chief. The comparatively elaborate and consistent creation-myths of Central California are ethnographically of significance, on account of the scanty development of such myths among the American Indians in general. The myths of the Central region, not directly concerned with creation, are mostly stories of adventure, of much the same type as European folk- and fairy-tales. They do not explain the origin of phenomena except in a casual, isolated way, and are only very rarely of ceremonial import. In S. California there are no real creation-myths. The various animate and inanimate existences in the world are believed to have been born from heaven and earth as the first parents.

The great bulk of the S. California origin-myth consists of a history of mankind, at first as a single tribe, and later centred in the tribe which tells the story. In the successive experiences of this group of people, which are accompanied by more or less journeying, the world is gradually brought to its present stage, and all the institutions of mankind are developed. The people are under the guidance of one or two great leaders—at least one of whom always dies or departs after giving his beneficent directions. The thoroughly

Pueblo and S.W. character of such myths is obvious. They are usually followed to a greater or less extent by migration legends, recounting the wandering and conflicts of different tribes or clans. The plots of the remaining myths are not very different in essence from the adventure stories of the Central region, but are both much longer and more elaborate, and at the same time distinctively ritualistic, forming as they do the basis or framework of the singing ceremonies which have been described.

The world is usually regarded as surrounded by water, sometimes as floating upon it. It is often secured by four or five pillars, ropes, or other supports. Beyond where earth and sky meet there is often another land. The dead sometimes go below, sometimes above, sometimes across the ocean to the west, and sometimes to the more or less distant parts of this earth. The entrance to the world of the dead is pointed out by some tribes. People who have temporarily died have been there and have returned to describe it. Dances constitute the principal occupation of the dead. No ideas of future rewards and punishments, based on conduct in this life, have been found; and if any exist, they must be but scantily developed. As in other parts of the world, there are occasional ideas of transmigration of souls into animals, but these are nowhere systematically worked out or of any religious importance.

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A. L. KROEBER.

CALL, CALLING (καλεῖν, κλησις).—1. **The Biblical data.**—In the NT and in Christian theology 'call' and 'calling' are technical terms to denote God's efficacious summons to individuals to partake of the redemptive blessings to which they have been appointed in His eternal purpose (Ro 8²⁸). The Divine call is the act in which the Divine election (*q.v.*) is revealed and realized. Those whom God calls to salvation He has previously elected; those whom He elects He proceeds to call. For this specific use of the word 'call,' which meets us constantly in the Epistles, and, above all, in those of St. Paul, there are suggestions in the OT, in the employment of it to denote a Divine summons to a particular task or privilege or vocation—a summons which is not to be distinguished from a Divine command or decree, as in the call of Abraham (Gn 12¹; cf. He 11⁸), of Moses (Ex 3¹⁰), of Isaiah (Is 6⁹), of the people of Israel (Is 42⁶ 48¹²). In the NT the word continues to be used in the sense of the summons of an individual to a particular duty or vocation (Ac 13², Ro 1¹, 1 Co 1¹), and St. Paul still recognizes a peculiar calling of the Jews as a people, of which God will never repent (Ro 11²⁰). But in their technical employment 'call' and 'calling' have reference, not to a particular duty or life-task, but to a place in the Divine Kingdom (1 Th 2¹²); not to an inheritance of national privilege, but to the enjoyment of personal saving blessings that are proffered

not to the Jews only, but also to the Gentiles (Ro 9²⁴, 1 Co 1²⁴).

When we look more closely at the Christian's calling as it is set forth in the NT, we notice the following characteristics. It comes from God Himself (1 Co 1⁹), and for this reason it is described as a 'high calling' (Ph 3¹⁴), a 'heavenly calling' (He 3¹). It comes to men through the revelation of God in Christ (Ph 3¹⁴, 1 P 5¹⁰), and is mediated to the individual by the message of the gospel (1 Th 2¹², 2 Th 2¹⁴). It is not conditional upon human works or merit, but is the outcome solely of God's eternal purpose and grace (Ro 8²⁸, 2 Ti 1⁹). In the strict use of the word, the call is always an effectual call. The 'called' (κλητοί) and the 'elect' (ἐκλεκτοί) are co-extensive and interchangeable terms (Ro 8²⁸, 1 Co 1²⁴, 1 P 2⁹, 2 P 1¹⁰, Rev 17¹⁴). In the Gospels, it is true, we have the saying of Jesus (Mt 22¹⁴ [20¹⁶] is probably spurious, cf. RV), 'Many are called (κλητοί), but few chosen (ἐκλεκτοί),' in which 'called' has a wider reference. It seems evident, however, that our Lord in this utterance is not using either κλητοί or ἐκλεκτοί in the technical way in which, mainly through St. Paul's influence, they came to be employed as theological correlatives. The preceding parable shows that in this verse the 'called' are all to whom the general invitation of the Divine love comes, while the 'chosen' are those who accept the invitation (v. 10) and also show themselves worthy of it (vv. 11-13). This saying of Jesus justifies the distinction familiar in the old theology between the *vocatio externa* and the *vocatio interna*—the outward and the effectual call (cf. the Westminster Assembly's *Larger Catechism*, Q.Q. 67, 68). There is a Divine invitation to the privileges of the Kingdom which is free and universal in its scope (Mt 22⁹, Ac 2⁴, Ro 10¹³, 1 Ti 2⁹, 4)—an invitation which men may either accept or refuse. But, apart from this verse in the Gospels, the soteriological use in the NT of 'call,' 'calling,' 'called,' appears to restrict the words to the sense of an effectual call—a call that issues in salvation.

The fact that this 'high calling of God in Christ Jesus' (Ph 3¹⁴) is co-extensive with election and predestination (Ro 8²⁸⁻³⁰) does not obviate the necessity of human conditions to its being realized. The primary condition is faith, which responds to God's call and grasps the offer of His grace therein conveyed (1 Th 2¹³, 1 Co 1²¹). The next is the moral and spiritual effort involved in the very nature of the calling as a holy calling (2 Ti 1⁹), a calling to be saints (Ro 1⁷, 1 Co 1²). The Christian must 'press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus' (Ph 3¹⁴). He must give diligence to make his calling and election sure (2 P 1¹⁰). The existence of these human conditions does not contradict the truth that the Divine call rests upon a previous election and predestination. God's eternal purpose of salvation must include all the elements, together with all the conditions, which enter into the process of realizing it; and so must leave room for the exercise of that moral freedom to which the NT bears constant testimony, and of which men are assured by their own moral consciousness. Yet, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that even these conditions are themselves conditioned. Christians work out their own salvation because God Himself is working in them both the willing and the working (Ph 2¹², 13). It is His Spirit that disposes them to respond to His call, that puts saving graces into their hearts, and so stirs up, increases, and strengthens those graces, 'as that they more and more die unto sin and rise unto newness of life' (*Larger Catechism*, Q. 75). St. Paul sums up this aspect of the matter when

he says, 'Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it' (1 Th 5th).

2. The historical development.—The starting-point here is provided by Augustine, whose doctrine of the absoluteness of predestinating grace led to a distinction between 'election' and 'vocation'—between a Divine decree which issues in salvation, and a summons to repentance and conversion which comes through the gospel and especially through the Church as the depository of grace. Ordinarily the elect would receive the call through contact with the historical revelation in Christianity, but in the sovereignty of the Divine grace this might be dispensed with (*de Prædest.* ix. 17). On the other hand, it was only in the case of the elect that the call could issue in salvation (xviii. 37). Thomas Aquinas, who in his theological scheme adhered very closely to Augustine's teaching on predestination and grace, regarded the call as the means employed by God for giving effect to His sovereign choice (*Summa Theol.* i. Q. 23, art. 2), and distinguished between the *vocatio exterior*, which comes through the preacher, and the *vocatio interior*, which is a Divinely implanted impulse towards the good (*Sentent.* iv. dist. 17, Q. 1. artt. 1, 2). See also art. GRACE (Rom. Cath. doctrine of). In the post-Reformation theology, Lutheran scholasticism (of which Calovius and Quenstedt may be taken as types) represented the Divine vocation as inaugurating the process of salvation. A distinction was made between the *vocatio generalis*, which comes through the revelation of nature, and the *vocatio specialis*, which comes through the Christian gospel, especially as mediated by the word and sacraments of the Church. The *vocatio specialis* was further defined as *seria*, *efficax*, and *universalis*. It was *seria* as being real and earnest; *efficax*, inasmuch as the Spirit Himself is working inherently in the word, so that, where men do not resist and refuse, conversion is sure to follow; *universalis*, as coming to all men alike without distinction of time or place (Seeberg, *PRE*³, ii. 658). The last quality was specified in the interest of the desire to avoid that appearance of arbitrariness in the exercise of the Divine sovereignty which is suggested by the withholding of the special call from so many individuals and peoples. It was assumed that as a matter of fact the offer of the gospel had actually been made to the whole world at three different points in human history: first, when the *Protevangelium* was announced to Adam; next, in the days of Noah; finally, during the age of the Apostles, by whom the gospel was supposed to have been carried throughout the whole inhabited world (cf. Hodge, *Syst. Theol.*, 1872, ii. 645). That the knowledge of God's way of salvation and free invitation to accept it has since been so widely lost, is thus to be attributed not to the Divine purpose, but to the ingratitude and sin of man (Quenstedt, *Syst. Theol.*, 1685, III. v. 1).

In the Reformed theology as represented by Calvin, the call is that in which the Divine election is first realized (*Instit.* III. xxiv. 10). A distinction is drawn, however, between two different kinds of call. There is an external call made through the preaching of the word, which is universal, not in the impossible sense that it is absolutely world-wide, but as being addressed without distinction to every one who hears it. There is, further, a special or internal call, whereby, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, the word preached is implanted in the heart as a seed of life (*ib.* 8). For Calvin the call is effectual, not, as for the Lutheran theologians, because the word carries within it an inherent converting potentiality, but because, through the power of the Holy Spirit working *ab extra*, it actually effects conversion

(*ib.* 1, 2). This is the view of 'effectual calling' which was adopted by the Westminster Assembly and is set forth in the *Confession of Faith* (ch. x.), the *Larger Catechism* (Q. 67), and the *Shorter Catechism* (Q. 31).

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CALVINISM.—By Calvinism is understood in this article the system of theological belief specially associated with the name of John Calvin, and embodied in substance in the Confessions and Catechisms of that section of the Protestant Church known as 'Reformed,' in distinction from the Lutheran. Calvinism might also be taken to include the system of ecclesiastical polity (Presbyterian) outlined by Calvin, and very generally found associated with his type of doctrine in Churches that have adopted the latter. Since, however, this connexion of doctrine and polity is by no means universal, it will be sufficient to consider polity only so far as it is a manifest outgrowth from the doctrinal principles. It will be found, as we proceed, that historically Calvinism has been associated with many forms of Church government and order. In the English Reformation, e.g., Calvinistic doctrines were allied for a time with Episcopalianism; so in Ireland; Calvin's doctrines moulded the Puritan theology; they were largely taken over into Congregationalism, and ruled it till recent times; there have been, and are, Calvinistic Baptists and Methodists. Presbyterianism itself exhibits many modifications. The *differentia* of Calvinism, therefore, must be sought not in polity but in doctrine.

Two things have to be borne in mind in judging rightly of Calvinism: (1) The first is that, while Calvinism has, to a greater extent than any other system, a unity of view arising from the presence of a great central, controlling idea, there is little in its particular doctrines, taken by themselves, peculiar to Calvin. Its predestination doctrine, e.g., generally regarded as its most characteristic feature, is at least as old as Augustine; it was upheld by most of the greater schoolmen (for Britain, cf. A. F. Mitchell, *The Westminster Assembly*, pp. 326 ff., 346); it was maintained by Luther and Zwingli as stoutly as by Calvin himself. For the rest, its doctrines of the Trinity and of the Person of Christ are those of the Ecumenical Councils, and its Evangelical doctrines—including the Atonement and Justification by Faith, without works or merits of the sinner's own—are in the main the common heritage of Protestantism. What Calvin did was to mould these doctrines into a logically articulated system, under the guidance of the great determining thought of God's absolute sovereignty in the worlds both of nature and of spirit, and to give them a form fitted to exercise the strongest influence on both intellect and will, in the individuals and peoples accepting them. (2) The second thing to be kept in view is that Calvinism, in its historical course, has, without abandoning its fundamental principles, undergone large doctrinal modifications. It has proved its vitality in the different shapes it has assumed in different countries, and under new conditions. Calvinism, as time has shown, is not immobile, but is, in some respects, the most plastic of all systems; hence its power of indefinite expansion, its capacity of throwing out new shoots and of adjusting itself to changing environments, and its ability to assimilate new ideas. It is not enough, accordingly, in de-

pecting Calvinism, to expound the Calvinism of Calvin himself; it must be shown how his type of doctrine has worked itself out in subsequent developments.

1. John Calvin and his influence.—Our sketch may properly begin with a brief account of Calvin himself, from whom, distinctively, the system takes its name. The place deservedly assigned to the commanding personality of Luther in connexion with the 16th cent. Reformation should not blind us to the fact that the spiritual movement which bears this name had not one origin, but several distinct origins. Lefèvre in France and Zwingli in Switzerland were preaching a pure Gospel before Luther's name had been heard of (on Lefèvre, cf. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, vol. i. bk. ii. ch. 2). Distinct in origin, the streams were kept still further distinct in their after-flow by the disputes which early arose between the German and the Swiss Reformers on the subject of the Sacraments. Luther had, properly speaking, no successor. At a later period the Swiss and the French Reformations found a point of meeting in Calvin, who, a Frenchman by birth, and a Swiss in virtue of his world-famed connexion with Geneva, fitly represented both.

John Calvin was born on 10th July 1509, at Noyon, in Picardy, where his father, Gerard, was procurator-fiscal and secretary to the bishop of the diocese. He was trained for the Church, and through his father's influence obtained, when only twelve years of age, a chaplaincy in Noyon Cathedral. In 1523 he proceeded to the University of Paris. There for four years he studied Latin, Logic, and Philosophy. By his father's wish, as he tells us in the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, he was then withdrawn from the study of Philosophy and put to the study of Law. Leaving Paris, he accordingly repaired first to Orleans, then to Bourges, and applied himself with incredible industry to his new study. At Paris he must have been perfectly aware of the new doctrines that were being taught; but it was not till a later time that, after many spiritual struggles (of his answer to Cardinal Sadolet, he was brought, as he expresses it (Pref. to Psalms), by 'a sudden conversion' to a subdued and teachable frame of mind. Considerable influence seems to have been exerted on his mind by his kinsman, Olivetan, a disciple of Lefèvre, and a future translator of the Bible into French, who directed him to the study of the Scriptures. The precise date of Calvin's conversion is uncertain. Some place it as early as 1529, while Calvin was yet at Orleans or Bourges, others as late as 1532, after the publication of his first work—a commentary on Seneca's *de Clementia*. His father had died in 1531. But whenever or however the change was brought about, its effects were immediate on the young scholar's plans of life. His place was thenceforward with the friends of the Reformation. Not yet, indeed, had Calvin any thought of mixing with public affairs; but the retirement he desired seemed to flee from him. His friends sought him out, so that, as he says, 'all my retreats were like public schools.' At Paris he taught, preached, and evangelized, and in 1533, according to some authorities, composed for Nicholas Cop, Rector of the University, an inaugural address, the boldly outspoken, evangelical sentiments of which roused a storm of disapprobation. At Poitiers he formed a small congregation. He finally betook himself to Basel, where, in 1536, an event took place which raised him at once to a foremost position of influence among the Reformers. This was the publication of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

The *Institutes* of Calvin is one of those epoch-making books, like Newton's *Principia* in science, or Kant's *Kritik* in philosophy, the interest of which is enduring. Hitherto no book had appeared which took commanding rank as an exhibition of the doctrines of the Reformed Churches in their systematic unity and connexion. Melancthon's *Commonplaces* hardly served the purpose. Yet this was a work requiring to be done, both as a satisfaction to the mind of the Church, and in order that the Reformation might have something to oppose to the great and compact systems of the Middle Ages. Calvin undertook the task, and accomplished it with decisive success. Albrecht Ritschl has spoken of the *Institutes* as 'the masterpiece of Protestant theology.' Originally Calvin had contemplated nothing higher than the preparation of an elementary manual of doctrine. A fresh outbreak of persecution in France led him to give to the book the grander form of a vindication of his wronged brethren. Prefixed to it is a preface, addressed to Francis I., which is justly regarded as

one of the *chefs d'œuvre* of literature. This being the purpose of the book, the spirit that pervades it, as one can imagine, is anything but a dry compendium of 'dogmas.' Its motive gives it the dignity of an eloquent *Apologia*.

The book, as originally published in 1536, was a small work, which subsequent editions enlarged to four or five times its original size. The additions made to it gave it architectural completeness, but wrought no change in its essential contents. The plan (in the final edition of 1559) is simple, following the order of the Creed. The first book treats of the knowledge of God the Creator, the second of the knowledge of God the Redeemer, the third of the work of the Holy Spirit. Here Calvin treats of faith and repentance, of free justification, of the sanctification of the believer, and, towards the close of the book, he unfolds his doctrine of eternal election to salvation, with its logical counterpart, in his view—the reprobation of the wicked. It ought to be noticed that, however fundamental this doctrine is in Calvin, it is brought in, not at the head of his system, as it is, e.g., in the scheme of the Westminster Confession, but rather as a corollary from what has been shown of the dependence on Divine grace of all that is good in man. The fourth book treats of the Church, of Church government, of the Sacraments, and of the province of the civil ruler.

The sensation produced by the publication of the *Institutes* was immense. The book was speedily translated into the languages of Europe, and passed through innumerable editions. As an evidence of its popularity, it may be mentioned that versions of it exist in modern French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German, English, and even in the language of Hungary, in Greek, and in Arabic.

Calvin's name could no longer be hid, but the thought of entering upon public life was as far from him as ever. It was as if by accident—the result of a *détour* occasioned by war—that, late in Aug. 1536, he entered Geneva, intending to remain only a single night. As it proved, with the exception of a short interval of banishment, he never again quitted it. The city had revolted against its bishop, and, under the preaching of Farel, a pupil of Lefèvre, had accepted the Reformation. Everything, however, was in a state of disorganization, and Farel, feeling deeply his own inability to cope with the elements of disturbance, waited on Calvin, whose presence in the city he had discovered, and adjured him to come to his help. This 'fearful obtestation' Calvin declares he was powerless to resist, and so commenced his connexion with Geneva. The task he undertook proved trying in the extreme. His reforming activity went out in the three directions of the Church (in conjunction with Farel, he drew up a short Confession of 21 Articles), of education, and of the reform of public morals. Above all, he claimed and exercised the right of excluding notorious evil-livers from the Lord's Table. This brought him into collision with the party known as the 'Libertines,' and led in 1538, after many disturbances, to his banishment from the city. The next three years were spent in tranquilly ministering to a congregation of French refugees in Strassburg. Here was laid the foundation of his series of Commentaries; here also he married. Geneva meanwhile was in chaos, and the cry soon arose to bring Calvin back. After much pressure he consented, and on 18th Sept. 1541 re-entered the city amidst general enthusiasm. There was now introduced a complete remodelling of Church and State on theocratic principles—the model constitution figuring itself to his mind as one in which the two powers do not remain apart, but are united for mutual support and for the attainment of common ends.

It is not necessary to follow in detail Calvin's after career and work in Geneva. Libertinism reared its head again in 1546, this time in connexion with pantheistic and atheistic doctrines, breathing a fierce hatred of Christ, and associated with free-love licentiousness. The struggle was long and severe, and Calvin's influence for some years sank to the lowest ebb. In 1556, however, the opposition wrought its own overthrow, and from that time the city had rest. It was in 1553, when this conflict was at its keenest, that Servetus came to the city, relying, there is reason to think, on Calvin's enemies for protection and support. The unhappy sequel is familiar. It was at Calvin's instance that Servetus was arrested, and proceedings against him were instituted. The Council, however, bitterly hostile at the time to Calvin, took the trial out of his hands, and conducted it on their own responsibility. Before coming to a decision, they took the opinion of the other Swiss Churches of Berne, Zürich, Schaffhausen, and Basel. The replies were unanimous in condemnation of Servetus, and he was adjudged to the flames. Calvin admitted the justice of the capital sentence, but with his colleagues did his best to induce the Council to substitute a milder form of execution. 'It is to him, notwithstanding,' says Billiet, 'that

men have always imputed the guilt of that funeral pile which he wished had never been reared.

The nine years that remained to Calvin from 1555 was the period of the triumph of his principles. Even more than before, acting on the conviction that the State has one sphere and the Church another, he withdrew from political business, and devoted himself to spiritual labours. The distrust of him by the Council seems to have cleared away, and people and Senate cordially supported him in his efforts. Under his influence Geneva became an asylum for the persecuted, and many persons of rank, learning, and piety found refuge within its walls. Calvin's reputation in Europe was yearly rising. His Commentaries and theological writings gained him renown: among his correspondents were kings, nobles, and persons of the highest positions in all countries; his advice was sought on matters small and great. In 1559 the famous Academy of Geneva was erected. In the train of culture and pure moral living came the arts. The city had trials, but steadily rose to influence. In the midst of all, Calvin was sometimes very poor. 'That which made the strength of that heretic,' said Pius IV. after Calvin's death, 'was that money was nothing to him.' His health, too, was undermined by serious maladies, and in his closing years he was never free from pain. He died on 27th May 1564, universally lamented.

Calvin was not without faults. His disposition tended to severity, though the story that, when young, his schoolmates fastened on him the nickname of 'the Accusative' is shown to be a fable (Doumergue, i. 74 f.). He specially blames himself for impetuosity of temper, and begs forgiveness of those whom he may have wounded by harsh and uncharitable expressions. He lacks Luther's geniality, rich overflowing humour, and human many-sidedness. But he is Luther's equal in unbending loyalty to conscience, and in greatness of intellect is incontestably his superior. The three powers that appear in him in almost naked severity are intellect, conscience, and will. Yet Calvin, as many tender friendships show, was not cold. He had a genuine appreciation of poetry and music, and the remarkable range and acuteness of his mind appear in his Commentaries, which anticipate the best works of their class in their freedom from prejudice and in their honest desire to ascertain the exact sense of Scripture. His system, as we shall presently see, was, in a very real sense, the reflexion of his own mind—severe, grand, logical, and daring in the heights to which it ascends, yet humble in its constant reversion to Scripture as its basis. Its influence on posterity has been yet more remarkable. It passed through the Creeds into the thoughts of men, moulded the life of nations, became the soul of Puritanism in England, of Republicanism in Holland, of the Covenanting struggle in Scotland, of democratic institutions in America, identifying itself in every land to which it went with the undying principles of civil freedom (cf. the remarkable series of testimonies to Calvin's greatness in Schaff's *Swiss Ref.* i. 272-275).

2. *System of Calvinism.*—From the man we turn now to the system, sometimes spoken of simply as Calvinism, sometimes more generally as the Theology of the Reformed Church. And here it is necessary in the first place to arrive at some clear conception of the *principle* on which the system depends, and from which it derives its distinctive character and unity. There is general agreement that the theology of the Reformed Church is more objective in character than that of the Lutheran, is less anthropological, and leans more directly on God and His words than on the experience of faith in man. This, however, is at best a formal distinction, and drives us back on the search for a deeper fundamental principle. That principle, probably, most would be disposed to find, with Principal Cunningham, in the doctrine of absolute predestination (cf. *Reformers and the Theology of Reformation*, pp. 121, 424); but even that doctrine does not carry us to the ultimate basis of Calvinism, or express its regulative principle with sufficient generality. On the other hand, the view of Schweizer, which finds the contrast between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches in the fact that the former was 'anti-

Judaic' in its protest against the theory of work-righteousness in the Church of Rome, and the latter 'anti-pagan' in its protest against all creature-worship and idolatry as corruptions of pure Christianity (cf. Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church*, pp. 34, 146), is too wide. Schweizer came nearer the mark when, following Schleiermacher, he defined the theological principle of the Reformed Church as 'the consciousness . . . of the absolute dependence of man upon God alone in all that pertains to his religious life and to the salvation of his soul' (Hastie, p. 144). Baur observed that this was still too anthropological, and widened it to 'the idea of the absolute causality of God, as the one and only principle that determines and causes all things absolutely and unconditionally, by and of itself' (*ib.* p. 147). Similar to Baur's, but taking in the twofold aspect of nature and grace, is J. H. Scholten's formulation of the principle as 'the recognition of God's absolute sovereignty in the natural and moral worlds, and especially the absolute sovereignty of His free grace as the only ground of human salvation' (*ib.* p. 157). The defect of these definitions is that they seem to leave little place for human freedom, which yet, as will be found, has very real recognition in the Reformed Theology (predestination is no fate). Nevertheless they touch the essential point, that the Reformed Theology, comprehensively considered, affirms the entire dependence of all things in nature and grace, in their being, ordering, and capacity for good, on God (cf. further, on the principles of Calvinism, and the working of it out in its different relations, A. Kuyper, *Calvinism*). We are next to see how this principle is developed in the leading parts of the theological system.

(1) The first word in Calvinism is *God*, and it is important to observe how God Himself is conceived of by Calvin and his followers. It is contended by Calvin in the *Institutes* that a knowledge of God is naturally implanted in the mind of man, and that the Creation also is a glorious revelation of the essential attributes of God. But man is blinded by his state of sin, and needs the fuller revelation given in Holy Scripture. The character of God displayed in Scripture is presented summarily in the disclosure of His name in Ex 34th. ('The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious,' etc.). 'Moreover, the perfections thus enumerated are just those which we saw shining in the heavens, and on the earth—compassion, goodness, mercy, justice, judgment, and truth' (*Inst.* bk. i. ch. x. 2). Loving-kindness is united with judgment and righteousness. In a later book of the *Institutes* Calvin connects redemption with this general character of God.

'God,' he says, 'who is perfect righteousness, cannot love the iniquity which He sees in all. All of us, therefore, have that within which deserves the hatred of God. . . But as the Lord wills not to destroy in us that which is His own, He still finds something in us which in kindness He can love. For, though it is by our own fault that we are sinners, we are still His creatures; though we have brought death upon ourselves, He has created us for life. Thus, mere gratuitous love prompts Him to receive us into favour,' etc. (bk. ii. ch. xvi. 3).

(2) The Creation depends absolutely and continuously on God, who fosters and guides it by His secret inspiration (*immanence*): 'I admit, indeed, that the expression, "Nature is God," may be piously used, if dictated by a pious mind' [bk. i. ch. v. 5]; yet God is in no way to be pantheistically identified with His works (*transcendence*). The world He has made God unceasingly rules by His providence in pursuance of a purpose (*teleology*). Here first we enter the sphere of foreordination, though not yet that of special predestination. Dr. Hastie states the doctrine unexceptionably:

'The fundamental idea of the Reformed Theology is that the world, in all its parts and processes and stages and forms of

life, is the outcarrying in time of one Divine plan, conceived in the eternal reason of the Godhead and realized by Creative power and wisdom and love. . . . The dominant idea of the Reformed system is therefore the relation of the Divine purpose in eternity to its execution in time; and its point of view is universally purposive or teleological' (*op. cit.* p. 102 f.).

This, however, requires a little elucidation for the avoidance of misconceptions. It is a misconception, first, if it is supposed that this inclusion by Calvinism of all acts and events in the sphere of the Divine purpose is tantamount to the doing away with, or denial of, the reality of the operation of second causes—especially of human freedom. The contrary is the case. The operation of second causes is constantly presupposed, and, where necessary, insisted on (cf. Calvin, *Inst.* bk. i. ch. xvii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, etc.). Freedom of will also, as a natural endowment of man, is carefully guarded. The purpose, or 'decree,' of God is executed, not in disregard of causes, or by overriding the nature of causes, but, as the *Westminster Confession* puts it in the chapter on 'Providence,' 'according to the nature of second causes, either necessarily, freely, or contingently' (ch. v. 2). Events take place, that is, in the case of necessary (natural) causes, necessarily; in the case of free causes, freely; in the case where one event depends contingently on another, in that order of dependence. If it be urged, as it sometimes is, that, in reality, however it may be in words, freedom in man is rendered nugatory by such all-embracing 'foreordination,' this points to a second misconception, on which a few words must now be said.

No one can reasonably question that the Reformed Theology affirms in clearest language the reality of human freedom (as a natural endowment), and of man's responsibility for his voluntary actions (cf. Calvin against Pighius on Free Will, and *Inst.* bk. i. ch. xv. 8: 'To this [intellect] He has joined will, to which choice belongs. . . . In this upright state, man possessed freedom of will, by which, if he chose, he was able to obtain eternal life. . . . Adam, therefore, might have stood if he chose, since it was only by his own will that he fell,' etc.; cf. bk. ii. ch. i. 10). The *Westminster Confession* is again studiously explicit on this point. In ch. iii. 1, on 'God's Eternal Decree,' it is declared that 'God . . . did . . . freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established'; in ch. ix. 1, on 'Free-Will,' it is laid down that 'God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined, to good or evil' (see also the passage on 'Providence' above, from ch. v.).

How then is the apparent paradox or, as it may seem to some, contradiction resolved? We do not urge that 'freedom' itself is a notion which requires careful analysis, and is not off-hand to be identified with arbitrariness, lawlessness, or incalculableness, which would conflict as fatally with God's foreknowledge as with His purpose (some, as Rothe, Martensen, and Martineau, with the older Socinians, think they can save man's freedom only by surrendering God's foreknowledge of free actions). But two considerations may help to throw light on the Calvinistic point of view. (a) The first is that freedom, view it as one may, is only one factor in the complicated web of human life. There is always the other and concurrent factor of external Providence. Man has the decision of what he will do in a given situation, but only in a limited degree does he create the situation. To a certain extent, of course, he makes or unmakes his circumstances, but never

wholly. In every case there is an admixture, generally a preponderance, of causes over which he has no control. He did not, *e.g.*, choose his own parents, his station in life, the course of events that brought him into contact with this one and that one, gave him his opportunities, led to his relationships, etc. This evidently cuts very deeply. At every point we are touched by forces we did not make, while the slightest change at any point in outward Providence would alter the whole complexion of the future for all the individuals affected, and for those coming after them. In this power, then, of creating or modifying the external situation, Providence is seen entering as an essential factor in the shaping of the lives of men. Had Joseph, *e.g.*, not been sold by his brethren into Egypt, not only would a particular act not have been done, but the whole line of Joseph's volitions in that country would have been cut off, and a totally different series of volitions would have taken their place, with what different results to Joseph himself, to Israel, and to the world!—(b) But, next, on the Divine side, what *are* human volitions, prior, if we may so speak, to the Divine plan which takes them up as elements into the future course of the world? Obviously, to a Divine prescience, only *possibilities*. But of this infinity of possibilities which lie before the Creative Mind, who but God shall determine which shall be permitted to emerge as *actualities*? Here, as the *Westminster Confession* says, the liberty and contingency of second causes is not taken away, but established, for it is only by Divine decree that these are permitted to enter and operate as causes in the actual world at all. From this Eternal point of view there seems no evading the conclusion that the ultimate responsibility for the plan of the world must rest with the infinitely wise Creator. Even evil cannot enter, or run its mischievous course, save as, in infinite wisdom, He has resolved to allow it.

(3) This raises the last important question in the Calvinistic view of Providence, viz. the relation of Providence to *sin*. Sin, it is consistently held, springs from the will of the creature. What, then, is God's relation to the sinful act? Is it enough in this connexion to speak, as is frequently done, of 'permission'? It might seem so; yet reflexion, probably, will convince us of the inadequacy of this conception. We say, and truly, that God permits sin. But (a) how should such an act have been there at all to permit, since the slightest change in the course of God's providence would have prevented its emergence? And (b) Scripture and reason alike teach that sin is not only permitted by God, but is manifoldly bounded, regulated, and overruled by Him, in subserviency to His holy ends. Sin is not simply permitted to enter, and then done with; once it has entered, it brings with it a train of consequences. It lies with God in His providence, in this view, not simply to permit sin, but in His wisdom to say when, where, and how sin in humanity shall be permitted to break out; in what forms, along what lines, in what persons, to what heights, it shall be allowed to develop; and how its results, when these arise, shall be disposed of. The *Westminster Confession*, again, states the doctrine in admirably guarded terms thus:

God's 'almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness . . . manifest themselves in His providence' in relation to sin, 'not by a bare permission, but such as hath joined with it a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and governing of them, in a manifold dispensation, to His own holy ends; yet so as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the creature, and not from God, who, being most holy and righteous, neither is nor can be the author or approver of sin' (ch. v. 4).

(4) Man is viewed by Calvinism as made, a pure being, in his Creator's image, but now as *fallen*

and corrupted through his voluntary defection from the good. This corruption of nature proceeds from the first parents of the race to all their posterity, man's natural gifts, as Calvin phrases it after Augustine, being corrupted by sin, and his supernatural gifts withdrawn (*Inst.* bk. ii. ch. ii. 12). In regard to the question how the fault of one should render all guilty (ch. i. 5), Calvin seems to favour what later was called in theology the theory of 'mediate' imputation, viz. that the members of Adam's race are condemned, not directly for Adam's sin, but on the ground of their own pollution, so that he can say (cf. ch. i. 5, 6, 7, and especially 8):

'Being thus perverted and corrupted in all the parts of our nature, we are, merely on account of such corruption, deservedly condemned by God, to whom nothing is acceptable but righteousness, innocence, and purity. This is not liability for another's fault. . . . Hence Augustine, though he often terms it another's sin (that he may more clearly show how it comes to us by descent), at the same time asserts that it is the individual's own sin, and the Apostle most distinctly testifies that "death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Ro 5:12); that is, are involved in original sin and polluted by its stain.'

The question is still not answered—On what ground is the posterity of Adam condemned to this pollution? Calvin would probably say—through the natural constitution of the race, in which, germinally, all were originally in the one. In its doctrine of hereditary corruption, universal depravation, and complete loss of spiritual freedom on the part of man, Calvinism takes over almost unchanged the doctrine of Augustine. Yet this doctrine of human depravity also, as Calvinism apprehends it, needs to be guarded against serious misconceptions. It is by no means the case that the doctrine of 'total depravity' (i.e. depravity of man in all the parts or faculties of his nature) is held by Calvin to imply that every human being is as bad as he can be, or that there are not wide distinctions of character among men, or that there are not natural virtues, capabilities even of splendid achievement, among the heathen or others who are yet unregenerate. Some of the most interesting sections in Calvin are those in which he illustrates these very truths (cf. *Inst.* bk. ii. ch. ii. 12-17, 22, 23, ch. iii. 3, 4; bk. iii. ch. xiv. 2, etc.). These virtues and endowments he explains partly through what remains of the natural image of God in man, partly through restraining grace preventing the full development of corruption, but especially through a work of God's Spirit bestowing gifts on men in all spheres of existence.

We give only two specimens of his language on a subject which is treated with great fulness. 'Therefore,' he says, 'in reading profane authors, the admirable light of truth displayed in them should remind us that the human mind, however much fallen and perverted from its original integrity, is still adorned and invested with admirable gifts from its Creator. If we reflect that the Spirit of God is the only fountain of truth, we shall be careful, as we would avoid offering insult to Him, not to reject or condemn truth wherever it appears. In despising the gifts, we insult the Giver' (bk. ii. ch. ii. 16). 'First, then, I deny not, that whatever excellent endowments appear in unbelievers [in French ed. 'in the life of infidels and idolaters'] are Divine gifts. Nor do I set myself so much in opposition to common sense as to contend that there was no difference between the justice, moderation, and equity of Titus and Trajan, and the rage, intemperance, and cruelty of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian; between the continence of Vespasian and the obscene lusts of Tiberius; and (not to dwell on single virtues and vices) between the observance of law and justice and the contempt of them' (bk. iii. ch. xiv. 2; he goes on to argue that these 'virtues of whatever kind, are Divine gifts'; cf. Kuyper, *Calvinism*, p. 159 ff.).

Still, these virtues, or 'images of virtue,' though God is pleased to visit 'with many temporal blessings those who cultivate virtue' (*ib.*), lack the root of true godliness, and in no way possess the character of spiritual righteousness, such as alone is truly well-pleasing to God. Neither in knowledge nor in righteousness can man of himself attain to salvation.

(5) The Calvinistic doctrine of Christ as Mediator follows, in respect of the Person of the Redeemer,

the lines of the older theology, and need not be dwelt on. Enough here to say that Calvinism, on this head, separates itself from Lutheran speculations on the 'ubiquity' of Christ's humanity, as a result of the *communicatio idiomatum*, and, generally, from the later Lutheran theories of 'Kenosis.' Its Christology is more sober and practical, if perhaps tending, on the other side, to hold the Divine and the human in Christ too severely apart. On the doctrine of Atonement, again, original Calvinism had little that was distinctive, though this became a fruitful subject of discussion at a later time. Calvin, despite his strong emphasis on the doctrine of election, keeps himself clear of theories of a limited Atonement, and, with slight exceptions (cf. *Com.* on 1 Jn 2⁹), suggests no limitation of the universal expressions in regard to the scope of Christ's propitiatory death (cf. *Com.* on Jn 3¹⁶).

Cunningham admits that this is true, with the exception of one ambiguous passage, which he cites (*Refs. and Theol. of the Ref.* p. 38): 'It is true that we do not find in Calvin's writings explicit statements as to any limitation in the object of the Atonement, or in the number of those for whom Christ died'; but he argues that the topic was not then a distinct subject of controversy, and that Calvin had no occasion to take it up, though his other doctrines logically implied it. It cannot be overlooked, however, that the limitation of the Atonement was a leading point with Augustine, whom Calvin is continually quoting; his silence, therefore, if he really held this doctrine, is doubly strange. It is certain, however, as Cunningham says (p. 395), that Beza, Calvin's coadjutor and successor, held the doctrine of a limited Atonement, or, as it is called, of 'particular redemption'; and this doctrine, as a supposed corollary from the doctrine of election, came early to prevail in the stricter schools of Calvinistic orthodoxy. Still, even by the Synod of Dort such wide admissions were made of the intrinsic, infinite sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice, as the ground of the universal offer of the Gospel to men, that, as Schaff says, the difference between the two views became very much a question of words (*Creed*, i. 521: 'After such admissions the difference of the two theories is of little practical account'). This Synod may be quoted as exhibiting the general Calvinistic view:

'The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin; is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world. . . . Moreover, the promise of the Gospel is that whosoever believeth in Christ crucified shall not perish, but have everlasting life. This promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God out of His mere good pleasure sends the Gospel. And, whereas many who are called by the Gospel do not repent or believe in Christ, but perish in unbelief; this is not owing to any defect or insufficiency in the sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross, but is wholly to be imputed to themselves' (art. III. v. VI. on 'The Death of Christ'; cf. Schaff, III. 536; Mitchell, *Westm. Assembly*, p. 396; Cunningham, *Hist. Theol.* ii. 331; C. Hodge, *Syst. Theol.*, 1872, ii. 544 ff.).

(6) The crux of Calvinistic doctrine is reached when we come to the *application of redemption*. We may here pass by the treatment of such topics as faith, repentance, justification, etc., in which there is little, essentially, to differentiate the Calvinistic position from the Lutheran, and fix attention at once on that which gives Calvinism its distinctive character, viz. its view of the work of the Spirit of God in conversion (generally treated under 'vocation,' or 'effectual calling'), and, as connected with this, and in a manner arising out of it, its doctrine of unconditional predestination. Calvin's predestination doctrine has, as already noted, close resemblance to Augustine's; yet there are important differences which should be noticed. Augustine, it must not be forgotten, was a Catholic Churchman of a very pronounced type—the bishop (cf. A. Kuyper, *Calvinism*, p. 55); Calvin was as strongly a Protestant, repudiating the claim of the Church to come between the soul and God, and emphasizing the general priesthood of believers (*ib.* p. 56). From this followed certain consequences for doctrine. First, regeneration is for Augustine an act effected through baptism; for Calvin, it is effected through the agency of the word and spirit of God. Next, Augustine's doctrine of predestination was necessarily crossed by his doctrine of

baptismal regeneration. If all baptized persons are regenerate, it plainly follows that regeneration alone cannot be made a test of election. The regenerate person may fall from baptismal grace, and finally be lost. For Augustine, therefore, the test of predestination to life, or of election, was found, not in regeneration, but in *perseverance*. The elect have given to them the grace to persevere. Calvin entirely separates himself from this view. Regeneration is a spiritual work wrought in the souls of the elect, and of them alone. The elect persevere, but the seed of their perseverance is already implanted in them in regeneration. The sacramentarian element is completely purged out from this doctrine.

There is one more distinction. Augustine, with justice, confines predestination to salvation; it is, in every case, predestination to *life*. The word is thus synonymous with election. Calvin, on the other hand, speaks boldly of a *twofold* predestination—a predestination to salvation and a predestination to destruction (cf. bk. iii. ch. xxi. 5, etc.: 'The predestination by which God adopts some to the hope of life, and adjudges others to eternal death, no man who would be thought pious ventures simply to deny'). The majority of later Calvinists have preferred to follow Augustine's more cautious and Scriptural usage. Even in Calvin, however, as in the Calvinist Creeds, it will be seen below that there is an essential difference—another point on which there is great misconception—between the Divine decree as it relates to the salvation, and as it relates to the destruction, of men. The term 'unconditional' may be applied to it in both aspects, inasmuch as, in Calvin's system, the will of God must contain in itself the last reasons of all that is, and even the passing by of the unsaved, however mysterious, must be traced back to an origin in the eternal Divine will. But in another sense there is a conditionality in the rejection of men which does not apply to their salvation. Men are saved, in Calvin's view, by an act of absolutely free, unmerited grace on God's part, without regard to good works (these are the fruit of grace, not the cause of it); men, on the other hand, are never condemned, save on the ground of their own sin. Calvin strongly urges this (cf. *Inst.* bk. iii. ch. xxiii. 3, 8, 9, etc.): 'Wherefore, let us in the corruption of human nature contemplate the evident cause of condemnation (a cause which comes more closely home to us), rather than inquire into a cause hidden and almost incomprehensible in the predestination of God' [*ib.* xxiii. 8]). For the present it may be sufficient to quote the emphatic words of the Synod of Dort:

The Synod denounces it as a calumny against the Reformed Churches to assert that they hold 'that God, by a mere arbitrary act of His will, without the least respect or view to any sin, has predestinated the greatest part of the world to eternal damnation, and has created them for this very purpose; that in the same manner in which the election is the fountain and cause of faith and good works, reprobation is the cause of unbelief and impiety' (cf. *Schaff, Creeds*, iii. 696; *Mitchell, Westminster Assembly*, p. 386; *Cunningham, Hist. Theol.* ii. 430). The *Westminster Confession* also, in speaking of the foreordination of a part of mankind to dishonour and wrath, is careful to insert the words 'for their sin' (ch. iii. 7).

While in order of thought, in Calvinism, the Divine predestination logically precedes the call to salvation, and so properly belongs to the doctrine of God, under the head of the Divine purpose or decree ('if you want to understand this you have to go back from predestination to God's decree in general. . . . Belief in predestination is nothing but the penetration of God's decree into your own personal life; or, if you prefer it, the personal heroism to apply the sovereignty of God's decreeing will to your own existence' [Kuyper, *Calvinism*, p. 148]), the doctrine, practically, has its real root in the conviction of the sovereignty of the

grace of God in personal salvation (cf. *Hastie, op. cit.* pp. 165 f., 235 ff.). Augustine and Calvin are here at one. The work of renewal being viewed by both as, in the nature of the case, *wholly* of God,—a work of grace from first to last,—the doctrine of predestination is simply the assertion that what God does in time in the salvation of the believer, He willed to do in eternity.

'It is the salvation of the believer viewed, if we may so say, *sub specie eternitatis*. . . . Thus regarded,—whatever speculative difficulties may attend it,—it is simply the expression of an experience which lies at the root of all genuine Christian consciousness, viz., that in this matter of personal salvation, the last word is always grace, not nature; that it is not *our* willing and running which has brought us into the kingdom of God, but *His* mercy; that it is He who first enkindled in us the desire after Himself, who drew us to Himself, who bore with us in our waywardness and resistance to His Spirit, who step by step overcame that resistance, and brought us finally into the number of His children; and that all this was no *afterthought* of God, but an eternal counsel of His love which has now effectuated itself in our salvation. This is the *religious* interest in the doctrine of predestination which gives it its abiding value. As a religious experience, no one would think of questioning that the fundamental attitude of the Christian spirit is one which ascribes *all* to grace in its salvation; that any thought of a divided claim—of a partitioning out of so much to God, and so much to self—is abhorrent to sound Christian feeling' (Orr, *Progress of Dogma*, p. 152 f.).

It is in accordance with the above view that, as already said, Calvin treats of predestination not in bk. i. of his *Institutes*, but in bk. iii., after an exposition of the work of the Holy Spirit in the soul, and its effects. It is also in this connexion with the doctrine of efficacious grace (the 'Effectual Calling' of the theologians) that predestination ought, in justice, to be considered. The doctrine of the effectual operation of the Spirit in regeneration, accordingly, may be called the pivot of Calvinism in a soteriological relation. Man's will, being wholly disabled for spiritual good by sin, can be restored to freedom and goodness only by an omnipotent act of God's grace. Such a conception has obviously 'election,' or 'predestination' to life, as its necessary correlate. It is important, however, for the avoidance of objections, to understand again precisely what this doctrine means. When, e.g., Divine grace in the work of human renewal is spoken of as 'irresistible' (i.e. as certainly effectuating its result), one is apt to feel as if human freedom were overborne or annihilated. But that is by no means the intention, nor is it really the effect of the doctrine. Grace is certainly not 'irresistible' in the sense that the natural will cannot resist grace; for that is what, in the Calvinistic view, it is constantly doing (cf. *Cunningham, Hist. Theol.* ii. 408 ff.). When Calvin, with Augustine, speaks of efficacious grace, what he has in view is not a grace which overpowers the will, or puts any foreign force or pressure upon it, but a grace which *renews* the will, and restores it to its true freedom—which so acts upon it that it *freely* chooses the good. With this we may compare Augustine, *Rebuke and Grace*, 17, 38:

'The freedom of the will is defended in accordance with the grace of God, not in opposition to it; because the human will does not attain grace by freedom, but rather attains freedom by grace. . . . Because by the Holy Spirit their will is so much enkindled that they therefore *can*, because they *so will*, they therefore *so will*, because God works in them to *will*. The writer of art. 'Pelagius' in Smith's *DCB* (iv. 296*) is therefore wrong when he says: 'The Augustinian theory made the action of grace entirely independent of the will; it was an irresistible power which forced the will.'

As little does 'efficacious grace' mean that God can or does override the laws of human nature which He has Himself ordained, or converts by a sheer act of power, without the use of appropriate means. What is meant is that God can use *such* means, can so deal with the individual in Providence and grace, can bring him under *such* outer and inner discipline, as, in harmony with, nay, through the laws of human freedom, to overcome his resistance. If it be asserted that, even when grace has done its utmost for a soul, there is still a possibility of re-

sisting it, Calvin, with Augustine, would reply that there is a higher freedom still—that in which even the desire to resist the good is overcome, and which therefore *certainly*, but none the less freely, chooses God (cf. Orr, *op. cit.* p. 151).

(7) The doctrine of *predestination* in Calvinism is hard and difficult enough, but it has a deeper philosophical and religious basis than many apprehend (Hastie's *Theol. of Ref. Church* is specially valuable here; cf. also Kuyper's *Calvinism*), and many of the objections to it certainly rest on misconception. This is true, for instance, of the common objection that it represents predestination as a perfectly arbitrary act of God—the decree of a will acting on no ground but its own good pleasure. God's own 'good pleasure' is the ground assuredly, but not in the sense of arbitrariness. God's sovereignty is upheld as a truth, the evidences of which are abundantly manifest in nature, as in grace; but, while it is contended that the ultimate reasons of God's determinations in the government of the world and in salvation are to us inscrutable, it is none the less maintained that they are assuredly the outcome of an eternal wisdom, righteousness, and love. Calvin upholds this as strongly as any one.

'We give,' he says, 'no countenance to the fiction of absolute power, which, as it is heathenish, so it ought justly to be held in detestation by us. We do not imagine God to be lawless (*exiez.*) . . . The will of God is not only free from all vice, but is the supreme standard of perfection, the law of all laws'; only, 'the procedure of Divine justice is too high to be scanned by human measure, or comprehended by the feebleness of human intellect' (bk. iii. ch. xxiii. 2, 4; cf. Cunningham, *Hist. Theol.* II. 450).

Further, while the reasons of God's election to salvation are declared to be inscrutable, it is held fast that the ground of His condemnation of others is their corruption and sin (ch. xxiii. 3). Thus the Divine justice is thought to be vindicated in the passing by of the unsaved.

Just here, however, the supreme difficulty arises for the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and reprobation. *Justice*, in some sense, may be vindicated on the lines of Augustine and Calvin, but not *love*; for, if God *could* save, why did He not? Why leave any to perish? Probably these questions can never be satisfactorily answered, even with the admission of inscrutability, without a double transformation of the doctrine, while still conserving its essential Calvinistic basis. (a) Election must be removed from the purely individual basis and treated more organically. This does not mean that election is not still individual, *i.e.* personal, but means that it is now viewed in connexion with a developing purpose or plan of blessing, to which the election of the individual is related as means. Abraham, *e.g.*, was chosen, but it was for the blessing of the whole world (cf. Orr, *op. cit.* pp. 167 ff., 292; Hastie, *op. cit.* p. 262 ff.). (b) Sovereignty must be interpreted in terms of God's character as love, rather than love in terms of sovereignty. Love, indeed, can work out its designs only by gradual stages, and in harmony with righteousness, and with the laws of human nature and freedom. Still, love, in the light of the Christian revelation, must be viewed as lying behind the whole plan, and as marking out the end of it. In the carrying out of its aims, nations and individuals have their gifts bestowed on them (as Lange says, election presides at the making of its object, as well as at the using of it), are prepared for service, and in due season are called to their task. Yet this election of God is never disjoined from its place in the context of God's whole purpose, which, in its largest scope, embraces the widest possible blessing for humanity (cf. Orr, *op. cit.* p. 292 ff.).

(8) The *Church polity* which springs from the scheme of Calvin, as now expounded, is necessarily

one which lays stress on the equality of all believers before God, even while recognizing special gifts bestowed on individuals for service in His Church. The Church invisible is the body of the elect as these stand before the eye of God; the Church visible is the company of professing believers, locally distributed, and organized on the principles of God's word. Calvin went further here than Luther, or even Zwingli. 'With him Scripture alone had authority. Neither traditions nor observances, however authorized by custom, were spared; unless they could stand the proof, they fell beneath the sword of God's word' (Henry, *Calvin*, I. 368).

The ministerial office has two branches—pastors and teachers. The former includes the whole office as exercised in particular Churches in the ministry of the Word, the sacraments, and discipline; the latter is confined to the work of instruction (*Inst.* bk. iv. ch. iii. 4). In the constitution and government of Churches three permanent offices are recognized: those who exercise the ministry of the Word, called indiscriminately bishops, presbyters, and pastors ('on the authority of Scripture, which uses the words as synonymous' [*ib.* ch. iii. 8]); elders, or lay presbyters, who share with the pastors in the government ('By these governors I understand seniors selected from the people to unite with the bishops in pronouncing censures and exercising discipline' [*ib.* ch. iii. 8]); and deacons, entrusted with the care of the poor. The system thus, as Schaff says, 'rests on the principle of ministerial equality, and the principle of lay-representation by elders or seniors in the government of the Church' (*Creeds*, I. 462). The mode of appointment might vary, but, whoever had the power of nomination, ministers were regarded as legitimately called only 'when those who may have seemed fit are elected on the consent and approbation of the people' (*Inst.* bk. iv. ch. iii. 15). Calvin's principles were only imperfectly carried out in the 'ordinances' of his own city Geneva, and Calvinistic doctrine, as before said, has been associated with very diverse systems of Church government. The genius of Calvinism, however, is Presbyterian, and the scheme is perhaps seen in its greatest purity in the (old) French and Scottish Churches, and in America.

3. Development of Calvinism.—In its historical development doctrinal Calvinism has passed through many phases, some of which are alluded to below in the notices of Calvinism in the different countries. Three leading points may here be glanced at. Calvinism after Calvin's death became more scholastic, and tended in certain quarters to extreme forms, which, as inevitably, provoked reactions.

(1) A dispute which developed among Calvin's immediate followers is that known as the *Supralapsarian* and *Sublapsarian* (on its special history, see art. under these heads). The controversy relates to what is termed 'the order of the Divine decrees' (order in thought, not in time), *viz.*, whether, in electing some to eternal life and reprobating others, the decree of God is to be regarded as *preceding* or as *following* the consideration of man as fallen. The very statement of the question shows in how abstract and transcendental a region the discussion moves, and how great is the peril of falling into error through overbold speculation. On the former supposition—the *Supralapsarian*—the decree of election or reprobation comes first, then the fall of man (or of angels) is decreed as a means of accomplishing that end. Calvin never went so far as this, strong as his language sometimes is, but always viewed election as from a 'mass' already in condemnation, while, of course, recognizing that the fall of man

also was embraced in the providence of God. Beza separated himself from Calvin on this point, but the great majority of Calvinists have always preferred the milder—or Sublapsarian—view. The latter is the view taken by the Canons of the Synod of Dort in the Arminian dispute.

(2) A second important controversy, or group of controversies, emerging in Calvinist circles, but likewise distinguishing the more rigorous Calvinism from Arminianism, relates to the question of the *universality* or the *limited character* of Christ's Atonement. This also is, in form, a question of the order of the decrees. Did God first elect a certain portion of mankind to salvation, and then give His Son to die for them to redeem them? Or did He first decree to provide an Atonement of infinite efficacy for mankind, viewed as fallen, without restriction, and then elect those who should be actually brought to faith and participation in Christ's salvation? It might be shown that underlying both forms of the question there is a mistaken conception of the nature and aims of election. But, apart from this, it has been seen that the question becomes very much one of words when, irrespectively of the order of decrees, it is admitted that Christ's sacrifice has an infinite sufficiency, and is the ground of a universal proclamation of mercy to mankind. Arminianism contended for the universality of the Atonement, but with denial also of particular election (see ARMINIANISM). Calvin himself, as we saw, did not suggest limitation in the Atonement. The controversy assumed a somewhat acute form in the 17th cent. through the advocacy, in the writings of Moses Amyraut of Saumur (works from 1634 to 1662; see AMYRALDISM), of the view of 'hypothetical universalism,' i.e. the doctrine of unlimited atonement, with particular application, in God's sovereign purpose, to the elect. This mediating view, though warmly combated in Geneva and other centres of Calvinistic orthodoxy, was officially condoned in the French Church, and has since had many able supporters. Richard Baxter in England upheld it; the younger Edwards in New England adopted it; Ralph Wardlaw in Scotland, and Albert Barnes, the commentator, in America, with many more, contended for it. The whole trend of the discussion on the Atonement in recent times has passed into such different phases, that little, comparatively, is now heard of this question, so long a touchstone of purity in Calvinistic faith, and little disposition is shown on any side to deny the love of God to the whole world in the gift of His Son for its salvation (cf. the Declaratory Acts of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, England, and America; on the controversy in its older phases, see Cunningham, *Hist. Theol.* ii. 323 ff.; Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 480 ff., 772).

(3) A third influential development in Calvinistic theology is in the doctrine of the *Covenants*, usually associated with the name of Cocceius, in Holland. The leading ideas of the Federal Theology, however, are of much earlier date. Apart from Scottish (Rollock) and Anglo-Dutch (Amesius) writers, as early as 1570, Olevianus, one of the compilers of the Heidelberg Catechism, had published a work treating of the eternal covenant between God and believers. The *Westminster Confession*, which is based on the contrast of a 'covenant of works' and 'covenant of grace,' appeared in 1647, a year before the publication of the work of Cocceius on the subject. Cocceius, however, undoubtedly gave the idea a systematic development which raised it to a place of importance in theology which it had not formerly occupied. A still better known work on the Covenants is that of Witsius (cf. Mitchell, *Westm. Assembly*, p. 371 ff.; Schaff, *Creeds*, i.

773 f.; on the value of the doctrine, see Hastie, *op. cit.* p. 191 ff.). See COVENANT THEOLOGY.

4. Calvinism in different countries.—Much space would be required to trace the history of Calvinism in the different countries which received it, and the kind of influence it has exercised on each; but a few notes may be given. In general it may be claimed for Calvinism that its influence has been an elevating and invigorating one. Abasing man before God, but exalting him again in the consciousness of a newborn liberty in Christ, teaching him his slavery through sin, yet restoring his freedom to him through grace, and leading him to regard all things in the light of eternity, it contributed to form a grave but very noble and elevated type of character, and reared a race not afraid to lift up the head before kings.

Proude may well ask 'how it came to pass that, if Calvinism is indeed the hard and unreasonable creed which modern enlightenment declares it to be, it has possessed such singular attractions in past times for some of the greatest men that ever lived. And how—being, as we are told, fatal to morality because it denies free will—the first symptom of its operation, wherever it established itself, was to obliterate the distinction between sins and crimes, and to make the moral law the rule of life for States as well as persons . . . why, if it be a creed of intellectual servitude, it was able to inspire and sustain the bravest efforts ever made by man to break the yoke of unjust authority ('Calvinism,' in *Short Studies*, 2nd ser.). Many similar testimonies might be quoted (cf. Kuyper, *Calvinism*, pp. 8-10), but we cite only two, less frequently noted. Writing of the Dutch struggle for independence, Morley says: 'It would be ridiculous to deny that the aggressive, uncompromising, self-sacrificing, intensely believing, perfectly fearless spirit of Calvinism had been the animating soul, the motive power of the great revolt. For the Provinces to have encountered Spain and Rome without Calvinism, and relying on municipal enthusiasm only, would have been to throw away the sword and fight with the scabbard' (*John of Barneveld*, l. 331). Morley, again, taking Frederic Harrison to task in the *Nineteenth Century* (Feb. 1892) for omitting Calvin from his 'New Calendar of Great Men,' declares: 'To omit Calvin from the forces of Western evolution is to read history with one eye shut. To say that Hobbes and Cromwell stand for the positive results of the intellectual revolution in Protestant countries, and that Calvin does not, is to ignore what the Calvinistic churches were, and what they have done for moral and social causes in the old world and in the new. Hobbes and Cromwell were giants in their several ways, but . . . we cannot but see that, compared with Calvin, not in capacity of intellect, but in power of giving formal shape to a world, Hobbes and Cromwell are hardly more than names writ in water.' Morley then quotes from the *Essays* of Mark Pattison (ii. 81) a striking passage concluding, 'Calvinism saved Europe.'

Calvinism has found acceptance chiefly among the Latin and Anglo-Saxon races, while Germany has remained predominately Lutheran. Yet the Reformed Church gained an important foothold in Germany also, which it has never since lost. Its presence in all the countries into which it travelled has been marked by the rise of Creeds, or, more properly, Confessions.

(1) In Switzerland the Reformation had received its democratic and severely Scriptural character from Zwingli and other Reformers before the advent of Calvinism. The principal pre-Calvinistic Confessions are the *First Confession of Basel* (1534; still in use in Basel) and the *First Helvetic Confession* (1536; 'the first Reformed Creed of national authority'). After Calvin's death, in 1566 came the *Second Helvetic Confession*, composed by Bullinger—'the most widely adopted, and hence the most authoritative, of all the Continental Reformed symbols, with the exception of the Heidelberg Catechism' (Schaff, *Swiss Ref.* i. 222). It is in strictness a Zwinglian Symbol, but transfused with Calvin's influence. Its tenth chapter treats of predestination, but strikingly declares that we must believe in the love of God to the world, as attested in Jn 3¹⁶. More local in interest are three documents drawn up by Calvin himself—the *Catechism of Geneva* (1541), the *Consensus of Zürich* (1549), and the *Consensus of Geneva* (1552; polemical). In the Genevan Catechism predestination is not mentioned; the Genevan Consensus, on the other hand, is devoted to that doctrine.

(2) It has already been mentioned that the Reformation in France was indigenous. Calvin, however, did much to forward the movement (congregation formed at Poitiers, 1534; 'Calvin's grotto'), and it was under his influence and that of Beza that the French Church was, later, organized. Despite severe persecution, the adherents of the Reformation numbered some 400,000 in 1558. The first National Synod was held at Paris in 1559, when the Church was formally organized by the adoption of the *Gallican Confession of Faith* (drafted by Calvin), and of an order of discipline on the Calvinistic model (cf. Quick, *Synodicon*, 1692, vol. i.). The Church continued to hold national Synods (29 in number) till 1660, when their meetings were prohibited by Louis XIV., and in 1685 came the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Not till 1872 was the 30th Synod held, when a new and simpler declaration of faith was adopted (cf. Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 498 ff.). Calvinism spread into the Waldensian Church, and the Waldensian Confession of 1655 is based on the Gallican Confession of 1559 (on literature on the Reformation in France, cf. Schaff, *Swiss Reformation*, ii., Appendix).

(3) Germany, as we have said, was naturally Lutheran; but the views of the Swiss Reformers gained favour in certain of the free Imperial cities, four of which (Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau) presented at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 a separate Confession, known as the *Tetrapolitan*. At a later period a mild Calvinism gained the ascendancy in the Palatinate and in Brandenburg. The chief Reformed Symbol is the justly celebrated *Heidelberg Catechism*, drawn up at the instance of the pious and tolerant Frederick III., Elector of the Palatinate, on the basis of drafts by two young divines of the Reformed persuasion, Ursinus and Olevianus. It obtained in 1562 the approval of a Synod at Heidelberg: hence its name. No other catechism has ever had such popularity. It does not obtrude the Calvinistic peculiarities: the doctrine of election, e.g., is incidentally implied in a few of the questions rather than expressly stated (cf. Schaff, *Creeds*, i. 529 ff.). Brandenburg also had its Confessions, which subsisted till the Union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Germany in 1817.

(4) The Netherlands first received the Reformation in the Lutheran form, enduring severe persecution, but later, as exiles from other countries flocked into the cities, a change took place, and the Calvinistic or Reformed type became predominant. A Church gradually shaped itself, with the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* as its acknowledged Symbols. The Catechism has just been spoken of. The Belgic Confession, composed by Guido de Bès in 1561, was based on the Gallican Confession of 1559. It was revised in 1562, and soon after was publicly adopted by Synods of the Reformed Church (1566, 1568, 1574, 1577, etc.), and finally by the great Synod of Dort in 1619. Its Calvinism, like that of the Heidelberg Catechism, is mild in character. The new faith was the inspiring power in the heroic struggle which ended in the proclamation of the Independence of the Seven Provinces in 1581. While, however, Calvinism was the avowed faith of the Church, there were always those who maintained a protest against its doctrines, especially its doctrine of predestination. Calvinists themselves were partly to blame for the reaction, owing to the extreme lengths to which some carried their views (see SUPRALAPSARIANISM). Ultimately the smouldering opposition found utterance in the teachings of Arminius and the Remonstrants (see ARMINIANISM). The controversy that ensued led, after much acrimonious disputation, to the Synod of Dort (1618-19), the decisions of which have al-

ready been adverted to. Holland subsequently became the chief home of the Covenant theology. The 'Modern' School in Holland has departed far enough from Calvinism, but the Free Churches have revived it as the basis of their Constitution (cf. Kuyper, *Calvinism*).

(5) Doctrinally, the English Reformation was deeply influenced by Calvinism. Henry VIII., indeed, prohibited Calvin's books (1542), but even then and in succeeding reigns the English Reformers were strongly Calvinistic in sympathy. 'It is not too much to say,' observes Schaff, 'that the ruling theology of the Church of England in the latter half of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th cent. was Calvinistic' (*Creeds*, i. 604; cf. Cunningham, *Refs. and Theol. of Ref.* p. 168 ff.). This is sufficiently evidenced by the Elizabethan Articles, the Lambeth Articles, and the Irish Articles (see below). The Dean of Chichester, librarian to King Edward VI., wrote to Bullinger in 1552, while the Anglican Articles were under consideration: 'The greater number among us, of whom I own myself to be one, embrace the opinion of John Calvin as being perspicuous and most agreeable to Holy Scripture' (Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 181). The Thirty-nine Articles are themselves moderately Calvinistic. The soul of English Puritanism was its Calvinism. Neal (in Schaff, i. 703) defines a Puritan as 'a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a Nonconformist to the ceremonies and discipline of the Church, though not totally separated from it.' Later, the Church of England came to be predominantly Arminian and, until the Tractarian Movement, latitudinarian.

(6) It will be questioned by none that the Scottish Reformation was Calvinistic from its beginning. The *Scottish Confession* of 1560 'exhibits a clear, fresh, and forcible summary of the orthodox Reformed faith, as then held in common by the Protestants of England, Switzerland, France, and Holland' (Schaff, i. 683). Though 'decidedly Calvinistic,' it is free from the extreme statements of some forms of later Calvinism. This native Symbol was superseded in 1643-49 by the *Confession of Faith drawn up by the Westminster Assembly*, 1643-46. A. F. Mitchell has conclusively proved (*Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, p. xlvii ff.; *The Westminster Assembly*, p. 380) that its famous ch. iii. 'Of God's Eternal Decree' closely, and in part verbally, follows Art. III. of the Irish Articles of Archbp. Ussher (1615). Its place in the forefront of the Confession, and its exceptionally strong and imperfectly qualified statements, give an aspect of severity to the Confession as a whole, and create stumbling-blocks at the outset—which is to be regretted. The chapter itself is an attempt at compromise between 'Supralapsarian' and 'Sublapsarian' modes of statement—only with the result, however, of introducing inconsistency into the total presentation. In recent years means have been taken, in both British and American Churches, to soften its offensive harshness by 'Declaratory' Acts and Statements. With the Westminster Confession are usually associated the Westminster *Larger* and *Shorter Catechisms*—the latter the best known popular Calvinistic manual.

(7) Congregationalism in New England was originally Calvinistic, but, with Jonathan Edwards, underwent modification, giving rise to the type of doctrine known distinctively as 'New England Theology.' This modified orthodox Calvinism in many essential particulars. Its ramifications may be traced in Fisher's *Hist. of Christian Doctrine*, 1896, p. 394 ff.

From the side both of philosophy and of science, with their accompaniment in enlarged Biblical knowledge, new influences have entered into theo-

logy in most countries during the last century, which have had the effect of largely transforming all doctrinal schemes. Christianity is increasingly apprehended more from its human, ethical, and spiritual sides, and the tendency is to withdraw interest from the transcendental and speculative aspects of doctrine. This naturally affects Calvinism in an especial degree. The perennial elements of truth in Calvinism will no doubt survive, but it may be questioned whether it will ever occupy so dominant and exclusive a place in the future as it has done in many periods of the past.

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JAMES ORR.

CAMBODIA.—The present kingdom of Cambodia, the remnant of the ancient Khmer empire, is bounded on the W. by the Gulf of Siam and the kingdom of Siam, on the N. by Laos, on the S. by French Cochinchina, and on the E. by the Annamese empire.¹ Its area is more than a third of that of France, and it has a population of 1,500,000 inhabitants, three-fourths of whom are of the Khmer race, the other fourth representing Chinese, Annamese, Cham, and Malay elements, not to mention several aboriginal races: Phnông, Samrê, Kuy, Pohr, Jarai, Radê, etc. The Cambodians reckon also that there are about 500,000 of their race scattered throughout Cochinchina and Siam.

2. **Origin.**—The origin of the Cambodians, or Khmers, as they call themselves, is obscure; it seems probable that they belong to the family of Môn-Khmer races, to which their language undoubtedly belongs. They also bear the strong impress of Hindu civilization.

3. **History.**—What is known with far greater certainty about the glorious past of the Khmers is that, as far back as in the 10th cent., they possessed a huge empire, extending from the Gulf of Bengal to the China Sea, divided into sixty governments, conquered after fierce conflicts with the Chams, Laotians, and Siamese, and mentioned with respect by the Chinese annalists. Their splendid capital, Angkor-Thom, 'Angkor the Great,' in the province of Siem Reap (recently reunited to Cambodia), was undoubtedly built in the end of the 9th cent., and completed during the first half of the 12th cent. by the erection of the wonderful temple of Angkor Wat.² The ruins of its monuments give evidence to this day of culture and artistic gifts so incompatible with the intellectual apathy of the Khmers, that some scholars are inclined to think that the grandeur of their empire was due to a Hindu colony which governed the country from the 8th to the 14th century.

In the 13th cent. the Khmer empire began to decline, under the attacks, first of the Siamese, and then of the Annamese. Continual civil wars, caused by anarchy in the royal family, hastened its decadence. At the end of the 18th cent., reduced to a few provinces, it was the vassal of both Siam and Annam. The French intervention, in 1862, secured peace for it; and since then, by retrocession from Annam or Siam, several lost provinces have been given back to it.

3. **Physical appearance and modes of life of the people.**—Of average height, and well-built, strong, and vigorous, appearing to the observer either slender, with straight nose, or thick-set, with flattened nose and Mongolian aspect (two types which survive in Cambodia like the persistence of two different races), the Khmer, in spite of his dark colour and his large, slightly almond-shaped eyes, is a fine specimen of humanity. The women are smaller, and as a rule have beautiful figures. Very proud of their nationality, ceremonious, careless, even thoughtless, but gentle, patient, very hospitable, yet never allowing a stranger to take up his abode inside their houses, very hard working and patient in rural districts, of disconcerting apathy everywhere else, sincere, honest, and disinterested, in the opinion of travellers who have loved them least, these Cambodians are, nevertheless, capable of great internal solidity, they are very gentle and affectionate in their family life, with great love for their princes and their traditions, pious even to superstition, but having the greatest tolerance for others.

The men wear a *sampôt*—a piece of cloth rolled between the legs and round the loins so as to form wide breeches—and, very often, a straight buttoned jacket. The women also wear the *sampôt* (and sometimes, in the provinces far removed from the capital, a petticoat, or *langküt*, forming a skirt), and a tunic tight at the waist and wrists and open at the breast. Very often the place of this tunic is taken by an accordion-pleated scarf, of a bright colour, which leaves the back and the arms uncovered.

Both men and women wear their hair cut like a brush, or very short and pushed back. They are quite ignorant of savage mutilations. In the country the women still continue to have large holes pierced in their ears, in which they wear wooden or metal studs; this custom shows a tendency to disappear completely.

The Cambodians prefer to live in the plain, on the banks of their great river, the Mekhong, and its chief tributaries, or by the side of the Tonlé Sap—the name given to the large fresh-water lake—and the arm which joins it to the Mekhong. Their huts, built on piles, are often large and well kept. The furniture is clean and very simple, however rich the owner may be, except perhaps at Phnom Pénh. The building of houses involves special rites. When the Cambodians go to the forest to cut down the wood for the supporting pillars of the roof, the tree chosen must fall flat to the earth, without coming into contact with any obstacle, either during its fall or on the ground. If it met with any obstacle it would be abandoned, as being likely to bring misfortune. The sorcerer determines the site, the orientation, and the day propitious for the building. The holes for the four main pillars are not dug until a sacrifice has been offered to the spirit of the earth, as if to beg his pardon for encroaching upon his domain. The pillars are set up while the sorcerer looks on, and are covered at their upper ends with cloth amulets, in order to drive away the evil spirits that might still be dwelling in the wood. The central pillar is fixed first, to the sound of musical instruments. Doors, windows, and steps must all be odd in number. Women must not enter a house in process of construction; they would bring misfortune to the future inhabitants. *Bonzes* come and bless the house when it is almost finished. On its completion, first of all a cat is put into it, then the owner appears, laden with pieces of furniture. Before he crosses the threshold, a friend, purposely stationed there to intercept him, asks him where he comes from. He replies that, when coming from Lahek (Ceylon) he was shipwrecked, and cast upon the shore, and, being homeless, has come, with all that he has managed to rescue, to take up his abode in this house, which is not inhabited. After this little comedy he need not fear the evil spirits.

The Cambodian house, which is nearly always surrounded by an orchard, has never more than one storey. In fact, a Khmer would never consent to live under anybody—a custom which is so deep-rooted that no one has the right to put even a handcuffed prisoner under the raised floor of a house. It may be for a similar reason that the Cambodians do not allow any person to pass his hand over, or lay it on, their heads. In the case of an adult, this familiarity is a serious insult; such a caress given to a child may bring misfortune.

The ladder which serves as the entrance to the house is, at its inauguration, bound with cotton thread. This ladder is supposed to be given into the charge of the male spirits, while the females inhabit the interior of the hut. In the evening, when the ladder is drawn up, so that the house may be isolated during the night, the last rung must be left sticking out, so that the guardian spirits may take their stand on it, and prevent ghosts or hostile spirits from entering. The rungs of this ladder are always odd in number; the ladder used for exhuming the dead being the only one that has an even number of rungs. Worn-out rungs must not be disdainfully thrown away or put in the fire. When a ladder breaks during a marriage ceremony the celebrations are continued; but the marriage is not consummated the same day, else the risk is incurred of seeing one of the newly-married pair die within the year.

The Cambodians, like almost all the races of the Far East, are extremely frugal, their chief food being rice. Fresh or salt fish, tuberoses and leguminous plants, and sometimes pork, are also eaten. This tasteless fare is highly seasoned by means of *prahók*, a condiment of fermented salt fish, the sickening smell of which is most disagreeable. The Cambodians drink water or tea, very seldom alcohol. They use tobacco and chew betel; the use of opium is a vice confined to a few of their rich mandarins. It should also be mentioned that the Khmers eat fruit without waiting until it is ripe.

The Khmers, being of sedentary and rather lazy habits, confine themselves chiefly to cultivating the products which their

¹ In the language of the natives, the name of Cambodia is *srók Kampudé (Kambuja)* or *srók Khmér* (*srók* = 'country,' 'kingdom').

² *Wat* in Khmer (Siamese *ed*) means 'Buddhist monastery.' In the transcription of Khmer words we have followed, as far as possible, that of Finot (see Literature). The consonants have almost the same sounds as in the usual Sanskrit transliteration. It is the same with the vowels, with the exception of *ä*, which = *eo*, and *ö*, which = *Gowla ä*.

country readily offers: they are mostly fishermen and farmers, hunters and woodcutters. They cultivate a good many varieties of rice,¹ catch enormous quantities of fish, to be consumed fresh, salted, or fermented, and extract yearly about 3,000,000 kilogr. of palm-sugar.² Their industry and commerce are not very brisk; but they weave silk and cotton materials which are very harmonious in colouring and design, they are very clever silversmiths, and they manufacture splendid canoes out of single tree-trunks.

4. Religious beliefs.—The Cambodians, although very religious, are absolutely tolerant. At the present day the official religion of the Khmers is Sinhalese Buddhism. Their sacred books are written in Pāli, the language that they call *Balēi Mokoth* (= *Pāli Magadha*, 'Pāli of Magadha'). They have preserved manifest survivals of ancient Brāhmanism, and ritual practices which are undoubtedly aboriginal.

i. BUDDHISM.—It seems now to be generally agreed that the Buddhism of the North was introduced into Cambodia between the 5th and 7th centuries. From the 7th to the 13th cent., tainted by Saivism, it struggled hard everywhere against Brāhmanism, which was the official cult of the Khmers. It seems to have triumphed at the beginning of the 14th cent., but probably did not implant indestructible roots in the hearts of the Khmers until towards the 15th cent., through the introduction of the Pāli canon and the doctrine of the South, which completely supplanted that of the North. We need not repeat here what is said elsewhere under art. CEYLON BUDDHISM.

(1) *Clergy*.—Although the Buddhism of Cambodia is that of Ceylon, it does not follow that its clergy recognize the supremacy of the Ceylon Church; they regard it as the seat of the perfect doctrine, and sometimes send monks to be taught in Kandy or Colombo, but admit no other connexion.

The chief official of Buddhism in Cambodia is the king, who is its temporal head as well as the most devout worshipper. He can neither alter its doctrine nor confiscate its property. The heads in spiritual matters are two monks: the *somdāc prāḥ** *saṅghrāt* (=Skr. *saṅgharāja*), 'the king of the assembly of monks,' who appoints superiors to the monasteries on the 'right,' and the *lōk prāḥ sōkōn*, 'Lord Bishop,' who nominates superiors for the monasteries on the 'left.' Each superintends a monastery, and they rule almost equal parts of the kingdom. The second is inferior to the first, but is not at all dependent upon him, and never consults him. Under them are the elected provincial superiors, the abbots or heads of monasteries. The members of this hierarchy possess purely disciplinary power, and are in no way subordinated to each other.

The teaching of the young is entirely in the hands of the monks, or *bonzes*, who are called *lōk saḥ*, 'lords of the assembly' (*saṅgha*). They teach children of from six to eight years of age. A boy at the age of twelve is received into intimate communion as a 'disciple' (Kh. *samne* = Pāli *samanera*), and may then wear the yellow robe. On reaching his twenty-first year, if he can give certain moral, physical, and social guarantees, he may be ordained by a chapter of at least twenty monks, and then receives the name of *phik* (Pāli *bhikkhu* = Skr. *bhikṣu*, 'mendicant'). Any monk may leave the Order, after obtaining permission from his superior, who can never prevent his final withdrawal, except for a short time.

The *bonzes* in Cambodia enjoy great privileges; they are exempted from public work, military service, and taxes—in a word, from all civil duties. They cannot raise actions at law, and they give witness only by conventional signs. In cases of

crime or very serious fault (fornication, use of fermented drinks, etc.), the monastery hands the offender over to the secular power. The life of the *bonzes* is occupied with prayer and the instruction of the young. They subsist by means of voluntary alms, and take only two meals a day, between sunrise and midday. Very gentle, tolerant, and, as a rule, pure in their lives, they are much respected, and no one would dare to prepare a meal without laying aside a share for them.

The name of *dōn ēi*, 'religious women,' 'nuns,' is given to certain girls or married women, who, after a form of taking of vows, wear white clothes, and live near the monasteries, in the most saintly way possible, rendering such services to the monks as can be performed outside the monasteries. Some widows, in order to show their deep sorrow, even submit themselves to this life for three years, which calls forth great regard for them.

(2) *Monasteries, temples, and pagodas*.—These are far from equal in magnificence to the Brāhmanical temples of the ancient Khmers. The only stone temples, and the most beautiful ones, are some rather small, ancient Brāhmanical temples which have not been used as such for centuries. The monastery (*wāt*) is nearly always in the middle of a park planted with *Ficus religiosa* and other large trees. Behind the pagoda there are small thatched cells, or *koth* (Skr. *kutī*), where the monks live; in front is the *sālā* (Pāli *sālā* = Skr. *sālā*, 'hall'), a public hall which is used both as a meeting-place for monks and people and as a shelter for travellers. The pagodas, properly so called (*prāḥ viḥār* = Skr. *viḥāra*, 'monastery'), or temples containing a statue (frequently a huge one) of Buddha, are built on small terraces or rectangular platforms, supported by thick walls, and especially by strong inside pillars of carved wood, and feebly lighted by a few narrow windows. They are especially distinguished by the elegance and lightness of their storeyed or sloping roofs, the corners of which end in a finial in the shape of the reared-up tail of a serpent or dragon. Some pagodas, and particularly that of Udong, are covered with earthenware painted with fine artistic effect. The entrance, with very few exceptions, is on the eastern side. The interior of the pagoda is adorned with mural paintings representing various legendary scenes, and contains a profusion of European petroleum lamps hung near the altar of the Buddha, whose statue is gilded. A wooden pulpit, supported by *garuḍas*, completes the furniture of the pagoda.

Besides the temples there are sometimes *čēṭṭiy* (Pāli *chēṭiya* = Skr. *chāṭiya*, 'monument,' 'shrine'), large bell-shaped structures of dried brick which contain the ashes of great and saintly people.

ii. BRĀHMANISM.—Brāhmanism, which prevailed in Cambodia for such a long time, could not disappear without leaving material and moral survivals, in the first rank of which we must mention the ruins, sometimes very magnificent, of the ancient temples (Angkor Wāt, Angkor Thom etc.), the remains of Brāhmanical statues, the *līngas* which are still found in Buddhist temples, and the caste of *bakus*, or *prām* (= Skr. *brāhmana*), also called *barohēt* (Skr. *purohita*, 'household priest').

(1) *Bakus*.—Although it is still difficult to give a satisfactory etymology of the word *baku*, it seems certain that the *bakus* are direct descendants of the ancient Brāhmins. The title *barohēt* (*purohita*) marks their functions as palace-chaplains. The caste of *bakus* includes from nine hundred to a thousand male persons. Obligated formerly to marry only among themselves, the *bakus* at the present day may marry a woman of any race whatever, but they do not readily marry outside their caste. Although they are Buddhists like

¹ The Annamese have names for eighty-nine varieties.

² Produced by the *tnūt* (*Borassus flabelliformis*, Murray).

* *Prāḥ* (Burn. *bhūrāḥ*, Cham *bara*, Jav. *bra*, Siam. *phraḥ*; cf. Skr. *vara*) is an honorific title placed before the names of divinities and kings.

the other Cambodians, they are distinguished from them by certain observances and real privileges, the relics of their former power. They still render a very marked cult to Viṣṇu and to Śiva, and have not the same scruples as the *bonzes* about killing any animal, or causing it to be killed. On the other hand, they are bound to perform all sorts of purifications; they cannot touch any cooking or table utensil without covering their hands with a cloth to avoid defilement, and they do not willingly eat of any dishes except those prepared at their homes, unless they have made sure that the person who has prepared them has been well purified previously. The *bakus* wear their hair long, and, rather than give up the custom, they prefer never to become officials. Forty years ago all *bakus* were exempted from taxes and public works; gradually the kings cut down these privileges for the good of their treasury. In case of misdemeanour or crime, *bakus* may be brought only before their peers. In the case of a capital crime, the *baku* is not executed, but is exiled to a distant province under supervision; if he is sentenced to the chain, he receives it from the head of the caste, and suffers his term of imprisonment in the house of one of the other *bakus*.

The *bakus* are exempted from the law which adjudges as perpetual servants of the king all the twins born in the kingdom, and, if any one of them dies childless, his property goes to the corporation, and not, as is usual, to the royal treasury. They may marry princesses. One of their chiefs in the burlesque festival of *mākh* (=Skr. *māgha*), the 11th lunar month, which corresponds to Jan.-Feb., used to become king of *Mākh*, and for three days enjoyed the semblance of royalty, and the very appreciable privilege of receiving the revenues of the kingdom during that time. Norodom (=Skr. *Narottama*), the predecessor of the present king, did away with this curious custom, but the seven or eight great dignitaries of the *bakus* still receive annually all the traditional presents—buffaloes, rice, etc.—from one of the great provinces of the kingdom. There is a belief deeply rooted in the popular mind, although not inscribed in any act, that, in the case of extinction of the direct royal line, the *bakus* have a right to the throne in preference to distant members of the royal family. The *bakus* claim that these privileges are nothing in comparison with those which they formerly enjoyed. The *bakus* are obliged to take charge, in turn, of the Brāhmanical statuettes, and the palladium of Cambodia (the *Prāh Khan*)—the sacred sword preserved in a building adjoining the royal palace. They are all qualified to share in this, but whereas the majority among them practise agriculture or commerce in order to live, their seven or eight chiefs, with pompous titles of Sanskrit origin, are the *barohēs* (*purohita*), or royal chaplains, and the only real priests of Cambodia.

It is the *bakus* who offer the lustral water in sea-shells to the king during the great New Year festival, and in his absence, themselves wash the Brāhmanical idols. It is they who, during the coronation-festivals, at the cutting of the fore-locks of princes, and at the great water-festivals, play the principal part. They also present the lustral water to the king on the occasion of the celebrations of his birthday. In case of war, they perform on the king the ritual aspersion of 'water of victory,' some drops of which they throw also on each army corps to ensure their success; they follow the king in the field, carrying with them the sacred sword, the gift of Indra, and the Brāhmanical idols. This explains how the worshipped weapon happened on two occasions (1812 and 1840) to fall into the hands of the conquering Annamese. They also consecrate the water of the oath which every mandarin must drink when entering upon his duties and at the coronation of every new sovereign.

Being the guardians of all purity, the *bakus*, standing at the top of a specially constructed platform, at every official entry of a new white elephant into Phnom Pénh, sprinkle it with lustral water, in order to purify it from the defilements of the

forest. When one of the king's wives becomes pregnant, the *bakus* come and put a gold chain, the gift of the king, round her neck, and recite charms over it. It will then preserve her from the accidents of pregnancy. The new mother keeps this chain ever afterwards, as a sign of honour and fertility.

(2) *Ācārs* (Skr. *āchārya*, 'teacher').—Below the *bakus* we might rank the *ācārs*, who very often take their place in the midst of the family for the cutting of the fore-lock, and who are lay-devotees, versed in theology and traditions, irreproachable in their mode of life, and held in veneration by the people for their knowledge and their holiness.

iii. POPULAR RELIGION.—Although all the Cambodians are very much attached to Buddhism, a very pure and very strict religion is not to be expected of them. The mass of the people, besides the cult which they render to the Buddha, worship Brāhmanical relics preserved by the *bakus* or kept in certain pagodas, without realizing what the words imply. All their superstitious piety is directed in the first place to the good or evil spirits and genii who animate all space. Under Buddhist names, so far as the *bonzes* and the very small minority of learned men (who try to identify these genii with the *prêt* [=Skr. *pretā*], 'ghosts,' the *yākkh* [=Pāli *yakkha*, Skr. *yakṣa*], 'ogres,' the *rāc sēi* [=Skr. *rāja sinha*], 'fabulous lions,' the *krāth* [=Skr. *garuḍa*], 'mythical birds,' and the *nāk* [=Skr. *nāga*], 'fabulous serpents' of India) are concerned, the people unconsciously perpetuate the aboriginal cult—primitive Animism. It is this religion of very inferior ideas that dominates their whole daily life.

(1) *Nāk tā*.—In the first rank of good spirits must be placed the *nāk tā*, who seem to be local tutelary divinities, set apart, the Khmers say, by *Prāh In* (Indra) to guard a particular portion of land, or a certain mountain, river, or tree. According to some, the *nāk tā* would correspond to the Hindu *pitris* (*manes*). They dwell in the fine old trees which nobody would dare to cut down, and which are called *ansā srōk*, 'the trunks, the roots of the country.' There is always one for each province, and sometimes one for each village. It is under the canopy of their foliage that the people come to worship the spirit, who can take the most diverse forms—a stone, a strangely shaped root, the ruins of a Brāhmanical statue, etc. The *nāk tā* are involved in cases of serious illness, epidemics, prolonged drought, or too heavy rain-falls. The oblations which they love are of three kinds: offerings of living animals, which, in the name and presence of the *nāk tā*, are given their liberty; offerings of food; and sacrifices of living animals. In the last case the buffalo or ox chosen is slaughtered in the midst of a large assembly of the people, who terminate the festival with a meal and rejoicings. At the installation of a governor in his new province a buffalo is always sacrificed to the *nāk tā*. In this case the animal is killed with great cruelty, its neck being sawn for a long time, as the duration and intensity of its bellowing are signs of prosperity for the new governor.

In former times the *nāk tā* had to be honoured by more cruel offerings, for in certain provinces of Cambodia, about 1840, it was the custom to sacrifice to them those who had been condemned to death. And even at the present day, persons who have been condemned to death are executed in the presence of the *nāk tā* of the province to which they belong; they thus become offerings to the spirit as well as victims punished for their misdeeds. In this there is very probably a reminiscence of human sacrifice.

(2) *Arāk*.—Alongside of the *nāk tā* we find the *arāk* (=Pāli *arākkha-devatā*, 'tutelary deities'), good spirits, or tutelary genii, who dwell in trees or in houses, and take special care of individuals. The *arāk* seem to be the human ancestors, as the *nāk tā* are the Divine ancestors. The *arāk* of the family is nearly always a relative or friend long dead, who has constituted himself the protector of the group loved by him. He is the best and the

most precious of the *dôn tà* (=ancestors, in the sense of grandfathers) of his *protégés*. The *àràk* is invoked especially in cases of illness, as this is almost always, in the eyes of the Khmers, the work of evil spirits. Then a *kru* (=Skr. *guru*, 'spiritual preceptor') is called in, i.e. a sorcerer, male or female, who gets into close communion with the *àràk* of the sick person, causes him to become incarnate in himself, and, armed with his power, asks who is the evil spirit that is torturing the patient. Then, to the sound of songs and a small band, he exorcizes it by spraying rice-wine that he has in his mouth over the patient in very minute drops. The patient is also slightly pricked or gashed, in order to chase away his tormentor. Every year, in Jan.-Feb.-March, a great festival in honour of the *àràks* takes place. It is called *lô'n rôn*, 'the exaltation of the shed'.¹ To this feast the *kru* gathers all his pupils, i.e. all the clients cured by him, and in their presence he proceeds to call up all the *àràks*, and becomes possessed by these spirits, with much stamping and a fit of hysterics, which is apt to infect his audience. Blossoms from the frangipani tree (*Plumeria alba*, Linn.) are offered to the *àràks*. Many of the Cambodians have really no other cult than that of their *àràk*.

(3) *Prây*, *khmôc prây*.—*Nak tà* and *àràk* have a hard task in combating the evil spirits, or *prây*. Perhaps the most dreaded are the *khmôc prây*, 'wicked dead,' and, among these *khmôc*, women who have died in childbirth. These, hidden in the trees, frighten people by laughing and by throwing stones, and try to make them mad, or to kill them. The woods are also inhabited by elves, who are supposed to cause incurable diseases among men.

(4) *Béisaé*.—The Cambodians must also beware of people who have died a violent death, the *béisaé* (=Pali *pisācha*, Skr. *pisācha*, 'goblin'), famished souls, stripped of everything, who return from the hells to demand food, and, if any one refuses to pay heed to them, take revenge by inflicting all sorts of evils on him. They are appeased by the placing of rice and other food for them among the brushwood, while the *prây* will not accept offerings unless they are laid on a winnowing fan.

(5) *Smér*.—There are also terrible wer-wolves, male and female, known by the name of *smér*. Sometimes these are, according to Aymonier,² 'men who, as the result of certain magical incantations, are endowed with special powers and properties, e.g. being able to swallow dishes. In order to deprive these wer-wolves of their power it is necessary to strike them with a hook on the shoulder.' Sometimes they are women, who, after being rubbed, voluntarily or involuntarily, with oil consecrated by a sorcerer, lose their reason and flee to the woods, where, after seven days, they change into wild tigresses, unless a man skilled in sorcery, and rubbed with the same oil, gives them a knock on the head with a bar, while repeating magical words, and brings them back to reason.

(6) *Sorcerers, sorceresses, and soothsayers*.—The popular religion of the Khmers, by its very character, implies belief alike in magic, astrology, and the most minute performances in order to find out whether the apparently simplest action in daily life does not run the risk of being unlucky. Wizards and soothsayers are the indispensable priests of the popular religion of the Cambodians. A distinction is drawn between the sorcerer-soothsayers, *àp thmôp*, who foretell destinies and days, sell philtres and charms, and make use of spells either from wickedness or avarice, and the

medicine-sorcerers, or *kru* (=Skr. *guru*), who add to these many gifts those of curing and exorcizing, and thus being able to counteract the wicked power of the *àp thmôp*. These two kinds of offices may be filled indifferently by sorcerers or sorceresses (*mî thmôp*). To cause a person to fall ill, or die, they have several processes: by means of incantations they transform a buffalo skin and some grains of rice, or some shavings of wood, into a huge black beetle, or into worms which enter the stomach of the victim, cause him to become ill, and kill him, unless a more skilful sorcerer intervenes to save him. Areca nuts, and certain *pratâl*, or tubers, after conjurations by the sorcerer, also cause a slow and most painful death to the person who touches them. Two human skulls, whose upper parts have been removed, placed one upon the other (top to top), and secretly laid (after certain incantations) under the bed of a man who is perfectly well, have equally disastrous results. The sorcerers also cast spells over people by means of a little wax figure which they prick with a needle at the spot where they wish to affect the person against whom they have a grudge. On the other hand, they sell protective amulets and love-philtres, or *khmôc*, small phials of baked earth filled with consecrated oil, which secure the favour of the king, success at play, or with women, for the man who is rubbed with it.

(7) *Ghouls or sorceresses*.—Lastly, there are the *srei àp*, a kind of ghouls or sorceresses, some of whom become so involuntarily, and others as a result of studying magic. At night their heads, accompanied only by the alimentary canal, wander about to feed on excrements, in search of which they will even look among the intestines of people who are asleep. Recognizable by their bloodshot and haggard eyes, these ghouls can throw a spell over any one by merely wishing it, and on this account they are dreaded far more than the sorcerers. If a *srei àp* is denounced in a village, either the authorities condemn her to a penalty—exile or death according to the gravity of her alleged misdeeds—or the inhabitants of the village themselves destroy her. The same fate was formerly shared by some of the *thmôp*.

5. *Medicine*.—It is natural that in the state of mind above described the doctor in serious cases is always the *kru* (=Skr. *guru*), or sorcerer-doctor. As regards the doctor, properly so called, or *kru pêt*, his whole science is summed up in the knowledge of simples, the combination of medicines, and the recitation of *mantras* ('charms') at the time of administration. His medicine books are merely treatises similar to the ancient *Antidotaries*, including, besides a few clinical references, a great many very complicated formulas of medicaments, followed by their method of administration and preparation, according to the symptoms of the various kinds of diseases. Medical skill is generally transmitted from father to son, but sometimes practitioners instruct in their art intelligent young men, who then become their disciples. Like the Chinese, they attach great importance to the examination of the pulse in the diagnosis of diseases, and think that the latter are due to the evil winds that circulate through the whole system of mankind. Their medicines are borrowed from all countries, but consist chiefly of vegetable species. Various kinds of *Strychnos*, the *Cannabis indica*, the *Datura*, the gamboge, the rayed aniseed (*Illicium anisatum*), etc., are extensively used. The horn of a stag or a rhinoceros, an elephant's tooth, pangolin scales, etc., are supposed to be efficacious in smallpox and certain fevers. Bezoars and gall-stones are reputed febrifuges. The medicines vary according to the part of the body where the disease starts, the build of the person, and the day on

¹ This festival is always held in a temporary shed, specially built for the purpose.

² In *Cochinchine française*, xvi, 122.

which he is to drink the potion. In a case of dysentery, one is advised to cut the bark of the *pôn* (?) on the tree itself, at a height a little above that of the navel of the invalid. In heart disease a decoction of the heart of ebony wood and iron wood, or a decoction of ivory and ploughshare, is prescribed. Eagle-wood is regarded as being especially pleasing to the spirits. In external maladies the part affected is rubbed with it; in internal, the sides of the vessel containing the potion to be drunk. Massage, pinching the skin, and the use of moxas are extensively resorted to. Surgery is not practised. In fractures, co-aptation is never attempted; but care is taken simply to keep the dislocated limb in place by ingenious splints of straight bamboo blades covered with carefully kneaded potter's clay. Before administering any medicine whatever, the physicians invoke *Dhanvantari*, the physician of the gods. The doctor is never paid until after a cure, and he almost invariably receives five arms' lengths of white calico, four betel leaves, some areca, four handfuls of cooked rice, and a wax-candle stuck on a slice of bamboo-trunk.

(1) *Smallpox*.—All that is done is to place some amulets beside the patient, and lay him on banana-leaves near which a fire is kept burning. Care is taken to avoid speaking of itchiness, mats are not shaken before him, so that he may avoid scratching himself, and a white linen cloth is laid beside him to make his pustules whiten by sympathetic magic. The medical formularies do, indeed, include remedies for the different stages and accidents of smallpox, but they are seldom employed.

(2) *Phthisis*.—Consumptives are never cremated, but buried, with a piece of broken earthenware on their faces, so that the evil spirit which is in them may not pass to their children. They are not exhumed in order to be burned until several years have elapsed, and then only if none of their heirs has suffered from the terrible disease.

(3) *Births*.—These take place with the help of matrons. In cases of difficult delivery a special potion is administered, and areca, betel, prepared betel-quids, and fragrant joss-sticks are offered to the 'god of medicine,' after which the midwife recites *mantras*. If a woman dies without being delivered during the 7th, 8th, or 9th month of pregnancy, this is believed to be due to the vengeance of the *prây*; she and her fetus become dreaded ghosts. When a miscarriage takes place, the sorcerer is hurriedly called. He puts the fetus in an earthenware jar, and, armed with a sword in his right hand, with which he threatens the jar in order to prevent the evil spirit of the fetus from coming out, goes to the nearest stream, pronounces imprecations, breaks the jar with a blow of the sword, and leaves everything in the water. Usually, however, the sorcerer makes a pretence of this ceremony, hides the fetus, which is supposed to be animated by a spirit as intelligent as it is powerful, roasts it over a fire isolated by seven cotton threads stretched round the hearth, coats it with soot and varnish, and sews it into a little bag which he will always carry with him. Henceforward he will succeed in all his enterprises, and in cases of danger his *kôn prây*, 'son of the spirit' (the name given to the fetus prepared in this way), who considers him now as a father, saves his adoptive parent by his warnings. The adoptive father is obliged merely to give a few grains of rice at each meal to the spirit, who otherwise would take flight, thinking himself badly treated. This belief has such a strong hold on the mind of the Cambodians, that sometimes, we are told, sorcerers, or simply bold men, come, three days after the burial, to the grave of a

woman who has died with child, to demand from her and take the fetus which is still in her womb, in order to make a *kôn prây* of it by means of the above-mentioned ceremony.

Faith in the supernatural power of the fetus led formerly, and apparently still leads (but only in quite exceptional cases, which are rightly regarded as crimes punishable by law), to unnatural acts. The power of the fetus is specially great when it is the first child of a couple married for the first time. In order to get possession of such a fetus, the husband used to ask his wife, as if in jest, about the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy, for the possession of the future child. If the woman entered into the joke, and replied, without thinking, 'It is yours,' the husband would lead the unfortunate woman to a secluded spot and kill her in order to get the fetus, which, when cooked and blackened as by the sorcerer, rendered him henceforward invulnerable and successful in his smallest undertakings. This detestable practice must have been fairly widespread, for, even at the present day, in a case of first pregnancy, the parents of the woman, with whom as a rule the young couple live, anxiously and constantly watch the shortest absence of the future mother.

6. *Astronomy and astrology*.—At one time astronomy was held in great honour in Cambodia, where special experts, the *nâk hōra* (Skr. *horā*; cf. Gr. *ὥρα*), 'astronomers,' 'soothsayers,' determined the solar and lunar eclipses, noted the variations of temperature, and fixed the calendars. At an early period these studies took the form of astrology, and treatises on this subject are plentiful in Cambodia. At the present day, *hōras*, headed by two respected and well-remunerated chiefs, are connected with the royal palace, and each year compose a calendar or *sāṅkran* (Skr. *sāṅkrānti*, 'passage of the sun or other planetary body from one zodiacal sign to another'), including—besides the usual particulars, such as eras, eclipses, etc.—predictions about rain and fine weather, or the returns of the crops, etc. The Khmers apply to them to learn the best time for a marriage, the naming of a child, a journey, the building of a house, the success of an enterprise, illness and its issue, the sex of an unborn child, the next betrothal, war and peace, rain and fine weather, etc., all of which the *hōras* determine quite readily by consulting tablets similar to the Malay *kotikas*. Moreover, by means of formulæ and prayers, they can prevent the evil effects which they foretell. Among the common people the *hōras* are called *kru mōl*, 'the teachers who see,' for, independently of the official astrologers of the king's palace, there are other *hōras* scattered throughout the whole kingdom.

The belief in lucky and unlucky days exists in Cambodia as in the neighbouring countries. Friday, for instance, is regarded by everybody as a particularly lucky day for putting on new clothes for the first time, or finishing a piece of work which has been begun; this day is chosen for cutting the thread of a woven piece of cloth.

Eclipses are attributed, as in India, to Rāhu;¹ hence the expression *ra* (=rāhu) *câp dân*, 'the monster is seizing the moon'—'there is an eclipse of the moon.' At the time of an eclipse, monks and *bakus* assemble at the royal palace, where, in anticipation of a possible catastrophe, which an eclipse may produce, the king is purified and gives abundant alms. On the other hand, shaving a child's top-knot of hair at this time ensures good fortune for him. Pregnant women render worship to Rāhu, to prevent their future children from being deformed or weakly. In the same way, if an eclipse occurs, the pillars which have been set up for the building of a house must immediately be placed on the ground and covered so as to be hidden from the eclipse. If they were used without this precaution, misfortune would follow.

7. *Superstitions and various beliefs*.—(1) *Natural objects*.—The Cambodians ascribe powers either beneficent or dangerous to almost all natural ob-

¹ This belief is general in the Far East.

jects; hence the reverence and fear which they inspire, and the complicated rites and practices to which they give rise.

Dew (*ansô'm*) is supposed to be vivifying. During the dry season, fog predicts an epidemic. Reviling the wind would cause ulcers, tumours, or humps. Pre-historic objects of stone or bone (Kh. *kâm rântûh*, 'thunder-bolts') are regarded as bringing good fortune, especially flint axes, which are carefully preserved in the houses. Trees whose roots spread under the house bring bad luck to it. When one wishes to get in marriage a virgin, and not a licentious woman or a widow, he must offer buds to the Buddha, and not full-blown flowers on which the bees have already alighted. The first fruit of a tree must never be gathered, for fear it should bear no more, and the people should be careful not to beat down the next crop with a thin bamboo pole, lest henceforth the tree may produce fruit as thin as the pole. Indian hemp (*kâmôhâ*) must be gathered with laughing and jesting, and feigning the intoxication it is to cause, in order to preserve its full power. The cotton-plant (*krabab*) and the bamboo (*rosôh*) should always be planted far from the house; else, as soon as they have grown higher than the hut, they would like, in order to show their gratitude, to serve as funeral cushion and matting for those who planted them. So the young people always leave the work of planting them to an old man, who puts below what he has just planted a piece of jar or earthenware and says to the tree: 'Do not think of taking me until this potsherd has rotted!' The tamarind (*ampô*) and the frangipani tree (*compô*) possess powerful virtues, so it is unlucky to see them growing too near the house. A stick of tamarind-wood allows its owner to wander fearlessly during the night under the protection of the *prây*. A box, or the finger-board of a musical instrument, made from the heart of a tamarind or frangipani tree, serves to gain the love of women and the favour of the king. A knife-handle made from the wood of a tamarind which has grown near a house would lead the *prây* of the tamarind to devour the fetus in the womb of the mistress of the house, and to make all her pregnancies miscarry. So married men keep this tree at a distance from their houses. The *koki* (*Hopsea dealbata*, Hance), the king of trees, must be planted only by kings or *bonzes*. When others carry off a cartload of this precious wood, they must first invoke the spirits, and light some sweet-scented rods on the beam of the cart.

Although the tiger (*tê*) is very much dreaded by the Cambodians, who believe his whiskers to be a strong poison, and regard his appearance in a village as a sign of coming epidemics, the elephant (*dampô*) is greatly revered, especially the white elephant (*dampô sa*), which is considered as an unrivalled bringer of good fortune—an idea which is held also by neighbouring peoples, since, at the time when Cambodia was the vassal of Siam and Annam, it had to give to its two suzerains all the elephants of that colour caught in its territory. The French intervention has secured for it the free disposal of these venerated animals. The Khmers, like the Malays of Java, absolutely refuse to kill the monkey (*sôd*) or to eat its flesh; they show great displeasure on seeing it hunted by Europeans. The *khtîh pos*, 'serpent bison' (*Bos gaurus*, H. Smith), is considered to be very redoubtable. The Khmers think that it feeds on serpents, which it kills by squirting its saliva on them. A ring made from a *khtîh*'s horn is an antidote against reptiles' bites. Care must be taken, however, not to gather the hairs of its head, which sting as dangerously as serpents. The bones of a hare (*tonsoh*) which has died a natural death are used in the preparation of powerful spells. Buffaloes (*krabôh*) and oxen (*kô*) which, on entering or leaving their field, scrape up the earth, and throw it in the direction of the field, foretell good fortune for their master; but if they throw it in the opposite direction it is a sign of adversity, and the master must get rid of them. The goose (*kîhan*) should be reared only by well-to-do people. To the poor it would bring an increase of wretchedness. Little chickens with curly feathers (*mân ôô*) should be reared only by a man who, without apparent cause, has lost several children, by way of a preservative for the coming children; or by a man in intimate relationship with the *ârak*, in order to be offered in sacrifice to them. The kite (*khlên*) hovering over a house signifies misfortune, and warns the family to abandon it. The same thing is foretold by the entrance unawares of the little palm-tree rat (*Sciurus palmarum*, *kôm-prôk*). When a large butterfly (*mê anôô*) comes flying into a house, it is a bad omen; a grasshopper (*kandôp*), on the other hand, on the thatch of the roof foretells a piece of luck. The crow (*krôk*), according to the direction of its cry, foretells the return of an absent one, or a reversal of fortune. Cranes (*krâl*, *rônôl*) flying and crying in a flock above a village denote that there will soon be some love-escapades among the girls. The cry of the *ula sôk* ('screech-owl'), a nocturnal bird of prey, and that of the *khlên êrak* (*Strix hammeda*) foretell death.

(2) Various objects.—A winning-fan cannot be made by an unmarried man without bringing him misfortune. The person who carelessly sits down on a winning-fan will later lose his way in the woods. Although cracked metal objects, e.g. gongs, must never be kept in the house, but have to be thrown away, a curse would fall on the person who threw a worn-out cauldron among the rubbish below the house; it must be hung up in the house or thrown into the river. A pillow which has become useless must also be committed to the water, for it is a powerful vehicle of misfortunes. A broken hearthstone meets with the same fate. On the other hand, when there is a storm

or an excessive rainfall, a knife is placed among the cinders on the hearth. Any one who, when in a foreign country, negligently throws away rubbish, such as a piece of an old worn-out garment, lays himself open to reverses. Again, when one is abroad, the water with which the mouth is rinsed must be swallowed, or it will facilitate the attack of evil spirits. To veil the face, even inadvertently, with white cotton, like the dead, or the condemned at the place of execution, is to draw down very grave misfortunes. Instruments of torture, stocks, fetters, irons, etc., must never be put away in a house or shed, but must be left in the open air under a tree; and the executioner, after beheading a man, must quickly turn away his eyes, lest some day he be overtaken by the same fate. When a hunter wishes to secure a good bag, he must, before setting his net for wild animals, hold a traditional dialogue with a tall tree, on the north side of which he places his net. He himself, of course, utters both questions and answers, as he seeks for the tree's permission to take some of its flock. Then he places an offering of bananas at the foot of the tree, sets the trap, and returns home, taking care not to shake or break any big branches on the way. If, however, the net remains empty, the hunter takes off his clothing and pretends to hang himself, as if by mistake, in the meshes of the net which he has just set. After this his hunting is sure to be successful.

The following is a similar superstition. In May, on the day he proposes to begin ploughing, the farmer invites a few friends to his house. He puts his oxen to the plough in front of the house, after placing on a piece of white cotton beside it a brass bowl containing water, betel, boiled rice, fish brine, a boiled chicken, and a bottle of rice-spirit. He sets a portion of this food at each of the four corners of the plough, and invokes the ghosts of his ancestors in these words: 'Hasten, all ye departed ancestors, give us prosperity on this occasion. Through your protection, may our oxen and buffaloes escape all diseases, and our ploughmen all shocks.' The old men in the company now drink the rice-spirit, the young ones eat the food, and then work goes forward without mishap.

During harvest, a reaper must not use a sickle whose handle is made from the horn of a domestic animal, such as a cow or a buffalo, as these have already borne their share of toil and fatigue in ploughing. Any one who neglects this rule will bring trouble on himself. When the proprietor of a stable means to castrate a bull or a buffalo, he must first warn the animal by telling it not to think that he performs this operation capriciously, but with good reason, and then beg it not to bear him a grudge either in this or in any future life. The operation is preceded by a sacrifice to *Prâh Pismukar* (Skr. *Pisvakurman*), the spirit of all industries. Immediately after the operation, two men throw to each other, over the animal, first a pumpkin and then a cock three times each, saying: 'Be as big as this pumpkin, and return to your stable regularly in the evening; be as fleet as this cock, and know your dwelling-place as he does.' If the pumpkin or the cock falls to the ground during these motions, this presages the death of the animal in question.

(3) *Metamorphosis*.—The Khmers, like the Annamese, believe in the transmutation of species and in metamorphosis. Thus the fresh-water tortoise (*kantôh*) may spring from a heap of worms which have collected during rain. Sometimes the snake (*anôh*) is born from bindweed (*trôh*), which grows beside water, and can then change itself into a *skôr*, a kind of brown weasel. The Cambodians believe also that nocturnal birds, such as choughs, owls, screech-owls, are born from the four material substances of the dead—blood, flesh, bone, impurities. We have already noticed [§ 4. iii. (5)] that certain women, after being rubbed with oil from a magic vial, are changed in seven days into tigresses.

8. Festivals.—Indolent, gay, careless, and very religious, the Cambodians are extremely fond of festivals. Most of these assume to-day a distinctly Buddhist character, although it is possible to find in some of them quite a different origin, doubtless aboriginal.

(a) The following are the chief periodical religious festivals:—

(1) *Thvô' bôn côl ênham*, 'Festival of the entrance into the year,' takes place in the first month of the Cambodian year (15th March–15th April). The festival lasts three or seven days; it recalls the New-year festivals of the West.

On the first day the pagoda undergoes a thorough cleansing both outside and inside. Then eight *phnom*, or heaps of sand, are raised in honour of the *devatâ* (Kh. *tépôda*), or protecting deities. On the second day the faithful flock together, dressed in their best clothes, and laden with fine sand, sweet-smelling joss-sticks, and tapers. They make an offering of the wands and tapers to Buddha in the temples, and then march in procession round the pagoda, scattering their sand on each of the *phnom*. The whole night is spent in singing, playing, and dancing within the precincts, so that they may be able to keep watch over the mounds, as in the popular estimation any damage done to them would lead to great misfortunes by driving away *tépôda* or *tévodas*. On the third day the women come, carrying provisions and kitchen utensils, and install themselves in the enclosure, not of the pagoda this time but of the monastery, to prepare the presents destined for the

monks, and the dishes for their own families to consume. From eight until eleven o'clock in the morning, set prayers are said by the *bonzes* in the brilliantly illuminated pagoda, before all the functionaries and the people. When these are performed, the *bonzes* come outside to receive the presents of the laity, and, after offering the first of their rice to the animals and birds, partake of a meal in public, which lasts for a quarter of an hour. The laity eat and play all afternoon in the enclosure. On this day, too, the rich give large alms to the poor. In the evening the statue of Buddha is washed, and so are the *bonzes* and *adās*; in the houses the children and grandchildren respectfully wash their parents and grandparents. In pious households all sexual relations are broken off during the first three days of the year. For the first seven days no living being or animal may be killed, no business matter concluded, all insults or controversies must be avoided, neither lies told nor hardness shown to any one, if the year is to be well begun, and therefore stand a good chance of also ending well.

(2) *Thvō' bōn bambuos phikēh*, 'Festival of the ordination of a monk' (Pāli *bhikkhu*); (3) *Thvō' bōn bambuos nēn*, 'Festival of the ordination of a novice'; (4) *Thvō' bōn sūn prāh*, 'Festival of the erection of a statue to Buddha'; or *Thvō' bōn bō'k prāh nēt prāh*, 'Festival of the opening of the sacred eyes of *Prāh*' (= Buddha). These ceremonies may take place only during the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th months of the ordinary year, and also during the 5th month of an intercalary year, that is to say, from 15th April to 15th July, or else from 15th April to 15th August.

The first two festivals may last from three to nine days, with feasting and games at the expense of the parents of the candidate, who himself takes only a very passive part in the proceedings, which end in his ordination. The candidate, dressed in white or else in his best clothes, rides in great pomp on horseback, preceded by an orchestra and shaded by a parasol of honour, right through the village from his own house to the monastery amid the joyful cries of the crowd, in spite of the army of *Māra* (= *Māra*, Buddha's enemy, symbolized by a few masked figures, who try to stop him on the way. After the *pratikēh* (Skr. *pradākṣiṇa*), or sunwise circumambulation of the whole gathering round the temple, and a last intervention of *Māra* and his followers, the candidate enters and takes his place in front of the statue of Buddha, facing the ordainer, who addresses to him the ritual questions, gives him the customary advice, and consecrates him. The festival for erecting a statue to Buddha also lasts three days, the first being employed in making an enclosure round the statue and in pretending to shave it and to 'open' its eyes with two long needles. The other two days are specially devoted by the people to the worship of the statue. This festival, being somewhat rare, always attracts many of the faithful and devout.

(5) A still rarer festival is the *Thvō' bōn bāndōh semā*, 'Festival for the burying of the *semā*', which recalls the laying of the foundation-stone of a church in the West. It is held only on the occasion of the erection of a new pagoda, or the building of a new monastery. These *semā*, or carved stones, which serve as the evidences of the inauguration ceremony, are nine in number. One of them, the *semā kēl*, 'buried *semā*', is placed in a hole in the ground four cubits deep, in front of the principal altar inside the pagoda, into which the believers have first thrown new clothing, jewels, gold, musical instruments, hair, parings of nails, and even a few drops of their blood.

The feast lasts at least three days, during which the crowd eat, sing, and rejoice, after making the necessary offerings of food to the *bonzes*. On the last day, at an auspicious time determined by the *adār*, the *bonzes* begin to pray; and nine men, at a signal from the *adār*, place the *semā kēl* in its hole, and cover it up amid cries of joy from the crowd. As soon as this is performed, several other men go to place outside the pagoda the eight *siē semā*, or 'leaves of *semā*'—stones carved and often hollowed out to form niches, in which the faithful light sweet-scented sticks. These stones are placed at the four corners, and at the middle of the four sides of the pagoda, to form the pillars of the invisible rampart which will defend the pagoda from evil spirits and demons. The expression 'eight leaves of *semā*' recalls an ideal lotus-flower, of which the *semā* buried within the pagoda would be the heart (*alabastrum*), and the *siē semā* the petals. These last also represent the eight regions of space.

(6) *Thvō' bōn cōl prāh vōsā*, 'Festival of the beginning of the *vōsā*' (= Pāli *vassā*, 'rainy season' or 'season of retreat'), takes place about 1st July, and is a time of fasting, meditation, and prayer, lasting three or four months. The faithful bring to the monks cuttings of cloths, and an enormous candle which has to burn incessantly during the

whole time of retreat, under the care of the monks.

(7) *Thvō' bōn kàn bēn* (Skr. *pinda*, 'ancestral cake'), 'Festival of the customary *pinda*', is the festival of the *nāk tā*, considered as the ancestors of the Khmers. They are presented with offerings of food.

(8) *Thvō' bōn phōm bēn*, 'Festival of re-union round the *pinda*, or cake, offered to the ancestors,' is the occasion when the faithful bring to the pagoda cakes and delicate foods, which, placed round the altar of Buddha with candles and sweet-smelling rods, rejoice the *dōn tā*, or ancestors of the family, and call down benedictions and prosperity upon its members.

(9) *Thvō' bōn cēh prāh vōsā*, 'Festival of the end of the season of retreat,' is celebrated fifteen days after the preceding, that is to say, about the end of September. It consists of offerings of rice to the *bonzes* and the launching on the river of little rafts, made from the trunk of the banana tree, laden with provisions, zinc coins, and some lighted candles, and leaving them to follow the course of the water, after saying to the ancestors, who are believed to have their places on them: 'Go to the country, to the fields you inhabit; to the mountains, under the stones that serve you for houses; go! return!' whereupon the souls of the dead regain their mysterious dwellings.

(10) *Thvō' bōn hē kak tāt* (Skr. *dāna*, 'generosity'), 'Festival of the procession of the abounding gifts (to the priests),' one of the most picturesque ceremonies of Cambodia, lasts only one day for each monastery.

All the inhabitants of the province or village, headed by their chiefs and decked in their most beautiful clothing, proceed to carry to the pagoda the numerous and varied presents which the governor has bought with the money of the faithful. These presents—parasols, piastres concealed in a candle, fans, stuffs, fruits, etc., are carried on litters; shaded by a parasol, and preceded by an orchestra, they lead the procession. Behind come the governor and the mandarins with all the insignia of their rank, then the women, in hierarchical order, all grouped behind the *prapōn thom*, 'the chief wife,' of the governor.

(b) Two Buddhist festivals have still to be noticed:—

(11) *Thvō' bōn hē phkā*, 'Festival of the flowers,' is the pilgrimage which a family, or more usually a whole village or district, makes to some famous pagoda to offer flowers, fruits, provisions of all sorts, and yellow cloth on bamboo hand-litters. The village visited would be dishonoured if it did not immediately provide an abundant feast and rejoicings in honour of its pious guests.

(12) *Thvō' bōn nimont lōk sākēh cēk oi sampōt sa*, 'Festival to invite (*nimont* = Pāli *nimantana*, 'invitation') the monks to a distribution of white cloth,' may take place any time during the year; before accepting the cloth, the *bonze* spreads it out on the heads of the donors and sometimes of all their relatives, at the same time repeating prayers conferring great blessings on them. Those who are too poor to make an offering of their own try at least at this time to touch the cotton cloth in order to share in the blessing pronounced.

(c) Festivals of Brāhman origin are the following:—

(13) *Thvō' bōn anikām bōk sampāh prāh khē*, 'Festival of paddy pounded to render homage to the moon,' is celebrated in the 8th month of ordinary years, and the 9th of intercalary years, sometimes in the monastery, but more frequently in the village.

Each housewife broils and pounds a bowl of glutinous rice (*Oryza glutinosa*, Linn.). This bowl is exposed to the rays of the moon in the midst of trays laden with cakes and fruits, amongst which there must be one or two coco-nuts. On some matting on the ground is laid a cushion covered with five cubits

1 Or better, *Thvō' bōn hē kathēn* (Pāli *kathina*, 'robe made for a Buddhist priest within a single day and night'), 'Festival of the procession of gifts of clothing to the monks.'

of white cotton cloth, on which is placed a young banana-leaf rolled up to resemble a hare's ears. Two posts are fixed three cubits from one another, and with them is connected a horizontal stick, furnished with five areca leaves, five betel leaves, some flowers, five bees-wax candles, and five sweet-scented sticks. At the end of each post are attached horn-shaped bags made from banana leaves, called 'horns of plenty.' Between 11 p.m. and midnight the women and girls, kneeling on the ground, thrice raise their hands, joined together, as high as their faces, towards the bright moon. Then, one after the other, they go and kneel on the cushion, take up the leaf shaped like a hare's ears, and salute the moon three times, saying: 'To-day is the full moon of the month of *kṛāṣṭh* (Sk. *kārttika*, Oct.-Nov.); to-day, in every family, they do as we do. We invite all the divinities of heaven to come and take their share of these bananas, of this glutinous rice, crushed and cooked by us; come and drink of the water of these coco-nuts and protect us; grant that we may be happy during this life, and that our possessions may increase in our hands.' When they have finished, the head of the family takes a lighted candle and lets the wax which runs down drop into a vase full of water. The drops, more or less numerous, falling into the water will foretell rains, and, accordingly, more or less abundant harvests; so the whole family watches the operation with an anxious curiosity. Then the young men convey the presents offered to the divinities to the mouths of the maidens, and soon the whole gathering is eating and laughing and praising the moon.

(14) Mention may also be made of the *bôn phêk tik sâca*, 'Ceremony of the drinking of the water of the oath'; the *bôn êrat prâh ankâl*, 'Ceremony of the opening of the furrow'; and the anniversary of the birth of the king. The eighth day of each moon, waxing and waning, and the day of full moon of each month are also feast days (*bôn sêl*).

(15) The 'Festival of the cutting of the top-knot' (Pâli *Chūlā-kantana-maṅgala*) is common to the Cambodians, the Siamese, and the Laotians of the countries bordering on Cambodia and Siam, and is compulsory on girls and boys of all ranks in their 9th, 11th, 13th, or 15th year (never during an even year), and marks their transition from childhood. Without it boys cannot enter monasteries as novices. Of Brâhman origin, this custom has become an essential rite of the Buddhists. It is preceded in the first month after the birth of each child by a shaving, without any pomp, of all the hair, called *kôr sâk prêi*, 'shaving of the wild hair.' This shaving is followed by many others, in which care is taken to leave a little tuft of hair on the top of the head; this tuft is usually rolled on a valuable pin, and surrounded with a little crown of white flowers, giving a most charming effect. It is this tuft which must be shaved with such ceremony. Only 77 or 78 days in the whole year are favourable for this operation, and the particular day is fixed by the *hōra* or the *âtâr*.

The ceremony usually takes place in May, and for princes assumes great splendour. It lasts as a rule four days, the first three days being spent in preparatory prayer. At the same time, in the court of honour at the palace, an artificial mountain is built, made of painted wood and cardboard, with grass and branches of shrubs stuck on to imitate vegetation.¹ Two paths, oriented the one to the east and the other to the west, for the king, who officiates, lead to the top of the mountain. Round the mount are trays laden with offerings dedicated to Vignu, the Devâtas, and the Buddhas. At the top of the mountain, on a little platform, a light pavilion of cloth, closed in by silken curtains, screens a vat and an arrangement for spraying water, which will allow a rain of Mekhong water to fall on the neophyte at the desired time. A consecrated cotton thread isolates this pavilion, and preserves it against the attacks of evil spirits. On the other hand, in the throne-chamber, at the very foot of the throne, a couch of carved wood, covered with embroidered silk, is erected for the king; then, a little to the right and in front of the throne, a large carpet is spread out, with a flat cushion for the hero of the festival. Just opposite, a trunk of a banana tree, covered with a fine piece of silk and having an enormous ring set with diamonds at its summit, symbolises mount Meru. Golden *bonzes*, with their superior, are placed round this mount. Twelve *bonzes*, with their superior, pray without ceasing in the hall, but it is four *bakus* who officiate along with the king. Inside the hall, round the central pillars, there is another cord, made of eight threads of red cotton, which passes round an altar of Siva, and ends in a sort of crown placed on white cotton cloth.

About five o'clock on each of these three evenings there is a very brilliant procession, in which the candidate is borne in great state in a palanquin lavishly ornamented with gold, surrounded by all the functionaries and court ladies, to make the

pradākṣiṇa round the palace. Each time the *bakus* go in front of him, sounding a conch to frighten away the evil spirits, and he descends from his portable throne and takes his seat on the carpet, leaning on the little pillow set opposite the *bonzes*, with the *bakus* on his left hand. The king, who follows him, does not ascend his throne, but takes his place on a cushion in the middle of the hall. Then the prince makes to the king, the *bonzes*, the altar of Siva, and Mount Meru a salutation which recalls the *ahîlâi* of the Hindus. The *bonzes* recite formulas in Pâli, which those present repeat in a low voice. After some rather lengthy prayers the king and prince withdraw to their apartments, and the *bonzes* to their pagodas, with presents from the king. On the fourth day this procession takes place in the morning, when the prince in his gilded palanquin, dressed in golden brocade, and preceded by the king, enters the throne-room. The *bonzes* bless the preservative cord, and the *bakus* sound the conch to keep away the evil spirits. Then the *bonzes* recite the most important of their prayers while the *bakus* undo the prince's hair, divide it into three locks in honour of the *Trimûrti* (triad of Brahmâ, Vignu, and Siva), and tie each lock round a golden ring; the king, armed with a pair of golden scissors, cuts the three locks, and pretends to give the first stroke of the razor; the *bakus* make a pretence of giving another, and the shaving is finished by a barber. At the last stroke of the razor the *bakus* again sound the conch, and the *bonzes* repeat a text in Pâli. After this ceremony the whole assembly goes to the court beside the structure representing a mountain. The recipient, clad in white cotton, along with the king in a white muslin mantle, mounts to the pavilion, where, from the spray placed at the top of the mountain, he receives on his head, shoulders, and body a heavy shower of Mekhong water (the name signifies 'the mother of waters'). Then the king pours on his head five jug-fulls—in memory of the five rivers which descend from the Himalayas—of perfumed lustral water, and a crown of raw cotton is placed on his head. He must wear it conscientiously for three days.

The festival terminates with great banquets which the king gives to all his functionaries, and the receiving of presents—rolls of piastres and bars of silver—which these functionaries give to the young prince. On the occasion of the cutting of the top-knot, whether of the high or of the lowly, the hero of the festival receives presents from all his friends and relatives. Those which are presented to a prince, the son of a king, are carefully inscribed with the names of the donors, so that the king may be able to give them equally valuable gifts when they themselves celebrate a similar ceremony. The prince on this occasion receives a new name, which is inscribed on a leaf of gold, but which he will never bear in ordinary life.

(16) A water-festival, *Lôi prâh tîp*, 'Festival of boating games,' a kind of regatta, is held every year at Phnom-Pénh, in October, when the waters of the Mekhong begin to abate. Only the *bakus* play a prominent part, and the king invokes *Prâh hâm Sramôt*, 'the god of the seas' (Varuna?), asking him to keep the overflowing Mekhong within bounds so that it may fertilize and enrich the country.

The festival is held on the right bank of the river facing the royal wharf. A huge raft bearing a big shed decorated with rich draperies is built for the king and his court. All the rich royal canoes and nearly all the vessels of the whole kingdom are there, freshly painted and beflagged, and filled for the most part either with spectators or with competitors for the regatta. The racing boats, of a special shape, are drawn up at a fixed place, ready to go. The festival lasts three days and three nights, with no respite except in the mornings. The regattas take place to the sound of royal music and the guttural cries of the rowers, excited by the jovial bantering song improvised by a sailor standing up in the boat. The number and the rapidity of the barques give quite a fairy aspect to the river. The signal for each race is given by a *baku* dressed in green, who, followed by the canoes, goes in a boat, a sword in each hand, and cuts a strip of black leather, an object held sacred by all, placed between two canoes. He makes three attempts at it, as though full of fear of committing a sacrilege, murmurs a prayer in Sanskrit, cuts the cord, and hurriedly departs. While the race-boats are taking their flight, amid innumerable cries, the chief of the *bakus* offers the king and all the members of the royal family a conch containing some of the water of the river, with which they all perform purifying ablutions. After night-fall, the people launch on all sides tiny rafts of banana-wood, furnished with lighted candles and offerings to the spirits and ghosts, which illuminate the whole river. The night is spent, on board the royal raft as well as on the other boats, in feasting, games, and music.

9. Organization of family life.—(1) *Relation of the sexes*.—The organization of the family in Cambodia is strongly knit, and their morals are stricter than those of most other peoples of the

¹ This represents Mount Kailâsa in the Himalayas, which, as we know, is the heaven of Siva.

Far East. As soon as the boys have undergone the cutting of the top-knot, if they are going to be educated or to become novices, they sleep in the monastery. Afterwards, until their marriage, they pass the night in the *sālā*, or common house. Until they are of marriageable age the girls are called *prohmocārī* (= Pāli *brahmachārī*, 'chaste'), and are looked upon as brides of *Prāh En* (= Indra). With the first signs of puberty they take the name of *kramām*, 'young girl,' and they 'go into the shade' (*dōl melōp*). The relatives tie cotton thread round their wrists, and offer a sacrifice to the ancestors to announce the event to them. On the same day, to the north-east of the house, they plant a banana tree, the fruit of which may only be eaten by the young girl or sent to the monks.

To behave herself correctly and according to tradition, the young girl must not now allow herself to be seen by any strange man, nor must she look on any man even by stealth; like the monks, she must abstain from food from midday onwards, eat only rice, salt, coco-nuts, peas, sesame, and fruit, but neither fish nor flesh of any kind; she must bathe only after dark when no one can see her, and never without her sisters or friends; she must work only in the house, and never go out even to the pagoda. This strict retreat lasts only for a few days among the poor, sometimes for years among the rich. It is interrupted only by the occurrence of an eclipse. Then the 'maiden in the shade,' like the pregnant woman, puts an areca knife and a little box containing lime in the knot of her *sampōt*, lights candles and sweet-smelling sticks, and goes out to worship Rāhu, the monster who causes the eclipse: he will crown her desires with good fortune. She then returns to her retirement. The 'coming out of the shade' (*dōl melōp*) is marked by the *bonzes* coming to the house to repeat prayers, and by a banquet. It often ends in another ceremony preparatory to marriage, at which they 'do the teeth' (*thvō thmēt*). This is presided over by an *ācār*, who spreads white cotton cloth on the ground, and places eight bits of straw on it in the directions of the eight points of the compass; in the middle a coco-nut porringer, a shuttle, a small cup of *samrit* (bronze alloyed with a little gold and silver), and a metal model of a boat are covered with as many measures of paddy (fetched by the *ācār* himself from the granary of the house) as the years of the girl's age. She sits down on the well-arranged heap, an old couple mix up the lacquer for her teeth in front of her, while seven young boys encourage them by singing and pretending themselves to pound. This lacquer is then applied to the teeth of the young girl, who is required to preserve it until the morning. After a series of jokes and fun from the boys, who imitate the exorcisms of the *prāy*, and a banquet, the young girl goes out in the morning three times to worship *Prāh Atī* (Skr. *āditya*), the rising sun. Her teeth are then covered with lamblack, and she does reverence to the domestic altar, and henceforth is ready for marriage.

It can be understood that under these conditions seduction is rare; or, if a case occurs, abortive potions help to hush up the matter. But, as a general rule, Cambodian girls are very reserved, go out little, and conduct themselves well. Boys and girls usually marry when about sixteen. Marriage between too close relatives is forbidden; it is allowed between first consins only when the father and mother of the bridegroom are older than those of the bride. The incestuous union of a brother and sister, even when born of different mothers, is forbidden, under penalty of a heavy fine or confiscation of goods, and obligatory separation. Formerly, the incestuous couple were beaten with rods, tied to a raft, and abandoned to the mercy of the river, where they soon died of hunger; for no one would consent to help them out of pity. The king alone, who in Cambodia is above the law, may marry his aunt or even his half-sisters.

(2) *Marriage*.—A marriage is often arranged by the parents without the young people being acquainted with each other, but is scarcely ever carried out without their consent. Three female intermediaries from the home of the boy go to that of the girl and sound the relatives, with becoming deliberation and circumlocution. If the signs are favourable, new official intermediaries of a more exalted character come to make the official demand, and bring the presents of the suitor on trays. The girl has been approached beforehand, and her silence is taken for a formal acquiescence. After inquiry has been made into the parentage of both young people, if the omens are favourable, they

are officially betrothed. The fiancé, who has not yet put in an appearance, is now brought to live with his future parents-in-law to 'do service' (*thvō bamrō*). He has to sleep in the kitchen, carry the water and the wood, and be under the command of the parents of the girl, who, in return, is expected to prepare his food and his betel. This stage lasts only a few months in the case of people in easy circumstances, for fear of a too speedy pregnancy; one or more years with the poor, who often have two or three children before marriage. For, on the other hand, marriage in Cambodia is a very onerous affair. The obligatory betrothal presents include 100 areca nuts, 200 betel leaves, a pound of gambier, a gourd of wine, a pound of tobacco, not to mention the building of a new cottage, near that of the young girl's parents, to shelter the young couple. The presents of the marriage proper, always borne, according to the ancient custom, by the bridegroom, are fixed at 5 piculs (± 300 kilogram) of pork, 50 hens, 30 ducks, 100 bottles of rice-wine, 30 special cakes, not to speak of jewels, cloths presented to the fiancée, and a sum of money called *kham sāl*, 'presenting the areca and the betel,' which, under the name of a marriage present to the bride, is in reality handed over to her father. The fiancé must also give to the girl's mother the *prāk snōp tik dōh*, 'price of the mother's milk, the nursing indemnity,' along with a bouquet of areca flowers; to his own parents, on the last day of the marriage, huge wax candles; besides the innumerable traditional gratuities, however humble, to be distributed on this occasion. On the other hand, the young man who has undertaken all these expenses and has gone to 'serve' with his future parents-in-law runs the risk of being sent away in disgrace and without any compensation, as guilty of a lack of respect—a charge easily incurred if he does not manage to please them and his fiancée. He therefore tries above all to win her good-will and favour in order to escape a costly repudiation, which would, in addition, make him ridiculous in the eyes of the village. The matter is usually easy enough, the betrothed having, in the eyes of the public and even of the law, the same rights as husband and wife. The fiancé who has seduced his bride can never withdraw; he who withdraws without cause is condemned to a heavy fine and the loss of his betrothal expenses. The fiancée cannot without infamy be sought by another suitor; in case of flagrant infidelity, she suffers the punishment of an adulteress. On the other hand, the children of a betrothed couple are considered legitimate. Only the parents of the young girl are affected by such proceedings, which make it impossible for them to send away their future son-in-law if he displeases them. If they send him away without cause they themselves will be held responsible for an indemnity, and have to give back the betrothal presents.

Marriage by capture takes place in Cambodia when the parents of the young girl refuse their consent and the lovers agree. The young man is free from blame after the abduction, when he has made his apologies to his parents-in-law.

The law allows three legitimate wives, besides concubines; the masses, however, through poverty, are monogamous. Only one of the wives, the *prapōn thom*, 'the chief wife,' enjoys authority and the prerogatives of the legitimate wife. She also is the only one who is married with a complicated ceremony. Polyandry, although very rare, is tolerated, and appears to the Cambodians odd rather than scandalous.

Religious intervention is very seldom invoked at weddings in Cambodia. When it does happen to occur, which is about once in four occasions, it is

confined to prayers and the sprinkling of holy water on the two young people by the *bonzes*. Nor does the civil law meddle with marriage. It remains a purely domestic ceremony. Marriage, we have seen, cannot take place between too near relatives. It may be celebrated at any time of the year except during the three months' retirement of the monks.

A special shed is built near the home of the fiancée, with a roof of foliage, and hung on the inside more or less richly with red draperies. On the morning of the marriage day the bridegroom, dressed in his best, goes in state to the house of the bride, and sits at her right hand, both on one mat. All the guests surround them, with *aroca* flowers in their hands. The bridegroom himself, after bowing three times, offers one of the flowers to each member older than himself of the bride's family, beginning with the father and the mother. They lay the flowers they have received on plates in front of them, and on these the young man's parents place a sum of money varying according to the degree of the person: usually 9 *damléh* (about 20 fr.) for the father, 7 for the mother, etc. Then the *sañ dai*, 'binding of the hands,' takes place; the parents of the two pass a bracelet of 7 threads of untwisted cotton on the wrist of each of the pair, the relatives and friends do the same on the fingers, and at the same time offer them presents, which are often very rich: jewels, cloths, animals, slaves, land. After this the parents, holding a lighted candle, walk three times round the bride and bridegroom, who, along with the old ladies, go into the house to change their gala dresses for more simple costumes, before they serve the wedding breakfast to their guests. When the feast begins, the guests are grouped by sexes, and placed in order of rank, of relationship, and of age. The long and sumptuous meal is preceded by prayers to their ancestors, who receive as an offering the first of each dish. The ceremony ends with the *pham dampék*, 'the union in the same bed,' in the conjugal house. Dressed matrons arrange the nuptial sleeping-mat, and present the newly-married pair with the cakes or rice-balls, a portion of which each places in the mouth of the other, to show henceforth their unity; the matrons lightly knock the heads of the husband and wife together, saying, 'Be united and happy,' and leave them. For a second or third wife, or when a man marries a widow, the marriage ceremony is confined to a hearty feast. Members of the royal family are married by the *bakus*, who sprinkle them with holy water.

(3) *Divorce*.—Divorce exists in Cambodia, but is seldom put into practice. It is nearly always demanded by the wife. In the case of separation by mutual consent, the wife gives up to the husband the wedding presents she received, and all that he possessed at the time of their marriage. If there are children, everything is considered common property; the husband receives two-thirds and the wife the remaining one-third. The children, if they are of tender years, are entrusted to the wife, to return in the end to the husband, or else they are divided, or, if they are grown up, are allowed to choose for themselves. If the divorce is demanded only by the wife, she is liable to pay double the amount spent by the husband on the marriage, and can claim only her dowry and one-third of all goods acquired since the marriage. But, as a rule, unions in Cambodia are lasting: the wives have a keen sense of duty, and the husbands have a great regard for their wives, and spare them too hard work—which contrasts very favourably with the loose and selfish marriages of the Annamese. Widows may marry quite honourably if they cremate their first husband properly and preserve their widowhood for three years.

(4) *Birth*.—The Cambodian wife, who, without great outward authority, is well treated in her home, is accorded very particular attention during pregnancy. The confinement always takes place without the aid of a doctor, but with the intervention of expert matrons, who employ empirical manoeuvres, accompanied by the recitation of *mantras* and by sacrifices. The vigorous constitution of the Cambodian mother does the rest. The umbilical cord is not cut until after the issue of the placenta. The child is immediately washed and wrapped in swaddling-clothes. The mother is bathed in warm water, a warm oval stone is placed on her abdomen, and she is laid on a camp-bed, under which a fire is kept burning for the space of from 9 to 30 days. The wood with which the fire is fed differs according as the child is the first-born

or not. A cotton thread blessed by a *kru* or an *accâr* surrounds the room, to preserve it from evil spirits. The mother suckles her child until the age of three or four, not without stuffing it at the same time with rice and bananas, which is the cause of the enormous abdomen which marks all Indo-Chinese children. At six months the child receives the name of a flower, an animal, a mineral, or some other object. At the cutting of the top-knot this name is exchanged for a new one. Patronymic names are unknown in Cambodia.

The birth of twins is considered unlucky, as also is that of albinos, dwarfs, and deformed infants. These unfortunate children, except when the offspring of *bakus*, become, from their very birth, life-long slaves of the king.

Adoption takes place with extreme facility in Cambodia, and to it is joined the custom of concluding a friendship, which binds the contracting parties closely together and ends only with death. They mix a few drops of the blood of each with a little water, and divide and drink this, after pronouncing the oath to be brothers for ever; such are the rites of the compact. Cf. art. BROTHERHOOD (artificial).

(5) *Disposal of the dead*.—Cremation is the general custom in Cambodia, but the ceremony, which among the very poor takes place immediately after death, is among the rich often deferred, for various reasons, for several months or even years. In the latter case they either bury the body and leave it to be exhumed at the desired time, or they preserve it in the house. To preserve the body they pour a certain quantity of mercury into the mouth and place the body in a coffin of hard wood hermetically sealed, except for a small hole to which is fixed a bamboo tube which carries out of the house the gases that are formed. Some devout Buddhists, however, order their flesh to be cut into small pieces to feed the birds of prey. King Ang Duong ordered this to be done with his body when he died, about the end of 1859.

As soon as an invalid enters on his death-agony the *bonzes* are called, in order to repeat the prayers for the dying. Until the actual moment of death all present repeat in a loud voice, the patient joining in as long as he has the strength, '*Arahan! arahan!*' 'the saint! the saint! the just one!' (Pali *arahaṃ* = 'the saint,' 'one who has attained final sanctification'). When the last breath has been drawn, the children of the dead man close his eyes and mouth, and wash the body with holy water. If, in default of direct heirs, this pious duty is performed by a slave, he is henceforth free. Then a small ingot of gold or silver is put in the dead man's mouth; small squares of gilded paper are applied to the orifices of his face; and he is clothed in white. His hands are joined, and in them is placed a rolled-up banana-leaf containing three betel leaves, a candle, and three sweet-smelling sticks. The body is placed in a wooden coffin, more or less costly according to the fortune of the deceased, and is kept in position by sawdust, cotton, paper, and pounded guava leaves in such a way that it cannot move. On the neck of the corpse is placed a white cotton collar, which communicates with the outside by a long cord, attached to a band of cotton, and passing between the coffin and its lid. Then the family, the servants, and slaves go into mourning—that is, they shave their heads and put on white clothes. Every day, at the usual meal-times, trays laden with food are brought near the coffin, beside which is a tray with a betel-box and a change of clothing for the deceased. The whole day a number of *bonzes* remain beside the coffin in prayer, with their hands on the white band which communicates with the deceased's collar.

They usually proceed with the cremation after

three days. The coffin is carried from the death-stricken house to the pyre, on a huge hearse with a fringed canopy laden with garlands of leaves and flowers. Four *bonzes* take their places, standing on the hearse at the four corners of the coffin, which is covered with flowers, ornamented with figures cut out of gold paper, and furnished, where the head is, with lighted candles and burning scented sticks. Just in front comes a child, the son or grandson of the deceased, carried on a palanquin, his forehead adorned with a band of plaited bamboo, to which is fastened the cotton cord from the coffin. After the burning of the body this child receives the dress of a novice from a *bonze*, quite near the pyre. If the deceased has no direct male descendant, a slave may fill this rôle, and receives his liberty through this fact of entering into the monastic order. This palanquin is often preceded by another covered with a yellow parasol, and bearing a *bonze*. In front of all goes an *accâr* on foot, holding a white banner called 'flag of the soul' (*tôn prâh lîn* [Skr. *linga*, 'sign']). From the handle of this flag hangs a pot full of uncooked rice. In a wallet which he carries the *accâr* has put all that is required for preparing betel-quids. Behind the hearse there generally walk a small orchestra, a young girl throwing small pieces of money to the poor, hired mourners, the family, and friends. Except in the case of kings and princes, who are burned in a special construction called a *mên*, the dead, as a rule, are burned in a building which bears the name of *phnom yôn*, 'mountain of deliverance.' After the thrice-repeated *pradakṣiṇa* round the cremation catafalque, or *phnom yôn*, the coffin is placed on it, and left there for three days. The family and friends establish themselves in the vicinity under leafy shelters. The coffin is placed open on its pyre, the face of the dead man is washed for the last time with coco-nut milk; and then the *accâr* walks three times round the pyre, swinging a lighted torch so as to set fire to it. At the first crackling of the flame the young 'conductor of the soul' is consecrated, and the music plays. When the combustion seems sufficient, the *accâr*, his assistants, and the others present extinguish the fire by throwing jars of water on it. The rice, cooked in a pot on the funeral fire, and the betel-box are put near the ashes of the body. Out of the ashes the *accâr* and his assistants fashion a human form, which they carefully place facing in the direction which appears most suitable. Over this figure, which is covered with white cotton cloth, the *bonzes* recite prayers, and all present prostrate themselves. Then each one begins to look among the ashes for the bones that remain; these bones are washed with holy water, placed in a cloth bag, or an urn of porcelain or some precious metal, and then buried in the neighbourhood of a pagoda, or piled up near a *Ficus religiosa*; or, in the case of rich persons, they are placed in small structures of masonry called *ceṭṭiyā*, built on a piece of consecrated ground. Prisoners abandoned by their family, and people who have died through violence, suicide, accident, or assassination, are buried, not burnt. The two last are not long in appearing on earth again in the form of some dreadful ghost. The body of a criminal is abandoned to birds of prey, unless the relatives buy and bury it.

(6) *Mourning*.—Mourning consists in shaving the head every fortnight, dressing in white, wearing no jewels or ornaments, and fasting once a week, on *thnâi sêl* (Pâli *sīla*), which is equivalent to our Sunday. Mourning is worn only for persons who are older or are in a higher position than oneself. Mandarins and functionaries wear it for the king until the cremation, which is sometimes put off for years. Children and grandchildren,

whether by birth or adoption, wear mourning for their parents and grandparents for three years; the widow wears it for her husband for the same length of time; brothers and sisters wear mourning only for their elders; nieces, nephews, and cousins wear it only until the cremation. Parents, grandparents, and widowers do not wear mourning for children, grandchildren, and wives respectively.

(7) *Ghosts*.—All Cambodians believe in the appearance of ghosts who issue from the decaying dead body; when there is no putrefying matter left, the apparitions cease, the human remains being changed into nocturnal birds of evil omen.

(8) *Festival of the dead*.—A solemn festival in honour of the dead is held in September—the *phôm*, 'reunion,' 'assembly'—when all souls have the right to leave their Hades and come to enjoy the offerings which the Cambodians never fail dutifully to prepare for them.

10. *Political and judicial organization*.—(1) *Government*.—At the head of the political organization of Cambodia stands the king, absolute sovereign and by right of birth possessor of all life and lands in his kingdom. Indeed, his power is limited only by the rivalries or intrigues of his troublesome relatives; the audacity of certain great functionaries, who at one time showed a great inclination, for their own interests, to lean upon the Siamese or the Annamese; or by revolt on the part of his subjects. The king governs with the help of a council of five great mandarins, who are chosen by himself, and who have no power except what is accorded them by the good sense, favour, or laziness of the king. The order of succession to the throne of Cambodia is badly established and variable: it is in the male line, but sometimes from father to son, sometimes from brother to brother, in order of birth. Women may be and have been called to the throne. If there is no heir belonging to the royal family, the mandarins, says a very credible tradition, may call one of the *bakus* to the throne.

The coronation celebrations, and those at the cremation of a high personage in the royal family, are the most superb to be seen in Cambodia. Coronation celebrations are continued for eight days, the last being occupied with the actual crowning. This ceremony is purely political, not religious, except in its first part, when the chief of the *bakus* pours on the king's head the so-called lustral water of investiture, while the *bonzes* pray. Then the *bonzes* disappear, and if the *bakus* remain and take a very active part in the ceremony, it is less in the rôle of unconscious representatives of the ancient Brahman religion than as trustees of the traditions of a glorious past. On the coronation day, all the functionaries, high and low, hand over their resignations to the new king, who reinstates them the next day, after they have taken the oath of fidelity. It is worthy of notice that, when the newly crowned king returns to his palace, he is accompanied by a group of female followers, one carrying his parasol, another his sabre, a third his betel-box—in short, everything he needs for daily use. Another group follows, carrying a cat (the first living creature to be introduced into a house before it is inhabited), rice, ivory, a rhinoceros' horn, a gourd, haricots, grains of sesame—all the symbols of abundance and well-being. All services within the palace are performed by women. The Khmers have a profound and respectful attachment to their kings.

(2) *Society*.—Cambodian society next to the king is no longer made up of castes but of classes, very clearly defined and often very exclusive: (a) the royal family (*Prâh Vonsâ* = Skr. *vamśa*, 'race,' 'lineage'); (b) the *Prâh Vôn* (Skr. *vamsa*); (c) the *bakus* and *bonzes*; (d) free men; and (e) slaves.

(a) The royal family includes relatives to the fifth degree, and persons who have gained this position by marriage with princesses nearly related to the throne. On account of polygamy, it forms a veritable population, exempt from taxes and compulsory service, and provided, according to their quality, with incomes and titles more or less considerable. Their possessors too often abuse the spirit of loyalty of the Khmers, in order to oppress them and put themselves above the law, but are, at the same time, directly and very effectively dependent on the king, their chief and absolute master. The importance of the princes of the royal family is in direct proportion to their intrigues or their popularity.

The following is the order of rank of these personages: the *appayurâc* (Pali *upayujarâjâ*, 'vice-heir-apparent'), king who has abdicated, preserving the right to a six-storied parasol; the *opparâc* (Pali *uparâjâ*, 'riceroy'), second king, and often heir-apparent, who must be content to be shaded with a parasol of only five storeys; the *prâh vorrâcâni* (Pali *vararâjâni*, 'chief queen'), the queen dowager, mother of the king; the *ak mohesâi* (Pali *aggamahesâi*, 'first queen') the queen, first wife of the king and mistress of the harem, who usually owes her title more to high birth than to favour. These positions of dignity may be vacant for want of the personages themselves or because the king wills it so. All, according to a pre-determined order, are possible successors to the throne.

(b) The *Prâh Von* are descended from the royal family, but more distantly related. From their illustrious origin, they retain the privilege of being designated 'Prâh' and of paying fewer taxes than the king's other subjects. Otherwise they live just like them.

(c) The *bonzes* and the *bakus* have already been discussed [§ 4. i. (1) and ii. (1)].

(d) The free men (*prei nâ*) furnish the functionaries of all degrees.

(e) Slaves are divided into (a) slaves for debt, and hence redeemable; and (b) slaves who are irredeemable, comprising prisoners of war, former rebels not put to death, and unfortunate savages who have almost always been kidnapped on the frontiers. The children of irredeemable slaves are themselves slaves from their birth until the end of their lives. Slavery, although of a mild form, owing to the moderate character of the Khmers, has none the less been till recently the open sore of the country, and has tended to augment the general apathy and economic mediocrity.¹

(3) *Civil law*.—In theory, individual property does not exist in Cambodia, the king being the possessor of all the territory. The legality of this theory is affirmed by certain legal provisions. Thus, in the case of large successions without direct heirs, the king inherits all or part of the goods; all land not cultivated for three years returns to him; when expropriating land either for the general good or for his own particular advantage, if he gives an indemnity, it is of goodwill, not of necessity. But, as a matter of fact, individual property is perfectly recognized in Cambodia: any individual who, subject to certain formalities, asks the king for a piece of land from the public ground, which represents four-fifths of the whole territory, obtains it without difficulty. If after three years he has brought it under cultivation, and transformed it into rice-fields or meadows, and if he continues to cultivate it, it belongs to him. He may let it, sell it, transfer it by gift, or leave it to his children, always on condition that he pays the taxes which are levied on all land in the kingdom. It cannot be taken from him except when he fails to make use of it, or when, after cultivating it, he abandons it for three years. Private property consists of the moveable and immovable possessions which the husband and

wife brought with them at the time of their marriage, and of which, in the event of a dissolution of the marriage, each claims his or her own, after dividing the common gains. By a very Asiatic extension of paternal rights, children are considered the property of the father, who may, if he wishes, sell them while they are minors. Except in case of extreme misery, Cambodians very seldom avail themselves of this right.

(4) *Law of inheritance*.—This varies according as the husband has had one wife or more. In a monogamous household the surviving parent has the guardianship of the children, and the administration and the usufruct of all the property. The children inherit without distinction as to sex, but the eldest and the youngest always receive a double portion—the one because he has had to carry his brothers, the other because he has had to rejoice his parents' old age. Children by adoption enjoy the same rights as children by birth. Usually, too, children who have taken part in the cremation of their parents reap some special benefit.

(5) *Penal law*.—The Khmer penal law is extremely rigorous in theory, and boasts no fewer than some twenty ways of inflicting death, with or without ingenious tortures. In practice, the penalty of death is reserved for usurpers, rebels, those guilty of high treason, and repeatedly convicted offenders. In the first case, the condemned man's head is cut off and exposed in the middle of the market-place, while the body is quartered and placed at the four cardinal points of the royal palace. In the last, the head is cut off and placed on the end of a piece of bamboo firmly fixed in the ground. The body is given back to the family if it is claimed, or is left to be buried by the police. Incurable elephant thieves are crushed by elephants. This terrible punishment is, of course, rarer than the offence. At one time thieves were punished by death, mutilation, slavery, or confiscation of goods; to-day they are liable to a penalty varying with the offence; in cases of insolvency, this may take the form of selling the offender into slavery. The general tendency is for the judges to commute the barbarous punishments of former days into profitable fines, which are divided amongst the judges themselves, the royal treasury, and the plaintiff or prosecutor, if there is one. Any one who cannot pay the fine imposed is sold as a slave. In cases of accidental homicide there is a sort of *wergeld*, varying with the quality and condition of the person killed. The woman taken in adultery is marched for three consecutive days through the town, her face covered with a basket of plaited bamboo, red flowers in her ears, forming a collar, and on her head, avowing in a loud voice her fault and her repentance. This march may be exchanged for a fine levied on the personal property of the woman and her lover, part of which is handed over to the husband, unless he is proved to have been a consenting party to the infamy of his wife. The fine varies with the position of the woman in the household; the 'chief wife' is more heavily punished than the mere concubine or any other wife. The husband is entitled to kill offenders taken *in flagrante delicto*, but on the strict understanding that he kills them both. The punishment of rape is a fine which varies decreasingly according as the victim is a married woman, a young girl, a widow, or a slave. The seducer may be put to death by the young girl's parents, if he is caught *in flagrante delicto* and is acting without their implied acknowledgment; but no proceedings are taken against a seducer, failing a complaint by the victim or her parents. The penalty varies with the condition of the person seduced, and according as there has been pregnancy or not. The gravest case is pregnancy followed by death in child-bed. Abduction is

¹ The new king of Cambodia, Sisovath (Skr. *Sri Svasti*), who ascended the throne in 1904, has abolished slavery, which had, indeed, been greatly ameliorated since the arrival of the French in the country.

punishable by a fine in proportion to the condition of the female carried off, the distance covered, and the natural obstacles, rivers, or mountains crossed. Sexual intercourse with animals meets with ignominious punishments, such as having to feed on the grass of the fields, or to lap water from the boiling of rice. As a rule, the punishments are simply punitive and do not involve degradation: a functionary who has served a term of imprisonment for breach of trust resumes his duties freely. Legal proceedings in Cambodia are slow, involved, and expensive. Accused and accusers have the right of being represented at the tribunal by a kind of advocate called the 'shoulder of the case' (*smà kedèi*). Liberation on finding sureties is frequently practised. A crime may be proved either by witnesses or ordeals.

(6) *Ordeals*.—The principal judicial tests still in use are the following:—(a) Water: both parties dive, and the one who rises first is guilty; or they swim across the arm of a river, and the last to arrive is guilty. (b) The test of the molten tin, into which the accused must plunge a hand without being burned. (c) Burning coals, over which he must walk without hurting his feet. There are other tests quite as illusory, but much milder. Very often the judge does not hesitate to order the suspected person to be tortured, in order to obtain either his confession of a crime or the names of his accomplices. The greatest scourge of Cambodian justice is not its laws, but its judges—functionaries who are often unjust because they are ignorant and greedy. Having paid a large sum to the royal treasury before entering on office, they set about recouping themselves, at the expense of litigants, by a sad misuse of justice. There is, indeed, a law which enacts that an unjust or ignorant judge shall receive a sentence equal to double that which he has wrongly inflicted, not to mention the chastisements reserved for him in the after life. But those who ought to apply this law are only too often so deserving of the same treatment that they dare not make use of it.

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ANTOINE CABATON.

CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS.—The title 'Cambridge Platonists' has come to be applied to a school of philosophical divines—members, for the most part, of two colleges, Emmanuel and Christ's—who flourished at Cambridge between the years 1633 and 1688. The names with which this article is properly concerned are those of Whichcote (1609-83), Culverwel († 1651), Smith (1618-82), Cudworth (1617-88), and More (1614-87), all resident teachers at Cambridge within the period mentioned; but, in so far as the influence of their teaching made itself felt outside, some other names, belonging to this period and to the time after, must also be noticed—Glanvill, Norris, Cumberland, Shaftesbury, Clarke, and Berkeley,

representing the religious and philosophical aspect of this influence; and Taylor, Stillingfleet, Burnet, Patrick, Rust, Tillotson, and Fowler, representing its ecclesiastical and political aspect.

The first thing which the student of a school of religious and philosophical thought must always see to is that he realizes the social environment in which the thought of the school lived and moved; study of the mere equipment of the thought, apart from the use to which that equipment was put, is idle. And no student has more need of this caveat than the student of the 'Cambridge Platonists.' They are writers—especially the three greatest of them, Smith, Cudworth, and More—whom one is peculiarly tempted to read without thinking of 'social environment,' without troubling oneself about the state of England in their time. There grows upon one, as one reads them, the sense of a cloistered piety and learning cultivated apart in some paradise—such as Henry More made for himself in his lifelong home at Christ's; and one is too apt to be impatient, as of something irrelevant, when one is asked to remember where this paradise was—that it was in the England of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, the Revolution, the England of Laud, of the Covenant and Westminster Assembly, of the New Model, of the St. Bartholomew's Day Ejectments. But this is exactly what is most necessary to remember. The question which a scientific study of the Cambridge Platonists must make it its chief object to answer is exactly this: how were these cloistered lives related to that troubled world without?—for it was certainly not by mere accident that these lives found their peace in that stormy time.

Burnet, who met Cudworth and More when he visited Cambridge in 1663 as a young man, and who, throughout his whole subsequent career, was in sympathy with the ecclesiastical position of the Cambridge school, describes its members generally in the following terms (*Hist. of My Own Time*, Oxford, 1823, i. 323 ff.):

'All these, and those who were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the Church and the liturgy, and could well live under them: but they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and in divinity: from whence they were called men of latitude. And upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers fastened upon them the name of Latitudinarians. They read Episcopius much. And the making out the reasons of things being a main part of their studies, their enemies called them Socinians. They were all very zealous against popery. And so, they becoming soon very considerable, the papists set themselves against them to decry them as atheists, deists, or at best Socinians.'

From this account, the result of contemporary observation, we gather (1) that these 'men of latitude' took up a position midway between the Puritans (the early upbringing of most of them had been Puritan) and the Prelatists of their time—that they occupied, in respect to these extremes, what another contemporary account (S. P.'s *Brief Account of the new Sect of Latitude-Men: together with some Reflections on the New Philosophy*, 1662) describes as 'virtuous mediocrity'; and (2) that it was deliberately on a philosophical basis that they founded the position which they took up—a position from which they advocated toleration and comprehension even where considerable differences of religious opinion and practice, not only outside, but within the Church of England, were concerned.

Turning to their writings, we find this philosophical basis of their advocacy of toleration and comprehension fully and clearly set forth in their doctrine of the place of Reason in Religion.

Truth, they tell us, is Natural and Revealed, and reason is the faculty which apprehends and judges both kinds. It is the same reason which, on the one hand, apprehends the truths of morality and of natural science, and, above all,—for 'God is most knowable of anything in the world' (Whichcote, *Select Sermons*, ed. 1698, p. 112),—the truths of Natural Religion, that God exists, and is good and wise; and, on the other hand, apprehends, in addition to the truths contained in our 'natural knowledge of God,' the truths contained in the 'revelation of His will,' which is made to us in the Scriptures. And these truths of Revealed Religion reason finds no less 'reasonable' than those of Natural Religion.

'Our Reason is not confounded by our Religion, but awakened, excited, employed, directed, and improved' (Whichcote, *op. cit.* p. 298).

The Scriptures are, indeed, we are told, exactly suited to our reason. They offer, in the plainest way, matter upon which we can employ our reason with the greatest profit to our lives, and with the surest guarantee, from that faculty itself, that we are not deceived. At the same time, by the very prominence which the Scriptures give to this matter, so suitable to reason, so capable of engaging it where its employment is most useful and least likely to lead us astray, they make it evident to us—the more evident, the more truly 'rational' our study of them is—that a *minute* employment of reason in religion, about things not plainly included in the matter to which prominence is given, is unprofitable, and, indeed, even irrational. Such a procedure brings with it no universally acceptable guarantee of its own correctness, and so divides those who fall into it from one another, one minute reasoner making this non-essential, or, it may be, extraneous, matter all-important in religion, another, that, and so on, while that which is essential, that about which all would be of one mind, if they used their reason in the way religion requires, is left out of sight.

To the two opposed parties of their day—Puritans and Prelatists—the 'men of latitude' said: 'Unite on the broad common ground of that which is essential in religion, and agree to differ about things that are non-essential. That which is essential is contained in the Scriptures, and is so plain that you cannot miss it if you employ your reason in the right way, each man for himself, upon the Scriptures.' It is here that we come down to the bed-rock of the philosophical basis on which the Cambridge school founded their doctrine of toleration and comprehension: it is because *God* is, from the very first, its true object that man's reason marks securely, in the end, that which is *essential* in the revelation of God's will as contained in the Scriptures. The improvement of man's reason, then, by employment in the fields of science and of moral conduct, and, above all, by employment about the truths of Natural Religion, without the light of which the principles of science and conduct cannot be seen at all, is a process by which man grows in knowledge of that which is most knowable, of God—a process by which he becomes more and more 'like unto God,' till the perfection of reason is reached in that 'Divine sagacity,' as More calls it (Pref. General to *Collected Works*, ed. 1662, p. ix), that 'nativity from above,' as Whichcote calls it (*op. cit.* p. 350), which makes a man, at last, a sure judge of what is essential in the teaching of the Scriptures.

It was a charge commonly brought against the school that they preached mere morality, and ignored the importance of 'articles' of religious belief. Their teaching on the subject of 'Divine sagacity' is their answer to this charge. The morality which they preach is 'morality' which the moral agent's sense of the real presence of God, as a vital principle central in his soul, has transformed into piety—it is the condition of one who

'imitates God' in 'the holy and virtuous life,' and so 'knows' Him; and, knowing Him, can interpret His revelation of Himself made in the Scriptures, and get hold there of the *essential* 'articles' of religion.

So much for the way, peculiar to themselves, in which the Cambridge Platonists held the doctrine that the Scriptures are to be interpreted by the reason of each man. This doctrine itself reached them by two streams of influence, each of which was, otherwise also, of great importance in determining the outlook, and equipping the thought, of the school—the one having its source in Arminianism (*q.v.*), which had appeared in Holland towards the end of the previous century, the other proceeding from the Italian Renaissance of the century before.

In England, Arminianism found a footing towards the end of the 16th century. The distinctive tenet with which it opposed the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination had, indeed, to contend against great odds, for at this time, in England, Calvinism was widely spread among the people, and was already entrenched in the Articles of the Church; but the temper of Arminianism, what may be called its 'Humanism,' especially as shown in the substitution of the psychological for the dogmatic way of interpreting the Scriptures, commended itself more easily to educated minds. It was, after all, the temper which Colet and Linacre, and other English friends of Erasmus, and Erasmus himself—resident during various periods in England, and notably, from 1511 to 1514, at Cambridge, where he was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and occupied rooms in Queens'—had already recommended, by their example and teaching, to students, in England, of the ancient classical and Christian writers. The Universities—and perhaps Cambridge especially—were thus prepared to receive the new Arminian Humanism; and the clergy of the Church of England at these places of learning were, more than others, exposed to its influence. As a matter of fact, when we reach the times of Charles I., we find that Arminianism—so far, at least, as opposition to Calvinism was concerned—had become widely diffused among the clergy of the Church of England, the Dissenters, together with a large number of the lay members of the Church of England, remaining Calvinists. That the Cambridge 'men of latitude' should 'read Episcopos much,' as Burnet tells us they did, that they should be on the side of the psychological, against the dogmatic, interpretation of the Scriptures is, therefore, just what the vogue of Arminianism in the Church of England at this time would lead us to expect from divines at home in a university which was otherwise—in letters and natural science—showing itself singularly receptive of Humanism.

The other influence operative in forming the Cambridge view of the method of Scripture interpretation can be traced back to the 'Platonic Academy,' which flourished, during the latter half of the 15th cent., at Florence, and especially to the work, in it, of Marsilio Ficino. His Latin translations from the newly-recovered Greek, and his commentaries, gave Plato and Plotinus to Italy and then to Europe, and substituted, for the skeleton to which the Church and her schoolmen had reduced the system of Aristotle, what was everywhere welcomed as a living philosophy. It was a philosophy in grasping the inward sense of which the men of the Renaissance, become so curious of new things, found a new thing which arrested their attention beyond all else, namely, a bit of vivid personal experience. It was not the sober ethical and political philosophy, and the logic, of Plato that interested Ficino and his Platonists very much; their chief interest was in the other—the mystical—side of Plato's teaching, especially as apparent in his doctrine of 'Eternal Beauty,' object of Philosophic Love, set forth in the *Symposium* and elsewhere. Hence it was that Ficino and his Platonists went eagerly on from Plato to Plotinus, in whose writings they found fuller satisfaction than in Plato's of their craving for vivid personal experience, and discovered a philosophy which offered, not so much propositions to be apprehended, as moments to be lived. Ecstasy, immediate contact with the One, union of self with God—this was the formula in which the new philosophy of the Platonic Academy (set forth by Ficino as a philosophy in perfect concord with Christian faith) was wholly included. The *Enneads* of Plotinus, translated into Latin by Ficino and printed at Florence in 1492, were first printed in Greek at Basel in 1580, and were being studied at Cambridge by 1633, if not earlier.

Burnet tells us that Whichcote, who began to teach at Emmanuel in 1633, 'set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin' (*Hist. of My Own Time*, i. 321), and Whichcote's pupil Smith, and the rest of the school, certainly show intimate knowledge of the Greek text of the Neo-Platonic philosopher, and bear ample testimony to the profound influence which he exercised upon them. It was the doctrine, or experience, of ecstasy—understood by them, however, not as an occasional and temporary state of religious exaltation, but rather as habitual con-

centration of affection, will, and understanding upon God, 'because of His own loveliness, excellency, and beauty' (Whicheote, *op. cit.* p. 213)—it was the Plotinian doctrine, or experience, of ecstasy, thus understood, that the Cambridge Platonists put in the very centre of their Christian philosophy. It became, in their teaching, equivalent to 'justification by faith,' to the 'sanctification' of men's souls by means of a 'vital efflux' from God upon them, making them partakers of His life and strength (Smith's *Select Discourses*, Worthington's ed., 1660, p. 312)—it appeared as 'nativity from above' (in Whicheote's phrase), as 'Divine sagacity' (in More's phrase), the crowning gift of God bestowed only upon those who practise the *dokmos* of a holy and virtuous life. The influence of Plotinus thus modified profoundly, even transformed, in the Cambridge Platonists, the notion of Scriptural interpretation with which mere Arminianism opposed the Calvinistic and other dogmatic interpreters. The Arminian teaching carried the Cambridge Platonists only thus far—that the reason of the good man, of the man in earnest about the holy and virtuous life, is the faculty by which the Scriptures are to be interpreted, and the essentials of religious doctrine and practice distinguished broadly (as they are never distinguished by the reason of the mere theologian) from the non-essentials. But the Cambridge Platonists could not rest with this. Reason must be sublimated into 'Divine sagacity' by the real presence of God in the soul. The interpreter of inspired Scriptures must be himself inspired.

It may be asked why Christian experience alone was not accepted by them as warrant for this far-reaching conclusion—why they appealed, in support of it, also to pagan experience and philosophy. The answer is, briefly, that for them the religious faculty is reason, which, though informed by the immediate presence of God, is still man's reason. Religion is 'reasonable,' and, especially on that part of it distinguished as 'Natural Religion' (which, indeed, is the foundation of Revealed Religion [see Whicheote, *op. cit.* p. 87 f.]) much light is thrown by philosophy, by the best thoughts of the best men, of all ages and faiths, who have employed their reason about the soul, the world, and God. These divines, then, naturally mixed Religion and Philosophy. Even the mediæval Church, although holding no brief for human reason, had recognized it in Aristotle as ancillary to Catholic belief. But the Cambridge Platonists, as Christian Humanists, held a brief for reason in religion, and were very specially and strictly concerned to show that reason had not failed man, even outside the Christian dispensation, in his endeavour after religion.

How seriously they regarded the obligation upon them to bring the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans into evidence, may be judged from the mass of classical erudition which cumbered the pages of most of them—especially of Cudworth and More. It is an uncritical, pre-Bentleyan erudition which—to take one curious instance of its general character—not only accepts, but dwells on and elaborates, the notion of the Mosaic origin of all that is good in Greek philosophy, especially in the teaching of the Pythagoreans and of Plato (described as *Moses Atticus*)—a notion which, it may be thought, stultifies the appeal, undoubtedly intended and made, to that philosophy as witnessing to the truths of Natural rather than of Revealed Religion.

But, after all, the distinction between Natural and Revealed Religion was not one to be very clearly defined by those who, on principle, mixed Religion and Philosophy, as the Cambridge Platonists did. Although there were some truths which plainly belonged to the realm of Natural Religion, there were others which belonged indeed to the realm of Revealed Religion, inasmuch as without the revelation contained in the Scriptures we should not have known them at all (e.g. that the Godhead is undivided Trinity, and that we are justified by

faith in Jesus Christ), but yet were to be detected, by those who already had them through revelation, as also obscurely appearing in the philosophical systems of men who had walked merely by the light of Nature—the 'candle of the Lord,' as Culverwel calls it. Thus we find the Cambridge school making much of the 'Trinity' of the Neo-Platonists; and we have seen that they connected the ecstasy of Plotinus with that 'nativity from above' in which their Christian experience realized the meaning of the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ. In fact, when they appeal to the Platonic or Neo-Platonic philosophy, they take little account of the distinction between Natural and Revealed Religion: perhaps because Plato, as being *Moses Atticus*, records revealed truths; but also for the deeper reason that revealed truth, limited by them to the essentials of religion which 'Divine sagacity' marks off from non-essentials, is, after all, only natural truth raised to a higher power, as it were—natural truth, no longer regarded from without as the object of theological science, but become the inward experience of one who has 'found religion.' The ecstatic condition of union with God described by Plato and Plotinus seemed, to the religious minds of men like Smith and More, to be an experience essentially the same as that of the man 'in whom Christ liveth'—the man for whom alone 'revealed truth' has vital meaning. In ecstasy, then, the Christian Religion and the Platonic Philosophy are mingled with each other, and that so intimately that the distinction between Natural and Revealed Religion seems to vanish in the result.

While their interpretation of the Platonic philosophy is thus as psychological, and as expressive of personal experience, as their interpretation of the Scriptures, their interpretation of ancient philosophy other than Platonic, notably of the atomic philosophy of Democritus, is not psychological, but dogmatic. The Platonic philosophy they found no difficulty in interpreting in the light of their own religious experience—they felt no temptation to read the dogmas of theological science into a philosophy which tallied so well with that experience. Their interpretation, accordingly, of this philosophy is good. But ancient philosophy other than Platonic, tallying with no personal religious experience of their own, they interpreted badly, reading into it the natural science of their day. So we find them (1) comparing the atomic philosophy of Democritus closely with the mechanical philosophy of Descartes; and then, as the former is obviously 'atheistic,' while it is necessary to show that the latter, though closely resembling the former, is not 'atheistic,' (2) arguing back to a common source of both—to a theistic Mosaic atomism, which Democritus perverted into atheism, but Descartes has revived in its original purity (see Cudworth's *Etern. and Immut. Morality*, bk. ii. ch. 4). Similarly the revolution of the earth and the other planets round the sun—the greatest discovery of the modern mechanical philosophy—was already known to the Pythagoreans, and to Numa Pompilius, who, indeed, symbolized it by making the temple of Vesta circular with a fire in the centre; but they had derived their knowledge from the Jews, who had it by Kabbalistic tradition from Moses (see More's Appendix to *Defence of the Philosophick Cabbala*, ch. 6, p. 126, ed. 1662). Thus in Democritus and the Pythagoreans was found the authority of Revelation for the methods and results of modern science. There could not be a greater contrast than that between the childish exegesis of the Cambridge School, where, on the one hand, a philosophy, like that of Democritus, is concerned, which appeals, not to their personal religious ex-

perience, but to their acquaintance with modern science, and, on the other hand, their illuminating exegesis of a philosophy, like that of Plato and Plotinus, into which they read, not their modern science, but rather, as it were, themselves.

The Cartesian philosophy has been incidentally mentioned; it is now time to consider it as one of the most important factors in the environment of the Cambridge Platonists—as the body, to quote More's phrase (Preface General to *Collected Works*, p. xviii), of which Platonism is the soul. This philosophy, so eminently rational, doubting all that rests on any authority except that of 'clear and distinct ideas,' making its ideal the explanation of the world according to mechanical principles mathematically expressible, naturally recommended itself to all those who, like the Cambridge 'men of latitude,' were contending for reason against authority. Cartesianism was, indeed, itself only a product of the Humanistic Renaissance, the air of which such men breathed everywhere, at this time. Thus we find Spinoza, who in his close association with the Remonstrants and Collegiants was in the same atmosphere, also naturally attracted by this rational philosophy of clear and distinct ideas, and writing his earlier works under its strong influence. Humanism, we must remember, not only gave new life to the study of classical literature and ancient philosophy, and was instrumental in bringing about great alterations in religious doctrine and practice, but was also the renaissance of Natural Science. Linacre, Harvey, Gilbert, Bacon, Galileo, Descartes, and many others were as truly products of Humanism as Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Aldus, Erasmus, Colet, and Montaigne.

The mechanical philosophy of Descartes, then, was quite naturally adopted by the Cambridge School—with certain reservations, as we shall see. Smith, his friend Worthington tells us, was chiefly instrumental in introducing the study of it at Cambridge. Culverwel, More, and Cudworth made large use of it, and important letters passed between More and Descartes in 1648, which were printed in More's *Collected Works* (1662), and specially referred to in his Preface General to that edition. But the Cambridge Platonists, we can see, felt themselves placed in a somewhat awkward dilemma in regard to the Cartesian philosophy. They were bound, as Humanists, to adopt it, for its mechanical principles were those in the light of which the Natural Sciences were making such notable advances at this time—advances to culminate ere long in the mathematical and physical discoveries of Newton, who was already in 1665 a graduate of Cambridge, and in 1669 Professor of Mathematics, although the publication of the *Principia* was to be delayed for many years.

The 'men of latitude,' then, were bound to accept the philosophy of Descartes, but could not conceal from themselves that it might easily be abused in the cause of 'materialism and atheism'—in fact, was being widely so abused, especially by those who had fallen under the growing influence of the writings of Hobbes. So, in order to divert the tendency of the Cartesian philosophy from materialism and atheism to the support of religion and a spiritual theory of the world, it was necessary, they felt, to insinuate into its very substance, as it were, another philosophy of an entirely different kind. This was their philosophy of the 'plastic principle,' or 'soul of nature'—an immaterial principle, spiritual, but unconscious, which pervades the universe, and, like the Platonic *anima mundi*, or the Aristotelian *poiesis*, is the immediate and immanent cause of all the beautifully contrived processes and products of the organic and inorganic worlds. Descartes, indeed, posits an immaterial

spiritual substance—God—as First Mover of the world; but leaves Him afterwards out of account: for the movements of the world, although started by Him, are explained as going on according to their own necessary mechanical laws; and it is an easy step, from this position, to dispensing with God altogether, and recognizing only those laws. So, into the Cartesian complex of mechanical laws, to be retained merely as a system of bare quantities lending themselves conveniently to exact computation, must be infused the vital quality of the 'plastic principle.' Thus, through the lieutenantancy of a spiritual, though unconscious, principle, God penetrates the world with His beneficent organizing activity, instead of remaining outside, a mere Force, while within, not He, but Necessity, rules. The argument for God's wisdom and goodness, 'from design in Nature,' which Cartesianism, by the prominence which it gives to mechanically necessary laws, invalidates, or even destroys, is thus rehabilitated by the theory of a 'plastic principle.' We can now regard those laws as so many quantitative expressions of a vital quality with which God continually inspires Nature in order to the accomplishment, through her, of His ends. Teleology is grafted upon the mechanical philosophy—we can infer Divine wisdom and goodness, not merely existence and power (see Cudworth's *Intell. Syst.*, ed. 1845, i. 274 ff.). As for the other cardinal doctrine of religion, beside that of the existence of a wise and good God—the immortality of the soul—it also rests on the theory of the 'plastic principle.' No finite soul can exist without a material vehicle, and it is the 'plastic principle' present in a soul which moulds matter—terrestrial, aerial, or ethereal—into a vehicle suitable to that soul's condition here on earth, or, after the death of this body, as a ghost in the air, or as a blessed spirit in the ether of heaven. Without the vehicle-building power of the 'plastic principle' within them, souls must perish, or, at least, pass into a state of eternal unconsciousness. Stories of ghosts appearing, and of witches transforming themselves into hares, are recorded—with especial *empressement* by More (in his *Immortality of the Soul*, and *Antidote against Atheism*)—as evidence of the survival of the soul after terrestrial death, and of the continuance of its vehicle-building plastic power, whereby it moulds an aerial body in place of the discarded terrestrial body, and—such is the force of habit—an aerial body resembling that terrestrial body, so that we can tell 'whose ghost it is' when a deceased person thus appears to us in his aerial body.

The 'demonology' of the Cambridge Platonists is a topic which no estimate of their intellectual and religious position can omit to take serious account of. They shared in the popular superstitious beliefs of their time: but that is not so astonishing as the deliberation and ingenuity with which they used both Stoic physics and the current scientific notions of their own day for the establishment of these beliefs, in the interest of religion. More (assisted later by his Oxford friend Glanvill, the author of *Sadducismus triumphatus*, 1682) goes further than the others in this direction; while Smith, judged by his Huntingdon Sermon (*Select Discourses*, 1660, Disc. 10), is the sanest of them. It is difficult for us to comprehend how these enlightened men should have given themselves so deliberately to superstition; but perhaps, after all, it is not more difficult to understand than that 'Cudworth, Newton, and Locke should all have concentrated their interest upon a literal interpretation of an obscure vision in Daniel' (Tullock, *Rational Theology in England in the 17th Century*, ii. 212).

There were other things in Descartes which the Cambridge Platonists did not like. His distinction between matter as 'extended substance' and spirit as 'substance without extension' they denounced as tending to atheism—More, in the Preface to his *Divine Dialogues* (1668), eventually receding from the friendly position of his *Letters to Descartes* (1648), and charging that philosopher himself with actual atheism. Spirit, both Cudworth and More argue, has extension, for extension is not necessarily material. If spirit were without extension, God

would be nowhere, instead of being everywhere. Space is extension, but not the extension of matter: therefore, unless there is extension of Nothing, space must be the extension of Spirit. In infinite space we have the extension of infinite Spirit (see Cudworth's *Intell. System*, iii. 232, ed. 1845). This notion is one of the most interesting in the metaphysics of the Cambridge School, and was associated in their minds with the victory of the Copernican over the Ptolemaic system of the heavens (see More's *Philosophical Poems*, p. 409, ed. 1847).

Another point on which we find the Cambridge divines insisting against Descartes is that the distinction between True and False, Right and Wrong, depends, not, as he teaches, on the will of God, but on the eternal nature of things, or law of the ideal world: the distinction is 'essential,' not 'arbitrary' (see Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* ii. 533). This law of the ideal world, logically prior to the will of God, as being the rule, or rather system of rules, according to which that will is always exercised, is equivalent to the *lógos nomós* of Plato, and the Divine *sofia* of his later followers. The Cambridge divines thus correct Cartesianism in this instance by means of the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, as they correct it elsewhere by means of the Platonic *anima mundi*, or 'plastic principle.' And the use which they make here of the doctrine of Ideas is as important in its bearing on their epistemology as it is on their theology, or philosophy of religion, and on their ethics. In accordance with this doctrine, knowledge is explained as man's participation in the mind of God by means of the Ideas, or *eternae rationes rerum*, which are at once His thoughts, from which, by act of His will, sensible phenomena are produced, and at the same time the mental forms in us, by the activity of which we take hold of these phenomena, and organize them into a rational experience. Here epistemology and theology are one, as they are in the kindred philosophy of T. H. Green. This theologic-epistemological use of the doctrine of Ideas, made by the Cambridge Platonists generally, is perhaps most clearly exemplified in the writings of More's Oxford correspondent and warm admirer, John Norris of All Souls, who, adopting the language of Malebranche, speaks of knowledge as 'seeing things in God' (*Reason and Religion*, 1689, pp. 187-194). In ethics, the doctrine of Ideas was used by the Cambridge divines mainly against Hobbes, whose philosophy they regarded with genuine alarm. If Cartesianism is the matter out of which—with certain rejections—the plastic power of Platonism, the soul of their philosophy, moulds a body for itself, Hobbism is the poison which kills philosophy body and soul.

Against the 'materialism and atheism' of Hobbes the arguments brought by the Cambridge Platonists were those which we have seen them using against Descartes, so far as that philosopher seemed to them to be dangerously defective or erroneous in his teaching about God and the soul. But their contention that the distinction between Right and Wrong is essential, not arbitrary, directed against the Cartesian conception of God, admitted—they at once saw—of extended use against Hobbes's conception of political sovereignty; and so we find them vigorously combating that conception with this same well-tried Platonic weapon. Further, since the counterpart of Hobbes's morality-making absolute 'sovereign'—whether monarch or assembly—is his 'subject' wholly actuated by self-regarding motives, to meet this side, or aspect—the 'subject' side—of Hobbes's political theory, we also find them armed, and with a weapon peculiarly their own, their employment of which gives them a most important,

though imperfectly recognized, place in the history of English Moral Philosophy. It is to the psychological observation of the Cambridge Platonists that English Moral Philosophy primarily owes the conception of 'a naturally good temper,' or of 'fellow-feeling,' which Shaftesbury undoubtedly got from them, and handed on to successors who made it a cardinal point of moral theory. Shaftesbury first printed his *Inquiry* in 1699, and in the Preface which he wrote in 1698 to his edition of Whichcote's *Sermons* a passage occurs which makes it plain that it was the Cambridge Platonists who not only originated, but gave, once for all, definite direction—the direction which it always retained—to that movement of reaction against Hobbes which may be said to constitute English Moral Philosophy as evolved throughout the 18th and the first half of the 19th century.

To Whichcote and his school—Cumberland being with them—belongs the credit of having put 'a naturally good temper,' or 'fellow-feeling,' in the position of paramount importance which it has ever since occupied in English Moral Philosophy. Hobbes, while it must be admitted that he made it quite clear that the public good is the end—here he was misunderstood by his critics—maintained that the 'sovereign' (monarch, or assembly, with *carte blanche*) is the only judge of the means towards this end; the Cambridge Platonists, followed by Shaftesbury and a succession of moralists down to J. S. Mill, maintained, against Hobbes, that the means to the public good are such only as the people—not the 'sovereign' wielding uncontrolled power, but the 'subjects' united by fellow-feeling—when consulted from time to time, themselves determine. And this was the doctrine which Locke afterwards made popular.

There are, doubtless, important differences between the philosophy of the Cambridge Platonists and that of Locke; but, so far as political theory is concerned, the differences are quite superficial. The Cambridge Platonists are as entirely with him on the political question of the 'liberty of the subject' as they are on the religious question of toleration. Locke's friendship with Cudworth's daughter, Lady Masham, is an episode in the history of philosophy which those who look beneath the surface of those times, while they do not attach too much significance to it, cannot but regard with sympathy.

Their attitude to Hobbes and his influence thus exhibits the position of the Cambridge School more clearly than anything else in their philosophy. We see how firmly and consistently they hold by the maxim of Humanism—that the judgment of the well-instructed and virtuous man is to be trusted in religion, morals, and politics. In these branches they are for reason against authority, for social feeling against self-regarding motives, for religious toleration and comprehension against sectarianism of Puritan and Prelatist, for the easy liberty of the subject, under a system of fair representation, against autocracy whether of monarch or of assembly—in short, they are against *centralization*, either in religion or in politics, whereby the judgment of the private man is suppressed in the one case, and his reasonable freedom of action in the other: that is, they are in favour of personal religion, and of individual initiative in the common work of effecting the public good. The ready-made religion which the political superior supplies to his subjects in Hobbes's polity is not religion, for it is not personal; and, on the civil side, the measures taken by that superior do not really conduce to the public good, for they exclude all initiative on the part of subjects united by fellow-feeling in the task of working out a common end. It was, of course, in personal religion that the Cambridge divines were chiefly interested; and the fact that Hobbes, by divorcing reason and religion, made personal religion impossible, was, doubtless, a ground for opposing him which came home to them with peculiar intimacy. And our

admiration of their courage is increased when we consider that in fighting Hobbes for rational religion against authoritative religion, for personal religion against official religion, they stood almost alone. Puritans and Prelatists alike were on the side of authoritative and official religion—the religion of Protestant Confession, or of Catholic Church. The influence of Bacon, too, as well as that of Hobbes, was against the Cambridge divines; almost everybody in England said, or implied, that reason and religion must be kept apart. The Cambridge divines stood almost alone in maintaining that theology and the Christian life require the independent application of the private man's reason to the problems of religion, natural and revealed. These are problems, they maintained, which admit only of a personal solution within the Christian experience of each man.

We must now make brief mention of some contemporaries, not belonging strictly, or at all, to the Cambridge School, but either sharing their views independently or influenced by them.

The greatest of these is Jeremy Taylor. He entered Caius in 1626, the year after Milton entered Christ's. He became Fellow of Caius in 1633, but in 1636 migrated to All Souls', Oxford, where he came within reach of the influence of Falkland and his Great Tew set, including Chillingworth, whose *Religion of Protestants* was published in 1637. This influence, tending in the same direction as that of Whichcote, who was beginning to be well known about the time Taylor left Cambridge, was, we must believe, one of the causes which produced the *Liberty of Prophesying*, published in 1647. At any rate, this work is a plea for reason in religion, and for toleration and comprehension (see Tulloch, *op. cit.* i. 384).

The next name that should be mentioned is Stillingfleet. By 1690, as Bishop of Worcester, he had hardened into orthodoxy, and was ready for his attack upon Locke; but in his earlier days his sympathy was with the Cambridge School. During all the seven years he was at St. John's, Cambridge (1648–55), Whichcote's Trinity Church Lectures were going on; and in 1659, the year before the Restoration, Stillingfleet published his *Irenicum*, written entirely in the spirit of Whichcote's teaching, and urging men to sink their religious differences, even to the extent of trying to find common ground on which Presbyterians and Episcopalians might be united in one Church. The Restoration, however, put an end to that idea; and Stillingfleet, we must suppose, suffered disillusion. It was scarcely in the spirit of the Cambridge Platonists that he carried on his polemic with Locke.

As Taylor urged Latitudinarian views upon England at the time of the Civil War, and Stillingfleet at the end of the Commonwealth, when men were prepared for the Restoration, so Burnet, standing closer to the Cambridge School than either, was one of those chiefly instrumental in giving practical effect to these views in the settlement of affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, which followed the Revolution of 1688. As we have seen, he visited Cambridge in 1663, when a young man, making there the acquaintance of Cudworth and More. The 'notions of the Latitudinarians,' then imbibed, brought Burnet into much trouble afterwards, till, at the Revolution, in 1688, he became Bishop of Salisbury, and, during his long tenure of 25 years, found it possible to give some effect to them.

Patrick, whom Burnet mentions in his *Autobiography* and in his *History of My Own Time*, was a Fellow of Queens', Cambridge, when Smith, also a Fellow of that College, died in 1652, and he preached the funeral sermon appended to Worthington's edition of Smith's *Select Discourses* (1660).

Patrick, as this rather florid, but evidently sincere, eulogium shows, was an enthusiastic admirer of Smith; and, in his various preferments, ending with the See of Ely, must be regarded as one of those who helped to keep Latitudinarian principles before the country.

Rust, educated at St. Catherine's, became Fellow of Christ's in 1649, and was a friend of More. Soon after the Restoration, at the invitation of his friend Jeremy Taylor, he went to Ireland, where he was ordained, and, after many preferments, succeeded Taylor as Bishop of Dromore in 1667. Among other works he published, in 1683, *A Discourse of the Use of Reason in Matters of Religion . . . against Enthusiasts and Deists*.

Tillotson, who appears in Burnet's list of 'men of latitude,' was closely allied with the Cambridge School, and preached the sermon at Whichcote's funeral.

Fowler was the author of *Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England abusively called Latitudinarians, in a Free Discourse between two intimate Friends*, published in 1670, which, together with Burnet's records and S. P.'s *Brief Account*, is our principal authority for the impression which the Cambridge divines made on their contemporaries. He became Bishop of Gloucester.

Turning now from public men to philosophical writers who shared independently, or were influenced by, the doctrine of the Cambridge School, we find six names standing out prominently: Glanvill, Norris, Cumberland, Shaftesbury, Samuel Clarke, and Berkeley.

Glanvill (1636–80) was of Oxford. His *Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661) is a philosophical piece entirely in the spirit of the Cambridge Platonists; and his later work on witchcraft (*Sadducismus triumphatus*) was produced in collaboration with More.

Norris was also of Oxford; he entered Exeter College in 1676, and became Fellow of All Souls' in 1680. In 1683–84 he had a correspondence with More which he published in 1688, the year after More's death. His *Reason and Religion* was published in 1689, the year he left Oxford for a country living and married. In 1701 and 1704 he published, in two parts, *The Theory of the Ideal and Intelligible World*. His philosophy closely resembles that of Smith and More: by grasping the Eternal Ideas man enters into the mind of God—this is Malebranche's 'seeing things in God'; and it is in 'ecstasy' that a man so enters into the Divine mind. The ecstatic habit can be cultivated; and *Reason and Religion*, with its 'Contemplations,' each followed by an 'Aspiration,' is a practical Devotional Treatise, 'written,' as its author tells us in the preface, 'for the use of the *Learned Reader*, who, perhaps, needs as much to be assisted in his devotion as the more ignorant.' While Norris is thus a close follower of the Cambridge divines in philosophy, he apparently had not much sympathy with their ecclesiastical position. At any rate, in 1692 he became Rector of Bemerton near Salisbury, in Burnet's diocese—a poor man with a growing family, he complains, but with no hope of preferment from his Bishop. He was, it would seem, a strong Anglican and Tory, opposed to Nonconformists and Whigs.

Cumberland entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1648, and became Fellow in 1656. He was thus a contemporary, during his residence at the University, of the leading members of the Cambridge School. In 1661 he was Rector of Brampton in Northamptonshire. In 1672 he published his *de Legibus Naturæ*, and in 1691 he was made Bishop of Peterborough by William III. In the *de Legibus Naturæ* he opposes Hobbes with

arguments similar to those used against him by Cudworth and More; and, with Whichcote, dwells especially on good-nature, or social feeling, 'Obligation to the exercise of the moral virtues,' he maintains, 'flows immediately from hence, that such actions are enjoined by the Law of Nature, which, in its ultimate form, is Benevolence to all Rationals,' although he adds (what Whichcote and his school would have put otherwise): 'and the sanction of that law is briefly deduced from the consequences which attend such a Benevolence, at the appointment of the Author of Nature.' Whichcote, with the approval of Shaftesbury, insists most strongly on the natural, not arbitrary, connexion between virtue and reward, vice and punishment; we are punished for our sins, not because God so wills and appoints it, but because sin naturally produces misery. This difference between Cumberland and the Cambridge School does not, however, as it happens, amount to much; it does not affect Cumberland's attitude towards the common enemy, Hobbes, and it is to be accounted for by the difference between the juridical technique of a writer deeply influenced by Grotius, and the Platonic technique of the Cambridge School.

We have already seen how considerable Shaftesbury's debt is to Whichcote and his followers, and need only add now that Shaftesbury also owed something to Cumberland's insistence on the notion of the public good as the object of benevolence. We assist here at the birth of Utilitarianism, which, in one form or another, has ever since held the field in England.

Samuel Clarke was an important man in his day; but his *Boyle Lectures* (1705-6) are wearisome reading now. He has nothing new or suggestive to say. His system is, in skeleton, that which the 'men of latitude' had brought forth in living flesh. Obligation to virtue is laid upon us by our reason apprehending 'the eternal fitness of things'; but this 'eternal fitness' Newton's pupil looks at with the eye not of the Platonic mystic but of the pure mathematician.

In Berkeley's *Siris* (1744) the Cambridge philosophy for the last time is embodied concretely in a single work—and in a work which might almost have been written, a century earlier, by Henry More. Its immediate object is to press the claims of tar-water as a panacea. Tar, the exudation of the pine, contains the vital virtue of the universal soul of Nature in a concentrated form. From tar-water, so informed, Berkeley 'soars very high,' on Platonic wings, up into the metaphysics of religion and morals.

To sum up: the Cambridge Platonists hold their place in an 'Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics' on four main grounds: (1) They present the idea of 'personal religion' in a very impressive way, and with great sincerity. (2) They were preachers of religious toleration and comprehension, at a time when everything seemed to be against the prevalence of these ideas. (3) They gave direction to English Moral Philosophy by supplying Shaftesbury and his followers, down to the Utilitarians of the 19th cent., with the notions of 'good-nature' and 'fellow-feeling,' as dispositions relative to the 'public good.' (4) On the other hand, their use of the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, in theology and epistemology, presents them as contributing also to the idealistic side of English Moral Philosophy. T. H. Green's 'reproduction of the Eternal Consciousness in my consciousness' bears close comparison with the Cambridge tenet—'participation of man's mind in God's mind through apprehension of the *eternae rationes rerum*.' Comparison of Green with the Cambridge divines makes it clear that his philosophy is a phase of Christian Platonism.

LITERATURE.—J. Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, Edin. 1872, gives the fullest and most connected account of the 'Cambridge Platonists' and their religious environment. The present writer wishes to acknowledge many obligations to this standard work, as well as to the *D.N.B.* Westcott's paper on 'Whichcote' in his *Religious Thought in the West*, London, 1891, is illuminating; and Inge in his *Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899, deals briefly, but in a sympathetic and suggestive way, with the teaching of the School. Campagnac's Introduction to his *Cambridge Platonists* (selections from Whichcote, Culverwel, and Smith, Oxford, 1901) is a good piece of work, which the student will find useful. Mention may also be made of Symon Patrick, *Works*, including his 'Autobiography,' ed. with Introduction, by Alex. Taylor, Oxford, 1858.

J. A. STEWART.

CAMEL.—1. In Arabia.—The camel is the animal essential to Bedawi life. On account of its meagre demands, its endurance, and its swiftness, it is the usual vehicle for long journeys across the desert. Camel-rearing is one of the most important arts with the Bedawin, and tribes vie with each other for the honour of producing the finest camels. The breed of *mahris*—a name now used to designate saddle-camels—was introduced by a tribe of South Arabia, the B. Mahra. As a general rule, the male is the pack-animal (*rākid*), and the female the mount (*radif*).

The words used in ancient Arabia for the chief actions in the process of harnessing camels have come down to us, but they are not in entire agreement with modern terminology. The Arabic language has quite an extensive vocabulary reserved for the camel itself. Besides epithets which do duty as names of the camel, and general words like *jamal* (which has, through *κάμηλος*, spread into the languages of Europe), *'ibīl*, *ba'ir*, and *nāqa*, Arabia has a large number of words to designate the animal according to its age and its economic rôle. The word *māl* appears to have meant 'camels' before acquiring the meanings of 'large cattle' and 'moveable property' (cf. Lat. *pecus*, *pecunia*). The designation, 'ship of the desert,' applied to the camel, seems strange when we think of the exclusively inland life of the Bedawin, and was apparently unknown to ancient poetry (see, however, Jacob, *Altar. Beduinleben*, p. 61 f.), but it exists in modern poetical works of quite a Bedawi type, e.g. in the following lines given by Musil (*Arab. Pet.* iii. 253): 'What thinkest thou of this ship without mast? How it moves on! It is the female camel of the chief, which is ridden by a gallant cavalier.' The explanation of the phrase seems to be as follows: the root *rkb*, conveying the idea of 'bestriding an animal,' gave rise to the word *markar*, with the sense first of 'mount' (horse or camel), then of 'ship'; and by a sort of backward play of words the idea of 'ship' has come to displace that of 'camel.' Besides, the form of the classic palanquin of the desert, the *dolī*, has always called up to the minds of travellers the image of a barque.

In the ancient literature of Arabia, just as in practical life, the camel has a pre-eminent position, both alongside of the horse and before it. There is not a single poet of the desert but sings the praises of his camel and, by a play of imagination that is something of a shock to Western minds, compares his mistress to it, often carrying the analogy to minute details. Snouck Hurgronje (*Mekka*, 1888, ii. 188) recalls the cry of women lamenting a dear husband: 'O my son, my eye, my camel,' interpreting it in the sense of 'O thou who wast my help in supporting life's burden.' This precious animal is what the generous host offers as a feast to a hungry traveller. The legendary host of ancient Arabia, Hātim at-Ta'i, found a means of making this gift, after his death, to the Yemenite chief who fell asleep near his tomb. The camel is also the most perfect sacrifice that the Bedawi can present to his gods. But, besides offering it as a

victim, round which a small social, family, or tribal group sat at table in a ritual feast, the Bedawi also consecrated his camel as a living offering to the pre-Islamic deities; and Nilus, writing in the 5th cent. A.D., has described a heathen Arab camel-sacrifice in considerable detail (summarized, from *PG* lxxi. 612 ff., in art. ARABS [ancient], vol. i. p. 665^b). Owing to the prohibition contained in the Qur'an (v. 102), traditionists have furnished valuable though contradictory details on certain pre-Islamic usages relating to the camel. The words *sā'iba* and *waṣīla* meant camels which had had ten young ones and had therefore become *harām*, i.e. sacred. After this no one was allowed to mount them or milk them; they were tabu, under the protection of the god. Their last offspring was generally sacrificed and eaten in a solemn feast, from which women were usually excluded. The name *sā'iba* was also given to the camel which a man in a position of danger—e.g. in the course of an adventurous *razzia*—promised to consecrate to a sanctuary if his hopes of success were fulfilled. The *sā'iba* was *harām* for everybody except the guardians of that temple in whose sacred enclosure (*himā*) it passed the rest of its life. The same treatment was given to the stallion with a numerous posterity, the *hāmī*. If these sacred animals wandered from the *himā*, they had to be led back with due veneration. They were easily recognized by the mark (*wasam*) stamped on a conspicuous part of their body by means of a red-hot iron. Similar marks distinguished the victims destined for sacrifice. Although this custom had a religious significance which roused the opposition of Muhammad, the Prophet retained the practice of putting an external mark on the animals destined for the solemn sacrifice made by pilgrims at Minā on the 10th of Dhū'l-hijja. The camels have a collar formed by two sandals hung on a grass rope. But the marking of flocks, and of camels in particular, was not confined to those beasts consecrated to a deity; in ceremonies beginning with a sacrifice, and with the object of protecting a flock from epidemics, and at annual gatherings, which they held at a fixed time, the Bedawin used to mark all the young beasts with a tribal and individual *wasam*. In this way the owner, besides performing a religious act, obtained a practical means of recovering lost or stolen animals. The marking of camels, which is attested by the earliest Arabic literature, and, in various regions, by rock-pictures, the date of which it is difficult to determine, is still a living custom; its economic importance is paramount. But the hospitable and religious sacrifice of camels is tending to disappear, the victims nowadays being less valuable animals.

It is impossible to fix with certainty the antiquity of the camel in the Mediterranean countries. According to arguments derived from texts, it was introduced into Syro-Palestine at the time of the Judges, and into Egypt with the Assyrian conquest. Its introduction into North Africa we must, with René Basset, carry back to the time of the Arabian conquest.

The camel plays an important rôle in Mussalmān history. We learn from the Qur'an (vii. 71-77, xi. 64-71) that Allāh sent a prophet named Ṣāliḥ to the B. Thamūd to preach the worship of the true God; he consecrated a female camel to Him, according to the rites which have been discussed above, and threatened a terrible judgment on any one who should prevent the animal from pasturing freely on the land of Allāh. The B. Thamūd were obstinate in their idolatry, and, disregarding the tabu of the holy camel, they hamstrung and killed it, as a punishment for which they were destroyed by fearful storms.

The war which, according to the Arab traditions, raged for forty years between the B. Bakr and the B. Tarlib, and which is called the War of Basūs, originated in the slaying of the camel Sarāb and its young one by Qulaib b. Rabi', chief of the B. Tarlib.

It is well known that the battle in which 'Alī met his chief adversaries, 'Ā'isha, Talha, and Zubair, near Baḡra in Jumād-al-Awwal, A.H. 36 (Nov. 656 A.D.), received the name of the Battle of the Camel. In the last hours of the combat the palanquin of 'Ā'isha, borne on a camel specially bought for the purpose, served as the centre for the final resistance of the vanquished. The historians tell us of the groups of warriors, small tribes, or fractions of tribes, who came up in turn to surround the 'Mother of Believers,' and in turn disappeared in the confusion of flight; sixty warriors seized the camel's bridle in their hands, and perished or lost the use of the hand. Finally, to stop a fratricidal struggle, a rally of the last defenders who were fighting under 'Alī's standards succeeded in hamstringing the camel, and so put an end to the combat. Now, all this description, down almost to its very details, is the same as that derived from modern observation of Bedawi life: when they are setting out to fight, the daughter of the chief, in bridal attire and wearing heavy jewellery, mounts the *dolī*, and, standing upright in it, takes part in the fight. Surrounded by faithful followers, she is the rallying-point of the riders, in the successive movements of sudden charge and rapid flight that compose the whole strategy of the desert. She stimulates the warriors of her tribe by her presence and her impassioned words of encouragement, and it is round her camel, fallen prostrate on its hamstringing legs, that they offer their last struggle.

LITERATURE.—Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, p. 61 f.; Lefebvre in *Actes Cong. Orient.* 1905, pt. ii. sec. vii. p. 24; Flamand, *ib.* p. 63; René Basset, *ib.* p. 69; Jaussen, *Coutumes*, Paris, 1907, p. 209; Musil, *Arabia Petrea*, Vienna, 1908, iii. 253. GAUDEFRY-DEMOBYNES.

2. In OT and Talmud.—The camel is mentioned with great frequency in the OT as belonging to the rich and as a beast of burden (for data see, for example, *HDB* i. 344 f.; *EBi* i. 633-636; *PRE*³ ix. 729-731; *JE* iii. 520 f.); but here it has, of course, no religious significance, although it was unclean, and might not be used for food (*Lv* 11^a, *Dt* 14^a; on various theories regarding this prohibition, cf. *PRE*³ xxi. 746). In later times the camel came to figure in proverbs, of which the best known are naturally the two quoted by our Lord: 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God' (*Mt* 19^a and parallel passages),¹ and 'to strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel' (*Mt* 23^a).

The Talmud also contains several proverbs about the camel. 'For instance, "In Media the camel can dance on a bushel-basket" (*Yeb.* 45a), meaning that in Media everything is possible; "as the camel, so the burden" (*Sota* 13b): "the camel asked to have horns, so his ears were cut short" (*Sanh.* 106a); "there are many old camels who must bear the burdens of the young ones" (*ib.* 52a) (Krauss, in *JE* loc. cit.).

3. Among the Iranians.—Outside Arabia, it is among the Iranians that we find the chief allusions to the camel. Zarathustra beseeches Ahura Mazda to grant him 10 mares, a stallion, and a camel (*Yasna* xlv. 18); camels are classed among sacrificial animals (*Vendidad* xxii. 3), and are part of the riches of Airyaman (*ib.* xxii. 20); while to him who has offered a perfect sacrifice the personification of Benediction (*āfrīti*) comes 'in the form of a camel of prime quality, most rutting in intense rut' (*Pursišnihā* xxxii., ed. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-93, iii. 66). To the Iranians the camel was evidently the most valuable of all

¹ The Talmud (*Berakhoth* 55b, *Baba meṣ'a* 38b) has a similar proverb, except that 'elephant' is substituted for 'camel' and the NT saying recurs in the Qur'an (vii. 38).

the larger kind of cattle, for *Vendidad* ix. 37 prescribes that

'a priest thou shalt purify for a pious benediction; the country-lord of a country thou shalt purify for a male camel of prime quality; the district-lord of a district thou shalt purify for a stallion of prime quality; the village-lord of a village thou shalt purify for a bull of prime quality; the house-lord of a house thou shalt purify for a cow that is with calf' (cf. also *Vendidad* vii. 42, xiv. 11).

The camel is vividly described in *Yast* xiv. 11-13 as the fourth of the ten incarnations of Verebrayna, the god of victory, but the passage has no particular religious value as regards the animal under consideration.¹ It is more interesting, in this connexion, to note that, according to Strabo (p. 733), an apple or a bit of camel's meat was eaten just before the consummation of marriage, doubtless with reference to the salacity of the animal, to which the Avesta repeatedly alludes. In the Avesta, *ustra*, 'camel,' not infrequently forms a component of proper names (Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 515), as *Fraŋsōstra*, 'having camels that press forward'; *Vohuŋstra*, 'possessing good camels'; and—foremost of all—*Zarəuŋstra*, the great Iranian reformer himself.²

4. In India.—Here the camel is a relatively unimportant animal, and in the earlier period *ustra*, the Indian counterpart of the Avesta *ustra*, 'camel,' meant 'buffalo' (Spiegel, *Arische Periode*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 49, 51). The main habitat of the camel in India is Rajputāna (Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums-kunde*, Leipzig, 1858-74, i.² 349), and in northern India 'the bones of the camel are very useful for driving off insects from a sugar-cane field, and buried under the threshold keep ghosts out of the house. Pliny says that a bracelet of camel's hair keeps off fever' (*PR* ii. 36). The camel figures, however, to some extent in Sanskrit proverbs. Some of these represent the animal in an unfavourable light, as greedy, stupid, etc. 'A camel in a garden looks only for thorns'; 'a camel will trample down a screwpine [a bush noted for its fragrant flowers] to get at thorns'; and to touch a camel or an ass is even more polluting than to touch a dog, a cock, or a Chāṇḍāla [a member of the lowest Hindu caste]; but, on the other hand, the camel receives praise for its perseverance in getting sweet fruit from unusual places (Böhtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, St. Petersburg, 1870-73, Nos. 1548, 2885, 6597, 6216). In modern India the camel is occasionally found as a *dramatis persona* in folk-tales from the north (Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, London, 1892, pp. 15-17, 34-36, 269 f., 310 f.; Crooke and Rouse, *Talking Thrush*, London, 1899, pp. 33-35, 43-46).

5. In Africa and in Europe.—The camel is not indigenous in Africa and Europe, and it plays a rôle of no religious importance. In the latter continent it has never had any real economic value, though its name in various forms (on these, see especially Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 404-406) is found in every European tongue.

LITERATURE.—Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugetiere bei den südsem. Völkern*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 144-46; Hahn, *Haustiere und ihre Beziehung zur Wirtschaft des Menschen*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 220 ff.; Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 356-61. Reference may also be made to the bibliographies appended to the various encyclopedias mentioned in the text.

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¹ The Pahlavi *Dinkart* ix. xxiii. 2f. (tr. West, *SBE* xxvii. 234) preserves a tradition that Vāt, the (good) wind-god, was temporarily transformed into a camel by Kai Khusrō, who then rode him over vast distances.

² On the suggested explanations of Zoroaster's name, see especially Jackson, *Zoroaster*, New York, 1899, pp. 12-14, 147-149; Justi, *op. cit.* p. 381; a worthless guess of Hüsing and Hoffmann-Kutschke, that *Zarəuŋstra* stands for *zavəra-vastra*, alleged to mean 'having sacrificial shrubs (for the haoma sacrifice),' is still seriously advanced by Prädel, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906-10, ii. 122 f., who ignores Bartholomae *Zum altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1906, p. 240.

CAMISARDS.—'Camisards' is the name given to those Protestants of the Cevennes who for several years resisted by force of arms the attempts made by the government of Louis XIV. to convert them to Roman Catholicism. The word is doubtless derived from *camisa*, a dialectic form of *chemise*; and its use in this connexion arises either from the practice of fighting in white shirts or blouses, or from an incident at the siege of Montauban in 1629, when such a blouse was used as a signal. The word *camisade* appears in early military French as the equivalent of 'night-attack.'

Geographically, the name 'Cevennes' is given to the long, curving line of broken ridges extending nearly from Lyons to Narbonne, which marks the edge of the central table-land of France, where it breaks down eastward to the basin of the Rhône. Locally, however, 'the name is limited to a tangle of schist ridges and deep-cleft ravines constituting that portion of the arc which is between the Coiron and the limestone plateau of Larzac' (Baring-Gould, *Book of the Cevennes*, 1907, p. 2). This 'inextricable network of mountains and deeply furrowed valleys' is drained by the rivers Allier and Lot, Ardèche and Gardon, and represents to-day the upper parts of the Departments of the Loire, and the Lozère, the Ardèche and Gard. In the 17th cent. the population of this bleak highland district was prevalently and intensely Protestant, and had already offered a stubborn resistance to the repressive measures that went before the Edict of Nantes.

The immediate cause of the troubles and the hostilities in the Cevennes was the exterminating policy of Louvois against the Protestants, which was set free from any legal trammels by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. That Edict, reluctantly granted by Henry IV. in favour of the Protestants who had raised him to the throne, had itself fallen far short of their claims and rights as citizens. But for many years before its revocation it had been so administered, and so disregarded, that the situation of the Protestants was already very hopeless. The condition of affairs is thus described by Jean Claude in a letter to the Marquise de Regnier (1685):

'The severities which are practised in France are of such a kind that human nature is no longer able to resist. If it were possible to foresee a termination of them, one might resolve to face them, and death would be a motive for constancy, instead of a temptation. But the horrors that are practised, inconceivable in themselves, not only have no end, but go on increasing, and are of such a kind that we are bound to fall either into despair, or into frenzy and an entire loss of reason, or into apostasy.'

This situation became even more acute after the Revocation. The first blow was the banishment of the Protestant clergy, of whom six or seven hundred quitted France. The next was the prohibition of emigration for the Protestant laity. Then followed the wholesale demolition of Protestant churches, imprisonment and torture for those who refused to conform, and the galleys for thousands of those who resisted. Louis XIV. had allowed himself to be persuaded that the Revocation would not cost a drop of blood. Before its work was done, 12,000 Protestants had been executed in Languedoc alone, and at least half a million had quitted the country, taking with them much of its best blood, its best character, and its highest industrial skill.

The administration of the Decree in Languedoc was committed to Lamoignon de Bâville, a man of unflinching severity against the Protestants, though by no means a blind admirer of the Catholic clergy. He continued to govern the province for thirty-three years, at the end of which he had crushed Protestantism, but almost depopulated the country. The resistance in the Cevennes divides itself into two periods, the first from 1686 to 1698, when it was mainly passive, the second from 1700 to 1709, when it was marked by fierce outbreaks of active warfare, one of which lasted for eighteen months. The banishment of the pastors and the prohibition of public worship drove the people to private assemblies and the ministrations of lay preachers.

Among the latter, who were known as 'predicants,' François Vivens and Claude Brousson (formerly an advocate at Toulouse) were specially conspicuous. Bâville, vigorously assisted by the Duc de Noailles and the Marquis de la Trousse, turned the soldiery loose upon these assemblies, slaying and hanging the worshippers and arresting the predicants. Many of the latter were executed, burnt alive, or broken on the wheel; many more, with thousands of their followers, were shipped off to the galleys. What that meant of shame and torture may be learnt from the narrative of Jean Bion, himself a Catholic chaplain on one of the ships. It was always open to the Protestants to escape by recanting, and large numbers gave way under the terror of persecution, but many still remained firm. Their endurance was largely fortified, and their enthusiasm inflamed, by the writings and correspondence of Pierre Jurieu, the learned antagonist of Arnauld, Bossuet, and Bayle, who, from his place of exile in Rotterdam, and chiefly by means of his 'Pastoral Letters,' exercised an immense influence over the Protestant remnant in France. His prophecies of speedy deliverance, based on his interpretation of the Apocalypse, raised the hopes of the people. The prediction of Claude was verified. Many of the Protestants of Languedoc, avoiding renunciation of their faith, fell into frenzy. An infectious ecstasy seized people of all ages and of both sexes. They heard supernatural voices. They spoke with tongues. Children of the tenderest years were the subjects of most extraordinary manifestations. Quite uneducated persons gave utterance, when 'seized by the Spirit,' to prophecies in the purest French. Many of these prophecies were taken down, and a long series of them, uttered by Elias Marion, is printed in *A Cry from the Desert*. Animated by such enthusiasm, the resistance was maintained over a period of ten years, and it was not until the capture and execution of Brousson broke the heart of the people that Bâville could claim even a partial and temporary success.

The death of Brousson was followed by a year or two of comparative calm; but it might be thought that Bâville foresaw the outbreak that was to come, seeing that he kept his troops busily employed in constructing a network of roads, practicable for cannon, throughout the whole district. The flame of enthusiasm was kindled anew by the ecstatic utterances of a travelling sempstress from Dauphiné. It spread like wildfire through the Cevennes, though Bâville did his utmost to extinguish it. At last the people were goaded into open war. A chief object of their execration was the Abbé du Chayla, the arch-priest of the Cevennes, in whose prisons at Pont Montvert in the Lozère many Protestants suffered unspeakable tortures. Under the leadership of one Séguier, a body of the Camisards attacked his house, delivered his prisoners, and slew him (1702). Bâville inflicted terrible reprisals, but the spirit of the peasants was roused to fury, and for some two years they sustained an open war with the armies of the king. Calling themselves 'les enfants de Dieu,' and their camp 'le camp de l'Eternel,' they regarded themselves as God's instruments for the destruction of 'Babylon and Satan,' the Roman Church and priesthood. Their principal leaders were Laporte, Roland, and Cavalier—the latter but a youth of seventeen, who had been a baker's apprentice. The number of fighting men probably never exceeded four thousand; but their methods of guerrilla warfare, and their knowledge of their own rocky fastnesses, compelled Bâville to collect from 40,000 to 60,000 men to hold them in check. Shocking cruelties were perpetrated on both sides. A great tract of country was devastated and almost depopulated. The issue of successive engagements varied. At

length Montrevel was superseded in the command of the army by Marshal Villars, whose more diplomatic methods met with better success. He offered an amnesty, freedom of conscience, and the right to leave the country, to such as chose to accept it. These terms were accepted by Cavalier and some of his followers. He himself quitted France, and, after serving with credit in Italy and Spain, entered the British army, where he rose to the rank of Major-General, and died as Governor of Jersey (1740). Others of the Camisards, many of whom thought that Cavalier had betrayed the cause, attempted to carry on the struggle; but after the fall of Roland, the most chivalrous of their leaders, their powers of combination and resistance were broken; and, except for a fruitless rising instigated by Abraham Mazel in 1709, the Camisard movement was at an end.

For a brief time the Camisards constituted a small English sect known as French Prophets, and in their land of refuge showed forth their most unlovely and fanatical traits. They claimed to be able to prophesy and to work miracles, advocated communism of property, and asserted that the Messiah was about to establish His kingdom with terrible doom for the wicked. They gained a considerable following even among the English, but their meetings became so disorderly that legal proceedings were required to check them. Finally, in 1708, they overreached themselves by claiming that one of their number, Thomas Emes, would rise from his grave on May 25 of that year; but the resurrection did not take place, and the resultant disillusionment brought about the speedy decay of the sect.

LITERATURE.—Apart from the general histories of the Church in France, the following works may be specified out of the copious literature: (A) PROTESTANT: Benoist, *Hist. de l'édit de Nantes*, 5 vols., Delit, 1693-95, esp. the last volume, which has a useful appendix with lists of prisoners in the galleys, and a collection of the edicts against the Protestants; Jean Claude, *Les Plaintes des Protestans*, etc., Cologne, 1686, new ed. 1885; Cavalier, *Memoirs of the War of the Cevennes*, London, 1713 [to be used with caution]; *A Cry from the Desert*, with preface by John Lacy, London, 1707; Misson, *Le Théâtre sacré des Cevennes*, London, 1707; Jurieu, *Lettres pastorales*, Rotterdam, 1686-89; Elias Marion, *Evangelical Warnings* (with verbatim report of his prophecies), London, 1707; Antoine Court, *Hist. des troubles des Cevennes*, Villefranche, 1760; Peyrat, *Hist. des pasteurs du désert*, Paris, 1842; Frosterus, *Les Insurgés protestants sous Louis xiv.*, Paris, 1868; Bonnemère, *Hist. de la guerre des Camisards*, Paris, 1869; Blanc, *De l'Inspiration des Camisards*, Paris, 1859; *Mélange de littérature historique et critique sur tout ce qui regarde l'état extraordinaire des Cevennois*, London, 1707; Coquerel, *Hist. des églises du désert*, Paris, 1841; *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protest. français*; Baird, *The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 1895.—(B) CATHOLIC: Fléchier, *Lettres choisies avec relation des fanatiques*, Paris, 1715; Brueys, *Hist. du fanatisme de notre temps*, Utrecht, 1709-18; Louveteau, *Le Fanatisme renouveau*, Avignon, 1704-07; *Mémoires de Bâville*, Amsterdam, 1734; *Mémoires de Villars*, The Hague, 1734; de la Baume, *Résumé de la révolte des Camisards*, Nîmes, 1874.—(C) FOR THE FRENCH PROPHETS: Bulkeley, *Answer to several Treatises lately published on the Subject of the Prophets*, London, 1708; 'Hugthon' (pseudonym of Edward Pugh), *Copious Account of the French and English Prophets*, London, 1811.

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CAMPANOLOGY.—See GONGS and BELLS.

CAMPBELLITES.—See DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.

CANAANITES.—The name Canaan first appears in the Tell el-Amarna letters under the forms *Kinahni* (𐎎𐎏𐎗) and *Kinahhi* (𐎎𐎏𐎗) as a designation of the lands at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, which we include to-day under the names of Syria and Palestine. In Egyptian inscriptions of the XIXth dynasty the name is always found with the article *p'-K'-n'-n'* (Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iii. 88, 617, iv. 219; Müller, *Asien*, 205 ff.), and is a general term for the Asiatic dominions of Egypt. In the OT it has commonly the same wide scope. What 'Canaan' means, and whether the name of the race is derived

from the land, or that of the land from the race, are unsettled questions. In this article 'Canaanite' will be used as a general designation of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine. The religion of the later Canaanites, who were contemporary with the Hebrews, will be discussed in art. PHœNICIANS.

A. SOURCES OF INFORMATION.—I. Excavations in Palestine.—Since 1890 more or less extensive excavations have been carried on in the mounds of Palestine, and these have shed a flood of new light upon the religious beliefs and practices of the ancient Canaanites.

In 1890 Petrie made an exploratory survey of the mound of Tell el-Hesi, the Biblical Lachish (Petrie, *Tell el-Hesi*, 1891). Between 1891 and 1893 Bliss excavated about one quarter of this mound (Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1894). In 1898 Bliss and Macalister ran exploratory trenches into the mounds of Tell Zakariya (Azekah?), Tell es-Safi (Gath?), Tell Judeideh, and Tell Sandahannah (Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 1902). From 1902 down to the present time Macalister has been excavating in a very thorough fashion the great mound of Gezer, the Biblical Gezer (Macalister, *PEFS*, 1902-3, *Bible Side-lights from the Mound of Gezer*, 1907). In 1902-3 Sellin excavated Tell Ta'annek, the Biblical Taanach (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, 1904), and in 1903-5 Schumacher excavated Tell el-Mutesellim, the Biblical Megiddo (Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, 1908).

All these mounds contain remains dating from the earliest period of Palestinian history. They show that a homogeneous civilization prevailed in the land prior to the Hebrew conquest, and they give a fairly complete idea of the religion of the aborigines.

Mention should also be made of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, a collection of nearly 300 letters sent by petty kings of Canaan to the Pharaohs Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. (c. 1400 B.C.), which were discovered in 1887 at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. These were written in Canaan, and therefore properly come under the head of Palestinian archaeology. One letter of this series was found at Lachish, and four letters of the same period have been discovered by Sellin at Taanach. All are rich in allusions to religious beliefs and rites, and contain a large number of theophorous names of persons and places (see Winckler, *KIB* v. [1896]; Knudtzon, *BASS* iv. [1899] pp. 101-164; *Vorderasiat. Bibliothek*, ii. [1907 ff.]).

2. Babylonian inscriptions.—The evidence is now abundant that the Amorites entered Babylonia at the same time as they entered Palestine, and that the founding of the so-called First Dynasty of Babylon was a result of their invasion (Meyer, *Gesch.* i. 2, pp. 465, 544 ff.). In contract-tablets of this period an immense number of proper names of a Canaanitish-Hebrew type make their appearance; and, as these are nearly all theophorous, they throw much light upon the religious conceptions of the Amorites (see Ranke, *Early Bab. Personal Names of the Hammurabi Dynasty*, 1905). Besides this, the Babylonian inscriptions of about 2000 B.C. contain a number of direct statements in regard to the religion of *Amurru*, or the 'Westland,' which stood at that time under Babylonian rule.

3. Egyptian inscriptions.—From the earliest days the Egyptians interfered in the politics of Canaan, and in their records names of Canaanite gods occur, either independently or compounded with the names of places or persons. Canaanite colonies also settled in Egypt, and introduced their gods into that land. When the Egyptians became a conquering power under the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, they had no war-gods of their own, and consequently they extensively adopted the deities of their warlike Semitic neighbours. During the New Empire, Semitic fashions and Semitic religion made great progress in Egypt, and hosts of Canaanites were settled in that country either as slaves or as officials. The result is that the Egyptian records, particularly of the

New Empire, contain many references to the religion of Canaan (see Müller, *op. cit.* 309-318).

4. The Old Testament.—The OT contains numerous statements, mostly in the form of prohibitions, concerning the religion of the race which Israel dispossessed. It also discloses survivals of Canaanitish ideas. The Hebrews did not exterminate their predecessors, but mingled with them, and adopted their civilization. The language which we call Hebrew is the language of the glosses to the Tell el-Amarna letters, and Is 19¹⁸ calls it 'the language of Canaan.' It differs little from the dialect spoken by the Phœnicians. The place-names of the Israelites were nearly all derived from the earlier inhabitants, and many of them are found in the Egyptian inscriptions and in the Tell el-Amarna letters. So far as they contain the names of gods, they may be used unhesitatingly for the history of the pre-Israelitish period. The OT also informs us that Israel served the *be'elim*, and worshipped in their high places; accordingly, it is probable that most of the sanctuaries of later times were survivals of ancient Canaanite holy places. It is certain also that the sacred traditions of these shrines were learned by Israel from the Canaanites, and were gradually transformed to accord with the genius of the religion of Jahweh. The Book of Genesis contains many evidences of a fusing of two strands of tradition, a Hebrew and a Canaanite, corresponding to the fusing of the two races; and, so far as the Canaanite elements can be disentangled, they are useful for reconstructing the religion of Israel's predecessors (see Paton, 'The Oral Sources of the Patriarchal Narratives,' *AJTh*, 1904, p. 658). Many rites of the religion of Israel, particularly those connected with the planting of grain, the reaping of crops, and the celebration of harvest festivals, must have been derived from the earlier inhabitants of the land.

5. The Phœnician religion.—The Phœnicians were the lineal descendants of the Canaanites; hence it is natural to look among them for survivals of primitive Canaanite religion, and to interpret obscure phenomena of earlier times by the later Phœnician religion.

From these various sources we must now seek to re-construct the religion of the ancient Canaanites.

B. THE PRE-SEMITIC ABORIGINES.—The earliest archaeological remains in Palestine belong to the Palæolithic age. These have been found in small numbers, and have never been adequately described. From them it is impossible to draw any conclusions in regard to the race or the religion of the people who produced them. Neolithic remains are more numerous, and furnish a better basis for historical conclusions. The excavations that for the last seven years have been carried on by the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer have disclosed in the lowest level of the mound a series of caves in the soft limestone rock that were once occupied by Neolithic men. As the marks on the walls show, these caves were excavated with tools of bone, stone, or wood; and in them only bone and dressed-stone implements have been found. They must belong to a period from 3500 to 3000 B.C., because they are three feet below the level in which scarabs of the XIIth Egyptian dynasty first appear (*PEFS*, 1902, p. 347; 1903, p. 12; 1903, pp. 317-321; 1905, p. 309 f.; 1907, p. 186; 1908, pp. 213-217). Similar caves were found by Sellin under the mound of Taanach, although in this case they contained no remains. Other caves in all parts of Palestine doubtless date from the same early age, but no thorough investigation of them has thus far been made.

This race was in the habit of burning its dead; and for this purpose fitted up one of its caves at

Gezer as a crematory, cutting a chimney up through the solid rock, in order to secure a good draught (*PEFS*, 1902, p. 347 ff.). The floor of this cave was covered to a depth of a foot with the ashes of human bodies. In this stratum a sufficient number of fragments of bones were found to permit a re-construction of the ethnological type. None of the individuals exceeded 5 ft. 7 in. in height, and most were under 5 ft. 4 in. From the shape of the skull and from other indications it may safely be inferred that these people did not belong to the Semitic race (see the report of Macalister, *PEFS*, 1902, p. 353 ff.). The same conclusion may be drawn from the fact that they burned their dead, since cremation was not a Semitic custom. From the circumstance that they deposited food and drink with their dead, it may be inferred that they believed in some sort of immortality, and that they practised ancestor-worship.

Around the entrance to this cave, and in the floors, sides, and entrances of other caves, an immense number of so-called 'cup-marks' are found. These are melon-shaped depressions formed by rotating a hard stone upon the soft surface of the rock. They vary from the size of a thimble to that of a barrel, and are often arranged in complicated patterns (*PEFS*, 1902, p. 361; 1903, pp. 124, 316 ff.; 1904, pp. 35, 112, 197; 1905, p. 310; 1908, p. 213). It is clear that most of them cannot have served any utilitarian purpose, particularly when placed on vertical surfaces; and the fact that they are constantly associated with menhirs, dolmens, cromlechs, and altars seems to indicate that they have a religious significance (see Spoer, *ZATW*, 1908, p. 271 ff.). Herodotus (ii. 106) states that he saw in Syria pillars on which γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα were cut. These correspond to the menhirs, found in all parts of Palestine, and evidently intended to represent phalli on which cup-marks are engraved. They show, apparently, that the cup-marks were symbols of a female deity worshipped by these aborigines, and that they were intended to represent either the inverted breast, or, as Herodotus says, the γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. These symbols were multiplied for magical purposes around dwelling-places, just as crosses are multiplied on Christian buildings. From them we may perhaps infer that the chief divinity of the pre-Semitic Canaanites was a mother-goddess, and that they were still organized on the matriarchal tribal basis. From the fact that nearly equal numbers of male and female bones were found in the crematory, it may be concluded that polyandry was not practised.

It was natural that a people dwelling in caves should think of their deity as also inhabiting one. Traces of such a sanctuary seem to be found at Gezer. In the central valley, which lies between the two summits of the mound, a rock-surface about 90 ft. square has been unearthed, which is covered with 83 cup-marks, varying in size from a few inches to 6 ft. in diameter. Two of these, measuring 3 ft. in diameter, are surrounded with small standing stones set on end and cemented together with clay. Another, 2 ft. 3 in. in diameter, has cut from its bottom a passage, too narrow to admit a full-grown man, which leads to a cave beneath the rock-surface. In this cave a large number of pig-bones were found, which suggests that the rock-surface above was a place of sacrifice, and that the blood and portions of the victims were poured down through the passage into the *adytum* below. The same cave is provided with a concealed entrance, which may have served some priestly purpose; and two other caves, with cup-marks in their floors, in the immediate vicinity evidently form part of the same complex (*PEFS*, 1903, pp. 317-321; 1904, pp. 111-113). Similar rock-cut high places with caverns beneath

them, dating apparently from the earliest period, have been discovered at Taanach (Sellin, *op. cit.* 34) and at Megiddo (Schumacher, *op. cit.* 156). All three sanctuaries bear a close resemblance to the Qubbet es-Sakra in the Haram at Jerusalem, with its rock-surface and underground passages. Cup-mark areas with small circles of standing stones have also been found at Tell Judeideh and at Tell es-Sâfi (Bliss-Macalister, *op. cit.* 194 ff.; Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 92 ff.).

The only other evidences of the religion of the Neolithic aborigines are amulets found in their caves. A few phallic emblems have been discovered, but these are not so common as in the later Semitic levels (*PEFS*, 1902, p. 342; 1903, p. 22; 1904, p. 112). Along with them, in larger numbers, are found small stone rings (*PEFS*, 1903, p. 23; 1904, p. 113; 1904, p. 120). These cannot be spindle-whorls, as was at first conjectured, since undoubted spindle-whorls are found along with them. It seems more likely that they are feminine symbols (analogous to the cup-marks) that were worn on the person as amulets (cf. the objects depicted by Schumacher, *op. cit.* 52). In the ashes of the crematory at Gezer a rude terracotta figure of a man's head was found (*PEFS*, 1902, p. 358; 1904, p. 19). There is nothing to indicate that this was an idol. This race apparently stood upon a lower religious level than that of image-worship.

C. THE SEMITIC CANAANITES.—From the Egyptian records it is clear that, at least as early as 2500 B.C., Palestine was occupied by a Semitic race which exterminated the earlier inhabitants (Meyer, *op. cit.* i. 2, p. 389). From contemporary Bab. records it appears that this race was called *Amurru*, the Amorites of the OT (Meyer, *ib.* 465).

I. THE PANTHEON.—(a) *General names for the gods.*—Can. religion bore a close resemblance to the religion of the pre-Muhammadan Arabs and of the Semites in general (see ARABS, SEMITES). It was a complex system of polydemonism and polytheism, in which everything that could do something, or was believed to be able to do something, was deified. Personal names of the gods were commonly avoided, and they were called by titles that expressed their power or authority.

1. EL.—The most general designation of a divinity was *el* (Heb. אֱל, 'god'), which probably means 'power' (from the root פָּוֶה, 'be strong'). It is frequent in Amorite names of the 1st dynasty of Babylon (Ranke, *op. cit.* 99 ff.). In Palestine it occurs as early as 1500 B.C. in the list of cities conquered by Thutmose III.

The place-names compounded with *el* are *Y(e)-'a(e)-b'-a-ra* = Jacob-el (Thutmose, No. 102; *MVG*, 1907, p. 27; Egyptian makes no distinction between *l* and *r*); *Y(a)-sha-p-'(e)-ra*, perhaps Joseph-el, or Jeshebel, in any case a compound with *el* (Thutmose, No. 78; *MVG*, 1907, p. 23); *Ma-sha-'(e)-ra* = Misha in Asher, probably also a wrongly vocalized *el*-compound (Thutmose, No. 39; *MVG*, 1907, p. 16); *Ha-r-'(e)-ra* = Har-el, 'mount of a god' (Thutmose, No. 51; *MVG*, 1907, p. 24).

In the Amarna letters *el* occurs frequently in names of persons, e.g. *Balti-ilu* (Winckler, 51. 20; 125. 3, 28); *Milki-ilu* (163. 27, etc.); *Ili-milki* (179. 86); *Yabni-ilu* (113); *Shabi-ilu* (128. 26).

From the time of the XXth dynasty we meet *Rau-i' (e)ra*, possibly = Levi-el (Müller, *Egypt. Researches*, p. 49); *'(E)-ry-m* = El-ram, an inspector under Ramses ix. (Breasted, *Records*, iv. 221); *Bk-n-ur-r-'r* = Beknur-el, the chief of police under Ramses ix. (Breasted, iv. 253); *Bk-ur-n-r* = Bekur-el, the wife of Seti i.; *B'-dy-r'* = Bed-el, the king of the Canaanite city of Dor in the time of Ramses xii. (Breasted, iv. 278); *W'-r-'k'-ty-r'* = Berket-el, a rich shipowner of Sidon in the time of Ramses xii.; *M'-m-rw* = Makam-el, a Syrian prince of the same period (Breasted, iv. 279).

All the place-names compounded with *el* in the OT are probably survivals of Canaanite nomenclature. These are *El-'ale* (Nu 32.37, Is 15.16, Jer 48.94); *El-'kosh* (Nah 11); *El-'tola* (Jos 16.90, 194); *El-'teke* (Jos 19.44, 21.28); *El-'tekon* (Jos 16.99); *Arb-el* (Hos 10.14); *Ar'-el*, perhaps an ancient name of Jerusalem (Is 29.2, 7); *Jabne-el* (Jos 15.11); *Jezre-el* (Jos 15.6 and *etc.*); *Tijath-el* (Jos 19.4, 27); *Yehabbe-el* (Neh 11.29); *Jofthe-el*

(Jos 15³⁸, 2 K 147); *Jirpe-el* (Jos 1527); *Migdal-el* (Jos 1938); *Ne'-el* (Jos 1927); *Penu-el* (Gn 32³¹ etc.); *Kabe-el* (Jos 1521, 2 S 23²⁰, 1 Ch 11²⁷).

In none of these cases was *el* understood as 'God' in a monotheistic sense, or even in a monarchical sense; nor was it the name of an individual deity, as it became later among the Hebrews. It was generic, and denoted the particular divinity who dwelt in a place, or whose activity was recognized in the name of a person. Any one of the innumerable gods or demons might be called by this title.

2. *Ba'al*.—When an *el*, or 'power,' was regarded as the 'proprietor' of a city or sanctuary, he was known as *Ba'al*. Here also no one god was meant, but every superhuman being, from the lowest sort of local demon to the highest Nature-god or tribal god, might become a *ba'al* by establishing a relation with a particular holy place (see BAAL). *Ba'al*-names are common in the Amorite period in Babylonia, e.g. in the Obelisk of Manishtusu (Hoschander, *ZA*, 1907, pp. 285-297; Ranke, p. 72). Through Semitic settlers and captives, and through borrowing of Asiatic cults, many of the *b'-alim* of Canaan became naturalized in Egypt during the period of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, being identified either with Set or with Montu. The name *ba'al* is regularly used with the article in Egyptian, as in Can.-Heb., which shows that it is in no sense a proper name, but only an appellative (see Breasted, iii. 46, 140, 147, 154, 200, 271, iv. 25, 27, 36, 42, 44, 48, 57, 61, 63, 140). From these passages it appears that the Canaanitish *b'-alim* were regarded by the Egyptians as primarily gods of storm and of war.

A *Ba'alat Zaphon*, the feminine counterpart of the Biblical *Baal Zaphon*, appears at Memphis in the time of Ramses II. (BAAL, ii. 288). The daybook of a frontier official in the time of Mernptah records *Ba'al-at-remeg* and *Shem-ba'al* as names of Canaanites who had passed that way (Breasted, iii. 271). A butler in the time of Ramses III. bore the name of *Makar-ba'al* (Breasted, iv. 213). The king of Gebel in the time of Ramses XII. was *Zakar-ba'al* (Breasted, iv. 279). Müller adds the names of *Ba'al-ram* and *Sau-ba'al* (Asien, 300). *Ba'al-ram* appears as a proper name in one of the letters discovered at Tanach (Sellin, *op. cit.* 118). (For additional evidence of the use of the name *ba'al* in ancient Canaan, see BAAL, ii. 290b.)

When the deities were viewed in relation to their worshippers, they were called by various names of kinship and authority, like human heads of families and rulers. Such names are *amm* or *dād*, 'father-uncle'; *ab*, 'father'; *ah*, 'brother'; *melek*, 'king'; *dan*, 'judge.' In none of these cases is the title to be understood as the name of an individual god. Any *el* or *ba'al* might become a 'father' or 'uncle' or 'king' by being worshipped by a particular group of people; consequently all these epithets are just as indefinite as are *el* and *ba'al*.

3. *Amm*.—One of the oldest of these titles is *amm*, 'father-uncle,' which dates from a polyandrous stage of social organization, when the child did not know its father, but only a group of husbands of the mother, any one of whom might be either father or uncle. Under such circumstances the chief divinity of the tribe could not be known as 'father,' but only as *amm*, or 'father-uncle' (see AMM).

Proper names compounded with this epithet are common during the period of Amorite supremacy in Babylonia: e.g. *Ba'i-ami*, *Imi-itu*, *Ama-Sin* (Obelisk of Manishtusu); *Ammu-rabi*, or *Hammu-rabi*, the sixth king of the 1st dynasty; *Dur-amm* (King, *Hammu-rabi*, iii. p. lxx); *Ammi-astana*, one of the kings of the 1st dynasty; *Ammi-ada-ga*, another king of the same dynasty; *Zimri-hammu* (Cun. Texts, iv. 1a, line 8); *Yashdi-hammu* (ib. 2, line 21) (see Ranke, 65, 85; for proof of the West Semitic origin of names of this type see Zimmern, *KAT* 3 480). In the Egyptian tale of Sinuhe (c. 1970 B.C.) the sheikh of Upper Tenu in Palestine bears the name *Ammu-nashi* (= שִׁיחַ אֲמֻנָּה; Breasted, i. 238). In the Amarna letters we meet *Ammi-ya* (Winckler, 119. 11; 120. 15, etc.), the name of a district; *Ammu-nira*, king of Beirut (96. 29; 128-130) = *Hamu-niri* (71. 15, 66, 69; 91. 53, 133). In the list of Thutmose III. (No. 43) occurs *Y(a)-b-ra'-a-mu*, i.e. Jible'am (Jos 17¹¹ etc.). The other names of places compounded with *amm* in the OT are doubtless all of Canaanite origin, since *amm*-formations

belong to the earliest period of the Semitic languages. These are *Jokde-am* (Jos 15⁴⁶), *Jokme-am* (1 K 4¹³), *Jokne-am* (Jos 12²² etc.), *Jorka-am* (1 Ch 2²⁴), *Am-ad* (Jos 19²⁶).

4. *Dād*.—Similar in meaning to *amm* is *dād* (Heb. דָּד), 'paternal uncle' (primarily 'beloved'). It occurs in West Semitic personal names as early as the Obelisk of Manishtusu, e.g. *Bit-dada* (C. xi. 4; cf. C. xvii. 1), *Dada-uagar* (Cun. Texts, ii. 3-43, 4). It appears perhaps in the name of the Egyptian commissioner *Dudu* in the Amarna letters (Nos. 44, 45, 52). The name of the city, *Ash-dod*, may also be compounded with this divinity (cf. *Ash-bel*). *Dād* lingers in Heb. names of persons, e.g. *El-dad* (Nu 11²⁸), *Eli-dad* (Nu 34²¹), *Dad-jahu* (2 Ch 20³⁷), *Bit-dad* (Job 2¹¹ etc.), and the name is applied to Jahweh in Is 5¹, perhaps also in Am 8¹⁴, according to the text of the LXX.

5. *Abu*.—When fraternal polyandry gave place to polygamy and children knew their fathers, then the chief god of the clan was known as *abu*, 'father.' This stage of social development had already been reached by the Amorites. Proper names compounded with *abu* are common in tablets dating from the period of the Amorite 1st dynasty of Babylon. Two of the kings of this dynasty are *Abi-eshu'a* and *Sumu-abi*. Other names of this period are *Abi-ramu* (= Abram), *Abi-arah*, *Abi-ilu*, etc. (see Ranke, 58). In the famous fresco on the tomb of Khnumhotep of the time of Sesostri II. (c. 1900 B.C.), one of the Asiatics there represented bears the name '(A)b-sh-(a) i.e. *Abi-shai* or *Abi-shua*. In the patriarchal tradition of Gn 20³ the king of Gerar bears the name *Abi-melek*, and in Gn 14² the king of Admah is *Shin-ab*. In the Tell el-Amarna letters (149-156) we find *Abi-milki*, king of Tyre.

6. *Ahu*.—Another frequent title of deities in ancient Canaan was *ahu*, 'brother,' 'kinsman.' Amorite names of this type appear in Babylonia as early as the Obelisk of Manishtusu (Scheil, *Textes élam.-sém.*), e.g. *Ahu-tabu* (A. xv. 14), *Ahu-issap* (C. xvii. 3), *Ahu-patan* (D. xi. 12), *Ahu-shumu* (B. i. 7; C. v. 3); *Ali-ahu* (A. x. 25) (see Hoschander, *ZA*, 1907, pp. 260-265). In documents of the Hammurabi period we meet a large number of names of this formation (see Ranke, 62 ff.).

7. *Melek*.—*Melek*, 'king,' is not a *ba'tle* title of divinities. Nevertheless, forms compounded with *melek* occur in the Obelisk of Manishtusu (Scheil, *op. cit.* 41 ff.), doubtless as names of Amorite settlers in Babylonia. In Cun. Texts, xii. 34, *Malik* appears in a list of foreign gods. In the Amarna letters there are several compounds with *melek*, e.g. *Abi-milki*, king of Tyre (nos. 149-156); *Abdi-milki* (77. 37; 252); *Il-milki* (102. 36; 151. 45), or *Milki-ili* (163. 27, etc.); *Milku-uru* (61. 53; 69. 85; 53. 43). The place-names *Emeg-ham-melek* (Gn 14⁷, 2 S 18¹⁸), which has probably come down from Canaanite times, and *Yad-ham-melek* in the list of Sheshonk (Breasted, iv. 351), may contain this title of deity. See, further, AMMONITES.

8. *Adon*, 'master,' which is so frequent as a designation of deities in the OT and in Phœnician inscriptions and proper names (see Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epig.* 152 f.; *KAT* 3 398, n. 2), appears in the Amarna letters in *Adunu*, the name of the king of Arqa (79. rev. 2; 119. 10).

9. *Dan*, 'judge,' is a common Semitic epithet of gods. In Assyrian it is a title of Shamash, the sun-god, and is found in the names of the king *Ashur-dan* and the general *Dayan-Ashur*. In the Amarna letters it appears in *Addu-dan* (163. 37) and *Addu-dayan* (239-240). It survives in the Heb. place-names *Dan* (Gn 14¹⁴ etc.) and *Mahanah-dan* (Jg 18¹³), and probably in the tribal name *Dan*, which bears the same relation to the personal names *Dani-el* and *Abi-dan* as the clan-name *Ram* bears to *Jeho-ram* and *Abi-ram*, or as *Jacob* and

Joseph bear to the place-names *Jacob-el* and *Joseph-el* in the list of Thutmose III.

10. *Kôsh*, 'lord,' is found in the place-names *Ka-su-na* (List of Thutmose III., No. 37; *MYG*, 1907, p. 16) = *Kîshôn* (Jg 4⁷ etc.) and *El-kôsh* (Nah 1⁴). This title survives in Heb. in the personal name *Kôsh-Yahu* (1 Ch 15¹⁷) and *Bar-kôs* (Ezr 2²⁸, Neh 7²⁸), also in the Edomite royal names *Kaush-malak* (*KIB* ii. 21) and *Kaush-gabri* (*KIB* ii. 239). In later times *Kôsh* became the standing title of the national god of the Edomites.

11. *Addar*, 'noble,' as a title of deities, may perhaps be inferred from the Pal. place-names *Addar* (Jos 15³) = *Hazar-addar* (Nu 34⁴), and *Adoraim* (2 Ch 11⁹), both of which are mentioned in the list of Sheshonk I. (Breasted, iv. 350, 353), and *Ataroth-addar* (Jos 16⁹ 18¹³). Cf. the names compounded with *adur* in Bab. (*ZA*, 1907, p. 256).

12. *Shem*.—A curious anticipation of the late Jewish use of *shem*, 'name,' as a substitute for *Jahweh* is found already among the Amorites in the use of *shumu*, or *shem*, as a title of divinities. This is seen as early as the Obelisk of Manishtusu (B. i. 7; C. v. 3) in the personal name *Ahu-shumu*, 'name is a brother' (*ZA*, 1907, p. 264). It appears in the names of two of the kings of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, *Sumu-abi* and *Sumu-la-ilu*, and also in such names as *Sumu-ramu*, *Sumu-atar*, etc. (see Ranke, 151). In the Amarna letters we meet *Shumu-Addu*, i.e. *Shem-Hadad*, prince of Sham-huna (no. 220), *Shum-Adda* (11. 13; 221); cf. the Heb. name *Shemu-el*, Samuel.

13. *Elyon*, 'high,' is preserved in Gn 14^{18a} as the title of the god of the Canaanite priest-king Melchizedek. According to Philo Byblius (*ap. Euseb. Praep. Evang.* i. 36), this name was in use among the Phoenicians. It also survived among the Hebrews as a title of *Jahweh*.

(b) *Nature-gods*.—Having now enumerated the general titles of divinity, we proceed to investigate the individual deities of the Canaanites. Here, as among all the other Semites, the powers of *Nature* held a conspicuous place.

1. *Shemesh*, or *Shamash*, 'the sun.'—*Shamash* is mentioned along with *Belit* and the other gods as one of the chief divinities of *Gabal* in the Amarna letter, Winckler, No. 87. 65. In No. 156. 6 he is coupled with *Adad*, the storm-god. In other passages he is spoken of as the source of human life and joy (144. 11; 149. 52; 150. 21). Several place-names compounded with *Shemesh* in the OT bear witness to the ancient prevalence of his worship; e.g. *Beth-Shemesh*, 'house of the sun,' in Judah (Jos 15¹⁰ etc.) = *Ir-Shemesh*, 'city of the sun' (Jos 19⁴¹); also in Naphtali (Jos 19³⁸), and in Issachar (Jos 19²²); *En-Shemesh*, 'spring of the sun' (Jos 15⁷ 18¹⁷). Synonymous with *Shemesh* is *Heres*, which is found in *Har-Heres*, 'mount of the sun,' a city of the Amorites (Jg 1⁹), and *Tim-nath-Heres*, 'territory of the sun' (Jg 2⁹). It so happens that none of these names occurs in the Egyptian records or in the Amarna letters, but there is no reason to doubt that they belong to the Canaanite period.

2. *Yareah*, 'the moon,' is not mentioned as an object of worship in the pre-Israelitish period; the names *Sin* and *Sin-ai* seem, however, to attest the antiquity of the moon-cult under its Bab. form. The native Can.-Heb. name is found, apparently, in *Yerêh*, Jericho (so Jerome, *OS*, 78. 6; the older comm.; Siegfried-Stade, *Heb. Wörterb.*; Sayce, *Early History*, p. 250). *Lebanâh*, 'the white,' one of the names of the moon, seems to be found in the place-names *Libnah* and *Lebanah*; and *Hadashah*, 'the new moon,' in the town of that name (Jos 15²⁷). *Bit-arha* (Knudtzon, *Amarna*, 83. 29) seems to be the same as *Beth-yerah*, 'house of the new moon.' The worship of the moon prevailed among the

Hebrews down to a late date (Dt 4¹⁹ 17³, 2 K 23³, Jer 8², Job 31²⁶), and was universal in other branches of the Semitic race; it cannot, therefore, have been lacking among the Canaanites. Star-worship also was probably not absent, although no traces of it have survived, unless it be in the place-name *Kesil*, 'the constellation Orion' (Jos 15³⁰). The name *Beer-sheba*, 'well of the Seven,' may also be connected with the cult of the Pleiades.

3. *Zaphon*, 'the north,' or *Ba'al Zaphon*, 'owner of the north,' appears in the place-name *Zapuna* (Amarna 174. 16) and *Zaphon* in Gad (Jos 13²⁷, Jg 12¹). It occurs also in the feminine form *Ba'alat Zaphon* as a deity worshipped at Memphis (*Sallier Papyrus*, 4, 1 rev.) (see BAAL, ii. 288^b).

4. *Addu*, *Adad*, or *Hadad*, was the storm-god of Canaan. *Ad-da-ad* appears written phonetically in the list of gods, K. 2100 (see Bezold, *PSBA* xi. p. 174 ff.), with the added remark that this name is used especially in Amurru (the Amorite land). This god entered Babylonia at an early date with the Amorite settlers, and there became synonymous with *Ramman*, 'the thunder' (Zimmern, *KAT*³ 442 ff.; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* i. [1905] 146 ff.). In the time of the Amorite 1st dynasty he occupied a conspicuous position. In the conclusion of the Code of Hammurabi, where the king pronounces curses upon those who shall abrogate his laws (xliii. 64), he says:

'May Adad, the lord of abundance, the ruler of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of the rain from heaven and the water-floods from the springs! May he bring his land to destruction through want and hunger! May he break loose furiously over his city and turn his land into a heap left by a whirlwind! In Amarna 149. 13 f. he is described as the god 'who utters his voice in heaven, so that the whole land trembles at his voice' (cf. 150. 7).

His name occurs more frequently than any other as an element in personal names in the Amarna letters, e.g. *A-ad-du* (Winckler, 125. 17), *Ad-da-ya* (163. 37, etc.), *Yapti-Ha-da* (217a. 6, cf. p. 414), *Rib-Ad-di* (53. 1) = *Rib-Ha-ad-di* (83. 1), also written ideographically *Rib-IM* (54. 2), *Shum-ad-da* (11. 18) = *Shumu-Ha-di* (223. 1). Whether the ideogram *IM* in other names such as *Amur-IM*, *Abd-IM*, *Natan-IM*, *Yapa-IM*, *Yapah-IM*, *IM-dayan*, *Mut-IM*, and *IM-mahir* is to be read *Addu* or *Ba'al* is doubtful (see BAAL, ii. 290^b). In any case it is certain that *Addu* had become the chief *ba'al* of Canaan, and that the Egyptians thought mostly of him when they spoke of the *ba'al* (see above, C. I. (a) a). In the OT the name survives in the personal name *Hadad* (Gn 36²⁵, 1 K 11¹⁴) and in the place-name *Hadad-rimmon* (Zec 12¹¹).

In early Bab. inscriptions this god frequently bears the ideographic title *MAR-TU*, which, according to an Assy. interlinear version (Reisner, *Hymn.* p. 139, lines 143, 145), is to be read *Amurru*, 'the Amorite'—a name given with reference to his foreign origin. He bears also the title *KUR-GAL*, 'great mountain,' and is called 'lord of the mountain,' which seems to indicate that he had become the *ba'al* of Lebanon, the region in which his worshippers dwelt (Jensen, *ZA* xi. 303 f.). In Aramaic endorsements on Bab. documents of the Persian period, both *MAR-TU* and *KUR-GAL* are rendered by מַרְ, i.e. *Amurru* (Clay, *Bab. Exp. Univ. Penn.* x. 7, xiv. viii, also *Studies in memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 301, 304, 311, and *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, 1909). On Bab. seal-cylinders he is represented holding a boomerang (the thunderbolt) in his right hand, and a spear (the lightning) in his left hand, occasionally as standing on a stag or a wild goat. These attributes identify him with the storm-god (see E. Meyer, *Sumerier u. Semiten* = *ABAW*, 1906); the goddess *Ashera* is regarded as his consort (Reisner, 139) as well as the consort of *Ramman* = *Addu* (Sayce, *ZA* vi. 161). There is no reason, accordingly, to doubt that *Amurru* is merely a title of *Addu* (see Zimmern, *KAT*³ 443, 447; Meyer, *Gesch.* 2. 466 ff.).

5. *Resheph*, 'the lightning,' is hardly more than a variant of *Addu*. Under this name the god was early adopted from the Canaanites by the Egyptians. A text of Ramses III. reads: 'The officers

are mighty like Resheph. . . . His name is a flame, the terror of him is in the countries' (Breasted, iv. 22). A city in Egypt bore the name of 'House of Resheph' (*TSBA* iii. 424). On the Egyptian monuments he is represented with Semitic features, armed with shield, club, and spear, wearing a tall conical cap, around which is a fillet bearing a gazelle's head. The type does not differ much from the representations of Amurru-Hadad (see the figures in Müller, *Asien*, p. 311; *Egypt. Researches*, p. 33; Spiegelberg, *OLZ*, 1908, col. 529). Resheph continued to be worshipped by the Phœnicians down to the latest times (see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, 154, s.v., also *Ephemeris*, i. 150 f.; Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 50 ff.). He survives also in the place-name *Kashpuna* (Rost, *Tiglat-Pileser III.*, *Annals*, 126; *Smaller Inscriptions*, i. 5, iii. 1). A Phœnician seal of the 14th or 15th cent. (Ménant, *Glypt.* 204 f.) depicts him in a manner similar to the Egyptian representations. In the OT *resheph* is the lightning-stroke of Jahweh, with which He inflicts pestilence and death (*Dt* 32²⁴, *Ps* 78⁴⁸). Synonymous with Resheph was *Barak*, 'lightning,' which appears in the place-name *Benê-Berak* (*Jos* 19⁴⁶), and the personal name *Barak* (*Jg* 4⁶ etc.). Closely connected is *Reseph*, 'thunder-bolt,' which occurs in the Phœnician compound name מִקְרָחַי (Cook, p. 361), and in the name of Saul's concubine *Risphah* (*2 S* 37).

6. *Sharabu* and *Birdu*, 'heat' and 'cold,' appear in Bab. lists of gods as the Amorite names for corresponding Bab. divinities (Zimmern, *KAT* 415).

7. *Selem*, 'darkness,' is a well-known deity in Arabia and in Babylonia. He appears in the Amarna letters in the place-name *Buru-silim* (Winckler, 71. 64, 67), and in the OT in the mountain *Salmon* (*Jg* 9⁴⁸) and the town *Salmonah* (*Nu* 33⁴).

8. *Uru*, 'light,' seems to be found in *Uru-salim*, Jerusalem, in the Amarna letters; also in *Milk-uru* (Winckler, 61. 53, 69. 85, 52. 43), with which should be compared *Uru-milki*, king of Gebal in the *Annals* of Sennacherib, ii. 50. Personal names compounded with *Ur* or *ur* are common in later Heb. and Phœnician. According to Clay, *Uru* is used as a synonym of *Amurru* in Bab. texts.

9. *Sheol*, 'the under world,' seems to have been personified as a deity by the ancient Semites, to judge from the proper names *Methu-shael*, *Mi-shael*, *Shalul* (Saul). Hence the place-name in the list of Thutmose III., No. 110, *Ba-ti-sha'-ra*, which can hardly be regarded as a Babylonianizing writing of *Beth-el* with inserted *sha*, may be *Beth-She'ol* (see Müller, *MVG*, 1907, p. 29); and *Gibeath-Shalul* (*1 S* 11⁴ 15⁴, *Is* 10²⁶), which in *1 S* 10⁶, apparently, is called 'the hill of God,' may have derived its name from the god of the under world rather than from the historic king of Israel (H. P. Smith, *Harper Memorial*, i. 61).

10. *Dagon* appears in Babylonia as early as 2150 B.C. in the names of the kings of the dynasty of Isin—*Idin-Dagon* and his son *Ishme-Dagan*,—also in the name of one of the early *patesis* of Assyria, *Ishme-Dagan*. This deity is not Old Babylonian, but was first brought in by the Amorite invaders. A Canaanite in the Amarna letters (Winckler, Nos. 215, 216) bears the name *Dagan-takala*. The town *Beth-Dagon* appears in a list of Ramses III., itself copied from an earlier original (Müller, *Egypt. Research.* p. 49). It is the same as *Beth-Dagon* in Judah of *Jos* 15⁴. There was another *Beth-Dagon* in Asher (*Jos* 19²⁷). The oldest and most probable etymology of this name is that of Philo Byblius, who connects it with *dagan*, 'corn'; *Dagan* was thus a sort of Semitic Ceres.

11. *Worship of animals*.—The early Canaanites, like most primitive races, worshipped animals,

partly on account of their superior strength and cunning, partly because of their utility, and partly because of their adoption as totems of clans. In later days these animals were subordinated to the great gods as attributes or symbols. Clay images of cows and bullocks, and human figures with the heads of these animals, have been found in large numbers in all the mounds of Palestine (see Macalister, *PEFSst*, 1903, p. 41; 1904, p. 331; 1907, p. 245; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 107). The worship of Jahweh under the form of a bullock, and the use of the title גֵּבִיר, 'bullock,' as a name of Jahweh by the later Hebrews, are doubtless survivals of this cult. Images of horses are also found in the mounds (*PEFSst*, 1903, p. 41), and the place-name *Hazar-susah*, 'court of the mare' (*Jos* 19⁹), also suggests this cult. Sacred horses at Jerusalem are mentioned as late as the time of Manasseh (*2 K* 23¹¹), and the Phœnician name עֲבָדֵי הַסּוּסִים, 'servant of the horses,' occurs (*CTS* i. 1, p. 95). Bronze figures of serpents, and serpent-heads as amulets, have been found both at Gezer and at Taanach (*PEFSst*, 1903, pp. 42, 222, 1906, p. 119; Sellin, *op. cit.* 112). The goddess 'Ashtar is often represented holding serpents in her hands. One of the towns of the Calebites in later Judæa bore the name 'Ir-nahash, 'serpent-town,' and the cult of a bronze serpent in Jerusalem lasted down to the time of Hezekiah (*2 K* 18⁴). Figures of fishes are found at Gezer in different levels (*PEFSst*, 1902, p. 342; 1903, p. 39).

The Heb. place-names *Beth-car*, 'house of the lamb'; *Beth-lebaath*, 'house of the lions'; *Beth-nimrah*, 'house of the leopard'; *Beth-hoglah*, 'house of the partridge,' are similarly formed to *Beth-el*, *Beth-Dagon*, *Beth-Shemesh*, and may point to primitive Canaanite cults of animals at these places. Other animal place-names that may have religious meaning are *Ayalon*, 'stag-town' (*Jg* 18²⁶ 12¹⁵), mentioned also in the Amarna letters (Winckler, 173. 20, 180. 67); *Humtah*, 'lizard' (*Jos* 15⁵⁴); *Hazar-shual*, 'court of the fox' (*Jos* 15³⁸ 19³); *Telaim*, 'lambs' (*1 S* 15⁴); *Lashah*, 'lion' (*Jg* 18²⁷, *Is* 10³⁰), occurring already in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 31); *Eplon*, 'calf' (*Jos* 15³⁹); also *En-eplaim*, 'spring of the two calves' (*Ezk* 47¹⁰); *En-gedi*, 'spring of the kid' (No. 31); *En-hag-gore*, 'spring of the quail' (*Jg* 15¹⁹); *Ophrah*, 'young gazelle' (*Jg* 61¹, *Jos* 18³³); and *Ephron* (*Jos* 15⁹, *2 Ch* 13¹⁹), occurring already in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 54; Müller, *MVG*, 1907, p. 18; *OLZ* vi. 229); *Arad*, 'wild ass' (*Jg* 11⁶); *Etam*, 'vulture' (*2 Ch* 11⁶, *1 Ch* 4³⁹); *Akrabbim*, 'scorpions' (*Nu* 34⁴); *Parah*, 'cow' (*Jos* 18³³); *Zorah*, 'hornet' (*Jg* 13²); *Hamor*, 'ass,' occurs as the name of a Canaanite (*Gn* 34⁸ etc.), and *Piram*, 'wild ass,' as the name of the Canaanitish king of Jarmuth (*Jos* 10⁶). See BAAL, vol. ii. p. 237.

12. *Other Nature-deities*.—Besides the gods just enumerated, there was an immense number of nameless numina that presided over all sorts of physical objects, and were known as their *b'alm* (see BAAL, vol. ii. p. 291).

(c) *Ancestor- and hero-worship*.—The Semitic Canaanites believed in the continued existence of the dead, and practised sacrificial rites in their honour. At Gezer the Amorites used as burial-places the caves that had previously been occupied as dwellings by their non-Semitic predecessors. Around the walls of these caves, in small stone enclosures, the nobility were buried. The common people were piled one upon another in the middle of the caves. With the dead were placed food and drink, clothing, ornaments, weapons, seals, scarabs, amulets, and small figures of domestic animals, all of which were designed to supply the needs of the soul in its journey to the other world. In the earlier period the dead were usually deposited in the contracted position of an unborn child, possibly to express the thought that death is birth into another life. Flat benches and altar-like structures in the burial-places suggest the performance of sacrificial rites, and this theory is confirmed by the presence of bones of animals and of infants in connexion with adult burials. Cup-marks found in the caves also attest the existence of religious practices (see *PEFSst*, 1902, p. 351 ff.; 1903, pp. 14 ff., 23, 396, 323; 1904, pp. 119 ff., 324; 1905, pp. 32, 79, 307; 1907, p. 191; 1908, pp. 187, 293). Similar

remains have been found by Sellin at Taanach and by Schumacher at Megiddo.

Certain place-names in Palestine also suggest the cult of the dead, e.g. *Obhoth*, 'ghosts' (Nu 21^{10f} 33^{43f}); *'Emeg-rephaim*, 'valley of the shades' (Jos 15⁸ etc.). The graves of the patriarchs, which were revered by the Hebrews in later times, were probably survivals of ancient Canaanite sanctuaries, e.g. the grave of Abraham and Sarah at Hebron (Gn 23¹⁹ 25⁹), of Rachel at Ephrath (Gn 35^{19f}), of Deborah at the oak of weeping (Gn 35⁸), of Jacob at Abel-mizraim (Gn 50¹¹), of Joseph at Shechem (Jos 24³²). Names of the formation Jacob-el, Joseph-el, Jabne-el, Jezre-el, Jiphtah-el, Jekabeh-el, Jokthe-el, Jirpe-el (see above, C. I. (a) 1) are properly names of persons. Their use as names of places can be explained only by an ellipsis of *beth*, 'house of,' as in Ba'al-maon over against Beth-ba'al-maon. All of these names, accordingly, point to a cult of real or assumed ancestors at their supposed places of burial (see von Gall, *Alttest. Kultstätten*, pp. 65, 129). A number of these names occur already in the Egyptian inscriptions, and all of them probably go back to Canaanite times. For other forms of ancestor-worship among the Hebrews that may be derived from the Canaanites, and that at least help to interpret the facts just adduced, see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Hebrew), vol. I, p. 444.

(d) *Departmental deities*.—Besides Nature-gods and deified ancestors, the Canaanites had numerous divinities who presided over various aspects of human life or over abstract qualities. Conspicuous among these were—

1. *Ashtart*, the *Ashtoreth* of the OT and the *Astarte* of the Greeks. The etymology of her name is obscure, but her function is clear. She was the goddess of sexual love and of reproduction (for the archaeological and literary evidence of the early existence of her cult in Canaan see 'ASHTART, 5). One of her epithets was *Kadesh* (cf. *k-dēshā*, 'temple harlot'), and under this name she is often mentioned in Egyptian texts (Müller, *Asien*, 315; *Egypt. Res.* 32). In monuments of the XIXth dynasty she is depicted in un-Egyptian fashion facing straight forward, standing on a lion, naked, or clothed in a skin-tight garment, holding in one hand a lotus-blossom and in the other a serpent, to typify both the charm and the peril of her cult. Usually she is grouped in a triad with Resheph and the ithyphallic Min. Similarly in a Bab. text (Reisner, *Hymn*, p. 139, lines 143, 145) she appears as the consort of Amurru-Hadad-Resheph. In all the mounds of Palestine large numbers of terracotta *Ashtart* plaques, six or seven inches in length, have been discovered, and also moulds in which these were manufactured. They are limited to the later period, when the land was under Egyptian rule (*PEFS*, 1904, p. 118; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 106). The commonest type of *Ashtart* figures bears a close resemblance to the Egyptian representations described above (see the drawings in Bliss-Macalister, pl. lxvi. 10-16, lxviii. 1, 2; Clermont-Ganneau, *Arch. Res.* ii. 242; Vincent, *Canaan*, 161 ff.). A second type, which is most frequent at Taanach (Sellin, 106), depicts her with a tall striated head-dress, necklace, anklets, and girdle, with her hands held to her breasts. This suggests rather Bab. influence. A third type has horns like the Egyptian Hathor (*PEFS*, 1903, p. 225). A fourth type has a bird-like beak and huge earrings (Sellin, fig. 113). Here perhaps Cypriot influence is to be detected. Still a fifth type recently discovered at Gezer (*PEFS*, 1909, p. 15) represents the goddess with a veil, like the statue discovered by Oppenheim at Tell Halaf (*Das alte Orient*, x. 1). This seems to reveal Hittite influence. In Taanach, Sellin found 19 *Ashtarts*, but not a single Ba'al. The same proportion holds true of the other mounds, and shows that *Ashtart* must have occupied an altogether unique position in the esteem of the ancient Canaanites.

2. *Anath*.—The etymology and meaning of her name are obscure (perhaps from *an* in a transitive sense, 'afflict,' 'conquer'). That she has anything to do with the Bab. goddess *Antum*, the consort of *Anu*, is extremely doubtful: (1) because the reading *Antum* is uncertain; (2) because this goddess

plays an unimportant part in early Bab. religion; and (3) because in Canaan this name has the initial guttural *y*, which is not found in Babylonian.

Anath was widely worshipped in the Semitic world, and there is no reason to doubt that she was a primitive Semitic divinity. The place-name *Anati* in the Amarna letters (Winckler, 125. 43) probably contains her name. *Beth-Anath* in Naphtali is mentioned in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 111), also in a list of Seti I. (Müller, 195; cf. Jos 19³⁸, Jg 1³³), and there was another *Beth-Anath* in Judah (Jos 15²⁹). *Anathoth*, near Jerusalem, was also named after her (Jer 1¹), and the father of Shamgar, judge of Israel, was called *Anath*, according to Jg 3³¹ (cf. 5⁹). Her cult had penetrated to Egypt as early as the reign of Thutmose III. (Müller, *Asien*, p. 313). A team of horses belonging to Seti I. bore the name '*Anath is satisfied*' (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iii. 43). One of the dogs of Ramses II. was called '*Anath is protection*' (Breasted, iii. 201). In one of his inscriptions Ramses III. says: '*Anath and Ashtart are his shield*' (Breasted, iv. 62). On the Egyptian monuments *Anath* is represented in profile, holding a shield and spear in her right hand, and a club in her left hand. By the Egyptians she was evidently regarded as a war-goddess. Her name occurs down to late times in Phœnician inscriptions (see Baethgen, *Beitr.* p. 52).

3. *Edom*, 'maker,' whose worship is attested by the names '*Obed-Edom*' (2 S 6¹⁰) and עֲבֵד־עֲדֹם (*CIS* i. 367), appears in the place-name *Sha-ma-sha* ('*E-tiu-ma*'=Shamash-Edom, in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 51; Müller, *MVG*, 1907, p. 18); also, perhaps in *Udumu* (Amarna, Winckler, No. 237), *Adam* (Jos 3⁴), and *Admah* (Gn 10¹⁹ 12⁸, Dt 29²³, Hos 11⁸). In an Egypt. magical text we meet '*Resheph and his wife Edom*' (Müller, p. 315), which shows that Edom was also construed as feminine.

4. *Aven*, 'strength,' is perhaps present as the name of a deity in *Beth-Aven*, 'house of strength' (cf. *Beth-el*, *Beth-Shemesh*; Jos 7¹ 18¹, 1 S 13⁵ 14²). In Hos 4¹⁵ 10⁸ it appears as a sanctuary.

5. *Bezek*, 'scattering' (?), seems to be a Divine name in the place-name *Qir-Bezek* in a list of Ramses III. (Müller, *Eg. Res.* p. 49), and in the name of the Canaanite king, *Adoni-Bezek*, 'my lord is Bezek' (Jg 1⁷).

6. *Gad*, 'fortune,' is a well-known Semitic deity (see ARABS, vol. i. p. 662; BAAL, vol. ii. p. 290). His cult survives in the place-name *Migdal-Gad* (Jos 15²⁷), and also probably in the tribal name *Gad*.

7. *Gil*, 'joy,' must be a god in the woman's name *Abi-Gil*, which cannot be translated 'father of joy,' but must be translated 'joy is a father.' The place-name *Gilo(n)* (Jos 15²¹, 2 S 15¹²) may also be named after him.

8. *Hiba* (etymology unknown) appears as a god in the name of the king of Jerusalem in the Amarna letters, 'Abd-Hiba,' 'servant of Hiba.'

9. *Chemosh* (etymology unknown) appears perhaps in the place-name *Michmash*, 'place of Chemosh.'

10. *Muth*, 'death,' was a deity among the Phœnicians (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* i. 38), and appears also in the Heb. personal name *Ahi-moth*, 'death is a brother' (1 Ch 6²⁴). It may be found in the place-name '*Az-maveth*' (Ezr 2²⁴, or *Beth 'az-maveth*, Neh 7²⁸), 'death is strong'; perhaps also in *Jar-muth*, a Canaanitish city (Jos 10⁸ etc.), and *Jeri-moth* (1 Ch 7⁷ etc.). This seems more likely than that we have here the Egyptian deity *Muth*. None of the other Egyptian deities obtained such a foothold in Canaan that towns were named after them, and it is not probable that this happened to this relatively obscure goddess.

11. 'Azar, 'help,' appears as a god in such proper names as *Abi-Azar*, 'Azar is a father,' *Eli-Azar*, or *Azari-el*, 'Azar is god.' Hence the name of the famous *maššeba Eben-ezer*, which was probably a survival from Canaanitish days, should apparently be translated 'stone of 'Ezer.'

12. 'Ésau, 'maker' (cf. 'Edom'), was worshipped by the Phœnicians, according to Philo Byb. (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* i. 35), who calls him *Usôos*. He seems to have been regarded as a rough huntsman, like 'Ésau of Hebrew tradition. It is probable that he was known to the early Canaanites, although his name does not occur in any of our sources. His feminine counterpart *'A-si-ti* = *ḥwy* seems to be found in Egypt (Müller, 316). The picture of her on a rock in the desert near Redesieh (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 138) represents her as a wild huntress on horseback, brandishing a shield and spear. In a votive inscription of the XVIIIth dynasty, according to Ebers, *'A-si-ti* of the sand is named along with Kadesh.

13. Palet, 'deliverance,' appears as the name of a god in the place-name *Beth-Palet* (Jos 15²⁷, Neh 11²⁸), as well as in several Heb. personal names.

14. Sid, 'hunter,' or 'fisher,' perhaps identical with Agreus, 'the hunter,' or his brother Halieus, 'the fisher,' in Philo, ii. 9, appears as a god in such Phœnician personal names as *'Abd-Sid*, *Yaton-Sid*, *Han-Sid*, and in the compound Divine names *Sid-Melgart* and *Sid-Tanit*. The antiquity of his cult is proved by the name of the city *Sid-on* (Meyer, *Gesch.* ii. 1, p. 392).

15. Sêdeg, 'righteousness,' is a god in the personal name *Ben-Sêdeg* (Winckler, *Amarna Let.* 125. 37), also in *Adoni-Sêdeg* (Adonizedek), the Canaanite king of Jerusalem (Jos 10¹⁻²). He survives in the Phœn. personal names *Sêdeg-Rimmon* and *Sêdeg-melek*.

16. Shalem, 'peace,' is well attested as a Phœnician deity (Sidon, 4; *CIG* 4449; *CIS* 15; see Lidzbarski, *s.v.*; Winckler, *KAT*² 224). He appears also frequently in Heb. proper names such as *Abi-Shalom*, *Shalmi-el*, etc. His worship in ancient Canaan seems to be established by the name of the city *Jeru-salem* (in the Amarna letters *Uru-salim*), which may mean either 'city of Shalem,' or 'Uru = Shalem,' and also by the sanctuary *Jahweh-Shalom* (Jg 6²⁴). In the Amorite period in Babylonia he appears as *Shulmanu*, whose name was used frequently in compounding the names of later Assyrian kings, e.g. *Shalman-ezer*.

17. *Jahweh*.—Whether *Jahweh* was known to the Amorites in Canaan and in Babylonia is a hotly-debated question.

The facts are these: In Neo-Babylonian documents from Nippur, Jewish names occur in which an initial *Jehô* is represented by *Jāhū*, e.g. *Jāhū-natanu* = *Jeho-nathan* (Clay, *Business Documents of the Muroshû Sons*, p. 19). In the same documents final *Jahu* or *Jah* is represented by *Jama* = *Jawa*, e.g. *Abi-jawa* = *Abi-jah*, *Abi-jawa* = *Abi-jah*. The long list of names of this sort given by Clay (*Light on the Old Testament*, p. 244) leaves no doubt of the identity of *Jawa* with Heb. *Jah*. In Assyrian, initial *Jeho* is represented by *Jau*, e.g. *Jau-ba-zi* = *Jeho-abaz*, *Jau-bi-it* = *Jeho-abid*, so also *Jau-u-a* = *Jehu*. At the end of names *Jahu* or *Jah* is also represented in Assy. by *Jau*, e.g. *Ha-za-ki-a-u* = *Hezekiah*, *No-ad-bi-ja-a-u* = *Nedabiah*, *Az-ri-ja-a-u* = *Azariah*. Now, in documents of the 1st dynasty of Babylon, where Amorite names are so common, we find *Jau-u(m)-iū* (*Cun. Texts*, iv. 27), which, after the analogy of the Assy. names just given, seems to represent Jo-el, 'Jahweh is God'; and in documents of the succeeding Kassite period we find *Jau-ba-ni*, *Jau-a*, *Jau-a*, *Jau-i-u*, and the feminine *Jau-u-tum* (Clay, *Documents from the Temple Archives of Nippur*). *Jau-bani* is a name of the same type as *Ra-bani*, 'Ea is my maker,' or *Ilu-bani*, 'a god is my maker,' and it is difficult to translate it in any other way than 'Jahweh is my maker.' This is the belief of Delitzsch (*Babel u. Bibel*, p. 46), Sayce, Hommel (*Exp't*, ix. 522, x. 42, xl. 270), and Winckler (*KAT*² 46 n.). Its correctness is questioned by Zimmern (*KAT*² 468), Daiches (*JA*, 1908, p. 125 ff.), and Meyer (*Gesch.* ii. 1, p. 548). Whether *Ja-PI-iū* (*Cun. Texts*, vii. 34) and *Ja-PI-iū* (*ib.* vii. 20), which occur in documents of the Hammurabi period, are to be read *Ja-ri-iū*, and identified with

Ja-um-iū, as Delitzsch, Sayce, Hommel, and Winckler think, is more doubtful; still it is not impossible.

Coming now to Canaan, in one of the tablets of the Amarna period discovered at Taanach the name *Abi-ja-mi* or *Abi-ja-wi* occurs (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 115). It looks as though we must connect this with the later Bab. spelling of Jewish names in which *Jah* is represented by *Ja-ma* (*Ja-wa*). Some names beginning with *Jah* occur in the Amarna letters, and may possibly be *Jahweh*-compounds. Furthermore, in place-names of Canaan in the early Egyptian inscriptions *Jah* occurs at the end of words in the same manner as in later Heb. formations. In the list of Thutmose III. (No. 97) the name *Ba-bi-ya-d* occurs, which can be read only *Beth-Jah* (cf. *Bithiah*, 1 Ch 4²⁸). This is precisely the same sort of formation that is found in the list of Shishak: *Ha-mi-ni-d* (No. 96), *Sha-ma-y-d* (No. 116), *Ba-bi-ya-d* (No. 118), where the presumption is that these are Heb. names ending in *Jah* (Müller, *Asien*, pp. 162, 312; *MVG*, 1907, p. 26). Jastrow (*JBL*, 1894, pp. 191-227) tries to explain *Jah* in these forms, and in Heb. names, not as the Divine name *Jahweh*, but as only an emphatic affirmative. Delitzsch (*Paradies*, p. 169) regards *Jah* as originally a different deity from *Jahweh*. Both of these theories are difficult in view of the facts that *Jah* and *Jahu* interchange at the ends of names, and that formations ending with *Jah* increase in Heb. history in the same proportion as formations beginning with *Jeho* (Gray, *Heb. Prop. Names*, p. 162). In Gn 22¹⁴ Mori-ah is explained as though it were a *Jahweh*-compound. This shows at least the feeling of the ancient Hebrews that *Jah* at the end of names was *Jahweh*. Müller and Sellin suggest that names of this sort may be due to early settling of Hebrews in Canaan; but the tradition that Israel first came to know *Jahweh* through Moses is well attested by the facts that no names compounded with *Jahweh* are found in national tradition before the time of Moses, and that names of this sort are exceedingly rare before the time of David.

On the whole, the evidence seems favourable to the idea that *Jahweh* was known to the Amorites in Canaan and in Babylonia as early as 2000 B.C. If this be so, it is easy to see why he was worshipped by the Kenites, from whom the knowledge of him passed to Israel (see, further, art. *JAHEH*).

(c) *Bab. gods in Canaan*.—It is now known from the Bab. inscriptions that between 3000 and 1700 B.C. Palestine stood almost constantly under Bab. influence. The depth of the impression that Bab. civilization left at this time is shown by the fact that in 1400 B.C., after Canaan had been 200 years under Egyptian rule, its people still used Babylonian for correspondence with the Pharaoh and with one another. The mounds also contain abundant evidence of the influence of Bab. art (see Paton, *Early Hist. of Syria and Palestine*, p. 49 ff.). It is not surprising, therefore, that Bab. religion exerted a profound impression upon ancient Canaan, and that many of the gods of Babylonia were adopted in that land.

1. *Sin*.—The cult of the moon-god under his Bab. name *Sin* is proved by the names *Sin-ai* and the Desert of *Sin*, perhaps also by שִׁינַי, the name of the Canaanite king of Admah (Gn 14²; cf. Jensen, *ZA* vii. 177). On the cult of the moon in the desert see von Gall, *Altisr. Kultstätten*, p. 2.

2. *Ramman-Rimmon* was the Bab. equivalent of the Amorite Adad (the root *ramānu*, 'roar,' 'thunder,' occurs only in Bab.), but he was introduced into Canaan as a separate deity. *Giti-Rimūni* occurs in the Amarna letters (Winckler, 164. 45) = *Gath-Rimmon* (Jos 19⁴⁵ 21²⁴, 1 Ch 6⁸⁴ (89)). We find also *Rimmon-perēz* (Nu 33¹⁹), the cliff of *Rimmon* (Jg 20⁴⁵⁻⁴⁷ 21¹³), the spring of *Rimmon* (Jos 15⁸³ 19⁷), *Rimmon* in Zebulun (Jos 19¹³, 1 Ch 6⁶² (77)), and *Hadad-Rimmon* (Zec 12¹⁴), which is specially interesting because of its identification of Adad with Ramman.

3. *Nin-ib*.—The god whose name is written ideographically *NIN-IB* has lately been shown to be represented in Aram. translations by ܢܝܢܝܒ (Clay, *Bab. Exp. Univ. Penn.* x. 8 f.; *JAOS* xxviii. 135 ff.; *Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, i. 287 ff.). This, he thinks, should be read *En-mashti* = *En-marti*, the Sumer. equivalent of *Bel-amurru*, 'lord of the Amorite.' In this case *NIN-IB* would be a god of the West who had migrated to Babylonia; but the equivalence with *En-marti*

is very doubtful, and the name seems to be too old in Babylonia to have come in with the Amorites (see Jastrow, *Rel. der Bab. u. Ass.* i. 57). More plausible is the pronunciation *En-nammashiti*, 'lord of the creatures' (Hrozný, *RS*, 1908, p. 339 ff.), in which case this is a genuine old Bab. divinity. He appears in the Amarna letters in the place-name *Bit-NIN-IB*, near Gebal (Winckler, 55. 31), and near Jerusalem (183. 15), also in the personal name *'Abd-NIN-IB* (53. 39), in all of which cases it is possible that he is merely the Bab. equivalent of some native Can. deity.

4. *Anu*, the Bab. sky-god, is perhaps found in *Anaharath* (Jos 19¹⁹), which appears already in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 52) as *'(E)-nu-h(e)-r-tu*; also in *Ben-Ana* (Amarna, 125. 35).

5. *Lahmu*, the god of fertility, is perhaps found in *Beth-lehem* (so Tomkins, Sayce). *Beth-ephraht*, 'house of fertility,' which is found as an explanatory gloss in Mic 5¹ (LXX), seems to confirm this view. That Bethlehem was the seat of a regular cult is evident from I S 20st,²⁰ where David is said to have gone to Bethlehem to perform the annual sacrifices of his clan.

6. *Nabu*, *Nebo*, the patron god of Borsippa, the scribe of the gods, appears in the town *Nebo* in Moab (Nu 32⁵⁻⁸), also *Nebo* in Judah (Ezr 2²⁰ 10⁴³, Neh 7²³), and Mount *Nebo* in Moab (Nu 33⁴⁷, Dt 32⁴⁹ 34¹).

7. *Nergal*, the war-god, is found on a seal-cylinder of Canaanitish workmanship, discovered in the Amarna level at Taanach, which bears the inscription, 'Atanahili, son of Habsi, servant of Nergal.' In this case the possibility must be reckoned with that Nergal is the Bab. equivalent of a native deity, but in any case it gives an interesting evidence of the syncretism that was going on in Canaan during this period (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, pp. 27, 105). Nergal is also mentioned in the letter of the king of Alashia (Cyprus) (Winckler, 25. 13, 37). A tablet containing the myth of Nergal and Erech-kigal was found among the tablets at Tell el-Amarna.

8. *Sheba*.—In the Bab. pantheon there is a deity *Sibitti*, 'the Seven,' who is identified with the Pleiades. 'The Seven' are also a group of evil demons that are often mentioned in incantations (Zimmern, *KAT* 413, 459). The worship of *Sheba*, 'seven,' in Palestine is shown by the woman's name *Bath-Sheba*, daughter of *Sheba*, and by several other OT personal names. The place-name *Be'er-Sheba* is most naturally explained with reference to this cult.

Seals representing various Bab. divinities have been found in the Amorite levels at Gezer, and one tablet commonly called the 'Zodiacal tablet,' found in debris contemporary with the Amarna letters, bears the emblems of a large number of the Bab. gods (*PEFSt*, 1907, pp. 245, 263; 1908, pp. 26 ff., 78, 186, 208, 245). In the light of this evidence we may safely infer that the Amorites were familiar with the Bab. religion, and that many Bab. gods won an established place in their pantheon. Many of the Bab. elements in the later Heb. religion were probably learned by the Hebrews from the Canaanites.

(f) *Egyptian divinities in Canaan*.—During the Neolithic period there is no evidence of Egyptian intervention in Palestine, but in the earliest Semitic period such intervention began. King Snofru of the IVth dynasty (c. 2900 B.C.) brought cedar-wood from Lebanon (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* i. 66). Under Pepi I. of the VIth dynasty, Palestine was invaded by an Egyptian army under the leadership of Una (Breasted, *op. cit.* i. 142 f.). The excavations at Gezer show that Egyptian influence was strong there at least as early as 2500 B.C., and this influence continued throughout the entire

history of this city (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 309). Scarabs of every dynasty from the VIth onward have been found in the various levels, and are an important aid in determining the chronology of the mound. A funerary statue, bearing an Egypt. inscription of the VIth dynasty, has also been found at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 36, 125). From the period of the XIIth dynasty a burial-cave has been discovered, containing a number of interments that are thoroughly Egyptian, with the exception of embalming (*PEFSt*, 1905, p. 316; 1906, p. 122). A stele and a statuette of the XIIth dynasty have also been unearthed (*PEFSt*, 1904, p. 121; 1906, p. 122). The traces of early Egyptian influence in Taanach and Megiddo are less numerous; still they are not wanting. The seal-cylinder of the Hammurabi period, discovered by Sellin at Taanach, bears also Egyptian emblems—an interesting evidence of the meeting in Palestine of the two great civilizations of antiquity. Under dynasties XVIII.–XIX. (1600–1200 B.C.) Canaan was almost continuously under Egyptian rule, and its civilization received a strong Egyptian impress. A large Egypt. hieroglyph of the XIXth dynasty indicates the existence of an Egypt. temple or palace at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1908, p. 200). At Tell esh-Shihab, near Damascus, there is a votive stele of Seti I. (*PEFSt*, 1904, p. 78). At Sa'adiyeh, east of the Sea of Galilee, is a monument of Ramses II. (*ZDPV* xiv. p. 142), and at the mouth of the Nahrel-Kelb, near Beirut, are inscriptions of several Egypt. kings. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that Egypt. religion found considerable acceptance in ancient Canaan.

1. *Hathor*, the Egyptian goddess of love, was early identified with *Ashtart*, as is shown by the artistic representations of this goddess. She has frequently the horns and other attributes of *Hathor* (see above, p. 182). The *Ba'alat* of Gebal was represented in precisely the same manner as *Hathor*, with the solar disk between two horns (Meyer, *Gesch.* ii. 1, p. 394), and in Egypt she was known as the *Hathor* of Gebal (Müller, *Asien*, p. 314).

2. *Bes*, the ugly dwarf-god, was more popular in Canaan than any other Egyptian deity. Numerous images of him are found in the mounds at all levels (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 122; 1904, p. 288; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 105).

3. Other Egyptian figures, supposed to represent *Ptah*, *Osiris*, *Sebek*, etc., have been found in single specimens (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 48, 122; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 107).

4. *Scarabs* were used as amulets in Canaan as in Egypt, and were buried with the dead. They have been found in large numbers (*PEFSt*, 1902, p. 365; 1903, pp. 21, 390; 1904, pp. 20, 224; 1905, pp. 186, 188; 1907, p. 266; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 111).

5. *Amon-Re*, the patron of Thebes, and the chief god of the empire so long as Thebes was the capital, received much compulsory service in Canaan during the period of the Egyptian supremacy. After his victorious campaigns, Thutmose III. gave three cities in Northern Syria to Amon (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* ii. 223). In the Amarna letters (Knudtzon, 59. 9) the people of Tunip say: 'The gods and the (wooden) *mutashshu naprillan* of the king of Egypt dwell in Tunip.' Rib-Addi of Gebal invokes Amon as 'the god of the king' (Winckler, 54. 4). In another letter he couples him with the *Ba'alat* of Gebal (Winckler, 67. 5). Amon also occurs in one of the tablets from Taanach (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 119). In other cases Amon was identified with the native sun-god *Shamash*. Thus Rib-Addi combines *Shamash* with the *Ba'alat* of Gebal in the same manner in which he combines *Amon* (Winckler,

87. 62 ff.). Similarly, when Abimilki of Tyre calls the Pharaoh Shamash, he is thinking of Amon (Winckler, 150. 6 ff.). One Canaanite bears a name compounded with Amon, namely, *Aman-hatbi* (Winckler, 134). Ramses III. records the building of a temple in Zahi, in Syria, where there was a great statue of this god, to which the people of Syria brought their presents (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv. 123). It was also customary for the Pharaoh to send an image of Amon to one of his friends in Canaan upon whom he wished to confer honour. Thus, in the reign of Ramses XII. (c. 1100 B.C.), Hrihor, the high priest of Amon at Thebes, sent a certain Wenamon to carry an image called 'Amon of the Way' to Gebal, and to bring back thence cedar-wood (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv. 278 ff.). Incidentally it is mentioned that the forefathers of the king of Gebal had spent their days sacrificing to Amon (p. 233). This king of Gebal had a butler called Pen-Amon (p. 284). The cult of Amon never took a strong hold upon the affection of the Canaanites, for he was identified in their minds with the exactions of the Egyptian government. So soon as Egyptian authority was relaxed, his worship died out, and it has left no traces in any of the place-names of the land. The report of Wenamon shows clearly how Amon had lost prestige in Canaan by the time of the XXth dynasty.

6. The cult of the Pharaoh.—In Egypt the Pharaoh was worshipped as an incarnation of Amon-Re, and in the palmy days of Egyptian rule this dogma was enforced in Canaan. The image of the king was set up in certain cities alongside of that of Amon, and on stated occasions the Syrian princes were required to pay homage to it (Winckler, 51. 9 f.). The worship of the king seems to have consisted chiefly in the burning of incense; hence, when a beleaguered town wished to surrender, it signified this by holding up a lighted censor on its battlements (Müller, *Asien*, p. 305). One of these censers found at Megiddo is depicted in the frontispiece of Schumacher's *Tell el-Mutesellim*. The writers of the Tell el-Amarna letters address the king as 'my lord, lord of the lands, my father, my sun, the sun of heaven, the sun of the lands, my god, the breath of my life.' Occasionally they append 'son of Shamash' as a translation of the Egyp. title 'son of Re,' with the absurd result that the Pharaoh is entitled both 'sun' and 'son of the sun.' These were conventional formulas that the Canaanites did not take at all seriously, and the moment that Egyptian rule was relaxed the worship of the Pharaoh ceased along with that of his father Amon-Re.

II. THE SANCTUARIES OF CANAAN.—(a) *Holy cities*.—A large number of places in Canaan show by the meanings of their names that they were set apart as sanctuaries.

Thus, in the annals of Thutmose III., we meet *Kadesh*, 'the sanctuary' (No. 1) = *Amarna Kidehi*; *Hosah*, 'asylum' (No. 3) = *Amarna Hazi*; *Tibhath*, 'sacrifice' (No. 6) = *Tubithi* (Amarna 127); *Nô-r-p-a*, 'healing-place' (No. 29), cf. *Jirpe-el* (Jos 137); *Akshaph*, 'sorcery' (No. 40); *Hekalaiyim*, 'two temples' (No. 89). In the Amarna letters we meet in Northern Syria *Bit-arija*, 'house of the new moon' (Knudtzon, 83. 29); *Bit-NIN-IB* (Winckler, 55. 81); *Bit-tir*, 'house of the turtle-dove' (7) (Winckler, 82. 12); *Bur-Salem*, 'the well of Salem' (Winckler, 71. 64, 67); *Siduna*, Sidon (from the god Sid); in Palestine west of the Jordan, *Ajaluna*, 'stag-town' (Winckler, 173. 20); *Bit-NIN-IB* (Winckler, 183. 15); *Uru-salim*, 'city of Shalem'; in Palestine east of the Jordan, *Ashtarti* (Winckler, 142. 10, 237. 21).

Many place-names in Israel show by their meaning, or by something connected with them, that they are survivals of ancient Can. sanctuaries. Such are *Beer-Sheba*, 'the well of the Seven'; *Hebron*, 'alliance'; *Carmel*, 'garden', in Judah, where a feast occurred (1 S 25. 7) and where there was a standing-stone (1 S 14. 12); *Beth-Anath*, 'house of Anath' (Jos 19. 88) etc.; *Kiryath Jearam*, or *Beal-Adah* (Jos 15. 9), where the ark was long deposited (1 S 6. 2, 8. 29); *En-shemesh*, 'spring of the sun' (Jos 15. 137); *Migdal-Gad*, 'tower of

the god of fortune' (Jos 15. 37); *Beth-Lehem*, 'house of Lahmu'; *Beth-Dagon*, 'house of Dagon' (Jos 16. 41); *Jabne-el*, 'a god builds', apparently the name of a deified ancestor (Jos 15. 11); *Ba'al-perazim*, 'Ba'al of the clefts' (2 S 5. 20); *Ba'al-hamon* (Ca 8. 11); *'Emek ha-elah*, 'valley of the sacred tree' (1 S 17. 41); *Jeze-el*, 'a god sows', apparently a deified ancestor (Jos 15. 98); *Nebo*, named after the Bab. god Nabu (Ezr 2. 104); *Ir-nahash*, 'city of the serpent' (1 Ch 4. 12); *'Emek-rephaim*, 'the valley of the ghosts' (Jos 15. 9); *Gilgal*, 'the stone circle' (Dt 10. 10 etc.); *Mizpah*, 'a place of worship for the Israelites' (1 S 7. 10. 17); *Ramah*, 'the height', where sacrifice occurred (1 S 9. 12, cf. Hos 5. 8); *Gibeath-ha-elohim*, 'the hill of God' (1 S 10. 8); *Ba'al-tamar*, 'Ba'al of the palm-tree' (Jg 20. 3); *Gibeon*, 'the height', where there was a great high place (1 K 3. 4); *Anathoth*, 'the Anaths', where a family of priests was settled (1 K 2. 26, Jer 11); *Nob*, where there was a temple and a priesthood of Jahweh (1 S 22. 9); *Ba'al-hazor*, 'Ba'al of the enclosure' (2 S 18. 23); *Beth-el*, 'house of the god'; *Timnath-heres*, 'precinct of the sun' (Jg 2. 9); *Ba'al-shalisha* (2 K 4. 2); *Shiloh*, where there was a temple of Jahweh (1 S 19. 24); *Shechem*, where there was a holy tree, 'the oak of the diviner' (Gn 12. 42, Dt 11. 30), a holy stone (Jos 24. 26), and an altar (Gn 12. 8. 29); *Ophrah*, 'young gazelle', where there was a holy tree and a holy stone (Jg 6); *Pirathon*, where was shown the grave of the hero Abdon (Jg 12. 15); *Ayyalon*, 'stag-town', where there was a grave of the hero Eylon (Jg 12. 15); note the identity of the consonants in the name of the hero and of the place); *Jiphthah-el*, 'the god opens' (Jos 19. 4. 27), apparently the name of a tribal hero; *Gibeath ham-moreh*, 'hill of the oracle' (Jg 7. 1); *Kedesh*, 'the sanctuary' (Jg 4. 11, 1 Ch 6. 77. 78); *Shamir*, 'guardian', the burial-place of the hero Tola (Jg 10. 1); *Migdal-el*, 'tower of the god' (Jos 19. 38); *Beth-shemesh*, 'house of the sun' (Jos 19. 38, 1 S 6. 14. 15), called also *Ir-shemesh*, 'city of the sun' (Jos 19. 41); *Ne'-el*, 'trembling (?) of the god' (Jos 19. 47); *Timnah*, 'the sacred precinct' (Jg 14. 1 etc.); *Ba'al-Gad* (Jos 11. 7 etc.); *Dan*, 'the judge', where there was a temple (Jg 18. 30); *Ashtaroah*, 'the Astartes', probably to be read as a singular *Ashtart* (Jos 13. 25) = *Be'eshtarah*, or *Beth-Ashtart* (Jos 21. 7); *Zaphon*, 'the north' (Jos 13. 7); *Mizpah*, 'the watch-tower', connected with the legends of Jacob and Laban (Gn 31), and a place of assembly for Israel (Jg 11. 1); *Mahanaim*, where the angels of God appeared to Jacob (Gn 32. 2); *Penueh*, 'face of the god' (Gn 33. 1); *Goren Jaa-qad*, where Jacob was buried (Gn 50. 13); *'Astaroth*, whence Mesha carried away 'the altar of its beloved,' i.e. its god (*Mesha Inscr.* line 20); *Ba'al-Pe-or* (Nu 25. 4 etc.); *Nebo*, named after the Bab. god Nabu (Nu 8. 29 etc.); *Beth-Ba'al-Me'on* (Jos 13. 7); *Bamoth-ba'al*, 'high places of the Ba'al' (Nu 22. 41, Jos 13. 7); *Nahali-el*, 'brook of the god' (Nu 21. 19); *Shittim*, 'the acacias', where Israel was seduced to Moabite rites (Nu 25, Hos 9. 10). In all these cases it is probable that we are dealing with ancient Can. sanctuaries that were appropriated more or less completely by the Israelites to the service of Jahweh.

(b) *Sacred natural objects*.—The sanctity of the places that have just been mentioned was due in most cases to the presence in them of some awe-inspiring natural object in which the deity was believed to manifest his presence. Such were springs, trees, mountains, and caves. All of these holy objects that we meet in the OT were doubtless an inheritance from the Canaanites (see BAAL, vol. ii. pp. 285-288, where full lists are given). The sanctuary at Sinai seems to have been a cave (Ex 33. 2, 1 K 19. 9), so also at Hebron (Gn 23. 9). In Gezer a cave was revered by the primitive Neolithic inhabitants, and retained its sanctity as part of the high place down through Semitic times (*PEFSst*, 1903, p. 24).

(c) *High places*.—In connexion with such holy objects, sacred enclosures, known as *bāmōth*, 'high places', were established. In the earliest times these were open to the sky, being merely fenced off from the adjacent territory by walls or lines of stones. The high place at Tell es-Sâfi was rectangular in form. At the two ends there were small chambers, and on one side was the entrance (Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations*, fig. 9). Most of the sanctuaries of Canaan were of this simple type, and remained so throughout the entire Israelitish period. No certain traces of covered temples have been discovered in the excavations; nevertheless, it is certain that such temples existed in the larger cities. We have noticed already the one that Ramses III. built for Amon-Re in Zahi, and in the letter of Rib-Addi of Gebal (Winckler, 71. 59) we read: 'Let not the king, my lord, neglect the city, for there is much silver and gold in it; great will be the spoil in its temple (*bi-tlanishi*) if it is captured.' The mention of 'gods,' i.e. images, that have been

carried off from other places also suggests that there must have been houses in which these images were kept. A small terra-cotta model from Gezer represents a deity seated within a covered edifice (*PEFS*, 1908, p. 22). The OT alludes frequently to the high places of the Canaanites, mostly in commands to destroy them. The equipment of the high places consisted of—

1. *Massēbōth*, or standing-stones.—In all Semitic lands the most primitive and the most persistent symbols of the deity were the *massēbōth*, or standing-stones (see *MASSEBA*). Tall, slender stones were phallic emblems and represented male divinities, while small conical stones depicted the female breast and represented female divinities (see 'ASHTART, 4; Spoer, *ZATW*, p. 286). The OT frequently refers to these as used by the Canaanites, and commands that they shall be destroyed lest they seduce the Israelites to worship strange gods (Ex 23^a 34¹³, Lv 26¹, Dt 7⁵ 12³). These prohibitions date from a late period. In early times Israel appropriated the *massēbōth* of its predecessors, and dedicated them to the service of Jahweh. A large number of these sacred stones are mentioned in the earlier writings of the OT (see *BAAL*, vol. ii. p. 287). They were probably inherited from the earlier inhabitants of the land. In the list of Thutmose III. (No. 11) we meet *Kirjath-neṣib*, 'town of the standing-stone' (Müller, *OLZ* ii. 138). The excavations have revealed such pillars in the high places of all the cities. At Tell es-Safi there were three standing-stones within the sacred enclosure (Bliss-Macalister, fig. 9). At Gezer there was an alignment of eight huge stones. The second stone in the line from N. to S. is much smaller than the rest, and has been worn smooth by rubbing, kissing, or sacrificing upon it. It was evidently the most sacred object in the temenos, and the conjecture is reasonable that it was the symbol of the mother-goddess 'Ashtart, whose plaques are found in such large numbers in all levels of the mound. She was the analogue of the ancient Semitic matriarch. Consequently the seven tall stones in the line must represent male divinities who were regarded as the polyandrous consorts of 'Ashtart (see *PEFS*, 1903, p. 25 ff., 287; 1904, pp. 118, 196; Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights*, p. 57 [a photograph of the stones is given on p. 51]). The enormous number of phallic emblems found in the strata covering the floor of the high place prove that it was devoted to the cult of the reproductive forces of Nature (*PEFS*, 1903, p. 36). Two pillars surrounded with cup-marks were found by Sellin in the high place at Taanach (*Tell Ta'annek*, p. 104). Pillars with cup-marks upon them were discovered by Schumacher at Megiddo (*Tell el-Mutesellim*, pp. 105 ff., 125 ff., 163 ff.). These pillars, unlike those at Gezer, are artificially hewn, and hence should perhaps be classified as *hammānīm* rather than *massēbōth* (see *BAAL*, vol. ii. p. 287).

2. *Asherim*.—The *āsherim*, or sacred posts, were indispensable accessories of Canaanite high places (see art. *POLES*). The Hebrews adopted these from the Canaanites along with the *massēbōth*, and they were used in the cult of Jahweh down to the Deuteronomic reformation. After that time an effort was made to destroy them (Ex 34¹³, Dt 7⁵ 12³). At an early date 'Ashtart was confused with her symbol, so that Ashera was used as a proper name. She appears in Babylonia, in connexion with the Amorite migration, in tablets of the Hammurabi dynasty. In one inscription set up in honour of Hammurabi by a certain Ibi-Ashratum, she appears as 'Ashratum, bride of the king of heaven, mistress of luxury and splendour, dwelling in the mountain, the merciful one who

reverently supplicates her husband' (Hommel, *Aufs. u. Abh.* p. 211 ff.). In a seal published by Sayce (*ZA* vi. 161) she is coupled with Ramman in the same manner as 'Ashtart is coupled elsewhere; and in a hymn she is associated with Amurru, the equivalent of Ramman (Reisner, *Hymn.* p. 139). In Babylonia, Ashera is regarded as a goddess of the desert, or of the west-land (Zimmern, *KAT* 432). *Abd-Ashirta*, 'servant of Ashera,' is mentioned in the Amarna letters more frequently than any other person. In one letter (Winckler, 40. 3) he calls himself 'Abd-Ash-ta-[ar]-ti, i.e. 'servant of 'Ashtart,' which shows the equivalence of the two names. In one of the tablets from Taanach (Sellin, p. 113) we read: 'If the finger of the goddess Ashirat shall indicate, let one observe and obey.' The *āsherim*, being made of wood, have not survived in any of the mounds of Palestine.

3. *Altars*.—In the most ancient high places there were probably no altars. The *massēbā* served both as idol and as altar. Subsequently a separate stone or a mound of earth was set apart for purposes of sacrifice. In the high place of Gezer no altar was found, but a hollowed block of stone standing near one of the pillars may have been used to receive blood or offerings (*PEFS*, 1903, p. 31). At Taanach, in the lowest Semitic level, Sellin found a rock-hewn altar with cup-marks and a drain for carrying off the blood (Sellin, pp. 34, 103). A similar rock-altar was found by Schumacher at Megiddo (*Tell el-Mutesellim*, p. 155 ff.). In both of these cases remains of sacrifices and religious emblems found on the spot leave no doubt as to the character of the stone blocks. The altars of the Canaanites are mentioned repeatedly in the OT (Ex 34¹³, Dt 7⁵ 12³, Jg 2²), and it is probable that the famous altars which the Israelites traced back to patriarchal times were derived from their predecessors (Gn 12⁷, 13⁴, 18²², 26²⁵, 33²⁰, 35¹¹).

4. *Images*.—Images were not a part of the equipment of most of the high places, for in early times the *massēbā* served both as idol and as altar. The OT mentions *massēbōth*, *hammānīm*, *āsherim*, and altars, as found in the Canaanite high places, but rarely images (Jg 6²⁵, 2 Ch 14³⁻⁶ 34⁴⁻⁶). Nevertheless, idols were in use in the larger cities. In an Amarna letter (Winckler, 105. 27) Rib-Addi of Gebal writes to the Pharaoh: 'If no troops are at hand, then send ships that may fetch us alive to my lord along with the gods.' Here evidently images are meant. In another letter (Winckler, 138 rev. 18 ff.) Alkizzi of Qatna writes: 'O lord, thy fathers made Shamash, the god of my father, and put their name upon him. But now the king of the Hittites has carried off Shamash, the god of my father. Let the king know, accordingly, how it stands with the god; and if Shamash, the god of my father, is to return to me, then let the heart of my lord care for him and give gold for Shamash, the god of my father, as thy fathers have done, and let my lord put his name upon Shamash along with the former one.' This shows that in this period, as in later times, idols were taken prisoners of war, and that conquerors were in the habit of carving their names upon them (cf. *KIB* i. 28 f.; ii. 62 f., 130 f.).

Images such as might have been used for public worship have not been found in any of the mounds of Palestine. The 'Ashtart plaques, which have been excavated in such numbers, were apparently not meant for worship, but for presentation as gifts to the goddess, like the votive figures that have been discovered at the Argive Heraeum, Delos, and other ancient Greek sanctuaries. The fact that they are always broken shows that, when they had accumulated in too great quantities, they

were destroyed by the priests in order to prevent their being used again. Apart from these, and the little figures of deities imported from Egypt, representations of gods in human form are rare in Canaan. It is uncertain whether the few statuettes that have been found are really idols (*PEFSt*, 1907, p. 246; 1908, p. 23; Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, p. 51; Vincent, *Canaan*, ch. iii.). Evidently fetish-stones continued to be the chief symbols of the great gods down to late times. Figures of animal-gods are more common (see above, p. 181).

III. RELIGIOUS RITES OF THE CANAANITES.—

1. **Animal-sacrifice.**—*Masséboth* and altars imply the existence of sacrifice. We must suppose that the *zebah*, or sacrificial meal, as it was practised among the Arabs, Hebrews, and other Semites, existed also in Canaan. Animals that were regarded as proper for food were brought to the sacred stone or altar and were slain upon it, and the blood was poured out at the base of the stone. Parts of the animal were then given to the god by throwing them into a pit, or by burning; and other parts were eaten by the worshippers in a meal of communion. The report of Wenamon speaks of a daily sacrifice offered in the fortress of Zakar-ba'al, king of Gebal (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv. 280 f.). Direct evidences of animal-sacrifices are not frequent in the mounds, since the eating of the animals resulted in the scattering of their skeletons. Nevertheless, accumulations of bones in the strata near all the high places make it evident that among the Canaanites, as among the early Hebrews, every slaughter was at the same time a sacrifice (cf. *PEFSt*, 1902, p. 32).

2. **Infant-sacrifice.**—Traces of infant-sacrifice are much more clear. In the Canaanite levels of all the mounds, jars containing the bones of newborn infants have been found in large numbers, buried beneath the floors of the high places, under the corners and thresholds of houses, and in other places where sacrifice would naturally occur (Petrie, *Tell el-Hesi*, p. 32; *PEFSt*, 1902, pp. 303, 352; 1903, pp. 32 f., 121; 1904, p. 119; 1906, pp. 63 f., 117 f., 159; Sellin, p. 35; Schumacher, p. 18). With these infants were deposited small jars containing food and drink. In some instances the bones showed signs of burning, but usually this was not the case. The jars were often filled with fine sea-sand. It is evident that first-born infants were sacrificed in honour of the mother-goddess, the giver of children. Such rites were common among all the Semites (see AMMONITES, vol. i. p. 391); it is not surprising, therefore, to find them among the Amorites.

3. **Sacrifice of adults** was not so common as sacrifice of children; still it was occasionally practised. In several cases the upper halves of bodies have been found in tombs, while the lower halves are missing. The analogy of rites in other parts of the world leads to the conjecture that these are cases of sacrifice (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 17 f., 51; 1908, p. 186). The skull of a man was found in the high place at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 225; 1904, p. 118). In a bank of hard earth near the high place a number of human bones were found (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 317). The head of a girl was also found near the standing-stones (*PEFSt*, 1907, p. 288). Foundation-sacrifices of adults, buried under the corners of buildings, are frequent in all the mounds (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 224; 1904, p. 391; 1905, p. 198; 1908, p. 186; *MNDPV*, 1905, p. 10).

4. **Lamp and bowl deposits.**—In the period contemporaneous with Egyptian rule in Canaan, deposits of lamps placed between two bowls begin to occur under the corners or thresholds of houses, in positions where formerly sacrificed infants were

buried. It is clear that these are intended as substitutes for child-sacrifice. The lamp, the symbol of life, takes the place of the life of the child. In a few cases both the sign and the thing signified are deposited together. Lamp and bowl deposits become increasingly frequent in the upper Canaanite and Israelite levels, and jar-burials decrease in the same ratio, until, about the time of the Exile, jar-burials cease altogether and only lamp and bowl deposits remain (*PEFSt*, 1903, pp. 10 f., 228, 299, 306 f.).

5. **Incense.**—It is known from the Egyptian inscriptions that incense was offered to the Pharaoh (Müller, *Asien*, p. 305), and there is no doubt that it was also presented to the gods. In the annals of Thutmose III. it is often mentioned as part of the tribute from Canaan (see Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, Index, s.v. 'Incense'). The town *Lebonah*, 'frank-incense' (Jg 21¹⁹), is mentioned already in the list of Thutmose III. (No. 10). Incense-burners have been found in the mounds (Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, frontispiece).

6. **Libations** must also have been offered, but it is difficult to tell which of the vessels found in the mounds were used for this purpose. A sherd of the Israelite period from Lachish (Bliss, p. 102) bears apparently the inscription לִיבָה, 'for making libation'.

7. **Music.**—A large rattle was found in the temple enclosure at Gezer (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 46). Similar ones have been discovered at Lachish (Bliss, pp. 117, 120), and at Taanach (Sellin, p. 19). It is conjectured that they were used in the cult, like the sistra of the Egyptians, to mark time in the chanting of hymns. Musical instruments were part of the spoil carried away from Canaan by the Egyptians; and two Egyptian instruments, the *ken'norru*, or 'lyre,' and the *nalahi*, or 'castanet,' have Semitic names, and were probably derived from Canaan. The presence of musical instruments implies the existence of song, and song implies a development of poetry. If there was secular song, there was doubtless also song in the service of the gods, as in Egypt and Babylonia. Such poetic effusions addressed to the Pharaoh as we meet in the letters of Yabitiri, governor of Joppa (Winckler, No. 214), or of Abimilki, king of Tyre (Winckler, 149), would scarcely have been possible, if the scribe had not been familiar with hymns to the gods. The long influence of Bab. civilization in Canaan also makes it probable that the psalm-type of composition had already found its way into that land.

8. **Amulets**, designed to protect the wearer against evil influences, were worn by the Canaanites in all periods. The most common type was the so-called 'Horus-eyes,' derived from Egypt, and intended to protect the wearer against the evil eye (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 213; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Index, s.v. 'Eye-amulets'). For other types of amulets see Vincent, *Canaan*, p. 176 f., and artt. CHARMS AND AMULETS.

9. **Divination.**—In one of the cuneiform letters from Taanach we read: 'If the finger of the goddess Ashirat shall indicate, let one observe and obey' (Sellin, p. 113). This shows that sooth-saying was practised at sanctuaries, as in later Israel. The existence of oracles is further established by the names of many Canaanitish holy places: e.g. *Akshaph*, 'divination' (Jos 11¹ etc.); *En-mishpat*, 'the spring of decision,' at *Kadesh*, 'the sanctuary'; the terebinth of *moreh*, 'the oracle' (Gn 12⁸ 13¹⁸); the terebinth of *mo'onim*, 'the diviners' (Jg 9⁸⁷); *Gibe'ath hum-moreh*, 'hill of the oracle' (Jg 7¹).

10. **Priests.**—Sanctuaries and oracles imply the existence of priests who guarded the shrines and cultivated the means of divination, like the old

Arab *kahanat* and the old Heb. *kôhântm*. In a letter of Rib-Addi of Gebal to the Pharaoh (Knudtson, 83. 52), mention is made of a certain 'Ummahnu, whose husband is Ishkuru, handmaid of the Ba'alat.' Evidently she was a priestess of the great goddess of Gebal. Akizzi of Qatna complains of the Hittites that they have burned the city and carried away its gods and its *mu-ti* people. From the connexion *mu-ti* can hardly mean anything else than 'priests.'

II. Prophets.—The report of Wenamon (c. 1100 B.C.) relates of the king of Gebal: 'Now while he sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of the noble youths, making him frenzied, so that he said, Bring the god hither! Bring the messenger of Amon! . . . Now, while the frenzied youth continued in frenzy during the night, I found a ship bound for Egypt' (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* iv. 280). This shows that the ecstatic prophets of Ba'al and Ashera that we meet in later Heb. history were no new thing among the Canaanites (1 K 18¹⁸).

Of other Canaanite religious institutions we have no direct evidence, and can only draw inferences from the analogy of the Hebrews and of other Semitic peoples. In all probability the ritual of the Canaanites did not differ greatly from that of Israel in the pre-prophetic period.

LITERATURE.—See the bibliographies under 'AMM,' 'ASHTART,' and 'BAAL,' and, in addition, Petrie, *Tell el-Hesi* (1891); W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altgyp. Denkmälern* (1893); Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities* (1894); Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna* (= KLB v., 1896 [Eng. tr. *The Tell-el-Amarna Letters*]); Trampe, *Syrien vor dem Eindringen der Israeliten* (1898); von Gall, *Altisr. Kultstätten* (1898); Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine* (1901); Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898-1900* (1902); Macalister, 'Reports on the Excavation of Gezer,' *PEFS*, 1902-9; Maspero, *Hist. anc. des peuples d'orient* (1904-5); Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek* (1904); Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques* (1905); Ranke, *Early Bab. Personal Names from the published Tablets of the so-called Hammurabi Dynasty* (1905); W. M. Müller, *Egyptological Researches* (1906); Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (1906-7), with valuable index; Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (1907); Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer* (1907); Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (1907); Thureau-Dangin, 'Die sumer. und akkad. Königsinschriften' (= *Vorderasiat. Bibliothek*, i. 1 [1907]); W. M. Müller, 'Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis m.,' *MVG* xii. 1 [1907]; Hoschander, 'Die Personennamen auf dem Obelisk des Manistusu,' *ZA* xx. [1907] 246; Knudtson, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (1907 f.); Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim* (1908); Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* (1908); Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (1908); Cormack, *Egypt in Asia* (1908); H. P. Smith, 'Theophorous Proper Names in the Old Testament,' in *Old Test. and Sem. Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper* (1908), pp. 35-64; Spoer, 'Versuch einer Erklärung des Zusammenhangs zwischen Dolmen, Mal- und Schalensteinen in Palästina,' *ZATW* xxviii. [1908] 271; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i. (1909); Dalman, 'Napföcher,' in *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, 1908, pp. 23-53; Gressmann, 'Dolmen, Masseben, und Napföcher,' *ZATW* xxx. [1909] 113 ff.; Sellin, 'Profan oder sakral,' *Mennon*, ii. [1909] 211 ff. A useful summary of recent results of research will be found in Driver's *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (Schweich, Lectures, 1908), esp. Lect. ii. and iii.

LEWIS BAILES PATON.

CANDLE.—The root of this word appears in the Lat. *candere*, 'to shine'; the term itself is directly derived from *candēla*, an old word in Latin speech, having apparently the same meaning. It came in with Christianity, and has held a prominent place in our literature ever since, owing doubtless to the use of candles in religious and superstitious customs, and the figurative and symbolical associations of thought connected with this use. The importance of the term in English speech is well shown in Murray's *OED*. Here we shall confine attention to religious and ecclesiastical usage.

The use of artificial lights in religious ceremonies and observances is not by any means confined to the Christian Church; it has been characteristic of religious customs far into antiquity, and is not to be explained by considerations of utility alone. It springs from a sense of the

symbolism inherent in Nature and in the powers and energies of the visible world. The human mind has a deep presentiment of a world behind and above the senses, and naturally sees in the more striking phenomena of the world the images and symbols of things unseen. Light is the most ethereal of all material things, fulfilling as it does so many beneficent functions in the world, and has long been consecrated in the sphere of religion as a symbol of Deity, of Godlike qualities and powers, of truth, purity, holiness, of that which enlightens and purifies the soul. In the Biblical sphere light in its highest sense is given to man in Revelation and in the institutions of religion, in which the ideas of the former are embodied. Of this, the golden candlestick in the tabernacle and the temple was a symbol, since it suggests generally the light which shone upon the world through law and prophecy, and in the ordinances of religion. Similarly, Christ calls Himself the 'light of the world,' and He charges His people to be like the candle which gives light 'unto all that are in the house' (Mt 5¹⁴). See small type below.

With the rise of gospel light upon the world, the types and symbols of the former dispensation were no longer required; and the NT nowhere enjoins the use of symbols even for its central and essential conceptions. The Church itself is the 'light of the world' (Mt 5¹⁴), and her light should be such as to render material symbols of it needless and superfluous. Yet it is likely enough that the need which has created Christian art would soon come to be felt, whenever men realized the essential beauty of the Christian conceptions, and the idea of the Church as the light of the world would be the first to call for symbolic and artistic expression.

It may be noted by the way that the word 'candle' has all but disappeared from the English Bible. The RV of 1888 has allowed it only in two places (Jer 25¹⁰, Zeph 1¹² [text, but marg. 'lamps']!). Why it should remain in these two solitary instances is quite a puzzle to the reader, since *nér*, the common Heb. term for 'lamp,' stands in the text, and is so rendered in all other passages. It seems pretty certain that *nér* must mean not 'candle,' but 'lamp,' since the lamps of the golden candlestick were fed with sacred oil. It seems probable also that *λύχνος* in the NT means 'lamp.'

Lamps (*λύχνος*, *lucerna*) were early in use among the Greeks and Romans, as also among more Eastern peoples, though earlier instruments of light (tapers, torches, candles) of various materials and make may have continued among the poor. Numerous specimens of lamps have been preserved, some highly ornamental. In more primitive times, lights were readily obtained from splinters of pine or other resinous wood. These and other combustible substances, steeped in oil or tallow and fastened together with bark, could be used as torches. We read also of torch-cases of metal or clay, which, filled with suitable materials, could produce a bright and steady flame. None of these proved so convenient for ready and general use as the primitive candle, which consisted of a wick of oakum or of the dried pith of reeds or rushes, steeped in wax or tallow. Besides its greater convenience, it could be subjected to artistic treatment in the moulding to adapt it for scenic effect; in consequence of which, doubtless, its supremacy as a religious symbol was finally established.

We may take it as established beyond dispute that there was no ceremonial use of candles or lamps in Christian worship or in churches for the first three centuries. Up to that time the spiritual simplicity of worship as well as the strong antagonism to heathen customs which characterized the early days still continued, and found expression in occasional protests against the corrupting effect of heathen customs.

Tertullian (A.D. 200) inveighs in various places against the burning of lamps and the hanging of wreaths in porches in honour of the gods. Lactantius (A.D. 300), in exposing the folly

of heathen worship, exclaims: 'They kindle lights to Him as though He were in darkness.' 'If they would contemplate that heavenly light which we call the sun, they would at once perceive how God has no need of their *candles*.' 'Is that man therefore to be thought in his senses who presents the light of *candles* and *torches* to Him who is the author and giver of light?' 'But their gods, because they are of the earth, are in need of light that they may not be in darkness; and their worshippers, because they have no taste for anything heavenly, are recalled to the earth even by the religious rites to which they are devoted. For on the earth there is need of light, because its system is dark. Therefore they do not attribute to the gods a heavenly perception, but rather a human one' (*Div. Instit.* bk. vi. ch. 2).

Such protests, however, soon proved unavailing against the full tide of heathen custom which now began to enter the Church. With the conversion of Constantine and the Imperial recognition of Christianity, the new religion found ready nominal acceptance; but many of the old customs continued under new names and different sanctions. We hear first of the ceremonial use of lights at festivals in the dedication of churches and at the tombs of the martyrs.

Paulinus of Nola (A.D. 407) thus describes the feast of St. Felix, to whom his church was dedicated: 'Lights are burned, odorous with waxed papyrus. They shine by night and day; night is radiant with the brightness of the day, and the day, itself bright in heavenly beauty, shines yet more with the light of countless lamps.' Jerome fully acknowledges the prevalence of the custom, which he excuses on the ground of the ignorance and simplicity of laymen or superstitious women, though evidently he sympathizes with it. He states that throughout the East 'candles are lit at the reading of the Gospel in full sunshine, not on account of the darkness, but as a token of joy' (*Ep. ad Ripar.*).

From the 4th cent. onwards and down through the Middle Ages, the custom is not only fully established, but is held in the greatest honour. Candles are burnt everywhere in the worship and on all high occasions, in festal services and processions, at baptisms, marriages, and funerals. They stand on the altar, they are placed in front of images and shrines, they are offered as votive offerings to God and to the saints, with prayer for recovery from sickness or for other benefits. There is hardly any service or ceremony by night or day which can be observed without them.

Some contend that the rapid spread of the custom is explained by supposing that it was simply the continuance of an earlier practice when Christian worship was observed in the darkness of the night, or in places like the catacombs from which the daylight was excluded. 'The necessary lights of one period became the ceremonial lights of the next' (Smith, *DCA* ii. 994). This supposition seems improbable and unnecessary. Heathen customs, religious symbolism, the obvious attractions of artistic display, and scenic effect, together with the universal drift towards externalism and superstition—all these combined offer sufficient explanation.

In relating the origin of the festival of Candlemas (*q.v.*), originally a commemoration of our Lord's meeting with Simeon and Anna in the temple (Lk 2²⁷⁻²⁸), but afterwards celebrated in the West at the Feast of the Purification (*Candelaria*), an old writer (Jacob de Voragine, collector of the *Golden Legend*) affirms that this festival succeeded to and continued an earlier custom. 'Since it is difficult,' says he, 'to relinquish custom, the Christians converted to the faith from among the nations found it difficult to abandon this heathen practice, and so Pope Sergius changed it into something better, that the Christians, in honour of the blessed mother of the Lord, might on this day (Feb. 2) enlighten the whole world with lighted candles and wax tapers which had been blessed' (*PRE*³, art. 'Lichtmesse'). This was pre-eminently the Feast of Candles, in which candles were solemnly blessed and distributed among the people, who marched with them afterwards in procession through the city. The Christian reference of the ceremony was to the words of Simeon: 'a Light to lighten the Gentiles.' The higher reference of the custom is seen in the prayer offered in the consecration of the candles: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, Thou true light which lightens every man who cometh into the world, we pray Thee to bless

these candles, that, wherever they are lighted, our hearts, enlightened by the invisible fire and purity of the Holy Ghost, may be freed from all blindness of sin and vice, and that after the dark and dangerous pilgrimage of earth we may enter into everlasting light.' Candles so blessed were thought to be a sure protection from many superstitious fears, a shield from thunder and lightning, blighting of the fields, diseases of cattle and other evils, especially the wiles of the devil.

It should be freely admitted that the higher reference of the custom and the Christian symbolism embodied in it were generally kept in view, and occasionally explained and enforced by the clergy. It was enjoined that the candles should be of wax alone, and not of tallow or other substances. 'The fragrant wax, the labour of the bee which dies when its work is accomplished, has mystic significance. It is drawn from the best juices of plants, and has the highest natural worth as a material for offerings.' The symbolism also might vary with the occasion. 'The baptism candle denoted the splendour of good works which open the door to the heavenly wedding-feast; the bride's candle, purity and sincerity of heart; the grave candle, the everlasting light of heaven which the dead enjoy; the Easter candle, the light of the world which breaks the power of death; the burning lights on the altar denote the Church, the light of the world' (*PRE*³, *loc. cit.*).

Yet it is patent to all that the custom has been the source of wide-spread and debasing superstition. This is strikingly seen both within the ranks of the clergy, where the observances were subject to prescribed rules, and among the people at large, where, as among the Russian peasantry at the present day, a consecrated candle is a charm for every evil they can think of. The minute prescriptions to regulate their use on ordinary and high occasions were calculated to induce false and superstitious conceptions among an ignorant or poorly educated clergy, and many old popular delusions which originated in these customs are hardly yet extinct.

At the Reformation the use of candles was abolished in all the Reformed Churches. They are still to be seen on the altar in Lutheran Churches, where they are retained as a symbol; also in many Anglican Churches.

LITERATURE.—In addition to works cited above, the reader may consult Smith's *DCA*; Brand, *Popular Antiq.*, 1818; Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1863-64, s.v.

A. F. SIMPSON.

CANDLEMAS.—I. Name.—'Candlemas' is the old English name for the Festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Feb. 2, which is called in the English Prayer Book 'The Presentation of Christ in the Temple, commonly called The Purification of Saint Mary the Virgin.'

There is early witness to its use—in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 1014: King Swegen ended his days 'to Candelmaessen tii Nonas Februarii'; in a metrical Homily of 1325: 'The first nam es Candelmesse, The other Maryes cleansing esse, The thred Cristes meting es cald' (*Metr. Hom.* 155); in Arncliffe, *Chron.*, under date 1521: 'Candylmas day next after, the Kyng and the sayd Duke of Burgoyn bare theyr Candyls.' L'Estrange writes under date 1655: 'February the 2nd (you may if you please call it Candlemas night) had been time out of minde celebrated at Court with somewhat more than ordinary solemnity' (Murray, *OED*, s.v. 'Candlemas').

The name is not peculiar to England. In France, it was formerly called 'la Candelire'; to-day it is 'la Chandeleur'. In Italy it is called 'Candelora' or 'Candelara.' Villani in his *Chronicle of Florence* (vi. 83), under date 1243, records the expulsion of the Guelphs by Frederic II. 'la notte di Santa Maria Candelaria.' The Danes used the term 'Kendelmess' (Olaus Wormius in *Fasti Danici*), and the Germans call it 'Licht messe,' or 'Missa Iuninum' (du Cange, *Glossar. ad Script. Med. et Inf. Lat.*, s.v. 'Candelaria').

The name is derived from the custom of carrying candles, torches, and tapers in the solemn processions on this day—a custom which is attested by Bede in the early part of the 8th century:

'Sed hanc lustrandi consuetudinem bene mutavit Christianitas'

religio, cum in mense eodem (i.e. Februari), die 8. Mariae plebs universa, cum Sacerdotibus ac Ministris, hymnis modulatae vocis per Ecclesias, perque congrua urbis loca procedit, datosque a Pontifice punci cereos in manibus gestant ardentes' (Bede, *de Ratione Temp.* c. 10, ap. du Cange, *loc. cit.*).

This description of the Candlemas procession and the reference to the Festival of the *Yppapanti Domini*—the Greek title of the Festival—in the *Martyrologium* of Bede are the earliest witnesses to Candlemas in this country (*DACL* ii. 640).

Baronius in his *Martyrologium Romanum* says that in the oldest codices the Festival has a variety of names: 'Festum Simeonis et Annae,' 'Presentatio,' 'Occursus,' 'Purificatio,' and, among the Greeks, 'Hypapante' or 'Hypante.' This last title was also used in the West, and is equivalent to the word 'Occursus.' It also witnesses to what was perhaps the original thought of the Festival, the coming of Christ to the Temple, which is the note struck in the *Invitatorium* in the Roman Breviary: 'Ecce venit ad templum sanctum suum Dominator Dominus; Gaude et laetare Sion, occursus Deo tuo.'

2. Origin.—This has been until lately the subject of considerable difference of opinion. Baronius refers to the statement in the *Historia Miscella*, which here rests on the authority of Paulus Diaconus (ob. 799):

'Anno decimoquinto Imperii Justiniani (541), mense Octobri, facta est mortalitas Byzantii. Eodem anno Hypapante Domini summis initium, ut celebraretur apud Byzantium, secunda die Februarii mensis' (Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.* i. i. 108).

He also refers to the statement of Georgius Cedrenus, a later authority, whose *Compendium* goes down to the reign of Michael VI. Stratoticus (1057). Cedrenus records the institution of the Festival under the reign of Justin (*Hist. Compend.* in *Hist. Byzant.*, tom. vii., Ven. 1729), and the combined witness of the *Historia Miscella* and of Cedrenus is sufficient authority for recognizing the institution of the Festival at Constantinople on Feb. 2, either under Justin or under his successor Justinian—in either case probably through the influence of the latter.

But the discovery of the *Peregrinatio Silviae* by Gamurrini in a MS at Arezzo (Gamurrini, *S. Silviae Aquit. Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, Rome, 1887), now known to be the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (Dom Férotin, Paris, 1903), has thrown new light on the early recognition of the Festival. The pilgrimage took place c. 385. The Festival of the Presentation was celebrated in the Church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem with great pomp. It was called the *Quadragesimae de Epiphania*. There is the procession such as is described by Bede three centuries later. Priests and bishops preach on the Presentation, and the dominant note is that of the 'Hypapante,' the 'Occursus,' the 'Festum Simeonis et Annae' of Baronius (cf. Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 499).

The transference of the Festival from 14th to 2nd Feb. was due to the institution of the Festival of Christmas (*q.v.*) on Dec. 25. This was unknown at Jerusalem in 385. Chrysostom refers to the Festival of Christmas in 386, as having been introduced into Antioch about 375. It is a Festival of the Latin Church (Duchesne, p. 258). And the forty days of the Purification according to the Law would lead to the institution of the Festival of the Presentation on Feb. 2. It was perhaps under the influence of the traditions of the Latin Church of the Danube Provinces that Justinian, whose home was in Dardania, between Old Serbia and Macedonia, introduced the Festival into Constantinople. Evans has pointed out 'the loyal adherence to Western orthodoxy and the See of Rome' which was shown by the Dardanian bishops (*Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum*, r⁴s. iii.-iv. p. 133, Westminster, 1885). The inference is that the Festival was kept in Illyricum and in the Church of the Danube at the close of the 5th century.

There is no evidence to show at what date the Festival was first held at Rome. Baronius states that it was instituted by Pope Gelasius (492-496) as a check to the heathen Festival of the Lupercalia

(*Mart. Rom.* p. 87), but the statement rests on no evidence (see *DCA* ii. 1141). Batiffol (*Hist. du Brév. rom.* 134) says that the only Festival observed in early days in honour of the Blessed Virgin at Rome was the Octave of Christmas, Jan. 1. The four Festivals of the Nativity (Sept. 8), the Annunciation (March 25), the Falling Asleep or Assumption (Aug. 15), and the Purification (Feb. 2), are not attested earlier than the time of Pope Sergius (687-701). The statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*, as Baronius points out, does not necessarily go beyond the order of the Litany or Procession from S. Adriano to S. Maria Maggiore (Anast. Bibl. lxxxv.; Murat. *Rer. Ital. Script.* iii. i. 150).

There is an earlier witness in Gaul, in a sermon of Eligius of Noyon (ob. 665), in which mention is made of the candles ('de eo mysterio cereorum' [Baronius, *Mart. Rom.*]). Whatever may be inferred from these scant references, there is witness for the observance of the Festival in Jerusalem in 385, in the Danube Province c. 500, in Constantinople in 542, in Gaul c. 650, and in Rome c. 700. It is in keeping with the traditions of Rome that it should be the last to witness to a Festival which had apparently already been established in the more Celtic provinces beyond the Alps.

3. Threefold character.—The Calendars and Service Books of the Church throw light on the threefold character of the Festival—as a Feast of our Lord, a Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and a Feast of Lights.

The earliest liturgical reference is in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, the earliest MS of which dates from the end of the 7th century. The Vatican MS has the title 'in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae,' the Rheinau MS 'Sancti Simonis,' the St. Gall MS 'Sancti Simeonis,' and the edition of Gerbert, perhaps from the lost Zürich MS, 'Yppapanti' (Wilson, *Gel. Sacr.* p. 166). This is evidence that the name of the Festival was not as yet fixed, and that beyond the Alps the prominent thought was the Feast of the Presentation. The titles 'S. Simeonis' and 'Yppapanti' agree with the notice in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

The *Gregorian Sacramentary* represents the use at Rome at the close of the 8th century. The first part of it (Murat., cols. 1-138) is the Sacramentary sent by Hadrian to Charles the Great, between 784 and 791 (Duchesne, p. 120; Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, p. xli). The Festival is entitled *Yppapanti ad S. Mariam*. The first Collect is 'Oratio ad Collectam ad S. Adrianum.' Then, as a title to the Collect for the day, is the note 'Missa ad Sanctam Mariam Majorem.' The Collect is that of the English Prayer Book and the Roman Missal, a Collect of the Presentation. The 'Collecta ad S. Adrianum,' with its prayer 'Erudi, quaesumus, Domine, plebem tuam,' is the prayer for the Litanies at S. Adriano instituted by Pope Sergius (Murat. *Sacr. Greg.* p. 22). It is to be noted that the Preface for use 'in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae' from the Vatican Codex and the Codex Ottonianus (ib. 273, 297) is the Preface 'V.D. . . . Deus quia per incarnati,' the Preface for Christmas Day. This is still the rule in the Roman Missal, and it is the link which joins Candlemas to Christmas.

The Saint-Amand MS of the Roman *ordines* is an important witness to the Candlemas Procession at Rome. It is a MS of the 8th cent., and is therefore of the same age as the *Gregorian Sacramentary*. At early dawn there was a gathering, or *collecta*, at the church of S. Adriano in the Forum. All the diaconal regions and all the titular parishes were represented, and with lighted candles awaited the Pope at the church. It was a meeting of the 'plebs,' on the very site of the Comitium, in

the Curia, where in bygone years the *Comitia tributa* had assembled. The choice of S. Adriano for this *collecta* is therefore not without importance in the history of the Festival at Rome, and the *oratio ad Collectam* must certainly be read in connexion with the traditions which probably still hung round this old meeting-place: 'Erudi, quæsumus, Domine, plebem tuam' (Murat. *Sacr. Greg.* p. 22). The Pope and the deacons vested themselves in black (*vestimentis nigris*). The Procession was then formed. Seven crosses were borne, probably at the head of the seven 'diaconiae'; then came the priests and subdeacons; last of all, the Pope with the deacons. Two lighted candles were carried before him.

Thus the Procession left the Forum for the church of S. Maria Maggiore. On nearing the atrium the Pope bade the choir sing the Litany again three times. 'Et ipsa die non psallitur *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.' The black vestments and the hushing of the *Gloria* lent a special note of solemnity to this service. It gives grounds for thinking that there is something in the suggestion of Baronius that the Festival was introduced into Rome to counteract the Festival of the Lupercalia (Duchesne, App. p. 479).

The earlier Service Books of the Middle Ages still give emphasis to the idea of the Presentation of Christ. It is in the later Service Books that the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary takes a more prominent place. In the Metrical *Martyrology* of Oengus the Culdee (c. 800), it is noted as 'The reception of Mary's Son in the Temple, sure, inestimable' (Whitley Stokes, *Mart. of Oengus*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. xxix., 1880, p. 58).

The *Leofric Missal* represents the use of the English Church before the Conquest. The earliest part of the Missal (Leofric A), c. 900-950, reproduces the order of the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, with, however, the Epiphany Preface instead of the Preface: 'Deus . . . quia per incarnati.' The Festival has the title 'Purificatio Sanctae Mariae' (Warren, *Leofric Missal*, 1883, p. 70). The second part (Leofric B) is a calendar of the date 975-1000. The 'Purificatio Sanctae Mariae' is distinguished by F as one of the Greater Festivals (*ib.* p. 24). The Third Part (Leofric C) is of the date of Leofric, Bishop of Exeter (1050-1072). There are several prayers which belong to the Candlemas Procession, and enter into the later Service Books.

These prayers and antiphons illustrate the three aspects of Candlemas. It is a Feast of Lights, in which there is a Blessing of Fire and a Blessing of Light, in honour of Him who is the Light of the World, a Light to lighten the Gentiles. It is a Feast of the Presentation, or Festival of Simeon, who is mentioned in more than one of the prayers. It is a Feast of the Blessed Virgin: 'genetrix tuæ, cujus hodie festa percolimus' (Leofric *Missal*, pp. 203, 204).

The *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Bp. of London (1044-1050) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1051-1052), is evidence of English use in the early years of the 11th century. The date of the MS is 1008-1025, or perhaps 1013-1017 (H. A. Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, H.B.S. vol. xi. p. xxiv). The title in the Calendar is 'Purificatio Sanctae Mariae' (*ib.* p. 10). The prayers for the Blessing of the Fire and Candles and the prayers for the Mass are both in the *Sanctorale*. The Blessings come immediately after the Collect for the Festival of St. Bridget on Feb. 1, and as there is a leaf wanting in the MS before the *ad Missam* of the Purification, Wilson thinks it possible that the candles were blessed on St. Bridget's Day. 'Leofr. A has no mass for S. Brigid's Day' (*ib.* p. lviii)—a fact which is important in its bearing on the customs of Candlemas Eve.

The antiphon is much fuller than in Leofric C, and has reference to Holy Simeon as well as the Blessed Virgin. It is a witness to the older name of the Festival. The prayers *ad Missam* are those of the *Gregorian Sacramentary* and the *Leofric Missal*, substituting a Special Preface instead of the old Christmas Preface. The Preface 'V.D. . . Deus. In exultatione' has not been traced. Two passages give its character:

'Dives in suo, pauper in nostro. Par parturum vel duos pullos columbarum vix sufficit sacrificio caeli terregue possessor. Grandevi Symeonis invalidis gestatur in manibus a quo mundi rector et dominus predicator. . . . salvator.'

It is probably of Gallican origin (*ib.* p. 160). The character of the antiphons and the Preface suggest that the European or Gallican type, as distinct from the Roman type, gave emphasis to the idea of the Presentation and the Meeting with Simeon and Anna. 'The Purification' was the title derived from Rome.

The *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, a MS written at Winchester towards the end of the 10th cent., has the rubric 'Oratio ad candelas benedicendas in Purificatione Sanctae Mariae' (Wilson, *Benedictional of Archb. Robert*, H.B.S. vol. xxiv. p. 35). This is the only form given, and it is followed by the Episcopal Benedictions in the Mass.

The later Candlemas rites are to be studied in the *Westminster Missal*, a MS of the date 1362-1386 (Wickham Legg, H.B.S. vols. i., v., xii.). The Mass is on p. 760. The whole of the Service except the Sequence emphasizes the Presentation. The Sequence is in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

The blessing of the candles is on p. 619, and is ordered after Terce. The candles, together with the special *candela rotunda*, are placed in readiness before Terce, in front of the high altar. The abbot enters, and the choir sing the responsory, 'Gaude Maria virgo cunctas hereses sola interemisti,' with the verse 'Gabrielem archangelum,' which is said to have been composed by a blind cantor, and sung first at the Pantheon (Batifol, *Hist. du Brév. rom.* p. 134). Its reference to 'hereses' and to the 'judeus infelix qui dicit christum ex Joseph semine esse natum' is archaic. The Collect *Deus qui salutis* is the old Gregorian Collect for Jan. 1—the ancient Roman Festival of the Blessed Virgin.

The *candela rotunda*, which is to be specially consecrated, is then lighted, the cantor beginning the antiphon 'Venit lumen tuum,' which is an Epiphany antiphon at Lauds in the *Sarum Breviary*. Then follows the Blessing of the Light, after which the candles are sprinkled with holy water and censed, the cantor beginning the antiphon 'Hodie beata virgo Maria puerum Iesum praesentavit.' The candles are next distributed, and they, together with all the lights of the church, are to be lighted *de lumine benedicto*—the large *candela rotunda* which has been specially blessed with the old form of the *Benedictio ignis*.

The Candlemas Procession at Westminster Abbey in the 14th cent. emphasized the Blessing of the Light, the Presentation of Christ, and, in the ancient responsory, the Virgin Birth.

The Candlemas Procession in the Monastery at Evesham in the 13th cent. differed from the Westminster use (Wilson, *The Evesham Book*, H.B.S. vol. vi. p. 57). A procession was formed *usque in cryptam*, where the Blessing of the Fire and of the Candles took place, perhaps at the altar of St. Mary 'in cryptis.' This is a relic of the older Benedictine use, which ordered that the blessing should take place 'extra propriam ecclesiam.' When they reach the crypt, the abbot precedes and stands near the candles while the antiphon 'Gabrielem' is sung. The abbot then blesses the fire in the thurible, after which the candles and tapers are blessed. The abbot next sprinkles

the candles with holy water and censens them, and then says 'Dominus vobiscum' and the Collect 'Erudi, quæsumus, Domine, plebem,' the *oratio ad Collectam S. Adriani of the Gregorian Sacramentary*. The abbot then goes to his place, whereupon the precentor receives the candle prepared for the abbot, and lights it from the fire in the thurible. The *cereus ornatus*, probably the *magnus cereus qui dicitur mariale* in the Westminster MS Benedictional at Oxford, is borne before the abbot, and the procession is re-formed and passes through the cloisters to the church. The *cereus ornatus* is then placed '*super candelabrum juxta altare*.' The candles have to be carried during the Mass.

In the Salisbury Processional of 1445 (Chr. Wordsworth, *Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions*, p. 100), the large candle which was borne before the bishop weighed six pounds. The Lincoln candle weighed a stone.

There is an important comparative table of the Blessing of the Candles in Legg's edition of the *Westminster Missal* (pt. iii. pp. 1431-1432), which presents many of the chief differences as well as the points of agreement.

The later rites at the Procession, the Mass, and the Hours may be found in the Roman and Sarum Missals, and the Roman and Sarum Breviaries. In the Roman rite, where the priest is vested in a violet cope, there is no Blessing of the Fire, but the candles after being blessed are distributed, and the *Nunc Dimittis* is sung with the antiphon 'Lumen' after every verse. The Sarum Missal (ed. Dickinson, p. 696) also omits the Blessing of the Fire.

The Breviary Service of the Roman rite reflects the old character of the Festival. The antiphons at Vespers are those appointed for the Circumcision, the ancient Roman Festival of the Blessed Virgin, and at Matins the Invitatory is 'Ecce venit ad templum.' It is to be noted that the *Te Deum* is sung to-day where *Gloria in Excelsis* was omitted in the 8th cent. *ordo* of Saint-Amand. At second Vespers the antiphon to *Magnificat* is 'Hodie beata virgo Maria puerum Iesum præsentavit.' The Lessons all refer to the Presentation.

The *Sarum Breviary* (ed. Wordsworth, p. 131) has some variations. The Ninth Response, not displaced by the *Te Deum*, is the ancient 'Gaude Maria, . . . Gabrielelem,' and at second Vespers the responsory is 'Gaude, gaude, gaude, Maria.' It is noted that according to the Sarum Use the Festival cannot be transferred.

The Festival is observed with characteristic variations in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic rites. In the 11th cent. Sacramentary of Bergamo of the Ambrosian rite, it appears in the Calendar as the Purification (*DACL* i. 1399). In the Breviary the *Resp. in choro* at the First Vespers is 'Suscipiens Iesum in ulnis,' with the verse *Nunc Dimittis*; the Paellenda is 'Senex puerum portabat'; the third Collect is 'Erudi'; and the *Antiphona ad Crucem* is that of the Circumcision, 'Venite et videte in Bethlehem Regem'—another link which joins Candlemas to Christmas. This antiphon is repeated only five times, whereas at the Feast of the Circumcision (Jan. 1) it is repeated seven times.

The Mozarabic rite has preserved the Blessing of the Fire. The *ordo ad benedicendum candelas* is in the Mozarabic Missal (ed. Lesley, Rome, 1754, p. 300). The fire is struck from flint: 'Et sculpatur novus ignis cum sollice et ex lavone.' The *Benedictio ignis* is that of Leofric C, while the Preface is that of the Sarum Missal, with some very slight differences, its presence in the Mozarabic and Sarum Missals showing the community of rite in the West in the earlier ages of the Church.

The antiphon 'Lumen' is sung after each verse of the *Nunc Dimittis*. Then follows the Blessing

of the Light after the sprinkling of the candles. The Collect differs from the Roman, referring to Simeon and the 'Lumen ad revelationem gentium.' The 'oratio ad pacem' has a reference to purification: 'Domine Iesu Christe . . . in te impleta omnia ostendisti: dum in te vero Deo et homine: et purificatio secundum legem exprimitur: . . . Adesto plebi tue ad te ex purificatione venienti, et presta incrementum muneris.' Is this a link with the Roman purifications of the month of February? The *Inlatio* is of special interest, since it is identical with the *Inlatio* of the Circumcision, and yet has an allusion to Simeon and Anna and the Presentation in the Temple. Is it to be inferred that in earlier days the Presentation was observed at the octave of Christmas but was transferred to Candlemas to meet the needs of the Church to check the February traditions of heathendom—the sacred fire in the West, the lustrations in Rome?

4. Relation of the Feast of Candlemas to the early heathen festivals.—The following points stand out prominently in the liturgical evidence: the Blessing of the New Fire is emphasized in the Evesham use and the Mozarabic rite; the carrying of the candles is associated with the 'Lumen ad revelationem gentium'; and the idea of purification is preserved not only in the title of the Festival, but in the *oratio ad pacem* of the Mozarabic rite. This liturgical evidence is supported by the evidence of folk-lore.

The Blessing of the New Fire, which, according to the Mozarabic rite, must be newly struck out of the flint, may perhaps link the Festival of Candlemas with the rites of Celtic heathendom. The Celtic year began on Nov. 1, which the Church consecrated to All Saints. The 1st of May marked the beginning of summer, and the Beltane fires of May 1 compare with the Samhain fires of Nov. 1 (Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 518). The Church consecrated May 1 to the Apostles. The 1st of August is the great feast of the sun-god, the Lughnasadh Fair or Lammas Day, which the Church took over in honour of St. Peter. The day was also marked in old time by its fires.

The 1st of Feb. was the fourth great Festival of the Celtic year (Chambers, *Book of Days*, Aug. 1; for further details, cf. FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Vallancey in a quotation from Cormac's *Glossary* says:

'In his time [i.e. the 10th cent.] four great fires were lighted up on the four great festivals of the Druids; viz. in February, May, August, and November' (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Bohn, 1848, vol. i. p. 349).

It is not difficult to connect the Blessing of the Fire with the ancient fires of Feb. 1; and the Scotch custom of the Candlemas Bleeze or Blaze (*Book of Days*, Feb. 2) was probably derived from the sacred fires lighted on Feb. 1, which is still dedicated to St. Bridget or St. Bride. Her sacred fire was still guarded at Kildare in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis (Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, 1902, vol. i. p. 279). St. Bride has entered into the heritage of the Goidelic Brigit, a Minerva who presided over the three chief crafts of Erin (Rhys, *Celt. Heathendom*, p. 75). Candlemas is connected with St. Bride by two traditions of Scotch custom. One of these is described by M. Martin in his 'Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,' 1716 (Pinkerton's *Voyages*, iii. 613):

'The mistress and servants of each family take a sheaf of oats and dress it up in women's apparel, put it in a large basket, and lay a wooden club by it, and this they call Bried's Bed; and then the mistress and servants cry three times, "Bried is come, Bried is welcome." This they do just before going to bed' (Brand, *op. cit.* l. 50).

There is another version from the MSS of John Ramsay of Ochertyre (*Scotland and Scotsmen in 18th Cent.*, ed. A. Allardyce, Edin. 1888, vol. ii. p. 447). The custom, according to Ramsay, was associated with the night before Candlemas, thus

linking the Candlemas Festival with the older Festival of Feb. 1. A bed was made of corn and hay near the door. When it was ready, some one went out, and called three times: 'Bridget, Bridget, come in; thy bed is ready.' One or more candles were left burning near it all the night. Frazer (*GB* i. 223) speaks of this as a representation of the revival of vegetation in spring, and it is this which links the folk-lore of St. Bridget with the myth of Persephone (Seyffert, *Dict. of Class. Antt.*, tr. Nettleship and Sandys, 1906, s.v. 'Persephone'). There is another early instance of the association of St. Bridget with Candlemas in Maxwell's *Bygone Scotland* (p. 153):

'30th Jan. 1510. It is ordanit that on Candlemas Day, as is the verlie ryt and custom of the burgh, in the honor of God and the Blisist Virgin Mary, there shall be the procession of craftsmen, twa and twa togidre, socialle, als honourably as they can. And in the offering of the Play, the craftsmen sal furnyssh the Pageante; . . . wobstaris and walcaris, Symeon, goldsmiths, the three Kingis of Cullane; the listaris, the Emperor; . . . the tailyours, Our Lady Sanct Brid and Sanct Elene . . .'

'Our Lady Sanct Brid' here takes an important place in the Candlemas pageant, and it therefore seems reasonable to associate the Blessing of the Fire on Candlemas Day with the ancient Fire of St. Bridget.

The Carrying of the Candles has also its early associations, which were taken up by the Church in honour of Him who came to be the Light of the World, 'Lumen ad revelationem gentium.' The myth of the rape of Persephone has reference to the changes of the seasons. 'In spring, when the seeds sprout up from the ground, she rises to her mother [Demeter]' (Seyffert, *op. cit.* p. 472). Both she and her mother Demeter are represented with a lighted torch (*ib.* 473, 178). The Eleusinian Mysteries were celebrated in honour of Demeter and Persephone, and the return of Persephone to the light was celebrated at the Lesser Mysteries, which were held in the month Anthesterion, which corresponds roughly with February. In these Mysteries the carrying of torches was a marked feature in the rite. The Scotch custom of calling for Bridget on Candlemas Eve, and the solemn carrying of candles at Candlemas, are only different methods of giving expression in folk-custom and religion to the ancient myth of the spring return of Persephone. Baronius accepts the principle of consecrating pagan mysteries to the glory of Christ:

'Putamus usum illum superstitionis Gentilium sacris ritibus expiatur, ac sacrosanctum redditum, in Dei Ecclesiam esse laudabiliter introductum' (*Mart. Rom.* p. 88).

The idea of purification is emphasized in the *oratio ad pacem* of the Mozarabic rite. Baronius regarded this as being the immediate cause of the introduction of the Festival into Rome. He refers to the treatise of Gelasius against the Senator Andromachus on the abuses of the Lupercalia, which was held at Rome on Feb. 15th (*ib.* 87), and he gives the letter in full in his *Annals* (*sub ann.* 496). It was a festival favoured by the women of Rome, who looked for virtue from the thongs cut from the skins of the goats sacrificed to Juno Februalis. The whole purpose of the Festival was purification (Varro, vi. 3, 55). February thus became the month of purification, and the Festival itself was a red-letter day for the women of Rome. It is certainly not an accident that Candlemas Day was called in the North of England 'the Wives' Feast Day,' and it was an inspiration of the Church to consecrate the February Festival to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mother of our Lord: 'Gaude, gaude, gaude, Maria.' Nor was it an accident that the Candlemas Procession at Rome was representative of the whole city, and gathered at the church of S. Adriano, the ancient Curia on the Forum of Rome, the meeting-place of the 'plebs.' It is this to which allusion is made in the Collect 'Erudi,

quaesumus, Domine, plebem tuam . . . gratiae tuae lumen concede.'

5. The Candlemas customs did not altogether die out in England with the Reformation. Peter Smart, a Prebendary of Durham, in 1628 alludes to the practice of Cosin, Bp. of Durham:

'On Candlemass Day last past, Mr. Cozens, in renewing that Popish ceremonie of burning Candles to the honour of our Lady, busied himself from two of the clocke in the afternoon till foure, in climbing long ladders to stick up wax candles in the said Cathedral Church' (Brand, *op. cit.* i. 47).

George Herbert in his *Country Parson* (1675) speaks of an 'old custom of saying, when light is brought in, "God send us the light of Heaven"; and the parson likes this very well.' In a note to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1790, a gentleman visiting Harrogate said that at Ripon, a few years before, 'on the Sunday before Candlemas, the collegiate church, a fine ancient building, was one continued blaze of light all the afternoon from an immense number of candles' (Hone, *Every-Day Book*, ed. 1830, vol. i. p. 205).

Herrick in his *Hesperides* alludes to the customs of Candlemas, which was still the end of the Forty Days of Christmas:

'Down with the Rosemary, and so
Down with the Baies and Mistletoe:
Down with the Holly, Ivie, all
Wherewith ye drest the Christmas Hall:
That so the superstitious find
No one least branch there left behind:
For look how many leaves there be
Neglected there (Maids, trust to me),
So many Goblins you shall see'

(Brand, *op. cit.* i. 49).

Sir Thomas Browne sums up Candlemas weather in the proverb,

'Si Sol splendescat Maria purificante,
Major erit glacies post festum quam fuit ante'

(*ib.* 50).

This proverb is best Englished in the Scotch lines:

'If Candlemass Day be dry and fair,
The half o' winter's to come and mair;
If Candlemass Day be wet and foul,
The half o' winter's gane at Yule'

(Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 214).

Box might take the place of holly at Candlemas:

'Down with the Rosemary and Bayes,
Down with the Mistleto;
Instead of Holly, now up-raise
The greener Box (for show)'

(Herrick, in Brand, p. 49).

And the old idea of the continuity of the Sacred Fire and Light is shown in the burning of the Christmas Brand and its preservation till the coming Christmas:

'Kindle the Christmas brand, and then
Till sunne-set let it burne;
Which quencht, then lay it up agen,
Till Christmas next returne.

Part must be kept wherewith to teend
The Christmas Log next yeare;
And where 'tis safely kept, the Flend
Can do no mischiefe (there)'

(*ib.* p. 50).

The 'teending,' or lighting, of the Christmas Log with the Christmas Brand laid up from Candlemas, is an echo of the sanctity of the Sacred Fire. These customs and rites show the continuity in folk-lore and religion of the earliest religious ideas. To quote George Herbert, 'Light is a great blessing, and as great as food, for which we give thanks: and those that think this superstitious neither know superstition nor themselves.'

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THOMAS BARNES.

CANNIBALISM.

i. Origin of cannibalism. — 1. Cannibalism, anthropophagy, or man-eating, is a custom which at once inspires horror in the civilized mind. But, though the present range of the practice is somewhat restricted, it was much wider within even recent times, and there is every probability that all races have, at one period or another, passed through a cannibalistic stage, which survived occasionally in ritual or in folk-custom, or was remembered in legend or folk-tale. Even now extreme hunger will drive members of the most civilized races, as well as those peoples who live always on the borders of starvation, to the practice, however much they may instinctively abhor it. But there is every reason to believe that such abhorrence was not originally instinctive, but arose through a variety of causes, so that, in the beginning, man-eating may have been as natural to primitive men as is the eating of animal-flesh to ourselves. The word 'cannibal' is derived from *Carib*. When Columbus visited Cuba he heard of the 'Canibales' (Caribs) as man-eaters. At Hayti they were called 'Caribes'—the difference being caused by the interchange of *l*, *n*, and *r* in American languages. The name of this particular man-eating people was then extended as a popular term for all man-eaters, or for any bloodthirsty race, the Spaniards erroneously connecting it with *Sp. can*, and *Lat. canis*, 'a dog.' By the end of the 16th cent. the word was in common use as a generic term; e.g. Bonner is called a cannibal by Foxe (*Acts and Mon.* iii. 739), and Shakespeare makes Queen Margaret call her son's murderers 'bloody cannibals' (*3 Hen. VI. Act v. Sc. 5*, line 61). 'Anthropophagy' is directly derived from *ἀνθρωποφάγος*, while 'man-eater' was already in use as a Teutonic feminine appellation (*mānnætta*) for both male and female sorcerers (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1081).

2. Cannibalism among animals. — Among the lower animals eating of their own kind occurs as an habitual or occasional practice with most of the carnivores, feline and canine, and with some rodents, the young or weak falling victims to the rapacity of the others. This has been noted mainly in the case of captive animals, but in some cases also among animals in their wild state. With very few exceptions, e.g. the horse, animals seem to show no shrinking from the dead of their own kind. When, however, we come to the higher apes, no evidence of their eating their own kind is yet forthcoming, and some have inferred from this that man's immediate precursor as well as primitive man himself was not a cannibal. Some, indeed, have gone so far as to deny that the higher apes and even primitive men were carnivores. It is quite certain, however, that most, if not all, of the higher apes in a wild state eat small and possibly large mammals, while in captivity they show no distaste for flesh food. Though mainly frugivores, they are by no means exclusively so, and all of them seem to be omnivorous in their tastes and habits. As to primitive man, the argument appears to be based mainly on the form of his teeth, which indeed differ but slightly from those of modern men who are omnivorous. He could quite well have eaten flesh food as we do, without possessing the teeth of a carnivore, which tears its food with its teeth in order to consume it. The

analogy of the lower savages, who are by no means exclusively vegetarians, and many of whom devour flesh greedily, tends to show that primitive man, like the men of the Quaternary period (the refuse of whose food shows strong flesh-eating propensities), was not a plant- or fruit-eater exclusively. (On the cannibalism of beasts see Brehm, *Thierleben*, 1878.)

3. Primitive cannibalism. — Primitive man and even man's immediate precursor were already far in advance of the higher apes. One line of advance is to be seen in their growing ability to supply their rapidly extending needs, and there can be little doubt that they desired and obtained a more varied and a more regular food supply. If, as is certain, the higher apes were already omnivorous, the increasing development of primitive man would make him more so, through his increasing adaptation to a more varied diet. At the same time, increasing skill as a hunter of his prey, increasing wariness, and the use of stone or cudgel as weapons would cause him to master even large mammals, whose flesh would be used as food. There would be a growing taste for flesh food, and there seems no reason to suppose that any discrimination as to the kind of flesh eaten was exercised. To eat human flesh need not have seemed to primitive man or to his immediate precursor any more disgusting than to eat any other kind of flesh. When other flesh was wanting, the sight of a dead human being would but excite the flesh-hunger. In this connexion Steinmetz has shown (1) that the fear of the dead body could have been no hindrance to the eating of it, since even now, where ghosts are feared, savages show little fear of the corpse, handling it indifferently, remaining with it, subjecting it to various indignities (from our point of view), and also eating it; (2) that the natural disgust which civilized man has at cannibalism does not exist among cannibalistic savages, while many low races, even without the pressure of hunger, eat the most revolting things; (3) that the æsthetic refinement of civilized man is hardly discoverable in the savage. *A fortiori*, then, man, when just emerging from the bestial stage, must have been as the savage (*Endokannibalismus*, ch. 20).

To this it may be added that the satisfaction felt after a meal of flesh of whatever kind, as well as the pressing claims of hunger, were little calculated to make primitive man discriminate as to what he ate. The dead body of friend or foe was but an addition to the primitive larder, and would be readily eaten, when other flesh food was wanting, by one who was at all costs bent on satisfying his hunger. Since cannibalism, which seems to have once existed universally, must have originated at some time, there seems no good reason for crediting primitive man with greater refinement of feeling than his successors who do practise it, or for denying that it originated with him. The earliest men of whose habits we have any actual knowledge, viz. the men of Paleolithic times, were cannibalistic, and we can hardly suppose that the practice began with them. Better that it should have begun at a time when there existed no ethical or æsthetic reason to hinder it, and that, with increasing civilization, men should have begun to give it up, than that we should seek its origin in a later age, when its commencement would involve the shifting of already formed higher feelings. There was a time when cannibalism was natural to man, as there was a time when other things, shocking to our moral sense, e.g. incest, were natural to him. It was man's privilege, in becoming more conscious of his manhood, to shake them off and to rise in doing so to a higher ethical plane. Thus Schurtz's dictum that cannibalism is a sickness of childhood, which often overcomes the strongest peoples, is scarcely relevant as regards primitive

man. It assumes that cannibalism, in its origin, was pathological, whereas it seems, under the circumstances, perfectly natural. Only when the feelings which now make it abhorrent to us are overcome through madness or gluttony, can it be called pathological, and these are happily the least wide-spread causes of cannibalism. Few maniacs, indeed, whatever other perversions they exhibit, are known to become cannibalistic.

The question of pre-historic cannibalism—Palaeolithic and Neolithic—has been much discussed. The arguments for Palaeolithic times are mainly these—the presence of human bones, charred, broken, and calcined, mixed with animal bones, ashes, and charcoal, in Quaternary deposits; some of these are split as if to obtain marrow, as in later savage cannibalism; others show traces of scraping with flint instruments as if to scrape off the flesh; or, as in the grotto of Gourdan, fragments of skulls show cutting marks, and in one instance the pericranium is broken with a stone hammer, as if to extract the brains. As no other bones were found, Piette supposed a tribe of head-hunters to have inhabited this cave, who used a similar method to that of the head-hunters of Luzon (*BSAP*, 1873, p. 407). In late Palaeolithic interments, e.g. those of Baousses-Rousses at Mentone, the custom of removing flesh from the bones before interment—a common savage custom—had been followed, and may indicate cannibalism. Quaternary man also made necklaces of human teeth, as many cannibalistic savages now do. It has been thought too, that, as the flesh of the larger mammals may not always have been available through the poverty of Palaeolithic man's weapons, he may frequently have been reduced to hunger, and may thus have been driven to anthropophagy. Against all this it has been contended that the charring may have been accidental; that fractures on human bones bear no resemblance to those on animal bones, and may have been caused through the weight of the superincumbent layers; and that there was abundance of flesh food available. There is, however, no *a priori* reason why Palaeolithic man should not have been an occasional though not a habitual cannibal; and if cannibalism through hunger arose in still earlier times, he may have practised it already from some other motive also. Neolithic cannibalism rests on similar evidence, as well as the presence of human bones in refuse heaps or kitchen middens. The Palaeolithic evidence rests mainly on caves in Belgium and France; the Neolithic, on deposits in Egypt (where Petrie suggests cannibalism with the motive of obtaining the virtues of the deceased), Iberian Peninsula, Palmaria, and Keiss and Ardrossan in Scotland. The Neolithic lake-dwellers in Switzerland used the skulls of enemies as drinking-cups (Gross, *Les Protohistoires*, 1888, p. 107). See reports of discussions at Inter-Congress of Anthropol. at Paris (1862), Brussels (1872), Lisbon (1880); papers in *BSAP*, 1868, and following years; Dawkins, *Cave Hunting*, 1874; Sergi, *Mediterranean Race*, 1901, p. 93; Munro, *Prehist. Scotland*, 1899, p. 82; Thurman, *Archæologia*, xlii, 161; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877, p. 543; Nadaillac, *Prehist.*, 1892, p. 51; Vogt, *Lect. on Man*, 1884, p. 346. Cases of cannibalism during famine, siege, or shipwreck are well known. In these cases the overpowering, through raging hunger, of the civilized man's natural disgust at eating human flesh, rather than actual madness, gave rise to it. Some cases of cannibalism through madness, cited by Bergemann, are of doubtful authenticity (*Verb. der Anthropologie*, p. 2). Steinmetz (*op. cit.* ch. 23) could discover no instances of it, and the works of modern alienists do not refer to it. Plutarch cites a confused story of the daughters of Minyas, who went mad with desire for human flesh and slew one of their children (*Quest. Gr.* 33).

4. The most satisfactory hypothesis of the primitive social group is that which makes it analogous to the family groups of the higher apes, viz. the sire, a number of females, and their younger progeny. From this group, *ex hypothesi*, the sons, as they grow up, are driven off by the sire through the influence of sexual jealousy. They are thus forced to seek mates by capture from some other group (Lang and Atkinson, *Social Origins: Primal Law*, 1903). Assuming, then, as we have reason for doing, that the members of such a group had omnivorous tastes, and through hunger ate their fellows as well as the other mammals, whom would they eat—members of the group, or outsiders (foes), or both? Such love as may have existed between the sire and his mates or progeny was little likely to hinder him from eating them when dead, especially as no other reason kept him from it, and the practice was as yet natural. To the sons who had been driven out he was hostile; if he killed them while attempting to interfere with his wives, again nothing hindered their being eaten. Finally, the members of all other groups, being hostile, would, when killed, afford a food supply. Thus relatives and enemies alike would

be eaten. Hence it is impossible to assume, as some writers (e.g. Steinmetz) do, the priority of endo-cannibalism (viz. the eating of relatives) over exo-cannibalism (the eating of non-relatives). Cannibalism existed without these distinctions first of all, and the desire for food made no distinction between relative and enemy. Or the distinction may have been thus far suggested, that, while an enemy might be killed in order to be eaten, a relative would be eaten only when dead. The sons, though relatives, were strictly in the position of enemies. The distinction between friend and foe, so far as forming a possible food supply was concerned, would, of course, exist, whatever was the form of the earliest human or semi-human social group.

Bordier (*BSAP*, 3me sér., xi, 67) used the words 'exo-anthropophagy' and 'endo-anthropophagy'; Steinmetz (*Endokannibalismus*, p. 1) prefers the forms 'exo-cannibalism' and 'endo-cannibalism' to these and to the usual English forms 'exophagy' and 'endophagy,' which are also used for the ordinary food restrictions of totemistic peoples.

5. *Totemism and cannibalism*.—The earliest cannibals were thus unconsciously both endo- and exo-cannibals. The distinction between eating a relative and eating an enemy, with the consequent tabu against eating a kinsman, could have arisen only with the growing sense of kinship. Man soon discovered that there were certain persons whom he must not marry, viz. those of kin to him—not, however, in our sense of the word. Whether an exogamous tendency existed before totemism is uncertain; if it did, totemism made it absolute. Was there also a growing dislike of endo-cannibalism which totemism also made absolute? One result of totemism was certainly to make tabu the eating of the animal or plant which was the totem of the group of kinsmen, because, in effect, it was a kinsman. This tabu, aided by the increased sense of kinship and the customary laws which it involved, as well as by the growing dislike of endo-cannibalism (if such existed), may quite conceivably have made tabu the eating of a human kinsman. Frazer has pointed out that 'the further we go back we should find how much the less the clansman distinguishes between conduct towards his totem and towards his fellow-clansmen' (*Totemism*, p. 3). If it is wrong to kill and eat one's totem-animal because it is of kin to one, it is equally wrong to eat a kinsman. And in actual practice we find that among totemistic peoples it is generally considered wrong to kill a kinsman. In Mangaia, to kill a fellow-clansman was regarded as falling on the god (totem) himself, the literal sense of *ta atua* (to kill a member of the same totem-clan) being 'god-killing' (Gill, *Myths and Songs*, 1876, p. 38). The animal kinsman being tabu, not to be killed or eaten, the human kinsman must have been so too. Conceivably, then, a man might eat his wife (just as he could eat freely of her totem-animal), since she was bound to be of a different totem kin and class from himself, and yet would be breaking no law forbidding endo-cannibalism. But he could not eat his sister, or brother, or mother, since these were within the list of forbidden degrees and of the same totem kin. The tabu against eating relatives may possibly be seen in the savage custom of not eating in a house where a dead man is lying, lest his ghost should by accident be eaten. Why then are relatives sometimes eaten among present or earlier totemistic peoples? Totemism is now generally a declining institution, and its sanctions are frequently not observed. Hunger might impel to the eating of a dead kinsman, as it does sometimes, even in Australia, to the eating of a totem animal. So affection or some powerful animistic or semi-religious motive

might here and there overcome the totem cannibal tabu.

Strictly speaking, the words 'exo-cannibalism' and 'endo-cannibalism' should be used only where totem clans practise cannibalism, since a man may eat another who, from our point of view, is a relative, and yet from the totem point of view is not a kinsman (not of the same totem). But in actual use this is overlooked, and the eating of relatives, or even more loosely of tribesmen, is spoken of as endo-cannibalism, and that of any others as exo-cannibalism; whereas endo-cannibalism should be confined to the eating of totem kinsmen where it occurs. This (which resembles the loose use of the word 'exogamy') is partly due to the fact that observers of cannibalism seldom state what relatives are eaten or by whom. This is important, since, even where totemism as an institution has passed away, its restrictions frequently remain (see below). But, using the terms in their wider sense, we find, from a survey of information given by travellers and missionaries, that many peoples who eat enemies also eat, on certain occasions, fellow-tribesmen or 'relations.' A closer investigation might have shown that the latter were often not kinsmen in the totemistic sense. As far as most cannibal areas are concerned, since so many peoples have abandoned the practice, the time for this has gone by. A closer scrutiny of existing cannibal tribes may bring fresh information to light.

Among actual totem peoples some data exist to show the truth of our contention. From the Australians we have a few recorded facts by observers who have connected totemism and cannibalism. Some tribes eat only enemies, e.g. the Kurnai and Maneroo (Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880, pp. 214, 218, 223). Spencer and Gillen report of North Central Australia that Gnanji eat enemies and probably their own dead; with the Binbinga tribe, men of a different class from the dead man eat him; in one case cited from the Anula tribe, the woman was eaten by four men, two of them her own 'tribal fathers,' and of the same class as she, and two of a different class, but all of a different totem from the woman (Spencer-Gillen, pp. 546, 548). Other tribes eat only relatives; but we seldom hear what the relationship is, save among the Dieri, with whom 'the father does not eat the child or the child the father, but mother eats child and child eats mother, while brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law eat each other' (Curr, *Aust. Races*, 1887, ii. 63). The Dieri do not count descent through the mother, however, and eat their own totems. In other cases in Australia the restriction as to eating the totem is sometimes overcome, especially through hunger, as among tribes in N.W. and W. Australia and in the south (Wotjobaluk, Buandik, Wongghibon [Eyre, *Journals*, 1846, ii. 228; Howitt, *S. Aust.* 146]). In Victoria there seems to be no objection to eating the totem; in Central Australia, while it is not eaten by men of the kin, yet old men may eat it, and kinsmen try to increase the numbers of their totem so that men of other kins may eat it (Howitt, p. 145; Spencer-Gillen, pp. 167, 321). Among some Central Australian tribes the totem is eaten ceremonially. It is thus evident that there is a tendency to break down the earlier restriction on eating the totem animal, and the same tendency may explain the eating of kinsmen. Hunger and the strong influence of other motives would certainly tend in this direction (ii. § 12). With the American Indians, also totemists, extreme hunger alone drives isolated tribes to eat relatives; elsewhere only enemies are eaten and for magical reasons (§ 17). Of the Caribs and other tribes Im Thurn says: 'tribal feeling is always very strong among Indians, so that they cannot be suspected of feeding on individuals of their own tribe' (*Ind. of Guiana*, p. 418). In New Caledonia, Fiji, and the New Hebrides, where a past totemism has left a legacy of food restrictions, the eating of relatives is certainly occasional; while in the New Hebrides and Duke of York Island the bodies are sold or exchanged (Powell, *Wanderings*, 1883, p. 98; Nadaillac, *BSAP*, 1883, p. 34).

In Fiji, where an earlier totemism had given rise to the idea of the gods being incarnate in certain animals which must never be eaten by the worshippers, we find that 'some were tabu from eating human flesh, because the shrine of their god is a man' (Williams, *Fiji*, 1853, i. 220). Here, probably, an earlier totem restriction on the eating of kinsmen has become, with the curious local development of the institution, a tabu against eating any human flesh, where the clan god had a man for his shrine. Another suggestive case is found among the Maoris, formerly totemists, according to MacLennan. When some of the natives fought with the English against their fellows, after the fight some of the young men proposed to eat the fallen of the other side. But others forbade this, because the fallen and the victors were all 'Ngapuhi' together (i.e. of the same clan), and to eat a relative was a deadly sin (*Old New Zealand*, 1893, p. 229). So in a Maori myth, when Maui's grandmother was on

the point of devouring him, she suddenly discovered him to be a relative, and her desire ceased; while one family who devoured their near relatives became cowards as a consequence (Grey, *Polyn. Myth.*, 1855, pp. 34, 131).

In Africa no eating of relatives occurs in the south (Bechuana, etc.), where there are totem-animal restrictions; while most remarkable of all is the reluctance of the worst cannibals in the world—those of Central Africa—to eat relatives, whose bodies are invariably sold or exchanged. Here, too, the presence of an earlier totemism has been found (MacLennan, *Studies in Anc. Hist.* 2, 1886, chs. xxii.—xxv.).

In support of the theory that totemism tabued the eating of kinsmen is the parallel (noted by W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 1885, p. 307) drawn by certain peoples between cannibalism and the eating of tabued animals. Porphyry says the Egyptians and Phœnicians would rather have eaten human flesh than that of the cow (*de Abst.* ii. 11). Generally, even by cannibals, there is a distinction drawn between eating of enemies and eating of relatives—the former out of revenge, etc., the latter generally for ceremonial purposes. Livingstone reports that the people of the Zambesi were shocked at the idea of eating a donkey (presumably a totem-animal): 'It would be like eating man himself' (*Zambesi*, 1865, p. 335). The Solomon Islanders, who have exogamous clans, never eat the body of a member of the same tribe (*L'Anthrop.* x. 492).

6. Taking the word 'endo-cannibalism' in the wider sense of eating members of the tribal group, we may make certain deductions from the data. (1) Endo- and exo-cannibalism frequently coexist, especially where some motive other than hunger underlies man-eating, e.g. the desire to assimilate the virtues, soul, or strength of the deceased. In these cases we may assume that the totemistic restriction has been overridden by some stronger cause. (2) Exo-cannibalism frequently exists alone, even among very low races. This may result (a) from totemistic traditions; (b) where enemies are eaten to show contempt for them or out of sheer rage—motives which obviously could not underlie the eating of relatives or fellow-tribesmen, and which would inevitably bring that to an end where it still existed. The only exception to this latter case is where the criminal, i.e. a member of the tribal group, is eaten as an expression of legal punishment. (c) Exo-cannibalism occasionally exists alone, with sheer gluttony as the motive; the bodies of relatives, as has been seen, are exchanged or sold—a proof that the strong desire for human flesh may be overruled in the case of relatives by some powerful law, even though it be only a survival. This law we hold to be totemistic. (d) Where cannibalism is dying out, it continues to exist mainly in an attenuated form as exo-cannibalism, as among some American Indian tribes. (3) Endo-cannibalism seldom exists alone, and this suggests the inference that at first no distinction was made between eating friend and eating foe. It was only later that the distinction arose. This is also suggested by the fact that, among races who have abandoned cannibalism and who do not possess totemism as a flourishing institution, the bodies of dead relatives are eaten under the pressure of famine, as among the Eskimos, and wherever cannibalism has occurred among civilized peoples.

ii. Varieties of cannibalism.—1. *Cannibalism from hunger.*—Where cannibalism now occurs out of hunger, a distinction must be noted between eating the dead and killing the living in order to eat them. In the latter case, sometimes it is the sick and old who are killed, but usually these are put to death for another motive, as will be seen. Dead bodies are eaten among the Eskimos (though some deny this), a few isolated American Indian tribes, some S. American tribes, the Tongans, and the Basutos. Cannibal murder is found among the Australians, New Caledonians, Islanders of Nuka Hiva, Marquesans, Samoans, Ainu, Sakhalin islanders, Ostiaks, Samoyeds, Tiering Dayaks, in further India, among some American Indian tribes, and among the Fuegians. With all these peoples, except the Tongans, New Caledonians, and Marquesans, cannibalism is occasional and through stress of

famine, while it is mainly relatives or members of the same tribe who are eaten. In a few cases, e.g. American Indians and Basutos, we find cannibalism through famine causing a taste for human flesh, and resulting in man-eating through gluttony.

The cannibalism of the Eskimos has been denied, as by Egede (*Bruchstücke eines Tagebuches*, p. 107), who says that in famine they kill their dogs as we would do horses, dogs not being usually eaten by them. Its earlier existence, however, is suggested by *Märchen*, which tell of its being practised by distant tribes, who are differentiated from the Eskimos, and are certainly in some cases American Indians, or by hags and ogres. It is also shown in the *Märchen* that it causes madness in those who are unaccustomed to it (see Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, 1875; Boas, 'Central Eskimo,' in *6 RBEW*, p. 409 ff.). Part of the body is certainly eaten for magical purposes (see below). Among the American Indians some members of the Fish tribe in B. Columbia are said to dig up and eat the dead, to the abhorrence of the others. In times of famine it occurred in Labrador. A tradition of the Nishinan (California) says they ate their dead; while the Utes dug up corpses (Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island*, 1862, p. 257; Hind, *Labrador*, 1863, i. 14; Powers, *Contr. N. Am. Eth.* iii. 348; Nadallac, *BSAP*, 1888, p. 28). Some S. American tribes on the Amazon are said by Bates and Wallace to eat the dead when hunger presses (Bates, *Nat. on Am.*, 1863, p. 382; Wallace, *Travels on Am.*, 1853, pp. 347, 353, 359). If the Basutos were cannibals in the past, they had largely given it up, until, during the early wars with the British, famine drove some of them to consume the corpses of the slain. Certain of them thus acquired a taste for human flesh, and, retiring to the mountains, spared no one in their desire. A cave explored by Bowker showed evidences of recent cannibalism—heaps of bones, many of them split to obtain the marrow. Horror at these cannibals was widespread, and they or perhaps earlier cannibals appear in native *Märchen* in much the same light as the ogres of our nursery tales (Casalla, *Die Basutos*, 1861; *Anth. Rev.*, 1869, vii. 121; Jacotet, *Contes pop. des Ba-Soutos*, 1895, p. 71; cf. also Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 1905, pp. 610, 658).

Certain Australian tribes, e.g. the Wachandani of W. Australia, kill children in time of need—the mother getting the dead, the father the body; hunger occasionally drives other W. Australian tribes to kill enemies (Oldfield, *Trans. of Eth. Soc.*, N.S., iii. 245 f.), as they also eat the old after death, 'that so much good food may not be lost'; but in general the motive is not hunger. In Nuka Hiva, wives, children, and parents were killed and eaten (Krusestern, *Reise um die Welt*, i. 258); Ellis says the Marquesans (who ate enemies) killed children in want (*Tour through Hawaii*, 1826, p. 72); the Samoans (also enemy-eaters) killed wives and children (Langsdorf, *Reise um die Welt*, 1813, i. 120). The remoter Ainu tribes are said to be 'eaters of their own kind,' the father killing the crippled son, the husband an unfruitful wife. Other tribes are certainly not cannibals (but see below), though early Japanese writers usually attributed the practice to them (Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, 1892, pp. 288, 306; Preuss, *Die Begräbnisarten der Amer. u. Nordostas.*, 1894, pp. 218, 298). As late as 1863 the eating of children among the Ostiaks was reported (*AA* iii. 338). Wilken says the Tiering Dayaks of Borneo kill and eat the sick through hunger. Cannibal murder in famine is confined, with the American Indians, to such tribes as the Nasqueps, Hare Indians, Chippewayans, Dénés, and Utes (Hind, *Labrador*, i. 244; Waitz, *Anthrop. der Natur.*, 1872, li. 39; Faraud, *Dix-huit ans chez les Sauvages*, 1870, p. 383; Nadallac, *op. cit.* p. 28). The Thines think that, when a man is driven to cannibalism through hunger, he acquires taste for it; hence he is avoided and frequently killed (Hearn, *From Prince of Wales's Fort . . . to the N. Ocean*, 1796). As to the Fuegians the evidence is doubtful; Darwin (*Journal of Researches*, 1840, p. 155), Fitzroy, Snow, and others have asserted that old women are killed and eaten in time of famine, as also members of a hostile tribe after a fight; but Marquin and Hyades deny the accusation (*Bull. de la Soc. de Géog.*, 1875, p. 601; *Rev. d'Eth.* iv. 552).

In ancient and modern times, civilized societies and individuals, through stress of famine, as in siege or shipwreck, have occasionally resorted to cannibalism. Josephus (*BJ* v. x. 4, vi. iii. 4) tells this of the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem (cf. an earlier instance, 2 K 6²³), and Dio Cassius of the Jews who revolted against Trajan (xviii. 82). Valer. Max. (viii. 14) mentions people in besieged towns in Spain eating wives, children, and prisoners. Cannibalism occurred sporadically in Europe in mediaeval times after great scarcity, in the 7th and 11th cents.; at the siege of Paris in 1590; among the Saxons at the end of the Thirty Years' War; during famine in Algiers in 1868; and during the siege of Messina (Lefourneau, *Evol. of Morality*, 1886, p. 215; Bergemann, *op. cit.* p. 11).

2. *Other motives.*—It has now to be shown how other motives than the primitive one of hunger influenced the practice of cannibalism, and occasionally were strong enough to override the totemistic restriction regarding the eating of kinsmen, or, assuming that they existed before the rise of totemism, prevented the application of the food restriction so far as it concerned human kinsmen.

That this is not contrary to fact is proved by the actual eating of kinsmen among some totem peoples. The permission to eat

human kinsmen *plus* the restriction on eating animal kinsmen may seem a contradiction, but savage law, however strict, is frequently accommodating, and we have an analogous contradiction in this, that, while human kinsmen were absolutely forbidden to marry, the animal kinsmen must have been known to pair among themselves. Eagle man might not marry Eagle woman, but the actual Eagle had an Eagle mate. Various totemistic peoples also kill or eat their totem animal on certain solemn occasions, while other tribes who regard certain animals as sacred, and do not ordinarily kill or eat them, will do so under pressure of hunger (some African tribes) or at an annual religious festival (Todas, Central African tribes, heathen Arabs, Peruvians, Egyptians, American Indian Dog tribe in Arkansas). See Marshall, *Phrenologist among Todas*, 1873, p. 129; Frazer, *Totemism*, 1905, *Golden Bough* 2; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*, p. 278; Réville, *Rel. of Mexico and Peru*, 1884, p. 226; Herodotus, ii. 47; Bancroft, *Native Races*, 1875, iii. 316.

Men are eaten with the purpose of acquiring their qualities, their strength, or their soul; for magical or medical purposes; out of affection; out of hatred; through gluttony; for religious or ritual, political, and social reasons. In some cases more than one of these motives exist together. Generally speaking, they have arisen later than the eating of human flesh through hunger; in many instances they have arisen directly out of it, but we must not overlook the possibility of any of them having arisen separately and apart from a taste for this food acquired in time of starvation. Each of these motives will be discussed separately, and its range and extent set forth. It should be observed that, when cannibalism has become an established custom, it exists usually quite independently of the presence or absence of plenty of other kinds of food.

3. *Cannibalism to obtain strength, etc.*—First may be noted the common savage belief that by eating a human being or an animal one acquires the qualities and virtues of such a person or animal. The strength of the lion, the ferocity of the tiger, the courage of the warrior, will be communicated to the eater of the flesh of lion, tiger, or warrior. In itself the belief is primarily a development of what must already have been patent to primitive man, viz. the strengthening power of food. Hence it was easy to believe that the qualities of a beast or man—strength, swiftness, cunning, valour, etc.—would also be acquired by eating. This sacramental transfusion of qualities and energies must have originated in early times, while it is found universally among all peoples of a low range of culture. It was also aided by the growing magical theory of things, and especially by that branch of it by which it was held that the part was equal to the whole, or could convey the qualities of the whole, since the nature of anything adheres to its parts even when they are separated from it. Hence, to eat even a small piece of the flesh of beast or man would result in the assimilation of his qualities by the eater. Even totemism itself may have assisted this belief in the assimilation of qualities, if totemistic peoples held that the life circulating in the group of kinsmen was a fixed quantity, any part of which it was dangerous to lose. Hence, if a kinsman dies, his share of the life must be received by his fellow-kinsmen to prevent its passing out of the kin. Therefore they may smear themselves with his blood or fat, or even eat a part of him (Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 80). In the same way wearing a bone or tooth of a dead man is sometimes held to convey to the wearer his properties. Thus, while totemism generally forbade the eating of relatives, it may here and there have suggested it. In the same way, when totemism was weakened, the sacred totem animal became a sacred magical animal with healing qualities when eaten (S. Reinach, *L'Anthrop.* xiv. 355; W. R. Smith, *Kinship in Arabia*,² p. 231). This motive has led to the eating of relatives, but especially to the eating of enemies, in order to acquire their qualities.

4. The growth of Animism, with its belief in an indwelling spirit in all things, helped this theory of transmission of qualities, and introduced some of the strongest reasons for the continuance of cannibalism. While a man's strength or bravery may not have been conceived of as a separate entity, but simply as wrapped up in the man himself, Animism, with its belief in a shadowy replica of man—his soul or spirit—gave these things a new psychic significance. Hence in actual cannibalism we find that many tribes eat a man to be possessed of his soul, which in turn makes them possessors of all the qualities of the man. His life and all its manifestations—strength, wit, courage—are conceived of as being in the soul which lurks in his flesh; and, as in the earlier theory, by eating a man one obtained his strength, so now by eating him one obtains his soul. In many cases, where the heart or liver or marrow is said to be eaten, or the blood drunk for the sake of obtaining its owner's strength, it is probable that the assimilation of the owner's soul or life is intended, since it is so commonly believed that the life or soul is in one of these parts.

5. It might be thought that Animism, with its belief in soul, or spirit, or ghost, which, when freed from the body, was held to have many additional powers or, at least, greater freedom in using them, would have caused a fear of the dead and a natural shrinking from eating the body of an enemy, whereby his soul would be introduced into the eater, and thus work him harm. In effect, Animism did give rise to the fear of the dead and of ghosts, and in many cases it was held that the soul of a man, living or dead, could work considerable harm to the body or soul of another. But as, in spite of this, the bodies of the dead and of those most likely to harm the eater, viz. enemies, continued to be eaten, it is obvious that some counter theories were strong enough, in most cases, to aid men in overcoming their fears. These were (1) that by eating a man one overcame his ghost or soul, which was thenceforth harmless, and subservient to the will of the eater, or was even destroyed. We shall find this as a working belief among Australians, Maoris, Eskimos, and in Central Africa, while it also supplies one strong motive for head-hunting, frequently associated with cannibalism (§ 14). (2) Again, the curious ideas regarding eating, viz. that it established a bond of union between persons eating together (hence to eat the food of the spirit world, later of fairy-land, or of the gods, bound one to the company of ghosts or gods), may also have assisted to overcome the fear of the dead by a kind of inversion. If persons eating together became of one kin, so also might the eater with the thing or person eaten. Thus the eater of friend or foe, as it were, became inoculated with him, and so rendered him harmless. In the case of relatives this eating may easily have come to be regarded as part of the funeral ceremonies, to neglect which would ensure the ghost's vengeance, but to fulfil which caused his continued friendship. Thus cannibalism does not seem to have been much hindered, as far as fear was concerned, by the prevailing animistic beliefs, though these may have occasionally caused it to cease in another direction (see below, iii.). Frequently the bodies of relatives are eaten in order that their souls may strengthen the eaters, or pass over into them, possibly with the notion of their being re-incarnate in the bodies of the next children born into the family. Or again, the old and sick are killed and eaten to prevent the soul becoming weak with the body. Some analogy to this negative influence of Animism is found where cannibalism, involving the handling of a dead body, prevails among peoples, e.g. the Maoris, to whom such handling caused uncleanness.

And parallels to the idea of the ghost strengthening or helping the eater of the body are found, e.g., in the Melanesian belief that arrows tipped with human bone are deadly, because the ghost to whom the piece of bone belonged will work upon the wounded person (*JAI* xix. 215), or in the Andaman custom of wearing necklaces of human bones in the belief that the disembodied spirit will shield the wearer against evil spirits, through gratitude for the respect thus paid to his memory (*ib.* xii. 86).

6. Where cannibalism occurs for the purpose of obtaining the strength or other qualities of the person eaten, it is most frequently only a part of the body which is used; hence there is seldom a cannibalistic meal. This motive underlies cannibalism in parts of Australia, in the Sandwich Islands, Torres Straits and Nagir Islands, Timor-Laut, Celebes, and New Zealand, in some parts of Asia, among some African tribes, with the majority of American Indian tribes, occasionally in S. America, and even now and then in civilized lands.

Some tribes in North Australia eat the cheeks and eyes of enemies to make them brave (*MacGillivray, Voyage of Battle-snake*, 1852, i. 152); in Queensland enemies do not appear to be eaten, but members of the tribe are, for various reasons, including the obtaining of their qualities; e.g. a mother will eat her child to get back the strength which she has given it; relatives are also eaten, as well as members of the tribe who fall in battle, and honoured headmen (*Palmer, JAI* xiii. 283; *Howitt, Native Tribes*, p. 763; *Finch-Hatton, Advance Australasia*, 1885, p. 148); in N.S. Wales the fat of the fallen, to which great strength is attributed, is eaten, while at burial a piece of the flesh is divided among the relatives, out of which they suck strength or throw it into the river to nourish the fish (*Waitz, Anthropol.* vi. 748; *JAI* xiii. 186); in S. Australia, besides other motives, the acquiring of strength appears among the Kurnai, Theddora, and Ngarigo, who eat the hands and feet of enemies (*Howitt, op. cit.* p. 752); the Dieri of Central Australia eat a man and drink his blood; the Luritja frequently kill a strong child and feed a weak one on its flesh, while most of the tribesmen, before starting on an expedition, draw blood from one or more of their members, and drink it to make them lithe and active (*JAI* xiv. 172; *Spencer-Gillen*, pp. 461, 476). Bonwick says of the Tasmanians that a man's life and blood was sometimes administered as a healing draught (*Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, 1870, p. 89). In the Sandwich Islands the eating of an enemy's eye by the king at his coronation to get his strength was the reduced form of an earlier, wider cannibalism (see § 18). In the Torres Straits Islands the tongue of a slain enemy was eaten as a charm for bravery; the sweat of warriors was drunk for the same reason; the eyes and cheeks of a shipwrecked party in 1834 were said to have been eaten to 'increase their desire after the blood of white men.' Beyond this cannibalism did not exist (*Haddon, JAI* xix. 312). On Nagir Island boys were made to eat the eyes and tongue of an enemy that their hearts might know no fear (*Petermann's Mittheilungen*, vi. 96). In Timor-Laut the flesh of a dead enemy was eaten to cure impotence; in Celebes the blood of an enemy was drunk to acquire courage (*Riedel, Selobes*, 1856, p. 279). Savage tribes in N.E. Burma preserve blood of enemies in bamboo cases till dry, and then eat it in a feast to obtain courage (*Lumholtz, Among Cannibals*, 1889, p. 274). The Dayak head-hunters would eat a piece of the cheek-skin as a charm to make them fearless (*Ling Roth, JAI* xiii. 59). Eating the eye and sucking the blood to get strength appear with the motive of revenge among the Maoris (*Taylor, N.Z. ch. xxi.*). Among the Yakuts and Kamchatkans, and in Liu-ku, a mother would eat the placenta in order to bear quickly again (*Inter. Arch. für Eth.* iii. 71), while in Muzaffarnagar a barren woman is recorded as killing a child to drink its blood (*PR* ii. 172). The lamas in Tibet are said to have a craving for human blood in order to obtain vigour and genius (*Landon, In the Forbidden Land*, 1898, ii. 68). Drinking an enemy's blood is reported of the people of Dardistan (*Leitner, Tour in D. I.* 9); the brains and lungs of an enemy are eaten and his blood is drunk in Luzon (*Featherman, Races of Man-kind*, 1883, ii. 501). In Africa the practice as an isolated custom is found mainly in the south. The Basutos, in Moshesh's time, ate their Boer enemies to get their courage; warriors were also painted with a mixture into which pieces of human flesh (enemy's) entered, for the same reason; some of it was occasionally drunk; the hearts of conspicuous warriors are eaten by most of the tribes (*JAI* xix. 284 ff., xx. 137). The Kafir will eat a human heart to obtain strength; a similar notion doubtless underlay the custom among the Ama-pondo Kafirs at the instalment of a chief—a relative having been killed, the chief bathed in his blood and drank from his skull. The Bechuanas, though disliking the practice, also eat an enemy's flesh for superstitious reasons (*Crawley, Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 102). Tribes in East Central Africa cut out an enemy's heart and liver and eat them on the spot, while parts of the flesh are reduced to ashes and made into a broth, which is swallowed to give courage, perseverance, and wisdom (*Macdonald, JAI* xiii. 111; *Buchanan, Shire Highlands*, 1886, p. 128). Among the

Negro tribes, who are cannibal mainly out of revenge or gluttony, this motive is occasionally found, either along with these or by itself: the Jaggas (Angola) ate men because it gave them courage, according to a 17th cent. traveller, and among the Bassongi of the Kassai men after circumcision and unfruitful women eat men's flesh to recuperate their powers; at Great Bassam (Ivory Coast) the heart and liver of a sacrificial victim, slain at the founding of a new town, are eaten by all present so that they may not die within the year; in Dahomey an enemy's heart is occasionally eaten at festivals (Wissmann, *Unter deut. Flagge*, 1892, p. 139; Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 1888, i. 613-614). In N. Africa, where cannibalism has been practically uprooted by Muhammadanism, it is believed, e.g. among the Nubians, that every bullet they fire will kill a man if he consumes the liver of an enemy (Baker, *Imatika*, 1874, ii. 354). Among the American Indians, with the exception of the outlying tribes, who are cannibals through famine, very little of the body is eaten, and that usually to obtain the courage of a dead enemy, though occasionally through revenge. Chippewa women fed their children with the blood and pieces of flesh of English prisoners to make warriors of them. The heart was eaten by such tribes as the Crees and Blackfeet; Dakotas and Sioux are known to have cut up a prisoner into small pieces, which were distributed to all the warriors, who ate them to get his bravery. There seems little doubt, however, that more extensive cannibalism had prevailed in earlier times (Long, *Voyages*, 1791, p. 115; Faraud, *op. cit.* p. 38; Keating, *Exped. to St. Peter's River*, 1825, i. 412). Occasionally Indians have been known to eat part of a slain enemy out of bravado (3 *RBEW*, p. 272). Among S. American tribes where mainly gluttony or more purely animistic motives prevail, there is sometimes a practice of rubbing children's faces with a slain enemy's blood to make them brave; the Tarianas and Tucanos of the Amazon burn the corpse of a warrior and drink the ashes in water in order to be brave; this is also reported of the Rio Negro tribes and Ximanes (Wallace, *Amazon*, 1853, p. 374; Steinmetz, p. 19; Müller, *Amer. Urrel.*, 1856, p. 239). Survivals of the practice in civilized lands have occasionally been noted; de Maricourt 'saw two Sicilians tear with their teeth the heart of a Neapolitan just killed' (*FLJ* i. 301). We may also note the belief current in the N.W. Provinces of India, embodied in various tales, that to eat the flesh or taste the blood of a saint or of a wizard is of peculiar religious efficacy, giving the eater wisdom and mystic powers (Crooke, *Rel. and Folk-lore of N. India*, 1896, ii. 285; Burton, *Sindh*, 1861, pp. 86, 388).

7. *Medical cannibalism*.—Derived from the idea of obtaining strength is the belief that the flesh, etc., of the dead has medical virtues. What strengthened the body would also cure its ills; hence primitive and even later pharmacopœias occasionally prescribe some part of the dead body as a medicine. The most remarkable examples of this practice occur in China. Among the poor it is not uncommon for a member of the family to cut a piece of flesh from arm or leg, which is cooked and then given to a sick relative. Parts of the bodies of criminals are eaten as medicine; their blood is drunk as a cure for consumption. In some cases murder is committed so that the diseased, e.g. lepers, may drink the blood of the victim. A popular work on materia medica gives many such cannibal remedies; in general, each part of the body has some particular curative virtue. The whole superstition in China is certainly connected with the idea that the eating of the human body strengthens the eater, for this is wide-spread, and at times it is difficult to say which purpose is intended. Thus Wells Williams writes: 'It is not uncommon for him [the executioner] to cut out the gall-bladder of notorious robbers, and sell it, to be eaten as a specific for courage' (*Middle Kingdom*, 1848, i. 415; Dennys, *Folk-lore of China*, 1876, p. 69; Bergemann, p. 21). Among savages the practice is found of giving a sick man some blood to drink drawn from the veins of a relative (Australia, *JAI* xiii. 132; American Indians, Petitot, *Trad. Ind.*, 1886, p. 269). Pliny cites a number of remedies concocted from portions of human bodies and used by the sick (*HN* xxviii. 1 f.). The medical properties of human flesh were believed in throughout mediæval Europe and even in much later times. Even in the 17th cent. the Hon. Robert Boyle speaks of the curative properties of the thigh-bone of a criminal. Popular superstition still makes occasional use of such remedies in Germany, but generally the flesh is used magically, though in some cases it is eaten. Drinking out of the skull of a dead criminal or suicide has always been a favourite remedy, and is

still made use of in out-of-the-way corners—cases have been reported from the Scottish Highlands within the last few years. The custom of the sick drinking water in which the relics of a saint had been washed, or from his skull, or of a stream diverted so that it might flow under the altar of a church over the bones of a saint, was a favourite practice in mediæval times, as it still is in Roman Catholic lands and in, e.g., the Cyclades (Bent, *The Cyclades*, 1885, p. 122). Louville (*Memoirs*, 1818, ii. 107) cites the case of the duchess of Alva in the 17th cent., who, alarmed for the health of her son, obtained a finger of St. Isidore from the monks of Madrid, pounded it up, and made him drink part of it in a potion. Probably the idea of the value of the flesh of a criminal for medical purposes was a relic from the time when criminals or prisoners or slaves were used as human sacrificial victims, sometimes representing the divinity, and either eaten in a cannibal feast, or their flesh or blood used for healing purposes. Since criminals had frequently been chosen as sacrificial victims, it was argued that there must be some virtue in a criminal's body. Thus when human sacrifices ceased, the executed criminal was still held to possess special virtues (see an article by M. Peacock, 'Executed Criminals and Folk-Medicine,' in *FL* vii. [1896] 268, for other instances).

8. *Magical cannibalism*.—In some cases the flesh of the dead is eaten for magical purposes; here also the underlying idea is that of acquiring the powers of the deceased. In the Torres Straits Islands, where only the tongue of dead enemies is eaten in ordinary circumstances, youths at initiation into the craft of sorcery are required to eat part of a putrid human corpse; this is also done by sorcerers before practising their art. In both cases it causes frenzy, and the eater is not held accountable for his actions, even for murder (Haddon, *JAI* xix. 316, 398). In various parts of Australia this eating of the dead forms part of the making of medicine-men, but with many of the tribes initiation is held to be the work of spirits; hence, possibly, eating the dead ensures the help of the ghost. Among the Waimbaio of S. Australia the candidates must chew the bones of a dead man, dug up for this purpose, and, as in the previous case, they then become frenzied and act as maniacs (Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 404). The same practice occurs in Africa, as among the Bantu negroes generally, who think that the person desirous of becoming a sorcerer (as well as the sorcerer himself) is a corpse-eater, either from morbid tastes, or more probably with the idea that the dead body will invest him with magical powers. In E. Central Africa it is believed that witches and wizards feed on corpses in midnight orgies, and that any one eating such food is thereby converted into a wizard (Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, ii. 573; J. Macdonald, *JAI* xxii. 107). In W. Africa witches are held to feed upon living human victims by sending their 'power' into the body; but this power is dangerous to its owner, as it may feed upon himself if not regularly fed otherwise. Similarly, witches can extract the life-soul—a less material duplicate of the victim—and feast on it in a magic orgy; its owner then sickens and dies (M. H. Kingsley, *W. Af. Studies*, 1899, p. 209; Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Africa*, 1904, p. 55). Horace refers to witch practices in his day, and describes love-philtres in which dried human marrow and liver were ingredients (*Odes*, v. v.); while Petronius and Plautus also speak of witches devouring the nerves and intestines of their victims; the former mentions images of straw substituted by them for kidnapped children (Pet. cap. 63, 134; Plaut. *Pseud.* iii. 2. 31). Similar crimes were laid at the door of witches in Christian times, and the belief still

survives in Slavonic lands, where many tales are told of how the hags take out their victims' heart while they sleep and devour it, substituting some straw or a hare's heart, and thus changing their nature (see iv. § 4 for other instances). This branch of cannibalism is closely bound up with a whole group of practices in which part of a dead body is used for magical purposes, on account of its virtues, or because the soul of the dead man will act through the part which is made use of. These are found universally among savages, and with sorcerers and witches in more civilized lands, while they have given rise to a vast series of folk-superstitions (see RELICS).

9. *Animistic cannibalism.*—The belief that by eating the dead one acquires their strength is scarcely to be distinguished from the purely animistic motive—to obtain their soul, or otherwise to influence it—and it is possible that in some of the cases already cited 'strength' is equivalent to 'soul.' Where relatives are eaten, the passing over of the soul to the eater for the benefit of the latter is mainly aimed at; but in the case of an enemy the destruction or hurt of his soul is also intended, though instances with the intention of obtaining his services and goodwill are known. This is suggested in the curious 'ritual' performed by a murderer in ancient Greece, viz. to lick up the blood and then spit it forth. This was said to be done by way of ridding himself of the pollution of murder; in reality it 'took away the force of the dead,' which was still further effected by the lopping off of his limbs (Apoll. Rhod. iv. 470f.). The former practice is found in Australia and Tibet, in N. and S. America occasionally, and in Africa; the latter is clearly found among the Maoris, the Eskimos, the Tupis of S. America, the Ashantis, and in New Caledonia. The idea of destroying the soul through eating the body is illustrated by the Ainu belief that until the body is decomposed the ghost remains active, and the Indian idea that a man-eating tiger obtains possession of the souls of his victims; hence he walks with bent head weighed down by their souls (Crooke, ii. 211); while, generally, the belief that by obtaining or acting upon a part of any one's body—hair-cuttings, nail-parings, bones, etc.—control over his spirit for its hurt is possible, is also suggestive in this connexion.

(1) *Eating of relatives.*—The Australian instances show how easily 'strength' and 'soul' are confounded. In most cases the obtaining of strength is desired (§ 6), but the passing over to the idea of receiving the soul is seen where certain parts—kidneys, fat, etc.—as containing particular virtues, are alone eaten. That 'strength' is mainly equivalent to 'soul' is seen in W. Australian cannibalism, where the old are eaten for food, because, being old, they have no longer a soul which might cause the eater discomfort; i.e. weakness and want of soul are identical (Oldfield, *Trans. Eth. Soc. N.S.* iii. 248). In Tibet, the lamas first and then the relatives of the dead man eat his flesh with the idea that the spirit whose flesh has been swallowed will always remain friendly to the eater (Landor, *op. cit.* ii. 68f.). In N. America the acquiring of strength is mainly aimed at; but sometimes, as with the Shoshones, the eater of an enemy became animated with his spirit (Featherman, *op. cit.* iii. 206). In S. America the Chavantis eat dead children that their souls may pass over to the parents, while the Yamas, now extinct, broke the bones of their dead to suck out the marrow, believing that the soul resided in it and would pass over to them (Andree, p. 89; Marcoy, in *Tour de Monde*, xv. 139). In Uganda it was held that the liver, as the seat of the soul, would, when eaten, benefit the eater (*TRSE* xiii. 218).

(2) *Eating of enemies.*—The Maoris, whose cannibalism existed mainly out of revenge, believed that in eating the enemy they destroyed his spirit, thus avoiding his posthumous vengeance, since the spirits of the slain wander about seeking to revenge themselves (*L'Anthropologie*, vi. 443). With the Eskimos a curious belief prevails. After killing a man, they must eat part of his liver, as Link says, to prevent his ghost rushing into the murderer—possibly through the eater being now one with the victim and thus forestalling his vengeance. The heart of a dead witch is also eaten by all the community to prevent her ghost haunting or frightening the living (Link, *op. cit.* p. 46; Eggede, *op. cit.* p. 138; Crantz, *Hist. of Greenland*, 1820, gives a curious reason for eating the heart of a murderer, viz. to raise his relatives to see their courage; Bergemann, p. 20,

says the Chukchis eat the heart of a dead enemy to make his relatives sick). The East Prussians ate a piece of murdered victims so as never to remember their evil deed again, i.e. probably to prevent the appearance of the ghost (Strack, *Blut-abergräube*, p. 59). The taking of the name of the victim by his slayer, after eating him, occurred with the Tupis of S. America, who are cannibals out of revenge, and with the people of Marshall Island; the 'name' being usually equivalent to 'soul' or 'spirit,' it is obvious that the slayer thus acquired his victim's soul (Andree, p. 87; Chamisso, *Bemerkungen*, p. 136). With the Ashantis the fetish-priest prepares the heart of an enemy with sacred herbs, and gives it to all who have not yet killed an enemy, that the ghost, which has its seat in the heart, may not take away their courage (Bowdich, *Ashantee*, 1819, p. 402). If a Manjuma man should kill his wife in a quarrel, he eats her heart with goat's flesh, to prevent revenge on the part of her ghost (Livingstone, *Last Journals*, 1874, ii. 58). In Melanesia, the eating of human flesh is held to give the eater *mana*—a spiritual essence which circulates in all things (Codrington, *JAI* x. 285); or a man will eat part of a corpse to obtain communion with the ghost, which will then assist him against living enemies (Codrington, *Melanesians*, 1891, p. 222).

10. *Cannibalism and blood-covenant.*—In some of the cases cited, and perhaps running more or less through all animistic or strength-acquiring eating of enemies, appears the idea that eaters and eaten are now one; hence the revenge of the ghost is forestalled; hence, too, the relatives of the victim cannot harm the murderer. This seems to underlie the Chukchi, Eskimo, and E. Prussian cases; it reappears among the Hurons, who drank the blood of an enemy to become invulnerable against the attacks of other enemies (presumably his relatives); among the Botocudos, who ate an enemy to be protected from his revenge and to be invulnerable against the arrows of the hostile tribe; in New Britain; and in modern Italy, where a murderer believes he will not escape unless he taste his victim's blood (Featherman, *Aoneo-Mar.* p. 60, *Chicapo-Mar.* p. 355; Powell, *Wanderings*, p. 92; *Rivista*, i. 640). In all these cases there is a dim recognition of kinship acquired with the victim and his relatives, which has doubtless been suggested by the rite of blood-brotherhood, by which, when two persons, not otherwise related, have tasted each other's blood, they are henceforth one (see BROTHERHOOD [artificial]).

11. *Honorific cannibalism.*—Other motives besides the above must be noted, especially in connexion with the eating of relatives. It is possible that an animistic reason may underlie these. In certain cases the sick or old are killed in order that their souls may not be weakened with the body; thus the soul is set free in comparative strength to animate the eater. From one point of view this is to honour the dead, and honour may well be the motive even where it is not expressly stated. We may therefore join all cases where this animistic intention is found with those in which honour to the dead is the prevailing idea, and those in which the eating by relatives ensures proper burial, or the prevention of corruption or of worms doing harm to the body or soul. Among those practising cannibalism for this reason are several peoples mentioned by classical writers, some Australian tribes, various Asiatic peoples, and S. American tribes. Thus it hardly occurs in those regions where cannibalism existed out of revenge or gluttony, save in a few notable instances.

Herodotus (i. 216) describes the cannibalism of the Massagetas, a Scythian people living to the N.E. of the Caspian. When a man had attained a great age, his kinsmen 'sacrificed' him with cattle, boiled the flesh, and ate it, accounting this a happy death. This account is confirmed by Strabo (xi. 513). Their neighbours, the Issedones, had a similar practice when the father died, his flesh with that of cattle being cut up and eaten at a banquet by the relatives, who then cleansed the head, gilded the skull, and afterwards honoured it with sacrifices (Herod. iv. 29). Strabo also says that the Derbikes, a people of North Iran, killed and ate all old men over 70; all others (including women) were buried. He also describes the people of the Caucasus as eating the flesh of relatives. Indians called Padoai are mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 99) as cannibals; a sick man was killed and eaten by male relatives, a sick woman by female relatives. Any who attained old age were also

killed and eaten. Other Indian peoples, e.g. the Kallatai, ate their dead parents (iii. 33). These were doubtless aboriginal and not Hindu tribes. Farther west, the inhabitants of Ireland (*Íleann*) are said by Strabo to deem it 'honourable to eat the bodies of their deceased parents' (iv. 5); Diodorus Siculus also refers to their cannibalism, but mentions only the eating of dead enemies (vi. 16). There seems no reason for throwing doubt on these assertions, especially as they are paralleled by recent or existing customs not only in Asia but elsewhere. The Weletabi or Wilze, a Slavonic people, are said by Notker to have eaten their old parents (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* iii. 1081); and the same is related of the Wends in ancient chronicles (Steinmetz, p. 24). In *Australia*, honour to dead relatives and the conferring of a benefit upon them are mentioned as motives among tribes on the Mary River (Queensland) and in Western Victoria. In the latter case only those dying not by illness are eaten; and brothers and sisters do not eat each other (*JAI* ii. 179; Dawson, *Aust. Abor.*, 1881, p. 67). In the Turbul tribe, when a man is killed at the ceremonial initiation fights, his tribesmen eat him 'because they knew him and were fond of him, and they now knew where he was, and his flesh would not stink' (Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 753). In *Asia*, the classic example of cannibalism is found among the Battas of Sumatra, who practise legal cannibalism on enemies and criminals, but also eat the sick and old out of respect—an unusual combination of contradictory motives. It is probable that they are the people mentioned by Marco Polo and others as dwelling in the kingdom of Dagroia. Marco Polo's account is that when any one is ill a sorcerer is sent for, and if he foretells that the patient will not recover, the sick man is put to death and eaten by his kinsmen. They are careful to leave nothing lest it should breed worms, which would die for want of food, and the death of these worms would be laid to the charge of the deceased man's soul (Yule's *Marco Polo*, 1371, ii. 278). Leyden, in 1805, gave a slightly different account. Aged and infirm relatives are eaten as a pious ceremony. They invite their descendants to kill them. The victim ascends a tree, round which the others assemble singing a funeral dirge—'The season is come, the fruit is ripe, and it must descend.' He then descends, and is put to death and eaten in a solemn banquet. The custom existed sporadically among the wilder tribes of Eastern Asia within recent times. The wild people of Arakan eat the old (Yule, *op. cit.* i. 281); some of the Gonds of Central India, e.g. the Biderwurms, killed and ate the sick and the aged, 'thinking this an act of kindness and acceptable to the goddess Kali'; so also did the Birhor and the Gonds in Oudh (Yule, ii. 281; Sartori, 'Die Sitte der Alten- und Krankentötung,' *Globus*, 1895, p. 126). The Kweichans were said by the Chinese to eat old relatives, as also did the people of Uai-Po with old men; women were exempt. The same was asserted of the Tibetans in the case of the old, 'honourable burial' being reported as the motive (Yule, i. 292); while the Samoyeds and Ostiaks ate them with shamanic ceremonies, so that their condition after death might be improved (*Inter. Arch. für Eth.* iii. 71). For some of the *S. American* tribes, with whom this motive appears, the evidence is conflicting, as they are also accused of eating enemies out of revenge or gluttony. This is true of the Botocudos, with whom the old father is said to implore his children to eat him, and the mother eats a dead child out of tenderness (Preuss, *Begräbnisarten der Amerikaner*, p. 219; Waitz, iii. 446); of the Miranhas, said to eat the sick and old (Marcoq, in *Tour du Monde*, xv. 139); and of the Kashibos, said to eat their elders from religious motives (*Anthrop. Rev.* i. 35). Surer ground is reached with the Mundurucos, who kill and the sick and old out of kindness; the Capanahua and the Cocomas, who eat the dead out of honour, because it is 'better to be inside a friend than to be swallowed up by the cold earth'; the Mayorunas and the tribes on the Orinoco, with whom the reason is that it is better to be eaten by a friend than by worms; and the Acumas on the Marañon, who ate dead relatives (Markham, *JAI* xxiv. 248, etc.; Spencer, *Prin. of Ethics*, 1893, i. 330; Steinmetz, p. 181). Tapuya mothers eat their dead infants as well as the placenta (Nieuhof, *Gedenk. Brasil. Zee- en Landtreize*, Amsterdam, 1682, p. 216).

12. Closely akin to the above motive is that of *morbid affection*, eating the dead out of sheer love, which is found with many Australian tribes. The idea is clearly that of obtaining communion with the dead, which is also effected in Australia, Timor-Laut, New Britain, etc., by smearing the body with the decomposed matter of the corpse; or, in Australia and the Andaman Islands, by a near relative carrying about the skull or bones. It is expressed in two different ways by the Australian tribes. (1) Among the coast tribes of north central Australia, the flesh of the dead is eaten as part of the burial rites, apparently out of affection, and always by certain definitely arranged persons (Spencer-Gillen^b, p. 547 ff.). Other writers refer to the so-called 'love-feasts' of east central tribes, in which, when a young woman dies, her male relatives and men with whom she has had sexual relations eat parts of her body (Steinmetz, p. 11). With these tribes, the bones are the object of the utmost care and the most minute

ceremonial. (2) A curious motive is that of the relatives eating the dead in order that they may no longer be sad. This occurs among tribes on the Peak Flood river (along with other motives). They eat dead children, else they will for ever mourn them; the mother gets the head, while the other children are given part in order to strengthen them (Andree, p. 46). With the Dieri, the fat adhering to the face, thighs, arms, and stomach is eaten according to strict rules of relationship, and in order that the relatives may not be sad or weep: this is also the case with other tribes of S. Australia—the Yaurorka, Yantruwunta, Marula, and Tangara. The latter eat the flesh also, carrying the remains about and eating a piece whenever their grief overcomes them (Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 449, 751). The custom is not unknown even among Christianized American Indians in British Columbia, instances being known of some of the blood or juices of the corpse being rubbed on the body or swallowed in a frenzy of grief to obtain union with the beloved dead (Allison, *JAI* xxi. 316). Precisely the same idea of morbid affection is found in the story of Artemisia, who drank the ashes of Mausolus out of love for him (Aul. Gell. x. 18). Civilized Greek and savage Australian were at one. It was possibly also a custom among the ancient Celts, since in the heroic cycles we read how Emer, the wife of Cúchulainn, after her husband's head had been cut off, washed it, pressed it to her bosom, and sucked in the blood (Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, 1899, p. 352). Déirdre also lapped the blood of her husband when he was slain (*ib.* p. 315). The custom is also referred to in much later Gaelic poetry, while Spenser saw a woman drink the blood of her foster-son at Limerick (Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, 1900, ii. 232).

13. *Cannibalism through revenge*.—Probably at a later stage an entirely new motive arose with respect to the eating of enemies, though it may always have been more or less latent in this practice, and, where it prevailed, it put a stop to the eating of relatives (where that existed) or fellow-tribesmen, except for one particular reason. This is probably a late motive, since it seems mainly to affect savages at a higher stage of civilization, while it also prevails with those who are most cruel. Here enemies are eaten out of rage, and in order to glut revenge and cause their lasting contumely. The dead enemy was treated with the utmost contempt, and finally eaten with every mark of degradation. It is obvious that, where the eating of relatives out of honour still continued, the rise of this motive must have soon put an end to it. For eating the dead could not signify in the one case contempt and in the other honour. And, in fact, where enemies are eaten for this precise reason, the eating of fellow-tribesmen does not exist except where gluttony, as in certain Polynesian cases, causes all loss of distinction between friend and foe, or in cases of extreme hunger (Marquesas Islands) when an enemy is not available. The motive of revenge, however, gave an impetus to the eating of fellow-tribesmen in a new direction, viz. as a punishment, and produced legal cannibalism. The criminal was eaten, as elsewhere he is executed. In certain cases the motive of sheer gluttony coexists with this motive of contempt, and here also mainly among higher savages. Raids are made on surrounding tribes, and cannibalism causes a regular trade in bodies, which are bought and sold in the market as meat is in a butcher's shop.

14. The eating of enemies out of rage or contempt, with its correlate, legal cannibalism—the eating of criminal members of the community—has a comparatively wide range, and mainly among higher savages and barbaric races. In some cases

it is connected with the idea of obtaining the enemies' strength, while it cannot always be dissociated from the motive of gluttony. In many cases, however, the eating is reduced to a minimum, and becomes a mere formal act of revenge. Its connexion with actual head-hunting—a practice which extends eastwards from India, through Malaysia, to Melanesia, and which is mainly concerned with showing contempt for enemies—as well as with the cutting off and preservation of the head or skull or scalp, after the cannibal meal, as a trophy, should be noted; while we must distinguish between this latter custom and the preservation of a relative's head out of honour or for the purpose of a definite cult. The cutting off and preservation of the head as a trophy must have originated early, as in Neolithic graves headless bodies are frequently found (*JAI* v. 146). While rage and contempt are clearly indicated in the custom, actual head-hunters now believe that the ghost of the slain will become the victor's slave in the next world, or will become his guardian and benefactor—an animistic motive which doubtless underlies the practice wherever found, while it recalls the already noted instances of subduing the ghost through eating (Dayaks [Ling Roth, *Nat. of Sarawak*, 1896, ii. 140; *L'Anthrop.* xiv. 96]; Lushais [Woodthorpe, *Lushai Expedition*, 1873, p. 136]). Cannibalism out of contempt, whether associated or not with head-hunting, occurred among the ancient Celts and Scythians. It is found among a few Australian tribes; in E. Asia; in Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia; it is common in Africa and also in S. America.

Of the Irish Celts, Diodorus Siculus (vi. 12) says that they ate their enemies; while it is certain that the heads of enemies were cut off, and carried at the girdle, or otherwise preserved. In some cases the victor tore the features with his teeth, as did the Prince of Leinster in Fitzstephen's time (Girald. Cambr. Cong. of Irel. bk. i. cap. 4; cf. also Hyde, *op. cit.* p. 295; *Rev. Celt.* viii. 59, x. 217). The heads of slain warriors were dedicated to Morrigh, the Irish war-goddess, or were considered her property (Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, 1862, p. xxxv). The Scythians drank the blood of slain enemies, stripped off the scalp and hung it on the bridle-rein, and made a drinking-cup of the upper part of the skull. This was also done to relatives with whom they were at enmity (Herod. iv. 64.). Strabo speaks of the *Karnians*, a people west of the Indus, among whom none may marry till he cuts off an enemy's head and brings it to the king, in whose dwelling it is hung up; the tongue is mixed with flour, cooked, and eaten by the slayer and his relatives (xv. 727). *Asia; Pacific*.—The Garos of Bengal eat the fruit of a tree with the juice of an antagonist's head after a family feud, the tree having been planted by both parties for that purpose (*JAI* ii. 396). Cannibalism is associated with many of the head-hunting ceremonies among the wilder Dayaks, and probably was once more widely prevalent, the motive being revenge (St. John, *Forests of Far East*, 1862, i. 122–124). The brains, palms of hands, and flesh of the knees were eaten as tit-bits. It also prevailed among the wild tribes of the Philippines at the time of their discovery, the heart of an enemy being eaten with citron juice out of revenge. Later this custom seems to have been restricted to the priest, who opened the breast, dipped a fawnman of the gods in the blood, and ate a slice of heart and liver (Semper, *Die Philippinen*, 1869, p. 62). Some head-hunters ate the brains of the enemy; this is also done in Luzon, though here the motive is rather to obtain courage, but the skull is kept in the house as a trophy (Andree, p. 20; Featherman, *Races*, 2nd div. pp. 501–502). The head-hunting tribes of the interior of Celebes were also cannibals out of revenge, though occasionally from gluttony, begging the bodies of condemned criminals from their more civilized neighbours (Bleekmore, *Travels*, 1868, p. 70). The Battas of Sumatra ate prisoners of war to show their contempt for them. They bind the victim to a pole, throw lances at him till he is killed, and then rush forward and hack him with their knives, roasting and eating the pieces with salt and citron juice (Marsden, *Sumatra*, 1811, p. 390; Miller, in *Phil. Trans.* lxxviii. 161). The heads are preserved as trophies in the village-house (Featherman, *op. cit.* p. 336). Marco Polo asserts the eating of a war prisoner in Zipangu (Japan) if he was too poor to buy his freedom; while Sebastian Münster describes the roasting and eating of prisoners, and the drinking of their blood, by the Tatars (*Cosmographia*, p. mcdxvii). Medieval chronicles assert similar things of the Tatar invaders of Europe; but the evidence must be received with caution, as such stories are common in time of war regarding dreaded enemies, *Melanisia*.—In some islands of the Torres Straits group, e.g. *Murabun*, the heads of enemies were cut off, placed in an oven and partially cooked. The eyes and parts of the cheeks were eaten by the victors to make them brave; the skull was then

kicked along the ground and afterwards hung up near the camp (MacGillivray, *Voyage of Rattlesnake*, ii. 4–7). In the *Solomon Islands* both revenge and gluttony lead to the eating of war-prisoners, who are cooked in a pit with hot stones, and eaten with frantic joy. The scalp and hair are put on a coco-nut and hung in the common hall; canoe-houses are also adorned with enemies' skulls (Verguet, *RE* iv. 214; Woodford, *Nat. among Head-Hunters*, 1890, pp. 92, 152; Guppy, *Sol. Is.*, 1887, p. 16). The same mixed motives are found in the *New Hebrides*; some refer it to an unnatural taste after revenge; others, to gluttony, as plenty of food exists in the islands. In some cases the crimes of an enemy are alleged by the natives as their reason for eating him; in other cases the bodies are supplied by the chief to the villages as a feast. The practice now exists only in the interior, and members of another tribe are asked to cut up the body (Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, 1861, p. 83; *L'Anthrop.* x. 300; Steel, *New Heb.*, 1880, p. 26). In *New Caledonia* the ferocity of the natives is well known, one group attacking another neighbouring group, murdering and devouring them. Man-eating is here ascribed by the natives themselves to the lack of animal food, but revenge also enters into it to a large extent. The smallest pretext is used for fighting, and revenge is not complete until the slain have been devoured. It appears to be mainly the privilege of the chiefs, who even eat their own tribesmen, causing a tumult to be raised and eating the offenders as a punishment, and inviting guests to share in the meal (Lang, *Social Origins*, p. 167; De Rochas, *Nouvelle Calé.*, 1862, p. 206; *BSAP*, 1860, p. 414; Montrouzier, *ib.* 1870, p. 80). In *Fiji* revenge and gluttony as well as religious motives have caused cannibalism. One of the victims was usually offered by the priest to the war-god, or sacrificed at the building of a temple or the launching of a canoe; in the latter case the bodies were used as rollers. Cannibalistic feasts on bodies of enemies were common, and 'as tender as men's flesh' had passed into a proverb. Chiefs sent bodies of the victims of war to each other, or kept a register of the numbers they had eaten—in one case this reached 872. The skulls were sometimes used as drinking vessels. Ovens and pots in which the dead were cooked, and the dishes from which they were eaten, were *tabu* (Williams, *Fiji*, 1888, *passim*; Miss Gordon Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, i. 141, p. 138; Erskine, *Western Pacific*, 1858). In the *Marquesas Islands*, as in *New Zealand*, cannibalism in great part showed contempt for the slain enemy, and this was further marked by the semi-animistic motive already mentioned—the satisfaction at destroying the enemy's soul. The religious aspect of cannibalism in these countries will be referred to later. In the former, cannibalism was latterly restricted to chiefs (descendants of the gods) and priests—the heart and eyes being eaten and the blood drunk. In the latter, gluttony was also a motive, and the circumstances of the feast were most gruesome. The head was placed on a pole and the oven was *tabu* (*L'Anthrop.* vi. 448; Miss Clarke, *Maori Tales and Legends*, 1896, p. 126 f.; Andree, p. 68; Bergemann, p. 86). In *Tonga* the liver of a slain enemy was eaten through hate (Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, 1817, i. 321); in *Samoa* the motives were also hatred and revenge, 'I will roast thee' being the greatest insult which could be offered to a Samoan, while, even after the practice was given up, captives, in token of submission, would offer burning wood, and say, 'Kill and cook us when it seems good to thee' (Turner, *Polynesia*, p. 194); in *Morocco*, cannibalism was reduced to eating part of a great warrior out of hate, the eaters taking his name (Andree, p. 71). Instances from *Africa* are usually connected with gluttony; in *Manjuma*, as also among some tribes of the Niger delta, enemies are eaten mainly out of revenge; skulls of enemies decorate the houses and villages. Robertson Smith has shown that cannibalism existed among the early Arabs to the extent of eating the liver or drinking the blood of an enemy; drinking wine from the skull is also referred to, and the wearing of necklets, etc., of noses and ears (*Kinship*, p. 296). In *S. America* the Mesayas kept a prisoner for some time, giving him a wife. At the end of 8 months he was sent to gather wood for the oven; warriors then selected, by painting with a mark, that part of his body which they would eat. A dance took place by night after which the prisoner was slain and eaten; the bones were split for the marrow; the head was painted and placed in the hut of the bravest warrior. Revenge was the motive, and warfare between neighbouring tribes was frequent (Marcozy, in *Tour du Monde*, xv. 138). In *Peru* revenge was attributed as the motive of Miranhe cannibalism (Marin, *Est. Amer.*, 1867, p. 583); also among the Columbian Indians; the Botocudos (head stuck on a pole and used as a mark for arrows); probably the Cororatos (enemies' arms eaten during a dance of warriors); and the Araucanians (head chief and other chiefs suck blood of hearts) (Andree, p. 82 f.; Neuville, *Reise nach Brasil*, ii. 49; Smith, *The Araucanians*, p. 274). With the Tupis, dead enemies were eaten, while their children were brought home and cared for till the age of 14, when they were slain and eaten. This was also done to young women; while to male prisoners were given wives. They were then kept till a festival was arranged, which was carried through according to strict ceremonial. The prisoner had to light the fire at which he was to be roasted; he was slain with a special club, round which women had sung and danced all night. All took part in the eating. The motive was revenge, the prisoner being told that he was thus treated because he had killed and eaten his captors' friends. If a child had been born to the prisoner, it was also eaten, and was held to be of the same flesh and blood as his enemies (Hans Staden, cited in Andree, p. 85 f.; Southery, *Hist. of Brazil*, 1819, p. 290). With civilized peoples eating part of an obnoxious enemy or ruler has occasionally occurred on the part of rough soldiers or the mob. Christian soldiers are said to

have roasted and eaten Turkish prisoners at the siege of Antioch (Bergemann, p. 13); at Florence, in the 14th cent., citizens ate the flesh of their rulers (Machiavelli, li. ch. 8); and in the French Revolution eating the heart of victims of mob violence was not unknown (for the Scots instance of Lord Soules see Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 1839, p. 462, and cases cited there).

It is obvious from many of these cases that head-hunting was, in its origin, closely connected with cannibalism, while it forms one of a series of practices in which the remains of dead enemies are treated with contumely or regarded as trophies, or worn to increase the wearers' strength. For Celtic and Scandinavian instances of making trophies of heads, see Elton, *Origins of Eng. Hist.*, 1882, p. 112. For American Indian scalping, see paper by Burton in *Anthrop. Rev.*, 1864, and Friederici, *Skalpieren und ähnliche Kriegsgebräuche in Amerika*, Brunswick, 1906. The Botocudos, people of New Hebrides, Niam-Niams, and Ahabantis wear teeth of victims as necklaces, in some instances to obtain their courage (Keane, *Man Past and Present*, 1900, p. 457; Becham, *Ashantis*, 1841, p. 76; see other references above). Some of these also wear bones, as the Tshis make trophies of jawbones (Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887, p. 266). The Maoris made utensils and vessels of their victims' bones. Cf. also the frequent use of the skull as a drinking vessel in the instances cited. In New Guinea (natives of Mowat and Daudai, *JAI* xii. 462) the penis of warriors is believed to possess great virtue; it is cut off and worn, as is the vagina of women. Among the Chinese the ear is commonly cut off (*JAI* xxii. 172 f.); the ancient Celts cut out the tongue (*Rev. Celt.* i. 261); and the Mexicans flayed an enemy's or victim's body.

15. *Legal cannibalism* is found among the Battas, who treat their evil-doers and criminals precisely as they do enemies (*vide supra*, p. 200a, § 9(2)), eating them as an ignominious punishment (see *Geog. Jour.*, June 1898). Marco Polo describes the eating of dead malefactors among the Tatars of Xandu, and the people of Fo-kien and Kiang-si (Yule, p. 207). Thieves and assassins were eaten in Bow Island as well as enemies, and in Francis Island thieves were consumed (Lefourneau, *op. cit.* p. 212; Turner, *Samoa*, 1884, p. 300). Among the Maoris, adulteresses and murderers were eaten and their bones made into utensils; the eyes were swallowed raw by the Arikis (Shortland, *N.Z.*, 1861, p. 230). Wrong-doers were not eaten by their own tribesmen in Duke of York Island, but killed and sold to another tribe (Powell, *Wanderings*, p. 93); murderers or particularly detested enemies are eaten in Lepers' Island in anger and to show ill-treatment (Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 344); evil-doers are killed and eaten by order of the chiefs in New Caledonia (Andree, p. 58, citing Garnier); witches were sold for food as a punishment in New Georgia (Woodford, *Head-hunters*, p. 150); while in Fiji a whole tribe would be condemned to be eaten for offending the paramount chief (Keane, *Man Past and Present*, p. 137).

Among the *African Negroes* the practice is common, sorcerers being generally killed and eaten by all the tribes (*L'Anth.* xiv. 91). The *Mambanga* eat murderers or those asserted to be so by an oracle (Andree, p. 39); the *Ba-Ngala* occasionally eat debtors (Coquilhat, *Sur le Haut-Congo*, 1888, p. 337); the *Tupende* and *Tuketis* are said to eat malefactors (Wissmann, *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 96). Among the *Kissama* a debtor or criminal is eaten as a punishment (Hamilton, *JAI* i. 187); dead rebels are eaten in *Concobella*, and murderers are killed, torn to pieces, and eaten in *Bonny*; while among the *Agni* of the Ivory Coast those condemned to death as criminals were eaten (Steinmetz, pp. 21-22; *L'Anthrop.* iv. 424). In *E. Africa* an offender is sometimes made to eat one of his own members cut off for the purpose (*JAI* xxii. 110). The *Esquimo* custom of eating a witch's heart (already noted) may be regarded also as a legal punishment. Two *S. Australian* tribes, the *Mukjaravaint* and the *Jupagalk*, kill men marrying within the forbidden degrees, and part of the body is eaten by members of the same totem-clan (Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 247).

16. *Cannibalism through sheer gluttony*—the worst form of all—is found mainly in Africa, along the Guinea Coast, southwards into Congo-land, and eastwards to about 30° E. longitude. Captain

Hindes, at the meeting of the British Association in 1895, said, 'The Negro takes human flesh as food purely and simply, and not from any religious or superstitious reasons.' To this, however, there are some exceptions. It also occurs among the Negroes of Hayti, apart from their religious cannibalism. It is found among a few N. American and several S. American tribes in a particularly odious form, in New Guinea sporadically, and in Melanesia.

In the Guinea coast region and the Niger delta, cannibalism through gluttony appears to be dying out, and only a few tribes here and there within recent years are accused of it—the people of Calabar, the Obotschi and Onitscha on the Niger, Bambaras, Quaquas, and Bourbouris (Hutchinson, *Ten Years among Ethiopians*, pp. 48, 58; P. du Langle, in *Tour du Monde*, xxvi. 374). In Ashanti and Dahomey it has become a mere formal rite. In French Congo the worst offenders are the Funs, who, however, are becoming ashamed of it (du Chailu, *Eq. Africa*, 1861, p. 74 f., *Tour du Monde*, xl. 308; Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, 1873, li. 18). But the greatest seat of gluttonous cannibalism is in Central Africa, especially in the regions untouched by Muhammadan influence. The tribes in and around the Congo Free State—Niam-Niams, Monbutus, Mam-banga, Manjuma, Bongos, Balutu, Bassanje, and others—are mentioned by Stanley (*In Darkest Africa*, 1890), Schweinfurth, and other explorers, as inveterate cannibals. Among all these gluttonous cannibals it is mainly enemies who are eaten. Earlier writers speak of some of them eating their own dead, but this is probably a mistake. Modern authorities lay particular emphasis on the fact that relatives are not eaten, through an existing horror at eating the flesh of blood relations, but their bodies are frequently sold or exchanged to neighbouring villages or tribes. With many of the tribes, raids are regularly undertaken to obtain prisoners, who are then sold, living or dead, in the market-places as butcher meat. Prisoners are kept till required; dead bodies are frequently salted down or dried; but the Manjuma are most disgusting and depraved, soaking the body in water till putrid, and eating it raw. The Yokomas, Bougous, and others also eat putrid human flesh (*L'Anthrop.* vii. 119, xii. 78). Among the Niam-Niams the children born to slave women are killed and eaten. In all cases human flesh is regarded and treated exactly as the flesh of animals would be elsewhere. The skulls of victims ornament the villages; their teeth are worn as necklaces; the fat is used to feed lamps. Occasionally cannibalism is found as one of the principal objects of a secret society, like that of the Leopards in Sierra Leone, every person entering which must provide a human victim, who is secretly murdered; the liver and kidneys are eaten by the 'kings' of the society, while the body is devoured by the other members. All of them rub the fat on their faces and hands, as well as on the fetish, which is the property of the society (*L'Anthrop.* vii. 621). A similar society of ghouls exists in Uganda, although cannibalism is otherwise little known in E. Africa; the herding of victims in pens, to be slaughtered as required, is, however, described in 1868 (*JAI* xxii. 99). The members of this society are called *Basazi*, and have their headquarters mainly in the Sese islands on Lake Victoria. They kill their victims secretly, and also disinter and devour corpses. Both of these societies are abhorred in their respective districts (Sir H. Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, li. 662). In Hayti, Vaudoux cannibalism is doubtless a survival of African man-eating, and occurs through gluttony as well as from religious motive (see below). Murder for this end is frequent; midwives are accused of killing children in order to eat them; while human flesh is said to have been exposed for sale in the markets (St. John, *Hayti*, 1884, p. 223 f.). Analogous to the African societies is one which formerly existed among the Indians of Vancouver Island and the coast district near it, called the *Hametse*, and composed of those of the highest rank. The preparation for admission lasted four years; at the end of it the candidate had to drink human blood, which he did by attacking and biting the first person he met. At the feasts of the society, slaves and prisoners were killed and eaten. The British rule put an end to the custom, but the eating of corpses is alleged to have still continued (Jacobsen, *Reise*, 1866, p. 47 f.).

S. America.—The witness of travellers, and still the existence of shell-mounds with human bones split for the extraction of the marrow, proves that the Caribes of the Antilles were cannibals, raiding other islands and the coast to obtain victims of their gluttony. The other tribes still retain a traditional fear of this ferocious people (Im Thurn, *Indians of Guiana*, p. 418; Brett, *Legends of B. Guiana*, 1880, p. 100; cf. Andree, p. 72). The Kashibos of Peru make war on neighbouring tribes in order to get prisoners to eat, and are detested by them for this practice (Tschudi, *Trav. in Peru*, li. 222; Marcoy, xi. 220). Similar statements are made of the Cobens (Wallace, *Amazon*, p. 498). Other tribes are accused by old travellers of gluttonous cannibalism; thus Herrera says of the Colombian Indians that 'the living are the grave of the dead, for the husband has been seen to eat his wife, the brother his brother or sister, the son his father; captives are also fattened and eaten roasted' (Herrera, in Purchas, pt. 3, p. 890); but all these statements must be received with caution. The Catios, a branch of the Chocas in Columbia (now extinct), were also said to fatten captives for the table, while their Darien neighbours cohabited with female prisoners, and brought up the children of such unions till they were fourteen, when they and the mother were killed.

The doors of chiefs were here decorated with men's skulls (Cieza de Leon, in Hakluyt Soc. p. 601.). The eating of the offspring of a captive to whom one of their own women had been given among the Tupis has already been noted. In parts of New Guinea, e.g. in the south-east, human victims were and are eaten as 'the best possible nourishment'; some of the tribes were constantly at war for the sake of a feast of the prisoners taken (Chalmers and Gill, *New Guinea*, 1885, pp. 44, 188, etc.). Elsewhere the practice is abhorred, or exists only for other reasons (see above). In New Ireland the people glory in cannibal banquets, and many bodies are to be seen in the houses ready for eating (*Roy. Geog. Soc. Report*, 1887; Bergemann, p. 31). For the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands see above; the gluttonous motive of the former is confirmed by Steel (*New Heb.*, 1880, p. 25), who says appetite sometimes leads them to capture victims; while Woodford (*Nat. among Head-hunters*, 1890, p. 157) speaks of cannibalism as a daily practice in the Solomon Islands. In some parts of New Ireland a tribe will hire itself out for fighting, the only payment required being the bodies of the slain. A society in New Britain, the Duk-Duk, whose main purpose is the secret administration of justice, has occasional feasts in which (as in the African and American Indian societies) human flesh is the principal dish (Deniker, *Races of Man*, 1900, p. 254; Powell, *Wanderings*, 1883, p. 63).

17. *Religious cannibalism.*—Religion as a motive for cannibalism exists more or less wherever the animistic motive or the desire of honouring the dead is found. There is here, however, a blending of magic and religion, since, though honour to the ghost of the dead may suggest the practice, there is also the intention of assimilating the qualities or the soul of the deceased. It is mainly where enemies are eaten that cannibalism as a strictly religious rite exists, and usually in connexion with the sacrifice of the victim to the gods. This suggests that the religious aspect of cannibalism is a late one, more especially as in such comparatively civilized countries as Mexico and Nicaragua cannibalism was entirely ritual and religious. The eating of prisoners would naturally be only occasional; hence it would become a festival with a religious aspect. The question of the relation of human sacrifice to cannibalism requires consideration. Did human sacrifice arise through an earlier cannibalism, viz. on the principle that, as men ate human flesh and liked it, therefore they could offer nothing better to the gods—sacrifice being primarily a feeding of ghosts or gods? Or did human sacrifice have a separate origin to which divine cannibalistic ideas were transferred by human cannibals? The former is much more likely, as the gods are universally believed in early times to eat the sacrifice. We may also note instances of human sacrifices to animal divinities who actually eat the victims. It could only then have been at a later time that the worshipper shared in the human victim with the gods or ghosts at a sacrificial feast. We cannot therefore seek the origin of cannibalism in such a feast. It presupposes cannibalism; instances of it are rare, and are found only among higher savages; while cannibalism is not always associated with human sacrifice, and sometimes exists, as with the Australians, where sacrifice of any kind is unknown. The human victim may sometimes have been eaten as in a common meal in which gods and men shared, or, to judge by several actual instances, as himself representing the divinity of whose life men partook by eating the human representative. But such a view certainly does not belong to the earliest stages of religious thought. Religious cannibalism is found to have existed among the Maoris and Melanesians; possibly among the Dayaks; in Central Africa and sporadically in other parts of the continent; in Hayti; among the higher races of N. America; occasionally in S. America; in India; among the Greeks and other ancient peoples.

Maori cannibalism has already been described; the first enemy slain was offered as a propitiatory sacrifice to the Atua; the hair was offered to the war-god. The ear of this victim was eaten by the female Ariki or priestess; the heart by the male Ariki (sometimes by the priestess); the second enemy slain was reserved for the priest; all other bodies fell to the warriors (*Shortland, op. cit.* p. 247; *JAI* xix. 106). In *Tahiti* the eye of sacrificial victims was given to the king as 'the eye of the

people.' In later times he did not eat it, but offered it to the gods. Much the same procedure as in N. Zealand was followed in *Fiji*, one of the prisoners being offered to the war-god by the priest before the feast began (Williams, *Fiji*, i. 147). Garnier says that in *New Caledonia* old people were killed by their own desire, offered to the gods, and eaten (*Tour du Monde*, xvi. 11). In the *Marquesas Islands* cannibalism had a strong religious aspect. The victims were called 'food of the gods,' and the chiefs, being descendants of gods and therefore divine, had a first right to a part of the feast. When the victims were enemies they were tortured by the priests, who received the heads; and the whole feast was accompanied by religious chants. Human sacrifices, however, were offered also without a cannibalistic feast (*L'Anthrop.* vi. 443, 449). The use of sacred hymns at cannibalistic war-feasts in the *Solomon Islands* is also suggestive of a ritual and religious aspect (Bergemann, p. 32). *West Central Africa.*—Among tribes on the Guinea coast, as at Great Bassam, at the founding of a new town a victim was offered in sacrifice. The priests gave auguries from the entrails, after which the heart, liver, and other parts were cooked with fowls, a goat, and fish; all present partook of the feast, lest they should die within the year (Hequard, *Reise*, p. 49). There is some slight evidence that in *Dahomey* the frequent human sacrifices were accompanied in earlier times by a cannibal feast. Norris asserts this in 1772, and some proof of it exists in the custom of the king's dipping his finger in the blood and licking it. Probably this is a survival of an earlier feast (Labarthe, *Reise*, p. 238). The eating of an enemy's heart in *dahomey* after it had been cut out by the priest had also a ritual significance (see above); it was eaten with sacred herbs. In *Bonny*, where enemies were eaten out of revenge, they were first offered to the Ju-ju; in another case which was observed, the entrails were given to the iguana, the guardian animal-god (Andree, p. 26, citing Bp. Crowther; Hutchinson, *Ten Years' Wanderings*, p. 66). The *Kimbunda* of Portuguese West Africa eat the flesh of enemies to acquire bravery, but the diviner first cuts up the body, tears out the entrails, and divines with them (Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, 1859, i. 275). Among the *Kassanje*, the human victim of the *Sambato* feast was received with the same honour as a chief. The headman then stabbed him, tore out his heart and ate a piece, while his attendants allowed the blood to stream over his body. The flesh was then eaten by all in due order along with that of animals (Valdez, *Six Years in W. Africa*, 1861, ii. 156). In *Hayti* these African practices are still continued by the cannibalistic *Vaudou* sects among the Negroes. St. John, citing trustworthy witnesses and the evidence produced at murder trials, shows that at the obscene orgiastic meetings connected with the worship of a serpent, a sacrifice of a child, an adult, 'the goat without horns,' frequently takes place to propitiate this serpent-divinity, either for particular purposes or at stated festivals. The *papalotl*, or priest, having slain and offered the victim, the skin and entrails are buried, and the flesh is eaten cooked or raw, amid singing of sacred chants and dancing. The victims are usually children who have been kidnapped, but sometimes women are drugged and, after having been buried, are exhumed and sacrificed (St. John, *Hayti*, ch. 5). The typical example of religious cannibalism is found among the ancient *Mexicans*, who, in spite of their civilization, had a taste for human flesh little different from the gluttonous Negro, although it had the sanction of religion. The victims were invariably enemies or slaves, and were offered before the images of the gods. The priest cut open the breast with an obsidian knife, tore out the heart, and offered it to the gods; then he sprinkled his assistants and the offerers with the blood. After this a cannibalistic feast on the body took place, priest and offerers partaking. Dressing in the skin of the victim was usually a part of the ceremony. On particular occasions the victim had been kept for a year beforehand and treated as a prince, and there is reason to believe that he then represented the divinity, so that the worshippers, in eating his flesh, sacramentally partook of their god through his representative. In other cases paste images of the god *Huitzilopochtli* were mixed with human blood and eaten sacramentally. Early writers estimate these cannibalistic sacrifices by thousands yearly, and there seems little reason to suppose much exaggeration in their accounts (Bernal Diaz and Sahagun give the best accounts; cf. Jourdanet's *Etude sur les sacrifices humains et l'anthropophagie chez les Aztèques*, in his edition of the former Paris, 1877). Mendieta reports a rite similar to the Mexican sacrament from Vera Cruz among the *Totonacs*. Every three years children were killed, and their hearts' blood was mixed with the sap of a tree, herbs, and dough. The mixture, called *toyotl-liaiytlagual*, was eaten every six months by women over sixteen and men over twenty-five (*Mexico*, bk. II. cap. 16, 19). Cannibalistic sacrifices were common among the *Central American* tribes, e.g. in Nicaragua. To obtain rain from Quetzot, the rain-god, children and adults were sacrificed to him and his images were sprinkled with their blood. Caciques and priests then feasted on the bodies of men; children's bodies were buried. Here, too, the victims were prisoners of war or slaves (*Trans. Amer. Eth. Soc.* III. 138; Bancroft, iii. 492). Acosta, in his *History of the Indies*, 1590, says that the victim represented the god, as in the Mexican instance. Among the wilder tribes of Peru, human sacrifices with cannibalistic feasts are said to have prevailed till the coming of the Incas (Cieza de Leon, *Chron. of Peru*, 1864, pt. I. ch. xxxviii.), who, according to Garcilasso de la Vega, put an end to both (*Royal Commentaries*, 1688, p. 137 f.), thus showing themselves in a more amiable light than the Mexicans. The custom was to offer the heart and blood of a captive to the animal-gods, while the worshippers feasted on the flesh of the sacrifice (*de la Vega*, ii. 344).

As in nearly all these cannibalistic sacrifices the victims were enemies, it is far from unlikely that, in many cases where the eating of enemies for various motives—to obtain strength, out of revenge or gluttony—is reported, without any mention of a religious rite, this also existed, so that cannibalism with a ritual aspect would have a wider range (cf. the case of the Philippine Islanders, § 14).

The cannibalism of the *Aghori*, a sect of Śīva, which continued in India until lately, appears to have been partially religious and by way of self-abnegation. Corpses of those who had been slaughtered or had died a natural death were eaten, and frequently stolen for that purpose (Balfour, *Cycl. of Ind.* 3, 1885, i. 42; Tod, *Rajasthan*, 1832). The sect, which flourished in mediæval times, was accustomed to buy human flesh in the open market as late as the 17th cent.; but the eating of the dead has now practically disappeared, and the sect is much reduced (see AGHORI).

To the instances of orgiastic cannibalism and eating the victim who represents the god may be added certain cases in ancient Greece. In later times a fragment of human flesh, probably representing an earlier human victim, was placed among the parts of animal victims sacrificed to Zeus Lyceus in Arcadia, and, in the feast which followed, the man who ate this fragment was believed to become a werewolf (Plato, *Leup.* vii. 565). This is undoubtedly a survival of an earlier cannibal sacrificial feast. It is still more marked in the Dionysiac rites, especially in Crete, where, in order to be identified with the god who had himself been torn and eaten by the Titans, the worshipper tore and ate the raw flesh of a bull or goat (*ἀμφωφάγας*; cf. Plutarch, *de Def. Or.* xiv.; Porphyry, *de Abst.* iv. 19). But occasionally a human victim represented the god and was similarly treated. Porphyry says Dionysos Omadius exacted such a human victim in Chios and at Tenedos; and Pausanias says that formerly a child was the victim in Boeotia (*de Abst.* ii. 55; Paus. ix. 5. 2); while a vase painting shows a Thracian tearing a child with his teeth in presence of the god (JHS, 1890, p. 343). Fragments of an epic poem recently discovered and dealing with Bacchic subjects refer to the eating of a human victim disguised as a stag. The tearing and eating of animal flesh is known to have occurred among the heathen Arabs, and the eating of a sacrificial animal which represented the god was common. These may be extensions of totemism; but possibly, as in the Cretan rite, behind them may lie the eating of a human victim. We may compare with the Cretan rite that of the Khodds, where a girl representing the goddess Tari was sacrificed and torn limb from limb by the worshippers, eager to obtain a piece of the deified victim (Reclus, *Prim. Folk*, 1891, p. 304), or that of the Marimos, a S. African people, who strewed the blood and ashes of brains and skull of a human sacrifice on the field to make it fruitful, and consumed the remainder (Schneider, *Rel. d. afrik. Naturvölker*, 1891, i. 175).

Reference may also be made to the employment of human blood in ritual ceremonies by the Ostiaks, and the use of a child's blood in the Sacrament among the Christian sectaries of Great Russia (*L'Anthrop.* v. 508).

18. *Political and social cannibalism.*—Cannibalism has also political and social aspects, though both, probably, are connected with religion. The former is most marked in certain African coronation rites, as at Darfur, where, even after the introduction of Islam, two boys were sacrificed and their flesh eaten by the Sultan and his nobles. He who did not eat was regarded as a traitor (Munzinger, *Ostafrik. Stud.* 2, 1883, p. 558). Another instance is that of the Ama-pondo Kafir, with whom the new chief bathed in the blood of a relative and drank out of his skull (Bergemann, p. 39). In the Cameroonian district a new chief must kill one or more men and divide the flesh among his relatives and the other chiefs (Ratzel, *Völkerkunde*, 1885-88, i. 613). Compare the survival at the coronation of a king in the Sandwich Islands. The left eye of a human victim was given him to swallow, so that an accession of strength might be his (Turnbull, *Travels*, 1840, p. 240). The social aspect of cannibalism appears in the rites of blood-brotherhood (see BROTHERHOOD [artif.]), where the covenanted parties mingle their blood and drink it, and in those of initiation (*q.v.*), where the candidate tastes or drinks the blood of the older men of the clan, or is smeared with it. Both these customs are very marked with most Australian tribes: 'The drawing and also the drinking of blood on certain special occasions is associated with the idea that those who take part in the ceremony are thereby bound together in friendship, and obliged to assist one another' (Spencer-Gillen^b, p. 598; cf. Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 658, 668, 670; Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 45). They are thus analogous to the drinking of a friend's blood in sickness (see above, § 7), or as a

mark of affection, as among the Celts (§ 12). Eating of the flesh of a fallen enemy by both contending parties after a fight, as a token of entering on a covenant of peace, is akin to the blood-brotherhood rites, and is found among the Liu-kiu islanders and the Garo hill-tribes (Steinmetz, p. 3, and see § 10). In Timor-Laut, bonds are sealed by both parties eating a slave (Bergemann, p. 22). Both Sallust and Tertullian mention the drinking of human blood to strengthen a bond between contracting parties among the Romans (*Catil.* xxii.; *adv. Gnost. scorp.* vii.).

19. *Lowest peoples and cannibalism.*—Evidence thus goes to show that the worst forms of cannibalism do not occur among the lowest savages, but among barbaric races (Battas, Negroes, Maoris, S. Americans) with a certain amount of culture. Among other races of that grade or next above it (American Indians, S. African races, some Polynesians) it tends to disappear, or occurs through other motives than gluttony, and often in a reduced form. Among the lowest savages the worst forms are never found, and it is doubtful whether cannibalism now exists among some of them. The Australians are cannibals from a variety of motives, never through gluttony; the cannibalism of the Tasmanians and Andamanese, asserted by early travellers, is denied by later authorities, though the North and Little Andaman Islanders are accused of it by their fellows (Ling Roth, *Abor. of Tasmania*, p. 97; E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. 117 ff.); the Bushmen and Hottentots do not seem to be cannibals, though one tribe (considered by some to be an earlier people than the Bushmen) have cannibalistic traits, eating the placenta after birth (Stow, *Races of S. Africa*, 1905, pp. 20, 51, 336), while the Dwarfs of Central Africa 'repudiate the idea with horror,' though they eat animal flesh freely (Sir H. Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 540); the Negritoes of the Malay Archipelago (Aetas and Sakkas) are doubtful (see *Fasc. Malay Anthropol.*, 1903, i. 20; Semang interment shows no evidence of the dead being eaten, as has been said to be done, and the authors failed to obtain evidence of cannibalism among the Semangs, though the true Semangs are said by the Hami to eat men).

Ainus, Eskimos, and Fuegians all seem to have been occasionally cannibals. We can hardly, however, argue that the non-cannibal peoples referred to were not formerly cannibals. Their present reduced numbers, the pressure of more cultured tribes upon them, and the presence in some cases of a higher civilization, may have altered earlier customs, and have made the slaying and eating of enemies difficult, and in any case a matter of secrecy. It is possible also that fear of the dead, which exists strongly among some of these peoples, e.g. Tasmanians and Sakkas (the former 'never name the dead' [Roth, *Abor. of Tas.* p. 97]), may have hindered cannibalism. Their case cannot, therefore, be alleged in proof of cannibalism's being non-existent in primitive times when man was on their own or a still lower level. Palæolithic man was already higher in culture than they. All that can be said is that cannibalism is an occasional custom rather than a fixed habit among the lowest races.

The weakening of cannibal customs is seen in cases where the people but rarely take part, and the act is restricted, in a more or less formal manner, to the chief, king, or priest, as among the Araucanians, in Ashanti, Dahomey, and Cameroonian, in the Philippines, Marquesas Islands, New Caledonia, and Sandwich and Society Islands, and in the N. American cannibal societies (see above). It is obvious that, where certain selected portions of the flesh have been the special privilege of chief or priest as a result of their natural pre-

eminence, when the custom was dying out among the people it would still be kept up by those privileged persons out of pride or as an honorific act. Thus the eye as the seat of the soul was eaten by the chief in New Zealand, the Society and Sandwich Islands, and in the Marquesas group, where, even after their conversion to Christianity, the priests kept the name of *aimata*, 'eye-eater' (Lebournau, *op. cit.* p. 208; Taylor, *N.Z.*, 1885, ch. xxi.; *L'Anthrop.* vi. 443; cf. § 17). In New Zealand the priest ate the heart, and the warriors ate selected portions; the heart and entrails fell to the priests and his assistants in Kimbunda; to the chief in Kassanje; to the bravest in the W. India Islands; in Tangale (Guinea) the Sultan received the breast; in Monbuttu (C. Africa) children captured in war were reserved for kings; among the Shekiam people of Senegal the fetish-priest received the liver as a tit-bit (§ 17; du Tertre, *Hist. gén. des Antilles*, 1671, ii. 401; Andree, p. 27; Schweinfurth, *op. cit.* ii. 98; Bergemann, p. 47). These selected portions would certainly continue to be eaten by the persons privileged to do so after the general custom had ceased. The same idea of privilege is seen where priest or chief eats first, and not till he has done so may the others take part in the feast.

20. *Women and cannibalism.*—Women sometimes occupied a curious position in cannibalistic customs. While the head was occasionally regarded as a special portion, in some places, as in Tangale, it was considered the worst part, and was given to women to consume. This part was also given to women among the Wakhandi of W. Australia, and among the Peak River tribes of S. Australia. With several peoples women were not allowed to take part in the cannibalistic meal; it was tabu to them. We find this tabu existing among the Maoris (with certain exceptions) and Tonga islanders, in Fiji, and the Marquesas Islands; among the Manjumas, Fans, Ba'ngalu, and Bassanje in Africa; and in Nicaragua. Children were forbidden to take part among the Bassanje and Fans, and in the Marquesas Islands; men not tattooed could not take part in the last-mentioned place. The prohibition against women's eating human flesh is doubtless nothing but an instance of that universal sexual tabu in connexion with eating which forbids men and women to eat together or to eat the same kind of food (see Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 167 f.), and which is known to exist in most of the districts referred to. In the Solomon Islands women and children must not be present when the body is cut up, but a portion is sent to them (*L'Anthrop.* x. 492).

A similar extension of the sexual tabu, which regards woman as potentially or actually dangerous to man, will also explain the fact that, while the flesh of men is freely eaten, that of women was abhorred or regarded as poisonous in New Zealand, with the Manjumas, the Kashibos, in Nicaragua, and probably in other places where the custom has not been referred to by observers. It may also explain why women were not eaten by their relatives while men were, among the Derbikes, as reported by Strabo (see § 11). Elsewhere the tabu does not exist, and certain parts of female flesh, breasts, hips, etc., were regarded as tit-bits.

21. Some cannibals, while eating freely of their own kind, or of black people, abhor the flesh of white men. The Tongans thought it a wicked and dangerous practice, some Tongans having died after it; in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia it was thought too salt; among the Fans it is thought to be poisonous, and other Negro cannibals dislike it; the Botoendos mutilated but did not eat the bodies of white men; certain Australian tribes also thought it salt, while it produced nausea (Mariner, *Tonga Is.*, 1817, i. 321; Turner, *Polynesia*,

p. 83; De Rochas, *Bull. soc. d'Anthr.* 1860, p. 414; Andree, pp. 30, 88; Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 273).

iii. *Present range of cannibalism.*—At the present time, cannibalism as a regular custom exists only among isolated S. American tribes, in West, Equatorial, and Central Africa, in Malaysia, some of the South Sea Islands (mainly in Melanesia), and in Australia. Excluding Australia, it is thus confined to a belt of land extending to little more than 10° N. and S. of the Equator. Beyond these regions, of which the worst is Central Africa, it occurs only through hunger, or in an attenuated form for magical or medical purposes. What have been the causes of this gradual weakening of a once extensive and probably world-wide custom? Increasing civilization has everywhere played its part, and this appears in the mythology of various peoples. Orpheus was held to have weaned the Greeks, Osiris the Egyptians—cannibals in Neolithic times (see i. § 3)—and the divine Aioina the Ainu, from their earlier cannibalism (Hor., *Ars poet.* 391; Diod. Sic. i. 14; Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folk-lore*, 1901, p. 2). Even among savage peoples may be noted an out-growing of or disgust at the custom, or an attempt to put it down on the part of chiefs or priests, often quite apart from outside influences. In several of the Pacific Islands (Hawaii, Tahiti) it was dying out at the time of their discovery, and shame at the practice was arising; in the Fiji Islands several pagan chiefs tried to stop it but unsuccessfully, while Marquesan priests protested against it in the name of the gods; among the American Indians the custom seems to have become much diminished through a gradual dislike of it; in Africa among the southern tribes there was a general disgust at those who had relapsed into man-eating, and Moshesh tried to extirpate it; the Rianza cult, with its practice of hemp-smoking, has uprooted it among some Central African tribes, e.g. the Tuschilange (Andree, pp. 61, 63; Turnbull, *Travels*, p. 204; Wake, *Evol. of Moral.*, 1878, i. 427; Wissmann, *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 152). We must also note the part which totemism has played in forbidding the eating of near relatives (see i. § 5). Animism, too, by furthering the idea of the dignity of the soul, suggested also the idea of the dignity of the body which contained it, and thus may have had a certain influence in forbidding the eating of relatives where no stronger religious motive impelled to it. This is suggested by the fact that enemies are frequently eaten out of contempt, and where this happens relatives are seldom eaten (see ii. § 13). The presence of a higher civilization, and especially of a higher religion, and the spread of commercial relations among lower races, have usually a beneficial effect in putting an end to anthropophagy. Even in the worst mauling districts the feasts are frequently held in secret. The case of the Inca rule in Peru has already been considered (ii. § 17). The higher ancient religions doubtless had similar effects among the wild tribes of Asia. Muhammadanism has extirpated or reduced the once universal cannibalism of the Negro tribes of North and East Africa, in Sumatra, and other parts of the Malay Archipelago, not only among those professing it, but among other tribes bordering upon them. Christianity, together with other European civilizing influences, has also put an end to it in many parts of S. America, in New Zealand, and many islands of the South Seas, once hotbeds of cannibalism, as well as in large tracts of the African continent. With the further spread of civilization and religion over the cannibalistic zone, there is little reason to doubt that the custom will soon become little more than a memory.

iv. *Folk-lore survivals.*—The former univer

salicy of cannibalism is suggested by the existence of occasional ritual practices, as well as of myths and *Märchen* among peoples who are scarcely if ever cannibals, and also among higher races who have long since abandoned cannibalism. Such things have descended from a time when they did practise it, or were borrowed by them from cannibalistic peoples at a time when they themselves were not far removed from the custom.

1. *Folk-custom.*—Hartland has suggested by comparison of a large range of customs at funeral feasts, that such feasts may have replaced an earlier honorific eating of dead relatives. Especial links of connexion are eating the food across the corpse (England), on the table where the dead has lain (Abruzzi), or at the grave (ancient Greeks and Romans, Albania); the use of special food, e.g. corpse-cakes (Bavaria), or some form of pulse which is often identified in folk-belief with human flesh (France, Italy; cf. Pliny, xviii. 30); the impression of a human form on the cakes (Albania; cf. sweetmeats stamped with images of skulls, etc., eaten in Italy on All Souls' Day; the custom is called 'eating the dead'); the use of pious exclamations while eating, or of conversation about the virtues of the deceased; the idea that the corpse-cake actually contains the virtues and strength of the deceased through the dough having been laid on his body (Bavaria); the custom of the 'sin-eater'—some person eating food which had been placed in contact with the dead, thus becoming responsible for his sins (Wales; cf. similar practices in India). Although in some cases these feasts are also survivals of earlier feasts in which part of the food was laid out for the dead, the idea of communion with the dead runs through all of them, and the various points noted are certainly suggestive of an earlier eating of the dead (Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, 1895, ii. 287 f.; Gomme, *Ethnol. in Folklore*, 1892, p. 116 ff.).

2. *Myths.*—Even a cultured people like the Greeks had myths which prove that in some far distant time their ancestors had been cannibals. It has already been seen that orgiastic cannibalism and ritual survival existed even down to late times. The saga of Tantalus and his descendants is a curious instance of persistent cannibalism. He, wishing to test the knowledge of the gods, set before them his son Pelops whom he had slain, but all of them save Demeter refused the ghastly meal. Later, Pelops' son, Thyestes, having debauched his brother's wife, had two children by her; these his brother killed and served up to him. A like punishment befell Tereus, who unwittingly ate his son Itys. Athenæus preserves a story of the glutton Cambleta, king of the Lydians, who cut his wife to pieces and ate her, while in the *Odyssey* the Polyphemus saga of man-eating giants dwelling in caves is itself suggestive of the quaternary cave-dwelling cannibals. Here, too, the cannibalism of gods and semi-divine beings was told of in myth. Pindar (*Ol. Odes*, i.) refuses to tell the tale of the cannibalism of the blessed gods, but others were less discreet. The myth of Cronus swallowing his children was well known, and has been compared with similar 'swallow' myths from all parts of the world which attribute a like action to divinities, human beings, and sometimes animals. Though some of these may be Nature myths—the heavenly bodies appearing to swallow their children, the stars—they were obviously suggested in a cannibalistic age. The eating of children was also attributed to Lamia, the prototype of the Lamie of ancient and modern Greece, also cannibals. The human sacrifices to Zeus Lycæus on Mt. Lycæum (Paus. viii. 38. 6) had given rise to a cannibalistic myth. That the sacrifices had arisen at a time when the god was supposed to eat the

victim is clear from the myth of Lycæon's setting human food before Zeus, while the belief that those who tasted part of the sacrifice were changed to wolves implies a former cannibalistic banquet. Such local titles of Zeus as Laphystius (according to Suidas, 'the glutton'), or of Dionysus as 'the raw-eater,' are doubtless explainable through human sacrifices which the gods were supposed to devour, just as, among the Polynesians, the god Tane was called 'the man-eater,' and his teeth were stained with the blood of his victims (Gill, pp. 30, 263). Finally, the myth of Dionysus, slain and eaten by the Titans, though it may be ætiological, explaining the origin of the Dionysiac rites, none the less reflects actual cannibalism among those who invented it. That this is true of all these myths is found by comparing them with precisely similar myths existing among actual cannibals. In Polynesia, where human sacrifices were common, the gods were believed to eat the victims, if not actually, at least in essence, and the title 'man-eater' is applied to some of the gods (as in Greece) in several of the islands. The gods were held to eat and digest the spirits of the dead, people of higher rank being eaten by the higher gods, and common people by a deity in the shape of a bird, in which form also the gods ate the human sacrificial victims (Ellis, *Pol. Res.*, 1830, i. 396 f.). The mythology is full of these accounts, and in one myth we hear of the escape of the hero Ngaru from the oven of the hag Miru, queen of Hades, who cooked and ate her victims precisely in the manner of the cannibal ogres of European *Märchen* (Gill, *Myths and Songs of the Pacific*, p. 229). In the Marquesas Islands the chiefs, as descendants of gods, had a right to select portions of the human victims—the 'food of the gods' (*L'Anthrop.* vi. 443). Such divine eating of human victims is also shown wherever at a cannibal feast, as in Fiji, part of the slain is first offered to the gods. Among the ancient Celts the Morrighn, or goddess of war, and her attendants were believed to feast on the slain; while the Greeks held that a demon in Hades called Eurytnomos gnawed the flesh of the dead (Paus. x. 28. 4). Similar myths also linger on among low races who have more or less abandoned cannibalism, as well as among some who still practise it. The Mintira of the Malay peninsula and the Hos of N.E. India have myths in which the sun and moon are conceived of as human, and as devouring their children the stars (Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, i. 356; for other instances, see Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², 1899, i. 130, and *Custom and Myth*², 1893, p. 53 f.). The Malays think that the *badi* of a dead man feeds on the soul (or liver) of the living, while certain sea-spirits feed entirely on dead men (*Fasc. Malay. Anthropol.* i. 81, 101). A mythical being among the Eskimos is called Erdlaveersissok, 'the entrail-seizer.' She resides on the way to the moon, and takes out the entrails of all whom she can make laugh; while akin to the myth of the Polynesian gods is that of a god who devours the bowels of the ghosts (Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 48). The Haidas think that the god of the clouds seeks human victims on days when the clouds are low; any one caught out on such a day dies in six months to furnish a meal for this god. He draws out the man's spirit, and then sends it to fetch his body to be eaten. If the spirit refuses, it is eaten, and, in consequence, is annihilated (Harrison, *JAF* xxi. 16, 18).

3. *Folk-lore.*—In the various horrible man-eating ogres of races who have abandoned cannibalism we may see memories of earlier cannibalistic practices. They represent the man-eating gods of earlier paganism, now appearing as demons, or they reflect later opinion of man-eating ancestors, or they may have been suggested by hostile races

who devoured their prisoners and made war on non-cannibalistic peoples. The Kakshasas and Rakshasas or Yaks of the East, the Cyclops, Drakos, and ogres of European *Märchen*, the Greek Lamiae, and the Russian Baba-Yaga are typical forms. They are the dark shadows of actual cannibals of an earlier time, and are paralleled by more nearly human forms in the folk-tales of lower races who are themselves, or who live among, cannibals. Other dark figures of folk-lore have also been, in part at least, suggested by earlier cannibalism. Vampires, dead people come to life again who suck the blood of the living, are mainly believed in by the Slavs, Celts, and Scandinavians; but a similar being occurs in Negro Vaudoux belief, the offspring, probably, of the West African *Uvenwa*, a self-resurrected human being, thirsting for human blood; and among the Melanesians who believe in the Talamaur, the soul of a living person which goes out to eat the dead—a reversal of the usual Vampire belief. The Ghouls of Arab belief have a certain resemblance to Vampires; they are demons who take various forms and eat the dead, or are simply cannibals. The Werwolf, also, a human being, witch or wizard, or their victim, who takes the form of a wolf or some other animal and eats human beings, is frequently connected with the Vampire in folk-belief, and its existence as a superstition is also largely due to cannibalism. The belief is an early one, and was known in classical times; it is found in all European countries, as well as in India, China, Malaysia, Africa, and N. and S. America. See the articles VAMPIRE, LYCANTHROPY, and cf. the Australian belief that sorcerers (*boyl-yas*) can invisibly enter their victims and consume their flesh (Grey, *Journals*, 1841, ii. 339).

4. *Märchen* which contain a cannibalistic episode may be divided into definite classes—(1) Those in which a man-eating ogre, demon, or witch is outwitted in various ways by the hero he intends to eat (Odysseus and the Cyclops, Hansel and Gröthel, and Mally Whuppie types). There are countless European variants of this tale, as well as Lapp, Kirghiz, Indian, Persian, Karen, Ainu, Eskimo, Malagasy, E. African, American Indian, and Melanesian variants.—(2) Those in which a person, who is married to a cannibalistic husband or wife of another tribe, or who has fallen into the clutches of such a tribe more or less human, escapes. This version is found among the Kâfirs, Eskimos, Chinese, Japanese, American Indians, and Malagasy, as well as in civilized European and Asiatic lands. Both classes are evidently the reflexion of an actual state of things, viz. of the horror with which a race which had given up cannibalism would look upon others still cannibals with whom they were in actual contact or had been so traditionally. Where such tales occur among the lower races the cannibals have human traits, but, advancing higher, we find them becoming less and less human, till finally the ogre proper is arrived at. Actual instances of such feelings of fear and horror at neighbouring cannibal races causing them to be regarded with various repulsive traits are found, e.g., among the Eskimos with respect to the American Indians, whom they call Irtkily, cannibals with dogs' heads; among African tribes with respect to their man-eating neighbours; among the Savage Islanders with respect to the Tongans. The same order of facts underlies the charges brought, e.g., by Greeks against most barbarians; by Hindus against the 'goat-loosed' Turanians; by pagans against Jews and primitive Christians; in mediæval times against Templars and Jews, in modern times against gipsies and (in Russia) the Jews.—(3) In another class of *Märchen*, as well as in actual folk-belief, witches

figure as cannibals, stealing newborn babes or enticing away older children to eat them either privately or at the Sabbat. In Teutonic lands this belief seems to have been especially strong; the folk-tales are full of descriptions of cannibalistic witches (cf. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1081, 1625); and at witch-trials the charge of cannibalism was commonly made. The Russian Baba-Yaga is also a cannibalistic witch, who steals, cooks, and eats her victims, and has her house ornamented with skull and bones—a frequent practice among savage cannibals; and the same is true of the Greek *strige*, mysterious women who swoop down as birds on their sleeping victims and suck their blood or devour them. It is possible that the mediæval witch may have succeeded to the inheritance of earlier pagan priestesses who presided over the orgiastic rites of a goddess of fertility to whom children were sacrificed and afterwards eaten. The great mortality among children in the Middle Ages, and the fact that midwives were frequently accused of witchcraft and held responsible for causing the death of children for sinister ends, would all serve to strengthen the traditional stories of witch-cannibalism. Reference has already been made to cases of actual anthropophagy in mediæval times, but it is probable that the tradition of earlier cannibalism, quite as much as these, caused the general belief and led to the condemnation in the Salic Law of witches who eat men for magical purposes. Pieces of a corpse were, however, actually used in witch-magic, as among the Australians and others.—(4) A frequent incident in *Märchen* is that of the child being sent out by the parent to be killed, while the assassin is ordered to bring back the victim's heart, liver, etc. Out of pity he slays some animal instead, and the parent is frequently represented as eating it under the impression that it is the child's. Grimm's story of Snow-White is a typical instance. Here we may see a reminiscence of the practice of eating heart, liver, etc., in order to acquire the strength or soul of their owner.—(5) In some Cinderella tales the mother of the heroine is changed to a beast by the second wife, slain, and eaten; the daughter refuses to eat, knowing that it is her mother. But in Greek and Dalmatian variants the jealous elder daughters kill and eat their mother, the youngest again refusing. Is there here some confused memory of actual parent-eating as well as of an early rule forbidding the eating of one's own kin? (The stories will be found in Miss Cox, *Cinderella*, 1893).—(6) Two other well-defined groups of tales exhibit cannibalism as a perverted taste. The first of these is the story of the mother who kills her child and sends it cooked to the father (Grimm's story of the Juniper-Tree, common in Europe, and with a Malagasy variant); in the second the interest circles round a person—frequently a woman—who suddenly becomes a cannibal, and will therefore be contented with nothing but human flesh. Of this story there are versions from all parts of the world. Both groups reflect what has been frequently seen in actual practice—the lapse into the customs of the savage past through desire or during famine.—(7) Lastly, fairies were sometimes believed to eat children whom they stole or inveigled from their parents, e.g. in Welsh folk-lore. Rhys (*Celtic Folklore*, 1901, ii. 694) is inclined to equate these with the man-eating Atecotti; and, so far as fairies reflect an early race, this may be correct.

5. *Myths of the origin of cannibalism*.—In a few cases such myths are found among actual cannibalistic peoples. The Mesayas say that in early times a band of their hungry ancestors found a Umana asleep, and killed and ate him. A bird told this to the Umanas. Hence arose endless

feuds in which all prisoners were slain and eaten (Marcoy, in *Tour du Monde*, xv. 135). The Tupis ascribe the origin of cannibalism to the murder of a youth, whose mother rushed upon one of the murderers, bit a piece out of his shoulder, and ate it. He showed the wound to his people, who forthwith began to eat the flesh of enemies (Andree, p. 84, citing Pigafetta). The Fijians say that the coming of cannibalism took place through their ancestors eating, instead of burying, king Tue Dreketi, lest he should rise again. Hence arose the eating of enemies in battle, a story which suggests the animistic motive of destroying the soul (Bergemann, p. 34). In New Zealand, as with the Tupis, the origin is ascribed to the first murder. Hauriki killed Hotua, and Hotua's friends killed Hauriki and his friends. They presented Hauriki's heart to the high priest, who ate it, after which all feasted on the body. The blood of his friends was offered to the gods, while the bodies were cooked and eaten (White, *Anc. Hist. of the Maori*, 1887-89, i. 43). It is remarkable how the consciousness of cannibalism as a violent act runs through these tales, only one of which speaks of hunger as the motive.

A curious myth, perhaps hinting at early Iranian cannibalism, occurs in the Persian *Bundahish* (West's *Pah. Texts*, pt. i., *SBE* vol. v.), regarding the first human pair, Mashya and Mashyô, to whom two children were born, and who 'out of tenderness for offspring' devoured them. This 'tenderness' was then taken from them by Atharmazd. This eating of their children is evidently regarded as part of their 'fall.'

LITERATURE.—R. Andree, *Die Anthropophagie*, Leipzig, 1887; P. Bergemann, *Die Verbreitung der Anthropophagie*, Bunzlau, 1893; H. Gaidoz, articles in *Mémoires*, vol. iii., Paris, 1886-1887; A. Lang, introduction to Perrault's *Popular Tales*, Oxford, 1888; Sir J. Lubbock (Lord Avebury), *Prehistoric Times*, London, 1878; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, ch. x. ('Cannibalism in Märchen'), London, 1906; R. S. Steinmetz, *Endokannibalismus*, Vienna, 1896; A. Sutherland, *Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, vol. i., London, 1898; E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, London, 1878, and art. 'Cannibalism' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

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CANON (Buddhist).—See LITERATURE (Buddhist).

CANON (Christian).—See BIBLE.

CANONIZATION.—The earlier part of this subject is dealt with in the article BEATIFICATION. The cult of martyrs and of persons eminent for their virtues goes back to very early times, and began in popular reverence, which came to be authorized by bishops or by local councils. But the history of the process of veneration took a different course in East and West. It will be necessary, therefore, to treat separately of the Western and Eastern Churches.

1. The West.—Canonization, while it was not distinguished from beatification, remained for a long time in the power of the local episcopate. It is asserted as at least probable, by Ferraris (*Prompta Bibliotheca*, Rome, 1766, t. vii.), that Leo III. in 804 began the rule of requiring the submission of a name to the Pope; but the letter he refers to is probably not authentic. (The matter is further discussed in Benedict XIV., *de Servorum Dei beatificatione*, etc., Rome, 1787, t. i. lib. i. cap. 7.) It is also stated that the rule was begun by John xv. in the case of St. Udalric, in 993 (*MGH* iv. 377-428). There is no doubt that at the beginning of the 12th cent. Urban II., Calixtus II., and Eugenius III. claimed that the power could not be exercised by bishops, but that cases, if not decided by the Popes themselves, should be submitted to councils, and, if possible, general councils. Eugenius III. himself canonized the Emperor Henry II., and Alexander III. canon-

ized Edward the Confessor, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and others (see Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. viii. and cap. x.). A decree of Alexander III. in 1170 (see art. BEATIFICATION) reserves the right to the Roman See. Some maintain that this is a new departure; others see in it merely a formal declaration of ancient custom and right. But Benedict XIV. shows strong reason to believe (as is indeed natural) that the local episcopate could never cause veneration throughout the Catholic Church (*op. cit.* lib. i. cap. x.). The exercise of the power locally by bishops remained, however, untouched till at least that date (cf. *AS*, Julii, i. 587; Junii, vii. 556). The decree of Alexander III. was renewed by Innocent III. in 1210 (*Decretal.* lib. iii. tit. xlv. cap. ii.); but it was some time before it became fully effective, local veneration and popular 'canonization' continuing in some parts of Europe till a much later date (instances are the case of Simon de Montfort, for whom an office was written, and whose veneration, though condemned by the Popes, was long unsuppressed [cf. 'Dictum de Kenilworth,' ch. 8, in Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 1895, *Carmen de bello Lewensi*, ed. Kingsford, 1890, and Halliwell, *Miracula Simonis*, 1840]; and of Thomas of Lancaster [cf. *Anecdota ex codicibus hagiographicis J. Gielemans*, 1895, pp. 80-100]). Indeed, it was not until the decree of Urban VIII., July 5, 1634, that the whole process was finally and authoritatively declared to belong to the Roman pontiff, to the exclusion of every other person or power whatever. From this date we find canonization to be recognized as a formal act of the Pope, giving a definitive sentence by which the name of a person who had been beatified is placed in the ranks of the saints, as already having entered into the bliss of heaven, and his memory is to be celebrated on a given day throughout the whole Church. Churches and altars may be erected freely in his name (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xxxix. 10).

As in the case of Beatification (*q.v.*), there is a distinction between formal and equivalent or equipollent canonization. Urban VIII. declared that the formal process should not prejudice the case of those who were already the objects of a general cult arising from general consent, immemorial custom, the testimony of the fathers, or the tacit consent of the Holy See. Such cases were from time to time legalized without the long formal process (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xli. 4). Prominent cases are those of St. Wenceslas of Bohemia (*ob.* 929), whose equipollent canonization dates from 1729; St. Romwald (*ob.* 1027, can. 1595); St. Stephen of Hungary (*ob.* 1038, can. 1686); Gregory VII. (*ob.* 1085, can. 1728); St. Margaret of Scotland (*ob.* 1093, can. 1691); and there are many others. Under the class of equipollent canonizations come also all those of infants (among them a number of those, such as St. Simon of Trent, St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. William of Norwich, who were supposed to have been murdered by Jews), because they are not martyrs in will (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. iii. cap. xvi. n. 6). A remarkable case is that of Charles the Great, canonized by the anti-Pope Pascal III., but accepted by the Holy See (cf. art. BEATIFICATION and *AS*, Jan., iii. 490, 503).

In formal canonizations it is claimed that the Pope is infallible (the matter is discussed at length in Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, fasc. xv., Paris, 1905, col. 1640-1642), but that it is 'not of divine faith but of ecclesiastical faith' that the person canonized is already in heaven (*Salmonicensis Cursus theol.*, t. xvii., 'de Fide theologia,' Paris, 1870-81, xi. 275).

The actual process of canonization in the Roman Church may now be briefly sketched. The growth

of the present system is traced in Benedict XIV. (*op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xx. xxiii.; lib. ii. cap. xxxv.). The first step is a public statement by the ordinary of a particular place of the public regard for the person in question. This is followed by a prohibition of public veneration. The bishop then considers, with evidence of repute and of miracles, the claim for public veneration, and if satisfied transmits it to Rome. If the sentence of the ordinary is approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, the writings of the person are submitted to a rigorous examination with a view to discovering if there is any taint, however small, of heresy or unsound teaching. This is the work of several theologians, working separately, and a report is submitted to the cardinal whom the Pope has charged with the preliminary investigations. This report is submitted to the Sacred Congregation. The advocate of the cause, if the decision is favourable, then sends a formal petition, through the Sacred Congregation, to the Pope. If the Pope agrees to the continuance of the process, he writes *placet* on the petition, the person whose case is submitted receives the title of 'venerable,' as one whose public fame is saintly, and the formal introduction of the cause takes place. The commission visits the scenes of the life and miracles, and collects and tests evidence, which is again examined by the Sacred Congregation. Evidence need not be oral or documentary: for example, at the beatification of the 'English Martyrs' by Leo XIII., Dec. 29, 1886, the evidence of a book of engravings, showing that in some frescoes, long destroyed, in the Church of the English College at Rome, they were placed among canonized saints, was regarded as justifying equipollent beatification (Dom Bede Jamm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, London, 1904, i. xvi ff.). Three sessions are necessary for the discussion of the virtue and miracles of the person, the third of which takes place in the Vatican, under the presidency of the Pope. The case is argued by the postulator and the promoter of the faith, and if the decision is favourable the Pope issues a decree of beatification.

Before the process of canonization is opened, it is necessary to submit evidence of miracles since beatification was accepted by the Congregation of Rites. The Pope again issues a commission, and there is a local examination as before, followed by a triple session of the Sacred Congregation; and afterwards in three consistories, separated by some lapse of time, but not interrupted by a vacancy of the Papal See. The question is then submitted to the whole college of cardinals, to patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops at Rome, and to bishops of the neighbourhood. A private meeting of the Sacred College is next consulted, and its assent is followed by a solemn and public consistory, in which the claim is pleaded by a consistorial advocate. A third consistory then takes place, at which all prelates present in Rome appear and give their advice to the Pope, the bishops thus preserving their ancient rights (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xxxiv. n. 9). The Pope now names the day for the formal canonization, which since the end of the Great Schism has always taken place in Rome. As a rule, several saints are canonized on the same day, and in the basilica of the Vatican. The Pope himself completes the process of canonization by declaring that the persons are saints, and that he inscribes their names on the roll of saints, and requires the Universal Church to celebrate their memory yearly on a fixed day (Benedict XIV., *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. xxxvi.). A formal act is registered, the *Te Deum* is sung, and the Pope recites the names of the new saints in prayer. The canonization is now complete.

A few words may be added on the *rationale* of canonization. It is a recognition of the solidarity of the Church based on the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. Originating in the fundamental human admiration for heroic virtue, it was adapted and developed by the Church, under continual popular pressure, till it became first a theological and then an ecclesiastical system. In its main principles it is rooted deep in universal feeling and supported by continuous tradition in the Church. This applies to the 'unchanging East' as well as to the West, and we may now trace the Eastern history of the subject.

2. The East.—Down to the 11th cent. the history of canonization follows on the same lines in the East as in the West. Local saints were elevated in popular reverence, were accepted by bishops and councils, and were locally venerated; but geographical barriers prevented much interchange of this sentiment between East and West (see, however, the case of St. Maria Antiqua, *Proc. of the Brit. School at Rome*, vol. i., No. 1, London, 1902; and the history of the veneration of St. Anne, whose cult probably reached the West from the East through the Crusades, is of considerable interest). In the greater part of the East the custom remained unaltered. The episcopate retained the authority to place the saint on the diptychs, and to sanction the creation and veneration of images (icons). In the separated Churches (Armenian, Syrian, etc.) the same custom was observed, with some local differences. In Russia, owing to the special history of that Church, more significant differences occurred. At the present time three distinct groups are recognized among those whose cult is permitted: (1) those venerated, by order of the supreme ecclesiastical authority, throughout the whole Russian Church; (2) those whose cult is approved for a particular part of the Church, a district, a monastery, or a church; and (3) those who are venerated by popular feeling, with tacit sanction of ecclesiastical authority, although not yet canonized. These classes to some extent correspond to those whom the Roman Church styles 'canonized,' 'beatified,' and 'venerable.' The earliest Russian saints, Boris and Gleyb, were inscribed in the calendar within a short time of their martyrdom (or political murder), and the *Chronicle* of Nestor (ed. Leger, Paris, 1884) shows that miracles were attributed to them, while the chronicler Jacob, in describing the institution of their festival, states that its formal institution, which was equivalent to canonization, was preceded by a period of popular veneration and pilgrimage to the tomb to which their bodies had been translated (Golubinski, *Hist. of Canonization of Saints*², p. 45 f.). In 1108, Theodosius Pecherski was admitted by all the bishops, it would seem (there was certainly a petition to that effect, through Svjatopolk, the ruler of the Russians), to commemoration in the Synodikon throughout Russia (*ib.* p. 51); i.e. his name was inserted in the list of saints commemorated in the festal *litia*, sung at the end of vespers. There are other, but not numerous, instances which point to a general cult, before the Councils of 1547 and 1549 under the patriarch Macarius. At those councils the list of saints universally venerated received large additions, and additions were made also to those whose local veneration was permitted. These 'canonisations en masse' have been attributed to the new position of dignity which was assumed by the Russian Church when the Mother Church fell under the domination of the Turks (*Dict. de théol. cath.*, fasc. xv., Paris, 1905, col. 1680); but the date hardly supports this view, and the step was more likely due to the growing political strength of the monarchy and the sense of unity which it

diffused, and to the efforts for reform which culminated in the 'Council of a hundred chapters' at Moscow in 1551. From 1547 to 1721, when the new constitution of Peter the Great, the Most Holy Synod, took its beginning, there were only fifteen saints canonized for universal veneration; and since then there have been but six. It should be added that, during the period of the separation of the church of Kiev from that of Moscow (1458-1685), 141 new saints were introduced into the calendar of the former. The number of saints universally venerated (*i.e.*, in a strict Western sense, canonized), therefore, remains small; but saints who are locally venerated have their own offices, festivals, veneration of relics, and icons. The third class of persons venerated consists of those on the anniversary of whose death special services are said in which their intercession is invoked. It is from this commemoration, it would appear, that in almost every case the higher steps in veneration have arisen (*cf.* the case of the veneration of the martyrs John, Stephen, and Peter, killed by pagan Tatars, begun by Hermogenes of Kasan in 1592 [Golubinski, *op. cit.* p. 272 ff.]).

For canonization, the attribution of miracle to the person venerated, as well as peculiar sanctity of life, or martyrdom, is practically essential. The incorruption of the body, on special inquiry, was also an important point in the evidence submitted. This applies to the cases mentioned above, SS. Boris and Glyeb and Theodosius Pecherski; but St. Vladimir, the typical Slavonic hero and saint (972-1054), who was 'canonized' by the creation of his festival in 1240, was not declared to have wrought miracles. It appears that the new saints of 1547-49 were all designated as 'thaumaturges,' and that miracles wrought by their intercession were regarded as the evidence of their sanctity. In 1690, when application was made for the canonization of Germanus, one of the founders of the monastery of Solovetz, it was answered that, besides the consent of the Czar and the Patriarch, a severe inquiry establishing the holiness and miracles of the person was necessary (*ib.* p. 428 f.). A further class of hiero-martyrs is, however, known; and for admission to this miracles would not seem to be necessary. The incorruptibility of the body, again, is not regarded as essential to canonization, as has been formally declared on the canonization of St. Seraphim of Sarov in 1903, by the Metropolitan Antonius of St. Petersburg (*Tserkovnyia Vedomosti* [official journal of the Synod], St. Petersburg, June 28, 1903). This is contrary to the view taken by Nectarius, Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1682 (*cf.* Golubinski, *op. cit.* p. 406 f.).

The right of canonization exercised by local bishops was generally, if not always, subject to the sanction of the Metropolitan (*ib.* p. 295). The Metropolitans also acted independently or with the support of a synod, and up to 1547 these commanded universal veneration on their own authority. The intervention, or sanction, of the Sovereign was, however, frequent if not essential (see the case of Svyatopolk in regard to St. Theodosius Pecherski, in Nestor's *Chronicle*, ed. Leger, p. 223). The canonization of 1547-49 was the work of the Metropolitan and the council of bishops. After that the Metropolitan is again found acting independently, as well as with the counsel of his synod, though the consent of the Patriarch and the Czar seems to have been regarded as essential (*cf.* case of Germanus of Solovetz above). At least from 1667, when a council insisted on an examination of the cause by the assembled bishops, the final decision was in the hands of the Patriarch, with the concurrence of his synod and of the Czar.

A typical case is the canonization of St. Anne of Kashin (*ob.* 1368), which was completed in 1650 (Golubinski, *op. cit.* p. 167 f.). The case is a very curious one in many respects, as the canonization was quashed by the Patriarch Joachim in 1678. From the time of Peter the Great, canonizations are issued formally by the Holy Synod, local veneration (or beatification) being without any formal proclamation, though approved by the Synod. The process of canonization begins with the submission of the cause by a bishop, with testimony as to miracles, to the Holy Synod; but there are exceptions where the petition has been begun by civil authority. The Holy Synod then appoints a commission of investigation, which considers, *inter alia*, the state of the body and the evidence for miracles. The inquiry as to the life of the person is embodied in a document issued after the canonization by the Holy Synod, with a view to its public use in commemorations. At the conclusion of the inquiry the Holy Synod may decide to continue the process immediately, or, as is more generally done, to defer it for about two years, and then to seek further evidence. A further commission then reports to the Holy Synod, which issues a statement, submitted to the Imperial authority for sanction, which places the person in the list of saints, and orders an exposition of his relics, the composition of an office, the creation of a festival, and the publication of this decree for the instruction of the faithful. This is followed, if possible, by a translation and veneration of the relics, with special solemnity, under the authority of the Holy Synod and in the presence of some of the highest prelates. It includes the final recitation of special prayers for the repose of the soul of the saint, and for all those who have taken part in the ceremony. At the time of the translation a special office in honour of the saint is recited and the relics are exposed. From that moment prayers are no longer said for the soul; his intercession is invoked instead. The festival is prolonged, with special masses and sermons, for several days: that of St. Seraphim of Sarov lasted from July 16 to July 21, 1903.

The points in which Russian canonizations differ from those of the rest of the Eastern Church are those involved in the position assumed by the Christian Sovereign and by the Holy Synod; throughout the rest of the East, where these special features do not exist, the ancient custom, which leaves the whole process in the hands of the bishops, still obtains. In the Roman Church the system is more complex and exact, and depends on the Papal authority. In the Anglican Church, though churches have been dedicated in the names of modern persons of holy life, nothing approaching to a custom of canonization exists. The nearest approach to it is the insertion of the name of Charles I., 'King and Martyr,' in the calendar of the English Church by the authority of the Crown, the Convocations, and Parliament, and the compilation of a special office, for use on Jan. 30, which was removed from the Prayer Book (by royal authority only) in 1859. Protestant Churches have no parallel custom. It may be added that, while canonizations tend to increase in the Church of Rome, in the Eastern Church generally the cases of additions to the list of saints in modern times are rare. Though the Russian Church is perhaps becoming more generous in this regard, the Orthodox Church as a whole, and especially in Constantinople, is very chary of adding to the roll of those whom she formally declares to have attained to the highest bliss.

LITERATURE.—Benedict XIV., *de Servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, 1st ed., 4 vols., Bologna, 1784-88.

completed in his *Opera Omnia*, Venice, 1767 (the ed. used for the purpose of this art. is that in 16 volumes, Rome, 1787-92); Ferraris, *Prompta bibliotheca canonica*, Paris, 1884 (another ed. is Rome, 1766); Gardellini, *Decreta authentica sacrorum rituum*, Rome, 1898-1901; Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, fasc. xv., Paris, 1905. There is a large number of earlier authorities, but practically all that they say will be found summarized in the books named above. On Eastern canonization, see Golubinski, *Istoria Kanonizatsii svyatykh v russkoi tsarkvi* ('History of the Canonization of Saints in the Russian Church')², Moscow, 1903, which has a full bibliography (pp. 3-10); Martinov, *Annus ecclesiasticus graeco-slavicus*, Brussels, 1868. On the rationale of canonization and some theological doctrines involved, reference may be made to W. H. Hutton, *The Influence of Christianity upon National Character*, etc. (BL, 1903), and A. C. Headlam, *The Teaching of the Russian Church*, London, 1897, with references there given. The writer's grateful thanks are due to Mr. W. J. Birkbeck for most valuable help in regard to Russia.

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CANON LAW.—See LAW (Canon), LAW (Muhammadan).

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

CAPPADOCIAN THEOLOGY.—i. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—It is only in a limited sense that we can speak of a 'Cappadocian Theology.' The term does not denote a formal system of doctrine, but represents in a more general way the contributions to theology of three Christian Fathers who were united by a common connexion with the Church in Cappadocia, and who brought to the defence of the Christian faith the inspiration of the same religious ideals and the same intellectual interests. The literary activity of the three Cappadocians—Basil of Cæsarea, his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, and his brother Gregory of Nyssa—covers the period 362-394. It thus coincides with a momentous period in the history of the Church. As champions of the Nicene cause in the closing years of the struggle with Arianism, the Cappadocians were the successors of Athanasius, and completed the victory over Arianism in the East. Under their guidance the fresh questions which were coming to the front in their time—the Divinity of the Holy Spirit and the formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity—received a solution. Again, they were called upon to deal with the Christological controversy in its earlier stage, as represented by the teaching of Apollinaris; and here too they rendered services which prepared the way for later theologians. But their place in the history of thought is due also to another cause. They were devoted students of Origen, and, like Origen, they sought to enlist in the service of Christian theology the best philosophical thought of their time, in order to present the Christian faith to the culture of their age in the form of a scientific theology. This dream of 'a league between Faith and Science' (Harnack) is shown in their presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity by the help of conceptions derived from the thought of Plato and Aristotle. But it appears in other directions as well, in the publication by Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus of the *Philocalia* (a selection of extracts from the writings of Origen), in the *Hexameron* of Basil, above all in the three treatises of Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Soul and the Resurrection*, *On the Making of Man*, and the *Catechetical Oration*.

The last-named Father was a more thoroughgoing student of Origen than either of the other two. He traverses almost the whole field of problems which had been dealt with by Origen, and seeks to present the Christian religion in relation to the plan of the Universe and human history. The questions of which he treats include the providence of God, the creation of matter, the origin of the soul and its relations to the body, the source and nature of evil, the resurrection of the body, and the eschatological problem. In this way he was the successor of Origen, and the first Father after him who attempted to create a system of thought based upon Christianity. In his speculative idealism he goes beyond Origen in explaining away matter.

On the other hand, he does more justice than Origen to the sensuous side of things in his assertion of the interdependence of spirit and matter in the constitution of man. And yet again there is a strain of mysticism in his thought, which gives him a place in the line of mystics between the Alexandrians and pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (on Gregory's mysticism see Diekamp, *Die Gotteslehre d. hl. Greg. v. Nyssa*, p. 90 ff.; Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium*, p. 205 ff.). This breadth of interest shows how many and various were the elements which he had incorporated from the thought of his time.

Another feature of the Cappadocians is the spirituality of their religious conceptions. This again shows the influence of Origen, and marks a point of contact with the best non-Christian thought of the time, which had been profoundly influenced by Neo-Platonism. The Kingdom of Heaven, says Basil (*Ep.* 8), is 'the contemplation of realities.' 'This the Divine Scriptures call blessedness. For "the Kingdom of Heaven is within you." Likeness to God' is the goal set before man (Basil, *de Spir. Sanct.* i. 2, cf. ix. 23). The image of God is shown to us in Christ by the Holy Spirit, and thus through the Spirit and the Son man ascends to the Father (*ib.* xviii. 47). Thus their defence of the Divine unity is inspired by a religious interest.

Side by side with this spirituality of conception there appears in Gregory of Nyssa a tendency to realism, which is exhibited especially in his exposition of the redemption through Christ (see below) and in his language on the Sacraments. In this respect he shows the influence of Methodius. See the present writer's edition of the *Catechetical Oration*, Camb. Patristic Texts, p. xxv ff.

The interest of the Cappadocians in furthering the cause of spiritual religion attracted them to the ascetic movement in the Church, represented by monasticism, in which the age sought to express its ideal of practical piety. Basil's interest in monasticism, of which he was the chief promoter and organizer in the East, communicated itself to the two Gregories, and the writings of all three are affected by the ascetic ideal, which finds its apologist in Gregory of Nyssa. In his early work *On Virginity*, asceticism is expounded as a philosophy of life, and interpreted as the detachment of heart which enables a man to enjoy the vision of the uncreated Beauty.

The connexion of Amphilochius, Bp. of Iconium, with the Cappadocians has been treated by K. Holl (*Amphilochius v. Ikonium*). While maintaining their Trinitarian and Christological doctrines, Amphilochius does not share their interest in Origen's philosophy or their speculative bent. But as a popular teacher he helped to give currency to the doctrinal formulas which took shape among the Cappadocians.

ii. SOURCES OF DOCTRINE.—i. Authority of Scripture.—The supremacy of Holy Scripture was fully recognized by the Cappadocians (see esp. Basil, *de Fide* 1, *Hom. adv. Calumn. SS. Trin.* 4). In their exegesis they were influenced by Origen, though Basil was fully conscious of the dangers of Origen's allegorical method (*Hex.* ix. 1), and often prefers a strictly literal interpretation. In this respect he has points of contact with the school of Antioch. Gregory of Nazianzus makes a moderate use of the allegorical method, which is defended at length by Gregory of Nyssa (*in Cant.* [PG xliv. 756]), and more freely employed by him than by either of the other two. In this way he explained the early chapters of Genesis (*Or. Cat.* v., viii.), while he deals (*de Comm. Not.* [PG xlv. 181]) with the *συγκατάβασις* ('accommodation') of the language of Scripture after the manner of Origen.

At the time when the Cappadocians wrote, the allegorical method was beginning to fall under suspicion; and the contest with the Arians, who had been trained in the literal methods of the school of Antioch, showed the need of a more scientific treatment of Scripture. Even Gregory of Nyssa expresses his desire to adhere, wherever possible, to the literal sense (*Hexameron* [PG xliv. 68]; cf. *in Cant.* [PG xlv. 756]). In dealing with the typology of the Old Testament, Basil approximates to the later teaching of the school of Antioch, and exhibits a reserve which is wanting to the more imaginative mind of Gregory of Nyssa. In other respects the Cappadocians show a conscientious desire to bring out the full grammatical sense of Scripture. They appeal occasionally to the Hebrew, and they

quote from other versions than the LXX. See, further, Weiss, *Die grossen Kappadocker . . . als Baegeten* (1872).

2. Tradition.—Next to Scripture, the Cappadocians recognize the importance of tradition. They start from the Church tradition of their time (see Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxxiii. 15; Greg. Nyss. *Ep.* iii. ad *Eustath. et Ambros.* [PG xli. 1024]), and exhibit especially the influence of the Creed of their local saint, Gregory Thaumaturgus (see below). In a passage of the *de Spir. Sanct.* (xxvii. 66) Basil makes a distinction between written and unwritten tradition, and claims for the latter an Apostolic origin. In one passage (*Or.* xxxi. 25 ff.) Gregory of Nazianzus assumes a gradual development in revelation, in order to explain the reticence of Scripture on the subject of the Holy Spirit. In another passage he propounds the idea of a 'disciplina arcani' (*Or.* xl. 45).

iii. THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.—The Cappadocians are unanimous in asserting the mystery of the Divine Being. 'We know that He exists, but of His essence (*οὐσία*) we cannot deny that we are ignorant' (Greg. Nyss. *contra Eunomium* [PG xlv. 933]; cf. Basil, *Ep.* 234). The writers of Scripture 'lead men, as by the hand, to the understanding of the Divine nature (*φύσις*), making known to them the bare grandeur of the thought of God; while the question of His essence (*οὐσία*), as one which it is impossible to grasp . . . they dismiss' (*ib.* p. 945; cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxviii. 5, 7, 17). But, though the 'being' or 'essence' of God is unknowable, God may be known mediately by His energies and operations (Basil, *Ep.* 234. 1), and in Creation those energies are translated into a language that we can understand (Basil, *adv. Eunom.* ii. 32). Basil escapes the dilemma propounded by Eunomius, that either man can know the essence of God or he cannot know God at all, by maintaining that the incompleteness of our knowledge does not deprive it of truth (*Ep.* 233. 2). The Universe exists to manifest the Creator, and from the exhibition of beauty and wisdom which it presents the mind is led to grasp by analogy the Divine Wisdom and the uncreated Beauty (Greg. Nyss. *de Infantibus qui pram.* [PG xli. 181]). This habit of seeing affinities and analogies between the visible and invisible worlds shows the influence of Origen and Plato. It led the Cappadocians to that profound delight in natural scenery which is characteristic of their writings (see esp. Basil, *Hex.* iii. 10, vi. 1; Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxviii.; Greg. Nyss. *de Infantibus*, *Ep.* 20 [PG xli. 181, 1079]). The same feature appears in Plotinus). But it is especially in the human soul that we may find analogies to the Creator, for the soul is a mirror, which reflects the traits of its Divine archetype (Basil, *Hex.* ix. 6; Greg. Nyss. *de An. et Res.* [PG xli. 41], *de Mortuis* [*ib.* p. 509]). Hence both Gregorians employ the psychology of human nature to illustrate the doctrine of the Trinity (see below). The more complete knowledge of God, however, is unattainable without the light of faith, and in the Old Testament this faith was still incomplete. The Law and the Prophets were like the 'window' and the 'lattice' (Ca 2^e), which admitted only a ray of truth, whereas in the Incarnation the true light itself is revealed (Greg. Nyss. *in Cant. hom.* v. [PG xlv. 865]).

iv. THE INCARNATION.—None of the Cappadocians sets forth the purposes of the Incarnation so fully or so adequately as Athanasius had done in his treatise *On the Incarnation*. In Basil the predominant thought is the revelation to man of the image of God in Christ and the restoration of the Divine image in man (*Epp.* 236. 3, 38. 8, *de Spir. Sanct.* ix. 23). In Gregory of Nazianzus the same conceptions appear, but the characteristic idea is the 'deification' (*θεωσις*, *θεοῦ, θεὸν γενέσθαι*) of

man in Christ (see esp. *Orr.* i. 5, xxxix. 17, xl. 45). The same idea appears in Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, and may be traced to the influence of earlier writers, e.g. Origen and Athanasius. See Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. iii. 164 n. 2). Gregory of Nyssa, while giving a place to both these conceptions, develops the redemptive aspect of the Incarnation in a manner which recalls the earlier treatment of Irenæus, although in its actual form it finds its closest parallel in the teaching of Methodius (see above). The purpose of the Incarnation was to arrest the process of dissolution in man's nature, which was a result of sin. Death had been ordained after the Fall (the 'coats of skin' in Genesis represent this state of mortality, *Or. Cat.* viii.), as a merciful provision for removing the evil which had been mingled with man's physical nature. Christ assumed humanity as a whole (similarly Methodius), in order to knit together in an inseparable union the elements of human nature (*i.e.* body and soul) which had been severed by death. His redemptive work accordingly was only completed by His resurrection, through which He becomes a new principle of life to all mankind (*Or. Cat.* xvi., xxxv.). This exposition exhibits the realism which has been noticed above as a characteristic of some parts of Gregory's teaching.

Gregory of Nyssa is the only one of the Cappadocians who attempted a formal treatment of the Incarnation, which occupies the larger part of his apologetic work, the *Catechetical Oration*. His object in that treatise is to show the reasonableness of a belief in the Christian religion. He adopts many of the arguments of Athanasius, and appeals to the Gospel history and the rise of the Church as exhibiting the Divine power of Christianity. He justifies the idea of the Incarnation by an appeal to the immanence of God in creation, and by showing that the plan of redemption was consistent with the attributes of God, displaying at once His power, righteousness, wisdom, and goodness. No external remedy would have sufficed, for man needed to be touched in order to be cured (xxvii.). The death of Christ was necessary in order that His assumption of humanity might be complete. For his fuller treatment of the death of Christ, see below. In the latter part of the treatise he shows the relation of the Sacraments to the Incarnation.

v. THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.—Among the local influences which helped to shape the theology of the Cappadocians must be reckoned the teaching to which currency had been given by the labours of Gregory Thaumaturgus. The Creed of Gregory (see Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*², 1897, p. 253), which contains a clear assertion of the unity and eternity of the Three Persons of the Trinity, and closely associates the Holy Spirit with the Son, appears to have formed the starting-point of the Cappadocian theologians, and even to have moulded their language to some extent (see Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium*, p. 117 ff.; and cf. Basil, *Ep.* 204, *de Spir. Sanct.* xxix. 74; Greg. Nyss. *Vita Greg. Thaum.* [PG xli. 912]). In the Creed of Nicæa they recognized a natural development of such teaching and the starting-point for the still further developments which were forced upon them by their opposition to the advanced Arian teaching of Eunomius and by the controversy on the Holy Spirit. The complete vindication of the Deity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit was one part of the task which lay before them. The other was the settlement of the terminology in which these results were to be expressed, the treatment of the immanent relations of the three 'Persons,' and the manner of their co-existence in the one Divine Being. This latter task, to which they were led by the need of giving scientific precision to the results attained through the controversies of their time, constitutes their chief importance in the history of Christian theology. (At the same time it marks an epoch in the history of thought as a serious attempt to grapple with the conception of personality.) The distinction between the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* marks the starting-point of this later development. Currency

was now given, largely through the influence of the Cappadocians, to the formula *μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, to denote the coexistence in the one Divine Being of three subsistences or spheres of conscious being ('Persons' in later terminology).

In this task of formulating the doctrine of the Trinity, Basil was the pioneer. The two Gregoryses depend upon him, though they advance beyond him and complete his work. To Basil is due, on the one hand, the definition of the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, and, on the other hand, the beginnings of the attempt to discover the characteristics (*ὑπολήψεις*, *ιδιώματα*, *ιδιότητες*) of each of the *ὑποστάσεις*, and their relations to one another in the Godhead. In the former task the other two Cappadocians advance little beyond Basil. In the latter they develop and complete his work, especially in regard to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. At the same time they were more alive than Basil appears to have been to the dangers of tritheism, and they exhibit a stronger interest in defending the Unity of the Deity and in refuting the charge of Tritheism. Both of them insist that the unity of the three Persons is no mere abstraction or generic unity. That which constitutes it, the Godhead, is identical in all three Persons. There is one Godhead in three subsistences or Persons. This unity was further secured by a discussion of the 'modes of being' (*τρόποι ὑπάσεως*) of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. The Father is the source of Deity, while the Son has a derived Godhead (*γεννητός, μορφογενής θεός*). The Holy Spirit 'proceeds' (*ἐκπορεύεται*) from the Father through the Son (*διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ*). Finally, the idea of a *περιχώρησις* ('co-inherence') of the three Persons was put forward to express their inseparable will and activity. These results were commended to the thought of the time by an attempt to show that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity was the mean between Judaism on the one hand and Hellenism on the other (Basil and Gregory of Nyssa), and an attempt was made to illustrate the immanent relations of the three Persons and their unity in the Godhead from the analogy of human nature (Greg. Naz., Greg. Nyss.).

The following points deserve attention, as illustrating the particular contributions to the doctrine of the Trinity made by each of the three Fathers.

Basil prepared the way by a careful distinction, based upon 'a popularized Aristotelianism' (Holl), of the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*. The term *οὐσία* 'has the same relation to *υπόστασις* as the common has to the particular.' It is 'common, like goodness or Godhead, or any similar attribute; while *ὑπόστασις* is contemplated in the special property of Fatherhood, Sonship, or the power to sanctify' (Ep. 214). Basil also contributed to the discussion of the relations of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. He uses the term 'modes of being' (*τρόποι ὑπάσεως*); on the history of the expression and its use by Basil and Greg. Nyssa, see Holl, *Amphilochius*, p. 240 ff.) to denote the manner of derivation of the Son and Holy Spirit from the Father. The relations of the Father and the Son are expressed by the terms *πατέρας* and *υἱός* (less commonly *ἐγγενής* and *γεννητός*). But he could not arrive at any conclusion as to the 'mode of being' of the Holy Spirit, which he confessed to be ineffable (*de Spir. Sanct.* xviii. 46). The Holy Spirit is from God. He is also called the Spirit of Christ, is 'attached to' Christ and 'intimately associated' with Him (*de Spir. Sanct.* xviii. 46; *contra Sab.* at Ar. [PG xxxi. 609]). Though Basil is not so concerned as the two Gregories to defend the Unity, he is not wanting in clear statements which show his mind on the subject. He rejects the terms 'like' and 'unlike' as applied to the Son, and maintains the identity of nature (*κατ'οὐσίαν τῆς φύσεως*) and oneness of being (*ὁμοούσιον*) of the Father and the Son (Ep. 8), and in another passage (Ep. 52) he refutes the idea that *οὐσία* denotes a substance anterior to or underlying both. The Father is the source of Deity and the first principle of existing things, 'creating through the Son and perfecting through the Spirit' (*de Spir. Sanct.* xvi. 38), although in the experience of life we ascend from the Holy Spirit, through the Son, to the Father (ib. xviii. 47).

Gregory of Nazianzus, starting from Basil's teaching, completed his definitions by giving currency to the term *ἐκπόρευσις* to denote the 'procession' of the Holy Spirit. His ruling conception of the *ὑποστάσεις*, or 'characteristics,' of the three Persons is that the Father is unbegotten, the Son begotten, while the Holy Spirit 'proceeds' (*γεννητός, γίνωσκος, ἐκπόρευος*). The procession through the Son is only indicated; it is not clearly defined. Gregory has a clear statement of the Divine unity, which

is characterized by 'equality of nature, unanimity of judgment, identity of action, and concurrence of the other two Persons with the One from whom they are derived; so that, though there is a numerical difference, there is no division or separation in being' (Or. xxix. 2). 'There is one God, because there is only one thing that can be called Godhead.' The Persons derived from the One source are referred back to the One, though we believe them to be three (Or. xxxi. 14). At the same time he safeguards the unity from being regarded as a mere abstraction or generic unity. Peter, Paul, and John are not *ὁμοούσιοι* ('of one substance or being') in the same sense as the Persons of the Trinity (Or. xxxi. 19). Elsewhere he uses almost Sabellian language to express the closeness of the relations of the Son and Spirit to the Father (Or. xxix. 2).

Gregory of Nyssa starts, like Gregory of Nazianzus, from the standpoint of Basil; and develops in an independent manner his own thought upon the subject. Like Gregory of Nazianzus, he has a strong interest in maintaining the unity of the Godhead. In place of the terms *γεννητός* and *ἐκπορεύος* to denote the modes of being of the Son and the Spirit he prefers the expressions *μορφογενής* (or *μορφογενής θεός*) and *διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ* (in this latter expression we see the influence of Gregory Thaumaturgus). But his most suggestive treatment of the relations of the three Persons in the Godhead is contained in the two treatises, *de Communibus Notionibus* and *Quod non sint tres Dii*, in which he refutes the charge of tritheism. He starts from the objection that, if Peter, James, and John are three men, why may we not speak of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as three Gods? To this he replies that the word 'God' denotes 'being' or 'essence,' not 'person.' Strictly speaking, in referring alike to God and man we ought to maintain the oneness of their *οὐσία*, or 'being,' in each case. It is only by an incorrect manner of speech that we use the plural and speak of 'three men,' seeing that the *οὐσία*, 'man,' is one and the same in all three cases. Similarly in the case of the Godhead the *οὐσία* of the three Persons is one and the same. (This conception of the unity of human nature exhibits the realism of Gregory.) Again, he urges, individual men are distinguished sharply by the varying relations of time and place and circumstance, whereas the Persons of the Godhead exhibit a constant causal relation.

There are I. *τὸ αἴτιον*, the cause = the Father,

II. *τὸ αἰτιατόν*, the caused, either

(a) immediately (*τὸ ποσυχὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου*), i.e. the Son,

(b) mediately (*τὸ διὰ τοῦ ποσυχὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου*), i.e. the Holy Spirit. (Of also *de Spir. Sanct.* [PG xlv. 1304], *ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστὶ.*)

Thus Gregory of Nyssa advances beyond the other Cappadocians in his clearer definition of the procession of the Spirit through the Son, and in this respect he represents the final stage of development attained in the Eastern Church. Another contribution made by him in the *Quod non sint tres Dii* is the clear statement of the *περιχώρησις* ('co-inherence,' 'interpenetration') of the three Persons. The operations of the Godhead are conducted by all Three, acting together without mark of time or distinction of separate action, 'so that there is one motion of, and disposition of, the goodwill which is communicated from the Father through the Son to the Spirit.' Lastly, we may notice (see Holl, *op. cit.* p. 220) that Gregory's insistence on the unity of the Godhead is bound up with his speculative interest and his Origenism, which led him to seek a single Principle as the source of the evolution of the world and human history.

Some distinguished German theologians (Harnack, Zahn, Loofs) have in recent times attempted a fresh reading of the work of the Cappadocians in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity. According to this view, the Cappadocians modified the sense of the *ὁμοούσιον* and secured adherence to their new interpretation, by which it came to denote likeness (or equality) of substance rather than unity of substance. In this new development the Cappadocians are supposed to have been influenced by the theology of Basil of Ancyra. According to their reading of *ὁμοούσιον*, the terms *οὐσία* ('being') and *φύσις* ('nature') became nearly equivalent, and it was permissible to believe in three hypostases of like nature which together form the Godhead, instead of one Godhead existing in three distinct spheres of conscious being. By this view the Church became committed to an interpretation which is really tritheistic. But this theory appears to have gained ground from the weight of the authorities by which it is supported rather than from its intrinsic merits. It introduces confusion into the careful language of Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, and on its presuppositions the argument of the latter in his *Quod non sint tres Dii* becomes unintelligible. Nor does the theory receive any adequate support from the less complete treatment of Basil. A careful study of the theological stand-

point of all the Cappadocians (especially the two Gregorys) shows how vital to their whole view of religion was the belief in the unity of the Godhead.

For the theory itself, see Zahn, *Marcellus v. Ancyra*, 1887; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. tr. (1894-99); Looft, *Leitfaden zum Stud. der Dogmengeschichte* (1898); and art. 'Gregor v. Naz.' in *PRE³*, vol. vii. (1899). For a careful criticism of the theory, see Bethune-Baker, *Texts and Studies*, vii. (1901) n. 1; and for a general treatment of the Cappadocian theology, see Holl, *Amphilochius v. Ikonium* (1904). Cf. also Ullmann, *Greg. v. Naz.²* (1867), p. 341 ff.; Dörner, *Doctr. of Person of Christ*, Eng. tr. (1861-63), i. ii. 508 ff.

vi. CHRISTOLOGY. — The Christological problem was discussed by the Cappadocians in connexion with the teaching of Apollinaris. Beyond a few passing notices, Basil does not deal with the theories of Apollinaris, which are, however, treated of at length by Gregory of Nazianzus in his two *Epistles to Cledonius* and in his *Epistle to Nectarius*, and by Gregory of Nyssa in his *Antirrheticus adv. Apoll.* and his *Epistle to Theophilus*. Their influence on later speculation is seen in the following directions:

(1) Gregory of Nazianzus employed, and gave currency to, the expression 'two natures' (δύο φύσεις, used earlier by Origen), while emphasizing clearly a principle of unity in Christ.

(2) Both Fathers prepared the way for future discussions by emphasizing the reality and completeness of the human nature assumed by Christ. Especially valuable is the appeal of Gregory of Nyssa to the portrait of Christ in the Gospels and its exhibition of a human will, human ignorance, growth in knowledge, submission to temptation, sorrow, and dereliction (see esp. *Antirrh.* 11, 14, 24, 32). In this respect he has affinities with the Antiochene theologians. The vindication of the existence of a rational soul in Christ (against Apollinaris) was further prompted by the interest of both Fathers in the doctrine of redemption. If Christ had no human soul, the soul of man was not redeemed (Greg. Naz. *Ep. i. ad Cled.* 7, *Ep. ii.* 4; Greg. Nyss. *Antirrh.* 11, 17, *Ep. ad Theophil.*).

(3) In dealing with the central problem raised by Apollinaris, 'How is the existence in Christ of two complete natures compatible with the unity of His Person?' both Gregorys tended towards the idea of a transmutation of the human nature into the Divine. They employ, as earlier writers had done, the terms 'mixture', 'blending' (μῆξις, κράσις, σμικρὰσις, ἀνδρακρασις), to denote the union of the two natures. But, further, they speak of the human nature as 'deified,' and 'transmuted' into the Divine. Gregory of Nyssa appears to regard the unity of the human nature with the Divine in Christ as a progressive unity, which was fully accomplished only at the Ascension, when the humanity ceased to retain its own characteristics, and was blended with the Deity 'like a drop of vinegar with the ocean' (*Antirrh.* 42, *Ep. ad Theophil.*). In this way he was able to meet the objection of Apollinaris that, if Christ's humanity was complete, 'the triad (or Trinity) was expanded into a tetrad'; but his language exhibits a tendency which is perilously near to that which afterwards produced Monophysitism.

(4) Neither of the two Gregorys fully reached the solution of later theology, which maintained the impersonal character of the humanity of Christ. In a few passages Gregory of Nyssa appears to allow a relative independence to the humanity, and even employs the term 'person' (πρόσωπον) in connexion with it as well as with the Divine nature (c. *Eunom.* ii. [PG xlv. 504]; *Antirrh.* 2, 27). Similarly, both Fathers occasionally use language which has a Nestorian ring (see Masson, *Five Orations of Greg. Naz.*, 1899, Introd. p. xvi ff.; and cf. Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* xvi., xxvii., xxxii.). On the other hand, Gregory of Nazianzus clearly anticipates the later language of Cyril of Alexandria, when he speaks of the union of the two natures as

an 'essential' union (συνάπτεισθαι κατ' οὐσίαν, *Ep.* 101, where κατ' οὐσίαν is opposed to κατὰ χάριν). Similarly his interest in the redemptive work of Christ led him to attribute to the Divine Person the human acts and sufferings. Thus he freely uses the terms θεοῦκος, θεός παθὴρς, and similar expressions (see Holl, *op. cit.* pp. 179, 190 ff.). Lastly, both Gregorys expound the idea of a *communicatio idiomatum* (see Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxx. 8; Greg. Nyss. *Ep. ad Theophil.*). In this way they make approaches towards the later Alexandrian theology.

The question raised by Apollinaris, 'How could Christ have assumed human nature in its completeness and yet be without sin?' is only indirectly treated of by Gregory of Nyssa. He affirms (1) the reality and completeness of our Lord's human nature; (2) the completeness of the union between the Divine and human natures in Christ. Scripture affirms that Christ became sin for us, 'that is, that He united to Himself the sinful soul of man' (*Antirrh.* 28). 'He endured not to repel from communion wit... Himself our nature, fallen though it was as the result of sin' (*ib.* 58). But 'though He took our filth upon Himself, yet He is not Himself defiled by the pollution, but in His own self He purifies the filth' (*ib.* 26). This purification was effected at the very moment of the conception of the Virgin. The Divine nature was present in both the body and the soul of Christ from the very first, and rendered each of them sinless (*Antirrh.* 54). Christ shared our human feelings and weaknesses, but did not share our tendency to sin or disease of will (c. *Eunom.* bk. vi. [PG xlv. 721]; *Ep. ad Eustath.* [PG xlv. 1020, 1021]). 'Immediately the man in Mary . . . along with the coming upon her of the Holy Ghost, and the overshadowing of the power of the Most High became what that overshadowing power in its own nature was' (*Ep. ad Eustath.* *ib.*). See, further, *JThSt* vii. 434 ff.

In his treatment of the participation of the Godhead in the human experiences of Christ, Gregory approaches the later treatment of Cyril of Alexandria. Though God cannot suffer, 'He was in Him who suffered, and made His suffering His own.' See *Antirrh.* 54, 55, and cf. Cyril's *2nd Epistle to Nestorius*.

vii. THE CREATION OF MAN AND THE FALL. —

(1) Though the Cappadocians rejected definitely Origen's theory of the pre-existence of souls, their doctrine of human nature exhibits, especially in the two Gregorys, lingering traces of Origen's influence. All alike represent the primal condition of man as almost angelic in character (see Basil, *Hex.* viii. 2, ix. 2; Greg. Naz. in *Ps. cxviii.* iv. 2; Greg. Nyss. *de Hom. Op.* 16, 17). Both Gregorys allegorize the coats of skin in Genesis, and see in them the type of the sensuous life and the subjection to mortality, which were results of the Fall (Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxxviii. 12; Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* viii., *de Virg.* 12, *de An. et Res.* [PG xlv. 148]). Gregory of Nyssa even regards human generation as a consequence of the Fall (*de Virg.* 12; cf. *de Hom. Op.* 16, 17), though in his later work, the *Oratio Catechetica* (c. xxviii.), he gives up this view.

(2) As to the origin of the soul, while Gregory of Nazianzus shows himself a Creationist (*Or.* xxxviii. 11), Gregory of Nyssa uses language which implies a Traducianist conception (*de Hom. Op.* 28, 29, *de An. et Res.* [PG xlv. 125 ff.]). The soul is not created before the body, nor the body before the soul. There is one beginning for soul and body alike, and the powers of the former unfold gradually with the body's growth. Just as a seed contains in germ all future developments, so does the principle of life in man (*de Hom. Op.* 29). The closeness of the intercommunion between soul and body is a characteristic feature of the teaching of Gregory of Nyssa. In other respects Gregory of Nyssa advanced interesting speculations on human nature. He has a realistic conception of the unity of the race (see above, §§ iv., v.), maintaining that the whole of humanity was created ideally beforehand by God (*de Hom. Op.* 16, 17). This conception, by which Adam represents the whole of mankind, presents points of contact with Philo on the one hand and Methodius on the other. Again, he dwells upon the idea that man is a microcosm, the meeting-point of the two worlds of matter and spirit (*Or. Cat.* v.; cf. Greg. Naz. *Or.* xxxviii. 11). Hence he employs the terminology 'intellig-

ible' and 'sensible,' or 'invisible' and 'visible' to denote the constituents of human nature, in preference to Origen's trichotomy—'body,' 'soul,' and 'spirit.'

(3) All the Cappadocians emphasize man's possession of free-will. This again marks a point of contact with Origen, and was further developed in face of the fatalism of Greek thought and through the opposition to Manichæism. The possession of free-will was a consequence of man's creation in the image of God. Sin was the result of the misuse of man's free-will in departing from what is good. The Fall only weakened, it did not destroy, man's freedom (see, e.g., Basil, *de Spir. Sanct.* ix. 23, *Ep.* 233; Greg. Naz. *Or.* ii. 17, xvi. 15, xxxvii. 13; Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* xxx., xxxi., *Antirr.* 29). In this respect the Cappadocians represent the general attitude of Greek thought as contrasted with the later teaching of Augustine.

(4) In their conception of the negative character of evil the Cappadocians exhibit the influence of Plato and Origen (so also Athanasius). Evil has no substantive existence. It springs from within and is 'a disposition in the soul opposed to virtue.' It arises through man's free-will, when the soul departs from good. See Basil, *Hex.* ii. 4; Greg. Nyss. *Or. Cat.* v.

(5) In their treatment of the effects of the Fall, the Cappadocians mark an advance beyond the position of Athanasius. The idea of a transmission of sin and death appears in Basil (*Hom. in famem et sicc.* 7, *Sermo de renunt. sæculi.* 7). Gregory of Nazianzus speaks of Adam as having involved all men in condemnation through his sin (*Or.* xxxviii. 4, xxxix. 13, 16). He also speaks of the defilement attaching to human nature, and regards the Virgin-birth as delivering man from 'the fetters of his birth' (*Or.* xxxviii. 17). Gregory of Nyssa goes further, and appears to teach the idea of an inherited moral taint. He speaks of man's nature as 'sinful' (*de Vita Moysis* [PG xlv. 336]), and as having 'fallen into sin' (*ib.* p. 337). 'He who partakes of Adam's nature, partakes also of his fall' (*de Oratione Dom.* *Or.* v. [ib. p. 1184]). Sin is born in our nature (*in Psalmos* [ib. p. 609]). The adversary of man 'through his deception mingled evil with man's will and succeeded in extinguishing and obscuring in a way the Divine blessing' (*Or. Cat.* viii.). By baptism man is released from his connexion with evil (*Or. Cat.* xxxv.). For further reff. see Tennant, *The Fall and Original Sin*, 1903, pp. 316-323. In these respects Gregory of Nyssa develops the later (as opposed to the earlier) teaching of Origen, and approximates towards the teaching of Augustine on Original Sin.

viii. THE ATONEMENT. — Theological reflexion on the death of Christ and its relation to the work of man's redemption in the period preceding the Cappadocians had emphasized two ideas. (1) Christ's death was a sacrifice to God. This idea had reached its fullest expression in Athanasius. (2) Christ's death was a ransom paid to Satan. The chief representative of this thought was Origen. The former idea was not systematically developed by the Cappadocians, who appear to have been influenced but little by the teaching of Athanasius on the subject.

Basil scarcely deals with the question, which had not been made a subject of controversy (see, however, on the sacrifice to God, *Hom. in Ps. xlviii.*; and on the deception and defeat of Satan, *Hom. xx. de Humilitate*, 2; see, further, *Ep.* 261).

Gregory of Nazianzus exhibits a more profoundly religious interest in the question than either Basil or Gregory of Nyssa, and approaches more nearly than they to Athanasius in the spirit of his teaching. Christ's death delivered us from the curse of sin. The Atonement was the work of God (hence

the phrases *θεὸς παθὴρ*, *θεὸς παθών*), and yet the sacrifice could only be made by One who was a member of the human race. Hence he insists on the representative and vicarious character of Christ's sufferings in a way which anticipates St. Bernard's teaching on the suffering of the Head for the members (see esp. *Or.* xxx. 5). He criticizes existing theories (*Or.* xlv. 22), and indignantly repudiates the idea of a ransom to Satan. But he will not commit himself to say in what sense the sacrifice was offered to God, beyond suggesting that, though the Father had not asked for it or required it, it was perhaps due to the 'economy' of God. The necessity of the sacrifice is not, in fact, made absolute by him. Man's deliverance from Satan and man's sanctification required it, and, further, it was offered in honour of the Father (*ib.*).

Gregory of Nyssa does not dwell upon the thought of a propitiation at all. But he develops in a crude and repulsive manner Origen's idea of a ransom paid to Satan, and of an act of deception practised upon the latter. Man had freely sold himself to Satan, and, in delivering man, God could proceed only by methods of strict justice, i.e. by a bargain such as would be acceptable to the adversary. Christ was the ransom price. But the veil of the humanity hid from Satan the Godhead of Christ, and thus, by an act of strict retribution, the deceiver was in turn deceived (*Or. Cat.* xxiii.). The idea of a deception practised on Satan appears also in Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* xxxix. 13), while the whole conception of Gregory of Nyssa is found in his contemporary Amphilochius of Iconium (see Holl, *op. cit.* p. 98 ff.). The theory thus developed by Gregory of Nyssa became widely current in both East and West, and proved a fatal legacy to the Church.

ix. THE SACRAMENTS. — The only important developments in the doctrine of the Sacraments to be found in the teaching of the Cappadocians are contained in the *Catechetical Oration* of Gregory of Nyssa (chs. xxxiii.-xxxvii.), where he treats of Baptism and the Eucharist. The main points in his teaching are as follows:—

(1) Gregory appeals to the immanence of God in support of the principle of a Divine operation through sacramental channels, while he urges that the assurance of God's presence and operation rests upon His promise to be present in this way when invoked (chs. xxxiv., xxxvi.).

(2) Gregory clearly states the idea that the Sacraments are an 'extension' of the Incarnation, in that the process of 'deification' effected once for all in the humanity of Christ, through its union with the Personal Word, is progressively effected in humanity as a whole by participation in Christ through the Sacraments (xxxv., xxxvii.).

(3) Gregory distinguishes between the effects of Baptism and the Eucharist by saying that in Baptism the soul is united to the Saviour through faith, while in the Eucharist the body is brought into the same union, though here again only through the faith of him who partakes of the Sacrament (xxxvii.).

(4) Gregory teaches an objective change of the elements (effected through the prayer of consecration) into the Body and Blood of Christ, and he represents the manner of the change in a striking and original way. Anticipating the later problem of the 'ubiquity' of the Lord's Body, he sets himself to solve the question how the one Body can be given whole to thousands of believers. He employs the Aristotelian distinction of 'form' and 'matter,' and draws a parallel between the change of food and drink into the human body through digestion, and the change of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. The 'constituent elements' (*στοιχεῖα*) of bread and wine in each case are re-

arranged under a new 'form,' although in the one case it is through the process of digestion, in the other immediately 'by the power of the Word' (xxxvii.). This statement of Gregory is the first attempt to propound a theory of the conversion of the elements. Gregory gave a direction to Eucharistic doctrine, which eventually led in the West to the theory of a transformation of substance in the elements. But Gregory himself is far removed from such a theory. His language is of the nature of an illustration, and even while applying his analogy from physiology to the Eucharist he shows signs of hesitation. (See Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 2ième série [1905], p. 260 f., and the present writer's ed. of the *Oratio Catechetica* in *Cambridge Patristic Texts*, p. xxxviii ff. and notes on ch. xxxvii. There is an interesting later parallel to Gregory's theory in Descartes' letters to Mesland on the Eucharist.) Gregory's teaching exercised considerable influence on John of Damascus, and through him on the later Eastern Church.

As a contrast to the treatment of the Eucharist exhibited in the language of Gregory of Nyssa just quoted, Basil's language in *Ep. 8* deserves attention. In accordance with his spiritualizing tendency (see above, § 1.), he says (commenting on Jn 6:7): 'We eat His flesh, and drink His blood, being made through His Incarnation and His visible life partakers of His Word and of His Wisdom. For all His mystic sojourn among us He called flesh and blood, and set forth the teaching consisting of practical science, of physics, and of theology, whereby our soul is nourished and is meanwhile trained for the contemplation of actual realities.'

x. ESCHATOLOGY.—Gregory of Nyssa is the only one of the Cappadocian Fathers who exhibits any considerable interest in eschatological problems, and it is here that he shows himself a most thoroughgoing disciple of Origen. His chief contributions are: (1) his treatment of the resurrection of the body; (2) his theory of the purification of souls by fire after the Resurrection; and (3) his idea of the restoration of all spirits, Satan included, to final blessedness.

(1) The first of these is discussed in his treatise *On the Soul and the Resurrection* (cf. also *de Hom. Op.* 27). The theory which he propounds is a modified form of the spiritualistic view of Origen. As in his discussion on the Eucharist, he employs the Aristotelian terms 'form' (*εἶδος*) and 'elements' (*στοιχεῖα*). The 'constituent elements' (*στοιχεῖα*) of the body, having once received the impress of the soul, are recognized by it at the time of the Resurrection, and are received back again from the common source. By death, however, the body is purged of its sensuous character, and in the Resurrection is of a more subtle and ethereal character.

(2) The idea of a purifying fire, derived from Origen, and found also in a passage of Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* xxxix. 19), has its source in Plato. According to Gregory, the soul stained by sin finds its remedy in the practice of virtue in this life and in the sifting judgment and refining fire of the after-life (*Or. Cat.* viii.). Elsewhere he says that for those who have not received the grace of baptism there waits a purification by fire hereafter (*ib.* xxxvi.). This doctrine, which, like the rest of Gregory's Origenistic speculations, was quietly dropped by the Eastern Church, has little resemblance to the later Western doctrine of Purgatory, inasmuch as it applies to a different time (after, and not before, the Resurrection), and is intended to benefit not the good but the evil.

(3) The doctrine of an *ἀνοκάρωσις*, or universal restoration of all souls, is another indication of the influence of Origen upon Gregory of Nyssa. In both writers this belief is bound up with their theodicy, which was based on the thought that the world-process must result in God becoming 'all in all' (1 Co 15:28; cf. *Greg. Naz. Or.* xxx. 6); while evil, having no subsistence of its own, cannot be eternal. Satan himself will be purged, and

from all Creation there will arise a chorus of thanksgiving (*Or. Cat.* xxvi.; *de An. et Res.* [PG xlv. 72]). In later times, after the condemnation of Origen's teaching, the theory of an interpolation of the works of Gregory of Nyssa by the Origenists was employed to get rid of this idea from the writings of one who was a canonized doctor of the Church. But there is no justification for such a suspicion.

General Summary.—The one permanent service rendered to Christian thought by the Cappadocian Fathers was their formulation of the doctrine of the Trinity. In this respect their theology remained the standard of faith for the Eastern Church, which refused to accept from the West in later times the *filioque* clause. But their influence in this respect was not limited to the East. Through Ambrose, who was a diligent student of Basil's writings, the theology of the Cappadocians was imported into the West, and influenced the later developments of Trinitarian doctrine found in Augustine. In other respects their work was of a tentative or preparatory character. They helped to shape some of the terminology of the later Christological definitions, and they prepared the way for a careful statement of the reality of the two natures in Christ. Their attempt to re-introduce into the Church a modified form of Origen's theology met with only slight success, while the more pronounced Origenistic speculations of Gregory of Nyssa were entirely dropped. The Origenists of the fifth and sixth centuries appealed to their authority, while the mystical and pantheistic tendencies of Gregory of Nyssa received fresh developments in the teaching of the later Monophysites and of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Their attempt to create a scientific theology was not altogether without results. For a few generations they succeeded in enlisting the best culture of the time in the cause of Christianity, while by the spirituality of their religious conceptions and their devotion to the practical ideals of monastic piety they arrested for a time the inroads of the cruder and more materialistic forms of popular religion which were already invading the Eastern Church.

LITERATURE.—(1) On the place of the Cappadocians in the history of Christian thought, see Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. (1894-99) vols. iii. and iv.; Dorner, *Doctrine of Person of Christ*, Eng. tr. (1861-63) div. 1 vol. ii.; Neander, *Church History*³ (1841), vol. iv.; Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*³ (1893); Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte*³, vol. ii. (1895); Ottley, *Doctrine of Incarnation*, vol. ii. (1890); Bethune-Baker, *Intro. to Early History of Christian Doctrine* (1903).

(2) On the Cappadocians generally, see Fr. Böhlinger, *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen*³, vol. viii. (1876); Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium* (1904). On their exegesis of Scripture, see H. Weiss, *Die grossen Cappadocier als Exegeten* (1872).

(3) On Basil, see E. Fialon, *Étude hist. et litt. sur St. Basile* (1869); Klose, *Basilius der Grosse nach seinem Leben und seiner Lehre* (1885); Krüger, art. 'Basilius von Caesarea' in *PRE*³, vol. ii. (1897); Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*² (1901); R. T. Smith, 'St. Basil the Great' in *Fathers for English Readers* (1879).

(4) On Gregory of Nazianzus, see Ullmann, *Gregor von Nazianz*² (1867); Loofs, art. 'Gregor v. Naz.' in *PRE*³, vol. vii. (1899); Bardenhewer, *Patrologie* (1901).

(5) On Gregory of Nyssa there is a copious literature. The more important works are: I. C. Bergades, *de Universo et de anima hominis doctrina Greg. Nysseni* (1876); F. Diekamp, *Die Gotteslehre des hl. Greg. v. Nyssa* (1896); G. Herrmann, *Greg. Nysseni sententia de salute adipiscenda* (1875); St. P. Heyns, *Disputatio historico-theologica de Greg. Nysseno* (1885); F. Hilt, *Des hl. Greg. v. Nyssa. Lehre vom Menschen* (1890); A. Krampf, *Der Urzustand des Menschen nach der Lehre des hl. Greg. v. Nyssa* (1899); W. Meyer, *Die Gotteslehre des hl. Greg. v. Nyssa* (1894); E. W. Möller, *Gregorii Nysseni doctrinam de hominis natura et illustravit et cum Origeniana comparavit* E. W. M. (1894); J. Rupp, *Gregors, des Bischofs v. Nyssa, Leben und Meinungen* (1884); J. N. Stigler, *Die Psychologie des hl. Greg. v. Nyssa* (1867); Al. Vincenzi, *In S. Greg. Nyssa, et Origenis scripta et doctrinam* (1864); W. Vollert, *Die Lehre Gregors v. Nyssa vom Guten und Bösen* (1897). See also Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*; Loofs, art. 'Gregor v. Nyssa' in *PRE*³, vol. vii. (1899); and Prolegomena in translation of Gregory's works in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ser. ii. vol. v. (1898).

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CAPRICE.—Lexicographers are in general agreement that the word 'caprice' is derived, through Ital. *capriccio*, from the stem of Lat. *caper*, 'goat.' In the literal sense, 'caprice' is, therefore, an unexpected movement, seemingly without motive or purpose, like the frisky antics of a goat. In the metaphorical sense, 'caprice' is used of mental movement, and means 'a sudden change or turn of the mind without apparent or adequate motive' (*OED*). True to the fundamental idea is the use of *capriccio* as a musical term signifying a species of free composition, not subject to rule as to form or figure. As applied to human action, the word 'caprice' connotes conduct which appears purposeless, if not motiveless—either inconsistent with, or indicating fickleness of, character. The solution of the ethical problem involved must be sought by studying psychologically the relation of will to desire. As applied to Divine action, the word 'caprice' implies an imputation of arbitrary procedure to God; as when, for example, capriciousness is ascribed to the Heavenly Father who has promised to hear and answer His children's prayers. The solution of the religious problem involved must be sought by reverent study of the relation of the Divine will to the Divine nature.

1. Caprice in human action.—When human actions are said to be due to mere caprice, nothing more may be intended than a reflexion upon a general fickleness of character. Emotional natures are often 'unstable as water.' As the pregnant phrase expresses it, they 'cannot be depended upon.' It is, however, only lack of knowledge that compels observers to explain such conduct as caprice. Even to intimate friends a capricious person's actions may be quite unaccountable as well as altogether surprising, but deeper insight would reveal the fact that they are only 'seemingly without motive or purpose.' All that can be said with certainty of the man who is double-minded, and therefore is unstable in *all* his ways (Ja 1⁸), is that, because he has no fixity of purpose, no unity of aim, it is uncertain how he will act on any given occasion. The true psychological estimate of all such characters is given by McCosh:

'People of whom this chameleon liability to change of affection is characteristic . . . appear very inconsistent, and so they are, and they do not gain our permanent confidence. But they are, after all, acting consistently with their character, which goes by impulses and jerks, and not by steady principle' (*Psychology: The Motive Powers*, 1887, p. 185 f.).

Determinists, who contend that human actions are always and necessarily decided by the strongest motive, have, in the course of the free-will controversy, charged indeterminists with asserting that it is possible for men to act from mere caprice, or, in other words, to make 'an unmotivated choice between motives.' T. H. Green, in his profound analysis of human personality, has shown that, when 'motive' is accurately defined and distinguished from 'desire,' there is no such thing as unmotivated choice. But he insists that it is the 'Self' that decides which desire shall prevail and become the motive to action. The will is free, because it is determined by motive, and is not swayed hither and thither by chance desires (*Proleg. to Ethics*², 1890, bk. ii. ch. 1). It follows that the explanation of what is usually called caprice will be found in the weakening of the will. Psychological analysis may rule out caprice as insufficient to account for human action, but the activity of the Self may be reduced to a minimum, so that there may be little or no interval between the uprising of the desire and its acceptance as a motive by the will. In such a case the resultant action may not improperly be described as capricious. But after the consciousness of an impulse to act, the mind has the power to pause and to consider the consequences

likely to follow from yielding to the impulse. It is on the cultivation of that power—which enables the mind to attend to other considerations and to reinforce, it may be, weaker impulses—that the elimination of caprice depends. An absorbing interest is the psychological condition of unity of purpose, and therefore of consistency of conduct (cf. W. James, *Principles of Psychology*², 1901, vol. i. ch. 11, 'Attention'). The highest application of this principle is in religious experience. 'This one thing I do' means that diverse actions all tend to a single goal (Ph 3¹³); and the reason why caprice has become impossible is that all other desires have been subordinated to the permanent motive: 'For to me to live is Christ' (Ph 1²¹). For a lucid statement of the reasons why 'unchartered freedom or the introduction of sheer caprice' is not implied in the somewhat misunderstood phrase 'the will to believe,' see art. BELIEF, ii. 462^b.

2. Caprice ascribed to God.—The permissibility of arguing from human to Divine personality is recognized by Theists generally as a legitimate philosophical procedure. Therefore, the bearing of what has been said in the earlier section of this article will be evident. In the single statement 'God is love' the possibility of His acting from caprice is excluded. His will can never be purposeless, inasmuch as it is determined by His nature, and 'His nature and His name is love.' Dörner succinctly states the essential truth involved in the Christian view: 'God can be thought neither as fate nor mere law, neither as absolute indifference nor as caprice' (*Syst. of Christian Doctrine*, Eng. tr. i. 447). Theistic doctrines which do injustice to the revelation of God in Christ are: (1) the Scotist view of the Middle Ages, which represents the Divine will as arbitrary, because it finds 'the essence of personality in the power of unrestricted choice'; and (2) the teaching of the earlier Calvinists, who made 'grace a synonym for arbitrary choice.' Theories which hide the Divine Fatherhood leave men in uncertainty as to the Divine purpose, and lead them to regard the Divine action as capricious. But a false dualism is involved in the attempt to assign qualities to the Divine will which are not conceived to be attributes of the Divine nature.

'The ethical in God cannot be exclusively attributed and ascribed to His Will to the exclusion of His Being. . . . Such a will, because undetermined by the Essence and Being of God, would be ethically absolutely undetermined—that is to say, it would be mere caprice and absolute power (*supremum liberum arbitrium*)' (Dörner, *op. cit.* i. 315).

Primitive conceptions of the Deity as arbitrary and lawless account for the identifying of the miraculous with the mysterious, the inexplicable, and the capricious. But again the thought which eliminates caprice from the Divine action is that of a unifying and adequate purpose. The revival of ancient teaching on the immanence of God has altered the aspect of the problem. The unity of Nature is accepted as a more adequate description of the world than the *uniformity* of Nature. 'Unity is essentially a spiritual conception . . . since spirit is the only unifying agent that we know'; therefore, according to the Christian view of the world, miracles may be in accord with, and may throw light upon, God's one increasing purpose. Miracles are no longer held to be antecedently impossible, for, 'if nature is sustained only by its intimate union with spirit, it is no wonder that the processes of nature should be modified for an adequate spiritual end' (Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, 1898, p. 106).

The comparative study of religion has made us familiar not only with the Science of History, but also with the Philosophy of History. The latter expression cannot imply less than that rational principle, and not caprice, guides the development

of tendencies and the progress of events. God's choice of Israel, for example, is seen to be no capricious favour, when it is viewed in the light of His redeeming purpose and His love towards all mankind. But to affirm that there is a revelation of God in history is to assert that the world is the scene of the Divine providence. His purpose concerning individuals may, indeed, at times be difficult to discern. But, conscious that we behold only 'part of His ways,' we may find comfort in the truth, to which Science and Scripture alike bear witness, that

'God's method is a method of law; that is to say, it is not arbitrary or irregular, but consistent, and in its great principles unchanging. . . . God's method is a method of progress. . . . We think of Him as ever at work, forming, training, and perfecting the moral personalities whom He has designed for union with Himself' (W. Adams Brown, *Christian Theology in Outline*, 1907, p. 217 f.).

As belief in law does not hinder, but rather helps men to trust in God's providence, because He does not work arbitrarily and capriciously, so belief in law presents no difficulties to those who have a worthy conception of prayer because they have true thoughts of God. Nevertheless, there is a view of prayer which, as Rufus M. Jones says, 'takes us . . . into a world of caprice. It introduces a world in which almost anything may happen. . . . It is a low, crude view of God—a Being off above the world who makes "laws" like a modern legislator and again changes them to meet a new situation' (*The Double Search*, 1906, p. 80 f.).

But the Christian view of prayer implies neither ignorance of the facts of science nor expectation of answers to petitions by violation of Nature's laws. True prayer is spiritual communion. It is the child's fellowship with Him who is made known by Christ and in his own experience as 'the Father who seeth in secret'; in His presence all wants and wishes are made known, and according to the intimacy of the communion is the degree of confidence that the blessings asked for are not contrary to the Father's will. Yet, in whatever direction the surface ripples of desires may flow, the deep, strong yearning of the praying spirit is 'Father, Thy will be done.' If that will could be swayed by what men call caprice, true prayer would be impossible. But there is 'no sealing of the lips in the presence of the discovery that all is law.' When this is understood, the Atonement of Christ will be seen as the supreme manifestation of the Love which is law, and as the Father's own drawing near to His children, in order that, when in Christ He has reconciled them unto Himself, they may confidently approach, asking for the forgiveness of their sins in the name of Christ. 'Forgiveness is not a gift which can fall upon us from the skies, in return for a capricious request. . . . The deep cry for forgiveness must rise out of a forgiving spirit' (Rufus M. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 101).

LITERATURE.—Full references are given in the body of the article. For the first division of the subject handbooks of Psychology should be consulted, and for the latter division handbooks of Theology. The following works will also be helpful: Arthur, *On the Difference between Physical and Moral Law*, London, 1883; D'Arcy, *A Short Study of Ethics*, London, 1895; Dykes, *The Divine Worker in Creation and Providence*, Edinburgh, 1909. The delightful parable, frequently used by Professor Henry Drummond, deserves special mention: Finlayson, 'Law, Miracle, and Prayer,' *Expositor*, 1st series, vol. v. [1877] p. 236 ff. J. G. TASKER.

CARLYLE.—I. Life and writings.—Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881)—essayist, historian, critic, modern prophet—was born on 4th Dec. 1795 at Ecclefechan, Annandale. He was the son of James Carlyle, a mason, born in 1757. James Carlyle's first wife was a cousin, and died after giving birth to one son, John. Two years after her death (1794) he married Janet Aitken. Thomas was the first child, and was followed by three sons and a daughter. Thomas was educated at the Grammar School of Annan, and afterwards at Edinburgh University. This he left in 1814 without taking a

degree, but having distinguished himself in mathematics. At this time he intended to enter the ministry, and went up twice a year to deliver addresses at the Divinity Hall, Edinburgh, while teaching in the school at Haddington. Divinity and Law having failed to satisfy him, his mind turned in the direction of Literature. His early days were full of the struggles involved in getting a footing in this precarious profession. The salient points of that struggle may be noted.

From 1820 to 1825 he contributed sixteen articles to the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* under the editorship of Sir David Brewster.

In May or June 1821, Edward Irving introduced Carlyle to Miss Jane Welsh. About the same time the inward illumination took place which is recorded in *Sartor Resartus* (bk. ii. ch. vii.) as the transition from the Everlasting No to the Everlasting Yea. The plain meaning of this was that disbelief in Divine or human justice, freedom, and immortality had been dismissed in favour of a steadfast determination to live in God's world as a servant of Truth.

The following publications mark his rise into public attention: (a) *A Life of Schiller* in the *London Magazine* in 1823–1824, which in 1825 was published separately in book form, and in 1830 translated into German at the suggestion of Goethe; (b) *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, which appeared in 1824–1827, one of the best translations into English of any foreign author. (c) In 1827 elaborate and extensive criticisms of European literature established Carlyle as the English purveyor and critic of European culture. Among his well-known contributions of this order are an article on Voltaire, a finished and memorable sketch of Novalis, two papers on Jean Paul Richter in the *Foreign Review*, a review of Schiller in *Fraser's Magazine*, and of Goethe's works in the *Foreign Quarterly*.

On 17th Oct. 1826, Jane Welsh and Thomas Carlyle were married. They began married life normally at 21 Comely Bank, Edinburgh, and continued it abnormally (1828) at Craigenputtock, a farm belonging to the Welsh family. Carlyle was by temperament unsuited for domestic life, and his wife was as ambitious and as keen intellectually as himself. At Craigenputtock his life became a monologue on literary and ethical subjects, and hers for six years a bitter experience of household drudgery. Among the visitors to Craigenputtock were the Jeffreys (1820–1830), and Ralph Waldo Emerson, who began in this way a life-long friendship with Carlyle. In 1831, Carlyle went to London to negotiate the sale of *Sartor Resartus*, which was eventually published in *Fraser's Magazine*. Hardly any one but Emerson recognized that the 'articles by the crazy tailor' were really 'a criticism of the age in which we live, exhibiting in the most just and novel light the present aspect of religion, politics, literature, and social life.'

In 1834, Carlyle moved to 24 Cheyne Row, Chelsea, near the Thames. It was a bold venture to attack the metropolis on a reserve fund of from £200 to £300, but it was successful, and Cheyne Row was his home for 47 years. The first eight years were years of severe struggle on narrow means, but they produced the *French Revolution*, the *Lectures on Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History*, and *Chartism*. At the end of this time the death of Mrs. Welsh brought pecuniary relief.

The next decade (1842–1853) was a time of vigorous literary production, which gave to the world the *Life and Letters of Cromwell*, *Past and Present*, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, and *Life of John Sterling*.

From 1853 to 1866, Carlyle was at the zenith of his fame. He published his monumental *History*

of Frederick the Great, and gratified even his wife's ambition for him by being elected to the Lord Rectorship of Edinburgh University, where he delivered a notable rectorial address.

In 1866, Mrs. Carlyle died, and after this Carlyle's life went haltingly. The years till 1881 are best regarded as a long eventide. His comments on public questions, such as the recall of Governor Eyre and the Reform Bill of 1867 (*Shooting Niagara*), show him as a resolute critic of democracy. He dictated a historical sketch of the Early Kings of Norway and an essay on the Portraits of John Knox. In 1874 he accepted the Prussian 'ordre pour le mérite,' and refused a pension and a distinction offered by Disraeli. Money came freely when he could no longer use it except by bequeathing it, and friends when he could no longer reciprocate friendship. The appointment of James Anthony Froude as his literary executor and Froude's discharge of that trust led to a keen controversy, not yet finished, on the real character of Carlyle and his relations with his wife. At the end he was almost absolutely alone, and died on 4th Dec. 1881.

2. Teaching.—Carlyle's teaching was not sufficiently self-consistent to bear exact analysis as a statement of ethical and religious truth. Letters and conversations are sometimes at variance with judgments expressed in his books. But the general outlines of his teaching may be indicated.

(1) *Concerning God*.—It may be said of Carlyle, as he said of Frederick of Prussia, 'To him, as to all of us, it was flatly inconceivable that intellect and moral emotion could have been put into him by an entity that had none of its own.' Sartor Resartus is a vigorous and resounding counterblast to materialism. In the discussions of the time, Carlyle's theism was commonly classed as pantheism; but no classification is adequate for an author who wrote or spoke as he saw truth, but who saw different aspects of truth in different moods. He teaches that the universe is perpetually formed and renewed by the Spirit of God, not that matter is God, but that it is the 'living garment of God.' The universe is the vesture of God as man's body is the vesture of his spirit. As man claims personality for himself, he may logically assign to the Spirit of God that personality, consciousness, intelligence, which are the highest attributes of the spirit of man.

His belief in the essentials of religion is combined with a distrust of its formulas. In *Later-Day Pamphlets* (no. viii.) he makes a protest against what he calls the gospel of Ignatius (i.e. Loyola), 'that God can be served by believing what is not true.' 'That to please the supreme Fountain of Truth, your readiest method, now and then, was to persist in believing what your whole soul found to be doubtful or incredible. That poor human symbols were higher than the God Almighty's facts they symbolized; that formulas, with or without the facts symbolized by them, were sacred and salutary; that formulas, well persisted in, could still save us when the facts were all fled.

Other quotations, more emphatically negative, might be made from writings in later life, when the negative mood grew more marked. Yet he comes very near attributing moral personality to God in His government of the world.

'No world, or thing, here below, ever fell into misery without having first fallen into folly.' 'Nature would not treat weakness as vicious unless weakness were necessarily vicious.' 'The first principle of moral government is that, where guilt is deliberate, undoubted, and wilful, punishment ought to be inflicted. This pillar of the moral universe in human affairs rests not upon mere social expediency, but upon those authoritative instincts of our spiritual nature in which we hear the voice of God.' 'The law of England, in dealing with criminals, must correspond to the law of the universe' (*Later-Day Pamphlets*, no. vi.). 'The moral nature of a man is not a composite factitious concern, but lies in the very heart of his being, as his very self of selves. The first alleviation to irremediable pain is some conviction that it has been merited, that it comes from the All-just—from God' (Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: Hist. of First Forty Years of his Life*, ii. 86).

'The free man is he who is loyal to the Laws of this Universe; who in his heart sees and knows, across all contradictions, that injustice cannot befall him here; that except by sloth and cowardly falsity evil is not possible here. The first symptom of such a man is not that he resists and rebels, but that he obeys' (*Later-Day Pamphlets*, no. vi.).

(2) *Concerning man*.—Carlyle's optimism about the universe is combined with pessimism about human nature. Something of this may be put down to Calvinism, and something to temperament. He believed that 'God's in His heaven,' but not that 'all's right with the world.' At Craigenputtock he wrote:

'What is Hope? a smiling rainbow
Children follow through the wet;
'Tis not here, still yonder, yonder!
Never urchin found it yet.

What is Life? a thawing iceboard
On a sea with sunny shore.
Gay we sail—it melts beneath us!
We are sunk, and seen no more.

What is man? a foolish baby;
Vainly strives, and fights, and frets;
Demanding all—deserving nothing!
One small grave is what he gets.'

(Froude, *op. cit.* ii. 420.)

His fundamental scepticism about human nature and the prospects of the race is closely connected with his disbelief in democracy. Democracy depends on and requires an optimistic view of man and his destiny, and implies ultimately that *vox populi is vox Dei*, which Carlyle emphatically denied. His criticism of democracy rests on the discovery that

'in democracy can lie no finality; that with the completest winning of democracy there is nothing yet won—except emptiness, and the free chance to win! Democracy is, by the nature of it, a self-cancelling business; and gives in the long-run a net result of zero.' 'In Rome and Athens, as elsewhere, if we look practically, we shall find that it was not by loud voting and debating of many, but by wise insight and ordering of a few, that the work was done—so it is—so will it ever be.'

Nevertheless he does not depreciate the real task of politics; 'society is a wonder of wonders, and politics (in the right sense far, very far, from the common one) is the noblest science' (Diary, Froude, *op. cit.* ii. 86).

(3) *Religion*.—Carlyle conceived religion as universal and spiritual. It is everywhere an expression of man's relationship to a spiritual God, dimly or vividly realized. Many of his sayings are more in keeping with the results of the modern study of comparative religion than with any order of thought existing in his own day.

'The early Nations of the world, all Nations, so long as they continued simple and in earnest, knew without teaching that their History was an Epic and Bible, the clouded struggling image of a God's Presence, the action of heroes and God-inspired men. The noble intellect that could disenthrall such divine image, and present it to them clear, unclouded, in visible coherency comprehensible to human thought, was felt to be a *Vates* and the chief of intellects. No need to bid him sing it, make a Poem of it. Nature herself compelled him; except in Song or in Psalm, such an insight by human eyes into the divine was not utterable.'

'Every Nation, I suppose, was made by God, and every man too. Only there are some Nations, like some men, who know it; and some who do not. The great Nations are they that have known it well; the small and contemptible, both of men and Nations, are they that have either never known it, or soon forgotten it and never laid it to heart' (*Later-Day Pamphlets*, no. viii.).

'To the last,' says Froude, 'he believed as strongly as ever Hebrew prophet did in spiritual religion,' and approved of prayer as a 'turning of one's soul to the Highest.'

Carlyle's belief in immortality grew in intensity, but after his wife's death he describes himself as 'bankrupt in hope and heart, as good as without hope and without fear' (*Correspondence of Carlyle and R. W. Emerson*, ii. 337).

In 1835 he wrote to Emerson on the loss of his brother:

'Sorrow not above measure for him that is gone. He is in very deed and truth with God, where you and I both are' (ib. i. 392). 'What a thin film it is that divides the living from the dead' (ib. i. 37).

On his father's death he wrote (Froude, *Carlyle: First Forty Years*, ii. 248-260):

'Man follows man. His life is as a tale that has been told; yet under time does there not lie eternity? . . . Perhaps my father, all that essentially was my father, is even now near me, with me. Both he and I are with God. Perhaps, if it so please God, we shall in some higher state of being meet one another, recognize one another. . . . The possibility, nay (in some way) the certainty, of perennial existence daily grows plainer to me.'

On the death of Mrs. Welsh he wrote to his wife:

'We shall yet go to her. God is great. God is good.'

In 1869, after the death of his wife, he wrote:

'I occasionally feel able to wish with my whole softened heart—it is my only form of prayer—"Great Father, oh, if Thou canst, have pity on her and on me, and on all such!" In this at least there is no harm' (Froude, *Carlyle: Life in London*, ii. 387).

Carlyle's most positive contribution to a religious conception of life is to be found in vivid, eloquent, and memorable passages describing the spiritual universe. Nothing shows better than these passages how, to Carlyle, life was shot through with spiritual relationships, and set in a framework of a spiritual cosmos. In the *Diary* (Froude, *Carlyle: First Forty Years*, ii. 86) he exclaims:

'I have strange glimpses of the power of Spiritual union, of association among men of like object. Therein lies the true element of religion. It is a truly supernatural climate; all wondrous things from a Pennenden Heath or Penny-a-week Purgatory Society to the foundation of a Christianity or the (now obsolete) exercise of magic take their rise here. Men work God-like miracles thereby, and the horriest abominations.'

In judging of his attitude to religion, we ought to give weight to his serious work rather than to casual utterances. The lecture on 'The Hero as Prophet,' and his appreciative estimate of Muhammad and the influence of Islām, show how Carlyle understood the nature and function of religion.

Carlyle's positive attitude to religion and his negative attitude to Christianity are among the paradoxes which perplex his readers. He fails to recognize in Christianity, as he finds it, the supreme form of the religious powers which he reveres elsewhere.

(4) *Ethic*.—Carlyle's ethic is essentially the ethic of Puritanism—that is, his ideal of the conduct of life is an ideal conceived under the overwhelming impression of the righteousness of God. Man is ever in the great Task-master's eye. If men do their duty and faithfully obey the laws of God, living soberly and justly, God will do the best for them in this life. Duty is to him Wordsworth's 'stern daughter of the voice of God.' It involves surrender to the 'vast soul that o'er us plans'—and continually in the present it means work. Do the duty nearest to hand—*Laborare est orare*. The only honourable thing is work, whether with sword or plough or pen. Strength is the crown of toil. Action makes men.

The paradoxical working of Carlyle's mind comes out in his inconsistent acceptance and rejection of parts of mutually related truths. He insisted on the community of the race, and poured scorn on the man who said, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' Yet he failed to discover that this solidarity is the key unlocking the mystery of the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which he entirely rejected. He believed that good and evil were absolute opposites, yet rejected the only way in which good can overcome evil, i.e. when good is returned for evil. He revered the character of Jesus Christ, yet talked incessantly of the 'Exodus from Houndsditch,' failing to see that the life history of Jesus is only to be understood as the culmination of a national history in which the Spirit of God is manifestly active, and working to this climax. He believed in God as revealed in that larger Bible—the history of the human race—but did not see that universal revelation was the basis which makes reasonable the special revelation in the history of Israel. He believed in no historical Resurrection or Ascension,

yet he vindicates in impressive eloquence the existence of a spiritual universe, and declares that a thousand million ghosts are walking the earth openly at noontide. 'O Heaven, it is mysterious, it is awful, to consider that we not only carry each a future ghost within us, but are in very deed ghosts.' He imposed an infinite duty on a finite being, but did not see that the assertion of our weakness and deficiency is the 'fine innuendo by which the soul makes its enormous claims.' It is clear that this mingling of negative and positive teaching has nothing final or conclusive in it. It is a half-way house, where no one would think of stopping but the man who built it.

In spite of his pessimism about human nature in general, Carlyle had an intense belief in the greatness of personality raised to its highest power. Much light is thrown on the development of his mind by comparison with Nietzsche. Just as Nietzsche's reverence for personality led to belief in the superman as the hope of the race, Carlyle's led to Hero-worship. In both cases the belief was accompanied by contempt for those who fail to attain personality, and in both it may be connected with the failure to see that full personality in man is dependent on dealing with God as fully and effectively personal.

(5) *Concerning history*.—Carlyle's absorbing concern with personality was partly cause and partly consequence of his historical studies, and it made his work the recognized standard for one method of writing history. The supreme interests of history, whether modern or ancient, lie in the biographies of men and women and the history of movements, and for Carlyle the first is more central; for there is no movement which does not enter history through a life. 'Great truths are portions of the souls of men.' Reforms, institutions, eras, and even constitutions are to be interpreted through the men who lived in them, and in whom they lived. The modern school of scientific historians has introduced methods which modify the first impression made by Carlyle's historical work, but its essential truth is not to be shaken, and a reaction in favour of his view of history is to be expected, for 'by-gone ages were actually filled by living men, not by protocols, State papers, controversies, and abstractions of men.'

The charge that Carlyle confounded right with might is not true as it stands. Its basis is his conviction that the history of a man or a nation is the Divine judgment of the man or nation. If a man succeeds and prospers, the cause must have been adequate to the effect. History and life alike contain their own laws, and supply their own principles of judgment. Men are powerful in proportion as they build on facts and see truth. The prophet who sees and the hero who acts appear to be a law unto themselves, only because there is no higher human authority. It is the wisdom of the mass of men not to question or judge them, but to follow them and go where they lead. There is truth in all this, but it is a truth which only a history of all time can vindicate. The historian would require omniscience to judge correctly of success and failure.

3. *Influence*.—Carlyle's influence was provocative rather than constructive. He challenged the conventions of his time in thought and in act as much as he challenged its literary conventions by his style. His message worked like a leaven in the general culture of two generations. He moved men by antagonism rather than leadership. He threw them back on the saving facts of life. He made realities in life and history stand out as greater things than the conventions that commonly conceal them. His influence may be compared with that of a prophet in ancient Israel. His summons

to men was to repent and put away the evil of their doings. His words burned and stung rather than healed and helped those he influenced most.

His function, in spite of all his strenuous thinking, was the purification of feeling about life by fear and reverence, scorn, indignation, humour, and tenderness. His books have the sentiment and effect of a Gothic cathedral, expressing, with all the purpose, ingenuity, and elaborate care of a mediæval craftsman, the awe of the natural man in the presence of God's universe.

LITERATURE.—Literature about the Carlyles is constantly growing. It consists chiefly, however, of fresh estimates of the original material contained in Carlyle's own books, and the publications which contain his letters, such as: (1) *Reminiscences*, published by J. A. Froude in 1881; the same author's *Thomas Carlyle: a History of the first forty Years of his Life*, 2 vols., 1882, and *Thomas Carlyle: a History of his Life in London*, 2 vols., 1884; (2) *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, prepared for publication by Thomas Carlyle, and edited by Froude, 3 vols., 1833; (3) *Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and R. W. Emerson*, 2 vols., 1883, and *Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle*, ed. C. K. Norton, 1887.

Of other literature the following may be noted: Leslie Stephen, art. 'Carlyle,' in *DNB*; J. Martineau, *Essays, Reviews, and Addresses*, I. (1880) 219; T. P. Walter, 'Thomas Carlyle and his Message,' in *Math. Rev.* x. [1898] 574; J. Clifford, *Typical Christian Leaders*, 1898, p. 175; R. S. Craig, *The Making of Carlyle*, London, 1908; A. S. Arnold, *Story of Thomas Carlyle*, London, 1903; W. Howie Wylie, *Thomas Carlyle: the Man and his Books*, London, 1881; D. Masson, *Carlyle personally and in his Writings*, London, 1885.

D. MACFADYEN.

CARMATIANS.—The Carmatians were a religio-political sect of Shītes that took its rise about the middle of the 3rd cent. of the Hījra, and developed a tremendous strength, which, more than anything else, undermined the power of the Khalīfate of Baghdad. The name was given to them by their adversaries. They called themselves Fātimids, from Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet and the spouse of 'Alī; or Ismā'ilis, from Ismā'il ibn Ja'far, a descendant of Ḥusain, son of 'Alī and Fātima, and, by his great-grandmother, of the last king of Persia, representing thus not only the Prophetic, but also the Kingly right to the Imāmate, or Supremacy (cf. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, p. 130).

The religious system of these sectaries, which in its principal features is still that of the Druses (*q.v.*), seems at first sight very extraordinary. On closer examination we find it composed of elements borrowed from various sources. Guyard, in his art. 'Un grand maître des Assassins' (*JA*, 1877, i. 327), said truly:

'In this Orient, where everything has been thought, the atmosphere is, so to speak, impregnated with the most diverse conceptions; none is lost; scattered for a moment, they gather again around some new germ. Magianism, Judaism, Christianity, Gnosticism, philosophy thus lent some of their elements to the small sects which each Imām of the race of 'Alī saw come to light under his eyes and in his honour.'

The man who originated this system, or rather adapted it for his purposes, was a certain 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn, of Persian origin and an oculist (*qaddāh*) by profession. He is often spoken of by the name of al-Qaddāh. He lived about the middle of the 3rd cent. of the Hījra in 'Askar Mukram, a town of Khūzistān, where he had some possessions; and he combined with a great aversion for the Arabs and their religion a boundless ambition. His ultimate aim seems to have been to subvert the Khalīfate of Baghdad, to undermine Islām, and to restore the old Persian religion, the religion of light. He himself and his sons were to be the leaders of this campaign, and, after having accomplished its purpose, were to become the rulers of the new State.

The basis of the doctrine is pure Neo-Platonism. From God, the mysterious Being who is wholly incomprehensible to mankind and cannot be defined by any attributes, emanated by His will (see Goldziher's able study on the *amr allāhī* in *REJ* vol. iv. pp. 82-41) the Universal Reason, which

produced the Universal Soul, the creator of Primal Matter, Space, and Time. These are the five constituents of the Universe, and consequently of man, the microcosm. But, as every emanation has a tendency to return to its source, man's object in life is perfect union with the Universal Reason. This, however, would be wholly unattainable by him without heavenly help. Therefore the Universal Reason and the Universal Soul have manifested themselves to the world in human shape, the one as prophet-legislator, the other as his assistant and supporter. So appeared successively Adam and Seth, Noah and Shem, Abraham and Ishmael, Moses and Aaron, Jesus and Peter, Muhammad and 'Alī. After the disappearance of the prophet-legislator, the assistant continues his work, and is the *imām*, or leader, the sole interpreter of the true meaning of the Divine Word. He is followed by six other *imāms*, after the death of the last of whom a new incarnation takes place. 'Alī was succeeded by his son al-Ḥasan; he by his brother al-Ḥusain; then followed 'Alī the son of al-Ḥusain, Muhammad the son of 'Alī, Ja'far the son of Muhammad, and Ismā'il the son of Ja'far. Muhammad the son of Ismā'il is the seventh incarnation. His assistant is 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn, who, with his successors, has to preach and promulgate his law, till with the re-appearance of the last of these as the *mahdī* the end and scope of human life will be reached. All these legislations, though each in succession is better than its predecessor, so that the last is the most perfect, are in reality one, only adapted to the understanding of the men of each period. Moreover, it is always the same Being that incarnates itself in different forms; even as the soul of each *imām* passes into the body of his successor.

The main object of this system, of which the preceding description gives only the outlines, was to place unlimited power in the hands of 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn and his descendants. Ismā'il, the son of Ja'far, died in his father's lifetime. Ja'far died in A.H. 143, leaving a son Muhammad, who, according to the Ismā'ilis, fled to India from the persecution of Ḥārūn ar-Rashid, and is said to have died there about A.H. 180. In the belief of the Ismā'ilis he became merely invisible, to remain so till the time of his reappearance as the *mahdī* should come. In the meantime the *imām* is invested with the supreme authority, which he exercises by his deputies and missionaries. Whatever the ultimate designs of 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn may have been, his immediate object was to lay hold of the minds of a great many followers, who were bound to unlimited obedience to his orders, and were ready to furnish the means necessary for promoting the cause. Mystery has for most men a great attraction. Therefore, every one who was to be admitted as a member of the sect had to pledge himself by oath never to betray any secret of the community. Nor were they admitted before they had given sufficient proofs of the earnestness of their desires. For the same reason, the *imām* himself was said to be hidden and to communicate with his followers only by his deputy, who in fact was the *imām* himself or his son, and who, backed by this mysterious authority, could speak with double stress. It was he who chose and instructed the *dā'īs* (lit. 'those who call or invite'), or missionaries.

'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn instituted, we are told, several grades of initiation. The accounts we have of the higher ones are confused, and it is difficult to see what could have been their practical use. It is quite certain, however, that even the chief missionaries did not know them. These were, without question, men of fervent zeal, devoted to what they thought to be the sacred truth. The

missionary established himself by preference in a populous country in the character of a merchant or physician, in order to come into contact with many people, whom he sought, first of all, to impress with admiration for his abstemiousness, the devoutness of his living, his charity, and his irreproachable, if somewhat mysterious, conduct. Aided by his superior knowledge, he could often give good practical advice, by which he gained the confidence of the people; and one or two marvellous tricks procured him the reputation of possessing supernatural powers. The missionaries of the Fātimids were evidently able jugglers, and knew how to perform miracles. By means of carrier-pigeons, for instance, they often received information of an event many days before it could be known in the country by the ordinary means of communication. So they could make a prediction that must certainly turn out to be true. Moreover, they were generally versed in astronomy. But their principal strength lay in the cordial love of all believers for the house of the Prophet, which, since the tragic death of al-Ḥusain, had been everywhere revived and reanimated by the missionaries of the 'Alids and 'Abbāsids. Against these latter, the means which they had employed to undermine and destroy the dominion of the Umayyads were turned with success, when it had become evident that their government had in no wise brought the period of peace, justice, and general prosperity that had been promised. In order to get rid of the Umayyads, the 'Abbāsids had promulgated the principle that the family of the Prophet had incontestable rights to the throne, whence it followed that the Umayyads were usurpers. The 'Alids, descendants of the daughter of the Prophet, while the ancestor of the 'Abbāsids was only his uncle, did not fail to turn this principle against the 'Abbāsids who had supplanted them. It was, therefore, easy to inspire the people with the hope that the saviour, the *mahdī* (the man 'guided' by God, who alone is able to show the right path), would come forth from the house of 'Alī, and to find, by an allegorical interpretation, the announcement of his coming in the sacred book itself. Thereby the way was prepared for the acknowledgment of this *mahdī* as a superior being whose word is Truth, and to whom is due unlimited obedience. For that end it was not necessary to attack the authority of the Qur'ān; only its literal interpretation was rejected, and with that the dogmas founded on it, and also the religious ceremonies, as having only a symbolical value. All this was replaced by the doctrinal authority of the true *imām*, because he knew better than anybody else the veritable religion. One of the first uses he made of that authority was to prescribe to his followers, as their principal duty, to be full of that devotional disinterestedness which enables men spontaneously to make the greatest sacrifices.

The funds needed for the organization of the mission were furnished, in the first instance, by a high-placed Persian officer, who, according to some authors, was a descendant of the old Persian kings. But soon the contributions of the new adepts commenced to flow in. The two principal offerings required of them were one for the founding of a kind of house of government, called *Dār al-ḥijra* (House of refuge), and a communal treasure out of which the poor could get assistance and the general expenses could be paid; the other, destined for the *imām*, consisted in a fifth part of all property to be paid once, and a fifth part of all revenues to be paid yearly. By this latter contribution the believers were linked by the strongest bands to the cause of the *mahdī*, whose triumph could be the only means of bringing a compensation for the great sacrifices they had made.

But the paying of contributions was not the only act of devotion expected from the believers. Their chief duty was to lead a life of purity and brotherly love. The morals preached by the Fātimid missionaries have been called evangelical. They explain the charm exercised by the doctrine on many men of high understanding, and the fact that the Carmatian communities and States were, as a rule, excellently organized and administered. The *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélites*, published by Guyard, contain sufficient proofs to stamp all that has been said about the looseness of their morality as mere slander.

The first *dā'i* in 'Irāq was Ḥamdān, surnamed Qarmaṭ, after whom all followers of the new faith were nicknamed Carmatians. Just as each prophet has his assistant, each *imām* his deputy, so every *dā'i* has a coadjutor. That of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ was his brother-in-law 'Abdān, who was the author of many of the sacred books of the sect. The district in which they began their preaching was that part of the province of Kūfa where Babylon lies, and here the Dār al-ḥijra was built, in A.H. 277. The author of the *Fihrist* says (p. 187) that Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ established himself in 261 at Kalwādhā, between Baghdad and Madā'in. It is probable that this took place at a later date. But it is certain that even then the Carmatians had attained to significance. For at the time when the rising of the negro slaves in the south of 'Irāq was at its height (i.e. before 267), Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ had a meeting with the chief of the slaves, who gave himself out for a descendant of 'Alī, of which he himself gives the following report (Ṭabari, iii. 2130)—

'I went to the chief of the negroes and said to him: "I profess a doctrine and have 100,000 swords under my orders. Let us compare our tenets. If they agree, I will join you with all my men. If not, you must give me your word to let me return to my place unmolested." That he promised, and we conversed till noon, by which time it had become clear to me that we could never agree. He rose then for prayers, and I slipped away from his town and went back to the land of Kūfa.'

As long as the war against the negroes lasted, the government of Baghdad took no notice at all of the Carmatians. After the suppression of that terrible insurrection, the governor of western 'Irāq contented himself with levying a tax of one *dīnār* on each member of the sect; and, as this procured him a good revenue, he opposed the taking of any hostile measures. It was not till 284 that the government at Baghdad began to have some misgivings about this movement, and discovered that the sect had adherents in the capital itself. This led to a persecution, in which a certain number of their chief men were killed (288), but which was soon stopped, the governor being afraid that it would ruin the land, as they were its farmers and labourers. About the same time the Khalif seems to have found out who was the real head of the sect. In 270 the government had been informed that there lived in 'Askar Mukram in Khūzistān a very dangerous man called 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn al-Qaddāh; and orders were issued to apprehend him. 'Abdallāh escaped to Basra, where he lived some time in hiding. Thence he went to Salamiya in northern Syria, where a son of his had established himself about 255, and which remained the headquarters of the family till 287, when 'Ubaidallāh, 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn's grandson, fled from that place to Egypt and thence to the far west of North Africa, whence he reappeared at Kairwān, the African capital, in 297, as the *mahdī*, the first Khalif of the Fātimids. The mission to Yemen, organized in 'Irāq in 266, began its preaching in 268, and had great success. In 293 news reached Baghdad that the Carmatians had conquered nearly the whole province, and that the inhabitants of Mecca were in great anxiety. The final reduction of Ṣan'ā, the capital, in 299,

made them absolute masters of the country. From Yemen the mission to North Africa was planned. In 280, Abū 'Abdallāh, surnamed al-Muḥtasib, because he had been inspector of markets, entered it and within the space of a few years founded the empire of the Fātimids. Far more dangerous for the Khalīfate of Baghdad at the time was the rising of another Carmatian State in Bahrain, the north-east province of Arabia, founded between 280 and 290 by Abū Sa'īd al-Jannābī. In 287 this chief routed an army sent against him by the Khalīf, but did not pursue that advantage, as he needed all his energy to make himself master of Central Arabia, of 'Omān, and of the desert roads. The great disasters that befell the Khalīfate at the hands of these Carmatians happened between the years 311 and 320. In 315 a great army, intended to make an end of the dominion of the Carmatians, was utterly defeated by Abū Ṭāhir Sulaimān, the son of Abū Sa'īd, and Baghdad itself was seriously threatened. Next year, Mecca was taken and plundered; even the sacred black stone was transported to Laḥsā, the residence of the Carmatian princes, where it remained till 339, when it was restored to the Ka'ba.

It is not surprising that the fiction of the Grand-master of Salamiya about the hidden *imām* was not always accepted without some distrust. When he had fled for his life, probably without having been able to regulate his affairs, and was for a while cut off from intercourse with the *dā'īs*, this distrust increased. The ambitious head of the mission in western 'Irāq and the Syrian desert, Zikrwaih, caused his son to give himself out for the *imām*. As long as the energetic Khalīf al-Mu'tadid lived, he did not dare to undertake anything. But from 289 till 294 he and his sons did much damage in Syria and the borderland of the Euphrates, and it required the greatest efforts to get the better of them. As for Ḥamdān Qarmat and 'Abdān, we know for certain that they separated themselves from 'Ubadallāh; but this happened, in all probability, later, when he had proclaimed himself the *imām*, the expected *mahdī*. Apostasy, by the laws of the Carmatians as well as by those of Islām, is punished by death. Abū 'Abdallāh, who had conquered the empire for 'Ubadallāh, was murdered, together with his brother, because, the conduct of this prince not corresponding to their ideal, they doubted whether the man they had fought for was really the *mahdī*. This happened near the end of 298. When the murderer lifted up the weapon, Abū 'Abdallāh said, 'Do not, my child.' He answered, 'He whom thou hast ordered me to obey, and to whom thou hast given the empire after having conquered it, has ordered me to kill thee.' 'Ubadallāh wrote then to his followers in the East: 'Ye know what a high place Abū 'Abdallāh and Abū-l-'Abbās occupied in Islām (i.e. the true religion, that of the Carmatians), but Satan caused them to slip, and I have purified them by the sword. Peace be with you.' About the same time, 'Abdān—and probably also Ḥamdān Qarmat—was assassinated.

The same thing happened in Yemen. Ibn Faḍl, the head of the mission, cast off his allegiance to 'Ubadallāh and proclaimed himself *imām*. In 303 he perished, poisoned by a mysterious stranger. We are not quite sure about Abū Sa'īd, the Carmatian ruler of Bahrain, but the fact that he was slain in 301, together with several of his principal officers, combined with the apparently trustworthy information that he was revered like a superior being, and the saying of the Yemenite chief that he followed the example of Abū Sa'īd (Omāra's *History of Yemen*, ed. Kay, 1892, p. 202), makes it probable that he also had refused to acknowledge 'Ubadallāh as the *imām mahdī*. Henceforward,

however, till the conquest of Egypt by the Fātimids in 358, the Carmatians of Bahrain were the firm supporters of 'Ubadallāh and his successors.

The intercourse between the two parties could take place only very secretly. If the subjects of the Fātimid Khalīf could have had the least suspicion that all the atrocities that filled the breast of every Muslim with terror and horror, for instance the sack of Mecca by Abū Ṭāhir—the pillage of the temple and the carrying off of the sacred black stone to Laḥsā—had been committed in the name of their master, he would not have occupied the throne a single year. On the contrary, it was indispensable in the empire of the Fātimids to condemn openly the proceedings of their Carmatian friends. Thus, for instance, the well-known traveller, Ibn Hauqal, though a fervent partisan of the Fātimids, and knowing that the Carmatians acknowledged them as *imāms*, speaks (p. 211) of Abū Ṭāhir with indignation, and curses him for his crimes; he has not the slightest suspicion that this prince did nothing but execute the rules laid down by his revered chiefs, or rather their formal orders. The author of the *Fihrist* (p. 189) says that he cannot understand the fact that in Egypt, in the empire of the Fātimids itself, the doctrine preached by the Fātimid missionaries is not practised at all. Lastly, the famous poet and traveller Naṣir ibn Khusrāu, who had embraced the faith of the Fātimids with his whole heart, and who spent a long time in Egypt, whence he returned to Persia as head of the propaganda, is entirely ignorant of any relations between them and the Carmatians, whom he knew also, having visited them at Laḥsā (Schefer, *Sefer Nameh*, p. 225 ff.).

But, however necessary this secrecy was for the dynastic interests of the Fātimids, it could not fail to have a bad influence on the harmony between the two parties. There were still people amongst the chiefs of Bahrain who questioned the alleged descent of the Fātimid Khalīfs from Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il, and who asked themselves whether the rising of this upstart family had done aught for the realization of their ideals. The triumph of this party in 358, though it was overthrown a few years later, broke for a time the admirable union of these Carmatians, and did great harm to their power. They had a short period of revival in the first half of the 5th cent., and it was with their aid that, in 450, the Fātimid Khalīf Mustansir was proclaimed Khalīf in Baghdad. But in 474 their dominion came to an end, though the Carmatian faith continued to have many adherents for a long time thereafter.

The State of these Carmatians is the only one about which we have any trustworthy information. The government was not strictly monarchical. Abū Sa'īd was assisted by a council composed of his principal supporters and called *al-'Iqdāniya*, that is, 'having the power to bind and to loose.' Later, this council consisted of twelve members, six of whom belonged to the reigning house, with the title of Sayyids, and six to the other principal families. In time of war one of the Sayyids was appointed as commander. If, however, this man had a strong personal character, as in the case of Abū Sa'īd himself and his son Abū Ṭāhir, he had almost the power of an absolute monarch. In the period of the last-named prince, the Carmatian State had large revenues, so that the fifth destined for the *imām* amounted to 300,000 *ḍinārs*. It is probable that this fifth replaced that required originally of each individual member of the sect. For Naṣir ibn Khusrāu tells (p. 227) that the citizens had no tribute or tax whatever to pay. On the contrary, if poor or in debt, they got assistance from the State. The tilling of

the land and every kind of mechanical work was done by negro slaves, a great many of whom were the property of the State. The citizens themselves were educated chiefly for military service. Monogamy seems to have been the rule, and women did not wear a veil. This seems to have given rise to all the accusations of immorality that their enemies invented. The use of wine was strictly forbidden. The religious prescriptions of Islām—daily prayers, Friday-service, fasting, etc.—had been abolished. Even the flesh of animals declared impure by Islām was sold in the market and eaten. Therefore the Muslim proverb says: 'Thinner than the saliva of the bee and the religion of the Carmatians.' It is not easy to say whether they had any religious ceremonies of their own. Certainly, they never performed the fifty daily prayers, said to have been prescribed by Hamdān Qarmat. We know only that they had regular meetings for teaching the Isma'īlian doctrine. The Qur'ān had not lost its sacred character with them; but it was to be read according to its spiritual meaning. They dressed in white and had white banners, symbolizing the religion of light which they professed and the purity of life required of its followers.

It is most regrettable that it is impossible not only to paint, but even to sketch, the religious and social life of the Carmatians. From themselves we have nothing but a few dogmatical and parænetical tracts. The accounts that have reached us are from their bitter enemies, and are usually full of obvious slander. But the few glimpses we get of their internal life from such less biased authors as Ibn Haūqal and Nāsir ibn Khursrau suffice to make us form favourable opinions about them. They had an ideal, for the realization of which they were ready to make the greatest sacrifices, and which seems to have influenced, if not governed, their whole existence. For purity of life was required of each member of the community. And as for their social state, the above-cited authors attest their admirable union, their excellent administration, and their institutions on behalf of the poor. But there is no chance of ever being able to find the details we want.

Not many years after the final overthrow of the Carmatian empire in Bahrain, there rose another branch of the Isma'īlis, known by the name of the Assassins (*q.v.*), who during two centuries filled the world with the rumours of their sinister exploits, though they are commonly painted in much blacker colours than they deserved. The first centre of their power was 'Alamūt in the neighbourhood of Kazvin, south of the Caspian Sea; a second centre was Masyāf in the Lebanon. Their dominion was annihilated by the Mongol prince Hūlāgū, the conqueror of Baghdad, and this is perhaps the only feat for which history has to thank him. Since then there has not been another rising of the Isma'īlis. Yet there are adherents of this doctrine in various parts of the East, living as quiet citizens, and known by the name of Khōjas, in Syria, Arabia, and Zanzibar, Persia, Kirmān, and India. They are also in communication with each other and have an acknowledged chief. This was until lately the well-known Aghā-Khān in Bombay, a very rich man, whose father and grandfather had been governors of Kirmān, and who himself was son-in-law of the Shāh of Persia. His lineage goes back to the princes of 'Alamūt, who themselves pretended to descend from a Fātimid prince. Baron von Oppenheim, who gives some details on the Khōjas in a note to his *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, 1899 (i. 133), told the present writer that still every year an embassy sets out from Salamiya in Syria for Bombay to bring to the *imām* the contributions of the faithful.

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CARNIVAL.—On the Sunday before Ash Wednesday, *i.e.* at the commencement of the great fast by which the Roman Catholic Church makes preparation for Easter, there is observed in many countries a popular festival which, while exhibiting great variations in the character and order of its celebration, is yet, in every locality where it passes under the name of 'Carnival,' a recognized occasion for exuberant mirth and unrestricted freedom, combined with masquerade, jesting, and burlesque. It is a fact worthy of notice that the name 'Carnival' and the manner of observance referred to have alike come to prevail in the regions which have been most permanently under the domination of Rome, *viz.* France, Italy, and the Rhenish provinces. In Teutonic countries generally, on the other hand, the festival preceding Lent is called 'Fastnacht,' popularly—and at one time universally—'Fasnacht' or 'Fasnacht.' But the observance of Fasnacht and that of the Carnival, while presenting apparently similar features, show at the same time so many points of contrast in conception and procedure as make it impossible to trace the celebration to a single direct source. Pagan, Teutonic, and Roman elements may all be recognized, though greatly modified by Christianity. In Romance countries and in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, therefore, the Carnival has acquired its present character under Roman influence, and so far shows a decided contrast to the corresponding Teutonic festival.

The name 'Carnival' is of obscure origin, and admits of various interpretations. A widely received explanation is that which emphasizes the influence of Christianity upon either name, 'Carnival' or 'Fastnacht.' Here 'Carnival' is said to be derived from *carne vale*, *i.e.* 'flesh, farewell,' an apt enough appellation for the day on which the unconstrained indulgence of the senses was permitted for the last time before the great Lenten fast. Of similar character is the derivation from the name first applied by Pope Gregory to the last Sunday before Lent, *viz.* 'dominica ad carnes levandas.' This was shortened to 'carnes levandas,' thence passing, it is said, through the forms 'carnelevamen,' 'carnelevale' to 'carneval.' If this etymology be correct, the Teutonic term 'Fastnacht' (Fastens-even, Fasterns-e'en) would signify practically the same thing—the Lenten feast, Lenten-even, according to the Teutonic practice of commencing the day with the evening. In Germanic lands, and especially in the Rhine district, the term 'Fastelovend' is locally used, *Ovend* being a vernacular form of *Abend*. 'Fastnacht' would accordingly apply to the day which, in view of the approaching Lent, was given up to feasting and carouse.

But this explanation, well as it accords with the interpretation of 'Carnival' just indicated, fails to harmonize with the name still given by the people, and in the Middle Ages by all classes, to the Teutonic festival, *viz.*, 'Fasnacht' or 'Fasnacht,' from the root *fasen*. The dialectic word *faseln* means 'to talk nonsense,' 'to drivel,' and 'Fasnacht' would thus denote a feast of folly, revelry, licence. This corresponds well enough with many customary features of the

Carnival, but has no other link of connexion with Christianity.

This is also true of a further derivation of 'Carnival'—one which carries us back to the classical ages, first of all, indeed, to Athens. Certain Greek vase-paintings of the 6th cent. B.C. show a procession of masked figures moving to the strains of music. An Attic vase now in Bologna represents the god Dionysus on the way to his ship. This vessel is furnished with wheels; and, as a matter of fact, we learn from Greek writers that a ship of this kind, dedicated to Dionysus, was driven through the streets of Athens, and that satirical songs were recited from this 'currus navalis.'

We would here remind the reader that it was from the scurrilous and satirical songs in honour of Dionysus, once they had become venerable by ancient usage, that Greek comedy was at length developed. Aristophanes himself, indeed, is not so very far from this starting-point. It was the opinion of Aristotle that comedy attained its initial form in spontaneous popular merry-making, and later writers state explicitly that it took its rise in the sarcastic songs recited from the chariot. In the later history of Greece we still hear occasionally of 'ship-carts' in connexion with processions in honour of gods and goddesses. We learn that during the closing years of the Roman period a naval procession in honour of the Egyptian Isis was held at the annual re-opening of navigation in spring, a 'ship-car' being used for the occasion. There is evidence to show that a similar custom obtained in ancient Germany. Tacitus (*Germania*, 40) speaks of the processions of Nerthus, i.e. Hertha, the Teutonic 'Earth-Mother,' and states that her image was carried about the country in a 'vehiculum.' Of this 'vehiculum' he gives no further particulars, but the customs he thereafter refers to seem to indicate that it was a ship-cart—a theory which finds further support in the fact that the procession of the goddess set out from her sacred grove in an island of the ocean. Sometimes a plough took the place of the image as a symbol of the Earth-goddess. A monk of the Abbey of St. Trond makes mention of a spring festival in the district of Jülich, in Lower Germany. Here, in the year 1133, a ship was constructed in the forest, and then taken upon wheels from Aix-la-Chapelle to Holland, attended by a great procession of men and women. With hair dishevelled, and with a shirt for their only garment, the women danced, says the monk, 'in devilish wantonness' around the ship-cart, and the strange cortège was received everywhere with rejoicing. Our monastic chronicler inveighs passionately against this 'pagan' festival. We find repeated references to the use of such ship-waggons in German towns during the Middle Ages. At that period, moreover, the itinerant waggon often carried a plough. A minute of the town-council of Ulm, dating from the beginning of the 16th cent., contains an injunction against carrying the plough or the ship about the city. Sebastian Brandt, a German satiric poet who lived towards the close of the mediæval period, published in 1494 a work entitled *Narrenschiff* ('Ship of Fools'), and it appears from the book itself that its leading idea was suggested by some standing custom—more especially as the author often speaks of the ship as a 'cart' (*Karren*). In Styria and Carinthia it was the custom for women and girls to drag a plough across the landmark in spring.

We may therefore infer that, as in Greece and probably Italy as well, so also in Celtic and Teutonic lands, it was the practice in springtime to drive through the country a ship-wagon bearing an image or other symbol of a deity. Promiscuous dances and masquerades were performed as

acts of worship. Just as in Athens the sarcastic songs recited from the ship-cart developed into comedy, so in Teutonic countries the procession attendant upon the waggon, with its masquerades, and its burlesque and ribald ditties, gave rise to the dramatic representations for which, according to numerous references in mediæval writings, the Carnival waggon formed the stage. From these performances, again, arose real Fastnacht plays, in the composition of which even dignitaries of the Church did not disdain to engage. Hans Sachs, the famous Meistersinger of Nuremberg, wrote numerous pieces of this kind, which in his own day were performed in the market-place. These Fastnacht plays were the forerunners of the drama, and remained in vogue till the 17th century. The ship-cart of the goddess still finds a place in the Carnival as now observed. When the festival was re-constituted at Cologne in 1823, the ship-cart became once more a permanent accessory of the procession. The dancing women, who in their masquerade of scanty clothing formed part of the train accompanying the ship-cart in Lower Germany, have now become the 'fair youths and maidens' of the Carnival of Cologne. Arrayed in antique garb, they lead off the procession with dances.

We are now confronted with the question as to the origin of these processions. It has been very commonly believed that their prototype is to be found in the cult of Isis, and that the ship-wagon of Teutonic and Celtic countries was simply borrowed from the festivals associated therewith. This theory, however, fails to take account of the procession of Dionysus and the 'ship-cart' portrayed on Attic vases, as also of the 'vehiculum' mentioned by Tacitus in the passage cited above. It would be more accurate to say that, when the Isis cult, as diffused amongst the Greeks and the Romans, at length reached Gaul and Germany, it found in all quarters not only a form of ship-wagon, but also something analogous to the root-idea of the festival. The derivation of the word 'carnival' from *currus navalis* (Romance *car navale*) has thus a good deal in its favour.

As indicated above, the Athenian processions with the ship-cart were held in honour of the god Dionysus. The worship of Dionysus had its Roman counterpart in the Bacchanalia, as also in the Saturnalia and Lupercalia—festivals which in the later Roman period were characterized by wanton rillery and unbridled freedom, and were in a manner a temporary subversion of civil order. This general spirit, together with certain special features, was transmitted to the Carnival in particular, and this explains why that festival has assumed its peculiar character in regions where Roman civilization reigned supreme. We must not infer, however, that the Græco-Roman festivals were originally of such a nature. The mysteries of Dionysus, as well as the Bacchanalia and the Saturnalia, had a substratum of religious ideas. It is a well-known fact that, in the 2nd cent. B.C., the Roman Senate resolved upon an extensive persecution of the Bacchanalia. The adherents of these mysteries were currently charged with the grossest offences against morality and against the State. The persecution was particularly ruthless in Southern Italy, and succeeded not only in practically suppressing the cult, but also in completely paralyzing the influence of Hellenism in that region. We have here, in fact, an early precedent of the policy according to which in the Middle Ages the Jews, the Templars, and others were first of all traduced, and then maltreated, on the ground of their assumed guilt. Recent investigations have shown the groundless character of the charges preferred against the Bacchanalia (Salomon

Reinach, *Cultes, mythes, et religions*, 1905-1908). Alike in the Bacchanalia and in the Saturnalia we can trace a basis of animistic mythology. During the Saturnalia slaves ate with their masters; every household kept open house, and invited to his table as many guests as he could find; garlands of ivy were donned, and mirth and frolic were indulged in without restraint. Such doings were in the first instance, no doubt, an expression of the inherent human need of occasionally breaking the monotony of use and wont, and as such we find them also in the spring festivals of the Teutons. But all this hardly touches the essential element in the festival.

The earliest phase of religious development is doubtless to be found in animistic ideas, which again are closely connected with the cult of the dead, and, in fact, derive their origin therefrom. In course of time the fundamental conceptions of Animism took on an accretion of mythical ideas. The Romans believed in *Lares*, *Larvæ*, and *Lemures*—all originally the spirits of the departed. The *lares* came at length to be regarded as good-natured, kindly-disposed household gods, the *larvæ* as ghosts that terrify and injure human beings. The latter character was borne also by the *lemures*, which were worshipped and propitiated in special festivals known as the 'Lemuria.' Now, in the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia, celebrated just after the turn of the year, it was the custom to impersonate the *larvæ*. This was regarded as an effective means of conciliating these evil spirits and of warding off their malevolence—an idea which, in its connexion with the cult of the dead and the derivative belief in ghosts, can still be traced in so many surviving customs and practices of all countries. The impersonation, or even the symbol, of a spirit could work with magical results. The impersonator wore for the time white garments, i.e. dead-clothes, and a mask for the face. From the latter were subsequently derived the masks of actors in the theatre, while the disguise as a whole formed the starting-point of the masquerades in Græco-Roman celebrations. A similar development is found in Celtic and Teutonic countries. Here, too, the masquerade had a place in the spring festivals. The principal figures in the celebrated Carnival of modern Rome—the Pulcinello and the Pierrot—are dressed in white, as required by the traditions of antiquity. Numerous superstitions specially connecting spirits and ghosts with the Carnival season may be traced without difficulty in usages still maintained. This 'popular belief' has not, of course, survived to the same extent in every locality, and it is only by making a mosaic-like combination of all the ideas and practices prevailing in various districts that we can discover the link with the past. Thus, for instance, during the Carnival gifts are collected by children, or in some cases even by adults, who go about singing certain songs; and a common feast is made of the materials thus received. Single families also have their great and merry feasts, and during the Middle Ages such family festivities were famed for their long duration, and are frequently mentioned in books. A special loaf was baked, and a portion thereof set apart for the 'poor souls,' i.e. spirits, on the evening before the Carnival (or at the beginning of the ancient festival). Grimm (*Deutsche Mythol.*, p. 896) gives the following excerpt from a mediæval chronicle: 'To eat flesh on Tuesday in the Fastnacht, or to let other foods stand upon the table during the whole night of the first Sunday in Lent, is a rude, irreverent, heathenish superstition.' In some parts the 'poor souls' are spoken of as 'the dear little angels,' and a portion is devoted to them as such. This transformation of spirits into angels took place also among the Slavs. An old Czech weather-adage says that 'the feast of all

angels' should be celebrated on Carnival Tuesday. In the 'good little angels' we recognize once more the Roman *lares*. During the festival, therefore, the spirits take up their abode in the house, and share in the festivities. Hence no work must be done; it was indeed popularly believed in ancient times that, if one sewed at this season, the fowls would not lay; and that, if one knitted, contentions would arise. During the festival days, again, energetic dancing and leaping must be indulged in, so that the flax crop might prosper. The amount of superstition that gathers around all sorts of actions during the Carnival—as recorded by Grimm and other investigators—is simply enormous. In Chemnitz, for example, old wives' philosophy declares that any one who takes soup in the Fastnacht will have a dripping at the nose; that, if millet be watered at that season, it swells into money; that a person whose body is then observed to cast no shadow by moonlight is marked for death; and much more of the same kind.

Security against the machinations of ghosts, or evil spirits, again, is to be gained at the Carnival season in particular by various operations of a special kind. Large fires are made, locally called 'Halefeuer.' The materials, straw and wood, are gathered by young men; and a living cat, a doll, or a cross is made fast to the top of the pile, and consumed in the flames. In some localities the fire is called 'the witch-burning.' The moment before lighting the fire is given to silent devotion, and then, when the flame leaps up, there is great shouting and uproar. The young men jump through the flames, and roll fiery wheels—symbols of the sun—down the mountain-side. These are either actual wheels, with straw twisted round them and set on fire, or flaming disks of wood, which, having a hole in the centre, are hurled away by means of a stick. The fire and the smoke, according to popular notions, bring fertility to the fields, and secure them against the ravages of hail, while they also shield the people from all injuries that might otherwise be wrought by evil spirits. In some districts, again, a pair of lovers take their stand in front of the bonfire, and this act is regarded as lending a sanction to their relationship.

To water also, equally with fire, important functions were assigned at the time of the Carnival. The practice of worshipping water in the spring-time was universal at an earlier day. In Munich the ceremony called the *Metzgersprung* ('butcher's leap') took place on Carnival Monday. Those who had newly become members of the craft were required on that day to plunge into the basin of the fountain in the Marienplatz. A similar custom prevailed also in Austria, Switzerland, and even Hungary.

As we might well expect, the various customs referred to, and in particular the making of bonfires and the burning of an animal, a doll, or the like, underwent manifold changes. In the neighbourhood of Düsseldorf, for instance, those who gather the gifts at Fastnacht are splashed with water by little girls. On the Rhine, the children who act as collectors carry a cock—or, as in Holstein, a dead fox—in a basket. These things are but the aftermath of the ancient sacrifices. It is here and there the custom to carry about a straw doll, which is at length either burned, or buried, or thrust under water—an act which, according to present-day practice, brings the festival to a close. In Essen this is called the 'burying of Bacchus.' In the famous Carnival of Venice likewise we find a 'burying of Bacchus,' which was carried out in the Piazza di San Marco. All these customs are, in the last resort, traceable to the desire of protection against evil spirits. In Cologne, during the Carnival, little brooms, specially made for the

occasion, are sold in great numbers. Armed with these, the young people march about the town, brandishing them aloft, and now and again using them to brush the backs of those walking in front. The broom, as is well known, plays a great part in the belief in witchcraft. When witches travel to their secret rendezvous on the Blocksberg, they ride by night upon broomsticks. In this case, as in so many others, the instrument of possible evil becomes a talisman; the broom acts as a protection against witchcraft, or—what according to primitive ideas was the same thing—the machinations of evil spirits. Hence the custom, in some Teutonic countries, of using a broom to sweep the way behind a coffin, so that the spirit may not return to the place where the deceased had lived. Accordingly, the practice of going about with brooms during the Carnival at Cologne had its origin in the notion that the power of evil spirits could in this way be rendered innocuous.

With the customs of the Carnival, moreover, are intermingled ideas of a mythological character, which find expression in the cult of a particular goddess. This has already been shown in our account of the itinerating 'ship-car' (in which we found the explanation of the term 'Carnival') bearing the image of the goddess, who is, in reality, the Earth-mother, Nerthus, or Hertha, now sometimes called simply 'die Frau,' 'das Weib.' Her cult had its origin in ancient Rome and Germany. In Rome it was represented by the mysteries of the 'Bona Dea,' from which all males were stringently excluded. Analogous features are still found among the customs of the Carnival season. In Cologne the Thursday before Fastnacht is known as 'Weiberfastnacht.' It begins at 12 o'clock noon, and formerly the women used to exercise absolute authority for the day. As the custom gave occasion for many excesses, however, it was formally proscribed in the 19th cent., though traces of it still survive. In some parts of Rhineland the women meet together, hold a court, and then cut down a tree, defraying the expenses of their celebration from the proceeds of the timber. At the Carnival season in the Alpine country is held the Perchta-race—Perchta, or Bertha, being simply the ancient Earth-goddess. Those who take part in the race wear masks of a special kind, called 'Perchtemasken.' In the Rhine district the youths who collect the Fastnacht gifts are named 'Zimbertsburschen.' The word 'Zimbert' is a corruption of 'Sankt Bertha,' *Sankt* being pronounced dialectically as *Zim* or *Zin*. As 'Saint Bertha' or 'die Frau,' it was an easy matter for the Earth-goddess to hold her place in popular thought. In an ancient chorus sung at the time of the Carnival, and containing many reminiscences of primitive ideas, we find the words: 'Morge wolle mer de fru obsetze.' This recalls once more the ship-car with the image of the goddess. It was not without good reason that the Roman Catholic Church appointed a festival of the Virgin Mary for the month of February—the season associated with processions in honour of the Earth-mother. Mary simply took the place of the heathen divinity. At this festival—*Marie Lichtmess* (Candlemas [q.v.], Feb. 2)—an image of the Mother of God is carried through the church in a solemn procession illuminated with candles, as is to this day the practice at Cologne. Here, accordingly, we have a survival of the primitive Indo-Germanic custom of carrying the Earth-goddess about the country. By way of effecting a desirable change in the character of long-established popular festivals which could not be summarily abolished, the Church adopted the plan of providing them with Christian motives—a procedure which was very largely adopted in the case of the Carnival festivities.

Mention may also be made of a curious article made use of in the Carnival procession at Cologne. This is the so-called 'Streckschere,' or stretching-shears, formed by nine crossed pairs of laths as in a line of trellis-work. The laths are jointed at the ends and the points of intersection by wooden pegs, so that the whole can be easily and quickly stretched to a great length and as readily drawn in again. Nowadays this 'shears' is employed for the purpose of passing bouquets and the like to the ladies, and indeed, even apart from the procession, it is used during the Carnival as an instrument of general trickery. Originally, however, it must have had a different purpose. In the Perchta-race of the Alpine country a leading part is played by the so-called 'tailor,' who, though dressed in ordinary garb, is marked out from others by his huge pair of shears. This is likewise a 'stretching-shears,' and by its means the 'tailor' divests the unwary bystander of his head-gear. A counterpart of this article is found among the Hopis of Arizona. It is stated by J. W. Fewkes (*21 BBEW* [1903], p. 90; cf. Hein, *Correspondenzblatt der deutschen anthr. Gesellsch.* 1899) that at the summer festivals observed by this tribe their god Püiköñ appears on the scene with a long wooden pair of stretching-shears. The writer named believes that the shears represent the lightning-flash hurled by the god. The summer festival of these Amerinds is regarded as a means of ensuring the fertility of their land—an idea which, as we have seen, had a place in the Teutonic Fastnacht. In connexion with the latter, again, the custom of seizing hats with the shears underwent a further development in most localities, including the Rhine district. Those in the crowd suddenly snatch off each other's head-dress and throw it in the air, or pull each other's hair. This buffoonery is practised on the Thursday before Fastnacht, and accordingly that day is sometimes called 'Mötze-fastelovend' (Germ. *Mütze*, 'cap').

Recapitulating in brief our whole inquiry, we note, first of all, how many sources have contributed to the development of the Carnival. In ancient Greece and Rome, as among the early Celts and Germans, the first approach of spring was heralded by festivals which derived their origin from the cult of the dead, the belief in spirits, and the desire of security against their malevolence, and which, moreover, in course of time, assimilated certain mythological elements. The festivals thus observed in various lands were originally very much alike in their fundamental ideas, and therefore also in the manner of their celebration, as was but natural in the case of peoples belonging to the Indo-Germanic stock. In Greece and Rome they assumed a special form of development as Mysteries, and generated at length a peculiar type of festival. In this distinctive form they were carried across the Alps by the Romans, and spread rapidly on their new ground. This transplanting was rendered all the easier by the fact that there already existed in the Transalpine district festivals of a similar character, though developed in a different way. Within this region, therefore, it is only in Gaul and Rhineland that we find the Carnival with its distinctively Roman features, while in other parts of the Teutonic area the native festivals retain their ancient character with but little change. When Christianity at length penetrated to these lands, it was unable, with all its efforts, to suppress entirely either the indigenous festivals or those which had to a greater or less extent come under Roman influence. In certain cases it succeeded in rendering the festivals innocuous by associating them with Christian ideas; in others, by a rigid arrangement of the Christian year, it strove to take away all opportunity for their celebration. To the season after Christmas, therefore, the Church assigned a

large proportion of its own holy days, while from the entire Lenten period following thereupon it excluded every suggestion of the traditional observances. It thus confined the native festivals to a single Sunday before Lent, and accordingly this day acquired amongst the people a new significance as the Fastnacht or Carnival, which in course of time developed into the far-famed and frequently described festivity, associated in particular with such cities as Cologne, Munich, Paris, Venice, and Rome.

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CARRIER INDIANS.—Strictly speaking, the Carrier Indians form but one of the numerous Déné tribes of American aborigines (see DÉNÉS); but the Babines in the north and the Chilcotins in the south were originally comprised under the same denomination, and, as the ethics of the three tribes do not differ materially, we shall treat them all in a single article.

The *habitat* of these Indians is the northern interior of British Columbia, Canada. The Babines owe their name to the labrets worn by their women from the age of puberty. These give an undue prominence to the lower lip, which was likened by the French Canadians in the employ of the fur-traders to the *babines*, or thick lips, of the moose. They are divided into Lake and River Babines. The former dwell on the banks of the Babine Lake, an important sheet of water 105 miles long, while the haunts of the latter are the Bulkley River to its sources, and the western ends of Lakes French, Cambie, and Dawson. The combined branches of the tribe now aggregate only 530 souls; but, when first visited by the whites in 1812, the Lake Babines alone boasted a population of no less than 2000 (cf. Morice, *Hist. of the Northern Interior of British Columbia*, p. 92).

The Carriers, properly so called, were likewise comparatively numerous when they first came into contact with white civilization. They present to-day the spectacle of an aboriginal tribe whose population is rallying from the first shock resulting from association with unworthy representatives of the white race. They are undoubtedly increasing in numbers, owing to the improvement in their morals due to the strong influence wielded by the Catholic missionaries, and they muster to-day some 970 individuals, whose *habitat* is from the forks of Lake Tatla in the north to a line between Soda Creek and Alexandria in the south, or from 55° 15' to 52° 30' N. lat. There they border on the Chilcotins, a restless horde, with a not too clean reputation. As late as 1864 the latter numbered fully 1500 souls; but smallpox, introduced from the sea-coast in that year, reduced their ranks by about one-third, and a second third of the tribe was soon afterwards carried off as a consequence of the sale to them of blankets which were known to be impregnated with the germs of the same disease. To-day they number not more than 450.

Of all the Déné tribes, the Carrier is the only one which can boast a continuous history from 1660

down to our own times. Their not always edifying deeds are recorded in Morice, *op. cit.* About 1660 was born Na'kwœl, who became a great chief among the Carriers proper, and who has remained famous as the first man of their race west of the Rocky Mountains to become the possessor of an iron axe, which he must have acquired about 1730. Na'kwœl had two sons, the elder of whom was secretly done to death by his two wives. One of these perished at the hands of his surviving brother, who, nevertheless, soon afterwards married the other, in obedience to the prescriptions of the levirate law. But this woman, being unable to withstand the reproaches of old Na'kwœl for the murder of his son, was one day in the act of plunging into his neck the small stone knife with which she was unravelling the filaments of willow bark destined to the making of a fish-net, when her new husband ran to his father's rescue and transpierced her with his bow-point. Then follows a series of typical Indian wars, characterized chiefly by treachery and surprises, the details of which very aptly betray the inner workings of the native mind.

The first contact of the Carriers with the whites dates from 1793, when they received with bended bows and brandished spears the peaceful advances of Alexander Mackenzie. A permanent stay of the strangers was not effected until 1806, when Fort St. James was established on the shore of Lake Stuart. Thenceforward the principal dates in their history are: 1808, exploration of the Fraser River and discovery of the Chilcotins by Simon Fraser; 1812, first visit of the whites to the Lake Babines, in the person of D. W. Harmon and a few companions; 1820 or thereabouts, the River Babines forcibly seized from the Kitksons, a Tsimpsian tribe, the fishery and adjoining territory near which is now Hazelton, and which they have retained ever since. In 1828, James (afterwards Sir James) Douglas, the first successful governor of British Columbia, suffered arrest in his own house, and was in immediate danger of death at the hands of the followers of 'Kwah, an influential Carrier chief, descended from Na'kwœl's murdered son. The year 1842 sent to the tribe its first minister of the gospel in the person of Father M. Demers, who at the time of his death was Bishop of Vancouver Island. Four years later, Father J. Nobili, S.J., not only followed in his footsteps, but even went as far as Babine Lake, and, on his way back, also evangelized the Chilcotins. His visit, however, occasioned the rise of a new religion among some of the River Babines who had not seen him. The originator and chief exponent of this new religion was a cataleptic subject, who, in his intervals of consciousness, drew up a code of morals and devised a peculiar form of worship, which for a number of years created a furore among the aborigines of various races (see Morice, *op. cit.* p. 239 f.).

Both the Babines and the Carriers are remarkable for their sedentary habits, and a social organization entirely different from that of their fellow-Dénés in the east. From their immediate neighbours in the west they have adopted matriarchy and all its concomitant institutions and practices, the clan system with its headmen, or petty chiefs, who alone possess the hunting grounds of the tribe, and the gentile totems. They have five phratries subdivided into clans, each of which is represented by one or more totems to which particular honour is paid on public occasions, such as the 'potlatches,' or ceremonial distributions of eatables and dressed skins, of which the aspirant chief must give several before he can assume the name, insignia, and rights of the maternal uncle to whose rank he intends to succeed.

By the side of the clan totems, they have the *manitous*, or personal totems common to all the Dénés (*q.v.*) The particular organization of the western tribes, however, brings totemism into greater prominence among them than among the rest of the Déné family. It follows them even to the funeral pyre, for cremation was originally their mode of disposing of the dead. The pyre was lighted by an exo-clansman, while representatives of different clans performed the hereditary chant of the deceased, and his own co-clansmen rent the air with their lamentations. A ceremony which sometimes preceded the incineration of the remains is a valuable key to the psychological ideas of these people, and well illustrates their belief in the immortality of the soul. D. W. Harmon relates that, 'as they are about to set fire to the pile of wood on which a corpse is laid, a relation of the deceased person stands at his feet, and asks him if he will ever come back among them. Then the priest or magician, with a grave countenance, stands at the head of the corpse, and looks through both his hands on his naked breast, and then raises them towards heaven, and blows through them, as they say, the soul of the deceased, that it may go and find and enter into its relative. Or, if any relative is present, the priest will hold his hands on the head of this person, and blow through them, that the spirit of the deceased may enter into him or her; and then, as they affirm, the first child which this person has will possess the soul of the deceased person' (*An Account of the Indians Living West of the Rocky Mountains*, N.Y. ed. 1903, p. 256). From this passage it is seen that belief in metempsychosis also obtained among those aborigines.

During the cremation of the body the widow had to stand by it, anointing her breast with the liquid fat that oozed therefrom, until the heat became unbearable, when she often fell down unconscious and badly disfigured by the flames. When the ashes of the pyre had cooled down, she would go, shedding many a dutiful tear, and pick up the few remnants of bones which had escaped the flames. These she placed in a small satchel, which thenceforth she had to carry on her person till the day—three or four years later—of her liberation from the unspeakably hard bondage into which she had entered. This custom, which seems to have no parallel among the American aborigines, is responsible for the distinctive name of the *Carrier* tribe.

Shamanism was the usual form of their religious ideas, and the animistic notions proper to the Dénés were also in vogue among the Carriers. This is sufficient to brand as altogether erroneous the statement of an author who writes that the Carrier, if asked what becomes of him after death, will answer: 'My life shall be extinct, and I shall be dead.' Whereupon the same writer exclaims: 'Not an idea has he of the soul, or of a future state of rewards or punishments'; and again: 'The Takely [Carrier] language has not a term in it to express the name of Deity, spirit, or soul' (J. Maclean, *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, p. 165). As a matter of fact, the Carriers alone have at least five words for the name of the Supreme Being, some of which were used before the advent of the whites. To any youth inclined to act obstreperously, a favourite saying of theirs in pre-Christian times was: 'Yutière nyatit'sá,' 'That which is on high heareth you,' i.e. 'Behave yourself if you do not wish to draw down on you the wrath of the Ruler of the world.' For the human mind the same Indians have one word; for spirit in general, at least one; and for the soul, three. As to their possessing no idea of 'a future state of rewards or punishments,' this assertion is refuted by one of their myths, which recites the journey of two young men to the underground world of the shades, where they saw a village composed of board-houses, some of which were painted red—the joyful colour, dear to the heart of the Indian—while others were coal-black—the usual token of

grief, anger, or misery. These stood beyond a large river, over which plied canoes that were distinguished by the same significant hues (Morice, *The Western Dénés*, p. 159 f.; on the river between the present and the future world, see art. BRIDGE).

A further proof of the Carriers' belief in the immortality of the soul may be gathered from their dread of ghosts, which they declare to be very sensitive to the mention of the names they bore in their earthly existence; hence, mention of these names is carefully avoided. In fact, as among many of the Polynesians, the names of the dead are tabued with as much severity as the use of the words 'my husband' by a wife, or 'my wife' by a husband. On the one hand, fear of being haunted by the ghosts of the persons named, and, on the other, a sort of prudery one would hardly expect from people who are otherwise the reverse of scrupulous in their vocabulary, are the reasons for this reticence. We may also note, as a significant detail of their psychological system, that in their estimation yawning is especially calculated to attract the attention of the denizens of the invisible world—probably because of the close connexion between that act and sleep, the very gate of dreams, which are regarded as the usual means of intercourse with the spirit realm.

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CARTHAGINIANS.—See PHŒNICIANS.

CASTE.—1. The Hindu caste system.—Social distinctions exist amongst all nations, but nowhere are they so rigidly observed as amongst the Hindus. In Modern Europe there are numerous gradations, from the landed aristocracy to the unskilled labourer, and social intercourse is practically confined to persons of approximately the same social standing. But there is no hard and fast boundary between one gradation and the next. The different strata gradually merge, the one into the other; and it is possible for a successful man to raise himself, or at least his children, from the lowest to almost the highest circle of society. Moreover, the spirit of exclusiveness has no external sanction. Each individual is free to decide for himself. He can choose his associates, and even his wife, from the classes beneath him without any outside interference. People who do not approve of his choice may hold aloof from him, but he incurs no special penalties. The Hindus, on the other hand, are divided into an immense number of entirely separate social groups, or castes, the members of which are compelled to abstain from eating with, or marrying, persons belonging to other groups. Their conduct is guided and circumscribed by an infinite number of rules regarding marriage, religious and social ceremonies, eating and drinking, and the like. A man must take his wife from within the caste, or some specified subdivision of it, but she must not belong to his own section of that subdivision, nor must she be within certain prohibited degrees of relationship. He must observe the ceremonies customary amongst his caste-fellows at marriage, on the occurrence of a birth or death in his family, and on other similar occasions. He must abstain from food regarded by his caste-fellows as impure, and from acts which are held to be

improper, as, for instance, in many cases, the marriage of widows, or the failure to give a girl in marriage before she has attained puberty. He must not take food and drink, or certain kinds of food and drink, from a man of inferior caste, or, as is not infrequently the rule, from a man of any other caste. He must not render certain services to men of low caste. If polluted by their touch, or, it may be, their proximity, he must purify himself; while, if their shadow should fall on his food, he must instantly throw the latter away.

2. **Different types of castes.**—The members of a caste are bound together by the possession of a common traditional occupation and the belief in a common origin. The rule prohibiting marriage outside the limits of the caste is so strict that the belief in a common origin is easily understood, especially in India, where such a belief is often found to exist even in circumstances where it is clearly unfounded. But, as a matter of fact, there can be no doubt that most castes have been recruited from various sources.

The highest of all castes, the Brāhman, for example, contains many heterogeneous elements. The Brāhman of Upper India usually has fine features, and belong to the race of immigrants from the North-west who are commonly known as Aryans or Indo-Aryans. The broad, depressed noses of those of Southern India show that they are Dravidians like their neighbours; while the physiognomy of the Brāhman of East Bengal betrays an unmistakable admixture of Mongolian blood. The Sākadvipi Brāhman have been identified with the priesthood of the early Persian invaders of India, and the Ojha Brāhman with the Baigas, or soothsayers, of the Dravidian aborigines. The Brāhman of Manipur are the descendants of members of the priestly caste by women of the country. The Bama, or degraded Brāhman, who minister to the lower castes and often intermarry with them, are probably, in many cases, the descendants of individuals belonging to those lower castes who, by virtue of their profession, assumed the usual levitical title. The origin of the Rājputs is still more heterogeneous; and even at the present day numerous instances can be noted of accretions still in progress. The same agglomeration of different units is seen in most of the functional castes properly so called.

3. **The functional castes.**—These are the castes amongst whom, as will appear further on, the present rigid system of caste restrictions probably originated. There is a separate caste, or group of castes, for every one of the occupations that were followed in earlier times before the introduction of machinery.

The Brāhman, or priestly caste, has already been mentioned. The trading castes, collectively known as Baniya, include, amongst others, the Khatri of the Panjāb, and the Agarwal and Oswal of Rājputāna, who ply their trade of money-lending, cloth-selling, and grain-dealing throughout Northern India as far as the outskirts of Assam. It would be tedious to enumerate all the functional castes. They include numerous groups of ordinary cultivators; of growers of special crops such as betel-leaf, vegetables, flowers, and tobacco; of artisans such as weavers, cobblers and leather-workers, carpenters, potters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, workers in brass and bell-metal, tailors, cloth-printers and dyers, cotton-cleaners, workers in glass and lac, firework-makers, etc.; of village servants, such as cowherds, barbers, washermen, watchmen, and scavengers; and various other occupations, such as genealogists, writers, bards, astrologers, oil-pressers, distillers, toddy-drawers, boatmen, fishermen, cattle-breeders, sheep-breeders, musicians, actors, dancers, singers, and acrobats, carriers, pedlars, salt- and earth-workers, rice-huskers, hunters, fowlers, etc.

The functional castes are not the same all over India. Each of the old important political divisions evolved its own functional groups; and although there is a general similarity, owing to the universal tendency to conform to the system laid down or described in the old religious books, there is infinite variety in the details. The priests are known as Brāhman in all parts of India; and, in spite of the different sources from which they have sprung, are everywhere regarded as members of one and the same caste; but, with this single exception, not only is there no necessary affinity between functional groups following the same occupation, say in Madras and Bengal, but there is also no necessary resemblance in their caste customs, or even in the name by which they are known.

The principal trading castes of Rājputāna occupy a high social rank. They belong to the Aryan stock, and are strictly orthodox in their religious and social ceremonies. They have no connexion with the Komatis of Southern India. The latter, though they hold a similar social position, are obviously of Dravidian origin; their *gotras*, or exogamous groups, appear to be derived from totems; and the marriage of first cousins, which is forbidden in Rājputāna, is compulsory. The Balia, or chief trading caste of the Telugu country, is entirely distinct from the above groups, and belongs to a lower grade of the community. The Subarnabanik of Bengal is again quite different. In the same way the Idaiyan, or Tamil shepherd caste, has no connexion whatever with the Gareri of Upper India; nor has the Idiga, or Telugu toddy-drawer, any affinity with the toddy-drawing castes of other parts of India.

4. **Race castes.**—At the present day there are numerous castes which do not owe their origin to function, although, by force of example, their organization is almost equally rigid, and they are generally identified with particular trades or occupations. Of these the most important are the race castes. These communities were originally tribes; but, on entering the fold of Hinduism, they imitated the Hindu social organization, and have thus gradually hardened into castes.

Amongst the most prominent members of this group may be mentioned the Ahirs, or cowherds of Upper India. In the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata* the Abhiras in the west are spoken of; and in ancient Hindu geography the tract between the Tapti and Devagari is named after them; they were also at one time dominant in Gujārāt and Nepāl. According to some, they are the descendants of a Scythian tribe who entered India from the North-west about two thousand years ago, while others regard them as an old Indian or half-Indian race who were driven south before the Scythian invasion.¹ The Dom is another race caste whose representatives are found scattered all over Northern India. A curious feature of this caste is that its traditional occupation is far from uniform. In most parts the Dom is a scavenger and basket-maker, but in Kashmir he is a cultivator, in Kumaon a stone-mason, in Assam a fisherman, and in the Orissa States a hewer and splitter of wood.

Race castes are numerous in all parts of India. In Bengal the Rājbanis, Kaibartas, Pod, Chandāl (Namasudra), Bagdi, and Bauri deserve special mention; in the United Provinces and Bilār the Bhar, Chero, Dosādh, and Pāsī; in Rājputāna and the Panjāb the Jat, Gujar, and Meo; in Bombay the Koli and Mahār; and in Madras the Nayar, Māl, Paraiyan (Pariah), and Vellāla. There are also numerous smaller castes which consist not of a whole tribe, but only of a section of it which has become Hindu while the main body is still Animistic. To this category belongs the Binjhwar caste of the Cent. Prov., which is believed to be an offshoot of the Baiga tribe.

The race castes, as a rule, are probably less mixed than the functional castes; but some of them are the relics of a bygone nationality rather than a homogeneous tribe.

The Newars of Nepāl, for example, were the dominant race in that country before it was conquered by the Gorkhas. At that time they were divided into a whole series of social groups which neither ate together nor intermarried. They still observe these distinctions amongst themselves, but by outsiders they are regarded as forming a single caste. The Marathas, whose history is well known, are another illustration of this variety of race caste.

5. **Sectarian castes.**—Another type of caste is that which has originated from sect. The Lingāyat, or Virshaiv, caste of Bombay and Southern India, which numbers more than two and a half millions, was founded by a reformer who denied the supremacy of the Brāhman. It was thus originally a sect which to a great extent rejected the Hindu social system; but its adherents now form what is commonly regarded as a caste, though they still retain among themselves a recollection of their original social distinctions. The Baishtams of Bengal form a very similar group, but they rank much lower in popular estimation owing to the impure sources from which most modern recruits to their ranks have come.

¹ The Ahirs are probably not homogeneous. There are, for example, great differences between the Ahirs of the Deccan and those of Cutch and Kāthiāwar. The term seems to have been applied to various pastoral tribes (for further details, see art. Ahir, vol. i. p. 232).

6. **Castes formed by crossing.**—Some castes again are formed by crossing. The Khas of Nepal are descended from the offspring of mixed marriages between the early Rajput or Brahman immigrants and the Mongolian women of the country. The Shagirdpeshas of Orissa are descended from men of good caste by their maid-servants, and the Rajbansi Baruas of Chittagong are believed to be the offspring of Bengali women and Burmese men. In the case of the Khas the miscegenation took place many centuries ago, but with the Shagirdpeshas the process is still going on.

7. **Castes formed by migration or change of occupation.**—Sometimes new castes are formed by migration or change of occupation. The Babhans of Bihar and the United Provinces are commonly believed to be Brahmins who lost their original status by taking to agriculture.¹ The Siyalgins of Midnapore are descended from immigrants from Gujarat who settled in the district several centuries ago.

8. **Castes of new converts.**—Lastly, there are certain castes which are the recognized asylum for new converts from amongst the aboriginal tribes. The best known of these is the Koch of Assam. The word *Koch* originally denoted an aboriginal tribe, which was dominant a few centuries ago in Lower Assam and North-east Bengal. When the members of this tribe came under the influence of Hinduism, those in the latter tract took the designation of *Rajbansi*, which was already the name of a numerous Hindu social group there. In Assam, however, where their numbers and influence were greatest, the Koch on conversion still retained their old tribal name. Subsequently, when members of cognate tribes in the same locality adopted Hinduism, they also called themselves *Koch*, which has thus come to be regarded as the name of a regular Hindu caste. See, further, art. ASSAM.

9. **Caste government.**—Caste discipline is maintained by the members of the community through their recognized leaders. Sometimes, chiefly amongst the higher castes, these are simply the more prominent members of the society, who hold no regular official position, but merely take the lead when necessity arises. Sometimes they hold offices with well-defined duties, but usually, especially amongst the functional castes, they form a standing committee, or *pañchāyat*, which deals with all breaches of caste discipline and other matters affecting the community. The decisions of the *pañchāyat* are final, and their authority is unquestioned. Minor breaches of caste rules and restrictions can be expiated by a ceremony of purification and a feast to the fraternity; but for more serious offences, or for contumacy, the penalty is excommunication. A man against whom this sentence has been pronounced is cut off from all intercourse with his caste-fellows, who will neither eat nor smoke nor associate with him; he is shunned as a leper, and his life is made so miserable that he soon becomes eager to accept any conditions that may be imposed upon him. Should his offence be too heinous to permit of atonement, he is driven to seek admission to some lower caste, or to become a Muhammadan, or to hide himself in the towns, where the trammels of the caste system are weaker and less irksome than in the villages. It may be added that, although the *pañchāyat* exercise full authority, they often consult the caste Brahmins in cases where matters of religious ceremonial are concerned.

10. **Sub-castes.**—Although to outsiders a caste presents the appearance of a single homogeneous

entity, to the members themselves this is seldom the case. Most castes are split up into various sub-castes, the members of any one of which may usually eat with those of the other sub-castes, but are not allowed to intermarry with them. So far as marriage is concerned, these sub-castes appear at first sight to be virtually separate castes. There is, however, far less fixity about the sub-caste than about the caste; and, while new sub-castes are constantly springing into existence, some of the existing ones are being merged in other sub-castes. As a rule, the prohibition of intermarriage between members of the different sub-castes is far less rigid than it is between members of different castes; and, when the rule is broken, the penalty is usually not expulsion, but merely some form of atonement, after which the member of the higher of the two sub-castes concerned, and possibly his or her parents, take rank in the lower. Sometimes, again, the prohibition of intermarriage applies to certain sub-castes and not to others, or merely to the giving of daughters and not of sons. In some places certain subdivisions of a caste form genuine sub-castes between which marriage is prohibited; while in other places, though the same subdivisions are recognized, they do not operate as a bar to marriage. The comparative mildness of the restrictions where sub-castes are concerned is accounted for by the belief in a common origin which is shared by all members of a caste, irrespective of minor subdivisions, and by a feeling of affinity and common interest, and the necessity which occasionally arises for concerted action.

Numerous causes operate to produce sub-castes. In a country where the consequences of marrying an unsuitable person are so serious, parents are naturally reluctant to give their children in wedlock to those with whose antecedents they are imperfectly acquainted. If, therefore, some members of a community migrate to a distance and gradually lose touch with their old home, they find it increasingly difficult to form matrimonial alliances there, and eventually lose the *jus connubii*.

In former times, when India was split up into a great number of petty principalities, the members of a caste in each such principality usually married only amongst themselves, and so formed a separate sub-caste. A very large number of the existing sub-castes are distinguished by names indicating locality, such as Gaur, Tirhut, Bhojpur, Karnatak, or Multan. Political influence still operates to create sub-castes. Quite recently the Chief of the small Native State of Sarikela, having had a dispute with one of his landholders, issued an order prohibiting the people in other parts of the State from all social intercourse with their caste-fellows residing on that landlord's property. If this order be enforced long enough, there can be no doubt that in the end the people themselves will adopt the prohibition as a genuine caste-rule, and will continue to enforce it without any outside pressure. A similar fissiparous tendency is noticeable wherever one tract is separated from another by a big river, or other physical obstacle. In the Mymensingh district in Eastern Bengal, there is, in the case of many castes, no intermarriage between those residing on opposite sides of the old course of the Brahmaputra. Difference of occupation is a frequent cause of cleavage, as in the case of the fishing and cultivating Poda and the fishing and cultivating Kaibartas of Bengal. So also are differences in social or religious observances. When some members of a caste abandon any practice which is regarded as disreputable, such as the re-marriage of widows or the eating of fowl, they come to regard themselves as superior to those who still follow the practice, and cease to associate or intermarry with them. The Babut Kurmis, who forbid widow re-marriage, and the Dudhwir Dhanuks, who will not eat the leavings of other castes, have separated themselves from the main body of their caste-fellows who still permit these practices. Sometimes a section of a caste falls in social estimation owing to some misadventure. Various Bengal castes have sub-castes known as Pirālī, which are regarded as inferior because they are believed to have suffered contamination in the early days of Muhammadan rule; and the incursions of the Maghs in Backergunge gave rise to similar sub-castes in that district.

All the above are cases of scission. There are also numerous instances where the divisions within

¹ Another view is that they were Brahmins who accepted Buddhism.

a caste are due to a real difference of origin. This is especially the case with the functional castes, which, as already stated, are often recruited from different sources. Owing to the fact that a caste is associated with the occupation by which its members usually earn their livelihood, there is a tendency to regard all persons who follow the same profession as belonging to the same caste, even though they may originally have come from an entirely different stock.

The Gāyavāls, for example, though they are probably the descendants of some non-Aryan priesthood, are now regarded as a sub-caste of Brāhmins. The Tāntis of Bengal have sub-castes known as Dhobā, Sukli, and Sarāk, which appear to consist of members of the castes so named who, abandoning their ancestral occupation, took to weaving, and so gradually came to be regarded as belonging to the weaver caste rather than to the one from which they are descended. This process is a very gradual one. There are many groups following the same occupation which clearly belong to different social strata. The aboriginal Loharas of Chota Nāgpur, for example, are merely Mundās who do blacksmith's work. No one would identify them with the regular Lohar caste. The aboriginal Kalus of the same locality are oil-pressers, like the Telis, and are occasionally known as Teli; but the distinction between them and the regular Teli caste is still well marked. There can be no doubt, however, that in course of time these distinctions will become fainter and fainter. The lower groups will by degrees adopt the nomenclature and social customs of the higher ones, and will gradually obtain recognition as sub-castes of the same main caste.

II. Exogamous sections.—Castes are divided not only into sub-castes or endogamous groups, within whose limits marriage must take place, but also into exogamous sections—septs, *gotras*, or clans—the members of which are regarded as so closely related that they are not allowed to intermarry. These exogamous sections are of various types.

Amongst the Brāhmins they are generally anonymous; each section, or *gotra*, is supposed to consist of the descendants of one or other of the great Vedic saints, or *ṛṣis*. *Gotras* with similar names are found amongst numerous other castes, but in their case descent is claimed, not from the saint after whom they are named, but from those members of the caste who were numbered amongst his disciples. The Rājputs, and castes of the Rājput type, often have chiefs of comparatively modern times as the reputed ancestors of their exogamous sections. Sometimes, again, the subdivision is named after the place where the founder resided, or with reference to some personal peculiarity of his. Lastly, there are the totemistic clans which are found amongst the castes of the tribal type. The totem is some animal or vegetable formerly held in reverence by the members of the clan and associated with some tabu; but by the time a tribe has developed into a caste, the origin of the name has generally been forgotten, and the name itself is transformed; thus *Kachchap* (a tortoise), which was a totem of many race castes of Bengal, has now often been changed to *Kāśyapa*, the name of a Vedic saint. It sometimes happens that tribal castes on the confines of Hinduism have no real exogamous groups, but have nevertheless adopted the paraphernalia which appertain to them, and claim to be divided into one or more *gotras* named after Vedic *ṛṣis*. This is the case with the Bestās of Southern India. Their profess to be divided into two clans called *Kāśyapa* and *Kaundinya*, but the distinction is meaningless so far as their matrimonial arrangements are concerned.

With rare exceptions the restriction on marriage created by the exogamous group operates merely to prevent marriage with blood relations on the male side. With regard to relations through females, there is much greater latitude. In Northern India, especially amongst the higher castes, near relations are generally forbidden to marry, but in the South it is considered desirable that a man's children should marry those of his sister.

12. Hypergamy.—Apart from the positive restrictions on marriage involved in the necessity of marrying outside the clan and inside the sub-caste, the Hindu father who wishes to arrange for the marriage of his child has still other matters to consider. The social status of minor groups within the limits of which the bride or bridegroom must be sought often varies a good deal; and his own standing, as well as that of his child, may be affected by his choice. Amongst the higher castes there is a very general rule that a man may not bestow his daughter in marriage on any one belonging to a lower social grade than his own, while he

raises her status and his own if he can arrange for an alliance with some one of better rank. On the other hand, he may take a wife for his son from his own or a lower grade. There is thus a competition for husbands of the higher grades, not only amongst the fathers of girls belonging to the same grades, but also amongst those of lower rank. The result is that in the higher grades there are not enough men to meet the demand, and a heavy bridegroom price has to be paid. This has led to various social evils, including female infanticide and 'Kulinism,' a system of wholesale polygamy which was until recently much in vogue amongst the Kulin Brāhmins of Bengal, some of whom were known to have married upwards of a hundred wives. Thanks to the measures taken by the British Government, the murder of female infants is now happily rare, but there is reason to fear that amongst the hypergamous castes girls are even now less carefully tended, fed, and clothed than boys. This is not so much the case with the lower castes, where hypergamy is not in vogue, and payment is usually made for the bride and not for the bridegroom.

A curious illustration of the influence of British institutions on Hindu marriage customs is afforded by the demand which has sprung up for bridegrooms with University degrees. The father of a young man who has passed the B.A. examination is usually able to obtain a far higher payment from the man to whose daughter he gives him in marriage than he would otherwise be able to ask.

13. Other marriage customs.—Although they do not strictly fall within the purview of the present article, it will be convenient to notice briefly certain other customs connected with marriage which exist among communities living under the caste system. Polyandry is now almost universally forbidden, but there can be no doubt that the practice was once wide-spread. Its existence in the Panjāb was noticed by the Greeks. The well-known legend of Draupadī, the wife of the five Pāṇḍu brothers, in the *Mahābhārata* also shows that the fraternal type, where a woman becomes the wife of several brothers, was recognized in early times among the Hindus of Northern India. The rule which exists among most of the lower castes that allow widows to re-marry, whereby the younger brother has a prior claim on his elder brother's widow, is generally regarded as a survival of this practice; and amongst a number of the lower castes there is still a good deal of laxity in the relations which exist between a woman and her husband's younger brothers. The matriarchal type of polyandry, where the husbands are not necessarily related, is now confined to the Todas of the Nilgiris, and the Nāyars and other castes on the Malabar coast. Even there it is falling into disrepute, and, where it survives at all, is gradually assuming the fraternal form. But there are instances elsewhere amongst the low castes of the tracing of relationship through females, of employing the sister's son as priest, and of entrusting to the maternal uncle the conduct of matrimonial arrangements, which point to a more wide-spread prevalence of this form of polyandry in earlier times. Polygamy is allowed by almost all castes, but it is generally discouraged, except for special reasons, such as the barrenness of the first wife, or her affliction with some incurable disease. In practice it is seldom that a man has more than one wife. Widowers re-marry freely, but in most parts it is only amongst the lower castes that widows are allowed to do so.

Marriage is regarded as a religious sacrament, and is therefore universal. A daughter, moreover, must be married before she attains puberty; and a father who fails in his duty in this respect not only goes to hell when he dies, but is punished in this world by his caste-fellows. Such, at least, is

the theory; but in communities where the marriage of daughters is attended with special difficulties owing to the scarcity of suitable bridegrooms, the penalty is not very rigorously enforced. In some parts of the country it is the practice to give females in marriage when they are still quite young, and in many cases when they are little more than babies. This practice is generally most common among certain low castes, and seems to be due not, as has sometimes been said, to the influence of the Brāhmins, but rather to an attempt to put a stop to the pre-marital communism that still exists amongst the non-Hindu tribes to whom these lower castes are allied.

14. Definition of caste.—The word 'caste' is not of Indian origin. It is derived from the Portuguese *casta*, which means 'breed,' 'race,' or 'class.' The word in common use amongst the Hindus themselves is *jāt* or *jāti*, which means 'birth' or 'descent.' Owing to the confusion which often exists in the popular mind between a caste and its traditional occupation, it is not always easy to say whether a given term really indicates a caste, i.e. a separate social group, or is simply a designation applicable to all persons following some particular occupation. The word *Baniya*, e.g., is applied in Bengal almost indiscriminately to all the trading castes, such as Khatri, Mahesri, Rauniyar, Subarnabanik, Gandhabanik, Bais, and Kalwār; all aboriginal immigrants to Bengal from Chotā Nāgpur, to whatever tribe they may belong, are promiscuously known as *Buna*; and *pālki*-bearers of different castes are jointly designated as *Dulia*. Sometimes, again, a term may be a genuine caste name, but it may refer to entirely different groups in different parts of the country. There is, for example, no connexion between the Khawās of Bombay and the homologous caste of Nepāl, or between the Jugi, Jogi, or Yogi, of Bengal proper and the Yogi of Upper India. It is also sometimes difficult to decide whether a given group constitutes a separate caste or is merely a subdivision of some larger group, i.e. a sub-caste. There are numerous groups which, for one reason or another, have dissociated themselves from the parent stock, and now claim recognition as independent castes. Where the process of differentiation is recent and incomplete, as in the case of the cultivating Kaibarttas of Bengal (who deny all connexion with the fishing Kaibarttas, and have recently assumed the name Mahisya), this claim is not recognized by Hindu public opinion, and they are still regarded merely as a sub-caste. But, where the process has been completed long ago, the case is different. There can be little doubt that the Sadgops of Bengal were originally Goālās who took to cultivation; but, as there is now no connexion between the two communities, the Sadgops are universally recognized as a separate caste.

It is difficult to indicate any definite test by which a caste can be distinguished from other groups. It cannot be endogamy, for that would elevate all sub-castes to the rank of castes. This would not only be contrary to native feeling on the subject, but would also be highly inconvenient in practice, as it would create a bewildering multiplicity of castes. It would also ignore the fact that, while the limits of a caste are tolerably certain and fixed, those of a sub-caste are not, and that circumstances may at any time lead to the formation of new sub-castes or to the disappearance of some of those which now exist.

As instances of the latter tendency, it may be mentioned that the various sub-castes of Sarnakar are beginning to intermarry in some parts of Bengal, and that in Hazaribāgh the various sub-castes of Kurmi have a joint *pāñchayat*, and are therefore clearly on the way to amalgamation.

The main characteristics of a caste are the belief

in a common origin held by all the members, and the possession of the same traditional occupation. It may perhaps be defined as 'an endogamous group, or collection of such groups, bearing a common name, having the same traditional occupation, claiming descent from the same source, and commonly regarded as forming a single homogeneous community.'

15. Origin of the caste system.—In the earliest writings of the so-called Aryans, who brought to India the Skr. languages and the religious beliefs of which Hinduism is the development, we find no trace of caste. When they entered India from the North-west, these invaders were divided into a number of tribes, each under its own chief. Every householder was a soldier as well as a husbandman, and even the sacerdotal office was not hereditary. Later on, as society became more complex, the community was divided, much in the same way as in ancient Persia, into four classes, viz. Brāhmins, or priests, Kṣatriyas, or warriors, Vaiśyas, or merchants, and Śūdras, or cultivators and servants, the last-mentioned consisting partly of half-breeds and partly of the black aborigines who had been conquered and brought into servitude. These classes were designated *varṇa* ('colour'), and the term *jāti* ('caste') was never applied to them. The distinctions involved by them, or at least by the first three, were neither so well marked nor so rigid as those of the modern caste system. A Kṣatriya could become a Brāhman, or a Brāhman a Kṣatriya; and although a man was supposed to take his first wife from his own class, there was no binding rule to this effect, while in any case he was free to take a second wife from a lower class. Amongst the Hindus, however, these four classes are regarded as the original castes. In the *Institutes* of Manu a separate origin is assigned to each, and all the better known castes existing at the time and place of the compilation of this great work are traced to various kinds of cross-breeding.¹ The Nishādas, or fishermen, e.g., are said to be descended from unions of Brāhman men and Śūdra women (Manu, x. 8), while the Chāṇḍāla are held to be the offspring of Śūdra men and Brāhman women (x. 12, 16). That some castes have sprung from miscegenation is known; and examples of this have been given above. But it is quite certain that all castes have not originated in that way. We have already seen that most of them owe their origin to function, but that some are racial, being composed of tribes that have entered the fold of Hinduism, while others are descended from the adherents of various sects, and others are due to cross-breeding. This, however, merely shows the sources from which the existing castes have been derived.

It is not so easy to say what gave rise to the caste system, or why social distinctions and observances have acquired in India a rigidity to which there is no parallel anywhere else in the world. It is not possible within the limits of the present article to review the various theories which have been put forward in explanation of this phenomenon. It must suffice to enumerate briefly the causes which, in the opinion of the writer, have given rise to it. In the first place, there was the prejudice, common to the Aryans and the

¹ Manu's *Institutes* was originally a local code compiled between the 6th and 2nd cent. B.C. by various authors of the Mānava tribe of Brāhmins. It only gradually obtained general acceptance amongst the whole body of Hindus. At the time in question caste was far less fixed than it is now, e.g. the offspring of a Brāhman father and a Śūdra mother could in the seventh generation rise to Brāhmanical rank (Manu, x. 64). Various instances of intermarriage between the members of different castes are met with in the *Mahābhārata*, and it is there stated that in the Panjāb a Brāhman may become a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya, a Śūdra, or even a barber.

various aboriginal tribes, against giving a daughter in marriage outside the tribal limits. There was also, after a time, amongst the Aryans, a strong feeling that it was desirable, so far as possible, to avoid intermarrying or eating with persons of lower social rank. There was a still stronger feeling amongst this fair race against any sort of social intercourse with the despised black aborigines—a feeling which finds its counterpart at the present day in the attitude of the Boers towards the Kāfirs. Some sections of the Aryans came to India with comparatively few women, and these were, perforce, compelled to take wives from amongst the aborigines. The children of such mixed unions held a lower position than those of pure race, and were, no doubt, divided amongst themselves, like the quadroons and octoroons of America. The rivalry amongst these half-breeds accentuated the already strong sense of racial cleavage. With the progress of Hinduism, social distinctions based on colour¹ and pride of race were complicated by further distinctions based on ceremonial practices, such as the observance or non-observance of certain rules of conduct and of certain restrictions in the matter of food and drink, while some pursuits were regarded as less reputable than others.

It is not necessary to discuss here how far these considerations of ceremonial purity were of Aryan origin, or how far they were derived from the aborigines amongst whom, at the present day, they are often well recognized. A Kharia, for instance, will eat rice with no one but a member of his own family; and a Mundari, after a long absence, may not enter his house until his wife has come out and washed his feet, in token of her belief that, while away from home, he has done nothing to make himself unfit to be a member of his community.

The result of the development of the ideas and prejudices enumerated above was that society gradually became divided into a number of well-marked groups. The tendency of the members of each group was to hold aloof from all outsiders, and the belief gradually gained ground that they were descended from a common source. It has already been stated that such an idea easily gains credence in India. With the growth of this belief in a common origin the tendency would steadily become stronger for each group to regard itself as a separate entity. Marriage and social intercourse between the different groups would thus tend to become more and more unusual; and in a country like India, where so much regard is paid to custom, that which is unusual soon comes to be regarded as wrong and unlawful.

The next, and crucial, stage in the development of the caste system had its origin amongst the functional groups. These groups or gilds gradually organized themselves for craft purposes under *pañchāyats*, or councils of headmen. The primary duty of the *pañchāyats* was to settle all questions connected with the craft by which the members of the gild gained their living, and to prevent outsiders from competing with them; but they gradually arrogated greater powers to themselves, first dealing with disputes between members of the gild, and afterwards taking cognizance of all breaches of the social rules by which it was thought that the members of the gild ought to be guided. The Indian is distinguished from the European by his lack of personal independence. He is afraid to stand alone, or to do anything of which his society disapproves. He is in constant dread of offending his neighbours; and if by mischance he does so, he is easily induced to remove the cause of offence.² This lack of independence, which accounts for the absence of any

¹ To this day, amongst the higher castes, it is much easier to find a husband for a girl of fair complexion than for one who is dark.

² It is difficult to say how far this characteristic is a cause, and how far an effect, of the caste system, but it is certainly not wholly an effect.

counter-demonstrations by loyalists during the earlier stages of the recent unrest in India, made it easy for the *pañchāyat*, representing the gild as a body, to enforce on its individual members the views which were generally held regarding intercourse with persons outside the gild. Intermarriage and commensality were thus in course of time prohibited absolutely, and the idea that each group was an entirely separate entity became stronger than ever. Hence arose, amongst the functional castes, the rigidity that distinguishes the Indian caste system from other social groupings which at first sight seem to bear some resemblance to it, such as the trade gilds of mediæval Europe, or the constitution of society which the Theodosian code sought to lay down for the Western Roman Empire in the early part of the 5th century. The process of development was so slow and gradual that no one ever realized that any change had taken place.

The example set by the functional groups was followed by other groups, not consciously, but merely through the influence which it had in strengthening the already existing sentiments of social exclusiveness and developing the general feeling that any breach of established custom constituted an offence which it was the duty of the community to take cognizance of. Caste in its present form thus became a universal feature of the Hindu social system. It is noteworthy, however, that even now the restrictions are greater and more readily enforced amongst the functional groups than amongst the higher castes, which have no *pañchāyats*. There are some exceptions (notably amongst the Brāhmins of Bengal, who suffer from a peculiarly complicated and harassing series of restrictions on marriage), but these are due to special circumstances and not to a natural process of evolution.

This final development of the caste system appears to have taken place, not in the Panjāb, which was first occupied by the Aryan tribes, but further east, possibly in the ancient kingdom of Magadha. Even at the present day, caste is far weaker in the Panjāb than elsewhere, and it has obtained its fullest development, so far as the idea of pollution is concerned, amongst the Dravidians of Southern India, where a man of high caste must purify himself, not merely if he touches a man of very low caste, but even if he passes near him.

It has often been said that caste is an invention of the Brāhmins; but this does not seem to be the case. The Brāhmins have had a powerful voice in determining the relative rank of the different castes, but they have not greatly concerned themselves with their internal affairs or with the processes of fusion and scission by which the castes of the present day have been evolved. The only Brāhmins interested in such matters are those who minister to the individual castes, and such Brāhmins would seldom have much influence with the higher ranks of the sacerdotal community. To the high-class Brāhman the only points of interest in regard to the great majority of castes are whether or no he may accept certain services at their hands, and whether or no their touch or proximity pollutes.

16. Social precedence of caste.—The Aryans, as we have already seen, prided themselves on their fair skins and fine features, and held in derision the black colour and coarse physiognomy of the earlier inhabitants. They regarded themselves as far superior, not only to the aborigines, but also to the mixed breed resulting from unions between the two races. They claimed to be specially favoured of the gods; and in token of this their sons assumed the sacred thread at a ceremony of spiritual birth, performed before

reaching the age of puberty, whence they were known as 'twice-born.' The Aryans were mostly priests, warriors, and merchants, corresponding to the Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas of Manu. There was a long struggle for precedence between the Brāhmins, or priests, and the Kṣatriyas, or political leaders. In other countries a similar rivalry has generally resulted in the triumph of the temporal power over the spiritual, but in India the reverse has been the case. The caste system, with its watertight compartments, has always been adverse to the establishment of a regular political organization, while the great importance attached to religious rites and ceremonial observances has enabled the priestly caste to aggrandize itself to an extent wholly unknown elsewhere. The supremacy of the Brāhmins has now become one of the cardinal doctrines of Hinduism; so much so, that orthodox Śūdras of the old school will not break their fast until they have sipped water which a Brāhman has sanctified by dipping his toe into it. The Kṣatriyas take rank next to the Brāhmins, and then the Vaiśyas. As already explained, these terms are not genuine caste names, but various castes are recognized as falling within their scope, and take rank accordingly. The Khatris and Rājputs, for example, are held to be Kṣatriyas, while the Agarwāls and Oswāls are regarded as Vaiśyas. To this category also belong several castes, such as the Prabhus of Bombay and the Kāyasths of Bengal, whose claims to be identified with the ancient Kṣatriyas are not fully admitted, but who, for all practical purposes, are allowed much the same status as if they were. Some, at least, of the 'twice-born' castes contain, as we have seen, considerable non-Aryan accretions; but the process of absorption has been so gradual and imperceptible that their status has not been affected by it.

The other castes fall broadly into two categories—the clean castes, with, in Northern India, a varying infusion of Aryan blood, whose members are more or less orthodox in their religious and social practices, and upon whom the 'twice-born' depend for various domestic and other services which are not of a degrading nature; and the unclean castes of sweepers, basket-makers, field-labourers, etc. The latter are mainly aboriginal castes of the tribal type; they entered the fold of Hinduism at a comparatively recent date, and are still more or less addicted to unorthodox practices. Within these two main categories there are numerous gradations, according to the extent to which the religious observances ordained by the *Śāstras* are followed, the traditional occupation of the caste, and the material well-being of its members.

The first great test of the social position of a caste is whether Brāhmins will act as its priests, and if so, what their status is in the hierarchical community. A Brāhman loses in social estimation if he acts as priest to any but those of 'twice-born' rank, but he is not actually degraded for performing the priestly office for castes regarded as clean Śūdras. Castes that enjoy the services of good Brāhmins may thus at once be separated from those whose Brāhmins are degraded. Similarly, those that are ministered to by degraded Brāhmins rank higher than those that have no Brāhmins at all. Another general criterion is whether the higher castes will take food or water from a man of the caste under consideration. Certain castes are treated as clean in some localities where the higher castes have need of their services, and unclean in others where they are not needed. Ganges water is less easily defiled than ordinary water, and may sometimes be taken when the latter may not. Similarly, food cooked with *ghī* (clarified butter)

may often be taken where food cooked with water is tabu. A great deal depends on whether Brāhmins will accept hospitality from a caste, and if so, whether they will eat all kinds of food in their houses, or only food cooked with *ghī*. The estimation in which the different castes are held is indicated by the order in which they are placed at public banquets at which Brāhmins are present, and it is also reflected in the attitude of the barbers and washermen. The latter will not wash for the lower castes, nor will the former shave them; there are some, moreover, whom they will shave, but whose finger-nails they will not pare; and others, again, whose finger-nails they will pare, but not the nails of their toes. The castes from whom water may not be taken may further be subdivided according to the degree to which their touch or presence causes pollution. In some cases the touch of a low-caste man makes it necessary for a man of higher caste to bathe and change his clothes. In others, his entry into a house defiles all the water therein, which must forthwith be thrown away. In others again, his touch defiles *hukka* water. Even wells are regarded as polluted if certain low-caste men draw water from them. Some low castes are regarded as so unclean that they may not enter the courtyards of the great temples, and in extreme cases they are compelled to live by themselves on the outskirts of the village. Much depends on the ceremonial observances of a caste. Those that forbid widow re-marriage rank higher than those that permit it. The castes whose widows live an ascetic life enjoy a higher status on that account. The eating of beef, pork, and fowls, and the drinking of wine, tend to lower a caste in comparison with others whose members abstain from such things.

The precise circumstances which determine the status of a caste vary in different parts of the country. In some parts, for example, only the lowest castes allow widows to re-marry, while in others only the highest forbid them to do so. In some parts a man will not take water from any one of lower caste than his own; but elsewhere, notably in Nepal, people are not nearly so particular. In some parts, again, as in Orissa, only the lowest castes will drink wine, while in others the practice is nearly universal.

The racial considerations which have been referred to as underlying the differences of social rank apply only to Northern India, where the influence assigned to them is supported by the evidence of anthropometry. The Aryans had fine noses, while those of the Dravidians were broad; and Sir Herbert Risley, after taking a great number of measurements of the features of different castes, announced as one of his main conclusions, that, as a rule, the social position of a caste varies inversely with the width of the noses of its members. This generalization, it should be pointed out, applies only to the castes in a particular area. A low-caste man in the Panjāb, where the Aryan element is strongest, would usually have a finer nose than a high-caste man in Bengal, where almost all castes have a large admixture of Mongolian blood. In the south there is little or no racial difference between the high castes and the low; and here the arrangement of social precedence is largely imitative. The priests have obtained the name and rank of Brāhmins. Military tribes, like the Rāzū, have gained recognition as Kṣatriyas; and traders, like the Komātī, as Vaiśyas; while the inferior castes take the rank assigned to the groups in Upper India with similar occupations and social practices. The most noticeable difference is that in Southern India the lowest castes are regarded as so unclean that they pollute even without touching. A Kaniyan, for example, causes pollution to a Brāhman if he comes within 32 feet of him, and a Nayar is polluted at a distance of 24 feet. Nearly one-fourth of the Hindus of the Madras Presidency belong to this category.

17. Caste changes.—In view of the rigidity of the rules prohibiting intermarriage and commensality between the members of different castes, it might be supposed that each group must be permanently separated from every other group, and that no changes can now take place. This, however, is not altogether correct. At the present day changes are rare, but they do occasionally occur. We have already seen how groups may be thrown off from one caste and gradually joined to another. A section of a caste (say Sarāk) takes to a new occupation, such as weaving, in some locality where the number of members of the Tānti, or

regular weaving caste, is insufficient to meet the needs of the community. This section of the Sarāks gets known as Sarāki Tānti. In course of time the persons concerned come to regard themselves as a sub-caste of Tānti, and assimilate their social practices to those of that caste; their *pañ-chāyats* work, when occasion arises, in consultation with those of other Tānti sub-castes, and the connexion between them, in favourable circumstances, becomes closer and closer until all traces of the original distinction are lost. There are some castes, such as the Chāsās and Khandāits of Orissa or the Kāyasths and Sūdras of East Bengal, which are nearly allied, though one ranks higher than the other. In such cases it is not unusual for members of the lower caste who rise in life to pass in course of time from the lower group to the higher. They begin by paying large sums for brides from the higher caste, and gradually become more and more closely associated with it, until, after several generations, their connexion with the lower caste is lost sight of, and they are regarded as genuine members of the higher.

A considerable number of the castes of inferior status are willing to admit outsiders of higher social position who may wish to join their community. In such cases the newcomer is adopted formally as a caste-brother, much in the same way as a man who has no son of his body takes one by adoption. Such cases, however, are very rare. They occur only when a man has been ejected from his own group, or when he is so infatuated with a girl of inferior rank that he is willing to sacrifice everything in order to take her as his wife.

When a caste is prosperous beyond its neighbours, its members often become discontented with the rank assigned to them, and seek to change it. They cannot dispute the theory that caste is permanent and immutable, for Hindu society would never listen to such a heterodox idea. They therefore enlist the aid of fiction. They claim to be descended from some source other than that previously assigned to them; and if they can induce the Brāhmins to endorse their claim, they often end by gaining general recognition for it, in spite of the opposition of rival castes who are adversely affected by their change of status.

In early times, rulers belonging to a low caste or to an aboriginal tribe were frequently, with the whole of their caste or tribe, promoted to Kṣatriya rank by their obsequious priests. Here again the aid of fiction was invoked. The most common device was to trace their origin to certain Kṣatriyas who concealed their real status and assumed the guise of men of low caste in order to escape from Paraśurāma, when that great Brāhman protagonist was engaged in his attempt to extirpate the whole of the Kṣatriya race. When their political supremacy came to an end, these pseudo-Kṣatriyas generally sank to their old position, saving such of their leaders as, by intermarriage, had succeeded in forming genuine Rājput connexions. There are, at the present day, many low castes whose claims to Kṣatriya rank are a reminiscence of their former political ascendancy.

In the days of Hindu kings, the relative rank of the different castes was determined by the ruler himself, usually after consulting his Brāhmins; and without his sanction, which would be given only for special reasons, no caste was allowed to set up spurious claims. The British Government does not interfere in such matters; and in various parts of the country numerous castes are taking advantage of its tolerance, and attempting to obtain a higher status than that which has hitherto been accorded to them.

The Bengal Telis, for example, have largely deserted their traditional occupation of oil-pressing in favour of trade, and are

a fairly prosperous community. Under Warren Hastings, a high official, who belonged to their community, having amassed a great fortune, offered a munificent gift to the temple of Puri, in the hope of raising the status of his caste. The local priests refused to accept the gift from a member of a caste which was then regarded as unclean. The would-be donor appealed to the pandits of Hooghly and Nabadwip, and persuaded them to decide that the Bengal Telis is a trading caste, deriving its name, not from *tel*, 'oil', but from the *tala*, or 'balance', used by traders in their business. In consequence of this ruling the Telis in Bengal proper are now regarded as a clean Sūdra caste, but in other parts of India they are still regarded as unclean. These Bengal Telis are gradually changing their name to *Tili*, while their original designation is being assumed by the Kalus, another caste of oil-pressers, whose social position is still very low. In the same Province the Chāsi Kaibartas pretend to be identical with the Mahisya, an extinct caste of much respectability.

18. **Modern disintegrating tendencies.**—It is frequently said that the influence of British civilization is tending to break down the barriers of caste, and to a certain extent this is undoubtedly the case. With the advent of railways, the growth of trade, and the introduction of machinery, the old social organization has become unsuitable to modern conditions. Many of the old village industries have become unprofitable, while a great and growing demand has sprung up for labour in mines and mills and workshops of all kinds. In all directions people are deserting their traditional means of livelihood in favour of new and more profitable vocations, and a man's caste is no longer, as it once was, a fairly certain index to his occupation. High castes and low are necessarily thrown together in railway carriages, and in the crowded streets of big towns. It is impossible for a man of high caste on a journey to preserve that aloofness which he maintains in his own village, or to purify himself every time he comes in contact with men of low caste, or to be as particular as he should be in regard to what he eats and drinks. Consequently, on journeys and in towns the old rules are no longer rigidly observed. But there is no sign of any such relaxation amongst the masses in their ordinary village life. There they are just as particular as ever they were. Amongst the higher and better educated classes there is, no doubt, a general feeling that many of the restrictions of the caste system are absurd. Away from home they will often indulge in food cooked by Muhammadans in the European style, including even beef; and the more advanced will not hesitate to sit down to table, not only with Hindus of other castes, but also with Europeans and Muhammadans, although in their own homes the fear of giving offence to their more orthodox caste-fellows leads them to observe the established rules and proprieties. So long as they do this, their laxity elsewhere is tacitly condoned.

Perhaps the strongest restraining influence hitherto has been that of the female members of the family. Brought up in seclusion and without much education, and seldom leaving home, the women of the family are tenacious of the old observances and restrictions, and regard any departure from them with the greatest disfavour. There have recently, however, been signs of a great change in the treatment of Hindu ladies of high caste. Following the example of the Brahmos, Hindu gentlemen are now becoming anxious to give their daughters a good education. They are also beginning to perceive the evils of the *parda* system, which the Hindus adopted from the Muhammadans. The more advanced among them no longer hesitate to let their wives go unveiled when away from home, or when taking an evening drive. They have also of late, in Calcutta at least, encouraged them to attend various meetings, mostly of a political character. It is now only a matter of time for females of the educated classes to appear freely in public; and when they do so, the restrictions of the caste system amongst the educated

classes, so far as ordinary social intercourse is concerned, are doomed. The uneducated masses, however, are far more conservative than the educated few, and it may be doubted whether they will quickly imitate their example in these matters. Nor is it likely that even the educated classes will, for many years to come, make much progress in the direction of emancipating themselves from the tangled matrimonial restrictions which are the essence of the caste system. It is true that girls of the higher castes, in many cases, are no longer given in marriage at so early an age as formerly, but the improvement in this respect is perhaps due quite as much to the difficulty and expense of obtaining suitable bridegrooms as to a growing sense of the evils arising from child marriage. The most noticeable of the efforts yet made to break down injurious rules is in connexion with child widows. In early times, young girls who had lost their husbands prior to cohabitation were allowed to marry again. Subsequently, however, they were forbidden to do so. The result is that all over India large numbers of child widows are condemned to a life of celibacy and austerity. Educated opinion is beginning to recognize the folly and injustice of this rule, and cases sometimes occur in which virgin widows are allowed by their parents to marry again. The opposition to such marriages is still very strong, and comparatively few men have hitherto ventured to face it. The number, however, is increasing slowly, and it is perhaps only a matter of a few years for this harsh rule to disappear. In other directions there are few signs of relaxation. A man is under the same obligations as ever to find a suitable bridegroom for his daughter, and the bridegroom price is, if anything, steadily rising. The evil is great and well recognized, but it is one with which the community seems unable to cope.

Two more tendencies to change remain to be noticed. Converts to Christianity or Muhammadanism are freely admitted to the society of persons professing those religions, but hitherto they have been unable to resume their place amongst the Hindus, however much they might wish to do so. Educated Hindus have of late become very much alive to the fact that other communities are growing at their expense, and a movement is in progress to enable persons who have left their ranks to return, and even to encourage them to do so. This movement has not yet perhaps made much headway, but at Etawah, in the United Provinces, nearly four hundred Rājputs, whose ancestors became Muhammadans in the time of Aurangzib, were recently taken back into caste, after an interesting ceremony of purification.

Lastly, the ascendancy of the Brāhmins is not what it was. The spread of Western education has disseminated ideas of equality, and men are no longer prepared to admit the superiority of their neighbours merely because they belong to a caste which is supposed to stand on a higher level. The higher castes no more enjoy special privileges or immunity from the ordinary tribunals. In the eye of the law all men are equal. The man of low caste is no longer compelled to leave the road when a man of high caste passes, or to shout out when walking at night to give warning of his approach, or, as was sometimes the case formerly, to paint on his forehead the emblem of his degrading occupation. Education is no longer confined to the higher castes; nor is there anything to prevent a man of low caste from becoming a schoolmaster, a pleader, or even a magistrate. Appointments under the British Government are given solely on the ground of merit, and without regard to considerations of caste. The *Sāstras*, which were once the monopoly of the Brāhmins, are no longer sealed books to the

lower castes, many of whose members are quite competent to study them for themselves. These changes are distasteful to many of the less liberal-minded among the higher castes, and they account, in part, for the hostility which some of them feel towards the present system of Government.

19. Caste and religion.—Although no one who is not a Hindu (or Jain) can belong to a Hindu caste, the fact remains that there is no necessary connexion between a man's caste and his religious beliefs. He must submit to various rules and restrictions, and perform various ceremonies of the nature already indicated, but so long as he does that, and does not openly dispute the supremacy of the Brāhmins, or deny the truth of the Hindu Scriptures as a whole, he may believe (or disbelieve) what he likes, without let or hindrance, and without in any way injuring his social position or restricting the circle within which he can form matrimonial alliances. The fact is that caste is a social rather than a religious institution. It has grown up amongst the Hindus; and so much is said about it in Hindu religious books that it is often very difficult to say where caste begins and religion ends. Hence has arisen the common, but mistaken, idea that caste is an invention of the Brāhmins, and the still more common, but equally erroneous, belief that the Brāhmins have taken the leading part in its evolution and in the elaboration of caste rules and restrictions. The Brāhmins have undoubtedly always done their utmost to advance their own interests and to make the supremacy of the hierarchy sure and undisputed. But the development of the other castes has been controlled and guided by their own headmen, advised, it may be, by the caste Brāhmins,¹ but otherwise quite independently, except in so far as, on rare occasions, they were compelled by some Hindu ruler, such as Ballāla Sen of Bikrampur, in East Bengal, to adopt some new rule or procedure.

20. Caste amongst other religious communities.

—(1) *Jains*.—Amongst the Jains, caste follows much the same lines as amongst the Hindus. There are, indeed, certain castes, such as the Agarwāls and Oswāls, some of whose members are Hindus, while others are Jains. This difference of religion does not operate as a bar to marriage; a Hindu Oswāl, for instance, may marry one who is a Jain. In parts of Southern India the Jains appear to form a separate community of the nature of an ordinary caste. The number of these Jains is, however, very small.

(2) *Christians*.—The Roman Catholic Missions in India allow their converts to retain their original caste distinctions, but this is forbidden by the Anglican and other Protestant Missions. The latter, however, have not always succeeded in wholly obliterating the distinctions of caste, and converts from the higher ranks of Hinduism are sometimes reluctant to eat with or marry persons of inferior origin, especially in places where large numbers of converts were made at one time, as in Nadiā during the famine of 1838.

(3) *Muhammadans*.—The conventional division of Indian Muhammadans is into four groups: Shaikh, Saiad, Mughal, and Pathān. Persons who, at the present day, describe themselves as Mughals and Pathāns are usually descended, at least on the

¹ The status of the Brāhmins who act as priests to the lower castes varies with that of the castes to which they minister; and, as has already been stated, the status of the latter depends largely on the extent to which they conform to the practices of the higher castes. It follows that their own interest, as well as the bias derived from the study of the *Sāstras*, would lead these Brāhmins to exert their influence in the direction of encouraging orthodoxy. But they are dependent for their livelihood on the castes to which they are attached, and the last word rests, not with them, but with the caste headmen. The great number of unorthodox practices which still exist amongst many castes shows how small their influence really is.

male side, from immigrants belonging to these races, but no such inference can be drawn from the use of the words Saiad and Shaikh. The real meaning of Saiad is a descendant of 'Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law, by his wife Fâtima, and a Shaikh is an Arab. In India, however, the former term is appropriated freely by Muhammadans of any class who have acquired wealth and a good social position, while the latter is often used indiscriminately by all local converts to Muhammadanism—and the majority of Indian Muhammadans are of this category—who do not belong to one or other of those functional groups of which no note is taken in the conventional classification of Muhammadans referred to above. This is especially the case in Bengal. In Northern India conversion to Islam does not so much affect a man's social status, and many castes, such as Rājput, Gujar, and Jāt, are divided into two sections, one consisting of Muhammadans and the other of Hindus. The so-called Shaikhs are for the most part cultivators. Many of those who claim the title are known to others by less complimentary names, such as Nao-Muslim or Nasya.

The Muhammadans themselves recognize two main social divisions: Ashrāf, or noble, including all undoubted descendants of foreigners and converts from the higher Hindu castes, and Ajlāf, or common people. The latter term comprises all local converts of low origin, including most of the Shaikhs, and the various functional groups, such as Jolāhā, or weaver; Dhunia, or cotton-carder; Khulu, or oil-presser; Darzi, or tailor; Hajjām, or barber; Kunjra, or greengrocer; and many others. These functional groups have *pañchāyats* who manage their affairs, and who, in many parts, exercise almost as rigorous a control as the managing body of a Hindu caste. Amongst the social offences of which they take cognizance are the eating of forbidden food, adultery, divorcing a wife without due cause, making a false accusation against a caste-fellow, and marrying persons not belonging to the group. The same state of things prevails in Upper India amongst those who have become Muhammadans without giving up their original caste distinctions. Such persons not only remain in their original social group, but also preserve most of the restrictions on social intercourse, intermarriage, and the like, which they observed when still Hindus. Except in Upper India, the Muhammadans who do not belong to the above-mentioned functional groups, i.e. the Ashrāf and the cultivating Shaikhs, have usually no *pañchāyats*. They are thus more free to follow their own inclinations, and there are, therefore, fewer restrictions on marriage. The pride of blood amongst those of foreign descent is, however, considerable. They keep a careful record of their traditions and family connexions, and it is the general practice for a Saiad to marry a Saiad, a Pathān a Pathān, and so forth. But so long as both parties belong to the Ashrāf community, no slur attaches to mixed marriages. On the other hand, intermarriage between Ashrāf and Ajlāf is reprobated, and it is seldom that a man of the higher class will give his daughter to one of the lower. It is not so objectionable for an Ashrāf man to take a wife from amongst the Ajlāf, but he is looked down on if he does so, unless he has already one wife of his own class. Amongst the cultivating Shaikhs the restrictions on marriage are slight.

The extent of the control exercised by the *pañchāyats* in the case of the functional groups varies in different parts of the country; but where it is fully developed the groups concerned constitute regular castes of the Hindu pattern. There are fewer restrictions on eating with members of other groups than there are amongst the Hindus; but the

rule that a man may not marry outside the limits of his own group or pass from one group to another is equally rigid. There is, however, this marked difference, that although a Darzi cannot become a Dhunia, or a Dhunia a Jolāhā, there is no great difficulty in the way of a member of any of these groups who rises in life joining the ranks of the Shaikhs or even of the Ashrāf. There is a well-known proverb, 'Last year I was a Jolāhā, this year I am a Shaikh; next year, if prices rise, I shall be a Saiad.' A well-to-do man of a functional group will often drop the functional designation, call himself Shaikh, and, by dint of hospitality, secure for himself a circle of friends from the poorer members of the Ashrāf community. He will then marry into an Ashrāf family, possibly of doubtful status, and his son may hope to be recognized as a true Ashrāf. These changes are accompanied by a gradual change of name. A hypothetical Meherulla, for example, will become first Meheruddin, then Meheruddin Muhammad, and then Muhammad Meheruddin. He will next prefix Maulvi to his name and add Ahmad, and will finally blossom into Maulvi Muhammad Meheruddin Ahmad.

To sum up, it may be said that, though caste is unknown to the Muhammadan religion, it exists in full force amongst many of the Muhammadans of Upper India, and in all parts of the country amongst the functional groups that form the lower strata of the community. The other Indian Muhammadans, though they do not recognize caste, have, nevertheless, been so far influenced by the example of their Hindu neighbours that they have become far more particular about their matrimonial alliances than are their co-religionists elsewhere.

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CASUISTRY (Lat. *casus*, 'a case,' i.e. technically, a case of conscience when conscience is in a strait between two or more courses, whether relative to action in the future or to blame-worthiness, greater or less, on account of past deeds).—I. Definition and scope.—

On the general principle, 'Do in Rome as the Romans do, casuistry may be described as a particular development of accommodation (q.v.), although it does not represent this term in any of its common usages. Modern science has taken the word over from theology. Thus we have accommodation in biology, when adjustment to environment modifies function; in psychology, a principle of accommodation operates when the mind alters its internal dispositions by acquisitions of new elements; in vision, when the crystalline lens is adjusted for vision at different distances. But, prior to the discoveries which rendered these meanings possible, 'accommodation' had been employed to designate attitudes in religion, or, strictly speaking, in theology. Primarily, the term had reference to the condescension of Divine grace to human frailty; secondarily, to human relations connected with doctrinal interpretation. An initiate might expound a doctrine, not fully and unreservedly, but with reference to the preparation of his hearers to receive less or more of its import. As concerns catechumens, this procedure was earlier than Christianity, and possibly passed over into it from paganism, especially from the Mysteries (for NT examples of Mk 4:33, Jn 16:12, Ac 16:3 21:17-27, 1 Co 3:4, He 5:14). In this sense the accommodation may be said to have had a moral end—the gradual preparation of the inexperienced to receive the whole truth. Incompetence was assumed, and the effort was to proceed so that misunderstanding might be prevented. The young or the convert might very well fall into error unless the truth were accommodated to their immaturity or to their intellectual and moral condition. Plainly enough, two aspects are involved. There might be a formal accommodation—in method, as by parable, metaphor, analogy; or there might be a material accommodation—of the kind illustrated classically in the naturalism of the 18th cent. theologians.

rationals (cf. G. T. Zachariä, *Doct. Chr. institutio*, 1773; D. F. Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1835, Eng. tr.² by Marian Evans, 1892). In both instances application of general principles to particular cases is involved. But, further, the accommodation might serve, not simply to prepare the way for reception of the truth, but rather to conceal the truth. In this latter sense, many writers, particularly Protestants, would view casuistry as a case of accommodation. But the subject is so large, and has been surrounded with such misconception, that it must be treated upon its own merits.

Thanks to its historical association with the 'Probabilism' (see EQUIPROBABILISM) of the Jesuits, and to the powerful influence of Pascal's *Les Provinciales* (1657), the technique of casuistry has almost disappeared from view in the Protestant world as an integral part of scientific ethics. The decisive terms to which an authority so great as Harnack commits himself may serve to show why:

'The comprehensive ethical handbooks of the Jesuits are in part *monstra* of abomination and storehouses of execrable sins and filthy habits, the description and treatment of which provoke an outcry of disgust. The most shocking things are here dealt with in a brazen-faced way by unwedded priests as men of special knowledge, not with the view of calling down with prophetic power upon the burden of horror a heavier burden of judgment, but often enough with the view of representing the most disgraceful things as pardonable, and of showing to the most regardless transgressors a way in which they may still always obtain the peace of the Church. . . . Since the seventeenth century, forgiveness of sins in the Catholic Church has become to a large extent a highly refined art; one learns how to receive confession and give the fitting absolution, as one learns the art of speculation in the exchange' (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vii. 101 ff.; cf. vi. 150, 163 f., 169, 243 f., 255 f., 305 f.).

On the practical side, too, the desuetude of confession, consequent upon the rejection of penance as a sacrament, has tended strongly to extrude overt casuistry from current moral theory; as concerns *system*, it seems superfluous. Accordingly, it is pertinent to recall that, although in its scientific aspect ethics is, strictly speaking, an integral part of speculative philosophy, involving constant reference to the fundamental problem of reality, its relation to practice is such that the question of the connexion between the ideal and particular courses of action cannot but arise, even if the name of casuistry may have lapsed from usage. The difficulties it was employed to designate persist still; they have altered their purview greatly, but they have not therefore disappeared (cf. F. H. Bradley, 'Some Remarks on Punishment,' in *IJE* iv. [April 1894] p. 269 f., despite what is said in *Principles of Logic*, 1883, p. 247 f.). Even admitting that the moral judgments which guide the average man exhibit the universal in the particular, it remains true, nevertheless, that cases of dubiety do occur, when more or less specific reference to the ideal becomes necessary. For instance, granted that the end be good, what are the best means towards its realization? (cf. T. H. Green, *Works*, ii. 308 f., 335 f., 399 f., 427 f., 486 f., 512 f., 536 f.). And if the ideal end be complex, in the sense that it is capable of analysis into factors, questions emerge identical in principle with those of the subtleties symptomatic of the lower casuistry, and based on that higher, broader casuistry which grows inevitably from the indissoluble relation between the individual and the social consciousness. The least edifying examples may be found in some contemporary 'problem' plays and novels: we have a right to anticipate a scientific exhibition of others from professed moralists (cf. L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, 1906, vol. i. ch. i., and Summary, p. 364; vol. ii. chs. vi.-viii.) and sociologists. Indeed, this is part of the important problem of ultimate validity, as contrasted with the historical problem of relative origin in time. A recent writer of notable acuteness has said:

'So far as Ethics allows itself to give lists of virtues or even to name constituents of the Ideal, it is indistinguishable from Casuistry. Both alike deal with what is general, in the sense in which physics and chemistry deal with what is general. . . . For just as physics cannot rest content with the discovery

that light is propagated by waves of ether, but must go on to discover the particular nature of the ether-waves corresponding to each several colour; so Casuistry, not content with the general law that charity is a virtue, must attempt to discover the relative merits of every different form of charity. Casuistry forms, therefore, part of the ideal of ethical science: Ethics cannot be complete without it. The defects of Casuistry are not defects of principle; no objection can be taken to its aim and object. It has failed only because it is far too difficult a subject to be treated adequately in our present state of knowledge. The casuist has been unable to distinguish, in the cases which he treats, those elements upon which their value depends. Hence he often thinks two cases to be alike in respect of value, when in reality they are alike only in some other respect. It is to mistakes of this kind that the pernicious influence of such investigations has been due. For Casuistry is the goal of ethical investigation. It cannot be safely attempted at the beginning of our studies, but only at the end' (G. E. Moore, *Principia Ethica*, 1903, p. 4f.).

Whenever moral norms have attained such definite formulation that they may, or must, be made objects of reflexion, difficulties cannot but arise regarding their application in particular cases; and the term 'casuistry' indicates the systematic treatment of such cases with a view to their resolution before action, or after a given action, to determine its relative guilt or excusability—all with reference to the unitary ideal. The nature of the ideal occupies a pivotal position, and, according as it is conceived, the casuistry will be broader and progressive, or merely technical and apt to engender evasion. It is also well to remember that these studies have no inseparable connexion with religious or theological controversy, just as Physiology, as a pure science, has no necessary connexion with rival systems of Therapeutics, and is not affected by errors in the physician's practice. More pointedly, casuistry does not presuppose the confessional, or imply a system whereby the least possible requirements necessary to permit an act to pass bare muster are set forth as of design. For example, every one who is called upon to write a 'character' for a servant, or a 'certificate' on behalf of an applicant for a scholastic or other appointment, or to frame an advertisement of goods for sale, must face casuistical questions more or less; so must parents in training their children, physicians in advising their patients, lawyers in protecting their clients, judges in determining the import of statute law, merchants in conforming to the 'custom of the trade,' and average men in their daily relations with their kind.

Thus the term 'casuistry' may be used in two senses: (1) In the broad ethical sense it indicates rational, and, too often, somewhat empirical analysis of particular problems incident to human conduct—of well-marked classes of cases (e.g. vivisection, treatment of habitual criminals—ought they to be eliminated by law?). These problems arise inevitably when a rule either seems to miss provision for a special case, or requires fresh interpretation relative to a combination of circumstances that either are without obvious precedent or are very exceptional. Regarded in this way, the procedure has no necessary connexion with the sinister meaning commonly associated with it in the popular mind. For instance, when a culture (or civilization) happens to be in a stage of transition, old conventions, consecrated supports of conduct, may have been undermined, and, newer judgments being fluid as yet, numerous occasions of dubiety may arise, as during the Sophistic age in Greece, or during the Renaissance (Machiavelli). Similarly, when positive law has reached definite embodiment, combinations of circumstances must arise to which the application of the legal letter is by no means clear. Hence the necessity for 'judge-made' or 'case' law, which plays so prominent a part in the judicial proceedings of modern peoples. Further, difficulties often occur in the life of the average man,

when it is needful for him to be fully persuaded in his own mind—when he reverts to his clergyman or lawyer for advice. In them likewise the broader casuistry has an office to perform, even although we do not so designate it. Probabilities and possibilities have to be considered before the fact; after it, unforeseen sequels may well raise questions of blameworthiness. Now, lawyer and physician, and, in a different way, the clergy, can refer to a fixed or external body of knowledge, of customary writ, whence to set out. The moralist is hardly in the same situation, so casuistry too often comes to possess a different meaning when his advice is required. Jeremy Taylor's definition of conscience shows why: 'Conscience is the Mind of a Man governed by a Rule, and measured by the Proportions of Good and Evil, in Order to Practice; viz. to conduct all our Relations, and all our intercourse between God, our Neighbours, and ourselves: that is, in all moral actions' (*Ductor Dubitantium* [1660], bk. i. rule i.). The bare terms of this strange definition—Rule, Good, Evil, Relations, God, Neighbours—demand extensive elucidation; whereupon the broader casuistry arises.

(2) In the narrower and more technical sense, casuistry presupposes (a) the existence of external rules, nonistic opinions, or systematic prescriptions (especially the last); and (b) individual cases, peculiar to separate persons at particular times, when the approved sanctions seem doubtful or silent, or require elucidation with a view to the justification of exceptions. It deals here with means of action in relation to ends, and there is no reason why it should confine itself to abnormalities, as many seem to suppose. This procedure may lead readily, however, to that over-subtle discussion of the 'rightness' or 'wrongness' of single acts, with reference to minimum requirements of an ecclesiastical or other code, which has come to be associated with casuistry as its distinguishing (and dangerous or pernicious) feature. The present writer records it as a personal opinion that, owing to the whole nature of the ethical theory approved within the Latin obedience, this tendency can hardly be eradicated; some Roman Catholics lean to this view themselves. Hence the sinister implications of the term 'casuistry,' as in the parallel case of 'sophistry.' For, without doubt, these prudent, mechanical analyses or adjustments of pros and cons, with their mental reservations, probabilities, and expectations that ends may justify means, may descend easily to the level of verbalism or hair-splitting, and result in a relaxation of principle distasteful to the moral standard of an age, and calculated to confuse the sense of right which governs the plain man almost automatically in the ordinary relations of life (cf. 'The Sorbonne Condemnation,' in the *Corpus Doctrinae*, ed. by C. M. Pfaff, 1718). This, in turn, may offer justification of acts in conflict with the conscientious scruples of the community. The reference to the ideal becomes obscured, and, this stage reached, anything may happen. But this is reducing the matter to the level of a practical art. Thus the dubious associations of casuistry, especially for the modern mind, arise: it is held to depend upon an appeal to external sanctions.

Taken in this, the narrow ecclesiastico-technical sense, casuistry can be no more than an appendage of ethics, a purely secondary or, at best, supplementary division. It does nothing to elicit or formulate the nature of ethical principles, nothing to elucidate the psychological character of motive, nothing to ground or guarantee the objective validity of norms, nothing to clarify the basis of responsibility and obligation; in a word, it

presupposes theological ethics, and, this done, confines itself to subjective and individual considerations, in the light of a pre-existent system. Now, ethics, as such, may formulate itself so as to leave little, if any, room for technical casuistry, as has been the fact with the main body of scientific ethics, particularly since Kant. On the other hand, ethics may eventuate into a department of theology, and become a kind of translation into human language of laws regarded as given by an extra-mundane creator-judge. This view maintains itself in the Latin Church, and offers scope for technical casuistry in the sense now under consideration. Here, once more, circumstances alter cases profoundly; for, thanks to the practical needs of the Counter-Reformation, we may trace even a third, and narrowest, acceptance of the term. When the fourth Lateran Council (1215) made confession of sin obligatory upon the faithful at least once a year, the necessity for a 'science' which would adjust cases to 'penance' or to guiltiness became clamant. Hence Moral Theology was developed in the Latin Church, and casuistry took its place as the most important element in what might be termed, without offence, the science and art of the confessional. As a direct consequence, there arose in the 17th cent. the great controversy between 'Rigorists' and 'Laxists,' which brought casuistry into disrepute as a bulwark of tergiversation, and an incentive to, or at least justification of, evil-doing. The need to win men back to the bosom of the Church intensified this movement. Obviously enough, an outsider cannot pronounce with decision on the practice of an organization so extensive and complex as the Latin Church, wherein many shades of usage and theory may co-exist. Nevertheless, it is probably true that the present position within the Latin obedience dates from 1803, when the Congregation of Rites, confirmed by Pope Pius VII., found the *Theologia Moralis* (1756) of St. Alphonsus (Alfonso Maria de Liguori, 1696-1787) free from matter deserving censure, that is, of 'extrinsic' probability. While there is room for divergence—by less or by more—from his equiprobabilism (as by J. H. Newman; cf. his *Apologia* [London, 1882], p. 273 f., and note G), it may be said that, in the Latin obedience, casuistry has proceeded with reference to Liguorian norms. In any event, he was the last writer on Moral Theology to be canonized (1839), and declared a Doctor of the Church (1871).

The objections to the Latin view raised by other Christians, especially outside Anglicanism, may be put very summarily as follows: In its *form* the Latin conception is held to be external, and legalistic—therefore, necessarily fragmentary, or devoid of unitary inner principle. In its *content* it is held to be ascetic, or based upon a dualism between the spirit and the flesh. Consequently, it is negative in its attitude towards the world; and equivocal, because it contemplates a twofold standard—one for the average man, another for the 'perfect.' As a result, it is said to entangle itself in a maze of prescriptions that interpose between the individual will and God's will. Quite obviously, the two conceptions proceed from antagonistic theories of the nature of the Christian religion as a whole. The Latin position affirms that the proper regulation of moral activity lies with an institution designed *super* naturally to aid individuals, to be the keeper of their conscience, because the sole depository and interpreter of the only possible, the only Divine, authoritative norms. The Reformation contention is that personal subjection to the will of God bestows that self-devotion from which alone right moral action can proceed. The non-Catholic Christian

cannot admit that two contrary actions can be duties equally; nor can he do more than his duty (cf. SUPEREROGATION); nor can he entertain the idea that some actions are unmoral—without moral import (cf. ADIAPHORISM). Hence the need for technical casuistry disappears.

To sum up: whenever men realize their separation from, or conflict with, the operative norms of the social whole, and, in their strait, appeal to 'conscience,' it may be affirmed that 'conscience' and casuistry, on a broad scale of ideal reference, become correlative, even although no method of casuistical procedure with reference to particular cases may have emerged on the basis of reflective or dogmatic system. Reference to a moral ideal appears in practice, and this after no merely utilitarian fashion. Accordingly, the narrower interpretations of our term would appear to depend upon a more or less marked collocation of institutional issues in a civilization, rather than upon definite reference to an ideal. Means come to throw ends into the shade. In a word, the more self-conscious casuistry grows, the more its dangerous qualities tend to assert themselves. A glance at the history of moral effort in this connexion may suffice to illustrate this. Prior to the Christian era, casuistry in the broad sense dominates the field, except in Judaism. After the solidification of the organization of the Church, the broad sense maintains itself still, but with tendencies to the narrower and more technical procedure, which culminate, under the influence of inner movements and of external historical events, in the 17th century. Thereafter, in modern thought, the broad, ideal sense reasserts itself.

2. Historical outlines.—(a) *Greek*.—Casuistry, in the narrow theologico-moral sense, could not play any distinctive rôle during the characteristic periods of Greece, because the conception of 'conscience' (*συνείδησις*) did not achieve determinative development before the age of Stoicism. The *γνώσις* of Heraclitus, and even *σφωρόσυνη*, fall short of the self-condemnation integral to 'conscience.' It is true that 'moral consciousness,' in something more than the Aristotelian sense of recognition, may be traced sporadically from time to time; e.g. in Homer (*Il.* vi. 417, xvii. 254; *Od.* ii. 138), and in the Orators, especially Antiphon (e.g. *Or.* ii. γ. 3, iii. δ. 9); but the attitudes are incidental rather than normative. Casuistry (cf. Plato, *Euthyd.* 7 E), in the broad sense described above, reared its head only when the older polytheistic religion had sunk with many to the level of superstition, and when, therefore, the search for another ideal began (5th cent. B.C.). Aristophanes, the Sophists, Socrates, Euripides, Plato, and their circles, furnish the illustrative material. The Nomothetæ and the poets (e.g. Simonides) were the traditional authorities (cf. Homer, *Il.* xvi. 386 f.; Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 225 f., 275 f.; Theognis, 205 f.; Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 6 f.; Xenophon, *Symp.* iii. 5). By the 5th cent. the force of their teaching abated, because it lacked the pliancy demanded by unprecedented circumstances and situations (cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, 1901, iii. 436 f.). It had been deterrent rather than originative, and its uninspiring utilitarian reference pallid (cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 52 f.; Plutarch, *Solon*, 27). Similarly, its intimate relation with, almost dependence upon, written law (cf. Aeschines, c. *Tim.* 6 f.; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1137 A, 16; Plutarch, *Lyc.* 8 f.) tended to stereotype it. New developments gave rise inevitably to the idea of a higher, unwritten and ideal, law, which appeared in the dramatists (cf. e.g. Aeschylus, *Supp.* 707; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1130, 1343, *Œd. Tyr.* 863 f.), and was presented on a large scale in *Antigone* (cf. Xenophon, *Mem.* iv. iv.). Hence, by an easy transition, we

come to the doctrine of the Sophists, that laws, with morals as their appanage, are no more than conventions. And the fountainhead of 'conscience,' in any sense understood by the Greeks, is to be found in the opposition between *φύσις* (nature as the basis of law) and *νόμος* (convention as the basis of law). When, with the great philosophers, investigation passed from the cosmos to man, the problem of ultimate sanctions could not but emerge, and the utilitarianism of the old view offered a point of departure by lending colour to the aphorism, 'Justice is the interest of the stronger.' 'Law is the tyrant of mankind, and often forces us to do many things contrary to nature' (Hippias, in Plato, *Protag.* 337 C; cf. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* i. vi. 31 f.). The casuistry of opportunism ensued among the Sophists, especially, in all likelihood, the Eristics. Nevertheless, the hints dropped by the greater Sophists about the necessity for system in morals, as about the inner and outer factors of the ideal, occasioned lively discussion, thoroughly casuistical (after the broader sense) in principle. Doubtful issues were conceived clearly with reference to the basis of the ideal; the fact of opposition in morals became a common-place, as we can see plainly from Euripides (e.g. how reconcile his statements in *Ion*, 884 f., frag. 49, frag. 86, and frag. 511? Cf. *Bacchæ*, 882). Thus the idea of a *φύσις ἀνθρώπων* was precipitated. Casuistical questions were ventilated, about the State and the family, friendship, worldly goods, slavery, suicide, lying, oaths, and the like, but, as a rule, with the object of attaining some fresh interpretation of the ideal. It was not a simple case of conflicting rules, each enjoying the same universality. Possibly, Plato's *Gorgias* indicates a turning-point (cf. Gomperz, *Gr. Denker*, ii. 277 f. [Eng. tr., 1901, ii. 342 f.]). Morality is now illuminated by reason, and man is shown that the origin of ideals lies in his own nature, like their sanction. Thus there is a self-likening to the Divine (cf. Plato, *Theat.* 176 A). Alcidas (4th cent.) refers to some such ideal when he says, 'The Deity has made all men free; Nature has enslaved no man' (cf. Gomperz, i. 324 [Eng. tr. i. 403]). Thanks to Plato, the most real has become the most knowable (*Rep.* 477 A), and so the highest activity of the spirit furnishes the guarantee that casuistical questions can occur only when more explicit development of the ideal is in progress (Plato, *Prot.* 343 A, *Laws*, 875 D, 965 D). Life is not tortured by that absolute separation between 'ought' and 'is' which leads to the conception of morality as embodied in a number of rules all equally authoritative and universal. And so, apart from questions (e.g. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, bk. iii.) that seem to us as if they savoured of narrow casuistry (like the position of women, personal purity, slavery), the absence of dislocation between the ideal spirit and the real career, so evident in the Greek *ethos* (cf. Aristotle, *Met.* 982b), restricts casuistry in the main to those larger vital problems that must accompany further definition of the ideal itself (Plato, *Rep.* 500 C f.).

(b) *Hebrew*.—Having regard to the position occupied by the Law in Judaism, it is not surprising that casuistry resulted, and wielded extensive influence from time to time. For, in Judaism, the Law may be said to fill a place parallel with that of dogma in Christianity. But the primary sources for the subject are so vast and tortuous, and demand such special linguistic knowledge, that no more than general hints are feasible here. It seems fair to say that, on the whole, Jewish casuistry provides an admirable example, on a large scale, of the possible oscillation between reference to a living, ethical ideal, and minute, often clever, sometimes puerile, interpretations of

traditional rules. At the present time, the leaders of Reformed Judaism represent the former, while Conservative, in many ways reactionary, Rabbinism represents the latter. Similarly, the view of the operation of the Law in Palestine when Jesus appeared, held by such scholars as Schürer (*GVV* ii. §§ 22-30) and Bousset (*Rel. des Judent.* 1906), emphasizes the narrower casuistry; that insisted upon by Jewish investigators, like Schechter (*JQR* xi. 626 f.), and F. Perles (*Bousset's Die Religion . . . kritisch untersucht*, 1903), illustrates the higher casuistical principle in the developmental movement always associated with the expression of an ethical ideal (cf. J. Elbogen, *Die Religionsanschauungen d. Pharisäer mit besonderer Berücksichtigung d. Begriffe Gott und Mensch*, 1904; Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi u. d. Tag s. Todes*⁴, 1892, App.; Friedländer, *Die relig. Bewegungen innerhalb d. Judenthums im Zeitalter Jesu*, 1905). The Law, as the embodiment of the ideal, is formulated in many OT passages (e.g. Jer 31³³, Ps 37³¹ 119⁹⁸). The central conception is that human insight fails to suffice either for solution of the problems inseparable from life or for the decisive revelation of the Divine will. As a consequence, these recurrent problems must always be re-interpreted in the light of the norm which remains supreme from age to age; and, as a corollary, the ideal itself is the subject of continuous, and more explicit, affirmation. On the other hand, the vicissitudes of the Jewish people, after their deportation to the Euphrates-Tigris region, and, later, after the destruction of the national theocracy by Titus, produced circumstances favourable to minute elaboration of the Law, and to its use as an external framework to preserve the religious and racial unity of the scattered folk. Thus casuistry arose and, according as concomitant events varied, played a greater or a lesser rôle. Provisions, conformable to changed conditions of life, were heaped up endlessly, and experts were needed to render ethico-judicial decisions. Thus a vast amorphous mass of regulations and decisions grew, by accretion, during centuries. Following Aristotle's ethical principles to a large extent, Maimonides (1135-1204) attempted to call order from this chaos, especially with regard to personal conduct in relations with others; and he may be said to have reinstated the idealistic reference. However successful at the moment, his methods were not destined to full fruitage till Spinoza, Solomon Maimon, Moses Mendelssohn, and the contemporary Reform movement. Indeed, they stimulated the half-opposition of Nachmanides (1194-1270), who paved the way for the domination of the French school, which held casuistical study of the Talmud to be an end in itself. The extreme development of hair-splitting casuistry dates from Jacob Pollak (1460-1541), the chief originator of the procedure known as *Pilpul*, or 'spicing' the Law by ingenious disputation. This was essentially a method of dialectical interpretation, fertile in far-fetched analyses and combinations, often productive of pitiful sophistry, and, as a rule, pursued for its own sake, without distinctive reference to moral ends. Although it doubtless arose from that renewed interest in the Law due to the less hopeless condition of European Judaism after the middle of the 15th cent., its theoretical (often anti-cultural) tendencies became stumbling-blocks to Jewish development; it can hardly be alleged that they operated to the same practical consequences as Jesuitical casuistry. Yet, in spite of this, the ideal ethico-religious conception of the Law never died out—the intrinsic value of the person asserted itself as superior to external regulations (cf. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1903, p. 7 f.).

'It was the study as well as the fulfilment of the Law which prevented the Jews from sinking in the scale of manhood, throughout the middle ages, intellectually and even morally. Like every other ideal, it had its evil side, and was capable of lamentable perversions: ideally, the study of the Law is equivalent to the study of perfect truth: practically, it is often the study of puerilities; the evolving of juridic hair-splittings upon the one hand, and fantastic and disordered imaginings upon the other' (Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures* [1892], p. 496; cf. Schechter's Appendix).

From the 18th cent. *Aufklärung*, where Moses Mendelssohn's influence was pivotal, a return to the higher principle must be traced. And, for Reformed Judaism, the Law is an ideal which, like other ideals, is the subject of progressive interpretation, thus involving the broader principle of casuistry. Reason, in the form of goodness, alone prefigures the Divine norm.

(c) *Mustim*.—Like Judaism, Muhammadanism embodies an elaborate system of casuistry applying to all sides of life. This is to be found in the development of Muslim law. Although the Prophet's position as God's representative made any decision of his absolutely valid, local conditions left a wide margin for opportunism, and Muhammad was an eclectic in these matters. Local usage at Medina necessitated certain abatements; so too did the Rabbinical-Roman law observed by the Arabian Jews, the commercial law of Mecca, and so forth. Thus, after his death, when the Muslim law came to be codified, all the conditions productive of accommodation were gathered together. For, if the Qur'an failed, decisions of the Prophet, preserved by his disciples, might avail; if not, then the common law of the community was there; and if none of these availed, then the judge might place his own construction upon the case. Accordingly, interpretation, probable and speculative, of the usage of the Prophet came to be a 'science,' and conflict of 'sayings' formed the basis of casuistical procedure. Later, a broad opposition arose between those who appealed to tradition and those who desired to systematize the law. This in itself prepared the way for familiarity with compromise. And, as Muslim conquest widened, the operation of Roman law had to be taken into account. With the advent of the Umayyad dynasty, the old law of Muhammad came to be more and more a religio-ethical system, governing the personal lives of good Muslims. Under the Abbasids the four great schools arose which formulated the norms that still rule the Muhammadan world. The general result has been that there is a casuistical code applicable to private affairs, and, alongside this, the law of the land. The former is sacred, and provides the definite prescriptions from which the necessity for casuistical interpretation proceeds. The situation is not unlike that of mediævalism, where the canon law and the king's law furnished what might be called private and public codes, and the more private application of the former rendered it inevitably more casuistical in the moral sense. That is to say, it governed relations primarily moral rather than legal. Cf. LAW (Muham.).

Further information may be found in the following: I. Goldziher, *Muham. Studien*, I. and II. (1889-90); E. Sachau, *Zur ältesten Gesch. d. muham. Rechts* (1870); Th. W. Juyneboll, *Handleiding tot de Kennis van de Moham. Wet* (1903, Germ. tr. 1909); von Kremer, *Culturgech. d. Orients unter d. Chalifen*, I. 470 f. (1875-77); Hughes, *DI*, p. 285 f. (1896); M. Hartmann, *Der Islam* (1909); the best review of the subject is to be found in D. B. Macdonald, *The Development of Muslim Theology*, 65-117 (1903); see also art. 'Mahomedan Law,' in *EBR*¹⁰; further bibliography in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Jan. 1907.

(d) *Christian*.—Thanks to its Judaistic origin, we find casuistry in Christianity from the beginning (cf. *HDB* i., s.v. 'Conscience'). But the several NT issues (e.g. Mt 5²¹, 6¹², Lk 14²⁸, 1 Co 7²¹, 8¹⁰) presuppose the existence of that higher ideal whose principles St. Paul states (Ro 12¹). The urgency of casuistical difficulties

admits of little doubt, as we know from the outbreak of Antinomianism (*q.v.*) in the primitive communities of Asia Minor and Greece, which vexed the Apostle's soul (cf. Jowett, *St. Paul's Epist. to the Thess., Romans, Gal.*, 1894, i. 76 f., ii. 338 f.). As the *Epistle of Barnabas* says, a little later (c. 78 A.D.), the Lord chose for Apostles those who neglected the Law, and were above all sin (ch. v.)—a view which blossomed in the Gnostic societies (cf. E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, 1904, ch. xvi.).

The practical problems of sin and repentance agitate Tertullian (cf. *adv. Jud.*), an early rigorist, whose strong ascetic tendencies were such that his opposition to luxury (cf. *de Spectaculis*) and laxity (cf. *de Poen.*) witnesses to an incipient growth of moral-theological decisions. The lives and works of Fathers and saints, like Gregory Thaumaturgus (d. 270), Peter of Alexandria (martyred 311), Basil (d. 379), Gregory of Nyssa (d. c. 395), and especially Augustine (d. 430), exhibit penitential decisions based on the opposition between inward worth and overt deed. And, as the ecclesiastical organization consolidated, papal and diocesan decisions, conciliar decrees, and the like furnished instances of the practical application of prescribed rule to moral life. The development went so far that Johannes Jejunator (d. 596) was able to produce a guide for confessors; while Gregory the Great (c. 582) wrote his celebrated *Moralia in Job*, in which the seven deadly sins, being regarded as dependent upon psychological conditions, already furnish material for casuistical interpretation; his *Regula Pastoralis* (c. 600) provided a moral code for the clergy. 'Penitential Books,' digests of canons, decisions, and sentences also made their appearance (cf. the *Penitential* for enumeration of penances) of Theodore of Canterbury (602-690) in Haddan and Stubbs' *Eccl. Documents*, iii. 114 f.; and the *Penitential* of Bede (678-735), p. 228 f.). Manuals of this sort seem to have sufficed till the time of Abelard (1079-1142), whose *Scito te ipsum* and *Sic et non* mark the rise of a new dialectic. As St. Bernard said: 'The human mind usurps all, no longer leaving anything to faith . . . it forces rather than opens the holy places' (cf. *Intro. ad theol.* c. 1121). Petrus Lombardus (d. 1164) carried the dialectic operation further in his *Libri quatuor sententiarum*, particularly bks. ii. and iii., endeavouring to reconcile the contradictions which Abelard had been content to state. With him the first period closed: casuistry has been sporadic, casual, and without definite system grounded in conscious principle.

The second phase of the development dates from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) till the Council of Trent (1545-63), and may be called the age of the Summists. The new importance of auricular confession raised the casuist to a position of relative equality with the older canonist.

The type was formulated early in the period (c. 1235) by Raymond de Pennafort, general of the Dominican Order (1238), in his *Summa de Poen. et Matrimonio*. In the same age, the great scholastic systems, especially that of Thomas Aquinas (1227-74), crystallized the attitude in which moral questions were to be approached. 'To teach morality without dogma, is to build a house without foundations: to teach it without an infallible substratum of positive theology, is to build upon the sand' (R. B. Vaughan, *Life and Labours of S. Thomas of Aquin*, 1871-75, li. 907 n.). The dogmatic and logical basis whence casuistry is to proceed is thus laid down. And this definite work is accomplished in the *Secunda Secundae* of Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae*, which subjects human nature to minute analysis, in the form of a discussion of the theological virtues (faith, hope, charity), and of the cardinal (prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance). The method and primary content of Moral Theology are provided here, once for all. Whatever may be thought of Aquinas' procedure in its theological bearings, as a contribution to ethics it takes rank with Aristotle. Only when this is understood and admitted can its vast influence be appreciated. At the same time, its form is systematic, not practical. So, meanwhile, following the direction taken by Raymond, a Franciscan of Asti in Piedmont published his *Summa Astesana* (1817); the Dominican, Bartholomew, of San Concordio, his *Summa Pisana* (c. 1340); and Angelus, of Genoa, his *Summa Angelica* (1486). Meanwhile, the Nominalist controversy, symptomatic of the decline and fall of Scholasticism, raised doubts concerning the basis of the whole moral-theological structure, as may be gathered from the determinist tendencies of Buridan (Rector of the Univ. of Paris, 1327) in the free-will controversy, and from Gerson's (1363-1429) leaning to mysticism. Nevertheless, practical questions in morals continued to receive systematic presentation, as in the *Summa Confessorialis* and *Summa Confessorum* of St. Antoninus of Florence (d. 1459), who has established a title to rank as the founder of Moral Theology in its later casuistical development. This phase ends with the *Summa Sylvestrina* (1515) of the Dominican, Sylvester Prierias, an alphabetical compilation from other works.

The third period originates in the wide-spread displacements connected with the Reformation. A *corpus* of rules, traditional and authoritative, came into collision with circumstances which demanded a fresh interpretation of the meaning,

and particularly of the limits, of obedience. The activity of the Society of Jesus was directed in large measure to the solution of this problem, and the great age of casuistry began, with the result that external rule, modified with exquisite subtlety to suit particular cases, and directed frequently to the practical end of restoring penitents to the Church, took the place of ideal principle, and ran to such lengths that, even within the Latin obedience, strong protests were raised (cf. JANSENISM). The famous *Letters of Pascal* (*q.v.*), which were translated speedily into the principal European languages, drew the attention of the Western world to the situation; in a word, the controversy over Probabilism had entered its acute stage.

The Moral Theology of which casuistry was an appanage developed chiefly among the Spanish Jesuits.

Luis Molina (1535-1600), whose work, *Liberi arbitrii*, etc. (1588), seemed to the Dominicans to make human will the medium of Divine action, and to substitute Pelagian for Augustinian doctrines, influenced Suarez (1548-1617), the last eminent scholastic, who produced a system of congruism in theology, and taught God's supremacy in political, juridical, and ethical law—theories which he elaborated with extreme ingenuity. Kindred views, especially on the question of political sovereignty, were advocated by Juan Mariana (1537-1624), whose *de Rege et Regis Institutione* (1599) is a classic in political casuistry; its teaching may be studied comparatively with that of Machiavelli (*q.v.*). Possibly by inadvertence, he also exhibited the inner tendencies of Jesuit casuistry as early as 1625 (cf. *De las Enfermedades de la Compañía de Jesús*, which should be considered alongside of Pascal's *Provinciales* and Antoine Arnauld's *Morale pratique des Jésuites*, 1699-94). In contrast with these speculative writers, Sanchez (1551-1610) dealt more directly with practical cases of casuistry, though in the same general spirit (cf. *de Sacramento Matrimonii*, 1592). Another Spanish production, the *Institutiones Mor.*, in quibus universae quæst. ad conscientiam recte aut prave factorum pertinentes, breviter tractantur (1618-25) of Azor (1533-1603), was used widely, and earned the praise of Clement viii. But the author who became most distinguished as a casuist was Escobar y Mendoza (1589-1669), whose *Summula Casuum Conscientiae* and *Universae Theol. Mor. Problematia* proclaim their contents by title, and offer the most representative illustration of the Jesuit moral-theological methods of their period. His *Liber Theol. Mor.* (1646) enjoyed such vogue that forty editions were called for before his death. The Moral Theology movement had prominent representatives in France, of whom E. Bauny (1564-1649), an eminent teacher of the laxist school (*Theol. Mor.* 1640), ought to be mentioned. It flourished vigorously in Germany, where Hermann Busenbaum produced the *Medulla Theol. Mor.* (1645), which became an accepted Jesuit manual and, later, the starting-point of St. Alphonsus, whose re-interpretation, extension, and further systematization of it have won a place as a most authoritative treatise on the subject. Paul Laymann's (1575-1635) *Theol. Mor.* (1625) was also a work of great repute. Eusebius Amort (1692-1775), who is sometimes characterized, in the Latin communion, as the most eminent German teacher of theology in the 18th cent. (*Theol. Mor. inter rigorem et laxitatem media*, 1739; *Eth. christiana*, 1758; *Lat. tr. of Dict. des cas de conscience* of Pontas, its rigorism modified by the translator, 1733), was a correspondent of St. Alphonsus, who admired his cautious views. In Italy V. Figliucci (1566-1622), who was singled out for attack by Pascal, produced his *Mor. quæst. de christ. officiis et casibus conscientiae* (1626); while Pietro Ballerini (1698-1754), an acute commentator on Augustine, and a defender of Probabilism, edited the *Summa* of St. Antony (1740), and of St. Raymond (1774). In Holland, L. Lessius (1554-1623), who fell into Pelagianism during the controversy concerning Bajus (1587), wrote *Libri IV. de Justitia* (1605). Later still, in Germany, E. Statler (1728-97) produced *Eth. christ. universale* (1782 f.), and came into collision with nascent modern idealism in his *Anti-Kant* (1788); while, in France, the *Compendium theol. mor.* (1850, 1875) and the *Cursus conscientiae* (1863) of the Jesuit father J. P. Gury (1801-75) aroused lively criticism, of the kind familiar in Pascal, by their reversion to laxity.

Although Luther burned the *Summa Angelica*, it was not possible for those who repudiated the authority of the Pope to be rid forthwith of casuistical traditions, which maintained themselves for a time in the Lutheran, Calvinist-Puritan, and Anglican communions. In the Lutheran communion, after Melancthon's (1497-1560) mediating *Unterricht der Visitatoren*, Balduin attempted a purified casuistry (*Tractatus de Casibus Consc.* 1628), in the shape of a *corpus* compiled from Roman books. Loose in form, it is thoroughly mediæval in character, and filled with curious superstitions.

Other Lutheran exponents of casuistry were J. F. König (1619-64), professor at Rostock (*Theol. positiva aoromatica*, 1664); Konrad Dannhauer (1603-66), one of Spener's teachers at Strassburg (*Theol. Conscientiarum*); Joh. Olearius (1639-1713), professor at Leipzig (*Introd. ad theol. mor. et casuisticam*); and V. E. Löschner (1673-1749), the last representative of strict Lutheran orthodoxy (*Timotheus Verimus*, 1718-22). Like Löschner, A. H. Francke (1633-1727), a powerful practical force in ethics, illustrates the influence of Pietism (*g.v.*)—a fresh evangelical movement destined to make an end of a casuistry reminiscent of Romanism. Spener's (1636-1706) *Pia Desideria* (1676) marked the dawn of a new epoch, notwithstanding the venomous opposition represented by such works as *Die Christlichen Vorstellunge* (1696) by Deutschmann, and other Wittenberg enemies of Halle; his *Einfältige Erklärung der christl. Lehre* (1677), and *Tabulae catecheticae* (1683) also exercised influence in the direction of substituting the idea of a priesthood of the laity, accompanied by personal godliness of life, for the approved subtleties of doctorial casuistry, although they also encouraged certain perfectionist aberrations. But the works most effective in compassing the disappearance of Latin casuistry were the *Instit. Theol. Mor.* (1711), and *Isagoge Hist. ad Theol. Universam* (1727), of J. F. Buddeus (1667-1729).

Lutheran casuistry tended to be mild, if not lax; mediated by Pietism, it gave place to Christian ethics in the sense now current. Meanwhile, casuistry of a stricter type, and more penitential in reference, grew up in Calvinistic-Puritan circles.

Its first representatives were Lambert Daneau (Dannaeus), of Geneva (1580?-95), author of *Eth. Christiana* (1577), and William Perkins (1558-1602), of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose *Armilla Aurea* (1590) precipitated the Arminian controversy; his casuistical writings, *A Case of Conscience* (1592), and *A Discourse of Conscience* (1597), prepared the way for *The whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* (1606), which enjoyed favour on the Continent. Perkins felt that confessional casuistry was superficial, and, consonant with his Calvinism, tried to make edification a dominant motive. His pupil, William Ames, better known as Amesius (1576-1633), despairing of success in England, migrated to Holland, became a professor at Franeker, and produced *Medulla Theol. de Conscientia, ejus Jura et Casibus* (1633), generally regarded as the best Protestant manual on the subject. To the Reformed development belong also Joh. Wolleb (1636-1626), professor at Basel (*Compend. Theol. Christ.* [1626]); and J. H. Alsted (1588-1638), a member of the Synod of Dort (1618), who wrote *Theol. Casuum* (1621), and *Encycl. septem tomis distincta* (1630).

The casuistry of the Reformed Churches passed into New England by a natural sequence, the religious atmosphere of the colleges favouring this kind of ethical instruction till the middle of the 19th cent. (cf. Thomas Clap, *The Religious Constitution of Colleges, especially of Yale College*, 1754; G. Stanley Hall, in *Mind* [O.S.], iv. 89 f.).

In 1730 the works of Ames and Wolleb were the established standards of orthodoxy 'at Yale (J. W. Riley, *Amer. Philosophy: the Early Schools*, 1907, p. 64, 243; cf. W. Walker, *Ten New Eng. Leaders*, 1901, p. 220 f.). Although no formal casuistry is to be found in Jon. Edwards (1703-58), his exposition of the 'dialectic of the heart' (*ib.* 126) operated in this direction, inducing an attitude comparable with that of Bishop Butler. His *True Virtue* (1778) illustrates the outlook vividly. In circles where deistic and materialist influences were felt, tendencies similar to those of Paley may be noted, e.g. in Thomas Clap (1703-67), the opponent of Whitefield, and in Cadwallader Colden (1688-1776), whose *Ethica* (1752) and *Reflections* (1770) exhibit the utilitarian trend. Perhaps the best example of formal casuistical instruction is afforded by Francis Wayland's (1796-1865) *The Elements of Moral Science* (1835), which displaced Paley as an approved text-book in the United States to such an extent that 80,000 copies were sold ere its author died. Book ii, 'Practical Ethics,' is thoroughly casuistical in matter. One of Wayland's few surviving pupils, President James Burrill Angell (1829-), once an undergraduate at Brown University (1845-49), informed the present writer that casuistical instruction in Ethics was 'axiomatic' in his time. The atmosphere of theological authority in which it flourished may be judged from Wayland's own statements: 'I have endeavoured to make known the ways of God to man. Lord God of Hosts, I commend to Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, this work. May it promote the cause of truth, of peace, and of righteousness' (F. and H. L. Wayland, *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland*, I. 381 f.); of similar intent is Wayland's *Limitations of Human Responsibility* (1838), where the casuistical vein is quite conscious (cf. J. O. Murray, *Francis Wayland* [1891], 209 f.). In Mark Hopkins' (1802-87) Lowell Lectures *On Moral Science* (1863), especially Lect. ix, kindred tendencies may be traced, though they are expressed with far less system; and the overt statement is reduced finally to a small magazine article, doubtless reminiscent (*New England*, xxxii., 1873), by an aged minister, H. N. Day (1808-90). In the United States, as in Europe, modern ethical developments have eventuated in other problems; but it is interesting to note that the old paths were followed later in the new country (cf. F. H. Foster, *A Genetic History of New England Theology* [1907], especially chs. ix., xii., and xvi.).

In the Anglican communion, early casuistry is concerned, naturally enough, with political issues. Omitting the divorce literature relative to Henry VIII., a point of departure may be found in Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), bishop of Winchester, whose *Tortura Torti, sive ad Matthaei Torti Librum Responsio* (1609), written in reply to Cardinal Bellarmine's (1542-1621) attack upon the oath of allegiance imposed upon Roman Catholics after the Gunpowder Plot, embodies juridical rather than ethical casuistry. It is interesting because indicative of the scholastic atmosphere still prevalent in England. It might be characterized as the Anglican counterpart of Mariana's *de Rege*, the common subject being the papal doctrine of the deposing power.

The principal writers in the more strictly ethical line are: Joseph Hall (1674-1666), bishop of Norwich (*Resolutions and Cases of Conscience*, 1650); Jeremy Taylor (1613-67), bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, whose *Holy Living* (1650) and public eloquence gave vogue to his extensive casuistical work, *Ductor Dubitantium, or the Rule of Conscience in all her General Measures* (1660)—an acute treatise, evincing great intellectual quickness and subjective subtlety, but not notable either for profound thought or for systematic grasp of ethical principles. Thomas Barlow (1607-81), eventually bishop of Lincoln, a notorious political trimmer, wrote several casuistical tracts during his Oxford career, which were published posthumously as *Cases of Conscience* (1692); perhaps the most representative is *Mr. Cottington's Divorce Case*, written in 1677. The most eminent Anglican casuist was Robert Sanderson (1587-1662), bishop of Lincoln, whose *de Obligations Conscientiae* (1647) is generally regarded as the strongest book on the subject; he wrote also *Nine Cases of Conscience occasionally determined* (1678).

With the birth of the 18th cent. ethical interest shifts its centre; thanks to the Deistic controversy and the advance of science, the venue changes with Hobbes (1588-1679) and Cudworth (1617-88), whose *Treatise on Eternal and Immutable Morality* (1731) illustrates the new issues. No doubt, subjective discussion of conscience is maintained, as may be seen from Joseph Butler's (1692-1752) *Sermons on Human Nature* (1726); but the famous passage on probability as the guide of life, at the beginning of the *Analogy* (1736), has no specific casuistical reference.

Similar subjectivity may be traced in Thomas Rutherforth's (1712-71) *An Essay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue* (1744), but, as a reply to Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), its central interest is theoretical. Philip Doddridge (1702-51) manifests kindred tendencies in the ranks of Dissent not unfriendly to the Church (*The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, 1745); finally, the stream loses itself in the prolixities of Tucker (1705-74), a leisured layman (*The Light of Nature Pursued*, 1766-77), and in the academic, utilitarian prudences of Paley (1743-1805) and Whewell (1794-1866).

In the early years of the Oxford Movement the Bampton Lectures on 'Scholastic Philosophy,' by R. D. Hampden (1793-1868), which refer to casuistry incidentally, stirred up a hornets' nest (cf. R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*², 1892, p. 152 f.), and led to acrimonious discussion marked by no little intellectual casuistry (cf. Introduction to *BL*³ [1832]; *Edin. Rev.* lxi.iii.; *Dublin Rev.* xvii. [1868]; *Theol. Rev.* viii.), which, moreover, concerned the whole authoritative basis of casuistical guidance as conceived in Moral Theology. *The Conscience, Lectures on Casuistry* (1868), of J. F. D. Maurice (1805-72), is by no means a profound work. Henceforward the Anglican development may be said to turn upon the accompaniments and results of the 'Anglo-Catholic' movement. While these are a continuation of the tendency within the Church, dating from the 17th cent., to maintain the chief traditions of pre-Reformation teaching, their contemporary manifestation begins with Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82). The renewed practice of confession goes back to the publication of his two sermons, *The Entire Absolution of the Penitent* (1846). Prior to this there should be mentioned *The Churchman's Manual* (1833), by the Tractarian coterie at Oxford, and *Tracts for the Times* (especially No. 80, 'On Reserve in Communicating

(1945), *Lectures on Systematic Morality* (1846), *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy in England*² (1862); T. R. Birks, *First Principles of Moral Science* (1878); H. N. Oxenham, *Short Studies, Ethical and Religious* (1888); T. Fowler, *The Principles of Morals*, pt. ii. (1887); N. S. Rulison, *A Study of Conscience* (Baldwin Lectures, 1901); H. H. Henson, *Moral Discipline in the Christian Church* (1905); H. Rashdall, *The Theory of Good and Evil: A Treatise on Moral Philosophy*, vol. ii. p. 414 f. (1907); F. W. Bussell, 'Christian Theology and Social Progress', *BL*, 1906 (1907); H. V. S. Eck, *Sin* (1907).

V. MODERN WORKS: J. Bentham, *The Rationale of Judicial Evidence*, ed. J. S. Mill, 6 vols. (1827), esp. vol. i. bk. i. chs. i.-xi., vol. iii. bk. v. chs. ii. vi. vii. xvi.; *Essays by* Bentham, chs. i. iii. xi. xviii. xxiii. xxviii. (J. Fitzjames Stephen, 1862); J. Morley, *On Compromise*² (1877); L. Stephen, *The Science of Ethics*, chs. iv. viii. (1882); H. Sidgwick, *Outlines of the History of Ethics*, p. 149 f. (1888), *Practical Ethics*, p. 83 f. (1898); E. Gurney, *Tertium Quid: Chapters on Various Disputed Questions*, vol. i. (1887); T. De Quincey, *Collected Works* (ed. D. Masson), vol. viii. p. 319 f. (1890); C. M. Williams, *A Review of the Systems of Ethics founded on the Theory of Evolution*, p. 423 f. (1893); J. S. Mackenzie, *A Manual of Ethics*² (1897; see Appendix for lit.); F. Paulsen, *A System of Ethics*, bk. i. ch. vi., bk. ii. ch. v. (Eng. tr. 1899); F. Granger, *The Soul of a Christian*, ch. xii. (1900); J. MacCunn, *The Making of Character*, p. 162 f. (1900); S. E. Mezes, *Ethics, Descriptive and Explanatory*, pt. i., pt. ii. ch. xiii. (1901); Th. Ziegler, *Gesch. d. Ethik*, vol. ii. (1892); P. Bergemann, *Ethik als Kulturphil.* pt. i. (1904); A. Fouillée, *Le Moralisme de Kant et l'amoralisme contemp.* (1905); F. C. Sharp, in *Studies in Phil. and Psychology* (Garman Commemoration vol., 1906); E. Caird, *Lay Sermons and Addresses*, pp. 97 f., 151 f., 179 f., 205 f. (1907); G. Frommel, *Études moral. et relig.* (1907); W. M. F. Petrie, in *HV*, July, 1908; G. T. Knight, *The Praise of Hypocrisy: An Essay in Canisius* (1906); J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts, *Ethics*, p. 325 f. (1909); J. Royce, *The Philosophy of Loyalty*, p. 147 f. (1908). R. M. WENLEY.

CATACOMBS.—The numerous ancient Christian cemeteries, better known by the generic name of 'catacombs,' constitute the most notable monument of primitive Christianity in Rome which has come down to us. Their origin goes back to the 1st cent. A.D., and is directly connected with the preaching and diffusion of Christianity in Rome initiated by the Apostle Peter. Just as the Jewish community in Rome had its places of assembly in the synagogues, and its places of burial in the Jewish cemeteries, so the Christian community in Rome had, even from the end of the 1st cent., its places for liturgical meetings called *ecclesie domesticæ* or *tituli*, and common cemeteries which were in close connexion with and dependence upon these same ancient *tituli*. Thus, we know that the very ancient cemetery of Priscilla, the oldest in subterranean Rome, situated on the Via Salaria Nuova, was dependent upon and connected with the *tituli* in memory of Pudens in the 'Vico Patricio,' and with those of Aquila and Priscilla on the Aventine, as has been shown by G. B. de Rossi. And, just as the primitive *tituli* had their origin in the houses of rich Christian patricians who placed at the disposal of the faithful, for their meetings, one or more halls in their palaces, so the first *cubicula* and galleries of the catacombs were excavated beneath the suburban farms of some of the faithful, who placed at the disposal of their brethren in the faith the area above and below ground of their country properties. Thus, from the very first, the Christian cemeteries were safeguarded under the protection of private possession. That this was the origin of the cemetery excavations is clearly proved by the very names of the Roman cemeteries, which almost always have a double denomination—the first consisting of the personal name of the ancient possessor of the property in which the cemetery was excavated, the second of the name of the martyrs who, in the centuries when peace prevailed, were held in especial reverence there, e.g. 'cimiterium Prætextati ad S. Janarium,' 'cimiterium Pontiani ad SS. Abdon et Sennen,' 'cimiterium Domitillæ ad SS. Nereum et Achilleum,' etc.

The excavation of the first nuclei of the Roman catacombs must have been very restricted, and so it remained throughout the whole of the 1st and 2nd cents.; the great system of cemetery excava-

tion which we see to-day belongs almost exclusively to the 4th cent., and the regions belonging to the 1st and 2nd cents. are rare.

At the beginning of the 3rd cent., owing to the extraordinary increase in the number of the Christians, the cemeteries underwent a correspondingly wide extension. It was precisely on this account that the catacombs were considered by the Roman authorities to be the collective property of the *corpus Christianorum*, that is, of the Christian society; and this exposed the catacombs directly to temporary confiscations by the Imperial government. This is the heroic period, so to speak, in the history of the Roman catacombs. During the storm and continuous succession of the terrible persecutions of the 3rd cent., the Christian cemeteries were twice confiscated, namely, during the persecution of Valerian in the year 258, and during that of Diocletian in the year 303. Of this dangerous period in the history of our cemeteries the echoes and traces remain in the excavations themselves, as well as in the inscriptions in the catacombs. At that time, and particularly in the second half of the 3rd cent., secret and hidden entrances were opened; and de Rossi was able to verify the existence in the cemetery of Callixtus of a mysterious stairway, cut short and hanging as it were in mid-air, which must have been constructed for the purpose of escape from danger in times of persecution and of confiscation of the cemeteries. Further, the Christian epigraphy of the 3rd cent. reflects the very difficult conditions in which the society of the faithful found itself, for this epigraphy is more than ever bound by the restrictions of the *arcani disciplina* (q.v.), which reveals itself in an involved and enigmatic symbolism which escaped the attention of the profane.

The great persecution of Diocletian, which was the longest, the most sanguinary, and the most terrible of all, for ever ended the cruel struggle which for three centuries Christianity, with the weapons of humility and with the moral and religious force of its new principles, had carried on against a decrepit and corrupt paganism. Constantine, after his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian bridge, proclaimed at Milan (A.D. 313), together with his colleague Licinius, the edict which granted a final peace to the Church. Christianity triumphed, and its shout of victory found a faithful echo even in the obscure caves of the Roman catacombs. In the 4th cent. the excavation of cemeteries extended in a marvellous way, and subterranean architecture attained an imposing magnificence of form and of style previously unknown, so that, even in its external forms, catacomb excavation demonstrates the security, tranquillity, and peace which characterized that happy century in the history of Christianity.

The cemeteries above ground, or *sub divo*, which had been formed in modest proportions even from the time of the persecutions, were greatly developed in the Constantinian and post-Constantinian periods; they were embellished with basilicas, cells, exedrae, and porticoes, while, with this increase and spread of sepulture above ground, subterranean burial proportionately decreased. The most important and characteristic period is that of the second half of the 4th cent., and in this period stands out the grand figure of Pope Damasus. During the persecution of Diocletian some historical crypts had been concealed by the Christians in order to preserve them from the fury of the pagans. Pope Damasus, in the turbulent period of the schism of Ursinus, had made a vow that, if he were able to bring back the clergy to the wished-for unity, he would restore and adorn the crypts of the martyrs. After his triumph in that difficult crisis, Damasus kept his promise. He found again

the crypts which were hidden beneath the rubbish; he constructed new entrances, wider and more commodious, to facilitate the pious pilgrims' access to the venerated tombs; and he opened *lucernaria* to give light and air to the crypts, which he also enlarged and embellished, placing there inscriptions, for the most part in metrical form, in which he related the circumstances of the martyrdom of the saints, and at times referred to the works which he himself had executed. These epigraphs he caused to be engraved in honour of the martyrs, in a special form of calligraphy known to archaeologists as 'Damasan,' or 'Filocalan,' because it was invented by Damasus's friend, Furius Dionysius Filocalus. Many were the works carried out by Damasus in the crypts of the Roman catacombs, and these were continued and brought to a conclusion by his immediate successor, Siricius.

These works of restoration and embellishment excited a lively desire among Christians to have their tombs within or near the venerated crypts. In this way there arose the so-called *retro-sanctos*, that is, regions or galleries in the cemeteries, excavated near the historical crypts, and in which the faithful strove to obtain sepulture, in order to be materially as near as possible to the tombs of the martyrs. The ardour with which this endeavour was prosecuted caused the grave-diggers to take advantage of it for the purpose of gain; and, at the end of the 4th cent. and at the beginning of the 5th, the buying and selling of subterranean sepulchres remained the almost exclusive privilege of the *fossores*, who at times sold the sepulchres near the tombs of the martyrs at a very high price.

Cemetery excavations finally ceased in the first half of the 5th cent., and thenceforward burial took place in cemeteries formed *sub divo* over the catacombs until the middle of the 6th cent., when, these cemeteries being abandoned and the funeral prescriptions of the Laws of the XII Tables forgotten, centres for burial began to be formed within the city. Thus, after the catacombs had been used for about four centuries as cemeteries, they became exclusively sanctuaries of the martyrs, and consequently the goal of devout pilgrimages. The pilgrims came from all parts of the Roman world, and especially from the northern regions of Europe; and in the so-called *Itineraries of the Pilgrims* we have vivid and very eloquent evidence of these continued visits, which went on from the 6th to the 9th century. These valuable guides to the historic sanctuaries of the Roman catacombs constitute the fundamental documents for the reconstruction of the topography of subterranean Rome; they were compiled in the 7th and 8th centuries by priests of the Roman Church, for the use of the pilgrims who came to Rome, and not by the pilgrims themselves, as the present writer has recently demonstrated (*Nuovo Bullettino d'archeologia cristiana*, 1909, p. 79 ff.). During this period many Popes set themselves to adorn the historic tombs with paintings and other ornaments, and to repair them; and we still see the traces of their labours, and sometimes we have a record of them in the biographies of Popes in the *Liber Pontificalis*.

We thus reach the 9th cent., with which terminates this first long period in the history of the catacombs. Continual invasions and raids, especially those of the Lombards, in the Roman Campagna had rendered them insecure and too much exposed to damage and ruin. The Popes, in this state of things, saw themselves constrained, however unwillingly, to remove the bodies of the martyrs from the catacombs, and to place them in security in the churches and basilicas of the city. Thus commenced the period of translation, and the translations were carried out in the case of a

great number of the martyrs by Popes Paul I., Stephen III., Paschal I. in the beginning of the 9th century, and finally Leo IV. in the middle of the 9th century. With the translations of this last Pope, the catacombs were almost totally deprived of their most precious treasures; and, on this account, visits to the suburban sanctuaries gradually ceased, their chief object having come to an end. The crypts gradually came to be abandoned, and the earth, precipitated down the stairways and the *lucernaria*, slowly filled up the crypts and subterranean galleries, which thus disappeared and became hidden in the course of centuries. The oblivion into which these sanctuaries had fallen hindered a right knowledge of the topography of the Roman catacombs, and the names of individual cemeteries were confused and identified with those of contiguous cemeteries. In this way, in the course of the 10th and 11th centuries, the Roman catacombs were forgotten by every one. There remained only here and there in the Roman Campagna a few names which vaguely recalled the great historic memories of the monuments and of the martyrs of the primitive Church.

From the 10th and 11th centuries down to the first half of the 15th the Roman catacombs lay neglected and forgotten. It is with this century that the dawn of a new period begins. The first visitors to the subterranean cemeteries were the Minor Friars, who, between the years 1433 and 1482, examined a region of the cemetery of Callixtus, on the Appian Way. Only one date is anterior to this period, namely, that of 1432, connected with the name of Johannes Lonck. In 1475 the members of the Roman Academy, with the celebrated humanist, Pomponio Leto, at their head, went through some regions of the cemeteries of Callixtus, Prætextus, Priscilla, and SS. Peter and Marcellinus, not for the purpose of a pious and religious examination, but out of mere scientific and literary curiosity. The visits of the Roman Academy remained fruitless of scientific results, and found no echo among contemporaries.

At the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th cent., Antonio Bosio, who may be regarded as the real founder of Christian archaeology, descended into the catacombs. He went through many of the Roman cemeteries, and diligently studied, with adequate scientific criteria, their historical records, connecting the notices of the *Acts of the Martyrs* with the topography of the cemeteries. The fruit of his immense labours appeared in a posthumous work entitled *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana* (Rome, 1632). Bosio died in the year 1629; but even from the beginning of the 17th cent. a mischievous tendency turned aside those who studied Christian archaeology from the system of topographical research so happily instituted by Bosio. At that time began the search for the bodies of the martyrs, based upon criteria scientifically false; and the catacombs were compelled to undergo a deplorable, however pious, sack. In this work of anxious and feverish search for the bodies of the saints, the canon Marcantonio Boldetti distinguished himself. He had in his possession a very treasure of cemetery monuments, and during the space of forty years he examined numerous regions of the catacombs which up till then had remained intact. In his work entitled *Osservazioni sopra i sacri cimiteri dei Santi Martin ed antichi cristiani* (Rome, 1720), he gathered together, without any scientific order, a great number of records, without troubling himself with aught save the distinctive signs and the recognition of the bodies of the martyrs. This false tendency threw discredit upon the study of the Roman catacombs, while Protestantism derided the search for relics, and Montfaucon wrote a

pamphlet to demonstrate the small number of martyrs belonging to the catacombs of Rome. The 18th cent. marks the most deplorable period in the history of the Roman catacombs; they were plundered of their most noteworthy treasures, the inscriptions were dispersed, the *loculi* were violated, and the paintings were removed.

With the commencement of the 19th cent. a new period opened in the study of Christian archaeology. The names of Adami, Raoul-Rochette, and Settele, with the learned compositions of which they were the authors, mark this notable revival. The learned Jesuit, Padre Giuseppe Marchi, gave a definite impulse to this study, and published in 1844 his important work on the *Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive nella metropoli del cristianesimo*. Marchi happily arrived at some data for a scientific system, and he had the great merit of being the master of Giovanni Battista de Rossi, the restorer of the science of Christian archaeology. The young disciple at once perceived the importance of Christian epigraphy and topography. Of the former he laid down the chief canons and the fundamental laws, and, with respect to the latter, he showed for the first time the great importance of the *Itineraries of the Pilgrims*. He created, from its foundations, the science of cemetery topography, which he based upon solid and unshakable criteria, so that during his long scientific career he was able to find again many of the historical crypts of the catacombs. De Rossi published three volumes of the *Nuova Roma Sotterranea* (1864, 1867, 1877). After his death, study and research were continued by a numerous band of students, among whom the names of his disciples constantly hold the first place, and who constituted the first and true Roman school of Christian archaeology. These men were worthy continuators of the work of the great master; and we may record, as a tribute of sincere praise, the names of Henry Stevenson, Mariano Armellini, and Orazio Marucchi: the first two were very soon removed by death, and to the third has now been deservedly assigned by the Commission of Sacred Archaeology the compilation of some volumes of the *Nuova Roma Sotterranea*, a work which has for its purpose the prosecution of that already begun in so masterly a way by de Rossi (1st fasc. 1909).

The Roman catacombs occupy a long zone of the breadth of three miles around the city of Rome, starting from the walls of Aurelian. They had their primitive entrances upon the margin of the great consular roads, or near the small cross-ways which led off from the principal roads. These entrances were constructed in the full light of day, which proves that the Christians possessed cemeteries *æquo jure* from the first centuries of Christianity. We have a fine example of this in the monumental ingress to the cemetery of Domitilla, which opens on a cross-way of the Via Ardeatina. The excavation of a Christian cemetery was begun with a stairway which descended from the surface of the ground; directly it reached the level of the granular tufa, the first gallery, with its *cubicula*, was excavated at its foot. Thus the cemeteries arose from very limited *hypogæa* of a domestic character, with stairways; and, later on, by the enlargement of the excavations, they joined one another, thus forming the immense labyrinth of the Roman catacombs. The opinion is consequently false which holds that the catacombs arose from ancient *arenaria* abandoned by the pagans.

The cemetery galleries were excavated, as has been said, almost exclusively in the granular tufa, and have a width of between 75 centimetres and one metre. To right and left, *loculi* were excavated in the walls, and these were sometimes closed by marble slabs or by tiles, and were capable

of containing one or more bodies; the *arcosolia*, on the other hand, were formed by a tomb called *solium*, over which an arch was turned, whence the name *arcosolium*. Here and there to right and left opened *cubicula*, or family-chambers, which were sometimes adorned with paintings and marble, and furnished with *luminaria*. Further, in the pavement of the galleries tombs were made, known by the name of *formæ*, and these were covered with great slabs of marble with inscriptions.

The most precious monuments of the Roman catacombs, with the exception of the tombs of the martyrs, are the inscriptions and paintings, which constitute a monumental treasury of the primitive Roman Church. Christian epigraphy had its rise as early as the 1st cent. A.D., and at first was very simple and laconic in form; the primitive formulæ of acclamation and of invocation reduced themselves to short and affectionate salutations, 'pax,' 'pax tibi,' which later on became more complex—'pax tibi cum sanctis,' 'vivas, vivas cum tuis,' and the well-known salutation, 'in pace,' etc., which became very frequent, especially after the beginning of the 3rd cent., and continued throughout the 4th and 5th centuries. The primitive inscriptions are generally distinguished by the beautiful form of the character employed, by the sobriety of their wording, by the use of the most ancient symbols, as, for example, an anchor (the sign of hope in Christ), and the sign of the cross, and by the large size of the marble slabs which shut in the *loculi*, and which, in the regions belonging to the 1st and 2nd cents., are very large indeed. Christian epigraphy was developed and transformed in the 3rd cent., during which the sad conditions of the times induced the Christians to restrict the language of the cemetery inscriptions within the most rigorous limit of the *arcani disciplina*. During this century Christian symbolism attained its most lofty expression both in form and in phraseology. The dove figures the soul of the faithful who longs for the beatitude of Paradise, and holds in its beak an olive branch, which is the symbol of peace. The palm branch and the crown recall to one's thought the victories over human passion obtained during life, and the reward reserved for the faithful in heaven. The mysterious symbol of the fish, represented by the Gr. word ΙΧΘΥΣ taken in an acrostic sense, expresses the conception: 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour' (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ). Bread, marked with the cross, and a basket, are Eucharistic symbols. In the phrases 'percepit,' 'accepit (gratiam),' allusion is made to baptism and to chrism. With the beginning of the 4th cent. and with the 'peace of Constantine,' Christian epigraphy appears in a triumphal dress. The monogram Χ, at first employed as a *compendium scripturæ*, came to be engraved as a triumphal sign in Christian inscriptions, which became longer and more flowery. Eulogistic formulæ, perhaps not always merited, were ascribed to the dead, such as 'totius bonitatis,' 'totius innocentiae.' In the meantime inscriptions with consular dates, which in the first three centuries were rare, grew more frequent; these form a class of epigraphs very valuable for the study of cemetery chronology, and de Rossi used them in a masterly way in his study and restoration of the Imperial *fasti*.

In the second half of the 4th cent. the great historical inscriptions of Popes Damasus and Siricius appear, of which we have spoken above. In the 5th cent., cemetery epigraphy ceases; but, on the other hand, the inscriptions of the cemeteries above ground grow frequent, and these are distinguished from the others by the prolixity of their wording, by their more decayed style of palæography, and, above all, by the form and dimensions

of the slabs. In these cemeteries above ground, moreover, Christian sculpture makes a show, and this is chiefly represented by sarcophagi of marble. Sarcophagi are not common in the galleries and subterranean crypts, though they are found at times in the primitive *hypogea*, as in that of *Acilii Glabrones* in Priscilla, and in that called *Vestibolo dei Flavii* in Domitilla. But these cannot possibly be regarded as Christian sarcophagi, since there are represented upon them scenes from the cosmic and marine cycle, ornamental figures and representations of the vintage and of country and pastoral life—types, in a word, which the Christians had learned in the workshops from the pagans, and of which they took care to select those scenes which did not offend the principles of their faith or of Christian morals. True Christian sarcophagi are met with only in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Christian art from the 4th to the 6th cent. is very rude. Upon the sarcophagi appear scenes referring to facts in the OT and NT, and these are, more or less, always repeated in the same way on this class of monuments. The conditions of Christian painting are much the same. In the 1st and 3rd cents. it contents itself for the most part with indifferent and ornamental subjects, drawn from contemporary classic art, to which it closely approaches in the exquisite beauty of its artistic execution; such, for example, are the paintings on the vault of the vestibule of the Flavii in Domitilla, and the paintings in the chambers of the crypts of Lucina in Callistus. At the same time, we have, even from the 1st and 2nd cents., paintings with subjects and symbols which are really Christian, as, for instance, the very ancient Madonna in the cemetery of Priscilla, the scene of Daniel among the lions in the vestibule of the Flavii, and the Eucharistic symbols and the figure of the Good Shepherd in the crypt of Lucina. The great development of Christian painting took place in the 3rd and 4th centuries. The paintings of this age, especially those which adorn the *arcosolia* and the crypts, are formed according to the funerary conceptions of the so-called *ordo commendationis animae*, that is, the prayers which the priest pronounced by the bed of the dying one, in commending his soul to God. These wonderful prayers of the most ancient Roman liturgy are accurately reflected in the arrangement of the scenes depicted on the lunette and on the vault of the *arcosolium*. The prayers express the thought of the liberation of the soul of the dead, just as Isaac was delivered from the hand of his father Abraham, Daniel from the lions' den, and the Three Children from the fiery furnace; and, in fact, we see in the paintings of the *arcosolia* the scene of the Three Children in the furnace, that of Isaac, and that of Daniel. With the cessation of cemetery sepulture this first period of Christian art comes to an end, and it is followed by that characterized by paintings in the Byzantine style, executed by the Popes in the historical crypts from the 5th to the 9th century.

It will be useful at this point to make a very brief reference to these historical crypts. By historical crypts are to be understood chambers where martyrs, historically known to us, were buried; for it is certain that great numbers of other martyrs were buried in the Roman catacombs, either alone or in *polyandri*, i.e. tombs for several bodies, of whom it may be said, to employ a Christian phrase, 'quorum nomina Deus scit,' and to these Damasus at times makes allusion in his inscriptions. In their origin the tombs of the martyrs were in simple *cubicula*, or in the galleries which, as we have said above, were altered, embellished, and enlarged from the 4th cent. onwards; to this period the Byzantine paintings belong, as we have already remarked.

From the time when the exploration of the Roman catacombs commenced until the middle of the 19th cent., i.e. during the space of almost three centuries, only three historical crypts were found. Bosio, in 1619, discovered the historical crypt of SS. Abdon and Sennen in the cemetery of Pontianus, on the Via Portuensis; in 1720, Boldetti discovered that of SS. Felix and Adauctus in the cemetery of Commodilla, near the Via Ostiensis; and in 1845, Marchi discovered that of SS. Protus and Hyacinthus in the cemetery of St. Hermes, on the Via Salaria Vecchia. The attempt was discouraging: one historical crypt per century, and what is more, all discovered by mere chance.

De Rossi addressed himself, by means of a sure system, to the arduous work of discovering the historical crypts in the labyrinths of the cemeteries, making use, in the first place, of the *Itineraries of the Pilgrims*, and then of the data afforded by the monuments, as we shall now show. He searched those parts of the cemeteries where remains of constructions were visible, or where there were heaps of rubbish which had been precipitated from above, for these indicated the presence of some notable monument. It was in this way that he discovered the cemetery basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus on the Via Ardeatina. Another very important indication consisted in a number, more or less large, of *luminaria* arranged in series; for this was evidence that that region had been especially illuminated in order to render it accessible to the pilgrims, and was thus an indication of the existence of an historical crypt. This, in fact, he met with in the historical group of the tombs of the Popes and of St. Cecilia in the cemetery of Callistus. Another decisive indication was found in the 'Damasan' inscriptions which were placed by Pope Damasus in the historical crypts. Finally, the presence of Byzantine paintings indicated that a crypt had been visited and frequented during the period in which ordinary sepulture there had ceased. By this happy method of divination, de Rossi was able to make numerous important discoveries in the Roman catacombs, leaving as an inheritance to his successors in these studies a wide field of scientific research.

We conclude this general exposition of the history and monuments of the Roman catacombs by expressing the fervent hope that the subterranean city of the martyrs will soon be able to hail the day in which all its monuments will come to light; they will thus constitute in their entirety the grandest collection which it is possible to desire of the primitive monuments of Christianity.¹

[¹ While by far the most important and the best known catacombs are in or near Rome, there are a considerable number of others, not only in Italy, but also in Egypt (Alexandria), Northern Africa (Arch-Zara), Sicily (Syracuse, Palermo, Grazia di Carini, Frangapani, near Girgenti), Malta (Abbatiaad-Deyr, Tal-Liebru), Melos (near Tryptiti, in the valley of Keima), Lower Italy (Sorrento, Atipalda, Cimile, Sessa, Naples [a large number, of which the chief are those of SS. Gennaro, Gaudioso, and Severo], Castellamare [the catacomb of Venosa in Apulia is most probably of Jewish origin]), Central Italy (Bazzano, Paganica, catacomb of St. Vittorino near Aquila, Monte Leone, Bolsena, Chiusi, Caere, Nepi, Sutri, Sorzano Nova, Viterbo, Vulci, catacomb of St. Eutizio near Soriano, Rignano), with which must be reckoned such suburban catacombs as those at Albano, Nemi, Velletri, Gabbii, and Baccano. North of the Alps there are no catacombs, properly speaking (for a full list of catacombs, with considerable description and abundant references to the literature bearing on them, see N. Müller in *PRE*³ x. 804-813, 848-850, 852-861, 865a-866b). Many of the extra-Italian catacombs are of relatively early date, though they were formed later than those in or near Rome. The oldest portions of the catacomb of St. Maria di Gesù, near Syracuse, probably date from the 3rd cent., while that of St. Giovanni, near the same city, may be as early as 320. The catacomb of Tryptiti, in Melos, dates from the 4th cent., and those in Malta mainly from the 4th and 5th centuries.

It may perhaps be worth noting that the so-called catacombs of Paris are not catacombs in the real sense of the word. They were originally merely the subterranean quarries from which building material for the city was obtained; and it was not until 1787 that they were used as receptacles for bones brought from old cemeteries.—LOUIS H. GRAY.]

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CATECHISMS (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Eastern Churches).—The words 'catechism' and 'catechize' are derived from the Greek *κατηχίζω*, a factitive of *κατὰ* ('down', 'down', 'sound'), which means 'to resound', 'din in.' To catechize means generally to give oral instruction, as distinct from instruction through the medium of books; and as such instruction is commonly given in the form of questions and answers, the word is especially used in the sense of systematic questioning. The ecclesiastical use of the words is very early and continuous, but they are also often used of questioning of any kind. In its ecclesiastical application, the word 'catechism' is used in two principal senses: (1) of a system of oral instruction—a method of teaching; (2) of the contents of the instruction, especially of a document, generally drawn up in the form of questions and answers, either for the guidance of the teacher, or to be learnt by heart by the learners themselves.

I. Methods of teaching.—In the very early days of Christianity many persons must have been admitted to baptism after a very short instruction and examination in Christian doctrine. But it can hardly be supposed that any one can at any time have been admitted into the Church without some sort of profession of faith, and this would imply some previous instruction. It is also quite clear that at a very early period this instruction became systematic and thorough. Its substance can be gathered only indirectly; for all the documents that we possess were written for persons who had already received oral instruction, and it is not likely that they should describe it. The books of the NT were written, without exception, for instructed and baptized Christians, and were intended for their further edification in the faith. They everywhere take for granted, but naturally do not describe, the earlier oral instruction that all their readers had received. Incidentally, however, we can gather a good deal as to its nature and extent. See art. CATECHUMENATE.

There are abundant indications that this catechetical instruction was systematically conducted and gradually developed during the first three centuries, though it is not until the 4th cent. that we find it fully described. Some account of it, as far as it could be explained to heathen readers, is given by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 61). The importance attached to it may be gathered from the way in which the Catechetical School at Alexandria, the great centre of the intellectual life of the Church, is spoken of. The head of this school was

clearly regarded as filling one of the most important offices in the Church (Euseb. *HE* v. 10, vi. 3, 14, 15, 26, 29). In the 4th cent. we have abundant information about the catechumenate, and also specimens of the actual instruction given to catechumens. The catechumenate was recognized as a definite status; those who were admitted to it were called 'audientes,' ἀκούοντες, and they were already regarded as in a sense Christians, though not as 'fideles,' and were allowed to be present at the preliminary part of the Mass, the *Missa Catechumenorum*, until after the sermon. Men often remained catechumens for years, and sometimes, as in the case of the Emperor Constantine, until their deathbed, though this was regarded as an abuse. In the normal course those who were to be baptized on Easter Eve gave in their names at the beginning of Lent, and went through a final course of instruction and preparation, which included the delivery of the Gospels and the Creed, performed with great solemnity. The most notable of the actual instructions that are extant are the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348), and St. Augustine, *de Catech. Rudibus*, *de Fide et Symbolo*, and *Sermo ad Catechumenos* (c. A.D. 400). Catechizing was recognized as one of the most important functions of the Christian ministry, but there was no special order of Catechists; the name denoted a function, not a class. St. Cyril, e.g., delivered his *Catecheses* partly as a deacon and partly as a priest. Nor, as a rule, were any special places set apart for the purpose of catechizing, though the Council in Trullo (97) mentions *κατηχουμέναια*.

As paganism gradually disappeared in Europe, and infant baptism became more general and eventually almost universal, the catechetical system was necessarily modified. The theory, however, did not keep pace with the practice. The instruction which was supposed to be given before baptism was given after it; but the baptismal Offices, even in the 8th cent., still assume that the catechumens are adults. In the course of the Middle Ages the ceremonies which preceded baptism were greatly shortened, and finally condensed into what formed practically a single service, though it was still divided into three parts, the *Ordo faciendi Catechumeni*, the *Benedictio Aquae*, and the Baptism itself. The words 'catechize' and 'catechism' were still applied to the abbreviated interrogations which formed part of the order of making a catechumen.

For instance, Matthew Paris, in the year 1239, says in his account of the baptism of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I.: 'The bishop of Carlisle catechized the infant, the Legate baptized him, the Archbishop of Canterbury confirmed him, and by the king's desire the name of Edward was given him.' As the answers were made on the child's behalf by the sponsors, the word 'catechism' was sometimes used as equivalent to sponsorship, and it was a question much debated whether 'the catechism' were a bar to marriage (see Joannes de Janua, *ap. Du Cange*, s.v. 'Catechizari').

Meanwhile the substance of the actual instruction now given after baptism, and not as yet usually called the Catechism, remained much the same as it had always been. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments formed the nucleus of it; and the parish priest, when the parochial system became general, was the person who was made responsible for imparting it. Numerous injunctions of bishops and Councils insisted upon the performance of this duty. Bede in his letter to Egbert, the first archbishop of York, exhorts him to provide that all the priests in his diocese should most carefully teach the Creed and the Lord's Prayer to all the people, in Latin if they can understand it, and if not, in English (A.D. 734). The Council of Clovesho in A.D. 747 orders (c. 10) that priests should explain in the vulgar tongue the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the solemn words used in the Mass and in Baptism, and also the

meaning of the Sacraments themselves. In A.D. 1281 the *Constitutions* of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, order that all parish priests shall four times a year, on one or more holy days, explain in the vulgar tongue the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Evangelical Precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, and the seven sacraments. These directions are frequently referred to in the following centuries, and insisted upon by bishops and synods, e.g. by Thoresby and Neville, archbishops of York in 1357 and 1466, and by Langham and Arundell of Canterbury in 1364 and 1408. These, however, are only a few examples out of many that might be cited both in England and on the Continent.

The regulations of the English Church about catechizing since the 16th cent. have been even more precise and imperative than before. The rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer order all parish priests to catechize on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and the rest of the Church Catechism on every Sunday and Holy Day after the second lesson at Evening Prayer; and all persons who have the charge of the young are ordered to send them to church for this purpose. Any minister neglecting this duty is, by Canon 59, to be admonished for the first offence, suspended for the second, and excommunicated for the third. Parents and others who neglect to send their children are likewise to be suspended, and, if they persist, to be excommunicated. The exact method of instruction is not prescribed with the same precision or enforced by so severe penalties in other parts of the Western Church, but the responsibility of the parish priest is everywhere the same. The most elaborate of catechetical systems has grown up in France during the last two centuries, and it is commonly known as the Catechism according to the Method of St. Sulpice, from the church in Paris where the system has been specially elaborated. A complete course of instruction is spread over a period of about three years, and the weekly catechism consists of three main parts—the Questioning, which is recapitulatory and intended to exercise the memory; the Instruction, which is reproduced in the course of the week in written analyses; and the Gospel and Homily, which supply the moral and spiritual application of the lessons taught. This Method of the Catechism is being extensively introduced into England (see Dupanloup, *Method of St. Sulpice*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1890, and *Ministry of Catechising*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1890; S. Jones, *The Clergy and the Catechism*, Lond. 1895).

2. *Manuals of teaching.*—Until the 16th cent. the word 'catechism' meant a system of teaching, and it was most commonly applied to the questions and answers in the Baptismal services which represented the catechetical instruction of the early Church. In the 15th cent., however, the term was also applied to the further instruction of children after their baptism, and then it was an easy step to apply it to the documents used in that instruction.

Many manuals of explanation were in use in the later Middle Ages; but, as was natural at a period when reading was not a very common accomplishment, they were more used by the clergy in preparing their instructions than by the people themselves. One of the most popular was the *Speculum Christiani*, which was one of the first books printed in England (see Gasquet, *Old English Bible*, London, 1897). Similar manuals are to be found in Continental countries. The production of such works was enormously stimulated by the religious controversies of the 16th cent., which was prolific of confessions of faith. These manuals had all kinds of titles, but the general term 'Catechism' came to be applied to them, and the word quickly

assumed the sense in which it is now most commonly used—that of a manual of religious teaching for the young, especially one in the form of questions and answers. One of the earliest examples of this use of the word was the 'Catechizon' drawn up by John Colet for St. Paul's School.

(1) The *Anglican Catechism* first made its appearance in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. The way had been prepared for it by royal injunctions issued in 1536 and 1538, which ordered, as had so often been done before in episcopal and conciliar injunctions, that parish priests should teach their parishioners, sentence by sentence, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, and explain the same. Instructions in the form of dialogue also appeared, as in Marshall's Primer in 1534.

The authorship of the Catechism in the Common Prayer Book is quite uncertain. It has been ascribed, on insufficient evidence, to several persons: to Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely, because he had the 'Duties' inscribed on tablets in his palace; to John Ponet, bishop of Rochester and afterwards of Winchester, because he wrote another Catechism; and to Alexander Nowell, second master at Westminster School and afterwards dean of St. Paul's, because he also wrote Catechisms, and because Izaak Walton (*Compl. Angl.* i. 1) definitely states that he 'made that . . . Catechism which is printed in our good old service books.' But this was written in 1653, and, as Nowell's catechisms were well known, he might easily have been credited wrongly with the authorship of the Church Catechism also. Walton adds that both Convocation and Parliament commissioned him to make it, which was certainly not the case. And contemporary and internal evidence is altogether adverse to Nowell's authorship. Nothing is really known about the authorship of any part of the Book of Common Prayer of 1549, except that Crammer must have taken a principal part in it. Very probably he did almost the whole of the work himself, and, at any rate, it is quite uncertain who helped him, or how much they contributed. There is some evidence that the book was examined and approved by others, but very few details are known.

The Catechism, as it appeared in 1549, did not contain the concluding section about the Sacraments. This was added in 1604 by royal authority, in consequence of a wish expressed by the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference; and the whole Catechism, thus enlarged, was sanctioned, with some trifling alterations, by Convocation and Parliament in 1661–62. This is the only authorized Catechism in the English Church. It was intended in the 16th cent. to supplement it by more advanced manuals. A 'Short Catechism commended to all Schoolmasters by royal authority' was published anonymously in 1553, but was believed to be the work of Ponet (*Orig. Lett.*, Parker Soc. lxxi.). The royal injunction sanctioning its use states that it had been submitted to certain bishops and others. It is reprinted in *Liturgies, etc.*, of *Edw. VI.* (Parker Soc.). In 1561 the bishops agreed that two other catechisms should be prepared, one more advanced, and one for schools. In 1563, Nowell sent the MS of his Larger Catechism to Cecil, stating that it had been approved by the clergy in Convocation; but it does not appear to have been published until 1570, when it was also translated into English. Many editions of it appeared, and it must have been very extensively used. It was re-published by W. Jacobson, Oxford, 1835. Not long afterwards Nowell published his Middle Catechism, which also passed through many editions, and was translated into Greek and English. A third work, the *Catechismus Parvus*, the earliest extant edition of which is dated 1574, closely resembles the Church Catechism, and this is one of the grounds on which Nowell is supposed to have been the author of the latter work. But it is far more probable that he simply translated the Church Catechism into Latin, with additions of his own. Overall, dean of St. Paul's, who is believed to have prepared the section about the Sacraments in 1604, made use of these earlier works. In the latter half of the 16th cent., Continental Catechisms, such as those of Erasmus, Calvin, and Bullinger, were also much used in England.

(2) The Catechism which has the highest degree

of authority in the *Roman Church* is that which is called the Catechism of the Council of Trent, or the Roman Catechism. The Council of Trent met in 1545 and ended in 1563. It passed a great number of decrees on points of doctrine, and towards the end of its sittings it ordered a Catechism to be prepared, which was to be translated into the vulgar tongue and taught by parish priests. After the close of the Council, Pope Pius IV. appointed certain distinguished theologians to prepare such a Catechism. They were Calinius, archbishop of Zara; Foscarari, bishop of Modena; Marinus, archbishop of Lanciano; and Fureiro, a Portuguese. The last three were Dominicans. S. Carlo Borromeo also assisted in the work. The Catechism was finished in 1564, and appeared in 1566, with the title 'Catechismus Romanus ex decreto Concilii Tridentini Pii v. Pont. Max. jussu editus. Romae, in aed. Pop. Rom. ap. Ald. Manutium.' This Catechism has not the authority of the Council of Trent, for it was constructed after the close of the Council; but it was intended to embody the results of the deliberations of the Council, and it was published by the authority of the Pope. It is the most authoritative document of the kind in the Roman Church. It is divided into four parts, dealing with Faith, the Means of Grace, the Decalogue, and the Lord's Prayer. It is a large doctrinal treatise, intended to be used by parish priests in preparing their instructions, and not for the use of the children themselves. Innumerable catechisms for the use of learners have been and are in use. As a rule, each diocese, especially in France, has its own catechism, sanctioned by the bishop. This system has obvious disadvantages as well as advantages, and at the Vatican Council of 1870 it was proposed that a single catechism should be prepared and authorized for universal use. It was to be in Latin, and translations were to be made for all countries. The question was debated at considerable length, and there was a good deal of opposition to the proposal on various grounds, especially because of the different needs and circumstances of different dioceses. It was also pointed out that at least three Catechisms of different grades would be required for any complete system of teaching. A considerable majority was in favour of the principle of the scheme, but no final conclusion was arrived at before the end of the Council, and no practical steps have been taken since.

(3) In the *Eastern Churches* the catechetical systems have not developed to the same extent as in the West. This may be due partly to the fact that it is not usual in the East to defer the Confirmation and first Communion of infants who are baptized, as has come to be the practice in the West. There are, however, many catechetical works in use. In 1721 the synod of the Russian Orthodox Church ordered the composition of three small manuals for the use of the young and ignorant, and there appeared by order of the Czar Peter I. the 'First Instruction of Youth, containing a Primer, and a short exposition of the Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Creed.' The best known Eastern catechism is that of Jeromonach Platon, metropolitan of Moscow, which was composed in 1765 for the use of the heir to the throne, the Grand Duke Paul Petrovitch. The 'Complete Christian Catechism of the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church,' which is now in common use, is founded upon this work of Platon. An English translation may be found in R. W. Blackmore, *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, 1845.

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CATECHISMS (Lutheran).—Long before Luther undertook the composition of his Catechisms of 1529, he had been active in the field of catechetical literature and practice. As early as the year 1515 we have from his pen expositions of the Decalogue and the Lord's Prayer. In 1519 he states that he was daily going over the Commandments with children and laymen ('pueris et rudibus pronuncio'). In 1520 he published a Short Form of meditation on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.

'Three things,' he says, 'a man must needs know to be saved. . . The Law shows man his disease. . . the Creed tells him where to find his medicine, the grace. . . the Lord's Prayer teaches him how to seek and to appropriate it.'

From Luther's letters to Nicol. Hausmann, of 2nd Feb. and 26th March 1525 (see Th. E. L. Enders, *Martin Luther's Briefwechsel*, v. 115, 144), it appears that the Wittenberg theologians had charged Jonas and Agricola with the preparation of a Catechism for the young. What became of their work is not known. In August 1525, Hausmann, in a letter to Stephan Roth, laments that the Catechism had not yet appeared, and wishes that Jonas may undertake it and bring it out speedily. In October 1525 the 'Little Book for Laymen and Children' appeared ('Das Büchlein für die Laien und die Kinder' [*Monumenta Germaniae Pædagogica*, vol. xx.], which holds quite a prominent place in the catechetical literature of those times. It contains the five parts of the Catechism—Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Baptism, Lord's Supper—almost exactly in the form found in Luther's *Enchiridion* of 1529. The author is not positively known, but may have been John Bugenhagen. About the same time, Luther had evidently made up his mind to undertake the preparation of a Catechism of his own, though he had not yet the time for it (see letter to Hausmann of 27th Sept. 1525, 'Catechismus differo, vellem enim uno opere simul omnia absolvere' [Enders, v. 246]). In his German Mass (*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts*), composed in the autumn of 1525 and published in Wittenberg in 1526, he says:

'What we need first of all is a plain, good Catechism. . . for such instruction I know no better form than those three parts which have been preserved in the Christian Church from the beginning—the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer—which contain, in a brief summary, all that a Christian ought to know.' To these he adds Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, and lays it down that these five parts ought to constitute the catechetical lessons in the main services on Mondays and Tuesdays.

In compliance with this request of Luther, here and there in the free cities of the German Empire special services were instituted for the young, and various Catechisms were published by men like Johannes Bader, Joh. Brentius, Wolfgang Capito, Conrad Sam, Wenzeslaus Linck, Althammer, Agricola, Oecolampadius, Caspar Graeter, and Caspar Löner. Most of them found only local and temporary acceptance in the churches of the Reformation. On a larger scale and more systematic are the provisions made for the religious instruction of the young in consequence of the visitations instituted by the authorities of Church and State in the territories of the German Reformation, especially in Saxony (1527, 1528). The impression made upon Luther by these visitations is set forth in his preface to the Small Catechism:

'Alas, what misery I behold! The people, especially those that live in the villages, seem to have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine, and many of the pastors are ignorant and incompetent teachers. . . . They all maintain that they are Christians, that they have been baptized, and that they have received the Lord's Supper. Yet they cannot even recite the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments; they live as if they were irrational creatures, and now that the Gospel has come to them, they grossly abuse their Christian liberty.'

There could be no further delay in Luther's own work on the Catechism. About the middle of January 1529 we find him engaged on the Large Catechism, which treats the catechetical material in the form of sermons or lectures. He writes to Martin Görlitz in Brunswick: 'Modo in parando Catechismo pro rudibus paganis versor' (Enders, vii. 43). But, while he was engaged in the composition of this larger work, he issued the Small Catechism in two sets in the form of wall charts (*tabule*), according to the custom of the times. The first set was ready by 20th Jan. 1529, as we learn from a letter of Diaconus Röer in Wittenberg to Stephan Roth in Zwickau: 'Affixas parieti video tabulas complectentes brevissime simul et crasse Catechismum Lutheri pro pueris et familia.' This first set contained the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, together with the *Benedicite* and *Gratias*. The second set appeared about the middle of the month of March, when people were preparing for the Easter Communion. In a letter of 16th March, Röer describes this set as 'Tabulae Confessionis, et de Sacramentis Baptismatis et Corporis et Sanguinis Christi' for the more advanced Christians. The contents of both sets of these *tabule* appeared first in book form in Hamburg, in the early part of April, in the Low German dialect. On 16th May 1529 the Small Catechism appeared in High German, in an edition furnished by Luther himself, and was soon followed by a second edition. No copies of these original Wittenberg editions have thus far been discovered. They are known only from reprints, issued at Erfurt and Marburg. Besides the material of the *tabule*, these editions contain the Preface, the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Table of Duties, and the Order of the Marriage Service. The third edition adds also the Order of Baptism (June 1529). Additional editions, superintended by Luther himself, and here and there revised by him, appeared in the years 1531 (containing for the first time the present form of instruction concerning Confession, and the explanation of the introduction to the Lord's Prayer), 1535, 1536, 1539, and 1542.

While Luther's Small Catechism, the *Enchiridion*, was at first simply one catechism among many, it very soon gained the ascendancy over all other text-books for the instruction of the young. In 1561 the Lüneburg Articles number it for the first time among the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church, together with the Augsburg Confession, Apology, and Schmalkald Articles. The fact that the Heidelberg Catechism by Olevianus and Ursinus (1563) was, from the beginning, recognized as one of the confessional standards of the Reformed Church may have helped to establish Luther's Catechisms as official and authoritative documents of the Lutheran Church. Both the Large and the Small Catechism of Luther were formally incorporated into the *Book of Concord* of 1580. Since then Luther's Small Catechism has formed the basis of numerous fuller expositions in questions and answers published in the different territories of the Lutheran Church.

As early as the year 1529 two Latin translations of Luther's Small Catechism appeared, the second of which, by J. Sauer-
mann, Canonius in Breslau, was received into the *Book of Concord*. John Mylius published a Greek translation (Basel, 1558); John Clajus prepared a polyglot edition—in German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—which appeared in 1572. In the

Danish and Norwegian languages it was published in 1582, and ~~ethnically~~ introduced, with a preface by J. Bugenhagen, in 1588. The first Swedish translation was probably prepared by Laurentius Petri, in 1548. The earliest print that has been preserved is from the year 1572. Its official introduction followed in 1595, but not until 1680 do we find its general use in Sweden. In the Balto-Slavic territory the *Enchiridion* was published in Bartolomaeus Willents' Lithuanian translation in 1547, in Abel Wills' Old Prussian translation in 1561, and in J. Rivius's Letic version in 1586, besides a version in the non-Indo-Germanic Estonian in 1553. In all these four languages the Small Catechism was the first literary monument, and it is practically the sole relic of the extinct Old Prussian dialect.

In the year 1548, Archbishop Cramer prepared an English translation in his *Catechismus*, published by Gualterus Lynne, which is in reality an English version of the sermons on the Catechism (*Kinderpredigten*) attached to the Brandenburg Nuremberg Agenda of 1533, summing up each sermon with the respective part of Luther's Catechism (see H. E. Jacobs, *Lutheran Movement in England*, pp. 314-322). The Swedish pastor and missionary, John Campanius, who preached the gospel from 1643 to 1648 at Tinicum, near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, translated the Catechism into the language of the Delaware Indians (the 'American-Virginian language'). It was published in Stockholm, at the expense of King Charles XI., in 1696, and brought to America in 1697 (see H. E. Jacobs, *Hist. of the Evangel. Luth. Church in the U.S.*, p. 82). Count Zinzendorf, the great leader of the Moravian movement, caused the first American edition of Luther's German Catechism to be printed by Christoph Sauer, in Germantown, Philadelphia, in 1744. The first American edition issued with the approval of the Lutheran pastors was prepared by Peter Brunnholz, and printed by Benjamin Franklin and J. Boehm in 1749. The first English translation on American soil was also made by Peter Brunnholz, possibly with the assistance of Peter Koch, a prominent Swedish Lutheran in Philadelphia, in 1749. The second was made under the auspices of the Swedish Provost Wrangel, the friend and collaborator of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, in 1761. In 1816, Phil. F. Mayer, pastor of the first English Lutheran Church (St. John's) in Philadelphia, issued an English edition of the Catechism which, more than any other, determined the text of the accepted English version in America. It was carefully revised by C. F. Schäffer and a Committee of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania (C. F. Weiden, A. T. Geissenhainer, and B. M. Schmucker), in 1854. This translation was adopted by the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1867. A more literal reproduction in the English language is given in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, and in the *English Catechism of the Synod of Missouri* and that of the Joint Synod of Ohio—the work of E. Cronenweitt, revised by the faculty of the Theological Seminary of the Ohio Synod in Columbus, O. (see B. M. Schmucker's articles on the editions and translations of Luther's Small Catechism, published or used in America, in the *Lutheran Church Review*, April and July 1886). In recent times a joint Committee of the General Synod, the United Synod of the South, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the English Synod of Missouri, and the General Council united on a carefully revised English translation, which is found in its final shape in the *Lutheran Church Review*, January 1899.

The truly conservative, catholic, and ecclesiastical character of Luther's Reformation stands out most prominently in his catechetical work. He builds on the old solid and popular foundations, found in those three principal parts—the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. He shows himself perfectly familiar with the best catechetical tradition of the Church of preceding centuries. In some details of his exposition, especially the treatment of the Lord's Prayer (the third part of the *Enchiridion*), we recognize almost literal reminiscences of the catechetical literature of the Church, as far back as Tertullian and Cyprian. It may be claimed that the whole catechetical work of the first fifteen hundred years of the Church reaches its climax in Martin Luther's Small Catechism. But, with all the conservative features which characterize Luther's catechetical work, there are some which are original with him, and for which he deserves full credit as the first great restorer of Pauline theology in the Church. Most important and significant in this respect is the order in which he arranged the popular three parts—Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer,—giving the first place to the Law, as the schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, and assigning the central and dominating place to the Creed. All other Catechisms—Roman, Greek, and Reformed—differ from Luther's arrangement in this respect. Again, he gave up the traditional division of the Creed into twelve articles, based on the legend of

its Apostolic origin, which is retained to the present day in John Brentius's Württemberg Catechism. Instead of this he divided it, from a Trinitarian point of view, into three articles, and by this arrangement the second article, with its confession of Christ, the Redeemer, becomes the very heart and soul of the whole Catechism.

(a) The first part of Luther's Catechism treats of the Law, under the form of the Decalogue, differing in this respect also from the traditional practice of the mediæval Church with reference to the 'Mandata.' The Decalogue, however, is modified by him in the spirit of the New Testament, omitting its transient Israelitic features which belong to the Mosaic dispensation, as in the form of the First, the Third, and the Fourth Commandments, according to the Augustinian numbering of the Ten Commandments. His principal aim in the treatment of the Law is its so-called second use or 'usus elenchthicus,' to lead men to a knowledge of sin.

(b) The second part of the Catechism takes for its text the Apostles' Creed, which, except in the Greek Church, was always used 'ad fidei instructionem' (the Nicene Creed being 'ad fidei explicationem,' and the Athanasian 'ad fidei defensionem'). Luther's treatment of the Creed combines the objective and the subjective side of faith, the 'fides, quæ creditur' and the 'fides, quæ creditur.' The great works of God—Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification—are set forth as the fundamental facts of our salvation; not, however, as purely objective, abstract, doctrinal statements, but with all the fervour of personal conviction and appropriation. There is no dogmatism or scholasticism in this presentation of Christian doctrine in the 'Layman's Bible,' as the *Enchiridion* has frequently been called.

(c) In the third part Luther treats the Lord's Prayer as the fruit of justifying faith, the embodiment and demonstration of the new life, in the spirit of sanctification and adoption. It sets forth the life of the Christian as the life of the child of God, with all its privileges and duties, its needs and dangers, its hopes and resources.

(d, e) To these three fundamental parts are added the fourth and fifth, on Baptism and the Sacrament of the Altar, with the connecting link, on Confession and Absolution, 'concerning which a Christian must also be properly instructed.' Here the language of the Catechism, otherwise so simply objective and thetical, becomes of necessity more antithetical and controversial, in opposition to various deviations from what Luther held to be sound doctrine on these points. But even here everything culminates in simple living faith. With the requirement of 'truly believing hearts' the fifth and last part of the Catechism closes.

LITERATURE.—*Martin Luther's Werke, Deutsch und Lat.*, Erlangen ed., 101 vols.; Th. E. L. Enders, *Martin Luther's Briefwechsel, bearbeitet und mit Erläuterungen versehen* (ten volumes have thus far appeared, covering the period from 1507 to 1586), Calw, 1884 ff.; K. Kehrbach, *Monum. German. Pædagog.*, vols. xx. to xxiii., containing 'Die evangel. Catechismusversuche vor Luther's *Enchiridion*,' 1522-1529, by F. Cohrs, Berlin, 1900-1902; J. T. Müller, *Die symbol. Bücher der ev.-luther. Kirche, deutsch und lat.*, Gütersloh, 1898; C. P. Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, Philadelphia, 1871; H. E. Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England: A Study in Compar. Symbolics*, Philadelphia, 1890, also *Hist. of the Evangel. Lutheran Church in the U.S.*, New York, 1898; C. A. G. von Zeschwitz, *System der christl. kirchl. Katechetik*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1863; C. Palmer, *Evangel. Katechetik*, Tübingen, 1861; Th. Harnack, *Katechetik*, Erlangen, 1882; R. Kübel, *Katechetik*, Barmen, 1877; F. Cohrs, art. 'Katechismen Luthers,' in *PRE* 3 x. 130 ff.

ADOLPH SPAETH.

CATECHISMS (Heidelberg and Westminster).—I. The second (next to Luther's) great Catechism of the Protestant Churches is the Heidelberg Catechism. It was prepared by Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, by com-

mand of Frederick III., Elector of the Palatinate, and was published in 1563. Ursinus had prepared a *Summa Theologiæ* and a *Catechesis Minor*, which were made the basis of the work. The advice and co-operation of the theological faculty and of the Superintendents and court-preachers were secured, and before publication the Catechism was approved by a Synod of ministers and teachers assembled by the Elector at Heidelberg. It cannot be called a wholly original work, but was the fruit of a long catechetical development. Leo Juda's *Christliche klare u. einfalte Zuleitung in den Willen u. in die Gnad Gottes*, 1534, his *Kurtzer Katechismus*, 1535, and his *Brevissima Christ. relig. formula* of 1538 or 1539; Bullinger's *Hausbuch* of 1558, and the *Summa, Catechesis pro auditiobus scripta* of 1559; Calvin's *Genevan Catechism* of 1545, and the *Emden Catechism* of 1554—are among the sources. Traces of the influence of Löner, Urbanus Rhegius, and Morbanus have been found in it. Though avowedly written to supplant Luther's teaching, the influence of his Catechism is evident. The order of the book is due to Melancthon's *Loc*i, and Reu has traced much of its arrangement to *Eine kurtze ordentliche Summa der rechten waren Lehre*, a catechetical work published by Nikolaus Gallus in 1558. The justly famous first question 'What is thy highest comfort in life and death?' is found in previous works of this sort, and the answer may find its original in the Nuremberg Catechism-Sermons of 1533 (translated under Abp. Cranmer as *A Short Instruction into Christian Religion*, 1548):

'And this, my dear children, is our highest comfort, that Christ is our Lord, and we are His own, for therefore will He protect and deliver us, so that, though we be sinners, He will forgive us our sin, for He has made satisfaction for sin, and, though we die, He will make us to live again, for He has overcome death, and even though we came into hell, hell could not hold us, because He has burst the bonds of hell. Therefore, because we have such a mighty Lord, we cannot need anything' (*Nuremb. Kinderpredigten*, on Art. 2 of the Creed).

The Heidelberg Catechism probably aimed at being a culmination of the catechetical development of the Evangelical Church. Its rejection of the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ, and of the meaning of His Exaltation, is pronounced; and in the 3rd ed. an 80th question was inserted, it is said at the instance of the Elector, in which 'the popish Mass' is condemned as 'at bottom nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and sufferings of Jesus Christ, and an accursed idolatry.'

This Catechism was translated into many tongues, and is the most widely used of all 'Reformed' Catechisms. The best English version appeared in New York (Scribners) in 1863. It contains 129 questions and answers. Questions 3-11 treat of the Sin and Misery of Man; 12-85 of Redemption by Christ; 86-129 of the Thankful Life of the Christian. In the Second Part the Articles of the Apostles' Creed are explained under the heads God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Then follow the two Sacraments. The Commandments are explained in the Third Part under the head of Thankfulness; and this is followed by the Lord's Prayer. While the Heidelberg Catechism retains the form of a Confession in its answers to the questions, it is much more theological than Luther's Catechism; and, edifying as the answers are, they are too long and minute for the memory or use of children. On the other hand, it surpasses Luther's Catechism as a systematic presentation of Christian doctrine.

LITERATURE.—The best modern ed. is *The Heidelberg Catechism in German, Latin, and English; with an Historical Introduction*, New York, 1863. The official German editions were issued in 1563, 1585, 1595, 1684, and 1724. The Latin tr. was published in 1563 and 1566. See also P. Schaaf, *Creeds of Christendom*, London, 1877, i. 529 ff. and iii. 307 ff., where the literature is given fully. The best introductions are those of

J. W. Nevin, *History and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*, Chambersburg, 1847, and Reu, *Süddeutsche Katechismen*, Gütersloh, 1904.

2. Westminster Catechisms.—An English translation of Calvin's Geneva Catechism was used and repeatedly printed in Scotland. John Craig, minister at Aberdeen and afterwards at Edinburgh, prepared a Larger (1581) and a Smaller Catechism (1591). The latter explains the Apostles' Creed, the Commandments, the means of grace, and the way of salvation. It consists of short and simple questions and answers. It was finally superseded by the *Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly* (see Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, i. 728 ff.). This is the third of the great Catechisms of the epoch of the Reformation. The Larger and Shorter Catechisms were finished in 1647, approved by Parliament 15 Sept. 1648, and adopted by the General Assembly at Edinburgh in July of that year. Schaff says that the Larger Catechism was chiefly the work of Anthony Tuckney, Professor of Divinity and Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge. He adds that it is based on Ussher's catechetical *Body of Divinity*, and on the *Compendium Theologicum* (1626) of Johann Wolleb of Basel (see Schaff, *loc. cit.*, and in *PRE*²). The Shorter Catechism is a condensation of the other; 'its concise and severely logical answers are traced to the Rev. John Wallis, M.A., an eminent mathematician.' It begins with the celebrated question, 'What is the chief end of man? To glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever'; defines God, and states the doctrine of the Trinity; tells of the fall and misery of man; explains the offices and states of the Redeemer; and then analyzes the work of the Holy Ghost, effectual calling, justification, adoption, and sanctification. The Apostles' Creed is not professedly explained, but is printed after the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, at the end of the Catechism. The Commandments set forth 'the rule which God at first revealed to man for his obedience.' All the Reformed Catechisms agree with the Greek Church (against the Roman and Lutheran) in making 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image,' etc., the Second Commandment, and comprising in the Tenth both prohibitions of coveting. The 59th and 60th questions assert the Divine appointment of the first day of the week to be 'the Christian Sabbath,' forbid 'all worldly employments and recreations on it,' and command the 'spending the whole time in the public and private exercises of God's worship, except so much as is to be taken up in the works of necessity and mercy.' Under the Eighth Commandment (Q. 74) is required 'the lawful procuring and furthering the wealth and outward estate of ourselves and others.' The proper use of the Word and the Lord's Supper is insisted on. There is a brief explanation of the Lord's Prayer.

The *Shorter Catechism* is Calvinistic, not only in its formal statements of doctrine, but in every reflexion it contains of the controversies of the time: 'God having out of His mere good pleasure, from all eternity, elected some to everlasting life' (Q. 207); and 'The only Redeemer of God's elect' (Q. 21); but it nowhere urges the eternal reprobation of the non-elect. Schaff (*op. cit.* i. 787) commends and criticizes it thus:

'It far surpasses them [Luther's and the Heidelberg Catechism] in clearness and careful wording, and is better adapted to the Scotch and Anglo-American mind, but it lacks their genial warmth, freshness, and childlike simplicity. . . . It deals in dogmas rather than facts. It addresses the disciple as an interested outsider rather than as a church-member growing up in the nurture of the Lord. Its mathematical precision in definitions, some of which are almost perfect, though above the capacity of the child, is a good preparation for the study of theology.'¹

¹ For minor Catechisms of the Reformation and subsequent periods, see art. CONFESSIONS.

LITERATURE.—Besides the literature mentioned throughout the article, see Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, i. 753 f., and the literature at art. CONFESSIONS. EDWARD T. HORN

CATECHUMEN, CATECHUMENATE.—

The word 'catechumen' is derived from the Gr. word *κατηχεῖν* ('instruct', lit. = 'din into the ear'), which occurs 7 times in the NT (Lk 14, Ac 18²⁶ 21²¹⁻²⁴, Ro 2¹⁸, 1 Co 14¹⁹, Gal 6⁶), and whose use in these passages illustrates its very early application to those who were subjected to careful and systematic instruction in Christian doctrine, with a view to being admitted into the body of the Church. This preparation is actually indicated in germ also by the very early insertion¹ of v. 57 into the account of the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (Ac 8³⁶⁻³⁸), and by vv. 31, 32 in the account of the baptism of the jailer and his household at Philippi (Ac 16²⁹⁻³⁰).²

Such systematic instruction in religion would be quite familiar, at least to the converts from Judaism; for not only were there schools attached to most of the synagogues, in which the young were carefully educated by catechetical methods, with the OT Scriptures for text-book, up to the age of twelve or thereabouts, but also there is little doubt that proselytes (i.e. Gentile converts to Judaism) received catechetical instruction certainly before, and perhaps after, their admission as such.³

As time went on, it would soon be necessary to develop the instruction and prolong the period of preparation, though we have but scanty records remaining to us until we reach the 3rd century. Such as we have, however, are satisfactory so far as they go. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* provides (in its first six chapters)⁴ instruction in practical rather than doctrinal subjects, and then proceeds (ch. 7): ταῦτα πάντα προεπιόντες, βαπτίσαστε, κ.τ.λ. . . . κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεύσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μᾶς ἡ δόξα. Here, then, we have (probably in the 2nd cent.) a definite course of instruction laid down for catechumens in that portion of Christendom to which this treatise belongs, and the duty of preliminary fasting enjoined;⁵ and there were probably special reasons why the practical rather than the dogmatic side was insisted on. Again, in Justin Martyr's *Apology*, i. 61, we read as follows: ὅστις ἂν πεισθῇσι καὶ πιστεύουσιν ἀληθῆς ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπακούοντα, εὐχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν προσημαρτημένων ἀφενὸς διδασκονταί, ἡμῶν συνευχόμενον καὶ συννηστεύοντων αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειτα ἀγορεύει ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐνθα ὁδωρ ἐστί. Here similar evidence is afforded, together with the addition of prayer for forgiveness of sins, though this is really implied in fasting.

A little later than this, but early in the 3rd cent., we come upon a considerable body of evidence as to the care that was then taken with the preparation of catechumens. Converts in those days, and for some time to come, were still mostly adults, and a good many of these never proceeded to Baptism itself until they were at the point of

¹ Not later than the 2nd cent., since it is quoted by Irenaeus (*Her.* iii. xii. 8).

² Cf. Ac 28-41. In each of the cases quoted some preliminary instruction was obviously given, though the special circumstances reduced the period to a minimum. It is to be noted also, as Frere (*New Hist. of Bk. of Com. Prayer*, p. 557) points out, that a large proportion at least of the early converts had already had the training of Judaism as their schoolmaster to bring them unto Christ. The same author also suggests that 'when St. Paul says (1 Co 14-17) that it was not his work to baptize, he . . . has in view a system of teaching and training' preparatory to baptism (p. 658 n.).

³ One might be tempted to find evidence of early catechetical instruction in such passages as Ps 15, 24⁵, 34¹³⁻¹⁵, Is 53¹⁴⁻¹⁶ etc. In Harnack's opinion, we have in *Is.* 11-12-22-25, and fragments in chs. 8 and 13, a book of instruction for Jewish proselytes called 'The Two Ways' (P. C. Porter, art. 'Proselyte' in *HDB* iv. 136a).

⁴ Cf. *Apost. Const.* vii. 22.

⁵ This is still required of adults in the English Church.

death (e.g. the Emperors Constantius and Constantine). No doubt, this was in part due to an exaggerated fear of post-baptismal sins and loss of innocence, but it must also be remembered that the state of the heathen world was such as to make it extremely difficult for the ordinary person to conduct himself with consistency as a Christian, and it was therefore most important that catechumens should be as thoroughly grounded as possible in Christian principles.¹ There must also have been frequent cases of relapse into sin in the ranks of the catechumens, which required punishment and postponement of baptism (see Bingham, *Ant. x. ii. § 17*). An extreme instance of the tendency to Puritanical strictness is found in the history of the early Syrian Church, where, even until the time of Aphraates in the 4th cent., baptism appears to have been 'a privilege reserved for celibates'; or, in other words, it was as a rule postponed till a period in life when men and women felt disposed to live separately.² Hence the Christian community consisted of baptized celibates,³ together with a body of adherents who remained outside, and were not really members of, the body.

But our concern is chiefly with other parts of Christendom, and there by the beginning of the 3rd cent. the writings that are extant give us a clear idea upon the subject. In the first place, modern researches seem to show conclusively that there were only two grades among those who were unbaptized: (1) catechumens pure and simple, i.e. adherents to Christianity who were, however, looked upon as members of the community (e.g. *Can. Hipp.* 63, 64); (2) catechumens who sought baptism, and were therefore being subjected to a definite course of instruction with a view thereto. These latter were called *φωτισμένοι*, *competentes*, *electi*, and the like.⁴ The proper time for their preparation was the season of Lent, so that they might be ready for the solemn administration of the sacrament of baptism on Easter Eve. But as baptism might, for one reason or another, be postponed till later on in the Easter season, and as Whitsunday was the end of that period, the latter festival was looked upon as the second great annual occasion for admission. In the East the Epiphany, which was always associated with our Lord's baptism in the Jordan, was also allowed, and sometimes in the West as well. After that, Christmas and other festivals were added, in spite of Papal disapproval.

The first portion of the preparatory period was occupied with three kinds of preparation: (1) instruction in what they must give up (the renunciation) (see art. ABRENUNTIIO); (2) instruction in what they must believe (the faith); (3) a series of exorcisms by which the evil spirits were to be driven out of the candidates.⁵ A list of names

was carefully drawn up of those who were to be admitted to this course. Then by Thursday in Holy Week those who satisfied the bishop were finally determined upon, and after fasting on Friday presented themselves on Saturday morning for the last act of preparation before baptism itself, which would normally take place that same evening. At this last preliminary service there were three ceremonies: (1) the concluding exorcism, with imposition of hands over the candidates as they knelt facing the east; (2) the exsufflation, or breathing into their faces; (3) the *effusa*, each person being touched with spittle (or oil) on the mouth, ears, etc., in imitation of our Lord's action in Mk 7³¹⁻³⁷.

If we pass on one hundred years later, to the beginning of the 4th cent., we reach a period in the history of the Church when peace and the cessation of persecution naturally added large numbers to the Christian body, and produced further developments in the regulations for the catechumenate. The same outlines of preparation in the earlier and the later stages are still observed both in the East and in the West (at Rome and in 'Gallican' churches), but the whole system is more systematic and definite.⁶

During the course of instruction, a kind of examination was held from time to time, often called *scrutinium*; by the 7th cent. there were as many as seven of these *scrutinia*, which began in the 3rd week of Lent. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other parts of Christian doctrine (*traditio symboli*) were learnt by heart. Various portions of the Scriptures were read and explained, especially from the historical and moral books (see Aug. *de Cat. Rud.*). What are now called the Apocrypha were also used for this purpose (Athan. *Fest. Ep.* 39; ps.-Athan. *Synopsis Script. sacr.*), more particularly, it seems, the Book of Sirach (*Can. Apost.* 85).⁷ At Rome there was, at all events later on, a formal instruction in the four Gospels, called *apertio aurium*, and a curious ceremony of administering salt to the candidates.⁸ They were also universally admitted to Church assemblies and to the first part of the Eucharist (i.e. up to the *missa* [= *missio*] *catechumenorum*), though actual instruction in the doctrine of Holy Communion was mostly withheld till after baptism.

It must, however, be remembered that, though these ceremonies continued and were even, as has been said, probably added to in process of time, and though the first part of the baptismal service was still called in the liturgical books *ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*, the rapid growth of the practice of infant baptism, which followed upon the establishment and spread of Christianity, soon led to the practical decay of the catechumen system. Comparatively few adults were baptized, but the rites and forms that had been elaborated for them were not adapted to the new circumstances, and babes in arms were treated as if they were in full tions elsewhere were, no doubt, in part, though not exclusively, intended for the benefit of catechumens (in the technical sense).

¹ The authorities for this description are Tert. *de Baptismo*, and *Can. Hipp.* 60-110; a little later we find Serapion's *Prayer-book*.

² The authorities are the *Peregrinatio Etheriae* (a lady pilgrim's account of Church life in Jerusalem), the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Augustine (for Africa), St. Ambrose (for Milan), etc.

³ Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. iv.*) objects to this use of *ἡ ἀνάπτυξη* and 'whatsoever is not read in churches'; but he must be taken, we think, to refer to heretical and uncanonical writings, not to the Apocrypha in our sense (cf. Dion. Alex. p. 62, ed. Feltoe).

⁴ This, according to the usage of those days, was often called *sacramentum* (e.g. Aug. *de Pecc. Mer. ii. 26*; *Conc. Carth. iii.* canon 5). Baronius and others were mistaken in thinking that this referred to *eulogios* (*pain bénit*); see Bingham. *Ant. x. ii. 16*.

¹ To the same considerations must be attributed the multiplication of forms and ceremonies which is so noticeable in connexion with baptism in the mediæval rite.

² See Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, 1904, p. 125 ff. The whole question is fully discussed by him; he compares similar tendencies among the Marcionites (Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 34), the Manichæans, the Albigenses, and the Buddhists.

³ The technical name for these baptized persons was *Βναι* *Q'aymā* ('sons of the covenant'), who formed a kind of monastic order.

⁴ See Duchesne, *Orig. du culte chrét.* (Eng. tr. p. 293), who quotes F. X. Funk, *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1883, p. 41 ff., as having established that the old idea of their division into four classes is erroneous. It may be added that the case of penitents is, as it were, the case of those who have been reduced to the rank of catechumens, and that the same author (see Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 436 n.) throws doubt on the universality of the four classes in their case even in the East, while in the West it was never practised at all.

⁵ The deacons were specially charged with this work (*Can. Hipp.* 61), but care had to be taken that they too had been efficiently instructed: *οἱ κατηχούμενοι πρῶτον κατηχούμενοι κατηχούμενοι ὅτι περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἔργον* (ps.-Clem. *Ep. ad Jac.* § 13).

⁶ The Catechetical School at Alexandria and similar institutions. vol. III.—17

possession of their faculties and capacities.¹ At the present day this defect has been more or less completely remedied in the various parts of Christendom, though to a greater extent in the West than in the conservative East; and still more so in the Reformed than in the un-Reformed branches of the Church. Both the modern *Rituale Romanum* and the Prayer-books of the Anglican Communion provide separate Offices for the Baptism of Infants and of Adults, and in the Offices for the latter provision is still made for the due preparation of the catechumens. The rubric in the Roman Office requires that the adult candidate shall receive adequate instruction in faith and morals, shall receive the sacrament of baptism fasting, and, if possible, at the bishop's hands, and on Easter Eve or at Whitsuntide. The Office for the Public Baptism of 'such as are of riper years and able to answer for themselves' was not added to the English Prayer-book till 1661; the Preface thus accounts for its addition:

'Although not so necessary when the former Book was compiled, yet by the growth of Anabaptism, through the licentiousness of the late times crept in amongst us, [it] is now become necessary, and may be always useful for the baptizing of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the Faith.'

The reasons here alleged are still, of course, operative in our days, especially in many parts of the mission field, where great care has to be exercised in the selection and instruction of converts before baptism. It is to be noticed that here, too, the rubric gives directions which are on much the same lines as the Roman rubric just referred to, and follows ancient precedent:

'Timely notice shall be given to the Bishop,² or whom he shall appoint for that purpose, a week before at the least, by the Parents, or some other discreet persons; that due care may be taken for their examination, whether they be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion; and that they may be exhorted to prepare themselves with prayers and fasting for the receiving of this holy Sacrament.'

One of the chief privileges of the catechumenate, up to the time of its practical abolition by the spread of infant baptism, was that of attendance (with penitents) at the first portion of the Eucharist. This consisted, in general terms, of the Scripture lections from OT and NT (*Prophetica, Apostolica, and Evangelica Lectio*) and the homily. After that, in the East, during the 4th cent., the catechumens first, the energumens next, then the *compentes*, and finally the penitents were dismissed³ in this form:

'At the invitation of the deacon they offer up a silent prayer, while the congregation also prays for them. The deacon formulates this prayer, specifying the particulars of it, giving the petitions in detail. The faithful, especially the children present, answer him by the supplication *Kyrie Eleison*! The catechumens afterwards rise up, and the deacon invites them in their turn to pray, by joining with him in the form which he employs; he then invites them to incline their heads to receive the blessing of the bishop, after which they are dismissed.'⁴

As to the Roman Liturgy we have no evidence available till the liturgical books of the 8th century. By that time 'discipline in regard to catechumens . . . had been largely modified. There were no longer any adult catechumens. . . . Duchesne is, however, of opinion that the ancient formulæ of the *missa catechumenorum* was preserved notwithstanding, and occurs in the order of baptism of that date.

'On the day of the "Opening of the Ears" [or *traditio symboli*] the deacon dismissed the candidates for baptism with the words, *Catechumeni recedant! Si quis catechumenus est, recedat! Omnes catechumeni eceant foras!*'⁵

¹ Traces of this incomplete adaptation are to be observed even in the Reformed office of the Anglican Church: e.g. the 'Thou' and 'I' in the questions to godparents, and their answers, which the phrase 'in the name of this child' only partially sets free from awkwardness.

² The Irish Prayer-book retains this rubric in its entirety; the American substitutes 'Minister' for 'Bishop . . . discreet persona.'

³ Hence the term *missa catechumenorum*, *missa* being a late word for *missio* (like *collecta* for *collectio*, *ascensa* for *ascensio*, etc.). The Roman Mass still ends with the words 'Ite, missa est.'

⁴ Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 58.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 171.

For the Gallican use we have the evidence of St. Germain of Paris¹ in the 2nd half of the 6th cent. adduced by Duchesne.² By his day

'the catechumenate had become merely a reminiscence. It was necessary then to explain the *missa* (dimissal) *catechumenorum*, of which the rite, however, continued to be preserved.³ This ceremony took place after the prayer, as in the Liturgy of Constantinople. In the Apostolical Constitutions it is placed before the prayer. We cannot gather precisely from the text of St. Germain whether it was accompanied by special prayers. I am inclined to believe that its text has in view the prayers which I have just dealt with, but that at the beginning there were special prayers, which disappeared with the disappearance of the catechumens. Thus, at the end of the sixth century, at least in the Church of Paris, nothing more was said than some such formulæ as *Ne quis catechumenus, catechumeni recedant*.'

Something has already been said about the present state of things in regard to this matter; but it may be further added that, since the prevalence of infant baptism amongst most Christian bodies, systematic instruction in the principles of the faith which, as we have seen, was the most important feature in the primitive catechumenate, is carried on after baptism instead of before; and in the case of the Roman, Anglican, and Lutheran Communion mostly before Confirmation, which has now been separated by a considerable interval from baptism, and postponed till those that are baptized have reached years of discretion. Among Nonconformist bodies this may be said to be provided for by means of Sunday school and other classes. In the Anglican communion the two final addresses to the godparents in the office of 'Public Baptism of Infants' lay stress upon the duty of their seeing that their godchildren 'be taught, so soon as they shall be able to learn, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and 'all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health,' this last clause being amplified afterwards into the charge that they 'be further instructed in the Church-Catechism set forth for that purpose.' In this way the spirit of the Early Church is still retained, by which only those who have been properly instructed in the faith are admitted to full communion with the Christian society.⁴

See also the artt. ABRENUNTIO, BAPTISM, CATECHISMS, CONFESSIONS, CONFIRMATION.

LITERATURE.—Bingham, *Ant. Chr. Church*, London, 1708-22, bk. x. ch. ii.; Bona, *Rerum Liturg.*, Rome, 1671, lib. i. capp. xvi., xvii.; F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, London, 1904, Lect. iv.; Duchesne, *Orig. du culte chrét.*, Paris, 1889 (Eng. tr. *Christian Worship*, London, 1903), ch. ix.; F. Cohrs, art. 'Catechumenat,' in *PRE³*, vol. x.; Martene, *de Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, Antwerp, 1736-38, i. ch. i. art. v.-ix.; Procter-Frere, *New Hist. of Bk. of Com. Prayer*, London, 1901, ch. xiv.; D. Stone, *Holy Baptism*, London, 1905, ch. xii.; F. Wiegand, *Symbol und Catechumenat*, Leipzig, 1899; J. Mayer, *Gesch. d. Katechumenen* . . . in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten, Kempten, 1865 (Rom. Cath.); E. Hatch, *Organization of the Early Chr. Churches*, London, 1888; Bright, *Canons of the first Four Gen. Councils*, London, 1892 (esp. *Can. Nic.* 2 and 14, and *Can. Const.* 7, and the learned editor's notes, pp. 5, 55, 121).

C. L. FELTOE.

CATHARI.—See ALBIGENSES.

CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH.—See IRVING AND THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

CATHOLICISM, CATHOLICITY. — The meaning of these words will be best understood by examining the history of the adjective 'catholic.' The word 'catholicity' is always, or almost always, the name of a quality—the quality of being catholic, in whatever sense this may be understood; the word 'Catholicism' is generally applied to a system of faith or practice which

¹ Died A.D. 576.

² *Op. cit.* p. 202.

³ Cf. Council of Epaon (517), c. 29, 'cum catechumeni pro-cedere communiter.'

⁴ In the Bull *Ex omnibus afflictionibus* (Oct. 1, 1567), Pius v. condemned the tenet of Baius, 'opera catechumenorum, ut fides et penitentia ante remissionem peccatorum facta, sunt vitæ æternæ merita' (cf. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum* 10, Freiburg, 1908, No. 1013).

possesses the quality of being catholic. 'Catholicism' is sometimes, though rarely, used of the quality itself, but 'Catholicity' is never, or very rarely, used as the name of a system.

The adjective 'catholic' is derived from καθ' ὅλου, which means 'on the whole,' 'in general'; and it has an extensive non-ecclesiastical use, which need not be particularly examined. It is used of things which are universally prevalent or applicable, or even of things which are only common, and more particularly of things which are of universal use or interest, and of persons who have universal or wide sympathies. These meanings need not be dwelt upon, but it should be noted that early ecclesiastical writers freely use the word in its non-ecclesiastical sense.

The ecclesiastical use began very early, and the word was from the first specially used to denote an attribute of the Church. It was not commonly applied to persons until much later. In many early instances it is not easy to determine the precise shade of meaning which it was intended to convey. The Church, it is true, might very naturally be called 'universal' for several reasons. It might be so called as teaching a universal religion suitable to the whole of mankind, in contrast to the national character of Judaism. Or the term might be used of actual local extension, either with reference to the future literal extension of the Church throughout the world, or with reference to that actual extension over a great part of the Roman empire—the inhabited world—which took place very early in its history. Or again, the Church in general, the Christian society as a whole, might be called 'universal,' to distinguish it from the local churches, that is, from those parts of the one society which existed in particular places. All these shades of meaning came in the course of time to be associated with the epithet, but it is not clear that any one of them was the original significance. And another idea appears very early, and perhaps to some extent even in the earliest examples of the use of the word. As the true doctrine of the Church was regarded as that which was held by the Church as a whole, while heresies were partial and local, the word 'catholic' came to signify 'orthodoxy as opposed to heresy, conformity as opposed to dissent' (Lightfoot, *Patr. Ap.*, note on *Ign. ad Smyrn.* viii.). This, indeed, became the principal meaning of the word, and so it became usual to speak of the catholic Church in a particular place, in contrast with bodies of schismatics or heretics. The word came also to be very frequently used as a sort of perpetual epithet of the Church, without any more definite significance than that of the 'true' or 'orthodox' Church. The frequency of the use of the word is attested by the fact that it appeared very early in the Eastern Creeds, and somewhat later in those of the West.

The early history and the development of the meaning of the word can be best understood from an examination of some typical examples of its use. The earliest passage in which it occurs is in Ignatius (*ad Smyrn.* viii.):

'Shun divisions as the beginning of evils. Let all follow the Bishop, as Jesus Christ the Father; and the Presbytery as the Apostles; and to the Deacons pay respect as to the commandment of God. Let no man do anything of things pertaining to the Church apart from the Bishop. Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the Bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Whosoever the Bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be there is the Catholic Church. It is not lawful apart from the Bishop either to baptize or to hold an agape; but whatsoever he shall approve, this is well pleasing also to God.'

It has been commonly assumed that in this passage the Catholic Church means simply the Church in general, or as a whole, as distinguished from the church in any particular place; and this

at first sight seems the obvious sense. But if this is the whole significance of the word in this passage, Ignatius would appear to say that the relation of the Bishop to the particular church is the same as that of Christ to the Church as a whole; and he can hardly mean this—at least not without some qualification. The drift of the whole passage is to insist on the unity of the Church, and the argument appears to be that the indwelling of Jesus is the essence of the Church, and that the visible test by which it may be seen that the community in any place is part of the Church consists in being in communion with the Bishop, who is at once the head and representative of the local church, and the link which connects it with the Church as a whole, of which Christ is the head. This is in accordance with the theory of the early Church about the episcopate; and if this is what Ignatius means, the word 'catholic' has already something of the sense of the 'true' Church.

Other early examples of the use of the word occur in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, of which fragments have been preserved in Eusebius, and of which the date may be about 150. This is addressed to 'all the parishes (i.e. dioceses) in every place of the holy and catholic Church,' and in §§ 8 and 19 'the whole catholic Church throughout the inhabited world' is spoken of. Here the meaning is not defined; but, if the sense were simply that of local extension, there would have been no object in adding the words 'in every place' and 'throughout the world.' In § 16, according to the old reading, 'the catholic Church in Smyrna' is spoken of; and if this is the right reading, it can only mean the true, orthodox Church. The more probable reading, however, is 'the holy Church.' At all events the sense of orthodoxy is unmistakable in the *Muratorian Fragment*, which says that the heretical writings cannot be received into the Catholic Church, and in Clement of Alexandria, who says (*Strom.* vii. 17) that it is the essential characteristic of the Catholic Church that it should agree in the unity of one faith. In the time of St. Augustine the significance of the word was further developed and commented on; and greater stress seems to have been laid on the idea of universality in the sense of extension—at all events on some occasions, as for instance in controversy with the Donatists. St. Augustine, writing about them to a correspondent, says that they maintained that the Church is catholic 'not from the communion of the whole world, but from the observance of all Divine precepts and all sacraments' (*Ep.* xciii. 23; cf. lii. 1). But the meaning of orthodoxy still prevails, e.g. in *de Fid. et Symb.* x.:

'We believe also in the Holy Church, that is to say, the Catholic Church. For both heretics and schismatics call their congregations churches. But heretics violate the faith itself by false opinions about God, while schismatics abandon brotherly charity. . . . Wherefore neither heretics belong to the Catholic Church, which loves God, nor schismatics, since it loves its neighbour.'

So also in *Serm. ad Cat.* 14: 'This is the Holy Church, the One Church, the True Church, the Catholic Church, fighting against all heresies.'

The *locus classicus* for the meaning of the word as it was fully developed during the first three centuries is in the *Catecheses* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (viii. 23 [A.D. 348]):

'The Church is called Catholic because it exists throughout all the inhabited world, from one end of the earth to the other; and because it teaches, universally and completely, all doctrines which ought to come to the knowledge of men concerning things both visible and invisible, both in heaven and on earth; and because it brings into subjection to godliness the whole race of men, both of rulers and of ruled, both of learned and of ignorant; and because it universally treats and heals every kind of sins which are committed by soul and body, and possesses in itself every form of virtue that is named, both in deeds and words and in spiritual gifts of every kind.'

Here there are four kinds of universality indicated—extension in place, completeness of doctrine, adaptation to all kinds of men, and moral and spiritual perfection. In another celebrated passage St. Vincent of Lérins applies universal agreement as a test of doctrine (*Common.* i. 2). After dealing with the appeal to Scripture, he adds:

'Within the Catholic Church itself the greatest care must be taken that we hold that which has been believed everywhere, always, and by all. For this is truly and properly Catholic, as the very force and effect of the word declares, which includes all things with practical universality. But this will be found precisely in this way, if we follow that which is universal, that which is ancient, that about which there is consent.'

St. Vincent does not, however, as has been sometimes supposed, exclude all development of doctrine, for somewhat later he adds:

'As in the case of individuals, so in the case of the whole Church, at the different stages of life and age, there must be great and vehement progress in understanding, in knowledge, in wisdom.'

The Middle Ages added little or nothing to the idea of catholicity. The thought of local extension fell very much into the background, for the missionary work of the Church for several centuries was nearly at a standstill; Christianity had occupied almost all the area open to it, and had enough to do to defend even this from Muhammadan aggression. The word 'Catholic' in its ordinary use meant the opposite of heretical. It was also used as a perpetual epithet. Thus the King of France was called 'the Catholic King,' and the same title was given to the King of Jerusalem. But, after the religious convulsions of the 16th cent., the word came to be used with a greater variety of meaning. The new religious associations which became known as Protestant did not commonly claim the title of 'Catholic' for themselves; and, on the other hand, the Churches of the Papal obedience insisted more explicitly on the doctrine that communion with the See of Rome was a necessary condition of membership of the true Church, and that therefore only those who remained in this communion were entitled to be called Catholic. Hence the term 'Catholic' came to be opposed to the term 'Protestant'; and on the Continent of Europe the words are still popularly used in this way. The Anglican Church, on the other hand, retained its historical continuity, and continued to claim catholicity as being a true representative of the ancient undivided Church. Anglicans, therefore, from the 16th cent. have applied the term 'Roman' Catholic to the Churches of the Roman obedience, while claiming to be equally Catholic themselves. It may be noted that from this period the word is commonly applied not only to the Church as a whole, but also to individual members of the Church. Instances of this use are found much earlier, but it now becomes very common. See further, the article on the CHURCH.

At the present day the word is used in several significations which differ considerably from each other. The chief of them are the following:

(i.) The meaning of catholicity, as it is understood at the present day in the *Roman Church*, may be summed up in the following propositions. (a) The Church was intended by God to be literally universal, i.e. diffused throughout the world. (b) As applied to the Church at any particular time, this universal extension must be understood in a moral sense, whether it be simultaneous or successive. For such a moral catholicity it is not necessary that the Church should be as yet literally extended throughout the whole world, or that its members should form an actual majority of professing Christians, or that its progress in every place should be continuous and uninterrupted. It will be sufficient if it can be shown that, from its first beginnings at Jerusalem, the Church has

by degrees extended throughout the greater part of the world, and founded branches progressively in all directions, all of which are united by a real and visible bond of union, that is, not only by common aims and sympathies, but by being under the same government. (c) This moral catholicity is a note of the Church, that is, a quality which distinguishes the Church from any other body; for it is an attribute of the Church founded by Christ, and not of a number of different bodies taken together. It implies, therefore, a common faith and a common government, for without these a true visible unity is impossible. (d) It is a quality which is possessed only by the Roman Church. The Eastern Churches possess historical continuity, but they are divided into several independent parts without a common government. Moreover, they claim only their own territory, and make no attempt to spread their branches over the world. Nor can they be regarded as forming collectively one part of the Catholic Church, the other part being the Western Church, because their bonds with the West are altogether broken, in respect both of faith and of government. The Protestant bodies are professedly partial and local, they have no bond of union, and they have severed all organic connexion with the historical Church. The Anglican Church claims catholicity, and at the present moment its branches have a wide extension; but this is closely connected with national extension, and even on the supposition that it retains Apostolic orders, the different branches of the Anglican communion are united merely by comity, and not by any efficient common government. It will be seen that, according to this view, the quality of the catholicity of the Church is almost merged in that of its unity. Even the question of orthodox doctrine enters into the conception only in a subordinate degree, and unity of government becomes the real test of catholicity.

(ii.) *The Anglican view* denies that an absolute centralized government is a necessary condition of catholicity, and maintains that such a government was not thought necessary and did not actually exist in the early ages of the Church, but that orthodoxy was maintained by the consentient witness of all parts of the Church. The name of 'Catholic' was given to the Church not so much because of its actual local extension at any moment, although it was destined to be spread throughout the whole world, but because it is in its nature capable of supplying all spiritual needs of all classes of mankind at all times. But it can do this only if it retains its purity and completeness of doctrine and worship; and, according to the teaching of the early Church, this is secured mainly by the continuity of the episcopate which preserves the Apostolic tradition and bears witness to the common consent of all parts of the Christian world. Hence arises the close connexion between catholicity and the episcopate, which is found as early as the passage of Ignatius cited above. The bishops were regarded in early times not as imposing doctrines upon the Church, but as witnesses to the accordant beliefs of different parts of the Church, so that by their agreement the faith of the whole might be ascertained. In the same manner also the due administration of the sacraments was to be secured (Ignat. *l.c.*). Any part of Christendom may therefore rightly be called Catholic which preserves the faith, the sacraments, and the Apostolic ministry. The catholicity of the Church is a real thing, although it is imperfect, just as its unity and its holiness are likewise imperfect.

(iii.) *The religious bodies which were formed in the 16th cent. and later* have made little use of the

word 'Catholic' except in the sense of Roman Catholic. In explaining the term as it occurs in the Creed and in ancient literature, they have generally laid stress upon the idea of local extension, and applied it to the ideal aim of Christianity. Some writers again, using 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' as opposed terms, have applied them to two fundamental religious tendencies. Inasmuch as all religion has as its object to bring men into close relation to God, the direct contact of the individual soul with God is its true concern. On the other hand, as man is obviously created for society, his relations to God imply relations with his fellow-men, and this implies a religious society, in and through which relations to God become possible. As this latter conception—the belief in the necessity of the Christian society, the importance of its orthodoxy, unity, and right government, and of its social acts, the sacraments—was greatly insisted upon in the Middle Ages, while in the upheaval of the 16th cent. there was a strong tendency to lay stress upon the relation of the individual soul to God, some writers use the words 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' to denote these social and individualistic tendencies respectively. This is not, however, the historical use of the words. In recent times the word 'catholic' has been loosely used in a manner still more remote from its original significance. In non-ecclesiastical matters it has been not infrequently or improperly used, as has been mentioned above, to express the ideas of comprehensiveness or general sympathy. Consequently, some modern writers have applied it in ecclesiastical matters to what is vague and undetermined in faith or practice. This use of the word is purely modern, although some approximation to it may be found as early as the writings of Baxter and Defoe, and nothing could be further removed from its historical significance.

There are several subordinate ecclesiastical senses in which the word 'catholic' has been used: (1) It is the title (*καθολικός*) of certain patriarchs or primates in the Eastern Churches. It is properly applied to a primate who is subordinate to a patriarch, but who has metropolitans under him. (2) It is used of church buildings: (a) of a bishop's church or cathedral as opposed to a parish church, (b) of a church as opposed to a private oratory, (c) of a parish church as opposed to a monastic church. (3) It is used of the Catholic Epistles (see the Comm. and the art. 'Catholic Epistles' in *HDB*).

LITERATURE.—The doctrine of the Church, including its Catholicity, is dealt with more or less fully in most general works on Christian doctrine, especially in treatises on the Creeds. The claims of the Church of Rome are the subject of innumerable works, controversial and constructive. The books mentioned here are merely a few specimens of their classes.

i. Patristic references: Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.*; 'Martyrdom of Polycarp,' ap. Euseb. *HE*; Clem. *Alex. Strom.* vii.; Cyprian, *de Unit. Eccl.*; Aug. *Epp.* iii. 1, xciii. 23, *Sermo ad Catech.*, *de Fide et Symb.*; Cyr. Jer. xviii. 23; Vinc. *Lir. Common.* i. 2.

ii. Works on the Creed: J. Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, Lond. 1669, and many edd.; Forbes, *Explanation of the Nicene Creed*, Lond. 1885; Kattenbusch, *Das apost. Symb.*, Leipzig, 1894-1900.

iii. Church doctrine: Möhler, *Symbolik*, 1838; Scheeben, *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik*, Freiburg, 1874-1887; Schouppe, *Elements Theol. Dogm.*, Brussels, 1886; Hunter, *Outlines of Dogm. Theol.*, Lond. 1895-6; Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Eng. tr., Edinb. 1898; Dörner, *Syst. of Christian Doctr.*, Eng. tr., Edinb. 1881-2.

iv. Works on the Church: Lacordaire, *L'Église*, Paris, 1903; Mater, *L'Église catholique*, Paris, 1906; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, Lond. 1897; Durell, *Historia Church*, Camb. 1906; Stone, *The Christian Church*, Lond. 1905; Lock, 'The Church' (in *Luz Mundi*, Lond. 1889); Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, Lond. 1900; Roman Cath. *Claims*, Lond. 1888; Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, Lond. 1897; Fairbairn, *Catholicism*, Lond. 1899; Rashdall, *Christus in Ecclesia*, Edinb. 1904; Tyrell, *Medievalism*, Lond. 1908; Ehrhard, 'Kath. Christentum u. Kirche in der Neuzeit' (in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. iv. 1, Berlin and Leipzig, 1909).

J. H. MAUDE.

CAUSE, CAUSALITY.—I. *THE CAUSAL RELATION.*—1. Content of the idea of cause.—By a 'cause' is meant an object, event, or process, in virtue of which some other object, event, or process comes to exist or occur. In the primitive and pre-scientific conception, derived from the instinctive philosophy of the human mind in its uncritical stages, a cause is always a concrete thing or person; but such a thing is a cause only in so far as it takes effect, and at the moment in which it does so. The 'effect' of the cause is the change produced in some other thing. If, sometimes, a certain quality of the thing concerned in its causal activity is abstracted from its other (irrelevant) qualities, and called 'cause,' this is but a convenient abbreviation; for when we say 'friction warms,' we really understand that the true cause of the warmth is the body which produces the friction.

This conception of cause involves the idea of temporal succession. The beginning of the causal action is prior to the completion of the change which is called the effect: 'the cause precedes the effect.'

Further, the popular conception of causality involves, over and above succession in time, the element of 'efficient action'; the effect is 'produced.' The bullet, e.g., would not have flown from the gun unless the charge had been fired; and common thought regards the bullet as having been made, or constrained, to fly. The constant concurrence of events, such as rubbing and warmth, may suggest, or be the occasion of, or create a need for, the application of the concept of causation; but it does not itself yield it. Causation is, then, in the first instance, a transaction between two things, an active and a passive; and this conception of concrete causes is used by Locke and Hume.

To look thus for the ground of one fact in another fact or object involves the assumption of discontinuity in the world-process. It implies that the world is an assemblage of 'things,' history a series of events; that reality consists of separate facts. We shall notice later the view that such breaking up of reality into things and events is arbitrary.

2. *Origin of the primitive concept of cause.*—The idea of causality is generally held to have arisen from our consciousness of voluntary action in ourselves. Our original model, says William James, in the construction of the concept of cause, is our immediate experience in moving our limbs. Similarly, Shadworth Hodgson asserts that the notion of efficient causation is got from our unanalyzed experience of ourself in action; a man's body, together with its consciousness, appears to him to be immediately perceived as a real and originating agent. (On this point, see Sigwart, *Logic*, Eng. tr. ii. 98.) It is certain that our relations with the external world are the events which most keenly excite our interest and attention, and that our volitional action and consciousness of effort measure for us our own 'efficiency.' Consequently, it is natural for us to interpret external events by ascribing to things the action and passion which we experience ourselves. Similarly, it is held, the idea of necessity implied in the causal relation is modelled upon and derived from the human feeling of coercion or restraint. The ordinary concept of cause is, in fact, anthropomorphic. It arose in the race from the tendency to 'introject' our own experience into objects, which especially characterized mankind in the animistic stage; and we shall see later how the empiricism of natural science regards the cruder concept of cause as a 'fetish.' But if the foregoing account of the origin of the notion of causation be correct, we can well understand that, in primitive usage, a cause should be a thing or a person—something which we can endow, by analogy, with life like our own.

The concept of 'forces,' as once used by physical investigators, to denote the (unknown) causes of changes in Nature, and of 'force,' defined as 'that which produces motion or change of motion,' as used in all but the most recent physical science, is, of course, but a form of the primitive notion of cause. Nowadays, both in science and in vulgar thought, it is events, rather than things or objects, of which the causal relation is predicated.

3. Ambiguities and difficulties inherent in the popular conception of cause.—The concept of cause necessarily involves the difficulties which belong to the several concepts—such as 'change,' 'thing,' 'activity'—which it presupposes: difficulties which have led some philosophers to regard the content of such concepts to be 'appearance' rather than 'reality.' And besides these difficulties, which inevitably arise in the application of logic, which is 'discrete,' to the time-process, which is continuous, various ambiguities attach to the words 'cause' and 'effect' on account of their usage in senses implying diverse degrees of reflexion and criticism. The meaning of statements concerning causation will depend, *e.g.*, upon how much we group together under the names of 'cause' and 'effect.' Thought can make order out of the data of experience only when it isolates, as separate 'events,' aggregates or unities whose limits in time are more or less definitely prescribable, and when it distinguishes as 'things' unities which can be easily differentiated in space. These temporal and spatial wholes are linked together, in thought which seeks to 'understand' them, by the causal means.

(a) *Continuity.*—As typical of the difficulties which emerge when we analyze the notion of cause, we may refer to that involved in causation as a time-process. As we have seen, both the primitive notion of cause and, generally, the more scientific forms of the concept regard it as of the essence of a cause that it *precedes* the effect. But time is continuous; we can always assert, in thought, elements of time in the time-series between any two points which we have selected to regard as next to each other in succession. And, unless causation is similarly continuous, we should have to suppose the two events which we call cause and effect to be separated by an interval of empty time. And this leads to further puzzles (see Taylor, *Elements of Metaph.* p. 173 f.). See CONTINUITY.

Again, a body, A, cannot be said to act causally on another, B, if, while A is changing, B is not. A cause is a cause only in so far as, and at the moment in which, it produces its 'effect'; just as a soldier is a target only when he is being the object of a marksman's aim. If causation is production of change, then cause and effect would seem to be necessarily simultaneous. We speak, indeed, of the swallowing of poison as the cause of a subsequent death; but, in thus singling out one event in a series and calling it the cause of a later one, we are using language which may be convenient, but which is certainly arbitrary and inaccurate. Between the act of swallowing and the cessation of life, a physiologist could distinguish many successive events, each of which may equally claim the title of cause of the final effect. Indeed, every event permits of conceptional division into parts, *ad infinitum*; it is really a system of events, and these are again systems of a higher order. Science resolves planets, for instance, into atoms, and these into electrons; a flash of light into waves caused by vibrations.

On analyzing a case of causal action, then, we find that it is only in a loose sense of the term that we can speak of a cause as preceding its effect. And this is so, whether 'cause' stands for a particular event or for the sum of empirical 'conditions.'

(b) *Transeunt action.*—The idea of cause involves, besides *sequence* in time, the idea of production, or of efficient action. We shall see that empirical science has eliminated this element from its concept of cause; but it has had to advance to the abnegation of the concept altogether. Cause, then, involves the notion not merely of action, but of action *upon* something, in which it produces change. This type of action is called 'transeunt.' It is important to note that transeunt action is not *perceptible*. Experience shows us one thing coming after another, but not *out of* it; observation reveals succession, and regularity of succession, but nothing more. And though efficient action does not of itself imply regularity or uniformity in the succession of effect after cause, the conception is probably motivated, psychologically, by the desire to find one ground for the connected changes which we observe. The model from which the notion is derived is the effort which we experience in accomplishing volitional actions, and the restraint of which we are conscious when we are prevented. When we come to close quarters with efficient or transeunt action, we find that it also is an obscure conception; it is hard to imagine how such action is worked, and in what it consists. *Why* does a ball move when impinged upon by another (and this is the type of transeunt causality)? We simply do not know. We can form no definite conception of an 'influence' let loose from the cause and passing over into the effect; and, as Lotze points out in his exhaustive investigation of transeunt action (*Metaph.*, Eng. tr., vol. i, ch. 5), the conception would not help us if we could. *Attributa non separantur a substantiis*. This notion of a 'transference' of something from cause to effect (or rather, to the object in which the effect appears) has been productive of error in earlier philosophy. One of its consequences, *e.g.*, was the scholastic doctrine that 'like can act only on like'—which perpetuates itself in the modern theory of psycho-physical parallelism. Such a conception also presupposes that the body B which receives the 'influence' from A is purely passive in the actual causal process—a point to which we shall soon recur.

Meanwhile, it may be observed that various attempts have been made in the past to dispense with the idea of transeunt activity, in formulating a doctrine of causality, on account of the difficulties attending it. One of these was Occasionalism (see art. OCCASIONALISM). This theory denied all interaction between the so-called cause and the effect, and referred all 'efficiency' to God, who, on the appearance of an event A (ordinarily called 'cause'), was said to produce the event B ('effect'), A being the *occasional*, not the efficient or true, cause of B. Occasionalism, as in the systems of Malebranche, Geulincx, and other Cartesians, implies perpetual 'miracle.' Berkeley also reached, by another road, the view that there is no secondary causation. God is, for him, the sole cause; secondary causes are only 'signs.'

Another theory with similar purpose was Leibniz's doctrine of Pre-established Harmony, which substituted for the continual intervention of Omnipotence, which Occasionalism required, the one initial miracle of the arrangement of harmony between the elements of reality (monads) at the first. The passage from phase to phase of the activity of each monad was conceived by Leibniz as due to an immanent force expressing the nature, created once for all, of that monad; while regularity of succession in phenomena was explained as due to the harmony pre-established between the monads.

These historical attempts to dispense with transeunt action have long been abandoned. So also

has what may be called the conceptional or logical view of the causal relation, inherited by scholasticism from Aristotle, and prevalent until the 18th century—a view which may be mentioned here as not involving any implication of transeunt activity or any attempt to avoid it. According to this view, efficient causes can be known from analysis of the essential nature of their effects, and effects can be deduced from the definition of their causes—a mode of conceiving causation taken over from scholasticism by the earlier philosophers of the modern period, who used mathematical method in science where we now use induction. Descartes, Spinoza, and even Bacon, *e.g.*, used 'cause' in the rationalistic sense. The effect was regarded as 'contained in' the cause; or, as Spinoza expresses it, *aliquid efficitur ab aliqua re* means *aliquid sequitur ex eius definitione*. The work of Hume and Kant has made it plain that the causal relation is not thus analytic, but synthetic, and indeed causality is no longer interpreted as it was before their time. But our examination of transeunt activity, in terms of which 'efficiency' is most naturally expressed, suffices to show that the ordinary notion of causation is once more lacking in clearness. Of course our inability to conceive, or to imagine the 'how,' of transeunt action between things, or indeed of the activity of living subjects whence transitive action is by analogy derived, is no proof that such action is not fact, but illusion. But so long as the cause is looked upon as what, by its action, exclusively determines the nature of the effect in a purely passive object, efficiency is perhaps impossible as well as inconceivable. The action of A on B cannot be grounded in A alone; the change attributed to A as cause must be determined in part by B also. For it depends on the nature of B how B will behave under A's action. The sun which softens wax hardens clay. The popular view of causal action, in grounding the change of B entirely in A, is therefore one-sided. The action must be reciprocal. In physics this receives expression in Newton's 3rd law of motion: 'Action and reaction are equal and opposite.' Causation, then, is *interaction*; cause and effect are simultaneous; the effect is not contained in the cause; there is not a passive factor.

Transeunt activity, however conceived, is inconsistent with any thoroughly pluralistic theory of reality. Independent substances, like Leibniz's monads, are incapable of interaction. On such a metaphysical system, we have, in any change, a purely self-determined sequence of states in one or several members of the plurality. Such 'causality' is distinguished as 'immanent.' We have referred to Occasionalism and Pre-established Harmony as devices to reduce all causality (secondary) to the immanent type; but unless 'God' is simply another term for the whole of reality, these devices do not succeed in removing the difficulties which they were intended to eliminate. Here, however, we come in sight of another explanation of causal action—one which has received exposition in the philosophy of Lotze. Lotze regards God as the ultimate ground of all change; he conceives of the transition from cause to effect as development in one and the same Being. Thus pluralism is merged in an embracing monism; the many are included in the One; transeunt activity becomes wholly immanent.

It will now be obvious that the concept of cause, as used in our practical *Weltanschauung* suffers from lack of clearness—perhaps, also, from inherent contradictions. Partly in consequence of such obscurities, and partly because of the metaphysical implications of the concept, it has undergone modification at the hands of natural science; and 'cause' is now being eliminated from scientific terminology altogether.

4. The treatment of the concept of 'cause' in physical science.—We have seen that the pre-scientific application of the term 'cause' to objects presented difficulties on critical analysis, and that the continuity of time renders it difficult to conceive of events as efficient causes.¹ We scarcely need to point out that the tendency, sometimes observable, to speak of laws of Nature as if they were causes, and 'produced' the phenomena whose behaviour they describe, bespeaks considerable confusion of thought. We have also seen that 'efficiency' and 'transeunt action' are difficult conceptions, and that they involve more than can be derived from the data of experience. From appreciation of these difficulties and metaphysical mysteries, science, and empiricist philosophy steeped in science, came to speak of an event as the cause of another only in the sense that it is a real condition, on the occurrence of which something else happens which would not happen without it. A cause, in fact, becomes a *sine qua non* antecedent, but does not itself necessarily 'produce' the event which is called its effect. How or why an event is a *sine qua non* antecedent, it may not be necessary for science to know or to care; but it must not be forgotten that constancy of co-existence and regularity of sequence in events imply causal relation of some kind somewhere. Similarly, a cause has been described by J. S. Mill as 'the sum-total of conditions' for the happening of an event—a definition approached by that of Hobbes: 'the aggregate of all the accidents.' Our examination of the pre-scientific notion of cause has already led us in sight of the metaphysical result that the ground of any event must be sought in *all the rest of reality*; but if the 'sum-total of conditions' be identified with 'the whole of reality,' or even with the state of the world as a whole at a preceding moment, this definition will be useless to science. There is then an end to particular causes of particular events. We note, then, the tendency of science to eliminate 'efficiency' from the concept of cause, and to reduce causation to invariable sequence; at the same time, as we shall presently see more fully, empiricism has sometimes proved anxious to retain the element of 'necessity' in the causal connexion.

Before Hume's day it had been remarked by Glanvil that 'causality itself is unsensible,' and that, in inferring from constancy of accompaniment to causal relation, we supply more than we are empirically authorized to supply. But it was one of Hume's contributions to the problem of causality to emphasize this fact, and to show that in reading into the causal relation 'efficacy'—or 'agency, power, force, energy, necessity, connexion, or productive quality,' which, he says, 'are all nearly synonymous'—the mind 'goes beyond what is immediately present to the senses.' Now, since Hume—or Mill, his constructive successor—has generally been the fountain at which the scientific investigator has imbibed his philosophical opinions, it is natural that, in the sphere of scientific thought, causality should be replaced by the very different conception—uniformity of co-existence or sequence. But the progress of science itself towards the scientific goal, *i.e.* the inherent tendency of science to become more and more identical with abstract dynamics, is responsible for a further change in the scientific usage of the causal concept. The mechanical description of the world, which science develops and uses, represents the world as wholly inert, and its total 'energy' as constant; and it sometimes repudiates the use of the term 'force' in any sense other than that of the purely mathematical quantity 'rate of change of momentum' (see

¹ Some of these difficulties were pointed out by *Aenesidemus*. 1st cent. B.C.

art. FORCE). Further, science regards the world as one continuous process of becoming, in which what we have hitherto called, 'with a clear trace of fetishism,' 'cause' and 'effect' are not temporally distinguishable events, but merely phases of one process. In Nature, accordingly, there are no causes and effects. '*Die Natur ist nur einmal da.*' In place of the causal relation, Science now uses the mathematical equation. She speaks only of transferences of energy—not of the action of forces—in which the loss on one side is exactly equivalent to the gain on the other. Such is the modern interpretation of *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and *causa aequat effectum*. Which side of the transaction is cause, and which effect, is immaterial. Thus is 'cause' expelled from the language of science by many of its most eminent representatives; and the rôle of science, since Kirchhoff, has more and more become identified with the description of the course of Nature in terms of the simplest possible conceptual symbols and formulæ, metaphysical implications and language being renounced.

It had been insisted by Comte that the old nomenclature which included terms such as 'cause' and 'force' was obsolete if the standpoint of empiricism were established and adopted. And indeed words implying dynamic dependence or efficient activity are out of place if the causal relation is reducible to, or is required to be replaced by, mere uniformity of sequence. Still, we cannot overlook the fact that uniformity of sequence or conservation of energy is an entirely different thing from efficient action. Efficient action does not imply regularity or uniformity, and indeed is compatible with their opposites. So, if Science uses, for her particular purpose, a descriptive language in which 'cause,' in the sense of activity, finds no place, it by no means follows that efficient action does not exist in the world. Science has not shown that causation is illusion; she has banished it from nowhere but her own vocabulary. Causes, as such, do not enter into her sphere; it is possible, and even advantageous, for her to ignore them.

II. *THE CAUSAL PRINCIPLE.*—The further discussion of the concept of cause requires some investigation of the causal principle. This principle states that 'everything which begins to be must have a cause,' or that the causal relation is universal.

I. *Its history before Hume.*—At the beginning of the modern period of philosophy we find Descartes, who sets out to develop a system of knowledge from the principle of contradiction alone, compelled to call in the aid of the principle of causality, which he nowhere deduces or proves. Descartes held the scholastic conception of the causal relation, according to which the effect is contained in the cause after the model of the logical connexion of ground and consequence; and he formulated the causal principle in the old terms, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Spinoza uses the word *causa* as identical with *ratio*, and he also assumes that everything finite or particular must find its necessary place in the one all-embracing reality. But Leibniz first clearly enunciated the principle which rationalistic philosophy had as yet unconsciously assumed, and assigned it its place beside the law of contradiction. His principle of sufficient reason is sometimes stated as if it were exclusively a metaphysical or real principle; but he intended it to be also logical. Perhaps the expression of it which best represents Leibniz's full meaning is that which occurs in his *Monadologie*, 31, 32: 'Our inferences are based on two great principles, that of contradiction and that of sufficient reason, in virtue of which we hold that no fact can be true or actual, no proposition verit-

able, unless there be a sufficient reason why it should be so and not otherwise.' The relation between this principle and that of causality may here be briefly explained, before the history of the latter principle is resumed.

2. *Relation of the principles of sufficient reason, ground and consequence, and causality.*—The principle of sufficient¹ reason, in its logical aspect, is identical with the principle of ground and consequence when similarly restricted; it expresses necessary connexion *in thought*. It states that every judgment must have a ground—i.e. a universal ground from which the judgment necessarily follows, and which makes that judgment necessary to all thinking beings. Such a ground of truth (objective) is, of course, to be distinguished from the psychological ground of subjective certitude. By 'ground' is meant what the scholastics called *causa cognoscendi*.

The principle which bears the name of sufficient reason or of ground and consequence is thus a fundamental law of thought; it forms the basis of truths of matter of fact, just as the principle of contradiction forms the basis of self-consistent or necessary truths. It differs, therefore, from the principle of causality, which is concerned with the *causa fienti*. It is only when the causal principle is assumed that we are enabled to apply the principle of ground and consequence in order to infer from an effect to a cause. But sometimes the principle of sufficient reason is taken to be solely metaphysical, not logical; and that of ground and consequence is sometimes construed in both senses. If we adopt this usage, then the principle of sufficient reason—or that of ground and consequence applied to the sphere of succession in time—may be regarded (as in Taylor's *Elements of Metaph.*) as an axiom of knowledge, equivalent to the axiom: 'What truly exists is a coherent whole.' Whether this principle is identical with the principle of causality, or whether the latter principle is less fundamental and axiomatic, depends upon whether the 'cause' of an event can be identified with the complete ground of that event: in other words, upon whether or not causality, or one-sided dependence of the present on the past, and of the future on the present, is a 'necessary logical consequence of the knowability or systematic character of the Real.' This, however, is a disputed point.

3. *History of the principle of causality from the time of Hume.*—Ground and cause had been identified in the rationalistic school, until Wolff distinguished clearly between the two concepts. It was, however, in the opposed school of philosophy—among the empiricists—that the modern problem of causality emerged. We may practically date it, in fact, from Hume's *Treatise*.

Hume points out that the most important element in causality, as generally conceived, is 'necessary connexion'; yet that this 'corresponds to no impression,' or is not given through sense. He then examines the principle of causality. This, he easily shows, is not self-evident; for its opposite is not inconceivable. The several 'proofs' of it advanced, e.g., by Hobbes, Clarke, and Locke, only beg the point to be proved.

Whence, then, the necessity of the principle? Hume's answer is that the necessity by which we infer effects from causes is simply that of strong habit. Constant conjunction in the past leads to the expectation of conjunction again. We cannot penetrate into the reason of that conjunction, but we pass mentally from effect to cause through association of ideas. The principle, he implies, is a psychological, not a logical, law. Hume admits that science is based on the principle; but, as the

¹ 'Sufficient' = 'satisfying' in the mathematical sense.

principle is not furnished by reason, science is therefore not knowledge, but belief. The principle of the uniformity of Nature ('like causes produce like effects'), again, like that of causality, has no apodictic certainty; we are not strictly warranted in extending experience beyond the particular cases under observation. Such is Hume's conclusion.

Of course it is the 'constancy of conjunction' that needs to be explained; and if, for this, we are referred to association, association involves the causal nexus—which Hume, strangely enough, did not perceive.

Hume at least destroyed the ancient presupposition that the relation between cause and effect is analytic and rational. And so far Kant, for whom he prepared the way, was in agreement with him; he, too, held the causal connexion to be empirical and synthetic. But for Kant it is not the empirical result of association. It belongs to the original constitution of the human mind; though not in the sense that Reid taught in terms of uncritical 'dogmatism,' but as a necessary condition for all possible experience. Beginning at the opposite end as compared with Hume, Kant assumes that there is a science of experience, and seeks for its necessary conditions. One of these is the category of cause. Hume had assumed that successive perceptions are perceptions of changes in permanent objects, and not merely isolated perceptions. But Kant maintained that our sensations become part of a consciousness of objects only in virtue of a synthesis of 'imagination,' and not as they 'are given.' Take, he says, from the perceived change the characteristics we bestow upon it in recognizing it as an *effect*, and we reduce it to a mere succession of perceptions which would not represent a change at all; or, in other words, changes in one permanent object are knowable only through the category of cause.

We may admit, as against Hume's sensationism, that sense alone, abstracted from understanding, cannot yield the causal principle. In order that the passing contents of perception may be related as like or unlike, before and after, and so forth, a process of calling up in memory, of recognition and differentiation, of direction of attention, must occur; and this is of the nature of thought, not sensation. Still, this admission will not necessarily carry us beyond that interpretation of causality which sees in it only regular sequence. Even less does it commit us to the particular *a priori* interpretation of causality which Kant elaborated with so much ingenious but cumbrous and arbitrary artificiality. On the other hand, we may reject Kant's account of the structure of knowledge; we may be alive to its intellectualism and its undue ignoring of the volitional element in the unification of experience; we may appreciate the obsolescence of his psychology, which sharply contrasted 'matter' and 'form,' and which assumed ready-made faculties and processes apparently invented *ad hoc*, in the light of the fact that we can now contemplate such 'ultimates' psychogenetically, and see that they have a history; we may be persuaded that what *a priori* thinkers have taken for inherent laws of thought are rather acquired habits, beginning in the spontaneous tendencies of the human mind in its uncultured state; and yet it may be true that the category of cause or the causal principle is necessary to our knowledge of change, and an essential condition for our 'making' of the world 'as known.' This possibility will receive further discussion.

In the meantime, our examination of the sources of modern empirical and rationalist interpretations of causality, in Hume and Kant, may appropriately be supplemented by a brief allusion to the treat-

ment which the causal principle has received from a writer who, professedly eschewing all but exclusively empirical methods, nevertheless evinces anxiety to arrive at a result which only rationalistic systems had as yet afforded. J. S. Mill discusses only 'physical' (i.e. phenomenal) causation, as distinguished from 'efficient'; and he defines a cause as an 'invariable antecedent' which, moreover, is 'unconditional' or, as it is usually expressed, 'necessary.' As an empiricist Mill has obviously no right to this term 'invariable'; experience can inform us, with regard to any particular causal sequence, only that it has so far been unvarying. This latter statement he admits; for he teaches that the principle of causality is an induction, related to all other particular inductions as *primus inter pares*, though a presupposition essential for their truth. But if the causal principle is only a general hypothesis, as it alone can be for the true empiricist, it possesses no more than problematical validity; and no amount of future experience can ever procure for it a validity of higher order. Similarly, Mill has assuredly no right, on his presuppositions, to the term 'unconditional' as a predicate of cause; empirical knowledge knows nothing of the unconditional. In straining after a necessary and universal causal principle Mill thus forsakes his empiricism, on the basis of which, as Hume had clearly seen, no objection can be established in reason against the supposition of non-uniformity in Nature, or even against that of an uncaused event, or *causa sui*. Mill has indeed served to make it plain that pure empiricism does not and cannot solve the causal problem; that it cannot establish, much less account for, invariable sequence, necessary or unconditional connexion.

The causal principle, then, is not resolvable into an induction or general hypothesis without losing its essential character. Nor has rationalism, founded on the *a priori*ism of Kant, succeeded in convincing the world that this principle is an *absolute* necessity for thought—for a 'pure' understanding independent of all experience. As Sigwart remarks (*Logic*, Eng. tr. i. 321):

'The proof that our sensations as they occur must necessarily submit themselves to the categories and *a priori* principles, leaves much room for question.'

Again, to quote Erdmann (*Philos. Rev.* xiv. iii. 299 f.):

'When we take into consideration the evolution of the organic world of which we are members, then we must say that our intellect, i.e., our ideation and with it our sense-perception, has evolved in us in accordance with the influences to which we have been subjected. The common elements in the different contents of perception which have arisen out of other psychical elements, seemingly first in the brute world, are not only an occasion, but also an efficient cause, for the evolution of our processes of "reproduction," in which our memory and imagination, as well as our knowledge and thought, psychologically considered, come to pass. The causal law, which the critical analysis of the material-scientific methods shows to be a fundamental condition of empirical thought, in its requirement that the events stand as causes and effects in necessary connexion or real dependence, comprehends these uniform contents of perception only in the way peculiar to our thought.'

4. The causal principle from the point of view of modern voluntarism.—Since the age of Kant, and more especially in our own generation, voluntarism has increasingly claimed recognition. There is indeed now a wide-spread tendency to assign the chief function, in the construction of our knowledge, to the interests, desires, and volitions of human subjects; to regard knowledge as practical, as well as theoretical, in origin. The category of cause has come to be referred to the active, rather than to the intellectual side of our experience; and the causal principle, like other axioms, to be regarded as a *postulate* arising from the needs of agents.

Simple observation of the course of Nature, on the part of a being with a merely passive, a purely

theoretic or intellectual, interest in it, would not reveal a regularity of sequence on any wide scale, or the uniformity of Nature implied in the phrase, 'like causes produce like effects.' Events which such a being could not calculate, occurrences which would appear to us to be 'freaks of Nature,' would be observed more frequently than those which he might discover to be orderly. The uniformity which science has found in Nature is not written there so plainly that he who runs may read it. If it were, belief in gods and demons, charms and omens, would have been less prevalent in human thought, and less deeply rooted in the human mind. Causality and uniformity are not concepts which have been thrust by the concrete world upon a passively receptive intelligence. They are rather postulates which needed first, for practical reasons such as the prediction and control of events, to be demanded, and then to be diligently sought for, before, here a little and there a little, they were found, for all practical purposes, to hold true.

The principle of causality, and also the principle of the uniformity of Nature, are, then, according to this view, regulative rather than constitutive principles of our thought. They are postulates, necessary for effort after complete knowledge, but not for experience. They are laws not, in the first instance, at least, to our sense-perceptions or to Nature, but to our own understanding, for its own regulation in investigating Nature (see Sigwart, *op. cit.* ii. 17). They originate in the collective mind of thinking and acting subjects. But inasmuch as the further we apply them the more verification they receive, we cannot but infer that Nature is rationally interpretable, and therefore is either herself intelligent or the outcome of intelligence.

5. Concluding section.—A few consequences of the preceding inquiry may now be given.

It would appear that some necessary connexion between the phases or elements of the Real is essential to our knowledge; the principle of sufficient reason is axiomatic. But the principle of causality is less general, and of a lower order of validity. The dependence which we are absolutely compelled to postulate is not necessarily that of transeunt causality; the ground of an event need not be wholly contained in the temporally antecedent phenomena or sum-total of phenomena. The one irreducible meaning we must give to cause is 'ground.' Whether causation can be 'efficient' without being also 'final' is an inquiry beyond the scope of this article. Certainly causation implies something more than the regular sequence and equivalence which are the only elements in it that concern physical science. The principle of causation is no more reducible to the principle of persistence of force than to the principle of identity—though both reductions have been attempted. The reduction of all causality to the mechanical type, which leads to mechanistic, if not materialistic, philosophy, is simply the outcome of the abstractness of scientific method and the departmental nature of scientific aims and endeavours. It does not follow, because science treats the world—the sum of the objective in universal experience—without reference to the subjective conditions and elements of that experience, that science has 'banished spontaneity,' or that, because the concept of activity is obscure, or incapable of resolution into a mechanical process, activity is the less an immediately experienced and irresolvable fact. How the effect is necessarily connected with the cause, in the metaphysical as distinguished from the epistemological sense; what is the fundamental element in the antecedent which determines, or helps to determine, the consequent event; how efficient action is to be thought: these are unsolved

problems—perhaps for ever unsolvable. Causality, as W. James says, is an altar to an unknown god. It may be that the causality which we ascribe to objects or things is appearance, not reality; that the category needs to be replaced by a higher. The necessity of the indefinite regress in causal explanation perhaps implies that 'causality is not a proper formulation of the real principle of the unity of all experience,' not an ultimate principle of explanation (Taylor, *op. cit.*). Scientific explanation, in which one event is traced to a previous event as its cause, is, of course, but relative; and such relative explanation is not assisted or supplemented, but destroyed, when a *Causa Sui*, or God, is introduced to bridge a gap or give a start to the series of causes. Religious and scientific (i.e. causal) 'explanations' are by no means incompatible or mutually exclusive; but the deficiencies of the one system cannot be over come by recourse to the other. As to the notion of a First Cause, or a *Causa Sui*, we have, on the one hand, to bear in mind that we refute ourselves in trying to establish it by extension of the application of the causal category, for causality when universalized contains a contradiction; and, on the other, to remember that the ultimate ground simply 'is': to demonstrate its existence involves reference to another ground yet more ultimate.

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F. R. TENNANT.

CAVES.—The earliest and most natural refuge for man, wherever the physical character of the region has admitted of it, has been the caves and even the crevices of the rocks. It is true that the arboreal habit, still retained by a few living races, must be of great antiquity. But the advantages of the cave-dwelling, as a safe and permanent abode, are manifest, and must have been recognized by the most primitive types of humanity.

In a consideration of cave-dwellings, it is usual among archaeologists to make some slight distinction between veritable caves, which penetrate for some distance into the rock, and those hollows or cavities in the face of a cliff which barely offer a refuge from rain and wind. It is obvious that imperfect shelters of this description would be used only where there was no actual cavern near at hand, or where such cavern was already in the possession of a stronger occupant. Such as they are, however, these 'rock-shelters,' as they are technically known to English-speaking archaeologists, have often been used as dwelling-places. Tangible evidence of this fact is afforded by the remains of primitive pottery, the shells of edible molluscs, and the bones of animals still to be found by digging down to the level of the original hearth. The 19th century witnessed a great movement throughout Europe in the direction of a minute and scientific examination of the contents of caves of all descriptions, and rock-shelters have been as closely investigated as any other species of cave-dwelling.

In Italy, where the diminutive *covo* denotes a rock-shelter, the terms *covo*, *covaccio*, *grotta*, and *tana* are applied to larger caves, often in association with the idea of a wild beast's den. *La Tana della Mussina*, in the north of Italy (Reggio Emilia), is especially deserving of mention, as there is strong presumption that it was at one time the abode of cannibals, human bones being found in an under

lying stratum in conjunction with charcoal and the bones of lower animals. To the south-west of this cave is the *Grotta dei Colombi* in the island of Palmaria, off the Tuscan coast, which bears a similar testimony. In concluding his description of the *Grotta dei Colombi*, Boyd Dawkins remarks (*Cave-Hunting*, London, 1874, p. 261):

'We may gather from various allusions, and stories scattered through the classical writers, such, for example, as that of the Cyclops, that the caves on the shores of the Mediterranean were inhabited by cannibals in ancient times. In the island of Palmaria we meet with unmistakable proof that it was no mere idle tale or poetical dream.'

Evidence of the same kind is found in the caves of Arene Candide in Liguria, Capo Sant' Elia in Sardinia, Diavolo in the Capo di Leuca, Salomone and Sant' Angelo in the Valle della Vibrata, and Lazzaro in Sicily.

'The contents of three caves in the Iberian peninsula, referable to the dawn of the bronze age,' observes Boyd Dawkins (*op. cit.* p. 145), 'render it very probable that the use of human flesh was not unknown in those times.'

The sites thus indicated by him are the caverns of Césareda, in the valley of the Tagus, known respectively as the Casa da Maura, Lapa Furada, and Cova da Maura.

'The most abundant remains were those of man. They were to be counted by thousands, and were so fragmentary and scattered that it was impossible to put together one perfect skeleton. The long bones had lost, very generally, their articular ends, had been fractured longitudinally, and some of them had been cut and scraped. It is therefore probable that this accumulation was formed by a tribe of cannibals: the evidence that human flesh formed their principal food being precisely of the same nature as that by which the flint-folk of the Périgord are proved to have subsisted on the flesh of the reindeer. . . . The ancient burial-places of Ulz, in Westphalia, furnish a second case of the practice of cannibalism, according to M. Schaffhausen of Bonn' (*ib.* p. 147).

In referring to this as the second instance, however, the author had forgotten that he had already mentioned (pp. 20-21) that

'In 1853, Professor Spring discovered a quantity of burned, broken, and cut bones belonging to women and children, in the cave of Chauvaux (Belgium), which he considered to imply that it had been inhabited by a family of cannibals.'

But although the evidence in all these cases points to cannibalism, it must be added that many students of this science regard that evidence as quite inadequate. They draw attention to the fact that some tribes of modern Eskimos, whom certain castes of European cave-dwellers closely resembled in their way of living, their utensils, and their art, show complete indifference as to the disposal of the bodies of their dead, whose bones are found lying about the Eskimo camps, mixed up with the bones of animals and other remains. Nevertheless those Eskimos are not cannibals. Moreover, it is pointed out by T. Eric Peet (*The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, Oxford, 1909, p. 197), who combats the cannibal theory, that

'the rite of *scarnitura*, or stripping of the flesh from the bones, was practised among these people [in ancient Italy and Sicily], and that caves were often used as receptacles for the bones together with the remains of a funeral banquet.'

While these objections are of great importance, there seem still to be sufficient data to prove cannibalism among European cave-dwellers. A Scottish example referred to by Robert Munro is very clear. In describing the *débris* of human occupancy in a rock-shelter close to the Ardrossan Railway Station, Ayrshire, he remarks:

'It is somewhat startling to find that these people were not only cannibals but made implements of human bones. "A great many jaws with teeth," writes Mr. Smith, "and bones were obtained, all the latter which had contained marrow having been split open"' (*Prehistoric Scotland*, 1899, p. 82).

In Caithness, also, fragmentary human remains have been found which suggest cannibalism. One of these fragments, a child's jaw, was pronounced by Owen to have been

'splintered open precisely in the manner in which animal jaws are frequently opened by human agency to extract the juices of the dentary canal, and not in the way in which a dog or wolf would have gnawed the bone' (Samuel Laing,

Prehistoric Remains of Caithness, London and Edinburgh, 1866, p. 29).

It would be a mistake, however, to assume from such instances as these that the habit of living in caves necessarily implies a savage condition of life. No doubt cannibalism has been found in association with a high culture, as in Central America, difficult as it may be, according to our modern ideas, to reconcile such a practice with a civilized society. But it seems clear that, on the whole, anthropophagy is repulsive to people of advanced civilization, except in occasional cases where it enters into religious ritual or observance. The deposits found in many caves would appear, to modern people, to denote that the cave-dwellers in question were civilized people. A brief examination of the data obtained by investigators will readily justify this conclusion.

But, on the other hand, it is a remarkable fact that cave life, in its crudest form, without any environment to suggest civilization even of a primitive kind, has been voluntarily adopted by many members of highly developed races. In these instances the impelling power has been religious, and its origin is Oriental. At the present day the practice is pre-eminently associated with Buddhism, of which religion it has been a feature for untold centuries. From the graphic pen of Sven Hedin, whose knowledge of the inner life of Tibet is unsurpassed by that of any European, one gains a clear idea of the anchorite life as it is practised by Buddhist hermits. On one occasion, Sven Hedin visited a cave, situated near the monastery of Linga, whose occupant was a lama who had lived there for three years, in complete darkness, and in isolation from his fellow-men. His food was brought to him daily, being pushed into his cave through a narrow tunnel. His predecessor had spent twelve years in this way, in absolute silence. And he in turn had succeeded a lama who, entering the cave at the age of twenty, lived there in the same manner to the day of his death, after forty years of seclusion. Another cave, on a mountain side, was inhabited by a hermit said to be a hundred years old. At the hermitage of Lung-ganden-gompa, a lama had lived for sixty-nine years, having been brought out only to die.

'He was all bent up together, and as small as a child, and his body was nothing but a light-grey parchment-like skin and bones. His eyes had lost their colour, were quite bright, and blind. His hair hung round his head in uncombed matted locks, and was pure white. His body was covered only by a rag, for time had eaten away his clothing, and he had received no new garments' (Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya*, London, 1909, ii. 8).

These details are noteworthy, because they picture the appearance of the anchorites of the present and of the past, and are probably applicable to mediæval Europe as well as to the East. For the Buddhist ideal of a supposed sanctity obtained in this way actuated thousands of anchorites in Egypt and Syria, and thence passed westward into Europe, during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is to be observed that caves thus occupied would yield no traces of civilization to the modern investigator, who might consequently make the erroneous deduction that only the lowest savages had ever made such places their abode.

Not greatly different from one of the Buddhist caves described by Sven Hedin, although widely separated from it by distance, are two rudely-built chapels in the south-west of Scotland, on opposite sides of Luce Bay, both of which have been carefully described by Herbert Maxwell (*Proc. of Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vols. xix., xx.). In both cases small caves by the seashore have been utilized, protecting walls having been built across the entrances, with other interior embellishments,

the floor of one of them having been paved with flags. Both are associated with saints—St. Ninian and St. Medan respectively. On the stones and rocks of St. Ninian's cave are a number of incised crosses, of an early design. Of St. Medan's cave, Maxwell remarks (vol. xx. p. 88):

'What may be deduced from the scanty remains discovered within the cave, from the bones and shells mingled with pieces of stalagmite and charcoal, is that it has long been used as a human dwelling-place; that the aboriginal platyemic race [inferred from a highly platyemic tibia found below the floor] lived in Wigtownshire, as in other lands, either before they were extirpated or absorbed by a more powerful invading people, or before their structural peculiarities had become obliterated by a change in their mode of life. Subsequently, after the lapse of an unknown number of years, the cave fell to be occupied as a cell by a Christian preacher, who may have built, or caused to be built, the shrine outside the cave.'

It seems evident that these two cave-chapels have had similar histories, and that they have been credited with supernatural attributes for a very long period of time. St. Medan's cave, for example, has several neighbouring wells or pot-holes in the rocks, which are filled with sea-water at every tide; and it has been the immemorial custom of the peasantry—a custom not wholly obsolete to-day—to bathe in these wells at sunrise on the first Sunday of May, for the purpose of curing themselves of various diseases. A consideration of these two Scottish hermitages, which are representative of a very large class throughout Europe, shows a close similarity between the anchorites of the West and the East, in habit of life as well as in the nature of their retreats and the supposed sanctity attaching to them.

The results obtained by a scientific investigation of the caves of Europe, during the 19th century, have been instructive in the highest degree. 'In England,' observes A. H. Keane,

'Dean Buckland startled the thinking public by announcing the discovery in 1821 of human relics in association with the remains of over seventy hyenas in the Kirkdale Cavern, Yorkshire, so that it was asked whether some antediluvian menagerie had broken loose in those parts. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. M'Enery, who in 1825 first drew attention to the "storehouse of antiquity" preserved beneath the stalagmite beds of Kent's Cave (near Torquay), and by the Rev. J. M. Mello, who led the way in the exploration of the no less famous Cresswell caves, Derbyshire.'

Other leading explorers in the caves of England and Wales were Godwin Austin, Pengelly, Williams, Beard, and Lloyd.

'The result of these discoveries was the proof that certain extinct animals, such as the woolly rhinoceros and the mammoth, had lived in this country in ancient times, along with two other groups of species which are at present known only to live in hot and cold climates—the spotted hyena and hippopotamus of Africa, with the reindeer and the marmot of the colder regions of the earth' (Boyd Dawkins, *op. cit.* p. 16).

A scientific investigation of Kent's Cavern, conducted during the period 1865–80, resulted in the discovery of bones of the cave-lion, cave-hyena, mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, wild bull, Irish elk, reindeer, grizzly bear, wild cat, horse, and beaver, intermingled with shells, ashes, charcoal, and human implements of stone and bone, the latter including two harpoon-heads made from reindeer's antler, several bone awls, and a bone needle. (Fuller details will be found in the British Association Reports, 1865–83.) The researches in the hyena-den of Wookey Hole, near Wells, Somerset, which were begun in 1859 by Boyd Dawkins, and carried on subsequently by himself and other explorers, revealed again the presence of man, as shown by flint and bone implements, in association with the remains of these extinct mammalia. As early as 1847, Boucher de Perthes had obtained the same deduction in France, and this deduction was reinforced by the discoveries of Dart and Christy in the caves of Aurignac and Périgord.

'From the remarkable collection of implements and weapons,' observes Boyd Dawkins, referring to these caves, 'the habits and mode of life of the occupants can be ascertained with tolerable

certainty; and, from their comparison with the like articles now in use among savage tribes, it may be reasonably inferred that they were closely related in blood to the Eskimos.'

This similarity between extinct races of European cave-dwellers and existing Eskimos is of much interest. The resemblance in custom has been very clearly brought out by Boyd Dawkins (see his *Cave-Hunting*, pp. 353–59), in relation to a common style of art as well as to utensils which are almost identical in character and design. What may be called the Eskimo harpoon has also been found in a seashore cave in the west of Scotland, at Oban, Argyll (discovered in 1894). W. Anderson Smith, in considering the objects found in the cave, and the probable habits of the occupants, observes (*Scots Lore*, Glasgow, 1895, p. 97 f.):

'The large harpoon [of deer-horn], well made, with four barbs on each side, and seven inches in length, with a slot for a thong to bind it to the shaft or a float, is a weapon for a large animal. This so-called "dis-engaging harpoon" is a weapon well known among widely divided races, enabling the harpooner to keep his struggling prey in sight when it is too strong and heavy for his ordinary shaft or connexion. It distinctly presupposes a means of water conveyance by coracle or kayak.'

The writer quoted points out that this cave contains no remains of extinct or Arctic animals, and he suggests that the occupants may have been survivors of a primitive race, living contemporaneously with a ruling race of advanced civilization. This is interesting, in view of the fact that there are records of European Lapps and Samoyeds in the 17th cent. who used the skin canoe, or *kayak*, now associated with Eskimos, and whose implements corresponded in character with those used by the latter people.

The contents of European caves denote a striking variety in the degree of culture possessed by their occupants. Implements of bone and flint speak of a condition that can only, according to modern ideas, be called 'savage,' while other objects, of enamelled bronze or of iron, imply a civilized people. In some cases coins are found—Roman, mediæval, and modern. It is necessary to keep in view the fact that, in times of stress, caves offer a ready shelter to man, of whatever degree of culture. Prince Charles Edward, a representative of European civilization in the 18th cent., was for several months a cave-dweller. At the present day, caves are frequently occupied by ordinary vagrants. Deductions as to the period of occupation of any cave require therefore to be made with great deliberation, after a careful survey of all the facts ascertained.

It is also a significant circumstance that the same cave has been used for burial as well as for residence. This is known in many caves whose occupation must be placed at an early date; but even in modern Alaska, the practice is hardly obsolete of devoting one part of a dwelling to the remains of its former owner, while the kindred of the defunct continue to live in the other portion. Caves may therefore be regarded either as sepulchres or as dwellings. This twofold use is seen among the ancient Hebrews. It is quite clear that the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron the Hittite, before Mamre (Gn 23rd), was legally purchased by the patriarch Abraham as a family vault for himself and his posterity. On the other hand, the same record shows that caves were frequently used as dwellings.

It may be that, because they were often the graves of those noted for sanctity of life, sepulchral caves gradually acquired a sacred character, until eventually they developed into places of worship. The same result may also have been arrived at on account of the accepted sanctity of the anchorite with whom the cave was first associated. From either of these causes, cave-temples may have had their beginning. This form of temple reached a high state of development in India during the early centuries of the Christian era, when the

¹ In his Introduction to F. Smith's *The Stone Ages in North Britain and Ireland*, London, 1909, p. xvii.

Buddhist religion was acutely active. It is estimated that India possesses, or has possessed, a thousand of these Buddhist rock-temples, most of which are situated in Western India. Those of Ellora (Aurangabad) and Elephanta (Bombay) are especially noteworthy. Ceylon has also many interesting examples, the most famous being that at Damballa, which was excavated about 100 B.C. Those Buddhist rock-temples, with their elaborate architecture, sculptures, and inscriptions, form a special study, of which the best exposition may be found in Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples of India* (1845, 1864, and 1880), and in Burgess's 'The Elura Cave Temples' (*ASW I v.* [1883]) and *The Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions* (1883).

In ancient Egypt and Nubia there were many such temples. These are divisible into two classes—the true rock-temple, or *speos*, and the *hemi-speos*, which consisted partly of an excavation in the rock, but with an exterior, open-air building in front. A notable example of the *speos* is that at Abu Simbel, in Lower Nubia, which penetrates 180 feet into the rock, and is guarded in front by four seated colossi 60 feet high. At Deir el-Bahari, in the mountains of Thebes, there is the ruin of a great temple built by Queen Hatshepsu, which, although not definitely a *hemi-speos*, presents some of the features of that order, since it is an outgrowth from the rock-shrine attributed to Hathor and the cave-tombs of kings of the XIIIth dynasty. This interesting temple is fully described in the *Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (London, 1895-1908).

There is a remarkable rock-temple, showing Greek influence, at Petra, in Northern Arabia; and a large number of cave-dwellings have been cut out of the adjacent cliffs. Not improbably, 'the dens which are in the mountains, and the caves,' constructed by the Israelites during the times of Midianite oppression (*Jg 6²*), were of the same description as these Arabian rock-caves. In Greece itself there is an existing specimen of the rock-temple, although of a much more primitive order than that of Petra, still in occupation. It is known as the Monastery of the Great Cave (*E Mone tou Megalou Spelaiou*), and is situated in the Achaian mountains, 3000 feet above sea-level. This monastery has been originally tunnelled out of the native rock, above which buildings of ordinary character have been erected at later dates.

Somewhat akin to the *hemi-speos* is the Convent of St. George in Palestine, an edifice reared under the shelter of an overhanging cliff above the Brook Cherith. Although not itself excavated from the rock, it obviously owes its position to the security afforded by the protecting cliff. In this respect, and indeed in its appearance, the Convent of St. George is closely allied to the cliff-dwellings of the south-west of the United States. Whether this resemblance is fortuitous, or whether these far-separated buildings may be derived from a common original, is a matter for speculation. Asia Minor also furnishes a connecting link in this species of dwelling. The cliffs of the Bakluzan Dere, in the Taurus Mountains, have, it is stated by Sterrett, of Cornell, U.S.A., who visited them, 'numerous dwellings in natural cavities, which have been walled in roughly on the outside. Some of these dwellings are high up on the sides of the bluffs, and none of them can be reached without artificial help. The entrance to the dwellings is gained by means of a long but strong and perfectly smooth pole. An agile man might easily climb this pole and reach the entrance of the dwelling; but the ascent would seem to be impossible for the aged, as well as for most women and children, without aid of some kind from friends above' (*Century Mag.*, Sept. 1900).

Any one acquainted with the cliff-houses of Arizona will see how nearly this description applies to many of them. The region in which these cliff-houses are found is several thousand square miles in area, including parts of New Mexico, Colorado,

and Utah, as well as a large district in Arizona. In no part of the world is there any species of dwelling that offers a more fascinating study. Some are merely caves faced with stone-work, while others are well-built houses, usually of one storey only, but occasionally rising to two, three, and, in one case, four storeys. They are all placed on ledges, more or less cavernous, of the cliffs that line the great ravines or cañons of that region, being sometimes situated at an almost incredible height above the river-bed.

'In an encampment, one thousand feet above the valley of the Rio Mancos,' writes E. C. Hardacre in a very instructive paper ('The Cliff-Dwellers,' in *Scribner's Monthly*, Dec. 1878), 'are single houses, groups of two and three, and villages, according to the width of the shelf they occupy. They are so high that the naked eye can distinguish them merely as specks. There is no possible access to them from above, on account of the rocks that project overhead; no present way of reaching them from below, although doubling paths and foot-holes in the rocks show where the way has been of old trodden by human feet.'

One cannot but feel, in looking at the almost perpendicular sides of these cliffs, that the occupants of the dwellings perched at such a dizzy height, in modern parlance, must have been absolutely free from any tendency to vertigo. The cliff-houses have been much written about in modern times. The Marquis de Nadaillac devotes a chapter to the subject in his *Pre-historic America*, 1885.

Pictorial word-writing and hieroglyphics are found on the cave walls of some of these American dwellings. This is a detail of much interest, and not confined to any one country. It is worthy of remark, that the Bushmen of South Africa, a race very low in the human scale, used to ornament the walls of their caves and rock-shelters with paintings of various scenes, executed with iron oxides, or with ochres, mixed with fat. The most modern of these Bushman pictures are assigned to the early 19th century, while the oldest examples are believed to belong to the 16th century. The most remarkable specimens have been reproduced by H. Tongue in *Bushman Paintings*, Oxford, 1909.

Of the troglodyte dwellings in Cappadocia, represented in one phase by the American cliff-houses, there are two other varieties reported by Sterrett. One of these is found in the volcanic region of Mount Argæus. The geological conditions of this area have produced an immense number of natural pyramids of tufa or pumice-stone, rising to various heights, from 50 to 300 feet. Their number is estimated at about fifty thousand. During an indefinite period these pyramids or cones have been burrowed into by man, chiefly as habitations, although a number have been transformed, with the addition of regular masonry, into temples, churches, and chapels. Some of these dwellings in Mount Argæus approximate to the American cliff-houses, in respect that their entrance door is at a considerable distance from the ground, and is attained by notches cut in the face of the pumice-stone. The existing occupants of the Cappadocian rock-cones are the ordinary inhabitants of the district; but Sterrett (*loc. cit.*) has concluded that 'the cones of Cappadocia were well known and inhabited in the dim, distant Hittite period, at about 1900 B.C.' 'Great numbers of the cone-dwellings are used to-day,' he adds, 'as dove-cotes for the hosts of pigeons, the eggs and flesh of which are used as food by the natives. The windows of such hen-coop cones are always walled in, holes of ingress being left for the birds.'

This is interesting in view of the fact that there is a 'columbarium' in a large cave at Nottingham Park, England, while the Scottish 'doo-cave' (Fife), 'Bruce's Library' (Mid-Lothian), and Dirk Hatteraick's Cave (Galloway) present similar features. Cliff-dwellings, analogous to those of Arizona and Asia Minor, are also found in France, as at Roche-corbon, a few miles from Tours; for a description of these see Ernest Peixotto's *Through the French Provinces*, London, 1910.

The third variety of cave-dwelling found in Asia

Minor is subterranean in character. In his account of this variety, Sterrett quotes the description of the troglodytes of Armenia given by Xenophon:

'The houses were underground, with entrances like that of a well, though they were spacious below. The entrances for the animals were dug out, but the men descended by means of ladders. In these houses there were goats, cows, and poultry.'

This condition of things has a close parallel to-day in Southern Tunisia, where there are large numbers of underground houses and villages, as well as cliff-dwellings. Full information on this subject will be found in *The Cave Dwellers of Southern Tunisia*, translated from the Danish of Daniel Bruun by L. A. E. B., London and Calcutta, 1898. See also an illustrated account of the 'Troglodytes of Tunis,' in *Illustrated London News*, 4th Nov. 1882.

There is an obvious connexion between such subterranean excavations as these and the catacombs of Rome, Naples, Syracuse, and Chiuri; although this gives rise to the question as to whether the catacombs (*g.v.*) were originally intended as sepulchres. A wonderful series of catacombs in Lower Austria has been explored and reported upon by Karner, of St. Veit a/d Gölßen, his account, *Künstliche Höhlen aus alter Zeit*, enriched by numerous designs, having been published at Vienna in 1903. From such subterranean excavations as these there is a natural transition to the underground buildings of the British Isles, formerly used as habitations, of which many examples yet remain in Ireland and Scotland. These, however, although locally known as 'caves,' do not fall precisely within the category ordinarily implied by that term. But a special interest attaches to the artificial souterrain known as 'St. Patrick's Purgatory,' situated in an islet in Lough Derg, Donegal. The account given by James Ware, in his *Insulæ Purgatorii S. Patricii Descriptio* (1654), shows that this structure was one of the 'weems,' or *allées couvertes*, to which reference has just been made. The popular belief was that it was an entrance to purgatory, guarded by St. Patrick. During mediæval times many pilgrimages were made to the place, which even yet retains a sacred character.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

CECROPS (Κέκροψ).—Of Cecrops, the snake-tailed autochthon of Athens, much has been written both in ancient and in modern times; but our actual knowledge must ever remain meagre. He was traditionally associated with the oldest sanctuary upon the Acropolis, and his cult was localized there. Attic inscriptions tell us that the Κέκροπιον was still being used by the Cecropian phyle in 334-3 B.C. as a depository for documents (*CIA* iv. 2, 563b, 34), and its site is indicated by the great inscription of 409-8 B.C., commemorating the erection of the Erechtheum (*CIA* i. 322, 9. 56, 62, 83). It was situated below the caryatid hall of the Erechtheum, the south-west corner of which was constructed according to a special design, so as to preserve the older building (cf. Jahn-Michaelis, *Arch Athenarum*, Bonn, 1901, plates xx. and xxi. G). Writers of late date state that Cecrops was buried there (authorities in Jahn-Michaelis, *op. cit.* pp. 27, 13), and in point of fact the Κέκροπιον may quite well have been a tomb. The cult was attended to by the family of the Amynandrides (*CIA* iii. 1276. 8; Hesych. s.v.; cf. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin, 1889, p. 160); but by the historical period it had lost all significance, and its sanctuary, though preserved, was kept secret. It is thus easy to understand why Pausanias makes no allusion to it whatever. We cannot doubt, therefore, that the cult of Cecrops in Athens was very ancient, and it is equally certain that it had become obsolete at an early date. It was pushed into the background by the cult of Erechtheus.

With this agrees the witness of legend and monument. Cecrops is there spoken of as an autochthon without father or mother, and as the first king of Attica, which, it is implied, was originally called Κεκροπία. The serpent's tail with which he was depicted signifies that he was a son of earth, or rather, perhaps, a hero living in the earth. In virtue of his being the earliest of the Athenians, he was sometimes represented as the arbiter in the contest between Poseidon and Athene for the possession of Athens (Apollodorus, iii. § 179), and as a witness of the birth of Erichthonius from the earth—portrayed in the archaic clay-relief reproduced in *Archäol. Zeitung* (1872), plate 63. Cecrops had neither parents nor posterity. In the list of Attic kings no son of his own succeeds him. The three goddesses who were worshipped upon the Acropolis—viz. Agraules, Herse, and Pandrosos—are indeed spoken of as his daughters; but the relationship is clearly a late growth, and was always rather indeterminate, as is shown by the fact that Agraules was actually duplicated, thus becoming also the consort of Cecrops and the mother of the three goddesses. Nor is there any record of the deeds of Cecrops. So far as we can learn, the Athenians knew nothing whatever about him beyond his name, and the fact that his shrine on the Acropolis was of high antiquity. To them, indeed, he was a subject of little or no concern.

Not from the original legend, but from the antiquarian deductions and interpretations of the learned, comes all the rest of our traditional lore regarding Cecrops, e.g. his Egyptian origin, which C. O. Müller (*Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* [1825], p. 176) has finally eliminated, and his political and social achievements, such as the institution of monogamy, the civilization of savages, and the like. A second Cecrops, the son of Erechtheus or Pandion, is likewise an invention of the schools, designed to fill out the list of Attic kings (Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, 1873, viii. 184 ff.). The migration of Cecrops to Eubœa (Paus. i. 5. 3) and his appearance in a Eubœan genealogy are, as it would seem, rightly referred to the same source.

There remains only the remarkable statement of Pausanias (ix. 33. 1) that there was in the Boeotian town of Haliartos, on Lake Copais, a shrine (ἱερόν) of Cecrops. This is not invalidated by the fact that Pausanias calls him the son of Pandion, as that is due to the hand of the exegete. The shrine was called simply Κέκροπιον. We are here reminded of the tradition, noted by Strabo (ix. 407), Pausanias (ix. 24. 2), and Stephanus Byz. (s.v. Ἀθήναι), that two very ancient cities, viz. Athens—founded by Cecrops—and Eleusis had been submerged in Lake Copais. This may be a mere theorizing synthesis, propounded as an explanation of certain ruins which emerged during a partial subsidence of the lake in the time of Alexander the Great. But it is inconceivable that these particular names should appear in the story without a foundation of some kind, and this may well have been the cult of the hero Cecrops in Haliartos.

The name Cecrops makes its appearance also in Thrace (Stephanus Byz. s.v. Κεκροπία χώρα Θράκης); in Assos in the Troad (?), which, according to Stephanus (s.v.), was formerly called Κεκρόπειον; and in the Hellenistic settlement Thessalonica, where, according to the same authority, a certain deme bore the name. Hence the conjecture that Cecrops was of Thracian origin. The name was regarded as barbaric even by some of the ancients (Strabo, vii. 321 [from Hecateus?]; cf. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, Göttingen, 1905, p. 130).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works referred to in the art., see Roscher, *Myth. Lex.* ii. 1014 (1892-97); and A. S. Murray in *JHS* viii. (1887) 12.

E. BETHUR.

CELIBACY.

American (LEWIS SPENCE), p. 271.
 Buddhist (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 271.
 Chinese (P. J. MACLAGAN), p. 271.
 Christian (GEORGE CROSS), p. 271.

Indian (VINCENT A. SMITH), p. 275.
 Iranian (L. C. CASARTELLI), p. 276.
 Semitic.—See MARRIAGE (Semitic).
 Tibetan (L. A. WADDELL), p. 277.

CELIBACY (American).—The practice of celibacy was not uncommonly incumbent upon the priests and shamans of pre-Columbian America, and is still recognized as necessary by the medicine-men of various modern tribes. According to Padilla, Palacios, and García, certain classes of the Aztec priesthood practised complete abscission of the virile parts, but all classes of priests were not celibate. The Peruvian 'Virgins of the Sun' were punished with living burial if detected in misconduct. In more modern times the medicine-men of the Algonquin tribe of the Hudson River displayed such severity in a celibate existence, that they refused to partake of food prepared by a married woman. Von Martius relates that a tribe on the Rio Negro enjoined celibacy upon their shamans because they believed that medicine would prove ineffectual if administered by a married man. Many tribes believed that circumcision denoted a symbolical sacrifice of sexuality, among others the Nicaraguans and Yucatecs, the Guaycurus, Hares, and Dog-Ribs, and certain tribes of the Orinoco.

LITERATURE.—Von Martius, *Völkerschaften Brasiliens*, 1867; Gumilla, *Hist. Orinoco*, Barcelona, 1791; Corea, *Voyages*, Amsterdam, 1792; L. Spence, *Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru*, London, 1907.

LEWIS SPENCE.

CELIBACY (Buddhist).—The Buddhist Order of mendicants was governed by the 227 rules of the *Pātimokkha*. Of these, the first four were of special gravity. A breach of any one of the four involved expulsion from the Order, and they were therefore called *Pārājikā*, rules as to acts involving defeat. The first rule is as follows:

'Whosoever Bhikkhu (who has taken upon himself the system of self-training and rule of life, and has not thereafter withdrawn from the training or declared his inability to keep the rule) shall have carnal knowledge of any living thing, down even to an animal, he has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.'

'Withdrawn from the training' was the technical expression for throwing off the robes, retiring from the Order, and returning to the world—a step which any member of the Order was at liberty at any time to take. There are other rules subsidiary to this, forbidding all actions of an unchaste kind, especially any act or word which might either lead to a breach of the principal rule or give rise to an impression, outside the community, that it was not being strictly observed. For instance, a *bhikkhu* is not to sleep in any place where a woman is present (*Pāc.* 5); or to preach the doctrine, in more than five or six words, to a woman, unless a grown man be present (*ib.* 7); or to exhort the sisters, unless specially deputed to do so (*ib.* 21); or to journey along the same route with a woman (*ib.* 67); on his round for alms he is to be properly clad, and to walk with downcast eye (*Sekh.* 2-7); he is not to accept a robe from a sister not related to him, or from any woman not related to him, except under specified conditions (*Niss.* 4-6); he is not to sit in a secluded place with a woman (*Aniyatā*, 1-2), much less to touch or speak to a woman with impure intent (*Saṃgh.* 2-5).

In a book called *Sutta Vibhanga*, i.e. 'Exposition of the Rules,' each one of these 227 rules of the Order is explained; and every possible case of infringement, or doubtful infringement, is considered from the point of view of Canon Law, and a decision is given. It is difficult to draw any conclusion from these cases as to how far the rules of the

Order were observed at the time when this book was composed. Almost all the cases are clearly hypothetical, and were drawn up with a view to having a recorded decision on every possible occurrence. They are interesting mainly as evidence of legal acumen, and are of value for the history of law. The other literature does not afford any assistance. Outside of the Canon Law we do not hear of any breach of the rule as to celibacy, though we meet with several cases of *bhikkhus* availing themselves of their right, when they found the rules too hard for them, to return to the world. The degree in which the rules of Buddhist celibacy are observed, where it is now professed, will be dealt with in the articles on the various countries where Buddhism prevails.

LITERATURE.—The rules above referred to are translated in *Vinaya Texts*, by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, vol. i. (Oxford, 1881). The Pāli text of the *Sutta Vibhanga* is in Oldenberg, *Vinaya*, vols. iii. and iv. (London, 1881-82).

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CELIBACY (Chinese).—Celibacy in China finds itself opposed not only, as elsewhere, by the ordinary social instincts, but also by the practice of ancestor-worship, which demands male heirs for its proper performance. On this ground Mencius said: 'There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them' (*iv.* i. 26). Public opinion, therefore, favours marriage, and that at an early age.

The reasons for celibacy, where it exists, are either economical or religious. (a) Improvident marriages are made in China, as elsewhere; but in some cases—few relatively to the whole population, but many in the gross—poverty postpones or even forbids a man's marrying, especially since the candidate for matrimony must provide a considerable dowry to be paid to the parents of his bride. (b) While marriage is favoured by the practice of ancestor-worship and by Confucian teaching, which approves of such worship while it avoids theorizing on it, Buddhism, on the other hand, forbids its monks and nuns to marry or to continue in the marriage relation (see **CELIBACY** [Buddhist]). Moreover, the more earnest votaries of Buddhism, both men and women, will vow a life of celibacy, without, however, becoming monks or nuns; even married persons will agree to live the rest of their lives apart, in conformity with Buddhist ideals. A like ascetic strain of teaching appears in Taoism, and is practised by some of its adherents, though celibacy is not customary even among the professional performers of Taoist rites.

No stigma attaches to widowers who marry again, though he who refuses to re-marry may be respected as an example of continence. In the case of widows, commendation is given to those who decline re-marriage; and still greater is the praise accorded to a betrothed maiden who, though her bridegroom die before their marriage, reckons herself his wife, and lives a life of perpetual virginity in the home that was his. In such cases ar heir to the deceased husband is provided by adoption. Eminent examples of such chastity may be commemorated by memorial arches erected with official sanction (cf. **CHASTITY** [Chinese]).

P. J. MACLAGAN.

CELIBACY (Christian).—The term celibacy is from the Latin *caelebs*, 'unmarried,' 'single,' and signifies the state of living unmarried. Originally

it was applied to the virgin or the widowed state of either sex, but later usage refers it mostly to a man religiously pledged to a single life. In this article it will be treated as a religious practice, and especially of male devotees.

Religious celibacy takes its rise in the Orient, and originates in that dualistic philosophy which regards matter as the source or seat of evil, and which on its positive side views man as essentially, or, at least so far as concerns his end, a spiritual being, whose self-realization is conditioned on the extinction of those impulses which spring from the material body and its environment. Orders of celibates are found in many religious systems, but only in Buddhism and Christianity have they received full development. Our attention will here be limited to a consideration of celibacy in the Christian religion.

The historical connexion of Christianity with Judaism, and the use by the early Christians of the Jewish Scriptures as a body of authoritative Christian documents, tended to perpetuate in the new religion the traditional Hebrew regard for marriage and a numerous offspring. Even among the Jews, however, ascetical usages, from whatever source they may have come, were not altogether wanting. There were fasts, tabooed animals and meats, and at least one Order pledged to a measure of asceticism, the Nazirites (Am 21⁶, Nu 61-21). There were minor restrictions of the right of marriage, in the injunctions to observe conjugal abstinence on certain religious occasions (*e.g.* 1 S 21⁴, Ex 19¹⁵, Zec 7³) and in the regulations forbidding priests to marry a harlot or divorced woman, or, in the case of the high priest, any but an Israelitish virgin (Lv 21-14). Though these restrictions were made much of by advocates of celibacy at certain times, they seem to have had no influence on the primitive Church. With more plausibility it has been argued that the celibacy of John the Baptist and of Jesus, and, especially, the former's rejection of civilized modes of living, imply a connexion with the Jewish Therapeutae (*q.v.*) or the Essenes (*q.v.*),¹ but the claim is only hypothetical.

1. **Primitive Christianity.**—Christian advocates of religious celibacy have sought a basis for it in the NT. The language of Mt 19¹⁰ (Mk 10²⁶) constitutes a general recognition of marriage as a Divine institution. The words 'There are eunuchs, which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake' (these words do not occur in Mark, and, some think, are probably a late insertion), however, countenance a voluntary celibacy. Eusebius says that Origen took them literally and carried out the supposed obligation upon his own body. When Jesus (Lk 20³⁴⁻³⁶, Mk 12²⁸, Mt 22³⁰) contrasts the 'sons of the resurrection' with the 'sons of this world' by saying that the former, unlike the latter, do not marry but are 'equal unto the angels,' He is simply meeting that objection to the idea of a future life which assumes a continuance of earthly relationships. He says nothing here or elsewhere of the moral superiority of that condition, or of the propriety of imitating it on earth. At least some of His apostles were married, and their conjugal relations are endorsed by St. Paul (1 Cor. 9²⁻⁵). Heb. 13¹ commands universal honour to marriage.

From the inquiry sent to St. Paul by the Church at Corinth it is evident that the question of the propriety of Christians marrying arose early. St. Paul's answer (1 Cor. 7¹⁻⁴⁰), whilst granting the general necessity of marriage, does so on the comparatively low ground of its value as a preventive of fornication (vv. 2, 6, 9). For himself and others who can preserve continence, whether unmarried or widowed, the unmarried state is preferable (vv. 8, 40). But the reason he offers is not that there is anything impure or unworthy in conjugal intercourse, but that the imminence of the Parousia and the exigencies of the times call for freedom from the distractions which, in his judgment, the married state involves. A change in his expectations and his condition would annul

this 'judgment.' His discussion of the treatment of virgins indicates his approval of the attempt to preserve virginity for religious ends, but he is careful to guard against any 'snare' that might restrict true liberty. It is clear that a movement had already begun that was to have far-reaching effects. From Rev. 14⁴ we may conclude that by the close of the Apostolic age virginity was already viewed by Christians in some quarters as symbolical of a higher spiritual life. The language of St. Paul in Gal. 5¹⁶⁻²⁴, Rom. 7^{14-8¹³}, and *passim* might easily be understood to support such a view.

The development of Christian organization, and the increasing differentiation of a ministerial order, led to stringency in the rules governing the lives of those men and women who were engaged in ministering to the churches. Thus the bishop was to be a married man, but a monogamist (1 Tim. 3^{2, 4, 8}, Tit. 1⁶, 'the husband of one wife'); but whether he was to be only once married, as seems probable from the parallel case of the enrolled widow (1 Tim. 5⁹), and as is urged by many early Fathers, or whether the passage means that he was to be clear of the loose practice of divorce so common at the time, is not certain. At any rate, if this excludes the twice-married, it also, if taken literally, excludes absolute celibacy. St. Paul's view of the relation of the human spirit, when indwelt by the Divine, to the human body (Rom. 8¹¹, 1 Cor. 6¹⁹ etc.) makes it certain that, if the injunctions above referred to were his, they are not to be interpreted as attributing a religious or moral value to asceticism (Col. 2¹⁶⁻²³). The institution of a celibate priesthood was not contemplated in the primitive Christian Church.

2. **The ancient Catholic Church.**—Two influences contributed especially to the rise of sacerdotal celibacy. When Christianity spread into all parts of the civilized world and became a religion of the Gentiles, the effect of contact with heathen ideas and customs was seen, on the one hand, in the reaction of the Christian conscience against the prevailing moral degradation in private, social, and civil life; and, on the other hand, in the stealthy and increasing influx into the Church of heathen philosophical and religious ideas, and of the practices associated therewith. This is particularly manifest in the 'heresies' of the time, especially those embraced under the general name of 'Gnosticism,' in which Pythagorean and Platonic elements favouring asceticism were allied with Oriental mythology and world-speculation. To the Gnostic, matter was essentially evil, and redemption consisted in the separation of spirit from it. Accordingly, Saturninus and Basilides (Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* i. 24) declared that 'marriage and generation are from Satan.' Tatian (Eusebius, *HE* iv. xxix. 3) 'pronounced marriage to be corruption and fornication.' Marcion (Hippolytus, *Phil.* vii. 17-19), who was not exactly a Gnostic but professedly a Pauline Christian, believed the world to be the work of an inferior God, denied the reality of Christ's physical life, and founded churches of celibates which threatened the supremacy of the Catholic movement. Bodies of 'Encratites' (Hippolytus, *Phil.* viii. 13) boasted of a self-restraint superior to that of Christians; and they were sure to be imitated by some of the latter (Clem. Alex. *Ped.* ii. 2). The survivals of these bodies were later absorbed into Manichæism, a blending of Persian dualism and Christianity. To these we must add the influence of the religion of Isis and the worship of Mithra (Bigg, *Church's Task*, 1905, pp. 40, 54, etc.), both of which were wide-spread throughout the Roman Empire and had a powerful following in the 1st and 2nd centuries. The

¹ For these sects see Pliny the Elder, *HN* v. 17; Josephus, *BJ* vi. viii.; *HDB* i. 770 f., 605, iv. 992.

former had its white-clad priests and its tonsured men and women—emblematic of a higher purity. The latter had its grades of initiation and its companies of ascetics and virgins. The similarity between their religious conceptions and some Christian ideas facilitated the adoption of their customs by Christians.

Great Christian teachers were profoundly impressed with the Oriental idea of the absolute superiority of the human spirit to its material tenement. Catholic Christians were not to be outdone by heretics and heathens in self-renunciation (Ignatius, *Ep. ad Phil.* iv.; Polycarp, *ad Phil.* ii., iv., v.; Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 2, 3, *Sim.* ix. 11; Athenagoras, *Apol.* xxxiii.; Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* v. 19; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 9)—so at least Tertullian urged (*ad Uxor.* iii., iv., v., vi.). The outcome was inevitable. The highest type of Christian was the celibate. When persecution relaxed, this tendency was accentuated by the need that was felt of substituting the merits of voluntary self-devotion for the merits of martyrdom. Christian teachers praised virginity, and marriage came to be in their eyes only a secondary good for those who were unable to preserve continence (Orig. *Hom.* vi. in *Num.*; Cyprian, *Treat.* i. 3; Euseb. *HE* iv. 29). The Latin writers, particularly Ambrose and Jerome (Ambrose, *de Virg.* i.—iii.; Jerome, *Ep.* 127, 130, *et passim*), used most extravagant language on this point.

The practice of vowing virginity among females had grown so popular that abuses were creeping in, and this led to the passing of regulations concerning virgins at the Synod of Elvira, A.D. 306 (?). The rise of monasticism under Paul of Thebes, St. Antony, Malchus, and Hilarion co-operated with the influence of these virgin sisterhoods in exalting the worth of celibacy, while the growth of sacerdotalism strengthened the movement. The idea of the likeness of the various grades of Christian ministers to Jewish and heathen priests resulted in demanding of them a higher degree of sanctity than of other Christians, especially in the matter of sexual relations (Tert. in *Cast.* vii., ix., *ad Uxor.* ii. etc.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii.). We have already seen that at an early date there was a sentiment against second marriages among the clergy. This sentiment increased. Athenagoras (*Apol.* xxxiii.) said, 'Second marriage is only a specious adultery'; and Hippolytus (*Phil.* ix. 8) took the same view. When Tertullian went over to the Montanists in protest against the lax discipline of the Catholics and began his agitation against the 'digami,' the Church was compelled to act.

The first official action was taken at Elvira (Routh, *Conc. Elib.* c. 33; Dale, *Synod of Elvira*, 1882, *in loc.*) in Spain, when the higher clergy, i.e. bishops, priests, and deacons, were restricted to one marriage, and conjugal abstinence was enjoined upon pain of deprivation. This was only a Western provincial Synod; but soon afterwards a Council at Neo-Cæsarea (*Conc. Neo-Cæs.* c. 1, 8, 10), A.D. 315, and one at Ancyra (*Conc. Ancy.* c. 10), took up a similar, though less advanced, position for the East. The former deposed priests who married in orders, or any cleric living with an adulterous wife; but the latter Council permitted marriage to deacons who at their ordination professed their desire to marry and their inability to refrain.

In the Ecumenical Council at Nicæa (*Conc. Nic.* c. 8) a more conservative position was adopted, and a motion to impose conjugal abstinence on bishops was vetoed, through the influence, it is said, of the aged monk Paphnutius, whose face, with its eyeless socket, bore testimony to his

endurance of persecution, and added force to his arguments against a law that might, by excessive severity, unloose the reins of lust. 'Digami' were to be re-admitted to communion after repentance. Of course, the language of St. Paul, and the Levitical laws above referred to, were invariably cited in support of arguments for restrictions.

But the attempts to erect a celibate standard of life had already stimulated some of the evils they had aimed at preventing. The defiance to sexual lust offered by vowed virgins (Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 11) had sometimes wretched consequences when celibacy became a practice among priests. The *γυναικες συνεισάγονται* (*mulieres subintroductæ* [see art. AGAPETÆ]) in the houses of the clergy were a scandal. Among the canons of Elvira against the fearful immorality of the times were several which struck at this practice and the sins of virgins and priests' wives (*Conc. Elib.* c. 27; Dale, *Syn. Elv.* p. 196; *Conc. Ancy.* c. 19). This was in accordance with Cyprian's (*Ep.* lxi. 2, 4) advocacy of stern measures in such cases. The Nicene Council (*Conc. Nic.* c. 3; cf. Euseb. *HE* vii. xxx. 12–15; Dale, *Syn. Elv.* p. 201; Siricius, *ad Himer. Tarrac.* c. 13) attempted to combat the same evil; but these bad practices of the clergy were not stopped, and were even imitated by the virgins, who had their own male 'companions.' In later times, Popes and Councils contended against the evil without success until they were supported by Imperial legislation in the time of Justinian (*Novel.* vi. c. 6, quoted by Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* 1814–18, iv. 165).

Nevertheless the sentiment in favour of celibacy for all who aspired to a holy life grew so strong in some quarters as to cause alarm, and the Council of Gangra (see Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.*, 1836, i. § 97), A.D. 362 (?), found it necessary to condemn the view of Eustathius, the founder of Monasticism in Armenia, that marriage is to be universally rejected. We are fairly safe in saying that the prevailing view as to marriage in the 4th cent. is expressed in the *Apostolic Constitutions and Canons* (*Apost. Const.* vi. iii. 17; *Can.* 17, 18): no digamy among higher clergy; no marriage at all after ordination; no second marriage even for the lower clergy (ministers, singers, readers, door-keepers); none of the clergy to marry a courtesan, servant, widow, or divorced woman; deaconesses to be virgins or once-married widows. At length, in the decretal of Pope Siricius (*Siric. ad Himer. Tarrac.*), A.D. 385, we have the first ecclesiastical canon prescribing absolute celibacy for all the higher clergy. According to the Pope's own testimony, the decretal was called forth by the dreadful immorality of vowed priests and virgins. The endorsing of this action by a succession of decrees of Popes and of Councils and Synods established the rule, and the regulations for the conduct of monks and nuns were made more stringent. A synod at Rome (Hefele, ii. 386–390), A.D. 386, imposed conjugal abstinence on bishops, priests, and deacons who were already married. The fifth Carthaginian Council (*Conc. Carth.* c. 3, c. 13, dict. 32, c. 4, dict. 84), A.D. 401, commanded the married clergy to be separated from their wives on penalty of deposition; and the Emperor Honorius, A.D. 420, gave the rule the support of the secular authorities. Pope Innocent I. (*Epp.* ii. c. 9, 10, iii. c. 1), A.D. 404, had issued even sterner decrees than Siricius, ordering priests and Levites not to mix with their wives, and any man who declared his desire to become a cleric to promise not to marry, whilst priests and Levites violating the law of celibacy were to be deposed. Councils (Routh, ii. 61, 62) at Arles, A.D. 443, and at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, supported

the movement. But these efforts were only partially successful, as is proved by a law of Justinian (*Novel. vi. cap. 6*, quoted by Routh, iv. 165), A.D. 523, forbidding those who had taken the vows to return to the world; and another, A.D. 530, declaring married men, or men who had children or grandchildren, incapable of becoming bishops, and annulling marriages of the higher clergy. Gregory the Great (Greg. I., lib. iv. *Ep.* 26, xiii. *Ep.* 6) strenuously contended against the ordination of 'digami,' forbade the restoration of a priest after a lapse from chastity, and commanded stern steps to be taken against looseness. These extreme measures had little permanent effect. The reaction against them proved too powerful for successful resistance, and the outcome is seen in the canons of the Trullan Council (*Conc. Trull. cc. 7, 12, 13, 48*), A.D. 680, by which priests, deacons, and all inferior clergy were allowed conjugal rights, but marriage (except in the case of lectors and cantors) after ordination, or to a widow before ordination, was to be dissolved and punished by temporary suspension and incapability of promotion. Bishops were to be separated from their wives, who were to accept the monastic life or become deaconesses. 'Digami' were to be deposed, but only temporarily if repentant.

3. **The Greek Church.**—The decisions of the Trullan Council on this question have virtually regulated the position of the Eastern Church to the present day. Bishops are always celibates, being chosen from the monks. The parochial clergy may marry before ordination, but not after. 'Digami' are not admitted to clerical rank (Schaff, *Ch. Hist.* ii. 412; Lea, *Sac. Cel.* ch. vi.). The Nestorian Christians had previously receded from the Catholic view, but returned to the practice of depriving patriarchs and bishops of the right to marry, leaving the lower orders free. The Abyssinian and Coptic Churches follow the Trullan Council, except that they permit bishops to retain their wives.

4. **The Roman Church.**—The Western Church, disregarding the Trullan Council's censure, continued in its course, since it regarded the separation of the clergy from the laity as essential to the Church's safety. But the regulations made by Synods, Councils, and Popes proved generally impracticable. The spirit of independence among the new peoples of Western Europe, and their passions and political connexions, proved too strong. The very multiplicity of official utterances shows that they were a failure. Even Gregory the Great had had to make concessions, and the filling of ecclesiastical offices in France by nominees of the Mayors of the Palace—such offices being viewed as rewards to successful warriors—for a time rendered severe discipline impossible. Though the Carolingian kings offered the Popes some aid in the matter, the outcome was only the increase of concubinage and the violent resistance of the offending clergy, who received the support of the people. The confusion which followed the dissolution of Charlemagne's Empire left moral corruption rampant in Church and State. Conditions were much the same in Spain and Italy.

In the British Isles the early Church was of the St. Patrick type, and monastic asceticism prevailed among the Britons. The great British missionaries were all monks, and Columban and Gallus helped to sustain the monastic ideal on the Continent.

On the conversion of the Angles and Saxons through the mission of Augustine, it was found impossible to enforce the stern regulations of Gregory. Even the great reforms introduced by

Dunstan, and supported by Edgar the Peaceable and Edward the Confessor, while they are evidences of a growing emphasis on the value of asceticism, failed to bring the secular clergy under control. The only gain made was in the enforcement of celibacy among the regulars, and in the custom introduced by Dunstan of selecting the ministers of the altar from their ranks. The secular clergy were mostly opposed to these measures. Though Lanfranc furthered Dunstan's movement by imposing celibacy on the clergy of the cathedrals and the towns, and though Anselm demanded its enforcement on all without exception, marriage was not wholly discontinued, and concubinage increased. The outcome of the struggle in Europe generally at the close of the first millennium may be summed up by saying that the marriage relation was still adhered to by large numbers of the clergy, and that the rule of celibacy, when enforced, gave rise to concubinage more or less flagrant.

The re-establishment of the Empire under Otto the Great led to the elevation of the Papacy through a succession of capable Popes, and to more thorough measures for the government of the Church. The Cluniac revival developed a spirit of asceticism among all classes, and aroused a demand for the purification of the priesthood. The laity now shared fully in the idea that true piety is ascetical, and therein is found the explanation of whatever measure of success was reached in the renewed propaganda (see Lea, *Sac. Cel.* i. 183 ff.). A series of canons passed at the Synod of Pavia, A.D. 1022, and followed by similar legislation at Synods and Councils at Bourges (1031), Mainz (1049), and Rome (1051), attest the magnitude of the task and the desperateness of the Papal policy on the one hand and of the clerical opposition to it on the other. Clerics, from bishops to subdeacons, were ordered to remove their wives, concubines, and other suspicious women from their houses at once, and to remain separate from their consorts for ever. Not only were the women to be turned adrift on the world, but the children born of such unions were pronounced slaves. The Emperors Henry II. and Henry III. supported the movement vigorously; but the real animating spirit was the famous priest, Peter Damiani, who became Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, the highest dignity in the Roman curia, and whose urgency spurred on Popes Leo IX., Stephen IX., Nicolas II., and Alexander III. to the most sweeping measures. The struggle became bitter. The most obstinate opposition came from the bishops, whose dignity and independence were threatened. Plots, riots, and murders marked the progress of the struggle. Hildebrand, who became Pope Gregory VII. in 1073, was the leader of the reform. At his instigation, Nicolas II., at a Council assembled in the Lateran in 1059, took the extreme step of forbidding all Christians to be present at a mass celebrated by a priest known to keep a concubine or female in his house. After Hildebrand's accession to the Papal throne, this legislation of Nicolas was re-enacted, and to it was added a new canon, to the effect that the laity were authorized to withdraw all obedience from the prelates and priests who were incontinent. Though this was virtually an endorsement of the ancient Donatist heresy, it served the purpose well, for the laity were not slow to avail themselves of the power which this stern policy put into their hands. Catharism, with its dualism and its rejection of all marriage, was powerful in parts of Europe at the time, and stimulated the zeal of the Papal authorities. The rebellious clergy went so far as to unite in a schism, and elected Cadalus, bishop

of Parma, anti-Pope Honorius II. The Milanese clergy were most determined in their resistance, and war followed; but Hildebrand never faltered, and the final outcome was the general abandonment of priestly marriage in those parts of Europe where Papal influence was strongest. In its place concubinage or worse prevailed; but these errors were viewed as less criminal than marriage, because they involved a lesser degree of rebellion against the Church's authority (see, further, art. CONCUBINAGE [Christian]). The victory of the Papacy was signalized by the re-affirmation of its policy, without opposition, at the great Fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215, when 1300 prelates were present, representing all parts of Christendom. Yet the curious thing is that, neither at that time nor since, was there any attempt to enforce the rule upon the Eastern Church.

But, as Lea points out (*Sac. Cel.* ii. 205 f.), all this time in the West celibacy was only a point of discipline, of no doctrinal significance, and not a matter of heresy. The Protestant movement, with its revulsion against clerical immorality and its idea of the holiness of the natural, gave rise to a wide-spread demand for a married clergy. All the Reformed bodies fell in with this demand. The reaction in the Catholic Church against this resulted in elevating the rule of celibacy to the rank of an article of faith. Though for a time the current within the Catholic Church ran so strongly in favour of allowing marriage to the clergy that the moderate party, supported by the Emperors Charles V. and Ferdinand, by Duke Albert of Bavaria, and the Gallican Church under the leadership of Cardinal Lorraine, were willing to allow priestly marriage in order to prevent schism, and though even Pope Paul III. was willing to grant dispensations to deserving priests, the power of the Jesuits, the 'counter-Reformation' party, swept the proposed concession away. The Council of Trent (Schaff, *Creeds*, ii. 193 ff., cc. 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, also *Syllabus of Errors*, viii.) elevated the rule of celibacy into a dogma. At its second last session the decision of the controversy appeared in the form of a defence of the sacredness of matrimony, followed by twelve canons in which were asserted the Church's right to establish impediments to marriage, its right to enjoin marital avoidance, the invalidation by the vow of chastity of the right to contract marriage, and the superiority of virginity or celibacy to the married state. Anathemas were pronounced on all who held to the contrary. This remains the law of the Roman Catholic Church. There have been some temporary reactions against it, the most notable of which occurred at the time of the French Revolution, but it diminished gradually after Napoleon's Concordat with the Pope in 1801. The priests have abandoned utterly the claim to the right of marriage.

5. The Protestant Churches.—The Protestants vigorously denounced clerical celibacy, and nearly all the great creeds and confessions of the time reflect their feelings on the question. Luther, as early as 1520, advocated allowing pastors their freedom in the matter, and denounced compulsory celibacy as the work of the devil (Erlangen ed. 1826-57, xxi. 322 ff.). In his 'Admonition' (*Vermahnung an die Geistlichen*, etc., 1530, *ib.* xxiv. 360 ff.), in connexion with the Diet at Augsburg in 1530, he said that the celibacy of the clergy was 'a popish innovation against the eternal word of God.' He says the same in his *Table Talk* (*Colloq. Mensal.* ii. 211 ff.). In his sermon *de Matrimonio*, he says human traditions on the question of the prohibition of marriage are accused, for they have entered into the Church only to multiply dangers, sins, and evils. Calvin (*Inst.*

iv. xii. and xiii.), while approving of fasting as a religious exercise, and saying, 'It is becoming that the people should be ruled by a kindlier, and, if I may so speak, laxer discipline' than the clergy, yet denounced the 'vile celibacy' of the priests and the interdiction of marriage to priests as contrary to the word of God and to all justice. 'The first place of insane audacity belongs to celibacy.' These utterances represent the general Protestant view at the time, as the Creeds show. The Augsburg Confession (pt. ii. art. 2) says: 'It is lawful for them [priests] to enter into matrimony.' Scripture and history are adduced against the rule of celibacy: 'God ordained marriage. . . but as no law of man can take away the law of God, no more can any vow whatsoever.' The sixty-seven articles of Ulrich Zwingli (cf. especially artt. 29, 30; see Schaff, iii. 202) condemn vows of chastity. The First Helvetic Confession (art. 28; see Schaff, iii. 230) rejects monastic celibacy and 'impure chastity.' The Gallican and Belgic confessions do not mention the subject. The thirty-second article of the Anglican Church, A.D. 1571, asserts that 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law either to vow the estate of single life or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness' (Schaff, iii. 507 f.). The Irish Articles of Religion (art. 64; see Schaff, iii. 537 f.), 1615, declare that there is no prohibition of marriage in the word of God, and quote approvingly the Anglican articles. The Westminster Confession (ch. xxiv.) says it is lawful for all sorts of people to marry. The Racovian Catechism and the Confessions of the Independents, the Baptists, and other Nonconformists are silent on the subject, their rejection of the Catholic succession making it unnecessary to express their dissent from the Roman Catholic view (Schaff, iii.). The subject is not noticed by modern Protestant Confessions, excepting the Methodist Articles (*Meth. Art. Relig.* art. xxi.), A.D. 1784, and article xxxiii. of the Reformed Episcopal Church in America, both of which repeat the statement of the Anglican articles.

The attitude of Protestants and Catholics has remained practically unchanged to the present time, and the subject is unlikely to be touched unless a proposal for union be made.

LITERATURE.—Roskovány, *Celibatus et brevitarium* (5 vols., Pest, 1861); Lea, *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*³ (2 vols., London, 1907); Klitsche, *Gesch. des Celibatus der kath. Geistlichen* (Augsburg, 1880); Möhler, *Der Celibat* (2 vols., Regensburg, 1841); Laurin, *Der Celibat der Geistlichen* (Vienna, 1880); Eoquet, *Esquisse historique du celibat dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1894); Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* (8 vols., Freiburg, 1883-93; Eng. tr., incomplete, Edinburgh, 1895 ff.); Denzinger, *Enchiridion*¹⁰ (Freiburg, 1908); Bingham, *Antiquities*, esp. bks. iv., vi.; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom* (3 vols., New York, 1877-84); also the Church histories in general, and the relevant articles in *Wetzel-Welte's Kirchenlexikon*², the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, PRE³, etc.

GEORGE CROSS.

CELIBACY (Indian).—When the Census (1901) statistics are examined,

'the first point which strikes an observer is the almost universal prevalence of the married state. In Europe sentiment and prudence exercise divided sway, and the tendency on the whole is rather towards a decline in the number of marriages. In India neither of these motives comes prominently into play. Religion, on the other hand, which in the West makes not unfrequently for celibacy, throws its weight in India almost wholly into the other scale. A Hindu man must marry and beget [male] children to perform his funeral rites, lest his spirit wander uneasily in the waste places of the earth. If a Hindu maiden is unmarried at puberty, her condition brings social obloquy on her family, and on a strict reading of certain texts entails retrospective damnation on three generations of ancestors. . . . Amongst the Hindus this institution [marriage] is a religious sacrament, and the evil consequences which, it is believed, would follow from neglecting it have already been referred to. . . . In the case of Mussalmāns and Animists the religious sanction is wanting, but . . . the married state is equally common, though it is not entered upon at such as

early age as with the Hindus. Its frequency amongst these communities may be due in part to the influence of Hindu example,¹ but in the main is the result of social conditions. 'Of the males nearly half are unmarried, but a reference to the age details shows that three-quarters of the latter are under 15 years of age; of the males enumerated at the ages 30 to 40, only 1 in 12 is celibate, and between 40 and 60, only 1 in 20. In the case of females the figures are even more striking. Only one-third of the total number are unmarried, and of these three-quarters are under the age of 10 and seven-tenths of the remainder under 15; less than one-twelfth of the females returned as single had completed the fifteenth year of their age. Of those returned in this category at the age periods "15-20," moreover, the great majority doubtless belong to the earlier part of it; very few females are still unmarried when they attain the age of 20'; and those few are so because of special reasons (*Census of India*, 1901, vol. I. pp. 421, 439).

The statistical generalizations quoted above are in accordance with the experience of all observers, and it may be affirmed in general terms that marriage is universal in India among all classes and creeds. Occasionally a middle-aged man may be found a bachelor, because caste restrictions have prevented him from finding a wife, and certain persons of both sexes are necessarily debarred from marriage by disease. Prostitutes, too, are often, though by no means invariably, unmarried, and exceptionally high rank may occasionally preclude a girl from marriage, as when, for instance, Imperial jealousy condemned Aurangzib's sisters to a life of celibacy. But such exceptions do not seriously affect the truth of the proposition that every native of India marries at some time or other.

Amongst the Muhammadans celibacy is very rarely practised, even by persons who aspire to a reputation for special sanctity. Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist ascetic orders are commonly, though not without exception, celibate. But even in their case the term 'celibate' cannot be predicated in its strict sense. In India no such creature is conceivable as the monk of Mount Athos who had never, to his knowledge, seen a woman. The Hindu theory of the ideal life for a high-caste man is that he should begin as a chaste, ascetic student, then pass through the condition of a married householder, and spend the evening of his days, first as a forest hermit, and finally as a mendicant. Although that ideal is not often carried out fully in practice, almost all persons who join ascetic orders have been through the married stage. All Indian vows, moreover, are purely personal, no attempt being made to enforce them by external authority. A man or a woman who joins an order can always quit it at will. Monasteries and nunneries are merely convenient open dwelling-places for people actuated by common motives who wish to live together. The barred and bolted monastic buildings of Europe, which aid an iron discipline by physical barriers practically impassable, are unknown in India. The celibate state of an Indian ascetic, monk, or nun, therefore, usually implies previous marriage, and in all cases may be renounced at any moment.

Most of the Indian ascetic orders exact by their rules from members, while they remain in membership, not only celibacy, but the strictest chastity, which is described as the highest form of austerity. The Brāhmanical, Buddhist, and Jain books agree in laying down the most stringent rules for the preservation of personal purity by persons aspiring to lead the ascetic life. In practice, of course, the safeguards often fail to act effectively, and female ascetics, especially, have, and always have had, a bad general reputation, so that, as frequently acting in the capacity of go-betweens, they are, according to the Sanskrit text-books on erotics, to be avoided by every self-respecting wife (Schmidt, *Beiträge zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 740, 762, 774, 777, 816). Honourable exceptions, however, occur, some of which are described by

J. C. Oman, whose book (see Lit. at end) gives a convenient and readable account of Indian asceticism.

The Chaitanyites, or followers of Chaitanya (*q.v.*) in Bengal, who admit both males and females, disregard the law of chastity, some of their sub-sects going even further and treating promiscuous intercourse as virtuous. In ancient times, Buddhist nuns, although looked on coldly, it is said, by Buddha, were numerous and influential in both India and Ceylon, and many individual nuns attained high distinction as authors and saints. In modern days, the nunneries of Buddhist countries are of little importance and indifferent reputation.

Descriptions of various celibate sects will be found in other articles. Here mention may be made of one specially remarkable and widely spread, though numerically small, body, the Mān-bhaos or Mahānubhavas, devoted to the worship of Krishna and the study of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The headquarters of this sect, which dates from the 13th cent., are at Ritpur (or Riddhipur) in Berār, and a branch convent exists in distant Kābul.

The sect is divided into two classes, celibates and *gharbāria*, or seculars. Celibacy is regarded as the perfect life, but matrimony is permitted to the weaker brethren. The celibates, both men and women, shave all hair from the head, and wear clothes dyed with lampblack. The lower garment is a waist-cloth forming a sort of skirt, and is intended to typify devotion to the religious life and consequent indifference to distinctions of sex (*J.G.*, s.v. 'Ritpur', xxi. 301 f.).

Many of the Saiva orders, *e.g.* the Atits (*q.v.*) are similarly divided into celibate and householder sections.

LITERATURE.—Risley and Gait, *Census Report, India, 1901* (Calcutta, 1903); J. C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India* (London, 1903); A. Mackintosh, 'An Account of the Maunbhows, or the black-coated Mendicant Devotees,' in *Mad. Journal of Liter. and Science*, 1836, pp. 9-26, which is corrected in *J.G.*, s.v. 'Ritpur.' Details of monastic rules will be found in books treating of Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, *e.g.* *SBE*, vols. xxii, xiv; R. S. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism* (London, 1905, 1860); Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg, 1896); the *Laws of Manu*, etc. Particulars of celibate sects may be read in Crooke, *Tribes and Castes* (Calcutta, 1896); and many books dealing with Tibet, Burma, etc.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

CELIBACY (Iranian).—The idea of celibacy is entirely repugnant to the Iranian system, as far as we may judge from the Avesta, and probably also to the tenets of the Achaemenid religion (see Herod. i. 136). Nothing can be more explicit than *Vendidad*, iv. 47, where Ahura Mazda declares:

'I proclaim the superiority of him who has a wife, O Spitama Zarathushtra, over him who is unmarried; of him who keeps a home, over him who hath none; of the father of a family, over him who hath no children.'

In *Yasht* xvii. 59, Ashi Vanuhi declares:

'This is the wickedest deed that hostile men do, when they keep girls away from marriage, and, leaving them long without husbands, prevent them bearing children.'

The unmarried maidens' prayer is for young and handsome husbands (*Yasht* xv. 40). The repudiation of celibacy is quite in keeping with the general sentiment of Mazdaism, which is opposed to all forms of asceticism, and reckons it more blessed to be rich than poor, to feed well than to eat little (*Vend.* iv. 47 f.), and is not merely owing, as in India, to the desire of offspring for the sake of obtaining funeral rites, though that motive no doubt also enters in.¹

L. C. CASARTELLI.

¹ [This factor in the prohibition of celibacy comes out with especial clearness in the declaration of the Pahlavi *Shāyast ī Shāyast* (x. 19, tr. West, *SEE* v. 322 f.), that 'a man, when he does not wed a wife, does not become worthy of death; but when a woman does not wed a husband it amounts to a sin worthy of death; because for a woman there is no offspring except by intercourse with men, and no lineage proceeds from her; but for a man without a wife, when he shall recite the Avesta, as it is mentioned in the *Vendidad* (the reference probably being, according to West, to the recitation of certain Yasna passages in reparation for involuntary *pollutio nocturna*, as prescribed in *Vend.* xviii. 45-52), there may be a lineage which proceeds onwards to the future existence.'—L. H. GRAY.]

CELIBACY (Tibetan).—The obligation imposed on the monks of Buddha's order, in common with other monastic orders throughout the world, to remain permanently single or unmarried, is part of the course of self-restraint and self-discipline to which they are pledged for the purpose of extinguishing in their hearts all desire and worldliness (cf. **CELIBACY** [Buddhist]). In Tibetan Buddhism this vow is strictly enforced only by the yellow-hat, or reformed, sect of lamas, the *Gelug*, which, however, claims the great majority of the clergy in the country. Amongst the other sects also celibacy is necessarily the rule in the larger monasteries, as well as in most of the smaller ones, especially of the *Kargyu* sect, which particularly affects hermitages and ascetic practices.

On the other hand, in the smaller lamaseries, or *gompas*, of the unreformed sects, situated in the neighbourhood of towns and villages, which practically are merely temples existing for the performance of popular sacrifice incorporating aboriginal cults, the officiating priests are usually uncelibate. This state of affairs is, doubtless, contributed to by the easy morality of the women, and the facility with which the marriage tie may be contracted in Tibet, where no public civil ceremony is necessary; nor, in common with other Buddhist countries, is any religious ceremony prescribed, for the reason that Buddhism is not a popular religion at all, but essentially a monastic brotherhood which advocates celibacy for every one.

Notable exceptions to the rule of celibacy amongst high lamas are to be found in the case of the hierarchs or chief abbots of the *Sakya* sect, who originally were the first priest-kings of Tibet, and who established their succession in the priest-kingship by the rule of hereditary lineal descent in the family, thus entailing a breach of celibacy—a practice which their later representatives still maintain. The present yellow-hat prelate, or Grand Lama, of Mongolia, who poses as the head monk and the incarnation of a divinity, is nevertheless married to several wives, in whose company he travels about openly, although he has not the excuse of the *Sakya* hierarchs for it, as the succession in his case is not by lineal descent in the family, but by spiritual transmigration, according to the theory of infant re-incarnation, on the nomination of the priests at Lhāsa. Individual lapses from continence are recorded on the part of more than one of the Grand Dalai Lamas of Lhāsa, and also in the case of the chief nun, the professedly Divine abbess of the convent of Samding (see **ABBOT** [Tibetan]).

Whilst celibacy thus may be said to be the rule amongst the Lamaist clergy, yet the existence of absolute and lifelong abstinence from sexual indulgence is perhaps rare, certainly much more rare than is the case amongst monastic communities in Europe. The third commandment of Buddha's decalogue, the *dasaśila*, or 'ten precepts,' forbids unchastity, which is interpreted as including sexual abstinence as regards the monks; but this is the one vow which, above all others, the Tibetans find difficult to keep. The lapses appear to occur chiefly amongst the ranks of the more illiterate monks and lusty novices, whose grosser animal instincts have not been sufficiently leavened with the ascetic spirit of the Buddhist teaching. On this account great numbers of the younger clerics abscond or are expelled. In the large colony of Tibetans at Darjiling the present writer ascertained that several hundreds of the men doing coolies' work in that town were ex-lamas, mostly of the yellow, or *Gelug*, sect, who had fled from Tibet, with their paramours, or singly, in order to escape the severe penalties attaching to their breach of celibacy.

The delinquent is denounced, and, if caught, is subjected to corporal chastisement in public, as well as to a heavy fine and expulsion from the order in disgrace.

A considerable number of the monks do undoubtedly practise absolute continence, and no suspicions in this respect seem ever to have been cast upon the reputation of any of the Tashilhunpo Grand Lamas. Purity of this kind is highly esteemed by the laity, and contributes largely to the saintly repute in which the higher lamas are held by the populace, who feel themselves to be in this way so hopelessly the inferiors of these holy ascetics. Moreover, for the performance of many of those sacrificial rites, embodying aboriginal cults, and so often in demand for the purpose of expelling disease and death and compelling good fortune, ceremonial purity by sexual abstinence is deemed to be an essential qualification in the priest who is to mediate with the gods.

Nuns seldom enter the order as children; generally they are widows, who on resuming the single life take the vow of chastity, and live in communities by themselves as celibates.

A serious result of this wholesale celibacy enforced on such a large proportion of the population of Tibet—about a third of the entire adult males of the country—has undoubtedly been to check disastrously the development of the country and to reduce enormously the population. To this source, much more than to polyandry, the present writer would ascribe the remarkable dwindling in the population which has occurred since the pre-Buddhist days, when Tibet was at its zenith. A still more disastrous and direct result of this wholesale celibacy, it seems to him, has been the decided degeneration of the race. Whilst the Lamaist Church has taken to itself for over a thousand years the best of the population of Tibet, the best of the intellects, and the best born, it has left merely the residue of the least desirables to carry on the continuity of the race, which has in consequence become decadent.

LITERATURE.—L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 134, 138, 193, 445, etc., and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1905, pp. 233, 345, 469.

L. A. WADDELL.

CELTS.

[J. A. MACCULLOCH.]

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 1. The Mythological Cycle.
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I. SOURCES.—Our knowledge of Celtic religion, as far as concerns the Continental Celts and those of Britain under Roman rule, is derived from (1) passages in classical and ecclesiastical writings, (2) inscriptions, (3) monuments, images, altars, bas-reliefs, votive offerings, and coins. For the Celts in Wales there are the *Mabinogion* (which, though found in a 14th cent. MS, contains elements from a remote past), the *Triads*, the *Talesin* and other poems, while some of the older gods may be identified in the personages of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Hist. Britonum*, or of the documents of the Arthurian cycle. All these, however, must be used with caution. For the Irish Celts the litera-

ture is more copious, and is found in MSS dating from the 11th and 12th cent. onwards—the *Leabhar na hUídhre* (LU), the *Leabhar Laigheach* or Book of Leinster (LL), the Book of Ballymote (BB), the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, etc. For the whole Celtic area, *Lives* of saints, canons of councils, etc., contain incidental notices of ritual; place and personal names are also frequently suggestive; while much information may be extracted from folk-survivals.

While the documents of the insular Celts reveal a copious mythology, they refer only incidentally to ritual. On the other hand, the sources tell us nothing of the myths of the Continental Celts, but are concerned mainly with Divine names and, to a lesser extent, ritual.

The Irish texts contain documents in which the gods are euhemerized and everything is reduced to an annalistic system, as well as romantic tales with a mythological aspect, legends, sagas, and topographical descriptions (the *Dindsenchas*), in which much archaic matter is preserved. Much of this can be traced to earlier compilations, derived in turn from pre-existing materials, though it is not known whether the latter, in the case of mythical and romantic tales, were actual pagan myths redacted in Christian times, or more or less amorphous traditions to which a literary form was given by Christian scribes. In either case, care must be taken lest Märchen episodes, belonging to universal folk-tale formulae and attached to the stories of the gods, should be treated as an integral part of Celtic mythology.

For the Irish texts, see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Essai d'un catal. de la litt. épique d'Irlande*, Paris, 1883, *Introd. à l'étude de la litt. celt.*, Paris, 1883, *Cours de litt. celt.* vol. ii., v., Paris, 1884, 1892 (cited as d'Arbois); O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS Materials*, Dublin, 1861 (cited as *MS Mat.*); Zimmer, *Kelt Studien*, Berlin, 1881–84; Nutt, *Arch. Rev.*, London, 1889, ii. 110; Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, London, 1906 (cited as Leahy); Windisch-Stokes, *Jr. Texte*, Leipzig, 1880 f. (cited as *IT*); Windisch, *Die altir. Heldensage Táin bó Cúailnge*, Leipzig, 1905 (cited as *Táin*); *Trans. of Ossianic Soc.*, Dublin, 1854–61; Irish Texts Society's publications. There are facsimile copies of LU, London, 1870; LL, London, 1880; BB, London, 1887.

For the Welsh texts, see Rhys-Evans, *Text of the Mab.*, Oxford, 1887; Lady Guest's text and tr. of *Mab.*, 3 vols., Llandoverly, 1849; Loth, *Le Mabinogion*, Paris, 1889 (cited as Loth; most valuable). *Triads* will be found in Loth, in Rhys-Evans, and in Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, Edinburgh, 1868 (cited as Skene); it contains also the poems, text and tr., and in the *Myrrhian Archaeology*, London, 1801 (with other documents); and Loth, *La Métrique galloise*, 3 vols., London, 1900–2.

The following abbreviations are also used throughout this article: Blanchet = *Traité des monnaies gauloises*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905; Campbell, LF = *Leabhar na Feinne*, London, 1872, WHT = *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 4 vols., Edin. 1890; Elton = *Origins of Eng. Hist.*, London, 1882; E. Hull = *Cuchullin Saga*, London, 1898; Joyce, OCR = *Old Celtic Romances*, 2 vols., London, 1894, SH = *Soc. Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, 2 vols., London, 1903; PN = *Origin and Hist. of Ir. Names of Places*, 2 vols., Dublin, 1901; Julian = *Recherches sur la rel. gaul.*, Bordeaux, 1903; Keating = *History of Ireland*, tr. O'Mahony, London, 1866; Le Braz = *La Légende de la Mort*, 2 vols., Paris, 1902; Nutt-Meyer = *Voyage of Bran*, 2 vols., London, 1896–97; O'Curry, MCAI = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 4 vols., Dublin, 1875; O'Grady = *Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols., 1892; Reinaud, BR = *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1900; Rhys, AL = *Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, CE = *Celt. Britain*, London, 1908, CFL = *Celt. Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, HL = *Hibbert Lect. on Celt. Heathendom*, London, 1888; Sæbøllot = *Folk-lore de France*, 4 vols., Paris, 1904 ff.; Stokes, TIG = *Three Irish Glossaries*, 1862, US = *Urkel. Sprachschatz*, Göttingen, 1894 (in Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*).

II. **THE CELTIC PEOPLE.**—The Celts, who had greater affinities with the Latin than with the Teutonic branches of the Aryan stock, had settled (probably in Neolithic times) in the area between the head waters of the Rhine, Elbe, and Danube, where they became known to the Greeks as the Hyperboreans, and whence they migrated in different directions. By the 9th cent. B.C., the Goidels, belonging to the 'Q' group of Celts, had probably reached the British Isles, whither at a much later date came the Brythonic tribes of the 'P' group. Gaul had been occupied at an early date, North Italy by the 8th cent. B.C., the Spanish peninsula by the 5th century. Other groups are found in the Danube valley and the Balkans; some finally reached Galatia as a result of the revolt of the German tribes. In thus spreading over such a wide area, the Celts must have lost much of their racial purity through mingling with the aboriginal peoples—the dolichocephalic Neolithic peoples and the short brachycephalic stock (regarded by Broca as the true Celts, on whom the

so-called Celts had imposed their language). But, in spite of this, the Celts, though a minority in these various lands, possessed racial characteristics of such a marked type as to impress them on the successive peoples with whom they came in contact, giving them a Celtic *facies*, so that a general Celtic type, composed of different racial elements, is now recognizable. Thus the different groups were strongly homogeneous, and the general impression left by a study of the remains of their belief and ritual is that their religion was on the whole of the same character everywhere. Though the divinities among different groups bore different names, and though, among more civilized groups, their personalities may have been more definite, their general characteristics were alike. Local circumstances may have altered myths and beliefs in various ways, but their basis was everywhere the same. Again, though aboriginal cults and beliefs may have influenced those of the Celts, there was probably little difference between them, and the Celts perhaps gave more than they received. It is impossible, however, to say how far any one Celtic group may have developed their religion beyond that of any other group. Hence we shall obtain the best impression of Celtic religion by regarding it as, on the whole, homogeneous, like the Celts themselves.

III. **RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS.**—Primitive elements influenced Celtic religion to the end of its history. The cult of Nature-spirits preceded and outlived the rise of anthropomorphic Nature-gods. Religious evolution was doubtless influenced by the earlier distinction between the cults of men and women, arising from their varying interests, and probably already established before the Celts became a separate people. Men as hunters would worship animals, propitiating the slain animal or rendering Divine honours to one member of the species which was hunted. Other worshipful animals were preserved, the cult thus leading to domestication and pastoral life. But all these animals would be regarded as Divine in themselves; the anthropomorphic stage came later. Perhaps mainly among women arose the cult of the fruitful Earth-mother, since it is to them that the beginnings of agriculture are due. They had gathered and stored wild fruits, roots, and seeds, and from them came the idea of cultivating such plants. Hence with women would arise the cult of vegetation-spirits, embodied in trees—the largest vegetable growth. When corn became a food staple, the corn-spirit would be evolved. All such spirits would be regarded as female. The cult of anthropomorphic animal- and vegetation-divinities, whenever it arose, never quite took the place of the earlier cult of Divine animals and vegetation-spirits. As men began to take part in agriculture, and consequently in the cults till then practised by women, vegetation-, fertility-, and corn-spirits would tend to become male, the Earth-mother an Earth-god, though the latter may have been regarded as her consort or her son. Yet neither was this process ever a complete one, as is seen by the late existence of the *Matres* (goddesses of fertility), and by the cult of corn-mothers and -maidens. Again, as the cult of vegetation- and corn-spirits centred in agricultural processes, so, when they became anthropomorphic divinities, their cult centred in the seasonal festivals, the ritual of which is so important for the elucidation of much in Celtic religion.

New circumstances created new divinities—the growth of crafts, of commerce, of music and poetry. Some of the culture-divinities thus evolved were female, and were never quite ousted by gods of the same occupation, while they were sometimes regarded as mothers or consorts of the latter. To

some of these divinities the origin of culture and the existence of domestic animals were later attributed, and myth told how they, perhaps regarded as culture-heroes rather than gods, had obtained them from the gods' land for men by force or fraud. In some cases they may thus have once been anthropomorphic animal-divinities who had become gods, with whom the particular species of animal was associated. In later stages these culture-gods were very important—the local gods assimilated by Cæsar (vi. 17) to the Roman Mercury.

Warfare also, especially with the migrating Celts, demanded war-divinities, certain of the gods of growth being at first utilized, since in Irish myth some of the latter are great warriors. But there were special war-gods also—many of a local, tribal character—as well as war-goddesses, for here the female influence which moulded other parts of Celtic religion also prevailed. Though the Celts are often regarded as mainly a warrior people, agriculture was also keenly followed by them, as many classical references show. The *Equites* in Gaul engaged in war only when occasion arose (Cæsar, vi. 15, cf. v. 12, 'the Belgæ, having waged war . . . commenced to cultivate the lands'). In Ireland, the dependence of fertility upon the king, himself a warrior, shows the importance of agriculture (see § VIII.).

Of all these various divinities and spirits, those of growth and fertility were probably the most important. As anthropomorphic divinities they were worshipped at large central gatherings during the great festivals, but the cult of the earlier spirits, out of whom they had been evolved, must have continued in simple folk-rituals. But both were essentially the same, and it is not wrong to say that the Celts preserved in an emphatic degree the primitive elements of religion. Hence Celtic religion may be regarded as in the main a cult of powers of growth and fertility, perhaps because the poetic temperament of the people kept them close to the heart of Nature. Nor was the early importance of female cults of goddesses ever quite lost sight of, as the position of goddesses and the popular cult of the *Matres* show. Here and there a higher type of religion may have arisen, especially in those parts of Gaul where foreign influences prevailed, and certainly after the Roman conquest. But that conquest really undermined Celtic religion in Gaul and Britain.

Other characteristics which emerge from a study of the sources are the organization and power of the priesthood, the cruel aspects of the sacrificial cult, derived in part, at least, from the earlier slaying of a Divine-human victim, the simplicity rather than the stateliness of the ritual, suggested by the fact that groves rather than buildings were the temples of the Celts, the general use of magic, and the firm and sustaining belief in bodily immortality.

It should be clearly recognized that most of the divinities were purely local in character—gods of a tribe or group of tribes, similar in functions to those of other groups, but differing in name. This is suggested by the frequent equation in inscriptions of different gods with the same Roman god, while, generally speaking, certain Divine names appear only in inscriptions from certain districts. In Ireland and in Wales, though the divinities in the texts appear to have a more universal character, they may have been gods of prominent tribes, those of other groups having been forgotten. On the other hand, certain divinities were worshipped under the same name over wider areas. Some Irish and Welsh divinities have similar names, as well as others worshipped among the insular and Continental Celts—Lug or Lugus, Ogma or Ogmios, Epona, the *Matres*. These deities may represent

the divinities of the earliest times, whose cult was carried far and wide by the migrating Celts. Or the gods of some tribes may have ousted those of tribes conquered by them. Or, again, the cult of a tribal god may have gradually extended itself to other tribes. But, on the whole, the local character of the Celtic gods is one of its most marked features. Each god whose nature and functions are described must thus be taken as representative of a type. Though the extent of the Celtic folk from the east to the west of Europe may seem to make it impossible to treat of their religion as a whole, yet the similarity of the Celtic temperament everywhere, the adherence, in spite of the evolution of their religion, to its primitive features, and the unity of their civilization (southern Gaul alone excepted) render the task less difficult. The uniformity of Celtic religion, wherever found, may in large measure be due also to the organized priesthood and its position as a teaching body. Thus, though this uniformity may be regarded by some as hypothetical, the evidence hardly permits us to suppose that the religion differed materially in different regions.

The Celts were regarded as peculiarly religious by classical observers (cf. Cæsar, vi. 16). They did not neglect ceremonial or what was due to the gods, while they held that all things happened by the will of the gods (Livy, v. 46; Dion. Hal. vii. 70; Arrian, *Cyneg.* xxxv. 1). Nor could the power of the priesthood have been so great unless the people had been eager to approach the gods through their representatives. This Celtic characteristic may be traced even now in the devotion to religion and in the authority of the priest in certain Celtic regions, and it is also seen in the eager acceptance of Christianity by the Celts, in the spirituality of early Celtic saints, and in the position of the Celtic Church in Western Christendom for some centuries. Their spiritual, poetic temperament has given much to literature in France and Britain; the purely Celtic literature of Ireland has much that is romantic and idealistic; and, whatever the origins of the Arthurian saga may have been, its spirit is Celtic. But unfortunately no Celt described his own religion or handed down to us any glimpse of the religious aspirations of his people. The real desire of the Celt for God, his sense of sin, his hopes, remain a sealed book to us. But that they must have existed is evident, when we consider the spiritual ideals which the Celt has bequeathed to mankind.

IV. *THE GODS OF GAUL.*—In his notice of the religion of Gaul, Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 17, 18) confines himself to a description of six divinities, to whom he gives the name of Roman deities:

'Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Hujus sunt plurima simulacra; hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt; hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturaeque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc, Apollinem, et Martem, et Jovem, et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem; Apollinem, morbos depellere; Minervam, operum atque artificiorum initia tradere; Jovem, imperium coelestium tenere; Martem, bella regere. . . Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant; idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt.'

But the evidence of inscriptions, etc., shows that there were many gods besides these. Hence Cæsar may have mentioned only the chief gods, or, more likely, there were many local gods with similar functions but different names, since the inscriptions show the assimilation of gods with different names to one Roman divinity. The assimilation throws some light on the characters of the native divinities, though very often some single aspect or function of a god may have been made the connecting link between the two, and generally the native character of the god would be lost in the personality of the Roman divinity. Whether there was one supreme god or a group of supreme gods has been much

debated. Perhaps each tribe or group of tribes had its own group of gods, one of whom may have been regarded as chief. But in some cases a god was worshipped over a wide area under the same name. Caesar makes the native Mercury the god most worshipped, and the local gods assimilated to Mercury (some sixteen in number), worshipped perhaps on hill-tops, were probably gods of culture, commerce, agriculture, and boundaries, with an occasional anthropomorphic animal-god like Moccus, a swine-god. The Gaulish Ogmios (Ir. Ogma), mentioned by Lucian (*Herakles*), was probably a native Mercury, though his name has not been found in any inscription. The Gaulish gods represented by Jupiter were probably sky-, sun-, and thunder-gods, and one of them has been identified with numerous images of a god with a wheel (a symbol of the sun) and occasionally a thunderbolt. The number of native gods associated with Apollo is very great: e.g. Borvo, Belenos, Grannos, etc.; and they were generally gods of healing springs, though some of them may have been sun-gods.

As the Celts became a conquering and warlike people, war-gods tended to become more prominent, and the numerous divinities associated with Mars—Camulos, Teutates, Albiorix, Caturix, etc.—were doubtless tribal war-gods. (Animal- and Nature-gods—Mullo, a mule-god, Vintius, a wind-god, Leucetius, a lightning-god, and Braciaca, perhaps a god of malt—were also associated with Mars.) But in their more settled state, divinities of growth and agriculture would be worshipped by the Celts. The importance of this aspect of Celtic religion is seen in the wide-spread cult of such female divinities as the *Matres*, who, in inscriptions, have generally a local epithet. These goddesses, usually three in number, were primarily goddesses of fertility, as their symbols—fruits, flowers, a cornucopia, or an infant—show; but they became protectors of individuals, families, towns, etc. They are not mentioned by Caesar, but, like the culture-goddess equated by him with Minerva, the horse-goddess Epona, and others, they were not made subordinate to gods, as were the numerous goddesses associated with the native Apollo or with Mercury, Mars, etc. The cult of the *Matres* was wide-spread and popular (especially in cis-Alpine Gaul and lower Germany), hence also primitive, and it doubtless resembled that of the Bona Dea or Great Mother, with whom Gregory of Tours compares a local fertility-goddess of Autun called Berecynthia (in *Glor. Conf.* c. 77; see FESTIVALS [Celtic]). The *Matres* must have been triplicates of an early Earth-mother, whose place was eventually taken by the Earth-god. She then became his consort or mother, or was even associated with another god. Thus Sirona, perhaps 'the long-lived one,' with symbols of fertility (Robert, *RCel* iv. 133), associated with Grannos, is probably an old Earth-goddess. But generally conservatism preserved intact the cult of these fertility-goddesses, as we see in the case of the *Matres* and Berecynthia. Similarly, female corn- and vegetation-spirits, as they became anthropomorphic goddesses, were only partially ousted by gods. The *Matres*, worshipped also in Gallo-Roman Britain, were never quite forgotten. They survived in popular belief as fairies (see FAIRY, and cf. the Welsh name for fairies, *Y Mamau*, 'the Mothers'), and their images were sometimes adored as those of the Virgin and Child. The *Matronæ* of eastern and cis-Alpine Gaul, of the Rhine and Danube regions, probably local forms of the *Matres*, have a title borne by several rivers—Marne, Meyrone, etc. This suggests that they were associated with the cult of rivers. The Mother-river fertilized a whole district, and thus

exhibited the chief characteristics of the whole group of goddesses. Other local group goddesses or female spirits are the *Comedovæ*, *Dominæ*, and *Virgines* (probably not very different from the *Matres*), the *Niskæ*, water-goddesses, etc. Many individual goddesses, unassociated with a god, appear sporadically in local inscriptions. It is thus clear (as the evidence of Irish mythology also shows) that in the earliest times goddesses or female spirits of fertility, culture, etc., had preceded gods, and were never quite ousted by them.

The earth or under-earth gods are most probably represented by Caesar's Dispatēr. Various Gallo-Roman images show by their symbols or dress that they are local equivalents of Dispatēr, of the Græco-Roman Hades-Pluto, e.g. the god with the hammer and cup (a symbol of fertility), the god called Cernunnos—a horned god who may be the same as other nameless horned or three-headed gods, evidently of the under-world, with symbols of plenty and fertility. Aeracura, a goddess holding a basket of fruits, is associated with Dispatēr in inscriptions from the Rhine valley, and she is probably an early Earth-mother, as is also the consort of the under-world god on a monument from Saintes. She holds a cornucopia. The horned or three-headed god is associated with a male and female, or two male, or two female, companions, on different monuments. In some cases they are represented as Roman divinities. These varying groupings may point to different myths of which this god was the central figure. From this under-world god, who is also a god of fertility, men were descended—perhaps the late form of a myth telling how men had come to earth's surface from an under-earth region. To his kingdom below the earth, conceived as a glorious state, men returned after death to enjoy that bodily immortality which was so firmly believed in by the Celts (§ XVI.).

The hammer is probably a symbol of power, which might be given to any god, but in the hands of the under-world god, who is a god of fertility, it represents creative power. Horns were also ultimately symbols of power (§ X. a (f)), but, in the case of these under-world gods with stag's horns, they pre-suppose a cult of the stag which, as a grain-feeder, might be associated with the under-earth region whence the grain sprang. Later the anthropomorphic god of the under world would be represented with stag's horns, and horned animals would become his symbols. Hence they are represented with the god on some of his monuments. The triple head of the god and monuments of a bodiless triple head are not easily explained, but they are probably connected with the Celtic cult of heads and with the idea that the head of a great tribal warrior had protective powers.

For representations of Dispatēr, see Reinach, *BF*, *RCel* xvii. 45 ff.; Bertrand, *RA*, 2nd ser., vols. xv. and xvi.; Flouest, *RA*, 3rd ser., vol. v.; Barthélemy, *RCel* i. 11.

Inscriptions also show the existence of departmental Nature-divinities of mountains, forests, rivers, winds, etc., and of tutelary deities of towns or districts, which took their name from these gods—perhaps originally tribal divinities, and of anthropomorphic animal-divinities like Damona, Tarvos, Moccus, Mullo, Epona, and Artio (see § X.).

The theory of a Celtic cult of a great Divine triad has been maintained by those who believe that the three gods worshipped by the Gauls with human sacrifices (Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 444) were such a triad. Their names are Teutates, Taranis, and Esus. But on no inscription do their names occur together, and Lucan lays stress on the bloody aspect of their cult, not on their association as a triad. Nor do his words show that they were gods of all Gaul. They were rather tribal gods, whose cult may have extended over a wide area (see Reinach, *RCel* xviii. 149). Teutates is a war-god of the tribe (**teuta*), but his pan-Celtic cult is still maintained by Jullian (*Recherches*, p. 18). Taranis is probably a thunder-god, and Esus, to judge from a monument found at Paris, is a god of

vegetation (§§ VII. 2; X. 2 [δ]). Some monuments of the under-world god associate him with two divinities, but, as these vary on the monuments, too much stress must not be laid on this example of a triad. The importance of the number 'three' among the Celts (see CALENDAR [Celtic]) led to their grouping three *Matres* on monuments, and in Irish myths there are some examples of similar groupings, or of the extension of one divinity into three (§ V.). In only a few cases was a god worshipped by a similar name all over Celtdom; more generally gods with similar functions had different names, as a result of the local character of most divinities (see Table appended to § VI.). Some of these local divinities, especially those connected with natural features, and possibly some divinities of growth and fertility, may have been pre-Celtic, but this is not to say that the Celts themselves had not divinities of the same nature whom they could assimilate to these.

The philological evidence of the inscriptional names, the identification with Roman divinities, and the plastic types of the monuments, along with ritual notices, hints in early ecclesiastical writings, and folk-survivals, give us some definite knowledge of religious evolution among the Gauls before the Roman conquest. Out of a primitive Nature-worship, out of early animal and agricultural cults, there had been evolved departmental deities of Nature (of mountains, forests, rivers, of the sun and sky, of thunder), deities of growth and fertility, and anthropomorphic animal-divinities (cf. § X.). From the deities of fertility, or from early earth or under-earth divinities, had been evolved gods of the under world of the dead, but from that under world—a region of fertility—men had come forth, for a myth of this kind probably underlies Cæsar's statement regarding descent from Dispatre. Worshipful animals became anthropomorphic animal-gods, often with the animal as their symbol. There were also divinities of speech, of culture, of health, of commerce, and of war. Some of these may have assumed a prominent character, but generally they were local and topical. After the Roman conquest the native cults, save in rural districts, gradually gave place to a cult of Romanized Celtic divinities, worshipped according to the ritual of Rome. But, with the conquest, a road was opened to foreign cults which the Romans themselves had adopted, and consequently remains of Egyptian and other Oriental cults have occasionally been discovered on the soil of Gaul.

The inscriptions and Divine names are given fully in Holder. Many separate articles on the gods will be found in *RCel* and *RA*. See also Allmer, 'Les Dieux de la Gaule celt.', *Rev. Epigr.*, Paris, 1894 ff.; Julien, *Recherches*; Bertrand, *Rel. des Gaulois*; Gaidoz, *Le Dieu gaulois du Soleil*; Rhys, *HL*; Reinach, *EF*, and *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, 2 vols., Paris, 1906; and for the *Matres* and *Matrone*, see Ihm, in Roscher, *s.v.*, and in *Jahrb. des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden in Rheinlande*, 1887, No. 83; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant. grec. et rom.*, *s.v.*; Valentin, *Le culte des matres*, Paris, 1880.

V. IRISH DIVINITIES.—1. The Mythological cycle.—Of the three groups of tales known as the Mythological, the Cúchulainn, and the Feinn cycles, the first alone concerns us here. Its contents, found mainly in the 11th and 12th cent. *LU* and *LL*, are based on mythic tales of a far earlier date. Some of its personages are met with in the other cycles, in Scots Gaelic tales, and in those of Wales and Man. These personages are the Tuatha Dé Danann, Fomorians, Firbolgs, and Milesians, of whom the first two are certainly Divine groups. The mythic tales relate the strife of powers of growth with those of blight, of aboriginal with incoming Celtic gods, or tell of Divine amours with mortals, or of human descent from the gods. Christianity viewed the gods as demons, but at a later time the myths were

euhemerized by early mediæval chroniclers and set forth as historic facts. Gods became kings and warriors. Divine and human groups became successive colonists of Ireland, while each group was affiliated to the Hebrew patriarchs. But the data upon which the chroniclers had to work were conflicting, and on the whole they left them so.

According to the annalists, the first group of personages who came to Ireland were Noah's granddaughter, Cessair, with 50 women and 3 men, all of whom were destroyed by a flood save Finntain. They were followed by Partholan and his company, who found the Fomorians settled there, but were destroyed by a plague, Tuan mac Caraill alone surviving. Finntain and Tuan are annalistic duplicates, who are described as surviving for centuries, the latter through a series of transformations, the idea of which was purely pagan. Next came the Nemedians, who had to pay to the Fomorians two-thirds of their children and of the year's corn and milk on Samhain eve (1st Nov.). One version of the history of the Nemedians makes some of their survivors go to Scotland or Man (the Britons), others to Greece (the Firbolgs), others to the north of Europe (the Tuatha Dé Danann). The Firbolgs, probably to be regarded as the aborigines of Ireland, returned thither. They were not attacked, like the other groups, by the Fomorians, who are spoken of as their gods. The Tuatha Dé Danann, on their arrival in Ireland, were attacked by the Fomorians. The earliest tradition knows of one battle only, in which Firbolgs and Fomorians were both overthrown (Cormac, *Glossary*, *s.v.* 'Nescoit'; *LU* 51), but this was later resolved into two. The first battle, fought at Magtured in Mayo, resulted in the defeat of the Firbolgs on Midsummer day. In this battle, Nuada, king of the Tuatha, lost his hand and had to resign his kingship, which was given to Bres, son of a Fomorian and a woman of the Tuatha Dé Danann. During his reign the Tuatha Dé Danann had to pay tribute and perform menial duties—perhaps a euhemerized version of a myth telling of the subjection of gods of growth and light to powers of death and blight. In seven years Nuada resumed his throne, and there followed on Samhain the second battle of Magtured in Sligo, which made the Tuatha Dé Danann lords of the land. Next came the Milesians, ancestors of the Irish, who defeated the Tuatha Dé Danann, the survivors of whom retired into the hills to become a kind of fairy race.

This chronological system, with its obvious reduplications, shows what the annalists made of existing or dimly remembered myths, legends, rites, and Divine genealogies. All this has been accepted as sober fact by Irish writers down to the present time. But the true nature of the whole is now better apprehended, and it is admitted that in Fomorians and Tuatha Dé Danann we have earlier gods never quite humanized. Fomorians are more or less monstrous—demons or giants rather than men, as the chroniclers admit; the Tuatha Dé Danann are clearly supernatural.

The Mythological cycle is far from representing all the pagan myths of Ireland; its illusory completeness is due to the chronological order in which it is arranged, and in which we see the Tuatha Dé Danann arriving and conquering the land, occupying it for a time, dispossessed by the Milesians, retiring into the hollow hills, and dividing these underground kingdoms among themselves. Fragments of other myths are found in the *Dindsenchas*; others exist as romantic tales, or are transferred to the *Lives* of saints, or are connected with historical or semi-historical personages; while others are found in the heroic cycles. But in whatever guise the Tuatha Dé Danann appear, they never quite lose their true Divine form; as men, as wizards, as fairies, they still reveal themselves as gods.

2. The Fomorians.—The Firbolgs, with whom are associated the Fir Gallaioin and Fir Donnann ('men of Domnu,' in whom some have seen a goddess of the deep [Ir. *domain*, 'deep'], or a god,

and whom Rhys considers, on slight grounds, to be akin to the *Dumnonii* of Devon and Cornwall [HL 597; d'Arbois, ii. 130]], are treated as slaves and held in contempt, and this is suggestive of their position as aborigines enslaved by the conquering Goidels. That the Fomorians were their gods or the gods of an aboriginal people is certain, since they are found in Ireland before the coming of Partholan.¹ Thus they would not originally be evil: that character, together with their Celtic names, would be given to them by the Celts. Some of them may have been gods of fertility, for the Fomorian Bres could cause kine to be always in milk, and produce a good harvest every year, and he knew the lucky days for ploughing, sowing, and reaping (Harl. MS, 5280; *RCel* xii. 105). Though the Fomorians were regarded as hurtful to agriculture, this was also said of the Tuatha Dé Danann after the Christianizing of Ireland, though they were gods of growth (LL 245, 2). They are also called, like the Tuatha Dé Danann, 'champions of the *sid*' (Harl. MS, 5280, § 41). Thus the 'tribute' offered to them may be a reminiscence of an actual cult of aboriginal gods, since it exactly resembles that of Cromm Cruaich, a Celtic earth-god. Aboriginal and Celtic gods of fertility differed little in personality and cult. The Celts regarded them as hostile and evil, as incoming conquerors so often regard the gods of a conquered race. They dread them and equate them with the evil powers known to them. The Celts did this, and made the Divine Fomorians lords of blight and winter, storm and death. This we gather from the fact that a sinister character is given to them in the texts and in folk-tradition, while they are actual opponents of the bright gods of the Celts. Thus the mythical battles between the two sets of gods became part of the dramatization of the conflict between growth and blight, summer and winter, light and darkness—the dualism which is found in all Nature religions. The sun was vanquished by cloud or storm, summer by winter, and vegetation perished. But the sun shone forth again, summer returned, vegetation re-appeared. All this was symbolic of strife between the Divine and demoniac beings behind these, and it was represented in ritual, since men thought they could aid magically or by rite and prayer the gods of growth. In this strife gods are wounded and slain, because the powers of growth suffer eclipse. But they revive, just as sun and vegetation re-appear. The Celts already possessed such a mythology and ritual, hence it was easy to equate the Fomorians with their own dark powers. If myth represented this as having happened once for all, as if some of the gods had actually perished, men knew that they still lived on, and the Nature drama or its ritual representation still proceeded. The priority of the Fomorians to the Tuatha Dé Danann would also be in accordance with the usual Celtic belief in the priority of darkness to light.

According to the annalists, the Fomorians are sea-demons or pirates, the name being derived from *muir*, 'sea,' or they are demons and giants (Hennessy, *Chron. Scot.*, 1866, p. 6; Girald. Camb. *Top. Hibern.* iii. 2), descended, with the Goborichind ('goat- or horse-heads,' *IT* i. 586) and Luchrúpan ('little bodies or dwarfs'), etc., from Shem (LU 2a, 45). Rhys connects the name with Welsh *foazor*, 'giant,' and derives it from *fo*, 'under,' and *muir*, 'sea'—hence submarine beings (HL 591). MacBain regards them as personifications of the wild western sea (*Celt. Mag.* ix. 130). The Fomorians were certainly located in Tory Island, off Donegal; but this association with the sea may be due to a mere late folk-etymology, wrongly deriving the name from *muir*. The Celtic experience of the Lochlanners or Norsemen, with whom the Fomorians are associated (Harl. MS, 5280; *RCel* xii. 75), would aid the conception of them as seapirates. Stokes connects the syllable *-mor* with *-mare* in 'nightmare,' from **moro-*, and thinks of them as subterranean

as well as submarine (*RCel* xii. 180; *US* 211).¹ MacBain points out that 'the *o* of *mór*, if it is long (for it is rarely so marked),' is against both these derivations (*Gael. Dict.*, Inverness, 1896, p. 146). More probable is Zimmer's and d'Arbois' derivation from *fo* and a theme *morio*, from *mor*, 'great' (*RCel* xii. 476; d'Arbois, ii. 52). This agrees with the tradition which regarded them as giants.

In spite of the hostility of the Fomorians to the Tuatha Dé Danann, they intermarry or trace descent from each other. Similar relationships are found among the hostile groups of other mythologies. Thus, though in this Irish instance the relationships may have been partly due to the euhemerists, they are also the reflexion, on the Divine stage, of what takes place in primitive society. Hostile peoples intermarry, or the women of one group are captured and made mothers by men of the other group.

Only the more prominent Fomorians need be enumerated. Their functions are even more completely hidden than those of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Balor had one eye, the glance of which destroyed whomsoever it fell on, but its eyelid required four men to raise it. He is probably a personification of the evil eye, much believed in by the Celts. Elatha, father of Bres and Ogma, may have been an aboriginal god of knowledge like the Celtic Ogma, since his name has some reference to wisdom, and is used as an appellative in the sense of science, art, and literary composition (*IT* i. 521; Rhys, HL 275). Perhaps the fact of his son Bres being chosen king of the Tuatha Dé Danann reflects some myth of the occasional supremacy of darkness. Bres, as has been seen, may have been an aboriginal god of growth. His consort is Brig, the Celtic goddess of knowledge. Balor, Elatha, and Indech are described as kings of the Fomorians, the last named being son of Dea Domnann, a goddess (or god) of the deep, not necessarily the sea, as Rhys suggests (HL 597), but perhaps the deep in the sense of under-earth. If so, this goddess would be an Earth-mother of the aborigines. Tethra, whose wife resembles the Celtic war-goddess Badb (LU 50), is regarded by d'Arbois as lord of Elysium, or the world of the dead, whither, like Kronos, he retired after his defeat. D'Arbois also equates Bres and Balor with Kronos, making Tethra, Bres, and Balor one and the same god (d'Arbois, ii. 192, 198, 375). But the assumption that Greek and Irish mythologies run upon parallel lines is dangerous. These three gods are quite separate personalities. Tethra may have been an aboriginal war-divinity, but there is no real ground for regarding him as a lord of Elysium, which was far from being the world of the dead (see BLEST, *ABODE OF [Celtic]*, § 5). Nét, grandfather of Balor and husband of Neman, the war-goddess, was 'a battle-god of the heathen Gael' (Cormac, *s.v.* 'Nét'). A war-god Neton, equated with Mars, is mentioned on inscriptions in the territory of the Aquitani (Holder, ii. 738), and, like a Gaulish **Nantos*, may be the equivalent of Nét, who would then have been very closely classed with the Fomorians. Elsewhere he is ranked among the Tuatha Dé Danann, though he is the ancestor of several Fomorians (LL 10, 1).

3. The Tuatha Dé Danann.—This collective name means 'the folk or the tribes of the goddess Danu' (Stokes, *RCel* xii. 129; Rhys, HL 89), or, as d'Arbois (ii. 145) renders it, 'folk of the god whose mother is called Danu.' Cognate forms are Fir Dea, Tuath Dé or Tuatha Dea, 'men or tribes of the goddess.' Three gods in particular—Brian, Iuchar, and Iucharbar—are called her children or 'the three gods of Danu' (Harl. MS, 5280, § 83), and they again give a title to the whole group *Fir tri nDea*, 'men of the three gods' (*ib.* § 60). In Welsh mythology their equivalents are the Children

¹ The possibility of the Fomorians being gods of a group of Celtic tribes at war with another group worshipping the gods called Tuatha Dé Danann should not be overlooked.

¹ This derivation is now accepted by Rhys. See *Trans 3rd Inter. Cong. Hist. of Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 21a.

of Dón. Though euhemerized as warriors, they appear also in the Mythological cycle as a people of magical powers who ultimately became a race of fairy enchanters. Conquered by the Milesians, they had retired into the *sid*. (This Milesian conquest of a race of gods must be regarded as the euhemerists' interpretation of the abandonment of the old paganism and its gods by the peoples of Ireland at the preaching of Christianity. The new faith, not the people, conquered the gods.)

In the Cúchulainn cycle they are supernatural beings or 'demons' assisting the persons of the saga, and in the Feinn saga all these characters are indifferently ascribed to them. The annalists regard them as men. Yet they have the marks of divinity—though they die, they are immortal, they can change their form, they have amours with mortals, they live in a Divine world, they influence human affairs. They are said to be 'unfading,' their 'duration is perennial' (O'Grady, ii. 203). The euhemerizing process which made them mortals was gradual. Eochaid na Flinn in the 10th cent. speaks of them as men, as demons, and as deities (LL 10, 2). In the 11th cent. the process was complete, as the poems of Flann Manistrech and Gilla Coemáin and the Book of Invasions show (LL 9, 11, 127). As a result of this process we now hear of their sepulchres. They had become men, subject to mortality, though possibly the process was aided by pagan myths of slain gods. Yet their divinity was never forgotten, and in romantic tales and sagas, existing side by side with the documents of the euhemerists, they are still gods, while the view that they were a race of fairy-folk—*sid*-dwellers, *fir side*, 'men of the fairy-mounds,' or simply *side*, 'fairy-folk'—whom the pagans had worshipped (IT i. 14), is also found.

In *Ir. sid* is a fairy-hill—the hill itself, or the dwelling within it. Perhaps its primitive form was **sēdos*, from *sēd*, 'abode or seat.' Thurneysen suggests a connexion with a word=Lat. *sidus*, 'constellation,' or the dwelling of the gods. The *side* are the dwellers in the *sid*.

As *side* they are more than fairies, since they are called *dei terreni*, whom the pagans adored (IT i. 774), and St. Patrick and several bishops were taken by the daughters of Laegaire for *fir side*, viz. gods (Trip. Life, i. 99). The mounds themselves were regarded as sepulchres of the gods, but more frequently as marvellous underground palaces, where favoured mortals might go. In this they resemble the over-sea Elysium (BLEST, ABODE of [Celtic]). But why were the Tuatha Dé Danann transformed into a fairy race? How far the fairy creed existed in pagan times is uncertain (see FAIRY), but perhaps a supernatural race, distinct from the Tuatha Dé Danann, was already supposed to dwell in mounds (Joyce, SH i. 252; O'Curry, MS Mat. 505). These might be aboriginal gods, since the Fomorians are also called 'champions of the *sid*' (Harl. MS, 5280, § 41). Such a belief would aid the growth of a legend that gods ousted by Christianity were now also in the *sid*. But the difference between this earlier *sid*-folk and the Tuatha Dé Danann may be more apparent than real. Some of the latter are called kings of the *side*, and even in 'Cúchulainn's Sickbed,' where the *sid*-folk are prominent, Manannan, one of the gods, is the husband of one of them, and their island is called by the name of the Celtic Elysium, *Mag Mell*, as it is in the story of Connla (IT i. 199; Windisch, Ir. Gram. p. 118). Mider, called one of the *side*, is connected with the Tuatha Dé Danann, and his *sid* is like Elysium (O'Curry, MCAI ii. 71). The belief that the gods had retired within hills would be aided by the Celtic cult of gods in mounds or hills, e.g. the Puy de Dôme, after which a god sometimes took his name, like Cenn Cruaich, 'Head of the Mound.' Churches were afterwards built on such mounds

(Shore, JAI xx. 9). Such gods would be regarded as still haunting the mounds when the cult had ceased. St. Columba prays against 'this host [i.e. of gods] around the cairn that reigneth' (Keating, p. 434). The belief may also be reminiscent of the dwelling of earth- and fertility-divinities beneath the earth in a Divine land whence men had come and whither they returned (§ XVI.). Some of the gods, however, associated with the Island Elysium still retained their place there in tradition.

The association of gods with burial-mounds is not so clear. But early myths of slain and buried gods, the possible cult of gods on tumuli as well as on hills, and the belief that the dead rejoined the gods of growth beneath the earth would all aid this belief. Fairies are also confused with ghosts, and live in burial-mounds, and, when the gods came to be looked on as fairies, they would be associated with such mounds. And, when euhemerization made them dead heroes, conspicuous mounds of the forgotten dead would be called their burial places.

The phrase *dēe ocus andēe* is used by Tuan mac Carail of the Tuatha Dé Danann, and is said by him to mean 'poets and husbandmen' (LU 16, 2). In the *Cóir Anmann* (IT iii. 355) this explanation is given, but there the phrase occurs in a formula of blessing—'the blessing of gods and not-gods.' The author of the *Cóir* seems to realize that it has this meaning, for he adds, 'These were their gods, the magicians, and their non-gods, the husbandmen.' Perhaps the phrase may refer to the position of priest-kings or magicians as men-gods. Cf. the phrase in a Welsh poem, *Teulu Oeth as Anoth*, which Rhys renders 'Household of Power and Not-power' (CFL ii. 620); but the meaning is obscure. Cf. Loth, i. 197, for *Cuer Oeth as Anoth*. Rhys compares Skr. *deva* and *adēva* (HL 681).

4. Dagda, an early god of the group, is said to be so called because he can do more than all the gods—'It is thou art the good hand' (*Dag-dae* [Harl. MS, 5280, § 81, RCEl xii. 83]). The *Cóir Anmann* (IT iii. 355) explains Dagda as 'fire (*daig*) of god' (*dāa*). But the true derivation is from **dago-devos*, 'good god,' though Stokes regards it as a participial formation connected with *dagh*, whence *daghda*, 'cunning' (Cormac, Gloss. p. 23; RCEl vi. 369). Other names of Dagda are *Cera* (perhaps cognate with Lat. *cerus*, 'creator'), *Ruad-rafhessa*, 'lord of great knowledge,' for 'he had the perfection of heathen science,' and *Eochaid Ollathair*, 'great father,' while he is called 'a beautiful god' and 'the principal god of the pagans' (Cormac, pp. 47, 144; IT iii. 355, 357; d'Arbois, i. 202). After the battle of Magtured he divides the *sid* among the gods; but his son Oengus, having been omitted, ousts his father and reigns in his *sid* (LL 246a). In a later version, Bodb Dearg divides the *sid*, and Oengus drives out his foster-father Elmar (Ir. MSS Series, i. 46). The myth of Dagda's disinheriting may be one formed to explain the growing prominence of the younger god's cult. Rhys makes Dagda an atmospheric god (HL 644); MacBain sees in him a sky-god (Celt. Mag. ix. 169). But more likely he is an earth or agricultural god, since he has power over corn and milk, and agrees to prevent the destruction of these by the gods (LL 245b), while he is called 'the god of the earth' 'because of the greatness of his power' (IT iii. 355). Dagda's cauldron which never lacked food to satisfy all, his swine (one living, one always ready for cooking), and his trees always laden with fruit also suggest plenty and fertility. They are in his *sid* where none ever tasted death (LL 246, 1). He is thus ruler of a Divine land—the under world in its primitive aspect of the place of gods of fertility. Thus he need not be equated with Kronos, who, disinherited by Zeus, went to reign over Elysium (Rhys, HL 146), for he is ruler of the *sid* before his disinheriting. He has a large club or fork, and d'Arbois (v. 427, 448) suggests an equivalence with the Gaulish god with the hammer. This god, if, as is likely, he was a Celtic Dispater was an earth or under-earth god of fertility.

If Dagda was a god of agriculture, he may be a local form of the god whose image was called *Cenn* or *Cromm Cruaich* ('Head or Crooked One of the Mound', Rhys, *HL* 201; 'Bloody Head or Crescent' [from *cru*, 'blood'], d'Arbois, ii. 105). Vallancey, citing a lost MS (*Coll. de Reb. Hib.* 1786, iv. 495), says, 'Crom-eocha was a name of the Dagda,' and that a motto at Tara read, 'Let the altar ever blaze to Dagda.' Now the Irish offered a third of their children at Samhain to Cenn Cruaich to obtain corn and milk—the things over which Dagda had power (*LL* 213, 2; *RCel* xvi. 35); and the violent prostrations of the worshippers one Samhain eve caused three-fourths of them to perish—perhaps a reminiscence of an orgiastic cult. Such a god was a god of fertility, the blood of the victims was poured on his image, and their flesh may have been buried in the fields to promote fertility. Hence they may have been regarded as representatives of the god, though their number is exaggerated, or a number of sacrificial victims may have taken the place of such an earlier Divine slain victim.

For grotesque myths about Dagda, see *RCel* xii. 85; *LU* 94. For some stories of Crom Dubh (who may be Cromm Cruaich) in which the fairies (*i.e.* the old gods) refuse to help in the processes of agriculture because they are not to go to Paradise, or, in other words, because their worshippers have become Christians, see O'Curry, *MS Mat.* p. 632; *RCel* iv. 175.

Oengus, whose names *Mac Ind Oc*, 'son of the young ones' (Dagda and Boann), and *In Mac Oc*, 'the young son,' and the myth of his disinheriting Dagda, support the idea that his cult superseded that of an older god, would then be affiliated to that god, as was done in similar cases in Babylon. He may thus have been the god of a tribe assuming supremacy, unless Dagda was an aboriginal god whose cult the Celts adopted, giving that of their earth-god Oengus a higher place. His superiority to Dagda is seen in the myth where he tells him how to escape the Fomorians slavery (Harl. MS, 5280, § 26; *RCel* xii. 65). He is often regarded as a Celtic Eros, but more likely he was a god of growth who occasionally suffered eclipse. Hence, perhaps, his absence from the battle of Magtured. The story of Oengus and Etain has been influenced by *Märchen* formulae. Finding her separated from her consort Mider through his jealous other wife, Fuamnach, Oengus placed her in a glass *grianan* filled with flowers, the perfume of which sustained her. He carried it about with him till Fuamnach caused her removal from it. Changed to insect shape, she was swallowed by the wife of king Etain and re-born as a mortal (*LL* ii. 3; BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 2 (c)).

Rhys, *HL* i. 146, makes this a sun- and dawn-myth, the *grianan* being the expanse of heaven. But there is no evidence that Oengus was a sun-god; the dawn does not grow stronger with the sun's influence, as Etain did through Oengus's care, and the *grianan* is the equivalent of various objects in tales of the Cinderella type, in which the heroine is hidden. The tale reveals nothing of Etain's functions as a goddess. Other *Märchen* formulae occur in the story of Dagda seeking the help of Ailill and Medb, king and queen of Connaught, to discover the girl of whom Oengus dreamt (Egerton MS, *RCel* iii. 342). But it shows that gods could seek help from mortals. For variants of the story of Etain, see Stirn, *ZCP* v., and Nutt, *RCel* xxvii. 339.

Oengus is the fosterer of Diarmaid in the Feinn cycle (*Trans. Oss. Soc.* iii.). With Mider, Badb, and Morrighu, he expels the Fomorians when they destroy the corn, milk, fruit, etc., of the Tuatha Dé Danann (*RCel* i. 41). This may point to his being a god of growth and fertility.

Nuada *Argetlam*, 'of the silver hand,' is so called because his hand, cut off at Magtured, was replaced by one of silver. The myth may have arisen from incidents of actual warfare, from the fact that an Irish king must have no blemish, or from images being sometimes maimed or made with a kind of artificial limb. The origin of this last custom being forgotten, explanatory myths accounted for it (*FL* viii. 341). Rhys sees in

Nuada a Celtic Zeus (*HL* 121). In any case he is a god of light and growth who suffers in conflict with dark divinities. His equivalent in Welsh myth is *Llŷd Llŷw Ereint*, or 'silver-handed,' the deliverer of his people from various scourges. The story of the yearly fight on 1st May between Gwyn and Gwythur for Llŷd's daughter Kreiddylad (Guest, *Mabinog.* ii. 305) is explained by Rhys by the theory that she is a kind of Persephone wedded alternately to light and darkness (*HL* 563). But the story may rather be explanatory of ritual battles between summer and winter, intended to assist the powers of growth in their struggle with those of blight, more especially as Kreiddylad is the daughter of a god of growth (for such battles, see Train, *Isle of Man*, Douglas, 1845, ii. 118; *GB* ii. 99; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* ii. 775). Possibly the tales of the battles of Magtured may have arisen in the same way. Traces of a cult of a god Nodens (=Nuada) in Romano-British times have been found at Lydney in Gloucester, and some of the symbols suggest that Nodens was a god of the waters. But this is uncertain (see Holder, *s.v.* 'Nodens'; Bathurst, *Roman Antiq. at Lydney Park*, London, 1879; Rhys, *AL* 122 ff.; Cook, *FL* xvii. 30). Nuada's name may be cognate with words meaning 'growth,' 'harvest,' 'possession' (Stokes, *US* 194), and this supports the view here taken of his functions. The Nudd Hael, or 'the generous,' of the *Triads* (Loth, ii. 235, 296), who possessed 21,000 milch kine, is perhaps a euhemerized form of this god; Nuada may have had various human incarnations (see § VIII.).

Manannan is son of Ler, or the sea—a god of whom we hear only in the story of 'The Children of Ler,' and whose Brythonic equivalent is *Llyr* (§ VI.). Four Manannans are known to Irish story, but they are probably all euhemerized variants of this god. His position as a sea-god is seen from his riding or driving in his chariot over the waves, in his epithet 'horseman of the crested sea,' and in the fact that his 'horses in a sea-storm' are the waves (Harl. MS, 5280, § 148), while he is actually identified with a wave (Bodley *Dindsenchas*, No. 10). Perhaps, as god of the sea, he was readily regarded as lord of the Island Elysium. Manannan is still remembered in the Isle of Man, which may owe its name to him, and which, as the Isle of Falga, was regarded by the Goidels as Elysium. In a myth he is elected king of the Tuatha Dé Danann. With Bodb Dearg he makes the gods invisible and immortal and gives them magic food, while magical things belong to him—his armour and sword worn by Lug, his horse and canoe, his swine, etc. Some of these are borrowed from *Märchen* formulae; others are the natural property of a god who was a great magician, though the mythological school has interpreted them after its own fashion. (For Manannan, see, further, BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], §§ 2, 8; and for his Brythonic equivalent *Manawyddan*, see below, § VI.).

In Christian times a legend grew up round the historic 7th cent. king Mongán, said to be a re-birth of Feinn and son of Manannan (*LU* 133). In Irish and Welsh hagiology, SS. Barri and Scutigne have inherited some of Manannan's mythical traits, or may themselves represent local sea-gods (Meyer, *Trans. Soc. Cym.* 1895-96, p. 75).

Lug is associated with Manannan, from whose Land of Promise he comes to assist the Tuatha Dé Danann against the Fomorians. 'His face shone like the sun on a summer day.' Single-handed he defeated the Fomorians and forced Bres to forego his tribute (Joyce, *OCR* 37). But in another version it is as 'the man of every art' (*samildánach*) that he appears before the gods, showing himself superior to the gods of various crafts, and taking part with them in the defeat of the Fomorians (Harl. MS, 5280; *RCel* xii. 75). Lug may be equated with the Gallo-Roman Mercury, since

samildnach, 'possessing many arts,' is the equivalent of 'inventor of all arts' applied by Cæsar (vi. 17) to that god (d'Arbois, vi. 116). Place and personal names point to the cult of a god Lugus in Gaul; and, though no dedication has been discovered, there are inscriptions of Mercury at Lugudunum Convenarum (*RCel* vii. 400). The *Lugoves* are commemorated in inscriptions from Spain and Switzerland—in the former, at Uxama, by shoemakers—and Rhys recalls the story of Llen (whom he equates with Lug) disguising himself as a shoemaker (*HL* 425; Holder, *s.v.* 'Lugus,' 'Lugudunum,' etc.). The existence of the *Lugoves* (like the *Junones*) points to the multiplication of the personality of the god, like that of other Irish deities (but see Gaidoz, *RCel* vi. 489). Lug's superiority in various crafts shows that originally he was a culture-god, as well as a mighty hero—the meaning given to his name by O'Davoren (Stokes, *TIG* 103). His high place among the gods is indicated in Nuada's renunciation of his throne to him before Magtured, and in his long reign after Nuada's death in the annalistic scheme (Harl. MS, 5280, § 74; *Arch. Rev.* i. 231; *LL* 9, 2). He is made father and helper of Cúchulainn, who is his son or perhaps a re-birth of himself. The assembly at Lugudunum on 1st August was probably in honour of Lugus, as was the Irish festival Lughnasadh on the same date. Craftsmen brought their wares to sell at this feast of the god of crafts, but it was more essentially a harvest-feast (see *FESTIVALS* [Celtic] and § XIII. below). Certain traits in Lug's mythology give support to Rhys's contention that he was a solar god, though his equation of Lug and the Welsh Llen, and the meaning of 'light' assigned to both names by him, are doubtful (*HL* 409; see Loth, *RCel* x. 490). Elsewhere solar gods are also culture-heroes, but Lug's name is never associated with the more strictly solar feasts of Beltane and Midsummer.

More prominent as a culture-god is Ogmia, master of poetry and inventor of ogham writing, said to have been called after him (O'Donovan, *Grammar*, Dublin, 1845, p. xlvii). Probably his name is derived from a word signifying 'speech' or 'writing,' and the connexion with 'ogham' may be a folk-etymology. He is the champion of the gods—perhaps because of the primitive custom of rousing the warriors' emotion by eloquent speeches before a battle. After the fight at Magtured he captures Tethra's sword, goes on the quest for Dagda's harp, and is given a *sid* by Dagda after the Milesian invasion (Harl. MS, 5280, §§ 59, 162-3). His counterpart in Gaul is *Ogmios*, a Herakles and a god of eloquence with a 'smiling face,' according to Lucian (*Herakles*)—a phrase which is cognate with the Irish appellative of Ogmia, *grianaineach*, 'of the smiling countenance.' His high position is due to the value set on bardic eloquence by the Celts, and to him was doubtless ascribed its origin and that of poetry. Ogmia was the son of the goddess Brig, whose functions were like his own, and whom he never completely eclipsed.

Other gods connected with various departments of knowledge were worshipped. Diancecht ('swift in power') was a god of medicine and, at the battle of Magtured, presided over a 'spring of health' in which the mortally wounded were healed (Harl. MS, 5280, §§ 33, 35, 123). He is thus probably cognate with such Gallo-British gods as Grannos, Borvo, etc. His powers were not forgotten in Christian times—an 8th cent. MS at St. Gall contains a charm invoking his name and power (Stokes, *TIG* p. xxxiv; for other myths about Diancecht, cf. *RCel* xii. 67). Goibniu is an eponymous god of smiths (Ir. *goba*, 'smith'), and, like smiths and metal-workers everywhere, he had a reputation for magic, his skill being the subject of

a healing charm in the St. Gall MS (Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.*, 1881, p. 270; cf. St. Patrick's prayer against the 'spells of smiths,' *IT* i. 56). Goibniu made spears for the gods, prepared their feasts, and his ale preserved their immortality (Harl. MS, 5280, § 97; O'Curry in *Atlantis*, London, 1858-70, iii. [1860] 389). Credne, eponymous god of braziers (Ir. *cerd*, 'artificer'), and Luchtine, god of carpenters, are found shaping magical weapons for the gods at Magtured (Harl. MS, 5280, §§ 11, 100, 122).

Brian, Iuchair, and Iucharbar are called *tri dee Donand*, 'the three gods (sons) of Danu' (*LL* 30b, 38, cf. 10a), or *tri dee dana*, 'the three gods of knowledge' (*dán*)—the latter perhaps a folk-etymology associating *dán* with *Danu*. Various attributes are personified as their descendants, Wisdom being the son of all three (*RCel* xxvi. 13; *LL* 187, 3). Though some of these, especially Wisdom (*Ene*), may have been actual gods, it is more likely that the personification is due to the subtleties of bardic science, of which other examples occur. The fact that Ene has three brothers for fathers is paralleled by other Irish instances, and may be a reminiscence of polyandry.

D'Arbois (II. 873) suggests that Iuchair and Iucharbar are duplicates of Brian, and that three kings of the Tuatha Dé Danann reigning when the Milesians invaded Ireland—MacCuill, MacCecht, and MacGrainne—also grandsons of Dagda, are triplicates of one god and identical with Brian and his brothers. While his reasoning is ingenious, we must not lay too much stress on the annalistic genealogies of the gods. Each group of three may represent similar local gods, who at a later time were associated as brothers. Their separate personality is hinted at in the fact that the Tuatha Dé Danann are called after them *Fir trin Dea*, 'men of the three gods' (Harl. MS, 5280, § 60), and their supremacy is seen in the fact that Dagda, Lug, and Ogmia go to consult them (*ib.* § 88).

Brian and his brothers (said to be also sons of Brig, the equivalent of Danu, *LL* 149a) slew the god Cian, and were themselves slain by Lug (*LL* 11); and on this myth was perhaps founded the story of 'The Children of Tuirenn,' in which they perish through their exertions in paying the *eric* fine demanded by Lug (*Atlantis*, iv. 159). The tale has no serious mythical significance.

5. An examination of the position of the goddesses is important for the view here taken of Celtic religion. Danu (gen. *Danann*) is called 'mother of the gods' (*LL* 10b); and this is probably her true position, though the genealogists made her a daughter of Dagda or of Delbaeth. She may be the goddess whom Cormac (*Gloss.* p. 4) calls Anu and describes as 'mater deorum hibernensium,' deriving her name from *ana*, 'plenty' (**(p)an*, 'to nourish,' cf. *panis*, Stokes, *US* 12). The *Cóir Anmann* (*IT* iii. 289) calls her 'a goddess of prosperity.' The Paps of Anu in Kerry were called after her. If Danu and Anu are identical, the former was probably a goddess of fertility, an Earth-mother, from whom the gods might be said to have descended. She would, as an Earth-mother, be associated with the under world, as was Demeter (called 'Mother of the Dead'), since the fruits of the earth spring from beneath the surface, and are the gift of the under world whence man had come. As the cult of the fertile earth was usually orgiastic, she would have periodical human victims, perhaps her representatives. A reminiscence of this may be found in the Leicestershire folk-belief in 'Black Annis,' who devoured human victims and dwelt in a cave in the Dane Hills, like the Black Ceres of Phigalia (*Leic. County Folk-lore*, London, 1895, p. 4). The identification of Anu with Annis is not certain. Danu as a goddess of plenty associated with the under world may be compared with Plutus, confused with Ploutos, god of riches. In Celtic belief, the gifts of civilization and prosperity in general came from the under world (see BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 7). Rhys finds the name Anu in the dat. *Anonireds* ('chariot

of Anu'?) occurring in an inscription from Vaison (Vaucluse [Holder, *s.v.*]). Goddesses of fertility were sometimes drawn through the fields in a vehicle (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 251 ff.). Cormac (*Gloss.* 17) also refers to Buanann as mother and nurse of heroes, perhaps a goddess whom heroes worshipped. Rhys finds her name in the Continental place-name Bononia and its later derivatives (*Trans. 3rd Inter. Cong. Hist. of Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 213).

Danu is identified with Brigit, a daughter of Dagda and mother of Brian, Iuchair, and Incharbar; but the identification may be due to the fact that Brigit was a goddess of *dán*, 'knowledge.' She is a goddess of poetry, revered by poets, and, according to Cormac (p. 23), had two sisters of the same name, goddesses of medicine and smith-work. These may be mere duplicates or local forms of Brigit, who, as an early culture-goddess, is the equivalent of the Gallo-Roman Minerva, inventor of manufactures and the arts (Cæsar, vi. 17). Her name on Gaulish and British inscriptions is Brigindo, Brigantia, Brian, and Brig (Orelli, 1481; Holder, i. 534). Some of these occur in the territory of the Brigantes, whose eponymous goddess she may have been. Her cult and ritual passed over in part to that of St. Brigit, whose shrine at Kildare, enclosed by a brushwood fence within which no male might enter, contained a sacred fire guarded nightly by 19 nuns in turn, and on the 20th by the saint herself (Gir. Camb., *Top. Hib.* ii. 34, 48). Stokes sees in this the ritual of a goddess of fire, of the hearth, and in the nuns successors of virgin priestesses (*TIG* 33). She may be equated with the British *Sul Minerva*, goddess of hot springs, in whose temple burned perpetual fires (Solinus, xxii. 10). The evidence of a folk-survival in the Western Isles, in which Bride (= Brigit) gives an omen of the harvest on Candlemas (*q.v.*), may point to her being a goddess of fertility (Martin, *Description of the W. Islands of Scotland*, London, 1716, p. 119). The Roman Vestals performed yearly rites for fertility, and Vesta was equated with Diana, goddess of fertility, at Nemi. Brigit may thus have embodied in herself the functions of a cult of fertility and of fire. But she appears mainly as a culture-goddess, worshipped at one time perhaps exclusively by women (cf. the tabued shrine), when most primitive lore was in their hands, or when the early Celts, like the early Semites, worshipped female spirits or divinities rather than male spirits and gods, who later took their place and absorbed their functions. To the end, however, Brigit retained her personality. Nor were her functions as goddess of poetry, medicine, and smith-work ever fully taken from her by Ogmia, Diancecht, and Goibniu—a proof of her outstanding personality.

Though the Irish gods are warriors, and there are special war-gods, war-goddesses are more prominent, usually as a group of three—Morrigan ('great queen' [Rhys, *HL* 43]), Neman, and Macha. At times Badb takes the place of one of these, or is identical with Morrigan, or her name (like Morrigan's at times) is generic. *Badb* means 'a scald-crow,' under which form those goddesses appeared, probably from the presence of these birds near the slain. As *Badb-catha* ('battle-Badb'), she is the equivalent of *-athubodva* or *Cathubodva* of an inscription from Haute-Savoie; and this, with names like *Boduogenos*, shows that a goddess Bodua was known to the Gauls (Holder, i. 841; *CIL* vii. 1292; Cæsar, ii. 23). The battle-crow is associated with Tethra the Fomorian (*LU* 50a), but Badb was consort of Nét (see above). Elsewhere Neman is Nét's consort (Cormac, p. 122), and she may be the Nemetona, consort of Mars, of inscriptions, e.g. at Bath (Holder, ii. 714). To

Macha were dedicated the heads of slain enemies—'Macha's mast' (Stokes, *TIG* xxxv.); and she is perhaps the Macha of the Cúchulainn saga, from whose ill-treatment resulted the 'debility' of the Ultonians. Morrigan (the *mor-* of whose name Stokes connects with *mor-* in 'Fomorian' and with *-mare* in 'nightmare,' explaining her name as 'nightmare queen' [*US* 211; *RCel* xii. 128]) works great harm at Magtured, and proclaims the victory to the hills, rivers, and fairy hosts, uttering a prophecy of evil to come. She is prominent in the Cúchulainn saga, hostile to the hero because he rejects her love, yet aiding the hosts of Ulster and the Brown Bull, and later trying to prevent the hero's death. D'Arbois identifies the three birds on the *Tarvos Trigaranos* monument of Paris with Morrigan in her threefold manifestation as a bird (*Les Celtes*, 64; *RCel* xix. 246). The prominent position of the war-goddesses must be connected with the fact that women went out to war, and that many prominent women in the saga—Scathach, Medb, Aife—are warriors like the British Boudicca (for female warriors—*bangaisgedaig, ban-feinnidí*, etc.—see Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, Oxford, 1885, p. 76 f.; Stokes, *RCel* xxi. 396). But they may once have been goddesses of fertility, whose functions changed with the growing warlike character of the Celts. Their threefold character suggests the three *Matres*, goddesses of fertility, and perhaps the change to a more direful character is hinted at in the Romano-British inscription at Benwell to the *Lamias tribus* (*CIL* vii. 507), since Morrigan's name is glossed *lamia* (Stokes, *US* 211). She is identified with Anu, and is mistress of the Earth-god Dagda, while, with Badb, she expels the Fomorians who were destroying the agricultural produce of Ireland.

Badb, whose name came to mean 'witch,' is sometimes identified with the 'washer of the ford,' whose presence indicates death to him whose armour or garments she seems to cleanse (*RCel* xxi. 157, 315).

Other goddesses occur as consorts of gods; but, in later folk-belief, fairy-queens, like Cleena, ruling over distinct territories, or witches, like Vera or Bera, may be goddesses of the pagan period. The three *Matres*, so popular among the Continental Celts, do not appear by name in Ireland; but the triplication of Brigit and Morrigan, the threefold names of Dagda's wife, and the fact that Anu, Danu, and Buanann are called 'mothers' of gods or heroes, may suggest that such group-goddesses were known. Three supernatural women, occasionally malevolent, occur in later texts and in folk-belief (E. Hull, p. 186; Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, pp. 6, 13). The *Matres* were goddesses of fertility, who represent earlier Earth-mothers. Such goddesses are often goddesses of love, and the prominence given to the goddesses among the *síde*, and the fact that they are often called *Béfind*, 'White Women,' like the three fairies who elsewhere represent the *Matres*, and that they freely offer themselves to mortals, may connect them with this group of goddesses.

6. While our knowledge of the Tuatha Dé Danann is based on a series of mythic tales, etc., that of the gods of the Continental Celts, apart from a few notices in classical authors or elsewhere, comes from inscriptions. But, as far as can be judged, though the names of the divinities in the two groups seldom coincide, their functions must have been much alike, and their origins certainly the same. The Tuatha Dé Danann were Nature-divinities of light, growth, and agriculture—their symbols and possessions suggestive of fertility. They were also divinities of culture, of crafts, and of war. It is extremely probable that there were many other gods in Ireland besides those mentioned here, and that the latter were not worshipped all

over Ireland. Generally speaking, in Gaul there were many local gods with similar functions, but with different names. The same phenomenon doubtless occurred in Ireland. Perhaps the different names given to Manannan, Dagda, and others were simply local names of similar gods, one of whom assumed prominence and attracted to himself the names and myths of the others. So, too, the identity of Brigit and Danu might be explained thus. We read also, in the texts of gods of territories, of the 'god of Connaught,' or the 'god of Ulster,' and these were apparently local divinities; or of the 'god (or goddess) of Druidism'—perhaps a divinity worshipped by Druids exclusively, and thus another example of a god of a special class of men (Leahy, i. 50, 52, 138; *LU* 124*b*; *LL* 347*c*). The origin of the divinities may be sought in the primitive cult of the Earth personified as a fertile being, and in that of vegetation and corn-spirits and the vague spirits of Nature in all its aspects. Some of these were still worshipped after the more personal divinities had been evolved. Though animal-worship was certainly not lacking in Ireland, divinities who are anthropomorphic forms of earlier animal-gods are less in evidence than on the Continent. The divinities of culture, of crafts, of war, and of departments of Nature must have slowly assumed the definite personality assigned them in Irish religion. But probably they already possessed that to a greater or less extent before the Goidels brought their cult to Ireland. The evidence of Irish mythology, as far as concerns goddesses, points to what has already been said regarding the evolution of Celtic religion. The prominence of these goddesses, their position as mothers of Divine groups, and their functions with respect to fertility, culture, and war cannot be overlooked, and, taken in connexion with the evidence which will be furnished in the section on 'Totemism,' p. 297 (cf. *FESTIVALS* [Celtic]), seem to point to their priority in time and in importance to the gods.

VI. *BRITISH DIVINITIES*.—Only the vaguest conception of the functions of the divinities of the Brythons can be obtained from the sources already indicated (§ I.). The gods have been euhemerized, the incidents in which they figure are *Märchen* episodes, or, where they are the *débris* of old myths, they are treated in a romantic spirit. The *Mabinogion* and similar tales were probably composed by welding local legends, long after the gods had ceased to be worshipped. The *Mabinogion* reveals three Divine groups—the Pwyll, Pryderi, Rhiannon group, the Llyr group, and the Dôn group.

1. *The Mabinogi of Pwyll*.—This is divided into three sections. (1) Pwyll exchanges personalities with Arawn, king of Annwn (Elysium), for a year, and conquers his rival Hafgan. For this he is called *Penn Annwn* ('Head of Annwn'). Thus he may be regarded as lord of Elysium himself in local belief, though in the story he figures as king of the territory of Dyfed. (2) There follows the incident of Pwyll's meeting with Rhiannon, daughter of Heveidd Hen or the 'Ancient'—perhaps some old god. The whole incident, with that of the marriage of Pwyll, regarded as a mortal, to Rhiannon, a supernatural being, is simply the *Märchen* formula of the Fairy Bride. (3) This section, with the incidents of the disappearance of Rhiannon's child, her consequent degradation, and the child's recovery, closely resembles the *Märchen* formula of the Abandoned Wife. The child is called Pryderi, and he reappears in the *Mabinogion* of Branwen and of Manawyddan, bestowing on the latter his mother Rhiannon. In the *Mabinogi* of Math he is king of Dyfed, and is robbed of swine given to him by Arawn. But in a *Triad* these

swine are brought from Annwn by Pwyll and given to Pendaran, Pryderi's foster-father, Pryderi acting as their herd (*Loth*, ii. 247). In Celtic belief, animals useful to man come from the gods' land, and are given to men by the gods or stolen from them (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 7). Pwyll thus appears as one bringing such animals from the gods' land. But, since he and Pryderi are undoubtedly old gods, and since Gwydion, a culture-hero, steals the swine from Pryderi, both were probably lords of the Other-world in the old mythology. This older myth is preserved in the *Taliesin* poems, which tell how Arthur stole the mystic cauldron of Penn Annwn (Pwyll), and how Gweir (Gwydion) was imprisoned in Caer Sidi (Annwn), and entered it 'through the messenger of Pwyll and Pryderi' (Skene, i. 264). Elsewhere Caer Sidi is connected with Manawyddan and Pryderi—perhaps a local myth which made Manawyddan father of Pryderi (Skene, i. 276). Thus Pwyll and Pryderi are lords of Elysium, and may at one time have been gods of fertility. Rhiannon was an early Celtic goddess of great importance, as her name (= **Rigantona*, 'great queen') suggests. Anwyl (*ZCP* i. 288) supposes that a local myth may have made her the wife of Teyrnnon (= **Tigernonos*, 'king'), who discovered her lost child, with the latter as their son. Nutt regards her as Pryderi's mother by Manawyddan, in the earlier form of the myth (*Bran*, ii. 17). A Rhiannon saga must be postulated, or there may have been more than one local Rigantona, fused later into the Rhiannon of the *Mabinogi*. Like other Celtic goddesses, she may have been associated with fertility.

2. *The Llyr group*.—This group is associated with the former, and seems to be opposed to the Dôn group. Its members are Llyr, his sons Bran and Manawyddan, their sister Branwen, and their half-brothers Nissyen and Ewnissyen, sons of Llyr's wife Penardim, daughter of Beli, by a previous marriage. Their story is told in the *Mabinogion* of Branwen and of Manawyddan (see Nutt's criticism of the former, *FLR* v. 1 ff.).

Llyr is the equivalent of the Irish sea-god *Ler*, and is perhaps a compound of three Llyrs mentioned in Welsh literature (*Loth*, i. 298, ii. 243; Geoffrey of Monmouth, ii. 11). He is a sea-god, but is confused with Llŷdd Llŷw Ereint (= *Ir*. Nuada, and Nodens). Geoffrey's Llyr, father of Cordelia (Kreiddylad), becomes Llŷdd, father of Kreiddylad, in *Kulhwch and Olwen* (*Loth*, i. 224), while Llŷdd, one of the three notable prisoners of Prydein in *Kulhwch*, is replaced by Llyr in the *Triad* of these prisoners (cf. *Loth*, i. 265, ii. 215, 244). The suggestion has been made that Llyr and Llŷdd (Nodens) were originally identical, just as in Irish texts Manannan is now called son of *Ler*, now son of *Alloid* (perhaps = Llŷdd [Skene, i. 81; Rhys, *Academy*, 7th Jan. 1882]). But the confusion may be accidental, and it is doubtful whether Nodens was a sea-god.

Llyr's prison is said in a late *Triad* to have been that of Euroswyd, the father of his stepsons. Perhaps his imprisonment was the result of his abduction of Euroswyd's wife, but we do not hear of such an incident. Geoffrey (ii. 11-14) makes Llyr a king of Britain, and tells the story of his daughters, later immortalized by Shakespeare. He adds that he was buried at Caer Llyr (Leicester), in a vault built in honour of Janus. Hence Rhys (*AL* 181) regards Llyr as the equivalent of the Celtic Dispatar, represented on monuments with more than one face, and as the lord of a dark underworld. But this is not substantiated, and there is no evidence that Llyr, a sea-god, was a god of a world of darkness. The Celtic Dispatar was rather a god of the underworld conceived as the source of fertility—a bright world, not one of gloom.

Manawyddan is the equivalent of the Irish sea-god and lord of Elysium, Manannan; and the poet's words in the Black Book, 'deep was his counsel,' probably refer to his Divine traits (Skene, i. 262). The reference in the *Triads* to his being one of the three golden cordwainers recalls his practising

that and other crafts in the *Mabinogi*, as well as his superior skill, while his instructing Pryderi in these crafts might be paralleled by Manannan's position as patron of Diarmaid. He is associated with the Other-world in a *Talesin* poem (see above), and it is possible that his position in the *Mabinogi* as a great craftsman and grower of corn may result from the idea that all culture came from the gods' land. If local myth regarded him and Rhiannon as a Divine pair with Pryderi as their son, this would give point to his deliverance of Rhiannon and Pryderi from their magic imprisonment as related in the *Mabinogi* (see Nutt, *Bran*, ii. 17, but cf. Anwyl, *ZCP* ii. 127), while Rhiannon's magical appearance to Pwyll would be paralleled by the similar appearances of goddesses from Elysium in Irish story, if she was associated with Manawyddan as lord of Elysium. Manawyddan is made one of Arthur's warriors in *Kulhwch*, and helps to capture the *Twrch Trwyth* (Loth, i. 208, 280), just as other local gods are later drawn into the heroic Arthur saga.

Bendegeit Vran, or 'Bran the Blessed'—a title probably derived from paganism—appears first as a huge being, realistically described; and these allusions to his great size may be an archaic method of signaling his divinity. His second appearance in the *Mabinogi* is as the *Urdawl Ben*, or 'Noble Head', entertaining its guardians and, when buried, protecting the country from invasion, until Arthur, relying on his own power, uncovered the head (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 217-19]; for obscure references to this *Mab.*, see *Book of Talesin*, xiv. [Skene, i. 274]). Rhys regards Bran as a dark divinity, and equates him, as a huge being sitting on the rock at Harlech, with the Gaulish squatting god Cernunnos, and his head with the sculptured heads of the same god, while his wading across to Ireland signifies his crossing the dark waters to Hades (*HL* 90 ff.; and, for his Welsh equivalents to Bran, all regarded as 'dark' gods, see *AL*, ch. 11). Cernunnos, however, is a god of fertility (as his monuments show), of the bright underworld whence all things spring forth, and whither the dead pass to immortal bliss. There is nothing 'dark' in his character, as there would be in that of a god of darkness and blight; rather is he one of the lords of life. Nor is there any sinister or dark aspect in the presentation of Bran. Ireland in the *Mabinogi* need not mean Hades, since its occurrence there is probably due to the proximity of Anglesey, the locality of Branwen's legend, to its coast, and also to the interpretation of a mythico-historic connexion of Wales and Ireland. If Bran is a double of Cernunnos, he is a god of the fertile under world. But he may have been regarded locally as a lord of Elysium, as various incidents in the tale suggest. In presence of his head, time passes like a dream; feasting and merriment prevail, sorrow is forgotten; and these are characteristics of Elysium, while the tabued door, which, when opened, brings remembrance of sorrow, is also suggestive of Elysium tabus (see BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic]). The mysterious Bran who fought on the side of the lord of Annwfn at the mythic battle of Godeu, may have been the Bran of the *Mabinogi*, and another form of Arawn. The protection of the land by the buried head reflects actual custom and belief regarding the heads of bodies of dead warriors, or of the power of a Divine image or sculptured head (see § XIII. 2). In the *Mab.*, Bran is euhemerized as a king (cf. *Triads* [Loth, ii. 285], where he is one of the three founders and lawgivers of Prydain). In Geoffrey (iii. 1 ff.) he is probably Brennius, who quarrels with his brother Belinus about the crown, and, after their reconciliation, leads an army to Rome and conquers it. (In the Welsh version the brothers are called Bran and

Beli.) Bran is here confused with Brennus, who led the Gauls in the sack of Rome. Belinus may have been suggested by the god Belenos and by Beli, father of Llŷdd (see below). Geoffrey also speaks of the gate on the banks of the Thames, called 'Billingsgate' after Belinus, and of his ashes preserved in a tower on the gate. This may be a reminiscence of some local cult of Belenos at this spot. Bran was also transformed into a Christian saint, one of the three inspired kings of Prydain, who brought the faith to the Cymry, after having been hostage for his son Caradawc at Rome for seven years (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 284]). Caradawc was probably a war-god, confused with the historic Caractacus carried captive to Rome. Hence the latter was associated with Bran, whose epithet 'blessed' led to the supposition that he was a saint. Hence, too, Bran's family was looked upon as one of the three saintly families of Prydain, and Welsh saints were frequently held to be his descendants (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 257]; Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 1836, p. 77). Bran may be the equivalent of the Irish Brian discussed above, or, more probably, of a Bran, brother of Manannan, mentioned in Irish myth.

Branwen or Bronwen, 'white bosom,' as daughter of a sea-god, may also have been associated with the sea as 'the Venus of the northern sea' (Elton, p. 291)—a goddess of love (and therefore, probably, of fertility), if she is the Brangwaine who, in later romance, gives a love-potion to Tristram. As a goddess of fertility, the cauldron, symbol of a cult of fertility (see BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 6 (f)), which is only indirectly connected with her in the *Mabinogi*, may have been more prominently her property in an older myth. This cauldron originally came from a water-world, such as may have been the region with which she was associated—the Elysium under the waves.

3. The Dôn group.—This is met with mainly in the *Mabinogi* of Math, son of Mathonwy—a complex of several independent tales. Its personages are Gwydion, Gilvaethwy, Govannon, Arianrhod, and her children Dylan and Lleu. But in *Kulhwch* another son of Dôn, Amaethon, is mentioned (Loth, i. 240).

Dôn, though regarded by some writers as male, is called Math's sister (Loth, i. 134), and is probably to be equated with Ir. *Danu*, mother of the Tuatha Dé Danann, while her children are in part the doubles of some of these. Dôn must thus have been a goddess of fertility and culture. She is called 'wise' in a *Talesin* poem; in another her court is mentioned (Skene, i. 297, 350). In later folk-belief the constellation Cassiopeia was called her court (Guest, *Mab.* iii. 255). Dôn's consort is never mentioned, but in the *Triads* a woman called Arianrhod, perhaps Dôn's daughter, is daughter of Beli.

Assuming Beli to be Dôn's husband, Rhys (*HL* 90 ff.) equates him with the Irish Bile, ancestor of the Milesians, and regards him as lord of a dark underworld. Hence, also, connecting Dôn's name with words meaning 'death' or 'darkness,' he makes her a goddess of death. The Irish Bile is never associated with Danu, as this equation would require, nor is his kingdom of Spain necessarily the dark nether world (see BLEST, *Annals of Celtic*, § 5). If Dôn, like most Celtic goddesses, was a local goddess of fertility, she was associated with life, not death, with the underworld as a region of plenty and light.

Math, or Math Hen, 'the Ancient' (Skene, i. 286), is lord of Gwynedd, and probably an old local god of that region. In the *Triads* and poems, as well as in the *Mabinogi*, he appears chiefly as a mighty magician, teaching his magic to Gwydion (Loth, ii. 229, 257; Skene, i. 269, 281, 299). But his character is more than that of a magician. He is benevolent and just, punishing where wrong has been done, and showing kindness to the wronged. These traits may have been his as a god, or reflected upon him as exemplifying the Celtic

ideal kingly qualities (for Math as a Celtic Pluto, see Rhys, *Lects. on Welsh Phil.*, 1877, p. 414).

Gwydion is also a past-master of magic, especially in the arts of producing things by enchantment and shape-shifting, and these are also the subject of a *Taliesin* poem, while Taliesin refers to his enchantment by Gwydion (Skene, i. 296, 281). He is a supreme bard in the *Mabinogi*, and, if he is the Gweir who was imprisoned in the Other-world and thus became a bard (Skene, i. 204), all this is significant in view of the probable derivation of his name from a root *vet* giving words meaning 'saying' or 'poetry,' with cognates like Ir. *fáith*, 'diviner,' 'prophet,' or 'poet,' Ger. *Wuth*, 'rage' (Rhys, *HL* 276). Gwydion, who receives his bardic art from the gods' land, is the ideal *fáith*, and the god of those who practised divination, prophecy, and poetry. Although in the *Mabinogi*, Pryderi, whose swine he steals, is a mortal, yet he is really a god, and these animals are stolen from him as such. Hence Gwydion is a culture-hero bringing gifts from the gods' land to men. The more primitive version is probably preserved in the poem where Gweir's raid is made on Caer Sidi (=Elysium); he is apparently unsuccessful, and is imprisoned. Perhaps, as one of the three cow-herds of Prydein (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 296]), he was also regarded as the bringer of cows to men. Possibly, too, he was the anthropomorphic form of an old swine-god, the animal being later associated with him. The swine is one of the forms into which Math transforms him, and the places at which he rests Pryderi's swine—Mochdre, Moch-nant (*moch*, 'swine')—may have been local centres of a swine-cult, while the references to the resting of the swine there would be an ætiological myth explaining why they were so called, after the cult had ceased. Gwydion's magic has a tricky, deceitful aspect, and a poem speaks of his vicious muse, though also 'in his life there was counsel' (Skene, i. 299, 531). His relation with his sister, inferred rather than expressed, is on a parallel with other incest incidents in Celtic story, for example, Arthur's with his sister Gwyar, and may reflect some early custom preserved in the royal house. In later folk-belief the Milky Way was called Caer Gwydion, and a story was told how he pursued Blodeuwedd along it (Morris, *Celt. Remains*, 1878, p. 231).

Rhys (*HL* 238 ff.) equates Gwydion and Odinn, and regards them as Celtic and Teutonic aspects of a hero common to the period of Celto-Teutonic unity. But it is doubtful whether all the alleged parallels can be maintained, or are more than might be looked for in the myths of any divinity.

In *Kulhwch*, among the tasks imposed on its hero is that of tilling a piece of ground so wild that none but Amaethon, son of Dôn, could till it, but 'he will not follow thee of his own accord, and thou canst not force him' (Loth, i. 240). Amaethon (Cym. *amaeth*, 'ploughman,' Gaul. *ambactos*, from **ambiaktos*, 'messenger,' 'servant') may have been a divinity associated with agriculture, perhaps an anthropomorphic corn-spirit. He appears also as a culture-hero who caught a roebuck and whelp belonging to Arawn, king of Annwn (*Myv. Arch.* i. 167), or, in a *Triad*, a bitch, a roe, and a lapwing (Loth, ii. 259). The reference to the lapwing is obscure; but, as far as dog and deer are concerned, Amaethon brings them from the gods' land to men. Possibly they may have been representatives of the corn-spirit, and so connected with the god if he were a corn-divinity. Or they may have been worshipful animals, of which Amaethon became the anthropomorphic form, while they in turn became his symbols—a later myth telling how he had brought them from Annwn.

Several of the incidents told of Llew Llaw Gyffes in the *Mabinogi* are little more than

Märchen formulæ. But his transformation into an eagle may be a hint that he had once been a bird-divinity. His disguise as a shoemaker is referred to in a *Triad*, while another speaks of him as one of the three *ruddwawc* whose foot-prints caused the herbage to wither for a year (Loth, ii. 250, 231). Like other gods, he was euhemerized, and his death must have been re-counted in story, for the 'Verses of the Graves' refer to his sepulchre, and add 'he was a man who never gave justice (or truth?) to any one' (Skene, i. 314). This suggests that he had come to be regarded in an unpleasant light, unless 'truth' is a reference to his disguises.

Rhys (*HL* 408) regards 'Llew' as a mistake for 'Lleu,' which he connects with words meaning 'light.' He equates him with Ir. *Lug*, whose name he also takes to mean 'light,' and he makes both of them sun-gods. *Llew Gyffes* he equates with Lug's epithet *lám-fada*, 'long hand,' giving it the same meaning, though the title is given to Llew in the *Mab*, because of his sureness of hand. Loth (*RCel* x. 490) considers that the change of *Llew* into *Lleu*, 'light,' is not convincing. There is nothing in Llew's story which points to his being a sun-god.

Rhys's further interpretation of Lug's birth from Ethnea, daughter of Balor, his nurture by Gávida (Goibniu) the smith, and his slaying of Balor, as paralleled by Llew's history, is not convincing. He equates Balor with Beli, but Llew does not slay his grandfather as does Lug, nor does Govannon the smith nurture Llew. Thus the equation (*HL* 319) is true only in the correspondence of Govannon to Gávida, while in an older version of the Irish story, Manannan, not Gávida, nurtures Lug. Other incidents—Llew's misfortune at the hands of Blodeuwedd's lover (the sun overcame by darkness) and Blodeuwedd's transformation by Gwydion into an owl, the bird of darkness (dawn becoming dusk or gloaming)—are thus interpreted in terms of sun-myths (*HL* 354). They are probably the *débris* of *Märchen* incidents, not true parts of Llew's mythology. Moreover, if Llew is a sun-god equivalent to Lug, why is he not associated with the August festival which in Wales corresponds to Lughnassadh in Ireland? Thus, whatever Llew's functions were, his character as a sun-god is not supported, unless the *Triad* reference to his scorching the herbage be regarded as the withering of vegetation by the sun's heat.

According to the *Mabinogi*, Dylan, as soon as he was born and baptized, rushed off to the sea, taking its nature. 'Hence he was called *Dylan Eil Ton* ("son of the wave"). Never wave broke under him.' His death at the hands of his uncle Govannon was lamented by the waves, which sought to avenge him, and his grave is 'where the wave makes a sullen sound' (Skene, ii. 145, i. 310). But his name and description suggest that he is the waves themselves, while two *Taliesin* poems call him 'son of the sea' or 'of the wave'; and this is supported by popular belief, which regards the noise of the waves pressing into the Conway as his dying groans (Skene, i. 282, 288; Rhys, *HL* 387). Probably Dylan was a local sea-god, and the *Mabinogi* references are the *débris* of myths explaining the connexion of an anthropomorphic sea-god—formerly the sea itself—with Arianrhod and his murder by Govannon.

Rhys's explanation of Dylan as a dark divinity, his rush to the sea as darkness 'hying away to lurk in the sea,' and his death as the equivalent of that of the Pomorian Ruanán at the hand of Goibniu (*HL* 387), while Dylan and Llew are respectively darkness and light, children of a dawn-goddess, is in agreement with his scheme of mythological interpretation. But there is no hint that Dylan has dark traits—he is described as blond, and his death is lamented, not praised.

Arianrhod ('silver wheel') is called one of the three blessed ladies of Prydein (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 263]), though her position in the *Mabinogi* as Gwydion's sister-mistress, passing herself off as a virgin, is in contradiction with the title. Perhaps she was worshipped as a virgin-goddess, while myth gave her a different character; or if, like other Celtic goddesses, she was an Earth-goddess, she may have had the double character of Artemis—a chaste virgin and a fruitful mother. In later belief she is associated with the constellation

Corona Borealis, which is called *Caer Arianrhod* (Guest, iii. 256).

'Arianrhod' is a place-name which has become a personal name, by taking the name of the goddess's castle, *Caer Arianrhod*, in the sense of 'Arianrhod's Castle.' Her real name is unknown.

Govannon the smith is referred to in *Kulhwch* as one whose help must be obtained by the hero to wait at the furrow's end to cleanse the iron of the plough (Loth, i. 240). Whatever meaning underlies this is unknown. His name (from *Cymric gof*, 'smith') suggests that, like Ir. *Goibniu*, he was a god of smiths, and he is referred to in a *Taliesin* poem as an artificer (Skene, i. 286-7).

4. The family of Beli.—Beli has four sons—*Lludd*, *Caswallawn*, *Llvellys*, and *Nynngaw*—and, in the *Mab.* of *Branwen*, *Caswallawn* takes possession of the kingdom in Bran's absence. Geoffrey (iii. 20) makes *Heli* the father of *Lud*, *Cassibellaun*, and *Nennius*, while *Beli* or *Belinus* is brother and opponent of *Brennius* (iii. 1), though another *Belinus* is general and counsellor of *Cassibellaun* (iv. 3). Here *Caswallawn* is confused with the historic *Cassivellaunus*, opponent of *Cæsar*, as he is in the *Triads* (Loth, ii. 210). Perhaps *Beli* is the god *Belenos* of the inscriptions, and all Geoffrey's references may be to him or to persons called by his name. The hostility of *Caswallawn* to the race of *Llyr* may be hinted at in the hostility of *Belinus* and *Brennius*. Whether any mythic significance underlies this is doubtful, and it may hint rather at the rivalry of hostile tribes or of *Goidel* and *Brython* (*Anwyl*, *ZCP* i. 287). If *Beli* is a form of *Belenos*, he would be a god of healing and light—perhaps a sun-god—since *Belenos* is equated with *Apollo*, but there is some evidence connecting him with the sea—*Biw Beli*, 'the cattle of *Beli*', are the waves, and *Gwirawt Veli*, 'the liquor of *Beli*', is brine. In the *Triads* he is beneficent (Loth, ii. 278). Elsewhere he is implored as 'victorious *Beli* . . . that will preserve the qualities of the honey-isle of *Beli*' (Skene, i. 431). These references do not support *Rhys*'s theory that *Beli* is a 'dark' god.

Caswallawn is a 'war-king' (*Triads* [Loth, ii. 283]), and he was probably a war-god after whom chiefs and kings were called. His personality is lost in that of *Cassivellaunus*—perhaps a leader bearing his name. Other *Triads* appear to mingle the *débris* of his myths with the pseudo-history of the native chief (Loth, ii. 209, 249; *Myv. Arch.* 403).

Llúdd Llŵl Eirent is the equivalent of Ir. *Nuada Argetlam*, a primitive **Nodens Lām-argentios* ('silver hand') having become through alliteration **Lodens Lām-argentios*, resulting in *Llúdd Llŵl Eirent*, while the older form gave a personage called *Nudd* (*Rhys*, *HL* 125; Loth, i. 265). A clear distinction is, however, drawn between *Llúdd* and *Nudd*, e.g. *Gwyn* son of *Nudd* is the lover of *Kreiddylad*, daughter of *Llúdd* (Loth, i. 269; Skene, i. 293). *Llúdd Llŵl Eirent* is probably the *Llúdd*, son of *Beli*, whose kingdom in the tale of *Llúdd and Llvellys* is subjected to three plagues: (1) the *Coranians*; (2) a shriek on May eve which makes all land, animals, and women barren; (3) the mysterious disappearance of a year's supply of food. *Llúdd* rids his kingdom of the authors of these plagues. This and *Llúdd*'s liberality in giving meat and drink may point to his earlier character as a god of growth (for the tale, see Guest, iii. 295 ff.; Loth, i. 173 ff.; and cf. *Rhys*, *HL* 806). London was called *Caer Ludd* because *Llúdd* rebuilt its walls (Geoffrey, iii. 20), and his name is still found in 'Ludgate Hill,' where he was buried. Probably the place was a centre of his cult. For *Nodens*, see § V. 4.

The *Coranians* are a hostile race of warriors in the *Triads* (Loth, ii. 274), but they are obviously superhuman. Their

name may be connected with *cor*, 'pygmy.' The plagues may correspond to the hostility of the *Fomorians* to the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, since by two of them fertility and plenty are destroyed. The story may be based on earlier myths of beings hostile to growth and fecundity. The second plague occurs on May-day, and in a *Triad* the plague of the *Coranians* becomes that of March Malaen on May 1st (Loth, ii. 278). March may correspond with the *Fomorians* *Morc* who levied a sacrificial tax on *Samhain*. But it is not clear why the plagues should be worst at the beginning of summer, when the powers of growth are commencing their ascendancy.

More prominent than *Nudd* is his son *Gwyn*, whose name, like '*Fionn*,' means 'white' or 'fair.' His fight with *Gwythur* for *Kreiddylad* may point to his being a god of fertility (§ V. 4); but, if so, he must have become a god of war and the chase, since his character in a poem of the *Black Book* is that of a great warrior (Skene, i. 293). He was also associated with *Annwfn*, and became, in popular belief, a king of fairyland, like the *Tuatha Dé Danann*. This is seen in the legend of *S. Collen* summoned to the court of *Gwyn*, king of *Annwfn* on *Glastonbury Tor*, where he saw a wonder-land, not unlike that of the Irish *Elysium*, which disappeared when he sprinkled holy water (Guest, iii. 325). The story may recall the hostility of *Christian* missionaries to the cult of *Gwyn*, and this may account for the fact that he is also associated with *Annwfn* in its later sense of 'hell,' and hunts the souls of the wicked (*Rhys*, *AL* 155). A sentence in *Kulhwch* mediates between the pagan and *Christian* conceptions of *Gwyn*, for in him 'God has placed the force of the demons of *Annwfn* (here = "hell") to hinder them from destroying the people of this world' (Loth, i. 253). In the *Triads*, *Gwyn* is a mighty astrologer, like *Gwydion* (Loth, ii. 297).

5. The *Cerridwen* cycle.—Save for a reference to *Taliesin* as a bearer of *Bran*'s head, the *Mabinogion* does not mention this group, which is found in the 16th cent. *Hanes Taliesin* (from materials of far older date) and in the poems of the *Book of Taliesin*. These poems frequently refer to the *Dôn*, *Llyr*, and *Pwyll* groups. The explanation may be that all these were local gods with local myths, that the *Cerridwen* cycle was more purely *Brythonic*, and that, after the redaction of the *Mabinogion*, all the groups were mingled in other tales, of which the poetic references are the reflexion.

Avagddu, son of *Cerridwen* (wife of *Tegid Voel*, who dwelt in *Lake Tegid*), is so ugly that his mother resolves to boil for him a cauldron of inspiration as a compensation. *Gwion Bach* is set to stir it, and by accident obtains the gift of inspiration intended for *Avagddu*. He flees, pursued by *Cerridwen*, and the flight is told in terms of the *Märchen* formula of the Transformation Combat. Finally, *Gwion*, as a grain of wheat, is swallowed by *Cerridwen* as a hen. She gives birth to him and casts him into the sea, where he is found by *Elphin* and called *Taliesin* ('Radiant Brow'). He becomes a bard. The story (for which see Guest, iii. 356 ff.) is thus connected with the sporadic Celtic idea of re-birth (see TRANSMIGRATION). The cauldron, *Cerridwen* as an inspired poetess, and *Taliesin*'s gift of shape-shifting are referred to in the poems, and in one of them *Cerridwen*'s hostility to *Taliesin* and his gift seem already to have been stereotyped in the *Märchen* formula so evident in the prose *Hanes Taliesin* (Skene, i. 532). The *Cerridwen* saga was probably composed in a district lying to the south of the estuary of the *Dyfi* (*Anwyl*, *ZCP* i. 293).

Cerridwen and *Tegid*, dwelling in *Lake Tegid*, are divinities of the under-water *Elysium*, and the cauldron is the *Elysian* mystic cauldron, also associated with a water-world in the *Mab.* of *Branwen* (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 6 (f)). *Taliesin* has a 'chair' in *Caer Sidi* (*Elysium*), and

seeks to defend it against Cerridwen's cauldron (Skene, i. 275). The poems describe Cerridwen as a goddess of inspiration and poetry, probably worshipped by bards, with her cauldron as the source of inspiration. In its more primitive form the cauldron is a symbol of a fertility cult, hence Cerridwen must have been a goddess of fertility, perhaps an Earth-mother, thus equivalent to Ir. Brigit. Or she may have been a corn-goddess, since she is described as a goddess of grain in the Black Book (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 1848, i. 498, ii. 5). If the tradition which associates the pig with her is genuine, the animal would then be an earlier form of the corn-spirit, connected at a later time with the corn-goddess (cf. Demeter and the pig; Thomas, *RHR* xxxviii. 339). Gwion's obtaining inspiration may be a form of the myth of the theft of culture from the gods' land, though, since the story describes Taliesin's birth from Cerridwen, other myths may have regarded him as her son, as Ogma was the son of Brigit. Taliesin is probably a god of poetic inspiration, confused with the 6th cent. poet Taliesin, who appears to have claimed identity with the god whose name he bore. His chair was in Caer Sidi, with him was 'the inspiration of fluent and urgent song,' and he speaks of his presence with the gods. Identifying himself with the god, he (or the poets who write in his name) describes his creation, his enchantment by the gods, and his numerous transformations or re-births (Skene, i. 263, 274 f., 276 ff., 278, 282, 286 f., 309, 332). He also speaks of his presence with Arthur when the cauldron was stolen from Annwn. The Taliesin myth may combine the mythologies of two separate gods, or, more probably, two aspects of this god—as a culture-hero bringing inspiration from the gods' land, and as a son of the culture-goddess. The story may point to the usurping of the place of a culture-goddess by a god; hence some myths would tell of her hostility to him, others how he was her son. The *Hanes Taliesin* would be a later commingling of such myths, confusing the god with the poet.

For Rhys's equation of Gwion and Taliesin with Ir. *Finn* and *Oisín*, see *HL* 551. *Fionn*, however, is not re-born as *Oisín*, but as *Mongan* (*LU* 138a).

Tegid is not mentioned further. Creirwy, the daughter of the pair, is one who fascinates her lovers (*Myv. Arch.* 339); she may have been a goddess of love. *Avagddu* is obscurely referred to in the Taliesin poems (Skene, i. 296, 297, 625); his brother *Morvran* ('sea-crow') is 'an obstructor of slaughter' in a *Triad*, and at the battle of Camlan is thought to be a demon (Skene, ii. 459; Loth, i. 209). He may have been a war-god—his name 'sea-crow' suggesting a similarity with the Irish war-goddesses who appeared as birds.

6. The Arthur group.—The attempt to find in the personages of Arthurian romance as a whole the old gods of the Brythons seems futile, while the attempt to find sun and dawn myths, etc., in the romantic incidents of the cycle belongs to that mythological interpretation of saga and *Märchen* which is now discredited. In any case, it could throw little light on Celtic religion. On the other hand, some of its personages probably belong to old Divine groups, since they are already present in purely Welsh tales like *Kulhwch* and in early Welsh poems which are unconnected with the cycle, or in Geoffrey of Monmouth. Perhaps a local Brythonic Arthur saga might be postulated in which a local Brythonic god or hero called Arthur was ultimately fused with the historic 6th to 6th cent. Arthur, while from it or from Geoffrey's handling of it sprang the great romantic cycle. Nennius knows Arthur as a war-chief, but the reference to his hunting the *Porcus Troit* (the *Turch Trowyth* of *Kulhwch*) suggests the mythic

Arthur. Geoffrey may have partly rationalized the local saga here postulated. The main incidents given by him—Arthur's birth due to shape-shifting on the part of Uther, his unfaithful wife Guinevere (Guinevere), and his final disappearance to *Avallon* (*Elysium*)—belong to a primitive set of incidents told of other Celtic heroes (Nutt, *Bran*, ii. 22 ff.). They were made the mythic framework surrounding the personality of Arthur as a local Brythonic god or hero. Hence arose the Arthur-saga, blending the historic Arthur with the god—a saga probably widely known before the rise of the romantic cycle, since Arthur is already a prominent figure in early Welsh literature. This Arthur of the saga drew to himself many local gods and heroes, who figure as his warriors in *Kulhwch*. On the other hand, he is unknown to the *Mabinogion*; but, as its legends belong to the regions of Gwynedd and Dyfed, where Goidelic influences prevailed, this may point to the exclusion of the more purely Brythonic saga from those districts.

Taking the character of Arthur as a whole, before his being blended with the historic Arthur, he appears as the ideal hero of a local Brythonic tribe or tribes, as *Cúchulainn* or *Fionn* was to the Goidels. He may have been worshipped as a hero, or have been an earlier god more and more envisaged as a hero. Rhys (*AL* 39 ff.) regards the early form of his name as *Artor*, 'ploughman,' but possibly with a wider significance, and equivalent to that of the Gaulish *Artaius*, equated with Mercury (for a derivation from *arto-s*, 'bear,' see MacBain, *Gael. Dict.* p. 357). Hence he may have been a god of agriculture, who became, like other such gods, a war-god or hero. But he was certainly regarded also as a culture-hero, since he stole the magic cauldron from the gods' land and tried to obtain the swine of March (Skene, i. 264; Loth, ii. 247)—probably the late form of a myth telling how Arthur, like Gwydion, tried to obtain swine from the Divine land. He is also a bard (Loth, ii. 216). To this ideal hero's story would be fitted the formulae of the supernatural birth and final disappearance to *Elysium* (later localized at Glastonbury), whence it was believed he would one day re-appear. See, further, art. ARTHUR.

The Merlin of the romances, famed there for magic and shape-shifting, for his love for the Lady of the Lake, and his imprisonment by her in a tree, a sepulchre, or a tower without walls, already appears in Geoffrey as the child of a mortal and a supernatural father, selected as the victim for the foundation sacrifice of Vortigern's tower. He confutes the *magi* (Druids), shows why the tower cannot be built, and utters prophecies. To him is attributed the removal of the Giant's Dance (Stonehenge) from Ireland—an etiological myth accounting for the origin of Stonehenge. Finally, he figures as the shape-shifter to whom is due Arthur's birth (Geoff. vi. 17-19, vii., viii. 1, 10-12, 19). Thus he appears as a mighty magician, and probably had a place in the early Arthur saga, as he is later prominent in the romances. Rhys regards him as a Celtic Zeus or the sun, because late legends tell of his disappearance in a glass house into the sea. The glass house is the expanse of light travelling with the sun (Merlin), while the Lady of the Lake who comes to him daily is a dawn-goddess. Stonehenge was probably a temple of the Celtic Zeus 'whose late legendary self we have in Merlin' (*HL* 154, 158, 194). Such late legends can hardly be regarded as affording safe basis for such views, and their mythological interpretation is more than doubtful. The sun is never the prisoner of the dawn, as Merlin is of the Lady of the Lake. Merlin is rather regarded as the ideal magician, perhaps

once a god worshipped by magicians or Druids, like the Irish divinity of Druidism. Farther than this his legend does not carry us, and, as all gods were later regarded more or less as magic-workers, this interpretation must be regarded as merely tentative.

Mabon, son of Modron, is associated with Arthur in *Kulhwch* and the *Dream of Rhonabwy*. His name means 'a youth,' and he is probably the Maponos equated with Apollo as a god of health in Romano-British and Gaulish inscriptions (Holder, ii. 314). His mother's name, Modron, is a local form of Matrona; hence she was perhaps a river-goddess or one of the *Matres*, goddesses of fertility. In the *Triads*, Mabon is one of the three eminent prisoners of Prydein. To obtain his help in hunting the magic boar his prison must be found, and this is done by animals, in accordance with a *Märchen* formula, while the words spoken by them show the long duration of his imprisonment—perhaps a hint of his immortality (Loth, i. 260 ff., 280, ii. 215, 244). But he was also regarded as a mortal, buried at Nantlle, in Caernarvon, which, like Gloucester, the place of his prison, may have been a site of his widely-extended cult.

Kei, who appears in *Kulhwch* and the romances, is probably an old god. In early Welsh poetry his prowess in fight is specially signalized—'when he went to battle he fought against a hundred' (Skene, ii. 51). Hence he may have been a war-god, and the description of his nature in *Kulhwch* ('His breath lasted 9 days and 9 nights under water. He could remain for the same period without sleep. No physician could heal a wound inflicted by his sword. When he pleased he could make himself as tall as the tallest tree in the wood. And when it rained hardest, whatever he carried remained dry above and below his hand to the distance of a handbreadth, so great was his natural heat. When it was coldest, he was as glowing fuel to his companions' [Loth, i. 225]) may be a description of his 'battle-fury' corresponding to that of Cúchulainn. Elton (p. 279), however, regards it as proof that he was a god of fire.

In *Kulhwch* and in a late poem (*Myo. Arch.* i. 175) he is hostile to Arthur, and, in the latter, Gwennhyfar (whose ravisher he may have been) asserts his superiority to Arthur. Perhaps this is evidence of Kei's having been a god of tribes hostile to those of which Arthur was the hero.

7. Hu Gadarn, the subject of ridiculous Neo-Druidic speculations (Davies, *Myth. and Rites of the Druids*, London, 1809), is referred to in the *Triads* as the leader of the Cymry in their wanderings, the teacher of ploughing, and the inventor of music and song as the repository of ancient traditions. He divided the Cymry into clans, and drew the *avane* from Llyn Llionn (the bursting of which had caused a deluge) by means of his oxen, identified with men transformed for their sins (Loth, ii. 271, 289, 290-291, 298-299; Guest, ii. 349 ff.). The *Triads* about him are of late date, but they may point to him as a culture-god of certain tribes.

8. British gods of the monuments.—Some of these may be identified with the personages just considered—Nodens with Lludd or Nudd, Belenos with Beli or Belinus, Maponos with Mabon, Taranos (known only on Continental inscriptions) with the Taran mentioned in *Kulhwch* (Loth, i. 270). Many others, some of them referred to in classical writings, have no place in the literature. Thus Andrasta is described by Dio Cassius (lxii. 6) as a goddess of victory supplicated by Boudicca. Sul is equated with Minerva at Bath, and is a goddess of warm springs (Solinus, xxii. 10). Others are Epona, the horse-goddess, whose cult was widespread on the Continent; Brigantia, perhaps the Irish Rígrit; Belisama, the name of the Mersey in Ptolemy (ii. 3. 2), but known as a goddess in

Gaulish inscriptions. Many inscriptions also refer to the *Matres*. Several gods are equated with Mars, and were probably local or tribal war-gods—Camulos, known also on the Continent and perhaps to be equated with Cumal, father of Fionn; Belatucadros, 'comely in slaughter'; Cocidius, Corotiacus, Barrex, Tutatis, and Totatis (perhaps the Teutates of Lucan's *Pharsal.* i. 444, from **teuta*, 'tribe' or 'people'). Others are equated with Apollo in his character as a god of healing—Anextiomarus (known also at Le Mans), Grannos (in an inscription at Musselburgh, but found in many Continental inscriptions), Arvalus (also equated with Saturn), Mogons, etc. (for these see Holder, *s.v.*). Most of these, and many others occurring in isolated inscriptions, were probably local gods, though some, as is seen by their occurrence on the Continent, had a wider popularity. In the case of the latter, however, some of the inscriptions may be due to Gaulish soldiers quartered in Britain.

9. British divinities and the Tuatha Dé Danann.

—Dón may be equated with Danu, Govannon with Goibniu, Llew with Lug, Llyr with Ler, Manawyddan with Manannan, Bran with Bron, brother of Manannan (*RCel.* xvi. 143), Lludd or Nudd with Nuada (Nodens). But there is a further general resemblance of the groups to the Tuatha Dé Danann. They are euhemerized as kings, queens, heroes, and heroines, etc., while in Geoffrey and the Chronicles a definite period is given to their reigns or lives, or, again, they re-appear as saints. They are subject to death, and their tombs are referred to. Some are regarded as fairies, others as magicians. Thus they exactly resemble the Irish gods as they appear in the texts, though the degradation of their personalities and of their myths is more complete in Wales, and the literature which treats of them is less copious. There is also a general likeness in the functions of the two series. They are associated with growth and fertility, with departments of Nature, with war, and with the arts of culture; and some of them are gods of local Other-worlds. In Wales, too, as in Gaul and Ireland, certain goddesses seem to have a prominent and independent position—perhaps a hint of their pre-eminence over gods, which is here regarded as characteristic of earlier Celtic religion. But it is doubtful whether these divinities, under the names by which we know them, had more than a local fame, though parallel divinities with similar functions undoubtedly belonged to other localities.

Certain *Mabinogion* incidents, especially those of Branwen, have Irish parallels. The cauldron of regeneration restoring warriors to life is like the cauldron of Elysium and the incident of Dianecht restoring the Tuatha Dé Danann in his well. The description of Bran as he approaches Ireland is like that of MacCecht in 'Da Derga's Hostel'. The red-hot iron house in which the owners of the cauldron were to be destroyed has a parallel in an incident of the *Messe Ulad*. But probably these are superficial borrowings, due to intercourse between Wales and Ireland, and have not the same importance as the fundamental likenesses in name of certain of the divinities.

10. The incidents of the *Mabinogion* have an entirely local character, as Anwyl has shown (*ZCP.* i. 277, ii. 124, iii. 122), and are mainly associated with Dyfed and Gwent, Anglesey, and Gwynedd, of which Pryderi, Branwen, and Gwydion are respectively the heroic characters. These are the districts where a strong Goidelic element prevailed, whether these Goidels were original inhabitants (Bp. Jones of St. David's, *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, London, 1851; Rhys, *Trans. of Soc. of Cymmrodor.*, 1894-1895, p. 21), or invaders from Ireland (Skene, i. 45; Meyer, *Trans. Soc. Cym.*, 1895-1896, p. 55 ff.), or perhaps both. But they had been conquered by Brythons, and had become Brythonic in speech from the 5th cent. onwards. On account of this Goidelic element, it has been

claimed that the personages of the *Mabinogion* are Goidelic. But only a few are parallel in name with Irish divinities, and the parallel incidents are, on the whole, superficial. Hence any theory which would account for the likenesses must account for the greater differences, and must explain why, if the *Mabinogion* is due to Irish Goidels, there should have been few or no borrowings from the popular Ossianic or Cúchulainn sagas (for these see Loth, i. 202; Skene, i. 254), and why at a time when Brythonic elements were uppermost such care should have been taken to preserve Goidelic myths. If the tales emanated from native Welsh Goidels, the explanation might be that they, the kindred of the Irish Goidels, must have had a certain community with them in Divine names and myths, while others of their gods, more local in character, would differ in name. Over the whole Celtic area we find many local gods, and a few whose names are spread everywhere. Or, if the tales are Brythonic, the likenesses might result from an early community in cult and myth among the common ancestors of Goidels and Brythons (cf. Loth, i. 20; I. B. John, *The Mabinogion*, London, 1901, p. 19). But, as the tales are comparatively late, composed when Brythons had overrun these Goidelic districts, more probably they contain a mingling of Goidelic (Irish or native Welsh) and Brythonic materials, though part may come from the common Celtic heritage. Llyr, Manawyddan, Govannon, etc., would be more or less local Goidelic gods; others may have been local Brythonic divinities classed with these as members of the different Divine groups. This would explain the absence of divinities and heroes of other local Brythonic groups from the *Mabinogion*, e.g. Arthur. But, with their growing importance, the latter attracted to themselves the personages of the *Mabinogion* and other tales. These are associated with Arthur in *Kulhwch*, and the Dôn group mingles with that of Taliesin in the *Taliesin* poems (Anwyl, *ZCP* ii. 127). Hence Welsh literature, as far as it concerns the old religion, may be regarded as including both local Goidelic and Brythonic divinities, of whom the more purely Brythonic are Arthur, Gwyn, Taliesin, etc.

The following table gives divinities with similar names in Ireland, Britain, and Gaul. Italics denote inscriptional names.

IRELAND.	BRITAIN.	GAUL.
Nuada.	Nudd Hael (?).	
	<i>Nodens</i> .	
	Llŷdd Llaw Ereint.	
Manannan.	Manawyddan.	
Ler.	Llyr.	
Lug.	Llew or Lleu (?).	Lugus.
Mider.		<i>Medros</i> .
Ogma.		Ogmios.
Goibniu.	Govannon.	
Bron.	Bran.	Brennus (?).
	Beli, Belenos.	<i>Belenos</i> .
Net.		<i>Neton</i> .
Danu.	Dôn.	
Anu.	Anna (?).	<i>Anonireds</i> , 'chariot of Anu.'
		* <i>Buanu</i> .
Buanann.	<i>Brigantia</i> .	<i>Brigindo</i> .
Brigit.	<i>Camulos</i> .	<i>Camulos</i> .
Cumhal.		<i>Bodua</i> .
Bedb.		
Nemon.	<i>Nemetona</i> .	
	<i>Mabon, Maponos</i> .	<i>Maponos</i> .
	<i>Belisama</i> .	<i>Belisama</i> .
	<i>Epona</i> .	<i>Epona</i> .
	<i>Tutatis, Totatis</i> .	<i>Teutates</i> .
	<i>Taran</i> .	<i>Taranis</i> .
	<i>Aneziomarus</i> .	<i>Aneziomarus</i> .
	<i>Grannos</i> .	<i>Grannos</i> .
	<i>Mogona</i> .	<i>Mogounos</i> .
	<i>Silvanus</i> .	<i>Silvanus</i> .
	<i>Matres</i> .	<i>Matres</i> .

VII. ANTHROPOMORPHISM.—I. The gods.—Divine images, as well as myths, show that Celtic gods had human forms and passions. They fight with each other, and pursue amours—often with

mortals, hence mortals or semi-Divine heroes trace descent from them. Many names compounded of a Divine name and *-genos*, 'born of,' or *-gnatos*, 'son of,' e.g. Boduogenos, Camulognata, show that those who first bore them were regarded as children of divinities. St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23) and Isidore of Seville (*Orat.* viii. 2, 103) speak of Gaulish *dusii*, impure demons who troubled women. These were probably lesser divinities or spirits, but the passages show the current belief in Divine-human unions. Fairies, in Brittany called *duz*, may be a reminiscence of these. There are, however, fewer obscene myths in Irish texts than elsewhere. Invisibility and shape-shifting, ascribed to the gods, were powers claimed by or attributed to Druids, etc., and are thus reflected back upon the gods from the human sphere. Their true divinity is found in their control over the universe and the destinies of men. In a word, they are worshipful beings, to be propitiated by sacrifice and prayer, in return for which they fulfil men's wishes, grant fruitfulness, prosperity, and victory, or interfere at critical moments to save their favourites. On the other hand, they sometimes seek the help of mortals, or ask their love, or invite them to Elysium. Their superiority is also seen in their gigantic stature and their immortal nature, though the latter may have been less inherent than obtained from foods and drinks of immortality. The Feinn Caoilte contrasts himself with a goddess—'She is of the Tuatha Dé Danann who are unfading and whose duration is perennial. I am of the sons of Milesius that are perishable and fade away' (O'Grady, ii. 203).

2. Hero-worship.—The Celtic belief in the king as a divinity may have arisen from the belief in the priest-king as representative of the vegetation-spirit. Examples of the former are found in the Divine names given to kings (§ VIII.), in the title *dia talmaide*, 'terrestrial god,' given to the mythic king Conchobar (*LU* 101b); in the fact that Maricc, chief of the Boii, who caused the Gaulish revolt in A.D. 69, called himself a god, and, though thrown to the beasts, was revered by the people (*Tac. Hist.* ii. 61); and in the ready acceptance of the divinity of the Roman emperors by the Gauls, showing that such a cult existed among themselves. Whether Arthur, Cúchulainn, Fionn, etc., who, whatever else they may have been, were idealized heroes of the Celts, ever had a formal cult in their heroic capacity is uncertain, though probably divinity was ascribed to them (see FEINN CYCLE, § 6 (c)). Cúchulainn may have been a war-god, since he is associated with war-goddesses, and is himself a great warrior, while he has some of the traits of a culture-god—bringing a cauldron and cows from the gods' land, claiming superior knowledge of Druidism, bardic science, law, and wisdom, and instructing a king in the art of government (BLEST, *ABODE OF [Celtic]* § 6 (f); *RCel* xi. 442 ff.; *IT* i. 213). D'Arbois sees in Cúchulainn and Conall Cernach equivalents of the Dioscuri, and claims that they are the Smertullos and Cernunnos of a Paris monument (*Les Celtes*, ch. 7). He also sees in Cúchulainn the Esus of another monument (*ib.* p. 63), while the figures on these monuments represent incidents of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, which was perhaps known in Gaul. Was Cúchulainn an anthropomorphic form of the Brown Bull of the *Táin*? His life is bound up with that of its calf (*IT* ii. 241); his 'distortion' may reflect the fury of the bull in fight. In some folk-versions of the *Táin*, the bull is his property, and the giant sent by Medb to steal it seizes one horn, while the hero seizes the other, and it is rent in twain (*Celt. Mag.* xiii. 327, 514). If we could be certain that this represents the earlier form of the *Táin*, it might have originated as a tale explaining actual ritual,

in which a bull was the incarnation of a vegetation-spirit, slain and eaten by his worshippers. Later, this ritual may have been changed to the sacrifice of a bull to a god who was really its anthropomorphic form, and legend would then tell how he had slain a bull, which was his favourite sacrificial animal. Cúchulainn may have been such a bull-god, or the myth of a bull-god may have been transferred to him, and out of this the primitive form of the *Táin* might arise. Such changes in cult or in the nature of a god from beast to human form, with the animal as his symbol or otherwise associated with him (sometimes slain by him), are not uncommon. The slaying of an animal incarnation of a vegetation-spirit was known to the Celts, and it may have given an impulse to animal cults. Esus (Cúchulainn?) seems to have been a god of vegetation. (For the *Táin*, see Windisch, *Táin*; and CÚCHULAINN CYCLE.)

As to Fionn, his father Cumhal may be Camulos, a war-god identified with Mars in Gaul and Britain, while Fionn's surname mac Cumall would then resemble Camulogenus, 'son of Camulos,' the name of a Gaulish chief (Cæsar, vii. 62). For Arthur, Brythonic hero or god, see § VI. 6.

VIII. THE DIVINE KING AND THE PRIEST-KING.—Celtic kings appear to have been regarded as representatives or incarnations of gods, and this may explain the easy change of gods to kings by the annalists. Kings often bore the name of a god, which later became a kingly title. Several Irish (mythic) kings are called Nuada, and are hardly discriminated from the god (*IT* iii. 290, 326, 366-68). In one text *nuadat* is glossed in *rig*, 'of the king,' as if the name had come to be a title (*Fled Bricrend*, Irish Texts Soc. ii. 88, 177). Welsh kings are also called Nudd (Skene, ii. 455). Brennos who stormed Delphi, and the mythic Brennos who sacked Rome, may have been called after the god Bran (cf. the instances of Conchobar and Maric, § VII.). The result of the observance or non-observance of the *geasa*, or tabus binding on Irish kings, throws light on the nature of the gods they represented. Observance was followed by good seasons, fertility, abundance of cattle and fish, and prosperity; non-observance by the reverse. Later, perhaps through Christian influence, these were said to result from a king's personal goodness. But the older conception shows that the kings represented gods of growth like Nuada. Hence, being Divine incarnations, they could not do all that other men did. Was the king in primitive times slain that, by never growing old, his vigour might be handed on unimpaired to his successor, as in the case of Divine kings elsewhere? This is not impossible, but the custom would be transmuted into that of the king remaining a king as long as he could hold his own against all comers; or, more generally, a slave or criminal would be chosen as mock-king and Divine incarnation, and then slain. The May-kings of later survivals would be the successors of such mock-kings, themselves the *succedanea* of actual Divine kings. Certain Irish *bile*, or sacred trees, were associated with kings whose sceptre was the symbolic branch of such trees with which the king's life was wrapped up. It was great sacrilege to cut down these trees (see § X. 1). They were, like the kings, representatives or dwelling-places of a god (earlier a spirit) of vegetation. Other trees, perhaps the *succedanea* of the *bile*, as the mock-king was of the Divine king, were cut down and burned in the Beltane fires, in which the human representative may also have perished (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Before cutting them down, it may have been necessary to pluck a branch or something growing on them, e.g. mistletoe. Hence Pliny's notice of the mistletoe rite may be connected with this annual custom.

The mistletoe or branch was the soul of the tree and contained the life of the Divine representative. It must be plucked before the tree could be cut down or the victim slain. This is hypothetical, but Pliny's account is incomplete—the elaborate ritual must have had some other purpose than that of the magico-medical use of the mistletoe which he describes, or else he is referring to an attenuated custom. Human sacrifice had been prohibited, and the oxen slain may have been substitutes for the man-god of earlier days. In later romantic tales a knight carries a bough and challenges all comers, or a giant or knight defends a tree from which another seeks to pluck fruit or a bough (Weston, *Legend of Sir Gawain*, 1897, pp. 22, 86; *Trans. Oss. Soc.* iii. 113 ff.). These suggest the old belief in tree and king as representatives of a god of vegetation, and of a ritual like that associated with the priest of Nemi (see Frazer, *History of the Kingship*, 1905, and Cook, 'The European Sky-God,' *FL* xvii.).

Celtic kings may also have been priest-kings. The Galatian Celts had 12 rulers ('tetrarchs') of provinces who, with 300 men, formed the council of the nation, which met at a place called *Drunemeton*. This meeting resembles that of the Druids in a consecrated place (Cæsar, vi. 13), while its representative character and the fact that *Drunemeton* was a consecrated place (*nemeton*) and that the syllable *Dru-* is again found in *Druid*, may point to the fact that these 'tetrarchs' had also a priestly character. The wife of one was a priestess; another tetrarch, Deiotarus ('divine bull'), was skilled in augury (Plutarch, *Virt. Mul.* 20; Cicero, *de Div.* i. 16, ii. 36), while certain Gauls were chosen as the priest-kings of Pessinus in the 2nd cent. B.C., possibly because such an office was not unknown to them (Julian, p. 100). The mythic king Ambicatus and his nephews, Bellovesus and Segovesus, founders of colonies, seem to have consulted the gods with priestly help, and the British queen Boudicca had priestly functions (Livy, v. 34; Dio Cass. lxii. 6). There may be a reminiscence of the priest- or magician-king period in the fact that in Welsh story kings, or gods euhemerized as kings, are the greatest magicians (Loth, i. 92, 117 ff., ii. 229), just as the Irish Manannan is in legend king of Man and a great magician. It is significant of an archaic state of things that some of these teach their art to a sister's son. The differentiation between the offices of priest and king may not have been simultaneous over the Celtic area, and perhaps was never complete. Where it did take place, certain of the Druids would occupy the place of the priest-king as representative of a god. The references in Irish texts to the king's influence on fertility may be reminiscent of the earlier period, unless kings asserted this right as against the Druids. Yet the Druids claimed powers over nature and growth, and were regarded as superior to kings (Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 49; *LL* 93), while the name *Ζευοθέων*, coupled with that of 'Druids' by Greek writers (in Diog. Laert. i. *proem.* i.), may imply some notion of divinity, and that they had taken the place of the earlier priest-kings (see DRUIDS, § 6). Again, since to women belong the early processes of agriculture, a female spirit or goddess of vegetation would have a female representative. But, when the gods superseded goddesses or the latter became their consorts, the priest-king would take the place of the female representative, who, however, may have remained as the bride in the rite of the sacred marriage. But conservatism would retain sporadically female cults of a goddess of vegetation, and these would account for such rites as those of the Namnite women, one of whom was yearly slain; for the presence of the May-queen alone in certain

folk-survivals; and for many Celtic female cults from which men were excluded (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]).

IX. **WORSHIP OF THE DEAD.**—Celtic burial customs suggest a cult of the dead (§ XVI.). The heads of the slain were offered to the 'strong shades,' and bards sang their praises (Sil. Ital. v. 652; Lucan, i. 447). Where mythic heroes were honoured as eponymous tribal ancestors watching over the tribe, a cult of ancestors may be suspected. The tombs of dead kings, on whom tribal prosperity depended, were sacred places (Amm. Marc. xv. 10. 7; Joyce, *SH* i. 45; cf. § V. 3). Archaeological researches, as well as folk-survivals, show that the family cult of the dead centred in the hearth—the Celtic brownie of the hearth being in some aspects a successor of the ancestral ghost (Bulliot, *Fouilles du mont Beuvray*, Autun, 1899, i. 76, 396; Dechélette, *RA* xxxii. [1898] 63, 245; Le Braz², ii. 67; see FAIRY). Other survivals point to a more extended cult of the dead (Wilde, *Anc. Legends*, 1887, p. 118; Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies and the Ghost World*, 1895, p. 54; Le Braz², i. 229, ii. 47; *FL* iv. 357). A yearly cult of the dead took place on Samhain eve, 31st Oct., traces of which remain in popular belief and custom; while in Ireland, on the anniversary of the burial of chiefs or kings, feasts were held—the festival of Lughnasadh is sometimes said to have been founded thus. See also FESTIVALS (Celtic); ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Celtic).

X. **NATURE-WORSHIP, ANIMAL-CULTS, TOTEMISM.**—1. Most Celtic divinities were evolved from the various parts of Nature personified or from Nature-spirits, but the cult of the latter still went on in that primitive fashion which is found as a lower stratum in all religions. Evidence of it exists in folk-survivals, in ecclesiastical denunciations of these, in scattered notices in Irish texts, and in a few inscriptions. The sea, rivers, wells, mountains, trees, sun, moon, stars, and winds, or the spirits of these, were worshipped, invoked in magic runs, or called to witness oaths (*LL* 13b; *RCel* vi. 168, xxii. 400; D'Achéry, *Spicil.*, Paris, 1661, v. 216 ff.). Departmental spirits of Nature survived in later times as fairies or demons, and elements of the cult may be traced, e.g., in the *Sabbat*.

(a) Manannan, the sea-god, was first the sea itself, and an animistic view of the sea prevailed. Its moaning told of its sympathy with the dying or dead, its roaring was prophetic of certain events, and both could be interpreted by poets, hence the shore was 'a place of revelation of knowledge' (*RCel* xxvi. 9; Rhys, *HL* 387; Joyce, *PN* i. 195). This view of the sea led the Continental Celts to beat back the high tides with weapons (Aelian, xii. 23; Aristotle, *Ethics*, iii. 7, *Eudem. Ethics*, iii. 1).

(b) Gods (Danuvius, Bormanus, etc.) and goddesses (Devona, Serona, Bormana, etc.) of rivers and fountains were worshipped. At first, as river-names derived from **deiva*, 'divine,' **mâtēr*, 'mother,' show, rivers themselves were regarded as Divine or as fertile mothers; later, divinities were associated with them, and some Celtic proper names show that descent from a river or river-god was believed in. Springs and wells were also Divine, and gave gifts of fertility and healing, and no aspect of the earlier cult has survived so markedly as this—the well, however, being now put under the protection of a saint. Some Celtic myths show the danger of women's intrusion on wells (Rhys, *CFL* i. 392), but more often they are guardians of wells (Skene, ii. 59; O'Grady, i. 233; Le Braz², i. p. xxxix), and this survives in the custom of a woman being sometimes charged with the care of a holy well. Costly offerings were

thrown into lakes or rivers (Strabo, iv. i. 13); shrines were built on river banks, and *ex-votos* have been found in large numbers near them (Reinach, *BF* 355). Human sacrifices may have been made to rivers, as various traditions suggest. Animals were regarded as water-divinities; the water-horse and bull may be reminiscences of these, while Epona, the horse-goddess, was associated with rivers. Fish tenanted certain rivers or wells were sacrosanct. In cases of healing at sacred wells the ritual is still invariable, wherever found, and has probably changed little since pagan times. The waters of wells also gave fertility, and oracles were drawn from them or from the animals living in them.

(c) *Tree-worship* is associated with the cult of the oak, which formed the Celtic image of Zeus (Max. Tyr. *Diss.* viii. 8), and had a sacrosanct character (Pliny, *HN* xvi. 44). It may have been regarded as embodying the spirit of vegetation, and as such was cut down and burned in the annual Midsummer fires which magically aided the sun (see FESTIVALS [Celtic]). Hence it would easily be associated with a sun- or sky-god—the Celtic Zeus. In Ireland the ash and yew rather than the oak were venerated, though *daur*, 'oak,' is once glossed *dia*, 'god' (Stokes, *RCel* i. 259), and certain trees called *bile*, associated with kings, were too sacred to be cut down or burned (*RCel* xv. 420; Keating, p. 556; Joyce, *PN* i. 499). Forests were divinized (*Dea Arduinna* of the Ardennes, *Dea Anoba* of the Black Forest, *CIL* vi. 46; *CIRhen.* 1654, 1683), while groves were the temples of the Celts (§ XIV.). Groups of trees (the *Sax Arbores* of Pyrenean inscriptions), single trees (*Fagus Deus*), or spirits of trees (*Fatae Dervones*) were the objects of a cult. Trees were associated with wells and burial-mounds, and in some cases a totemistic character may have been ascribed to trees, or a tree-spirit was regarded as an ancestor, since tribes are named after them, e.g. the Eburones (from **eburos*, 'yew'), and some personal names suggest descent from a tree, e.g. Dergen (**Dervogenos*), 'son of the oak,' Guerngen (**Vernogenos*), 'son of the alder,' while men are sometimes called after trees (*RCel* x. 173; Julian, p. 41; d'Arbois, *Les Celtes*, 52). The late survival of tree-cults is seen in the denunciations by councils and in sermons, and in the hostility which Christian missionaries met with in trying to cut down sacred trees (D'Achéry, *Spic.* v. 215; Sulp. Sev. *Vita S. Mart.* p. 457).

(d) Pliny's reference to the mistletoe rite was foundation for much speculative nonsense by earlier writers on Celtic religion. All he says is that on the sixth day of the moon the Druids, clad in white robes, cut it with a golden sickle, while it was caught in a white cloth. Two white bulls were sacrificed, and prayer was made that 'God' would make his gift prosper with those on whom he had bestowed it (*HN* xvi. 44). The account is vague and incomplete. Nothing is said of the purpose of the rite save that the plant is called 'all-healer' (as it is still in Celtic speech), that it was a remedy against poison, and that a potion made from it and given to animals made them fruitful. Nor does he say who the 'god' was to whom prayer was made. We may conjecture that, as the plant is still culled on Midsummer eve for magical purposes, it was especially associated with the Midsummer festival, and that it was regarded as the life of the oak (cf. Gael. *sìgh an deraich*, 'sap of the oak,' i.e. mistletoe) or of the spirit or god of vegetation in the oak, which could not be cut down or burned till the plant was culled (see § VIII.; FESTIVALS [Celtic]; *GB*² iii. 327). Other sacred plants were used for medical purposes, though the ritual employed in culling them and the method of use were magical. Silence, ritual

purity, a certain method of uprooting the plant, and occasionally sacrifice were all necessary. The plants were used as charms and medicines (Pliny, *HN* xxiv. 11, xxv. 9). The magical use of plants is mentioned in Irish texts, and in modern folk-custom they are employed as charms as well as medicines (O'Grady, ii. 126; Harl. MS. 5280, §§ 33-35, 123; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900; Sauvé, *RCel* vi. 67).

(c) Earlier Animism had associated spirits with conspicuous stones, just as megalithic monuments were believed to be tenanted by ghosts. Such stones, the objects of a cult, appear in the Irish texts with magical qualities. They float on water, speak, sing, or shriek like the Lia Fail—the traditional coronation stone. The nature of the cult is unknown, but in recent folk-custom libations of milk were poured on 'Grugach' stones. Whether an earlier divinity lurks under this name, applied to giant, brownie, etc., is uncertain (see O'Curry, *MS Mat.* 387, 393; Nutt-Meyer, §§ 17, 18; *RCel* xii. 57; Hartland, *FL* xiv. 'The Voice of the Stone of Destiny'). For the magical use of stones, cf. § XV. and see STONES (Celtic).

2. Animal-cults.—The cult of animals originated in the period when men worshipped the animals which they hunted or reared—in the latter case, or in the case of animals not hunted, slaying one periodically to obtain its Divine benefits (cf. 3 (b)). Cult led to domestication; but even in the period when domesticated animals were freely slaughtered, the older sacramental rite survived in the religious aspect of this slaughter (§ XIII. 1). The cult of animals, with a few exceptions, gave place to that of anthropomorphic divinities of animals, with these animals as their symbols, sacrificial victims, etc., this evolution leading to the removal of restrictions on slaying and eating the animal. This earlier slaying and sacramental eating in cults observed by men may have led to a similar usage with human or animal victims representing female vegetation- or corn-spirits among women, in whose hands the primitive forms of agriculture lay. On the other hand, as men began to take part in such female cults, the fact that such spirits were female, or were coming to be regarded as goddesses, may have led to some of the animal-divinities being regarded as female (cf. Epona, the horse-goddess). But, with the increasing participation of men in agriculture, divinities of growth and agriculture would tend to be regarded as male, while, as the two cults coalesced, the Divine animal and the animal representative of the corn- or vegetation-spirit would not be differentiated. Yet the earlier aspect was never quite lost sight of; witness the Corn-mother, and anthropomorphic goddesses of fertility (see art. ANIMALS, and also art. FESTIVALS [Celtic]).

(a) A swine-god Moccus, equated with Mercury, was known in Gaul, and the boar was a religious symbol and represented in images, though in one of these, ridden by a Celtic Diana, the animal has become the symbol of a goddess (Holder, ii. 603; Tac. *Germ.* 45; Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1776, p. 268; Reinach, *BF* 255, *Cultes, mythes, et rel.*, Paris, 1905, i. 45). In Irish myth, monstrous swine are eaten at feasts, and swine are the immortal food of the gods (*IT* i. 99, 256). These, with the monstrous *Twrch Trwyth* hunted by Arthur (§ VI. 6), may be reminiscences of earlier swine-gods. In Welsh myth the swine is brought from the gods' land. This cult may have been connected with totemism, and, if it led to domestication, the animal would be preserved and not generally eaten. Certain branches of the Celts have abstained from eating swine's flesh (Paus. vii. xvii. 10 [Galatia]), and there was and still is a prejudice against it in some parts of the Highlands;

while in the myth of Diarmaid (§ 3) the boar is a totem animal. Elsewhere it was reared for sale and eaten (Strabo, iv. iv. 3), perhaps because its old sacredness was passing away, or because many clans would not regard it as a sacred totem. The swine was placed, sometimes alive, in Celtic graves (*L'Anthrop.* vi. [1895] 584; Greenwell, *Brit. Barrows*, Oxford, 1877, p. 274; *Arch. Rev.* ii. 120).

(b) The bull appears on coins and in bronze images, often with three horns—a symbol of divinity (Plutarch, *Marius*, 23; Reinach, *BF* 277). A bull with three cranes occurs on an altar found at Paris, with the inscription *Tarvos trigaranos* (*garanos*, 'crane'). On another side Esus cuts down a tree. On another altar, found at Trèves, a god cuts down a tree in which are a bull's head and three birds. Reinach has shown that this unites the two representations of the Paris altar (*Cultes*, i. 234 ff.), while d'Arbois (*RCel* xix. 246) sees in these a reference to incidents of the *Táin*. The bull is the Brown Bull of Cúalnge, Esus is Cúchulainn cutting down a tree to intercept his enemies, the birds are the Morrigan in her triple form. Some facts support the view that the Cúchulainn cycle was known in Gaul—the chief of the Helvii was Donnotaurus (Caesar, vii. 65), equivalent to *Dond tarbh*, one of the bull's names. This mythic bull and its rival were re-incarnations of swine-herds of the *sid*-folk, i.e. they had a Divine origin (*IT* iii. 235). But the bas-reliefs may merely represent ritual actions or myths upon which the incidents of the *Táin* were later founded. Place-names, like *Tarvedum*, *Tarvisus*, etc., point to a wide-spread bull-cult over the Celtic area. Later the Divine bull became the symbol of an anthropomorphic divinity (cf. the bull with the god Medros [*CIL* xiii. 6017]).

(c) To the cult of the horse succeeded that of the horse-goddess Epona (from **epo-s*, 'horse'), who is represented as riding, feeding colts, or surrounded by horses. She was protectress of horses, of which the Gauls were great breeders, as well as of all who had to do with horses or mules ('mulionum dea' [schol. ad Juv. viii. 157]). Epona, whose cult and monuments spread far and wide, is sometimes associated with, or represented with the symbols of, the *Matres*. Hence she had come to be regarded as a goddess of fertility. With her, too, seems to have been merged a river-goddess—the river being conceived as a rushing steed—or such a goddess may on that account have been associated with horses and called Epona (Holder, i. 1447; Reinach, *Epona*, Paris, 1895). A horse-god Rudiobus and a mule-god Mullo, equated with Mars, were also worshipped (*CIL* xiii. 3071; Holder, *s.v.*). The horse was sacrificed at the Midsummer festivals, probably as representing a god of fertility (FESTIVALS [Celtic]).

(d) The goddess Damona may have been an animal-divinity if her name is derived from **damatos*, 'sheep', cognate to the Welsh *dafad*, 'sheep', and Gael. *dámha*, 'ox'. A cult of the stag is suggested by monuments of anthropomorphic gods like Cerunnos with stag's horns (§ IV.).

(e) A bear-cult gave place to that of a bear-goddess, Dea Artio ('artos', 'bear'), whose cult is commemorated in the famous bears of Berne (Holder, i. 227; Reinach, *Cultes*, i. 57). Andarta ('strong bear', d'Arbois, *RCel* x. 165) may have been another local bear-goddess, while Artaios, equated with Mercury (*CIL* xii. 2199), may have been a bear-god. Place-names derived from **artos* show a wide-spread cult of the bear, and personal names, like Welsh *Arthgen*, Ir. *Artigan* (= **Artigenos*, 'son of the bear'), point to a belief in human descent from a bear-god.

(f) A horned serpent occurs with twelve Roman gods on an altar at Mavilly (*RA*, 1897, p. 313). The serpent is also the symbol of the under-world god of fertility (Reinach, *BF* 196), and its association with this god may result from its having been worshipped as a chthonian animal. The horn or ram's head with which it is often represented is doubtless a symbol of divinity like the third horn of bull or bear, or, if the ram was sacrificed in the cult of the dead (*RA* xxxii. [1898] 63, 245), it might be associated with the chthonian serpent. Reinach is disposed to connect the horned serpent with the 'egg' produced by serpents (Pliny, *HN* xxix. 12), as dislocated elements of a myth resembling that of the Orphic Zagreus (Divine serpents producing an egg whence came a horned snake), and to find a common origin for both in a Celtic element in Thrace (*RA* xxxv. 210). Horned serpents, however, occur in many other mythologies. An Irish cult of serpents may be hinted at in the two-headed serpents seen in Elysium (*IT* i. 205). Snakes were burned in late survivals of the Midsummer fires in France (*FESTIVALS* [Celtic]).

(g) Other Divine animals were associated with the cult of the waters (§ X. 1), while the use of certain beasts and birds in divination points to their sacred and probably Divine character. A cult of bird-gods may lurk behind the Divine name Bran, 'raven,' and the reference to the magic birds of Rhiannon in the *Triads*.

On the whole subject of animals in religion, see art. *ANIMALS* in vol. 1.

3. Traces of totemism.—Certain data point to the existence of totemism among the Celts, or of conditions out of which totemism was elsewhere developed (though some of the instances may be due to animal- or plant-worship). These are (a) tabued animals, (b) animal sacraments, (c) animal descent, and (d) exogamy.

(a) *Animal tabus*.—Besides the Celtic dislike of swine's flesh—perhaps totemic in origin—may be noted the tabu on killing and eating the hare, hen, and goose among the Britons. Cæsar (v. 12) says they were bred for amusement—an undoubted error for the breeding of sacred animals which were not eaten. The hare was used for divination by Boudicca, and a sacred character still attaches to that animal in Wales, where it is sometimes ceremonially killed and eaten (Thomas, *RHE* xxxviii. 320-1). In Devon a ram or lamb is ceremonially slain and eaten; the eating confers luck (Gomme, *Village Community*, 1890, p. 113). The ill-luck believed to follow the killing of certain animals may be reminiscent of old tabus (Thomas, *op. cit.* 366). Fish were not eaten by the Pictish Meatae and Caledonii (perhaps a totemic restriction), and a dislike of fresh-water fish existed among 18th cent. Highlanders (Dio Cass. lxxvi. 12; Logan, *Scottish Gael*, 1876, ii. 125). Certain fish in sacred wells were tabu and gave oracles (§ X. 1). Heron's flesh was disliked in Ireland, and it was unlucky to kill a swan in some parts of Ireland and in the Hebrides (Joyce, *SH* ii. 529; Martin, *Descr. of W. Islands*, 1716, p. 71). Fatal results following the slaying or eating of an animal with which the slayer was connected by name or descent, i.e. by totemic relation, occur in Irish sagas in the cases of Conaire, Cúchulainn ('hound of Cu'), and Diarmaid, to whom it was tabu to kill respectively a bird, a dog, and a boar (*ECel* xxii. 20, 24, 390-1, iii. 74; Joyce, *OCR* 334 ff.). Here an earlier clan totemism would seem to have been later connected with a mythic hero. Another example may be found in the tale of the men changed to badgers whom Cormac slew and brought to his father Tadg to eat. Tadg refused the food because they were transformed men and his cousins (*IT* iii. 385). Tadg's loathing arises from the fact

that the badgers are men—a common idea in myths explanatory of misunderstood totemic usage, but the idea of relationship between a man and his totem was not forgotten, since the badgers are said to be his cousins. Popular beliefs in lucky or unlucky animals, in omens drawn from them, etc., may be partially based on totemic usage.

(b) *The ceremonial eating of a sacred (totem) animal* may underlie the tale of the eating of mac Dathó's boar (*IT* i. 96), and the belief that swine were the immortal food of the gods. Frazer has argued (*GB* ii. 442 ff.) from analogous cases elsewhere that the custom of 'hunting the wren' in Celtic regions, carrying it from house to house, preserving a feather in each house, eating it ceremonially, or solemnly burying it, may be an instance of sacramental communion with a slain god in animal form. In any case it has a strong totemic aspect. A sacramental eating of a sacred pastoral animal probably took place in early times at Samhain (§ XIII. 1).

(c) The traces of *animal or tree descent* referred to above may be totemistic, though, where a personal name implies such descent, the connexion with totemism would be indirect, if the name was derived from the earlier clan totem name (see below). Other clan names of this kind are those of the Bibroci of S.E. Britain, a beaver clan (**bētros*, 'beaver'), the Eburones, the yew-tree (**eburos*) clan, and Irish clans with animal names—'calves,' 'griffins,' 'red deer' (O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 208). The *Fir Bile*, 'men of the tree,' were so named from the sacred Tree of Dathi (*RCel* xvi. 279). Instances of lycanthropy associated with certain families or clans (Gir. Camb. *Top. Hib.* ii. 19; *IT* iii. 376) may be based on clan totemism—the belief in lycanthropy (*q.v.*) easily attaching itself to local wolf-clans. The stories of Cormac mac Art suckled by a she-wolf, of Lughaid mac Con, 'son of a wolf-dog,' suckled by that animal, and of Oisín, whose mother was a fawn (O'Grady, ii. 286, 538; Campbell, *The Fianns*, 1891, p. 78), may be totemistic in origin, as may be also travellers' tales of the Irish taking wolves as god-fathers and praying to them. Bands of warriors at the battle of Cattraeth, described in Aneurin's *Gododin*, were called dogs, wolves, bears, and ravens, and Owein's band of fighting ravens may have been a raven clan (Guest, *Mab.* ii. 409 ff.). Groups of Dalriad Scots bore animal names—'Little Goat' clan, 'Fox' clan—while the animal or plant badges of clans and animal ensigns of older Celtic groups may be totemic. On coins an animal on horseback is figured, perhaps leading a clan, as birds led the Celts to the Danube area, and these would then depict myths of the leading of a clan to its present territory by the clan totem-animal (Blanchet, i. 166, 295, etc.). These myths may survive in legends of an animal showing a saint where to build his church (Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, Llandoverly, 1853, pp. 293, 323, 453; Jocelyn, *Vita S. Kentigern*, ed. Forbes, Edin. 1874, c. 24).

Celtic warriors wore horned helmets; and Irish myths speak of men with cat, dog, or goat heads (*IT* iii. 385; Rhys, *HL* 593), perhaps men wearing a head-gear of the skin or head of clan totem-animal, and later remembered as monstrous beings. The horned helmets would be derived from the same custom. Solinus says the Britons wore animal skins before going into battle, and these may have been skins of the animal under whose protection they placed themselves (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 1848, p. x). The 'forms of beasts, birds, and fishes' which the Picts tattooed on their bodies (Herodian, iii. 14. 8; Duval Mac Firbis in Irish *Nennius*, Dublin, 1848, p. vii) may have been totem marks, while the painting of their bodies with wood by the Southern Britons may have been of the same character, though Cæsar's words (v. 14) hardly indicate this. Certain marks on faces figured on Gaulish coins seem to be tatu marks (*ZCP* iii. 381).

Personal names in *-genos*, 'son of,'—*Artigenos, 'son of the bear'; *Brannogenos, 'son of the raven';

*Cunogenos (Congan), 'son of the dog'; *Vidugenos, 'son of the tree' (Holder, *s.v.*)—suggest a period when it was thought that men, animals, and plants were alike or might be related, such names remaining long after the idea itself had passed away. Whether these names are relics of clan totemism, however, is uncertain. Rhys (*CB**, p. 287) argues from the frequency of names like Cúrói, 'hound of Roi,' Cú Corb, 'Corb's hound,' Mac Con, 'hound's son,' Maelchon, 'hound's slave' (cf. Welsh *Giorgi*, 'man-dog'), that there existed a dog totem or god, not of the Celts but of a pre-Celtic race. This assumes that totemism could not be Celtic, while here again the names are of individuals, not clans.

(d) *Ecogamy and the counting of descent through females* are closely connected with totemism, and traces of both are found among the Celts. Whether the Picts were Celtic or not is still arguable, but the probability is that they were. These customs survived in their royal house, the kingship passing to a brother by the same mother or to a sister's son. The king's father was never king and was often a 'foreigner' (for other Aryan instances, see Frazer, *Kingship*, p. 241). Traces of this are also found in Ireland and Wales (Stokes, *RCel* xvi. 148; Rhys-Jones, *Welsh People*, 1899, p. 44), while Livy (v. 34) describes how the mythic king Ambicatus sent not his own, but his sister's sons to found new kingdoms. Traces of the matriarchate are found in Irish and Welsh Divine groups called after their common mother—Danu, Domnu, Dón, Anu, 'mother of the gods'; in the fact that the eponymous ancestor of the Scots is a woman, Scota; and that gods and heroes have a matronymic, the father's name being omitted—Lug mac Ethnend, Conchobar mac Nessa, Indech son of Dé Domnann, Diarmaid na (descendant of) Duibne, Muirchertach mac Erc, Mabon son of Modron; while a man is sometimes called not by his own name, but 'so and so's husband' (*IT* iii. 407, 409). Goddesses and heroines have a high place, and frequently choose their own lovers or husbands. Thus a general custom was later confined to the royal house or preserved in Divine myths. Perhaps certain cases of incest (Strabo IV. v. 4; *RCel* xii. 235, 238; *LL* 124, 131; Rhys, *HL* 308; Loth, i. 134 ff.) may be explainable by earlier permissible unions under totem law, which would be regarded as incestuous when totemism had declined, while tradition would exaggerate them into worse forms, e.g. brother-sister unions (though these may have been customary in the royal house and then reflected back on Divine personages). The polyandry which existed in Britain (Caesar, v. 14; cf. sporadic instances in Ir. sagas), and possible community of women among the Pictish Caledonii and Meate (Dio Cass. lxxvi. 12), may simply have been marriage customs regulated by totemism; and, if the couvade was a Celtic institution (cf. 'The Debility of the Ultonians,' E. Hull, p. 97; Julian, p. 64), it would point to the former existence of the matriarchate.

There is thus among the Celts a certain amount of evidence for totem usage or of the elements which elsewhere compose it. To explain it as pre-Celtic, or to say that the Irish sagas had been coloured by aboriginal customs (Zimmer, *Zeit. d. Savigny-Stiftung*, Weimar, 1893, xv. 209),¹ is to neglect the fact that the customs in question were bound up with Celtic life, while it leaves unexplained the influence of such alleged pre-Celtic customs on a people whose customs, *ex hypothesi*, were totally different.

See also papers by Gomme, *Arch. Rev.*, 1889, pp. 217, 351, and Thomas, *HRH* xxxvii. 295. In these, however, the survivals

are credited on the whole to pre-Celtic peoples. See Reinech's suggestive paper, 'Les Carnassiers androphages dans l'art gallo-romain,' *Cultes, mythes, et rel.* i. 279.

XI. *CULT OF WEAPONS*.—The hammer or mallet held by the Celtic 'god with the hammer,' or Dispat, or represented on monuments, is probably a symbol of Divine creative power, and points to an old cult of the hammer. The god with the hammer had been preceded by a hammer-god. A cult of the axe is suggested by the symbol of the axe and the words *sub ascia dedicare* on tombs in Gaul (*CIL* xiii. 256), while the axe appears in the hands of the god Esus on two altars (see § X. 2). Weapons were personified by the Celts and believed to be alive or tenanted by spirits (or demons, according to the Christian chronicler [d'Arbois, v. 175, 275]). Magic powers were ascribed to the weapons of gods and heroes, and an actual worship of weapons is referred to by an Irish chronicler (O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 254). On Gaulish coins a sword is sometimes figured, stuck in the ground, or driving a chariot, or with a warrior dancing before it; or a dancing warrior has an axe or sword in his hand—a ritual act like that described by Spenser as performed by Irish warriors in his day, while they said prayers or incantations before the weapon stuck in the ground (Blanchet, i. 160-1; Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, ed. 1809, p. 97). Swords were persistently addressed in songs by the Irish (*RCel* xx. 7), or oaths were taken by them (*Atlantis*, i. 371). Such songs, of which traditional remains are known in Brittany, represent the chants of the ancient cult. Finally, the Divine sword re-appears in mystic form as the 'glaive of light' of Arthurian romance and Celtic folk-tales.

XII. *COSMOGONY*.—The Druids taught many things about the universe and its form (Caesar, vi. 14), but their teachings did not survive. Possibly they held that the earth was supported by mountains or pillars, as a high mountain near the source of the Rhone was called the 'column of the sun' (Avienus, 644 ff.), and was perhaps regarded as supporting the sky. An allusion to such a myth, of which traces survive in folk-belief, may underlie the phrase 'pillars of the world' used of SS. Patrick and Brigit (*IT* i. 25; Gaidoz, *ZCP* i. 27). The Irish Druids claimed to have made sun, moon, earth, and sea (*Ant. Laws of Ireland*, Dublin, 1869-79, i. 23); but, as existing folk-beliefs suggest, primitive myths of creation must have been told; e.g. springs and rivers are formed from the sweat of giant, fairy, or saint, and mountains are the material thrown up by giants (Sébillot, i. and ii. *passim*), these personages taking the place of older divinities. Hence, as Irish myths also show, the earth was thought to have gradually taken form; lakes are formed at the digging of a tomb, or from the overflowing of sacred wells (the latter a genuine Celtic deluge-myth), or from the tears of a god—a myth found also among the Continental Celts (*RCel* xv. 429, xvi. 50, 277; Loth, ii. 280, 299; Apollonius, iv. 609).

No myth of one special abode of the gods exists, the assertion that the Tuatha Dé Danann came from heaven being probably the guess of a Christian scribe (*LL* 106; *LU* 165). Nature-gods were doubtless associated with the domain which they ruled, and those worshipped in groves manifested themselves there (Lucan, *Pharsal.* iii. 425). The Tuatha Dé Danann were associated later with mounds or hills, some of them with the Island Elysium (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 8), while the Gaulish Dispat, like the other gods of fertility, was associated with the under world.

The Celts believed, perhaps, in descent from, rather than in creation by, the gods. A Druidic myth taught the descent of the Gauls from Dis

¹ Zimmer's paper is translated under title 'Matriarchy among the Picts,' in Henderson, *Leabhar nan Gléann*, n.d.

pater (Cæsar, vi. 18), the Celtic-under-world god, and this may point to a belief in man's ascent to earth's surface from this region. Clans, families, or individuals traced descent from gods, animals, or plants (§§ VII. 1; X. 3), while branches of the Celtic race are traced by classical writers to eponymous founders (Diod. Sic. v. 24; Appian, *Illyr.* 2).

The Druidic tradition, reported by Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 9), that some of the people of Gaul were indigenous, while others had come from 'distant islands,' others from beyond the Rhine, is not so much a myth of origins as an explanation of the presence of different peoples in Gaul; nor need we suppose with d'Arbois (II. 202, xii. 220) that the phrase 'distant islands' refers to the Island Elysium.

The Druids taught that 'fire and water must one day prevail' (Strabo, iv. iv. 4), and this may be hinted at in the words of the Gauls to Alexander, that they feared most the fall of the heavens (ἐφ' ὅσον δεινύειν μῆνός τε οὐρανὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπεσεῖν, Arrian, *Anab.* I. iv. 7; cf. Strabo, vii. iii. 8). In Ireland, Conchobar boasts of rescuing Medb's captives unless the heavens and the earth burst open and the sea engulf all (LL 94a). These, with Babb's and Fercertne's prophecies of the end of the world (RCel xii. 111, xxvi. 33), are evident references to a myth of a final cataclysm, in which the gods might be involved.

XIII. RITUAL AND CUSTOM. — I. Festivals. — The earliest division of the Celtic year, at first lunar rather than solar, was into two parts, then into three and four. Night preceded day, and the year began with winter (Pliny, xvi. 95; Cæsar, vi. 18; CALENDAR [Celtic]). Traces of a twofold division—a winter half (*Geimhredh*) and a summer half (*Samhradh*)—are found in Ireland, but these were sub-divided, each quarter beginning with a festival, and three of these are known—Beltane (May 1), Lughnasadh (Aug. 1), Samhain (Nov. 1). St. Bridget's Day had taken the place of the fourth on Feb. 1 (O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, Dublin, 1847, p. lii ff.). Traces of a midsummer solstice feast are also found over the Celtic area, perhaps the result of the adoption of a solar year. But the rituals of Beltane and Midsummer are so much alike that both may represent an early movable summer festival, though Beltane may at first have been a pastoral, and Midsummer an agricultural, festival. Lughnasadh was a harvest festival, but traces of pastoral, though much more of agricultural, ritual are found in the others. As a central rite at Samhain and the summer feasts, a bonfire representing the sun, and intended to aid him in his course and in his fight with dark powers, is found. Round it people danced sunwise; through it cattle were driven as a cathartic rite. Samhain, opening the year, was a festival of beginnings, probably orgiastic. New fire was taken from the bonfire to kindle the fire in each house, and rites of divination, to tell the fortune which the year would bring, were performed. The pastoral aspect is seen in the slaughter of cattle for the winter's food, but this slaughter was ritual, partly sacrificial and sacramental, a feast on one of the animals taking place. As such it dates back to a time when pastoral animals were sacred, and a limited slaughter, probably of one animal, with a feast of communion on its flesh, occurred. Masquerading in the animals' skins, thus assimilating the wearer to the Divine animal, is also found. Agriculturally, Samhain was connected with threshing rather than with ingathering. But the dim suggestions of human sacrifice point to the slaying of a human victim, representing the corn-spirit. Samhain was also a festival of the dead. At the Summer festivals a ritual combat between summer and winter occurred (§ V. 2), and in the king and queen of the May of later survivals may be seen traces of the 'sacred marriage,' both rites intended to promote

fertility. The tree burned or carried round the fields, etc., embodied the vegetation-spirit, which was slain ritually (§ X. 1 (d)). In folk-survivals, animals were burned in the bonfire; and these, with other traces of animal sacrifices, may point to an earlier slaying of an animal representative of the vegetation-spirit (Bertrand, *Rel. des Gaulois*, Paris, 1897, p. 407; Hone, *Everyday Book*, 1839, ii. 595). Other survivals point to human victims who may be connected with the holocausts referred to by Cæsar, Diodorus, and Strabo. These may in turn be sacrificial extensions of the old slaying of a human representative of the vegetation-spirit (*Old Stat. Account*, xi. 620; Bertrand, p. 119; Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1875, pp. 514, 523). These ritual acts were intended to promote fertility, and part of the victim may have been eaten sacramentally (cf. Pliny, *HN* xxx. 1, for a possible example of ritual cannibalism), and part buried in the fields. Brands from the bonfire, in which the tree and victim were consumed, and which also represented the sun, were carried through the fields or otherwise used. For Beltane cakes, see **CAKES AND LOAVES** (§ I).

As agriculture was at first a woman's labour, the oldest ritual would be in the hands of women, and the vegetation- and corn-spirits would be female, as would also the victims who represented them. This would account for the May-queen and other female personages in festival survivals, and for the name 'Beltane carline,' or old woman, given to the mock victim in survivals of Beltane. As men began to take part in agriculture and priests took the place of priestesses, the victim would generally be a man. But the older female ritual still prevailed here and there (Strabo, iv. iv. 6; Pliny, *HN* xxvi. 1), and traces of it may be seen in such survivals as those of the witch orgies. See **FESTIVALS** (Celtic) § 4.

Lughnasadh is connected with the god Lug, and means 'the festival of Lug' or 'the wedding of Lug' (Cormac, p. 99; Rhys, *HL* p. 416). It is also connected with his foster-mother Tailtiu and with a female called Carman, perhaps euhemerized forms of old corn-goddesses or corn-spirits. But it would easily come to be associated with Lug if he were a sun-god, the giver of a bountiful harvest. The festival, besides being of the harvest, was also celebrated at important local centres in Gaul, as well as in Ireland, where it took the form of fairs with horse-races, while it was also a common time to celebrate marriages. This, if Lughnasadh means 'the marriage of Lug,' may point to an old ritual celebration of the Divine marriage, and perhaps to earlier ritual licence. But, as harvest is generally later in Britain and Ireland than Aug. 1, some of the agricultural ritual would be deferred till Samhain, which had also its agricultural aspect.

Such notices of these festivals as we possess show that they had become connected with large central gatherings combining religion, pleasure, and commerce, and probably with the cult of anthropomorphic divinities. But there is no doubt that they were evolved from primitive village-rituals and the cult of less definite vegetation- and corn-spirits. This was never lost sight of in the larger gatherings, while, as survivals show, the simpler rituals continued side by side with these.

For further details and references, see **FESTIVALS** (Celtic).

2. Sacrifice.—Celtic animal and human sacrifices were mainly propitiatory in later times, though the older slaying of human and animal victims in agricultural ritual must not be overlooked. References to animal sacrifice in classical and Irish texts are scanty (Arrian, *Cyneg.* 33; Cæsar, vi. 17; Orosius, v. 16. 6; Pliny, *HN* xvi. 44; O'Curry, *MCAI* I. p. Dcxi.; cf. **DRUIDS**, § 9). But such sacrifices in Celtic districts have continued in folk-survivals down to a comparatively recent time, in connexion either with the cult of saints who represented former divinities, or with the cathartic ritual of the scape-animal. Part of the animal may have

been eaten sacramentally. In other cases a feast was associated with the sacrifice (Arrian, *op. cit.*; Dio Cass. lxi. 7). The heads were hung on trees in sacred groves, and the blood was sprinkled on sacred objects (Lucan, *Pharsal.* iii. 404 ff.; Livy, xxiii. 24). Libations are also found in various popular survivals. Classical references to human sacrifices are numerous, and show how abundantly the Celts offered such victims—generally slaves or prisoners of war. They were hanged, impaled, burned, drowned, or stabbed, and oracles were drawn from their movements or from their entrails (Dio Cass. lxi. 7; Athen. iv. 5; Diod. Sic. v. 32, xxii. 9; Justin, xxvi. 2; Caesar, vi. 16; Strabo, iv. iv.; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30). The evidence for Irish human sacrifice has been disputed, but there is no reason to doubt its truth, though the number of victims at each sacrifice is an obvious exaggeration (*LL 7a*; *Book of Fermoy*, 89a; O'Curry, i. p. dcxli, ii. 222; see § V. 4, Dagda). Within the sphere of Roman influence the Celts were prohibited from offering human sacrifice, but continued it symbolically (Pomp. Mela, iii. 2, 18). Probably the victims who represented the vegetation- and corn-spirits tended to become propitiatory offerings to gods of fertility, their numbers also being largely increased, and the sacrifice connected with the fertility of the land (Strabo, iv. iv. 4). Pliny's reference to ritual cannibalism in Britain may point to a sacramental eating of part of the flesh of such victims (*HN* xxx. 4, 13). The Celts ate the flesh and drank the blood of slain enemies to obtain their strength, and perhaps, as a rite of communion, they drank the blood of dead relatives (Livy, xxiii. 24; Diod. Sic. vi. 16; Solin. xxii. 3). Human victims were offered as foundation sacrifices (Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* § 40; Stokes, *TIG* xli; Carmichael, *Carm. Gad.* ii. 317), and at burials, though in the case of relatives and slaves the sacrifice was often voluntary (ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Celtic]; Leahy, i. 105; O'Curry, *MCAI* i. p. ccxxx; *L'Anthrop.* vi. [1895] 586). Heads of dead enemies were presented to the gods, or preserved ritually, probably in order that their spirits might be subservient to the victors. Heads of great tribal warriors were perhaps preserved in order to obtain for the tribe the protection of their spirits, as the myth of Bran's head would suggest (§ VI. 2); and from this cult of heads may have arisen the practice in Gaul of representing heads of certain divinities, sometimes in triple form (Strabo, iv. iv. 5; Diod. Sic. v. 29; Livy, x. 26. 9; *IT* i. 205; d'Arbois, v. 11, 175). See, further, SACRIFICE (Celtic).

3. Prayer.—Prayer defined the purpose of the sacrifice, or expressed the worshipper's desire that the gods would be propitious, as is seen in the Druidic petition at the mistletoe rite, and in Galatian Celtic sacrifices (Pliny, *HN* xvi. 95; Plut. *Virt. Mul.* 20; Aelian, *Nat. An.* xvii. 19). The arms were raised, during prayer, towards heaven (Dio Cass. lxi. 6; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30). Some prayers may have been of the nature of ritual incantations, the result depending on observance of an exact formula, e.g. the incantations used by the priestesses of Sena or the formulas used by warriors advancing to battle (Appian, iv. 8; Livy, xxi. 8, xxxviii. 17). War-cries sometimes consisted of the name of a god—an instance of the magical power of a Divine name; and, if the dance which warriors performed before a sword was mimetic of actions in battle, it would be a kind of acted prayer (Appian, vi. 53; Blanchet, *passim*).

4. Divination.—The Celts were devoted to divination (Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 36 [76]; Justin, xxiv. 4), and a special class of diviners existed in Gaul, like the *flid* in Ireland, though the Druids and private persons also practised it (see DRUIDS). Divination from the movements of victims, their blood, or

their entrails, is often mentioned (Diod. Sic. v. 31; Justin, xxvi. 2; Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30; Strabo, iii. iii. 6). Auguries were drawn from the flight of birds or the course of animals (Justin, xxiv. 4; pseudo-Plut. *de Fluv.* vi. 4), and Strabo refers to the crow as an arbiter of disputes (iv. iv. 6). Irish sagas mention the crow as a prophetic bird; and the Druids divined from the voices of birds, from the clouds, from the direction of smoke or flames, and from yew rods on which oghams were written (*IT* i. 129, 220; O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 224, *MS Mat.* 284; Joyce, *SH* i. 229; Livy, v. 34). Druidic knowledge of astronomy was probably largely astrological, as Irish examples show (O'Curry, *MCAI* ii. 46; Stokes, *TIG* 103). Divination by dreams was used by the *flid* in Ireland and also by the Continental Celts (Cormac, p. 94; *Ant. Laws of Ireland*, i. 45; Hyde, *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, 1899, p. 241; Justin, xliii. 5; see BARDS [Irish]). The Irish 'illumination by rhymes,' used also in Wales, was a species of trance-utterance (O'Grady, ii. 362; Gir. Camb. *Descr. Camb.* i. 16). In the *taghairm* the seer was bound in an animal's hide and left by the waters, the spirits of which inspired his dreams (Martin, *op. cit.* 111; Pennant, *op. cit.* i. 311). The hide was probably that of a sacrificial animal. Seers also slept on graves to receive inspiration from the dead (*Coll. de Reb. Hib.* iii. 304; O'Curry, *MS Mat.* 494; Tertullian, *de Anima*, 57). See also DIVINATION (Celtic).

5. Prophecy.—The scholiast on Lucan (ed. Usener, p. 33) speaks of the Druids prophesying after eating acorns, the fruit of the sacred oak. Prophecy is also ascribed to the priestesses of Sena, and the 'Druidesses' of late Roman times (see DRUIDS). In Ireland both Druids and *flid* prophesied, while prophetic utterances are put into the mouths of divinities. In some cases the word used for these prophecies, *baile*, which also means 'ecstasy,' 'madness,' suggests that the method of the prophet was to work himself up into a frenzy or to speak in a trance. Prophecies and incantations were uttered by the seer standing on one foot, with one arm outstretched and one eye closed—this attitude is also ascribed to divinities when using prophetic and magical utterances (*ECel* xii. 98, xxi. 156, xxii. 61). The purpose was, perhaps, to concentrate the prophetic force or increase the virulence of the incantation, while the attitude may account for the references in Irish texts to certain mythic beings with one leg, one arm, and one eye. A similar attitude is used in magical rites elsewhere (*GB* ii. 32).

6. Tabu.—The only reference to tabus among the Continental Celts is that made by Cæsar regarding the interdiction of religious rites to those who disobeyed the Druids, and the tabu on spoils of war which, being the property of the gods, could not be used by men (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13, 17; cf. the case of animals not eaten, v. 12; see § X. 3 (a)). In Ireland references are more frequent. *Geis* (pl. *geasa*) means something which ought not to be done for fear of disastrous results, or a binding obligation put on one person by another. The former has the more usual sense of tabu. Such *geasa* might involve a person before birth or in childhood, and were probably hereditary. Others were totemic, e.g. the *geis* on Cúchulainn not to eat dog, on Conaire not to kill birds, and on Diarmaid not to kill a boar. Others reveal and are based on primitive ethics, on ideas of honour, on omens, or on remembrance of catastrophes following certain deeds. The best known are those affecting kings (O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. 3 ff.). Obscure as they are, they resemble kingly tabus elsewhere, and show that the kings were once regarded as gods, or Divine representatives, on whom the welfare of the community, agriculture, etc., depended,

and who must therefore avoid certain actions, places, and things. Later, the fruitfulness of the land was said to depend on a king's goodness, but at an earlier time it depended on his observing his *geasa*. In such case he would not meet with misfortune, he would make the earth fruitful, and would not experience the decay of years, and no epidemic would occur in his reign (O'Donovan, p. 7). The king had certain prerogatives which probably formed *geasa* to other people. He alone could eat of certain foods or go to certain places on certain days. The former may refer to the custom of first-fruits being tabu till eaten by a king, chief, or priest, or to the practice of kings and chiefs appropriating certain food-stuffs where food is scarce (see FIRST-FRUITS; Keane, *Man Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1899, pp. 141, 149). By analogy from the kingly *geasa*, the heroes of the sagas had many which they must observe (LL 107; O'Grady, ii. 175), religious, magical, honorific, etc. *Geasa* in the second meaning of the word were perhaps framed as spells, which fear made people obey when pronounced by another, e.g. a Druid. In folk-tales the word is often used for 'spells.' The most famous example is the *geis* which Grainne put on Diarmuid to elope with her (FEINN CYCLE, § 4). In either sense of the word the consequences of breaking *geasa* were disastrous, and several tales turn upon their inevitable fatality (see RCEL xxi. 149, xxii. 27). The *geasa* are detailed, the breaking of them is described, and the tragedy ends with the destruction of the *geasa*-breaker. Perhaps fear of results of tabu-breaking produced these results automatically when a tabu was broken in Ireland, as among savages. See E. Hull, FL xii. 41, and § X. 3(a) above (totemic tabus).

7. Blood-brotherhood.—This custom is mentioned sporadically in Irish sagas. Devorgilla wishes to wed Cúchulainn, but he, having sucked the blood from her wound while she was in bird-form, says, 'I cannot wed thee now, for I have drunk thy blood' (LL 125a). When Medb desires Cúchulainn's former friend Ferdiad to fight him, both heroes display great reluctance because of the tie of blood-brotherhood existing between them (Leahy, i. 158). A third example occurs in the tale of 'The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca,' in which Cairnech mingles the blood of Tadg and Muirchertach in a vessel for a treaty between them (RCEL xxiii. 394 ff. § 14). The Irish also ratified leagues by drinking each other's blood, even in Christian times, and traces of a similar custom existed in the West Highlands in the 17th century (Gir. Camb. Top. Hib. iii. 22; Martin, p. 109).

XIV. SACRED PLACES, THINGS, AND PERSONS.—1. Temples.—The sacred grove, *nemeton*, existed over the whole Celtic area, the word frequently occurring in place-names (cf. the Irish *fid-nemed*, 'sacred grove' [Holder, ii. 1750; Ant. Laws of Ireland, i. 164], and the Galatian *Dru-nemeton*, § VIII. above). Lucan gives a vivid description of the horrors of such groves (*Pharsal* iii. 399 ff.), and Dio Cassius (lxii. 7) mentions the human sacrifices which were offered in them. The scholiast on Lucan (ed. Usener, p. 33) says that the Druids worshipped the gods in woods without temples; but we know that the Boii and the Insubri had temples (Livy, xxiii. 24; Polyb. ii. 32), while temples, in the sense of buildings or sacred enclosures, are referred to by Diodorus (v. 27), Plutarch (*Cæs.* 26), and Poseidonius (*apud* Strabo, iv. iv. 6). The 'consecrated place' in Gaul mentioned by Cæsar (vi. 13; cf. 17) may be either a grove, a sacred enclosure, or a temple. There is no evidence that the insular Celts had temples. Under Roman rule, elaborate temples and smaller shrines were built on Roman models all over the Romano-

Celtic area. Sacred vessels, spoils of war, money collected for sacred purposes, and war standards were kept in temples or 'consecrated places' (Livy, xxiii. 24; Florus, i. 20. 4; Arrian, *Cyneg.* 23; Polyb. ii. 32; Cæsar, vi. 13). See TEMPLES (Celtic).

There is no evidence that stone circles were Druidic temples. Stonehenge dates from the close of the Neolithic age, and the smaller circles are all probably pre-Celtic. They were primarily places of sepulture, and as such would be the scene of ancestral cults. The Celts probably regarded them as sacred, and may have joined in such cults; but they cannot be regarded as Celtic temples in the strict sense of the word. Celtic commemorative rites and festivals took place at tumuli or mounds, but worship at stone circles is never referred to (see § V. 3; FESTIVALS [Celtic], § 5). Stone circles with mystic trees growing in them, one of them with a well giving access to the Land under Waves, are connected in Irish tales with magic rites, but are not spoken of as temples (Joyce, OOR p. 246; Kennedy, *Leg. Fictions*, 1866, p. 271).

2. Images.—Maximus of Tyre (*Diss.* viii. 8) says that the Celtic (German?) image of Zeus was a lofty oak; but this may have been rudely shaped like the tree-trunks—images of gods—referred to by Lucan (*Pharsal* iii. 412 ff.). Pillar-stones on graves are often mentioned in Irish texts, and these were apparently regarded as images of the dead. Other stones were also venerated in Ireland. The *plurima simulacra* of the Gaulish Mercury (*Cæs.* vi. 17) may have been boundary-stones like the Greek *épauai*, and evidence goes to show that the Gauls had a cult of such boundary-stones (Reinach, RCEL xi. 224, xiii. 190). Hence *simulacra* may mean 'symbolic representations' rather than 'images.'

Bertrand (RA xv. 345) and Reinach (RCEL xiii. 189) consider that the Gauls had no images, these being prohibited by the Druids, whom they regard as a pre-Celtic priesthood hostile to images (see DRUIDS). But there is some evidence for the existence of pre-Celtic images (*L'Anthrop.* v. 147), and no writer mentions Druidic hostility to image-worship. Among the Celts there were tree and animal images, and figures of divinities on pre-Roman coins (Blanchet, i. 152), while the insular Celts possessed images, though their priesthood was Druidic. The ready adoption of Roman images shows that no antagonism to images existed, and certain rude Gallo-Roman images—e.g. those of Cernunnos—have almost certainly been modelled on existing native types. The disappearance of such images would be accounted for if they were made of wood (cf. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* i. 112). The Galatian Celts worshipped images (Strabo, xii. ii.; Plutarch, *Virt. Mul.* 20), and the Gauls who conquered Rome bowed to the seated senators as to gods, as if they were accustomed to images (Livy, v. 41).

In Irish texts idols are often mentioned (Cormac, p. 94; Stokes, *Martyr. of Oengus*, p. 186; RCEL xii. 427; Ant. Laws, i. 45; Joyce, SH 274 ff.). The idols of Cenn Cruaich and his satellites were carved and ornamented in human form (LL 2136; Stokes, *Trip. Life*, i. 90, 93), and such groups of images existed elsewhere (O'Curry, MS Mat. p. 284). 'Hand gods,' probably images used for divination, are also mentioned (Keating, *Hist.* 49). In Celtic Britain idolatry is often referred to in the *Lives* of saints (Aelred, *Vita S. Nin.* ch. 6; Jocelyn, *Vita S. Kentig.*, chs. 27, 32, 34), and Gildas speaks of 'images mouldering away within and without the deserted temples, with stiff and deformed features' (*Hist. Brit.* 4), though these may have been Romano-British. Numerous Romano-Celtic bas-reliefs and images in stone and bronze have been discovered, and in some of these the dress and symbols of divinity are purely Celtic. See also IMAGES (Celtic).

3. Symbols.—Gaulish images may be classified by means of their symbols—the mallet and cup (symbols of creative power and of plenty) borne by Dispat, the wheel of the sun-god, the cornucopia and torque carried by Cernunnos. Other symbols occur on images, altars, coins, etc.; but their meaning is doubtful, and in many instances they are not purely Celtic, but of world-wide occurrence. These include the *swastika* and *triskele* (perhaps sun-symbols), single or concentric circles (sometimes with rays), crosses, and a curious S figure. The circles and crosses are often incised on bronze

images of Dispatēr, the S occurs on coins, and nine of these S symbols hang from a ring carried by the god with the wheel. Various explanations of this figure have been given; the most probable is that which recognizes in it a thunderbolt (see Reinach, *BF* 33, 143, 150, 152, *Catalogue sommaire du Musée des ant. nat.*, Paris, 1905; *RA* xvi. 17; Flouest, *Deux stèles* (appendix), Paris, 1885; Blanchet, i. 17, 158, 169, 316).

For sacred numbers, see CALENDAR (Celtic).

4. The Priesthood.—The Celtic priesthood is fully discussed in the art. DRUIDS. See also § VIII. above.

XV. MAGIC.—Magic runs through the whole fabric of Celtic religion, and is ascribed to gods, to kings (possibly the old priest-kings), to Druids, and to unofficial persons; hence there is no reason to believe that the methods recorded are pre-Celtic or were borrowed by the Celts. The Druid is the *magus*, or magician, *par excellence*, and later folk-belief makes Druidism and magic one and the same. Though the magical craft of the Druids is more in evidence in the Irish texts than in classical references, there is no doubt that the Druids of Gaul were regarded as magicians. Magic is also freely ascribed to women, and 'the spells of women' were dreaded by pagan and by Christian missionary alike. In Irish texts the *flid*, or poets, also practise magic, and most of the magical acts of the Druids are attributed also to the Christian saints who combated them. Druidic magic included shape-shifting (ascribed also to women and goddesses), invisibility, producing a magic sleep, causing lunacy by means of a magic wisp (the Norse 'sending'), uttering satires, probably of the nature of a spell, which caused blotches and death (a practice also ascribed to the *flid*), and protecting an army by the *airbe Druad*, or 'Druid's hedge.' Still more absurd were the Druids' claims to power over the elements, which they asserted they had created. Such powers were often exercised by the Druids of rival hosts to destroy the opposing force. They brought down fire from the sky, caused snow-storms, mists, and floods, dried up wells, and practised the art of rain-making. All these and other feats, e.g. removal of barrenness, were supposed to be produced by spells, such as those which the *flid* had to learn (O'Curry, *MS Mat.* 240). Perhaps the verses which the Druids would not commit to writing (Cæsar, vi. 14) were also spells. Spells with a magical appeal to the name of pagan divinities were still used in Christian times, and form the earliest native documentary evidence (8th or 9th cent.) to the old religion (§ V. 4). Many spells are still used locally in Celtic regions, Divine or saintly names being substituted for those of the old gods. They are handed down orally, and are used especially for healing (for the posture assumed while repeating a spell, see § XIII. 5; and for agricultural magic, see FESTIVALS [Celtic], and § XIII. 1).

1). In Celtic areas, customs of an erotic-magical nature connected with megaliths, sepulchral stones, and boulders are still practised, and we may trace in them the old idea that ghosts of the dead or Nature-spirits could grant fruitfulness, etc., to those who performed a due ritual. In other cases, rites for healing are performed in connexion with trees and holed dolmens. For fuller discussion of the subject of this section, see MAGIC (Celtic), and CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic).

XVI. FUTURE LIFE.—The Celts believed firmly in a bodily existence after death, the doctrine being taught by the Druids. But there were various aspects of this belief; and there is evidence of a theory that the soul tenanted a new body in another region, of a theory derived from distant ages that the body lived on in the grave, and of a theory of transmigration.

1. Classical evidence.—Cæsar (vi. 14, 19) says

that 'the Druids taught that souls do not perish, but pass from one to another ("ab aliis . . . ad alios") after death,' while Diodorus (v. 28) and Valerius Maximus (ii. 6, 10) connect the Druidic doctrine of immortality with the teaching of Pythagoras. Though the passages are generally taken to mean that the Celts believed simply in transmigration, the Druidic doctrine shows no trace of the Pythagorean expiatory transmigration. The points of connexion were rather that a doctrine of immortality was taught by Pythagoras and the Druids, and that this immortality was of a bodily kind. Cæsar's passage may be a mistranslation of a Greek original, and need not refer to a transmigration doctrine. Had the passages referred to been intended to indicate such a doctrine, they would not have alluded as they do to debts being paid in the other world, or letters conveyed there by the dead, or human sacrifices to benefit the dead there—the victims being supposed to rejoin the dead man. The Druidic doctrine probably resembled the ancient Vedic idea that the soul received its old body complete and glorified in another region. Bodily existence in another region is mentioned by Lucan: 'regit inde spiritus artus orbe alio' (*Pharsal* i. 456 f.). Timagenes (*ap. Amm. Marc.* xv. 9), Strabo (iv. iv.), and Mela (iii. 2) speak only of the immortality of the soul; but Mela's passage suggests bodily existence also, as it speaks of debts passed on to the next world.

2. Burial customs.—The profuse Celtic funeral *mobilier* and the evidence of human sacrifice at burials also suggest that the Celtic future life was life in the body (see E. F. von Sacken, *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, Vienna, 1868; *RCel* x. 234; *Antiquary*, xxxvii. 125; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877; Blanchet, ii. 528; *L'Anthrop.* vi. 586). Irish texts describe the dead as buried with ornaments and weapons, ogham stones being set over the grave. Animals and, possibly, human victims were sacrificed. Wives of heroes desired to be buried at once with their husbands (*LU* 130a; O'Donovan, *Annals*, Dublin, 1848–51, i. 145, 180; Nutt-Meyer, i. 52; O'Curry, *MCAI* i. p. cccxxx; Leahy, i. 105; Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the W. Highlands*, iii. 62). Cæsar (vi. 19) says that all things dear to the dead man, even living animals, were consumed on the funeral pyre. Slaves and clients had formerly been consumed. Mela (iii. 2) also refers to those who of their own free will cast themselves on the pyre of their relatives, hoping to live along with them.

3. The Irish sagas.—Ghosts, in our sense of the word, do not exist in the sagas. The dead who return are fully clothed upon with a body, and the passages show that this corporeal life was independent of transmigration. Thus, when Cúchulainn returned at the command of St. Patrick,

'his hair was thick and black, . . . in his head his eyes gleamed swift and grey, . . . blacker than the side of a cooking-spit each of his two brows, . . . redder than ruby his lips.' His clothes and weapons are fully described, while his chariot and horses are equally corporeal (*LL* 245; cf. other instances in Nutt-Meyer, i. 49; E. Hull, p. 293).

This bodily existence of the dead is also suggested in Celtic versions of the 'Dead Debtor.' An animal, in whose shape the dead man helps his benefactor, is found in other versions, but in the Celtic group the dead man re-appears in his own corporeal form (*Le Braz*², i. p. xii; Campbell, ii. 12; Larminie, *W. Ir. Folk Tales*, 1893, p. 155; Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, 1891, pp. 21, 153).

4. The grave as the place of the dead.—Custom and belief show that early man believed that the dead lived on in the body in the grave. The belief often survives where quite different beliefs exist, and this seems to have been the case with the Celts. Their doctrine of bodily immortality may have been an extension of this belief, and their

under-world region of the dead an extension of the individual grave in its aspect as a dwelling of the dead man.

Oracles were sought at the graves of the dead, just as in Scandinavian belief the dead lived on in their barrows and spoke thence to the living (Tertull. *de Anima*, 51; E. Hull, *Pagan Ireland*, 1904, p. 142). Warriors were supposed to exert a sinister influence on their enemies from the grave. Existing customs in Celtic areas show connexion with the primitive belief, e.g. drawing the coffin nails, loosening the bindings of the corpse, or leaving the limbs free (Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies*, p. 156; Le Braz², i. 212; *FL* xiii. 60; Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 1900, p. 341). The dead are believed to rise in the body on the night of All Saints. In Celtic folk-tales the grave is a house in which the dead live, and they emerge from it in the body and act as if still alive (Curtin, p. 156; Larmine, p. 31; Le Braz², i. 217, 313, ii. 146; *RCel* x. 214).

5. The 'orbis alius.'—If the Celtic *orbis alius* to which Lucan refers means 'another region' of the world rather than 'another world' (Reinach, *RCel* xxii. 447), that region was most probably underground, the conception being evolved from that of the dead living on in the grave; and, though Lucan says that souls do not go to the silent halls of Erebus and the pale kingdoms of Dis, he is contrasting the current Roman belief in a world of shades with the richer belief of the Celts in bodily immortality rather than contrasting localities. Caesar undoubtedly found the Gauls believing in an under-world god who could be equated with Dis. Other classical observers speak of the dead Celts as *inferi*, or as going *ad Manes* (Val. Max. ii. 6, 10; Mela, iii. 2, 19), and Plutarch makes Camma speak of descending to her dead husband (*Virt. Mul.* 20). But, as the Celtic Dis, ruler of the under world, was apparently a god of fertility, and as the Celtic doctrine of immortality contained no dismal element, the region must have been one of exuberant life. From the subterranean world of the Celtic Dis men had come forth (§ XII.), and thither they returned. From it also proceeded the fruitfulness of all things rooted in the earth. It was a replica of the land of the living, but life there was fuller, freer, and immortal. To this the words of Lucan point (*Pharsal.* i. 457 f.): 'Death, if your lore be true, is but the centre of a long life.'

The *orbis alius* was not the Celtic Elysium (BLEST, ABODE OF [Celtic], § 5). The dead are never said to pass thither; only favoured mortals while still alive might do so. Some Celtic folk-lore, however, reported by Plutarch (*de Def. Orac.* 18), might suggest that certain of the mighty dead passed to an Island Elysium. Some islands near Britain were called after gods and heroes, and in one of them dwelt sacrosanct persons. They were visited by Demetrius, according to Plutarch, and he was told that certain storms were caused by the passing away of some of the 'mighty.' Perhaps such mighty ones went to these mysterious islands, but this is certainly not stated. In another island Kronos was imprisoned, watched by Briareus and attended by demons. Elsewhere (*de Fac. Lun.* 28) he repeats the story of Kronos, and says that this island is mild and fragrant, and that people live there waiting for the god, who sometimes appears to them and prevents their departing. They are happy in pursuing religious practices and in studying legends and philosophy. Plutarch has mingled the Celtic Elysium belief with what he knew of the Druids and perhaps of such islands as that of Sena (FESTIVALS [Celtic], § 4), while the reference to Kronos may be based on Celtic tales of heroes sleeping in hills or mounds, whence they will one day emerge to benefit their people.

If souls of the mighty went to an island (whether Elysian or not), or if some local belief in an island of the dead had come to be held by Celts living on the coast (as in local Breton folk-beliefs regarding the drowned [Le Braz², i. p. xxxix; Sébillot, H. 149]), this would explain the story in Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* iv. 20) of the shades being carried by fishermen to Brittia—perhaps a mingling of such a local belief with the idea that Ulysses' island of the Shades lay to the north or, as Claudian sang (*Ulys. Rapt.* i. 123 f.), in the west. But this island, as described, differs both from the *orbis alius* and from Elysium. Survivals of the old belief in an underground region are still to be traced (Sébillot, i. 413).

6. Transmigration.—In the Irish sagas this is asserted only of divinities and heroes, but not generally in connexion with their death. But it may have been extended sometimes to mortals, since traces of it are found in folk-belief. The dead are represented as birds (*Voyage of Maelduin*, § 19; O'Curry, *MS Mat.* p. 78), or are supposed to appear in various animal forms. But this is generally asserted of the wicked or unbaptized, and it may be a totemistic survival, or is perhaps connected with the common belief that the soul has the appearance of a small animal (*FL* iv. 352; *FLJ* v. 189; *Choice Notes*, 1858, pp. 61, 69; Maury, *Croyances et légendes*, 1896, p. 272; Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 92; Le Braz², ii. 82, 86, 307). The evidence is hardly sufficient to show that transmigration was the vital Celtic doctrine of future existence (cf. Joyce, *SH* i. 300). See TRANSMIGRATION.

7. Future retribution.—Of this there is little evidence in Celtic paganism, and it is doubtful whether any difference was made between the virtuous and the wicked beyond the grave. In existing Irish and Breton folk-belief the dead are believed to suffer from cold, and mediæval Celtic accounts mention the terrors of cold as an aspect of hell (Curtin, 146; Le Braz², ii. 91); but there is hardly ground for connecting this with pagan belief. In the *Adventures of S. Columba's Clerics*, hell is reached by a bridge over a glen of fire; but this may be traced to Scandinavian sources (*RCel* xxvi. 153). It might, of course, be contended that the Christian doctrine of hell has absorbed a pagan belief in retribution, but there is no trace of such a belief in the sagas, or in classical notices of Celtic eschatology. The hope of future bliss made men die without a tremor (Caesar, vi. 14; Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 455 ff.).

For the Celtic Elysium, see BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Celtic).

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CENSORSHIP.—In the present article this term is used in the sense of the official examination and regulation of matter intended for publication or for the stage. It applies to newspapers, books, songs, and plays, and is not to be confounded with inspection of publications or plays after production, with possible prosecution if immorality or sedition be found. Censorship proper takes place before publication. It is a private function, though discharged by a public official. It may abort intended books or plays, and the public may never know—hence its peculiar dangers.

1. *Of the press.*—There were no official censors before the age of printing, but there were informal beginnings of the practice. Among the ancients, methods were rough and ready. Socrates was condemned for blasphemy and for corrupting the morals of youth, and the hemlock cup prohibited any further offence. Xenophon published his *Anabasis* anonymously because he was an exile, and therefore forbidden to speak or publish in Attica. Such facts show that authorities were jealous of authors even in those early days. In the Middle Ages writers were ecclesiastics chiefly. To show courtesy to their superiors, and to avoid the risk of later censure, they used to submit their work before it was multiplied. When printing had quickened the flow of books, and growing culture had widened the circle of authors, clerical influence was strongest in demanding censorship, in view of dangers to the tenets of the Church (see INDEX).

In England, after the Reformation, the control of the press was centred in the Crown, and was exercised through the Company of Stationers. But laxity crept in. Many books were not even registered. Hence the Long Parliament enforced censorship, in spite of Milton's protest in his *Areopagitica*, the classic on toleration of opinion. Milton had himself been censored: objection was taken to part of *Paradise Lost*, so that he spoke feelingly. The Restoration made censorship even more rigorous. But, in 1693, a century after Milton's plea, the statutes in question were cancelled. The Act of Toleration in 1689 made the abolition of censorship a logical necessity. Since then the press of Great Britain has been free. No one is prohibited from publishing anything, but everything published has to run the gauntlet of possible prosecution for slander, sedition, immorality, or blasphemy. To facilitate prosecution, if necessary, printers must keep one copy of everything they print, with the name of the

person employing them, and all publications (some official documents excepted) must bear the name of their printers and publishers.

In Scotland, in 1646, it was enacted that no book treating of religion or of the Kirk should be printed without a licence from the General Assembly. If a book dealt with the kingdom, it had to be licensed by a judge or by a Secretary of State. Printers had to be licensed also. Since the Union, Scottish and English practice have coincided.

In India there was established in 1910 the nearest permanent approximation to a censorship that the Empire possesses. Money penalties are imposed on newspapers for sedition. A third offence involves forfeiture of the press. It was stated in the Indian Legislature that there was to be 'no censorship or antecedent restraint.' But, if its press be confiscated, there is some restraint on the issue of a newspaper. Control of the printer has always been a favourite mode of controlling publications. But this Indian censorship is not entirely private and Star-Chamber-like, for the public have the opportunity of judging a newspaper before its suppression. These special precautions may be justified by the unrest of the time.

The only undiluted censorship of the press surviving under British rule is that of war-news from the seat of operations. This is common to all countries, and has obvious strategic reasons. No news is allowed to pass unless certified by military censors—officers specially detailed for the duty.

European countries generally exercise close supervision over the press—more for political than for moral reasons. Russia is particularly active. There foreign literature is revised before delivery, on importation. Pages may be torn out, articles 'blackened,' or delivery refused. She is even more vigilant over her native press. Newspapers are very firmly ruled. Recent revolutionary riots in St. Petersburg were reported to Russian readers by smuggled foreign papers, the home press being perforce silent thereon. The historian Bilbassov is said to have written a history of the reign of Catherine I. The two volumes published were promptly suppressed, and the remaining ten volumes are still in MSS. Thus it is that important works are sometimes printed in France, and smuggled into Russia, as Bibles and tracts were into England in pre-Reformation times. France is less active, but she has had fits of supervision. Voltaire had some of his works burnt by the public executioner. He had to publish outside of Paris, and have his books run surreptitiously for a time. Much the same can be said of Rousseau. Nowadays freedom is practically perfect. Germany censors public meetings and public prints alike. Till well into last century nothing was allowed to be published without preliminary approval, though booksellers could often supply customers they trusted with prohibited matter. Even to-day German opinion is less free in its expression than British, though more free than Russian.

An unofficial censorship of books was intimated in 1909 in this country by the Circulating Libraries Association, which announced that they would not circulate books that were 'personally scandalous, libellous, immoral, or otherwise disagreeable,' and asked publishers to submit doubtful books for approval, a week before publication. Authors have protested, and the scheme has been somewhat modified. But it is difficult to condemn such censorship. The evils of bad novels are patent. The drawbacks of an official censorship are not present here. The books are not suppressed, and critics will readily champion any which may be wrongly tabued.

Censorship is impracticable. Books are too many. The name of newspapers is legion, and their issues are prepared in hot haste, during the night. Preliminary inspection is absurdly impossible.

Censorship is inadvisable. History has shown that it may deprive a nation of its best leading and inspiration. No man or body of men is wise enough and tolerant enough to be entrusted with the power of controlling the expression of public opinion. The right of free speech is a bulwark of freedom and progress.

'Should ye set an oligarchy . . . over it [the press] to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel?' asks Milton indignantly of the Long Parliament. He adds: 'When God shakes a Kingdom with strong and healthful commotions to a general reforming, it is not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing; but yet more true it is, that God then raises to His own work men of rare abilities and more than common industry not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further and go on some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth.' He relies on the survival of the fittest in this sphere. 'Let her [Truth] and Falsehood grapple: who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?' (*Areopagitica*).

But this assertion of freedom is without prejudice to the right and duty of careful inspection of what is thus freely published. There is clamant need for prompter and more strenuous effort to check the stream of corruption that would mingle with the river of publications. Some wholesome, if disagreeable, scavenging would sweeten literature.

Frequent offences occur in reports of divorce cases, and some would have such reports prohibited. Yet Lord Justice Bingham, President of the Divorce Division, giving evidence in a Parliamentary inquiry in 1910, defended them as a strong deterrent from immorality. Perhaps all that can be safely required is that judges should extend the practice of taking the grosser evidence *in camera*.

2. Of the stage.—Greek drama, which flourished four or five centuries B.C., almost certainly had a censorship from the nature of the case. Theatres were great State-institutions, as their magnificent ruins show. These would be closed to plays unless approved. There was also indirect censorship, in that plays were commonly entered in public competition for prizes. The judges would practically be censors. Plays that did not conform to their ideas or prejudices would not gain prizes, and probably would suffer in their chance of performance. It is an illuminative fact that what is perhaps Aristophanes' best play, *The Birds*, was in competition placed second to one by an almost unknown writer. It is on record, too, that Æschylus and Aristophanes, the fathers of tragedy and comedy respectively, were both prosecuted for offences against the dominant orthodoxy and politics of their times—offences, that is, in their plays. Censorship of the more modern stage, like that of the press, had an ecclesiastical origin. For that stage itself was ecclesiastical at first. Miracle and Passion plays were naturally subject to the Church. When religious drama was dying, the theatre began to be somewhat free in its criticism of the Church, and to deal with politics. Hence regulation was called for. In England the Master of Revels, the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, and the Lord Chamberlain have been successively the authorities in charge. The last named was doing the work as early as 1623, and in 1727 was statutorily entrusted with it. The then Lord Chamberlain swore in an Examiner of Plays, which office has existed continuously till now.

It was Jeremy Collier who, in 1697, by his *Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the* VOL. III.—20

English Stage, established censorship permanently. Wycherly, Congreve, and Dryden were specially attacked. The last of these confessed the justice of the indictment, and retracted all of his works 'which can truly be argued of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality.'

The stage is the only institution which is regularly censored. 'The preservation of good manners, decorum, or of the public peace' is the stated object in view. Every new play or addition to an old play must be submitted to the Examiner seven days before performance, and, if licence be withheld, must not be performed, under a penalty of £50, and possible forfeiture of the theatre licence. This is the law in Great Britain. There is no censorship in Ireland. In the United States no general censor supervises the drama; but local authorities, with differing powers, are entrusted with the duty of forbidding the representation of plays hurtful to morality.

In 1909 a Parliamentary Select Committee sat on the subject, and reported that almost all the dramatists of the day desired freedom from censorship, or, at least, a court of appeal. They held that suppression of plays was an excessive use of executive power, and that prosecution of producers of improper plays was a sufficient safeguard. On the other hand, theatre-managers gave evidence that they desired censorship to continue. They feared that uncensored plays might bring disrepute on the whole stage. They also feared the vagaries of local authorities, if prosecution were relied on. The actors agreed with the managers. The Committee further reported that, in its own opinion, the laws that punish indecency, libel, and sedition were insufficient for the case, nor was it fair that theatre-managers should have to make expensive preparations for plays, without such an assurance as preliminary licence gave. Censorship should continue. But secret censorship, not subject to public opinion, was in danger of becoming conventional and partial. Therefore it should not continue to have the power of veto, and it should be allowable to present a play even though the licence had been refused. But the producers should be exposed to the risk of prosecution. Even licensed plays should involve that risk, with this difference, that, on conviction for indecency or libel, they should only be prohibited, while unlicensed plays, conviction being secured, should incur not only prohibition, but penalties for the author and the theatre-manager. Possibly legislative endorsement may be given to these proposals.

Stage censorship is more practicable than that of books or newspapers. Plays are limited in number, and it has been possible hitherto for one man to read and pass judgment upon them all, in Great Britain, i.e. upon all that are sent to the Examiner through theatre authorities. He does not receive plays from aspiring writers directly.

Censorship is also needful for the protection of those who enact the parts, and of the audiences. There have been bad plays, even with the censorship, and the Examiner testifies that he has refused to pass many, and has required pruning of more. Freedom from preliminary scrutiny would mean, for some theatres, a descent into the abyss. In many districts local authorities would be very slow to prosecute without some stimulus; no matter what the character of the plays. That a doubtful play should have attention drawn to it by the refusal of a licence, and so be subject to special vigilance, is the minimum of protection consistent with public safety.

For Roman Catholic censorship, see INDEX.

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CENTAUR.—'Centaur' is the name given in Greek mythology to a monster usually represented as having the upper part (to the waist) of a man and the body and legs of a horse. This definition must not be taken as exhaustive; the characteristic centaur form appears in Babylonian art of about the 11th cent. B.C. as the sign of Sagittarius (Perrot-Chippiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, iii. 604);¹ and, on the other hand, it is by no means certain that the early Greeks imagined the creatures they called centaurs to have this shape. Homer (*Il.* i. 268, ii. 743) calls them simply ἑῆρες (a Thessalian form for ὄῆρες, 'wild beasts'); and the development of the centaur in Greek art seems to imply a gradual evolution rather than the borrowing of a ready-made type.

The centaurs in Greek legend are of two kinds. To the one belong Chiron, who is called by Homer (*Il.* xi. 832) δικάυρατος Κενταύρων, and who acted as teacher and guardian to heroes such as Achilles and Jason in his cave on Mt. Pelion in Thessaly, and Pholus, who entertained Herakles on Mt. Pholoë, between Elis and Arcadia; to the other, the wild and lawless monsters who laid violent hands on women, hurled trees and rocks, and were conquered or destroyed by Herakles or the Lapithæ. The two chief occasions of Herakles' exploits against them were when Nessus, who was carrying Deianeira over the river Evenos, laid hands on her and was slain by the arrows of the hero, and when the other centaurs, attracted by the odour of the jar of wine that Pholus had opened, invaded his cave and were driven off by Herakles. Both are favourite subjects in art, as is also the great battle between the Lapithæ and the centaurs, in which the chief heroes are Theseus and Pirithous; and the most characteristic incident is the overwhelming of the invulnerable Ceneus with pine trees and rocks, the usual weapons of the centaurs.

Many varying accounts are given in local legends as to the origin of the centaurs. According to one version, they were the offspring of Ixion and a cloud (Νεφέλη) substituted for Hera; another account made them arise from the seed fallen from Zeus in his passion for Aphrodite; and, according to others, their mother had or took the form of a mare. Chiron was said to be the son of Kronos and Philyra (the poplar); and Pholus, of Silenus and one of the Μελαι (ash-nymphs). The names of centaurs generally suggest mountains or trees (e.g. Περραιός, Οὔρειος, Δρύαλος, Πευκεύς).

Few questions have been more disputed among mythologists than the origin and interpretation of the myth of the centaurs. Many suggestions have been made as to the etymology of their name, but none is satisfactory; the connexion with the Sanskrit *Gandharvas* (on whom see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythol.*, Strassburg, 1897, pp. 136–138, and the references there given) is now discredited, since the two classes of being agree neither in name nor in characteristics. By some the centaurs have been thought to be personifications of natural phenomena, such as winds or mountain-torrents; but such personification is alien to primitive myth. They should probably be rather regarded, with Mannhardt (*Ant. Wald- und Feldkulte*, ii. 102), 'as spirits of the forest or mountain, to whose

¹ According to late Hindu tradition, the Naras, created, along with other semi-divine beings by Brahmā, also possess human bodies with horses' limbs, as contrasted with the Kinnaras, who have horses' heads and human figures; but it would be idle to connect these Naras, who are among the musicians of Kuvera's court (*Mahābhārata*, ii. x. 14), either with the centaurs or, in view of their late origin, with Babylonian mythology.

action these phenomena are assigned.' They are thus in many ways analogous to the Sileni and Satyrs, whom they resemble in their love of wine and their unbridled passions. The rationalistic explanation of the centaurs as horsemen who appear to be one with their horses may apply to the Oriental archer, but seems inconsistent with the history of the form in Greece.

The earliest representations of centaurs in Greek art usually show them in completely human shape, with the body and hind legs of a horse attached to their backs. Later on they take the more familiar form which we see, for example, in the metopes of the Parthenon. The battle of Greeks and centaurs came, with the ethical tendency of myth, to be regarded as a symbol of the triumph of skill over brute force and of civilization over barbarism, and therefore as typical of the great victory of Hellene over Oriental. In later art, centaurs were a favourite subject of playful mythological genre, such as the centaur family by Zeus, or the centaurs with Erotes or Mænads of Græco-Roman art.

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E. A. GARDNER.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—See NYANJA TRIBES.

CENTRAL AMERICA.—Central America, as we understand it, begins on the isthmus of Tehuantepec. To the west of it lay the countries subject to the sway of the Mexican kings. The prominent feature of the regions east of the isthmus is the compact mass of nations belonging to the great Maya linguistic stock. The particular traits of Mexican culture may be recognized to a certain degree also among the less civilized nations, settled, formerly as well as now, together with or close to the Mexican tribes in the countries west of the isthmus region. The Mayas of Central America had to deal in their very home with Mexican intruders. But Maya culture, Maya art, and—it would seem—Maya mythical and religious conceptions prevailed throughout that vast region, down to Honduras and the primeval forests of eastern Nicaragua and Costa Rica, where other more primitive nations of South American stock were in contact with the highly civilized Central American tribes. We know very little about the religion of those semi-civilized inhabitants of the isthmus of Panama, of Costa Rica, and of eastern Nicaragua. Central American religion is for us the religion of the Maya tribes.

1. **Religious practices.**—The general character of Central American religion was the same as that of the Mexican tribes. The rites and ceremonies practised answered a double purpose: they were intended (1) to fit one to approach the supernatural beings, and (2) to secure from the gods, by a kind of magic process, the things one needs at any given moment.

Ceremonial ablution was the favourite method of securing the former aim. In Mexico and Central America it was regularly connected with the penances, mortifications, blood-lettings, of which we shall presently speak. In Mexico there was a more particular use of ceremonial ablution in the case of a new-born child. In Central America, that is to say, in Yucatan, sprinkling with holy water ('virgin-water,' i.e. rain-water) and washing the forehead, the cheeks, and the hands and feet were resorted to in the ceremony of the *em-ku*, 'descent of the Divinity,' when the youths of both sexes were deprived of the baubles distinctive of childhood, and admitted into the fellowship of the tribe.

In a more general way, fasting was considered indispensable for fitting oneself to enter into communion with the Divinity. In Central America, as well as in Mexico and in most parts of the American continent, it consisted in abstaining from the usual seasoning—salt and red pepper—and from sexual intercourse.

Penance, mortification, and blood-letting exhibit the most prominent feature of Mexican and Central American religious practice. Incisions were made in the rim of the ear; the tongue was pierced, and sticks, sometimes attached to a string, were drawn through the hole made in it; the muscles of the arms and legs were pricked by thorns. In some countries, at certain ceremonies, the penis was pierced in the same manner, and a string was drawn through the holes so as to connect the whole company. The motive that led to such practices was, without doubt, to get rid of sin and to be qualified thereby to approach God.

For the same reason, confession played a great part in the religious practices of these people. In Central America it was considered the indispensable expedient if one was to escape from an imminent danger. A physician, called to attend a person suffering from mortal disease, commenced the treatment by confessing him. And down to this day the inhabitants of the tropical woodlands of Guatemala and Honduras, when they meet a jaguar, instead of attacking him, fall down on their knees and begin to enumerate their sins, saying: 'Do not kill me, I committed such and such sin.' It is obvious that this behaviour originates in the idea that confession cleanses from sin and thus relieves from death, the punishment of sin. For the same reason, in Central America, as well as, e.g., in ancient Peru, confession was the regular preliminary to a religious observance. It fitted men for approach to God.

What confession was for the individual, the rite called by Landa *echar al demonio* ('expelling the demon') was for the community. It was the regular preliminary to every public ceremony in Yucatan. Within a sacred enclosure, where all who were to take part in the ceremony stood, the head-priest presented an incense-offering, praying over it, and then a man carried the offering, together with the censor, out of the village, flung it away, and returned without looking back.

Incense was the regular offering. Copal, beeswax, rubber, and maize-flour were burned as incense. The censers are described as dishes or bowls, or as footed vases with perforated sides and fantastical faces on the rim. The latter form is still used by the Lacandons, a branch of the Maya family, who succeeded in remaining free from Spanish domination and from Christianity, and in conserving their ancient pagan rites. It is a curious fact that the censers are regarded by the Lacandons as representing their gods. In an ancient report on the manners and customs of the Indians of Valladolid (Yucatan), the name of 'idols' is applied to the vases that served for incense-burning. Tozzer infers that the Lacandon view was the original one; but we know that real idols, carved from red cedar-wood, were in general use throughout Yucatan and the neighbouring countries, and the excavations have brought to light a number of clay idols of most variegated form and artistic design.

Besides incense, all kinds of food were offered to the gods—maize, the blood of turkeys, and various animals. A distinction was made according to the cardinal point where the god to whom the offering was presented was thought to reside; turkey being offered to the eastern, deer to the northern, iguana to the western, fish to the southern, gods. A particular and important class of sacrifices was that of

dogs. It has been maintained that this dog-sacrifice was only a substitute for human sacrifice, but the present writer thinks that another explanation must be given. The dog played an important part in the mythical conceptions of the Central American tribes. He represented to them the fire that falls from heaven—lightning, thunder-storm, and the like; he was a kind of rain-god and a bringer of food. Presenting a dog to the gods was certainly meant as a magic rite to attract rain and to produce food. Human sacrifice also existed in Central America, but was by no means so regular and so frequent as, e.g., in Mexico.

For all these practices there were professional adepts or priests, called *ah kin* ('fortune-teller') or *ah buctzotz* ('with tangled hair'), who served as mediators between the common people and the gods. They were assisted in the execution of the ceremonies by four aged men called *ohac*, who were elected by the people. Particular priestly offices were that of the 'singer' (*kayom*), that of the 'slayer' (*nacom*), and that of the interpreter of the Divine oracles (*ohilam* or *ahbobat*), and there were recognized sorcerers, called *ah cunal than*, *ah ez*, *ah pul yaah*, and *naual*.

2. Gods.—There has been much dispute as to the origin of gods. We shall not enter upon this tangled question, but, judging from what we learn from primitive peoples, it may be said that the gods of primitive peoples are, practically, personifications of natural bodies or physical agents; hence the established polytheism throughout the world.

In the pantheon of Central America, Mexico, and other parts of the continent, the first place was occupied by the heavenly bodies—the sun, the moon, and the stars, especially the morning-star, and the evening-star. The sun-god was called in Yucatan *Kim-ich ahau* ('Lord of the face of the sun'). He was interpreted or symbolized as an *arara*, or identified with this bird, and thence derived the name *Kim-ich Kak-mó* ('the fire-bird, the *arara*'). His temples stood on the north side of the central court, and he presided over the years that were considered to belong to the direction of the north.

The moon-god was supposed to be an old man, the father of the gods and of men. He represented the death and the regeneration of Nature, and he was said to resuscitate the dead. His name was *Itzamná* or *Itzmatul*, interpreted by the words the god himself uttered when he lived among men: *Itz en caan*, *itz en muyal*, 'I am the dew of the heaven, I am the dew of the clouds.' His temple stood on the west side of the central court, and he was the ruler of the western years.

The stars were regarded as the souls of the dead, and it seems that the Milky Way, or the direction south-north, was assigned them. We do not know the names of these star-divinities, but their images are well marked, and are often to be found in the figured and hieroglyphic manuscripts. The direction of the south seems to be ascribed to them, particularly to *Hozan-ek*, the evening-star, or—as a substitute for them—to the god of death.

The rain-god or thunder-god, called *Ch'ac*, *Ha'ts-Ch'ac* or *Pá'p'ol-Ch'ac* ('lightning, the cutter, the opener of the pouch'), or *Ah bolon tz'acab* ('Lord of the nine generations [or medicines]'), is the fourth of the four great Divine powers, and is assigned to the direction of the east. He is distinguished by a curious elongated nose. His image is exceedingly common in the manuscripts as well as on the walls of the temples and on other sculptural monuments.

Another god, whose image occurs very frequently on the pages of the Mayan manuscripts, is obviously a personification of the maize plant. He is associ-

ated with another young god, and is, in some places, found acting as a substitute or representative of Itzamná.

A god called *Ekechuah* ('black scorpion') is mentioned by Landa, and described as the god of merchants and of cacao-planters. A black god, represented in the manuscripts in two very different forms, both distinguished by a scorpion-tail, must be identified with the *Ekechuah* of Landa.

There were also female deities: *Ix ek'el*, the goddess of medicine; *Ix chebel yax*, identified by the priest Hernandez with the Virgin Mary, and others.

Special gods, called *Bacab*, were the upholders of the heavens in the four quarters of the world; and the heavenly gods, in opposition to those of the under world, were known as the *oxlahun ti ku* ('the thirteen gods') as contrasted with the *bolon ti ku* ('the nine gods'), according to the supposed number of the heavens and of the under worlds.

The two creator-gods, called *K'u-cumatz* ('feathered snake') and *Hurakan* ('one-legged'), the prominent figures in the cosmogonic myths of the *Popol Vuh* (the Quiché saga-book), are not indigenous Central American conceptions, but are borrowed forms of the famous Mexican gods *Quetzalcoatl* and *Tezcatlipoca*. In Yucatan, *Kukulcan* corresponds to the Quiché *K'u-cumatz* and the Mexican *Quetzalcoatl*. He is described as a culture-hero, a founder of cities, and he represents the period when Mexican colonists had control over the greater part of the Yucatan peninsula.

Some other personages named in the Quiché saga-book deserve special mention, as they obviously are of indigenous creation, e.g. *Vukub Cakix*, the great macaw; the *arara*, acting as a sun- and moon-god of pre-historic times; his sons *Cipacna* and *Cabrakan*, the gods of the earthquakes; and, finally, the twin heroes, the ball-players *Hunahmu* and *Xbalanque*, who descend to the under world, defeat its rulers, and, in acknowledgment of their victory, are transformed into the sun and moon.

The popular Quiché god was *Tohil*, the thunder-god; the national gods of the Cakchiquels were the *Chay-abah* ('the obsidian stone') and the bat-god, also called (apparently) *Nicah ta'kah* ('centre of the valley'). At the present day the Kekchi inhabitants of the mountainous district of Alta Vera Paz (Guatemala), without derogating from their Christianity, worship the sun (called by them *Xbalamke*), the moon (called *Po*, the female consort of the sun), the lightning (called *K'a'a'k*), and a number of other deities (generally called *Tzul-taka'*, 'mountain and valley,' and identified with certain remarkable or grandiose natural objects—high summits, mountain-passes, precipitous rocks, dangerous river-passages, thermal waters, caves, lonely trees, and the like).

3. Calendar and annual religious festivals.—The public ceremonies celebrated by a tribe in the course of a year are generally connected with the work that is necessary in the different seasons, and, in the case of an agricultural people, with the different stages of field-labour. The number of performances depends on the religious activity of the tribe, and, in part, on their calendar. Men are generally in the habit of dividing the year according to the revolutions of the moon. It is a peculiarity of the Mexican and Central American tribes that the partitions of the year were made in conformity with their numeral system, that is to say, by periods of twenty days. The year is in this way divided into eighteen sections of twenty days each (usually called months by the Spanish historians) and five supplementary days. The latter were called by the Mexicans *nemontemi* ('unfit for work'), and by the Mayas *ama kaba kin* ('days without names'; for further details, see art.

CALENDAR [Mexican and Mayan]). The Mexicans had celebrations in each of the eighteen periods of twenty days, but they avoided any ceremony, and generally abstained from any important work, during the five supplementary days. The Mayas were more moderate in celebrating festivals in the course of the year, but they devoted the five supplementary days to a series of very important ceremonies. In accordance with their custom of expelling evil and averting bad omens before entering on a ceremony or beginning any important work, they sought also to avert misfortune and bad luck before beginning the new year; and the five supplementary days, the *ama kaba kin*, were devoted to these particular ceremonies.

On a day of the so-called month *Ch'en* or *Yax* (=January), by appointment of the priests, the Mayas celebrated the *oc-na* ceremony, the renovation of the temple. They cast away and broke their clay-idols and censers, repaired and re-painted their temples, and at the same time 'examined the signs (prognostics) of the gods of the four cardinal points,' that is to say, they undertook, by elaborate ceremonies, to drive out the evil that was to occur in the new year, according to the quarter of the world by which the new year in question was considered to be governed. From the great central square, in each of the ancient Mayan towns, there started four roads running more or less directly to the gates by which the enclosure was interrupted at the four cardinal points. There were heaps of stone raised on the outside of each of the gates. In the five days preceding the year that was to be governed by the divinities of the east, they set up an idol called *uayayab* on the stone-heap at the outside of the southern gate; and in the house of the cacique, in the midst of the town, was placed another idol representing the god who ruled the east. Then they took the *uayayab*-idol from the stone-heap at the southern gate, mounted it on the top of a pole, and placed it opposite the idol of the ruler of the east, in the house of the cacique. They honoured it with a variety of offerings, and at the end of the five days took it to the eastern gate and cast it out of the town. In the same way, in the five days preceding the year that was to be governed by the divinities of the north, they set up the *uayayab* on the stone-heap at the eastern gate, brought it to the house of the cacique in the midst of the town, and cast it outside the town at the northern gate. And so in the five days preceding the other two years.

A great annual ceremony, called *tupp-Ka'k* ('extinguishing the fire'), took place at the vernal equinox, in the so-called month *Mac*, just before the beginning of the rains. A great pile of wood was heaped up and set on fire; animals of every kind were sacrificed and thrown into the fire; and finally, the priests, by pouring water out of jars, extinguished the flames. It is distinctly stated that this was performed for the purpose of getting abundant rain for the crops. The performance concluded with the erection of a miniature effigy of a stepped pyramid and anointing the upper steps with the sacred blue colour.

A second great annual ceremony was celebrated in the month called *Pax*, corresponding to the second half of our month of May—the time when the sun, in its shifting to the north, comes to stay in the zenith over Yucatan. The festival was called *Pacum Chac*, and the god worshipped in it was the war-god *Cit chac coh*. Five days before the ceremony, the chiefs of the different villages assembled in the temple of the war-god in the principal town. They fasted and kept awake all these five days, war-dances were performed, and the war-chief (*nacon*) was conducted in procession through the town. The feast itself consisted in a

fire-ceremony similar to that of the month *Mac*, but it was followed by the solemn sacrifice of a dog—the representative of the thunder-god (see above)—and the breaking of jars filled with wine, imitating and producing, as was certainly believed, the pouring down of the much-desired rain.

The third great annual ceremony was held in the so-called month of *Pop*, the second half of our July, when the sun, in its return to the south, came to stay in the zenith over Yucatan. This feast was, at the time of the conquest, regarded as the beginning of the year. Consequently, the principal ceremony was the kindling of new fire and a solemn incense-burning. For this feast they renewed all their household-utensils—plates, bowls, jars, stools, and the wrappings of their idols—throwing to the dust-yard those that had formerly been used.

In the months following this feast, the different social classes performed a consecration of their professional instruments by anointing them with the sacred blue colour (the colour of water and rain). First came the priests; then the sorcerers and the physicians; next the hunters and fishermen; finally the artisans and other working men.

The fourth great annual feast was the *Chickaban*, held in the town of Mani, in honour of the god *Kukulcan*, in the so-called month of *Xul*, corresponding to our October and November. The chiefs of the whole country assembled in the town of Mani, and a standard of costly feather-work, presented in one year by one town, in the next by another, was set up on the temple of *Kukulcan*. The chiefs placed their particular idols in the courtyard of the temple on a bed of leaves, and passed the five days preceding the feast in fasting, keeping awake, and worshipping their idols, and in religious dances. The feast itself consisted in a solemn offering, and the god was believed to come down from heaven to receive the objects and the service presented to him.

Other feasts of minor importance were celebrated at different seasons in honour of *Ekchuah*, the god of merchants and cacao-planters, *Hobnil*, the tutelary god of bee-hives, and *Acanum*, the god of hunters; and in the different towns and villages in honour of *Chac*, the rain-god, to whom was ascribed the growth of the maize crops and of other vegetables.

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CENTRAL ASIA.—See TURKESTAN.

CENTRAL INDIA.—I. Geography and ethnology.—'Central India' is the official designation of a group of Native States in India forming a straggling and incompact area, which lies between 21° 22' and 26° 52' north latitude, and 74° and 83° east longitude. It includes 132 States, while, in addition, sixteen chiefs belonging to it now possess no territory, but receive cash revenues paid by other chiefs, under the guarantee of the Government of India. Central India has a total area of

78,772 sq. miles, and its population in 1901 was 8,628,781.

Political relations with the Government of India are supervised by an Agent to the Governor-General, subordinate to whom are seven officers in charge of the Presidencies of Gwalior and Indore, and the Political Agencies of Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand, Bhopāl, Bhopāwar, Indore, and Mālwa. The principal chiefs are the *Mahārājas* (Hindus) of Gwalior, Indore, Rewah, Orchha, Dālia, Panna, Chhatāpur, and Charkhāt, the *Rāja* (Hindu) of Dhar, the *Begam* (Muhammadan) of Bhopāl, and the *Nawāb* (Muhammadan) of Jaura. Gwalior, the largest State, has an area of 26,041 sq. miles, and a population of 2,933,001; while Rewah has an area of 13,000 sq. miles, and a population of 1,327,885. No other State attains an area of 10,000 sq. miles or a population of a million.

As a political unit, Central India is entirely a creation of British rule, and its physical features and population both present great diversities. Near the southern border flows the Nerbada river, from east to west, in a broad valley between two ranges known as the Sātpurās and the Vindhya. North of the latter lies an extensive plateau, with an area of 84,000 sq. miles, including the tract known as Mālwa. East and north-east of the main plateau is a low-lying area of about 18,000 sq. miles, in which are situated Bundelkhand and part of Baghelkhand. The remainder of Central India, about 26,000 sq. miles, comprises the hilly tracts in the Vindhya and Sātpurās and their offshoots. The inhabitants of the plateau and of the plain alike live chiefly by cultivation, but differ in physical appearance, those of the low-lying tracts being shorter and more thickset than their neighbours to the west. In the hills are found hunting tribes such as Bhils, Gonds, and Korkus, with whom agriculture is a secondary occupation. Western Hindi is spoken by 4½ millions, and Eastern Hindi by 1½ millions, chiefly in the plains; various dialects of Rājasthāni by 1½ millions in the plateau, and Bhil dialects by ½ million.

2. History.—Early Sanskrit literature assigns most of Central India, as defined above, to the dark-skinned aboriginals; but in the 4th and 3rd cents. B.C. the Mauryas claimed jurisdiction over it, and Aśoka was viceroy at Ujjain. A fragment of an edict issued by him when he had become emperor, and had been converted to Buddhism, has been found at Sānchi, in the Bhopāl State, where a magnificent *stūpa*, with ornamented gateways and railing, is still standing. When the empire of the Mauryas broke up, Brāhmanism again revived among the Aryan settlers, and spread to some extent among the jungle tribes. It is worthy of note that the only known inscription on stone mentioning the Indo-Greek rulers of the Panjāb, which was found recently near the town of Bhilsa, in the Gwalior State, records the erection of a pillar in honour of Garuḍa, the emblem of Viṣṇu.

From the fragmentary historical records of early times, Central India appears to have been penetrated by the Śakas about the 2nd cent. B.C., while some of the jungle tribes held their own against the Guptas in the 4th cent. A.D. In the 5th and 6th cents. began the dominance of Rājput communities of Gūjara origin in this part of India, though their full conversion to Hinduism may date from three or four centuries later. At the end of the 10th cent., when Muhammadan invasions began, they were supreme, but divided into clans which carried on constant wars with each other. During the early Muhammadan period, the country suffered from fierce raids by the invaders, gradually paving the way for more complete subjection to protect the route from Delhi to Southern India, which lay through this tract. As the central power at Delhi waned, an independent dynasty rose to power in Mālwa (A.D. 1401 to 1581), but yielded at last to the neighbouring king of Gujaraṭ. Early in his reign Akbar incorporated the whole of Central India in his empire. At the death of Aurangzib, when the Mughals, like their predecessors, found themselves no longer able to retain their vast possessions, the Hindus again regained independence. From 1743 may be dated the beginning of Marāṭhā rule, which gradually spread over the whole tract, though fierce resistance was offered by the Bundelās in the east. Throughout the latter part of the 18th cent., Marāṭhā, Muhammadan, and British fought with each other, till the last prevailed. At the beginning of last century a policy of non-intervention was enjoined by the Directors of the East India Company, with evil results to the wretched populace of Central India, who suffered from the constant quarrels of their rulers. Under Lord Hastings, however, the Marāṭhās and the bands of freebooters, who had not only laid waste Central India, but had also raided adjacent British territory, were rapidly and effectively subdued. To Sir John Malcolm (1818-1821) is due the settlement under which the States of Central India took their present form. Apart from a brief war in Gwalior in 1843, and the Mutiny of 1857-59, Central India has since enjoyed peace.

3. Castes and religion.—Caste (*q.v.*) and religion are the two striking characteristics of the people of India.

(a) To obtain a view of *caste* in this area it is necessary to consider separately the natural divisions of the country. In the plateau the Brāhmins come of the same stock as those in the neighbouring parts of Rājputāna, such as the Mālvi, the Nimāri, and Srīgaur. Those dwelling in the plains are akin to those of the United Provinces, such as the Jijhotia. Over the whole area Brāhmins form 13 per cent of the Hindu population, and constitute the strongest single caste. The Rājputs or Kṣatriyas are fewer in number. Those who live in the plateau are chiefly offshoots of the great clans of Rājputāna proper, and maintain marriage connexions with them; but in the plains are found local groups, such as Bundēlas, Dhandheras, and Ponwārs or Parmārs, with whom the recognized Rājputs do not intermarry. The Marāthās now advance a claim to be considered Rājputs, and similar pretensions are advanced by the Bhilāla Bhūmīās in the hilly tracts, who afford an example of the absorption of aboriginal tribes by Hinduism. No peculiarity has been noticed among the Baniās, or trading castes, who belong to classes well known in Northern India. A considerable proportion are Mārwarīs from Rājputāna. By religion the Baniās are Hindus and Jains, but many professing Jains also reverence Hindu deities. As in the case of the two leading castes, the difference between the plateau and the plain is strongly marked among the lower castes. Thus, in the former, Gūjars, Mālis, and Kunbis are most important, while in the latter are found Ahirs, Gadariās, Kāchhis, and Lōdhīs. The chief hill tribes are the Arakhs, Bhoruds, Bhils, Bhilālas, Gond, Kirārs, Kols, Korkūs, Kotwāls, Minas, Patliās, and Seheriās.

(b) It is difficult to classify a population including such heterogeneous items by religion. The vast majority profess to be Hindus, but among the jungle tribes inhabiting the hilly tracts the distinction between Hinduism and Animism is hard to trace, and, indeed, the same may be said of the lower castes elsewhere. At the Census of 1901, as a rough guide, all members of the twelve hill tribes already named were classified as Animists. On this basis, Hindus numbered seven millions, and Animists one million; but, according to the census schedules, about two-thirds of the latter described themselves as Hindus. Central India thus presents a most interesting variety of religious belief—from the pantheism, which may be taken as the highest form of Hinduism, among educated people to the elementary Nature- and spirit-worship practised by the shy tribes dwelling in the jungles on the slopes of the Sātpurās and Vindhya.

An examination of the sects returned by Hindus shows, as elsewhere in India, that only a comparatively small proportion of the people really know to what sect they belong. About a million declared themselves to be Smārth. More than two and a half millions expressed their special reverence of Viṣṇu in one form or another, but few could state the particular Vaiṣṇava sect to which they belonged, such as Kabīrpanthī (125,000) or Rāmanandī (156,000). Those who professed to reverence Devī (975,000) or Śakti (759,000) must be taken as including not only the worshippers of female counterparts of the recognized gods, but also many whose deity is a local goddess or a special goddess of disease. Altogether about 650 sects or deities were returned by Hindus. Most rivers and many lakes or ponds are held sacred. Chief among these is the Narbadā, giving its name to the Narmdeo Brāhmins, who form the special priests at shrines on its banks. It is held so pure that the Ganges is believed to come annually, in the form of a black cow, to be cleansed from sin in

its sacred waters, returning white and purified. Its source near Amarkantak in the Rewah State, and Barwāni, are the most sacred spots on its course in Central India. One legend ascribes the origin of the Narbadā and the Son, which also rises at Amarkantak, to two tears dropped by Brahmā. The Sipra, a river of Mālwa, said to have sprung from the blood of Viṣṇu, and believed to flow with milk at times, is sacred throughout its course. To the Bhils and Kolis, dwellers in the wilds, no river is so holy as the Māhi, which they regard as their mother.

Altars to the snake-gods are found in nearly every village. Generally a low platform built round a snake's hole suffices, but sometimes a small shrine is built. Snakes are worshipped chiefly by women, in connexion with the bearing of children, but in Bundelkhand they are invoked to cure gout and rheumatism. Among the Bhils and Bhilālas the python is especially revered. Tree-worship presents no peculiarities compared with other parts of India, but a number of trees are revered by particular sections of the animistic tribes. Hero-worship is common, and fresh subjects are still acquiring their places in the pantheon.

As an example may be mentioned Hardaur or Hardol Lāla, whose worship is especially popular in Bundelkhand. He was the brother of the Rāja of Orchha, early in the 17th cent., and was poisoned by the latter in consequence of an unfounded belief that he had been unduly intimate with the Rāja's wife.

As many as 38,000 people returned themselves as *pret-pīṭak*, or worshippers of spirits, to whom offerings are commonly made at the foot of a tree supposed to be haunted by the spirit. Among the jungle tribes, spirit-worship is pre-eminent. Goats and cocks are offered at the *devasthān*, or god-place, where wooden benches are provided for the gods to sit on. The Bhils worship Bāba-deo, or the Father-god, in particular, but did not always return this name at the census. As is usual throughout India, disease has its gods and goddesses, chiefly the latter, and natural objects such as the sun and moon receive adoration. While orthodox Hinduism and the many lower forms of belief claim adherents among most of the population, the modern theistic sects, such as the Brāhma Samāj (*q.v.*) and Ārya Samāj (*q.v.*), have only a few hundred followers.

Other religions are not numerically important. Musalmāns in 1901 numbered 529,000, most of whom (450,000) were Sunnis, while Shī'ites included 50,000. They are proportionately most numerous on the plateau, in Mālwa, Indore, and Bhopāl. Contact with Hinduism, or, in the case of converts and their descendants, imperfect assimilation of the strict tenets of Islām, has caused a great development of hero-worship. Shrines of saints revered by Muhammadans, sometimes in common with Hindus, are found in all parts.

The Jains (113,000) are chiefly of the Digambara sect (55,000), worshipping a naked image, and most of the remainder (35,000) are Svetāmbaras, though Dhundias and Terapanthis are also found.

Christians are very few in number (8114), and less than half of the total (3715) are Indian. The chief Mission is the Canadian Presbyterian, with headquarters at Indore. The St. John's mission at Mhow, the Friends' mission at Indore, the Society of Friends of Ohio at Nowgong, the Hansley Bird and Pandita Rāma Bai's missions at Nimach, and Roman Catholic missions at various places are also at work. Most of the converts are obtained among aboriginal tribes, low castes, or orphans picked up in time of famine. A few Sikhs (chiefly soldiers), Parsis, and Jews were also recorded.

4. Sacred places.—Central India contains a number of places celebrated in the history of

religion, or for their religious buildings. Ujjain, anciently known as Avantī, is one of the most sacred Hindu cities in India, and is believed to be the place where the elbow of Sati fell when her body was dismembered by Śiva. It is also notable as the first meridian of Hindu geographers, and was known to Ptolemy as Ozene. Vikramāditya, the patron of Indian literature, reigned here, but his exact identification is still a subject of controversy. The group of Buddhist remains round Bhilsa, dating from the 3rd cent. B.C., has already been referred to. Besides *stūpas*, the remains of a *chaitya*, or Buddhist church, exist near Sānchi, and are of special interest as presenting the only known example of a building of this description, other *chaityas* being rock-cut constructions. Of the latter, examples are found dating from the 6th and the 12th centuries. Early Hindu and Jain temples are common in many parts, but the series from the 8th and the 15th cents. are the most numerous. They excel in beauty and proportions the later buildings of the 16th and 17th cents., when the influence of Muhammadan architecture had caused deterioration. Khajurāho in the Chhattarpur State may be specially mentioned for its magnificent Hindu and Jain temples, dating chiefly between 950 and 1050 A.D.

The earliest mosque of known date, which stands near Sehore, in the Bhopāl State, was built about 1332, but others of an early date and of striking grandeur are found at Māndu and at Dhār. Their style of architecture shows that, though designed by Muhammadans, they were built by Hindu workmen. In many cases their pillars were taken from Hindu temples.

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CENTRAL PROVINCES.—*Introductory.*—The Central Provinces of India cover an area of 113,281 sq. miles in the centre of the Indian peninsula, and comprise a large portion of the broad belt of hill and plateau country which separates the plains of Hindustān from the Deccan. They are administered by a Chief Commissioner, and have a population of eleven million persons; but in these statistics Berār, which since 1903 is also under the jurisdiction of the Chief Commissioner, and for most purposes of administration has been amalgamated with the Central Provinces, is not included. Being held on perpetual lease from the Nizām of Hyderabad, the Berār Districts are not, strictly speaking, a part of British India. But the distinction tends to become more and more nominal, and the two Provinces are gradually being amalgamated into a single unit of government. If the population of Berār be added to that of the Central Provinces, the combined total is nearly fourteen million persons, and the area 131,000 sq. miles. The religion of Berār (*q.v.*) forms the subject of a separate article.

The territory comprised in the Central Provinces has many aspects of interest. It was for long a comparatively unknown country to the Hindus, and was held principally by petty kings or chiefs (*rājās* and *zamīndārs*) of the non-Aryan or aboriginal tribes, designated by Risley as 'Dravidian.' Of these the principal are the Gonds (*q.v.*), numbering about two million persons, whose kings in former times ruled over the greater part of the Province; while other and older tribes are the Baigās (*q.v.*) and Kurkās (*q.v.*). From the 16th cent. the open country in the north of the Province, comprised in the Vindhyan plateau and Narbadā valley, has been peopled by emigrants from the plains of Hindustān; while in the 18th the Nāgpur plain, lying along the south of the

Sātpurā hills, and, farther to the east, the valley of the Waingāngā, were conquered and settled by Marāthā freebooters from Bombay. The Marāthā kingdom of Nāgpur under the Bhonsla dynasty existed for about a century, and lapsed to the British, owing to failure of heirs, in 1853; and eight years later it was constituted, with the already acquired Saugor and Narbadā territories to the north, into the new Central Provinces of British India. The population of the Province is thus of very diverse ethnical constitution. Owing to the large numbers of the primitive Dravidian tribes, and the backward state of even the Hindu residents as compared with the older civilizations of Hindustān, Bombay, and Madras to the north and south, the tract is one of considerable ethnological interest. In the religion of the people, rustic superstitions and the cult of the agricultural divinities of the soil and crops overshadow the orthodox observances of Hinduism. In the present article an attempt has been made to collect some of these, and to make of them, so far as is possible, a consecutive narrative. The village deities which are here described are represented, as a rule, only by a small platform of earth and a white flag tied to a post, which indicates the site from a little distance. Only the most important, as Śiva or Mahādeo, and Hanumān, have small stone shrines, provided perhaps by the generosity of some childless cultivator, who leaves a small sum of money for a temple and a plot of land to endow it. The village deities are in charge of a special priest, usually a member of one of the lower castes or primitive tribes, who makes offerings to them all two or three times a year on the principal festivals, the materials being subscribed by the villagers. On other occasions they are worshipped only by those who have some special end to gain, or some evil from which they desire to be delivered.

1. Village deities.—(1) *Śiva or Mahādeo.*—Śiva is the favourite deity of the great Hindu triad, but is almost universally known in the country as Mahādeo, or 'the great god,' his proper name being scarcely heard. He is revered generally as the chief or principal of the village deities, and is represented by a circular slab of stone, with a groove cut on its surface, and the *linga*, or phallic emblem, raised in the centre. A representation of his sacred animal, the bull Nandī, is usually placed before him. He is worshipped on Mondays, as being the god of the moon, which he carries on his forehead.¹ No animal sacrifices are made to him, but the trifoliate leaves of the *bel* (*Egle marmelos*), his sacred tree, as well as rice, sandal-paste, and flowers, may be offered by the more devout, while the ordinary worshipper simply pours a pot of water over his stone and sprinkles a few grains of rice upon it. In summer an earthen vessel full of water is sometimes supported on a tripod over the phallic stone, and a small hole is made in the bottom and covered with cloth, so that the water may drip through it on to the god, and keep him cool. Or a Brahman may be hired, by subscription of the villagers, to pour water over the stone continuously for a month or more. If the rains fail, the stone representing Mahādeo is sometimes kept immersed in a pot of water, and the people believe that this will bring rain, according to the principle of sympathetic magic.

The *bel* tree is connected with Mahādeo by a story that on one occasion a hunter was pursued by wild beasts and took refuge in this tree, beneath which there happened to be a shrine to the god. The hunter stayed awake in the tree all night, and was so terrified that his trembling shook off the dew from the foliage and caused it to fall on the shrine of the god beneath, together with some of the flowers and leaves of the tree. This involuntary

¹ The second day of the week is named after the moon in India as in Europe, being called Sonwār, from *sona*, the moon. As lord of the moon, Śiva or Mahādeo has the title of *Somnāth*.

act of worship was very pleasing to the god, and he ordained that the hunter, though of low caste and impure as a killer of animals, should attain to *Kailās*, or Paradise; and the hunter, on dying immediately afterwards, was transported thither. In memory of this, votaries of Mahādeo stay awake and fast all night on the full moon of the month of Phāgun, which is known as *Sivātri*, or *Siva's* night. The original veneration of the tree probably arose from the tripartite shape of its leaves, resembling the clover; and the story lends some colour to the hypothesis that *Siva* may have been, in some aspects at any rate, a deity of the primitive tribes, personified from the tree. His close association with the bull suggests another origin of his apotheosis. In the Marāthā country, *Siva* is worshipped in his incarnation of *Khaṇḍoba*, accompanied by or riding on a dog; *Khaṇḍoba* is a legendary hero who is supposed to have led the Marāthās against the Muhammadans. It was in his honour that women formerly swung themselves from a post by iron hooks fastened into their flesh, after naming a petition to his priest; and men dragged along a loaded cart by a hook planted in their bodies (Kitts, *Berār Census Report*, 1881, p. 44).

(2) *Devī, the consort of Śiva*.—*Devī*, the consort of *Siva* or Mahādeo, is a deity of Protean nature, venerated under several aspects. The word *devī* simply means 'goddess,' so that she is commonly spoken of as 'the goddess' *par excellence*, just as *Siva*, her husband, is called Mahādeo, or 'the great god.' Elsewhere she is best known as the terrible *Kālī* ('the black one'), the devourer of human flesh, represented with a void in place of a stomach, to show that her hunger can never be glutted. But here she is commonly of more beneficent mien, and is often the tutelary goddess of the village. Sometimes she appears to be one with the earth itself, or to be regarded as the Divine Mother, like *Isis* of Egypt. She is represented frequently by an iron prong with three points fixed in the ground, and, when possessed by the goddess, her votaries will thrust this prong through their tongue or cheeks. Clothes are offered to her at weddings, and people make an image of her in the form of a woman, and hang it round the necks of children to keep them from harm. Another name of the goddess is *Dūrga*, and she is said to be so called because her shrines are difficult of access, perched above steep ascents, or buried at the extremities of precipitous glens or in hidden caves at the sources of streams. It has been said that the Brāhmins know well how to call in the help of nature for the provision of a *mise en scène* calculated to impress the minds of votaries arriving at the shrine of the deity; but it seems more probable that the Hindu god or goddess has in such cases merely succeeded to the veneration formerly paid to the spirits by which these wild spots were believed to be tenanted. And no doubt the sanctity already attaching to the place determined its selection for the shrine of the new divinity.

In some cases also *Devī* takes the form of the well-known rag-deity, being known as *Chitarhai Devī*, 'the goddess of rags.' People give her a bit of old rag, hanging it on to a thorny tree, in the hope that in return for it they will obtain a new cloth. They say, 'O *Devī*, we give you our old cloth; give us a new one.' In other localities, however, the rag-deity is not associated with *Devī*, but is known as the Rag-uncle. Again, *Devī* has local titles by which she is specially worshipped, as the *Vindhyabāsinī Devī*, or the goddess of the *Vindhyān Hills*, just as the Greek deities were associated with special places. Probably here also she has taken over the attributes of some anterior and more animistic deity. Some castes have a special veneration for a particular shrine of the goddess at their ancestral home, and will go hundreds of miles to worship at it. In this case they, no doubt, make a distinction between the goddess in this particular place and her manifestations elsewhere. Again, a miracle is performed at some one of her temples, it acquires a special fame, and pilgrims come from a long distance to worship at it.

(3) *Cholera and smallpox deities*.—Sometimes *Devī* is said to be not one, but seven sisters, recalling the seven *Hāthors* of Egypt. The seven *Devis* are considered to preside over different diseases, but only two of them, *Marhai Devī*, the goddess of cholera, and *Sitalā Devī*, the goddess of smallpox, are commonly known and worshipped. When cholera breaks out, an earthen pot with wine, glass bangles, a cloth containing the image of the goddess in vermillion, a rupee, and some cakes and incense are offered to the goddess, and are then taken outside the village and left at a place where three roads meet. It is held that the offering of all kinds of property which the goddess values will cause her to spare the village and pass on elsewhere. The people also believe that, if any one takes up these articles, the disease will pass to him, and the sufferers in the village will get well. If a cow or she-buffalo passes them, she will become barren, or, if she is in milk, it will dry up. The vessel and other things are called the *nikāsi*, or 'averters,' and, if any one meets the priest at the time he is taking them out to the cross-roads, it is believed that he will die at once. Another device is to let loose a scape-goat, and drive it to the next village to carry the disease with it.

When a person has smallpox, he is believed to be possessed by *Sitalā Devī*. The house in which he lives is therefore held sacred, and any one who comes into it must take off his shoes and wash his feet, as if entering a sacred place. A Brāhman must not come in at all, as it is thought that his presence would cause the goddess to manifest herself more strongly and make the sufferer worse. A woman in her menstrual period must not enter the house, as it is believed that, if she sees the patient, he will get cataract in his eyes. Fire is kept continually burning on the earthen cooking-stove, and a lighted lamp is placed beside the patient, and must be fed with vegetable, not with mineral, oil. A branch of the *nim* tree, or Indian lilac (*Melia indica*), which is sacred to *Sitalā*, is hung over the door to show that there is smallpox in the house. Every word that the patient utters is considered to emanate from the goddess, and whatever kind of food or drink she demands through his mouth must be supplied (E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 32). The father and the mother of the patient practise various rules of abstinence, and make vows for the propitiation of the goddess if the patient should recover, more especially if it is a child. The mother will vow to walk to *Sitalā's* shrine carrying a brazier of lighted coals on her head, or to cover the whole distance stretching her body length by length along the ground, or to distribute in charity a quantity of sugar or dates equivalent to the weight of the child. A vow made by one father was to wear no turban until the child should have worshipped the goddess, and to perform the distance of the last four fields to her shrine in a series of somersaults (Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, or *Annals of Gujarat*, ii. 326 f.). If the child gets well, a cradle and a blank sheet of paper are offered to the goddess, with various kinds of food, the offering of the paper being made possibly with the idea that the child's face should be free from marks. If the disease attacks the eyes of a child, the mother offers a pair of silver eyes to the goddess in order to save them. In the Hindu scriptures *Sitalā* is described as 'naked, seated on a donkey, wearing a broken winnowing-fan on her head, with the pad of a water-vessel in one hand and a besom in the other, and as being of the Chāṇḍal (sweeper) caste' (Forbes, *loc. cit.*). She is, therefore, though feared and venerated above most deities owing to her power for harm, considered as, in a manner, despicable.

(4) *Hanumān, the monkey-god.*—Hanumān, the deified ape, is the favourite deity in the Marāṭhā districts. His principal attribute is strength, and he is considered to be the son of Añjani, or the wind, whence he is termed *Mārōti*, after the Marūts, or Vedic gods of the wind. His image is usually represented carved in half-relief on a stone slab inside a small alcove, and coloured with vermilion to represent blood. He is half monkey and half man, having a monkey's tail and head; while he carries a mountain in one hand and a staff in the other, and sometimes has a slain demon beneath his feet. He always looks towards the south, because he went that way to Ceylon to help Rāma against the demons. He is worshipped on Tuesdays and Saturdays, his power being invoked on the latter day to counteract the evil influences of the planet Saturn. A wreath of the flowers of the cotton-tree is offered to him, and incense of resin and sandalwood is burnt before his shrine. Hanumān is often the tutelary deity of the village, and, when a new one is to be founded, his image must be installed on the site and worshipped before the building of houses is begun.

(5) *Dūlha Deo, the young bridegroom.*—A favourite household deity is Dūlha Deo, the spirit of a young bridegroom who was carried off by a tiger on his way to his wedding. When a marriage is celebrated, a miniature coat, a pair of shoes, and a bridal crown are offered to Dūlha Deo, and sometimes also the model of a swing on which the child may amuse himself. Inside the house Dūlha Deo is represented by a date and a nut tied up in a small piece of cloth and hung on a peg in the wall. When worship is to be performed, the date and nut are taken down and set on a platform, and offerings of food and other articles are laid before the deity on leaf-plates. On the occasion of a marriage, or the birth of a first child, or in every third year, a goat is offered to Dūlha Deo.

The animal is brought before the platform, rice is given to it, its forehead is marked with red ochre, water is poured over it, and as soon as it shivers it is killed. The body is then cooked and eaten entire inside the house; and after the meal the skin, bones, and all other remains of the animal, with the leaf-plates which have held the food, are buried in a pit dug inside the room, and the water with which the eaters wash their hands is also thrown into the pit. The idea is that the whole body of the sacrificial animal must be consumed, and no fragment lost, which might, owing to the holy or tabued character imparted to it by consecration, do an injury to anybody regarding it as ordinary food.

In former times, as is shown by Jevons (*Introd. to Hist. of Rel.*, 1904, p. 144), the animal—skin, bones, and all—was consumed by the worshippers; but, this custom having become repugnant to the nicer stomach of civilized man, the burial of the remains is adopted as a substitute. The people also say that nothing which has been put into the sacrificial pit must on any account be taken out; and that, on one occasion, a child of the household having fallen by accident into the pit, the parents were debarred by their piety from rescuing it, and covered over the hole, leaving the child inside; but their zeal was rewarded, for, when the pit was opened for the next sacrifice, the child was found in it alive and playing.

2. *Deified human beings.*—The spirits of many heroic personages, legendary or real, are also revered, of which it will suffice to give one or two as specimens. A favourite deity in the north of the Province is Hardaur Lāla, a young Rājput prince, who was falsely suspected of loving his brother's wife, and was poisoned in consequence by his jealous brother. It is related that, when he died, his horses and dogs died with him. After he was burnt, a post was put up to mark the place, and when his sister, mourning for him, came and put her arms round it, the post split apart to show that he knew her. His ghost continued to wander unappeased until he was deified and worshipped. Clay horses are offered to him at marriages, and he is supposed to be able to keep off rain and storms during the ceremony. Another godling is Bhilat, a deified cowherd, who as a boy was stolen by the god Mahādeo, and brought up at his shrine in the

Pachmarhi Hills. Various miracles, of no special interest, are related of him, and his disciples are believed to have the power of curing snake-bite with the long sticks which they carry. It is noticeable that many deified mortals are of the caste of Ahirs, or cowherds; and Dait, or the spirit of some indefinite deified Ahir, is a common village godling. These men, owing to the long days spent in motionless solitude as they watch their cattle, are much inclined to reverie and to the belief in unseen voices and supernatural visions—leading, in the case of those most affected, to the claim of Divine possession, and, when this is recognized, to the somewhat easily obtained honour of canonization after death. The fact that the Ahirs tend the sacred cow may also have something to do with their character for piety.

3. *Worship of ancestors.*—The spirits of deceased ancestors are widely venerated. In the bardic chronicles the ordinary manner of recording a Rājput chief's death is to say that he became a *deo* (god), like the Roman emperors. In many villages the spirit of Māl Bāba, some former headman of strong personality, is included among the local deities. The famous Badhak dacoits were accustomed to revere the spirit of the most successful robber in the annals of their community, to invoke his aid before setting out on any fresh enterprise of plunder, and to take the omens in his name. The Banjāras, or carriers on pack-bullocks, who also added highway robbery and cattle-reiving to their legitimate calling, worshipped Mithu Bhūkia, a renowned freebooter of past times. In each hamlet a hut was set apart for him, with a white flagstaff before it; on the return from a successful robbery, a share of the spoil was allotted to him, and, after food and liquor had been offered before his flagstaff, Mithu Bhūkia's share was expended in a feast to the community. Among Hindus generally, the fortnight of the waning moon in the month of Kunwār (September) is allotted to the veneration of ancestors, being known as *Pitripakṣ*, or 'the Fathers' Fortnight.' During this time offerings of food and water are made to the ancestors of the family on the same day in the fortnight as that on which they died in any other period of the year;¹ while the spirits of all female ancestors receive offerings on the ninth day.

According to one account, the Brāhmins think that the spirits of their deceased ancestors dwell on the under side of the moon; but the common people suppose them to be incarnate in crows, so that food is given to these birds as a propitiation to their spirits. Members of the agricultural Kunbi caste are especially assiduous in feeding the crows with this end in view; and, when the Kunbi throws out food and no crows come to eat it, he thinks it is because his ancestors are displeased with him, and that the fare he has offered is not acceptable; so he goes on trying one dainty after another, until at length a crow appears and picks up the food. Then he thinks he has found out what his ancestors like best to eat, and offers this annually until a similar *contretemps* of the absence of crows again occurs.

The Koshtis, or silk-weavers, have another method. On one evening in the *Pitripakṣ* fortnight a man will invite his caste-fellows to a meal. On this occasion the host stands in the doorway of the house with a pounding-pestle, and as each guest comes up he bars his entrance and says, 'Are you one of my ancestors? This feast is for my ancestors.' To this the guest will reply, 'Yes, I am your great-grandfather; take away the pestle.' By this symbolism the resourceful Koshti is able to combine the entertainment of his friends with the difficult dīlī duty of feeding the spirits of his ancestors.

In some localities the Gonds make a little brass image of a dead relative and keep it with the household gods. If the family remains undivided, these relics naturally accumulate, and opportunity is taken of the death of some revered ancestor to bury the majority of them with him. A special veneration must be paid to those who have died a violent or sudden death (Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, 1909, p. 61 f.), for it is held that the ghosts of such men, owing to their sharp and untimely severance from

¹ The Hindus number the days from one to fifteen in each fortnight of the Ānar month separately.

life, have a grudge against the living, and haunt them in the shape of *bhūts*, or evil spirits.

Thus the primitive tribes think that the spirit of a man who has been killed by a tiger will sit on the head of the tiger and guide him to any lonely or belated wayfarer in the forest; and that he will call to such persons in a human voice so that they, proceeding in the direction from which the voice has come, may fall into the tiger's jaws. Accordingly, among the cultivators of the Wainganga valley, when a man has been killed by a tiger (*bāgh*), he is deified and worshipped as *Bāgh Deo*. A hut is made in the yard of the house, and an image of a tiger is placed inside and venerated on the anniversary of the man's death. The members of the household also will not afterwards kill a tiger, as they consider the animal to have become a member of the family. A man who is bitten by a cobra (*nāga*) and dies is similarly worshipped as *Nāg Deo*. The image of a snake made of silver or iron is venerated, and the family will not kill a snake. If a man is killed by some other animal, or by drowning, or by a fall from a tree, his spirit is worshipped as *Ban Deo*, or the forest-god, with similar rites, being represented by a little lump of rice and red lead. If the corpses of such persons are recovered, they are buried and not cremated, and the bodies of victims to cholera and smallpox are disposed of in the same manner; because it is thought that their spirits will thus, to a certain extent, be imprisoned in the grave and impeded from wandering about their old haunts. The spirit of a woman who dies in childbirth, or between the birth and the performance of the sixth day ceremony of purification, becomes a *churel*; her feet are turned backwards, she casts no shadow, and she follows and worries any woman who comes near the place where she sits. When such a woman dies, a nail is sometimes driven through her head to prevent her ghost from rising and walking.

4. Deified animals and natural objects.—From the host of minor deities of the hills, forests, fields, and rivers, a few selections may be given. *Banjāra Deo*, named after the Banjāra pack-carriers, lives in the forest, and travellers appeal to him to protect them from the attacks of wild beasts. He is represented by a heap of stones by the roadside at the entrance of the forest, and every traveller makes his supplication by adding a stone to the heap. But, now that carriage is principally by carts, the cartmen have a separate deity whose business it is to see that their wheels run smoothly. His name is *Ongan Pat*, or the oil-god. He lives in a hollow tree at the bottom of hills, and the cartmen pour into his hole a little of the oil with which they grease their axles, so that their carts may reach the top of the hill without breaking down. *Dongar Pat* (*dongar*, a hill) is the hill-godling who prevents earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, and keeps off frost. There is often some hill in the neighbourhood, on which, as the people tell, a light appears at times during the night and burns for half an hour; this is a manifestation of *Dongar Pat*. *Maswāsi Pat* is the god of hunting, and hunters make an offering to him before setting out on expeditions. He is supposed to influence a certain part of the forest, and will bring game into it in view of the hunter if he is in a benignant mood. *Asrā* is the goddess of water, and lives near rivers. The milk of a cow or buffalo is offered to her for the first three days after calving, as, if this is not done, she will drink the milk, and the animal will become barren. *Kurm Pat* is the god of bees, and it is said that in former times warriors worshipped him in the hope that he would make the wild bees fly in the faces of their enemies. But now those who collect honey from the combs of the wild bees worship *Kurm Pat* before setting out to their work, in order that he may save them from being stung. *Anjan Deo* is the forest-god in the Nimār District, and his name is taken from the *anjan* tree (*Hardwickia binata*), which grows in abundance in that locality. Those who go to cut timber offer a coco-nut to *Anjan Deo*, in order that their fellings may be successful and their carts may not break down on the way back. *Sāmbhar Deo* is the godling who controls the wild animals of the forest; he is the deified *sāmbhar* stag (*Cervus unicolor*), and is worshipped by those whose fields are near the forest, in order that he may prevent the wild animals from damaging their crops. The old forts built with walls of stone or

earth, which are found in many villages, are a relic of the stormy period of the Pindāri robber raids of a century back, when the villagers fled to them for protection, with their property and cattle, at a moment's notice, on the news of the approach of these marauders. One of the towers of such a fort is usually believed to be inhabited by a *pīr*, or the spirit of a Muhammadan saint, who acts as its guardian angel. He is worshipped by the proprietor of the village, who burns incense before him on Thursdays, and sometimes keeps a lighted lamp at his shrine for an hour or two every day. The *pīr* is a jealous personage, and, if neglected, he will cause stones to fall down inside the house, or make the milk go sour, in order to recall his indolent worshipper to a sense of his duty. *Rakot Soka* is the godling who is the enemy of children, drinking their blood, and making them grow weak and waste away without visible cause. Vows are made to him for the recovery of the child, and, if it does recover, he is worshipped with great ceremony, the child being brought before him while the *hom*, or fire-sacrifice, is performed, and an offering made to the accompaniment of musical instruments. A very curious deity is *Chhappan Deo*, who is worshipped by a man when his wife has run away. *Chhappan*, or 'Fifty-six,' is taken to represent the largest number of places to which she may have gone, and he prays that she may not have fled to any of these, but to her mother's house. *Bhūlan Bāba* ('Father forgetting,' from *bhūlana*, 'to forget,' and *bāba*, 'father') is the godling who makes people forget things and leave them lying where they have halted by the way. Offerings are made to him when the lost articles are found.

5. Worship of caste implements.—In addition to the numerous deities who superintend almost every action or relation of life, members of each caste venerate the implements with which they ply their trade or earn their livelihood. Instances of this custom have been collected by Nesfield (*Brief View of the Caste System*):

'The boating and fishing castes sacrifice a goat to every new boat before it is put into the water, and at the time of the Diwālī (the feast of lamps, marking the commencement of the Hindu commercial year, and falling in November) they make an annual offering of vermillion, flowers, and sweetmeats to every boat they possess. Similarly all the pastoral castes pay a kind of worship to their animals by rubbing red ochre on their tails, horns, and foreheads; this is done on the annual festivals of Diwālī, Holi,¹ and Nāgpanchami.² The agricultural castes pay worship to the plough on the day called *Akti*, when the monsoon sets in and the work of cultivation is renewed. The Barai, or grower of the betel-vine, pays homage to the vine in October, before he begins to pick the leaf; and in July, before planting the new crop, he does homage to the ground prepared for the purpose. On the great annual festival of the Dasahra, which is especially sacred to Rājpūts, all men of this caste worship their weapons of war—the sword, shield, matchlock, and bow and arrow—and the animals used in war—the horse and the elephant. Artisan castes worship the tools by which they practise their respective crafts, chiefly on the Holi. The Basor ('basket-maker') worships the knife with which he splits the bamboo and cane; the Chamār ('tanner') worships the *rāmpzi*, or currier's knife; the Bunkar or Kori ('weaver'), the apparatus with which cloth is woven; the Telī ('oilman'), his oil press; the Kālār ('liquor-seller'), an earthen jar filled with wine; and the Kumhār, his potter's wheel. Artisan castes of higher rank worship their various tools on the Diwālī festival, which to the more respectable castes marks the opening of the new year: the Rangrez ('dyer') reverts a jar filled with dye; the Halwai, or confectioner, does honour to his oven by placing against it a lamp lighted with melted butter. The trading castes invariably bring out their rupees and account-books on the Diwālī festival, and worship them as the implements of their trade. The Kayasth, or writer caste, does homage to the pen and ink.'

6. Spirits of trees and plants.—Not less are trees and plants considered to be sentient and the abodes of spirits. A common superstition is the belief that trees must not be struck at night lest the sleep of the tree-spirit may be disturbed. The

¹ The Holi is the Hindu Saturnalia, or Carnival, falling in February at the end of their calendar year.

² The festival for the worship of snakes, especially the cobra. Wrestling is held on this day, because the movements of the wrestler resemble the convolutions of a snake.

Hindus clean their teeth with a *dāton*, or tooth stick, consisting of a twig taken from any tree; but, if they break the first twig, it is considered wrong to take another, because it is equivalent to destroying two lives. With some people it is the custom before climbing a tree to pray for its pardon for the rough usage to which it is to be subjected. If a mango tree withers for a time and then grows again, it is considered that the tree-spirit has been absent on a pilgrimage. When a mango grove is planted, every tree has to be married to a twig of jasmine. The spirits of Brāhman boys who die unmarried are supposed to take up their residence in the sacred *pīpal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and it is believed that the spirit of the tree has thus the power of making barren women fertile, the custom being that such a woman, having taken off her clothes, shall walk round the tree at night a certain number of times.

7. Totemism.—While the belief in the universal existence of spirits, which is termed Animism, is still widely prevalent, the cognate superstition of totemism is now traceable only in a decaying form. The majority of the castes and tribes in the Central Provinces are divided into a number of exogamous septs or clans, governed by the rule that a man and woman of the same clan may not marry. These clans are very frequently named after animals and plants from which at one time the members of the clan considered themselves to be descended, this being one of the essential ideas of the primitive belief known as totemism. But this idea has now been either forgotten or abandoned, and except in a few instances can no longer be considered as a working force. In many cases the members of a clan named after some animal will abstain from killing it or eating its flesh, while those named after a tree will not cut it down or use the wood. The more backward tribes, if they come across the dead body of one of their totem animals, will bathe and wash their clothes, and throw away an earthen pot, as if they had been rendered impure by the death of a relative. At marriages an image or drawing of the totem animal or plant is sometimes made and worshipped, and a portion of the *mehar*, or sacrificial marriage-cake, which is partaken of only by relatives of the family, may be given to the live animal or left at its hole or den. Members of the primitive Bhaina tribe must be tattooed with representations of their totem before marriage, as a proof that they are proper members of their respective clans. But the more interesting developments of totemism recorded among the aboriginal Australians and the American Indians can no longer be observed in the Central Provinces.

8. Agricultural rites and superstitions.—Nearly four-fifths of the population live by the land, and, as might be expected, the operations of agriculture are attended with an elaborate religious ritual, some details of which will form a suitable conclusion to this article.

Before sowing begins, an auspicious day, known as *mahūrāt*, must be fixed by a Brāhman, who also declares what kind of rice should first be sown, what is an auspicious letter or syllable for the commencement of the sower's name, and what colour the bullock should be which is first yoked (C. E. Low, *Balaghāt District Gazetteer*, p. 83). If the tenant does not possess a bullock of the colour prescribed, he will get over this by applying to the forehead of his own bullocks a mark of the required colour. Monday and Friday are generally considered lucky days for the commencement of sowing, and Tuesday and Saturday unlucky days. In the wheat districts the completion of sowing is celebrated by the *Machhandri Pūja*, or worship of Mother Earth—a ceremony meant to invoke fertility.

At the edge of one of his fields the cultivator puts up a little circular or triangular wall of clods, which is meant to represent a hut. This is covered over with green grass as if it were thatched, and represents the temple of Mother Earth. Inside it a little fire is made, and milk is set to boil in a tiny earthen pot, which is allowed to boil over as a sign of abundance. While this is going on, the ploughmen, who are all collected in the field, drive their ploughs at a trot, shrieking wildly. The cultivator meanwhile offers a little rice, sugar, and vermilion to *Machhandri*, and then makes two tiny holes in the ground to represent *bandās*, or granaries, drops in a few grains of wheat, and covers them over. This is a symbol of prayer that his granary may be filled from the produce of the land. The bullocks are then let go, and the ploughmen rush off at top speed across country, scattering wheat boiled whole as a sign of abundance. In some localities the first seed should be sown by a pregnant woman, and no barren woman or widow is permitted to enter the field (O. A. Elliott, *Hoshangabad Settlement Report*, p. 125).

In the rice districts the oldest man in the house sometimes cuts the first five sheaves of the crop, and they are left in the field for the birds to eat. At the end of harvest the last one or two sheaves are left standing in the field, and any one who likes can cut and carry them away. In some localities the last sheaves are known as *Barhona*, or the giver of increase. When all the rest is cut, the labourers rush together at this last patch of corn and tear it up by the roots; everybody seizes as much as he can and keeps it, the master having no share in it. Elsewhere they throw the corn into the air, shouting out the name of their favourite deity. It is then made into a sheaf, stuck on a bamboo, placed in the last harvest cart, and driven home in triumph. It is afterwards bound to a tree beside the threshing-floor or in the cattle-shed, where its services are essential in averting the evil eye. The underlying idea in this is that the last handful of corn contains the corn-spirit, and when it is cut he flies away or his life is extinguished. The same belief prevails in many parts of the world, as recorded by Frazer (*GB*² ii. 171 ff.).

In the wheat districts, when the earth of the threshing-floor has been beaten hard and surrounded by a strong fence, the god of the threshing-floor is placed within, in the shape of a stone daubed with vermilion. A pot of water from a sacred stream is also set here to scare away evil spirits. During threshing-time, if any beggar comes to the ground, he must be given some grain to propitiate him, or he will cast the evil eye on the crop. In the rice districts, on the conclusion of a day's threshing, the cultivator rubs a wisp of straw on the forehead of each bullock, and pulls a hair from its tail, and the hairs and straw, made into a bundle, are tied to the pole of the threshing-floor. The cultivator prays: 'O God of Plenty, enter here full and go out empty.' Before leaving the threshing-floor for the night, he draws circles on the ground, round the pole of the threshing-floor and the heap of grain, with the ashes of burnt straw. Outside the circles he makes representations of the sun, the moon, a lion, and a monkey, or of a cart and a pair of bullocks. Next morning before sunrise the ashes are swept away by waving a winnowing-fan over them. The meaning of this process is that the face of the threshing-floor is disfigured by the black marks in order that the evil eye may be averted from it, exactly as women place lampblack on their eyes for the same purpose.

Winnowing in the wheat districts is a very solemn and important operation, not lightly to be commenced without consultation of the stars.

The winnowing-place is cleaned and plastered with cowdung, and a circle is made of ashes, into which none may go with his shoes on. When the village priest has given the *mahūrāt* ('auspicious time'), the cultivator and his family go to the threshing-floor, and, washing the stake with water, make offerings to it and to the heap of threshed grain. The boiled wheat of the offering is sprinkled about, in the hope that the *bhūts* ('spirits') may content themselves with it, and not take any of the harvested corn. Then the master stands on the three-legged stool, and, taking five basketfuls from the threshed

heap, winnows them. After winnowing, the grain and chaff are collected again and measured, and if the five baskets are turned out full, or anything remains over, it is a good omen; if they cannot fill the baskets, the place where they began winnowing is thought unlucky, and it is removed to another part of the threshing-floor. The five basketfuls are presented to a Brâhman, or distributed in the village, and not mixed with the rest of the harvest. After this, winnowing can go on whenever a good wind blows, but no artificial means are ever employed for making a blast. So long as winnowing proceeds, the corn-basket must never be set down on its bottom, but always upside down; otherwise the spirits would use the basket to carry off the grain (Elliott, *op. cit.* p. 78).

In the rice districts, before the grain is measured, it must be stacked in the form of a trapezium, with the shorter end to the centre, and not in that of a square or oblong heap. The measurer sits or stands with his back to the west—the unlucky quarter of the day—having the shorter end of the heap on his left hand. By the larger end of the heap are laid the reaping-hook, a winnowing fan, the rope by which the bullocks are tied to the threshing-pole, one or two branches of the wild plum tree, and the twisted bundle of straw and hairs of the bullocks which had been tied to the threshing-pole. Five balls of cowdung are laid on the grain, and the *hom*, or fire-sacrifice, is offered to the heap. The measurer must not speak at all during this work, and he ties knots in a piece of cloth or string to keep count of the number of baskets. He must always wear a turban. He never quite empties his measure while the work is going on, as it is feared that, if he did this, the god of abundance would leave the threshing-floor.

The spirits rob the grain till it is measured, thinking they cannot be found out, but when once it has been measured they are afraid of detection. It is considered unlucky for any one who has ridden on an elephant to enter the threshing-floor, but a person who has ridden on a tiger brings luck. Consequently the forest Gonds and Baigas, if they capture a young tiger and tame it, will take it round the country, and the cultivators pay them a little to give their children a ride on it. The cultivators think that each grain should bear a hundred-fold, but they do not get this, since it is taken by Kuver, the treasurer of the gods, or Bhainsâsur, the buffalo demon, who lives in the fields. Bhainsâsur is worshipped when the rice is coming into ear, and, if the cultivators think he is likely to be mischievous, they give him a pig, but otherwise a smaller offering. When the standing corn in the fields is beaten down at night, they think that Bhainsâsur has been passing over it. He also steals the crop while it is being out and is lying on the ground. Once Bhainsâsur was absent while the particular field in the village from which he stole his annual provision was cut and the crop removed, and afterwards he was heard crying that all his grain for the year had been lost.

LITERATURE.—P. Drysdale, *Central Provinces Census Reports*, Nagpur, 1881; B. Robertson, *ib.*, Calcutta, 1891; R. V. Russell, *ib.*, Nagpur, 1901; C. Grant, *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, Bombay, 1871; *Central Provinces District Gazetteers*, Allahabad, Bombay, and Calcutta, 1905-1910; E. J. Kitts, *Berar Census Report*, Bombay, 1881; C. A. Elliott, *Settlement Report of the Hoshangabad District*, Allahabad, 1897; C. E. Low, *District Gazetteer of the Balaghat District*, Allahabad, 1907; W. Crooke, *Pop., Rel., and Folk-lore of N. India*, London, 1898; A. K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ, or Annals of Gujarat*, London, 1878; J. C. Nesfield, *Brief View of the Caste System of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1885; E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk-Tales*, London, 1908. R. V. RUSSELL.

CERBERUS.—1. When Hermes, the guide of the dead, brings souls to Pluto's kingdom, they are received at the River of Woe by Charon, the grim boatman, who ferries them across, provided the passage money has been placed in their mouths and their bodies have been duly buried in the world above. Pluto's house has a janitor Cerberus (Gr. *Kerberos*), sometimes friendly, sometimes snarling, when new guests arrive, but always hostile to them that would depart. Honey cakes are provided for those that are about to go to Hades—the 'sop to Cerberus.' This dog, nameless and undescribed, Homer mentions simply as the dog of Hades. Herakles, as the last and chief test of his strength, snatches him from the horrible house of Hades. First Hesiod (*Theog.* 311), and next Stesichorus, who wrote a poem on the subject (see Pollux, x. 152), discover his name to be Kerberos. The former makes him born of Typhaon and Echidna, and describes him as the irresistible, ineffable flesh-devourer, the voracious, brazen-voiced, fifty-headed dog of hell. Plato in his *Republic* (588 C) refers to the composite nature of Kerberos. Not until Apollodorus (II. v. 12) in the 2nd cent. B.C. comes the familiar description. Kerberos now has three dog heads and a dragon tail, and his back is covered with the heads of serpents.

Classic art has taken up Cerberus very generously; but its treatment is far from being as definite as that of the Greek and Roman poets. Statues, sarcophagi, and vase-paintings whose theme is Hades, or scenes laid in Hades, represent him as a ferocious Greek collie, often encircled with serpents, and with a serpent for a tail; but there is no certainty as to the number of his heads. Often he is three-headed in art as in literature, as may be seen conveniently in the reproductions in Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums* (3 vols., Munich, 1885-88). Very familiar is the statue, in the villa Borghese, of Pluto enthroned, with three-headed Cerberus by his side. A Greek scarabæus shows a pair of lovers, or a married couple, who have died at the same time, crossing in Charon's ferry, awaited on the other side by three-headed Cerberus. On the other hand, a bronze in Naples shows Herakles engaged in leading a two-headed Cerberus from Hades. This last of the wonderful deeds of Herakles is a favourite theme of vase-pictures; the dog is generally two-headed. Such a Cerberus may be seen in Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder* (Berlin, 1840-47), ii. 131, or in Norton's reproduction of an amphora in the Louvre (*Amer. Journ. of Archaeology*, xi. 14).

2. Neither Greek literature nor Greek art, however, really seems to fix either the shape or the nature of Cerberus. It was left to the Roman poets to say the last word about him. They finally settled the number of his heads, or the number of his bodies found in one. He is *triceps*, 'three-headed'; *triplex* or *tergeminus*, 'threefold'; *triformis*, 'of three bodies'; or simply *Tricerberus*. Tibullus (III. iv. 88) states explicitly that he has both three heads and three tongues (*cui tres sunt lingue tergeminumque caput*). Vergil (*Æn.* vi. 417) has huge Cerberus barking with triple jaws; his neck bristles with serpents. Ovid (*Metam.* x. 21) makes Orpheus, searching for Eurydice in Tartarus, declare that he did not go down in order that he might chain the three necks, shaggy with serpents, of the monster begotten of Medusa. His duties also are determined for all time; he is the terrible, fearless, and watchful janitor or guardian (*janitor*, or *custos*) of Orcus, the Styx, Lethe, or the black kingdom. And so he remains for modern poets, as when Dante, reproducing Vergil, describes him (*Inferno*, vi. 22 ff.):

'When Cerberus, that great serpent, us had seen,
His mouth he opened and his tusks were shown,
And not a limb was as it erst had been.
And then my Leader, with his palms out-thrown,
Took of the earth, and filling full his hand,
Into those hungry gullets flung it down.'

3. Classical explanations of Cerberus's shape are feeble and foolishly rationalistic. Heraclitus (Περὶ ἀλυσαν, 331) states that Kerberos had two pups. They always attended their father, therefore he appeared to be three-headed. The mythographer Palaiphatos (39) states that Kerberos was considered three-headed from his name Τρικάρηνος, which he obtained from the city of Trikakrenos in Phlissia. The late Roman rationalistic mythographer Fulgentius states that Petronius defined Cerberus as the lawyer of Hades—apparently because of his three jaws, or the cumulative glibness of his three tongues. Fulgentius himself has a *fabula* in which he says that Cerberus means *Creaboros*, that is, 'flesh-eater,' and that the three heads of Cerberus are, respectively, infancy, youth, and old age, through which death has entered the circle of the earth (*per quas introiit mors in orbem terrarum*).

4. India is the home of the Cerberus myth in its clearest and fullest development. Early Hindu conceptions of a future life are auspicious and quite the reverse of sombre. In the main, life after death does not include the notion of hell

The early visions are simple, poetic, and cheerful. The bodies of the dead are burned, and their ashes are consigned to earth. But this is viewed merely as a symbolic act of preparation—cooking it is called outright—for another life of joy. The righteous forefathers of old have found another good place. Especially Yama, the first mortal, has gone on to the great rivers on high; like a pioneer, he has searched out the way to the highest heaven where beams unfading light, where flow eternal waters, where every wish is fulfilled on the rich meadows of Yama. Day by day Yama sends forth two dogs, his messengers, to search out among men those that are to join the fathers, who are holding revel and rejoicing in Yama's company.

The Rigveda contains three stanzas (X. xiv. 10-12) which refer to the dogs: it is quite clear that we are dealing with the conception of Cerberus. In stanza 10 the two dogs are conceived as ill-disposed creatures, standing guard to keep the departed souls out of bliss. The soul, on its way to heaven, is addressed as follows: 'Run past straightway the two spotted four-eyed dogs, the brood of Saramā; enter in among the propitious fathers who hold high feast with Yama.' A later Vedic text, the book of house-rites of Āśvalāyana, has the notion of the sop to Cerberus: 'To the two dogs born in the house of Yama, Vivasvat's son, to the dark and the spotted, I have given a cake; do ye guard me ever on my road.' The 12th stanza of the Rigveda hymn strikes a different note, which suggests both good and evil in the character of the two dogs: 'The two brown, broad-nosed messengers of Yama, life-robbing, wander among men. May they restore to us to-day the auspicious breath of life, that we may behold the sun!' The part of the Cerberi here is not in harmony with their function in stanza 10; instead of debarring men from the abodes of bliss, they pick out the dead that are ultimately destined for boon companionship with Yama. The same idea is clearly expressed in two passages of the Atharvaveda (V. xxx. 6 and VIII. i. 9). The 11th stanza of Rigveda X. xiv. presents the two dogs as guides of the soul (ψυχοπόμοιοι) to heaven: 'To thy two four-eyed, round-guarding, man-beholding watchdogs entrust him, O king Yama, and bestow on him prosperity and health!' It follows that the two Cerberi were originally located in heaven.

A legend of the Brāhmaṇa texts, the Hindu equivalent of the Talmud, tells explicitly that there are two dogs in heaven, and that these two are Yama's dogs. There were Asuras (demons) named Kālakāñjas. They piled up a fire altar in order to obtain the world of heaven. Man by man they placed a brick upon it. The god Indra, passing himself off for a Brāhmaṇa, put on a brick for himself. They climbed up to heaven. Indra pulled out his brick; they tumbled down. They who tumbled down became spiders; two few up and became the two heavenly dogs, the dogs of Yama (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I. i. 2 and *Maitrayaṇi Saṁhitā* I. vi. 9).

Other Brāhmaṇa texts carry the explanation of the two dogs to a clear conclusion. The *Kaṭha Saṁhitā* xxxvii. 14 says: 'These two dogs of Yama, verily, are day and night'; the *Kausītaki Brāhmaṇa*, stating the names of the two dogs, Syāma and Sabala (the dark and the spotted), says: 'Sabala is the day; Syāma is the night.' The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (v. vii. 19) correlates the two dogs with the time-markers in heaven. In this passage sundry parts of the sacrificial horse are assigned to four cosmic phenomena in the following order: (1) sun and moon; (2) Syāma and Sabala (the two dogs of Yama); (3) dawn; (4) evening twilight. They occur here as special poetic designations of sun and moon; a passage in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* states explicitly: 'The moon, verily, is the divine dog; he looks down upon the cattle of the sacrificer'; and a

passage in the Kashmir version of the Atharvaveda says: 'The four-eyed dog (the moon) surveys by night the sphere of the night.' The epithet 'four-eyed' makes it certain that the dog, the moon, is one of the dogs of Yama.

In the theosophic Upaniṣads also the soul must pass the two dogs before it can be released from the round of existences (*samsāra*) and be absorbed in Brahman. The *Kāuṣītaki Upaniṣad* (I. ii. 2) arranges that all who leave this world go first to the moon, the moon being the door of the world of light. The *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (vi. 38) sketches salvation as follows. When a mortal no longer approves of wrath, but ponders upon the true wish, he penetrates the veil that encloses the Brahman, and breaks through the concentric circles of sun, moon, fire, etc., that occupy the ether. Only then does he behold the Supreme Being. And the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (viii. 13) has the same idea, mentioning both moon and sun by their ancient names and in their capacity as dogs of Yama. The soul of the aspirant for fusion with Brahman resorts alternately to Syāma (the moon-dog) and Sabala (the sun-dog): 'From Syāma (the moon) do I resort to Sabala (the sun); from Sabala to Syāma. Shaking off sin as a steed shakes off the loose hairs of its mane, casting aside my body, my real self delivered, do I enter into the uncreated world of Brahman.'

It is clear that the two dogs of Yama, the heavenly dogs, are sun and moon. On the one hand, the exhortation to the dead to run past the two dogs in order to get to heaven suits the idea of the two heavenly bodies coursing across the sky. On the other hand, by an easy though quite contrary change of mental position, the same two heavenly dogs are the guides who guard the way and look upon men benignly: hence they are ordered by Yama to take charge of the dead, and to furnish them such health and prosperity as the shades may require. Again, with an equally simple shift of position, sun and moon move among men as the messengers of death: by night and by day human beings perish while these alternate in their presence among men.

5. The Avesta has reduced the Cerberus myth to stunted rudiments. In *Vendidad* xiii. 9 the killing of dogs is forbidden, because the dogs that keep the Chinvat bridge (the bridge to Paradise [see BRIDGE]) will not 'help him when dead, despite his cries of terror and woe.' When a man dies, as soon as the soul has parted from the body, the evil corpse-demon (Druj Nasu) from the regions of hell falls upon the dead. The demon is expelled from the dead by means of the 'look of the dog': a 'four-eyed dog'—in practice a dog with a spot over each eye—is brought near the body, and is made to look at the dead, whereupon the demon flees back to hell (*Vendidad* viii. 14-22).

6. Norse mythology also contains certain animal pairs which seem to reflect the Cerberus idea. At the feet of Odhin lie his two wolves, Geri and Freki, 'Greedy' and 'Voracious.' They hurl themselves across the lands when peace is broken. The virgin Menglōdh sleeps in her wonderful castle on the mountain called Hyfja, guarded by the two dogs Geri and Gífr, 'Greedy' and 'Violent,' who take turns in watching; only alternately may they sleep as they watch the Hyfja mountain: 'One sleeps by night, the other by day, and thus no one may enter' (*Eðelsvinnsmál*, 16). It is not necessary to suppose any direct connexion between this fable and the Vedic myth, but the root of the thought is alternating sun and moon coursing dangerously across the sky.

7. The epithet 'four-eyed,' which is assigned to the dogs in the mythology of the Veda and the Avesta, is not altogether clear. It may possibly

contain a tentative fusion of the two dogs in one. The capacity of the two dogs to see both by day (the sun) and by night (the moon) may have given the myth a start in the direction of the two-headed Greek Kerberos. But there is the alternate possibility that 'four-eyed' is but a figure of speech for sharp-sighted. Certainly the god Agni, 'Fire,' is once (*Rigveda* i. xxxi. 13) called 'four-eyed,' which can only mean 'sharp-sighted'—an obviously suitable poetic conception of fire.

8. The two dogs of Yama derive their proper names from their colour epithets. The passages cited above make it clear that Syāma, 'the black,' is the moon-dog, and that Sabala, 'the spotted or brindled,' is the sun-dog. More than a hundred years ago the Anglo-Indian Wilford (in *Asiatick Researches*, iii. 409) wrote: "Yama, the regent of hell, has two dogs, one of them named Curbura, or varied; the other Syama, or black." He then compares *Curbura* with Greek *Kerberos*, of course. The form *Curbura* he obtained from his consulting pandits, who explained the name Sabala by the Sanskrit word *karbura*, 'variegated,' a regular gloss of the Hindu scholiasts. About fifty years later a number of distinguished scholars of the past generation, Theodor Benfey, Max Müller, and Albrecht Weber, again compared *Sabalas* with Greek *Kerberos*. Though the comparison suffers from a slight phonetic difficulty, it is rather surprising that the two languages have not manipulated their respective versions of the word so as still further to increase the phonetic distance between them.

9. But whether the names *Sabalas* and *Kerberos* are identical or not, the myth itself is clear. The explanation by means of the texts of the Veda imparts to the myth a definite character: it is no longer a dark and uncertain touch in the troubled visions of hell, but a lucid treatment of an important cosmic phenomenon. Sun and moon course across the sky; beyond is the abode of light and the blessed. The coursers are at one moment regarded as barring the way to heaven; at another as outposts who may guide the soul to heaven. In yet another mood, because they constantly look down upon the race of men dying day by day, they are regarded as daily selecting candidates for the final journey. In due time Yama and his heaven are degraded to a mere Pluto and hell—such is, after all, the fear of death. Then the terrible character of the two dogs is all that can be left to them. And the two dogs blend into a unit variously, after their origin is forgotten: either a four-eyed Parsi dog or a two-headed—finally a plural-headed—Kerberos.

LITERATURE.—Maurice Bloomfield, *Cerberus, the Dog of Hades: The History of an Idea* (Chicago and London, 1905). For further references see Sherman, *Materialien zur Gesch. der ind. Visionsliteratur*, pp. 127–131 (Leipzig, 1892); Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 173 f. (Strassburg, 1897); Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, pp. 405–408 (Munich, 1906).

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

CERINTHUS, CERINTHIANS.—The date of Cerinthus is fixed by the well-known story of his encounter with John of Asia at Ephesus. Irenæus says, referring to Polycarp:

"And there are some who heard him say that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe in Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus within, leapt out of the bath without bathing, but saying, 'Let us flee, lest the bath fall in while Cerinthus the enemy of the truth is within'" (*Hæc*. iii. iii. 4).

It was not unusual for scholars to reject this story as a floating fable, attached now to this man, now to that, on the ground that Epiphanius tells it of Ebion instead of Cerinthus. But, in view of the almost complete untrustworthiness of the statements about Cerinthus which are peculiar to Epiphanius, and of the grave improbability, in spite of Dalman's opinion to the contrary, that such a person as Ebion ever existed, it would be quite

unjustifiable to throw any discredit on the statement of Irenæus. It is true that he did not hear the story from Polycarp at first hand, but the internal evidence strongly favours its historicity. It would not have occurred to any one to invent the story that John went to bathe at the public baths. Epiphanius obviously felt that this was out of harmony with what would be expected of an Apostle, and explained that it was only under the influence of the Holy Spirit that John visited the baths, and did not understand the reason for the impulse which took him there till on inquiry he discovered that Ebion was within (*Hæc*. xxx. xxiv.). We may, accordingly, confidently accept, with most recent scholars, the story of Irenæus, and assume that Cerinthus was a contemporary of John of Asia (whether of the Apostle, as the present writer thinks, or of the Presbyter may here be left undetermined) about the close of the 1st cent. A.D. Even if the story itself were apocryphal, the residence of Cerinthus in Ephesus at that time would be guaranteed by it. For, unless it had been known that such was the case, the story of the encounter would hardly have been in circulation.

Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 33, x. 21) further informs us that Cerinthus had been trained in Egypt. Some authorities have doubted this statement. For example, Lipsius speaks of it as only one of those loose conjectures with which the author has so richly adorned his work (*Gnosticismus*, 1860, col. 110). A measure of doubt must hang over the statement, but it may very well have been taken by Hippolytus from his notes of Irenæus' lectures, and be historically accurate. Epiphanius speaks of the Merinthians, but is dubious whether Merinthus was another name for Cerinthus, or whether the two were distinct (*Hæc*. xxviii. viii.). We may without hesitation set aside the latter alternative. Some scholars, for example Hilgenfeld (*Ketzergesch.* 1884, p. 417), consider that Merinthus is simply another form of the name. It is more probable, however, as Fabricius suggested (*Cod. Apoc. NT*, 344), that Epiphanius had in his hands an earlier work in which the author gave Cerinthus the nickname Merinthus, which means 'noose.' This writer was probably Hippolytus (see Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 1893, p. 119). Epiphanius communicates a lengthy account of Cerinthus' earlier history in Palestine, Syria, and Galatia; but, since these stories are rejected with practical unanimity, it is unnecessary to devote space to them further than to say that they connect him closely with the Judaizing propaganda in the early Church.

Our most trustworthy information as to the doctrine of Cerinthus is derived from Irenæus. His account of the system is brief, and may be quoted in full:

"A certain Cerinthus in Asia taught that the world was not made by the Supreme God, but by a certain power entirely separate and distinct from that authority which is above the universe, and ignorant of that God who is over all things. He submitted that Jesus was not born of a virgin (for this seemed to him impossible), but was the son of Joseph and Mary, born as all other men, yet excelling all mankind in righteousness, prudence, and wisdom. And that after His baptism there had descended on Him, from that authority which is above all things, Christ in the form of a dove; and that then He had announced the unknown Father and had worked miracles; but that at the end Christ had flown back again from Jesus, and that Jesus suffered and rose again, but that Christ remained impassible, since He was a spiritual being" (i. xxvi. 1).

Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 33, x. 21) practically repeats the account of Irenæus. Pseudo-Tertullian, who probably draws on the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus, gives a very brief account (*adv. Omn. Hæc*. x.), which is in substantial agreement with Irenæus, though much scantier. He tells us that Cerinthus taught that the Law was given by angels, and says that the God of the Jews was

not the Lord but an angel. Hippolytus also speaks of the world as being made by an angelic power (*Philos.* x. 21).

Our earliest and most trustworthy sources, accordingly, represent Cerinthus as a genuine Gnostic, in so far as he drew a distinction between the Supreme God and the Creator, and between Jesus and Christ. The work of Jesus he characteristically found in revelation rather than in redemption through His death. Since he affirmed the real humanity of Jesus, he had no temptation to deny the reality of His human experiences or the fact of His crucifixion and resurrection. But, of course, he could not admit that a heavenly being from the highest sphere could suffer the indignity of the Cross, and therefore he affirmed Christ's abandonment of Jesus before the Passion, and the return of Christ to the Supreme God. In a later part of his work (III. xi. 1) Irenæus has a further reference to Cerinthus, and the views promulgated a long time before by the Nicolaitans; but unfortunately it is not clear whether, in the tenets he proceeds to enumerate, he is referring to them or to later heretics. We have here again the distinction between the Creator and the Father of the Lord, and between Jesus and Christ. But Jesus is identified with the Son of the Creator—which can hardly refer to Cerinthianism. Accordingly, when we read that Monogenes (only-begotten) was the beginning, and that Logos was the true son of the only-begotten, it is very doubtful whether we should suppose that Cerinthus taught this doctrine, which would constitute the recognition of a Pleroma, which, indeed, we find affirmed in this passage in the statement that Christ 'had again flown back into His Pleroma.' Elsewhere (III. xi. 7) Irenæus says: 'They who separate Jesus from Christ and say that Christ remained impassible, but that Jesus suffered, preferring the Gospel according to Mark, can be corrected if they read it with love of the truth.' This statement seems, on comparison with the language of Irenæus in I. xxvi. 1, to refer to Cerinthus, and it is recommended by the consideration that the Second Gospel does not contain the account of the supernatural conception. It is true that some scholars deny the reference on the ground that Epiphanius (*Hæc.* xxviii. 5, xxx. 14) and Philaster (*de Heresibus*, xxxvi.) affirm that Cerinthus used only the Gospel of Matthew, of course in a mutilated form. This, however, should probably be rejected, but it stands or falls with the general account of Cerinthianism given by those writers.

In a dialogue with Proclus the Montanist, written by Gaius of Rome early in the 3rd cent., there is an important reference to Cerinthus, which runs as follows:

'But Cerinthus also, by means of revelations purporting to have been written by a great apostle, lyingly imposes upon us marvellous prodigies, which he professes to have been shown him by angels, saying that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ is an earthly kingdom, and again that men shall live in Jerusalem in the flesh and be the slaves of lusts and pleasures. And, being an enemy of the Scriptures of God, he would fain deceive, and says that a tale of a thousand years is to be spent in marriage festivities' (cited by Euseb. *HE* iii. 28 [fr. quoted from Lightfoot, *Clement of Rome*, 1890, ii. 381]).

It was natural that Gaius should have been thought to attribute in this passage the authorship of the Apocalypse of John to Cerinthus, and it is in fact likely that Dionysius of Alexandria understood him in this sense (Euseb. *HE* vii. 25). But this inference is probably quite unwarranted; for, apart from the fact that Gaius does not say so, and that Eusebius, with his dislike of the Apocalypse, would probably not have failed to quote him to that effect if he had so declared, the language of Gaius does not very well suit the Apocalypse; nor, indeed, is it likely that he

should have attributed to Cerinthus a book so different from his well-known views. It is unnecessary to discuss any further either this or the still more grotesque opinion that Cerinthus wrote the Fourth Gospel as well as the Apocalypse, since we are not concerned in this article with statements made about Cerinthus which cannot possibly be true, but with the views of Cerinthus himself. The importance of the quotation from Gaius for our purpose lies in its attribution to Cerinthus of the doctrine of a sensuous millennium on earth. It is true that we have no evidence for this doctrine in Irenæus, but no importance need be attached to this, since Irenæus would have been in sympathy with Cerinthus in his millenarian views, and would not have felt it necessary to call attention to them when he was giving a description of his heretical opinions. We could not infer with any confidence that there was an immoral strain in his teaching, in view of the constant tendency of controversialists to put an evil construction on the language of their opponents, and especially to charge them with vicious indulgence.

Our decision on this matter is affected by our view as to the relation between the teaching of Cerinthus and the First Epistle of John. Many scholars consider that his doctrines are definitely assailed in that Epistle. In favour of this view we have the words: 'Who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?' (1 Jn 2²²). Here we probably have an attack, not on the Jewish rejection of the Messianic claim of Jesus, but on a refusal to identify Jesus with Christ. Even more important is 1 Jn 4^{2-3a}, which runs thus in the critical texts: 'Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God.' It is true that the reference to 'the flesh' may seem to favour an allusion to Docetism in the strict sense of the term, i.e. the representation of the physical appearance and actions of Christ as an illusion. The opening verses of the Epistle, with their strong and reiterated assertions that the real humanity of the Word had been guaranteed by physical tests, are not relevant against Cerinthianism, inasmuch as Cerinthus did not deny the real humanity of Jesus. But there is no insuperable difficulty in the view that two types of Christological error are attacked in 1 John. Both Cerinthianism and Docetism were current at the time, the latter being attested by the Epistles of Ignatius. When we read that Jesus Christ came 'not with the water only, but with the water and with the blood' (1 Jn 5⁶), it is most natural to see in this an attack on the view of Cerinthus that Christ descended on Jesus at the Baptism but left Him before the Passion. This will suit 1 Jn 2^{22-3a} in the commonly accepted text. But it is by no means improbable that in v. 3a we should read 'and every spirit which dissolveth (*λυει*) Jesus is not of God.' If this reading is accepted, the reference to Cerinthus seems to be clear. The dissolution of Jesus is the separation made in Cerinthianism between Him and Christ. Now, it is quite clear from the language of 1 John that practical immorality and speculative heresy were associated. There were those who claimed to know God and to live in the light, but whose life gave the lie to their claims. It is quite possible that this applies to Cerinthus and his followers; and, if so, this would corroborate the statement as to his sensual doctrine of the millennium, and that in an immoral sense. But, in view of the fact that two forms of false Christology seem to be attacked, no certainty attaches to this conclusion.

It has been usual to speak of Cerinthus as a

Judaizing Gnostic. The earliest and best sources that we possess, however, give no warrant for this representation, which is due to Epiphanius and Philaster.¹ It is quite likely that what has given rise to it is the way in which Irenæus connects Cerinthus with Carpocrates and the Ebionites. His account of the Ebionites follows that of Cerinthus, and he says:

'Those who are called Ebionites agree that the world was made by God; but their opinions with respect to the Lord are similar [for non *similiter* read *similiter* or *consimiliter*] to those of Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They use the Gospel according to Matthew only, and repudiate the Apostle Paul, maintaining that he was an apostate from the Law' (i. xxvi. 2).

The point of contact between the Ebionites and Cerinthus lay in their denial of the supernatural origin of the humanity of Jesus; and this was extended by Epiphanius and Philaster to an acceptance of a mutilated Gospel of Matthew and a Judaizing legalism. We may agree with Zahn's conclusion that the Judaism of Cerinthus is only a learned myth.

LITERATURE.—The subject is dealt with in the Church Histories and Histories of Doctrine, also in the Histories of Heresy and works on Gnosticism. The connexion of Cerinthus with the Johannine literature, alleged by the Alogi and Dionysius of Alexandria, has occasioned not a little attention to be given to him in the NT Introductions, and books on the Canon of the NT (Zahn in particular should be mentioned). See, further, E. W. Möller, *Gesch. d. Kosmologie in der griech. Kirche bis auf Origenes*, 1890, p. 373 f.; Knopf, *Das nach-apostol. Zeitalter*, 1905, pp. 328-380; Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik d. Epiphanius*, 1865, pp. 115-122; Drummond, *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, 1903, pp. 337-342; Law, *The Tests of Life*, 1909; Schwartz, *Ueber d. Tod d. Sohne Zebedäi*, 1904, pp. 33-45; Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, pt. I. (1903) pp. 204-208.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

CERTAINTY.—1. Logical certainty and psychological certitude: distinction and relation between them.—'Certainty' is used both in an objective or logical, and in a subjective or psychological, sense. (a) In the former sense it means such a degree or kind of evidence in or for the subject-matter of a judgment as removes the judgment beyond doubt or question. (We may describe this objective certainty or evidence as 'logical,' but it must be observed that we are then using the term 'logical' in a very wide sense, to cover evidence of all kinds—not merely that which a conclusion derives from its premisses, but also the self-evidence of axioms, the evidence of direct perception, of memory, of testimony, etc.) In this sense certainty is contrasted with probability, or, in terms of the distinction prominent in Greek philosophy, pertains to knowledge as contrasted with opinion. (b) In the subjective or psychological sense certainty means such a degree or kind of assurance on the part of the individual as overcomes all doubt in his mind, or even prevents any doubt from arising. It is convenient to use the term 'certitude' for this subjective assurance, and keep 'certainty' for the objective or logical sense.

In so far as the 'assurance' of (b) is produced by the 'evidence' of (a), certainty and certitude will, of course, coincide, and—from the logical point of view at least—it seems obvious to regard this as the normal case. On the other hand, we have frequent enough experience of cases where we seem at the time to have the fullest subjective certitude about matters in regard to which we are afterwards convinced of error; and, again, of cases where we have full certitude ourselves, although we cannot make the truth of what we believe evident in the logical sense, i.e. evident to the apprehension of other people, or even to our own apprehension in so far as we take an outsider's impartial point of view; or, to put the matter more generally and abstractly,

¹ The question whether Philaster is here dependent on Epiphanius, or whether both derive their account from an earlier source, need not be discussed. It is possible that they draw on the lost *Synagoga* of Hippolytus, and, since Hippolytus was probably not responsible for this particular representation, that Philaster derived it from Epiphanius, whose account is thoroughly untrustworthy and confused.

to the apprehension of a (hypothetical) mind possessed of all human faculties and susceptibilities, but free from all merely individual bias. We may, for instance, be convinced of a man's honour, and find ourselves deceived, or, again, be convinced, and, as after events show, rightly convinced, of it, and yet be unable to bring any kind of proof which will convince others, or even to formulate to ourselves definite grounds for our own conviction. Such experiences of apparently illogical and non-logical certitudes compel us from the logical point of view to begin by distinguishing certitude from certainty. The distinction does not, indeed, solve the problems which are raised by these experiences,—on the contrary, it only brings them more distinctly into view,—but for the logician it has the advantage of postponing them for the time being. He can say: 'For my present purposes I intend to exclude, or even ignore the existence of, any certitudes which are not at the same time certainties; certainty is what I am concerned with, and I cannot recognize any certitude which does not coincide with, or simply reflect, a certainty.' And this, in fact, is the attitude, not merely of the logician, but also, in a large measure, of the practical man. For in the concerns of ordinary life, as well as in the abstract discussions of logic, we have to be on our guard against all prejudice, bias, fancifulness, and sentimentalism. It was, therefore, not only as a thinker anxious for mere truth, but also as a practical man anxious for sobriety of thought and conduct, that Locke wrote the well-known and controverted passage that opens his chapter on 'Enthusiasm' in the Essay (*Human Understanding*, bk. IV. ch. xix.):

'There is nobody in the commonwealth of learning who does not profess himself a lover of truth; and there is not a rational creature that would not take it amiss to be thought otherwise of. . . . How a man may know whether he be so in earnest, is worth inquiry; and I think there is one unerring mark of it, viz. the not entertaining any proposition with greater assurance than the proofs it is built upon will warrant. Whoever goes beyond this measure of assent, it is plain, receives not truth in the love of it; loves not truth for truth-sake, but for some other by-end. For the evidence that any proposition is true (except such as are self-evident) lying only in the proofs a man has of it, whatsoever degrees of assent he affords it beyond the degrees of that evidence, it is plain that all the surplusage of assurance is owing to some other affection, and not to the love of truth.'

But, while it is convenient for the logician from his logical point of view to approximate certitude as far as possible to certainty, and, in fact, to assume their coincidence, we must observe that the same coincidence may be asserted with a precisely opposite motive by the sceptic who refuses to recognize any objective grounds for the distinction between certainty and probability, or even for that between true and false belief; or, again, by the psychologist who takes a view of his science which precludes him, officially or even in principle, from recognizing such distinctions within its bounds. The sceptical view is illustrated by Hume's reduction of all assent or conviction to a 'strong propensity to consider objects *strongly* in that view under which they appear' (*Treatise*, bk. I., last section), and by his explanation of the strength of the propensity in terms of a superior vivacity in those ideas which have come to be conjoined together by the force of what is, in the last resort, mere blind custom. On such a view there is no objective distinction between one certitude and another, and if any person is, in point of fact, able to cherish a certitude which violates customary modes of belief, there is no more to be said; other people have no right to gainsay his private convictions. Thus, from Hume's own point of view, there is truth as well as irony in the concluding declaration of his essay *Of Miracles*, that Faith is quite above argument as to the probability of miracles, since he who is moved by Faith to

assent to the Christian Religion 'is conscious of a continued miracle in his own person which . . . gives him a determination to believe what is most contrary to custom and experience.' A scepticism like Hume's, however, which is quite aware of, and explicitly calls attention to, its own paradoxical results (in above section of, and appendix to, *Treatise*), is less dangerous than the unconscious scepticism of the psychologist, who does not for a moment deny the objective or logical distinctions in virtue of which we are entitled to hold one belief more strongly than another, yet thinks himself free (or even obliged) to ignore these distinctions in his account of the causation of belief in terms of purely 'psychological' laws. All psychology of the Associationist type—and much of our modern psychology remains Associationist in principle—is committed to this position. But even a psychologist so little restricted by the traditions of a school as James seems to see no difficulty in adopting it.

'Hartley,' he tells us, 'suggested habit as a sufficient explanation of all connexions of our thoughts, and in so doing planted himself squarely upon the properly psychological aspect of the problem of connexion, and sought to treat both rational and irrational connexions from a single point of view. The problem which he essayed, however lamely, to answer, was that of the connexion between our psychic states considered purely as such, regardless of the objective connexions of which they might take cognizance' (*Principles of Psychology*, vol. I. p. 558).

And yet it is obvious that, if the formation of our beliefs can be explained in a manner which is 'regardless of the objective connexions of which they might take cognizance,' the said 'objective connexions' are as effectually denied in practice as if they did not exist at all. We must conclude, then, that, while the logician's identification of certitude with certainty may be accepted as a provisional simplification, the psychologist's reduction of certainty to certitude cannot be accepted at all, because it deprives the certitude itself of all real value. The sceptical implications of such a reduction of objective certainty to mere subjective certitude are obvious enough when we contemplate the reduction on a large scale. But it is important to remember that precisely the same consequences are implied in every particular case, so far as it goes, in which it is proposed to explain any kind or degree of belief in terms of merely subjective factors. It is, no doubt, very easy and very natural to appeal to such factors, to explain not only the cases of apparently non-logical certitude above referred to, but also all beliefs which are bound up with feeling and action, such as moral and religious beliefs. But, in proportion as we do reduce any belief to a merely subjective certitude, we simply justify the logician in his refusal to recognize it. And thus an attitude on his part, which would otherwise represent only the narrowness and inadequacy of his own logic, becomes an entirely defensible protest on behalf of general logical principle.

2. Possibility and degrees of certainty.—Accepting in the meantime the logician's simplification, we must notice the questions that arise relating to strict logical certainty and its correlative certitude. These fall roughly into two classes. (1) There are general questions as to the possibility of certainty in general; the meaning (if any) of degrees of certainty; the kind or degree of evidence which constitutes certainty; the relation of certainty to the lower kinds or degrees of evidence which constitute probability; the relation in each case of the corresponding certitude or inferior conviction to its objective counterpart; and, finally, the ultimate basis of certainty. (2) There is the special question as regards each special department of knowledge: how far, and upon what conditions, certainty is attainable in that department. While these two classes of questions may for convenience

be distinguished, they cannot, of course, be kept at all rigidly apart in actual discussion. A full discussion of them would cover a great part of logic and methodology, not to speak of metaphysics; for the purposes of the present article, some general indications of the character of the issues involved must suffice.

It may be pointed out, to begin with, that there is a sense in which certainty as well as certitude may be characterized as subjective, though it is not the same sense. Take any disputed historical question. The judgment of the historian as to the probability or certainty of a particular solution ought to be objectively determined in the sense of being determined solely by the evidence, and not by any personal prejudices. But, suppose he decides that one solution is, on the whole, more probable than another—that is to say, there are two suggested courses which the events in question may have taken, he cannot pronounce either impossible, but sees reason to think it more probable that the events occurred in this way rather than in that. It is clear that to all this doubt, hesitation, and caution in the historian's mind there is nothing corresponding in the actual events themselves. The events, of course, happened in one definite way only; every contrary suggestion, therefore, is really impossible, and would be seen to be so if at any time a discovery of additional evidence showed what the actual sequence of events really was. Thus the notions of possibility, probability, and, as contrasted with these, certainty itself, are here evidently subjective in the sense that their use is determined—as we may roughly say—not by anything in the reality itself, but by the extent and the deficiencies of our knowledge of it. And yet they are not subjective in the sense of being applied arbitrarily or at the instigation of mere personal prejudice. On the contrary, they are objective in so far as they are determined by the evidence available. And this evidence, again, so far as it is reliable, states actual features of the reality itself. To be accurate, then, we must revise our statement, and say that the application of these notions is determined by features of the reality itself, but by a reality which is imperfectly known, and that the need for distinguishing the several notions arises in connexion with the imperfection of our knowledge. Such a view, though drawn from a single example, has obviously a very wide range of application. It applies in precisely the same way, for instance, to the probability of a scientific hypothesis as to that of a historical event. (The case of future events, and especially of future events depending on human choice, raises further difficulties—for in this case there is evidently a sense in which the incompleteness of our knowledge is due to the incompleteness of the reality itself. But, for the sake of simplicity, this case may be disregarded. Our knowledge of future events is, at any rate, inconsiderable as compared with (1) knowledge of past events, and (2) knowledge into which considerations of time do not directly enter.)

The general view, then, to which the foregoing considerations point is that certainty corresponds to complete or perfect knowledge, the various degrees of probability to the less or greater degrees of incompleteness or imperfection in knowledge. But the question at once suggests itself, Is our knowledge ever perfect? Is not finite knowledge, simply as finite, obviously and necessarily incapable of completeness? To answer this question, we must distinguish. If by finite knowledge is meant the whole body of human knowledge, the question is justified. But then, in any discussion of certainty and probability, we evidently have in view, not the whole body of knowledge, but the comparative stability and precision of particular

knowledges. And the question is, whether a particular knowledge may not be complete within the limits—explicit or implicit—within which alone we really affirm it. We must admit, of course, that no particular knowledge can be isolated from all the rest, and, therefore, also that no particular knowledge can be said to be absolutely exempt from the process of revision which is constantly going on in the total body of knowledge. How, then, it may be urged, can we be sure that the supposed completeness within certain limits will not be affected by the immeasurably wider unknown conditions outside these limits? But, in answer to this objection, it may be remarked, in the first place, that the unknown conditions must, in order to affect our particular knowledge, be relevant to it. Our knowledge of Scottish history in Queen Mary's time might be vitally affected by additional evidence as to contemporary English or French history, but hardly by any amount of information as to contemporary events in China. The same example shows that, from what we already know, we are even able in a sense to form a rough estimate of the extent to which unknown conditions can really be relevant. In the second place, there is no reason to assume that, where the unknown conditions would affect our present knowledge, they would affect it in the one way of making uncertain what seemed previously certain, or less probable what seemed previously more probable. On the contrary, the progress of knowledge exhibits the verification, extension, and deepening of previous ideas, no less than their correction and reversal. Still, it may be said, the difficulty remains that we can never be sure; so long as unknown conditions remain, doubt cannot be excluded. And, for that matter, the sceptic may reach the same result, without appealing to unknown conditions at all, by simply pointing out that our faculties of perception, memory, and reasoning are not infallible, and often deceive us; and he may conclude, with Carneades, that (it is probable that) we can never attain any certainty at all, but, at most, some lower or higher degree of probability.

These vague and general suggestions of possible error may rightly indicate the need for a correspondingly general caution, but they do not afford a specific ground for doubting a specific knowledge which, after the exercise of all due caution, we are still compelled to regard as certainly true. Nor is anything really gained by saying that we must be content to regard every knowledge, even that which is apparently certain, as no more than probable, though perhaps in a high degree. For the distinction between apparent certainty and high probability remains, and would simply have to be expressed over again as a distinction within the sphere of probability—as a distinction, too, of a special kind, not quite on the same level as the distinction between the various degrees of strict probability. Moreover, the systematic denial of all specific certainty would appear to contradict itself, since the specific assertion of any degree of probability implies that there are specific conditions of certainty, which the probable assertion partly fulfils, and which (because they are specific) might conceivably, if not actually in a given case, be fulfilled completely. In short, the fact is that we have no right whatever to dictate *a priori* the degree of confidence with which any particular knowledge may rightly be held. This can be determined only by the nature and contents of the knowledge itself. And the attempt to dictate it *a priori* probably depends upon metaphysical assumptions as to knowledge, error, and reality that are themselves of a highly questionable character.

There is, however, one virtue in the sceptic's insistence on the finite and relative character of knowledge: it tends to promote a right recognition of the gradations of logical evidence, and a right reluctance to interrupt these gradations by abrupt gaps and intervals. It must, no doubt, be agreed that the main line of distinction must be drawn between the highest stage of probability, on the one hand, at which room for doubt still remains, and genuine certainty, on the other, from which doubt has vanished, or into which it is unable to thrust itself. And it seems plausible to contend that an absolute gap here separates knowledge from opinion: within opinion there may be degrees of probability; within certain knowledge there can be no degrees; the knowledge of anything cannot be more certain than certain. But—not to speak of that 'moral' or 'practical' certainty in regard to which, for some given purpose, the distinction between certainty and very high probability is a vanishing one—it must be pointed out that certainty takes various forms, and that it is impossible to put all these forms on the same level logically, or to maintain that certainty is not increased when it passes from a lower to a higher form, or when it is present in different and consilient forms. The calculations by which Adams and Leverrier were enabled to anticipate and predict the observation of the planet Neptune may be said, in a quite valid sense, to have given knowledge which was certain before the actual observation; for the observers merely saw what they were told they would see. But we still regard the actual observation as verifying, and so heightening the certainty of, the calculated result. The converse case is a still better illustration, for an astronomer's confidence in a number of fragmentary observations would be really raised to a higher plane if it could be shown by calculation that the observed facts could be explained as appearances of a planet which must have followed that very path at the times in question. But even in certainties of the same form we are compelled to recognize degrees. John may recognize with certainty Thomas, whom he has seen only a few times, but the certainty of John's recognition could not be put on the same level as that with which Thomas is recognized by his own near relatives. This topic of the degrees of the logical strength of judgment is technically known as the 'Modality of Judgment,' and in the text-books of Logic detailed discussion of it will usually be found under that head. The question is sometimes discussed, whether the degrees are degrees of what we have distinguished as certainty or certitude respectively. The natural view is that they are degrees of both, and that, as Locke maintains in the passage above quoted, the degrees of subjective assurance ought simply to reflect the degrees of the objective evidence.

3. Basis of certainty.—When the question of the ultimate basis of certainty is raised, there is a strong temptation to revert to a merely subjective point of view. All certainty, it may plausibly be argued, is in the last resort certitude. When I affirm that a thing is certainly true, what I really mean in the last resort is that I 'feel certain' about the thing. I may be wrong, but I cannot get beyond my own certitude, I cannot get outside my certitude and criticize it. The plausibility of this sort of argument depends upon its ambiguity. According as we interpret the argument in different ways, it either becomes trivial, or involves us in a circle, or is essentially false. (1) The argument is trivial, if it merely means that every certainty or certain knowledge is the knowledge of some individual knower, and therefore must be felt as a certitude. Knowledge does not float in the air, and no knowledge is actual except in the minds of

individual knowers. (2) It involves us in a circle, or rather a *ὕστερον πρότερον*, if it means that the certainty is to be referred for its explanation to the certitude. For, where there is both certainty and certitude—i.e., where we are dealing with logical or grounded certitude, as contrasted with apparently groundless certitude and with mere prejudice—we must obviously explain the certitude by reference to its evidence or ground. We have here simply one case of the general principle that a faculty can be defined or determined only by reference to its objects, and that the explanation of its being determined in one way rather than another can be sought only in the differences of the object. Assuming my visual faculty to be normal, the only explanation of my seeing a soldier's coat to be red, and not blue, is that the coat is red and not blue. No amount of looking would make the coat look blue, if it was really red. And in like manner my certitude that the angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles is to be explained only by my certain knowledge (present or remembered) of this geometrical truth in the light of Euclid's demonstration of it. So far is it from being the case, then, that we can explain any particular certainty by referring to a certitude brought about somehow in the subject's mind that, on the contrary, we cannot explain how he comes to cherish that particular certitude except by examining the objective contents of his knowledge. (3) We can now see how essentially false, or, at any rate, how thoroughly misleading, it is to say that no one can get beyond his own certitude. For my present certitude is entirely relative to my present knowledge, and I can therefore always go beyond my present certitude, and either correct or verify it, if I take the trouble to extend my present knowledge. (Nor does the fact that the individual's thinking tends eventually to run in fairly definite grooves really conflict with this assertion, so long as the fact remains one with which logic can deal at all.) We can derive little instruction, then, from a test of truth like Herbert Spencer's 'incoincisability of the opposite.' It either tells us nothing, in so far as it merely suggests that we cannot really think that which is not true; or it merely indicates a fact about our present state of knowledge, viz. that there are certain things which we seem unable to think—an inability which we naturally suppose to be due to the just-mentioned reason that the things in question are not true, though in supposing so we may be as far astray as was Locke's king of Siam, who refused to believe it possible that water could become solid. Or, finally, it puts us on the false track of making introspective experiments, instead of the right track of extending our knowledge.

When we turn away from the illusion of a subjective basis of certainty, the chief difficulty on the objective side is that which is raised by the conception of *immediate knowledge*. The process by which knowledge grows is a process of continual mediation, i.e. a process in which we are continually trying to arrive at new results by analyzing what is immediately before our minds and connecting it with the rest of our knowledge. Now, to this process of mediation or interpretation there would seem to be two ultimate limits: a lower limit of data which cannot be further analyzed, and an upper limit of principles of connexion which cannot themselves be shown to result from more general principles. Given the simple data at the one end and the first principles at the other, the certainty of all intermediate knowledge (so far as it is certain) can be explained as arising from the connexion of clearly discerned data according to clearly discerned principles. But the certainty of the data and principles themselves would be beyond this sort of

explanation, and must therefore be referred to an immediate knowledge of perception or reason as the case may be. The natural conclusion, then, would be that the ultimate bases of certainty are particular perceptions, on the one hand, and intuitions of reason, on the other.

A view of this kind—which has come down to us, we may say, speaking roughly, from Aristotle, though in his own logical system it is qualified in ways with which we are not here concerned—may be all very well in its own place. It serves us quite well, for instance, in the logical analysis of any particular scientific inquiry, for every such inquiry moves between two limits: on the one hand, the general principles, assumptions, or point of view which the inquirer shares with his fellow-scientists; on the other, the special set of facts which he is investigating and in regard to which he must at some point or another stop with data taken as ultimate starting-points for the purposes of that inquiry. So far as that particular inquiry is concerned, we need not care how the assumptions and the data are themselves guaranteed. But the case is quite different when the view is extended without qualification to knowledge as a whole, and used to determine the ultimate bases of knowledge and certainty. For then it is precisely the guarantees of our principles and data that we are concerned about. And, unfortunately, the view in question easily suggests a quite misleading conception of the manner in which knowledge is acquired and certainty attained. It suggests that knowledge arises out of a combination of pre-existing elements—a great number of perfectly single, simple, and definite, particular perceptions on the one hand, and a small number of perfectly clear and highly general principles on the other; and that these elements are apprehended with certainty in themselves, before the derivative process of knowledge proper begins at all. The picture thus suggested of the mind, as originally furnished with these elements out of which it manufactures knowledge, has, it need hardly be said, no sort of psychological actuality. But even if we keep to the abstract point of view of logical analysis, the conception remains unreal and misleading. What we call a particular fact in ordinary life, e.g. that one's bicycle was punctured on one's last run, is in reality very complex; and the certainty with which it is affirmed depends, e.g., on the way in which it is attached to a whole series of other facts of memory. And, of course, the same thing applies even more to a particular fact in science, e.g. an astronomer's observation, which is possible only with the aid of delicate instruments, and is affirmed with a reserve for probable error. The notion of a perfectly simple and unmediated perception, then, must be dismissed altogether. The kind of perception which has a value for knowledge is one whose conditions and context are known as fully as possible. And it is indeed precisely because the particular inquirer has a body of well ascertained knowledge at command that he can take definite starting-points for granted.

A very similar argument applies to the general principles. It is true that first principles cannot be proved from other principles,—otherwise, of course, they would cease to be *first* principles,—and they cannot, therefore, have this kind of demonstrative certainty. But it does not follow that our certitude of their truth is due to an act of immediate intuition in which they are contemplated in total abstraction from the rest of our knowledge. On the contrary, our certitude depends on the precisely opposite ground, that only in terms of these principles can we understand our actual experience. It may be, of course, that this experience is in a

given case, e.g. that of geometrical principles, of a very abstract and elementary kind. And the fact that we apprehend the truth of Euclid's axioms so easily has certainly been one of the chief factors historically in maintaining the view under criticism. But the special circumstances of this case must not be allowed to mislead us as to the general truth. If we took sciences at the opposite pole, such as psychology or ethics, we should find that the apprehension of genuine first principles is usually the last result of a prolonged experience of more or less false and inadequate ones. The objection may be apt to suggest itself here, that at this rate the certainty of our knowledge would again seem to be undermined, if first principles may remain long in dispute and particular facts are so hard to determine with accuracy. But once more it must be replied that the very relativity on which sceptical doubts are based supplies the best answer to them. It is not necessary that we should have all our certainties about a thing at once, or, more accurately, that our certainty about it should have from the beginning all the fullness and precision of detail which we are ever destined to attain. The particular fact of the distance between Edinburgh and London could be known with certainty to be between two limits before there was any Ordnance Survey, and the result of the Survey is only to replace a vaguer certainty with one more precise. And the same thing holds in regard to first principles. It is a long step from the principle, 'Out of nothing, nothing comes,' to the principles of the Conservation of Matter and Energy, but the earlier formula served for its own time even as the later ones serve for ours.

4. *Types of certainty.*—On the question of certainty in the several departments of knowledge a few words must suffice. The great type of certainty almost from the beginning of the history of philosophy has been that which is exhibited in mathematical science, and especially in geometry. And the reason why is not far to seek. The exceptional appeal which geometrical certainty makes arises from the double advantage which the science possesses in the exactness and the direct intuition which are combined in the definition or construction of its concepts and in its axioms. Within the limits of its fundamental assumptions as to the nature of space—say, that space is tridimensional and homogeneous—no uncertainty can arise from the nature of the geometrical elements, because these elements can be determined with such perfect precision and exhaustiveness. In modern times, however, mathematics has gradually come to be rivalled, or even in large measure supplanted, in this pre-eminence as a type of certainty, by physical science. For (pure) mathematics, after all, suffers under the drawback of being very abstract, and of seeming to recede into regions very remote from the ordinary reality which is accessible to the plain man's understanding, whereas physical science (including applied mathematics) has the enormous advantage that its triumphs come home to everybody in the shape of the most marvellous practical inventions and appliances. In the face of these practical proofs an attitude such as could be adopted little more than two centuries ago by Locke—his denial of certainty and true scientific character to physical knowledge, and his insistence that it hardly goes beyond particular observations and vague probabilities—has become almost incredible to us. When the certainty of physical science is challenged on abstract grounds of philosophical theory, we are inclined to adopt an attitude like Hume's in regard to miracles, and reply that it is easier to distrust the theory than the science; nor is the reply by any means wholly irrelevant.

The extreme predominance of a type of certainty peculiar to one particular department of knowledge is apt to exert a very mischievous influence on other departments. Those who are engaged in the studies of these departments are put in an unhappy dilemma. If the knowledge which they claim to possess cannot be expounded in conformity with the accepted type of scientific certainty, it will be accused of not being science at all. On the other hand, if, as is apt to happen, they succumb to temptation and try to *force* their subject-matter into conformity with the accepted type, they do it at the expense of distorting and perverting their subject-matter, and the accusation is then entirely deserved. The mischievous effect of the geometrical ideal of certainty in this direction is a well-known fact in the history of thought. In modern times it is the ideals of physical and natural science which have become most dangerous. One powerful check to this danger, however, was set in operation by the philosophy of Kant. And—strangely enough in one way, though naturally enough in another—it is largely by reason of his own strong belief in physical science that he has come to exert this influence. For it seemed to him that he could not secure that certainty of physical science in which he strongly believed, except at a price that required the sphere of such science to be rigidly limited. On the other hand, it is this very limitation of scientific knowledge that leaves room for certainties of another kind in which he also strongly believed—certainties not of science, not, in Kant's restricted use of the term, of 'knowledge,' but of faith, the certainties of morality and religion. The opposition between knowledge and faith is apt to excite distrust, and may in fact easily merit the reproach under which it suffers. But in the hands of Kant, and of the theologians who have learned from him, the distinction is the very reverse of sceptical. It is simply their emphatic way of expressing the truth that morality and religion must have their certainty in themselves, must have that specific sort of certainty which is appropriate to their own nature and contents. The real scepticism lies not in this contention, but in its rejection, in the attempt to make morality and religion subsist on a borrowed certainty. It is unfortunate, though intelligible, that these thinkers should be apt to use the term 'subjective,' and other similar expressions, to describe the more personal and intimate certainties of faith as contrasted with an impersonal scientific knowledge which makes no appeal to man's moral nature. But they do not for a moment mean to suggest that moral or religious certitude is un-evidenced and groundless, or that there is any element of arbitrariness, bias, or fancifulness in it.

5. *Non-logical certitude.*—We have here come round again to the question which was provisionally excluded when we accepted the logician's simplification of the problem of certainty (see p. 321^a, § 2). Is there a certitude which is subjective in a further and more vital sense, a certitude which, if not illogical, is at least non-logical, a certitude of which it is, in some vital sense, beyond the powers of logic to give an adequate account, but which we must none the less be content to accept as a genuine type of belief? The obvious difficulty in the way of an affirmative answer is that of showing how a *belief* which is in any vital sense non-logical can possibly be saved from being illogical. But let us first be clear as to when a belief does become non-logical in a really vital sense. Cardinal Newman is a writer who would usually be regarded as a strong advocate of non-logical certitude, and it need not be denied that there are many points in which his theory of belief, or at least his manner of expressing it, is open to

criticism from this point of view. But, taking his theory as a whole and in its historical setting, it cannot, in the opinion of the present writer, fairly be interpreted as making belief non-logical in the really vital and dangerous sense. The truth, to which Newman constantly returns, and which is really the foundation of his whole theory, is that which is contained in the distinction between the actual grounds of a belief and the reflective analysis (or self-consciousness) of these grounds—or, as he himself entitles it in one of his *University Sermons*, the distinction between Implicit and Explicit Reason. 'A peasant,' to use one of his own incidental examples, 'may from the look of the sky foretell to-morrow's weather, on grounds which, as far as they are producible, an exact logician would not scruple to pronounce inaccurate and inconsequent.' From the fact, that is to say, that the peasant cannot give a satisfactory account of the grounds of his belief, we cannot infer that his belief was groundless, or even that (considered as a practical belief about a thing so uncertain as the weather) it was inadequately grounded. It is true that a scientific meteorologist could not possibly be content with such a belief, or recognize it as authoritative, though even as a man of science he could not afford to dismiss it with contempt. But for the peasant himself such belief is valid enough. And if the 'exact logician' cannot recognize any kind or degree of validity in it, then, with Newman, we have a right to say, so much the worse for his logic. Much stronger cases, of course, could be given. The instance, given above, of one's confidence in a friend's character, is a stronger case. Newman's main interest, naturally, is in the corresponding cases of religious belief. To an inquiry, then, which seeks to determine the place of 'non-logical' belief in this sense, logic itself has no real objection, or rather, it is in the interests of logic that such an inquiry should be made.

But the doctrine of non-logical certitude has been maintained in another, and far less defensible, form. The claim has been made that a place must be conceded to the influence of the emotions, the desires, and the will, in the determination of belief—not merely as a matter of fact (for that this is in some sense true we need not dispute), but as a matter of right. Man, it is maintained, is not a mere logical machine, and in the formation of his beliefs his whole personality has a right to count. Now, here again we must first know clearly what is meant. It is quite true that the existence of emotions and desires may warrant belief in the (more or less probable) existence of corresponding objects. The existence of fear points to the existence of a terrifying object, the existence of desire points to an apparent good, which may or may not be capable of being realized. But this is not what is meant in the doctrine in question. What is claimed is rather that the existence of these emotions and desires, which are thus *logically* related to their *own* objects, must be allowed (no doubt, within limits) to influence, *in a non-logical way*, our belief in the existence of *other* objects (or in the future realization of as yet unrealized objects); so that, if the intellect is unable definitely to affirm, or on the other hand to deny, the existence (or realization) of these latter objects, our emotions and desires have a right to throw themselves into the scale, and determine us to believe. Let it be assumed, *e.g.*, that man dreads death and desires immortality: if, then, the intellect does not decisively affirm or deny a future life, our dread and our desire may *rightfully* induce in us a 'will to believe.' It is difficult to think that such a doctrine would really continue to be maintained, if it could be kept free from the confusions in which the connected psychological discussions are so

readily entangled. It is by the ambiguities of these discussions that the doctrine may best be explained and excused. What is less easily excused is the notion that the doctrine makes a valuable contribution to the cause of religious faith. To the theologian this notion is unlikely to commend itself. He will be apt to think that religion is the worst possible sphere to select for the exercise of make-believe. (Cf. Herrmann, *Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*², 1892, pp. 45-47, *Gewissheit des Glaubens*², 1889, pp. 44-45, in reference to a similar error in theology proper.)

See also artt. AUTHORITY, AXIOM, BELIEF.

LITERATURE.—For the history, see Janet-Séailles, *Hist. of the Problems of Philos.*, Eng. tr. 1902, vol. ii. pp. 93-145 ('Scepticism and Certitude'). On the fundamental questions of logical principle, see Bosanquet, *Logic*, 1888, vol. i. ch. ix. ('Modality'), vol. ii. ch. vii. ('Ultimate Nature of Necessity'), also his *Essays and Addresses*², 1891, p. 181 ff. ('Philos. Distinction bet. Knowledge and Opinion'), *Knowledge and Reality*, 1886, ch. iii. ('Assertion and Modality'), and Conclusion. Besides the writers referred to in the first of these three works, the following may be mentioned: R. L. Nettleship, *Philos. Remains*², 1901, Lectures on Logic (especially sections vii. and viii. and note B); Wundt, *Logik*, 1880, Bd. I. Abschn. v. Kap. i. ('Begriff des Wissens'); Sidgwick, *Philos. of Kant*, etc., 1906, pp. 430-467 ('Criteria of Truth and Error'). General works on theory of knowledge like Volkelt, *Erfahrung u. Denken*, 1886, have necessarily much to say about certainty. Scientific discussion may be represented by Millard, *Conditions et limites de la certitude logique*², 1893; Jevons, *Principles of Science*², 1877, esp. bk. ii. ch. xi. ('Philos. of Inductive Inference'); but the philosophy of these writers is open to much criticism. H. Spencer's test is stated in his *Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii. pt. vii. ch. xi.; it is criticized by Mill, *Logic*, bk. ii. ch. vii.; cf. on both, Green, *Works*, ed. Nettleship, 1886-88, vol. ii. p. 265 ff. On the psychology: Stout, *Analytic Psychology*, 1896, vol. ii. ch. xi. ('Belief and Imagination'). A good representative of the Kantian distinction between knowledge and faith is Herrmann, *Religion im Verh. zum Weltkennen u. zur Sittlichkeit*, 1879, esp. pp. 100-117. For the doctrine of non-logical certitude: Newman, *Oxford University Sermons* (1843, 1871), and *Grammar of Assent*, 1870. On the 'will to believe': James's book so named (1897), and his *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, vol. ii. ch. xxi.; a more elaborate and careful presentation of a similar view is given by a thinker to whom James makes acknowledgments, Renouvier, *Psychologie rationnelle* (part of his *Essais de critique générale*², 1876), 2me partie, contained in tomes ii. and iii. Questions of the non-logical relation of belief to authority are discussed by A. J. Balfour, *Foundations of Belief*, 1895, pt. iii.

HENRY BARKER.

CERTAINTY (Religious).—I. Definition and Introduction.—By 'religious certainty' is meant the assurance of personal salvation. This article will therefore deal mainly with what the Reformers described as *certitudo salutis* or *certitudo gratiæ*. But in usage the notions of objective security (*certitudo veritatis*) and subjective assurance have often been so closely intertwined that it becomes necessary to differentiate religious certainty, properly so called, from other aspects of certitude in regard to matters of faith. The ultimate difficulty of the subject is the relation between external testimony and inward experience. A consideration of the manifold ways in which this relation has been conceived and formulated in different theological systems ought, therefore, to yield some indication of the direction in which the solution of the problem must be sought.

To arrive at certainty of any kind, sufficient evidence must be forthcoming; the criterion of sufficiency will vary according to the nature of the facts to be investigated. Two examples of the use of the word 'certainty' in the NT supply an illustration of this obvious but frequently neglected truth. (1) In Lk 1⁴ Theophilus is told that the purpose of the Third Gospel is to furnish such evidence as will enable him to attain to the certainty (*ἀσφάλεια*) which results from learning that teaching accords with fact. For modern inquirers, such certitude of belief rests upon a conviction of the trustworthiness of the credentials of the Gospel. (2) In Ac 2³⁸ the first and emphatic word in the final sentence of St. Peter's address on the day of Pentecost is *ἀσφαλῶς*: 'Let all the house of Israel therefore know of a certainty that God hath made

him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified.' On what was this certainty based? An analysis of St. Peter's argument supplies the answer. For our present purpose, the significance of that argument is its appeal to various grounds of assurance. Religious certainty, in the sense of inward experience of the Holy Spirit's working, is itself regarded as witnessing to the reality of the Resurrection of Christ; but that certainty may also, it is assumed, be strengthened by testimony to the objective grounds of faith, as they are found in Scripture and in history. St. Peter's reasoning is forcefully shown in Chase's lucid summary, *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles*, 1902, p. 152 f. (in the quotation the italics are ours):

'The assurance of the Resurrection and the Ascension was to be found in the prophetic words of Scripture—the words which were universally regarded as the words of David, but which in the magnificence of their hope could not be true of him whose sepulchre was in the midst of his people. It was to be found in the actual experience of those particular Israelites on the day of Pentecost—"this which ye see and hear" (23). It was to be found in the present beneficent activity of Jesus of Nazareth—in the miracle wrought in His name: He is active; therefore He lives. It was to be found in the personal testimony of the Apostles themselves to "the things which they had seen and heard" (420). It was to be found, lastly, in the inner witness of the Spirit—"we are witnesses of these things; and so is the Holy Ghost" (530)—the Spirit who revealed the fitness of the Resurrection, and its harmony with the Divine purpose as partially shadowed forth in the words of Scripture. . . . It would be hard to add another to this series of testimonies.'

2. Affirmation of uncertainty (pre-Reformation period).—In mediæval times the general effect of the teaching of the Church was to discourage the expectation of attaining to religious certainty. The great scholastics of the Middle Ages treated together the doctrine of merit and the doctrine of grace. According to the doctrine of merit, salvation must be gained by the actions of human free agents, who, nevertheless, need grace in order that their works may be meritorious (Wetzer-Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*, xii.² [1901] 690 ff.). Peter Lombard's definition of hope, often criticized by Luther, reveals the incompatibility subsisting between the Roman Catholic doctrine of merit and the tenet of the certainty of salvation:

'Est certa expectatio futuræ beatitudinis veniens ex Dei gratia et meritis præcedentibus vel ipsam spem vel rem speratam. Sine meritis enim aliquid sperare, non spes, sed præsumptio dici potest' (lib. iv. dist. 28, 1; quoted by Kunze in *PRE*³ xx. 508).

Thomas Aquinas taught that by a threefold way one may ascertain whether he is the subject of Divine grace or not: (a) by direct revelation on the part of God; (b) by himself (*certitudinaliter*); (c) by various indications (*conjecturaliter per aliqua signa*). But the last two were, in his opinion, uncertain; and, as for the first, God very seldom makes use of it, and only in particular cases (Hagenbach, *Hist. of Christian Doctrines*, Eng. tr. 1880, ii. 303 f.). Aquinas, it is true, held that salvation is attained by the sacraments; but he did not affirm that the communicant has an inward assurance of the reception of saving grace. In his view, a Christian cannot attain to religious certainty, except by direct revelation from God; those to whom this special favour is not vouchsafed must remain in uncertainty:

'Revelat Deus hoc aliquando aliquibus ex speciali privilegio' (*Summa*, ii. i. qu. 112, art. 6).

At the Council of Trent this doctrine was authoritatively affirmed:

'No one can know with a certainty of faith, which cannot be subject to illusion, that he has obtained the grace of God. . . . Except by special revelation, no one can know whom God hath chosen unto himself' (*Concil. Trident.* vi. 12; cf. also vi. 9).

But the experience of devout souls cannot be confined within the limits of official definitions. That before the Reformation believers attained to religious certainty cannot be doubted by those who remember how great is the debt which Roman Catholic Mysticism owes to two 12th cent. saints—not to mention others—Hugo of St. Victor and

Bernard of Clairvaux. The writings of the former have 'a mystical tinge,' and the latter knew by experience that Jesus is the 'bridegroom' of the individual soul. The hymn associated with his name is now ascribed to one of his disciples (see BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX). In it religious certainty finds expression in words whose truth has been confirmed by the experience of Christians of all communions: 'The love of Jesus, what it is, None but His loved ones know'; but they know of a certainty, and that certainty is established rather than shaken by the consciousness that His love 'passeth knowledge' (Eph 3¹⁹). Reference has been made to the decrees of the Council of Trent, but it should not be forgotten that even the story of the Tridentine controversy yields proof that the subject of religious certainty had forced itself upon the attention of thoughtful Christians. At the famous Council, Ambrosius Katharinus was the leader of the Scotists against Dominic da Soto, the leader of the Thomists. Soto held that the Roman Church taught the uncertainty of grace; but Katharinus, who did not regard the authority of the Scholastics as unconditionally binding, maintained that the *certitudo gratiæ* was in accordance with the doctrinal definitions of Rome (*PRE*³ xviii. 539). Juan de Valdés (d. 1541) also, in one of his publications, quotes a discourse on the subject, 'Can a Christian be certain of his justifying and glorifying?', which is extant in Italian, and forms the fifth of the *Trattatelli* (ed. Halle, 1870, Rome, 1872, under the title *Sul principio della dottrina cristiana*).

The controversy in regard to Probabilism, in the Roman Catholic Church, bears upon the question of religious certainty. It is true that casuistry in morals is primarily concerned, but on this subject Harnack reminds us that 'ethics and dogmatics do not admit of being separated.' Proof of the statement is given in a reference to Alfonso Liguori (1699-1787)—'the most influential Roman theologian since the days of the Counter-Reformation.' Liguori's own doubts 'involved him more deeply in the conviction, that it is only in the absolute authority of a father-confessor . . . that any conscience can find rest' (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. 1899, vii. 108).

3. Relation between subjective and objective certainty (Lutheran position).—The notion that a believer in Christ must remain in uncertainty as to whether he is or is not in a state of grace was denounced by Luther as a dangerous and sophistical doctrine (*Com.* on Gal 4⁹). The Reformers' teaching concerning justification by faith involved, says Ihmels, an attempt to answer a twofold question: 'How can man attain objectively and subjectively to communion with God?' To Luther, as to St. Paul, the certainty to which the Gospel testifies is that God is gracious. Objective testimony may be given to this truth, but it is the believer's privilege to know subjectively that God is gracious to him (*PRE*³ xvi. 483). Kattenbusch describes Luther's teaching about salvation as being, in brief, that the man who on earth has experience of the love of God in the forgiveness of sins already enjoys a foretaste of the bliss of heaven. Upon this idea of salvation Luther based his doctrine of the believer's certainty of salvation (*Heilsgewissheit der Gläubigen*). He held that, according to the gospel of the grace of God, a Christian may be assured that it is God's will to forgive and to save (*certum esse de gratia Dei*). But the thought of the ever certain grace of God signified for him not the indifference of God towards sin, but God's power over sin (*PRE*³ xvi. 152).

During Luther's lifetime there were, however, some who regarded his teaching on religious certainty as defective. To questions in regard to the

time and manner of conversion, his answers were said to be indecisive or incomplete. Even in his exposition of the doctrine of justification by faith, Karlstadt and Münzer said that they missed clear instruction concerning 'the transition (*Ueberleitung*) to the certainty that the Divine grace avails even for me, and for me even now' (Feine, *Bekehrung im NT und in der Gegenwart*, 1908, p. 26). The truth is that there were two strains in Luther's teaching. On the one hand, Dörner's definition is thoroughly Lutheran:

'Christian certainty is the Divinely effected certainty that we are known, loved, and reconciled by God (1 Co 8³, Gal 4⁹), since He regards us in Christ. . . . The Holy Spirit . . . creates a firm because a Divine consciousness. The knowledge of man is exalted to Divine knowledge. It is Divine as to its contents, for it knows God and His thoughts of love. But it is also Divinely certain of these contents, without ceasing to be human' (*System of Christian Doctrine*, Eng. tr. 1880, i. 153 ff.).

On the other hand, Luther's affirmation that religious authority is based not on the Bible alone, but on the Bible as interpreted to the individual by the Spirit of God, has led many Lutheran theologians to dwell on the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* less as the inward assurance of personal salvation than as the guarantee of the truth of Scripture, and, indeed, of Christian theology. It should, however, be added that modern Lutheran theologians of the positive school would make the ground of objective certainty not the Scriptures, but the Christ whom the Scriptures reveal.

'The basis of faith is Christ as known to us in the testimony of His first disciples. . . . Nor is it possible to allow any essential difference between Christ as the basis of faith and Christ as the content of faith. He who sees in the man Jesus only His moral majesty, and never beholds His Divine glory, is not led to faith in Him in the religious sense' (Kirm, 'Glaube', *PRE* 3 vi. 681).

H. B. Workman (in *New History of Methodism*, 1909, i. 24) suggests that the reason why the doctrine of assurance has not been a potent factor in the life of the Protestant Churches of the Continent is that 'as Luther grew older his conception of faith became more and more intellectual.' Certainly intellectualism has been unduly prominent in orthodox Lutheran teaching, and it is profoundly true that 'when faith is reduced to the assent of the intellect it ceases to have that guarantee or assurance which faith can have only when it is the consciousness of the soul transformed with the passion of love.' To teach that justification by faith is followed, in due course, normally by knowledge of justification or assurance of salvation is to incur the responsibility of showing, beyond all possibility of doubt, that by faith is meant, not intellectual assent to pure doctrine, but '*Fides specialis*—a personal act, according to which the person confidently applies to himself the *gratia universalis*. This is *Fiducia*. If we analyze this *fiducia* more closely, it is a trustful acceptance, not yet assurance of salvation. Only the contents received by faith have the power to give . . . the *certitudo salutis* by the *testimonium internum Spiritus Sancti*' (Dörner, *op. cit.* iv. 199).

With the statement in this form there would be general agreement. The words omitted assert that 'the contents received by faith have the power to give certainty of their truth.' The religious consciousness does, indeed, verify the saving truths of the gospel; but, as will be shown in the next paragraph of this article, extreme claims have been made in regard to the range of truth which inward assurance has been supposed to guarantee. Religious certainty is quite compatible with scanty knowledge of Christian doctrine, though it always prompts to the acquirement of truth, and indeed is, to a large extent, sustained by knowledge of the truth.

'One may not only have faith, but even the "full assurance" of faith, without a correct knowledge, or even without any theory at all, of the mental process it involves' (Robert Whyte, *Expositor*, 2nd series, viii. [1887] 216).

The relation between subjective and objective assurance in religious certainty will vary. To one who has been carefully instructed in Divine

truth, religious certainty means that what has been implicit becomes explicit; there is a realization of the power of Christ, who may have been theoretically acknowledged as the Son of God, but who has never before been known as Saviour. But another, whose knowledge of Christ's teaching and claims is very scanty, may be led to trust His promise of forgiveness in the hour of conviction of sin; he will have 'an overwhelming feeling of the reality of his experience,' and his growth in assurance will depend upon his diligence in 'the investigation of the grounds of the belief'; in his case that investigation is 'a matter for later reflexion' (see art. BELIEF, vol. ii. p. 463^b).

Among 19th cent. Lutheran theologians who have made a special study of the subject of 'Christian certainty,' a prominent place must be given to F. H. R. von Frank (1827-1894), the founder of the 'Erlangen school' of German theology. His religious experience is instructive. His father was a Lutheran minister with decided leanings towards Rationalism. But, during his University course, Frank was greatly influenced (a) by Harless at Leipzig, who represented the staunch Lutheran orthodoxy of which his pupil afterwards became a firm defender; (b) by Hofmann at Erlangen, under whose guidance he was led to seek 'new methods of teaching old truths.' In his writings Frank endeavours to do justice both to the subjective and to the objective side of religious certainty. R. Seeberg points out (*PRE* 3 vi. 160) that in Hofmann's teaching there is a similar blending, due to his having learnt (a) from Schleiermacher to lay stress upon subjectively experienced spiritual realities; and (b) from Hegel to recognize the importance of the historical method.

In his *System of Christian Certainty*³ (Eng. tr. Edinburgh, 1886), Frank begins by stating that the expression 'Christian certainty' is used 'in a much more comprehensive sense than that of the personal assurance of salvation, the *certitudo salutis*.' But underlying the certainty, in which Frank attempts to find a basis for Christian doctrine, is the experience of regeneration. Of this new life the Christian is certain. Moreover, he is certain that this new experience is not self-produced; in contrast to his former experience, it bears witness to an efficient and sustaining cause. The argument that the central certainty of the Christian stands in indissoluble relation to the objects of faith is developed on three lines: (a) in relation to the *immanent* objects of faith, e.g. consciousness of sin and of the reality of the new life; (b) in relation to the *transcendent* objects of faith, e.g. the reality and personality of God, the one personal God as the triune God, and the fact of the expiation of the God-man, the sinless One; (c) in relation to the *transcendent* objects of faith, by which he means factors which come into consideration because they bring about the transition of those realities, transcendent in themselves, in their operation upon the subject, e.g. the Scriptures, the sacraments, and the Church.

In a sympathetic but discriminating estimate of this elaborate work, R. Seeberg (*op. cit.* p. 161) shows that Frank has been unjustly charged with (a) *subjectivism*, whereas his purpose was not to give expression to the mere affirmations of the religious consciousness, but to demonstrate that certainty of objective reality could be gained by subjective experience and assurance; (b) *intellectualism*, whereas he was in sharp opposition to the error that Christianity consists in a number of dogmas.

'It is only seemingly intellectualism, when all the subtleties of Lutheran doctrine are derived from Christian certainty. What may truthfully be said is that the value of the new

principle of knowledge is overestimated, and that it is incautiously applied.'

With this judgment general agreement would now be expressed. Frank had a profound realization of the evidential value of religious certainty, but he had an unduly exalted sense of the range of its doctrinal implications. In attempting to derive Christian truth from Christian certainty, he passed beyond the limits of the Christian consciousness into regions of thought concerning which it cannot speak. Dörner examines at length Frank's *System of Christian Certainty* in his *System of Christian Doctrine*, i. 52 ff. He speaks of its conclusions as 'a superstructure based upon mere subjectivity' (p. 54)—a severe judgment of which Seeberg's words supply the necessary modification. Especially valuable, however, is Dörner's comparison of Frank's *System der christlichen Gewissheit* with his *System der christlichen Wahrheit*. It is shown that

'Frank presents, strictly regarded, two Doctrines of Faith, one of which would pass from beneath upwards, from the subjective and empirical knowledge of the Christian to God; the other of which, to which he also gives the name of the Metaphysics of Christian Truth, would proceed from above downwards. Both give the Christian contents, but under a different aspect' (*op. cit.* i. 57).

4. *Relation between present and future certainty* (Calvinism).—The doctrine of religious certainty (*certitudo salutis*) has a place in the theology of the Reformed Church.

'Protestantism began as a reassertion of the rights of the individual. The protest against Rome took different forms. Luther emphasized justification by faith, Calvin, the Divine decree; the substance was the same. In either case the necessity of ecclesiastical mediation was denied, and the essence of religion found in the relation between the individual soul and God' (W. Adams Brown, *Christian Theology in Outline*, 1907, p. 190).

But Calvin's close linking of the doctrines of religious certainty and election had important theoretical and practical results. The theoretical result was that the ultimate ground of certainty—the immutable Divine decree—was as external as the special revelation granted to favoured Roman Catholics; the practical result was that emphasis was laid on the assurance of final salvation rather than on the present witness to forgiveness and adoption.

The subject of the certainty of election is discussed at length by Calvin (*Inst.*, Eng. tr. 1845, bk. iii. 24). He grants that 'the enjoyment of their election is in some measure communicated' to the elect, when they are called. 'Those are in error,' he affirms, 'who make the power of election dependent on the faith by which we perceive that we are elected'; yet he cannot but admit that 'in regard to us election is doubtful and ineffectual till confirmed by faith.' It follows that 'we must look there for its certainty, because, if we attempt to penetrate to the secret ordination of God, we shall be engulfed in that profound abyss'; but, having shown that our election is in Christ Jesus, he says: 'If we are elected in Him, we cannot find the certainty of our election in ourselves.' The teaching, as a whole, furnishes scanty ground for assurance to consciences deprived of peace, because, as Calvin declares, they cannot help asking two questions: 'Whence our salvation but from the election of God? But what proof have we of our election?'

In comparison with mediæval teaching, Calvinism marks an advance as regards its doctrine of the certitude of salvation. That the advance was not wholly in the right direction is due to the grounding of that doctrine 'solely upon the eternal nature and working of God Himself.' The Reformed Church claimed to have risen above 'the uncertainty of mere human subjective conviction' to 'immediate apprehension of the objective certainty of salvation as ultimately founded in the eternal

Divine purpose.' The endeavour to combine objective and subjective grounds of certainty indicates a clear perception of the complexity of the problem, but a new difficulty was added when 'the Principle of Absolute Predestination logically took shape, as the ultimate expression of the Protestant Reformation in its search for a certain and infallible ground upon which to base the personal assurance of salvation' (Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church*, 1904, p. 231 ff.).

According to the *Formula Concordiæ*, it is our predestination which assures us of our salvation; but Luther regarded this idea as 'a constant factor of unrest' (*PRE*³ xvi. 155). Hence the affirmation that 'the believer is as certain of his future salvation as he is of his mortality' is not too severely characterized by Thieme as 'a vulgar misunderstanding of the Lutheran doctrine of salvation.' According to that doctrine, the believer does not yet possess the inheritance, although he has become an heir. But even of the inheritance itself the certainty of salvation gives him a foretaste. In the love of God and of his brethren, he already enjoys the fruit of faith (*PRE*³ xxi. 120). The practical tendency of strict Predestinarianism is, as Workman points out (*op. cit.* i. 23), to leave a 'loophole for doubt.' This is evident from the words of the *Helvetic Confession*: 'If thou believest and art in Christ, hold without doubt that thou art elect.' Calvin himself speaks of 'the constant struggle of the faithful with their own distrust.' Nevertheless, the element of truth in Calvinistic teaching on this subject should not be forgotten; it is happily stated by W. Adams Brown (*op. cit.* p. 387):

'It is not a future but a present state which is the primary object of religious assurance. It is God's present forgiveness and acceptance of which we have experimental knowledge, and which is the ground of our confidence. None the less is it true that, since the God with whom we have present communion through Christ is at the same time the Lord of all life, our thought reaches out inevitably to the future, and the consciousness of present acceptance and forgiveness passes imperceptibly into the hope of final salvation.'

5. *Inwardness of religious certainty* (Quakers and Mystics).—The Quaker doctrine of 'the Inner Light' emphasizes the inwardness of religious certainty. Rufus M. Jones holds (*Social Law in the Spiritual World*, 1904, p. 172) that Quakers 'universalized the principle which Luther made fundamental in salvation,' namely, that 'the final test of everything in religion is the test of experience.' The doctrine of the Inner Light has many aspects; some of these do not concern us now. But in simple terms George Fox was defining religious certainty when he said: 'I was commanded to turn people to that inward light . . . by which all might know their salvation'; and again: 'The Light is 'that which reacheth this witness of God in yourselves' (*Journal*², 1901, i. 36, 343). In thus insisting on the trustworthiness of the witness of the religious consciousness, the early Quakers reiterated the doctrine of assurance, as taught by St. Paul. Modern exponents of their teaching, such as Rufus M. Jones, are able to show that to whatever extremes the theory may have led individuals,

'the early Friends did not minimize the importance of the Scriptures, or of the historical Christ and His work for human redemption. . . . One of the great fruits of the Incarnation and Passion, according to their view, was the permanent presence of Christ among men in an inward and spiritual manner, bringing to effect within what His outward life had made possible' (*op. cit.* p. 187 l.).

Edward Grubb claims that the message of the early Quakers may be so re-stated as 'to conserve at once the catholicity of the Mystics' appeal to universal light, the sobriety of the faithful student of religious history, and the fervour of evangelical belief in Christ.' Especially significant is his acknowledgment that

'beneath all the extravagances and unrealities that have marked the Catholic notion of authority, there is at least this solid nucleus of truth: that the Holy Spirit is a present

possession of the Church, and that in the unity of the Christian consciousness there is an authority, not absolute and final, but real and living, which has its place in correcting the vagaries of individual illumination' (*Authority and the Light Within*, 1908, pp. 9, 26).

With such safeguards against excessive subjectivity, it is rightly urged that the doctrine of the Inner Light is in accord with modern psychology.

'That I am I, is the clearest of all facts, but nobody could prove it to me, if I lacked the testimony of consciousness. I know that I have found freedom from the sense of sin, joy in union with the Infinite Spirit, peace through forgiveness only because I *know* it, because it is witnessed within, not because some man in sacred garb has announced it, or because I have read in a book that such an experience *might be mine*' (Rufus M. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 171 t.).

What has been said in regard to the Inner Light applies to the essential truth of Mysticism. There is wisdom in Garvie's contention that, inasmuch as the chief peril of Mysticism is the isolation of its teaching concerning the contact of the soul with God, 'this contact need not be spoken of, as it often is, as *mystical*; the term *spiritual* should be used' (*Mansfield College Essays*, 1909, p. 166). The writer of this article has elsewhere endeavoured to show that true Mysticism is inseparable from the teaching of the NT in regard to the work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers; that it is implied in spiritual religion and neglects none of its elements; that it is distinguishable from false Mysticism in that it undervalues neither the historic basis of faith nor the testimony of the Scriptures, and is independent neither of the means of grace nor of the corroborative witness of the saints. The individual believer may derive religious certainty from the testimony of his own consciousness; and

'the argument from experience is not discredited by the charge that it depends upon an appeal to feelings. This is not its sole basis; moreover, feelings are facts which must be accounted for and which may be subjected to tests. The believer who has "felt" may by thought and inquiry establish the credibility of the facts which prove that his faith accords with reason' (*Spiritual Religion*, 1901, p. 124 t.).

The reason why Mysticism has been prone to under-value the objective grounds of confidence is admirably stated by W. B. Pope:

'Mysticism has been in all ages either *avowedly* or *virtually* a reaction and protest against superstitious dependence on the external props of Christian certitude, and such exaggeration of the solemnity of the inward witness was to be expected. It is seen among the Pietists of Germany, among the Friends, and occasionally among the less instructed Methodists; in fact, among all who have been suddenly aroused by strong tides of religious revival from indifference or from ceremonialism to the intense pursuit of personal salvation' (*Compendium of Christian Theology*², 1880, iii. 123).

6. Joint witness of Divine and human spirit (Methodist teaching).—The fundamental contribution of Methodism to the life and thought of the Church' is said by Workman (*op. cit.* i. 19) to be 'the doctrine of Assurance.' It is not implied that the doctrine is peculiar to Methodism, as the quotations from the *Homilies* of the Church of England and from Hooker (*Works*, iii. 673) sufficiently prove. But it is asserted, and with good reason, that Wesley's teaching was regarded as 'a dangerous innovation,' and that he made Assurance part of his 'working creed.' When Jeremy Taylor is quoted as having influenced Wesley by his teaching that perpetual doubt concerning acceptance with God is necessary, it should also be remembered that Samuel Wesley, the rector of Epworth, gave this dying charge to his son John: 'The inward witness, son, the inward witness—this is the proof, the strongest proof, of Christianity' (*New History of Methodism*, i. 168). A twofold interest attaches to the narrative of Wesley's visit to Herrnhut: (1) Lutherans still write as though the Methodist doctrine of Assurance reduced the witness of the Holy Spirit to 'a feeling of peace' (Ihmels, in *PRE*³ xvi. 514); but Wesley learnt from Christian

David, one of the Moravian Brethren, that 'being justified is widely different from the full assurance of faith.' Hence he writes after his visit:

'I now saw clearly that we ought not to insist on anything we *feel*, any more than on anything we *do*, as if it were necessary previous to justification or the remission of sins. I saw that least of all ought we so to insist on the full assurance of faith as to exclude those who had not attained this from the Lord's Table.'

(2) Sacramentarianism and the doctrine of Assurance represent two opposite conceptions of the spiritual life. One extreme doctrine confines grace to sacramental channels, but another extreme theory was held by those Moravians who made full assurance an essential condition for partaking of the Holy Communion. This part of their teaching Wesley could not accept. That the Lord's Supper may prove the means of grace at which the believing communicant attains to religious certainty is proved by the experience of the mother of the Wesleys. The inscription on her tombstone in Bunhill Fields states that she received the assurance of the forgiveness of sins whilst her son-in-law, Mr. Hall, was handing to her the cup and repeating the words, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee.'

At the Reformation, Luther re-affirmed and emphasized the doctrine of justification by faith; and, in the 18th cent. Revival, Wesley re-affirmed and emphasized the doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit. The distinguishing features of his exposition of religious certainty are his insistence on 'the joint testimony of God's Spirit and our spirit,' and his refusal to identify them. He defines the testimony of our own spirit as 'the testimony of our own conscience that God hath given us to be holy of heart, and holy in outward conversation. It is a consciousness of our having received, in and by the Spirit of adoption, the tempers mentioned in the word of God as belonging to His adopted children.' Concerning the testimony of God's Spirit, he insists that

'it must needs be, in the very nature of things, antecedent to the testimony of our own spirit'; and, 'desiring any who are taught of God to correct, to soften, or to strengthen, the expression,' he says: 'the testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given Himself for me; and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God' (*Sermon* x.).

That Wesley did 'much to clear the Scriptural doctrine of Assurance from the misapprehensions that have obscured it' is shown by W. B. Pope (*op. cit.* iii. 125). The following points are made prominent: (1) Assurance is 'the common privilege' of all believers; this is important in view of current misconceptions of Methodist teaching, as though it identified faith and the assurance of faith. The Holy Spirit bears witness with human spirits, hence there will always be differences in human experience.

'The Spirit's witness comes from God, therefore it is veracious, Divine, omnipotent; but the Spirit's witness from God is *in a man*, therefore it may be wrongly read, it may be checked, it may for a time be kept down, and prevented from showing itself to be what it is' (Maclaren, *Sermons preached in Manchester*, 1871, 1st series, p. 66).

Yet Assurance is 'a result of faith that may be expected, and should be sought.' (2) Assurance is 'the direct witness' of the Spirit; by this Wesley meant that there is a testimony of the Holy Spirit 'other than that which arises from a consciousness of the fruit of the Spirit' (*Works*, v. 132); there is a joint testimony, but 'our own spirit is not supposed to bring its inferences to be confirmed; rather the witness of the Holy Spirit to our adoption is borne through the spirit of our new regenerate life' (Pope, *op. cit.* iii. 129). (3) Assurance is confirmed by the accompaniment of 'the indirect witness, or testimony of the conscience on the evidence of a sincere life.' To the

pragmatic test 'By their fruits ye shall know them' Wesley submitted his doctrine of Assurance. He encouraged none to imagine that they had the Holy Spirit's witness unless the fruit of the Spirit was seen in their lives. As expressed by the psychologist, his teaching is that

'religion includes . . . a new zest which adds itself like a gift to life . . . an assurance of safety and a temper of peace, and, in relation to others, a preponderance of loving affections' (James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, p. 485 f.).

Of this indirect witness Wesley speaks (*Sermon xi.*) as 'the result of reason, or reflexion on what we feel in our own souls. Strictly speaking, it is a conclusion drawn partly from the word of God, and partly from our own experience.' Modern psychological study of the phenomena of the spiritual life justifies the criticism which maintains that the witness of the Christian consciousness cannot be confined to intellectual processes of inference and reflexion. 'This witness is indirect as a conclusion; but as the consciousness of experience, or of conscience, which is the moral consciousness, it is as direct as that of the Spirit Himself' (Pope, *op. cit.* iii. 130). It is quite in harmony with Wesley's own teaching concerning spiritual experience which 'shines by its own light' (*Christian Perfection*, p. 119) when Sheldon says that

'from living spiritual affections' there issues 'spontaneous conviction without any consciousness of argumentative procedure. . . . In stimulating to love and trust, the Holy Spirit contributes to assurance. . . . For the Holy Spirit to enkindle love, especially in one who is confronted by the objective revelation of God's love in Christ, is to work effectively toward an inward persuasion of the love of God. . . . Assurance is in and through the filial consciousness, which consciousness is at once an activity of man's spirit and a product of the Holy Spirit's agency' (*System of Christian Doctrine*, 1903, p. 472 ff.).

The attempt to explain the Holy Spirit's utterance of the cry 'Abba, Father' as one of the ecstatic phenomena of the glossolalia (Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*?, 1899, p. 66) is rightly rejected by G. B. Stevens, on the ground that 'the thought of both passages where the Abba-cry is mentioned is quite remote from the subject of speaking with tongues.' In the doctrine of the Spirit's witness to the believer assuring him of his sonship to God 'we reach the Apostle's most characteristic thoughts.' Answering the question 'whether the Spirit is conceived of as the cause of the fact of sonship, or as the cause of the assurance of it,' the same writer says:

'I hold the latter to be Paul's thought. . . . The sinner becomes a son of God in justification by faith. To this fact the Spirit bears witness, enabling him to realize the certainty of his sonship to God' (*The Theology of the NT*, 1899, p. 440 f.).

In his sympathetic exposition of 'the evangelical Arminianism of Wesley,' G. P. Fisher shows that 'the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, of His indispensable agency in conversion and sanctification, was never displaced or lowered in the Wesleyan creed. This faith in the living power of the Holy Spirit, not anything ascribed to unaided human agency, was the secret of the emphasis which was laid on Assurance as a privilege attainable by all believers' (*Hist. of Assurance Doctrine*, 1896, p. 392).

7. Relation between personal and collective certainty (Ritschlian School).—The work of the Holy Spirit is inadequately treated in the writings of Ritschl. Garvie is of opinion that this is, to some extent, due to 'the limited range of his religious experience' (*The Ritschlian Theology*, 1899, p. 337 ff.). In this respect, however, the disciples of Ritschl have supplemented his teaching. An able and systematic statement of the doctrine of religious certainty, from the Ritschlian point of view, has been given by Clasen (*Die christliche Heilsgewissheit*, 1897). Uncertainty in regard to personal salvation is said to result from attempting to answer such questions as 'Have I done enough to merit salvation?' or 'Am I holy enough to be sure that I am saved?' (p. 3). But it is clearly stated that a Christian may be certain of the grace of God, that he may know that he is

reconciled to God through Jesus Christ, and that, in spite of sin, he is a child of God and an heir of eternal life (p. 13). The writer's main positions are: (1) that religious certainty must have a firmer foundation than the excitement of the feelings (p. 64); (2) that religious certainty does not consist in the knowledge of God merely, inasmuch as with that knowledge may co-exist a consciousness of the chasm which separates sinful man from the holy God (p. 68); (3) that religious certainty cannot be attained by means of an idea, or of a doctrine, or of a book, but by communion with a person in whom God Himself draws near to us (p. 72); (4) that religious certainty rests upon our knowledge of what Christ is to us rather than upon our comprehension of what He is in Himself (p. 78).

In several striking passages, Clasen shows that religious certainty has both an objective and a subjective basis. Objectively it rests upon the fact of Christ; subjectively upon experience of redemption from sin (p. 17).

'Without this inward redemption, however obedient one may be to the precepts of Christianity, however much he may know of God in Christ, however confidently he may accept all Christian doctrine, he has no Christian certainty, his Christianity is only an external form' (p. 18). Clasen does not, however, advance beyond the teaching of Ritschl that 'the individual can experience the peculiar effect which proceeds from Christ only in connection with the community founded by Him. . . . The individual believer. . . is reconciled by God through Christ in the community founded by Christ' (*Justification and Reconciliation*, 1900, p. 678).

In full accord with this teaching, Clasen argues that, although an individual may come to doubt his standing in grace, as a member of the Kingdom of God he has 'in this fact a guarantee that the redemption of Jesus Christ, which is a pre-supposition of the existence of this Kingdom, has actually attained its end in him and avails for him' (p. 28). But the Reformation doctrine is that individuals have access to grace as individuals, and not as individuals who are members of the 'community of reconciliation.' As a sympathetic student of the Ritschlian theology points out,

'Ritschl does not distinguish between the historical and the religious significance of the community. Its historical significance appears in that it can lead the individual to Christ by instruction and example. But it must also point the individual away from itself to Christ, for in the deepest religious acts all historical mediation vanishes and the individual soul has to do with God alone. The importance of the doctrine of Justification is independent of the theory that the Church is the storehouse of the Divine treasures of grace; its central truth is individual assurance of salvation. Therefore, the doctrine of Justification does not require the subordination of the individual to the society' (Wendland, *Albrecht Ritschl und seine Schüler*, 1899, p. 126).

To this able criticism may be added the words of an Anglican theologian. Writing on the mission of the Holy Spirit, T. B. Strong says:

'It is certainly subjective; that is, it comes not only to the Church as a whole, but to each individual soul. . . . The grace which comes to those who receive the Holy Ghost inspires them with certainty' (*Man. of Theol.*, 1903, p. 336 f.).

8. Scriptural basis.—The doctrine of religious certainty, as it is sketched in this article, is broadly based on the teachings of Scripture. It does not rest upon a few cardinal passages. A writer who has felt the influence of Ritschl acknowledges that in the NT, although salvation is represented in different aspects,

'all who are in possession of this new life are represented as having a clear consciousness of it. "You know," "we know" are expressions used again and again.' In a later passage, after recalling 'the plenitude of possibilities' by which different types of conversion are explained, he adds: 'If we should from this draw the conclusion that for this reason there is, generally speaking, no consciousness of the new life, because this consciousness is so different in every individual . . . then this would be a fallacy of the most fatal kind, and recognizable as such, because logically it would necessitate the denial of the assurance of salvation' (Haege, *The Ethics of the Christian Life*, Eng. tr. 1909, pp. 199, 206).

'We know' is the frequently recurring expression of St. John's doctrine of Assurance; for an

interesting comparison of his view of religious certainty with that of St. Paul, although both Apostles describe 'the same fundamental Christian experience,' see Law, *Tests of Life*, 1909, p. 279 ff.

'Full assurance' or 'much assurance' is the RV rendering of *πληροφροια* in Col. 2^a and 1 Th. 1^a. Commenting on the former passage, Lightfoot says that "'full assurance" seems to be the meaning of the substantive wherever it occurs in the NT.' If this translation be adopted in Heb. 6¹¹ and 10²², where RV has 'fulness' (AV 'full assurance'), religious certainty is expressed in the two phrases 'full assurance of hope' and 'full assurance of faith.'

Bruce (*Com. in loc.*) has an excellent paraphrase of both verses: 'that your salvation may be a matter of certainty, and not merely of charitable hope' (6¹¹). 'With a true heart'—i.e. not timid and fearful—he can draw near who has full assurance of faith, 'absolute unqualified confidence, without any doubt of a gracious reception.' Such confidence is justified by the facts mentioned in vv. 19-21 (1022).

The fullest analysis of religious certainty is found in two passages in St. Paul's Epistles, namely, Rom. 8^{15c} and Gal. 4⁶. The Holy Spirit, as the Spirit of adoption, produces in the believer the assurance of his sonship. The variation of the phraseology is especially instructive, and is clearly brought out by Swete (*The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, pp. 204 f., 218 f.).

The Spirit of sonship makes the adopted sons 'conscious of their sonship and capable of fulfilling their responsibilities.' In Gal 4⁶ it is the Spirit who cries 'Abba, Father,' but 'the words which are uttered belong to the human subject and not to the Divine Spirit, and, when they appear again in Rom. 8¹⁵, this is made evident by a verbal change in the phrase with which they are introduced; in the later Epistle it stands in which we cry. But crying in Galatians has its own truth to teach; the Spirit of God inspires the cry which the human spirit utters.' Any doctrine of religious certainty is incomplete which weakens St. Paul's statement that in the believer the Holy Spirit is a filial spirit. 'It inspires the daily *Pater noster* of the Church; in those who are led by it, it is a joint-witness with their own consciousness that they possess the nature as well as the rights of sons.'

LITERATURE.—Full references have been given in the various sections of the article. The subject is treated in most manuals of Theology. In addition the following may be mentioned: Cunningham, *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation*, 1862, Essay 8; Carlbom, *Zur Lehre von der christlichen Gewissheit*, 1874; E. White, *Certainty in Religion*, 1880; Ussing, *Den christelige Vished*, 1883; Bois, *De la certitude chrétienne*, 1887; Cremer, *Die Entstehung der christlichen Gewissheit*, 1893; Gess, 'Ob ein Christ seines Heils gewiss werden könne,' in *Neus Christotierpe*, 1894; Hodgson, *Theologia Pectoris*, 1898; Turner, *Knowledge, Belief, and Certitude*, 1900; Stalker, 'Basis of Christian Certainty,' in *Expositor*, 6th series, vi. (1902) 394; Gottschick, *Die Heilsgewissheit des evangelischen Christen im Anschlus an Luther dargestellt*, 1903; Beet, *The New Life in Christ*, 1903, lect. 10; W. L. Walker, *The Holy Spirit*, 1907, p. 61 f.; Leckie, *Authority in Religion*, 1909.

J. G. TASKER.

CEYLON.—In addition to the following article on CEYLON BUDDHISM, see DRAVIDIANS, HINDUISM, ISLAM IN INDIA AND CEYLON, VEDDAS.

CEYLON BUDDHISM.—According to the tradition handed down at Anurādhapura, Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon by a mission sent by Aśoka (q.v.) the Great. It will be convenient, after (1) discussing this story, to group the rest of the scanty historical material under the following heads: (2) the Order: its temporalities; (3) its literary activity; (4) the outward forms of the religion; (5) the religious life; (6) the Doctrine.

I. The introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon.—We have at least eight accounts, in extant historical works, of the way in which the island of Ceylon became Buddhist. Apart from a few unimportant details, the accounts agree, all of them being derived, directly or indirectly, from the now lost *Mahāvamsa* (see under LITERATURE [Buddhist]), or Great Chronicle, kept at the Great Minster in Anurādhapura. The lost Chronicle was written in Sinhalese, with occasional mnemonic

verses in Pāli, and our earliest extant authority is probably very little else than a reproduction of these verses. The later extant works give us, in varying degree and usually in Pāli, the gist also of the prose portion of the lost Chronicle. We have space only for the main features of the story as told in the oldest of our texts—the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, composed in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. respectively.¹

In the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., Tissa, the then king of Ceylon, though still a pagan, sent an embassy to Aśoka, the Buddhist emperor of India, soliciting his friendship. The emperor sent him presents in return, recommended him to adopt the Buddhist faith, and afterwards sent his own son Mahinda (who had entered the Buddhist Order) as a missionary to Ceylon to convert the king. Mahinda, with his six companions, flew through the air, and alighted on Mount Missaka, the modern Mahintale, seven miles from Anurādhapura. There the king was hunting, and met the new-comers. Mahinda, after some conversation, discoursed to him on the 'Elephant Trail'—a well-known simile (*Majjhima*, i. 175) in which the method to be followed in discovering a good teacher is compared with the method adopted by a hunter in following up an elephant trail; and incidentally a summary is given of the Buddha's teaching. Well pleased with the discourse, the king was still more pleased to find that the missionary was the son of his ally Aśoka. He invited the party to the capital, and sent his chariot for them the next morning; but they declined it, and flew through the air. On hearing of their arrival in this miraculous way, the king went to meet them, conducted them to the palace, and provided them with food. After the meal, Mahinda addressed the ladies of the court on the Heavenly Mansions and the Four Truths. But the crowd grew too great for the hall. An adjournment was made to the park, and there, till sundown, Mahinda spoke to the multitude on the Wise Men and the Fools. On the next day the princess Anulā, with five hundred of her ladies, requested permission of the king to enter the Buddhist Order. The king asked Mahinda to receive them, but the missionary explained how for that purpose it was necessary, according to their rules, to have recourse to the Order of *bhikkhunis*, and urged him to write to Aśoka to send over his (Mahinda's) sister Saṅghamittā, a profoundly learned member of the Order, with other *bhikkhunis*. The people of the city, hearing of these events, thronged the gates of the palace to hear the new teacher. The king had the elephant stables cleansed and decorated as a meeting-hall, and there a discourse was addressed to the people on the uncertainty of life. For twenty-six days the mission remained at the capital expounding the new teaching, which was accepted by king and people. The king despatched an embassy, under Ariyaratne, to Aśoka, asking that Saṅghamittā should be sent over, and also a branch of the Wisdom Tree under which the Buddha had attained *nirvāpa*. Both were sent, and received with great ceremony. The tree was planted in a garden at Anurādhapura (and there it still flourishes, an object of reverence to Buddhists throughout the world). A special residence was prepared for Saṅghamittā and presented to the Order, together with the garden in which it stood. The mast and rudder of the ship that brought her and the branch of the Wisdom Tree to Ceylon were placed there as trophies. The *Mahāvamsa*, in giving these details, adds (xix. 71) that through all the subsequent schisms the *bhikkhunis* maintained their position there. That may have been so up to the date of the Chronicle. But the Sisterhood was never important in Ceylon, and is now all but extinct.

A list has been preserved at the Great Minster (*Mahāvamsa*, xx. 20-25) of the buildings erected by King Tissa in support of his new faith. They were: (1) The Great Minster, close to the place where the branch of the Wisdom Tree was planted; (2) the Chetiya Vihāra, Mahinda's residence on Mt. Missaka; (3) the Great Stūpa (still standing); (4) the Vihāra close by it; (5) the Issara Samapa Vihāra (still in good preservation), a residence for brethren of good family;² (6) the Vessa Giri Vihāra for brethren of ordinary birth; (7) the so-called First Stūpa; (8) and (9) residences for the Sisterhood; (10) and (11) Vihāras at the port where the Wisdom Tree was landed, and at its first resting-place on the way to the capital.³

It is difficult, without fuller evidence, to decide how far the account, here given in abstract, is to be accepted. On the one hand, there are miraculous details that are incredible; and, the original document being lost, we have only reproductions of it some five or six centuries later in date. On the other hand, we know that the tradition was uninterrupted, i.e. the lost documents were extant when our authorities were composed; and such contemporary evidence as we have con-

¹ For these works, see LITERATURE (Buddhist); and W. Geiger, *Dipavamsa and Mahāvamsa*, Leipzig, 1905, for a detailed analysis of their relation to one another and to the other extant works.

² This regard paid to birth in assigning buildings to the Order is against the rules. Had the list been invented at a later period, it is scarcely possible that the distinction would have been made.

³ A full statement of all the authorities for each episode is given by Geiger, *op. cit.*, 114-119.

firms the story in at least two of its main points. Asoka's own edicts claim that he sent missionaries to various countries, and among these he mentions Ceylon;¹ and in a bas-relief on one of the carved gateways to the Sānchi Tope, which bears Asoka's crest (the peacock), we have a remarkable representation of a royal procession bearing reverently a branch of an *assattha* tree (the Wisdom Tree was an *assattha*) to some unmentioned destination.²

It is probable, indeed, that Buddhists had reached Ceylon from North India (the South was still pagan) before the time of King Tissa, and that the ground had been thereby prepared. It is quite possible, and indeed probable, that the formal conversion of the king and the declared adherence of the people were brought about by an official embassy from the ardent Buddhist who was also the powerful emperor of India. It is certain that Tissa was the first Buddhist king of Ceylon, and that it was in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. that Buddhism became the predominant faith. It is needless to add that the then existing animism or paganism still survived, especially among the ignorant, whether rich or poor. It has been constantly in evidence, still exists throughout the island in the treatment of disease, and has been throughout the only religion of the Veddas.

2. The Order: its temporalities.—The evidence as to the numbers of the Order, and its possessions at any particular period, is both meagre and vague. The chronicles afford us little help. They give, it is true, quite a number of names of *vihāras* constructed or repaired by the kings and their courtiers. But it is only quite occasionally that the size of the residence or the extent of its property is referred to. The inscriptions are more instructive. The oldest date from about 235 B.C., and were cut by order of the niece of King Tissa himself, at a spot where the branch of the Wisdom Tree rested on its way from the seaport on the east coast to Anurādhapura. According to Parker (*Ceylon*, 420 ff.), this was No. 11 of the list (given above) of *vihāras*, etc., constructed by King Tissa; and it is most interesting to see what such a *vihāra* was.

There is here a range, about 1½ miles long, of low-lying hills covered with rocks and boulders. The caves have been hollowed out, and had, no doubt, been plastered and painted. Apartments were also made under the boulders, by building walls against them and adding doors. Such apartments were intended for shelter and sleep. The ground outside is more or less levelled, and planted with palms and other trees. The grass, in their shade, commanding a wide view of hill and plain, furnishes what in that warm climate is almost an ideal class-room, sitting-room, and study. There was facility for cultured talk or solitude. A reservoir was constructed below to supply water to the villagers, who, in their turn, were glad to provide the Brethren with sufficient food and clothing. In other instances the lands had been granted to the Order. Here we have no evidence of such a grant. There are about fifty inscriptions on the cave residences scattered over the hills. They give the name either of the resident Brother or of the 'maker' of the cave. In the latter case it is usually added that the cave is given to the Order as a whole. There are many hundreds of such hillside residences in Ceylon; but there is only one other place known to the present writer where so many are found together.

That other is Mahintale. Here there is a three-peaked hill, several miles long. Each peak is crowned by a *dāgaba*. The ascent to a table-land between two of the peaks is assisted by a flight of

nearly two thousand steps of granite, each 20 feet broad. Fā-Hien (*Travels*, tr. by Legge, 1886, p. 107) was told at the beginning of the 5th cent. that there were 2000 *bhikkhus* dwelling on the hill; and Tennent (*Ceylon*, ii. 604) says:

'The rock in many places bears inscriptions recording the munificence of the sovereigns of Ceylon, and the ground is strewn with the fragments of broken carved-work and the debris of ruined buildings.'

An inscription, beautifully engraved on two slabs of polished stone standing at the top of the great staircase, is full of historical matter. It records rules to be observed by the residents in different parts of the hill in their relations toward each other, and in the management of the estates belonging to the Order there. We hear of a bursar, an almoner, a treasurer, an accountant, and other officials. Revenues from certain lands, and the offertory at certain shrines, were to be devoted respectively to the repair of certain buildings. Unfortunately, neither the extent of the lands nor the amount of the revenue is stated. An interesting point is that, whereas each repeater of the *Vinaya* (Rules of the Order) is to receive five measures of rice as the equivalent for food and robes, a repeater of the *Suttas* is to receive seven, and a repeater of the *Abhidhamma* twelve. The date of these rules is somewhat late—end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th cent.—but they are based on earlier regulations. They have been often translated. The best version is by M. Wickremasinghe, in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i. 98 ff.; but even there some of the most instructive passages are still obscure.

Spence Hardy gives the number of *bhikkhus* in Ceylon in the middle of the 19th cent. as 2500 (*Eastern Monachism*, 57, 309); Fā-Hien (tr. Legge, ch. 38) gives the number in the beginning of the 5th cent. as twenty times as large. The proportion at the later date would be 1 to 1000 of the population, and at the earlier date the population must have been much larger. The actual number ascertained by the Census to be in Ceylon in 1901 was 7331, and these authentic figures throw considerable doubt on both the above estimates. The proportion of rice fields held by the Order to those held by the people seems to have been quite insignificant. The Brethren, with very rare exceptions, have been satisfied with rice for food and cotton clothes for raiment; and Tennent cannot be far wrong when he says (*Ceylon*, i. 351): 'The vow of poverty, by which their order is bound, would seem to have been righteously observed.'

3. The Order: its literary activity.—One of the main duties of the Brethren was the preservation of the literature. There were neither printers nor publishers. Any teacher who desired to make his views known had to gather round him a number of disciples sufficiently interested in the doctrine to learn by heart the paragraphs (*Suttas*) or verses (*Gāthās*) in which it was expressed. They, in their turn, had to teach by repetition to others. Were the succession of teachers and pupils once broken, the doctrine was absolutely lost. This has frequently happened. We know the names, and the names only, of systems that have thus perished. Writing was indeed known, and short notes could be scratched on leaves. But materials for writing books were not invented in India or Ceylon till the 1st cent. B.C., and were even then so unsatisfactory that the long-continued habit of recitation was still kept up.¹ The books written on leaves tied together with string were most difficult to consult. There were no dictionaries or books of reference. Practically the whole of the material aids to our modern education were wanting. This may help to explain why, even as late as the 10th cent., we

¹ Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyāḍasi* 2, 1881-86, I. 64, 270.

² See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 1903, p. 302, and pls. 52, 54, 55 for illustrations.

¹ This curious (probably unique) state of things is discussed at length in the present writer's *Buddhist India*, 120-140.

hear (see § 2) of *repeaters* of the sacred books. In transliterated editions of the size and type used by the Pāli Text Society these books would take more than 30 volumes of about 400 pages each.

This literature was in a dead language, almost as foreign to the Sinhalese as Pāli is to us. Elaborate explanations were required in their own language. These were recorded in books, and repeated in class, but not learnt by heart, as the grammar and dictionary were. In the 4th cent. the Sinhalese began to use Pāli as the literary language, and soon afterwards these commentaries were re-written in that language. The whole of this literature, text and commentary, has been preserved for us by the untiring industry of the Order in Ceylon. This was possible only by a system so exacting that it left little opportunity for originality. Daily classes, attended for many years, with the constant appeal to authority, are not favourable to subsequent independence of thought.

It was mainly in the larger *vihāras* (groups of residences) that these studies were carried on. In the smaller *vihāras*, scattered above the villages throughout the country, there was often only one Elder and two or three juniors. One or other of these had probably assumed the robes with a view to education rather than religion, intending to leave at a convenient opportunity (just as the youths in our Grammar Schools used to wear clerical garb). He would not be very keen to learn by heart the volumes of the Canon Law. After learning a little Pāli, he would be taught the poetry and easier prose literature of the *Suttas*. Perhaps he would get interested, and desire to remain permanently; but this was the exception. Part of his duty would be to teach the boys and girls of the village to write Sinhalese, with pointed sticks in the sand. If another of the juniors had joined for good, the Elder would have to give him quite a different training preparatory to his going up to the larger *vihāras*, which were a sort of university.

There were both advantages and disadvantages in such a system, the latter predominating. The Order could not efficiently do what is now expected of Board School teachers, private tutors, Secondary School masters, and Professors, and at the same time act as annalists, record-keepers, librarians, and authors. Their difficulties were increased by the want of all modern mechanical aids, and not a little by incursions of barbarians, who, not seldom, burnt their books and buildings. The advantages of the system are seen in its results. The average intelligence of the Sinhalese is high; and they alone, of all the semi-Aryan tribes in India, have succeeded in preserving for us a literature extending over two thousand years, and containing materials for the religious history both of India and Ceylon. For the *bhikkhus* found time not only to repeat the old Pāli books, but to write a voluminous new literature of their own, in Sinhalese and Pāli. Of this much has been lost, but much still survives.¹

4. The Order: the outward forms of religion.—It is not possible as yet to say how far the religious life of the Order in Ceylon differed from that of the early Buddhists in India, as none of the Sinhalese religious literature has so far been properly edited or translated. Spence Hardy has translated extracts, and, to judge from his specimens of the *Questions of King Milinda*, has not been very exact. But a beginning may be made, and first as to the outward forms of the faith. The *Kathina* ceremony has nearly died out. In

¹ As full an account of the Sinhalese literature as is possible in the present state of our studies, with a complete bibliography, will be found in W. Geiger's handbook, *Litteratur und Sprache der Sinhaleesen*. Strassburg, 1900.

N. India it was a quaint and pretty affair. A layman or village offered to the *bhikkhu* resident in a certain locality enough cotton cloth to provide each of them with a new set of robes for the coming year. If, in chapter assembled, the offer was accepted, then a day was fixed, on which all the local *bhikkhus* had to be present, and to help, while the peasantry marked the cloth where it was to be cut to make the right number of robes, cut it, washed it, dyed it, dried it in the sun, sewed it together, with the requisite seams, gussets, etc., and offered to the senior *bhikkhu* the particular robe he chose. All this had to be completed in one day, or the gift was void. In Ceylon (S. Hardy, *East. Mon.* 121) the custom is sometimes extended to making also the cloth from the raw cotton on the same day. On this Tennent (*Ceylon*, i. 351) quotes Herodotus (ii. 122) as saying that the Egyptian priests held a yearly festival at which one of them was invested with a robe made in a single day; and also the Scandinavian myth of the Valkyries, who weave 'the crimson web of war' between the rising and the setting of the sun.

This ceremony was carried out in India after the yearly season of retreat during the rains (*Vassa*). The Retreat was necessary in India, as the *bhikkhus* did not reside, as a rule, in particular spots, but wandered about teaching. This being impossible during the tropical rains of Northern India (from July to October), they went then into retreat. In Ceylon all this is changed. They retain the name (corrupted into *Was*) and apply it to the original months. These in Ceylon are, however, not rainy; the *bhikkhus* do not wander during the other nine months, and do not, as a rule, go into retreat. But they utilize the fine weather in *Was* to hold what we should call an open-air mission.

² As there are no regular religious services at any other time, the peasantry make a special occasion of this. They erect under the palm trees a platform, often roofed but open at the sides, and ornamented with bright cloths and flowers. Round this they sit in the moonlight on the ground, and listen the night through to the sacred words repeated and expanded by relays of *bhikkhus*. They chat pleasantly now and again with their neighbours, and indulge all the while in the mild narcotic of the betel leaf.³

No such missions were arranged by the early Buddhists. Conversation was the usual means of propaganda, though this lapsed fairly often into monologue, and there are a few cases of arrangements made for a single *bhikkhu* to address villagers.

The ceremony of *Upasampadā* (Reception into the Order) has remained practically the same. But the authority empowered to conduct it has greatly changed. In the ancient days the basis of government in the Order was the locality. The *bhikkhus* in any one locality could meet in chapter, and decide any point. For ordination a chapter of five was required, presided over by an Elder of ten years' seniority. The last kings of Ceylon gave the power to the Malwatte and Asgiri Vihāras at Kandy, thus taking the first step towards the substitution of a centralized hierarchy for the old union of independent republics. A new sect—the Amarapura—disputes the validity of this revolution.³ The same sect objects to another innovation in outward forms—the leaving of the right shoulder bare when adjusting the robe for ordinary use (S. Hardy, *East. Mon.* 115). There is a third, very small, sect—the Rāmanya—which also objects to these changes, and goes even further in its strict observance of the ancient rules than the Amarapura.

5. The religious life.—As regards the religious spirit of the Order in historical times in Ceylon, the amount of evidence is at present very slight. S. Hardy's extracts from mediæval Ceylon books

¹ See *Vinaya*, i. 253 ff.; tr. in *SEE* xvii. 146 ff.

² Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*²², p. 68 (slightly changed). See also S. Hardy, *East. Mon.* 232 ff.

³ Oldenberg, *Buddha*³, 1907, p. 390 ff.; Dickson, *JRAS*, 1893 p. 169 ff.

deal almost exclusively with the embellished accounts they give of Indian Buddhists. In the few cases of Ceylon Buddhists there seems to be but little difference. On one particular point, that of *samādhi* ('concentration,' often rendered 'meditation'), the present writer has published a Ceylon text (the only text in the Sinhalese language as yet edited in transliteration); and the introduction discusses the question as to how far the details differ from the corresponding details in Indian Buddhist books.¹ We have in this manual nearly 3000 different exercises to be gone through in order to produce, one after the other, 112 ethical states arranged in ten groups. These deal respectively with joy, bliss, self-possession, impermanence, memory, planes of being, love, knowledge, the noble eightfold Path, and its goal, *nirvāṇa*. Some of the conceptions are of great ethical beauty; it is doubtful whether the suggested sequence is really of any practical value; most of the groups are found already in the Pāli *Suttas*, but there are slight variations in detail. A quaint addition is the association, in some of these exercises, of the five elements (earth, fire, water, wind, and space) with the ethical states under practice. This reminds one of the supposed association between colour and sound; and it is not easy to see exactly what is meant.

6. The Doctrine.—Ceylon Buddhism, so far as regards the philosophy, the ethics, and the psychology on which the ethics are based, remains much the same as the Buddhism of the Indian Pāli texts. Details are sometimes a little different, but not in essential matters. These are amplified and systematized; occasionally new technical terms are added, or greater stress is laid on terms scarcely used in the *Suttas*. But the essentials, so far as our present evidence shows, remain the same. Buddhaghosa's *Path of Purity*, the main authority for the ethics of the middle period, has not yet been published. The *Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha* (edited by the present writer in *JPTS*, 1884), the manual used by all *bhikkhus* in the study of philosophy, psychology, and ontology from the 12th cent. down to the present day, has not yet been translated. When these are available greater precision may be possible.

It is far otherwise with the legendary material relating to persons, and especially to the Buddha. A comparison of the episodes quoted by S. Hardy from the Ceylon books shows a marked difference from the same episodes in the Indian books. The love of the Sinhalese for the miraculous, for the art of the story-teller and the folk-lore, has cast its glamour over them all. These mediæval Ceylon authors far outdistance Buddhaghosa, the Indian Buddhist, fond as he was of a story. But it is the same tendency, and we need not be surprised to find that it has grown stronger with the lapse of centuries. It results partly from a want of intellectual exactitude, partly from a craving for artistic literary finish. The mediæval literature was largely devoted to such tales, which we know only from Pāli versions such as the *Rasa-vāhinī*; there is quite a number of them buried in MSS in the Nevill collection in the British Museum.

To sum up: there is no independence of thought in Ceylon Buddhism; and, as in most cases where a pagan country has adopted a higher faith from without, the latter has not had sufficient power to eradicate the previous animism. But Buddhism has had a great attraction for the better educated, and has led to remarkable literary results. The nation as a whole has undoubtedly suffered from the celibacy of many of the most able and earnest; but, on the other hand, there is very little crime, and in certain important particulars, such as caste

and the position of women, Ceylon is in advance of other parts of our Indian empire, with the single exception of Burma, where the same causes have been at work and the same disadvantages felt.

LITERATURE.—W. Geiger, *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1900; M. Wickremasinghe, *Cat. of Sinhalese MSS in the British Museum*, London, 1900, and *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Oxford, 1909; J. G. Smither, *Archæological Remains, Anuradhapura*, London, 1898; J. E. Tennent, *Ceylon*², London, 1859; H. Parker, *Ceylon*, London, 1909; J. Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, London, 1841; P. and F. Sarasin, *Die Weddas von Ceylon*, Wiesbaden, 1892; S. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850, and *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1860; R. Farrer, *In Old Ceylon*, London, 1908; D. J. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, ed. Bishop, Colombo, 1908.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CHAITANYA.—1. Life.—The Vaishnavite reformer and religious teacher Chaitanya was born in the year 1485 at Nadiyā in Bengal, about sixty miles north of Calcutta, on the west bank of the sacred river Bhagirathi. Nadiyā, at one time the capital of Bengal, is famous for its schools of Sanskrit learning, and an annual festival in honour of Chaitanya is celebrated here in the month of Māgha (Jan.-Feb.). Of Brāhman parentage, he received the ordinary religious education of a Brāhman youth, and is said to have been especially devoted to the study of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the two works that enjoin faith in Kṛishṇa and devotion to him as the supreme duty of man. Stories of his birth are told which suggest the presence of Christian influence—that wise men came and offered homage to the child and brought gifts. His subsequent teaching also proved that he owed not a little to the example and practice of Buddhism. Like Kṛishṇa, he is said as a boy to have given much time and energy to sport, and to have shown zeal and aptitude in learning, so that he early became proficient in all branches of Sanskrit knowledge.

In due course Chaitanya entered upon the second stage of the career of an orthodox Brāhman and became a *grihastha* (householder). He is said to have been twice married, his first wife being the daughter of the celebrated teacher Vallabhāchārya (*q.v.*). At the early age of twenty-five, however, he severed himself from the ordinary duties and engagements of the world, and adopted a mendicant life, wandering for a period of six years from shrine to shrine in northern and southern India, visiting especially the sacred places of Benares, Gayā, Śrīraṅgam, and the great temple of Jagannāth at Puri. He finally settled at Katak in Orissa, and spent the remainder of his life in the neighbourhood of the temple, teaching and practising the rules and observances of *yoga* (*q.v.*). In one of his visions, about the year 1527 A.D., he is said to have imagined that he saw Kṛishṇa himself sporting on the waves, and to have walked into the sea and been drowned in an endeavour to reach the god. According to other accounts, he was translated to Vaiṣṇuṭha, the heaven of Viṣṇu, without suffering the pains of death.

2. Teaching.—In his teaching, Chaitanya, like other great Hindu reformers, proclaimed the way of salvation through *bhakti* alone—devotion in act and thought to the one supreme personal God, the Maker and Preserver of all things, whose attributes are pitifulness and love, and who is infinite in power and wisdom. He was himself believed to be an incarnation of Kṛishṇa, in whom the Divinity manifested Himself in order to save the world by revealing and preaching the true faith. The two chief disciples of Chaitanya also, Advaita (or Advaitānanda) and Nityānanda, to whom he entrusted the general oversight of his adherents, were recipients to a less degree of the power and presence of the god; and in later belief they formed, with the founder himself, a kind of triad, to whom religious worship was paid.

¹ 'Yogāvacara's Manual,' *PTS*, 1896, p. xxviii ff.

Partly with the view, ²⁴ as believed, of winning over those who had been attracted by the teaching of Buddhism, as well as those to whom the grosser forms of the popular Hinduism were repellent, Chaitanya laid stress upon the doctrine of *ahimsā*, the duty of avoiding by all means injury to any living thing; and enjoined equal regard and treatment for all men, irrespective of birth. In thus ignoring caste, he followed on the lines of other Hindu reformers, who had found in the doctrine of the equality of all men their most powerful weapon against the established social order, and the most attractive and persuasive appeal it was in their power to make to the middle and lower classes of their fellow-countrymen. A saying of Chaitanya is quoted: 'The mercy of God regards neither tribe nor family.' Within the precincts of the temple of Jagannāth at the present day no distinction is made between high and low caste, and the food prepared is received and eaten by all at the season of the great festival. Elsewhere and at other times, amongst those who profess to be his followers, caste has re-asserted its sway, as under similar circumstances in India it has always succeeded in doing; and the higher castes maintain their rigid exclusiveness and separation from the lower.

The principle of *bhakti* which Chaitanya thus expounded and enforced was held by him in common with many Vaishnavite teachers, who sought to promote a purer and more spiritual type of faith amongst the people; and with him also it possessed the same mystical significance as in the language and thought of others whose influence was more far-reaching than his seems ever to have become. Symbolically this doctrine was expressed by him under the figure of human love, the ardent attachment of a young man for the maiden on whom his affections are centred. So a man ought to love God, and to cling to Him with unalterable persistence and loyalty. And the final end and goal for every worshipper was to lose his separate and individual existence in a mystical union with the Supreme. Chaitanya's teaching apparently owed some of its characteristic features both of doctrine and practice to a Buddhism which, though decadent, still exercised a considerable influence in Bengal and the neighbouring districts. Essentially, however, it was the ancient Hindu mysticism, with its theistic inspiration and its emphasis on personal devotion—a form of religious faith and aspiration which has always proved itself strongly attractive to the more earnest and thoughtful Indian mind.

The enthusiasm and popular character of the preaching of Chaitanya appear for the time to have carried all before them, and the number of his followers rapidly increased. They were recruited mainly from the lower classes, for the Brāhmins stood aloof from one the acceptance of whose doctrines implied the surrender of their ancient exclusive privileges. The successors of the founder maintained his propaganda, and organized a very considerable sect of his adherents, who were known by his name. Gradually, however, as has so frequently been the case with movements of Indian reform, their distinctive features of doctrine and observance became obscured, the surrounding social order proved too strong, and there was a general return to the forms of orthodox Vaishnavism. Statistics of their present numbers and strength do not seem to be available, and there is little or nothing to mark them off from other Hindus who hold a theistic faith and worship Vishnu in one or other of his forms. Nadiyā is the headquarters of the sect, where the descendants of Nityānanda reside, who are recognized as leaders, and invested with all spiritual authority.

¹ *Ishvarasya kṛpā jātikulaḥ na mena.*

LITERATURE.—*Census of India Report*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 381; H. H. Wilson, *Works*, ed. R. Rost, London, 1862-71, vol. i. p. 152 ff.; E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 503 f.; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, London, 1891, pp. 138-142, 476; A. Barth, *Religions of India*, London, 1899, p. 232 f.; cf. also G. A. Grierson, in *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 636 f., 642, and his art. BHARTI-MĀRA in vol. II. p. 546. The chief original source for the life of Chaitanya is the *Chaitanya Charita* of Byrdwan Das, which is said to have been compiled from two narratives of his life as a householder and as a pilgrim and ascetic respectively, written by two of his immediate followers (see Wilson, *loc. cit.*).

A. S. GEDEN.

CHAITYA.—1. (Skr. *chaitya*, an adjectival form derived from *chitā*, 'a funeral pile').—In accordance with its etymology, the word might denote originally anything connected with a funeral pile, e.g. the tumulus raised over the ashes of the dead person, or a tree marking the spot. Such seems to have been its earliest use in Indian literature, whether Brāhmanical, Buddhist, or Jain; but, as the custom of erecting monuments over the ashes or over the relics of departed saints prevailed chiefly among the Buddhists and the Jains, the word (or one of the Prakrit equivalents, Pāli *chetiya*, etc.) is especially characteristic of their literature. In this sense it is practically synonymous with *stūpa*, 'tope,' in India (though *stūpa* is rather the architectural, and *chaitya* the religious, term), and has various equivalents in the countries of Asia to which the custom extended with the spread of Buddhism, e.g. *dāgaba* (Skr. *dhātu-garbhā*) in Ceylon, *chorten* or *drungen* in Tibet, etc. At a later period *chaitya* was used more generally to denote any shrine, reliquary, or sacred tree. This is clear not only from the references in the literature, but also from the express statement in a Skr. dictionary of synonyms, the *Viśvaprabāsa* of Maheśvara Kavi (A.D. 1111), quoted by the commentator Mallinātha (14th cent. A.D.) on Kālidāsa's *Maghadūta*, verse 23.

In modern archaeological works the term *chaitya* is sometimes applied generally to any Buddhist or Jain temple, and sometimes particularly to a special form of Buddhist architecture, the '*chaitya hall*,' of which many examples are found in India. This is normally a rock-hewn cave, which was originally ceiled and lined with wood, the earlier caves even imitating, in their sides, the inward slant of wooden pillars designed to meet the thrust of the wooden roof (a good example is the Bhaja Cave, in the Bombay Presidency). In the Karli Cave, 4 miles north of the Bhaja Cave, the '*chaitya hall*' reaches its acme. Here we find a cave 126 ft. deep and 45 ft. 7 in. wide, with a central aisle 25 ft. 7 in. wide, and two side aisles each 10 ft. wide, including the pillars. This pillared nave forms the approach to the *chaitya* proper, which occupies a position under the semi-dome of the apse of the cave closely corresponding to that of the altar in a Christian church; and the resemblance of the entire structure to the basilica has often been noted. In this last sense, therefore, the *chaitya* is distinguished, on the one hand, from the *stūpa*, or dome-shaped structure developed from the tumulus or relic-mound, with which it was originally identified, and, on the other, from the *vihāra*, or monastic dwelling-place, which was often also a rock-hewn cave.

LITERATURE.—Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, 1841; Burnouf, *Introd. à l'hist. du buddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844; Böhtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, 1855-75, s.v. 'Chaitya'; Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, etc., of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874; Ferguson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ch. v., London, 1876; Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895; Macdonell, *Jour. of Roy. Soc. of Arts*, lvii. [1905-06] 816 f.

2. (Skr. *chaitya* from *chitī*, 'mind,' 'soul').—A philosophical term denoting the individual soul as distinguished from the world-soul (cf. *Bhāga-vata-Purāṇa*, III. xxvi. 61, etc.).

E. J. RAPSON.

CHAKRAVARTIN.—This Skr. word means 'universal monarch.' It is of considerable importance in Buddhism (cf. art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Buddhist]) and Jainism, as well as, though in a less degree, in the legendary history of the Brāhmins. The term has been variously explained; Senart¹ has used it in support of his famous solar theory of Buddha. It may be premised that the two parts of the word *chakra-vartin* are very common words in Sanskrit. *Chakra* (κύκλος) originally means a wheel or a circle, then a disk, a discus (especially that of Viṣṇu); and it has also a number of secondary meanings, such as 'multitude,' 'troop,' 'army,' etc. *Vartin*, usually found at the end of compounds, means 'abiding in.' But what the etymological meaning of the compound originally was is anything but clear; and different scholars have advanced various opinions regarding it. It will therefore be expedient to reserve the discussion of this point till the end of the article, when we have become acquainted with the actual use of the word in the various phases of its history.

The idea of a universal monarch, of a paramount βασιλεὺς β-σιλέων, is very ancient in India. Famous kings of old are said, after their anointing, to have conquered the earth and then to have offered the *asvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 21-23). A king who is acknowledged by the other kings as lord paramount is, in ancient literature, called a *saṃrāj*. The word 'Chakravartin' first occurs in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, a late, if not apocryphal, work. In i. 4 great warriors (lit. 'archers,' *mahādhanurdharas*) are mentioned, 'some of whom were Chakravartins'; and fifteen of them are named—Sudyumna and others, most of whom are known from the Epics and the Purāṇas. After them the Upaniṣad mentions 'the kings, Marutta, Bharata,' etc.; and, though they are not called Chakravartins, those named are known as such in epic legends. The Upaniṣad continues: 'There are others higher still—Gandharvas, Asuras,' etc. It is evident from this sequence that the Chakravartin is here regarded as a human being, and in rank inferior to demi-gods.

Next we meet with the word in epic literature, not yet, however, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.² Nor is the title 'Chakravartin' given to any hero of the *Mahābhārata* proper; it is in episodes of the great epic, which have the same character as the Purāṇas, that we meet with Chakravartins, e.g. Bharata, the son of Duṣyanta and Sakuntalā, after whom *Bhāratavarṇa* is believed to be named; Mādhātṛ, and Marutta. Once (xii. 27. 10) *chakra-vartin* means only a 'mighty king,' just as in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*; but in the remaining passages it has the technical meaning 'universal monarch.' In i. 73. 30 (cf. 74. 124)³ it is said of the Chakravartin Bharata that his wheel met with no obstacle when he went to war with his enemies. This is apparently the proper interpretation of the term *chakra-vartin*, for it is also repeated by Kālidāsa (*Sakuntalā*, vii. 122).

In the Purāṇas we meet with some more Chakravartins, but not with a fixed list of them. The most prominent is Prthu Vainya, who first settled the earth, called after him *Prthivī*; of him it is said in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (i. 13. 46) that Brahṁā saw in his hand the discus (*chakra*), the sign of Viṣṇu, as it is visible in the hand of every Chakravartin, 'one whose power is invincible even by the gods.' But in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (iv. 15, 16)

Viṣṇu presents Prthu with the discus *sudarśana* at his coronation, while other gods also give him precious things. The latter are partly identical with some of the fourteen *mahāratnas*, which, according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ix. 23, 31), were in the possession of the Chakravartin Śaśa-bindu. In commenting on this passage, Śrīdhara quotes a verse from the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* (not verified in the printed text), in which the fourteen *mahāratnas* are thus enumerated: 'elephant, horse, car, wife, arrow, treasure, wreath, garment, tree, javelin, noose, jewel, parasol, and *vimāna*.'

Classical writers use *chakravartin* in its primary meaning of 'universal monarch,' as well as in its secondary meaning, which denotes the most prominent member of a class, similarly to, but not so commonly as, *indra*, *rāja*, *śiromaṇi*, etc.

Thus we see that in Brāhmanical literature the word *chakravartin* originally denoted a famous chief or king of great power, then a universal monarch, while in late Purāṇas some fabulous attributes are added to this meaning.

In the old popular literature which was collected in the *Bṛhatkathā*, and is known to us from Sanskrit works based on this lost compilation, the dignity of a Chakravartin is also attributed to the Vidyādhara, or fairies.⁴ The hero of the work just named, King Naravāhanadatta, became Chakravartin of the Vidyādhara, and came into possession of the seven *ratnas*: elephant, sword, moonlight, wife, the destroying charm, the lake, and the sandal-wood tree.⁵ In another version⁶ the list is: flag, parasol, moon (*sudhāvimba*), sword, elephant, horse, and rod. The two lists vary considerably, but they agree in this, that the *chakra* is not among the *ratnas* of the Chakravartin.

With the Buddhists and the Jainas the Chakravartin represents the highest temporal power, just as the Buddha or Jina represents the highest spiritual power. If Gautama had not become a Buddha, he would have become a Chakravartin, and a Buddha as well as a Chakravartin has the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇa*) of a great man (*mahāpuruṣa*) and the eighty minor marks. Similarly, the same fourteen great dreams which the mother of an Arhat (Tīrthakara) sees announce also the conception of a Chakravartin.⁷ It will therefore readily be understood that a Chakravartin is, in the popular imagination of the Buddhists and the Jainas, lifted high above the level of common men, and verges on the Divine. His most prominent attribute is the *chakra*, wheel, or discus, which precedes him through the air on his conquest of the world. With the Jainas, therefore, *chakradhara* and *chakrin*, 'possessor of the *chakra*,' have become synonyms of *chakra-vartin*.⁸ The ideas of the Buddhists concerning the miraculous *chakra*, and the part it plays in the success of the Chakravartin, are well illustrated in a passage occurring in several Pāli sūtras (see *SBE* xi. 251 ff.), and in the *Lalitavistara*. We subjoin the tr. from the latter (*Bibliotheca Indica*, p. 33 f.):

⁴ That anointed Kṣatriya king, who is inaugurated fasting on the fifteenth day of the moon, seated in the highest apartment of his palace, surrounded by female apartments—for him doth the mighty and auspicious wheel appear in the east: a wheel comprising a thousand radii, complete with tyre and nave, ornamented with gold works, of the height of seven palm trees, visible from the recesses of the zenana, and worthy of a Chakravartin.

⁵ The notions prevailing in this popular literature of romantic epics and fairy tales are adopted also in legendary works of the Jainas, the oldest of which, the *Padma-charita*, by Vimalasūri, claims to have been composed about the beginning of our era. Hence the Jainas, too, have Chakravartins of the Vidyādhara, besides human Chakravartins, *nara-chakravartinas*.

⁶ *Kathāsaritsāgara*, cix. 19 ff.

⁷ *Bṛhatkathāśaṅkharī*, p. 595, v. 11.

⁸ See *Kalpasiṭra*, § 76 [SBE, vol. xxii. p. 246]; in § 80 the one is called a *chāvurāṇa-chakkaṇaṭṭi*, the other a *dharmavara* (*chāvurāṇa*)-*chakkaṇaṭṭi*.

⁹ *Chakkhakara* in the passage of the *Kalpasiṭra* quoted in the preceding note.

¹ *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, Paris, 1882.

² At least there is no reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Petersburg Dictionary s.v. 'Chakravartin,' and 'Chakravartin' certainly does not occur in the 2nd and 3rd books, since the word is not found among the compounds contained in them (see Kiehl, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Nominalkomposition*, Bonn, 1908, p. 26).

³ Similarly *Mārkandeya Purāṇa*, cxxx. 6.

varti rājā. . . Now, when the mighty wheel doth appear, an anointed Kṣatriya king, kneeling on his right knee, and lowering one of his shoulders, should hold forth his right hand and, praying for the Chakraratna, thus repeat: "Conduct, O Lord, this precious wheel through virtue, and not through vice!"

When the majestic wheel, on being thus addressed by an anointed Kṣatriya king, proceeds in its aerial course towards the east for the promotion of prosperity, the Chakravartī rājā follows it with all his army, and, wherever it halts, there he likewise halts with all his forces. Thereupon all the provincial rājās of the east receive him with offerings of silver-dust in golden vessels, or of gold-dust in vessels of silver, saying, "Hail, O Deva! thou art welcome; all these are thine—this rich, extensive, prosperous, flourishing, beautiful, and populous kingdom: thou hast, conquering, earned it; may it ever continue thine!" The anointed Kṣatriya king and lord should then thus address the provincial chiefs: "Virtuously rule ye these provinces, destroy not life, nor resume what has been given. Act not fraudulently through temptation; nor utter what is false. It is sinful to conquer him who sues for mercy, therefore do it not; nor do ye approve of the vicious!" Thus, when an anointed Kṣatriya king has conquered the east, bathing in the eastern sea, he crosses the same. When the wheel, having crossed the eastern sea, proceeds southward through the atmosphere, he follows it with his army, and, like unto the east, conquers the south; and, as the south, so does he conquer the west and the north; then, bathing in the northern sea, returns through the atmosphere to his metropolis, and sits an invincible monarch in the inner recesses of his palace. Thus does a Chakravartī rājā acquire the *chakraratna*, or the jewel of a wheel.¹

In the same way the Chakravartin attains to the six remaining *ratnas*, for their number is seven, viz. the elephant, the horse, the jewel (which changes night into day), the wife, the steward, and the general.

The Chakravartin of the Jains resembles, in all essential features, the Chakravartin of the Buddhists. At the moment when the predestined person is to acquire the dignity of a Chakravartin, the miraculous *chakra* appears and completes his victory. There were 12 Chakravartins in the present age of the world—Bharata, Sagara, Maghavan, Sanatkumāra, Śānti, Kunthu, Ara (the last three afterwards became Tirthakaras), Subhūma, Padma, Hariṣeṇa, Jaya, and Brahmadatta. These 12 Chakravartins, together with the 24 Tirthakaras, 9 Vāsudevas, 9 Baladevas, and 9 Prativāsudevas, make up the 63 Śalākā-puruṣas, or great persons of Jain hagiology, whose lives and deeds have been described by Hemachandra in the *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣa-charita*. In bk. i. ch. 4 of that work the first Chakravartin's conquest of our part of the earth, called after him *Bhāratavarṣa*, is described at great length. Preceded by the *chakra*, Bharata subjects all kings, and even the Vidyādhara acknowledge his supremacy. He is accompanied by some *ratnas*, and acquires some more during his progress, so that their whole number amounts to fourteen, viz. *chakra*, parasol, sword, rod, cowrie, piece of leather, jewel, the nine treasures, general, steward, *muhita* ('household priest'), architect, elephant, and horse. In addition to these 14 *ratnas* he gains a fifteenth, the *śrīratna*, his wife.

The greater number of these *ratnas* are the usual requisites of kings, in the highest degree of perfection; four, however, seem to have been adopted from mythology,¹ viz. the cowrie (*kākinī*) and the jewel, whose functions resemble those of the moon and the sun, the piece of leather or hide,² which stretches over rivers and straits in order to give a passage to the army, and, of course, the *chakra*.

The possession of the miraculous *chakra* gives a kind of mythological stamp to the legendary Chakravartin of the Buddhists and Jains, and makes him appear in the light of a solar hero. Yet it may be doubted whether this was already the case in early Buddhism. There is the phrase

¹ Senart (*op. cit.* p. 14 ff.) assigns a mythological origin to all the seven *ratnas*; his reasoning, however, does not seem convincing, especially if we take into consideration the lists of *ratnas* mentioned above, from which the *chakra* is absent.

² In popular tales King Vikramāditya has a miraculous hide, on which he and his army fly through the air.

dharmachakkam pavattitam, used to denote the inauguration of the 'reign of religion,' which is further described as 'that wheel which not by any Samana or Brāhman, not by any god, not by any Brāhmā or Māra, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back.'¹ The idea on which this expression is based is very much like that noticed above as occurring in the *Mahābhārata*, etc., according to which the wheel of the Chakravartin meets with no hindrance. If, therefore, in later Buddhist works the Chakravartin is represented as a semi-mythological person, who might be mistaken for a sun-god in disguise, there must have been some cause at work to bring about this new development. And this cause is easy to guess. The first part of the compound word *chakra-vartin* being popularly referred to the discus of Viṣṇu, the symbol of the sun, the Chakravartin assumed, in popular imagination, some traits which properly belong to the Divine wielder of the *chakra*. Such an apotheosis of the king is quite natural to primitive peoples, who look on their kings as descendants, or representatives, of the sun, whether they be Pharaohs, or Incas, or members of the Sūryavaṃśa. And the august character of the Chakravartin was still more exalted, since he and a Buddha or a Tirthakara were placed on parallel lines by the Buddhists and Jains. Therefore the Chakravartin may be said to share in the majesty of the sun-god, but it would be the reverse of the truth to say that he is but a humanized solar deity.

It remains for us to discuss the etymology of the word *chakravartin*. According to Wilson,² it means grammatically, 'he who abides in (*vartate*), or rules over, an extensive territory called a *chakra*.' Kern³ takes *vartin* to mean *vartayati* ('who rules'). But in all other compounds *vartin* has the force of *vartate*, not of *vartayati*, so that Wilson's etymology seems preferable. But the meaning Wilson gives to *chakra* is not found in ancient Sanskrit literature, though it is mentioned by native lexicographers. If we take *chakra* in its original sense of 'circle,' we can explain the meaning of the compound by reference to the political term *maṇḍala*.⁴ In the *Nīṭiśāstra*, or science of politics, a valiant king (the *vijigīṣu*) is considered in his relation to his neighbours; usually twelve kings form a *maṇḍala*, a political sphere or circle (of neighbours). The *vijigīṣu* is that king who strives to gain the supremacy in the *maṇḍala*, and he is praised if '*visuddhe maṇḍale charan*,' i.e. 'if he walks in a pure circle.'⁵ This seems to be the notion which gave rise to the idea and expression of Chakravartin. He is the *vijigīṣu* on the grandest scale: his *maṇḍala* is the whole earth. The word *maṇḍala-vartin* is used in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (vi. 3, 6) to denote a king subordinate to a paramount lord such as a Chakravartin. Another etymology has been proposed by Senart:⁶ *chakravartin* is one who owns a *chakravāla*; for he derives *chakravāla* from *chakravarta*. But the latter word is not found in Sanskrit or in the Prakrits; and, even if it did exist, linguistic reasons make it impossible to derive *chakravāla* from it.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

H. JACOBI.

CHALDÆANS.—See BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, DIVINATION, MAGIC.

CHALDÆAN CHRISTIANS.—See NESTORIANS.

¹ SBE xi. 153.

² *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. Hall, i. 183 note 1.

³ *Der Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1892-94, i. 27 note ***.

⁴ Manu, vii. 156 ff.; Kamandaki, viii. 20 ff.

⁵ Kamandaki, viii. 2.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 6.

CHALMERS.—The Presbyterian Churches are notable for the high average of intellectual attainment reached by their ministers. They encourage the ordinary man to stir up and make the most of the gifts that are in him. But they do not offer the same opportunities to men of exceptional talent. Although not a few have left Scotland from time to time to take high place and exercise wide influence in other Churches, the number of outstanding personalities in the Church at home has been few. One of them, however, is Dr. Chalmers.

1. Life and Work.—Thomas Chalmers was born at Anstruther, in Fife, on Friday, 17th March 1780, the sixth of fourteen children of John Chalmers, a general merchant there. From the tender mercies of a nurse, whose cruelty and deceitfulness haunted his memory through life, he was sent to the Parish School, where he was well flogged but learned little. In November 1791, though not yet twelve years of age, he matriculated as an Arts student in the United College of St. Andrews.

(1) *St. Andrews and Kilmany.*—The first two sessions were wasted. But in the third session, under the influence of Dr. James Brown, the assistant professor of mathematics, Chalmers came to life intellectually. At once the lad set himself to recover lost time. He could not write, he could not spell, he knew no grammar, he was ignorant of the existence of English composition. But in two years he mastered these elementary things and made much progress in the study of mathematics.

His Arts course was now over, and in 1795 he was enrolled as a student in Divinity. After the close of his Divinity course, throughout the whole of which his chief interest was mathematics, and after an unfortunate experience as private tutor, he was appointed assistant to the professor of mathematics in the University. In this position he was too successful. The Chair was held by an invalid, who disapproved of his assistant's vivid illustrations, and perhaps resented his popularity. He decided not to re-appoint him, and unfortunately suggested that he was inefficient. Chalmers returned to St. Andrews the following session, opened rival classes, and, after much flutter, compelled recognition both of his ability and of his sincerity. At the end of two sessions his classes were discontinued. But he had proved himself a force to be reckoned with.

During these two sessions, Chalmers was also acting as minister of the parish of Kilmany. He had been presented to this parish, distant a few miles from St. Andrews, by the professors of the University, and had been ordained on the 12th of May 1803. He afterwards disapproved of 'pluralities,' and fought a strenuous battle against them. But meantime he had no difficulty in combining the professorship with the pastorate. One of his parishioners, who often called at the Manse, said one day, 'I find you aye busy, sir, with one thing or another, but, come when I may, I never find you at your studies for the Sabbath.' His answer was, 'Oh, an hour or two on the Saturday evening is quite enough for that.' But the day was not far off when he entered in his journal, 'I mean to give my main strength this year to the composition of sermons.' And then the same visitor said, 'I never come in now, sir, but I find you aye at your Bible.'

There was some physical weakness in the Chalmers family. Several of his brothers and sisters died in early life. In the year 1809, Chalmers himself had a severe illness and believed that he would not recover. The contrast between the insignificance of time and the magnitude of eternity was strongly impressed upon his mind. He read Pascal's *Thoughts*. Pascal also had once been devoted to

the study of mathematics, and after illness had entered upon an experience which made spiritual things of more importance to him than things intellectual. A similar change came over Chalmers. It was again a new birth, as unmistakable as the birth of the intellect had been. It did not involve the despising or disuse of any of his intellectual faculties, any more than the intellectual birth had carried with it the loss of his physical faculties. But from this time till the end of his life the physical and the intellectual were made to serve the ends of the spiritual.

Chalmers did not find God at this crisis. During the years of his study of Divinity in St. Andrews he was 'possessed,' as he says in one of his letters, 'with a sense of His greatness and His power, and His pervading agency' (*Memoirs*, i. 17). What he now found was that he belonged to God, and that it was his duty to yield Him unremitting obedience (*ib.* i. 153). He accordingly entered upon a period in which he stood sentinel over himself, and recorded every lapse from his standard of righteousness, mercilessly, in a private journal. This continued for a year. But he 'got little satisfaction, and felt no repose' (*ib.* i. 186). Reading Wilberforce's *View of Christianity*, he came to see that 'the Saviour had already and completely done for him what, with so much strenuousness, but with so little success, he had been striving to do for himself' (*ib.* i. 188). He 'committed all to the sufficiency of Christ his Saviour.' He found 'peace and joy in believing' (*ib.* i. 257; italics his own).

A vehement preacher always, Chalmers now preached with power. 'The first effect, indeed, of the great spiritual change,' says his biographer, 'was to chasten rather than to stimulate the vehemence of his delivery in the pulpit.' But there was a new note of earnestness. 'Entreaties that every sinner he spoke to should come to Christ just as he was, and "bury all his fears in the sufficiency of the great atonement," were reiterated on each succeeding Sabbath, presented in all possible forms, and delivered in all different kinds of tones and of attitudes. He would desert for a minute or two his manuscript, that with greater directness and familiarity of phrase, greater pointedness and personality of application, he might urge upon their acceptance the gospel invitation' (*ib.* i. 420). And the pulpit appeal was supported by his work in the parish. The regular visitation, which had formerly occupied three weeks, now extended over the whole year; district services were held; a class was opened for the religious instruction of the young. Nor was his zeal confined to the parish. After a speech in the General Assembly of 1814—a speech, by the way, against 'pluralities'—the minister of the parish of Linton wrote approvingly of 'the wonderful display of talents' made by the minister of Kilmany, but disapprovingly of his interest in Missionary and Bible Societies: 'For my own part,' he said, 'I have never yet seen any proper call to us for engaging in the measures of these Societies, and such is the feeling of this part of the country with a very few exceptions' (*ib.* i. 403).

(2) *Glasgow.*—In 1814 the pulpit of the Tron Church in Glasgow fell vacant, and Chalmers was named as a candidate. The Magistrates, to whom the appointment belonged, were divided. After a keen struggle Chalmers was elected. The objection of the opposing party was that Chalmers seemed to them to be 'mad.' It was not merely the vigour of his preaching that gave them this impression, it was also the substance of it. It was the energy and earnestness with which he advocated the doctrine of 'peace in believing.' But his preaching had irresistible attraction for the people. The

Glasgow ministry began in a blaze of popularity. Nor had time or familiarity any influence in staying the rush of hearers to the Tron Church or lessening the strain of their attention. There were at this time eight ministers of the Church of Scotland in Glasgow, and it was the custom for them to preach, in turn, a special sermon in the Tron Church every Thursday forenoon. When Chalmers' turn came—"to see a place of worship," says Dr. Wardlaw, 'crammed above and below, on a Thursday forenoon, during the busiest hours of the day, with fifteen or sixteen hundred hearers, and these of all descriptions of persons, in all descriptions of professional occupations, the busiest as well as those who had most leisure on their hands, those who had least to spare taking care so to arrange their business engagements previously as to make time for the purpose, all pouring in through the wide entrance at the side of the Tron steeple, half an hour before the time of service, to secure a seat, or content if too late for this to occupy, as many did, standing room—this was, indeed, a novel and strange sight' (*Memoirs*, ii. 149).

It was at these Thursday forenoon services that the *Astronomical Discourses* were delivered, the most successful, when published, of Chalmers' writings. That Chalmers was sensible of the flattery contained in crowds hurrying to hear these sermons, and in still greater multitudes rushing to read them, is evident from his journal. He was saved from vanity by the sincere searching of heart of which that journal is equally the evidence, and also by the abundance and irksomeness of his parochial and public duties.

Chalmers carried out a rapid but regular and thorough visitation of his parish, divesting himself of the administration of its numerous charities that his ministrations might be received at their own value. He divided the parish into forty districts, and placed a Sunday school in each district. He built day schools also, found teachers for them, and took upon himself the charge of providing the teachers' salaries. He entertained an astonishing project of supporting the poor by means of voluntary contributions. And, when it proved impossible to carry out this scheme in the Tron parish owing to legal obstacles, a new parish was erected by the Town Council and a new church was built, to which Chalmers was presented. The new parish was named St. John's.

But the toil and trouble were nearly overwhelming. In 1823 the offer was made to him of the professorship of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews. He accepted it. And for a few, not wholly peaceful, years he returned to that city. Then came the resignation of the professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. On the 31st of October 1827, Chalmers was unanimously elected by the Town Council and Magistrates, and the third and last period of his life began. He was in the forty-seventh year of his age.

(3) *Edinburgh*.—Chalmers did not know that the call to Edinburgh was a call to lead the Church of Scotland through one of the most momentous and harassing periods of its history. He had no desire for leadership, nor had he all the qualifications for it. Not so ready as impulsive, he was never quite at home in Church courts; and when the pressure of events compelled him at last to take part in the strife of parliamentary politics, he had no heart and little patience for it. In the General Assembly, Dr. Cook was always a match for him in tactics, although so far behind in the grasp of great principles and the gift of popular appeal. And in Parliament, Lord Aberdeen, after some correspondence, felt himself strong enough to speak of Chalmers as 'a reverend gentleman, a

great leader in the Assembly, who, having brought the Church into a state of jeopardy and peril, had left it to find its way out of the difficulty as well as it could.' This was really, what in his private journal Chalmers calls it, 'a foul attack'; but if he had been more of a politician, Chalmers would have known that it was merely an incident in the game.

By the Revolution Settlement of 1699 lay patronage in the Church of Scotland was abolished. But it was restored by Bolingbroke in 1711. The restoration was unpopular. For some time patrons did not exercise their right, or acquiesced in their proposals being set aside. Then came what evangelicals call 'the long reign of Moderatism.' More and more the lay patron made his presentation, less and less the parishioners protested against it. But the harmony was not always admirable. In the year 1813 the Rev. William Ferrie, Professor of Civil History in the University of St. Andrews, was presented to the living of Kilconquhar. The Presbytery met to moderate in a call, but no signatures whatever were attached to it. It was afterwards explained that the parishioners concurred in the settlement, and they apologized for not having attended to sign the call. The harmony was not always admirable, nor did it continue always to be harmony. Under the influence of that new spirit which was known by the name of Evangelicalism, and the popularity of which was largely due to the preaching of men like Andrew Thomson in Edinburgh and Thomas Chalmers in Glasgow, the Church began to recognize again her responsibilities and to reassert her rights in the choice of her ministers, or at least in the rejection of unfit presentees. In 1834 the General Assembly passed the Veto Act, enjoining Presbyteries to reject a presentee who had been disapproved of by a majority of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation and in full communion with the Church. But when the rejected presentee at Auchterarder appealed to the Court of Session, the Veto Act was practically declared to be *ultra vires*. And this judgment was upheld, on appeal, by the House of Lords.

It was now a dispute between the civil and the ecclesiastical courts. Elsewhere the civil courts might have triumphed easily. But in Scotland the Church was responding more and more to that spirit to which Erastianism is anathema; and her past, both in law and precedent, brought her peculiar strength. For one thing, she had always held that evidence of a call to the ministry must precede ordination; and this evidence had been found in the free choice or approval of a congregation. It had accordingly been a law of the Church that ordination should not take place unless accompanied by induction. That is to say, a man could be ordained to the ministry (missionaries being of necessity excepted) only when he had received a call from some particular congregation, to the oversight of which he was thereupon inducted.

But this was part of a larger principle, the principle of Spiritual Independence. Spiritual Independence had been claimed by the Church of Scotland from the Reformation, and it had been legally affirmed by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1567. It had then become, as Chalmers says, 'the great question between the Jameses and the Charleses on the one hand, and the Scottish people on the other, who called it the Headship of Christ—the term given to the principle when looked to in a religious light. But when looked to constitutionally, it is termed the final jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, or Church courts, in things sacred, as distinct from things civil' (*Memoirs*, iv. 592). But this principle of Spiritual Independ-

ence was now recognized only by a few individual members of the civil courts in Scotland, and it was scarcely even intelligible to an English court. Had it been simply a question between the patrons and the people, the will of the people would have prevailed, and probably without much trouble. But, when the majority in the Assembly had at last to appeal from the civil courts to Parliament, it became evident that a serious crisis was at hand. The Government, whether Whig or Tory, for it was never a question of party politics, failed to realize the gravity of the situation, and refused relief. On Thursday the 18th of May 1843, four hundred and seventy ministers of the Church of Scotland, with the people who adhered to them, including all the missionaries abroad, left the Church, surrendering all the buildings and emoluments, and formed the Free Church of Scotland.

Chalmers' life was nearly done. After the Disruption he resigned his Chair in the University of Edinburgh, and was appointed Principal and Primarius Professor of Divinity in the New College. On the evening of the 30th of May 1847 he asked a friend to conduct family worship, saying, 'I expect to give worship to-morrow morning.' In the morning he was found to be dead.

2. Religious and ethical influence.—The author is for subsequent generations; the orator is for his own. Chalmers was an orator. He wrote what he preached, and his writings were published in many volumes, but they have not continued to be read—not even the *Astronomical Sermons*, though they ran a race with Scott's *Tales of my Landlord*, published in the same year, nor the *Bridgewater Treatise*, though two editions of 1500 copies each were disposed of as soon as published. Chalmers was an orator, and captured his audience by his manner as well as by his meaning.

A literary critic who listened to him says, 'Of all human compositions there is none surely which loses so much as a sermon does when it is made to address itself to the eye of a solitary student in his closet and not to the thrilling ears of a mighty mingled congregation, through the very voice which nature has enriched with notes more expressive than words can ever be of the meanings and feelings of its author. Neither, perhaps, did the world ever possess any orator whose minutest peculiarities of gesture and voice have more power in increasing the effect of what he says—whose delivery, in other words, is the first, and the second, and the third excellence of his oratory—more truly than is that of Dr. Chalmers' (*Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, 1819, iii. 267).

But Chalmers was an orator because he was a preacher. He himself was heartily persuaded of the truth of that which he delivered so well. He preached a conviction which had been in his own experience at once a deliverance and a great uplift, and he believed that by responding to it other men would pass through the same experience. It was, in his own words, the conviction of 'the futility of resting a man's hope of salvation upon mere obedience; that there is no confidence but in Christ; that the best security, in fact, for the performance of our duties is that faith which worketh by love, and which, under the blessing of God, will carry us to a height of moral excellence that a mere principle of duty, checked and disappointed as it must often be in its efforts after an unattainable perfection, could never have reached' (*Journal*, 7th Jan. 1811; *Memoirs*, i. 200). This was the substance, as it was the strength, of all his preaching. To the effective delivery of it he brought together all his gifts. For, although he always rejected the use of pious but empty phrases, and stoutly protested when men spoke of receiving calls which they gave themselves no trouble to obey, he never faltered in the belief that this was the work he had been sent to do, and with perfect sincerity could have used the language of Paul, 'Woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.' Thus he became perhaps

the strongest single influence in that movement which gave the evangelical party a majority at last in the General Assembly, which in course of time abolished lay patronage, and liberated the religious thought of Scotland from the dictation of external authority in any form. After Chalmers came Rainy, but also Robertson Smith; the Free Church and also the free spirit.

The two chief practical interests of Chalmers' life were Church extension and the voluntary support of the poor. The need of Church extension had become very great. During a period of nearly one hundred years, while the population had more than quadrupled, only two new city churches had been built in Glasgow. Secessions had been taking place from the Church of Scotland, and they had done not a little to arrest the evil. But Chalmers was convinced that the remedy was to be found in the right use of the parochial system. In 1836 he organized meetings throughout the country; and he was able to report to the General Assembly of 1838 that nearly two hundred new churches had been built. In 1841 he had the satisfaction of seeing the twentieth new church completed in Glasgow alone.

The voluntary support of the poor was the reduction to practice of the lifelong study of Political Economy, to which Chalmers gave himself with characteristic enthusiasm. In Kilmany he carried out successfully a scheme of voluntary support; and, after some experience of the position in Glasgow, he persuaded the Magistrates to separate the parish of St. John's, chiefly for the purpose of enabling him to try the same method there. Again he was successful. By dividing the parish into districts, and appointing over each district reliable and unpaid assistants, who investigated each case on the spot, he supported the poor of this Glasgow parish with its ten thousand inhabitants and more than its fair share of destitution, out of the voluntary contributions made at his own church door. It was something more than an experiment. It encouraged the rich to give willingly, the poor to receive only of necessity. And it will always remain as an answer to those who doubt the possibilities awaiting the practice of social Christianity.

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CHAMS.—The Chams, the last remnants of the inhabitants of ancient Champā¹ in Indo-China, to-day form a population of only about 130,000 persons. They are settled partly in Annam, in some valleys of Binh-thuân, where they number 80 villages and somewhat over 30,000 souls; partly in Cambodia, where they are nearly 90,000 in number; partly in Cochinchina (in Châu-dôc and Tây-ninh); and lastly, in Siam.

1. Origin.—The origin of the Chams has given rise to several hypotheses. At one time they were thought to be sprung from a mixture of natives and Hindu emigrants; at another, to have come from Java. It is now admitted that they belong to the Malayo-Polynesian race, whose origin, according to Kern, must

¹ Champā occurs also in the following forms: *Chamba, Ciamba, Ciampa, Csiampa, Cyamba, Dsiamba, Dsiampa, Jampa, Kiampa, Tchiampa, Tjampa, Tschampa, Tsampa, Tsjampa*, etc. The word *champā* in Sanskrit is the name of a tree and a flower (*Nichelia champaca*, L.). Other forms of the word *Cham* are: *Cam, Cam, Cham, Châm, Kiam, Tchame, Thâm, Tjam, Tjame, Tscham, Tsiam*, etc. The form employed in this art. is the Sanskrit slightly modified.

be looked for, not in Malaysia or the Indian Archipelago, but in Indo-China on the borders of what is now called Annam, where the kingdom of Champā flourished in bygone days, and where the last of the Chams still linger.

2. History.—The Chams were one of the great powers of Indo-China. Their kingdom, although it is impossible to fix its limits clearly, seems to have comprised Cochín-China, the whole of Annam, and part of Cambodia. About the 2nd cent. A.D., as the inscription of Nha-trang attests, it was formidable; even in the 13th cent. Marco Polo was strongly impressed by it. As early as the 14th cent. A.D., however, it was attacked by the Annamese, the vanguard of the Chinese power, who were to take a separate name in the 10th cent. by freeing themselves from China; and in the south by the Cambodians. These two neighbouring powers gradually extended their territory, and always at the expense of Champā. In 1471, after several fierce struggles, Champā passed under the relentless control of Annam. At this time a great number of the Chams fled to Cambodia, where we find their descendants to-day. An even greater number were enslaved by the Annamese. There now remain on their native soil, between Phan-rang and Nha-trang, only a few miserable relics of the race. They were governed nominally by their princes, but really by the Annamese mandarins, and existed in this condition down to the 19th cent., when the occupation by France, which they gladly welcomed, delivered them.

3. Physical appearance and modes of life.—From the point of view of physical type, the Chams are very clearly marked off from the races surrounding them. They are much taller than the Annamese, whose height seldom reaches 1 m. 59, while that of the Chams often attains to 1 m. 70. The men are sturdy, the women smaller and graceful. Their complexion varies from brown to a light brownish red. Their hands are not nearly so narrow as those of the Annamese. Their skin, very soft to the touch, is dull, except on the face, where it is often glossy. Their hair, very fine and brittle, and often wavy, varies from raven black to very dark chestnut. Both men and women wear it long in the Annamese fashion, the women having it twisted up behind, the men covering it with a turban or a knotted scarf. In Cambodia, however, the Chams have short hair like the Malaysians, and wear a little white fez (*kappah*, cf. Mal. *kopyah*) on their heads. The women cover their heads with a veil somewhat like a *coiffeur* (*batan*). The Chams have well-proportioned heads, fine profiles, and faces of a broad rather than high type; the nose is not so broad at the root as that of the Annamese; the eyes are large and full, frank in look and colour; the mouth is of average size, the lips of ordinary thickness. They are, in short, Asiatics whose type resembles our own. The men wear a *sarong* and a sort of long tunic; the women a skirt, white or with red stripes, and a close-fitting tunic, nearly always green, cut to fit at the neck. They often adorn their ears with studs or precious metals.

The Chams live grouped in communities or villages in the plains, sometimes on the banks of a large river, as is the case with those of Cochín-China and of Cambodia, and sometimes by the sea-shore, as is often the case with those of Annam. The villages of the Chams of Annam are surrounded by a strong palisade of dead wood, and give a first impression of parchedness and bareness, due to the absence of large trees in their enclosure. The Chams believe that the shadow of trees over the house brings ill-luck. In Cambodia and in Cochín-China, where they live nearly always with the Malays, their villages are enclosed by a hedge of bamboos and prickly shrubs. The houses of the Chams of Annam are humble little huts of bamboo and mud, covered with rice-straw—they are not allowed to use *nipah* like the Malays—and built and grouped without regard to artistic taste. The Chams do not build their houses themselves, but get the Annamese to do it for them. In Cambodia and in Cochín-China, where the manners of the Chams have been somewhat modified by contact with the Malays and the Khmers, their houses are built on piles, and are practically the same as those of their neighbours.

Although strong in body, the Chams are very mild in disposition. This mildness is accompanied by great indolence and a complete absence of initiative. They have neither commerce nor industry; they weave some stuffs, but they do nothing else beyond cultivating rice, maize, a little cotton, and a few pea-nuts (*Arachnis hypogaea*, L.), and rearing some buffaloes. Oxen and pigs are never seen among them, owing to religious objections. Goats, dogs, hens, and ducks are their only domestic animals. They can build fine light carts, which the Annamese come and buy from them.

4. Ancient religions.—The epigraphy and iconography of Cambodia provide us with fairly accurate and full information on the religion of ancient Champā. That religion was Hinduism, that is to say, the worship, exclusive or combined, of the three gods of the Indian *Trimūrti*—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva,—and of the *śaktis*, or wives, of the last two—Lakṣmi and Umā. Buddhism also played a part, but a much less extensive one, in the life of the Chams.

Brahmā, if we may judge from the small number of images and statues of him which have come down to us, does not seem to have been worshipped very fervently. He is called *Chaturmukha*, and is represented with four faces, only three of which are generally seen, as the figure has its back leaning against something.

Worshippers resort chiefly to Śiva, whose cult is very widespread under the form of the *linga*. Even to-day we find in the ruins of several temples libation-tables, or *mana-dropi*, on which the *linga* was formerly set up and from which it has disappeared. All these *lingas* have the usual form: they are cylinders of stone more or less rounded at the end. The temple of Pô Klôh Garai at Phan-rang even contains a variety of *linga* with a face (*mukhalinga*). In this *mukhalinga* the face, decked with the crown and ornaments belonging to the Chām kings, appears to have been not Śiva but the legendary king Pô Klôh Garai, the founder of the temple and identified with Śiva. Similarly, in the temple of Pô Ramé at Phan-rí, an engraved pillar shows us Pô Ramé, one of the last kings of Champā, likewise identified with Śiva. The cult of Śiva, however, was surpassed in importance by that of his *śakti* Umā, who became the great goddess of the Chams, under the names of Umā, Bhagavati, Pô Nagar (= Pô Inô Nôgar, Pô Yañ Inô Nôgar, Yañ Pu Nôgar) 'the Lady of the kingdom,' 'the holy Lady Mother of the kingdom.' The greatest of the sanctuaries still standing, that of Nha-trang, was dedicated to her.

Viṣṇu and his *śakti* Lakṣmi, though not so extensively worshipped as Śiva and Pô Inô Nôgar, appear, nevertheless, to have held a place in the religion of the ancient Chams superior to that of Brahmā. This is attested by various statues, the best preserved of which, that at Biên-hoa (Cochín-China) has passed nowadays into the ranks of Annamese idols, and is situated in the pagoda of Bôu-sôn, 800 miles N.W. of Biên-hoa. It represents the god seated with his legs bent under him, crowned with the tiara (*mukuta*), and decorated with bracelets; he has four arms, the two upper hands holding the conch and the discus, each of the two lower hands holding a club. Lakṣmi also is represented on several monuments, holding what look like lotus-flowers in her hand, and seated under a canopy of *nāgas* (serpents).

Buddhism probably had very little importance, judging from the small number of its sanctuaries, the most famous of which seems to have been the cave of Phong-nha (Quang-binh), where the devotees used to go to buy old medallions exactly similar to the Buddhist seals found at Bôh-Gayá and at Sôhnagat, several specimens of which are to be seen in the museum of the École française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi. As in Java and Cambodia, the Buddhism was that of the *Malayāna*. There still exist, as great witnesses to this religious past, the temples, which constitute the only specimens of Cham architecture yet discovered. The most harmonious and best situated, overlooking the sea, is the temple of Umā or Pô Inô Nôgar at Nha-trang; the best preserved is that of Pô Klôh Garai; the most extensive is the group of eight sanctuaries, which form a veritable city of religion, brought to light in the circus of My-sôn (Quang-nam) by the exertions of Parmentier and Carpeaux, the architect members of the École française d'Extrême-Orient. All these traces of a lost art have been carefully studied and classified, since 1899, by the efforts of this same École, which desires to restore the most beautiful of them. These buildings, without having the gigantic appearance of the works of Khmer art, bear witness to real originality. Constructed nearly all on well-chosen sites, on the top of a hill, facing the east, and built of solid brick, they consist of a square tower or a series of square towers built very closely together. Each tower contains a sanctuary in the form of a pyramidal vault, furnished with a door opening out of a porch on one face, while the three other faces are decorated with false doors. All this forms a sort of ground floor that is surmounted by an upper storey set further back, which is an exact reproduction on a smaller scale of the first, and which continues into a third and fourth stage of the same type, but growing smaller and smaller. The richness and variety of ornamentation slightly counteract this apparently intentional monotony.

Islām, which came much later, though we cannot yet tell in what era, has left no monuments.

5. Present-day religions.—The religion of the Chams at the present day is still Brāhmanism on the one hand and Islām on the other, but a Brāhmanism and an Islām so corrupted, so confused with the practice of magic, that they are barely recognizable. The Brāhman Chams are called *Jāt* (Skr. *jāta*) or 'native' Chams; their Muslimān countrymen give them the further name of *Kaphīr* or *Akaphīr* (Arab. *al-kāfir*) Chams, 'Infidels,' because they have refused to accept the law of Muhammad. The latter name is even accepted by the Brāhman Chams themselves, and neither party sees any opprobrium in the designation. The Muslimān Chams call themselves *Bani* (Arab. *bani*) Chams, 'the Sons [of the religion],' or *Asalam* Chams, that is to say, 'Chams of Islām.' In Cambodia, where all the Chams are Muslimāns, this name 'Bani' is not used.

6. Brāhmanist Chams.—The cult of the Brāhmanist or Hinduist Chams—a vague Saivite Brāhmanism—has, in our day, only a far-off connexion with the Brāhmanism of the Hindus; and what still survives of this religion, stripped of all

metaphysical concepts, not knowing the names or nature of its gods, is saturated further with Muslim and animistic influences. In short, as has been said, the vagueness of this worship reveals at a glance the sad degeneracy of this fallen race. Alongside of Indian practices like the worship of the *linga* and of Nandin (Siva's bull), the ritual action which consists in reciting an invocation to Siva—*namah śivāya*—while touching the finger-joints alternately with the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, and the use of *mantras* in very corrupt Sanskrit (such as *Om tatpuruṣaṃ tatpuruṣātya nōmō tatpuruṣaṇmukkhāi nōmai śibānya nōmō*; Sanskrit: *om tatpuruṣaṃ tatpuruṣāya namah tatpuruṣaṇmukhāya namah śivāya namah*), there exists a world of practices and ideas which are foreign to India and borrowed from the Annamese, the Khmers, or the half-civilized peoples of Indo-China called 'Savages.' Some of the Chams' agrarian magic rites resemble those of the Malays in every detail, and a certain number of ritual and food restrictions, classed together under the name of *tabu* ('tabu'), appear to be close connexions, like their name, of similar rites among the Malayo-Polynesians. The prayers for the eagle-wood harvest, and the priest's chant over the sacrifice of a buffalo, are purely native. Finally, the co-existence of Islam has still further contaminated the Saivite Brahmanism of the present Chams, so that it has now no connexion with Hinduism—which, however, could never have taken deep root in Champā—except by some words and a very few ideas.

(a) *Deities*.—The Chams classify their deities into males and females. The great male deities are: (1) *Pō Yān*² *Mōh* or *Amōh*, the creator of all and censor of the gods (*Siva*?, *Brahmā*). He has the property, which he shares with *Pō Ovlah* or *Alwah* (Allāh), of being polymorphous. (2) *Pō Jātā*, god of the heavenly regions, who emanates from the foregoing god. (3) *Pō Ovlah* or *Alwah* (Allāh), the creator of *Pō Rasullak* and *Pō Latila*, and dwelling in *Mōkah* (Mecca). He was created by *Pō Ovlahuk*, father of 'nōbi Mohamat' (*nabi Muhammad*). It is quite evident that several of the Chams' deities are simply words, which they have not understood, from the Muslim invocation: 'There is no other god but God, and Muhammad is his prophet' (in Arabic: *lā ilahū illā 'ilāh wa Muhammadun rasulu 'ilāhi*). This is enough to show the incoherence of their religion.

The female deities are: (1) *Pō Inō Nōgar* or *Pō Yān Inō Nōgar Tahā*, 'the great goddess, Mother of the kingdom.' *Muk Juk*, 'the black Lady' (*Kālī*?), and *Patau Kumēi*, 'Queen of women,' are other names given to this goddess, the most powerful female deity of the Chams. Born from the clouds or from the foam of the sea, she had 97 husbands, among whom was *Pō Yān Amōh*, 'the Father God,' and 38 daughters, who were worshipped extensively in former days. She created rice, and presides over agriculture and good harvests. Neither Hindu nor Muslim in origin, she seems to be a native deity, to whom some of the traits of the Indian Śrī and perhaps also of *Durgā* have been attributed. Among her daughters there are still held in veneration, each in a special district, *Pō Nōgar Darā*, *Pō Byā Tikuh* 'queen Mouse' (*Gaṇeśa*?), *Tara Nai Anaiñ*, *Pō Śah Anaiñ*—all virgins, and maleficent deities who must be appeased by sacrifices. (2) *Pajau Yān*, or 'Divine Priestess,' is, on the other hand, a

favourable goddess, the dispenser of happiness, who heals diseases and comforts the afflicted. She is invited to all sacrifices. She has no statues or images, but in the imagination of the people she is a woman of thirty. Offerings of fruit are made to her on the first day of the waning moon. She used to live on the earth. *Pō Jātā*, or the King of Heaven, to prevent her from raising all the dead, sent her to the moon, but left her the power of bestowing happiness and health. She gives the souls of the dead who come to greet her a flowering plant (*jrū di jā bulan*, 'moon-balm'), which makes their journey easy for them to the *ālā tanōh riyā*, 'lower regions,' the Cham Hades.¹ *Pajau Yān*'s face is seen in the moon, and her name is synonymous with 'moon.' In this name Kern finds the Kawi *pajau*, 'light of the moon'; the age of thirty attributed to her recalls the thirty days of the month. Moreover, the Chams identify *Pajau Yān* with the moon, and explain a lunar eclipse as an act of homage by the lunar deity to the solar deity *Pō Adityak* (Skr. *āditya*); the eclipse of the sun is the homage rendered by *Pō Adityak* to *Pō Jātā*, the deity of the heavens. (3) *Pō Yān Darī* (Skr. *darī*, 'hollow,' 'cave') is the goddess of disease. She dwells in grottos, caves, hollows, dens, or very dense thickets. An upright stone, on which is drawn a white horizontal mark ('to stand for the mouth,' the natives say), is the representation of this goddess. She appears in a vision to an old man, and shows him the place where the stone must be erected; round about this stone, which is set up under a tree, a circular space must be cleared, the diameter of which is not fixed; a circle of dry stones must be formed with the erected stone as centre; and an opening is left to afford entrance into the circle. This constitutes the *tanōh yān*, or sacred enclosure. The arrangement of the stones is carried out under the supervision of the man who has had the wonderful dream, and he offers a sacrifice of chickens, cooked rice, and betel—a sacrifice which must not take place either at mid-day or in the night. All who enter the forest must perform the same offering. When coming out of the forest they have only to add a stone to the circle of the *tanōh yān*. Such is the cult of *Pō Yān Darī* at Phan-rang. At Phan-rī she cures fever in little children. She symbolizes the *yoni* ('vomb'). She is worshipped wherever there is a hole, a natural cavity, in trees or rocks; a pestle is turned round in the cavity, which has previously been sprinkled with water and alcohol, while an obscene *mantrā* is chanted to win a favour from the goddess.

Alongside of these chief deities we must also mention *Pō Ganuor Mōtri*, god of sculptors, engravers, and carpenters; *Pō Pan*, who teaches men the various industries; *Pō Bhauk*, god of storms, of boatmen, and of merchants, who commands the storms; *Pō Rayak*, king of the waves, or the whale-god; and, above all, the deified ancient kings of Champā, *Pō Klon Garai* and *Pō Ramē*. They still enjoy such prestige that to-day they constitute, along with *Pō Inō Nōgar*, the deities most frequently invoked by the Chams. *Pō Klon Garai* has even taken the place of Śiva in the temple of Phan-rang.

The history of these national gods is naturally full of marvels. *Pō Klon Garai* was born of a virgin-mother, *Pō Śah Inō*, who was subsequently deified, and, after a life full of adventures, became the goddess of merchants. He came into the world covered with leprosy, and a *nāga* cured him by licking him. This god invented the irrigation of rice-plantations, and the

¹ *Pō* (Mal.-Polyn. *po*, *pu*), 'lord,' 'master'—a title given by the Chams to gods, priests, and kings.

² *Yān* 'God,' 'spirit,' 'deity,' 'genius,' sometimes 'the king.' This word is found in Malayo-Polynesian (*Dayak sahyang*; Javanese *yah*, *hyah*; Malay *ka-yah-an*, *yah-yah*, *sembah-yah*; Malagasy *zaha* in *zahahari*) and in the Indo-Chinese dialects (*Bahnar iah*; *Khā pi* and *Raḍē yah*; *Stieng jah*, etc.).

¹ Cf. the Cham expressions *Jā Harēi*, 'liquid sun,' and *Jā Bulan*, 'liquid moon,' with the title *Jālāngēda*, 'Lord (of the star) of the liquid body,' i.e. of the moon, given to Śiva (*Inscr. sanscr. de Campā et du Cambodge*, vol. 1, inscr. xv. B, 5, pp. 106 and 112). The moon-deity also has the name of *Pō Canarōk* (=Skr. *chandra*). The word *jā* in *jā harēi*, *jā bulan*, may perhaps be simply a corruption of *yah*, 'deity.'

construction of dams and embankments. A five-year-old ox, *Kapila*,¹ served him as a mount. He raised himself to heaven by his magic power. There he is the protector of men, and his ox carries the dead to Hades. A somewhat incoherent hymn tells of the merits of the god thus: 'The god *Pō Kloh* loves maidens. He consents to eat the sacrificial food only if arranged in two rows and offered between the second and third watch. In this way must offerings be arranged so that they may be acceptable to *Pō Kloh Garai*. Then he comes down from his mountain, with a beautiful turban on his head, and shoes on his feet, to partake of the sacrifice.'

His companion and servant, *Pō Kloh Gasaik*, sprung from a cloud of smoke and dwelling in dark forests, was deified along with him and is celebrated in an even more incoherent hymn: 'It rains in the mountain plunged in darkness; king *Pō Kloh Gasaik*'s gown and tunic are soaking wet. The rain falls on the mountain; it falls with uproar, pouring through the garments of the king. It rains on Mount Rapat; the god and his wife are bathing. They are up to the mouth in water and the king cannot swim. . . . Deign to accept this sacrifice, O God, and hearken to the prayer of the master of the house.'

Pō Ramé, like *Pō Kloh Garai*, was born of a virgin-mother. He watched over the buffaloes of the king until his predestination was revealed to all. He married the daughter of the king—a Cambodian woman. Later on he married an Annamese princess, sent by her father, the king of Annam, to seduce him. A story goes that the Annamese wife of *Pō Ramé*, wishing to ruin the Cham kingdom for the benefit of her own country, asked her husband to have the *krak* tree,² the protector of Champā, cut down, saying that she would then be cured of a supposed disease which the king's doctors had failed to cure. After long hesitation the king gave the order to cut down the *krak*. A hundred soldiers attacked it with axes, but the wounds of the tree closed up again immediately. The king became impatient and enraged, and, armed with a hatchet, struck the magic tree; blood gushed forth, and groans were heard. The *krak* fell exhausted, and its blood flooded the ground. The king of Annam declared war on Champā, and *Pō Ramé* was taken and cut in pieces. His Cambodian wife begged for his incisors to make them an object of worship, and her request was granted. The following hymn is devoted to him: 'When *Pō Ramé* descends from the heights where he reigns, his body shines and his head glitters with rays of light. The hair stands on end, the heart is sore afraid when one sees *Pō Ramé*, for his face shines like gold, is limpid as pure water. At the court queen *Akarañ* and queen *Than Chan* vie with each other for his favours, but this god, who loves peace, leaves his palace to escape the quarrelling of his wives. Let the god like unto the sun deign to accept this sacrifice and hearken to the prayer of the master of the house.'

(b) *Priests*.—If the deities of the pagan Chams are numerous, their priests and rites are not less so. The priestly caste properly so-called (*bōncha* [=Skr. *vaṃśa*] *baśaiñ*) has at its head a priest of superior rank, the *pōrdimōgru* (Skr. *prathamaguru*?) and three high priests, or *pō ādhya* (Skr. *ādya*), appointed for life, for *Pō Yañ Inō Nōgar*, *Pō Kloh Garai*, and *Pō Ramé*. The priesthood is hereditary (but not obligatory) in the families of the *baśaiñ*. Consecration takes place at twenty-five years of age, after a long initiation, followed by the marriage of the new priests, who abstain from the flesh of the ox. There is a *baśaiñ* or *baśeñ* (cf. Bahnar *bōk soi*, 'sacrificer', 'priest', and Pāli *upajjhāya*) in every village. The *baśaiñ*, charged with the religious service of the people, wears a gown and tunic of white linen, and on his head a white turban, for which a white mitre with red and blue designs is substituted during the performance of his duty. Next in rank to the *baśaiñ* comes the *čamenēñ*, deacon-sacristan, who looks after the temples and the objects of worship, arranges the offerings, and dresses the deities; then the *kathar* (Skr. *gandharva*?), who sings the sacred chants, accompanying himself on a two-stringed violin, the body of which is of tortoise-shell (*kañi kura*).

Besides these ministers, the *mōdwōn* and the *pajau*, of whom we shall speak below, are officials outside the priestly caste and in direct communication with the deities. The *mōdwōn*, initiated by his predecessor, offers sacrifices to all the gods in private ceremonies and in the temples, singing meanwhile, to the accompaniment of a drum, flat on one side, a song which has no meaning for

him. The *mōdwōn* is a soothsayer and healer. Lastly, the *on banōk*, 'lords of the dams,' the religious chiefs of canals and works of irrigation, clad in white, preside every year over the work of repairing dams and canals. All the time of these operations they must abstain from sexual intercourse, and must not eat the flesh of the *hakan* fish (silure).

The *pajau* (Bahnar *bōjar*, 'sorceress') is a sorceress-priestess compelled to celibacy, who is found also among several peoples of Indo-China. There is one for every four or five villages. She herself chooses her assistant to take her place in the succession. She reads the future after she has, by means of ecstasy, entered into communion with *Pajau Yañ*, or the Heavenly *pajau*; it is natural, therefore, that she should frequently be consulted by the Chams. Like the *baśaiñ*, the *mōdwōn* and the *pajau* must abstain from certain foods. Under the *pajau*, and qualified to take her place, is the *kañ yañ*, 'girdle,' 'loins of the god,' 'she who encircles the deities.' She is a sort of convulsional priestess who makes a living by presenting offerings to the deities for others. Besides the *pajau*, the Chams have still other officials, called *rija* or *srwak rija*, for their private ceremonies. Of 20 years of age or less, they are chosen by the whole family, and are not bound by any rules except to wear a white robe on the days when they are officiating.

All the priests, including the *mōdwōn* and the *pajau*, must abstain from certain dishes in varying degrees, and for varying times. The abstinences, which are binding only in certain months, apply to otter flesh with shallots, hare, chicken, pigeon, ginger, the dish of flesh with oil, the *bakyak* herb (*Phyllanthus* sp., Euphorbiaceae), the *katvōn* herb (*Arum esculentum*, Aroideae), crabs with sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, tortoise, the *hakan* fish (silure), the *krwak* fish (*Annabas sennal*). The fasts belonging to the different days of the week comprise ragout and mince of raw fish with prawns (Sunday); pearl-grey chicken, black chicken, and black goat with spotted belly (Monday); red foods (Tuesday); dark-brown foods (Wednesday); hare and ash-coloured chicken (Thursday); spotted chicken, tortoise, and honey (Friday); eels, lampreys, and the *bakyak* fish or pike (Saturday). The violation of these restrictions means a serious shortening of life.

(c) *Festivals*.—Sacrifices and offerings to the gods take place all through the year, and are presented on various occasions of a private nature (illness, birth, marriage, rain, drought, etc.), by the priests, the *mōdwōns*, and the *pajaus*. The most solemn festivals are those of *katē* and *čabur*. The former is held in September–October, the latter in January–February. At *katē* there are five consecutive days of feasting and sacrifice in the *kalan*¹ and the *bumauñ*, 'huts of leaves'; and at *čabur* for the same length of time both in the towers where the *baśaiñ* officiate, and in the houses where private persons make their offerings personally. Mention must also be made of the *paralau rija Šah*, 'development of the feast of the goddess *Pō Šah Inō*,' which takes place on the tenth day of the second month of the Cham year (June–July),² and which also lasts five days. The ceremonies (offerings, dances, worship of the sea) take place in leaf-huts by the sea-shore, the Brāhman priests and the Musalmān *imāms* taking part in it. On the last day at sunset they throw paste figures of tortoises, buffaloes, and men into the sea. Another curious ceremony is *dih srwak*, 'being stretched out with the body stiff.' In it

¹ This is evidently *Nandīn*, the bull of Śiva, but it is difficult to explain how it could have got this purely Sanskrit name (*kapilā* = a reddish or brown cow).

² This name is given by the modern Chams to *Mesua ferrea* (L.), or ironwood.

¹ Ancient Cham brick temples, in the shape of truncated pyramids or forming a series of retreating stages placed one above the other. The finest are those of Phan-rang and Nha-trang in Annam.

² In 1900 it began on the 3rd of June.

are invoked the *prauk* or *prauk patrā*, 'spirits of children who have died young, who inhabit the bodies of squirrels.' The *payau* with rigid body falls down in a nervous spasm, real or pretended, while the *mōdōn* beats his flat drum. We may also mention the *yañ riā*, 'the feast of the possessed or of possession,' a ceremony analogous to the *thvō rōn*, 'the feast of the possessed' of the Khmers, in which a healer, man or woman, called *riā*, after preparation by a series of magical rites, summons the illnesses which he has cured during the year to a feast where, after eating certain food and drinking alcohol, he is seized with convulsions, pretends to be the incarnation of a spirit, and 'breathes' this spirit over one of the onlookers. The latter, possessed in his turn, passes on the spirit to his neighbour, and so on, from first to last.

Amongst celebrations common to the Brāhmans and the Musalmāns may be mentioned an agrarian sacrifice which takes place every year before undertaking the working of the consecrated rice-plantation, or *hamū cañrauv*. Each proprietor knows by tradition which is the consecrated rice-plantation of the year. After certain offerings placed by the mistress of the field—her husband has only a secondary rôle in the ceremony—in a secluded corner of the rice-plantation where a candle burns, the wife and husband invoke the god *Pō Olvāh Tā Aā*, whom the Chams call the 'lord of the lower regions,' but whose name is no other than the Arabic expression *allāh tā āla*, 'God, exalted be He!'

(d) *Sacred vessels and other objects used in connexion with religion.*—The chief sacred vessels and religious objects are:—(1) The *bālañōh*, 'ark of the sacred fire,' which may not be touched except by the *baśaiñ*. It used to serve for the consecration of the kings, and is now used for the sacrifices offered at the ordination of the priests. It is a light cage of bamboo, 1 metre in height, cylindrical at the top, and conical at the lower part, and placed on a little square basket containing two wax candles and strewn with raw white rice. The whole is covered over with flowing white cotton crossed by a red band. (2) The *baganrat*, which only the *baśaiñ* may touch. It is a tray 30 centimetres long, supported by a framework of sticks and furnished with a cover. It is sometimes rectangular, sometimes with its surface the shape of a violin. It is used for containing the sprinkling-vase, the cups, the metal cruets for the salt, the box of flour for the magic figures, the sacred conch, the rosary, etc. (3) The *habauk*, a copper vase for the lustral water. (4) The *bap*, or *bak*, and the *sop*, libation-ladles. (5) The *kalaiñ* (Skr. *kālāśa*), a tin vase for the aspersions. (6) The *śaṅ* (Skr. *śaṅkha*), the sacred conch for blowing as a horn. (7) The *ralaṅ hamu*, a bundle of blades of *ralaṅ* (*Saccharum spicatum*, L.) in the form of an S reversed (2), which the *baśaiñ* holds in his hand during the sacrifice. (8) The *khak mas*, a large elliptical ring fashioned out of three blades of *ralaṅ* plaited together, which the priest puts on his hand round the four fingers, just below and excluding the thumb. (9) The *karah*, a smaller ring made of similar materials which he wears on his ring finger. (10) The *kañom*, the mitre of the Cham priests; it is ornamented with two fillets hanging down behind. (11) The *gai jrōn*, a club made from a rattan whose roots have been plaited in basket form. (12) The *batāu rasuñ*, the block on which the paste is made with which the figures of the deities are smeared. (13) The precious silk cloths for 'dressing' the deities, and the boots of red cloth embroidered in gold, with turned-up toes.¹

¹ The inscriptions of Champā mention the offering of embroidered clothing to the gods.

In their ceremonies the Chams employ three kinds of lustral water: (a) eagle-wood water; (b) citron water; (c) *mu* water (water with *mu*, unpurified calcium carbonate and magnesia, in suspension). The first kind is for aspersions, the second for whitening the face of the *mukhalinga* ('the *linga* with face-form'), and the third for purifications. *Gahlau* (= Skr. *aguru*; cf. ἀγάλλω), 'eagle-wood,' is the most valuable substance used in worship; it is still used by the kings of Annam in the ceremonies they perform. It is an excrement product of a tree of the family Leguminosae, the *Alexylon agallochum* (Lour.) and of another tree of the family of Aquilariæ, the *Aquilaria agallocha* (Roxb.). The ceremony of gathering eagle-wood is very complicated among the Chams; even the Musalmāns take part in it. A Musalmān village is by tradition charged with the gathering of the eagle-wood. At its head is the *pō gahlau*, or 'lord of the eagle-wood,' whose dignity is hereditary. He has under his orders sixteen chiefs of the squad, or *kavi*, and seven hamlets of *Orāñ Glai*, or *Ra Glai*, 'men of the woods,' a half-civilized people settled in the west of the Cham country. During their absence there must be no games, no laughter, no quarrels in their dwellings, for that would harm their search. Their wives must not speak to any stranger, and if they do not abstain from all sexual relations the greatest misfortunes are sure to occur. For his part, the *pō gahlau* observes all these prescriptions with the greatest care, and abstains at the same time from the *hakan* fish (silure). The same precautions are taken by the *Ra Glai*, who help in the hunt for eagle-wood, and whose villages become *tabuñ*, 'tabued,' 'interdicted.' All the searchers for the eagle-wood, so long as their search lasts, employ a conventional language (*ar baiu*, 'flowery language'; *jal sadhōr*, 'the water of the river'), formed from periphrases, corrupted Sanskrit words, words of dialects foreign to the Cham, or onomatopoeic words. The following are some words of this language:—*mōrabdu*, 'the thing which smells' = eagle-wood; *cyim cauñ*, 'the bird that pricks' = the axe; *bhōñ*, 'the red' = fire; *garmēñ*, 'the spider' = the goat; *ōśdhuk* (= Skr. *ōśadhi*, 'herb'), 'betel'; *cū*, 'a serpent'; *upbabbup*, 'to eat,' etc.

After two or three months of search the squads generally succeed in gathering from four to fifteen pounds of eagle-wood. The return home takes place solemnly, in arms and to the sound of musical instruments. There is a first series of feasts and festivals, which lasts two days and two nights, at the place where the Chams part company with the *Ra Glai*, and another at the entrance to the Cham village, for the Cham eagle-wood hunters. At the entrance of the Cham village a large shed is built. The women bring the eatables for the festival, the lustral water of sacrifice, and the oil for anointing their husbands, whom they go to meet in high holiday garb, accompanied by armed men. For three days there are sacrifices, banquets, and dances, these last being led by the *pō gahlau* and his wife; but the prescribed abstinences do not yet come to an end. [Before the French occupation, the band of eagle-wood searchers went to deliver this wood to the Annamese mandarins who had claimed it for their king.] Finally, some new sacrifices mark the actual entry into the village and the return to normal life. In the rainy season, the seventh or eighth month of the Cham year, the *pō gahlau* once more ascends with his train to sacrifice a buffalo on the mountain to the deities of the eagle-wood, that they may prosper future searches. A festival of three days follows the sacrifice.

Such are the ceremonies by which the Chams

honour their gods. A persistent tradition, about which, however, they are not very fond of giving an opinion, bears witness to the existence at one time among them of human sacrifices. Friar Gabriel de San Antonio, a Spanish Dominican who visited Champá at the end of the 16th cent., depicts the Chams as 'a people of great wickedness and bad heart,' and relates that on certain days they sacrificed over 6000 persons, whose gall was carefully collected and carried to the king, who bathed his body and head in it. This gall was also used to bathe the statues of the gods.¹ Besides this, it appears that, at the construction of a dam, the *on banök* at night secretly got hold of a child four or five years old, and drowned it in the irrigation works, in order to win the favour of the deities. Friar Gabriel tells also of a feast which is entirely forgotten by the present Chams, but recalls the procession of the chariot of Jagganāth:

'The Chams have numerous idols, which they place on a chariot on feast days. This chariot is fitted with swords, and the people drag it along, out of piety. Some place themselves under the wheels and let themselves be cut in two; others offer the foot or the arm, and others the hand. Those who survive are beatified, and those who die are regarded as saints. . . . The bodies of the victims, from which the gall has been torn for the service of the king, are gathered together and burnt on the top of a mountain as a sacrifice to the sun.' Friar Gabriel adds that among the Chams 'the dead are burned'—a custom observed even to the present day,—and widows voluntarily share the funeral pyre of their husbands'—a custom no longer seen.

7. Musalmān Chams or Banis. — It is not known in what year, or how Islām penetrated to the Chams. A chronicle tells that *Pō Olwah* (Allāh) reigned over *Sri Banōy*, their second capital, from A.D. 1000 to 1036, and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. This may have been an Arab chief or a Malay who brought Islām to Champá. We do not know. It is easier to describe what the religion of Muhammad has now become in this country. Of course, the religion varies widely according to the places where it is practised. In Cambodia, where the Banis or Musalmān Chams are in contact with the Malays, Islām is naturally less mixed with heathen practices, and comes nearer to orthodoxy. In Annam, on the other hand, it is in such a state of corruption that it is sometimes very hard to recognize it. An extract from the religious writings of the Banis of Annam informs us that '*Awahuk* (= Arab. *allāh*), the uncreated god, holds his seat on the forehead; *Uwluwah* (*allāh*), Allāh, the Demiurge, on the left eyebrow; *Mohammad* (= Muhammad), on the right eyebrow; *Jibarael* (the archangel Gabriel), on the right eye; *Asan* (Hasan), on the left nostril; *Asai* (Husain), on the right nostril; *Hawa* (Eve), on the left ear; *Adam*, on the right ear.' All their theology, based on the localization, in the face or body of man, of the holy personages of Islām, of its practices and feasts, could not be better exemplified than by this passage.

The ministers of worship among the Bani Chams are: (1) *pō* or *on gru* (= Skr. *guru*, 'spiritual teacher'), chief of the ministers; (2) the *imāms* (*imāms*), from whom the *grus* are chosen; (3) the *katip* (Arab. *ḥatīb*), minister entrusted with the sermon; (4) the *mōdin* (Arab. *mūaddin*), the crier of the mosque and singer; (5) the *āčārs* (Skr. *āchārya*, 'a spiritual guide or teacher'), masters charged with the teaching of the Law. The word is also used to denote Muhammadan ministers in general, in contradistinction to the *basaiḥ* of the Hinduists.

The ministers of the cult have their heads shaven. In Cambodia they wear a white fez, which in Annam is covered by a voluminous turban with red, maroon, and gold fringes. The hierarchic rank is marked

¹ See Gabriel de San Antonio, *Breve y verdadera relacion de los sucesos del Reyno de Camboja*, in S. Pablo de Valladolid, 1604, fol. 22. The present writer is preparing a new edition of this work, which has become very rare.

by the breadth of the fringe. Like the *basaiḥ*, the *imāms* have a long staff of rattan (for the *on gru* only, the roots of it are plaited like a basket). A white *sarong* and a long white tunic buttoned and cut to fit the neck form their whole costume. On feast days they wear, instead of their turban, a kind of disk with a hole through the centre, and fastened to the fez by a piece of linen; the whole has the appearance of a judge's cap.

The *imāms* can hardly read Arabic; still less do they study it. They understand the general drift of the *sūras* of the Qur'ān, which they recite by rote, and which, they say, their fathers used to recite. The fast of *ramwōn* (Ramādān) is kept by the priests only. As for the laity in Annam, if they observe it for three days, during the rest of the month they eat a little at midday. The *imāms*, who fast for the whole community, transform the mosque into an encampment for the purpose, where they recite prayers during the whole month of Ramādān. They do not leave the mosque except for the great ablutions in the river.

The mosque is a bamboo building, with trellis walls and thatched over with rice-straw; it is surrounded with an enclosure of dead wood, and its end is turned to the West. At the door are seen a large drum (*agar*), to call to prayer, and the mats used for prayer-carpets, tied up in a bag and hung from the joists. The pulpit (*minbar*) is at the far end. The end of the mosque and the *minbar* are covered with white cloth during feasts.

On Fridays (Cham *junmat*, *jōmaat* = Arab. *jum'a*) the *imāms* and the *pō gru*, meeting at the mosque, read some sentences of the Qur'ān, in the presence of the worshippers. Prayer lasts for an hour, and is followed by a meal washed down with rice-brandy, of which all but the priests partake. Purifications are neglected; their place is taken by digging in the sand, and imitating the movement of drawing the necessary water. The five prescribed prayers are hardly ever said, and circumcision, which takes place about the age of fifteen, is nothing but a symbolic operation. The *on gru* mimics this operation with a wooden knife, after which the newly circumcised receives a new name as 'an initiated person'; usually the name is 'Ali, Muhammad, Ibrahīm (= Ibrahim), etc. He still keeps his secular name, however,—the name of some object, quality, or tree,—in his everyday life. On the other hand, the *karōh* (lit. 'seclusion'), or declaration of marriageability of girls, is celebrated with great solemnity. The girls may then marry and put their hair up. Until then they are *tubūn*, 'interdicted,' and to violate this interdiction would expose the culprit to serious penalties.¹ The celebrations, presided over by the *on gru* accompanied by the *imāms*, last two days, and are performed for a group of girls, and not for one alone. After prayers addressed to Allāh, to Muhammad, to the Hindu deities, and to the ancestral spirits, a festival takes place at which only the priests eat. Two sheds have been constructed—one for the ceremony, the other for the toilet of the young girls. They sleep in this the first night under the care of four matrons. The *imāms* pass the night in prayer. At seven o'clock in the morning the maidens, dressed in their best and adorned with all their jewels, their hair hanging loose and surmounted by a triangular mitre, come forward preceded by an old woman and a man clothed in white, who carries a year-old infant, dressed like the girls except for the mitre. They proceed to make obeisance to the *on gru* and the *imāms*. The little child is presented to the *on gru*, who puts a grain of salt into his mouth, cuts off a lock of hair from his forehead, and offers him a

¹ Perhaps this *karōh* is analogous to the legal seclusion for three months imposed by Musalmān jurisprudence on divorced or repudiated wives.

little water to drink. All this is repeated for the young maidens, who then return to their shed in procession. If a girl has violated the interdiction the lock of hair is cut from the nape of her neck as a sign of shame. Then another feast, where the priests eat first and the worshippers afterwards, closes this part of the ceremony. About ten o'clock the girls re-appear, their hair put up this time as a mark of their having passed into the ranks of marriageable women; they prostrate themselves before the priests; then all the relatives, and especially the women-guests, come to enumerate the presents of clothing, money, finery, and even fields and buffaloes, which they are giving to such and such a new member. Then, after much bowing, the young maidens go and fetch the viands and presents prepared for the *imāms*, and offer them on trays. The *on gru* makes a pretence of tasting them, and presents a small particle to the little child. A bounteous feast brings to an end the solemnization of the *karōh*. This ceremony generally takes place only a very little before the marriage of the girls, who are at this time from fifteen to eighteen years old.

Another feast, called *taba* or *tupah* (= Arab. *taubah*), takes place in all the families where there are old men. It is celebrated in a shed built for the purpose; the *on gru* and several *imāms* offer up prayers; the old man and his family make the responses. A sprinkling of lustral water, accompanied by a banquet, closes this ceremony, which blots out the old man's sins, and takes place for each man individually.

Some deeply rooted survivals of the ancient Malayo-Polynesian cults contaminate the Islāmism of the Bani Chams, not to mention the evident corruptions of their cult by that of their brothers the Hinduists. While worshipping Allāh, they also invoke the *Pō Yañ*, 'deities,' and offer them sacrifices. They make offerings to the spirits of their ancestors on serious occasions: to get healing, or to gain assurance of the success of an important affair. They offer worship to the *prok*, the souls of still-born children which are incarnated in the bodies of squirrels, and are particularly malignant spirits. To appease them or win their favour, both Banis and Kaphirs pray to them in complicated ceremonies, like the *dih srwak*, of which we have spoken above, and its complement, the *dayōp*, or 'sacrifice of the twilight.' The two sects invite each other to all their feasts, and give each other the place of honour. But the Banis never take part in any cremation. As regards this, a curious old tradition says that at one time they alone were summoned to the side of the Brāhmanist Cham queens in childbed, as being less liable to bring ill-luck than the *basaiñ*, who was charged with supplying the corpse with food and drink until its cremation.

Mixed marriages are rare, and especially so between a Brāhmanist girl and a Musalmān, the children having to follow their mother's religion. Nevertheless, perfect toleration is the rule, not only among the adherents, but even among the priests of the two cults. If the Bani Chams have no scruples about worshipping the *Pō Yañ*, or Hindu deities, the Kaphirs on their side have included Allāh and Muhammad in their pantheon. They all abstain from pig's flesh, dare not rear oxen, and cut themselves off from all sexual relations on Mondays, in commemoration of the supposed birth of Allāh. Corresponding to the *pajau*, or sorceress-priestess, of the Kaphirs, there is among the Banis the *raja* or *rija*, who performs similar duties. The *rajas*, who must be twenty years old, do not form a special caste, and their functions are not hereditary. In short, they are private officials, and do not play a really important

part except at certain annual feasts called *rija*, which seem to correspond to the solemnizations of *katē* and *cahur* of the Kaphirs, and at which the ancestral spirits are worshipped. These feasts, of Malayo-Polynesian origin, take place in the ninth month (Dec.-Jan.). In the formulas recited at them the name of Java and the Javanese occurs often. We shall describe them briefly.

In an enclosure a large shed is constructed, of new materials as far as possible, and is covered over inside with white cotton cloth. The altar is a rude trough with trays, on which are placed betel, foods, and fruits; and wax-candles are stuck on the edge of the trays, which are further surrounded with coloured cotton threads. From the roof hang images of monkeys, elephants, boats, and carts, all made of paper. A swing, fastened to two pillars, is set apart for the *rija*. Attended by three *imāms*, she is the chief personage of the fête. The *mōdwin*, with his flat drum, conducts an orchestra composed of a flute, a violin, cymbals, and an elongated drum (*ganōh* = Mal. *gendang*, Javanese *kepadang*), and accompanies the *rija*. The ceremony, which is interrupted by a number of feasts, lasts two days and three nights. It begins with the *bismillāh*, and continues with the invocation of the spirits of the mountains and woods, of the dead, of the spirits of 'beyond the sea,' and, by name, of the thirty-eight deities or spirits.¹ The calling out of their names is followed by prayers from the three *imāms*.

The characteristic part of the ceremony takes place on the second day, at the time when the morning star appears. After the *mōdwin* has invoked the deities, and the *rija* has performed a special dance in their honour, they take a little rowing-boat, fashioned out of a piece of wood supposed to have come from Java or China to exact tribute. The master of the house where the ceremony takes place pleads ignorance of Javanese, and the *mōdwin* acts as interpreter. In pantomime they place eggs, cakes, and a kind of jointed monkey on the boat. Then they all cut the partition walls and the roof of the shed into pieces, and fight over the cakes. On the third day the *rija*, accompanied by the priests and the orchestra, proceeds solemnly to launch the boat with the monkey on the river of the village, and this is the end of the ceremony.

Besides this great annual *rija*, they celebrate others in special cases, e.g. to charm the evil spirits who take possession of a girl, or to get healing. They are all celebrated in the same way as the preceding, except that the *mōdwin* alone takes the place of the orchestra, and that the mistress of the house herself often takes the part of the *rija*.

It would be just as difficult to fit into the domain of Islām the agrarian rites common to the Banis and Kaphirs. They distinguish three kinds of sacred fields:—(1) The *hamū tabuñ*, which bring death to the people and beasts who cultivate them. Nothing can turn aside their evil influence, which is now cheaply avoided by selling the fields to the Annamese Christians. (2) The *hamū cañrau*, or sacred rice-plantations, which are regarded as the 'queens' of the other rice-plantations. We have already described the cult of which they are the object. (3) The *hamū klaik lawak*, 'fields of secret labour.' These are worked by stealth, after a sacrifice has been offered, and the buffaloes, ploughs, and offerings have been sprinkled with lustral water. The sacrifice must be renewed at the flowering and harvest of the rice. Perhaps there remain in it some traces of the ancient native cults for appeasing the spirit of the soil that has been reclaimed from the forest.

In regard to the *on banōk*, or religious chiefs of dams and irrigation, we may at least admit that their functions correspond to the religious respect of Musalmāns for all that is connected with the distribution of water in the hot countries which they originally inhabited. The *on banōk*, clothed in white, keep certain fasts, and avoid sexual intercourse during the exercise of their ministry. They preside every year over the repairing of the dams and canals. As already stated, they were believed to drown a little child secretly in the irrigation works to assure good irrigation of the fields.

8. Magic rites and various customs.—Black magic, the casting of spells, and sorcery are common to the Hinduist and Musalmān Chams, as well as to the Annamese and Khmers, but the latter peoples consider the Chams the abler sor-

¹ Cf. the thirty-eight daughters of Pō Inō Nōgar

cerers. The Chams believe that certain individuals have the power of killing at a distance, or of causing the ruin and downfall of persons, or of trees, by means of magic formulae. Though the *jalawôc*, or those who extract the gall, have disappeared, the belief persists none the less that fresh human gall gives invulnerability. The life of the Chams, whether Banis or Kaphirs, is associated with innumerable superstitious ideas and practices. The absence of shrubbery round the houses is explained, as we have seen, by the belief that the shade of a living tree brings misfortune.

The construction of a Cham house includes a series of propitiatory rites meant to drive off the evil spirits. The enclosure of dead wood is first raised, and, after the plan of the house has been traced with a line, the pillars are set up—tree-trunks which are to support the building. But first the builders must place a *mantra* engraved on a plate of lead, and always the same *mantra*, in the hole into which the pillar is to be put. Then they sink the north-east pillar, once more invoking the deities. Other *mantras* are laid at the places where the pillars meet the woodwork of the roof; and the roof is then covered with thatch taken from the mountain. Then the master of the house, having chosen the place where his bed is to be, stretches himself out on it for a moment, but does not dare to install himself finally in the new habitation until he has made a sacrifice to the unfavourable powers.

A new cart is never put to use either by the Banis or by the Kaphirs without a ceremony, which consists in a sacrifice to the deities, and aspersions of lustral water on the cart. After this it is plunged into the river, and receives several light strokes of an axe, as a sample of the chastisement in store for it if it does not fulfil its function well.

The Chams never go during the day to take the rice they need from the granary: that is the time when it is asleep. They therefore await its awaking, that is to say, the fall of night. This rice, moreover, has not been put into the granary until the principal matron of the family has cut enough to make three sheaves in the fields. These three sheaves are set upright on the bank of the rice-plantation, and the matron-harvester says to the stems still standing: 'You are fit to enter the granary; follow the sheaves you see here.' In addition to this, after the buffaloes have trodden the rice, a sacrifice is made at the winnowing ground.

The Chams, like the other Malayo-Polynesians, believe in 'favourable' and 'unfavourable' days, and they never undertake anything of importance without being assured, by the consultation of tables, of a propitious day and hour.

9. Birth.—When a child is born, a matron of the village assists at the delivery, and keeps a burning fire¹ near the mother, during a period more or less variable—7 days is the average in Binh-thuân. Then she surrounds the hearth with cotton thread, and lights a cubit-long candle to keep off evil spirits. It is she also who 'breaks up' the fireplace at the end of the lying-in, and who carries the ashes to cross-roads in order to make a pile of them, surmounted by a stone and betel-quid. The Banis omit the sacrifice which is then offered by the Kaphirs to the good spirits. The child receives a name when about the age of six months, i.e. just when the first glimmering of intelligence is seen. Children of good constitution and normally born get a 'good' name ('Good-luck,' 'Joy,' 'Concord,' etc.); children prematurely born, deformed, or whose mother has had several miscarriages, get a 'bad' name

('Dog,' 'Cat,' 'Buffalo,' 'Excrement,' etc.). This bestowal of a bad name tricks the spirits who would injure the child; if at the age of 12 years no harm has befallen the child, a bad name is changed for a good one; but this is often forgotten. It is remarkable that several Cham kings have borne the name *Aih* ('Excrement').

10. Marriage.—Boys and girls marry between the ages of 15 and 18. If a girl, Bani or Kaphir, becomes pregnant, unless she lives publicly with a man of the village, she must tell the name of her seducer. The latter, if he admits the deed, has to pay a small fine to the parents, and may marry the girl. If the girl refuses to name the father of her child, she is punished by 50 strokes of the rattan, all precautions being taken to avoid a miscarriage. But cases of seduction are not common. Marriage among the Kaphirs requires very little formality, and cohabitation may take its place for a long time.

Among the Banis, marriage is a little more complicated. It includes a religious ceremony and a very costly banquet. People are often found putting marriage off so long that grown-up children are present at the wedding-feast of their parents. In the cases (which, however, are rare) where the feast takes place before marriage, it is the parents of the boy who supply the greater part of the provisions; those of the girl give the rice and the cakes. Towards evening, the married couple, clad in unhemmed white cotton, and holding each other by the hand or by the gown, go by a road carpeted with mats, so that their feet may not touch the ground, from the house of the young maiden to the shed specially constructed near by. There, in front of the *imâms* engaged in prayer, presided over by the *ôn gru*, the parents of the betrothed maiden declare her given over to the youth, who accepts her as his wife before all. The maiden goes back to the house, while the *ôn gru*, who for the occasion has taken the name of Lord Mohammat (= Muhammad), and is accompanied by an *imâm* who has received the name of Lord Omar, asks the fiancé, designated by the name of *Pagindâ Ali* (= Mal. *baginda* ['prince,' 'majesty,'], *Ali*), what presents he means to offer to his wife '*Phwatimôh*' (= Fâtima). The youth enumerates them, beginning with the silver wedding-ring and ending with the jewels, the ornaments, the buffaloes, and rice-plantations, if there are any. In case of divorce, this dowry remains with the wife. Then two *imâms* take the ring which the *ôn gru* has just blessed, and go into the house to put it on the finger of the maiden, at the same time asking her if she consents to the marriage. They proceed to fetch the fiancé and the *ôn gru*, and then they solemnly conduct the married couple into their dwelling. Before going into the house the bridegroom crushes three betel leaves on the threshold. In the nuptial chamber, four venerable matrons spread out a special white cloth over the mat set apart for the newly-married couple. The wife sits down on it, with old women round about her, and her husband at her side. *Imâms* join the hands of the married pair, who are then sprinkled with lustral water, bless them, and after some prayers and moral recommendations leave them alone. The wife then prepares a betel-quid, which she places in her husband's mouth. He throws part of his clothing over her, and finally they both go out to prostrate themselves before the priests and the godparents of both parties. This is the time when the guests offer their presents, a list of which is drawn up. An interminable banquet, to which nearly the whole village is invited, closes the marriage-ceremony.

The position of woman among the Chams of Annam, where there still exist very distinct traces

¹ Hence the expression *âm di ãp rôt*, 'to sleep near the fire,' meaning 'to be delivered.'

of matriarchy, is an agreeable one. In religious and domestic ceremonies she takes the first place after the priests, and has the right to transmit property. She chooses her husband; the children belong to her and not to the father. Divorce is easy to get and often taken advantage of, being always sought by the wife, who is allowed to keep the children, the common house, and a third of the property, etc.

Adultery is theoretically punished by death, but in practice the penalty is reduced to a few strokes of the rattan and a fine. It is, however, very rare, not owing to the special virtue of Cham women, but because they can, as we have seen, obtain separation from their husbands quite easily.

II. Disposal of the dead.—(a) *Among the Banis.*—Funeral rites are highly developed among the Chams, partly in honour of the ancestral spirits, partly to prevent the dead man from coming back to annoy or carry off those whom he has left in his house. Islām has been unable to modify completely the beliefs of the Banis on this point, but the funeral ceremonies of the latter are much less complicated than those of the Kaphirs, and—an important point—burial takes the place of cremation among the Musalmāns, while cremation persists among the Kaphirs. After the last breath, the corpse is carried into a shed built for the purpose. It is washed in several waters, wrapped in a piece of white cotton, and laid, without a coffin, in a trench, with the head towards the north. This is done in presence of four *imāms*, who recite prayers, while the family and friends adjure the dead to rest in the tomb and not return to torment the living. Contrary to what takes place among the orthodox Musalmāns, it is the *imāms* who lead the procession. Commemorative services, called *padhis* (Skr. *upādhi*?), with prayers and a feast on the tomb, take place on the 3rd, 7th, 10th, 30th, 40th, and 100th days. A sacrifice is also offered on the tomb in all serious family crises. Finally, in the 5th or 6th month for the poor, in a year for the rich, the corpse is exhumed, and carried with the same ceremonies as before into a certain valley, considered a holy place by the Banis.

(b) *Among the Kaphirs.*—Cremation among the Kaphir Chams is a very solemn procedure. The corpse, washed and clothed in a series of white cotton garments, put one on top of the other, has the appearance of a parcel, and the head, though veiled, is the only recognizable part. The body is laid out, with the head to the south, on a kind of luxurious catafalque adorned with candles, and food is placed at the corpse's side. The priests pray beside it night and day, and go through the pantomime, three times a day, of giving it food. During this time, the friends and relatives come from any distance, with lively musical instruments, to feast and laugh unceasingly in the house. They must bear the corpse company, and by their gay talk keep the family from giving itself up to a too violent grief. This may last a week or several months, according to the fortune of the deceased and the condition of the atmosphere. When the corpse becomes too much decomposed, it is at last consigned to the flames. It is laid out on an enormous new catafalque, made by the *basaih*, and ornamented with figures of animals or flowers in gilt paper. Carriers dressed in white seize the catafalque, round which crowd all the priests and the *pajau*, clothed in white, with a bundle of five candles in their hand. Musical instruments give the signal to march. Mourners, the family dressed in white, and all the inhabitants of the village girdled with white scarfs, carrying lances, swords, and flags, follow the catafalque, which the carriers, under the order of the midwives, keep turning to

left and right, so as to mislead the dead in case he should want to return home afterwards. When they have arrived at the place of cremation, the first knock is given by a *basaih*; then the relatives clear the ground, preparing the pile where the body is placed. After the priests have circumambulated the pile, keeping their right side towards it all the time, the body is uncovered once more to offer it a final repast and to allow the adoration of its friends. Then fire is applied to the pile, which is decorated with the priests' candles, and into which are also thrown some food, all the precious things, clothes, and utensils belonging to the deceased, and the presents, often of real value,¹ which his friends and relatives give him at his death. After cremation the central part of the frontal bone is picked up. This, broken into nine parts, constitutes the 'noble bones,' and is put into a little gold, silver, or copper box called *kloñ*, and taken back to the former dwelling of the deceased. These *kloñ* are nearly always bought beforehand, and buried in some corner of the proprietor's enclosure or in the forest. They are never buried in the house, the presence of a *kloñ* bringing ill-luck and often causing the death of the person for whom it is meant to be kept. The family of the deceased then celebrate *padhi* (Skr. *upādhi*?), or commemoration-services, on the 3rd, 10th, and 100th days after the death, with prayers and feasting.² At the *padhi* held on the anniversary, the *kloñ* are buried beside the rest of their ancestral bones under the *kut*, or family tombstones. These stones, of about three cubits' length, are three in number for women, five for men. They are erected nearly always in the family property, and preferably at the foot of a tree. The poor, for lack of private property, bury their *kloñ* in the forest. At the feasts of *katē* and *čapur*, care is taken never to omit to pay homage to the ancestral spirits, which are invoked also in cases of illness, accident, and important decisions. These sacrifices, though unorthodox, are offered by the Musalmān Chams of Annam and Cambodia.

12. Eschatology.—The ideas of the Chams of either sect as to the survival and fate of the soul after death are singularly confused. The Brāhmanists generally think that the souls of pious men go into the sun, those of women into the moon, those of servants into grey clouds; but they sojourn there only until their entrance into the heart of the earth (*alā tanōh riā*). Others declare that souls return to the state of the gods, others that they pass into the bodies of certain animals—serpents, crocodiles, squirrels, etc. Each family abstains from eating the flesh of a particular animal. A belief common to all the Chams is that the souls of infants born dead, or dying very young, who have not undergone cremation (among the Brāhmanists only, since the Banis bury their dead), incarnate themselves in squirrels and palm-rats (*Sciurus palmarum*), and would soon become harmful if they were not appeased by means of sacrifices called *srwak* and *dayōp*.

13. Cambodian Chams.—The Chams who came to Cambodia, very probably at the end of the 15th cent., after the decisive fall of Champā, are quite different. Numbering 90,000, they form a veritable nation, which has acquired coherence from the Islām they all profess. They live generally on the banks of the Mekhong or of the Great Lake, and are often on the move. There are also attached to them some villages in Cochinchina, particularly at Châu-dôc and Tây-ninh, and a small group in

¹ They are content sometimes with only passing them through the smoke.

² The funeral rites of the Chams are very complicated, and correspond in some parts to those of India, but they include a number of practices which are not found in the Brāhman writings on funerals.

Siam. They are often confounded with the Malays, who are not nearly so numerous as they are, and who almost always settle alongside of them. Inter-marriage also is gradually fusing the two races. Very different from their apathetic brothers in Annam, the Banis of Cambodia are active, enterprising, and intelligent, and seem to have acquired all these qualities from living near the Malays. They are chiefly woodcutters, agriculturists, fishermen, and tradesmen, able workmen, and cunning usurers. Their women weave silk stuffs with good taste, but never rear silk-worms, preferring to buy the raw material they need from the Khmers or Chinese. Their villages are built on piles, shaded by a clump of false-jube trees, and surrounded by well-tilled fields, and have not the gloomy appearance of the low huts and parched villages, surrounded with dead wood, of the Banis of Annam. They plant rice, cotton, indigo, and maize; and they rear oxen and buffaloes, but pigs are objected to.

Their Islām, though mixed with native practices, is much more enlightened and thoughtful than that of the Chams of Annam. As they are in permanent contact with Malays and Hindus, who are fervent Musalmāns, and are better instructed in their religion, there is quite a considerable number among them who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. They worship only Allāh, perform the five prayers and the prescribed ablutions, and always abstain from pigs' flesh, and usually from fermented liquors, especially in public. To do otherwise would incur a reprimand from the *imāms*. The Friday assembly (*jōmaat*) always comprises the forty required members.

(a) *Clergy*.—The hierarchy of the ministers of the cult consists first of four persons named by the king of Cambodia and forming part of his council. They are assisted by 40 *imāms*. These are the *mōphatī*, 'teacher of the Law' (*muftī*), the *tuh kalik*, the *rajak kalik*, 'magistrates' (*qādī*), and the *tuon pakē*, 'juriconsult' (*fajih*). These ministers of the cult are highly honoured by both the Chams and the Malays. Then come the *hakim* or *hakem*, 'doctors of law and mosque-chiefs' (*hakim*), and the *katip*, 'the official in charge of the prayers' (*ḥatib*). All these priests are clothed in white, have their heads shaven, wear only a little beard, and have a white turban. The *lebē* and the *halim* (=Arab. *alim*), the one an official and the other a teacher of the Law, are simply laymen, employed in the mosque. Mention must be made, finally, of the *bilāl* or *mōdin* (*mīadīn*).

The great dignitaries and the *imāms* have wide authority over their congregation. They have the right to apply a certain number of strokes with a stick to those who transgress the religious requirements, use fermented drinks, or traffic in strange idols, etc. The offering of sacrifices and oblations to the deities of the polytheists may incur exclusion from the community, although such a prescription, if exactly followed, would mean the total excommunication of all the Bani Chams.

The Chams of Cambodia now send Cham or Malay missionaries to their fellow-worshippers in Annam, to bring them back to more orthodox practices. They are received and entertained with the utmost cordiality, but their efforts are fruitless against the absolute indifference of the latter and their secular custom of sacrificing to the *Pō Yan*.

(b) *Festivals*.—The Chams of Cambodia celebrate the following festivals:—(1) *Ramōwan* (=Arab. *Ramaḍān*) or *Bulan Ūk*, 'month of fasting,' fixed by the priests, and regularly observed by all the worshippers in the usual way.

(2) *Bulan Ūk Hajī*, 'month of the pilgrimage fast,' or *Bulan Ōrlwah*, 'month of God,' a supplementary fast, when the Banis must not eat before nightfall for five days. It takes place three months after *Ramōwan*. (3) *Rijā Surah* or *Surah* (=Arab. *Ashūrā*?), 'the feast of the distress,' in memory perhaps of the flight of Muḥammad. (4) *Tapaī*, the *tupah* (=Arab. *taubah*) of the Annamese Chams, a ceremony for the purification of the sins of old men. (5) *Tamat* (=Arab. *tāmmat*, 'conclusion'), a feast in honour of a young man who has finished his theological studies. Dressed in his finest clothes, and surrounded by his friends, he makes a triumphal entry on horseback into his village, musicians leading the way. (6) The circumcision of boys, which is not a mere pretence as in Annam, is the occasion of a feast. The operator, nearly always the *on gru*, uses a razor and pincers for the circumcision. The youths on whom it is performed must be about fifteen years old. Their relatives offer presents to the operator, and a banquet follows. The *karōh* of the Annamese Banis is not in use for the girls. (7) *Molot* or *Molot* (=Arab. *malat*, 'shave'?) is a ceremony which seems confused with that of the cutting of the tuft among the Khmers. An *imām*, assisted by at least three colleagues, after reciting prayers and sprinkling a child with lustral water, cuts off a lock of its hair. The child undergoes *molot* only once in its life, between the ages of 3 and 13, and it is on this occasion that it is given a Musalmān name—nearly always Muḥammad, 'Abd Allāh, or 'Alī, if it is a boy; and, if a girl, Fātima (in Cham *Phwatimōh*). In ordinary life the child is called by the purely Cham name which is given it at birth. The inevitable banquet closes the ceremony.

The Chams of Cambodia, it is evident, are better Musalmāns than those of Annam, but it would be exaggeration to conclude from this that their Islām is always perfectly enlightened and conscious. It is easy, on the contrary, to discover in it a number of practices which are evident survivals of the old Malayo-Polynesian, Hindu, and Animistic cults which preceded Islām, and were originally native to the country. They feel this vaguely, and try to hide them under an Islāmic or so-called Islāmic mask. Thus, like the Malays of Cambodia, they worship a number of saints' tombs, or *ta-lak*; they go to them to obtain healing, before the conclusion of an important affair, etc. The cult consists of the recitation of prayers and formule, aspersions of lustral water, a feast near the tombs, and—a Buddhist custom—the freeing of pigeons. This worship of the *ta-lak* has some analogy with the worship of the *kramat*, or mounds supposed to be tombs of Musalmān saints, in Malacca. The worship they give to evil spirits, styled *jīn asalam*, 'Musalmān genii,' has its counterpart likewise in the Malay Peninsula.

(c) *Sorcery and Sorceresses*.—Sorcery, which can by magic practices cause the death or ruin of people and things, inspires the Banis of Cambodia with great hatred, and the sorcerers, or supposed sorcerers, are often assassinated secretly. These sorcerers, nearly always women, are supposed to transmit their magic power from one to another by means of a midnight initiation in the forest. The person wishing to become a sorceress sacrifices a live cock on an abandoned termite's nest. She cuts it in two from the head to the tail, and has to dance and sing quite naked in front of the altar, until, by a kind of magic attraction, the two halves of the cock begin to approach each other, and the bird returns to life and utters its cry. This devilry ended, the sorceress can bring harm and desolation anywhere at will. Fortunately she is easily re-

cognizable by her swollen and bloodshot eyes, and by the tendency of her face to change colour. These sorceresses are called *kamōlai* or *kamōlai bhūt* (cf. Skr. *bhūta*), and when they are recognized, by the signs described above, every one hurries away from them in terror. The evil may be exorcized from them by means of *mantrās*, and by the ingestion of unclean substances, which are expected to make the bad spirits that haunt the possessed flee in disgust.

The Banis of Cambodia believe that gall, taken immediately from a man who has been killed for the purpose, is the best charm for invulnerability. They used to be very much dreaded by the Cambodians, who regarded every Cham as a *jalawōc*, 'taker of gall'; this practice does not exist nowadays except as an isolated crime.

The agrarian rites are only a feeble echo of those of the Banis of Annam. When a Cambodian Bani wants to make a rice plantation from part of a forest newly cleared by fire, he chooses a *dies fastus*, sprinkles a handful of rice-grains with lustral water, and puts them in seven holes already bored in preparation; he does not begin the sowing till he has performed this rite. The same procedure is followed also in the case of maize, cotton, or any other plantations. Before a new cart is used, all that is necessary is to light a candle, pour a libation of water over the cart, and utter this imprecation: 'Beware if you do not run well!'

(d) *Calendar*.—This is the same for both the Chams of Annam and those of Cambodia. The reckoning by the *saka* era employed in inscriptions having completely disappeared, they use the duodenary cycle to compute time. Each of the twelve years of this cycle, borrowed from the Turks through the Chinese, bears the name of an animal—rat, buffalo, tiger, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, goat, monkey, cock, dog, pig. But, in contrast with what takes place among several peoples who use this cycle, the names of these animals are taken from the ordinary language. Each year, beginning in April-May, contains twelve lunar months, the first ten denoted by numbers, and the last two, *puas* and *mak*, having Sanskrit names (*pauṣa* and *māgha*). The week has seven days, the names of which, borrowed from Sanskrit, designate planets. Each day is divided into twelve periods of two hours, and the periods into eight parts with the value of our quarter of an hour. The night is divided into five watches. The time is expressed by means of such forms as 'the cock crows' (= 1 o'clock a.m.), 'the cock leaps to the ground' (= 2 o'clock a.m.), etc.

In the manuscripts we find traces of a cycle of eight years, named by corrupt Arabic letters and analogous to the Javanese *windu*, and of a method of reckoning time by periods which recall the Javanese *wukus*.

(e) *Birth*.—At the birth of a child, the usual fire is kept burning near the mother, and the midwife scatters its cinders likewise at cross-roads, but without the accompaniment of offerings to the spirits. The superstitions connected with name-giving are the same in both countries. On the other hand, education and instruction are a little better cared for here than in Annam, and extend even to the girls. Presents of cloth, rice, or fruits are offered to the master, who teaches his pupils to repeat some verses of the Qur'an and to read Arabic.

(f) *Marriage*.—Marriage is not allowed with a non-Musulman except on condition that he be converted, which does not, however, happen often with the Khmers. They are very faithful to Buddhism, and this accounts for the fact that mixed marriages scarcely ever take place except between Chams and Malays. Bridegrooms are

generally 15 to 18 years old, never less; the proposal of marriage is made by the parents, with the help of a female mediator. The fiancé settles a dowry of money on his future wife, which she is to keep in case of divorce not sought by her; then he proceeds to serve in the house of his parents-in-law until his marriage. The wedding, accompanied by long banquets, lasts three days. On the evening of the third day, the youth, decked in a gold-embroidered coat, mounted on a richly-harnessed horse, and shaded by a parasol of honour, surrounded by his relatives and guests, goes to the house of the girl, who waits for him dressed in all her finery, seated on the ground with her legs bent under her, in a shed built for the purpose, where the *imāms* bless the union. The wife places the traditional betel-quin in the mouth of her husband, and he puts part of his clothing over her.

The Chams of Cambodia, richer than those of Annam, sometimes take as many as four wives when their means permit. Few, however, have more than two or three; others have only one. The wife of the first rank has command over the others. The Bani who has become a slave has never any right to more than two wives.

Marriage by capture, although rare among the Chams, nevertheless exists. In it the suitor introduces himself into the house of the girl he wishes to marry if the door is open, draws her close into his arms, and, in spite of the blows applied by the family of the girl, entwines her in a scarf; he is then married, and has only to 'redeem the shame of the family' by means of a sum of money. Divorce is more difficult to obtain and rarer than in Annam. Unions are nearly always fertile, but the Chams of Cambodia further increase their race by foreign elements, by Annamese or Khmer children whom they accept in payment of bad debts, and whom they cause to be brought up as Musalmāns.

(g) *Disposal of the dead*.—This is no more solemn among the Cambodian Chams than among the Banis of Annam. The commemoration services take place at the same times, but without heterodox practices. Burial is once for all; there is no exhumation.

(h) *Folk-tales*.—A very competent judge, A. Barth,¹ gives the following appreciation of the Cham tales published by Landes:

'Le fonds de ces récits est un merveilleux étrange, fait d'animisme et de magie, sans aucun alliage mythologique ou théologique. Un ou deux fois seulement on voit intervenir un seigneur Alwah (= Allah). A côté d'une dureté et d'une apathie de sentiments extrêmes, on y trouve des traits d'une sensibilité exquise. Le [conte] no. x... rappelle par plusieurs endroits le conte égyptien des deux frères et il contient aussi les données essentielles de Cendrillon et des épreuves de Psyché. Non moins curieux est le no. v., "Les ruses du Lièvre." Ce conte, qui est également connu au Cambodge et en Annam, et dont plusieurs données se retrouvent aussi dans les *Jātakas*, est une de ces séries de fables reliées les unes aux autres et enchaînées dans un cadre commun, dont l'Inde paraît avoir fourni les premiers modèles.'

LITTÉRATURE.—E. Aymonier, *Les Tchames et leurs religions*, Paris, 1891, 'Légendes historiques des Chams,' in *Excurs. et reconn.*, vol. xiv, no. 32, 'Première étude sur les inscriptions tchames,' in *J.A.*, Jan.-Feb. 1891, and *Grammaire de la langue chame*, Saigon, 1899; Aymonier-Cabaton, *Dict. cam-français*, Paris, 1906; A. Bergaigne, 'L'ancien royaume de Campā dans l'Indo-Chine, d'après les inscriptions,' in *J.A.*, Jan. 1888; A. Cabaton, *Nouvelles recherches sur les Chams*, Paris, 1901, 'L'inscription chame de Biên-hoà,' in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, iv, [1904] 687-690, and 'Les Chams de l'Indo-Chine,' in *Rev. coloniale*, v, [1905] 321-334; E. M. Durand, 'Les Chams Banis,' 'Notes sur une ornementation chez les Chams,' 'Le temple de Pô Ramé à Phanrang,' 'Notes sur les Chams,' in *Bull. de l'École franç. d'Ext.-Or.* iii, [1903] 54-62, 447-454, 597-603, v, [1905] 368-386; L. Finot, 'La religion des Chams d'après les monuments,' *ib.* i, [1901] 12-26; A. Landes, 'Contes tchames,' in *Cochinchine française: Excursions et reconnaissances*, xiii, 29 (Sept.-Dec. 1883), Saigon, 1887; H. Parmentier, 'Caractères généraux de l'architecture chame,' *ib.* i, [1901] 245-258.

ANTOINETTE CABATON.

¹ *Revue critique*, no. ix., 27th Feb. 1888, p. 161.

CHAMARS (total number, 11,137,362 at Census of 1901).—i. **HISTORY.**—i. **Name.**—The name *Chamār*, *Chambhār*, or *Charmakār* (fem. *Chamarin*, *Chamārin*) is derived from the Skr. *charma-kāra*, 'a worker in leather.' In the Madras Presidency, to which they have migrated from the Central Provinces, the Chamārs are also known as *Chamura* (*CI*, 1901, vol. xv. pt. i. p. 149). In some districts of Rājputāna they are called *Bolas* (*ib.* vol. xxv. p. 147). Chamārs frequently conceal their identity by giving only the name of their sub-caste, e.g. *Jaiswārā* or *Kori* (*ib.* vol. xiii. pp. 145, 182). The name *Mochi* (*Muchi* or *Mue'chi*), though, as will be shown below, it generally denotes a difference of occupation or of religion from that of the Chamārs, is sometimes applied indiscriminately to the latter (*CI*, 1881, vol. iii. p. ciii; 1901, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 388, vol. xxvi. A, p. 196). The Chamārs themselves derive their name by tradition from a princess named Chāmu (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 170), or from *Nona* or *Lona Chamārin*, a deified witch (Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. i. pt. iv. p. 392).

2. **Origin and territorial distribution.**—(a) *Origin.*¹—The great majority of modern writers upon the subject regard the Chamārs as having been of low caste from the very first. Sherring, indeed, accepted the traditional view of Manu on the ground that their clearly defined caste prejudices were evidence of their semi-Brahmanical origin. His judgment was influenced by the fact that he had met with several Chamārs of high-bred appearance, and by the prowess of the Dosādhs, whom he considered to be a subdivision of the Chamārs, when they fought under Clive at Plassey (*op. cit.* vol. i. pt. iv. p. 392 ff.). Yet the dark complexion of the Chamārs is so generally recognized as distinguishing them from Brāhmans that it has given rise to the Hindi proverb,

*Kariā Brāhman, gorā Chamār,
Inke sāth na utariye pā,*

which may be freely rendered,

'If the Brāhman be black, if the Chamār be fair,
Let the wise when he crosses a river beware,'

i.e. a fair-skinned Chamār is so rarely seen that his appearance is uncanny and bodes no good (Elliot's *Gloss.* i. 71; *CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 545). Sir William Hunter, describing the Chamārs of Oudh, says: 'Always on the verge of starvation, their lean, black, and ill-formed figures, their stupid faces, and their filthy habits, reflect the long degradation to which they have been hereditarily subjected' (*IGI*, vol. x. p. 499). Whenever delicate and refined features and a fair complexion are seen in a Chamār, they should, W. Crooke thinks, be attributed to intercourse in recent times between the Chamārs and higher castes (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 169; see also *CI*, 1901, vol. xiii. p. 184). The view has been advanced by E. B. Alexander that the Chamārs of Gorakhpur in N.W. Prov. were originally the retainers of the Aryan invaders rather than themselves the invaded aborigines (*Gazetteer N.W. Prov.* vol. vi. [1881] p. 359). Nesfield, who regards function, and function only, as the foundation upon which the whole caste system of India was built up, classes the Chamārs among the artisan castes of the age preceding metallurgy, and thinks that they have sprung out of several different tribes like the Dom, Kanjar, Habura Cheru, etc., the last remnants of which are still without the pale of Hindu society (*Caste System of the N.W. Prov.* § 49). Risley classifies the Chamārs amongst the Aryo-Dravidians, of which they represent the lower strata, as the Brāhmans do the higher; and in this he appears

to have the support of anthropometrical data (*TC* i. 175 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. i. pp. 499, 500, 503).

(b) The home of the Chamārs is in Bihār and the United Provinces, but they are steadily migrating to Bengal, where there is no indigenous caste of skimmers, tanners, hide-dealers, and cobblers, to compete with them in their multifarious occupations (*CI*, 1901, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 388; R. N. L. Chandra, *Tanning*, etc., p. 2). They are also firmly established and numerous in the Panjāb, Central India, the Central Provinces, Rājputāna, and Bombay (see Ethnographical Map in *CI*, 1901, vol. i., Appendix). As one goes south, the Chamārs decrease in number, their place being taken by leather-working castes of purely Dravidian origin, as the *Shakkiliyar* in Tamil districts, and the *Mādiga* in the Telugu country (*Census of Berar*, 1881, p. 149; *CI*, 1891, *General Report*, p. 199, vol. xiii. p. 301, vol. xxv. pt. i. p. 254 f., 1901, vol. i. p. 545, vol. xxiv. pt. ii. p. 537; *C.M.S. Intelligence*, Aug. 1900, p. 576 ff.; A. Chatterton, *Monograph on Tanning . . . in Madras Presidency*, pp. 13, 15). In estimating the numbers and importance of the Chamārs, it is important to distinguish between them and the great *Mochi* sub-caste. This distinction is not racial, but either occupational, social, or religious. The occupation of the *Mochis* is the making of shoes and other articles from the leather that has been prepared by Chamārs; hence their name, which is derived from the Skr. *mochika*, 'tanner,' 'shoemaker.' When a Chamār forsakes his traditional occupation and becomes a shoemaker, he frequently changes his caste name to *Mochi*, and thus proclaims his rise in the social scale (*Gazetteer N.W. Prov.* 1875, vol. ii. p. 182; *Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 607; *CI*, 1891, vol. xxiv. pt. i. p. 437 f., 1901, vol. xiii. p. 184, vol. xviii. p. 470). In the west of the Panjāb, however, the distinction is one of religion: the Musalmān Chamār, though only a tanner, calls himself a *Mochi*. The variations in the Census returns of Chamārs and *Mochis* in the Panjāb in successive Census years may therefore be regarded as some index to the conversions from Hinduism to Islām (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 604; A. J. Grant, *Leather Industry of the Punjab*, § 12; *CI*, 1881, vol. iii. p. ciii, 1901, vol. i. A, pp. 320, 338, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 388, vol. xxvi. A, p. 196; A. Chatterton, *op. cit.* p. 16).

3. **Occupations.**—The Census Returns for 1901 show that Chamārs are found to hold twenty-three distinct occupations, of which the most important are agriculture and the working of leather. The proportion of agriculturists to leather-workers is given as nearly six to one, but it must be remembered that such proportions vary with the season of the year, because the Chamār is a 'Jack of all trades' (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. pp. 189, 190, 217, 218, 521, vol. i. A, p. 406 f.). The position of the Chamār engaged in agriculture has until recently been that of a serf, tied to the soil and transferred with it. When an estate was divided, no sharer would consider the partition complete until an adequate number of Chamārs had been allotted to him in proportion to his interest in the land (*Gazetteer N.W. Prov.* 1875, vol. ii. p. 396; *IGI*, vol. i. p. 172, vol. x. pp. 71, 499; J. C. Nesfield, *op. cit.* § 49). Except in the Cawnpore district, the poverty of the Chamārs is great; many are unable to afford themselves even a blanket, and are obliged to protect themselves from cold by the use of a mere cloth stuffed, when they can get it, with cotton. One Chamār, on being asked how he passed the night with so little clothing, replied that he slept till the cold awakened him; then he lit a few sticks and warmed himself till the fire went out, when he returned to his cot; and he repeated these proceedings at intervals till the sun rose

¹ For traditions relating to their origin, see Manu, x. 8, 11, 86 in *SEE* xxv. 403 f., 411; Sherring, *op. cit.* vol. i. pt. iv. p. 392 ff.; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 169 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. xxi. p. 124; Elliot's *Gloss.* i. 60 f.

(*IGI*, vol. iii. p. 284; *Gazetteer N.W. Prov.* vol. iv. p. 288; cf. W. Crooke, *N.-W. Prov. of India*, p. 273). Under British rule, the Chamārs, though still the objects of contempt to Hindus and Sikhs on account of their traditional occupation, are emerging from their menial position (*IGI*, vol. iii. p. 119; A. J. Grant, *op. cit.* § 2).

The Chamār proper deals with the skin of animals at death, or even sooner. From time immemorial one of their perquisites has been the hide of any animal that dies; and the temptation to hasten death by means of poison has frequently proved irresistible.

Three principal methods of cattle-poisoning are in vogue. One of these is simply to give white arsenic wrapped in a castor-oil leaf, which is liked by the cattle. A second method is to grind the *ghunchi* berry to a fine powder, and, having made a paste with water, to roll this into the shape of a long thorn, which is dried in the sun till it is hard, and then pressed into the head or neck of an animal. The third device is to make a poisonous snake bite a piece of rag wound round a pointed stick, which is then forced into the anus of a cow or bullock.

Public opinion, however, is now leading to the expulsion from caste of Chamārs detected in these malpractices (*CI*, 1901, vol. xvi. p. 232; W. Crooke, *TC*, vol. ii. pp. 172, 190, 191; H. H. Risley, *TC* ii. 98 f.). The hide of an animal, when by fair means or foul it has been obtained, is tanned by the Chamār, who places it in a pit, covering it with water containing lime and impure carbonate of soda; after ten days it is taken out, and the hair is removed with an iron scraper. It is then sewn up in the form of a bag and filled with bark solution, and, after hanging from a tree or stand for five days, it is considered to be sufficiently tanned (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 191).

The remaining occupations of the Chamārs range between the 'learned and artistic professions' (13,565 in Bengal) and the 'personal, household, sanitary, indefinite, and disreputable occupations' (8102). The large number of the former class bears evidence to the influence of Western education in breaking down the barriers of caste, and enabling the industrious to rise in social position. Throughout the country nearly every office has its Mochi employed as a clerk, and handling pens and paper instead of hides and refuse (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. A. p. 406 f.; A. Chatterton, *op. cit.* p. 16; A. J. Grant, *op. cit.* § 3). In their degraded occupations, which include the removal of dead bodies, the execution of criminals, the beating of drums at marriages and other festive occasions, the Chamārs infringe upon the functions of Doms and Pariahs (see *PARIAHS*) (Sherring, *op. cit.* vol. i. pt. iv. p. 393 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. xiii. p. 182, vol. xvi. p. 232). The Chamār women act as the midwives of the village, and perform menial tasks for the wives of the men whom their husbands serve (W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 175, 190).

4. Social organization.—(1) The sub-castes of the Chamārs are reckoned by some writers as seven, by others as numbering more than three thousand. Each locality where Chamārs are numerous possesses its seven sub-castes, but these do not correspond to those of another district; the division into seven is purely arbitrary, and is due to regard for the sacred number, not to any historical cause (Balfour, *Cyclop. of India*, p. 645 f.; Elliot's *Gloss.* i. 70; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 172; *CI*, 1891, xxi. 62-62e). In Gwalior, as the smaller sub-castes of Chamārs are included in the larger ones, a man may with truth call himself by the name of either. A Chamār must marry outside the smaller sub-caste (*gotra*) and within the larger sub-caste (*khar*); the distinction, therefore, between main sub-castes and minor ones is that of exogamy or endogamy (*CI*, 1901, vol. xxi. p. 124; cf. A. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies* 2, 1st ser. pp. 156, 174 ff.; *Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 608). In Bengal,

however, the intermarriage of all sub-castes is forbidden, and the infraction of this rule renders the offender liable to a fine (*CI*, 1901, vol. vi. pt. i. Appendix, p. xlv). The following are amongst the most important of the sub-castes of Chamārs:

(a) The *Jaiswārā*.—Many of these are servants, but their high position is evidenced by their carrying burdens on their heads, not on their shoulders; any neglect of this custom would render a man liable to be out-casted. They supply most of our syces, and, one of their objects of worship being a halter, any *Jaiswārā* who ties up a dog with this implement has to pay a fine. Their name is probably derived from the old town of *Jais* (Sherring, *op. cit.* vol. i. pt. iv. p. 393; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 173).

(b) The *Dhūsiya* or *Jhūsiya*.—These are allowed in some districts to intermarry with the *Jaiswārā*; in Mynensingh and Shāhabād they are held to be superior to all other sub-castes. Their primary occupation is that of shoe- and harness-makers. Their name is probably derived from a village called *Dhūsi* or *Jhūsi* (Elliot's *Gloss.*, vol. i. p. 70 [Beames' editorial note is corrected in Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. i. pt. iv. p. 394]).

(c) The *Jātūa*, *Jatia*, or *Jatiya*.—This sub-caste is most numerous in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Gurgaon. They are despised by other sub-castes, on the ground that they work in horse- and camel-hides; but, on the other hand, their employment of Gaur Brāhmans for priestly services, instead of degraded *Chamārwa* Brāhmans, gives them the position of the highest sub-caste of Chamār. Their name is either tribal, and marking some connexion with the *Jāts*, or functional, and derived from the word *jat*, meaning a camel-grazier (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 608; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 173).

(d) The *Chāndars*, *Chāndaurya*.—The members of this sub-caste work only in prepared leather. In Hissār and Simla they are the principal sub-caste of the Chamārs, and hold an important place in the caste throughout Rājputāna. They claim to be descended from *Chāndāra*, the famous wrestler who was slain by Kṛṣṇa (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 608; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 172 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. xxv. p. 147).

(e) The *Harale Chamārs*.—These are found chiefly in Berar. Their name is derived from *Haralya*, the primeval Chamār who, when Mahā Muni's supply of hides ran short, is said to have shown his devotion to Mahā-deo (see below, p. 353^b) by stripping off a piece of his own skin and making out of it shoes for the god (*Census of Berar*, 1881, p. 149). See artt. *DOSĀDHS*, *KORIS*, *RAI-DĀSIS*.

(2) For particulars concerning the self-government of Chamārs by their *pañchāyat*, see *ISLĀM* (in India); Beames, in Elliot's *Gloss.*, vol. i. pp. 279-282; *Camb. Mission to Delhi*, Occ. Paper, No. 7, p. 13 f.; B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 24 f.; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 175 f.; *CI*, 1901, vol. vi. pt. i. App. p. xlv.

(3) We have seen above how intimate is the connexion between the existence of sub-castes and the character of marriage regulations. The general laws of exogamy and endogamy admit of qualification in various grades of society, and the nearer we approach to primitive conditions the less stereotyped do such regulations become. Thus in the case of the Chamārs we find that the sub-caste of *Dhūsiya* is allowed to intermarry with the *Kanaujya*, and the sub-caste of Chamārs with the *Dosādhs*. Their rules of exogamy admit of similar expansion; the descendants from a common stock are called *dayād*, and are not allowed to intermarry, but the limitations of the *dayād* itself are defined with a latitude which corresponds to the wishes and prejudices of those concerned, and the

payment of a fine will cover any but the gravest irregularities (A. Lyall, *op. cit.* p. 163 ff.; W. H. Macnaghten, *Principles of Hindu and Mohammedan Law*², p. 63 f.; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 174). The practice of infant marriage is on the increase. The age of the bride varies from three to eight years. At Nāsik, however, the marriage of the poorest Chamār males does not take place till they reach the age of thirty or thirty-five, whilst girls wait till they are fifteen or sixteen (*BG*, vol. xvi. p. 69). The form of marriage is the *āsura* (lit. 'spiritual,' Mann, iii. 21, 31), in which the consent of the father of the bride is obtained for a pecuniary consideration (*BG*, vol. xv. pt. i. p. 357). Polygamy is discouraged, although, when a wife proves to be barren, the *pañchāyat* will sanction bigamy. The re-marriage of widows is fully recognized, except amongst those Chamārs who have risen in the world. This is in accordance with the prevailing custom of the lower castes; for, as recent inquiries have shown, out of 40,000,000 Hindus, 30,000,000, or 75 per cent, permit and even encourage this practice. Widow-re-marriage is indeed a most important factor in the development of the country; for, in very unhealthy tracts, at any rate, the offspring of 'virgin' brides is barely sufficient to make up for the wastage by disease and to maintain the population (W. Crooke, *N.W. Prov. of India*, p. 228 f.). A Chamār widow's first choice is a younger brother of her late husband. If she marries outside her own caste, it knows her no more, nor can she lay claim to her late husband's estate (W. Crooke, *TC*, vol. ii. p. 177 f.).

ii. *RELIGION*.—The religious systems to which the Chamārs adhere form the subject of separate articles, and these should be consulted for information in regard to general principles. It will be necessary here to treat of these faiths only in so far as they are illustrated by the Chamār people in orthodox or unorthodox directions; by those who follow the old paths, and by those whose struggle for religious freedom brings to light the fetters by which they are bound. At the Census of 1901 the following returns were made of the religions of Chamārs and Mochis (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. A, pp. 279, 299):

	CHAMĀR.	MOCHI.
Hindu . . .	11,043,093 . . .	531,925
Animist . . .	938 . . .	54
Musalman . . .	16,992 . . .	475,540
Sikh . . .	76,263 . . .	54
Jain . . .	57 . . .	239
Buddhist . . .	19 . . .	...
	11,137,362	1,007,812

The term 'Animist' has in this table little more than a negative value; it shows that the 992 persons thus returned did not regard themselves as members of any verbally defined creed (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 349). On the other hand, the border-line between Animism and Hinduism is so shadowy that the latter may be said to include the former, and the numbers professing each may be combined (*ib.* p. 357; W. Crooke, *N.W. Prov.* p. 240 f.). The remarkable omission of Christians from this table is probably to be accounted for by the fact that Christian missionaries instructed members of their congregations to return themselves as Christians without stating their previous caste (Letter from Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht of the C.M.S.; and J. S. Dennis, in *East and West*, Oct. 1905, p. 459). Thus in the Census Returns there appears no return of a Christian Chamār, and there is no means of ascertaining how numerous these may be. An account of some Chamār Christians is given below.

1. *Hinduism*.—(a) *Objects of veneration*.—The worship of such inanimate objects as the *rapi*, or

tanner's knife, the plough, and the halter appears to be little more than a pious recognition of these implements as instrumental to the support of those who use them. This worship is readily transferred to such objects as pens, paper, sealing-wax, red tape, and ink, when these become the means of gaining a livelihood. The reverent fear of desecrating other inanimate objects may be associated with totemism, as in the case of the Harbans Chamārs, who, being connected in some way with a bone (*hadda*), will not wear bones in any shape or form (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 357 f.; J. C. Nesfield, *op. cit.* § 49; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 173, *PR* ii. 158).

From the worship of inanimate objects we pass to the worship of malignant spirits, foremost among which are the 'godlings of disease.' Of the seven sisters who are supposed to control small-pox, one of the most malicious is named *Chamāriya*, and can be propitiated only by the offering of a pig by a Chamār or other low-caste priest. Her name may point back to a time when small-pox made its greatest ravages amongst the Chamārs, and its numerous victims were transformed into spirits of evil; for persons who die in any sudden or unusual way are supposed to undergo the change and to require propitiation (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 189, *PR* i. 129). Whatever the illness may be, it is attributed to an evil spirit, who must needs be identified by a sorcerer and appeased by the offering of an appropriate sacrifice.

The worship of the spirits of the departed, when these have been lovely and pleasant in their lives, is a step towards the recognition of benevolent as well as malignant spirits, and is closely connected with hero-worship. The soul of a dead husband is worshipped by his widow under the name *manuṣya deva*, or 'man-god'; offerings of clothing are made to him, and sometimes a pig is sacrificed in his honour (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 189). The Chamārs, with other low-caste Hindus, worship the five *Pāṇḍava* brothers under the name *Panch Pir*, and in the form of five wooden pegs fixed in the courtyard of the house (*PR* ii. 206). The primeval Chamār, *Mahādeo*, is worshipped by the Chamārs of Berar on a Sunday in the month of Śrāvan; and *Guga* (or *Gugga*) *Pir* and *Chanu* are also regarded by the Chamārs as being semi-divine (*Census Berar*, 1881, p. 149; *CI*, 1891, pp. 104, 115). Every locality possesses its own minor deities; but, as Animism becomes transformed by philosophy into Hinduism proper, there is an increasing tendency to merge the innumerable lesser gods in the greater ones, and to worship the general principles of creative or destructive power rather than each local manifestation of the same. This is shown in the adoption of such names as *Paramēśvar*, 'the Supreme Being,' or *Jagīśvār*, 'the Lord of the World,' and by the worship of the greater gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, as, e.g., that of Kālī, goddess of destruction, whom the Bengal Chamārs invoke to favour them with a murrain, and consequent rich harvest of hides (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 184; *CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 357; R. N. L. Chandra, *op. cit.* p. 18). The Chamārs also occasionally worship the sun, moon, and fire, and at the *Panchānyān* festival offer milk and parched grain at the hole of the domestic snake (W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 185).

(b) *Priesthood*.—Of the Chamārs, the *Jatia* sub-caste alone has the privilege of employing high-caste Gaur Brāhmins, and this only in some parts of the Panjāb (*Census Panjāb*, 1881, vol. i. §§ 294, 608). Other Chamārs have to content themselves with the ministrations of low-caste Brāhmins or of priests of their own caste. Just as the higher castes of Brāhmins form groups corresponding in social and religious status with those to whom they minister, so are the low-caste Brāhmins who serve

the unclean castes subdivided according to the social position of their clients. Thus the sub-caste of Brāhmins who act as the *purōhīts* ('family priests') of the Chamārs are known as *Chamārwa Brāhmins* or *Gurvas*, and, although they wear the sacred thread and will not eat with those whom they serve, yet they are not admitted to the house of a high-caste Hindu (Sir A. Lyall, *op. cit.* p. 175 f.; *PNQ*, vol. i. p. 237; *CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 545, vol. xvii. p. 316).

The lower sub-castes of Chamārs have, in place of *Chamārwa Brāhmins*, *masands*, who correspond to the *gurus* ('religious guides') of high-caste Hindus. These *masands* often belong to the Chamār caste, and in some districts are allowed to marry their disciples (*PNQ*, vol. i. p. 237; *Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 294; *CI*, 1901, vol. xvii. p. 166, vol. xxv. p. 147). The Chamārs (Chambhār) of the Deccan call their priests *bhāt*. The *bhāt* is a Chamār, and eats with them, though they do not eat with him. In the marriage ceremony he beats a drum, repeats holy verses, and accepts a fee of about 5s. (*BG*, 1880, vol. xii. p. 114 f.). In addition to the established priesthood, the Chamārs recognize and employ professional astrologers, or *ṛjotish*; these have no definite constituency, but usually serve about 100 families, and receive from a quarter to three-eighths of the fee offered to the Brāhman (*CI*, 1901, vol. i. p. 199; *BG*, vol. xv. pt. i. p. 355 f.). In the Nāsik district the spiritual guides of the Chamārs are known as *bāva*. The head *bāva* goes on tour once a year with one or two men, who with their cymbals accompany their leader's devotional songs. He is greatly respected by the Chamārs of the district, and on their consenting to keep the three rules of conduct, viz. to abstain from stealing, cheating, and adultery, he admits them to discipleship by bathing and reciting the initiatory verse: 'He (i.e. God) is I. This is our true charm for avoiding the eighty-four million wanderings' (*BG*, vol. xvi. p. 70).

(c) *Religious rites*.—The rites which are connected with the three epochs of human life—birth, marriage, and death—illustrate in concrete form the general beliefs which have been specified above.

Previous to the birth of a child the spirits of the departed are invoked, with promises of offerings, to vouchsafe an easy delivery; but, not relying wholly upon intercession, the relatives of the mother take the precaution of burning an old shoe and of hanging thorny branches of the *bel* tree in the doorway to scare away the spirits of evil. On the night of the sixth day after the birth the woman sits up all night and worships *Sastī*, or *Chhathī*, the goddess of the Sixth, with an offering of cakes made of barley-flour and rice boiled with sugar. For the first twelve days a cutting instrument of iron is kept near the mother and child, probably, as is still the case amongst some Teutonic people, for protection against evil demons. When the child is about six months old, it is named by a senior member of the family, and is fed for the first time upon grain. Between the ages of five and seven it is initiated by the boring of its ears, and after this must conform to the caste rules in regard to food (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 178).

Marriage ritual likewise bears witness to the belief in ever-present spirits. The marriage ceremony of the richer Chamārs is that called *shādi*, *charh*, or *charhava*, whilst that adopted by the poor is the *dola*. In the *shādi* marriage various cakes are offered on the second day to the spirits of the departed. A 'wave ceremony' is performed by the bride's mother to ward off evil spirits, and for the same reason she smears her daughter's eyelids with lamp-black, and hangs a necklace of beads about her neck. The actual marriage is performed by the bride and bridegroom walking five times

round a plough-beam, which is fixed in the centre of a pavilion; a goat or ram is then offered to *Paramēśvar*, 'the Supreme being.' In the Bombay Presidency a post of *salai* (*Boswellia thurifera*) wood takes the place of the plough-beam and is surrounded by twenty-one earthen pots (*BG*, 1880, vol. xii. p. 115). The ceremonies in a *dola* marriage commence with the worshipping of a drum (*dhol*), which is afterwards smeared with a paste of turmeric and rice, and marked with five stripes of vermilion. To the beat of the drum the women march to a neighbouring field, where the senior woman worships *Dharti Mātā*, or Mother Earth, and digs up five spadefuls of earth, which are then brought home and placed in the courtyard. In the same place are set an earthenware jar full of water, a plough-beam, and a green bamboo. The actual marriage takes place at night. The names of the bride and bridegroom and of their ancestors are recited, the jar is worshipped, and offerings are made to a fire lighted beside it and to another fire sacred to the household god (W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 180-183). When a married girl attains the age of puberty she is tattooed; the object of this rite appears to be not only a further initiation into the caste, but to secure her identification in the next world (*PNQ*, vol. i. p. 224; *PR* ii. 32).

There is much variety of custom amongst Chamārs in their disposal of the dead. In the Panjāb, cremation is usual, whilst in Rājputāna the dead are buried in Sirsa and Hissār; indeed, both practices are adopted indifferently, even by members of the same family. In the Bombay Presidency married people are cremated and the unmarried are buried (*BG*, vol. xii. p. 115). Pecuniary as well as religious considerations have considerable weight; some poor Chamārs, on account of the cost of cremation, content themselves with scorching the face of the corpse, which is afterwards buried (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 294; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 183). The ashes after cremation, and the nails of the fingers and toes, if the corpse be buried, are committed to a stream which, whether actually a tributary of it or not, is regarded for the purpose as identical with Mother Ganges (*ib.*). On the day after the cremation an earthen pot full of milk and rice-gruel, with a pitcher of water, is placed outside the house of the deceased, for the use of the disembodied spirit. On the third day cakes of barley-flour are offered to it, and on the tenth day this offering is repeated, and members of the caste are fed. During these ten days water is poured daily upon some stalks of grass planted near a tank, to serve as an abode for the homeless spirit. The repetition of the offerings and the number of feasts given to the caste depend upon the wealth of the family. The belief in the aimless wandering and subsequent purposeful transmigration of the soul, to which these ceremonies bear witness, is, however, by no means universal amongst the Chamārs. Many of them believe that the soul at death passes immediately to heaven or to hell; and the unique event of death, which makes all life's incidents of joy and sorrow alike seem small, appears to sweep aside the thought of a multiplicity of spirits, and to make for a creed which, though very vague, is yet monothestic in its nature. The cry of the mourners as they accompany the bier to the grave is *Tu hi hai! Tainne paida kia, aur Tainne mārīa*, 'There is but Thou! Thou hast given and Thou hast taken away' (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 294; W. Crooke, *TC* ii. 183 f.; *BG*, 1884, vol. xvii. p. 169).

(d) *Theistic sects*.—Of the Chamārs of the Central Provinces more than 50 per cent belong to the *Satnāmī* sect, which was founded, or reformed, by the Chamār visionary, Ghāzi Dās, about A.D. 1820 (see *SATNĀMIS*). Many Chamārs—their exact

number is not known on account of a confusion of names in the Census returns—belong to the Rai Dāsīs, another sect which owes its origin to a Chamār (see RAI DĀSĪS). A third sect, to which many Chamārs belong, is the *Śivanārāyaṇ* which some modern writers identify with the Rai Dāsīs (see ŚIVA NĀRĀYANIS).

2. *Islām*.—The Census returns of 1901 show a total of 492,532 Muhammadan Chamārs, of whom 475,540 claim to be Mochīs. When once a Chamār has been admitted as a Muhammadan, he becomes, in regard to all religious privileges, the equal of Muslims of the highest social position; Islām therefore offers a road towards emancipation from the thralldom of caste (*Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. § 294 [contrast § 607]; E. Bickersteth, in *Camb. Miss. to Delhi*, 'Occ. Paper,' No. 5, p. 4 f.). This fact may partly account for the rapid increase in the number of Chamār converts from Hinduism. In the Panjāb the proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu Chamārs increased from 1 per cent in 1881 to 2½ per cent in 1891 (A. J. Grant, *op. cit.* § 12). The line of demarcation between Hinduism and Islām is not so clear in some country districts as in the great cities; ignorant Muhammadans are found to adopt various Hindu rites and customs, and this laxity must make the transition from Hinduism to Muhammadanism less difficult (E. Bickersteth, *loc. cit.*, p. 6).

3. *Sikhism* (at 1901 Census, 76,263).—Many Chamārs are followers of Rām Dās, the third Guru in succession from Nānak Singh and the constructor of the famous tank at Amritsar. It is not possible to ascertain their number with any degree of certainty, on account of their being confused in the Census returns with the Rai Dāsī Chamārs. The Rām Dāsī Chamārs are true Sikhs, and take the *pāṭhūl*, i.e. the rite of initiation into the Sikh community. The Sikhs being even more strict in their reverence for the cow than are the Hindus, the Chamārs are admitted to membership only upon their exchanging the tanning industry for weaving or similar occupation, and even after initiation they are not regarded by other Sikhs as their equals (H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, ii. 127, 148; *Census Punjab*, 1881, vol. i. §§ 294, 606; *CI*, 1891, pp. 145, 158).

4. *Christianity*.—As stated above, the Census returns do not enable us to estimate the number of Christians who were once members of the Chamār caste, because caste finds no recognition in the Protestant Christian Church. Although there have not been such general conversions from amongst the Chamārs as there have been from the corresponding caste of Madigas in S. India, where 10,000 became Christians in one year (E. R. Clough, *White Sewing Sandals*, p. vii), so that nearly 10 per cent of the population are now nominally Christian (A. Chatterton, *op. cit.* p. 13), yet a very large proportion of the Indian Christians in the Panjāb were once members of this degraded caste. This may be illustrated from the records of one Mission District. In Delhi and its immediate vicinity over 800 Chamārs accepted the Christian faith when the famine of 1877-78 gave the Christian missionaries occasion to show that goodwill towards men is an integral part of the Christian creed. The number of these converts, however, was reduced when they found that membership of the Church necessitated separation from caste and the surrender of caste privileges and heathen practices. This was brought home to them on the adoption by the Cambridge and S.P.G. Mission of a policy of modified segregation of converts. Instead of inviting the Chamār Christians to forsake their own neighbourhood and to establish themselves around the Mission Compound, the missionaries settled a few of the most earnest-minded men with their families in a *basti*,

or little square of houses, in the midst of the dwellings of their caste-fellows. The Christian tenants of this *basti* were, as a condition of tenancy, obliged (1) to observe Sunday as a day of rest; (2) to use Christian rites exclusively at birth, marriage, and death; (3) to abstain from the use of *charas*, an intoxicating drug. The experiment was speedily justified, for the impossibility of practising Hinduism on the principles of Christianity was now felt by all concerned. A *pañchāyat* was summoned to determine the relationship between Christian and other Chamārs, and it was decided to 'sift out' the Christians and to expel them from the caste. The crucial test adopted was the worship of a jar of Ganges water. The moral courage of the first five Christians to whom the test was applied failed them; they raised the water to their heads and by this act abjured the Christian faith. The sixth Christian, a man of some position, who had therefore the more to lose by his decision, was true to his new faith in spite of great pressure. After three or four more had followed his good example, the meeting was broken up, as it was realized that the number of staunch Christians was so great that to cut them off from caste-communion was too serious a step to be taken at once. As time wore on the Hindu Chamārs showed no inclination to dissociate themselves officially from their Christian brethren; but the discipline of the Church had in 1887 reduced the number of its adherents in Delhi and its vicinity from 1000 to 700 (*Camb. Miss. to Delhi*, 'Occ. Paper,' No. 7). Since that period, both by the re-admission of the lapsed and by fresh conversions, the number of Chamār Christians has slowly but steadily increased, and in 1906 the number in connexion with the S.P.G. and Cambridge Mission alone was nearly 1200.

LITERATURE.—B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, London, 1896; E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*, London, 1885; *Cambridge Mission to Delhi*, 'Occasional Papers,' Nos. 5 and 7 (1883 and 1884); *Census of Berar*, 1881; *Census of India*, 1881, 1891, 1901; *Census of the Punjab*, 1881; R. N. L. Chandra, *Tanning and Working in Leather in the Provinces of Bengal*, 1904; A. Chatterton, *Monograph on Tanning in the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1904; E. Rauschenbusch Clough, *White Sewing Sandals*, London, 1899; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. P. and Oudh*, vol. ii., Calcutta, 1896, also *Pop. Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, London, 1896, and *The North-Western Provinces of India*, London, 1897; Sir H. M. Elliot, *Memoirs on the History, etc., of the Races of N.W. India*, ed. Beames, London, 1869 (cited as Elliot's *Gloss.*); *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vols. xii., xv., xvi., xvii.; *Gazetteer of the N.W. Prov.*, vol. ii. 1876, vol. vi. 1881; A. J. Grant, *The Leather Industry of the Punjab*, 1893; Sir Wm. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, London, 1885-87; Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, 1st series, London, 1884; Sir W. H. Macnaghten, *Principles of Hindu and Muhammadan Law*, London, 1862; Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, London, 1893; J. C. Nesfield, *Brief View of the Caste System of the N.W. Prov.*, Allahabad, 1886; J. E. Padfield, in *C.M.S. Intelligencer*, August 1900; H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1891; *SBE*, vol. xxv. 1886; M. A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes as represented in Benares*, Calcutta, 1872; Sir R. Temple, *PNC*, 1883-1887; H. H. Wilson, *Select Works*, London, 1861.

FRANK LILLINGSTON.

CHANCE.—The word 'chance' is derived from the Latin verb *cadere*, 'to fall,' and gets its specific meaning from a particular reference to the fall of dice. The derivation of the word thus suggests at once the illustration which most completely expresses its significance. For, in the throw of dice, the result in every instance is due to chance, in the sense that no uniformity of sequence between antecedent and consequent can possibly be discovered, however carefully and patiently one may experiment with the various conditions involved. The conditions, indeed, are too complex to admit of any exact determination; so many elements must combine in order to produce a certain specific result that our powers of analysis are wholly incapable of detecting them.

Chance, therefore, may be defined as a complex of causal elements, in which indefinitely various

combinations are possible, and each distinct combination yields a distinct result. Inasmuch as there is no possibility of knowing what particular combination may occur, there is no possibility of forecasting the precise effect which may follow. The relation between specific combinations of causal elements and their corresponding effects is not only unknown, but must ever remain unknown, because the conflicting or conspiring forces which enter at random, now into one combination and again into another, are too many and too various for human intelligence to calculate. Consequently, there is no basis whatsoever for the definite calculation of any future event. But, while definite calculation is impossible, an estimate of general tendencies is quite within the scope of our capabilities. Hence arises the doctrine of chances, or the theory of probability. Such a theory is grounded fundamentally upon the mathematical theory of combinations. It is possible to express the chance of any event so far as to indicate the number of combinations which normally tend to produce that event, in comparison with the number of combinations which tend to produce some other than the event in question. The chance of any event occurring, therefore, such as that of any particular fall of dice, may always be represented in terms of a ratio whose numerator indicates the number of combinations capable of producing the event, and the denominator the total number of combinations both favourable and unfavourable. Moreover, in any set of complex circumstances chance is reduced to a vanishing point in all cases in which any uniformity of sequence may have been established. And uniformity of sequence always appears whenever all the other combinations than those favourable to the happening of an event are rendered impossible. Suppose, for instance, with 'loaded' dice 'double sixes' regularly appears, whatever may be the character of the throw, there is the ready inference that all other combinations of causal elements except those capable of producing 'double sixes' have been effectually eliminated. So also the introduction of a definite purpose at any time into a group of variously combining causal possibilities immediately reduces all these possibilities to zero, except the one designed event. If one draws at random a card from a pack, the chance of its being any previously designated card is, of course, expressed by the ratio $\frac{1}{52}$. But if one examines the pack in order to select a definite card, every one of the other 51 possibilities is at once eliminated by this process of definite intent. Purpose, by its essential nature, tends to uniformity; and, by producing uniformity, it makes chance disappear. The activity of will is always destructive of chance.

There are certain fallacies which are often attached to the concept of chance. Perhaps the most common is that a chance event is an uncaused event. Chance is defined loosely and vaguely as something which happens without a cause, when what is meant evidently is that chance is something which happens without our knowledge of the cause definitely determining it. Chance is an idea which is in no sense whatever opposed to that of causation, but merely to that of a uniform causal relation.

Another fallacy has its roots in the superstition that chance represents a sort of whimsical fate, or, it may be, writ large as FATE, which arbitrarily metes out its good or ill fortune to helpless mortals whose happiness and even destiny are brought under this capricious control. Chance, however, is not a deity; and any superstitious sentiment must give place to a simple matter-of-fact characterization of chance as a complex set

of causes, too intricate and too involved to admit of definite determination.

There is still another fallacy, which insists that games of chance, and all forms of gambling, based as they necessarily must be upon chance, are wrong, because there is in all such cases an appeal to the unknown, and therefore in every turn of chance one is tampering with occult forces with which it is not becoming or permissible for man to deal. This, too, is a relic of a superstition which has always clouded reason. Chance as such has no moral significance whatsoever. It is not immoral, but simply non-moral. Chance happenings become immoral solely in consequence of the uses to which they may be put. And the failure to appreciate this has, in many quarters, discredited the real argument against gambling, by raising a false issue and confusing the essential with the unessential. No evil principle can lurk in the simple fact itself of a chance event, whether it be the casting of a lot, the fall of dice, a hand at cards, or the turn of a wheel. The phenomena of chance, however, it must be conceded, lend themselves peculiarly to the practices and devices of the gambler's art, and therefore are brought into ill repute through association with methods whose immoral taint rests wholly on other grounds.

LITERATURE.—The standard work on the subject of Chance is J. Venn, *Logic of Chance*, London, 1883; cf. also G. B. Airy, *Theory of Errors of Observations*, London, 1879; A. de Morgan, *Essay on Probabilities*, London, 1838; Laplace, *Essai phil. sur les probabilités*, Paris, 1840; J. W. Lubbock, *Treatise on Probability*, London, 1844; R. A. Proctor, *Chance and Luck*, London, 1887; W. A. Whitworth, *Choice and Chance*, London, 1901; L. A. J. Quételet, *Letters on the Theory of Probabilities*, London, 1840; I. Todhunter, *History of the Mathematical Theory of Probability*, Cambridge, 1866; G. H. Joyce, *Principles of Logic*, London, 1908; and the standard works on Logic.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

CHANDRAGUPTA. — 1. Chandragupta Maurya (c. 322–298 B.C.), the founder of the Maurya dynasty, was the grandfather of Aśoka (q.v.), and the first emperor or paramount sovereign of India, which at the time of Alexander's invasion (326, 325 B.C.) was parcelled into a multitude of petty States, not subject to any controlling authority. Chandragupta, a relative, apparently illegitimate, of the Nanda king of Magadha (S. Bihār), having incurred the displeasure of that monarch, fled to the Panjāb, where, as a young man, he is said to have met Alexander. After the death of the latter (June 323 B.C.), the exile put himself at the head of certain frontier tribes and defeated the Macedonian garrisons. He effected a revolution in Magadha, the premier State of India, deposed and killed his kinsman, the Nanda king, and seated himself on the vacant throne. He organized a vast army, with which he overran the greater portion of India. It is known that he held effectively the peninsula of Surāstra (Kāthiāwār) on the western coast, and it is probable that his sway extended as far south at least as the Narmadā (Narbada) river. When Seleukos Nikator attempted in 305 B.C. to recover the Indian conquests of Alexander, he was successfully opposed by Chandragupta, who compelled him to cede a large part of Ariana, west of the Indus, and to enter into a matrimonial alliance. These advantages were purchased at the small cost of five hundred elephants. After the conclusion of peace, Seleukos (303 B.C.) sent Megasthenes as his envoy to the court of Chandragupta at Pātali-putra (Patna). Although the description of India written by Megasthenes has been lost, numerous fragments of his work have been preserved (ed. Schwanbeck, Bonn, 1846, tr. by M'Crinde, 1877), which probably include all the most valuable passages. His statements continued to be the principal source of European knowledge of India

down to modern times. The Greek observers noted with interest the superficial peculiarities in the mode of life of the Brāhmins and ascetics, but, not being qualified to distinguish the various sects, failed to record particulars with precision sufficient to enable their readers to realize the state of religion in the time of Chandragupta. We are informed that the Brāhmins 'wrap up their doctrines about immortality and future judgment and kindred topics in allegories, after the manner of Plato' (Strabo, xv. 1. 59); that they frequently discoursed of death, and so forth; but such generalities do not make any definite impression on the mind. The writers' vague descriptions indicate that the Brāhmins and ascetics of the olden time were much the same as they are now. Clemens Alexandrinus (c. 200 A.D.) seems to be the first Greek author to mention Buddha (Βούττα). According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta abdicated, retired in 297 B.C. to Sravana Belgola in Mysore, and died there as a Jain ascetic twelve years later, by voluntary starvation.

2. Chandragupta I., founder of the Gupta dynasty (A.D. 320–c. 335), was king of Magadha (Ś. Bihār), and extended his dominions as far east as Prayāga (Allahābād). The Gupta era, of which the year 1 ran from Feb. 26, A.D. 320, to March 13, 321, probably was instituted to commemorate his coronation. He was an orthodox Hindu in religion, and his reign marks an early stage in the reaction of Brāhmanical Hinduism against Buddhism which characterizes the Gupta period.

3. Chandragupta II., of the Gupta dynasty, surnamed Vikramāditya, grandson of Chandragupta I., reigned from c. 375 to 413 A.D. He conquered Mālwa and Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwār), and so became lord paramount of all India north of the Narmada river. Fa-hien (A.D. 399–413), the Chinese pilgrim, spent several years in the dominions of Chandragupta II., and formed a very favourable opinion of the merits of the government. Although the sovereign was himself an orthodox Hindu, specially devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu, the Buddhist religion was exercised without hindrance, and its adherents were numerous, rich, and influential. All respectable persons ordinarily followed the Buddhist rules of conduct, and abstained from taking life, drinking wine, and eating onions or garlic. The Buddhist monasteries were liberally endowed with royal grants, and alms were freely bestowed on the monks. Notwithstanding the prosperity of the Buddhist church, and Fa-hien's apparent blindness to the change which was taking place, it is certain that the restoration of the Brāhmanical religion to popular favour, and the associated revival of the Sanskrit language, as distinguished from Prakṛit, made rapid progress during this reign.

LITERATURE.—The Greek notices of India are collected in M'Cride's works, especially *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* (London, 1901). A full account of the three Chandraguptas will be found in Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1908).

VINCENT A. SMITH.

CHANGE.—Change is so elementary and so comprehensive a conception that it is difficult to define it. Probably the best way, however, to approach the meaning of the term is to indicate its kinds, that is, to give its logical divisions. In this way we may reach its essential characteristic. There are four general types of change. They are (1) Qualitative change; (2) Quantitative change; (3) Local change; and (4) Formal change. It is possible to include the last three types in the general conception of Spatial Change, which we might subdivide into quantitative, local, and formal. Quantitative change can be divided into expansion, contraction, detrition, and accretion. The first two are consistent with absolute identity

of the subject expanded or contracted, and the last two involve some addition or subtraction of matter. None of them necessitates local change or motion of the subject from a static position as a whole. Local change is convertible with motion, and means that, whatever other changes accompany it, the whole alters its position in space. Formal change is a change of shape, and may consist with every other type of change except local. Qualitative change is a change in the qualities or properties of a subject, and may consist with a static condition, quantitative, local, and formal. It is illustrated in chemical action and composition.

All changes take place in time and space. They are thus events in substance. Time and space do not change, but are conditions of all change, except that qualitative change may take place without quantitative, local, or formal change. But no change can take place without involving time, and there are no changes in which a difference of time is not involved. Persistence in time is not change but stability.

In its most comprehensive sense, then, change is any fact, event, or action which is contrasted with rest or stability, and involves some element of difference either of quality, space, or time.

It is the fact of change that suggests all inquiries into causes, whether these inquiries be spoken of as scientific or philosophic. Curiosity regarding causal agency begins with the discovery of change and terminates in explanation. No question of explanation would ever arise but for this departure from an inactive condition of things, unless we had other reasons to suppose that mere existence was also caused. Change represents the dynamic, as rest or inertia represents the static, side of things, and hence obtains the credit of instigating scientific and other curiosity. Consequently it is the indication of the existence of new phenomena in the world order, and is the condition of the very existence and conception of progress usually expressed in the process of evolution.

In an earlier period of reflexion it was 'motion' that was supposed to demand explanation, and so was the centre of speculative interest. But the fact is that the term was then more comprehensive than it is now, as will be apparent in the study of those ancient systems of philosophy which turned on this conception. Greek thought, in its earlier development, did not clearly and always, if ever, distinguish between the ideas of motion and change. The term *κίνησις* did duty for both conceptions, and the consequence was that some confusion occurred in various philosophic theories. Aristotle seems to have been the first to recognize the equivocal character of the term, and in his distinction gave rise to that limitation of the concept 'motion' which has ever since confined it to that of local change or change of place, so that qualitative change became a distinct phenomenon.

The difficulty created by the confusion of motion and change was apparent in the conflict between the philosophies which regarded 'motion' as caused and those which regarded it as eternal and uncaused. Theistic and creationist speculations possessed a weapon of some force against philosophers like the Eleatics who denied all change and motion, but Democritus and Epicurus robbed these of their vantage ground by making 'motion' eternal, this conception having been accepted as reasonable or possible from the philosophy of Heraclitus. With 'motion' uncreated or uncaused, there was nothing left apparently for scientific curiosity. But the distinction of Aristotle opened the way to the admission that motion might be permanent while change of some kind still existed to be accounted for. Philosophic reflexion thus survived, and the confusion of the

two schools ultimately resulted in the modification of the doctrine of inertia, since the resolution of the equivocation in the conception of 'motion' or change made it necessary to conceive one as possibly eternal and the other as only ephemeral.

In early Greek thought, inertia, not a speculatively recognized concept, did not mean what it means in modern scientific parlance. It denoted a state of inactivity or rest, not the inability to initiate a change whether of motion or rest. The consequence was that any observed action might have its cause placed within or without the subject in which it appeared, according to the disposition of the observer. Not having any doctrine of gravitation like the Newtonian with which to reckon, ancient speculation thus enjoyed considerable liberty in the application of internal causes to the phenomena of nature, as a study of its philosophic systems abundantly illustrates. It was natural, taking ordinary sensible experience as the guide, to suppose that weight, an intrinsic property of matter, should give rise to motion, and in fact the atomic systems of the time so conceived the case. In ordinary reflexion, motion, not distinguished from change, was conceived as having a beginning in time, and the normal condition of things was supposed to be that of rest. But in the absence of an idea of attraction or gravitation, self-motion became a conceivable phenomenon, and, at least where vertical direction and a vacuum were supposed, was considered the natural state of matter. This conception involved the possibility of perpetual motion, and so combined the ideas of constancy and change in the same fact. So far as the phenomenon was thus conceived, it was either not caused at all or had no external cause; and, as the conception of causality in subsequent ages became very largely convertible with external agency, wherever the idea was used at all, motion became conceivably an eternal and uncaused fact. The materialist thus had two presumably uncaused facts against the creationist point of view, and they were matter and motion. He admitted, however, as in the Epicurean swerving of the atoms from a vertical direction attributed to free action other than gravity, that any deviation from the existing status required some additional cause to explain it, whether this cause were made internal or external.

This intellectual situation produced two effects. It admitted and widened the conception of change as a fact to be explained, and gave rise to a new conception of inertia which has come to possess all modern thought. As the conception of motion was made consistent with permanence, inertia could no longer indicate rest or inaction, but had to be made convertible with inability to initiate change, whether of motion or rest, without the interposition of an external cause, and this inability was assumed to characterize matter. This made the idea compatible with the eternity of motion which the earlier conception did not recognize, but it left the mind free to inquire for causes in any change from any existing *status quo* of things, and this sufficed to give reason and character to scientific and philosophic curiosity as a quest for explanations. Change became the comprehensive term for all facts or events demanding causes.

Change thus becomes the basis upon which all causal speculations rest, and motion will not figure in the case except as a change of direction or as a phenomenon conceived as beginning in time. Whether the causes sought are internal or external, free or determined, will depend upon the extent to which the doctrine of inertia is applied. If matter is wholly inert, that is, unable to initiate

change, the cosmos must remain in a given condition, unless external intervention occurs to cause any assumed or known change from the *status quo*. This conception was the assumption on which the Aristotelian *primum mobile* was accepted, though its inertia was assumed to follow after an initial impulse and no continuous causal agency was supposed. Hence the vantage ground of the theistic and deistic point of view. But, if inertia is not assumed as an absolute condition of matter, internal forces may be conceived as the cause of change and a *deus ex machina* excluded as unnecessary. Whatever cause for change was supposed would have to be immanent, and possibly a *creatio continua*—certainly so, if change were constant. In mechanical physics the doctrine of inertia still prevails, and external causes are supposed to initiate change or motion, though no effort is made to trace the causal agency beyond a given point. Spatial, including quantitative, local, and formal, changes are the phenomena to be explained. In chemistry, qualitative change is the phenomenon to be accounted for, and some relation to internal causation is conceived which does not seem reducible to mechanical agency, and so a question as to the absoluteness of inertia is suggested by it. Whether we shall ever reach the conclusion for final or teleological causes will depend upon other facts than mere change. The adjustment of a variety of means to an end not naturally the result of any one agency is necessary here. But the existence of internal causes, once assumed to account for any change whatever, or any movement towards a result, will leave the way open for analogies with human action for the explanation of real or apparent adjustment to organic ends in nature as reflecting intelligent direction of causes, the changes involved being so complicated as to suggest intelligence as well as internal agency.

LITERATURE.—R. Adamson, *Development of Modern Philosophy*, Lond. 1903, vol. i. part v. ch. ii.; B. P. Bowne, *Metaphysics*, revised ed., N.Y. 1902, part i. ch. iii.; L. T. Hobhouse, *Theory of Knowledge*, Lond. 1896, part ii.; Shadworth Hodgson, *Metaphysics of Experience*, Lond. 1893, vol. i. and ii.; Lotze, *Metaphysic*, Eng. tr., Oxf. 1884, books i. and ii.; Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1839–86, vols. i. and ii.; Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, N.Y. 1904, book ii. ch. v. These works give a sufficient discussion of 'change,' and fairly discuss the topic from different points of view. The most recent book on the subject is D. P. Rhodes, *The Philosophy of Change*, N.Y. 1909.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

CHANGELING.—I. Definition and characteristics.—A changeling may be defined as the child of a non-human race left in place of a human child which is stolen away from its mother by members of that race. Adult changelings (below, § 6) are of a different character. In general, the changeling may be the child of fairies or elves (British Isles, France, Italy); of dwarfs, elves, or under-earth folk (Germany, Scandinavia, and among the Slavs and Wends); of various nature-spirits—water-sprites, nixes, wood-folk, wild women, *laumes*, etc. (Hungary, Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Holland, Lithuania); of Nereids (Greece); and, in most of these regions, of a witch or some other demoniac creature; or, travelling beyond the European area, of a variety of beings who will be considered later (§ 7).

The equivalent terms for 'changeling' are: Welsh *plentyn-nodid*, German *Wechselbalg*, Swedish *bytingar*, Finnish *tuoti*, Polish *odmienik*, Lettish *laumes apmaiņtas*, Bohemian *poduznec*, while the Latin form *cambriones* appears in a 15th cent. MS (see Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* pp. 468, 1421, 1764).

The changeling is not always in reality a fairy child. Occasionally it is a stock with the appearance of a child (*FLR* ii. 197), but more usually it is an adult member of the fairy folk, who has assumed that form, as many tales show (cf. § 3). Probably this is a later development of the idea, the changeling being a child in what may be regarded as the more primitive versions. The idea might arise from the belief that fairies, etc., could assume different forms (cf. the Arab *jinn*—in many respects

equivalent to fairies—who transform themselves from baby to giant form, etc., *JAI* xxix. [1899] 253, 259), but in some cases the adult is reduced to child form by a process of beating and squeezing (Oraigie, *Scandinavian Folk-lore*, Paisley, 1896, p. 148). In an Icelandic tale the changeling is the husband of the fairy who stole the human child (Arnasón, *Icelandic Legends*, 1804–86, p. 443).

A changeling was usually detected by its appearance. It was ill-favoured or deformed, with thick neck and large head; it seldom ceased crying when under observation, and was, to all appearance, imbecile (cf. Luther's description of a changeling seen by him, in his *Table-Talk*). It had also an abnormal appetite, quantity not quality being regarded, but in spite of eating so much it never grew or thrived. Sometimes, however, as in the Manx case seen and described by Waldron (*Descr. of Isle of Man, 1731*, Douglas, 1865, p. 29), while abnormal in appearance and incapable of movement, the changeling never spoke or cried, and ate little. Again, when it thought itself unobserved, a changeling would frisk and dance and show every sign of merriment. At other times its appearance was normal, but it would exhibit abnormal musical powers or capacity for work. The stories of changelings, wherever found, show that the act of exchange took place when the human child had been left unguarded for a moment, or through the helplessness of the mother, or by some trick on the part of the fairy thieves, or because the usual precautions against them had not been taken; the theft took place before the child had been baptized.

2. Precautions against the exchange.—Fairies being regarded as pagans, one group of precautions against their kidnapping was of a Christian character. Thus, an effectual method was to place a Bible, or a prayer-book, or a leaf of either, in or near the cradle. Other religious objects—a rosary, a cross, or the like—might be used in this way. Prayer, a pious ejaculation, the utterance of a Divine name, or blessing oneself, would cause the fairies to drop the child either inside or outside the house, if they had succeeded in seizing it. But, above all, baptism was effective, for once the child was baptized the fairies' power over it was gone, as it had now ceased to be outside grace; in other words, it was no longer a pagan, and could no longer be liable to the attacks of non-Christian beings (see BAPTISM [Ethnic], § 13, and cf. a song in D'Urfe, *Wit and Mirth*, London, 1819–20, i. 322, where a child 'Must be christened that very morn. For fear it should die a pagan'). This semi-theological explanation has taken the place of ideas connected with ethnic customs of name-giving, baptism, and purification, by which various dangers menacing the child from spirits, demons, etc., or even danger arising from him in his tabu state, are neutralized, and before the performance of which he is sometimes regarded as not quite human (cf. an instance among the hill tribes of Central India, where, until the performance of the rites of hair-shaving or ear-piercing, the child is regarded as a *bhūt*, or devil, *JAI* xxviii. [1899] 246). More purely magical is another set of precautions. Among these the custom of carrying fire round the child, or having a light in the room until it is baptized, to keep off spirits and fairies from mother and child, is analogous to similar pagan practices (cf. *SBE* xxiv. 277; Martin, *Descr. of West. Islands of Scotland*³, 1716, p. 118; Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, pp. 10, 226), and is doubtless due to the primitive idea of the sacredness of fire. In one story a burning brand thrown at a fairy forces her to drop the child (Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900, p. 81). Placing part of the father's clothing in or near the cradle, or wrapping the child in it, is also used, and has analogies in ethnic custom, the idea being that the

father's influence protects the child through the proximity or contact of his clothes (cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 427). Equally effective was it to place iron in some shape or form—utensil, tool, or weapon—in the cradle, on account of the well-known dislike of iron by fairies, etc. An obnoxious odour in the room, e.g. that of an old shoe burning in the fire, was useful because of the fairies' dislike of strong odours. Or, as in the Highlands, the door-posts were sprinkled with urine kept for washing purposes (Campbell, *op. cit.* p. 36). Tracing a magic symbol, e.g. a pentagon, on the cradle was used in Switzerland (*Morgenblatt*, 1865, No. 32, p. 764). All these methods were effective against every evil influence which might attack the child. Again, sheer force employed by either parent against the intruder would cause him to relinquish his evil purposes.

3. Recovery of the stolen child.—Even after a considerable lapse of time, it was possible for the stolen child to be recovered, and the various methods employed are described with remarkable unanimity in tales from the various European lands where the changeling belief is found. Taking the changeling to church, where the priest touched it, caused its disappearance, as is seen in an old Scots ballad (*FLR* i. 235). Flogging the changeling and laying it in a ditch, whence it was taken by its kinsfolk and the human child returned, occurs in several tales. Sweeping it out of the house, laying it on a manure-heap, throwing it into a stream, and placing it in a grave, are methods found in other tales. Or, to starve or neglect it or to make it cry lustily was enough to procure its removal and the re-installment of the real child. Or, again, it was threatened with death, or its head was chopped off. Still more cruel was the subjection of the suspected child to fire. It was removed with red-hot tongs, or a cross was signed on its forehead with a red-hot poker, or it was placed in the oven or pressed down on the glowing embers, in the hope that it would be destroyed or would disappear. In tales exhibiting this method, the true child is returned, sometimes with the uttered reproach from the fairy that she had not treated it as the human mother had treated the changeling.

There can be no doubt that in many cases deformed or sickly children, suspected of being changelings, were thus cruelly treated. Cf. actual cases in Ireland, where a child and a woman, believed to be changelings, were, one severely burned, the other roasted to death, in 1834 and 1893 respectively (see Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 121; *FLV* i. [1895] 373); and in Tiree, in 1878, a child was exposed on the shore for several hours by its mother, who thought it was a changeling (*Celtic Magazine*, Inverness, viii. [1883] 253).

In cases where the character of the child was uncertain, a stratagem was resorted to in order to discover its true nature. In one class of stories, with copious variants, the mother is advised to prepare food or boil water in one or several eggshells, whereupon the changeling cries that he has seen many things (involving a great lapse of time), or has lived so long, but has never seen a sight like that. In another series a sausage is prepared, containing the carcass of a young pig, and set before the child. Here the formula is similar, save that he declares he has never seen a sausage with hide, hair, eyes, and legs. The intention is to make the changeling unwittingly betray his real nature. This is sometimes enough to cause his disappearance and the restoration of the true child, probably because of the belief that supernatural beings fear the discovery of themselves by mortals, as in the similar case of their name, which, when discovered, brings its owner within the power of the human discoverer. But in some cases the story adds that the changeling was threatened with cruel treatment, or was actually punished in some of the ways already described, before the

exchange was once more made. Simrock (*Handbuch der deutschen Mythol.*⁶, Bonn, 1887, p. 436) asserts that the purpose was 'to force him to laugh, for laughter brings deliverance'; but, as Hartland (*op. cit.* p. 117) points out, the laughter-incident rarely occurs in the tales, and the betrayal of the changeling's true nature by the admission of his age is rather in question here. In all such stories the changeling is not a real fairy infant, and this may point to their being of later date (see § 1).

Examples of these tales, and of the formula in which his age is expressed by the changeling, will be found in Grimm, pp. 469, 1421; Keightley, *Fairy Mythology*, ed. Bell, London, 1900, pp. 126, 305, 436, 473; Campbell, *Pop. Tales of the W. Highlands*, new ed. Edin. 1890-93, ii. 67; Kamp, *Danske Folkeminder*, Odense, 1877, p. 19; Kristensen, *Danske Sagen*, 1891-6, i. 1049; Hartland, *op. cit.* p. 113 ff.; Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 1839, p. 218. The formula runs: 'I've been in the world 1500 years, and never seen that,' or 'I have seen the egg before it became the white hen, and the acorn before the oak, seen it acorn and sapling and oak in Brezal wood, but never aught like this,' or 'I have seen the wood in Tisö young three times over, but never the like of this,' etc.

In other tales nothing short of a visit to fairyland by the parents, usually armed with various articles disliked by the fairies, will suffice for the child's recovery. Again, if the fairy child was treated kindly, this ensured similar treatment for the stolen child, and sometimes led to its restoration.

4. Purpose of the theft.—This may be expressed generally in the words of Grimm (p. 468), that 'elves are anxious to improve their breed by means of the human child, which they design to keep among them, and for which they give up one of their own.' The same motive underlies the theft of human mothers or maidens to act as midwives to a fairy mother, to nurse fairy children, or to marry a fairy, which is found in a multitude of stories. Scarcely an example occurs in which the stolen child is ill-treated, and frequently, when it is restored, it remains lucky or skilful in some craft (Campbell, *op. cit.* ii. 57; Keightley, p. 300).

This might seem to give some ground for Simrock's theory (*op. cit.* p. 436) that the motive for the theft originally lay in the desire of the fairies to benefit human children, and that the more selfish motive was not ascribed until later, when growing enlightenment suggested to men that the once beneficent fairies were falling into decay, and now, for self-preservation, resorted to the theft. This, however, finds little ground in the fairy superstition itself, and is not corroborated by the tales taken as a whole. To make the child completely one of themselves, the fairies may have been supposed to give it fairy food or to perform some rite, and hence a folk-belief may underlie the lines of Beaumont and Fletcher (*Faithful Shepherdess*, Act. i. sc. 2) in which they are described as dipping stolen children in a fairy well 'to make them free from dying flesh and dull mortality.' At the same time, when the changeling was a fairy child and not an adult fairy, it had the advantage of being suckled by a healthy human mother. That this was an advantage is seen from the stories of stolen mothers already referred to (cf. also Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imper.* iii. 85), and particularly in a Hessian tale where a woman struggles with a fairy who is stealing a child, which is not restored until the mother has put the fairy's offspring to her breast to nourish it 'with the generous milk of human kind' (Grimm, p. 468). With this may be compared a Scots story in which a mother, nursing her child, is begged by a fairy to suckle her infant. The fairy disappears, leaving it with the woman, who finds rich garments and delicious foods by her side whenever she awakes from sleep (Cromek, *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway*, 1810, p. 302).

Another folk-reason alleged for the theft is that the fairies may have good Christians among them at the day of judgment to assist their salvation—a question as to which they are often represented as standing in great doubt (*FL* vii. [1896] 163). A still more selfish reason for the theft may have been popularly believed, though it is probably of later origin: it was alleged that the fairies had to pay an annual or septennial sacrificial tribute out of their company, to the devil. This is found in the indictment of Alison Pearson, a witch, in 1588; in the ballad of *Tamlane*; and in the tale of *Thomas the Rhymer* (Scott, *Demonology*, 1898, pp. 109, 114, 130, *Minstrelsy*, pp. 221, 231, 423; *FLR* ii. 113), and it may be referred to in a Highland tradition mentioned by Hugh Miller

(*My Schools and Schoolmasters*, ed. Edinburgh, 1891, p. 259), to the effect that on an island in Loch Maree the fairy queen sat and gathered *káin* ('tribute') for the devil. Lady Wilde (*Ancient Legends*, 1887, i. 70) also refers to it vaguely as a current belief in Ireland. In the cases cited it is a human victim who is offered; and both Scott and Lady Wilde say that it is a popular belief that infants were stolen for this purpose. Witches were certainly alleged to steal and sacrifice infants to the devil (perhaps a traditional reminiscence of actual sacrifice by women in orgiastic rites to a goddess of fertility); and, as fairies were commingled with witches in late mediæval belief, the custom may have been ascribed sporadically to them. Eating human infants is asserted of fairies in certain tales (Welsh: Rhys, *Celt. Folk-lore*, Oxford, 1901, ii. 673; French: Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904-7, i. 229)—perhaps also a reflexion from witch-lore.

In general, infants are in danger from female demoniac beings, or from witches (the two differing but little from each other), who injure, kill, eat, or change them. The Jews feared Lilith, the night-demon, who was especially hostile to children, living on the blood of those whom she slew (Sayce, *Hib. Lect.* [1887], 1891, p. 146; cf. also Blau, in *JE* viii. 87 f.). The *lamia* of ancient Greek myth, who murdered children because Hera deprived her of her offspring, passed into popular superstition as a demoniac being who sucked the blood of children, or was multiplied into the *lamia*, who devoured youths (Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.* 1886, iii. 2, 908). These *lamiae* survive in modern Greek superstition as witch-like hags fond of children's flesh (Bent, *Cyclopaedia*, 1885, pp. 98, 388). In ancient times children who died young were thought to have been carried off by the nymphs (Preller, *Gr. Mythik.*, 1894, i. 566). The Græco-Roman *striges*, or owl-like bird monsters which tore the vitals of children and sucked their blood (Ovid, *Fasts*, vi. 131 ff.), and the *striges*, or witch-hags who flew by night and strangled and devoured children, replacing their bodies by a bundle of straw (Petronius, chs. 63, 184), resembled the *lamiae*, and they still survive in Greece, Italy, and the east of Europe as witches of a similar character (the *strigela*, *strega*, etc. [Garnett, *Greek Folk Poesy*, 1896, ii. 457]). In mediæval belief, demons, *striges*, and *lamiae*, as well as witches, were commonly supposed to draw infants from their cradles, to maltreat or roast them, to suck their blood, or eat them (Grimm, citing mediæval sources, pp. 1068-60, 1081, 1625). No charge was commoner in mediæval witch-trials than that witches had stolen children and devoured them at the Sabbath; and the midwife, in ages when there was a great mortality of children, was often regarded as a witch. The witch may in this case be the survival of an earlier priestess, and the cannibalistic act the relic of ritual cannibalism and a sacrifice to a goddess of fertility. In many cases, however, the corpse of an unbaptized child was said to have been disinterred and eaten (see Reuss, *La Sorcellerie*, Paris, 1871, pp. 47, 52, 66; Pearson, *Chances of Death*, 1897, ii. 21 ff., 32; Scott, *Demonology*, pp. 172, 231; Görres, *Die christliche Mystik*, Regensburg, 1842, bk. 8, ch. 15). Such beliefs survive in much later folk-superstition. Italian peasants believe in witches who tear the faces of unbaptized children (Hartland, p. 99). In Servia the *Hezen* are especially fond of the flesh of young children (Ploss, *Das Kind*, Leipzig, 1884, i. 113; Grimm, p. 1077). Russian peasants fear the *Baba Yaga*, a female ogre or a witch, who devours children (Ralston, *Russian Folk Tales*, 1873, p. 166); and similar beliefs are found throughout most European lands, while precautions resembling those used against the attacks of fairies are general. Similar deeds are ascribed to female demons resembling the *lamiae*, and called *devs*, *als*, etc., in Georgian, Roumanian, Armenian, Coptic, and other Oriental tales (Wardrop, *Georgian Folk-Tales*, 1894, p. 53; Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery*, 1891, p. 64; Abeghian, *Armen. Volksläure*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 118-120; Gaster, *Græco-Slavonic Literature*, 1887, p. 82). Outside Europe such beliefs are found among savage and barbaric peoples. In Abyssinia the *Werzylä* is a Lilith who kills children; in W. Africa witches catch children, cut out their tongues, and change their nature so that they become creatures called *asiki* (Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Africa*, 1904, p. 299). In India, among the Vadālā, the birth-spirit in the shape of an animal is believed to devour the skull and heart of an infant on the fifth night after birth (*PR* i. 265), and a similar belief is already found in the *Atharvaveda* (vii. 10; see Whitney and Lanman, *Atharva-Veda*, Cambridge, Mass., 1905, i. 395; Ploss, i. 120). The Malays believe in a female vampire which sucks the blood of newly-born children (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, p. 827). Among the Alnus the legend of the goat-sucker embodies a belief in a child-stealing demon (Batchelor, *The Alnus and their Folk-lore*, 1901, p. 185). For an American Indian instance—a Cree child who turned into an owl by night and ate other children—see Petitot, *Traditions indiennes*, Paris, 1886, p. 462. Mediæval witches were also supposed to kill newly-born children, or to dig up the corpses of the unbaptized in order to cut off their fingers or hands for various magical uses. This is referred to by Shakespeare (*Macbeth*, iv. i. 80)—the 'finger of birth-strangled babe' was one of the ingredients of the witches'

cauldron—and it is still a popular belief in Sicily (Grimm, p. 1073; Hartland, p. 100). Robbers were also supposed to use the hands of children or adults as candles, the well-known 'hand of glory' (Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, now ed. 1888, p. 405 ff.; Stoll, *Geschichteleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 285). The salve, rubbed by witches on their bodies, in order that they might acquire magic power, was made of an unguent obtained by boiling the body of an unbaptized child stolen from its cradle.

5. Witch and diabolic changelings.—The witch, like the fairy, was also supposed sometimes to change the human child, obtaining entrance to the house in the form of a bird or an insect, unless the precaution had been taken of placing iron or a broom beneath the pillow. Instances are found in Roumanian and Servian belief (Gerard, *Land beyond the Forest*, 1888, ii. 14; Ploss, i. 113; Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery*, p. 64). Such changelings may have been the offspring of a witch and the devil. Sometimes the devil himself was believed to effect the exchange. Having carried off young maidens, he had intercourse with them and kept them till they were delivered. A human child was then stolen by him, and the offspring of this union was put in its place (Thorpe, *Northern Mythol.*, 1851-2, vol. ii. p. xxi). Such changelings resembled the fairy changeling in ugliness and abnormal appetite; they cried when touched, laughed at any evil in the house, and had a continual hiccup (Reuss, *La Sorcellerie*, 71). Luther's opinions in his *Table-Talk* on this subject are frequently cited. He firmly believed that the devil often changed infants, laying devils in their place. These had a great appetite, were very filthy, and wrought harm to the mothers. He describes one which he had seen at Dessau, and he strongly recommended that the changeling should be thrown into the river. These changelings, in his opinion, were masses of flesh without a soul. Such beliefs regarding diabolical changelings survived into modern times in Prussia and Lithuania (Ploss, i. 113, cf. *Das Weib*, Leipzig, 1905, i. 569); but, in the old German legend of Zeno, the devil himself takes the form of the child which he had abstracted (Simrock, p. 483).

In Slavonic belief, the nocturnal demon, *Ekimora*, is a child whose mother cursed it before its birth, and whom the devil stole from her womb. The devil also carries off all children executed by their parents (Tooke, *Hist. of Russia*, 1799, i. 100). Analogies to this are common in savage and barbaric superstition regarding stillborn children, etc., who become demons.

6. Adult changelings.—The carrying off of men and women, especially the latter, by fairies, dwarfs, giants, or the supernatural personages of European and Oriental mythology, the detaining of them in their land, and, in the case of women, forcibly marrying them or compelling them to act as midwives or nurses, are commonplaces of folk-tales wherever found, while in many cases their rescue from their captors is the cause of the strangest adventures (cf. the English tale of Childe Rowland [Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, 1898, p. 117], and see art. FAIRY). We are here concerned with the theft only in so far as it illustrates the changeling superstition. Here it applies mainly to women in child-birth or before their churaching,—a period when they were peculiarly liable to the attack of supernatural influences,—but there are similar instances of girls and men being carried off and a substitute left in their place. To prevent such attacks on women in childbirth, precautions resembling those taken in the case of infants were usual (see § 2; Ploss, i. 110). As a rule, when a child was taken, a genuine changeling was left in its place, but in the case of an adult the substitute was generally an illusory appearance. Frequently it was a log of wood, to which was given the semblance of the woman's corpse, or, less usually, of herself in life. This was also done when a man or girl was carried away. Other methods of

substitution occur in certain tales. Occasionally a fairy woman, with the appearance of the stolen wife, was left (Campbell, ii. 76); and a belief is also mentioned to the effect that fairies take the substance and leave only the shadow, or steal the soul, leaving a fairy soul in its room (Scott, *Minstrelsy*, p. 217; Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands . . . of Scotland*, p. 32). But whatever it be, the relatives are overcome by the power of fairy 'glamour,' and believe it to be the living person, or his or her corpse (for examples, see Scott, *Minstrelsy*, p. 222; Curtin, *Tales of the Fairies*, 1895, pp. 8, 23 ff.; Campbell, *Tales of W. Highlands*, ii. 61; Campbell, *Superstitions*, pp. 38, 86; Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, 1891, p. 95; Keightley, p. 392; Gregor, *Folk-lore of the N. E. of Scotland*, 1881, p. 62; Thorpe, ii. 139). In some cases the fairies are seen carrying off the woman; she is rescued, and, after she is taken home, the illusory appearance is destroyed. But frequently the tales are linked on to those of the 'Dead Wife' or 'Orpheus and Eurydice' cycle—a dead wife rescued by her husband from the other world (see DESCENT INTO HADES [Ethnic]). Where the changeling is concerned, the illusory appearance of the corpse is buried, but the real woman appears to her husband in dreams, or is seen nursing her children. She gives directions regarding her recovery, sometimes involving her rescuer's visit to fairyland. These directions are not always carried out, in which case the woman remains a prisoner there. Where she is recovered from the fairy realm, the stories bear a close resemblance to those of the rescue of the dead wife from the other world, showing, as in other cases, that in popular fancy there is little real distinction between the two regions (see Scott, p. 222; Hartland, p. 130 ff.; Lang, 'The Dead Wife,' *Murray's Magazine*, 1887, p. 491; MacCulloch, *CF*, p. 43). Such tales are mainly of Scottish and Irish provenance; but they also occur in Scandinavia, and sometimes the 'appearance' of the woman remains in life. The object of the theft was that the woman might act as nurse to her captor's child, or, in the case of a girl, as his wife or housekeeper. The Irish versions relate that the victim was first struck with a 'fairy stroke,' and apparently fell ill and died (Curtin, pp. 60, 66); this was also a current belief in the W. Highlands (Campbell, *Superstitions*, p. 27).

Cattle were also liable to be 'changel'd.' A cow was stolen and some substitute left in its place—an alder stock, an old elf, etc., with the appearance of the cow (Campbell, p. 82 f.; Curtin, p. 125).

Similarly, when a witch stole a child, the parents were hindered by spells from seeing its disappearance; and when a witch went to the Sabbath, she left a log in her place by her husband's side in bed (Reuss, p. 89; Grimm, p. 1072).

7. Origin of the changeling belief.—(a) There is no doubt that this belief must be ultimately connected with the primitive and savage idea, surviving in higher stages, that infants are peculiarly liable to the attack of spirits, demons, etc., with whom they are sometimes associated in nature before name-giving and purificatory rites take place (§ 2). The ritual precautions taken to avoid such attacks often bear a close resemblance to the European methods of keeping off fairies; while, just as baptism was an efficacious remedy against fairies, so the rites referred to had a similar efficacy against spirits (see BAPTISM [Ethnic], § 23). Some examples of the savage and general idea of infants being in danger of spirits have been given (§ 4). Among the Veddas, with whom the arrow has a sacred significance, two arrows are placed before a sleeping child to guard it when its parents have to leave it for some time (*L'Anthropologie*, v. [1894] 243). The Torres Straits Islanders believe in a female spirit who steals and eats children, besides getting rid of wives and personifying them (*JA*)

xix. [1890] 323). In Amboina a spirit called Pontianak steals away infants (Riedel, *De sluiken kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 58). The Abors of Assam think that the wood-spirits kidnap their children (Dalton, *Ethnol. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 25). Among the Kalnuks, who believe in spirits dangerous to mother and child, the father runs out with a cudgel at a birth, to fight them (Ploss, i. 112). (For other savage instances, see Macdonald, *Africana*, 1882, i. 114, 224; Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, 1881, p. 77; Powell, *Wanderings in a wild Country* [New Britain], 1883, p. 207.) Similar beliefs were current among the Parsis, who employed elaborate rites to keep the spirits and other obnoxious beings at a distance (West, *SBE* v. 316, 343, xxiv. 277). The Romans held that the woodland god Silvanus was dangerous to mother and child, who were protected by men striking the threshold with axe and pestle, and sweeping it with a brush (Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 9), while the Greeks believed that children who died young had been carried off by the nymphs (Decharme, *Myth. de la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1879, p. 332).

Innumerable examples of this universal belief might be given, while no incident is commoner in *Marchen* from all countries than that of children carried off by ogres, giants, or other beings. If, as can scarcely be doubted, such a belief was current among the ancestors of the various European folk who hold the fairy creed, it was inevitable that, when fairies, dwarfs, etc., came to be believed in, similar practices should have been ascribed to them, especially as they were in many cases nature-spirits in origin. This is seen by the fact that the changeling superstition is a fluid one, and is, as shown above, ascribed equally to fairies, witches, the devil, nature-spirits, and occasionally ghosts. Indeed, all the actions ascribed to fairies are also assigned in folk-belief to witches and spirits of all kinds. All alike are in turn derived from a much earlier range of circumstances, in which vague spirits were the prominent actors (see FAIRY). In this connexion it is important to observe that, among peoples with whom the belief is found that spirits, etc., are harmful to children, the actual changeling superstition occasionally exists, probably apart from any influence exerted by European changeling stories.

Many Yoruba tales resemble our changeling belief, though here the child is possessed by a spirit which makes it assume the form of a growing boy and devour quantities of food. The discovery is made by secretly watching the child. Another class of spirits enter a child and eat all its food till it becomes emaciated and dies. In the former case beating the child drives the spirit out; in the latter, an offering is made to it, and iron rings, etc., are hung about the child's body to keep the spirit away; but if this is not successful, incisions are made in the body, and pepper or spices put in them (Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, 1894, pp. 120, 111). Among the Shoshones the mountains of Montana are believed to be peopled by little imps called *ninumbes*, who eat unguarded infants, leaving, instead, one of their own baneful race. Should the mother suckle it, it devours her breast and escapes, while she dies soon after, and, if not watched, is eaten up by her nursing (N. III. 157). A race of cannibal spirits, living under rivers and feeding on human flesh, especially that of children, was feared by the Cherokees. These spirits came unseen to a house just after daybreak, and if any one was found asleep, they shot him with invisible arrows and carried his body away, leaving in its place a shade or image of the victim, which awoke and acted as he did in life. This image had no life in it, and withered away in seven days, when the people buried it, imagining it to be the body of the real child or man (RBEW xix. [1900] pt. 1. 349). The belief also exists in a curious form in China. If a child's soul leaves its body in sleep, a demon soul may take its place, endangering the mother when she suckles the child. To avert this demon invasion, the ashes of banana skin, mixed with water, are painted in the shape of a cross on the child's forehead. The demon cannot recognize the body thus disguised, and flies off, affording an opportunity for the true soul to approach. But, to facilitate its entrance, the mark must be washed off, else the soul will not recognize its body, and death will follow (FLJ v. [1887] 225). Bedawi women with an emaciated child take it to a grave, and, laying it thereon, say: 'Oh, you inhabitants of the grave, come and take your son, and give me back my son!' The child is then left there for

some time, and the rite is repeated for several days (FL xv. [1904] 348). Here the ghosts are supposed to have exchanged the child. (Laying the changeling in a grave was adopted in the W. Highlands as a means of getting rid of it (Martin, *Western Isles*, p. 118).) In Armenia, shears are placed under the pillow at a birth, to keep off the spirit called *At*, who tears out the woman's liver, or changes and steals her child (FL xv. 445). Similar changeling stories are told of *visages* and *deus* in old Armenian and Persian myth and romance (see ARMENIA [Zoroastrian], § ii. 3; Keightley, p. 17; Ploss, i. 118). In modern Greece the *nerides*, female spirits of Nature, steal and replace a human child by one of their own fractious offspring (Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 125); and elsewhere in Europe, where nature-spirits take the place of fairies, the changeling superstition is also connected with them; e.g. in Hungary (the water man or woman), in Moravia (the wild woman), in Bohemia (the wood woman), in Lithuania (the *laume*), etc. (Ploss, i. 112-118). Thus the changeling belief, connected as it is with nature-spirits, demons, etc., may well have existed before it was connected with fairies.

(b) Why should children be so liable to the attack of spirits, fairies, and other beings? Their own and their mother's helplessness no doubt made them easy victims of the beings mysteriously surrounding men, ever on the watch for a favourable opportunity of doing them an injury. Again, the child, being in close contact with the mother, shared with her in the 'uncleanness,' the tabu state, into which the sexual crisis of childbirth brought her, and which made her 'dangerous.' This, being an unnatural state, may have been thought to bring her and her child into closer relation with non-natural beings, and therefore to render them more liable to their attacks (we have seen that the unpurified, unnamed, unbaptized child has a demoniac or pagan character). Hence the various purificatory ceremonies which she and the child had to undergo at once removed the tabu state and rid them of the danger of such attacks.

(c) This, however, does not fully explain why the belief in a changeling should have arisen. Hence we must allow much to the play of human fancy and imagination, prompted by the living belief in such terrors from outside evil influences of all kinds. Where it was believed that spirits, etc., actually stole children or did them harm, it would be an easy step for the parents to imagine that their child had actually been exchanged for the offspring of the supernatural thieves, especially where a child was emaciated or deformed, or did not thrive, or was especially fractious, gluttonous, or the like. Emaciation and fractiousness, as in the Bedawi and Greek instances cited above, are specially regarded as proofs of the exchange. Again, where a child bore a real or fanciful resemblance to the appearance popularly ascribed to any supernatural being, it would be easy to suppose that he actually was such a being. A hydrocephalous child might well be regarded as a dwarf changeling, dwarfs being supposed to have enormous heads; or, as Ploss suggests (i. 117, 119), a child with symptoms of cretinism would easily be looked upon as a changeling, the traditional form of which resembles that of a cretinous child. Reputed changelings, observed by Luther and by people in much more modern times, always have an unnatural appearance, which is due to disease or to physical abnormality. The belief once formed, many fanciful ideas, such as the changeling superstition everywhere shows, would arise and become part and parcel of it.

Nutt (*Voyage of Bran*, II. [1897] 2301.) seeks to explain the origin of the belief in Ireland as (1) the form which the memory of the sacrifice of children ('one-third of their healthy offspring') took when such sacrifices had ceased under Christianity. The children had been carried off by the powers of life, viz. the fairies. Or (2), since sacrificial victims must be young, healthy, and vigorous, probably the sickly and ailing would be rejected. In folk-memory this was translated into the statement that the fairies had carried off the healthy and left in exchange the sickly. Though this may account in part for the Irish changeling belief (in Ireland the old gods were thought to have become a kind of fairies [see CURS, § v.]), it does not explain the belief as it is found elsewhere, since in general it is connected with the universal idea that infants are in danger from spirits, demons, etc.

(d) Nor can we omit from a consideration of the changeling belief the possibility of its containing an element of actual fact, which did not originate, but served to strengthen, the superstition. When the territory of an aboriginal people was invaded by a conquering race, before the two finally came to terms, the former may have lived in seclusion, venturing forth by stealth to harry and raid their conquerors. Women and children would fall victims to them and would be stolen away; nor is it altogether impossible that, when a child was taken, a deformed or weakly child of the aborigines would be left in its place, perhaps with a view to its being benefited by the care of members of the superior race. Many of the fairy and dwarf legends of northern Europe are eminently suggestive of actual fact, and in this sense fairies may once have been a real race, hostile to and tricking the invading folk. Thus existing belief in spirits or other beings with traits akin to those of fairies would be merged in the later traditions of this actual race. This is not to say that the fairy belief originated wholly in traditions of an actual people, for it is much more complex than that (see FAIRY). Some have seen in such traditions reminiscences of an actual pygmy race in Europe (Ploss, i. 111; MacKitchie, *Testimony of Tradition*, 1890; cf. Lang, *Introd. to Kirk's Secret Commonwealth*, 1893, xx-xxv); nor is this altogether impossible, since certain archaeological remains suggest it. In any case such traditions based on actual occurrences may have been handed down from the time of the conflict of Neolithic with Palæolithic men, and of men of the Bronze with those of the Neolithic age. Contrariwise, existing beliefs about supernatural beings would easily be alleged of any aboriginal secluded folk whose name, handed down to later generations, became more and more mysterious.

H. H. Johnston (*Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, ii. 518 ff.) has cited some facts which lend support to this theory. He shows that the pygmy races of the Congo region, with gnome-like appearance and tricky character, have some of the traits of the European dwarfs and fairies, and adds: 'It is sometimes related that when the Negro mother awoke in the morning, her bonny, big, black child had disappeared, and its place had been taken by a frail, yellow, wrinkled Pygmy infant, the changeling of our stories' (*op. cit.* 516).

See also BIRTH (Introduction) and FAIRY.

LITERATURE.—Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, London, 1882, ch. 17; E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, ch. 5; H. Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*, Leipzig, 1884, l. 110 ff. See also most collections of European Märchen.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CHANNING.—See UNITARIANISM.

CHANT.—See MUSIC.

CHAOS.—'Chaos' comes from the same root as *χάος*—the 'yawning' space. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 116), it was before all things and consisted of mist and darkness. From it were begotten Erebus and Night (see Gomperz, *Griech. Denker*, 1896, i. 32-80, 417, 430 f.), as well as Love (*Erös*) or Desire (Plato, *Symp.* 173 B). The Stoics, deriving the word from *χέω*, explained Chaos as the elemental water (schol. on Apoll. Rhod. i. 498), while in the Roman age it became the primeval matter out of which the universe has been constructed (Ovid, *Met.* i. 71, *Ars amor.* ii. 470 ff.; see Lactantius, *de Div. Instit.* i. 5). The Orphic cosmology made Æther and Chaos the offspring of Chronos, or Time, and so, along with Necessity, the second principle in the universe (Damascius, *de Prim. Princip.* p. 380 ff.). In the Greek poets the word is sometimes used of the atmosphere; Latin writers identify it with the under world.

Hesiod's conception of Chaos and of creation as a generative process points to the east. Though our knowledge of Phœnician cosmology is derived from late writers, whose accounts of it have been

largely coloured by the speculations of Greek philosophy, the cosmology itself is based upon old materials, and in its main outlines probably goes back to an early period. Chaos appears in it as the elementary principle whose union with Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) produced Desire (*πρόθυμος*). Desire, in its turn, combined with Chaos and Spirit to generate Môt, which, according to Philo Byblius (Euseb. *Præp. Evangel.* i. 10), was explained to be 'mud' by some, and 'the putrefaction of a watery mixture' by others, and is usually connected etymologically with *môd*, 'water.' From Môt proceeded the egg which contained all the germs of the universe, including the heavenly bodies; this broke in half, and out of the two halves the earth and heaven were formed. Life originated in the thunderstorms that were produced by the heat of the air. In this system Chaos seems to correspond exactly with the Chaos of Hesiod, which consisted of mist and darkness, Môt being rather the Chaos of Ovid. In Gn 1^{1,2} the place of Chaos and other abstract principles is taken by a personal God who created the heaven and earth. The conception of Chaos, however, is still left, but it becomes the condition in which the earth was created by the Deity together with the darkness which was spread over the face of the pre-existent deep. The Phœnician idea, however, of the union of Chaos with Spirit is retained in the statement that along with the darkness the Spirit of God also brooded over the deep, though instead of the abstract *πνεῦμα* we have 'the Spirit of God.'

The Phœnician and Hebrew cosmologies are ultimately traceable to Babylonia, but, while the Phœnician cosmology rejects the polytheism of the Babylonian system, and develops the materialistic side of it, the writer of Genesis 1 rejects both the polytheism and the materialism of the Babylonian original, and admits the agency only of the one Creator. In the Babylonian Epic of the Creation the two primary principles are the Deep (*Apšu*), 'the primeval one,' and 'the Flood' or Chaos (*Mummu*) of Tiamât, the dragon of the unformed and anarchic ocean, from whom were afterwards derived 'the waters above the firmament,' where in the present orderly universe they are safely kept under lock and key. In the account of the Babylonian cosmogony given by Damascius, *Môymis*, i.e. Mummu, is made the son of Apšu and Tiamât rather than Tiamât herself under another aspect. Haupt is probably right in explaining Mummu as *Mu-mu*, 'the waters'; the views of Jensen (that the name means 'frame' or 'art') and of Delitzsch (that it signifies 'turmoil') are untenable. In any case, as Gunkel and Zimmern have pointed out (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 401), Mummu represents the origin of things, and the ideograph denoting it proves that it has the primary signification of 'flood.' This is in accordance with the fact that the official cosmology of Babylonia originated at Eridu on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and taught that the earth had grown out of the water, which was consequently the origin of the universe. But the water could be envisaged under two aspects, either as the law-obeying element which provided Babylonia with its annual flood, and over whose surface trade and culture had been carried in boats to Eridu, or as the anarchic element which had brought about the great deluge, and from the midst of which storms and whirlwinds descended upon mankind. In the Epic of the Creation the creation of the world is ascribed to the union of the two forms of the watery element; amongst a people, however, who believed that order was imposed on disorder and law on anarchy, the primordial principle would necessarily have been the watery chaos rather than the deep, which was subject to law. Cf. artt. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY

LITERATURE.—Cory, *Ancient Fragments* (London, 1826), ed. by Hodges, 1876; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, 1896), pp. 7, 17–29; Zimmern in *KAT*³, n. i. 507–514.

A. H. SAYCE.

CHARACTER. — 'Character' (Gr. *χαρακτήρ*, from *χαράσσειν*, *χαράττειν*, 'to engrave') meant originally the tool employed for drawing and stamping, as well as the impression made therewith—the distinctive mark, especially as used in the minting of coin. As early as the 6th cent. B.C. the word acquired a metaphorical sense, as is shown by the writings of Herodotus, Æschylus, and others, who applied it both in the sphere of ethical psychology and in that of literary criticism. The work on *Moral Characters* (*ἠθικὰ χαρακτῆρες*) which bears the name of Theophrastus, the pupil and successor of Aristotle, is, in all probability, a later compilation; nevertheless the Aristotelian school resembled its founder in showing a general predilection for exact observation and distinct portrayal of the various types of human nature. The delineation of such types was set before the public with special clearness and force by the New Comedy, while the rhetoricians likewise devoted themselves eagerly to the subject.¹ In its psychological reference, accordingly, the term *χαρακτήρ* is used in the writings of later antiquity with great frequency and with manifold shades of meaning. The word, moreover, was also employed in the sense of species or category of literary style, as, e.g., in the distinction of four (or sometimes three) diverse 'characters' of diction.² To Latin writers *χαρακτήρ* was, of course, a foreign word, for which they tried in various ways to find an equivalent in their own tongue.³ In the language of the mediæval Church the word came into frequent use, acquiring in particular a peculiar religious connotation. From the time of Augustine, 'character' was applied as a technical expression to the spiritual signs which, according to the belief of the Church, were indelibly impressed upon the soul after baptism, confirmation, and ordination. This usage is found fully developed, e.g., in Thomas Aquinas: 'character baptismatis, confirmationis, ordinis,'⁴ and it has been maintained in the Roman Catholic Church till the present day.⁵ The older varieties of meaning, however, still hold their ground in the recognized speech of the learned, whence the word 'character' found its way into the languages of modern civilization. In these languages, with other significations, it not seldom denotes simply a letter of the alphabet.⁶

In modern times the word was brought into more general notice and application by La

¹ On this subject Sauppe, *Philodemi de vitis lib. x.*, Leipzig, 1853, p. 71., writes: 'Peripatetici discipline suae principis et auctoris exemplum nulla in re magis secuti sunt, quam ut omnia quae vel in natura rerum existerent vel in vita hominum et publica et privata us venient accuratissime observarent et observata sive libris singularibus explicarent sive ad sententias suas firmandas et illustrandas adhiberent. Neque vita ipsa tantum exempla suppeditabat, sed maximam notationum copiam nova comœdia habebat. Quae ut eidem saeculi ingenio originem debebat, atque Aristotelem illud studium vitam quotidianam moresque hominum observandi, ita quaedam fortasse ex Aristotelis vel Theophrasti libris desumpta in usum suum converterat, sed multo plura certe quam acceperat deinde philosophis et rhetoribus suppeditavisse censenda est.'

² Examples of this usage will be found in the well-known *Thesaurus* (1816–28) of Henricus Stephanus.

³ Stephanus cites the following passages: Cicero, *Top.* xxii.: 'Additur autem descriptio, quam Graeci *χαρακτῆρα* vocant'; *ad Brutum*, 36: 'sed in omni re difficillimum est, formam (quod *χαρακτῆρ* Graeci dicunt) exponere optime.'

⁴ Schütz, *Thomas-lezikon*, Paderborn, 1881, s.v.

⁵ So in the decrees of the Council of Trent (Sess. vii. 'de Sacramentis in genere', can. ix.): 'Si quis dixerit in tribus Sacramentis Baptismo scilicet, Confirmatione et Ordinatione non imprimi characterem in anima, hoc est signum quoddam spirituale et indelebile, unde ea reiterari non possunt, anathema sit.' Cf., further, Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*¹⁰, Freiburg, 1908, nos. 411, 695, 1918.

⁶ Murray (*OED*) enumerates no fewer than nineteen varieties of meaning in English.

Bruyère's *Les Caractères de Théophraste, avec les caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle*, a work which, published in 1687, exercised a great influence upon the literature not only of France but of other civilized peoples. As a result of its vogue, the analysis and delineation of individual types of personality became once more, as in the later period of ancient literature, a favourite subject of literary interest.¹ At that time the term 'character' was often applied to something in the nature of a representation, sketch, or portrayal,² but it was used chiefly to connote the peculiar psychical constitution of an individual—the more permanent qualities of the personality in contrast with its more mutable states. There are, accordingly, many different kinds of character, good or bad. A person of no character is one whose qualities have no distinct stamp. Character would thus appear to be in the main a gift of nature, though the co-operation of the individual will is by no means excluded.

In regard to both the conception of character and the problem involved, a new epoch begins with Kant. First of all, he distinguishes between an *empirical* and an *intelligible* character. The former lies within the region of experience, and is subject to the laws of causality; the latter, on the other hand, is the cause of actions as phenomena, and is therefore free, and independent of necessary law.³ To this distinction Kant attaches the utmost significance, as it enables him to recognize the operation of both necessity and freedom in human conduct, and thus to harmonize their long-standing antithesis. The distinction also provided a theme of great interest for post-Kantian speculation in Germany, and in particular played an important part in the philosophy of Schopenhauer. A much stronger and wider influence, however, was exercised by the further distinction drawn by Kant—that, namely, between *physical* and *moral* character. His discussion of this subject is found mainly in his *Anthropologie*, the second part of which is devoted to 'die anthropologische Charakteristik.' Moral character alone, he holds, is character in the proper sense: it is not divisible into particular kinds; it is not this or that, but must always remain a single entity. Man's physical character, embracing his natural disposition and temperament, represents merely what nature has made of him; his moral character is what he makes of himself. 'Simply to have a character—i.e. a moral character—implies that property of the will by which the subject binds himself to certain practical principles unchangeably laid down for himself by his own reason.' 'The foundation of a character is absolute unity in the inner principle of conduct as a whole.'

This view soon attained a wide diffusion, even outside of Germany, and to it is primarily due the high estimate now set upon the conception of character. Kant proceeds to ask whether the moral life is, or is not, founded upon one's own action—whether it is paramountly one's own, or in greater or less degree superinduced. The importance now commonly attached to the formation of character is likewise traceable to Kant. The term 'character,' however, still retains the sense favoured by empirical psychology. Thus we speak without misgiving, e.g., of an inherited character, of a character acquired by adaptation, habit, and the like. The uncritical use of the

¹ Of the development of the word in Germany, an excellent investigation is given by R. Hildebrand, 'Charakter in der Sprache des vorigen Jahrhunderts,' in *Ztschr. f. d. deutschen Unterricht*, vi. [1893] 7.

² e.g. Rabener in his *Satires*, 1755, speaks of the 'originals of my characters.'

³ The leading passage dealing with this distinction is *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (ed. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1869, II, 274 ff.).

word in such divergent senses is a fruitful source of ambiguity and confusion.

The term 'character' has also had a somewhat singular history. The one persistent element in its connotation has been the attribute of stability, which, however, pertained first of all to the symbol, then to the thing symbolized, and which, while originally a property induced from without, came at length to denote one generated from within; finally, this stability was at first regarded as in the main a gift of nature, and subsequently as a product of self-activity. The signification of the term has been transferred by degrees from the external to the internal, and from the sphere of necessity to that of freedom. We have here, in fact, a signal illustration of the way in which the spiritual evolution of mankind may reflect itself in the history of a word.

While that definite ethical sense of the term 'character' with which we are nowadays mainly concerned was first imparted to it by Kant, the idea itself is no creation of modern thought. For thousands of years man has striven to find in self-activity a basis for his life, and so to invest his humanity with a certain independence of the external, and a certain stability within. This endeavour found classical expression in Stoicism, and the peculiar type of human character evolved in that school has persisted throughout all succeeding generations. It asserted itself more particularly in many outstanding personalities of the 'Enlightenment' period. Even Kant himself shows a certain affinity with the Stoic system of thought, as may sometimes be traced in his phraseology.

This inwardly directed movement of the human spirit manifests itself for the most part in periods when the conventional relations of life are felt to be unsatisfactory. It proceeds upon the postulate that there subsists within the soul of man a bond of affinity with the cosmic reason, and also the capacity of developing that affinity. In other words, the movement implies that man is no mere link in a chain of natural causation, but a being endowed with a spontaneous energy, and therefore free to determine his own acts. Where human life shows no such power of inward movement, the idea of forming a character is practically out of the question.

In our own age the dearth of character is widely deplored, and not without good reason. The activities of the civilized man of to-day are also largely engaged with the external world, and at the same time his conviction of the existence and presence of an internal world is undermined by so many doubts that it is difficult for him to find an inner foundation for his life and conduct. Then there is also the hurry of modern life, which hardly favours the task of calm reflexion, or of combining the various activities of life into a single and coherent whole. Now, as the disadvantages and dangers of such a method of living are apparent to all, there rises on every hand the cry that more must be done for the building of independent character. Such a demand, it is true, seems on the face of it to involve a contradiction. Character can be formed only in virtue of personal decision and action. It cannot be coerced by external provisions and precautions; mere drill will not make character. Nevertheless, while the vital impulse must always proceed from the individual himself, much may be done by the community in the way of stimulus and support. First of all, there must be in the social environment an effective revival and realization of the idea of an inner world—the primary condition, as has been said, of character-building in the real sense. Further, it is a matter of profound importance that the things of the

spirit should be assessed at their true value by the community at large, and that they should not be overwhelmed by the external things so highly prized in our social life. It is indispensable, finally, that wider scope be given to personal and self-directed activity. No one who truly cares for the development of independent character will attempt to direct the course of a man's life by mere mechanical rules and methods. The reformer in this sphere must have faith in freedom, and must not shrink even before the dangers which freedom undoubtedly carries with it.

All this makes high demands not merely upon our system of education, but upon the whole structure of our social life. To treat of these demands in detail lies beyond the purpose of this article. But there can be no question that the problem we have here outlined is one of the most serious and most urgent of the present day.

LITERATURE.—Theophrastus, *ἡθικοί χαρακτήρες*; La Bruyère, *Les Caractères de Théophraste*, 1687; Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, 1781, and *Anthropologie*, 1798; R. Eucken, *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart*, 1909. [Reference may also be made to the following: A. Bain, *Study of Character*, 1861; S. Bryant, *Short Studies in Character*, 1894; F. Paulhan, *Les Caractères*, 1895; A. Fouillée, *Tempérament et caractère*, 1895; W. E. H. Lecky, *Map of Life*, 1899; J. MacCunn, *Making of Character*, 1900; L. H. M. Soulsby, *Stray Thoughts*, 1900; C. J. Whitby, *Logic of Human Character*, 1905; F. Paulhan, *Mensonges du caractère*, 1905; P. Gillet, *L'éducation du caractère*, 1909.—Ed.]

RUDOLF EUCKEN.

CHĀRAN.—See BHĀṬ, CHĀRAN.

CHARAN DĀSIS.—The Charan Dāsīs are an Indian Vaiṣṇava sect, an offshoot of the *Bhakti-mārga* (q.v.). The name is a corruption of the Skr. *Charana-dāsi*, and is derived from the religious name of the founder of the sect, Charan Dās (Skr. *Charana-dāsa*). The number of its adherents is small. They are found in the S.E. Panjāb, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and in the Native State of Alwar. No complete enumeration of the sect was made in the census of 1901, but 1253 were recorded in 1891 in the Panjāb, and 161 in the United Provinces.¹ As for Alwar, all we know is that there the Charan Dāsīs are neither numerous nor wealthy, but have ten small temples and monasteries. The most important of the temples is that at the town of Bahādurpur, the home of the founder's maternal ancestors, in whose honour a small fair is held. Other holy places connected with his history are Daharā, also in the Alwar State, where he was born, and where a *chhatrī*, or ornamented pavilion, is built over the spot in which his navel-cord was buried; and Delhi, where he died. At Daharā his cap and rosary are preserved and exhibited to the faithful; and at Delhi there is a *samādī*, or monument, in his honour, with a temple attached, in which an impression of his foot is shown, and where a fair is held every *Basant Pañchamī* [the vernal feast of the fifth lunar day of the month of Māgh (Jan.-Feb.)].

Although the members of this sect are few in number, it will be advisable to discuss their tenets in some detail, for they are typical of an important group of the so-called 'dissenting' Vaiṣṇava forms of belief, and, moreover, the sect is one of the few concerning which we possess authentic literary documents.

1. Founder.—In order to a right comprehension of such an Indian sect, to whom the life of its founder is still a living memory, a consideration of the historical circumstances of his time is of the first importance. Charan Dās was born A.D. 1703 and died in 1782. These seventy-nine years were a period of calamity for India, and especially for Hindus.

¹ Charan Dāsīs were counted in the United Provinces in 1901, and then numbered 1773. This is nearer the mark than the very doubtful 161 of 1891.

In A.D. 1707, Aurangzib, the oppressor of Hindus, died miserably at Ahmadnagar. Then followed the five years' struggle of Bahadur Shah with the Sikhs. Bahadur Shah died in 1712, and, after seven years of internecine strife, Muhammad Shah came to the throne. During his weak reign Haidarabad revolted, and Oudh became practically independent. In 1739 India suffered the horrors of Nādir Shah's invasion. In 1743 the Marāṭhas conquered Malwā, and, in 1751, Orissa and Bengal became tributary to them. In 1747, 1751, 1756, and 1759, occurred the four invasions of Ahmad Shah Durrāni. By the second he won the Panjāb, in the third he sacked Delhi, and in the fourth the Marāṭhas were defeated by him at Pānipat in 1761. From this time the Mughal empire ceased to exist except in name, and in 1766 the Diwān of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa was granted to the British.

It was during these terrible times that many Hindus sought a refuge from persecution and tyranny in ascetic pietism. They found in the horrors that almost daily surrounded them a proof that no religious observances, no obedience to Brāhmaṇ priests or to the rules of caste, could give release from the trammels of existence, which they had been taught for generations, and now found by experience, to be nought but misery. To such even the loving faith in a kindly, personal Supreme—the keynote of the *Bhakti-mārga*—seemed to make demands too great for suffering human nature. Some found consolation in self-abandoning resignation (*Prapatti-mārga*), while others, especially in N. India, turned to mysticism, and sought by inward meditation, coupled with morality of conduct, to attain to the release that faith in a God, whose love had become hidden, appeared unable to secure. One of these latter was Charan Dās. He was born at Daharā in Alwar, and was named Ranjit (Skr. *Raṇa-jita*) by his parents. His father's name was Muralidhar, and his mother's Kunjo. They belonged to the Dhūsar tribe of the Baniyā caste. He came of a pious stock. His father was accustomed to wander in the forest near his home for the purpose of prayer and meditation, and one day went out with this object, but never returned. When search for him proved unavailing, Kunjo took her five-year old son to Delhi, where her father, moving from his ancestral home at Bahādūrpur, had lately settled. The lad, who was lame of one leg, showed from his earliest years signs of extraordinary piety, and, as his father had done before him, used to wander in the forest, full of religious questionings. In his nineteenth year, while thus roaming in ecstasy, he came across a holy man named Suk-deo Dās (Skr. *Suka-deva Dāsa*) of Sukra Tāl, a village near Muzaffarnagar. Later legends have identified this person as a re-incarnation of the famous Suka-deva who is said to have narrated the Purāṇas. Influenced by the loving words addressed by Suk-deo to the band of children that accompanied him, Ranjit threw himself at his feet, and besought him to receive him as his disciple, and to carry him, poor lame creature that he was, across (the ocean of existence into the haven of perfect peace). The saint took him on his shoulders (literally or metaphorically), and, after carrying him for some distance, initiated him as a disciple, teaching him the Rāma-mantra, or initiatory formula of Rāma-worshippers, and instructing him in faith in God (*Hari-bhakti*) and knowledge of the Supreme (*Brāhma-jñāna*).¹ Suk-deo named his new disciple 'Charan Dās,' or 'Foot-servant,' in token that he was no longer lame in spirit.

The convert returned to Delhi and took up his abode in a cave near that city, where he studied for twelve years, 'continually murmuring Rāma's

¹ These are the terms actually employed by Charan Dās himself in the passage of his *Svarodaya* describing the episode. Other writers of the sect call his doctrines the *Sāda-mārga*, or 'Word-path,' in contrast with the *Bhakti-mārga*, or 'Way of Faith.' How much of the account of the episode is literal and how much metaphorical it is impossible to say. Throughout all his works Charan Dās invariably refers to Suk-deo as his authority, and the sect is even called by some the *Suka-saṃpradāya*, or 'Church of Suka.' (Suk-deo is often wrongly called 'Sukh-deo' by later writers.)

name and meditating on the Adorable (*Bhagavat*).¹ He then, about A.D. 1730, commenced to teach others, and founded a sect of his own. He had fifty-two chief male disciples, each of whom founded a local centre of the sect (*gaḍḍī*), all of which are said to be still in existence. The best known of these followers was named Yuktānand. Charan Dās had several female disciples, of whom the most celebrated were Sahajo Bāi and Dayā Bāi. These two were poetesses, and their hymns, overflowing with devotional faith, are much admired.¹

Many legends concerning miracles performed by Charan Dās are narrated in a work called the *Guru-bhakti-prakāśa*. He is said to have granted his mother a vision of the Adorable in his personal form—a favour which had previously been conferred only upon the Saint Nārada, and to have been denied even to Brahmā (cf. *Mahābhārata*, x. 12,971). He was arrested by Nādir Shāh, but vanished from the prison. When again seized, and loaded with chains, he appeared the same night by Nādir Shāh's couch, and kicked him on the head. The tyrant, full of terror at the sudden apparition, fell at his feet and implored his forgiveness. Another story is that two years previously he foretold the death of the emperor Alamgir II. (1759). Charan Dās died in 1782 at Delhi, where he was cremated, the *samādhi* already mentioned being erected at the spot.

2. Tenets of the sect.—Charan Dāsīs are Vaisnavas, and as such claim to be followers of the *Bhakti-mārga*. As stated in the article on that system of belief (vol. ii. p. 544), although each Vaisnava church has become divided into numerous sects, none of these is opposed to the mother church. Each has been given a name and a separate recognition only on account of the preferences (*ruchi*) of particular teachers for laying stress on particular points. This is as true of the Charan Dāsīs as of the others. The teaching of their founder is a well-recognized phase of Vaisnavism. He, in agreement with other teachers like Paṭā Sahib, Jagjivan Dās, Daryā Sahib, and the better known and far older Kabir and Nānak,² insisted upon two things as of primary importance—the power inherent in the *guru*, or spiritual guide, of conferring salvation, and the mystic power of the Name of the Adorable (*Bhagavat*). The preface to the collection of his hymns takes pains to inculcate that all such sects were founded by great and holy men, and that for members of one Vaisnava sect to condemn the tenets of the founder of another is only to betray ignorance. The man who does this condemns at the same time, *ipso facto*, the teaching of the founder of his own sect, and is thus guilty of grievous sin. With this reservation, the following may be taken as a summary of the main points of the teaching of Charan Dās.

Belief in the Vedas and Purāṇas, image-worship, obedience to caste-rules, pilgrimages, and other outward religious observances, although to a certain degree effectual, are, when compared with *bhakti* directed to the *guru* or with meditations on the name, of no value as means of salvation. By salvation is meant the personal, blissful, endless

¹ Collections of the hymns of both have been printed at Allahabad (Sahajo's in 1905, and Dayā's in 1909), with a summary, in each case, of all that is known concerning them. Both, like Charan Dās, were born at Daharā, and belonged to the Dhūsar caste. For the former, see also Devī-prasāda, *Mahilā-mṇḍavāṇī* (Benares, 1906), where there is a notice with specimens of her hymns. Her father's name was Hariprasād. Nothing more is known about her, but her poems contain valuable information regarding her teacher, or *guru*. She cannot have been Charan Dās's sister, as is said by some. Dayā Bāi's best-known work, the *Dayā-bodha*, was written in 1761.

² So similar are the doctrines taught by Charan Dās to those of Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, that there are actually Sikhs who at the present day also call themselves Charan Dāsīs (see Rose, *Report on the Panjāb Census* 1901, p. 130).

existence of the soul near the Adorable after release from the bonds of transmigration, exactly as in other forms of the *Bhakti-mārga* (vol. ii. p. 544).

An extravagant respect paid to the *guru* is the common property of most *Bhakti-mārga* sects. In some it is carried even further than by the Charan Dāsīs. It is a favourite Vaisnava statement that the *guru* has two arms. With one he reaches downwards and rescues the proselyte soul from the world of sin, while with the other he reaches upwards and presents the soul, freed from worldly defilement, before the throne of the Adorable.¹ From this point of view he closely corresponds to our idea of a Mediator. It will easily be understood how this belief, held by a population readily accessible to mysticism, could branch out luxuriantly in many directions. In some sects the *guru* has become God incarnate, and claims possession of everything held dear by the devotee—his wealth, his home, nay, even his wife. Amongst others, including the Charan Dāsīs, it has developed into an exaggerated idea of the sanctity of the *guru*. No words can be too strong to describe his spiritual might. He is the General who levels the castle of delusion with a bombardment that has love for its cannon-balls, and that inflicts the wounds of the Word (*śabda*). He is the Hunter who shoots the sinner-deer with the arrow of the Word. He is the Sword of the Word, which cleaves in two the body of Sin. He is the Arrow of the Word, the Javelin of the Word, and so on. He drags the body pierced by him across the bounds of existence, so that it returns not, and lays it, freed from the eighty-four bonds, at the feet of Hari. The believer must know the *guru* and Hari to be one, and yet the *guru* is mightier than Hari Himself, for he protects the sinner from His wrath. He is the Rāma-incarnation, he is the Kṛṣṇa-incarnation, he is the Man-lion-incarnation, and so on.² In other words, the tendency of the cult is to divert the adherent's *bhakti*, or devotional faith, from the Deity to the human mediator.

We have stated that its followers refer to the doctrine of the cult as the *Śabda-mārga*, and attention will have been attracted by the importance attached in the above quotations to the *śabda* of the *guru*. *Śabda* means literally 'word,' and is technically applied to the short, pithy verses in which a religious teacher, such as Charan Dās or Kabīr, couched his maxims. But *śabda* has also an esoteric meaning. It is the deified Word, the 'Logos.' In the works of the older reformer, Kabīr, there are many passages³ which are little more than expansions or paraphrases of the opening verses of St. John's Gospel, and Charan Dās employs very similar language regarding what he calls the 'Limitless Word' (*An-had śabda*).⁴ It is, he says, beyond the farthest limit of the beyond. It completely purifies the thoughts. It has no letters and no articulate sound. It is the Supreme Deity (*Parabrāhma*). He who meditates upon it becomes himself the Supreme Deity; he puts on immeasurable glory, and all his error flees. Nothing that is known is like unto it. It is to be considered as the sun, as the moon, as all creation. The soul that

possesses self-knowledge, and is absorbed in this limitless One, becomes the Supreme Self (*Paramātmā*). In his meditation he hears the Limitless, and, becoming limitless himself, his earthly desires are all destroyed. His sins and his virtuous actions alike lose their fated fruit.¹

Closely connected with this view of the deified Word is the doctrine regarding the mystic Name of the Deity. It is here unnecessary to do more than allude to the frequent parallels in other religions. Charan Dās says:

'The Name is inarticulate. It cannot be written, read, or pronounced. Upon this Name must the devotee meditate day and night. The Name removes all sorrow; without it all sacrifices, all austerities, all pilgrimages, all vows are without fruit. To attempt these without the Name is but to grind chaff and expect flour. The Vyāsa made the four Vedas, and carefully weighed their meanings, yet the essence of them all is but the Name of Rāma. Meditation on the Name of Rāma destroys all sins, even the worst. Take the Name when drinking water or when eating food, when sitting down or when rising to walk. Repeat the Name in body, heart, and soul, through every waking hour, for, except Hari, there is no other friend.'²

A favourite comparison is that of a holy man with a hero. On account of the similarity to Christian ideas, a few verses may be quoted from the *Surmā kā Ānga*:

'No hero is equal to the saint who, like the warrior, hath destroyed illusion with all his army. He graspeth the shield of patience, and with it thrusteth aside the hosts of outward religious observance. Memory maketh he his arrow, kept in the quiver of his heart, and he shooteth it from the bow of meditation pulled by the hand of love. He bindeth to his side the dagger of wise discrimination, and wieldeth the lance of holy sayings. The trumpet of the Limitless Word soundeth in his ears, and filleth him with eagerness for the fray. With heart full of rapture he rusheth to the field of battle, and in his death he gaineth immortality.'

The ideas of the Deity inculcated by Charan Dās are those of other Bhāgavata sects. The Supreme is personal and endowed with all auspicious qualities, and salvation consists in the soul, free from all earthly bonds, dwelling for ever near Him in perfect bliss. As a personal deity He is named Hari or Rāma indifferently. He is also worshipped under the dual form of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and at the present day these are the favourite deities of the sect, although, except in passages avowedly based upon the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the present writer has failed to notice in Charan Dās's own works any special reverence paid to these incarnations.

The practical teaching of the founder is strongly ethical. While he attacks all formal religious ceremonies, and forbids image-worship of any kind, he lays great stress upon the necessity of general morality. The moral code of the sect consists of ten prohibitions. Its members

'are not to lie, not to revile, not to speak harshly, not to discourse idly, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to offer violence to any created thing, not to imagine evil, not to cherish hatred, and not to indulge in conceit or pride. The other obligations enjoined are, to discharge the duties of the profession or caste to which a person belongs, to associate with pious men, to put implicit faith in the spiritual preceptor, and to adore Hari as the original and indefinable cause of all, and who, through the operation of Māyā, created the universe, and has appeared in it occasionally in a mortal form, and particularly as Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana.'³

The Māyā, to which allusion is here made, must be distinguished from the Māyā discussed in the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara. Many of the modern Bhāgavatas have borrowed the name, using it to indicate the demiurge who created the physical world, with all its evil qualities, in subordination to the Supreme. In the works of other writers, such as Tulasi-dāsa, Māyā sometimes performs an office resembling that of the Satan of the Book of Job.

It is noteworthy that Charan Dās admitted

¹ Various verses in the *An-had Śabda ki Mahimā*.

² Verses taken from the *Surmān kā Ānga*. All modern Bhāgavatas lay stress on the power of the Name (cf. Grierson, *JRAS*, 1910, p. 407 ff.). But the Charan Dāsīs regard meditation upon it as the only means, not as one of the means, of salvation.

³ Wilson, *Essays on Rel. of Hindūs*, I. 179.

¹ See, for instance, Govindāchārya, in *JRAS*, 1910, p. 587.

² This account is quoted from various verses in the *Gurumahimā* section of Charan Dās's *Bāgī*. The extraordinary statement that the *guru* is more powerful than the Deity Himself is not confined to India. A scandal was created in Ireland recently by a story of a Roman Catholic priest using almost the same words with reference to the consecration of the Host.

³ See G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*, 1908, *passim*, and Index, s.v. 'Shabda' and 'Word'.

⁴ The curious half-Indian, half-Arabic compound, *An-had*, as applied to the Word, is not peculiar to Charan Dās. It is at least as old as Kabīr, and occurs in the Sikh *Granth*. The term 'limitless' includes time as well as space. The 'Limitless Word' has been described to the writer by an Indian friend as the 'eternal sound' or 'unceasing music' ever abiding within the Self—a sort of indwelling Spirit.

persons of either sex to the full privileges of discipleship, and that no qualifications either of caste or of sex were required for his teachers. As already mentioned, two of his most famous disciples were women—Sahajo Bāi and Dayā Bāi.

Although the founder prohibited image-worship, his followers are not so strict at the present day, and the worship of the more sacred Vaiṣṇava symbols, such as the *Sāṅgrāma* stone or the *Tulasī* plant, is not uncommon amongst the less particular members of the community. They now even have images in their temples, respect Brāhmanas, and, like other pious Hindūs, fast on the eleventh day of each lunar fortnight.¹ Wilson's account of the community may be quoted as the fullest and most accurate:

'The followers of Charan Dās are both clerical and secular; the latter are chiefly of the mercantile order; the former lead a mendicant and ascetic life, and are distinguished by wearing yellow garments and a single streak of sandal, or *gopichandana*, down the forehead; the necklaces and rosary are *Tulasī* beads; they wear also a small pointed cap, round the lower part of which they wrap a yellow turban. Their appearance in general is decent, and their deportment decorous; in fact, although they profess mendicity, they are well supported by the opulence of their disciples.'²

The written authorities of the sect are all in the Hindi language. None of them is in Sanskrit. Great stress is laid upon this, and, according to Powlett (*op. cit.* p. 215), writing about the year 1880, 'some time ago they resented the attempt of a learned Charan Dāsi to substitute Sanskrit verse for the vulgar tongue.' They have translations of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. These versions are ascribed, at least in parts, to Charan Dās himself. His original works include the *Bhakti-sāgara* (see below), the *Jñāna Svarodaya* (printed, Delhi, 1876), the *Sandeha Sāgara*, the *Dharama Jahāz*, the *Brahmavidyā Sāgara* (also called the *Charana-Dāsa Sāgara*; pr. Lahore, 1898), and the *Nāsiketopākhyāna* (pr. Bombay, 1882). The *Jñāna Svarodaya*, which is much esteemed, is a small book of only 227 verses. The *Nāsiketopākhyāna* (sic) is a version of the story of Nāsiketa taken from the *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*. The Paurāṇik tale is based on the old and famous legend of Nachiketetas told in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. Under the form of the Nāsiketa legend it was one of the first subjects dealt with in modern Hindi prose, having been written in the then new form of speech by Sadala Miśra, and published in 1803 under the title of *Chandrāvātī*.³ The most striking part of the work is a kind of *Inferno*, in which the hero is permitted to visit the various hells, and to see the torments of the damned. The damned, and their sins, are described in detail. He is then taken to heaven, and subsequently returns to earth to narrate his experiences. A good edition of Charan Dās's *Bāṇīs* (1903), or shorter poems, and others of the *Bāṇīs* of Sahajo Bāi (1908) and Dayā Bāi (1907), have been published at Allahābād during the past few years. The *Bhakti-sāgara*, together with 16 minor works, was published at Bombay in 1903, and editions of the same treatise appeared previously to this in Lucknow (3rd ed. 1903). The *Bhakti-sāgara* is dated Sam. 1781 (A.D. 1724).

LITERATURE.—The principal materials for our knowledge of the sect are the works of Charan Dās and his disciples mentioned above. Further information is given in a scholarly article by Dēvi Prasāda in the *Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā*, v. [1901] 132, and in the anonymous introductions to the three collections of *Bāṇīs* printed at Allahābād. The latter are valuable as being founded on materials provided by members of the sect. All these are in the Hindi language. As regards European writers, H. H. Wilson's, in *Essays on the Religion of the Hindūs*, London, 1861, i. 178 ff., is the only approximately complete account. Additional information is given by P. W. Powlett

on p. 214 ff. of the *Gazetteer of Ulwar* (Simla, 1880), and by E. D. MacLagan on p. 120 ff. of the *Punjab Census Report for 1891* (Calcutta, 1892). All the above European information is brought together and collated by W. Crooke in the art. 'Charandāsi' in vol. ii. of his *Tribes and Castes of the N. W. Pro. and Oudh* (Calcutta, 1898). The writer is indebted to Prof. J. F. Blumhardt for information regarding some of the published texts.

G. A. GRIERSON.

CHARISMATA (χαρίσματα).—'Charismata' is the Gr. term rendered in the EV 'spiritual gifts,' and used to denote certain normal and abnormal expressions of Christian activity in the primitive Church.

1. The linguistic usage.—The word *χάρisma* is not found in classical Greek, or apart from early Christian literature except in Philo, *Leges allegoricae*, iii. 24 ('All things in the world and the world itself are the donation and benefaction and gift of God': *δορεὰ καὶ ἐλεηγγελία καὶ χάρισμα Θεοῦ*). In the NT it occurs 6 times in Romans, 7 in 1 Cor. (5 times in ch. 12), once each in 2 Cor., 1 and 2 Tim., and 1 Peter. In these passages we can distinguish between (1) a general, and (2) a special or technical sense.

(1) In Ro 5¹⁸ the term (sing.) is used of God's justification of the sinner by faith in Christ, in 6²³ (sing.) it is defined as eternal life, in 11²⁹ (plu.) it refers to the special privileges bestowed by God upon Israel. In 2 Co 1¹¹ it expresses the Apostle's deliverance from serious peril. Ro 1¹¹ marks a transition; St. Paul hopes to confer on the brethren at Rome some *χάρισμα πνευματικόν*, which may be interpreted either generally of advice, instruction, comfort (so Schmiedel, *EBI*, col. 4755), or specifically of the endowments described in Ro 12⁶⁻⁸ and in 1 Co 12-14 (so Sanday-Headlam, *Com. on Rom.* 1902, p. 21).

(2) In the two passages last noted the plural is used; in 1 Co 1⁷ 77 and 1 P 4¹⁰ the singular in a distributive sense; in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Ti 4⁴, 2 Ti 1⁶), the singular again, but in a semi-collective sense, with reference to all the qualifications which an official in Timothy's position should possess, and especially to a qualification for the task of teaching. It should be noticed that in 1 Co 12¹ *πνευματικά*, and in Eph 4⁸ *δωματα* (closely connected with *χαρίς*, v. 7), are used practically as synonyms of *χαρίσματα*.

2. Nature and classification of charismata.—Any inquiry into the nature of the endowments grouped under the technical usage of the term *χαρίσματα* must be limited in the first instance to the passages in 1 Cor. (12-14. 28-30), and Rom. (12⁶⁻⁸) as being primary sources and acknowledged Pauline writings. We may set the three statements in tabular form thus:

1 Co 12 ⁶ .	1 Co 12 ⁸ .	Ro 12.
• λόγος σοφίας	• ἀποστόλοι	• προφητεία
• λόγος γνώσεως	• προφήται	• διακονία
• πίστις	• διδασκαλοὶ	• διδασκαλία
• χ. ἰαμάτων	• συνάξεις	• παράκλησις
• ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων	• χ. ἰαμάτων	† δ μεταδόσεις
• προφητεία	• ἀντιλήψεις	† δ ἐλεών
• διακρίσεις πνευμάτων	• κυβερνήσεις	† δ προϊστάμενοι
• γένη γλωσσῶν	• γένη γλωσσῶν	
• ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν		

We may confidently group the *λόγος σοφίας* and the *λόγος γνώσεως* of 1 Co 12⁶, and identify the united concept with the *διδασκαλία* (plus the *παράκλησις*?) of Rom., and the *διδασκαλοὶ* of 1 Co 12⁸. Another probable identification is that of *δ προϊστάμενος* in Rom. with *κυβερνήσεις* in 1 Co 12⁸. Nor shall we be far wrong in bringing together *δ μεταδόσεις* and *δ ἐλεών* (Rom.) and putting them alongside *ἀντιλήψεις* (1 Co 12⁸). So that in our comparative table, representing by * those charismata which have a place in all three lists, by † those which occur in two, and by ‡ those which are peculiar to one, we have left the general expressions *πίστις* (Cor.) and *διακονία* (Rom.). Now

¹ Cf. Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwar*, p. 215, and MacLagan, *Punjab Census Rep. for 1891*, p. 122.

² *Op. cit.* p. 179.

³ See also F. B. Filippi, *II Nāsiketopākhyānam*, Florence, 1902.

in Ro. 12⁶ *πίστις* is made the measure of *προφητεία*, and earlier, in v.⁸, is spoken of as something of which God has dealt a portion to all; it is thus regarded as a regulative principle of the *χαρίσματα*. And in 1 Co 12⁴⁻⁶ *διακονίαι* seems to be synonymous with *χαρίσματα* and *ἐνεργήματα*, the three terms being each inclusive of the whole range of spiritual gifts.

Various attempts at classifying the *χαρίσματα*, especially as enumerated in 1 Co 12⁸, have been made, but with incomplete satisfaction. The earliest is that of Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 8), thus:

(1) *λόγος σοφίας* and *λόγος γνώσεως*—*sermo intelligentiae et consilii*.

(2) *πίστις*—*spiritus religionis et timoris Dei*.

(3) *ἰάματα* and *δυνάμεις*—*valentiae spiritus*.

(4) *προφητεία*, *διακ.* *πνευματίων*
{ *γῆνη γλωσσῶν*, *ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν* }

Bengel and Meyer, assuming that *ἔρεος* denotes generic and *ἄλλος* specific distinctions, make this arrangement:

(1) Intellectual: (a) *λόγος σοφίας*.

(b) *λόγος γνώσεως*.

(2) Faith and its dependents:

πίστις

deeds (*ἰάματα*,
δυνάμεις) words (*προφητεία*) reason (*διακ.*
πνευματίων).

(3) 'Tongue' gifts: (a) utterance (*γῆνη γλωσσῶν*).

(b) explanation (*ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν*).

But it is curious that St. Paul should put prophecy and criticism in the same class as healings and powers; and it is better not to force the distinction between *ἔρεος* and *ἄλλος*, but to regard them as used for the sake of variety. T. C. Edwards (*Com. on 1 Cor.*, 1885, p. 314) would group them thus:

(1) Intellectual power (*λόγος σοφίας*, *λόγος γνώσεως*).

(2) Miraculous power (*πίστις*, *ἰάματα*, and *δυνάμεις*).

(3) Teaching power (*προφητεία*).

(4) Critical power (*διακ. πνευματίων*).

(5) Ecstatic power (*γῆνη* and *ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν*).

He points out, too, that there is a progress from the most worthy (*λόγος σοφίας*, 'the power of the spiritual man to understand the Divine philosophy of the revelation in Christ') to the least worthy (*γλώσσας λαλεῖν*).

Taking our three passages together, we may (omitting the terms *πίστις* and *διακονία*) adopt some such classification as this:

(1) Gifts of power: *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων*, *δυνάμεις*, *χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων*.

(2) Gifts of sympathy: *ἀντιλήψεις*, *μεταδίδοναι*, *ἑλεῖν*.

(3) Gifts of administration: *κυβερνήσεις*, *ὁ προϊστάμενος* (*ἀποστόλος*).

(4) Gifts of utterance:

(a) *διδασκαλία*, *λ. σοφίας*, *λ. γνώσεως*, *παράκλησις*.

(b) *ἀποκάλυψις*, *προφητεία*, *διακ. πνευματίων*.

(c) *γῆνη γλωσσῶν*, *ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν*.

The *ἀπόστολος* really stands outside such a scheme, as one who participates and exercises all kinds of spiritual gifts.

(1) In this class fall physical cures and cases of exorcism and mental disease, together with the punishment of offenders, e.g. 1 Co 4²¹ 5⁶. The belief in the continuance of such marvellous powers lasted down to the end of the 2nd cent.; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 39 (c. 150), speaks of *ἰασις* ('healing'), and Irenaeus, *Haer.* II. xxxii. 4 (c. 185), tells of everyday exorcisms and healings and occasional risings from the dead.

(2) This class is summed up in Ac 20³⁵. The care of the early Church for its sick and poor was conspicuous; it is pleasant to find such acts of mercy recorded so persistently among the 'gifts of the spirit.'

(3) There is little or no help here towards a theory of the ministry in the primitive Church. Neither the attempt (by Neander) to prove that at the beginning there were no officials, these only arising when in course of time holders of *χαρίσματα* passed away, nor the opposite effort to identify each *χάρισμα* with a Roman or Corinthian church-officer has been successful. The discussion does not centre in the ministry but in the Church; few

members, if any, would be absolutely without *χαρίσματα*, and, of course, any one taking a leading part in worship or administration would have the 'gifts' especially befitting the part he took.

This may be a convenient point for noticing the passage in Eph 4⁷⁻¹², at least a secondary authority for the Apostolic age. Here the words are *χάρις* (bestowed on each according to the measure of the gift (*δωρεά*) of Christ) and *δωματα* (given by the ascended Lord to men). And the enumeration is one not of *χαρίσματα* as in Cor. and Rom., but of offices—apostles (cf. Cor.), prophets (cf. Cor. and Rom.), evangelists ('missionaries', cf. Ac 21⁸, 2 Ti 4⁵), pastors (*ποιμένες*; cf. ὁ προϊστάμενος of Rom.), teachers (*διδασκαλοὶ*; cf. Cor. and Rom.). Although this passage thus has several points of contact with our primary authorities, and the Epistle in other places (e.g. 51²) bears witness to the vivid enthusiasm which pervaded the early Church as 'filled with the Spirit,' it does not materially advance our study of the question immediately in hand. With the *προϊστάμενος* of Eph. but the *ἡγούμενος* of He 13⁷.

(4) It is with the gifts of utterance that the most crucial questions arise; and, as has been indicated, they fall into three subdivisions, of increasing difficulty, and possibly of decreasing worth.

(a) *διδασκαλία* and *παράκλησις* present no trouble. The former implies systematic Christian instruction, the latter the tactful persuasion, the 'wooing note' that wins men to life's finer and higher issues. *λόγος σοφίας* and *λόγος γνώσεως* are intimately related. The former should be interpreted in the light of 1 Co 2¹⁰; it is the power to receive and to expound the 'deep things of God' (cf. Ro 11³). His ways of salvation, which can only be taught and learned as the Spirit aids. It is teaching that appeals to the intuitional faculty—the food of the mystic. The latter appeals to the reason, and shows how rational the intuition is. *γνώσις* is the buttress of *σοφία*. How closely indeed the two are bound together is seen by Schmiedel's explanation of *γνώσις* as 'the knowledge of what is perceived in an ecstatic condition' (see 2 Co 4⁶), in short, an intuition; *σοφία*, again, if interpreted on the analogy of the 'wisdom of the world,' becomes in turn a synonym for reasonable understanding and intelligent consideration. Both words seem thus to be concerned as much with reception as with interpretation; they are methods of appropriating knowledge.

(b) *προφητεία*.—In the Early Church it would seem that the ancient word of Moses, 'Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets' (Nu 11²⁹), had been fulfilled. This conspicuous endowment of the Hebrew folk found expression in John the Baptist (Mt 11⁹) and in Jesus Himself (Mt 13²⁷ 21¹¹, Lk 24¹⁹). Since 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' (Rev 19¹⁰), it was natural that prophecy, like other charismata, was an endowment of the Church as a whole (Ac 19⁶, cf. 21^{7a}; 1 Co 11^{4a}), while manifesting itself especially in certain individuals. Outstanding examples are Agabus, Judas, Silas, the four daughters of Philip (Ac 11²⁸ 21¹⁰ 15³² 21⁹), and doubtless these and others similarly 'gifted' moved about from place to place, ranking in importance next to the apostles (1 Co 12²⁸, Eph 2²⁰ 3⁵ 4¹¹). Their ministry was apparently confined to believers, and it was distinguished: (1) from that of the teacher by its spontaneity and freshness (like their OT predecessors, they spoke by 'revelation' [1 Co 14²⁶ 30, 30]); sometimes this took the form of a definite announcement of the Divine will, as in Ac 13^{1a}; (2) from that of the 'speaker in tongues' by its intelligibility. As was the case with the OT prophets, there was comparatively little definite prediction (Ac 11²⁸ 21^{10c}) in their utterances, the primary note being a searching appeal that resulted in conviction, comfort, instruction, and edification (1 Co 14²⁴ 30, 31, 1¹⁵). Half a century later (according to the *Didache*) the prophet, now apparently more itinerant, retained his importance, taking precedence of the local officials, even at the Eucharist, and yet—as is

confirmed by the evidence of Hermas and Lucian—his sun had begun to set. The regular local administrative order was coming to the front place, and besides there were many counterfeit prophets who were bringing the gift into disrepute. As time went on, victory fell to the regular and permanent element, and, in spite of a continuation of the gift of prophecy such as is witnessed to by Ammia of Philadelphia and Quadratus of Athens (Eus. *HE* v. xvii.), and strenuously attempted by the Montanists (though perhaps their 'prophecy' was more like 'glossolalia'), the enthusiastic and extemporaneous could not hold its own as an institution. The gift passed (it was transformed in passing) to the regular ministry. The great preachers like Chrysostom are the true descendants of the NT 'prophets.' Justin Martyr indeed (c. 150) speaks of *προφητικὰ χαρίσματα* (*Dial.* 82), and the last orthodox contemporary witness is Irenæus (c. 185). That the prophet was regarded as Divinely possessed appears from the charisma mentioned in close connexion with prophecy in 1 Co 12¹⁹ (cf. 1 Th 5²⁰, 1 Jn 4¹), that of 'discerning of spirits.' This must be taken as referring to the wide-spread belief in spirits, good and evil, and of varying degrees of power. What tests were applied in this is not clear; that of 1 Co 12³ does not carry us far, and the difficulty of finding sure and fitting standards of judgment is well illustrated in the precepts of the *Didache* (chs. xi., xii.).

(c) *γῆνη γλώσσων*.—For our data in regard to this 'gift' we are restricted almost entirely to 1 Co 14, where St. Paul institutes a comparison between the different *χαρίσματα*, and especially between prophecy and tongue-speaking. It is easier to define this 'gift' negatively than positively, but investigation leads to the following conclusions: (a) It is unintelligible (except when interpreted), and bears the same relation to prophecy that discordant music bears to harmony. It is therefore unedifying and unfruitful to the Church, though it has a certain value for the speaker himself (vv. 3, 4, 17, 28), and as a sign (perhaps a mark of displeasure) for any hearer who might be present at the service, and who would not unnaturally regard the tongue-speaker as mad (v. 23). The utterances would be disjointed, varying in tone and pitch. (b) It may have included prayer and praise (see vv. 14-17; 'blessing' probably covers both these forms). (γ) It is not a foreign speech; for these St. Paul (v. 10a) apparently uses *φωναί*. And it is unlikely that 'interpretation' of a foreign language would have been regarded as a *χάρisma*. The antitheses to *γλώσση*, viz. *ᾧ*, *ἐν γνώσει*, *ἐν προφητείᾳ*, and so on, also preclude such a supposition, to say nothing of the ecstasy rather than the practical evangelizing use that marked the glossolalia. (δ) The explanation of this *χάρisma* as 'unusual, archaic, figurative' speech is not satisfactory, though supported by Ernesti, Herder (*SK*, 1829, pp. 3-79; 1830, pp. 45-64), Bleek, and Baur (*ib.* 1838, 618-702). Bleek gives many instances from late Greek writers of *γλώσσα* = *ιδιόητες διαλέκτων*, but they only prove that the word was a technical grammatical term. More helpful is the use of *γλώσσα* to denote an ecstatic oracular response. The 'outsiders' of v. 23 might well have reckoned the tongue-speakers to be possessed, comparing them with the Pythia (cf. also Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 40-101). (e) There remains the suggestion put forward by Eichhorn and Meyer, that *γλώσσα* here is to be taken in the literal sense of the bodily member. The Spirit so takes possession of a man's faculty of physical speech that, unconsciously to himself, he utters inarticulate cries. Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, 1852, i. 11) describes the *λαλεῖν γλώσσας* as 'a convulsive utterance, a nervous affection.' The comparison between the tongue and instruments like the pipe,

harp, and trumpet (vv. 7-9) supports this view. The *γλώσσα* is an organ which can be used to produce alike intelligible 'prophecy' and unintelligible 'glossolalia.' In the former the *νοῦς* plays a large part, in the latter none at all. The tongue-speech might have been described as *πνεύματι λαλεῖν* (as contrasted with *ᾧ λαλεῖν*), but that the *πνεῦμα* was regarded as producing all the other *χαρίσματα*. The difficulty about this interpretation is that St. Paul applies the plural not only to more speakers than one (12³⁰ 14^{22f. 23}), where alone it is appropriate, but to one speaker (14⁸ 14¹⁸; cf. 12¹⁰ 28 13⁸). It also hampers a solution of *γῆνη γλώσσων* or *ἐμπνεῖα γλώσσων*. Hence Schmiedel's proposal to pass from the instrument to the product by interpreting 'tongue' (in every place except 14⁹) by 'tongue-speech,' i.e. speech which seems to be produced by the tongue alone. Something of this kind is compelled by 14²⁸, which enumerates the definite items of utterance at a religious service.

There is little doubt that such 'tongue-speech' was of an ecstatic kind. Here, as in the Montanists, the Jansenists, the early Quakers, and the revivals of the 18th cent., 'we recognise a sudden awakening of the spiritual nature, and intense emotions of overwhelming fear and rapturous joys' (T. C. Edwards, *Com. on 1 Cor.* p. 222). Jonathan Edwards speaks of 'the extraordinary views of Divine things and the religious affections, attended with very great effects on the body' as accompanying the Northampton (Mass.) revival in 1735 (*Thoughts concerning the Present Revival in New England*, 1742, i. § 5), and the journals of Wesley and Whitefield are full of testimony to the physical effects that resulted from their preaching. The case of the Irvingite 'prophets' is less to the point, as their attempt to repeat the phenomena of the Apostolic age was conscious and deliberate. On the question of 'the Little Prophets of the Cevennes,' see R. Heath's article in *Contemp. Review*, Jan. 1886; A. Wright's *Some NT Problems*, 1898, p. 292 ff.; and P. W. Schmiedel's criticism in *EBI*, col. 4764.

(d) *ἐμπνεῖα γλώσσων*.—Just as the *μάντις*, whose understanding was in abeyance while he delivered his oracles, needed a *προφήτης* to give the inquirer a rational interpretation of the Divine utterance, and just as to-day there is a distinct place for those who can interpret to the lay mind some great musical or artistic composition, the 'tongue-speaker' needed as his complement the 'interpreter.' Sometimes (14²³), like G. F. Watts, he could do this himself; oftener perhaps it was done by others (12¹⁰ 14²⁶⁻²⁸). As to the degree of exactness attained by such interpreters we have nothing to guide us. Probably the 'tongue-speeches' were more or less of the same pattern, and the interpreter would follow general lines, getting his clues partly from the tone, the gestures, and the recurrence of certain sounds. The Apostle gave sound counsel in v. 13, when he advised the 'tongue-speaker' to foster the additional 'gift' of self-interpretation, which we gather from v. 13 that he himself possessed.

A word must be said on St. Paul's instructions for the use of the *charismata*. He speaks of them (1 Co 12⁹) as *διακονία*, opportunities for service; they are not given for self-satisfaction, but for the service and edification of the whole community. The teaching is the same in ch. 14 and in Ro 12. So in Eph 4¹¹ those who are endowed are themselves spoken of as the Lord's gifts to the Church. It is necessary, therefore: (1) that the use of the charisma be regulated and orderly (1 Co 14^{40. 22}, Ro 12⁹); in particular, he gives careful rules respecting tongue-speech, and utterly condemns its indiscriminate use; (2) that a proper estimate be formed of the value of the respective *charismata*.

In the Apostle's opinion (cf. Plato, *Timæus*, 72) the abnormal gifts are inferior in value to the less startling, but more ethical and edifying, manifestations of the Spirit. While he does not forbid 'tongue-speech' (1 Co 14³⁸; cf. perhaps 1 Th 5¹⁹), and for obvious reasons does not suggest in its case any *διδασκαλία* such as is applicable to prophecy, he yet thinks far less of it than of the intelligible forms of utterance—teaching, and the inspired and inspiring preaching called prophecy—as well as of the different forms of government and ministry. The reaction against ecstatic and unhealthy forms of worship thus instituted by St. Paul was largely successful, and succeeding generations completed it, though in a direction which had its dangers, that of hyper-emphasis on ecclesiastical organization.

It is significant that the Pauline notices of 'tongue-speech' are concerned only with the Corinthian Church. The Greek belief in mantic ecstasy and the Greek affection for the mysterious and the eloquent explain the predominance of the question in this community. The phenomenon appears not to have been known at Rome¹ or in any of the other centres to which the Apostle wrote. May it not be that in this church were a few persons of the type we call 'mediums,' and that their utterances were similar to those of Helen Smith of Geneva as described by Victor Henri (*Le Langage martien*, Paris, 1901) and commented upon by F. C. Conybeare (*HJ* i. [1903] 832)?

This medium in one of her trances was an inhabitant of Mars, and herself translated—with the help of another subliminal self-called Eeennale—some forty sentences (containing 300 words) of the Martian language spoken during the trances, into French. Analyzing these, M. Henri allots to French sources the syntax and more than a third of the vocabulary of the 'Martian' language, to Magyar some 55 words, to German 25, and to English and Oriental sources 8 and 5 respectively.

Schmiedel connects St. Paul's exercise of the 'gift' with the attacks of his malady (epilepsy), and it is possible that at Corinth there were others similarly afflicted. At the beginning of the 2nd cent. Clement of Alexandria speaks of a language of the demons, and Conybeare refers to a 5th cent. hagiologist's report of a church near Bethlehem where the *daemonizomenoi* or *energumenoi* prayed 'in their own language.'

The fact that Helen Smith in another subliminal mood was an Arab princess and talked Sanskrit may serve as a transition to the narrative of Ac 2, where there is little doubt that, whatever the real nature of the Pentecostal phenomenon, it was regarded by the narrator (Luke, c. 95 A.D.) as the power of speaking foreign languages. As time went by, and as the story was told further afield, what was probably the first case of Christian glossolalia (see a short excursus in J. V. Bartlett, *Century Bible* ed. of 'Acts,' p. 384 f.) was interpreted, under the influence of a current belief as to the inauguration of the Old Covenant, as the Divine voice assuming the forms of different national languages. The other cases in Acts (Cornelius, 10⁴⁶, and the disciples at Ephesus, 19⁶) are clearly instances of 'tongue-speech,' and have nothing to do with dialects or languages. The author of Acts could never have witnessed the phenomenon himself.

Having dealt with the more direct references in St. Paul's letters to the Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians, and in the Acts, we must now notice briefly the other allusions to *χαρίσματα* in early Christian literature.

1 Co 7⁷. St. Paul here says that he is possessed of such self-control as not to need marriage, and describes this self-control as a *χάρισμα* of God to him. Others may not be so endowed, and he may lack some *χάρισμα* that has been given to others.

¹ In writing to Rome, St. Paul is throughout more concerned to lay down broad principles won from past experience than to meet in detail difficulties arising from special circumstances.

1 P 4¹⁰. This Epistle makes no reference to the phenomena described by St. Paul, and in the passage in question the context points to our regarding money, the means of hospitality, as a *χάρισμα* (cf. Ro 12⁹ ὁ μετὰ δίδου).

1 Ti 4¹⁴, 2 Ti 1⁶. Here the word must be interpreted of the capacity, spirit, and zeal for evangelistic work, or, as Ramsay ('Hist. Comm. on 1 Tim.,' *Exp.*, Apr. 1910) expresses it, the power of hearing the Divine voice and catching the Divine inspiration, imparted to Timothy when first he was selected as St. Paul's coadjutor. Timothy is reminded that the *χάρισμα* was not an inalienable office, but was an actual Divine endowment given for a definite purpose, a capacity liable to be 'extirpated by disuse.'

Didache, 1, 5:

'To every man that asketh of thee, give, and ask not back; for the Father desireth that gifts be given to all ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων' (= bounties, temporal as well as spiritual).

Ignatius, *Ep. ad Smyr.* superscription: 'Ignatius . . . to the Church of God . . . which hath been mercifully endowed ἐν παντί χαρίσματι.'

Ep. ad Polycarp. ii. 2:

'As for the invisible things, pray that they may be revealed unto thee; that thou mayest be lacking in nothing, but mayest abound (περισσεύεις) παντός χαρίματος.'

The two passages from Ignatius find closest parallel in Ro 17. Justin Martyr (c. 150) in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (ch. 39) says that disciples receive gifts,

'each as he is worthy. . . . For one receives the spirit of understanding, another of counsel, another of strength, another of healing, another of foreknowledge, another of teaching, and another of the fear of God.'

The first three and the last of these are taken direct from 1s 12⁸. Compared with the Pauline list, we have 'understanding' (*σύνεσις*) answering to 'knowledge' (*σοφία*), 'strength' (*λόγος*) answering to 'power' (*δύναμις*), and in more identical terms 'healing' (*ἰασις*) and 'teaching' (*διδασκαλία*). 'Foreknowledge' (*πρόγνωσις*) takes the place of NT *προφητεία*, and the change shows how that gift had deteriorated. In ch. 82, Justin speaks of *προφητικά χαρίσματα*, no doubt meaning prediction, but says nothing about tongue-speech.

Mk 16⁷. The words *ἡλώσασαι λαλήσουσιν καινὰς* must mean 'they shall speak in languages newly acquired by them,' and, like the rest of the section (vv. 9-20), are no part of the original gospel, but depend on Acts and other NT literature.

Irenæus (c. 185), *Hæc.* II. xxxii. 4:

'Those who are in truth His disciples, receiving grace from Him, do in His name perform (miracles), so as to promote the welfare of other men, according to the gift which each one has received from Him. For some do certainly and truly drive out devils. . . . others have foreknowledge of things to come [cf. Justin], they see visions, and utter prophetic expressions. Others still, heal the sick by laying their hands upon them. . . . Yes, the dead even have been raised up. . . . It is not possible to name the number of the gifts [*χαρίσματα*] which the Church . . . has received, . . . and which she exerts day by day.'

Ib. V. vi. 1:

'In like manner do we also hear (or have heard) many brethren in the Church who possess prophetic gifts, and what through the Spirit speak all kinds of tongues, and bring to light for the common benefit the hidden things of men (cf. 1 Co 14²⁴), and declare the mysteries of God, whom also the apostle terms spiritual.'

In the first of these passages there is no mention of 'tongues'; in the second, this gift is mentioned, but (1) in close connexion with prophets; and (2) without clear intimation as to whether it is foreign languages or 'tongue-speech' that is meant.

Tertullian (c. 200), *adv. Marcion.* v. 8, after comparing the *χαρίσματα* enumerated by Isaiah and by St. Paul, invites Marcion to produce anything like them among his followers:

'Let him exhibit prophets such as have spoken not by human sense but with the Spirit of God, such as have predicted things to come, and have made manifest the secrets of the heart [cf. Iren.]; let him produce a psalm, a vision, a prayer—only let it be by the Spirit, in an ecstasy, that is, in a rapture, whenever an interpretation of tongues has occurred to him.'

The whole passage is based on 1 Co 14^{26f.} Ter-tullian does not say that there was 'tongue-speech' in his day, and his account (*de Anima*, ix.) of the sister who had the charisma of ecstatic revelation is spoken of as prophecy. Miltiades, according to Eusebius (*HE* v. xvii. 1), wrote an anti-Montanist work, *ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφητεῖν ἐν ἐκστασει λέγειν* ('On the need for a prophet to refrain from ecstasy'). As 'tongue-speech' and ecstasy became absorbed in prophecy, so prophecy in turn was superseded by the fixed official ministry.

LITERATURE.—Besides the commentaries on Rom., 1 Cor., and the other passages in question, see D. Schulz, *Geistesgaben*, Breslau, 1836; W. R. Cassels, *Supernatural Religion*, London, 1877; Gunkel, *Wirkungen des heil. Geistes*, Göttingen, 1888, 2 1900; Beversluis, *De heilige geest en zijne werkingen*, Utrecht, 1896; Weinl, *Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister . . . bis auf Irenæus*, Freiburg, 1899; P. W. Schmiedel, in *EBI*, cols. 4766-76; Dawson Walker, *The Gift of Tongues*, Edin. 1906; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and Ministry in the Early Centuries*, London, 1902; Paul Feine, *Theologie des NT*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 463-470; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1891, ii. 141, and other literature cited in the course of the article.

A. J. GRIEVE.

CHARITES (Χάριτες, *Gratie*, 'Graces').—I.

Mythology.—Originally the Charites were Nature-goddesses, and of this we shall find traces in their worship. But in mythology they are the personifications of grace and charm, and it is in this character that they form a distinct and lovely expression of the Greek genius. When they meet us in Homer, they are humanized, indeed, but still shadowy, conceptions with which poetic fancy has only begun to play. Charis, the Grace, is the bride of Hephæstus (*Il.* xviii. 382), and Pasithea is mentioned as one of a whole family of Charites (xiv. 267), who may be compared with the Nymphs in Virg. *Aen.* i. 71, but beyond this we hear of nothing definite regarding them—neither names, number, nor parentage. Hesiod, whom later writers generally follow, is much more definite. He tells of three Charites—Euphrosyne, Thalia, and Aglaia—daughters of Zeus and Eurynome (*Theog.* 907-9). Pindar mentions the same three (*Ol.* xiv. 13), and speaks of Zeus as their father. Their mother he does not name. As figures in national Greek religion the Charites remained a triad, and bore for the most part their Hesiodic names. But, according to the conception of the Charites uppermost in the poet's mind, religious fancy played freely with the question of their parentage. Thus Hera, Aphrodite, and many lesser divinities are named as their mother, while Dionysus, Uranus, and Helios dispute with Zeus the honour of their paternity. Sometimes mythology takes a very different turn. Thus Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* iii. xvii. 44) describes Gratia as a child of Erebus and Night. This seems to belong to the same circle of ideas as Hom. *Il.* xiv. 269 ff., where Hypnos (Sleep), referring to Hera's promise to give him Pasithea for his bride, bids the former swear to him by the inviolable waters of the Styx. According to a scholiast on *Il.* xiv. 276, Lethe was called mother of Charis, because gratitude (χάρης) is so easily forgotten.

2. **Symbolism.**—In general the Charites are a symbol of grace or charm. They reflect the characteristically Greek ideal of a life, whether human or Divine, from which ugliness and pain are banished. As their names indicate, they are associated chiefly with life's festive aspect. Euphrosyne speaks of mirth, Thalia of abundance, Aglaia of splendour. In the hour of dance and song, of feasting and carousal, the Charites give free course to joy, loosening the bonds of unsocial restraint; but they are equally the foes of licence. According to Panyasis (c. 489 B.C.), the first cup at the banquet belongs to the Charites, the Horæ, and Dionysus; the second to Aphrodite and Dionysus; but with the third come Hybris and Ate (wanton

excess and baneful rashness) (*Athen.* ii. 36). The witness of Horace is still clearer: 'tres prohibet supra Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia' (*Od.* iii. xix. 15). But the influence of the Charites does not end here. They give its charm to everything which makes life glad, full, and beautiful. 'What has man that is lovely and desirable,' says Theocritus, 'without the Charites?' (*Id.* xvi. 108 f.). As the chaste Charites aid the gods themselves in ordering dance and feast, and preside over all their works, so they give to mortals the sweetness and the joy 'if one be skilled in song, or comely, or of fair renown' (*Pind. Ol.* xiv. 5 ff.). It is their wreath which graces the victor's brow, their choir which sounds his glory (*Pind. Ol.* iv. 10, vii. 12 f., xiv. 4 ff.; *Nem.* v. 54, vi. 38; *Pyth.* v. 48). Their love of song they share with the Muses, dwelling with them upon Olympus (*Hes. Theog.* 64; Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 673, etc.). But the Muses are more sedate than the Charites. So in Olympus, Apollo harps, the Muses sing, but the Charites, with the Horæ, Aphrodite, and other youthful goddesses, dance (*Hom. Hymn. in Ap. Pyth.* 10 ff.). The same link that bound the Charites to the Muses bound them closely to Apollo. They had their seat beside the Pythian Apollo (*Pind. Ol.* xiv. 10), while the statue of the Delian Apollo held three Charites in its hand (*Paus.* ix. xxxv. 1, etc.). With Aphrodite their connexion is especially close. They give love its charm, and especially the finer grace which alone can make it lasting. So, as her handmaids, they bathe and anoint the goddess, dress her for the banquet in perfumed robes of their own working, animate her by dance and song (*Hom. Il.* v. 338, *Od.* viii. 362 ff., xviii. 192 ff.; *Hom. Hymn.* iii. 61; Sappho, *ap. Himer.* i. 4; *Hes. Opp.* 72 f.; *Paus.* vi. xxiv. 5, etc.). Nor was it only for Aphrodite that they wrought fair garments, but for Dionysus also and other gods (*Apol. Rh.* iv. 424 ff.).

This may suggest to us the relation of the Charites to art. They supply the charm without which the artist's skill and labour are vain. Hence it was that Charis became the bride of the smith Hephæstus (see above). Nor is it otherwise with literature. Even Athens depends on the Charites, who give grace to learning, for which reason Plato counsels his pupil Xenocrates to offer to the Charites. To the poet they are indispensable, as are the Muses. But the latter speak rather of the source of the poet's inspiration, the former of his power to please. It was from this point of view that Pindar described himself as tilling the garden of the Charites (*Ol.* ix. 27), and that Theocritus spoke of his poems as 'my Charites' (*Id.* xvi. 6). They also, it would seem, symbolized the charm of winsome speech. This is probably implied by their frequent association with Hermes (on the connexion, see Furtwängler, in Roscher, s.v. 'Chariten'; cf. also Cornut, *de Nat. Deor.* chs. xvi. xxiv.; Eudoc. *Viol.* p. 153). Often, too, they are mentioned in company with Peitho, the goddess of persuasion (*Hes. Opp.* 73; *Pind. frag.* c. 10; *Plut. Conjug. Praec. Proem.*, etc.), and Hermesianax actually named her as one of the Charites (*Paus.* ix. xxxv. 1, where, however, the text seems doubtful). Lastly, a word may be said on their frequent association with the Horæ (or Seasons). It must suffice to observe that they are usually, though not always, related to the Horæ, as the life of man is to the life of Nature. Thus, while the Horæ ripen the vine, the Charites help man to enjoy it (cf. *Athen.* ii. 38); while the Horæ crown the divine child Pandora with flowers, the Charites adorn her with golden necklaces (*Hes. Opp.* 73). But the spirit of both is the same. The Charites, like the Horæ, delight above all in flowers, and love, and vernal freshness (cf. above; and also, for the Charites, Stesichorus [*Bergk's Poeta lyrici graeci*, iii. 221]; Ariphron [*ib.* iii

397]; Hor. *Od.* I. iv. 6, xxx. 6, iv. vii. 5; Ov. *Fast.* v. 215 ff.).

3. **Worship.**—It is in local cult rather than in national mythology that the oldest Greek religious conceptions are found. The Charites are no exception to this rule, for their worship affords distinct traces of their original character of Nature powers. The most important seats of their worship were the Minyan Orchomenos in Boeotia, Athens, and Sparta. At Orchomenos we read that Eteocles was the first who sacrificed to the Charites, and that they were represented by natural stones which were said to have fallen to him from heaven. Further, we are told that their sanctuary was the oldest in Orchomenos, and that Eteocles 'instituted three Charites'—whose names, however, the Boeotians did not remember (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1, xxxviii. 1; Theocr. *Id.* xvi. 104). Now, at Athens only two Charites were originally worshipped, and at Sparta they were always two (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1), while the above somewhat ambiguous references to their worship at Orchomenos suggest that there also two may have been the original number. In view of these as well as of other facts relating to the Charites, J. E. Harrison observes:

'The ancient Charites at Orchomenos, at Sparta, at Athens, were two, and it may be conjectured that they took form as the Mother and the Maid—the ordinary twofold aspect of Nature goddesses (*Proleg.* to *Study of Gr. Rel.* 287).

Much of what follows in this paragraph points in the same direction. At Orchomenos the temple of the Charites stood near the city, in the rich vale of the Cephissus. In its neighbourhood was a temple of Dionysus, and a spring sacred to Aphrodite (Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* i. 720)—both, as we have seen, closely related to the Charites. To the temple of the Charites the peasants of the countryside brought a priestly tithe. In honour of the goddesses there was a festival (the *Xapιtήρια*) with musical contests, of which records are still extant (*CIG.* nos. 1583, 1584). The *Xapιtήρια* were, further, celebrated with nocturnal dances, after which cakes of roasted wheat and honey were distributed (Eustath. *ad Hom. Od.* xviii. 194). This worship as a whole (and notably the last-named feature) points clearly to goddesses of natural plenty and fertility. At Athens, as already noted, the original Charites were two. Their names, Auxo and Hegemone, are such as belong to spirits of vegetation. Auxo is the goddess of growth, Hegemone the 'conductress' of the growing plant, as *Furtwängler* puts it, 'to light and bloom and fruit.' They were invoked along with Helios, with Thallo and Carpo (the Hours of Spring and Autumn), and Pandrosos, goddess of dew (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1; Pollux, viii. 106). In front of the Acropolis stood the images of three Charites, said to be the work of Socrates, but associated with them was one of those secret cults which belong especially to Nature-worship (Paus. IX. xxxv. 1). In Aristoph. *Thesm.* 300 the Charites are invoked in company with agrarian deities, and at the Eleusinia they received an offering along with Hermes (A. Mommsen, *Heortol.*, 1864, p. 257), 'whose worship as the young male god of fertility, of flocks and herds, was so closely allied to that of the Charites' (J. E. Harrison, *op. cit.* 291). At Sparta the two Charites were known as Cleta and Phaenna (sound and light)—names which speak of Nature, while also suggesting the life of man. The Spartans built a temple for them on the river Tiasa (Paus. iii. xviii. 4, etc.), and at Sparta itself was a temple of the Charites and Dioscuri (*ib.* xiv. 6). We read also of cults of the Charites in Paros, Thasos, Cyzicus, Elis, Olympia, and Hermione.

4. **Art.**—The treatment of the Charites in art is a large subject, of which only the barest outline is here attempted. The representations may be

divided generally into the two great classes of the draped figures and the nude. These were the productions respectively of an earlier and a later age (Paus. IX. xxxv. 2). The triad of Charites was early represented in art. Sometimes they figured in independent groups, and sometimes as the adjuncts of some superior deity, as in the case of the Zeus of Pheidias, above whose throne were, on the one side, three Hours, on the other, three Charites (*ib.* v. xi. 7). In the earlier period no attempt seems to have been made so to arrange the figures as to express a single unifying idea. They stood separate from each other, and were sometimes distinguished by separate attributes. Thus the Charites on the hand of the Delian Apollo (see above) held, the first a lyre, the second flutes, and the third a syrinx at her lips. Later on we meet with a type in which they hold one another's hand, tripping the while lightly to the left in a solemn dancing measure. We have examples of this type on relief fragments and on coins. It was the Hellenistic age which, in its search for sensuous charm, developed the naked type of Charites, but it seems to have been preceded by a period when a composite type prevailed, in which the figures are only partially draped. Thus Seneca, referring to a type of Charites, which was apparently known in the time of Chrysippus (3rd cent. B.C.), describes them as 'manibus implexis solutaque et perlucida veste' (*de Benef.* i. 3). But that even in the 3rd cent. the nude type had been introduced is rendered probable by a fragment of Euphorion (c. 221 B.C.), in which he alludes *χάριον ἀπαρτέσιν*. Once introduced, the nude type attained such vogue that for the Roman period we cannot point with certainty to any example of the other. The figures do not in this, as in a previous type, stand in a line with hands joined. The arrangement rather suggests a circle, in which two Charites face the beholder, while the third and central figure is seen from behind, the whole forming a charming composition. Examples of it are found chiefly on wall-pictures and cut stones.

LITERATURE.—Roscher, *Lex. d. Mythol.* i. 873 ff. (Leipzig, 1884-90); Pauly-Wissowa, III. 2150 ff. (Stuttgart, 1899); Schoemann-Lipsius, *Gr. Alterthümer*, Berlin, 1897, vol. ii.; Preller-Robert, *Gr. Mythologie* 4, i. 481-484 (Berlin, 1894); K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos* (Breslau, 1844); Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol.*, London, 1853, vol. i.; J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Gr. Rel.*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 286-299, 438, 439; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 131 ff.; O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, index s.v. 'Charites.' I. F. BURNS.

CHARITY.—1. **Its nature.**—Charity is a species of goodwill or benevolence, and, therefore, attaches itself to the amiable and generous side of human nature. It is a fixed attitude of the soul; no mere mood or passing impulse, but a disposition, showing itself outwardly in kindly sympathetic deeds. It is essentially social and unselfish; and the principle of it is, 'I am a man, and take an interest in everything pertaining to humanity' (*homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, Ter. *Heaut.* i. i. 24). Consequently, it is magnanimous; it thinks the best of human beings, and has for its end their interests and welfare. It is joined also with humility, not grudging to stoop if only it may serve. It acts in a twofold way, positively and negatively—it confers benefits, and it refrains from injuring; on the other hand, when itself injured, it is swift to forgive. It is thus no mere emotion, but involves, besides, both intellect and will. It is feeling that issues in doing; but, as the doing is of the nature of beneficence, it is regulated by wisdom and discretion. Hence, charity may sometimes assume an austere and even apparently an unsympathetic aspect towards its object. When that object's real good cannot be achieved without inflicting pain and suffering, charity does not

shrink from the infliction: it will even refuse to be tolerant, if tolerance means simply complaisance that would work harm. It is, further, in league with justice, and eschews favouritism and partiality, not allowing itself to be misled by mere fondness. Moreover, a sharp distinction must be drawn between charity and amiability or good nature—the latter of which is frequently a weakness and may be detrimental to true charity, although it may also be turned to account in its service.

'There is a softness and milkiness of temper,' as an 18th cent. writer quaintly puts it, 'that cannot say nay to anything; but he that can never refuse a favour, can hardly be said ever to grant one: for it is wrested from him, not given; he does it to rid himself of an opportunity, and save the trouble of a denial, in which case it is a weakness rather than a virtue. Hence good nature is often called, and sometimes really proceeds from, folly, which gets no thanks when it proves most beneficial: for men applaud themselves for having gained a compliance by wheedling or pressing, and secretly laugh at the silly thing that could be won by such artifices' (Tucker, *The Light of Nature Pursued*, I. 252).

From all this it will be seen that charity presupposes the exercise of the sympathetic imagination—the power of entering into the experiences of others and making them one's own; the power of realizing (not only understanding, but also appropriating) others' circumstances, point of view, ideas, purposes, aspirations, motives, pleasures and pains, joys and sorrows. Only thus can it be effective, rejoicing with them that rejoice; weeping with them that weep (Ro 12¹⁵).

Now, this which holds good of charity regarded as a moral excellence is applicable also to Christian charity. But there are specific differences. Charity as 'the royal law,' 'the perfect law, the law of liberty' (Ja 2⁸ and 12²), has its own distinctive features. In the first place, in Christian charity, goodwill is transformed into love (*ἀγάπη*)—love in the highest and purest sense of the term, in contradistinction to the tender emotion of that name which is associated with passion. In the next place, Christian charity draws its inspiration from a religious source: it is not begotten of men, but of God. Lastly, the actuating motive of it is religious also.

We may glance at these characteristics in turn:

(1) First, *the transformation of charity into love* is the elevation of a merely virtuous disposition, altruistic and unselfish, into a Christian grace or 'theologic virtue.' For love, in the NT, is set forth as constituting the essence of God; and it is represented also as a Divine gift to man which the Spirit of God has breathed into his soul. As thus conceived, it is based on reverence, and so is the great cementing force between man and man; for man is now viewed as formed in God's image, and every human being is regarded as having in him great potentialities—he is a 'brother' in the truest sense, and possesses native worth and dignity, however much obscured they may be in fact. Yea more, he is the object of the Saviour's love and of His redemptive work, and may be 'renewed in the spirit of his mind' (Eph 4²³), and thus become a member of the Christian kingdom. The mere appreciation of the solidarity of the human race might secure charity as fellow-feeling, but charity is transformed into love only when we realize that we 'are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal 3²⁸).

(2) In the next place, *charity as love draws its inspiration from above*. It is not, in the first instance, regard or even affection of human beings for each other—that might arise from the natural feeling of fellowship or from the necessities of social intercourse; it springs from the realization of man's primary relation to God as son to Father, and so is love of man *for the sake of God*: 'this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also' (1 Jn 4²¹). Hence the Christian's charity can be wide and liberal. As it is

directed towards men as God's sons, it is based on and imitates that of God Himself, who 'is kind' toward the unthankful and evil' (Lk 6³⁵), who 'maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust' (Mt 5⁴⁵). Hence, also, it is stable and unceasing, and not merely fluctuating and uncertain.

(3) But, thirdly, *the motive of it is devotion to Jesus as man's Saviour*—attachment to His person, and eagerness to please and to serve Him. Consequently, it is a 'new' love—new in kind and new in measure: 'A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another' (Jn 13³⁴). The motive makes all the difference. For charitable deeds may spring from desires that strip them of their spiritual value. Deeds there must be in all cases of charity—the enthusiasm of humanity will and must manifest itself in outward conduct; but, though beneficent, they may not be intrinsically worthy. It is a mistake to identify charity with beneficence. Of this St. Paul was quite aware when, in the famous passage on charity in 1 Co 13, he says, 'And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.' In other words, even almsgiving and ministering to the wants of the needy, which at first sight appear to be pre-eminently Christian charity, and which (judging from the present use of the term as the equivalent of 'almsgiving') seem now, not unfrequently, to be regarded as exhausting it, may be nugatory: concern for the poor, laudable though in itself it is, may spring from a wrong motive, and thus be vitiated. So also self-sacrifice, unless its motive be right and noble, may be futile. Charity certainly means 'going about doing good'; but it is not Christian unless there be in it a distinct reference, direct or indirect, to the will and the intent of the Saviour, and unless it be measured by the love that He bears to men; not forgetting that He accepts service to our fellow-men as service to Himself—'inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me' (Mt 25⁴⁰).

But, estimated in this way, certain things become distinctive of it. (a) Note its relation to hate. Love is the opposite of hate: the two are antithetic—where the one is, the other is shut out. And yet, according to the psychologist (see, e.g., Bain's *Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics*, 1903, pp. 84–104), both are native to human nature; and they react on each other. It is a commonplace of Psychology (see, e.g., Spinoza's *Ethics*, pt. iii.) that hatred of a person whom one formerly loved is intensified by the very fact of the previous love; just as previous dislike of a person may intensify our affection for him, once we are drawn towards him. But Christian love excludes hatred—hatred of persons (misanthropy)—absolutely. If it were lawful to hate any one, it would surely be one's enemies; and yet the Christian is commanded, 'Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you' (Mt 5⁴⁴). The meaning of this is that both the measure and the nature of love are estimated from the standpoint of the love of Christ; and if the disciple is to be as his Master, hatred must be expelled from his heart. And if hatred is expelled from his heart, along with it are expelled all the malignant emotions—anger, retaliation, revenge, envy, jealousy, and the like. Meekness is now raised to a supreme position, and to it is the final victory promised: 'Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth' (Mt 5⁵).

(b) Christian charity is not to be limited by considerations either of merit or of gratitude in the

recipient. As it is required to be after the pattern of Christ's love, it must proceed on the lines of generosity and mercy, not on those of strict legal justice. Had Christ waited till mankind merited salvation, salvation would be still to seek. Had He insisted as a preliminary condition that His work must be repaid with immediate gratitude, the world would be heathen still, sitting in the darkness of the shadow of death. But what He did was quite different. Apart from merit and apart from gratitude on the side of the recipients, He poured out His love upon mankind, and sealed it with His death; and, on the cross, He pardoned even before His mercy was asked: for those who crucified Him, even at the very moment of their ignoble glorification in their unholy deed, He prayed, 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do' (Lk 23³⁴). His was 'an all-embracing love, not swayed by feelings or emotions or preferences'; and the command to His disciples is, 'As I have loved you, that ye also love one another' (Jn 15¹²).

(c) In the last place, Christian charity, on its practical side, is to be guided by the golden rule, 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them' (Mt 7¹²). This is no mere dictate of prudence: it is not only a counsel of humanity and fellow-feeling and a check to individual selfishness (as such, the rule is virtually common to all great ethical systems of whatsoever age and whatsoever country); it is an acknowledgment also that every human being is the creature of God formed in His image, and, as formed in His image, is the object of Jesus' love, and that no one is to regard himself as, of personal right, dearer to the Creator than another, or of more intrinsic worth—each is a human soul (none more, none less) bearing the Divine stamp and potentially an heir of the promises. Yea, for each equally Christ died, so that all may become members of the same Body. Under any view of it, the brotherhood of mankind is an organic unity; but, in the Christian conception, it is organic in a special sense—namely, because Christ is the Head of humanity, and so binds men together by first binding them to Himself, and imparting to them of His own life.

Christian charity, then, is love of men for the sake of God (God as revealed in Christ), and is stimulated by the love of Christ for man. This implies that love to God comes first in our estimation, and that in this love the other has its origin and its significance: brotherly affection (in the Christian sense) is founded on piety. What, then, is the relation between Christian charity and the allied Christian graces—faith and hope? Clearly, charity is the atmosphere in which they live and thrive; or it is the motive-power by which they are actuated. If 'faith' means acceptance of Christ's word and trust in His person, then, of necessity, it 'worketh by love' (Gal 5⁶), and is really effective only when love is supreme. If, in like manner, we mean by 'hope' expectation based on the Divine promises, then again love becomes the moving force; for expectation could not be kept up in the face of earthly troubles—in the face of delay and hindrances and disappointments. Much less could it increase, as it usually does, as the believer's life advances, if it were not prompted and sustained from this source. Love is not only (what St. Paul calls it) 'the greatest' of the Christian graces (1 Co 13¹³); it is also the stimulator and the indispensable condition of the other two.

2. Consequences.—That being so, let us see the practical consequences of Christian charity. As its basis is love to God issuing in love to man for God's sake, obviously Christian charity is the supreme dissolvent of all barriers (opinions, feel-

ings, habits, customs, prejudices, principles alike) that would keep man apart from man—of all distinctions that are of the nature of caste, and that would foster self-importance in the individual and lead to injustice and contempt towards others. For the same reason, it overflows in good works—indeeds of practical beneficence, including, of course, the negative beneficence of restraint, or refraining from insult and the infliction of injury when revenge is in our power. In this way, it goes far beyond even what was attained by 'the high-minded man' of Aristotle, who 'readily forgets injuries . . . and is not apt to speak evil of others, not even of his enemies, *except with the express purpose of giving offence*' (εἰ μὴ δι' ὀφθαλμοῦ, *Nicom. Ethics*, iv. 3. 30 and 31).

Perhaps it may be thought that the sentiment of universal brotherhood (such, for instance, as the Stoics cherished) would do the same thing. But the difference lies here—the sentiment of universal brotherhood is simply on the plane of morality and natural or social affection; Christian charity rises higher and grounds the sentiment in religion, in apprehension of the Fatherhood of God and the universal redemption wrought out by Christ. The point of view in the two cases is entirely different; but the results achieved are different also. The cosmopolitanism of the Stoics, though noble in many ways and conducive to tolerance and sympathetic regard for others, did not effect any wide-spread reformation in the world: it was very much a doctrine and a sentiment of the philosophers, confined, therefore, to the few and not practically operative for the many. But Christian charity, inspired from above, and directed to Divine ends, is no mere philosophical doctrine; it appeals to all mankind, has effected great things, and has in it the energy to effect more. To it, civilization owes an enormous debt. It has been largely instrumental in the elevation and emancipation of women, and in the abolition of slavery in the world; it has broken down race antipathies of long standing, and shown the true nature of class distinctions; and it has made friends of foes in many instances when war and hostile opposition would only have embittered enmity and made hatred all the more intense. What, still further, it has done on the side of philanthropy and charitable institutions (thus taking under its wing the poor, the degraded, and the needy) and of humane treatment both of human beings and of the lower animals, and how it has entirely changed men's views of human life, impressing them with the notion of its sacredness and of the duty of conserving it—need only to be mentioned. If, notwithstanding, 'the parliament of man, the federation of the world' has not come and seems long in coming; if, even in Christian countries, great social questions are still unsolved and oppression has not fled the earth; if capital and labour are still at feud, and 'man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,' that is not the fault of Christian charity, but arises from the imperfect appreciation of what Christian charity really is, by many of those who profess adherence to the Christian faith. It will come when men fully realize the meaning of the two sayings—'If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen. And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also' (1 Jn 4²⁰); and 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another' (Jn 13³⁵).

3. The term 'charity.'—This is the English equivalent, through French, of the Latin *caritas*. Now, *caritas* in Latin originally meant 'preciousness,' 'high price,' 'dearness'; and, in its secondary

sense, it was applied (so Cicero tells us) to love of the gods, of one's parents or one's country, and the like, while love of wives and children and brothers was more properly designated *amor* (*Part. Or.* xxv. [88]). If that is so, then *esteem* is the essence of the sentiment, and the idea of *value* attaches to the object of it. In that way, it is a term particularly suitable for the Christian vocabulary, and may very well be used to translate the NT *ἀγάπη*—in which, rather than in any synonymous Greek term (such as *ἀγάπης* or *φιλία*), the same two ideas of *worth* or *value* and *esteem* are prominent, and where also the application is first made to man's attitude towards God. 'Charity' is very proper English for *ἀγάπη* (derivation and classical English usage alike conforming); and it may be doubted, without carping, whether the RV of the NT has done well in uniformly translating *ἀγάπη* by 'love.'

On the other hand, it is perfectly obvious how the term 'charity' should have come to contract its present narrow meaning of consideration for the poor, the outcast, the needy, the infirm; so that 'a charitable contribution' is a contribution in behalf of one or other of these, and 'a charitable institution' is one maintained by voluntary liberality for their benefit. The poor, the outcast, the

needy, the infirm, were Jesus' peculiar care, and He left them as a special heritage to His followers. Nevertheless, while it is 'charity' to help the needy whom evil fortune has overtaken, or to minister to the wants of the afflicted and the weak who cannot adequately provide for themselves, it is no less charity to try to prevent the need for such help, and to remove the conditions of society which bring members of the community into straitened and harrowing circumstances. By the figure of synecdoche, a part has been put for the whole; but the wider meaning of the term is the correct one, and it may fitly be retained.

LITERATURE.—THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae*, Pars II. Questions 23-32; A. TUCKER, *The Light of Nature Pursued* (1837), chs. on 'Benevolence' and 'Charity'; J. BUTLER, *Sermons*, ix, xi-xiv; W. E. H. LECKY, *Hist. of Eur. Morals*, vol. ii. (1869); SEELEY, *Ecce Homo* (1866); H. SIDGWICK, *The Methods of Ethics* 4, bk. iii. ch. iv. (1890); H. L. MARTENSEN, *Christian Ethics (Individual)*, in *Charles' For. Theol. Lib.* i. (1881) 159-338; NEWMAN SMYTH, *Christian Ethics* 3, pp. 223-231 (1892); W. L. DAVIDSON, *Christian Ethics* 3, chs. xi, xii. (1907); T. B. STRONG, *Christian Ethics*, Lects. iii., iv. (1896); A. M. FAIRBAIRN, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion* (1902); G. G. FINDLAY, 'Studies in the First Epistle of John,' in *Exp.*, 6th series, vols. viii., ix.; S. E. MEZES, *Ethics: Descriptive and Explanatory* (1901), ch. xii. For a succinct account of linguistic usage, see the art. 'Charity' in *Hastings' DB.*

WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING.

Primitive (A. H. KEANE), p. 376.

Biblical (W. A. SPOONER), p. 380.

Buddhist (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 381.

Christian (C. T. DIMONT), p. 382.

Greek (W. J. WOODHOUSE), p. 386.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Primitive).—By 'Charity' is here to be understood that kindly and unselfish feeling of benevolence towards others which is covered by the term 'Altruism' (*q.v.*), introduced by Comte, and popularized by Herbert Spencer. It thus answers to the sentiment of charity and love of our neighbour which is illustrated by the parable of the Good Samaritan, and expounded almost for the first time in the Pauline and other NT writings. Owing, no doubt, to the impressive character of these documents, and to their intimate association with the higher forms of religion, it is generally supposed that the altruistic sense is not an attribute of early man, but a later development fostered by the growth of the more advanced religious systems. That it constitutes a conspicuous feature of these systems is admitted, and will be fully dealt with in connexion with the treatment of all the great religions. The present article will therefore be confined to the lower races, and its main object will be to show that the feeling in question is not limited to cultured peoples, but is an attribute of humanity itself, one which goes back to the rudest societies, which share it in common with many animals—many groups of birds and mammals, and even of insects (bees, ants).

After devoting years of study to this universal instinct of solidarity and sociability, Prince Kropotkin asks whether it may not be taken 'as an argument in favour of a prehuman origin of moral instincts, and as a law of Nature,' thus mitigating the harshness of the *homo homini lupus* of Hobbes, and the 'teeth and claws of red' of some recent Darwinists *a outrance* (*Mutual Aid*, Introduction). It is here shown that Huxley's 'Struggle for Existence and its bearing upon Man' may be largely superseded by 'Mutual Aid as a Law of Nature and a Factor of Evolution,' where 'mutual aid' may be taken as practically equivalent to 'altruism' and 'charity' as above defined. It should be noted that, in the subjoined instances of unselfish sym-

Hebrew.—See BIBLICAL.

Hindu (A. S. GEDEN), p. 387.

Jewish (M. JOSEPH), p. 389.

Muhammadan.—See LAW (Muhammadan).

Roman (J. S. REID), p. 391.

pathy and pity drawn from savage or uncultured peoples, religious sanction is in most cases to be understood, even where it is not specially mentioned as a dominant motive. All such practices acquire by heredity the force of tribal law, which in the early stages of society always enjoys a kind of religious sanction. 'The *adat* (custom) is our religion'—a remark often made by Oriental peoples—sums up this aspect of the subject. A case in point is the custom of depositing the personal effects of the dead with them—a custom which was kept up after the original motive had been forgotten, because it later became a religious observance. 'It receives a mystical interpretation, and is imposed by religion' (Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, p. 98). So also with tabu, the totem, hospitality, and many other tribal observances.

In his *Descent of Man* 2 (p. 63 f.), Darwin points out that the physical weakness of man is more than counterbalanced partly by his intellectual faculties and partly by his social qualities, which lead him to give and receive aid from his fellow-men. This principle of 'give and take,' from which sprang pure altruism in remote times, prevails throughout the New World, and is conspicuous especially amongst the northern Amerinds.

Thus Dellenbaugh, quoting Powell, writes that 'no friendly stranger ever left an Amerind village hungry, if that village had a supply of food. The hungry Indian had but to ask to receive, and this no matter how small the supply or how dark the future prospect. It was not only his privilege to ask, it was his right to demand. The Amerind distribution of food was based on long custom, on tribal laws; food was regarded, like air and water, as a necessity that should in distress be without money and without price. Hospitality was a law, and was everywhere observed faithfully till intercourse with the methods of our race demolished it. Among isolated tribes it is still observed; among the Mokis (Pueblo Indians) a hungry man of any colour is cheerfully fed. . . . At first, too, the Amerind extended the law of hospitality to the new-comers, and the Europeans would have starved to death in some instances had it not been for the timely aid of the race in possession of the soil, and whose reward was subsequent destruction' (*The North Americans of Yesterday*, pp. 354 f., 447).

How largely this tribal law was based on religious grounds is seen in the *Mandans*, a now

nearly extinct Siouan tribe of the Middle Missouri Valley, whose custom it was to share the captured game with any one who might come to the home of a successful hunter and ask for it.

'The Mandans were a very liberal and hospitable people; food was practically common property in the village. No man could become a chief without much giving of presents, and giving was considered a great honour, the gifts which a man had made being painted on his robe along with his deeds in war. The hospitality of the Mandans is mentioned by every visitor. Verandrye speaks particularly of his kind reception, their custom being to feed liberally all who came among them, selling only what was to be taken away. Even their worst enemy, when once in their village, had nothing to fear, and was treated with all kindness' (Will and Spinden, *The Mandans*, 1906, p. 127).

Like the Muskogean of Georgia, the Mandans declared that this and many other customs were taught them thus, and consequently they always did them a certain way (*ib.*). In other words, the teachers were Divine lawgivers, like Quetzalcoatl and Wotan, and the usages came to be regarded as of Divine origin.

It was much the same with the *Eskimos* and *Aleuts* of the extreme north, and even amongst the degraded *Neugians* of the extreme south. Eskimo society is essentially communistic, the sense of individuality not having yet been developed. Each person looks upon himself, not as an independent unit, but as a member of one 'body politic,' so that the altruistic sense is diffused throughout the community. Hence the idea of personal property scarcely exists, except for arms and the like, and wealth is accumulated not for the benefit of the individual, but in the interest of the tribal group.

'When a man has grown rich he convokes the folk of his clan to a great festival, and distributes among them all his fortune. On the Yukon river, Dall saw an Aleut family distributing in this way 10 guns, 10 full fur dresses, 200 strings of beads, numerous blankets, 10 wolf furs, 300 beavers, and 500 zibelines [sables]. After that they took off their festival dresses, gave them away, and, putting on old ragged furs, addressed a few words to their kinsfolk, saying that, though they are now poorer than any one of them, they have won their friendship. Like distributions of wealth appear to be a regular habit of the Eskimo, and to take place at a certain season after an exhibition of all that has been obtained during the year' (Kropotkin, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

And Rink is quoted as stating that the principal use of the accumulation of personal wealth is for *periodically* distributing it, and as mentioning the destruction of property for the same purpose of maintaining tribal equality. The present British Trade Unions, also communistic, aim at the same results by preventing the best hands from earning more wages than the less skilful or more indolent. But there is a great difference from the altruistic standpoint, since what one does from a genuine feeling of fellowship the other does from purely selfish motives. The Eskimo is obstructive at the lowest rung of the social ladder, and the Unionist is destructive at the highest.

Of the Aleutian Islanders in their primitive state we have an excellent account from Veniaminoff (*Notes on the Islands of the Unalaskan District* [in Russian], 1840), who tells us that in times of prolonged scarcity their first care is for their children, to whom they give all they have, though they may have to fast themselves. Indeed, the devotion of parents to their offspring, though rarely expressed in words or fondlings, is comparable with that of the New Hebrides mothers and aunts who, on the loss of a specially beloved child, will kill themselves in the belief that they will thus be able to continue nursing it in the next world (W. Wyatt Gill). Veniaminoff mentions a personal incident which illustrates the forbearance and generosity of the Aleut natives. Some dried fish presented to him by one of them, but forgotten at his sudden departure for another district, was kept by the donor for over two winter months of

great scarcity, and on the first opportunity restored to him untouched.

Similar accounts of the extreme altruistic sentiment characteristic of many Siberian aborigines are given by Middendorff, Schenck, Finsch, Sieroshevski, and other trustworthy observers.

Samoyedes, Ostiaks, Yakuts, Tunguses, and most other Hyperboreans are animated by the mutual-aid spirit, which everywhere influences the social organization, and often forms part of their religious systems. Such customs as doing to death the aged and the infirm, which are regarded with horror by more advanced peoples, are based on distorted altruistic motives, while the voluntary victims themselves submit to the sacrifice in the supposed interests of the community. 'When a savage feels that he is a burden to his tribe; when every morning his share of food is taken from the mouths of his children; when every day he has to be carried across the stony beach or the virgin forests on the shoulders of younger people, he begins to repeat what the old Russian peasants still say, "I live other people's life; it is time to retire." And he retires. So the savages do. The old man himself asks to die; he himself insists upon this last duty towards the community, and obtains the consent of the tribe; he digs his own grave; he invites his kinsfolk to the last parting meal. The savage so much considers death as part of his *duties* towards his community that he not only refuses to be rescued, but when a woman who had to be immolated on her husband's grave was rescued by the missionaries, she escaped in the night, crossed a broad sea-arm swimming, and rejoined her tribe to die on the grave. *It has become with them a matter of religion*' (Kropotkin, p. 103).

But, besides this *negative* kind of tribal almsgiving, *positive* and absolutely disinterested succour of the needy and helpless prevails throughout the whole of Siberia. Thus the Samoyedes are full of pity for the poor, with whom they are ever ready to share their last crust. Friends or relatives reduced to destitution are always hospitably treated and provided with food and lodging, and orphans are frequently adopted who might otherwise be doomed to perish of want.

Still more significant in this respect is the action of the Turkish *Yakuts*, who occupy a wide domain in the Lena basin. Thanks to their benevolent nature, the very poorest live through the hard winter months, especially in the northern districts, where the primitive customs still survive, and where the struggle for existence is most severely felt. In the more advanced southern parts, 'the custom is already coming in to sell food to travellers, and even to neighbours, but in many parts of the north they consider it a shame to trade with food. Even the poorest think it an offence if it is proposed to them to take money for lodgings or food. Travellers in winter take hay from the stacks on the meadows, with which to feed their animals, and it is regarded as right. . . . Care for the poor and unfortunate has always been regarded as an obligation of the *sib* (clan or family group). Impoverished families are cared for in their houses, while the helpless and paupers go about amongst the house-elders and take their places at the table with the members. . . . According to the notions of the people, it is sinful to despise the unfortunate, who are, however, distinguished from professional beggars living on alms. . . . Even now they are inclined to regard the dwelling as a common good. Any one who enters may stay as long as he will. A traveller has a right, according to their notions, to enter any house at any hour of the day or night, and establish himself so as to drink tea or cook food, or pass the night. The master of the house does not dare to drive out, without some important and adequate reason, even one who is offensive to him' (M. Sieroshevski, 'The Yakuts,' *JAI* xxxi. 69 f.).

A far more extensive territory between the Lena and the Pacific Ocean is roamed by the nomad Mongoloid *Tunguses*, whose Manchu cousins have given her present dynasty to China. All observers are unanimous in their praise of the moral qualities of the Tunguses proper, who are described as a 'heroic people' whose altruistic sense is so highly developed that they would almost seem to care more for others than for themselves. In the pagan state, long before their nominal conversion to Russian orthodoxy, tribal usage made hospitality the first of duties, permitting all strangers, without exception, to share alike in the food of each. The sense of personal property is now well developed; but formerly there were neither rich nor poor, and everything, even the hunting and fishing grounds, was held in common, as it is still amongst the Eskimos and many other primitive peoples. But

the unselfish spirit engendered by the communistic social system still survives, and is another signal proof that the feeling of fellowship is not an aftergrowth, but perhaps lies at the very basis of all human societies.

On both sides of Lake Baikal dwell a Mongoloid people collectively known to the Russians as *Buriats* (q.v.). A long-standing unwritten law of these Siberian Mongols, who have no private property in land, requires that when a family has lost its cattle, the richer members of the *ulus* (village community) shall give it some cows and horses that it may raise fresh stock, and thus be saved from abject want. On the other hand, a really destitute man without a family takes his meals in the huts of his neighbours.

'He enters a hut, takes—by right, not for charity—his seat by the fire, and shares the meal which always is scrupulously divided into equal parts; he sleeps where he has taken his evening meal. The Russian conquerors of Siberia were so struck by the communistic practices of the Buriats that they gave them the name of *Bratskiye*, the "brotherly," and reported that with them everything is in common; whatever they have is shared in common. The feeling of union within the confederation is kept alive by the common interests of the tribes, their folkmoths, and the festivities which are usually kept in connexion with the folkmoths. The same feeling is maintained by another institution, the *aba* or common hunt, which is a reminiscence of a very remote past, and the produce of which is divided among all the families. In such *abas* the entire Buryat nation revives its epic traditions of a time when it was united in a powerful league' (Kropotkin, p. 140).

The feeling of sympathy towards strangers is universal amongst the Buriats and all their Mongol kindred. Bastian tells us that the Mongol who refuses shelter to strangers is liable to the full blood-compensation, should they suffer therefrom (*Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, iii. 231). Thus is altruism legalized, so to say, throughout the vast Mongol domain.

Coming to Africa, we are at once reminded of the classical episode in the life of Mungo Park, who was rescued from dire distress by the motherly devotion of a lowly Negroid woman. On seeing his sad plight, she took him to her home, revived him with a refreshing meal, and then as he slept the women-folk resumed their spinning, singing the while far into the night how

'The winds roared, and the rains fell,
The poor white man sat under our tree;
He has no mother to bring him milk,
No wife to grind his corn';

with the refrain,

'Let us pity the white man,
No mother has he.'

Surely no more touching picture of unselfish compassion is recorded in history; and that it was not an exceptional case is shown by that other incident of a passing female slave who, struck by the traveller's famished look, at once supplied him with food, and was gone without waiting for a word of thanks. This is almsgiving in the truest sense of the word. Nor is it confined to the Upper Niger districts traversed by Mungo Park. The neighbouring *Wolofs* of the Lower Senegal river are equally distinguished for their boundless hospitality towards friends and strangers, and all travellers meet with a hearty welcome. 'The unfortunate, the helpless, and the infirm are objects of commiseration; they are received in every household with the greatest alacrity, and are instantly provided with food, and even with clothing if their condition requires it' (Featherman, *The Nigritions*, p. 349). This trait appears to be unquestioned, although in some other respects a somewhat dark picture of the moral character of these Senegambians has been drawn by Le Maire, Barbot (in Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1732, vol. v.), and other early writers. The *Fulahs* of the same region are generous and hospitable to their own people, and always ready to relieve the wants of the infirm and aged. Of the *Hausas* also, the dominant nation of Central Sudan

between the Niger and Lake Chad, we read that the wealthy classes are reputed to be extremely charitable and benevolent, and that in Kano and other large cities they daily distribute a certain measure of rice and milk to the poor. Most of the *Hausas*, however, have long been Muhammadans, so that this custom should perhaps be credited to the teachings of the Qur'an, with which we are not here concerned. But the formerly powerful *Bakunda* nation south of the Congo are still pagans; yet at the command of their ruler, the Muata Jamwo, they treated all strangers and white travellers with the utmost kindness and hospitality, freely supplying them with an abundance of provisions without expecting anything in return. Similarly the *Wagogo* of the seaboard east of Lake Tanganyika not only mutually entertain each other at friendly gatherings, but also give passing strangers a generous welcome.

'The visitor is greeted with the usual salutation of *yambo*; a stool is offered to the guest, while the master of the house is seated on the ground. A meal is instantly prepared, and the stranger is regaled with the best the larder affords; and, on parting, a goat or a cow is sometimes offered to him as a present, if the host is sufficiently wealthy' (Featherman, *op. cit.* p. 96).

This picture applies equally to many of the *Zulu-Xosa* tribes, and still more to the *Hottentots*, who display towards children that extreme devotion which we have already seen exemplified amongst the Siberians and Melanesians. Early observers tell us that the *Hottentots* readily divide their food with the hungry, and that a mother will give her famished offspring the last morsel without tasting it herself. They were noted for their unselfish liberality and attachment to friends and kindred, with whom they would share their last stock of provisions, though starvation stared them in the face.

'While they treated their enemies with the greatest barbarity, they manifested the utmost generosity towards their relations and the members of their own tribe, and even visiting strangers were welcome to the hospitalities of the kraal' (Featherman, p. 501).

The *Hottentots* of Great Namaqualand display extreme kindness towards strangers; and so natural with them is the exercise of hospitality that they look with contempt on the selfish members of the community who eat, drink, or smoke alone. Although the aged and infirm are generally cared for, yet circumstances may arise when they have to be abandoned to their fate. They are not, however, put to death or buried alive, as amongst the Siberian aborigines (see above), but, when the tribe has to remove to some distant camping ground, those who, through physical helplessness, cannot follow are placed in an enclosure of bushes, and, if possible, supplied with a quantity of food and water, after which they are left to perish in the wilderness.

We cannot speak of the *Vaalpens*; but the *Bushman*, next lowest in the social scale, have by recent observers been vindicated from the indiscriminate charges of brutal savagery brought against them by their former European exterminators. They are shown to have been originally as gentle and humane as other inoffensive aborigines, and by no means destitute of the altruistic sentiment. Featherman had already pointed out that they were originally a mild, well-disposed, happy, and contented people, and in private life kind, generous, and hospitable. But their character was greatly modified by the violence and oppression of the whites, who took possession of their territory and drove them into the interior, where they were compelled to find subsistence, as best they could, on the borderland of barren and inhospitable deserts.

All this is now fully confirmed by G. W. Stow, whose *Native Races of South Africa* (1905) deals more particularly with the *Bushman* aborigines. His general conclusion, based upon a close association of many years with the survivors, is that

they were at first both more intelligent and of far more gentle and friendly disposition than has hitherto been supposed. Later, however, to save themselves from extinction, they developed a cruel and revengeful spirit, while still preserving much of their naturally kind and sympathetic nature, as is frankly admitted by those white settlers, travellers, and others who treat them well, and to whom they in return render faithful service as guides or attendants, and in other capacities. Their fondness for children is as sincere and unselfish as that of so many other primitive peoples. Thus a strong altruistic feeling can no longer be denied to these 'human wastrels.'

Although the *Kabyles* of North Algeria and Morocco are now Muhammadans, a reference may here be made to their peculiar social organization, which dates from pre-Muslim times, and has been elaborated in the best interests of all the members of the community.

Everything is regulated and controlled, not by the theocratic *shaiikh*, as amongst the surrounding Arab tribes, but by the *jama'a*, or public assembly, which is framed somewhat after the manner of the early English *Witenagemot*. Only it is more democratic, all adult males being admitted to its meetings, and having a voice in its decisions. This is because the *Jam'a* is not a national but a tribal or village gathering, from which no member of the tribe could very well be excluded. Mutual help on a communistic basis, and with special regard for the poor and destitute, is the ruling principle; so that, for instance, certain garden plots and fields, sometimes cultivated in common, are set apart for the lackland members of the community. And, as many of these cannot afford to buy food, supplies are regularly bought with the income derived from fines, public grants, the tax levied for the use of the communal olive-oil tanks, and other sources, and distributed in equal parts amongst them. Even when a sheep or bullock is killed by a family for its own use, the fact is often proclaimed by the village crier, so that the sick and needy may come and help themselves. All strangers have a right to housing in winter, and their horses may graze on the 'common' for at least one day and night. But in times of general distress all may reckon on almost unlimited succour. During the famine of 1867-68 the Algerian Kabyles sheltered and fed all comers, natives and Europeans alike. While the people were perishing of hunger in other districts, not a single death from starvation occurred in the Kabyle territory. The *Jamas*, stinting themselves, had organized a regular system of relief without applying for help to the French Government, considering their action merely as 'a natural duty.' In the European settlements, but not in Kabylia, stringent police measures had to be taken to prevent the disorders caused by the influx of famished strangers; the *Jamas* needed neither aid nor protection from without (Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, ii. 58). Yet no decadents or thriftless proletariat classes have been generated by this apparently reckless almsgiving. The mutual-aid principle, continued for long generations, has, on the contrary, fostered a high sense of honour and fair play, a sentiment specially characteristic of the Berber people.

By Brough Smyth the moral character of the *Australian* in general is thus summed up:

'He is cruel to his foes, and kind to his friends; he will look upon infanticide without repugnance, but he is affectionate in the treatment of the children that are permitted to live; he will half murder a girl in order to possess her as a wife, but he will protect and love her when she resigns herself to his will. He is a murderer when his tribe requires a murder to be done; but in a fight he is generous, and takes no unfair advantage. He is affectionate towards his relatives, and respectful and dutiful in his behaviour to the aged. He is hospitable' (*The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i. p. xviii.).

Thus here also we have affection, kindness, hospitality, and the usual love of children, which are the essential elements of the altruistic sense. Several instances are given of wives refusing to

survive their husbands and conversely, and even of men sickening to death on the loss of a friend. Of two Portland Bay natives imprisoned in Melbourne, one fell ill and died, and the other, till then in good health, felt the stroke so keenly that he too was found dead in his cell next day. A young woman of the Mount Macedon district was so grieved at the loss of her husband that she burnt and mutilated herself, sat night and day moaning most plaintively, refused all food, declared she would follow him to the grave, and so pined away, and in a few days was laid by his side (*ib.* i. 138).

E converso, an old man of the Middle Swan district died literally of a broken heart on the death of his wife, to whom he was devotedly attached. The case is recorded of a white man who was known to be hostile to a fierce tribe on the north coast; hence, when captured by them, he expected instant death. 'They, however, led him to their camp, fed him until the following morning, when they took him in safety to his companions' (ii. 229). They commiserated him because he was helpless and hungry, and thus showed their fellowship with our common humanity.

Space forbids more than the barest reference to similar acts of kindness and generosity, as to Buckley, who lived for over thirty years with the Victoria natives; to the shipwrecked Murrell, who lived with the Queensland people for seventeen years, and was treated by them with extraordinary kindness; to Thomas Pamphlet and to King, who had the same experience when entirely at the mercy of the Cooper's Creek tribe. A tragic instance is mentioned of a native who lost his life through his attempt to rescue a child from the enemy. But the love of offspring is so general that it needs no illustration, and the conclusion may be confidently accepted that

'the Australian native is kind to little children, affectionate and faithful to a chosen companion; shows exceeding great respect to aged persons, and willingly ministers to their wants; he has great love very often for a favourite wife; he is hospitable, and he can be generous under very trying circumstances' (i. 25).

Of the *Papuans*, with whom may here be included both the *Melanesians* and *Polynesians*, it must suffice to state, on the high authority of the Russian traveller Miklukho-Maclay, that when well treated they are very kind. Their love of music and the dance bespeaks a sociable disposition which is itself akin to the altruistic sense.

In Europe fresh light is being constantly shed on the social relations that must have prevailed during the Stone Ages. Here the chief centre of human activities appears to have been France, and it is natural to find that the French archaeologists are continuing the study of Palæolithic and Neolithic times so brilliantly begun by Boucher de Perthes and his immediate successors. The collections of the indefatigable M. Ed. Piette, late President of the French Prehistoric Society, have raised Palæo-ethnology to the dignity of a science, and shown that the horse, if not other equidæ, had undoubtedly been tamed by the art-loving cave-men of the Dordogne in the Pleistocene epoch. But here we are more interested to learn that these cave-men were already constituted in organized communities on the mutual-aid principle. They formed social groups in the Lourdes, Mas d'Azil, and other spacious caves, whose contents reveal steady progress in culture from period to period—animals harnessed and slaughtered for food, the hearth (showing a knowledge of fire), conventional carvings, 'le symbole sacré, en réalité le premier rudiment d'écriture,' and so on (*L'Anthropologie*, Jan.-April, 1906). Clearly these Dordogne troglodytes were sociable, and we have now learnt that sociability is inseparable from solidarity and the altruistic sentiment—an attribute of humanity itself.

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A. H. KEANE.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Biblical).—I. IN OT.—While we have in the Book of Genesis not infrequent reference to hospitality, we have no mention of alms either asked for or received. The first mention of any form of relief is to be found in that part of Exodus which is known as 'the Book of the Covenant,' which is certainly very ancient, written, as Driver remarks, for a people in a simple and primitive stage of agricultural life. In this it is enjoined that the produce of the Sabbatical year, during which the land is to lie fallow, is to be reserved, 'that the poor of thy people may eat' (Ex 23¹¹). The next notice occurs in Lv 23²²—a part regarded by most critics as also ancient, belonging to what has been described as 'The Law of Holiness'—and provides that, when the Israelites reap the harvest of their land, they shall not reap the corners of their fields, neither shall they gather the gleanings of their harvest, but shall leave them for the poor and the stranger (see also 19¹⁰). In a later chapter there are various provisions made as to the help which a poorer member of a family is to receive from its better-to-do members: his possessions which he has sold are to be redeemed; if he has become incapable of work, he is to be supported; if he has sold himself into slavery, he may and should be redeemed (25^{26ff.} 35. 47^{ff.}). Deuteronomy represents a still later development in the history of Hebrew legislation. By many it is regarded as dating in its present form from the reign of Josiah and the re-finding of the Law. Any way, the legislation relating to the relief of the poor and destitute is much more precise and full than any we have yet met with. In ch. 15 it is enacted that in the seventh or Sabbatical year, every creditor shall release, i.e. remit, everything that he has lent to his neighbour; he is not to exact repayment either of his brother or of his neighbour 'because the Lord's release has been proclaimed.' There will not, it is promised, if God's commandments are observed, be many poor in the land; but, inasmuch as the poor will never cease out of the land, the wealthy man is not to grudge his poor brother the help he needs, even though the year of release be close at hand, but it is God's command that he open his hand unto his brother, to the needy and the poor that are in the land (Dt 15⁸⁻¹¹). In the Book of Job, in the Psalms, and throughout many of the Prophetical books the position assigned to the poor, and the obligation of the rich and powerful towards them, are more difficult to make out, for the word *'ani*, 'poor,' is employed in a different sense from that which we have been hitherto considering, and at times another word, *'anaw*, is used, denoting not so much those who are needy, as those who are meek and humble and gentle. It is the oppression of such by the great and powerful which prophet, psalmist, and preacher alike deprecate (see art. 'Poor' in Hastings' *DB* iv. 20). But, while this is so, the humble would be for the most part actually poor also; and the earnestness with which consideration and care for them are enforced in these books does show an ever-increasing regard for the 'poor';

and one cannot doubt the anxiety alike of psalmist and prophet to redress their wrongs and to make their lot more endurable than it then too often was. In the earlier days of the monarchy, while we hear, indeed, of rich and poor, wealthy and needy, the complaint of the poor can scarcely make itself heard, and appears seldom in the Historical books dealing with this period; but with the advent of the prophets this ceases to be the case, and almost all the Prophetical books ring with denunciations of the oppression of the poor by the powerful, and of the evils which the tyranny and wrong-doing of the rich impose upon them (e.g. Am 2⁶. 7⁸, Is 3¹⁴. 15 10³ 32⁷). But for the cure of this state of things the prophets looked to the establishment of a righteous rule, the sway of a just and benevolent king, rather than to any system of private charity or almsgiving. They recognized keenly the evils from which the poor suffered, but invoked legislation or improved social conditions rather than individual generosity to effect a remedy.

Something of the same kind may be said of the references to the poor in the Book of Job. Their tyrannical conduct towards the poor is one of the charges which Job most constantly brings against the prosperous rich; the oppression of those who were humble and meek, and so poor in that sense, is one of the main causes that make the prosperity of the wicked so difficult and grievous a problem to him; on the other hand, he regards the consideration and assistance he had himself ever extended to those who were in need or want—to the widow, the fatherless, the naked, the afflicted—as one of the chief claims he had upon God for better treatment at His hand (Job 31¹⁶⁻²⁸). In such a passage as this we get a distinct recognition of almsgiving as a duty, and also of the esteem in which, when this book was written, it was already beginning to be held. Very similar to this passage are many in the Book of Proverbs. On the one hand, the poor are regarded as liable to be oppressed and ill-treated by the powerful and prosperous, but as persons also on whom, as compared with the powerful, the blessing of God rests; on the other hand, there is a growing consciousness throughout these writings that the relief of the needy, the succour of the oppressed, is an act meritorious in itself, acceptable to God, bringing down upon the performer of it both the favour of God and the praise of men (Pr 14²⁰. 21. 31 21¹³ 28⁹). It is to be observed in this connexion that there had grown up in the LXX version of these books a specific word *ἐλεημοσύνη* (the origin, of course, of the word 'alms') denoting at once the pitifulness and kindly feeling from which almsgiving should spring, and the acts of mercy and kindness in which that feeling expresses itself. The emergence of this word is itself an important testimony to the increasing value which was set alike upon the feeling and the acts to which it gave rise (see Hastings' *DB* i. 67). The remnant who returned from the Captivity seem not to have been for the most part wealthy men; there was consequently much poverty among those who settled in Palestine, and Nehemiah complains of the hardships the poor suffered from the mortgages which they were compelled to make of their properties, and from the slavery they had to incur in their own persons or in those of their children, when they found themselves unable to meet the debts they had contracted (Neh 5¹⁻¹³). The result was that in the centuries that follow the return from the Captivity, almsgiving fills a larger and ever larger part among the religious observances which were encouraged or commanded. In all the Books of the Apocrypha, but particularly in Tobit and Sirach, it is much insisted upon as a duty, as a meritori-

ous act, and as an atonement for sin (To 12⁹⁻¹⁰ 14⁷ 11, Sir 3³⁰ 7¹⁰ 16¹⁴ 31¹¹ 40¹⁷). In the Talmud it holds even a higher place, being often identified with the whole of righteousness,¹ and being regarded as the sum and summit of excellence. It was the reputation which came thus to be attached to it as the very highest of all the virtues that caused it to be practised for those purposes of ostentation and self-glorification which our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount so severely condemns (Mt 6¹⁻⁴). See, further, art. CHARITY (Jewish).

2. In NT and the Apostolic Church.—Christ in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere in His teaching enforces, at least as earnestly as the Jewish Rabbis, the duty of almsgiving. It is assumed that His followers are to do alms, only their almsgiving must be done out of pure charity (Christians seeking to be perfect even as their Father which is in Heaven is perfect), not from any desire for display, or praise, or self-aggrandizement (Mt 6¹²). In the parallel sermon recorded in Lk. the injunctions are even more numerous and express: 'Give, and it shall be given unto you'; 'Give to every one that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again'; 'Love your enemies, and do them good, and lend, never despairing; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be sons of the Most High: for he is kind to the unthankful and evil' (Lk 6³⁰⁻³⁸). That which He enjoined He promoted also by His example, spending much of the time of His public ministry in alleviating the ills from which men suffer, going about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil, because God was with Him (Ac 10³⁸).

Yet we must not think of Christ as a weak philanthropist. Just as He tells men in their own case that they are to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and that all other things shall be added unto them, so in helping others, He would have His followers show more regard to the care of the souls of their fellow-men than to the relief of their bodies; and He Himself, in effecting cures or giving aid, seeks not the immediate relief, but the ultimate improvement of those whom He assists. There is another point which it is necessary to bear in mind, viz. that the ground on which our Lord bases the duty of mutual help among Christians is the relation in which all men stand to God and to Himself; this at once constitutes them brethren; and inasmuch as all are ideally members of a society which is pervaded by a common spirit, all are bound in virtue of that membership to help one another. 'Bear ye,' says St. Paul, in the spirit of the Master, 'one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ' (Gal 6²). But it is obvious that, in so far as benevolence and almsgiving are prompted by such a motive and inspired by such an ideal, boasting or display of any kind would be out of the question.

Let us turn next to consider how the teaching of Christ and His example took effect in the conduct and teaching of His earliest disciples. The immediate result of the outpouring of the Spirit which took place on the day of Pentecost was the establishment of a voluntary self-imposed system of communism, the richer members of the community contributing all, or almost all, their goods to relieve the necessities of their poorer neighbours (Ac 2⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵). Not every one, it would seem, sold his goods; those who had not more than enough for their own necessities supported themselves; but those who had a superfluity of possessions sold or used them for the common good (4²⁴⁻²⁵). Charity on such an heroic scale as that did not, and could not, last; the instance of Ananias and Sapphira shows that the spirit which should have prompted it

was sometimes counterfeited; and perhaps the evils which are sure to result from supporting people in idleness quickly showed themselves in the Church at Jerusalem, as we know from St. Paul's warnings that they began to do in other churches as well (2Th 3¹⁰⁻¹²). But, while the charity of the early days was not continued on the same heroic scale when the first enthusiasm had passed away, an active, practical, unstinted almsgiving continued long to be a very marked feature of the Christian churches, and ultimately of the Christian Church. The brethren, when they extended to St. Paul the right hand of fellowship, and recognized that the mission of him and Barnabas was to be to the Gentiles, added the proviso that they should remember the poor, a proviso which St. Paul himself was anxious to observe (Gal 2¹⁰). Accordingly, in order to carry this out, and thereby to knit more closely into one community the divided Churches of Jews and Gentiles, we find him organizing most carefully, both in the churches of Macedonia and in those of Achaia, a collection and contribution of alms of which he was to be himself, though accompanied by representatives of the different churches, the bearer to the brethren which were at Jerusalem (2 Co 8 and 9). The direction which he gives (1 Co 16²) for a weekly collection of alms in this case seems to have been the origin of a custom which was largely followed in the different churches, and has continued in force to our own day.

Nor was the need of almsgiving and of showing pity to the poor less insisted on by the rest of the Apostolic College than it was by St. Paul. Not only does St. James denounce in strong terms the oppression of the poor by the rich (Ja 5¹⁻⁶ 2⁶), but he sums up the whole of religious service in these words: 'Pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unpolluted from the world' (1²⁷). The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (13¹⁶) concludes his practical advice to those whom he addresses with these words: 'To do good and to distribute forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.' Lastly, St. John puts the duty in the clearest light, connecting most closely the service of man with its originating motive in the love of God: 'Whoso hath the world's goods,' he says (1 Jn 3¹⁷), 'and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?' We see then how in the teaching of our Lord Himself and of His immediate followers almsgiving, or the relief of the poor, was recognized as one of the primary duties of the Christian life, one which grows immediately out of the relations in which men stand through Christ to God, which is the immediate result and outcome of the recognition of that relation. See, further, art. CHARITY (Christian).

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W. A. SPOONER.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Buddhist).—The early Buddhists adopted Indian views on this subject, which forms no part of the teaching peculiar to themselves. Almsgiving (*dāna*) is not mentioned in the Eightfold Path, or in the Five Precepts for laymen. When the author or editor of the *Dhammapadam* made that anthology of verses on each of twenty-six subjects important in Buddhism, *dāna* was not one of them. But *dāna* occurs in several passages of the older books. It is one of the really lucky things (all ethical, *Sutta Nipāta*

¹ On the LXX use of the word ἐλεημοσύνη, see HDB i. 68.

263). The five right ways of giving are to give in faith, to give carefully, to give quickly, to give firmly, and to give so as not to injure oneself or the other (*Āṅguttara*, iii. 172). Another set of five are to give carefully, thoughtfully, with one's own hand, not a thing discarded, and with the hope that the donee will come again (*ib.*). The theory is that the merit of a gift grows in proportion with the merit of the donee (*Āṅguttara*, i. 162; *Dhammapāda*, 357-9). As Buddhism began its fatal course, *dāna* was made one of the *pāramitās* (not found in the older books), that is, of the qualities in which a Buddha must, in previous births, have perfected himself. It is in this connexion that we have the well-known stories of the extremes of almsgiving, such as that of King Sivi who gave away his eyes, and of Vessantara who gave away not only his kingdom, but all that he possessed, and even his wife and children. These legends, both of which have a happy ending, are most popular among the Buddhist peasantry. The ethics of the Vessantara story, which is much open to doubt, is discussed in the *Milinda* (ii. 114-132 of Rhys Davids' tr.). The same book tells of ten gifts which must never be given—intoxicating drinks, weapons, poisons, and so on. But best gift of all is the gift of *dharma*, which may be roughly translated, in this connexion, by 'truth' (*Dhammapāda*, 354), and the Five Great Gifts are the five divisions of one's own virtuous life (*Kathā Vatthu*, 7. 4) regarded, from a similar point of view, as gifts to others. T. W. RHYSDAVIDS.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Christian).—I. Early period.—The first period begins with the epoch of the Flavian emperors. Up to that time poverty was not wide-spread in the Empire, but after that date conditions changed for the worse. The yeoman disappeared before the encroachments of the *latifundia*, or large country estates. His place was taken by slaves, and those who had formerly been free labourers drifted into the idle mobs of the towns. At the same time the pomp and, therefore, the costliness of the Imperial court were increasing, and taxation was becoming proportionately heavier. This combination of causes produced a poverty with which the early Church was bound to deal. In the methods adopted it is possible to trace a clear development from simple congregational relief to a more complex system in which the management of the funds set apart for charitable ends was centralized, and relief was officially administered in institutions built for the purpose. The transition from the one to the other was made in the 4th century. The official recognition then accorded to Christianity at once allowed a far greater freedom to organize than had hitherto been possible, and this was felt in the department of charity as elsewhere.

During the first three centuries there were two methods in vogue in the Church by which alms were collected for the use of the poor. One of these was an imitation of the monthly collection allowed by law to the recognized *collegia* in the Roman Empire. A chest (*arca*) was kept in the church, and into this every member was expected to put a contribution at least monthly; the amount was left to the conscience of the giver (*Tert. Apol.* 39). These offerings were expended on the relief of the poor, provision of funeral expenses, education of boys and girls, and the care of shipwrecked mariners, and of such as were in prison or committed to the mines for the cause of Christ. Besides this *arca* there were also the collections at the Eucharist, which were called oblations. At first composed of all kinds of natural products, they were later confined to bread and

wine. When enough had been taken to supply the sacred elements needed for the celebration, the rest was distributed among the poor. It is probable that money was also offered at the same service. Justin (*Apol.* i. 67) speaks of money deposited with the 'president' for purposes of relief. Besides these sources there were other offerings, conspicuous among which were gifts from rich men, e.g. Cyprian. As yet all such gifts were voluntary, the only exception to this being the law of firstfruits, which had already received recognition at the period of the *Didache* (c. 13). Tithes, although mentioned with commendation by Cyprian (*de Unit.* 26) and Origen (*Hom. in Num.* xi. 1), were not yet required by a fixed law of the Church.

The distribution of these oblations and alms was entrusted to deacons. It was their duty to make diligent search for those who were in affliction or need, and report their names to the Bishop. A list of such names was kept, called the *matricula*. The independence of the deacons in allotting relief was limited and made strictly subordinate to the judgment of the Bishop (*Const. Apost.* ii. 31, 32, 34). When it was necessary to carry relief to women, recourse was had to the ministry of widows or deaconesses. These two classes are not to be confused. For the first three centuries the work was performed by widows. At the end of the 3rd cent., in the East, deaconesses began to replace the widows, but this example was not followed in the West.

The effects of the liberality of this period were far-reaching, and touched many classes. Foremost among those who received support were the widows and orphans. Then came the sick and disabled. It was also the duty of the deacons to visit any of the brethren who were cast into prison and to minister to their necessities—a task sometimes involving danger. To these charitable offices must be added the burial of those who left no means for the purpose, and also the care of slaves, and the duty of showing hospitality to Christians on a journey. Lastly, the *Didache* has revealed to us the fact that it was held to be one of the offices of the Church to provide work for those of its members who lacked it (c. 12).

The ethical aspect of almsgiving during this period was characterized by simplicity. The motive which inspired its charity was love of one's fellow-men (cf. e.g. Clem. Alex. *Ped.* iii.). Here and there we meet the opinion that almsgiving was a work of merit which brought spiritual gain to the giver; this appears as early as Tertullian (*de Monog.* 10). But this does not as yet find general acceptance. Nor were benefactors required to look too strictly into the deserts of the recipients. While the *Didache* (c. 1) recommends some caution in this matter, Clem. Alex. forbids any very close scrutiny. Such differentiation as was exercised concerned the source rather than the destination of a gift. Contributions were not accepted from tainted sources. Marcion brought 200,000 sesterces into the Church, but it was returned when he fell into heresy.

With the middle of the 4th cent. we enter upon the second part of the early period. Simultaneously the need of charity and the means of supplying it were greatly increased. The larger need arose through the changing circumstances of the Empire. Court luxury and the pressure of external foes demanded a constant growth of taxation, which resulted in wide-spread distress. The sermons of the great preachers of the period are full of evidence for this (Greg. Nyss. *de Paup. Amand.* Orat. ii.; Chrysost. *Sermo de Eleemos.*). A typical instance may be found in the Church at Antioch, where, of 100,000 Christians, Chrysostom

reckoned that 10,000 were very poor (*Hom. in Matt. lvi. 3*).

To cope with such extraordinary necessity it was no longer enough to trust to individual benevolence, and the Church had to organize a regular system of relief on a scale much larger than anything hitherto attempted. The earlier congregational method was now replaced by one which may be called diocesan. All the churches of one city, and also those of the surrounding neighbourhood, were subordinated to the Bishop of the city for this as for other purposes. Now that Christianity was allowed by the State, there was no lack of resources. Gifts of all kinds flowed in abundantly, and a permission first granted by Constantine to make bequests to the Church allowed the dead as well as the living to be contributors. Also, as this period advanced, the duty of paying tithes came more and more into prominence, until at the Synod of Macon in 583 it was embodied in a rule binding on all Christians.

The relief of the poor was no longer effected by each congregation acting for itself through its deacons, but by the Bishop, either in person or through his steward. He worked upon the principle that the poor had a primary claim upon the property of the Church—a rule which received formal recognition in the law that Church revenues should be divided into four parts, of which one at least should be devoted to almsgiving. This rule was especially insisted upon by Gregory the Great (*Epp. iii. 11, iv. 42*), whose management of Church estates is well illustrated by his preparations for the conversion of England, for which he drew upon the patrimonium of the Church in Gaul (see his letters collected in Mason's *The Mission of St. Augustine*, 1897). Every Bishop was expected to give freely of his revenues for the relief of the poor, and, though there were some exceptions, yet, as a whole, the episcopate lived up to this expectation. Chrysostom, e.g., supported as many as 7000 persons, and Ambrose was noted for his liberality to the needy. Although in theory this charity was not bestowed on the unworthy (Basil, *Ep. 150*; Ambrose, *de Offic. ii. 16*), in practice there was but little discernment, and the general view was that expressed by Greg. Naz. (*Orat. 19*), when he declared that it was better to err by giving to the undeserving than by failing to give to the deserving. To be deserving it was not even necessary to be a Christian, for the Emperor Julian bears witness that the heathen were included among those who received alms from the Church (*Ep. xxx. 49*). The Bishop had in a manner taken the place of the old Roman noble, and distributed largesse after the same fashion as his prototype—a comparison which illustrates the change from the early days of the Church, when almsgiving was exercised by the congregation of a church with simplicity and in a sphere which was comparatively limited.

It was in this period that Christian benevolence began to make provision for the helpless by the erection of hospitals, using the name in its widest sense. It is doubtful whether this can be carried back to the days of Constantine, but that the institution was known in the time of Julian is clear from that Emperor's efforts to imitate it (*Soz. v. 16*). Refugees were established for the sick, the poor, the orphans, the aged—in a word, for all who were unable to help themselves. They were supported either from the general revenues of the Church or by benefactions specially made for the purpose. For a time the State also gave some assistance, but eventually the task of maintaining the hospitals was left entirely to the Church. At first these institutions were under the direct control of the Bishop, and he super-

vised those who served in them, called in the East the *parabolani*. But, as time advanced, they became independent, and those who ministered in them received a clerical status and a common rule—a change which foreshadowed the coming of the Hospitallers of the Middle Ages.

But it was not only in the outward forms of the distribution of alms that this era witnessed a transition; there were also developments in doctrine which powerfully affected the theory of almsgiving. These displayed themselves in the view taken of the origin of private property, and in the increasing tendency to regard almsgiving as a good work which earns merit in the sight of God. The possession of private property was frequently alluded to by the Fathers as a perversion of God's law. A typical instance of this is found in Ambrose, when he says, '*Natura jus commune generavit, usurpatio fecit privatum*' (*de Off. i. 28*). Similar statements are found in Basil (*Hom. xii. 18*), Jerome (*Ep. ad Helvidium*), and Chrysostom. But it is clear from history and from other Patristic passages that this opinion was not carried to the logical conclusion, which would have been the prohibition of all holding of private property. Just as in the earlier days the declaration of the *Didache*, *οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἴδια εἶναι* (c. 1), and Tertullian's rhetorical flourish (*Apol. 39*), '*omnia indiscreta apud nos, præter uxores*,' must be read in the light of the *Quis Dives salvetur* of Clement—where the misuse, but not the mere possession, of wealth is condemned—so now, whatever the abstract theory, it was allowed that wealth might be held without sin so long as the claims of the poor were remembered (e.g. Augustine, *Sermo 50, § 7*). Community of goods was not demanded as a matter of obligation for the ordinary Christian. For him was now laid down the distinction between necessary and superfluous goods, accompanied by the direction to give alms freely of the second class. This division, implying, as it did, that no claim for almsgiving could be made except on superfluities, was productive in later ages of results ethically vicious. Sidgwick (*Hist. of Ethics*, 1886, iii. sec. 4) compares the attitude of Christian leaders of this period towards property with their attitude towards slavery. Neither property nor slavery was accepted as compatible with an ideal condition of society, but both were looked upon as unavoidable accompaniments of society as it then was. The practical effect of this was that those who avoided the possession of wealth by lavish bestowal of their substance in almsgiving were accounted to have chosen the higher life, and this was in itself a powerful incentive to charity.

This point of view was reinforced by the development of a doctrine which had already appeared in earlier days, but did not bear its full fruit until this epoch. Polycarp (*Ep. 10*) had written that almsgiving frees from death, quoting Tobit 12^a. Hermas (*Simil. ii.*) teaches that almsgiving procures reward from God by reason of the prayers of the grateful recipients. Origen developed this theory, and Cyprian still further emphasized it in his *de Opere et Eleemosynis* (see Benson's *Cyprian*, 1897, ch. v.). He asserts that almsgiving can bring renewed cleansing to souls which have lost their baptismal purity (2), can make prayers efficacious, and free souls from death (6). This doctrine, when combined with that of Tertullian on the satisfaction rendered to God by penance (*de Penit.*), accounts for the views prevalent in the 4th and following centuries. Chrysostom praises the presence of beggars at the church door as giving an opportunity to those entering to cleanse their consciences from minor faults by almsgiving (*Hom. in 2 Tim.*). Ambrose

reckons almsgiving as a 'second bath of the soul' (*Sermo de Eleemos.* 30). Augustine also teaches its efficacy for obtaining forgiveness for light offences (*de Fide et Oper.* 26). With this Father comes in the addition which was to mean so much in later days, namely, the belief that almsgiving could atone for the sins of the departed as well as for those of the living. In the *Enchiridion* (110) he places the bestowal of alms side by side with the offering of the Eucharist for this purpose. But in treating of this subject he is careful to limit the efficacy of charity to those whose lives were acceptable to God. It availed nothing for living or dead who were of evil reputation. But, however carefully Augustine and his contemporaries might guard this doctrine, it is obvious that here was the germ of later abuses. As the belief in Purgatory grew, it became part of the common creed that almsgiving would secure large abatement of the torments awaiting men in that state; and, on the epitaphs of the period, charity is now recorded in connexion with the *redemptio animi*. From this it is but a step to the system of the Middle Ages.

2. Mediæval period.—The history of almsgiving during this period is distinguished by two characteristics. The Church was the only channel of charity; secular government did not undertake to supply the needy or to succour the distressed, but left the task to ecclesiastical organizations. This was the first mark of this epoch. The second was the total lack of any attempt to co-ordinate the activities of the various agencies by which alms were distributed. The ecclesiastical bodies and monastic orders received and gave help without any regard to the possibility that others might be doing the same work among the same people. This was even more true of the Continent than of England, for the parochial system, which took firm root in England and did in some measure serve as a local centre for charitable work, was not a practical factor in the Church life of the Continent.

That this lack of organization was not felt to be an evil was largely due to the tendency prevalent throughout this period to regard almsgiving solely from the standpoint of the giver. The chief object of charity was to secure eternal life for the bestower, and it mattered little who might be the recipient. There are, no doubt, writers who remembered that charity must retain as its chief objects the *gloria Dei* and *utilitas proximi* (St. Bernard, *Trac. de Mor. et Off. Episc.* 3), but they are the exception. The habit of looking at an alms solely as a passport to salvation grew so steadily, that although Thomas Aquinas still treats of 'eleemosyna' under 'charitas,' by later doctors it is transferred to 'penitentia,' where it stands as one of the three elements of 'satisfaction.'

In the *Summa* of Aquinas (ii. 2, quæst. 66) the opinion of Ambrose on the question of private property is taken up and developed. It is declared to be unlawful to regard anything as a private possession *quoad usum*, but lawful to do so *quoad potestatem procurandi et dispensandi*; that is, a man may not so appropriate wealth as to prohibit others from asserting any claim upon it. Property may become an *impedimentum charitatis*, or even, as later writers put it, *incendii infernalis materies*. Poverty is the higher state, and the beggar is more meritorious than the rich man. These statements are the complement of the detailed treatment of almsgiving given previously in ii. 2, quæst. 32 of the *Summa*. 'Eleemosyna' is there divided into the two classes, *corporalis* and *spiritualis*. There are seven species in each class, expressed in the lines, 'Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo, Consule, castiga, solare, re-

mitte, fer, ora,' the seventh spiritual alms being teaching, which is included in 'console.' *Eleemosyna spiritualis* is adjudged superior to *corporalis*, for the characteristic reason that it brings greater reward to the bestower. The extent of the obligation to bestow alms is decided by reference to the capacity of the giver and the need of the recipient. The goods of the almsgiver are distinguished as supporting either his life (*vita*), his position (*status*), or his appearance in the eyes of the world (*decentia*), and in each of these divisions there are some things which are *superflua* and others which are *necessaria*. Similarly, the need of the recipient may be either *extrema*, *gravis*, or only *communis*. To refuse *superflua decentia* or *status* to any one in extreme or grave necessity is a mortal sin, but outside these limits almsgiving is a counsel to be followed rather than a command to be obeyed under pain of penalty.

In estimating this teaching, the lawlessness of the age to which it was addressed must be taken into consideration. Definite and detailed commands alone secured attention. Nevertheless, such minute rules were mechanical, and opened the way to the danger of evasion which awaits all such systems. It was only requisite for a man to maintain that all his possessions were *necessaria*, to escape altogether from the obligations of charity. This perversion actually took place, and it became needful in later times to anathematize the opinion that not even of kings could it be said that any of their wealth was superfluous.

In the practical recognition of almsgiving the earlier part of this period was conspicuous, but the later part, although by no means lacking in the virtue, showed distinct signs of deterioration. Of the institutional methods of exercising charity, the most prominent may be noted under the following heads:—

(1) *Monasteries*.—Among the ideals of early monasticism a high place was assigned to self-denial, which threw worldly possessions into the common stock to be used for the glory of God in the service of men. From the money so gathered the poor were relieved, the sick supplied with food and medicine, schools erected for children, and hospitality provided for travellers. This charity was guided by the wisdom which could alone make it truly effective. It was administered by a special official, the almoner, and he was bidden to select carefully the recipients of his alms, to spare the feelings of those who had seen better days, to visit the sick, and to give no relief permanently without consulting the head of the monastery (see, e.g., the Augustinian rule in *Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory at Barnwell*, ed. J. W. Clark, 1897). The most remarkable expression of this spirit was that which appeared in the lives of St. Francis of Assisi and his followers. To the saint who saw no merit in the saving habits of the ant (*Sayings of Brother Giles*, ch. vii.) the highest ideal was an absolute poverty, which left perfect freedom to minister to others. Among the many charitable exploits of the Franciscan Order, mention must be made of the establishment of the *monts de pitié*, lending-houses which were founded to advance loans, either without interest, or at a very low rate, to poor people who otherwise would have been the victims of Jewish usury (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, 1846-56, pt. ii. ch. xi. App.).

As the centuries advanced, decay attacked both elements of the earlier monastic rule. Charitable deeds were supported not from the common fund, but by donations granted for the special purpose, and no trouble was any longer taken to discern between worthy and unworthy among the applicants. Hospitality decreased, and the right to entertain travellers was let out to neighbouring

innkeepers (e.g. at Glastonbury). By the time of the Reformation these defects had deprived monastic charity of much of its virtue. While the monks, no doubt, assisted many who deserved their help, they also demoralized many more by the indiscriminate bestowal of doles.

(2) *Hospitals*.—These foundations, which were exceedingly numerous, although governed by the Knights Hospitallers, were of a religious character, the rule of the Augustinians being usually observed within their walls. The black cloak of this Order is still worn, e.g., by the bedesmen of St. Cross. From their original connexion they were sometimes known as 'Commanderies,' of which a typical instance is to be seen in the still existing Commandery at Worcester. In such houses travellers were entertained, and a refuge provided for the sick and infirm. To this might be added the relief of the local poor. (For a magnificent example of this see the account of St. Leonard's, York, in Cutts' *Parish Priests and Their People*, 1898, p. 505.) The Hospital was placed under the charge of a Master or Warden assisted by chaplains or canons, among whose duties was the obligation of saying mass for the soul of the founder. The decay of these institutions set in when they came to be regarded as preferments for the support of the clergy, and the greater part of their funds was diverted for this purpose.

(3) *Chantries*.—These were not, as is commonly supposed, established merely to provide masses for the souls of the departed. The larger part of the income attached to them was frequently assigned to the relief of the poor (see Gasquet, *Parish Life in Mediæval England*, 1906, p. 96).

(4) *Gilds*.—Often named after some church or patron saint, these societies existed primarily for religious purposes, but included in their scope many works of charity. Help was given to brethren in want, or sick, or wrongfully cast into prison; girls were furnished with dowries; and money was found for the funerals of departed members.

(5) *The Parish*.—In England parochial organization made the relief of the poor one of the special objects of care. One-third of the tithe was especially reserved for charitable uses, and this was augmented by collections in church, and by free-will offerings and bequests bestowed not only by the rich, but by all classes of the parishioners. It was the duty of the churchwardens to administer these funds by making grants or loans to worthy applicants. A common method of laying out such money was in the purchase of a few kine and sheep to form a common parochial stock, the young animals and the milk being sold and the proceeds devoted to charity.

Beside these institutional charities must be noticed the private exercise of almsgiving, of which the obligation was generally allowed by men of substance throughout this period. Among the Saxon kings the almoner was already a regular member of the court (see story of Oswald in Bede, *HE* iii. 7). The custom of appointing a similar official in episcopal households was made a law binding on all Bishops by a constitution of Stephen Langton. At the doors of ecclesiastical and secular notables it was common to have a daily distribution of doles of money or food carried out on a lavish scale. We hear of a Bishop of Ely giving warm meat and drink daily to 200 people; and, as late as the time of Henry VIII., Thomas Cromwell is found showing a like generosity to the multitudes who crowded at his gate. Nor was charity confined to men of great estate. Latimer's father, with a farm at £4 a year, was not forgetful of it (see First Sermon before King Edward VI.). In the supply of such doles a large part was

played by testamentary bequests. By the Council of Chelsea (816) it was decreed that a tenth of a Bishop's possessions should be given to the poor after his death, and this model was widely copied. John of Gaunt ordered that his body should not be buried for forty days, and that fifty marks should be distributed on each of those days, and 500 on the last day. In such bequests the rule of 'first come, first served' was the only one which was followed, with the result that funerals were the happy hunting ground of professional mendicants. The only qualification needed to obtain the dole was attendance at the dirge of the testator. This instance forms a fitting close to our review of the mediæval period; for, while it shows that there was no lack of almsgiving during that era, it illustrates also the weaknesses which made it so ineffective as a cure for social evils—namely, the concentration of attention on the supposed profit it brought to the bestower, and the total neglect of the character of the recipient.

3. *Modern period*.—The transition from mediævalism to the modern view began on the Continent sooner than in England. This was the natural result of the peculiarity which marked the course of the Reformation in England, where it was first political and then religious—an order which was reversed on the Continent. While Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were making it their chief concern to effect a permanent breach with Rome, the German and Swiss Reformers were developing the ethical and religious tenets of the new movement. It is in Germany that we meet with the first direct contradictions of the mediæval principles of charity, shown in three well-defined instances. In 1388 at Nuremberg a charitable fund was opened, from the management of which ecclesiastics were expressly excluded. In 1428 at Frankfurt a board was established for the relief of the poor, and directions were given that they were to conduct a strict inquiry into the fitness of applicants for help. In 1520, Luther, in his *Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, denied the right of mendicancy to be esteemed a natural feature of society. The application of these principles where the Reformation prevailed led to the transference of Church property to charitable and public uses. A striking instance of this was seen at Zürich, where Zwingli appropriated the monastic funds for educational purposes, while at the same time he suppressed beggars and allowed relief only for the infirm and aged.

In England, on the other hand, the immediate result of the Reformation was the practical extinction of charity for the time being. The religious houses had, however imperfectly, recognized the duty of almsgiving; but when they were dissolved the revenues were squandered by the king and his worthless courtiers, who seized the estates without any sense of the responsibilities attached to them. The strongest witness to the deplorable results of this may be seen in the sermons of Latimer, of whose laments a sentence from the sermon *On the Ploughers* is a fair summary: 'Charitie is waxed coide, none helpeth the scholer, nor yet the pore.' The attempts of historians to controvert this by adducing the names of schools founded by the early Tudors effect nothing. The sums allotted to such purposes were a mere drop in the great pillage. The results of such a violent revolution were for a time disastrous. It is not fair to say that it created the multitude of beggars who now appeared, for they were largely the offspring of the previous system of doles, by which (in the words of Fuller) 'the abbeyes did but maintain the poor they made.' But the dissolution of the religious houses suddenly flooded the country with hosts of homeless people

before the nation had had time to set up a Poor Law, or private consciences had been trained to dispense alms not only with liberality but also with wisdom. An attempt to remedy this was made in 1536, when an Act was passed ordaining 'that no person shall make any common dole, or shall give any ready money in alms otherwise than to the common gatherings.' But for the moment the country was full of 'valiant rogues' and 'masterless men,' whose threats made this enactment inoperative (see Bosanquet, *Aspects of the Social Problem*, 1895, ch. xiii.). Before the end of the reign of Edward VI. a better day began to dawn. Private charity revived, and individuals took up the good works formerly performed by the religious bodies, e.g. the building of hospitals and the making of roads (cf. G. Herbert, *Thanksgiving*, 'I'll build a spittle, or mend common ways'). In 1551 a legal distinction was drawn between the 'rogues' and 'those who are poor in very deed' (see Fowle, *Poor Law*², 1893, ch. iii.), for whose support a weekly collection was ordered to be made in every church. From this time forward the public relief of the poor belongs to the story of charity organization, and all that remains for the purposes of this article is to record some expositions of the principles which have been held to underlie almsgiving by private individuals.

An examination of typical opinions shows that men have only slowly learned to consider almsgiving from the point of view of the recipient. Although it may not be in the mediæval terms, yet there is always a tendency to give too much prominence to the consequences to the giver. The *Homilies* of Edward VI. and Elizabeth illustrate this. In the First Book almsgiving is treated under 'Good Works,' and it is proved that without faith it is of no effect, that is, to the bestower. In the Second Book, containing a special discourse on almsgiving, we are still confronted with the same point of view. Alms are to be given as pleasing to God, deserving of merit, and productive, through God's approval, of prosperity in this world. This one-sided theory received a notable correction in the writings of Jeremy Taylor. In *Holy Living* (ch. iv. sec. 8) we reach the more balanced consideration which includes both sides. The almsgiver is to acquire a 'true sense of the calamity of his brother,' and those in want are to receive in proportion to their need. No alms are to be given to vicious persons if such help might enable them to continue in their sin. Among the persuasives to almsgiving, the love of God and the example of Christ are the most effectual. Taylor thus marks a great advance towards the recovery of the primitive doctrine which based charity on the debt of the Christian to his Lord, and the right of the needy to ask help. That his teaching was not universally accepted is evident from the pages of another famous book, the *Serious Call* of William Law. In ch. viii. the portrait of the virtuous life of Miranda is completed by a reference to her method of dispensing charity. While her motive is the reflexion that the poor are as dear to God as she is herself, she declines to regulate her gifts by any consideration of the deserts of the recipients. After quoting the text that God makes His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, Law proceeds: 'This plainly teaches us that the merit of persons is to be no rule of our charity.' It is known that he put this principle into practice at King's Cliffe with disastrous results. The only instance in which such a disregard of the character of the recipients could be condoned was in the case of those in prison. The barbarity of the age, as John Howard afterwards discovered, left these poor creatures dependent on private almsgiving for many of the necessities of life, and their

relief was a duty frequently undertaken by the charitable.

This survey of theories of almsgiving points to the conclusion that the true law for it will be found in the gathering up and harmonizing of the teachings of the past. With Ambrose the Christian regards property as a trust, not as an absolute possession. With Thomas he learns that much can be saved for charitable uses by a strict discernment between the *necessaria* and *superflua* among his needs. To this he adds from Jeremy Taylor the motive which differentiates Christian charity from mere benevolence—the sense of a debt owed to the Saviour. This corrects the mediæval mistake; for almsgiving is seen to be not a way of earning redemption, but a natural activity of men already redeemed. The modern contribution seems to lie in taking up and developing the spasmodic attempts of former ages to consider the recipient as well as the giver. The closer study of the example of Christ in the Gospels has shown that true charity must make its first aim the permanent raising of character. This at once deprives of any title to be called charitable all easy bestowal of doles which rests on no knowledge of the recipients. True charity demands careful study of character and personal history, and patience to follow through any effort to help until some lasting result has been produced. The emphasizing of this side of the question is the peculiar achievement of our own time in this sphere (cf. C. F. Rogers, *Charitable Relief*, 1904, ch. i.; Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, 1901, ch. v.).

LITERATURE.—Besides the books mentioned in the article, see Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebestätigkeit*², 1895 (fr. of first part, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, 1883 [a masterly survey]), and the same writer's art. 'Die Liebestätigkeit in Mittelalter' (*Zechr. f. Kirchengesch.* iv.); Hamack, *Ausbreitung*, 1902 (tr. *Expansion of Christianity*, 1904, vol. i. ch. iii.); Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*², 1890, i. 62-100; Ashley, *Economic History*², 1894, bk. i. ch. v.; Ratzinger, *Gesch. der kirchl. Armenpflege*², 1884; art. 'Charity' (Loeb), in *EB*¹⁰; B. K. Gray, *A Hist. of Eng. Philanthropy*, London, 1905, p. 1; R. L. Ottley, *Christian Ideas and Ideals*, London, 1909, p. 228; W. P. Paterson, in the *Expository Times*, vol. vi. [1895] p. 108; and, for modern Rom. Cath. view, art. 'Aumône,' in *Vacant, Dict. de théol. Catholique*, Paris, 1905.

C. T. DIMONT.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Greek).—The practice of almsgiving among the ancient Greeks cannot be deduced from any general religious or philosophic principle. That is to say, it was not inculcated as an item of a national ideal of conduct, reflected back upon the individual as a command of religious or philosophic sanctity. So much is true, at any rate, of the Greeks of the great age, in whom the instinct of generosity existed only in rudimentary form. It was also affected by their fundamental conception of the relationship between the individual and those various groups (of family, clan, and State) apart from which he was, if not inconceivable, at least shorn of the major part of his *raison d'être* in the world. Hence in Hesiod (*Works*, 327 ff.) the list of principal offences against the social order, all equally exciting the wrath of Zeus, stands as follows: (1) injuring a suppliant or guest,¹ (2) seducing a brother's wife, (3) defrauding an orphan, (4) unfilial conduct to an aged parent. All these turn upon the injury of some member of the household. This group-relationship hardly taught social morality, says Lotze, speaking in particular of family life. For 'special and unique relations bind the members of a family together by feelings which do not flow from general duties of men towards their fellows;

¹ Similarly in Homer beggars and vagrants are under the protection of Zeus Xenios, no less than 'strangers,' i.e. visitors of higher social rank. See *Od.* xiv. 56 *ἐξείν*, *οὐ μοι θέμις εἶναι*, *οὐδ' ἐκ κακίων ἀνέειν ἔλθον*, | *ἐνὶ ἀνθρώποις* | *πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἶσιν ἀνάντες* | *ἐξείναι τε πρῶτοι τε*. Here by courtesy the epithet *ἐξείναι* is bestowed upon Odysseus, who to look on is but a beggar. See also vi. 207, xiv. 389 and 404 ff., xvii. 483 ff.

these feelings do indeed incidentally enrich life . . . but, so far from illuminating men's consciousness of general moral duties, they only obscure it' (*Microcosmus*, tr. Hamilton-Jones, 1885, ii. 497).

Almsgiving therefore necessarily, so far as the Greeks are concerned, was but a small special derivative of that general form of conduct which may be summed up as hospitality (see HOSPITALITY [Greek]). And even after the birth of ethical speculation the view was too narrowly focused upon the self to lead to any wide conception of the claims of poverty upon wealth. The dignity of his own personality is the lodestar of the 'liberal' (ελευθέριος) and 'magnificent' (μεγαλοπρεπής) man of Aristotle's classification. Not until the rise of Stoicism do we find insistence upon the duty of mercy in dealings with fellow-men, based upon an obligation as fundamental as that of justice (Zeller, *Stoics*, etc., tr. Reichel, 1870, p. 296).

In the Homeric world the 'worthless outcast' (Il. ix. 648, ἀνίμῳ μετανόστῃ [with Leaf's note]) is an enemy of society (ib. 63, ἀφρητῶν ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιος, 'banished from tribe and law and home'), and may be slain with impunity. Safety must be found by entering within some other family group, under the regulations and conditions prescribed by custom (cf. xvi. 573 [with Leaf's note], also the story of Adrastus and Cresus [Herod. i. 35]; Themistocles at the palace of King Admetus [Thuc. i. 136]). The bond of hospitality is a means whereby the individuals of two naturally unconnected groups may be brought into intercourse. One party assumes the rôle of protector of the other. It is from this relationship, the practical exhibition of which was satisfying to the vanity which formed so large an ingredient in the ancient Greek character, that there sprang, on a lower plane, the phenomena connected with beggars and almsgiving exhibited in the somewhat advanced society depicted in the *Odyssey*.

In the *Odyssey* the professional beggar is a recognized inevitable adjunct of the great house (xviii. 1 ff., ἱὸς τοῦ πτωχοῦ πανδήμιος [with Monro's note]; cf. xviii. 48). He runs on errands, but otherwise is of little use. He is naturally resentful of any intrusion upon his 'pitch' (cf. Hesiod, *Works*, 26, πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονεῖ: hence the quarrel between Iros and Odysseus). The significant emblems of the trade were the staff, the wallet hung by a cord, and the ragged, dirty garb (*Od.* xiii. 434 ff.; cf. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 921 f., *Ach.* 432 and 448, ἀτὰρ δέομαι γὰρ πτωχικοῦ βακτηρίου).¹ Equipped with these, the beggar is described as 'going' looting through the land asking alms' (*Od.* xvii. 2 f., πτώσσων κατὰ δῆμον | βούλεται αἰτίζων βόσκειν ἢν γαστέρ' ἀναλτον, or else 'stands about and rubs his shoulders against many doorposts, begging for scraps of meat' (ib. 220; cf. 339 f., ἵξε δ' ἐπὶ μελίνου οὐδοῦ ἐντοσθε θυράων, | κλινόμενος σταθμῷ).² Naturally it is food chiefly for which the beggar looks; and Telemachus sets an example to the suitors by giving the pretended beggar Odysseus a 'whole loaf, and of flesh as much as his hands could hold' (ib. 343, cf. 365 ff.); but a suit of clothes is promised by Penelope as reward for tidings (ib. 557). Odysseus (in *Od.* xv. 319) offers menial service of 'handy man' in return for his lœp; so that there were varieties of beggars even then. Iros was evidently a bad specimen, and famous only for his belly (xviii. 2 f., μετὰ δ' ἔτρεπε γαστέρι μάρπη, | ἀζηχὲς φαγέμεν καὶ πείμεν). And so we find Homer familiar with the tramp who lies glibly for entertainment (xiv. 124), and with the

'sundowner' and loafer who will not work (xviii. 357 ff.).

As civilization advanced and the primitive hospitality decayed, the lot of the beggar must have become harder the more almsgiving came to depend upon the capricious impulse of the individual. The ruthlessness of ancient society, in which one must be hammer or anvil, is largely concealed from us by the fact that, with few exceptions, it is only the class which enjoys wealth and power that is articulate; that is to say, ancient literature is mainly aristocratic in origin. Hesiod affords a glimpse of the poverty which subsists upon the grudging alms of neighbours until patience is exhausted (*Works*, 400 ff.). In Athens the *ἐρανος*, or collection taken up to relieve an acquaintance in difficulties, was a form of almsgiving that probably became at times very burdensome (cf. Theophr. *Char.* 6, καὶ ἐν τῇ σιτοδείᾳ δὲ ὡς πλεῖω ἢ πέντε τάλαντα αὐτῷ γέγοντο τὰ ἀναλῶματα διδόντι τοῖς ἀπότης τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναγειν γὰρ οὐ δύνασθαι). Money so given was regarded as something between a loan and a gift; probably it often was but a thinly disguised alms.

The duty of private almsgiving must, in Athens at least, have been less imperatively felt, owing to the fact that there was in operation a State system of outdoor relief for infirm paupers (*ἀδύνατοι*).³ Its origin was referred to the time of Solon or Pisistratus, i.e. as early as the 6th cent. B.C. (Plut. *Sol.* 31). Persons who were unable through bodily infirmity to earn a livelihood, and had less than three *minæ* (say £12 stg.) of private property, were given a small allowance by the State.⁴ Originally this relief had been confined to those invalidated through military service.⁵ Probably certain other conditions were required to be fulfilled in addition to those specified by our authorities. Citizenship would certainly be requisite, and freedom from *ἀτιμία* (see ATIMIA); also it must have been required that the claimant had no near living relatives in a position to support him. On the other hand, it appears from the speech of Lysias on behalf of a claimant for relief that the words of Aristotle 'unable to do anything to earn a living,' cannot have been taken *au pied de la lettre*. Public office was naturally forbidden to recipients of State relief (Lysias, *Or.* xxiv. 13). The list of claimants was scrutinized annually by the Council of Five Hundred, before which all appeared in person. The list of recommendations was then formally sanctioned by the Assembly (Lysias, l.c. § 22, ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἐψηφίσαστο τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον).⁶ The allowance seems to have varied in amount. In the time of Lysias (c. 400 B.C.) it was one *obol* a day (Lys. *op. cit.* § 26, περί ὀβολοῦ μόνον ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους); in the time of Aristotle it was two *obols*; an intermediate sum (or possibly the adoption of a monthly dole) is implied in the 9 *drachmæ* (=54 *obols*) a month, of Philochoros *ap.* Harporcation.

LITERATURE.—The subject does not appear to have been treated hitherto. Scattered notices only are found in connexion with allied topics, as, e.g., beggars in Homer in P. G. Egerer, *Homeric Gastfreundschaft*, 1881. On Athenian State-relief, see Böckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, 1842, i. 342 ff.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Hindu).—Almsgiving (*dāna*) among the Hindus is primarily a

¹ It is not clear whether the term *δύνατος* used in this technical sense refers only to bodily infirmity or included also the idea of poverty (Jebb, *Aitico Oratoria*, 1876, i. 249, note 4). There seems no doubt that both ideas were necessarily included.

² Aristotle, *Ath. Const.* 49. 4, νόμος γὰρ ὅστις δὲ κελαιεὶ τοὺς ἐνδεῖς τριῶν μῶνυ κεκτημένους, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπρωμένους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μὴδὲ ἔργον ἐργάζεσθαι, δοκιμάειν μὲν τὴν βουλὴν, δίδοναι δὲ δημοσίᾳ προσηγνὸν ὁβολοὺς ἑκάστῳ τῆς ἡμέρας.

³ Plut. *Sol.* 31 [δ νόμος] ὁ τοὺς πτωχόντας ἐν πόλει δημοσίᾳ τρέφειν κελεύειν.

⁴ But the reference here may be to the original law ordaining the distribution of relief, while the annual scrutiny and authorization of relief may have been within the administrative competence of the Council without further reference to the Ecclesia.

¹ As afterwards adopted by Diogenes and his brother Cyntics (Diog. Laert. vi. 13 and 22, etc.).

² For this distinction between town and country begging, cf. *Od.* xvii. 181, πτωχὸν βέλτερον ἐστὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἢ κατ' ἀγροῦς | δαῖτα πτωχεύειν. In the country, work might be the price of alms.

religious obligation, and differs in some important respects both in conception and in practice from that which passes under the same name in the West. Of almsgiving, as the bestowal of gifts upon the poor and needy, prompted by a feeling of sympathetic compassion, Hinduism knows nothing. But the habit of generosity, of sharing possessions with others and relieving their wants, is perhaps more wide-spread in India than in any other country. It is clear, moreover, that only where such an obligation is universally recognized and acted upon can companies of wandering ascetics, as in India, move hither and thither without restraint throughout the land, confident everywhere of finding support and having their wants freely supplied. Manu also declares that liberality is the special virtue and duty of men in this Kali age.¹ The only rightful recipients of alms, however, are the Brāhmins and the various orders of ascetics. These alone have a claim to support and gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) from all other classes of the community; and from such donations merit accrues to the giver, the amount of which is in direct proportion to the value of the gift.

In India, therefore, almsgiving is inspired by a religious motive, the desire to secure personal advantages and reward in a future life. The theories and teaching of the Hindu books leave no room for the play of disinterested generosity; although many Hindus are in this respect better than their creed. And it is only among certain communities of monks, who devote a part at least of their time to charity and the relief of the poor, that anything approaching the Western conception of almsgiving is found.² There can be little doubt that here we should recognize the kindly and humane influence of Buddhism. At festivals also and on occasions of pilgrimage the abbot of a monastery will entertain all comers regardless of expense.³ The underlying motive of the act, however, is in these instances still Indian, not Western or Christian. Generosity is, indeed, enjoined upon monks, as part of their vows. Those who can give nothing else must give their books. Ordinarily, however, monks and ascetics do not bestow, but receive.⁴ And the need and opportunity for almsgiving in the wider sense, within the laity and among the non-Brāhminical part of the population, have always been met to a considerable extent in India by the usages and institutions of caste and the joint family life, which throw upon the whole circle the burden and obligation of the support of each individual.

As early as the Vedic hymns, gifts (*dāna*, *dātṛa*, *dakṣiṇā*) take a prominent place in the thought and teaching of the poets; and the virtue and merit of the giver are repeatedly emphasized.⁵ In the Vedic literature generally, and in the later *smṛtis*, especially in the Dharmasāstras and Purāṇas, one of the chief duties incumbent upon a householder is charitable giving (*dātṛtā*, *dātṛtva*);⁶

¹ Manu, l. 86: 'In the Kṛta age the chief (virtue) is declared to be (the performance of) austerities; in the Tretā, (divine) knowledge; in the Dvāpara, (the performance of) sacrifices; in the Kali, liberality (*dāna*) alone.' Cf. the description of Bhārata Varsa (India) in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ii. 8. 12: '*dānāni chātṛa dāyante paralokārtham*, 'there also gifts are bestowed for the sake of the other world.'

² Barth, *Rel. of India*, p. 213, instances the Kānpṛāṣas of the Panjab and Nepal. But the same is true of other sects.

³ See, for example, Oman, *Mythics*, etc. p. 260 ff.

⁴ The direction of Vaiṣiṣṭha, ix. 8, that the hermit 'shall only give, not receive', is, we believe, entirely isolated, and as opposed to the general rule as it is to universal practice.

⁵ e.g. *Rig. I.* 13. 11, 'May the splendour of the giver be foremost' (*SBE* xli. 9). Cf. the praise of Rudra, 'the giver of many gifts', ii. 33. 12.

⁶ Vas. viii. 16, 'all mendicants subsist through the protection afforded by householders.' Liberality is the duty of the first three castes (Baudh. i. 10. 18. 2 ff., Vas. ii. 13. 1, Āpast. ii. 5. 10. 4 ff., where Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are expressly prohibited from receiving alms; cf. *ib.* ii. 8. 20. 1 ff., Baudh. ii. 8. 5. 19, 7. 13. 5, Gaut. v. 32 ff.). Vas. xxix. 1, 'through liberality man obtains

and careful, if not always consistent, definitions are given as to the persons (*dānapātrā*) upon whom such alms may be bestowed.¹ Manu lays down distinct and ordered rules on the subject, which, except as interfered with or modified by European influence, govern Hindu practice to the present day.² Such gifts are said to be *dharmārtham*, 'for the purpose of (acquiring) religious merit'; a chapter of the Skanda-Purāṇa bears the title *Dānadharma-vidhī*, 'rules for almsgiving'; and Hemādri devotes the second part of his great work to the same theme.³

Thus all Hindu ascetics live by alms; in contrast with the laborious and self-denying lives of many similar communities in the West, they may not and do not in any case earn their living by work, but are dependent upon the charity of others. The institution and habitual practice of begging on a wide scale, together with the rules regulating it, are of great antiquity in India. And the burden of supporting an army of wandering mendicants, whose lives are unproductive, must always have pressed hardly upon the poorer classes of the population. It was from Brāhmanism that Buddhism inherited the duty of liberality towards those whose lives were devoted to the service of religion, developing and systematizing an ancient principle and placing it on broader foundations. Śākyamuni himself in a former birth had borne the title of *dānasūtra*, 'a hero in liberality.' Such practices, therefore, were no novelty in Buddhist ethical and social duties. Jainism also, the second great protestant community of the early centuries, while rejecting the extravagant claims of the Brāhmins, maintained the right of the devotee and ascetic to support at the public expense.⁴ In neither case was a new principle introduced, but a long-standing custom was sanctioned and continued for the benefit of the ascetic orders and the teachers of religion.

Such gifts were, broadly speaking, of two kinds. Grants of landed estate, dwelling-houses, etc., taxes derived from villages, and tithes, held the first place. More irregular and occasional were the donations of money or food, which at all festivals, anniversaries, household ceremonies, etc., the Brāhmins received as their perquisites. To the latter class belong the contributions in kind, which the wandering mendicant exacts from the fears or superstitions of the ignorant villager.⁵

¹ all his desires' (cf. 9 ff.); xxix. 17, 'he who gives to a Brāhmana a vessel filled with water for sipping will obtain after death complete freedom from thirst' (cf. *ib.* viii. 6, Gaut. v. 20 ff.). So in the Upaniṣads and elsewhere 'sacrifice and almsgiving' are the special duties of the Brāhmana as *gṛhastha* (Bṛh. 4. 4. 22, Chānd. 2. 23, Taitt. i. 9, cf. Deussen, *Upan.*, 1906, p. 871 f.).

² Vas. xi. 17 f., the householder shall feed 'three ascetics or three virtuous householders. . . he may also feed pupils who are endowed with good qualities' (cf. *ib.* 27 ff., Gaut. xvii. 1 ff., Baudh. ii. 3. 5. 9 ff., 10. 18. 4 ff., 14, Āpast. i. 1. 3. 25 f., ii. 5. 10. 1 ff.). It is the special duty of the student (*brahmachārin*) to beg alms for his teacher (Gaut. ii. 8. iii. 14 f., Baudh. ii. 10. 18. 4 ff.); for the student not to ask for alms is a sin (Baudh. i. 2. 4. 7; cf. *Sat. Brah.* xi. 3. 3. 5 ff., *al.*).

³ Manu, i. 88 ff., xi. 21. Among the six duties of a Brāhmana are enumerated the giving and receiving of gifts, but the last again is forbidden to Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, x. 75 ff.; cf. iii. 95 ff., 125, 132, iv. 81 ff., 192. iv. 226 ff., 'Let him, without tiring, always . . . perform works of charity with faith . . . let him always practise . . . the duty of liberality. . . both he who respectfully receives (a gift), and he who respectfully bestows it, go to heaven'; cf. vii. 82, 85 ff., xi. 8; it is incumbent upon kings in particular to be liberal in gifts, vii. 79, 134-136, xi. 4, 25 f.—even to the extent of bequeathing all their wealth to Brāhmins, ix. 823.

⁴ The *Dānakhaṇḍa*; see Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 97, n. 4; Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 104; A. A. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, 1900, p. 429 f. *Dānastuti*, 'the praise of gifts', is the general title of a whole department of Sanskrit literature; see Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1860, p. 493 f.

⁵ *Aśvārāga Sūtra*, ii. 1-7, *passim*; J. G. Bühler and J. Burgess, *Indian Sect of the Jains*, London, 1903, p. 12 ff.

⁶ The facilities for travel afforded by the railways have greatly increased the numbers attending the more popular and celebrated festivals. It would have been expected that the

The *mahādāna* ('great gifts') were ten or sixteen in number. Of these gold was the most important, then estates, buildings, village-taxes, etc. Of gifts in gold the most costly, and therefore the most meritorious, was the *tulādāna* or *tulāpuraṣa*. The donor caused himself to be weighed in the scales against an equivalent of gold, which was then distributed in largess to the assembled Brāhmins. A king of Kanauj in the 12th cent. is said to have repeated this costly donation a hundred times; another example quoted is that of a minister of Mithilā in the early part of the 14th century.¹ Hiuen-Tsiang gives a marvellous account of the benefactions of Śilāditya, sovereign of Kanauj circa 640 A.D., who was accustomed once in every five years to give away in alms all that he possessed.² A similar act of lavish charity was occasionally performed with silver substituted for the more valuable metal. In certain initiatory rites connected with the assumption of the sacred thread a figure of a cow or sacred lotus made of gold plays a prominent part; and this after the ceremony is broken up and the fragments distributed to the Brāhmins or gifted to the temple.³ Similarly after a banquet the royal or wealthy host will at times bestow upon his guests the costly dishes of gold and silver that have been employed in the feast. Grants of land or revenue to monastic institutions or to Brāhmins have always been frequent in India. Such grants are recorded as early as the inscriptions of Aśoka; and, according to the legend, the same emperor in his later life had to be restrained almost by force from ruining himself and his house by his extravagant generosity.⁴ Similar gifts and dedications are far from being uncommon at the present day. To provide free meals for Brāhmins is also an act of great merit, the virtue of which increases with the number of Brāhmins fed. On a less scale this is done at every household ceremony, anniversary, or feast; and at the great festivals large provision is made, and numerous companies of pilgrims and ascetics gather together, and are entertained often for several days. The example of Uśavadāta is quoted, who, in a cave inscription attributed to the 1st cent. of our era, boasts that he provided annually for the wants of 100,000 Brāhmins, with gifts of 100,000 cows, sixteen villages, pleasure-grounds, tanks, etc.⁵ In ancient times such records are numerous of kings who maintained a number of Brāhmins at their own cost for a prolonged period, or even for life. And, like the monastic orders of the Middle Ages in Europe, the Indian orders of monks became rich in the possession of estates, 'property belonging to the god,' *devaśva*, *devasthāna*, in some instances a considerable proportion even of the land and revenue of a State passing into their hands.

In the North of India what might thus be termed systematic almsgiving, donations more or less in the nature of a regular contribution or tithe for the support of communities or individual teachers, *gurus*, holding official positions as recognized heads of a sect or school of thought, are now less usual than in the South. The *gurus* themselves exercise a less wide and powerful influence. In the South regular fees are exacted, and every means short of legal or actual compulsion is adopted to ensure payment. These *gurus* go fees to the officiating priests would have increased in like proportion. This does not seem to be the case. And the somewhat curious explanation is offered that the pilgrim now visits many shrines, and impartially distributes among them gifts which were formerly concentrated on one altar.

¹ Barth, p. 97, n. 3; Jolly, p. 106.

² Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1906, I. 214; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1904, p. 230 ff.

³ W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, 1906, p. 499 f.

⁴ See art. Aśoka; V. A. Smith, *Aśoka*, Oxford, 1901, p. 193 f.

⁵ *ASW* iv. 90 ff., quoted in Jolly, p. 106.

on circuit through the principal cities of their dioceses, and their visits are made the occasion for demanding the recognized fees and gifts. The formal grants also to religious institutions more usually than in the North take the form of revenues assigned for the support of the resident monks or priests. And, as far as the motive and aim of the donor are concerned, such grants are hardly distinguishable from the more indiscriminate and irregular largess practised at the festivals or in the country districts.

In the case of private gifts the rule was laid down that no one was so to impoverish himself by his liberality as to leave wife or children destitute.¹ Other regulations prescribed a limit of a thousand cows,² defined the fees which might be required,³ or forbade the acceptance by one of a gift which had been refused by another,⁴ or the parting with a gift on the day on which it had been bestowed.⁵ The recipients, moreover, were carefully graduated according to their worth;⁶ and upon some it was altogether a sin to confer presents.⁷ In theory also it is obligatory upon every twice-born man, after he has lived the life of a householder, *gṛhastha*, and begotten a son to carry on his line, to part with all his goods and possessions to Brāhmins, and to go forth homeless and resourceless, adopting the life of an anchorite in the forest, *vānaprastha*, and later that of a wandering mendicant, *sannyāsin*, begging his food from door to door. Such mendicants ordinarily possess nothing but an alms-bowl, made out of a coco-nut or sometimes of brass, with a water-pot, and in some instances a staff and rosary. Instances have not been unknown, even in recent times, of men of education and influence and wealth, who have elected to abandon all, and devote the closing years of their life to poverty and religious contemplation, dependent for support upon the charity of their fellow-countrymen.⁸

Almsgiving is also practised by Hindus in the form of gifts and endowments for hospitals for animals. These foundations are often of considerable antiquity. At Benares and elsewhere, sick, maimed, and diseased cows are provided with shelter and food by the munificence of pious donors and the daily offerings of the faithful.⁹ The total volume of such charitable gifts in India must be very considerable.

LITERATURE.—*Sacred Laws of the Āryas*, tr. G. Bühler, *SBE*, vols. II. xiv.; Manu, *SBE*, vol. xxv.; J. C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, London, 1905, p. 411, ch. xi., and *passim*; A. Barth, *Religions of India*², London, 1889, pp. 97 f., 274 f.; J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 1896, p. 104 ff. See also art. ASCETICISM, MONASTICISM. A. S. GEDEN.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Jewish).—The teaching of the Apocryphal literature faithfully reflects the spirit of the OT. Ben Sira exhorts to charity: 'Let it (thy money) not rust under the stone' (Sir 29¹⁰). Alms 'shall fight for thee better than a mighty shield and a ponderous spear' (v. 12). But charity is to be thoughtful and considerate: 'Defer not to give to him that is in need,' for to do so is 'to add more trouble to a heart that is provoked' (4⁵; cf. 29⁸). The quality and virtue of charity, too, are determined by the kindness that goes with it: 'Lo, is not a word better than a gift? And both are with a gracious man' (18¹⁷). On the other hand, the needy borrower is reminded that he also has duties (29²²); while the poor generally

¹ Brhaspati, 15. 3; Nārada, 4. 4, quoted in Jolly, p. 106.

² *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 4. 5. 8. 14, cf. ff.

³ *Ib.* 5. 2. 4. 9. 3. 1. 4, *al.*

⁴ *Ib.* 3. 5. 1. 25.

⁵ *Ib.* 14. 1. 1. 32.

⁶ *Vas.* III. 8 ff.; Manu, III. 96 f., 128 ff., 148, IV. 31, etc.

⁷ Manu, III. 138, 141, 151 ff., *al.*

⁸ Oman, p. 11, note, quoting from *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 346-348; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*⁴, 1891, p. xxif.

⁹ The Anna Pūrṇā, or Cow-temple, at Benares was erected in 1725 by a Rājā of Poona.

are taught the beauty of independence: 'Better is the life of a poor man under a shelter of logs than sumptuous fare in another man's house; it is a miserable life to go from house to house' (29^{22, 24}). The Book of Tobit is an exhortation to almsgiving, which, it declares (To 4¹⁰ 12ⁿ), 'delivereth from death.' The Maccabees, after victory, first set aside a share of the booty for the wounded and for the widows and orphans, and then divided the residue among themselves (2 Mac 8²⁸). Philo (*de Caritate*, 17-18) inculcates the broadest view of charity. It is a debt due to all men, including strangers, slaves, and enemies. Josephus, too, declares (*c. Apion.* ii. 29) that Moses laid down the following duties as due to one's neighbour without distinction: giving him fire, water, and food; showing him the road; burying the dead.

The obligation of charity is especially emphasized by the Talmudic Rabbis. It outweighs, they declare (*Sukkah*, 49b; *Baba bathra*, 9a), all other duties. It is one of the pillars of the world, i.e. of society (*Aboth*, i. 5). By the side of the poor stands God Himself, pleading for His hapless children (*Midrash Rabbah* to Lv 25²⁹); and he that feeds the hungry feeds God also ('Agadath Shir Hashirim' in *JQR* vi. 696; cf. Lowell: 'Who gives himself with his alms feeds three: himself, his hungry neighbour, and Me'). Charity blesses the giver even more than the recipient (*Gittin*, 61a). Even the poor must give charity (*ib.* 7b). But the widest interpretation is put upon charitable duty. Greater than almsgiving, says the Talmud (*Sukkah*, 49b), is *gemiluth chasadim*, i.e. benevolence in the largest significance of the term, especially that which takes the form of personal service. It comprises seven things: feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, tending the sick, burying the dead and comforting the mourner, ransoming captives, educating orphans, and dowering poor brides. The soul is asked concerning these duties at the last judgment (*Midrash Tehillim* to Ps 118¹⁹; cf. the interesting parallel in Mt 25³⁰⁻⁴⁰). In three things, add the Rabbis, *gemiluth chasadim* surpasses almsgiving: no gift is needed for it but the giving of one's self; it may be done to the rich as well as to the poor; it may be done not only to the living, but to the dead (*Sukkah*, 49b). He that studies the Law, but fails to do these acts of love, lives without God (*Abodah zara*, 17b). Benevolence, moreover, must be proportionate to the circumstances of the giver and the recipient alike. The giver must devote to charity at least a tenth of his income, but not more than a fifth, lest he come to seek charity himself (*Kethuboth*, 50a). Clothing must be given to the naked, furniture to him who lacks it, a spouse to the unmarried (*ib.* 67b). If the man has fallen from affluence to indigence, and was wont to ride a horse, and to have a slave running before him, he must have both horse and slave. But, say the Rabbis, 'thou art commanded to give him only "sufficient for his need" (see Dt 15⁸); thou art not enjoined to enrich him' (*Kethuboth*, 67b).

Appeals for charity must be scrutinized in order to defeat imposture, but not too strictly. A stranger who says he is hungry, and asks for bread, is to be relieved without inquiry; if he asks for clothes, investigation must precede relief (*Baba bathra*, 9a). But, according to one Rabbi, 'We ought to be grateful to impostors, seeing that, by assisting them, we atone for our neglect of the deserving' (*Kethuboth*, 68a). Among these impostors, sham cripples are mentioned (*Peah*, viii. 9; *Kethuboth*, 68a). Itinerant beggars should be relieved with small gifts only (*Baba bathra*, 9a). If they ask for food, they should be given a loaf of bread of not less than a specified value; if they ask for lodging, they should be given a bed, oil, and

pulse, to be supplemented on the Sabbath by three meals, fish, and vegetables (*ib.* 9a; *Mishn.* and *Toseph. Peah*, viii. 7). If the applicant is well known, the assistance must be commensurate with his former station (*Kethuboth*, 67b). If a poor man is averse to accepting a gift of money, it must be offered to him under the pretext of a loan, or of a present sent by a friend (*ib.*). But if a man has money, and asks for charity in order to save it, he must not be assisted (*ib.*).

The niggardly who refuse to give charity, or to give proportionately to their means, must be coerced by the authorities (*beth din*), who, if need be, must have the offender beaten until he does their bidding (*Kethuboth*, 49b). On the other hand, they must forbear to apply to a man who gives when he cannot afford to do so (*Baba bathra*, 8b). Even children must give small sums in charity (*Baba kamma*, 119a). Charity, moreover, begins at home. One's parents come first, then brothers and sisters, then the poor of one's town, lastly those living elsewhere (*Baba mezia*, 71a; *Tana d'be Eliyahu*, 17). A woman must be helped before a man, age before youth, the weak before the strong (*Menorath Hamaor*, iii. 7. 2, 8). He who goes on business to another town must help to support the poor of the place (*Megilla*, 27a). Charity must be extended equally to Jew and Gentile (*Gittin*, 61a). The duty of ransoming captives takes precedence in all benevolent obligation (*Baba bathra*, 8b); the materials for building a synagogue may be sold in order to fulfil this duty (*ib.* 3b). In giving charity, regard must be had for the self-respect of the recipient. 'Greater is he that lends than he that gives, and greater still is he that lends and, with the loan, helps the poor man to help himself' (*Shabbath*, 63a). Maimonides (*Hilc. Mattenoth Ani'im*, 10. 7 ff.) enumerates eight degrees of benevolence, the highest of which he assigns to the kindly help that saves the poor from pauperism. Nor is charity sufficient in itself; kind thoughts and words must go with it. To give liberally to the poor, but with sullen look, is to rob the deed of all virtue; to be able to give nothing, but to add to the confession of this inability a word of sympathy for the applicant, is to make 'the heart' of the needy 'sing' (*Baba bathra*, 9b; *Midrash Rabbah* to Lv 25³⁵; *Maim. op. cit.* 10. 4-5; cf. *Aboth d' R. Nathan*, ed. Schechter, Vienna, 1887, 24b). The best charity is that done in secret (*Baba bathra*, 9b); and it is related (*Shekalim*, 5. 6) that in the temple there was a chamber called the 'Chamber of the Silent,' where the rich placed their alms, and the poor received them, in ignorance of each other's identity. 'He that gives alms publicly is a sinner' (*Hagiga*, 5a). The denunciation in the Gospels (Mt 6²⁸) of the hypocrites who sound a trumpet when they give alms was echoed or anticipated by the Rabbis. Almsgiving was a special feature of the observance of a fast-day; another was the sounding of the *shophar*, or horn (*Sanh.* 35a; *Berakhoth*, 6b). Possibly this will explain the above statement in Matthew, which charges the hypocrites with sounding a trumpet when giving charity.

But, while benevolence is extolled, the poor are exhorted to suffer all possible privation rather than accept charity. Independence and self-help are Talmudic ideals. 'Flay a carcass in the street for a pittance, and be beholden to no man' (*Pesachim*, 112a). And the Jewish grace after meals includes a supplication to be spared the shame of having to accept 'the gifts of flesh and blood.' 'Among the greatest Rabbis,' says Maimonides (*loc. cit.* 10. 18), 'were hewers of wood and drawers of water, builders' labourers, ironworkers, and smiths; they asked nothing of their congregation, and would take nothing when aught was offered to them.' But

great as charity is, integrity is better still. One must be just before one is generous. 'Pay thy debts,' says a mediæval writer, 'before thou givest alms' (*Sepher Chasidim*, Warsaw ed. 1879, § 454).

A highly organized system of poor-relief existed in the Talmudic period. Its main features were a daily distribution of food and a weekly dole of money. The former was called the *tamchui*, or 'dish,' the latter the *kuppah*, or 'chest' (Mishn. *Peah*, viii. 7; Jerus. *Peah*, viii. 7). The funds for both distributions were compulsorily collected from the community by two or three men of unquestionable probity, and their administration entrusted to three others, who carefully investigated the merits of the applicants (*Baba bathra*, 8a; *Shabbath*, 118b; *Abodah zara*, 17b). They were expressly enjoined to perform their duties with all possible consideration for the feelings of the poor (*Kethuboth*, 67b). Both distributions survived to a much later age (Maim. *loc. cit.* 9. 3). In the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries hospices also existed, which provided shelter and food for necessitous wayfarers (*Aboth d' R. Nathan*, ed. Schechter, 34; *Sota*, 10a). Further, the *hekdesch*, or hospital, is met with in the 11th cent. for the first time, which served all through the Middle Ages both as a poorhouse and as a hospital for the sick and the aged as well as for the stranger. These institutions (the need of which was increased by the number of Jews made homeless by the Crusades), aided by private charity, gradually superseded the *tamchui*; but the *kuppah*, in some form, necessarily survived. Offerings for its maintenance were made in the synagogue, especially on joyous or sad occasions, and collections in its behalf were taken at banquets and funerals. A special charity-box was carried about from house to house when a death occurred in the congregation. A similar box was carried round the synagogue during service on week-days. Pious Jews, moreover, made a point of giving alms before beginning their morning prayers. The more convivial among them would 'tax their pleasures' for benevolent objects. Thus a 15th cent. Jew is mentioned who 'gave a gold piece in charity for every extra glass of wine he drank.' But he taxed his self-denial also; for, if he pretermitted one of the obligatory three meals on Sabbath, he paid half a gold piece. He carried the practice into almost every phase and incident of his life, and so 'salted his wealth with charity.' The Scriptural ordinance of the tithe was also scrupulously obeyed by the devout Jew in the Middle Ages. In the 13th cent. societies began to be established in various parts of Europe for one or more of the seven objects enumerated above in connexion with the term *gemiluth chasadim*, and cognate organizations exist in Jewish communities all over the world at the present day. These societies, together with the old-fashioned hospitality offered to the poor (*Aboth*, i. 5), tended to keep down begging, which was rare in mediæval Jewry. But the practice had greatly increased by the 17th cent., and speedily grew into an intolerable evil. The *schnorrer*, or professional beggar, became a familiar and disagreeable figure in every Jewish community. His importunities and impudence have been immortalized in Zangwill's *King of the Schnorrers*. Modern charity organization among the Jews of civilized countries has now, however, almost deprived him of his occupation.

LITERATURE.—Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896; Morris Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, London, 1903; *J.E.* art. 'Alms' and 'Charity.'

MORRIS JOSEPH.

CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Roman).—The earlier literature of Rome contains but few statements bearing on either the theory or the practice of relieving the necessities of the poor out of the

superfluity of the rich; but beneficence, in whatever form, was as necessary to the existence of an ancient as it is to the existence of a modern State. In the dim early time the need for almsgiving was to a great extent obviated by the strong bonds which linked men together in associations such as the *gens*, the tribe, and the family. Later, when organizations became less and the individual more, poverty was alleviated by public assistance in many forms, such as the distribution of corn, provisions, and many other necessities, at the cost of the exchequer, not only at Rome, but in other cities. The volume of this assistance grew continually to the end of the 3rd cent. of the Empire. The municipal life of the Roman Empire, and the *collegia*, or guilds, which were closely connected with it, flourished mightily during the same period, and caused a great outflow of private wealth into public channels. Probably in no age, not even in our own, have men spent their accumulated resources so freely for the benefit of their fellow-men. But many of the objects sought by the rich men, such as the provision of amusements and the beautification of the cities, have no connexion with the subject of this article.

The ancient Roman view of life was narrow and hard, and the ancient Roman religion had few ethical precepts. But, although neither Greek nor Roman religion did much to inculcate benevolence, its practice has never been entirely severed from religious sanctions. As soon as the old Roman type of character, exemplified by Cato the Censor, began to be softened by the influences of Greek culture, the deeply-rooted idea that *parsimonia* was the most cardinal of virtues gave way before the increasing moral attraction of benevolence. The great orator, Crassus, supporting, in 106 B.C., the cause of the Senate against that of the Equestrian body, eulogized the senators for the use which they made of their wealth in the redemption of captives and the enrichment of the poor (*Cic. de Off.* ii. 63). But not until Hellenism had thoroughly penetrated Roman educated society was beneficence generally regarded as virtuous. Horace's question, 'Why is any one in want who does not deserve it, while you have property?' (*Sat.* ii. ii. 103), would have appeared hardly sane to the ordinary Roman two centuries earlier.

This revolution in sentiment, visible far and wide in the later literature, was due mainly to the spreading influence of Greek philosophy, which permeated society and subtly changed the thoughts even of men who loathed its very name. But it was Stoicism, in its later forms, when it acquired more and more of a religious tone, which, almost exclusively, urged on the educated Romans (and through them the uneducated) in the path of humanity. It does not concern us here to show how the Stoics reconciled the individualistic and the altruistic elements of their faith, which at first sight seem to stand in glaring contrast. The derivation of the human race from God, and, as a corollary, the brotherhood of men, whether Greeks or barbarians, bondsmen or freemen, were fervidly preached by Stoic masters, and by their Roman disciples. 'The whole duty of man is to fear the gods, and to help his brother men' (Marc. Aur. vi. 30), 'even the sinner' (vii. 21, etc.). 'We are all members of a great body; Nature has made us akin by birth,' said Seneca, and 'you must live for others, if you wish to live for yourself.' By Epictetus the duty of humanity was pressed so far as to be hardly practicable, and to be, as a recent writer has said, 'Quaker-like.' The practical outcome of these doctrines was a real sense of responsibility for the employment of wealth, which became characteristic of the propertied Roman, from the good Emperors downwards. The mitigation of

the bitterness of poverty was now regarded as the first duty of the State. The fashion of bestowing this world's goods for the benefit of those who had little of them affected widely those in whom the love of notoriety was the strongest motive. But many inscriptions attest the practice of beneficence in its purest shapes. The *Corpus Inscriptionum* supplies the best corrective to Juvenal's venomous account of the relations existing in his time between rich and poor. Among motives which prompted benefactions, the desire to perpetuate the memory of the beloved dead was, as in our time, not infrequent. These benefactions take different directions; they provide for many material advantages, such as food and clothing, wine and oil; more rarely for education or for medical aid; very frequently for the nurture of free-born boys and girls. We must not forget that for one inscription recording such liberality, which has come down to our time, a hundred may have perished, and for one charitable action originally recorded, a thousand may have been carried out without record. The range of practical benevolence in the early centuries of the Roman Empire has rarely, if ever, been realized by historians.

The foundations known by the generic term *alimenta* are attested by inscriptions more numerous and important than any others. The decline of population in Italy led to many private, as well as public, efforts to arrest the evil. In the age of Augustus, who established permanently the famous *ius trium liberorum* (of which a rudimentary form had appeared in the legislation of Philip V. of Macedon, and in Cæsar's agrarian law of 59 B.C.), a citizen of Atina in the Volscian country gave property, the revenues of which were to be distributed to the poor, as inducements to rear children, instead of exposing them, according to the horrible Roman custom, or selling them, a proceeding legalized in extreme cases even by Constantine (*CIL* x. 5056). A coin of the Emperor Nerva, of the date A.D. 97, commemorates a similar act of generosity on the part of that Emperor. Nerva, seated on his chair of state, points with his right hand to a young boy and young girl, while a female figure representing Italy stands between them. The inscription is 'tutela Italiae,' which avers that the Emperor protects Italy's future by providing for a succession of free citizens. Nerva's liberality was greatly extended by Trajan, on the same lines. A well-known relief discovered in the Forum in 1872 gives a vivid presentation of the Emperor's generosity. Two inscriptions, one from Veleia, in the valley of the Po, the other from the neighbourhood of Beneventum, give some details of the Imperial foundation, which seems to have benefited every district of Italy (*CIL* xi. 1114,

ix. 1457). Another inscription describes Trajan as having thus taken thought for 'the eternity of Italy,' and some of his coins bear the legend 'Italia restituta.' We know that the example set by Nerva and Trajan was followed by Hadrian, by Antoninus Pius, whose wife Faustina gave her name to girls who were beneficiaries ('puellæ Faustinianæ'), by Marcus Aurelius, and by Alexander Severus. (The reliefs in the Villa Albani at Rome, picturing the *puellæ Faustinianæ*, are familiar to every visitor who is interested in the Imperial history.) But by the time of Constantine these foundations had been swept away, mainly by the civil commotions. It is of interest to note that the children who benefited were not massed together in orphanages, but were left in the hands of their parents. Supervision was exercised by officials of the municipalities, who administered the revenues, which were charged on land. Even private benefactions of the kind were naturally entrusted, in accordance with the Roman temperament, to municipal authorities. Doubtless the desire of Nerva in authorizing local corporations to accept inheritances and legacies, was to encourage rich private persons to imitate his example. Unfortunately the decay of the municipalities involved the ruin of the foundations also. Pliny the Younger gives us in one of his letters an interesting account of his own liberality to Comum, his native town (*Ep.* vii. 18). There is reason to believe that many such foundations were established by citizens not only inside, but outside Italy. Sometimes alimentary as well as other benefactions were attached to the *collegia* or gilds (see art. GILDS [Roman]). In connexion with these gilds, it must be mentioned here that they were not, in themselves, charitable institutions, though, indirectly and incidentally, they did much to soften the hardships of poverty, and even of slavery.

The common idea, therefore, that charity as a duty was not recognized in the ancient world is mistaken. But, of course, benevolence received an infinitely stronger, purer, and more universal impulse when Christianity prevailed. The famous forty-ninth letter of the Emperor Julian is proof that the best men of the heathen world keenly felt the superiority of Christian as compared with non-Christian beneficence. See also CHARITY (Christian).

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CHARMS AND AMULETS.

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CHARMS AND AMULETS (Introductory and Primitive).—An *amulet* is a material object worn or carried on the person, or preserved in

some other way, for magico-religious reasons, e.g. to cure disease, to give strength, 'luck,' or general protection to the possessor, or to defend

him or her from specified dangers or misfortunes.

A *charm* (*carmen*) is, properly speaking, a magical formula which is sung or recited to bring about some result conceived as beneficial, e.g. to confer magical efficacy on an amulet for the cure of disease. But in popular English usage the same word is used to describe the incantation and the object which is 'charmed' for magical use. Thus, a 'wise woman' undertaking the cure of a case of fever might enclose a spider in a nutshell, 'charm' it by reciting a 'charm' (formula), and finally hang the 'charm' (material object) by a thread round the patient's neck, prescribing the period for which it should be worn. Again, written copies of charms (formulae) are very commonly carried for luck or protection.

This article will deal with the uses of the material objects above described, which, to avoid confusion, will be called *amulets*. See, further, MAGIC.

A. C. Haddon (*Magic and Fetishism*, 1906, p. 29) makes a further distinction between *talismans* worn for good luck or to transmit qualities, and *amulets*, which are preventive in their action; but, as will be seen, the application of all these names is exceedingly elastic.

The use of amulets is almost universal among savage and semi-civilized peoples, and among the less educated classes in civilized countries. Not only are they worn by men and women on their persons in the form of necklets, girdles, bracelets, or anklets, and attached to these as pendants, carried in bags or pockets, and sewn to clothing; they are also attached to children and domesticated animals, affixed to buildings, household furniture, tools, and weapons, and placed near fruit-trees and growing crops. In Europe the use of amulets is most strongly developed in the Mediterranean countries (including Syria and North Africa), where it co-exists with various 'survivals' of non-Christian religious belief and practice; but it would probably be incorrect to treat the use of amulets as a merely traditional survival of paganism. On the contrary, there is reason to think that it represents a universal tendency in human nature, which is always likely to reach practical expression if not checked by other tendencies. Of these controlling factors education seems to be the most important. Where belief in witchcraft or in the evil eye is strong, there is always a corresponding development of protective amulets. Again, in all countries the members of certain classes whose occupation involves a degree of social isolation tend to develop, or perhaps merely to preserve, a more intensive use of amulets: in Europe and India this tendency has been observed in fishermen, shepherds, miners, sailors, hunters, actors, jockeys, beggars, gipsies, and the criminal and immoral classes; in uncivilized societies, our present knowledge of professional specialization is too imperfect to permit of any generalization.

In spite of certain differences (arising out of local variation in the supply of materials, the general level of native art, and the pressure of local needs) there is a general resemblance in the types and applications of amulets in every age and country. The following classes of objects, natural and artificial, are very commonly used: stones (especially those of a curious shape or naturally perforated), stone implements (celts and arrow-heads); curious vegetable growths, roots, leaves, seeds, nuts; horns, teeth, claws, and other parts of animals and insects, shells, human hair and teeth, relics of the dead; medicinal substances; substances believed to have been extracted from the sick in magical cures; iron, gold, silver, rock-crystal, alum, salt, coral; red, blue, and white things; strings, threads, and rings; representations of human and animal forms, phallic emblems,

representations of eyes, hands, horns, and crescents; beads, imported ornaments; written charms, quotations from sacred writings, inscribed objects, medals, coins; obsolete weapons and ornaments; relics and mementoes of holy persons and places, portions of offerings, and dedicated things.

The purposes for which amulets are used may also be classed under certain common types, such as the cure and prevention of disease; protection in general, and from specific dangers (e.g. death in battle, wounds, drowning, shipwreck, lightning, failure of crops, attacks by dangerous animals, evil spirits, witchcraft, the evil eye); the acquisition of physical strength, fertility, 'luck,' wealth, magical powers; and the fulfilment of special wishes, e.g. for success in hunting, fishing, trade, love, and war.

Anthropological attempts to explain the use of amulets fall into two chronological groups, of which the earlier is connected with the general theory of magic put forward by E. B. Tylor (*Early Hist. of Mankind*, 1865, 1870, 1878; *Primitive Culture*, 1871, 1873, 1891, 1903), and developed by J. G. Frazer (*GB*², 1900; *Lect. on the Early Hist. of the Kingship*, 1905). For a discussion of this, see art. MAGIC; here it need only be said that the belief in magic, according to Frazer (*Kingship*, 52), depends on 'a misapplication of the association of ideas by similarity and contiguity.'

'Manifold as are the applications of this crude philosophy . . . the fundamental principles on which it is based would seem to be reducible to two; first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted' (*GB* i. 9).

By this explanation of magic, attention is concentrated on certain logical errors said to be characteristic of the thought of uncivilized or uneducated man. The savage, as Tylor has frequently said, is apt to mistake the subjective connexion set up by the association of ideas in the mind for an objective or causal connexion; to believe, for instance, that a stone which resembles an eye must have some occult effect on the human eyesight, or that the courage and keen sight of the eagle can be secured along with a tuft of its feathers (*Early Hist. of Mankind*², 131). These logical errors are exemplified in the savage and popular use of amulets, the following cases being typical:

* The 'desert goat' (*Nemorhaedus Suetenhami*) is the most surefooted animal known to the Malays of the Lower Siamese States; and they believe that if it falls over a cliff it immediately licks itself whole. Accordingly, the tongue of the desert goat is carried as a powerful amulet against falling, and also as a sure cure for wounds caused by falling if rubbed on the part affected; and a rib of it is used to tap or rub any bruises or cuts in order to make them heal (MS Catalogue Annandale Collection, Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1901-2, no. 24). Again, the Dutch in South Africa hang strings of greyish seeds, which they call *tande kraals* ('teeth beads'), round the necks of their children to help them in teething. 'Such notions were elaborated into the old medical theory known as the "Doctrine of Signatures," which supposed that plants and minerals indicated by their external characters the diseases for which nature had intended them as remedies. Thus the Euphrasia or eyebright was, and is, supposed to be good for the eyes, on the strength of a black pupil-like spot in its corolla, the yellow turmeric was thought good for jaundice, and the blood-stone is probably used to this day for stopping blood' (Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*², 123).

Explanations of this sort may be used, more or less legitimately, to cover many specialized uses of amulets. But there are other types to which they do not apply; nor are they sufficient, in themselves, to account for the practice of using amulets as a whole. To do this, it is necessary to follow up a second line of inquiry, which has been pursued in France by Hubert and Mauss ('Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' *ASoc* vii. [1904]); in America by Miss A. C. Fletcher (various works), Hewitt ('Orenda and a Definition of Religion,' *American Anthropologist*, new ser., iv.

33-35), and Lovejoy ('The Fundamental Concept of the Savage Philosophy,' *Monist*, xvi. 357-382); in England chiefly by R. R. Marett (*The Threshold of Religion* [essays dated 1900-1909], London, 1909), and E. S. Hartland (Presidential Address, section H, British Assoc., York, 1906). According to this later theory, the explanation of the savage belief in magic is to be sought not in savage errors of logic, but in the savage's conception of magical power or efficacy. Evidence for this conception has been found in the vocabularies of many uncivilized peoples, in the existence of a class of words of which *mana*, the Polynesian-Melanesian expression for 'mysterious or supernatural efficacy,' has been generally accepted as typical (see MAGIC).

'This is what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation. This *mana* is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls, or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water or a stone or a bone (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 1891, p. 118 f.). 'Among many uncultured races the chief concern of the individual is to absorb as much of this force or to get into his possession as many objects charged with it as possible' (Lovejoy, *op. cit.* 390).

It is in such conceptions of magical efficacy (*mana*), explicit or implicit in uncivilized and uneducated thought, that the most comprehensive explanation of the use of amulets is to be found. All amulets have at least this in common, that they are credited by their possessors with a quality, virtue, or efficacy which makes them valuable; without which, in fact, they would not be amulets at all. It has been shown above that they are of various forms and materials; how do they come to be regarded as having *mana*? Primarily, because they have attracted attention; like human beings of striking personality, they have detached themselves from the vague undifferentiated background of the uninteresting, and impressed themselves upon the eye and upon the mind. As soon as an object has proved attractive enough to make a man carry it away with him, it is on the way to becoming an amulet. It is not so much that amulets are kept and carried because they have *mana*, as that they have *mana* because they are kept and carried.

From an examination of the amulets which are actually used, it is possible to see what it is that qualifies an object for this sort of selective attention. Generally speaking, it must be small, portable, and not fixed to its place of origin. If a small stone of remarkable shape catches a man's attention, he carries it away with him, and it is likely to become an amulet; whereas, if it is large, he will more probably observe it whenever he passes, invent a myth to account for its peculiarities, and perhaps set up a habit of visits and offerings. The magical object, then, must be portable and detachable, and it is especially attractive if it is capable of being strung or tied to a string. Stones form a test case for this simplest type of amulet. In many parts of the world they excite a peculiar interest (Marett, *op. cit.* 19 ff.), and if they have any singularity in shape or colour they are sure to attract attention. In British Guiana a natural hollow concretion with a loose stone rattling inside is shaken by the Arawak magician to relieve the pains of childbirth. In Italy madreporite is worn as a protection against sickness and against witches, serpentine for the prevention and cure of snake-bite, limonite to protect pregnant women. In the Eastern Island of Torres Straits smooth water-worn pebbles are used as *omabar*, 'love-charms' (Haddon, *Reports of the Camb. Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vi. [1908] 221, and pl. xxi.). Naturally perforated stones are

specially attractive, being curious, portable, and easy to preserve. In Ireland, for example, they are hung round the cattle-byre or on the stakes to which cows are tethered, 'to keep evil from the cows,' 'to keep pixies from stealing the milk,' or 'for luck.' English peasants (Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, etc.) and Scotch fishermen hang them at the house door 'to keep away witches.'

Vegetable growths which present any abnormality are valued in the same way. In Italy double walnuts and almonds are carried as amulets against the evil eye and witches, against headache, and to bring good luck. In the Lower Siamese States a branch of unusual shape is hung over the hearth; 'spirits are afraid of it'; and the knotted stem of a creeper is hung over the house door to keep out *pöling*, 'familiar spirits' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., Pitt-Rivers Mus., Oxford, 1901-2, nos. 236, 244). The tumour-like detachable growths sometimes found embedded in the trunks of oaks are carried by Surrey labourers as 'cramp balls' to ward off cramp.

Most attractive of all are stones and other natural objects in which a resemblance may be traced to something of another kind. Thus, flint nodules resembling shells were preserved in a pre-dynastic Egyptian tomb at el-Amrah. The mandrake and the ginseng root are credited with wide and undefined powers in Asia and Eastern Europe because of their fancied resemblance, generally improved by art, to a human being (Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*³, 123). In a Malay house in Lower Siam a natural growth of wood resembling a bird was hung up for use as a clothes peg, but also to bring luck; and powder scraped from it was administered to children suffering from internal parasites: it was called *kayu-jadi-burong*, 'wood become bird' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., no. 239).

Another claim to attention lies in any sort of paradoxical or abnormal quality in things. For instance, a chank shell is sometimes found with the whorls turning the reverse way; in Southern India such a specimen is regarded as a magical and fortunate possession (Walhouse, *JAI* xvi. 164). Catlin describes the mantle of a medicine-man of the Blackfeet, on Yellowstone River, 1833-40, as follows:

'Besides the skin of the yellow bear (which, being almost an anomaly in that country, is out of the regular order of nature, and, of course, great medicine, and converted to a medicine use), there are attached to it the skins of many animals which are also anomalies or deformities, which render them, in their estimation, medicine; and there are also the skins of snakes and frogs and bats—beaks and toes and tails of birds—hoofs of deer, goats, and antelopes; and, in fact, the "odds and ends," and tag-ends, and tails, and tips of almost everything that swims, flies, or runs, in this part of the great world' (*N. Amer. Indians*, Edinburgh, 1903, i. 46, and pl. 19).

Mere rarity is also valued (see Hubert and Mauss, *ASoc* vii. 102). Nodules of very compact black stone are occasionally found embedded in a coal seam; one such 'coal-nut' was kept by three generations of miners at Pendleton, Lancashire, as their most treasured possession; they considered that it protected them from accident, nor would they venture down a mine without it. By an extension of this desire for rarities, many amulets are supposed to have been obtained in some impossible way or from some mythical animal. In English folk-lore, fern-seed, if it could be found, would confer invisibility on the possessor. In Epirus it is said that, if a man boils eagles' eggs and puts them back in the nest, the eagle will fly to the Jordan, fetch a pebble, and put it in the nest to assist incubation. The man secures this pebble, which is called a 'stone of loosing,' and serves to cure diseases, especially the effects of the evil eye. Stones purporting to have been obtained in this way are actually carried

(Papacostas, *Man*, 1904, no. 81). A native of Kachal, Nicobar Islands, carried a ring about 1½ inches in diameter, of a bone-like substance, and told a story about it of some large jungle-dwelling animal from whose eye or eye-socket it was made: 'it was bigger than a pig, and very scarce'; further than that he was not intelligent enough to give a description (C. Boden Kloss, *In the Andamans and Nicobars*, 1903, p. 111). In India and Japan certain transparent pebbles are said to have fallen from the heads of cremated corpses or of snakes.

Pre-historic stone implements are popular as amulets wherever they are found; their history being unknown, and the finding of them usually sudden and accidental, they are believed to be of supernatural origin—either fallen from the sky, or the work of mythical beings (J. Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, London, 1897, pp. 56-65). In most countries they are said to be 'thunderbolts,' and are therefore kept to preserve people, cattle, and buildings from lightning. They are also used to effect magical cures; water poured over neolithic celts and arrowheads is given to cows in Ireland to cure the 'grup'; in Italy they are hung round children's necks to keep away illness and the evil eye; the Malays carry them as lucky objects to sharpen their crises and cockspurs, and as touchstones for gold. In Arabia, amulet-necklets of arrowheads are used, and manufactured arrow-shaped pendants of cornelian, agate, and glass are worn as 'good for the blood,' and exported from Mecca to south-eastern Europe. Similarly, natural pebbles resembling celts or arrowheads, and manufactured pendants of the same shape, are worn as amulets, e.g. at Lozère (France), to facilitate childbirth. Other substances found in the ground are similarly prized: belemnites, called 'thunder-stones' in France, Germany, and England, are powdered and given as medicine; staurolites (silicate of baryta and alumina) are valued by Breton peasants for their cruciform shape, and credited with supernatural origin and powers. Nodules of iron pyrites are often called 'thunderbolts,' e.g. in Switzerland, and are kept to protect houses from lightning. Antique beads found in the soil are valued in Europe, India, and West Africa as amulets for the cure and prevention of disease. Rock-crystal attracts attention wherever it is found; and alum seems to be a substitute for it in Persia and the Mediterranean countries. The metals, and iron in particular, are in almost universal estimation, partly from the difficulty of obtaining them, and partly from the traditional mystery of the smith's craft (cf. 'Indian' section of this art.).

But, apart from such special claims, it seems that any object which is small, complete in itself, definite, of homogeneous material, portable, and tolerably durable, which attracts attention, and can be taken as a personal possession, is likely to be treasured, and credited with unusual qualities simply in virtue of the attention it has excited. It remains to show how this idea of magical efficacy is developed.

First, the mere keeping of a small object for any length of time is enough to invest it with a special interest. If it is lost after it has become familiar, there is a considerable amount of mental discomfort, which may easily become associated with other misfortunes happening about the same time; and, by contrast, past prosperity will be associated with the possession of it. Ornaments habitually worn become linked with daily tasks, with mental effort, especially with exertions of eloquence; the loss of them may therefore be accompanied by a sensation of loss of power. Again, conspicuous ornaments or objects constantly carried become associated with the wearer's personality in the

minds of other people; if he is remarkable for eloquence, shrewdness, or success, the existence of his 'mascot' or 'luck' is a convenient tangible circumstance which concentrates the attention of minds not much accustomed to analyze their impressions, and serves as an easy 'explanation.' The great man is not unlikely to be said to derive *mana* from the very object on which, in fact, he confers it.

But, further, when a man carries about with him some object which has caught his attention, he is generally obliged to justify his liking for it, to himself if not to others. 'What good is it to you? What do you keep it for?' In many cases the resemblance to something else, by which the object first attracted him, suggests an answer. Thus, the Melanesians, who value any stone of peculiar appearance, give explanations of this sort:

'Any fanciful interpretation of a mark on a stone or of its shape was enough to give a character to the stone... the stone would not have that mark or shape without a reason... A stone with little disks upon it... was good to bring in money'; a stone surrounded by little stones, like a sow among her litter, would bring an increase of pigs (Codrington, *op. cit.* 181 f.). Jimmy Dei, a native of the Murray Islands (Torres Straits), had in 1898 an irregular oblong piece of vesicular lava; it was supposed to resemble the head of a *tabu* snake, and, as snakes prey upon rats and mice, he kept it in his garden to prevent rats from eating the bananas (Haddon, *Rep. of Camb. Anthropol. Exped.* vi. 220). Similarly, red stones in many countries are said to be good for the blood, white stones for the skin, crystals for the eyes, and cloudy agates to increase the milk of nurses.

Utilitarian explanations of this sort, based on the universal passion for detecting resemblances and analogies, are sufficient to convince those who use them that there is some real though vaguely-conceived connexion between the amulets they carry and the desired objects to which, by way of justification, they refer them. But to say, with Frazer, that uncivilized people are guided in such matters by the 'laws' of a pseudo-science is to credit them with more logical system than they really employ. The choice of the object in the first place, and the utilitarian application of the likeness perceived, are both dictated not by system, but by the accidents of local supply and local needs. The Haida seal-hunter is interested mainly in seals; therefore he is quick to notice any stone whose natural shape reminds him of a seal, and for the same reason he makes the practical application that it is good for seal-catching; a Melanesian gardener would probably say of a similar stone that it would be good for growing yams. Note, again, how elastic is the method of application: a twisted root in the Malay Peninsula, a seed-capsule (*Martynia*) and a beetle's horn (*Dynastes sp.*) in Upper Burma, and a nut (*Ophiocaryon paradoxum*) in British Guiana, all used locally as amulets, have each sufficient likeness to set up a generalized idea of snakes; and, as snakes are undesirable, it is decided in each case that they must be useful against snakes and snake-bite. But if snakes were needed, the same objects would be said to attract them. In New Guinea a stone shaped like a dugong is an amulet for catching dugong; another which recalls a shark is an amulet for escaping sharks. In the Murray Islands the *nam zogo*, which primarily was for the purpose of securing success in catching turtle, could also be used to prevent turtle from being caught (Haddon, *op. cit.* vi. 51, 213, 219). The Nicobarese set up images of ships to attract traders when their coco-nuts are ready for sale, and images of crocodiles to prevent crocodiles from attacking them while bathing. There is no need to credit savage thought with any definite principle of 'similia similibus curantur'; such 'laws' belong to a late stage of systematization.

It is worth noting that the special application of amulets is often left undecided by the owners

until their efficacy has been tried. Codrington (*op. cit.* 183) says that in Melanesia a piece of water-worn coral-stone

'often bears a surprising likeness to a bread-fruit. A man who should find one of these would try its power by laying it at the root of a tree of his own, and a good crop would prove its connexion with a spirit good for bread-fruit. The happy owner would then for a consideration take stones of less marked character from other men, and let them lie near his, till the *mana* in his stone should be imparted to theirs.'

At Kampong Jarum, Ulu Rhaman (Malay Peninsula), a smooth black pebble was in use in 1901 to make the rice grow, water in which it had been washed being sprinkled over the young plants.

The story of this stone was as follows:—Some years ago a man came to the village and said that he had lost a charm—a black stone—for making rice grow, on his way from Patani, which is about 60 miles away. A man from Jarum, passing along the same path a few days later, found the present specimen quite close to the village, and concluded it was the lost charm. He sprinkled his rice-fields with water in which the stone had been washed, and had a good crop that year. The fame of the stone was thereby established, and I had some difficulty in persuading him to part with it' (MS Cat. Annandale Coll., no. 243).

Where there is no resemblance to suggest the answer to the utilitarian question, there may be merely an assertion in general terms (tending to stiffen into tradition) that the object is 'lucky'; but very often a special application is determined by special need. 'I like it—ergo, it is good for something—ergo, it is good for what I want; for if not, what good is it to me?' This comes out quite clearly from a consideration of the amulets—in reality the large majority—of rather unspecialized character: whatever need is most pressing for a locality, class, or sex, determines the magical use of seeds, stones, bone, coral, or whatever objects are locally available and attractive. Thus, Hindus use beads, black seeds, bony plates from a crocodile's back, and carved pieces of bone—all against headache. Conversely, the Shans of Burma use elephants' nail for medicine in general; amulets of the same are hung on the children to protect them from disease; Shan women 'who are bewitched' carry part of an elephant's tail, and mothers who have lost a child wear a finger-ring of elephants' hair in the hope that the next infant may live. A collection of amulets now at the Horniman Museum, collected in Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, and Hampshire, between 1856 and 1892, shows that pieces of worn flint—all naturally grooved or perforated, and so attractively portable—have been carried by a gipsy to ensure good luck, by a poacher as 'lucky stones' but also as weapons, by a gipsy woman to protect her against 'the devil's imps,' by shepherds to ensure good luck during the lambing season and to keep foot-rot from the sheep, by the keeper of a raffle at country fairs to prevent customers from throwing high numbers, by a horse-breaker 'to keep the devil out of the horses,' by a farm-labourer to protect him from the witch Ann Izzard of St. Neots, who died about 1855, and by a woman to protect her from witches and evil spirits; to prevent and cure nose-bleeding; to ward off nightmare; to protect against lightning; to protect against being tossed and gored by cattle. Similar stones were hung up in a sty to protect the pigs from swine-fever, in a stable to keep the horses from having nightmare, and in a gipsy van to prevent the loss of horses by death. The amulets themselves were quite undifferentiated; the special applications were dictated by the owners' needs. The same thing is seen in a set of amulets from Lifu (South Pacific), forming part of the Hadfield Collection in the Manchester Museum; stones of any kind are rare on the smaller islands, and smooth pebbles and irregular fragments of lava were carried by the natives, with the most widely varying objects—to produce water, yams, and taro, to improve sling

stones with which they were kept, to secure the death of an enemy, to catch crabs, to give strength to the knee for mountain-climbing, to give ability and success and remove infertility, and to give confidence in addressing a chief. Protection against the evil eye, wherever the dread of it prevails, is made a secondary application for amulets of many kinds, although it has developed special remedies (see below). Thus, at Perugia a double walnut is carried 'for good luck against the evil eye and headache,' and a boar's tusk 'against the evil eye and witches, and to assist children in teething'; at Aquila, a heart-shaped piece of bone is efficacious 'against heart-complaint and the evil eye.' Hubert and Mauss say (*ASoc* vii. 103):

'The notion of special properties never stands alone in magic; it is always confused with a generalized idea of power and nature. True, the idea of the effect to be produced is always precise, but the idea of the special qualities [in the amulet] and their operation is always rather obscure. On the other hand, we find in magic a very distinct conception of substances which have undefined virtues: salt, blood, coral, fire, crystals, and precious metals . . . all incorporate general magical power, susceptible of any particular application or utilization.'

It will have been suggested by the foregoing examples that certain classes of amulets are credited, primarily, not with inherent magical power, but with a borrowed virtue acquired from some person or thing regarded as sacred or mysterious. In Melanesia all manifestations of *mana* are explained by reference to personal beings: 'if a stone is found to have a supernatural power, it is because a spirit has associated itself with it; a dead man's bone has with it *mana*, because the ghost is with the bone'; and, further, many such amulets can be used only by men who know the appropriate magic chant communicated by a spirit or by a former owner (Codrington, *op. cit.* 56, 57, 119). Magical power is everywhere conceived as a quality highly transferable: sacred persons and places can impart it by definite process or by mere local association. In Southern Europe, relics of saints, portions of the True Cross, medals and pictures of saints, and sacred objects are perhaps the most highly esteemed of amulets. In Muhammadan countries amulets made of earth from Mecca or of the sweepings of the Ka'ba are worn. In Burma, bricks from sacred buildings are kept for protection (see the 'Indian' and 'Japanese' sections of the present art.). There is a tendency, also, to reinforce the supposed efficacy of an amulet by bringing it into contact with something of superior efficacy: in Europe, relics and medals are more prized if bought at a place of pilgrimage, or blessed by a priest or bishop, while amulets not licensed by the religious authorities are often hidden under the altar, or in the clothes of an infant at baptism, so as to receive consecration. In Brittany, halters and bundles of cow-hair, blessed by a priest or allowed to lie on the altar of a church, are used to protect cattle from disease (Baring Gould, *A Book of Brittany*, 1901, pp. 276-278). Again, dead men and all the associations of death are everywhere held to be a magical source of power; hence, in Europe, the amuletic uses of coffin-nails, pieces of shroud, hangman's rope, and personal relics of saints and executed criminals. Strangers, and neighbours of unfamiliar type or less advanced civilization, are credited with magical power, which may be extended to everything which they own or produce. The Arunta (Central Australia) regard the tribes north and west of their own district in this way, so that the ordinary girdles worn by the Warra-munga men are traded to the Arunta as powerful amulets (cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1871, i. 102-104).

The detachable parts of animals—feet, horns, claws, teeth, scales, and so forth—form a large class of amulets. To some extent they fall within the more general categories of the small, compact,

portable, and rare; but a special application is often dictated by their association with the corresponding parts of human beings; thus,

'the headman of Nankauri (Nicobar Islands) was much interested in a kingfisher that was being skinned (by a naturalist), and begged for the eyes, which he said formed a valuable specific in cases of sleeplessness' (C. B. Kloss, *op. cit.* 76).

This is not, however, a universal rule; for example, monkeys' paws are used as vermiform amulets in Formosa, moles' paws to keep off cramp in England, porcupines' feet by Chawia women (North Africa) for protection during pregnancy, and by Arab women against sore breasts. Very often the object seems to be chosen for its connexion with the most impressive of the local animals, which are themselves credited with mysterious power. To this type belong the crocodile scutes worn in Bengal and Torres Straits; the leopard and lion skins of Africa; tigers' claws and whiskers, bears' teeth, and eagles' claws; or the various products of the elephant. The connexion may be reinforced by making a likeness of the animal; the elephant-nail amulets of the Shans are sometimes cut in the shape of an elephant. Sometimes the amulet is intended to transfer some desirable quality, as when in South Africa a kite's foot is worn to give swiftness, a lion's claw for security (Tylor, *Early History*², 131; Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, 32, and references there given); but quite as often the magical efficacy is unspecialized, and the application dictated by need.

With all amulets, in fact, *nomination* is of immense importance, although nomination may be guided by tradition; when the owner of an amulet of undefined virtues decides to connect it with some particular need, he thereby makes it a charm for that purpose (Tylor, *op. cit.* 126). He has only to think so and to say so, and it becomes for him and all his circle a rain-charm, a pig-charm, or a safeguard against the evil eye (see Jetté, 'Medicine-Men of the Ten'a,' *JAI* xxxvii. 165).

It is obvious that the demand for amulets may exceed the supply of suitable natural objects, especially where tradition has fixed the type. It becomes necessary to make as well as to find them. The first steps in this direction are easy, for, when natural objects are valued for their likeness to something else, there is always a tendency to improve the likeness by art, for the maker's own satisfaction or for a purchaser. From this it is a natural advance to make amulets which are entirely artificial; and these, being made to meet a demand, have generally a fairly definite application, though many are intended to be simply 'lucky.' Leaving aside manufactured objects (such as antique beads and coins) which are merely selected, as natural objects are, for magical use, we may classify *artificial amulets* under four heads:—(i.) Imitations of natural objects, already in use as amulets, *e.g.* of horns (Italy, Portugal, etc.), teeth (large numbers made in Austria for African trade), 'seahorses' (Naples), or coral (all Mediterranean countries, and Africa north of Equator). (ii.) Representations of 'lucky' or sacred objects and protective gestures, *e.g.* of the fish (Manchuria), the pig (South Bavaria), a hunchback (Italy), crosses and figures of saints (Europe generally), the chalice (Rhône Valley), or hands with the fingers in the attitudes called 'making horns' and 'mano in fica' (South Europe and N. Africa). (iii.) Objects made of materials credited with magical efficacy, *e.g.* loops and crosses of rowan-twigs (Scotland), wood of sacred trees (India), jade (Asia), gold, etc. (iv.) Inscribed objects and written charms. Nomination plays an important part in conferring magical efficacy on artificial amulets; frequently the process of manufacture is conceived

as a magical rite, in the course of which a charm is repeated, indicating, and thereby conferring, the specific power desired. For example, a Lengua (Paraguay), when he wishes to hunt rheu or huanaco, makes a rough likeness, or rather suggestion, of the game by wrapping a bird's bone in grass or cloth; he sets this up before him and 'sings over it' to give it power (cf. Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*², Paris, 1909, p. 89 ff.). A similar rite is often performed, either by the beneficiary or by an expert, when the amulet is first put on or fixed in its place (cf. MacLagan, *Evil Eye in the Western Highlands*, 1902, p. 141 ff.). Where no attempt is made to produce a resemblance, nomination is all in all, and the amulet seems little more than a means of focusing the wish; as, for instance, in a pendant of carved jade worn by a Bengali 'as a cure for drooping spirits in adversity.'

It should be noted in this connexion that many amulets are worn in fulfilment of a prescription or vow by which their special application is indicated. A Haida magician (Queen Charlotte Is., British Columbia), when engaged in a magical cure, wears a necklet with a number of ivory or bone pendants; after the séance one of these is given to the patient, and others are sold to the bystanders as a protection against the disease in future. To cure an attack of fever, the Nicobarese *menhuna* ('magician') prescribes the painting of a *henta* ('magical picture') by the village artist, and if the patient recovers, it is kept in the house as a potent charm against further attacks (C. B. Kloss, *op. cit.* 85). Peasant women near Bologna make a vow, in church, to the Virgin, that they will wear garters or girdles under their clothes for the cure of diseases.

Inscribed amulets and charms—a very important class of artificial amulets—may be classified as: (i.) Inscribed objects valued as such apart from the meaning of the inscription. The art of writing always raises a presumption of magical power where the population is mainly illiterate; hence, objects with accidental markings resembling written characters are prized, as well as mere scribbling in imitation of writing (Sudan, etc.). The use made of ancient coins (Europe, Asia) is possibly connected with this, but in some cases (*e.g.* China, Japan, Korea) they are valued for their association with the persons whose names appear on them; Chinese sword-sheaths made of coins are meant to convey the supernatural power and beneficence of all the emperors represented. Hence they should perhaps be placed in the next list. (ii.) Objects inscribed with sacred and magical names, designs, and figures (see 'Christian,' 'Jewish,' 'Indian,' sections of this art.). (iii.) Objects with inscriptions indicating their application; many of the charms distributed at Japanese temples are merely papers stamped 'for protection,' 'against thieves,' 'for easy delivery,' etc. (see 'Japanese' section). (iv.) Copies of sacred texts to which magical efficacy is ascribed (see 'Jewish' and 'Muhammadan' sections). (v.) Copies of prescriptions and curative charms; these are of frequent use in European folk-practice, the prescription being first carried out or the charm repeated, and the copy worn or preserved until the cure is complete. Sometimes, however, the formula is not repeated or disclosed, but only written out by an expert and given to the patient (see *FL* and other publications of the Folk-Lore Society, London, *passim*). The popularity of classes (iv.) and (v.) has given rise in many countries to the manufacture of various charm cases—leather cases (Syria, Muhammadan Africa), silk and cotton bags (South Europe, India, Japan, etc.), metal cylinders (India, Tibet, etc.), or rolls of lead-foil

(Burma)—and there is a tendency to credit these with amuletic efficacy irrespective of their contents.

Amulets against the evil eye constitute a special class, although, as has been said, all other kinds tend to receive a secondary application to this danger wherever the fear of it prevails, children, pregnant women and nursing mothers, domestic animals, ripe crops, and, in short, whatever is likely to arouse envy being considered in special need of protection. Co-extensive with the spread of the belief along the European and African shores of the Mediterranean and through Italy into Central Europe, along parts of the Atlantic seaboard, up the Nile, and through Syria, Turkey, and Asia Minor into Asia, is a marked development of the use of amulets, some intended to fortify the possessor against the effects of the evil glance, and others to intercept or divert it. They include (1) representations of eyes, and natural objects resembling eyes; (2) representations of hands making prophylactic gestures; (3) phallic representations; (4) representations of hunchbacks, death's-heads, and other singularities; (5) almonds, nuts, seeds, shells, and representations of them (these are often supposed to break when the glance falls on them, and earthen pots are placed near crops on the same principle); (6) boars' tusks, canine teeth of wolves and other carnivora, horns, and artificial representations of any of them, and various crescentic objects, especially representations of the moon; (7) crystal and alum; (8) coral, imitations of it, and other red materials; (9) blue materials, e.g. glass, porcelain, beads, woollen yarn, turquoise, and imitations of it. (For discussions of the significance of these and other types, see bibliography for works by Bellucci, Elworthy, Leland, MacLagan, Ridgeway, and Westermarck.)

Certain other instruments of magical practice should be studied in connexion with amulets and charms. Implements of *divination* are often kept for repeated use, and credited with a magical power of bringing about events as well as indicating them. Again, it is often difficult to draw the line between amulets and *fetiches*, especially when these are natural objects (or artificial reproductions of them) chosen, as amulets are, for their singularity or their accidental resemblance to other things, valued as personal possessions, and credited with magical power. The difference seems to lie in the nearer approach to personification in the case of the fetish, which becomes the object of rites which at least resemble prayer and offering (see Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, 1909, p. 186, fig. 195; Cushing, *Zuni Fetiches*, *passim*; Haddon, *Reports of the Cambr. Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vol. vi. section xiii. [1908]). The use of material objects, especially images, in *sorcery*, to do magical harm to persons or property depends on the same general idea of magical power, in this case not inherent, but conferred by a rite. Great emphasis is laid on resemblance between the instrument and the subject of attack, and in this connexion the ideas of 'sympathetic magic' are most strongly and systematically developed; there are, however, cases in which the image is regarded not as representing the subject, but as the embodiment of the sorcerer's magical power or wish (Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*², Paris, 1909, pp. 169-173, 227-230). The primary function of certain other magical objects (e.g. 'wish-bones' in Europe, sorcery-concoctions with lock and key in West Africa) is to focus, or register, the operator's wish, though there is a constant tendency to credit them with power to fulfil it. Connected with these are many kinds of *votive offerings* deposited in holy or 'lucky' places; and these again

must be compared with such amulets as are worn in fulfilment of a vow and to obtain a specified benefit (see above).

See, further, the articles *DIVINATION*, *FETISHISM*, *DISEASE AND MEDICINE*, *MAGIC*, *SACRIFICE*, *WITCHCRAFT*.

LITERATURE AND MATERIALS FOR STUDY.—I. *MUSEUMS*: the Pitt-Rivers Collection, University Museum, Oxford [comparative series of over 600 amulets and objects connected with magic: catalogue in preparation]; the Hadfield and Darbshire collections in the Manchester Museum, Owens College, Manchester; the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London [small series, chiefly British]; Mr. Edward Lovett's Folk-Museum, Croydon.

II. *BOOKS*.—C. Adler and I. M. Casanowicz, 'The Collection of Ceremonial Objects in the U.S. Nat. Museum,' *Proc. U.S. Nat. Mus.* xxxiv. 701-746, pl. ix.-cv.; R. G. Anderson, 'Medical Practices and Superstitions amongst the People of Kordofan,' *Third Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories*, Dept. of Education, Sudan Government, Khartoum, 1908, p. 281 ff.; G. Bellucci, *Tradizioni Popolari Italiani*, no. 2, 'Il feticismo primitivo in Italia,' no. 3, 'Un capitolo di Psicologia Popolare: Gli Amuleti,' Perugia, 1908; E. de Cartailhac, *L'Âge de pierre dans les souvenirs et superstitions populaires*, Paris, 1877; A. B. Cook, *Συκοφαντίαι*, in *Class. Rev.* xxi. 133; R. Corso, 'Amuleti contemporanei Calabresi,' in *Rev. des ét. ethnogr. et sociol.*, nos. 21, 22, Paris, Sept.-Oct. 1909, p. 250; F. H. Cushing, 'Zuni Fetiches,' *2 BBEW*, 1883; F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, also *Horns of Honour*, London, 1900; A. C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, London, 1908; W. L. Hildburgh, 'Notes on Spanish Amulets,' in *FL* xvii. [1908] 454, 'Notes on Sinhalese Magic,' *JAI* xxviii. [1908] 148 ff. pl. xi.-xvi., and 'Notes on some Tibetan and Bhutia Amulets and Folk-medicines, and a few Nepalese Amulets. Notes on some Burmese Amulets and Magical Objects,' in *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 386, 397, pl. 36-39; C. G. Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition*, London, 1892; R. C. MacLagan, 'Notes on Folk-love Objects collected in Argyleshire,' *FL* vi. [1895], also *The Evil Eye in the Western Highlands*, London, 1902; A. N. Moberley, 'Amulets as agents in the Prevention of Disease,' in *Mem. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 223-248; S. H. Perry, 'Sorcery in England,' in *Reliquary*, xiii. 167; C. B. Plowright, 'Moorish Origin of certain Amulets,' in *Reliquary*, xii. 108-113; W. Ridgeway, 'The Origin of the Turkish Crescent,' *JAI* xxxviii. [1908] 241 ff. pl. xix.-xxv.; E. Westermarck, 'The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs,' *ib.* xxxiv. [1904]; numerous papers in *FL*, *JAI*, and *Man*.

BARBARA FREIRE-MARRECO.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).—

1. *Appearance*.—Abyssinian charms or amulets are made of from one to three strips of parchment or leather, which varies greatly in thickness and quality, sewn together with thongs of the same material, the whole forming a strip from c. 50 cm. to 2 m. in length, and from c. 5 cm. to 25 cm. in width. Many specimens have lost the beginning or end. The scroll thus formed is rolled tightly together, and bound with cord, or inserted in a telescoping capsule, or sewn tightly in leather. Convenience or the conservatism of magic has given the roll-form the preference, though magical works, containing legends and spells, and evidently designed, like the scrolls, to be carried rather than read, are often found in small bound volumes with heavy wooden covers. Capsules and leather-covered rolls of this sort are often strung together, to the number of five or six, and ornamented with beads.

Upon this material the Abyssinian *dabtärä* ('canon') writes the legends, spells, words of power, secret signs, and other devices which are to make the charm effective. The appearance of such scrolls is unique. At the top is usually a picture of the archangel Michael or Gabriel with sword in hand, accompanied by smaller angelic figures or faces. Curious spider-like forms, eyes (doubtless representing the evil eye), the fish, the serpent, the lion (or dog [?]), the cross with sun and moon on either side, and indescribably fantastic figures combine with geometric designs in endless yet characteristic array. The 'Seal of 'Eskeder,' or Alexander, so designated by a subscription, in the form of an interlaced figure, appears in one instance, and suggests a similar interpretation of the unintelligible figures above mentioned. Only very rarely is there an illustration bearing upon the accompanying text, as in the pictures noted

in three instances of the saint Sūsneyōs mounted and attacking the demoness Werzelyā. The name of the possessor of the scroll appears many times throughout the roll. The space for the insertion of the name is left blank by the maker, the name being afterward filled in for the purchaser, and subsequently changed as many times as need be, when the roll passes from hand to hand, which is very often the case. Not only at the top but at the end, and in the middle, once or twice, such figures are placed, again without any reference to the text.

The substance of the spells is written in a script generally very much debased, and in some instances assuming a character attributable only to a desire for the bizarre and mysterious, mixed with magical signs, suggesting, on the one hand, Abyssinian or Arabic letters, on the other, the signs which are found in Coptic and late Greek magical texts. The language is a more or less successful attempt at Ge'ez, the ancient, ecclesiastical, and literary language of Abyssinia, commonly known as Ethiopic. The Amharic-speaking scribe is everywhere evident; and in some instances the writer passes completely into the latter language.

2. Age.—The dating of the texts is very difficult. A few are possibly as old as the 15th cent. A.D., and magic scrolls continue to be written in Abyssinia to-day. There is every reason to believe that, however much these texts have accumulated through contact with Muslim and European influences,¹ much or most that is in them goes back to the Byzantine Christian magical texts and books.

3. Use.—Abyssinian charms are worn about the neck, or merely kept in the house, of the possessor. It would seem from the texts that the presence of the roll is in itself sufficient for complete protection—a fetishistic idea which is familiar. But there is also frequent mention of the immunity that comes to him who 'reads the book.' A peculiar form of amulet, described by Turayeff (*Lefaja-Sedeg*, St. Petersburg, 1908), and reminding one strongly of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, was buried with the body to procure for its possessor complete justification in the next world.

4. Contents.—The text of the scrolls, besides the figures, etc., above described, contains both simple spells and words of power, the whole being accompanied by legends explaining how they originated, were first used, and came to have their efficacy. The latter device is well known in magic literature, from earliest Babylonian times onward. It will be necessary to speak first of the legends.

(a) *The legend of Sūsneyōs and Werzelyā* is the most common. It tells how a man named Sūsneyōs marries a wife and begets a child, to which a certain demoness (or witch, or old woman with the evil eye), called Werzelyā, comes in the house, and, departing, causes its death. She goes into a lonely place where she meets her companions, the unclean spirits and demons. The mother complains to the father, Sūsneyōs, regarding what has happened; he mounts his horse, and with spear in hand starts in quest of Werzelyā to kill her. Not knowing where she is to be found, he inquires of an old woman (witch?) at the roadside, who says that she has gone into a 'garden' which lies straight before him. He meets her there, surrounded by demons in large numbers. He prays to Jesus Christ for help in the contest with these supernatural foes; and, after hearing a voice from

heaven which announces the granting of his petition, he advances against Werzelyā and pierces her side. At this point the texts are at variance. An exorcism by the 'seven ranks of archangels' follows, which seems to be an essential part of the legend; but it is uncertain by whom, with what purpose, and with what result it was uttered; and the close is variously treated. There are five different versions, as follows:—(1) The fate of Werzelyā is not stated. It is not expressly mentioned that she dies; and she does not promise 'not to go where his name is found.' This form is incomplete. (2) Werzelyā is not killed by the stroke, and presumably continues to live; but she promises not to harm any one who stands under the protection of the name of Sūsneyōs. The exorcism by the seven archangels is uttered by Werzelyā with the result of saving her life. This form is the commonest, and doubtless the original one. Werzelyā is an ever-living semi-human personality, which continues to harm such as are not protected by the name of the hero who vanquished her. The exorcism has a purpose in the narrative. (3) The demoness dies, and is consequently no more able to harm. The exorcism has no effect or purpose. She makes no promise to refrain from evil; but in death she is once for all disposed of. As in the foregoing form, she is not a ghost but a demoniac human being. This form cannot be original, because Werzelyā must be accounted for as an ever-present agency. (4) Werzelyā dies, but promises nevertheless not to assail the protégés of the hero. Here it is the ghost of the slain woman that continues to harm, unless prevented by the charm. But this form may be merely a mixture of (2) and (3), and in any case leaves the exorcism without purpose. (5) It is Sūsneyōs, and not Werzelyā, who pronounces the exorcism, and for the purpose of saving his life (?)—a possible but very unlikely version, which leaves the question of Werzelyā's fate unsettled.

This legend is a combination of a pagan superstition and the story of a Christian martyr. Of the night-hag who kills little children more will be said below; the idea is found everywhere. The name Werzelyā has not been satisfactorily explained. It has been connected with Hebrew *וֶרְזֵלָה* (*O. von Lemm, Kopt. Miscellen*, St. Petersburg, 1907); and thought to be of Cushitic-African origin (Littmann, 'The Princeton Ethiopic Magic Scroll,' *Princeton Univ. Bulletin*, xv. 1, 1903, pp. 31-42). It is found in Coptic texts (cf. the *Hymn to Sousennios*, in which the name *Berzēlia* occurs [von Lemm, *op. cit.*]; also Crum, *Catal. of the Coptic MSS in the British Museum*, 1905, p. 258, no. 524). There is probably no connexion with Ursula, as is maintained by Fries ('The Ethiopic Legend of Socinius and Ursula,' *Actes du huitième Congrès Intern. d. Orient.*, sec. I. B, Leyden, 1893, pp. 55-70); but the matter has not yet been definitely settled (see Littmann, *op. cit.*; and especially Basset, *Les Apocryphes éthiopiens*, iv, Paris, 1894). Of the identity of Sūsneyōs with the Greek Sisinios there can be no doubt. There were several persons of that name in the 5th century. The original was the martyr who lived in the reign of Diocletian (Basset, *op. cit.* p. 101.), and who in Antioch killed his sister for murder and intercourse with Satan. Only in one of the MSS used by Fries (*op. cit.*) is this sister named Werzelyā. It is easy to see how a saint, famous for his slaying of a monstrous woman, might become the slayer of the dreaded night-hag. In the Slavic legends we have a story of Siseo and his sister Meletia (Gaster, *FL* xi. 1900, 129-162)¹ similar to that of Sūsneyōs and Werzelyā. According to Basset (*op. cit.*), the successor of Mani, the Manichean Sisinios, is the real opponent of the night-hag, and the confusion with the martyr is later. We know that Babylonian, and therefore probably Manichean, beliefs were

¹ Rochus (Rōqō)—once mentioned, died 16th Aug. 1827, and was canonized in 1414 at the Council of Constance. The name came to Abyssinia probably through the Portuguese.

¹ Meletia is the sister of Siseo and the mother of children who at birth are stolen by the Devil; not the demoness who kills the one (firstborn) child of the saint and his wife (unnamed). The search of the mounted saint, the meeting, the prayer, are all represented. The evil spirit promises not to approach the place where his name is found. There is no oath by the archangels. The Devil is made to vomit up the swallowed children by the saint who, after prayer, is able to perform the miracle demanded, and vomit up his mother's milk. This last feature, and the questioning of the trees on the road (instead of the old woman) are characteristic of the Slavic and the Greek legends (see below). The story of a demoness Vesitza, who kills newborn children, and who is overcome by the archangel Michael, is also reported by Gaster (*op. cit.*).

full of the idea of this female demon; but the notion is one widely diffused and possibly of independent origin.¹

Greek amulets have the same *motif*, and even the name Sisinios. One example (Leo Allatius, *De templis Graecorum recentioribus*, Cologne, 1645, p. 126 ff.) contains the account of how the saints *Zorobab* and *Zuribabos*, in behalf of their stricken sister *Meletriv* and with the help of God, pursue with many adventures the demoness *Pukō*, the harmer of little children. After her capture she promises under punishment not to come near those possessing the amulet. *Pukō*, *Ἰελοῦ*, *Ἰελοῦ*, *Ἰελοῦ* is the Jewish *Lilith*, the Babylonian *Lilitu*, echoing still the Bab. name *Gallū* (cf. Kohut, 'Jüdische Angelologie, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iv. [1896] 87; and O. Frank, 'Zu babylonischen Beschwörungstexten,' in *ZA* xxiv. 161 ff.), and has here the rôle of *Weryzylā*. Similar is the story of the meeting of Michael and *Baskaria* (*-coriv*, 'witchcraft'; e.g. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 295 ff.), where the place of Sisinios is taken by the archangel. This Hellenistic *motif* of the saint who slays the *Baskaria* found, possibly in Egypt, definite employment in a literary legend-amulet of *Sousenniot* and *Berzelia* (cf. von Lennu, *loc. cit.*) for the use of women in childbirth. This may have come to Abyssinia in the 14th or 15th century. It came also into other lands (cf. Mai, *Script. Vet. Novæ Collectio*, Rome, 1821, iv. 314. MS cxxiv. 5 and 60, where an Arabic MS from Aleppo is mentioned containing the Sisinios legend with exorcism).

(b) *The Legend of the Fish-net of Solomon* is of frequent occurrence. It begins with the formula: 'The names of Salomōn; how he scattered the demons as a fish-net (is thrown out), saying . . . [here follow magical words].' The narrative follows of how the demons seize Solomon and bury him, and bring him before the 'king' (i.e. of the demons; see below), who challenges him to a contest of power. Solomon proves victor over the 'blacksmiths' (i.e. demons; see below), who attack him, by uttering the word 'Lōfham.' The 'king' is then constrained to reveal all his 'signs' by which his activity may be known, e.g. miscarriage, madness, death (especially of women and children), and secret commerce with women followed by the birth of monstrous children. Of these latter a long list is given, consisting of the names of domestic animals and, in some MSS, of wild animals. Solomon curses the demon and exorcizes him again. At the close there is a prayer:

'I seal my face (with the sign of the Cross) against the great terror of the demons and blacksmiths. . . I take refuge in "Lōfham," thy (magic) name . . . that I may scatter my enemies, and become their enemy . . . (names of demons) . . . that they may not come to me, and not approach my soul and my body, who am Thy servant N. N.'

It is impossible to restore the precise form of this story, as it is badly confused and fragmentary.

(c) *The Legend of 'Āinat* relates how Jesus and His disciples at the Sea of Tiberias meet with an old woman of terrible appearance, having a flame issuing from her mouth, and eyes as red as the rising sun. When questioned about her, Jesus says that she is 'Āinat, and describes the evils which she causes—shipwreck, fall of rider and horse, the ruining of milch cows, and the separation of mother and child—and pronounces two magic words which render her powerless. The disciples burn her (or her eye), and scatter her ashes to the four winds of heaven. At the close is the petition: 'May her memory be destroyed, and may the memory of 'Āinat be destroyed from Thine handmaid N. N.'

The name 'Āinat is connected with 'ān, 'the evil eye'; the presumption of an Arabic origin or mediation is confirmed by the title: 'The prayer of Nad(āra)' (= Egyptian-Arab. *an-Nāḡrah*, or classical Arab. *an-Nāḡrah*, 'the evil eye'). The Arabic original from which the Abyssinian version was prepared is perhaps represented by the legend, agreeing in almost every detail, which is described in the *Catalogue of the Coptic MSS in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, ed. by W. E. Crum, 1909, p. 238 f., no. 487 E. Like *Weryzylā*, 'Āinat is a native demoniac figure, given a foreign name and story.

¹ Gaster (*op. cit.* 7) gives parallels, from Hebrew sources, of the *Sūsneyōs-Werzylā* type, which he regards as the ancestors of the Slavic legends. We incline to the opinion that the Greek-Slavic legends of Europe are not derived from the Greek-Coptic legends of Africa (the postulated ancestors of the present Abyssinian stories), but that both are separate developments of the Hellenistic *motif*, ultimately Heb.-Bab. (cf. the contest of Marduk-Bel with Tiamat and her demons). At present, however, nothing definite can be said about it.

(d) *Other legends* are found in the bound magical works, and in the scrolls buried with the dead (see above); such are the accounts of how Mary revealed the secret names of Christ (*Tell Me Thy Name; The Names of Our Lord; The Disciples*), the *Prayer of the Virgin among the Parthians*, at *Golgotha, in Egypt*, and the *Prayer of Cyprian*, which seem to have been written in the reign of the famous reformer and opponent of magic, Zaʿa Yaʿqōb (1434-1468). All these legends are of Christian literary origin, and closely related to the miracle stories, out of which, in the process of degeneration, they have gradually emerged as magical literature—the Christian dress of an unconquerable pagan tendency.

(e) *Shorter and simpler spells*, standing midway between the literary legends and the mere words of power, occur in large numbers. A few typical examples are the following:

(a) *BIBLICAL* in origin are, e.g., Ps 11³ (because of the occurrence of 'wither': there follows the application 'thus may not wither the fruit of the womb of thine handmaid, N. N.'). Ps 91 (Septuagint 90). Because of the catalogue of evils, and the promise of God's protection, this is much used, and furnishes many expressions found elsewhere. The following are employed because they contain the word 'blood,' the application being that the quotation will save the person concerned (from bloodshed [?]) from barrenness (the continued menstruation, or the hemorrhage of disease, are both spoken of as the failure of the child to 'solidify': Ps 55 91¹ 161 309 501³ 511⁴ 551⁵ 628 784 793 1391⁶ (often so much modified as not to be easily recognized), De 32⁴, Ro 31⁵ (cf. Is 59⁷, Pr 11⁶). Also, to aid conception: Jn 14⁴ ('And the Word became flesh' . . .), Mk 52⁵ (the woman with an issue of blood). Jn 15⁴ is used to ward off demons ('apprehended,' *ḥarāḡaḡ*, is rendered by Eth. *ḡarab*, which means 'came upon' or 'attacked'; the prayer follows: 'May the demons not attack . . .'). There are exorcisms by the Twenty-four Elders (Rev 4⁴), the Four Beasts (4⁵), the Twelve Apostles, the four Evangelists, and the Fifteen Prophets; and, though extra-Biblical in this connexion, the Three Hundred and Eighteen Orthodox (who gathered at Nicaea).¹

(b) *MUSLIM AND ARABIC* in origin is, e.g.: *Lā ḥawla wālā quwwata illā billāhi l-ʿalīy l-karīm* ('There is no power and no might except with God the Exalted, the Glorious!'), which appears in Ethiopic translation, not in phonetic imitation, like those given below.

(c) *MISCELANEOUS*.—The formula, 'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' is used as a spell by itself; and is regularly employed in introducing each new division of text (called *ḡāḡ* = 'prayer'). It may sometimes, though certainly not always, be used merely as a common Christian formula, and without other intention. Remarkable, and characteristic of Abyssinia, are the hymns called *salāms*. They are well known in legitimate literature, and seem to appear in amulets partly as borrowed lore of the Church, possessing for that reason magical efficacy, partly as modified or newly invented hymns, with a magical purpose in view from the first. They begin with the words *salām laka*, 'Hail to thee . . . !' and celebrate some saint, or angel, or deed of valour. Such are, e.g., the hymn to the archangel *Rūḡāʿel*, the 'opener of the womb'; to *Fānūʿel* (Heb. *ḡānūʿ* = 'Face of God'; the meaning is remembered by the Abyssinians), who drives away the demons from before the face of God, where they assemble to accuse mankind of his evil deeds (cf. Satan in the prologue of the Book of Job), and who drives away the demons upon earth. He is the Angel of Forgiveness. This hymn is very common, and varies greatly in length and in the order of the verses. It contains a reference which indicates that it was composed for magical purposes. The hymn to the *Lance of Lanyūnōs* is used against the disease called *wegʿat* ('stitch in the side'), from the circumstance that the word *wegʿat* (= 'pierced it') occurs. The idea is found elsewhere; see, e.g., Cockayne, *Leachmans, Wort-cunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, London, 1864-6, pp. 1, 393, where a spell against stitch is given: 'Longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor.' There are many exorcisms composed of the names of demons and their qualities and evil works, as in Bab. ritual texts; and of the epithets and attributes of God and of the Cross.

(f) *Magical formulae, or words of power*, fill a

¹ Gaster (*op. cit.* p. 142) has: '860 holy fathers of the Council of Nicaea.' The theoretical Babylonian year has 360 days, on 318 of which the moon would be visible to the average eye (cf. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, 1900, ii. 27, regarding the Elieser Gematria [318] of Gn 14⁴ 15²). The remarkable and hardly casual number of persons (317-1) who went from Mitanni to Egypt in connexion with the marriage of Kirgipa (Gileukhipa) and Amenhotep III. (see Breasted, *Ancient Records*, London, 1906, ii. 347 f.; Winckler, *Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, Berlin, 1896, 16 f.; 41. 42) has never been noticed in this connexion; nor the traditional year of the appearance of the heresies of Arius (318). For this symbolic number in Christian writers, see the reference in HDB iii. 567; *FRE*, s.v. 'Zahlen.'

large rôle in the texts. They are meaningless in themselves, except to the initiated. Many are invented apparently on the spur of the moment by the writer of the scroll; others seem to be passed along with more or less accuracy, though in themselves unintelligible. A large number, however, can be traced to a definite source. Foreign words and proper words, because unintelligible, or by reason of some association, are taken over, and then modified by omission, or addition, or the reversal of the consonants. More frequently the writer pretends to know the meaning of the words, and translates—incorrectly. While despising each other, Muslims and Christians borrow phonetically the formulæ used in the strange religion—a phenomenon well known to anthropologists.

E.g. ARABIC: *Bismi 'l-lâh 'r-rahmân 'r-rahim*, 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful'; reminiscences or fragments of *Sûra* cxli. of the Qur'ân . . . *lam yalid walâm yulad* . . . 'He begetheth not, neither is He begotten'; *A'ûduhu billâhi minâ sh-Shaitân 'r-Ragim*, 'I take refuge with God from Satan the accursed' (*Sûra* xvi. 100); *Fayakun*, 'So let there be' (the mighty word by which the world was created); *Yâ rasûla 'l-lâh*, 'O Apostle of God'; and many other Arabic words and expressions.

HEBREW are: *Ekyâ asher ekyâ*, 'I am that I am' (*Ex* 314; cf. Goldziher, in *ZA* xxi. 244, and xx. 412); *Elsahadai, Sôd'ôth, Adônai, Yahwê, Elôhim*,—names of God; *Bersabehelyôs, Bersabêl*, the greatest of the names of Christ (perhaps with Littmann [*Gesch. der äthiop. Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 238] = *Bêr'sheba*, 'Beersheba', with the magic ending -êl and the Gr. ending -os); *Lôsham*, and the reverse, *Mehafelôn* (the mighty word used by Solomon, and suggesting the etymology *לִשְׁמֹר*, 'destructive'); *Salômôn* in its Greek form, and the reversed and modified forms: *Mêlôs, Melyôs, Maîs, Malâis, Lis, Malalyôs, Malalyôs, Môlis, Lameîlôs, Nemlôs, Neblôs*.

GREEK are: *Theos* (*Tâ'ôs*); *Messias* (*Mâyâs*); *Pneuma* (*Ebnôbyâ*); *Alfa* (*Rev* 18 216 2213; cf. Ludloff, *Hist. Aethiop.*, Frankfurt, 1881, *Commenarius*, 1891, p. 389); *Bêta Iôta* (*Bôta Yôta*); perhaps for *βασιλεὺς τῶν ἰουδαίων*, Mt 2737); *Elôl, Elôl, lama sabachthani* (Mt 1534). These Aramaic words in Greek letters are distorted variously in the Abyssinian magical texts, but are accurately transliterated in the Ethiopic NT. The magician adds learnedly: ' . . . which, in its interpretation, is: "God, my God, see me and hear me! Lord, my God, see me and hear me!"'.

LATIN is found in *Antiquus* (*Antikôs*); and in the famous SATOR formula,¹ which appears with some variations, e.g.:

Sadôr	Alâdôr	Danât	Adôrâ	Rôdâs
Sâdor	Alâdor	Danât	Adôrâ	Rôdâs
Sâdor	Arôdâ	Danâd	Adôrâ	Rôdâs

(Ludloff, *op. cit.* p. 351, where they are called 'the five wounds of Christ').

In this word-magic the Christian elements are prominent. The unintelligible words may conceal pagan African elements unknown to us. There is little to suggest the Gnostic magical literature (e.g. the seven vowels *αεωωωω*), though the repetition of monosyllables is common.

(g) *The wizards and demons of the texts* are partly literary Christian and partly popular in origin. The Septuagint and the New Testament often furnish the starting-point not only for the terminology, but even for the underlying ideas. Ps 91 has been alluded to (see above). Whatever may have been the teaching of the first missionaries to Abyssinia, the magical texts clearly show how the demonological passages in the Gospels were understood. The following is a brief outline of the kinds of wizards and demons, with examples:

i. Wonder-workers of olden time: *Salômôn, Eskeder* or *Akator* (Alexander), *Qôpreyânôs* (Cyprion).

ii. Wizards of various origin, called 'kings': witches capable of assuming animal form. Such are: *Nahâbî, Tabûl* (smith); *'Agabê kerâi* (medicine-man); *Bûdâ, Zûr* (demonic forms assumed by smiths); *'Ânawarq* (= *Bûdâ* ?); *Nôbâ*, who leads the dust-demons (whirlwind ?); *Qumâhâ* (wizard); and others.

iii. Demons proper, for whom there are many general terms: *Gânân, Saitân, Saîim* (black), *Tekûr* (black), *Qayyeh* (red), *Akmôis* (laughing ?), *Qatalâs* (killing), *Me'at* (for *Mehat*);

1 SATOR
AREPO
TENET
OPERA
ROTAS

This palindrome, well known in European folk-lore, seems to have originated in the early Middle Ages. It may have reached Abyssinia through the Portuguese; but the form *Arôdâ*, found in Coptic texts, makes the mediation of Egypt probable. The place of its origin is, we believe, unknown. See R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1900, iii. 564 ff., and literature cited.

phantasm). *Agues* (speaking badly, or in frenzy ?), *Algûm* (not answering);—(1) Demons with individual names, not causing specific diseases; (a) Biblical: *Diyaûlôs, Saitân, Mastêmâ* (cf. Book of Jubilees, where it is a name of Satan), *Demon of Noon-day* (Ps 91b), *Unforeseen Evil* (Ps 91a), *Lêgêwân* (Lk 325-33). The titles in the Eth. NT show the beginnings of this).—(b) Non-Biblical: These are very numerous; among others *Werzelyâ* (see above), *Be'ûnât* (= *Werzelyâ* ?). The word is probably

from vulgar Arabic: **B'ûne*, بوننة [classical بوننة] as

attempt to write Coptic *Boone*, which means *Itrida*, 'Ainai' (see above). *Dabbâs, Dask*, and *Tafant* are popular names of demons.—(2) Classes of demons bearing a collective name: (a) Diseases: e.g. modern vernacular words for *Pest, Epilepsy, Headache, Sharp Pains, Stitch, Consumption, Diphtheria* (?), *Oppression of the heart, Stomach worms, Colic, Fever, Rheumatism, Insanity, Malaria, Miscarriage, Pneumonia* (?), and *Kidney disease* (?). The identification is often uncertain. The disease is identical with the demon.—(b) Elements: *Air, River, Dust, and Ocean*.—(c) Localities designated by a tribal or ethnic name: *Bârâ, Felâdâ* (also '*Erâ'ê*'), *Gallâ, Mansô*, and many others.

LITERATURE.—In addition to that given in the text of the article: W. H. Worrell, 'Studien zum abessin. Zauberen', in *ZA* xliii. [1909] 149 ff., xxiv. 59 ff. [to be completed in following numbers]; E. Littmann, art. ABYSSINIA in present work, also 'Arde'et, the Magic Book of the Disciples', in *JAOs* xxv. [1904] 1; N. Rhodokanakis, 'Eine äthiop. Zaubersrolle im Museum der Stadt Wells', in *WZKM* xviii. 3 ff.; B. Turayeff, art. 'Ethiopic Magic Prayers', in Chwolson's *Festschrift*, Berlin, 1899 (Ethiopic and Russian); Ignazio Guidi, *Vocabolario Amaro-Italiano*, Rome, 1901, contains many names of demons and diseases. A facsimile of an Ethiopic amulet, with description, will be found in F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, pp. 390-4.

W. H. WORRELL.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (American).—

While charms and amulets are diffused among all the aborigines of the New World, a systematic consideration of them is beset with serious difficulties. To classify them by external features, such as shape or construction, would be manifestly artificial; but it is hardly better to group them on the basis of function. While some charms are doubtless invested with specific virtues, many serve the most diverse purposes at the same time. The most profitable method of approach will be to pass from one culture area to another, and to correlate, wherever possible, the superstitions attached to the use of the charms with the fundamental religious conceptions of their owners.

1. Eskimos.—Beginning in the north, we find among the Eskimos a variety of usages centring in the world-wide belief in sympathetic and imitative magic. The 'Polar' Eskimo near Cape York, Greenland, carries with him his *arnuaq*, which is supposed to confer certain qualities and to guard against danger. Hawks being the surest slayers of their prey, parents sew the head or feet of a hawk into a boy's clothes in order to make him a great hunter. Because the black guillemot is clever in catching cod, men wear its foot to become great slayers of their quarry—whales or narwhals. To endow children with the strength of a bear, parents sew into the boys' caps the skin from the roof of a bear's mouth. Similarly, a piece of a fox's head, or of old dried fox-dw., is sewed into a person's clothes to impart the fox's cunning. While fire is considered very powerful, an old hearth-stone is regarded as still stronger, because it has withstood the fire; accordingly, bits of hearth-stones are sewed to clothing to secure long life and fortitude for the wearer. The women of this division of the Eskimos rarely use amulets, but when they do, the same conceptions appear. The kittiwake lays very small eggs; accordingly, a girl having a kittiwake head sewed into her clothes will not give birth to large children. In all the cases cited, care must be taken that the animals have not been killed by men: the bear-charm, for example, is made when an old bear-cranium has been found.¹ The Greenlanders

¹ Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North* (Lond. ed. 1906) p. 138 f.

farther south also formerly employed a multitude of amulets. A piece of a European's clothing or shoe was believed to instil European skill. In other cases the psychology of the practice is less clear. Pieces of old wood or stone, beaks and claws of birds, leather bands for the forehead, chest, or arms, were all worn as a protection against spirits, disease, and death; they were considered especially effective in preventing the departure of children's souls during a thunderstorm. Whalers attached a fox's head to the front of their boat, while the harpoon was furnished with an eagle's beak. To prevent a kayak from capsizing, a small model kayak with an armed mannikin was attached to the boat, this model being sometimes replaced by a dead sparrow or snipe, a piece of wood, or other small objects.¹ The navel-string was considered an effective amulet for restoring a child to health and promoting longevity.²

Like their eastern kinsmen, the Hudson Bay Eskimos sew pieces of skin or cloth on their under garments to avert disease. The tip of a caribou's tail sewed to the coat ensures good luck in caribou hunting, and many boys use this charm in order to become good hunters. The hair of a successful hunter is sought for the same purpose, so that a native woman begged of Captain Comer a lock of hair from each of his temples for her boy, in order that he might get an abundance of game in later years. Strips of caribou skin put round little girls' wrists will make them skilful in cutting and sewing skins. Shirts are sometimes equipped with such charms, and bears' teeth on a boy's shirt, secured by Captain Comer, are believed to make the wearer fearless of bears, while a seal's teeth will ensure success in sealing. A piece of whale skin prevents the boy's kayak from capsizing, and rabbit ears enable him to approach caribou unseen. A wolf's lip will make him howl like a wolf; this will cause the caribou to run into the ponds, where they can be easily captured from the kayak. A seal's nose on the front of the jacket will entice the seal towards the wearer. A woman who wishes her child to have a white skin sews a white stone to its clothing. Bugs and bees, when similarly attached, are supposed to prolong life; a piece of flint sewed in the sleeve strengthens the arms and hands. Oil drippings are highly valued as amulets against supernatural enemies and as hunting charms. Accordingly, the drippings from lamps are placed around the edges of walrus holes in order to make the walrus return to these holes, and suction of a gull's feather dipped in oil drippings, followed by expectoration into the holes, is supposed to keep from the walrus the knowledge of the hunter's approach. Common to the Central and Smith Sound Eskimos is the belief in artificial monsters endowed with life in order to effect the destruction of their maker's enemies. These *tuplak* are driven away by the protective qualities of oil and lampblack, as well as by magical whips formed of the skin of a male wolf or the bone of a bear, the latter being used particularly for the protection of children. An interesting amulet of quite different character is used to drive away thunder: the skin of a stillborn seal is made into a jacket, which must be taken off and struck against the ground when thunder is heard.³

Essentially related conceptions appear among the Alaskan Eskimos, of whom the natives of Point Barrow may be selected for consideration. Rudely flaked flint representations of whales are extremely common amulets in this area; they give

good luck in whaling, and are suspended round the neck by a string, or worn on the breast of the jacket. In deer hunting, reliance is placed on the unbranched antler of the reindeer. Personal amulets include bunches of bear or wolverine claws, or the metacarpal bones of the wolf. Possibly corresponding to the use of an eagle's beak on the Greenland's whaling harpoon is the attachment of a tern's bill to the seal-spear of the Alaskans; Murdoch suggests that the underlying motive is the attempt to give to the spear the surety of a tern's aim. Objects acquire special value through contact with certain persons or supernatural beings. Heavy stone objects, sometimes weighing over two pounds, thus come to be carried about as amulets, and the consecration of ancient implements in this way seems to have done much for the preservation of old specimens of Alaskan material culture.⁴

2. Eastern Indians.—Underlying most of Indian belief is the conception of what the Algonquins call *manitou*, the Sioux, *wakan*. If the Indian experiences an emotional thrill at the sight or sound of an object, this object becomes invested for him with a sacred character—it is recognized as *manitou*.⁵ The relation of the native to the object in a given case is determined by specifically tribal conceptions, or even by individual experiences in visions or dreams. It cannot be doubted that a great number of charms and amulets in North America must be conceived as special cases of the basic *manitou* principle. This appears with great clearness in early accounts of the eastern Indians. The Hurons, we are informed in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1647-48, regarded everything that seemed unnatural or extraordinary as *oky*, i.e. as possessing supernatural virtues. Such objects were kept for good luck. If a Huron had had difficulty in killing a bear or stag, and, after slaying the animal, found a stone or snake in its entrails, the thing found was conceived as the *oky* that endowed the creature with more than ordinary strength, and was henceforth worn as a charm. If, while digging near a tree, a Huron discovered a peculiar stone, he believed that it had been forgotten there by certain demons and called it an *aaskouandy*. Such objects were supposed to change their shape, a stone or snake turning into a bean, a grain of corn, or the talons of an eagle. The owner would become lucky in the chase, in fishing, in trade, and in playing. Dreams decided the particular sphere of the charm's usefulness. Still more powerful were the *onniont*, which were believed to be derived from a sort of serpent that pierced everything in its way—trees, bears, and rocks. On account of their peculiar virtues, they were distinguished as 'genuine *oky*,' and the Hurons were willing to pay the Algonquins exorbitant prices for infinitesimal fragments of *onniont*.⁶ This last case is especially instructive as illustrating the complexity of the psychological processes that must often be assumed to account for the use of a given charm. As the Hurons are said to have obtained all their *onniont* from the Algonquins, their use of it is not directly due to mystic experiences, but to the processes underlying imitation and borrowing. That the Algonquins themselves did not venerate the *onniont*, because they were supposed to be derived from the serpent, is quite clear in the light of modern research into the relation of myth and observance. It is fairly probable that the ultimate reason for the use of *onniont* as charms by the Algonquins is identical with that which prompted

¹ Oranz, *Historie von Grönland* (Frankfort, 1779), p. 2751.

² Rink, *Danish Greenland* (London, 1877), p. 205.

³ Boas, 'The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xv. 151-153, 492, 505-508, 515.

⁴ Murdoch, 'The Point Barrow Eskimo,' in *9 REW* (1892), pp. 435-441.

⁵ Jones, 'The Algonkin Manitou,' in *JAPL*, 1905, pp. 183-190.

⁶ *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cincinnati, 1898-1901), xxxiii. 215.

the Hurons to look upon certain finds as *oky*. Nevertheless we must not shut our eyes to the possibility of another origin. Predominant as was the concept of *manitou* among the Algonquins, the less mystical notions described in connexion with the Eskimos are not lacking. Le Jeune tells of the Montagnais wearing at the bottom of their garments ornaments of bears' claws in order to preclude injury from bears, and to be enabled to kill these animals with greater ease.¹ The unconscious reasoning processes connected with the belief in sympathetic and imitative magic must thus be kept in mind as possible alternatives in the explanation of the application of charms where detailed information is lacking.

The mystic thrill characteristic of a *manitou* experience is often actively sought by means of fasts intended to induce visions, and many amulets, whatever may have been their ultimate origin, are believed to be the direct outcome of the supernatural communications thus received. Thus, if the being which appears to the dreamer is an animal, the skin of the animal may henceforward be carried about as a bringer of good luck; or the visitant may give specific instructions as to the use of certain objects as charms. The foregoing considerations will facilitate some insight into the psychology of many Indian charms, though undoubtedly much must still remain obscure.

To resume our geographical survey: the Algonquin Montagnais, according to Le Jeune's *Relation*, had a number of amulets of rather problematic function. A shaman gave a woman a pattern of a little sack cut in the form of a leg, which she used to make one of leather filled with beaver hair. It was called 'the leg of the *manitou*,' and was hung in the cabin for a long time. Afterwards it passed into the hands of a young man, who wore it suspended from his neck. In the same tribe the slayer of a bear received the 'heart-bone' of the animal, which he carried about his neck in a little embroidered purse.² The Hurons, besides the charms already mentioned in connexion with the *manitou* concept, had charms composed of bear claws, wolf teeth, eagle talons, stones, and dry sinews, all of which were thrown by dancers at one another. The person falling under the charm was supposed to be wounded, and blood poured out of his mouth and nostrils.³ The Iroquois, according to oral communications of Alanson Skinner, still carry about their persons miniature canoes as a safeguard against drowning; and this amulet is used especially by people who have had dreams of drowning. Small clubs were similarly used as war-charms. Small wooden masks ('false faces') are carried about by both sexes, but particularly by pregnant women; small husk-masks are carried about for good luck. Witches and sorcerers often had dolls carved of wood and antler, and sometimes had roots covered with tiny carved faces, which were supposed to impart the power of changing at will from human to animal form. Clay pipes with such faces have been found on ancient Iroquois sites, and may have served the same use. People who have seen the mythical dwarf stone-rollers carve tiny images of these people and keep them as charms. A peculiar love-charm occurring among the western Cree was described to the present writer while he was passing through the territory of this tribe. The lover makes a small effigy both of himself and of the woman he loves, and wraps them up together with some medicinal roots. After a few days the woman thus charmed surrenders herself to the charmer.

In the south-east of the United States the over-

shadowing importance of incantation did not eliminate the use of material charms. Among the Yuchi a small whitish root is carried in a bag to keep away sickness. To the neck of a child there is attached an insect larva sewed tightly in a buckskin covering, decorated on one side with beadwork. The amulet symbolizes a turtle, of which the hind legs and tail are represented by little loops of beads. Its special function is to bring sleep to the wearer, through the use and representation of two creatures that spend much of their life in a dormant condition. Children were shielded from harm by some small white bones wrapped up in buckskin and tied to their necks or hammocks, and such bones also prevented children from crying in the night. Men wore small objects obscurely related to the events in their career, 'in the belief that the things would prove effectual in protecting and guiding them in some way.' War parties of the Creek carried with them bundles of magic herbs and charms. One of the latter was supposed to consist of parts of the horns of a mythical snake that was captured and killed by the people after long-continued suffering from its attacks. These horns were believed to impart immunity from wounds.⁴

3. Plains Indians.—Among the warlike aborigines inhabiting the Plains, charms were naturally often associated with martial pursuits. The buffalo-hide shields regularly carried in battle were supposed to owe their efficacy to the medicine objects attached to them or to the designs painted on their outside rather than to their natural properties. The Dakota Sioux were particularly fond of protective shield designs representing supernatural powers. In many of these cases there was a mixture of two motives: on the one hand, the design derived its supernatural power solely from its revelation in a dream or vision, but at the same time there was a symbolical representation of the power desired, which recalls the phenomena of imitative magic. Thus, spiders, lizards, and turtles are frequently represented on war garments, because they are hard to kill, and it was supposed that this property would be transferred to the wearer. In addition to the painted design, a shield might bear a braid of sweetgrass and a buckskin bag with charms. Before going into battle, the Sioux burnt some of the sweetgrass and chanted songs pertaining to the shield.⁵ Among the Assiniboine, war charms were exceedingly common. They were prepared by shamans from ingredients supplied by the prospective wearer, who was also informed in advance of future happenings in battle. One man used the dried and fleshed skin of a bluebird with jack-rabbit ears sewed to its neck, the whole attached to a piece of raw hide painted red. Another warrior might employ a bird skin, a weasel skin, a bonnet of weasel-skin, and a square piece of buffalo hide; still another, a large knife with a bear-bone handle to which were tied little bells and a feather.⁶ The Gros Ventre often carried their sacred war paraphernalia in cylindrical raw-hide cases. One specimen was painted with designs in colour representing the birds dreamt of by the original owner. The case contained a bag, and in the bag there was a necklace with 'medicine' roots. There were also skins worn at the back of the head to prevent injury, and a bone whistle was blown for the same purpose. If the Gros Ventre dreamt of a man battling successfully

¹ Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians* (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 137; 'The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town, in *Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* ii, pt. 2, p. 118.

² Wissler, 'Some Protective Designs of the Dakota,' in *Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* 21-53.

³ Lowie, 'The Assiniboine,' *ib.* iv. 81-83, 84.

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, ix. 117.

² *ib.* vi. 207, 291.

³ *ib.* x. 200.

while wearing the skin of some animal, the same kind of skin was adopted by the dreamer. For a corresponding reason an Assiniboiné once wore a fool-dance costume before entering a fight.¹ Among the Arapaho amulets collected by Kroeber there is a bracelet of badger-skin with a gopher skin, an owl claw, some bells, feathers, seeds, and skin fringes. The badger skin is believed to increase the speed of the rider's horse; the claw helps to seize an enemy; the motion of the feathers drives away the enemy; and the bells represent the noise of the fight. A scaly turtle tail or fish back mounted on stuffed buckskin was worn on the head—the feathers for speed, the hard scales to cause invulnerability.² When an Hidatsa went to war, he always wore the strip off the back of a wolf skin, with the tail hanging down the shoulders. A slit was made in the skin, through which the warrior put his head, so that the wolf's head hung down upon his breast. The head, claws, stuffed skin, or some other representative of his medicine was carried about the person as a protective charm.³

While war-charms are thus seen to have been extremely important among the Plains Indians, daily life was also attended with the use of numerous charms. The wide diffusion of navel amulets bears testimony to this fact. Among the Arapaho, the navel-strings of girls are preserved and sewed into small pouches stuffed with grass. These are usually diamond-shaped and embellished with beadwork, and the girl keeps this amulet on her belt until it is worn out. The Sioux often make navel charms in the form of turtles, the turtle being supposed to preside over the diseases peculiar to women. Similar charms occur among the Assiniboiné.⁴ An elderly Arapaho woman kept a number of pebbles tied up in a bag. Some of them were pointed, others relatively round, the former representing the canine teeth, and the latter the molars. 'The stones, being loose, represent the possessor's wish to reach that period of life.' Three other stones were kept on account of their resemblance to a turtle, a bird, and a skunk, respectively. The turtle stone was said to have been procured from inside a horse's body, and was placed on the abdomen as a cure for diarrhoea. The skunk stone was held in the hand by sick people while sleeping; similarly the bird amulet was placed at the head of the sick. Two curious natural stones were painted red and treasured by the owner in a bag of incense. At the sun-dance, they were exposed and deposited near incense. They were called 'centipedes.' Much of the belief in amulets among the Arapaho seems to centre in sympathetic and imitative magic. Beans of different colours are used to produce colts of certain colours; a smooth and slippery shell aids in delivery; 'beads in the shape of a spider web render the wearer, like the web, impervious to missiles, and at the same time ensure the trapping of the enemy, as insects in a web.'⁵ The symbolism so characteristic of Plains tribes is illustrated by a curious charm worn among the Caddo in the southern part of the Prairie area. It consisted of the polished tip of a buffalo horn, surrounded by a circle of downy red feathers within another circle of badger and owl claws. The owner regarded the charm as the source of his prophetic inspiration. The buffalo horn was 'God's heart,' the red

feathers contained his own heart, and the circle of claws symbolized the world.¹

As perhaps the most typical of hunting charms in this area may be mentioned the Blackfoot *iniskim*, or buffalo rocks. These were usually small ammonites, or sections of baculites, or sometimes oddly shaped flint nodules. They were found on the prairie, and the person who secured one was considered very fortunate. Sometimes a man riding along heard a strange chirp, which made known to him the presence of a buffalo rock. Searching for it on the ground, he would try to discover it. If he failed, he would mark the place and return the next day to resume his quest. The tribal hunt of the buffalo had for its object the driving of the game into an enclosure. On the evening of the day preceding a drive into the corral, a medicine-man possessing an *iniskim* unrolled his pipe and prayed to the Sun for success. The origin of these charms is traced to a mythological period of starvation when a woman encountered a singing buffalo rock, which instructed her to take it home and teach the people its song. As a result of her compliance with these instructions, a great herd of buffalo came, and the Indians were saved.² Several years ago an old Blackfoot of Gleichen, Alberta, unwrapped a bundle for the present writer, disclosing some small stones which he described as *iniskim*. Whenever he was in need of food in the olden days, he explained, he used his *iniskim*, and in consequence never went hungry.

4. Mackenzie and Plateau Areas; California.—Among the Northern Athapascans of the Mackenzie River basin the simplicity of ceremonial life throws into relief the customs attached to everyday pursuits, such as hunting and fishing. The Dogribs carry bunches of antler points while hunting game, because they believe this will aid the wearer in luring deer or moose within range of his rifle, and the same power is ascribed to a piece of birch or a deer's scapula.³ The Chippewayan women cut off a small piece of the newborn child's navel-string and hang it about their necks, presumably for a charm.⁴ Fishing nets always had fastened to them a number of birds' bills and feet, while at the four corners the Chippewayan tied some otter and jackfish toes and jaws. Unless these objects were attached, it was deemed useless to put the net into the water, as it would not catch a single fish. In angling, similar superstitions were observed. The bait used consisted of a combination of charms enclosed within a bit of fish-skin. The objects included fragments of beaver tails and fat, otter vents and teeth, musk-rat guts and tails, loon vents, human hair, etc. The head of every family, as well as other persons, always carried a bundle of these articles, as it was considered absurd to attempt to angle without their aid.⁵

The Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap Indians may be taken as representatives of the culture of interior British Columbia. The head of a fool-hen was used by the Thompson Indian as a hunting charm. After praying to it for help, he tossed it up, and took the direction of its beak to indicate that of the game. A second trial of the same kind, if confirmatory of the first, was considered a sure sign of the locality to be visited. That night the charm was placed under the hunter's pillow, with the head pointing in the proper direction.

¹ Mooney, 'The Ghost-Dance Religion,' in *14 RBEW* (1896), p. 904 f.

² Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (New York, 1903), pp. 125, 126, 229.

³ Russell, *Explorations in the Far North* (Iowa, 1898), p. 187.

⁴ Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (New York, 1902), i. p. clxxx.

⁵ Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), pp. 323-330.

¹ Kroeber, 'Ethnology of the Gros Ventre,' *ib.* i. 192-196.

² Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xviii. 423, 426, 440.

³ J. O. Dorsey, 'A Study of Siouan Cults,' in *11 RBEW* (1894), p. 515.

⁴ Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' pp. 54-58; Wissler, 'Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians,' in *Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xviii. 241 f.; Lowie, *loc. cit.* p. 25.

⁵ Kroeber, 'The Arapaho,' pp. 441-442, 452 f.

The tail of a snake was worn by grizzly bear hunters to ward off danger while hunting their game. It was fastened to the belt, to the string of the short pouch or powder-horn, or to the bow or gun itself. If a deer had been wounded, but not severely enough to be readily overtaken, the skin of a mouse was laid on the tracks. A deer thus charmed could not travel far, but soon perished. By chewing deer-sinew, a hunter could cause the sinews of a wounded deer to contract so that it could be easily overtaken. Gamblers' wives suspended an elongated stone above their husbands' pillows. To put an end to bad luck, a woman turned it rapidly round, thereby causing a reversal of luck. To secure luck at gambling, she might also drive a peg into the ground near their pillows, or sit on a fresh fir-bench during the game. These Indians made a rather obscure distinction between 'male' and 'female' plants. For a love-charm, the male and female of some plant were tied together with a hair from the head of the parties concerned, and buried in a little hole. Another charm for a similar purpose also consisted of the male and female of a plant, but these were mashed fine and mixed with red ochre. The charmer repaired to running water at sunset or daybreak, painted a minute spot on each cheek with the mixture, prayed to the plant for success, and finally sewed the charm up in a buckskin bag worn on the person. This charm was employed by both sexes. If not properly prepared, it might cause insanity in either the charmer or the charmed individual. Some men used the heart of a fool-hen to attract women. The love-charms of the Lillooet were quite similar to those just described. The Shuswap frequently obtained plants from the Thompson and Okanagan Indians, especially one plant with a strong odour and emitting a kind of steam. It was worn on the person as a necklace during the day, and placed under the pillow at night. Before sleep, the charmer must think of the woman coveted and pray that she might love him as a result of the plant's power. The same plant was used to scent a present to the woman loved; and if a man carried it about while walking against the wind, the women were forced to follow him. The Shuswap rubbed another plant on the brow or the soles of the feet to ensure luck in hunting, and wore snakes' tails to prevent headaches. A child's amulet in use among the Thompson Indians consisted of the piece of the infant's navel-string outside the ligature, which was sewed up in a piece of embroidered buckskin. This was tied to a buckskin band round the head of the cradle, and was decorated with numerous appendages. If the piece of navel-string was not found, or was lost, the child became foolish, or was likely to be lost during a journey or hunting trip. Branches of wild currant in the bottom of the cradle tended to quiet a child, while the dried tail or lower part of a silver salmon's backbone prevented frequent micturition.¹

The Plateau region south of the Salish tribes just discussed was occupied by the Nez Percé and Shoshonean tribes. The Nez Percé frequently made use of charms, which generally consisted of small stones of odd shape or colour. Stones with holes were deemed especially powerful in bringing good luck, and a boy who found a curious stone might carry it on his person for life. Rarely these stones were carved or artificially modified. Bear claws and wolf teeth were worn about the neck as charms. An old Indian was found to wear a gypsum spear-head suspended about his neck. Shamans sometimes carved their stone amulets, one

of which, reproduced by Spinden, seems to represent an animal's head.² The Shoshone powdered spruce needles, crammed them into a buckskin bag, and hung the bag round a baby's neck as a preventive of illness. Adults use white weasel skins, buffalo horns and manes, or the foot of a white weasel for the same purpose. A very old woman was found to keep two small fragments of obsidian as eye medicine, though occasionally she used to scratch her arms with them. Some men have a charm enclosed in a little piece of cloth and tied to the middle of either the front or the back of a beaded necklace. In a myth, Coyote overcomes a pursuing rock by extending his arm with a beaded charm on it. Love-charms are popular. One informant wore a weasel foot in his hat in order to 'catch a squaw.' For the same end, shavings of wood or bark are rubbed on the neck, tied up in a bag, or attached to a belt. Similarly, spruce needles are chewed and rubbed on the charmer's head. A certain root is tied to a little stone and thrown at the woman coveted. Several nights elapse, and then the woman comes to visit her lover. This charm has been repeatedly used with success, and has been sold for a dollar and a half. The Wind River Shoshone believe that the tail-feathers of a flicker ward off disease, and that the male of a kind of sage-hen imparts the gifts of a shaman. Weasel skins and feathers served as a protection against missiles. Many roots and other objects were cherished as amulets because they had been revealed to the owner in a vision or dream.³

Among the Hupa of California we again meet with the custom of placing parts of the umbilical cord in a buckskin bag round a baby's neck, where it is kept for years. A small dentalium shell is also tied to the infant's ankle, but must be removed as soon as the mother resumes her customary matrimonial relations. The Maidu in the central part of the State employed various charms for hunting and gambling. Stones found inside a deer were the favourite charms of deer-hunters, who wore them suspended from the neck. Perforated gambling-charms of approximately diamond-shaped surface were similarly suspended, but were stuck in the ground before their owner during a game. Any strangely shaped or coloured object found was picked up and tested as to its powers. Subsequent good luck of any kind was ascribed to its magic potency, and the owner treasured it for the specific use indicated by his experiences. Shamans used charms which they gently rubbed on the seat of pain after the extraction of the pathogenic agent, these charms usually consisting of obsidian knives hung from the neck. The frame of mind that leads to the adoption of certain objects as amulets is well illustrated by the attitude of the Shasta Indians. When a member of the tribe found a type of stone pipe different from that now used, the unfamiliar form was considered as mysterious, and magic functions were ascribed to the find.⁴

5. North-west Coast.—The Thlinket and Haida may be taken as the principal representatives of old North Pacific Coast culture. Typical of primitive hunting-charms was a medicine used by the Thlinket of Alaska to ensure the capture of sea-otters. The prospective hunter was obliged to abstain from intercourse with his wife for an entire month, and was careful not to let any one else touch his chamber-pot. At the expiry of this

¹ Spinden, 'The Nez Percé Indians,' in *Mem. Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* ii, pt. 3, p. 200.

² Lowie, 'The Northern Shoshone,' in *Anthropol. Papers of Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* ii, pt. 2, pp. 224, 225, 229 f., 263.

³ Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa* (Berkeley, 1908), pp. 51, 52; Dixon, 'The Northern Maidu' (*Bull. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* xvii, pt. 3), pp. 139, 266, 267, and 'The Shasta' (*ibid.* pt. 5), p. 392.

⁴ Teit, 'The Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, i, 304, 308, 371-372, 'The Lillooet Indians,' and 'The Shuswap,' *ibid.* ii, 291, 619.

period he killed an eagle, detached the foot, and tied to it a flower called 'grabbing medicine.' Next he made a model canoe with a figure of himself in the act of aiming at a sea-otter. The eagle's talon was made to clasp the seat in order to ensure good aiming. When approaching the sea-otter, the hunter blew some of his urine towards it, this being intended to confuse the animal and cause it to swim in his direction. If a man had infringed the nuptial tabu, his arm would shake and he would miss his quarry. In the case just cited the significance of the medicine employed is obscured by the number of regulations connected with its successful use. Of these, the application of imitative magic in the construction of the canoe is of special interest. In another Thlinket hunting-charm, sympathetic magic plays the dominant part. In order to shoot a doe the hunter removed hairs from the pubic region of a doe already slain, fastened them to the 'grabbing medicine,' and attached both to the barrel of his gun. Waving this as he approached his game, he would succeed in enticing the animal towards him. Corresponding notions enter into the practices incident to avenging the murder of a friend: the person seeking revenge wrapped up a bundle of a certain plant with an effigy of his enemy, thus securing his destruction.¹

The Haida lover fasted, sought a certain kind of medicine, rubbed it upon his palms, and then put it upon the person or the clothing of the woman desired in marriage. Complete sets of observances were connected with this love-charm, of which the following is typical. The lover fasted from two to five days, then went to a salmon-creek, removed his clothes, and looked for spruce cones. If he found two old cones lying near each other and half sticking in the ground, he seized one with each hand, pronounced his own name as well as the woman's, and declared whether he merely loved her or wished to marry her. This statement was repeated four times in an increasingly loud tone of voice. Then the man went into the creek until the water was on a level with his heart, put both cones as far upstream as he could, let them float towards him, again seized one in each hand, and repeated aloud what he wanted. After three repetitions of this act, he took the cones into the woods, made a pillow, laid one on each end of it, and covered them with leaves of the salal-berry bush, mentioning his wish four times more. Then he went home, broke his fast, and waited for the woman's message of love. A curious charm for acquiring riches had to be obtained by theft in order to act efficaciously. It consisted of a sheet-copper figure, which was guarded with great secrecy. To make it work, the owner stuffed the space between the front and back plates of the charm with stolen clippings from articles of value. Thus crammed, it was hidden in the box containing the owner's blankets and clothing. Whether it was ever directly addressed in prayer seems to be subject to doubt.²

6. South-west.—Among the Apaches numerous varieties of charms were in vogue. Captain John G. Bourke was impressed with the very general occurrence of little buckskin bags, usually attached to the belts of the warriors and guarded with great care by their wearers. Inspection of the bags disclosed a quantity of yellow powder, the *hoddentin*, or pollen of the tule (a variety of the cat-tail rush), for which some pulverized galena was sometimes substituted. The use of these substances in connexion with war amulets is but a special instance of their ceremonial employment by the Apaches.

Both served as a face-paint and as offerings to the cosmic forces, and each phase of everyday life was accompanied by a sprinkling of *hoddentin*. The first act of an Apache on rising was to blow a pinch of the pollen to the dawn. A bag of *hoddentin* was secured to every baby's neck or cradle; at the girls' puberty ceremonies the powder was thrown to the sun and strewn about the novices; patients were sprinkled with the pollen in cases of serious illness; and the dead bodies were subjected to similar treatment. When starting on a hunt, when commencing the planting of corn, or when seeking to propitiate animals viewed with religious veneration, the Apaches uniformly made their offerings of *hoddentin*. Galena, while reserved for occasions of special solemnity, was used in essentially similar circumstances. The ceremonial significance of both substances accounts for the fact that no Apache warrior would go on the war-path without his buckskin bag of *hoddentin* or galena.¹ A still more distinctly talismanic character was, however, ascribed to the *izze-kloth*, or sacred cords. These were simply cords decorated with beads and shells, bits of sacred malachite, wood, claws, *hoddentin* bags, or splinters of lightning-riven wood. Only the shamans of highest standing could make them, and on occasions of extraordinary moment the medicine-man wore them hanging from the right shoulder over the left hip. 'These cords will protect a man while on the warpath, and many of the Apache believe firmly that a bullet will have no effect upon the warrior wearing one of them.' This did not by any means, however, exhaust the value of the *izze-kloth*, for their owner was enabled to cure the sick, to help along the crops, and to determine the thief of his own or his friends' property.² These additional virtues connect the cords with sacred objects of quite different construction. Thus, the wearer of a buckskin medicine-hat could tell who had stolen ponies, foretold the future, and was able to aid in the cure of the sick. A flat piece of lath decorated with drawings of a human figure and snake-heads was believed to indicate the right direction to travel, to bring rain in case of drought, and to show where stolen ponies had been taken.

The Navahos, nearest of kin to the Apaches in point of habitat and linguistic affiliation, and, like them, intermediary between the Pueblo and Prairie cultures, also make use of an abundance of charms. Indeed, even their deities are thought to possess charms, and the very sacredness of their character is often derived from the possession of such articles. If a man escapes from danger unscathed, the natural conclusion is that his charm must be strong. The mythological sons of the Sun, before setting out on the perilous journey to their father, secure for their talisman feathers plucked from a live bird. Such feathers are supposed to preserve life, and are used in all the rites. Hastseyaliti, the most important deity impersonated in the tribal Chant ceremony, is represented with his healing talisman—four willow sticks attached to one another so that they may be readily spread into a quadrangle and folded up again. In the ceremony the actor approaches the patient, opens his talisman to its quadrangular form, and places it four times around the sufferer's body. The veneration for pollen so marked among the Apaches is equally characteristic of the Navahos. Pollen, both of the cat-tail and of other plants, is considered emblematic of peace, prosperity, and happiness, and is believed to secure these blessings. It is generally kept in buckskin bags, carried alike by priests and laymen. A stone fetish of a horse is a

¹ Swanton, 'The Tlingit Indians,' in *26 RBEW* (1908), p. 447f.

² Swanton, 'Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida,' in *Jeap North Pacific Expedition*, v. pt. 1, p. 451.

¹ Bourke, 'The Medicine-Men of the Apache,' in *9 RBEW* [1892], pp. 500-507, 548.

² *Ib.* pp. 550-553.

times fed with pollen to ensure good luck to the herds.¹

The difficulty of classifying religious phenomena by the aid of current concepts becomes obvious in a consideration of the Pueblo area. According to Zúñi mythology, the twin sons of the Sun, after leading mankind from their infernal abodes to the world now occupied by them, once more took pity on men, and, in order to stay an undue multiplication of their natural enemies, transformed animals of prey into stones. Natural concretions or strangely eroded rocks resembling animals are looked upon, in harmony with these mythological beliefs, as representatives of the undying spirits of the prey-animals. The success of beasts of prey is ascribed to a magical force by which they cast a spell upon their quarry. Their power is preserved in the petrifications, which are, therefore, venerated as 'fetishes.' Guarded by special officers when not in use, the fetishes are assembled, sprinkled with prayer-meal, and supplicated by members of certain societies at a New Year's festival, while corresponding solemnities precede the great tribal hunts. The use of fetishes in the chase is deemed indispensable to success; only by their supernatural efficacy is man believed capable of overcoming the otherwise unconquerable larger game. Few hunters, accordingly, set out without a fetish, which is carried in a little buckskin bag suspended over the left breast. In the course of his journey, various ceremonies must be observed by the hunter. The fetish is taken out and addressed in prayer, and is ultimately restored to its keeper.

Complicated as the usages referred to appear when compared with those ordinarily attached to amulets, it seems artificial to separate them psychologically from ordinary charms. Such charms are, indeed, by no means lacking among the Zúñi. A person finding a concretion suggesting the prey-gods will regard it as his special 'medicine,' and will almost always prefer it to the other fetishes. A find recalling an organ of the human body is highly prized as the phallus of some ancient being, and becomes a charm in matters sexual: the young man will use it as a love-charm, the young woman to ensure male offspring. Another object may be interpreted as the relic of a god's tooth or weapon, and is entrusted to the custody of the warrior order. A little of it rubbed on a stone and mixed with much water is considered a powerful protection in battle, and is accordingly used by the warrior as an unguent before entering battle. A somewhat intermediate position seems to be held by the so-called war-fetishes. Roughly resembling the hunting fetishes, not only in appearance but in the rites attached to their employment, they are akin to amulets in being constantly carried about by the owners. An arrow point placed on the back of these fetishes seems to have a purely protective character; it is emblematic of the Knife of War, and is believed to shield the wearer from the enemy from behind or from unexpected quarters. The root idea in all these fetishes is apparently nothing but that of the Algonquin *manitou*. Objects of extraordinary appearance—petrifications, in the case at hand—impose on the beholder a condition of emotional exaltation which leads to their being regarded as sacred. Experiences of this sort are assimilated with the pre-existing mythological conceptions; the existence of the petrifications is interpreted in the light of the transformer cycle. Finally, the systematizing tendency of priestly speculation sets in, unifying relevant beliefs into the dogma that all fetishes are traceable to the same origin. 'It is supposed

by the priests of Zúñi that not only these, but all true fetishes, are either actual petrifications of the animals they represent, or were such originally.' Parallel with the development of these theoretical views goes the association of the amulets with established ceremonial observances. The rites connected with the use of a fetish by the Zúñi warrior or hunter are only the reflexion of the ceremonialism characteristic of Zúñi life; the fetishes are merely amulets saturated with the culture of a Pueblo people.²

7. Mexico.—The complexity of religious life in ancient Mexico tends to eclipse the importance of amulets, yet their significance in the everyday life of these people is established beyond doubt. Thus, the Mexicans believed that neither an *enceinte* woman nor her husband might walk about at night; in the former case, the child would cry incessantly, in the latter it would be smitten with heart disease. To guard against these disasters, the prospective mother took care to carry with her some small pebbles, some ashes from her fireplace, or a little native incense, while the father used small stones or tobacco. Ashes seem to have been carried especially in order to prevent the sight of ghosts. Great value was attached to parts of the body of a woman who had died in childbirth. Soldiers cut off the woman's hair and the middle finger of her left hand, and carried them on the inside of their shields to the field of battle. They believed that such charms would render their owners intrepid, and would ensure the capture of enemies. Blanket vendors used as a charm the hand of a female monkey, being convinced that, thus armed, they would readily dispose of their wares on market days. Hucksters who had failed to sell their commodities put two kinds of spices with them on returning home at night, declaring that 'after eating of the spices' the wares would allow themselves to be sold more readily than before.³ The magicians of Sinaloa carefully guarded some translucent stones in a little leather pouch.⁴ Among the modern Aztecs some superstitious practices have survived to the present day. Mothers hang little pouches with *chapotl*, or bitumen, about their children's necks to guard them against disease and injury; sometimes the bags may be worn in pairs at the wrists. The *chapotl* is purchased of Indian dealers in medicinal herbs.⁵ See, further, 'Mexican and Mayan' section of this article.

8. South America.—Our knowledge of South American ethnography does not yet permit a systematic discussion of the charms employed within this immense territory. All that can be attempted is to cull a few characteristic examples from some of the areas hitherto studied.

In the West Indies—ethnologically a part of South America—warriors going into battle attached to their foreheads finely carved objects of stone, shell, or bone perforated for suspension from the person, and stone amulets are particularly common in archaeological collections. Many of them are representations of the human form, others are effigies of animals, while some show partly human, partly theromorphic traits. The amulets of human form may be subdivided into two principal types—one characterized by the elevation of the arms and hands to, or above, the level of the ears; the other distinguished by the mummy-like juxtaposition of the legs. Whether the golden breast ornaments reported to have been worn by

¹ Cushing, 'Zúñi Fetiches,' in *BBEW* (1883), pp. 9-45.

² Sahagún, *Hist. gén. des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris, 1880), pp. 310-313, 434.

³ Gerste, *Notes sur la médecine et la botanique des anciens Méxicains* (Rome, 1909), p. 38.

⁴ Starr, 'Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico (Proc. Davenport Academy of Natural Science, 1900), p. 19.

⁵ Matthews, 'Navaho Legends,' *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Society*, v. [1897] 109, 192, 249, 250. 'The Night Chant, a Navaho Ceremony,' in *Mem. Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* vi. 10, 58, 69, 41-84.

chiefs combined the function of amulets with that of insignia of authority it is impossible to determine at the present day. Stones extracted by a shaman from the body of his patient as pathogenic intruders were highly prized and carefully stowed away in little baskets; they were deemed especially valuable in helping women in labour. It is possible that, besides the frontal war amulets, larger figures were likewise attached to the top of the head.¹

The burial grounds of Las Guacas on the Pacific coast of Costa Rica have yielded an unusually large number of amulets. Most of these are celt-shaped, some being plain celts with one or, more rarely, two perforations, while others represent human and bird forms. In the anthropomorphic amulets the head is shown *en face*, the eyes being usually indicated by means of two circular drilled pits, which are often united by a transverse groove. The upper arms are parallel with the body, while the forearms are horizontal, the hands either meeting on the abdomen or being placed one a little above the other. Usually only the upper half of the body is sculptured, but a few of the charms show the entire figure. The ornithomorphic amulets represent exclusively parrots and (less frequently) owls. According to Hartman, the crests and ear-tufts of the bird are generally emphasized by the artist, but in many cases the conventionalism is such that the bird-like features wholly disappear. Amulets perforated for suspension in a horizontal position include alligator and fish forms.²

Of the ornaments worn by the Peruvians, the necklace consisting of puma teeth, human teeth, bones of monkeys, and birds' beaks may have served as an amulet.³ In southern Peru and Bolivia a class of Indians, presumably connected with the Callahuayas to be mentioned below, gather and hawk objects of medicinal and talismanic virtue. The tapir's claws served to prevent sickness, while the teeth of poisonous snakes, carefully fixed in leaves and stuck into the tubes of rushes, are regarded as specifics against headache and blindness.⁴ The greatest interest attaches to the *canopas* used by the ancient Chimu of Peru. They differed from the communal *huaca* in being the property of a single family or of an individual. In the former case they descended from father to son, in the latter they were buried with their owners. An Indian finding any stone of extraordinary shape or colour immediately sought the advice of a shaman. If the latter declared the object to be a *canopa*, it was at once treated with superstitious regard. Some *canopas* consisted of bezoar stone (*quicu*), others were little crystals (*laeas*). There were special *canopas* of maize and potatoes, and some, in the shape of llamas, served to increase the herds of their owners.⁵

The Araucanians of Chile wear large breast ornaments and heavy chains of disks with pendants consisting of little crosses and human figures, which reflect both Christian and pagan influences.⁶

The Bakairi dwelling on the banks of the Kuli-sehu and Rio Batovy in Central Brazil are very fond of necklaces of shell-disks and beads. These are worn especially by children and by pregnant women, from which fact their talismanic character has been inferred. The chiefs of the Paressi, who inhabit the region north-west of Cuyaba, suspended

about their necks jasper-like polished stones, in the shape of a Maltese cross, which may possibly have been worn as amulets. The Bororo wear breast-ornaments of large jaguar teeth and of small monkey teeth. These ornaments are supposed to increase the strength and skill of the wearer. The teeth and lower jaws of enemies are similarly worn, and the hair of a deceased person is spun and corded, and is then used as an amulet.¹

The Abipones suspended from their neck or arm the tooth of a 'crocodile,' believing that it would prevent them from being bitten by serpents. Little stones found in the stomach of the same animal were pulverized and drunk to alleviate kidney trouble. This superstition is mentioned in this place because it shows a use of stones somewhat different from that of genuine charm-stones, such as have been noted in N. America.²

In the Argentine Republic there has been found a lanceolate stone-amulet with a central rectangular cross enclosing a plain cross of two mutually perpendicular lines. It was intended to be worn about the neck, but Quiroga supposes that it was believed to bring rain.³ The Indians of the Argentine plateaus attach to their fingers, and especially to their little fingers, a string twisted towards the left. This, it is believed, will prevent adversity and disease during the following year. Some individuals tie similar strings to their arms and legs. Archaeological investigation of this region has unearthed numerous *pendeloques*, some of which probably served as charms. One of the smaller finds of this class represents a bird, another consists of the fruit of *Martynia angulata*, with a woollen string by which it was attached to a garment or necklace. Some of the charms are of stone, others of copper, and there has been figured a single *pendeloque* of silver. In the Diagita portion of the territory, triangular and animal-shaped charms have often been discovered. The half-castes now occupying the country still make use of small figures of sculptured white stone representing domestic animals. The carvings (*illas*) serve as talismans to protect the herds of cattle or llamas against every kind of danger and to ensure their multiplication. Another sort of *illa* frequently found consists of a hand enclosing a baton-shaped object; the interior of the hand is sometimes decorated with a circle symbolizing money, and the charm as a whole is believed to bring wealth to its possessor. All these charms are obtained from itinerant Aymara medicine-men called *callahuayas*, who reside in the villages of Charazani and Curva, in the Province of Muñecas, Bolivia.⁴

In the Bandelier collection of the American Museum of Natural History, there are a number of *callahuaya* charms deserving some brief description. A dirty rag containing a piece of alabaster, a bit of llama tallow, and bits of a plant (*uira koua*) is used for finding treasures, and a piece of alabaster with some yellow vegetable substance, very small black seeds, a red and black berry, bits of mica and gold leaf, serves the same purpose. To keep wealth already secured, the *callahuayas* peddle alabaster carved to represent a hand holding a circular object, bits of gold leaf and mica, and very small black seeds. A charm intended to unite those engaged to be married and to render them wealthy, consists of a piece of alabaster carved into two hands, bits of thin gold, silver, and mica, and very small black seeds.

¹ Fewkes, 'The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands,' in *RSB* [1907], pp. 138-143, 1921, 196.

² Hartman, *Archaeol. Researches on the Pacific Coast of Costa Rica* (Pittsburg, 1907), pp. 60-81.

³ Wiener, *Peru et Bolivie* (Paris, 1880), p. 666.

⁴ Von Tschudi, *Travels in Peru* (New York, 1854), p. 280.

⁵ Squier, *Peru* (New York, 1877), p. 189.

⁶ Bürger, *Acht Lehr- und Wanderschaften in Chile* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 81.

¹ Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 182-184, 425, 479.

² Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones* (London, 1822), I, 258.

³ Quiroga, *La Cruz en America* (Buenos Ayres, 1901), p. 195.

⁴ Bonian, *Antiq. de la région andine de la République Argent. et du désert d'Atacama* (Paris, 1908), pp. 181-183, 373, 513, 621-630, 656, 749.

Résumé.—A few words will suffice to sum up the essential traits of North and South American charms. While in a considerable number of cases the reasons for assigning special potency to a given object are far from clear, two main principles have operated in a majority of the cases cited, and seem sufficient to account for the phenomena not yet definitely known to fall under the same head. (1) We have found the principle of symbolic magic, which is particularly prominent among the Eskimos. (2) We have had to reckon with the *manitou* principle—the fact that objects which happen to produce on the beholder a curious psychological effect are credited with supernatural power. Naturally objects revealed during a conscious effort to secure some power belong to the same category. So far as the American field is concerned, the theory, recently broached, that amulets and charms are degenerate fetishes—fetishes that retain their supposedly magical power but are no longer the objects of a distinct cult—does not seem to hold. Not only do Pechuel-Loesche's recent investigations in Africa tend to efface the line separating fetishes from other magico-religious objects, but among the Zuni, where conditions are especially favourable for a comparison, the 'fetishes' have been found to be nothing but specialized forms of magical objects. As for charms and amulets in general, it must be apparent that they also do not form a distinct unit from a psychological point of view, but are merely magical articles worn on the person.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Assyr.-Bab.).—

In discussing Assyr. charms it is exceedingly difficult to avoid repetition of incantations which are properly included under Medicine. The writer of the present article has therefore touched as lightly as possible on the purely medical texts, referring the reader to the article DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyr.-Bab.) for this branch of the subject, and has attempted to describe only those which are less obviously prescriptions for sickness. But it is almost impossible to draw a distinct line, since many of the ailments in ancient times were attributed to the magic of sorcerers, the attacks of demons, or the wrath of the gods; and even the simple medical tablets, which prescribe in the baldest manner the quantities of various drugs to be used as remedies, are not without incantations of the most superstitious kind.

The hostile wizard or witch is described by some such words as *kassapu*, *epistu*, and *mustepistu*, which are never used for the more legitimate quacksalvers. On the other hand, it was quite permissible to 'lay a ban' in no underhand manner, for the 'sabbaths' in the Assyrian hemerology texts (*WAI* iv. 32) are described as being unfitted for making a curse. But the methods for casting such spells as love-charms or hatred-charms appear to be wanting in the tablets hitherto discovered. After all, these charms belong to an order of magicians lower than the official priesthood, and it is more natural that the writings of the latter class should have come down to us.

The eight tablets of the series *Maklu* ('Burning') are devoted to charms which have been written counter to the machinations of hostile wizards and witches. The man who imagines himself bewitched repairs presumably to the nearest friendly wise-man or wise-woman for aid in working magic which shall defeat his oppressor. The whole series constitutes such a *grimoire* of spells that it is well worth examining in detail.

First, the victim of the wizard's malignity makes invocation to the 'gods of night,' and then lays before them his troubles:

'For a witch hath bewitched me,
A sorceress hath cast her spell upon me,
My god and my goddess cry aloud over me,
Over the sickness (? deafness) wherewith I am stricken.
I stand sleepless night and day,
For they have choked my mouth with herbs,
And with *upuntu* have stopped my mouth,
So that they have lessened my drink.
My joy hath turned to grief, and my delight to mourning.
Rise up, then, O ye great gods, and hear my plaint,
Grant me a hearing, and take cognizance of my way.
I have made a figure of the man or woman who hath
bewitched me.'

There appears to be an echo of one of these lines in the Talmud. If a person meet witches, he should say, among other invectives, 'May a potsherd of boiling dung be stuffed into your mouths, you ugly witches' (*Mo'ed Katan*, fol. 18, col. i., quoted by Hershen, *A Talmudic Miscellany*, London, 1880, p. 49). It is possible, too, that there is a connexion between this and another passage in the *Maklu* (Tablet viii. 87-88): 'Make two meals of dung (?), one each for the figures of sorcerer and sorceress, and make invocation over the food.' This, however, depends on the translation 'dung' for the Assyr. word *u* (Thompson, *Sem. Magic*, p. 203).

In the lines quoted from the *Maklu* series the hostile magician is evidently credited with having made a waxen image of the suppliant, which has been subjected to the treatment described in lines 6-8 (lines 9-11 of the tablet). The counter-method of making an image of the magician is consequently resorted to, and various rituals are performed, after which the bewitched man ends the first division of his charm with the words spoken against the sorceress:

'Her knot is loosed, her works are brought to nought,
All her charms fill the open plain,
According to the command which the gods of night have
spoken.'

The 'knot' refers to the usual practice of tying knots during the repetition of an incantation (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Assyr.-Bab.]). The next is a short invocation:

'Earth, earth, O earth,
Gilgamesh is lord of your *tabu*.
Whatever ye do, I know;
But what I do, ye know not;
All that the women who have bewitched me have done
Is annulled, loosed, undone, and is not.'

Two late Hebrew charms from a book which the writer obtained in Mosul (*PSBA*, 1907, p. 330, nos. 93 and 94) show a similarity to this use of 'binding' and 'loosing':

'To bind a man against his wife.—Write these names on a parchment, and bury them between two graves: "In the name of Saphriel, 'Azriel, Gabriel, Serikiel, that ye bind and fetter N., son of N., that he be not able to have union with his wife N., daughter of N., Si Sid 'Irt Wasgitt Wewrh Wtr Wrrgie, bind and fetter N., son of N.; and let no man have power to loose him from the bond until I loose it myself, and he shall feel no love towards N., daughter of N.; bind and fetter him.'"

'To loosen a bond.—Let him write his name and the name of his mother on parchment, and let him carry the parchment on his person, and hang it round his neck. And this is what he shall write: "Hu Hat Nptl Nptl Krat Krat Ma Yum Kt Lub Nt Ubki Tob Min Min Mar Far Kpt Kpt For Tot by the purity of these names (I adjure you) that ye loose all limbs of N., son of N., towards N., daughter of N.'"

The lines in the *Maklu* quotations indicating that the patient knows his enemy's movements are in accord with the usual practice of magic in this respect. The next step is apparently to recite the following over something that serves as the model of a village:

'My city is *Sappan*, my city is *Sappan*,
There are two gates to my city *Sappan*,
One to the east and one to the west,
One towards the rising sun and one towards the setting
sun.'

The procedure described in the lines that follow is to perform a ritual of shutting up the city, that the sorcery may be excluded from the bewitched man's abode (for a parallel to this method of making a model house in magic, see Victor Henry,

La Magie dans l'Inde antique, Paris, 1904, p. 142, which is quoted in Thompson, *op. cit.* p. xxviii). Ultimately the little figures of the hostile wizard are burnt, with appropriate and exceedingly long incantations to the fire-god. With this ritual the first tablet ends.

The second tablet continues this procedure, and defines the material of which the images of the sorcerer shall be made, with the proper invocation for each. Tallow, bronze, dung (?), clay, bitumen, bitumen overlaid with plaster, clay overlaid with tallow, and various woods are among the components prescribed.

The third tablet begins with a description of the witch :

'The witch who roameth about the streets,
Entering the houses,
Prowling about the towns,
Going through the broad places;
She turneth backwards and forwards,
She standeth in the street and turneth back the feet;
In the market-square she hindereth passage;
She snatcheth away the love of the well-favoured man.
She taketh the fruit of the well-favoured maiden.
By her glance she carrieth away her desire;
She looketh upon a man and taketh away his love,
She looketh upon a maiden and taketh away her fruit.'

After this description of the witch, the bewitched man is shown how to combat her evil with various rituals.

The fifth tablet begins with a similar description of the hostile wise-woman :

'The sorceress and witch
Sit in the shadow of the house-wall,
They sit there working magic against me,
And making figures of me.
Now I am sending against thee *hattappan*-plant and sesame,
I will annul thy sorcery and turn back thy charms in thy mouth.'

Enough has been quoted to show the methods used in this exceedingly primitive but wide-spread practice of wax-figure magic.

In working any magic of this kind, it was of great advantage to have secured something belonging to the intended victim. The first tablet of the *Maklu* shows this clearly (131 ff.) :

'Those (witches) who have made images in my shape,
Who have likened them unto my form,
Who have taken of my spittle, plucked out my hair,
Torn my garments, or gathered the cast-off dust of my feet,
May the warrior Fire-god dissolve their spell.'

All these ingredients of a charm are so well known to anthropologists that it is unnecessary to quote parallel instances from either savage or civilized nations.

From these incantations over waxen figures of a living man the transition to similar images made to lay a ghost is easy. The principle is the same :

'When a dead man appeareth unto a living man . . . thou shalt make [a figure] of clay, and write his name on the left side with a stylus. Thou shalt put it in a gazelle's horn and its face . . . and in the shade of a caper-bush or in the shade of a thorn-bush thou shalt dig a hole and bury it : and thou shalt say . . .' (*PSBA* xxviii. 227).

A ritual for the same is also prescribed in a tablet (K. 1293, Harper, *Letters*, 1900, no. 461) which begins : 'The figure of the dead man in clay.' There are other charms to avert the evil of returning ghosts, which need not be quoted here (*PSBA* xxviii. 223 ff. ; Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 32 ff.).

Just in the same way the Babylonians believed that sorcery might break out in a house (*WAI* iv. 59. 1), and part of the charm against it runs as follows :

'Break the bonds of her who hath bewitched me,
Bring to nought the mutterings of her who hath cast spells upon me,
Turn her sorcery to wind,
Her mutterings to air;
All that she hath done or wrought in magic
May the wind carry away !
May it bring her days to ruin and a broken heart,
May it bring down her years to wretchedness and woe !
May she die, but let me recover :
May her sorcery, her magic, her spells be loosed,
By command of Ea, Samas, Marduk,
And the Princess Belit-ili.'

(For the possible connexion of the remainder of this text with the Levitical 'house in which leprosy breaks out,' see Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 187.)

Another ritual in connexion with buildings is that published by Weissbach (*Bab. Miscellen*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 32 ff.) for the re-building of a temple when it has fallen.

We now come to what may be considered as amulets proper—objects with a prophylactic significance which are to be hung up in some exposed position or carried on the person. The most obvious are probably those with charms written upon them, so that there is no doubt as to their meaning; and these have actually been found in the excavations of Assyrian sites. There are two such made of clay and inscribed with the legend of Ura, the plague-spirit, in the British Museum; and these are pierced laterally in order that they may be hung up on the wall of a house (L. W. King, *ZA* xi. 50; for others, see Thompson, *op. cit.* p. 85). In the Babylonian room of the British Museum is exhibited the upper half of a similar tablet in stone, probably dating from the 7th cent. B.C., with two figures in relief. The one on the left is that of the well-known lion-headed spirit, with weapon upraised, while that on the right is some god. Above them in a separate register are the emblems of the moon, sun, and Venus, and a head-dress (the symbol of Anu) (no. 1074-91899; on the head-dress being the symbol of Anu, see Frank, *LSS* ii. 2, 8). Another (Case H, No. 231) is a bronze plaque pierced for hanging up on a wall, with a rampant demon in relief.

This is such a common form of exorcism in the East that only a few parallels need be quoted. The Jews in Palestine hang up a paper written in cabalistic Hebrew, together with rue, garlic, and a piece of looking-glass (Masterman, *Bibl. World*, xxii. [1903] 249; see also Scott-Moncrieff, *PSBA* xxvii. [1905] 26, for a photograph of a Hebrew amulet of this nature from Morocco). In Asia Minor the writer was presented with one of two amulets written in Arabic on small scraps of paper and nailed to the doorpost of an inner chamber of a house ('A Journey by some unmappped Routes of the Western Hittite Country,' *PSBA* xxxii. [1910]).

From these hanging amulets it is no great distance to the little figurines of gods which have been found buried under the thresholds of Assyrian palaces, and were obviously intended to guard the building. Several of them are now in the British Museum (Bab. Room, nos. 996-1009; see the figure in G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, London, 1883, p. 78). Another form of them, although exactly how it was used is uncertain, is the bronze demon-figure (Bab. Room, no. 674) pictured on the frontispiece of Thompson's *Devils and Evil Spirits*. This is a lion-headed human figure with the right arm raised; the feet and right hand are missing, but there is no doubt that it is the same spirit as is portrayed on the stone amulet (no. 1074) mentioned above. Now this same figure is found on the Nineveh sculptures and elsewhere (*RA*, new ser. xxxviii. [1879]; Frank, 'Babylonische Beschwörungsreliefs' [*LSS* iii. 3], cf. art. DISEASE; King, *Bab. Rel.* p. 39), where a pair of them are apparently attacking each other. They have exactly the same lion-heads and human bodies, and their feet are birds' claws; the upraised right hands brandish daggers, and the left hands, held close to the side, hold maces. It is possible that the two are intended to be in alliance against a common foe, only that the exigencies of Assyrian technique, which forbade a sculptor to represent any one full face, have compelled the artist to present them in this guise. At any rate, the reason for the presence of such a sculpture in the palace of Ashurbanipal seems to be much the same as that which induces the ordinary householder to hang up his little amulet near the door. It is naturally on a larger scale, but it serves the same purpose (for a long discussion of this scene, see Frank, *LSS* iii. 3, 49 ff.). Indeed, the figures of

the winged bulls at the great gates are nothing more than protecting amulets, and they are described in the Assy. texts as such (*WAI* ii. 67, r. 29).

Several demons or protecting spirits of this class are mentioned in the cuneiform tablets, and full directions for their position in the house are given in a ritual tablet published by Zimmern (*Ritual-tafeln*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 168 f.).

From the inscribed house-amulets the transition is easy to uninscribed objects which have a magical virtue, such as the rue and garlic mentioned above. One of the Assy. incantations against a demon shows the same precautions taken as in the Hebrew charm:

Flaubane (?) on the lintel of the door I have hung,
St. John's wort (?), caper (?), and wheat-ears
On the latch I have hung' (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 137).

Now, if the plant *pir'u* (which may be the Syriac *per'a*, 'hypericum') be really the St. John's wort, this charm will be found to be the forerunner of many mediæval superstitions. Frazer says (*GB*² iii. 334) that

'gathered on Midsummer Eve, or on Midsummer Day before sunrise, the blossoms are hung on doorways and windows to preserve the house against thunder, witches, and evil spirits. . . . During the Middle Ages the power which the plant notoriously possesses of banishing devils won for it the name of *fuga demonum*.'

Frank, however (*LST* iii. 3, 36-38), translates *pir'u*, 'Schössling.'

Another form of Assy. house-amulet was the clay fist, many specimens of which have been found in excavating the palaces (B. M. Bab. Room, nos. 867-875), and they are presumably the origin of the hand which decorates the walls of the modern houses in the East (see the chapter on 'Amulets' in Fossey's *La Magie assyr.* pp. 104-121).

In the same way amulets were carried on the person among the ancient Assyrians. In the cuneiform series written against the *Labartu* (some kind of female demon who attacks children), the tablets actually prescribe an incantation which is to be written on a stone and hung round the neck of a child exposed to her malignity (*WAI* iv. 56, i. 1; Myhrman, *ZA* xvi. 155; for an instance of such an amulet, discovered in excavating, see Weissbach, *Bab. Miscellen*, p. 42). The Hebrews have similar charms:

'If thou wishest to protect a young babe from an evil spirit and from the host of Mahalath, write these angels on a tablet of gold in Assyrian writing (*Ashuri*) and carry it with thee, and thou needst not fear any evil either from (for) a big man or a small child' (Gaster, *PSEA*, 1900, p. 340).

Besides these written directions for amulets, the graven sculptures of the Assy. kings bear testimony to the importance attributed to these phylacteries. It is a common thing to see the kings portrayed with a necklet to which are attached four or five pendants—clearly the sun, moon, Venus, the levin bolt of Adad, and frequently the horned head-dress of Anu (e.g. B. M. Assy. Transept, no. 847). The writer has seen worn round the neck of a Persian boy a circlet of silver strung with the crescent moon and two hands, which appear to be the lineal descendants of the thunderbolt of Adad.

It is unnecessary to go deeper into the question of earrings, armlets, etc., in this article. The Assyrian kings wore both earrings and armlets; but whether they did so because they still adhered to the savage idea of protection remains to be proved. Nevertheless, on the upper arm above the elbow, where the Assyrians wore an armlet, the modern Hadendoa wears his leathern purse-amulet, containing its paper charm inscribed in Arabic. We may now pass to certain figurines other than those described above, which have been discovered from time to time in the excavation of Assy. and Bab. sites. These are, for the most part, of clay,

and are either very crudely fashioned or turned out of moulds (see B. M. Babylonian Room, Wall Cases, 31-40). One of the most frequent is that of a naked female figure holding both breasts. Another is that of a female figure holding a babe; and this appears to be referred to in a cuneiform tablet which gives a detailed description of several mythological beings (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 147; see *Semitic Magic*, 63):

'The head (has) a fillet and a horn . . . ; she wears a head-ornament; she wears a fly (?); she wears a veil; the fist of a man. She is girt about the loins, her breast is open; in her left arm she holds a babe sucking her breast, inclining towards her right arm. From her head to her loins the body is that of a naked woman; from the loins to the sole of the foot scales like those of a snake are visible: her navel is composed of a circlet. Her name is Nin-tu, a form of the goddess Mah.'

It is quite possible that both these were used by barren women as votive offerings or charms to obtain children.

Of a different class are those fairly common clay heads of demons which are described by Frank (*Rev. d'Assyriol.* vii. [1909] 1). They are about an inch or two high, of hideous aspect, and sometimes inscribed with a long incantation against some power of evil. Lastly, we find what is apparently a wooden image prescribed, with appropriate ritual (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 197):

'Set alight, both in front and behind, a tamarisk *hudduppu* (image ?) of a fiend, whereon is inscribed the name of Ea, with the all-powerful incantation, the incantation of Eridu of Purification.'

See also art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyr.-Bab.).

LITERATURE.—F. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1874 (Eng. tr., *Chaldean Magic*, London, 1878); A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, London, 1887, and *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, London, 1902; K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyr. Beschreibungsserie Magik*, Leipzig, 1895; L. W. King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, London, 1896, and *Bab. Religion*, London, 1900; H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion*, Leipzig, 1896-1901; C. Fossey, *La Magie assyr.*, Paris, 1902; M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898 (Germ. new ed., *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1902 f.); R. C. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London, 1902-4, and *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Buddhist).—The use of charms and amulets (Skr. *kavacha*) is universal in Buddhist countries. The custom is most marked in the lands where pure Buddhism has degenerated into Lamaism.

In Northern Buddhist countries almost every man, woman, and child constantly wears an amulet, or string of amulets, round the neck, or on the breast. These amulets are generally ornamental receptacles, sometimes made of copper, wood, or bone, but more frequently of silver, often artistically embossed and jewelled with turquoise. The shape of the amulet varies; it may be square, circular, or curved. Those which are curved round to a point are probably intended to represent the leaf of the sacred fig-tree. These boxes are the receptacles of a variety of charms—the supposed relics of a saint, a few grains of wheat, a torn scrap of a sacred *katag*, a picture, or a prayer formula. The amulet is a prized ornament as well as a trusted charm. The workmanship of those worn by the rich is frequently finished and artistic. The turquoise, which is the only precious stone used for the ornamentation of the amulet, is itself a charm. It is of the lucky colour, and is supposed to avert the evil eye. About a year after the birth of a child a religious ceremony is held, at which prayers are said for its happy life, and an amulet, consisting of a small bag, containing spells and charms against evil spirits and diseases, is suspended from its neck. Women of position in Tibet wear a chatelaine, depending from a small silver casket, which usually contains a charm or charms. When a Tibetan leaves his home to undertake a distant or difficult journey, or on business, a written

charm is not infrequently tied upon the sleeve of his coat, and this is not removed till after his safe return, or the satisfactory accomplishment of his purpose.

As the person of the Northern Buddhist is protected by charms, so is his house. Near the door a prayer-pole is erected, or prayer-flags flutter on the roof; juniper twigs are burnt in earthenware utensils, for demons are supposed to have a particular objection to their smell, and consequently remain at a distance; a collection of pieces of cloth, leaves, and sprigs of willow is prepared to attract the spirits of disease and prevent their crossing the threshold; and a white and blue *svastika*, surmounted by sacred symbols, is drawn upon the doorway. In addition to these charms, which are regarded as efficacious in warding off evil from the Buddhist family, roughly printed prayer formularies, taken from blocks kept in the local monastery, are frequently pasted on the outside of the door or the inner walls of the house.

In Burma the tattooing of the body with mystical squares, cabalistic diagrams, and weird figures seems to be regarded as an effectual charm.

The use of charms, by the priests, in Buddhist worship is common. The *dorje* is a part of the equipment of every monk in Tibet. It is the Skr. *vajra*, or thunderbolt. The original *dorje* is supposed to have fallen direct from Indra's heaven, in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. The imitations are made of bronze and other metals. They are used for exorcizing and driving away evil spirits, especially in the performance of religious ceremonies and prayers. But they are regarded as equally efficacious in warding off evils of all descriptions. The Bodhisattva Vajra-pāni, 'the subduer of evil spirits,' is always represented with a *dorje* in his hand. The *drilbu*, or prayer-bell, with its handle ornamented with mystic symbols, is used in worship, with the twofold object of attracting the attention of good spirits and frightening away evil ones. The *prayer-flags*, which wave outside every Buddhist monastery and almost every house, are inscribed with various prayer formularies, together with figures of the 'flying horse' = Lungta (strictly *rLun-rta* = 'wind-horse'), and other symbols, e.g. the Norbu gem, or 'wishing stone.' Some flags bear the representation of an animal at each corner—the tiger, lion, eagle, and dragon. The prayer-flags are, in most cases, regarded by the peasantry as charms to protect the village from malicious ghosts and demons, who are believed to haunt the atmosphere and swarm everywhere. The *sacred drum*, shaped like two hemispheres joined on their convex sides and encircled by cowrie shells, is also used to frighten away evil spirits, who are regarded as disliking noises of all kinds. The drum is sounded by means of battons attached to two pendulous strips of leather.

The *phurbu*, or nail, is another weapon used by the lamas against demons. It is generally made of wood. In form it is wedge-shaped and triangular, eight or ten inches long, with the thin end sharp-pointed, and the broad end surmounted with a head. This weapon is sometimes made of cardboard, and inscribed with mystical sentences, which usually end with the syllables *hūm phat*, the potency of which, in scaring evil demons, is irresistible. The most efficacious *phurbus* are inscribed with mystic syllables and words composed by either the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Lama.

Prayer, among Northern Buddhists, is regarded in common practice as an effective charm, and is generally used as such.

The *manj*, or jewel prayer, '*om manj padme hūm*,' is depended upon as the first and greatest of all charms. Every Tibetan believes that 'it is the panacea for all evil, a compendium of all know-

ledge, a treasury of all wisdom, a summary of all religion' (Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, 1889, p. 373). The meaning of the sacred syllables is not understood, but, even as their repetition is believed to secure blessing, so it will also thwart evil. In like manner, the use of the manual prayer-wheel, the setting in motion of the prayer-wheels which line the walls leading to the temple-doors, and the turning of the large cylindrical prayer-wheel which is to be found in most shrines are popularly regarded as useful charms.

In Lähul harvest operations, the 108 volumes of the Buddhist encyclopædia are used as a charm, being carried over the fields by women before the crops are sown, to drive evil spirits away. When the grain sprouts, pencil cedar-wood is put in the ground and burnt, to charm away another demon and ensure each grain springing up with many ears.

The great Tibetan work, the *Kah-gyur*, the sacred book of the *Mahāyāna*, or Great Vehicle, contains a repository of charms, etc. In the *Gyut* (Tib. *rgyud*, Skr. *tantra*), the last division of the *Kah-gyur*, which is devoted to mystic theology, there are descriptions of several gods and goddesses, with instructions for preparing the *mandalas*, or circles, for their reception; offerings or sacrifices for obtaining their favour; prayers, hymns, and charms addressed to them. The virtue of the various *mantras* is far-reaching, as the headings show: for obtaining any kind of specified prosperity; for assuaging specific diseases; for securing abundance; for obtaining security from robbers; for protection from fire, water, poison, weapons, enemies, famine, untimely death, lightning, earthquakes, and hail; and from all sorts of demons and evil spirits. The required qualities of a teacher who may officiate at *tantrika* ceremonies are detailed; there is also a description of ten several substances to be used in the sacrifices, such as flowers, incenses, perfumes, lights or lamps; together with the periods, by day or night, when the various ceremonies are effective.

Throughout the Northern Buddhist world it is believed that, by virtue of some charm, every evil being may be successfully resisted and every evil averted.

LITERATURE.—L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895; Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, London, 1889; Perceval Landon, *Lhasa*, London, 1905; C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, London, 1906; J. E. Duncan, *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, London, 1906; S. C. Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, new ed., London, 1904; Ehal Kawaguchi, *Three Years in Tibet*, Madras, 1909; JRAS, vol. iii. J. H. BATESON.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic).—Most of the magical acts performed by the Druids, or other wielders of magic among the Celts, were accompanied by charms, spells, or incantations—usually in poetic form. Their power lay in the magical virtue of the spoken word, or, in the case of spells for healing, in recounting a miracle of healing, in the hope that the action would now be repeated by virtue of mimetic magic. The Irish *filid*, or poets, had to learn traditional incantations (O'Curry, *MS Materials*, Dublin, 1881, p. 240), and many of the verses which Caesar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14) says the Druids would not commit to writing were doubtless of a similar nature.

The earliest Celtic document bearing on Celtic paganism—a MS preserved in the monastery of St. Gall and dating from the 8th or 9th cent.—contains spells appealing to the 'science of Goibniu' to preserve butter, and to 'the healing which Diancecht left' to give health (Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.*, 1881, p. 271; see also Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.*, 1871, p. 949). Thus the pagan gods were still appealed to in the charms used by Christian Celts. In later times the charms which are still

in use appealed no longer to the old gods but to the Persons of the Trinity, to the Virgin, or to the saints, but they are quite as much magical incantations as prayers, and they apply to every action of life, while they bear a close resemblance to Etruscan and Babylonian spells which can hardly be accidental (cf. any collection of Celtic spells with those given in Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains*, 1892; and Lenormant, *Magie chez les Chaldéens*, 1874). Probably such spells passed from country to country in very early times, the appeal being made in each country to the native divinities. After the introduction of Christianity, relics of the saints, hymns composed by them or in their honour, and the Gospels were also used as charms (Joyce, *Social Hist. of Ancient Ireland*, 1903, i. 247 f., 382-386).

All Druidic rites of magic described in the sagas were accompanied by spells, e.g. control of the elements, transformation, discovery of hidden persons or things, etc. Druids accompanied each army to discomfit the enemy, or to bring strength to their friends by means of the spells uttered by them. The Druids could also remove barrenness through spells and incantations; they could heal deadly wounds, or raise the dead to life (Windisch-Stokes, *Ir. Teate*, 1880-1905, i. 127, iii. 393, iv. a 242, 245, *Táin Bó*, 5484; Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, 1906, i. 137; Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions*, 1866, p. 301). Women also used powerful spells among the Celts, and were in consequence much dreaded. The 'spells of women' were feared even by St. Patrick, as they had been in earlier times by the pagan Celts (*Ir. Teate*, i. 56; d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, v. 387), while in modern survivals in Celtic areas it is mainly women who make use of charms and spells. In repeating a spell or charm a certain posture was adopted—standing on one leg, with one arm outstretched and one eye closed (see CELTS, XIII. 5). The reason of this posture is unknown; possibly it was intended to concentrate the magical force, while the outstretched arm would point to the person or thing over whom the charm was repeated.

The continuance of the belief in the power of spells down to modern times in rural Celtic areas is one of the most marked examples of the survival of Celtic paganism. Usually they are known only to certain persons, and are carefully handed down from generation to generation, sometimes from male to female, and from female to male. They are used to heal diseases (sometimes the disease itself being personified), to cause fertility, to bring good luck, or a blessing; or, in the case of darker magic, such as was practised by witches, to cause death or disease, or to transfer the property of others to the reciter (Sauvé, *RCel* vi. 67 ff.; *Celtic Magazine*, xii. 38; Camden, *Britannia*², 1806, iv. 488; Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, 1900, ii. 2-21, 124; Joyce, *op. cit.* i. 629-632). See also BARDS (Irish).

A great many kinds of amulets were used by the Celts. If the wheel carried by the statues of the Celtic god with the wheel be taken as a symbol of the sun or the sun-god, then it is probable that the numerous small disks or wheels of metal, clay, or wood, found in Gaul and Britain, were protective amulets, bringing the wearer under the care of the god. A stele found at Metz in 1749 represents a person with a necklace to which is attached such an amulet. In other cases they appear as votive offerings to a river-god, many of them having been found in river-beds or fords (Gaidoz, *Le Dieu gaulois du soleil*, Paris, 1886, p. 60). Other amulets—white marble balls, quartz pebbles, models of the tooth of the wild boar (a Neolithic amulet), and pieces of amber—have been found buried with

the dead, probably as protective amulets (*RA* i. [1873] 227; Greenwell, *British Barrows*, 1877, p. 165; Elton, *Origins of English History*, 1882, p. 66; Renel, *Religions de la Gaule avant le Christianisme*, 1906, pp. 95 f., 194 f.). Phallic amulets were also worn, perhaps as a protection against the evil eye (Reinach, *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1900, p. 362). Pliny speaks of the Celtic belief in the magical virtues of coral, either worn as an amulet, or taken in powder as a medicine; and archaeological research has shown that the Celts, during a limited period of their history, placed coral on weapons and utensils, apparently as an amulet (Pliny, *HN* xxxii. 2, 24; *RCel* xx. 13 ff.). Pliny also describes the method of obtaining the 'serpent's egg,' formed from the foam produced by many serpents twining about each other and thrown into the air. The seeker had to catch it in his cloak before it fell, and flee to a running stream, beyond which the serpents could not pursue him. Such an egg was believed to cause its owner to gain lawsuits, or obtain access to kings. A Roman citizen was put to death in the reign of Claudius for bringing such a Druidic talisman into court. This egg was probably some kind of fossil, and was doubtless connected with the cult of the serpent, while some old myth of an egg produced by divine serpents may have been made use of to account for its formation (Pliny, *HN* xxix. 3, 54; 12, 52; see CELTS, x.). Rings or beads of glass, such as are found in tumuli, etc., are still popularly believed in Wales and Cornwall to have been formed by serpents in much the same way as in Pliny's description. They are called *glain naidr*, or 'serpent's glass,' and are believed to have magical virtues, especially against snake-bite. This virtue is also credited to stone rings (generally old spindle-whorls) in the Scottish Highlands (Hoare, *Modern Wiltshire*, 1822, p. 56; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 1870, iii. 246, 315), while 'healing stones' both for man and beast are to be found in Ireland and in Scotland alike (Joyce, *op. cit.* i. 628 f.). Many little figures of the boar, the horse, the bull, with a ring for suspending them from a necklet, have been found, and were amulets or images of these divine animals (Reinach, *op. cit.* pp. 286, 289).

LITERATURE.—This has been cited throughout the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Christian).—1. Historical survey.—Christianity came as a religion of the spirit into a world given over to superstition and magic. To these Christianity set itself in strong opposition, expelling with irresistible power the illusions under which the religion of Nature had held men's minds in bondage. Ac 19¹⁹ relates that, as the result of St. Paul's missionary preaching in Ephesus, magical books to the value of fifty thousand pieces of silver were publicly burnt; and it would be wrong to suppose that, while burning the books, the people retained their belief in magic. Ancient Christian preaching went the other way to work, and dealt with thoughts first, and things afterwards. This temper lasted long. The more the Christians felt themselves inspired by the Holy Spirit and gifted with miraculous powers, the less willing or able were they to believe in the magical power of lifeless things. The belief is mentioned in ancient Christian literature only to be attacked as an error of heathendom, especially Phrygian and Celtic (Gal 5²⁰ *φάρμακela*, cf. 3¹ *βαρκαβειν*; *Didache* ii. 2, iii. 4, v. 1; Justin, *Apol.* i. 14; and, still later, Origen, *Peri Archōn*, ii. xi. 5; Euseb. *Dem. Evang.* iii. 6, 9 f.; cf. 2 K 21¹, 2 Ch 33⁶, Asc. Is. 2⁵). It is from the pen of a Christian (Hippolytus, *Refut.* iv.) that we have the most powerful refutation of the artifices of astrology and magic; and Apuleius found more than his

match in Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, viii. 16-22). Not until later times did belief in magic find its way into Catholic communities and gain the recognition of the Church herself.

Nevertheless the Christians had always lived under the suspicion of practising forbidden magic rites (*κακομαγεία*, 1 P. 415; 'superstitio malefica,' Suet. *Nero*, 16). They inherited from Judaism. Pliny did not succeed in proving anything of the kind against them; but yet in Hadrian's rescript to Servian (as given by Vopiscus, ch. 8) we find Christian elders associated with rulers of the Jewish synagogues and Samaritanas *mathematici*, *haruspices*, *aliphae*. As a matter of fact, there were among the Christians, and especially among the Gnostics of Egypt, zealous devotees of magic. What we know of Gnostic worship, with its incomprehensible formulae, its use of strange objects, and its insistence on ceremonial correctness, shows affinity with magical practices. Forms of conjuration and amulets have come down to us whose origin is undoubtedly Gnostic; and Origen turned upon the Gnostics the accusations of magic brought against the Christians by Celsus (vi. 21-40). But it was not confined to the Gnostics. It must be admitted that the Catholic Church was not quite free from the taint. On the walls of the catacombs, Jesus Himself is depicted holding a magic wand, though the theologians lay stress upon the absence of all magical means from His miracles (e.g. Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* i. 43 f. [CSEL iv. 28 f.]). The antithesis between Divine and demoniacal is clearly shown in the apocryphal accounts of the contest between Simon Peter and Simon Magus—the magician kills, the Apostle makes alive; but otherwise the means employed are the same (cf. Joh. Malalas, *Chron.* p. 252, ed. Bonnet; Georg. Mon. p. 366, ed. de Boor). To the questions of a Christian every demon must give an answer (Tert. *Apol.* 22, 23); even the breath of a Christian was enough to stay the working of a heathen charm (Dionys. Alex., *ap. Euseb.* vii. 10, 4).

Three things render difficult an exact estimate of the dissemination of this superstition among Christians in the earliest times: (1) Christian literature is nearly silent; (2) objects cannot be dated with certainty; and (3) Divine names of Jewish and Christian character were used also by heathen magicians.

With the 4th cent. magical belief began to take a firmer hold within the Church, although synods (e.g. Elvira [A.D. 300 or 313?], can. 6; Ancyra [A.D. 315], can. 24; Laodicea [c. 360], can. 34-36) and the great leaders of theology continued to protest against the adoption of superstitious means in sickness or for the recovery of lost articles. Chrysostom is especially emphatic (see *adv. Judaeos*, hom. viii. 5 [PG xlviii. 935], *ad Pop. Antioch.*, hom. xix. 4 [ib. xlix. 196], *ad Illum. Catech.* ii. 5 [ib. xlix. 239], hom. in 1 Co 7² [ib. li. 216], in Ps 9, ch. 7 [ib. lv. 132], in Joh. hom. xxxvii., lv. [ib. lix. 207, 301], in 1 Cor. hom. xii. 8 [ib. lxi. 105], in Gal. com. i. 7 [ib. lxi. 623], in Col. hom. viii. 5 [ib. lxii. 355], in 1 Thess. hom. iii. 5 [ib. 412]). Of Western preachers cf. pseudo-Augustine (Cassarius of Arles?), *Sermo* 168. 3, 265. 5, 278. 279. 4 f. [PL xxxix.]; cf. Caspari in *ZDA* xxv. [1881] 314-316, and *Kirchenhist. Anekdota*, i. [1883] 193-212, 213-224; Martin of Bracara (*Correctio rusticorum*, ed. Caspari, 1883; see also the *Capitula* of Martin of Bracara in *PL* cxxx. 575 ff.); Pirminius (*Scarapsus*, 22 [PL lxxxix.]; cf. Caspari, *Kirchenhist. Anekdota*, 151-192), *Vita S. Eligii*, ii. 15 [PL lxxxvii. 528, ed. Krusch, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Scr. rer. Merov.* iv. 705, 753]; Nürnberger, *Aus der litter. Hinterlassenschaft des hl. Bonifatius*, 1883, p. 43). But their protests assumed the reality of the wonders of magic, condemning them only as ungodly and devilish (cf. Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 6, *de Trin.* iii. 7, 12), and supposed the existence of a higher form of magic that was Divine. After the rise of martyr-worship and the invention of the Holy Cross, the Church possessed a number of sacred objects from which protection and all blessings might be expected. This belief flourished extraordinarily from the 6th to the 8th century. Pope Gregory the Great furthered it with his example and sanctioned it with his authority; for France, Gregory of Tours is typical. And it was further advanced through the incursions into the Roman Empire of the barbarians, whose Christianity had not penetrated beneath the surface. The Frankish synods

and the Anglo-Saxon *libri penitentiales* (collected by Wasserscheleben, 1851, and by H. J. Schmitz, 1883) had to lay heavier and heavier ecclesiastical penalties on proscribed heathen uses. Under Charlemagne the matter was taken in hand by the State (cf. *Capitularia regum Franc.*, ed. Boretius [Mon. Germ. hist.], i. 25, 45, ii. 44). A collection of all these decrees is given by Burchard of Worms (*Decret. lib. x.* [PL cxi. 831-854]). But the clergy themselves lent support to the practice, and similar usages, but thinly cloaked in Christian and ecclesiastical guise, were embraced even by bishops. The more rationalistic tendencies of the iconoclasts in the Byzantine Empire and of individual theologians like Agobard of Lyons or Claudius of Turin in the West were quickly and effectively suppressed.

In the Middle Ages, Europe presents a spectacle similar to ancient Rome. As there magic was nominally forbidden, and yet flourished, and in many ways received even official recognition, so here it is possible to point to a whole series of civic and ecclesiastical prohibitions (e.g. *Cod. Just.* lib. ix. tit. 18; *Decr. Grat.* ii. ch. 26, qu. 5), which serve only to prove the opposite of that which one would gladly conclude from them. They show not that there was no magic, but that magic was suspiciously rife, and in certain forms even sanctioned. The few enlightened spirits that arose appear only as isolated figures, and the two forms of magic—that which the Church sanctioned, and that which it proscribed—continued to increase side by side. Contact with the East and the Crusades strengthened the inclination towards the use of protective and remedial charms. In connexion with the suppression of the Albigensian and Waldensian heresies the Inquisition developed an unbounded activity against black magic, which, however, only led to the firmer establishment of that sinister superstition.

In the 15th and 16th cents., while enlightenment and culture spread more and more among the upper classes of society, the Renaissance advancing from Italy brought in its train new forms of superstition. The same Humanism which sought to free itself from the superstitions of the despised monks turned with unstinted admiration to the ancient modes of thought, and gave a new life to astrology and all the practices that accompany it. In opposition to this, the Reformation, taking its stand upon Apostolic Christianity, and resting everything upon the spiritual power of the living Word, sought to put away superstitious inclinations from the hearts of the people. This did not happen all at once. Luther himself was as convinced as any theologian of the Middle Ages of the power of the devil, and he shared many monastic beliefs which his Humanistic friends had already rejected. But he recognized no counter-charm save faith and prayer; and with him, above all men, it is clear that these notions of the Middle Ages were nothing but survivals. All Churches alike have joined in the persecution of witches; but it is easy to see how the Protestant conception of religion, with its insistence upon the word of God on the one hand and upon faith on the other, left ever less and less room for superstitions. Calvinism succeeded perhaps better than Lutheranism. Everywhere, however, the conservative mind of the peasants held tenaciously to the expedients of magic, and even modern enlightenment has not been able completely to eradicate them.

2. Underlying ideas.—The basis of magical practice is a conception of the world which thinks of everything as animate, and therefore as a vessel of some spiritually operating power. Those operations are not supposed to be psychological or ethical,

but essentially physical. The modern conception of electro-magnetic influence affords the best analogy. We may call it 'Panpsychism'—a form of Animism as far removed from the belief in an omnipotent, all-working God as it is from the physical point of view of the ancient philosophy of nature, or of modern natural science. Among the Jews of the restoration, still under Persian influence, and the Greek philosophers of the Hellenistic age, this primitive conception took the form of an extraordinarily extensive belief in angels and demons. The object originally thought of as the source of power became only a vessel and an instrument in the hand of a powerfully operating personality. The derivative nature of this belief appears in the purely accidental association between the two. It is true that an affinity is asserted between certain good or evil spirits and certain objects, formulæ, or ceremonies; but not only has every spirit many different instruments of power at his disposal, but the same instrument serves many different spirits. As in religion, so here we note a tendency to something like henodæmonism: at a given moment man is concerned with but one spirit whose power he wishes to repel or to win for himself. At the same time there appears a division into good and bad, benevolent and harmful, spirits, into angels and demons. The whole use of charms rests upon belief in the superior power of the former; a few forms of magic only have their origin in an opposite belief (black magic).

The Neo-Platonists, especially Iamblichus, had already systematized these popular notions, and had attempted to justify them philosophically. Christian theology adopted their theories, while far more eager than they to reconcile the whole angelology and demonology with monotheistic views (Joh. Damasc. *de Fide Orth.* ii. 4). On the one hand, demonstrations were offered to prove the existence of an inward connexion between every spirit and a definite object or formula; the name, picture, or symbol is not merely a human form of expression, but possesses an objective value as a form of manifestation in which the spirit is wholly or partially operative. Christian theology sought support for these theories in the great thought of the Incarnation of God. If the greatest of all powers, Omnipotence itself, was manifested to our sense in human shape, could not the lower powers similarly become incarnate, and embody themselves in men, or even in lower forms? Next to the purely spiritual beings stand the saints (*q.v.*), bound through their own past life to the world of sense, who have left behind them in the shape of relics (*q.v.*) vessels of their spiritual power. On the other hand, all possible emphasis is laid upon the sovereign freedom of the will of God, whose command or permission alone renders possible any exercise of power (Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* ii. 14, 15; Aug. *de Divinatione Daemonum* [CSEL xli. 597-618], *de Civ. Dei*, xii. 25, *de Trin.* iii. 8, 13; pseudo-Aug. *Sermo* 278. 4 [PL xxxix. 2270]).

This is the teaching of the Greek theologians, as well as of the Latins (cf. John of Damascus, and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, ii. 2, q. 91-96, *quodlib.* xi. 10). We cannot make these great theologians responsible for all the writings that bear their names; to such names as Gregorius Thaumaturgus and Albertus Magnus a whole literature of magic has been attached. Leo the Wise, whose *Novella* lxx. outdoes all earlier State ordinances against magic, became in popular rumour himself an arch-magician, and the like happened with Pope Sylvester (Gerbert). In the Middle Ages any serious student of mathematical or scientific problems—like Roger Bacon or Raymond Lull—gained this reputation at once. But Magic could yet appeal with some right to the

theologians whose theories had been made her justification. How difficult was the position of the ecclesiastical theology—compelled to admit the underlying theories of magic, and yet unwilling to sanction the practice—appears most clearly in the writings of Gerson. The Church herself made war, under the title of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft, only upon that part of the whole phenomenon whose methods and aims were outside ecclesiastical control, and were suspected of connexion with heresy—Manichean, Albigensian, or Catharian. The general principles are laid down in the Papal bulls (Gregory IX., *Vox in Rama*, A.D. 1233; Innocent VIII., *Summis desiderantes*, A.D. 1484, *Bullarium Romanum* [1743], iii. 3. 191 [Mibt, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Papsttums*, 1895, p. 105]; Alexander VI., 1494; Julius II., 1507; Leo X., 1521; Hadrian VI., 1523; Pius IV., 1564), and detailed directions are given in the *Directorium inquisitorium* of the Spanish Grand Inquisitor, Nicolaus Aymericus (1358) (1376?), and in the famous *Malleus maleficorum* (composed A.D. 1487 by Krämer and Sprenger, and printed at Cologne, 1489, 1494, 1496, 1511, 1520, etc., best ed. in 4 vols., Lyons, 1669, Germ. tr. by J. W. R. Schmidt, 1906); and in the works of the Jesuits M. Delrio (*Disquisitionum Magicarum libri vi.*, 1606) and P. Binsfeld (*Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum et sagarum*, 1591).

We must not, of course, presume that men consciously entertained these underlying ideas, or that they were acquainted with the philosophical and theological theories about them. Charms are applied by ancient custom no less (indeed, perhaps more) generally by those who do not understand their meaning. Incomprehensibility and irrationality are often important factors in their use. It frequently happens that the original meaning of a charm disappears altogether, and enlightened times subject everything to an ingenious rationalization; yet the use of charms and their application remain as before, and at any time the original meaning may be revived.

Tattooing, for example, had undoubtedly at first a magical, prophylactic import, and it is possible that this import is retained in the practice of tattooing with religious marks which is still found among the Christian peoples of Italy and Bosnia. But among modern sailors it survives only as a meaningless convention, a kind of ornament, as is at once obvious from the subjects chosen. A horse's head on a stable, a pair of antlers on a ranger's house, are in Germany at the present day common symbolic ornaments pointing to the nature of the building. In former times horses' skulls were highly valued among the Germans as defensive charms—a use against which, on account of its connexion with heathen sacrifices, the Church waged energetic warfare. So, too, among the Greeks ox-skulls were originally a charm which later on developed into the so-called *buvarium*-ornament: we do not know what is the meaning of the numerous ox-skulls found to-day in villages of Asia Minor (see H. Rott, *Kleinasiat. Denkmäler*, 1908, p. 82; and art. *EGYPTIAN RELIGION*).

Under these circumstances it is often difficult to fix the boundary between charms and ornaments or curiosities. What appears at first sight to be merely a decoration may have significance for its wearer as a means of protection. At the present time there is an inclination to give exaggerated recognition to this fact, and to attribute to every possible object a magical character and purpose, of which very likely neither its maker nor its possessor has ever dreamed. We must remember that in this province, as everywhere, nothing is stationary or universal; nor is the path of human progress a straight line leading ever upwards from superstition to enlightenment, but a tortuous road that sinks as often as it rises. Moreover, at one and the same time, different communities in a nation—the country-folk and the town-dwellers—as well as different classes—the educated and the uneducated—think very differently upon the subject. Remembering this, we cannot be too cautious in our conclusions.

3. Terminology and classification of charms.—

Even in ancient times the Egyptians had organized the science of charms into a complete system (see Wallace Budge, *Egyptian Magic*², 1901). Celsus (*ap. Orig. vi. 39*) incidentally enumerates the following as practised and taught by Christians: καθαρμοὶς, ἡ λυτηρίου ὥδης, ἡ ἀποπομπίμωνος φωνάς, ἡ κτύπους, ἡ δαιμονίου σχηματισμοῦ, ἐσθίων, ἡ ἀριθμῶν, ἡ λίθων, ἡ φυτῶν, ἡ ῥιζῶν, καὶ ὅλων παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων παντοία ἀλεξιφάρμακα, and, further, βιβλία βάρβαρα, δαιμόνων ὀνόματα ἔχοντα καὶ τερατείας. Augustine (*de Doctr. Christ. II. xx. 30*) mentions as 'molimina magicarum artium': (1) aruspicum et augurum libri; (2) ligaturae atque remedia, sive in praecantationibus, sive in quibusdam notis quas characteres vocant, sive in quibusque rebus suspendendis atque illigandis, vel etiam aptandis quodammodo. This terminology is based partly upon the objects employed as charms, partly upon the manner of their application, and partly upon the purpose. These different bases of classification are seldom distinguished; we often find as parallel species φυλακτήρια, περιπλάττα, ἐπιφάτα, χαρακτήρες, incantationes, ligaturae, remedia, phylacteria, characteres, succini, herbae. Generic names are: τὰ περιπλάττα (*e.g.* Ac 19¹⁹; Iren. i. xxiv. 5), *magela*, *magia*, *μαγανελα*, *γοητεία*, *φαρμακεία*. (According to Suidas, *magela* is distinguished as the invocation of good spirits for beneficial purposes, *γοητεία* as the conjuration of the dead, *φαρμακεία* as the administration of magical potions. This contradicts Bingham's [vii. 25] definition of *magela* as harmful magic—*veneficium* and *maleficium*—and of *incantamentum* as the use of salutary charms.) All these terms deal only with active or 'working' magic, in distinction from the various methods of inquiry into the future—passive or 'seeing' magic (*μαυρεία*, *divinatio*). The latter plays the greater part—see the list of heathen *μαυρεῖαι* (to which the corresponding list of *μαγείαι* is unfortunately lacking) in Josephus Christ. *Hypomnesticon*, 144 [PG cvi. 160]; the list, which Isidore of Seville, *Etymol. viii. 9* [PL lxxxii. 310], draws up from Augustine (*de Doctr. Christ. ii. 21, de Civ. Dei*, vii. 35, xxi. 8), Jerome (*in Dan. 2^a* [PL xxv. 521]), and Lactantius (*Div. Inst. ii. 17* [PL vi. 336]),—cf. Rabanus Maurus [PL cx. 1095],—and the *Indiculus Superstitionum et paganiarum* from *Vat. Pal.* 577 (last published by Boretius, *Capit. reg. Franc.* [MGH i. 222 f.], and commented upon by Hefele, *Concilien-gesch.* iii. 505–511, and Sause, in *Programm des städtischen Realgymnasiums zu Leipzig*, 1891), confuse the two forms (see art. DIVINATION).

Magic is nowadays mostly divided into 'white' and 'black,' according as the help of good or of evil spirits is called in. This distinction generally coincides with that between the ends desired—help or harm, defence or offence. Others define white magic as supernatural working on another's behalf, and black as that for one's own good. Schanz gives a more modern sounding definition (but cf. Aug. *de Doctr. Christ. ii.*), dividing magic into natural and artificial—the one harmless (white), the other harmful (black), and passing, with the aid of demoniacal powers, beyond the natural. Kiesewetter (ii. 701) propounds a different distinction; white magic is a development of the intuitive faculties, with the object of attaining the mystic Kenosis; natural magic is the application of rudimentary physical and chemical knowledge; black magic is witchcraft; and theurgy is the raising of spirits, including necromancy and invocation of the devil.

4. Purposes.—A. DEFENSIVE CHARMS.—(1) *Phylacteric*.—The most important and commonest purpose of charms is that of averting evil, to which the class name of 'apotropaeic' is given by modern scholars. This appears in the names

for charms—φυλακτήριον (also φυλακτὴν among the Byzantines), which in Latin is either transcribed as *phylacterium* or translated by *servatorium* (see Suicer and Ducange, also Loewe-Goetz, *Corp. Gloss.* vii. 86). *Amuletum* has the same meaning. This word has no connexion with the Arabic, either with *hamala*, 'to wear' (von Hammer), or with *hamûl*, 'sword-belt' (Dozy); against this see Gildemeister, *ZDMG* xxxviii. 140 ff.), but is genuine Latin. So comparatively early a writer as Varro (*Res. divin.* bk. xiii. *ap.* Charisius, *Gramm.* 105, 9, ed. Keil) cannot explain it; Pliny uses it frequently (xxiii. 20, xxv. 115, xxviii. 38, xxix. 66, 83, xxx. 82, 138, xxxvii. 51, 117), and always in the sense of a protective or defensive object, of whatever kind. According to the glosses, it is derived from *amolimentum* (*Corp. Gloss.* vi. 63, 65; cf. also Walde, *Etymolog. Wörterb.*, 27). The Greeks speak continually of ἀλεξιφάρμακος, ἀλεξίκακος, ἀλεξιβέλμενος, ἀλεξιφάρμακος.

The evils to be averted are all possible harmful influences, especially that of the evil eye (*βασκανία*, *fascinatio*—hence *προβασκανία*), and further demoniacal possession, fever, illness of all kinds, wounds, sudden death, fire, drought, attacks of robbers, and all other evils by which mankind is threatened. The instruments by which they may be averted are small objects hung upon the body (*περιπλάττα*, *περίδρυματα*, *ligaturae*; Old Germ. *Angehenge*, 'ligatures'—also *περιτραχήλια*). The special name given to these nowadays is 'amulet,' also 'talisman' (an Arab. form from *τέλεσμα*).¹

From the East was derived the form of the medallion or small plaque (*πέταλον*), often in gold with jewels or enamel. In Rome the little lead tube (*bullā*) had its home; and in later times a small casket or locket (*capsa*, *capsella*). Under Christian influence these amulets took the form of the cross, but the medallions also survived.

The ancients had a most exhaustive system of defence by magical means (Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, 210). To every limb and every kind of disease a special charm was allotted. Immediately a child was born, it was decorated with amulets—commonly bells or magic knots—and its chair and cradle were surrounded with all manner of charms (Ohyris, in *1 Cor. hom. xii. 7* [PG lxi. 106]; Theodore of Studium, *Laud. fun. in matrem suam*, 2 [PG xcix. 885]). The rattle and little bell given to babies for amusement nowadays may have originated in this custom.

It was soon sought in Christian circles to set these phylacteric objects on a level with the *tephillin* which were ordained in the OT, and which later Judaism was no longer content to regard, in accordance with the teaching of Dt 6⁸ 11¹⁸ and Ex 13⁹ 16, as mere tokens of remembrance, but found in them, as indeed the original wearers had probably done before them, protective charms; hence the Greek rendering φυλακτήρια (Mt 23⁸; see Schürer, *GVJ*² ii. 484). The Fathers contested this co-ordination (*e.g.* Epiphanius, *Haer.* 15 [PG xli. 245]), and the earlier synods laid the penalties of the Church upon the manufacture of phylacteries by the clergy. But in the East a change of opinion began with the 6th cent., and was completed with the iconoclastic controversy. The Patriarch Nicephorus (*Antirr.* iii. 36 [PG c. 433]) speaks of the wearing of gold or silver crosses, often with pictures from the life of Christ, as a primitive Christian custom, the rejection of which by the iconoclasts only served to convict them of apostasy.²

¹ In the *Westöstlicher Diwan*, Goethe distinguishes between 'talisman,' a magic mark on a precious stone, and 'amulet,' a form of words (often of some length) written on paper; but this distinction is without historical basis.

² Cf. Theophanes, p. 446 [ed. de Boor], on the persecution of φυλακτήριον-wearers at the time of Constantine Copronymus. At the present time the so-called *enotropa* worn by all dignitaries of the Orthodox Church are generally regarded as decorative insignia, and their pattern is strictly regulated according to the rank of the wearer. But Nicephorus says clearly that they were called *phylacteria*, and served for the protection and

The development in the West was similar. It is true that the decrees of the Councils were ratified and continued (cf. above, § 1; Fulgentius Ferrandus [PL lxxviii. 824]; Crisostomus Africanus [ib. 876]; Schmitz, 312 ff.), and Pope Nicolaus I. forbade the manufacture of *ligaturae* among the Bulgarians. But it was always heathen charms alone that were meant; Christian charms were in continual use. The Western clergy, too, wore crosses, and by no means for mere ornament. The presents sent from Gregory to Theodelind all have the character of amulets; some of them are still preserved in the treasury at Monza—a cross-pendant with a relic of the Holy Cross, a Gospel lectionary in a Persian case, three rings with hyacinth and albula stones (Ep. xiv. 2 [PL lxxvii. 1316]). Gregory of Tours wore such a cross, and periodically changed the relic it contained. The *Lives of the Saints* are full of miracles wrought by these *phylacteria*.

In the later Middle Ages the practice of indulgences extended the working of charms to a new province—the fate in Purgatory—and therewith gave them an enhanced interest; many things intended to effect indulgence became charms in popular use (see § 5 C (8)).

Here, too, mention must be made of the scapulary. Introduced by the Carmelites in 1287 and supported by Papal privileges (*Privilegium scabatinum*, 1320), it was to enjoy so great a popularity as to arouse the competition of other monastic orders. The scapulary is a strip of cloth, suggesting the cowl, which is wrapped round the dying in order to ensure him a blessed death and immediate freedom from Purgatory. A comparison may be drawn with the legend that Pilate was protected against the Emperor's wrath as long as he wore Christ's seamless coat (*Leg. Aurea*, liii.).

Modern Roman Catholicism, with the numerous insignia of its brotherhoods, its medals struck in commemoration of ecclesiastical festivals, its medallions in memory of different shrines, and especially of pilgrimage-centres, has done much to encourage this faith. To all these objects, which generally take the form of crosses or medallions to be worn round the neck, the consecration of the Church and contact with sacred things (relics and images) impart protective power; and in the popular regard far more weight is laid upon this than upon the purely memorial significance. The present writer met at Nancy in 1909 a driver who was firmly persuaded that the safety of his horse and carriage was guaranteed by a little medallion showing the portrait of the Madonna du Bon Secours which he had in his pocket.

But even in Protestant circles, especially among the country-folk, there is no lack of amulets. There exists in Germany a great quantity of *Schwertbriefe* (also called *Himmelsbriefe*, from the belief that they have fallen from heaven), containing an abundance of prayers, formulae, names, and characters, and lavishly decorated with crosses, which are worn round the neck or in the pocket, for protection against sword-cuts. In recent wars many soldiers are said to have put their trust in the protective power of such papers, or of coins and other objects, as they went into the field (see Schindler, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, 1858, p. 131).

Amulets are used for the protection not only of men but also of cattle, which form to some extent

man's most valuable possession, and are as liable as he to the attacks of demons. The application of *ligaturae* to cattle is mentioned, among others, by Eligius and Ebendorfer (see below, § 5, introd.). In later times the so-called Antonius medallions found special favour, for Antony of Padua has been the patron of horses and asses ever since the adoration by an ass of the Host which the saint held in his hand. To swine Antony's greater namesake, the ancient Egyptian hermit, affords protection. Cowbells, like the bells hung on infants, had originally a protective significance, and were intended to frighten away evil spirits; their use as a means of recognition by the herdsman is a later idea.

The same purpose as that of amulets or talismans worn on the person is served by apotropeic inscriptions on buildings (cf. Dt 6^o 11²⁰; pseudo-Aristeas, Ep. § 158, ed. Wendland; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* viii. ix. 27; see, for further details, § 5 C (6)). Men desire to protect not only their bodies, but their houses. Even individual pieces of furniture and household ware are equipped with their inscriptions and magic characters (Chrysostom, in 1 Cor. hom. 43 [PG lxi. 373], mentions a *εὐαγγέλιον* hanging on the couch).

(2) *Counter-charms*.—The use of charms is not only protective: a demonic enchantment must be removed by a counter-charm. In such cases the first business is to determine the nature of the enchantment in question (*ἀντίδοσις φαρμακείων ἢ μαγείων*), and then to nullify its operation (*κἀπαρσις γοητείων*; Zonaras on Ancyra, can. 24 [PG cxxxvii. 1192]). This procedure, however, was held to be heathen. Christians were concerned mostly with the thwarting of demonic miracles through Divine power. Simon Magus, borne heavenwards through the air by demons, was brought to earth by the Apostles' prayers; i.e. the power of the demons was removed, and thereupon the magician fell headlong and was dashed to pieces (*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. Lipsius and Bonnet, i. 82, 166; cf. Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, ii. 12). The apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* are full of such miracles. That they were ascribed to the action of a holy magic, and not merely to the power of prayer, is shown by the case of St. Peter, who caused Simon's demoniacal hounds to vanish by means of some pieces of consecrated bread lying hidden in the sleeve of his cloak (*Mart. Petri et Pauli*, 24 ff.). Some heretics, who by the assistance of demons were walking over a river, were made to sink, not by prayer or by conjuration, but by Hosts thrown into the stream (Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* ix. 12). In isolated instances the sanction of the Church was obtained even for the resistance of black magic by black magic. A German bishop on a journey back from Rome was bewitched by his mistress, and lay sick unto death until he gained the consent of the Pope to allow him to call in another witch, who turned the enchantment upon its author; then the bishop immediately recovered, and the mistress died (*Malleus malefic.* ii. 2). But in general the Church tolerated such counter-magic, which was practised only by those who made a trade of it, as little as she tolerated witchcraft itself (cf. Ferraris, *Bibliotheca Canonica*, s.v. 'Superstitio,' § 74). The only licensed form was that contained in the magic working of the Church's *sacramentalia* (see § 5 C (10)).

(3) *Curative charms*.—Akin to counter-charms is a use of charms which is both more extensive than any other and more fully illustrated by the literary records of antiquity, namely, that for the purpose of healing. Sickness was held to be the working of a demonic power, of some magic—an alien spirit has taken possession of the man and must be driven out. To this end, besides the

assurance of life, for the health of soul and body, for healing in sickness, and for the averting of attacks by unclean spirits. The Emperor and high Imperial officials also wore such *phylacteria*; and they were sent as pledges of safe conduct (cf. Anastasius Sinaita in Pa. vi. [PG lxxxix. 1112], of Emperor Mauritius; pseudo-Symeon, p. 631, 2, and Georgius Mon. Cont. p. 706, § (ed. Bonn.), of Emperor Theophilus; see, further, *Damage on Aesculap.* ii. [PG cxcxi. 204]).

recitation of formulae, breathing upon the patient, or anointing him with oil—a much-used medium in magic, supported in Christian practice by Ja 5¹⁴—magical objects could also be applied; for example, the Solomon's ring (see 5 B (4)). But, in addition to possession by demons, all bodily ailments were attributed to bewitchment, and so the application of remedial charms was a panacea for all sickness.

Magic formed a very large element in the medicine of antiquity, and has its share in the popular medicine of to-day. Any legitimate remedy may easily become a charm. For example, breath may often have a directly physical effect, warming and softening; but when water that has been breathed upon in the morning is supposed in the evening to have a healing virtue, there is present the notion of the magical transference of power. To drink an herbal powder for colic is a reasonable course of action; but when the herb is hung round the neck, that is magic, says Augustine, and with truth (*de Doctr. Christ.* II. xxix. 45). Then the idea is that the truth of the antidote affrights the demon.

The chief remedial measure is to bind the demon so that he can do no harm. This is done partly by the methods of sympathetic magic—some object is formally bound and certain knots are tied—and partly through conjuration. Gregory of Tours (*de Virt. S. Juliani*, 45, ed. Krusch, p. 582) gives a graphic description of how, in a case of sudden illness, a *hariosolus* is called in and 'incantationes innumuratur, sortes iactat, ligaturas collo suspendit.' Chrysostom's account is similar; in cases of sickness the conjurer (*ερασιδός*) is sent for, or an old woman who, to the accompaniment of various formulae, hangs an amulet with magic characters round the patient's neck. These practices must have been very wide-spread among the Christians. Chrysostom preaches repeatedly against them: they are idolatrous, and, if death follows upon their renunciation, it is to be counted as martyrdom (cf. also Basil in *Ps* 45² [*PG* xxix. 417]).

The form of conjuration consists of a short speech addressed in commanding tones to the disease in question, often in verse, commonly without sense or meaning. But longer forms were also used, and the tone passed imperceptibly into that of prayer, a special succourer being invoked for every illness. In case of poisoning the help of Anastasia, *φάρμακολύτρια* was implored; if the patient could not sleep, a prayer (that is, a form of conjuration) was used, in which the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus appeared (Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, I. [1893] 327), and so on. Often the desire was expressed that the disease should depart into some other being; and to bring about the transference certain ceremonies were performed upon a tree, or an animal, most commonly a cock. The notion entertained is sometimes that of a purely physical transmission, and sometimes that of the migration of an evil spirit (cf. the Gerasene swine, Mk 5¹²). Another method was to expel the sickness by contact with a higher remedial power. As the demons fled before the presence of Christ and His saints, so the disease retires when anything sacred, be it man or thing, touches the affected portion of the sick man's body (see 5 A (2)). Then there are the images of diseased members, deposited or hung at a holy place (*in trivis et ab arboribus vel alio*, according to the heathen custom; see Pirminius, *Scarpus*, 22 [p. 175, ed. Caspari]), and later in churches and chapels, to attract healing virtue to the particular limb. The significance of these images shifted from charms to *ex votos*—thank-offerings for recovery vouchsafed; but these were generally promised beforehand; and originally the wooden and waxen limbs were supposed to effect the cure.

Finally, names have here, as upon *phylacteria*, a compelling force. A sufferer from epilepsy—the falling sickness—can be cured by wearing on his person the names of the three kings who fell in

worship before the infant Christ. And something of this name-magic can be traced in the common practice of giving certain medical prescriptions under the names of great magicians and saints (cf. 5 C (4)).

(4) *Detective magic*.—On the threshold that divides 'working' from 'seeing' magic (charms from divination) stand the methods employed to detect the guilty among a number of suspects, and to establish guilt or innocence where only one is accused. If it was desired, for example, to discover who was the thief among a body of suspected persons, an eye was painted on the wall, and the suspects were led past it; he whose eyes filled with tears as he went by was the thief. If this method was not at first successful, a magic nail was hammered in as well (Vassiliev, 341). The throat was another treacherous member; pieces of bread and cheese were given to the suspects, and he who choked over them was guilty. Of course, the bread and cheese must have been consecrated with special ceremonies; bread consecrated on Maundy Thursday was a particular favourite with the Greeks (Balsamon on Trull. can. 61 [*PG* cxxxvii. 724]; Synod of Constantinople, A.D. 1372 [*Acta Patriarch.* I. 595]; Vassiliev, 330), and also in the West (see Ducange, *s.v.* 'Coursed'). In Novgorod, after 1410, bread was used that had been consecrated before the image of the Edessene saints Gurias, Samonas, and Abibos (Vassiliev, lxv.; cf. the miracle of these saints [*PG* cxvi. 145-161]). In the 16th cent. this method lost its religious character and became more akin in form to divination. Women kneaded pieces of paper, containing the names of the suspected, into balls of dough, and threw them into a basin of water. The dough was dissolved, and the paper released; the first that came to the surface gave the name of the guilty (Pictorius of Villingen, *De rebus non naturalibus* [c. 1540]). Similar is the use of an axe or sieve placed in equilibrium, through the motion of which the guilty person was shown—a practice used in the trial of witches in France during the 16th century. A very ancient practice in cases of murder was to lead the suspected person to the bier, not in order to observe his demeanour in the presence of the victim, but in the expectation that the approach of the murderer would cause the dead man's wounds to bleed anew.

With this last method we come to the means by which it was sought to establish guilt or innocence in cases where a definite accusation was lodged. This form of procedure, known in the Middle Ages as the 'ordeal' (Germ. *Gottesurteil*), and very widely used for judicial ends, is both ancient and universal. Nu 5^{12a} prescribes the so-called 'water of bitterness' for cases of suspected adultery (cf. *Protevangel. Jacobi*, 16); and the use of bull's blood among the priestesses of Achaia (Pausanias, VII. xxv. 8) is similar. Christianity believed from a very early time that the most efficacious means of revealing guilt was the Holy Communion (see, e.g., *Acta Thomae*, 51, p. 167 [ed. Bonnet]). The magic element shows itself in the expectation that judgment and punishment will coincide. The use of the lot is pure divination; but the ordeals by fire and water lie within the province of working magic. In the former the accused must touch or carry red-hot iron; in the latter, either he had to plunge his hand into boiling water without being scalded, or he was bound and thrown into a river; if he sank, he was innocent; if the water would not receive him, he was held to be guilty. The chivalresque form of settling guilt or innocence by means of a fight is well known from Sir Walter Scott's splendid description in *Ivanhoe*. Deprived of its original meaning, it still survives in the modern duel.

B. PRODUCTIVE CHARMS.—(5) Fertility.—Charms can also be used for positive ends—the promotion of the forces valuable to man. By far the most ancient and most general application is for the furtherance of the forces of propagation either of the earth, that wood, meadow, and crops may grow, or of beasts and men, that they may be multiplied. Christianity found such usages everywhere in existence among the country people, especially the Germans, and in the beginning sought to do away with these heathen rites; but later here, too, the approved course was adopted of retaining what could not be uprooted, while clothing it in a form suitable to the Christian Church. Carolingian *capitularia* still forbade the boundary processions (*rogationes*, ‘beating the bounds’); but later they were led by the priest in solemn train with the sacrament; and in this form they have remained down to the present time. The most famous example is the *Blutritt* of Weingarten, in Württemberg—a procession on horseback with a relic brought from the East, blood from the wound in Christ’s side. In time of severe drought a procession with the relics of St. Rolendis is said always to have produced a good effect (*AS*, May, iii. 242); good harvest weather is to be ensured by a procession with the relics of St. Florentia of Poitiers (Dec. 1).

A kind of magical manuring was also in use: holy water was sprinkled on the land before and during the sowing. There are even instances of the use—certainly not with the Church’s approval—of consecrated wafers for this purpose. Here and there a peasant woman would scatter them over her cabbages for protection against grubs, or Hosts were put in bee-hives to render them more productive. Petrus Venerabilis (*de Mirac.* i. 1 [PL clxxxix. 852 ff.]) and Cæsius of Heisterbach (*Mirac. Dial.* ix. 8) affirm that in one such case the bees built a regular chapel of wax. There is a similar legend of Drei Ähren, near Colmar.

Fertility must also be assured for beasts. To this end shepherds and huntsmen used bread or herbs that had been consecrated with magic forms, hiding them in trees or at cross-roads (Rouen, can. 4 [Burchard, x. 18; PL cxl. 836]).

(6) *Weather charms.*—Closely connected with the fertility charms are those for the regulation of the weather, whereby the various conditions of rain or sunshine that are most suitable for the growth of crops are produced, or the destructive forces of drought, hailstorm, and the like are malevolently called into action. To cause rain, some water from the brook was sprinkled in the air, or vessels of water were poured over the earth. A naked maid, with a henbane on her right foot, was conducted to the river and there sprinkled by other maidens (Burchard of Worms, xix. 5, qu. 194; Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, ii. 452). In the Middle Ages the statues or relics of Christian saints—at Perpignan, for example, the relics of St. Galderic—were bathed, like the statues of the gods in ancient times. In these practices sympathetic magic is obviously preponderant; less so when the relics of St. Exsuperius or the garment of St. Eutychius were simply carried in time of drought round the land. Another clear instance of this species of magic appears in a story of St. Benedict’s sister. The saint was on a visit to her, and as she wished to keep him longer by her side, she covered her head with her hands, as though for prayer, and poured forth floods of tears; immediately torrents of rain descended from heaven in response (*Vita S. Bened.* ch. 33; *Leg. Aurea*, xlix. 16 [p. 212, ed. Graesse]).

The belief that it was possible to bring bad weather by casting stones into certain mountain-lakes was supported by official laws against such action. Mt. Pilatus near Lucerne was one of

these localities, and here the superstition was only gradually uprooted by Vadian, Gesner, and Platter in the 16th century.

As always happens, popular imagination busied itself mostly with malevolent magic. It was believed that certain individuals could direct the weather, and use it to the injury of others (they are called *νεφεδιῶνται* [ps.-Justin, *Quest. ad orth.* 31; Conc. Trull. can. 61, where Balsamon’s explanation, that divination by the clouds is meant, cannot be accepted], Lat. *tempestarii* [Charlemagne, *MGH Capit. reg. franc.* i. 59 (65), 104 (40)], and *immissores tempestatum* [PL cxl. 961; *Lex Visigoth.* vi. 2, 4. Schmitz, *Bussbücher* i. 308, 479, etc.]). Hail-clouds were supposed to come from a country named Man-gonia, and with them came people who carried off the damaged fruits back through the air to their home. At the time of Agobard of Lyons († 841) this belief was particularly rampant: men claimed to have found such people who had fallen from the sky. The bishop had great difficulty in pacifying the populace (‘contra insulsum vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitruis’ [PL civ. 147–158]). The superstition, however, remained, and played a sinister part in the trials of witches, who were believed not only to bring rain and hail by sprinkling water, but also to be able, aided by the devil, to steal corn, milk, butter, and other farm produce, drawing it by enchantment through the air.

To avert threatening storms, charms are again the means. Fires were kindled and various things (possibly as sacrificial offerings) thrown upon them; a cross was pointed to the four quarters of the heavens, and holy water was sprinkled in the air (Mengus, *Flagellum Demonum*, London, 1604, p. 208). Bell-ringing and shooting were also, without doubt, originally intended to affright the storm-demons; it was quite a later development to say that the one had the edifying purpose of calling the people to prayer, and the other the physical effect of breaking up the clouds.

(7) *Birth and capacity.*—To be fertile and to leave issue behind him is the dearest desire of man, and for its attainment various charms were used. Among these are throwing peas into the lap of the bride, eating the fruit of a tree bearing for the first time, drinking fresh birch-sap, and the simple possession of mandrakes—Heb. *dūdā'im* (Gn. 30¹⁴), mandragora, Germ. *Abraun* (cf. *Physiologus*, xliii. [p. 272, ed. Lanchert]). The girdle of St. Maginus of Tarra-gona was also useful, and, in general, the invocation of certain saints, of whom Kerler (*Patronate der Heiligen*, 1905, pp. 118 ff., 123 ff., 372 ff.) gives a list of extraordinary proportions. The means of effecting easy and safe delivery were also very numerous—many in universal use, such as crawling through something (see 5 A (2)), opening the locks of doors and chests, opening the blades of knives; and many peculiar to the Church. Among the last may be mentioned the girdles of St. Margaret, St. Hildegund of Mehre, and St. Licinius of Angers, the hair-girdle of St. Ludgardis, the shirt of St. Maria of Oignies, the staff of St. Dominic, dust from the body of St. Norbert (taken as medicine or laid on the neck), and so forth.

Immediately after the birth of the child, besides the inquiry by divination into its future, and the prophylactic rites mentioned above, there began a series of productive-charm processes to ensure it long life, health, bodily strength, and intellectual capacity. In naming the child an effort was made to gain for it a powerful patron by choosing the name of a famous saint, but further methods were adopted to affect directly the length of life. Different names were attached to a number of candles, which were then set alight, and the name on that which burnt longest was chosen (Chrysostom, in 1 Cor. hom. xii. 7 [PG lxi. 105])—another

form of magic standing on the boundary between divination and charm. At Béziers, protection against epilepsy was gained for the child by having it baptized in the font connected with the tomb of St. Aphrodisius. A St. Vitus's stone in Jura, which Monnier supposes to be the remains of an ancient phallus, imparted strength to children placed upon it. If a boy's sight was bad, it could be improved by the ceremonial ablution of the effigies of saints in the churches, accompanied by the recitation of many prayers and passages of Scripture. Similar methods were helpful also when a child was slow to learn: he was taken to church during Mass, and given wine and water to drink in a glass vessel inscribed with the names of the twenty-four heavenly elders (Vassiliev, 342). Special talent often appears in legend as due to the grace of Heaven vouchsafed in a particular revelation, generally through the Virgin; and so it was held possible, through the invocation of saints, to impart some understanding even to idiots, and to unlettered persons the capacity to read and understand texts of Scripture. In Italian churches there may still frequently be seen votive thank-offerings for success in examinations. Martin of Bracara [† 580], *Capitula*, ch. 76 [PL cxxx. 587] mentions various foolish practices used by women over their spinning and weaving (cf. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, 619).

(8) *Love-charms*.—Closely related to these are the various charms for producing, regaining, or securing love. This form of magic, inspired by passion, and often by jealousy, went so far as to aim at the death of the person loved, if he could not be won. Love-charms were much used in the heathen world—sometimes the magic top on which the head of a wryneck was tied (see Suidas, s.v. *τυγξ*), sometimes magic potions (*φάρμακα*). Jerome (*Vita Hilarionis*, 21 [PL xxiii. 39]) tells of a virgin who was rendered mad with love by means of Egyptian 'characters' buried by her lover under her threshold. Jewish exorcists were supposed to have special skill in this matter (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XX. vii. 2). One of these may be the author of the love-spell discussed by Deissmann in *Bibelstudien* (1895), 21–54, where, as in the case of *defixiones* (below, C (9)), the charm is inscribed on a roll of lead; the spell by which the demon is conjured consists of five series of names for God and acts of God taken from the Bible. The lover in this case may have been a heathen woman; but the practice of love-magic by Christians is proved by the warnings of Chrysostom, the prohibitions of the Synod of Agde, can. 4 (Burchard, x. 29), and the *Penitentiaries* (Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, p. 306). The charms used were for the most part of heathen character: e.g. magic potions; leaves sewn together, of course with spells; apples or candles into which needles were stuck crosswise (by these a visit from the loved one was enforced); love-clasps made of frog's bones; four-leaved clover (cruciform); rose-apples secretly attached to the beloved's person (Wuttke, 550 ff.); and, most effective of all, something from the lover's own body mixed with the other's food—they even went so far as to use *semen virile* and *sanguis menstruus* (Burchard of Worms, xix. 5, 39–184; Schmitz, *op. cit.* pp. 314, 459). Wax images and candles were also used (cf. Lea, iii. 657, on a trial of the Inquisition, A.D. 1329). So long as a light burnt in a certain cloister, the Emperor Matthias remained bound to his mistress (Stüve, *Wittelsbacher Briefe*, vii. 682). But sacred things were also abused for this purpose. Caesarius of Heisterbach tells of a priest who hoped to win the forbidden love of a woman by kissing her with a consecrated wafer in his mouth.

Similar methods were effective in conjugal quarrels. The demon of discord was conjured;

husband and wife had to wear amulets with certain magic formulae; and a magnet was cut in two and each was given a half, that they might be drawn together (Vassiliev, 340). This seems also to have been the purpose of golden rings with *δύσσοια* and Jn 14th engraved round the hoop (Dalton, *Catal. of Early Chr. Antiq. in the Brit. Mus.*, nos. 130, 132). Instances likewise occur of charms intended to convert love into hatred, and attempts to bring upon men by magic the enmity of all their friends. The table of curses from Puteoli, now in the Berlin Museum (published by Hülsen in the *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1881, p. 309 ff., and by R. Wünsch in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, xx. 7 ff.), affords an example. In order to estrange a bridal pair, a handful of earth taken from a place where two cocks had been fighting was thrown between them. Similar instances might be multiplied.

C. (9) *MALEVOLENT CHARMS*.—How easy is the passage from the useful to the harmful has already been seen in the defensive and protective charms. Magic was pressed into service by the passions of hate and envy, as it had been by the desire for the good things of life; but now we see it employed for purely destructive purposes. The object was to bring ruin upon the health, the possessions, and the reputation of an enemy. We possess from antiquity a vast number of curse-tablets, mostly made of lead, and rolled up as letters, which were buried with the dead in order to ensure their safe delivery to the gods of the under world, into whose power it was desired to hand over the enemy. These tablets, on account of the binding which they were intended to effect, were called *κατάδεσμοι*, Lat. *defixiones* or *dirae*. They exhibit the same medley of heathen, Jewish, and Christian formulae as the language of magic always does. Their dispatch was often accompanied by a ceremony of binding; or a symbolical figure, as that of a cock in bonds, was drawn upon the tablet itself. The curse is generally directed against a particular individual mentioned by name (it is characteristic that the mother's name as well is nearly always given—*pater incertus, mater certa*); but in a large number of instances its operation is contingent upon the committal of a certain act ('if any one . . . may he . . .'). This last is the form of ecclesiastical curse—the *ἀνάθεμα*—to which bodily as well as spiritual effects were attributed, and which certainly exercised a very perceptible social influence under the Christian Empire.

In racing circles, charms were a favourite method of laming one's opponent, or, in the circus, the horses of the opposing party (cf. Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* i. 43). Jerome recounts with all his subtle naïveté the story of a Christian jockey who protected his horses against hostile charms by water drawn from the pitcher of St. Hilarion: 'so Christ triumphed over Marna'—the local deity of Gaza (*Vita Hilar.* 20 [PL xxiii. 38]).

Every one believed that by means of charms he could bring all kinds of disease, especially demoniacal possession, upon his enemy, depriving him of bodily and intellectual power, and rendering him impotent. The belief that it was possible to turn men into beasts was as wide-spread in the Middle Ages as in antiquity, and continued from Circe to the witch-trials. In cases of demoniacal possession, the first step in the process of exorcism prescribed by the *rituale Romanum* was the removal of the enchantments under which the victim suffered. The source of greatest danger was the man who sought by charms to destroy his enemy's life. The rumours about the death of Germanicus (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 69) illustrate the great part played by this kind of magic in the ancient world; and Christians cannot be acquitted of the charge of having em-

played it. The most prominent method was that of sympathetic magic. In order to reach the heart of an enemy, the heart of an animal or an effigy to which his name was attached was transfigured ('per punctiorem imaginum,' Pope John XXII.; see 5 A (1)); human bodies were buried under his door, or a piece of charred wood was deposited before his house.

These methods, though in themselves un-Christian, became another occasion for the misuse of the name of Christ, as well as of Biblical and ecclesiastical formulae and the invocation of saints and angels. We know, moreover, from the penal ordinances of a synod at Toledo (xvii. [A.D. 694] can. 5=*Decr. Grat.* ii. c. xxvi. qu. 5, c. 13) that clerics, when reading the *missa pro defunctis*, used to introduce the names of living men, whose death they sought thereby to encompass. An official adoption of this form of magic by the Church was the ceremony wherein a burning candle was put out or thrown to the ground in order to extinguish the life and blessedness of the victims of its condemnation. This was done, for example, in the proceedings against unrepentant excommunicates (*insordescentes*) at a synod at Limoges (A.D. 1031). It is a well-attested belief of the Middle Ages that death was in some cases caused by an enemy's prayer (Germ. *Mortbeten, Totbeten*; see Schönbach on Berthold von Regensburg, in *SWAW*, 1900, p. 55). This malevolent magic was generally so far conscious of the ungodliness of its acts as to avoid contact with the Church and ecclesiastical consecration, which would keep off or cripple the Satanic powers; indeed, the sign of the cross and consecrated things served as counter-charms against it. But the forms and instruments of church-worship were, none the less, regarded by it as effective weapons; and this resulted in the travesties of ecclesiastical ritual which appear in Satanism (q.v.). Such was the so-called Black Mass, and such was said to be the Mass of the Beardless among the Byzantines (see Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Literatur*³, p. 809; A. Heisenberg, *Byz. Zeitschr.* xii. 361, xiv. 661), though the beardlessness was probably adopted by the iconoclasts merely in opposition to the monastic fashion, and was later stigmatized by the orthodox as a token of homage to the devil.

It is further characteristic of this magic to pervert the order of things (e.g. psalms were read backwards); or it abbreviates instead of expanding in the repetition, as in *Abracadabra* or *Sator arepo tenet opera rotas* (see, e.g., H. Rott, *Kleinasiat. Denkmäler*, 231; Wulff, no. 1869), repeated with the omission of a letter each time. The ceremonies of walking backwards round a churchyard wall, or throwing something backwards over the shoulder are of the same tendency, and also the custom of turning the mill in the opposite direction (Schmitz, *Bussbücher*, ii. 451).

5. The various means, Christian and non-Christian.—Christianity found innumerable charms of all possible kinds existing in the Græco-Roman world; and, with its extension among the Celts, Germans, and Slavs, more were added. The Christians adopted all these so far as they were consistent with their religious views; but the Church declared war upon everything that seemed to be connected with idolatry, especially upon the use of the names of heathen gods, certain symbols of heathen worship, and heathen places of sacrifice, which were supposed to be the habitation of demons. It is worthy of notice that certain obscene rites—for example, the wearing of a phallus as an amulet—seem to have died a natural death: at least we find no further denunciations of them; the obscene did not re-appear until later in the heretical magic and in witchcraft.

On the other hand, Christianity itself contributed a great number of sacred charms, the permissibility of which was always upheld in opposition to the forbidden charms of heathendom. From the 4th cent. onwards we meet with comparatively few Christian writers who recognize that not only certain forms of magic but the thing itself is un-Christian and idolatrous, and that the use of the Christian name of God, of Biblical formulae, and so forth, by which it was sought to justify the practice, does not affect the real issue. Chrysostom recognizes this, denouncing the practice of hanging amulets round the necks of sick children even when the name of God is uttered, and when the old woman entrusted with the business passes for a good Christian (*PG* lxi. 105, lxii. 358; cf. Zonaras, *ib.* cxxxvii. 721). So also Eligius of Noyon, according to the biography of Dado or Audoën (*MGH Scr. rer. Merov.* iv. 705, 753, *PL* lxxxvii. 528), says that no one ought to hang *ligamina* round the necks of men and animals even if they have been made by clerical hands and are supposed to be sacred objects containing Biblical texts. Under the influence of Gerson, the Sorbonne in 1398 expressed similar views, maintaining that the use of sacred words could not justify the practice of magic (*Collectio iudiciorum*, i. 2, 154; *Historia Univers. Paris*, iv. 864; P. Férét, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, iii. [1903] 183, also in Gerson's *Opera*). Gerson, when met with the objection that the Church herself did the like in pilgrimages and processions and on other occasions, could not altogether deny it:

'Fateor, abnegare non possumus, multa inter Christianos simplices sub specie religionis introducta esse quorum sanctor esset omisio, tolerantur. tamen quia nequeunt funditus erui et quia fides simplicium . . . regulatur tamen et quodammodo rectificatur' ('de erroribus circa artem magicam et articulis reprobat', *Opera*, ed. Paris, 1608, i. 632e).

In a similar way Thomas Ebendorfer, an Austrian theologian († 1464), declares in his tract, *de Decem Præceptis*:

'Contra hoc (primum) præceptum faciunt non solum qui colunt pro Deo creaturam, sed etiam qui colunt eum sed modo indebito in vanis et stultis observationibus ut orando contra infirmitates aut febres dolorem dentium aut capitis aliquot Paternoster, sed solum ante ortum solis aut solum tribus quintis feriis vel flectendo genua,' etc. (Schönbach, *ZVK* xii. [1902] 7).

On the other hand, the authority of Martin of Bracara, can. 72 [75], as recognized by the *Decretum Gratiani*, ii. c. 26 qu. 5, ch. 3, acknowledges as lawful the use of Paternoster and Creed in collecting herbs. And John of Salisbury (*Polygeronius*, ii. 1 [*PL* excix. 415 ff.]), with all his repudiations of *inania carmina* and *superstitiosae ligaturae*, decided in favour of the application of Christian charms, quoting the Apostolic authority of Col 3¹⁷ and the example of attested miracles. It was imagined to be God's working against Satan; but in reality it was nothing but driving out devils by Beelzebub, when a copy of the Gospel was substituted as a Christian charm for heathen *ligaturae* (Augustine, see above 4 A (3)), when, instead of amulets, a Christian mother used simply the sign of the cross (Athanasius [*PG* xxvi. 1319]; Chrysostom [lxii. 358]; Theodore of Studium [xcix. 885]; see above, 4 A (1)), or when Gregory's niece Eustenia, when called to a sick person, removed the *ligaturae* which the foolish Arioli had applied and brought oil from the tomb of St. Martin in their place (Greg. of Tours, *Miracula S. Martini*, iv. 36). But these were the methods employed by leading members of the Church, who had a real horror of all pagan and demoniacal magic, and believed themselves to be fighting against it. Elsewhere we meet with the most extraordinary hybrids. The old charms are retained, but labelled, so to speak, as Christian. In incantations the names of heathen deities yield to the names of Jesus and His Apostles, of angels and saints—if

the two are not actually placed side by side. Magic words are displaced by, or combined with, Biblical, the latter often in a language unintelligible to the people, and therefore impressing them as magical. The use of precious stones as charms was continued and based upon Ex 28^{77a}, and Rev 21¹⁰. Medicinal herbs were found to contain Christian symbols. The oak-mistletoe, which was sacred to the Druids, was now discovered to be cruciform and was called 'Holy Cross wood'; the fern was called 'Jesus Christ plant,' possibly from the sectional markings on the stalk; the orchid root gained the name of 'St. John's hand'; and the red juice of the St. John's wort was said to come from a drop of Christ's blood.

Through such new interpretations and new colouring, and through the addition of Christian symbols and formulae, the old charms were supposed to be sanctified, and their heathen origin was quickly forgotten. Christian and un-Christian are often so interwoven that it is difficult to trace the true source of the single threads. Moreover, in spite of all ecclesiastical prohibitions, many purely heathen charms remained, and formed the principal component of the whole extensive apparatus of the antagonistic black magic and witchcraft. Finally, the appearance of a retrograde movement must be noticed. Because coins which in Byzantium and under the Frankish kings often bore the sign of the cross and representations of Christ and the saints were therefore used for magical ends, and because modern Roman Catholicism has a number of consecrated medallions, coins which bear no such symbols and medals which are not consecrated are used as talismans, especially in Germany at the festival-marches of rangers and soldiers.

A. CHARMS OF NON-CHRISTIAN ORIGIN.—(1) **THINGS.**—A general survey of the charms used in the ancient pagan world is given by Riess in the art. 'Aberglaube' in Pauly-Wissowa², i. 29-93. There is no stone, metal, plant, or animal, and no member of the human body, that had not its special function. Every atmospheric phenomenon, every time of day and season of the year, and every point of the compass had its significance. Numbers and geometrical figures were all effective. As has been said, all this was adopted and further developed in Christianity.

(a) **Stones.**—The preference for amethysts in *encolpia* and episcopal rings is connected with the ancient belief in the magical properties of this stone. Heliotrope, together with the plant so named, could produce invisibility (Gervasius of Tilbury, iii. 28). Amber was a favourite amulet against fever and gout (Pirminius, *Scarapsus*, 22 [p. 173, ed. Caspari], 'Karactires, erbas, sucinos'). On the power of stones cf. Epiphanius (*PG* xliii. 371 ff. = Anastasius Sin. *Quaest.* 40 [*PG* lxxxix. 588]), Josephus Christ., *Hypomnesticon*, 167 [*PG* cvi. 176], and Michael Psellus [*PG* cxvii. 888-900].

(b) **Among metals**, gold gained from its freedom from rust a preservative, lead from its dullness a destructive, significance; and the metals had also an astrological meaning, each one corresponding to one of the planets. Connected herewith is the use of rings cast under different constellations and then used as talismans or for purposes of divination. Apollonius of Tyana is said to have had a different ring for each day of the week. The astrological inclinations of the 16th and 17th centuries gave new life to this form of belief. (Perhaps something of the kind is meant by the 'apotelesmatic astronomy' of which Sozomen [iii. 6] speaks with reference to Eusebius of Emesa, unless he means simply astrology in general.) The signs of the zodiac, especially the Lion and the Scorpion, also had magical influence. On a charm containing the names of the planets, see *CIG*, 2895; Schürer,

ZNTW, 1905, 20 ff., and Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 1908. (A Christian interpretation of all this was attempted in early times by Zeno of Verona, ii. 43 [*PL* xi. 494].) A curious belief was that a nurse could ensure a child against the evil eye by bringing dirt or mud from the baths and smearing it upon his forehead (Chrysostom [*PG* lxi. 106]).

(c) **Herbs and plants** naturally served for purposes of healing. They were, however, used rather as charms than as medicine (Rouen, c. 4 = Burchard, x. 18 [*PL* cxl. 836], cf. the oath of purgation under suspicion of malevolent herb-witchcraft, *PL* lxxxvii. 770, 836 = *MGH Leg.* v. 'Formulae, ordines,' etc., p. 194 f. Zeumer). Roots, especially the mandrake, were readily connected with Solomon or with the 'root of Jesse.' The plant most used as a charm was verberna; betony was a favourite counter-charm (cf. St. Hildegard, *Physica*, i. cxxviii. [*PL* cxvii. 1182]; Schönbach, *op. cit.* p. 35 ff.).

(d) **Animals** (cf. vol. i. p. 495).—As among the Egyptians, so in the Middle Ages many animals were held to afford protection. Ornaments such as a scarabæus or a medusa's head—an apotropaic charm much used by the ancients—are often found in Christian graves (P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs*, 1906). The Church had to combat the use of the horse, the sacrificial animal of the Germans. In Greece the ox-skull was apotropaic; in the north the image of the rapacious wolf was worn as an amulet against attacks of the devil (cf. *ThLZ*, 1908, p. 299). The fly was the type of demons ('Mart. S. Viti,' *AS*, June, iii. 503). Snakes and mice were highly valued for remedial purposes. The swine is supposed to be a lucky sign by many even to-day. In Byzantium it was the fashion to procure pieces of fur from bear-leaders, mostly as a charm against ophthalmic disease (Trull. can. 61, with the comm. in *PG* cxxxvii. 720). Crossbills and bullfinches could take the disease upon themselves. Owls gave protection against lightning.

(e) **Parts of the body.**—The phallus, so important in antiquity, now disappears. Eye and hand had apotropaic significance. But most important were the hair and nails, which have not inappropriately been called 'the external soul' (Frazer, *GB*² iii. 389 ff.; Hartland, *LP* ii. 30). To work effectively for or against any one, without possessing a fragment of his hair or nail, was well-nigh impossible. Blood of men or animals was eminently endowed with magical properties: smeared on a doorpost it protected the house (Ex 12¹³); as a bath it cured leprosy (Sylvester legends). Most potent of all was the blood of Christ: that is, drops of blood preserved as relics, which were often derived not from Golgotha but from miraculously bleeding crucifixes or from miracles occurring at Mass; to these were attributed workings that were thoroughly magical, and by no means merely religious, in character. Next to the blood, which was regarded as the firmest cement of friendship, and so forth, inherent magical power was ascribed to man's excrement, spittle, urine, etc. In black magic the embryo played so important a part as to lead to the most hideous crimes (cf. e.g. Nicephorus, *Chronogr.*, ad ann. 717 [p. 53, ed. de Boor]). A harmless development was the practice of Byzantine clergy, who received from mothers the present of their infants' swaddling-clothes to wear as amulets (Balsamon [*PG* cxxxvii. 721]).

(f) **Colours** [cf. vol. i. pp. 485, 821] have, of course, significance for magic. Red, the colour of blood, may portend evil, but can also frighten away sickness; blue, the colour of the heavens, is protective, and so on.

(g) **On Sounds**, see A (2).

(h) **Implements of sympathetic magic, images, etc.**—The use of waxen images for magic purposes was known from the earliest times in Egypt, and a

similar use is found among many peoples, e.g. the Ainus (see vol. i. p. 248). The intention is to act upon a man or a thing by acting upon his representative figure. So, Nectanebo was said to have sunk a whole fleet of his enemy by means of waxen boats. It seems that this form of magic was introduced, through Jewish intercourse, to the West, where it was held in special favour during the 13th and 14th centuries. Philip of France was shown a wax figure which, he was told, was so intimately connected with him by immersion and spells that its destruction would cause his death. The king threw it into the fire and remained unhurt (Gerson, *Opera*, i. 624). On the other hand, Pope John XXII. believed that his life and that of his cardinals was seriously imperilled by the existence of some effigies of this kind, and persecuted the people who had made them. And it was supposed to be possible, by sticking needles into a waxen figure, to bring sickness upon any given person, which would leave him only when the figure was destroyed (*Malleus Malefic.* ii. 11).

These effigies belong for the most part to malevolent magic; but images also played an important part as protective charms. According to the principle 'like repels like,' the best scarecrows were held to be figures of crows set up, if possible, in the four corners of the field; flies were driven away by the representation of a fly upon the signet-ring. These methods were ancient but current in the Middle Ages (cf. Greg. of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* viii. 33, on the brazen images in the cloaca of Paris). In the later Middle Ages, Vergil was credited with the invention. He was said to have expelled every fly from Naples by setting up a brazen fly on the city-gates, to have prevented the meat from decaying by adorning the slaughter-house with the representation of a piece of meat; and, by fixing two heads, one laughing and the other weeping, on the Porta Nolana, to have secured for those who entered such issue to their business as they deserved (Gervasius of Tilbury, iii. 16 ff.; cf. Liebrecht, *Gervasius von Tilbury*, p. 98, note, and p. 104, with the parallel instances from all lands). Similarly it was believed that thieves could be kept away by a figure cloaked in black, provided that in the making of the charm a fixed time was observed and its purpose was declared in a solemn formula (Antoine Mizauld, *Memorabilium sive arcanorum omnis generis centuria*, 1574).

(2) ACTIONS.—On the magic which relied upon the power of things without the necessity of personal activity there follows that which works by movements and actions. A number of gestures first call for notice: such are movements of the hand, mostly of a parrying and defensive character (hands modelled in such a position appear also as amulets); then ways of holding the thumb (*pollicem premere*, or *ut dextera manus sinistrum pollicem teneas*), of which Augustine makes sport (*de Doctr. Christ.* ii. 20). As late as the 19th cent. many people in Rome are said to have secretly made such defensive signs while kneeling on the street to receive the Pope's blessing, because an accidental meeting with the Pope was held to be unlucky. As a charm against the evil eye and against infection, spitting was held in esteem. The gesture of touching the pudenda, important in Egyptian magic, was the origin of the well-known obscene ceremonies of witchcraft.

Touching was the most important of all actions in magic, and through touch healing was effected; here the original conception of the transference of power is clearly seen. The most primitive belief attributed the strongest magical power to the tribal chief. Later, the king was regarded as a Divine personage, whose touch therefore had healing virtue, as related of the Roman emperors (Suet.

Vespas. 7; Spartianus, *Hadr.* 25, 1-4), and also believed of the kings of France and England. The royal touch was particularly efficacious against scrofula. Most miraculous cures effected by the saints are said to be due to their touch. The mere invocation of a saint was held to be inadequate—one must touch his bones or his grave. In Padua the rule is to walk round the grave of St. Antony, resting the hand on the marble slabs of the tomb. Touching often took the form of stroking, an action in which a hypnotic is added to the magical effect. Transference of power is the original intention of the laying on of hands (*χειροθεσία*, *manuum impositio*), which is partly protective (an act of blessing), partly a transference of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, productive of special capacity.

Akin to touching is the action of crawling through, or under, some object, which was largely used by pregnant women in order to procure a fortunate delivery. In Arabia and Persia they crawled under a camel, in Sweden through so-called 'elf holes' (openings formed by boughs of trees), elsewhere under stones or through barrel-hoops. Sick children also were drawn three times under an animal or through a hollow in the earth. In love-magic it was the practice to draw some object three times under one's own arm. Another action is swinging or moving in a circle, to make the influence of the charm reach a greater distance through the air. The carrying of a charm round a certain area has a different meaning. Here the purpose is not so much to extend as to limit its action. This was the object of walking round the land which was to be protected and rendered fertile.

A very special importance attaches to the action of binding (hence the names *ligamen*, *ligatura*, etc.). It was performed, of course, with magic words and signs, partly to chain the harmful demon, relying on the fact that a stronger power—Solomon, Michael, Christ, or the Saints—was supposed to have chained him already, and partly with the object of binding the limb of an enemy—his evil tongue, for example. Healing could be wrought by this action, which could also be used malignantly to cause illness. The act of binding is perpetuated as an enduring source of protection in the case of magic knots, mostly adorned with magic characters, that were worn round the neck. The use of the *πρόγυα* of silken thread was forbidden by the Trullan Council (692), can. 61 (see Balsamon, *PG* cxxvii. 721). An allied form is to bury something from the body of a sick person (hair or nail) or a piece of his clothing, with the object of removing the illness from him. This reminds us of the attempts to transfer a disease (cf. 4 A (3)); often a piece of money was dropped somewhere, in the hope that whosoever picked it up would take over the disease with it.

Anointing, another act of magical significance (cf. vol. i. p. 549 ff.; on *χρῆμα* see Deubner, *de Incubatione*, 22), has an official place also in the rites of the Church, at baptism, confirmation (*χρίσμα*), and in extreme unction. Here thoughts of bodily healing are present along with purely spiritual intentions. The act of anointing was much used in healing generally (cf. Mk 6¹³, Ja 5¹⁴). But unguents have also an important place in the paraphernalia of witchcraft. Witches used them upon their own persons in order to acquire power to fly (ride on a broom or drive in a trough through the air), and they anointed others to turn them into beasts or do them some other ill.

Bathing and cleansing were such important ceremonies in magic that the word *περικαθαλισμός* was used in a comprehensive sense to include magicians in general, to whose sacrificial exorcism, etc., lustration with consecrated water was a necessary preliminary (see Harnack on *Didache*, iii. 4). The

whole province of counter-charms falls under this head. Of course it was not the washing in itself that was effective, but washing with certain ceremonies, in certain places, and with certain liquids. Chrysostom (*de Pseudoproph.* 7 [PG lxx. 561]) mentions such ceremonies in springs by candle-light. Certain springs were considered specially effective. For baptism, water from the Jordan was highly valued. Instead of water, blood or wine was sometimes used for magical purposes.

The use of exciting vapours (Pythonism) and narcotic drinks, made of opium, stramonium, hemp, and henbane, is preparatory, and belongs to divination rather than to active magic. So do the exciting motions such as turning, dancing, or mere raging and howling. Noise plays a great part in the affrighting of evil spirits. This is the explanation of the wearing of bells as amulets by men or beasts (see 4 A (1)), ringing bells or shooting in bad weather (4 B (6)). Especially during eclipses of the sun and moon it was thought necessary to make a noise in order to prevent magicians from doing harm to the stars (Arles, can. 5 = Burchard, x. 33; pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* 265, 5; Maximus of Turin, *Hom.* 100 [PL vii. 485]; Rabanus Maurus, *Hom.* 42 [PL cx. 78 ff.]; Ebendorfer, p. 5). In Germany it is the custom also, in order to frighten away evil influences, to make a great noise on the evening before a wedding, and to shoot and crack whips during the bridal procession.

(3) WORDS.—Of special importance is the magic word, the magic formula, whether spoken, or written, or engraved. Magic in general is often named *ἐραοδὴ*, *incantatio*, 'enchantment.' The zeal of the early Church was directed above all things against the use of magic formulæ (e.g. cf. Irenæus, I. xxv. 3, II. xxxii. 5; Hippolytus, *Refut.* ix. 14f., x. 29). We possess a great number of ancient forms of conjuration—heathen, Jewish, and Christian in stamp. A characteristic of them all, which has not received sufficient notice from their editors, is the ceremonial and stereotyped solemnity of form. The same words are repeated at least three times, and generally five. There is a conventional introduction in narrative form like the 'Vol und Votan fuhren zu Holze' of the well-known formula of Merseburg (ed. J. Grimm, 1842); or 'three angels went to Mount Sinai: there met them seven demons of sickness' (Bartels, *Germania*, xviii. 45 f.; Steinmeyer, *ZDA* xvii. 560; Vassiliev, lxxvii. 331, 336). Bartels rightly finds in this something similar to the 'indigitamentum' (Usener). A momentary god is to be created, who is useful for the particular end in view. Then follow mysterious invocations, which are repeated at the end. Between these comes the spell, repeated five times with slight variations. The third is generally the most prolix, and the fifth often corresponds with it. The last nearly always (and very often the first or the middle) contains a declaration of the urgency of the business: 'Haste, haste, quick, quick!' The main purpose is repeated as nearly as possible in the same words. In prophylactic amulets the dangers against which protection is desired are enumerated as fully as possible, e.g. the 72 diseases (Vassiliev, 323 ff.); and so are the members of the wearer's body, so that protection may be afforded to them all (Reitzenstein, 295). The parts of the formula on which its working most depends are the names of the god (or saint) by whom the demon is conjured, the demon himself, and the arch-magician whose authority is relied upon. The chief masters of magic we meet with are the Egyptian prophets Sothos, Hermes Trismegistus, Psenosiris, and Nec-tanebo, and most often of all, Alexander the Great, whose cult flourished most vigorously from the time of Alexander Severus, and continued under

the Christian Empire. His reputation as a magician lived throughout the Middle Ages, and gave a charm-value to his coins (cf. Chrysostom, PG xlix. 240). Along with names of gods or as part of their titles, a number of barbarian words were used, of which few have any meaning. For the most part it is through their incomprehensibility that they are believed and intended to be effective. Chrysostom (*in Col. hom.* viii. 5 [PG lxxii. 358]) speaks of the names of rivers as much used. The evil that it is desired to heal is often personified, or the evil eye against which protection is sought—*παρκαρία*—is personally addressed. Imperatives containing the actual purpose of the charm become proper names, as in a blood-staunching spell from east Prussia (H. Frischbier, *Hexenspruch und Zauberbann*, 1870, no. 36):

'Es gingen drei heilige Frau'n
Des Morgens früh im Tau'n
Die eine hiess Alot,
Die zweite hiess Blutvergeh,
Die dritte hiess Blutstillesteh.'

Besides these names, among which inconceivable mutilations of words borrowed from Egyptian and Hebrew are common, we find single letters and groups of letters—in spoken spells, as in the gibberish of Gnostic glossolaly, mostly vowels in all imaginable combinations, and sibilants. In written charms the rarer letters ΞΧΨ, etc., are generally used, frequently in a row of seven or nine, as ΞΨΧΕΤΡΑ or ΧΖΟΗΕΨΧΤΨ. Such are found in the magic papyrus (Parthey, 154; Wessely, *DWA* xxxvii. ii. 91), and also in the letter of Abgar (*ZWT* xliii. 443).

This longer and fuller form of conjuration enjoyed undiminished popularity among the Greeks from pre-Christian times till the 16th cent. (cf. the publications of Deissmann, Reitzenstein, and Pradel, cited in lit. at end of art.). By its side stand the short charm-formulæ, which were generally in poetical shape.

B. CHARMS OF JEWISH ORIGIN.—(4) THE NAMES OF GOD, ANGELS, SOLOMON.—The most important contribution of Jewish magic to the store of charms consists in its various names for God, which often appear in combination with heathen names. In the first place are all imaginable transcriptions of the holy ineffable Tetragrammaton *יהוה*, the Greek *ΙΗΩΙ*, over which Christian theologians indulge in extraordinary speculations (Lagarde, *OS* 228 f.), the renderings 'Iao' *ἰαω*, and so forth (A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* [1895], 1-20), and its equivalents *Adonai*, often *Adonai sabaoth*, *Eloi*, *Sadai*, and also 'God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.' And much was given out to be from the Jewish Scriptures that was nothing of the kind (Jerome, *PL* xxii. 687: 'Magis portentosa quam nomina, quæ . . . quasi de hebraicis fontibus hauriunt'). This is the case in particular with many of the Angel names, in which Jewish magic is most rich, and which were intermingled with the names of heathen gods. The most prominent are Michael, the conqueror of the dragon (Rev 12), who also exercised healing functions (W. Lueken), Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel. Irenæus (II. xxxii. 5) repudiates all *invocationes angelicas et incantationes*, assigning them to the Gnostics (I. xxiv. 5), and the *Decretum Gelas.* forbids *phylacteria omnia quæ non angelorum ut illi confingunt, sed daemonum nominibus consecrata sunt*. But all these things were soon accepted by Christian magic. In Egypt, Enoch as the heavenly clerk took the place occupied in former times by Thoth (cf. O. von Lemm, *Kleine Kopt. Studien*, liv. [1908] 521).

From Jewish magic was derived also the important place given to Solomon, who sometimes appears by the side of Alexander the Great and sometimes in his place as the lord and ruler of

spirits. He was said to have shut them in a great bottle, which was exhibited at Jerusalem (*Itinera Hierosol.*, ed. Geyer, p. 21. 8, 153. 10) along with his ring. This was shown by the side of the relics of the cross on Golgotha (*ib.* 88. 24, 107. 13, 154. 4). Solomon was said to have discovered the wonder-working roots which were placed in the magic rings used as early as Vespasian's time by Jewish exorcists to drag the demons out through the noses of sick people (*Jos. Ant.* viii. ii. 5; cf. Fabricius, *Cod. pseudopig. Vet. Test.* i. 1032 ff.; Migne, *Dict. des apocryphes*, ii. 829 ff.). He was also supposed to have been the first elucidator of the virtues of stones and plants (*Anastasius Sin. Quæst.* 41 [*PG* lxxxix. 589]; *Glycas* [*PG* clviii. 349]). Much use was made of the name of Solomon, his seal, and also his portrait. He was represented on horseback as a dragon-slayer, like the Egyptian god Horus and later St. George (*P. Perdrizet, σφαγῆς Σολομώντος*, in *REG* xvi. [1903] 42-61; Dalton's *Catalogue*, nos. 155, 156; Wulff, nos. 436 f., 825, 827, 1120).

C. CHARMS OF CHRISTIAN ORIGIN.—Among charms of Christian origin it is noteworthy that the spiritual are the most prominent. First come the name of Jesus, Biblical texts, liturgical formulæ, and prayers. In the second rank stands the sign of the cross, and only a subordinate position is held by properly material objects—just the reverse of the heathen order. This reverse order is here followed.

(5) **THE NAME OF JESUS.**—The name appears everywhere as the vehicle of the personal powers. He who knows the name of a spirit is its master, and by naming it he awakens its powers to activity. Therefore the names of God were veiled in a certain mystery, especially among the Jews of the Hellenistic era. The magic papyri, on the contrary, seek to win the mastery over them. In the name of Jesus the Christians believed themselves to possess a weapon of quite extraordinary power (cf. Ph 2¹⁰), which could serve alike for healing (cf. Ac 3⁶ 14¹⁰ [*Cod. D*] 16¹⁸, Mk 16¹⁷) and for cursing (1 Co 5⁴). This testimony of the Apostolic times is abundantly confirmed by the Christians of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (e.g. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 6, *Dial.* 30, 49, 85, 121; Irenæus, ii. xxxii. 5; Orig. c. *Cels.* i. 6 [i. 59, ed. Koetschau]; *Acta Johannis*, 31. 41; *Acta Philippi*, 136); the name of Jesus is expressly set in opposition to all heathen spells. And the heathen magic papyri themselves use the name 'Jesus, God of the Hebrews.' To the literary evidence we may add a great mass of inscriptions: in these the name is

generally represented by the monogram XP . The most important testimony to the weight attached to the name of Jesus is the fact that even Jews use it as an amulet along with the names of the three Magi (see Berliner, *Aus dem Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*, 1900, pp. 97, 105). H. Süss, the great German mystic, is said to have had the name of Jesus tattooed on his breast. Is this a talisman or a love-charm? The cult of the name of Jesus was given a special impetus by Bernardinus of Siena († 1444), who always carried before him the sign IHS on a flaming disk. This was not only an abbreviated form of preaching, but a magic sign, as is shown by its appearance on amulets; and the same may be said of the Christ-monograms, and, since the time of the Jesuits, the Jesus-monograms on churches, houses, tombstones, and elsewhere; these stand not merely for marks of faith or for ornament, but have rather an apotropaic significance (cf. Index lxi. in *PL* cxcix. 484 ff.).

(6) **BIBLICAL FORMULÆ.**—After the name of Jesus it was in the Gospels that His power was supposed in a special degree to reside. On the use of the Gospels in the administration of oaths and

in acts of consecration, see art. **BIBLE IN THE CHURCH**, vol. ii. p. 611. Chrysostom (*in Matt.* hom. 72 [*PG* lviii. 669]) and Isidore Pelus. (*Ep.* ii. 150 [*PG* lxxviii. 604]) inform us that Christian women used to wear little Gospels round their necks after the manner of Jewish *tephillin*; but these were very likely only single texts from the Gospels (cf. E. Nestle, *ZNTW* vii. 96). John of Salisbury (*Polyer.* ii. 1 [*PL* cxcix. 416]) testifies in the 12th cent. to the efficacy of *capitula Evangelii gestata, vel audita, vel dicta*. Most to be recommended was the prologue to St. John, either the first fourteen verses or only the first verse (cf. A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 1902, pp. 595, 150). The Lord's Prayer is second to it. On the pottsherd of Megara, for example (Knopf, *ZNTW* ii. 228; E. Nestle, *ib.* 347), as well as in many inscriptions, it certainly has an apotropaic significance; it occurs in nearly all Christian spells, often to be repeated more than once; it is written *ἀντιστροφήως καὶ ἐναλλάξ* (Vassiliev, p. lxxi); it must be recited during the gathering of herbs to give them healing virtue (this is expressly stated in *Corp. Juris Can. decr.* ii. c. 26, qu. 5, c. 3 = Martin of Bracara, c. 75). For purposes of cursing, texts from the Psalms were esteemed, for the Psalter was held to be a powerful defence against demons. A number of leaden tablets containing Psalms have lately been found. St. Barsauma the Naked († 1317) wrote out Ps 20 and 27 as amulets for his visitors (W. E. Crum, *PSBA*, 1907, pp. 196, 198). For a 'slaying prayer' (cf. 4 C (9)), Ps 108, 'Deus laudem,' was most used, also Ps 109 or 94. And the lessons for certain feast-days served special purposes (Vassiliev, 341). Apocryphal texts were also used. The Epistle of Christ to Abgar enjoyed great popularity as an apotropaic charm. The legend states that this epistle, affixed to the gate of Edessa, saved the town from a Persian attack (v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 1899, p. 103 f.). It is found on the door-lintels of 5th cent. houses and churches in Asia Minor (for Ephesus, see Heberdey, *Jahresheft des oesterr. archäol. Instituts*, 1900, pp. 90-95; for Gurdja, Anderson, *JHS* xx. [1900] 156 ff.). How serviceable it proved in this way throughout the Middle Ages we learn from the many assurances at the end of Greek, Coptic, Slavie, and Latin texts, which show that it was worn as an amulet against bewitchment, hail, lightning, etc., and employed as a remedial charm in sickness (see, e.g., *ZWT* xliii. 470):

'Et salvus eris, siout scriptum: qui credit in me salvus erit, sive in domo tua sive in civitate tua sive in omni loco. Nemo inimicorum tuorum dominabit, et insidias diaboli ne timeas et carmina inimicorum tuorum distruantur et omnes inimici tui expellentur a te, sive a grandine sive a tonitruo non noceberis et ab omni periculo liberaberis. Sive in mare sive in terra sive in die sive in nocte sive in locis obscuris, si quis hanc epistolam secum habuerit securus amulet in pace.'

The custom of inscribing the Epistle to Abgar in houses survived in England even into the 18th cent. (v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 179, no. 6).

(7) **LITURGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.**—The liturgy provided magic with a very considerable number of powerful formulæ. Many of them are certainly of Biblical origin; but their use in magic is due to their position in the liturgy. An example is the *Trisagion*, the Angels' song, which easily held the first rank in importance; the three-fold wpp is found also on Jewish amulets. Biblical in origin, and liturgical in use, are the name 'Emmanuel' or 'Deus nobiscum'; the forms IC XC NIKA , 'Christus regnat', 'Christus vincit' (which occur also on coins); and the words from Rev 5⁹ $\text{ἐλίκηνεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα, ἡ βίβα Δαυὶδ}$. A favourite among the many Trinitarian formulæ was, 'God is my hope, Christ is my refuge, the Holy Ghost is my defence' (cf. *Sabas, Vita S. Joannis*, ch. 10 [*AS*, Nov., II. i. 341]). Christ very

often forms a triad with the angels Gabriel and Michael—an interpretation of Gn 18². This is probably the meaning of the much-used character XMT, which has been taken also to represent *Χριστὸν Μαρία γεννῶν*, or by *gematria*=643=ἄγιος ὁ θεός or ἡ ἀγία τριάς θ' (=θεός) (see J. Krall, *Corp. Pap. Rayn.*, Kopt. Texte, i. 5 [1895]; Dalton's Catalogue, no. 958; Berl. phil. Wochenschr., 1906, p. 381 ff. [Nestle], 510 [Dieterich]; W. E. Crum, *Arch. Rep. of the Egypt. Explor. Fund.*, 1905-6, p. 76; 1906-7, p. 74). ἀββὰ ὁ πατὴρ ἐλέησον occurs on amulets (ARW x. 398). The Benedictus-medallions contain the initial letters of *Crux Sacra Sit Mihi Lux: Nunquam Draco Sit Mihi Dux; and Vade Retro Satana, Nunquam Suade Mihi Vana, Sunt Mala Quae Libas, Ipse Venena Bibas* (Beringer, *Ablässe*, 350 ff.). Spells sometimes contain the κύριε ἐλέησον, and also liturgical formulae such as the cry of the deacon: *στάμεν καλῶς, στάμεν μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ*. In Western Christianity the Apostles' Creed holds a position parallel with the Lord's Prayer. It is used for healing, especially in exorcism (John of Salisbury, *Polyer.* ii. 1 [PG cxlix. 416]).

(8) PRAYERS.—Even more use was made of prayers. However certainly true prayer is something quite different from the desire to exercise magic influence upon the Deity, the formulae of prayer are readily converted into magic spells. This has been seen in the magic use of the Lord's Prayer. The boundary between prayer and spell is always indistinct. Vassiliev (323 ff.) reproduces a document which begins as a prayer and ends as a spell, with a long invocation of saints between. The prayers of Christian magic are generally constructed after the heathen pattern (see 5 A (3)); only an attempt is made, through the Biblical predicates by which God is invoked, and through abundant references to Biblical history, to give them the stamp of legitimate Christianity. Many of them bear famous names, such as that of St. Gregory, where the most obvious reference is to Gregory Thaumaturgus, though it may also be Gregory of Nazianzus, or, in the West, Pope Gregory I. Prayers were often taken from the legends of the saints for this purpose, e.g. the prayer of Judas Kyriakos from the legend of the Invention of the Cross (in *Papyrus d'Anastasy*, 9), the dying prayer of the Theotokos from the Koimesis, prayers of St. Paphnutios, St. George (cf. *Byzant. Zeitschr.* xii. 547), or Cyprian the magician. A healing virtue was attributed to the prayers said to be composed by the Apostle Paul (against the bite of snakes, Ac 28³ [Vassiliev, 330]), or by Luke the Evangelist and 'beloved physician' (Col 4¹⁴).

The introductory narratives of these magic prayers are often touchingly naive (cf. 5 B (3)): Uproar arises in heaven; all the angels hurry hither and thither, till Christ asks what is amiss; it is a woman who cannot be delivered; then He sends forth the angels, and so on. Or Christ is walking with Peter: He hears complaints, and learns from Peter that a woman is confined, and bids her be summoned to Him. Or Christ coming from Paradise sees a hind, etc. (O. von Lemm, *Kleine Kopt. Studien*, liv.).

In the later Middle Ages, prayers endowed with special indulgences, as those addressed to Christ's napkin (Veronica), to the blood of Jesus, His seven wounds, His measure, and also invocations to the saints, were much used as protective charms, as may be seen from the notices appended to them. This was the purpose of many of the earliest printed pamphlets—sheets containing such prayers—which were produced in great numbers in Italy.

(9) THE HOLY CROSS.—The Holy Cross, as the protective charm most used by Christians, deserves a special notice. There is no need here to discuss what significance may have been attached in pre-

Christian times to various forms of the cross (see art. CROSS), for in any case Christianity gave a prominence to this symbol above all others, loaded it with Christian thoughts, and claimed it for its own peculiar possession. It soon became a conventional form, dominating the ground-plans of churches, appearing in processional crosses, crosiers, *encolpia*, votive crosses, crosses engraved or scratched on wood, stone, and metal. Crosses let into the floor were forbidden, because it would be unseemly to tread upon them (*Cod. Just.* i.; Conc. Trull. [A.D. 692], can. 73 [Mansi, xi. 976]). In the Greek Church a cross was erected (*σταυροπήγιον*) where a piece of ground was to be sanctified. Three crosses drawn in the sand by St. Hilarion prevented Epidaurus from being flooded by a stormy sea. Most of the monastic saints worked their miracles by their cruciform staffs, *σιδηροῦν σταυρὸν, σταυροῦντος σιδηρὰ βακτηρία* (e.g. Joannikios, AS, Nov., II. i. 344, 402). Mediaeval justice used, among other ordeals, the trial of the cross: the opposing parties were stationed against crosses with their arms outstretched; he who first let his drop was guilty. Even sorcery dragged the crucifix into its service, though only as an object of insult: to shout at a crucifix on Good Friday was a means of becoming a *Freischütz*; pieces broken from a crucifix render their wearers invulnerable.

But far more general is the practice of making the sign of the cross with the hand on breast, forehead, and all parts of the body, for protection against all kinds of danger. With the sign of the cross the Christian is sealed (*σφραγίς*) in baptism, and secured at once against all malevolent witchcraft. This belief as early as Tertullian (*de Cor. Mil.* 3): 'ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum et calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quaecumque nos conversatio exerceat, frontem signaculo terimus.' In a similar way, Cyril of Jerusalem describes to his catechumens how the whole Christian life is permeated by the sign of the cross: it was made at rising, dressing, going out, at table, and on going to bed (cf. Cyr. *Catech.* xiii. 36 [PG xxxiii. 816]: *μέγα τὸ φυλακτήριον*). It was the surest defence against demons, and the remedy for all diseases. There are a number of *enkompia* (e.g. pseudo-Chrys. PG I. 819; pseudo-Ephr. *Opp. gr.* ii. 247; ancient Nubian text, ed. H. Schäfer and C. Schmidt, SBW, 1907, xxxi.; Joh. Damasc. *de Fide Orth.* iv. 11) in which the cross is called *τρόπαιον κατὰ δαιμόνων, διαβόλου νίκος, ναῶν καθαίρεις, βρωμῶν ἀνατροπὴ, κνίσσης ἀφανισμός, νοσητῶν λατρός, λεπρῶν καθαρισμός, παραλυτικῶν σφίγξις*, etc. These phrases may originally have been intended figuratively to clothe a purely spiritual thought, but later they were understood quite literally. Then we read of a temple falling in ruins before the sign of the cross made by an Apostle. Ignatius (*ad Eph.* 9) speaks of the cross as the *μηχανὴ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* which lifts us up on high (spiritually); in the *Mart. Matthaei*, 26, it is the coffin containing the Apostle's body which is lifted up from the bottom of the sea by means of a miraculous cross. John makes the sign over a cup of poison, and drinks it in safety; Benedict causes the vessel of poison to fly in pieces by means of this sign; a cancer is healed by it (*Ang. de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8); by a mere sign of the cross St. Martin turns aside a tree that was falling upon him, keeps fire away, and drives the flames against the wind. St. Columban opens locks and bolts by its means; Eligius increases a quantity of wine miraculously, and heals a blind man (PL lxxxvii. 500, 503); Bernardinus of Siena keeps off a storm of rain that threatens to interrupt his preaching. Even Julian the Apostate is said, in fear of his demon, to have made the sign of the cross and learnt its power (Greg. Naz. *Or.* iv. 55

[*PG* xxxv. 577]). The symbol acquired special importance in the Crusades; it adorned the coats and arms of the crusaders, not merely as a badge of faith, but as a means of security and victory. Its protection was extended even to their relatives at home, as when the wife of one of them was assisted in her travail by her husband's crusader's cloak (Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial.* x. 22).

The cross is inviolate; a fire that burnt to ashes a house and all that it contained spared the piece of a garment on which a cross was embroidered (*ib.* 32, 33). The emblem of the saving cross was found everywhere in Nature (Physiologus, xl. [p. 270, ed. Lauchert]).

(10) THE SACRAMENTS.—Though the significance of the acts of worship named by the Greek Christians 'mysteries,' and by the Latins 'sacraments,' is properly wholly spiritual, it was extended in the popular religion to the natural life. The official teaching of the Church could not prevent a magical interpretation being given even to their religious effects. Baptism was held to cleanse *ipso facto* from all sin; children who die after baptism attain immediate blessedness; the unbaptized are doomed to hell, or at least to a *limbus infantium*. The communion administered as *viaticum* serves to ensure blessedness in the future life (*exitum munire*), and so does extreme unction. Moreover, to both sacraments thoughts of bodily healing were attached. By baptism a doctor loses his gout, and an actor his paralysis (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8). In the Sylvester legend the Emperor Constantine becomes free from his leprosy in baptism; this may be an answer to the criticism of Julian the Apostate, who complained of the absence of such physical effects in baptism (*adv. Christ.* i. 209, ed. Neumann). Cæsarius of Heisterbach (x. 43-45) relates similar instances, with the just comment: 'licet enim baptismus medicina sit animae, multi tamen illius virtute sanitatem corporis consecuti sunt.' The communion is equally effective: instead of reciting *præcantationes* and employing *characteres, fumigare, fascinum*, the sick man should rather come to church, receive the body and blood of Christ, and use the holy oil (pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* 279, 5 [*PL* xxxix. 2273]); in the church is to be found the twofold cure for soul and body (*ib.* 265, 3 [p. 2238]). A communicant is for the next day safe against all malevolent magic (Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 48, 50; *Oriens Christ.* iii. 63, 70), and even certain of victory in a duel (Cæsarius of Heisterbach, ix. 48). Many a knight setting out for the wars, and many a soldier too in modern times, has thought through the communion to render himself impervious to sword and shot. The way in which this sacrament was regarded is shown by the use of the elements as amulets (e.g. Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 43, 63), and even as fertility- and love-charms (see above, 4 B (5) and (8): this is most profusely illustrated for the 13th cent. by Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* dist. ix.). They were also used for the conviction of accused persons, or to prove innocence; cf. e.g. Lotharius II. before Pope Hadrian, A.D. 869 (Regino and Hincmar, *ad ann.* 869). This *purgatio canonica* in clerical trials took the place of the oath of purgation. The reception of the communion by Gregory VII. and Henry IV. at Canossa was so understood by the people (see Lambert's *Annals*, *ad ann.* 1077).

The sacramentalia had the same attributes, especially the holy oil; it was repeatedly found necessary to prohibit the priests from supplying holy oil *ad iudicium subvertendum* (Metz [A.D. 888], can. 6 = Burchard, iv. 80; Regino, i. 72 [*PL* cxxxii. 206]). Holy water, incense, consecrated salt, and wax from the altar candles were much used; for remedial purposes, holy water, oil, or bread was

serviceable (for some examples among hundreds see *Vita S. Outhberti*, 25, 29, 30, 31 [*PL* xiv. 765 ff.]). Even the water with which the priest washed his hands after Mass was used by the devout as an antidote against sickness, or as a fertility-charm. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, however, after relating for the edification of his readers a long series of these anecdotes, declares that it is not well-pleasing in the sight of God, *si ad aliquos usus temporales sacramenta illa convertantur*.

(11) RELICS.—Among the material instruments of Christian magic, the relics of Christ and the saints call for first notice (cf. art. RELICS). Of these, pieces of wood from the Holy Cross were most treasured, after its supposed discovery by Helena. Gregory's sister Macrina wore an iron cross as an amulet (Gregory of Nyssa, *PG* xlv. 989), but later we find wooden crosses (Jerome on Mt 23⁶ [*PL* xxvi. 175]). Most *encolpia* contained them (Anast. Sin. *Narr.* 45, 53; *Oriens Christ.* iii. 65, 79).

Nails even from a gallows were supposed to be effective charms, and, of course, the holy nails from the cross possessed extraordinary virtue. Yet the ancient legend did not shrink from relating that Helena had them worked into the bridle and stirrups of her son Constantine as talismans and for a profane purpose; later they were greatly revered as relics. But every saint possessed healing and protective power, and this power resided in every particle of his body; so *λελειπαρα ἀγίων* were worn as phylacteries (Theophanes, p. 446, ed. de Boor). The relics of St. Gratus quenched a forest fire at Aosta in 1542. On the death of a revered monk in Byzantium, a struggle ensued among the populace for possession of his cloak and even his hair and teeth, which they desired as talismans (e.g. *Vita Eustratii*, 39 [Papadopoulos Keraueus, *Anal.* iv. 393]). In the West such dismemberment of dead saints was, at least in theory, forbidden. As substitutes, any objects served which had been in contact with the saint himself, his dead body, or his grave. As specially gifted persons could heal by a touch of their hands, so garments worn by them could convey this healing power (Ac. 5¹⁰ 19¹²; cf. e.g. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, *Dial. Mirac.* x. 5, 6). But it sufficed merely to have brought one's own garments into contact with the saint's grave and then to lay them over a dying man in order to save his life; or to touch with a flower first the reliquary and then the eyes of a blind man (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8). Oil from a saint's grave (*i.e.* from the lamps burning there) was much esteemed: e.g. from the shrine of St. Stephen at Uzala (Aug. *Sermo* 32); but in the legend it became a miraculous spring of *myron* flowing from the shrine. Such oil was sent far and wide. At Golgotha all manner of things were consecrated by contact with the sepulchre. A similar production of relics was carried on, on a great scale, at the graves of the Apostles Peter and Paul, which were particularly suited thereto, because it was possible to reach the deep-lying sarcophagus through holes in the covering slab of marble (H. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. 271 ff.). A great number of pieces of wool, cloth, or whatever it might be, were consecrated by contact with the Holy Sepulchre and then called *eulogia* (Drews, *Zeitschr. f. prakt. Theol.* xx. 18 f.), and in the West *brandea*, to be used as charms for various purposes, especially as amulets. But the grave of any saint could serve the purpose, and the nature of the object used was quite immaterial. Gregory of Tours (*de Virt. S. Juliani*, 45) says very characteristically: 'accedite ad Martyris tumulum et aliquid exinde ad aegrotum deportate,' and in fact a little dust brought and administered to the patient in water proved most effective. Dust from

the rock of the oratorium of St. Calminius or from the grave of St. Felix of Bourges, taken in water, was a remedy for fever. Thus it is quite a natural development whereby modern Roman Catholicism no longer allows actual relics to fall into private hands, and offers as substitutes consecrated rosaries, medallions, etc. Where this consecration is not merely sacramental, accomplished by their use at Mass or immersion in holy water and so forth, it is derived from contact with a shrine, a martyr's grave, or a relic.

(12) PICTURES, etc.—The power of a saint extended from objects connected with his person to pictures and statues, which were regarded by no means as aids to contemplation, but as signs of the actual presence of the saint himself. Greek theologians proved, with the help of Neo-Platonic mysticism, the real association of *archetypos* and *ektypoma*. Their use as charms was most prominent among the Greeks and, under Greek influence, among the Slavs. It is very interesting to observe how in the legend of Edessa the portrait of Christ superseded the letter to Abgar as protector of the town; it was placed over the city-gate, and, when an attempt was made to set fire to the town in time of siege, some oil from the lamp that burnt perpetually before it was sprinkled upon the flames, which it turned against the besiegers. Byzantine ships nearly always carried images of the Madonna for protection against storm, as the heathen ships had carried *palladia* or images of the Dioscuri. In Rome, figures of St. Symeon Stylites guarded every workshop (Theodoret, *Reliq. Hist.* 26 [PG lxxxi. 1473]; Joh. Damasc. *de Imag.* i. 27 [PG xciv. 1253]). No Greek or Roman house was without its saint, which took the place of the ancient *penates*, as the protective genius of the home. Famous pictures and images were washed at high feasts, and the water, sanctified in the process, was scattered over the congregation for their benediction (in Edessa as in Rome; cf. v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 66, 163, 112**). In Edessa this water was used as a lotion for the eyes. Water with which portraits of saints had been washed, or into which some colour had been scraped off them, was administered to invalids as medicine.

The Western peoples were at first rather timid of such uses; but after the 9th cent. the belief in images was established among them also. Statues of patron saints erected over town- and castle-gates, pictures on the walls (in churches, pictures by preference of Michael or Christopher; in private houses, of Florian and Agathe, who kept off lightning and fire), and representations on amulets, all had apotropaic significance. In time of pest appeared painted or, later, printed sheets with pictures of St. Sebastian or St. Rochus, often with prayers and, in some cases, hygienic directions appended, which certainly were intended to give protection, and not merely as devotional objects (P. Heitz, *Pestblätter des XV. Jahrh.*, Strassburg, 1901).

Special virtue was, of course, assigned to pictures of miraculous origin, and also to copies of them. This and the indulgences connected with it are the causes of the extensive circulation of the shroud portrait (Veronica). Another important charm in and after the 15th cent. was the so-called measure of Christ, a length taken presumably from the holy sepulchre (G. Uzielli, *Misure lineari medioevali*, 1899). It was employed, e.g., in witch trials (*Malheus malefic.* iii. 16); joined with a prayer it served as an amulet (Uzielli, *L'Orazione della Misura di Cristo*, 1901, p. 10).

6. The application of charms.—(1) *Preliminary requirements*.—The satisfaction of a number of personal conditions is as necessary a preliminary to charm-working as it is to worship; the chief

is freedom from sin and especially from sexual pollution, wherefore children were frequently entrusted with the operation, e.g. in drawing lots (cf. in early times Apuleius, *de Magia*, ii. 47, ed. Bipont.) and in clairvoyance; pregnant women were also employed. A preliminary fast, such as was necessary to the reception of a revelation, was also frequently required.

A peculiarity of magic is its fear of knots: every knot represents a binding, and may therefore carry a counteractive force. Therefore the clothing must be free from all knots; complete absence of clothing was abhorred in the Christian Church, though common in black magic. For similar reasons it was generally necessary to hold the breath; and silence was ordained, since any word might break the spell or introduce the disturbing influence of another spell. Above all, no names might be mentioned, for they are to a special degree endowed with magic powers. This is the explanation of the endeavour to write spells so that they could not easily be read, either in foreign letters (for a Greek spell in Latin characters, see G. Maspero in *Collections du Musée Alaoui*, i. 101 ff.; for an Italian spell in Greek letters, Pradel, *loc. cit.*). This custom may prove the magical purpose of the well-known copies of the Apostles' Creed, Greek in Latin characters in the Aethelstan Psalter, Latin in the Codex Laudianus.

Time and place are, of course, important; charms are especially, and sometimes exclusively, efficacious if applied before sunrise; midnight is the hour of spirits; certain days in the year, once heathen festivals, such as the winter and summer solstices, and later converted into Christian saints' days, are significant for certain forms of magic; and lastly come the phases of the moon.

Magic had also its holy places. In heathendom these were springs, trees, and cross-roads, where gods or demons were supposed to have their abode. But the Church regarded them askance, and erected crucifixes at such places to break the evil spell. The magic which enjoyed the Church's approval naturally gave the preference to consecrated spots, churches, and chapels, or clung to their neighbourhood in churchyards.

During the preparations the purpose must never be forgotten; the Lord's Prayer must be recited during the collection of herbs; the manufacture of wax effigies must be accompanied by the express declaration of the purpose for which they are to serve. Great stress is always laid, as in the Church's sacramental teaching, on the intention. Certain conditions regulated the material employed. For amulets the skin of unborn calves (*pergamenum virgineum*), and, next to it, leather from a lion's skin were most valued; for curses, leaden tablets or old potsherds. Things taken from a churchyard or a gallows were precious to black magic, especially if they were stolen or acquired by irregular means.

(2) *Manner of application*.—According to the nature of the effect contemplated, the application of a charm may be a single act or the establishment of a permanent condition; protective charms are thus permanently operative. The mere fact of their presence is sufficient, and there is no need for them to be seen, known of, or believed in. Fertility of the land is also secured by the mere presence of relics (e.g. the relics of SS. Abdon and Sennen in Arles), without the necessity of special processions at every season. It is, indeed, presumed that reverence is paid to them, and the omission to celebrate their festivals may have evil consequences. Apulia was punished by St. Mark with drought for this reason. Neglect can turn a beneficent charm into a source of injury.

But generally the application of a charm pro

ceeded through a number of actions, carrying, touching, etc. (see § A (2)), and, above all, through recitation (*ib.* (3)). These ceremonies generally bore the character of a senseless hocus-pocus, calculated only to impress the superstitious. But originally they must have been inspired by magic thoughts, i.e. by the desire to work upon the spirits. How much actual fraud they contain, and whether the charm-working magicians themselves believed in the efficacy and necessity of all their operations or practised with fraudulent intention upon the credulity of their adepts, are questions which altogether elude the researches of scientific inquiry.

(3) *Manner of working.*—The working of a charm is generally conceived to follow immediately *ex opere operato*: the amulet protects, the spell banishes the disease, the love-potion works love, and so on. Belief in their efficacy on the part of those who use them is, of course, assumed; but it was originally supposed that they could work upon people who neither knew of them nor believed in them. Only afterwards, when the desired effect failed to appear, the explanation offered itself that unbelief on the other side hindered the working; but generally failure was attributed to a counter-charm. The instructions often reckon with the possibility that the effect may not be immediate, and in such cases direct more frequent repetition, a stronger formula, or the adoption of an additional charm. The experience that not every charm is at once efficacious was the cause of the multiplication and mixing of different charms and formule.

It is an important principle, moreover, that the charm does not work directly only upon the person to whom it is applied. It was possible to undergo the ordeal as a substitute for another; and there is an instance of some water which had been poured over a copy of the prayer of St. Paul being administered vicariously to the messenger who announced that some one else had been bitten by a snake (Vassiliev, 331).

The working is often subject to certain conditions. St. Benedict freed a cleric from a demon so long as he neither ate flesh nor performed priestly functions; so soon as he broke either of these conditions, the demon again took possession of him. Bartels calls this making terms with the devil. Those who made such compacts rejoiced to outwit the foolish devil by fixing an impossible date for his return, e.g. when Christ is born again of Mary, or when Christ shall write a new Gospel.

On the other hand, it is demanded in many cases that a time-limit shall be set to the working of the spell, which must be loosed at a certain moment: e.g. in the enchantment of wasps, which must last only so long as the peasant is out in the fields with his cattle. Then the wasps must be freed, that their lives may be preserved.

The science of the *Aufklärung* declared all these charm-workings to be humbug, ghost-stories, old wives' tales, and completely devoid of reality. But Romanticism took a new interest in them, set about collecting the materials, and to some extent revived beliefs in their actuality. The modern science of religion has no cause to deny that in many cases a real effect was wrought; but it seeks to explain such effects psychologically by suggestion, physiologically by the action of narcotics, and so forth. The important task which must first be accomplished is to collect and arrange the abundant material, not overlooking the differences amongst the many similar phenomena occurring in different races and at different times, and with great caution to determine the mutual influences of the different civilizations.

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E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Egyptian).—Egyptian religion is so intermingled with magic, that it is difficult to separate the properly religious elements from mere charms and incantations. Magical spells or charms occur in considerable numbers. We have whole books of them, and they often appear in the medical papyri.

If we consider first the spells which have chiefly a protective character, the so-called magic papyrus Harris furnishes good examples of them. It consists of two parts. The title of the first is: 'Chapter of the songs which disperse the immersed' (i.e. all dangerous animals lurking in the water). The spell is a long hymn to the god Shu:

'Hail to thee, divine flesh of Ra, elder son issued from his ody, selected by him previous to his birth.'

The hymn is interesting by reason of its style, and of what we learn about the religious doctrine, in sentences such as this:

'O unique Lord issuing from the Nu (water)! O divine substance self-created! O maker of the substance which is in himself!

Sometimes his defensive power is alluded to:

'Thou repellst the crocodile coming out of the abyss, in that name which is thine, Repeller of Crocodiles.'

The reptile itself is addressed:

'Stand back, crocodile Maka, son of Set, do not steer with thy tail, do not move thy arms, do not open thy mouth; be the waters before thee turned to a burning fire.'

Occasionally we find a rubric like this:

'This chapter is recited, an egg from . . . being given into the hand of a person at the prow of the boat; anything coming out of the water is thrown again into the water.'

All the first part contains formulæ for closing the mouth of the crocodile and preventing dangerous beings from coming out of the water. The second part, called 'Book of the spells for remaining in the country,' is meant to protect the inhabitants of the country against wild beasts, such as lions, hyenas, and leopards. Regarding neither of the two parts do we know by whom it is to be read, or on what occasion it may be effective. Magical spells of the same description are found, more or less, among all nations of antiquity, and are not peculiar to Egypt.

Another kind of charms may be called *medical spells*. They are intended to ensure that a remedy shall be effective. We find many examples in the medical papyri, the largest of which, the papyrus Ebers, has been called the pharmacopoeia of the ancient Egyptians. The following formula dispels white spots from the eyes:¹

'When there is thunder in the southern sky in the evening, and storm in the northern sky; when the pillar falls into the water, then the seamen of Ra flourish their stakes, but their heads fall into the water. Who is it who will bring and find them? I am he who brings them, I am he who has found them. I bring you your heads and I raise your necks. When I have put in its place every thing which has been cut off from you, then I shall bring you that you may expel the god of fever and of death. To be said over the brain of a turtle mixed with honey which is put on the eyes.'

Here is one which seems to act by its own magical power.² It is taken from a collection of such spells:

'Another incantation for the head. The head belongs to Horus, and the place of the head to Thoth. My mother Isis and her sister Nephthys are keeping watch over me. They give my head. . . . This chapter is said over threads made in knots and put on the left foot of a man.'

We might quote a great number of similar charms. A papyrus of the Museum in Berlin contains nothing but spells for the birth of a child, for the milk of the mother, and for illnesses of the infant.³ Generally there are mythical allusions, often very fragmentary and obscure; then comes a rubric like this:

'This spell is to be said over three beads—one of lapis-lazuli, another of jasper, and another of malachite—threaded together; they are to be hung to the neck of a child.'

We hardly understand the mythical names or allusions which are contained in those spells; and it is doubtful whether the Egyptians themselves understood them better. We must remember that it is the characteristic of magical words to be obscure and mysterious; otherwise they would lose most of their virtue.

A curious kind of incantations are those which consist not of more or less disconnected sentences, but of a myth or story with a definite purpose.

We hear, for instance, of the goddess Isis, who desired to be equal in power with her father Ra.⁴ The only means of having her wish fulfilled was to know the mysterious and hidden name of her father. She therefore devised a stratagem. She caused Ra to be bitten by a serpent; the pain of the wound was so intolerable that the voice of the old king reached the sky and all the gods flocked around him. Ra is described as expatiating at great length upon his sufferings, which the crafty goddess does not attempt to relieve until her father consents to be searched by her, so that she may get hold of his mysterious name. Then only does she call on the venom to go out of the body of Ra. The narrative ends here; but we are told that this story is to be said to, or, as the Egyptians say, over, figures of Tum, Horus, and Isis, which will thus be made talismans against the serpents. This story is to be written also on the piece of cloth put around the neck of a person. It is then a powerful remedy.

¹ Pap. Ebers, pt. Irvii. 7.

² Pleyte, *Étude sur un rouleau magique du Musée de Leyde*, 1866, p. 54.

³ Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, 1901.

⁴ Lefebvre, 'Un chapitre de la chronique solaire,' *EA*, 1883.

We see that the purpose of this myth is not literary; it is medical, as is the case with several Egyptian myths. We might quote another, where Horus, the son of Isis, is restored to light by Thoth. This narrative is said to be a talisman used by the inhabitants of Buto against bites of scorpions and serpents.¹ This is undoubtedly the most interesting class of charms, since in a certain measure they bear a literary character, which we did not find before, and which does not exist in the most common kind of spells, the amulets.

An *amulet* is properly an ornament with a magical power, which is worn as a preservative against mischief and evil. This definition would hardly apply to the considerable number of objects which are found in Egyptian tombs, and which very often are models on a small scale of tools or instruments of ordinary life. Generally the name 'amulets' has been applied to a great part of the paraphernalia which are given to the mummy, or drawn on the coffin of the deceased and on the walls of the tomb. It is not every one of these objects that possesses magic influence; they are not all supposed to be preservatives or to be symbols. They certainly were not so at the beginning. In later times they assumed a religious meaning, and became either magical or symbolical. Thus we read in a Roman text from the temple of Denderah, that, on the festival of the burial of Osiris, 104 amulets made of gold and precious stones were given to him. Every one of them was supposed to have a special virtue which we do not know; in the case of most of them, we are not in possession of the mystical formulæ explaining why they were amulets and what was their meaning. When these formulæ are extant, as is the case with several mentioned in the Book of the Dead, we can hardly say that we fully understand them, and that we have discovered the esoteric meaning. The words under which this meaning is hidden are simple enough, but the translation does not always yield a really intelligible sense.

Most of the Egyptian amulets are destined either for the dead, whose life in the other world they are to influence, or for the gods, to whom they are as necessary as to mortals. In order to understand the benefit conferred on the deceased by his amulets, it is necessary to consider briefly the ideas of the Egyptians as to a future life.

The human personality was not regarded as single; it consists of four, or even more, elements, but the most important are three: the body, the soul, and a third, called by the Egyptians the *ka*—a word which has been translated in various ways: 'the double,' 'the living image,' 'the genius' of each man, which springs into existence at the same time as himself and grows with him. The *ka* is not always seen; nevertheless, it always accompanies a living man, and, when it is represented, it often assumes his exact appearance. It is what the Greeks would call his *εἶδωλον*. Very often also the *ka* is spoken of as present, though invisible, or there is a symbol in its stead.

The *ka* was believed to be an indispensable constituent of every being which had life; the gods and the kings were even supposed to have more than one—as many as fourteen. After having been indissolubly united during life, *ka* and body were separated at death; the body was mummified and placed in a coffin; the *ka* became independent, and continued to live in the other world. Since it could not restore life to the body, it was supposed to animate the statues which were in the tombs, and on which it rested. The *ka* was the living element of the human being; but its existence was conditional upon that of the body. If the body was destroyed either by violence or by

corruption, the *ka* also would perish, and the whole personality would disappear. This was the motive for mummification, and for the care which the Egyptians took to preserve the body, because thereby the continuance of the life of the *ka* in the other world was ensured. Occasionally the *ka* might visit the embalmed body and enjoy the gifts and offerings of all kinds which were brought to the tomb.

During life, the *ka*, though not seen, is inseparable from the body. It is even its most powerful preservative, its best talisman. It is supposed to be always behind the person. We very often see it represented as following the king in the form of a man of smaller size, having in his hand a cane, at the top of which is a head. The head is sometimes surmounted by the hieroglyphical signs meaning 'royal *ka*.' In many cases it has the symbolic form of a fan, which is made of feathers or assumes the shape of a leaf. The fan is often the substitute for the whole person, and is placed on a throne; but it is constantly seen as the protecting *ka*; e.g. in battle scenes, where a fan is certainly out of place, it is sculptured over the head of the fighting king. When the *ka* is absent, it is very rare for the formula to be omitted declaring that its protecting power surrounds the king.

Since the *ka* was to live for ever, it was desirable that its life should be as pleasant as possible, and that it should enjoy not only all the comforts and luxuries of its former existence, but additional ones. There was a certain, and comparatively easy, way of endowing the deceased with wealth and abundance. This was based on what is called imitative magic, the idea being that the representation of the image of an object causes it to come into existence. Everything has its *ka*, its double, which may exist in the other world like the *ka* of man. The mere fact of making a picture or a model of it, however small, is the means of calling it into existence in the other world—one might even say of creating it. The deceased does not like solitude; therefore wooden or porcelain figures will have to be put in his tomb, sometimes in great numbers, to constitute his society or his attendants. In the same way he will have to be provided with all kinds of objects of the ordinary life which the living *ka* will use—weapons, ornaments, musical instruments, tools for building, such as saws and knives, borers, the mason's square, and the level. These objects are generally called amulets; some of them, in the course of time, may have acquired a symbolical meaning, but the present writer believes that originally they were nothing but what the deceased was supposed to need in his new life.

One series is more directly connected with religious ideas; they are the insignia of Osiris, the king of the lower world, the judge before whom the deceased may have to appear. They consist of small models, in porcelain or hard stone, of the different diadems of the god, of his sceptres, and of his emblems of royal power. The motive for their being given to the deceased is that one of the numerous transformations he will have to undergo, one of the prospects he has before him, though it is not always necessary, is a complete assimilation to Osiris. 'I am Osiris, brother to Isis,' says the deceased. 'He who rescueth me, together with his mother, from all my adversaries, is my son Horus.' Since he will be a king, it is necessary that he should wear the crowns, and hold the sceptre and other emblems belonging to the sovereign of the lower world.

The life of the *ka* is not safe from all perils. It may be assailed by all kinds of genii or evil beings, endangering its existence, even threatening it with

¹ W. Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstele*, 1877.

destruction. In that respect the deceased is in the same condition as the gods themselves, especially Osiris, who every night is overcome and cut in pieces by his brother Set, and restored to life again by his son Horus. As preservatives, the *ka* uses magic formulæ or amulets, the most usual of which we shall now describe. The magic text referring to them is generally contained in the Book of the Dead.

The scarab is the image of the *Ateuchus sacer*, a kind of beetle very common in the region of the Mediterranean. The Egyptians supposed the scarabæus to be male, and to be born again from the egg which it had made alone. This we find expressed in the following way. Among the formulæ of praise to Ra, this god is called 'the beetle that folds its wings, that rests in the lower world, that is born of its own body'—or, as we should say, 'its own son.' The Greeks translated the Egyptian legend by *αὐτογενής ἐστι τοῦ ζώου*, as we know from Horapollo, and also by *ἐκ μόνου πατρὸς τὴν γένεσιν ἔχει ὁ κάμπας*. It is not surprising that this creature became the symbol of resurrection. There are scarabs of various sizes. Small ones are found by thousands in porcelain, steatite, and hard stones like cornelian or amethyst. They were deposited in the tombs with the mummies, but they were also worn by the living as ornaments that were considered to have a preservative virtue. Larger ones sometimes have figures engraved on their backs: the boat of the sun, Osiris with flail and crook, Harmakhis with a hawk's head. The large scarabs, which are sometimes as much as 5 ins. long, are chiefly the funereal or heart scarabs. When the deceased was mummified, the heart was taken out of the body to be embalmed separately, and afterwards either put in a so-called canopic vase—a jar with a cover in the shape of a jackal's head—or left on the legs and bandaged with them. The heart, as with other nations of antiquity, was supposed to be the seat of the moral side of the individual—one may even say of conscience, since it appears as the accuser. There are two words for 'heart': one meaning strictly the heart itself, and the other the heart with its envelopes, the cavity of the heart. It was necessary that the *ka* should have a heart; therefore there are no fewer than four chapters in the Book of the Dead relating to the heart; some of them even have two different versions. According to a papyrus, each of them is connected with a particular gem cut in the form of a heart and worn as an amulet: lapis-lazuli, green felspar (or opal), cornelian, and serpentine. We have amulets in the form of a heart; they are usually of cornelian. The magic words of these chapters are pronounced when the heart is supposed to be given, or rather restored, to the deceased; they prevent its being taken away after it has been put back in its place. One of these chapters is particularly important, since it refers to one of the most interesting scenes of the Book of the Dead—the judgment. The deceased appears before Osiris, who sits as judge. The heart is being weighed in a balance against the deceased himself, or, more frequently, against the emblem of the goddess of truth and justice. Then the deceased is supposed to appeal to his heart:

'Heart of my mother, heart of my birth, heart which I had on earth! do not rise as witness against me, do not be my adversary before the divine powers, let not there be a fall of the scale against me, in presence of him who keepeth the balance!' Further, the deceased invites his heart to 'come forth to the place of bliss towards which they go.'

This chapter, which is called 'The chapter of preventing the heart of the deceased from opposing him in the nether world,' is often engraved on a large scarab of green stone, put either outside or inside the chest, at the place of the heart. These

large heart-scarabs are found in all museums. The Egyptians liked to give them to their dead. It was a token for them that they were justified, that their heart spoke truth, that their limbs were pure, that all their body was free from evil. When they had this scarab, they might exclaim: 'I am pure, I am pure.'

The question which naturally arises here is, Why did the Egyptians give the heart the form of a large scarab? The answer is that the scarab is the emblem of resurrection. The Egyptians considered that life proceeded from the heart; that this organ was the centre of vital power. It was, in fact, the living being which animated the whole body. Therefore they gave the heart the appearance of a being having life and motion by itself, whereas a heart of stone would have represented something quite motionless, and absolutely deprived of any activity. Scarab and heart are two amulets relating to the resurrection and the restoration and re-constitution of the body. To the same category may be assigned the *dad* and the buckle.

The *dad* has been explained in various ways. It has been called the four pillars which support the four corners of the sky. They are seen one behind the other, so that their capitals seem to be on the top of each other. Maspero thinks that in its original form the *dad* was the trunk of a tree from which sprang four cross branches cut short near the bole. Certain vignettes in the Book of the Dead seem to make it quite certain that the *dad* is a conventional way of representing the human skeleton, the backbone to which the ribs are attached and which stands on two legs. Frequently a human head wearing feathers is placed on this skeleton, and arms are attached to it, holding the insignia of Osiris. The *dad* has become the emblem of Osiris, as the buckle is that of Isis. The two figures are often used together as ornaments on shrines or furniture, or in religious sculptures, to indicate that the objects on which they are seen are under the protection of Osiris and Isis. As an amulet, the *dad* has an influence on the restoration of the deceased, as we know from the text which refers to it.¹ 'Here is thy backbone, O still heart. Here is thy spine, O still heart; I put it at thy place . . .' And the rubric says that, if this amulet is put on the neck of the deceased, he will be perfect and appear at the festivals of the New Year among the followers of Osiris. The *dad* to which this formula refers is made of gold. There are a great number in porcelain, and many in cornelian.

The buckle is generally red in colour, of cornelian or of glass. It is the emblem of Isis, and its effect is chiefly protective, as we know from the text.²

'The blood of Isis, the virtue of Isis, the magic power of Isis, are protecting this the Great One; they prevent any wrong being done to him. This chapter is said on a buckle of cornelian, dipped into the juice of the *ankhamu* plant, inlaid into the substance of sycamore-wood, and put on the neck of the deceased. Whoever has this chapter read to him, the virtue of Isis protects him; Horus, the son of Isis, rejoices in seeing him, and no way is barred to him.'

The *uax*, or sacred eye, is the human eye outlined with *kohl*. This amulet is, next to the scarab, the commonest of all. The eye has various meanings. It may be the right or the left one. Both eyes often occur at the top of the stela, as where they seem to represent the two periods of life, the ascending and the descending one. The two eyes of Ra are the sun and the moon. The 'filling of the eye' may be either the sun in the summer solstice, or the full moon. The eye of Horus gave birth to all useful substances—oil, wine, honey, sweet liquors, milk. It had an independent exist-

¹ Book of the Dead, ch. clv.

² *Ib.* ch. clvi.

ence. As an amulet the eye seems to have given to the living, as well as to the dead, health and soundness of sight. Maspero has shown that the figure of the eye, which is read *usa*, is an ideogram of the word *usa*, which means 'flourishing,' 'healthy.' Whoever wears this amulet will come out of all the dangers which might threaten his health, just as was the case with the eye of Ra. Chapter clxvii. of the Book of the Dead, which explains what is the virtue of the eye, mentions a wound having been inflicted on it by Ra. Another chapter speaks of the eye being in distress, or being obscured by a hairy net. It is probable that the eye is here a heavenly body, the moon, and that this is the mythical way of speaking of an eclipse. The eye is wounded by Ra; a shadow called the hairy net obscures her, but the shadow is removed, and, as she comes out quite sound and healthy, so will the wearer of the *usa* come out of all dangers. This seems to be the sense to be attributed to the text of ch. clxvii.: 'When Thoth had brought the eye, he appeased the eye; for, after Ra had wounded her, she was raging furiously; and then Thoth calmed her after she had gone away raging, "I am sound, she is sound, the deceased is sound."' Thoth appeased or calmed the eye, because, as we read in another chapter, not only did he deliver the eye from the veil of darkness which oppressed her, but he carried her off, 'in life, health, and strength, without any damage.' This effect the amulet will produce. The eye was bound on the knuckles, neck, or heart of the mummy, or placed within the abdomen. It is found in gold, lapis-lazuli, felspar, wood, glazed ware, and other materials.

The little green column belongs also, like the eye, to what might be called *figurative amulets*, the names of which represent the benefits conferred upon the wearer. The word *uas*, the name of the column, means 'to be green,' 'to grow,' 'to sprout.' The amulet was generally made of a green stone such as felspar, and was put on the neck of the deceased. The formulae referring to it, which constitute two chapters of the Book of the Dead, are very obscure. The effect of this amulet seems to be similar to that of the eye. He to whom it has been given is safe, and preserved from any injury or wound.

The head-rest or pillow is an object made of wood or of stone, and very often found in the tombs. It is used at the present day by the Nubian women to prevent their hair from dragging in the dust. We sometimes see mummies the heads of which are supported by such pillows. Miniature head-rests in hæmatite or other stones occur as amulets. They have generally been considered as the means whereby the deceased is assured of a peaceful slumber. The present writer believes the purpose of this amulet to be quite different. Its virtue is much more powerful; it is a token for the deceased that he will not be dismembered, and that his body will be raised up again quite intact like that of Osiris. The head-rest is a substitute for the stone heads which were sometimes put in the tombs during the Old Empire. They are both protests against the original custom of taking the body to pieces, of dismembering it as Set had done to Osiris. The proof of this lies in the fact that the chapter referring to the pillow is nearly identical with another called 'Chapter whereby the head of a person is not severed from him in the Netherworld.' It runs thus:

'Awake! Thy sufferings are allayed, thou art awaked, when thy head is above the horizon; stand up, thou art triumphant by means of what has been done to thee. . . . Thou art Horus, the son of Hathor, the flame horn of a flame, to whom his head has been restored after it had been cut off. Thy head will never be taken from thee henceforth, thy head will never be carried away.'

Several amulets are ornaments, like the collar which the Book of the Dead says is to be made of gold and put on the neck of the deceased on the day of his burial. The words of ch. clviii. seem to be of a late date. We find the gift of a collar made not only to a deceased person, like King Seti I., but to the gods in general. When man or god has put it on, his nature changes; he becomes Tum, the great god of Heliopolis, and is addressed as such. Therefore we can hardly call the collar an amulet; like all the vestments and ornaments given to the gods, it has a magical sense and a magical effect. The collar is a ritualistic object, and has its place in the ceremonies of the worship of the gods and of the deceased.

The above are the most important and most common amulets. There are a great many more. Some of them are figures of a god or a goddess, like the vulture, or the frog—which seems to be an emblem of immortality. Others are figurative, like the cartouche, which stands for the name. The name is indissolubly linked with the personality; 'creator of one's name' means 'creator of one's person.' There are many, like the two fingers, whose meaning is unknown to us. It seems evident that, in Greek and Roman times, the number of amulets increased considerably, or rather that a magical sense was attributed to many objects of common use. Egyptian religion under the Roman Empire was known chiefly through its magic.

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ED. NAVILLE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Greek).—The use of charms and amulets among the Greeks, as among all other peoples, is to be derived from the desire of influencing the course of nature or events, of creating or counteracting certain effects. This sort of influence is regarded at a later stage as supernatural; but, no doubt, a primitive people saw nothing supernatural in it. There are three categories of such influence, all of which may be found simultaneously in use: certain words, certain actions, and certain objects or their image, for to primitive belief an object and its image are identical. For us the third category only is important.

The reasons why certain objects are used as charms or amulets are various. There are a great many objects which are regarded as endowed by nature with special forces. (They are not, however, on that account to be considered as habitations of gods or souls [cf. Kropatscheck, *De amuletorum usu*, p. 18; Abt, 'Amulette,' in Schiele, *Religion*, i. 1908, 448].) The great number of ways in which it was possible to make use of certain charms proves that their powers were not confined to one kind of effect only. Apion, e.g., taught (Pliny, *HN* xxx. 18) that the herb *cynecephala* was potent against every kind of magic spell (cf. *ib.* xxiv. 103, 'contra pernecium omnem'). Furthermore, we must lay stress upon the fact that the same means that are used to attract blessings are, at the same time, able to dispel ill luck. Where there is good luck, ill luck cannot enter; and health enters where illness has been driven out.

The common snapdragon (*δυσσινύριον*) is a remedy against sorcery, if worn round the neck; it beautifies, if applied as an ointment, together with oil from the lily (Dioscorides, *De mat. med.* iv. 131 [130 Wellm.]). One remedy against sorcery is to drink a tea of peonies; on the other hand, this tea promotes the secretion of milk for nursing women (Pradel, 'Griech. Gebete,' *op. cit. infra*, iii. 367). The agate renders fields fertile ([Orpheus], *Lith.* 238 ff.), and athletes invincible (Plin. xxxvii. 142); and it possesses manifold other apotropaic and magic forces (*ib.* 139 ff.). Cf. also the promise of Priapus, in an inscription on a rock of Thera (*IG* xii. 3, 421c), to bring the inhabitants of the island unbounded wealth and to be their companion-in-arms.

Thus there is no fundamental difference between the apotropaic amulet and the charm with its power to attract the positive blessing (*φάρμακον*, cf. Abt, 'Apoll. des Apulejus,' *op. cit. infra*, iv. 186 ff.; W. Havers, 'φάρμακον,' *Indogerm. Forsch.* xxv. [1909] 375 ff., cf. Weidlich, *Sympathie in der antiken Literatur*, p. 68). It is, however, conceivable that a certain differentiation soon took place, and that the amulet came to play a much more important part than the object used as a charm. For, in order to attain a positive effect, one makes use of a momentary magic device; but, if one desires to be safe at every moment against every kind of evil, one must make the magic remedy a constant one; and this explains the fact that the number of amulets far outweighs that of charms. As the amulet was mostly worn on a cord, the Greeks called it *περίλαμμα*, *περίλαπτον*, *περιδέριον* (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 10). But this is not the only thing the ancients designate by the word 'amulet'; the term comprises everything that is used for protection against any kind of harm. In this sense the amulet is called *φυλακτήριον*, *ἀπορώτατον*, *ἀλεξιφάρμακον*, etc. Thus we find this word applied to everything we are accustomed to term 'apotropaic.' And, last of all, the same remedies that have a prophylactic use, e.g., to protect against an illness, are used to cure the disease when it has set in; and we often find that in such a case the remedy against the illness that has already developed is worn as an amulet in its more restricted sense, on a ribbon round the neck (Jahn, *SSGW*, 1855, pp. 40, 43; Heim, *op. cit. infra*, p. 506, cf. *ib.* no. 132 with 507, 133; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 42). We thus see that the vast domain of popular medicine bears the closest affinity to our subject, and therefore a minute classification of their different functions cannot be attempted here when discussing the several charms. The detailed analysis of each case, which would be necessary, has never yet been undertaken, and would not be possible within the scope of this article. A full treatise on popular medicine is contained in the article DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

In all probability there was originally hardly anything, animate or inanimate, to which men did not attribute some specific force. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 20) is right in saying that there is hardly anything existent that has not at some time been used as an amulet; cf. also a like remark by Otto Jahn about the animals endowed with powers of magic (*op. cit.* 100). Magic functions were probably often specialized by means of differentiation. In other cases a charm had a special function to begin with, based on the popular idea of sympathy and antipathy of most, perhaps even all, animate and inanimate things in the world (cf. Weidlich, *op. cit. passim*). Lemon and cucumber, fig and rue, are good friends; therefore the lemon thrives better if cucumber is planted in its vicinity (Pallad. iv. 10, 15), and the rue grows more abundantly under the shade of the fig-tree (*ib.* 9, 14). Cabbage and vine

do not agree, therefore one must eat cabbage to be safe from inebriety (Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Aberglaube,' pp. 53, 62 ff.). The scorpion fears the lizard; its bite is therefore cured with a remedy in which the lizard plays a part (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 21). The charms whose effect can be described by the words 'similia similibus' bear a close affinity to these (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 44, 1). The yellow bird Charadrius or Ikteros (Riess, *op. cit.* 69, 2; 73, 68; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 56) is a help against jaundice, but the bird itself perishes (a case of transferred illness). A specific against headache is an olive-leaf tied round the head and bearing the name of Athene, who sprang from the head of Zeus (*Geopon.* ix. 1, 5), or a herb grown on the head of a statue (Riess, *op. cit.* 59, 26); against colic, the hair from the belly of a hare (Marcell. Empir. xxix. 35); against disease of the eye, the eye of a fish (Ael. *Nat. An.* xxiv. 15); against toothache, the corresponding tooth of a dead horse (Plin. *HN* xxviii. 181). A positive influence is reached on the same principle: the tongue of a frog makes the woman suspected of adultery speak the truth (Plin. xxxii. 79); urine from a eunuch stops fertility (Plin. xxviii. 65); the sinews of a crane are a help against fatigue (Plin. xxx. 149). The mere name of an object is also sufficient to make it suitable for certain sympathetic purposes (Apul. *de Mag.* 34 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 213 f.). Thus the plant called *lysimachia* is used to calm a quarrelsome team of horses (Plin. xxv. 72); the *satyrion* excited sexual desire (Riess, *op. cit.* 65, 18); the amethyst was a remedy against drunkenness (Abt, *op. cit.* 214, 4). Occasionally also its magic use may have been the reason for giving the object its name.

A number of charms owed their efficacy to the place at which they were to be found. Thus it was related that the famous athlete Milon of Kroton had rendered himself invincible by means of stones, the size of a pea, which had all been found in the stomachs of cocks (Plin. xxxvii. 144); a stone found in the stomach of a hen helps soldiers to courage and victory (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 61); concerning stones from the stomachs of swallows, cf. Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 24 f. A grain found in the horns of snails makes teething easy (Plin. xxx. 136). A bone out of a horse's heart helps against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 181); a stone that 'grows' in the Nile, of a pea-like aspect (cf. above, the stone of Milon), is a charm against barking of dogs and frenzy. Perhaps the latter example is already influenced by the idea of the sacredness of the place, which is expressed when a plant growing on a boundary or a crossway is considered to possess magic power (Riess, *op. cit.* 47, 5, 24). A similar notion underlies the belief that a plant from the margin of a stream or river is a remedy against tertian fever (Plin. xxiv. 170); the power of flowing water which cleanses and washes away all evil (Abt, *op. cit.* 114, 7) allows the beneficent powers of the plants to develop undisturbed. In like manner, whatever has come into contact with lightning is endued with special powers. Wood struck by lightning helps against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 45); the stone *ceramnia* is sought after by magicians, because it is found only in places that have been struck by lightning (Plin. xxxvii. 135).

Anything connected with death or the dead has a special importance in magic (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 13; Fahz, *op. cit. infra*, ii. 148 ff.; Abt, *op. cit.* 268, 5). Human bones and skulls (Abt, *op. cit.* 215) are used for various magic manipulations; with a torch from the funeral pyre of a dead man dogs are silenced (Ael. *Nat. An.* i. 38); a garment worn at a funeral is safe from moths (Plin. xxviii. 33); the words of an imprecation become especially potent when engraved on the fragment of a tombstone (Wassch

in Bliss-Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, pp. 173, 187). The influence of uncanny objects connected with a dead body was greatly enhanced when the death had been a violent one (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 50). The underlying idea seems to be twofold: on the one hand, it was supposed that the remains of a *βαιοθάνατος* retain something of the full vital energies that were his up to the moment of his sudden death (Riess, *op. cit.* 92, 51); and again, that one who has died before his time, and still longs for life, lets his demonic powers pass with greater energy into this world. When the eye-tooth of an unburied corpse is prescribed as an amulet against toothache (Plin. xxviii. 45), the latter thought is uppermost; the unburied man, too, has no peace, but hankers after life in this world; and so do the *δωποι* (cf., for these notions, Norden, *Ensis*, vi. [1903] 10 ff.). Everything that has any connexion with the *βαιοθάνατος* has special powers—the rope of the hanged person, or a nail from the cross. Even the place where the man died is charged with a power that can be transferred; hence diseased pigs were fed with oats that had lain at such a place for a night (Plin. xxviii. 8); in a love-charm of the Parisian magic papyrus (Fahz, *op. cit.* 167, l. 4), one is told to throw some of the dirt from such a place into the room of the beloved. When, according to the London magic papyrus (121, l. 657 f., Wessely), some relic from a stranded ship is required, we again meet with the notion that, where uncanny powers have been at work, special magic forces attach themselves to the objects concerned.

Many charms have an apotropaic character only. Foremost among these are the images of ghastly forms intended to paralyze the menacing evil charm; above all, the Gorgoneion (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, 1906, p. 902, 3; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27, 5; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 262, 3), and its counterpart, the head of Phobos (Weizsäcker in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Phobos'; Wolters, *op. cit.* 269 ff.); cf. also the apotropaic face on the back of a leaden amulet (*Rev. des ét. gr.* v. [1892] 79). The curious (*ἀτονα*) and ridiculous (*γέλοφα*) preventives (Jahn, *op. cit.* 66 f.) of which Plutarch (*Qu. Conv.* p. 681 f.) and Pollux (vii. 108) speak belong to this group—caricatures and the like, with regard to which the present writer would suggest that the apotropaic character of the ridiculous may have originated at the very moment when the formidable phantom came to be considered a mere grimace (cf. also Perdrizet, 'L'Hippalektryon,' *Rev. des ét. anc.* vi. 7 ff.; Wace, 'Grotesques and the Evil Eye,' *British School Annual*, x. [1905] 103 ff.).

Another method of protecting oneself against incantation is to turn the tables against the enemy by bringing him into subjection. His evil intents are thus, in a way, forestalled. A species of grasshopper was said to be infested with the evil eye (Jahn, *op. cit.* 36, 30), and its image was erected on the Acropolis by Pisistratus (*ib.* 37, 31; cf. Weinreich, 'Ant. Heilungswunder,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* VIII. i. 162 ff.). The hail, which was pernicious to the peasant's harvest, was a preventive of thunder if hailstones were put into the hatching-straw (Colum. viii. 5, 12; perhaps specifically Roman). The owl, on the one hand, was considered a bird of evil omen (Riess, *op. cit.* 70, 23; cf. Perdrizet, 'Le folklore de la chouette,' *Bull. de la société nat. des antiquaires de France*, 1903); but, on the other hand, it was a protective against hail (Pallad. i. 35, 1). The clearest example of this kind of protection by forestalling the enemy is that of the apotropaic eye. This does not oppose the evil eye with the power of the 'good eye' (DareMBERG-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Fascinum,' p. 987), but it defeats it with its own weapons, and keeps off all kinds of evil powers (cf. also Wolters, *op. cit.*

269 f.). The idea that he who carries upon him parts of a dog is safeguarded against dogs must be interpreted differently (cf. Riess, *op. cit.* 73, 12); for it originates in the belief that whosoever has power over a part can conquer the whole. In both cases like is dispelled by like. But the like can also repair the misfortune that has occurred (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 669). The most famous example of this belief is the tale of Telephos (ὁ τριπόδας καὶ λαοεραὶ). The bite of a shrew-mouse is healed by a shrew-mouse, and best healed by the same shrew-mouse (Plin. xxix. 89; Riess, *op. cit.* 80, 30). And the close connexion of this belief with that mentioned before is best illustrated by the fact that a live shrew-mouse in a clay casket was worn round the neck as an amulet against the bite of these animals (Riess, *op. cit.* 80, 32).

We mentioned above that words and actions, formulae and rites, came within the scope of magic charms, as well as objects. They do not in themselves belong to the matter here treated, but cannot be ignored in so far as they have become fixed objects, i.e. the actions are depicted, the words written down.

To these apotropaic figures belong the numerous scenes in which an eye is represented as surrounded by hostile animals and men (Bienkowski, 'Malocchio,' *Eranos Vindobonensis* [1893], 285 ff.; *Arch. Anz.* [1903] 20; *Oesterreich. Jahresh.* vi. [1903], Beiblatt, p. 23, fig. 3; Wolters, *op. cit.* 263, 1). The evil eye is to be robbed of its powers by the fixed representation of the attack against it. This is still more effective than the using of these animals as amulets, for by means of the image of the eye itself the evil eye is imprisoned and spellbound.

When on the marble block from Xanthus a phallus is threatened instead of the eye (Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 289), this is probably due to an inadvertent adherence to the former scheme. Occasionally the eye is pierced by a lance. This brings us to the picture of Herakles throttling the lion, found on an amulet against colics (Heim, *op. cit.* 481, 60). The same image is used for the protection of vegetables against weeds, *δωπολέων* (*Geopon.* ii. 42, 2), where the sympathy of name also has some weight. A protective against gout shows the image of Perseus with the head of Medusa (Heim, *op. cit.* 480 f., 59). On Byzantine amulets, Solomon on horseback, piercing with a lance the female demon of disease, who lies on the ground, is a favourite theme (Schlumberger, *Rev. des ét. gr.* v. [1892] 73 ff.; Perdrizet, *ib.* xvi. [1903] 42 ff.). Cf. the encounter of Michael with *Bakaria* (the personification of witchcraft) in a new amulet-text (Reitzenstein, *Potmardres* [1904], 297 ff.); and the legend told, in Abyssinian magic-scrolls, of the saint Sūsneyōs, who kills the witch Werzelyā from his horse, because she caused his child's death; see also, in the same scrolls, the scene depicted in closest analogy to the Solomon pictures (Worrell, *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 165, and pl. ii. 4). On the marble relief of Bedford, which formed the starting-point of Jahn's famous treatise on the superstition of the evil eye (*SSGW*, 1855, p. 28 ff.), a man sits above the eye with bare hind part, in an unmistakable attitude (Jahn, *op. cit.* iii. 1, p. 86 ff.). This is generally explained as a sign of disdain, and classed along with the baring or depicting of the genitalia in order to ward off a spell (Jahn, *op. cit.* 68 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 896, 1; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27, 4; Abt, *op. cit.* 211, 14; *Thera*, iii. [1904] 186). The obscene female figures of Naukratis (*JHS* xxv. [1905] 128) belong to the same category (against J. E. Harrison's opinion, who explains the gesture of Baubo as a *προβασκάνιον* [*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1903, p. 570, note 1]; cf. Diels, *Miscellanea Salinas*, 1907,

p. 9, 1). In the same way as the uncovering of the genitalia may be replaced by special imitative gestures with the hand (*digitus infamis* and *fica*), so, too, the *fica* is formed into an apotropaic object. Shells are also considered images of the *cunnius* (Jahn, *op. cit.* 80; Abt, *op. cit.* 211, 15). The present writer doubts whether the original purpose of this kind of apotropaia was to express disgust or disdain. He would prefer to bring them into relation with the 'Zauber der Körperöffnungen' (cf. Preuss, *Globus*, 86, 321 ff.). Those who wish to retain the notion of disdain as the prominent one must ascribe these apotropaia to a later stage of development; primitive humanity certainly had no comprehension of this feeling. The ithyphallic apotropaion (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb. exviii.* 262, 263, 266 ff., pl. x. f.) must be explained differently, as is already indicated by its much more frequent occurrence, compared with that of the anthyphallic (hardly correct; Jahn, *op. cit.* 73) and female (Jahn, *op. cit.* 79) apotropaion. The ithyphallic apotropaion is a symbol of strength, blessing, luck. On the Pompeian house a phallus was depicted with the inscription: 'Hic habitat felicitas' (Heim, *op. cit.* 510, 143). Where there is good fortune, misfortune cannot enter, as we have already remarked (cf. also Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, ii. [1905] 2, 405; Schwenck, *Myth. d. Rom.* 1855, p. 141; *ARW* x. [1907] 296 f.). Strength, or the image of any kind of strength, has apotropaic power (cf. also Prott, *ARW* ix. [1906] 93); therefore Herakles is the dispeller of evil *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Thus Priapus also has changed from a god of fertility into a protector of gardens, and—yet another change—into a scarecrow!

Like the magic act, the magic word also becomes fixed. It is written on different substances, and, as durability was desired, small metal tablets were preferred, especially as this substance heightened the magic power. Thus we find the use of gold, silver, and tin (Siebourg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. [1898] 125 f., 134 ff., cf. *ib.* cxviii. [1909] 158; Audollent, *Defix. Tab.*, Paris, 1904, p. xxxiv f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 24), lead (in harmful incantations; Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* [1897] p. iii, *Seth. Verfluchungstafeln* [1898], 72, 76; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. xlvii ff.), stones and linen (Wünsch, 'Antikes Zaubergefäß', *Archaeol. Jahrb.*, Ergänzungsheft vi. 39), sherds (Pradel, *op. cit.* 379, 1), shells (Abt, *op. cit.* 218 f.), and also the less durable papyrus (Wilcken, *APF* i. 420 ff.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 26 f.; cf. *Geopon.* xiii. 5, 4). The words written down were various kinds of magic formulae (cf. art. MAGIC), 'Ephesia Grammata' (Wessely, *Ephesia Grammata*, 1886; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 64 f.; Wünsch, *Seth. Verfl.* 80; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxvii; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 884, 2; Tambornino, 'De antiquorum demonismo,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* vii. iii. 80; W. Schultz, *Philol.* lxxviii. [1909] 210 ff.), alphabets (Dieterich, *Rhein. Mus.* lvi. [1901] 77 ff., *Mithrasliturgie*², 1910, p. 221), anagrams (Heim, *op. cit.* 530, 1; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' p. 36), cryptograms and isopsepha (Prentice, *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol.* x. [1906] 146 ff.), Homeric verses (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 18, 29; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 2 ff.). Their place was taken, in Christian times, by Psalms (Pradel, *op. cit.* 381) and texts from the Gospels (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 29); also whole prayers, sometimes of considerable length, were written down for magic purposes (*ib.* 30 ff., cf. *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 158 ff.). Sometimes the texts were written from right to left (Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att.* p. iv; Münsterberg, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* vii. [1904] 143), or some other game was played with the letters (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' 23 f.); a triangle of magic import is formed by writing down a magic word as many times as the word has letters,

and always dropping a letter in each word till only one is left (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 29). In the Egyptian room of the National Museum of Athens (no. 864) the present writer saw an amulet on which the anagram AKANAGANAANKA¹ had been formed into a triangle by the successive subtraction of the first and last six letters. Besides formulae, the names of powerful gods are found (Jahn, *op. cit.* 45 ff.; Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 19, note); above all, that of the great Jewish God Iao (Abt, *op. cit.* 254, 1). Mere knowledge of the name has the power to protect (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19 f.). The Jewish angels, too, have this power (Prentice, *op. cit.* 143), as well as the spirits of the planets, which are designated by the seven vowels α ε η ι ο υ ω (Heim, *op. cit.* 540, note; Siebourg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. 140 ff.; Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxxiii; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg.' 29 f.). Instead of words we also find special magic symbols on magic objects, the so-called 'characters' (Audollent, *op. cit.* p. lxxii), whose affinity to Egyptian hieroglyphics has been traced by Wünsch ('Ant. Zauberg.' 31 ff.). In many cases the substance itself, on which the magic words are engraved, is endowed with magic power, so that the effect is heightened, and still more so if there are magic emblems in addition to words. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 35 f.) holds that magic objects obtained power only through the medium of the words engraved on them, and that afterwards the formulae (or symbols) were omitted, and the objects alone worn as amulets. But this is certainly not the case, for surely some objects had magic power attributed to them at the outset, without their bearing a single magic inscription.

Another group comes within our scope, which we would term 'derived charms.' The idea connected with them is that of spell-binding. The nail which is used on manifold occasions to fasten some evil, or to lame an enemy, finally becomes imbued with magic force. Thus, for example, iron nails protect the hatching-nests of hens against thunder (Riess, *op. cit.* 50, 60).

Numerous magic nails of this kind have been preserved down to our time (Jahn, *op. cit.* 106 f.; Hubert in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Magia,' p. 1508, 25; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 886, 7; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 35, 6; Prentice, *op. cit.* 144). The specimen from the Asklepieion of Paros, with the inscription *ΙΥΡ* (*Athen. Mitt.* xxvii. [1902] 229), seems to have the special mission of protecting against fire.

The key plays much the same part as the nail. As the action of locking in bears an affinity to that of spell-binding, the key becomes endowed with magic powers. In order to protect a field against hail, many keys from different buildings are tied all round it (*Geopon.* i. 14, 6; cf. also Heim, *op. cit.* 541, 236 f.). The use of the thread and knot goes still further (Frazer, *GB*² i. 392 ff.; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1508, 23; Wolters, *ARW* viii. [1905], Usenerheft, 1 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 885, 6-8; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 25; Abt, *op. cit.* 148 ff.). More especially, coloured, three-coloured, and red threads were preferred as enhancing the effect (cf., besides the above, Deubner, *De incub.*, 1900, p. 25; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 70). Whatever is enclosed by a ribbon, thread, rope, or the like, is, according to very ancient belief, thereby safeguarded against every kind of evil. The evil cannot step over the magic boundary. For this reason the thread or ribbon itself acquires magic importance, possessing not only apotropaic, but also positive, power. Only thus can we understand the rite whereby, in the case of an illness already present, the patient is fettered, and thus believed to be saved (cf. *e.g.* Diog. Laert. iv. 56). The influence of the knot must be explained differently. The knot is not really a derived charm, but a part of the action of binding which has been stereotyped, and by which the evil is fixed. The

¹ In this reading, instead of the usual *αβλανάναλβα*, the present writer has been confirmed by the kind verification of Dr. Karo.

same effect may be obtained by encircling limbs with threads, whereby the inimical force is likewise bound fast. The human limbs chosen for this ceremony play quite a secondary part. In this sense we must interpret Ælian (*Nat. An.* iv. 48), according to whom a furious bull can be pacified only if a man whose right knee is bandaged with a fillet goes to meet it. The same idea of binding predominates in the ring (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 255, 97; Frazer, *GB* i. 401 f.; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' 42 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 16 f., 26, 1), for it is a band of metal. Aristophanes (*Plut.* 883 f.) is already acquainted with rings as potent against evil, and mentions the name of a man Eudamos (cf. schol. *ad loc.*) who traded in such rings. Alexander of Tralles recommends an iron ring, engraved with magic formulas, as a charm against colics (Heim, *op. cit.* 480, 57); Schlumberger (*op. cit.* 85) reproduces a golden ring, engraved with a snake and 'Ephesia grammata,' Wünsch (*ARW* xii. [1909] 19) one in bronze; Teukros recommends rings, engraved with constellations, for apotropaic purposes (Westermann, *Paradozoogr.* [1839] 148, 3).

It is, of course, exceedingly difficult to determine in each case why the object in question has come into use as a charm or amulet. Often it is not for a single reason; a whole series of beliefs may attach to an object. A more detailed classification could be undertaken only on the basis of an exact and repeated analysis of the whole vast subject-matter. This work has still to be done, and requires careful studies in different forms of belief. The present writer must content himself with giving a summary of magic objects, in so far as they have not already been mentioned above.

[The Literature which is given in the following list is, as a rule, not mentioned elsewhere in the article.]

MINERALS AND THEIR LIKE: Moon-dew (*virus lunare*), perhaps only Roman (Dedo, *De antiquorum superstitionis amatoria*, p. 3; Fahz, *op. cit.* 153); moon-shaped amulets (Jahn, *op. cit.* 42, 48); earth (Plin. xxix. 131; Marcell. Emp. xxxii. 20); Lemnian earth (*Ath. Mitt.* xxxi. [1908] 72 ff.), *γῆ ἀσπρία* (Pap. Lond. cxi. 169); Euboean earth, earth from carriage-tracks and footmarks (Riess, *op. cit.* 46, 46 f.); water (Riess, 44, 3; *Pap. Paris*, 224 ff.; Wessely, *Neus gr. Zaub.* 1893, p. 15); rain-water (Riess, 44, 55); sea-water (Riess, 44, 27), hallowed water (Christian; Wünsch, *Seth. Verf.* p. 75); fiery flame (Abt, *op. cit.* 239, 3); metals (*Her. das 4. gr. xx.* [1907] 964 ff.; Tamborino, *op. cit.* 83 f.); gold (Siebörg, *Bonn. Jahrb.* ciii. 129 f., 139, in whose underlying mythical idea the present writer has no faith; Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Amulett,' 1985, 60); silver (*Geopon.* xlii. 9, 2); bronze, pre-eminently used on grounds of ritual conservatism (Wünsch, *Defiz. Tab. Att.* p. iii f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 159 f.); iron (Riess, 'Abergel,' 50, 40; Dedo, *op. cit.* 13 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 161, 1; cf. also the sword which wards off ghosts [Pradel, *op. cit.* 382]); lead (cf. above, and Riess, *op. cit.* 51, 83); stones and jewels (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 252; Wessely, *loc. cit.* Abt, *op. cit.* 189 f., 204 f.; Tamborino, *op. cit.* 83); gems, covered, especially at a later stage, with signs and pictures for magic purposes (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Abraxas'; Riess in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Abraxas'; Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 1900, Hl. 381 f., 363; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 23, 2; Wünsch, *ARW* [1909] 22); pre-historic stone-axes (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' p. 40; *ARW* xii. [1909] 33; cf. a small axe made of thin bronze, from Crete, *ib.* vii. [1904] 265); magnet (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' p. 40); coral (Jahn, *op. cit.* 43, 51; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 253; Riess, 'Aberglaube,' p. 50, 37); salt (Plin. xxxi. 101; Wessely, *Griech. Zauberpap.* 1888, Index, *s.v.* 224; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 16; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 8; Pradel, *op. cit.* 363 f., 366).

PLANTS (Plin. xxv. 13; 'Carmen de viribus herbarum,' ed. Haupt, *Vorlesungsverz. Berlin*, 1873-4; Riess, *op. cit.* 51 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 253; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506; Wessely, *Neus gr. Zauberpapiri*, 1893, p. 15; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 41 f.; Pradel, *op. cit.* 361 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 140 f., 169 f., 182 f., 208 f.; Tamborino, *op. cit.* 85 f.; Eitrem, 'Hermes und d. Toten,' *Christiana Friensk. selsk. Forh.* v. [1909] 34 ff.), especially from Thessaly (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1499, 8; Dedo, *op. cit.* 5); asparagus (Dioscor. *De mat. med.* li. 151 [125 Wellm.]); cherry-stones (Marcell. Emp. vii. 27); honey (Deubner, *op. cit.* 46); incense (Abt, *op. cit.* 147, 205 f., 271 f.); juniper (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 6); laurel (Abt, *op. cit.* 151 f.); linen (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 26; Abt, *op. cit.* 289 f.; cf. Marignan, *La médecine dans l'église au sixième siècle*, 1887, p. 7, 8); mandragora (Randolph, *Proc. of Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, xl. [1905] 485 ff.; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 852, 6); peonies (Pradel, *op. cit.* 364 ff.); sea-onion (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 889, 7); wine (Deubner, *op. cit.* 45; Pradel, *op. cit.* 368); frankincense (Wessely, *loc. cit.*; Pradel, *op. cit.* 362 f., 372 f.; Tamborino, *op. cit.* 83), coal from the censer

(Pradel, *op. cit.* 365); perfumes (Wessely, *loc. cit.*); bread (Pradel, *op. cit.* 265 f.); eatables (Abt, 136 f.).

ANIMALS (Riess, 'Abergel,' 68 f.; Wessely, *loc. cit.*; Tamborino, *op. cit.* 86, 88 f.; Eitrem, *op. cit.* 30 f.); ape (*ARW* vii. [1905] 521); birds (*ARW* vii. [1905] 521; Abt, *op. cit.* 295, 1); boar (Abt, *op. cit.* 138); chameleon (Plin. xviii. 118); cock (Deubner, *op. cit.* 47); cricket (Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1829, p. 973); dog (Roscher, *Kynanthropie*, 1896, pp. 27, 66; 45, 125; Deubner, *op. cit.* 40); fish (Abt, *op. cit.* 141 f., 223); frog (Dilthey, *Arch. epigr. Mitt. aus Österreich*, li. [1878] 55 f.; Dedo, *op. cit.* 6); hare (Abt, *op. cit.* 137); hyana (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 24 f.); lion (Jahn, *op. cit.* 49 f.; Abt, 'Amulette,' 461); lizard (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 53; Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 23; Abt, 'Apulejus' 188 ff., 375 f.); owl (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1506, 21); stag (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 282 f.); triton-shell (*Brit. School Annual*, viii. [1908] 808, 4, ix. [1904] 291, 6; *ARW* vii. [1905] 523); vulture (Heim, *op. cit.* 552, 1); wolf (Roscher, *op. cit.* 45, 126; 56, 161; Pradel, *op. cit.* 372).

PARTS OF ANIMALS (Riess, *loc. cit.*; Abt, 'Amulette,' 452 f.); ashes (Alex. of Tralles, i. 443, 445 [Puschin, 1889]); Kroll, *op. cit.* 24; blood (Plut. *Qu. Cons.* 700 f.); eyes (Fahz, *op. cit.* 154 f.); test (*Geopon.* xlii. 14, 9); feces (Riess, *loc. cit.*; Gruppe, *op. cit.* 823; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 1906, p. 6; cf. art. FLEBEC); heads (Jahn, *op. cit.* 58); hippomanes (Abt, *op. cit.* 166); liver (Marcell. Emp. xxii. 41); tooth (Fahz, *op. cit.* 142, 8); wool (Abt, 'Apulejus,' 144 f.).

PARTS AND EXCREMENTS OF HUMAN BEINGS (Riess, *op. cit.* 88 f.; never in the magic papyri; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 27); hand (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 63 f.; cf. Wilhelm, *Oest. Jahresb.* iv. [1901], Beibl. 16 f.; Deissmann, *Philol.* lxi. [1902] 255; Weinreich, 'Antike Heilungswunder,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* viii. 1 ff.; esp. 17, 8; 48); foot (Weinreich, *op. cit.* 70 f.); in both cases the independent magic power of the members is a derived one—originally they were only the conductors of these powers (cf. the analogous remarks of Blankowski, *op. cit.* 238); dirt from the sandal (*Pap. Lond.* cxii. 492); blood and seed (Apollod. *Bibl.* li. 152 W.); saliva (Abt, *op. cit.* 280 f.); marrow and liver (Horace, *Epod.* v. 37 f.); fetus (Fahz, *op. cit.* 111, 3).

HEARTH (Riess, *op. cit.* 49, 11); door (Plin. xviii. 49); sieve (Riess, *op. cit.* 90, 67); purse-string (*Pap. Lond.* cxii. 208); clay from the potter's wheel (*ib.* 938); bell (Cook, *JHS* xiii. [1902] 5 ff.; Pease, *Harvard Stud.* xv. [1904] 29 f.); Abt, *op. cit.* 264, 2; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 282, 1; *IG* xiv. 2409, 5; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Tintinnabulum' (not yet published); wheels (M. Bieber, *Das Dresdner Schauspielerrelief*, Bonn, 1907, p. 21, note); small magic-wheels (*lryē*) in love-incantation (Hubert, *op. cit.* 151 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 172 f., 178 f.); statues of women and children with special gestures (Jahn, *op. cit.* 47 f.); gladiators (Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 288); images of Alexander the Great (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amuletum,' p. 258; Weinreich, *op. cit.* 75).

IMAGES OF GODS (Jahn, *op. cit.* 45 ff.; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' 42 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 23, 1; Abt, *op. cit.* 298; cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *loc. cit.* 256); Aion (Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 32); Aphrodite (Abt, *op. cit.* 195 f.); Apollo (Plut. *Sulla*, 29; Abt, *op. cit.* 299); the Ephesian Artemis in an aedoula, surrounded by 'Ephesia grammata' (Daremberg-Saglio, *loc. cit.* 256); Eros in love-magic (Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 14; *Pap. Paris*, 1843); Hecate (Jahn, *op. cit.* 88; Abt, *op. cit.* 204, c. 200 ff.); Herakles, fashioned in touchstones, therefore doubly potent (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' 40); Hermes (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 55; Abt, *op. cit.* 282 f., 800 f.); ithyphallic, the phallus ending in the head of a ram, in a Dellan shop (*BCH* xxx. [1906] 591, fig. 37); cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* 79, 208; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 288; Seigne (*op. cit.* Lond. cxii. 937).

SYMBOLS: geometrical figures (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1519; Prentice, *op. cit.* 188); Kerykelon (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 47); lightning (*ib.* 48).

PARTS OF SACRIFICES (Fahz, *op. cit.* 142, 9).

The potency of a charm may be enhanced in two ways: by the addition of other ingredients, or by adherence to special prescriptions as to rites to be performed when using them. Kropatscheck (*op. cit.* 69 f.) has enumerated several cases in which plants, combined with other matter, are used. The effect of the phallus was enhanced by tying on bells (Jahn, *op. cit.* 79; Wolters, *Bonn. Jahrb.* cxviii. [1909] 267 f.). Against fever, a caterpillar, wrapped in a piece of linen, tied round thrice with a thrice-knotted thread, was used, with recitation of a special magic sentence (Plin. xxx. 101). Against a cough the name 'Ialdabra' was written on a blank sheet, in which was wrapped a stone that had been taken out of a new sponge (Pradel, *op. cit.* 380 f.), and the whole was worn round the neck (Heim, *op. cit.* 587, 23). The so-called 'votive hands,' which were formerly regarded as an extreme example of the accumulation of magic ideas, should most probably be excepted here if we accept the interpretation of Blinkenberg (*Archæol. Stud.*, 1904, 66 ff.), which brings them into close connexion with the Phrygian cult of Sabazios; on the other hand, a remarkable golden amulet in the shape of a heart has been found in Crete (*ARW* vii. [1904] 265),

covered with different symbols: hand, snake, spider, scorpion, spiral, rosette (or shell) (*ib.* 273 f., viii. [1905] 523). A good example of the complication of rituals is given by Pliny (xxvi. 93). He records that a remedy is specially potent when applied by a naked (Jahn, *op. cit.* 93; Deubner, *op. cit.* 24; Abt, *op. cit.* 246, 1), sober (Abt, *op. cit.* 113 f.) virgin (Pradel, *op. cit.* 377) to a sober patient. The virgin thrice recites a magic formula, holding her hand in a prescribed position (Dilthey, *op. cit.* 62, 39 f.), and both exorcist (Abt, *op. cit.* 260 f.) thrice. The virgin is especially powerful on account of her purity, which quality, together with that of chastity, is indispensable to the efficacy of magic remedies (Abt, *op. cit.* iii. 115, 237, 241, 246, 258 f., 263, 330; cf. art. PURITY). Another remedy (Plin. xxiv. 172) is especially effective when rubbed in to the right (Abt, *op. cit.* 273 f.; cf. Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att. p. iv*) by three men of three different nationalities.

A passage of Pliny (xxviii. 46) shows how the idea of a remedy becomes mingled with that of magic by transmission. Against fever a piece of nail or rope from a cross was worn round the neck as an amulet. When healed, the person hid this amulet in a place which the sun's rays could not reach. The notion was that the nail or rope had absorbed the disease; and yet these objects possessed healing power only in so far as they were connected with the dead, and therefore had apotropeic force. We also find cases in which the amulet changes its function. The scarab from Tuscum edited by Wünsch (*Bull. Com.*, 1899, p. 289 ff.) is inscribed with a Greek magic formula, containing the invocation of an unnamed demon, for the purpose of a nocturnal oracle—thus a positive, spell-binding invocation. Wünsch is right in remarking that the proprietor of Tuscum is not likely to have used the scarab for purposes of incantation. It is more probable that he wore it as an amulet, after it had come into his hands in some way, for that is the usual form in which scarabs were used in Rome (Wünsch, *op. cit.* 294).

The forms in which the powers of a charm were concentrated on the possessor were manifold. On a tablet from Knidos (Wünsch, *Defix. Tab. Att. p. xii*, no. 91, 14 f.; cf. *ib.* xxiii^b) the chief possibilities are combined: *φάρμακον ἢ ποτὸν ἢ κατάχριστον ἢ ἐκαστὸν*, where the noun *φάρμακον* is limited consecutively by three verbal adjectives. The charm might be drunk (Fahz, *op. cit.* 132 ff.; Dedo, *op. cit.* 4; Pradel, *op. cit.* 372); even magic words written on some eatable substance, or dissolved in a potion, were eaten or drunk (Pradel, *op. cit.* 380 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19); even the act of licking sufficed—a practice to which the kissing of an amulet bears affinity (Kropatscheck, *l.c.*). Furthermore, the remedy might be applied as an ointment (Kehr, *Quaest. Mag. Specimen*, 1884, p. 19; Dedo, *op. cit.* 3 f.; Abt, *op. cit.* 143) or in the form of a powder (Pradel, *op. cit.* 363, 369). And lastly, one could bring it into contact (*ἐράγειν*, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 318; *Phoen.* 343) in any other way with the person to be bewitched, if evil was purposed. The remedy could also be effective by being merely worn (Pradel, *op. cit.* 375). Here the favourite form was the real amulet (cf. above), which is also prescribed most frequently by Dioscorides when he gives sympathetic remedies (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 67). Kropatscheck has discussed the different forms in which the amulet was worn (*op. cit.* 33 ff.; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* 41). It was wound round the head (which is important for the signification of the wreath), the neck, the right or left arm; or it was held in the hand (cf. Riess, *op. cit.* 52, 60; 65, 18). There is also a curious prescription to wear a golden or silver leaflet *σπαργητικός*, which Kropatscheck interprets as a mode of wearing it like a

military neck-ring (perhaps more correctly 'like the phalerae'). There are still other fashions: phylacteries are worn under the feet (Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' p. 39), under the tongue, or in the mouth (Theophrastus, *Char.* 16, 2; Fahz, *op. cit.* 138; Rohde, *Psyche*, i.², 1898, 237), or under the pillow (Riess, *op. cit.* 57, 23). Even the mere looking at a charm may be effective (Riess, *op. cit.* 59, 22; 69, 60; 74, 2; Weinreich, *op. cit.* 169 f.), and the knowledge of the god's name alone has the power of protecting against evil (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 19 f.). Without any loss of efficacy (Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298), charms are often enclosed in linen, or leather (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 34 f.), or in metal caskets: from this custom, as from the wearing of amulets in general, the use of ordinary jewellery originated (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Amulettum,' 254, 257; Riess, 'Amulett,' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1986; cf. Trendelenburg, *Blätter f. d. Mitglieder d. Wiss. Centralvereins*, no. 1, Berlin, 1909 [*Wochenschr. f. klass. Philol.*, 1909, p. 1025]). Not infrequently the proprietor may have had the intention of thus protecting his charm against contrary charms (Riess, *op. cit.* p. 1985; cf. Abt, *op. cit.* 282 f.), but the practical purpose must have been at least as frequently prevalent: the tongue of a fox or the heart of a lark cannot well be worn *in natura*, therefore we find for both the prescription to wear them in a bracelet (Plin. xxviii. 172, xxx. 63). If this is golden, as in the latter case, there is a conscious heightening of the magic powers. The same remedies are often found prescribed for eating, or for wearing (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 43), so that the mode of their use is not that which is significant. The variety of uses of one remedy recorded by Dioscorides has been quoted above (p. 434).

The Greeks endeavoured to protect not only themselves and their children (Jahn, *op. cit.* 40, 42) but also their entire household from evil powers: their cattle (Riess, 'Aberglaube,' 45 f., 'Amulett,' 1988; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 37; Pradel, *op. cit.* 377), the horses (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986, 1988; Weidlich, *op. cit.* 61 f.), the stables (Pradel, *op. cit.* 379; Prentice, *op. cit.* 138), the dove-cot, the hatching-places of the hens, the wine-casks, the grain, and the trees (Weidlich, *op. cit.* 73 f.), above all, the house itself and its entrance (Riess, 'Abergl.' 48, 3, 'Amulett,' 1988; Heim, *op. cit.* 509 f.; cf. Dedo, *op. cit.* 30, 1; Wünsch, *ARW* xii. [1909] 36), the workshops (Jahn, 66 f.; Prentice, *l.c.*), the implements of daily life (Jahn, *op. cit.* 159, 100; Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986 f.; Bienkowski, *op. cit.* 298), the clothes (Jahn, *op. cit.* 60), shield and weapons (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1986; Karo in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Ocrea,' p. 147; *Journ. intern. d'arch. numism.* ix. [1906] 5 ff.), towns, walls (apotropaic eyes on the town wall of Limena (Thasos), *JHS* xxix. [1909] pl. xviii. e), gates and public buildings (Jahn, *op. cit.* 59; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 20) sanctuaries, altars, graves (Riess, 'Amulett,' 1988) and the dead themselves (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 16). There is a tendency tectonically to unite the amulet with the object thereby protected—implements, weapons, clothes, buildings, and the like (the amulet thus becomes an apotropaion in its more restricted meaning). Lastly, the magic practice itself is protected by phylacteria against harmful anti-magic (Hubert, *op. cit.* 1516; Wünsch, 'Ant. Zauberg,' 38 f.; Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* ii ff.). Even animals were believed by the Greeks to make use of certain prophylactic means (Kropatscheck, *op. cit.* 37; Plin. xxiv. 174, whose testimony is, however, doubtful [cf. Riess, 'Abergl.' 57, 63]).

In many passages of magic literature the wonderful results attendant on the possession of certain charms are enumerated. Kropatscheck has made a selection of some (*op. cit.* 13 ff.; cf.

Hubert, *op. cit.* 1495; Abt, *op. cit.* 130), from which we obtain an impression of the good things the Greeks most desired to possess, and the evils they were most desirous to escape: love (φιλῶντα, Abt, *op. cit.* 175 f.), renown, victory in battle or in contests or in lawsuits (ib. 130 f.; cf. Hellwig, *Globus*, xc. [1909] 21 ff.), honour, riches, legacies, greatness, popularity, friendship [especially of influential people], life, and health (cf. a Byzantine bronze amulet with the inscription ΥΓΙΑ ΣΥ ΔΟΡΙΤΕ = *ὑγίαν σοι δωρεῖται* [*Journ. intern. d'arch. num.* x. 1907, 333 f.]), well-being, power, luck, success, peace, quietude, invulnerability, good looks, credit, memory, discernment, goodness, beauty, knowledge, many children, quick and easy birth, the gift of foreseeing the future, of exciting fear and admiration, of transforming oneself, of opening doors, of rending fetters and stones, of breaking magic spells, of becoming invisible or indiscoverable (the wish of runaway-slaves), of spell-binding the enemy, and of harming him, of getting and knowing everything one wished to have or know. The Greeks protected themselves against: the evil eye (Gruppe, *op. cit.* 878, 1; Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Fascinum'; S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, 1910, esp. i. 29), being bewitched by evil tongues (Abt, *op. cit.* 130), sufferings and illnesses of all sorts, such as fever, coughs, etc.; stress and danger by land and by water, storms and lightning, demons, ghosts and nightmares, somnambulism and frenzy (Tamborino, *op. cit.* 75 ff.), poisonous animals, especially snakes and scorpions, vermin of every kind (*Geopon.* xiii. 14, 9; Heim, *op. cit.* 478, 47; Riess, 'Aberglaube,' 89, 50), enemies and enmity, accusers, robbers, wrathful kings, lords, chiefs, and ruling powers (Abt, *op. cit.* 129), thieves (cf. Western. *Parad.* 145, 1 f.: βρώμα κλεπτελεγχον), impious deeds, and spells.

How much of the matter here enumerated is genuinely Greek cannot now be ascertained. Jahn (*op. cit.* 110) had already drawn attention to the great difficulty of obtaining 'eine Einsicht in den Gang der historischen Entwicklung.' Dilthey (*op. cit.* 66) considered a large part of ancient superstition to be of alien origin, and this supposition has only been strengthened by the researches of recent years. Especially Egypt, the old home of magic, transplanted its beliefs into Greece from the earliest times. In the *Odyssey* (iv. 219 ff.) an Egyptian charm is mentioned, and the scarab was a well-known form of amulet in Hellas (Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Amuletum,' p. 257). It is also impossible to make an exact division between Greek and Roman belief within the classical period, seeing that these countries stood in continual and close contact (Kroll, *op. cit.* 5), though no doubt the greater part of superstitious beliefs must have been imported into the matter-of-fact Roman mind. Riess ('Amulett' p. 1989) assumes the possibility of a classification into periods and nations by exact statistical work. Whether this will ever be realized remains to be seen. It is more important to recognize the primitive forms of belief, and to marvel at the tenacity with which old heathen forms have found refuge under the mantle of Christianity. The following striking example may stand for many. An old heathen house-benediction (Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1138, cf. *Eph. arch.* 1909, 22) reads as follows: 'Here lives the all-powerful Herakles, the son of Zeus; may no evil enter!' and on an early Christian house in Syria (cf. Prentice, *op. cit.* 140) we find the inscription: 'Here lives our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son, the Word of God; may no evil enter!'

LITERATURE.—(1) For the ancient writers, see Hubert in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Magia,' p. 1501; cf. also *Hermes*, iii. [1899] 1-80; *Catalogus codic. astrolog.* iii. [1901] 41 ff.; *Oxyrh.*

Pap. iii. [1908] 75, no. 435 (Blass, *APF* iii. [1906] 279, 218). The most important magic papyri are enumerated by Wünsche on p. 19 of his book cited below.

(2) Modern literature: the best compilation in Hubert, *op. cit.* 1494 ff.; also Jahn, 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks' (*SSGW*, 1855, p. 28 ff.); Dieterich, 'Papyrus magica' (*Fleckelsen's Jahrb.*, Supplementband xvi. [1888] 747 ff.); Heim, 'Incantamenta magica' (ib. Supplementband xix. [1893] 466 ff.); Weidlich, *Die Sympathie in der antiken Litteratur* (1894); Kroll, *Antiker Aberglaube* (1897); Dedit, *De antiquorum superstitione amatoria* (1904); Fahz, 'De poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica,' *Religionsgesch. Vers. u. Vorarb.* [RVV] vi. 3 [1904]; Wünsche, 'Antikes Zaubergerätaus Pergamon' (*Archaeol. Jahrb.*, Ergänzungsheft, vi. [1906]); Pradel, 'Griech. u. südital. Gebete' (*RVV* iii. 3 [1907]); Kropatschek, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu* (1907); Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apulejus' (*RVV* iv. 2 [1908]); Riess, 'Aberglaube' and 'Amulett' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 30, 1984; and Daremberg-Saglio, i. 1, 1877, s.v. 'Amuletum,' with the bibliography at the end.

L. DEUBNER.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Hebrew).—I.

In the OT the references to charms and amulets are, from the nature of the canonical literature, of a more or less incidental character. Still, such as they are, they suffice to show that alongside of the official religion, so to say, of Jahweh, there survived the antique and ineradicable belief in the efficacy of amulets which is so prominent a characteristic of the Eastern peoples, and of none more than of those of the Semitic group. The first of such references is found in Gn 35¹, where the association of the ear-rings of Jacob's household with 'the strange [better 'the foreign'] gods which were in their hand'—for these see below on the results of the recent excavations—shows that the ear-rings were regarded as of the nature of charms or amulets. The possession of such articles, and the belief in their efficacy which it implied, the Hebrew historian rightly regarded as inconsistent with whole-hearted devotion to Jahweh. In early times, indeed, it may be said that every ornament was an amulet (cf. the Aram. *kēdāshā*, 'holy thing' for 'ear-ring'). The venerable custom of wearing jewellery, in short, is believed to be less the outcome of female vanity than the result of a desire to secure the various orifices of the body against the entrance of evil spirits (see W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*², 1894, p. 453 and footnote).

Among the articles of female adornment in Is 318-29 we find, in addition to the more easily identified jewels, such as the 'nose jewels' of v.²¹—originally amulets to guard the nostrils—mention of articles which the etymology of the original (*lēpāshīm*) shows to have been charms pure and simple, hence RV rightly has 'amulets.' Their precise nature and form cannot be determined. According to Ibn Ezra (*Comm. on Isaiah, in loc.*), they were 'writings written upon gold or silver after the manner of a charm.' To judge from the context of the original term in Ec 10¹¹, the *lēpāshīm* may have been charms in the form of miniature serpents—a world-wide form of amulet (see last paragraph of this art. for illustrations). Another article in Isaiah's list is the *šāḥrōn* (v.¹⁹), literally 'little moon,' Vulg. *lunula*, RV 'crescent.' Golden crescents, which derived their potency as 'defensatives' from their association with the moon-god, were not only worn by the Midianite chiefs in the days of Gideon for protection in battle, but were hung, as amulets, about the necks of their camels (Jg 8^{21, 26}). Numerous specimens of such crescent ornaments have been found in the recent excavations.

Again, in 'the stone of grace' (Pr 17⁸ AVm), or rather 'stone of favour,' we may recognize a stone worn as a charm to procure favour or good luck for the wearer. The universal belief in red coral as an amulet is perhaps sufficient justification for finding a reference thereto in La 4⁷ (RVm). For the view that the obscure word rendered 'pillows' in Ezk 13^{18, 20} should rather be rendered 'charms' or 'amulets,' see W. R. Smith, *JPh* xiii 286.

Passing to the deutero-canonical writings, we find a striking instance of the use of amulets as protection against the risks of battle in the story of certain soldiers of Judas Maccabæus, who lost their lives in an engagement, and were afterwards found to have worn under their garments 'consecrated tokens (*leptôpara*) of the idols of Jamnia, which the law forbids the Jews to have aught to do with; and it became clear to all that it was for this cause that they had fallen' (2 Mac 12⁴⁰ RV). These *leptôpara* were probably small images of the heathen deities. An earlier parallel to this practice is found in 2 S 5¹, which tells of the Philistines bringing 'their images' (*âšabbêhem*, read: 'their gods' [*âšôhêhem*], according to the original text preserved in 1 Ch 14¹²) with them as charms to the field of battle. In Ben Sira's day (c. 180 B.C.) it was a common practice to wear amulets on the wrist, as appears from the figurative language of the original Heb. text of Sir 36⁸ (EV 33⁹): 'A sensible man understands the Word, and the Law is for him an amulet (*tôtepheth*), a band upon the hand' (so Smend).

2. In addition to the direct witness of the passages cited in the foregoing section, another important line of indirect evidence for the popular belief in the efficacy of charms and amulets among the Hebrews is to be found in the legislation regarding the three great 'signs' of Judaism, the phylacteries (Ex 13¹⁶, Dt 6⁸ 11¹⁸), the *mêzûzâ*, or doorpost symbol (Dt 6⁹ 11²⁰), and the fringes or tassels at the four corners of the upper garment (Nu 15^{37a}, Dt 22¹²). This is not the place to discuss the origin and nature of these 'signs' (see the relative art. in *HDB*); it must here suffice to say that modern scholars, reasoning from the existence of similar practices among the neighbouring peoples of Egypt and Syria, and from the analogy of similar adaptations in other religions, including Christianity, are inclined to explain the place of the 'signs' among the sacred laws of the Hebrews as due to the desire of the Hebrew legislators to find a place within the national religion for certain immemorial and deeply-rooted religious customs of heathen origin and associations. To enable this to be done, the customs in question were infused with a new significance and a worthier motive consistent with the religion of Jahweh. Indeed, as regards the first of these signs, the word of the original (*tôṭâphôth*), which our EVV render by 'frontlets', can mean only 'jewels,' or, more probably, 'amulets' (see Sir 36⁸ cited above), worn upon the forehead ('between thine eyes') and the wrist ('upon thy hand'). Similarly the NT name for the sign in question, *φουλακτήρια*, i.e. 'amulets,' shows that the wearing of strips of leather or parchment inscribed with words of special potency as charms must have been an old and familiar custom.

The antiquity of the 'phylactery' is proved by the recent discovery of small tablets, which the Minæans were wont to wear, inscribed with the words 'Wadd^m Ab^m, i.e. 'Wadd (the national deity of the Minæans) is father'; see Nielsen, *Altarab. Mondreligion*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 192, with illustrations.

Further, the practice of inscribing doorposts and lintels with sacred names and texts in order to guard against the entrance of evil spirits is attested for many countries, and particularly for Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, ed. Birch, i. 361 f.; Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, 1896, p. 68 ff.). Later evidence of the special virtue popularly ascribed to both these 'signs' is afforded by the Targum on Ca 8³, which the paraphrastic translator interprets as signifying that the phylacteries and the *mêzûzâ* have power to prevent evil spirits from doing any manner of harm.

With regard, finally, to the third of the signs in question, the tassels (Heb, *ššîth*), the representations of Syrians and other Asiatics on the monuments of Egypt (see Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i., coloured plate ii. b), show that these ornaments were a feature of the dress of Israel's neighbours from an early period. Their position at the corners of the upper garment was doubtless due to superstitious ideas regarding corners, which have left their traces in other provisions of the Hebrew legislation; in short, the tassels were originally charms. That healing virtue was ascribed to them in NT times is seen from the incidents recorded in Mt 9²⁰, Mk 6⁴. Here may be mentioned the bells upon the skirts of the high priest's robe of office (Ex 28³², 39²⁶), now usually explained as 'a survival, like the gargoyles in our churches, of the primitive practice of the employment of charms to frighten away demons and evil spirits' (McNeile, *The Book of Exodus*, 1908, p. 185). The custom referred to in Zec 14²⁰ of hanging bells on the foreheads and necks of horses also belongs to the same circle of ideas. Numerous small bronze bells, such as are here mentioned, have been found at Gezer in strata known, on other grounds, to be post-exilic (*PEFS*, 1904, p. 353, illust. plate iv. nos. 4, 5).

3. A flood of fresh light has been thrown upon the great popularity of amulets in Canaan at all periods, even in the pre-historic, by the excavations of the last twenty years. Every site excavated has yielded its quota to the list of amulets worn by the living and buried with the dead. One of the oldest yet discovered comes from Gezer, in the shape of the 'metacarpal bone of a kid,' perforated with two holes for suspension, which was found in the cremation cave of the Neolithic inhabitants (*PEFS*, 1902, pp. 343, 348, illust. 350). In the following Canaanite period black slate was a favourite material for amulets. In shape these were 'either oval, rectangular, or sinker-shaped, generally flat, and always perforated for suspension' (*ib.* 343, with illust.). In this department of the ancient life of Canaan the predominance of Egyptian influence is very marked, especially, as we might expect, in Southern Palestine. Thus in addition to the countless scarabs in every variety of material, hundreds of amulets were found of an exclusively Egyptian type, such as the 'eye of Horus,' images of Osiris, and, in particular, of 'the bandy-legged Bes' (Erman, *Egypt. Religion*, Eng. tr., 1907, p. 75). The latter was regarded both as a talisman against serpents and other harmful creatures, and as a tutelary guardian of the home. While such purely Egyptian amulets as the figures of Ptah and the so-called 'dad' column, the symbol of Osiris (see *PEFS*, 1903, p. 212, plate ii. 28), were probably imported, the greater number were doubtless of native manufacture. Thus a mould for the making of Bes amulets was found at Gezer (*ib.* p. 214). For illustrations of these figures of Bes, see Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 1894, p. 40 (with a ring attached to the head); Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in S. Palestine*, 1902, plate lxxxiii. f.; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, 1904-6, figs. 99, 124.

Under the head of amulets the present writer would include both the plaques of Ashtart (Astarte), the goddess of fecundity, and the small figures, in the round, of the same deity, which have been found in such numbers at all the sites. They appear to be too small to have been used as proper objects even of domestic worship. Such images, however, help us to understand the nature of the 'strange gods' favoured by Jacob's household (see above).

The excavations further show that from the earliest times, shells of all kinds were reputed to possess prophylactic virtue. Even at the present

day in Northern Arabia 'almost every woman, every child, every mare and she-camel wear shells round the neck, for these protect from the evil eye' (Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, 1908, iii. 314). This venerable and universal superstition no doubt had a place among the popular beliefs even in Bible times, as it certainly had in the later Talmudic period (Hamburger, ii., art. 'Böser Blick'). For every death due to natural causes, it was believed that there were ninety and nine caused by the evil eye. The desire to be safeguarded against its baneful influence explains the vast numbers of beads of various materials and colours found in the excavations. Blue was evidently a favourite colour then as now; in Palestine, at least, flat, circular beads, blue with white in the centre, are to-day the favourite amulet, especially for the protection of animals.

This recalls an artistic silver amulet, found at Gezer, in the shape of a pill-box, covered in part with a deep blue enamel with a white spot in the centre. It was filled with white earth—small bags with earth from some sacred spot, such as a well's tomb, is a favourite present-day amulet—and fitted with a loop for suspension (*PEFSt*, 1903, p. 303 f. with illust.). With this pendant may be associated another of yellow glass, whose former use as a charm is placed beyond question by the Greek inscription which it bears in reversed letters: *εὐρυδὸς τῷ φορεῖντι*, 'with good luck to the wearer' (*ib.* 1904, p. 354 with illust.—where see for other amulets, including a tiny fish [a symbol of fertility] in ebony, plate iv. no. 13, said to be of Maccabæan date).

Serpents have in all ages been reckoned as powerful charms—a fact which justifies our placing here the miniature bronze serpent found at Gezer (illust. *ib.* 1903, p. 222). It can scarcely be separated from similar bronze models of serpents found by Glaser in Southern Arabia, with a hole through the head for a cord by which they were hung about the wearer's neck (Nielsen, *op. cit.* p. 190, with illust.).

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the article.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Indian).—In no region of the world, except perhaps W. Africa, is the use of various protectives against malignant spirit influence more common than among the natives of India. These races are constantly beset by the fear of danger from spirits of various kinds and from the evil eye, and to these agencies they attribute most of the diseases and other misfortunes to which they are exposed. Their strong faith in the efficacy of ritualistic cultus leads them to adopt various magical and semi-magical devices which they believe capable not only of securing protection, but of being used offensively to destroy an enemy. An examination of the various forms of domestic ritual, those practised at marriage, conception, birth, puberty, initiation, and death, shows that they largely consist of a series of charms and other magical devices intended to protect bride and bridegroom, mother and child, youth and maiden, and the mourners for the dead (see Colebrooke, *Essays*, London, 1858, p. 76 ff.; Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life*, Calcutta, 1885, p. 357 ff.; BG ix. pt. i. 31 ff., pt. ii. 227 ff.; Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, 1896, p. 94 ff.; Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs*, Oxford, 1906, p. 212 ff.).

The word 'charm' (Lat. *carmen*) primarily denotes 'the chanting or recitation of a verse supposed to possess magic power or occult influence' (*OED*, s.v.); in other words, what is commonly called a spell. In its secondary significance it includes material things credited with magical properties, worn on, or in close connexion with, the

person whom it is designed to protect; and in popular acceptance it is extended to various magical devices intended to effect the same object. Besides being protective, charms may be offensive, devised, as those used in the Tāntrik school, to injure or destroy an enemy. The 'amulet' belongs to a sub-class of the physical charm. It is usually defensive, and is worn about the person protected, in a case which is generally made of some metal. In order of date it is probably later than either the spell or the physical charm.

The word 'charm' has thus a very wide connotation, and it is difficult to arrange in orderly sequence the numerous devices of this kind used by the races of India. In general they are all based on the principles of Animism current among all classes of the population. The charms used in the official ritual of Brāhmanism do not, in principle, differ from those employed by the non-Aryan races or by foreign immigrants, like the Muhammadans or the Parsis. They are common to believers in all the existing religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Islām, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism—and many have been retained by native Christian converts. In this article the tribal and religious variances will be defined so far as it is possible to do so; but distinctions of race and religion do not, in themselves, furnish a basis for classification.

1. The spell or spoken charm.—The general name for these spells is *mantra*—a term which in the Vedic age was applied to hymns and prayers addressed to the gods, though at a later time it came to acquire a magical meaning. But, as the Vedas are comparatively late in the development of Indian religions, this may not represent the actual course of evolution, which was probably in the reverse direction, that is to say, from spell to prayer (see R. R. Marett, *FL* xv. 132 ff.; Jevons, *Introd. to the Study of Comparative Religion*, London, 1908, p. 151 ff.). In the later use of the word the *mantra* is all-powerful. 'The universe is under the power of the gods; the gods are under the power of *mantras*; the *mantras* are under the power of the Brahmins; therefore the Brahmins are our gods' (Dubois, *op. cit.* 139). In a similar class are the *ṭīja*, or 'seed,' the mystical letter or syllable which forms the essence of the *mantra*; and the *dhārāṇī*, which is the term applied to spells in Buddhist literature (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 146 f.). *Mantras* are of various kinds, the greatest being the *gāyatrī*, or invocation of the sun-god Sāvitrī (Rigveda, III. lxii. 10)—the most universal of all Vedic prayers or invocations (Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, London, 1891, p. 19). The Tāntrik *mantras* originating in the corrupt Śākta cultus fall into a different class. *Mantras* accompany every Hindu religious rite, and form a necessary part of every domestic ceremony. They assume many varied forms, being sometimes an adjuration to the deity in whom the suppliant believes, or who is supposed to be competent to secure the desired result; sometimes the appeal is made to some hero or deified saint; or it is addressed to the spirit producing disease or other calamity whom the worshipper desires to scare or prevent from doing further mischief.¹

Similar spells are used by Muhammadans, of which the most potent is the *Bismillāh* (q.v.), which is used before meals, at the putting on of new clothes, at the commencement of books, and when any new business is undertaken. In an

¹ The *mantras* used in the domestic rites are given by Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 78 ff.; Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906, p. 259; L. K. Anandha Krishna Iyer, *The Cōchin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909, i. 163 ff.; for the Tāntrik *mantras*, see Monier-Williams, *op. cit.* 197 ff.; for those used by the Hīmalāyan Buddhists, Waddell, *op. cit.* 141 ff., 214, 217.

abbreviated form, omitting the attributes of mercy ascribed to the Creator, it is used at the slaughter of animals and at the opening of a battle, with the object of averting blood-guilt.

2. Substances out of which charms are prepared, and other substances and devices used for similar purposes.—The list of substances out of which charms are prepared is extensive, and here only a selection, for purpose of illustration, can be given.

(a) *Various natural substances.*—To this class belong the branches, leaves, fruits, flowers, etc., of various sacred trees and plants. Such are the fig, mango, tulasi, or sacred basil, the *bel* (*Egle marmelos*), the bamboo, and many others. Thus, special trees are selected to form the pavilion in which the marriage rite is performed; leaves and flowers are hung round the necks of the bride and bridegroom, or on the mother during the pregnancy rites, or are placed in the room in which the marriage is consummated, or in that in which the child is expected to be born. At the marriage of Rājputs and some other tribes a coco-nut is sent to the bride as a fertility charm. Various kinds of grain are used in the same way. Rice, wheat, or barley is scattered over bride and bridegroom, and used in many other family rites. A compound of various kinds of grain is specially efficacious: women in N. India, in order to avoid the attack of demons, put under their pillows seven kinds of grain; each of these, by a later development, is supposed to represent one of the seven sisters of the malignant Mother-goddess (*NINQ* iv. 160; and, for the belief in the efficiency of various kinds of grain, see *BG* ix. pt. i. 389 ff.; Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885, pp. 94, 456). Mustard seed is often used in this way. In N. India demons are believed to fly before the stench of salt and mustard burnt in a fire of the wood of the sacred *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*); the ghost of the dead clinging to the Nāyar mourners in Malabar is repelled by rubbing them with oil in which the seeds of sesamum have been mixed (*NINQ* iv. 197; *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 351).

(b) *Substances derived from animals.*—These are believed to confer upon the wearers the courage, agility, cleverness, etc., of the creatures from which they have been taken. Among these may be mentioned the claws, teeth, fat, milk, rudimentary clavicles, and skin of the tiger or leopard (Dubois, *op. cit.* 112, 183; *NINQ* v. 200; Campbell, *op. cit.* 280; Thurston, *op. cit.* 265). At the coronation of an ancient Hindū Rājā he was sprinkled with the water of holy rivers mixed with the essence of holy plants, and he stepped on a tiger skin (for details, see art. ABHIṢEKA). The five products (*pañchagavya*) of the sacred cow—milk, curds, butter, urine, dung—and the extract (*gauḷochan*) prepared from her urine are used in charms and various rites (Dubois, *op. cit.* 43, 152 f.). The Nāmbūtiri Brāhman youth in Malabar wears a strip of the skin of the yak attached to his sacred thread (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41). The skin of the black buck (*Antelope cervicapra*), the sacred animal of the Aryans, forms the seat of the ascetic, and, when a man dying abroad is cremated in effigy, the leaf figure representing him is bound with a strip of the hide (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 99). Hair from the tail of the elephant, the pearl (*kunjaramāni*, *gajamuktā*) said to be found in its forehead, and another extracted from the brain or stomach, possess protective qualities and are used in charms (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 221; *NINQ* iii. 53; Crooke, *PR* ii. 240; Waddell, *op. cit.* 208); bracelets of ivory are protectives for married women (Campbell, *Notes*, 20; *BG* ix. pt. i. 376). The horn of the rhinoceros detects poison and cures epilepsy (Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1896, ii. 325;

Fryer, *New Account of E. India and Persia*, London, 1698, p. 288). The hair of the bear and the gall-bladder, worn by children, ward off diseases (Thurston, *op. cit.* 265; *NINQ* v. 180). In the Panjāb the horn said to be found in the head of the leader of a pack of jackals saves the wearer from being scolded, and in Madras realizes desires and secures jewellery from robbers (Blanford, *Mammalia of India*, London, 1891, p. 142; *PNQ* i. 89; Thurston, *op. cit.* 269 f.); its flesh cures asthma, and the head of a hyæna, buried in the stall, prevents cattle disease (Thurston, *op. cit.* 275 f.). The eye of the loris (*Loris gracilis*) is used in necromancy, and the small musk-rat, worn on the person, renders a man invulnerable to sword-cuts and musket-balls (*ib.* 270, 274). The custom of hanging the skulls of animals over the house-door and at the entrance of the village as a charm is common to many hill-tribes (Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1907, p. 35; Thurston, *op. cit.* 271; Waddell, *op. cit.* 484 n.).

Some birds possess similar virtues. The flesh of the species *buceros*, if hung up in the house, is believed to bring prosperity, and the bones attached to the wrists of children repel evil spirits (Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes*, Nagpur, 1866, p. 6). Chicken bones are worn in the same way by the Was of Upper Burma (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 505). The fat of the peacock, which moves gracefully, is, on the principles of mimetic magic, a cure for stiff joints; and smoking a feather in a pipe keeps off snakes (Thurston, *op. cit.* 275; *NINQ* i. 15). The habit of wearing feathers, common among the forest tribes, is probably due more to a desire for protection than for ornament (Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, pp. 284, 309; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. pt. i. 461). The wearing of boar tusks in the head-dress, as among the Abors and Nāgas of Assam (Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, plates xiii., xvi.), has been assumed by Ridgeway to be the origin of the Turkish crescent (*Man*, vii. 144, cf. *JAI* xxxviii. 241 ff.); but the moon seems to be sometimes used in charms, as when crescents of gold, with the points turned upwards, are worn as protectives by children in S. India, or when Mādhava Brāhmins in the Deccan make an image of the crescent moon on the marriage altar (Thurston, *op. cit.* 263 f.; *BG* xxii. 79; cf. Tylor, *JAI* xix. 54 f.; Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, p. 181 ff.).

Reptiles also are used in charms. Alligator flesh, particularly the testicles, is in repute as a restorative. A man in S. India who has been stung by a scorpion sits with an iron bar in his mouth, and applies chopped lizard flesh to the puncture; an equally effective remedy is the excrement of a lizard fed on scorpions (Thurston, *op. cit.* 274). In the Bahāwalpur State the sand-lion is known as *chor*, and is hung round the neck of a child suffering from a fever called by the same name; another insect hung round the child's neck cures convulsions (Malik Muhammad Dīn, *The Bahāwalpur State*, Lahore, 1908, pp. 12, 187).

(c) *Stones.*—Perforated stones are specially valued as protectives. An ancient perforated stone implement was found hung round the neck as a cure for goitre in the Central Provinces (E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk Tales*, London, 1909, p. 75; cf. Crooke, *PR* ii. 19, 164; *JAI* xvii. 135 f.). This, combined with the idea of fertility, is the probable explanation of the use of the potter's wheel and the household grindstone at Hindu weddings as a charm (Campbell, *op. cit.* 164, 335). In the orthodox Brāhman ritual the bride treads upon a stone with her right foot, while the bridegroom says: 'Ascend this stone; distress my foe; be firm like this stone.' Similar rites are performed

at the present day among the higher castes in N. India, as well as among the forest tribes (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 135; Dalton, *op. cit.* 194, 234, 252). In the same way old flint implements are valued. They are stored at Saiva shrines, where they represent the *lingam*, and in S. India at the temples of Vighnēśvara the elephant-god, who averts evil; the Burmese use them for medicinal purposes, powdered celt being considered a cure for pain in the stomach and for inflamed eyes (Thurston, *op. cit.* 351; Crooke, *PR* ii. 12, 164; cf. W. Johnson, *Folk Memory*, Oxford, 1908, p. 121 ff.).

(d) *Precious stones*.—The same feeling attaches to many precious stones. They are most valued in special combinations. The collection of nine (*navagraha*)—ruby, pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, diamond, sapphire, amethyst, and cat's eye—and of five—gold, amethyst, diamond, emerald, pearl (*pañcharatna*)—are most efficacious. Jade, possibly under Chinese influence, is used as a charm, especially in the Burmo-Tibetan region; it diverts lightning and cures heart palpitation; when thrown into water it brings snow, mist, and rain; and, if poison be poured into a cup made of it, the cup cracks (Gray, *China*, London, 1878, ii. 356; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. W. Smith, 1854, iv. 196 n.; *NINQ* iv. 198). If a man bathes while wearing a turquoise, it is believed in N. India that the water which touches it protects him from boils and snakes; it is inserted as a charm in the forehead of images of Buddha, and, if large enough, it is engraved with a formula or the figure of a dragon (*NINQ* iii. 53; Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1906, p. 349). Coral wards off the evil influence of the sun, and purifies mourners from the death tabu (Campbell, *op. cit.* 69; Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 101). Similar protective powers are attributed to other precious stones (Campbell, *op. cit.* 119 ff.; Crooke, *PR* ii. 17 f.).

(e) *Beads*.—The protective value of beads depends partly upon the substances of which they are composed, partly on the fact that they are perforated, and thus exposed to the entry of spirits. Those worn by Saivas are made of the 'Rudra-eyed' (*rudrākṣa*), the berry of the plant *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*; those of the Vaisnavas of the wood of the sacred basil (*tulasi*), both bringing the wearer into communion with, and under the protection of, the deity. The shell of the cowrie (*Cypraea moneta*) is similarly hung on the necks of women, children, and cattle, and it is supposed to crack when the evil eye falls upon it (Campbell, *op. cit.* 126 ff.; Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 17). The blowing of the conch shell (*Turbinella rapa*) scares evil spirits from the temple-offerings, from the married pair, and from the corpse (Campbell, *op. cit.* 126). When the coils of the shell are turned to the right (*dakṣiṇāvarta*), it is specially valued (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 223).

(f) *Metals*.—i. *Iron*.—The demons and evil spirits of India come down from the Age of Stone, and for this reason they dread the influence of metals. Iron is specially valued as a protective (cf. Johnson, *op. cit.* 169 ff.). When a child is still-born, the Burmese place iron beside the corpse, with the invocation: 'Never more return into thy mother's womb till this metal becomes as soft as down' (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 3). The Vadvāls of Thāna, in order to guard against the spirit which attacks the child on the sixth day after birth (an unconscious recognition of the danger from infantile lockjaw, caused by neglect of sanitary precautions), place an iron knife or scythe on the mother's cot, and an iron bickern at the door of the lying-in room—a custom which also prevails in the Panjāb (Campbell, *op. cit.* 387; Malik Muhammad Din, *op. cit.* 98). An iron bracelet is worn by all Hindu married women, those of high rank enclosing it in

gold (Rajendralala Mitra, *The Indo Aryans*, London, 1881, i. 233, 279; Risley, *op. cit.* i. 532, 533, ii. 41). In the form of the sword it has special power. When a birth occurs among the Kachins of Upper Burma, guns are fired, knives (*dha*) and torches are brandished over the mother, and old rags and chillies are burnt to scare demons by the stench (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 399). The Muhammadans of N. India wave a knife over a sufferer from cramp, with the invocation: 'I salute God! The knife is of steel! The arrow is sharp! May the cramp cease through the power of Muhammad, the brave one!' (*NINQ* v. 35). On the Irrawaddy river in Burma iron pyrites are valued as a charm against alligators (Yule, *Mission to Ava*, London, 1858, p. 198). A curious belief in the sanctity of iron appears among the Doms (*q.v.*), a criminal tribe of N. India. They inherit from the Stone Age the belief that it is unlawful to commit a burglary with an iron tool; any one disobeying this rule is expelled from the community, and it is believed that the eyes of the offender will start from his head (*NINQ* v. 63).

ii. *Copper*.—Copper is a sacred metal with Hindus, and many of the sacrificial utensils are made of it. In the Panjāb a couple of copper rings or ear-rings scare the spirit which brings sciatica (*PNQ* iv. 149). The Lingāyats of Dhārwar, with the same intention, place over the corpse twenty-one small pieces of copper, on which sacred formulæ have been engraved (*BG* xxii. 115; cf. European superstitions regarding the use of bronze [Johnson, *op. cit.* 120]).

iii. *Jewellery*.—The same beliefs extend to precious metals in the form of jewellery, the use of which was in India prophylactic before it came to be ornamental. This is shown by the fact that jewels are used to guard the orifices and other parts of the body most exposed to the entry of spirits—the ears, nose, temples, neck, hands, feet, waist, and the pudenda. Further, among the forest-tribes, ornaments take the shape of the leaves, flowers, fruits, or berries of the sacred trees which were originally used for the purpose of protection; and to these are added the bones, teeth, or horns of animals, the virtues of which are thus communicated to the wearer (Campbell, *op. cit.* 20 ff.). The ring, in particular, is supposed to possess special power. In the folk-tales we find that a charmed ring, placed on the ground in a clean square, and sprinkled with butter-milk, secures the attainment of any wish (Temple-Steel, *Wideawake Stories*, Bombay, 1884, p. 199). In Burma, Kachin women wear, as protectives, on the front of the hair a silver crescent held up behind by cowrie shells, and on the upper part of the ear a silver circlet with a cock's feather (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 395). A ring of the *kusa* or *darbha* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) is worn on the fourth finger by Hindus during sacred rites, and is known as 'the purifier' (*pavitra*), that is to say, the protector from evil influences (Dubois, *op. cit.* 150 f.). That worn by the Nāmbūtiri Brāhmins of Malabar is usually of gold in the shape of the figure 8; it must be worn during certain rites, and those who do not possess a gold ring make one of the *darbha* grass for each solemnity (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41). All Hindus and many Muhammadans wear at marriage a crown of precious metals or tinsel as a protective.

iv. *Coins*.—Coins are used as protectives partly on account of the metal out of which they are made, and partly because Hindu coins are engraved with the figures and symbols of deities, Muhammadan with sacred texts. But it is only those of the older dynasties, not those of British mints, which are valued. In Nepāl, the local rupee, covered with Saiva emblems, is shown to a woman

when her delivery is protracted, and in N. India the coin of the Emperor Akbar, known as that of the 'four friends' (*chāryārī*), because it is engraved with the names of the four successors of the Prophet—Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān, and 'Alī—is used in the same way (Crooke, *PR* i. 116). The Deśast Brāhmins of Dhārwar, when child-birth is delayed, dose the woman with water in which old gold coins have been placed (*BG* xxii. 74). In Malabar, Nāmbūtiri Brāhman boys wear amulets containing the *chakram* coin, of which 28 make one rupee, and Venetian sequins are also worn to bring good luck (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 42, 41, 196). In Gujarāt, children of the Kāyasth caste are made to lick a little rice and milk from a rupee as a prosperity charm (*BG* ix. pt. i. 61). Coins of Queen Victoria were valued by Hīnalāyan Buddhists, because the image was supposed to represent the mild goddess known as the Great Queen; but they refused to accept those of King Edward VII., which they believed to represent the head of the Lāma (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*³, 354).

(g) *Salt*.—Salt, probably on account of its preservative qualities, is often used in charms. The Rantias of Bengal repel the evil eye by waving mustard seed and salt round the patient (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 209). In Gujarāt it is deemed specially lucky to buy salt on New Year's Day; to be freed from the death throes a dying person makes a gift of salt to a Brāhman; on the great spirit day in October, Hindu women make marks with salt at the cross-roads (*BG* ix. pt. i. 349). Salt is part of one of the elaborate Toda charms (Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 263 f.).

(h) *Colours*.—Special colours are prescribed in many charms. Yellow, red, and black are obnoxious to evil spirits. The belief in the virtue of yellow is one of the reasons why both Hindus and Muhammadans smear the bride and bridegroom with turmeric. The same explanation probably accounts for the use of the substance known as 'milkmaids' sandalwood' (*gopichandana*) for marking the forehead. Vermilion is used to mark the forehead, and is also applied as a protective to new clothes. The virtues of black are illustrated by the almost universal custom of smearing the eyelids of women and children with lampblack, partly because spirits detest black, and partly as a disguise against the evil eye (Campbell, *op. cit.* 63 ff., 458).

(i) *Strings, threads, knots*.—These are used as charms to produce union, and also to bar the entry of hostile spirits. All castes knot the clothes of the bride and bridegroom as a marriage charm. In a marriage in S. India an important part of the rite is the tying of the 'lucky thread' (*maṅgala-sūtram*), a saffron-coloured thread or cord attached to a small gold ornament, fastened round the neck and hanging down in front, like a locket. It is worn, like the European wedding-ring, by all married women, who never part with it during life; it is cut at the death of the husband, and its absence is a sign of widowhood (Padfield, *op. cit.* 126 f., 239). Analogous to this is the rite of tying the *tālī*, which, as its name imports, was originally a leaf of the palmyra palm (Skr. *tāla*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 224; Thurston, *op. cit.* 121 ff.). Among the Todas its place is taken by the 'bow and arrow touching' (*pursūtṭipimi*), represented by a blade of sacred grass and the twig of the shrub *Sophora glauca* (*Bull. Madras Museum*, ii. 159; Rivers, *The Todas*, 319 ff.). The tying of the marriage wristlet (*kankana*), which often consists of blades of *kuśa* grass, is common in most parts of the country (Dubois, *op. cit.* 222; *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 62; *BG* ix. pt. i. 45). Another form of this sacred thread is the Brāhmanical cord

(*yajñopavīta*), with which the high-caste youth is invested at the rite of initiation (*upanayana*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 160 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. 36 ff.). It is fastened with the special 'Brahma knot' (*brahma-granthi*). In another form of the rite in S. India the thread is reinforced with a strip of the hide of the male deer; or a long strip of it is worn as a sash (Padfield, *op. cit.* 77). During the rite of initiation a saffron-coloured thread is tied to the wrist of the neophyte (Dubois, *op. cit.* 165).

Another charm of the same class is the *rākhi* (Skr. *rakshika*, root *raskh*, 'to guard'). It is tied by women or by Brāhmins on the wrists of men at the Salono or Rakshābandhan feast held on the full moon of the month Śrāvana (July-August). It is closely connected with the Brāhmanical cord, a new cord being annually assumed on the same date at which the *rākhi* is tied (Padfield, *op. cit.* 78; Crooke, *PR* ii. 293). This is one of the symbols which mark brotherhood (see art. BROTHERHOOD [artificial], vol. ii. p. 862^b). A similar rite among Muhammadans is the 'year knot' (*sālgirah*), a string tied on the wrist of a child on its first birthday, which is replaced each succeeding anniversary (Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, Madras, 1863, p. 26; Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Calcutta, 1873, i. 267).

Similar uses of threads and knots as charms are numerous. Barren women, in the hope of obtaining offspring, tie knots of coloured thread on the marble tracery of the Saint's tomb at Fatehpur-Sikri (*q.v.*). The Burmese wear coloured string wristlets as a protection against cholera (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* ii. 108). The Kāmi woman in E. Bengal, when she names her child, ties seven threads round its wrist, saying, 'Be fortunate, be brave, be healthy' (Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 229). Among the Mrūs of the same region, every one attending a wedding has a thread tied round his wrist by the oldest woman of the bride's family; this must remain on the wrist until it decays and falls off (*ib.* 234). The Grand Lāma ties knots of silk round the necks of his votaries (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 321). If a Māla child in Madras grinds its teeth in sleep, a piece of broken pot is brought from a graveyard, fumigated with incense, and tied round the child's neck with a string rubbed with turmeric, or with a piece of gut (Thurston, *op. cit.* 265).

(j) *Fire and light*.—Lights scare evil spirits. Among the Kachins of Upper Burma torches are waved over a woman after her delivery (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 399). The Nāyars of Malabar place lights, over which rice is sprinkled, in the room in which the marriage is consummated (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 234; cf. Dubois, *op. cit.* 227). Among the Savaras of Bengal the bridesmaids warm the tips of their fingers at a lamp, and rub the cheeks of the bridegroom (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 243). The Muhammadan Khojas of Gujarāt place a four-wicked lamp near a young child, while the friends scatter rice (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 45). In Bombay the lamp is extinguished on the tenth day, and again filled with butter and sugar, as a mimetic charm to induce the light to come again and bring another baby (*PNQ* iv. 5). The folk-tales often refer to jewel-lamps guarding young children (Somadeva, *Kathāsariṭṭagāra* [tr. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880], i. 189, 246, 305). The Śrīgadd Brāhmins of Gujarāt at marriage wear conical hats made of leaves of the sacred tree *Butea frondosa*, and on the hat is placed a lighted lamp (*BG* ix. pt. i. 19; and cf. *ib.* 272).

Fire is commonly used for the same purpose. The fires lit at the Holi spring-festival are intended as a purgation of evil spirits, or as a mimetic charm to produce sunshine. Touching fire is one of the methods by which mourners are freed from the ghost which clings to them. When an Aror woman

of Kānara has an illegitimate child, the priest lights a lamp, plucks a hair from the woman's head, throws it into the fire, and announces that mother and child are free from tabu (*BG* xv. pt. i. 215). The rite of fire-walking practised in many parts of the country appears to be intended as a means of purging evil spirits; and the fire lighted by all castes in the delivery-room seems to have the same object. Such use of fire is naturally common among the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers (Shea-Troyer, *The Dabistān*, Paris, 1843, i. 317).

(k) *Shouting, gun-firing, etc.*—Noise is a charm against evil spirits. When epidemic disease appears in Burma, 'the whole population break out into yells, and make as much noise as they can, with the view of scaring away the evil spirit who has brought the disease' (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 282). Bell-ringing, drum-beating, and other forms of music have the same effect (Campbell, *op. cit.* 45 f., 108 ff., 407).

(l) *Incense and foul smells.*—The burning of incense and the production of foul smells act in the same way. In the Himalayas a mixture of incense and butter is burnt to scare demons (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 432 n.). In N. India, bran, chillies, salt, mustard, and sometimes the eyelashes of the patient, are waved seven times over a sick child; when these things are burned, if a foul smell is produced, as is necessarily the case, the infant is believed to be freed from the effects of the evil eye (*PNQ* i. 51).

(m) *Blood.*—Blood is used as a prophylactic against evil spirits, and marks the blood-covenant. At a Kachin marriage in Burma the blood of fowls is scattered on the bride and her attendants, and along the path by which she comes to the house of her husband (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 407). At animal sacrifices in Gujarāt, the blood is sprinkled on the image of the goddess, and on the floor and door-posts of the temple (cf. the Passover rite, *HDB* iii. 689); if the offering be made for the good of the community, it is rubbed on the gates of the town and on those of the chief's palace or hall, and on the foreheads of the bystanders; the exorcists and barren women drink cups of the blood, and the person making the offering takes to his house a portion, in which he mixes grain of various kinds, and this is scattered in the rooms of the house and laid in a corner of his field; even Brāhmins keep cloths steeped in the blood of the victim, as a charm against natural and spirit-sent diseases (*BG* ix. pt. i. 407).

(n) *Abuse and indecency.*—The custom of using foul abuse and indecency at various religious and domestic rites seems to be practised with the same object. The abuse of the bridegroom and his party by the friends of the bride, commonly explained as a survival of marriage by capture, is probably based on the desire to protect the married pair from evil spirits. In some cases, as a propitiatory charm, people submit to gross abuse, as when, on the feast day of Gaṇeśa, men who have to go out and risk the danger of seeing the moon fling stones at the house of a neighbour, in the hope that he may abuse them and thus remove the evil (Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, p. 610; Crooke, *PR* i. 16 f.; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, 1900, ii. 492; Farnell, *CGS* iii. 104, 172). Mock fights, which are often a mimetic representation of the victory of the powers of good over those of evil, are probably intended to secure the same object (Crooke, *PR* ii. 321; cf. Farnell, *op. cit.* v. 194; Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 290 ff.).

3. Charms written, engraved, or inserted in the flesh.—Charms of this kind fall into several classes.

(a) *The yantra*, 'that which holds, restrains, fastens,' is a combination of mystical symbols and

diagrams, drawn on copper or other metallic plates, and supposed to possess occult powers. One worn by a Nāmbūtiri Brāhman of Malabar had a pattern engraved on a silver plate, and the wearer alleged that its use relieved him from a feeling of heat in the cool season—a symptom which he attributed to the influence of an evil spirit (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 41, 305 ff.). Another yantra represented, on a sheet of metal, the enemy that the wearer wished to destroy; and it contained a threat that bodily injury or death would overtake him; to effect the same object, nails are thrust into the body of a live frog or lizard, which is enclosed in the shell of a coco-nut—the death of the animal and of the enemy being supposed to occur simultaneously (*ib.* iii. 51). For other examples of similar yantras, see L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochīn Tribes and Castes*, i. 307, 317. Witchcraft by means of such images is common (Herklots, *op. cit.* 215 ff.; Crooke, *PR* ii. 278 ff.).

(b) *Cabalistical squares.*—Such squares, in which the total of the figures in each column amounts to 15 or some other mystic number, are very commonly used. For examples, see Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 15, ii. 127 f.; *BG* ix. pt. ii. 147; Herklots, *op. cit.* 246 ff.; Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 457, 467.

(c) *The triangle and the pentacle.*—Mystic marks of this kind are used in N. India in the ornamentation of domestic vessels, which they are supposed to protect (*PNQ* ii. 29; Crooke, *PR* ii. 39). The pentacle is also used as a charm against scorpion-stings and fever (*PNQ* iii. 205; *NINQ* ii. 10). In Bombay the pentacle, when enclosed in a series of circles and curves, prevents a child from crying (Campbell, *op. cit.* 391). Muhammadans believe that by it Solomon was able to work magic. The trigrams used by Hīmalāyan Buddhists fall into the same class (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 395).

(d) *Representations of the eye.*—These are drawn on ships and boats as a sort of mimetic charm to enable them to see their way at night and avoid shoals and rocks. They are largely used by the Burmese and Siamese (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 81; Bowring, *Siam*, London, 1857, i. 393; cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 17 f.).

(e) *The svastika.*—The symbol of the *svastika* (Skr. *svasti*, 'welfare,' 'health') is known in Europe under the name of fylfot, cross cramponée, etc., and it is the *gammadion* of Byzantine ecclesiastical ornament. For its origin and significance, see art. CROSS; T. Wilson, *The Svastika*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1896; G. d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, London, 1894, p. 32 ff. It appears on the early Iron Age pottery of S. India. At the present day it is drawn on textile fabrics, on religious and domestic utensils, on representations of the footprints of Buddha and other Divine and saintly personages, and on the opening pages of account-books, etc., where it is believed to be a charm against all evil influences. In the normal form the arms bend to the right; in Buddhism they are 'always bent in the respectful attitude, that is, towards the left' (Waddell, *op. cit.* 389; Wilson, *op. cit.* 767).

(f) *The labyrinth.*—The labyrinth (Skr. *chakravayūha*) is used as a mimetic charm in cases of protracted labour, a figure of it being drawn and shown to the woman (*PNQ* ii. 114).

(g) *The charmed circle.*—The charmed circle, when made with substances like milk or ashes, which possess mystic powers, protects the person enclosed within it from malevolent spirit agencies. Thus it protects cattle from disease, and in the folk-tales we frequently find that a circle made of ashes is used to protect persons from demons (*PNQ* ii. 148; Crooke, *PR* ii. 41 f.; Somadeva, *Kathasaritsāgara*, tr. Tawney, i. 337). The *maṇḍala*,

or magic circle of Buddhism, is of the same type (Waddell, *op. cit.* 397 f.).

(h) *Handmarks*.—The mark of the hand made upon a house or any article in one of the lucky colours (see above, 2 (h)) is a protective charm (*NINQ* v. 116; cf. Elworthy, *op. cit.* 233 ff.). The handmark of a *sati* on her way to death is regarded as specially fortunate, and is preserved to this day on the gates of forts in Rājputāna.

(i) *Tatu*.—Ornamentation of the skin in the form of the tatu is probably based on various principles, one being its use as a prophylactic (*JAI* xvii. 318 ff., xxx. supp. 116, xxxi. 29; Crawley, *op. cit.* 135). In Burma, where the practice is most common, it appears in the form of various cabalistic and protective marks, as, for instance, in love charms, and to alleviate the pain of flogging (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 48 f., 50 f.). In Bengal it is a cure for goitre, and in Madras for muscular pains and other disorders (Risley, *op. cit.* i. 292; *Bull. Madras Museum*, ii. 116).

(j) *Charms embedded in the flesh*.—The custom of inserting in the flesh various substances as charms is wide-spread in Burma, and it was used by the Japanese to protect themselves against the armies of the Great Kaan (Marco Polo, ed. Yule, London, 1871, ii. 205, 207 f.; Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 51; Yule, *Mission to Ava*, 208 n.; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, ii. pt. i. 79). It is occasionally used by Rāmoshi (*q.v.*) thieves in W. India; and natives believe that the famous Madras mutineer, Muhammad Yūsuf Khān, had a magic ball inserted in his thigh, and that he could not be executed until it was extracted (*BG* xviii. pt. iii. 36 n.; Wilson, *Hist. of the Madras Army*, Madras, 1882-89, i. 386).

4. *Charms connected with sacred persons, places, etc.*—Some charms are connected with deities, holy men, and holy places. Hindus often wear round their necks little metallic locketts containing an image of the goddess Devī, or of some other divinity. In the same class fall the ammonite (*śālagrāma*) used in the worship of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, which is regarded as holy, either on account of its whorls, or because of the interstices which Viṣṇu, in the form of a worm, is said to have made on its surface; and the *lingam*, or phallic symbol, of Śiva. Both are valued as protective charms, and small images of the *lingam* are worn for this purpose by the Līngāyat (*q.v.*) order. In the same way the imprints of the footsteps of Buddha and Viṣṇu (*viṣṇupada*) are depicted on buildings and on various articles. In another class is the 'foot-nectar' (*charaṇmṛta*), or water in which the feet of holy men have been washed. This is often drunk or used as a charm, as is the water in which a sword has been plunged in the Sikh form of initiation (cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* 100 f.). The water from holy rivers, like the Ganges or Nārada, is given to the dying, and is valued as a remedy. In the same way, Muhammadans use water from the sacred well Zamzam at Mecca. It is used to break the Lenten fast, applied to the eyes to brighten the vision, given to the dying, when Satan stands by holding a bowl of water—the price of the departing soul (Hughes, *DI*, p. 701). Secretions of holy persons are used in the same way, such as pills made from the excrement of the Grand Lāma (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 397 n.; for similar holy pills, cf. the same author's *Buddhism of Tibet*, 323, 448); and the spittle of the Meriah victim of the Kandhs (*q.v.*) (Risley, *op. cit.* i. 405; Macpherson, *Memorials of Service*, London, 1865, p. 118), and of holy men in Gujarāt and Madras (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 127 n.; Dubois, *op. cit.* 132; Thurston, *op. cit.* 305). When cattle in Bahāwalpur are attacked with farcy and other diseases, earth from the tomb of the saint 'Alī

Ashāb is thrown over them (Malik Muhammad Dīn, *op. cit.* 159). Clay from holy places, like that from the Karbalā or Mashhadu'l-Husain—the great place of Shī'ah pilgrimage in Al-'Irāq—is given to the dying Khoja in W. India, to protect him from the arch-fiend (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 46). Dust from the footsteps of a cow was used to drive evil spirits from the infant god Kṛṣṇa; and, when a Hindu pilgrim bathes at a sacred place, he rubs the holy earth on his body, saying, 'Earth, free me from my sins, that, my sins being destroyed by thee, I may reach heaven' (Campbell, *op. cit.* 79). When a Mhār in the Deccan is possessed by an evil spirit, the officiant takes a little dust from his feet, and rubs it between the eyebrows of the possessed person, and the spirit leaves him; the Chitpāwan Brāhman boy at initiation has his hands rubbed with sand, and, when a girl arrives at puberty, she is rubbed with seven kinds of earth and then bathed; the Chambhārs of Poona put sand under the mother's pillow after childbirth; the seven kinds of sacred earth used in such rites are taken from a king's palace gate, from a hill, from under the foot of an elephant, from a place where four roads meet, from a cowshed, and from under the tree *Andropogon muricatum* (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 119, 141, 327). Pilgrims carry away with them from a sacred site in Assam scrapings of the rocks and soil, which they treasure as protectives, and place beside the corpse, in the belief that they protect the soul from transmigration into one of the lower animals (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 309). Pilgrims to Tibet bring back with them dust of a rock near the temple of medicine at Lhāsa, which is swallowed as a charm (Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, 376).

One of the chief sacred substances used in making charms is ashes. It is probable that these were originally the ashes of the sacrifice (*vibhūti*, 'great power'), which are still used by Śaiva ascetics to rub on the body and form their sectarial marks (Padfield, *op. cit.* 89). In the Hīmalāya one of the most potent charms against evil spirits is that known as the 'ashes formula' (*vibhūti mantra*), after the recitation of which some ashes are smeared on the forehead of the patient three times, and then rubbed off, so as to disperse the dangerous influence; and a patient of the Śaiva sect in S. India is rubbed with sacred ashes while a charm is recited (*NINQ* iii. 74 f.; Padfield, *op. cit.* 50). A bath of ashes is one of the modes of purification used by the Līngāyats (*q.v.*) (Dubois, *op. cit.* 181). The Mikirs of Assam use ashes as a cure to relieve blindness (Stack, *The Mikirs*, 51). The Todas, in order to avert the influence of demons, make a mark with ashes above the nose of the patient (Rivers, *op. cit.* 269). In Bombay, rubbing the head with ashes cures headache; a person excommunicated is relieved of the tabu by swallowing ashes administered by his spiritual guide; ashes from the censor of Maruṭi, the monkey-god, or some other guardian deity, scare spirits (*BG* xxii. 51, xxiii. 114). Ashes produced after the fusing of iron, copper, or silver, are regarded as the elixir of life (Campbell, *op. cit.* 21). Old women, both Hindu and Muhammadan, sprinkle ashes, with the recital of a formula, over the bridegroom when he retires with his bride, believing that this makes him subservient to her (*NINQ* v. 215). The ashes of the sacred fires, like that lighted at the Holi festival, and those maintained by various Musalmān saints and at Hindu temples, have high repute as prophylactics. In the folk-tales, the person exposed to witchcraft or spirit influence finds shelter within a magic circle of ashes (Somadeva, *op. cit.* i. 337).

5. *Places where charms are most frequently used*.—(a) *Cross-roads*.—It is a common habit to perform charms at the place where four roads meet.

In the orthodox Brāhmanical death-rites, lamps are placed at cross-roads (Colebrooke, *op. cit.* 102). At the marriage rite among the Bhārvaḍas in Gujarāt, a eunuch flings balls of wheat-flour towards the four quarters of the heavens, as a charm to scare evil spirits; and in the same province, at the Holi festival, the fire is lighted at a *quadrivium* (*BG* ix. pt. i. 280, 357). In Bombay, seven pebbles, picked up from a place where three roads meet, are used as a charm against the evil eye (Campbell, *op. cit.* 208). Some of the Gujarāt tribes, apparently with the intention of preventing the evil or passing it on to some traveller, sweep their houses on the first day of the month Kārttik (November), and lay the refuse in a pot at the cross roads (*ib.* 329). On the same principle, a common form of small-pox transference is to lay the scabs or scales from the body of the patient at cross-roads, in the hope that some passer-by may take the disease with him (Crooke, *PR* i. 164 f.). Many instances of such practices have been collected by Westermarck (*MT* ii. 256 n.), who comes to the conclusion that suicides were buried at cross-roads because the cross was believed to disperse the evil, so that this would be a favourite place where a person could divest himself of disease or other ills attributed to spirit agency.

(b) *Boundaries*.—Charms are often performed at boundaries, in order to protect the village from the entry of strange, and therefore hostile, spirits. The *baigā*, or medicine-man, of the non-Aryan tribes of the central hills, yearly makes a line with spirituous liquor along the village boundary to repel foreign spirits. The Kandhs, with the same object, used to offer animal sacrifices at their boundaries (Macpherson, *op. cit.* 366).

(c) *Cemeteries*.—Tāntrik charms, in which portions of corpses, human bones, or ashes from funeral pyres are used, are sometimes performed in cemeteries, which are believed to be the haunts of those demons whom it is the object of the charm to bring under control.

6. Conditions of charm-working.—(a) *Nudity*.—It is often an essential part of such rites that they shall be done in a state of nudity. A mason, in a state of nudity, sets up the 'magic stone' (*yantram rāyi*) in Madras (Thurston, *op. cit.* 264). In one of the folk-tales the conditions for working a charm are thus defined:

'Rise up in the last watch of the night, and with dishevelled hair and naked, and without rinsing your mouth, take two handfuls of rice as large as you can grasp with your two hands, and, muttering the form of words, go to a place where four roads meet, and there place the two handfuls of rice, and return in silence without looking behind you. Do so until the Piśācha [cannibal demon] appears' (Somadeva, *op. cit.* l. 255 f.; cf. 164).

This ceremonial nudity appears in many rites in India (*Journal Eth. Soc.* iv. 333 ff.; *JAI* v. 413; *PNQ* iv. 88, 197; Dubois, *op. cit.* 388). It perhaps represents profound submission to spirit power, or is based on the belief that clothes used in a sacred place or in magical rites become tabu and cannot be used again (W. R. Smith, p. 451).

(b) *Purity*.—The chief condition of successful charm-working is that the officiant must be in a state of personal purity. He must exercise extreme care in reciting the charm, lest, in the event of error, it may recoil upon himself. For this purpose he must be carefully instructed in the art. A person desirous of learning Muhammadan charms must repeat them several times for forty days, during which he should abstain from animal and certain other kinds of food (*BG* ix. pt. ii. 144). In a tale in the *Jātaka* (iv. 124 ff.) a man learns a charm from a Chāṇḍāla out-caste, and loses the power of working it because, through shame, he denies the source of his knowledge.

7. Methods of working charms.—The custom of waving things which are regarded as charms over

persons exposed to spirit dangers is common. The technical name for the process is *ārti* (Skr. *ārtrika*), and it is commonly used in making offerings to idols, etc. (Dubois, *op. cit.* 148 ff.). In Bengal, when a Nāpit bridegroom comes to fetch his bride, women wave round him a basket containing five lamps, five lumps of coloured earth, a looking-glass, a box, vermilion, turmeric, rice, and grass (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 126). The Malāi Vellālas of Madras swing a live fowl round the married pair, wring its neck, and give it to the musicians (Thurston, *op. cit.* 279). With this may be compared the Musalmān rite known as *taṣadduk*, in which a person takes upon himself the calamity impending over another. It is told of the Emperor Bābar that, when his son Humāyūn was dangerously sick, he walked thrice round him, took his illness upon himself, and from that time lost his health (W. Erskine, *Hist. of India*, London, 1854, i. 513 f.; cf. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, 1907, i. 217). It is said that his grandfather in this way removed the disease of the late Sir Salar Jung (Bilgrami-Wilmott, *Hist. Sketch of the Nizām's Dominions*, Bombay, 1883, i. 148). On the same principle, at Hindu and Muhammadan weddings, old women crack their fingers and touch their foreheads, thus taking upon themselves the danger which menaces bride and bridegroom.

A favourite mode of using charms is to write the formula on paper or on the inside of a cup, and then to dissolve the writing in water, which is administered to the patient. For the same purpose, charms are often engraved inside metal cups which are reserved for this special object (Thurston, *op. cit.* 357; *BG* ix. pt. ii. 57 n.; cf. Waddell, *Lhasa*, 377). Medical prescriptions, which are really charms, given by the Lāmas, are eaten by the northern Buddhists, who also drink the water in which the magical writing has been reflected (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 401).

8. Charms and mimetic magic.—From the examples which have been given in this summary account of Indian charms, it will have been made clear how largely they depend upon the principles of white magic in the forms known as 'mimetic,' 'sympathetic,' or 'homœopathic.' Two ideas underlie magic of this kind: 'first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted' (Frazer, *GB* i. 9). The following examples illustrate these principles. The Burmese, in order to protect a person from drowning, tatu a representation of an egret or paddy-bird on the body (Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* i. 56). In N. India, wearing the bones of a wolf makes a child active (*NINQ* iv. 198). The Nāmbūtiri Brāhman husband in Malabar, at the 'male-production' rite (*pūmsavana*), feeds his wife with one grain of barley and two beans, symbolizing the genital organs of the male (*Bull. Madras Museum*, iii. 116). So in Bombay, cutting off and swallowing a portion of the foreskin of a newborn child produces male issue (*PNQ* iii. 116). In Bengal, at a Magh wedding, the bride and bridegroom eat some curry and rice from the same dish; what they leave is kept in a covered earthen vessel for seven days, during which the married couple may not leave the village or cross running water. On the eighth day the vessel is opened, and if maggots are found in the food, it is believed to show that the union will be fertile (Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 32). Ague is cured in N. India by enclosing parched grain in a marrow bone, which is buried in a hole just where the shadow of the patient falls, with the invocation: 'O fever, come when this grain sprouts again' (*NINQ* ii. 9). In Madras, lumps of molasses are thrown into temple-tanks by

persons suffering from boils or abscesses, in the belief that the latter will disappear as the former are dissolved in the water (Thurston, *op. cit.* 352).

9. Amulets.—Amulets, which in the Tantrik school are known by the name *kavacha*, which means 'a cuirass, breastplate, or body armour', are formed out of the same substances as those used in charms. Passages from a sacred book, as by Muhammadans the sections of the Qur'ān known as 'The Daybreak' and 'Men' (Qur'ān, *śtras* cxiii., cxiv.), are often enclosed in cases made of silver or other precious metal, and are worn round the neck or on the parts of the body most liable to danger, physical or spiritual. Such cases are often beautiful specimens of the art of the jeweller (see illustrations from the Panjāb and Tibet in Baden Powell, *Handbook of Manufactures and Arts of the Panjāb*, Lahore, 1872, p. 178; Waddell, *Lhasa*, 348). When General Nicholson was attacked by a Ghāzi fanatic, he was obliged to shoot his assailant; the ball passed through a sacred book which he had tied across his breast as a protective (Kaye, *Lives of Indian Officers*, London, 1867, ii. 452). A curious form of amulet, known as 'the crown of the co-wife' (*saukan morā*), is used in N. India. It is an image of his first wife worn by a man who has married a second time. All gifts made to the new wife are first laid before the image of her predecessor, lest, through jealousy, the latter may work mischief (*PNQ* i. 14; Campbell, *op. cit.* 171). Compound amulets, containing a collection of various protectives, are commonly used. The Himalayan Buddhists wear cases containing little idols, charms, and written prayers, or the bones, hair, or nail-parings of a Lāma (Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, London, 1891, pp. 89 f., 141). Chin men in Upper Burma wear in their necklaces tiger and bear claws; women wear hog-deer teeth; children, claws of the wild cat; merrythoughts of fowls are worn to commemorate recovery from illness through the sacrifice of a fowl; in similar cases men wear cocks' feathers round the throat, or tigers' claws or cocks' feathers attached to their gaiters (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 469). An amulet worn by a man in the Panjāb was found to contain a piece of an umbilical cord encased in metal; a tiger's claw; two claws of the great owl turned in opposite directions, and fixed in a metal case; a stone, probably tourmaline or quartz; and an evil eye destroyer in the shape of a jasper or black marble bead. These were all considered necessary. But, as an additional precaution, were added some gold, a whorled shell, an old copper coin, ashes from the fire of a Yogi ascetic, an iron ring, a cowrie shell, and the five ingredients out of which incense is made. The owner admitted that the last articles might advantageously have been replaced by a *yantra*, or magic copper tablet (*PNQ* iii. 186).

10. Functions of women in connexion with charms.—Women, owing to their greater susceptibility to spirit influence, are often appointed to priestly functions (cf. J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to Gr. Rel.*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 260 ff.; Farnell, *op. cit.* v. 159 f.). It is old women of the family who usually perform the wave rite at marriage; and the same feeling accounts for the part taken in such magical rites by dancing girls and sacred slaves attached to the great Hindu temples (Campbell, *op. cit.* 336, 452 f.).

LITERATURE.—References to charms and amulets are found in many ethnographical works on the Indian races, some of which have been quoted in the course of this article. There does not appear to be any monograph on the subject. The most useful collections of charms are to be found in Sir J. M. Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885; E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906; *PNQ*, 1882-1887; *NJNQ*, 1891-1896. The use of charms forms a considerable element in the folk-tale literature. See the standard collections, such as Somadeva, *Katha-saritsaṅga*, tr. C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880; *The Jātaka*, ed. E. B. Cowell, Cam-

bridge, 1895-1907; Mrs. F. A. Steel and Sir R. C. Temple, *Widawake Stories*, Bombay, 1884; J. H. Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1888; Lal Behari Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, London, 1883; C. H. Bompas, *Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, London, 1909; M. Frère, *Old Deccan Days*, London, 1870; W. L. Hildburgh, in *JAI* xxxix. [1909], 368 ff.; A. N. Moberley, in *Memoirs As. Soc. Bengal*, l. 228 ff.

W. CROOKE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Iranian).—Although the name of the Zoroastrian priests, the Magi (on the meaning, see art. MAGI, and A. Carnoy, 'Le Nom des Mages,' in *Muséon*, new ser., ix.), has actually supplied the generic term for magic of all kinds, yet, as a matter of fact, 'witchcraft, incantations, and similar superstitions are indeed to be found among the ancient Iranian people, but apparently occupied no very extensive place' (Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 331). In this respect the Iranians stand in marked contrast to their Indian cousins, with their strong trend towards Tantrik and other superstitious practices. On the other hand, as the same writer justly remarks, a system which, like the Avesta, considers the whole world as filled with evil spirits and noxious creatures must naturally be disposed to avert the malignant effects of such beings. Among such are constantly reckoned some species of sorcerers or witches, known by the names of *jatū*, *pairika*, etc.; and 'witchcraft' is denounced as an abomination. It is against them, as well as against various forms of disease, noxious animals, and other physical ills, that prayers (*mañthra*) and spoken or written charms (*nirang*) are directed. The Parsis possess formulæ of incantations and magical prayers in abundance, and Anquetil du Perron published many in his second volume (*Spiegel, Traditionelle Literatur*, ii. 167, Vienna, 1860).

Several such efficacious prayers or conjurations against evil creatures occur in the Avesta itself; and certain Avestan passages were considered specially efficacious, and are written out even at the present day, e.g. *Yast* xxxii. 5. Of material objects used as amulets there are fewer traces. The *locus classicus* in the Avesta is *Yast* xiv. (the 'Bahram Yast'). Therein Zarathuštra asks what remedy there may be if a man who hates him throw a curse upon him, or utter a spell against him. Ahura Mazda directs him to 'take a feather of the wide-winged bird *vārengana* (owl, or raven[?]), and with it rub thy body; with that feather thou shalt curse back thy enemies.' If a man hold a bone or a feather of this same bird, no one can overcome him, but he will be ever victorious over all foes (*Yast* xiv. 33 ff., 'a most remarkable passage,' as Windischmann says [*Zor. Studien*, Berlin, 1863, p. 211]). But these feathers can also be used in divining the future. When two hostile armies are drawn up facing in battle array, the prophet is told either to throw or scatter four of the feathers in the space between the hostile ranks, and whichever of the two shall first worship the Genii of Strength and Victory shall gain the day. This spell is esoteric, and must be told to none except by father to son, brother to brother, or priest to pupil (*ib.* 43-46). The bird here referred to soon became identified with the mystic bird, Saēna, the Simurgh (see Casartelli, 'Cyena-Simurgh-Roc; un chapitre d'évolution mythologique,' in *Congrès scient. intern. des Catholiques*, Paris, 1891, vi. 79-87), whose feathers, in the *Shāh-nāmā*, cure both Rustam and his mother of their wounds.

Several formulæ of spells or amulets used by Zoroastrians have been published in recent years. J. J. Modi, in two papers read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay in 1894, described a charm for ulcer in the corner of the eye, 'prepared by a respectable Parsee family of Nowsharee,' consisting of the root of a plant (*vār mogro* = *Jasminum pubescens*), plucked with very elaborate

ceremonial, bound round with yarn, and passed over fumes of incense. But the present writer doubts if this amulet, learned 'from a fakir,' is genuine Iranian. Modi also exhibited a stone amulet (marked with something like an eye) for the same disease. Again, he quoted a *táviz*, or written conjuration, against all diseases of the eye, written in a mixture of Avestan, Pāzand, and Pahlavi, and to be tied on the left hand. In 1891 the same author published a Pahlavi spell against noxious insects, to be written with saffron water on deerskin or paper, and posted on the house door, whilst sand is blessed and sprinkled. He interprets an Avestan fragment (published by Westergaard [frag. 2]), whose obscurity has puzzled all translators, as (according to the heading of one old MS) 'a *nirang* for forming friendships and companionships.' Three more such written charms are published by K. Edalji Kanga in the *Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, viz. one in Pahlavi, for the destruction of noxious creatures, including wolves; another, in Pāzand, against rats, cats, snakes, and wolves; a third, also in Pāzand, against fever, diseases, and the evil eye. Spiegel (*loc. cit. supra*) published two curious charms: 'In order to put a stop to cattle-disease, take the *vāj Ardibihist* and write it out on a skin; cut off a little wool from the scrotum of a ram, then bind it up, and at the place where the sheep pass, bury it in the earth' (p. 167). Another is a *nirang* 'to smite the evil spirit, the *dēus*, magicians,' etc., and is a prayer, based on that of Zarathuštra in *Vend.* xix. 17 ff.

It is noteworthy that in nearly all these various conjuratory formulæ (most of which are preserved in Persian *rivāyats*) there is special mention of the great Iranian hero Thraētaona, the later Farīdūn, with whom are often combined the star Tīštrya, and other heavenly bodies. This is probably owing to the fact that Thraētaona is specifically connected with the healing art and the origin of medicine, in the same way as the Greek Asklepios. It is interesting to learn from Williams Jackson that he found among the Zoroastrians of Yezd at the present day similar charms and amulets in use against the evil eye. The *mobeds* are frequently called in to read passages from the Avesta for this purpose (*Persia Past and Present*, New York and London, 1906, p. 379).

LITERATURE.—J. Darmesteter, 'Zend-Avesta, ii., in *SBE*, xxiii., tr. of *Bahram Yāst* and notes, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-93, ii. 570 ff.; F. Spiegel, *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 167 ff.; W. Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Alterthum*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 331 f.; J. J. Modi, *Charms or Amulets for Diseases of the Eye*, Bombay, 1894, *Two Amulets of Ancient Persia*, Bombay, 1901; K. E. Kanga, 'King Farīdūn and a few of his Amulets and Charms,' in *Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 141-145. L. C. CASARTELLI.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Japanese).—

There are comparatively few houses of the lower or middle classes in Japan where amulets are not to be found, either openly displayed upon an outer doorway, as a warning to ill-disposed spirits, or carefully preserved from contamination within the household shrine; and few families in which some, at least, of the members do not carry amulets upon their persons. The majority of them are more or less religious in character, for at almost every temple or shrine charms or amulets may be bought, often those issued by the temple itself, but perhaps more frequently, especially in the case of the smaller places of worship, those issued by greater temples, or by famous shrines, of the same sect. They are called *o-mamori* ('honourable protections'—a term applied to amulets of religious origin, but more particularly to those which are portable), and *e-fuda* (tickets of religious origin, to be affixed to some part of a structure), or *majinas* (a term including minor magical, or supposedly magical,

practices, together with secular amulets), and may be divided, roughly, into amulets purely religious in conception; amulets which seem purely magical in conception, although they receive a religious sanction; amulets to which certain religious associations are attached; and purely secular amulets. The underlying feature, common to the amulets of both religious and secular origins, of most of the amulets, with the exception, of course, of those by which the beneficent influence of some deity is believed to be caused to be directed towards the possessors, is that of sympathy—a sympathy so wide that it embraces not only actual contact or association with the objects or vehicles of the ministrations, but also even a mere mental association, as in a play upon words. While the main principles of this sympathy are the same as those underlying the amulets and magical practices of most peoples, there are, in Japan, certain manifestations of it which appear to be peculiar to that country.

In Japan, contrary to the common usage in other countries, very few amulets are worn as ornaments, but probably we may ascribe this largely to the comparative absence of jewellery among the Japanese, there being but few objects worn by adults which could be replaced, in case of necessity, by others having an amuletic purpose. The rings, brooches, and pendants, which so often have served as media for amuletic intentions in other countries, are (except where of recent introduction) almost lacking in Japan. Combs and other hair-ornaments are occasionally amuletic, as in the case of those made from the horns of, or even with small effigies of, the Kasuga temple deer at Nara, which are worn against headache. But even *netsukes*, which might reasonably be expected to be found often used as amulets, show an almost negligibly small proportion so used; beyond the bottle-gourd (admirably adapted for a *netsuke* because of its shape), which is believed to protect its wearer from injury by falling, there seem to be very few *netsukes* which are amuletic by virtue of their design, and similarly few which are intrinsically amuletic. Few Japanese amulets are carried exposed to view—not, apparently, from the notion, found in other countries, that the efficacy of an amulet may be impaired if it be shown, but probably because the Japanese costume makes, except in the case of children, no provision for them. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that the amulets used for the protection of houses or their inhabitants are generally placed in such positions that they cannot fail to attract the attention of those concerned. The personal amulets, sometimes twenty to thirty in number, carried by adults are carefully wrapped up in the form of a small packet, often with a piece (even a mere fragment) of brocade to serve as their own amuletic protection against impairment of their virtues due to accidental contamination. Children's amulets,¹ however, such as the small bell, the bottle-gourd, the *maigo-fuda* (label with the child's address) with protective designs, or objects believed to be curative of various ailments, excepting the fragile ones carried in a special bag (the *o-mamori-kin-chaku*), are commonly worn exposed to view, attached to the girdle (*obi*) or hung from the neck.

Amongst the principal purposes to which Japanese amulets are commonly applied are: general protection; protection from the demons causing ill-luck or various diseases; against accidents in general or of specific kinds, or to bear the burden of an injury in the event of an accident; the protection of houses, crops, or domestic animals; the

¹ Cf. W. L. Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic,' in *Trans. Japan Soc.*, London, 1908.

direct (supposedly medicinal) alleviation of various maladies in which the effects are not ascribed to demons; in connexion with the phenomena of gestation and childbirth; against bewitching; and for the bringing of good fortune or, very commonly, improvement in one's luck.

The earliest recorded Japanese amulets seem to be the mythical 'Tide-flowing Jewel' and 'Tide-ebbing Jewel,' given by the god of the sea to the heavenly grandchild, whereby the actions of the tide might be controlled.¹ The actual amulets of pre- and proto-historic times have left few distinct traces. So many foreign influences have since been at work amongst the assimilative Japanese, that it is almost impossible to determine which of the beliefs relating to amulets formed of perishable materials—wood, seeds, hair, skin, claws, etc.—are of native origin, and which of foreign or of late derivation. Presumably, the perforated teeth, perforated shells, and certain of the anthropomorphic figures and plaques, found in the graves, served, as amongst other primitive peoples, as amulets, although their purposes can only be guessed at, since, strangely enough, neither perforated teeth nor shells appear to be used (as amongst other peoples) as amulets by the present-day Japanese. The well-known *magatama* ('curved jewels') and *kudatama* ('tube-shaped jewels') of proto-historic times may possibly have been amuletic, but the present evidence of this is insufficient to enable them to be so classed with certainty. The printed charms seem to be Buddhist in origin, and to have been brought with Buddhism from the Asiatic continent, although they are also issued at present in great numbers by the Shinto shrines; the earliest specimens of block-printing in Japan were Buddhist charms, of which a million were printed, dating from A.D. 770.²

The charms sold at the temples and shrines consist, for the most part, of slips of paper, printed in black with a sacred text, or a more or less rude woodcut of the divinity whose aid is invoked, or the name of the shrine, or one or more of these, together with the purpose of the amulet; and they are generally folded up and enclosed in envelopes, often both the charm and the envelope bearing a red imprint of the seal of the shrine to attest their genuineness. Instead of the deity's picture, there may be given the picture of some animal or object intimately associated with the deity—the foxes of Inari, for example, or the wild-dogs of the deity at Mitsuminesan, whose likeness protects from burglary; or a horse, used by jinriksha coolies to increase their fleetness of foot; or a demon, the hand of Kobo Daishi, a fan, rice-bales, etc.—in virtue of which picture the charm may be used, because of its assumed sympathetic relations therewith, for purposes entirely unconnected with the divinity actually invoked. Some of the paper charms serve several purposes, such, for example, as those issued by the Suitengu shrines bearing five debased Sanskrit characters, which are carried for general protection, but which, a character at a time, may be eaten or drunk as remedial agents, or used in a domestic form of divination; or a certain picture of Daikoku bearing his sack, used as a traveller's amulet, or a draught for childbirth, or to represent the victim (a thief with his booty) in a ceremony for injury which is performed by perforating an image. Sometimes the charms are made of wood instead of paper, forming small tickets to be carried, or large ones to be fastened over doorways, upon ships, or in similar situations. At some temples, charms are issued for many different purposes; thus at the temple of Sensoji at

Asakusa, Tokyo ('Asakusa Kwannon'), the paper amulets to be carried (all alike in form and differing only in their inscriptions) included, in 1907, special amulets against lightning, dangers while travelling, dangers on shipboard, conflagrations, misfortunes in general, calamity due to sickness, burns or scalds, 'insects' (within the body, supposed to be the cause of certain ailments), and for the purpose of bettering one's fortune.

Other purely religious amulets sold at the temples include small images of the deities or their attendants, in wood, clay, or metal, or even carved from grains of rice; medals (a modern development, corresponding to the paper amulets for general protection); relics, such as fragments of the shrines periodically demolished at Ise; paper *gohei*; and food which has been offered to the deities. There are also preserved as amulets, although not commonly sold at the temples, *shari*, stone-like relics of Buddhist saints, which are generally kept in more or less elaborate tower-shaped reliquaries (*shari-to*), though they are occasionally carried upon the person.

The religious amulets are preferably obtained by their users, and during the course of a pilgrimage; but since a pilgrimage is not always feasible, a pilgrim will usually bring back with him a considerable number of amulets from the more famous and popular shrines for distribution among his friends. The cost of the paper amulets is generally very small, although amulets of finer materials may be fairly expensive. The paper amulets bearing Buddhist texts should be retained within their envelopes, and not taken out and read; this is probably intended merely to avoid danger of contamination. People prefer to renew their amulets yearly, if possible; and, when they have replaced the old amulets by new ones, they destroy the former in a 'clean' manner, by throwing them into running water or burning them in a fire of clean materials.

Of amulets, whose underlying conceptions seem purely magical, yet which receive a religious sanction and are sold by the priests, the charmed sand for the cure of disease and for protection, the fragments of stone to be carried by childless persons desirous of offspring, the parti-coloured girdles of paper to be worn as a protection during pregnancy, and the combs for straightening wavy hair may be cited.

The third category—amulets to which, although they are not sold by the priests, religious associations are more or less attached—includes a large and very curious class, of which only a few typical examples can be given here. Such are the small elongated packets of cooked food wrapped in leaves, thrown, tied together in bunches, from the processional cars at a great temple-festival at Kyoto to the spectators along the route, to be scrambled for eagerly, and thereafter, if not eaten, to be fastened up by doorways as a protection against thieves; the charred fragments of the wood used at certain fire-festivals; the lanterns affixed to the houses in honour of some religious festivals; and possibly, to a certain extent, the special toys or ornaments sold annually at various temple-fairs and placed within a shop to ensure its prosperity, or the sweepings of the outer platform of a popular temple, to be scattered in the morning just outside the shop, to ensure good trade for the day. As the extreme stage there may possibly be taken such amulets as the stick of holly with the head of a sardine stuck upon it, placed at the outer doorway at the Setsubun festival in order to prevent the demons from re-entering the house after having been magically driven out;¹ or various other objects, some genuinely religious, some

¹ Cf. W. G. Aston's *Nihongi* (Eng. tr.), London, 1896.

² B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, London, 1906.

¹ W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1906, p. 813.

secular in character, used in connexion with the New Year ceremonies, and preserved, as protective, throughout the year.

Of purely, or apparently purely, secular amulets there are a multitude, of so many kinds that it is possible here to refer only to some of the principal varieties. Corresponding to the religious printed charms there are secular written charms for all sorts of purposes, some of which are merely verses, or notices intended for the attention of the offenders, or even meaningless formulæ, while others consist of certain ideographs repeated many times and arranged in some specified design, or of magical formulæ, interspersed with magical designs. Some of the simpler of these charms are commonly known; others may be obtained from printed collections of household recipes; others require preparation by a professional magician or diviner.

Puns, although used in connexion with amulets, are more common in other forms of magic. The use of *imori* (a kind of red-bellied newt) for the production of an amuletic love-powder is probably derived from a pun on *imo* ('woman,' or perhaps 'darling') and *ri* ('victory' or 'gain').¹ Another form of the principle is illustrated by a cure for a corn (one name of which is *mame*, 'a bean') on the foot, in which the ideograph for 'pigeon' is written thrice upon the corn and then (when the 'pigeon' has eaten the 'bean') is rubbed out.

Images of persons or animals inimical to the feared sources of danger are used. Thus, an image of Shoki, the slayer of demons, is placed upon a roof to frighten demons away from a house; or a picture of the *baku*, a mythical animal believed to have the power of swallowing evil dreams, is painted upon a pillow, as a charm against nightmare. An extension of the principle to paper amulets consists of the written name of an enemy of the particular demons feared, pasted above a doorway in order to give the idea that the house is his. Another extension seems to lie in the use of the imprint of the hand, actually or supposedly that of some influential personage, in ink upon paper; this application of the hand-imprint apparently differs in origin from that of the imprint of the hand of a prospective or possible victim (generally a child) of certain diseases, which may be similarly placed. Representations of the animals of the Chinese Cycle are used to preserve from harm persons born in their respective years, or at some fixed time (such as that of the seventh animal away) from their respective years; for example, children wear *maigo-fuda* inscribed with a likeness of the animal of their birth-year. Living fish of a certain kind may be kept as amulets; the shells of molluscs or crustaceans are also used. Vegetables, fruits, flowers, seeds, and stems of certain kinds are used amulectically, principally about the house. Thus, in some districts a bulb (and stem) of garlic is fastened to the doorway, in order to protect the inmates from infectious diseases, presumably on the principle that the powerful odour of the garlic will overcome the odours believed to be connected with the diseases.

Certain coins and coin-like tokens are believed to have protective or curative virtues, due either to their composition (as in the case of the *bun-sen*, made from the metal of a Daibutsu destroyed by an earthquake), or to the inscriptions or designs, sometimes religious, sometimes secular, which they bear.² Children's toys of various kinds are used amulectically. For example, the *maneki neko* ('beckoning cat'), the image of a cat resting upon its haunches and having one forepaw raised as if

in invitation, is an amulet commonly used to attract custom to a shop; and the tumbling toy representing Daruma (a Buddhist ascetic whose legs dropped off through inaction) is used in a variety of ways, such as, because of its stability, to prevent a wrestler from being overthrown, or, because of its red colour, against certain diseases. Small bells, to whose tinkling the power of keeping demons away from a child is sometimes still ascribed, although the belief in their virtues is more often found at present in connexion with falling, are worn by children. The colour red, noted above, is often used in amulets or charms for general preservation, for the cure of several diseases, and for matters related to the blood. Certain magical properties are also attributed to purple, but in general there does not seem to be so great a reliance on the magical virtues of colours as is to be found amongst other peoples. The type of amulet in which the interests of numerous persons are combined in favour of the wearer of the amulet is well represented, one of its best illustrations being the girdle, commonly worn by soldiers in the Russo-Japanese war, of cloth containing 1000 knotted stitches, each made, with a short wish for the preservation of the future wearer, by a different woman.

In conclusion, attention should be directed to Western amulets, which are being introduced with Western culture. The medals now issued at several shrines have been noted, but a more striking example is that of the iron horse-shoe which, at seaport towns and in places where cavalry are stationed, may occasionally be found used as an amulet in European fashion.

LITERATURE.—W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, Lond. 1905; B. H. Chamberlain, 'Notes on Some Minor Japanese Religious Practices,' in *JAI* xlii. [1893], and *Things Japanese*, Lond. 1906; F. Brinkley, *Japan*, Lond. 1904, vol. v. ch. 6, 'Superstitions'; W. L. Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic,' in *Trans. Japan Soc.* (Lond.) 1903; J. E. de Becker, *The Nightless City*,³ Yokohama, 1905; E. W. Clement, 'Japanese Medical Folk-Lore,' in *TASS*, vol. xxxv. [1907]. Numerous references to charms and amulets are scattered throughout Chamberlain's *Murray's Handbook for Japan* (various editions); L. Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Boston, 1894; and J. C. Hepburn's *Japanese-English Dict.*, London, 1903.

W. L. HILDBURGH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Jewish).—It is necessary to define more accurately the meaning of the words 'charm' and 'amulet,' which are now used somewhat indiscriminately, though there is a profound difference between them. The field covered by both together is much larger than that by each of them separately, and they must therefore be treated separately if we are to gain a clear insight into this part of practical magic. The 'charm,' as the name denotes, is a *carmen* (from which the word is derived), an incantation, a mystical song or spoken spell. The 'amulet' is not the spoken word, but the written or engraved representative of it. It is worn as a protection, a talisman (*apotelesma*); it exercises a decided beneficial effect for the wearer, man or beast; it averts evil. The 'charm,' again, is the work of an expert: a priest, a wizard, one initiated, or one specially prepared and taught can perform it. It is of a twofold character: it may do good or it may cause evil. It may protect man from the attacks of unknown—and in some cases known—foes, human or superhuman; or it may inflict terrible diseases, nay, bring about the destruction of the enemy. It may also heal the patient by driving away the cause of illness, or it may transfer the illness to other persons. A charm may be only an incantation, the recital of a certain poem or a string of words,—some intelligible and some unintelligible to mortals,—and may be accompanied by some mysterious actions; or it may assume the form of a conjuration, a powerful oath binding the

¹ Hildburgh, 'Japanese Household Magic' (*loc. cit.*)

² Cf. N. G. Munro, *Coins of Japan*, Yokohama, 1904, for engravings of some of these.

forces of evil and compelling them to act according to the will of the 'conjuror.' The latter is credited with possessing the knowledge of words or 'spells,' which give him the mastery over such invisible powers; and he afterwards becomes the writer of the amulet or the maker of such mystical tokens and symbols, to which similar protective power is ascribed. And, just as there are unintelligible words in the charm, so there are unintelligible words and signs on the talismans. These are understood only by the man who draws them, and are dreaded by those powers which he wishes to subdue and make to serve his purposes, or whose aid he invokes in combating other inimical powers.

It was necessary to formulate at the beginning the theoretical aspect of the practical Kabbala, if this term be used in a wider sense, in order to explain the fundamental system of Jewish charms and amulets such as have been preserved to us and found in ancient books of magic and of mystical tradition. The names which charms and amulets bear in Hebrew are extremely suggestive. We, of course, eschew here everything referring to the magical practices mentioned in the Bible, for, on the one hand, they are things forbidden and not practised by the Jews, and, on the other, they belong to the art. MAGIC proper, whilst the charms and amulets are merely one part of the magical literature and practice of old. With the possible exception of the word *ḥashīm* found in Is 3²⁰, where it seems to denote a certain ornament worn by women, there is no direct mention in the OT of any real charm. Nor could it find a place there. The underlying idea of all charms is more or less a negation of the Unity of God. It presupposes a number of evil spirits endowed with great power, bent on doing harm to man or beast; and also various ranks or degrees of powers among these spirits or demons, some greater, others smaller. Therefore, if one could obtain the help of the more powerful, one could by their assistance avert all the consequences of the machinations and attacks of inferior demons. One could also use that assistance to the detriment of one's foes. Such a hierarchy of evil spirits, nay, the very existence of a powerful evil spirit who from without could injure man, contradicts the very principle of the Unity of God, and thus it is no wonder if no mention of charms is made in the Bible.

A problem which has hitherto not been touched upon is, How did the notion of such evil spirits, of demons and *shedim*, enter into the conception and beliefs of post-Biblical Judaism? The question is raised here for the first time, and we shall deal with it as succinctly as possible—mainly for the purpose of helping us to understand how such a remarkable syncretism could arise at the time of the beginnings of Christianity and be found in the mystical speculations of the numerous Jewish sects that flourished in Palestine, Egypt, and Western Asia during the last centuries before and the first centuries after Christ. The regular process observed in the religious evolution of nations has been that, when they adopted a new teaching, the old was not entirely forgotten, but only relegated to a secondary place of consideration. The gods of the older religion became the spirits and then the demons of the later. European demonology is the best and most convincing proof of this evolution. The old practices are retained, but when they cannot be sufficiently assimilated to the new principles, they become 'superstitions' (that which 'remains standing over,' 'survivals'). We assume now that the process of evolution in ancient Israel followed the same line, for then it is easy to understand how the Israelites became acquainted in the first place with demons and

shedim, and how the practice of conjuring them arose in their midst. The old gods of the aborigines and of the surrounding nations, and then those of the Babylonians and Egyptians, etc., became evil spirits, demons; and the ancient practices became 'the ways of the Amorites' (*Sanhedrin*, lxv. 6; *Shabb.* lxvii. 6), stigmatized as superstitions to be shunned, and rigorously forbidden to the observant Jew. Now the very essence of any 'god' and similarly of these 'gods' is the name. The knowledge of the name hands the god over to him who has obtained that knowledge, for with it he has obtained the full mastery over the god. If such is the case with the heathen god, it follows naturally that much greater would be the power of the operator if he obtained the knowledge of the names of the angels who minister before the true God, and still more if he could obtain the knowledge of the mysterious ineffable Name of God Himself, the creating Word, the power by which the heavens and the earth and the fullness thereof had been created. Everything and everybody short of God Himself—as the Name was only an outward manifestation of His creative power and not the sum and substance of His being—could then be made subservient to the wielder of that Name. The heavenly hierarchy, with its numerous angels and the manifold names of God, is set forth in the old book of the 'Heavenly Halls,' from which most of these names were drawn. A full discussion of the mysterious, ineffable Name of God, the Tetragrammaton, with its innumerable combinations, manipulations, and modalities, lies outside the immediate scope of this article. The whole Jewish magical literature, as well as the entire basis of Jewish charm and amulet, will be found, however, to rest on the use of that and other Names in the manner sketched above. The differentiation begins with the names and the *modus operandi*, but otherwise little difference can be found between one set and another.

The practices prohibited in the Bible, like the *yid'oni* or *hober heber*, as well as the *m'khash-shēph* (variously translated and no doubt erroneously), we pass over. Whether the 'singing' of David (1 S 16¹⁶), who thereby drove away the evil spirit, the *afflatus* (for that is the correct tr. of the Heb. *rūah*) which had taken hold of Saul, was an 'incantation,' it would be difficult to say. It is not impossible, though no one has yet suggested it. We may recall that the daughter of Saul had 'teraphim,' which she placed in the bed to hide the disappearance of David (1 S 19¹³), and David himself put on an 'ephod' (2 S 6¹⁴ and 1 Ch 15²⁷) as if he were a priest. The operations of the 'witch' of Endor (1 S 28^{7a}) are very obscure, but they remind one of the oldest forms of 'conjurations,' by means of which the dead are made to reappear in this world. But conjuration, casting out of evil spirits (by means of the Name), was an universal practice in the time of the Apostles; it must already have flourished long before among the various sects, and is referred to in the records of the NT. Not only heathen but also Jews exorcized demons (Ac 19¹³), and Justin Martyr in the 2nd cent. speaks of the Jews who exorcize demons (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 76):

'We exorcize all demons and evil spirits, [and] have them subjected to us.' Similarly ch. 86: 'But though you exorcize any demon in the name of any of those who were amongst you,—either kings or righteous men, or prophets, or patriarchs,—it will not be subject to you. But if any of you exorcize it in [the name of] the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, it will perhaps be subject to you. Now assuredly your exorcists, I have said [ch. 76], make use of craft when they exorcize even as the Gentiles do, and employ fumigations and incantations.'

Some of these exorcisms and charms seem to have been preserved in the later form of the Tables of Defixion, and in the Greek texts found in the

Magical Papyri where the 'Logos Ebraikos' and 'Orkismata Ebraika' are mentioned. They are conjurations and incantations for the protection of the wearers, or for the benefit of those who ordered them, averting evil or inflicting harm. Of the same nature may have been the conjuration or the exorcism of the Essene Eleazar, who drove out an evil spirit from a demoniac (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5 [45-49, ed. Niese]) by means of an incantation composed originally by King Solomon, and evidently forming part of the book in which he had left directions for expelling demons—'a method of cure of great force unto this day,' according to Josephus. The 'Logos Ebraikos,' mentioned above, of the Paris Papyrus (presumably of the 2nd cent. A.D.) has been shown by the present writer (*JRAS*, 1901) to be an abstract from the Book of Enoch, full of esoteric teaching, and considered to be a revelation of heavenly mysteries. The famous Table from Hadrumet is another exorcism preserved from ancient times, a real charm of purely Jewish origin, which gives us the very form and substance of these old charms and spells.

Another example of exorcizing a demon is contained in the Talmudical history of the journey of R. Simeon ben Yohai to Rome; he drives out a demon from the daughter of the Emperor, and thus obtains those favours for the people which he had been deputed to ask. The name of the demon was Ben Temalion (Bar Tolomeus!) (*Me'ila*, 17b). An incantation recited in the name of Jesus, son of Pandira, over a patient had the desired effect of healing the patient, though the man who uttered the exorcism was sternly rebuked for having used the name of Jesus in the exorcism (*Jerus. Shabb.* 14d). Apocryphal books, ascribed to Moses, Solomon, etc., and spells in Greek Papyri and Hebrew MSS which have thus far been preserved, allow us an insight into the form of these conjurations and incantations. They follow the general line. Mystical and magical names of angels and of God are invoked, and mixed up with them are incidents of Biblical history of a symbolical character; for it was expected that the reciting of an event in which God had saved either the whole nation or some individual, or healed one or many, would have the same effect of healing the patient to whom the words were addressed, and driving away the cause of the evil, the demon who possessed him. To certain passages and verses of the Bible a special symbolical meaning was attached: e.g. Ex 15th, 'for I, the Lord, will heal thee,' is mentioned in an incantation in *Mishn. Sanh.* x. 1. In *Sifra ad Levit.* 26th we find that the recital of Ps 92 'drives the *mazzikim* (evil spirits) from the world.' More of this will be mentioned later, when the incantation and exorcism have become amulets.

In Hebrew MSS of a later age the present writer has discovered almost identical 'conjurations' (*hashbā'oth*), into which also some astrological notions have crept. The sphere of good and evil powers expands. The magical 'pantheon' has no limits. Not only are the angels and God Himself appealed to, but in a special manner such angels and forces as are believed to inhabit the sun, moon, and stars; and in addition to them other invisible powers mighty upon earth and under the earth. The *apotelesmatic* literature and the 'Sabæan' mythology, reduced to magical formulæ, joined the other, in which only the names of the heavenly hierarchy were invoked. Such is the case in the 'Wisdom of the Chaldeans' (ed. Gaster, *PSBA*, Dec. 1900). In the so-called 'Testament of Solomon,' the Greek forms of such conjurations, going back to the first centuries of the Christian era, are found; and the Hebrew 'Sword of Moses' (discovered by the present writer, and edited,

London, 1896) is a complete manual of charms and directions as to how each of the numerous mysterious names in which it abounds is to be used on the different occasions when it would be applied. In these books, as in some of the Papyri, it is no longer an incantation or a recitation of powerful names by word of mouth which is to have the desired effect; the written word takes the place of the spoken. The ancient 'charm' has become a formula, which is inscribed on bowls, on pots, on parchment; and the names of these powers, when written down, exercise the same influence upon the evil demon as the spoken incantation. The 'charm' has been turned into an 'amulet.'

In Hebrew literature the name *kemī'a* is given to the amulet, and also *sgālōth* (plural)—the latter apparently of a more recent origin. Contrary to the etymologies given hitherto to the word *kemī'a*, explaining it to mean 'a folded thing,' 'a satchel,' with mystical writings in it or with certain drugs and herbs, the present writer sees it in the 'cameo' of the Gnostics, the gem with the mystical inscription and with the seal. From the gem the inscription was transferred to the parchment, and with it also mystical and magical symbols. The human figure engraved on it was, of course, omitted as being contrary to the commandment not to have any graven image of anything, or the likeness of that which is in the heavens above, or on the earth, or under the earth. But all the rest was placed in the amulet as a means of protection. All that was spoken before was now written down, and in addition to the words—and, as we shall see, of the verses and chapters of the Bible—there was the 'seal.'

Next to a name there was nothing so personal, so precise in the characterization of the individuality of each demon and spirit, as the 'seal.' Just as no two persons, much less two angels or demons, have the same name, so also, it is conceived, no two demons could have the same seal or signature. Each one has a seal of his own, by which he ratifies the pact and 'seals' the doom. By it he is recognized and identified, and the knowledge of that seal gives to the magician or exorcist the same power over that demon as the knowledge of the name. It is the *sphragis* of the Gnostic teaching and of the old magical formulæ. The Hebrew word for 'seal' is *hōthām*, and this is the clue to the explanation of the other name which the amulet has in Hebrew. It is called *sgullāh*, but more often *sgālōth*—a name which has hitherto baffled every attempt at explanation. For the Heb. word *sgullāh* means 'select' or 'treasure,' which has nothing whatever to do with an amulet. But by way of popular etymology the Greek word *sigla* (also plural), meaning 'ciphers,' etc. (i.e. the mystical seals), taken over with the amulet, was transformed into the Heb. *sgālōth*. The seal of the demon was regularly inserted in the prescription, and often added at the end of the formula. Here also there was a constant evolution going on. The seal was originally the 'signature,' written, of course, with special 'demoniacal' signs, or letters, or combinations. The demons as well as the angels had thus alphabets of their own. Such alphabets were then invented, and in these strange characters the mysterious names were written. There are such alphabets found in old MSS ascribed to the angel Metatron; then there is an alphabet of the angels, of Moses, of Abraham, and also of other unknown authorities, but of equal potency in subduing evil spirits.

The oldest mention of 'amulets' worn on the body is in 2 Mac 12th. 'Under the shirts of every one that was slain, they found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites which is forbidden the Jews by the Law'; and for this transgression in

wearing such things consecrated to the idols they were slain. The practice must have existed then in Palestine, for even the soldiers under the Maccabean could not free themselves from it. If, instead of 'things consecrated to idols' or votive offerings (?) banned by the Law, they had carried the Name of God or of His angels, there would probably not have been any exception taken. We next find the *kemi'a* in the Mishna as a regular practice sanctioned by common usage; the only question raised was as to whether man or beast would be allowed to wear it on the Sabbath (*Shabb. 78b, Kiddush. 73b*). It is there described as a satchel or a folded piece of parchment, with writing in it and containing also drugs. The writing supposed to have been in the *kemi'a* was a series of names of God and of Biblical verses of symbolical character, which were to protect the wearer from any attack of evil demon or illness. Besides symbolical verses with sympathetic contents, other verses were used on the strength of traditional interpretations that they contained one or other of the mystical Names of God. Of all the verses in the Bible, Ex 14¹⁹⁻²¹ are those of the highest magical and mystical importance. These three verses consist each of 72 letters, and one of the mysterious names of God consists also of 72 letters. Those three verses then are believed to represent the ineffable Name, and they are combined and transposed, and manipulated so as to form 72 groups of names of three letters each, one letter from each of the three verses. Nu 23^{22, 23} begins with the word which may mean either 'God', or 'No,' and forms a palindrome, if the word is read backwards, as is done with some of the Biblical verses in the amulets, mentioned already in the Talmud (*Pesah. 111a*). The formula of that prayer (amulet) alluded to in the Talmud has been preserved in full by R. Hananel of the 10th century. It runs as follows:

'Lord God save me from all evil, from all hurt and harm, for in Thine hand is strength and might, and Thou art God'; or, if the allusion is to Nu 23¹⁹, 'Do not forsake me, my God, do not leave me. Take care of me as of the apple of the eye, fulfil my wishes, grant my request, hear me before I call unto Thee; say not No.'

In addition to the Pentateuch, the book of predilection for such use was the Psalter, and not only were whole Psalms considered efficacious against magic (e.g. Ps 92 mentioned above, Ps 91 known as 'the song against evil attacks' [*shir shel p'ga' em*], and others, like Ps 145, which, if repeated thrice in the course of the day, would open the gates of Paradise), but each Psalm was a specific against one illness or other; for in some of the verses of each of the 150 Psalms a mysterious Divine name was concealed. A book called *Shimush Tehillim*, 'The mystical Use of the Psalms,' is mentioned from ancient times, and has been preserved. We find here an indication, at the head of each Psalm, of the good which may be accomplished by the recitation of it. The range of usefulness is very great. It covers many forms of illness; it affords help against robbers and evil-doers; it provides support for one appearing before a judge or ruler; it secures favour and love, protection against evil spirits, assiduity in study, and a good and retentive memory. To this very day the Psalms are recited, and the whole book read, in case of serious illness. The best known amulet is Ps 67, written in the form of a seven-branched candlestick, in a peculiar manner, and with the initial and final letters combined to form mystical names. Similarly a book called *Shimush Tefillin* is mentioned in writings of the 8th cent., but no positive information has been preserved. The phylacteries (for that is the meaning given to *Tefillin*) were considered as a protection against evil spirits as far back as the Targum

to Canticles (8³), but even in the time of Justin Martyr they were not yet believed to be amulets (*Dial. c. Tryph. 46*). Their efficacy in protecting against demons rested on the Biblical passages written thereon. In outward appearance they look like amulet cases worn to this day by the Arabs and found also among the ancient Babylonians. The inscription on the parchment inside was the protection, especially as some of the letters had to have a peculiar ornamentation, *taggin*, or 'crowns.'

More elaborate than the short incantations and amulets with Biblical verses and the names of God and His angels are those in which the astrological element had been added, and with it also foreign names whose heathen origin was entirely forgotten. Such are the 'Wisdom of the Chaldeans' mentioned above, where the guardian angels of the planets are fully described, and in some MSS also depicted; further, the so-called 'Key of Solomon' (the famous 'Clavicula'), and the 'Book of the Moon'—all full of the most extraordinary medley of Greek, Babylonian, Egyptian, and other ancient traditions, mixed up with Biblical quotations, and with references to the mysterious power of the combined letters of the various magical names, and having also *sigla* and other ornamented signs.

In more recent times the elaborate ancient amulet has given way to simpler forms—tablets, metal disks, medals with the names either engraved or stamped upon them, or small pieces of parchment to be worn round the neck, and consisting of Biblical verses disposed in magical intersecting circles, the corners being filled up with mystical names, and having, as a rule, the name 'Shaddai' in the centre, or Ps 67 written in the form of the seven-branched candlestick, with or without further additions from the Kabbalistic literature.

The history of Jewish charms and amulets has a romance of its own. In turns condemned and allowed, towards the middle of the 18th cent. the writing of certain amulets by a great Talmudical scholar not only brought him near excommunication, but almost divided Jewry against itself. R. Jacob Eibenschutz, the Rabbi of Hamburg, had written a number of amulets which, his antagonist Jacob Emden alleged, contained among the holy names also that of the false Messiah Sabetai Tsebi, and hence the writer was accused of being a partisan of the false Messiah. Being written in a cryptic form, the amulets could be deciphered so as to read as Emden alleged. The controversy lasted many years, and helped to destroy the belief in amulets among European Jews.

In defining here as briefly as possible the principal elements of Jewish amulets and spells, we have deliberately refrained from mentioning any date. The study of the beginnings of the Kabbala and of mysticism among the Jews in general is either in its infancy, or is influenced by biased notions and preconceived ideas, in most cases unsympathetic towards it. Assertions are made that it is of comparatively modern origin—9th-10th century—in spite of overwhelming contradictory evidence, which forces us to recognize that it belongs to a very old stratum of popular belief, and that it also grew and developed on familiar lines, adopting and adapting many elements from other sources and moulding them in accordance with the fundamental principle of the Unity of God and of the limited power of evil spirits. Popular beliefs know no rigid dogma, and much of that which is held to be strong and efficacious among other peoples is taken over in the belief that it would be beneficial. The literature of this branch of mysticism, practical Kabbala, is still mostly in MSS. It is also found among the medical recipes as a recognized part of the medical practitioner, who would use drugs and amulets indiscriminately or conjointly, for the use of the amulet is as wide-spread as that of any other medicine. There is nothing for which one or

more amulets could not be prescribed, and the practice goes even further, for by means of amulets such results could be obtained as the drug alone could not effect: luck, good fortune and riches, favour and strength, the power of making oneself invisible, covering wide stretches of ground in an incredibly short time, preventing persecution, slaying wild animals and wilder enemies, holding communion with the dead, obtaining a sword that would fight the enemies, and many more wonderful things which no real drug could produce. The subduing of evil demons through the invocation of the aid of good spirits is only a materialization of higher spiritual truths. Faith is the underlying principle. One example may suffice to give an idea of such amulets, inasmuch as it contains also the directions for writing it.

Against Fever.

'Ab Abr Abra Abrah Abraka
Abrahak Abrahakal Abrahak
Abrahak Abrahak Abra Abr Ab.

"And the people called unto Moses, and Moses prayed to God, and the fire abated" (Nu 112). May healing come from Heaven from all kinds of fever and consumption-heat to N. son of N. Amen Amen Amen. Selah Selah Selah.

This Name which we have written down as a cure against fever must be written exactly as it is written in the scroll of the Law, on specially prepared parchment intended for the sanctification of the name of God. It must be written with square or "Ashuri" letters, so that no letter shall touch the next, leaving a free margin round each letter; and it must be written in purity and whilst fasting. It is good also, after writing it, to place it folded in a piece of hart-leather or anything else that is proper, or one is to put it (sew it) in some cotton or some soft rag, and wrap it round with a piece of leather which has not come near any uncleanness. And, when thou hangest it round the neck of the patient, do it when he is not aware of it, or when he is asleep; and he is not to look at it all that day and the following night. The lines on the parchment must be drawn on the hairy side, and the writing must be on the flesh side; and it must be done in the name of the patient. The parchment must be cut in the name of the patient, and the drawing of the lines must be done likewise; and when he [i.e. the writer] dips the pen into properly prepared ink, he must say: "In the name of Shaddai who created heaven and earth, I, N. son of N., write this *kemi'a* for X., son of X., to heal him of every kind of fever." And then he must say the blessing of the *kemi'a* as follows: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, who hast sanctified Thy great name and hast revealed it to Thy pious ones, to show thy great power and might in the language (in which it is expressed), in the writing of it, and in the utterance of the mouth. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, holy King, whose great name be exalted!" (Cod. Gaster, 88 fol. 11, 'The Ets hada'ath of Elisha of Ancona' of 1586).

Here all the elements of the *kemi'a* are to be found: at the head the mysterious name which reminds one of the Abraxas; then the Biblical, symbolical, and sympathetic quotation; then an invocation in Aramaic; and the final threefold Amen and Selah. The writing and preparation are the same for every *kemi'a*. In others more of these mystical names occur, and *sigla* are added, besides the supposed figures of angels and demons, as well as signs and drawings—among them the so-called 'shield of David' (the hexagon), inscribed with various letters and holy names.

LITERATURE.—The books and MSS in which charms and amulets are mentioned are so numerous, considering that they form part of the practical Kabbala and are often referred to in the theoretical treatises on Kabbalistic teaching and speculations on the Name of God, that we limit the present bibliography to the most prominent books, in which prescriptions and formulae for conjurations, spells, and amulets form the preponderating part, or are exclusively devoted to this branch of Kabbala. Most of the books and MSS mentioned in the literature to art. BIRTH (Jewish) belong also to the present article. In addition the following may be given:—

PRINTED BOOKS.—Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, Frankfurt, 1892, pp. 172-179 (the whole of the Rabbinical mystical literature); *Sefer Hachaloth*, and *Sefer Yetsirah*, numerous editions; S. Raziel *Hama'alah*, 1st ed., Amsterdam, 1701, pp. 40-45b (the fountainhead of many modern amulets); *Harba de Moshah*, 'The Sword of Moses,' ed. M. Gaster, London, 1896; 'The Wisdom of the Chaldeans,' ed. M. Gaster, London, 1900 (PSBA); 'The Logos Ebraikos,' by M. Gaster (*JRAS*, 1901); *Sefer Shmishu Tehillim*, ed. Heidenheim, together with the Book of Psalms (Ridelheim, 4th ed. 1852) fol. 125b, 135a; *Maftach Shelomo*, 'The Claviola Solomonic,' ed. H. Gollancz, London, 1903; 'The Testament of Solomon,' Eng. tr. by Conybeare (*JQR* xi. [1899]); *Shem Tob Kaitan*, by Benjamin Benish, Zolkiew, 1798; *Derech Yesharah* of Reuben C. Abraham, Leghorn, 1788; *Dabek Me'at* of Abraham C. Shalom Hamwee,

Leghorn, 1874, and *Niftaim Ma'asecha*, Leghorn, 1881; *Yalkut Eliezer* of Zusman Eliezer, Freiburg, 1864-71, vol. iii. f. 88a-92b; R. J. Emden, *Sefot Emot Ya-lashon Zehuti*, 1762, with the copies of the alleged Ribenshtutz amulets; Jacob Asheri, *Tur Yotsh Deah*, ch. 179; Joseph Karo, *Shulchan Aruch*, *Yotsh Deah*, ch. 179, *Orach Hayim*, ch. 801, § 26-27; L. Blau, *Das altjüd. Zauberverwesen*, Budapest, 1899. M. Schwab's *Vocabulaire de l'angéologie*, Paris, 1897, is misleading and valueless.

MSS.—Of these every library possesses a greater or smaller number, but not one has yet been studied thoroughly or even carefully described. We mention, in addition to those enumerated in art. BIRTH, the following in the possession of the present writer [some of them are copies made for him of MSS in other libraries]: 'Habdallah de R. Aqiba,' Cod. 886 (Oxford, 1831); 'Sefer Hanoach' [entirely different from the well-known Book of Enoch], Cod. 621 (Br. Mus. Add. 15,299); 'Sefer ha-yashar' [attributed to the Gaon Samuel of Babylon], Cod. 834 (Oxford Cod. 1900); Cod. 88: 'Ets hada'ath of Elisha of Ancona, 1586'; Cod. 813: Hebrew and Arabic charms (Yemen, 16th cent.); Cod. 214: amulets (Yemen, 16th or 17th cent.); Cod. 232: amulets (orient. Spanish hand, 16th cent.); Cod. 492: amulets, Heb. and Arab., from the Genizah, Cairo; Cod. 727: collection of conjurations, 16th-17th cent. (cf. Cod. 1299, Br. Mus. Add. 27, 141f., 691ff., in which only a portion of these conjurations has been preserved by an Italian scribe of the 17th cent.); Cod. 720: a large collection of Kabbalistic amulets, 1647 (orient. Spanish hand [Galilee]); Cod. 765: 'Mekor ha-Shemoth' (Spanish hand 19th cent.; an alphabetical list of all the mystical names of angels, with indication of the Biblical passages whence they have been derived); Cod. 1000: collections of conjurations and amulets (orient. Spanish writing; many hands, 15th-18th cent.); Cod. 1285: from the Genizah of Aleppo (17th cent.). There may be added reference to the writer's Cod. 995—very likely the 'Almadel' (or Claviola) of Solomon (Morocco hand, 16th cent., with illustrations); Cod. 590 (Br. Mus. Or. 4360); and 'Sefer ha-Lebanah'—the last two being astrological compilations with directions for conjurations.

M. GASTER.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Mexican and Mayan).—As in other parts of America, the amulet was regarded in Mexico as a personal fetish. The wholesale manner in which everything pertaining to native worship or superstition was swept away by the Spanish Conquistadores renders a thorough knowledge of personal fetishism among the Nahu peoples impossible, but scanty notices in the writings of authors who lived in the generation immediately subsequent to the Conquest throw some light upon the description of charms and talismans in use among the Aztecs and kindred peoples. They appear to have been principally manufactured and sold by the priests of the various deities, in much the same manner as the medicine-men of the N. American tribes make and sell such articles. The use of charms was notable chiefly in connexion with the funerary customs of the Aztecs. On the death of a person, his corpse was dressed in the habiliments supposed to be worn by his tutelary deity, and was strewn with pieces of paper, which were regarded as charms against the dangers to be encountered on the road to Mictlan, the Mexican Hades. The papers in question contained written prayers or magical formulae to ward off the dangerous spirits to be met on the way; and this is reminiscent of Egyptian funerary practice. From time immemorial the Nahu peoples made use of talismans of hard sand-polished stone, such as are still carried by the Indians of Central America. They were employed as oracles, and their possessors were supposed to see future events reflected in their polished surfaces, much in the same manner as modern crystal-gazers profess to discern events to come in the globes they consult. It has been thought that the principal god of the Aztecs, Tezcatlipoca, had his origin in the figure of death believed to be described in these stones before a demise took place. In the Dresden Codex the *pinturas* represent the deceased on the road to Mictlan as wearing a wooden collar, probably an amulet, to show that he belongs to one or other of the Nahu deities. For the same purpose, probably, he wears a plume on his head.

The principal objects which have either come down to us or are known to have served the purpose of personal or household talismans to the Nahu peoples are:—

(1) *Death-masks*.—These were probably the skulls of ancestors, and were kept in the houses of their descendants. They consist of two classes: one in which the skull of the deceased person has been inlaid with mosaic, and the other in which a conventional image of the deceased has been manufactured by inlaying mosaic upon jade. These death-masks are not to be confounded with the masks spoken of by many writers on Nahua custom as being used by the priests in religious ceremonial, or with those placed on the faces of the dead to ward off evil spirits. The mosaic work of which they are composed is often of very great beauty, and excellent examples of it are to be seen in the American Room at the British Museum. Specimens of such work are exceedingly rare, and are chiefly confined to those objects sent to Europe at a period immediately subsequent to the Conquest. Numerous small masks and heads which served as amulets have been discovered on the site of Mitla, the city of Mictlan, the god of the dead. Most of them are of terra-cotta, and of good workmanship.

(2) *The tepitoton, or diminutive deities*.—These were small figures of the Lares and Penates type, but not, as has been thought, of the class of the Egyptian *ushabtiu*, or servant figurines. They were probably relics of a shamanistic form of worship, and nearer to the ancestor-idol type than the little fire-and-food gods of the Romans, though they possibly partook of the characteristics of both. At the close of the great sun-cycle of fifty-two years, when the Nahua thought the universe was in danger of perishing, they broke those small figures in despair, believing they could no more seek aid from them.

(3) *Travellers' staves*.—These staves, decorated with feathers, were carried by all merchants whilst on a journey, and showed that they were under the protection of Quetzalcoatl, the culture-god of Mexico, or, as he has been more aptly named, 'Man of the Sun,' the great traveller. Sahagun (lib. i. cap. 5) gives an interesting account of the worship of these staves by the Mexican itinerant merchants. On coming to their evening halting-place they tied their staves in a bundle, and sprinkled them with blood taken from their ears, tongues, and arms. Incense was brought and burned before them, and food, flowers, and tobacco were offered to them. Although the name of the staff, *coatli*, means 'serpent,' it had, so far as its nomenclature was concerned, no connexion with the Sun-Man; and, indeed, when the staves were gathered together in a bundle, the name they collectively bore was *Yacatecutli*, the name of the patron of merchants or pedlars. Still, the staff was regarded as the invention of Quetzalcoatl, the culture-hero, and those using it practically placed themselves under his protection.

(4) *Amulets symbolic of the gods*.—These were probably numerous, but few are recorded. Chalchihuitlicue, the goddess of water, was worshipped under the likeness of a frog, carved from a single emerald or piece of jade, or sometimes in human form, but holding in her hand a lily-leaf ornamented with frogs. In the Mayan codices it appears as a symbol of water and rain (Codex Cortesianus, pp. 12, 17, etc.). Images of it, cut from stone or made from clay, have been frequently discovered. They were kept by the post-Conquest Indians as talismans. The symbol or crest of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec war-god, was, as is implied by his name, a humming-bird. This crest, the *huitziton*, was carried before his priests in battle, and it is probable that they and illustrious members of the warrior class wore the symbol as a talisman or decoration.

(5) *Flint talismans*.—As elsewhere, the thunder-

bolts thrown by the gods were supposed to be flint stones; and these were cherished as amulets of much virtue, and as symbols of the fecundating rains. The Navahos of New Mexico still use such stones as a charm for rain, and believe they fall from the clouds when it thunders (*Senate Report on the Indian Tribes*, Washington, 1867, p. 358). The Chotas of Mexico continued until comparatively recent times the worship of their triad—the Dawn, the Stone, and the Serpent (*Diccionario Universal*, App. tom. iii. p. 11).

(6) *Amulets depicted in the Mexican and Mayan 'pinturas' or native MSS*.—The Mexican and Mayan native MSS give representations of what are obviously ornaments and personal decorations of the nature of amulets in great profusion, but, owing to the careless drawing displayed in the Mexican *pinturas*, it is almost impossible to determine their exact nature. The highly conventional manner in which they are executed is also greatly against their elucidation. The comparative clearness of outline in the Mayan *pinturas* renders it much easier to speculate upon the nature of the objects represented therein. But it is only by induction that the character of these objects can be arrived at, the ruinous intolerance to which all native American *objets d'art* were subjected having long since destroyed their very names. It will be well, then, to glance at the Mayan MSS while we attempt to discover what were the amulets worn by the figures depicted in them. We find that these objects are usually worn by figures representing gods, but it is well known that the symbol or ornament of the god usually becomes the symbol or ornament of his special worshippers—the people of whom he is the tutelary deity. In Egypt the *ankh* (the cruciform symbol of life carried by all the gods) was worn very generally, as was the *usut* (the symbolic eye of Horus, which protected the wearer from the evil eye, and against snake-bite), and the *thet*, the girdle-buckle of Isis. In early Scandinavia the raven-wings of Odin adorned the helmet of the warrior; and, not to multiply instances, which are numerous, we have already seen that the Aztecs wore amulets depicting the frog-shaped rain-goddess Chalchihuitlicue. Hence there is no reason to suppose that the special worshippers of other Nahua deities did not wear amulets depicting either their tutelary deity or some ornament supposed to have been worn by himself, and, perhaps, representing one of his attributes, like the staff of Quetzalcoatl, or the humming-bird of Huitzilopochtli. An examination of the three Mayan MSS which we possess—those of Dresden, Madrid, and Paris—shows that most of the deities therein represented are accompanied by certain distinct and well-marked symbols, which, it would seem, frequently decorate the figures of priests and people in the same MSS. The head-dress of Schellhas's 'God E,' the maize-god, for example, appears as a frequent symbol worn by persons represented in the MSS, and it is obviously correct to make of him a counterpart of the Mexican maize-god Centeotl, the latter deity being sometimes female, sometimes male, according as he takes the part of mother or son. 'God F,' again, the god of war and human sacrifice, who, Schellhas thinks, resembles the Aztec god Xipe, but who, in the present writer's opinion, more nearly resembles the Aztec war-god Huitzilopochtli, because of his general appearance, sometimes wears an ear-peg of huge dimensions—a common ornament in many Mayan sculptures. As each god in the Mayan MSS is represented with his monthly sign, it is not unlikely that his immediate devotees would have worn these much in the same manner as persons in Europe wear amulet-rings in which are enclosed stones typifying

the months of the year. The neck ornament of the frog-god 'P' seems to occur, too, with some frequency in the figures depicted in the Madrid codex, and the same may be said of several other apparent amulets.

(7) *Amulets among modern cognate tribes.*—The Zuni of New Mexico, who are distantly related to the Nahua of Mexico, possess a peculiar belief concerning amulets or personal fetishes. They imagine, upon discovering a fossilized animal or other object, that they have met with great good fortune, and explain the fossilization of these objects by a myth which relates how the two Sun-children—two hero-gods of theirs—being displeased at the multiplicity of wild animals in early times, turned many of them into stone by striking them with lightning, at the same time giving them a magic power to assist the children of men. See 'American' section of this article, §7.

LITERATURE.—B. Sahagun, *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1829-30; P. Schellhas, *Representations of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts*, Cambridge, Mass. 1904; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1888; E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1892-99; Marquis de Nadaillac, *L'Amérique préhistorique*, 1882 (Eng. tr. by N. D'Anvers, London, 1885).

LEWIS SPENCE.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Muhammadian).

—1. Historical and legendary sources.—In the so-called science of conjurations and talismans the Arabs show the same lack of originality as in the other sciences, e.g. Alchemy and Mechanics. They appropriated part of what had been already developed in this direction before their time, and did nothing beyond adding to existing formulæ a few invocations taken from the Qur'an. The sources from which they drew their knowledge of the art of talismans are, pre-eminently, Gnostic and Talmudic.

In their legends it is the prophets, Biblical and other, who are credited with the invention of charms. To begin with, they trace this invention back to the time of Adam himself, to whom, they say, this branch of knowledge was revealed; Adam's daughter 'Anāk was the first, according to the *Summary of Wonders* (Fr. tr. by Carra de Vaux, Paris, 1898, p. 142),

'to reduce the demons to serve her by means of charms. God had revealed to Adam certain names which the spirits were forced to obey, and had told him to communicate them to Eve, so that she might carry them about on her person as a protection. Adam obeyed, and Eve kept these names and was safeguarded by them; but, while she was asleep, 'Anāk took her by surprise and robbed her of them, and, by means of them, conjured evil spirits, practised the magical art, pronounced oracles, and gave herself up openly to impety.'

Solomon also, according to Musalmān legend, was a great magician. He controlled the beasts and the winds, and had the genii as well as the demons under his command. The legend, which is of Talmudic origin (see Seligsohn, in *JE* xi. 440), is introduced into the Qur'an (xxvii.). The great king is seen reviewing an army composed of men, genii, and birds; talking with the ant; sending the hoopoe on an embassy to the Queen of Sheba; and making the throne of that princess be brought to him by means of an 'ifrit (kind of genie).

Solomon's ring is celebrated in Arabian tales. In the popular tale of the fisherman (*Thousand and One Nights*) the hero draws up in his net a copper vase with a lid of sealed lead; he breaks the seal, and a genie escapes from the vase. This was a proud spirit who had once rebelled against Solomon, and had been imprisoned by the prophet-king in this vase and sealed with his seal. Descriptions of this famous ring¹ are given in the legends; it is the typical talisman, on which was seen inscribed 'the greatest name of God.'

The Berbers also were considered by the Arabic story-tellers as having been highly skilled in the art of talismans. In the *Summary of Wonders*

¹ The talisman that is actually worn in the Arabic and Jewish world under the name of 'Solomon's seal' is the hexagonal star. See the figures in Schwab, 'Le Manuscrit 1830 du fonds hébreu de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' *Notices et extraits*, vol. xxvi., and cf. Seligsohn, in *JE* xi. 448.

(p. 307) we find the queen of the Berbers contending against the Egyptians by means of talismans:

'The queen was the ablest magician among this people. Her subjects said to her, "Make talismans for us against the land of Egypt and its inhabitants." . . . Then she composed charms to enchant the Nile. She confided these to certain of her subjects, commanding them to take them to Egypt, and scatter them all over, and throw some of them into the Nile above this country. The men proceeded to the frontiers of Egypt, and to the most fertile places, and there they threw their talismans. Thereupon the people saw the Nile swell more quickly than they had foreseen. The rising exceeded all bounds, and the waters, remaining for a long time on the earth, spoilt all the crops. Crocodiles and frogs multiplied, and all sorts of epidemics attacked the inhabitants. Foxes and scorpions appeared from all directions.'

The priests of Egypt themselves were also skilled in the art of magic; but they were not clever enough to annihilate the power of the Berber talismans, and the country would have been lost, if king Mālik, who was then reigning, had not turned to the true God and embraced monotheism.¹

2. Arabic works on talismans.—Various Arabic authors have written about talismans, the way to construct them, their use, the processes necessary for conjuring demons, and the suitable formulæ in the incantations. Among these authors we may mention Majriti, Ibn-al-Wahshiya, and al-Būni.

The scholar Maslama al-Majriti († 1007), who was a native of Madrid, wrote on magic; he had travelled in the East, and brought back to Spain the writings of the 'Brethren of Purity.' The library in Vienna contains a book, under his name, entitled *Ghāyat al-hakīm* ('The Perfection of the Sage'), the aim of which is the construction of talismans.

The alchemist Ibn-al-Wahshiya (second half of the 3rd cent. A.H.), an Arabic forger, who is known chiefly by his book on *Nabatean Agriculture*, in which he unconsciously compares the ancient civilization of Babylon with the Arabic civilization, also wrote a treatise on the ancient alphabets of the various peoples, as well as a dissertation on the Egyptian priesthood, which was translated into English by J. Hammer, London, 1810.

The works of al-Būni are the best known as regards our present subject, and it is they that are used in our own day by dervishes and those who occupy themselves with talismans. They set out to explain the virtues of heavenly names, their use in talismans, the virtues of letters, etc. Muhyi ad-Din Abū'l-Abbās al-Būni died in 1225. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there are some amulets composed by al-Būni, and others attributed to the famous scholar Ghazālī.

Besides these books by well-known authors, there are in our libraries various treatises on charms ranged under very strange names, which are supposed to be Greek, Persian, or Indian. In Paris, e.g., there is a short treatise (Arab. no. 2630), very curious in point of angelology, which is attributed to Andahriush, or al-Dahriush,² of Babylon; another (no. 2634) is given under the name of the Hindu sorceress Cherāsim, who cites among her sources a book by al-Ṣūfās. In Budapest there are treatises by the Hindus Tomton and Chāmūr, the latter representing himself as a commentator on Plato.

3. Angelology.—The purpose of incantations is to conjure the spirits that preside over the life of Nature and of men. In order to subject the spirits to himself and force them to serve him, the magician must, first of all, know them and know their names. Hence arises a complete science of angelology. This science began to take shape among the Gnostics. Thus we are told by St. Irenæus (i. xxiv. 3) that Basilides gave names to the angels inhabiting the different heavens; and in the system of Valentinus the names of the Æons are given. They are bizarre words, probably derived from actual terms corrupted in transmission, perhaps by systematic processes of 'cryptogloss,' but now quite unintelligible to us; at one time Matter tried in vain to explain them. Other magic names used in Gnostic initiations are found in the *Pistis Sophia*. Among them we can distinguish the name of the Æon of Light. It is formed by a series of words, some of which are repeated two or three times, sometimes identically, sometimes with slight variations, to make doublets.

¹ According to Turkish tradition, the inventors of the art of magic were Ādim, Sheddād, and certain legendary Egyptian or Persian princes. See one form of these traditions in d'Ohsson, *Tableaux général de l'empire Ottoman*, Paris, 1787-1820, vol. i. p. 337.

² This is probably the same name as we find in Africa under the form al-Andhrin. The bearer of this name was a magician-king, who is responsible for a kind of popular talisman in Africa (see Doutté, *Magie et religion*, p. 152).

It is this Gnostic tradition—which will be seen, on the other hand, to pass into the Kabbala¹—that was followed by the Arabian magicians. We shall take as our guide here the manuscript treatise of Andahriush mentioned above. The author adopts, in the first place, the four great Islamic angels: Gabriel, Michael, Azrael, and Israfil. The names of these four great spirits often appear in talismans. According to the traditions of Islam, Gabriel, or Jibril, is set over the armies and the winds, and he also makes known the will of God to the Prophets; it was he who brought the Qur'an to Muhammad. Mikail (Michael) presides over rain and plants. 'Azra'il is the angel of death; he seizes the souls of men when their 'hour' is come. Israfil rules over these three archangels. He stands beside the throne of God, and guards the heavenly trumpet. The others receive their orders from God at his hands.²

But these four spirits, notwithstanding their importance in theological and popular tradition, seem to have somewhat lost their position in the occult theory of Andahriush, with which they do not harmonize very well. According to this theory, there are seven great angels by the throne of God, who have names inscribed on their foreheads, hands, and feet; the knowledge of these names gives great power in conjurations. The seven planets also have their angels, who appear to be quite distinct from the former seven. 'Ata'il is master of the power and light of the Sun. Bit'il presides over the fires of Venus. Chamkhil'il is the angel of the sphere of Saturn. Metatron is assigned sometimes to Jupiter and sometimes to Mercury, although he also appears independently, and is identified with the archangel Michael. Metatron is of considerable importance in the *Zohar*, where he practically assumes the rôle of Demiurge.

The treatise of Andahriush gives names of angels for every day of the week. There are seven for each day. They are called 'Vrit, a name frequently used in the *Thousand and One Nights*, and also employed as a proper name in the Qur'an. In other parts of the treatise we can distinguish fragments of a different nomenclature, in which the angels were distributed according to the days of the month.

The seven 'Vrit of the day and night of the Sabbath are called Yashenkur, Shauhsahr, 'Anjelush, Kalilush, Balilush, Madhilush, and Sherdush. The seven 'Vrit of Sunday are called Hendäush, Bariq, Shejfa, Markilush, 'Arduish, Alish, and Sa'ilq.

These strange names are sometimes, as in the time of Gnosticism, formed in doublets, in the same way as Gog and Magog in Biblical literature, and Yajuj and Majuj, Harut and Marut in Arabic. Thus we find the following terms employed to invoke great spirits: Talikh and Ilkh; Hib and Hoyub; Kalpar and Malpar; Kinkash and Yäkinash. See also the incantation of the scorpion given below.

In order to be an absolute master of the art of magic, it was necessary to know all these names, and the connexion of the spirits bearing them with different times and different objects. Next it was necessary to write suitable formulæ containing these names on appropriate material—silver, porcelain or silk—which was then sprinkled with the perfumes required in each case. Then the amulet had to be worn on a specified part of the body. In practice, however, it was very difficult to possess a special talisman for every individual case, and the people contented themselves with talismans having the general virtue of protection from all ills, or at least from a large category of ills; and the greater part of this science of angelology remained a dead letter.

4. The names of God.—A verse of the Qur'an (vii. 179) says: 'God's are the most excellent names; call on Him then thereby, and leave those who pervert His names.' The commentators have given lists of these names, which are, in their opinion, adjectives such as: the Great, the Good, the Merciful, the Learned, the Wise, the Subtle, the Beneficent, the Manifest, etc. Tradition has it that there are 99 such names. Pious Musalmāns recite them on their rosaries, and the mystics meditate on the qualities expressed in them; Ghazālī, *c.g.*, wrote a treatise entitled 'The Most Excellent Names.'³ These terms are employed in talismans; but 'the greatest name' of God—that name which possesses absolute magical virtue—is unknown to men. At the utmost it has been revealed only to prophets and saints. It is an ineffable name. This

¹ See S. Karppe, *Étude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar*, Paris, 1901, p. 79, and *passim*.

² Cf. the present writer's art. 'Fragmente d'eschatologie musulmane, in *Comptes Rendus du 5^e congrès intern. scient. des Catholiques*, 2^{me} section, 1896, p. 12; d'Ohsson, *loc. cit.* vol. i, p. 431.

³ Tirmidhi, Ibn Māja, and others have given lists of these names. Tables of figures are also formed, representing the numerical value of their letters. For a poetic version of the theme, cf. Sir Edwin Arnold's *Pearls of the Faith*, London, 1888.

idea of a name of God that cannot be spoken or heard by men is clearly connected with the Jewish custom of declining to pronounce the name of JHWH, when reading the Torah, and substituting for it *Adonai* or some epithet.

5. Various mythical beings.—The composers of Musalmān talismans employ the names of several other legendary personalities besides the names of angels. Those most commonly used are the Seven Sleepers and their dog; the angels Harut and Marut; and the collective beings, Gog and Magog.

The well-known legend of the Seven Sleepers belongs to several literatures, being found among Christians, among Jews, and among Musalmāns. The Qur'an alludes to it in plain terms, and calls the Sleepers 'the Companions of the Cave,' while one *sūra* (xviii.) is entitled 'The Cave.' Mention is also made, it is said, in this passage, of the dog that accompanied the seven young men (verse 8: 'Hast thou reckoned that the Companions of the Cave and ar-Raqin were a wonder among our signs?'). In the opinion of certain commentators, this *ar-Raqin* is the name of the dog, but others think that the word designates an inscribed tablet, in accordance with the sense of the root *raqama*, 'to trace figures.'¹ The young men had fled from the persecution of Decius, and had taken refuge in a cave. Here they fell asleep, and did not awake again till two centuries later, in the reign of Theodosius the Younger. Their cave was situated either on the sea-shore near Ephesus, or beside Qurrah, where the cave of Kharemi is found (Mas'udi, *The Book of Warning* [Arab.], Fr. tr. by Carré de Vaux, Paris, 1896, p. 202; J. Koch, *Die Siebenschläferlegende, ihr Ursprung und ihre Verbreitung*, Leipzig, 1883).

Harut and Marut are mentioned in the Qur'an (ii. 96): 'It was not Solomon who misbelieved, but the devils who misbelieved, teaching men sorcery, and what had been revealed to the two angels at Babylon, Harut and Marut; yet these taught no one until they said, "We are but a temptation, so do not misbelieve," . . . but they can harm no one therewith, unless with the permission of God.' These mythical beings belong to Talmudic tradition (cf. Hirsch, in *J.E.* v. 333). They were—so says an Arabian story-teller—two angels who, at the beginning of the world, had jeered at the weakness of faithless man, declaring that, if they had been put to the same test, they would not have been overcome. God allowed them to try the experiment, and they at once fell into sin. Then, having asked as a favour to undergo their punishment in this world, they were thrown into a pit near Babylon, where they were bound with their heads bent down, and where they must remain until the end of time.² (Kazwini, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1848, i. 61).

Gog and Magog (Yajuj and Majuj) are mentioned in the Qur'an (xviii. 98-99, xxi. 96). They were peoples of the North, who occupied vast territory and made incursions into the country of the South, spreading devastation everywhere in their course. Alexander stopped their progress by a wall of brass, which they are to overturn at the Last Day. This wall is located by some near the Caspian, by others in China. The historian Ibn Khordadbeh tells of a journey that the interpreter Sallām made there at the command of the Khalif Wāṭik (*Ibn Khordadbeh*, tr. de Goetze, p. 124, note; cf. Kazwini, *op. cit.* i. 400, 416; for a general summary, see Montgomery, in *J.E.* vi. 80).

6. Cabalistic letters.—In books of magic and in talismans, cryptographic alphabets of various forms are used. The majority of these alphabets, it appears, are not purely imaginary. We may recognize in their characters signs of the Hebrew or of the Cufic alphabet, somewhat deformed and altered by the addition of ornamentations. The author Ibn-al-Walshishi, whom we have mentioned above, gives a great number of cabalistic alphabets in his book, *Kitāb shariḥ al-mustahām* (see a notice by Gottheil on 'The Cabalistic Alphabets,' in *JA*, 1907). The twists or flourishes which often finish off the strokes in the magical writing are called 'lunettes' or 'crowns.' It is said in *Sepher Yesira* (tr. Mayer Lambert, p. 114) that every letter should have its crown, and that ancient amulet-makers thought the letters of no use whatever without their crowns.

The custom of using cryptographic alphabets among the Arabs was not confined to occultists. It appears even among scholars (see the alphabet in the mechanical manuscript of Oxford, which contains the Arabic text of the *Pneumatics* of Philo [no. 954; Marsh, 669; fol. 29]).

The theory of the power of letters had been

¹ In Arabic tradition the dog's name is Kitmir.

² In Turkish tradition Harut and Marut are called Mable and Melale, and are regarded as two famous magicians. On Harut and Marut, see also art. ARMENIA (*Zor.*) vol. I, p. 799.

sketched out in the time of Gnosticism (see, e.g., a treatise on the 'Mysteries of the Letters of the Alphabet,' quoted by Amélineau, *Gnosticisme égyptien*, Paris, 1866, p. 11). This theory was afterwards largely developed in the Kabbala. On this subject the *Zohar*, which belongs to the 14th cent., may be consulted. The Arabs do not appear to have made any very original use of it.

7. Magic squares.—The so-called magic squares are employed to a great extent in Musalmān magic. The false art of talismans may be said to pay homage here to real science, the construction of magic squares being a nice and intricate question of arithmetic. This method of arranging numbers was known to the Arabs as early as the 10th cent. A.D., for it is evident from the writings of the 'Brethren of Purity' that they knew the squares of 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9 parallel columns. The historian Ibn Khaldūn was also acquainted with some of these squares. They do not appear in Greek literature till later, the earliest text where mention of them is found being the treatise of Moschopoulos devoted to them, which dates from the end of the 14th century.¹

The Arabic manuscript 2,662, Paris, contains quite a number of magic squares of different appearance, but these are really nothing but the squares with 3 and 4 compartments in a row. The 9 or 16 consecutive figures employed in them do not start at unity, but begin with some higher number. One set, for instance, goes from 9 to 24, another from 10 to 25, and so on. They give the totals, each row, vertical or diagonal, of: 66, 70, 91, 131, 170, 258, 298, and 340. We give here the square constructed on the numbers from 9 to 24:

16	19	22	9
21	10	15	20
11	24	17	14
18	13	12	23

The total got by adding the figures vertically, horizontally, and diagonally is always 66.

Squares with 3 compartments in a row are not nearly so frequent in this treatise as those with four compartments. Here is one beginning with the number 1210:

1218	1218	1211
1212	1214	1216
1217	1210	1215

The constant total is 3642.

Sometimes talismanic squares have letters instead of numbers. Thus a square with 4 compartments in a row is made up of 4 letters which all occur in every row, in every column, and in every diagonal. Squares of this kind have no further scientific interest.

l	l	h	a
h	a	l	l
a	h	l	l
l	l	a	h

The square formed by the first nine numbers appears in the Jewish liturgy of Ibn Ezra, who did much to develop the kabbala of numbers connected with that of letters (S. Karppe, *op. cit.* p. 202).

¹ Paul Tannery, *Le traité manuel de Moschopoulos sur les carrés magiques*, Gr. text and tr., Paris, 1886; S. Günther, *Vermischte Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der mathemat. Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1876, ch. iv.; Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. der Mathematik*, Leipzig, 1880-98, vol. I.

8. Signs from astrology and geomancy.—Among the signs to be met with on amulets are also those belonging to astrology—viz. the signs of the planets and those of the zodiac—and some times those belonging to geomancy.

Geomancy, or the science 'of the sand,' *'ilm ar-raml*, is a process of divination by means of dots traced in sand.¹ Dots are made haphazard, with the fingers or a rod, along four lines marked on the sand, or else dots are made at regular intervals along these lines, and a certain number of them are obliterated haphazard. The remaining dots, grouped vertically, form figures to which various significations are attributed. Those that express lucky ideas may be used in talismans. There are Arabic treatises on geomancy in existence, and this process of divination is still in vogue among the Musalmāns of North Africa, although nowadays they do not trace the dots on the sand, but on tablets.

9. Human figures; animals; the hand.—Islamic law forbids the representation of the human figure. This law was carefully observed in Arabia, but was rejected in Persia, and was little regarded by the Turkish dynasties that had recourse to Persian artists. The talismans of North Africa show scarcely any figures, but great numbers are found on magical objects, mirrors, cups, seals, etc., made in Persia, or made for princes who were lovers of Persian art.

These figures may be those of angels, sometimes in the form of griffins with human heads (as, e.g., in a mirror with a Cufic inscription in the collection of the Duc de Blacas),² or of persons and animals representing the signs of the zodiac, for instance, or various other fancies. Reinaud mentions an Egyptian talismanic plate on which a man is seen drawing something out of a well. If we connect this with what Ibn Khaldūn says, this talisman must have been meant as a guide to finding treasure. The Arabic MS 2764, Paris, intersperses rude figures of men and animals among its cabalistic characters.

Among the most popular objects credited with magical virtue in the Musalmān world is the human hand, which is seen engraved on medallions, or employed separately as a pendant or jewel. At the feast of Ashūra, the Persians carry flags with their staffs surmounted by an open hand. On African soil the special use of this emblem is to ward off the evil eye, like horns of coral in South Italy. Shi'ite Musalmāns see in the five fingers of the hand the image of the five most sacred persons of their sect: Muhammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima (daughter of Muhammad and wife of 'Alī), and Hasan and Husain ('Alī's two sons).

10. Verses of the Qur'ān.—Although this use of the sacred text is not at all in harmony with the spirit of pure Muhammadan teaching, nevertheless Musalmān peoples freely employ certain verses of the Qur'ān as amulets. The favourite verses are those contained in the two short *sūras* of the 'Daybreak' and of 'Men' (cxiii. and cxiv.), and the verse 'On the throne' (ii. 256). The two short chapters we have just mentioned are called 'the two preservatives' (*al-muawwidatāin*). They are so short that we may quote them:

'Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of the daybreak, from the hurt of what He has created; and from the hurt of the night when it cometh on; and from the hurt of the wicked women [witches] who blow upon knots; and from the hurt of the envious when he envies."'

This one is supposed to have special power against the ills of the body, and the following against the ills of the soul:

¹ See an example taken from a Gnostic talisman published in the *REG.* vol. xx. [1907], p. 376. 'Talismans magiques trouvés dans l'île de Thasos, by W. Deonna.

² This figure is reproduced in the *Magasin pittoresque*, 1872, p. 64. Cf. others in the same volume, p. 272.

'Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of men, the King of men, the God of men, from the hurt of the whisperer, who slinks off, who whispers evil into the hearts of men!—from *jinn* and from men!"'

The verse 'On the throne' tells of the greatness of God, and al-Būnī composed a whole treatise on the excellence of this verse.

The *sūra Yā Sin* (xxxvi.) is also held in great veneration by pious Musalmāns, and extracts from this chapter are engraved on the cups that dervishes carry. In addition to this, numerous passages of the Qur'ān are employed in various circumstances. There are treatises that tell which extracts suit each occasion (see the Arabic MS 1219, Paris, which is of this kind). The verses most usually worn are those containing the word *hifz*, 'guard,' which are called *ayāt al-hifz*, 'preservative verses,' and the verses called *kawārī*, which contain a malediction against Satan (see Ishmael Hamet, art. 'Amulettes en Algérie,' in *Bulletin des séances de la société philologique*, 1905).

In cases of illness, it was the popular custom until quite recently, in Musalmān countries, and especially in Africa, to have recourse to the texts of the Qur'ān. The verse appropriate to the case was inscribed on bone, paper, or parchment, and a decoction of this was made in water, which the patient had to drink.

11. Use and form of talismans.—The name 'talisman' (*tīlsam*, pl. *talāsīm*) is a literary word in Arabic. Amulets are more usually called *hīrz* or *horūz* in Algeria; *hamaye* or *hāfiz*, 'udzah or *ma'dzah*, in the Arabian countries of the East; *yafṭa*, *nūshka*, or *hamāl* in Turkey. They are generally made by people of a religious order, e.g. members of a brotherhood, shaiḫis, or dervishes, who declare that they have no value unless they are received from their own hands. This gift brings them in return payments in money, goods, and commodities of every kind. Talismans are enclosed in square or circular purses or sachets of morocco, which are kept constantly on the person. The Turks carry them on their arms or under their turban, or sometimes hung round their neck under their jacket. The Bedawin wear them quite openly hung round their neck above their clothing. Among the wealthier classes, they are enclosed in locketts, or engraved on plates of gold or silver, which are hung round the neck on chains of the same material. Fashionable young Bedawin have several rows of them, making rich necklaces. An amulet that is very highly prized by young Bedawī girls is the *hīrz*. This is a little religious book 7 cm. long by 4 or 5 cm. broad, which is enclosed in a case of gold or silver, and worn like a locket. Children are provided with amulets when they are only forty days old. These are sometimes very trivial objects—a simple shell or a piece of bone, placed in a leather case under the left arm. Amulets are also put on animals, especially horses (Ishmael Hamet, *op. cit.*; Emily Ruete, *Mémoires d'une princesse arabe*, 1905, p. 64; d'Ohsson, *op. cit.* v. 681).

The amulets are sometimes jewels of great value. Fine specimens of these may be seen in Reinaud's work on the materials of the Duc de Blacas's Collection. Drawings of less artistic amulets, which are, nevertheless, interesting for their composition and text, may be seen in Doutté's *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*.

Some years ago the present writer had an amulet prepared by a dervish of Constantinople. It was a long strip of paper on which were drawn, from the top downwards, seven magic squares. Above each square, as if for a title, was the name of a chapter of the Qur'ān. Round about the squares were the names of the four great angels, and in the angles these words: 'His word is truth, and power is His.' The following conjuration appeared below the squares: 'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God, I conjure you and I swear, O tribe of holy spirits, celestial and infernal, by the truth of your amir

and your chief Sheldiūshi, Malkiūshi, Kahij, Mahij, Asbat, al-Shaddai, Metāṭron.'

Among the uncivilized peoples of Muhammadan Africa, the science of talismans blends with fetishism, and the amulet is confused with the *gri-gri*.

12. Methods of incantation.—Arabian magic is not confined to the composition and wearing of talismans. It also includes a complete science of incantations, composed of formulæ according to fixed methods. This science is prohibited by Muhammadan theology, and those who devote themselves to it commit an act of impiety. The prophet condemns sorcery in a verse in which, it is true, he mentions only the consultation of fate by arrows,—a method practised by the pagan Bedawin at the sanctuary of Mecca,—but the meaning of this verse can easily be made general:

'O true believers, verily, wine, and *al-māisar* [game of chance], and [the worship of] statues, and divining (arrows) are only an abomination of Satan's work; avoid them then that haply ye may prosper' (Qur'ān, v. 92).

Similarly, we may notice the invocation against witches in the *sūra* of the 'Daybreak' quoted above (cxiii. 4).

Notwithstanding these prohibitions on the part of orthodox theology, the Bedawī magicians have written treatises on witchcraft, in which the aim of the practices indicated is usually of evil intention. In a great many cases, it is a question of bringing an enemy into one's power, of making him die, or at least of harming him. Among these practices we find that special form of spell called by the French 'envoûtement,' which is so celebrated in the history of magic throughout the world. Sometimes the aim of the incantation is the satisfaction of love.

The Arabic MS 2662, Paris, edited in accordance with the tradition of al-Būnī, gives numerous incantations applicable to all sorts of cases. We may now quote some of them.

If you want to send a scorpion to an enemy, you take the animal, shut it up in a glass to avoid being stung, and, while naming the person whom you want to harm, pronounce the following conjuration over it seven times: 'Aryūsh, Sharhūsh; He is a God so great that there is none beside Him. Barṭimā, Maṭīmā, Azrian (*bis*). Understand and hearken to what I say, O scorpion born of a scorpion; otherwise will I give the fire power over thee. Tārīsh, Nākhūsh, Lāhūsh, Bamkhūsh, Darḳānūsh, . . . by the glory of God and the light of His countenance, go to so-and-so and sting him in such-and-such a spot.' Then you let the scorpion go, and it makes straight (so they believe) for the person mentioned.

There is a conjuration of the shadow which is curious. A man conjures his own shadow, speaks to it as to a spirit, and prays it to give him power over his enemy. To do this, he must stay up the whole night on a Sunday or a Wednesday. When all noises have ceased, and every one is asleep, he stands all alone in an empty house. He has a lit candle which he lays down towards the West. He stands in front of the candle and faces the East; then he sees his shadow on the wall. He recites a long invocation to his shadow—an invocation given in the book—and burns incense. At the end of the conjuration, he prays his shadow to bring harm to his enemy, and, while uttering this prayer, he thinks over all the ills he would like to befall the person whom he hates.

'Envoûtement' is practised by means of a leaf of paper on which a human figure is drawn. On this figure they write the name of the person they wish to injure. Then they nail it on the wall head downwards, and recite verses of the Qur'ān (lxix. 1-4, xlv. 31, which, however, contain nothing in any way related to such practices). They then take an iron needle, make it red-hot, and stab the figure through the heart with it, saying: 'Take his sleep from him, and enter his body as this needle enters this image.' The enchanted person is bound to fall ill and remain so as long as the needle is left in the figure.

The 'envoûtement' must have been known at the very birth of Muhammadanism. A tradition says that Muhammad was enchanted by the daughters of the Jew Lubaid; they made a little wax figure of the prophet and pierced it with a great number of needles.

Finally, conjuration for the purpose of gaining the regard of a loved one is performed by means of a dove. A wild turtle-dove is taken and kept prisoner for a Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday; then on Friday, at the hour of Venus, a thin leaf is taken, and on it is written with a bodkin perfumed with musk and saffron: 'As this dove sighs for her mate, so may such-and-such a one sigh for so-and-so and desire him with the desire of love!' Then the leaf is tied to a thread, which is fixed to the dove's wing, during a long invocation. All the ardour of the passion one longs to see in the loved one must be described.

Then the bird is tapped on the head with a little stone—to make the charm penetrate into the person it is directed against—and set free.

LITERATURE.—See the authorities quoted throughout the article and in the notes, the two most important books being: Reinand, *Monuments arabes, persans, et turcs du cabinet du duc de Blacas et d'autres cabinets*, 2 vols., Paris, 1828; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1909. While profiting from the copious information contained in the latter volume, we are not to be taken as accepting the theory of its author, according to which religion had its origin in magic (p. 341, and *passim*).

BON. CARRA DE VAUX.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Roman).—It was a belief among the Romans, as among all primitive peoples (Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, ii. [Leipzig, 1905] 2, 202 ff.), that many substances were endowed with supernatural virtue, and that this virtue might be brought under the control of any one possessed of the requisite occult knowledge. To this end the adept had recourse to magic, and his usual method was to bring the given substance under the influence of other forces, likewise of a magical, non-material kind. One of these was the spoken word, especially in rhythmical form. It was a Roman belief that the farmer might by a magic spell transfer his neighbour's corn to his own fields, and accordingly the XII Tables impose a penalty upon any one 'qui fruges excantassit' (Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes iuris Romani*, 1909, p. 30). Here we have the origin of the magic formula (see art. MAGIC). A like virtue was supposed to reside in the human action; thus, a woollen thread in which knots have been tied will cure disease (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 48). Here we have a typical example of the magic action (see art. MAGIC). The practice was to treat some amorphous material in such a way as to give it a form resembling a particular object or person; for, according to primitive belief, the original and its artificial semblance were identical, so that the one could be made by magic to suffer and to act in the same way as the other.

The magical virtues of the substances referred to were brought into requisition with a view to acquiring all that was deemed desirable—such things as wealth, beauty, riches, power, and love. If a man still lacked these gifts, he tried to force the hand of fortune, either negatively, by driving away existent evils (expulsive magic); or positively, by conjuring to himself the goods he lacked (beneficent magic). If, on the other hand, the objects of general desire were already his, the magically endowed substances became serviceable as a means of saving these from diminution. In the latter case the function of the substances in question was not so much to obtain benefit as to avert such evils as might threaten the possessor (prophylactic magic by means of amulets). Amongst these evils those due to the magical operations of one's fellow-men were special objects of dread. For, of course, a man may desire not only to benefit himself, but also to injure those who stand in his way, and may therefore seek to bring disease or death upon them. It was, in fact, against such maleficent magic that amulets were mainly used.

While such potent substances were used as amulets in various kinds of magic, it should be observed that no particular substance had its action limited to one single category of the occult art. On the contrary, most of the available substances were endowed with a many-sided efficacy. That which dislodged an existent evil would also act prophylactically against an apprehended evil; purlain, for instance, not only removed pain in the uvula, but could be used as an amulet to prevent headache (Pliny, *HN* xx. 215), while a substance which was efficacious in maleficent magic would also undo the mischief worked

thereby (cf. in the 'Greek' section of this article the formula $\delta \rho \acute{o} \sigma \alpha \varsigma \text{ kai } \lambda \acute{o} \sigma \epsilon \rho \alpha \iota$; also O. Jahn, 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten,' *Ber. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1855, p. 61); and that which ward off disaster would also bring prosperity, as, e.g., the mora fish, which both prevented premature birth and attracted gold (Pliny, *HN* xxxii. 6, ix. 80). Hence, when we come to treat of the various substances employed, we shall be unable to draw a rigid line between 'charm' and 'amulet.' If we speak more of amulets than of charms, that is because, as the liability to misfortune and danger was universal, negative (or prophylactic) magic was resorted to by nearly every one, while relatively few advanced to the practice of positive (or beneficent) magic.

We appear to be well informed regarding the substances to which the Romans ascribed magical powers and which they used for magical purposes. A vast number of such objects, particularly of amulets, have been found in Italy (cf. Gius. Bellucci, *Amuleti ital. ant. e contemp.*, Perugia, 1900, and *Il feticismo primitivo in Italia*, Perugia, 1907), and they are frequently referred to by ancient authors, e.g., by writers in prose such as Pliny (*HN*) and the *Scriptores rei rusticae*, and by physicians like Marcellus Empiricus, while poets of the time of Augustus and his successors furnish numerous descriptions of magical proceedings. Only a very few of these discoveries and references, however, give any indication as to whether the superstitions attaching to the articles concerned were indigenous to the Roman people, or whether they were imported from exotic modes of thought. Again and again Rome felt the powerful influence of foreign civilizations; the neighbouring nations (especially the Etruscans), the Greeks, and eventually the peoples of the Orient, successively transmitted certain elements of their magic to Latium; and Roman writers speak of this imported magic just as if it were a native product. Thus Virgil (*Ecl.* viii. 80) tells of a love-spell performed with wax; but this is simply taken from Theocritus (ii. 28). Accordingly it is in most cases impossible to decide whether a particular charm was a thing of immemorial practice amongst the Romans, or a later importation. It is probable that primitive forms of all the principal varieties of magic were to be found in Latium from the outset, and that these subsequently coalesced with more highly developed types of foreign origin. In any case, this later stage of Roman magic is all we have to proceed upon; and, moreover, it is permeated by the leaven of Greek magic to such a degree that it seems hardly more than a mere offshoot thereof. To Roman magic accordingly applies almost everything that has been said in the 'Greek' section of this article. In what follows we give only such selected instances as are shown by some particular feature to have taken firm root in Rome, or, at all events, to have been practised by Romans. These instances are but few, and, few as they are, not always certain.

As an example of beneficent magic we have some information regarding a kind of rain-charm, performed by means of the *lapis manalis* (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 128). We have a more precise knowledge of the love-spell (O. Hirschfeld, *De incantamentis atque devinctionibus amatoris apud Graecos Romanosque*, Königsberg, 1863; R. Dado, *De antiquorum superstitione amoris*, Greifswald, 1904; L. Fahz, 'De poetarum Romanorum doctrina magica,' *Religionsgeschichtliche Vers. und Vorarb.* vol. ii. pt. iii. [1904]). But the Roman accounts of the actual charms employed are almost entirely dependent upon Greek sources.

Moreover, the love-spell is not a genuine example of beneficent magic. In order to arouse love in one who was meanwhile indifferent, he was subjected to internal pains till such time as he yielded to the wishes of the person in whose name the spell was cast. The torment thus involved in the love-spell seems rather to place the latter in the category of maleficent magic. An evidence of its being practised in Rome is found in the word *venenum*, 'poison,' which is connected with the name *Venus* (F. Skutsch, *De nominibus latinis suffixi -no ope formati*, Breslau, 1890, p. 9), and originally meant 'love-potion.' It was of such a φάρμακον that Lucullus is said to have died (Plutarch, *Lucullus*, xliii.).

The simplest form of maleficent magic was the evil eye (S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, Berlin, 1910). Even without accessories this could work injury to health and property (Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Malocchio'; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Fascinum'). Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 69, dealing with the death of Germanicus, is the classical passage for a more elaborate malignant spell performed with all the requisite materials:

'Reperiebantur solo ac parietibus erutae humanorum corporum reliquiae, carmina et devotiones et nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis inscriptum, semusti cineres ac tabo oblitii aliaque malefica, quis creditur animas numinibus infernis sacrare.'

The principal appliances of this kind of magic were the well-known *tabellae plumbeae*, and such tablets, inscribed with menaces directed against all that the object of the spell counted dear, have been discovered in large numbers (A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt*, Paris, 1904). Even this practice, however, was not native to the soil, but was borrowed from the Greeks as late as the 1st cent. B.C. (*Rhein. Mus.* lv. [1900] p. 271).

In cases where a man was suffering harm in person or property, he resorted to exorcism as a means of expelling the injurious thing. In most instances the evil took the form of a disease, and it was no uncommon thing to attack it by magical remedies. This was, in fact, the function of *medicina popularis* (see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE), regarding which we are specially well informed by Pliny (*HN*; cf. e.g. xxviii. 47ff.). We are not sure, indeed, whether or not Pliny availed himself of Greek sources, but we find a reference to a native remedy in Cato, *de Agri Cult.* 160, where it is said that a dislocation can be cured by binding upon the injured place a reed that has been blessed with a magic formula.

As the unknown perils to which a man was exposed were manifold, he did not wait till the blow had actually fallen, but sought to safeguard himself beforehand by making use of such articles as had a recognized protective virtue; and in this way the object utilized in the practice of exorcism became an *amulet*. The prevalence of this form of magic amongst the Romans is reflected in the number of terms signifying 'amulet' found in their language from the very infancy of their literature. One of these is *fascinum*, connected either with Latin *fari*, 'to cast a spell,' or with Gr. *βάσκαρος* (A. Walde, *Etymol. Wörterb.*, p. 209). The derivatives of *fascinum*, viz. *fascinare* (Catull. vii. 12: 'mala fascinare lingua'), and *fascinatio* (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 35: '[saliva] fascinationes repercutimus'; xxviii. 101: '[hyaenae] frontis corium fascinationibus resistere'), show that at one time the word meant 'a malignant spell'; and, as a matter of fact, it was in the main applied to the baneful action of the evil eye (Virgil, *Eclog.* iii. 103: 'oculus mihi fascinat agnos'; cf. Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 70ff.). The actual *fascinum* was nearly always an amulet, and in most cases took the figure of the phallus, which, it was believed,

would by its very impropriety avert the evil eye, or even render it innocuous by the beneficent influence of the reproductive principle. A *fascinum* hung round the neck was worn as an amulet by boys (Plautus, *Miles*, 1398 f.: 'quasi puero in collo pendent crepundia'); and when the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the capital—the occasion on which he might well dread the malign glance of envy—a *fascinum* was tied to his chariot (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 39). The soil of Italy has also yielded numerous *fascinae* in stone and metal, which may have been either worn upon the person, or built into tombs, houses, city-walls, etc., as a means of protection (Jahn, *op. cit.* p. 73ff.). In the same sense was used the word *muttonium* (derived from *mutto*), which also means 'phallus' (Usener, *Götternamen*, 1896, p. 327): the scholia render it by *πῆος* or *προβάσκάνιον* (*Corp. Gloss. Lat.* ii. 131, iii. 351). The word *scaevola* likewise, according to F. Marx (*Lucilii rel.* i. p. xlii—a reference suggested to the writer by L. Deubner), seems originally to have denoted an amulet in the form of a phallus.

The child's *crepundia*, however, embraced more than the phallus. The word *crepundia* comes from *crepere*, 'to rattle' (Walde, *op. cit.* p. 150), and was originally applied to the small metal rattle which served not only to amuse the child, but also to protect him from demonic influence, as it was supposed that evil spirits were afraid of the jingling of metals, especially of bronze (A. B. Cook, *JHS* xxii. [1902] p. 14ff.); gold and silver, however, were also efficacious. Plautus (*Rudens*, 1156ff.) enumerates the *crepundia* of a girl as follows: a golden sword, a silver knife, two hands clasped together, and a miniature pig (the material of the last two is not specified); finally (1171), 'bulla aurea est, pater quam dedit mi natali die.' The statue of a boy in the Vatican Museum (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 301) shows upon the shoulder a strap embossed with a whole series of such prophylactic figures, while an ornament of similar character is preserved in Vienna (*ib.* fig. 2066). The idea of warding off evil, in fact, came to be so closely associated with *crepundia* that the word was at length used to denote, not a child's rattle only, but an amulet of any kind (Apuleius, *Apologia*, 56).

The origin of many of these pendants is probably to be sought in Greece and Etruria. Plautus, in the passage quoted above, is translating from a Greek comedy, while the *bulla* mentioned by him is regarded by all investigators as Etruscan (see art. in Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa). The word itself is Latin, and means 'water-bubble' (*bullire*, 'to boil up'), and then any object of like form (Isidore, *Origines*, xix. 3, 11). In most cases the *bullae* used as amulets were of gold; many of them took the form of a heart—as the seat of life—or of the moon, to which great magical virtue was ascribed (Pauly-Wissowa, i. 39 f., s.v. 'Aberglaube'). The usual form, however, was that of a bubble or convex disk, and there was perhaps some mental association between such a golden *bulla* and the sun as the source of life. *Bullae* of this kind were worn by Etruscan youths (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 892), women (*ib.* fig. 893), and demons (*Archäol. Zeitung*, 1846, plate 47, at the foot), on a strap round the neck, as also by the Etruscan kings (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 322). In all probability, therefore, the Roman practice was borrowed from the Etruscans. The general himself wore the golden *bulla* on the day of a triumph (Macrobius, *Saturnal.* i. 6, 9), but with this exception it was worn mainly by boys of distinguished birth (Festus, p. 36), those of humbler origin having to be content with a makeshift ('lorum in collo,' Macrobius, i. 6, 14), while the

bullæ of a girl is but seldom referred to (cf. the passage quoted above, Plautus, *Rudens*, 1171). It may well be the case that the simple leather strap (*lorum*) of the humbler ranks was at one time universally worn by the Roman youth, and that it was afterwards discarded by the higher classes for the golden *bullæ* of the Etruscans. Juvenal (*Sat.* v. 164) contrasts the 'Etruscum aurum' with the 'nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro'; for the significance of this 'knot' cf. P. Wolters, 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett' (*ARW* viii. [1905], Beiheft, p. 19). Children were presented with these amulets on the day of their birth (Plautus, *loc. cit.*), and wore them during the tender years in which they were unable to guard themselves against the evil eye and kindred perils. On reaching the age of puberty they dedicated the *bullæ* to the Lares (Persius, v. 31).

From the specimens discovered we learn that in most cases the *bullæ* was composed of two convex disks of gold, which could be fastened closely together by means of the overlapping hooks on their edges (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 895). In the hollow space thus formed the Romans used to keep things 'quæ crederent adversus invidiam valentissima' (Macrob. i. 6, 9), as instances of which Marcellus Empiricus (viii. 50) mentions the eyes of a green lizard. A *bullæ* discovered in the grave of a soldier at Aquileia (Heydemann, *Mitt. aus d. Antikensammlungen in Ober-u. Mittel-Italien*, 1879, p. 27, cited by Pauly-Wissowa) was found to contain hair: it was a popular superstition among the ancients that hair was a protection against head wounds (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 41). It would appear that the various articles that might be deposited in the *bullæ* were grouped under the general term *præstia*—a word which, according to Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* vii. § 107), had been already used by Naevius. Varro himself derives its meaning 'a præbendo ut sit tutus, quod sint remedia in collo pueris,' and Festus (p. 238) speaks of *præstia* composed of dirt taken from the folds in the robe of a certain temple-statue.

The most familiar and most comprehensive term of this class was *amuletum* (see art. in Daremberg-Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa). The word is of uncertain etymology, being either an early adaptation—possibly from the Etruscan—or else a genuine Latin form in *-eto* (cf. Walde, *op. cit.* p. 27); on the latter alternative it is probably derived from *amulum*, and would thus mean 'food of coarse meal' (*Glotta*, ii. [1910] 219 ff.). There is no available evidence, however, for its usage in this sense; in every known instance it answers to *φυλακτήριον*. It is nevertheless quite possible that a word which primarily meant 'strengthening, farinaceous food' should at length come to signify 'a protection against evil.' Of a dish prepared with meal, Pliny (*HN* xxv. 128) says: 'his qui cotidie gustent eam, nulla nocturna mala medicamenta tradunt.'

Charms and amulets could indeed be made of any kind of material (Hubert, art. 'Magie,' in Daremberg-Saglio, p. 13) possessed of some outstanding quality beneath which supernatural virtue might conceivably lurk. The conceptions which suggested the association of abnormal powers and magical effects with particular substances have been discussed in the 'Greek' section of this article, and need not again be entered upon here. Among terrestrial things—the sun and the moon have been dealt with above (p. 462)—plants and animals were specially regarded as the media of magical power. Sometimes the particular object was used as a whole, sometimes a definite portion thereof was taken; and in the latter case the part was supposed to have special influence just because it was a part, or else to contain a portion of the

power pervading the whole. The available records of vegetable and animal substances employed in this way would of themselves easily fill a lexicon; a beginning has been made by E. Riess (art. 'Aberglaube' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. cols. 51-83). The few typical instances given below will suffice to show that the Romans likewise shared in the superstitions regarding them.

With reference to plants used as amulets, it seems unlikely that there was any importation in cases where the magical influence is associated with their names—a phenomenon by no means infrequent (Apuleius, *Apologia*, 35)—and where this association holds good only in Latin. Pliny (*HN* xxvii. 131; cf. R. Heim, 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina,' in *Jahrb. f. Philol.* Suppl. xix. 478, no. 49) informs us that the plant called *reseda*, growing at Ariminum, will expel all kinds of inflammation if invoked with the formula 'Reseda morbos reseda,' where the name of the plant is also the imperative of *resedare*. Many of the examples given by writers of *Re Rustica*, again, have a genuinely Italian flavour; e.g. an oak log ('robusta materia,' Varro, i. 38. 3; Columella, ii. 15. 6) hidden in a dung-heap is a protection against serpents. Breaking one's fast upon cabbage is recommended by Cato (*de Agri Cult.* 156) as a cure for intoxication, while Varro advises that at the beginning of autumn the figure of a grape-cluster should be placed in the vineyard as a defence against bad weather (Pliny, *HN* xviii. 294). In a comedy of Titinius one of the characters declares that strings of garlic ward off witches—a saying that points to a popular superstition of ancient Italy (*Scaen. Rom. poes. Fragm.*, ed. O. Ribbeck [1897-8], ii. 188). The torches used in marriage processions at Rome had to be of hawthorn (Festus, p. 245; E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen u. Römer* [1901], p. 16), while Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 129) refers to the same shrub as a prophylactic. Likewise, the custom of touching the threshold and door-post with a sprig of the strawberry plant (*arbutus*) as a means of driving away witches (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 155) is regarded by W. Mannhardt (*Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1875, p. 299) as indigenous to Rome.

Similarly with regard to animals, popular etymologies sometimes enable us to recognize certain practices as of native Roman origin; thus, it was believed that the ashes (*carbo*) of three crabs that had been burned alive would counteract *carbunculus*, a disease of plants (Pliny, *HN* xvii. 293; Riess, *op. cit.* col. 74). Other instances connected with animals are given by prose authors as observed among the practices of their age. Pliny tells us that the snouts of wolves were fixed upon the door as a means of guarding against *veneficia* (*HN* xxviii. 157); Palladius (i. 35; cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon*, iii. 23) says that owls with outstretched wings were nailed to the house as a protection from hail; and, again (i. 35, *ad fin.*), that the skull of a mare or she-ass was placed in gardens to ensure fertility. Varro (*de Re Rust.* ii. 9. 6) adopts from Saserna the suggestion that dogs may be made faithful if they be given a boiled frog to eat. In order to avoid being struck by lightning, the Emperor Augustus always carried the skin of a seal (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 90).

Magical virtues were in like manner ascribed to certain parts of the human body. We have already spoken of the *fascinum*; a similar purpose was served by a representation of the female vulva, effected either by means of a gesture (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 433), or by a drawing (Jalin, *op. cit.* p. 79 f.). An invalid that Vespasian touched with his foot was restored to health (Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 81). The hand, too, had peculiar efficacy; it could ward off evil from what it grasped (Persius, ii. 35), but

could also cause death (Bücheler, *Carm. lat. epigr.* ii. [1897] no. 987; O. Weinreich, 'Antike Heilungswunder', in *Rel.-gesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* vol. viii. pt. i. p. 58 f.). Even the nail-parings of one who had fever were used as a means of magically transferring the disease to another (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 86). Analogous properties were attributed to the various secretions of the human body. The spittle was regarded as a preventive; a Roman spat upon his breast when praising himself, in order to avert the jealousy of the gods; and, when engaged in the operation of magical healing, he sought to ward off hostile influences by the same action (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 36; cf. Varro, *de Re Rust.* i. 2, 27; A. Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apuleius', in *Rel.-gesch. Vers. und Vorarb.*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 261).

Stones and metals were likewise used as amulets, though but seldom in their natural state. In most cases the selected stone was subjected to special preparation; it was inscribed with some magically potent figure, or with a form of words, and in this way efficacy was given to the stone, and durability to the spell. Belief in the virtue of particular stones was a relatively late growth in Rome, and was probably of foreign origin. The oldest surviving 'stone-books' are Greek, e.g. the *Lithika* ascribed to Orpheus (Abel, *Orphica* [1885], 109 ff.), and the sources used by Pliny in this connexion are likewise non-Roman (cf. 'Damigeron' in Pauly-Wissowa). Stones thus carved and inscribed give us the so-called 'Abraxas gems' (cf. 'Abraxas' in Pauly-Wissowa; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 1900, plate xlviii.), which were worn in all kinds of jewellery, and especially rings. The practice of making boys wear an amber bead as an amulet was also brought from abroad (Pliny, *HN* xxxvii. 50).

With regard to metals, again, we have seen that bronze was supposed to have the power of driving away evil spirits. The Italian museums contain numerous objects exemplifying the practice of using bronze for prophylactic purposes (cf. e.g. Bellucci, *Amuleti*, p. 11, nos. 10, 11, 'pesce in bronzo'; p. 12, no. 14, 'fallo in bronzo'; no. 15, 'vulva in bronzo'—all from the Iron Age). The use of silver and gold for the same purposes has already been referred to. These metals were brought to Italy at a relatively early period, and the Roman superstitions associated with them may therefore be fairly ancient. A thin plate of either substance was made an amulet by having engraved upon it a prophylactic text (M. Siebourg, 'Ein gnostisches Goldamulet aus Gellep', *Bonner Jahrb.* ciii. [1898] 134 ff.). Iron also could ward off evil spirits (Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 260; cf. E. Norden's ed. [1903], p. 201). An iron nail was driven into the ground at the place where an epileptic had fallen, the idea being that the demon of epilepsy was thereby riveted to the spot (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 63). An iron nail also served to add efficacy to the *defixiones* inscribed upon leaden tablets (see above); to pierce with a nail the tablet containing the name of one's adversary was to impale the adversary in person. Nails used in this way, however, were sometimes formed of other metals; a well-known example is the bronze nail which, with its inscription, warding off the wild dogs of Domna Artemis (*Archäol. Jahrb.*, *Ergänzungsheft*, vi. [1905] 43).

The stone and metal figures used as talismans were in most cases representations of the deities that preserve men from calamity. Suna carried in all his battles a golden miniature of Apollo which had been brought from Delphi (Plutarch, *Sulla*, xxix.). A kindred phenomenon is the respect subsequently accorded to the figure of Alexander the Great (*Script. Hist. Aug.* 'xxx

Tyr.' xiv. 4), which was worn in rings and all sorts of ornaments. Magic virtues were ascribed also to the characteristic symbols of the gods; thus, on a prophylactic clay slab found in Naples (Jahn, *op. cit.* plate v. no. 3, p. 52), we recognize, among other objects, the *keykeion* of Mercury, the trident of Neptune, the club of Hercules, the bolt of Jupiter, the lyre of Apollo, the bow of Artemis, and the tongs of Vulcan. Pictures of grotesque and horrible appearance were also used by the Romans, as were the *Gorgoneia* by the Greeks, for the purpose of keeping impending evils at bay (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxviii. [1909] 257). A stone head with the tongue thrust out was found beside a tower in a Roman fort in Hungary (*Österr. Jahreshfte*, vii., 1903, Beiblatt, p. 116, fig. 36 [communicated by L. Deubner]).

The method adopted for appropriating the magical qualities of the various substances was not always the same. Vegetable materials were often taken inwardly as food; thus, the stinging nettle, used as *cibus religiosus* (Pliny, *HN* xxi. 93), gave a whole year's immunity from disease. Or the substance could communicate its beneficent quality by being rubbed into the object for which protection was sought. Hence the bride rubbed the door-posts with wolf's fat (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 142). In some cases it was enough merely to touch the object, as with the *arbutus* (see above), but the usual course was to bring the protective material into permanent connexion with the thing to be protected, so that the virtue of the former might flow continuously into the latter. This end was best secured by binding the prophylactic to the object, and accordingly the amulet was in later times called *alligatura* (Filastr. *Div. Her.* 21. 3). The simplest method was to carry it by a string round the neck, as was the case with the *bullæ*. In local ailments the specific was bandaged to the affected part (Cato, *de Agri Cult.* cap. 160: 'ad luxum aut ad fracturam alliga'). When once the remedial substance had done its work, it was probably dedicated to the gods; the *bullæ*, as we have seen, was given to the Lares, while the 'remedia quae corporibus aegrorum adnexa fuerant' were taken to the temple of Febris (Valerius Maximus, ii. 5, 6). But most amulets were worn throughout life, and were not removed even at death, as is shown by numerous 'finds' in tombs.

Moreover, not only human beings, but animals as well, were safeguarded or healed by means of these pendants. The *phalerae* worn by horses closely resemble the *crepundia* of children (cf. Rich, *Illustr. Wörterbuch d. röm. Altertümer*, 1862, s.v. 'Phalerae'). Cattle were similarly provided with clay figures within which a living shrew-mouse had been immured (Columella, vi. 17). As already indicated, even inanimate things, such as gates, houses, gardens, tombs, and city-walls, were protected by amulets. Amulets for the house, in particular, have been found in great profusion; pavements with figures—e.g. of magically potent animals—designed to arrest the eye (P. Bienkowski, 'Malocchio', *Eranos Vindobonensis*, p. 285 ff.; cf. the 'Greek' section of this art.), or inscriptions (Bücheler, *Carm. lat. epigr.*, no. 26: '[Felicitas] hic habitat; nil intret mali?'). Such inscriptions were regarded as specially effective against fire (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 20; Festus, p. 18). Here, too, figure and writing were brought into immediate contact with the object they were meant to protect, being either imprinted upon or inserted into the wall, and thus becoming a component part thereof.

Belief in charms and amulets did not expire in Rome with the ancient period. It remained active even after Italy was Christianized (cf. the art.

'Amulette' in Schiele, *Rel. in Gesch. u. Gegenwart*, i. [1908] 454 ff., and in *DACL*, i. [1904] 1784 ff.; it was vigorous in the Middle Ages (J. Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, ii.² [1878] 279 ff.), and survives to-day with scarcely diminished force (Bellucci, *Amuleti*; Gius. Pitre, *Bibliot. delle tradiz. popol. siziliane*, Palermo, 1875, vols. xvii., xix.; Th. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der röm. Kirche*, 1891, iv. 'Amulette', p. 475, 'Zauber', p. 498).

LITERATURE.—The more important works have been cited above, and under the 'Greek' section of this article.

R. WÜNSCH.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Slavic).—In no other quarter of Europe has magic, in all the various forms assumed by it from the dawn of history to the present day, exercised so great a sway as in the Balto-Slavic countries. In this article, however, the writer proposes to confine the inquiry almost entirely to Russia, partly because he is more conversant with this narrower area, and partly because it may be taken for granted that the conditions prevailing there extend also to the other Slavic countries and to the Baltic districts as well.

In connexion with Russia, a phenomenon that strikes us at once is the large variety of equivalents provided by the language for the word 'magician'—terms which, so far as their etymology can be definitely traced, afford a suggestive glimpse into the magician's mode of procedure. Thus we find that he is the 'maker,' i.e. the one who performs the magic actions; or he is the 'speaker,' who mutters the incantation; or, again, the 'knower,' the man who is learned in the magic rites.

To the first category belongs the Russ. (properly Old Bulg.) *carodej*, 'magician,' from *carā*, 'magic,' and *dejati*, 'to make.' Originally the root *carā*, corresponding precisely to Old Iran. *carā*, 'means,' 'remedy,' signifies simply 'making,' being cognate with Skr. *kr̥oti*, 'he makes,' and *kr̥tya*, 'action,' 'magic' (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 40). The same idea underlies the term *potvórniki*, 'magician' (now obsolete in this sense), connected with *potvórnij*, 'magical,' *potvórstvo* and *potvóry* (plu.), 'magic'; and all are derived from Russ. *tvoriti*, 'to make' (cf. Ital. *fattura*; O. Fr. *faiture*, 'witchcraft,' from Med. Lat. *factura*; O. Norse, *gömringar* (plu.), 'magic,' from *göra*, 'to do'). The 'speaker,' 'babbler,' is denoted by Russ. *volchovik* and *volčelnik*, 'magician,' from O. Slav. *vlъsnati*, 'balbutire.' To these we may add the dialectal Russ. forms, *bolchari*, 'magician,' from O. Slav. *baŭu*, *bajati*, cognate with Gr. *φαῦναι*, Lat. *fari*; *objadniki*, *objadnitschik*, 'magician,' from *objaditi*, 'to chatter,' and *obavnik* (in the *Domostroj*), probably also connected therewith. Finally, the 'knowers' are designated *vedniki* (obsolete), from *vedati*, 'to know,' and *znachari*, from *znati*, with the same meaning. No definite explanation has as yet been provided for O. Russ. *kuděsniki* (cf. *kuděsi*, 'the masked one,' *kuděsa*, 'magic,' 'witchcraft,' 'Christmas,' etc.); or *koldúnij*, which in all probability is not, as was stated in art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 46, a native Russian word, but rather an importation from the Finnish. In the Karelian dialect, at all events, this term is in common use (Georgievskij, *Russian-Karelian Dictionary*, St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 68); and the Karelians, be it remembered, have from time immemorial been recognized in Russia as adepts in the occult art. Thus, for instance, when the Grand Prince Ivanovic took as his second wife the young Glinka, he resorted to certain Karelians for such magical expedients as would enable him to have offspring.

We shall find occasion below to refer to other Russian terms for 'magician.' All those already mentioned have, of course, their respective feminine forms (e.g. *carodejka*, *vednica*, *znacharka*); and in Russia, indeed, as elsewhere, women, especially when old, were and still are believed to be specially versed in all manner of magic. During the 17th cent., for example, certain women belonging to Moscow gained so great a reputation in the art that their names have not yet been forgotten. It is worthy of note that the Russian magicians formed themselves into special guilds (*cechi*), by means of which the peculiar methods of the craft were handed on from one generation to another.

The aims of magic are of two kinds. Those who practise the art may intend thereby to secure some advantage either for themselves or others; or, i.e. 'The Book of Household Management,' composed in the reign of Ivan iv.

again, they may seek to work injury upon others. Under the former class will fall the special case where recourse is had to magic as affording protection against the magical practices of one's enemies such hostile machinations being called in Russian *porca*, 'enchantment,' from *poriti*, 'to damage.' The means used by the adept in furtherance of his designs may be *things* or *actions* or *words*. It is certainly impossible to regard these three categories as furnishing an exact classification of the extraordinary variety of available accessories, as in actual practice any single species seldom occurs alone, but is in most cases combined with one or both of the others; and, in particular, the selected things or actions sometimes acquire their potency only after an incantation or spell (*zagovóriti*, *naŭgovóriti*, from *govoriti*, 'to speak') has been uttered over them. Nevertheless, we must so far avail ourselves of the triple division indicated, if for no other purpose than to introduce some degree of order into the huge mass of material. Some consideration must also be given to the question whether, amid this jungle of delusion and absurdity, there may not be places where the presence of rational, or at least intelligible, elements is to be seen.

(1) Amongst the *things* manipulated for magical purposes, mention ought, first of all, to be made of plants and plant-substances. We find, indeed, a distinct order of magicians bearing the name *zelenjtsiki* or *zelenjniki* (in the *Domostroj*), from *zélije*, 'herb,' 'plant.' These were regarded as experts in herbs and roots. Every member of the order had his own 'plant-book' (*trávniki*, from *trava*, 'plant,' 'herb'), which was bequeathed to his successor. Such *trávniki* may still be found in Russian villages, though very rarely; for it is believed that, if copies of them are made, the plants named in them will lose their efficacy. They are also exposed to other dangers (see below). They are handed down as precious heirlooms from one generation to another. These books give, first of all, the native name of the plant; then a description—frequently very precise; then the locality where it may be found; and, finally, its medicinal properties. They often contain observations of this kind: 'it is good in cases where a person has become insane, or has been imbecile from childhood; steam yourself with it and drink the juice, and you shall be well' (cf. Kulikovskij, *Dictionary of the Dialect of Olonez* [Russ.], St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 121). Many of these plants and their virtues have become known to us from the statements of a Siberian magician who was commanded by the Czar Alexej Michailovic to send an account of them to the authorities. Throughout Russia the Eve of St. John's is recognized as the peculiarly appropriate time for picking or digging such herbs. This holds good, above all, of the fern or brake—Russ. *páporotij*, a word which, representing the Indo-Germanic name (cf. Gr. *παραπύρις*, O. Gall. *ratís*, from **pratis*, Lith. *papártis*, etc.), indicates the ancient repute of the plant. It was believed to be specially effective in the breaking of locks and the unearthing of treasure.

While the employment of vegetable substances for magical purposes may have some basis of reason in the gradually discovered remedial properties of plants, we look in vain for any such ostensible ground of rationality in the innumerable other things used in the operations of the magician—water and fire, bones and belemnites, stones and bears' claws, dead men's hands and winding-sheets, etc., although in another aspect, as will be explained more fully below, these things, too, may in some cases show a certain rational connexion with facts. Latterly, an outstanding significance was attached by the adept to certain objects which existed only in the sphere of imagination, such as serpents

horns, the 'eagle stone' (a stone alleged to have been found in an eagle's nest), and the fabled horn of the unicorn. It is recorded that in 1655 the Czar Alexej Michailovic purchased three of these horns for a sum of 10,000 roubles.

To give effect to the virtues of the various objects named, the substances themselves—so far as they could in some form or another be eaten or drunk—were administered to the sick person by the magician, incantations being in most cases recited during the process. They were likewise freely used as ointments, in the mixing of which the most preposterous substances were employed—'turpentine, naphtha, arsenic, human blood, milk of women and animals, honey, dewdrops, sulphur, pitch, hops' (as given in an old MS in the Rumjanzow Museum). Besides these magical articles, roots and slips of paper inscribed with magic formulæ were often worn as amulets, the usual name of which (as in O. Russ.) is *náuziū*, from *navjazati*, 'to attach' (*náuznikū*, 'wizard,' *náuziti*, 'to practise witchcraft'; O. Russ. *nauzotvoriti*, 'amulet-maker' = magician).¹ Similarly, letters in which are written the Greek names of the various fevers are often worn as amulets, meant either to heal or to guard. Fevers, like most other diseases, are regarded as evil spirits—as the twelve daughters of Herod, virgins with dishevelled hair, whose supreme lord is the *besū trjaska* (*besū*, 'devil,' O. Russ. *trjesca*, 'fever'). A connexion of the closest kind, extending even to the names, exists between the amulet (*náuziū*) and the knot (*úzelū*), which is used as a means of 'binding' one's enemy or his hostile actions. An ancient spell runs thus:

'Five knots will I tie for every unfriendly and unfaithful shooter (*streljicu*)—on the guns, on the bows, on every weapon of war. O knots, shut against the shooter all highways and byways, close up the guns, put all the bows out of order, string together all weapons of war; in my knots let there be a mighty virtue.'

(2) Passing now from things to actions, we would note at the outset one of the principal adjuncts of the *pórsa* (see above), viz. the 'evil eye' of envy and malice (Russ. *sglaziti* or *prizórū*; Gr. *ὀφθαλμὸς πορνός*; Goth. *augō unsel*; cf. Mk 7²⁴). By means of the evil eye—as also of the evil formula (*urókū*)—it is possible to bring upon people, especially children, who are peculiarly susceptible to its influence, all manner of diseases, and in particular the symptoms of epilepsy (*klikúšestvo*, from *klikati*, 'to scream') and hiccup (*ikóta*). It will hardly be denied that the dread of the evil eye has a partial justification in observed fact. In the circle of our own acquaintance, for instance, we may be able to recall some individual the very cast of whose eye makes us ill at ease in his presence (cf. S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, Berlin, 1910).

Another proceeding that was greatly dreaded was the 'secret bestowal' (*podmetiū*) of objects fraught with occult dangers. In 1598 the Russians pledged their oath to the Czar Boris—

'that neither in eating nor in drinking, neither in their clothing nor in anything else, would they attempt to devise evil [against him]; that they would not send to him any of their people bearing sorcery or noisome roots; that they would not hire wizards or witches; that they would not efface his footprints with any magical design; that they would not by means of magic send any evil upon him by the wind' (see below), etc. In particular, all admission to the Imperial stables was forbidden, 'so that no evil-disposed person should place noxious herbs or roots in the Emperor's saddle, bridle, belt, 'eves,' etc. We thus see that the Czars of that period had no less cause for apprehension than their successors in our own times.

¹ Cf. the Germ. renderings of *amuletum* given in F. Kluge, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1909, s.v. 'Amulett': 'Artzney so man ann Hals henckt,' and 'Anhängsel.' According to R. Wünsch, *Glotta*, 1910, ii. 219 ff., *amuletum* is not derived from *amoliri*, 'to drive away,' but from Gr. *ἀμύλον*, 'starch-flour,' which, if taken as food, was believed to have magical effects; cf. the Roman section of this art., p. 463ⁿ. The Lith. term is *setai*, i.e. 'amulets and suspended things that have been consecrated by a Seitone' (on this word cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 54).

A further method of inflicting evil upon any one was that just mentioned in the oath given to the Czar Boris, viz. 'conveyance by wind' (*nasyilka po vetrū*). Sorcerers, being lords of weather and wind, are called 'cloud-dispellers' (*oblako-progonniki*) and 'cloud-preservers' (*oblako-chranitel'niki*). For a sorcerer, therefore, invested with such power, it was a simple matter, by means of a magic word, to make the wind veer in any desired direction, to throw dust into the air, and cause the wind to carry the dust to any person he chose, so that the victim 'might become crooked, wrinkled, be blown asunder and desiccated.'

There is another large group of magic actions which become intelligible only in the light of the facts adduced in the art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 40, regarding the nature of magic in general. It was explained there that the magic action, in its genuine form, has its roots in symbolism. To put the matter concretely: an action is performed which in some way suggests the real object of desire, and is thus supposed to help towards its attainment. This fundamental characteristic of all magic manifests itself very prominently in the extraordinary operations of the Russian sorcerer and sorceress. When a person goes to law, he must take from a birch-tree a trembling twig (? *pereperū*, otherwise *pérepelū*) and say: 'As this twig trembles, so may my adversary at law and his tongue tremble.' When a woman feels that she is being neglected by her husband, the sorceress gives her a root, which must be placed upon a mirror with the words: 'As I look into this glass and do not tire of seeing myself, so let such an one never grow tired of seeing me.' When a merchant has difficulty in selling his goods, the sorceress casts a spell upon a piece of honey, and says: 'As the bees of the hive (? *jarosja*) swarm around [this honey], so let purchasers flock to this merchant because of his wares.' The merchant must then smear himself with the honey.

(3) The same symbolism—but transferred from the realm of action to that of speech—pervades the third category of Russian magic distinguished above, viz. the class of magic formulæ. This is, without doubt, the most interesting group of the phenomena under consideration. The magic formula, resting upon a perfectly intelligible belief in the determining, soothing, and even healing power of human speech (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 40), developed in Russia into an altogether unique species of popular poetry, to the study of which the scholars of that country have long devoted their attention. Our knowledge of these magic formulæ is derived from oral and written tradition. At present, it is true, both sources of supply show a tendency to languish. By reason of the multiplication of schools and the growing dissemination of the knowledge of written and printed characters—once, in village life, the monopoly of the adept—it is now difficult for the inquirer to find a person who will condescend, even for money, to unfold the treasure of magic formulæ stored in his memory; and the difficulty is augmented by the belief that the formula loses its virtue when communicated to another. Chap-books (*tetrádki*) containing such incantations, notes of charms, etc., like the plant-books (*trávniki*) already referred to, must formerly have had a wide circulation in Russia, while they are now gradually being brought to light in manuscripts—dating in some cases from the 17th cent.—rescued from the dust of archives and libraries. Of written memorials of this kind, however, there has recently appeared in village life a dangerous enemy, viz. the inclination of the peasantry to turn every available piece of paper into *cigárki* (cigarettes).

In what follows, the reader will find a few speci-

mens of magic formulæ drawn from a collection recently published by N. N. Vinogradov in the *Zivaja Starina* (see the Literature at end of art.). The selection has been guided mainly by the desire to present such examples as exhibit the comparison which here takes the place of the symbolic magic action.

(1) *An incantation used as a love-charm* (Vinogradov, 1907, no. 54): 'I, the servant of God, Vasilia, will rise up, blessing myself; I will walk, crossing myself, out of the room by the door, and out of the forecourt by the gate, across the square before the gate, through the wicket in the fence; I will go out into the open country; in the open country is the blue sea, in the blue sea lies a white stone, beside this white stone stands a withered tree, and by this withered tree stands a withered man; he hacks the withered tree and lays it on the fire. As soon and so swiftly as the withered tree flames up in the fire, so soon and so swiftly may the heart of the handmaiden of God [so and so] flame up for the servant of God [so and so], etc. . . . Of all my words may the key be in the sea, the lock in my mouth,—I shut, I bar to all eternity. Amen.'

(2) *Incantation for extinguishing love* (ib. 1907, no. 32): 'I, the servant of God [name], will rise without blessing myself; I will walk without crossing myself, out of the room, not by the door, out of the forecourt, not by the gate; I will go into the open country, to the blue sea; I will stand upon the beam of the ground flat; I will glance, I will gaze towards the north; in the north lies an island of ice; on the island of ice stands a cabin of ice, in the cabin of ice are walls of ice, a floor of ice, a roof of ice, doors of ice, windows of ice, window-glass of ice, a stove of ice, a table of ice, a seat of ice, a bedstead of ice, bed-clothes of ice, and there sits the emperor of ice himself. In this cabin of ice, on this stove of ice, sits a Polish cat, sits an over-sea dog; they sit with their backs turned towards each other. When the Polish cat and the over-sea dog turn their noses towards each other, they tussle and bite each other till blood flows. So may the servant of God [name] and the handmaid of God [name] nag and bite each other till they have blue marks and bloody wounds, etc. Amen.' The person must repeat this thrice, spitting each time.

(3) *Incantation against fleas, bugs, beetles, and other insects* (ib. 1908, no. 70): 'Fleas, bugs, beetles, and all such creatures, behold, I come to you as a guest; my body, as bones; my blood, as pitch; eat moss, but not me. My word is sure. Key. Lock. Amen, Amen, Amen.'

(4) *Incantation upon gun and powder* (ib. 1908, no. 46): 'Adam comes upon the street. In his hands he carries a cudgel. Powder—dum! Shot—dust. Mingo [Lat.] upon him; he shall not kill me, but he shall not escape from before my shot. Now and ever, and to all eternity. Amen.'

(5) *Conclusion of an incantation designed to turn a maiden against a youth* (ib. 1908, nos. 73, 74): 'According to this incantation, let a person take a forked twig, break it in two, and, burning one piece, hide the other in the earth, with the words: "As these two pieces do not grow together, and will not again come together, so may the servant of God [name] and the handmaid of God [name] not come together or meet each other to all eternity."'

(6) *Incantation against bleeding* (ib. 1908, no. 75): 'I will rise up, blessing myself; I will go, crossing myself, into the open country, upon the blue sea. In the open country, upon the blue sea, is a blue stone, and upon it a brown horse; on the horse sits an old man; he holds in his hand a golden needle, a silken thread; he sews, sews up the wound, stanches the blood, takes away gout and rheumatics, wards off evil eyes and enchantment (prizory, prikazy) from the servant of God [name]. Thou, O blood, stop, flow not, and do not drop from the servant of God [name]. To all eternity. Amen.' This must be repeated thrice, and a needle drawn thrice round the wound. Then the needle is thrown into the river or well.

Even these few examples of Russian incantations will serve to show that we are here in touch with some of the very oldest elements of magic, and, at the same time, with some accretions of later growth, and probably not of Russian origin at all. The frequent reference to Biblical persons and occurrences, or to the mysterious stone *latyrk*, the marvellous island of Bujan, etc., which cannot be brought into direct relation with the Russian people, seems rather to bespeak a foreign, and in the main an Eastern, source of influence. It does not fall within the scope of this article, however, to enter upon this aspect of our subject, which, be it remarked, re-emerges in various ways in the fields of the popular legendary poetry of Russia, i.e. the *byliny*. Suffice it meanwhile to draw attention to a recent work by V. J. Mansikka, *Über russische Zauberverformeln*, etc. (see the Lit.), which puts the reader in possession of the latest information on the wider questions referred to.

The practice of magic, as carried on by means of objects, actions, and words, pervades every phase

of ancient Russian life. A suggestive inventory of the magic devices to be guarded against by the devout Christian when he is sick is given in the *Domostroj* (16th cent.), ch. xxiii. ('How the good Christian should cure himself of disease and all ailments'). It was a rooted conviction of the popular mind that all things are possible to the proper employment of occult power. Certain sections of life were supposed to be peculiarly open to the influence of *porca*, as for instance—besides health of body and mind—the day of one's marriage. On that day the presence of the *koldun* was simply indispensable, while the *driska* also—the master of ceremonies for the time—must needs be an expert in all the arts of magic (cf. P. V. Šejn, *The Great Russian in his Songs, Rites, Customs, Superstitions, Tales, and Legends* [Russian], 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1898, 1900). The same phenomena meet us everywhere: charm and counter-charm, sorcery pitted against sorcery. In ancient Russia, as we learn, the rivalry of magicians often resulted in actual pitched battles.

The special form of occult art which is concerned with the divination of the future need not be dealt with here, as it has already been discussed with some fullness in the article *ARYAN RELIGION*, vol. ii. p. 54 f., with special reference to the Baltic peoples.

LITERATURE.—N. Kostomarov, 'Sketch of the Domestic Life and Customs of the Great Russians in the 16th and 17th Centuries,' ch. 21 (Beliefs), in *Sovremennik*, vol. lxxxiii. p. 529 ff. [Russian]; N. N. Vinogradov, 'Spells and Blessings,' in Appendix to the *Zivaja Starina* (1907, 1908) [Russian]; V. J. Mansikka, *Über russische Zauberverformeln mit Berücksichtigung der Blut- u. Verrenkungsgegnen* (Helsingfors, 1909); on pp. vii-x of the last-named work will be found an extensive list of Russian works dealing with the subject.

O. SCHRADER.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Tibetan).—

Charms are very extensively, almost universally, used in Tibet, owing to the intensely superstitious character of the people and their inveterate animistic beliefs. In their hard struggle for life amidst some of the fiercest and most awe-inspiring environments in the world, the Tibetans see in the storms of hail, and in the floods and avalanches which wreck their homes and scanty crops and vex them with disaster, the work of malignant spirits infesting the air and water and locality. They attribute to these spirits also all other misfortunes—accidents, disease, and untimely death. They are ever haunted by the fear of harm from those unseen evil agencies, and to ward it off they seek protection in charms, especially those supplied to them by their Buddhist priests. Indeed, the chief attraction which Buddhism possesses for the populace is the mastery which it is supposed to afford votaries over the evil spirits and devils which beset them on all sides. In this way it happens that the charms in use in Tibet are mostly borrowed from Indian Buddhism, and incorporate largely, as the present writer has shown (*Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 404), ancient Vedic ritual of the nature of sympathetic magic. This the Tibetans seized on eagerly, and have preserved, as it presents so much in common with their own native animistic beliefs.

These ancient Vedic charms, with their preparatory incantations, readily lent themselves to be adapted by the later Buddhists, who, by an extension of Buddha's nihilistic idealism, taught that, where nothing really exists and all is the product of illusion, the name of a thing, spoken or written, is to be regarded as being as real as the thing itself. A charm thus may be in the form of an uttered, or even unuttered, incantation with cabalistic gestures; or, as is much more common, a concrete objective one containing inscribed charmed sentences or letters. The written charms are prepared in cabalistic fashion, with special enchanted material, according to set prescriptions. Thus, for

the charm against weapons, the directions are as follows:

With the blood of a wounded man draw the annexed monogram (this is an ancient Sanskrit character, and seems to read *daam*—possibly, in the opinion of the present writer, intended to express onomatopoeically the hum of a spear or a sling-stone), and insert it in the centre of the diagram entitled 'the Assembly of Lamas' hearts.' The sheet should then be folded and wrapped in a piece of *red silk*, and tied up with string and worn around the neck or on an unexposed portion of the breast immediately next the skin, and never be removed. Again, for kitchen cooking smells offensive to the house-gods:

With the blood of a hybrid bull-calf write the monogram GAU [= 'cow'], insert it in the print, and fold up in a piece of hedgehog-skin. [This last may be compared with the Western Aryan myth of the Greek hearth-god Vulcan, whose mother Hera as Io is represented as a cow.]

In others, the charmed Sanskrit sentence or formula (*mantra*) is extracted from the later Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures of the Yoga and Tantrik era (c. A.D. 500 onwards), and consists of apocryphal sayings in corrupt Sanskrit ascribed to Buddha—often an unintelligible jargon of exclamations and incantations like the 'Fe-fu-fum' of the nursery tales. Such sentences or formulae are termed *dhāraṇī*, as they are supposed to 'hold' magical power. Sometimes a single letter only is used, in which case it is the 'germ,' or *bija*, of the *mantra*. These letters or sentences are usually inserted in a diagram or *yantra*, which frequently is inscribed with the orthodox 'Buddhist Creed.'

The more indigenous charms usually contain Chinese astrological and geomantic signs and symbols; for misfortune is ascribed also to unfavourable planetary influences. In these, as well as in those imported from India, if they are to be worn on the person, an important part of the protection depends on the manner in which the folded charm is tied up into a packet with many-coloured threads in geometrical patterns. This is done according to the rites of the pre-Buddhist religion, the *Bon*.

Thus prepared, the charm is worn on the person or affixed to the house, or to a dangerous rock, or is tied on bridges or cairns at the top of passes, or on bushes by the river's edge, or is hoisted on tall flags. For wearing on the person, if for under the dress, the packet is stitched up in a case of cloth and covered with flannel, to be hung from the neck, or it may be worn as a sash or attached to the upper arm; and several different kinds may be fastened together. When worn outside the dress, charms are usually carried in a metallic amulet box.

The amulet box, termed *gañi*, may be of copper, silver, or gold, according to the wealth of the wearer. It is in two pieces, a front and back hinged together by one or two wooden plugs at the two sides. The size averages about 2 inches square and about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch deep; but some are much larger. The commonest shape is somewhat oblong, with an acuminate tip to its arched top, which may possibly be intended to represent the form of a leaf of the Bo-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). It is usually embossed with the '8 lucky symbols' (*aṣṭa-mangalam*) or other signs. Others are ovoid, and many are inlaid with turquoise. Several are glazed in front to expose the features of the central image, which most of them contain.

The contents of the amulet box are varied. The objects which are put in are supposed to be such as are dreaded by evil spirits. They are: (1) the charmed sentence as a magical spell, tied with thread as above described. (2) Miniature images of the chief Buddhist deities and saints, usually as clay medallions or arched plaques, occasionally of metal. The favourite image is Amitābha Buddha, the god of the Western paradise, and his son Avalokita of the *Om mani* spell, and supposed to be incarnate in the Dalai Lama; also Avalokita's consort Tārā, the queen of heaven; less frequently

the patron saints Padmasambhava and Tsongk'apa, and the demoniacal protectors of Buddhism, the king-devils, varying according to the sect, e.g. Vajrabhairava, etc.; Buddha himself is seldom carried. These images are wrapped in bits of silk or other cloth, leaving the face uncovered. (3) Sacred symbols, some of the 8 lucky emblems, etc. (4) Relics of holy lamas, shreds of robes, hair, and nail-parings, as fetiches. (5) Grains of consecrated barley, pills, and cake from altars. (6) Earth and small pebbles from holy sites. (7) Incense and musk. These amulet cases are worn by nearly every individual in Tibet. Most commonly they are suspended from the neck, often more than one, and sometimes they are so large that they form small breastplates. Laymen may have four or five strung on a sash which buckles over the shoulder. Smaller ones are occasionally fixed as an ornament on the top-knot of the hair. The people rest their faith implicitly on the efficacy of these charms, and may be seen to fondle them affectionately. The talismans are to them both mascots and fetiches.

LITERATURE.—S. W. Bushell, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 436 ff.; A. Csoma Korösi, *JRAS* ix. 906; W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet*, Washington, 1895; E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, Leipzig, 1863, Eng. tr. 1881, p. 174 ff.; L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1904, pp. 8, 178, 268, 471, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1896, pp. 387-419, 570-572, and 'Ancient Indian Charms, from the Tibetan,' in *JAI* xxiv. 41. L. A. WADDELL.

CHARMS AND AMULETS (Vedic).—Current English usage, restricting 'amulet' to the meaning of a talisman attached to the human body, although probably based in part on a false etymology (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyc.* i. 1984), is of service in the study of Vedic magic, because the use of such amulets is there so frequent that the ideas connected with them must have presented themselves to the mind of a Vedic Hindu as a separate group. The designation of this group was *mani*, a word exactly equivalent in meaning to 'amulet' as defined above, except for the fact that it is also employed in the broader sense of 'ornament.' Etymologically *mani* is connected with Latin *monile*, 'necklace,' and in the parent word we may see the designation of the neck-ornaments of the pre-historic period, which were undoubtedly intended for magic rather than for ornamental purposes (cf. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerman. Altertumskunde*, 1901, s.v. 'Schmuck'). A synonym for *mani* is *pratisara*, which in the Atharvan literature, however, always designates the amulet that turns the spells of a sorcerer against himself, in accordance with its etymology, 'going against,' 'counter-magic.'

i. SOURCES.—The use of amulets is not confined to the Atharva; but, as the fullest picture of the Indian use of such charms is contained in the works of that school, it seems best to present first the practices of the Atharvan priests, and afterwards supplement this treatment by the statements from other sources.

1. Amulets in the Atharva-Veda.—The Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā itself comprises a number of hymns which more or less avowedly betray the fact that they were intended to accompany operations in which amulets were the chief factor. Such are especially the hymns that contain invocations of amulets or praises of them (i. 29, ii. 4, 11, iii. 5, 9, iv. 10, viii. 5, 7, x. 6, xix. 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 46). In other cases incidental statements reveal the same fact (i. 35. 1: 'The gold which the kindly Dākṣāyaṇas bound on Satānika, that do I bind on thee, that thou mayest have long life, lustre, strength, long life of a hundred autumns'). In ii. 9. 1 we have the invocation of a being made of ten trees (*daśavṛkṣa*), which is manifestly an

amulet. ii. 27 is the invocation of a plant, but the third stanza shows one method of its use by saying, 'Indra placed these upon his arm in order to overthrow the Asuras.' Other examples are iv. 9, v. 28, vi. 81, xi. 4. 26, xix. 26, 32, 34, 35. The ritual literature, in its description of the ceremonies at which these hymns are employed, invariably bears out these indications, and prescribes, besides, similar practices in connexion with i. 1, 2, 3, 9, 22, 34, ii. 3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 27, iii. 6, 7, 21, 22, iv. 37, v. 1, 7, 13, 11, 23, i. vi. 4, 11, 15, 38, 39, 43, 72, 85, 90, 91, 101, 142, vii. 6, 43, 56, 76, 82, viii. 2, x. 6, xix. 27, 29, 37, 44, 45. In most of these cases the internal evidence of the hymns, by their resemblance to those of the previous classes, supports the ritualistic tradition.

(a) *Theory of the efficacy of the amulet.*—Upon this point we are but badly informed, as the ritual texts merely state the material of which the amulet is to be made, the occasion on which it is to be used, and the hymn with which it is to be fastened on; while the hymns are much more concerned in their vague rodomontades with the wonders which the amulet will achieve than with the method by which it will effect them. The crudest view is perhaps that the amulet contains a being of supernatural power who works on behalf of its possessor. According to Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, 1894, p. 614), this view in all its crudeness is not found in the Veda. Nor is this gainsaid by the fact that the Atharvan frequently speaks of the amulet itself as if it were a living thing. So in iv. 10. 7, in praising an amulet of pearl: 'The bone of the gods turned into pearl; that, animated, dwells in the waters'; in xix. 34. 1: 'Thou art an Angiras' (a semi-divine being); and in the same hymn it is said that the gods thrice begot the amulet, with which is to be compared the 'god-born' amulet of x. 6. 31. In xix. 33, *deva* (god) is applied to the amulet as an epithet; cf. xix. 34. 6, vi. 142. 2, and note that in vii. 2. 28, an amulet is styled 'the body of Agni.' In two hymns it is spoken of as a man, as a hero (*vīra*): 'This attacking talisman, (itself) a man, is fastened upon the man . . . as a man it advances against sorceries and destroys them' (vii. 5. 1-2, cf. iii. 5. 8). Note also that it has a thousand eyes with which it is invoked watchfully to destroy enemies (xix. 35. 3), or two horns (xix. 36. 2), with which it pierces demons. It dwells in the house like a guest, and its actions are compared with those of a seer (viii. 5. 8), or of Indra (x. 3. 11, xix. 28. 3). Frequently it is directly invoked to accomplish the desired object, thus xix. 28 and 29 are made up of verses of the type: 'O *darbha*-grass, pierce my rivals, pierce my foemen, pierce all my enemies, pierce them that hate me, O amulet'—the changes being rung on 'cut,' 'split,' 'crush,' 'grind,' 'burn,' 'slay,' and other unpleasant imperatives; cf. also ii. 11. Such passages, however, must not be taken too seriously. In reality they are nothing but a result of the readiness to see life in everything, combined with the Atharvan tendency to elevate in the most extravagant fashion the various portions of its ritualistic apparatus (for similar tendencies, cf. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda*, 1897, p. 87).

In a soberer vein the Atharvan looks upon an amulet as a weapon or an instrument in the hands of the sorcerer, *ṛṣi*, or god; cf. i. 29; ii. 4. 4; iv. 10. 2, 3; viii. 5. 3, 5, 6; x. 3. 2, 6, 9, 12, 13; or as an armour for its wearer, cf. viii. 5. 7, 10, 14. In this sense may be understood the statements that it will protect on all sides (ii. 4. 2), or from straits or the missiles of the gods and Asuras (iv. 10. 5); that it will beat off sorceries (viii. 5); that it will ward off or protect from various dangers (x. 3. 4 ff.); and even the frequent state-

ment that it will prolong life may in part belong to the same category.

These metaphors, however, are the expressions of a more advanced stage of belief. The primitive idea on which the use of amulets was based is that all qualities can be transferred by contact—an undue generalization from certain familiar facts of experience—combined with the further principle of magic that the part may be substituted for the whole, or the symbol for the thing symbolized. This idea may still be seen governing the choice of the material of which amulets are made (cf. below), and is clearly expressed in viii. 5. 11-12: 'Thou art the highest of plants, as it were a bull among moving creatures, a tiger as it were among wild beasts. He in truth becomes a tiger, likewise a lion, and also an uprooter of enemies who wears this amulet.'

The Vedic practices, however, have advanced beyond this simplest form of belief. This advance is shown in the attributing to the amulet of secondary effects in addition to that which, on the above principle, it was primarily intended to produce. This is due to the fact that one blessing frequently implies another; so, e.g., an amulet that bestows long life must guard its wearer from diseases and demons, from the charms of hostile sorcerers, and from the attacks of human enemies, and thus bestow the prosperity without which long life would be unendurable. Another evidence is the complicated structure of some amulets (cf. below), due partly to the wish to secure several objects at the same time, and partly to the effort to take every chance for success. Finally, and most important, is the effort to reinforce by ceremony and spell the effect which the amulet was originally supposed to produce by natural means. Every investiture with an amulet involved an elaborate religious, or at least quasi-religious, ceremony (cf. below), and the hymns themselves show the same tendency by frequently ascribing to the amulets a superhuman origin, or by recounting the wonderful achievements which the gods accomplished with them. The extreme of such tales may be seen in x. 6. 6-22; but viii. 5 also furnishes abundant illustration; cf. also i. 29, 35, ii. 27, iii. 5, vi. 81. 3, xix. 30, 34, 35. Note also how the hymns mingle prayers to different deities with invocation and laudations of the amulets, or in some cases, e.g. vii. 6, 82, are apparently nothing but prayers. In short, we have not merely sympathetic magic, but magic in the guise of religion.

(b) *The tying on of the amulet.*—This in itself is a ceremony of some elaboration. From the general rules (*paribhāṣas*) of the Kauśika Sūtra, 7. 15-21, we learn that the amulet is first steeped for three days in a mixture of curds and honey, an oblation of ghl (*ājya*) is next made by the priest while reciting the required hymn, and, while the person who has the ceremony performed (*kārayitr*) stands behind him and touches him with blades of *darbha*-grass, the leavings of the oblation are put upon the amulet, and the amulet is blessed with the hymn, the *kārayitr* standing as before. The priest then ties the amulet upon the *kārayitr* (generally upon his neck, in one case upon his finger, while bracelets and earrings also serve as amulets), and gives him the curds and honey to eat.

The elaborateness of the ceremony is greatly increased, if with Caland we understand that the whole performance is to be included in that of the New and Full Moon sacrifice. To this view a certain support is given by the precept that the steeping of the amulet shall begin on the thirteenth day of the half month, but it leads to doubtful consequences (if strictly applied), inasmuch as it is difficult to understand how the *kārayitr* could in cases of pressing need wait for the change of the moon. The question, however, involves other magic practices, and accordingly will be discussed under Magic.

Frequently the tying on of an amulet is but one of a series of magic rites (cf. Kauśika, 11. 19-20;

13. 46; 25. 6, 10; 26. 16, 43; 27. 5, 29; 28. 20; 29. 14; 35. 10; 38. 20-21; 39. 1; 43. 1, 16; 48. 3, 24), or it enters into a ceremony of a more strictly religious nature, e.g. at the *medhājānana*, a ceremony to produce wisdom (10. 2); at the *nāmakaraṇa*, naming of a child (58. 15); at the *upanayana*, initiation of a youth into the Brāhmaṇical community (53. 8); at the wedding ceremony (76. 8); and at the *mahāsānti*, a ceremony to avert evil portended by prodigies, a different amulet being prescribed in the 19th section of the Śāntikalpa for each of its thirty forms.

(c) *Materials employed and objects to be gained.*—

(1) The vegetable kingdom furnishes the greater portion of the amulets, and these produce a wide variety of effects. The symbolism intended often remains obscure, especially when, as is sometimes the case, it is impossible to identify the plant. To obtain long life are employed amulets of the *pitādāru*-tree, *Pinus deodora* (Kaus. 58. 15; Śānt. 19), or of rice and barley (Śānt. 19). For the closely allied wish of prosperity we find in use amulets of *parṇa*-wood, *Butea frondosa* (Kaus. 19. 22), a tree of peculiar sanctity, to which the myths ascribe a heavenly origin; of *talāśa*-wood (Kaus. 19. 26), an unknown plant which perhaps owes its auspicious properties simply to the assonance of its name with *palāśa*, a synonym of *parṇa* (the hymn vi. 15 points rather to the subjection of enemies than to the attainment of prosperity which the ritual states is the purpose); of barley (Kaus. 19. 27); of the *śrāktya*-tree, *Clerodendrum phlomoides*; of the *varāṇa*-tree, *Crataeva Roxburghii*; and of the *khadira*-tree, *Acacia catechu* (19. 22). The last three trees are employed largely on account of their names, which are connected by popular etymology with the roots *var*, 'to ward off,' and *khād*, 'to chew,' while *śrāktya* as an epithet of an amulet would mean both 'made from the *śrāktya*-tree' and 'bristling.' Victor Henry's suggestion that the latter was the primary meaning, and that the amulet was shaped like a six-pointed star, is most attractive. Whether Kaus. 11. 19; 52. 20 means an amulet made of two *kṛṣṇala*-berries (*Abrus precatorius*, Linn.) or their weight in gold is doubtful; the hymns and commentators both favour the latter alternative.

Against diseases in general are employed: in Kaus. 26. 37, a *varāṇa*-amulet (Dārila limits the purpose to the cure of consumption, but both the hymn and Keśava indicate a wider scope); in 28. 20, an amulet of barley; in 26. 40, an amulet made of chips from ten different kinds of holy trees, glued together and wrapped with gold wire; cf. also 13. 5, where the same amulet bestows lustre. More interesting are the amulets employed for the cure of particular diseases: in 25. 6, for the cure of excessive discharges, the head of a stalk of *mūñja*-reed, *Saccharum munja*, with a string derived, according to the commentators, from the same plant; in 25. 10, for constipation or retention of urine, substances promoting micturition (the commentators cite as examples gall-nuts or camphor); in 26. 43, for the cure of hereditary disease, *kṣetriya*, one sews together in the skin of a freshly-slain animal powder of a plant supposed to destroy the *kṣetriya*, brown barley with white stalks, blossoms of sesame, mud, and mud from an ant-hill, and binds it on the patient; in 32. 13, three pieces of fallen bark of the *virīṇa*-tree, *Andropogon muricatus*, form one of the amulets for the cure of *jāyānya*, syphilis (?); in 29. 14, the *alābū*-plant, *Lagenaria vulgaris*, is employed against the poison of serpents. According to Keśava, on 29. 20, a root of reed grass (*Capparis aphylla*, Roxburgh) is employed as an amulet against worms in a child; the Kausika itself, however, speaks only of an oblation of this substance.

Against disease conceived as due to possession by demons is employed, in Kaus. 27. 5, the amulet of splinters from ten holy trees; in 26. 36, a barley amulet is employed in case of danger from (disease-producing) demons, curses, or the evil eye—at least such is the interpretation given by the commentators (cf. Bloomfield, p. 285) to the word *mantroktā* 'mentioned in the hymn'; but the word 'barley' does not occur in the hymn, and the Śāntikalpa sees in *sahasrakāṇḍa*, 'having a thousand shoots,' of stanza 3 the most characteristic designation of the plant. Demons are slain in Kaus. 42. 23 with an amulet of the *jāṅgīda*-tree (*Terminalia arjuna*), the string of which must be of hemp; and in 43. 1, with an amulet of the *aralu*-tree (*Colosanthus indica*), the thread must be reddish; in 35. 20, they are kept from a pregnant woman by means of white and yellow mustard. Sorcery is repelled in 39. 1 with the *śrāktya*-amulet, and in 48. 24 by a *tārūḥha*-amulet, the commentators disagreeing as to whether this is of bone or *palāśa*-wood. An amulet of the last-named wood is prescribed in 43. 16 when a person is believed to be plagued by the presence in his house-fire of *kravyād agni*, the flesh-devouring Agni of the funeral fire. For triumph over human enemies is ordained in 48. 3, with transparent symbolism, an amulet made from an *asvattha*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) that grows upon a *khadira*-tree (*Acacia catechu*); for success in debate, the root of the *pātā*-plant (*Clypea hemandifolia*) is employed in 38. 20.

At the wedding ceremony (76. 8) the bridegroom ties on his little finger an amulet of liquorice to make himself agreeable to the bride; the string must be coloured red with lac, and the knot made on the inside of the hand. An amulet of *darbhā*-grass is employed in 36. 32, according to Keśava, in order to appease the wrath of a woman, and in 40. 16 to promote virility an amulet of *arka*-wood (*Calotropis gigantea*) with a thread derived from the same tree.

To this list of substances from the vegetable kingdom, the Śāntikalpa adds amulets of *udumbara*-wood (*Ficus glomerata*), of the *ajāsṛṅgi*-plant (*Odina pinnata*), and perhaps of the *śatāvārī*-plant (*Asparagus racemosus*).

(2) The animal kingdom is not nearly so well represented. We have already met the use of the skin of a freshly-slain animal as the covering for mud, and certain plants in a charm for the cure of *kṣetriya* (Kaus. 26. 43, where Caland is of the opinion that the plants constitute a separate amulet); the same amulet without the plants serves in 32. 6 to cure the poison of serpents, scorpions, and insects. *Kṣetriya* is also attacked (27. 29) by an amulet consisting of the horn of an antelope, the efficacy of which depends upon the pun between *viṣṭāna*, 'horn,' and *vi syati*, 'he loosens.' For the cure of jaundice and related diseases, Kaus. 26. 16 employs an amulet made of the part of the hide of a red bull which was pierced by a peg when it was spread out for a seat, the desire of the operator being to fasten upon the patient a healthy redness. Most characteristic is the amulet employed (10. 2) at the *medhājānana* (ceremony to produce wisdom); it is constructed with evident symbolism from the tongues of three birds—the parrot, a certain species of crow (*sārīka*), and a lark (*krśā*). Long life is sought (13. 1-3) with an amulet of ivory and elephant's hair wrapped with gold wire; or, instead (13. 4), the amulet may consist of hairs from the navel of a *snātaka*, a lion, a tiger, a goat, a ram, a steer, and a king, all pasted together and wrapped with gold wire. The same purpose is effected in 58. 9 by means of a pearl shell. An amulet of the skin of a black antelope, fastened on with hairs from its tail, is employed in 40. 17 to promote virility, and

one made from the wool of a male animal wrapped round pieces of *Prosopis spicigera* and *Ficus religiosa* is supposed (35. 10) to secure the birth of a male child. There is also the possibility mentioned above that the *tārchha*-amulet is of bone.

(3) Objects from the mineral kingdom are only rarely used in their natural condition. The employment of mud has already been mentioned, as has also the possibility that the weight in gold of two *kṛṣṇala*-berries is intended, not the berries themselves; likewise the fact that gold wire was employed to bind various substances together. Apart from these instances there occurs only the triple amulet of Athar. Ved. v. 28, probably identical with the unconquerable (*astṛta*) amulet of xix. 46, consisting of three pieces of gold, three of silver, and three of iron, employed to obtain long life in Kauś. 58. 10, and for a variety of purposes in the Śāntikalpa.

(4) Finally, there may be classed together a number of amulets made from manufactured objects, or in which the shape given to the material is significant. To secure victory for a king, the amulet is made (Kauś. 16. 29) from the felloe of a chariot wheel encased in iron, lead, copper, silver, or red copper, the centre of the case being of gold. Salve is employed as an amulet (58. 8) to secure long life. A spear-point furnishes (31. 7) an amulet against various sharp pains ascribed to the missiles of Rudra; and *jāyānya* (syphilis?) is healed in 32. 11 by tying on part of a lute by means of one of its strings, the instrument taking the place of the woman who played it, and the treatment being on homoeopathic principles. In 23. 10 one who is about to divide an inherited estate ties on a bowstring as an amulet. In 35. 11 a bracelet is employed to ensure conception, but whether it is put on in the usual fashion, or tied around the neck as amulets usually are, is not clear. The Śāntikalpa 19 employs gold earrings, put on in the usual method, at the *āgneyi śānti*, i.e. when there is danger of fire, or for one who desires all blessings. An amulet in the shape of a ship ensures a safe voyage (Kauś. 52. 11). The head of an axe, or an amulet in the shape of an axe, and made of *palāśa*-wood, iron, red copper, or gold is employed in 46. 2-3 to restore an unjustly slandered man to honour. Prosperity is secured in 19. 23 by an amulet consisting of four pieces of *khadira*-wood, each made in the shape of a plough and put upon the string in a peculiar fashion.

2. Amulets in other branches of Vedic literature.—In passages in which there is simply an allusion to a *mani*, it is frequently impossible to determine whether an amulet or an ornament, a jewel, is meant; but for the period in question the two ideas must have been at least nearly synonymous. So in Rig-Veda, i. 33. 8 (the only occurrence of the word in the Rig-Veda), Indra is said to have vanquished the *Dasyus* 'adorned with golden *manis*,' i.e. in spite of the magical assistance of their amulets. Compare the taking away of ornaments or amulets from the *Asuras* accomplished by certain methods of sacrificial technique in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 4. 6, and note that the night-walking demons of Hiraṇyakeśin (*Gṛhya Sūtras* [HGS.], 2. 3. 7), and the demon of disease (*ib.* 2. 7. 2) wore ornaments, undoubtedly of magic power. Other passages that may be cited are Vājasaneyi Samhitā, 24. 3, 30. 7; Pāṇchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, 20. 16. 6; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 12. 3. 4. 2; Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, 6. 1. 5; but in *pratisara* of Sat. Brāh. 5. 2. 4. 20, 7. 4. 1. 33, the present writer can see no allusion to an amulet, the word having the more general sense of 'counter-charm.'

A clear example, however, is found in Vāj. Samh. 34. 50-52, the hymn for the putting on of the

golden *dākṣāyaṇa* amulet, elaborated in Athar. Ved. 1. 35, and recurring in Rig-Veda *Khilāni*, 10. 128; cf. Vāj. Samh. 19. 80. An amulet is mentioned in the *anubhūnāmaka mantrāḥ* (Tāittiriya Samhitā, 7. 3. 14. 1). At the *āsvamedha* (horse sacrifice), Kātyāyana (*Śrauta Sūtra*, 20. 5. 16) directs that each of three wives of the king shall weave securely into the mane and tail of the horse a hundred and one golden amulets, which Sat. Brāh. 13. 2. 6. 8 interprets as symbolical of the king and the hundred years of life he wishes to attain.

In the *Gṛhya Sūtras* [GS.], the practice, as was to be expected, is better represented, though still without reaching the prominence attained in the Atharva. Differences are observable between the different Sūtras, but appear to rest more upon different degrees of minuteness in reporting details, than upon actual differences in the prevalence of the practices.

In the widest sense of the word the different parts of the costume of the *brāhmachārin*, especially his girdle and cord, may be considered as amulets; at any rate they are handled in accordance with such magic potency. The verses with which, in HGS. 1. 4. 2, the new garment is put on the pupil at his initiation, are comparable in tone to a charm of the Atharva to secure long life. The *stafi*, too, must be carefully guarded, and in particular no person must be allowed to come between it and its bearer; and when the girdle is worn out a ceremony is necessary before it can be replaced. That golden ornaments have a magic power (an idea already alluded to) is shown by the formula employed at the wedding ceremony (Gobhila GS. [GGS.] 2. 2. 14; Khādira GS. 1. 3. 27; Mantra Brāhmaṇa, 1. 1. 8; cf. 1. 3. 8-11, 'Auspicious ornaments this woman wears'); and by the direction that a woman must wear them at the times when she is peculiarly exposed to the attacks of demons, thus during the three nights after her wedding (HGS. 1. 23. 10), and after her courses (*ib.* 1. 24. 8)—times when for the same reason chastity is prescribed. In line with this is *thr*, wearing of gold ornaments at the *simantonnaya* (the parting of the hair of a pregnant woman to secure easy child-birth), prescribed by HGS. 2. 1. 3, and permitted by Sāṅkhāyana GS. [SGS.] 1. 22. 17; and the direction, in GGS. 2. 10. 7, HGS. 1. 1. 7, to deck the youth with golden ornaments before his initiation, religious ceremonies being of a peculiar magical and *ipso facto* dangerous potency. Compare also the tying on of an ornament with the formula prescribed in Mānava GS. 1. 9. 24, as part of the *arghya*-ceremony (reception of a guest).

In addition to these, there are a number of more special cases. At the wedding ceremony the bridegroom gives to the bride a porcupine quill and a string twisted of three threads; her relatives tie on her a red and black woollen or linen cord with three gems, and the bridegroom *madhūkā*-flowers (word-symbolism); cf. SGS. 1. 12. 6, 8, 9. According to the same Sūtra (1. 22. 8-10), the father at the *simantonnaya* ties to the mother's neck, with a string twisted from three threads, three unripe fruits of an *udumbara*-tree; cf. Paraskara GS. 1. 15. 6; GGS. 2. 7. 4, and the similar proceedings at the *pumsavana* (ceremony to secure the birth of a male child), MGS. 1. 16. At the *jātakarma*, (ceremony on the birth of a child) SGS. 1. 24. 11-14 directs that a piece of gold be bound with a hemp string to the child's right hand. There it remains during the time of the mother's impurity, after which it is given to the Brāhman, or may be retained by the father. The intention is evidently to furnish the child with a means of defence against the demons supposed to be hovering about the mother at that time.

At the *samāvartana* (the ceremony at the close of his study, when the pupil is about to leave his teacher's house) various amulets are employed. The use of earrings is clearly attested; jewellery, gold, or an amulet made of a perforated piece of sandal wood or *badari*-wood overlaid with gold is used, or an amulet of this wood in conjunction with another amulet of gold; cf. for details *Āśvalāyana GS.* 3. 8. 10, 21; *SGS.* 3. 1. 7; *PGS.* 2. 6. 24, 26; *HGS.* 1. 10. 6-11. 3; *Āpastambiya GS.* 5. 12. 8ff.; *MGS.* 1. 2. 14. Finally, *GGS.* 3. 8. 6, directs that after the *prṣātaka* the sacrificer and his family should tie on amulets of lac together with all sorts of herbs; and *Ap. GS.* 3. 9. 5-7, has a ceremony of a highly magic flavour, in which a wife binds to her hands the root of a *pāṭa*-plant (*Clypea hennadifolia*) in such a way that her husband cannot see it and then embraces him, her purpose being to make him subject to her. The unpublished *Baudhāyana GS.* is said to make frequent mention of amulets.

Among later texts the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*, 2. 6, includes in its list of portents the breaking of an amulet. The *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* also prescribes a number of amulets, and the method of their application is a complicated series of ceremonies, practically identical in all cases, which constitute a technique as characteristic of this school as the ceremonies previously described are of the *Atharvan*. The performer fasts for three days, selected in such a way that the beginning of the ceremony itself shall fall on an auspicious day. He then gathers the material required, and on the same day makes of it a triple amulet, brings it to the fire, and makes an offering without a *mantra*; he then lays the amulet down near the fire and makes a thousand, or at least one hundred, oblations accompanied by the singing of a specified *sāman*. He then wears the amulet on his neck or head, and regularly sings a specified *sāman*.

The materials thus employed and the purposes accomplished are: *bilva*-wood to drive away demons (*Svidh.* 2. 2. 2); the fuel must be from a tree that was struck by lightning, and the butter for the oblations from a white cow with a calf of the same colour; *Andropogon aciculatus* and *Sarpagandhā* ('snake-perfume') to guard against snakes (2. 3. 3); white blooming *Solanum* to guard against danger from weapons (2. 3. 4); white blooming *Calatropis gigantea*; according to the *sāman* employed its wearer will be rich in food, will have food everywhere, will not die of thirst, will not die in water, will not have leprosy, or will not die of poison (2. 3. 5-10); violet-roots for success in debate (2. 7. 12); the first *udāṅga*-branch to get a hundred slaves (2. 8. 5); a ring of copper, silver, gold, or iron, to repel sorcery; in this case the ring must be worn on the right hand, and there is no prescription of a silent offering or the singing of the *sāman* afterwards (3. 5. 7). In one case the proceeding is somewhat elaborated. If the children of one's wife die young, the amulet is made from the sheaths of the buds of the *Ficus indica*. The amulet is treated as before, but the wife wears it in her girdle until she (shortly) bears a son, when it is put on his neck. Theavings of the butter of the oblations have been saved, are given to the child to eat, and are rubbed each day on all the openings of his body, the supply being renewed when necessary. The consequence is that the boy lives to be a hundred years old without suffering from the infirmities of old age (2. 2. 1).

ii. HISTORY OF THE AMULET IN INDIA.—The material collected is sufficient to show that the wearing of amulets, a pre-historic custom, was practised familiarly and without disapproval among the adherents of all Vedic schools. How far their use is brought to the front, how far it is passed

over in silence, depend chiefly upon the character and purpose of a text. Works dealing with the ritual of the great *Śrauta*-sacrifices naturally make but rare and incidental mention of them; hence to infer from the silence of the *Rig-Veda* that amulets were unknown at the time of the composition of its hymns would be to shut one's eyes to the one-sided nature of that collection. In the humbler *Gṛhya*-sacrifices amulets come more to the front, in spite of the fact that these, too, have lost much of their popular nature in coming under priestly control. Finally, as was to be expected, it is in the *Atharva*, that great document of the popular side of religion, whose aim is to secure the immediate fulfilment of each and every want, that we find the most abundant employment of amulets. Already in the hymns of the *Atharvan* we find the fundamental ideas connected with the amulet fully developed. Whether the ritual familiar to the authors of the hymns was identical with that known to us from the *Kaṣika* we cannot fully determine (cf. *MAGIC*). But at the most we have between the *Atharvan Saṁhitā* and the *Kaṣika* only new applications of old ideas, and perhaps an increasing complexity of ritual technique. It is a noteworthy fact that, in spite of the centuries between them, the *Sāntikālpā* in its manipulation of amulets is upon essentially the same basis as the *Kaṣika*, thus showing the steadfastness of the tradition of the ritual when once established.

LITERATURE.—There is no connected treatment of the subject, but incidental mention of it is made in the works on Vedic religion (wh. see), and especially in the works on the *Atharva-Veda*. Cf. also *MAGIC* [Vedic].

G. M. BOLLING.

CHARTISM.—1. Demands of the Chartists.—The Chartist movement played the most important part in working-class annals between 1837 and 1842, and it did not finally leave the stage until 1848. Political reform was the direct object of the movement, but it was social in its origin and in its ultimate aims. The National Charter, drafted by Francis Place from materials supplied by William Lovett, embodied in the form of a bill the demand of its supporters. The six main points, none of them novel, were: (1) adult male suffrage, (2) vote by ballot, (3) annual parliaments, (4) abolition of the property qualification for members of the House of Commons, (5) payment of members, and (6) equal electoral districts.

2. Origin in economic conditions of the time.—Driving power for agitation was found in the economic conditions of the time, which occasioned among the working classes a sullen discontent with their lot. Wide-spread commercial and industrial depression marked the period 1837-42, in which are recorded two of the leanest harvests of the century, and a severe financial crisis. A vast amount of speculation in railways, mines, canals, and joint-stock banks, together with an unchecked expansion of credit, had characterized the prosperous years 1833-36. The bad harvest of 1837, causing a large export of gold in payment for imported wheat, combined with calls for gold from America and the Continent, shook the unwieldy credit superstructure, and precipitated a crisis which almost ruined the Bank of England, and forced seventy-three joint-stock banks to stop payment. Paralysis of enterprise naturally followed the crash, and the stagnation of business resulted in a large amount of unemployment. In those days anticipation of demand in the ever-widening market for which Great Britain produced was almost impossible. Convulsive fluctuations in commerce were common, and, while this ebb and flow of trade made the lot of the worker unstable, 'The huge demon of Mechanism smokes and thunders . . .

at every change of shape oversetting whole multitudes of workmen . . . hurling them asunder, this way and that . . . so that the wisest no longer knows his whereabouts' (Carlyle, 'Chartism,' in vol. iv. of *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1872 ed. p. 130). Adam Smith's statement, that man is of all kinds of baggage the most difficult to transport, and that labour is of all commodities the most immobile, was eminently true of this period. Lack of power to change not only geographical position but also occupation, was a root-cause of much of the suffering of the time. The quality of adaptability, upon which modern thinkers lay emphasis, was rare. Custom bound men in fetters, and hindered their re-absorption into new callings. Moreover, there was a supreme lack of organization in the labour market. The Poor Law of 1834 was an added grievance. Underlying this Act was the principle of deterrence, that the position of those relieved should be less eligible than that of the lowest class of independent labourers, and that the reality of the distress of each applicant for relief should be proved by the workhouse test. 'Heretical and damnable as a whole truth,' says Carlyle of the principle of the new Poor Law, 'it is orthodox and laudable as a half-truth' (*ib.* p. 121). It was too much to expect that the operative classes should realize how necessary a drastic reform had been. Irish agricultural distress accentuated the evils of the time, by flooding the English casual labour market with men accustomed to a low standard of life; and a heavy corn duty, founded upon the obsolete maxim that 'England should live of her own,' made even bread scarce. Chartism was in part the expression of working-class dissatisfaction with these conditions.

3. Connexion between Chartism and Owenite Communism.—The wide-spread belief in political reform as a remedy for all social ills secured a large number of adherents for the Charter, but Robert Owen's gospel of social regeneration was perhaps equally responsible for the Chartist movement. Owen had preached the 'New Moral World,' and had enlisted the Trade Unions and other labour forces of the country to bring it about. It was to have been a kind of Communism. When practical steps were taken, however, failure succeeded failure. The general strike could not be carried out. It was then generally believed that the only possible engine wherewith to introduce the new moral world was the Government. But the working classes had little control over the Government; hence the demand for the reforms tabulated in the six points of the Charter to give them this control. Their thoughts naturally turned to political agitation after the Reform movement of the early 'Thirties.' Inter-mixed with the idealism of Owen's system were certain economic beliefs, such as the right of the manual worker to the whole produce of labour, which was popularly expressed in the following lines:

'Wages should form the price of goods,
Yes, wages should be all;
Then we who work to make the goods
Should justly have them all.
But if the price be made of rent,
Tithes, taxes, profits all,
Then we who work to make the goods
Shall have—just none at all.'

Generally speaking, however, the Chartist leaders had no clear conception of what they wanted ultimately. Most were feeling their way to some new industrial organization; they were 'humanitarians, educationalists, moralists, socialists, dreamers after a new heaven and earth.'

4. Organization and tactics of the Chartists.—The years 1836-39 saw the formation of the Working Men's Association of London (in 1836), the Birmingham Political Union, and the Unions of

the North. The first was moderate and educational in its aims; the others spent much of their energies in denouncing machinery and the Poor Law. In 1838, O'Connell, the Radical member, moved an amendment to the Address, expressing a desire for further political reform—a desire echoed by all classes who had been disappointed in 1832. Lord John Russell's declaration against any further political change, supported by Sir Robert Peel on behalf of the Opposition, brought into line the organizations mentioned above. A National Convention was then formed to secure the adoption of the measures embodied in the Charter. Charter Unions sprang up, especially in the North, with amazing rapidity. Such masses of men had never rallied round any cause since the days of the 'Grand National' Trade Union. Among the leaders of the movement were Lovett, Feargus O'Connor, Bronterre O'Brien, Hetherington, Cobbett, and Vincent. Numerous papers came into existence for propaganda work: Hetherington's *London Dispatch*, the moral force organ, representative of the London Working Men's Association; O'Connor's *Northern Star*, the physical force organ, representative of the spirit of the Northern Unions; Bronterre O'Brien's *Operative*; Cobbett's *Champion*; and others. The method of monster demonstrations was used with effect in the great industrial centres, notably in Glasgow, Newcastle, and Manchester. Dissension among the leaders—eventually a continual source of weakness to the movement—soon broke out. The chief subject in dispute was the nature of the means to be employed for the attainment of the common object. Lovett, supported by the Working Men's Association, was in favour of moral suasion only; O'Connor, with the Northern Unions, was in favour of menaces and, if necessary, physical force. The Convention decided to submit the following five methods to the Branch Unions for consideration: (1) a run on the banks for gold, (2) abstinence from all excisable liquors, (3) exclusive dealing, (4) arming, and (5) universal cessation of labour (the general strike). No agreement was reached; but the repressive Government policy of 1839-42, seen in the long list of prosecutions for sedition, tended to throw the movement into the hands of O'Connor and the extremists. Violent strikes and rioting fill the records of those three years, beginning with the Welsh rising in 1839, and culminating in the Lancashire and Midland strikes of 1842, which almost became political rebellions.

5. Later course of the movement and its decline.—From 1842 Chartism steadily lost its importance. The improvement in economic conditions turned the working classes to objects more directly fruitful. The Co-operative movement sprang up anew, and Trade Unions with limited trade programmes won back the allegiance of the operatives. Industrial diplomacy and associated effort, aimed at immediate practical ends, gradually took the place of a class movement inspired by vague social aspirations. In 1848, events in Paris seemed to revive for a brief period the waning power of Chartism; but the failure of the monster meeting of 10th April, and the exposure of exaggeration as regards the numbers of the Chartists and their earnestness, combined with lack of political talent among its leaders, soon brought the agitation to an end. Two points only need to be noted in the years 1842-48. The one is O'Connor's land bubble, or, under its formal title, the National Chartist Co-operative Land Society, founded in 1843. O'Connor, or the 'Pauper's Bailiff,' as he called himself, ran this scheme in competition with the Charter as a means of social regeneration. His plan involved, among other things, placing town-bred men upon estates almost wholly bought with borrowed capital and

trusting to their uniform success to pay off interest and wipe out the debt. So futile a proposal deceived few, but it undermined O'Connor's influence. The other point to note is the vain struggle of the leaders in 1844-45 against the growing ascendancy of Cobden and Bright over working-class opinion.

Viewed as an episode in the history of the democracy, the Chartist movement shows an enlargement of the social aspirations of the working classes, but no progress in the methods adopted to achieve their ends. 'Made respectable by sincerity, devotion, and even heroism, in the rank and file,' it was, as it has been perhaps too severely urged, 'disgraced by the fustian of its orators and the political and economic quackery of its pretentious and incompetent leaders' (Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, 1894, p. 158).

LITERATURE.—Carlyle, *Chartism* 2, London, 1842; William Lovett, *Life and Struggles*, London, 1876; R. G. Gammage, *Hist. of the Chartist Movement*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1894; *The Northern Star*; *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 1832; *His-*

torical Review, Oct. 1889; Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, London, 1898.

S. J. CHAPMAN and R. B. FORRESTER.

CHĀSA (Bengali *chāsh*, Hindi *chās*, 'tillage').—The chief cultivating caste of Orissa in the province of Bengal, to which, with a few emigrants into the Central Provinces, they are practically all confined. At the Census of 1901 they numbered 870,527. They are by religion orthodox Hindus, but they betray their non-Aryan origin by occasionally resorting to the old rite of burying instead of cremating the dead; and, to mark this lapse from the observances of Hinduism, their Brāhmins are not received on equal terms by castes which follow the same occupation, like the Khandait and Karan. Most of them belong to the Vaiṣṇava sect.

LITERATURE.—Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1891, i. 192 f. W. CROOKE.

CHASIDIM.—See **HASIDÆANS**.

CHASTITY.

Introductory (A. E. CRAWLEY), p. 474.
Babylonian.—See 'Semitic.'
Buddhist (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 490.
Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 490.
Christian (A. J. MACLEAN), p. 491.
Egyptian.—See 'Semitic.'
Greek (I. F. BURNS), p. 494.

Hebrew.—See 'Semitic.'
Jewish.—See 'Semitic.'
Muslim (TH. W. JUYNBOLL), p. 495.
Roman (J. B. CARTER), p. 496.
Semitic (T. G. PINCHES), p. 497.
Slavic (O. SCHRADER), p. 501.
Teutonic (O. SCHRADER), p. 499.

CHASTITY (Introductory).—It is only within recent years—practically the last forty—that scientific attention has been brought to bear upon the subject of the nature and evolution of the sexual impulse in man. McLennan's study of *Primitive Marriage* (1865) marked an epoch in anthropological research, and the step then taken was the first indirect move towards a psychology of sex. Darwin's study of sexual selection directed attention to the biological aspects of the subject. Many converging lines of anthropological study have since made contribution; in particular, the close inquiry into the origin and evolution of the institution of marriage. Direct attacks upon the problem soon began. Psychologists and clinical students have made careful investigations into the phenomena of normal and abnormal sexual life among the civilized populations of the present day. Investigations have also been carried on among some of the uncivilized races still available for study. The result, considering the natural difficulties of the subject and the short space of time since investigation began, is remarkable. Though we are still far from definite knowledge on many points of importance, and though practical application of what is known is as yet impossible, we have reached a fairly clear understanding of some main aspects, and are able to formulate some probable principles.

The close connexion of the subject of sex with religion, both in social evolution and in individual psychology, renders the study of chastity an extremely important chapter in the past and future sociology of the race. Such an investigation brings us down to the biological foundations of individual and social life and morality. Roughly speaking, the sexual impulse is a psychical overgrowth from the nutritive, corresponding to it as physiological reproduction corresponds to physiological nutrition. Chastity, both as practice and as principle, is a biological and psychological moment, in phylogeny and ontogeny, of profound significance. In order to appreciate that significance in connexion with the evolution of religion, it is necessary (1) to investigate the various causes

and conditions—biological, economic, and psychological—which have produced, generally, what is known as sexual morality, and, in particular, have elevated the regulation or control of the more or less reflex action of the reproductive centres into a religious virtue, a social ideal, and an individual duty; and (2) to trace the distribution of the habit of chastity, and the historical curve of its development, of course without prejudice to the question whether this or that opinion which has been held is physiologically sound.

The roots of civilized popular opinion, of theological, ethical, and ecclesiastical enactment, upon the questions of sexual life and habit are deep in primitive soil. But the popular and theological ideas which spring from this have been moulded by external conditions, continually, but slowly, changing with the evolution of society. At the same time there has been a decided evolution of the sexual impulse itself.

We merely note, without discussing, the connexion between the religious and the sexual impulse. This does not appear till puberty. Both impulses may be regarded as psychic 'irradiations,' which in adolescence tend to merge into one another, and to be confused. But there seems to be no reason for regarding the religious impulse of adolescence as a specialization of the sexual.¹ We know little about the religious impulse of primitive man; probably it was as slightly developed as the other.

That the sexual impulse is relatively weak among savages, as compared with civilized peoples, is proved by the difficulty often shown in attaining sexual excitement—a difficulty which frequently has to be overcome by the indirect erethism of saturnalian proceedings; it is proved also by the savage's relative lack of jealousy, which is correlated with the excessive system of checks upon intercourse, which generally prevails; and, lastly, by the undeveloped condition of the organs themselves.²

Havelock Ellis, who has brought out the point, notes that, while 'among the higher races in India the sexual instinct is very developed, and sexual intercourse has been cultivated as an art, perhaps more elaborately than anywhere else—here, however, we are far removed from primitive conditions—

¹ Starbuck, *Psychology of Religion*, 1899, p. 401 ff.; Vallon and Marie, in *Archives de Neurologie*, n. iii. [1897] 184 f.
² Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*, 1902, i. 212 ff.

farther to the east, as among the Cambodians, strict chastity seems to prevail; and if we cross the Himalayas to the north, we find ourselves among wild people to whom sexual licence is unknown.¹

Even the negroes is by no means very amorous. 'She is rather cold, and indifferent to the refinements of love.'² The notion that the negro race is peculiarly prone to sexual indulgence seems to be due partly to the expansive temperament of the race, and to the sexual character of many festivals—a fact which indicates the need of artificial excitement. Of the Malaysian races careful investigation has shown that the sexual impulse is 'only developed to a slight extent; they are not sensual. . . . The women also are not ardent.'³ Sexual desire is said to be very moderate among the Andamanese. A high authority states that the North American race 'is less salacious than either the negro or white race.' 'Several of the virtues, and among them chastity, were more faithfully practised by the Indian race before the invasion from the East than these same virtues are practised by the white race of the present day.'⁴ Another high authority, L. H. Morgan, had previously come to the same conclusion.

Such facts point to a relatively low development of nervous energy in the sexual centres—a condition correlated with the hardships of existence and the difficulty of obtaining food of good quality and regularly supplied. It may be conjectured that the establishment of cereal agriculture marked an upward step. In the struggle for existence a strong and well-developed sexual instinct has obviously an important survival value, and the higher races are undoubtedly to be credited with its possession.

The history of chastity is concerned with the various changes that occur between these two stages: of savage life where the sexual impulse is but slightly developed, and of high culture where it is relatively strong. The savage may be said to possess a 'natural chastity,' but this is not to be denied to the normal civilized man. In both cases there is the same physiological law of rhythm. The facts of this rhythm are parallel with that of nutrition; satisfaction is followed by a reaction during which the impulse and its organs, as it were, enjoy rest and recuperation; gradually the secretions are built up again, until at the top of the curve detumescence follows like an explosion of gathered forces. Moll and Havelock Ellis have worked out the mechanism of the sexual impulse into a process of tumescence and detumescence. Natural chastity is the psychical concomitant of the detumescence period; its first moment is the strong reaction which follows the explosion. This is the basis of proverbs such as *omne animal post coitum triste*, and should be the starting-point of all investigations into the psychology of sexual asceticism. In its various shades of meaning the virtue of chastity, whether it be that of the faithful wife, or the virginity of the immature or of the unmarried, or the temporary continence of warrior or medicine-man, or the more permanent attempts (sometimes becoming perversions) of priestly subjects—in all these applications its origin is the same, though cloaked and shrouded by varying conditions of life and culture, and by the shadows of superstition and mythological ethics.

Thus, when applied to the normal uncontaminated savage, such statements as that this tribe is licentious, and that is chaste, are meaningless unless we know the details, and, in particular, the external conditions. The old travellers' tales of savage lust and licentiousness are as far from the truth as philosophical encomiums of savage morality and paradisaical innocence. Other things being equal, the savage regards the satisfaction of the sexual instinct exactly as he regards the satisfaction of hunger and thirst.⁵ The only control, apart from artificial laws and customs, is physiological, and this he unconsciously obeys. Conse-

quently, there is nothing 'vicious' about his sexual habits. If he has no ideal of chastity, neither has he any perversion to unchastity. The terms as yet have no application in his life.

It is not difficult to account for the belief, widely spread during the nineteenth century, in the unbridled licentiousness of savages. In the first place, the doctrine of evolution inevitably created a prejudice in favour of such a view. It was assumed that modesty, chastity, and restraint were the fine and ultimate flowers of moral development; therefore at the beginnings of civilization we must needs expect to find the opposite of these things. Apart, however, from any mere prejudice of this kind, a superficial observation of the actual facts necessarily led to much misunderstanding. Just as the nakedness of many savage peoples led to the belief that they were lacking in modesty . . . so the absence of our European rules of sexual behaviour among savages led to the conclusion that they were abandoned to debauchery. The wide-spread custom of lending the wife under certain circumstances was especially regarded as indicating gross licentiousness. Moreover, even when intercourse was found to be free before marriage, scarcely any investigator sought to ascertain what amount of sexual intercourse this freedom involved. . . . Again, it often happened that no clear distinction was made between peoples contaminated by association with civilization, and peoples not so contaminated. For instance, when prostitution is attributed to a savage people, we must almost invariably suppose either that a mistake has been made, or that the people in question have been degraded by intercourse with white peoples, for among unspoiled savages no custom that can properly be called prostitution prevails. . . . It has been seriously maintained that the chastity of savages, so far as it exists at all, is due to European civilization. . . . There is ample evidence from various parts of the world to show that this is by no means the rule. And, indeed, it may be said—with no disregard of the energy and sincerity of missionary efforts—that it could not be so. A new system of beliefs and practices, however excellent it may be in itself, can never possess the same stringent and unquestionable force as the system in which an individual and his ancestors have always lived, and which they have never doubted the validity of. . . . This dangerously unsettling process has been applied by missionaries on a wholesale scale to races which in some respects are often little more than children. When, therefore, we are considering the chastity of savages, we must not take into account those peoples which have been brought into close contact with Europeans.¹

Westermark collected evidence (on which Ellis founds in the above summary) to show that 'the wantonness of savages' is often due to contact with Europeans; for instance, among the Eskimos, Indians of California, British Columbia, Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands, in Patagonia, Sandwich Islands, Ponapé, Tana, Samoa, Tahiti, Australia, and Madagascar.² He also concludes that 'irregular connexions between the sexes have on the whole exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization.'³ The analogy of domestic animals bears this out.

'In our domestic animals generally, which live under what may be called civilized conditions, the sexual system and the sexual needs are more developed than in the wild species most closely related to them.'⁴ 'The organs which in the feral state are continually exercised in a severe struggle for existence, do not under domestication compete so closely with one another for the less needed nutriment. Hence organs, like the reproductive glands, which are not so directly implicated in self-preservation, are able to avail themselves of more food.'⁵

Heape suggests that the great reproductive power and sexual proclivities of rats and mice are 'due to the advantages derived from their intimate relations with the luxuries of civilization. He also concludes that 'it would seem highly probable that the reproductive power of man has increased with civilization, precisely as it may be increased in the lower animals by domestication; that the effect of a regular supply of good food, together with all the other stimulating factors available and exercised in modern civilized communities, has resulted in such great activity of the generative organs, and so great an increase in the supply of the reproductive elements, that conception in the healthy human female may be said to be possible almost at any time during the reproductive period.'⁶

Sexual periodicity forms a natural foundation for the development, by emphasis, of the resting period into an absolute abstinence and of the functional into an orgasmic explosion. This emphasized rhythm is analogous to the phenomena of rut. 'We are almost compelled,' says Westermark, 'to assume that the pairing time of our

¹ H. Ellis, *op. cit.* 207 ff.

² Westermark, *Hist. of Hum. Marr.* 3, 1901, p. 66 ff.

³ *Ib.* 69 f.

⁴ Ellis, *op. cit.* 220.

⁵ Adlerz, *Biolog. Centralblatt*, lv. (1902).

⁶ W. Heape, 'The Sexual Season of Mammals,' in *Quart. Journ. of Microscopical Science*, xlv. (1900) 12, 39.

¹ Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 1897-1900, III. 218 f.

² H. V. Stevens, *ZE* iv. 180 f., quoted by Ellis, *l.c.*

³ A. B. Holder, *Amer. Journ. of Obstetrics*, xxvi. 1, quoted by Ellis.

⁴ See Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen*, 1886, *passim*.

earliest human or semi-human ancestors was restricted to a certain season of the year.¹ The Indians of California 'have their rutting seasons as regularly as have the deer, the elk, the antelope, or any other animals.'² Westermarck concludes that the fact of 'the sexual instinct increasing at the end of spring, or rather at the beginning of summer,' was not due either to abundance or lack of food, or to an increase of the sun's heat, and must therefore be regarded as a survival factor, the result of natural selection.³ Saturnalia and orgiastic festivals, which form so conspicuous a feature of savage life, are not to be considered survivals of a primitive pairing season. Survivals of this kind must involve physiological necessity. They coincide with periods of plenty, and are, in their lowest terms, expressions of the natural impulse towards merry-making and nervous ebullition generally. In the circumstances the 'primitive burst' is inevitably an occasion for a general explosion of the sexual centres. Thus we have a cultural, as well as a physiological, rhythm of periodicity. The difficulty experienced by the savage in attaining tumescence, except under specially stimulating circumstances, is overcome by these so-called orgies, which also frequently have the secondary (and, often, the primary) intention of magical processes for the promotion of the fertility of the crops. The Marquesans are instanced by Foley to show the difficulty of erethism except at special seasons⁴—a case which is typical of the savage generally. The manifestations of the impulse, when they do appear, are excessive, just as the irradiation during the rest of the function is deficient.

'It is largely the occurrence of these violent occasional outbursts of the sexual instinct—during which the organic impulse to tumescence becomes so powerful that external stimuli are no longer necessary—that has led to the belief in the peculiar strength of the impulse in savages.'⁵

Man's later development owes as much to these 'bursts' as to the periods of natural chastity; the one process was exercise of the function, with all its psychological ramifications, the other was control. The service rendered by artificial chastity to civilization is to strengthen the function by self-control; this is the biological view of the matter, the premiss being that high development of such a function is of the greatest survival value.

The way in which custom, variously originating, comes across the natural sexual life, may be illustrated by sketching the latter where it still occurs. This, with not more than two exceptions, which themselves are not absolute, is found only among the unmarried. It is not universal even in this secluded sphere—a fact which shows that marriage-law soon extends its range to the ante-nuptial period.

In British Central Africa, 'before a girl is become a woman (that is to say, before she is able to conceive) it is a matter of absolute indifference what she does, and scarcely any girl remains a virgin after about five years of age.'⁶ Among the Congo tribes sexual indulgence in children is not checked.⁷ No disgrace is attached by Kafir to intercourse by the unmarried.⁸ In the Marshall Islands intercourse is free until marriage.⁹ Maori girls 'as general rule had great licence in the way of lovers. I don't think the young woman knew when she was a virgin, for she had love-affairs with the boys from her cradle. . . . When she married it became very different; she was then *tupu* to her husband.'¹⁰ Boys and girls among the Chereimiss have complete freedom of intercourse.¹¹ In Indonesia this freedom is very marked, and begins at the earliest age possible before puberty.¹² Among the Nagas 'chastity begins with

marriage.'¹ Other cases are the Philippines and the Hovas.² The Yakuts see nothing wrong in such licence, provided that no one suffers material loss by it.³

This, of course, is the point of origin for customs of repression leading to chastity; three types of this are more or less universal, viz. loss of virginity in purchasable daughters, infringement of the husband's proprietary rights in a wife, and the 'injury,' more or less mysterious, in its origin and content, resulting from intercourse between members of the same family-circle—mother and son, brother and sister. Before passing to the habits of chastity imposed in these and related circumstances, it is worth remark that among people like the Indonesians, where free intercourse is allowed to children before conception is possible, masturbation, so prevalent in moralized civilization, is conspicuous by its absence.

Chastity after puberty but before marriage is, on the whole, more prevalent in the lower races than in modern civilization, for reasons which we shall shortly discuss. But chastity (if the term be applicable to immaturity) before puberty, and therefore before conception is possible, seems to be practically unknown among savage and barbarian peoples, except where infant betrothal and marriage have been introduced. Intercourse at this age, possible as it is, and biologically natural, is apparently regarded as innocent 'play' of the sexual instinct.

Thus, among the Valave of Madagascar, children have intercourse at a very early age, and their parents encourage this and take a pleasure in watching them.⁴ Such precocious connexion has been noted among the Indonesians, the Maoris, and the Bahuanas of the Congo.⁵ It is said that among the first named it is not uncommon for brothers and sisters to have intercourse at five or six years of age.⁶ In New Caledonia girls lose their virginity in playing about at a very early age.⁷ In certain South Australian tribes it is said that girls are accustomed to intercourse from their eighth year.⁸ On Talmit, one of the Marshall Islands, the practice begins 'with the first stirrings of nature before menstruation.'⁹ Similar accounts are given of the Nubians, Masai, and Nandi,¹⁰ and of British Central Africa generally. 'There is scarce a girl who remains a virgin after about five years of age.'¹¹ Much the same is the case with the Basutos and Baronga, the Bambala, the tribes of the Lower Congo, and the Mande of Bonduku.¹²

Sexual control, exerted by the society, commences with the establishment of puberty. Here a difficulty presents itself. Why was such control ever instituted? It could not have originated from any notion of the harmfulness of exercising the sexual function when near or at its complete development, for experience of this kind is inconceivable in a primitive state of society, and superstitions on the subject are necessarily results, not originally causes, of such control. It might be supposed that, the possibility of conception being now introduced, it was necessary to make rules for adolescents so as to prevent promiscuous births. But there is strong evidence to the effect that, when such rules were instituted, the knowledge that sexual intercourse is necessary for conception had not been attained. The Central Australians, who have such rules, do not connect the phenomena of intercourse and pregnancy. Nor can we eliminate from their original institution the sexual point of view. To some extent they are concerned with the 'making' of young men and their admission to the ranks of the adult, but sexual maturity is the mark and sign of this elevation. Another aspect

¹ *Revue Colon. Internat.* v. 491.

² De Morga, *Philippine Islands*, etc., tr. 1868, p. 303; Sibree, *JAI* ix. 43.

³ Sumner, *JAI* xxxi. 96.

⁴ Sibree, *JAI* ix. 39; Ploss, *op. cit.* i. 301.

⁵ *JAI* xxxvi. 235 ff.

⁶ Ploss, *l.c.*

⁷ *Id.* i. 309.

⁸ *Id.* i. 392.

⁹ Kohler, *ZVRW* xiv. 417 (quoted by Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, 1909, ii. 262).

¹⁰ Ploss, *op. cit.* i. 399; Bagge, *JAI* xxxiv. 169; Johnston, *Uganda*, 1902, ii. 824; Hollis, *Masai*, 1905, p. xvi, *Nandi*, 1909, pp. 16, 58.

¹¹ Johnston, *Brit. Cent. Africa*, 408 (quoted by Hartland).

¹² Hartland, *id.* 267 ff.

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* 28.

² Johnston, in Schoolcraft, iv. 224; S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, 1877, p. 206.

³ *Op. cit.* 35.

⁴ BSAP, Nov. 6, 1879.

⁵ Ellis, *op. cit.* 218.

⁶ Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 1897, p. 405.

⁷ Torday and Joyce, *JAI* xxxvi. 235 ff.

⁸ Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws*, 1838, p. 63.

⁹ *ZVRW* xiv. 416 ff.

¹⁰ Tregear, *JAI* xix. 101 ff.

¹¹ Smirnov, *Les Populations finnoises*, 1898, p. 357.

¹² Riedel, pp. 41, 67, 370, and *passim*.

of these initiatory rites is education, including education in sexual matters. The fact that this is more complete and efficient in savage than in civilized societies does not necessarily involve the assumption that education was the primary object, any more than it involves degeneracy in the educational ideals of to-day. Yet we cannot doubt that the instinct, strongly developed in the savage parent, for the nurture of the young, which is the natural complement of the long childhood of the human individual, was soon extended even to this kind of instruction.

The possibility remains that the control over the sexual life of the pubescent youth of the community originated directly from the adult men, who wished to safeguard their own privileges as 'husbands.' A considerable portion of the moral law has had a similar origin in adult privilege, and not a few of the moral emotions and habits, such as unselfishness, have been learnt in the same way. The balance of evidence is against the view that the original or primitive marital state was promiscuity. The suggestion we have made coincides with such evidence. It also involves the assumption—*a priori* probable—that, at the remote period of the institution of this control, sexual capacity was coincident with the establishment of puberty. Biologically this was to be expected. Accordingly we must conclude that sexual intercourse before puberty was originally a physical impossibility. Precocious intercourse must then be ascribed to a development of the reproductive function due to improved conditions of life. In this connexion it is a significant fact that the Australian evidence as to premature coition is very doubtful, and applies only to the Southern tribes, which have been longest in contact with Europeans. Of its occurrence in the more isolated tribes there is no mention. Lastly, there is reason to suppose that the Australians represent a lower culture than the peoples, cited above, among whom it is prevalent.

As regards savage and barbarous races of men, among whom the relations of the sexes under normal conditions take the form of marriage, nearly every individual strives to get married as soon as he or she reaches the age of puberty.¹

This statement of Westermarck may be received as embodying a general rule, with the proviso that the older males regulate the 'striving,' and that this 'striving' is usually confined to the male sex. Normally it is difficult for a young male to get married at once, and when he does succeed his first bride is rarely a young female. The old men exercise a monopoly in the matter of youthful brides. That puberty is originally regarded as the commencement of sexual capacity, as such, and at first without any idea of its being the commencement in the female of the child-bearing state, is shown by cases where the later development of precocious capacity is either ignored or forbidden. Observation would soon prove that child-bearing could not occur before maturity. Thus we find rules established to reinforce the original coincidence of puberty and capacity.

In the Pelew Islands sexual intercourse seems to be forbidden to girls until after the first menstruation.² A similar rule is found in Cambodia.³ The Australian evidence seems to show that pre-pubertal intercourse did not exist.⁴ The ceremonial perforation of the hymen common among the Central tribes is clearly a preparation for the sexual functions. Circumcision no doubt has a similar origin. Where the numerical proportions of the sexes are balanced, as among the Central Australians, such preparation of the female is coincident with allotment as a wife. It is thus both a puberty and a marriage ceremony. The general facts of puberty-customs show an artificial emphasizing of the sexual rhythm of rest and explosion. The Australian or South African boy during his initiation is, it goes without saying, chaste both by compulsion and by choice. So is it with girls. But the educative factor

comes in at the end of the initiation, to coincide with the natural result of the period of rest of function. Immediately after circumcision a Ceramese boy must have intercourse with a girl.¹ In certain Central African tribes both boys and girls after initiation must as soon as possible have intercourse, the belief being that, if they do not, they will die.² Narrinyeri boys after the preliminary rites had complete licence.³ After the seclusion of a Kafr girl at puberty she is allowed to cohabit with any one during the festivities which follow; Kafr boys after being circumcised may have connexion with any unmarried females they can persuade.⁴ Similar practices are found on the Senegal and Congo.⁵ As for theoretical education, Swahili girls at puberty are instructed in sexual knowledge; Apache girls in the duties of married life.⁶ In Hamahara, boys are brought into a large shed in which are two tables, one for the men and one for the women, who must be separated while eating. An old man now rubs a piece of wood, which makes water red, into a vessel of water, imitating by his movements the act of coitus. This pantomime is gone through for each boy, whose name is called out by the officiator. The red water represents the blood which results from the perforation of the hymen. Then the faces and bodies of the boys are smeared with the red water, after which they go into the woods, and are supposed to promote their health by taking the sun.⁷ In Ceram theory and practice are combined thus: the old woman who instructs the girls takes a leaf, which she solemnly perforates with her finger, by way of representing the perforation of the hymen. After the ceremony, the girl has full liberty of intercourse with men; in some villages the old men take the privilege to themselves.⁸ It is important to observe that such intercourse is, as among Africans and Australians, a duty, rather than a privilege, of the newly initiated.

We now pass to a consideration of the prevalence and origin of post-pubertal and pre-nuptial chastity. Numerical and economic conditions necessarily render this interval between puberty and marriage the rule rather than the exception. Even where such conditions need not be regarded as imperative, the monopolizing instincts of the older men impose difficulties on immediate marriage. This may be regarded as the ultimate social or artificial reason both for the postponement of marriage and for the concomitant imposition of chastity during the interval.

In this connexion the theory of J. J. Atkinson may be cited. He suggests that the first step towards the regulation of the intercourse of the sexes, and therefore of marriage, was due to the jealousy of the old male, who was the autocrat of the small family group in some anthropoid genus. In order to secure his rights over all the females of the group, including his daughters, he expelled his sons when they arrived at puberty. Hence the law against incest between brothers and sisters, mothers and sons. The suggestion has the advantage of tracing to one common origin the inception of the family, of marriage-legislation, and of sexual morality generally. The prohibition of such unions, though a limitation of sexual freedom, hardly, however, comes under the category of chastity. Yet the origin of the law against incest is in some way, or at some stage, closely connected, as will be seen later, with general limitations of sexual freedom. One difficulty about this connexion, as also about Atkinson's hypothesis, is this—If the 'primal law' forbidding intercourse between brothers and sisters was inspired by proprietary or sexual jealousy on the part of the paterfamilias, why is it that in savage races, as we know them, adultery with a wife or allotted woman, when condemned, is condemned as an offence against property rather than as against morality or religion, while incest excites religious horror as a presumptuous infraction of a supernaturally moral fiat? This, for instance, is the case in Fiji, where the distinction is well marked. The mere fact of the greater antiquity

¹ Riedel, *op. cit.* 189.

² D. Macdonald, *Africana*, 1882, I. 126.

³ Howitt, *JAI* xlii. 37.

⁴ J. Macdonald, *JAI* xx. 117, 118; Maclean, *Compendium*, pp. 98, 101.

⁵ W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, 1868, p. 451, *JAI* xxii. 100.

⁶ Ploss, *Das Weib*, II. 437; Featherman, *Races of Man*, 1881 ff., iii. 190.

⁷ Riedel, in *ZE* xvii. 81.

⁸ Riedel, *De sluik-en kroesharige Rassen*, 188.

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* 124.

² Senft, quoted by Hartland, *op. cit.* II. 177.

³ Armonier, *Cochinchine française*, vi. [1880] 128.

⁴ Howitt, *Native Tribes*, 1904, p. 260.

of this prohibition cannot be brought forward in explanation, as it implies the equal antiquity of a jealous protection of the original wife or wives. If we supposed that the patriarch was in the habit of casting off an old wife as soon as he had an adult daughter, the supposition goes too far; this kind of luxurious uxorial habit is not safely to be ascribed to savages, much less to a semi-human species. Nor, though there are some indications of a prolonged survival of the habit of father-daughter incest, can we ascribe the religious intensity of the law against brother-sister incest entirely to such ferocity of the instinct for a youthful bride, not to mention any instinct for filial intercourse, without further evidence of their existence, prevalence, and strength.

Atkinson's hypothesis, however, hardly overstates the control which may be exercised in early communities by the old over the young. The superimposing of various emotional reactions from such control will concern us later. Here we may illustrate the way in which pre-nuptial chastity shows itself as a social fact, or rather desideratum.

The sexual morality of youth among the Tasmanians was of a high standard. 'The young men and lads moved early from the camp in the morning so as not to interfere with female movements in rising. Unmarried men never wandered in the bush with women; if meeting a party of the other sex, native politeness required that they turned and went another way.'¹ In Australia we find that among the Lower Darling natives, 'laws were strict, especially those regarding young men and young women. It was almost death to a young lad or man who had sexual intercourse till married.'² The laws of New South Wales were also strict: 'no conversation is allowed between the single men and the girls or the married women.

... Infractions of these and other laws were visited either by punishment by any aggrieved member of the tribe, or by the delinquent having to purge himself of his crime by standing up protected simply by his shield or a waddy, while five or six warriors threw from a comparatively short distance several spears at him.'³ In Western Victoria 'illegitimacy is rare, and is looked upon with such abhorrence that the mother is always severely beaten by her relatives, and sometimes put to death and burned. . . . The father of the child is also punished with the greatest severity, and occasionally killed.'⁴ In the Central tribes no man may go near the *erukukoirra* (women's camp); and no woman may approach the *ungunja* (men's camp).⁵

In Nias both seducer and seduced were put to death.⁶ Among certain of the Sea Dayaks an unmarried girl with child was 'offensive to the superior powers.' The guilty lovers were fined.⁷ Pre-nuptial intercourse was forbidden by the Hill Dayaks.⁸ In some parts of the Philippines chastity was honoured, 'not only among the women but also among the young girls, and is protected by very severe laws.'⁹ New Guinea girls are chaste.¹⁰ In Melanesia 'there was by no means that insensibility in regard to female virtue with which the natives are so commonly charged.'¹¹ In Fiji boys were not allowed to approach women until they were eighteen years of age.¹² In Samoa chiefs' daughters at least picked themselves on their chastity, while intercourse with men of their own people was forbidden to ordinary girls.¹³ The women of the Loyalty Island Uea were 'strictly chaste before marriage, and faithful wives afterwards.'¹⁴ Among the Lehtas of Burma the unmarried of each sex sleep in separate dormitories, and, 'when they may have occasion to pass each other, avert their gaze, so that they may not see each other's faces.'¹⁵ In Cambodia girls are carefully secluded; 'the stringency of custom prevents the intercourse of the young. Accordingly the rôle of village Don Juan is scarcely possible.'¹⁶ The humble Veddas of Ceylon and the Andaman Islanders valued chastity in the unmarried woman.¹⁷ The Bodos and Dhimals of India value chastity in married and unmarried men and women alike.¹⁸ Both Circas-

sians and South Slavonians sold or punished severely erring daughters. Among the latter the girl's father had the right of slaying the seducer.¹ The seducer among the Tängas was forced to purchase the girl or to submit to corporal chastisement.² The Turks of Central Asia have been said to be ignorant of fallen virtue in their unmarried girls.³ The Thlinkets make the seducer pay the girl's parents a heavy compensation.⁴ Among the Aleuts 'unmarried females who gave birth to illegitimate children were to be killed for shame, and hidden.'⁵ Eggede reported: 'During fifteen years that I lived in Greenland I did not hear of more than two or three young women who were gotten with child unmarried; because it is reckoned the greatest of infamies.'⁶ The women of the Mandans, Nes Percés, and Apaches are said to have been remarkably chaste, and seduction was regarded with reprobation.⁷ Similar accounts have been received of the Paraguay, Patagonian, British Columbia, Vancouver, and Queen Charlotte Indians.⁸

West African tribes punish seduction.⁹ Among the Kafirs the father of a girl seduced may demand payment if she becomes pregnant; seduction alone involves a heavy fine among the Galkas.¹⁰ Chastity of girls and to some extent of boys was highly regarded by the Basutos and the Bakwains.¹¹ The Baziba are reported to punish pre-nuptial amours, if a child is born, by flinging the man and the woman into Lake Victoria.¹² The Bakoli banished the erring woman from home, and fined her seducer.¹³ The Beni-Amer and Mareia put him to death, together with the woman and her child.¹⁴ The Beni-Mzab impose upon the man banishment and a fine.¹⁵ The punishment for seduction among the Takue is the same as for murder.¹⁶ Mother and child are put to death by the Kabyles.¹⁷

The large majority of savage and barbarous peoples show particular care in separating the unmarried in the matter of sleeping-quarters. A constant source of this precaution is the horror of brother-sister incest. Many peoples have developed a system of dormitories for the unmarried men; some few employ them for the unmarried women also.¹⁸

Westermarck, on whose collections the above list is based, rather understates the case when he says: 'Yet, however commonly chastity is disregarded in the savage world, we must not suppose that such disregard is anything like a universal characteristic of the lower races.'¹⁹

Ignoring those peoples who allow pre-pubertal intercourse, and eliminating those with whom pre-nuptial intercourse is a preliminary to marriage, the seducer marrying the girl if she prove with child, and those who allow, in the latter connexion, a more or less free trial of mates, the balance is in favour of the conclusion that the majority of savage and barbarous peoples emphasize pre-nuptial chastity as an ideal, and attempt, with more or less success, to impose it in practice. The first efficient cause seems to be the monopolizing and jealous attitude of the older men. Secondary reasons seem to be the economic disturbance produced by childbirth, when no bread-winner for the new family has been formally appointed. To allow preliminary intercourse, with the proviso that marriage shall follow if a child is born, was a dangerous concession. Later, when fathers and brothers found that daughters and sisters possessed exchange-value, seduction was still more emphasized as a tort against property, on the assumption, chiefly, that virginity in a bride, no less than absence of encumbrances in the form of children, was an important asset. Pre-nuptial chastity in

¹ Klemm, *Allg. Culturgesch.*, 1848-52, iv. 26; Krauss, *Sitte u. Brauch der Südslaven*, 1885, p. 197 ff.

² Georgi, *Russia*, 1780-83, iii. 84.

³ Vambéry, *Das Türkentum*, 1885, p. 240.

⁴ Petroff, *Alaska*, 1884, p. 177.

⁵ Eggede, *Greenland*, 1818, p. 141.

⁶ Catlin, *N. Amer. Indians*, 1842, i. 121; Schoolcraft, v.

654; Bancroft, i. 614; Hearne, *Northern Ocean*, 1796, p. 311.

⁷ Dobrzhoffer, *Apibones*, 1822, ii. 153; Musters, *The Patagonians*, 1871, p. 197; Lord, *Vancouver Island*, 1866, ii. 233; Woldt, *Jacobson's Reise*, 1884, p. 28.

⁸ W. Reade, *Savage Africa*, p. 261; Forbes, *Dahomey*, 1840-50, i. 26.

⁹ Maclean, 64, 112.

¹⁰ Casalis, *Basutos*, 1859, p. 267; Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 1857, p. 513.

¹¹ Cunningham, *Uganda*, 1905, p. 290.

¹² Munzinger, *Ostaf. Studien*, 1883, p. 322.

¹³ Chavanne, *Die Sahara*, 1879, p. 315.

¹⁴ Munzinger, 208.

¹⁵ Hanoteau-Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, 1873, ii. 148, 187.

¹⁶ See Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 219.

¹⁷ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, 1908, ii. 424.

¹ Bonwick, *Daily Life, etc. of Tasmanians*, 1870, pp. 11, 59.

² Holden, *Folklore of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 19.

³ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, 1878, ii. 818.

⁴ Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, 1881, pp. 23, 33.

⁵ Spencer-Gillen, v. pp. 178, 467.

⁶ Wilken, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, v. iv. 444.

⁷ St. John, *Forests of the Far East*, 1863, i. 63.

⁸ Low, *Sarawak*, 1848, pp. 247, 300.

⁹ Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery*, 1821, iii. 66; Blumentritt,

Ethnographie der Philippinen, 1882, p. 27.

¹⁰ Earl, *Papuan*, 1853, p. 81; Finsch, *New Guinea*, 1865, pp. 77, 82.

¹¹ Codrington, *Melanesians*, 1891, p. 236.

¹² Erskine, *Islands of the Western Pacific*, 1853, p. 255.

¹³ Turner, *Nineteen Years*, 1861, p. 184; Wilken, l.c. ii. 133.

¹⁴ Erskine, p. 341. ¹⁵ Fyche, *Burma*, 1878, i. 342.

¹⁶ Aymonier, 191, 198.

¹⁷ Nevill, in *Taprobanian*, i. 178; *JAI* xii. 344.

¹⁸ Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1880, i. 123.

¹⁹ *Id.* 155.

¹³ *Id.* 102.

women thus comes to coincide for its principle with the 'chastity' or fidelity of the wife.

Before discussing this latter form of chastity, we may sketch the influence of the preference for virginity. Chastity *per se*, as a jewel of price, 'is not understood. An unmarried girl is expected to be chaste because virginity possesses a marketable value, and were she to be unchaste her parents would receive little and perhaps no head-money for her.'¹ This account is typical of such cases. Westermarck traces such proprietary emotion further back to a psychical or rather biological origin.

'If marriage, as I am inclined to suppose, is based on an instinct derived from some ape-like progenitor, it would from the beginning be regarded as the natural form of sexual intercourse in the human race, whilst other more transitory connexions would appear abnormal and consequently be disapproved of. I am not certain whether some feeling of this sort, however vague, is not still very general in the race. But it has been more or less, or almost totally, suppressed by social conditions which make it in most cases impossible for men to marry at the first outbreak of the sexual passion. We have thus to seek for some other explanation of the severe censure passed on pre-nuptial connexions.' This, he concludes, is 'chiefly due to the preference which a man gives to a virgin bride.' 'Such a preference is a fact of very common occurrence.'²

The proprietary emotion which insists on chastity in a daughter or sister is thus a reaction to the biological preference of the bridegroom for virginity. Such preference is proved for the Ahts, Chippewas, Thlinkets, Chiochimecs, Nicaraguans, and Aztecs, Samoa,³ parts of New Guinea and Indonesia, the Rendile of East Africa, the Sudan, Somalis, Togos, West Africa, Ondongas, Herero, Bayaka, Beni-Amer, Samoyeds, Chuwasches, Chulims, Circassia, Hebrews, and, not to mention higher cultures, Persia, and China.⁴

This preference, according to Westermarck, 'partly springs from a feeling akin to jealousy towards women who have had previous connexions with other men, partly from the warm response a man expects from a woman whose appetites he is the first to gratify, and largely from an instinctive appreciation of female coyness. Each sex is attracted by the distinctive characteristics of the opposite sex, and coyness is a female quality. In mankind, as among other mammals, the female requires to be courted, often endeavouring for a long time to escape from the male. Not only in civilized countries may courtship mean a prolonged making of love to the woman. Mariner's words with reference to the women of Tonga hold true of a great many, if not all, savage and barbarous races of men. "It must not be supposed," he says, "that these women are always easily won; the greatest attentions and most fervent solicitations are sometimes requisite, even though there be no other lover in the way." The marriage ceremonies of many peoples bear testimony to the same fact. . . . Where marriage is the customary form of sexual intercourse, pre-nuptial incontinence in a woman, as suggesting lack of coyness and modesty, is therefore apt to disgrace her. At the same time it is a disgrace to her, and consequently an offence against her family, especially where the ties of kinship are strong.' 'Marriage by purchase has thus raised the standard of female chastity, and also, to some extent, checked the incontinence of the men.'⁵

But, as showing how natural modesty may produce natural chastity, the Veddas may be cited. Among these low savages, girls are not purchased, yet they are protected 'with the keenest sense of honour.'⁶ Here we may infer the presence of what may be called natural female chastity, coinciding with parental recognition of a right to

immunity. We thus reach back to the ultimate biological fact, which holds good throughout the animal, and perhaps the whole organic, world, that the female period of sexual rest requires far more stimulus for its passage into tumescence than does the male. Hence the production, by means of sexual selection, of the stimulating colours and sounds possessed by the male, and exercised for the purpose of rousing and exciting the female. This difference is recognized in a crude unconscious way by the more or less universal imposition of greater penalties for unchastity upon the females. 'One law for men and another for women' is a position based on biological laws, though it has resulted in cruelty towards the female sex. Westermarck urges that 'to anybody who duly reflects upon the matter it is clear that the seducer does a wrong to the woman also; but I find no indication that this idea occurs at all to the savage mind.'¹

Yet the idea is certainly latent, however far short of it are savage views.

'Thus,' continues Westermarck, 'the men, by demanding that the women whom they marry shall be virgins, indirectly give rise to the demand that they themselves shall abstain from certain forms of incontinence.' The seducer is no less guilty than the seduced, though 'his act is judged from a more limited point of view. It is chiefly, if not exclusively, regarded as an offence against the parents or family of the girl; chastity *per se* is hardly required of savage men.'

Not until a late stage of culture was the offspring considered.

'In judging of matters relating to sexual morality, men have generally made little use of their reason, and been guilty of much thoughtless cruelty. Although marriage has come into existence solely for the sake of the offspring, it rarely happens that in sexual relations much unselfish thought is bestowed upon unborn individuals. Legal provisions in favour of illegitimate children have made men somewhat more careful, for their own sake, but they have also nourished the idea that the responsibility of fatherhood may be bought off by the small sum the man has to pay for the support of his natural child. Custom or law may exempt him even from this duty. We are told that in Tahiti the father might kill a bastard child. But that, if he suffered it to live, he was *eo ipso* considered to be married to its mother. This custom, it would seem, is hardly more inhuman than the famous law according to which "la recherche de la paternité est interdite."²

Aquinas held fornication to be a mortal sin, because it 'tends to the hurt of the life of the child who is to be born of such intercourse,' or because 'it is contrary to the good of the offspring.'³

But this tender care for the welfare of illegitimate children seems strange when we consider the manner in which such children have been treated by the Roman Catholic Church herself. It is obvious that the extreme horror of fornication which is expressed in the Christian doctrine is in the main a result of the same ascetic principle which declared celibacy superior to marriage, and tolerated marriage only because it could not be suppressed.⁴

We shall refer later to principles of asceticism. It may here be noted, in connexion with Christian ideas, that in the stories of supernatural birth, which Hartland has shown to be of world-wide distribution, the virginity of the mother is often emphasized. This is an indirect result of ignorance of the fact that pregnancy can be caused only by sexual intercourse. To this ignorance must be attributed the therapeutic practices, the puberty and marriage rites whose object is feundation, together with

'the prohibitions at puberty and on other occasions, for the purpose of avoiding irregular feundation; and, lastly, with the positive beliefs current among various peoples as to the feundation of certain of the lower animals and even of women by other than the natural means.'⁵

When brought into connexion with the regulation of female chastity proceeding from masculine monopoly and jealousy, and later from commercial interest, this idealization of virginity became an important lever. Thus, the biological passivity of woman, in itself a natural chastity, the evolutionary purpose of which was to ensure the acceptance of

¹ A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887, p. 286.

² Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 434 f.

³ Sproat, *Savage Life*, 1868, p. 96; Keating, *Expedition*, 1825, li. 169 f.; Petroff, 177; Squier, *Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc.* iii. 1, 127; Bancroft, i. 632; Acosta, *Indies*, li. 370, ed. 1880; Turner, *Samoa*, 1884, p. 96.

⁴ Wilken, in *Bijdragen*, iv. 446 f.; Bink, in *BSAP* xi. 397; Chanler, *Through Jungle and Desert*, 1896, p. 317; de Lautre, *Die Afrikanische Wüste*, 1867, p. 192; Walte, *Anthropol.*, 1859-72, li. 622, 118; Grade, in *Aus allen Welttheilen*, xx. 5; Reade, *Savage Africa*, 45; Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, 1903, p. 230 ff.; Kohler, in *ZVfW* xiv. 304, 309; Torday and Joyce, *J.A.* xxxvi. 45, 51; Kahle, in *Zeitschr. des Vereins*, xl. 442 (quoted by Hartland); Munzinger, 319 ff.; Vambéry, 461; Georgi, 232; Klemm, iv. 26; Deuteronomy, ch. 22; Polak, *Die Persien*, 1865, i. 213; Gray, *China*, 1878, li. 209.

⁵ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 435 ff.

⁶ Nevill, in *Taprobanian*, i. 178.

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* li. 437.

² *Ib.* 438 f.

³ Summa, li. 2. 154.

⁴ Westermarck, *op. cit.* li. 439.

⁵ Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, i. 81, 154.

a forceful and healthy male on the one hand,¹ and the complete production of tumescence in the female, a long-circuiting process due to the more complex sexual mechanism of that sex, on the other, was emphasized from several associated points of view. Lastly, as culture becomes more refined, the complex of ideas centring in female chastity is increased by the close association, original but enhanced by improved conditions,

'between the sexual impulse and a sentiment of affection which lasts long after the gratification of the bodily desire. We find the germ of this feeling in the abhorrence with which prostitution is regarded by savage tribes who have no objection to ordinary sexual intercourse previous to marriage, and in the distinction which among ourselves is drawn between the prostitute and the woman who yields to temptation because she loves. To indulge in mere sexual pleasure, unaccompanied by higher feelings, appears brutal and disgusting in the case of a man, and still more so in the case of a woman. After all, love is generally only an episode in a man's life, whereas for a woman it is the whole of her life.'²

An important factor must not be omitted here, namely, the parental impulse, which, as culture advances, binds husband and wife together in a tie, not merely parental, but mutually loyal and chaste. As the Latins put it, children are the 'pledges' of wifely chastity.

Returning to early stages, we notice that the causes to which chastity may be traced

'are frequently checked by circumstances operating in an opposite direction. Thus the preference which a man is naturally disposed to give to a virgin bride may be overcome by his desire for offspring, inducing him to marry a woman who has proved capable of gratifying this desire. It may also be ineffective for the simple reason that no virgin bride is to be found. Nothing has more generally prevented chastity from being recognized as a duty than social conditions promoting licentious habits. Even in savage society, where almost every man and every woman marry, and most of them marry early in life, there are always a great number of unmarried people of both sexes above the age of puberty; and, generally speaking, the number of the unmarried increases along with the progress of civilization. This state of things easily leads to incontinence in men and women; and, where such incontinence becomes habitual, it can hardly incur much censure. Again, where the general standard of female chastity is high, the standard of male chastity may nevertheless be the lowest possible. This is the case where there is a class of women who can no longer be dishonoured, because they have already been dishonoured, whose virtue is of no value either to themselves or their families, because they have lost their virtue, and who make incontinence their livelihood. Prostitution, being a safeguard of female chastity, has facilitated the enforcement of the rule which enjoins it as a duty, but at the same time it has increased the inequality of obligations imposed on men and women. It has begun to exercise this influence already at the lower stages of culture.'³

The problem presented to early races by economic conditions and by emotional prejudice, later races have been content to solve by prostitution. This is as far as solution has gone at the present day, unless we add the relative condonation of incontinence in unmarried men, and the complementary severity of condemnation of incontinence in unmarried women (a mere continuation of unnecessary injustice), and the indirect encouragement of masturbation and similar habits.

Lastly, with regard to precocious sexuality, a certain ideal seems to be unconsciously aimed at. This is the prolongation of the period of growth, the extension of the youth of the race. It has analogical confirmation in the generalization that the longer the youth of a species the higher is its organization. A statistical examination of the relation between enforced retardation of the sexual life and general growth is desirable. In this connexion there is a significant difference between the lower and the higher races: though up to puberty the savage child is as intelligent as the European, subsequently he 'runs to seed,' or rather 'to sex.'⁴ The difference may be concerned with the higher opportunities enjoyed by European youth for developing the associational centres of the brain at a critical period.

Chastity in the wife is merely fidelity to the husband. Though there is no reason for supposing any absence of the strong feeling of connubial or sexual jealousy in the earliest men, such as would give countenance to an age of promiscuity in human marital history, yet, as Hartland has shown, the rise of father-right and the supersession of mother-right are to be traced to the operation, not of a recognition of paternity, but of the proprietary instinct or jealous sense of ownership in the husband—a sense often not easily separable from mere sexual jealousy, the early prevalence of which has been pointed out by Westermarck.

Examination of the lower races shows an interesting gradation in the strength of the social indignation vented upon sexual 'irregularity.'⁵ It is strongest against incest between brother and sister—a real 'horror,' which is extended by association to tribal brothers and sisters, often unrelated. It is still strong, but has lost its supernatural content, against pre-nuptial intercourse without the consent of father or brother, where it is a legal-moral emotion; it is least strong against adultery, and perhaps, though often ferocious in its expression (a re-inforcement of the Law of Battle), may be regarded as purely legal or proprietary. This gradation has maintained itself to some extent in civilization, in spite of attempts on the part of religions like Christianity to assign the strongest religious condemnation to adultery, and in spite of the gradual loss of any special emotion against incest, the loss of emotion being in proportion as the offence, though not altogether unknown, becomes less heard of. The practices, so common in early races, of lending the wife to a guest as a mark of hospitality, and of exchanging wives as a mark of confidence, neighbourliness, and social solidarity, are not survivals. They are simply expressions of the feeling of ownership. They serve to show how it is that religious indignation is rarely found against adultery, any more than against theft in general.

Jealousy, as conducing to wifely chastity, is a constant factor. Originally sexual, it is overlaid in early culture by the sense of ownership, and in the higher by the sense of honour. Its operation has been shown for the following peoples: Fuegians, Australians, Veddas, Aleuts, Thlinkets, Kutchin, Haidas, Tacullis, Crees, Californians, Moquis, Creeks, Arawaks, Peruvians, Botocudos, Coroados, Sandwich Islanders, Nukahivans, Tahitians, New Caledonians, Maoris, Pelew Islanders, Sumatrans, Indonesians, Samoyeds, Tatars, Koriaks, Beni-Mzab, Africans.¹ The laws against adultery and every analogical consideration continue to render such lists incomplete, and to assure us that such jealousy is universal in man, and has, with rare exceptions, as the Todas and Central Australians, always been so.

Fused with the sense of ownership—'the sense of ownership has been the seed-plot of jealousy'²—it is attested of such peoples as the Bahuana, Mayumbe, and the coast tribes of West Africa generally, the Shire Highlands, the Dinkas, Bullans, Bagoes and Timmanegs, Wayaos and Manganja, the Elema district of New Guinea, Marshall Islands, Fiji, Melanesia, Indonesia, Eskimos, Malagasy, Maoris, American Indians—to select only cases of particular interest.³ Laws against adultery⁴ are similarly found all over the world; there are, as in the other aspects of the subject, curious exceptions. Conjugal fidelity frequently depends on the wife's or the husband's will.⁵ If the husband allows her to cohabit with

¹ See H. Ellis, *op. cit.* iii. 27.

² Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 489 f.

³ *Id.* 440 f.

⁴ Dudley Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, 1906, p. 1x.

¹ Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.* 117-122.

² Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, ii. 102.

³ Hartland, *op. cit.*, ch. vi.

⁴ Westermarck, *MI* ii. 449.

⁵ See Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.* 130 ff.; Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 206 f.

another man, her 'chastity' is intact. On the other hand, fidelity in the husband is far less generally found or insisted upon. There are, again, interesting exceptions. Christianity pressed the view that no distinction should be made between wife and husband. Yet in actual European practice the old prejudice, that adultery on the part of the husband is more venial than on the part of the wife, still subsists. The reasons for this one-sided view of marital chastity are simple. 'Adultery is regarded as an illegitimate appropriation of the exclusive claims which the husband has acquired by the purchase of his wife, as an offence against property.'¹ Mann puts it that 'seed must not be sown by any man on that which belongs to another.'² Further, the prevalence of the rule of chastity in widows shows how strong is the sense of ownership in the husband. Apart from general rules of chastity among mourners, the rule as affecting widows is obviously derived from the jealousy of proprietorship. In several races the widow has to die with her lord; more frequently she is forbidden to marry again, or until after a certain interval.

Widows remained single in Peru, and among the old Aryans. The 'bare mention of a second marriage for a Hindu woman would be considered the greatest insult'; and, if she married again, 'she would be hunted out of society, and no decent person would venture at any time to have the slightest intercourse with her.'³ 'In Greece and Rome a widow's re-marriage was regarded as an insult to her former husband; and so it is still regarded among the Southern Slavs.'⁴ Similar reports have been made of the natives of Rotumah, the Marquessans, Tatars, Iroquois, and Arabs.⁵ Chikessa widows were forbidden to be unchaste for three years, on pain of incurring the penalties of adultery; Creek widows were similarly placed for four years.⁶ 'As a faithful minister does not serve two lords, neither may a faithful woman marry a second husband,' is the Chinese dictum.⁷ The early Christians regarded second marriages by either sex as a 'kind of fornication' or a 'specious adultery.'⁸ Savages, lastly, hold that the soul of the wronged husband can return and punish the unfaithful wife.

A last mode of wifely chastity is that presented by one of the earliest of legal fictions—child-marriage (*q.v.*). It is an obvious method of obtaining a safe option, and is practised fairly generally, if we include infant-betrothal, over the world.

Hitherto we have observed two main sources of the practice and theory of chastity, the first being the physiological process following upon detumescence and preceding tumescence, the second being proprietary sexual jealousy. It is clear that in the first we have the possibilities of a natural chastity, in the second the possibilities of an artificial, conventional chastity. In the first, again, is to be found the primary and permanent source of chastity; whether the second is to be styled in any sense primary is mainly a verbal question. There is no doubt that traditional sexual morality has a two-fold foundation—proprietary jealousy, and a complex of emotions developing from the complex physiological and psychological processes which make up natural chastity.

'Our sexual morality,' says Ellis, 'is thus, in reality, a bastard born of the union of property-morality with primitive ascetic morality.'⁹ 'The economic element has given it a kind of stability.'⁹

The effects of jealousy, thus crystallizing into marriage-law and a tradition of conventional chastity, the complement of that law, supply a notable example of sexual selection. Further consideration of psycho-physical origins must be postponed till we have discussed the magical and religious uses and theories of chastity.

In the majority of these, throughout the lower

¹ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, II. 449.

² *Laws of Manu*, ix. 42.

³ Garcilasso de Vega, *Peru*, ed. 1800-1801, I. 805; Schrader, *Aryan Peoples*, 1890, p. 391; Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, 1906, p. 132 (quoted by Westermarck).

⁴ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, II. 451.

⁵ *Hum. Marr.* 327.

⁶ *Id.* 128.

⁷ De Groot, *Religious System*, 1892 ff., II. 1. 745.

⁸ Gibbon, II. 187 (ed. 1886); Lecky, 1866, II. 396.

⁹ H. Ellis, *op. cit.* VI. 374.

culture, the end is secondary, derived, or diverted. Chastity is employed not as a natural self-control and regulation of the sexual impulse, but for a variety of ulterior objects. In the higher culture there also appears the idea of chastity as a good in itself. The theory of these secondary uses is multifarious; the same result is sometimes due to one, sometimes to another, given reason. These reasons, mythological as they are, sometimes get to the psychological root of the matter, but, as a rule, have only a fanciful connexion with the end proposed. Yet to a remarkable degree, at least in primitive sociology, these uses, whatever their popular explanations, harmonize with biological facts, and the value of the explanations consists in having assisted (secondarily, as expressive of practices otherwise originating) the plastic nervous organism of man towards self-control, intelligent living, and general individual and social efficiency. When either practice or explanation is carried on into unsuitable conditions, or is pressed too far by priestly exploitation or social inertia, the conventional chastity involved disintegrates. This process becomes continuous, leading, after many experiments, slowly but surely, to a scientific development of that primal natural chastity with which man's sexual history began.

The social psychology of uncivilized peoples regards continence, temporary chastity *ad hoc*, as a sort of universal condition and infallible nostrum for all important undertakings and critical junctures.

In Noessa Laut it is believed that invulnerability in war results from sexual abstinence.¹ The Kei Islanders practise continence before war, and those who remain at home have to remain continent during its progress.² The Malays follow the same rule; it is believed that the bullets of those who break it lose their power. Similarly they have a seven-days' tabu of continence during the fishing season.³ In Sarawak it is held that incontinence on the part of wives, while the men are collecting camphor, causes the camphor to be spoilt.⁴ The Halmaherese practise continence during war, believing that connexion with women is enervating.⁵ Continence is imposed on those at home also by the Motumotu of New Guinea, during war, hunting, fishing, or travelling.⁶ The Dakota who wishes to succeed in any enterprise purifies himself by fasting, bathing, and continence. He also tries to induce a vision. The process is particularly stringent when the enterprise is war. A young man's weapons may on no account be touched by a woman.⁷ The Seminoles held that 'to sleep with women enervates and renders them unfit for warlike men; therefore but seldom have their wives in the apartments where they lodge.'⁸ In New Caledonia continence is 'meritorious'; it is strictly observed on all solemn occasions, especially during war.⁹ The Fijians practised a sort of Theban comradeship-in-arms, and abstinence from women was a rule of warriors.¹⁰ Celibacy for warriors was instituted by Tchaka among the Zulus, upon an already existing custom of continence.¹¹ The Maoris were 'tabued an inch thick' during war; continence was a part of the deposit.¹² Similarly the warriors of Israel were 'consecrated,' and therefore chaste.¹³ The practice was used by the Arabs, and was not obsolete in the second century of Islam.¹⁴ The manslayer is generally isolated by tabu. After taking a head, the Dayak may have no intercourse with women.¹⁵ Among the Polesians, Marquessans, Natchez, the warrior who has slain a foe must not approach his wife for three or ten days, or six months.¹⁶ After the ceremonial eating of human flesh, this rule is observed for a year by the Kwakiutl of British Columbia.¹⁷

¹ *Tijdschrift Nederlandsch Indië*, v. 2. 507.

² Riedel, *op. cit.* 223.

³ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, pp. 524, 515.

⁴ Hose, in Frazer, *GP* I. 29.

⁵ Riedel, in *ZE* xvii. 69.

⁶ Chalmers, in *JAI* xxvii. 327.

⁷ J. O. Dorsey, in *BBEW* 436, 444; Adair, *Amer. Indians*, 1775, p. 161.

⁸ McGilivray, in Schoolcraft, v. 271.

⁹ A. Featherman, *op. cit.* II. 92.

¹⁰ Williams, *Fijis*, ed. 1870, I. 45.

¹¹ Shooter, *Kapris of Natal*, 1867, p. 47.

¹² Tregear, in *JAI* xix. 110; E. F. Manning, *Old New Zealand*, London, 1893, pp. 96, 114.

¹³ I. S. 215, 2 8 118^a; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* 4 454 f.; J. G. Frazer, *GP* I. 328.

¹⁴ W. R. Smith, *Id.*

¹⁵ Tromp, in *Byd. Nederlandsch Indië*, xxvii. 74.

¹⁶ Kubary, *Die sozialen Einrichtungen der Pelauas*, 1885, p. 181; Langsdorff, *Reise um die Welt*, 1808-7, I. 114; Charlevoix, *Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, 1744, vi. 186.

¹⁷ Boas, *U.S. Nat. Museum* (1896) 587.

Cases have already been noted of the curious, but logical, notion that the continence of friends and relatives has merit and efficiency. Thus the Chitômé of the Congo makes his judicial circuit. During this all married people are obliged to be continent. The penalty for transgression is death. 'The belief is that by such continence they preserve the life of their common father.'¹ The women of Babar abstain from eating and intercourse while the men are at war.² Malagasy women must be chaste, or their men will be wounded.³ Both the wife and sister of the Aleut are required to be chaste during the absence of the man.⁴ In East Africa it is believed that the unfaithfulness of the wife, while the man is hunting elephants, gives the quarry power over him.⁵

Equally instructive as to the incidence of secondary reasons is the case of the Australian and Hebrew warrior whose continence was connected with fear 'lest the enemy should obtain the refuse of their persons, and thus be enabled to work their destruction by magic.'⁶ A variety of origin must be admitted for the continence of mourning. In ancient India, China, British Columbia, North America generally, and Indonesia, the rule applies to relatives, widow or widower, and to those who have handled the corpse.⁷ In such examples the biological analogy between nutrition and reproduction is reasserted, and we constantly find a close connexion in both theory and practice between abstinence from intercourse and abstinence from food. 'Fasting,' said St. Chrysostom (*2 Thess.*), 'is the beginning of chastity.' 'Through love of eating,' said Tertullian (*de Jejun.*), 'love of impurity finds passage.'

The physiological purpose of temporary control here suggested, namely, the production of functional vigour, is well illustrated by numerous practices in reference to the growth of vegetation, where the principle of sympathetic influence is, of course, involved. Yet the virtues of self-control in the subject himself are at times equally involved.

For instance, in Yucatan the manufacturers of the new idols had to fast and preserve their continence during the process.⁸ During the planting of cotton the Mayas abstained from salt, pepper, and stimulants, and did not sleep with their wives; and in all their agriculture the principle was followed, in order that the night before sowing or planting they might 'indulge their passions' to the fullest extent. Officials were appointed to perform the sexual process at the moment when the seeds were placed in the ground.⁹ Frazer gives many examples of this sympathetic oötus and this sympathetic chastity.¹⁰ It is reported that the Nicaraguans, 'from the moment that they sowed the maize till the time that they reaped it, lived chastely, keeping apart from their wives. To-day it is said that the Kekchis do the same for five days before sowing maize, the Lanquerinos and Cajaboneros for thirteen days.'¹¹ In Melanesia and New Guinea the same practice is followed while the yams are being trained, or to produce a good crop of bananas.¹² In the Motu tribe a chief man becomes *helaga*, and lives apart from his wife, eating only certain kinds of food.¹³ Also in New Guinea and in the Torres Straits, chastity is observed while the turtles are coupling; in the latter case it is believed that if unmarried persons are incontinent no turtle will be caught, as on the approach of a canoe the male turtle will separate from the female and the pair will dive in different directions.¹⁴ Similarly illicit love is commonly supposed to spoil the fertility of Nature.¹⁵ In Loango, Indonesia (Sumatra, Borneo, Halmahera, Ceram), and among the Karens this belief is held, with, no doubt, the obvious corollary.¹⁶ Frazer suggests that the rule of continence, which is still imposed on strict Catholics during Lent, 'was in its origin intended, not so much to commemorate the sufferings of a dying God, as to foster the growth of the seed, which in the bleak days of early spring the husbandman commits, with anxious care and misgiving, to the bosom of the naked earth.'¹⁷ He concludes that, 'rude man identifies himself, in a manner, with Nature; if he fails to distinguish the impulses and processes in himself from the methods which Nature adopts to ensure the reproduction of plants and animals, he may jump to one of two conclusions. Either he may infer that by yielding to his appetite he will thereby assist in the multiplication of plants and animals; or he may imagine that the vigour which he refuses to expend in reproducing his own kind will form as it were a store of energy whereby other creatures, whether vegetable or animal, will somehow benefit in propagating their species.' If the savage 'resists on occasion the sexual instinct, it is from no high idealism, no ethereal aspiration after moral

purity, but for the sake of some ulterior yet perfectly definite and concrete object, to gain which he is prepared to sacrifice the immediate gratification of his senses. . . . Perhaps the self-restraint which these and the like beliefs, vain and false as they are, have imposed on mankind, has not been without its utility in bracing and strengthening the breed.'¹

To this account may be added the suggestion that such beliefs are the outcome of biological processes, and that, like them, they have a rhythmical opposition. The suggestion is borne out by the remarkable phenomena of saturnalian proceedings, so frequently an accompaniment of first-fruit or New Year celebrations. In these a period of continence precedes a culminating period of indulgence and debauchery.² The swing of impulse is here, so to say, a social concentration of the rhythm of natural chastity, which keeps the balance between control and expenditure, between retraction and detumescence.

The principle of this conservation of energy was, we said, applied all round the sphere of important procedure in early society. Thus the Redskin medicine-man prepares for his professional visits by continence, just as the warrior similarly prepares for war.³ A variety of ends naturally induces a variety of reasons alleged, and in many cases it would be idle to question the reason given, or to trace it to any one source. For, as mythological science develops, any practice may be based on reasons which may be merely associational. Here convention has its opportunity. Thus, chastity seems in many cases to be practised for fear of infecting the partner with some particular virus. For example, those who have touched a corpse may have no intercourse with others.⁴ In other cases it implies the principle that suffering or self-mortification is gratifying to supernatural beings. It may appease their anger, or excite their compassion.⁵ When this point is reached, the way is clear for a complete theory of the absolute merit of chastity in and for itself. This theory has, however, as foundation, the very opposite notion to that of mortification, namely, the notion of the impurity or sinfulness of the sexual act. The origins of this notion will be considered later. Meanwhile we may observe that even in low cultures chastity *per se* at times is honoured. Thus, the people of Gilgit celebrate the ceremony of *Seelo-ai-Thali*, 'the seat of chastity,' in which extraordinary honours are paid to old women who have been chaste all their lives. It does not appear whether the chastity is marital or virginal. As at Dunmow, candidates are examined. The woman is placed on a stone, and an official addresses the judge on the case. The judge is a white she-goat. This gives the verdict; if it touches the seat of the candidate, she is declared to have been perpetually chaste. If the goat bleats and walks away, the candidate is rejected.⁶ The Tahitians, again, held that, if a man refrained from all connexion with women for some months before his death, he would pass immediately into bliss without any purification.⁷

The difficulty of finding a reason for certain miscellaneous applications of chastity is not lessened by appealing to the 'danger' with which the savage invests the sexual act, or to the 'magical' powers of it. We require to know *why* it is 'magical,' and *how* the magic works. The difficulty, again, of investigating this question is increased by the vagueness of savage ideas on the subject. Yet, however vague they may be, they must have an origin which comes under the law of probability, and they must be ultimately based on

¹ Labat, *Afrique occidentale*, 1728, I. 254; W. Reade, *op. cit.* 362.

² Riedel, *op. cit.* 841.

³ De Fincourt, *Hist. de la Grande Ile de Madagascar*, 1661,

ii. 97.

⁴ Petroff, *op. cit.* p. 155.

⁵ Reichard, *Deutsch-Ostafrika*, 1892, p. 427.

⁶ Frazer, *GB*² i. 328.

⁷ Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, 1894, pp. 578, 590; de Groot, n. i. 809; Adair, *Amer. Indians*, p. 186; Tout, in *JAI* xxxv. 139; Teit, in *Amer. Mus.* i. 331; Riedel, *op. cit.* 94.

⁸ Bancroft, ii. 890.

⁹ Frazer, *GB*² ii. 205-209.

¹⁰ Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, 1887, p. 181.

¹¹ *Id.*

¹² Haddon, in *JAI* xix. 467, 897.

¹³ Frazer, *GB*² ii. 211 ff.

¹⁴ *Id.*

¹⁵ *Id.*

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ *Id.*

¹ Frazer, *GB*² ii. 215 f.

² See, for example, cases cited in *GB*² ii. 331.

³ Adair, 125.

⁴ Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 806.

⁵ *Id.* 357 f., 362; Tromp, in *Bijsd. Nederl. Indië*, v. 4 32 (Dayaks).

⁶ G. Muhammad, in *JASBe* i. vii. 102.

⁷ J. Cook, *Voyage to Pacific*, 1784, ii. 184.

physiological phenomena. For the root of all human ideas, false or true, on the subject of sex, is, like that of the sexual impulse itself, the reproductive process.

The Masai, when making poison, isolates himself very strictly; in particular, he must sleep alone. 'The motive,' as Frazer points out, 'which induces the Masai poison-maker to keep aloof from his fellows is not any regard for them; far from it, what he fears is not that the poison would hurt them, but that they would hurt the poison.' This 'is the avowed belief of the Masai.' They also enjoin strict continence on the persons who brew honey-wine.

'A man and a woman are chosen to brew the honey-wine, and it is considered essential that both of them should be chaste for two days before they begin to brew and for the whole of the six days that the brewing lasts. A hut is set apart for them, and they occupy it till the wine is ready for drinking; but they are strictly forbidden to sleep together. . . . The Masai think that, if the couple were to break the rule of continence while the wine is brewing, not only would the wine be undrinkable, but the bees which made the honey would fly away.' Frazer adds: 'The savage attributes to the relations of the sexes with each other a certain mysterious influence, a magical virtue, which the civilized man has long ceased to associate with such processes, and which he finds it hard even in imagination to comprehend.' We must, he insists, allow for 'the element of superstition' in, for instance, marriage-customs. Some of such superstitions, 'incomprehensible though they may be to us, probably lie at the root of many customs which we still strictly observe without being able to assign any valid reason for doing so.'¹

The case here discussed is typical. The mythology of social habit and religion is full of such notions, but the precise clue to the notion is generally lacking. The Masai can say what would happen in the event of unchastity, but cannot inform us, for he does not himself know, how or why. Yet, though such mythology is interesting, it is not the most important part of sociology, nor does it give us the actual or biological reasons for a practice. It only gives us the savage's vague mental reaction to a process which was instituted without his volition, and still more without his consciousness. It is legitimate to use the term 'instinct' of the habits which result from the correlation of structure and function, and we may therefore with more advantage speak of an *instinct* for chastity in such cases as the above, as we undoubtedly must in cases of natural chastity generally, where there is no ulterior end. The savage is not chaste, even for a special purpose, because the act of sex is 'mysterious' or 'magical'; he is chaste by an unreasoned instinct, which he explains as best he may, or not at all. That ignorance is the heart of the 'mystery.' It is only by taking into account this vagueness of mental realization that we can explain the salutation from animal-man, *homo alalus*, to superstitious man; nor can we otherwise explain the attitude of *l'homme moyen sensuel* in civilization to questions like that of chastity. For his attitude is as unreasonable as that of the Masai; the only 'mystery' about the object of his attention is his ignorance. The term 'mystery,' if applied at all, should be reserved for the unknowableness of ultimate facts.

Still less can we make the step from any primitive conception of 'magical virtue' or 'supernatural danger' to the Mazdean or Christian theory of the 'sinfulness' of the sexual act, as a motive for chastity. Such a step is an illegitimate process. Still less again can we pass therefrom to the conception that such acts are 'impure,' as distinguished from the so-called 'uncleanness' of the tabu state.

The whole question involves the scientific aspect of chastity, no less than its religious application. The latter now falls to be considered before further discussion is held. In primitive society, chastity

forms part of the rules of isolation known as tabu; it is thus enjoined on solemn occasions and at critical junctures. Among the Dayaks 'personal tabu' is fasting and chastity. By this they think they disarm the evil spirits, who compassionate the humility and self-denial exhibited by the deprivation.¹ Whatever the origin of such practices the transition from them to chastity as a condition of ritual and worship is obvious and direct. In Central America, candidates for the order of Tecuhtli observed, during initiation, both fasting and continence.² It may be taken as a universal rule that chastity is enforced upon adolescents during 'initiation' at puberty.³ That this control is generally followed by intercourse shows not only that sexual education is one main purpose of these ceremonies, but that the rhythm of natural chastity—control as preparatory for exercise of function—is the deep-seated biological origin of pubertal ritual.⁴ The young Brâhman, when he became in the ordinary course of his education a student of the Veda, took a vow of chastity.⁵

Passing to relations with the supernatural world, we find continence to be a part of the ceremonial purity necessary for such spiritual intercourse. A typical case is supplied by Mazdæism. The great business of life, according to Zarathushtra, is to avoid 'impurity,' by which is implied a physical state, the principle being that everything which goes out of the body is defiling.⁶ In Islâm strict continence is required on the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁷ Similarly it was required of the Hebrew congregation during the theophany at Sinai,⁸ and before entering the Temple.⁹ Ancient India, Egypt, and Greece enforced the rule that the worshipper must abstain from women during and before worship.¹⁰ In Christianity, continence was required as a preparation for both Baptism and the Eucharist.¹¹ It was further enjoined

'that no married persons should participate in any of the great festivals of the Church if the night before had lain together; and in the 'Vision' of Alberic, dating from the twelfth century, a special place of torture, consisting of a lake of mingled lead, pitch, and resin, is represented as existing in hell for the punishment of married people who have had intercourse on Sundays, church festivals, or fast-days. They abstained from the marriage-bed at other times also, when they were disposed more freely to give themselves to prayer. Newly married couples were admonished to practise continence during the wedding day and the night following, out of reverence for the sacrament; and in some instances their abstinence lasted even for two or three days.'¹²

In support of the view that 'holiness is a delicate quality which is easily destroyed if anything polluting is brought into contact with the holy object or person, Westermarck brings forward some important data from the life of the modern Moors. They believe that,

'if anybody who is sexually unclean enters a granary, the grain will lose its *baraka*, or holiness.' But the holiness reacts 'quite mechanically against pollution, to the destruction or discomfort of the polluted individual. All Moors are convinced that any one who in a state of sexual uncleanness would dare to visit a saint's tomb would be struck by the saint; but the Arabs of Dukkala, in Southern Morocco, also believe that if an unclean person rides a horse some accident will happen to him on account of the *baraka* with which the horse is endowed.' Again, 'an act generally regarded as sacred would, if performed by an unclean individual, lack that magic efficacy which would otherwise be ascribed to it. . . . The Moors say that a scribe is afraid of evil spirits only when he is sexually unclean, because then his reciting of passages of the Koran—the most powerful weapon against such spirits—would be of no avail.'¹³

Similarly Iamblichus states that 'the gods do not hear him who invokes them if he is impure

¹ Tromp, *l.c.* v. 4, 32.

² Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 296 ff.

³ G. Bühler, *SBZ* ii. 3.

⁴ Darmesteter, *SBZ* iv. lxxix ff.

⁵ W. B. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* 2 464, 481; *Qur'ân*, ii. 198.

⁶ Ex 19:10, *Rel. Sem.* 2 465.

⁷ Oldenberg, *op. cit.* 411; Herod. ii. 64; Wachsmuth, *Hellen*

Alterthumskunde 2, 1846, ii. 660.

¹¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 417.

¹² *Ib.* 417, with authorities.

¹³ *Ib.* 417 f.

¹ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, ii. 411.

² Bancroft, ii. 197.

³ *Ib.* 807 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* 1531-32.

from venereal connexions.¹ Tertullian recommends temporary abstinence as a means of adding efficacy to prayer.² Illicit love is frequently supposed to injure the growth of crops; sexual relations were supposed by the Efatese to be 'defiling,' and to destroy the 'sacredness' of 'sacred men.'³ The Chibchas, and other peoples, held that the most acceptable sacrifice was a virgin who had had no intercourse with women.⁴ Throughout folklore runs the idea that second-sight, and the vision of the supernatural, are especially, if not solely, the privilege of the virgin. Here may be noted also the practice of continence, analogous to and contemporary with that of fasting, as a means of inducing spiritual hallucination. Westermarck favours the explanation that pollution destroys holiness, but religious chastity is already more than half artificial; and, though we may trace it now to one, now to another, original source, and though in some cases its alleged reason is different from that given in others, we must regard it as a complex and self-subsisting institution, supported by inertia and by its general harmony with the social psychology of its environment. We certainly cannot pin it down to one definite pattern of origination.

The analogy between 'initiation' of youth at puberty and 'initiation' of priests is little more than verbal. Though religious prostitution has often been an institution, and priestesses, for instance, have practised physical chastity for the purpose of intercourse with the god, or abstinence from secular in favour of priestly unions, and though, again, the feeling of control and power produced by continence plays its part in the production of spiritual insight, as in adolescence it is connected with ideal aspirations no less than with physical vigour,—we cannot assign generally the same reasons for chastity as a natural concomitant of puberty and for chastity as an artificial rule of the priesthood.

The ancient medicine-man more or less invariably submits to continence as a condition of his novitiate. The Marquesan candidate for the priesthood had to be chaste for some years beforehand.⁵ The *skaga* of the Haidas recognizes his vocation by a tendency to dream and to see visions. He undergoes a severe training; eats little food, but many herbs, especially *moneses*; and refrains from sexual intercourse. At the end his mind is more or less deranged, but his social influence is secured.⁶ Among the Tshi-peoples, candidates, whether men or women, are trained for two or three years; 'during this period of retirement and study, the novices must keep their bodies pure, and refrain from all commerce with the other sex.'⁷

Curiously enough, we often find, as if to confuse entirely all attempts at single-key explanation, cases where marital chastity only is required. The candidate for the shaman's office among the Huichols is required to be previously faithful to his wife for five years.⁸ The high priest of the Hebrews was required to be 'chaste.' He married, but was forbidden to marry a harlot, a profane woman, or a divorced wife, or even a widow. 'Unchastity' in his daughter was punished by burning, for she had 'profaned' her father.⁹ The 'dairy priest' of the Todas lives a celibate life, while among the neighbouring Kotas he is married, but at the great festival of *Kimataraya* he may have no intercourse for fear of pollution.¹⁰ The priests of ancient Mexico, during the whole of their service, were maritally chaste; they even affected so much modesty and reserve that, when they met a woman, they fixed their eyes on the ground that they might not see her. Any incontinence amongst the priests was severely punished. The priest who, at Teoluacan, was convicted of having violated his chastity, was delivered up by the priests to the people, who at night killed him by the bastinado.¹¹ Burning or stoning was the penalty for incontinence by the unmarried priests of Nicaragua.¹² The same rule and penalty were

observed in the case of Zapotec priests and the Mexican nuns. The Yucatecs had virgins dedicated to the service of Fire; those who violated their vow of chastity were shot to death with arrows. The priests of Tilantongo had their food prepared by women devoted to chastity. The pontiff of Yopaa, who was almost a rival of the Zapotec king, had to be 'a shining light of chastity' to the priests under him. Yet on one or two days in the year he became ceremonially drunk, and cohabited with the most beautiful of the virgins of the temple.¹ In ancient Anatolia the married priests during their 'course' separated from their wives.²

We have already overstepped the artificial line between temporary continence and perpetual abstinence in those dedicated to supernatural relations. That natural chastity (namely, the regulation of the sexual life by bringing both continence and expression under the will, and by emphasizing the former in proportion to the explosive nature of the latter) should be elevated into an art, however crudely and irrationally, is not surprising when once the differentiation of social functions has begun. Nor, again, can we wonder that it was most widely undertaken by, and has lasted longest among, the class which first showed a sensitive reaction to psycho-physical states—the professors of magic and religion. When once started as a habit in such a class, a variety of influences inevitably tended to convert such chastity into asexuality, and normal continence into abnormal abstinence. As Rohleder points out, strict abstinence is a physiological impossibility, and therefore has never existed except in the worst cases of anaesthesia, since it

'must involve abstinence, not merely from sexual intercourse, but from auto-erotic manifestations, from masturbation, from homosexual acts, from all sexually perverse practices. It must further involve a permanent abstinence from indulgence in erotic imaginations and voluptuous reverie.'³

This very fact has, in a sense, made the attempt more enticing, and has produced phenomena which, as is clear from the history of chastity and celibacy in Christianity, constitute at once the tragedy and the romance of the 'spiritual life.' Ignorance of sexual physiology, and in particular of the slow and wide process of irradiation involved by tumescence, has also contributed in every age to conceal the hopelessness of the attempt to set up an asexual life. But, as was noted, the step towards making continence *ad hoc* a perpetual abstinence, an asexual institution, was inevitable. A host of sentiments combined to render abstinence, or celibacy, or other varieties of the institution, as meritorious in their sphere as female chastity was in a sphere so widely different in character and in origin. When chastity thus becomes a virtue, it has lost its meaning; it is no longer an extension, but a perversion of itself. In the one case, of women, it is not chastity, but either pre-nuptial virginity or marital fidelity that is honoured under the term; in the other case, of religious persons, it is, in the married, a combination of attempted anaesthesia and of marital fidelity; in the celibate, an attempted anaesthesia and abstinence, marked either by lapses or perversions—in particular, erotic imaginings diverted to supernatural relations.

Westermarck has reviewed the occurrence of priestly continence as an institution and a professional virtue. To sketch the history of priestly celibacy, or the phenomena of the sexual life of monks and nuns, is impossible here. Some comparative examples and a brief discussion of the Christian institution may suffice for the illustration of the idea of chastity. Professional abstinence has never been more ferociously exploited than in the ancient civilizations of Central America. Some cases have already been adduced.

¹ Bancroft, *ii.* 204 f., *iii.* 435, 473, *ii.* 143.

² Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoppers of Phrygia, 1896-97, i.* 136 f. 150 f.

³ *Ztschr. für Sexualwissenschaft*, Nov. 1908, quoted by H. Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 196.

¹ *de Mysteriis*, *lv.* 11.

² Tert. *de Exhortatione Castitatis*, 10.

³ D. Macdonald, *Oceania*, 1889, p. 181.

⁴ Mathias G***, *Les Marguises*, 1843, p. 62.

⁵ Dawson, *Geol. Survey of Canada*, 1878, p. 122.

⁶ A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887, p. 120.

⁷ C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, 1903, *ii.* 236.

⁸ *Lv.* 217-14, 9.

⁹ Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906, pp. 80, 99; Thurston, *Madras Museum*, *i.* 193.

¹⁰ Clavigero, *Hist. of Mexico*, 1787, *l.* 274 (Eng. tr.).

¹² Bancroft, *iii.* 496, 499.

⁴ Waitz, *iv.* 303.

The temple-women of Mexico were punished for unchastity with death.¹ The high priest of Ichtacatlan, if he broke his vow, was cut in pieces, and the limbs handed to his successor as a visible warning.² In Bogota and Guatemala the priests were celibate.³ The Virgins of the Sun in Peru were devoted to lifelong 'chastity' and seclusion. Lay women also at times took a vow of 'chastity'; they were held in great veneration for their chastity and purity, and, as a mark of worship and respect, they were called *Oello*, which was a name held sacred in their 'idolatry.' Failure to preserve the vow involved the punishment of being burned at the stake or cast into 'the lake of lions.'⁴ The Sun-god was regarded as the husband of the virgins in his service. They were of necessity daughters of the Inca; for, 'though they imagined that the Sun had children, they considered that they ought not to be bastards, with mixed divine and human blood. So the virgins were of necessity legitimate and of the blood royal, which was the same as being of the family of the Sun.' Thus did the Peruvians solve the problem of incarnation by birth. The violator of a Virgin of the Sun was executed in the same way as a violator of an Inca's daughter.⁵ Permanent continence was necessary for the Thinket shaman, if he was to maintain his efficiency. In Paraguay and Patagonia he wore respectfully of celibate wizards and virgin witches. The guardian of the sacred pipe of the Blackfeet had to be chaste and fast periodically.⁶

Virgin priestesses were in high honour among the Guanches of the Canary Islands, and the ancient Persians, Greeks, and Romans.

The first named, the Magades, or Harimagades, were under the direction of the high priest; others, whose chief duty was the baptism of newborn children, were allowed to resign their office and marry.⁷ The virgin priestesses of Persia were devoted to the service of the Sun.⁸ Scattered over Greece were shrines ministered at by virgins, such as that to Hera at Ægium; the priestesses who chanted the oracles at Delphi and Argos were virgins; many priests were eunuchs; the hierophant and other ministers of Eleusis were celibates, and bathed in hemlock-juice to mortify desire.⁹

Numa was said to have instituted the order of Vestal Virgins. They remained unmarried for thirty years. Burial alive was the penalty for breaking the vow of chastity. Few retired after the thirty years.¹⁰ The Vestal Virgins were distinguished by extraordinary influence and personal dignity; they supply the classical example of womanly merit when separated artificially from her biological function. 'They were treated with marks of respect usually accorded to royalty; thus on the streets they were preceded by a lictor, and the highest magistrates made way for them; they sometimes enjoyed the exceptional privilege of riding in a carriage; at public games a place of honour was assigned to them; and after death they, like the Imperators, were allowed to be buried within the city walls' 'because they were above the laws.' Again, they enjoyed the royal privilege of mercy; for, if they met a criminal on the way to execution, his life was spared.¹¹ Yet, after Frazer's investigation, it seems that their virginity is of accidental origin. The chief's daughter among the Damaras who keeps up the 'holy fire' is a savage parallel; that she remained unmarried is not stated. 'The perpetual fire' in an early village 'would be most likely to be maintained in the chief's house, and the persons who would most naturally look after it would be the chief's wife or daughters.'¹² Laftau speaks of 'vestal virgins' among the Iroquois.¹³ In ancient Ireland and Lithuania there seem to have been holy fires tended by virgins.¹⁴ In Yucatan virgin priestesses tended the fire in the temple.¹⁵

No race has shown such sexual sensibility and knowledge of the science and art of love as the Hindus. Though we hear little or nothing of female virginity, marital chastity on the part of wives has been enjoined and honoured from immemorial times; while both natural chastity and sacerdotal, whether marital or celibate, has been a regular phenomenon. Yet marriage has been continuously upheld and honoured. Social and individual differentiation explains the fact that Hindu religion has no inconsistency between prac-

tice and precept, with regard either to the status of women or to the vocation of male celibacy. The commencement of this, as we have seen, may be in the ancient rule of continence during the Brāhman's study of the Veda, and its original explanation is more clear than usual, and doubtless to be found in an extension of natural chastity to appropriate individuals.¹

Thus Manu says: 'Let not a Brāhman who desires manly strength behold his wife setting off her eyes with collyrium, or anointing herself with oil, or when she is in *deshabille* or bringing forth a child.' And again: 'Let him not see a woman naked.'² In the Bower MS we read that, 'counselling with reference to acquisition of health and strength, the blessed Atréya said: "Caution in diet is of threefold, but abstinence from sexual intercourse is of fourfold value."³ The Sannyāsi had and has a rule never to look at a woman.⁴

Monastic celibacy developed in Buddhism. The mother of Buddha was extremely 'pure'; she had no other son; her conception was supernatural.⁵ Sensuality is inconsistent with wisdom and holiness; 'a wise man should avoid married life, as if it were a burning pit of live coals.' 'From contact comes sensation, from thirst clinging; by ceasing from that the soul is delivered from all sinful existence.' 'Buddha's Church is a Church of monks and nuns. "Very straitened," it is said, "is life in the home, a state of impurity; freedom is in leaving the home." There is an eightfold abstinence for the laity, including avoidance of "unchastity."⁶ The monk is forbidden carnal intercourse. 'The monk who lowers himself to touch a woman's person with corrupt thoughts, while he clasps her hand or clasps her hair or touches one part or another of her body, the Order inflicts on him degradation.'⁷ The present ordination vow is to abstain from all sexual intercourse as long as life shall last.⁸ The Jains enforced the rule to abstain from all sexual relations 'either with gods, or men, or animals; not to discuss topics relating to women; not to contemplate the forms of women.'⁹ There is, however, a compromise in the form of an oath of conjugal fidelity instead of an oath of abstinence.¹⁰ Some lamas may marry, but these are less holy than the celibates. Tibetan nuns are in all cases continent.¹¹ In Chinese Buddhism and Taoism the celibacy of priests is observed.¹² The Chinese are peculiarly free from conventional restraints upon the sexual life, yet they honour chastity in both sexes. Lust is condemned; 'of the myriad vices, lust is the worst.'¹³

In a race of a very different character, the West Africans, proverbially sensual, the virgin priestess is peculiarly influential, and the celibate priest is not unknown.

In Lower Guinea we are told of a priest-king who was not even allowed to touch a woman.¹⁴ Among the Tshi- and Ewe-peoples there are priestesses who are forbidden to marry. Of the former it is observed that 'a priestess belongs to the god she serves, and therefore cannot become the property of a man, as would be the case if she married one.' The latter are regarded as the wives of the god, but their chief function is religious prostitution. The best-looking girls are selected; they remain novices for three years, 'learning the chants and dances peculiar to the worship of the gods, and prostituting themselves to the priests and the inmates of the male seminaries; and at the termination of their novitiate they become public prostitutes.'¹⁵

When we come to civilization, we generally find, at least among the Christian peoples of the West, an ambiguous attitude towards chastity. This is chiefly the result of the loss of two primitive complementary habits—a loss which is due to the increase of intelligence on the one hand, and the diffusion of the elements of society, on the other. These habits are, first, the unconscious exercise of control for definite ends. This is very pronounced among savages, and

'the special virtues of savagery—hardness, endurance, and bravery—are intimately connected with the cultivation of

¹ For chastity among the earliest Brāhmins, see Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 271, 411 ff., 417, 429 ff., 468, 588.

² Manu (ed. Bühler), iv. 44, 53.

³ Hoernle, *The Bower MS*, 1893-97, ii. 142.

⁴ Dubois (ed. Beauchamp), p. 533.

⁵ R. Davis, *Buddhism*, 1881, p. 148.

⁶ Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, 1889, p. 88; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, 1882, p. 381 ff.

⁷ Oldenberg, 373 f.

⁸ Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 1896, p. 79.

⁹ Hopkins, *Religions of India*, 1896, p. 294.

¹⁰ Bühler, *The Indian Sect of the Jains*, 1903, p. 16.

¹¹ Wilson, *Abode of Snow*, 1876, p. 213.

¹² Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 400.

¹³ Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, 1888, ii. 108; Smith, *Proverbs of the Chinese*, 1888, p. 256.

¹⁴ Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, 1874-75, i. 287 f.

¹⁵ A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 121, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, 1890, p. 140 f.

¹ Clavigero, i. 275 f.; Bancroft, iii. 435.

² Clavigero, i. 274.

³ Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 406; Bancroft, iii. 469.

⁴ G. de la Vega, *Comm.* i. 291, 305.

⁵ *Ib.* i. 292, 300.

⁶ Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 406; Warren, *Minnesota Hist. Soc.* v. 68.

⁷ St. Vincent, *Les Isles Fortunées*, 1803, p. 96 f.

⁸ Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 407.

⁹ Müller, *Das sexuelle Leben der alten Kulturvölker*, 1867, p. 44 f.; Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* ii. 560; Pausanias, ii. xxiv. 1; Strabo, xiv. i. 23; Tert. *op. cit.* 18.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Numa*, x. 7 ff.; Dionys. Halic. *Antiq. Rom.* ii. 64 ff., 67.

¹¹ Frazer, *JPH* xiv. 155.

¹² *Ib.* 162.

¹³ *Mœurs des sauvages américains*, 1724, i. 178.

¹⁴ Camden, *Britannia*, 1594, p. 747; Bastian, *Der Mensch in der Gesch.*, 1860, iii. 215.

¹⁵ Bancroft, iii. 478.

chastity and asceticism. It is true that savages seldom have any ideal of chastity in the degraded modern sense, as a state of permanent abstinence from sexual relationship having a merit of its own apart from any use. They esteem chastity for its values, magical or real, as a method of self-control which contributes towards the attainment of important ends. The ability to bear pain and restraint is nearly always a main element in the initiation of youths at puberty. The custom of refraining from sexual intercourse before expeditions of war and hunting, and other serious concerns involving great muscular and mental strain, whatever the motives assigned, is a sagacious method of economizing energy. The extremely wide-spread habit of avoiding intercourse during pregnancy and suckling, again, is an admirable precaution in sexual hygiene the observance of which it is extremely difficult to obtain in civilization. Savages, also, are perfectly well aware how valuable sexual continence is in combination with fasting and solitude, to acquire the aptitude for abnormal spiritual powers.¹

Such loss, whether temporary or permanent, seems to be an inevitable concomitant of the passage from a more to a less 'natural' mode of existence. The complementary loss is that of the tabus and magical forms which served as a theoretical ground for natural chastity. Ellis quotes from an Auckland newspaper the remarks of an old Maori who stated that the decline of his race was entirely due to the loss of the ancient religious faith in the tabu;

'for in the olden time our *tapu* ramified the whole social system. The head, the hair, spots where apparitions appeared, places which the *tohungas* proclaimed as sacred, we have forgotten and discarded. Who nowadays thinks of the sacredness of the head? See, when the kettle boils, the young man jumps up, whips the cap off his head, and uses it for a kettle-holder. Who nowadays but looks on with indifference when the barber of the village, if he be near the fire, shakes the loose hair off his cloth into it, and the joke and the laughter goes on as if no sacred operation had just been concluded. Food is consumed on places which in bygone days it dared not even be carried over.'²

Sexual tabus undoubtedly were the expression of an instinctive biological sense of the sacredness of the sexual impulse. This sense is inevitably lost in the commencement of civilization, and the problem, now just beginning to be realized, is how to reinstate it. Scientific enlightenment is the new ground for this sense; the difficulty, however, is to overcome social inertia. In Christendom, two thousand years have passed in an ambiguous, unreasoned, and in the worst sense superstitious, attitude towards the sexual life. Westermarck finds that 'irregular connexions between the sexes have on the whole exhibited a tendency to increase along with the progress of civilization'; and Gibbon had already noted that, 'although the progress of civilization has undoubtedly contributed to assuage the fiercer passions of human nature, it seems to have been less favourable to the virtue of chastity.' This long process of 'marking time' seems, however, to be sociologically normal. In such periods of transition the form of society is first settled, on lines coincident with industrial and economic necessity, then the religious question comes to be considered, last of all the problem of sex. Men are in no hurry to solve the question which more than any other involves the future prosperity of the race. In the meantime the practical question of sexual life is a hand to mouth affair, when it is not given over to false ideals or degraded values. Westermarck and Havelock Ellis have discussed this transition period in the history of chastity, which commenced with Christianity, and is now showing signs of completion. The latter remarks that

'the main difference in the social function of chastity, as we pass from savagery to higher stages of culture, seems to be that it ceases to exist as a general hygienic measure or a general ceremonial observance, and for the most part becomes confined to special philosophic or religious sects, which cultivate it to an extreme degree in a more or less professional way. This state of things is well illustrated by the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era. Christianity itself was at first one of these sects enamoured of the ideal of chastity; but by its superior vitality it replaced all the others, and finally imposed its ideals, though by no means its primitive practices, on European society generally.'³

Christianity was, on the one hand, heir of the Hebrew tradition, in which there is a frank recognition of sexual impulses, and a reverence for them, combined with ideas of ceremonial pollution as the result of intercourse—a typically savage attitude. But it rejected this, though accepting the Old Testament, its embodiment. Instead it chose an attitude like that of the Essenes or the Essene attitude itself. On the other hand, it was instinct with a fierce reaction against pagan indulgence. By a very curious irony, its decision to war against sexuality involved it in a perpetual relation with sex; it was, as Ellis puts it, *obsessed* by the idea of sex. This attitude cannot altogether be separated from pruriency, but at its highest moments it was much more than that, and, as Ellis was the first to point out, it forms an entirely new element of progress in the evolution of sexual ideas. Thus, 'chastity manifested itself in primitive Christianity in two different, though not necessarily opposed, ways. On the one hand, it took a stern and practical form in vigorous men and women, who, after being brought up in a society permitting a high degree of sexual indulgence, suddenly found themselves convinced of the sin of such indulgence. The battle with the society they had been born into, and with their own old impulses and habits, became so severe that they often found themselves compelled to retire from the world altogether. Thus it was that the parched solitudes of Egypt were peopled with hermits largely occupied with the problem of subduing their own flesh. Their pre-occupation, and indeed the pre-occupation of much early Christian literature, with sexual matters, may be said to be vastly greater than was the case with the pagan society they had left. . . . This is the aspect of early Christian asceticism most often emphasized. But there is another aspect which may be less familiar, but has been by no means less important. Primitive Christian chastity was on one side a strenuous discipline. On another side it was a romance, and this indeed was its most specially Christian side, for athletic asceticism has been associated with the most various religious and philosophic beliefs. If, indeed, it had not possessed the charm of a new sensation, of a delicious freedom, of an unknown adventure, it would never have conquered the European world.'⁴

This twofold attitude may now be sketched. The main idea on which Christian asceticism rests may be put thus, in Westermarck's words:

'The gratification of every worldly desire is sinful; the flesh should be the abject slave of the spirit intent upon unearthly things. Man was created for a life in spiritual communion with God, but he yielded to the seduction of evil demons, who availed themselves of the sensuous side of his nature to draw him away from the contemplation of the divine and lead him to the earthly. Moral goodness, therefore, consists in renouncing all sensuous pleasures, in separating from the world, in living solely after the spirit, in imitating the perfection and purity of God. The contrast between good and evil is the contrast between God and the world, and the conception of the world includes not only the objects of bodily appetites, but all human institutions, as well as science and art. And still more than any theoretical doctrine, the personal example of Christ led to the glorification of spiritual joy and bodily suffering.'⁵

Again, Christianity, in this perverted view of it, may be described as a religion

'which regarded every gratification of the sexual impulse with suspicion, and incontinence as the gravest sin. In its early days the Church showed little respect for women, but its horror of sensuality was immense.' 'While looking with suspicion even on the life-long union of one man with one woman, the Church pronounced all other forms of sexual intercourse to be mortal sins. In its Penitentials, sins of unchastity were the favourite topic; and its horror of them finds an echo in the secular legislation of the first Christian emperors. Panders were condemned to have molten lead poured down their throats. In the case of forcible seduction, both the man and woman, if she consented to the act, were put to death. Even the innocent offspring of illicit intercourse were punished for their parents' sins, with ignominy and loss of certain rights which belonged to other, more respectable, members of the Church and the State. Persons of different sex who were not united in wedlock were forbidden by the Church to kiss each other; nay, the sexual desire itself, though unaccompanied by any external act, was regarded as sinful in the unmarried. In this standard of purity no difference of sex was recognized, the same obligations being imposed upon man and woman.'⁶

'The theological conception of "lust" or *libido*, as sin, followed logically the early Christian conception of the "flesh," and became inevitable as soon as that conception was firmly established. Not only, indeed, had early Christian ideals a degrading influence on the estimation of sexual desire *per se*, but they tended to depreciate generally the dignity of the

¹ *Ib.* 151.

² Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 381 f.

³ *Ib.* 392, 431 f. (quoting authorities).

⁴ H. Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, vi. 145.

⁵ *Ib.* 147.

⁶ *Ib.* 151.

sexual relationship. If a man made sexual advances to a woman outside marriage, and thus brought her within the despised circle of "lust," he was injuring her because he was impairing her religious and moral value. (. . . An ambiguous improvement on the view . . . among primitive peoples, that the sexual act involves indignity to a woman or depreciation of her only in so far as she is the property of another person who is the really injured party.) The only way he could repair the damage done was by paying her money, or by entering into a forced, and therefore, probably unfortunate, marriage with her. That is to say, that sexual relationships were, by the ecclesiastical traditions, placed on a pecuniary basis, on the same level as prostitution. By its well-meant intentions to support the theological morality which had developed on an ascetic basis, the Church was thus really undermining even that form of sexual relationship which it sanctified.¹

Early Christianity (see CHASTITY [Christian]) censured re-marriage by either sex; it was a species of fornication, or a 'specious adultery.' 'It was looked upon as a manifest sign of incontinence, and also as inconsistent with the doctrine that marriage is an emblem of the union of Christ with the Church.'² Again, the severity of the earlier European laws against adultery 'was closely connected with Christianity's abhorrence of all kinds of irregular sexual intercourse.'³ Yet it made no distinction between husband and wife.⁴

The Essenes rejected 'pleasure as an evil, but esteem continence and the conquest over our passions to be virtue. They neglect wedlock.'⁵ St. Paul said: 'He that giveth his virgin in marriage doeth well; but he that giveth her not in marriage doeth better.' 'It is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband.' As for the unmarried and widows 'it is better to marry than to burn.'⁶ Woman, says Tertullian, is the gate of Hell. 'Inter faeces et urinum nascimur' is Augustine's famous epigram. He had, it is true, no ascetic contempt for sex, and indeed asserts that in Paradise, if sin had not entered, 'sexual conjugation would have been under the control of the will without any sexual desire. There would not have been any words which could be called obscene, but all that might be said of these members would have been as pure as what is said of the other parts of the body.'⁷ Yet he held very strongly the theory of original sin. It is the fact that sin is hereditary, and that sin has its special symbol in the organs of generation, that makes sex a shameful thing. It is sin that brings them into connexion with lust. The argument seems to be circular, but Augustine's influence carried his opinion. With more fanaticism, St. Bernard speaks of man as 'nothing else than fetid sperm, a sack of dung, the food of worms. . . . You have never seen a viler dunghill.'⁸

Whatever the influence of the Christian tradition or the Christian environment, the fact remains that not only chastity, but virginity, became the radiant ideal. Jesus, John the Baptist, St. Paul, and others, were virgins. Virginity worked miracles; by it Miriam crossed the sea, and Thecla was spared from the lions. It is a spring flower, exhaling immortality from its petals.⁹ Cyprian speaks of those women whose husband is Christ. The Virgin Mary similarly had dedicated herself as a virgin to God.¹⁰ Virgins were known to have committed suicide to prevent the loss of their virginity. Such an act admitted some to canonization. Jerome argued in favour of such suicide; Augustine concludes that these suicides are worthy of compassion, but declares that there was no necessity for the act, since 'chastity is a virtue of the mind which is not lost by the body being in captivity to the will of another.'¹¹ As for married life, the procreation of children is the only reason for the sexual act; no desire further than what is thereto necessary is allowed.¹²

Here the romantic aspect of Christian chastity, which Ellis has worked out, and of which he has shown the evolutionary importance, has to be considered. The possibility of this romance may even be seen in athletic asceticism. Jerome writes to

the virgin Eustochium (*Ep.* xxii. §7) about his struggles for abstinence:

'Oh, how many times when in the desert, in that vast solitude which, burnt up by the heat of the sun, offers but a horrible dwelling to monks, I imagined myself among the delights of Rome! I was alone, for my soul was full of bitterness. My limbs were covered by a wretched sack, and my skin was as black as an Ethiopian's. Every day I wept and groaned, and, if I was unwillingly overcome by sleep, my lean body lay on the bare earth. I say nothing of my food and drink, for in the desert even invalids have no drink but cold water, and cooked food is regarded as a luxury. Well, I, who out of fear of hell had condemned myself to this prison, companion of scorpions and wild beasts, often seemed in imagination among bands of girls. My face was pale with fasting and my mind within my frigid body was burning with desire; the fires of lust would still flare up in a body that already seemed to be dead. Then, deprived of all help, I threw myself at the feet of Jesus, washing them with my tears and drying them with my hair, subjugating my rebellious flesh by long fasts. I remember that more than once I passed the night uttering cries and striking my breast until God sent me peace.'

He also refers in the same letter to the practice in which the main stream of the romance of chastity had its source—that, namely, of Christians who 'share the same room, often even the same bed, and call us suspicious if we draw any conclusions.'¹³ Chrysostom discusses it as a normal practice, but, quite rightly, as a new departure.

'Our fathers,' he says, 'only knew two forms of sexual intimacy, marriage and fornication. Now a third form has appeared: men introduce young girls into their houses and keep them there permanently, respecting their virginity. What is the reason? It seems to me that life in common with a woman is sweet, even outside conjugal union and fleshly commerce. That is my feeling; and perhaps it is not my feeling alone; it may also be that of these men. They would not hold their honour so cheap nor give rise to such scandals if this pleasure were not violent and tyrannical. . . . That there should really be a pleasure in this which produces a love more ardent than conjugal union may surprise you at first. But when I give you the proofs you will agree that it is so.' The absence of restraint to desire in marriage, he continues, often leads to speedy disgust, and even, apart from this, sexual intercourse, pregnancy, delivery, lactation, the bringing up of children, and all the pains and anxieties that accompany these things soon destroy youth and dull the point of pleasure. The virgin is free from these burdens. She retains her vigour and youthfulness, and even at the age of forty may rival the young mobile girl. 'A double ardour thus burns in the heart of him who lives with her, and the gratification of desire never extinguishes the bright flame which ever continues to increase in strength.' Chrysostom describes minutely all the little cares and attentions which the modern girls of his time required, and which these men delighted to expend on their virginal sweethearts whether in public or in private. Thus it was that the Christians 'rejected the grosser forms of sexual indulgence, but in doing so they entered with a more delicate ardour into the more refined forms of sexual intimacy. They cultivated a relationship of brothers and sisters to each other; they kissed one another' at one time, in the spiritual orgy of hedonism, they were not ashamed to adopt complete nakedness.¹⁴ 'This new refinement of tender chastity' may truly be said to have come 'as a delicious discovery to the early Christians, who had resolutely thrust away the licentiousness of the pagan world.'¹⁵ No less true, however, is it that the development in itself was as anti-social as, and in its practical negation of parenthood more anti-social than, even the homosexuality of the Greeks.

Again, this new Christian chastity 'flourished exuberantly and unchecked' in one form: 'it conquered literature. The most charming, and, we may be sure, the most popular literature of the early Church lay in the innumerable romances of erotic chastity . . . which are embodied to-day in the *Acta Sanctorum*.' 'Early Christian literature abounds in the stories of lovers who had indeed preserved their chastity, and had yet discovered the most exquisite secrets of love.'¹⁶ Ellis refers particularly to the legend of Thecla, 'The Bride and Bridegroom of Judea,' in *Judas Thomas' Acts*, 'The Virgin of Antioch' of St. Ambrose, the history of 'Achilles and Nereus,' 'Mydonia and Karish,' and 'Two Lovers of Auvergne,' told by Gregory of Tours. See art. AGAPETAE.

The freshness of this unique form of love waned in the Middle Ages. Chivalry alone preserved something of a similar ideal. '*Aucassin et Nicolette*,' Ellis remarks, 'was the death-knell of the primitive Christian romance of chastity. It was the discovery that the chaste refinements of delicacy and devotion were possible within the strictly normal sphere of sexual love.'¹⁷ He assigns two main causes for this decay.

'The submergence of the old pagan world, with its practice and, to some extent, ideal of sexual indulgence, removed the

¹ Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 179 f.

² Westermarck, II. 451, quoting Tertullian and Athenagoras.

³ *Ib.* 450, 451 f. 454.

⁴ *Ib.* 454.

⁵ *Ib.* 454.

⁶ 1 Co. vii. 9. 38; cf. Rev. 14th, Mt. 19th.

⁷ *De Civ. Dei*, xiv. 23.

⁸ *Medit. Pissimae*, iii.

⁹ Clem. Rom. *Ep.* i. ad *Virginas*, 6; Ambrosius, *Ep.* lxiii. 34; Methodius, *Conviv. decem virginum*, vii. 1.

¹⁰ *De Hauritu Virginum*, 4, 22; *Pseudo-Matthaeus*, 8.

¹¹ Jerome, *Com. in Jonam*, i. 12; *Aug. de Civ. Dei*, i. 16.

¹² Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis*, 33.

¹ Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 151 f., 155.

² *Ib.* 155.

³ *Ib.* 155.

⁴ *Ib.* 153 f.

⁵ *Ib.* 161.

⁶ *Ib.* 161.

fool which had given grace and delicacy to the tender freedom of the young Christians. In the second place, the austerities which the early Christians had gladly practised for the sake of their soul's health, were robbed of their charm and spontaneity by being made a formal part of codes of punishment for sin, first in the Penitentials and afterwards at the discretion of confessors.¹

Here there intervenes the Teutonic element.

'The ideal of Christian chastity was no longer largely the possession of refined people who had been rendered immune to pagan licence by being brought up in its midst, and even themselves steeped in it. It was clearly from the first a serious matter for the violent North Africans to maintain the ideal of chastity; and when Christianity spread to Northern Europe, it seemed almost a hopeless task to acclimatize its ideals among the wild Germans.'²

Henceforward the ideals of the Church were imposed as compulsory celibacy on priests, and 'chastity' fell into a barbarous regression, which the Renaissance and Reformation only tempered by preserving in law the proprietary rights of married men, and fostering a conventional residuum of ideas of chastity for the unmarried. It is to be noted that it is only by an error that the primitive Teutons have been credited with pre-nuptial chastity. They had no prostitution, and observed marital chastity in women, but chastity before marriage was not required.

'The institution of clerical celibacy,' says Westermarck, 'lowered the estimation of virtue by promoting vice. During the Middle Ages unchastity was regarded as an object of ridicule rather than censure, and in the comic literature of that period the clergy are universally represented as the great corrupters of domestic virtue. Whether the tenet of chastity laid down by the code of Chivalry was taken more seriously may be fairly doubted. A knight, it was said, should be abstinent and chaste; he should love only the virtues, talents, and graces of his lady; and love was defined as the "chaste union of two hearts by virtue wrought." . . . We have reason to believe that the amours in which he indulged with her were of a far less delicate kind.'³ The lady was, as a rule, required to be a married woman.

Here, in a sense, is an attempt, like some we have noted, to divorce love from the biological accompaniments of it. Another form, more like the early Christian and the Greek, was that celebrated by Dante and his congeners—life-long devotion without any intimacy. What remained of these developments up to modern days was male gallantry, and the love interest of the novel and the play.

The attitude of the chief peoples of to-day towards chastity may be now glanced at. It is, and the fact is significant, fairly simple and extraordinarily identical.

In Islām 'chastity,' that is, abstinence from intercourse, is the essential duty of woman, married or unmarried. Nothing more is required as an explanation than the position of Muhammadan women. 'For unmarried men, on the other hand, "chastity" is by Muhammadans at most looked upon as an ideal, almost out of reach.'⁴ Yet there is more incontinence in Christian countries than in Islām,⁵ while the Muhammadan attitude is less ambiguous. As always, they assert the sanctity of sex no less than the sanctity of physical cleanliness. 'They are prepared to carry the functions of sex into the future life.'⁶

In India, not only is asceticism practised by certain individuals, but

'sexual love has been sanctified and divinized to a greater extent than in any other part of the world.' 'It seems never to have entered into the heads of the Hindu legislators that anything natural could be offensively obscene, a singularity which pervades all their writings, but is no proof of the depravity of their morals.' 'Love in India, both as regards theory and practice, possesses an importance which it is impossible for us even to conceive.'⁷

The details of generation have for ages found a place in Hindu religious ritual. Yet, and here

¹ Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 161.

² Schrader, *Reallexikon*, art. 'Keuschheit.'

³ Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 432.

⁴ *Id.* 428.

⁵ 'Viator' in *Fortnightly Review*, Dec. 1908, quoted by Ellis,

op. cit. vi. 164.

⁶ Ellis, *vi.* 129.

⁷ Ellis, *l.c.*, quoting Sir W. Jones, *Works*, ii. 311, and R.

Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Ind. Erotik*, 1902, p. 2.

again owing to the status of women, 'sexual impurity is scarcely considered a sin in the men, but in females nothing is held more execrable or abominable.'¹ Very similar is the attitude of China and Japan.

In Modern Western civilization there is a great variety of minor differences, but the main facts are the same. Property-morality is employed to sanction wifely 'chastity'; the English law of divorce still shows the preponderance in favour of the male sex. Among the unmarried, male incontinence is winked at by the world, but female incontinence is reprobated. Prostitution flourishes, while it is calculated that at least 50 per cent of the sexual intercourse that occurs in Western nations is outside the bonds of wedlock. Economic considerations have much to do with this, but the whole problem is an extensive one, and cannot be more than alluded to here. As for the minor differences, the European has added, whether through the influence of the Christian tradition or because of a psychological character, 'the vice of hypocrisy, which apparently was little known in sexual matters by pagan antiquity,'² and is also little known by the other great races of the present day. The Churches do not help to solve the problem by preaching total abstinence and encouraging scientific ignorance; their attitude is part of the conventional sexual morality of the time. They can aid in the scientific rehabilitation of a natural chastity only by joining hands with science. Western science to-day has begun this work by a thorough study of the sexual impulse, and important pioneering has been effected in the education of the intelligent upon these subjects and in the development of eugenic research.

Some consideration of biological reasons for the various phenomena of chastity which have been reviewed may finally be given in connexion with the question how far the psychic nature of the modern type of humanity is likely to be affected by the multiple tradition, or whether this exists merely as an atmosphere which is inert and unused for life-processes, the latter being only such as are adapted to the present environment.

Chastity, as it is now defined, may be said to exist only among savages in a natural state, who allow pre-nuptial intercourse. Its origin is purely biological. Tabu is merely an emotional and legal irradiation from it. The exercise of control at puberty has been noted. During menstruation, pregnancy, and suckling, the savage also observes continence.³ During the last condition it is possible that the separation is physically beneficial to mother and child; during the first, union is attended, except towards the end of the period, with discomfort to the woman. During the time of suckling, it is a wise provision to prevent another conception too soon for the health of the child at the mother's breast, and there seems to be a connexion between premature weaning and renewal of intercourse. It is significant that certain peoples recognize this application of continence so clearly that at a suitable date after birth the man and wife are re-married.⁴ Of equal biological importance is the continence observed by primitive peoples immediately prior to marriage and after engagement, and more particularly for some time after marriage itself.

Thus, among the aborigines of Victoria, the pair were sequestered for two months, sleeping on opposite sides of the fire.⁵ Amongst the Narrinyeri it was 'a point of decency for the couple not to sleep close to each other for the first two or three nights; on the third or fourth night the man and his

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 428 (quoting authorities).

² *Id.* 434.

³ See Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, pp. 54, 200; Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.* 383, *Moral Ideas*, i. 399, ii. 388, 391.

⁴ Crawley, *op. cit.* 432 f.

⁵ Featherman, *op. cit.* ii. 142.

wife sleep together under the same rug.¹ In South Celebes all intimacy is forbidden during the wedding-night.² In Achin they do not come together for seven nights.³ In Endeh and the Babar Islands the same rule is observed.⁴ Similarly among the Dayaks, Madurese, and Sundanese.⁵ Among the Wufurs consummation takes place on the fifth day; on the first night the couple are set back to back; and this is repeated each night. Each morning when the man departs, it is forbidden them to look at one another, 'a sign of her maiden shame.'⁶ Nutkas and Thinkets may not consummate marriage till after ten days and four weeks respectively.⁷ In Egypt it is customary for husbands to deny themselves their conjugal rights during the first week after marriage with a virgin bride.⁸ The bride and groom among the Aztecs were continent for four days, the Mazatecs for fifteen, the Otomis for twenty or thirty.⁹

Such customs are undoubtedly to be ultimately explained as Ellis explains them. The long process of irradiation of the complex nervous mechanism, which is necessary for tumescence and for the proper performance of the sexual act, needs delay and many preliminaries. The sexual act is not one to be executed by muscular force alone. Hence the phenomena of courtship itself.

'The need for delay and considerate skill is far greater when, as among ourselves, a woman's marriage is delayed long past the establishment of puberty to a period when it is more difficult to break down the psychic and, perhaps, even physical barriers of personality.'¹⁰

The need is increased also in proportion to the higher development of the sexual impulse in civilization. One great component of that impulse is female modesty.¹¹ In seeking for an answer to the question, Why has sexual intercourse between unmarried people, if both parties consent, come to be regarded as wrong? Westermarck refers to the growth of 'affection' and to the instinct for seclusion during the satisfaction of sexual as, in primitive times, of other needs, such as hunger and thirst. Add to these considerations, the nervous tone and control produced by a natural chastity, and there are already grounds for a scientific and religious recognition and regulation of a sexual life which is in relation to biological facts.

Two contingent sources of chastity are good examples of inertia, producing the same result from different directions. The former is biologically real, the second conventional. Continence originates, in the individual, with the instinct of physical isolation which is emphasized at the commencement of adolescence. This instinct amounts to a virginal inertia, which forms a barrier difficult to break down. Hence the first loss of chastity is equivalent to a complete psychic change in the organism. This inertia is encouraged for the sake of physical growth. When such psychic diathesis becomes morbid, it coincides with what W. James terms an 'anti-sexual instinct'—the instinct of personal isolation, the actual repulsiveness to us of the idea of intimate contact with most of the persons we meet, especially those of our own sex, and in illustration of which he instances the unpleasant sensation felt on taking a seat still warm by contact with another.¹² Adolescent inertia is also linked to the desire for self-control, in which the important factor is the feeling of power and the sense of freedom. In the male the psychic result of the sexual act, a depression proportionate to the explosive force of the detumescent process, constitutes the opposite pole to this feeling of power. *Omne animal post coitum triste* proverbializes the phenomenon, and there are clear traces of its action in producing ideals of chastity.

Some of these have been cited above. Loss of semen is universally regarded as loss of strength, and the male organs as the seat of strength.¹ These ideas again coincide with the popular notion that woman is physically weak, and that therefore intercourse with her produces weakness in the male. But, when these ideas reach as far as this, they are already becoming conventionalized. Even at an earlier stage they may pass from biological fact to conventional theory, for 'your boasted purity is only immaturity.' In this connexion it is to be noted the sense of melancholy which is normally periodic in adolescence, and seems to arise from vascular congestion. It is encouraged by abstinence, and forms the foundation of the sense of sin, as is shown by the phenomena of conversion. If we add the fact that pain and austerity are a stimulant of energy, we practically complete the list of physiological factors which develop rules of chastity in the individual and in the race. On the other hand, the conventional factor which more than others has had an influence in civilization is not essentially physiological. It is rather a detail of degeneration. In their fierce reaction against pagan luxury the early Christians developed a cult of personal uncleanness. They denounced the bath as the Puritans at a later date denounced the theatre.

Paula used to say: 'The purity of the body and its garments means the impurity of the soul.'² 'Since the coming of Christianity,' Ellis remarks, 'the cult of the skin, and even its hygiene, have never again attained the same general and unquestioned exaltation. The Church killed the bath.'³ 'The tone of the Middle Ages,' says Frederic Harrison (*Meaning of Hist.*, 1906, p. 248), 'in the matter of dirt was a form of mental disease.'

But in this later and more general extension, very similar as it is to the state of things among the masses of Europe to-day, economic considerations overlaid the Christian tradition. The same result was fostered by ideals on the one hand and necessary practice on the other. However that may be, the fact remains that it is only in modern civilization that the juxtaposition of the genital and excretory zones has acted as a general influence in favour of chastity. Primitive 'uncleanliness' was a very different thing, though the same term is used. Inertia of this kind is a measure both of scientific ignorance and of physical unreinforcement, or rather of hygienic degeneration, as obscenity is of the same results psychically.

The question of the origin of the 'horror' of sexual facts, in so far as it is a *vera causa*, which is not certain, and not a conventional artifact, is difficult. However originating,—and it is possible that it may have nothing to do with any primitive mystic awe or sense of supernatural danger, but rather that it is a morbid psychosis analogous to jealousy on the one hand and disgust on the other,—it seems to be absent from savage psychology, and in civilization to be a mark of neurosis. As a source of chastity, its conventional exploitation is confined to priestly pedagogy.

Certain suggestions that have been made explanatory of this and similar psychic phenomena in chastity call for mention, though, in so far as they have ground in fact, this is but part of the mythology of the subject. For instance, the primitive tabu against menstrual blood cannot legitimately be elevated into a cause either of marriage prohibitions or of continent habits. It may be true that the Zulus believe that 'if a man touch a woman at menstruation his bones become soft, and in future he cannot take part in warfare or any other manly exercise';⁴ but, as shown above, the deep-seated reason of such tabu is biological. The suggested instinctive feeling against intercourse between members of the same family or

¹ Curr, *The Australian Race*, 1886-7, ii. 245.

² Matthes, *Ethnologie Zuid-Selebes*, 1876, p. 35.

³ Kruljt, *Atjeh en de Atjehers*, Leyden, 1876, p. 198.

⁴ *Tijdschr. Ind. Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiv. 525; Riedel, *op. cit.* 351.

⁵ Perlelaer, *Ethnog. Besch. der Dajaks*, 1870, p. 53; Veth, *Java*, 1884, i. 885; Ritter, *Java*, 1872, p. 29.

⁶ Van Hasselt, *ZE* viii. 181 ff.

⁷ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, ii. 273.

⁸ Bancroft, *ii.* 258, 261, 670.

⁹ Ellis, *op. cit.* vi. 547.

¹⁰ See Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, ii. 435.

¹¹ W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, ii. 347.

¹ See Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 188.

² Jerome, *Ep. cviii.* § 20.

³ Ellis, *op. cit.* iv. 81.

⁴ Macdonald, *JAI* xx. 119.

household, which Westermarck held to be a possible cause of the idea that sexual matters are 'impure,' does not, if it exists, go deeply enough into the psychology of the individual. It is proved that such phenomena are merely negative.¹

In the past history of chastity it is evident that, as will always be the case, every factor concerned in the whole system of the sexual impulse has had its place and influence. The two chief factors, proprietary morality and adolescent inertia, have, however, now reached the parting of the ways. That is to say, the former is yielding to the scientific analysis of the sexual life of man, and can no longer be maintained as a ground of natural chastity. In the Middle Ages the knightly husband took with him on his travels the key of his wife's 'girdle of chastity'; in a scientific age 'the real problem of chastity lies not in multiplying laws, but largely in women's knowledge of the dangers of sex and the cultivation of their sense of responsibility.'² *Mutatis mutandis*, the statement applies to adolescent chastity. This is one of the educational problems of the future, in which science and religion may well co-operate. Economic considerations are the permanent previous condition to be reckoned with: popular sentiment will follow the lead of social refinement and scientific conclusion.

LITERATURE.—W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*³ (1894); Frazer, *GB*⁴ (1900), *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910); Crawley, 'Sexual Taboo' (*JAI* xiv. [1895]), *Mystic Rose* (1902); A. Lang and J. J. Atkinson, *Social Origins and Primal Law* (1903); Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (6 vols., 1897-1910); H. C. Lea, *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy* (2 vols., 1884); E. Westermarck, *Hist. of Hum. Marriage*⁵ (1901), *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (2 vols., 1906-1908); E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* (2 vols., 1909); O. Schrader, *Realien*, 1901 (art. 'Keuschheit'); Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of our Time* (Eng. tr. 1909); Caufeynon, *La Ceinture de chasteté* (1904); A. Moll, *Libido Sexualis* (2 vols., 1898), *Die konträre Sexualempfindung*⁶ (1899); H. Northcote, *Christianity and Sex Problems* (1906); Freude and Rohleder, in *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft* (in progress); A. Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurisprudenz* (1894-95).

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CHASTITY (Buddhist).—Buddhist ideas as to the relation of the sexes may best be treated under two heads: according as they apply to the ordinary Buddhist layman, or to a member of the Buddhist Order. The rules for the latter will be found in art. **CELIBACY (Buddhist)**. The rules for the layman are laid down very simply and broadly in several parts of the Canon, with the stress placed on purity in general rather than on any particular detail. For instance, in the *Sigālovāda Suttanta* (a dialogue on elementary ethical precepts to be followed by laymen), Sigāla is seen by the Buddha worshipping the various quarters of the heavens with streaming hair and uplifted hands. The teacher points out to him a better way, in which the six quarters worthy of worship are not the physical quarters of the heavens, but parents, teachers, husband (or wife), friends, dependents, and spiritual masters (Bhikṣus and Brahmins). Under the third head we have the following paragraph:

'In five ways should the wife, who is the west quarter, be cherished by her husband—by respect, by courtesy, by being faithful to her, by recognizing her authority, by providing for her wants. And in five ways the wife takes thought for her husband—she orders the household aright, is hospitable to kinsfolk and friends, is a chaste wife, is a thrifty housekeeper, and is diligent in all there is to do.'

The same tractate warns young men against riotous living of all kinds—drunkenness, gambling, and unchastity. There is no older document in Indian religious literature devoted to the inculcation of ethical precepts for laymen. In the *Iti-vuttaka*, Buddha is represented as declaring that 'the life of chastity is not lived for the purpose of deceiving or prating to mankind, nor for the sake

of the advantage of a reputation for gain and one's own affairs; but . . . this life of chastity is lived, O monks, for the purpose of insight and Thorough Knowledge' (§ 36); while 'by mutual reliance, O monks, a life of chastity is lived for the sake of crossing the Flood (of earthly longings), and for the sake of properly making an end of Misery' (§ 107). He who, after taking the vow of chastity, breaks it, and he who thus causes another to fall, suffers 'in the realm of punishment and in perdition' (§ 48); yet the same treatise seems to imply that (undue) craving for chastity is, like all other forms of clinging to conditions of earthly existence, essentially evil (§ 54 f.). There is very little ethics in the previous books of ritual, poetry, or exegesis, or even in the theosophy of the Upaniṣads; and the level of the mythology and ritual is as low in India as elsewhere, in matters of chastity. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the Buddhist movement introduced any great revolution in this respect. The people, in the 6th cent. B.C., had already built up for themselves, quite independently of religion, a social code regarding sexual relations. All that Buddhism did was to adopt the highest ideal current among the clans, and to give to it additional clearness and emphasis. It was this ideal that it carried with it wherever it was introduced. It thus threw its influence on the side of a strict monogamy in marriage, in favour of chastity for both sexes before and after marriage, and against early marriages. On the whole, it has had a fair success. The percentage of illegitimate births is low in those countries where the influence of early Buddhism has been greatest, and its canonical literature is chaste throughout. Some of the later literature, from the 6th cent. A.D. onwards, especially in Bengal, Nepal, and Tibet, is very much the reverse. See art. **TANTRA**.

LITERATURE.—R. C. Childers, 'The Whole Duty of the Buddhist Layman,' in *CR*, 1876; Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*²¹, 1907, ch. v. p. 209; P. Grimbolt, *Sept Suttas palis*, Paris, 1876, p. 811 ff.; *Iti-vuttaka*, or *Sayings of Buddha*, tr. J. H. More (New York, 1908), pp. 49, 62, 67 f., 125.

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CHASTITY (Chinese).—Chastity in females is regarded by the Chinese as a virtue of prime importance; and the national standards, both ideal and actual, would be considered admirable even in Christian countries. A woman is supposed to marry only once, the alliance of a widow with a second husband being considered inadvisable, if not indeed inadmissible. When a married woman refuses to accept a second consort after the death of her husband, or a young virgin who has been robbed of her fiancé by a similar catastrophe decides upon a life of celibacy, a petition is sometimes addressed to the Emperor, asking for permission to erect a *pai-loo*, or monumental gateway, with a view to perpetuating the memory of the chaste widow or maiden, as an example to posterity. In some parts of the country veritable 'forests' of these ornamental structures may be found, some of them magnificent specimens of the mason's art. One might be led to conclude from this fact that chastity is a virtue rare among Chinese women, since so high a value is placed upon the exhibition of it in seemingly isolated cases; but it should be borne in mind that the great majority of instances are not commemorated in this special way, on account of the great expense involved. No argument can therefore be advanced on these grounds as to the comparative rarity of this virtue among Chinese women.

The extraordinary care nominally taken to maintain the segregation of the sexes might seem to indicate a low scale of morality in China, as, e.g., the rules laid down in the 'Record of Rites,' which deprecate the hanging of male and female garments on the same rack, and the using of the same face-

¹ Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*³ 155.

² Moll, *Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, p. 592.

towel or hair-comb by persons of opposite sex; or which declare it inexpedient that a man should know the personal name of a woman who is not a relation, and that a father should sit in the same room with his daughter, or brothers share a place at table with a sister above the age of 7 years. It is necessary, however, to remember that such precautions may be suggested by the peculiar conditions of the patriarchal system, which still obtains in Chinese families, under the terms of which a large number of people are often congregated together within the walls of a Chinese 'compound,' including children of different generations, different parents, children of the same father but different mothers, children of concubines, etc.—an extraordinary medley of relationships—as well as a numerous retinue of young servants and slave children. And, as the female members of the community seldom venture beyond the high walls of the enclosure, and are strictly limited in the range of their employments, with a temperament which, whatever else may be said, is distinctively Eastern, and with painful recollections of the dark days of feudalism, and its many invasions upon the sanctity of family life, it is little wonder that such methods should be considered advisable.

Chastity finds a place among the 'Four Studies proper to Women,' of which the first is to be chaste and docile; and historical cases are frequent where young girls elected to commit suicide rather than run the risk of outrage, or even the imputation of unchastity. Had Flora Macdonald been a Chinese heroine, she would have drowned herself in a well after her interview with 'Bonnie Prince Charlie,' as the young Ningpo girl did when the Prince Shaok'ang, to whom she had given asylum, made good his escape from the 'Golden Tatars.' In the city of Hangchow is a well into which hundreds of Chinese girls threw themselves when the city was threatened by the T'ai-ping rebels. Instances such as these afford more reliable evidence as to the high standard of chastity which undoubtedly exists among women in China, than any deduction from the methods which seem to reflect upon the female character, and which are intended rather as incentives to virtue than preventives against vice. The extreme modesty of the feminine attire (which, by the way, is the only survival of the Chinese costume, male garments being all based on Manchu models, by command of the present foreign rulers of China), the careful concealment of the lines of the figure, etc., afford further confirmation of the idea, which is borne out by personal knowledge of Chinese homes and family histories. In some parts of the country, the repugnance which is felt by chaste young females against consorting with an utter stranger, as the present marriage customs necessitate, finds expression in the formation of anti-matrimonial leagues, the members of which bind themselves by solemn pledges to refrain from entering the state of marriage; and frequent instances occur where suicide is resorted to rather than break the vows thus assumed.

Whilst chastity in females is rigorously demanded, no similar standard obtains in the case of males. Chastity finds no place among the 'Five Constituents of Worth,' although Propriety in Demeanour comes next in order to Benevolence and Uprightness of Mind, and is followed by Knowledge and Good Faith. It is not numbered among the 'Six Courses of Conduct incumbent upon Man,' or the 'Six Virtues'—Intelligence, Humanity, Wisdom, Uprightness, Moderation, and Benignity. Unchaste conduct does not disqualify for public employment, although 'levity' is indicated as a sufficient cause for dismissal. If the Chinese official is able to maintain the appearances

of outward decorum, his private conduct, and especially his sexual relations, are not subjected to very severe inquiry.

Convention permits the Chinese gentleman not only to remarry as often as occasion serves, but also to add a 'secondary wife' to his household in the event of failure to obtain male issue by his proper wife; the maintenance of a harem is, however, regarded as unjustifiable and hardly respectable, though in the case of the Emperor a large liberty is allowed.

Houses of ill-fame exist in the majority of cities, but they are generally unobtrusive in their character, and their existence is known only to habitués. The inmates are recruited by kidnapping or purchase from destitute parents; very few of them are willing votaries. The immorality which is observable at Chinese treaty-ports would not be tolerated in inland cities, though there may be exceptions to this rule, for China is more nearly a continent than a country, and local customs vary considerably in different parts.

Infraction of the marriage bond on the part of the wife is punished with the utmost rigour, the injured husband being at liberty to put to death both the erring wife and her paramour. The legislation which is applied to breaches of chastity in the case of unmarried persons is similar to that of the OT, and that of Eastern nations generally, being compounded for by marriage or fine.

LITERATURE.—Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, Shanghai, 1903.

W. GILBERT WALSHIE.

CHASTITY (Christian).—The Incarnation threw a new light on purity; the possibility of a higher and purer life was revealed thereby, and the moral law and practice of Christianity show in consequence a great advance on those of previous ages.

1. **Nomenclature.**—The word 'chaste' is found in the AV of 2 Co 11², Tit 2⁶, 1 P 3², translating ἀγνός; and 'chastity' in 2 Es 6³⁸ (which is not extant in Greek). In the first case virgins are spoken of, in the next two married women, in the last Esdras himself. ἀγνός, ἀγνεία, used in this sense in 1 Ti 4¹² 5^{2, 32}, are translated 'pure,' 'purity'; but ἀγνός, ἀγνός, ἀγνότης, ἀγνίστω, are used in a more general sense of 'holy,' 'blameless,' or 'sincere' (and derivatives), though often including the idea of 'chaste,' in 2 Co 6^{8 7¹¹ 11²} (some MSS), Ph 1¹⁷ (or 1²⁶) 4⁸, Ja 3¹⁷ 4⁸, 1 P 1¹², 1 Jn 3². The Peshitta translates in these passages by *dakhya* or *nakhpa* (or their cognates), but the later Syriac word is the rendering of *sewros* in 1 Ti 3¹¹, Tit 2², etc. The Gr. καθαρός with its cognates, frequently used in a physical or ceremonial sense, also conveys the idea of moral purity, and in Mt 5⁸ appears to have the special idea of 'chastity.' It will thus be seen that the Greek words used all merge into more general senses than that treated in this article, and it is not always easy to detect the exact shade of meaning that was in the mind of the writer.

In the NT the opposite to 'chastity' is expressed in general terms by ἀκαθάρια and ἀσελγεία, which are joined together in Gal 5¹⁹ (see Lightfoot's note there and at Col 3⁵) and in Eph 4¹⁹. But ἀκαθάρια is a very comprehensive word, including more than πορνεία, μοιχεία, etc. (see Eph 5⁸ ἀκαθ. πάρα); while ἀσελγεία denotes open and shameless immorality defying public decency. It had originally meant any outrageous conduct.

2. **Teaching of NT.**—We have now to ask what 'chastity' meant in the teaching of our Lord and His Apostles. To ascertain this we must examine not only the records of their teaching, but also its background. (a) The Jews' moral standard was much higher than that of the heathen. The great majority of Israelites took marriage almost as a

matter of course, as, indeed, do most Easterns now, except in the case of persons specially devoted to celibacy. Childlessness was deemed a reproach (Gn 30²³ etc.), and marriage was essentially holy. A Nazirite's vow did not include abstinence from the marriage bond, but had to do with the use of wine and the growth of the hair (Nu 6³⁻⁵). The Talmud says that 'any Jew who has not a wife is no man' (*Yebamoth*, 63a, quoted by Lightfoot, *Col.*, ed. 1900, p. 377); it teaches that marriage is an imperative duty. On the other hand, even as late as the 2nd cent., the Jews indulged in polygamy; they allowed a man to have four or five wives at a time, alleging the example of the patriarchs (Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 134). And the permission given by the less strict Jewish teachers to a man to divorce his wife 'for any cause', though it does not seem to have worked as much evil as amongst the heathen, was subversive of true ideas of married chastity. It must be added that the view of marriage here presented, though the general one, was not shared by the Essenes (on whom see below, § 3). But it is clear that, in the case of almost all Jews, chastity and marriage were considered to go hand in hand.

(b) Unlike the Jews, the heathen in Apostolic times seem scarcely to have had any idea of chastity at all. They punished adultery severely; yet, by allowing divorce at will both to men and to women, they opened the door to flagrant immorality, practised though it was under the name of marriage. Women used to change their husbands every year, or oftener (Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 224 ff., 'eight husbands in five autumns'). Fornication (especially for men) and abominable sins were a matter of indifference, at any rate unless made a habitual practice. Horace even advises the former, so that intrigues with married women may be minimized (*Sat.* i. 2. 31 ff.). The want of a high public opinion on these questions was one of the greatest difficulties that the Apostles met with in building up Gentile Churches, as we see from the constant warnings in St. Paul's Epistles. And it affected social customs such as eating in idol temples (1 Co 10^{10a}). Idol-worship was interwoven with immorality, and this explains why (if the ordinary interpretation be correct) the Apostles joined together 'pollutions of idols' and 'fornication' in Ac 15^{20,28}, 21²⁵.

Our Lord taught a much higher law of chastity than had yet been known. Yet it is clear that He makes it to be consistent with the use of marriage. He teaches, as the Pharisees did, the sacredness of wedlock, and graces with His presence the marriage feast at Cana (Jn 2^{1a}). He traces its institution to the beginnings of man's existence, and declares that man and wife are no more twain, but one flesh (Mt 19^{4a}). He forbids divorce, with, at most, the one exception of *porneia* (v. 9 and 5^{1a}). It is not to our purpose here to consider the difficulties connected with the exceptional case (see Plummer, *Com. on St. Matthew*, 1909, pp. 81, 259), but it is clear that the Christian law has made marriage a far more sacred and binding ordinance than it was even to the Jews. Our Lord did not in so many words forbid polygamy, but the prohibition follows necessarily from the teaching just quoted. The holiness of marriage is also insisted on by St. Paul, who compares it with the union between Christ and His Church (Eph 5^{22a}), and denounces as heretics those who forbid to marry (1 Ti 4³). The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhorts his readers that marriage be had in honour among all (He 13⁴ RV). In teaching the holiness of marriage and treating it as the normal condition, our Lord and the NT writers appear to show that for the great majority of men chastity consists in the temperate use of the marriage bond. This comes

out clearly if with most moderns we take *τὸ εἶναι* *σκεῖος* in 1 Th 4⁴ to refer to a man's wife.¹

Yet there is another form of Christian chastity. Our Lord gives a distinct blessing to those who for good motives give up marriage. This is probably the way, at least in most cases, by which the blessing of Lk 18²⁹ to those who have 'left house, . . . or wife, or children for the kingdom of God's sake' may be received (the best MSS of || Mt 19²⁹ Mk 10²⁹ omit 'wife'); for our Lord could not have taught the duty of deserting a wife, though later on it was held by many that it was lawful to do so in order to enter the monastic state. This must also certainly be the real meaning of Mt 19¹² ('which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake'), a text quoted by Justin Martyr apparently in this sense (*Apol.* i. 15; see below).

It is strange that Conybeare (*Monuments of Early Christianity*, 1896, p. 24) should take our Lord's saying literally, as Origen did. To most of the Christians of the first age self-mutilation was as abhorrent as it would be to us; thus Clement of Alexandria, who quotes Dt 23^{1a}, calls it an 'impious custom' (*Exhort. to the Heathen*, § 2). From the story in Justin Martyr's first Apology (§ 29) of the young man who desired leave of the Roman governor to carry out the precept literally, so as to refute charges of immorality made by the heathen against the Christians, but was refused permission, it appears that the better sort of Romans had an equally great abhorrence of the custom. Justin relates the story without expressing approval or disapproval; but the impression derived from the passage is that the contemporary Christians approved at least the zeal of the young man, and were unwilling to censure it. That the custom sometimes prevailed among the Christians, at any rate among the heretics, appears from the denunciations of it in the 4th and 5th centuries (Nicaea, can. 1; Second Syn. of Aries, in 5th cent., can. 7; *Apostolic Canons*, 221; Athanasius, *Apol. de fuga eva.*, xxvi. *Hist. Arian. ad mon.* xxvii.; Socrates, *HE* ii. 26). Tertullian (*de Monog.* iii.) appears to explain the saying of our Lord in Mt 19¹² as applying to the continent as well as to those made eunuchs by men or born so ('*Ipso Domino spadonibus aperiente regnum coelorum*'); 'our Lord was a virgin (*spado*), the Apostle [Paul] himself continent (*et ipse castratus*)'. This last expression shows that Tertullian does not mean 'quiescentes castraverunt propter regna coelorum' literally; he is referring indirectly to the saying of our Lord and directly to Rev 3⁴ (*de Res. Carn.* 27).

The strongest commendation of unmarried chastity in NT is that given by St. Paul, who, while advising those who have not the gift of continency (*οὐκ ἔχοντες δυνάμειν*) to marry, prefers the unmarried state 'for the present (*ἐνεσθόσαν*) distress' (1 Co 7¹⁻⁹, 26^a). He was fully persuaded of the nearness of the Parousia (1 Th 4¹⁷ etc.), and this would make it in his eyes unnecessary to continue the human race. The interpretation of Rev. 14⁴ is more doubtful. The passage may be taken literally, as praising virginity; or, as Swete remarks (*Com.* [1907] *in loc.*), in accordance with the symbolical character of the book it may be interpreted metaphorically, of any kind of chastity. We know that in the Apostolic Age some did abstain from marriage for the sake of religion, such as St. Paul himself and Philip's daughters (Ac 21⁹). Temporary abstinence by consent is commended by St. Paul in 1 Co 7⁵. But it is to be noticed, as in contrast with later ages, that the NT writers nowhere speak of marriage as an inferior state, incompatible with the highest chastity.

Our Lord insists on purity in thought as well as in deed: 'beati mundo corde' (Mt 5⁸). And just as the other commandments are to be kept in the spirit as well as in the letter (5^{21,22} etc.), so the prohibition of adultery includes that of evil thoughts. 'Every one that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart' (5²⁸). There is, indeed, more in this verse than the prohibition of evil thoughts. Lyttelton, who has a good chapter on the passage (*Serm. on the Mount*, 1905, p. 157 ff.), explains it of inflaming or exciting desire by looking. It must be noticed that our Lord's warning can hardly

¹ G. Milligan, who adheres to the other view, that *σκεῖος* means 'body', successfully shows from the papyri that *κραῖδα* may mean 'possession' (*Com.* [1908] *in loc.*); but the context seems to point to the usual interpretation.

include the ordinary and natural case of a man 'looking at' a woman with a desire to marry her. It rather speaks of *unlawful* desire, as for a married woman. In his later days, Tertullian maintained that the text includes also the looking at an unmarried woman by one desiring to marry her, and that even first marriages (much more second marriages) are *akin* to adultery (*de Exh. Cast.* ix.).

3. The post-Apostolic Age.—A change of thought appears soon after the death of the Apostles. Marriage was still held to be holy, but gradually it came to be believed that the unmarried state was the only true, or at any rate the better, form of chastity (see art. CELIBACY).

Christian thought seems to have been largely influenced in this matter by the *Essenes*, of whom we read in Philo and Josephus. This sect of the Jews, which is not mentioned by name in the NT, consisted of self-denying men whose motives our Lord seems by His silence to have commended, though their teaching differed diametrically from His own. They were fatalists (*Jos. Ant.* XIII. v. 9), and did not join in the sacrifices of the other Jews (*ib.* XVIII. i. 5); they were communistic in their property, and were scattered over many cities (*ib.*, and *BJ* II. viii. 3); they neglected wedlock without absolutely forbidding it, and adopted other men's children (*BJ*, *loc. cit.*). One sect of them, while otherwise agreeing with the rest, yet did not avoid marriage; but the great majority of them, in strong opposition to the Pharisees, taught that the only true chastity was to be found in the unmarried state. They would not admit converts to their society except after a probation of three years, to see if they could observe continence (*BJ* II. viii. 7).

This teaching greatly influenced both orthodox and heretical Christianity. Even Clement of Rome uses *ἀγρός* as equivalent to 'celibate,' and Ignatius *ἀγρελα* as meaning 'celibacy' (*Clem. Rom. Ep. i. ad Cor.* 38: 'He who is *ἀγρός* in the flesh, let him be so and not boast, knowing that it is Another who has bestowed his continence [*ἐγκράτειαν*] upon him'; *Ign. Polyc.* 5: 'If any one can abide *ἐν ἀγρελα* for the honour of the Lord's flesh, let him abide without boasting . . . if it be known beyond the bishop, he is polluted'). And, while these two writers do not press the celibate state as being superior, yet the appropriation of *ἀγρός* and *ἀγρελα* to it is very significant. In view of the heathen accusations of promiscuous immorality against the Christians, the Apologists deal much with Christian chastity. Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 15), after quoting our Lord's teaching on purity (*σωφροσύνη*) as given above (§ 2), says that many Christians, men and women, who had been disciples from childhood, remained virgins at the age of 60 or 70 years, while a countless number had been reformed from their licentiousness (*ἀκολασία*). In i. 29 he says that Christians either married or lived continently.

The 2nd cent. saw the rise of various Christian *Encratite* sects, who taught that chastity could be had only by refraining from marriage. Of these Encratites (*ἐγκρατεῖς*, -τηγά, -τίται), Tatian, who had been Justin's pupil, became a leader (*Irenæus, Har.* i. 28). The Marcionites were also Encratite, and condemned marriage altogether (*Iren. loc. cit.*; *Tert. adv. Marc.* i. 29: see, further, art. 'Encratites' in *DCB* ii. 118). From this time forward the orthodox, though not embracing Encratite teaching, and always holding the sacredness of marriage, were imbued, to an increasing and extravagant extent, with the idea that the truest chastity was compatible only with the unmarried state, though there were some exceptions (see below, § 5).

4. Relation of repeated marriage and chastity.—There is no shadow of taint on the re-marriage of a widow in St. Paul's teaching, provided that she marry 'in the Lord,' i.e. take a Christian as her second husband (1 Co 7⁸⁰), though the Apostle thinks that a widow who does not marry again will be happier. *Hermas* (*Mand.* iv. 4) uses similar language with regard to a widower. He says: 'If he marry, he does not sin. Keep therefore purity (*τὴν ἀγρελα*) and holiness (*τὴν σεμνότητα*).' Thus he uses *ἀγρελα* of married as well as unmarried chastity. But from a very early date 'digamy' was intensely disliked by all the stricter Christians. Tertullian was its great opponent. In his earlier work, *ad Uxorem* (i. 7), he had urged that it was undesirable; in his Montanistic writings he held that it was a violation of strict chastity, and was no other than a species of fornication ('non aliud . . . quam species stupri,' *de Exh. Cast.* ix.; see also *de Monog. passim*). Peter was the only married Apostle, and he was a monogamist (*de Monog.* viii.). Tertullian, indeed, allows marriage, but only once; he says that 'we do not reject marriage, we only refrain from it,' and that marriage is honourable (*adv. Marc.* i. 29; see also *de Monog.* i.). But he regards adultery and fornication as unpardonable sins (*de Pudic.*, *passim*). The supposed incompatibility of re-marriage and chastity is found in the Church Orders of the 4th and 5th centuries; even the less austere of these manuals show a great dislike of digamy, while they hold third or fourth marriages to be abominable. The *Ethiopic Didascalia* (early 5th cent. [?]) grudgingly allows a second marriage, but says: 'A first marriage is pure before the Lord, but they who marry a second time are transgressors of the Law, . . . and they who marry a third time are not to be numbered with the flock of Christ. But as to those who marry a fourth time, their lasciviousness is yet more evident, and they shall find reproach and dishonour,' § xii.). The *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii. 2, c. A.D. 375) say much the same thing. St. Basil says that trigamy was no longer described as marriage at all, and that digamists were subject to penance (*Ep. canon. prim.* clxxxviii. 4). The common interpretation in the 4th cent. of the injunction in the Pastoral Epistles that a 'bishop' and 'deacon' were to be 'husbands of one wife' was that the clergy must not have married a second time, after the death of their first wives, as we see from the Church Orders (see, further, Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, 1910, p. 90 ff.).

5. Reaction against over-strictness.—In the 4th cent. there were among the orthodox two tendencies with regard to chastity. That of the majority was in favour of the strict view; yet there was a certain reaction, and the well-balanced argument of the celebrated Paphnutius at the Council of Niceæ (Socrates, *HE* i. 11; Sozomen, *HE* i. 23), defending the intercourse of a man with his lawful wife as *chastity*, and deprecating the proposed canon enforcing separation from their wives of the clergy who had married before ordination, had very great influence. The Council refused to pass the law. The *Canons of Hippolytus* (xxvii. 242) and the *Egyptian Church Order* ('Sahidic Eccles. Canons,' lxii.) protest against the idea that marriage hinders from prayer. Christians who are married, whether to a believing or to a heathen partner, are not to refrain from prayer, for 'marriage does not defile.' The Council held at Gangra, the chief city of Paphlagonia, towards the end of the 4th cent., has several canons directed against the Eustathians, who condemned marriage. It anathematizes those who despise wedlock as unholy (can. 1), or who refuse to attend the public ministrations of a married priest (can. 4), or who live 'unmarried or in continence, avoiding marriage

from contempt, and not because of the beauty and holiness of virginity' (can. 9), or who, themselves unmarried for the Lord's sake, boast themselves over those who are married (can. 10), or women who leave their husbands from an abhorrence of the married state (can. 14), or men who forsake their children for asceticism, and conversely children who forsake their parents (can. 15 f.). The Church Orders are more or less divided in the matter of chastity and marriage in the case of the clergy; the *Apostolic Church Order* and the *Testament of Our Lord*, for example, take the stricter line, while the *Older Didascalia*, the *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Canons*, and the *Ethiopic Didascalia* more or less strongly favour married bishops. It may be noticed that the heretical *Clementine Homilies*, now usually ascribed to the 4th cent., though formerly thought to be earlier, do the same thing.

6. 'Castitas' in later Latin.—It is significant that this word acquired the exclusive sense of 'celibacy.' It was not so in St. Ambrose's day. He says (*de Viduis*, iv. 23) that there is a threefold virtue of *castitas*—of marriage, of widowhood, and of virginity. But before the Middle Ages the word was ordinarily narrowed in its meaning. And by the time of the Council of Trent it is explicitly opposed to 'marriage.' The Council speaks of people contracting matrimony who feel that they have not the gift of 'castitas,' having just before mentioned this as one of the vows of the 'regulares' (Sess. xxiv. can. 9). The three monastic vows are 'obedientia, paupertas, castitas' (Sess. xxv. cap. 1).

7. In conclusion, it may be remarked that it is quite unprofitable to discuss whether married or unmarried chastity is in the abstract the greater virtue, and whether celibacy is a higher life than matrimony. There is no absolute standard in the matter. One who has given up marriage for the kingdom of heaven's sake may be leading a higher life than one who marries; or, especially if he be lifted up with pride, he may be leading, as Ignatius suggests, a lower life. All that we have to determine is whether for a given individual the one state or the other tends to godliness.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given in the course of the article.
A. J. MACLEAN.

CHASTITY (Greek).—That the Greeks held lax ideas about chastity may be inferred from the fact that sins against it were imputed even to their gods. It is true that the conscience of a more enlightened age was shocked at the grosser features in their mythology, but there is little or no evidence to show that, unless in the ascetic teachings of Orphism, moral purity was ever regarded as an essential element either of morality or of religion. 'It is hard,' says W. H. S. Jones (*Greek Morality in relation to Institutions*, 1906, p. 118), 'to find passages in pre-Christian Greek literature where loose intercourse is looked upon as in itself a moral offence.' The marriage bond was, indeed, to some extent protected by religion, which forbade adultery, so that the family stock might be kept pure, and honours duly paid to the spirits of dead ancestors. But beyond this point religion made no effort to safeguard the purity of married life. And lastly, as an influence adverse to chastity, may be noted the conviction which prevailed among the Greeks in historic times, though there were many exceptions to it, of the essential inferiority of women (Jones, *op. cit.* ch. iii.)—a conviction which G. L. Dickinson (*The Greek View of Life*, 1907, p. 164) describes as 'a cardinal point in the Greek view of life.' It left no room for the romance, the idealism, the chivalrous devotion which ennoble and protect the marriage bond.

1. Loose sexual relations.—It is difficult to say whether the Homeric age was better or worse as regards sexual morality than those which followed. That great laxity prevailed outside the family circle is clear from the pages of Homer. Indeed, concubinage was also frequent, at least among the chiefs (Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, London, 1907, ii. 201). On the other hand, it is generally agreed that private morals suffered a great and progressive decline in the age following the Persian war. It may have begun in the century before the war. Philemon (comic poet, c. 330 B.C.) asserts that Solon made regular provision for vice owing to the difficulty of restraining youth. But this has been seriously doubted (cf. Campbell, *Relig. in Gr. Liter.*, 1898, p. 236). In any case there is good reason to accept the statement of Isocrates (c. 380 B.C.), that a corruption of manners unknown in the time of Solon and Cleisthenes prevailed at Athens in his own day (*Areopag.* 48). It is to be ascribed largely to the closer contact with Eastern nations brought about by the Persian war, and to a new speculative tendency to set *phōros* over-against *vōmos*. Not long after the war the worship of the Phœnician Astarte, which directly sanctioned sexual licence, found a home in the Piræus. In the same century some philosophers advocated a community of wives—a theory parodied by Aristophanes in the *Ecclesiazusæ*.

Manners seem to have grown still more corrupt after the Peloponnesian war. In the later period the commerce of married men with *hetærae*, formerly disapproved, was both common and lightly regarded, as is clear from more than one passage in the *in Neæram* of Demosthenes (or another writer of the same age) (cf. esp. 1352, 1386). The cities abounded in facilities for vice (Xen. *Memor.* II. ii. 4). Socrates and Plato, in spite of their high ideals, exhibit a facile tolerance of the vices of their age. The former does not scruple to visit, along with some of his friends, the celebrated courtesan Theodote, and to discourse with her about her profession (Xen. *Memor.* III. xi.); the latter permits, though reluctantly and with certain qualifications, promiscuous intercourse to men and women of ripe age (*Rep.* 461 B and C). How far the Stoics encouraged impurity is a matter of some doubt. The reader will find it discussed and the original authorities cited by Zeller (*The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, Eng. tr., London, 1892, p. 308 ff.). Even if he rejects the worst imputations against their teaching, he will probably be compelled to admit that the early Stoics, at least, did not regard lax sexual indulgence as in itself immoral. As for the younger Stoics, they condemned 'most explicitly any and every form of unchastity' (*ib.* p. 309).

2. Παιδεραστία.—We have seen that the Greek view of woman did not lend itself to romance. But this did not mean, as G. L. Dickinson has pointed out, that romance was absent from the Greek view of life. Rather it found vent in passionate friendship between men, which in Greece was so common as to amount to an institution. Its ideal was the education of a younger by an older man, the cultivation of virtue and heroism, its ardour, when at the best, 'that white heat of the spirit before which and by which the flesh shrivels into silence' (J. Harrison, *Proleg. to Study of Gr. Rel.*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 638). But there is evidence that from the earliest times the connexion was often one of unnatural vice. In Homer *παιδεραστία* is hinted at in the legend of Ganymedes (cf. G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, 1907, p. 116), and is perhaps referred to by Mimnermus (c. 630 B.C.). 'There can be no doubt,' says W. H. S. Jones (*op. cit.* p. 120), 'that the vice was continuously present, and that, as far as our evidence goes, it

aroused little, if any, moral disapprobation.' The Spartans and Thebans even encouraged it on the ground that it led to emulation in deeds of valour. In the Xenophonic *Symposium*, Socrates ridicules this idea, and enlarges on the evils of the practice; but the very discussion shows the low standard of purity among the Greeks. On the other hand, he would use such friendships, purged of all base elements, as aids in the acquisition of virtue. Plato's view is very similar. Such passionate friendships, he taught, give wings to the soul in its pursuit of ideal beauty. Like Socrates, he condemns the vice, especially in the *Laws*, but without a due sense of its enormity (*Phædrus*, 256 B, *Rep.* 403 B, *Laws*, 636 C). The subject is less prominent in Aristotle, but he nowhere expressly condemns the vice. The same is true of the early Stoics and the Minor Socrates. Epicurus objects to all sensual indulgence, not, however, because it is evil in itself, but because it hinders *δραψία* (*Diog. Laert.* x. 118, 131, 142).

3. We have been concerned with some of the darker features of Greek life. But we must beware of taking a one-sided view. We cannot doubt that unnatural vice was at the least comparatively rare. And, as regards personal purity generally, there were probably many, outside as well as within the ranks of the Orphic ascetics, who lived far above the demands of a low national standard. Self-control, moreover, was a typical Greek ideal. Hence the Greek acknowledged as evil, if not impure, at least immoderate indulgence. His view is reflected in the words of the aged Sophocles, who, on being asked if he was still susceptible of love, replied: 'Most gladly have I escaped the thing of which you speak; I feel as if I had escaped from a mad and furious master' (*Plato, Rep.* 329 B).

Lastly, home life, with its protective influence, was dear to the Greeks, never more than when, in the 4th cent., city-life was falling into decay. Mutual affection might not be the usual cause of marriage, but it must have been a very frequent result. *ἀνδρὶ δὲ καὶ γυναικὶ*, says Aristotle, *φίλια δοκεῖ κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχειν* (*Eth.* 1162a).

LITERATURE.—Besides the books mentioned above, the reader may consult Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1891 ff., s.v. 'Meretrices'; Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antig.*, London, 1890, s.v. 'Hetæra'; Becker, *Charities*, ed. Göll, 3 vols., Berlin, 1877-8, s.v. 'Hetären' i. 47, ii. 85, iii. 170; s.v. 'Frauen', iii. 308 ff. s.v. *παῖδαρρία*, ii. 252-285 (this last excursus is wanting in the Eng. tr., which is otherwise not nearly so full as the German); Pauly, *Real-encyclopædie*, iii. 1282 and v. 1060 ff., Stuttgart, 1844, 1848; Schoemann-Lipsius, *Griech. Alterthümer*, Berlin, 1902, pp. 224, 508, 546 ff.; Hermann-Bliumner, *Lehrbuch der griech. Privatalt.*, Freiburg and Tübingen, 1882, ii. iii. 29; L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1882, ii. 133 ff.

I. F. BURNS.

CHASTITY (Muslim).—In several verses of the Qur'ān, chastity is recommended to followers of Islām as one of the greatest virtues of a Muslim. Happy will be the pure soul. 'Gardens of Eden beneath which rivers flow . . . that is the reward of him who keeps pure' (xx. 78). A Muslim must avoid all that might excite his evil desires; he must therefore cast down his looks (xxiv. 30). 'The eyes, too, fornicate' is a saying attributed to the Prophet in Muslim tradition (cf. Mt 5²³). Women must behave decorously in presence of men (see Qur. xxiv. 31: 'that they display not their [natural] ornaments except what [usually or necessarily] appeareth thereof, and let them throw their veils over their bosoms and not show their ornaments unless to their husbands or their fathers' . . . and other near relatives).

The Prophet was often annoyed by the indiscretion of his visitors, who also behaved unbecomingly to his wives. 'When ye ask them [viz. the Prophet's wives] for an article, ask them from behind a

curtain; that is purer for your hearts and for theirs. It is not right for you to annoy the Prophet of God.' The meaning of this verse of the Qur'ān (xxxiii. 53) is not that Muslim women must veil their faces, as is sometimes supposed (cf. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, 1861-5, iii. 77); for the Prophet never prescribed that a woman should conceal her face. Even in the later Muslim law-books, in the chapter on prayer, the 'awra of a woman (that is, her nakedness which may not be uncovered) is defined only as her body, her face and hands being expressly excepted (the 'awra of a slave-girl and of a man is explained as that part of the body which is between the navel and the knees). But in course of time the veiling of the face became a general custom for women in most Muslim countries,¹ and the majority of Muslim lawyers judge that it is positively forbidden for a man to look at the face or the hands of a woman who is not his wife or one of his nearest relatives (except when it may be absolutely necessary, or when he wishes to marry her). Women must therefore, according to their opinion, conceal these parts of their body. Other lawyers, however, reject this view, and assert that the face and the hands of a woman are those parts of 'her [natural] ornaments' which 'necessarily appear,' as said in the verse of the Qur'ān cited above (xxxiii. 53). There has never been complete agreement on this subject amongst Muslim lawyers, and in many countries Muslim women do not veil their faces.

In the Qur'ān the purity of chaste persons is often called *zakāt*, a word which is evidently derived from Aram. *zekōth* ('righteousness'). Similarly *zaki* in the Qur'ān means 'pure,' in the well-known sense in which this word is often used in Aramaic Christian literature (see Qur. xviii. 73: 'a pure soul without [evil] desire'; and ix. 19: 'Mary will have a pure son' [cf. also ii. 232, ix. 104, xxiv. 28, 30]). A chaste person is also called *muḥṣan* in the Qur'ān. This word means properly 'well-guarded' (originally a married woman or a married person in general).

According to Qur. xxiv. 4, those who cast imputations on chaste women (*muḥṣanāt*) are to be scourged with eighty stripes, and in the law-books this punishment is declared applicable also to him who casts imputations on chaste men.

If an unmarried man, who cannot pay the dowry for a free woman, fears that he will not remain chaste, he must, with the permission of her master, marry a slave-girl and give her a dowry; but it is better for him to be patient (see Qur. iv. 29-30, xxiv. 33^a; cf. 33^b: 'compel not your slave-girls to prostitution, if they desire to keep continent'). A Muslim may not marry his own female slaves, but the law permits him to take them as concubines, if they are Muslims. In this case the children are freeborn, and they are even considered as the legitimate offspring of the master. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons who do not stand to one another in the relation of husband and wife, or master and slave, is to be severely punished, with scourging or stoning (see ADULTERY [Muslim]).

LITERATURE.—C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Twee populaire dwalingen verbeterd' (*Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxv. [1886] 866-877); E. Sachau, *Muham. Recht nach schafitischer Lehre*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 5, 24-26, 810, 820-823; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1860, ch. i. ('Dress'); L. W. C. van den Berg, *Fath al-Qurib, La révélation de l'omniprudent*, Leyden, 1894, pp. 121, 447-451, 573-579, also *Minhāj at-tālibīn, Le guide des zélés croyants*, Batavia, 1882-4, i. 97, ii. 813-815, iii. 211-220.

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¹ The veil was used already in early times (see Gn 24⁹ 28³⁴ Is 62³).

CHASTITY (Roman).—In treating of chastity among the Romans, we must distinguish between the broader use of the word in its general ethical bearings, and its narrower use in specific religious connexions. There may have been a period when these two uses had not been distinguished, but such a period, if it ever existed, lies before the beginning of our literary tradition.

1. **General ethical use.**—In the earliest period the concept of chastity seems to have been the avoidance of improper sexual relations, and implicitly, therefore, the absolute avoidance of all sexual relations if none of them was proper, *e.g.* in the case of a virgin. It is only in the later and artificial period that such a dispute could arise as is mentioned in Seneca's *Controversiae* (i. 2, 13), 'whether chastity is to be referred only to virginity or to abstinence from all foul and obscene things.' But the most striking characteristic of the general ethical concept of chastity, throughout the whole of Roman history until the influence of Oriental religions made itself felt, is the application of the idea almost exclusively to women. Pliny (*HN* xxiv. 59) expresses a general idea when he speaks of 'matrons, the guardians of chastity'; and he is only echoing the words of Cicero, who says (*de Leg.* ii. 29), in speaking of Vesta: 'and virgins are her priestesses, so that womankind might feel that woman's nature supports all forms of chastity.' With customary consistency the relations existing on earth are transferred to Olympus, and the phrase 'chaste' is applied in the Roman poets to a series of goddesses and heroines—Amphitrite, Antiope, Ceres, Cybele, Diana, Fides, Juno, Minerva, Proserpina, Pudicitia, Sibylla, Venus, Vesta,—and to only three heroes—Aeneas, Bellerophon, and (indirectly) Hippolytus (cf. Roscher's *Lexikon*, Supplement: 'Epitheta Deorum apud poetas Latinos').

The cults of Egypt and of the Orient—Isis and Mithra—and the Christian religion introduced a broader and more imperative ideal; but even here the majority of passages refer exclusively to women. Even Ambrose's famous threefold chastity (*de Viduis*, iv. 23)—that of virginity, marriage, and widowhood—has practical application to women only.

During the classical period the only exceptions to these statements are in connexion with young boys (*e.g.* Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 132; with the classic example of Hippolytus [*e.g.* Seneca, *Phædra*, 923]); and, curiously enough, with eunuchs (*e.g.* Attis [Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 224]). The exceptions, therefore, merely enforce the rule, for they include those who had not yet arrived at man's estate, or one who was endowed with a female modesty, or those who had ceased to be men. All other cases which seem to be exceptions to the general rule are to be explained merely as special religious uses (see below), or else as due to the use of the word in the colourless general sense of 'pure,' generally applied to pure hands in connexion with financial matters. Thus Cicero (*Verr.* ii. i. 100) ironically calls Verres 'homo castissimus,' and again in another place (*Flacc.* 68) speaks of a man as 'castissimum' and 'integerimum.' Thus arose the phrase 'chaste poverty' (*e.g.* Sil. Ital. i. 609), with its implied contrast of 'wanton wealth'; and Vitruvius tells us (i. 1, 7) that an architect should be trustworthy and without avarice, 'for no work can be accomplished truly *sine fide et castitate*.'

2. **Special religious connexion.**—It is in the realm of religion, however, that chastity comes into prominence in ancient Roman life. It is all the more interesting, therefore, that *castitas*, unlike *pudicitia*, was never deified. Possibly this may be explained by the fact that it was thought

of as a pre-condition of all participation in worship. One of the old sacral laws, preserved to us in Cicero's *de Legibus* (ii. 19), reads as follows: 'ad divos adeunto caste,' *i.e.* 'approach the gods chastely'; and we scarcely need Nonius's definition *castus=religiosus*. Cicero himself (*de Leg.* ii. 24) expounds the matter as follows:

'The law bids us approach the gods in chastity: that is to say, with a chaste mind, for on the mind depend all things. This does not, of course, preclude the chastity of the body; but we must understand the whole matter thus, that, since the mind is much more important than the body, and yet we take care that the body should be pure, so much the more must we keep our minds pure. For the defilement of the body can be removed by the sprinkling with water or by the passage of time, but the stain of the mind never ceases, and cannot be washed out by any rivers of water.'

Similarly Gellius (iv. 9. 9) tells us that temples and shrines ought not to be approached rashly, but with chastity and formality; and in another passage (ii. 28. 2) he says of Roman religion in general that 'the ancient Romans in establishing religions and worshipping the immortal gods were most chaste and most circumspect.' The exact bearings of this requirement, that the worshipper should be chaste, are not known to us, except for certain Oriental and Egyptian cults (see next col.), unless we are willing to accept at their full value the words of the poet Tibullus (II. i. 11 ff.) in describing the Ambarvalia:

'Let him be far from the altar, him to whom last night Venus brought her joys. For the gods are pleased with chaste things. Come with clean garments, and touch with clean hands the running water.'

It is true that all the elegiac poets are under strong Greek influence, but Tibullus seems almost purely Roman in matters of religion.

As we might expect, however, it is in the priesthood of Vesta that the ideas of chastity are most drastically emphasized; in fact, to the moralists of a later age the chief *raison d'être* of the Vestal Virgins was that they stood as visible ensamples of the chastity of woman. In a certain sense these moralists were correct, for the element of chastity was a characteristic feature of the cult of Vesta from the earliest times. In its primitive phases, however, this idea was instinctive, and belongs to the realm of tabu, out of which it eventually rose into the region of ethics. During the whole history of Roman religion, popular interest in the Vestals was centred in their occasional lapses from the vow of chastity; and, with that morbid injustice which characterizes humanity in all periods, we hear almost nothing of the hundreds of lives lived in faithful devotion to the Virgin Goddess, but only of those who failed, and of the penalties attaching to their misdeeds. The theory upon which these unfaithful virgins were supposed to be discovered was that Vesta, angered, showed signs of her displeasure either by sending some plague among the women of the community, or by abandoning her temple, this latter act being equivalent to the extinction of her fire. Thereupon the investigation began, and, when the guilty priestess was discovered, summary punishment followed. She was first beaten with rods, and then, as though she were dead, carried on a bier, accompanied by her weeping friends and relatives, to the Porta Collina, to a place called the 'Campus Sceleratus,' where she was led into a subterranean vault and buried alive. Our authors are full of these stories (Dionys. ii. 67, viii. 89, ix. 40; Liv. viii. 15, xxii. 57; Plin. *Ep.* iv. 11; Serv. *Æn.* xi. 206; for a list of the known cases of unchastity, cf. R. Brohm, *De iure virginum Vestalium*, Thorn, 1835), varied occasionally by the more cheerful recital of the few cases where the priestess was accused falsely, and Vesta herself rescued her by the performance of a miracle.

Such, for example, is the story of the virgin Emilia, who was saved from death by the miraculous re-kindling of the sacred

fire on the hem of her linen garment (Val. Max. i. 1. 7); of the virgin Claudia Quinta, who proved her chastity by drawing the ship of the Magna Mater up the Tiber, when all human power had failed to move it (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 291-348; Suet. *Tib.* 2; Plin. *HN* vii. 85, 120; Aurel. Victor, *Vir.* iii. 46; Lactant. ii. 7, 12; and cf., in general, Kappin Roscher, s.v. 'Kybele', vol. ii. p. 1667); or of the virgin Fucula, who established her innocence by drawing water from the Tiber in a sieve and carrying it to the temple of Vesta (Val. Max. viii. 1. 5).

In the case of Vesta, the tabu of chastity soon turned into an ethical concept, but in that of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium the primitive idea seems to have been retained into historical times. Once a year a girl was chosen who offered a cake to the temple snake. If the cake was accepted, it proved the virginity of the girl, and augured well for the year; whereas, if the snake refused the cake, the reverse was thought to be true (Prop. iv. viii. 3; Elian, *An. Nat.* xi. 16).

With the coming into Rome of Egyptian and Oriental worship, chastity, either as a temporary condition or as a permanent state, became an essential pre-requisite of religion. There is a touch of the Orient in the worship of Bacchus (Dionysos) as early as the 2nd cent. B.C., when the worshippers were required to observe chastity for ten days in advance of the three great festivals of the year (Liv. xxxix. ix. 4). The same sort of abstinence was probably required in the cult of the Magna Mater, and certainly in that of Isis (cf. Apul. *Met.* xi. 19; and the oft-repeated complaints of the lover in elegiac poetry, when a Cynthia or a Delia carried religious devotion to inconvenient lengths). But it was in the religion of Mithra that the requirement of chastity became more than a mere ceremonial prescription, and entered into the spiritual ideal of life. The details are meagre, as in all things that concern Mithra, but of the fact there can be no doubt, and no really more cogent proof can be desired than the almost jealous cry of Tertullian (*de Prescrip. Hæc.* 40), speaking of the religion of Mithra: 'habet et virgines, habet et continentes.'

LITERATURE.—There is no authoritative general treatment, but a quantity of raw material may be found in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latine* under the words 'Caste', 'Castimonia', 'Castitas', 'Custus'; and certain special phases of the subject are treated by R. Brohm, *De iure virginum Vestalium*, Thorn, 1835; by C. Paschal, *Hermes*, xxx. 548 ff.; *Studi di antichità e mitologia* (Milan, 1896), p. 209 ff.; and by Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Castus', iii. 1780.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

CHASTITY (Semit.-Egyptian).—1. That with the Egyptians this virtue was more considered than in other countries of the ancient East is testified by Herodotus, who states (ii. 64) that they were the first who made it a point of religion not to lie with women in temples, or to enter temples after being with women, without first bathing. The same writer, speaking of the rape of Helen (ii. 112 ff.), refers to the opinion of the Egyptians that it was 'an unholy deed' on the part of Alexander to deceive the wife of his own host, and to carry off not only the woman, but a large quantity of stolen property. Both the woman and the property were therefore detained until Menelaus should come to Egypt to seek them. Another side of their character, however, is revealed in the story of the robbery of Rhampsinitos' treasury. In order to catch the thief who had escaped, and who had afterwards carried off, by stratagem, his brother's headless body, the Egyptian ruler is stated to have caused his own daughter to sit in a brothel, and, before having intercourse with a man, to compel him to tell her the most cunning and the most unholy thing which he had ever done (Maspero, *Contes pop. de l'Égypte anc.*, Paris, 1906, pp. 180-185). Whatever may be the opinion concerning the truth of this story, it is clear that the people of Egypt could not have had a very high reputation for chastity, especially

when it is taken into consideration that the woman in this case was a king's daughter. The free relations between the sexes must, from time to time, have led to many undesirable and even scandalous events, as is brought home to us by the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Gn 39^{7a}), with its remarkable parallel in the Egyptian story of the Two Brothers (Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, London, 1895, 2nd ser., pp. 36-86).¹

According to Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 154), the social principles of the Egyptians were almost as low as those of the nations of classical antiquity. No reasonable being, he says, would take offence at the naive characters and emblematic objects found on their monuments (though more than one opinion is possible even as to this), but there are certain obscene pictures drawn and annotated by a caricaturist of the XXth dynasty (Turin Pap. 145) which, it is shocking to think, were found in a tomb. Moreover, an ancient sacred book (Papyrus of Unas, 629) describes the life of the deceased Pharaoh in bliss, and tells him that in heaven he will 'at his pleasure take the wives away from their husbands.' There were plenty of women, moreover, who did not belong to the 'good women' (Turin, 47, 5)—women whose husbands had left them, and who travelled about the country. 'Beware of a woman from strange parts, whose city is not known,' says one of the sages of Egypt (Papyrus of Bulaq, i. 16. 13 ff.). 'When she comes, do not look at her, nor know her. . . . The woman whose husband is far off writes to thee every day. If no witness is near, she stands up and spreads out her net—O I fearful crime to listen to her!' Therefore he who is wise avoids her, and takes to himself a wife in his youth—first, because a man's own house is 'the best thing'; second, 'because she will present thee with a son like thyself.' The moral condition of the labouring classes ('the company of workmen') was, as might well be expected, very low, and it was a common crime to 'assault strange women.' But, amid all this, there must have been at all times some exceedingly worthy people in Egypt—people as chaste as the best of other lands; for to this the life led by the better classes would naturally tend.

2. Though the history of Judah, son of Jacob, is now regarded as being largely or wholly eponymous, the account of his relations with Tamar (Gn 38^{14a}) probably reflects sufficiently well the manners and customs of that early period, not only among the Hebrews, but also among their Palestinian fellow-citizens. By assuming the character of a *qēdēshāh* ('temple-prostitute'), and sitting in the gate of Enaim, Tamar got Judah to approach her. This story makes it clear that chastity in Palestine, at least among the men, was the exception rather than the rule.² Looseness in this respect was greatly fostered by the worship of Astarte, whose lascivious rites were performed even within the precincts of her temple. In connexion with the worship of this goddess among the Canaanites (which was a parallel to the worship of Ištar among the Babylonians), ritual prostitutes of both sexes (*qēdēshim* and *qēdēshōth*) existed. Male prostitutes (the 'dogs' of Dt 23¹⁸) were to be found in Israel, but they seem to have been looked upon with extreme disfavour. From Mic 1⁷ it would seem that, though the hire of a harlot could not be accepted by the sanctuary, the money gained by ritual prostitutes was intended for the service of Jahweh (*HDB* v. 662^b). It may be supposed, however, that this religiously exercised

¹ D'Orbigny Papyrus. The translation is by Griffith (cf. also Maspero, *op. cit.* pp. 3-20).

² The story of Joseph, in the next chapter, is in marked contrast to this narrative.

form of unchastity existed, and was looked upon with favour, by a small section of the population only. Among the Hebrews, bestiality (whether male with male, or man or woman with animals) was regarded not only as an abomination, but also as a mortal offence (Ex 22⁹, Lv 18²³ 20^{15f}), and the man or the woman, as well as the beast, was killed, that all memory of the disgrace might be obliterated. It was a crime of the Canaanites, and was probably exceedingly rare or non-existent among the Israelites (see, further, BESTIALITY, vol. ii. p. 535).

The very fact, however, that there were prostitutes among the Jews shows that the people were not so virtuous as they might have been. In later days harlots seem to have been so numerous that they had a market-place all to themselves (*Pesachim*, fol. 113, col. 2). Certain shoemaker Rabbis used to sit there and make shoes for them; but it is said of these worthy men that they would not even raise their eyes to look at them. It is recorded, however, that the education of women, and especially their instruction in the Law, was interdicted by the Rabbis, the result being that the Jewish women of their time were exceedingly ignorant. The absence of restraint which education and religious instruction would have brought about could not fail to react on the male population; hence the shortcomings, in certain cases, with regard to that chastity which one naturally expects in a religious man. The shoemaker Rabbis were worthy of all praise; but, unfortunately, they were not all continent, for it is said that Abba Arika (Rab), whenever he visited Dardeshir, used to ask by proclamation whether any woman was willing to be his wife during his stay there, as did also Rab Nachman whenever he visited Shechanzib. These temporary marriages doubtless satisfied their conscience, but cannot be regarded as testifying to their desire for chastity; on the contrary, they enabled them to indulge their unchaste tendencies in a manner which they considered legal. At the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, adulterers abounded to such an extent that Rabbi Johanan discontinued the administration of the 'bitter waters.' Regarding the rule of chastity as a hard one to keep, he is stated to have said that a bachelor residing in a city and abstaining from sin was one of the three objects of proclamation by the Holy One,¹ the others being a poor man who restores lost property, and a rich man who tithes his produce unostentatiously.

3. Notwithstanding the bad reputation of the Babylonians in the matter of chastity, there is no need to regard them as having been worse than their Semitic neighbours, and in some things they may even have been better. From the omen-tablets dealing with the approach of men to women, it is clear that the Babylonians attached no great degradation to such connexions on the part of the man. The evil predicted in certain cases, however, must have proved a deterrent, and may therefore have promoted greater purity than would otherwise have existed. Even in these inscriptions (which treat of legal as well as illegal intercourse), the sacredness of marriage is implied.² It is in the penalties of the laws of Hammurabi, however, that the true spirit of the Babylonians with regard to unchastity is to be seen. Here, as

¹ A breach of chastity was regarded not only as a 'great wickedness,' but also as a 'sin against God' (Gn 39⁹); but less so, apparently, if not adulterous (cf. Gn 20^{4f}). Compare the extracts from the Babylonian omen-tablet in next note.

² 'If a man has forsaken his wife and another has taken her, he (she) will bear the anger of (the) god.' 'If a man has forsaken his wife, and taken the wife of a living man, by the displeasure of (the) god he will die.' 'If a man has forsaken his wife, and taken the wife of a dead man, his name will not prosper.' ('Forsaken' and 'taken,' 'divorced' and 'married' may be substituted.)

in the contract-tablets of the period, the penalties in the case of adultery on the part of the wife are simply merciless, for it is enacted (§ 129) that she is to be cast, together with her paramour, into the river. The violation of a betrothed virgin was punishable with death (§ 130). In addition to this, the code says that even suspicion with regard to a wife compelled her 'to plunge into the river for her husband's sake.' This was probably of the nature of trial by ordeal, the river-god being expected to save or to drown the woman, according as she was innocent or guilty. Even desertion did not justify a woman in unfaithfulness to her husband unless he had left her destitute.

Whether the earlier manners of the Babylonians were more chaste than those of later times is uncertain, but probably there was no great change. The contracts of the later period seem to indicate clearly that absolute chastity at the time of the marriage of a maiden, as also absolute fidelity afterwards, was exacted; indeed, the formula used was sufficiently precise: 'So and so, thy virgin daughter (*mārat-ka batultu*), give thou to so and so, my son, in marriage.' One of the tablets containing these words is dated in the reign of Nabonidus (549 B.C.), and seems to prove that, at that time at least, there was no obligation on the part of the women of Babylon to yield themselves as votaries of Mylitta in the neighbourhood of her temple.

There existed in Babylonia, as in all the other Semitic States, the usual order of temple-prostitutes (*qādēsh* and *qēdēshāh*, Bab. *qadīšu* and *qadīštu*, the latter being rendered in Sumerian by the expression *nu-gig*, possibly meaning 'the not unholty'). Other words for the fem. were *īstaritu*, 'votary of Ištar,' and *ḫarimtu*, a woman specially attached to the service of the goddess. Chances of marriage for those who had entered this despised state were probably remote, but it seems sometimes to have taken place (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, s.v. '*Qadītutu*' (= *qadīštutu*), 'temple-prostitution').

In view of the tablet—one among many—quoted above, the question arises whether Herodotus' statement (i. 199), that every woman in the country had to sit down within the precincts of Aphrodite once in her life, and have intercourse with a man who was a stranger, is really correct. All classes, he says, had to go there, even the richest, who drove to the temple in covered carriages with pairs of horses, and accompanied by a large number of attendants. These women had a wreath of cord about their heads, and sat in straight lines with passages between, through which the visitors to the temple might pass and make their choice. A silver coin was thrown into the lap of the votary chosen, whereupon she followed the man, who demanded her 'in the name of the goddess Mylitta,' probably Ištar-Zēr-panitum, the goddess of births (BIRTH [Assyr.-Bab.], vol. ii. p. 643^b). According to Herodotus, absolute continence on the part of the woman followed this fulfilment of what was regarded as a religious duty, for he adds, 'nor will you be able thenceforth to give any gift so great as to win her.' It was naturally the well-favoured ones who were chosen first, as is indicated in the Epistle of Jeremy (Bar 6⁴⁵), where the women with cords about them, sitting in the ways, and burning bran for incense, are referred to. The breaking of the cord was probably to typify their release from their unchaste obligation. Though there is no reference to the great Babylonian Nature-goddess in this verse, it may be supposed that the same divinity is intended as that mentioned by Herodotus.

With their laws to enforce chastity, there is but little doubt that the Hebrews were first in the

exercise of that virtue. The Assyro-Babylonians were, perhaps, not far behind them, whilst the Egyptians came next, and the Canaanites last. It is greatly to the credit of the Hebrews and the Assyro-Babylonians that they were able, by their laws, to repress to a certain extent the evils of unchastity in countries where men's lusts were stronger than in more temperate climes. Naturally chastity was more demanded in women than in men, who could always take refuge in purification ceremonies to obtain freedom from the effects of their unchaste acts and desires.¹

LITERATURE.—A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1894, p. 154; HDB, artt. 'Crimes and Punishments' (Adultery, Fornication), 'Marriage,' 'Religion of Israel' (v. 682b); J.E. art. 'Chastity'; P. I. Hershon, *Genesis with a Talmudic Commentary*, London, 1883; see also ADULTERY (Semitic) in vol. i. p. 135. T. G. PINCHES.

CHASTITY (Teutonic and Balto-Slavic).—I. **TEUTONIC**.—Tacitus in his *Germania* speaks of the chastity of the Germans in terms of high praise. In the present article an attempt will be made to examine his statements in the light of other information at our disposal, and at the same time to depict the actual condition of sexual morality found among the German tribes in the period terminating approximately with the introduction of Christianity. It will be of advantage for our purpose to draw a distinction between the case of married persons and that of the unmarried.

1. The relations of men and women after marriage.—The references of Tacitus are:

'Quamquam [i.e. although the dress of the German women leaves a considerable part of the body bare] severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. . . . Ergo septa pudicitia agunt . . . paucissima in tam numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis permessa, abscis criminibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verberare agit, publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia; non forma, non aetate, non opibus maritum [i.e. another] invenit' (*Germ.* 18f.).

From other sources we learn that in almost all the Germanic tribes the punishment of the adulteress was of the same or of similar character, and in some cases even more severe. Thus, in reference to the Saxons, St. Boniface (*Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Jaffé, 1866, p. 172) writes:

'Nam in antiqua Saxonia si virgo paternam domum cum adulterio maculaverit, vel si mulier maritum, perditio foedere matrimonii, adulterium perpetraverit, aliquando cogunt eam, propria manu per laqueum suspensam, vitam finire; et super bustum illius, incensae et crematae, corruptorem eius suspendunt. Aliquando, congregato exercitu femine, flagellatam eam mulieres per pagos circumque ducunt, virgine caedentes et vestimenta eius abscedentes circa cingulum; et cunctis suis totum corpus eius secantes et pugnantes, minutis vulneribus cruentatam et laceratam de villa ad villam mittunt, et occurrunt semper novae flagellatrices zelo pudicitiae adductae usque ad eam aut mortuam aut vix vivam derelinquunt; at ceterae timorem adulterandi et luxuriandi habeant.'

According to Anglo-Saxon law (cf. R. Schmid, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 1858, p. 301), the unfaithful wife was condemned to lose nose and ears. The Frisian code empowered the husband to flog the offending wife publicly, or to put her to death by hanging, burning, or with the sword (Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 1883-1900, iv. 309). By the ancient Danish and Norse laws the husband led the adulteress to the threshold, tore off her mantle, cut away the back of her lower garment,

¹ In the Assyro-Babylonian system of writing, the characters of a sexual nature were so disguised by the wedges which took the place of the original lines, that they must have lost practically all their suggestiveness from an exceedingly early date. Unchaste figures, however, are found on the cylinder-seals (generally with a religious bearing), and terra-cotta statuettes of women holding their breasts are met with—some of them images of Ištar or votaries of Ištar. Really unchaste literature is rare, the most pronounced instance being the temptation of Enki-du (Ea-bani) in the first tablet of the Gilgames series. This wild man of the fields allows himself to be seduced by the charms of the *harimtu* Samhat, and she takes him to live with Gilgames at 'Erech of the enclosures,' which, besides being the abode of the hero, was also the dwelling of Ištar, goddess of love, and her votaries (Jensen, *KB* vi. 125 ff.). For purification in general see art. CONFESSION (Assyr.-Bab.).

and drove her in this condition from the homestead (*ib.* 310). That the killing of a man who was discovered in illicit relations with the wife of another was held to be venial, i.e. that the act did not provoke the blood-feud (BLOOD-FEUD in vol. ii. p. 724 ff.), is borne out by the *Lex Visig.* iii. 4, 4: 'Si adulterum cum adultera maritus vel sponsus occiderit, pro homicida non teneatur.' We thus see that among the Germanic tribes generally the married woman who had proved unfaithful became liable to the direst moral and corporal penalties.

Nevertheless the law of strict faithfulness might in certain circumstances be relaxed. That the wife might yield herself to another man in cases where her husband allowed or expressly wished her to do so is shown by extant traces of two curious institutions of primitive society, well known to students of the history of civilization, and represented also in the social life of ancient Germany. These were the customs of 'vicarious procreation' (*Zeugungshilfe*), or giving one's wife temporarily to another man in order to secure offspring, and 'hospitable prostitution' (*gastliche Prostitution*), i.e. lending a wife to a guest. It is true that with regard to the first of these, i.e. the case where the husband, being sexually impotent, allowed another man, usually a neighbour or a relative, to have access to his wife, so that she might bear a child, we are wholly dependent upon the relatively late testimony of the German *Bauernweistümer* ('Peasant Law'; cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 1828, p. 443 ff.). That testimony, however, agrees so largely with what we know of the practice among other races, including those of kindred descent with the Germans, as, for example, Indians, Greeks, and Prussians (cf. O. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, s.v. 'Zeugungshelfer'), that even J. Grimm, who takes a pleasure in seeking to remove every reproach of grossness from the history of his people, admits that 'most of what is given in the *Bauernweistümer* is very ancient' (*op. cit.* p. 444).

With regard to the custom of lending a wife (or other female dependant) to a guest—which, not to go beyond Europe, is found also among the Greeks (cf. Hesychius, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Δακρυκὸν ῥήσας*)—Weinhold (*Altnord. Leben*, 1856, p. 447) writes:

'Everything was done to provide the guest with a sleeping-place. In poorer households he shared the couch of his host and hostess, and sometimes the former resigned to him his own place there; or the guest was shown to the daughter's bed. Such things are the vestiges of very ancient customs. And again (*Deutsche Frauen*, ii. 2, 1882, p. 199 f.): "In more remote times it was the custom among the lower ranks for the guest to share the bed of his host and hostess. The *Rígsmaal* and the Icelandic Sagas yield unmistakable evidences of this practice, and even as late as the beginning of the 16th cent. we find Thomas Murner writing in his *Geuchmat*, Basel, 1519 (*Geschworne Art.*, Art. 8), that "it is the custom also in the Netherlands that the host who has a cherished guest surrenders his wife to him in good faith."

To the position of the wife in this respect a marked contrast is offered by that of the husband. As might be anticipated from the absence of all legal regulations applicable to him, he was subject to no restrictions in the matter, save only, of course, where the wives of other men were concerned. If he had sufficient means he might practise polygamy. The language of Tacitus (*Germ.* 18: 'nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoris uxoris contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur') rather understates the facts. We know from other sources that many of the German chiefs had several wives (Müllenhoff, iv. 302), and in Sweden every chief had at least two. The married man might also possess concubines, selecting them mainly, it may be supposed, from among the slave-girls taken in war.¹

¹ The primitive term for 'concubine' appears in the O.H.G. *kebis* and A.-S. *caes*, 'concubine,' O.N. *kefsa*, 'slave' (cf. F. Kluge, *Etym. Wörterb. der deutschen Sprache*, Strassburg 1910, s.v. 'Kebse').

The relation of men and women within the state of marriage may therefore be defined as follows: The husband obtains the wife by purchase. It has long been recognized that the form of marriage referred to by Tacitus (*Germ.* 18: 'dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert') was neither more nor less than marriage by purchase (cf. Müllenhoff, iv. 302). The woman thus becomes one property (O.H.G. *daz wip*) of the husband, who guards against the slightest infringement of his absolute prerogative with jealous ferocity, yet cedes it to others when he thinks proper. He himself lies under no obligations of marital faithfulness. Accordingly, he would regard the adultery of his wife less as a moral defilement of her person than as an encroachment upon his own proprietary rights. Thus the laudatory references of Tacitus to the supposed gifts of the bride to the bridegroom, as also indeed to the Germanic marriage system generally, find but little justification in the actual facts.

2. The relations of men and women before marriage.—With reference to the men, Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 21) writes thus:

'Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit; ad parvulis labori ac duritiæ student. Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximum inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicissim femineæ notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur ac pellibus aut parvis renonum tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.'

The last sentence strikes us as somewhat strange. We naturally ask how an act of sexual intercourse could subsequently be discovered from the man's person, even were he quite naked, and, as this question permits of no answer, we must assume that Cæsar was thinking here rather of the resultant pregnancy of the young woman, the signs of which would become noticeable at an early stage, not only on the occasions of promiscuous bathing, but also in ordinary life, from the shortness of the skin-capes and *renones* worn, as it thus appears, by females as well as males; such indications, moreover, would lead also to the discovery of the man involved. The statements of Cæsar are otherwise in substantial agreement with those of Tacitus (*Germ.* 20: 'Sera iuvenum venus eoque inexhausta pubertas. Nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa similis proceritas: pares validæque miscetur; ac robora parentum liberi referunt'). It will hardly be doubted, therefore, that the Germans—in marked contrast to the Romans—held strong views in favour of long-continued sexual abstinence (*continentia*) on the part of youth. But, on the other hand, it should be clearly understood that this continence was practised on purely material grounds, i.e. as a means of becoming physically robust ('hoc ali staturam, ali vires nervosque confirmari putant'). Among this people, in fact, everything was regulated by the desire of building up a race of warriors and hunters; and this accounts also for their abstinence from strong drink: 'vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur' (*Cæs.* iv. 2).

To some extent the self-restraint of the young men implies that of the young women, but we have little direct evidence on the point. The passage already quoted from Tacitus (*Germ.* 19: 'publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia,' etc.) can apply, as the context shows, only to the case of the married wife. Our sole authority for the assertion that 'the virgin who sullies her father's house with unchastity' was liable to the same frightful penalties as the unfaithful wife is St. Boniface in the passage quoted above. We have seen, on the other hand, that access to the daughter's bed was sometimes granted to an honoured guest. But, on the whole, we may

infer that wives and daughters alike were compelled by the ruthless severity of their lords and masters to practise sexual abstinence—an abstinence which, it is true, on grounds already adduced, viz. the customs of vicarious procreation and lending a wife to a guest, we must take care not to identify with chastity (*castitas*) in our sense of the word. Such abstinence, nevertheless, even in the limited sense of *continentia*, offers a strong contrast to the moral practice of other ancient European peoples—notably the Thracians, of whom Herod. (v. 6) writes: τὰς δὲ παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουνσι, ἀλλ' ἐῷσι τοῖσι αὐταῖς βούλονται ἀνδράσι μισγεσθαι, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας λυχνυῶν φυλάσσουνσι.

The social life of the ancient Germans thus exhibits a certain degree of sexual restraint, forced upon the women by the iron-handed rule of their masters, and fostered in the young men by the general belief that premature indulgence saps the qualities that tell in hunting and war. This temperance in sexual matters, as an element in the social life of various tribes, is specially noted also by the Church Father Salvian: 'Gotorum gens perfida sed pudica est . . . Franci mendaces sed hospitales, Saxones crudelitæ efferi sed castitate mirandi . . . remota est ab illis [Wandalis] omnibus carnis impuritas' (cf. Müllenhoff, iv. 301). But, as has been said, we must guard against identifying such objective temperance (*continentia*) with the subjective conception of chastity (*castitas*), i.e. a purity of life issuing from an inward motive, moral or religious. It is obvious that Roman, pagan, and Christian authorities have fallen into this error. That chastity in the higher sense cannot be attributed to the ancient Germans is shown not only by their customs of vicarious procreation and lending a wife to a guest, but also by features in their social life like the worship of the god Frisco, as described by Adam of Bremen: ('Tertius est Frisco, pacem voluptatemque largiens mortalibus, cuius etiam simulacra fingunt ingenti priapo; si nuptiæ celebrandæ sunt, [sacrificia offerunt] Friconi'), and by other traces of a regular system of phallus-worship among the northern Germanic tribes (Vigfusson, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* 1883, ii. 381 f.). It is, moreover, a fact worthy of note that there is no pan-Teutonic term for 'chastity'; on the contrary, the idea is represented in the various ancient Teutonic dialects by different words, e.g. Goth. *svikans*, A.-S. *clænlic*, O.H.G. *chûski*, all of which seem originally to have meant 'clean,' i.e. free from the defilement of sexual intercourse (on these words, cf. S. Feist, *Etym. Wörterb. d. gotischen Sprache*, Halle, 1909; and F. Kluge, *op. cit.*). It is quite possible that the development of the idea of 'being clean' to that of 'being chaste' may have proceeded upon the belief that spirits and gods are to be approached only by those who are free from sexual pollution, and may thus go back even to the heathen period, as was certainly the case with the Greeks and the Romans (cf. E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, Naumburg, 1908). In the case of the Germanic religion, however, there is no evidence to support the conjecture. On the other hand, the conception of chastity as a quality exalted by certain individuals, both men and women, to the position of a principle of life well-pleasing to the gods, appears at an early date among the peoples bordering upon the Germans to the south-east and the west, viz. the Thracians and the Celts—in regions, that is to say, otherwise noted for unchastity.¹ Of the Thracians, Strabo (p. 296) writes: εἶναι δὲ τινας τῶν Θρακῶν οἱ χωρὶς γυναικὸς ζῶσιν, οὐς κτρίτας (cf. Old Ch. Slav. *cistŭ*, 'clean'?) καλεῖσθαι, ἀνερῶσθαι τε διὰ τὴν

¹ For the Thracians, see Herodotus, *loc. cit.*; for the Celts, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La famille celtique* (Paris, 1906).

kal merà dēlas žhū; while, with regard to the Celts, Poinponius Mela (iii. 48) says that upon the island of Sena in the Atlantic Ocean there lived nine priestesses who were pledged to lifelong chastity. The idea of chastity (*castitas*), however, probably first gained a more adequate recognition in the north of Europe, and among the Germans in particular, through the influence of Christianity—that Christianity which, basing itself upon the supposed Pauline doctrine that every act of sexual intercourse, even in married life, is in essence a sin against the Holy Ghost, never flagged in the task of urging upon its converts—by spoken and written word—the conception of chastity as an ethical principle, and the practice of chastity as a rule of life. This side of our subject is further dealt with at the end of the Balto-Slavic section of this article (p. 502^b).

II. *BALTO-SLAVIC*.—In dealing with the Baltic and Slavic peoples, we lack, unfortunately, the witness of a writer like Tacitus, whose account of the state of sexual morality among the ancient Germans, if somewhat idealizing, yet presents us with a body of coherent data which we have no reason to call in question. With regard to the Balto-Slavic tribes, on the other hand, we have to fall back on an assortment of isolated references, differing greatly in place and date of origin, and quite incapable of furnishing a complete picture of the sexual relations of these peoples, were it not that here and there—especially in the case of the Russians—they can be supplemented by features met with in the common life of to-day, and in many instances reflecting accurately the conditions of ancient times.

We begin by quoting from the Chronicle of Nestor (ed. Miklosich), cap. x., a description of ancient Slavic customs in general:¹

'They had their customs and the law of their fathers and their traditions; each tribe had its own usages. The Poljans [the Poles of that period, living in the district around Kiev] had the quiet and gentle manners of their fathers, were modest before their daughters-in-law and their sisters, their mothers and parents, and showed great respect for their mothers-in-law and brothers-in-law. They had a marriage (*bracy*) system. The suitor did not go in person to his bride [to fetch, i.e. steal her], but they led her to him in the evening, and in the morning brought away what had been given for her. But the Drevljans ('forest-folk') lived in brutish fashion; they lived like wild beasts; they killed one another, ate unclean things, and had no marriages (*braki*), but abducted (*umykachu urody*) the young women.'

From this account we learn two things: (1) that the 'field-folk' or Poljans (Russ. *pōle*, 'field') practised the regular form of marriage, i.e. marriage by purchase (Russ. *brakū*), while the 'forest-folk' or Drevljans (Russ. *derevo*, 'tree') obtained their wives by capture; (2) that the 'field-folk' were quiet and gentle in their mode of life, the 'forest-folk' savage and unchaste.² The striking dissimilarity between the two groups in their sexual practices, thus emphasized by the ancient chronicler, will repeatedly come under notice in our further dealing with the Slavs.³

In proceeding to deal with our subject in detail, we shall adopt the same order as was followed above in treating of the ancient Germans.

I. *The relations of men and women in married life*.—Precisely as among the Germans, so among the peasant classes of Russia, public opinion allowed—and, in fact, still allows—the injured husband to wreak a fearful revenge upon the unfaithful wife, and even to put her to death. In the writings of Maxim Gorki there is a sketch drawn from his own observation, entitled 'Vyvodh'

('leading forth'), which reads almost like a paraphrase of the statements quoted above (p. 499^a) from Tacitus and St. Boniface:¹

'In the village street,' writes Gorki, 'between the white cabins of the peasants, a strange procession moves on amid wild uproar. A crowd of people surges along—densely packed and slow; it rolls like a huge wave; and in front of it staggers a pony—a grotesquely unkempt pony—with its head sullenly lowered. To the shaft of the cart a little woman, quite naked, and hardly more than a child, is tied by the hands with a string. Her gait is singular and strange—sideways; her head, with its thick, dishevelled, dark-red hair, is directed upwards, and slightly bent back; her eyes are wide open, and look towards some distant point with a dull and vacant stare, in which there is nothing human. . . . Her whole body is covered with blue and red weals, both round and long; her left breast, rounded, virgin-like, is slit open, and blood is dripping from it. . . . But upon the cart sits a stalwart peasant in a white shirt and a black lamb-skin cap, from beneath which hangs a tuft of reddish hair, falling over his brow. In one hand he holds the reins, in the other the knout, with which he lashes in turn the back of the horse and the body of the little woman, now so lacerated as to have lost the semblance of humanity. . . . And behind the cart and the woman tied thereto rolls the crowd in masses—screaming, howling, whistling, laughing, yelling, jeering. . . . In this way do the men punish their wives for adultery; that is a picture from real life—the law of use and wont. I saw it myself on the 15th of July 1891, in the village of Kandybovka, in the government of Kherson [Little Russia].'

That so dire a punishment—resulting, it may be, in death—is dictated, not by the husband's indignation over his wife's violation of the law of chastity, but by his resentment at an injury done to his proprietary rights in a purchased chattel,² is shown by the fact that, as all the evidence proves, the custom of vicarious procreation—the temporary cession of the wife to another man with a view to offspring—prevailed among the Baltic tribes as among the Teutons.

Cf. Aeneas Silvius, *Script. rer. Pruss.* iv. 237; 'Matronae nobiles publice concubinos habent permittentibus viris, quos matrimonii adiutores ("auxiliaries of marriage") vocant'; and again (as quoted by J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, I. 608): 'apud Lituanos more patrio nuptas, quae nobiles quidem essent, unus pluresve concubinos pro viri facultatibus domi alere consuevisse, qui negligente marito onera matrimonii subeant': cf. also Hartknoch, *Altes und neues Preussen oder preussische Historie*, I. II. (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1684), p. 177.

On the other hand, so far as the present writer is aware, no instance of the practice of lending a wife to a guest has as yet come to light on Balto-Slavic soil.

In contrast to the rigorously guarded position of the married woman, there is evidence to show that here also, as in the Teutonic area, the married man was allowed perfect freedom in his sexual relations. We have the strongest grounds for believing that polygamy was the original practice of the Baltic and Slavic tribes (refs. in Schrader, *Reallex.* p. 634 f., and *Sprachvergl. u. Urgesch.* ii.³ 342). A custom of peculiarly Oriental character, still very common in the districts to the east of the Carpathians, is the *snochačestvo* (*snocha*, 'daughter-in-law'), i.e. the licentious relations of the paterfamilias with the young wives of his sons—a state of matters tolerated in silence by his own elderly wife.³ That this custom, which may easily be accounted for by the circumstance that the augmented family still lived together and that the father of the house had unlimited authority, is of very ancient standing, is shown by a reference in the work entitled *De auserorum religione, ritibus nuptiarum, funerum, victu, vestitu, etc., et de Tartarorum religione ac moribus epistola ad D. Davidem Chytraeum recens scripta*, Speier, 1582, p. 243: 'Viri autem qui ex conjugate fato functa masculam subolem suscepserunt, persaepe impuberi filio sponsam quaerunt, cum qua tamen illi dormiunt et liberos procreant,' etc.; though it should be noted that the reference applies

¹ Gorki's narrative will be found, e.g., in E. Böhme's *Russische Literatur* (Sammlung Götschen), I. 88 f.

² In reference to marriage by purchase among the Baltic and Slavic peoples, see O. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 109, and *Sprachvergl. u. Urgesch.*, loc. cit.

³ The subject is fully discussed in Schrader, *Sprachvergl. u. Urgesch.* ii.³ 360.

¹ Cf. Schözer, *Russische Annalen*, 1802-9, I. 125 ff.

² The distinction between marriage by purchase and marriage by capture is fully discussed in the present writer's *Sprachvergleichung u. Urgeschichte*, II.³, 1906-7, p. 322 ff.

³ Cf. K. Rhamm, 'Der Verkehr d. Geschlechter unter d. Slaven in seinen gegensätzlichen Erscheinungen,' *Globus*, lxxiii. no. 7.

only to widowers and the wives of sons still under the age of puberty, being based, as it would seem, upon inaccurate information.

In short, the present writer can discover no essential difference among the Baltic, the Slavic, and the Teutonic peoples with respect to their ideas of married life. In sexual matters the husband enjoys absolute liberty, while the wife is restrained from illicit relations with other men by her fear of a savage retribution that may involve death itself, although in certain circumstances—by order or with consent of her husband—she may surrender her person to another.

2. The relations of men and women before marriage.—This aspect of our subject, in contrast with the foregoing, presents unusual difficulties. Amongst the Balto-Slavic peoples there is no trace whatever of any such reasoned objection to premature sexual indulgence as prevailed among the Teutons. As a matter of fact, the contrary would almost seem to be true, if we may judge from a statement of the Arabic writer Mas'ûdî (in Wattenbach, *Widukind*², Leipzig, 1891, p. 145): 'The women are chaste after marriage, but when a young woman becomes enamoured of a man, she goes to him and gratifies her passion. When a man takes a maiden in marriage and finds that she is a virgin, he says to her, "Had there been anything good about you, some one would have taken a fancy to you, and you would have chosen a lover." And he sends her away, and will have no more to do with her.'

This recalls what Herodotus says about the Thracians, as quoted in the Teutonic section of this article; and, if we compare the facts thus indicated with the low state of sexual morality said to prevail to-day in many parts of the Balto-Slavic region, e.g. Croatia-Slavonia, as reported by Rhamm (*op. cit.* p. 103 ff.), or certain governments of Russia, where the village baths and spinning-rooms are the scenes of almost incredible profligacy, we might infer that the people of this quarter of the globe have always been absolutely indifferent as to whether a young woman about to marry was a virgin or not. Such an inference, however, is excluded by observances which point unmistakably to a higher appreciation of maidenly continence (cf., on this point, O. Schrader, *Die Indogermanen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 94 ff.). Nevertheless, even if we grant the presence of such a feature as maidenly continence in a section at least of the Slavic race, yet amid the conditions described, with such practices as the public examination of the bride's chemise, and the performance of the first coitus before witnesses (both customs are found also among the Germans), amid conditions, too, in which, as is reported of the Lithuanians, the young men, on the occasion of their marriage, offer sacrifices to the god Pizius (Lith. *pisti*, 'coire'; cf. also what is said above (p. 500^b) regarding the Friscoe of the Northern Teutons), we can hardly speak of 'chastity' in our sense of the term (*castitas*). It would be altogether wrong, indeed, to characterize such customs simply as obscene. They should be regarded rather as an expression of a certain naive sensuousness—a simple-minded homage to the powers and organs of human procreation. But for chastity in the modern sense—that ethical reserve in word and action which shrouds the sexual aspect of life—we shall seek in vain amongst human beings at this stage of development, whether they be Teutons or Slavs. It was doubtless the Christian Church and its teachings which first introduced the modern conception of chastity to the Slavic, as to the Teutonic, race, and it is in accordance with this view that the ordinary Russian terms for 'chaste' and 'chastity,' viz. *celomûdry*, *celomûdrennosti* (properly *σωφο-*

σύνη), come from Church Slavic. The present writer is inclined to doubt whether there is in Russian a vernacular term for 'chastity' which would apply to males as well as females. The expression used for 'deflower' is *celku lomâti*, i.e. 'to break that which is intact.'

When Christianity found its way into the Northern countries of Europe, its teachers sought to bring the entire sexual intercourse—in the married and the unmarried alike—into line with the ideal of absolute chastity ascribed to the Apostle Paul. An indication of the extent to which such endeavours were pressed may be found in certain Anglo-Saxon ordinances, one of which runs thus: 'The layman who would enjoy the grace of God must not come near his wife for sexual intercourse on the nights of Sunday, or of feastdays, or of Wednesday, or of Friday, or during the spring fast, or in any period whatever when fasting is enjoined.'¹

The same thing is found in Russia, and the thoroughness with which the teachings of the Church had become incorporated with the mind of the people finds expression in a little incident narrated by Gleb Uspensky in his *Vlasti Zemli* ('The Might of the Soil'), Moscow, 1882 [a work of great value for the history of civilization].

The wife of the parish priest has given birth to a child on the Feast of the Epiphany, and the women of the village find by calculation that intercourse must have taken place on Maundy Thursday during the Lenten fast. Whereupon a rustic utters his thoughts about the priest in this fashion: 'Aye, in his words he is a real apostle, but in his conduct a mangy dog. Even a drunken peasant would never let himself act so.' And when he goes to greet the new-born child, he cannot keep back the gibe: 'Well, Otce ("father"; Eccl. Slav.), have you and your wife (*matuska*) not made some mistake in the calendar?'

To the influence of the Church may likewise be traced the observance of the 'Three Nights of Tobias,' i.e. a period of three days after marriage, during which the young pair abstain from intercourse. This custom obtains in Germany, especially in Swabia; there is no evidence to prove that it ever existed in Russia, or among the Slavs generally, and we may connect its absence there with the fact that the passage of Tobit which suggested it is not found in the Greek text, and as given in the Vulgate ('Tu autem, cum acceperis eam, ingressus cubiculum, per tres dies continens esto ab ea, et nihil aliud nisi orationibus vacabis cum ea' [6¹⁸]) is manifestly an interpolation.³ We must nevertheless take note of the fact that the observance of periods of abstinence was a wide-spread custom among Aryan and non-Aryan peoples alike and was perhaps based upon the superstitions and magical ideas of a remote age.⁴

The sexual morality of both the Teutons and the Slavs is a subject upon which much obscurity still remains. As regards the Teutons, for instance, how shall we explain the fact that, when the Christian Church reached them, it did not find everywhere a state of things similar to that recorded by Cæsar and Tacitus? Was the change a result of Roman influence? Or did it arise from the circumstance that, when the struggles arising from the migration of tribes had ended, the chief motive for the sexual temperance of the young men, viz. the need of the qualities useful in war and

¹ Cf. F. Roeder, 'Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen,' in L. Morsbach, *Studien zur engl. Phil.* iv. [1899] 132.

² Cf. O. Fritzsche, *Ezeg Handb. z. d. Apokr. des A.T.* (Leipzig, 1863) ii. 90 f.

³ Cf. L. v. Schröder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Ksten* (Berlin, 1889), p. 192 ff.; E. Hermann, 'Beiträge z. d. indogerm. Hochzeitsbräuchen,' *Indogerm. Forsch.* xvii. [1904] 385 ff.; F. von Reitzenstein, 'Keuschheitsnächte,' *ZE* xii. [1909] 666

hunting, was taken away? And why is that high appreciation of virginity which we must ascribe to the ancient Germans not to be found as a rule among the rural population of Germany to-day, which is marked, according to trustworthy authorities, by frequent surrender of maidenly honour before marriage, reminding us rather of the Thracians spoken of by Herodotus than of the *Germani* of Caesar and Tacitus. Among the Slavs, again, how are we to explain that contrast in sexual morality already noted by Nestor; or that sexual modesty (*stydliivost*) which is found side by side with the frankest sensuality, more particularly among the Southern Slavs.¹ A competent history of the sexual morality of Northern Europe would have to deal with all these questions, but, important as the subject is, no such work is as yet available, and the present article offers no more than fragmentary contributions to the understanding.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given in the course of the article.

O. SCHRADER.

CHEMOSH.—See MOABITES.

CHEROKEES.—An important subdivision of the Iroquoian branch of the Amerinds of N. America, formerly dwelling in the mountainous country formed by the southern portion of the Alleghany range, but now resident partly upon their reservation in Indian Territory, and partly on the Qualla reservation in Western North Carolina. They number about 28,000, including many individuals incorporated from other tribes. Their name is a corruption of *Tsalagi*, a term derived from the Choctaw, signifying 'cave-people,' in allusion to the character of the country from which they originally came; but they frequently describe themselves as *Ani-yūliwiyā*, 'Real People.' They consist of seven clans—Wolf, Deer, Bird, Paint, Ani-Sahani, Ani-Ga-tāgewi, and Ani-Gi-lahi (the names of the last three cannot be translated with any degree of certainty). They possess an alphabet of their own, which they use for the composition of sacred formulae.

1. **Type of religion.**—The Cherokee religion is a polytheistic form of zoolatry, or animal-worship, which may possibly have had a totemic origin. No great central figure, no creative cause, is evident in this system. To the Cherokee the Land of Spirits is merely a shadowy extension of the world in which he dwells. He recognizes neither a Paradise nor a place of punishment, neither a Supreme Being nor a Spirit of Evil. 'The Cherokees,' remarks Whipple, 'know nothing of the Evil One and his domains, except what they have learned from white men' (*Report on the Indian Tribes*, p. 35 [Pacific Railroad Documents]). The tribal gods are neither good nor evil, and live in *Galdwlati*, or the Upper World above the sky.

2. **Sources of religious history.**—The religious formulae of the Cherokees have been for the most part preserved in writing by the shamans, or priests, of the tribe. They are written in the characters invented by Sequoyah in 1821, and have been collected with much pains and industry by the officials of the United States Bureau of Ethnology. They consist for the most part of medico-religious formulae and charms to be used in all departments of daily life, and are invaluable in view of the light they cast upon native rite and semi-religious practice. With the Cherokees, as with the ancient Egyptians, religion enters into every act of existence. Notwithstanding that missionary endeavour among the Cherokees has been strenuous in character, and that the Gospels have been

printed in their own language and alphabet, the native religion still retains an exceptionally strong hold upon the people.

3. **Decentralization of religious power.**—In the majority of N. American Indian tribes the occult knowledge which was the property of the shamans was usually relegated to the keeping of various secret societies, which in their methods of initiation and general practice strongly resembled the popular conception of modern Freemasonry. That such was the custom with the Cherokees there is no reason to doubt. But their early adoption, in the third decade of last century, of a civilized form of government put an end to any such socio-religious organizations, and at the present day the representatives of the native priesthood work quite independently of one another, sometimes even specializing in the cure of certain diseases.

MacGowan states (*American Historical Magazine*, x, 189) that from the most remote times the Cherokees have had one family set apart for the priestly office. This was, when first known to the whites, that of the Nicotani; but its members became so insolent and abused their sacred office so flagrantly that with savage justice they were massacred to a man. The statement that another family was appointed in their stead, who to this day officiate in all religious rites (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*³, 1896, p. 322), appears to have no foundation in fact, as no such shamanistic caste is mentioned by Mooney in his admirable work (see *Lit. at end*) on the sacred formulae of the Cherokees.

4. **Gods.**—The gods of the Cherokees may be divided into four classes: (1) animal gods, (2) elemental gods, (3) inanimate gods, and (4) anthropomorphic gods.

(1) *The animal gods* are, no doubt, the remnants of a totemic system, and are regarded as the great original types of the classes they represent. Among the most important of these are the *uktēna*, a mythical horned serpent of gigantic size, the rattlesnake, terrapin, hawk, rabbit, squirrel, and dog. There are also smaller bird- and insect-deities, of which the spider is one of the more important.

The spider is frequently adjoined in the sacred formulae used for the purpose of destroying life, as it is supposed that he entangles the soul of his victim in the meshes of his web, or tears it from the body of the devoted being, as he might from that of a fly, dragging it away to the Land of Darkness.

Regarding the rattlesnake, the Cherokees relate that a 'prince' of the species once dwelt among the valleys of their original mountain home. Obedient subjects guarded his domains, and he was crowned with a gem of marvellous magical properties. This precious stone was the envy of many warriors and shamans, but those who attempted its capture were destroyed by the poisoned fangs of its defenders. At last one adventurous warrior, more ingenious than the rest, hit upon the idea of donning a suit of leather, and by means of this device walked unharmed through the files of serpent-warders and tore the jewel from the head of the serpent-king. The people of his nation preserved it with jealous care, and related its origin to Captain Timberlake about the middle of the 18th century.⁴

The Creeks, Hurons, and Algonquians have a similar myth regarding a horned or crowned serpent, in which it is not difficult to detect the thunderbolt or the lightning, the horn of the heavenly serpent, for there is a serpent (water) in the heavens as well as a water-serpent on earth. The Iroquois, of whom the Cherokees are a branch, believed in a great horned serpent rising out of a lake and preying upon the people until a hero-god destroyed it with a thunderbolt (Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, Rochester, N.Y., 1854, p. 169). These are, indeed, all allegories, representing the atmospheric changes which accompany the advancing seasons and the ripening harvests. As the emblem of the fertilizing summer showers, the serpent of lightning was the god of fruitfulness.

The rabbit-god also appears frequently in the Cherokee folk-tales, and must be granted another than a totemic origin. In these fables it appears as Manito Wabos, actually overcomes a demi-god, and blows him to fragments, the pieces becoming the bits of flint or chert which were formed in the mountainous Cherokee country. In the traditions of the Algonquians and Iroquois the great hare or rabbit, Manibozho or Michabo, constantly re-appears. He is half-wizard, half-simpleton, in the modernized versions of these tribes; but as the patron and founder of the Algonquian *meda*-worship he is a very different character, being regarded as the creator of all things, the inventor of picture-writing, the father and guardian of the nation, and the ruler of the winds. He is also a mighty hunter and culture-hero. In the autumn he

¹ Cf. K. Rhamm, 'Die geschlechtlichen Tabuverbote unter d. Südsclaven,' *loc. cit.* p. 186 ff.

⁴ Henry Timberlake, *Memoirs*, p. 48.

seeks his winter sleep. He resides in the east, and in the formulæ of the *meda* craft, when the winds are invoked to the medicine-ledge, the east is summoned in his name. In all this can be espied more than the myth of a mere rabbit-god. The east is prominent in primitive mythology as the source of the morning. The examination of the Algonquian root *wab*, the groundwork of the name Wabos, proves that, although it has the meaning of 'rabbit,' it also implies 'white,' and that from it is derived the word for the east, the dawn, the light. Wabos, then, is no mere rabbit-god, but the god of light, of dawn, the dispeller of the darkness, as is the Algonquian Michabo. The Iroquois have many Algonquian relationships, and this myth would appear to be one of them.

(2) *Elemental gods*.—The principal elemental deities are fire, water, and the sun, all of which possess symbolical appellations. The sun is called *Une'lanáhi*, 'the Apportioner,' and is worshipped chiefly by the 'ball-players,' or actors in a rite which will be described later. Hunters worship fire. Water is designated the 'Long Person,' and no ceremony of any description is complete without a prayer being first addressed to this deity. Wind, storms, clouds, and frost are also frequently invoked. The separate worship of the sun and of fire is remarkable, as among the majority of American races what appears on the surface to be sun-worship is usually found, upon closer examination, to be attributable to the worship of fire. That this cannot be the case with the Cherokees is plain, as they differentiate between the two, and this discrimination rather sharply separates their worship from the religious practice of most other N. American tribes.

(3) *Inanimate gods*.—In these we find undoubtedly a close analogy to fetishistic practice. The principal of these inanimate deities is the Stone, a pebble suspended by a string, prayed to by the shamans in the hope of finding lost articles. The Flint is also invoked when the shaman is about to scarify the patient with a flint arrow-head before rubbing on the medicine. The Flint is an object of especial veneration in nearly all American mythologies. Tohil, the god who gave the Kiche of Guatemala fire by shaking his sandals, is represented by a flint-stone, and they also possessed a myth which recounted how in the beginning of things such a stone fell from heaven to earth and broke into 1600 pieces, from each of which sprang a god. These myths describe how the worship of flints and stones arose. They were emblems of the thunderbolts, the cause of fecundating rains.

Plant-gods are not prominent in the Cherokee pantheon, the principal one appearing to be the *ginseng* (*Aralia quinquefolia*, Gr.), the so-called 'man-root,' also held in high estimation by the Ojibwas as of Divine origin (see W. J. Hoffman, 'The Midewiwin of the Ojibwa,' 7 *REBEW*, 1891, p. 241). In the formulæ of the Cherokee shamans it is addressed as the 'Great Man,' or the 'Little Man,' although its correct designation in the Cherokee language signifies 'mountain-climber.'

(4) *Anthropomorphic gods*.—The Cherokees possess quite a number of anthropomorphic deities of more or less importance. Of these, *Asgaya Gigagei* (Red Man) is perhaps the most frequently invoked. He appears to be connected in some manner with the thunder, and would seem to be androgynous, as in one of the formulæ for rheumatism he is addressed both as 'Red Man' and as 'Red Woman,' his sex name to be applied to him as the sex of the patient varies; that is, if the patient be a male, he must be addressed as 'Red Woman,' whereas, if the sufferer be a woman, it is necessary, to ensure a successful operation, to address him as 'Red Man.' The facts that he is described as being of a red colour, and that the Cherokees were originally a mountain people, seem to point to the conclusion that he was a thunder-god. Other thunder-gods of the American race,

the Con of the Peruvians for example, are described as red in colour, and as dwelling in clouds upon the mountain tops—their hue, of course, denoting the lightning. The Chac, or rain (cloud) gods of the Mayas were called 'the Red Ones,' owing to their emanating from the clouds. A portion of the feather-shield of Tlaloc, the Mexican god of rain, was also of a red colour. In the Cherokee colour-symbolism red is the colour of the east, whence comes the sun.

Two other thunder-deities are also frequently mentioned in the sacred formulæ. These are the 'Little Men,' or 'Thunder Boys,' whom we shall find occasionally invoked when we treat of the formulæ themselves. The Peruvians believed the thunderbolts to be the children of Apocatequil, a thunder-god; and in Peru twins were always regarded as sacred to the lightning, since they were emblematic of the thunder and lightning twins, Apocatequil and Piguerao. In these 'Thunder Boys,' then, we have probably an analogous mythical pair.

A hunter-god of giant proportions is *Tsul'Kalú*, or 'Slanting Eyes,' who lives in a great mountain of the Blue Ridge range in N.W. Virginia, and whose private property includes all the game in the district. In this slant-eyed deity we may perhaps descry a deer-god. Such a god was worshipped by the Nicaraguans, who offered to it clotted blood in a napkin.

Many prayers, songs, and excuses are made by the savage hunter to the very animals he intends to kill. But the Cherokee is nothing if not consistent in the choice of the gods he selects to invoke on special occasions. Thus, if illness is believed to be caused by a fish, the heron, fish-hawk, or some bird which lives upon fish is implored to seize the evil-doer and devour it, so that relief may come to the sufferer. Should small birds torment the vitals of the patient or otherwise affect his imagination, the sparrow-hawk is invoked to scatter them; and, when the rabbit is adjudged the author of evil, the rabbit-hawk is requested to slay him. Should even a small portion of the disease remain, the services of the whirlwind are requisitioned by the officiating shaman, who begs it to carry the remnant to the hills, and there scatter it, so that it shall never reappear. The warrior prays to the Red War-club ere setting out on the war-path, and he who expects to court danger in any expedition prays to the cloud to envelop him and screen him from his enemies. The worship of the Cherokees is therefore a pantheism, but it is a pantheism in which the animal-gods are paramount.

5. *Spirits and other mythological conceptions*.—Numerous spirits, ghosts, and minor gods of all descriptions swell the Cherokee pantheon. Such are *Detsata*, a Puck-like spirit, and the 'Little People,' analogous to the fairies of Europe. The animal gods or spirits who dwell above are the great prototypes of which the earthly brutes are but the microcosms. They dwell at the four cardinal points, each of which has a special name and colour, which applies to everything in the same connexion. Thus the east is the Sun Land, the north the Cold Land, the west the Darkening Land, and the south the Mountain Wahala, and their respective colours are red, blue, black, and white. The white and red spirits are usually regarded, when combined, as those from whom emanate the blessings of peace and health; the red alone are invoked for success in any venture; the blue, to frustrate inimical persons or bring trouble upon them; and the black, to slay an enemy. The most potent are the white and red, and the final success of any undertaking is supposed to rest with them.

For example, in the formula used in the cure of rheumatism, the shaman invokes the Red Dog in the Sun Land, addressing him as *Adavehi* (one possessed of supernatural power), to whom nothing is impossible, 'whose prey never escapes.' The Red Dog, in response, is supposed to carry away a portion of the disease, and the Blue Dog of the Cold Land is next invoked. When he, too, has removed a part, the Black and White Dogs are subsequently implored to do likewise. Finally, the White Terrapin is requested to bear off the remainder of the disease, after which the shaman declares that a cure has been effected.

6. The shamans, or priests.—The shamans, or priests, as has been said, belong to no central organization, as in the majority of North American tribes, but practise singly. They are extremely jealous of the ability of white physicians, and resent their presence among the various Cherokee tribes, asserting to the people that white man's medicine is harmful to Indians. The belief of the Cherokees and their ritual are in that stage of religious evolution known as *orenda*, or magic in which the medico-religious practice of the shamans takes the place of actual ritual. The chief necessity for religion, in fact, is found in the existence of disease, and the principal office of religion is its eradication. Disease and death the Cherokees believe to be unnatural, and due to the evil influence of animal spirits, ghosts, and witches. The shaman's office is therefore the invocation of the benign influence to avert or to remove disease or misfortune, or to bring down evil upon the heads of any persons whom those who employ them desire to harm.

The pay they receive for their offices is called *ugista'ti*, probably derived from *tsigiu*, 'I take,' or 'I eat.' Formerly this took the form of a deer-skin or a pair of moccasins, but since the introduction of civilized manufactures it may be a piece of cloth, a garment of any sort, or a handkerchief. They dislike the imputation that these gifts are 'pay,' and assert that their presentation is necessary to the consummation of a perfect cure. So far as their explanation can be understood, the cloth is said by them to be regarded as an offering to the spirit which has brought about the disease, to effect the ransom of the afflicted person, or to protect the hand of the shaman whilst engaged in extracting the disease from the body of the patient. They further assert that the evil influence of the spirit enters into the cloth, which must be sold or given away by the shaman, else, when the amount of cloth he has collected reaches the height of his head, he will die. No evil results, however, are supposed to accrue to the purchaser, but no member of the shaman's family may accept these goods unless he give something in exchange. However, if the reward take the form of comestibles, the shaman may consume them without fear, so long as they are partaken of along with the other members of the family. The reward to the shaman is always freely made, and he is not supposed to make any charge; but, should he be engaged in other than purely medical practice, a fixed rate of remuneration exists for his payment. Should the shaman be called in to a case which he diagnoses as a certain complaint, and after a while traverse his own diagnosis, he expects a separate fee at the commencement of a new course of treatment.

A curious point of shamanistic etiquette is that neither the husband nor the wife of a sick person can send for the priest, but the call must proceed from a blood relation of the patient. A case is recorded where a woman complained that her husband was very sick and required the treatment of a shaman, but said that his family neglected the matter, and that she dare not take the initiative.

7. Medico-religious practice.—As has already been pointed out, the principal part of the

Cherokee religion centres in medico-religious practice. The study of this phase of religious magic is exceptionally important, as illustrating very fully a stage in the evolution of religious belief and ritual. Before commenting further upon the exact position of this phase as a link in the chain of religious evolution, it will perhaps be well to examine the native myth which recounts the origin of disease, and the consequent institution of curative medicine:

The myth recounts that in the old days the members of the brute creation were gifted with speech, and dwelt in amity with the human race. The increase of humanity, however, crowded the animals into the forests and desert places of the earth, and, upon the invention of lethal weapons, man commenced the wholesale slaughter of the beasts for the sake of their flesh and skins, and trod upon the lesser animals with contempt. The animals, driven to despair, resolved upon retributive measures. The first to meet were the bears, headed by the old White Bear, their chief. After several speakers had denounced mankind for their bloodthirsty behaviour, war was unanimously decided upon, and the nature of human weapons was discussed. It was discovered that the bow and arrow were the principal human weapons, and it was resolved to fashion a specimen to see if they could not turn man's weapons against himself. A piece of wood suitable for the purpose was procured, and one of the bears sacrificed himself to provide them with gut for a bowstring. After the bow was completed it was discovered that the claws of the bears spoiled their shooting. One of the bears, however, cut his claws, and succeeded in hitting the mark. But the chief, the old White Bear, interposed with the remark that claws were necessary to climb trees with, and that all would have to starve were they to cut them off.

The next council was held by the deer, under their chief, Little Deer. They resolved to inflict rheumatism upon every hunter who should slay one of them unless he asked pardon in a suitable manner. They gave notice of this decision to the nearest settlement of Indians, and instructed them how to make propitiation when forced by necessity to kill one of the deer folk. So, when a deer is slain by the hunter, the Little Deer runs to the spot, and, bending over the bloodstains, asks the spirit of the deer if it has heard the prayer of the hunter for pardon. If the reply be 'yes,' all is well, and the Little Deer departs; but if the answer be in the negative, he tracks the hunter until he enters his cabin and strikes him with rheumatism, so that he becomes a helpless cripple. Sometimes hunters who have not learned the proper formula for pardon attempt to turn aside the Little Deer from his pursuit by building a fire behind them in the trail.

The fishes and reptiles then held a joint council, and arranged to haunt those human beings who tormented them, with hideous dreams of serpents twining around them, and of eating fish which had become decayed. These snake and fish dreams seem to be of common occurrence among the Cherokees, and the services of the shamans to banish them are in constant demand.

Lastly, the birds and insects, with the smaller animals, gathered together for a similar purpose, the grubworm presiding over the meeting. Each in turn expressed an opinion, and the consensus was against mankind. They devised and named various diseases.

When the plants, which were friendly to man, heard what had been arranged by the animals, they determined to frustrate their evil designs. Each tree, shrub, and herb, down even to the grasses and mosses, agreed to furnish a remedy for some one of the diseases named. Thus did medicine come into being, and thus the plants came to furnish the antidote to counteract the evil wrought by the revengeful animals. When the shaman is in doubt as to what treatment to apply for the relief of a patient, the spirit of the plant suggests to him a fitting remedy.

The idea of curing by means of plants probably sprang from fetishistic practice. Some analogy or likeness was traced between the plant and certain of the sacred animals or spirits, according to the process known as the Doctrine of Signatures. It is a recognized principle in magic that things which bear a resemblance to each other have an occult effect upon one another. Thus, the shaman mixes with a draught to expel worms the red fleshy stalks of chickweed, because they resemble worms, and consequently must possess some occult influence upon worms themselves. This resemblance between substances is employed by practitioners of savage magic all the world over, and instances can be multiplied by the score (see Lang, 'Moly and Mandragora,' *Custom and Myth*², 1893, p. 143). The fetishistic employment of the chickweed in the above-mentioned example is plain. In biliousness, again, called *dallni* by the Cherokees, the most apparent symptom is the yellow bile vomited by the patient; and, in order to effect a cure, plants which possess a yellow stem or flower are employed

in treatment. This system also extends to the *tabu* which is part of the prescription. Thus a patient who suffers from *scrofula* must not eat the flesh of a turkey, the dewlap of which resembles a scrofulous eruption.

Faith plays an immense part in the practice of savage medicine, and the rites and prayers of the shamans are calculated to inspire confidence in the Indian's breast, the effect thus produced probably conducing to his physical betterment. Many of the plants used by the Cherokee shamans are of absolutely no avail as drugs, and are employed merely because of their 'sympathetic' analogies to the supposed cause of the complaint.

8. The medico-religious *tabu*.—If the condition of the patient be serious, the shaman almost invariably places him under a *tabu*. This is nearly always done for the purpose of removing him from direct or indirect contact with any woman in a pregnant condition or suffering from recurrent illness. The presence of such a woman is considered to nullify the shaman's treatment, and all females who do not belong to the family are refused admittance. Men are also forbidden to enter, because they may have come into contact with a *tabued* woman. In a rheumatic formula the patient is forbidden to touch a squirrel, dog, cat, mountain trout, or a woman. Here we may trace the totemic *tabu*.

9. Shamanistic medico-religious method.—Baths, bleeding, and rubbing, accompanied by magical formulae, enter largely into the methods in use among the shamans for the expulsion of evil spirits or of foreign bodies placed in the system at their instigation. Bathing in a running stream, or 'going to water,' as they term it, is one of their most common medico-religious ceremonies, and is performed upon many different occasions, as at the commencement of a new moon, before eating new food at the green-corn dance, before the medicine dance, and before and after the ball-play. It is also frequently brought into requisition in connexion with the invocations for long life, the counteraction of bad dreams or evil spells, and as a part of regular treatment for many different diseases. The details of the ceremony are exceedingly elaborate, and vary with the occasion. The shaman and the person who is to bathe are required to fast from the previous evening, the bath taking place at sunrise. The bather immerses his entire body in the water either four or seven times, but in some cases ritual is satisfied if the water is poured over the head by the hand. Whilst the bather is in the water, the shaman sits on the bank, divining omens from the play of magic beads between his thumb and finger, or from the motions of fishes in the stream. The end of autumn is considered the best period of the year in which to perform this ceremony, as at that time the fallen leaves from the trees float upon the rivers, and are supposed to communicate to them their medicinal virtues.

Bleeding is an operation usually performed before taking part in the ball-play, or in cases of rheumatic origin. In one of its forms it merely consists in scratching the patient's skin and rubbing in the medicine to be applied, but in its most drastic form it is performed with a small cupping-horn, to which suction is applied. The shaman usually pretends to find a small pebble or stick in the blood drawn, which he declares to have been placed in the patient's body by the evil spells of an enemy. Scratching is a severe process, being performed by a flint arrow-head or a rattlesnake's tooth, in accordance with the mythologic theory; and in preparation for the ball-play a huge comb having seven teeth is used, made from the sharpened splinters of a turkey's leg bone. The

scratching is performed according to a particular pattern, and is extremely painful.

In rubbing, the palm of the hand is used. In a formula which treats of snake-bite it is recommended to rub in a contrary direction to that in which the snake coils itself, because 'this is just the same as uncoiling it'—a remarkable instance of sympathetic magic.

Blowing upon the body is often practised, this being usually performed so that the shaman may blow the *shopega* cross on the patient.

10. Plant-gathering ceremonies.—The ceremonies used in connexion with gathering the medicinal plants and herbs are legion. The shaman is usually equipped for the search with a quantity of red and white beads. He approaches in a certain direction the plant to be culled, and circles round it either one or four times, reciting certain prayers during these revolutions. He then plucks the plant out of the ground by the roots, and places a bead in the hole, which he fills up with loose earth. These beads are regarded as a compensation to the earth for the plants thus reft from her. In some cases it is considered essential by the shaman to pass by the first three plants met until he comes to the fourth, which he takes; he is then at liberty to return for the others. When a tree is being stripped of its bark, the bark is always taken from the east side of the tree; and, when the roots or branches are used, it is considered necessary to pluck the one which runs out towards the east, the reason being given that the sun's rays have rendered the branch or root bitter and more powerful medicine. The roots, herb, and bark having been gathered, the shaman ties them up in a small bundle, and casts them into a running stream, muttering appropriate invocations the while. If the package floats, he considers it an omen of good for the success of his prescription. But, should it sink, he concludes that he has failed in some part of his ritual, and commences the entire process over again, from the culling of the necessary plants onward. The preparation of the medicine, its proper care and administration, have each a ritual of its own; and so entrenched are the shamans in the esteem of the Indians, because of their exactness in the observance of these rules, that impostors receive short shrift.

11. Colour symbolism.—In the shamanistic system of the Cherokees, colour symbolism plays a most important part. As already indicated, this was connected chiefly with the four cardinal points of the compass. Nearly all American Indian tribes possess elaborate systems of colour symbolism, which is generally expressed with reference to the points of the compass, personal decoration and tattooing, etc.; and in some instances, in addition to the four horizontal points or regions of the universe, three others were sometimes recognized, which may be termed the vertical points or regions, namely, the upper, lower, and middle worlds. In some cases, as among the Navaho, a separate colour scheme is used for their heaven or celestial region, and another for their under-ground world, the region of death, danger, and witchcraft. In some instances the colours of the cardinal points have been used to denote something more than mere ideas of locality, though these ideas may often have some mental connexion with the idea of locality. Thus, the elements as conceived in Indian philosophy—fire, wind, water, and earth—are often symbolized by the colours of the cardinal points. As before explained, the Cherokee deities corresponded in colour to the characteristics imputed to them, and were connected with other spirits of like name but of different colours. Their symbolic system, apart from their cardinal system (Mooney,

'Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees, 7 RBEW, p. 342), is as follows:

East=red=success; triumph.

North=blue=defeat; trouble.

West=black=death.

South=white=peace; happiness.

Above=brown=unascertained, but propitious.

„ =yellow=about the same as blue.

Much diversity exists in the colour systems of the various tribes, both as to the exact location and as to the significance of the colours, but black is usually the symbol of death, while white and red signify peace and war respectively. The Cherokees established places of refuge as asylums for criminals, in the manner of the Israelites, which they designated 'white towns'; and for sacrifices, animals of this colour were most highly esteemed by them.

12. Ceremonial dances and games.—The Cherokees possess, in common with other Indian tribes, many ceremonial dances and games, but several of these seem to differentiate their customs sharply from those of other peoples. Thus, the Medicine Dance and the Medicine-boiling Dance were second in importance only to the *Busk*, or Green-Corn Dance. The Medicine Dance is generally performed in connexion with other dances, but the Medicine-boiling Dance, which possessed much solemn ceremonial, has unfortunately been discontinued for nearly twenty years. It took place in the autumn, probably preceded the Green-Corn Dance, and lasted for four days. The principal ceremony in connexion with it was the drinking of a powerful decoction of various herbs, which acted as a strong purgative and emetic. The usual fasting and bathing accompanied this ceremony.

The Green-Corn Dance was an occasion upon which all crimes and faults were solemnly forgiven and forgotten, a season of tribal absolution. The day upon which the ceremony was to commence was determined by the chief in council. In settlements of small importance it lasted for four days only, but in the larger Indian villages it often occupied twice that period.

On the first day the 'square' in the middle of the village is sprinkled with white sand while the 'black drink' is in preparation. The official fire-maker kindles the new fire by friction, the four logs for the fire being laid cross-wise with reference to the cardinal points. A strong emetic is then drunk until the afternoon, and the day is finished with various clan dances. On the second day, dancing recommences in the morning. About midday the men approach the new fire, rub the ashes on their chins, necks, and bellies, jump head-foremost into the nearest river, and then return to the square. The women are meanwhile busy with the preparation of new corn for the feast. Before the feast begins, the men rub some of the maize between their hands, and then on the face and chest. On the third day the men sit in the square all day. On the fourth day the women rise early and procure some of the new fire, with which they kindle a similarly constructed pile of logs upon their own hearths. They then plunge into water, taste some salt, and dance the 'long dance.' On the fifth day the four logs of the fire, which last only four days, having been consumed, four other logs are similarly arranged, and the fire is re-kindled, after which the men drink the 'black drink.' On the sixth and seventh days the men remain in the square, but on the eighth and last day ceremonies of a very impressive nature are held. A herbal mixture is used by the men to drink, to rub over their joints, etc., after the shamans have blown into it through a small reed. Another curious mixture, compounded of old corn-cobs and pine-boughs mixed with water, and stirred by four girls who have not reached puberty, is also used by the men to rub themselves with. Then two men bring tobacco to the chief's house, and every one present receives a portion. Next the chief and his counsellors walk four times round the burning logs, and throw some of the tobacco into the fire each time they face the east, and then stop whilst facing the west. They afterwards take a cane with two white feathers fixed upon it, and cast it into the river, jumping in after it, and emerging with four stones picked from the bottom. With these they cross themselves four times, each time throwing one of the stones back into the water. The ceremony ends with the 'mad dance,' which is performed after midnight.

The Ball-Play is preceded by ceremonial dancing, fasting, bleeding, anointing, and prayer, under the direction of the shamans. It is played with

a small ball of deerskin stuffed with hair or moss, and with one or two netted racquets, the rules being similar to those of lacrosse or football. The game, like the Mexican *tlachtli*, has probably a religio-astronomical significance, as is evidenced by the severe fasting and ritual which precede it.

13. The medico-religious formulæ and their ritual.—The medico-religious formulæ, which are the basis of our knowledge of Cherokee belief and ritual, are some six hundred in number, and were obtained, on the Cherokee Reservation in North Carolina, in 1887 and 1888, by officials of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology. They cover every subject pertaining to the daily life of the Cherokees, including medicine, hunting, fishing, love, war, etc., and embody the entire religious ideas of the nation. Some of the manuscripts are more than fifty years old, and many are probably older, as can be ascertained from the archaic type of the language employed. These formulæ have been handed down from a remote antiquity, until the invention of the alphabet, as stated, enabled the shamans to put them into writing; and this circumstance has given us an exposition of aboriginal religion which could not be obtained from any other tribe in North America, some of them possessing an alphabet of their own, which they use for native religious purposes. The language, the conception, and the execution of these formulæ are all genuinely aboriginal, and show not a trace of white influence. Besides the formulæ obtained from shamans, still or recently existing, there are the *Kanáheta Ani-Tsalagi Eti*, or 'Ancient Cherokee Formulæ,' which are of older origin. In order to furnish the reader with a correct idea of these formulæ, we append a translation of one of the most brief:

To treat the black yellowness.

Listen! In the great lake the intruder reposes. Quickly he has risen up there. Swiftly he has come, and stealthily put himself (under the sick man). Listen! Ha! Now you two have drawn near to hearken, there in the Sun Land you repose, O Little Men, O great *anidawehi*! The intruder has risen up there in the great lake. Quickly you two have lifted up the intruder. His paths have laid themselves down toward the direction whence he came. Let him never look back (towards us). When he stops to rest at the four gaps, you will drive him roughly along. Now he has plunged into the great lake from which he came. There he is compelled to remain, never to look back. Ha! there let him rest.

(Directions.) This is to treat them when their breast swells. Fire (coals) is not put down.

This formula appears to have been in use in cases of acute biliousness. The Cherokee idea is that it is caused by revengeful animals, especially by the terrapin and the turtle, the flesh of which is undoubtedly bilious eating. The song given above is sung whilst the shaman rubs the breast and abdomen of the patient with an infusion of wild cherry bark. The 'intruder' is, of course, the turtle or other animal, the spirit of which has caused the mischief by creeping into the body of the man. The two Little Men of the Sun Land are invoked to drive out the intruder. These are probably the 'Thunder Boys' mentioned above, who come at the bidding of the shaman, drag the intruder from the body of the patient, turn his face towards the sunset, and drive him with many blows to the lake whence he came. On the road there are four mountain passes, where the disease spirit attempts to rest, but he is unmercifully hounded on by the two Little Men, who permit him no breathing space, and finally force him into the lake, from which he is not allowed even to look back. The four gaps or mountain passes negotiated by the disease spirit are symbolical of the stages in the treatment of the patient. The direction that no fire is to be used means that the shaman has warned the decoction otherwise than by introducing live coals into it.

The most important formulæ are those used in

the treatment of rheumatism. This disease, as before stated, is supposed to be caused by the spirit of the slain deer, or by the measuring-worm (*Catharis*), the movements of which resemble those of a person crippled by rheumatism. To remove rheumatism inflicted by Little Deer, the deer-god, it is thought necessary to employ the agency of some powerful animal spirit which is the natural enemy of the deer—usually the dog or wolf. The shaman thus invokes the Red (War) Dog, who dwells in the Sun Land, in flattering terms, and begs him to come to the assistance of the sick man. This spirit is supposed to arrive, and carry off with him a portion of the disease in his mouth. The Blue, Black, and White Dogs of the other lands situated at the remaining cardinal points are also successively invoked, and, lastly, the White Terrapin of Wahala is prayed to to remove what the dogs have left. He is supposed to do so, and the shaman declares that a cure has been accomplished. The 'Red Man' is also frequently invoked in cases of rheumatism, the formula relating to his assistance varying with the sex of the person who is under treatment. The cat, dog, and squirrel are tabued in rheumatism, as they sometimes assume the cramped attitude of a rheumatic patient. The formulæ usually consist of four paragraphs, four being the sacred number of the Cherokees. Four blowings and four circuits in the rubbing are also laid down as necessary. So many archaic words run through the songs that even the shamans have forgotten their meanings, and appear to regard them as nonsense or merely magical 'patter.' But a careful philological analysis of these terms has proved them to be genuinely archaic Cherokee expressions. In the snake-bite formula it is curious to notice that the same instructions are given as regards ritual as are used in a case of dreaming of snake-bites. Great pains are taken not to offend the rattlesnake in any way, as he is regarded by the Cherokees as one of their principal deities. Thus the shaman, when repeating the formula for snake-bite, never declares that the rattlesnake has bitten the patient, but says that he has been 'scratched by a brier.' In the same way, when an eagle has been shot for a ceremonial dance, it is announced that 'a snowbird has been killed,' the purpose being to deceive the rattlesnake or eagle spirits which might chance to overhear the remark. Likewise, if the shaman has reason to believe that a powerful spirit has caused the indisposition, he is very careful to throw as much contempt as possible on the intruder, and to convince it of his own superior magical power.

Not only do the spirits of the slaughtered game attack men; they also vent their revengeful spleen upon his offspring. Thus the Cherokees believe that worms in young children are caused by the spirits of birds killed by their fathers tracking them home by the blood-drops on the leaves, and casting their shadows upon the children. In the treatment of such cases the child must not be taken out of doors for four days, because, should a bird chance to pass above it so that its shadow would fall upon him, it would 'fan the disease' back into his body. For 'morning pains in the teeth' (neuralgia) the 'Red spider' is invoked, as it is thought that worms lodge in the gums, and they are just what the 'Red spider' eats. The Blue, Black, and White spiders are then adjured; and it is noticeable that the latter spirits dwell above (*Galárlati*), where no point of the compass is assigned to it. The dweller in the overhead *Galárlati* may be red, white, or brown in colour. In the formula it is white, the colour ordinarily assigned to spirits dwelling in the South. In a toothache formula the squirrel is prayed to to take the tormenting worm and put it between the

forking limbs of a tree on 'the north side of the mountain.' In the same formula fire is adjured as 'the Ancient White.' The name refers to its antiquity and life-giving properties, and to the fact that when extinguished it is covered with a coating of white ashes. In other formulæ, in which the hunter draws omens from live coals, fire is often addressed as 'the Ancient Red.'

In some of the invocations the spirits of the air are addressed collectively. For example, in a formula for treating chills, the shaman sings to the whirlwind, and 'to those who dwell on high'; that is, to the spirits of mountain, air, forest, and water. The invocation to the whirlwind is accompanied by blowing, in imitation of the spirit adjured. In other diseases, the Black, Red, Blue, and White Ravens are adjured to drag out the seeds of the complaint, which will otherwise evolve into a ghost or spirit within the body of the patient. In fact, the entire process is analogous to that of 'the casting out of devils,' so familiar to students of Eastern lore.

14. Hunting and love formulæ.—Finally, the Cherokees make use of invocations to the gods to assist them in hunting and in love. The great *Kanati*, the 'Great Terrestrial Hunter,' who formerly kept all the game shut up in his underground cavern, but who now dwells above the sky, is the god most frequently adjured by hunters. He appears to be confounded in the formulæ with the raven, and may perhaps have been originally a raven-totem. In all parts of America we find the raven as a symbol of the clouds, associated with the rains and the harvests (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 249). In this respect we may see a connexion between the raven and *Kanati*, as rivers are addressed as *Ela-Kanati*, the name referring to the manner in which the tiny mountain rivulets, originated by the great rains, search out, hunt, and bring down the débris of the mountain forests to the main stream. This river the hunter is supposed to feed with blood washed from the game. In like manner he feeds the fire, 'the Ancient Red,' with a piece of meat cut from the tongue of a slaughtered deer. In the morning the bird-hunter recites an invocation to 'the Ancient White' for success during the day. He then shoots an arrow at random—probably an act of placation to one or all of the cardinal points—and utters a hissing sound intended to call up the birds. The love formulæ are usually addressed to 'the White Woman'—probably the moon—and are generally uttered by the lover himself without the assistance of a shaman; and their purport is to protect the newly-married wife from the arts of seducers.

As offering a complete picture of savage life and religious practice, the sacred formulæ of the Cherokees are unparalleled in comprehensiveness and interest, and deserve even fuller examination than has yet been given to them.

LITERATURE.—W. Bartram, *Travels*, New York, 1775; MacGowan, *Amer. Historical Magazine*, vol. x.; J. Mooney, 'Myths of the Cherokees,' 19 *RBEW*, 1900, 'Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees,' 7 *RBEW*, 1891; C. C. Royce, 'Cherokee Nation,' 5 *RBEW*, 1887; H. Timberlake, *Memoirs*, London, 1765; A. W. Whipple, *Report on the Indian Tribes*, Washington, 1855.

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CHERUB, CHERUBIM (Heb. כְּרֻב, pl. כְּרֻבִּים, כְּרֻבִּים).—1. Derivation.—The derivation of the term is uncertain, but several conjectures may be rejected as lacking both evidence and probability. Connexions have been suggested with a Syr. word meaning 'strong' (Gesenius, *s.v.*), and with the Egypt. *xeref* (Renouf, *PSBA* vi. [1884], 193). In the latter case similarities in conception and function may be traced, but the differences also (see below) are almost too wide to admit of a common origin.

of the names. Identification with the Assy. adjective *karābu*, 'mighty,' is strongly advocated by Delitzsch (*Assyr. HWB*, p. 352), but the conception is too specific to be carried back to so general a term, in the absence of any certified particularizing factor. Lenormant was the first to suggest (*Origines de l'histoire*, 1880, i. 112, Eng. tr. p. 126; see Schrader, *COT* i. 40) identification with the Assy. *kirābu*, a word alleged to occur on a talisman as a synonym for *šēdu*, the name for the steer-god or winged bull with a human head, stationed on guard at the gate of Assy. temples and palaces. But neither has the occurrence of the term been verified (*ZA*, 1886, i. 63), nor is the comparison exact enough to carry conviction. The grouping of the figures and their functions are both distinct; and in the earliest Heb. tradition (Gn 3²⁴) the gateway, an indispensable feature of the Assy. scenery, disappears, while 'the flame of a sword'—an almost certain reference to lightning—is equally absent from the Assy. tradition. It is now reported that the reading *kirābu* rests upon a mistake (*KAT*², 632, n. 5); and all that is permissible is to regard the two traditions, not as derived the one from the other, but as collateral and perhaps independent developments of a tendency to construct composite figures of various kinds as symbols of natural or imagined processes, and to use them sometimes for purely artistic purposes, and sometimes for the expression of minor religious conceptions. The closest comparison between Assy. or Bab. and Heb. usage in this matter is to be found at later stages. The date was a valuable article of food in Babylonia, and winged human figures are often represented as fertilizing the palm with pollen (Tylor, in *PSBA* xii. [1889-90] 383 ff., where an Egypt. origin or suggestion is claimed for the practice). Similarly, cherubim and palm-trees are associated in the decorations of Solomon's Temple (1 K 6³²⁻³³) and of Ezekiel's (Ezk 41^{18a}), and it is more than likely that some religious significance attached to the combination. But imitation, direct or mediated, with community of sentiment, is an adequate explanation of the conditions, apart from any attempt to force an intractable etymological theory in the absence of any materials in the extant documents.

Concerning another theory, at first apparently full of promise, a similar conclusion will stand. On the postulate of a Heb. or Syr. root, not used in its assumed original meaning of 'tearing' like a bird of prey, or in the further sense of 'ploughing' or 'tearing up' the soil, *grbh* is asserted to be a loan-word of kindred derivation with *grb*, and a common origin is sought in the Pers. *griftan*, 'to seize,' or in the Skr. *grbh*. But, apart from technical objections, this is to overlook radical differences of conception in the presence of similarities of sound, and thus to exaggerate the importance of phonetic values. The griffin and the cherub are equally examples of the imagination, which in almost all early races pictured composite figures for the discharge of certain services in relation to the gods. But under the former any combination was legitimate, and the object was to incite alarm or caution by the representation of power in a threatening form; whereas, until Ezekiel, the human element predominates in the cherub and is rarely absent afterwards, and the representation is meant to be that of an agent, or rather of an attendant, with attractive rather than repellent associations. Even in Gn 3²⁴ the alarming feature is mainly 'the flame of a sword,' while the personage wielding it is at least neutral in regard to the power of inspiring terror. Among the neighbours of Israel, instances of the practice may be seen on every hand. Lion-headed goddesses, jackal-headed and hawk-headed gods, and

other abortions are familiar in Egypt. mythology; and a Phoen. marble relief in the Louvre (*HDB* i. 378), not satisfied with combining the body of a leopard with the head of a man, adds the equipment of wings springing out of either side of the neck. Winged bulls or lions guarded the approaches to the Assy. temples, and composite figures occur even in primitive Hittite art (cf. Furtwängler, in Roscher, vol. ii. art. 'Gryps'), which probably served as an example, or at least as an inspiration, to the artists of the other nations. In Greece a many-headed dragon was believed to guard the apples of the Hesperides; mythological fancy ran riot in the wanderings of Io (e.g. Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 805 ff.); and Herodotus (iii. 116, iv. 23, 27) not only reported on such monsters as one-eyed men, but had heard of four-footed birds that watched over the treasures of the gods. The lion, the goat, and the serpent contributed to the formation of the chimæra, which was killed by Bellerophon (*Il.* vi. 179, xvi. 328); and the idea, once reached, of knitting together parts of known animals into a composite creature to be used for diverse superhuman functions quickly spread, until it became a practically universal intellectual device. Both words, *grb* and *grbh*, are evidences of the practice; but they belong in origin to a stage of thought at which the differentiation of function was on the whole well marked, and the differences are sufficiently great to discredit the theory of a common etymological source. Nor is it likely that the Hebrews would have adopted as a prominent feature of ecclesiastical art a symbol that was interwoven with the mythological speculations of pagan nations. An origin for the conception, as entertained in the religious traditions of Israel, appears to be a necessity, which is not met by the exhibition of a partly similar tendency of thought elsewhere amid relations that would not be congenial even in the groups represented by the Elohistic documents. The word is found in the devotional as well as in the Levitical literature; and such was the exclusive quality of Hebrew religion, especially after the revelation to Abraham, that the general prevalence of a mythological conception outside Israel involves even the improbability of its adoption within.

Several attempts have been made to explain the word by an assumed transposition of letters, but the suggestions are not convincing. If the position of the first two letters is changed, the result is *grg*, 'a chariot' (cf. Oehler, *Theol. of OT*, Eng. tr. 1882, i. 385); the idea may have been suggested by Ps 18⁹, Ezk 10⁹, but cannot be fitted easily into the earlier, or the majority, of the references. By reversal of the letters, the stem of *grb* has been identified with that of *grg*, or carried back to the Assy. *karābu* (which is held by P. Haupt to be itself a transposition of the Heb. *grb*), in the sense of 'to be propitious' or 'to bless' (*SBOT*, 'Numbers,' 1900, p. 46); but the obvious objections are that the process is too artificial, and the deduction of a special meaning from a general and unrelated term is unexplained. Among the Jews of Babylonia there was a disposition to resolve *grb* into the prefix *g* and *rb*, and to relate the latter to the root of *grg*, 'a youth of a suitable age to apprentice.' Accordingly the term 'cherub' was interpreted as 'equivalent to a growing child'; but the conclusion did not stand after discussion, and the distinction in Ezk 10⁴ between the face of a cherub and the face of a man was taken to mean that, while both faces were those of adults, the one was smaller than the other, the effects of reflexion in a large and in a small mirror being sometimes quoted in illustration (*Chagigah*, 13b; cf. Streane's tr., 1891, p. 73 f., and Jastrow, *Dict. of Targumim*, etc., 1886-1903, s.v.). The discussion is evidently of

no etymological value, though important as a witness to the strength and generality of the belief that the cherubic face was human.

Still another explanation was current among the early Fathers, who probably derived it from Philo. In his *Vita Mos.* (iii. 8) he takes the word as equivalent to *ἐπίγνωσις* καὶ *ἐμπιστήμη* πολλή (Mangey, ii. 150), with some pretence of an etymological basis for his view, but without the citation of any evidence. Clement of Alexandria considers *αἰσθησις* to be the implication of the term, and appears to be writing with some unexplained theory of derivation in his mind: *ἐθέλει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν χερουβὶμ δηλοῦν αἰσθησιν πολλήν* (*Strom.* v. 240). Didymus of the same city prefers *γνώσις* and *σοφία*; after stating (*Expos. in Ps.* 79) that the cherubim are so called ἀπὸ τῆς προσούσης αὐτοῖς σοφίας, he adds: *πλήθος γὰρ γνώσεως ἐμπνεύεται τὰ χερουβὶμ*. An alternative explanation among the Greeks is illustrated by Theodoret, who cites (*Quest. in Gn.* iii.) without demur a view which makes power the fundamental notion in the word: *χερουβὶμ καλεῖται πάν τὸ δυνατόν*: οὕτως λέγει, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ, ἀπρὶ τοῦ δὲ δυνατός βασιλεύων. The Latins, on the contrary, prefer the more general opinion, and make the term a synonym for knowledge. Thus Jerome writes (*Com. in Is.* lib. iii. cap. vi.), with an interesting, if indefensible, distinction between cherubim and seraphim: 'Qui sedes super cherubim manifestare; qui in nostra lingua interpretantur scientia multitudine. . . . In cherubim ergo ostenditur Dominus; in seraphim ex parte ostenditur, ex parte celatur.' So Augustine (*Enarrat. in Ps.* 79³): 'Cherubim sedes est gloriæ Dei, et interpretatur plenitudo scientiæ; ibi sedet Deus in plenitudine scientiæ.' These Patristic interpretations profess more or less distinctly to be based on an etymological theory, and are not mere attempts to substitute an easier notion for one more recdite. Yet the assumed derivation is nowhere set forth in detail; and nowhere even are any particulars given that can be tested. All that can be taken as proved is that the cherubim were regarded as symbols of certain Divine attributes, that of omniscience predominating; but the origin of the term and the stages in the growth of the opinion are left unexplained.

2. Cherubim in Scripture.—Cherubim appear in Scripture in both the Prophetic and the Priestly literature in association respectively (a) with primitive traditions and early poetry, (b) with the equipment and ornamentation of the Temple, and (c) with apocalyptic expectations. In the latter cases, details are sometimes supplied which help to fill up the conception of the original belief, and are better understood as its survivals than as accretions made at a later date.

(a) The earliest occurrence is in the story of the garden of Eden, Gn 3²⁴ (J), where the cherubim form part of the provision 'to keep the way of the tree of life.' Imagination has added many particulars that do not appear in the narrative, such as a gate at which were posted beings of a human form, armed with drawn swords to resist any attempt at entrance. The scenery is, in reality, of a different character altogether. The garden is not conceived as a shut-in enclosure, surrounded by impenetrable fences, but as an open paradise with luxuriant growth thinning off into less fruitful country. There is no gateway at which the guard can be concentrated; and 'the flame of a sword which turned every way' is an evident allusion to lightning, not wielded by the cherubim, but an additional and associated defence. And if in the cherubim a feature must be sought akin to that of the lightning, the picture is one of a bank of heavy thunder-clouds, lining the east of the garden, and assuming threatening shapes to the

conscience-smitten onlooker, with flashes of lightning that barred approach, and in their possible incidence anywhere along the eastern border effectually kept the way.

Another identification of the cherubim with cloud-shapes, and possibly with thunder-clouds, is to be found in Ps 18¹⁰ (cf. 2 S 22¹⁴), where 'rode upon a cherub and did fly' is parallel with 'flew swiftly upon the wings of the wind.' The whole scene is that of a tempest followed by a thunderstorm, in which God, Himself hidden in the darkness of thick clouds, manifests His glory with 'lightnings manifold' (Ps 18¹⁴), to the discomfort of the oppressors of His servant. The cherub is the cloud upon which He sits—black, with its ever-changing concave faces driven rapidly forwards, and displacing one another in continual movement, until the spot is reached upon which God's arrows, 'hailstones and coals of fire,' are discharged.

(b) From this conception of the cherubim as the bearers or chariot of God, an easy transition, involving little more than the substitution of the idea of rest for that of movement, made them the throne of God, upon which He sits when entering into communication with man. In the Priestly Code, as in the OT generally, the thought is related to the theocracy only, and cherubim are not found in association with God's celestial throne until the time of the Apocrypha; for there is no sufficient reason so to alter the text of Ps 22³ as to read an anachronism into the passage (cf. Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*², 1888, ad loc.). At the utmost, a metaphor, 'Thou art enthroned upon the praises of Israel as on earth upon the wings of the cherubim,' is all that is required. In the Tabernacle the cherubim appear in two connexions. Two small figures of solid or 'beaten' gold stood upon the golden slab of the mercy-seat (Ex 25¹⁸⁻²⁰, 22 37⁷⁻⁹, Nu 7³⁹). The mercy-seat itself was only two cubits and a half, or approximately forty-four inches, long. The figures consequently cannot have been large, and were posed facing one another, with their wings uplifted and meeting together so as to cover the mercy-seat, and to constitute either a basis or throne on which the glory of God appeared (so *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, s.v.), or more probably a canopy over the Sacred Presence (cf. Nu 7³⁹, where the Voice comes 'from between the two cherubim,' and the repeated RVm 'dwelleth between the cherubim' for 'sitteth upon the cherubim,' as in 1 S 4⁴ et al.), the cherubim being viewed accordingly as the guard or retinue rather than as the bearers of Jahweh. Similarly, 2 S 6²=1 Ch 13⁶, 2 K 19¹⁵=Is 37¹⁶, Ps 80¹ 99¹ are best interpreted as reminiscences of the cherubim of the ark of the covenant. As to their form, beyond the references to faces and wings, no precise information is given; but the general impression conveyed by the narratives is certainly that of a winged human figure, with eyes cast down reverently towards the mercy-seat, not out of curiosity or eagerness to understand, but as the sacred spot where Jahweh appeared, and whence He manifested His grace to the worshipper. Everything is arranged to make that spot central and to mark its sanctity; and hence 'cherubim of glory' is rightly interpreted as cherubim ministering at the glorious revelation of God (cf. Westcott on He 9⁸) on the propitiatory or mercy-seat.

The second use of cherubim in the Tabernacle was to supply the model of figures that were woven into the texture of the curtains (Ex 26¹ 36⁸), and of the veil or hanging screen (Ex 26³¹ 36³⁵) that separated 'between the holy place and the most holy.' The object is not likely to have been protective, as in the case of the tree of life, for the figures were not confined to the place of entry into the innermost sanctuary, but were rather a help to worship,

reminding the people alike of the majesty of God and of the mingled awe and expectation with which He might be approached at the mercy-seat or the altar. Hence again the figures, though not of necessity exactly like those upon the mercy-seat, must have been free from any features of grotesqueness or horror; and the angelic or winged human form best meets the conditions.

In Solomon's Temple similar uses of the figures occur, but all on a larger scale. Two colossal cherubim, carved out of olive wood and plated with gold, stood in the *adytum*, or innermost sanctuary, facing the door. Each was ten cubits (approximately 14 ft. 6 in.) high, and the extended wings reached from side to side of the building, which was a cube of twenty cubits, and met in the centre (1 K 6²⁸⁻²⁹ 8⁶, 2 Ch 3¹⁰⁻¹³ 5¹¹, 1 Ch 28¹⁸). Between the figures and beneath the overspreading wings was placed the ark of the covenant; but whether the smaller figures from the Tabernacle were retained is not stated. There was room for them; and, if they had been still available, religious sentiment might have outweighed artistic considerations and secured their admission. But the ark had undergone such a variety of fortunes that not only were some of its sacred contents lost (1 K 8⁹), but the golden ornaments had probably disappeared long before. The same figures, again, were adopted as the principal feature in the decoration of the Temple. Along with palm-trees and open flowers, they were carved on the cedar panelling that lined the inner walls, and on the doors of olive and cypress wood (1 K 6^{29, 32, 33}, 2 Ch 3⁷). Interchangeably with lions and oxen, each apparently enclosed in a wreath, they were carved on the bases of the portable lavers (1 K 7^{29, 36}); and they were woven into the veil of the *adytum* (2 Ch 3¹⁴). The significance of the selection of this design is not evident. Against the suggestion that the cherubim were regarded as the guardians of the Temple and its contents, lies the association with them of the discordant figures of oxen and palm-trees. They are rather to be viewed as attendants upon God in His communications with men, as part of the actual means by which He comes into contact with man for judgment or blessing beyond the gracious provision of food, and hence as signs and symbols of His presence, silently appealing to the worshippers for the befitting awe, and inciting them to reverent expectation.

(c) With Ezekiel the imagery becomes increasingly complicated and difficult. Four cherubim support the 'firmament,' on which the prophet sees 'the appearance of the likeness of a throne' (Ezk 10¹). Progress is effected by an obscure arrangement of wheels, but the tempest and thunderstorm (14¹² 11²²) are still part of the machinery. As to the shape and appearance of the cherubim, the prophet allows himself considerable licence. Each had four wings—two stretched upwards to support the platform of the throne, and two stretched downwards, covering the creatures themselves when at rest, and yet useful aids in mounting (10¹⁹), though not apparently in altering the direction of flight. Each also had four faces; but the traditions do not agree. In Ezk 10²² the cherubim are identified with the living creatures of 1¹⁰. In the one passage the four faces are those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle; yet in 10¹⁴, which is possibly a gloss, the faces are those of the cherub, a man, a lion, and an eagle, where the distinction between the cherubic and the human face appears for the first time, and is best regarded as an invention of the glossator. Hottinger, however (*de Incestu, in loc.*), cites the passage in favour of the view that *קרי* means an ox, being derived from a root *קרי*, 'to plough,' in which case the difficulty disappears. An early tradition (*Chag. 13b*) reports

that Ezekiel implored God to substitute the face of a cherub for that of an ox, that He might not be continually reminded of Israel's idolatry and defection in the wilderness. But the only satisfactory inference from that tradition is that the compilers of the Talmud had noticed an inconsistency between the two passages in Ezekiel. A further confusion is introduced by the representation of 41²⁸, where only two faces are allowed. On the whole, the form of the cherub must be taken as human (1⁵); and, whether the faces are several or one, that of a man is never absent. In other respects the prophet appears to have allowed himself much freedom of fancy; and his symbolism, where it is neither traditional nor peculiar to himself and artificial, is not without traces of Babylonian influence. It will be seen that from his time, even if he had not himself inherited an already existent tendency, different ways arose of conceiving the cherubim, both as to enhanced complexity of form and as to function. Hitherto they had been thought of mainly as agents by whom Jahweh communicated or carried out His will upon earth; before long they were transferred to heaven, where their functions merged into those of the higher ranks of the angels, while the earlier differentiation was lost. The seraphim of Is 6² are differently employed, but are not without resemblance to the cherubim of Ezekiel, and the qualities of both are combined in the 'living creatures' of Rev 4⁶⁻⁸ 5⁶, 11, 14 6¹⁻⁷ 7¹⁴ 14⁹ 15⁷ 19⁴.

This combination of functions is probably the key to the interpretation of the obscure allusion in Ezk 23¹⁴ 16. There can be no question that the text is corrupt, since it yields, as it stands, no intelligible meaning. Hommel and others interpret the 'cherub that covereth' as equivalent to 'the cherub of the Tabernacle,' on account of the presence of that figure on the screens and curtains; but it is clear from the context that the prophet's allusions are based upon the traditions of Eden, and not upon the Priestly description of the Tabernacle. Keil acknowledges a primary reference to Paradise, but proceeds to explain the passage on the assumption that the place of the cherub in the sanctuary was in the prophet's thought. And the explanation is itself hopeless, involving such confusions as that 'the prince of Tyre is called an anointed cherub, because he was a king even though he had not been anointed,' and that he is addressed as a cherub, 'because as an anointed king he covered or overshadowed a sanctuary, like the cherubim upon the ark of the covenant. The best course is to fall back upon the LXX, and with its aid to render the opening phrases of 23¹⁴ 'Thou wast with the cherub, I set thee in the holy mountain of God,' and the closing phrases of 23¹⁶ 'The cherub cast thee out of the midst of the stones of fire,' i.e. the flashing gems. Thus the statement becomes that the prince of Tyre had been greatly privileged, so much so that he may be said to have been admitted under cherubic protection into the garden of God, and to have dwelt amidst its splendours in all the bravery of jewel-besprinkled robes, but that all this high estate had been forfeited through his pride; he would be cast out by the guardian cherub, and become a wonder and a warning to men (23¹⁹). The entire lesson rests upon the story of Eden, into which a number of particulars are introduced, such as the possibility of admission into the garden and the magnificence of its contents, which are not referred to in Genesis, and are not even in complete agreement with the implications of the Biblical narrative. It has been suggested that, with a view to representing pictorially the fall of the king of Tyre, the prophet availed himself of these ampler details, which were current among the people in a variety of versions of the original story (cf. Driver, *Gen.* 3 p. 61). Or it may be that, in his own delight in symbolism, he felt at liberty to add to the story—of which there are few signs of instability within OT times, or even of the interest that would encourage accretion—features of an entirely independent origin. Precious stones and gold were used in abundance in the decoration of temples in Tyre (cf. Herod. ii. 44) and in Babylon (Sayce, *R. P.* iii. 104 ff.); and, what is a still closer parallel, the mythic tree of Gilgamesh glittered with them (cf. A. Jeremias, *Isdubar-Nimrod*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 80). There would be plenty of material with which Ezekiel's luxuriant fancy could play, without postulating the existence of a number of different versions of a story which has left but slight traces upon early Jewish literature.

A third use is made by Ezekiel of the figure, in a connexion in which a contrast between his Temple and that of Solomon appears. He finds place for no statue of a cherub, possibly because the ark had disappeared long before, and was not reproduced in the symbolism; but he represents the inner walls and the doors as carved with alternating palm-trees and cherubim (Ezk 41^{18-20, 22}). Each cherub had

two faces, looking opposite ways—that of a man and that of a young lion. In all probability no special significance attached to the design, which was merely an imitation of what had become the conventional decoration of a Jewish sanctuary, with complications suggested by the more ornate imagery of the prophet's own time. Similarly, in the Temple of Herod there appear to have been no cherubic statues, but, according to one authority (*Yoma*, 54a), figures of cherubim were painted upon the inner walls of some of the courts.

3. Cherubim in later literature.—In the Apoc. proper the only allusion by name to cherubim is in Sir 49⁸, from which nothing more can be inferred than that the author had been impressed by the description in Ezekiel. But the Pseudepigrapha, particularly the Books of Enoch, mark a distinct advance or change in the conception. Thus the Ethiopic Enoch alters their character from the media of God's revelation of Himself on earth to that of a group of angels of the highest rank in heaven, where they guard the celestial throne. In the earliest section, of which the latest date is 170 B.C., three references occur. The ceiling of the palace of God is described as 'like the path of the stars and lightnings, with fiery cherubim between in a transparent heaven' (14¹, ed. Charles); and the appearance of the throne was 'as hoarfrost, its circuit was as a shining sun and the voices of cherubim' (14¹³). In 20⁷ Gabriel is represented as 'over Paradise and the serpents [*ὄφεις*]: here probably the seraphim, see below) and the cherubim.' In the Similitudes (61¹⁰), amongst the host of God, continually praising Him, are enumerated 'the cherubim, seraphim, and 'ophannim' (or 'wheels': cf. Ezk 1⁴; Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 1897, pp. 168, 205, 289). A later addition to this section (71⁷) places the same three groups round about the Divine palace, and adds: 'These are they who sleep not and guard the throne of His glory.' The Slavonic Enoch, in its present form, is not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, and is almost certainly Egypto-Judean in its place of origin, just as the Ethiopic Enoch is Palestinian. It singles out the cherubim for some of the highest angelic honours, but, with a little ambiguity, locates them in both the sixth and the seventh heaven. In the midst of the archangels 'are seven phoenixes and seven cherubim and seven six-winged creatures, being as one voice and singing with one voice; and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice before the Lord at His footstool' (*Slav. Enoch*, 19⁸, ed. Morfill). That is the condition of things in the sixth heaven. Enoch meets them also in the seventh, where, he says, 'I saw a very great light and all the fiery hosts of great archangels, and incorporeal powers and lordships, and principalities, and powers; cherubim and seraphim, thrones, and the watchfulness of many eyes' (ib. 20⁴). Hence they are no longer conceived as supplying the means by which God visits the earth and carries out His purposes of grace or judgment amongst men, but as in immediate attendance upon Himself in heaven. The development takes place similarly in the areas of Jewish and of Christian thought. The 'living creatures' of the Apocalypse, representing, according to Swete (on Rev 4⁸), the Divine immanence in Nature, are paralleled in the almost contemporaneous Apoc. of Baruch, where one of the visions described (51¹¹, ed. Charles) is that of 'the beauty of the majesty of the living creatures which are beneath the throne.' As resident in the sixth heaven, they are probably to be classed among 'the angels of the presence' (Is 63⁹; cf. *Test. Levi*, 3; *Bk. of Jubilees*, 1² 22, ed. Charles), and as resident in the seventh, among the 'angels of sanctification,' whose main function is praise, or the ceaseless ascription to God of holiness and

glory. They are no longer the servants of God for certain special purposes in regard to earth, but are part of His permanent retinue within the celestial court.

Jewish traditional exegesis adds little concerning which there is general agreement, but preserves the opinions of several exegetical authorities or groups of authorities. There was a view, based probably on Job 38⁷, that the angels, including the cherubim, were created on the first day, and were indeed the first things created; but the view never became general, through fear of the inference that the cherubim assisted God at the work of creation. A variety of opinions competed with it—that the creation of the angels took place on the second, the fifth, or even the seventh day. In regard to rank, the cherubim, under their leader Kerubiel, are placed in the third class of angels in some of the Kabbalistic literature (cf. Jellinek, *Auswahl Kabb. Mystik*, 1854, p. 3), though Maimonides puts them in the ninth of the classes arranged in ascending order. A midrash reports that, when Pharaoh pursued Israel to the Red Sea, Jahweh took a cherub from the wheels of His throne and flew to the spot, the action being explained by the further statement that Jahweh inspects the worlds while sitting on a cherub (*Midr. Teh.* xviii. 15). Another midrash is significant, as indicating a different conception of function as well as a view of ordered gradation. According to *Lev. R.* 22, 'when a man sleeps, the body tells the soul what has been done during the day: the soul then reports to the spirit, the spirit to the angel, the angel to the cherub, and the cherub to the seraph, who finally brings the record to Jahweh.' The Rabbinical sources yield many other references to the cherubim, mainly in relation to their conjectured form and pose; but the change from the primitive tradition in regard to both function and localization is generally maintained.

Although Philo derives from the cherubim the title of one of his treatises, and elsewhere recurs to the subject, the allegorical possibilities of the conception are of surpassing interest to him, and on its other phases he is comparatively silent. In *de Cherub.* vii., he quotes with approval a curious view that the figures upon the ark represented the two hemispheres; yet it is evident that his opinion was unstable, for in *Vita Mos.* iii. 8 he expresses confidence in the interpretation of the figures as symbols of the creative and the royal authority of God: ἐγὼ δὲ ἂν εἰποιμι δηλοῦσθαι δι' ὑπονοῶν τὰς πρεσβυτάτας καὶ ἀνυστάτω δύο τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεις τὴν τε ποιητικὴν καὶ βασιλικήν. Ὀνομάζεται δὲ ἡ μὲν ποιητικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ θεός, καθ' ἣν ἐθῆκε καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ διεκόσμησε τὸτε τὸ πᾶν· ἡ δὲ βασιλικὴ κύριος, ἣ τῶν γενομένων ἄρχη καὶ σὺν δικῇ βεβαίως ἐπικρατεῖ (*Mang.* ii. 150). By the time of Josephus, speculation as to the form or function of the cherubim appears to have almost entirely ceased, and they were regarded as merely superhuman beings, incapable of exact differentiation from other angels: τὰς δὲ χερουβείμς οὐδεὶς ὁποῖα τινα ἦσαν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ εἰκόσαι δύναται (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 3).

The probable origin and course of growth of the conception, within at least the area of Jewish thought, are evident. At the beginning may be seen the tendency, inherent in Nature-worship, to personify moving objects, and to invest them with qualities implying hostility to man. The rounded forms of a rolling bank of thunder-cloud were almost certain thus to attract the attention and to excite the fears of observers, and in the outlines of the broken masses imagination would discern a variety of changeful shapes and countenances. A place being found in this way for 'celestial genii' (de Sauley, *Histoire de l'art jud.*, Paris, 1858, p. 24) in the superhuman mechanism of the un-

verse, folk-lore and mythology would proceed to develop the conception on various lines. Through the pre-Christian era the cherubim are always imagined in close association with Jahweh, at first as the chief agents by whose service He comes into contact with man, or secures the accomplishment of His will in the crises of theocratic rule, and afterwards as among the members of His retinue nearest the throne. The distinctions gradually weakened, and almost disappeared, until in popular fancy the cherubim were nearly merged in the larger group of angels. But it is doubtful whether this process was ever entirely completed; and, if it was for a time, no long period intervened before traces of another distinction appeared, and the cherubim were conceived as immediate attendants upon God, while the angels proper were His messengers for the fulfilment of any service, however remote.

4. Cherubim in art, hymnology, and worship. —These conclusions are on the whole confirmed by later ideas, which both illustrate some of the earlier beliefs, and in certain directions mark an advance. The cherubim were still included among angels, though the order set forth in the Pseud-epigrapha is not maintained. In the work, for instance, attributed wrongly to Dionysius the Areopagite, the cherubim are placed second in the first of three hierarchies, and are supposed to excel especially in knowledge and the faculty of contemplation, just as the seraphim excel in love. The two groups are often associated in Christian art. In primitive times a different tint was sometimes used to indicate a difference which was not distinguishable in figure, the cherubim being coloured blue and the seraphim red. In modern art the seraphim generally appear as adults, the cherubim as beautiful winged children, or as the winged heads of children without body. The idea of special excellence in knowledge has been lost in favour of that of praise, guileless and unrestrained.

Similarly, in the hymnology and ritual of both the Western and the Eastern Churches, the cherubim appear as an example of praise, undiluted by any dubious emotion. The *Te Deum* was composed, according to an old story (cf. Hincmar, *On Predestination*), by Ambrose and Augustine conjointly on the day of the latter's baptism—more probably by Nicetas of Remesiana (cf. Burn, *Introd. to Creeds*, 1899, p. 259 ff.); and one of the phrases in the original may be restored, 'Tibi cherubim et seraphim incessabili uoce proclamant.' The chief Eastern Churches also possess the so-called 'Cherubic hymn,' which Justinian is said to have first ordered to be sung, and which in the arrangement of the service immediately followed the dismissal of the catechumens, and was intended to prepare the minds of the worshippers for the sacramental mysteries that were celebrated next. It ran thus: *οι τὰ χειροβίμ μυστικῶς ἐκφωνῶντες, καὶ τῷ ζωοποιῷ Τριδὶ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντες, πᾶσαν τὴν βωποικίαν ἀποβάμεθα μέμνηται, ὡς τὸν βασιλεὺς τῶν ὧων ὑποδεξάμενοι ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφερούμενοι τάξουσιν.* Ἀλληλουῖα. The seraphim are not mentioned by name, but the allusion to the Trisagion implies their identification in current thought with the cherubim, and the recognition of the rendering of praise as the characteristic function of the latter. In the 21st Homily of Narsai, the founder of the great Nestorian school of Nisibis, an apparent distinction is drawn again: 'Holy is the seraph, and beauteous the cherub, and swift the watcher' (cf. Connolly's version in *TS* VIII. i. 48). But the first and second adjectives are so general in sense as to be changeable, and are nothing more than literary embellishments of a theme of which the transcendent dignity of the officiating priest is the centre. He is alleged to be superior to the cherubim and

all the angels, whose praises, like the ministry of the deacons, are a fit prelude and a fit sequel to his mediation. Evidently the idea of the cherub has lost the whole of its original and specific sense and connexions, and has become a term for any superhuman being who is conceived as occupied with the praising of God.

LITERATURE.—The standard Lexicons, *Encyclopædias* (esp. *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, *HDB*, *EBi*, *JE*), and works on OT Theology (esp. Smend, Schultz, and Dillmann) and on Bibl. Arch. etc. See, in addition to works cited, C. F. Keil, *Man. of Bibl. Arch.*, Eng. tr. 1887, i. 110–120; Riehm², 1893, i. 267 ff.; Benzinger, *Archäol.*, 1894, p. 267 f. *et al.*; Nowack, 1894, i. 38 f., 60 f. There is no monograph of the first importance on the subject; but articles in the technical periodicals, such as Teloni in *ZA* vi. [1891] 124 ff., and excursions, as in Cheyne, *Isaiah*², 1881, ii., or Driver, *Genesis*², 1903, p. 60 f., are valuable.

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CHEYENNE.—The Cheyenne are a North American Indian tribe of the Algonquian family, consisting of two divisions: the Northern Cheyenne, numbering about 1400, dwelling upon the U.S. reservation set apart for them in Montana; and the Southern Cheyenne, comprising about 1900, resident upon their ancient lands in Western Oklahoma, which have been allotted in severalty by the Government, so that the Indians are now United States subjects. The Cheyenne have for generations been a nomadic tribe, living in skin-covered lodges, and relying upon the products of the chase for a livelihood, although originally they appear to have been a semi-agricultural people. They practised both tree- and scaffold-burial, but occasionally interred their dead. Of a haughty and quarrelsome disposition, they were brave and chivalrous in their attitude towards their women, but practised polygamy. The entire tribe was subservient to a council of 44 elective chiefs, 4 of whom sat as a court of appeal with the right to elect one of themselves as chief of the tribe.

The worship of the tribe centres in a set of four 'medicine' arrows which the Cheyenne claim to have possessed from the creation of the world. These are of different colours, and are exposed to the general view on two occasions only: (1) upon the occasion of their annual exhibition—a function which is accompanied by many rites; and (2) when a Cheyenne Indian has been slain by a member of his own tribe, this ceremony being held for the purpose of cleansing and purifying the slayer from the stain of his tribesman's blood. This set of arrows is still carefully preserved by the Southern Cheyenne, the last recorded ceremony in connexion with it taking place in 1904. At these functions a delegation from the Northern section of the tribe is invariably present. Those priests or medicine-men whose duty it is to guard the sacred arrows practise a further rite known as 'fixing' the arrows, which concerns themselves alone. That they are jealously guarded is proved by the fact that women, white men, and half-breeds are strictly forbidden to approach them.

These arrows are almost certainly relics of a period when the Cheyenne worshipped a thunder-god, or god of the wind. In American mythology we find Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican god of wind, armed with the flint arrow-head, representing the thunderbolt; and Mixcoatl, the thunder-god of the Chichimecs of Mexico, was represented as carrying a bundle of arrows in his hand to signify his possession of the thunderbolts. Among the Zuñi Indians, arrows are frequently attached to fetishes, and certain Hopi priestly fraternities fasten them to bandoliers as sacred ornaments. In many tribes the ritual of worship to the four winds, the rain-bringers, begins with the shooting of four arrows to the four cardinal points.

The great tribal ceremony of the Cheyenne is the Sun-dance, which they profess to have received from the Sutaio, a small and cognate tribe incor-

porated with them. This they have practised for generations. It is a tribal recognition of the sun—common to many Indian tribes of the plains—as their elder brother. The performers move sunwise. This ceremony is not, however, a mere development of the dance, but rather the dance has become only a part of its ritual. From the Sutaio they also received the Buffalo-head ceremony, which was connected with the Sun-dance, but which has been obsolete for a long time.

These rites, however, have been practically cast into the shade, from a popular point of view, though not superseded, by the modern Ghost-dance religion, which was adopted by the tribe in 1890. This dance is connected with the Messiah doctrine, which originated among the Paviotso Indians of Nevada in or about 1888, and gained a rapid hold upon the various tribes from the Missouri river to the Rocky Mountains. Its first apologist was a young Paiute Indian called Wovoka, known to the whites as Jack Wilson, who had made for himself some reputation as a medicine-man, and professed to have received a personal revelation from the 'Great Spirit.' This, he stated, consisted of an assurance that a new phase of things was at hand, wherein the Indian tribes would regain their territories and be reunited to their dead friends. The preparation necessary for such an event was to be found in the assiduous practice of certain song and dance ceremonies given to them by the 'prophet.' The men and women of the tribe assembled, and, joining hands, moved slowly round in a circle, facing towards the centre, keeping time to a monotonous chant. Many afterwards subjected themselves to hypnotic treatment, in which they declared themselves to have been *en rapport* with their deceased tribesmen. Among the Cheyenne the rite is designated the 'Crow-dance'; and, whereas the other tribes render it without instrumental music, they make use of the drum as an accompaniment to the vocal music. It has now, however, degenerated into a function of a semi-social character, despite its great popularity.

On the occasion of the Sun-dance, for which ceremony the whole tribe was assembled, a circle was formed by the various tribal divisions, formerly seven, now probably eleven, in number; but, as it is more than seventy years since the entire tribe camped together, the importance of the ceremony has dwindled very considerably.

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CHIBCHAS (properly Muyscas or Mozcas).—One of the cultured peoples of South America, whose domain comprised the Cundinamarca plateau in the present State of Colombia, with the Eastern Cordillera as far as the Sierra de Merida, and whose now extinct stock language was widely diffused amongst the surrounding populations. *Muysca*, with its variant *Mozca*, is the national name, and means 'twenty,' or, by extension, 'man,' having reference to their vigesimal system of counting by all the fingers and toes, which make 20 = the complete man. *Chibcha* was the name applied to them by their neighbours in scornful allusion to the frequency of the palatal *ch* (as in *church*) in their language; and the recurrence of this sound was itself largely due to the masc. and fem. suffixes *chha* and *fhecha*, which were added to all nouns where needed to mark gender.

On the advent of the whites (1538) there were

two factions contending for the supremacy, headed respectively by the *zippa* and the *zaque*, that is, rulers of the 'South' and 'North,' the former with his capital at Tunja, the latter at Bacata or Bogota, the present name of Santa Fé de Bogotá, still the capital of Colombia. It was mainly owing to these feuds that the *Conquistadores* obtained such an easy triumph, and found that the *zaque* was the veritable *El Dorado*, of whom, even after this discovery, the treasure-seekers still continued to go in quest over half the continent.

The Chibchas, who have long been merged in the general Hispano-American population of Spanish speech, had made considerable progress in civilization, as witnessed by their political organization, by their social and religious institutions, and by their skill in such arts as weaving, dyeing, pottery, road- and bridge-making, mining, building, and other crafts. They were even credited with a gold currency, and in any case excelled in working the precious metal, which was both cast and wrought into a great variety of fantastic ornaments, chiefly frogs, snakes, and other animal forms displaying much imagination and technical skill. Their knowledge of astronomy rivalled that of the Mayas, but was independently acquired, as shown by the marked differences between the Central American and the Colombian calendric systems. Thus the Chibchas had three distinct calendars—the *rural* of 12 to 13 moons, the *ecclesiastic* of 37 moons, and the *civil* of 20 moons, with a week of only three days—the shortest on record (see *CALENDAR* [Mexican and Mayan]).

All the aboriginal tribes had been fused in a common social and political system, so that no tribal groups of Muyscan stock are known, although the empire was everywhere surrounded by savage and even cannibal populations, which were, and still are, broken into endless tribal fragments (Balbi, *Atlas ethnographique du globe*, Paris, 1826, Table xxix.). Several of these rude groups are classed with the Muyscas, by some authorities, in a widespread 'Chibcha family,' extending from the Ecuador frontier through Colombia and Panama into Costa Rica. Such are the *Nutibaras*, *Tatabas*, *Guacas*, and *Timebos* of the Cauca Valley; the *Paucuras*, *Petacays*, *Timbas*, and *Pastus* about the headwaters of the Rio Magdalena; the *Artuacos* (Köggoba, *Guamáka*, and *Bintukua*) of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta; and the Costa Rican *Boruca*, *Terraños*, *Guatusos*, *Bribris*, *Cabécars*, *Estréllas*, *Chimpós*, *Tucurriques*, and *Orosi*.

Muyscan society was divided into a number of exclusive castes, which presented striking analogies to those of the Aryan Hindus. Thus, to the Brahmins corresponded the *jeques*, or priests, who were at once magicians, medicine-men, judges, and executioners. In accordance with the prevailing matriarchal customs, they succeeded to their office by inheritance through the female line, while the Pontifex Maximus at the head of the hierarchy was elected from two princely families, and lived aloof from the public in a mysterious recess near Suamoz (the present Sagamoso), in the district of Iraca (Sogundomuhlo), which was set apart for his exclusive use and maintenance. Before entering on their functions, the *jeques* had to pass through a severe novitiate of twelve years in a *cuca* ('seminary') under an aged priest, and on a frugal diet which has been described as a continual fast.

To the Hindu *Katriyas* answered the warriors, who in peaceful times performed the duties of police and tax-gatherers. The *Vaisyas* and *Súdras* were represented by the traders, craftsmen, and peasantry, while a fifth class was formed by the conquered wild tribes differing in speech and other respects from the Muyscas, and thus answering to the *pariahs* and other outcasts of the Hindu con-

querors. But all alike were subject to a rigid system of civil and penal legislation, in which the almost autocratic power of the *zaque*, *zippa*, and *uzagues* ('sub-chiefs') was upheld by close alliance with the priestly class. The king himself had, as in Peru, gradually acquired a semi-divine character, as seen in his solemn processions from palace to temple, which took three days to traverse a distance of a few hundred yards. The title of *El Dorado* applied to the *zaque* of Bogotá arose from his custom on certain festivals of powdering himself all over with gold dust and plunging into the neighbouring Lake Guatavita, thus offering some of his wealth to the national deity, Bochica.

Like the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl, Bochica was traditionally a sage of white or fair complexion, who arrived from the east and became the great civilizer of the nation. After his death he received divine honours, and came to be regarded, if not as the supreme god of the universe, at least as the recognized head of the Muisca pantheon, in which were included not only the heavenly bodies, but also the personified forces of Nature and all conspicuous natural objects. Trees, rocks, mountains, streams, and rapids were endowed with indwelling spirits to which altars were raised; and to these shrines were brought offerings of gold, gems, rich fabrics, and at times even human victims. When danger threatened, a child captured from the enemy was sacrificed on a lofty summit, where the rocks smeared with its blood were lit up by the first rays of the rising sun. Each returning cycle of fifteen years was also solemnized with a human victim, always a youth from the eastern plains whence Bochica had arrived on the plateau. We even read that the Chibchas thought these sanguinary rites the most pleasing to their gods. In all cases the sacrifices were made by the *jefes*, who must therefore be regarded as true priests, though sometimes they officiated disguised as divinities, demons, or animals.

While, as already noted, Bochica, the deity of the nobility, was later regarded as the Chibcha culture-hero, our oldest sources distinguish between him and Chibchacum, as well as between Bochica and Chimizapagua (also called Nempterequeteva and Xue), the latter being the original culture-deity from the east. Mankind was estranged from obedience to Chimizapagua by a beautiful woman named Chia, Huytaca, Xubchagagua, or Yubecayguaya, whom the culture-god punished by transformation into either an owl or the moon. It was Chimizapagua, moreover, who, when Chibchacum in anger sent a flood upon the earth, appeared in a rainbow and stopped the waters by a stroke of his golden staff, while he banished Chibchacum to earth, which he sustains, thus occasioning earthquakes (cf. Ehrenreich, *Mythen und Legenden der südamerikanischen Urvölker*, Berlin, 1905, p. 51 ff.). For some twenty years Chimizapagua ruled in Sagamoso (his footprint may still be seen on a rock in the province of Ubaque), and then ascended to heaven. He would seem to be identical with the culture-hero Sadignia-Sonoda, or Idacanzas, to whom Sagamoso owed all its greatness. According to Chibcha mythology, light was originally hidden in Chimimigagua ('Sun-Holder'), who is also termed 'the creator of the world'; from Chimimigagua flew great black birds, which bore the rays of the sun throughout the world; and from the mountain lake of Iguaque, four leagues north of Tunja, rose a lovely woman, named Bachue, Turachogue, or Fuzachogua, with a boy three years old, these being the parents of the human race. Later they changed themselves into serpents and returned to their lake. Other accounts make the sun (who may have been identical with Bochica) and the moon (the divinity of which was Bochica's wife, the Chia mentioned above) the

creators of all things. In addition to the deities already noted, there were Nencatacoa, the god of weavers and painters; a god of the drunken; Chaquen, who guarded the boundaries of the fields; Bachue, who made the seed grow; and Cuchavira, the rainbow, who helped the sick, especially women in childbirth.

From these and other recorded details it is clear that the original animism of the Muisca had been raised to a higher plane, its main features being an almost unlimited polytheism, combined with sacrifice and a well-developed priestly order, with a general absence of ancestor-worship. Hence this 'State Religion,' as it may be called, with its polytheism evolved from pure animism, and not from ancestral shades, lends no support to Herbert Spencer's declaration that the 'hypothesis that religions in general are derived from ancestor-worship finds proof among all races and in every country,' and that 'nature-worship is but an aberrant form of ghost-worship' (*Eccles. Inst.*, 1885, pp. 675, 687). On the other hand, it so far bears out Huxley's view that 'among a large portion of mankind ancestor-worship is more or less thrown into the background either by cosmic deities or by tribal gods of uncertain origin' (*Coll. Essays*, 1894, iv. 348). The Chibcha system may also be taken as a further illustration of Rhys Davids' inference that 'the beliefs of the remote ancestors of the Buddhists may be summed up as having resulted from . . . Animism' (*Origin and Growth of Religion*, London, 1882, p. 113).

In some respects the moral standard stood at a fairly high level. Thus the rights of private property were thoroughly understood and protected by severe enactments against both robbery and fraudulent debtors. A keen sense of honour distinguished the upper classes, who feared degradation and disgrace more than corporal punishment. Although marriage was by purchase, the women, as under most matriarchal systems, enjoyed great freedom, and in certain cases were even empowered to chastise their husbands. Adultery was severely punished, but the virginity of a bride was held to imply that her powers of attraction were slight. The birth of twins was regarded as a proof of grave infidelity, and one of them was killed; and, if a woman died in childbirth, her husband, as partly responsible for her death, was obliged to give half his property to her kinsfolk, who brought up his child at his expense. Polygamy was widely practised, though only the first wife seems to have been regarded as the legitimate spouse. Much care and sympathy were bestowed upon the sick and aged, while the dead were honoured with costly funeral rites which varied with the different castes and districts. In some places the bodies were embalmed with resins, and even filled with valuable objects; in others they were sun-dried or exposed on platforms around the temples, or else stowed away in caves, in some of which hundreds of bodies have been found seated in circles, with their hands joined. Their souls were believed to migrate to the centre of the earth, which was reached by crossing a wide stream in boats made of the gossamer threads of the spider, which was accordingly regarded as a sacred insect. In this shadow-land they ceased to hold intercourse with the living, although departed kings were honoured with human sacrifices, women and slaves being despatched with messages to their underground abode. But the number of victims was limited; nor were these 'customs' renewed, as amongst the African Ashantis and Dahomeys, on each recurrent anniversary. All this is in full accordance with the feeble development of ancestor-worship in Muisca land, as generally throughout the New World.

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A. H. KEANE.

CHIDAMBARAM (Tamil *Shithambaram*; Skr. *Chitāmbara*, 'atmosphere of wisdom').—A town in the S. Arcot district of the Madras Presidency (lat. 11° 25' N., long. 79° 42' E.) famous for its Śaiva temple, which contains the celebrated *Ākāśa*, or 'air' *lingam*. Fergusson describes the place under the name of Chhillambaram, and gives a plan and views of the great temple. The celebrated *lingam* exists only in the imagination of its votaries, for whose benefit a curtain hung before a wall is raised; but the *lingam*, of course, is invisible. The building of the temple is ascribed to the 10th cent. A.D.; and the shrine of the goddess Pārvātī, spouse of Śiva, and the great gates (*gopura*) are assigned by Fergusson to the 14th or 15th century.

'The temple is held in the highest reverence throughout Southern India and Ceylon, and one of the annual festivals is largely attended by pilgrims from all parts of India. As an architectural edifice it is a wonderful structure, for it stands in the middle of an alluvial plain between two rivers, where there is no building stone within forty miles; and yet the outer walls are faced with dressed granite, the whole of the great area enclosed by the inner walls is paved with stone, the temple contains a hall which stands on more than 1000 monolithic pillars, into the gateways are built blocks of stone 30 feet high and more than 3 feet square, and the reservoir, which is 150 feet long and 100 feet broad and very deep, has long flights of stone steps leading down to the water on all four sides. The labour expended in bringing all this and other material 40 miles through a country without roads and across the Vellār river must have been enormous' (*Imperial Gazetteer*, 1908, x. 219).

LITERATURE.—The account in the *Imperial Gazetteer* quoted above; J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. J. Burgess (1910), i. 373 ff.; W. H. Workman, *Through Town and Jungle* (1904), 20f. W. CROOKE.

CHIEF GOOD.—See SUMMUM BONUM.

CHILAN BALAM.—The so-called books of Chilan Balam are native compilations of events occurring in Mayapan previous to the Spanish Conquest, and written by Maya Indian scribes in the characters invented and taught by the Spanish monks as suitable to the Mayan tongue. They embody the old traditions lingering in the memory of individuals concerning the doings of the Maya people before the coming of the Spaniards, and were probably written shortly after the Conquest, though some belong to the end of the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. They exist in various transcripts in Yucatan, and were first copied by Dr. Hermann Behrendt, whose transcripts were purchased by Dr. Brinton. They may be regarded as offshoots of the Mayan MSS., and treat in general of matters given in portions of these; they contain also a substratum of historic information which has been preserved by tradition. They are primarily brief chronicles, recounting the divisions of time, the periods known to the Mayas as *katuns*, which had elapsed since their coming to Mayapan.

1. Spanish notices of the prophecies.—Spanish notices of what are known to the old historians as the prophecies of Chilan Balam are rare. The fullest is that of Villagutierrez (*Hist. de el Itza, y de el Lacandon*, Madrid, 1701, p. 38). The prophecies purport to be those of the priest who bore the title—not name—of Chilan Balam, and whose offices were those of divination and astrology. Villagutierrez's statement is to the effect that Chilan Balam, high priest of Tixcacayon Cabick, in Mani, prophesied the coming of the Spaniards as follows:

'At the end of the thirteenth age, when Itza is at the height of his power, as also the city called Tancob, which is between

Yacman and Tichaquillo, the signal of God will appear on the heights; and the Cross, with which the world was enlightened, will be manifested. There will be variance of men's will in future times, when the signal shall be brought. Ye priests, before coming even a quarter of a league, ye shall see the Cross, which will appear and lighten up the sky from pole to pole. The worship of vain gods shall cease. Your father comes, O Itzalanos! Your brother comes, O Tantanites! Receive your barbarous bearded guests from the East, who bring the signal of the God who comes to us in mercy and in pity. The time of our life is coming. You have nothing to fear from the world. Thou art the living God, who created us in mercy. The words of God are good: let us lift up His signal to see it and adore it: we must raise the Cross in opposition to the falsehood we now see. Before the first tree of the world now is a manifestation made to the world: this is the signal of a God on high: adore this, ye people of Itza! Let us adore it with uprightness of heart. Let us adore Him who is our God, the true God: receive the word of the true God, for he who speaks to you comes from heaven. Ponder this well, and be the men of Itza. They who believe shall have light in the age which is to come. I, your teacher and master, Balam, warn and charge you to look at the importance of my words. Thus have I finished what the true God commanded me to say, that the world might hear it.'

It is not difficult to see in this account of the prophecy certain signs which at once mark it as spurious. The chief of these are the Scriptural character of the language employed, and the much too definite terms in which the prophecy is couched.

2. Genuine character of the books.—These considerations lead us first to an examination of the books, with a view to discovering whether or not they are genuinely aboriginal in character. There can be no doubt that, as in the case of the *Kiche Popol Vuh*, a genuine substratum of native tradition has been overlaid and coloured by the Christian influence of the early Spanish missionaries. The genuine aboriginal character of this substratum is clear from internal evidence, matters being dealt with in a manner which betrays an aboriginal cast of thought, and knowledge of Mayan manners being revealed in a way that no Spaniard of the period was capable of achieving. At the same time, the evidence of priestly editing is by no means far to seek, and must be patent to the most superficial reader. The evidence of language also points to the authenticity of these productions. Such an idiomatic use of the ancient Mayan tongue as they betray could have been employed by none but persons who had used it habitually from infancy. The trend of thought, as displayed in American languages, differs so radically from that shown in European tongues as to afford almost no analogy whatever; and this is well exemplified in these curious books. Their authenticity has been called in question by several superficial students of the American languages, whose studies have been made at second hand; but no authority of the first class has doubted their genuine aboriginal character. As regards the authenticity of the prophecies, it is known that, at the close of the divisions of time known as *katuns*, a *chilan*, or prophet, was wont to utter publicly a prediction forecasting the nature of the similar period to come; and there is no reason to doubt that some distant rumours of the coming of the white man had reached the ears of several of the seers. So far as the reference to the Cross is concerned, it may be observed that the Maya word rendered 'cross' by the missionaries simply signifies 'a piece of wood set upright'; but cruciform shapes were well known to the Mayas (see CROSS [American]).

3. Multiplicity of books.—The natives were greatly disturbed at the destruction of their sacred records by the Spanish monks (Landa, *Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan*, Paris ed. 1864, p. 316), and, as many of them had acquired the European alphabet, and as the missionaries had added to it several signs to express Mayan sounds foreign to Spanish ears, a number of native scribes set to work to write out in the new alphabet the contents of their ancient records. In this they were, doubtless, aided by the wonderful mnemonic

powers which were so assiduously cultivated by the American races, and they probably further relied upon such secretly preserved archives as they could obtain. They added much new European lore, and omitted a considerable body of native tradition. The result of their labours was a number of books, varying in merit and contents, but known collectively as 'the Books of Chilan Balam,' these being severally distinguished by the name of the village where each was composed or discovered. It is probable that in the 17th cent. every village contained a copy of the native records; but various causes have combined to destroy the majority of them. There still remain portions or descriptions of at least sixteen of these records, designated by the names of the several places where they were written: e.g. the Book of Chilan Balam of Chumayel, of Nabula, of Káua, of Mani, of Oxkutzcab, of Ixil, of Tihosuco, of Tixcocoab, etc.

'Chilan,' says Landa, second Bishop of Yucatan, 'was the name of their priests, whose duty it was to teach the sciences, to appoint holy days, to treat the sick, to offer sacrifices, and especially to utter the oracles of the gods. They were so highly honoured by the people that they were carried on litters on the shoulders of the devotees' (*op. cit.* 160). The derivation of the name is from *chij*, 'the mouth,' and signifies 'interpreter.' The word *balam* means 'tiger,' and was used in connexion with a priestly caste, being still employed by the Maya Indians as a name for those spirits who are supposed to protect fields and towns.

It is seldom that the names of the writers of these books are given, as in all probability the compilations, as we have them, are but copies of still older manuscripts, with additions of more recent events by the copyist.

4. Contents of the books.—The contents of the various books of Chilan Balam may be classified under: (1) astrology and prophecy; (2) chronology and history; (3) medico-religious practice; (4) later history and Christian teachings.

(1) The *astrology* is an admixture of Maya stellar divination and that borrowed from European almanacs of the century between 1550 and 1650, which are no less superstitious in their leanings than the native products. *Prophecies*, such as that quoted at length above, abound.

(2) *Chronological and historical matter*.—The books of Chilan Balam are, however, chiefly valuable for the light they throw upon the chronological system and ancient history of the Mayas. The periods of events in which they deal are designated *katuns*, and are of considerable length, but their actual extent has not been agreed upon. The older Spanish authors make their duration 20 years (the length of time alluded to in the text of the books), but marginal notes imply that they consisted of 24 years. As, however, these notes have been added by a later hand, the original computation is possibly the correct one. But it is still more likely that the length of the *katun* was neither 20 nor 24 years, but 20×360 days—a period of time actually used by the Mayas in reckoning, as appears from the numerical characters in the Dresden MS.

Most of the chronology of the books of Chilan Balam is of doubtful value. The list of traditional events is exceedingly meagre, and few dates can be relied upon with any degree of confidence. In the majority of instances the arrangement of the statement proves that the figures given do not represent actual dates, but were chosen according to a fixed scheme. The events which appear to have been recorded with the greatest degree of accuracy are the final establishment of the Spaniards and the foundation of Merida, their first appearance in Yucatan, and the death of Ahpula, a dreaded and powerful magician.

(3) *Medico-religious practice*.—The cure of various diseases is exhaustively treated by the authors of the books. Landa relates that 'the *chilanes* were sorcerers and doctors' (*op. cit.* 160), and we shall probably not be far wrong if we compare them with the medicine-men of other American tribes. The MSS abound in descriptions of symptoms and hints for diagnosis, and suggest many remedies. The preparation of native plants and bleeding are the chief among these, but several appear to have been borrowed from a physic book of European origin. Brinton states (*Books of Chilan Balam*, p. 18) that Behrendt, who first copied these books, and who was himself a physician, left a large manuscript on the subject, entitled 'Recetarios de Indios,' in which he states that the scientific value of these remedies is next to nothing, and that the language in which they are recorded is distinctly inferior to the remainder of the books. He held that this portion of these records was supplanted some time in the last century by medical knowledge introduced from Europe. This, indeed, is admitted by the copyists of the books, who probably took them from a mediæval work on Spanish medicine known as *El Libro del Judío*, 'the Book of the Jew.'

(4) The *Christian teachings* consist of translations of the 'Doctrine,' Bible stories, narratives of events subsequent to the Conquest, and other matters of minor interest.

5. Hieroglyphic mythology of the books.—The day and month hieroglyphics depicted in several of the Books of Chilan Balam appear to differ materially from those given by Landa (*op. cit.*) and those illustrating the various Mayan codices, and it will be well to examine them with a view to discovering whether these variants disclose any mythological or other information hitherto unnoticed. Taking as a basis for our considerations the Book of Chilan Balam of Káua, we observe that, although a similarity exists between its day-signs and those of the Codex Troano, many apparently radical differences are present. In the Book of Káua the signs are resolved into squares instead of into the usual 'calculiform' pattern. In the Kan sign, for example,—that of the day of Schellhas's 'God E' (the maize-god),—we find a germ of similarity, but also some considerable modification. In the sign of Cimi 2, we observe, by comparison with the Codex Troano, a highly conventionalized form of the head of the death-god (A). The closed eyes with the heavy pendant lashes on the cheek and the row of exposed and grinning teeth, which make this deity such a familiar figure in the codices, have in the Book of Káua been conventionalized into a square, in the upper portion of which have been drawn three perpendicular strokes flanked by two similar strokes at a sharp angle to them—the whole doubtless representing the eyelashes and end of the eyelids. The lower portion, probably intended to represent the under jaw, is filled in with two smaller squares. We thus see that in the books of Chilan Balam such Mayan writing as is depicted threatens to become so conventional as to depart almost entirely from the original form of the hieroglyphs. In the Chicchan sign (that of 'God H') we almost fail to recognize the skin-spot or scale of the serpent, which in the Book of Káua appears to be symbolized by a serpent's tail. But it is well known that the representations of 'God H' vary exceedingly, so that it is not improbable that his hieroglyph or day-sign may also vary. Indeed, as Schellhas says (*Representations of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts*, 1904, p. 29)—

'The Chicchan work in the sign of the day Chicchan also differs very much from that on the bodies of the serpents pictured in the manuscripts, so that variations of this kind by no means

make it necessary to assume that the hieroglyphs actually denote different things.'

In the Codex Tro-Cortesianus, for example (27*), we observe that the Chicchan-spots on the body of the serpent there represented much resemble the serpent-tails in the Chicchan sign of the Book of Káua in their scallop-shaped sequence. In the Chicchan sign we have a portion of the body of a serpent covered with veritable spots, whereas in the other Chicchan signs in the same book scales are most distinctly represented. We have here, in all probability, the day-sign or hieroglyph of Kukulcan, a Mayan deity analogous to, or identical with, the Mexican Quetzalcoatl and the Guatemalan Gucumatz. The day Muluc is that usually attributed to 'God K,' and the sign of Muluc represented in the Book of Chilán Balam of Káua would appear to strengthen the belief that that deity possesses an astronomic and architectural significance. In Muluc 5 we have a square divided into four equal parts around a small circle placed in the middle, each square containing a still smaller circle. This would appear in some manner to symbolize orientation, or may perhaps have a stellar significance. Of 'God K' Schellhas says (*op. cit.* 34):

'The significance of God K is unknown in his architectural relation. Some connection with his character as the deity of a star and with his astronomic qualities may, however, be assumed, since, as we know, the temple structures of Central America are always placed with reference to the cardinal points.'

Another striking degeneration into conventionality is noticeable in the sign Esnab, in which the type has evolved from that given in the Codex Tro-Cortesianus (something similar to a St. Andrew's cross) to one closely resembling the Arabic numeral 2. Of course, it is difficult to say how much of this trend towards conventionality in the day-sign was due to direct European influence, and how much to natural evolution. We are here dealing with symbols and not with hieroglyphs, but the Maya symbols and day-signs are all evolved from or possess a hieroglyphic significance. The hieroglyphs for the months, on the other hand, bear but little resemblance to those of Landá. If his representations be compared with those in the Book of Chilán Balam of Chumayel, the difference is at once apparent. The rude drawing of these signs is scarcely a sufficient excuse for the fundamental difference displayed by the various examples. Hence Brinton's vindication of the correctness and authenticity of Landá's examples appears hardly well founded (*op. cit.* 14).

LITERATURE.—D. G. Brinton, *The Books of Chilán Balam, and The Maya Chronicles*, Philadelphia, 1882; Carillo y Ancona, *Disertación sobre la Hist. de la Lengua Maya o Yucateca*, Mérida, 1870; Felipe Valentini, *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, 1880; Eligio Ancona, *Hist. de Yucatan*, Mérida, 1878; E. Seler, *Bull. 28 BE*, 1904, p. 329 ff.; *ZE* xxiii. (1891) 112.

LEWIS SPENCE.

CHILDHOOD.—Usage has not yet rendered this term either precise or consistent. In the broadest sense, childhood is the period that precedes maturity; more properly, it is the period between birth and the beginning of the acquisition of reproductive capacity (see **ADOLESCENCE**). This is the sense in which the term will be used in the present article. It should be borne in mind, however, that there is a tendency to distinguish the terms 'infancy,' 'childhood,' and 'adulthood' as follows: infancy extends to the 'school age' of about six years; childhood occupies approximately the next six years; and adulthood the next ten or a dozen years. The 'childhood of the race,' originally a metaphor, has become an almost technical term, through the establishment of the law of recapitulation (see below, § 5). We have here to ask what special significance childhood has for religion and ethics. (Inasmuch as a subsequent article [**GROWTH, Moral and Religious, Periods of**]

presents a systematic view of the development of character, the present discussion will be limited to certain fundamental considerations or problems.)

1. Mental differences between childhood and later life.—Concerning these differences three successive types of theory have appeared:

(1) The first represents the child as a miniature man. Only a little observation is required, however, to discover that neither in physical proportions, organs, and functions, nor in mental process and personality, can the difference be expressed in quantitative terms.

(2) The second type of thought, taking the contrast between childhood and adolescence in respect of sex organs and functions as representative of the method of development, seeks to discover a serial order in which faculties or mental functions are supposed to arise. Just as the sexual instinct appears only after several years of a child's growth, so other instincts ripen at different periods, and they are more or less transitory (see W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, New York, 1908, vol. ii. ch. xxiv.). The observation is in some sense as true as it is commonplace, that impulse comes before reflexion, imitation before social purpose, imagination before reason, and consciousness before self-consciousness. Even the senses do not develop *pari passu* with one another, and hence arise various attempts to determine the day, month, or year of the child's life in which one or other function first appears. This type of description, however, partly fails of its purpose. For it takes its categories (perception, curiosity, fear, imagination, etc.) from the adult mind, whereas what we need is to understand what each function means to the child who exercises it. Again, mental life is not made up of functions or processes added to one another; the life of the child is in a sense an individual life from the start. Finally, there is needed a genetic principle that shall illuminate the various differentiations as they occur in the child mind.

(3) A third type of theory, which may be called 'functional child psychology,' meets these difficulties by exhibiting the changes of the growing mind as responses to specific strains that arise in the general process of active adjustment. The child is fundamentally active, and his action is always implicitly purposive. Differentiation of consciousness occurs at the points where unco-ordinated impulsive movements (as distinguished from reflex and instinctive) require to be adjusted, that is, where an impulse has to be adjusted to an end. Consequently, the standpoint from which to understand the child mind is its developing interests, and its interests are to be known by activities. Thus, in his earlier years the child is interested in his own spontaneous action in response to the objects in his environment, and these objects have for him little intrinsic meaning. Later, interest shifts from the act itself to results, as in construction, competitive games, etc., with corresponding realization of objects as contrasted with the self. This opens the way for a great broadening of both the self and its world, with action for more and more distant, or comprehensive, or specialized, ends. (On this latest, most thorough view of the child mind, see I. King, *Psychology of Child Development*, whose main positions have here been summarized.)

The chief mental difference between children and adults, therefore, consists in a contrast between vague and clear, undifferentiated and differentiated, consciousness in every direction (knowledge, feelings, volition); between a narrower and a wider range of objects attended to; between immediate and remote ends, with a corresponding difference

in the degree to which conduct is organized; and between the immediate values of self-activity and the relatively remote values of social action.

2. Method of the child's moral development.—Character develops in accordance with the above analysis of child mentality.

(1) Conscience, considered either as moral emotion or as moral discrimination, is not to be thought of as present from birth, or as having a definite beginning at any assignable period of growth. The distinct manifestations of moral appreciation at five or six years of age no more mark moral beginnings than the first distinct realization of the mother as an object marks the beginning of cognition. The most that we can determine is certain transition points in a general movement out of vagueness into clear discrimination.

(2) Distinctly ethical attitudes emerge out of unpurposed activities which may be called, if we please, non-ethical. This does not mean, however, that morality first arises within a consciousness that is already definitely organized in other respects. The child does start life on a non-ethical plane, but just as truly he begins at a non-intelligent level. In no direction is he equipped with anything like innate truths or standards. What he brings into the world is a psycho-physical organism, which, in addition to making approximately definite reflex and instinctive reactions to certain stimuli, also makes impulsive, unco-ordinated reactions to other stimuli, with consequent strain or discomfort, which stimulates to a conscious striving towards a satisfactory organization of all activities (see King, *op. cit.* p. 73 f.). How this desirable unity is to be attained, there is nothing in the earliest consciousness to show. From its standpoint, success depends upon the use of a trial-and-error method. After a satisfactory organization of the self has thus been attained, we look back and generalize the process as a law of self-realization which we also designate as the 'moral nature' of the child. In the sense that in the given social environment we can attain adequate self-expression only by moral modes of conduct, children may be said to have a moral nature from the start; but the rules of morality could not be arrived at by any conceivable analysis of the actual consciousness of infants.

(3) That conscience appears at all is because the child's world contains persons. There is no reason to suppose that a sense of right and wrong would be felt by a human being reared entirely apart from human society. More specifically, the budding points of moral feeling and discrimination are impulsive activities that have still to be co-ordinated with existing social regulations. When a child, being a member of a group, and desiring to act with it, nevertheless has a strong impulse to act contrary to the group standard, reflexion awakens; he endeavours to adjust himself to the social situation; he begins to know moral law. The individual is brought to moral self-control only by such pressure of a formed society upon him. Without this pressure, any generation would be in the position of primitive men who are just beginning to climb the ladder of social progress. The moral status to which society has attained through many centuries of experience is not transmitted by physical generation, but by social training through imitation, instruction, initiations, public opinion, laws and penalties, social interaction in commerce and industry and group action of many kinds.

(4) The notion that children are necessarily egoists until the blossoming of adolescent social sentiment is partly true, but mostly misleading. The roseate lights of adolescence can radiate from

their centre in sex interest so as to give new meaning to all social relations. Yet genuine social adjustment does not begin here. The child's whole life is spent in a social environment. In the family, in plays with other children, in the school, in team games, in 'gangs,' and in the community life, social activities develop as naturally as muscular strength; and social activities, in accordance with the general relation of emotion to muscular contraction, are a sign of social feeling. The supposition of Herbert Spencer that altruism somehow develops out of pure egoism, ignores the fact that children grow up from the first within society, imitating and otherwise conforming to it, and thereby acquiring social sentiments. The popular declaration that children are 'little savages' reveals narrow observation of child conduct, unless, indeed, one stops to reflect that even savages have social organization, with much willing devotion of individuals to the common weal.

(5) More fundamental still, according to various writers, is the social factor in the development of the individual. J. M. Baldwin, for example (*Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*), maintains that the ego-consciousness itself arises through a social process, and expresses a necessarily social point of view. *Ego* and *alter*, according to him, are strictly reciprocal in the child's consciousness, each acquiring meaning by reference to the other. The process by which this is done is, in a broad sense, imitation. For our present purpose, it is needless to inquire whether the experience of things as distinguished from persons does not also play a direct part in the rise of the sense of self. It is sufficient to know that the moral life depends upon the stimulus of an already existing society. Just as intelligence requires for its development such social treasures as language and accumulated learning, so moral action is a reaction to the institutions, customs, and ideals of the various persons and groups in the child's environment.

3. The actual morals of children.—Insight into the actual moral life of children has been much hindered by the custom of condemning them for every deviation from adult standards. The young are blamed, even punished, for what they cannot understand the wrong of, as they, in turn, misunderstand some of the virtues and some of the faults of their seniors. What is needed, but difficult, is to see what a given act of a child means to the child himself. He has his own moral ideas and standards, which must differ from those of adults, because his experience is so different from theirs. It is vain to suppose that one can appreciate a moral principle before one has experienced the kind of issue that the principle is supposed to settle. Because child experience is different from adult experience, children form moral codes of their own, in which the customs and commands of their elders are only one factor. Not seldom the same individual has contradictory codes, and the type of code changes from period to period of growth. With very young children, morality seems to be almost identical with observance of custom, 'the way we always do it' being 'the way it ought to be done.' Then comes the crude adjustment of a few rights as between the child and the persons who are most with him, such as the right of property, and the authority of parent or nurse as contrasted with other persons. The plays of children with one another give rise to codes, occasionally elaborate ones, that are sometimes enforced with rigour. Standards of fair play belong here, also standards of courage (as in 'daring' one another), of endurance (not whimpering), and of keeping secrets. Strange codes, which sometimes include a caste system, spring up in schools.

Perhaps the most thoroughly enforced of all child codes is that of the 'gang,' the central principle of which—loyalty—finds application in giving and sharing, in exclusiveness towards outsiders, in mutual endurance of hardships and taking of risks, and in not revealing the secrets of the group or the misdeeds of its members.

Child morality of this type grows up, largely without adult control, as the rules of child society. Meanwhile the children are also in constant contact with adults, and here morality of another type is likely to appear—or rather types, for family government, school government, and community conditions vary much. There are also temperamental variations among children that affect conduct profoundly. Hence we shall find children of all ages after infancy who from the heart conform to the demands of adult society upon them; others who conform only grudgingly and of compulsion; still others who pretend to conform, but clandestinely disobey; and always, of course, obedience tends during childhood to attach to specific external acts or rules rather than to what adults know as principles, with the consequence of much naive inconsistency.

The modern effort to understand children—that is, to see how a child's experience appears to the child himself—has produced certain definite results. Children's so-called 'lies,' for example, are seen to arise, first of all, from actual inability to grasp and hold the distinction between real and fancied objects. It takes some years to learn how to discriminate between the world of experience and the world of dream and imagination. Again, even after this distinction has been made, a child, because he has no clear notion of the social effects of deception, may employ it for self-protection in a spontaneous, practically non-moral way. Similarly, the 'cruelty' of children is often not cruelty at all; one cannot be cruel before one has sufficient imagination and knowledge of causes to understand how another feels in a given situation. It is doubtful whether children ever delight in the suffering of victims; rather, the child experiments, desiring to see something happen, and desiring also to exert his own power upon something else. The quarrels and fights of children, likewise, have by no means the same significance as similar conduct in adult life. They rarely express hatred or malice, but rather the irritation of the moment, or a new-found sense of self, or group pride (as in 'gangs'), or desire to enforce the standards of child-society. (For a careful appreciation of child morals, see J. Sully, *Studies of Childhood*. On untruthfulness in children, see G. Stanley Hall, 'Children's Lies,' *Pedagogical Seminary*, i. [1891] 211-218; and N. Oppenheim, 'Why Children Lie,' *Popular Science Monthly*, xlvii. [1895] 382-387.)

4. Children and religion.—As a general rule, the religions of the world show slight recognition, or none at all, of childhood capacity for religion; but the supposed attainment of such capacity at puberty has been signalized the world over by initiations, which are commonly both religious and civic (see G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, ch. xiii.). Christianity, however, has shown a tendency to push backward towards infancy the date, not so much of initiation (or confirmation, reception into Church membership, etc.), as of recognized religiousness. The belief in the Fatherhood of God; the tenderness and sympathy that Christianity has always cultivated; Jesus' declaration that adults can enter the Kingdom only by becoming as little children, and His recognition of children as members of the Kingdom—these are among the causes why the Christian consciousness somewhat generally includes children within the Christian fellowship. By baptismal regeneration in infancy, or by virtue

of a Divine 'covenant,' or by reason of the 'unconditioned benefits of the Atonement,' or because of the mere atmosphere of the gospel, most of the Churches count children as members, and by few, if any, Churches are they treated as mere outsiders. Within the evangelical movement, which has emphasized personal religious experience, however, the position of children has been ambiguous. On the one hand, they are obviously not ripe for the evangelical type of experience; on the other hand, the evangelical love of souls could not leave children out. Here and there an evangelist has sought to convert even little children, but for the most part these Churches have been content to teach (mainly in Sunday schools), in the hope that the pupils would sometime attain to the Christian experience. This ambiguity was in 1847 sharply attacked by the Congregational theologian Horace Bushnell (*Christian Nurture*, New York, 1847), and in 1866 by the Methodist theologian F. G. Hibbard (*The Religion of Childhood*, Cincinnati, 1864), who was followed by a considerable succession of Methodist writers (R. J. Cooke, *Christianity and Childhood*, New York, 1891; C. W. Rishell, *The Child as God's Child*, New York, 1904; J. T. McFarland, *Preservation versus the Rescue of the Child*, New York, Eaton & Mains, pamphlet, no date). These writers maintain on grounds of Scripture and dogma that little children have spiritual 'life' which they need never lose, so that the primary purpose of Christian instruction and training is to develop a life already present.

Starting from an entirely different standpoint, the recent child-study movement and the movement for a psychology of religion have investigated the actual religious life of children. The ideas of children concerning God, heaven, hell, etc., have been ascertained, with the result of showing how crude is the reaction to religious teaching and environment ('Children's Attitude toward Theology,' in *Earl Barnes' Studies in Education*, ii. [1902] 283, 'Theological Life of a California Child,' *Pedagogical Seminary*, ii. [1892] 442-448; E. D. Starbuck, *The Psychology of Religion*, London, 1899, ch. xv.; Starbuck declares [p. 194] that one of the most pronounced characteristics of the religion of childhood is that 'religion is distinctively external to the child rather than something which possesses inner significance'). Effort has been made, also, to discover the genesis and growth of the religious consciousness in the individual (J. M. Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*, New York, 1897, pp. 327-357; J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, New York, 1907, ch. vii.; E. D. Starbuck, *op. cit.* ch. xxx.; G. E. Dawson, *The Child and his Religion*, Chicago, 1909). As it is practically impossible to rear a child apart from all contact with the religion of his elders, we cannot accurately determine how much of one's religious growth is due to social influences and how much to one's own spontaneous impulses. It is safe to say, however, that the individual is as dependent upon others for his religious as for his moral attitudes (see above, § 2 (3)), and that imitation, suggestion, and social pains and pleasures play much the same rôle. The real problem concerning the genesis of individual religion is therefore this: what is it in the social environment that calls out the first genuinely religious responses? Baldwin, who makes the whole consciousness of self a social product, finds the genesis of religion in the idealization of both the *ego* and the *alter*—in the words of William James, the permanent root of our religiousness is the need of an adequate *socius* (*Principles of Psychology*, i. 316). Dawson and Pratt, on the other hand, make much of the interest of little children in the causes of things, and of credulity

rather than social sentiment as the atmosphere of the earliest religious response. In view of the historically accomplished differentiation of science, with its causal categories, from religion, with its value categories, we are justified in saying that in the child's as yet undifferentiated response the specifically religious phase is the social one, the scientific phase, the interest in causes. Accordingly, the growth of religious appreciation follows the line of the deepening social experience. Religious growth is inextricably one with moral growth. The intimate relation between religious experience and the new birth of social feeling in adolescence is of itself almost sufficient to establish this point of view. A social colour can be given to the child's interest in causes, however, by indulging his spontaneous tendency to think of them as personal. As a matter of fact, this is what commonly occurs in religious instruction concerning creation, the Divine power in Nature, etc. Christianity, which derives its chief symbolism and its chief virtues from the life of the family, has a consequent advantage in religious education. For the child's earliest experience of family affection and of the laws of family unity provide him with ideals for interpreting and judging all subsequent social experience, and for completing and unifying his social ideals, in the notion of a universal Divine family.

5. The child and the race.—The preceding discussion shows what an overwhelming part social environment, or education in its broadest sense, plays in making the child what he is at any stage of growth. Children grow up amongst us as civilized beings because they live in a civilized environment; there is no other way whatever to obtain the result. We have seen, nevertheless, that the actual life of children never fully reproduces the social life of adults, even on a small scale. The social ways of the young express constitutional limitations and necessities which cannot be displaced by mature laws and standards. When the pressure of adult society upon children prevents the expression of child nature, then occurs arrest or perversion of development, as in some families of the very rich, where children are kept in the society of nurses and away from normal child activities, and likewise in some families of the very poor, where economic pressure places the child in stunting occupations. Is it possible, now, to generalize the limitations of children at their various periods of growth as compared with adults? What is the law of the individual's own contribution to his development?

The only empirically founded answer to this question is the theory of recapitulation, which attempts to bring under a single principle the mental and the physical, the post-natal and the embryologic development, and to connect the developmental order in the individual with the evolution of the race. As the human embryo assumes successive forms which represent the physical evolution of the human species, though with variations, short-cuts, etc., so after birth the individual follows in a rough schematic way the line of mental and social evolution in the human race. Thus, in point of action and inhibition, there is in both a change from instinct and impulse, through custom, to individual deliberation; in point of social grouping, from connexions determined by immediate biological necessity (as in the family), through stages of group-loyalty like that of clan and tribe, to some recognition of the larger humanity; in point of interests, from discontinuity to system, from immediate activities, connected with the primary aspects of things, to simple construction, and then to the larger and larger control of causes. G. Stanley Hall main-

tains, in addition, that such facts of bodily growth as periods of relative stability, followed by periods of disequilibrium, represent corresponding stages of race history. In the ascertained facts of individual development he believes that we have clues even to otherwise unknown crises in the life of the race (see his *Adolescence*, i. 40-50).

Though the fact of recapitulation is unquestioned, the interpretation of it is not easy. A hasty inference, which many have drawn, is that, in a fairly literal sense, the individual is first a savage, then a barbarian, then a civilized being. Not only does observation of children not justify any such view, but the whole conception of recapitulation on which it relies is mistaken. There is no *vis a tergo* that pushes the individual through a given course of development regardless of environment. As every mechanical force has a full mechanical resultant, so the mental and moral environment determines the growth of the child's character as inevitably as does the constitutional factor that we call recapitulation. This law enables us to foretell what type of interest will prevail in each period of growth, and therefore in what general order the child will assimilate the standards of adult society. But these predetermined types of interest are broadly generic, not specific. What education can do is to select, within each generic type, specific objects and situations that will awaken permanently worthy responses. By such selection, e.g., a little child's generic interest in 'seeing the wheels go round' can be made a specific interest in some mechanical principle; interest in 'blood and thunder' tales can be attached to naval heroes or missionary adventure as well as to thieves and pirates. The law of recapitulation, then, points to the limitations of spontaneous interest at different periods rather than to any rigid line that development must follow. Yet the natural interests of each period should be abundantly fed, and appropriate activities encouraged, not only for the general enrichment of experience and memory, but also because full self-expression is the best preparation for the next stage of interest. Lack of self-expression at any stage is likely to result in a permanent maiming of the mind.¹

LITERATURE.—A *Bibliography of Child-Study*, revised annually, is issued by Louis N. Wilson, Worcester, Mass. A. F. Chamberlain, *The Child: A Study in the Evolution of Man*, London, 1900, summarizes many researches, and gives a bibliography of nearly 700 titles. A. E. Tanner, *The Child: His Thinking, Feeling, and Doing*, New York, 1904, gives a simple statement of the various results of the child-study movement, together with a bibliography on each topic. G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, 2 vols., New York, 1904, makes constant reference to childhood, especially in the first volume. Among educational periodicals, the *Pedagogical Seminary* (quarterly), Worcester, Mass., and *Earl Barnes' Studies in Education* (occasional), Leland Stanford University, California, are especially significant for researches on children. The following works discuss fundamental facts and principles that concern the moral or religious significance of childhood: J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*, New York, 1895, and *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*, New York, 1897; G. Compayré, *L'Évolution intellectuelle et morale de l'enfant*, Paris, 1896 (Eng. tr., 2 vols., New York, 1896-1902); I. King, *Psychology of Child Development*, Chicago, 1903; M. V. O'Shea, *Social Development and Education*, Boston, 1909; J. Sally, *Studies of Childhood*, London, 1896. On childhood religion, in addition to the references above under § 4, see *The Child and Religion*, ed. T. Stephens, London and New York, 1905.

GEORGE A. COE.

CHILD MARRIAGE (in India).—Among the peculiar customs connected with marriage in India,

¹ On the biological phase of recapitulation, see A. M. Marshall, *Biological Lectures and Addresses*, London, 1894. On the psychological phase, see J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*, ch. i., and *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development*, pp. 188-195; I. King, *Psychology of Child Development*, pp. 156-171; B. A. Kirkpatrick, *Genetic Psychology*, New York, 1900, ch. xi. On the educational phase, see the first and second *Year Book of the Herbart Society*, University of Chicago Press. On the religious phase, see G. A. Coe, *Education in Religion and Morals*, New York, 1904, pp. 201-225.

child marriage, along with the practice of widow-burning, has always astonished the observer of Indian native life. From the days of Alexander the Great (whose historians relate that Indian females marry at the age of seven)¹ until the present time, travellers, oriental and occidental, have reported this striking phenomenon, which, at least in such wide occurrence, is without parallel in the whole world, and have usually expressed sympathy for the lot of the child-wives.

The statistics of the last Census exhibit clearly the wide extent of the practice of child marriage in India even at the present time. While the usage which prohibits the marriage of widows is confined to a comparatively limited sphere, and is in reality restricted to the higher castes, the practice of child marriage has taken firm hold of the lower classes of the people as well. Throughout India about $\frac{1}{2}$ of the total number of Hindu females between the ages of ten and fifteen years are unmarried; that is to say, more than half of the Indian girls marry before they have reached their fifteenth year—the time at which they are capable of matrimonial life—however unfit for it they may be physically.² We find child marriage least prevalent among the tribes that, almost un-influenced by Hindu civilization, have preserved their own native characteristics; thus the Dravidian tribes of Chotā Nāgpur, the Central Provinces, and the Madras Hills, and the Mongolian tribes of the Himalāya region, of Assām and Burma, are acquainted with courtship and marriage only between full-grown youths and girls. But as soon as we come to tribes among whom the social life, as among the Jāts and Rājputs, derives its character entirely or mainly from the caste system of the Hindus, we find either child marriage in undisputed sway or a mixed system prevalent. The rule is, at least in the western Provinces, that, after the wedding has taken place, the bride and bridegroom do not live together until after a second ceremony, named *gauna* or *mukhlawa*,—which corresponds to the old *garbhādhāna* (see MARRIAGE [Hindu])—has been performed; till then the girl lives as a virgin in her parents' house. This second ceremony is separated from the first—the wedding in childhood—by an interval of three, five, seven, nine, or eleven years, the period being fixed by the girl's parents. Thus the Jāts in general marry at from five to seven years of age, but the parents retain the girl at home, where she is useful to them in the household, often until after her sixteenth year, and do not hand her over to the husband until pressed to do so. Among the Rājputs, on the other hand, marriage is customary only when the girl is fifteen or sixteen, or later still; but sexual union takes place directly after the marriage ceremony. The farther one descends the valley of the Ganges eastwards, the more does child marriage form the rule. In Bengal the canonical rites of the Hindu marriage have degenerated into the monstrous perversion which compels girls of the higher castes to commence their married life at the age of nine, and the consequence of this is that they become mothers at the earliest age at which it is physically possible for them. Marriage in childhood is regarded in Bengal as so absolutely necessary for happiness, that even the unfortunate children who are brought up for prostitution are, with all solemnity, married to a plantain-tree before they reach the age at which it is considered a disgrace to be unmarried.

In the districts of India where consummation

¹ 'Εν δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, ἡνὰ ἐπασιλευσαν ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ Ἰπποκλέους, τὰς μὲν γυναικας ἐντὰ ἑτα ἑοῦσας ἐς ὥρην γάμου ἰέναι (Arian, Ind. ix. 1).

² R. Burn, *Census of India*, 1901, 'N.W. Provinces and Oudh,' pt. i. p. 116.

directly follows the early marriage, the effects of the unhappy custom are clearly seen: premature puberty, feeble constitution of the offspring, and early decline of the mother; and a gradual degeneration of the population appears inevitable. In the year 1891 the British Government, rightly apprehending the dangers that threaten the people of India from the abuse of child marriage, issued a law—admittedly without much result—which prescribes the raising of the age of marriage;¹ and intelligent and well-informed Hindus have also endeavoured to enlighten and influence their countrymen on this point. But, apart from the difficulty of inducing the lower grades to abandon a firmly established usage, the educated classes also hold tenaciously to the prejudice that the custom of child marriage is ancient and unconditionally prescribed in their Law-books.

An examination of the earliest literature and of the Law-books of India, however, leads to the conclusion that neither the assertion of great age, nor that of unconditional legal prescription, is well founded. In the Rīgveda we do not find any definite statement regarding the age of marriage.

As evidence for the occurrence of child marriage as early as the time of the Rīgveda, one might perhaps adduce the *itihāsa* which is related on the obscene verses Rīg. i. 126. 6-7. Bhāvayayā, invited to the enjoyment of love, laughs at his spouse Romāśā, believing that she is still immature;² whereupon she invites him to convince himself of the contrary, adding that she knew that intercourse before puberty was forbidden by the Law.³ But, apart from the fact that these passages favour the general prevalence of marriage with a mature girl, the *itihāsa* conveys too much the impression of being a late invention occasioned by an etymological play upon the name Romāśā.

It is of decisive significance that the Vedic marriage maxims can refer only to mature brides.⁴ The *vivāha* was not yet, as at a later time, a mere arrangement between the parents, but rather the actual marriage, which was preceded by the *varanāṃ* as betrothal. On the conclusion of the marriage festivities the bride betook herself to the house of her husband, which she henceforth ruled and managed as mistress.⁵

The first indications of infant marriage occur in the *Gṛhya*-literature: here already we find the rule, almost universally valid in the *Smṛtis*, according to which the *nagnikā*, i.e. a girl going naked and yet immature, is the best (wife).⁶ Still, in general, according to the *Gṛhyasūtras*, the marriage of mature girls was the prevailing custom; and this follows as a consequence from the nature of the marriage ceremonies described, and from the silence of *Āśvalāyana* and other authors of the *Gṛhyasūtras* regarding the age of the bride. The instructions regarding the period of continence after the removal to the husband's house has taken place,⁷ as also regarding the necessity of consummating marriage upon the expiration of this time and directly after the appearance of the menses, can refer only to an *anagnikā*.⁸ Child marriages became customary at the time of Hiraṇyakeśin, without, however, being universally established; but, on the contrary, apparently encountering opposition, for Hiraṇyakeśin recom-

¹ That the 'age of consent' should be twelve years.

² *aprahṛitibudhnyā* (Sāyana on Rīg. i. 126. 6f.).

³ *Durga* (ed. Satyavratā Sāmastrami, *Bibl. Ind.*, 1885, ff. 348. 12 ff.) on Nirukta, iii. 20: 'jāne 'ham etat, yathā alonikāyā upagamah pratīdīdhah smṛtau.' Cf. *Nītimānjari*, 2, 3 (see F. Kielhorn, 'Die Nītimānjari des Dya Diveda,' *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss., Göttingen*, 1891, pp. 183-6; further (under slightly different circumstances), *Bṛhaddevatā*, iii. 155-iv. 3.

⁴ Cf. *Ind. Stud.* v. 177 ff.

⁵ 'grhān gaucha ṛghapatnī yathā'so vaśinī tvam vidatham ā nadasī' (Rīg. x. 85. 26).

⁶ Gobhila, *Gṛhyasūtra*, iii. 4, 6: 'nagnikā tu bṛeṣṭhā'; *Manavagr.* i. 7, 7: 'bandhamatīm kanyām asṛjastamāitihunām upayagachchhet, samānavarāṃ samānavaravārāṃ yavīyaseṣiṇ nagnikām bṛeṣṭhām.'

⁷ *Āśvalāyana*, Gr. i. 8. 10-11; *Paraskara*, Gr. i. 8. 1.

⁸ *Apastamba*, Gr. iii. 8. 10; *Sāṅkhāyana*, Gr. i. 19. 1; *Paraskara*, Gr. i. 11. 7.

mends an *anagnikā* as the best, saying, 'Let him take a wife from an equal caste, one who is mature, chaste.'¹ And when Gobhila and the author of the *Mānavagṛhya* take the opposite point of view in regard to child marriage, and declare a *nagnikā* to be the best, it follows that at their time late marriages, though still customary, had fallen into discredit.

Different stages in the evolution of the custom can also be observed in the *Smṛti*-literature, just as in the *Gṛhyasūtras* mentioned above. Only if we suppose a gradual transition from the Vedic custom of late marriage to an increasing extension of child marriage, can we account for the fact that in one and the same Law-book we find passages which recommend child marriage, and others which see no offence in marriage between adults. In the much-discussed passage in Manu (ix. 88 ff.) the chief importance attaches far less to the question whether a girl at marriage must be mature or not, than to this, that a father must give his daughter at all events to a suitor of an equal caste.

'Let (the father) give the girl, even if she be not yet marriageable,² to a suitor who is high-born, handsome, and belonging to an equal caste, according to the regulation. Let a girl, even when she has reached maturity, remain till death in the house (of her father), rather than that one should ever give her to a husband lacking the (specified) high qualifications.'³ Manu then proceeds: 'Let a girl wait (for an appropriate suitor) for three years after the commencement of the first menses; from then onwards let her seek a husband for herself from an equal caste.'⁴

But, although in these verses the emphasis is laid on the choice of a suitor from an equal caste, yet also, on the one hand, marriage before puberty is represented in '*apṛāptām api*' as the exception, and, on the other hand, the words '*trīni varṣāny uḍikṣeta kumārī ṛtumatī satī*' expressly admit that, if an appropriate suitor be not found, marriage may be postponed until after the commencement of puberty, and may even take place a long time thereafter. And, when Manu shortly afterwards (ix. 94) lays down that a man of thirty years shall marry a girl of twelve, and a man of twenty-four a girl of eight years, and quickly too, if the Law should be in danger, he means thereby, at least according to Medhātithi's elucidation, not to prescribe a fixed age for marriage, but rather to give examples of the fitting difference in the ages of lawful spouses.⁵ Perhaps this verse is to be regarded as advocating hastened marriage, even with a girl who is under age, when there is danger that an unworthy (i.e. lower caste) man desires to marry the girl. One thing is certain from it, however, that in Manu's time, along with late marriages, those with girls eight years of age occurred and were recommended.

As with Manu, so also with Baudhāyana⁶ and Vāsiṣṭha,⁷ the rule is that a girl shall be subject to her father's injunctions for three saṁśtā⁸ after

¹ Hiranyakeśin, i. 17. 2: 'bhāryām upayachakhet saṁjātānagnikān brahmachāriṇim.' So most of the MSS read: but if we adopt the reading of other MSS (*saṁjātān nagnikām*), then we should have the *nagnikā*-rule in Hiranyakeśin as well.

² '*apṛāptām api*'. The commentator Kullūka adds, quoting from the *Dakṣasamṛti* (ed. in *Dharmasāstrasamgraha*, Calcutta, 1876, II. 388-402): '*vivāhayed aṣṭavarṣīm, evaṁ dharmo na hyate*' ('let him give her in marriage at the age of eight years, then the law is not infringed').

³ ix. 89: '*kāmam ā naraṇāt tīkṣhēd gṛhe kanyatumatī api, na chaivānāṁ prayachakhet tu gṛhasthīyā karhichit*'. On this Medhātithi notes: '*prāg ṛtōh kanyāyā na dānam, ṛtudarsanē pi na dadyād, yāvād guṇavān varo na prāptā*' ('one must not give a girl in marriage before puberty, even after the commencement of puberty she shall not be given away so long as a suitor with the needful qualifications is not available').

⁴ ix. 90: '*trīni varṣāny uḍikṣeta kumārī ṛtumatī satī ūrdhvam tu kālād etasmād vindeta sadṛśam patim*'.

⁵ '*vyatā kalēna yavīyasi kanyā voghavyā, na punar etāvād anyasa eva vivāha ity upadeśārthaḥ*' (*Mānavadharmasāstra*, ed. Mandlik, vol. II. p. 1163).

⁶ ix. 14.

⁷ According to Gautama, xviii. 20, only three menses need be waited for.

the commencement of puberty, and in the fourth year shall herself select a suitable husband. But in opposition to this conniving at late marriages these lawgivers provide regulations which unconditionally require child marriage; thus in Baudhāyana¹ it is stated: 'To a virtuous, pure husband the girl should be given while she is still immature; even from an unworthy man she should not be withheld if she has attained womanhood.' The strict injunction regarding marriage before the commencement of puberty gains additional force from the fact that disregard of it is represented as accompanied by evil consequences for the father. While Manu is content to characterize the father as blameworthy² who does not give his daughter in marriage at the proper time, it is stated in Vāsiṣṭha: 'For fear of the commencement of puberty, let the father give his daughter in marriage while she is still going about naked. For if she remains at home after the marriageable age, sin falls upon the father.'³

But although these legal regulations obtained ever wider acceptance in the course of time, until finally their observance, at least among the Brahmins, became essential and fundamental for orthodox Hinduism, marriage at an advanced age, along with child marriage, must have been customary for centuries till nearly the end of the Middle Ages; and in large districts there would certainly be variations in regard to the custom, just as at the present day. Otherwise it would be almost inexplicable that neither in the dramatic nor in the epic literature of the Indians does child marriage play any noteworthy part. All the familiar female characters of Indian legend, Sakuntalā, Mālavikā, Sāvitrī, Damayanti, etc., are full-grown girls, thoroughly conscious of their womanhood.⁴ The facts that the *nagnikā*-rule ('a man of thirty shall take to wife a girl of ten, one who is immature') occurs in a passage of the *Mahābhārata*,⁵ and that in the *Rāmāyanasītā* on her marriage with the fifteen-year-old Rāma is six years of age, are of comparatively little importance.

The legendary literature of the Buddhists, likewise, knows nothing of child marriage. In the *Jātakas* both the youths and maidens are grown up when they enter the married state.⁶ That boys who have attained their sixteenth year count as adults is a view which is common to the *Jātakas* and the epics;⁷ but in the case of the female sex also the sixteenth year was apparently regarded as the time of full development and the marriageable age:

'At the age of sixteen,' it is stated in the *Anusohīyajātaka*,⁸ 'she (Sammillabhāsini) was exceedingly beautiful and charming, resembling an Apsaras, endowed with all the characteristics of

¹ iv. 1. 11: '*dadyād guṇavate kanyām nagnikām brahmachāriṇe, api va guṇahīnāya noparundhyād rajarsavām*'.

² ix. 4: '*kālē datā pitā vayo*'.

³ Vās. xvii. 70; Gaut. xviii. 22.

⁴ Hopkins, *JAOS* xlii. 341. It should also be noted that a precisely similar state of affairs is presented by the Sanskrit romances, especially the *Kadambari* of Bāpa and the *Vissavadda* of Subandhu. In the latter novel the heroine is represented as unmarried at the age of sixteen, and as being averse to wedlock. Her father, 'filled with alarm at the sin of her passing youth,' holds for her a *svayāhvāra*, or 'self-choice' of a husband; but, having fallen in love with the hero of the romance in a dream, she refuses to accept any of the suitors who present themselves. Thereupon her father determines to marry her to a prince whether she will or no; and she escapes from her predicament only by elopement with the hero, who opportunely arrives.

⁵ 13. 44. 19: '*trīṁśadvārṣo daśavarṣān bhāryān vindeta nagnikām*'. Moreover, the text of the passage is doubtful, as it is more than once quoted with the reading *ṣoḍaśvārṣam* ('sixteen years of age').

⁶ *Jāt.*, ed. Fausbøll, London, 1877-97, i. 476: '*tassa vayo-pattassa samajātikā kulā pajāpatim āharimau*'; II. 116, 121, 139, 226, 229: '*Sa vayo-pattā samānjātikam kulam agamasī*'.

⁷ Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 110 note.

⁸ *Jāt.*, ed. Fausbøll, III. 93.

womanly beauty. . . . The persons (sent out as deputy-suitors) chose her (as bride). . . . Contrary to the wishes of both (bride and bridegroom), they (the parents) prepared the wedding-feast.'

The early medical authors among the Hindus had also rightly recognized that a girl does not reach the full development of her physical capabilities, even in India, until she is sixteen.¹ Susruta teaches:²

'A man in his twenty-fifth year, but a girl in her sixteenth, both of these have reached the summit of their vigour; an experienced doctor ought to know that.' And in another passage³ he confirms this view with these details: 'When a man who has not yet reached his twenty-fifth year has intercourse with a girl who is less than sixteen years of age, the embryo dies in the womb. Or if it (the child) is born, it cannot live long, or lives with little vigour; therefore one must not permit any man to have intercourse with a woman who is too young.'

If, in accordance with what has been stated, the present-day champions of child marriage among the Hindus can find no unqualified support for the custom in their own ancient literature, yet it must be admitted that only one consideration commonly adduced on behalf of child marriage has thereby been disposed of. There still remains a whole series of arguments which—if we judge them from the Indian standpoint—cannot always be similarly shown to be invalid. Without doubt the ceaselessly operating influence of climate, and the physical constitution of the Indian natives, render necessary a different judgment from the current European one. It must also be clearly understood that the suppression of child marriage would profoundly affect the law and custom of Indian family life; the adult wife accommodates herself with difficulty to the joint family [see FAMILY (Hindu)] with its community not merely of all domestic, but also of intellectual, interests; while the child-

wife—if we may credit the assurances of educated Hindus—is received by all members of the family with genuine liking and regard. Further, we must not forget that the question of child marriage is intimately connected with the Indian conception of paternal authority and the legal injunctions regarding tutelage and the protection of minors. If we take all this into account, and, further, take into consideration the conservative disposition of the Hindus and their aversion to the interference of Europeans in everything that concerns their domestic affairs, we will not be in too great a hurry to advocate the complete abolition of child marriage, but will restrict ourselves to encouraging the Indians of their own accord to revive the old-time custom which sanctioned the postponement of the actual consummation of marriage for some years even after the commencement of puberty.

LITERATURE.—*Census of India*, 1901; *General Report* by H. H. Risley and E. A. Gait, 1903, pp. 430-5; R. G. Bhandarkar, *A Note on the Age of Marriage and its Consummation according to Hindu religious Law*, Poona, 1891; J. Jolly, 'Beiträge zur ind. Rechtsgesch.', v. 'Zur Gesch. d. Kinder-ehe'; vi. 'Noch einmal die Geschichte der Kinder-ehe', in *ZDMG* xlv. [1892] pp. 413-26, xlvii. [1893] pp. 610-5, and *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 (= *GLAP* li. 8), 64-68; R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 645-64; R. G. Bhandarkar, 'History of Child Marriage', *ZDMG* xvii. pp. 143-66; E. W. Hopkins, 'Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India', in *JACS* xlii. [1889] pp. 340-3; 'Child Marriage and enforced Widowhood in India,' by 'A Brahman Official,' in *As. Quar. Rev.* x. [1890] pp. 421-23; C. N. Barham, 'Child Marriage in India,' in *Westminster Review*, cxxxv. [1891] pp. 113-23; F. Max Müller, 'Die indische Kinder-ehe,' in *Zukunft*, 1895, pp. 16-20; Sirdar Arjan Singh, 'Early Marriages in India,' in *As. Quar. Rev.* 3rd ser. vol. xx. [1905] pp. 265-78; J. C. Oman, *The Brahmins . . . of India*, Lond. 1907, p. 181 ff.; H. H. Risley, *People of India*, Calcutta, 1908, p. 179 ff. R. FICK.

CHILDREN.

American (A. F. CHAMBERLAIN), p. 524.
Bab.-Assyr. (T. G. PINCHES), p. 527.
Celtic (E. ANWYL), p. 529.
Chinese.—See BIRTH (Chinese), EDUCATION (Chinese).
Christian.—See EDUCATION.
Egyptian (G. FOUCAERT), p. 532.
Greek (W. H. S. JONES), p. 539.
Hindu (R. FICK), p. 540.

Iranian (L. H. GRAY), p. 544.
Japanese.—See EDUCATION (Japanese).
Jewish.—See BIRTH (Jewish), EDUCATION (Jewish).
Muhammadan.—See BIRTH (Muh.), EDUCATION (Muh.).
Parsi (J. J. MODI), p. 544.
Roman (W. WARDE FOWLER), p. 545.
Teutonic.—See BIRTH (Teut.).

CHILDREN (American).—The ethnological investigations of the last twenty-five years have thrown much light upon the question of the treatment of children among the American aborigines and their relation to the social and religious life of the primitive New World. We now know much concerning parental and filial affection, the environment of childhood and youth, the activities of the young of both sexes, their participation in tribal and religious rites, ceremonies, etc., their influence upon the customs and practices of adult life, and other matters of great interest here.

1. Affection for children.—As the present writer pointed out in his monograph on *The Child in Folk-Thought* (pp. 104-129), the bright side of child-life among primitive peoples has been much under-estimated. This statement is eminently true of the American Indians, as he can testify from personal experiences among several different native tribes (e.g. the Kutenai of south-eastern British Columbia), where the 'human side' of

these uncivilized peoples finds an expression in tenderness towards, and real affection for, children on the part of both parents. Thus, a Kutenai father was seen playing in genial fashion with several little children, who were amusing themselves with him in all sorts of ways, pulling his hair, crawling all over him, etc. He even let one of them put its toes into his mouth. Among other tribes for which there is undoubted evidence of the existence of great affection for children, are the Patwin and certain other tribes of California (Powers); Zuñi of the Pueblo region of the south-western United States (Cushag); Pawnee Indians, a southern plains people (Fletcher); Blackfeet, an Algonquian tribe of the great North-West (Maclean); Omaha Indians of the Siouan stock (Fletcher); Iroquois of New York and Canada (Hale, Beauchamp); Eskimos of the Arctic regions (Boas, Stefánsson); certain Indians of Guiana (Im Thurn); Indian tribes of north-western Brazil (Koch); Indians of the Xingú country (von den Steinen), etc.

Powers says of some of the Californian peoples with whom he was well acquainted (*Contrib. N. Amer. Ethn.* li. 25): 'Many is the Indian I have seen tending the baby with far more patience and good-nature than a civilized father would display.' Im Thurn (*Among the Inds. of Guiana*, Lond. 1883, p. 219) specifically notes the affection of both parents for their child, and remarks that the father, 'when he returns from hunting, brings it strange seeds to play with, fondles it, and makes it necklaces and other ornaments.' Koch, who has recently visited some of

¹ See, further, Jolly, *Medicin*, Strassburg, 1901 (= *GLAP* lii. 10), 49.

² 85. 8: 'pāchavimśe tato varṣe pumān nari tv soḍaśe samatvāgataviryau tau, jāmyāt kuśalo bhīṣak.'

³ 10. 13:

'ūnaṣoḍaśavarṣāyām aprōptāḥ pāchavimśatīm yadādhatte pumān garbham kukṣiṣṭhāḥ sa vipadyate jāto vā na chiram itoe jīvet vā durbalendriyāḥ tasmād atyantabālayām garbhadhānaṁ na kārayet'; similarly Vāgbhata in the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha*.

the 'wild' tribes of north-western Brazil that have scarcely as yet seen a white man, finds them to possess marked affection for their children. Dr. Barbara Renz, in a paper read at the Sixteenth International Congress of Americanists (Vienna, 1908), discusses briefly the general subject of parental love among the American Indians.

It is thus certain that love of children and affection for them are to be found commonly among the aborigines of the New World, and often developed to a degree as high as that characteristic of the civilized peoples of the Old World; also that, in primitive America, contrary to a prevalent general opinion, affection for children on the part of the father and other males of the community is often notably present and given full expression. Among the American aborigines, affection for children is very frequently exhibited in the customs of adoption, natal ceremonies, and other rites of early childhood, as well as in the practices connected with the death and burial of infants, mourning, etc. Instances of cruel treatment of children are, of course, not unknown among the American Indians, especially where anything like the *patria potestas* of the Romans happened to grow up and become socially effective. The Fugian incident, reported by Byron and commented upon by Darwin, of the Indian who dashed down on the rocks his little child who had just let fall a basket of sea-eggs, has been wrongly interpreted by many writers, it being rather an example of sudden and uncontrollable anger, such as even the white race often furnishes, than a proof of the absence of all affection and regard for children. Affection and cruelty do not absolutely exclude each other here, any more than with us. The magnifying of the importance of acts of cruelty on record has sometimes led unjustifiably to the denial of affection to whole communities or even tribes and peoples of the New World and elsewhere. In primitive America, as in primitive Europe and Asia, and in these lands when they had largely left the limits of savagery and barbarism and entered upon the paths of culture-progress, the cruelties committed in the name of religion towards children and youth by no means imply the entire absence of an older human affection for them. Over most of primitive America corporal punishment and the severe castigation of children did not prevail, and 'spoiled children' were as common as they have ever been with any race that has inhabited the globe. This topic will be discussed further under art. EDUCATION (American).

2. Divine protection.—The idea that children enjoy a sort of Divine or superhuman protection not vouchsafed to adults, and are released from many of the tabus imposed upon the latter, is not uncommon among the American aborigines. The Iroquois Indians, according to Mrs. E. A. Smith (2 *BBEW*, 1883, p. 69), believe that 'a child still continues to hold intercourse with the spirit-world whence it so recently came,' and so, 'when a living nursing child is taken out at night, the mother takes a pinch of white ashes and rubs it on the face of the child so that the spirits will not trouble it.' This conception of the spirituality of the child probably underlies also the reason given by some of the Iroquois against the practice of corporal punishment, viz. that it would 'hurt the child's soul.' Among the Omaha Indians, Miss Fletcher tells us (*JAFI*, 1888, i. 120), 'there is a superstition which prevents the telling of stories in the summer season, as the snakes may hear and do mischief'; but for the children this tabu is lifted, and 'they carry the songs out among the summer blossoms, and the snakes do them no harm.' Among certain Brazilian tribes, children are allowed to touch, or even to play with, the masks and other more or less sacred objects used by adults in religious and tribal ceremonies, etc. Among

various tribes, both in North and in South America, children are admitted to view many if not all such ceremonies, although certain others exclude them from them altogether; sometimes men, women, and children dance together, the little ones bringing up the rear in a line closely following their mothers. Often, as among the Zuni and elsewhere, there are 'children's societies' of divers sorts, both religious and secular. In many cases the children closely imitate the rites and ceremonies of their elders, or sometimes mock them, with no fear of the wrath of the gods, who, in other parts of the world, might punish them severely.

3. The child as hero and as hero-god.—As the subject of heroes and hero-gods will be dealt with in a separate article, it will suffice to mention here the fact that the appearance of the child as hero and as hero-god is common in the mythology and the folklore of the Indians of North, Central, and South America. A frequently occurring incident in the life of American Indian heroes and 'wonder-children' is their growth, almost instantly or in a short time, from babyhood to strong and active youth, or even manhood, as in the case of the Siouan 'Young Rabbit,' the Blackfoot (Algonquin) 'Blood-Clot Boy,' etc. The child-heroes and child-gods are sometimes represented as talking and planning in the womb of their mother before birth, as, e.g., the Iroquoian twins, Good Mind and Evil Mind. Among the more notable child-heroes, child-gods, child-adventurers, wonder-children, etc., of the American aborigines may be cited the Kwakiutl Ankoalagylis and other figures in the mythology of the Indians of the North-west Pacific Coast region described by Boas; the 'Young Rabbit' type of peoples of the Siouan stock; the 'Blood-Clot Boy' type of the Blackfeet; the Nojokesigundastit type of the Micmac; the 'Bear Boy' of the Iroquoian tribes; the 'Wild Boy' of the Cherokees; the 'Antelope Boy' of the Pueblo Indians of Isleta; the 'Good and Bad Twins' of Iroquoian cosmology; the 'Divine Twins' of the Zuni and other Pueblo Indians; the Pawnee child-heroes and other similar figures in the legends of other Plains Indians, etc. Many of the culture-heroes treated of by Brinton, in his *American Hero-Myths* (the Algonquian Michabo, Manabozho; Aztec Quetzalcoatl; Tupian Monan, etc.), were 'wonder-children.' Indeed, primitive America is particularly rich in this type of the hero, human or Divine.

The rôle of the child as discoverer of food-plants, etc., is recognized in the myths and legends of a number of Indian tribes.

Among the Paressi, an Arawakan tribe of the Matto Grosso region in Brazil (Ehrenreich, p. 57), Uazale, the first human being, as a child, finds the *manioc*-root; and, later on, various other cultivated plants originate from the different parts of the bodies of his children, who have met their death in a conflagration. Certain curious forms and shapes in these roots, fruits, etc., are explained by their origin from this or that member or organ of the body. In a legend of the Brazilian Indians reported by Thevet in the 16th cent., a woman and her children, in a time of great famine, set out to hunt for edible roots, when they are met by an unknown child, whom they seek to drive away as a competitor. But *yatic*-roots fall down from the sky, for the child was no other than Mairé Monen, the culture-hero, who had descended to earth to help mankind. Legends of this sort are found among a number of Arawakan and Tupian tribes, and, as Ehrenreich points out (p. 57), testify to the fact that among such primitive races women and children have been the discoverers of many food-plants, etc.

4. Metamorphosis of children into animals, etc.—All over primitive America are to be found tales and legends of the transformation and metamorphosis of human children into other creatures, etc. The Eskimos of the Ungava region appear to have a considerable number of such tales, to judge from the account of Turner (*11 RBEW*, 1894). The wolves are the gaunt and hungry children of a mother whose family was too large for her to feed it properly. The loon and the raven are children

whom their father tried to paint, as may be seen to-day from the spots on the former, etc. The sea-pigeons are children who were changed into those birds for having scared away the seals. The hare is really a little child that ran away because of ill-treatment on the part of its elders. The swallows are children who were changed into birds while building toy-houses. The Eskimos of Ungava say: 'The hare has no tail, because, as a child, he had none; and he lays back his ears when he hears a shout, because he thinks people are talking about him.' Of the swallows we are told: one day some wonderfully wise children were playing at building toy-houses on a cliff near the village, when they were changed into birds. They did not forget their child-occupations, as we know to-day when we see the swallows building their house of mud in the cliff. And they are quite safe, for 'even the raven does not molest them, and the Eskimo children love to watch them.' An Indian tribe of Vancouver Island (*JAFI* ix. 49) have a legend that the striped squirrel of the West was a child whom the gods saved from the merciless grasp of a fierce old woman monster, by changing it into this merry lively little creature—the squirrel's stripes are the marks of the ogre's claws as the child slipped through them. The tale of the transformation of children into swallows occurs also among the Indian tribes of the Siouan stock, where runaway children, found playing at making mud huts on the banks of the river, are changed by the *wakanda*, or superhuman powers, into swallows, who perpetually make their houses of mud (Young, *Algonquin Indian Tales*, 1903, p. 68). Tales of this or of similar types occur all over the continent.

5. Twins and their treatment.—Multiple births are not looked on with favour by many American Indian peoples. Hrdlička (*Bull. 30 BE*, p. 58) reports that, when the women of the San Carlos Apaches were asked about triplets, 'they usually answered with a laugh, saying that they were not dogs to have so many.' Among the Algonquian Blackfeet, according to Maclean (*Canad. Sav. Folk*, 1896, p. 54), 'twins are believed to be an omen of evil,' and twin girls are looked upon as 'a thousandfold worse than twin boys' (p. 191). The Songish Indians of Vancouver Island, according to Boas (*6th Rep. on N. W. Tribes of Canada*, 1890, p. 22), believe that 'twins, immediately after their birth, possess supernatural powers,' and they are, therefore, 'at once taken to the woods and washed in a pond in order to become ordinary men'; and, in the opinion of the Shushwap Indians, this supernatural power remains with them all through life (p. 92). If the twins are boys, the Songish believe that they will be good warriors; if girls, that fish will be plentiful. Among the Nutka, Boas informs us (*op. cit.* 39):

'Numerous regulations refer to the birth of twins. The parents of twins must build a small hut in the woods far from the village. There they have to stay two years. The father must continue to clean himself by bathing in ponds for a whole year, and must keep his face painted red. While bathing, he sings certain songs that are only used on this occasion. Both parents must keep away from the people. They must not eat, or even touch, fresh food, particularly salmon. Wooden images and masks, representing birds and fish, are placed around the hut, and others, representing fish, near the river, on the bank of which the hut stands. The object of these masks is to invite all birds and fish to come and see the twins, and to be friendly to them. They are in constant danger of being carried away by spirits, and the masks and images—or rather the animals which they represent—will avert this danger. The twins are believed to be in some way related to salmon, although they are not considered identical with them, as is the case among the Kwakiutl. The father's song, which he sings when cleaning himself, is an invitation for the salmon to come, and is sung in their praise. On hearing this song, and seeing the images and masks, the salmon are believed to come in great numbers to see the twins. Therefore, the birth of twins is believed to indicate a good salmon year. If the salmon should fail to come in large numbers, it is considered proof that the children will soon die. Twins are forbidden to catch salmon, nor must they eat or handle fresh salmon. They must not go sealing, as the seals

would attack them. They have the power to make good and bad weather. They produce rain by painting their faces with black colour and then washing them, or by merely shaking their heads.'

Among the Kwakiutl it is believed that 'twins, if of the same sex, were salmon before they were born'; and among the Nak'omgyilisila, 'the father dances for four days, after the children have been born, with a large square rattle.' These Indians also believe that 'the children, by swinging this rattle, can cure disease and procure favourable winds and weather' (p. 62). Many wonderful stories are told of the supernatural power of twins even in extreme old age. Among the Shushwap, Boas reports the following beliefs regarding twins (p. 92):

'When twins are born, the mother must build a hut on the slope of the mountains, on the bank of a creek, and must live there with her children until they begin to walk. They may be visited by their family, or any other who wishes to see them, but they must not go into the village, else her other children would die. Twins are called *skinkumpseisit*, i.e., young grizzly bears. It is believed that throughout their lives they are endowed with supernatural powers. They can make good and bad weather. In order to produce rain, they take a small basket filled with water, which they spill into the air. For making clear weather, they use a small stick, to the end of which a string is tied. A small flat piece of wood is attached to the end of the string, and this implement is shaken. Storm is produced by strewing down on the ends of spruce branches. While they are children, their mother can see by their plays whether her husband, when he is out hunting, is successful or not. When the twins play about and feign to bite each other, he will be successful; if they keep quiet, he will return home empty-handed. If one of a couple of twins should die, the other must clean himself in the sweat-house in order to remove the blood of the deceased out of his body.'

Quite in contrast with this ominous character of twins and the complicated ceremonies connected with them, is their reception among certain other tribes, as for example the Pima of Arizona, with whom, according to Frank Russell (*26 RBEW*, 1908, p. 185), 'twins are received with general rejoicing' and 'every inhabitant of the village brings gifts, and the mother feels assured that she will henceforth be a fortunate woman.' The idea that the birth of twins indicates marital infidelity on the part of the mother is not unknown in primitive America. In case of twin-births one of the infants is sometimes killed.

6. Infanticide.—Among some American aboriginal peoples infanticide is or was as common as it was rare (or unknown) among others. Infanticide seems to have been practised to a considerable extent among the Eskimos of various regions, many Athapascan, Algonquian, and Iroquoian peoples, numerous tribes of the Pacific Coast region from Alaska to California, many of the barbarous and semi-civilized tribes of Mexico, Central America, and Northern South America, and a large number of South American uncivilized tribes, such as the Patagonians, certain Chaco peoples, the Salivas, Campas, etc. Among the peoples with whom infanticide is reported as rare or as not practised at all, are such primitive tribes as the Fuegian Yahgans, the Brazilian Botocudos, certain Californian Indians, the Algonquian Blackfeet and Pottawattomis, the Siouan Omahas, the Eskimoan Aleuts, etc. Most of these peoples regard infanticide with horror, the Aleuts being of opinion that such a crime 'would bring misfortune on the whole village,' and the Blackfeet (according to Richardson) believing that 'women who have been guilty of this crime will never reach the happy mountain after death, but are compelled to hover round the seats of their crimes, with branches of trees tied to their legs' (Westermarck, *M. i.* 403). Where infanticide does prevail, several distinct and unconnected reasons are adduced in support of the practice, such as the following: lack of food and fear of famine (a very common reason), inability of mother to nurse child, death of mother in child-birth, birth of infant while mother is still caring for

another young child, etc. With some tribes, female infants alone or chiefly seem to have been thus put away; among others only those that were abnormally constituted in some way, or whose birth was ill-omened, etc. Ritual infanticide was practised among some of the 'civilized' and semi-civilized peoples of Mexico and Central America; sacrifice of the first-born among the Pawnees and some other tribes.

7. Burial of children.—The burial of children often differs remarkably from that of adults. Concerning the Canadian Indians of Salishan stock, C. Hill-Tout (*Salish and Déné*, 1907, p. 205) says that a young child was always buried some distance away from old graves, because of the belief that, 'if a young child were buried close to some old grave, its mother would have no more children.' With these Indians, deaths of children did not entail the burning of the hut in which they took place, as was the case with adult deaths. Among the Shushwap, according to Boas (*6th Rep. on N.W. Tribes of Canada*, p. 89), 'if a child should die, the next child is never put into the same cradle which was used for the dead child.' In South America a remarkable instance of difference between the burial of children and that of adults occurs among the Calchaquis, a prehistoric people of the northern Argentine, who interred their children in urns, adults being buried otherwise.

8. Soul of the child.—As to the soul of the child, its origin, nature, etc., a great variety of opinions prevailed in primitive America, some of which denied possession of such an attribute in early infancy, while others maintained the doctrine of an hereditary soul, etc. Such of these theories as are related to primitive ideas of education are discussed in the article EDUCATION (American), in which are considered other matters concerning the child among the American Indians.

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ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

CHILDREN (Bab.-Assyr.).—After the birth of a child (cf. art. BIRTH [Assyr.-Bab.]) it was either suckled by the mother or put out to nurse for a period which might extend to three years (*WAI* ii. pl. 9, 45-50 c, d). The text containing this statement being bilingual, it is probable that wet-nursing was common among both the Sumerians and the Semites of Babylonia from exceedingly early times. Incantations exist (*ib.* pl. 17, 11, 35-39) showing that ceremonies then took place with a view to avoiding risk from the employment of a woman with defective breasts of milk (*mušēnigru ša ulu-ša šabu, marru, maššu, ša inu mišis šule māt*, 'a

nurse whose breasts are sweet [Sumer. "honeyed"], bitter, affected, or by the affection of whose breasts [a child] has died'). The nurse seems generally to have received food, oil, and clothing as long as she fulfilled her duties, thus assuring as far as possible the health of the child whom she tended during a very critical period of its existence.¹

The infancy of a child was naturally hedged about with all kinds of precautions. In addition to the incantations referred to, omens were derived from the actions and cries of children, as well as from their general condition, in order to diagnose their complaints and decide upon the remedy. Judging from the wording of one of these inscriptions, the maladies from which children suffered were under the control of the gods and goddesses whom the Babylonians worshipped. It was said to be 'the hand of the daughter of Anu' (i.e. Ištar) which caused constant weeping, etc. She it was also who caused the child to speak unconsciously in its bed, whilst it was the hand of Azaga which caused it to speak in its bed and tell all it had seen (B.M. tablet 82-9-18, 4354). Gula, goddess of healing, also seems to have caused maladies—it was her hand if the child was grey and yellow, or white and black; if it opened its *libbu* and its hand was clenched. It was the hand of the moon-god Sin if the child stared (?) and its body and feet worked, and there was no fever—a statement suggesting the belief that the effect of the moon then, as in the opinion of many even now, was to cause madness.

In all probability education among the poorer classes was unknown, but it was evidently the custom to teach trades from exceedingly early times, and the contract-tablets of the later Babylonian period record many examples of apprenticeship (*MU-utu*, generally tr. 'baker'; *ušbaru-tu*, 'weaver'; *IR-utu*, unknown, and others). These apprenticeships lasted for a term of years, sometimes five, sometimes the orthodox seven, during which a certain amount of produce (grain) was given, probably for the keep of the apprentice, and as payment to the master for the instruction imparted. In some cases there is a penalty if the apprentice runs away, and nearly always if the master fails to teach his profession to the youth entrusted to his care. In many cases the apprentices were slaves belonging to women—either ladies of property or temple-devotees, who thus provided against utter destitution should loss of income befall them; for a slave, a servant, or a child with a handicraft was always a valuable asset.

In the case of the higher classes, however, it may be supposed that the youth was fitted for the position he was to occupy in after-life by being taught to read and write (*nam-duššarra minibzuzu*, 'he shall teach him writing' [*WAI* v. pl. 25, col. iii. 1. 19, Sumerian column; the Semitic tr. is defective, only one word, *tupšarru*, 'writing,' being preserved]). Of course, it does not follow from this reference to the teaching of writing that the child of every person of means knew how to read and write; in all probability it was merely recommended as a desirable thing, and the advice must often have been acted upon. The nature of the Babylonian script, moreover, was such that a really practical knowledge of it was difficult to obtain except in the case of professional scribes, for whom these bilingual tablets, containing specimen-phrases and extracts from legal documents, were especially drawn up. Examples of what are evidently students' exercises exist in the British Museum, in the collection of tablets from Niffer at Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, and show that the students

¹ For examples of this in the form of contracts, see Ungnad in *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, iii. (Leipzig, 1909) p. 182.

were taught the various methods of writing names of men, women, places, verbal forms, phrases connected with trade, and all that was necessary for commercial life, whether they were professional scribes or not.¹

Section 188 of Hammurabi's Code refers to the taking of a child by an artisan to bring up, probably for the purpose of enabling him to learn his trade. If the artisan fulfilled his contract, and duly instructed him, the child could not be claimed back. If, on the other hand, he had not fulfilled his duty by teaching him, the child, it was enacted, was to return to his father's house (§ 189). This, it may be supposed, was for the purpose of apprenticing him to some more suitable, and therefore, possibly, more successful, teacher. These enactments, to all appearance, imply that a child, when apprenticed, was delivered so completely into the hands of the handicraftsman that the latter stood henceforth to him *in loco parentis*, and the real father had no longer any power over his offspring. How such a system as this worked the inscriptions do not inform us, but there is every probability that (in spite of the Babylonian liking for children) it led to all kinds of abuse; and many a child, having fallen into bad hands, must have suffered untold misery, and have been subjected to every form of cruelty, so long as this system remained in force.

The position of foster-father, whether by apprenticeship or otherwise, was not, however, to be undertaken lightly; for it carried with it the right, on the part of the foster-child, to a portion of the foster-parents' property, sometimes just as though the foster-child had been their own. Should there have been no contract to give a share of the property to the foster-child, he returned, if he would, to the house of his own father. If the foster-father, having children of his own, decided to cut off a youth from the position of foster-son in his house, the child took a third of his property (excluding house and land property) and returned to his original home.

Punishments in the case of adopted children seem to have been especially severe; though, if we knew all the circumstances connected with the institution, which was quite a common one in Babylonia, we should probably not find it so very unjust. The children of prostitutes were, naturally, best out of the way of the life of their parents, and it probably seemed to the Babylonians the height of ingratitude for them to deny their foster-parents. The law therefore enacted that, if one of them did so, his tongue was to be cut out. Still more cruel, if anything, was the punishment of the child of such a person who might come to know his father's house, and, puffed up with pride as the child of some person of rank (as one might suppose), 'despised his foster-father and his foster-mother.' The punishment in this case was loss of an eye. But the Babylonians were strict in the extreme for breaches of filial piety. . . . 'If a son smite his father, they shall cut off his hands' (§ 195).

Naturally the institution of slavery must have been in many cases a horror when children were the victims, even more than for adults. At what age a girl might be sold to become the concubine or second wife of a man, and at the same time to be the servant or slave of the first wife,² does not appear; but this may have happened, and probably often did happen, during the period which we should regard as being that of late childhood. The sale of a mere child as a slave is referred to in *Cun.*

¹ *PSBA*, Dec. 1896, pp. 250-258 and plates i.-iv. See also *ib.*, May 1901, p. 188 ff. and plates i. ii.: Pinches, *Outline of Assy.* Gram., 1910, pp. 48, 64.

² Ungnad, in *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, iii. 121; Pinches, *The OT in the Light of the Records of Assy. and Bab.*, 1908, p. 185.

Texts, vol. viii. pl. 22 (Ungnad's No. 126), where a slave child is sold, along with its mother, for 18(?) shekels of silver (reign of Hammurabi). Other examples are Ungnad's Nos. 433 and 435, which refer to young girls born in Kar-Duniaš (Babylonia). The age is not stated, but was regarded as being sufficiently indicated by the height—half an ell in the case of the second tablet. The child was sold by her brother Kuru, her mother Apparitu, and a woman named Lalutu, for various articles of clothing and some oil, the whole being valued at 9 shekels of silver. The name of the girl herself was Lamassûa, 'my (good) genius,' the meaning of which is in itself instructive, as showing the Babylonian attitude in the matter of child-slavery; for it is unlikely that a girl so named would be ill-treated by her owner, who would naturally look upon her as a kind of luck-bringer. Slavery was the lot of a (free-born) child who denied his foster-father; but, in view of the Babylonian liking for children, it is doubtful whether a mere childish expression of anger containing the words of the denial would cause the foster-father to decide to get rid of his adopted son, except in very extreme cases, long-continued, or provokingly repeated.

Childhood, in the families of the higher classes, must have had all the pleasure and charm which we are accustomed to associate with it in our own land. Ashurbanipal, who is identified with 'the great and noble Asnapper' of *Ezr* 4¹⁰ (AV), speaks of the palace of Sennacherib, wherein Esarhaddon, his father, was born, grew up, and ruled the kingdom of Assyria. It was in this palace that he himself 'received the wisdom of Nebo, the whole of the literature, as much as existed.' Here, too, he learned 'to shoot the bow, to ride a horse, to harness a chariot.'

There is no indication as to the age when sons were initiated into any order of priesthood for which they may have been intended; but, in view of the early maturity of children in the East, this was probably done at what we should regard as being an unreasonably low age. Mannu-dik-bêlî-âlak, one of Ashurbanipal's captains, dedicated his son Nabû-nadî-nâpisti to the god Nin-ip for the preservation of the king's life; but the age of the son in question is not stated. It is not by any means improbable, however, that he was a mere child. In connexion with this, it is perhaps worthy of note that Ashurbanipal speaks of having appointed his eldest brother to the kingdom of Kar-Duniaš (Babylonia), his second brother to the high-priesthood of (Samaš?), and his youngest brother to the same office in the service of Sin, the moon-god. If these three appointments were made at the same time, i.e. when he came to the throne himself, the two priestly members of the family had probably only just reached man's estate; and initiation into the lower grades of the priesthood may have preceded induction into the high-priesthood itself by several years.¹

In war, when the passions were let loose, the Assyrians, especially in early days, were no respecters of persons. Even the innocence of children did not appeal to them, and maidens and youths were deflowered or put to death. In all probability the Babylonians were not so ruthless, and it is probable that, with time, the Assyrians also improved. On the sculptures of the time of Sennacherib and later, children are sometimes shown,

¹ The plaques representing king Ur-Nina (Louvre) as basket-bearer, and also seated, show him in company with his eight sons, who, standing before him, fold their hands in token of respect. With the exception of the first, all have their heads shaven, and it is possible that the hair of the eldest has some kind of tonsure. The shaving of the head is regarded as the sign of priestly rank, and these plaques would seem to prove that mere children were initiated (see Léon Heuzey, in *Rassy.* 1892, p. 14 ff. and pl. 1). The date of this is c. 4000 a.d.

and always in a sympathetic way. The Assyrian soldier gently leading a captive child (Layard, *Monuments*, 1849-53, 1st ser., pl. 67 A); the captive children with their mothers (2nd series, pl. 22)—in one case riding astride on her shoulders, and in the other clinging to her skirts; the mother nursing her child (pl. 33); the woman giving a child water from a skin bottle (pl. 35); the Elamite children following the harpers in the procession welcoming Ummanigāš (pl. 49), and clapping their hands to the music—these and others all testify to the feelings of the Assyrians and Babylonians towards children in general.¹

To all appearance, it sometimes happened that a mother was obliged to quit her children to become a member of one of the religious institutions attached to a temple, and in that case she was forced to renounce all hope of ever being able efficiently to attend to them again. This, naturally, was often a cruel separation, and one can easily enter into the feelings of Ummu-tābat, who, in the 6th year of Cambyses, appealed to the authorities of the temple of the sun at Sippar to be released from the obligation of entering the *bit zikri* until her three young sons were grown up. She brought with her a gift, and her request was duly granted, seemingly on the condition that she should again give something to the temple when the time for entering the order came.

The word 'child' (*māru*, masc.) in the expression *mār ili-su*, 'son of his god,' seems to indicate and express the idea of 'a just man,' 'a son of God,' one who is a child of his Heavenly Father. Corresponding expressions are *mār šurri*, 'prince' (lit. 'king's son'), *mār rubē*, 'child of a prince,' 'young prince,' etc. A 'child of Babylon' (*mār Bābili*) stood for 'a Babylonian,' in accordance with Semitic usage (cf. the familiar *benē Yisrā'el* 'children of Israel' = Israelites). In all these expressions, however, it is easy to see how faithful men were classed as 'children of God,' in the same way as the natives of a place were regarded as the 'children' of the country where they were born and dwelt.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

T. G. PINCHES.

CHILDREN (Celtic).—1. In Celtic countries the birth of children, whether they be boys or girls, is generally welcomed; and large families are not infrequent. The large size of Irish families is proverbial, and the typically Welsh parts of Wales, to a greater extent perhaps in South than in North Wales, are characterized by families that would rival in size even those of Ireland. Breton families, too, are larger than those of any other part of France. At the same time, it has to be admitted that there is an old Welsh proverb, given by Dr. Davies of Mallow in a list of proverbs appended to his Welsh-Latin Dictionary of 1632, which says: '*A fo aml ei feibion bid wag ei goluddion*' ('He who has many sons must needs have his entrails empty'). The information which is obtainable as to the treatment of children in Celtic countries is, unfortunately, meagre and scattered, and there are many points upon which more light would be welcome. The earliest classical reference to Celtic children is found in Aristotle (*Politics*, vii, 17, p. 1336^a, 15-18), who says that it was the custom of some of the barbarians to dip their children at birth into the cold water of a stream, while others, such as the Celts, put

on them only a slight covering. Cæsar also (*de Bell. Gall.* vi, 18) tells us that the Gauls would not allow their sons to come into their presence openly, until they had arrived at the age of military service; and that they thought it a shameful thing for a son, during the years of boyhood, to be present before his father's eyes in public. This statement has possibly some connexion with the practice of 'fosterage' (see below), the origins of which may perhaps be associated with one of the earlier stages in the development of Celtic matrimony. It is not improbable that there were among the Celts other customs and ceremonies of similar origin, of which we have an echo (see BIRTH [Celtic]) in the curious statement made by the Emperor Julian (*Ep.* 16, p. 383 D-384 A, and *Orat.* ii.), that the river Rhine would drown any adulterine child that might be placed in a shield upon it, but would restore to its mother a child whose birth was lawful. Nor is it unlikely that the naming of a Celtic child was accompanied by some lustration (see BAPTISM [Ethnic] in vol. ii, p. 371 f.).

2. The stories which occur in Celtic legend and folklore as to the carrying away of children soon after birth suggest that the fear of this occurrence (with or without the substitution of a changeling [*g.v.*]) was one of the pre-occupations of the parents and guardians of Celtic children, and that certain ceremonies may have been practised for the child's protection (cf. the story of the loss of Pryderi in the *Mabinogi* of Pwyll; and of Mabon, son of Modron, in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*). References to changelings frequently occur in Celtic fairy-tales, as may be seen from Rhys's *Celtic Folk-lore, Welsh and Manx*. The practice of carrying fire around the mother and child in the direction of the sun's course (see BAPTISM [Ethnic]) would seem to have been instituted as a protection against spirits, fairies, and the like.

3. The general collective term for 'children' is in Irish *cland* (whence the English 'clan') and in Welsh *plant*, which are cognate with Skr. *kula*, 'race,' 'lineage,' O. Ch. Slav. *celyadi*, 'family,' and it may be noted that in mediæval Welsh the word *plant* was used as a singular in the sense of 'offspring.' It is noticeable, too, that in Welsh the term *mab* may mean either 'a boy' or 'a son,' and the Irish cognate word *mac* has also this double sense, in accordance with a usage of speech which probably goes back to a remote stage in the evolution of the Celtic family.

4. That the ancient Celts were not mentally indifferent to child life and child growth is in some degree suggested by the existence of Celtic stories referring to childhood, as, for instance, those stories in the *Mabinogion* which refer to the preternatural development and growth of certain fabulous children, such as Gwri Wallt Euryn, Dylan, and Llew Elawgyffes. An interest in children is reflected also in certain of the Welsh proverbs, such as '*Gwag ty heb fab*' ('Empty is a house without a boy'), '*Chwareuid mab noeth, ni chwareu mab newynog*' ('An unclad boy will play, a hungry boy will not play'), '*Da yro cof mab*' ('Excellent is a boy's memory'). The contrast between a mother's care for her child and that of a stepmother is implied in the Welsh proverb: '*Ni charo ei fam, cared ei lysfam*' ('Let him that loves not his mother love his step-mother'), and in such stories as that given in the *Mabinogion* of the concealment of the child Kulhwch by his father from his second wife. At the same time, the Welsh proverbs recognize that relatives other than the mother may care for a child; as, for example, the proverb: '*Eiffam modryb dda*' ('A good aunt is a second mother').

5. One of the most remarkable features connected with the treatment of children among the

¹ Some of these reliefs are now to be seen in the British Museum (Nineveh Gallery and Assyrian Saloon). The following representations of children on Assyrian reliefs of the time of Ashur-bani-apli in the Louvre may also be noted: (1) A man holding a water-skin apparently introducing a child to a seated man and woman—the child places his right hand on his head in salutation. (2) A woman giving a child water from a skin, whilst a man behind apparently protests. (3) An Elamite child, quite naked, as prisoner. (4) A woman bending down as if to kiss a child, who holds up his hands to clasp her chin or face.

Celts, both Goidelic and Brythonic, is the place taken in their nurture by the system of 'fosterage' (Ir. and Scot. Gaelic, *altrum*; Welsh, *maeth*). In Wales, in historic times, the references to this practice are not as numerous as in the case of Scotland and Ireland, but they are clear enough to place the existence of the practice in certain ranks, at any rate, beyond all doubt. It is significant that, both in Irish and in Welsh, the usual term for a friend (Ir. *comalta*; Welsh, *cyfaill*) is a compound word derived from the roots *com-* and *al-* (Lat. *alo*), meaning 'one brought up with another,' in other words, 'a foster-brother.'

It is not impossible that there was occasionally some truth in the statement of Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topog. Hibern.*, dist. iii. cap. xxiii.) that the Irish in his day were fonder of their foster-brethren than of their own brethren ('Vae autem fratribus in populo barbaro! Vae et cognatis! Vivos enim ad mortem persequuntur: mortuos et [ab aliis] interemptos ulciscuntur. Solum vero alumnis et collataneis, si quid habent vel amoris vel fidei, illud habent'). Giraldus also criticizes this system of fosterage in its effects upon Welsh social life, owing to the tendency of an ambitious foster-father to advance without scruple the cause of that prince who happened to be his own foster-son (*Descriptio Cambriae*, lib. ii. cc. iv. ix.: 'Accessit et alius incommodum grave, quod principes filios suos generosis de terra sua viris diversis diversos alendos tradunt: quorum quilibet alumnus suum post patris obitum extollere, aliisque praeferre, toto conamine nititur et machinatur. . . Unde et inter fratres collataneos quam naturales longe veriores invenies amicitias').

6. Status of children.—(a) The ancient Laws, both of Wales and of Ireland, contain references to the status of children in the Celtic tribal communities. The unborn child was protected in Wales from deliberate harm (see *Welsh Medieval Law*, ed. by Wade-Evans, p. 272).

'The legal worth of the fetus of a woman: the first is, blood before formation, if it perish through cruelty, of the value of forty-eight (pence). The second is, before life (*eneit*) enters into it, if it perish through cruelty, the third of its *galanas* ("blood-fee") is to be paid for it. The third is, after that life has entered into it, if it perish through cruelty, then the whole of the *galanas* is to be paid for it' (cf. *Senchus Mór*, i. 181).

Again, the Welsh Laws contemplate the occurrence of cases of uncertain fatherhood, and provision is contained in them for the affiliation of a son to a father, with a view to his inclusion in a 'kindred,' as in *Welsh Med. Law*, p. 272:

'Three ways whereby a son is to be affiliated to a father: one is, when a woman of thicket and bush (i.e. an unchaste woman), being with child, shall be at her full time, let her priest visit her, and let her swear by him—"May I be delivered of a snake by this pregnancy, if a father has begotten it on a mother other than the man to whom I affiliate it," and naming him; and so she affiliates lawfully. The second is, a chief of kindred, with the hands of seven of the kindred with him, is to affiliate him. The third is, if there be no chief of kindred, the oaths of fifty men of the kindred affiliate him, and the son himself first swears, because the mother's oath is not legal except in the above affiliation.'

It will thus be seen that the essential nature of the ceremony in each of these cases is the incorporation of the male child in question into a tribal group of kinsmen. The Welsh Laws also provide for the converse process of disowning a child by a 'kindred' (*op. cit.* p. 273):

'Three ways whereby a son is disowned by a kindred: the man whose son he is said to be takes the son and places him between himself and the altar, and places his left hand on the head of the son and the right hand on the altar and the relics; and let him swear that he has not begotten him, and that there is no drop of his blood in him. The second is, if the father is not alive, the chief of kindred is to deny him, and with him the hands of seven of the kindred. The third is, if he has no chief of kindred, the oaths of fifty men of the kindred deny him, and the eldest son of the man to whom the son was affined is to swear first.'

(b) The Welsh Laws (*op. cit.* p. 233) provide that no one is to receive a son as surety without consent of his father whilst the boy is under the father's authority. On the other hand (*op. cit.* p. 234), it is said:

'If a surety of a person dies, and there remains a son to him, the son is to stand in place of the father in his suretyship.'

The Welsh Laws also contain a provision that, in the case of the separation of husband and wife, two-thirds of the children have to go to the husband. Of a family of three children it is ex-

pressly stated that it is the middle child that should go to the mother.

(c) From the age of baptism up to seven (*Ancient Laws of Wales*, Rolls Series, i. 201) the boy's father is to swear and pay for him, 'except the payment of a *dirwy* or *camlwro* ("fine") for him to the King; because the King is not to have any *dirwy* or *camlwro* for an error, nor for the act of an idiot, and he is not endowed with reason: he must indemnify the sufferer for his property' (*op. cit.* p. 203).

At the age of seven he himself is to swear for his acts, and his father is to pay, 'for then he shall come under the hand of his confessor, and shall take duties upon himself.'

(d) The Welsh Laws further provide that, until a boy is fourteen years of age, 'he is to be at his father's platter, and his father shall lord over him; and he is to receive no punishment but that of his father; and he is not to possess one penny of his property during that time, only in common with his father.' At the end of the fourteen years, 'the father is to bring his son to the lord and commend him to his charge; and then the youth is to become his man, and be on the privilege of his lord—thenceforward his father is not to correct him any more than a stranger; and, if he should correct him, upon complaint made by his son against him, he is subject to *dirwy* ("a fine"), and is to do him right for the *sarhad* ("insult").

The ceremony of the acceptance of a boy by his lord consisted in the cutting of the boy's hair, and the presentation to him, by the lord, of a gift called *cyffarus*.

(e) In the case of a daughter, the conditions were analogous, except that she was to be at her father's platter only until twelve. At the age of twelve she might be given to a husband. The Laws also say: 'From that time forward, if she have not a husband, she is to possess her own property, and is not to remain at her father's platter, unless he shall will it.'

The age for child-bearing, according to the Laws, is from fourteen to forty.

7. Fosterage.—(a) The above provisions seem to imply that the child is to live at home and in the society of its parents. It would thus appear that the practice of fosterage must have been greatly restricted in Wales after the 10th cent., and it may well be that it had come to be limited to certain princely and noble families. The state of society described in the *Mabinogion* appears to be characterized by fosterage, as in the case of Pryderi (in the story of *Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed*), and in that of Kulhwch (in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*), but in both of these cases, as in that of Gwern, son of Matholwch (in the story of *Brânwen, daughter of Llyr*), the families concerned are of the highest rank in their respective communities. It would be interesting to know how far the system of fosterage prevailed in Cornwall and Brittany; but, owing to the scantiness of early Breton and Cornish literature, it is difficult to obtain precise data on the subject. The Welsh word *alltraw* (used, according to Davies in his Welsh-Latin Dictionary of 1632, for a 'god-father') comes from the Celtic root *al-* (cognate with Lat. *alo*), and doubtless meant originally 'a foster-father.' In the Cornish Glossary (c. 1000 A.D.) we have the equivalent form *altrow* given as a gloss on the Lat. *vitricus* ('a stepfather'). In Breton the corresponding form is *aotrou*, which now means 'a lord,' though the corresponding medieval form *eltroguen* meant 'a stepmother.' The probability, therefore, is that in Cornwall and Brittany the system of fosterage had once prevailed, but had sunk into desuetude by mediæval times.

(b) When we turn to the Celtic countries of Goidelic speech, we find that, even in mediæval times, in both Celtic Scotland and Celtic Ireland the system of fosterage had a firm hold upon the communities where it prevailed. According to O'Curry (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 1873, ii. 375), the Irish law of fosterage was adopted by the Anglo-Normans, and continued to prevail in some of its features even as late as the 16th and

17th centuries. The Highland system was essentially the same as that of Ireland, and Skene (*Celt. Scot.*² iii. 321 f.) quotes written contracts of fosterage made in 1510, 1580, 1612, and 1665. Possibly we have, even in Wales, an echo of an earlier state of things in a book called *Gemmu Doethineb* ('Gems of Wisdom'), written and published by a Carmarthenshire minister called Rhys Prydderch in 1714, who inveighs, among other things, against giving children to others to nurse. The Irish system is described at length in the Brehon Laws (*Senchus Mór*, Rolls Series, vol. ii.) under the heading *Cáin Iarraith* ('The Law of Fosterage'). According to this treatise, fosterage was of two kinds—(1) fosterage for affection, when no remuneration was taken for the up-bringing of the child; and (2) fosterage for payment, the terms being regulated by the rank of the child's father.

The most ancient scale of prices for fosterage in Ireland was as follows: 5 *seals* for the son of an *Op-airé* or of a *Bo-airé* chief, 10 *seals* for the son of an *Aire-desa* or of an *Aire-tutai* chief, and 30 *seals* for the son of a king. A *seal* is explained (*op. cit.* iii. 463) as follows: 'A common, easily divisible *sed* means two live chattels or dead chattels, or one dead chattel, the value of which is not lessened by its being divided. A common chattel not easily divisible means one live chattel, or one dead chattel, the value of which would be lessened by its being divided.' In *op. cit.* iv. 29 we are told: 'The best among *seals*—a milch cow.' In the commentary to the *Senchus Mór* the scale is modified, the price of fosterage being the same (viz. three cows) for all ranks up to that of the *Bo-airé* chief, while the remainder of the scale is as follows: for an *Aire-desa* chief, 4 cows; for an *Aire-echta* chief, 6 cows; for an *Aire-ard* chief, 9 cows; for an *Aire-forgaill* chief, 12 cows; while for a king the price was 18 cows. For poets the price of fosterage varied according to the grade of the father, there being seven grades of poets.

(c) The *Senchus Mór* lays down various regulations as to the clothing, food, and general treatment of foster-children. In *op. cit.* ii. 161 we read: 'The nursing clothes—that is, the clothes that are given to keep them clean, i.e. a black coverlet and a black tunic, which are given to the nurse when the son is given to be fostered, i.e. the coverlet without being threadbare, and the tunic without being broken.' The clothing which the foster-child was to wear was (according to the *Senchus Mór*) regulated according to his father's rank. The son of the King of Érin was to have satin clothing, and his clothes were to be of a scarlet colour; he was to have silver in his scabbard, and a golden brooch with a crystal inserted in it. The son of a chieftain was to have only a tin scabbard, and the brooch of the son of a territorial king was to be only of silver. The commentary says (*op. cit.* ii. 147):

'In worn clothes and new ones he is to have two coverlets, so that his person may not be seen; these should be washed every day successively—one to be used while the other is being washed. Blue-coloured and yellow and black and white clothes are to be worn by the sons of inferior grades; red and green and brown clothes by the sons of chieftains; purple and blue clothes by the sons of kings' (see also Skene, *Celt. Scot.*² iii. 190).

(d) The nature of the child's food is described in the same treatise as follows:

'What are their victuals? Porridge (*Ir. lúe* or *leite*) is given to them all, but the flavouring which goes into it is different, i.e. salt butter for the sons of the inferior grades, fresh butter for the sons of chieftains, honey for the sons of kings. The food of them all is alike, until the end of a year or three years, viz. salt butter, and afterwards fresh butter, i.e. for the sons of chieftains, and honey for the sons of kings. Porridge made of oatmeal and buttermilk or water is given to the sons of the *fine*-grades, and a bare sufficiency of it merely, and salt butter for flavouring. Porridge made on new milk is given to the sons of chieftain grades, and fresh butter for flavouring, and a full sufficiency of it is given them, and barley meal upon it (i.e. is put on new milk to make it). Porridge on new milk is given to the sons of kings, and wheat meal upon it, and honey for flavouring.'

(e) The Brehon Laws, both under the head of Fosterage and elsewhere, show fair consideration for children. In the *Law of Distress* (*op. cit.* pp. 123, 125), provision is made, under the tribal system, for ensuring the care

'of a son after a death, of a son from a mad woman, from a diseased woman from a deaf woman, from a lepross, from a

near-sighted woman, from an emaciated woman, from a lame handed woman, and from a lunatic.'

The reason given in the commentary to the *Senchus Mór* why a child was to be taken from the care of a lame-handed woman was that she was unable to protect it from the fire. In *op. cit.* i. 137, provision is made for ensuring that children shall not fail to receive due maintenance.

1. The Brehon Laws also provide (*op. cit.* i. 167) that a notice might be issued under a penalty, prohibiting persons from feeding a refractory son or daughter.

2. In another passage (*op. cit.* i. 175), a person was liable to a penalty, if, when he carried a child on his back into a house, the child was hurt. The commentary to the *Senchus Mór* (ii. 179) points out that the danger arose from the construction of the house, or from projecting spikes or spears.

3. When the child came to the age of seven, his foster-father had to supply him with a horse (*op. cit.* ii. 155); and it is explicitly provided that the sons of kings were to have horses at the time of races.

4. If the sons of kings were struck or libelled, they were to be paid *éric* (fine) for the striking or the libelling; but the sons of the *fine*-grades or of the chieftain grades might be struck or libelled freely, provided that no blenheim or nickname was given them, or a wound inflicted on the body; a wound was any incision that caused bleeding or a cut (*op. cit.* ii. 157). In *op. cit.* ii. 159 it is said that no nickname could be given with impunity.

5. It was customary for a riding-horse to be given to the foster-father along with the son of a king or a chieftain.

(f) Irish law deals with various legal cases which arose out of the practice of fosterage, such as the situation arising from a premature termination, for various causes, of the period of fosterage.

(g) The normal cessation of fosterage came about in Ireland at the age of seventeen for a boy, and fourteen for a girl; this being regarded as the marriageable age, for which the technical name was 'the age of selection.' Irish law also deals minutely with the liability of foster-fathers for the wrongs committed by their foster-children, and also with the duties, both during fosterage and after it, of foster-children to their foster-parents. When a foster-father parted with a child, he presented it with a parting gift, and his own claim for maintenance in old age (a claim which could be exercised only if his own children had died) depended on the value of this gift.

(h) The Irish system of fosterage was doubtless closely connected with the Irish tribal relationship of the *geil-fine* tribe. The direct form of this relationship was that of the father, son, grandson, great-grandson, and grandsons to the fifth generation, and in what was named the reverse line, i.e. the brother of the father and his sons to the fifth generation. It was apparently the relations within these degrees who received a child in fosterage.

(i) In the case of a girl, a father was obliged to put his daughter to fosterage, to pay the price of her fosterage to her foster-father until she was of age to marry, and then to find for her a husband of equal family. A mother, whose husband was dead, was under a similar obligation to foster her son.

8. According to another legal treatise, the *Corus Bescna* (*op. cit.* iii. 39), firstlings, including first-born children, were due to the Church, and one important aspect of fosterage came to be the ecclesiastical.

9. Glimpses of child life are rare in Celtic literature until modern times, but there is in a poem by the Welsh bard Lewys Glyn Cothi (1450-1486) a singularly beautiful and pathetic picture of that life. The poem in question is an elegy by the poet upon the death of his young child, and gives a faithful and vivid description of the child's play and varying moods. Among the playthings are mentioned a toy bow and a toy sword. Such a poem as this, though rare, is thoroughly in keeping with the fondness of the Welsh muse for dwelling on the varying fortunes of human existence, with its central themes of life and death.

10. In their attitude towards children the in-

habitants of Celtic countries are, in the main, by nature inclined to be lenient and sympathetic; and, wherever there is any tendency to resort habitually to corporal punishment, it may, as a rule, be safely assigned to some external influence. In some instances, too, in those religious families where the parental mind is pre-occupied with the idea of sin, and the risks which the child of undisciplined character may run of committing heinous sins or crimes in adult life, the training of the Celtic child has sometimes acquired a tone of marked gravity and austerity. In Wales, for example, as well as in other countries that have been subjected to similar religious influences, the deep sense of human error and sin, which characterized the Methodist revival, and the use of the Book of Proverbs as a manual of training, have left an indelible impress on the moral up-bringing of many Welsh children to-day, and the atmosphere in which Welsh children of respectable parentage are brought up is one which is often more conducive to thoughtfulness and seriousness than to gaiety. Nor is this atmosphere of strictness, in which emphasis is laid on the graver aspects of life, confined to the Calvinistic Methodist body, whose services in the elevation of the moral tone of Welsh life are indisputable, but it may be said to be characteristic of the more Puritan spirits of all the denominations of Wales, the Church of England included. It is the growth in Wales (more especially in the North) of this tendency to train children in habits of earnestness, and to the firm suppression of undue gaiety and frivolity, that has made the Celt of Wales in some ways more like the Presbyterian Celt of Scotland than the typical Celt of Ireland, though racially it is not impossible that the Welshman and the Irishman are more akin. Occasionally there are signs of revolt in Wales against the more austere ideals to which reference has been made, but it is interesting to note that it is the graver tradition, whose natural guardians are now more determined than ever to maintain it, that generally prevails. The Calvinistic Methodist tradition in question, in its hostility to dancing, the violin, cards, billiards, the drama, novels, sports, hunting, racing, and to all forms of unproductive muscular exertion, has produced strong characters, and many of the leaders of Wales to-day owe much of their success to the tenacity and concentration of purpose fostered in them as children by this spirit.

LITERATURE.—J. Rhys, *Celtic Folk-lore, Welsh and Manx* (Oxford, Univ. Press, 1901); Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People* (London, 1900); *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, ed. Aneurin Owen (Rolls Series, London, 1841); Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, Univ. Press, 1909); *The Ancient Laws of Ireland* (Rolls Series, London, 1869-1873); W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*² (Edinburgh, 1890).

E. ANWYL.

CHILDREN (Egyptian).—1. Documentary information.—The sources from which we can, directly or indirectly, derive an idea of children and childhood in Egypt are as varied as they are numerous. We may mention: (1) painted or sculptured scenes representing births (of gods or royal princes), dress, games, everyday life (of princes and princesses, or of the children of the common people), the children's part in the ceremonies of worship and disposal of the dead (whether as mere onlookers or as active participants), and, lastly, episodes in which the children of foreign races, tributary or captive, play a part; (2) statues of single children, of children in family groups, or of princes with their tutors; (3) playthings, and the remains of the materials used in education; (4) tombs of children, with the relics of funerary furniture, and even mummies (princes and children of influential priestly families); (5)

the papyri relating to morals, education, magic, and medicine, in the chapters on childhood; (6) the evidence of ancient authors; (7) the allusions to, and information on, childhood in Egyptian literature, especially in the popular tales (see Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*⁴, 1908); and (8) a great number of sporadic details in the corpus of religious and historical texts (e.g. biographical inscriptions).

Although these different classes of evidence comment on and explain each other, the total synthetic idea that they yield is not so complete as one might desire. In a general way, we know—and with quite a luxuriant amount of details (more, probably, than we have for any other ancient civilization)—all that concerns the *material* aspect of childhood. We can get a precise idea of the dress of children, their amulets and talismans, their amusements, their playthings, and their food; we know to a certain extent their occupations, their work (especially for the lower classes), their first lessons, their illnesses, as well as several of the dictums and proverbs relating to children, various children's songs, and a great part of the popular superstitions. As regards instruction properly so called, we know the practical results, or we have specimens of the subjects taught, but we have only a very meagre knowledge of the methods of education. Their moral education is better known, thanks to the papyri, and the inscriptions furnish us with the means of forming an idea of the sentiments of the Egyptian towards his children—his tender love for them, his desire to see them happy, and his opinion of their importance in social life. It is necessary, nevertheless, in pursuing this study, to exercise much patience, and to search sometimes through very long texts, in order to find one line or even a single word that sheds a lightning flash on the subject. Finally, we are practically devoid of information on the important topic of family life, considered from the point of view of its successive phases: anniversaries, children's feasts, periods of the child's life, and what ethnography calls the 'transition rites.' All we know in this connexion are the customs relating to birth, name-giving, and the period of early childhood. We may hope, however, to have the necessary information some day. Though it does not look as if new representations would be found in temples or tombs, it would suffice if a papyrus were discovered devoted to the subject. This hypothesis is certainly tenable when we recall that the text published by Erman (*Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, 1901) suddenly added a whole chapter to our knowledge of Egyptian childhood—a chapter of which we had previously not the slightest idea. On the whole, then, and notwithstanding these reservations, Egypt can at present yield a valuable contribution to our information on the position of children in antiquity and their place in society.

2. First days.—The fecundity of Egyptian women was proverbial in the classical world. It had even given rise to exaggerations (cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 1878, i. 320, quoting Aulus Gellius, x. 2, Pliny, and Strabo, who follows Columella), or even to ridiculous stories, like the one composed (or adapted) by Trogus, then reproduced by Pliny (vii. 3), which attributed to the mothers of this race the incredible power of bringing seven children into the world at one birth. Children, says Maspero (*Hist.*, 1894, i. 263), swarmed in the houses of every class of society, and most of all in the houses of the great, owing to polygamy and the possession of slaves. The number of the sons and daughters of a great lord or a Pharaoh could reach a figure absolutely extraordinary in our eyes.

It ought to be observed, however, that, especially in the case of the sons of kings, many of them might be adopted sons, or a number of high dignitaries might receive the title of honour 'king's son' (*Suton Sa*). Thus it is certain that a number of the so-called 'children' of Ramses II.—he had more than a hundred and fifty known to us—must be included in one or the other of these categories.

Apart from what has already been said (see BIRTH [Egyptian]) about pregnancy and the means of determining the sex of the child to be born (cf. art. DIVINATION), the first notions relating to childhood are connected with the rite that constitutes the child a personal being, viz. conferring a name on him, or rather several names—the great name, the little name, the secret name known only to the mother, etc. This subject is connected with a general theory which will be explained elsewhere (see art. NAMES [Egyptian]). Suffice it to say here that a child was given these names with most circumstantial detail, on a specified day, the *name-day* (cf. Budge, *A Guide to the Collections of the Brit. Mus.*, 1908, p. 78; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr. p. 158). This day was passed in feasting and rejoicing, and was probably chosen on the ground of indications of a religious or horoscopic order. As to the rest of the rites and ceremonies of the first days, compared with the ritual of uncivilized peoples, the ritual of Egypt relating to the newly-born (at least as far as we know) appears somewhat scanty. There is no trace of the visit of friends to the mother, the acknowledgment by the father, or the admission by the members of the community, in the texts or scenes of Egyptian civilization that have come down to us. There are a few very obscure allusions to be met with, referring to magic spells against the dangers that lie in wait for the entrance of the child into the world of living beings, and the first few hours after its arrival.

This poverty of ritual, coupled with the lack of rites and spells relating to the birth (the absence of tabu of the pregnant woman, absence of any rite regarding the umbilical cord, etc.), may at first seem a characteristic worth noting for the problem of the origins of the race, as it would seem to prove that, however far back we go in the history of Egypt, we are still far from discovering traces of a social state resembling that which we suppose to have prevailed among the common ancestry of primitive societies. We must notice, however, that these *lacunae* are being gradually filled up by the papyri, and a hasty conclusion at the present time would be very premature. Thus we know from a magic document (Erman, *Zauber-sprüche*, p. 222) that there was a charm whose recitation aided delivery. There may then have been other rites of this kind, still unknown to us, and resembling those of the modern uncivilized tribes of Africa. Similarly, certain fixed rules for the use of names (cf. NAMES [Egyptian], and G. Foucart, 'Stèles protohébraïques,' in *Sphinx*, 1910, p. 215 ff.) lead us to suspect that certain souls of ancestors could be thought of as re-incarnated in the bodies of children. The presence of tatouings and scars on the mummies also implies specific rites and seasons for their material execution; but here again the necessary texts are silent. We infer also from the texts, but with no assurance, the assigning of a genius, or protective spirit, to a new-born infant. Often it is simply a passing remark in a popular tale that enables us to fix a detail or confirm a custom; that, e.g., the mother had to undergo a purification of fourteen days after delivery—but we get no more details (cf. Maspero, *Contes populaires*, p. 39). Wilkinson speaks of thanksgivings offered to the temple through the medium of the priests on the occasion of a birth (iii. 422), but does not give sufficiently precise references. Finally, we guess,

rather than are able to state, how the first days after birth and before the name-giving were spent in determining and putting in order the new-born child's horoscope. Besides the predictions made by Fate (*Meskhônît*) or by the 'Seven Hathors,' or goddesses, at the moment of birth, and besides the 'length of life' inscribed by Thoth on the mother's brick bed, certain treatises fixed the future fortune of the child and its probable dangers, according to the day on which it was born, or according to the calculation of 'influences.' In the former category, the *Papyrus of lucky and unlucky days* (cf. CALENDAR [Egyptian], VII. 2) is a good example. It gives a complete series of dates with the fate of a child born on them: he will die of infection on his birthday (14 Paophi), by accident (17 Paophi), or simply of old age (19 Paophi), or he will be devoured some day by a crocodile (23 Paophi), or stung by a serpent (27 Paophi), or he will reach 'the end of his life surrounded by the honours of his city' (29 Paophi). These examples, taken from one month only, are repeated with similar predictions for the other months, with a deplorable series of horoscopes of wounds, blindness, and other coming misfortunes weighing against the one single chance of 'dying the oldest of all his family' (12 Tybi). We may place in the same order of ideas the belief that the first cry of an infant indicated its future lot (Ebers Papyrus, 97, 13); that if it cried *ny* it would certainly live, but if it cried *mbé* it would be sure to die soon. We cannot tell how far these pressages were accepted or rejected by all Egyptians, but it is *a priori* a mistake to discard them as only a part of popular superstition; for there was no actually popular literature in ancient Egypt, and all writings, belonging in their nature to the domain of all classes of society, included also the highest classes.

3. Infancy.—Infancy seems to have meant a period usually fixed at four years (cf. the inscription on the statue of Bakhni-khonsu in Munich), but there is no indication that there was a period of fixed length from a social or religious point of view. The infant is a *nazasu* (cf. Deveria, 'Œuvres,' *Bibliothèque Egyptol.*, 1893 ff., i. 285), and the usual expression used of a child, 'a cubit long,' in inscriptions means this period of life, just as it is also applied to a new-born infant (e.g. the inscriptions of Tefabi and Khiti II. at Syut; cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, Chicago, 1906, i. 395). The events and circumstances of this happy age are naturally very trivial. Objects in museums, texts, and scenes, however, restore them as completely as we could wish. The first give us the material of the first toys of very young children (cf. § 5 below); and the others describe or show us their nursing and their illnesses, and how they passed the time. Suckling continued for three years (cf. the 'moral' papyrus of Bulaq), and the fact may be noted and compared with the similar custom among numerous modern African societies. The scenes on Theban tombs show that swaddling was unknown (cf. Pierret, *Dict. archéol.*, 1875, p. 207). The mother took her child everywhere with her, and discharged her duties or attended ceremonies, carrying it on her side or, more usually, on her back. Bands of cloth were bound round the body of both mother and child. A certain scene (cf. Wilkinson, ii. 334) shows Theban women with their babies following a funeral procession. In another place (an unpublished scene on the tomb of Monna in Thebes, copied by the present writer in 1907), a peasant woman is seen gathering the fruit of a tree while her mischievous baby is teasing her and pulling her hair. There is no sign of any dress at all for the little creatures, but we can easily see that their hair was carefully dressed

even at this early age; and the texts and statues, as well as the figures on tombstones, picture them as already (and very probably from birth) provided with amulets and talismans. These usually consist of necklaces, bracelets, and rings of glass or enamelled paste, little leather thongs (probably with magic writing sewn inside), and, most of all, little protective figures, chiefly images of the hippopotamus-goddess Thueris, the special protector of children. Protection was equally guaranteed by 'a cord with seven knots, and seven stone rings, and seven gold rings on seven flaxen threads knotted seven times' (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, pp. 41, 52, 30); or by 'a small purse containing the bones of a mouse' (*ib.*).

The questions of good sucking and protection against children's diseases were of lively interest to the Egyptians. The Ebers medical papyrus (93, 17; 94-9) gives the method of diagnosing the quality of the mother's milk. Constipation was cured by ingenious remedies, such as the application of a poultice 'made of a piece of an old papyrus register, soaked in oil and placed round the body' (Ebers Papyrus, 48, 22; 49, 15). Medicine had even discovered the wonderful secret, now forgotten, of 'how to keep a child from continually crying,' and Egyptologists suspect that this truly marvellous remedy was an infusion of poppies (Ebers Papyrus, 93, 3; Erman, *Life*, p. 362, rightly remarks that this remedy is still employed in modern Upper Egypt). Internal complaints and diseases of the eyes, etc., were not forgotten (they will be treated along with adult complaints in art. DISEASE [Egypt.]; we may notice here the care taken in regard to doses of medicine, according to the varying age of the child [Ebers Papyrus, 49, 22]). As a matter of fact, in Egypt, as among all nations of antiquity and among modern uncivilized nations, illness was regarded as an affair of magic and ghosts quite as often as it was viewed as a natural affliction; and magic charms played as large a part in the protection of childhood as did real remedies. A papyrus has bequeathed to us a whole phase of this curious aspect of child life in Egypt (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*). Illnesses are usually caused especially by evil ghosts, and (a point to note for comparative folklore) by the ghosts of women dying in child-birth. We can see the poor mother repelling the wicked ghosts by declaring that no single part of the body of her child can belong to them—each part is protected by magic; or she holds out to these evil spirits the threat that she will go and destroy their tomb; or else, by talking pleasantly to them, she tries to send them elsewhere—to the harem, for example. A long conjuration, and one of the most curious, is intended to protect the child during sleep from the ghosts who prowl about in the darkness and try to gain entrance. These powerful formulæ, repeated four times, and accompanied by cabalistic words—'protection for the nape of the neck, protection which comes, protection'—are of irresistible efficacy. In this way the Egyptian child, like the children of all other races, passed the first phase of his life, with his humble toys, his little sorrows, his bad dreams, his childish songs, and his ever-watchful devoted mother's love.

This picture, left by the Egyptians, lacks some details which we should like to know. Perhaps we may learn them some day with the aid of the papyri. Thus, we know nothing about the possible existence of ceremonies or rites in connexion with the appearance of the first tooth, the first hair-cutting, the first step, etc.; and we have no mention of an anniversary feast, a birthday, or dates of that kind. There is no notice at any time of any priestly intervention (presentation in the

temple, child-purification, first prayer, or first participation in public or family worship, etc. [for the question of circumcision, see 'Egyptian' section of art. under that title]). In regard to this group of questions the study of Egypt is very different from that of modern uncivilized peoples, which furnishes an abundance of information.

4. **Boys.**—After infancy, which lasted till the end of the fourth year, ordinary boyhood, with its employments and its first work, brought the little Egyptian to his twelfth year. No special text has been devoted to the study of children of the lower classes. With regard to the little peasants, it is very probable, as Budge has suggested (*Guide*, p. 78), that their life was very similar to that of the young *fellahin* of the present day, that their education was nil, and that they helped their parents, as much as they could, in the agricultural or farm work, chiefly by tending the cattle, protecting the crops from the birds, and helping with the irrigation. Their dress (or rather their want of dress) was what it had been from their birth. They must have required an ordinary amount of food; and it is probably of children of the common people that Diodorus (i. 80) is speaking when he expresses surprise at the incredibly low cost of their upkeep: their staple food, he says, was composed of papyrus, roots and berries of water-plants, and boiled or roasted radishes; they had no shoes or clothing—their whole cost of living amounting annually to twenty drachmas. They continued to have their heads shaved; but under the Memphite empire it seems probable that they had the characteristic lock of hair (see, on this disputed question, § 7, at the end).

Our written information is very scanty for the popular classes, but we get great help in this respect from painted and sculptured scenes on certain of the Egyptian monuments. As a matter of fact, in a great number of scenes, we find the child to be an essential and traditional accessory to the episode—the finishing touch to the complete representation of the family occupations or fortune; hence his presence in the representations of numerous trades and in professional or so-called historical episodes. These scenes may, as far as the children are concerned, be roughly divided into four chief classes: peasants, tradespeople, domestics or slaves, and foreigners. The pictures on the tombs of Qurneh are the best source for the first class. The children are usually represented in the act of gleaning the corn ears at harvest-time (e.g. 'Tomb of Rezeserkasonbu,' in *Mémoires mission Caire*, vol. v. s.v. pl. iv.), romping or fighting among the corn (e.g. 'Tomb of Monna,' in Petrie, *Arts and Crafts*, London, 1910, fig. 69), frightening off with slings the birds that try to rob the heaps of grain (e.g. 'Tomb of Apui,' in *Mém. miss. Caire*, vol. v. s.v. pl. ii.), or helping the shepherds to drive or tend their flocks (*passim*). In the tradesmen's class we find, from the Memphite empire downwards (e.g. the *mastaba* of Ptahhetep), the children of fishermen helping to cut the papyrus, to transport fish, and to make boats. The children of barge-men stand on shore and help the people from the barge, or unload great sheaves (e.g. 'Tomb of Apui,' *loc. cit.* pl. ii.). Those of joiners, shoemakers, goldsmiths, and cabinetmakers serve as apprentices in innumerable ways, help their masters in the workshop, or in funeral processions carry the light articles of tomb furniture on their back or in their arms (e.g. 'Tomb of the Engravers,' in *Mém. miss. Caire*, s.v. pl. vi.). Thus we can easily reconstruct their chief employments, and say that in all these classes the child from an early age served as an apprentice, and took part in the work of his family or of the people of his profession.

In aristocratic and plebeian houses alike there were, as there are in the East to-day, crowds of young slaves or little servants mixed with the children of the house. The tomb scenes at Thebes and Amarna show them crowding round their masters when they come home, escorting guests, or (in so-called 'banquet'-scenes) helping to serve the banqueters (pouring wine for them, washing, perfuming, crowning them with flowers, etc.). An interesting ebony statuette (University Museum, London, published by Petrie, *Arts and Crafts*, fig. 40) gives an exact picture of a little Sudanese slave of ten years old, naked, and with the characteristic three tufts of hair, exactly like those which the little black children of the modern Egyptian Sudan wear to-day. Lastly, troops of female dancers and singers show naked little girls, already efficient in their profession, taking part in dancing exercises in the festal scenes.

In obedience to the law of decoration mentioned above, children, even the very youngest, are an essential accessory to scenes in which the artist wishes to show a vanquished, conquered, captive, or simply tributary, race. This enables us to picture, by certain details, the children of the neighbouring peoples of Egypt, for the artist has observed their special characteristics. Thus, in the ancient Empire, the incident of the cruel sacking of Asiatic towns is portrayed with women prisoners carrying their children on their shoulders or dragging them by the hand (cf. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 1898, pl. iv.), and this scene is repeated for all the Asiatic wars down to the time of the Ramessides. The wars of the Sudan give occasion to exhibit village children beside their mothers (Temple of Bet-Wali) or, more particularly, led into captivity, held by the hand, or, in the case of very young children, put into baskets which the mothers carry on their backs, or else riding pick-a-back on their mothers' shoulders (cf. 'Tomb of Harmhabi,' in *Mém. miss. Caire*, vol. v. s. v. pl. iv.; the scene is very common in Theban hypogaea generally). The statuette 32,504 in the British Museum shows an interesting specimen of a Nubian doll carrying a baby in a basket. Bedawi infants (cf. esp. Griffith, *Beri Hasan*, 1893, vol. I. tomb 3, pl. xxx. and tomb 4, pl. xiv.) are carried in a kind of basket placed on asses' backs, or in various kinds of conical baskets borne by the mother on her back.

The children of the upper classes offer an interest of a superior kind. The scenes on family tombs (especially among the Thebans) and the papyri supplement each other on this point. The former do not show us the games or the daily life of the little boys and girls of these social classes, but they let us see them in certain family ceremonies in which their presence was a necessary element of the representation, if it was to have its full religious value. Thus, of course, they attended funeral ceremonies, they followed the cortège to the grave (e.g. the series of Theban tombs cited above), or they took part in family worship, and we can see them holding the bread, birds, or flowers of sacrifice, while the paterfamilias or the *sam* officiates (cf. 'Tomb of the Engravers,' *loc. cit.* pl. v.; 'Tomb of Monna,' etc.). In banquet-scenes, they share the repast, but modestly seated at their parents' feet on a little stool (cf. the same works), and this enables us to imagine how they ate in ordinary life with their parents (see the same peculiarity in the case of princes, below). The absolute equality of treatment existing among children born of different mothers, and of different position, impressed Diodorus (ii. 65). We derive a knowledge of their mental and moral education from short literary works and specimens of school exercises. The former must be considered as traditional compositions, of very great antiquity, which had been read and commented on from age to age, not for any definite class of children, but for the whole of Egyptian childhood in general. Without entering into the details of their literary composition here, we may notice, as the most famous, the 'moral' papyrus of Bulaq. On the other hand, Herodotus (ii. 80) had already made known the respect instituted for old age, and Plato (*Laws*, ii.) had told how strictly the young Egyptians were trained to be careful about their gestures, gait, and movements, which had to be

modest and circumspect. All this is in wonderful agreement with the modern Oriental conception of good education. The Bulaq and the Prisse papyri (cf. the good synopsis in Erman, *Life*, pp. 155-165) confirm the importance attached to the teaching of ethics and good manners by the father. The power and influence of the mother, the obligation due to her throughout her whole life for her trouble and her admirable care, the punishment, in this world or in the next, of the ungrateful child, complete the evidence of the classics from this point of view (cf. Herodotus, ii. 65). Several passages in these works are of a very elevated kind, far excelling the usual low tone in this branch of Egyptian literature. The importance of the moral education of the child, and of the gratitude which it owes to its parents in their old age, is also confirmed by the allusions of the inscriptions or papyri regarding arrangement of income, or by wills and legacies, in which it is a question of being a 'staff of old age' for the father or the mother.

Education was based on a very different concept from ours—a concept whose mechanism has often been misunderstood. To put it briefly: there were no general schools open to all children, or to all of a certain class, and having a programme of theoretic instruction. But in every temple and public building there was a room where the child was professionally taught with a view to preparing him for a certain priestly or administrative office. Thus, the young son of Khufu (cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, 1849-60, ii. 23), when four years of age, went to the 'house of books' of the palace (and went there quite naked, his only article of dress being a girdle); just as Uni, in the same dress, went to receive his education in the 'house of agriculture'; or as Senusiris, the son of Prince Satni, was sent to school in the 'house of life of the temple of Ptah' (cf. Maspero, *Contes populaires*, p. 133). The biographical inscriptions of various Egyptian personages agree on this point whenever they contain any information as to the habits of early childhood. The sons of priests and scribes formed the majority of these pupils, but, on account of the gentleness and goodness of the Egyptian manners, sons of simple peasants or slaves were often allowed to associate with them if they showed special aptitude in their early years (cf. Anastasi Papyrus, v. 22. 6). The sons of the nobility, and even those of the royal house, also went to this 'house of instruction' or 'house of books,' at least for the time and amount of education necessary to teach them what they had to know in order to fulfil the religious duties of their offices, or afterwards to direct the services of which they would have charge. There does not seem to have been any cycle of studies with a definitely fixed programme. As throughout the whole of the East, the teachers grouped the children of different ages round them, and followed them in their progress year by year, until they were 13 or 14 years of age—the time at which they were regarded as men and entered upon their duties. The instruction was mainly didactic, oral, and of a practical nature. To the common stock of essential ideas, each service and administration of the temple or of the royal crown added a technical apprenticeship, such as the editing of letters, arithmetic, ritual, etc. The collection of the Sallier and Anastasi Papyri and the so-called 'moral' papyri (Bulaq, Prisse, etc.) are excellent sources of information and of curious details on this whole subject. As a general rule, the child began to frequent the 'houses of instruction' at the age of four or five. He got up early in the morning, and 'took his coat and his sandals' to go to his class (Sallier Papyrus, ii. 10. 5). The instruction from the teacher (who evidently was not a professional,

but an old priest or functionary, as was the case until a few years ago with the Muslim schools of modern Egypt) lasted from morning to mid-day (Sallier Papyrus, ii. 10. 6); then the children 'went out shouting with joy.' The rest of the day was probably occupied in preparing tasks or learning lessons for the next day. Reading, writing, penmanship, and spelling were the chief subjects.

They began with the exercise of copying in hieroglyphics or hieratics. Then, judging from the papyri that have come down to us, dictation was the customary method of the teacher. The passage was usually taken from a religious, magical, or poetical text. Erman (*op. cit.* p. 332) makes mention of the fact that the task for the day was on an average three pages of this kind of exercise. We still have this before our eyes in the papyri of our museums, with the notes, sketches, annotations, or corrections, of the teacher. There was also the reading of edifying information; and the master's favourite method, in order to train the future administrator for his profession, was to imagine a series of fictitious letters, a pretended correspondence between the pupil and an imaginary manager of State affairs. This is the subject of half the papyri of this kind that have survived. There were added to the above course, according to individual needs, a little arithmetic, geometry, formularies, protocols, etc. The materials for these exercises, as throughout the whole of the East, were white boards which could be cleaned afterwards like our slates, chips of stone, pieces of broken earthenware, or old papyrus rolls. They wrote on them all with a reed (cf. on this point Budge, *Guide*, p. 79).

Corporal punishment was approved of. The phrase 'the child has his understanding on his back' elliptically but forcibly expresses how floggings contributed to make him listen quietly (Anastasi Papyrus, v. 8. 6). 'The youth has a back; he attends when it is beaten,' says the same papyrus, and the pupil harboured no bad remembrance of it. 'You beat me on the back and the instruction entered my ear,' the pupil afterwards reminds his old master (*ib.* iv. 8. 7). The teacher's salary was probably moderate, like that of the schoolmasters of the Muslim *qubbas* under the ancient Egyptian régime: three rolls of bread and two jugs of beer per day from each pupil, if we may believe the Bulaq Papyrus (correctly interpreted by Budge, *Guide*, p. 78; Erman, *Life*, p. 330, thinks it refers to the daily rations of the pupil).

We know that this phase of life lasted until the boy had completed his twelfth or thirteenth year. But, as in the case of the remainder of the life of the infant, there are no certain traces of rites or ceremonies marking the end of childhood and the entrance on puberty (real or social), and the access to public functions or to the life of a man (on this whole subject see art. CIRCUMCISION [Egyp.]).

During the whole of this period, and consequently until the age when the young Egyptian became adolescent and a man from the social point of view, the rôle and power of the mother remained as important as in infancy. Egyptologists agree in drawing attention to the greatness of the maternal influence on the education of the child (cf. Budge, *Guide*, p. 77; Erman, *Life*, p. 155), and her care during the time when he is attending the 'house of books,' etc.

This fact has been compared with others, such as the presence of the mother beside her son in the groups of statues at tombs, and in the scenes of funeral feasts represented on the stela, in order to draw far too general and hasty conclusions as to the existence of a primitive mother-right in early Egypt. More complete knowledge of feudal law and of wills must be acquired before we can state such facts with the necessary authority.

With regard to young nobles or princes of a feudal family, the above applies as a general rule both to the family life and to their education or instruction. The scenes portrayed show them clothed like grown-up persons (cf. Wilkinson, ii. 334), and wearing the amulets or talismans customary for all children, but of richer material, and frequently having round their neck the pearl necklace, the protective figures of Ririt, the *âb* in the shape of a heart, which confers wisdom and wards off diseases, or a papyrus covered with cloth. Many were sent (and often by order, somewhat

like hostages) to the court of Pharaoh, where they received instruction for the military or administrative service of the crown. Just as ordinary girls were associated with royal princesses, these young men shared in the life, games, and exercises of the royal princes (cf., on this whole subject, the inscriptions of Beni Hasan, Syut, and Abydos). The nobleman Tefabi recalls with pride that he learned to swim with the royal children (cf. Mariette, *Mon. divers*, Paris, 1872-77, pl. 68d). Ptahshopsisu (cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i. 256) shows, by his example, that this custom of bringing up some children of common people along with princes was current under the Memphites.

The supposed participation of the children of noblemen in the great sports of fishing and hunting has arisen from a probably incorrect interpretation of the heraldic scenes on the tombs. It is, in fact, the regular custom to represent the children of the feudal lord or the high noble functionary helping their fathers to hunt the birds of the marsh in boats, or striking the crocodile or hippopotamus, or throwing the harpoon at large fish. The scene has passed from there to the tombs of functionaries in general, and has become a conventional theme *de rigueur*. As a matter of fact, the present writer thinks that in the painting of these scenes the aim is to associate children with their fathers, to show that they enjoyed along with them the noble prerogative of directing these sports, and that one day they would succeed their fathers in their responsibilities and dignities. It is probable that this is also the explanation of the presence of little girls in the hunting and fishing boats with their mothers. It is a way of showing the association of the feudal rights of the women and of their transmission to the daughters, but not the representation of a real participation in these sports, at least during the historical period.

5. Games, toys, and amusements.—Certainly no other dead civilization has bequeathed such a large number of materials connected with the amusements of children. We have not only the representation of a long series of games and sports for children, but the actual evidence of these amusements in the shape of hundreds of toys, found in the houses or the tombs; and some museums, like those of London and Berlin (the latter valuable for the comparison between the objects in the cases and the corresponding methodical series of the bas-reliefs of games), in a few minutes' examination of their cases teach an excellent and substantial lesson on this point. Moreover, the pictures of games do not contain the same kind of evidence as the playthings which really were in existence in ancient Egypt; so that the two combined form a very complete repertoire. We cannot give the entire inventory here. We shall mention only the chief types of playthings and then of games.

As the most noteworthy toys we naturally find dolls in the majority—made of all kinds of material (wood, earth, limestone, ivory), and from the coarsest, for poor children, to carefully made dolls with clothing (Berlin, no. 10,024). Some of them are jointed (Cairo, no. 889; London, no. 37,162), and were moved by means of strings. A large number, for very small babies, are, like ours, simply bodies without legs, but with a head and rudimentary arms. Others, on the contrary, are carefully painted, and wear amulets or prophylactic magic figures, talismans, etc. (London), or even have artificial wigs (London, Room 1 Standard Case C, Shelf L). Some of them are nursing a baby doll (London, no. 23,424) or carrying it (*ib.* 30,725). A picturesque and local touch is given by the presence of negress dolls, and by the curious details of head-dress (London, no. 32,120—a doll with a wig of long tresses made of clay). Animal-figures bear witness to the tastes of the young Egyptians: wooden birds (London), pigeons on two castors (London, Berlin, Oxford [Ashmolean], Cairo), a cat with inlaid eyes and a movable jaw (London), a calf of painted wood (London), a jointed frog (Cairo, no. 871), and—the Egyptian toy *par excellence*—the crocodiles with movable jaws (in the museums of Berlin, the Louvre, and Leyden). Some of these animals give evidence of a veritable art of amusing very small children; for example, the monkey driving a chariot, the dwarf with a cat's head, and the negro pursued by a panther (London, nos. 21,984, 22,888; cf. Budge, *Guide to the 3rd and 4th Rooms*, pl. v.). The linen-washer of the Leyden museum is a toy almost similar to those of our own time; and the cavalier (Berlin, no. 12,654), the elephant with the driver (London, no. 23,712), if they do not belong to an early period, are no less curious. Whips, marbles

It should be remarked, however, that in Egypt the archaeologist must be careful not to confound with children's playthings certain figures of dolls and boats which in reality were very rough representations of slaves and funerary barques

(Cairo), rattles (Berlin), boats (Cairo), and, above all, a huge collection of balls (made of leather filled with straw, or of plaited papyrus covered with leather), show that the taste of the young Egyptians in their first games was practically similar to that of modern children. Like the Arab children of the present day, they went to play among the ruins that existed in their time. 'And then the children played among the ruins of the temple,' says the inscription of the restoration of the temple of Cuse (Speos Artemidos, line 16).

The series of games and sports represented in the frescoes and bas-reliefs of the tombs show that games of ball, running, and jumping were much in favour. Vaulting, the throwing of pointed sticks, and wrestling were indulged in by older children. Swimming was certainly a regular sport, for the texts mention those who 'learned to swim with the royal princes.' Certain scenes show us more especially Egyptian games, e.g. the scene in which one of the players has his hands tied behind his back (cf. Erman, *Verzeichniss*, p. 281), but, on account of the absence of texts, it cannot be explained; or, again, there is the scene showing, but with rather indistinct details (cf. Wilkinson, ii. 69), the throwing of a dagger into a circle drawn on a plank of wood; and, lastly, the Memphite *mastabas* and the paintings of Beni Hasan reveal to us an infinite series of feats of strength and dexterity. Several writers, e.g. Wilkinson, have made extensive use of these in their re-constructions of the amusements of the ancient Egyptians.

But there is a reservation to be made here. It should be noted that those curious scenes (the tombs of Ptahhetep, Merruka, etc., for the Memphites; the tombs of the lords of Beni Hasan for the proto-Theban Empire, etc.) represent not ordinary but professional children (buffoons, acrobats, young dancers, etc.) and often even professional adults. The present writer, however, thinks that these documents may be regarded scientifically, in most cases, as giving *indirect* information on the games of children, except where the scenes clearly represent the feats of acrobats. As a matter of fact, it is probable that certain feats of professionals are simply the improved form of the ordinary games of children (wrestling, jumping, etc.); or, as in our own time, children in their games imitated the actions which they saw professionals perform. We must not, therefore, make the very strict distinction that is sometimes made; and the system of Wilkinson's ancient manuals of including all in the same rubric is a good one to retain, though with the reservation which we have just stated.

6. Death.—In spite of all the medical knowledge attested by the papyri, infantile diseases exacted a heavy tribute from the population (see art. DISEASE [Egyptian]). They occurred continuously from birth to puberty. If there were a great many children in Egyptian houses of any rank, infant mortality reached a very high rate there, as throughout the whole of the ancient East. If there were no other evidence, we should find conclusive proof (1) in the number of royal heirs who died (e.g. in the XVIIIth dynasty the reigning king is often the third or fourth son); and (2) in the surprising proportion of children's coffins in the series of sarcophagi of the priestly families of the god Amon. The children of the lower and middle classes were often buried in the houses, being summarily placed in an old tool- or linen-box with some toys or amulets (cf. Budge, *Guide*, p. 78, for the toys from the tombs in the British Museum). Often two or three babies were buried together (cf., for details, Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 24, and Maspero, *Hist.* i. 318, with the bibliography on the subject). Children of the upper classes received the same funerary pomp in the family tomb as adults (good examples at Thebes; Petrie's recent work, *Gurneh*, London, 1909, p. 10, gives an excellent specimen of the burials of the infants of the middle class; see pl. xxiii.-xxv.); sarcophagi, statuettes, funerary furniture, etc. Theban examples are mentioned placed in the tombs for the use of the souls of the dead. A certain number of these have been wrongly classed among the toys in the museums. Thus the toys imitating fruits, cited in Wilkinson, ii. 66, seem rather to be funerary offerings, and it is more than doubtful if we must reckon the small ivory image of a woman carrying an infant, cited among the toys in Budge, *Guide*, etc., p. 47, and (Room III.), p. 178, as a *pre-historic* doll.

of a family having gone to really extraordinary expense for the funerary cult of a child prematurely removed by death. Lastly, the series of sarcophagi of the great priests (finds of Maspero and Grébaut at Deir el-Bahari) show that children's coffins of this class were similar to those of the adult members of the family, and that their funerary destinies were conceived as the same in the life of the other world—an important fact to note in connexion with the beliefs regarding dead children.

7. Royal princes.—If we except the scenes in the harem and in the public life of the princesses of Amarna, and a few details of funerary archaeology, information concerning royal childhood has made little progress since the time of the collections of the earliest Egyptology (e.g. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*). Neither the temples nor the tombs have furnished any fresh instructive scenes on the matter, and papyri and inscriptions are practically dumb. Especially with regard to education or instruction, we are almost entirely ignorant of the early years of the royal children (the so-called moral teaching of Amenemhait I. to his son is merely a literary process); in a word, it is practically only the material aspect of this childhood that can be re-constructed.

Little is known about the early years of the royal princes. Most of the scenes and texts concerning them represent them chiefly as adults, beside the Pharaohs, in ceremonies or military operations. It is from some temple bas-reliefs, specially engraved to establish their claims to Divine origin, and to emphasize the fact that they were legitimate heirs to the kingdom, that we know the rites of their birth, in which the gods and goddesses played the part which was in reality played at court by the courtiers and the famous midwives of Egypt mentioned in Scripture (Ex 1st); e.g. at Deir el-Bahari for Hathepsitu, at Luxor for Amenhotep III., at Erment for Casarion. These details (cf. art. BIRTH [Egyptian], vol. ii. p. 646) find a valuable commentary in the popular tale of *Khnufu and the Magicians*, in which, at the moment of birth, 'Isis placed herself before the pregnant woman, and Nephthys behind, while Hikit received the child' (cf., for the real commentary, a good detailed account in Maspero, *Contes populaires*, p. 38), and the massage performed by Knemu ensured the strength of the little one.

The early infancy was passed in the harem (*khoniti*), as represented on the frescoes in the palace of Amarna, and it was probably when they were about four or five years old that the young princes went to live with their teachers in the special part of the palace called the *shapti*. From popular stories we know that the newly-born prince had nurses (*monaiti*), cradle-rockers, and coaxers (*khomu*), to bring him up. Paintings and statues of the Theban period show that these titles were afterwards court dignities, which were given to men also, and most frequently to very high officials. The stelæ of Abydos and the Qurneh frescoes have given us the picture of several dignitaries, men and women, fulfilling these functions, but without very exact details about their occupations. The usual theme—apart from the texts, or the enumeration of duties in the texts—includes care and education, representing the young prince on the knee of his governess or tutor. This is the conventional attitude by which the statues in the temples express the fact that the goddesses have brought up (in the mystic sense of the word) on their knees the young heir to the Egyptian crown (e.g. the bas-reliefs of Seti I. at Abydos). In a more real and also more poetic way the three statues of the royal tutor Sonmant (Berlin and Cairo museums) represent him tenderly lulling the little princess Nofriurfa, at the age of two or three years, on his knee, or

holding her wrapped up in the folds of his cloak. Owing to special circumstances, the little Amarna princesses, in the painted scenes of the necropolis, have the importance of, and the part elsewhere assigned to, the princes, and they also have a special place in the care of the owners of the various tombs; so that we find in their hypogea a series of about fifty scenes in which we see the king's daughters. With these representations we may also consider those of the palace, in which we see the games of the young princesses and the life of the royal harem (cf. Petrie, *Amarna*, 1894, pl. v. and vi.), and thus get a better idea than can be obtained anywhere else of what a royal child was in Egypt—in dress, life, and in its share in the official life.

Among the most characteristic representations we may mention: the princesses (1) accompanying their parents on a visit to the temple (cf. N. de Garis Davies, *Rock Tombs, Amarna*, London, 1902-09, i. pl. 22, iv. pl. 5, iii. pl. 8, vi. pl. 3); (2) present at the sacrifice (*ib. ii. pl. 12*) and at the court (*ib. vi. pl. 17*); (3) taking part in it, shaking the sistrum—an interesting proof of their sacerdotal office in early childhood (*ib. ii. pl. 5, 7, 8, iv. pl. 23, 28, 31, 35, v. pl. 3, 16, vi. pl. 3, 26*); (4) helping the king and queen to present the insignia of reward to the deserving functionaries (*ib. ii. pl. 10, 33, iii. pl. 16, 17, vi. pl. 2, 7*); (5) present at the 'triumph' of the king (*ib. i. pl. 38*); (6) taking part in official banquets, but, according to custom, sitting at their parents' feet on small stools (*ib. iii. pl. 4, 6*). The statues of the Boundary Stelae (*ib. v. pl. 23, 26*) show that all these details are officially authentic; and from the whole we may assert the regular participation of the young princesses in the chief religious and civic functions of the public life of the king and queen.

Outside of Amarna we know very little about the childhood of princesses, though we sometimes find them represented in the tombs of royal nurses, or participating in the temple festivals (e.g. at Deir el-Bahari), or tenderly carried by the noble 'tutors of the royal children' (see above).

The dress of royal children is sufficiently well known from all the bas-reliefs, and has no special interest apart from the question of pure archaeology. One part of it only deserves attention here, on account of its religious importance and the question of its origin, viz. the thick lock of hair which is left on the shaved head, and hangs down by the temple and the ear to the nape of the neck. Much discussion has taken place as to whether this custom was common to all young Egyptians, or only to certain social classes, or reserved for those of royal blood. The last view seems most correct, as far as the Ramses period is concerned; but the representations and hieroglyphic signs seem to indicate that the sons of feudal lords also had the lock of hair under the first Theban Empire, and children of lowly people (e.g. fisher folk, in the tomb of Ptahhetep) certainly wear a tress of this kind in some scenes. The fact that the children in a number of Memphite monuments (statues and bas-reliefs) are represented with the side-lock is not decisive, because these figures are meant to show that the dead man had a son for his worship who would accomplish the rites of the *sam* priest for him (see below), and these images may be copies of the royal cult (on this disputed point cf. Wilkinson, i. 49 f., ii. 325, and Erman, *Life*, p. 163). In any case, for royal children, the mummy of a young prince, discovered at Thebes by Loret, shows on the shaved head a magnificent tress of glossy plaited hair, exactly the same as the side-lock so often represented on the bas-reliefs and frescoes. What is most evident is that from the historical period the thick plait of hair assumed a religious value, and became a symbolical attribute distinctive of certain religious or civic functions. In the religious order it became the canonical part of the dress of the *sam* priest, and, with the panther's skin and the artificial beard, formed the costume of every officiant who took the part of the son, praying or sacrificing for his father. The same side-lock expresses the idea of childhood in

sculpture—either by itself or represented on the shaved head of a child sucking his finger. In the figures of the gods, the lock is the necessary adjunct of all the deities who are considered by theology as son-gods, even when they are represented as adults with beards, e.g. all the figures of Horus-Pa-Khrodu (Harpocrates) or 'the child Horus,' those of Khonsu, Ahi, etc.

Lastly, in the official costume, the lock on the temple (natural or artificial) denotes in the ceremonies princes by blood or adopted royal sons. In the latter case, the tress of hair is often enclosed in a sort of case attached to the round cap, hanging on the side of the head, and ending in golden fringes. In a word, the lock or the case containing it (or taking its place) has become the equivalent of the idea of childhood, of descent with all its social consequences, exactly (as Wilkinson very happily remarks [ii. 326]) as the Spaniards still speak of a prince as an 'infant,' whatever his age may be.

8. Conclusions.—If we try to obtain from all these various details a general conception of the part and importance of the child in Egyptian society, we at once see the essential characteristic predominating: the child along with his parents forms one of the momentary 'aspects' of the collective soul—the family—and, when the time comes, must take it in charge and perpetuate it with his moral, material, and religious heritage. It is this idea that is so nobly expressed not only by the figures of single children, but by those of whole generations of the past, in the scenes of stelae and the so-called 'banquets' of the Theban tombs (cf. e.g. the tomb of Pahiri at el-Kab), or the 'procession of the generations to the temple of Osiris'. This explains why children are 'the blessing of the family by the gods,' and why the want of heirs (as Chabas remarked at the very beginning of Egyptology) is the greatest calamity, as the popular tales show, for instance, in the story of the 'Predestined Prince' (Maspero, *Contes populaires*, p. 170), and better still in the 'True History of Sati' (*ib. p. 132*). The intervention of the gods ward off this misfortune by dreams, prayers, and oracles (*qq. v.*), chiefly in certain sanctuaries famous for this rôle, like those of Imhotep, or those of certain deified queens.

"O ye living beings," says Amenatis (in her temple at Medinet-Habu—inscriptions above the middle part), 'you who love your children, and who will pass in front of this chapel, you will transmit to your descendants your dignities, your houses . . . if you perform the festivals of the great god in this sanctuary . . . Hathor will bring it to pass that your wives will bear you sons and daughters. And you will not suffer because of them, you will not be troubled on their account, for they will have neither sorrow nor sickness, if you recite the prayer: "Suton hatpu-du, etc."'

It was a universally repeated wish that the child might some day 'sit on the seat' of his father as magistrate or functionary. 'To leave his offices and his dignities to his children' is the constant prayer on thousands of inscriptions, the supreme reward asked by officials, the perpetual theme of hymns, tomb-scenes, and didactic papyri. The love and watchful tenderness of parents in the papyri and representations do not arise solely from the kind-heartedness of the race, which put in the list of the worst sins before Osiris, 'taking away the mouth of the suckling from its mother's breast'. Nor, on the other hand, does it come, as has been too often asserted, from the selfish motive of ensuring the continuance of the funerary cult. A more noble philosophy results from the esoteric study of so many texts and scenes. Religiously speaking, the child is a continuation, one of the 'becomings' (*khopiru*) who, after his father, will incarnate something of the souls of his ancestors. The living are merely the temporary store of that collectivity which consists of the series of past and

future generations. Souls, dignities, property—the head of the house receives everything on the death of his father, whether he be a feudal prince or a simple agricultural tenant. He is the *résumé*, the passing aspect of this entity; and he is the usufructuary of their goods. His aim in this present existence is by his children to ensure, after he has left this world, the continuation of the double charge which has been entrusted to him. Love for his progeny, his participation, from the very earliest age, in the social and religious life of his family, and the affirmation of this participation by all possible means, are strongly marked on all the known monuments as the essential characteristics concerning the Egyptian child.

LITERATURE.—There is no special work dealing with the subject. What is known in written form about Egyptian childhood is to be found scattered throughout the classical writers, from whom we have given the chief references, and in the extracts from papyri also cited throughout the article. The only two modern works which contain a sort of synthetic abridgment (but spread throughout several chapters—birth, dress, diseases, upbringing, education, etc.) of what concerns the child and childhood in Egypt are: (1) J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, London, 1878, i. 320–326, ii. 63, 325 f., 334, and iii. 422 (the work is ignorant of what has since been learned from the reading of papyri, but, although old, is valuable for the references to ancient authors, and for the studies of games and amusements like the Beni Hasan scenes); and (2) the excellent work of A. Erman, *Ägypten und ägypt. Leben im Altertum*, Tübingen, 1887 (Eng. tr. by H. M. Tirard, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1891), pp. 155–168, 163–166, 328–332, 359–362, etc. From the special point of view of magic for the use of children, we may also cite as of premier importance the monograph of Erman, *Zauberprüche für Mutter und Kind*, Berlin, 1901. The other references are scattered throughout the whole of modern Egyptological bibliography in the form of fragmentary citations. The chief of these have been given in the article. Some well-grouped information will be found in E. A. W. Budge, *A Guide to the Collections of the British Museum*, London, 1908, pp. 78–101, 178; and in G. Maspero, *Histoire*, vol. i., Paris, 1894, pp. 273 and 318.

The rest of the information must be culled from Egyptian monuments themselves, reproduced, translated, or annotated: statues, bas-reliefs, frescoes, papyri (see above, 'Documents'). As regards the games and toys of children specially, a good idea may be obtained from the description in the following museum-graphic notices:—(a) Berlin: Erman, *Verzeichniss*, etc., Berlin, 1900, pp. 231, 262, 281, 290, 376, 389, 459 (without illustrations); (b) London: Budge, *A Guide to the 3rd and 4th Rooms*, etc., London, 1905, Room iv., p. 180 (with plate); (c) Leyden: C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, etc., Leyden, 1840, p. 125 (without illustrations); (d) Cairo: Maspero, *Guide Cairo Museum*, Cairo, 1908, p. 235 (without illustrations); (e) Louvre: a brief reference in P. Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne*, Paris, 1875, p. 282, and some insufficient notes in E. de Rougé, *Notice sommaire*, etc., Paris, 1855 (Salle civile, airoire K). Cf. also good information in W. M. F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, London, 1891, p. 24.

GEORGE FOUCART.

CHILDREN (Greek).—Mutual affection between parent and child was always to be found among the Greeks; it is as manifest in Homer as in the latest epigrams of the *Anthology*. There is no need, therefore, to insist upon it; to the historical inquirer the chief interest in the Greek attitude towards children lies in the peculiarities which were due, partly perhaps to the inherited characteristics of the two main stocks from which the Greeks sprang; mainly, without doubt, to the influence of a changing environment.

It has often been stated that in many respects there was a moral decline after the Homeric period. There is no trace, for example, of either exposure or pederastia in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. If Professor Ridgeway is right, and Homer gives us the Achaean civilization which was imposed upon the Pelagian civilization, it is easy to see how, as the Achaeans died out (probably through the action of climate, as Hippocrates tells us that the inhabitants of malarious regions were dark-haired; i.e. malaria killed off the fair-haired Achaeans) and the Pelagians re-emerged, Pelagian characteristics gradually became more and more prominent. Although pederastia in historic times was very common, if not universal, it is interesting to note that the one place in Greece where exposure of children was forbidden by law (Thebes [Ælian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 7]) is proved by Ridgeway (*Early Age of Greece*, 1901, i. 629) to have preserved an Achaean population until quite a late period. But at present our information is too scanty to justify any definite conclusion.

1. **Continuity of the family.**—The Greek desired to have children to help him in his old age (*γυπο-σοφείν*), and to secure that after his death all

customary religious rites should be paid. The departed were supposed to become spirits, whose happiness depended upon the service of living descendants, and these in turn received a reward for their attention (Eur. *Alc.* 995 ff.). However inconspicuous this aspect of Greek life may be in literature, it was a reality which survived the decay of the State religion, being, in fact, quite independent of the worship of the Olympians. Isæus (*Or.* ii. 10; cf. vii. 30) tells us that childless men on their death-bed took care to adopt children so that all customary rites might be duly performed. It was accordingly a disaster if the family died out (Æsch. *Choeph.* 500–509). Aristotle assumed as a matter of course that the best kind of happiness was impossible without *eὐεκρία* (*Eth.* 1099b), which meant the possession of children, healthy and strong in body and endowed with intellectual and moral virtues. The Greeks were also quite conscious of the importance of rearing children to serve the State; and this duty is forcibly urged by philosophers, particularly by Plato and Aristotle.

2. **Children regarded as a curse.**—Occasionally in Greek literature is found the lament that the rearing of children is so uncertain in its issue that the wise man will refrain from having children of his own. The thought is common in the plays of Euripides and in the fragments of Democritus (Stobæus, *Flor.* lxxvi.), while it reappears about a century later in the fragments of Menander and in the *dieta* of Epicurus. It is probable that the disturbances and disasters which troubled the Athenians at the close of the 5th cent. B.C., and again at the close of the 4th, were partly responsible for these outbursts of pessimism; in times of distress children are of course an additional anxiety. But instinct makes itself heard in spite of environment; in other places Menander (Stob. lxxv. 6, 8, 9) calls children a blessing, and Euripides (fr. 318) has written some of the most beautiful lines ever penned on the subject.

3. **Duties of children.**—That children should respect their parents is an elementary duty which the Greeks emphasized as strongly as any other people. It was one of the great 'unwritten laws' (Æsch. *Suppl.* 707–709, *Eumen.* 545; Xenoph. *Mem.* iv. 4. 20). Stobæus devotes a whole chapter (lxxix.) of the *Florilegium* to the subject, quoting, among many other passages, a fragment of Alexis to the effect that the claims of religion are not superior to those of a mother, and one of Menander in which honour to parents is put on an equality with honour to the gods. Euripides (fr. 360) bids children love their mother, 'for there is no sweeter love than this.' The word he uses is a strong one (*ἔπος*), denoting passionate and even sentimental attachment. Xenophon, in his vindication of Socrates to the Athenians, makes this philosopher rebuke his son Lamprocles for ingratitude to his mother (*Mem.* ii. 2). Plato insists upon duty to parents in language of great solemnity (*Laws*, 717 D, 931 A); and at Athens at least there was a law which punished children who failed to look after their parents, or allowed them to suffer want (Isæus, *Or.* viii. 32; Xenoph. *Mem.* ii. 2. 13).

4. **Duties of parents.**—Parents, on their side, were considered bound to care for their children's future, and the Greeks appear to have been extremely anxious to do their duty in this respect; so much so, in fact, that children were sometimes exposed in order that those who were brought up might be properly educated and started in life. Plato, accordingly, in his last work, the *Laws*, recommends parents to leave their children a legacy of the spirit of reverence (*αἰδώς*), rather than a store of gold (729 B).

5. **Exposure.**—It cannot be doubted that chil-

dren often suffered the fate of exposure. As has already been stated, Homer does not mention it, and it was illegal at Thebes, though elsewhere in Greece it appears to have been universal. The antiquity of the custom is proved by the *Œdipus* legend, and it may well have been a feature of Pelasgian civilization. This would account for the silence of the Homeric poems and for the Theban law, but further investigation will be necessary before the point is decided. In historical times the chief reason for exposing children was to avoid impoverishing the family, although in many cases (*Eurip. Ion, passim*) illegitimate children were abandoned in this way by their mothers. Greece is not rich in natural resources, and the economic distress that manifested itself in most places at the beginning of the historical period must have encouraged a practice which public opinion condoned or even sanctioned. Later on, when large numbers of slaves were imported to work as artisans or labourers, the difficulty of rearing large families increased. An innate dislike for manual labour prevented the rise of a free working-class, and the Greeks preferred to lessen the number of their children rather than the number of their slaves. The decline of Greece must, without doubt, be attributed partly to this cause. One passage of Plato (*Theat.* 151 C), if it refers to exposure (as it almost certainly does), is a plain indication of the frequency of the practice. Socrates, comparing his method of cross-examination with the art of a midwife, says that many are angry when their pet ideas are taken from them, like a mother when her first-born is put out of the way. That is to say, in the case of children born later, the pain was less acute. The mother would get used to it!

At Sparta it was usual to expose sickly children, who were unlikely to grow up to be sturdy citizens; at other places, besides illegitimates, daughters were the chief sufferers. Stobæus (*Flor.* lxxvii. 7) has preserved a fragment of Posidippus to the effect that everybody, even if he is poor, rears a son, but exposes a daughter, even if he is rich. Daughters, of course, had to be provided with a dowry, while through sons alone could the family succession be maintained.

Exposure (*ἐκτίθεσθαι* or, in popular speech, *ἐκκρεμνίζειν*) permitted the father to keep himself free from the stain of blood-guilt, even if the child died. So long as a man did not kill the infant with his own hands, he had no serious scruples about leaving it to perish of starvation. But often, perhaps usually, another fate awaited the 'encumbrance' which had thus been disposed of. Childless wives would sometimes impose a supposititious heir upon their husbands, or slave-dealers would bring up foundlings with a view to selling them later at a profit. Indeed there are indications that a parent often wished his child to be found, and exposed it in a place where discovery was certain. The legend of *Œdipus*, however, and the passage of *Ælian* which states that the Thebans 'might neither expose their children nor cast them forth in a deserted place' (*Var. Hist.* ii. 7), prove that lonely spots were sometimes deliberately chosen; in other words, it was desired that the child should die.

So far from condemning artificial restrictions of the population, the philosophers positively encouraged it. Plato, in his ideal commonwealth, would have all sickly children exposed (*Rep.* 460 C), and forbids parents to rear offspring from unions which are not within the age-limits fixed by the State (*ib.* 461 C). Aristotle (*Pol.* 1335b), while condemning exposure, recommends abortion to prevent overcrowding. He assigns an interesting reason for his preference. The act, he says, is

moral or immoral according as sensation and life are not, or are, present. Aristotle thus differs from Plato in that he regards all developed human life as sacred. Both philosophers, however, deal with the matter from the point of view of the State, and are therefore strongly utilitarian.

6. General attitude.—It must be confessed that the Greeks were, on the whole, selfish in their attitude towards their children. In rearing children they thought more of themselves than of posterity. Even when they did look to the future, it was with the hope that coming generations would be like themselves. The notions of improvement and development were applied only to past history; the Greek (philosophers were sometimes exceptions) rarely imagined that the future might be better than the time in which he himself lived, and the thought, if it came, never influenced his conduct. 'My son,' says Ajax, 'mayest thou become luckier than thy father, but like in all else, and then thou wouldest be noble' (*Soph. Ajax*, 550). Greek aspiration seldom reached a higher level than this, and equally seldom fell below it.

But the Greeks, in spite of their selfishness, were not unsympathetic towards the young, and the parental instinct manifested itself not only in love of offspring, but also in sympathy with children generally. In the Homeric poems this feeling is expressed in many beautiful similes, although at the same time it is clear that orphans were treated with injustice and cruelty (*Il.* xxii. 482 ff.). The anecdotes of Herodotus are often inspired by a genuine love of children (v. 92, vi. 27, 61), and Thucydides (vii. 29) mentions the massacre of young scholars at Mycalessus as one of the most horrible incidents in the Peloponnesian War. Euripides sometimes heightens the pathos of his dramas by bringing children on the stage, while premature death is the theme of some of the most beautiful epigrams in the *Anthology*. In the Athenian courts the children of a defendant were sometimes introduced to arouse the pity of the jury.

7. Unnatural vice.—The vice of *pæderastia* was prevalent throughout the Greek world, and rarely met with moral condemnation. See CHASTITY (Greek).

LITERATURE.—L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1882; G. Glotz, art. 'Expositio' in Daremberg-Saglio; J. P. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, London (1898 ed.); K. Hartmann, *Der Grieche und das Kind*, Augsburg, 1905; K. J. Freeman, *Schools of Hellas*, London, 1907; C. A. Savage, *The Athenian Family*, Baltimore, 1907.

W. H. S. JONES.

CHILDREN (Hindu).—Just as the Hindus believe that human life in general is acted upon by supernatural forces, and that man is at every step in his course attended by good and evil spirits, so they recognize a very special operation of demonic power in all that befalls the child in its tender years. The helplessness of the infant—the suddenness with which it may pass from a state of perfect health to one of serious illness—tends to foster such a belief amongst a people naturally superstitious. Even in the mother's womb, they think, the influence of demons is already at work in the development of the embryo.

1. The child in the womb.—During the period of gestation every precaution must be taken to protect both mother and child against the machinations of evil spirits. Thus we find *Susruta*, in his *Ayurveda*,¹ warning the pregnant woman against walking in the open air, or visiting such spots as are specially frequented by demons, viz. deserted houses, tombstones, and trees in places of burial. At the present day, as in ancient times, she must not sit or walk in the open compound, where the

¹ iii. 10. 1: bahimikramagāṇaṁ śūṅgāgarachaityaśmaśānāvṛkṣaṇaṁ parihareṭ; cf. *Patañjali*, i. 5: Tiro bṛhḍeṣu tīpṭhanti śandhisirṅghatākeṣu cā dvārābhāṣu tīpṭhanti āgantā na sakāṁ gharāṇaṁ.

¹² Cf. the legend of Śunahśepa, whom Hariśchandra intends to offer up instead of his own son, Rohita (*Āt. Br.* vii. 14 ff.; *Sākh. Gr. S.* xv. 18 ff.).

had to various expedients in order to avert the misfortunes foreboded by its very birth.¹

The birth of twins was another object of superstitions dread. In ancient India such an event was regarded as unclean and fraught with evil.² According to *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 9. 8, if the wife of one who is engaged in a sacrificial ceremony bears twins, or if his cow gives birth to twin calves, an expiation is necessary, while the *Kauś. Sūtr.* (109) also prescribes an expiation for the birth of twins.³ The *Atharvaveda pariśiṣṭa*⁴ speak of the occurrence as a calamity.

4. The influence of demons.—By reason of the uncleanness inevitably associated with birth, the new-born children themselves were frequently regarded as demons (*bhūta*), until their hair was cut for the first time. Some of the jungle tribes deem it unnecessary to guard an infant against wicked spirits before it takes solid food, as until that time it is simply a *bhūt* itself.⁵

The idea that children are exposed to the malevolence of demons is already found in the Veda. As a means of protection against Jambha, a demon who snatches children, the mother gives her child the breast.⁶ To Vedic times likewise belongs Nejaṃeṣa (otherwise Naigameya or Naigameṣa), to whose agency the Hindu physicians attribute various diseases of children, though in the Veda itself⁷ he is invoked as the deity who helps men to obtain offspring.⁸ Sūśruta mentions nine demons (*graha*)—four male and five female (*pūtānā*). Chakradatta⁹ enumerates twelve female demons, called *mātrkā*, who from the 1st to the 12th day of the month or year, may pounce upon a child and taint it with disease.

At the present day, many tribes regard the fifth night after birth as a time of peculiar peril. The Marāṭhās of Nāsik believe that the evil spirit called Sathī, accompanied by Burmiya, a male demon, invades the lying-in room about midnight, and, casting the mother into a stupor, kills or deforms the child. The Vādālīs of Thāna have the idea that Sathī, as the god of birth, may during the fifth night come in the form of a cat, hen, or dog, and devour the child's heart and skull.¹⁰ In Bihār, mothers are very careful never to call their children by name at night, as the Jaileya, who then assumes the form of a night-bird, has the power of sucking the blood of any one whose name he hears.¹¹ In the higher ranks of N. India it is believed that demons may obtain power over the new-born child through the father, and consequently the latter does not even look at the infant until such time as the astrologer declares to be favourable.

5. The evil eye.—See EVIL EYE (Hindu).

6. Protection against the power of demons.—The wearing of talismans as a means of defence against the evil eye, and, indeed, against every form of demonic agency, is universal among Hindu children. Among the Badagas of the Nilgiri Hills, nearly every child carries, suspended from the neck, a small disk-shaped amulet of clay taken from under the funeral piles of burned corpses.¹² On the other hand, the ashes gathered from such

a pile are considered to be noxious to children; and it is believed that, in cases of consumption, the disease is due to a demon who has thrown ashes over the victims. The demon who afflicts children in this way is called Masān (Skr. *śmaśāna*, 'place of burial'), and is very generally regarded as the spirit of a child.¹ As the evil spirits have a great liking for milk, the Panjābi mother is careful to keep her child within doors just after he has drunk new milk. But, if she cannot prevent him from going out, she puts a little salt or ashes in his mouth, thinking thereby to ward off the *bhūt*.²

For the purpose of dislodging demons, the manuals of Hindu physicians not only prescribe ointments, medicines, sprinklings, fumigations, and the like, but also recommend that special sacrifices, accompanied by invocations, be made to a particular *graha*. To Naigameṣa, for instance, a libation is offered, with the invocation that the 'god of high renown with the goat's face, who assumes any shape at will,' may protect the child.³ As the diseases of children were frequently attributed to demonic agency even in cases where the physical causes of the malady were quite unmistakable, magical expedients were in ancient times sometimes sought after in order to avert evil results. Thus in *Atharvaveda*, v. 23, we have a spell for exterminating worms in children. According to *Kauś. Sūtr.* xxix. 20 ff., the practitioner, reciting the spell, placed the sick child upon the lap of its mother to the west of the fire, and warmed its palate by stroking it three times to and fro with the bottom of a pestle heated at the fire.⁴

The cutting of the first teeth, which was believed by Hindu physicians to be a prolific source of the diseases incidental to childhood,⁵ is referred to in *Atharvaveda*, vi. 140. The appearance of the upper teeth before the lower betokens that the parents are in danger of death.⁶ By way of averting the danger, the hymn referred to is recited, in combination with a ceremony consisting of a distribution or offering of rice, barley, or sesamum, of which both the child and the parents partake (cf. also CHARMS AND AMULETS [Indian]).

7. Ceremonies belonging to the period of infancy.—No special rite was associated with the child's first teething as such. The leading functions of the period of infancy were the *birth ceremony*, the *naming*, the *feeding with rice*, and the *hair-cutting*. To these are sometimes added the *ceremonial washing*, the *child's first outing*, and the *ear-boring*.

The ceremony called *jātakarma* took place immediately after birth, and, in the case of a male child, it was performed before the umbilical cord was severed.⁷ It consisted in feeding the child with honey and butter, *mantras* being recited the while (see BIRTH [Hindu], vol. ii. p. 651).⁸ A ceremony, connected with the washing of the child eight days after birth, can possibly be traced even in Vedic times. That the object of the rite was to repel the assault of demons seems a probable inference from *Atharvaveda*, viii. 6. 1: 'The two spouse-finders which thy mother washed for thee when born,—for them let not be greedy [the demon] Durnāman, the Alināśa, nor the Vatsapa.'⁹ Nowadays in Northern India the rite of *nahāvan*

¹ Rowe, *loc. cit.* p. 64.

² Cf. J. v. Negelein, *ARW* v. 271 ff.

³ For other references, see Weber, *Indische Studien*, 1868, xvii. 296 ff., and Bloomfield, *op. cit.* 360; cf. art. TWINS.

⁴ ed. Bolling and v. Negelein (Leipzig, 1909 ff.), i. 433; cf. Weber, 'Zwei ved. Texte über Omina u. Portenta,' *ABW* (1889), p. 322 f.

⁵ *PR I*. 245.

⁶ *Atharvaveda*, vii. 10; cf. *Kauś. Sūtr.* xxxii. 1.

⁷ *Khila*, xxx. 1, in Max Müller, *Rigveda*², iv. 540; Schefstelo-witz, *Apokryphen d. Riguea* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 130.

⁸ Winternitz, *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 149-155.

⁹ 406-412; similarly *Aṣṭāṅgasāhagraha* (ed. Tarte, Bombay, 1888) and *Aṣṭāṅga-daya* (ed. Kunte², Bombay, 1891).

¹⁰ *PR I*. 265.

¹¹ G. A. Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life* (Calcutta, 1885), p. 408.

¹² Jagor, in *Bericht d. Berliner anthrop. Gesellsch.* (1876).

¹ *PR I*. 259.

² *PR I*. 287.

³ Sūśruta, vi. 36. 8; cf. Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 70.

⁴ Bloomfield, *op. cit.* 452 f.

⁵ Cf. also Jolly, *op. cit.* p. 68.

⁶ Kṣema on *Kauś. Sūtr.* xvi. 43-46; cf. Bloomfield, p. 540.

⁷ *Manu*, ii. 29: *prāṇ nabhī vardhamān punso jātakarma*

vidhiyate.

⁸ *Āśo. Gṛhya Sūtra*, i. 15. 1; *Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra*, i. 17. 1.

Pārask. Gṛhya Sūtra, i. 16. 4.

⁹ *Atharvaveda*, ed. Whitney-Lanman (Harvard Or. Ser.), p. 494; cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* v. 252. The reference to the ceremonial washing of the young child, conjectured by Weber, is doubtful. According to *Kauś. Sūtr.* xxxv. 20, the hymn is ritually employed in connexion with the *simantonnayana*, a ceremony performed in the 8th month of a woman's pregnancy

(Skr. *snāpana*), or ceremonial washing, which is intended to safeguard both mother and child, is performed on an auspicious day at least two days after birth.¹

From ancient times the ceremony of 'naming' (*nāmakaraṇa*, *nāmadheyakaraṇa*) took place on the tenth or twelfth day after birth—likewise the day on which the mother rises from bed (see NAMES [Hindu]). The legendary literature of Buddhism shows that the naming ceremony was an important function in the social life of ancient India. In the *Jātakas* the day of naming (*nāma-gaṇadivasa*) is repeatedly mentioned;² the *Mṛgapakkhajātaka*³ speaks of a great feast given on that day to the Brāhmins who were called in to forecast the child's future from the auspicious marks (*lakṣhaṇa*). At the present day, likewise, the festival of naming ranks as the most important of all the ceremonies connected with birth, as may be gathered from the graphic sketch of Cornelia Sorabji, *Sun-babies*, p. 93:

'The naming ceremony outrivalled the birth ceremony. It was a thrilling social function, and all the great ladies of the neighbourhood were bidden to it. According to Dubois (*Hindu Manners*, p. 155), the father of the child, holding it in his arms, seats himself on the little raised platform of earth and performs the *sankalpa*. By his side is a copper dish full of rice. With the first finger of his right hand, in which he holds a gold ring, he writes on this rice the day of the moon, the name of the day, that of the constellation under which the child was born, and finally the name that he wishes to give him. He then calls three times by this name in a loud voice.

This ceremony ended, he gives a present to the presiding *purohita*, distributes betel to all the Brahmins present; and then all take their place at the feast which has been prepared. As soon as it is finished, the master of the house again offers betel to his guests, and also presents, if he is rich enough.'

The duty of giving the name, however, which in the above sketch is discharged by the father, devolves in some tribes upon other relatives, more particularly a maternal uncle or the grandfather. Among the Badagas of the Nilgiri Hills the mother's brothers are summoned to the festival, and the oldest of them, taking the child in his arms, gives it a name approved of by the parents. Likewise among the Nairs, in Malabar, it is the maternal uncle who holds the child and decides what its name shall be.⁴ As regards the date of the naming ceremony, however, the practice of non-Aryan tribes shows a divergence from the Brāhmanic ritual, which, as above stated, fixes the festival for the tenth or twelfth day after birth. The Badagas choose a date between the twentieth and thirtieth. On the twenty-eighth day, the Nairs, in the presence of invited witnesses, let the child have its first taste of cow's milk, and give it a provisional name, while the permanent name is not bestowed till six months or more have elapsed, when the child also partakes of rice for the first time. Similarly, the Vedans, a slave caste of Southern India, associate the naming ceremony with the child's first meal of rice, the double function taking place eight or nine months after birth.⁵

Among the Brāhmins the child is weaned and receives solid food for the first time in the sixth month after birth.⁶ This forms the occasion for a special ceremony called *annaprāsana*, of which Dubois⁷ writes as follows:

'For this occasion they choose a month, a week, a day, and a star, which all combine to give favourable auguries. A *pandal* is erected, which is ornamented all round with *toranams*, or wreaths of mango leaves, some of which are also hung over the entrance door of the house, the inside of which has been carefully purified by the women. . . . The mother, holding the child in her arms, and accompanied by her husband, seats herself beside him on the little platform of earth which has been set up in the centre. The *purohita* advances towards them, performs the *sankalpa*, offers, firstly, *homam* in honour of the

nine planets, then a sacrifice to fire, to which he presents clarified butter and betel for *naivedya* [Skr. *naivedya*]. When he has finished, the women sing verses expressing their good wishes for the future happiness of the child, and perform *arati* over him.'

The *annaprāsana*, according to the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, is preceded, in the fourth month after birth, by the ceremony of *niskramaṇa*, the child's first outing.⁸ This ceremony is also designated *ādityadarśana* ('the seeing of the sun').

The ceremony of hair-cutting (*chūḍākaraṇa*, *chaula*) is performed three years after birth. This solemn function, according to *Āśv. Gṛh. Sūtr.* i. 4, must take place at a propitious time and under a constellation of beneficent aspect.⁹ As observed to-day in families of standing, it is described by Dubois¹⁰ as follows:

'The Brahmins who are invited assemble under the *pandal* after having performed their ablutions. The child is brought in by his father and mother, who seat him between them on the little earthen platform. . . . The *purohita* then draws near the child . . . and performs the *sankalpa*, and also offers *homam* to the nine planets. He next traces on the floor in front of the child a square patch with red earth, which they cover with rice that has the husk on. . . . The child is made to sit near the square patch, and the barber, after offering worship to his razor, proceeds to shave the child's head, leaving one lock at the top, which is never cut. . . . The entertainment generally ends with a feast and the distribution of presents to the Brahmins.'

The rite of cutting the hair, as is stated also in the *Raghuvamśa*, iii. 28, marks the time for beginning the education of the young Hindu. At about the same age the children of both sexes have their ears bored—the ceremony of *karnavedha*,¹¹ which, according to Dubois, is observed with a ceremonial similar to that of the hair-cutting. In some tribes, however, as, e.g., the Nairs and Badagas already referred to, the rite of piercing the ears takes place on the day of naming, and among the last-mentioned people is performed by the maternal uncle.¹²

3. **Premature close of the period of childhood.**—In the case of boys and girls alike, the period of childhood is shorter in India than in Western lands. So far, indeed, as the term 'childhood' connotes the qualities of innocence and inexperience, the thing cannot really be said to exist among the Hindus. Almost from infancy the children share the family life of their parents, and are accustomed to look at the events belonging thereto as something quite natural, and to discuss them in the manner of their elders—with the result that the most pronounced feature in the character of Hindu children is precocity. With this, again, they combine a marvelously fertile imagination, which is moulded and fostered by the superstitious ideas of their environment. The ideal products of this faculty stamp themselves upon the mind of the young Hindu with such force as to become practically ineffaceable, and assert a lifelong ascendancy over him.¹³

In Hindu families belonging to the higher castes, that which the young must learn, first of all, is the precise observance of the various sacred rites; and this also makes it natural for them to copy the grave deportment of their elders. In the ranks of the common people, where occupation is determined by heredity, the son of the artisan, even in childhood, handles his father's tools, and the son of the peasant learns to hold the plough from his earliest years. The Hindu girl, on her part, must of necessity be trained in all departments of house-

¹ *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*, i. 17; Manu, ii. 34.

² For details of the ritual, see Hillebrandt, 'Ritual-literatur' (GIAP iii. 2), p. 49 f.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 158 f.

⁴ For references in Skr. literature, see Rādhākāntadeva, *Sādhakapāṭra* (Calcutta, 1896-98), s.v. 'Karnavedha.'

⁵ Ploss, i. 297.

⁶ Cf. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, p. 175 f.: 'The atmosphere is full of the supernatural—evil-minded ghosts and bogies, the kindly spirits of the ancestral dead which sit round the hearth, the ogre and vampire which haunt the burial-ground or the old village trees—with all of which the child, even in infancy, becomes acquainted.'

¹ P.R. II. 25; cf. G. A. Grierson, *op. cit.* 388 f.

² e.g. *Jāt.*, ed. Fausbøll, ii. 3, ii. 122, iv. 7.

³ v. 3.

⁴ Jagor, *loc. cit.* p. 189.

⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 157.

⁶ Ploss, i. 138.

⁸ Manu, ii. 84; Yājñ. i. 12.

work before entering, while but a child herself, upon her own married life.

LITERATURE.—H. Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch u. Sitte d. Völker*², 2 vols., Leipzig, 1884; J. Jolly, *Recht u. Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 (*GlA P* ii. 8), also *Medicin*, 1901 (*ib.* iii. 10); A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg, 1897 (*GlA P* iii. 2); W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, new ed., 2 vols., London, 1896, also *Natives of Northern India*, London, 1907, pp. 173-183: 'Child-life'; Dāpatarān Dayā, *Bhut Nibandh*, tr. A. K. Forbes, Bombay, n.d.; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*², tr. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906; Cornelia Sorabji, *Ten-babies: Studies in the Child-life of India*, London, 1904; Felavathu, ed. Minayeff, London, 1888 (*PTS*); *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, together with extracts from the ritual books and the comm., tr. Maurice Bloomfield, Oxford, 1897 (*SBE* xlii.).

R. FICK.

CHILDREN (Iranian).—1. A desire for children in themselves, as distinguished from a general affection for them after they are born, may be said to be a mark of a settled community and of an advancing civilization. We find this, for instance, among the Hebrews at the very dawn of their existence, and ancient Persia furnishes a second conspicuous exemplification of the principle. While exposure was occasionally practised (see **ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE** [Persian]), and while deformed or idiotic children were regarded as a curse (cf. *Yasna* xi. 6), offspring are explicitly said to be a blessing. Thus a special object of longing was 'sturdy, proficient offspring, enacting the community-laws for the assembly, growing up in harmony, working weal, delivering from anguish, of good understanding, who may advance both my house, and my village, and my tribe, and my country, and the glory of my country' (*Yasna* lxii. 5, cf. ix. 7, lxv. 11; *Yast* xiii. 134, xxiv. 3; *Vendidad* xxi. 6-7). In conformity with this desire, prayers and sacrifices were offered in the hope of obtaining children (*Yasna* ix. 22, lxv. 11, lxviii. 5, 11; *Yast* xiii. 134, xv. 40). Ormazd himself formed and protected the unborn infant (*Yast* xiii. 11), and abortion was, accordingly, a sin (*Yast* xvii. 57), and was punished as a heinous crime of 'malice prepense and aforethought' (*baððo-varšta* [*Vendidad* xv. 9-19; cf. *Artā-Vīrāf*, ed. Haug and West, xlv., lxiv., lxxviii.]). Not only is the married man better than the celibate, and the man with children preferable to one without offspring (*Vendidad* iv. 47), but childlessness is in itself a curse (*Yasna* xi. 1; *Yast* x. 110), and that land rejoices where children abound (*Vendidad* iii. 2-3). Children were given not only by Ormazd (*Yast* xiii. 11), but by Mithra (*Yast* x. 65, 108), Haoma (*Yasna* ix. 22), Ashi Vanuhi (*Yast* xviii. 5), Vayu (*Yast* xv. 40), the Waters (*Yasna* lxv. 11), the Fire (*Yasna* lxii. 5; *Vendidad* xviii. 27), and the Fravashis (*Yast* x. 3, xiii. 11, 15, 22). The Avesta enjoins, moreover, that infants be treated tenderly (*Yasna* x. 8), and be protected until the age of seven years, when they are able to defend and nourish themselves (*Vendidad* xv. 44-45; cf. *Dinkart*, ed. Sanjana, iv. 263, Bombay, 1883). Cruelty to a child is a crime (*Vendidad* xiii. 23), punished with grievous torments in the next world (*Artā-Vīrāf* xlii., xliii., lix., lxxvii., xciv., xcvi.).

2. It has been noted above that one of the Avesta epithets applied to a child is 'delivering from anguish' (*azō-būji* [*Yasna* lxii. 5; *Yast* xiii. 134, xix. 75]). This term receives its elucidation in the Pahlavi *Shāyast lā-Shāyast*, dating perhaps from the 7th cent. A.D., which states (xii. 15; cf. x. 22 [West, *SBE* v. 345, 325]):

'The rule is this, that one is to persevere much in the begetting of offspring, since it is for the acquisition of many good works at once; because in the Spend and Nihātum Nasks [parts of the Avesta no longer extant] the high-priests have taught that the duty and good works which a son performs are as much the father's as though they had been done by his own hand; and in the Dāmdāy Nask [another lost book of the Avesta] it is revealed thus: "Likewise, too, the good works, in like manner, which come to the father as his own."

The Persian *Sad-dar*, based on a Pahlavi original,

repeats this statement of the *Shāyast lā-Shāyast*, and adds the fanciful etymology that *pūr*, 'son' (Avesta *puṣtra*), is identical with *pūl*, 'bridge' (*pūr* and *pūl* being written with the same characters in Pahlavi script), 'for by this bridge they arrive at that other world' (*Sad-dar* xviii. [West, *SBE* xxiv. 278-281]). This etymology of 'son' as the 'bridge' by which the parent is enabled to cross the Chinvat bridge to heaven is curiously, although probably accidentally, analogous to the Sanskrit interpretation of *putra*, 'son,' as the one who 'saves' (*trāyate*) his father from the hell put (cf. Scherman, *Material. zur Gesch. der ind. Visionsliteratur*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 39 f., and the references in Böhtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, s.v. 'Put').

3. Classical allusions to infants in Persia are few (Rapp, *ZDMG* xx. 108-109). Herodotus (i. 136) states that, next to bravery in war, abundance of offspring was reckoned the highest honour, and that the king sent annual gifts to the fathers of the largest families. He also adds that, until the age of five, the infant was not admitted to its father's presence, but was brought up with women, lest, if it should chance to die, it might cause its father distress. Strabo (xv. 3. 17) repeats the gist of this statement, adding that the Persians had numerous wives and concubines for the sake of offspring. He restricts the period of exclusion of children from their father's presence to the age of four, whereas Valerius Maximus (ii. 6) raises it to seven. Finally, it may be noted that Procopius (*de Bell. Pers.* i. 23) states that infants were frequently placed in other families for their training. While this may have been done, and, if the *Shāh-Nāmāh* may be believed, was done, at least in sporadic cases among noble families, there is no evidence that the practice was general in the period of the Avesta itself.

LITERATURE.—F. Spiegel, *Erän. Altertumskunde*, iii. 681-682 (Leipzig, 1878); W. Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Altertum*, pp. 234-237 (Erlangen, 1882); J. J. Modi, *Education among the Ancient Iranians*, p. 47 f. (Bombay, 1906); R. E. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra and Zoroastrianism in the Avesta*, p. 215 f. (Leipzig, 1906).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

CHILDREN (Parsi).—From a strictly religious point of view there is nothing special to be remarked about the childhood of a Parsi child. It is held to be innocent, and not liable or subject to the performance of any religious duties or rites. If it dies before the *Naqot*, or the investiture of the sacred shirt and thread (cf. vol. ii. p. 408, and art. **INITIATION** [Parsi]), its funeral ceremonies are on a lesser scale. In the case of an adult, whether male or female, belonging to the lay class, the appellation *behdin* is prefixed to the name in the recital of ceremonies. When a man belongs to the priestly class, the appellation is *ervad*, if he has passed through the initiatory ceremony of priesthood (*Nāvar*); it is *oshṭā* (Avesta *havishta*, i.e. 'a disciple'), if he has not passed through the ceremony. In the case of a female of the priestly class, the appellation is *oshṭi* (fem. of *oshṭā*); but in the case of a child, whether belonging to the priestly or layman class, it is *khurd*, i.e. 'small' or 'young.' This appellation signifies that the deceased person was too young, and that it had no responsibility, for duties or rites as a Zoroastrian.

At or about the age of six, the child has to begin to learn by heart a few religious prayers—especially those falling under the head of, and attached to, the *Nirang-i-Kusti*, i.e. the recital for putting on the sacred thread. These must be learnt for the coming occasion of the *Naqot*, when the child is to be invested with the sacred shirt and thread. After this investiture the child's name ceases to be recited as *khurd* in the prayers at religious ceremonies, but is recited as *behdin* or *oshṭā*, as the case may be, i.e. as it belongs to the lay or to the priestly class.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

CHILDREN (Roman).—In a society based on the agnatic principle and the *patria potestas*, the maintenance of the family and its *sacra* was a matter of the most vital interest and importance; and for this reason the children born in lawful wedlock, and especially the boys, were objects of the utmost care and solicitude. For this reason, too, the *paterfamilias* had the power of declining to accept a new-born child if he were deformed, or, in the father's judgment, unsuited to be a member of the family and the State; the children must be of good omen, and fit to come in contact with the *sacra*. If not *susceptus* by the father, the child was exposed, and might or might not survive to find some unhappy lot in life (Lactantius, vi. 20, 23). The early pontifical law does, indeed, seem to have enjoined the rearing of every male child and the eldest of the female ones, and to have subjected the right of exposure to the sanction of five neighbours (Dionys. ii. 15); but of this we hear nothing in historical times. In the degenerate days of the late Republic and early Empire, the duty of rearing children was neglected; and Augustus found it necessary to have recourse to legislation, and to rewards and penalties, in order to recruit the citizen population. The *lex Julia et Papia Poppaea* was intended to compel men and women of full age to marry and have children, by subjecting the recalcitrant to certain disabilities, and to reward fruitful marriages by relieving women who had borne a certain number of children (three in Rome, and four in Italy) from the tutory of their parents or agnates, and conceding various privileges to parents of children born in lawful wedlock (see Muirhead, *Hist. Intro. to the Private Law of Rome*³, London, 1899, p. 304). Augustus also gave specific money rewards to plebeian families well furnished with children (Suetonius, *Aug.* xlv.).

If a child was accepted by the father, there was still an interval of nine days for a boy, and eight for a girl, before it received its name and was admitted into the family; and in this period it was liable, as the old Romans believed, to be vexed by evil or mischievous spirits (see the curious bit of folklore quoted from Varro by St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 9). But such spiritual dangers were at an end when the religious rites of the *dies lustricus* had been successfully performed. What exactly these rites were, we do not know; but the word *lustricus* implies a religious 'purification' akin to that of other examples of *lustratio*, and a sacrifice is mentioned by Tertullian (*de Idol.* xvi.). At the same time the infant received its name, was admitted into the family, and thereby also into the *gens* to which the family belonged, and was potentially a member of the State. The danger from evil influences was now averted by hanging on its neck the amulet known as the *bullæ*, which was worn until the age of puberty.

In the simple home life of the more primitive Romans there is little doubt that the mother suckled her own children; but the only definite evidence of this is in Plutarch's *Life of Cato the Elder* (ch. xx.), whose wife is said to have adhered to the old custom. The practice of employing a *nutrrix* for this purpose must have come in early; in a fragment of Varro's book, *de Liberis Educandis* (Nonius, 494, s.v. 'Anuis'), we find him advising that the nurse should be young: 'anuis enim, ut sanguis deterior, sic lac,' Tacitus (*Dial.* xviii.), contrasting the usage of his day with that of the olden time, writes of children being reared in the cottage of a slave-nurse. Nevertheless, the fondness of Roman mothers for their babies is well attested in literature, and inspired both Catullus and Virgil with some of the most beautiful lines they ever wrote. Those in Catullus (lxi. 213 f. :

'Torquatus volo parvulus Matris e gremio suae,' etc.) were in Virgil's mind when he wrote the last four lines of his fourth *Eclogue*, where, after the birth of the babe, it is called on to recognize its mother with a smile (see Mayor, Fowler, and Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, 1907, p. 70 ff.). In *Aen.* vii. 518 we have in six words a picture of the mother pressing her baby to her breast as she hears the sound of the war-trumpet ('Et trepidæ matres pressere ad pectora natos'); and in *Georg.* ii. 523 another picture of the little ones, in the happy life of the farm, clinging to their mother; 'Interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati.' Under the Empire the affection of parents is abundantly attested in the many sepulchral inscriptions which express the bitterness of the loss of children. The epithets which continually recur are 'dulcissimus,' 'carissimus,' 'pietissimus,' 'suavissimus,' 'innocentissimus.' Many of these may be conveniently referred to by using the index to Wilmanns' *Exempla Inscriptionum Lat.*, Berlin, 1873, vol. ii. p. 683, s.v. 'Filiae, filio.' A single specimen may be given here (no. 247): 'Memoriae aeternae M. Aureli infantis dulcissimi et incomparabilis qui vixit annis viii m. ii. d. xiii., qui sibi ante mortem rogavit quam parentibus suis.' Some of Martial's epigrams bear witness to the same tender feeling, especially the beautiful one on the infant son of Bassus (vii. 96).

Roman children had, of course, their troubles and their joys, like all others. Lucretius twice mentions their fears in the darkness (ii. 55, iii. 87) :

'Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia caecis
In tenebris metuunt, sic nos in luce timemus
Interdum, nilo quae sunt metuenda magis quam
Quae pueri in tenebris pavitant finguntque futura.'

He also turns to his own account the sweetening of the lip of the bitter medicine-cup by the mother, in order to deceive the little patient (i. 936). On the other hand, they had plenty of games; they built houses, rode hobby-horses, played with dolls, whipped tops (see Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 814). As they grew bigger, the favourite games were 'nuts,' of which Ovid mentions several kinds in his poem entitled *Nux*, and at which Augustus liked to play with small children (Suet. *Aug.* 83); and 'king,' to which Horace alludes in *Epist.* i. 1, 59 (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 15). Games with balls were also played freely by both young and old.

But children had also certain duties to perform in the family, and chiefly religious ones. As soon as they were old enough, they learnt—no doubt from the mother—the code of family *pietas*. We may perhaps take a passage of Prudentius (c. *Symmachum*, i. 197 f.), too long to be quoted here, as representing this training, for, even in the late Empire, family religion survived with little change. Children alone, if we may trust Columella (*de Re Rust.* xii. 4), were allowed access to the *penus* (the store-closet of the old Roman household), as being pure and undefiled, for that closet was the seat of the Penates, and, in some mysterious way, holy. After the libation at each family meal, it was a boy who announced that the deities were propitious (Serv. *ad Aen.* i. 730). These religious duties, with others of which we are not told, were probably the original reason for the dress of children up to the age of puberty, viz. the purple-striped toga (*praetexta*), which was also worn by priests and curule magistrates, i.e. by all who had a right to perform religious acts (see *Classical Review*, x. [1896] 317 ff.), and which seems to have been associated with the idea of the sanctity of childhood. Children were also freely employed in religious duties outside the family, as *camilli* and *camilloe* (acolytes) in acts of the State religion, and as such are constantly represented on the

monuments (see, e.g., Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, ed. Anderson, 1895, plate xix. 1-3, from the *Ara Pacis* of Augustus). In Henzen's *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin, 1874, Exordium, p. vii), we find boys attending as *ministri* on the Brethren, after the manner of the old Roman family, and taking their own meals sitting on stools; these were sons of senators with both parents living. At the *Ludi saeculares* in 17 B.C. the 'Carmen saeculare' of Horace was sung by two choirs of 27 boys and 27 girls, also children of living parents (*patrini et matrimi*), i.e. of entirely good omen for religious purposes, trained by the poet himself (*Od.* iv. vi. 29 f.). The presence of children, too, as spectators at this famous celebration is specially mentioned, with the provision that in the nightly part of the proceedings they are to be in the charge of their parents (Suet. *Aug.* xxxi.).

The discipline of the family properly belongs to art. EDUCATION (q.v.), but a few facts may be mentioned here. In the best and strictest Roman families, at all periods, the young children were in the care of the mother, for which the common expression was 'in gremio (or in sinu) matris' (Cic. *Brutus*, cxxi.). Plutarch tells us of Sotirius, a Sabine of the old type, that he was admirably brought up by a widowed mother, whom he always continued to love. Of the young Agricola we hear much the same (Tac. *Agric.* iv.: 'in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus'). Pliny the Younger, in two letters (iii. 3. 3 and iv. 19. 6), uses the word *contubernium* of this relation of the child to its mother, adapting it from its use for the relation of a youth to a general in the field. In the second of these passages he says that, in the care of the mother to whom he writes, the child has never seen anything but what is 'sanctum honestumque'; and this *pudor* or *verecundia* was one of the best features of the true Roman home life. It is well illustrated in the account given by Plutarch of the upbringing of his son by the elder Cato (*Life*, ch. xx.): 'He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the Vestal virgins.' As a boy grew older, he naturally came into closer relation to his father, who would take him out to dinner with him, or to hear funeral orations on great men (Marquardt, *op. cit.* 89, and notes). So in *Æn.* v. 74, the boy Ascanius accompanies his father to the rites (*parentalia*) in honour of the dead Anchises; and the relation of father and son throughout the *Æneid* is plainly that to be found in the Roman family. With the father, too, if living in the country, he might work on the farm, and the rough, simple, and homely life of boys under such conditions is often alluded to in literature; see especially Cato in *Festus*, p. 281, where the words used to describe it are 'parsimonia,' 'duritia,' and 'industria.'

No doubt, there was much degeneracy in later times. Possibly Tacitus, in *Dial.* xxviii. f., gives an exaggerated account of it; but the passage is an extremely valuable one in any case. The children, he says, are now put in charge of a Greek nursemaid, with a couple of slaves of low type to help, whose tales are attractive but coarse. No one in the household thinks for a moment what he should or should not do or say before a child of the family; the parents themselves accustom the children by indulgence to *lascivia* and *dicacitas*, pertness and sauciness. The result is the loss of the old *pudor*, and want of respect both for self and for others: 'The children's minds are full of acting, gladiators, chariot-racing; for what else does one now hear talked about in a household?'

Another feature of Imperial times, which was not altogether a happy one, was the *alimentationes*,

or system of public support for children, which was begun by Nerva, organized by Trajan, and continued by Hadrian. Augustus had admitted children to his largesses ('*congiaria*') (Suet. *Aug.* xlii.), and it seems probable that many private persons left legacies for the support of young children in the *municipia* in which they were interested, for we know of at least two cases of such benevolence (*CIL* x. 5056, and v. 5262; the donor in the latter case was Pliny himself, see his *Letters*, vii. 18). No doubt the circumstances were urgent, and it was necessary to do all that was possible to secure the growth of a healthy population, if only for the defence of the Empire; but, in all probability, the results in the long run were unfortunate. The hardy, independent character of the old Roman, so largely the result of the sensible treatment of the children, gradually disappeared under the socialistic nurture of well-meaning emperors. (On the whole subject of the alimentations and the provision made for them, see art. 'Alimentaria,' in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. i.)

LITERATURE.—This is given sufficiently in the article.

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CHILE.—I. ETHNOLOGY, etc.—The 'native' populations of Chile are not racially homogeneous. To the extreme north of the country the inhabitants are of the Aymara race—a Peruvian people of Bolivian origin, who, with the Quichua (a cognate race), composed the population of Incan Peru at the period of the Spanish Conquest. The mythology of this people will be dealt with in art. PERU. South of the River Cobia, however, is found a stock celebrated in Chilean history as the most dreaded foes encountered by the Spaniards in any South American country, namely, the Araucanians. Still farther south, the Patagonians and Fuegians may be regarded as of the same ethnological group as the Araucanians, having been driven to the inhospitable lands which they now inhabit by the pressure of their more powerful neighbours.

The Araucanians, who are akin to various tribes living in the western regions of the Argentine Republic, are divided into several sub-families. They call themselves Alapuche, or 'Children of the Soil,' and the various *gentes* into which they are subdivided are (1) the Picunche, or 'Men of the North,' whose northern boundaries are formed by the River Maule; (2) the Pehuenche, the most numerous, the actual descendants of the original Araucanian tribes, dwelling in the Pehuen or Araucania country; (3) the Huilliche, or 'Men of the South,' occupying the country between the coast and the Pehuenche; and (4) the Puelche, or 'Men of the East,' living in Argentine territory. To the south of these are the Tehuelche, or Patagonians proper, and the Ona, Yahgan, and Alakalouf of Tierra del Fuego, who are principally of Araucanian stock.

The Araucanians are of average height, of a pale yellow colour, very vigorous and muscular, and of a shapely and graceful appearance. They number at the present time probably between 30,000 and 40,000 persons, many of whom are semi-civilized, but, like most other indigenous American races, they are gradually disappearing, chiefly through the agency of epidemics, insobriety, and the marriage system, which permits polygamy in the case of the elderly and wealthy members of the tribe, but dooms the younger and more vigorous male members to celibacy, with results disastrous to the continuance of the race. They are of a freedom-loving and warlike disposition, are fearless horsemen, and treat their women and children with more consideration than do the majority of Indian tribesmen. They subsist in some districts by the chase, but the majority are

not ignorant of agriculture, and are expert cattle-raisers and herdsmen.

II. RELIGION.—1. Totemic origin of Araucanian mythology.—The testimony of the post-Conquest Spanish historians would appear to show that the Araucanians formerly possessed a totemic system, upon which their mythology was probably based. Each family or division of the tribe was distinguished by the name of an animal—guanaco, ostrich, tiger, lion, etc.; and these were regarded as the eponymous ancestors of the tribe or family named after them, who believed that after death they would rejoin them in a sacred cave set apart for their worship, and with them eternally wallow in blissful drunkenness.

2. Idea of a Supreme Being.—Whether these ideas of their origin were common to all the Araucanian tribes or to a portion only is not clear, but it would seem that they were confined more to the southern divisions of the race. Early accounts of Araucanian mythology credit them with a much more exalted theogony. They were held to acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they called *Pillan*—a name derived from *pulli* or *pilli*, 'the soul,' and signifying the Supreme Essence. *Pillan* is, according to the Austrian missionary Dobrizhoffer (*Abipones*, London, 1822, ii. 101), their word for 'thunder.' They also called him *Gueno-pillan*, 'the Spirit of Heaven'; *Buta-gen*, 'the Great Being'; *Thalcove*, 'the Thunderer'; *Vilvemvoo*, 'the Creator of all'; *Vilpepüvoo*, 'the Omnipotent'; *Mallgelu*, 'the Eternal'; and *Annolu*, 'the Infinite,' besides many other lesser names. The Araucanian idea of *Pillan* proves that the native tribal life was but a microcosm of his celestial existence. All was modelled upon the heavenly polity of *Pillan*, who was called, in his aspect of Supreme Ruler, *Toquichen*, or 'the Great Chief' of the invisible world. As such he had his *apo-ulmenes* and his *ulmenes*, or greater and lesser sub-chiefs, as might the headman of any prairie confederacy; and to these he was supposed to entrust the administration of his affairs of lesser importance.

3. Origin and mythological affinities of *Pillan*.—In this figure it is easy to trace resemblances to a mythological conception widely prevalent among the indigenous American peoples. *Pillan* is unquestionably a thunder-god, and in this respect is similar to such deities as the *Hurakan* of the Kiche of Guatemala, the *Tlaloc* of the Mexicans, and *Con* or *Cun*, the thunder-god of the Collao of Peru. The gathering of clouds round great mountain-peaks like those of the Andes, and the resultant phenomena of thunder and lightning, kindle in the savage mind the idea that the summits of these mountains are the dwelling-place of some powerful supernatural being, who manifests his presence by the agencies of fire and terrifying sound. Supernatural beings of this kind are usually described by the Indians as being red in colour, having neither arms nor legs, but moving with incredible swiftness, difficult of approach because of their irascibility, but generous to those who succeed in gaining their favour. They are in general placated by libations of native spirit, poured into the pools below the snow-line, and in case of drought are roused from inactivity by the sympathetic magic of 'rain-making,' in which the magician or priest sprinkles water from a gourd over the thirsty soil.

4. Inferior deities.—The *ulmenes*, or deities subservient to *Pillan*, are several in number. The chief of these is *Epunamun*, or god of war, whose name is apparently of Peruvian origin. He may have been a type adopted from the Incan sun-idol Puncu Inca, or the 'Sun-Inca,' depicted as a warrior armed with darts. There can be little

doubt that the mythology of the Araucanians, as opposed to their mere demon-worship, was highly coloured by, if not altogether adopted from, that of their Peruvian neighbours, the Aymara. And when we find that this Peruvian sun-idol was originally brought to the Incan court by a chief of the Collao who worshipped *Cun* (adored by the Araucanians under the name of *Pillan*), it would seem as though *Epunamun*, with his Peruvian name and probable likeness to Puncu Inca, was also of northern origin, or had been semi-consciously adopted by the Araucanians from the Aymara. Others of these inferior deities were *Meulen*, a benevolent protector of the human race; and the *Guecubu*, a malignant being, who is the author of all evil. He is also known as *Alque* or *Aka-Kanet*, or at least the similarity between him and the deities or demons bearing these names is so strong as to lead to the supposition that they are one and the same, although *Aka-Kanet* is the power appealed to by the priests, who is throned in the Pleiades, who sends fruits and flowers to the earth, and is alluded to by the name of 'grandfather.' But, as Müller remarks, 'dualism is not very striking among these tribes'; and, again, 'the good gods do more evil than good' (*Amer. Urreligionen*, Basel, 1855, pp. 265, 272). Molina, however, who lived among the Araucanians for many years, says, speaking of the *Guecubu*:

'From hence it appears that the doctrine of two adverse principles, improperly called Manichæism, is very extensive, or, in other words, is found to be established amongst almost all the barbarous natives of both continents' (*Hist. of Chili*, 1809, vol. ii. ch. v. p. 85).

He goes on to compare the *Guecubu* with 'the Ahirman (Ahriman) of the Persians,' and says that, according to the general opinion of the Araucanians, he is the cause of all the misfortunes that occur. If a horse tires, it is because the *Guecubu* has ridden him. If the earth trembles, it is because the *Guecubu* has given it a shock; nor does any one die who is not suffocated by the *Guecubu*. The name is spelt 'Huecuvu' by Falkner in his *Description of Patagonia*, and is translated as 'the wanderer without,' an evil demon, hostile to humanity, who lurks outside the encampment or on the outskirts of any human habitation for the express purpose of working malignant mischief upon the unwary tribesmen—a very familiar figure to the student of anthropology and folklore.

5. Cosmogony.—It is not clear to which of their gods the Araucanians gave the credit for the creation of all things, and it is probable that, as mentioned above, they imagined that one or other of the totemic beings from whom they were supposed to be descended had fashioned the universe. They had, however, a very clear tradition of a deluge, from which they were saved by a great hill called *Theg-Theg*, 'the thunderer,' which had three peaks, and possessed the property of moving upon the waters. Whenever an earthquake threatens, they fly to any hill shaped like the traditional *Theg-Theg*, believing that it will save them in this cataclysm as it did in the last, and that its only inconvenience is that it approaches too near the sun. To avoid being scorched, says Molina, they always kept ready wooden bowls to act as parasols (*op. cit.* ii. 82).

6. The Gen, or beneficent spirits.—The *ulmenes*, or lesser spirits, of the celestial hierarchy of the Araucanians are the *gen* ('lords'), who have the charge of created things, and who, with the benevolent *Meulen*, attempt in some measure to stem the power of the *Guecubu*. They are of both sexes, the females being designated *amei-malghen*, or spiritual nymphs, who are pure and lead an existence of chastity, propagation being unknown in the Araucanian spiritual world. These beings,

especially the females, perform for men the offices of familiar spirits, and all Araucanians believe that they have one of these minor deities or angels in their service. 'Nien cai gni Amchi-Malghen' ('I still keep my guardian spirit') is a common expression when they succeed in any undertaking. These minor deities remind us forcibly of the totemic familiars of many N. American Indian tribes, who are adopted by them at puberty, and appear to them in dreams and hypnotic trances to warn them concerning future events; and it is probable that the *gen* and *amei-malghen* are the remnants of a totemic system.

7. **Worship and ritual.**—The likeness between things spiritual and things material is carried still further by the Araucanians; for, as their *ulmenes*, or sub-chiefs, have not the right to impose any contribution or service upon the common people, so they deny to supernatural beings any need for worship or gifts. Thus no outward homage is ordinarily paid to them. There is probably no parallel to this lack of worship in the case of a people possessing clearly defined religious ideas and conceptions of supernatural beings. 'They possess neither temples nor idols, nor are they in the habit of offering any sacrifice except in some severe calamity, or on concluding a peace' (Molina, *op. cit.* ii. 87). Upon such occasions the offerings usually consisted of animals and tobacco, the latter being burned as incense, and supposed to be peculiarly agreeable to their gods. This custom is reminiscent of that of the N. American Indian peoples, with whom the Araucanians exhibit some points of resemblance in the ceremonial use of tobacco, such as blowing the smoke to the four cardinal points, as a sacrifice to the god of the elements, probably Pillan. On urgent occasions only were these sacrificial rites employed, when Pillan and Meulen chiefly were adored and implored to assist their people. The absolute indifference of the Araucanians to mere ritual was well exemplified by the manner in which they ignored the elaborate ritualistic practices of the early Roman Catholic missionaries, although they displayed no hostility to the new creed, but tolerated its institution throughout their territories.

8. **Priesthood.**—Although the Araucanians did not practise any rites, they were not behind other American aboriginal peoples in their observance of numerous superstitions. They were firm believers in divination, and paid marked attention to favourable or unfavourable omens. Appearances in dreams, the songs and flight of birds, and all the usual machinery of augury were pressed into the service of their priests and diviners; and the savage who dreaded naught on the field of battle would tremble violently at the mere sight of an owl (Molina, *op. cit.* ii. 87). The owl was regarded by the Araucanians (as by the Mexicans, Kiche, Mayas, Peruvians, and Algonquins) as sacred to the lord of the dead. 'The Owl' was one of the names of Mictlantecutli, the Mexican Pluto, whose realm of the dead was supposed to be situated in the cold and dreary north; and the wind from that quarter was imagined by the Chippewas to be made by the owl, as the south wind by the butterfly. In fact, among nearly all American tribes the owl was a symbol of esoteric wisdom, and from such facts as this we gain confirmation of the original unity of the religious conceptions of the American race. In the *Popol Vuh*, owls are mentioned as the emissaries of the lords of Xibalba, the realm of the departed; the Creek priests carried with them the stuffed skin of one of these birds; the Arikara placed one above the 'medicine stone' in their council lodge; and the culture-hero of the Monqui Indians of California had, like Pallas Athene, an owl for a retainer.

The priests, or rather diviners, were called by the Araucanians *gligua* or *dogol*, and were subdivided into *guenguenu*, *genpugnu*, and *genpiru*, meaning respectively 'masters of the heavens,' 'of epidemics,' and 'of insects or worms.' There was also a sect called *calcu*, or 'sorcerers,' who dwelt in caves, and who were served by *ivunches*, or 'man-animals,' to whom they taught their terrible arts. The Araucanians believed that these wizards had the power to transform themselves at night into nocturnal birds, to fly through the air, and to shoot invisible arrows at their enemies, besides indulging in the malicious mischief with which folklore credits the wizards of all countries. Their priests proper they believed to possess numerous familiars who were attached to them after death—the belief of the 'magicians' of the Middle Ages. These priests or diviners were celibate, and led an existence apart from the tribe, in some communities being garbed as women. Many tales are told of their magical prowess, which lead us to believe that they were either natural epileptics or ecstasies, or that disturbing mental influences were brought about in their case by the aid of drugs. The Araucanians also held that to mention their real personal names gave magic power over them, which might be turned to evil ends.

9. **Ideas of immortality.**—The Araucanians firmly believed in the immortality of the soul. They held that the composition of man was twofold—the *anca*, or corruptible body, and the *am* or *pulli*, the soul, which they believed to be *ancanobu* ('incorporeal'), and *mugcalu* ('eternal or existing for ever'). So thoroughly a matter of everyday allusion had these distinctions become, that they frequently made use of the word *anca* in a metaphorical sense, to denote a part, the half, or the subject of anything. As regards the state of the soul after its separation from the body, they differed from one another in their beliefs. All the Araucanians held that after death they would go towards the west, beyond the sea—a conception of the soul's flight which they held in common with many other American tribes. The west, as the 'grave' of the sun, was supposed also to be the goal of man, when the evening of his days had come—a place where the tired soul might find rest.

'The old notion among us,' said an old chief, 'is that, when we die, the spirit goes the way the sun goes, to the west, and there joins its family and friends who went before it' (Hawkins, *Sketch of the Creek Country*, Savannah, 1848, p. 80).

The country to which the Araucanians believed their dead to go was called *Gulcheman*, 'the dwelling of the men beyond the mountains.' The general conception of this Other-world was that it was divided into two parts, one pleasant, and filled with everything that is delightful, the abode of the good; and the other desolate and in want of everything, the habitation of the wicked. Some of the Araucanians held, however, that all indiscriminately enjoyed eternal pleasures, saying that earthly behaviour had no effect upon the immortal state. The hazy nature of their belief concerning the spirituality of the soul was strongly evinced by their funerary practice.

The relatives of the deceased person seated themselves around his body and wept for a long time, afterwards exposing it for a space upon a raised bier, called *pilluay*, where it remained during the night. During this time they watched over and 'waked' it, eating and drinking with those who came to console them. This meeting was called *curioahuin*, or the 'black entertainment,' as black was the symbolical colour of mourning with them. About the second or third day the body was laid to rest in the *eltum*, or family burying-ground. The *eltum* was usually situated in a wood or on a hill, and the procession to it was preceded by two young men on horseback riding full speed. The bier was carried by the nearest relatives of the deceased, and surrounded by women who mourned and wept during the entire ceremony. On arrival at the *eltum*, the corpse was laid on the ground, and surrounded by arms in the case of a man, or by feminine implements in that of a woman. Provisions, *chico*

(native spirit), wine, and sometimes even a dead horse, were placed beside the deceased to serve him in the Other-world. The Pehuenches believed that the Other-world was cold, and so sought to warm the corpse with fire, after which they bound it to a horse, placed the bridle in its hand, killed the steed, and buried both together in the grave. The relatives and friends of the dead man then wished him a prosperous journey, and covered the body with a pyramid or cairn of stones, over which they poured large quantities of *chicha* spirit.

After they had departed, an old woman called *Tempuleague* was thought to come to the grave in the shape of a whale, and transport the soul of the deceased to the Other-world. Probably the Araucanians of the Chilean coast were acquainted with the spermaceæ, or southern variety of whale, and regarded it as the only method of locomotion by which a spirit could be conveyed across the great waters, or it is probable that they borrowed the conception from the Peruvians of the coast, who regarded the sea as the most powerful among the gods, and called it *Mama-cocha*, or 'mother sea.' The whale was also a general object of worship all along the Peruvian coast, whilst each of the Peruvian coastal districts worshipped the particular species of fish that was taken there in the greatest abundance. This fish-worship did not in any way partake of the nature of mere superstition, but was defined with great exactness, the fish-ancestor of each 'tribe' or variety of fish being given a special place in the heavens in the form of a constellation. The Collao tribes to the south also worshipped a fish-god on the shores of Lake Titicaca, some fifty miles or so from the Chilean frontier; so that in all likelihood this fish-goddess of the Araucanians was originally borrowed in its general conception from the Collao, who were probably ethnologically akin to the Araucanian tribes. This theory becomes almost certainly when we take into consideration the nature of the fish-deity worshipped by the Collao, the name of which was *Copacachuma*, 'valuable stone to be looked upon,' from the circumstance that the idol was carved from a bluish-green stone, having the body of a fish surmounted by a rude human head. This deity, like *Tempuleague*, was female.

The deceased, however, must pay a toll to another old woman, of malicious character, for permission to pass a narrow strait on the road; upon failure to make this payment, it was supposed that she would deprive him of an eye.

The life after death was regarded as very similar to the earthly existence, but was without fatigue or satiety. Husbands had the same wives, but the latter had no children, as the Other-world was held to be inhabited by the spirits of the dead alone.

Certain vestiges of sun- and moon-worship were also visible among some tribes, who designated the sun *Antí*, and the moon *Kayan*. The recognition of these luminaries as deities, however, was desultory and probably seasonal only.

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CHILIASM.—See MILLENNIUM.

CHINS.—See BURMA.

CHINA.—The question whether China possesses any indigenous system which may properly be described as 'religious' is one which has occasioned much controversy, the opinions elicited being generally determined by the definition of 'Confucianism,' expressed or implied by the several parties, whether as including the pre-conceptions which date from pre-historic times in China, or as limited to the comparatively modern school of philosophy based upon the canonical books which were edited and transmitted by Confucius (551-479 B.C.), and interpreted by Chucius (A.D. 1130-1200). If the latter, and obviously more correct, definition of Confucianism be accepted, it may be admitted that there is little in this system which fulfils the popular characterization of 'religion'; but it is important to bear in mind that the politico-moral philosophy which is designated

as 'Confucianism' is based upon a much more ancient system, in which religion, properly so-called, occupies a paramount position.

It must not, therefore, be assumed, because Confucius never professed to be a religious teacher, in the popular sense, though claiming to fulfil a Heaven-sent mission, that the Chinese are devoid of religious ideas and an established cult, for there are many unequivocal evidences in Chinese literature of the existence of religious beliefs and practices, both before and after Confucius's time, and these are reflected in the Imperial sacrifices at the Altar of Heaven in Peking at the present day, as described in art. CONFUCIAN RELIGION.

Why the obligations of religion are not more clearly enunciated in the teaching of Confucius is partly explained by the fact that the avowed object of his mission was the tranquillizing of the various States, which, in his days, pretended to acknowledge the suzerainty of the 'Central State,' or 'Middle Kingdom.' Under the feudal conditions which had been introduced during the Chow dynasty some 500 years earlier, these States had become so hopelessly disunited that the country was ravaged by incessant war, leading to the neglect of agriculture; and the slaughter of a vast number of able-bodied citizens had produced such confusion and distress that immediate legislation was required. To this end, Confucius, and many another contemporary teacher whose profession was seriously affected by the prevailing conditions, travelled from State to State, endeavouring to recall men not so much to religion as to peace, by emphasizing the ancient maxims, and by reinforcing the theory of 'Divine right' by which the lord paramount ruled, and from which the principles of subordination and the duties pertaining to the several classes derived their supreme importance.

From this point of view it may be seen that Confucius was not a religious teacher, although the system from which his own teaching was derived, and which has in a measure survived him, was eminently religious. To him it seemed that the men of his day, like the Athenians to whom St. Paul preached, were 'too superstitious'; and, when the history of those days is studied, and the perversions of religion which were commonly exhibited are noted, it is easy to understand why he should have adopted an attitude of strict reticence towards the popular observances, seeking to restrain rather than encourage the superstitions which were then so prevalent, while he devoted his best efforts to the revival of that practical morality which he considered to be of transcendent importance, and which, when traced to its ultimate source, would be found to spring from religious motives.

It is not necessary to dwell on Confucius and his message in this connexion (see art. CONFUCIUS), but it may be well to examine somewhat more closely the materials from which he developed his own peculiar system, and from which are derived the religious ideas which have continued in China, more or less independently of Confucianism, until the present day. The sources of information which are available for this purpose are: (a) the primitive characters or 'pictograms,' which afford unmistakable evidence as to the ideas which existed long anterior to the time of Confucius; and (b) the ancient writings which he edited, and which exist, in a somewhat mutilated condition, in our own day.

(a) *The witness of the ancient pictograms.*—Two of these 'characters,' of undoubted antiquity, will serve to indicate what may be predicated as the original idea of the Chinese with regard to the conception of God, viz. *Tien*, or 'Heaven,' and *Ti*, or 'Supreme Ruler.' The character repre-

senting 'Heaven' is composed of the two primitives, 'one' and 'great' (一 and 大 combined thus 天), and conveys the idea of the One Great Being or Power who dwells above, and who, in a special sense, controls the destinies of the 'world,' i.e. the 'Empire,' which is described as 'Under Heaven.' There is, however, another method of writing the character, which may be even more ancient than this, and which suggests a rough picture of a human being, viz. 太, thus strength-

ening the supposition of the attribute of personality as attaching to the 'Great One.' This inference is further supported by the fact that 'God,' who is constantly referred to as synonymous with 'Heaven,' is represented by a name which is found in the most ancient Chinese writings, and which is explained as meaning 'the Supreme,' i.e.

Ti (帝), frequently qualified by the prefix Shang, meaning 'above'; thus Shang-ti = the 'Supreme Ruler on High.' These terms have been applied interchangeably, from time immemorial, to the supreme object of veneration in China; and, in the earliest references, they are introduced, without any attempt at explanation or definition, as ideas long established and thoroughly familiar.

It is sometimes concluded that, because the Chinese character for 'Heaven' is less complex than that for 'God,' the latter must represent a later and more developed idea; in other words, the conception of Heaven was predicated as first in the order of time, and from this was evolved that of a Supreme Being residing in the empyrean. It does not, however, follow, because the symbol employed to convey the notion of God is more elaborate than that adopted to depict Heaven, that the idea involved therein is of more recent date. On the contrary, it might be argued that, phonetically, *Tien* is derived from the simpler *Ti*, and that the procession of ideas in ancient China advanced from God to the heavens, as was admitted even by the sceptical philosopher Chu-chi, who, when asked whether that *Li* (meaning 'Principle' or the 'Reason of things'), which he described as synonymous with *Ti* = 'God,' positively existed before Heaven and Earth, replied that such was most certainly the case.

From these facts the opinion has been very naturally deduced that the earliest religious ideas of the Chinese were monotheistic; and, though Buddhistic accommodations of *Tien*, to convey the idea of *deva* ('god'), and Taoistic applications of *Ti* to deceased emperors, have served to degrade the primitive simplicity and purity of these terms, it may be shown, by quotations from the canonical books, and by the observances of the Imperial cult, that the monotheistic idea was maintained in the time of Confucius, and survives to the present day. This reflexion opens up vistas of enthralling interest, when it is realized that, even beyond the forty centuries of history which pertain to these written characters, there must have been a long period, of which few unequivocal traces remain, when those ideas were current which were afterwards stereotyped in the written symbols which have come down to us; for, if the ancient pictograms can claim an antiquity so remote, how much older must be the preconceptions which they were intended to enshrine!

(b) *The witness of the ancient canons.*—The fact that, in the first historical allusions to religious matters in China, there are traces of theological ideas which seem to conflict with the original monotheism, does not weaken the force of the argument as to the purity of the original concep-

tions, since these ideas are exhibited as of the nature of new developments; and the incongruity between the earlier and the later practices (where the spirits presiding over the phenomena of Nature, and the *manes* of deceased worthies, are admitted to a share in the worship offered to the Deity) may be explained as analogous to the veneration of saints and mediators which is found to exist *pari passu* with a profound belief in the unity of the Godhead.

Little weight is attached, even by Chinese writers, to the early rulers, Fu-hi (2852 B.C.), Hwang-ti (2697 B.C.), and others, to whom are ascribed the organization of sacrifice, the building of temples, the establishment of the worship of the ancestral spirits or powers of Nature, and the adoption of music as a liturgical adjunct. Yet it is important to observe that, among the later hypotheses which seek to throw light upon the mystery of the prehistoric period, no attempt is made to account for the origin of religious observances—the existence of God, and the possibility of entering into communion with Him, being assumed as a necessary and instinctive belief. The canonical history, as accepted and transmitted by Confucius, begins with Yao (2356 B.C.), to whom the posthumous title of 'Emperor' was applied, and who is characterized as being sincerely religious, in the traditions by means of which later historians attempt to amplify the brief statements of Confucius in the *Shu King*, or Canon of History. In connexion with Shun, his successor (2255 B.C.), and those who followed him, during the fourteen centuries covered by the history, there are numberless references to the ancient faith, and many expressions are employed which seem to be a re-echo of the primal revelation. The record of Shun's reign is introduced by the statement that, on his accession to the throne of Yao, he offered 'the customary sacrifice' to Shang-ti. The phrase 'customary sacrifice' is, by some authorities, interpreted to mean the 'round sacrifice,' i.e. that offered upon the round altar or hillock which was supposed to represent the shape of Heaven; but, in any case, the reference implies a well-known and old-established method; and this is confirmed by what follows: 'He sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to Shang-ti,' etc.

Thus, at the very earliest period of Chinese history, in the case of the first monarchs whom Confucius recognized as authentic, though he made no profession of being a religious propagandist, we find religious observances occupying a paramount place; and throughout all the later history, as recorded in the 'Canon of History' (*Shu King*) and as illustrated in the 'Canon of Odes' (*Shih King*), the same phenomenon is observable. This is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that, in the one book which Confucius himself composed (the 'Spring and Autumn' [*Ch'un Ch'iu*], or Annals of his own State of Lu), there are no such references; and in the conversations recorded by his disciples the name of Shang-ti is only once mentioned; and the discussion of transcendental subjects is distinctly deprecated: 'Confucius always refused to talk of supernatural phenomena . . . or of supernatural beings' (*Anulets*, viii. 20). In the two Canons referred to—i.e. the Canon of History and the Odes—the fortunes of kings and dynasties are inseparably connected with the performance or neglect of religious duties. One instance out of many will suffice to illustrate this fact. When Shou (1154 B.C.), the last ruler of the Yin dynasty, proved unworthy of the 'decree of Heaven' which gave him the throne, Wu-wang took up arms against him, claiming a mandate from Heaven for his action, and denouncing the unrighteous monarch as failing to reverence Heaven above, and neglecting the worship of

Shang-ti. The result was the overturning of the dynasty and the establishment of a new line of rulers, that of the Chow dynasty. Similar examples are available, both in the earlier and in the later history, where it is shown that even the 'Son of Heaven'—as the monarch is entitled—must forfeit his high estate if he fails to fulfil his duties as the vicegerent of God.

During the reign of Shun there are allusions to certain practices which seem to be of the nature of new developments. Ancestor-worship and that of the 'host of spirits' are definitely mentioned for the first time, and the latter is referred to as an *extension* of the earlier methods. It would appear that the first beginnings of this declension from primitive monotheism did not originate with Shun, but that a further impetus was given, in his time, to the observances which afterwards became so popular and wide-spread.

The fact that the several departments of Nature were regarded as under the control of their own presiding spirits, acting as the deputies of the Supreme Being, would naturally admit of an ever-widening application; and, when the 'hills and rivers' were recognized as the spheres of spiritual agency, the theory of such agency would, in course of time, be logically extended to natural phenomena such as thunder, rain, etc., as well as to the outbreak of flood, fire, pestilence, etc., which served to inspire with terror and suggest the need of propitiation. A great advance in this direction marks the early years of the Chow dynasty (1122–255 B.C.). To the 'Chief of the West,' who first undertook to disestablish the corrupt line of Yin, is attributed the arrangement, if not the invention, of the 'Eight Diagrams' forming the subject-matter of the 'Canon of Permutations,' or 'Book of Changes' (*I King*); and his sons, Wu-wang (= King Wu) and Chow-kung (= Duke of Chow) are regarded as the prime movers in the religious reformation which followed the establishment of the new dynasty. Of the former we read in the *Shu King*: 'He attached great importance . . . to the proper observance of funeral ceremonies and of sacrifices'; and the first concrete example of ancestor-worship in China is recorded in connexion with the latter. The two brothers form the link which connects Confucius with the earliest days of Chinese history, for the system which existed in his time, and which was supposed to reflect the ancient methods, was that which had been developed by the king and the duke, who were regarded by Confucius as almost on a par with the ideal monarchs Yao and Shun.

During this dynasty, and perhaps at this time, many changes were made and many innovations introduced—the result, no doubt, of a growing desire to reduce to a philosophic system the somewhat vague generalizations which had so long been accepted. The 'Eight Diagrams,' which had served in earlier days as a medium of divination, were now elaborated by subdivisions, and regarded as furnishing an explanation of the changing phenomena of Nature, becoming in course of time the basis of a complete system of cosmogony, which has had the effect of eliminating God almost entirely from the field of Confucian speculation, and of degrading the ancient religion of China to a practical agnosticism in the case of the great majority of professed Confucianists to-day. A hint of this tendency is given in the new terminology introduced by King Wu, who speaks of 'Heaven' as the 'Universal Father,' and of 'Earth' as the 'Universal Mother.' This dualistic conception does not appear in the language of the earlier theologians, who regarded Heaven as synonymous with Shang-ti, and Earth as the theatre of His benevolent activities. And, though logical system required that Heaven should be correlated with

Earth, the simpler conception of antiquity some times reappears in the later writings, as, e.g., in the *dictum* of Confucius himself (the only passage in which he directly alludes to God as a personality): 'By the ceremonies of the sacrifice to Heaven and Earth they (i.e. the forefathers) served Shang-ti' ('The Mean,' xix. 2). Chucius, however, in later days, was burdened with no such scruples, and boldly declared that 'Heaven' and 'Shang-ti' and the 'Great Ultimate' mean nothing more than that 'Principle' or 'Law' which pervades and dominates all things, and which is beyond human comprehension. Yet, when taken to task by a disciple, he admitted that there was such a thing as a 'governing power,' entitled 'Ti,' but, like Confucius, refused to discuss the matter in detail.

The question now arises as to the ideas which were involved in this recognition of a Supreme Being, and the offering of sacrifices to Him; in other words, what religious motive dictated these ancient observances. It seems impossible to account for the origin of the sacrificial offering if thanksgiving and prayer do not find a place in the theory. Perhaps it was for this reason that Confucius, who seems to have deprecated prayer and a confident approach to the Powers above, confessed himself unable to explain the significance of the great quinquennial Ti sacrifice which Shun is said to have originated. There are numerous passages in the canonical books which definitely refer to thanksgiving and petition as influential motives. An early tradition relates that Fu-hi, the first ruler of the legendary period (commencing 2852 B.C.), 'appointed certain days to show gratitude to Heaven, by offering the first fruits of the earth,' and there are many folk-songs among the Odes (dating from the Chow dynasty [1122 B.C.], and including some pieces belonging to the preceding dynasty) in which the gifts of harvest are acknowledged with joyful song and sacrificial thank-offering to the ancestors, whose good offices with the Supreme Being are thus recognized, as well as to Shang-ti Himself, who is regarded as the 'All-Father,' the giver of grain, and the dispenser of every good and perfect gift; e.g.

O wise How-tai,
Fit associate of God,
Founder of our race,
There is none greater than thou!
Thou gavest us wheat and barley,
Which God appointed for our nourishment,' etc. (*Odes*, iv.).

A modern example, based upon the ancient forms, is afforded by an address to Shang-ti, presented by the Emperor She-tsung of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1538), which may serve as a valuable illustration of the Chinese notions of God, and the connexion of thanksgiving with the sacrificial offering:

'Of old, in the beginning, there was the great chaos, without form and dark. The five elements had not begun to revolve, nor the sun and moon to shine. . . . Thou, O spiritual sovereign, camest forth in Thy presidency, and first didst divide the grosser parts from the purer. Thou madest heaven; Thou madest earth; Thou madest man. All things got their being, with their reproducing power. . . . I, Thy servant, presume reverently to thank Thee, and, while I worship, present the notice to Thee, O Ti, calling Thee Sovereign.'

The offering of prayer, in the same connexion, is implied in the language used in the 'Record of Rites':

'Sacrifices should not be frequently repeated, for such frequency is indicative of *importunateness*, and importunateness is inconsistent with reverence. Nor should they be at distant intervals, for such infrequency is indicative of indifference, etc.'

It should be remembered that amongst Eastern peoples, like the Chinese, petition generally takes the form of suggestion rather than express requisition. Direct application is regarded as degrading to the appellant and embarrassing to the person approached; and, for this reason, it is not to be expected that prayer should take the same definite form in China as it does in the West.

It is, nevertheless, possible to find unequivocal instances of prayer being offered to God, as in the case of King Suan (827 B.C.), when a great drought threatened to destroy his dominions; and in the Imperial prayer at the winter sacrifice at the present day which runs:

'I earnestly look up, hoping for merciful protection. I bring my subjects and servants, with offerings of food in abundance, a reverential sacrifice to Shang-ti. Humbly I pray for Thy downward glance, and may rain be granted for the production of all sorts of grain, and the success of all agricultural labours.'

See, further, the next two articles, and also COMMONION WITH THE DEAD (Chinese), COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Chinese), CONFUCIUS, CONFUCIAN RELIGION, INDO-CHINA, ISLĀM (in China), MANICHÆISM, TAOISM, ZOROASTRIANISM, and the Literature cited at the end of these articles.

W. GILBERT WALSH.

CHINA (Buddhism in).—Buddhism was introduced into China during the Han dynasty. It is still an open question whether it entered China in its older form, the Hinayāna (*q.v.*), or 'Little Vehicle,' or in its younger form, the Mahāyāna (*q.v.*), or 'Great Vehicle'; but it is a fact that at a very early date the Mahāyāna was predominant, and that it has remained in the ascendant to the present day.

Mahāyānist Buddhism is a universalistic religion, whose great principle or basis is the Order of the World, which it calls *Dharma*, or 'Law.' *Dharma* manifests itself especially by the Universal Light, the Creator of everything, and this light is emitted by the Buddhas, or beings endowed with the highest *bodhi*, or 'intelligence.' There have been an infinite number of these beings in the past, and an infinite number will be born in the future; indeed, the Light of the World is born every day in the morning, and enters into *nirvāṇa*, or 'nothingness,' in the evening. The life of a Buddha is a day of preaching of the *Dharma*, a so-called revolution of its wheel, a daily emanation of light. Thus it is that there have been delivered many billions and trillions of sermons, as long as the universe has existed, each having for its subject the elevation of man to a state of bliss; and those which have happily been written down for the good of posterity are the so-called *sūtras*, which in China are termed *king*. Man, accordingly, should behave in every respect as those *sūtras* preach, thus assimilating himself with *Dharma*.

The great aim of Chinese Buddhism, which has given it the name of Mahāyāna, 'Great Vehicle,' is to uplift the whole of mankind to certain states of salvation, called the states of the *deva*, the *arhat*, and the *bodhisattva* or the *buddha*, and also to increase to the highest possible degree the number of ways or means of obtaining such grades of blessedness. The sanctity of the *bodhisattva* or the *buddha* means entry into *nirvāṇa*, or absorption by the Universe.

Dharma, the Universal Law, embraces the world in its entirety. It exists for the benefit of all beings, for does not its chief manifestation, viz. the Light of the World, shine for blessing on all men and all things? Salvation, which means conformity of life to the *Dharma*, consequently means in the first place manifestation of universal love for both men and animals. Indeed, as men and animals equally are formed of the elements which constitute the Universe itself, animals may become men, and, through the human state, be converted into *arhats*, *bodhisattvas*, and *buddhas*. Thus even for animals salvation is to be prepared by religious means; and their lives, no less than those of men, must by all means be spared.

The Hinayāna, the 'Little Vehicle' of Salvation, the older form of Buddha's Church in India, could not lift man up to any higher dignity than that of

the *arhat*. This dignity was obtainable only by those who renounced the world, that is to say, by poverty and asceticism. The man who strove after salvation was a *bhikṣu*, or mendicant monk. This fundamental principle of Buddha's Church has maintained its position in the Mahāyāna system, which, indeed, rejects no single means of salvation, and certainly not the one which Buddha himself established by his doctrine, life, and example. Monastic life has been the chief Mahāyānist institution from the very beginning. Mahāyānism has, however, added two upper steps—the *Bodhisattva*-ship and the *Buddha*-ship—to the ladder of salvation.

Mahāyānist monasteries, which have actually studded the soil of China, must be defined as special institutions devoted to the working out of salvation. Various methods are practised there to this end, and the monk can choose those which best suit his inclinations and his character. He may choose one method, several, or even all. Asceticism and poverty of a severe type are almost exceptional. It is, in fact, only in a few monasteries that some brethren are found who seldom or never leave their cells, or the grottos in the grounds of the monastery, spending their lives therein in pious isolation and meditation, or in a state of passivity, without ever even shaving themselves, and looking somewhat as pre-Adamite man must have looked. Mendicancy outside the monastic walls is likewise now a rare occurrence. When the abbot and his treasurers deem it necessary, he sends the brethren to collect from the laity. This is also done on certain days of the year by several brethren in company. Not many instances of begging for private needs now occur, for the mendicant friar has almost disappeared, and the majority of the monks seek salvation in more dignified ways.

The buildings and chapels which constitute a monastery are provided with images of *bodhisattvas* and *buddhas*, and these are continually worshipped, and besought to lend a helping hand to the seekers of salvation. The more commonly practised method is to live according to the commandments which Buddha has given for the preservation of human purity, and for man's progress in excellence and virtue; that is to say, the five and the ten principal commandments, with the *Pratimokṣa*, or 250 monastic rules, which have all been taken over from the Hinayāna, and especially the 58 commandments of the Mahāyāna. The latter are contained in the *Fan-wang king*, 'Sūtra of the Net of Brahmā,' or the Celestial Sphere, with its network of constellations, the *Brahmajāla Sūtra*. The man who truly lives by these commandments becomes a *bodhisattva* or a *buddha* even in this life; and he has no need to trouble himself about the two lower stages, *deva*-ship and *arhat*-ship, which are attained by strict obedience to the ten commandments and the *Pratimokṣa*.

A solemn vow to live a life of sanctity, in obedience to the commandments, makes the monk. It constitutes his ordination, which only a few monasteries nowadays have the privilege, granted by Imperial authority, of conferring. It usually takes place in the fourth month of the year, about the festival of Buddha's birth. The pupils of the clergy, who are living in small monasteries and temples scattered throughout the empire, repair to the abbot, who has the episcopal right to perform the function of consecrator, and at his feet they express their determination to devote themselves to the *Saṅgha*, or Church. They express penitence for their sins, and swear by Buddha that they will truly keep the five great commandments, which are: not to kill; not to steal; not to commit

adultery; not to lie; not to drink spirits. A little later they are, on account of this vow, admitted as pupils, and solemnly undertake to renounce the world and keep the ten commandments, which are the five just mentioned, and besides: abstinence from perfumes and flowers, from singing and dancing, from large beds, from having meals at regular times, and from precious things. On this second vow the neophytes receive the tonsure, and the abbot hands to each of them a mendicant friar's robe or the garment of poverty, *kaṣāya*. They are now *śramanera*, or monks of inferior rank, and at the same time *devas*, or saints of the lowest degree.

A day or two later they are ordained *śramanas* or *bhikṣus*, ascetic monks. The vow to keep the 250 monastic rules, or *Pratimokṣa*, is the most important part of this ordination. The ceremony takes place in the presence of a chapter consisting of eight of the principal monks, with the abbot as president, and lasts several hours. The abbot occupies an elevated seat, and the members of the chapter are seated on his right and left. Each candidate receives an alms-dish. The candidates are taken apart in small groups, and a member of the chapter asks them whether there is any hindrance to their reception into the order of the mendicant friars. Then they are immediately taken once more into the presence of the chapter, who are asked by another of their members whether they consent to the admission of the novices. Silence is assent. The abbot then asks whether they will yield faithful obedience to the 250 monastic rules of life, contained in the *Pratimokṣa*: the candidates answer in the affirmative, and thus take the vow. The ceremony ends with a sermon by the abbot, and his benediction. They are now *arhats*, or saints of the second degree.

Then there follows, on the very next day, or two days after, the highest consecration, which raises the *śramanas* from the recently gained stage of *arhat*-sanctity to that of the *bodhisattva*. This is preceded by a ceremonial purification from sin, before an image of Buddha. The candidates recount their sins, and plead that the pains of hell, which they have deserved, may be remitted; then they perform a bodily ablution, and put on new clothes. The purification is combined with a solemn sacrifice to the *Triratna*—the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha—in order to sue for pardon. The candidates now confess their sins before these saints, and swear that they will for ever live by the 58 commandments of 'Brahma's Net.' Finally, they all atone for their sins in a long litany, in which they call on the names of three hundred Buddhas, and at each name prostrate themselves and press their foreheads on the ground.

The next ordination-ceremony, in compliance with one of the 58 commandments, is the singeing of the head. In the great church of the convent, where stand the three great images of Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha, they all assemble, and each of them has a number of bits of charcoal stuck on his smooth-shaven head. These are set on fire by the monks of the monastery by means of burning incense-sticks, and allowed to burn away into the skin. At an earlier period, it seems that the novices used to burn off a finger, or even the whole arm, as a sacrifice to Buddha; in Chinese books we even read of cases of complete self-immolation on a pyre of wood.

The ordinands now humbly request ordination from the abbot. He gives them instruction on its meaning and importance, and, led by him, they all in unison invoke the Buddhas Śākya, Mañjuśrī, and Maitreya, with all the Buddhas of the ten parts of the Universe, to form a chapter, and

bestow on them the highest ordination. Once more they acknowledge their sins, and, passing through a state of repentance, repeatedly make a solemn vow that they will seek the good of all creatures, and, besides instructing themselves in holy doctrine, will promote the salvation of them all. The abbot asks them whether they have committed any of the seven great sins which exclude from the Saṅgha, and reminds them of their need of firm determination to live by the commandments; they express their promise to carry out this intention with firmness. It is in this firm determination, this promise, that the completion of their ordination exists. They are now *bodhisattvas*, on the way to Buddha-ship.

In the monastic life of the Mahāyāna, the object is the attainment of the dignity of *bodhisattva* and *buddha* by means of obedience to the commandments of 'Brahma's Net.' Without a knowledge of this fact it is impossible to understand this monastic life.

The first and greatest commandment forbids the slaying of any living creature. So, no flesh or fish is eaten in the monastery, and the monks are absolute vegetarians. The cattle, sheep, pigs, fowls, geese, ducks, and fish which pious laymen, in order to acquire merit beyond the grave, entrust to their care, and for the keep of which they pay, are allowed to live the natural term of their existence. From time to time the monks perform certain rites at the cattle-pens or the fish-ponds, by means of which animals, like men, undergo a new birth, and are able to attain to the higher states of salvation of the *deva*, the *arhat*, and the *bodhisattva*.

The commandments demand with special emphasis the preaching of the Mahāyāna, that is, the opening of the way of salvation to all the world. In each monastery, accordingly, there is a preaching-hall and a college of monks, who are called preachers, with the abbot at their head. And because preaching is the exposition of *sūtras*, and *vinayas*, or laws, which have been given to mankind by Buddha as the means of salvation, it is easy to understand why the monasteries are the places where such books are prepared and published. The most important of these institutions consequently possess printing departments, with monks acting as copyists, engravers, correctors, etc. There are also monks whose duty it is to afford instruction in the sacred writings to the less educated brethren.

There are several annually recurring days of preaching. The sermons of the monks, because they are taken from the sacred books which are the gift of Buddha, are the sermons of Buddha himself. This most holy saint is, in the system of Mahāyāna, the Light of the World, and his teaching, or the Dharma, is that light in which the Order of the World finds expression, and which, by its diffusion, embraces and blesses all existent life. So in every sermon, or 'illumination,' all the Buddhas, *Bodhisattvas*, *Arhats*, and *Devas* are supposed to be present, and, to honour them, incense, flowers, food, and other gifts are on such occasions set out on an altar. On the other hand, the *māras*, or spirits of darkness, are blinded by the presence of so much light and so many light-giving gods, and are driven away or utterly destroyed, together with all evil of which they are the universal authors. Preaching is, accordingly, not merely a holy act, but in every respect a beatific act. The monks call it 'the turning of the Dharma-wheel,' that is to say, the revolution of the Order of the World.

The 'Sūtra of Brahmā's Net' also ordains that, in case of a death, the sacred books are to be read, in the presence of the corpse, each seventh day up

to seven times seven, in order that the sleeper's soul may be advanced to the dignity of a *bodhi-sattva*. It is one of the chief duties of the monks to carry out this ordinance among the laity, and it is, indeed, performed in a very solemn way. The principal book on these occasions is the 'Sūtra of Amitābha,' or the Buddha representing the sun in the west, behind which lies paradise. The recitation of this is accompanied by a thousandfold recitation of that Buddha's blessed name. In this wise Buddhism contributes much in China to the ceremonial adornment of ancestor-worship.

The regular course of the Universal Order is very much helped by the artificial 'turning of the Dharma-wheel' by man. The monks, therefore, set up altars on occasions of destructive drought or excessive rainfall, and there recite their *sūtras*. And at the same time, as at every recitation of *sūtras*, the saints are invoked, sacrificial ceremonies and other rites are performed, and numerous spells are uttered. Such religious magic is nearly always performed by command of the authorities, who of course, in times of threatened failure of the harvest, are always in dread of famine. It is also performed when there is a plague of locusts; in sickness or epidemics; when there is an impending revolt or war; and on occasions of flood, or conflagration—in short, whenever danger must be averted.

Since, then, the sacred books avert all evil from mankind, and make mankind in every way not merely happy but holy, even in the highest Buddhist degree, it stands to reason that in the golden age of China's Buddhism the number of these *sūtras* increased infinitely. Learned clerics devoted themselves to the translation of them from Sanskrit and Pāli, and apparently wrote a good many themselves, thus acquitting themselves of the holy duty of increasing the ways to salvation. Pious monks undertook pilgrimages to India, in order to collect the sacred writings there and bring them to China. Some have left records of their travels, which are of very great value for our knowledge of their holy land, as well as of other countries. Among the most famous pilgrims are Fa-hien, who started his journey in A.D. 399; Sung-yün, whose travels took place between 518 and 522; I-tsing, who lived from 634 to 713; and particularly Hiuen-Tswang, who was absent from his home from 629 to 645.

We may, of course, consider Chinese Buddhist literature to date from the very moment of the introduction of the religion into China. No fewer than 2213 works are mentioned in the oldest catalogue of A.D. 518; 276 of these are in existence. In A.D. 972 the holy books were printed collectively for the first time, and since that time several *Tripitāka* editions have been made in China, Korea, and Japan. In China, owing to the general decay of monachism, probably no complete editions now exist; but, fortunately, copies of several editions have found their way into Japan. In 1586 the Japanese priest Mi-tsang began a reprint of the *Tripitāka* made at Peking under Tai-tsung of the Ming dynasty, who reigned from 1403 to 1424; it was finished after his death. In 1681 it was carefully reprinted. A few years ago an excellent and cheap edition in movable types was made by a learned society in Tokyo, which purposes to collect and reproduce everything which may throw light on the history and culture of Japan; and the same society is even preparing a supplement, containing everything else which may still be discovered in the Buddhist field. The Buddhist sacred literature of Eastern Asia, therefore, need no longer be missing in any considerable learned library of the world. The Japanese collection is in the Chinese language, which has

remained to this day the sacred language of the Buddhist Church in the Land of Sunrise.

The great 'Sūtra of Brahmā's Net' also makes it a law for all seekers of salvation to secure and further each other's welfare and holiness by pious wishes. Good wishes, on the supposition that they are made with fervent honesty, have efficacy. They are uttered at almost every ceremony and at every act of the brethren of the monastery, and give a special impress of devoutness to their life. The common daily matins, or early service in the church of the monastery, consisting principally in the recitation of a *sūtra* devoted to the Buddha of the East, Amitābha's counterpart, concludes with a comprehensive wish for the welfare of all creatures. Side by side with such wishes, the brethren continually utter an oath to the effect that they will endeavour to secure the happiness of all creatures, as well as to cultivate in their own persons the wisdom of the Buddhas. In this way they zealously minister to general progress on the way to salvation.

An important monastic method for the attainment of holiness is *dhyāna*. It consists in deep meditations—carried on for a long time—on salvation, and by this means its reality is obtained. Thought, indeed, produces this reality; it has creative force; it acts like magic. In the larger monasteries there are rooms, or a hall, specially devoted to this work of meditation, where the monks bury themselves in quiet reflexion, or in a state of somnolence. The winter months are specially devoted to this pious exercise.

Finally, there are exercises of repentance and confession of sins, which are performed every morning at the early service. Of course it is impossible for man to walk in the way of salvation with good results, unless he is continually purged from sins which lead astray. As this daily cleansing hardly suffices, the monks have introduced another, the so-called *pośadha*, which takes place at each new moon and full moon. On this and on other occasions, as they think fit, they purge themselves from their sins by recitations of a certain *sūtra* which Buddha preached to men for this purpose; and they also say litanies consisting of the names of innumerable Buddhas, and use many other rites for the same end.

These few words may suffice to sketch the aim and purpose of Buddhist monastic life. There is no doubt that it represents the highest stage of devotion and piety to which to this day man in Eastern Asia has been able to raise himself. Its principle—love and devotion for every creature endowed with life, carried up far above the level of practical use, to a height almost fantastic, if not fanatical—is the woof of 'Brahmā's Net'; the warp of this Net is compassion, disinterestedness, and altruism in various forms—virtues without which the realm of the Buddha is inaccessible. The interdiction to kill is absolute. It is the very first commandment, including also interdiction to eat flesh, fish, or insects, or to do anything whatever which might endanger a life. It is, as a consequence, even forbidden to trade in animals; or to keep cats or dogs, because these are carnivorous beasts; or to make fire without necessity, or to possess or sell any sharp instruments, or weapons, nets, or snares. 'Thou shalt not be an ambassador, because by thy agency a war might break out. Warriors or armies thou shalt not even look at. Thou shalt not bind anybody . . .' The interdiction to steal is also drawn out to its farthest consequences. It prohibits incorrect weights and measures, and arson. The commandment against untruthfulness and lying includes all cheating by word and gesture, all backbiting or calumny, even the mention of faults and sins of

the brethren in the faith. Further, the principle of universal love causes the Code of 'Brahmā's Net' to forbid slave-dealing and slave-keeping. The honour of having prohibited slavery more than fifteen hundred years ago belongs, therefore, to Buddhism. Complete forgiveness for any wrong whatsoever is required—all revenge, even for the murder of a father or mother, being forbidden.

The Buddhist code does not, of course, merely preach abstinence from crime and sin, but enforces also active cultivation of virtue—a natural consequence, indeed, of its great principle of promoting the good and salvation of every one. It ordains the rescue of creatures from imminent death always and everywhere, the giving of possessions to others without the slightest regret or avarice, especially to brethren in the faith. 'Thou shalt sell for them thy kingdom, thy children, whatever thou possessest, even the flesh of thine own body; nay, thou shalt give thy flesh to satisfy the hunger of wild beasts. All injury, insult, and calumny which falleth on others shalt thou divert upon thyself. Thou shalt hide thine own virtue and excellence, lest they eclipse those of others.' It is further ordained to nurse the sick, and to ransom slaves. It is strictly forbidden to do anything which might induce another to a sinful act, and which, as a consequence, might be an impediment on his way to salvation—such as to sell spirituous liquors or to facilitate their sale; or to commit incest, since such an act also makes another person sin.

Salvation being the alpha and the omega of 'Brahmā's Net,' the Code which bears its name abounds with rescripts on the preaching of the Doctrine and the Laws. The commandments must be learned by heart, recited constantly, printed and reprinted, published over and over again. 'Thou shalt to this end,' it proclaims, 'tear off thine own skin for paper, use thy blood for ink, thy bones for writing-pencils.' On the other hand, it is a grave sin to refuse to listen to sermons on the holy religion, or to treat carelessly any foreign preacher or apostle—they must all be hospitably received, and requested to preach three times a day; and from all sides disciples and monks must run to them to hear. Religious books must be treated with idolatrous care, and even sacrifices must be offered to them, as if they were living saints.

As we might expect, the Code of 'Brahmā's Net' does not fail to mention conventual life. It demands that convents shall be erected with parks, forests, and fields, that is to say, with grounds on the products of which the monks may live. It ordains the erection of pagodas of Buddha for the exercise of *dhyāna*, and forbids mandarins to hinder their erection, or to confiscate any of their possessions. As a matter of fact, history has many cases to record of zealots who founded monasteries, or gave of their wealth to increase their estate and income, and therewith the number of their monks. Yet, in by far the majority of cases, they have been erected and supported for the regulation of the climate, or, as the Chinese themselves say, for *fung-shui* purposes. From the 4th cent. A.D. we find mention of the erection of convents in mountains where dragons caused thunderstorms and tempests, floods and inundations—with the object of bridling these imaginary beasts; or where, on the contrary, monks had conjured away droughts by compelling dragons to send down their rains; and it is a fact that, to this day, people and mandarins openly confess that such institutions exist for hardly any purpose but regulation of winds (*fung*) and rainfall (*shui*), and, consequently, to secure good crops, so often endangered in treeless China by droughts.

Thus it is that convents are generally found in mountains which send down the water without which cultivation of rice and other products in the valleys is impossible; thus it is that, conversely, the people, protected in this way, support the convents with gifts, for which the monks are bound to perform their *sūtra*-readings and their religious magic for the success of agriculture. And it is on the same important considerations that mandarins, however thoroughly Confucian they are, support the convents, and lack the courage to sequester and demolish them.

The influence of a Buddhist convent on weather and rainfall is mainly due to the fact that it harbours in its central or principal part, which is the great sanctuary, church, or chapel, three large images of the *Triratna*, that is to say, of the Dharma, or Order of the Universe, the Buddha, or the Universal Light, and the Saṅgha, or assembly of Bodhisattvas, Devas, Arhats, and the whole host of saints who perform their part in the revolutions of the Universe. The place of the images of these three highest universal powers has been calculated with the utmost care by *fung-shui* professors, so that all the favourable influences of the heavens, mountains, rivers, etc., converge on them, and may be emitted by their holy bodies over the whole country around. In many cases, a pagoda is erected for the same purpose in the immediate neighbourhood of the convent, on an elevated spot commanding a wide horizon. It contains an image of Buddha, or, if possible, a genuine relic of his own body, in consequence of which it becomes a depository of Universal Light, always driving away the *māras*, or spirits of darkness and evil. Such a tower, therefore, protects and blesses the whole country bounded by its horizon, as the Buddha himself in his own person would do.

Seeing that the holy 'Sūtra of Brahmā's Net' is the very basis of the system of Buddhist religious life in the Far East,—the principal instrument of the great Buddhist art of salvation,—it certainly deserves to be called the most important of the sacred books of the East. Its importance is also paramount from the fact that it has exercised its influence for at least 1500 years, if the general statement is correct that a preface was written to it by Sang Chao, who lived in the 4th and 5th centuries of our era. A study of that influence is a study of the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism itself, as it has prevailed not only in China, but also in Indo-China, Korea, and Japan. Such a study might show that the book has been the mightiest instrument for the amelioration of customs and morals in Asia.

Certainly the career of Buddhism cannot be said to have been a very happy one. It might, on account of its noble principles of humanitarianism, have deserved a better fate. It had no enduring success in India, where it was born; Brāhmanism and Sivaism there have actually superseded, not to say destroyed, it. Nor has it met with better fortune in China. There it has never been able to supplant Confucianism, the religion of the State. On the contrary, after some centuries of considerable prosperity and growth, a strong reaction against it set in from the Confucian side, reducing the Church and its monachism in course of time to the pitiable state in which we know it at the present day. The chief reason of that spirit of antagonism and persecution was, of course, that it did not, like Confucianism, give truth pure and unalloyed. It was a heterodox religion. The greatest triumph of the opposition was in A.D. 845, when the emperor Wu Tsung decreed that the 4600 convents and the 40,000 religious buildings in the empire should be pulled down, and that the

260,000 monks and nuns should adopt secular life. Herewith the glory of the Church was gone for ever; the number of its monasteries and ascetics remained from that time at a minimum level; the State henceforth has continued to give Confucianism its full due, that is to say, it has maintained to this day the laws and rescripts shackling the Church, and has even increased their severity.

The *Ta-Ts'ing luh li*, the great Code of Laws of the empire, prohibits the erection or restoration of Buddhist convents without special Imperial authorization, and forbids any priest to have more than one disciple, or to adopt this profession before he is forty years old. The result of these laws, which have been doing their work for at least five hundred years, has been that the days of the Buddhist convents seem numbered. The hundreds of stately edifices, which, as books profusely inform us, once studded the empire, can now be found by dozens only; and even from these all but a few of the clergy have disappeared. Nuns are rare.

But the influence of the Church and its doctrines survives among the people. It gives birth to numerous lay-communities, the members of which make it their object to assist each other on the road to salvation. They are a natural fruit of the doctrine that, to obtain salvation, it is not at all necessary to retire into a monastery; for ordinary men and women it is quite sufficient to obey the five fundamental commandments against murder, theft, adultery, lying, and alcohol—this obedience being capable of raising them to the sanctity of the *devots*, or gods. Frequently we find such societies mentioned in books under denominations which evidently bear upon their principal means for reaching sanctity; but about their doctrines or rules we read very little. The first and principal commandment compels them to be strictly vegetarian; and they apply themselves to the rescuing of animals in danger of death and to other works of merit, as well as to the worship and invocation of the chief saints who lend the seekers after salvation a helping hand, namely, Śākya, Amitābha, and Maitreya, and the merciful Avalokiteśvara, or Kwan-yin. These names are continually on sectarian lips. The female element plays a part of great importance, even a predominating part, in the sects. The broad universalistic views of the Mahāyāna Church even compelled it to regard Confucianism and Taoism as parts of the Order of the World, and therefore as ways leading to salvation. Hence the Buddhist sects naturally contain elements borrowed from the religion and ethics of Confucius and Lao-tse. It is, indeed, the nature of those sects to be eclectic. They bear irrefutable evidence to the blending of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism into a single religion; the Chinese saying that these three religions are but a single one is realized by sectarianism. In the principal sects the Buddhist element predominates in every respect, their institutions being moulded upon Buddhist monasticism. They possess everything pertaining to a complete religious system: founders and prophets, a hierarchy and a pantheon, commandments and moral philosophy, initiation and consecration, religious ritual, meeting-places or chapels with altars, religious festivals, sacred books and writings, even theology, a paradise, and a hell—borrowed principally from Mahāyānist Buddhism, and partially from old Chinese Taoist and Confucian Universalism. It is through these associations that piety and virtue, created by hopes of reward, or by fears of punishment hereafter, are fostered among the people, who, but for the sects, would live in utter ignorance about such matters; indeed, Confucius and his school have written or said nothing of importance on these

subjects, and the Taoist aspirations after virtue and religion have evidently died. The sects thus fill a great blank in the people's religious life. They are accommodated to the religious feelings of the humble, and, by satisfying their cravings for salvation, are able to hold their own, in spite of bloody oppression and persecution by the Government. Spiritual religion exists in China principally within the circle of Buddhism; and through the sects Buddhism meets the human need of such an inward religious life.

To divert the dangers of State persecution, it is for sects a matter of the highest importance to keep their existence secret; they are, in fact, 'secret societies,' branded as dangerous to morality, to the State, and to the people. History proves that they have often fostered agitation, sedition, and even rebellions, and civil wars which have raged for years. Such events may have to be considered as outbursts of suppressed exasperation, provoked by centuries of cruel oppression. For the suppression of the sects the State has enacted a series of laws in the *Ta-Ts'ing luh li*.

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CHINA (Islam in).—See ISLAM (in China).

CHINA (Jews in).—The existence of Hebrews in China undoubtedly dates back a considerable period. By many authorities (*e.g.* Gesenius, *Thes.* 948 ff.; Delitzsch and Cheyne in their *Comm.*) the reference in Is 49¹² to 'the land of Sinim' is considered to relate to the Chinese Empire; and although others (*e.g.* Cheyne, *Introd. to Is.*; Dillm.-Kittel, *Com.*; Duhn, *Com.*) question this interpretation, intercourse between Jewish merchants settled in Persia and the 'silk-men,' as the Romans called the Chinese, is undoubted. The Seres (Chinese) are frequently mentioned in Latin literature in connexion with silk: *e.g.* Ovid, *Am. i.* xiv. 6; Vergil, *Georg. ii.* 121 (the latter passage refers to the belief that silk was made from the leaves of trees). The adjective *sericus* means 'silken,' as, *e.g.*, in Propertius, IV. viii. 23; and the neuter *sericum* is used by later writers (Amianus, Isidorus, the Vulgate) as a substantive='silk.' With regard to the exact date of a permanent Hebrew settlement in China there is considerable doubt. From the inscription still preserved at Kai-Fung-Fu it appears that the colony settled in that city during the Han dynasty, which lasted from 206 B.C. until A.D. 221. It is also stated more definitely that the settlement took place under the Emperor Ming-ti of this dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 58 to 76. The year 69 was that of the fall of Jerusalem, a calamity that led to a still wider dispersion of the Jews, and it is quite possible that one of the remotest effects of the Roman victory was the establishment of a Jewish colony within the limits of the Chinese Empire. A Jewish traveller, Sulaiman, of the 9th cent., claims that the settlement was made in the year A.D. 65 (see Ibn Khordābeh,

The Book of Ways). The severe Babylonian persecutions of a generation earlier, that led to the massacre of at least 50,000 Jews, have also been pointed to as a possible cause of the immigration, and similar occurrences in Persia in the middle of the 3rd cent. have been quoted for the same reason. The undoubted traces of Persian influence in the ritual of the Chinese Jews prove conclusively some connexion with Persia, and it is possible that the 3rd cent. may have seen an immigration, though not necessarily the first, of Jews into China. In Renaudot's translation of *Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan Travellers who went there in the Ninth Century*, it is stated that at that date Jews had been settled in China from time immemorial. The other extreme is adopted by a Chinese authority (*JE*, art. 'China'), who states that seventy families landed in Honan in A.D. 950 and were settled by the Government at Peñ-lang (afterwards Kai-Fung-Fu). If the view be adopted that the Jewish colonies in China were not all established at the same time, but by different batches of immigrants, none of these varying dates need be discarded without examination. In some quarters the view is held that the settlements were in reality anterior to any of the dates already mentioned, and that the Hebrew sect do not derive their origin from Jewish settlers either previous or subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, but to their kinsmen the Israelites who set out on their wanderings some centuries earlier. In short, China, no less than every other province of the world, has been pointed to as the hiding-place of the Lost Ten Tribes. In support of this view, however, little or no evidence is produced. One piece of evidence that supports the great antiquity of the settlements is the name *Tiao-Kiu Kiaou* or 'Pluckers-out of the Sineu' (cf. Gn 32³), which is applied to the settlers by their Chinese neighbours. If the colonists had arrived much later than the 1st cent., it is certain that other customs adopted in obedience to Rabbinical precept would have attracted more attention from the natives than that of plucking out the sineu that shrank. Certain peculiarities in the synagogue ritual also support the theory of a very early settlement.

The suggested sources of the immigration are almost as numerous as the periods during which it is said to have taken place. In the Kai-Fung-Fu inscription of 1489 it is stated that the religion practised in the synagogue came from Tien-Chou (India?), and further that the seventy families who arrived in the 10th cent. came from 'Western Lands.' This immigration is believed by Edouard Chavannes (*Revue de Synthèse historique*, Dec. 1900 [cf. *Bibliotheca Sinica*², 591]) to have come by sea from India, from the Jewish colonies that were already in existence there. In the 14th cent., Ibn Batūta, an Arabic writer, in his account of Al-Khansa (Hang-chou or Canfu) refers to the numbers of Jews settled there for commercial purposes. At that period Peñ-lang was also an important city, and, the ordinary trade routes running through Persia and Khorasan, it is suggested that the Jews came by those roads as ordinary merchants. Still another supposition is that these Jews, or a section of them, formed a portion of Alexander's army. The introduction of silk into China has also been attributed to these newcomers.

But little is known of the history of the sect during the Middle Ages. In the 8th cent. the Emperor appointed an officer to look after the affairs of the colony. The two Muhammadan travellers to whom allusion has already been made state that in the 9th cent. the sect was very numerous and influential, and that of the 100,000 or

120,000 alien victims of the Bai-chu revolts, a large proportion consisted of Jews. Other causes also tended to reduce the Jewish population at that time, for many 'for the sake of riches and preferment have abjured their own religion.' A passing reference to Jewish prosperity and influence in China is found in Marco Polo's account of his travels (Murray's tr. p. 99). Occasional mention of the colony is also found in Chinese annals. Under the year 1329 they appear in connexion with legislation for the taxation of dissenters. Twenty-five years later, rich Jews and Muhammadans were invited to assist in suppressing the several insurrections that were then raging.

Although Jewish colonists are known to have settled in several districts of China—in Canton, Ningpo, Nan-King, Peking, etc., it is only regarding the settlement in Kai-Fung-Fu that we have any information. The city itself has undergone many vicissitudes since its first establishment. In its earliest days it was the capital of a petty kingdom, and later it became annexed to other districts. In the course of its career it has borne many names. It first obtained its present designation in the 3rd cent. of the present era, but changed it after an interval for that of Peñchow, only to resume its former appellation after a short period. The city was then known in succession as Leang-Chow, Nang-kin, and Peñ-lang. Finally, it resumed the ancient designation of Kai-Fung-Fu. The period of the city's greatest prosperity was the 12th century. It then measured six leagues in circumference, and had a population of more than a million families. Its palaces and gardens were famous, and the approaches to the city renowned. Its vicissitudes have included fifteen inundations, six extensive fires, and eleven sieges.

The early settlement.—The early history of the Jewish community in Kai-Fung-Fu can best be learned from the following abstracts of the translations of inscriptions on stone tablets found in the city and dated respectively 1489, 1512, and 1663. From the first we learn that

'Seventy families, viz. Li, Yen, Kao, Chao, and others, came to the Court of Song, bringing as tribute cloth of cotton from Western lands. The Emperor said, "You have come to China. Keep and follow the customs of your forefathers, and settle at Peñ-lang (Kai-Fung-Fu)."

In the first year of Long-hing of the Song dynasty (1163), when Lie-wei (Levi) was the Ouseta (Rabbi), Yentula erected the synagogue. Under the Yuen dynasty, in the sixteenth year of the Che-Yuen cycle (1279), the temple structures were rebuilt. The dimensions on each side were thirty-five *ichang* (about 850 feet).

The Emperor Tai-tsou, who founded the Ming dynasty, granted in 1390 land to all who submitted to his authority, on which they could dwell peacefully and profess their religion without molestation. The Jews had ministers of religion, who were called *Mu-la* (Mullah), to rule the synagogue and to watch over the religious institutions.

In the nineteenth year of Yong-lo (1421), Yen-Cheng, a physician, received from the Emperor a present of incense, and permission to repair the synagogue. Then was received the grand tablet of the Ming dynasty to be placed in the synagogue. The Emperor bestowed honours and titles upon Yen-Cheng.

In 1461 there was an overflow of the Yellow River, and the foundations alone of the synagogue were left standing. Li-Yang, having obtained the necessary permission from the provincial treasurer, rebuilt the temple and had it decorated.

Later on, the cells at the rear of the synagogue were put up, and three copies of the Holy Law were placed there. A copy of the Law had, before this, been obtained from Ning-pou; another had been presented by Chao-Ying of Ning-pou. Various dignitaries presented the table of offerings, the bronze vase, the flower vases, and the candlesticks. Other members of the community contributed the ark, the triumphal arch, the balustrades, and other furniture for Israel's temple called *I-se-lo-nie-tien*.

The second inscription furnishes little historical information additional to that already obtained. The following passage is, however, of interest:

'During the Han dynasty this religion entered China. In 1164 a synagogue was built at Peñ. In 1296 it was rebuilt. Those who practise this religion are found in other places than Peñ.'

The third inscription, after repeating the his-

torical incidents mentioned in the first, continues with a graphic account of the events that followed the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1642:

The city underwent a six months' siege by the rebel chief Li-Tse-Cheng, who eventually caused its fall by diverting the Yellow River. The loss of life was great, and the synagogue was destroyed; about 200 Jewish families were saved, and took refuge on the north side of the river. The names are recorded of those who succeeded in saving the scrolls and other sacred books which were floating on the water. These, with other sacred writings which were rescued out of the ruins of the synagogue, were placed in a large house away from the city, where, for a time, the Jews assembled for Divine service. About ten years afterwards, Chao Yng-cheng, a Jewish mandarin from the province of Chen-si, who was in command of a force of soldiers, came to Pein and did much to restore the city, the roads, and the bridges. Aided by his brother, Yng-teou, he induced his co-religionists to return to the city and to take up their old habitations close to the temple, which was rebuilt in the year 1663, in the tenth year of the reign of Choen-che. Full particulars are given of the work of reconstruction and of the part taken by the members of the seven houses. It was not possible to make up more than one complete scroll of the Law out of the parchments recovered from the waters. This task was entrusted to their religious chief. The scroll, much venerated by the faithful, was placed in the middle of the ark. Twelve other scrolls were gradually collated and put in order by members of the community, whose several names are given on the back of the stele, and the other holy writings and prayer-books were repaired and revised with every care. The commandant Chao Yng-cheng, before leaving the city, wrote an account of the vicissitudes undergone by the sacred scrolls, and his brother published a book of ten chapters on the subject. Several high mandarins, whose names are given in the stele, took a part in the work of the restoration of the synagogue, and also in the erection of the stele, which took place in the second year of Kang-hi of the Tsing dynasty (1663).

An Orphan Colony.—The discovery of the 'Orphan Colony' is entirely due to the efforts of Jesuit missionaries, and especially to those of one of a cultured and enlightened band that was sent out to Peking at the end of the 16th century. These Jesuits were so well received in Peking that some of them were raised to the rank of Mandarin, and several, as Presidents of the Tribunal of Mathematics, were the official advisers of the Government on matters relating to the Calendar and Astronomy. It was one of them, Father Ricci, who first, by accident, came into contact with a native Jew. One day, Ricci received a visit from a native scholar who had come to Peking to pass an examination for a Government appointment. He had heard of Ricci's religious beliefs, the worship of one God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth. He knew that he was not a Muhammadan, and the visitor therefore concluded that the stranger's religious beliefs were the same as his own. Ricci on his part was struck by the physiognomy of his visitor, differing as it did from those to which he had become accustomed in China. He took him into his oratory, where he knelt before the picture of the Holy Family with St. John and another of the Evangelists. The visitor followed his example, saying, 'We, in China, do reverence to our ancestors. This is Rebecca with her sons Jacob and Esau; but as to the other picture, why make obeisance to only four sons of Jacob? Were there not twelve?' Mutual explanations followed, and it then transpired that Father Ricci's visitor was an Israelite (so he described himself, not a Jew), and came from Kai-Fung-Fu. In that city there were ten or twelve families of Israelites, with a synagogue recently renovated in which a scroll of the Law four or five hundred years old was preserved. The visitor recognized old Hebrew characters, but was unable to read them. The knowledge was, however, by no means lost in the colony. Other visits from native Jews followed, and three years later Ricci succeeded in sending a native Christian to Kai-Fung-Fu. His report confirmed the statements of the Jewish visitors. Correspondence ensued between Ricci and the native Jewish community, in the course of which the local Rabbiship was offered to the Jesuit provided that he was willing to reside with them and to abstain from the

flesh of the swine. Ricci's successor, Julius Aleni, possessed a knowledge of Hebrew, and visited the colony himself in 1613. In Nan-King Semmedo learnt that the last five families in that city had recently joined the Muhammadans, the community nearest akin to them; and writing in 1642, he alluded to four Chinese towns in which native Jews were then living in favourable circumstances.

Almost a century elapsed before the next European visited the colony. Father Gozani in 1704 went on direct instructions received from Rome, and was favourably received and obtained valuable information. On later occasions the Papal authorities sent Gaubel and Dömenge on similar errands, and in these instances also the visits were by no means barren of results. These visits continued at frequent intervals until 1723, when the Emperor Yong-Ching expelled all missionaries from the province.

The next attempt to get into communication with the colony was made by the Anglo-Jewish community. In 1760, Haham Isaac Nieto, the ex-spiritual head of the London community of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, addressed to the Chinese colony a letter couched in sympathetic terms, and asking for information on a variety of points. No trace can be found of the receipt of any reply, although one in Hebrew and Chinese is said to have come. Nine years later, Kennicott of Oxford attempted to get into communication with the colony, but without success; and similar unsatisfactory results attended the efforts made by Tychem in 1777 and 1779. In 1815 some English Jews sent a letter which undoubtedly reached the people for whom it was intended. The messenger, however, did not await a reply, and this opportunity for a continued correspondence was lost.

Destitution and decay.—The treaty of Nan-King in 1842 and the opening of five treaty ports gave great facilities, as compared with those hitherto existing, for intercourse with China. James Finn, British Consul in Jerusalem, began to take an interest in the Jewish remnant in China, and in 1845 addressed a letter to the community. This letter was duly delivered, but by a series of accidents the reply did not reach Finn until 1870. From that reply it was ascertained that the condition of the colony had become very precarious. Destitution and religious decay were prevalent. The scrolls of the community were still intact, but none of its members could read them. Only one of them, a woman of more than seventy years, had any recollection of any of the tenets of their faith. 'Morning and night, with tears in our eyes and with offerings of incense, do we implore that our religion may again flourish.' The community was without ministers, and its temple was in ruins. The prayer of the writer and of his co-religionists was that assistance should be afforded them in the restoration of their house of prayer, and that they should be supplied with teachers who would give them instruction in the ordinances of Judaism.

This pathetic statement of the condition of affairs was confirmed by the messengers sent to Kai-Fung-Fu in 1850 and 1851 by the then Bishop of Hong-Kong:

'The expectation of a Messiah seems to have been entirely lost. . . . They had petitioned the Chinese Emperor to have pity on their poverty, and to rebuild their temple. No reply had been received from Peking; but to this feeble hope they still clung. Out of seventy family names or clans not more than seven now remained. . . . A few of them were shopkeepers in the city; others were agriculturists at some little distance from the suburbs; while a few families also lived in the temple precincts, almost destitute of raiment and shelter. According to present appearances, in the judgment of native messengers, after a few years all traces of Judaism will probably have disappeared, and this Jewish remnant will have been amalgamated with and absorbed into surrounding Muhammadanism' (*North China Herald*, Jan. 18, 1851).

The number of the community was at first esti

mated at about 200 individuals, but later visitors came to the conclusion that they far exceeded this total. The rite of circumcision was practised, 'though the tradition respecting its origin and object appears to be lost among them.' These messengers from Hong-Kong succeeded in copying the Jewish inscriptions and obtained several of the books in the possession of the community. They also brought back two members of the colony, who stayed for a few months at Shanghai.

One of the results of these successful efforts to get into communication with the colony was that the attention of the English and American Jewish communities was directed towards its existence. Efforts were made both in England and in the United States to send Jewish missionaries to the Orphan Colony, but they were in every instance foiled—by the outbreak of the Tai-Ping Rebellion, or of the American Civil War, or by the death of Benjamin II., the Jewish traveller who had been engaged by the Anglo-Jewish community to visit their secluded co-religionists.

In 1866, W. A. P. Martin, an American Presbyterian missionary, published the journal of his visit to the colony. He also found the community in a very decayed condition. The temple was represented by one solitary stone, inscriptions on which recorded the erection of the synagogue and its subsequent rebuilding. The descendants of its builders admitted with shame and grief that they had themselves demolished the walls still standing in their time. Their physical wants needed appeasing, and in order to satisfy them they had sold the timber and stone of which the edifice had been constructed.

In July 1867, the first Jewish visitor for centuries, a German, J. L. Liebermann, arrived at Kai-Fung-Fu. Other visitors followed. Their tales showed a sad agreement. Within the last few years repeated efforts have been made to save the Orphan Colony to Judaism. The leading Jewish citizens of Shanghai formed a rescue committee, and in August 1900 a native messenger was sent to Kai-Fung-Fu with a letter in Hebrew and Chinese addressed to the Jewish community there. The messenger returned to Shanghai towards the end of October, with a reply in Chinese in which the writer promised that, when the country was more settled, some members of the colony would visit Shanghai. Further correspondence ensued, and resulted ultimately in this promise being fulfilled in 1901 and 1902. The two youngest of the visitors were circumcised and received instruction in Hebrew and Judaism, the object being to send them back to their people in the capacity of teachers. In 1902 also, in response to repeated petitions, the Chinese Government granted the community new title-deeds to the land on which their temple originally stood. The original deeds were lost during the Tai-Ping Rebellion.

The Early Synagogue.—According to the accounts of the Jesuit visitors in the 18th cent., the synagogue at Kai-Fung-Fu was known as *Li-pai-se* (the weekly meeting-house), as it was for the most part opened only on the Sabbath. The worshippers removed their shoes before entering the building, and wore a blue head-dress during service, to distinguish them from the Muhammadans, who wore white. The reader of the Law covered his face with a transparent veil in imitation of Moses (Ex 34th), and wore a red silk scarf depending from the right shoulder and tied under the left. By the side of the reader stood a monitor to correct him if necessary. The prayers were chanted, and no musical instruments were used. The congregation wore no tallithim. The festivals as well as the Day of Atonement were duly observed. The Feast of *Simchath Torah* also received recognition, and, ac-

cording to the testimony of Father Domenge, the service on that day included the customary procession of scrolls of the Law. The liturgy contains services for the Fast of Ab and for Purim. The New Moon was also celebrated as a festival, a trace of pre-Talmudic tradition. The Calendar and mode in which the festivals were fixed agreed with those in use among modern Jews, as well as with those of the non-Jewish Chinese, whose system is similar to that of the Jews. Circumcision was observed, proselytism discouraged, and inter-marriage forbidden. The sacred books were used in casting lots, and homage was paid to Confucius as was also done by non-Jewish inhabitants. The name of the Deity was never pronounced, but *Etunci*—the equivalent of the Hebrew *Adonai*—was used as a substitute. These Jews refrained from the use of heathen musical instruments at their wedding ceremonies, and abstained from the flesh of swine. They did not, however, refuse to eat of the flesh of animals which have undivided hoofs. Peculiarly, this restriction was exercised by another small sect believed to be the descendants of Syrian Christians.

The following is an abstract of their Biblical story:

'Abraham was the nineteenth in descent from Adam. The patriarchs handed down the tradition forbidding the making and worshipping of images and spirits, and the holding of superstitions. Abraham pondered over problems of Nature, and arrived at the belief in the one true God, and became the founder of the religion we believe in to this day. This happened in the 1468th year of the Cheou dynasty. His belief was handed down from father to son till Moses, who, it is found, was alive in the 618th year of the Cheou dynasty. He was endowed with wisdom and virtue. He abode forty days on the summit of Mount Sinai, refraining from meat and drink, and communing with God. The fifty-three portions of the Law had their origin with him. From him the Law and tradition were handed down unto Ezra, who was likewise a patriarch. After the Creation, the doctrine was transmitted by Adam to Noah; thence unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and afterwards through the twelve patriarchs to Moses, Aaron, and Joshua. Ezra promulgated the Law, and through him the letters of the Yew-thae (Jewish) nation were made plain.'

The books of the sect consist of the Pentateuch, the Prayer-Book, and, according to the first Jesuit visitor, Maccabees, Judith, and Ben Sira in Aramaic. The Pentateuch is divided into fifty-three portions—not fifty-four, as among the modern Jews. The sect also possessed the Haphtorah, or portions of the prophets to be read on festivals and sabbaths, and the books of Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, and a portion of Chronicles. Other books in the collection are the *Keang-Chang*, or the Expositors, apparently commentaries, and the *Le-pae*, or ceremonial books. Job, Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Lamentations, and Psalms were apparently not found, although their omission from the catalogue does not assure their non-existence. The books brought to Europe were carefully examined by A. Neubauer, who came to the conclusion that the ritual was undoubtedly of Persian origin. In fact he identified it with the Persian ritual, of which, unfortunately, but very little is known. If there were any doubt concerning the origin of the Chinese Jews, the fact that all the directions for the ritual of their prayers are in Persian would dispel it. The Persian used, however, is not the old language, but that spoken since Firdausi. This evidence of language would suggest a late immigration, long after the dynasty of Han, unless the view be accepted that intercourse with Persia was continued subsequently to the original settlement in China, and that it was from Persia that the colony drew its books and possibly its instructors. Parts of the Mishna are quoted in the Prayer-Book, but nothing from the Gemara. It is also necessary to notice that vowel-points are placed very arbitrarily. The Pesach Haggadah is almost the same as that of the Yemen Jews, whose ritual

was closely allied to that of Persia. Some of the books of the sect have been brought to Europe and are in the museum of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, in the British Museum, in the Libraries of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, at Yale College, in the Lenox Library, New York, in the Vienna Library, at Paris, and in the possession of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, at Philadelphia.

The pronunciation of Hebrew by the Chinese Jews, in consequence of their surroundings, differs somewhat from that customary among modern Jews. For instance, *תורה* is pronounced *thoulaha*, *בשר* *pieleshitze*, *שמן* *shmotze*, *ויקרא* *vajekelo*, *במדר* *piemizepaul*, etc.

LITERATURE.—The literature of the subject is considerable, and appears in several languages.—A. Semmedo, *Lettres from Jesuit Missions* (1627); and *Further Reports* (1642) (*Lettres des Jésuites et curieuses*, vols. vii. and xxi.); Lee, *The Travels of Ibn Batuta* (1829); E. Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China* (London, 1733); Trigaltius, *de Christiana Expeditione apud Sinae* (1615); Duhaile, *Description de la Chine* (1735); Kennicott, *Dissertatio generalis in Biblia Hebraica* (1776); Kaegleiri, *Notitiae SS Bibliorum Judaorum in Imperio Sineset* (1805); Grosiers, *Description de la Chine* (1820); Abbé Sionnet, *Essai sur les Juifs de la Chine* (1837); A. Kingsley Glover, *Jewish Chinese Papers* (1894); H. Cordier, *Les Juifs en Chine* (1891); Jérôme Tobar, *Inscriptions juives de Kai-Fong-Fou*, Shanghai, 1900; *The Jews at Kae-Fung-Foo*, London Missionary Society's Press (1858); I. J. Benjamin II., *Acht Jahre in Asien und Afrika*, 1858; *China's Millions*, vol. xvi. No. 4; *REJ* xxxv. and xli.; *JQI* viii. x. and xiii.; Lopez, *Les Juifs en Chine*; J. Finn, *The Jews in China* (1848); and the *Orphan Colony of Jews in China* (1872); Christopher Theophilus von Murr, *Versuch einer Geschichte der Juden in Sina* (1806); *Jewish Chronicle*, 29th April 1864, 11th July 1879, 6th April 1900, 22nd July 1900, 4th Jan. 1901, 7th June 1901, 4th Aug. 1901, etc.

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CHINOOKS.—The Chinook Indians are a tribe which gives its name to an entire linguistic family, speaking a tongue sharply differentiated by grammatical peculiarities from those of the surrounding peoples. The family includes those tribes formerly dwelling on Columbia River from the Dalles to its mouth (except an insignificant strip of territory occupied by an Athapaskan tribe), and on the lower Willamette as far as the present site of Oregon City. It also occupied a part of the coast on each side of the mouth of the Columbia, from Shoalwater Bay on the north to Tillamook Head on the south. They dwelt in large wooden houses, which were occupied on communal principles by three or four families, often containing twenty or more individuals; but, as their food supply consisted chiefly of salmon and roots, they were forced to wander considerably from their villages, especially in summer. By reason of their trading habits and cupidity they may be regarded as the Phenicians of the Red Race. They made extended trips to various parts of the surrounding country for the purpose of bartering their wares, and carried raids into the territories of other peoples, making slaves of their captives, and bartering them with other tribes. The village was the chief social unit with them, and they possessed no clan system. Each village, however, possessed a headman, whose influence often extended over several communities. In physical organization they differed considerably from the other coast tribes. They were taller, with wide faces and prominent noses, the expression being frequently one of extreme craftiness, whilst the custom of artificially flattening the head by compressing the front of the occipital region was universal with them. They were divided into two linguistic groups—Lower Chinook, comprising Chinook proper and the Clatsop; and Upper Chinook, comprising all the rest of the tribe, with numerous dialectic differences. The Lower Chinook dialects are now practically extinct. Of persons of pure Chinook blood only about 300 now exist. Upper Chinook is still spoken by considerable numbers, but the fusion of blood on the Indian

reservation, where most of the so-called Chinooks now dwell, has been so great that the majority of those who speak it cannot be said to be of Chinook blood.

1. Type of religion.—The stage of religious evolution to which the beliefs of the Chinooks may be referred was that of zootheism, where no line of demarcation exists between man and beast, and all facts and phenomena of being are explained in the mythic history of zoomorphic personages who, though supernatural, can still hardly be described as gods. The original totemic nature of these beings it would be difficult to gainsay. They appear to occupy a position between the totem and the god proper—an evolutionary condition which has been the lot of many deities. Allied with these beliefs we find a shamanistic medico-religious practice, in which the various 'gods' are invoked for the assistance of the sick. Such a system is rare among N. American Indian tribes, and bears some resemblance to the systems in vogue among the tribes of N.E. Asia.

2. Cosmogony.—

'Coyote was coming. He came to Got'at. There he met a heavy surf. He was afraid that he might be drifted away, and went up to the spruce trees. He stayed there a long time. Then he took some sand, and threw it upon that surf. This shall be a prairie and no surf. The future generations shall walk on that prairie. Thus Clatsop became a prairie.'

Such is the myth which relates how Italapas, the Coyote god, created the Chinookan district. He then fixed the various tabus, especially as regarded salmon-catching. Throughout the north-west, west, and the Pacific coast of N. America generally, the coyote is regarded either as the creative agency, or as a turbulent enemy of the creator himself. In the myths of the Maidu of California, Kodayanpe, the creator, has a prolonged struggle with Coyote, who seeks to hamper him in his world-shaping work, and is finally worsted by his crafty foe. But in the myths of the Shushwap and Kutenai of British Columbia, Coyote himself is the creator, and in those of the Californian Ashochimi, Coyote appears after the Deluge, and plants in the soil the feathers of various birds, which grow into the various tribes of men (Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877, p. 200).

3. Mythological concepts.—These fall into four classes: (1) supernatural beings of a zoomorphic type, with many of the attributes of deity; (2) guardian spirits; (3) evil spirits; (4) culture-heroes.

(1) Zoomorphic beings.—This class includes such concepts as the coyote, blue-jay, robin, skunk, and panther. As has been said, there is probably no doubt that all these beings were originally totems of various Chinookan clans, although these do not appear to have possessed any special tribal names, but are simply designated as 'those dwelling at such and such a place.' The Chinooks may, however, have lost these tribal names—a common occurrence when tribes become sedentary—and yet have retained their totemistic concepts.

Italapas, the Coyote, as has been said, is one of the chief of Chinook concepts of the first class, and may be regarded as at the head of the pantheon. Nearly equal to him in importance is Blue-Jay, who figures in nearly every myth of Chinook origin. But whereas Italapas, the Coyote, assisted Ikanam, the Creator, in the making of men and taught them various arts, Blue-Jay's mission is obviously one of dispeace; and he well typifies the bird from which he takes his name, and from which he was probably derived totemically. He figures as a mischievous tale-bearer, braggart, and cunning schemer, with many points of resemblance to the Loki of Scandinavian mythology.

His origin is touched upon in a myth dealing with the journey of the Thunderer through the country of the Super-natural people, in which, with Blue-Jay's help, the Thunderer

and his son-in-law obtain possession of the bows and targets of the Supernatural folk. They engage in a shooting-match with the invaders, who win at first by using their own targets, but when the Supernatural people suspect craft, they agree to the substitution of shining Supernatural targets for their own, and lose; and, as they had staked their own persons in the match, they fall into the power of the Supernatural beings, who wreak vengeance upon Blue-Jay by metamorphosing him into the bird whose name he bears. "Blue-Jay shall be your name, and you shall sing 'Watsetsetsetsee,' and it shall be a bad omen."

There is a trilogy of myths concerning Blue-Jay and his sister Ioi. Ioi begs him to take a wife to share her labour, and Blue-Jay takes the corpse of a chief's daughter from her grave and carries her to the land of the Supernatural people, who restore her to life. The chief, her father, discovers the circumstance, and demands Blue-Jay's hair in payment for his daughter, but Blue-Jay changes himself into his bird shape and flies away—an incident which would appear to prove his frequent adoption of a human form. When he flees, his wife expires a second time. The ghosts then buy Ioi, Blue-Jay's sister, for a wife, and Blue-Jay goes in search of her. Arriving in the country of the ghosts, he finds his sister surrounded by heaps of bones, to which she alludes as her relations by marriage. The ghosts take human shape occasionally, but, upon being spoken to by Blue-Jay, become mere heaps of bones again. He takes a mischievous delight in reducing them to this condition, and in tormenting them in every possible manner, especially by mixing the various heaps of bones, so that, upon materializing, the ghosts find themselves with the wrong heads, legs, and arms. In fact, the whole myth is obviously one which recounts the 'harrowing of hell,' so common in savage and barbarian myth, and probably invented to reassure the savage as to the terrors of the next world, and to instruct him in the best methods of foiling the evil propensities of its inhabitants. We find the same atmosphere in the myth of the descent into Xibalba of Hun-Ahpu and Xbalanque in the *Popol Vuh* of the Kiche of Guatemala, in which the hero-gods outwit and ridicule the lords of hell.

Skeas-it (Robin) is Blue-Jay's elder brother, and his principal duty appears to consist in applying sententious comments to the mischievous acts of his relative. The Skunk, Panther, Raven, and Crow are similar concepts. That most of these were supposed to be anthropomorphic in shape—probably having animals' or birds' heads upon men's bodies—is proved not only by the protean facility with which they change their shapes, but by a passage in the myth of Anektxolemix, in which is mentioned 'a person who came to the fire with a very sharp beak, who began to cut meat'; and another 'person' splits logs for firewood with his beak. But such concepts are notoriously difficult of apprehension by those to whom the distorted appearance of Nature—due to an intense familiarity with and nearness to her—in the savage mind is unfamiliar.

(2) *Guardian spirits*.—The Chinooks believed that each person possesses a guardian spirit, or sometimes two or three, which are seen by him early in life. This proves conclusively that they were still in the totemic stage. The guardian spirit or totem was usually seen in a secluded spot, to which the young warrior or maiden had withdrawn for the purpose of selecting a totem.

A verified account of the manner in which a young Indian beheld his totem states that the lad's father sent him to a mountain-top to look for Utonaqan, the female guardian spirit of his ancestors. At noon, on his arrival at the mountain, he heard the howls of the totem spirit, and commenced to climb the mountain, chilled by fear as her yells grew louder. He climbed a tree, and still heard her howls, and the rustle of her body in the branches below. Then fear took possession of him, and he fled. Utonaqan pursued him. She gained upon him, howling so that his knees gave way beneath him, and he might not run. Then he bethought him of one of his guardian spirits, and left her far behind. He cast away his blanket, she reached it, and, after sniffing at it, took up the pursuit once more. Then he thought of his guardian spirit the wolf, and a new access of strength came to him. Still in great terror he looked back. She followed behind him with a wolf-like lope, her long teeth brushing the ground. Then he thought of his guardian spirit the bitch, and left her far behind. Late in the day he reached a small deep creek. He knew that Utonaqan was afraid of water, so he waded into the stream up to the armpits. She came running to the bank, and at the noise of her howling he fainted and fell asleep. Through the eyes of sleep he saw her as a human being. She said to him: 'I am she whom your family and whom the Indians call Utonaqan. You are dear to me. Look at me, Indian.' He looked, and saw that her throat and body were full of arrow-heads. After that he slept, and awoke when the sun was high in the sky. He bathed in the creek, and returned home.

(3) *Evil spirits*.—These are many and various. The most terrible appears to be the Glutton, whose appetite nothing can satiate, but who devours everything in the house, and, when the meat supply comes to an end, kills and eats the occupants. In the myth of Okulam he pursues five brothers, after eating all their meat, and devours them one by one; but the youngest escapes by the good offices of the Thunderer, Ikenuwakcom, a being of the nature of a thunder-god, whose daughter he marries.

(4) *Culture-heroes*.—Besides being reckoned as deities of a zoomorphic and sometimes anthropomorphic type, Blue-Jay, Italapas, and the others may be regarded as partaking of the nature of hero-gods, or culture-heroes. But they are not always prompted by the highest motives in their cultural activities, and are markedly egotistical and selfish, every action being dictated by a desire to prove superior in cunning to the foe vanquished. To overcome difficulties by craft is the delight of the savage, and those gods who are most skilled in such methods he honours most. In the myths relating to Blue-Jay and his sister Ioi, Blue-Jay repeatedly scores against numerous adversaries, but in the end is punished himself, and it is difficult to say whether or not the world is any the wiser or better for his efforts. But the idea of good accomplished is a purely relative one in the savage mind, and cannot be appreciated to any extent by civilized persons.

4. *Ideas of a future state*.—The Chinooks believe that after death the spirit of the deceased drinks at a large hole in the ground, after which it shrinks and passes on to the country of the ghosts, where it is fed with spirit food. After drinking of the water and partaking of the fare of spirit-land, the soul becomes the irrevocable property of the dead, and may not return. But every person is possessed of two spirits, a greater and a lesser. During sickness it is this lesser soul which is spirited away by the denizens of ghost-land. The Navahos have a similar belief. They assert that in the personal soul there is none of the vital force which animates the body, nor any of the mental power, but a species of third entity, a sort of spiritual body like the *ka* of the ancient Egyptians, which may leave its owner and become lost, much to his danger and discomfort. Among the Mexicans a similar spirit-body (*tonal*) was recognized, much the same in character, indeed, as the 'astral body' of modern spiritualism. Among them, as with the Mayas of Yucatan, it came into existence with the name, and for this reason the personal name was sacred and rarely uttered. It was regarded as part of the individuality, and through it the ego might be injured. This belief is general among the aboriginal peoples of both Americas.

In the country of the ghosts we see a striking analogy to the old classical idea of Hades. It is a place of windless, soundless, half-dusk, inhabited by shadows 'who shrink from tumult of any description, and whose entire existence is a sort of shadowy extension of earthly life. It is to be sharply distinguished from the country of the 'Supernatural people,' who lead a much more satisfying life. But there are other and still more mysterious regions in the sky, as recorded in the myth of Aqas Xenas Xena.

This myth relates how a boy who has slain his mother mounts to the celestial sphere by means of a chain fastened to the end of an arrow. He first meets the darkness, and is then accosted by the Evening Star, who asks if he has seen his game, and explains that he is hunting men. He reaches the house of the Evening Star, and finds his sons and daughter at home counting over the game-bag of the day—dead folk. The daughter is the Moon. The same thing occurs in the house of the Morning Star, whose daughter is the Sun. The sons of the one star are at war with those of the other. He marries the Moon, who bears him children who are united in the middle. He returns to earth

with his wife and progeny, whom Blue-Jay separates, and they die, returning to the Sky with their mother and becoming the 'Sun-dogs.'

In this day and night myth we recognize the widespread belief in celestial regions where man exists not after death, and which is common to nearly all American mythologies.

There is a similar myth relating to the Sun, which is kept in the hut of an old woman who dwells in the skies, from whom an adventurous hero obtains a blanket which renders him insane—a probable explanation of sunstroke.

The funerary customs of the Chinooks displayed a belief in a future existence. On the death of a person of importance his relatives attached *dentalia* (strings of teeth used as money) to the corpse, and placed it in a canoe, which was next painted, and had two holes cut in its stern. The people then went down to the beach and washed themselves and cut their hair. They also changed their names. After a year the corpse was cleaned. In the canoe the dead man was surrounded by all the paraphernalia of war; and tin cups, copper kettles, plates, pieces of cotton, red cloth and furs—in fact, all the things the Indians themselves most value, or which are most difficult to obtain—were hung round the canoe. Beside the corpse were placed paddles, weapons, food, etc., and everything necessary to a long journey. Beads and shells were placed in the mouth of the dead man, and the canoe was finally towed to an island-cemetery, and there made fast to the branches of a tree, or raised on a scaffolding of cedar boards and poles some four or five feet from the ground. The final act was to bore holes in the canoe, and to mutilate and render useless the articles which had been offered to the dead, in the hope that, although of no use to possible terrestrial thieves, they (or rather their astral counterparts) would be made perfect by supernatural beings upon the arrival of the deceased in the land of spirits.

Wilson relates (*Prehistoric Man*², ii. 209) that the son of Casenov, a Chinook chief, having died, he attempted the life of his favourite wife, who had been devoted to the youth. Casenov stated that, 'as he knew his wife had been so useful to his son, and so necessary to his happiness and comfort in this world, he wished to send her with him as his companion on his long journey.'

On the death of a shaman or priest, his *báton* was placed next to the canoe, and his rattle of bear-claws or shells hung upon its stern. When a shaman had a large family, his rattle was carried far into the woods, as was the rest of his paraphernalia—probably in case any of his children should purloin it, with a view to securing a portion of their father's magic power through its agency. On the death of a female, her robe alone was hung on the canoe. The pilfering of *dentalia* or other objects from a corpse was punished by death, and but rarely occurred. Levity at a burial was heavily fined, or in some cases was followed by the speedy death of the mocker at the hands of the relatives of the deceased. On the death of the child of a chief, he and his relatives went to the chief of a neighbouring 'town,' who gave him three slaves, a canoe, and *dentalia*; and, if these gifts were not forthcoming, a feud arose. On the death of a chief, his people invariably went to war with the chief of another town, probably for the purpose of securing sufficient plunder to perform his obsequies in a becoming manner.

5. Priesthood.—The shamans of the Chinooks were a medico-religious fraternity, the members of which worked individually, as a general rule, and sometimes in concert. Their methods were much the same as those of the medicine-men of other Indian tribes in a similar state of belief (see art. *CHEROKEES*), but were differentiated from them by various thaumaturgical practices which they made use of in their medical duties. These were usually undertaken by three shamans acting in concert for the purpose of rescuing the 'astral body' of a sick

patient from the Land of Spirits. The three shamans who undertook the search for the sick man's spiritual body threw themselves into a state of clairvoyance, in which their souls were supposed to be temporarily detached from their bodies, and then followed the spiritual track of the sick man's soul. The soul of the shaman who had a strong guardian spirit was placed first, another one last, and that of the priest who had the weakest guardian spirit in the middle. When the trail of the sick man's soul foreshadowed danger or the proximity of any supernatural evil, the soul of the foremost shaman sang a magical chant to ward it off, and, if a danger approached from behind, the shaman in the rear did likewise. The soul was usually thought to be reached about the time of the rising of the morning star. They then laid hold upon the soul of the sick person and returned with it, after a sojourn of one or perhaps two nights in the regions of the supernatural. They next replaced the soul in the body of their patient, who forthwith recovered. Should the soul of a sick person take the trail to the left, the pursuing shamans would say, 'He will die'; whereas, if it took a trail towards the right, they would say, 'We shall cure him.'

It was supposed that when the spirits of the shamans reached the well in the Land of Ghosts where the shades of the departed drink, their first care was to ascertain whether or not the soul of him they sought had drunk of these waters; as they held that, had it done so, all hope of cure was past. If they laid hold of a soul that had drunk of the water and had returned with it, it shrank, upon their proximity to the country of the Indians, so that it would not fill the sick man's body, and he died. The same superstition applied to the eating of ghostly food by the spirit. Did the sick man's soul partake of the fare of Hades, then was he doomed indeed. In this belief we have a parallel with that of the Greeks, who related that Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, the 'corn-mother,' might not repair to earth for more than a short period every year, because Pluto had given her to eat of the seed of a pomegranate. The tabu regarding the eating of the food of the dead is almost universal. We find it in the Finnish *Kalevala*, where Wäinämöinen, visiting Tuonela, the place of the dead, refuses to taste of drink; and it is to be observed in Japanese and Melanesian myth-cycles. Likewise, if the spirit enters the house of the ghosts, it cannot return to earth. These beliefs apply not only to human beings, but also to animals, and even to inanimate objects. For example, if the astral counterpart of a horse or a canoe be seen in ghost-land, unless they are rescued from thence by the shaman, they are doomed.

The shamans often worked through the clairvoyant powers of others. They possessed little carved fetiches of cedar-wood in the shape of mannikins, and these they placed in the hands of a young person who had not as yet received a guardian spirit. By virtue of these fetiches they were supposed to be rendered clairvoyant, and to be enabled to journey to the Land of Ghosts on behalf of the shaman, there to observe whatever the medicine-man wished them to. The souls of chiefs travelled to the supernatural country in a manner different from those of ordinary people. They went directly to the seashore, and only the most adept shamans professed to be able to follow their movements. At high water the sick are in imminent peril of death, but at low water they will recover. If the soul of a sick man be carried out into the ocean, however, the owner cannot recover. This would appear to prove that the sea was regarded as the highway towards the country

of the supernatural. If the shamans wished to cheat the ghosts of a soul, they created the astral form of a deer. The ghosts would then abandon the pursuit of the earthly soul for that of the animal, whilst the shaman rescued the soul threatened by them.

6. Medico-religious beliefs.—When a person fell sick, the shaman affected to withdraw the disease, and imprison it between his closed hands. It was then placed in a kettle of boiling water, and afterwards taken out in the form of a human bone, carved in the semblance of a person. The number of people it had killed was known by the number of scores on the arm of the image; for example, when it had accounted for eight persons, it had five scores or cuts on one arm and three on the other.

Should a shaman announce that any one is being harmed by the magical arts of another, the wizard is assuredly doomed. But the shamans are generally employed to send disease or misfortune upon the enemies of those who pay them. They begin operations by practising their arts upon animals and even upon trees, and, if successful in slaying or blighting these, come to regard themselves as possessing the attributes of shamans.

7. But little is known of the rites of the Chinooks in connexion with puberty, marriage, and seasonal festivities. Marriage was usually accomplished by purchase, and was accompanied by the singing of magical chants, and the payment of much *dentalia* to the bride's relatives, three-fourths of which, strangely enough, was refunded. There is no reason to think that the seasonal festivities of the Chinooks differed in any manner from those of other peoples of the North Pacific Coast. Festivities were probably regulated by the supply of food—such as stranded whales and other drift supplies. On the occasion of a whale being cast ashore, a feast was held, and songs were sung to the supernatural helper of the sea, Iketal.

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CHIRIQUI.—Chiriqui is the name of a lagoon, river, volcano, and province, the last being the westernmost province of the new Republic of Panama; the term, therefore, has no connexion whatever with 'Cherokee,' with which it is sometimes confused. The word is evidently of Indian origin, but we have been unable to trace its meaning. It appears in the works of Oviedo as *Cheriqui*, and has since suffered little change in spelling.

The discoverers of the Isthmus all testified to its relatively large Indian population. A century later (1606), the missionary, Melchor Hernandez, found as many as six distinct languages spoken on and near the shores of the Chiriqui lagoon, by ten different tribes. Since the advent of the European the reduction has gone steadily on. The tribes occupying the province of Chiriqui in recent years are the Guaymies and Dorasques. Pinart believes that the Guaymies are the descendants of the race that constructed the ancient *huacals* ('cemeteries') from which our Chiriquian antiquities come.

Among the Guaymies are found manifest traces of totemism, each tribe, family, and individual having its tutelary animal. Like American Indians in general, they believe in spirits and animism, employing magicians (*sukia*), and making offerings to appease evil spirits. The dead are carried far into the forest and placed on a scaffold. After a year has elapsed, an official goes to the place, cleans the bones, binds them in a package, and

transports them to the family sepulchre. Formerly they buried with the dead all his possessions.

The Changuina-Dorasque stock formerly occupied the greater part of the province of Chiriqui. By the middle of the 18th cent. their limits were confined to the plains of Chiriqui. In 1887 their number was reduced to thirteen or fourteen persons of pure blood, living chiefly near Bugaba, Caldera, and Dolega. As to the Dorasque tribes proper, the last member died between the years 1882 and 1887.

Beyond the observations of Pinart little has been done towards collecting data on the religion of the tribes now occupying Chiriqui. Turning to prehistoric Chiriqui as reconstituted from the wealth of archaeological material furnished by the numerous *huacals* of that region, one finds traces of an elaborate and highly interesting cult. This is best typified in the figures with mixed attributes that occur not only in plastic form as metal and clay figurines, but also as paintings on vases. Representations of this class usually combine the human body with the head of some lower animal—the alligator, jaguar, or parrot, for example. The non-human attributes are often emphasized by the addition of conventionalized animal forms or parts thereof.

Perhaps the most important divinity of the series is the alligator- or crocodile-god. The finest known painting of it represents the interior of a large shallow cup or chalice belonging to the so-called polychrome ware. The human body and extremities are easily recognizable. The head, however, is that of the alligator, characterized by the nasofrontal prominence, long jaws, the upper one being recurved, a formidable array of teeth, and a head-dress or *nuchal* crest decorated with alligator spines. The spine symbol is also repeated on the two tails. Within the field, behind the eye and leading down to the shoulders, are three *motifs* derived from the profile view of the alligator—the curve of the body accompanied by the symbol for the body-markings placed in the dorsal concavity. In the upper and lower *motifs* there is a dorsal angle instead of a dorsal curve. The same design is employed to fill in angular spaces on opposite sides of the field. Not an inch of space is left undecorated; spines and teeth are to be seen everywhere.

It is highly interesting to trace alligator symbolism not only from one ceramic group to another, but also from ceramics to the metal and stone figurines. A favourite *motif* in one group of pottery, for example, is that derived from the dorsal view of the alligator.

The profile view of a common body with an alligator head at each end occurs in another ceramic group, and is often seen also in metal figurines. In one of these this *motif* is disguised as a flattened bar both at the head and the feet of an alligator-god, and its origin would not be even suspected but for the four conventionalized alligator heads. The identity of the god himself is made certain by the bulging eyes, open mouth with teeth, and especially by the wire coil representing the upturned snout.

The use of the conventionalized alligator or alligator head as a decorative and symbolic *motif* on metal figurines does not seem to have been detected by previous writers. An alligator-god was reproduced by Bollaert, who not only did not recognize the head as being that of an alligator, but also did not see the three additional diagrammatic alligators that were woven into the setting of the central figure. A subsequent writer copied this illustration, calling it simply a 'grotesque human figure in gold from Bollaert.' It stands on the inverted body of an alligator, which in turn is

surmounted by the customary horizontal base, the points of contact being the spines on the back of the alligator, whose head is recognized by an eye, recurved snout, and open mouth with teeth. The attitude of this alligator at the feet of the god is the same as in the foregoing example. What Bollaert called 'a fan-like crown at the back' consists of two highly conventionalized inverted alligators, their coiled tails being attached to the sides of the god's head and their heads resting on his shoulders. A gold figurine in the British Museum (Cat. no. 4536), representing the alligator-god, is entered as a 'monstrous standing figure with horned head, one horn partly broken off, the other horn terminating in a serpent-like head.' These horns are in reality conventionalized alligators. Similar deities are also found in Costa Rica. In the Keith collection are two splendid alligator-gods from the Huacal de los Reyes, Rio General, near Terraba. In one of these a wire coil at the end of the nose represents the hooked snout. Instead of the oft-recurring head-dress composed of a flattened bar with attached conventionalized alligator heads, there is a framework enclosing five sigmoid scrolls, each representing a multiple alligator *motif*. The body and legs are human. At the shoulders and hips, however, are four additional extremities, as if to give greater weight to the reptilian attributes. Each of these four extremities ends in an alligator head instead of a foot.

There is a Chiriquian god with avian attributes. The specific type of these as well as the esteem in which the parrot was held, both among the Chibchas and the Chiriquians, leads the present writer to propose the name of 'parrot-god' for this deity. The body is human; the head that of a parrot. There is the customary flattened bar at the top and bottom, to which are attached parrot heads instead of alligator heads. The hands also of the deity are replaced by parrot heads.¹

Two fine examples of the parrot-god were recently acquired by Mr Minor C. Keith, and, like the two alligator-gods in the latter's collection, form part of the golden treasure of the Huacal de los Reyes, discovered about the year 1906. These two parrot-gods are similar in detail. The body and legs are human. The head and the forked wings that replace the human arms are the only avian characters. The figures are strengthened by flattened bars at the head and feet, to which and to the bars are joined conventionalized alligator heads. Each image is supplied with knee- and loin-bands.

In Chiriquian deities with human attributes it is generally the latter that predominate. That is to say, the body and extremities are usually human, and the head animal; in other words, a man with an animal mask, and with ornaments representing parts of the animal in question or of some other. The reverse is true in some figures. Here the head, breast, and arms are human, and the body and lower extremities avian. The tail being much reduced in size, the bird attributes are not evident at first glance. In order further to emphasize these, a bird foot of the parrot type is the central feature of the elaborate head-dress, and the human hands are replaced by bird feet. Two stylistic bird heads are placed at the sides of the body, and serve as supports for the elbows.

Among the Chiriquian antiquities exhibited by Captain Dow before the American Ethnological Society in the early sixties, was a gold image with attributes suggesting the foregoing. It was 'in the form of a man, holding a bird in each hand, and sustaining one on his forehead.' It should be noted that there the entire bird takes the place of the bird foot.

¹ This specimen belongs to Mr G. G. Heye of New York.

The Imperial Museum of Natural History, Vienna, possesses a small parrot deity of gold—a bird's head and wings, and a human body and lower extremities. Decorative alligator heads are attached to the calves, one on each side. A small animal is held in the beak of this deity.

Dr. Alice Mertens has recently given to the Royal Ethnographical Museum, Berlin, a valuable series of Costa Rican gold ornaments, also from the valley of Rio General. Judging from the published photographic reproductions, one of these is a double parrot-god, with two complete human bodies, each with two arms and a single wing, the latter joined to the distal shoulder in either case. One head is missing; the other is that of the parrot.

Representations of the parrot-god are confined neither to the gold figurines nor to Chiriqui. At Mercedes, near the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica, Keith found a number of stone slabs of various sizes resembling somewhat the gravestones in the colonial cemeteries of New England. Instead of being used as headstones, however, they are said to be found at the bottom of the graves. Skillfully carved out of volcanic rock, they are generally decorated with figures in relief, or in the round. Two of the smaller and simpler slabs are each adorned with a parrot-god. It stands at the centre of one end, with wings extended outwards and downwards until they touch the corners of the slabs. The entire figure is thus in the round.

Many of the celt-shaped amulets from Las Guacas, Nicoya (Costa Rica), described by Hartman as 'ornithomorphic,' are also anthropomorphic, i.e., have mixed attributes. These are in all probability representations of the same parrot-god of which such fine examples in gold have just been noted. The differences in execution are practically confined to such as are due to the nature of the medium. Even the head-dress is the same, although not so elaborate. Instead of the relatively large gold bar representing a common animal body (usually that of the alligator) with conventionalized heads at each end, there is a reduction of the whole, differing in degree, from two opposing heads brought close together to two simple projections resembling ear tufts.

Some of the gems among Chiriquian gold figurines represent a creature part human and part jaguar, presumably a jaguar-god. One such is in the Heye collection. The Keith collection of gold ornaments includes a number of jaguar-gods. In one from the Huacal de los Reyes, valley of Rio General, Costa Rica, the bars at the head and feet are each marked by a row of triangular perforations, while the four alligator heads are so highly conventionalized as to become simply curved extensions of the flattened bars. There is no differentiation of jaws, teeth, and eyes. In fact, each bar with its two curved branches is a multiple alligator *motif*—a common body with a head at each end, the triangular perforations representing alligator spines. In another figure of a jaguar-god from the valley of Rio General, it is quite evident that the head bar and its curved extensions represent a multiple alligator *motif*, each head being differentiated. The spines on the common body are placed ventrally, as in the preceding figure. The bar and alligator heads at the feet are entirely wanting in this example. A third jaguar-god in the Keith collection is from Mercedes, near the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica. The treatment is similar to that in the preceding figure, except that a rattle is held in each hand; and, instead of the horizontal bar representing a body common to the two stylistic alligator heads, the two bodies are set like horns in the head of the jaguar-god. In both figurines, however, the alligator *motif* is

alike, in that the spines and scales are located ventrally instead of dorsally. In the first of the figures referred to, the same result was arrived at by means of a row of triangular perforations. The three figures taken together furnish the key to the meaning of the bars that constitute the head- and foot-piece to so many Chiriquian gold images, this type of setting for such figurines being, in fact, one of the characteristic features of Chiriquian art. These bars are derived from, or at least merge into, animal forms—two heads and a common body. A majority of them represent the alligator, a rare exception being seen in the figure where parrot heads are employed. The bar in that case is presumably an avian body, common to the two heads which it connects.

Like the parrot-god, the jaguar-god also occurs on the monumental stone slabs as well as in the form of independent stone statues, examples of both having been found recently at Mercedes by Keith. One of these slabs is about 2 m. high by 59 cm. wide and 10 cm. thick. The front is plain. Resting on the top is a group of three jaguar-gods carved in the round. The bodies and extremities are human. While the head in each case is that of the jaguar, it is adorned with long human hair reaching down to the lumbar region. In addition, the larger, central figure wears a crown. The grouping is admirable. The chief god rests on both knees, with arms extended, as hands on the shoulders of the figures at the sides. These two smaller gods are of equal size, the one on the right reposing on the right knee, and that on the left reposing on the left knee. The group as a whole is thus bilaterally symmetrical. The two lateral margins at the back of the slab are decorated with eighteen small figures of the jaguar, nine on each side, with heads all directed towards the group of jaguar-gods. Beginning at the corners nearest the latter, these sculptured jaguar figurines are distributed at equal distances, the last ones being removed at least 30 cm. from the foot of the slab.

Equally remarkable is the great stone statue representing the jaguar-god, found also at Mercedes. It is of stocky proportions, with a height equal to that of a short man. It wears a cap or crown, cylindrical ear-plugs, and a sash carried over the left shoulder and reaching down to the left hip. The right arm is missing. In the left hand is held a human head, the long coiled hair of which is brought up over the right shoulder of the god, as if to balance the sash on the left. This statue has certain points in common with one also from Mercedes, illustrated by Hartman, except that the head and body of the latter are both human. The discovery of these fine examples in stone of the jaguar-god not only serves as a confirmation of the present writer's belief in the existence of that deity from the gold and earthenware specimens already described, but also extends the boundaries of the cult half-way across Costa Rica.

In a ceramic example of the jaguar-god, instead of the all-pervading alligator *motifs* represented in plastic form at the head and feet, alligator symbolism takes a form more appropriate to the medium, and is confined to painted designs on the body of the deity.

It is a belief common to various peoples that God created man in His own image. In making to himself therefore graven images of his god or gods, man would quite naturally give them human attributes. This rule holds good not only in Egypt, Judaea, Assyria, and India, but also in Mexico and Central America. In fact, the parallelism between these Chiriquian deities and certain gods of the Hindu pantheon is most striking. We need mention

only Ganesa, the god of prudence and policy, represented with human body and elephant head; or some of the many incarnations of Visnu, as: (1) Matsya, part fish and part man; (2) Kurma, half tortoise and half man; (3) Varaha, the head of a boar and a body of a man. There is also the Assyrian god of fecundity, with head and wings of an eagle, recalling the Chiriquian parrot-god.

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CHIVALRY (from Fr. *cheval*, 'a horse').—Chivalry, not only the military system of feudalism, but also a code of arms embracing the refinements of courtesy, was the label put on an institution which took organic shape in the 12th, reached its maturity in the 14th, and lingered in decadent life until the end of the 16th century. It incorporated a great body of usages which had vaguely begun under Roman rule, especially in Gaul, the province most notable for its cultivation of the horse. The old opinion that tournaments were an invention of the 11th century is negated by a chain of instances of martial displays going back to the evolutions of Gaulish horse in the Roman army, as finely described (A.D. 136) by Arrian (*Tac.* 43 f.). Classical proof abounds of the superiority in military rank and consideration of the horse-soldier over the foot-soldier, due in ancient times, without a doubt, to the greater expense of maintenance, which accounts for the precedence of cavalry over infantry in modern armies. But the contrast between the Roman *equus* and *miles* will not account for the mingled attributes of the mediæval knight as a social and fighting unit, though it supplies the nucleus of an explanation. As usual in the history of European evolution, the debt to Rome has been underestimated. It seems clear that the classical authors had no small part in framing and rounding off the concept of knight-hood ultimately pictured by Chaucer; for Vegetius was much quoted in the Middle Ages, and it is significant that Jean de Meung, who finished the *Roman de la Rose*, should in 1284 have made the first translation of Vegetius, giving to the *de Re Militari* a new currency and dominion over knightly education in the guise of *Les Etablissements de Chevalerie*. Not a few applications of the work to feudal society were due to subtle misunderstandings of terms, such especially as those whereby the *miles* of antiquity became the *chevalier* of the Middle Ages, the *tiro* passed for the equivalent of esquire and bachelor, and the ancient *oleum incendiarium* was re-adapted to the 13th cent. by its rendering as 'Greek fire.' Meung's prose was swiftly followed by the versified *Abrege des l'Ordre de Chevalerie*, which yet further extended a vernacular modernization not a little tending to make the Roman army a direct educational model for French knights.

Chivalry as a system was, above all things, feudal and tenurial. By the time of Charlemagne, the owner of 12 *manse*s, or farms, served his feudal lord with a horse and cuirass; and the class distinction was confirmed by the tenure which was the basis of feudal society. Knight service was soon the organic centre of Europe, and remained so for nearly a thousand years.

To this landed aristocracy, always select and exclusive, there came, largely through the Crusades,

an integrating motive and emotion. The rescue of Jerusalem from its Seljuk conquerors was politically the defence of the Empire against the Turk. It was at the same time a championship of Christianity against Muhammad, and a struggle to win back the grave of Christ. Under this enthusiasm of arms for religion, the earliest of the formal Orders of Knighthood were constituted. Their origins furnish a chronology of chivalry, as their varieties of type reflect the change of spirit. Hospitallers, founded about 1110, and Templars, about 1118—orders of soldier-monks—were vowed to chastity, and designed as a sort of exalted police-service on the road to Palestine, to aid and defend pilgrims, churches, churchmen, widows, and orphans against the cruelty of pagans and heretics. Their centre was in the East, and their effective period the two centuries of warfare between Western Europe and the Muslim East. In the first Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon, conqueror of Jerusalem, had in 1099 (probably in deference to direct clerical suggestion) refused to assume a crown of gold in the Holy City where, as he recalled, his Lord had been crowned with thorns. Some such zeal of faith dominated the beginning of the movement, in spite of much base alloy of motive, and was manifest for at least a century and a half. Conspicuous examples of similar martial piety were found in religious Orders such as the Teutonic Order, founded in 1197. Steadily the spirit grew more secular, and the knights devoted to the aid of the Holy Sepulchre gradually but surely failed to achieve their missions. The crusade of 1190–1192 showed that the mailed gentlemen of Europe had met their match in the East, and that neither in generosity nor in military prowess and skill was Richard Cœur de Lion the superior of Saladin. The crusade of 1202–1204 was deflected from the relief of Palestine to a barefaced and greedy conquest of Constantinople, and the foundation of a second futile Latin kingdom in the East. St. Louis, no doubt, in his purity of saintly zeal beautifully maintained the monastic ideal and the nebulous piety of the true Crusader; but geography and the economics as well as the fortunes of war were against him. With him died the hope of Europe to recover Palestine. That land, stained with the fruitless blood of Europe for two centuries, was definitely lost by 1291, and it sent back the Hospitallers and Templars not a little corrupted by the East. Proposals for reunion of all the Orders came to nothing, though ecclesiastical propagandists, like Pierre Dubois, clamoured for reform, and pointed to their misapplied wealth as fit for better ways of use for the recovery of the sacred city. All such schemes, and all future enterprises, thenceforward frankly secular designs of conquest, proved abortive; the Crusades were ended, and their admirers have entirely failed to convince their critics that they were of any real advantage whatever, either to Europe or to Palestine. The outeries of Pierre Dubois had other sequel than a fresh crusade; and the high-handed suppression of the Templars in 1307–1314 may be said to terminate the semi-monastic phase of chivalry.

A new element had been introduced into knighthood by the place accorded to humanity in league with valour—the interpenetration of Christianity into the practice of arms, so as to reduce the barbarity of war. Ruthless pillage and wanton bloodshed were widely prevalent, in spite of the unavailing 'Truce of God.' St. Louis implored his nobility, in their strife, to let the burden of it fall less appallingly on the poor. The obligation of the knight not to make war unjustly was a step forward in theory. Ransom was at least in part a dictate of mercy, although the fellowship of an

aristocratic caste doubtless favoured a practice which had substantial inducements of gain. Literature from the 12th cent. at once reflected and was reflected by the chivalric spirit. A vast body of *chansons de geste*, with cycles of kings, of rebellious barons, of courteous knights, of martyr soldiers and saintly nobles—above all, of adventurous tournament and chivalrous love—supplied minstrel and troubadour with endless themes of romance, in which the legend of Alexander and the tale of Troy lent their conceptions of nobility to embroider the imagined memories of the court of Charlemagne. France, the centre of this literature of war and combat, was the source also of its accompanying literature of courtesy, which originated in Provence late in the 12th century. Some licence towards the fair sex, inseparable from the life of the period, ought hardly to be reckoned a consequence of the institutional organization, although youthful folly, no doubt, often attends athletic virility. The morals of an age cannot fairly be ascribed to any single institution, and the evidence favours the view that the sexual and other standards of the Middle Ages distinctly rose under chivalry. Heraldry, a direct product and characteristic token of chivalry, grew rapidly in the 12th cent. into a system which became virtually a perfected science long before the 13th cent. was closed.

While many authors reckon the 14th cent. as the epoch of decadence of chivalry, there is at least equal reason to regard that period as its golden age. Certainly that century saw its functions in their highest splendour. Orders of the foremost rank were founded, and included, in Spain, that of the Bend; in England, that of the Garter; and in France, that of the Star—all centred in the Court, and all alike manifesting the more secular spirit of the newer chivalry, in which the religious element had perceptibly fallen to a secondary place, and valour had taken on showy graces, displayed in gallantry, pageant, and courtliness. Heraldry, now in its heyday of elaborate symbolism, was an exclusive badge of military aristocracy. Adventure and romance were fostered by minstrelsy and literature. That the valour remained incorrupt was shown on such fields as Crécy, Poitiers, and Otterburn—such episodes as the *Combat des Trente*—and in the defeats as well as the victories of du Guesclin; it even shone in the midst of such disasters as the new crusade against the Turk in Europe, which ended in the battle of Nicopolis, fought in 1396, on the same day as the Clan combat of Perth. The virtues of chivalry were those of the warlike calling. Its great law of the duel was a combination of superstition, force, and pageant. Its failure to check the tendency to cruelty (manifest enough in the pitiful record of many a duel) was shown in the persons of some of the noblest exemplars of the cult., e.g. in Richard I. and Edward I., Edward III., the Black Prince, and Henry v. In war and its mimicry it is hopeless to expect the graces of peace. Courts of chivalry, with duels as their central law, although kings and queens presided, were cruel at heart. Yet the fine ideal, 'the bird in the bosom,' was continually evident in such lives as those of Bruce and du Guesclin; and even late in the decadence, Francis I. might well be proud to take knighthood from the sword of Bayard. No nobler rendering of the high thought in the soul of chivalry is to be found than in *Gawain and the Green Knight* (c. 1360), which, telling in fable of the moral grace as well as of the courtly dignity of the Round Table of Edward III., makes its brave hero—to whom falsehood was as impossible as fear—not only scrupulously pure, but triumphantly courteous, even in the resistance of a

temptress. That this was not all feigning, we can gather from Chancer's Knight. In many battle-fields he had gained sovereign renown, but it is on his quiet virtues that the poet lays the stress:

'And though that he were worthy, he was **wye**,
And of his port as meek as is a mayde.
He never yet no vileinye ne sayde
In al his lyf, un-to no maner wight.
He was a verray barfit gentil knyght.'

(*Prolog.* 68-72).

While the 15th cent. still brought laurels and new Orders of great celebrity, like the Toison d'Or of Burgundy, founded in 1430, they were fading glories. Embittered feeling, induced by long wars in civil strife in Britain and France, Italy and Spain, blunted the chivalric sense. Chivalry failed the more quickly because aristocratic pride had grown self-conscious of its loss of power. The day of the armoured horse was over: war was becoming a science of mechanism, drill, and numbers; gunpowder was democratic; mercenary footmen with firearms supplanted the mounted levy of old feudalism. Chivalry, which had grown up in tenure, had learned its power and practised its art in European conquest, had experienced a renaissance in Crusading piety, and had drawn to its close in a spell of courtly splendour of pageantry and tilt, was to survive all those phases in its persistence as a badge of family and degree. Its system of heraldry has become a universal emblem of birth. Its primitive cult of physical vigour and bravery faded into a convention; its label of rank it long held on the Continent, and still holds in Britain; but its abiding merit was its power to transmit into the vague standard of 'the honour of a gentleman' a tradition of personal ethic which, with many follies, yet has long made *noblesse oblige* a living maxim of the common day. Besides, it is a memory which still stirs the heart like the sound of a trumpet.

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GEORGE NEILSON.

CHOCTAWS.—The Choctaws are an important division of the Muskogean family, formerly occupying Middle and South Mississippi from the Tombigbee River to the borders of Dallas county, Georgia. They are ethnically allied to the Chickasaws and Humas, whose dialects are almost identical with theirs. The majority of the Choctaws began to migrate to Indian Territory in 1832, having ceded most of their lands to the United States. They engaged in agriculture more than any other tribe in the south of N. America, and, although a courageous people, waged war only in self-defence. They practised artificial 'flattening'—a circumstance from which their name is derived (Spanish *chato* = 'flat' or 'flattened'). In 1904 their numbers were estimated at 17,805, exclusive of negro and other elements. These are all under the care of the U.S. Government Agency in Indian Territory, but there are still a few in Mississippi and Louisiana. In later times they were subdivided into three bodies—Oklafalaya, 'long people'; Ahepatokla, 'potato-eating people'; and Oklahannali, 'six towns,' from their topographical situation.

1. Type of religion.—The Choctaw religion is

almost exceptional among the N. American Indian religions in that it appears to consist of an admixture of Animism and sun-worship; or, more correctly speaking, the two systems may be observed side by side among this and allied peoples of the Muskogean stock. They allude to a Supreme Being whom they designate *Yuba Park*, 'Our Father Above'; but whether this conception arose from contact with missionaries or is genuinely aboriginal, it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty. The term may be collective, like the Hebrew *Elohim* or the Latin *Superi*, and may include all the powers of the air. Cogolludo (*Hist. de Yucathan*, Madrid, 1701, lib. iv. cap. vii.), speaking of the Mayas, says: 'Ku does not signify any particular god, yet their prayers are sometimes addressed to Kue' (the vocative of Ku). It is perhaps more likely that the term is evolved from the expression for sky, as are *Deus*, the Nottoway *Qui-oki*, the Iroquois *Garonhia*, and the ancient Powhatan *Oki*. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that the cognate Creek expression signifies 'He who lives in the sky.' As is generally the case among N. American Indian tribes, the Choctaws confound the sun with fire; at least they refer to fire as *Shahli miko*, 'the greater chief,' and speak of it as *Hashe ittiapa*, 'He who accompanies the sun and the sun him.' On going to war they call for assistance from both sun and fire. But, except as fire, they do not address the sun, nor does he stand in any relation to their religious thought other than as fire—that is, he is not personified, as, for example, among the Peruvians, or worshipped as the supreme symbol of fire. In American religions, generally speaking, what appears on the surface to be sun-worship pure and simple usually resolves itself, upon closer examination, into the worship of light and fire. Indeed, the cognate Natchez word for 'sun' is derived from that for 'fire,' and the sun is referred to as 'the great fire.' The expression 'sun-worship' must, then, be understood to imply an adoration of all fire, symbolized by the sun.

2. Probable origin of Choctaw sun-worship.—The Muskogean tribes in general, according to tradition, were originally banded in one common confederacy, and unanimously located their earliest ancestry near an artificial eminence in the Valley of the Big Black River in the Natchez country, whence they believed they had emerged. Gregg states (*Commerce of the Prairies*, ii. 235) that they described this to him and another traveller, and calls it 'an elevation of earth, about half a mile square, and fifteen or twenty feet high. From its north-east corner a wall of equal height extends for nearly half a mile to the high land' (Heart, *Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.* iii. 216). This eminence they designated *Nunne Chaha*, or *Nunne Hamgeh*, the 'High Hill,' or the 'Bending Hill,' known to the Muskogees as *Rone em mekko*, or 'King of Mountains.' This looks as if the Choctaws had alluded to some of those immense artificial mounds so common in the Mississippi Valley. It is a well-known fact that, when De Soto passed through the Gulf State country in 1540-41, the tribes inhabiting it—Creeks, Choctaws, etc.—were still using, and probably constructing, mounds; and from this it is inferred that they and no others were the famous 'Mound-builders' of American archaeology—a theory now adopted by the officials of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology and the majority of modern Americanists. Wilson, writing in 1875, considerably before the modern theory as to the origin of the 'Mound-builders' gained general credence, states that—

'analogies to these structures have been traced in the works of Indian tribes formerly in occupation of Carolina and Georgia. They were accustomed to erect a circular terrace or platform

on which their council-house stood. In front of this a quadrangular area was enclosed with earthen embankments, within which public games were played and captives tortured. . . . Upon the circular platform it is also affirmed that the sacred fire was maintained by the Creek Indians as part of their most cherished rites as worshippers of the sun' (*Prehistoric Man*, London, 1876, i, 276). He proceeds to say that, although the evidence does not seem very clear, analogies point 'to the possibility of some of the Indian tribes having perpetuated on a greatly inferior scale some maimed rites borrowed from their civilized precursors.'

Several proved analogies between the worship of the 'Mound-builders' and the Indians exist: for example, the discovery of unmistakable evidence that one of the sacred altars of 'Mound City' was specially devoted to nicotian rites and offerings. The discarded stones, also, found in the mound country are the same as those used by the Muskhogean people in the game of *chunky*, which has probably a solar significance.

3. *Cosmogony*.—Like the other Muskhogean tribes, the Choctaws believed that before the Creation a great body of water alone was visible. Two pigeons flew to and fro over its waves, and at last espied a blade of grass rising above the surface. Dry land gradually followed, and the islands and mainland took their present shapes. In the centre of the hill *Nunne Chaha*, already mentioned, was a cave, the house of the Master of Breath. There he took the clay around him, and from it fashioned the first men; and, as at that period the waters covered the earth, he raised a great wall to dry them on. When the soft mud had hardened into flesh and bone, he directed the waters to their present places, and gave the dry land to the men he had made. The fact that the Choctaws were divided into eight clans has been cited by Brinton (*Myths of the New World*, 1896, p. 101) in confirmation of the view that the myth of their origin must have been akin to those American legends which give to the majority of the Indian tribes a descent from four or eight brothers who emanated from a cave. Such a myth was in vogue among the Tupi-Guarani of Brazil, the Muyscas of Bogota, the Nahuas of Mexico, and many other tribes. They appear to have possessed an ancient tradition that the present world will be consumed by a general conflagration (cf. AGES OF THE WORLD [Prim. and Amer.]), after which it will be made a much more pleasant place than it now is, and that then the spirits of the dead will return to the bones in the bone-mound, become covered with flesh, and once more occupy their ancient territory.

4. *Idea of a future state*.—The Choctaws believe that after death those 'who have behaved well' are taken under the care of *Esaugetuh Emissee* ('Master of Breath') and well looked after; that those who have behaved ill are left 'to shift for themselves'; and that there is no further punishment. They also believe that when they die the spirit flies westward 'as the sun goes,' and there joins its family and friends 'who went before it.' They do not believe in a place of punishment, or in any infernal power.

5. *Mythological conceptions*.—Besides the sun as the god of fire *par excellence*, we have seen that the Choctaws conceived *Esaugetuh Emissee*, or the 'Master of Breath,' as the creative agency, at least where man was concerned, so that he may have acted as a demiurge. This deity has many counterparts in American mythologies, and appears to be the personification of the wind, the name being onomatopoeic. The deification of the wind as soul or breath is common to many mythologies.¹

In Dakota *mija* is literally 'breath,' figuratively 'life'; in Yakama *wkri-sha* = 'there is wind,'

¹ Cf. Heb. *ruah* = 'breath,' 'soul,' 'wind,' and Marti's suggestion that Arab. *harwah*, 'to blow or breathe,' is connected with Heb. *Jahweh* (*Gesch. der isrl. Rel.*, 1897, § 17); also cf. 'ghost' and 'gust,' and 'spiritual' from *spirare*, 'to blow or breathe' (see, further, art. *BRATE*).

wkri-shwit = 'life.' With the Mexican Aztecs *ehcatl* signified both 'air or life' and 'the soul,' and was supposed to have been born of the breath of Tezcatlipoca, their chief deity, who is often alluded to as *Yoalli ehcatl* ('Wind of Night').

We seem to see a totemic significance in the fact that the alligator was worshipped, or at least venerated, by the coast and river tribes of the Muskhogean, and never by any chance destroyed by them. The myth of the horned serpent was also in vogue among them, and was practically identical with that told by the Cherokees to Lieut. Timberlake (see *CHEROKEES*); and the charm which they presented to their young men when they set out on the war-path was composed of the bones of the panther and the horn of the fabulous horned snake.

According to a legend, this snake dwelt in the waters. The old people went to the shore, and sang sacred songs to it. It rose a little out of the water. The magic chant was repeated, and it then showed its horns. They cut off the horns, and, when occasion necessitated, placed a fragment of them in their 'war-physis,' to ward off the arrows of enemies.

Petishism, or medico-religious plant-worship, can be traced from the fact that the Muskhogean possessed no fewer than seven sacred plants, the chief of which were the *cassine yupon* (*Ilex vomitoria*) and the blue flag (*Iris versicolor*). The former is a powerful diuretic and mild emetic, and grows only near the sea. The latter is an active emeto-cathartic, and from it was prepared the celebrated 'black drink' with which they opened their councils.

6. *Priesthood*.—The priests of the Choctaws, as is usual among Indian tribes, were medicine-men and diviners. The office of high priest, or 'Great Beloved Man,' as he was called, was kept in one family, passing from father to eldest son. The junior priests are described as dressed in white robes, and carrying on their head or arm a great owl-skin stuffed very ingeniously as a symbol of wisdom and divination. They were distinguished from the rest of the tribe by their taciturnity, grave and solemn countenance, and dignified carriage, and went about the settlements singing to themselves in a low, almost inaudible voice. They possessed an esoteric language, which examination by competent scholars has proved to be merely a modification of the ordinary speech. It contains some words unknown in the idiom of daily life, which may be regarded as archaisms, or as borrowed from other peoples, along with the ceremonies or myths to which they have reference.

7. *Festivals*.—The principal festival was that of the *Busk* (*puskita* = 'fasting'), which wiped out the memory of all crimes except murder, and reconciled the criminal to his clan. It is sometimes called the Green-corn Dance, and is fully described in art. *CHEROKEES*. It was in reality a festival of the four winds, when the new fire was lighted and the green corn served up, and all the invocations and ritualistic practices connected with it were ruled by the application of the number four and its multiples in every imaginable relation. It was also a time of solemn probation for the youth of the tribe, who had to undergo severe fasting, and in some cases even torture of a revolting description, in order to prove themselves worthy of manhood. These fasts and trials were all arranged in fourfold order.

This application of the number four, of course, had reference to the cardinal points from which the rain-bringing winds blew, to which the feast was dedicated. The Muskhogean peoples believed that from the four corners of the earth came four men who brought them the sacred fire from the four cardinal points, and indicated to them the seven sacred plants. These were called the *Hi-you-yul-gee*. Having thus endowed the people,

these four men disappeared in a cloud, returning whence they came. Another and more ancient legend describes how the Indians were originally divided into four clans, and in the ancestors of these the four friendly spirits are easily discovered.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited in the article, see esp. A. S. Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, Philadelphia, 1884; J. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, New York, 1844; B. Hawkins, *Sketch of the Creek Country*, Savannah, 1848. LEWIS SPENCE.

CHOICE.—See DESIRE, FREE-WILL, WILL.

CHORTEN.—*Chorten* is the Tibetan name for the solid funeral monuments erected over the relics of Buddha and his saints, or as a cenotaph, or to mark a sacred Buddhist spot. It literally means 'a receptacle for offerings or sacrificial worship' (Tib. *mCh'od*, 'offerings' or 'worship,' and *rtan*, 'a holder'). Thus the name is practically synonymous with the Skr. *dhātu-garbha*, or 'relic-holder,' a term which, corrupted into *dāgaba* and latterly *pagoda*, became transferred apparently from the original relic-casket so as to denote the monuments in question. The exact literal Tibetan equivalent, however, of *dhātu-garbha* is *mDun-rtan*. In Tibet, *chorten* is used to designate both forms of the Buddhist funeral monument, namely the *chaitya* (or *c'aitya*) and the *stūpa* or 'tope.' For it is applied equally to the relic-holding towers within the assembly-halls of monasteries and to the numerous votive *chaityas* so universally met with in temples and on domestic altars, as well as to the huge tumuli and massive masonry towers erected in the open air.

The Tibetan form of these structures closely resembles the conventional form which they had assumed in Indian Buddhism about the eighth cent. A.D., when Buddhist monachism was first introduced into Tibet. It exhibits the same elongated pyramidal contour as its Indian prototype of that period, with the same five constituent members or sections, which are now held to symbolize 'the five elements' of the ancients, into which a human body is supposed to be resolved after death. These, from below upwards, are as follows: the square plinth at the base symbolizes the *earth* from which rises a dome, the *garbha*, the true relic-holder, and the only portion present in the original primitive *chaityas*, in the form of three-fourths of a globe, representing *water*; on this is superimposed a cone-like spire (*chūdāmanī*) representing *fire*; this is surmounted by an inverted arc, 'the inverted vault of the sky,' like a crescent moon to represent *air*; and, as a finial, there rises an acuminate circle, 'the tapering into space,' said to represent *ether*.

It differs from its mediæval Indian prototype mainly in having its second member, the dome or cupola (*garbha*), in the form of an erect bowl rather than an inverted one. Like the Indian variety, its three lower members are stepped, the plinth and dome being each subdivided into five steps; and the cone, which is separated from the convexity of the dome by a square block or neck (said to represent a relic-box), is divided into thirteen disks or 'umbrellas,' symbolizing the thirteen heavens of the later Indian Buddhist mythology, from the topmost of which is sometimes suspended a fringed umbrella.

This spire is surmounted by a vase or bell-shaped structure, usually of gilded copper, the top of which forms a tapering pinnacle, sometimes modelled after a small *chaitya*, but often moulded in the form of one or two or all of the following objects: a lotus bud, a crescent moon, a globular sun, a triple canopy; and above all these a terminal rises, a tongue-shaped spike, the 'ether,' also regarded as representing the sacred light (*gyoti*) which emanated from Buddha.

Large gilded *chortens* have been erected over the mortal remains of the historical Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashilhumpo, with the exception of those 'incarnations' which have been officially declared to be 'false,' and they are favourite objects of pilgrimage.

All the larger *chortens* are popular objects of worship by circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*), and several, either as relic-holders or cenotaphs, are to be found in the immediate vicinity of every Buddhist temple in Tibet. One of the largest and most celebrated is at Gyantse in Western Tibet; but none is so vast as the great *pagoda* of Rangoon (*Shwēdagōn*). They are also found as gateways at Lhasa and elsewhere, and sometimes at the extremities of the elongated cairns or dykes faced with slabs carved with the *Om Mani* formula, the so-called *Man(i)-dong*.

Miniature *chortens* or *chaityas*, in the shape of cones or medallions of moulded clay or dough, with or without the addition of relics of holy lamas, are favourite votive objects for deposit in the niches of the dome of the larger *chortens*; these are called *sa-ts'ch'a* ('earth' + *chaitya*), and manifestly correspond to the *dharma-sarira* of the Indian *stūpas*, as recorded by the pious Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, in the 7th cent. A.D. Those clay medallions and cones, cast in moulds and inscribed with the 'Buddhist creed' and other sacred sentences, are consecrated by the priests and sold in large numbers by them to pilgrims, who deposit them in heaps on the larger *stūpas*, and use them also as amulets or charms.

LITERATURE.—B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, p. 30; E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, London, 1883, pp. 192-196; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 261-264 (with illustrations), 329-330, 420, also *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1905, pp. 85, 208, 280-281, 331, 342. L. A. WADDELL.

CHRISM.—See UNCTION.

CHRIST.—See JESUS CHRIST.

CHRISTADELPHIANS.—This is the self-chosen name of a sect which repudiates the name 'Christian' as being now associated with everything anti-Christian, and whose members claim to be 'Christ's brethren' by the 'obedience of faith' (He 2¹¹, Ro 16²⁶).

1. Origin.—Christadelphians do not regard themselves as 'a new sect in the ordinary sense of that phrase. They have not originated in any new inspiration or notion, nor in the strict sense do they owe their existence to a new leader.' They are simply 'the sect everywhere spoken against in the first century, newly revived; and rest their identification therewith upon the likeness of their practice to the Apostolic original.'² Their revival, nevertheless, is traceable to one man in particular, John Thomas.

John Thomas was born in London on the 12th of April 1805. Of his mother nothing is known except that she 'was a mild and amiable lady, of a religious turn.' But his father—'a high-spirited, proud, and talented man'—appears first as clerk in the East India Civil Service, then successively as Independent minister, keeper of a boarding-school, Independent minister again, clerk in the London City Gas Office, Baptist minister, etc. The son's restlessness is explicable in the light of the father's. At the age of 16, John became a member of the Independent Church in Chorley (Lancashire), of which his father just then was minister, and also began medical studies with a private surgeon. These he continued, a year or two later, 'under a general practitioner near Paddington.' Next he became a student of St. Thomas's Hospital; obtained his diploma in due course; spent a year as companion to a London physician; and practised on his own account for three years at Hackney. Then in 1832 (May) he emigrated to America—partly because his father had a desire to settle there, but mainly because he had 'no special prospects,' and 'intensely' disliked 'a priest-ridden state of society.' September found him at

¹ From pamphlet, *The sect everywhere spoken against*, p. 3.

² From pamphlet, *Who are the Christadelphians?* p. 1.

Gnostic monophysitism, despising popular 'Galilean' views of Christ.

Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xvi.) appealed to Lardner as showing that 'Galilean' was a common name for the early Christians, and he insinuated that Nero got the crimes of the followers of Judas of Galilee imputed to the Church. Gibbon's Christian editors, Guizot and Milman, resented the conjecture, as a whitewashing of villainy; and really it is quite baseless, for the evidence as to Nero's persecutions says nothing at all about 'Galileans.'

It is barely worth mentioning that John Malalas (7th cent., quoted in Hilgenfeld's ed. of *Acts*, 1899) speaks of Christians as having originally been called 'Nazarenes and Galileans.' Suidas repeats this.

Whether Jewish or Gentile in origin, the nickname lent itself well to the Emperor Julian—possibly in edicts, certainly in his writings. He could express Hellenic contempt for two great monotheistic religions by treating one as fit only for provincials of Judæa, and the other for provincials of Galilee. Harnack aptly compares the nickname 'Phrygians' given by the orthodox to the Montanists.

In *Expansion*² (l. 402), Harnack withdraws his tentative assignment of *Acta Theodoti Ancyran*, xxxi., with its hostile use of the name 'Galilean' by Roman officials, to a date earlier than Julian. It is later. But Harnack still thinks it probable that the name had really come earlier into use among the official enemies of Christianity.

4. Nicknames and blunders.—(15) 'Jesseans.' Epiphanius (xxix. 14, not 'xxix. n. 4' as printed and reprinted) probably means Essenes—confusing them with Christians.

(16) 'Ecclesiastici.' Bingham's quotations (i. i. § 8) show that we have here simply the modern 'churchman' in its two senses—catholic *versus* dissenter, or clergyman as distinguished from layman.

(17) 'Catholics' never means simply Christians, but always orthodox or church Christians.

(18) 'Atheists' may be a genuine nickname for the early Christian rebels against the Empire's idolatrous worship; cf. e.g. Euseb. *HE* iv. 15. 6.

(19) 'Gnostic' is always a term of contrast. Thus Clem. of Alexandria uses it of the superior Christian as distinguished from the uncultured believer.

(20) 'Christi.' Ps 105¹⁵ leads Euseb. (*Demonst.* i. 5) to say that the OT called God's friends 'Christs.' According to Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 34), Ebionitic heretics held that they could themselves become 'Christs' by merit or adoptive grace. But this does not give us the word as a name; still less does Ambrose (*de Obi. Valentin.* iii. 12), or Jerome on Ps 105¹⁵. Ambrose says a true Christian is like Christ; Jerome, that Christ needed no literal outward anointing.

(21) 'Chrestoi.' Often *Christos* is confused with *chrestos*, 'good' (Justin, *Apol.* i. 4; Lactant. *Inst.* iv. 7; Tertull. *Apol.* 3); but there is no evidence whatever that Christians were called 'Chrestoi.'

(22) 'Pisciculi'—a simple pleasantry in Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, ci.

(23) 'Of the dogma.' A single obscure passage is quoted (Euseb. *HE* vii. 30, § 19).¹

(24) 'Jews.' Christians, for a time, might be involved in the dislike felt to Jews. At the utmost, it is a temporary nickname.

(25) 'Tarsāk, Tarsā.' This name, which literally means 'timid,' is specifically Persian, being applied, probably in derision, to Christians as early as the 9th century *Šikand-gūmānig Vījār* (xv. 1, tr. West, *SBE* xxiv. 229), and frequently recurring later, as in the 17th century *Dābistān*, a Persian treatise on various religions and sects (tr. Shea and Troyer, Paris, 1843, ii. 305), which

¹ From Rufinus downwards it has been customary to omit the words *τῶ δόγματι* in translation, although the Berlin ed. marks no variant reading. Might we take the previous word *ἐκείνων* as non-technical? Did the Emperor Aurelian entrust the decision in question to those 'charged with superintending doctrines' in Rome and Italy?

also, like many other Persian and Arabic works, terms the Christians 'Isawi', 'followers of Jesus' (cf. Arab. *Masīhī*, 'follower of the Messiah,' the latter designation likewise occurring in Syriac).

LITERATURE.—J. Bingham, *Origines Eccl.*, Oxf. 1840, ch. 1; art. 'Faithful' in Smith-Wace's *DCA* (repeating, supplementing, and silently correcting, Bingham). For 'Christians': R. A. Lipsius, 'Ursprung des Christennamens,' in *Gratulationsprog. der theol. Fakultät Jena für Hase*, Jena, 1873, pp. 6-10; T. Zahn, *Introd. to NT* (tr. Edinb. 1909); the Comm. on *Acts*, and the Bible Dictionaries. For 'Church': F. J. A. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, Lond. 1897 [a good survey of Biblical usages is included]. For 'Ebionites,' 'Nazarenes,' 'Mnīm', the Patristic evidence is very fully given by A. Hilgenfeld, esp. in *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, Leipzig, 1884; cf. his *Judenthum u. Judenchristenthum*, Leipzig, 1886; for a recent survey, with fuller Jewish references, see G. Hoenecke, *Judenthum in den u. den Jahrh.*, Berlin, 1908. In general: A. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1904-5 [valuable additions in 2nd ed., 1908], also in *Luke the Physician*, tr., Lond. 1907, and *The Acts of the Apostles*, tr., Lond. 1909, and elsewhere.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

CHRISTIANS OF ST. JOHN.—See MAN-DEANS.

CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS.—See NESTORIANS.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.—I. The Discoverer.

—'In the year 1866, I discovered the Christ Science or divine laws of Life, Truth, and Love, and named my discovery Christian Science. God had been graciously preparing me during many years for the reception of this final revelation of the absolute divine Principle of scientific mental healing' (*Science and Health*, p. 107). So writes Mrs. Mary Baker Glover Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, and author of its text-book. Born (1821) at Bow, New Hampshire, in the United States, Mary Morse Baker, afterwards Mrs. Eddy, was the child of devout, God-fearing parents. The 'intervalles' of her father's farm of 600 acres lie along the banks of the Merrimac, in the township of Concord, now a city, where she resides. At the age of about twelve she joined the Congregationalist Church, of which she remained a faithful member for thirty years. Her insight into spiritual things was remarkable from an early age. In an autobiographical sketch she writes thus: 'From my very childhood I was impelled, by a hunger and thirst after divine things,—a desire for something higher and better than matter, and apart from it,—to seek diligently for the knowledge of God, as the one great and ever-present relief from human woe' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 47). This faith in God sustained her through many trials which came to her in after years; but, when her health failed, she found that neither her own prayers nor those of other members of her Church could heal her.

Mrs. Eddy's education was of an unusual character. Her father had been told that her brain was too large for her body, and, dreading the close application of school, he educated her chiefly at home; but she learned with great facility, and studied many deep subjects, Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Moral Science being her favourite studies. She also gained some knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In later years she was filled with the desire to alleviate the sufferings of humanity; with the hope of restoring her own health she studied medicine, the object of all her experiments being to discover the healing power. She became convinced that the healing power did not lie in the drug, and for twenty years she was trying to trace every effect to a mental cause. Eventually, to use her own words, 'I gained the scientific certainty that all causation was Mind, and every effect a mental phenomenon' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 38).

The discovery or revelation came to her in an hour of extreme need. She lay apparently at

the point of death, having sustained such severe internal injuries from a fall on the icy pavement that the doctor gave no hope of her recovery. Her friends were gathered round to see the end, when she asked for a Bible, opened it at the ninth chapter of St. Matthew, and begged to be left alone. As she read of the healing of the man who was sick of the palsy, there came to her such an overwhelming realization of the ever-presence and power of Christ to heal and save, that she felt herself instantaneously cured, rose, dressed herself, and joined her astonished friends. She did not at first fully understand how she had been healed. 'Even to the homœopathic physician who attended me, and rejoiced in my recovery, I could not then explain the *modus* of my relief. I could only assure him that the divine Spirit had wrought the miracle—a miracle which later I found to be in perfect Scientific accord with divine law' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 38). To discover the *modus operandi* of this divine healing power now became the object of Mrs. Eddy's life. For the next three years she devoted herself to prayer and meditation, and a close study of the Bible, with the result that she felt convinced she had discovered the divine Principle and law which lay behind the words and works of Jesus Christ; in other words, the Science of Divine Metaphysical Healing, or Christian Science. The truth and practical efficacy of the system she next demonstrated to the world in the healing of innumerable cases of incurable or hopeless disease; she also preached, taught, and gave lectures. But it was not till the year 1875 that she felt the time had come for the publication of the text-book *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*. This book contains a complete statement of the Science of Mind-healing, its Principle and Practice, and is the only authorized text-book on the subject.

2. The Science.—Christian Science is a clear and definite system, based on certain fundamental propositions defining the nature of God. Every deduction from beginning to end of the system is the logical outcome of these primary statements concerning the Divine nature. On p. 465 of the text-book appears the following definition of God: 'God is incorporeal, divine, supreme, infinite Mind, Spirit, Soul, Principle, Life, Truth, Love.' The essence of Mrs. Eddy's discovery is contained in this definition of God. She saw that, if God is the only Cause and Creator, as the Bible declares, then He must be the Principle of the universe; that is, the origin, source, governing power or law. And, since it is impossible to conceive of a non-intelligent cause, this Cause or Principle must be intelligence or Mind. Thus Mind is seen to be the Principle of the universe. Again, if there is but one Cause or Principle, it must be all-inclusive or infinite. Hence God must be the one infinite Principle, the one infinite Mind. Turning again to the definition of God, we see that He is further defined as Spirit, Soul, Life, Truth, Love. Thus Christian Science, while revealing the unchanging nature of Deity as Truth, as Principle, governing the universe by immutable law, yet shows Him to be no cold abstraction, but the universal, intelligent, Life-Principle or Soul, whose very nature is Love: 'God, the great I AM; the all-knowing, all-seeing, all-acting, all-wise, all-loving, and eternal Principle' (*Science and Health*, p. 587). 'The starting-point of divine Science is that God, Spirit, is All-in-all, and that there is no other might nor Mind,—that God is Love, and therefore He is divine Principle' (*ib.* p. 275). Christian Science repudiates the use of the term *person* or *personal* as applied to God, if the word is employed in a limited or anthropomorphic sense. The term is

permissible if it is used to express the Individuality of the Infinite, and in this sense only is it used in *Science and Health*.

Having thus established the definition of God, Christian Science next proceeds to deduce therefrom the nature of man and the universe, arguing thus:—If Cause is admitted to be one infinite Mind, then all that exists must be that Cause and its effects—in other words, infinite Mind and its ideas. Hence man and the universe are defined as ideas, images of God. These ideas must partake of the nature of the Mind which produces them; they must be contained in that Mind, and be wholly governed by it; hence, man and the universe must be spiritual, eternal, perfect, expressing the Divine nature. That this teaching is in accord with Scripture is established by such passages as the following: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . So God created man in his own image. . . . And God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good' (Gen 1st 27, 31); 'All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made' (Jn 1st); 'For in him we live, and move, and have our being' (Ac 17th). The substance of these texts is thus metaphysically stated on p. 468 of *Science and Health*:

'There is no life, truth, intelligence, nor substance in matter. All is infinite Mind and its infinite manifestation, for God is All-in-all. Spirit is immortal Truth; matter is mortal error. Spirit is the real and eternal; matter is the unreal and temporal. Spirit is God, and man is His image and likeness. Therefore, man is not material; he is spiritual.'

This brings us to the next point, and shows how Christian Science deals with the problems of *matter* and *evil*. Many philosophers have taught that matter is unsubstantial or unreal, and the latest discoveries of natural science seem to be tending in the same direction; but it has been left to Mrs. Eddy to deduce the unreality of matter and all evil as a necessary consequence from the premiss that God is infinite, and God is Spirit.

'The three great verities of Spirit, omnipotence, omniscience, omniscience,—Spirit possessing all power, filling all space, constituting all Science,—contradict for ever the belief that matter can be actual' (*ib.* p. 109).

'The fundamental propositions of divine metaphysics are summarised in the four following, to me, self-evident propositions. . . .

1. God is All-in-all.
 2. God is good. Good is Mind.
 3. God, Spirit, being all, nothing is matter.
 4. Life, God, omnipotent good, deny death, evil, sin, disease. —Disease, sin, evil, death, deny good, omnipotent God, Life.
- Which of the denials in proposition four is true? Both are not, cannot be, true. According to the Scripture, I find that God is true, "but every (mortal) man a liar" (*ib.* p. 113).

The above quotations show the radical position which Mrs. Eddy has taken upon the subject of matter and evil. She saw that, if God is infinite, the only Cause, *reality* must consist of God, good, and that which proceeds from Him. Hence nothing else can be *real*. The word 'real' is used in Christian Science to mean eternal, indestructible, true, the essential nature of things. Hence matter and all evil, sin, sickness, and death, being contrary to the nature of God, are classified as 'unreal'; that is, as being subject to destruction, and as having only a temporary existence as the experience of mortals. They are defined as *error*, or illusion, the result of a false sense of existence, to be destroyed by Truth, the knowledge of the perfection of all true being. Jesus speaks of evil in the following terms: 'He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it' (Jn 8th). St. Paul describes it as τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, 'the mind of the flesh,' or 'the carnal mind' which is 'enmity against God' (Ro 8th). In Christian Science this lying material sense, or sense of evil, is termed 'mortal mind.'

formed on 2nd Feb. 1881, in Williston Church, Portland, Maine, by the pastor Francis E. Clark. It was a simple and humble effort to add to the spiritual efficiency and practical service of his own young people, with no thought of the organization spreading to other churches. The constitution and pledge then adopted were substantially the same as those which are still in use by the Societies in all denominations and in all parts of the world, and they have been translated into eighty or more different languages. The weekly prayer-meeting is an essential part of the organization, and this meeting all active members promise to attend, and to take some part in, 'aside from singing, unless prevented by some reason they can conscientiously give to the Master.' This participation, however, may be a very slight one, like the repetition of a verse of Scripture, a sentence of prayer, a quotation from a religious author, or a few words of testimony. A monthly consecration meeting is held, usually during the first week of each month, at which the roll of active members is called; and each one is expected to respond to his name, or at least to send a verse of Scripture to be read when his name is called. Social meetings, literary meetings, study classes, and even athletic meetings may be, and often are, held, but they must not interfere with the regular weekly prayer-meeting.

Besides these weekly meetings, which cultivate the gift of expression, the various committees are an equally important and necessary part of the Society. They are of every possible variety, and are meant to do, in a systematic way, anything that the Church desires its young people to do. The average number of committees is five or six. All Societies, however, have the Look-out, the Prayer-meeting, and the Social committees, whose duties may be gathered from their names, though it may be added that the Look-out committee is expected to look after the spiritual interests of the Society, to secure new members, and to see to it that, so far as possible, the active members live up to their obligations. Missionary, Temperance, Good Literature, Information, Calling, Music, Relief, and Junior committees are some of the more usual committees. Continued and wilful absence from the Society and its duties for three months forfeits membership in the organization. As other church duties are taken up, the active members of a local Christian Endeavour Society may become members of a Senior Society (if the congregation with which the Society in question is connected possess such an affiliation) or may become honorary members; this latter body, according to the 'model constitution,' includes 'all persons who, though no longer young, are still interested in the society, and wish to have some connexion with it, though they cannot regularly attend the meetings.' In addition to the active and honorary members there are associate members, consisting of those young people who are not ready to be considered decided Christians, but are willing to put themselves under the influence of the Society, though they are not under obligation to take part in the meetings or serve on all the committees.

The second Society of Christian Endeavour was formed in Newburyport, Massachusetts, eight months after the first. For a time the growth was slow, and there was much opposition on the part of some churches and pastors, who feared that such an organization would weaken the allegiance of the young people to their own churches. On this account, many purely denominational Societies were formed on the Christian Endeavour model; but the fears of early days have proved to be unfounded, and many of these denominational Societies have been merged into the Christian Endeavour movement, though the Epworth League continues

to maintain its denominational character as a distinctly Methodist organization.

After some two years the Societies began to grow more rapidly, and in five years from the establishment of the first Society they were gradually finding their way into all parts of the world. In 1884 the first Society was established in India, and also in China. In 1888 the first one was organized in Great Britain, in the High Town Church of Crewe. About the same time the movement was introduced into Australasia, where it has since greatly flourished, and in rapid succession it was adopted as a means of Christian nurture and training by churches in Turkey, Madagascar, Japan, South Africa, Egypt, the South Sea Islands, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Finland, Macedonia, and South America. It is now found in every Christian land, and practically in every country to which Christian missionaries have gone.

After a few years it was found necessary to form separate Societies for the boys and girls under fourteen years of age, who were in danger of being overshadowed by older ones, and then Junior Societies began to multiply, and have now become a very important feature of the work. Later still, it was found best in many churches to form the older boys and girls, between fourteen and eighteen years of age, into Intermediate Societies, which have multiplied rapidly, and proved of great value in many churches in caring for the religious character of young people in the critical age of adolescence.

Though the great majority of Societies are connected with local churches, many others are found in schools and colleges, especially in missionary lands. There are also many 'Floating Societies of Christian Endeavour' on ships of war and in the merchant marine of the United States and Great Britain, and others in army posts, soldiers' homes, etc. One of the most interesting developments of the organization is in the prisons of the United States, where there are many Societies and some 3000 active members, all of whom, of course, have been brought into the Christian life and work since their incarceration.

About the year 1884 the Societies began to form themselves into Unions, composed of the young people of many denominations. These have greatly extended and flourished, so that now every leading country has its national Christian Endeavour Union. Every State and Province and Colony in English-speaking lands has its State or Provincial Union, and most large cities and many smaller towns have their local Christian Endeavour Union. These Unions hold annual, semi-annual, or quarterly conventions, many of which are very largely attended. The National Conventions have often brought together vast numbers, ranging from ten to fifty thousand delegates. There is also a World's Union of Christian Endeavour, which has held four conventions—Washington (1896), London (1900), Geneva (1906), and Agra, India (1909).

Each country now has its own headquarters, where its literature is printed. These national organizations exist for information and inspiration alone, and disclaim all authority over local Societies, which owe allegiance only to their own churches. Their officers, except the Secretaries, are usually honorary officers who give their services without salary. There are some fifty weekly or monthly publications printed in different languages in the interests of the movement, of which the leading ones are *The Christian Endeavor World of America*, published in Boston, and *The Christian Endeavour Times of London*.

The 'United Society of Christian Endeavour' has its headquarters in Boston, Massachusetts; Rev. Francis E. Clark is president, Mr. William

Shaw, Secretary, and Mr. H. N. Lathrop, Treasurer. A Board of Trustees, representing all denominations and composed of nearly one hundred members, controls the business of the United Society. The British National Union has its headquarters in London; the President is chosen every year; the permanent Secretary is Rev. W. Knight Chaplin. The 'World's Christian Endeavour Union' also has its headquarters in Boston, and the President and Treasurer are officers of the United Society, though with a different board of Vice-presidents and Trustees.

There are now (Aug. 1910) something more than seventy-three thousand Societies of all kinds and in all parts of the world, with more than three and a half million members. Of these, some forty-seven thousand are found in the United States and Canada, more than ten thousand in Great Britain, and over three thousand in Australia. Every evangelical denomination of Protestant Christians is represented in the Society, and the movement is growing rapidly and substantially.

LITERATURE.—The literature is very abundant, embracing books and booklets upon every phase of the work. Francis E. Clark, *Christian Endeavour in all Lands*, Philad., 1906, is the most comprehensive history; see also the same writer's *Christian Endeavour Manual*, London, 1904, and J. R. Fleming, *The Christian Endeavour of the Future*, London, 1903. Professor Amos R. Wells is the author of many volumes for committees and different departments of the work.

FRANCIS E. CLARK.

CHRISTIANS (Names applied to).—1. Names certainly or presumably claimed by Christians.

—(1) 'Disciples' (*μαθηταί*). This name is chronologically earliest, reflecting Gospel conditions, and surviving into (both halves of) the Book of Acts, but then disappearing. It is to be interpreted on the analogy of 'disciples of John' or 'disciples of the Pharisees' (e.g. Mk 2¹⁵). When Christians speak of themselves in a pregnant sense as 'disciples,' they mean that they are 'disciples of Jesus.' The correlative view of Jesus is as the Master simply. Hence, in the later Apostolic age, names for Christians which involve a richer connotation displace this earliest term.

'Disciples' has become one of the chosen names of a Baptist sect in America better known as 'Christians'; see below, end of (2). It is valuable to them as being primitive.

(2) 'Brethren' (*ἀδελφοί*). Although comparatively rare at the opening of NT epistles (Col 1¹, Ja 1¹, but not 1²), this title is the earliest of all in Acts (1¹⁵; though TR had 'disciples'), and it may be considered the standing NT designation for Christians by Christians. It runs through Acts down to 28¹⁵, and is the habitual vocative in Christian sermons as early as II Clement. It can be used in sing. as well as plural. An individual Christian is 'a brother' (e.g. Ro 16²³), or—if the sex is changed—'a sister' (1 Co 9⁸, Ro 16¹, Ja 2¹⁴). The 'holy kiss' (1 Th 5²⁰, 1 Co 16²⁰, 2 Co 13¹², Ro 16¹⁹, 1 P 5¹⁴) was the natural expression of primitive Christian brotherhood. The term was taken over from Judaism. There it meant racial and also religious brotherhood; but, in respect of both, the Jew was a 'child of Abraham' (cf. Lk 13¹⁶ 19⁹) rather than a child of God. St. Paul annexes Abraham to the Christian fellowship, whether of Jewish or of Gentile blood (Gal 3²⁹, Ro 4¹¹). In calling themselves 'the brethren,' the Apostolic Christians imply that the brotherhood of Israel after the flesh, with its OT worship, is altogether an inferior thing. If we are to assume that the Fatherhood of God is the implied correlate of Christian brotherhood, this cannot be God's universal Fatherhood. In God, as in Abraham, it must be a Fatherhood towards the faithful. On any other view, 'brethren' would lose its distinctive meaning.

When we meet with the thought of God's universal Fatherhood in Tertullian (*Apol.* xxix.), Harnack (*Expansion of Christianity* 3, l. 406) explains it as borrowed from the Stoics.

In later generations, as Harnack (*loc. cit.*) ob-

serves, 'brother' was almost entirely a title for one clergyman to bestow upon another; or, if a clergyman used it of a layman, he showed special condescension in doing so. It may be a transitional stage when the Emperor Constantine addresses the bishops and Christian people, in his numerous writings, as *ἀδελφοί καὶ συνδράκοντες* (Euseb. *Life of Constantine*, iii. 24).

This title, like 'disciples,' has been revived by a modern Protestant sect. Its members are known to each other as 'the Brethren,' but are called by those outside 'Plymouth Brethren' (see BRETHREN [Plymouth]).

(3) 'Saints' or 'holy persons' (*ἅγιοι*). This also is taken over from Judaism, and appropriated as distinctively Christian. It signifies the Christians who are truly consecrated to God, truly separated from common things (cf. 1 Co 7¹⁴). The evidence of Acts (9¹³, 22, 41, 26¹⁰) for the usage of the early Church at Jerusalem is followed by the evidence of St. Paul's usage in addressing churches of Gentile converts (1 Co 1², 2 Co 1¹, Eph 1¹, Ph 1¹; cf. He 3¹, Jude², Rev 22¹⁷). Catholic tradition has mislead popular speech into understanding by sainthood some unusual degree of spirituality. Puritanism protested against this error; but, rightly or wrongly, Puritanism became unpopular, and the word 'saints' is now rather a sneer flung from outside than a claim put forward from within. Still, Edmund Gosse is able to tell of its use in Plymouthist circles (*Father and Son*, 1907, p. 10).

The 'holy kiss' may again be referred to. Further, 'holy' is 'the earliest predicate of Church' (Hahn-Harnack, *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 1897, p. 388). This last usage is not found in the NT, although 'holy prophets' (Lk 1⁷⁰) and 'holy apostles and prophets' (Eph 3², cf. Rev 18²⁰ TR) half foreshadow the later exclusive claims of 'holy orders.'

In spite of Harnack's dissent, we must maintain that 'saints' tended to be applied specially to the earliest Christian community, the Church of Jerusalem (cf. 1 Co 16¹, 2 Co 8⁴ 9¹, with Ro 15²⁶, Gal 2¹⁰). Had there not been racial dislocation in Church history, Jerusalem might have forestalled Rome.

(4) 'Believers,' 'faithful' (*πιστεύοντες, πιστοί*, Ac 5¹⁴, Eph 1¹, Col 1¹; cf. 2 P 1¹). This term is ambiguous from the first. It stands poised, even in the NT, between religious faith (in God's grace) and moral fidelity—sometimes inclining towards the one, sometimes towards the other. There is ambiguity still to-day. The 'faithful' in a Roman Catholic allocation are those holding Church dogmas; 'believers' in a Protestant revival-meeting are the converted.

In the Synoptic Gospels, 'faith' is concerned mainly with miracle (e.g. Mk 9²³). Impossibility disappears before it. St. Paul's teaching carries the principle inwards and upwards. Life and salvation, impossible upon any other terms, flow straight from trust in God. Elsewhere in the NT we have a nearer approach to dogma. The Christian believes that Jesus is the Messiah and the Son of God (Jn 20³¹). Or, he believes in the historical fact of Christ's resurrection (Acts especially), which Jews treat as an imposture (cf. Mt 28¹⁸). Here was the plain line of division between Christian Jew and non-Christian.

In a sense, such emphasis upon belief was a novelty in the Bible religion. In another sense (cf. St. Paul's appeals in Ro 4¹⁷ to Gn 15⁶, Hab 2⁴; or cf. Is 7⁹) the OT was very profoundly a religion of faith. Zoroastrianism, especially in the Gāthās, may have shown anticipations of the appeal to personal faith. In later history, Muhammadanism affords a significant parallel and contrast.

Inscriptions, quoted by Hawkins (*DCA*, art. 'Faithful'), show that the word *fidelis* came to be used of the baptized person, even of the baptized child, in contrast with the mere catechumen. And

Harnack (*Expansion*², i. 404) cites the same usage of language in the Canons of Elvira (A.D. 306). So early did the conceptions of 'faith' and 'faithfulness' grow hard. See also below (12), *sub fin.*

(5) 'Elect' or 'chosen' (ἐκλεκτοί). As a name, the word is rare (Tit 1¹, 1 P 1¹, 2 Jn 1¹³). In NT historians we have it only in Mk 13^{20, 22} (= Mt 24²²), the apocalyptic chapter. Possibly the term had a special vogue in apocalyptic circles. The Parable Book dissected by criticism out of the Book of Enoch calls the expected Messiah 'the Elect One' (Is 42¹; cf. Mk 1¹¹ etc.). Manichæism is stated to have called its inner circle 'the Elect' or 'the Perfect' (cf. the reference cited in *PRE*³ xii. 211, and see art. MANICHÆANS). Heracleon is quoted (Clem. *Strom.* iv. ix. 73) as claiming the term for Gnostics, as opposed to vulgar Christians. We are told that in the 7th cent. the Paulicians applied the name to their clergy. These usages might give the word a flavour of heresy. Nor, where high predestinarian doctrine is taught, can the name seem very suitable for any external fellowship. Its origin, of course, is in the OT. God chose Israel once; He chooses Christian souls now.

(6) 'The Called' (κλητοί). It is questionable whether this—closely akin in sense to the last—is ever precisely a name; but we may refer to Ro 1^{6, 7}, 1 Co 1², Jude¹, He 3¹.

(7) 'The Church' (ἐκκλησία). This collective term denotes in Greek the general assembly of all entitled to be summoned, as citizens, by the herald (cf. Ac 19³⁹). In the LXX ἐκκλησία stands for Heb. *qahal*, a favourite term with P for the religious community of Israel. A synonymous term in his vocabulary, *edahah*, is rendered occasionally by ἐκκλησία, but almost always by συναγωγή. The Jews had annexed 'synagogue'; Christianity annexed 'church.'

Mt 16¹⁸ and 18¹⁷ hardly amount to a definite proof that our Lord used the expression. The verses are unsupported elsewhere. It will always be possible to argue that the Master's language has been recast.

For early post-resurrection use, Acts (8³ etc.) is strikingly supported by Ph 3⁸; less so perhaps by the more reflective and theological language of 1 Co 15⁹. 'Church,' then, like the distributive term 'saints,' and perhaps like 'brethren,' proves that early Christianity claimed a unique place of nearness to God. In a sense, the word always connotes some kind of exclusiveness. If there are no limitations, there is no Church. Protestantism may etherealize the limits; but it continues to believe in them, and to cherish the great name. Only the Friends, or the Salvation Army, or the Brethren would treat Christ's visible Church as effete.

Edmund Gosse, indeed, assures us that P. H. Gosse spoke of his own tiny fellowship as 'the Church of Christ in this parish' (*Life of P. H. G.*, 1890, p. 330). Perhaps Gosse was exceptional. His son tells that he had ceased to keep in touch with Plymouth Brethrenism.

The NT uses the word sometimes in the singular, sometimes in the plural. The plural is usually one of geographical separation within a limited district (cf. Gal 1², Rev 1^{4, 20} etc.). Even the strange phenomenon of house-churches (Ro 16⁵, 1 Co 16¹⁹, Col 4¹⁵, Philm³) may be interpreted as illustrating the same principle. Still, it was only under a deliberately lax organization that such a plurality of 'churches' would be acquiesced in. In the NT each separate church represents or stands for the one great Church of God. On the other hand, Jerusalem had a natural precedence as mother of all churches, till racial dislocation snapped the primitive fellowship [see above (3)].

(8) 'The Way' (ἡ ὁδός). This name seems to occur only in Acts (9² 19^{9, 23} 22⁴ 24²²; cf. 16¹⁷ 'way of salvation', 18²⁵ 'way of the Lord', 18²⁶ 'way of God', 24¹⁴ 'the way which they call a sect'). In

17th cent. English 'way' still clearly meant road or track; and that is the sense of the original. We are conscious of the literal signification when we say 'highway' or 'byway'; but 'way' generally means to us method or process, and we hardly feel it as a metaphor. The word is colourless. Christians might use it in a pregnant sense, but non-Christian Jews admitted nothing by employing it. On the other hand, it was courteous. It had not the suggestion of disparagement which attached to 'Nazarene.' This state of matters explains the origin of the term, and again its disappearance. Such a term has nothing to teach us.

Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr. 1895, ii. 262) and others quote as a parallel the Talmudic *Halakhoth*, literally 'walks,' as parallel especially to 1 Co 4¹⁷ 'my ways in Christ' (for A. Seeberg's view, see his *Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, 1908, p. 6 f.); but these are special rules of conduct, not a single great way of life. 'Way of salvation' (Ac 16¹⁷, see above) is a better gloss on the meaning. The Buddhist 'Holy Eightfold Path' is in one sense closely akin.¹ For Semitic parallels, cf. Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 1853, p. 353, and *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 203 f. So, too, in modern Muhammadanism duty as authoritatively expounded from the Qur'an plus traditions is *Shari'ah*, literally 'the way.' *Ma'ad*, again, = 'he who is guided in the right path'; while a minor sect of orthodox Sunni Muhammadanism is a *Tariqah*, lit. 'path.' In Shi'ite Persia we have the heresy of the *Bab* (the 'gate'). See art. BĀB, BĀHĀ.

(9) 'The Poor' (πτωχοί). We assume that this sense underlies the name 'Ebionites,' given to Christians of Jewish birth (Origen, c. *Cel.* ii. 1, Hom. iii. 5 on *Genesis*, on *Matt.*, tom. xvi. 12; Euseb. *de Eccl. Theol.* i. 14, also *Onomasticon* [and Jerome's translation]). If the Fathers, from Irenæus (*Hær.* i. xxvi. 2) downwards, generally call the Ebionites heretics, that merely reflects the growing isolation of the primitive Church of Jewish descent, and the increasing divergence in belief between it and the West (see EBIONISM).

We also assume that the name 'poor' was claimed from within the primitive Church, rather than (as Harnack [i. 402] holds) attached to it in scorn by hostile Jews. For (a) in the OT עֲקִיר is hardly less a synonym for piety (Ps 69³³ 107⁴) than *uy* itself. (b) We have such NT passages as Lk 6²⁰, Ro 15²⁶, Gal 2¹⁰, Ac 4³⁴, to which we may add Ja 2⁵, if addressed to Christians of Jewish race. (c) One Latin Christian writer, Minucius Felix (*Octavius*, 36), roundly affirms 'we are called poor,' and claims that the name is creditable to Christians.² (d) Epiphanius tells us (xxx. 17) that the Ebionites whom he knew—syncretists with affinities to the heresy underlying the pseudo-Clementines—claimed to have their name in succession from the Christian heroes of Ac 4³⁴.

The 'Poor Men of Lyons' may be said to revive primitive 'Ebionism.' The same ideal plays a great part with St. Francis of Assisi, and even appears in the (popular) name of his female order, the 'poor' Clares. A Lollard petition of 1395 begins: 'We, poor men, treasurers of Christ and His apostles. Of course, too, poverty is one of the standing vows in Catholic monasticism (cf. T. M. Lindsay, 'Evangelical Poverty in the Centuries before the Reformation' in vol. i. [1887] of *Theological Review and Free Church Colleges Quarterly*).

(10) 'Friends' (φίλοι) seems to mean Christian disciples in Ac 27³, possibly also 3 Jn 1⁴; cf. Lk 12⁴, Jn 15¹³⁻¹⁶. The rival name 'brethren' excluded it from general use. Mediæval mystics known as the 'Friends of God' came near to reviving it. The Society of Friends (Quakers) definitely did so. See artt. FRIENDS OF GOD and SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

2. Names given by Jews.—(11) 'Nazarene.' We find this name once in the NT (Ac 24⁵, cf. v. 14) on the lips of Jews. Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 8) speaks of Jews as authors of the name. Epiphanius (between xx. and xxi., xxix. 1, xxix. 6) tells us that it was a primitive designation for Christians;

¹ A similar concept is found as early as the Rig-Veda (e.g. x. lxxi. 6, *sukrtasya pathi*, 'path of well-doing' [for further references, see H. Grassmann, *Wörterb. zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig, 1875, col. 234, 767 f.]), and recurs in the Avesta (e.g. *Yasna* xliii. 3, ii. 13, lili. 2, lxvii. 11) and the Old Persian inscriptions (NRA 56-59; see, further, Jackson, *GtrP* ii. 626, and *JAS* xii. 171 f.).

² We must not make too much of this isolated assertion; but, at least, it may imply the floating echo of an earlier name.

Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*) trace it to the town of Nazareth. Krauss (*JQR* v. [1892] 131, etc.) gives Patristic references [Jerome on Is ii. 18 should be on Is lxv. 18] to the cursing of Nazarenes in Jewish synagogues. See also below (12).

Other interpretations of 'Nazarene,' sometimes involving doubt as to the historical existence of Nazareth at the Christian era (Wellhausen, *Israel. u. Jüd. Gesch.* i. p. 220 n. [p. 265 in ed. 2, p. 266 in ed. 3], quoting Halcy; but cf. Buhl, *Pal.* 1896, p. 113 n. 229; Cheyne, *EBi*; 'Nazareth'; W. B. Smith in *The Monist*, Jan. 1906, pp. 25-45, and in *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, 1906), are fantastic. If Nazareth had a bad name (Jn 1⁴⁶, cf. Jerome as cited above), we can understand the appeal to Is 11¹ at Mt 23; Messiah had to be a 'Nāzār'!

Epiphanius' pre-Christian *Nazoræi* (xviii.) and Philastrius' Jewish Nazarenes are perhaps mere blunders (yet see Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristentums*, p. 426 ff., and Box, art. 'Nazarene,' in *DOG*). Some earlier writers—like Theodoret later (*Heret. Fab.* ii. 2)—may have declared that Christians of Jewish blood were mere 'Jews' in opinion, and this might be distorted into 'Nazarenes are a sect of Jews.'

There is nothing to surprise us if we find Nazarenes (i.e. Christians of Jewish blood) ranked, like the Ebionites and along with them, as heretics by later Fathers like Epiphanius (xviii.) and some Latin writers (Augustine, *Hæres.*, and the work known as *Predestinatus*).

Jerome is well informed, but perhaps confused; certainly he is confusing (cf. *Ep.* cxii. 13, on Is 9¹; cf. also on Is 11²).

Curiously affected literary use of 'Nazarene' as equivalent to 'Christian' meets us in Prudentius, *Peristeph.* v. [not ii.] 25, *contra Symm.* i. 549; cf. *Peristeph.* x. 45, *Cathemer.* vii. 1. We have a trace of genuinely heretical use in the still surviving Jewish Gnostic and vehemently anti-Christian sect of Mandæans (*q.v.*)—if, indeed, their usage is derived from 'Nazareth.' Their Scripture, the *Ginza*, uses it of all members of their community; but H. J. Petermann, in his *Travels* (1861), reported that he found the name applied to their learned men exclusively.

Jewish use of the name for Christians continues in the Levant to this day, and has been copied by the Muhammadans from their first appearance onwards. See also below (14), and cf. Krauss in *JE* ix. 194 f.

(12) '*Minim*.' While there is scarcely any reference to 'Ebionites' in the Talmud, we must hold with Krauss [above (11)] and R. T. Herford (*Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1904) that the *Minim* cursed in the Jewish synagogues were—or at least included—Jewish-Christian heretics. Indeed Jerome expressly tells us so (*Ep.* cxii. 13).

Later Jewish usage has not retained either the name 'Nazarenes' or the name '*Minim*' (cf. art. 'Min' in *JE*) in the curse-formula. For a possible reference to Christian *Minim* in the name *Khan Minyeh*, see G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, 1894, and the references there given.

Details may be controverted; but the apparent recognition by *Minim* of two principles co-operating in Creation does not bear out Friedländer's rival theory that the *Minim* were Gnostic (and Antinomian). It rather suggests a Logos theology like that of the Ep. to the Hebrews; which is interesting, if also—in view of Patristic evidence regarding Ebionite Christologies—not a little perplexing.

It would be no less interesting if we could follow the Jewish scholars Dorenbourg (1867) and Joel (1880-83) in interpreting *Minim* as meaning 'believers,' i.e. 'believers in Jesus' [above (4)]. Joel even held that *madminim* was slangily cut down into *minim*; as if we said 'lievers' instead of 'believers' [cf. Christians; below (13), *sub fin.*]. But the old view seems to be regaining the assent of Talmudic experts. According to it, *min* means 'kind' (as in Gn 1); and *Minim* are strange kinds or unlawful sects—i.e. heretics as such. This appears a very singular explanation; but in the Talmud nothing is impossible.

3. Names given by Gentile outsiders.—(13) 'Christians.' The NT occurrences, all with a smack of hostility, are three—Ac 11²⁶ 26², 1 P 4¹⁶.

Ja 2⁷ should be explained rather of baptism into the name of Christ; cf. [Ac 8²⁷], Gal 3²⁷, Ro 6². Ac 6⁴ might be similarly disposed of; or conceivably it is a fourth reference. If Lk 6⁴⁶ refers to the word 'Christian,' it must be a late re-shaping of what the Master said.

Later possible references are Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25 (disturbances at Rome, 'Chresto impulsore'), and a fragmentary inscription at Pompeii (in a wine-shop, and so dismissed, as misinterpreted, by Schmiedel in *EBi*; but Ramsay [*Ch. in Roman Empire*³, 1893, p. 263, *St. Paul*, 1895, p. 346] contends that it might be a sneer at the new saints, and quite appropriate to a wine-shop). More assured references are Tacitus (Nero's persecution, *Annal.* xv. 44) and Suetonius once more (*Nero*, 16, believed to be borrowed from Tacitus). Definite legal use is attested in the younger Pliny's letter (*Ep.* x. 96) to Trajan c. 104 (?) A.D., and in Hadrian's rescript (c. 130 A.D.) in reply to Licinius Sereus Granius (as preserved in Euseb. *HE* iv. 9).

Among the Apostolic Fathers, Ignatius shows special attachment to the word; cf. also *Didache* xii. 4; *Ep. ad Diogn.* (*passim* in 1-6, esp. 6); Justin, *Apol.* i. 12. M. Aurelius' coldly scornful reference (*Meditat.* xi. 3) may serve to mark universal acquaintance with the name (c. 170 A.D.).

Jews could not originate this name—they looked for a 'Christ.' Ac 11²⁶ tells us that it arose in the home of the first Gentile-Christian church (though nothing precise is said as to the date when the word was coined at Antioch). Baur declared that the adj. as a Latin form was impossible in a Greek-speaking region; but this view of the grammatical evidence is universally given up. Besides, were there not Roman soldiers at Antioch?

Lipsius (1873), while withdrawing the grammatical objection, dwelt upon the comparative silence (1) of the NT, (2) of early Christian literature. His rejection of Ac 11²⁶ involved (1) a different interpretation of Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25; (2) the assumption that Tacitus placed in A.D. 64 what was true only of his own day some fifty years later, in his 'Quos vulgus Christianos appellabat.' But (3) Lipsius concurred in assigning the name to Antioch because of its use by the Antiochene Father, Ignatius. Since 1873 we have had the vindication of the (shorter) Greek text of Ignatius—Lipsius, who had worked from the Syriac text, subsequently accepted the Greek—and the mention of Christians in the newly discovered *Diadachs*. Further, if Harnack's view of the composition of Acts is accepted, its Antiochene evidence is peculiarly reliable. See also below (14).

The MS of Tacitus is read by Harnack (i. 413 f.), 'Quos vulgus Christianos appellabat.' He maintains—against hostile criticism—the interpretation: 'The mob then called them, blunderingly, Christians; every one now knows the name as Christian.'

This name, however accidental in origin, is exactly right from the Christian standpoint. 'Ye belong to Christ' (Mk 9¹ AV).

The 'Christians' of the United States [above (§ 1)] are called by outsiders 'Christ'ians.

(14) 'Galilæans.' We have no genuine evidence for this name in the NT. In Mk 14⁷⁰ Peter is simply identified by accent as a provincial follower of the provincial prophet. Ac 2⁷ merely declares that the Christian apostles came from Galilee.¹

Jewish sects or heresies enumerated by Justin (*Trypho*, 80), Epiphanius (xviii.), and (after them) Ephraim Syrus include 'Galilæans' as followers of Judas of Gamala (cf. Ac 5³⁷).

Our reliable evidence, such as it is, reveals a Gentile usage. Epictetus (*Diss.* iv. 7. 6) doubtless means Christians by 'Galilæans,' with their 'habit' of apathy under suffering. Valentinus (*ap. Eulogion ap. Photius* [in Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.* p. 302]) speaks of 'Galilæan' dyophysitism in contrast to Gnostic insight into Christ's person, and Mani the heresiarch is quoted similarly by Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr. v.* [1712] 285) and Lardner (*Jew. and Heathen Testimonies*, ii. [1765] 102. 3, under 'Epictetus'). These two references support each other. There may have been an early

¹ Unless, perhaps, the historian makes an *amenda* to that province for denying it any visions of the risen Jesus (contrast Lk 24⁶ with Mk [14²⁸] 16⁷ or Mt 26³² 28⁷, 10) when he allows that the witnesses were Galilæan men.

Gnostic monophysitism, despising popular 'Galilean' views of Christ.

Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xvi.) appealed to Lardner as showing that 'Galilean' was a common name for the early Christians, and he insinuated that Nero got the crimes of the followers of Judas of Galilee imputed to the Church. Gibbon's Christian editors, Guizot and Milman, resented the conjecture, as a whitewashing of villainy; and really it is quite baseless, for the evidence as to Nero's persecutions says nothing at all about 'Galileans'.

It is barely worth mentioning that John Malalas (7th cent., quoted in Hilgenfeld's ed. of *Acts*, 1899) speaks of Christians as having originally been called 'Nazarenes and Galileans.' Suidas repeats this.

Whether Jewish or Gentile in origin, the nickname lent itself well to the Emperor Julian—possibly in edicts, certainly in his writings. He could express Hellenic contempt for two great monotheistic religions by treating one as fit only for provincials of Judæa, and the other for provincials of Galilee. Harnack aptly compares the nickname 'Phrygians' given by the orthodox to the Montanists.

In *Expansion*³ (l. 402), Harnack withdraws his tentative assignment of *Acta Theodoti Ancyran*, xxii., with its hostile use of the name 'Galilean' by Roman officials, to a date earlier than Julian. It is later. But Harnack still thinks it probable that the name had really come earlier into use among the official enemies of Christianity.

4. Nicknames and blunders.—(15) 'Jesseans.' Epiphanius (xxix. 14, not 'xxix. n. 4' as printed and reprinted) probably means Essenes—confusing them with Christians.

(16) '*Ecclesiastici*.' Bingham's quotations (l. i. § 8) show that we have here simply the modern 'churchman' in its two senses—catholic *versus* dissenter, or clergyman as distinguished from layman.

(17) 'Catholics' never means simply Christians, but always orthodox or church Christians.

(18) 'Atheists' may be a genuine nickname for the early Christian rebels against the Empire's idolatrous worship; cf. e.g. Euseb. *HE* iv. 15. 6.

(19) 'Gnostic' is always a term of contrast. Thus Clem. of Alexandria uses it of the superior Christian as distinguished from the uncultured believer.

(20) '*Christi*.' Ps 105¹⁵ leads Euseb. (*Demonst.* i. 5) to say that the OT called God's friends 'Christs.' According to Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 34), Ebionite heretics held that they could themselves become 'Christs' by merit or adoptive grace. But this does not give us the word as a name; still less does Ambrose (*de Obit. Valentin.* iii. 12), or Jerome on Ps 105¹⁵. Ambrose says a true Christian is like Christ; Jerome, that Christ needed no literal outward anointing.

(21) '*Chrestoi*.' Often *Christos* is confused with *chrestos*, 'good' (Justin, *Apol.* i. 4; Lactant. *Inst.* iv. 7; Tertull. *Apol.* 3); but there is no evidence whatever that Christians were called '*Chresti*.'

(22) '*Pisciculi*.'—a simple pleasantry in Tertullian, *de Baptismo*, ci.

(23) 'Of the dogma.' A single obscure passage is quoted (Euseb. *HE* vii. 30, § 19).¹

(24) 'Jews.' Christians, for a time, might be involved in the dislike felt to Jews. At the utmost, it is a temporary nickname.

(25) '*Tarsāk, Tarsā*.' This name, which literally means 'timid,' is specifically Persian, being applied, probably in derision, to Christians as early as the 9th century *Sikand-gūmānig Vijār* (xv. 1, tr. West, *SBE* xxiv. 229), and frequently recurring later, as in the 17th century *Dābistān*, a Persian treatise on various religions and sects (tr. Shea and Troyer, Paris, 1843, ii. 305), which

¹ From Rufinus downwards it has been customary to omit the words *τῶ δόγματος* in translation, although the Berlin ed. marks no variant reading. Might we take the previous word *ἐπίστατον* as non-technical? Did the Emperor Aurelian entrust the decision in question to those 'charged with superintending doctrines' in Rome and Italy?

also, like many other Persian and Arabic works, terms the Christians '*Isawī*, 'followers of Jesus' (cf. Arab. *Masihi*, 'follower of the Messiah,' the latter designation likewise occurring in Syriae).

LITERATURE.—J. Bingham, *Origines Eccl.*, Oxf. 1840, ch. 1; art. 'Faithful' in Smith-Wace's *DCA* (repeating, supplementing, and silently correcting, Bingham). For 'Christians': R. A. Lipsius, '*Ursprung des Christennamens*, in *Gratulationsprog. der theol. Fakultät Jena für Hase*, Jena, 1873, pp. 6-10; T. Zahn, *Introd. to NT* (tr. Edinb. 1909); the Comm. on *Acts*, and the Bible Dictionaries. For 'Church': F. J. A. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, Lond. 1897 [a good survey of Biblical usages is included]. For 'Ebionites,' 'Nazarenes,' '*Minim*,' the Patristic evidence is very fully given by A. Hilgenfeld, esp. in *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, Leipz. 1884; of his *Judenthum u. Judenchristenthum*, Leipz. 1886; for a recent survey, with fuller Jewish references, see G. Hoennicke, *Judenchristenthum im 1ten u. 2ten Jahrh.*, Berlin, 1908. In general: A. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1904-5 [valuable additions in 2nd ed., 1908], also in *Luke the Physician*, tr., Lond. 1907, and *The Acts of the Apostles*, tr., Lond. 1909, and elsewhere.

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CHRISTIANS OF ST. JOHN.—See MAN-DEANS.

CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS.—See NESTORIANS.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.—I. The Discoverer.

—In the year 1866, I discovered the Christ Science or divine laws of Life, Truth, and Love, and named my discovery Christian Science. God had been graciously preparing me during many years for the reception of this final revelation of the absolute divine Principle of scientific mental healing' (*Science and Health*, p. 107). So writes Mrs. Mary Baker Glover Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, and author of its text-book. Born (1821) at Bow, New Hampshire, in the United States, Mary Morse Baker, afterwards Mrs. Eddy, was the child of devout, God-fearing parents. The 'intervals' of her father's farm of 600 acres lie along the banks of the Merrimac, in the township of Concord, now a city, where she resides. At the age of about twelve she joined the Congregationalist Church, of which she remained a faithful member for thirty years. Her insight into spiritual truths was remarkable from an early age. In an autobiographical sketch she writes thus: 'From my very childhood I was impelled, by a hunger and thirst after divine things,—a desire for something higher and better than matter, and apart from it,—to seek diligently for the knowledge of God, as the one great and ever-present relief from human woe' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 47). This faith in God sustained her through many trials which came to her in after years; but, when her health failed, she found that neither her own prayers nor those of other members of her Church could heal her.

Mrs. Eddy's education was of an unusual character. Her father had been told that her brain was too large for her body, and, dreading the close application of school, he educated her chiefly at home; but she learned with great facility, and studied many deep subjects, Natural Philosophy, Logic, and Moral Science being her favourite studies. She also gained some knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In later years she was filled with the desire to alleviate the sufferings of humanity; with the hope of restoring her own health she studied medicine, the object of all her experiments being to discover the healing power. She became convinced that the healing power did not lie in the drug, and for twenty years she was trying to trace every effect to a mental cause. Eventually, to use her own words, 'I gained the scientific certainty that all causation was Mind, and every effect a mental phenomenon' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 38).

The discovery or revelation came to her in an hour of extreme need. She lay apparently at

the point of death, having sustained such severe internal injuries from a fall on the icy pavement that the doctor gave no hope of her recovery. Her friends were gathered round to see the end, when she asked for a Bible, opened it at the ninth chapter of St. Matthew, and begged to be left alone. As she read of the healing of the man who was sick of the palsy, there came to her such an overwhelming realization of the ever-presence and power of Christ to heal and save, that she felt herself instantaneously cured, rose, dressed herself, and joined her astonished friends. She did not at first fully understand how she had been healed. 'Even to the homœopathic physician who attended me, and rejoiced in my recovery, I could not then explain the *modus* of my relief. I could only assure him that the divine Spirit had wrought the miracle—a miracle which later I found to be in perfect Scientific accord with divine law' (*Retrospection and Introspection*, p. 38). To discover the *modus operandi* of this divine healing power now became the object of Mrs. Eddy's life. For the next three years she devoted herself to prayer and meditation, and a close study of the Bible, with the result that she felt convinced she had discovered the divine Principle and law which lay behind the words and works of Jesus Christ; in other words, the Science of Divine Metaphysical Healing, or Christian Science. The truth and practical efficacy of the system she next demonstrated to the world in the healing of innumerable cases of incurable or hopeless disease; she also preached, taught, and gave lectures. But it was not till the year 1875 that she felt the time had come for the publication of the text-book *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*. This book contains a complete statement of the Science of Mind-healing, its Principle and Practice, and is the only authorized text-book on the subject.

2. The Science.—Christian Science is a clear and definite system, based on certain fundamental propositions defining the nature of God. Every deduction from beginning to end of the system is the logical outcome of these primary statements concerning the Divine nature. On p. 465 of the text-book appears the following definition of God: 'God is incorporeal, divine, supreme, infinite Mind, Spirit, Soul, Principle, Life, Truth, Love.' The essence of Mrs. Eddy's discovery is contained in this definition of God. She saw that, if God is the only Cause and Creator, as the Bible declares, then He must be the Principle of the universe; that is, the origin, source, governing power or law. And, since it is impossible to conceive of a non-intelligent cause, this Cause or Principle must be intelligence or Mind. Thus Mind is seen to be the Principle of the universe. Again, if there is but one Cause or Principle, it must be all-inclusive or infinite. Hence God must be the one infinite Principle, the one infinite Mind. Turning again to the definition of God, we see that He is further defined as Spirit, Soul, Life, Truth, Love. Thus Christian Science, while revealing the unchanging nature of Deity as Truth, as Principle, governing the universe by immutable law, yet shows Him to be no cold abstraction, but the universal, intelligent, Life-Principle or Soul, whose very nature is Love: 'God, the great I AM; the all-knowing, all-seeing, all-acting, all-wise, all-loving, and eternal Principle' (*Science and Health*, p. 587). 'The starting-point of divine Science is that God, Spirit, is All-in-all, and that there is no other might nor Mind,—that God is Love, and therefore He is divine Principle' (*ib.* p. 275). Christian Science repudiates the use of the term *person* or *personal* as applied to God, if the word is employed in a limited or anthropomorphic sense. The term is

permissible if it is used to express the Individuality of the Infinite, and in this sense only is it used in *Science and Health*.

Having thus established the definition of God, Christian Science next proceeds to deduce therefrom the nature of man and the universe, arguing thus:—If Cause is admitted to be one infinite Mind, then all that exists must be that Cause and its effects—in other words, infinite Mind and its ideas. Hence man and the universe are defined as ideas, images of God. These ideas must partake of the nature of the Mind which produces them; they must be contained in that Mind, and be wholly governed by it; hence, man and the universe must be spiritual, eternal, perfect, expressing the Divine nature. That this teaching is in accord with Scripture is established by such passages as the following: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . So God created man in his own image. . . . And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good' (Gn 1st. 27. 31); 'All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made' (Jn 1st); 'For in him we live, and move, and have our being' (Ac 17th). The substance of these texts is thus metaphysically stated on p. 468 of *Science and Health*:

'There is no life, truth, intelligence, nor substance in matter. All is infinite Mind and its infinite manifestation, for God is All-in-all. Spirit is immortal Truth; matter is mortal error. Spirit is the real and eternal; matter is the unreal and temporal. Spirit is God, and man is His image and likeness. Therefore, man is not material; he is spiritual.'

This brings us to the next point, and shows how Christian Science deals with the problems of *matter* and *evil*. Many philosophers have taught that matter is unsubstantial or unreal, and the latest discoveries of natural science seem to be tending in the same direction; but it has been left to Mrs. Eddy to deduce the unreality of matter and all evil as a necessary consequence from the premiss that God is infinite, and God is Spirit.

'The three great verities of Spirit, omnipotence, omniscience, omniscience,—Spirit possessing all power, filling all space, constituting all Science,—contradict for ever the belief that matter can be actual' (*ib.* p. 109).

'The fundamental propositions of divine metaphysics are summarised in the four following, to me, self-evident propositions. . . .

1. God is All-in-all.
 2. God is good. Good is Mind.
 3. God, Spirit, being all, nothing is matter.
 4. Life, God, omnipotent good, deny death, evil, sin, disease. Disease, sin, evil, death, deny good, omnipotent God, Life.
- Which of the denials in proposition four is true? Both are not, cannot be, true. According to the Scripture, I find that God is true, "but every (mortal) man a liar" (*ib.* p. 113).

The above quotations show the radical position which Mrs. Eddy has taken upon the subject of matter and evil. She saw that, if God is infinite, the only Cause, *reality* must consist of God, good, and that which proceeds from Him. Hence nothing else can be *real*. The word 'real' is used in Christian Science to mean eternal, indestructible, true, the essential nature of things. Hence matter and all evil, sin, sickness, and death, being contrary to the nature of God, are classified as 'unreal'; that is, as being subject to destruction, and as having only a temporary existence as the experience of mortals. They are defined as *error*, or illusion, the result of a false sense of existence, to be destroyed by Truth, the knowledge of the perfection of all true being. Jesus speaks of evil in the following terms: 'He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it' (Jn 8th). St. Paul describes it as τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός, 'the mind of the flesh,' or 'the carnal mind' which is 'enmity against God' (Ro 8th). In Christian Science this lying material sense, or sense of evil, is termed 'mortal mind.'

'When apparently near the confines of mortal existence, standing already within the shadow of the death-valley, I learned these truths in divine Science; that all real being is in God, the divine Mind, and that Life, Truth, and Love are all-powerful and ever-present; that the opposite of Truth—called error, sin, sickness, disease, death—is the false testimony of false material sense—of mind in matter; that this false sense evolves, in belief, a subjective state of mortal mind which this same so-called mind names *matter*, thereby shutting out the true sense of Spirit' (*Science and Health*, p. 108).

'Usage classes both evil and good together as *mind*; therefore, to be understood, the author calls sick and sinful humanity *mortal mind*,—meaning by this term the flesh opposed to Spirit,—the human mind and evil in contradistinction to the divine Mind, or Truth and Good. . . . Mortal mind is a solecism in language, and involves an improper use of the word *mind*. As Mind is immortal, the phrase *mortal mind* implies something untrue and therefore unreal; and as the phrase is used in teaching Christian Science, it is meant to designate that which has no real existence' (*ib.* p. 114).

The doctrine that matter is unreal because it does not originate in God, who is Spirit, may seem startling to this age; but Mrs. Eddy maintains that it is in strict accord with the teaching of Jesus Christ and His apostles, and that it underlies all the miracles in the Bible. During the brief period of His earthly ministry, Jesus broke all the laws of matter; He constantly threw contempt upon all material things; He healed the sick in direct contradiction to all recognized laws of medical science; He said, 'The flesh profiteth nothing' (Jn 6⁵³). Yet He also said, 'I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me' (6³⁸); and St. John says of Him, 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil' (1 Jn 3⁸). The same teaching runs through the Epistles, where matter, or the flesh, is constantly taken as a type of all that is opposed to God. Nothing can be stronger than the statements of St. Paul on this subject. 'The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other' (Gal 5¹⁷). 'So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God' (Ro 8⁵). 'Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God' (1 Co 15⁵⁰). Thus Christian Science maintains that it has Scriptural authority for the teaching that matter does not proceed from God, but is the outcome of evil—in other words, an illusion of mortal mind.

Christian Science claims to differ from all other religious systems of the day in that it rests on demonstration, and is thus entitled to be called the Science of Christianity. It maintains that the command of Jesus to preach the gospel and heal the sick is binding on every one of His followers in every age; that the power to heal sickness and sin was the proof of true discipleship demanded by the Founder of Christianity, and that every Christian can and should be judged by the same test to-day. 'And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover' (Mk 16¹⁷). 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father' (Jn 14¹²).

Christian Science practice consists in the application of the divine Principle and rule of Christian Science to all the problems of human existence; its aim is to accomplish the complete salvation of mankind by the overcoming of all evil, all sin, disease, and death, thus revealing the true and original nature of man as the perfect offspring of God. Thus the healing of sickness is held to be an essential part of the work of salvation, and is enjoined on every Christian Scientist as a necessary part of his Christian work. At the

same time, Mrs. Eddy makes it clear that by far the most important part of the work is the healing of sin. From beginning to end of the text-book she urges upon her readers that sin is no part of man's true nature, that it is *error* (*ἀμαρτία*), and that it can and must be destroyed by Truth.

The only means employed in Christian Science practice for the healing of sickness and sin are mental. Prayer in Christian Science is based on the spiritual understanding of God as immutable Principle, unchanging Love, infinite Good. Recognizing from this pure and perfect source only what is true and good, its object is to bring to the individual such a clear recognition of the ever-present, omnipotent God, and of the perfection of man made in His likeness, as will enable him to so discern the illusion, yea, the nothingness of evil, whether sickness or sin, as to rise above it and to be free. In Christian Science, faith rests upon the absolute assurance that God never sends sickness or any other evil. Hence the Christian Scientist prays with that understanding of Truth and Love which Jesus laid down as a necessary condition of prayer. 'Therefore, I say unto you, What things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them' (Mk 11²⁴). That this is the basis of all Christian Science healing will be evident from the study of the following extracts from *Science and Health*:

'The Christian Science God is universal, eternal, divine Love, which changeth not and causeth no evil, disease, nor death' (p. 140). 'The Christlike understanding of scientific being and divine healing includes a perfect Principle and idea—perfect God and perfect man—as the basis of thought and demonstration' (p. 259). 'The great fact that God lovingly governs all, never punishing aught but sin, is your standpoint, from which to advance and destroy the human fear of sickness' (p. 412). 'The physical healing of Christian Science results now, as in Jesus' time, from the operation of divine Principle, before which sin and disease lose their reality in human consciousness and disappear as naturally and as necessarily as darkness gives place to light and sin to reformation' (Preface, xi). 'Man's enslavement to the most relentless masters—passion, selfishness, envy, hatred, and revenge—is conquered only by a mighty struggle. Every hour of delay makes the struggle more severe. If man is not victorious over the passions, they crush out happiness, health, and manhood. Here Christian Science is the sovereign panacea, giving strength to the weakness of mortal mind,—strength from the immortal and omnipotent Mind,—and lifting humanity above itself into purer desires, even into spiritual power and goodwill to man' (p. 407).

Christian Science demands the entire surrender of the human will to the Divine. Mrs. Eddy constantly impresses upon her students that their success in healing depends on their fulfilment of the condition laid down by Jesus: 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me' (Lk 9²³). Thus Christian Science is the exact opposite of mesmerism or hypnotism, and it has nothing in common with theosophy, spiritualism, occultism, higher thought, mental suggestion, or mental science.

In his warfare with evil, the Christian Scientist takes the life of Jesus Christ as his only example. He understands that Jesus was the Saviour because He revealed the Christ, the spiritual idea of God; that Jesus proved by His life and works that it is the Christ or Truth revealed—the spiritual eternal nature of God and man touching human consciousness—which takes away the sin of the world. Hence the constant endeavour of the Scientist is that he also may be governed by that Christ; in other words, that he may have 'this mind . . . which was also in Christ Jesus' (Ph 2⁵). Christian Science acknowledges the Divinity of Christ and the Incarnation, as the following passage shows:

'The Christ was the Spirit which Jesus implied in his own statements: "I am the way, the truth, and the life"; "I and my Father are one." This Christ, or divinity of the man Jesus, was his divine nature, the godliness which animated him. Divine Truth, Life, and Love gave Jesus authority over sin, sickness, and death. His mission was to reveal the Science of

celestial being, to prove what God is and what He does for man' (*Science and Health*, p. 26).

Christian Science teaches that the Atonement was the life-work of Jesus, whereby He proved, step by step, man's unity with God, by conquering all materiality and sin. It regards the crucifixion on Calvary as the last and greatest temptation to believe in the power of evil with which He was confronted; it teaches that He overcame this temptation at His resurrection, thus proving that death itself is mastered by the right understanding of eternal Life; and that the Ascension was the crowning act of redemption, whereby the spiritual nature of man was fully revealed, and the atonement, or *at-one-ment*, with the Father was demonstrated.

3. Organization of the movement. — The first Christian Science church was organized by Mrs. Eddy and a small band of her students in Boston in 1879, and a charter was obtained from the State of Massachusetts. Later, this organization was dissolved, and the church was re-organized in 1892 under the name of 'The First Church of Christ, Scientist.' The Tenets and By-laws of the Church were framed by Mrs. Eddy, and are incorporated in the *Church Manual*, the first edition of which was issued in 1895. The basis and objects of the Church are thus described on p. 19 of the *Manual*:

'The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass., is designed to be built on the Rock, Christ; even the understanding and demonstration of divine Truth, Life, and Love, healing and saving the world from sin and death; thus to reflect in some degree the Church Universal and Triumphant.'

This Church has no creed or articles of faith. Each one's position as a Christian Scientist depends not on his willingness to accept certain doctrines or beliefs, but on his individual understanding of the divine Principle of Christian Science, which understanding must be proved by practical demonstration. All who apply for membership, however, are required to subscribe to the following Tenets which appear on p. 15 of the *Manual*:

1. As adherents of Truth, we take the inspired Word of the Bible as our sufficient guide to eternal Life.

2. We acknowledge and adore one supreme and Infinite God. We acknowledge His Son, one Christ; the Holy Ghost or divine Comforter; and man in God's image and likeness.

3. We acknowledge God's forgiveness of sin in the destruction of sin and the spiritual understanding that casts out evil as unreal. But the belief in sin is punished so long as the belief lasts.

4. We acknowledge Jesus' atonement as the evidence of divine, efficacious Love, unfolding man's unity with God through Christ Jesus the Way-shower; and we acknowledge that man is saved through Christ, through Truth, Life, and Love as demonstrated by the Galilean Prophet in healing the sick and overcoming sin and death.

5. We acknowledge that the crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection served to uplift faith to understand eternal Life, the aliveness of Soul, Spirit, and the nothingness of matter.

6. And we solemnly promise to watch, and pray for that Mind to be in us which was also in Christ Jesus; to do unto others as we would have them do unto us; and to be merciful, just, and pure.

All other Christian Science churches are branches of Mrs. Eddy's church in Boston, Mass., the original organization, which is known as the Mother Church. Each branch church is a self-governing, self-supporting body, but the members of all the branches subscribe to the Tenets of the Mother Church. The Sunday services are conducted by two Readers, generally a man and a woman. Perhaps the most remarkable features of the service are the silent prayer and the lesson sermon. The latter consists of passages from the Bible and *Science and Health*, which are read alternately by the First and Second Readers, and which are so arranged as to form a consecutive discourse on a given subject. These lesson sermons are prepared by a Committee in Boston and published quarterly, so that the same lesson is read on Sunday in every Christian Science church throughout the world. There is no personal preaching; Truth is the preacher. Besides the Sunday

services, a Wednesday evening meeting is held in every Christian Science church. At these meetings testimonies of healing and other practical benefits received from Christian Science are given by those present.

Christian Science branch churches, and societies not yet organized into churches, are established all over the world—in London, where there are three churches and a society, and many other parts of England; in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, and Belfast; also in France, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden; in Canada, the United States, Mexico, and Argentina; and in Australia, China, and the Transvaal.

In connexion with every church there is a free reading-room where the Christian Science literature can be read, and where it is for sale.

In 1881, Mrs. Eddy founded a College in Boston for the purpose of teaching Christian Science. This institution, under the name of the Massachusetts Metaphysical College received a charter from the State, with the right to grant degrees. During the time that it remained open more than 4000 students were taught by Mrs. Eddy herself. In 1889 she closed the College, in spite of its great popularity, that she might devote her time to a revision of *Science and Health*. Ten years later she had the work of the College resumed by a Board of Education sitting in Boston and presided over by her. This Board is a teaching and examining body, and issues certificates to teachers of Christian Science. No one is authorized to teach this subject unless he has taken a degree at the College, or has obtained a certificate from the Board of Education.

In 1898 a Board of Lectureship was established with a view to correcting some of the public misconceptions of Christian Science. This Board is composed of lecturers, both men and women, whose duty it is to give public lectures on Christian Science when called upon to do so by a Christian Science church or society. The lectures are free to the public, and every church is expected to provide at least one lecture a year.

LITERATURE.—There is no authorized Christian Science literature except that which issues from the Christian Science Publishing House in Boston, Mass. The student of Christian Science must be warned not to accept any other as genuine. The chief work on the subject is the *text-book*, *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*, 1875, by Mary Baker Eddy. The study of this book is essential to any grasp of the Principle and practice of Christian Science. Other works by Mrs. Eddy are—*Miscellaneous Writings*, *Retrospection and Introspection*, *Unity of Good*, *Rudimental Divine Science*, *No and Yes*, all valuable to the student. The smaller literature includes the *Christian Science Journal*, published monthly, the *Christian Science Sentinel*, published weekly, and *Der Herold der Christian Science*, a monthly publication in German. These contain articles by Christian Scientists, testimonies of healing and other practical benefits received from the application of the Science, and a list of the Christian Science churches and Christian Science teachers and practitioners throughout the world. There are also the *Christian Science Quarterly Bible Lessons*, which are a valuable aid to the study of the Scriptures in conjunction with *Science and Health*; and various tracts, pamphlets, and lectures which help to elucidate the subject to the beginner. The literature can be obtained at any Christian Science reading-room, but not as a rule at the ordinary book-sellers.

C. LILIAS RAMSAY.

CHRISTIAN SECTS.—See SECTS (Chr.).

CHRISTIAN YEAR.—See CALENDAR (Christian).

CHRISTIANITY.—I. STANDPOINT OF THE DISCUSSION.—In recent years in Germany it has been insisted, as by Tröltzsch, that Christianity must be studied as one of the religions of the world, not from the standpoint of faith, but from that of science, according to the *religious-historical* and not the *dogmatic* method. Before we can go any further in our discussion, we must determine

whether, and how far, this demand is legitimate. What is this religious-historical method which is to replace the dogmatic, and can we by the use of it substitute the standpoint of science for that of faith?

1. The religious-historical method.—This has three principles, which may be briefly described as (1) criticism, (2) correlation, and (3) comparison.

(1) The literary sources, with the historical records they contain of the origins of Christianity, are to be dealt with by the same methods of literary and historical *criticism* as are applied to any other ancient literature. This principle in many cases of its application involves the assumption that the writers of the past had so little sense of the conditions of inquiry and judgment necessary for the discovery and presentation of historical truth, and so slight ability for distinguishing fact from fiction, that their accounts are to be approached with suspicion rather than with confidence.

(2) The scientific categories of causality and evolution are to be applied to the religious life generally and to the Christian faith particularly, so as to *correlate* each fact of belief, morals, worship, or polity, with its immediate historical antecedents, and to *correlate* the total reality of the Christian religion at each stage to the previous stages of a progressive evolution. The application of this principle to Christianity involves, for some scholars, no less than this, that, on the one hand, Jesus Himself must be accounted for by His Jewish heredity and environment, with the least possible recognition of any originality in His personality, and, on the other hand, that the development of the Christian Church must be marked by a progress beyond the truth and grace of its Founder Himself. Sometimes, however, two modifications in the application of the principle are recognized. It is admitted that in human history, as contrasted with the physical world, there is the not altogether calculable factor of personality, so that the results of the action and reaction of personalities cannot be determined with the same certainty as the resultant of several physical forces. It is further admitted that in religious history especially, there remains, as the residual fact which baffles definition and explanation, the real contact of the human soul with God. This fact denied, religion becomes an illusion, a self-projection and self-elevation of man into the void.

(3) Admitting that religion is an exercise of human personality, which is unique in that it necessarily involves this relation to the Divine, which ever evades the grasp of science, yet science must observe, *compare*, classify, and generalize about all religious phenomena. Science cannot admit the claim of any religion to be so much superior to all the others as to entitle it to any exceptional treatment. The Christian theologian or philosopher must abate his pretensions that Christianity is the *absolute* religion, and must be quite satisfied if science give his faith leave to regard it as only the best actual, and not also the best possible or even conceivable. For every fact, or alleged fact, of the Christian history parallels are, if possible, to be found in other religions, so that this claim to uniqueness and originality may be disproved. The endeavour is to be made even to show how this or that precious possession of the Christian faith has been borrowed from another religion.

2. Objections to the method.—To this demand the Christian scholar may offer a fourfold objection:

(1) The method as thus applied has not proved as *objective* as it claims to be. Many of the results reached by it cannot pretend to claim the universal validity that the conclusions of physical science claim. In divisions IV. and V. of this article the

contradictions which emerge in the application of this method will be fully discussed.

(2) The method betrays a *bias* that is by no means scientific; it makes assumptions which it has not proved. It is an assumption that no ancient scriptures, no religious literature, can distinguish accurately fact from fiction, or display a scrupulous desire for truth. It is an assumption that the free action of human personality, as the channel of the activity of God in and for man, must be 'cribb'd, cabin'd, and confin'd' within the arbitrarily fixed limits of causality and evolution. It is an assumption that there can be no such great differences between one religion and all others as to entitle it to a place by itself, or to justify the expectation that it may display features which are found in no other. The bias, of which one is entitled to complain, is that the kind of conclusion which alone is to be accepted as objective is foreshadowed in the statement of the method, before the data to which it is to be applied have been adequately considered.

(3) The method rules out of court as inadmissible the evidence which Christian faith insists must be heard if Christianity is to get a fair trial. The impression that the Christian Scriptures make on the reason and the conscience of the man who comes to them without any world-view which involves either an affirmation or a denial of the supernatural, is that here he is in contact with spiritual and moral reality, and with a reality of such a quality that it imposes sincerity and honesty as a primary duty on all who bear witness to it. The personality of Jesus Christ, as He is presented in the Gospels, and as the impression He made is interpreted in the Epistles, is so absolutely unique, that human personality in Him is even less calculable than in other men, and His contact with the Divine is so close that His moral and spiritual possibility cannot be determined by any previous stage of man's evolution. The salvation which the soul that trusts Him experiences has a finality and sufficiency which make it quite impossible for those so saved to reckon Him as only one of the world's masters in the things of God, and make it not only credible, but almost necessary, that His life, teaching, and work should have a content such as no other religious history can show. For faith Christ reigns alone.

(4) But if it be objected that faith must submit to the judgment of science as regards its object, it must be insisted that spiritual things are spiritually discerned, and that it is faith alone which 'is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen.' In religion it is only the human experience of the Divine reality that can decide the issue. This is the merit of Ritschl's *theory of value judgments*, that it does recognize this peculiarity of religious knowledge. To understand Christianity a man must be a Christian, because he alone knows Christ. A man must be religious to appreciate the content of any creed. The standpoint of faith is not that of ignorance, or credulity, to which science can claim to be superior; it is a condition of apprehending religion as reality, and not as illusion. The standpoint of faith does not exclude the standpoint of science; although faith can see further than science can, it seeks also to see as science sees. A faith like the Christian, for which sincerity and veracity are cardinal obligations, is bound to avoid all self-deception, and to exhibit all candour in dealing with its object. *Criticism, correlation, comparison* will be fully and freely used from the standpoint of faith even as from the standpoint of science; only faith recognizes what science often ignores, that no categories of science can determine the contents of the communion of the Divine and the human, and

that the measurements of nature and history are not adequate to the length and breadth, depth and height, of the love of God in Christ Jesus the Lord.

II. **DEFINITION OF CHRISTIANITY.**—We may define Christianity as the ethical, historical, universal, monotheistic, redemptive religion, in which the relation of God and man is mediated by the person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. This definition must be explained in detail.

1. **Christianity ethical, not natural, religion.**—Religions may first of all be distinguished according to the goods, or good, which they offer to man. Where prayers and offerings are made to the spirits or gods to obtain such earthly boons as food, health, safety, etc., the religion may be described as *natural*. Where, instead of these or along with these, the gods or spirits are conceived as capable of bestowing the moral and religious blessings of forgiveness of sin, strength in temptation, their own fellowship with their worshippers, etc., the religion may be spoken of as *ethical*. As Christianity is, above all, concerned about the inner life of man in God, it belongs to the latter class.

2. **Christianity historical, not spontaneous.**—Again, religions may be distinguished as *spontaneous* or *historical*; as growing up along with the evolution of the tribe or the nation, without the predominant action of any individual teacher or lawgiver, or as having a definite beginning in the life, teaching, or work of a religious genius, who, even if only desirous of conserving the old, yet so impresses his personality on what he transmits as to give it new character and influence. Confucius in China, Gautama the Buddha in India, Zoroaster in Persia, Muhammad in Arabia, may be mentioned as such founders of historical religions. As will afterwards be shown, in no religion are the person and the work of the founder of such significance and value as in the Christian.

3. **Christianity universal, not national.**—Among the historical religions we may make a further distinction into *national* and *universal*. The beliefs and customs of a religion may be so bound up with racial characteristics and national peculiarities as to impose, by its very nature, a limitation in the practicable expansion of the religion. Confucianism is so adapted to China that it has not spread, except to Japan, beyond the borders of that Empire, unless when Chinese emigrants have carried it with them. Buddhism and Islam both claim to be universal in character, and so have shown themselves missionary in effort as rivals to Christianity. But, on closer examination, neither proves itself as suitable for a world-religion as Christianity does. Buddhism in its original form, so far as scholarship can fix it, appears as a monastic system, reflecting in its purpose and method alike the pessimism of the Indian temperament, and is thus seen to be unfitted for the rôle of inspiring and directing any progressive society. Islam, too, is both in creed and code so bound up with the peculiarities of Arab thought and life, that, unless it should undergo a thorough transformation, it could not be expected to win acceptance in any highly cultured and civilized society. Christianity alone has shown that, on the one hand, it meets the needs of the soul of man as no other religion does, and that, on the other hand, it can adapt itself in so doing to varying conditions as no other can. It appears now as the only religion that can properly claim universality.

4. **Christianity monotheistic.**—One reason for this universality of Christianity is its *monotheistic* character. This it shares with Judaism and Islam; but in orthodox Judaism this is still too closely bound up with the peculiarities of national custom, and in Islam too much marked by a defective

moral conception of the Divine character, to possess real universality. The revelation of God in Christ possesses characteristics which give to Christian monotheism a wider appeal to the reason, conscience, and affections of men. This monotheism is an inheritance of Christianity from Judaism, the cradle of its infancy. This faith was reached after a progressive religious development which its agents regarded as a Divine discipline of the Hebrew nation. The OT, in which the record of this revelation is written, the Christian Church includes in its Sacred Scriptures. In the religious consciousness of Christ the OT conception of God was assumed, but was carried to a further stage of its development. Conscious of Himself as Son, He revealed God as Father. The impression which His personality made on the religious community He founded, and the experience given to it of a fullness and freshness of Divine life through faith in Him as Saviour and Lord, led to the Christian conception of the one God as Father, Son, and Spirit. Although in popular belief and speech the Christian doctrine of the *Trinity*, or preferably *Tri-unity*, has often come perilously near tritheism, yet Christianity is essentially monotheistic, maintaining the unity of God as a cardinal doctrine. In the art. MONOTHEISM the impossibility of any other conception of God answering the demands of reason or conscience, and meeting the needs of the soul, will be shown. This argument must here be taken for granted, to avoid unnecessary repetition.

5. **Christianity redemptive.**—Man is even in his earthly life conscious of the reality of physical evil in manifold forms, from which he desires protection and deliverance. As his moral development advances, he becomes aware of moral evil or *sin* in himself, and feels his need of being saved from it. Although this sense of his danger cannot be regarded as the sole motive of religion, yet there can be no doubt that no religion can satisfy the whole man unless it offers him *redemption* from evil—physical or moral, whichever he may feel most keenly. This necessity Buddhism clearly recognizes; it was his discovery of the secret of salvation that made Gautama the Buddha, or Enlightener. But it is to be observed that Buddhism lays all the stress on physical evil; that it regards physical evil as inseparable from existence; that the salvation it offers is, if not entire annihilation, yet complete cessation of the consciousness of existence; and that this salvation is effected by man for himself without any assistance from the gods, whose existence the original Buddhism practically ignores. Christianity, on the contrary, emphasizes moral evil as the root of man's unhappiness, insists on loving fellowship with God as life's highest good, promises an immortality of glory and blessedness with God, offers the forgiveness of sin and the renewal of the soul of man by the grace of God received by human faith, and reveals and realizes that Divine grace in the sacrificial death of Christ and His continued living presence in His Spirit. It may confidently be added that, as it diagnoses man's disease more accurately, so it provides the remedy more adequately.

6. **Christianity centres in Christ's mediation.**—In Christianity, on the one hand, God is conceived as moral perfection, and, on the other hand, man is regarded not only as morally weak but as morally blameworthy. The fellowship between God and man is admitted to be interrupted by sin, and man must be redeemed to be restored to this fellowship. In this redemption, Christ alone is the *Mediator*. On the one hand, He as Son knows God as Father, and reveals Him to men as the Father who forgives their sins, that is, welcomes them back to fellowship with Himself even though

they have sinned. On the other hand, Christ by the truth and grace of His teaching, example, and life draws men to Himself, awakens their confidence, arouses their penitence, and so assures them of the pardon which in revealing God as Father He offers. This revelation and redemption begins in the earthly life, but is consummated in His cross as the ransom, the covenant-sacrifice. In a later section (VIII. 1. (d)) the doctrine of the Atonement will be discussed; meanwhile in this preliminary definition it must be pointed out that for historical Christianity the sacrifice of Christ, however interpreted, is an essential factor in the mediation between God and man. As essential is His continued presence in His Church by His Spirit, as thereby the objective revelation and redemption is subjectively applied in each individual experience. Thus the Founder of the Christian community holds in this religion an altogether unique position. He is not only teacher and example, but in His death He offers the sacrifice by which men are saved, and in His life by the Spirit He is Himself ever saving them who come to God by Him.

III. *DIVERGENT TENDENCIES IN CHRISTIANITY.*—While we have endeavoured to offer in the previous section as objective a presentation of the essence of the Christian religion as possible, this must be supplemented by a brief indication of the divergent tendencies in the religion, in which the accent is thrown on one feature or another.

1. *Speculative tendency.*—One of the earliest tendencies (for we find it in the Greek Apologists and Fathers), and also one of the latest (for modern philosophers of the idealist school show it), may be described as the *speculative*. The universe is regarded as a problem for thought, of which the Incarnation of God in Christ is the solution. The earliest thinkers regarded it as a unique solution, because in Christ alone had God become man; the later thinkers tend to regard Christ as only the first to reach the full consciousness of the universal principle of man's essential affinity to God. This, however, is not the emphasis in the NT, or in the general Christian experience.

2. *Sacramentarian tendency.*—In the Greek Fathers, especially, there was a tendency to conceive salvation physically as a deification of man, a deliverance of man from corruption to immortality; and correspondingly the Incarnation was stated in physical terms, as the union of the human and the Divine nature in one Person; but the contrast of the two natures was so emphasized that the unity of the Person could not be concretely conceived; the moral character and the religious consciousness were hidden in the physical mystery. The salvation thus physically conceived was imparted to the individual by the physical means of the *sacraments*. While a more spiritual view of Baptism and the Eucharist runs on alongside of this physical view, we must recognize the prominence in Christian history of this *sacramentarian* tendency. The soul's cleansing and nourishment come through physical channels. The relation between these physical means and Christ Himself is variously conceived, but what is common to all forms of the sacramentarian tendency is this stress on the material channels of the Divine gifts in Christ.

3. *Practical tendency.*—At the opposite pole is what may be called the *practical* tendency. It is the example of Jesus which is regarded as alone supremely valuable. This is the position of the advocates, in the 18th cent., of the *religion of Jesus*. The Christian religion, as making Christ the object of faith, is to be regarded from this standpoint as a perversion of the religion of Jesus, in which He was Himself the subject of faith, a

faith which we may share with Him by following His example. This tendency is not without its representatives to-day, some of whom are not at all interested in Christ's relation to God, but only in His social sympathy and service. It may be admitted that Christ can be the object of Christian faith only as He is Himself the subject of the faith in which is typically revealed the relation of man to God, which by His grace is afterwards progressively realized in man. But in Christian experience Christ has been not only the pattern, but also the power of the new life in God. Hence the tendency represents an incomplete Christianity.

4. *Mystical tendency.*—In all religions are found men who seek fellowship with God as life's highest good, and a fellowship so close that the soul feels itself one with God, with no separation at all. Examples of this *mystical* tendency are Taoism in China, Sufism in Muhammadanism, Neo-Platonism in the Græco-Roman religion, and the highest type of piety in Hinduism. In Christianity this tendency appears in the pseudo-Dionysian writings (6th cent.), in Scotus Erigena (died after 877), and, in the form of an absorbing contemplation of Christ as the Bridegroom of the soul, in Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) and the mediaeval Mystics. The danger in mysticism is its attention to the soul's inner states of communion with God, and its neglect of the historical facts, through which, in Christ, God is revealed and man redeemed. Fellowship with God is the end of Christian faith; but in this fellowship Christ as the Mediator is not, and cannot be, set aside without serious risk to the religious certainty and moral quality of the Christian life. See, further, MYSTICISM (Christian).

5. *Evangelical tendency.*—The *evangelical* tendency, characteristic of St. Paul, prominent in Augustine (354–430), and dominant in Luther (1483–1546), lays the emphasis on man's sin and God's forgiveness. If the NT is to be regarded as authoritative, this tendency gets closer to the core of the Christian religion than any of the others. It becomes one-sided only if it fails to recognize that each of these other tendencies stands for something of value to the soul of man, and if it does not endeavour to embrace, within the wide circumference of the circle it draws from its centre in the Cross, the satisfactions of the mind, heart, and life of man for which these tendencies betray the demand, and for which there is an abundant supply in the manifold wisdom of God as displayed in the revelation and redemption in Christ.

IV. *ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY.*—While, as has already been mentioned, Christianity fully accepts the ethical monotheism of the Hebrew prophets, and stands in a historical continuity with Judaism, we need not trace its origin here farther back than to the Person and Work of Christ as its founder. The NT is the only literary source for the history of the beginnings of the religion that needs to be taken into account. These writings have been subjected to a searching criticism; and, before stating as concisely as possible what is the historical reality they disclose, it seems necessary to refer briefly to some of the theories of the origin of Christianity which are current to-day.

1. *Current theories of the origin.*—The views of Baur, Strauss, and Renan, important as they were in their own day, may be passed over; and it must suffice to mention only the Liberal Protestant view as represented by Harnack; the Modernist Roman Catholic, of which Loisy is pioneer; and the Radicalism of Kalthoff and Pfleiderer.

(1) In his book, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Eng. tr. under the title, *What is Christianity?*),

Harnack undertakes to answer the question in a strictly historical way.

(a) We are at this stage of the discussion concerned only with the first part of the work dealing with *the Gospel*. The contents of the teaching of Jesus can be included in any one of three circles of ideas: 'the kingdom of God and its coming,' 'God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul,' the higher righteousness and the commandment of love.' Without excluding the eschatological reference of the Kingdom of God, Harnack seeks to do full justice to the moral and religious content of the Gospel. He thus discusses the relation of the gospel to the world, poverty, law, labour, the Person of Christ, and doctrine.

(b) His view of the Person of Christ is of special importance. Jesus 'desired no other faith in His person and no other attachment to Himself than what is contained in the keeping of His commandments,' and He 'described the Lord of heaven and earth as His God and Father; as the Greater, as the only Good.' In all things He is dependent on and submissive to God; and 'over against His God even includes Himself among other men' (p. 80 [Eng. tr. 126]). On the other hand, 'Jesus is convinced that He so knows God as none before Him, and He knows that He has the calling to impart to all others by word and deed this knowledge of God, and therewith the filial relation to God.' But 'how He came to this consciousness of the uniqueness of His filial relation, and how He reached the consciousness of His power and of the obligation and task which lie in this power, that is His secret, and no psychology will discover it' (p. 81 [128]). Jesus also claimed to be the Messiah by His use of the title 'Son of Man'; this was 'the necessary condition of His being able to win absolute recognition for Himself—conscious of this inner call—within the history of Jewish religion' (p. 89 [141]). For Harnack the Jewish Messiahship is, as it were, the temporal husk; the moral and religious sonship towards God, of which Jesus is uniquely conscious for Himself, and which He is also uniquely conscious of being able to impart to others, is the permanent kernel. The relation of Jesus to the gospel is thus defined: 'Not the Son, but the Father only belongs to the gospel, as Jesus declares it, and yet 'He is the Way to the Father, and He is, as appointed by the Father, also the Judge.' 'He was the personal realization and power of the Gospel, and will be always experienced as such' (p. 91f. [144f.]). In maintaining the credibility of the Synoptic Gospels as historical sources, Harnack defines his position as regards the miracles of Jesus. On the one hand, he affirms a current tendency to ascribe miracles to prominent persons even in their lifetime; and, on the other hand, he admits some of the miracles of healing as instances of the incalculable influence of 'soul on soul and of soul on body.'

(c) The three characteristics of the Apostolic Age were 'the recognition of Jesus as the living Lord,' a real individual experience of living union with God, and a holy life in purity and brotherliness, with the hope of Christ's speedy advent. Christ was confessed Lord for three reasons: His authoritative teaching, His sacrificial death, and His resurrection and ascension to 'the right hand of God.' In justification of the view of Christ's death as sacrificial, Harnack offers several reflexions which need not now concern us; but what is important is his statement that there is no reason to doubt that Jesus Himself 'described His death as a service, which He was offering to the many, and that by a solemn action He established for it a continued remembrance' (p. 101 [160]). Harnack sharply distinguishes between the 'Easter-faith' and the 'Easter-message.' Doubtful of the trustworthiness of the records of Christ's appearances to His disciples, he is certain that 'from the grave the unshakable faith in the conquest of death and in eternal life has taken its origin' (p. 102 [162]).

(d) Harnack goes as far as his denial of the miraculous and his aversion to the metaphysical will allow him, in recognizing the moral and religious uniqueness of Jesus, and the value of His mediation between God and man in making God known to men, and drawing men to God. Other representatives of Liberal Protestantism do not go so far; they are doubtful whether from the strictly historical standpoint as much can be affirmed as Harnack affirms. The representation is significant, however, as an instance of how much a historian, exercising his critical conscience, feels entitled to preserve of the common Christian tradition. For those who do not share what may be regarded as an intellectual bias—his denial of the miraculous and his aversion to the metaphysical—his account will not seem adequate. It must be added, however, that Harnack gives the impression that his own personal faith would carry him further than this rigidly historical standpoint allows.

(2) Loisy in his *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* (Eng. tr., *The Gospel and the Church*) writes in direct antagonism to Harnack, whose representation of the Original Gospel and the Apostolic Faith he regards as an attack on Roman Catholicism. He seeks to show that the origins of Christianity were not as Harnack represents them, but merely a germ out of which Roman Catholicism has necessarily, and therefore legitimately, developed.

(a) Loisy starts with the assumption that 'the Gospels are not strictly historical documents' (Eng. tr. p. 28), and in criticism goes considerably beyond Harnack's 'comparatively temperate' opinion. Harnack had recognized an ethical as well as an eschatological content in Jesus' conception of the

Kingdom of God. Loisy entirely rejects the former, and recognizes only the latter. 'The message of Jesus is contained in the announcement of the approaching kingdom, and the exhortation to penitence as a means of sharing therein. All else, though it is the common preoccupation of humanity, is as though non-existent.' Harnack laid special stress on Jesus' unique consciousness of God as Father, and His effective communication of His faith to others; Loisy thus curiously dismisses this feature: 'The conception of God the Father is only one element, traditional in its origin, like all the rest, and has its history, like all the rest, in the general development of Christianity' (p. 86 f.).

(b) In regard to the Person of Christ the opposition is no less marked. 'The historian,' says Loisy, 'must come therefore to the conclusion that He believed Himself the Son of God, because He believed Himself to be the Messiah. The idea of the Divine Sonship was linked to that of the Kingdom; it had no definite signification, as far as Jesus was concerned, except in regard to the Kingdom about to be established' (p. 105 f.).

(c) There is nothing in the gospel which Jesus preached that can be regarded as the essence of Christianity. 'The truly evangelical part of Christianity to-day is not that which has never changed, for, in a sense, all has changed and has never ceased to change, but that which in spite of all external changes proceeds from the impulse given by Christ, and is inspired by His Spirit, serves the same ideal and the same hope' (p. 115 f.). It has to be admitted that the ideal as Jesus conceived it has not been realized, the hope as He cherished it has not been fulfilled; but that does not matter. 'If His hope has only been actually realized before the eyes of faith, the philosophical historian will not hesitate to find even that an astonishingly true fulfillment, when he notes the results the hope has achieved and its inexhaustible fruitfulness' (p. 125). In other words, truth in the strict sense of the word cannot be claimed for the gospel of Jesus, but only worth for the inspiring and sustaining of the religious life.

(d) As regards the Apostolic belief in Christ's sacrificial death as one of the reasons for confessing His lordship, resting, according to Harnack, on Jesus' own teaching, Loisy holds that 1 Co 15:3-4 'by no means makes it certain that the idea of the Atonement by death existed from the beginning with the distinctness that the teaching of Paul conferred on it, or that it contributed to lay the foundations of Christianity to the same extent as the idea of the Resurrection' (p. 127). As regards this idea, it belongs to faith and not to fact 'directly and formally established.' To the historian 'the fact of some appearances will seem incontestable, but he will be unable to decide their nature and extent with precision' (p. 132). Harnack is charged with exaggeration in making 'the certainty of eternal life' depend solely on 'faith in the resurrection of Christ,' since other sources of the belief must be taken into account (p. 135). 'Nor can it be truly said that to-day faith in the eternally living Christ is the sole support of belief in immortality' (p. 136). The endeavour to discern in the Gospels an original essence of Christianity in the revelation of God's Fatherhood is scornfully derided, and for it is substituted the indication of an original impulse to subsequent development in Christ's hope of the Kingdom.

(e) For the present purpose it is not necessary to follow Loisy's argument further; for its purpose is to justify the development of this germ in human history in the Church—by which Loisy means the Roman Catholic Church, with its Christian dogma and Catholic worship. The assumption is that 'whatever is, is right,' and that Christianity could not have evolved otherwise than it has done. The utility of any creed or code or rite for the religious life is its justification. His aim he has stated in his last sentence; it has been to show 'how Christianity has lived in the Church and by the Church, and how futile is the desire to save it by a search after its quintessence' (p. 277). The original content of the gospel, as Harnack presents it, is discredited by criticism, so that it is not available for use, as Harnack uses it, as a standard of judgment for the subsequent developments.

In his *Around a petit livre*, Loisy tried to reconcile these views of the Person and Work of Christ with the doctrine of Roman Catholicism, but the Church did not accept his apology as satisfactory. *The Programme of Modernism*—the reply of the Italian Modernists to the Papal Encyclical of condemnation—and Father Tyrrell's *Christianity at the Cross Roads* both show that Modernism is following closely in the footsteps of Loisy in its criticism of the Gospels, and that the Christ it leaves us is the visionary possessed by the Apocalyptic idea of the Kingdom of God. As this idea is held to have a much closer kinship with the Roman Catholic than with the Protestant type of piety, the criticism of the Gospel is used in commendation of the Church.

(3) Up till 1903, Kalthoff might have been reckoned as representing the Liberal Protestant tendency, but suddenly he passed over to an extreme radicalism in regard to the life of Christ. Titius suggests that it was the publication of Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums* which led him to see the gulf of separation between himself and that school. Of his fundamental ideas on this new theological departure, Titius gives the following summary (*Der Bremer Radikalismus*, p. 100 f.):

'The person of Christ we cannot to-day any more firmly grasp. Among the thousands of the crucified in the time of the Gospels, there certainly must have been some Jesus who in the spirit of prophetic piety closed his poor martyr-life. But this X has no meaning. Decisive, on the contrary, is the consciousness of the community, which has objectified, personified itself in the Gospels. For the community is the body of Christ—accordingly the actual historical Christ, Christ the patron of the community, the idea of the growing Church. The Divine State of the world-Church and Christ belong together as appearance and idea. This Church, however, is according to its essence a new social order, Christianity a new social movement on a very big scale (*größten Stiles*), to which the impulse was given by an elementary exercise of power by a class of men, oppressed but striving upward. The factors of its formation and origin can be shown in the common life of the age.' In Kalthoff's own words, 'the picture of Christ is in all its main features ready before a single line of the Gospels was written. Philosophy produced the framework of a universal world-view, metaphysical dualism, into which the picture of Christ was inserted. The economic conditions of Rome brought together the explosive material which was discharged in Christianity, and in the religious brotherhoods were given the organizing forces, which combine all the tendencies of the time, in the actual structures of the Christian communities' (quoted by Titius, p. 101). It is not necessary to follow the construction any further. This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the criticism of the Gospels, which assumes that the modern scholar may deal with these ancient documents according to his own good will and pleasure.

(4) Not less radical in its criticism, although not so extravagant in its reconstruction, is Pfeiderer's *The Early Christian Conception of Christ*.

(a) Pfeiderer states his position with all the distinctness which could be desired, in the opening sentences of his introduction: 'It is to the great and abiding credit on the scientific theology of the nineteenth century that it has learned to distinguish between the Christ of Faith and the man Jesus of history, two entities which have been identified by ecclesiastical dogma. By means of careful and toilsome critical investigation, it has been shown how the dogma of the God-man gradually took form, precipitated, as it were, from the intermingling of religious ideas of various origin with the reminiscences of the early Church concerning the life of her Master' (p. 7).

(b) These reminiscences cannot, however, with any certainty be recovered, for 'Jewish prophecy, Rabbinic teaching, Oriental gnosis, and Greek philosophy had already mingled their colours upon the palette from which the portrait of Christ in the New Testament Scriptures was painted. And so all that can be determined with certainty from these writings is only that conception of Christ which was the object of the faith of the early Christian communities and their teachers' (p. 9). It is not necessary to determine what reminiscences of fact are blended with these imaginations of faith in this conception; for 'it is evident that the Christian religion and the Christian Church are based upon that early belief in Christ, which the New Testament and contemporary Christian literature bear witness. This alone is the established fact, which is in no way affected, however the answer to the question concerning the origin of this belief may fall' (p. 101.).

(c) Christianity thus begins not in historical reality, but in mythology; but this for Pfeiderer appears no disadvantage. 'Surely myths, and the corresponding rites and ceremonies in which the mythical idea finds dramatic, free, living, and continuous presentation, are by far the most original and forcible form of expression of the peculiar genius of every religion, and are therefore of the greatest significance for the investigator of the history of religion; they are, in fact, his ultimate source of information' (p. 131.).

(d) As one of the world's mythologies, Christianity must not be left in isolation, but must be considered 'in relationship with, and in dependence upon, the myths and legends of universal religious history' (p. 14). The rest of the book is an illustration of this thesis, the Christian conception of Christ being traced to manifold sources in the myths and legends of other religions.

2. Estimate of the validity of current theories.

—Having stated these theories, we may now estimate their validity; and it will be best to work backwards from the extreme to the moderate criticism of the Gospels.

(1) If it be true, as Pfeiderer maintains, that historical reality is not necessary as the basis of faith, we need not put ourselves to this trouble. We must therefore face the question, Can faith be indifferent whether its object is fact or fiction? and find the answer to it before we know whether the quest is worth pursuing.

(a) It is not necessary to show that Christian theology, as expressing the common faith of the Christian Church, has always taken for granted that it was dealing with a real revelation of God, and a real redemption of man in the real Person and work of Jesus Christ. But the challenge now cast down must be taken up. Sin, sorrow, suffer-

ing, death are real facts and not fictions. Must not the Divine deliverance, consolation, and assistance which man feels that he needs, and which he believes that he has found in Jesus Christ, be a real fact and not fiction? Myths and legends cannot really save from these real evils of the life of man. Herrmann's pamphlet, *Warum bedarf unser Glaube geschichtlicher Thaten?* ('Why does our faith need historical facts?') works out this argument with great force. Only a scholar in his study, remote from the needs of man, would suggest that a picture of a brimming cup could slake a man's thirst. A mythical conception of Christ is not as good as the historical reality. Why have the legends and myths from which Pfeiderer seeks to compound the Christian conception of Christ fallen into a limbo of forgetfulness from which the modern scholar must rescue them, while Christ remains to-day the help and the hope of millions of men? Is it not because He had, and has, a reality which these never possessed?

(b) The comparison which Pfeiderer so industriously makes exaggerates the resemblance and ignores the differences between Christian ideas and the myths and legends of other religions, besides making the curious assumption that, if any similarity, however remote, can be suggested between a myth or legend and what claims to be a fact of Christian history, the fact cannot be a fact, but must be a fiction. The conclusion that the stories in the *Lalita Vistara* about the birth of Buddha are the same in kind as the records of the birth of Jesus in Matthew and Luke shows neither a fine taste nor a sound judgment. Is it not more reasonable and credible to see in myths and legends guesses, longings, and hopes of the soul of man poetically expressed, which in Jesus Christ find a real satisfaction for mind, heart, and life?

(c) In the Christian Church there was a fullness of new spiritual life, which with ebb and flow has continued to the present day, and is being ever more widely diffused in actual experience. They who experienced that life connected it with the Risen and Ascended Lord, and identified Him with the Jesus whose companions some of them claimed to have been, and whom they knew to have been crucified. That identity was for them established by manifestations which they themselves had witnessed. Here there is historical reality adequate to explain the subsequent development. Why round a person of whom little was surely remembered so rich a mythology should have gathered, and how such a fusion of diverse fictions became so mighty a force, is inexplicable. St. Paul's experience, even setting aside the interpretation which he gave to it, cannot be explained by any gradually developed mythology. His four great Epistles carry on the face of them the marks of authenticity; they disclose to us a spiritual and moral change, and they offer an adequate cause of it, if the Christ who was the object of his faith, and whom he believed to have transformed him by the exercise of personal presence and power, was indeed historical reality, and the testimony borne to Him by the primitive Christian community was true; but otherwise St. Paul's history as a Christian apostle is an impenetrable enigma. As against Pfeiderer we must insist that it does matter a great deal whether Christ be fact or fiction, that it does not follow that the story of Christ is just as fictitious as myths and legends, to which some points of resemblance in it may be discovered, and that the Christian experience from the beginning of the Christian history until to-day requires as its explanation historical reality, and not mythology.

(2) Kalthoff's reconstruction may be passed over

with the simple remark that the only literary sources which we possess for the history of the origin of Christianity lend no support whatever to his view of Christianity as a social movement among the oppressed masses of the Roman Empire, and that its plausibility is due only to a transference to a distant age of economic views and social hopes of the present time.

(3) Loisy's theory of the origin of Christianity is not so far removed from all historical probability as is Kalthoff's.

(a) What may at the outset justify caution, if not suspicion, is that the criticism has the vice which German critics condemn with the epithet 'apologetisch.' It is a Roman Catholic's defence of his Church against Liberal Protestant criticism, for Modernism is no approach of Roman Catholicism to Protestantism, but an attempt to divert modern scholarship into channels more favourable to Roman Catholicism than Protestantism. Loisy's treatment of Harnack savours not of the impartiality of criticism, but of sectarian polemics.

(b) The Synoptic Gospels do undoubtedly contain eschatological teaching of Jesus, and it is difficult to understand how apocalyptic hopes could have been so prominent and dominant in Apostolic Christianity without some warrant in the Master's words. It is probable even that Christian theology generally has not recognized adequately that Jesus stood in the prophetic succession, and that in regard to the future He held the prophetic standpoint and used the prophetic speech. On the other hand, the Gospels contain ethical and spiritual teaching on which Harnack is warranted in laying emphasis, and which is much less probably the reflexion of the current thought and life of the age and environment of their composition than the eschatological teaching may be. The moral character and the religious consciousness of Christ as presented to us in the Gospels do not give the impression of a visionary, whose primary interest was a future Kingdom of God, but of a perfect Son of God, not only possessing the certainty of God's Fatherhood, but communicating the same certainty to others, in His assurance of forgiveness. Harnack's representation comes very much nearer the total impression which the personality of Jesus in the Gospels makes than does that of Loisy.

(c) Further, the commentary of history supports Harnack's rather than Loisy's version of the teaching of Jesus. The apocalyptic hope has not found a literal fulfilment, and there is no likelihood that it ever will; the ethical and spiritual teaching of Jesus is still the highest influence in the life of the race. If the former be the subordinate and the latter the predominant element in the gospel of Jesus, Christendom to-day still owes its best to Him; if not, it has outgrown Him. The germ which Loisy's criticism leaves us has not vitality enough to explain the subsequent development, nor is there such identity of principle between Jesus and Christianity as to justify the place which He has always held in Christian faith. He is, if Loisy be right, too much the creation of His own time and place to be the Creator of a new era in the moral and religious life of mankind.

(4) Harnack in many respects shows the criticism of the Gospels at its very best, and approaches very nearly the common Christian standpoint. The reasons for what is negative in his conclusions are two—his denial of miracles and his aversion to metaphysics.

(a) A discussion of the whole question of *miracles* (q.v.) would here be out of place. Let it suffice in the present connexion to say that Harnack recognizes in Christ a moral and religious uniqueness, and assigns to Him a significance and value for the

highest interest of the human race, which put Him in another category than ordinary man, and forbid at least the dogmatic assertion that even His nature-miracles were necessarily 'interferences with the continuity of Nature,' and did not fall within the reach of the influence which this unique personality could wield. If 'the religious man is sure of this,' as Harnack concedes, 'that he is not enclosed in a blind and brutal course of nature, but that this course of nature serves higher ends' (p. 17 [26]), why should it be thought a thing incredible that, in the miracles of Jesus, Nature should serve the higher ends of the Kingdom of God? Harnack's reason for accepting the healing miracles of Jesus as natural does not explain the bulk of them, but only those which can be regarded as removing neurotic disorders. Exclude all the others, and it would become difficult for Harnack to maintain his contention for the credibility of the Synoptic Gospels as historical sources. Such a denial of miracles as that to which Harnack commits himself involves a far more radical criticism of the Gospels than we find in him.

(b) Harnack endeavours to escape metaphysics by treating the unique filial consciousness of Jesus as a secret which no psychology will discover. But, while we may admit that our thought cannot fathom the depths of the mind of Christ, it is impossible to recognize so unique a filial consciousness in Christ without being forced to inquire how we must conceive the relation of God to Him who possessed it. We cannot say that He alone knows and alone reveals the Father, and then, as over-against God, include Him in our thought of Him among other men. Be the interpretations of His Person in the NT and in Christian dogma adequate or not, we must attempt such an interpretation as does justice to His uniqueness in Himself and His significance and value for man.

(5) The present writer cannot, then, accept the theories of the origin of Christianity which have been sketched as characteristic of modern thought. That the Synoptic Gospels present the common Christian tradition from the distinctive standpoints of their respective authors; that the Fourth Gospel contains historical reminiscences still more highly coloured by doctrinal reflexions set in a metaphysical Hellenistic framework; that St. Paul, in interpreting a real experience of the saving power of the living Christ, uses categories of Jewish and even Greek thought; that the fact of the virgin birth and the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ are not so well attested historically as the moral and religious teaching and the miracles of Jesus (as contained in the common Christian tradition in the Synoptics) or the Resurrection (as borne witness to by the leaders of the Apostolic Church and notably by St. Paul, whatever difficulties still attach to the Gospel records of the appearances of Jesus)—these are conclusions of criticism which we may fully accept without in any way lowering the general reliability of the NT as the literary source of the history of the beginnings of Christianity. All questions of the composition of the separate writings and of the formation of the Canon, as of the inspiration of the NT in its parts or as a whole, are dealt with elsewhere; our only concern now is to maintain that the Christian religion had its origin not in a mythology, not even in the transformation by religious affection and imagination of a good and wise teacher into a Divine Saviour and Lord, but in the historical reality of Jesus Christ the Lord, as the Gospels record, and the Epistles interpret, His life and work.

V. *DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.*—Just as there is a great variety of opinion regarding the origin, so is there regarding the development, of

the Christian religion. The creed, code, polity, and ritual of the Christian Church have undergone many changes; opinion is divided whether these changes have been for the better or the worse. We must look briefly at current theories before offering a short historical sketch. The Roman Catholic and the Protestant views are in marked contrast, and even in intended opposition.

1. Roman Catholic theories.—These are by no means as uniform as might have been expected.

(1) The old orthodox Roman Catholic view may be given in the words of Father Tyrrell:

'According to the orthodox theory, as defended by Bossuet [died 1704], as assumed by the Councils and the Fathers, the doctrines and essential institutions of the Catholic Church have been always and identically the same. The whole dogmatic, sacramental, and hierarchic system, as it now stands, was delivered in detail by Christ to His Apostles and by them to their successors. He proclaimed, not the very words, but the very substance in all detail of the doctrines of Trent and of the Vatican. He instituted the papacy, the episcopate, the seven sacraments. . . . The Church is the infallible guardian of this system as delivered to her keeping by the Apostles—not to develop dialectically, but to preserve intact without addition or subtraction' (*Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, p. 14 f.).

(2) This, in face of insuperable historical difficulties, has been modified, according to the same writer, in the new orthodoxy.

In this he holds that the distinction between the implicit and the explicit, as the cloak folded up and the cloak spread out, is confused with another distinction, the potential and the actual, as the boy and the man. The view that the belief implicit in one age might be made explicit in another is consistent with the assumption of this complete changeless deposit; not so the view that beliefs which afterwards became actual were only potential in the earlier ages, although the new orthodoxy assumes it to be so. 'In the newer view revelation is guarded by the infallible understanding of the episcopate in ecumenical debate—infallible in deducing the logical consequences of the faith of past generations, and adding them to the ever-growing body of explicit and actual beliefs' (p. 24). In thus adding to this body of beliefs, the episcopate, it is maintained, is not going beyond the Apostolic age, for 'it is conceded that the Apostles knew fully and explicitly by revelation all that has been, or shall ever come to be, believed actually by the Church. But the sub-Apostolic age was not fit for this fullness of truth; only through long centuries could the Church be prepared to receive it' (p. 26). Tyrrell's criticism of this view is pungent. 'This hybrid theory of development implies that the casket of dogmatic jewels at once dropped from her weak and incompetent hands, and that she [the Church] is infallible, not in keeping what she received, but in slowly recovering what she has lost' (p. 27).

(3) This new orthodoxy is not, however, to be identified with Newman's *Theory of Development*, which is not *dialectical* as this is, i.e. a drawing of new beliefs as the logical consequences out of the faith of the past, but *biological*, i.e. the unfolding of a life in new surroundings to adapt itself to them.

Newman puts this theory forward as 'an hypothesis to account for a difficulty' (*Development of Doctrine*, 1845, p. 27)—the contrast between primitive Christianity and Catholicism. Christianity, he says, 'came into the world as an idea rather than an institution, and has had to wrap itself in clothing and fit itself with armour of its own providing, and to form the instruments and methods of its prosperity and warfare' (p. 116). The process by which it has accomplished this he describes as 'development,' by which he understands 'the germination, growth, and perfection of some living, that is, influential, truth, or apparent truth, in the minds of men during a sufficient period' (p. 37). He indicates the tests by which development may be distinguished from corruption, but commits the application of the tests to 'an external authority' (p. 117), namely, the infallible Church (see Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, 1893, p. 32 f.). His aim was to defend the old doctrines by the new methods; and he did not realize that the new methods might be turned against the old doctrines. His theory was 'an *argumentum ad hominem* addressed to the Tractarians' who had gone so far with him and hesitated about going as far as he had done. If the Patristic theology, he argues, was legitimate as a development of Apostolic doctrine, why not the scholastic also? If the earlier stages of the development are to be approved, why not the later? It is the same 'idea' which is finding, according to changing conditions, fresh embodiments (see Tyrrell, *op. cit.* 31 f.).

(4) Modernists have taken from Newman this representation of the 'idea' of the Church, not as a body of doctrine, but as a religious impulse, and have used it as a weapon against the doctrines which he himself sincerely adopted, and sought in this way confidently to defend. For the Modernist

view we must now return to Loisy's *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*.

The second part of the book dealing with the Church, its Dogma and Worship, is not less a polemic against Harnack than the first, and, as has already been suggested, the defence of the Church against Harnack's condemnation is probably the motive of the attack on his view of the gospel. Loisy boldly justifies the entire development of the Church as Christian, because necessary for the continued vitality of the gospel. First of all, he defends the evolution of the society till even the Papacy is reached; but in his account of that evolution he does not display the same acute critical faculty as in dealing with the Gospels. 'To reproach the Catholic Church for the development of her constitution is to reproach her for having chosen to live, and that, moreover, when her life was indispensable for the preservation of the gospel itself. There is nowhere in her history any gap in continuity, or the absolute creation of a new system; every step is a deduction from the preceding, so that we can proceed from the actual constitution of the Papacy to the evangelical society around Jesus, different as they are from one another, without meeting any violent revolution to change the government of the Christian community. At the same time, any advance is explained by a necessity of fact, accompanied by logical necessities, so that the historian cannot say that the total extent of the movement is outside the gospel. The fact is, it proceeds from it and continues it' (p. 155). This complacency is possible only by limiting the gospel to Christ's eschatological teaching as a germ needing such subsequent development that it might live and work in the world. Loisy has by his criticism got rid of the ethical and spiritual elements of the gospel, which Harnack applies as the standard of his judgment of the Church. In like manner, regarding Christian dogma, Loisy maintains that, while the development of dogma is not in the gospel, and could not be there, yet 'it does not follow that the dogma does not proceed from the gospel, and that the gospel has not lived and lives still in the dogma as well as in the Church,' for 'the commentary is homogeneous with the text' (p. 180 f.). Into the details of his demonstration that the human prophet of the gospel legitimately, because necessarily, became the Second Person in the Trinity, who assumed human nature, and of his vindication of other equally surprising transformations of the content of the gospel as determined by his criticism, it is impossible to enter. But it may be stated as a general objection that the biological analogy of the germ and the development of the organism is altogether overstrained. In a doctrinal development there must be an intelligible moral and religious continuity such as is not to be expected in a living growth; and this is entirely lacking in the doctrinal changes which Loisy defends as necessary. The use of an altogether inadequate category vitiates his whole argument. The same method of proof is employed to legitimize every development, however superstitious it may appear, in the Catholic ritual of worship. Whatever Roman Catholicism (or Loisy's optimism extends only to his own Church) has ever been in history it has been necessarily, and so validly.

2. Protestant theories.—These do not cherish this optimism in regard to the evolution of Christianity in history.

(1) The traditional Protestant view is that the Holy Scriptures contain Christianity as it ought to be; that very soon corruption set in, although the later Roman Catholic developments were more of a departure from the primitive Christian faith and life than those earlier in the undivided Church had been; that in the Fathers of the Church much sound Christian teaching is to be found; that the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils in regard to the Person of Christ and the nature of the Godhead must be accepted as authoritative; and that the Reformation effected a return to Apostolic Christianity. It need hardly be said that this view is a loosely-bound bundle of uncritical assumptions. There was development, good and bad, within the Apostolic Church itself, and no such wide gulf can be fixed between any two ages of the history of the Church. Had it been possible, it would not have been desirable for the Reformation to restore the Apostolic age, which was gone beyond recall. All developments in Roman Catholicism were not corruptions, for many had a relative historical justification. Patristic teaching and Conciliar dogma cannot be isolated from the whole historical context, and assigned a permanent authority, while that context is condemned as corrupt.

(2) As attaching itself more immediately to one of these assumptions, that the doctrinal decisions of the Church, especially in the Ecumenical Councils, have a permanent authority, may be mentioned a

theory which has been put forward by Orr in his book, *The Progress of Dogma*.

(a) His working hypothesis is briefly as follows: While the Scriptures afford 'the ultimate test of dogmatic products' which are desirable and legitimate, as 'there is a doctrinal content in Christianity which it is the duty of the Church to ascertain and witness for,' yet there is both 'need and advantage of the objective test furnished by the history of dogma, which, as the judgment of doctrines, has resulted in 'the survival of the fittest.' This conclusion is confirmed by 'the parallelism of the logical and historical developments,' for doctrines have been discussed and formulated in the history of dogma in the same order as they are treated in text-books of systematic theology. 'The vindication of the fundamental ideas of religion' in 'the age of apologetics' has been followed by 'the theological, antipathological, and Christological controversies.' Then, shifting from the East to the West, 'the soteriological period' has been followed by 'controversies on the application of redemption.' To our modern age is to be ascribed 'a peculiar interest in eschatology,' and 'the future may be expected to devote itself to practical problems' (see the Contents, Lecture I. p. ix.).

(b) Orr is inevitably forced into antagonism to Harnack's view of the history of dogma. Harnack's restricted use of the word 'dogma' is rejected in favour of the wider use for any doctrine which has obtained ecclesiastical sanction; the influence of Greek metaphysics in the formation of dogma, so insisted on by Harnack, is minimized; dogma is regarded as a permanent need of the Church, and so not confined, as by Harnack, to the period before the Reformation; and to Harnack's pessimistic an optimistic estimate is opposed.

(c) Although at the Reformation the Ecumenical decisions regarding the Person of Christ were accepted without challenge and defended with conviction against Socinianism, yet it is unusual to find in a Protestant writer so whole-hearted a defence of the progress of dogma, even during the Middle Ages, as Orr offers. Without entering into criticism of his theory in detail, we must point out that human history in no one of its aspects can be forced into the Procrustean bed of such a theory without violence. Dogma cannot be isolated from ritual and polity, and its history be regarded as an evolution of doctrinal definitions in the logical order of a text-book of theology. Surely the Reformation meant a much more thorough re-consideration of Christian thought and re-construction of Christian life than a mere turning from the doctrine of an objective atonement to the doctrine of its individual appropriation; and the modern period is primarily concerned with far more fundamental conceptions—scientific, philosophic, and theological—than any mere theory of the last things. Each age, while using thankfully all the gains of thought in the past, must think out the Christian Gospel for itself, and re-state it in its own current language. Much error has mingled with truth, and even the doctrines which, as having received some sort of ecclesiastical sanction, can be dignified with the title dogmas are not above criticism. The writer's optimism seems to go very much further than the facts allow.

(3) Although Orr had planned his book before Harnack's *History of Dogma* appeared, yet he cannot avoid a running criticism of the view to which he is so much opposed. Loisy's *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* was a reply to Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, but it also aims at discrediting Harnack's view of the evolution of the Church as stated in the *History of Dogma* (a fourth revised and enlarged ed. is now appearing; the Eng. tr. is of the third ed.).

(a) While Harnack recognizes that faith must give its contents, facts, or truths an intellectual expression, he sees in the outstanding solution of this problem in the dogma of Catholicism, besides the Scriptural or traditional source, an alien philosophical method, and an illegitimate ecclesiastical authority, so that it has been advantageous in strengthening the position of the Church, rather than profitable for the confirmation of faith. As imposed by an ecclesiastical authority, claiming a universal dominion, dogma is by him distinguished from doctrine, and is necessarily ill-fitted to the period prior to the Reformation. He divides the history of dogma into four sections: (1) the origin of dogma, (2) the Christological development of the East, (3) the Soteriological development of the West, and (4) the threefold issue in Tridentine Roman Catholicism, Anti-Trinitarianism and Socinianism, and Protestantism. Four conclusions are drawn by him from the history: (1) Dogma is 'a work of the Greek spirit on the soil of the Gospel.' (2) It has changed from age to age, as it is the result of theological activity. (3) While the original character was preserved, it was modified by Augustine, who infused a more intense religious spirit; and still more by Luther, who sought to restore the rights of Christian experience. (4) Deliverance from its bondage will be gained as the process of its origin and development comes to be known. Already in the first century the gospel of Jesus was changed from its pristine purity and its original excellence by the Church's acceptance of the Jewish apocalyptic hopes (which, he it observed, Loisy regards as the content of the gospel), the Jewish or Hellenic doctrine of pre-existence, the Philonic doctrine of the Logos (both speculative, metaphysical elements), and the Graeco-Roman doctrine of God and the soul (a philosophy inadequate for the intellectual ex-

pression of the gospel). Of this first accretion the Christian faith was divorced, in spite of the Montanist reaction, in the 2nd century. St. Paul was so far misunderstood that, despite Marcion's attempt to restore Paulinism, the Christian religion became a moralism, or even legalism. Although the acute form of the secularization of Christianity in Gnosticism was rejected, yet both Church and doctrine, in spite of an assumed Apostolic canon, confession, and office to preserve its continuity from the Apostles, continued to lose more and more its primitive character, and to be conformed to its environment in the Graeco-Roman culture. The process was advanced by the Apologists, seemed to suffer a check in the influence of Irenaeus, but was stimulated by the Alexandrian school of theology. In the end of the 3rd cent. it gained its completion in the adoption of the Logos-Christology by the Church. 'This development' effected 'the definite transformation of the rule of faith into the compendium of a Greek philosophical system' (Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. ii. 380). 'The formula of the Logos, as it was almost universally understood, legitimized speculation, i.e. Neo-Platonic philosophy, within the Creed of the Church' (ib. iii. 2). While the multitudes had to believe this creed, they could not understand it, and so could not draw from it the motive of their religious and moral life; they were brought under tutelage to the theologians who alone could interpret and apply the mystery. 'The necessary consequence of this development was that the mysterious creed, being no longer in a position practically to control life, was superseded by the authority of the Church, the cultus, and prescribed duties, in determining the religious life of the laity; while the theologians, or the priests, appeared alone as the possessors of an independent faith and knowledge' (p. 3). Another consequence was the rise of the order of monks, who came between the laity in tutelage and the authoritative clergy, and who sought a subjective piety of their own in a renunciation of the world. During the 4th and 5th cents. the Church in the East was absorbed in the Christological controversies, in which the interest in truth was often subordinated to the rivalries of theological schools, the ambition of bishops, and even political intrigues. This development issued in scholasticism, ritualism, and mysticism, and the Orthodox Greek Church has remained at this stage of the evolution. Owing to the influence of Augustine, and the more practical genius of the West, theology was more concerned with anthropology and soteriology; but no such compact dogma was reached as in regard to the Person of Christ. The Platonic speculative philosophy was, in mediæval scholars, replaced by the Aristotelian logical method. Accepting the absolute authority of the Church as regards the data of theology, scholasticism tried to reconcile dogma and reason; its issue in Nominalism shows the hopelessness of its task. Harnack maintains that the necessary close of the process is shown by its threefold outcome. At the Reformation the Roman Catholic Church opposed itself to the new movements by conferring on the Pope the sovereign rule over the faith of the Church, and 'gave fixity to the Augustinian-Mediæval doctrines, and added them to the old dogmas as equally legitimate portions of the system' (vii. 22). The 'Anti-Trinitarian and Socinian Christianity,' which 'developed in the sixteenth century,' 'broke with the old dogma and discarded it' (p. 23). 'Instructed by history itself, the Reformation obtained a new point of departure for the framing of Christian faith in the Word of God, and it discarded all forms of infallibility which could offer an external security for faith, the inflexible organization of the Church, the inflexible doctrinal tradition of the Church, and the inflexible Scriptural codes.' In this way that view of Christianity from which dogma arose—Christian faith the sure knowledge of the ultimate causes of all things, and therefore also of the Divine provisions for salvation—was set aside; Christian faith is rather the firm assurance of having received from God, as the Father of Jesus Christ, the forgiveness of sins, and of living under Him in His Kingdom—nothing else'. . . 'And yet the Reformers allowed the old dogma to remain; nay, they did not even submit it to revision' (p. 24f.). While the Reformation thus retained the old dogma, it abandoned the principle of the previous development of dogma, and so may be regarded as not only one of the issues, but 'the right and proper issue of the history of dogma' (p. 26; see Garvie, *The Ritschian Theology*, ch. iv.).

(b) While there is a certain convenience in distinguishing the pre-Reformation type of doctrine, with its peculiar philosophical method and its distinctive ecclesiastical sanction, from the creeds accepted in the sects of Protestantism, it is difficult even for Harnack to use the term 'dogma' with absolute consistency, and he has to include in his history a good deal of doctrine which is not even dogma in the making. This objection need not, however, be pressed, as there seem to be more serious defects in his theory. His estimate of the history seems unduly condemnatory. Pfeleiderer expresses a judgment of the theory for which there is justification. 'Perhaps we can most simply describe its character by saying that to Baur's optimistic evolutionary theory of history it opposes a pessimistic view of Church history, which makes this history to consist, not in a progressive teleological and rational development, and ever richer unfolding of the Christian spirit, but in a progressive obscuration of the truth, in the progress of disease in the Church, produced by the sudden irruption of Hellenic philosophy and other secularizing influences. We can understand that such a view is acceptable to a realistic and practical age which has long lost all touch with the ancient dogmas; we cannot deny that it contains relative truth, and might, in fact, serve as a salutary complement to Baur's optimism; but in it

adapted to form the supreme guiding principle of ecclesiastical history, or can it justly claim to be the only scientific view, or the right to condemn as unscientific scholasticism the theological theory of evolution, which, in the manifold play of individual causes, recognizes the governance of a higher Reason? These are questions to be seriously asked' (*Development of Theology*, p. 298f.). While there were human error and sin in the development of dogma, as in all things human, there was also, surely, a Divine guidance that kept the Church from labouring altogether in vain in its effort to define its faith. And how otherwise could the Church have given an intelligible form to the faith for contemporary thought, than by making the best use it could of the current categories of serious thinking? Must we not think of Greek philosophy and Roman law as alike parts of the preparation for the gospel in the world?

But Harnack's immense learning has not been expended in vain if it convinces us that we cannot assume that 'the faith as delivered to the saints' was adequately and finally expressed in these Greco-Roman intellectual forms. When Bishop Gore tries to distinguish the terminology of the Creed, as borrowed, from the original substance, he overlooks the fact that the terminology inevitably modifies the substance. When he goes on to maintain that the language of the Creeds is 'permanent language, none the less permanent because Greek' (*BL*, 1891, pp. 101, 105), he ignores the revolution in modern thought that science and philosophy have brought about, which makes it impossible for the thinker of to-day to be satisfied with these ancient categories. We must, as against Harnack, recognize the necessity of the alliance of Christian faith and Greek thought; but, in opposition to Gore, we must refuse to accept this alliance as permanent. Further, the starting-point of the process, according to Harnack, is one that can be accepted only from an advanced critical standpoint. As has already been indicated, Harnack denies the miraculous and avoids the metaphysical in his statement of the gospel of Jesus. The Apostolic interpretations of the Person and work of Christ are treated as foreign influences adversely affecting this gospel. The explanations of the nature of Christ (the miraculous birth, the anointing with the Spirit at baptism, the pre-existence, the 'Logos' incarnation) are thus excluded from essential Christianity; but these surely prove that the impression Jesus made on eye- and ear-witnesses was such that His Person offered a problem for which some solution must be found, and that, though we may be compelled to distinguish kernel from husk in the solutions offered, we are forced to face the same problem to-day, and may find these old solutions not meaningless or worthless. If the close contact of the Apostolic age not only with the Jesus of the earthly ministry, but still more with the living Christ of faith, gives to the Apostolic experience a typical character, the interpretations given of that experience may have a normative value even to-day. If we are forced to admit that, as the two greatest thinkers of the Apostolic age, Paul and John, thought, the historical can be most clearly seen in the light of the eternal, then we, too, shall feel warranted in advancing in thought from the Jesus on earth to the pre-existent Word and the exalted Lord in heaven, and so we shall see the gospel from the beginning in a necessary metaphysical setting.

3. Summary and conclusion.—(1) It is obvious that historical and literary criticism makes it impossible for us to accept either the old orthodox Roman Catholic or the traditional Protestant view of the development of Christianity. The Modernist view of Loisy is too much a special pleading for Roman Catholicism as against Protestantism to be accepted, even although his principle that whatever has been useful to preserve the Gospel in the world may be regarded as necessary, and so providential, can be given a much wider application than he gives it, that is, to any form of Christian thought or life which has survived. His view of the original gospel of Jesus, adapted as it is to his special purpose, involves a very radical criticism of the Gospels. Harnack is justified in insisting on the ethical and spiritual elements in the gospel of Jesus, and, as against Loisy, gives a more adequate representation of Christianity in its beginnings; but even he seems to mutilate the historical reality of the Person, teaching, and work of Christ, in his denial of miracles and aversion to the metaphysical. He seems to exaggerate the foreign elements in the Apostolic interpretation of the distinctive Apostolic experience, and so, throughout the development of Christianity, he depreciates the factor of the necessary rational formulation of the content of faith. That the faith was expressed in ecclesiastical dogma always without obscuration or distortion cannot be maintained, or that the conception or phraseology of one age can be imposed as valid

for every other age. But that faith must necessarily suffer if it strives to solve its intellectual problems must be denied, and it must be conceded that the Christian thought of to-day has much to learn from the thinking of former times.

(2) The present writer may briefly give his own positive convictions on this problem, using the suggestive biological analogy. The Christian organism is represented not only by the gospel of Jesus as it is presented with substantial historical accuracy in the Synoptic Gospels, but also by the Apostolic testimony to and interpretation of the presence and action of Christ in human experience as contained in the NT writings generally. That even in the Apostolic age the Jewish and Gentile environment exercised an influence may be freely conceded, but not so as to give the subsequent development a perverse direction from the very start. The contrast between the Apostolic and the post-Apostolic writings is so marked that the conclusion seems warranted that, the Apostolic experience being typical, the testimony and interpretation do remain normative of what is essentially Christian. That the organism could not escape being affected by, in adapting itself to, its Greco-Roman environment must be conceded; that this action and reaction were not only necessary but a condition of progress may, from the standpoint of a theistic teleology, be conjectured; for the heaven must get into the meal that the whole might be leavened. This does not, however, exclude the frank recognition of the fact that there were characteristics of the Greek speculative genius and of the practical Roman *ethos* not altogether harmonious with the distinctive character of the gospel, so that there was perversion amid progress in the subsequent development—the salt in seasoning did lose some of its own savour. Greek metaphysics and Roman law misrepresented as well as expressed the gospel. The impartial student of the history of the Church cannot for a moment deny that false views, unworthy motives, wrong purposes were factors, and at times dominant factors, in this evolution. Whether the development might, in the given conditions, have been very different from what it was, it would be rash either to affirm or to deny; but the facts at least forbid the optimism of Loisy as much as the pessimism of Harnack. That some of the heresies and schisms suppressed by the Church were attempts at reform (who can confidently add premature?), is a fact which should make the theorist pause before he discovers a Divine necessity in the process. That a compact organization in creed and code, ritual and polity, was necessary for the Church to preserve it through its persecution by the Roman Empire, for its influence on that Empire, for its survival of the Empire's fall, who can deny? But can all the means used to secure this unity be justified from the Christian standpoint? In like manner, through the Middle Ages a case can be made out for this or that feature as necessary to the Church for its practical effectiveness, and yet the acknowledged corruptions which crept in through these doors of expediency make us pause before uttering the plausible creed, 'The real is the rational.' That the Reformation was a justified attempt at 'reversion to type' the writer holds, even although a later stage in any development cannot completely recapture an earlier, and Protestantism was not so close a copy of the Apostolic age as it sometimes wished and imagined itself to be. As development is essential to an organism, so Christianity lives as it grows; its future progress must be, as its past has been, conditioned by its environment; but, it may be hoped, it has now in itself such vitality that it will not merely, as it has often done, passively adapt

itself to, but will rather adapt to itself by transforming, that environment.

VI. HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—In dealing with one of the other religions in a work which will be read mostly by those professing the Christian faith, a sketch of the history would be necessary, and might, with the material in most cases at our disposal, be attempted within reasonable compass; but the history of the Christian Church has been so minutely and extensively explored that no such endeavour is possible. What alone seems practicable is to mention such events, movements, or features as are of primary significance.

The history falls into three eras. The *ancient* era embraces the first eight centuries, the *medieval* the next seven, and the *modern* the last five. In the first, the Christian Church spread from Jerusalem to Rome, and from Rome to the borders of the Roman Empire, and, on its fall, to the Germanic nations. In the second, the Papacy grew in power until it held full sway in Western Europe; but its decline already began in the 13th cent., and various movements towards reform anticipated the third era. This, strictly speaking, began in 1517 with Luther's posting of the Theses against Indulgences, and may be regarded as not yet closed, for no change of such importance has since occurred as to mark the commencement of a new era.

1. Ancient era.—This may be subdivided into four periods, *A.D. — 800*.

(1) The first period (to A.D. 100) may be described as the *Apostolic Age*; in it the Christian Church separated itself from the Jewish people, which in A.D. 70 lost both its 'local habitation and its name' among the nations possessing a political unity. Jewish Christianity (Nazareans and Ebionites), becoming ever more heretical, separated itself from Gentile Christianity, but soon dwindled away.

(2) The second period (2nd and 3rd cents.) is marked by the progress of Christianity in the Roman Empire, in spite of repeated—sometimes sporadic, sometimes systematic—persecutions, until in 313 it had attained such importance and influence that Constantine deemed it politic to strengthen his position as Emperor by adopting this persecuted religion as his own. The attempt of Gnosticism to blend Christianity with Greek philosophy and Eastern mysticism was successfully withstood by the Church, which strengthened itself to resist persecution from without and heresy (especially in regard to the doctrine of the Trinity) and schism from within, by developing a uniform organization based on an assumed Apostolic creed in the expanded Baptismal Confession, Apostolic office in the Episcopate, and Apostolic canon of truth in the writings of the NT.

The theologians of this period deserving special mention are *Irenaeus* (Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 178), who had a personal link through Polycarp with John at Ephesus, and opposed to Gnosticism the Apostolic tradition; *Origen* (A.D. 185–254), the chief ornament of the Alexandrian school, in which Christian faith formed a fruitful and yet perilous alliance with Greek culture; and *Tertullian* (became Montanist A.D. 220), the father of the distinctively Latin theology, who provided the terminology for the doctrine of the Trinity in the West. To the development of the ecclesiastical organization probably no influence contributed more than that of *Cyprian* (A.D. 200–258), who, emphasizing the sacerdotal idea, and asserting the episcopal authority, yet resisted the claims of Rome.

(3) In the third period, from Constantine to Gregory I. (313–590), the Church, in spite of a pagan reaction under Julian, gained supremacy in the Roman World, and the Christian spirit even influenced Imperial legislation; but internal divisions appeared.

(a) The separation of the Eastern Empire, with Constantinople as its capital, from the Western, which still had Rome as its centre, profoundly affected the unity of the Church. While the Roman See advanced ever greater claims to the primacy in the episcopate of the Church, the patriarchate of Constantinople, the new capital, and the patriarchate of Alexandria pushed

forward rival claims. The antagonism of the theological schools of Antioch and Alexandria further complicated the situation.

(b) The Roman Emperors, soon after assuming a by no means clearly defined authority in the Christian Church, found themselves appealed to for the settlement of theological disputes (Council of Nicea, 325); and it is impossible to maintain that the interests of Christian truth did not suffer from the intrusion of political intrigue in the making of the creeds of the Church. In the Arian, Apollinarian, Nestorian, and Eutychian controversies (4th and 5th cents.), the reality of the Divine nature, the completeness of the human nature, the unity of the Person, the distinction of the two natures of Christ, were the decisions reached. In these efforts at uniformity of creed, divisions were caused, and the Church of the Empire could claim to be catholic or orthodox only by condemning and expelling those who did not accept these decisions.

(c) Even if we agree that the formula of *two natures in one Person* of the Creed of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) was the best expression of the Christian faith about Christ in the thought-forms of the time, we cannot altogether ignore, as is often done, the existence alongside of this catholic, orthodox Church, which owed not a little to its connexion with the Roman State, of other Churches claiming to be quite as Christian. *Arianism* (q.v.), false as was its conception of Christ as a demi-god, had an able representative in Ulfilas (died A.D. 381), the missionary to the Goths, and the first translator of the Bible into a Teutonic tongue. *Nestorianism* (q.v.), which recent research has shown not to have been as heretical as it was politically convenient for its orthodox opponents to represent it, has the honour of having carried the gospel into the Far East—to India, and even to China. *Monophysitism* (q.v.), which, against the duality of the Divine and human natures in the unity of the Person of Christ, affirmed the unity of the Divine-human nature of Christ, has survived in the Coptic Church. The formula *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* expresses an ideal of doctrinal uniformity which was never a historical reality, least of all when efforts were made to enforce catholicity and orthodoxy.

(d) The less speculative and more practical West played a skilful part in these disputes, the metaphysical character of which was, however, more congenial to the subtle Greek mind. In the West there was the controversy of Augustine and Pelagius (A.D. 411–431) concerning the freedom of man's will, the consequences of the Fall, and the election of grace, in which the religious experience of Augustine, Pauline in its distinctive character, was a decisive factor.

(e) Although in the previous period asceticism and anchoritism had found entrance into the Christian Church, it was in this period that *Monasticism* (q.v.) first really developed. The clergy, too, became more distinctly marked off from the laity, and celibacy was increasingly enforced, though in many cases with great difficulty. Into the worship generally many pagan elements were allowed to creep. Sacramentarianism and sacerdotalism grew apace. It is not necessary to deal with these topics in any further detail.

(4) The outstanding features of the fourth period, from Gregory I. to Charlemagne (590–800), were the founding of the Church among the Germanic nations and the subjugation of many of the Christian lands of the East by Islam.

(a) While the Christian faith first reached some of the Teutonic tribes in the form of Arianism, yet Catholicism soon gained the victory. In Great Britain the independent Celtic Church was also overthrown, and the new peoples were not only Christianized but also Romanized, for the authority of the Roman See was fully asserted in these freshly converted nations. This missionary activity had to be continued for more than four centuries in the next period before Europe was Christianized.

(b) The dominion of the Muslims was extended from Arabia over Egypt, Africa, Spain, and Sicily westwards, and over Syria and Persia eastwards, and it was only the victories of Charles Martel and his Franks in 732 and the resistance of the Eastern Empire till 1453 that stemmed the tide of Islam conquest, and saved Europe from the danger of an exchange of the Cross for the Crescent.

2. Mediæval era.—This may be considered as beginning with the crowning of Charlemagne, the Frankish king, as Roman Emperor by the Pope, Leo III., in 800. While the world was asked to believe that this was done 'by the immediate impulse of a Divine inspiration' (Kurtz, *Church History*, i. 487), yet negotiations to secure this dignity had been going on for years between the king and the Pope. Charlemagne conceived this Imperial power as a universal theocratic Christian monarchy. The Greeks had failed worthily to sustain the position, and it had been transferred to the Frankish king. As the head of all Christendom, he claimed to direct the external government of the Church itself, while he acknowledged the Pope as its spiritual head. The dominating interest of the Middle Ages is the contest for supremacy between Emperor and Pope. The first period in this era, from Charlemagne to Pope

Gregory VII. (800-1073), is characterized by the growing power of the Papacy. The second period, from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII. (1073-1294), is the time when the Pope exercised full sway in Western Europe. In the third period, from Boniface VIII. to the Reformation (1294-1517), the Papacy declines, the need of reform asserts itself, and there are various movements towards it. We need not treat these periods separately in detail, as for an understanding of Christianity as a religion this controversy is of secondary importance, however greatly the course of the history of Christendom in the world was affected by it. Only a few subjects of interest for the present purpose can be briefly mentioned.

(1) *The Great Schism*, by which 'the Holy Orthodox Church' of the East was finally severed from 'the Catholic Church' of the West is undoubtedly the most significant fact in the Middle Ages. Into the details of the growing estrangement we need not enter, but the causes of the final separation must be mentioned.

(a) There was a contrast of race. In the West the Latin race had been affected by an infusion of Germanic blood. In the East the Greek race had been blended with Asiatic peoples. The difference which from the beginnings of the Christian Church had shown itself was thus considerably increased. (b) As has already been mentioned, the division of the one Roman Empire into an Eastern and a Western gave to Christendom two centres of authority and influence, and the new capital in the East, Constantinople, became a formidable rival to the ancient city of Rome in the West. (c) The Pope in Rome was not, however, prepared to surrender to the Patriarch of Constantinople, or even to share with him, the primacy that the position of Rome hitherto had secured for its bishop; and for several centuries the contest for power was waged. (d) Had there not been these deep-rooted and far-spreading causes for antagonism, the controversy which brought the long quarrel to an issue could not itself have produced so momentous an effect. The difference of doctrine between East and West was this: the Eastern Church held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone through the Son, but the Western that He proceeds both from the Father and from the Son. The former asserts a subordination of the Son to the Father; the latter maintains an equality of Father and Son. In the Nicene Creed, current in the West, the word *Filioque* had been inserted in the clause *Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit*, and the East charged the West with committing a serious wrong in venturing on any such insertion. When Leo IX. in 1054 sought to force the views of the West on the East, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael, refused submission, 'the Papal legates formally laid on the altar of St. Sophia a sentence of anathema,' and 'the schism was now complete' (Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 241). It may be added that the Eastern Church has undergone relatively slight change in doctrine or practice, and has exercised little, if any, influence on the further development of the Christian Church in the world, and accordingly in this article there is only brief reference made to it.

(2) A feature of the Christianity of the Middle Ages which deserves special mention is the rise and advance of *Scholasticism* (*q.v.*). Its aim and method are well expressed in Anselm's phrase, 'credo ut intelligam.' The authority of the Church in doctrine is unreservedly accepted, but there is a considerable mental activity in defining and distinguishing, asking and answering questions in regard to the contents of the creed, so as to commend it to reason. The Aristotelian logic, imperfectly known and understood, is the instrument used to rationalize, as far as can be, ecclesiastical dogma.

Anselm (A.D. 1033-1109), in the 11th cent., may be regarded as the father of Scholasticism, alike in his statement of the ontological argument and in his theory of the Atonement. Thomas Aquinas (A.D. 1227-1274) and Duns Scotus (A.D. 1266 or 1274-1308) were the heads of the two schools which divided Scholasticism in its most flourishing period (13th and 14th cents.). While the former gave the primacy to reason, and so sought to show the rationality of Christian doctrine, the latter emphasized the dominance of will, and thus sowed the first seeds of a scepticism which was developed in the professed interests of religious faith and Church authority by Nominalism—to the final discredit of the methods of Scholasticism.

(3) *Monasticism* held a very prominent place and wielded a very powerful influence in the Middle Ages. Specially worthy of mention is the rise of the Mendicant orders—the Franciscans and the Dominicans. St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226)

stands out as one of the most gracious and attractive of Christian personalities, although the Order he founded soon lost the spirit which he sought to infuse into it. Monasticism, which sprang from worthy motives, and for a time served useful ends, became more and more corrupt, and gave ground for the denunciations of the Reformers. Much was lost to mediæval society by the withdrawal from family life and citizenship of many of the best men and women.

(4) A strange and sad yet heroic sight is presented to our gaze in the *Seven Crusades* between 1096 and 1270, in which Christendom endeavoured to recover from the 'impious hands' of the Muslim the sacred spots of its religion. Although the immediate issue was disastrous, yet by these efforts the horizon of Christendom was widened, and its sense of unity was deepened.

(5) Dominant as was the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages throughout Western Europe, yet there appeared again and again *protesters against the Church*. The claims of the clergy were opposed by various sects, known in different countries by different names, the most widely current being that of Cathari. There were pantheistic heretics like Amalrich, and apocalyptic like Joachim of Floris. There were revolutionary reformers like Arnold of Brescia, and reforming enthusiasts such as Tanchelm. Most interesting, because maintaining their continuous testimony to the present day, are the Waldensians. Against these dissenters the Church ruthlessly asserted its authority, especially in the Albigensian crusade (A.D. 1209-1229), which sought to stamp out the heretics in the south of France. The tribunal of the Inquisition was founded in 1232 to deal with heresy, and was entrusted to the Dominicans, who, as *Domini canes* ('dogs of the Lord'), scented out and ran down every divergence from the orthodoxy of the Church, or resistance to its authority.

(6) Although it affected the external fortunes of the Papacy rather than the history of Christianity as a religion, mention must be made of the *Babylonian Exile* (A.D. 1305-1377), during which the Popes found a safe asylum in Avignon, but were kept in complete subjection to the French Court, while making most extravagant hierarchical claims, especially on Germany. This was followed by a forty years' schism (1378-1417), during which two, and for a time even three, Popes in turn cast anathemas at one another. This scandal to Christendom was the occasion of the reforming Councils of Pisa and Constance (1409, 1414-1418). The attempts at reformation then begun were continued in the Council of Basel (1431-1449); but these efforts to deal effectively with the corruption of the Papacy were defeated by national jealousies and rivalries, and out of the struggle the Papacy emerged triumphant, only to sink during the 15th cent. into even deeper corruption. The reformers, while holding the necessity for one visible head of the Church, yet, on account of the evils inflicted on the Church by the Papacy, insisted that the Pope himself must be subject to the supreme authority of the universal Church as represented by the Ecumenical Councils. This is the *conciliar* theory, which is opposed to the *curialist* view of the absolute supremacy of the Pope.

(7) Many devout souls in the monasteries who did not find satisfaction in the creeds, ritual, and works of the Church sought a refuge in *Mysticism* (*q.v.*). Without any deliberate intention of challenging its claims, and even with a diligent use of such means of grace as it prescribed, many cherished an inner life with God that was essentially independent of the external organization. Bernard of Clairvaux saved much of the mysticism from degenerating into pantheism, by presenting Jesus

as the object of mystic contemplation and devotion.

This mysticism, with its stress on the inwardness of the religious life, may be regarded as a preparation for the Reformation, two forerunners of which must be mentioned—*John Wyclif* (1324–1384) in England, and *John Hus* (1369–1415) in Bohemia. Wyclif began as an opponent of the Papal claim, and a champion of the rights of the English Crown and Parliament; but the attempts to suppress him made him only the bolder, and he went ever further in his attack on the errors and abuses of the Church. He set himself the task of giving the people the Bible in their mother tongue, and sent out mendicant preachers of the gospel. Hus was largely dependent on Wyclif, but he knew how to win the populace for his own views, and he has the glory of martyrdom. The Church succeeded in warding off this and other attacks until Luther became the centre of a movement for reform, which was powerful enough to resist all attempts at repression. There can be no doubt that the Renaissance, or Revival of Learning, following the capture of Constantinople in 1453, and the consequent diffusion of Greek learning in Western Europe, reinforced the movement for reform in the Christian Church.

3. Modern era.—This dates from the nailing of Luther's 95 Theses against Indulgences on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg in 1517. The fuel was gathered together, and this was the spark that set it ablaze.

(1) The history of early Protestantism is one in which political considerations work with and against religious interests, and is far too complicated to be briefly re-told.

In German Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) began the work of reform in 1519. The two movements might have been combined, and might have supported the one the other had it not been for the *Sacramentarian controversy*. Luther insisted on taking the words of institution at the Lord's Supper literally, and maintained a doctrine, not of *transubstantiation*, or the transformation of the substance of the elements into the body and blood of Jesus, while the accidents remained the same, but of *consubstantiation*, or the presence of the body and blood of Christ 'in, with, and under' the elements. Zwingli held that the words 'this is' meant 'this signifies,' and so regarded the sacrament as a symbolical memorial of Christ's suffering and death. In spite of all attempts at conciliation, the forces of reform remained divided. The Reformation in French Switzerland began in 1529; but it was the arrival of Calvin (1509–1564) in Geneva in 1536 that first gave to the movement there its wider significance and value. Holding the same convictions as Luther, the doctrine of justification by faith as the material principle, and the doctrine of the authority of the Scriptures as the formal principle of Christian theology, he yet, by his difference of genius and character, gave to that Protestantism (the Reformed), which looked to him for leading, a different type of doctrine and polity from the Lutheran (the Evangelical). While both Calvin and Luther were Augustinians, holding strongly the doctrine of Divine election to salvation, Calvin emphasized, as Luther did not, the converse of the doctrine—the Divine repudiation of the lost. Luther sought in the Holy Scriptures the gospel of the grace of God; Calvin found that there, and in addition a Divine law for the creed and conduct of the Christian Church. The Peasants' War (1524–1525) drove Luther back from any attempt to apply the principles of the Reformation to society generally; Calvin boldly attempted to make Geneva a city of God, and its government a theocracy. As regards the doctrine of the Supper, Calvin endeavoured to mediate between Luther and Zwingli: the Lord's Supper is not only a symbol, but a channel of Divine grace; by the Holy Spirit the virtue of Christ's glorified body, which is not itself present in the elements but in heaven, is conveyed to the believing participants as the source of their resurrection-body. Calvinism in Switzerland before long took the place of Zwinglianism. Lutheranism spread from its home in Germany to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. As Geneva became the refuge of exiles for conscience' sake from other lands, Calvinism, on their return home, was impressed on the Protestantism of Holland, France, and Scotland, and, to a much less degree, on England also. The Church of England was in many respects a political compromise. An attempt was made as far as possible to maintain the historic continuity with the old Church, while Puritanism, which was Calvinistic, endeavoured to bring about a more thorough reform of the Church. Calvinism has shown itself more aggressive for political as well as religious liberty than Lutheranism.

(2) It has sometimes been maintained that the distinctive principle of the Reformation was the

right of private judgment in matters of faith; but this was at least not the intention of the Reformers themselves. They had not yet learned the principle of toleration, though the co-existence in one nation of Roman Catholic and Protestant, or of Lutheran and Reformed, where neither party was strong enough to suppress the other, enforced the practice. Outside of the two great Protestant Confessions there were movements for a larger liberty of thought and life than these allowed.

The pantheism and libertinism in France and Italy, which resulted from the intellectual emancipation of the Renaissance when divorced from the religious interest of the Reformation, lie outside our present subject. *Anabaptism* (q.v.) was the extreme left of the Protestant movement, revolutionary politically and socially as well as theologically, and its excesses were its undoing. The Reformers were ruthless in their condemnation. The acceptance by the Reformers of the Ecumenical decisions regarding the Trinity and the Person of Christ was challenged by several Anti-Trinitarian thinkers. Calvin's share in the execution of Servetus in Geneva for his denial of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, now deplored, was generally approved at the time. The most formidable Anti-Trinitarian movement was that led by the two Socini, which found a number of adherents in Transylvania and Galicia, and which had as its doctrinal symbol the *Racovian Catechism* (1606). Socinianism in some degree affected Arminianism, and English and American Unitarianism is its representative to-day, although the earlier movement recognized the authority of the Scriptures more fully than the later does.

(3) The Reformation provoked the Roman Catholic Church, in self-defence, to a *Counter-Reformation*. Roman Catholicism set itself to remove the worst abuses which the Reformers had exposed and condemned, but its main purpose was to define its doctrine and practice alike, in antagonism to Protestantism. This was effected by the Tridentine Council (1545–1547, 1551, 1552, 1562, 1563). Without any repudiation of Augustine, the Augustinianism of the Reformers is met by a Pelagianizing tendency in dealing with sin, grace, faith, works, etc. The curialist doctrine of the Pope's supremacy is assumed, and so the conciliar theory of his subordination to a General Council is set aside. The Vatican Council of 1870, in affirming the infallibility of the Pope when determining questions *ex cathedra*, simply completed the work of the Tridentine Council. The old orders of monks, who had failed to give the Papacy adequate support in the assault of the Reformation, had to give place in the Pope's favour to a new order, the Jesuits, whose object was to strengthen the Papacy and to drive back the advances of Protestantism. In missionary effort it tried to win for the Church new lands instead of those it had lost. The Jesuits found a formidable opposition in Jansenism. Pascal, in his *Provincial Letters*, exposed mercilessly the character of their casuistry.

(4) The two Protestant Churches were soon involved in theological controversies, as scholasticism followed hard on the theological revival. Within Lutheranism, Luther's doctrine of the Supper involved a doctrine of the Person of Christ full of contradictions. Conflicting tendencies soon emerged, and these were compromised by means of subtleties of thought and refinements of language, which made the resultant doctrine a tangle of inconsistencies. The tendency on the whole was towards Monophysitism, the actual absorption of the humanity in the Divinity. The Reformed doctrine, with its stress not only on the distinction, but, one may even say, on the opposition, of the Divine and the human nature, tended towards Nestorianism, or the virtual abandonment of the unity of the Person.

It is interesting to observe how the characteristics of a previous age repeat themselves. Just as the East in the ancient era had been concerned mainly about the problems of Christology and the West about the problems of Soteriology, so, in the modern, Lutheranism has had its hottest debate about the Person of Christ, and Calvinism about sin and salvation. Pelagianism was, though with modifications, revived, and latent Zwinglianism was made patent, against the dominant Calvinism in Arminianism. The Remonstrance of the Arminians in 1610 set forth the five articles of their Creed in antagonism to Calvinism: (1) conditional election, or election dependent on the fore

knowledge of faith; (2) universal atonement in the sense that it is intended, though not actually efficient, for all; (3) the inability of man, without regeneration by the Holy Spirit, to exercise saving faith or to do any good work; (4) the indispensableness, yet the non-irresistibility, of grace; (5) the uncertainty of the perseverance of all believers. The Synod of Dort in 1618 affirmed the more moderate type of Calvinism, and expelled the Arminians, but subsequently various attempts were made to qualify the rigour of the doctrine of election. This controversy between Arminianism and Calvinism continued under varying conditions till the middle of last century, when the new theological standpoint, without settling the difference, withdrew interest from it. An interesting endeavour to give the Calvinistic system a Biblical form is the Federal Theology, in which God's relation to man is represented as a covenant, first of works, then of grace. The old view, that agreement in doctrine is the basis of Christian fellowship, survived, even when the authority that could compel uniformity had ceased to be, and so Protestantism began to split up into sects.

(5) Three sects must be mentioned which, in their distinctive principles, place themselves outside of the Lutheran and Calvinistic national Churches. In the early days of the Reformation in England appeared the *Brownists* (q.v.) or *Independents*, who affirmed the independence of each Christian congregation, on the ground of the presence and action of Christ Himself in every community gathered together in His name. It was this independence that in England resisted the claims of the Crown, and asserted the rights of Parliament, and during the Commonwealth was the dominant influence in the State, and that, in America, through the Pilgrim Fathers, laid down those principles of civil and religious liberty on which the constitution of that great Republic of the West rests. The Anabaptists of Germany soon ceased to be a revolutionary party, and, as Baptists, insisting on adult baptism by immersion, formed on the Continent a small and persecuted sect. In England, however, this view found much wider acceptance, and the Baptists have become, both there and in America, a very influential denomination. George Fox (1624-1691), in opposition to all doctrines, Churches, and sacraments, preached 'the inner light,' kindled in every man's conscience by God, renewed and quickened by the Spirit of Christ. There were some eccentricities and extravagances at the beginning of the movement, but it gradually settled down to sobriety and common sense, and now under the name of the *Society of Friends* (q.v.) survives, influential far beyond its actual numbers, as a constant witness to the spirituality of the religion of Christ, and as a consistent protest against all externalism which may invade it.

Within Lutheranism there was an effort made at spiritual revival by Spener (1635-1705). While deeply attached to Lutheranism, he felt that 'the orthodoxy of the age had lost the living power of the Reformers and was in danger of burying its talent in dead and barren service of the letter.' Accordingly he aimed at 'a new and wider reformation' (Kurtz, *Church History*, iii. 41). 'He went back from scholastic dogmatics to Holy Scripture as the living source of saving knowledge, substituted for the external orthodox theology the theology of the heart, demanded evidence of this in a pious Christian walk: these were the means by which he sought to promote his reformation' (p. 42). This movement, which is known by the name of *Pietism* (q.v.), excited much controversy, but found a centre of influence in the new university of Halle. After the death of Spener and other leaders, Pietism became more narrow, emotional, and antagonistic to the Church. But there can be no doubt that it had brought needed quickening to Lutheran orthodoxy. A similar movement is that which is linked with the name of Zinzendorf (1700-1760), who in 1722, on his estate at Herrnhut, founded the *Society of the United Brethren* (see MORAVIANS). Without any intention of separating from the Lutheran Church, Zinzendorf was com-

pelled to revive the 'old Moravian constitution' of the 'pre-Reformation martyr Church' (p. 118). With some extravagance of doctrine, and fanaticism of practice at its beginning, this community raised a necessary protest against the prevailing indifference to the concerns of the soul. Its zeal for Foreign Missions and a well-ordered system of education are marks of distinction at the present day. While Christian piety was thus kept alive, the *Illumination*, which in the alleged interests of freedom of thought was anti-Christian, had in the 18th cent. a powerful, wide-reaching influence.

(6) The period of religious revival in the 16th and part of the 17th cent. was followed by a period of prevailing indifferentism. In England there was the *Deistic* movement (see DEISM), which affirmed a natural religion of five articles as common to all mankind, and regarded Christianity as true only in so far as it was a re-publication of this religion, and as false wherever it went beyond it. Although subsequent research has shown that this assumption of a natural religion has no basis in fact, and the Deists for the most part were more critical of what they regarded as false views than ardent in holding what they considered the truth, the movement anticipated in some respects the more recent 'higher criticism' of the Scriptures. Arianism and Unitarianism also showed renewed activity.

(7) The *Illumination* in France was one, but not the sole, cause of the French Revolution; that in England there was not so violent an upheaval was partly due to the influence on the working classes of the *Evangelical Revival*.

John Wesley (1703-1791) already in his Oxford course showed his religious seriousness by founding a society of like-minded men, scornfully known as Methodists. The influence of the Moravian Brethren led him to recover the largely lost sense for the gospel of God's free grace to sinners. He went throughout the length and breadth of the land preaching to huge crowds, winning a multitude of converts, and founding religious societies for their mutual edification. By appeals to hopes and fears, he and his helpers strove to bring about immediate conversion. In some districts this religious awakening was marked by abnormal morbid features, but of the solid good accomplished there can be no doubt. In this movement George Whitefield (1714-1770) took a notable part; but he and Wesley were doctrinally opposed—the one Calvinist, the other Arminian. Wesley never intended any secession from the Church of England, but the antagonism of the clergy compelled the formation, much against his will, of a sect outside of the Church—the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion. Through the Countess of Huntingdon, Whitefield obtained access to aristocratic circles, and his followers formed the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. Methodism made rapid progress in America, and, as Wesley's scruples regarding any schism from the Anglican Church were there irrelevant, he consented to its assuming an independent episcopal organization. The *Evangelical Revival* was a necessary complement to the Reformation.

(8) When we come to the 19th cent., with which the century just begun is continuous in character, so many new movements clamour for notice that the briefest allusion to the most important is alone possible.

(a) As an outcome of the *Evangelical Revival* on the one hand, and of the widening of the horizon by geographical discovery, expansion of commerce and colonization, and fresh developments of industry on the other hand, the modern missionary movement made its very modest beginnings with the opening of the century. After the conversion of the European peoples to Christianity, there was little effort, with a few notable exceptions, to spread the gospel throughout the world. Protestantism had been so absorbed in its internal difficulties as to become forgetful of its external obligations. Once begun, the enterprise has made such rapid progress that an organization to secure university students for this service—*The Student Volunteer Movement*—does not regard it as Utopian to choose for its watchword, 'The Evangelization of the world in this generation.'

(b) Inspired by the same motive of a revived religion, modern philanthropy entered upon its

beneficent career to relieve need, comfort sorrow, deliver the enslaved, and uplift the degraded. If in its earlier forms this philanthropy made mistakes as to the extent and the causes of the misery it sought to remove, and was not always quite free from self-righteousness and patronage, in its later developments it is seeking to combine science with sentiment, and to deal with the sources, as well as remove the symptoms, of social disease. Never was the Christian Church quite so intelligently and conscientiously awake to its task of exercising a beneficent influence on human society.

(c) The intellectual standpoint of the Christian Churches during last century underwent a change which it is no exaggeration to call a revolution. The romantic movement in literature, the idealist philosophy of Germany, the discoveries and conquests of science, the application of scientific methods to the study of Holy Scripture and the History of the Christian Church, and more recently the science of Comparative Religion, especially the dominance of the idea of evolution in all present-day thought—all have combined to shake many things in the tradition and customs of all the Churches that had till then seemed immovable.

(a) The controversies of Calvinist and Arminian had rested on the assumption of the authority of the Holy Scriptures for doctrine, and of the obligation of each Church to formulate a system of theology drawn from that source. Echoes of these polemics were heard in the early part of last century in Scotland, when James Morison (1816-1893) in 1841 was suspended from the ministry of the Secession Church for preaching the universal love of God, atonement of Christ, and operation of the Spirit. He founded two years later, for the proclamation of this gospel, the *Evangelical Union*. The latter entered into union, in 1895, with the *Congregational Union*, which, though it had originated in the beginning of the century in the evangelistic work of the Haldanes, was, when Morison began his work, moderately Calvinistic, and at first opposed this new theological departure. Even the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland, which still retain Calvinism in their Creeds, with the qualification of Declaratory Acts, have in their living working faith dropped all limitation of the saving grace of God. Owing to the new standpoint in theology, this controversy is now antiquated. (β) One doctrine which did receive special attention was that of eternal punishment. No decisive issue has been reached on this subject. Some still profess belief in the everlasting duration of the torments of the lost, but for few now has the belief any reality. The theory of Conditional Immortality (*q.v.*), which assumes that only believers in Christ are assured of eternal life, has gained only a limited acceptance. An undogmatic Universalism is the view which is almost insensibly displacing the other solutions of this problem. (γ) Christian theology was for a time much concerned about the reconciliation of geology and Genesis, of the Darwinian theory of the descent of man and the Biblical accounts of the origin and Fall of man; but this difficulty has for Christian scholars been removed by the view of the purpose of revelation, and consequently of the nature of inspiration, which is gaining currency as a result of literary and historical criticism of the Bible, the conclusions of which are gradually securing acceptance. The attempt to pronounce anathema the efforts of modern scholars to deal with the Bible as literature and as history, and not as dogma, has been futile; and there is a liberty of research, which sometimes degenerates into a licence of subjective conjecture, in most of the Protestant Christian Churches. (δ) The whole field of Christian theology is being explored afresh; no conclusions of previous ages are

now deemed final. As in the 2nd cent. Gnosticism forced itself into the Church, and was with difficulty expelled, so to-day philosophic tendencies—monistic, pantheistic, naturalistic—are affecting professedly Christian thought, and are leading to conclusions which are irreconcilable with the historic Christian faith.

(d) This movement of progress has provoked a movement of reaction. In the Anglican Church the Tractarian Movement, begun in 1833 by the publication of *Tracts for the Times*, of which Newman (1801-1891) was the inspiring genius until he passed over to Roman Catholicism in 1845, has tried to restore the Catholic—not only the Patristic but even the mediæval—doctrine and practice in the Church of England and the Episcopal Churches of Scotland and the United States, to disown the Reformation and Protestantism, and to assert the continuity of the Church of England since Christianity was brought to these shores by Augustine. While the Low Church, which is evangelical and Protestant, maintains its testimony in the Established Church, and is zealous in good works, especially the Foreign Mission enterprise, it fails to give any intellectual leadership. The Broad Church has many distinguished scholars and thinkers, but little popular influence. The High Church at present has the dominating power.

(e) The result of this Anglo-Catholic movement has been to throw into bolder relief the contrast between the Established Church and Nonconformity, which through the Free Church Council has been united, as it never was before, not only to secure redress of its political grievances, and to exercise a moral influence on the course of public affairs, but also to bear a common evangelical testimony and wield a common evangelizing influence, as well as to bring Christian principles to bear on social reform. The freedom that some of the Free Churches allow in matters of doctrine is sometimes used for doctrinal innovations, but on the whole the Free Churches maintain the historic continuity in doctrine.

(f) Within the Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England there is a very earnest desire for the reunion of Christendom by a recognition of Anglican orders by the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches, but the overtures which have been made to this effect have met with no encouragement from Rome, though the Greek Church takes, unofficially, a more irenic position. As regards union with other Churches of Great Britain and the United States, Anglicanism insists on the historic episcopate as the necessary condition. This spirit of unity is widely diffused. Scotland in the 18th and earlier half of the 19th cent. showed a tendency to division. From the Reformation onwards there has been in the Established Church the persistent sense of the spiritual liberty of the Church of Christ or 'the Crown Rights of the Redeemer.' Again and again the exercise of the control of the Church as established by the State has caused difficulty; and it has been as a protest against any such interference that one secession after another has taken place, the latest and greatest being the Disruption in 1843, by which the Free Church of Scotland came into being. In 1900 the great majority of the members of the dissenting Presbyterian denominations in Scotland united under the title of the United Free Church, and the hope is cherished by many that the hindrance of the Establishment may somehow yet be overcome, and Scotland have one Presbyterian Church. In England several Methodist Churches have come together. Similar movements are taking place in the British Colonies. Worthy of mention is the fact that in July 1909, at the Calvin celebration in Geneva, Lutherans and

Calvinists from all parts of Europe joined in a common Communion service in the Cathedral where Calvin preached.

(g) In Germany, while there is a strictly conservative party of confessional Lutherans, the majority of theological teachers and writers belong to the Liberal Protestant school. Ritschl and his followers endeavoured to save Christian faith from the perils threatened by modern thought, by distinguishing the theoretical judgments of science and philosophy from the value judgments of religion; but the influence of the school seems to be on the wane. A positive modern school is attempting to adapt orthodoxy to the demands of modern thought; but at the present moment the most influential tendency apparently is that (referred to in an earlier section) which insists on the religious-historical method in the interpretation of Christianity. The representatives of this tendency are for the most part more negative in their reconstruction, after criticism, of the historical reality of Jesus and His gospel than is Harnack, who is an adherent of the Ritschlian school. With often a very fine appreciation of the moral and religious greatness of Jesus, the representatives of this tendency place Him among the human founders of religions, and will not go further than admit that Christianity is so far the best religion the world has known. Religious psychology and Comparative Religion are displacing metaphysics in the modern theological method. A similar tendency, though with an opposite purpose and different results, is Modernism in the Roman Catholic Church. France, Italy, and England have been affected by this movement, of which something has already been said. Although the ecclesiastical authorities are doing their utmost to suppress it, it is not likely to be so speedily or easily vanquished, if vanquished at all, as some previous efforts towards greater liberty have been.

(9) It has been obviously impossible to give an account even approaching completeness of the manifold life of Christendom in the present age. This historical sketch may, however, be closed with an endeavour to estimate the situation to-day.

(a) There has been, as a result of the missionary efforts of the last century, a great expansion of the Christian Church, and an incalculable increase of its influence. The gospel has been carried throughout the whole world, and multitudes of converts have been won. Dr. Zeller, of the Statistical Bureau of Stuttgart, gives the following estimate of the number of adherents of the various religions:—Of the 1,544,510,000 people in the world, 534,940,000 are Christians, 175,290,000 are Muhammadans, 10,860,000 are Jews, and 834,280,000 hold other beliefs. Of the last class, 300,000,000 are Confucianists, 214,000,000 are Brahmanists, and 121,000,000 are Buddhists. In every thousand there are 346 Christians, 114 Muhammadans, 7 Jews, and 533 adherents of other religions. But the influence of Christianity reaches much further than the bounds of the Christian Church. The ancient civilizations of the East, as well as barbarism in all parts of the earth, have been brought into contact with Christendom by conquests, colonization, and commerce. European civilization, in the making of which Christianity has been a potent factor, is beginning to affect the thought and life of all mankind. In India, China, and Japan especially, the old religions are being undermined, and the Christian leaven is working even where there is hostility to Christianity as the foreign religion. Neo-Hinduism in India and Neo-Buddhism in Japan are attempts to arrest the progress of Christianity by offering instead an adaptation of the ancestral faith to modern condi-

tions, and yet may be regarded as a tribute to, as well as a witness of, the influence of Christianity. Within the nations professedly Christian we must also recognize that the moral and social progress—so marked a feature of the last century—has been very largely inspired and directed by the Christian ideal. In higher moral standards, in advancing social reform, and in improved international relations, this influence may be traced without ignoring the other factors in the process.

(b) On the other hand, however, it must regretfully be confessed that the Church as an institution has not the same hold on the bulk of the population that it had a century ago. Probably the connexion with the Church was in many cases only a tradition and custom, and not due to any personal conviction. It may be in the long run a gain for the Church that only those who are really, should be professedly, Christian; but meanwhile there is a growing indifference, in some circles even a deepening hostility. It is unfortunate that on the Continent the Christian Churches have to so great an extent acted as the defenders of the existing order, so that social and political reformers have been for the most part estranged from them. Social Democracy is generally contemptuous of, if not hostile to, Christianity. In Britain, fortunately, the gulf has not become so wide. Most of the representatives of Labour in the House of Commons are friendly in their attitude to Christian work, and some of them are heartily engaged in it. Priest, parson, or minister, by whatever name the official representative of the Church may be called, has lost most of the authority with which he was formerly invested. This loss of the Church might conceivably be a gain of the faith itself. But this cannot be maintained. To-day there is an attitude of distrust, doubt, and challenge to Christianity as a historical religion. The present is so content with its own achievements and resources that it is impatient of any demand for dependence, even in the things of the soul, on the past. The gospel for to-day must be an up-to-date gospel. Criticism lends some support to this modern self-sufficiency by bringing into question almost the entire historical reality of the gospel. Reduced to a vanishing quantity, this gospel can be banished from recognition as a factor of any appreciable value in the progress of human society. Modern moral ideas and social ideals can then be traced to other sources; and thus the man who has inherited a culture and civilization with the making of which Christianity has had much to do, can feel himself quite independent of it, and can even persuade himself that the Christian Church has in the past been, and now still is, the great hindrance to the humanitarian movement. The difficulty in the situation goes down deeper still. While most of those who hold aloof from the Church and disown their debt to Christianity as a historical religion, yet accept the Christian ideal of life, it is being boldly challenged. Secularism, Positivism, Socialism, and the Ethical Movement are offering modern society a guidance which claims to be better than the outworn Christian. Nietzsche, who, *mirabile dictu*, seems to be gaining followers, frankly proposes a devaluation of all values, and offers a morality deliberately anti-Christian. Garrod (*HJ* iii. [1904-5] 510-528), argues that the two ideals of honour and chivalry, which modern society recognizes, 'are neither Greek nor Christian, but Gothic, 'the peculiar property and creation of the northern races' (p. 517); and denies that 'the Greek or the Christian ideal has been, or that both in conjunction have been, in a true sense progressive' (p. 513). Social Democracy in Germany finds in Haeckel's philosophy the world-view, which takes the place of religion, but cannot be called religion.

(c) To meet this situation there have been attempts to adapt Christianity to its modern environment, as by Modernism in the Roman Catholic Church, and by Liberal Protestantism. In some circles of social reformers all the stress is thrown on the social aspects of Christ's teaching and example, and Christianity is represented as if it were exclusively Socialism with a religious sanction in God's Fatherhood, and a moral motive in devotion to Christ as the first and best Socialist, which economic Socialism lacks. A strenuous endeavour is made to get rid of the miraculous in Christianity as an offence to the mind of to-day, and to represent it as the highest stage in a natural religious evolution. Spiritualism, Theosophy, Christian Science, and New Thought are all offering themselves as substitutes for historical Christianity, to fill the void in the religious life of mankind which the rejection of the spiritual ministry of the Church of Christ involves. There are some even who have persuaded themselves that the West must seek its spiritual deliverance in the Wisdom of the East. Brāhmanism, Buddhism, and even Islām are being offered in place of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless the Christian Church faces the future without fear, for it knows whom it has believed.

VII. FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY.—If the Christian Church is not only to hold its own, but to win the world for Christ, as is its aim and hope, there are four main tasks which must be discharged. It must realize the present opportunity in the *Foreign Mission enterprise*; it must recognize the urgent necessity of *Social Reform*; it must accept the sacred obligation to seek the *unity of the Christian Churches*; and it must venture on the *theological re-statement of the Christian gospel* which the age demands.

1. Foreign missions.—The whole world is now open to the message of the gospel. Civilized nations are in contact with all the savage peoples. If this contact is not to result in the subjugation of the 'inferior' races to the ambition and avarice of the 'superior,' and in the moral deterioration of savage and civilized man alike, this civilization must be made the channel for Christian morals and religion. The awakening of India, China, and Japan to a racial consciousness, a national purpose, threatens the supremacy of Europe, nay, even a conflict between East and West. European civilization will be borrowed only to be used against European pretensions, unless these antagonisms can be resolved in the unity of a common faith. The solidarity of the human race, which we may hope for as the ultimate issue of human history, can be realized only as a common faith inspires a common ideal; and what faith is there that can enter into effective rivalry with the Christian for this function? If it were not that once and again the visions of the seers have taken possession of the common mind, and been realized by the common will, one could scarcely dare to hope that the Christian Church would surely rise to the height of this opportunity; but for the Christian believer the purpose of God in Christ to reconcile the world unto Himself standeth sure. The growth of the Christian Church in the past may be taken as the pledge of its wide-world expansion in the future (see the *Report of the World Missionary Conference*, 1910).

2. Social reform.—Christianity has already been reckoned among the ethical religions, and may even claim to be more distinctively ethical than any, since in its morality and religion spring from one root and bear one fruit. Love is the principle of morality and religion alike; God's Fatherhood issues in man's brotherhood. This principle has found expression in different forms of moral duty

according to the needs of every age. That the expression has ever been adequate, or the adaptation complete, cannot be maintained. To-day there is increasingly a recognition of the organic character of human society, of the dependence of all the parts on the whole, of the consequent obligation of all the members to one another. The Christian morality for this age must not only recognize the individual's obligations to others fully, but it must realize that it is by common action alone that many wrongs can be removed, and many needs can be met. The development of society as an organism, while it is conditioned by economic arrangements, needs the impulse and direction of a conscious, voluntary, social purpose. Much of the best effort of the present age is consecrated to this task of making society better; and the Christian Church would probably recover not a little of its lost ground among the masses in Christian lands if it would think out the application of the Christian Ideal in modern conditions, and endeavour with all its resources to secure its realization.

3. Church unity.—During the last century, efforts have been made to bring together Christian denominations which have much in common, and it is probable that this tendency will not only continue, but will increase in the immediate future. In Foreign Missions, with but a few exceptions, the Protestant societies limit their respective spheres of labour so as not to enter into competition with one another, and even harmoniously co-operate in many objects. In Social Reform, Christians of different sects find themselves on the same platform or in the same committee-room. When the traditions and conventions of the past ages have loosened their hold still further on the Christian Churches, when the need of adjustment in doctrine, worship, and practice to modern conditions has been more fully realized, still more of the ancient barriers will fall. What does seem certain is that it will not be by the assertion of Papal supremacy, or of an historic episcopate, or any one form of Church polity as essential, that unity will be reached. It is doubtful even whether uniformity is to be aimed at as the condition of unity. Just as the existence of separate nations does not seem incompatible with racial solidarity if an aggressive, exclusive patriotism can be suppressed, so Christian unity seems altogether congruous with a variety of thought, life, worship, and even order, which shall serve as the many facets of the jewel to reflect the manifold truth and grace of Christ. As far as the present direction suggests the future course of the Church, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, without uniformity in creed, code, ritual, and polity, is the next step to be taken.

4. Theological re-statement.—The Apostle Paul found that 'Christ crucified was unto the Jews a stumblingblock and unto the Greeks foolishness,' but he did not on that account stop preaching, for, on the other hand, he found both Jews and Greeks to whom Christ was the wisdom of God and the power of God. Thus to-day we must recognize that there is an indifference and a hostility to the Christian Churches due to sin and unbelief; and it is more than one dares to expect that Christianity could be so adapted that it would find universal acceptance. There is, however, in the estrangement of the cultured classes on the one hand, and of the toiling masses on the other, a challenge to the Christian Churches seriously to face the question whether the stumblingblock and the foolishness may be, not in the gospel itself, but in the current presentations of it. May not the mind of to-day be offended by antiquated forms of thought and modes of expression? May not the Western find too much Eastern dialect in the

language of the Kingdom of God for his understanding and welcome of it? The discoveries and conquests of science in the realm of Nature, the advance of philosophy in the interpretation of the mind of man, the comparison now possible between Christianity and other religions revealing resemblances as well as differences, the application of the principle of evolution in every sphere of human thought—all these conditions have brought about so great a change in the intellectual standpoint that, if Christianity is to realize its purpose and fulfil its promise, it must be prepared to forget many of the things that are behind, and to reach forth to the many things before, so as to adapt itself to its environment, for survival in the struggle for existence of the rival faiths of mankind.

VIII. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.—In a brief description such as the necessary limits of this article allow, only the distinctive features in creed, code, ritual, and polity can be mentioned, and when there are differences only the most important can be noted.

1. Doctrine.—(a) The *doctrine of God* in Christianity is not only monotheistic but Trinitarian. It is true that in the early centuries there were the various Monarchian theories, that at the Reformation there were the Socinian doctrines, and that to-day there is not only a Unitarian sect claiming the Christian name, but within the Christian Churches in the advanced wings there are thinkers who, in their denial of the Divinity of Christ, take away any reason for a Trinitarian doctrine of God. The historical basis of the doctrine of the Trinity is the revelation of the Fatherhood of God by Christ, the ascription of Lordship, that is, of Divine dignity, to Christ Himself by the Apostolic Church, and the consciousness of the presence and power of the Spirit of God in the Christian experience. The theological formula for the conception of God resulting from these historical facts is 'three Persons in one Substance'—Person not meaning merely individual, or mode, but something intermediate; and Substance not a class concept but a single existence (the Latin terminology of the doctrine is due to Tertullian). This formula has in popular religious thought often been understood in a tritheistic sense, and many Christian thinkers desire to have the unity of God more distinctly affirmed, to emphasize the fact that it is in revealing Himself to man that God is Father, Son, and Spirit, to insist that, while these distinctions must have corresponding reality in God, i.e. that the economic is also an essential Trinity, yet human thought transgresses its limits when it attempts to construe the inner being of God Himself. Other Christian thinkers have freely indulged in speculation to prove the rational necessity of the doctrine. As man is knowledge, love, and action, so is God manifold, not single. As subject involves object, so must Fatherhood in the Godhead involve sonship. But most of these attempts carry us no further than duality, the necessity of some kind of distinction in God. It would be a gain if the word 'tri-unity' could replace 'trinity.'

In relation to man, God is *Father*, by which is meant not merely man's creaturely dependence on God, or personal affinity to God, but God's love to man, and His purpose to bring man into fellowship of love with Himself. As this fellowship is hindered by sin in man, love is manifested as grace, removing the hindrance by saving man from sin. While some theologians narrow the Fatherhood of God to those in whom the purpose of grace has been fulfilled by their acceptance of it in faith, most insist to-day on the universal purpose of God to save all men. The doctrine of election, if still professed in some creeds, is passing out of progres-

sive Christian thought. On its positive side, as an assurance to the believer that his salvation is eternally willed by God, it is Christian; on its negative side, that the ruin of some men is eternally willed by God, in spite of a few Scripture texts quoted in its support, it is now generally felt to be inconsistent with the revelation of God's character in Christ. The common belief now is that God wills to bless all men. This belief in God's Fatherhood involves not only the universal purpose of God to redeem men, but also His care and bounty, His guidance and guardianship through Nature and history. Whether miracles have or have not occurred is a much debated question. The common belief has been that God has acted for man in ways inexplicable by the ordinary course of Nature. The tendency, even among some Christian thinkers, to-day is to minimize, if not altogether to deny, the miraculous. However this may be, the Christian conception of God is that Nature and history alike are under God's control for the ends of His Kingdom. Miracles cannot be regarded as impossible.

(b) The *doctrine of man* is that he is a reasonable, responsible being, free to choose right or wrong, but sinful and guilty because he has chosen wrong. The orthodox theology till recently assumed that the story of the Fall in Genesis was to be taken as history, substantially if not literally; and the race was regarded as sinful and guilty in consequence of the first man's Fall. Augustinianism taught that mankind had become a *massa perditionis*, incapable of good. Pelagianism minimized the consequences of the Fall, and insisted that man had retained his freedom, and could do good. This antithesis ran through Christian theology till recently. Literary and historical criticism has shown that the story of the Fall is an attempt to find a solution of the problem of evil, and cannot be taken as the basis for a doctrine of original sin, or of inherited depravity. The modern thinker regards sin as due to the emergence of animal appetites and individual instincts in the child prior to conscience and will, so that when conscience condemns them they have already gained such a hold that the will cannot suppress them. Some speculative minds have regarded sin as a necessary stage in man's moral development, but the Christian conscience generally condemns this view. Origen (one of the most learned and able, if also eccentric, of the teachers of the Church) is alone among ancient, and Julius Müller (in his *Christian Doctrine of Sin*, 1839) among modern, theologians in explaining this tendency to evil in the individual by a wrong choice in a pre-existent state. It is now being more generally recognized that what the gospel is concerned with is not the origin, but the reality, of sin—man's distrust of, and disobedience to, God; and of guilt—man's liability, in consequence of sin, to growing estrangement from God and loss of his higher life in God. Formerly even physical death was regarded as the penalty of sin; but now it is seen to be a natural necessity; and it is rather the dread which death awakens in man that is traced to his guilty conscience. The survival of man's soul, or his natural immortality, was accepted as an essential Christian doctrine, but this view has been recently challenged in the theory of *Conditional Immortality* (see E. White's *Life in Christ*, 1878). Those who die in sin cease to be, it is held; only believers in Christ are found worthy of eternal life. It is probable that the ordinary view of man's immortality is derived more from Greek philosophy than from the Christian revelation. The Christian Gospel offers man salvation from sin and guilt through penitence, a renunciation of sin, and faith, accepting the grace of God in Jesus Christ, in which not only is sin forgiven, but man is cleansed,

renewed, and made holy by God's own Spirit. While Protestantism insists that faith (inclusive of repentance) alone is necessary, Catholicism maintains that this faith must not be *unformed*, but must be *formed by love*, by works completing it.

(c) The Christian doctrine of Christ is that He was truly Divine and really human, and heresy has been a denial of the one or the other nature, or of their union in His Person. Athanasius was the protagonist of this doctrine against Arianism. The accepted formula is *two natures in one Person*; but, while as regards the humanity 'nature' means the class concept, as regards the Divinity it means *substance*, namely, that Christ belongs to the unity of the Divine existence; and 'person' does not mean a *tertium quid* resulting from the union of the Divine and the human; but for the orthodox doctrine it is rather the Divine Person of the Son who assumes *human nature* (not of an individual, but generally). As a matter of fact, the balance between the Divine and the human nature has not been kept even; but the human has been, contrary to the historical evidence, hidden and lost in the Divine. As has already been mentioned, Lutheran Christology tended to absorb the human entirely in the Divine, while Reformed Christology so emphasized the difference between the Divine and the human, while asserting the reality of both, as to involve Christ's Person in an incompatible duality. The orthodox doctrine, using philosophical terminology, ignored for the most part the facts of the Gospel records. An endeavour to recover a real human consciousness, character, and experience for the historical Jesus was the motive of the *kenotic theories*, which in various ways represented the Son of God as laying aside Divine prerogatives, and even such attributes as omniscience and omnipresence, in order to become really man; but most of these theories assumed the orthodox formula as adequate. To-day, on the one hand, the historical facts are being more insisted on, and, on the other, the adequacy of the philosophical terminology of the creeds is being challenged; but it cannot be claimed that a satisfactory re-statement which is likely to win general acceptance has been reached. Meanwhile many, dissatisfied with the orthodox doctrine, are content with a *humanitarian or naturalistic* view; Jesus was a man, even if it be admitted that He was the best man. The pre-existence, miraculous birth, sinless perfection, unique filial consciousness, and resurrection of Christ are all being doubted or denied. While many Christian theologians suspend their judgment as regards the first and second, the remaining three are generally regarded as essential to any doctrine of Christ's Person which shall maintain the continuity of the Christian faith in Him.

(d) While importance has been attached to the revelation of God by Christ, yet it is on man's redemption by His sacrifice that Christian thought has generally concentrated attention. His teaching and example have been regarded as subordinate to His *Atonement*. Of the meaning and worth of that death many views have been held; and here we have no orthodox formulæ as in regard to the Trinity or the Person of Christ. As a conquest of demons; a ransom paid to the devil (Origen); a *recapitulation* of humanity, or restoration to its condition before the Fall (Irenæus); a satisfaction rendered to God's honour for the insult of man's disobedience (Anselm); a substitutionary endurance of the penalty of man's sin exacted by the Divine righteousness (Reformers); an equivalent for man's punishment accepted for the ends of the Divine government (Grotius); an evidence of God's sympathetic participation in man's condition (Bush-

nell); a vicarious confession or repentance (M'Leod Campbell, Moberly),—in all these ways has the death of Christ been interpreted. While many are content with a subjective or *moral* theory of the Atonement (Abelard), that is, a theory which takes into consideration only the effect of Christ's sacrifice on man in awakening penitence, assuring pardon, inspiring gratitude, etc., yet some theologians do insist that an *objective* theory, that is, a theory which in some way relates Christ's death to God's government or character, is necessary to maintain the continuity of the historic faith in Christ as the atoning Saviour. There can be no doubt that the moral conscience and the religious consciousness alike to-day condemn many of the assumptions of theories of the past; yet the central position of the Cross of Christ in Christian experience demands a re-statement that shall do justice to all of truth which former theories have held.

(e) That Christ *rose again* was an article of the Apostolic creed even as that He died for our sins. The records of the appearances in the Gospels have hitherto been generally accepted as trustworthy; but many scholars to-day who believe in the living Lord rest their conviction on the testimony of Paul, and of Christian experience generally. Into this critical question this is not the place to enter. Christian faith has the certainty of the fellowship of the living Christ; it ascribes the continuance and the progress of the Church to His presence and power in it; it holds that still, through Him, God is saving men. This spiritual life of the individual believer in Christ and of the Christian Church is also ascribed to the Holy Spirit. The Christian creed distinguishes the Son of God, incarnate in Christ, from the Holy Spirit, as distinct Persons in the unity of the Godhead; but Christian thought has not succeeded in separating the work of the living Lord and the Holy Spirit in Christian experience. When the life of God in man is present to thought in the historical revelation and redemption, it is Christ who is conceived as present and active; when His life is experienced rather in inward illumination, exaltation, and invigoration, it is the Spirit who is considered as dwelling and working in man. Here we are in a region where theology is baffled by Christian experience. What is characteristically Christian is that God is inseparable from Christ, and the soul's inmost life is known to be God's life-giving spirit.

(f) As the Christian life is a union with Christ and a habitation by God's spirit, the community of those who believe, the *Church*, is conceived as the body of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Spirit. In a later section we shall deal with the Church as a historical reality, and the forms of organization which it has assumed; but meanwhile the conceptions current must be indicated. Roman Catholicism identifies the Church with the ecclesiastical organization of which the Pope is the head. Anglicanism claims to be the Church as possessing the historic episcopate and other marks of catholicity (*q.v.*) in contrast with all Nonconforming bodies. While recognizing other denominations as branches of the Church of Christ, each Protestant sect tends to regard its own particular organization as pre-eminently the Church, because more fully realizing the ideal community of Christ than any other. Protestantism recognizes a distinction, however, between the visible and the invisible Church, the visible being found in the ecclesiastical organizations bearing the Christian name, the invisible being composed of all believers, all members of Christ's body by living union with Him. The writer inclines to believe that the Church should, as an object of faith, always be conceived as the spiritual community of believers who, as united to

Christ, are united to one another, and are living one life in Him; and that this Church, which is one and cannot but be one, is present in every assembly gathered in the name of Jesus Christ. The visibility of the Church is not in any ecclesiastical organization, but the invisible becomes visible whenever and wherever the common life is expressed in preaching, worship, or work. This is the Congregational view corrected, in its undue emphasis on the sufficiency of the local congregation, by the recognition of the presence of Christ with His Church in the local congregation as the ground of its sufficiency. This conception may be applied to other forms of Christian organization. Presbytery, Synod, or Council, if and so far as gathered in Christ's name, is His Church made visible. So regarded, the Church may fitly be spoken of as the continuation of the Incarnation of the Son of God, as the channel of His activity in revealing God and redeeming man. Thus prayer, praise, and preaching alike are the act of Christ with His Church, through the medium of each Christian assembly. For divergent views see art. CHURCH, § 5, and the Anglican and Roman Catholic artt. CHURCH (Doctrine of the).

(g) In the history of the Christian Church great prominence has been given to the *Sacraments* (*q.v.*). Of these Roman Catholicism reckons seven; but here only the doctrine of the two universally acknowledged (except by the Society of Friends)—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—can be considered. While the Baptists insist on the believer's baptism by immersion as the sign of his death to sin, and rising again to holiness with Christ, the usual practice is infant baptism by sprinkling. Roman and Anglican Catholicism teach *baptismal regeneration*, that is, by baptism the child is so renewed that the guilt of original sin is cancelled, and its power, if not destroyed, is weakened, so that a measure of freedom is restored. In Protestantism generally the rite is regarded as the Church's assurance by outward sign that the grace of Christ is available for each child, and as the parent's dedication of the child to God. But there is no hard and fast doctrine. As regards the *Lord's Supper*, Catholicism teaches transubstantiation—the substance of the elements is changed, though not their accidents (outward appearance, taste, etc.), into the body and blood of Christ, so that even unbelievers partake. Christ's sacrifice is thus repeated, and this is efficacious for blessing to all who do not resist. Lutheranism teaches consubstantiation, or the presence of Christ's body 'in, with, and under' the elements. Calvinism localizes Christ's body in heaven, yet regards the sacrament as not merely a symbol, but as a channel of a peculiar grace from Christ. Zwinglianism taught that the Supper was a symbolic memorial. The view of the Church mentioned in the previous paragraph enables us to regard the Sacrament as an act of Christ with His Church present to the believer, communicative of His grace; but why any peculiar gift of grace should be assumed or expected the present writer must confess himself unable to understand. With the Catholic view of the Sacraments goes the view of the priest as the necessary agent of Christ in the administration of the rite (the permission in certain cases to laymen to baptize is an exception to the general theory); but this idea Protestantism has rejected as inconsistent with the sole Mediatorship of Christ and the universal priesthood of believers.

(h) In the Apostolic Church great prominence was given to the doctrine of the *last things* (eschatology, apocalypics). The Second Advent of Christ in glory and power was expected speedily. This would be the signal of the general resurrection, judgment of the world, and final separation

of the blessed and the damned. The belief in a thousand years' reign of Christ with His saints prior to this end (the millennium) seems to have been confined to a narrow circle. When the first generation passed without Christ's appearing, the question of the intermediate state emerged. While the assumption was general that saints at death passed to blessedness, and sinners to misery, the belief in a Second Advent, General Resurrection, and Final Judgment, as the end of the present world-order, persisted; and from time to time there have been periods of great excitement when this consummation was believed to be imminent. This doctrine still has wide acceptance. But probably among Christian thinkers the metaphorical character of the language in which this hope was expressed is now recognized; and the substance of the hope is found in the expectation of a triumph of Christ's gospel in the world on the one hand, and in the anticipation of the believer individually that after death he will have a clearer vision of, closer communion with, and greater resemblance to, Christ. While probably the doctrine of eternal torment for the sinful is still commonly held, yet Christian thought is more and more rejecting this view; sometimes for the doctrine of conditional immortality, or eternal life for believers only; sometimes for universalism, or salvation finally for all; or sometimes for a wise and tender reticence, the belief that the Father of all will do the best for each.

2. *Morals*.—Only a very brief reference can be made to Christian morals. Christian morality has been influenced at least as much as, if not more than, Christian belief, at each stage of the history of the Christian Church, by the total conditions, economic, social, and political; and a history of the changes in Christian morals is quite beyond the scope of this article. It must suffice to indicate the moral principles or principle, and the manner of its realization.

(a) This is determined by the Christian conception of God and man. Men as children of God, and thus as members of one another, have one duty—absolute love to God, and an equal love to self and neighbour. This love is grateful surrender to God, and sympathetic service of man, even unto sacrifice of self; hence the life for God and others is found in losing the life for self. This makes morality not a code of laws, but an inward disposition. As guides to conduct the accepted moral standards remain, but a new moral content is given to conformity with them by the new motive of all action. This new motive gives also a new moral range. Morality had developed as tribal or national; now it becomes universal. The neighbour is not fellow-countryman, but fellow-man, and fellow-man conceived as the child of the one Father over all.

(b) In the early Apostolic Church the spirit of brotherhood prevailed in a wonderful degree; even towards the hostile world there was the spirit of patience, forgiveness, and desire to save. While during the subsequent development the salt did lose much of its savour, yet the Christian Church in the pagan world stood for greater purity and charity. Anchoritism, or the withdrawal of individuals from society into desert places for solitary meditation and prayer, and afterwards monasticism—the formation of societies of such as had withdrawn themselves—were a contradiction of the Christian principle of love, inasmuch as the motive was to save one's own soul instead of seeking to save the world. Yet in the rude, unsettled times of the Middle Ages the monasteries rendered a social service of culture, industry, and beneficence. It has already been pointed out that Calvinism recognized the duty of the Church's influencing

society so as to conform it to the will of God more than did Lutheranism, but the standard was set more by the Jewish Law than by the Christian gospel. This legalism has been a characteristic of Christian morals in Protestantism as well as in Catholicism; and the truth has been lost sight of that a law of love is the fulfilment, and so the abolition, of law. Without even suggesting that there have not been in every generation Christians who have lived holily according to the law of love, we may venture to affirm that to-day the distinctive principles of Christian morality are gaining more general recognition. During the Middle Ages the most devout souls imagined that the life of poverty, and even beggary, as the closest imitation of the life of Jesus on earth, was the evangelical life. Now we see that the evangelical life is the life that brings to the needs and sorrows and sins of men the same kind of succour, comfort, and deliverance as Jesus brought to those whom His ministry saved and blessed; and this means to-day not only individual philanthropy, but also social reform.

3. Worship.—Love towards God expresses itself, and must express itself, through love to man in whatever form it can be most effectual. But this cannot be its only or full expression.

(a) The relation of God and man is personal, and personal relationship involves mutual communion, the expression of affection. This communion of man with God may be individual or social. In Christian devotion there has been, throughout the ages, a strain of mysticism, an undue emphasis on the soul's solitary contemplation of, and intercourse with, God, or with Christ as the loving Bridegroom. Into the latter there has sometimes stolen an almost sensuous passion. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153) found in the Song of Solomon his vocabulary of devotion. Samuel Rutherford's (1600–1661) letters draw from the same source terms of endearment for the Saviour. A sober piety shrinks from this familiarity as irreverent; and mysticism must also be regarded as incomplete piety, inasmuch as it does not sufficiently recognize the Christian community as in its public worship enlarging and correcting individual devotion.

(b) This public worship in its beginning derived a good deal of its outward form from the Jewish synagogue, and very soon began to be affected even by pagan rites. How far the mysteries influenced Christian worship, even possibly in the Apostolic age, is a subject now under discussion by scholars. Whether such influence was or was not inevitable, whether without this protecting shell Christian piety could have been preserved or not, are too large questions to be answered here. It must be admitted, however, that many of the modes of worship which were introduced were not an accurate and adequate expression of the essential Christian relation between God and man. The Creator, Sovereign, and Judge was addressed in prayer and praise rather than the Father. As the inspiration of the early days ceased, and the Church began to settle down in the world, the spontaneous exercise of spiritual gifts for common edification was, in the interests of propriety and order, replaced by fixed forms carried through by the officers of the Church. In Montanism (A.D. 172) a sympathetic observer will recognize more of the Apostolic mood than in the ordered Church that condemned and suppressed it. Against this formalism, which attached more importance to the mode than to the motive of devotion, there have been protests time and again, some marked, be it admitted, by extravagance, impropriety, and fanaticism. In the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches an elaborate ritual has been gradually developed; the Church of England has its liturgy. Scottish Presbyterianism has had a less rigid order

of service, and has always made provision for extempore prayer, which has sometimes sunk to a soulless routine. Those who are accustomed to a fixed ritual often affirm that this possesses sacred associations, which make it invaluable as an aid to devotion. In Churches where there is no recognized order of service, and no fixed form of prayer, worshippers sometimes express themselves as desirous of finding more reverence, beauty, and continuity with the devotions of past ages. That those who lead public worship in such communities should make themselves familiar with the devotional literature of the past, so that their speech shall be of the sanctuary and not of the street, may be conceded; and yet one may hold that the public worship of the Christian Church should spurn formality, and seek spontaneity.

(c) As in the Hebrew nation, so in the Christian Church the antithesis of *priest* and *prophet* has appeared, although it would be unjust to add that it has generally been accompanied by that of *ritual* and *righteousness* also. As a necessary continuance of the old dispensation combined with the new, the defenders of sacerdotalism and sacramentarianism would say, as an explicable yet regrettable perversion of the gospel, evangelical Protestants would answer—the ideas of the altar, sacrifices, and priesthood have come into the Christian Church, not only from the Jewish Church, but even from paganism itself (a change to which Cyprian [200–258] contributed much). We have already seen how divergent are the judgments of Loisy and Harnack on this development in Christianity, and we must not now take sides in this age-long quarrel. We can consider this contrast only as it affects the worship of the Church. In the Churches of the Catholic order, the ritual performed by the priest and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, or Mass, as its culmination, is the worship of the Church. In the Protestant Churches, while the spiritual exercises of prayer and praise are not neglected, the preaching of the gospel stands in the forefront. The performance of the proper ritual by the consecrated person is held to secure benefit to those who are present, even though it may be as little more than spectators, in the one case; a spiritual participation in prayer and praise and in the preaching of the word by a believing attention to it is looked for in the other case.

4. Polity.—As a religious community, Christianity must assume some form of organization. As regards the Apostolic Church, it may be confidently maintained that spontaneous inspiration was predominant rather than fixed organization, and that, so far as there was the necessary organization, there was not uniformity but adaptation. Previous associations, as of the Jewish synagogue or of the Gentile mutual benefit club, exercised an influence on the organization adopted. That there is only one form of Church polity legitimate in the Christian Church is an assumption to which modern scholarship offers no support.

(a) Under pressure of persecution from without, and for preservation from heresy within, the Church in the 2nd cent. inevitably assumed a more compact organization, for which Apostolic sanction was claimed. The episcopate rose out of the presbyterate, which had existed along with the diaconate from the Apostolic age; and so the threefold order emerged. This episcopate was at first only congregational and not diocesan, and the bishop was little more than the president, the *primus inter pares* in the presbytery. As the clergy came to be more sharply marked off from the laity, as sacerdotal tendencies in the 3rd cent. asserted themselves (especially in Cyprian) and were justified by appeal to the OT, the episcopate became more thoroughly monarchical (cf., for a

different standpoint, artt. APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION, EPISCOPACY). As the Christian Church adapted its organization to that of the Roman Empire, the bishop of the Church in the capital of the province came to exercise a strong influence, and then even an undefined authority over the other bishops. Thus Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome came by the 4th cent. to the front rank in the episcopates. The rivalry of these Sees affected seriously the course of even the theological development (e.g. the controversy between Cyril and Nestorius in the 5th cent.). The position of Rome as the old capital of the Roman Empire, even when it had as its rival the new capital, Constantinople, the spirit of dominion in the Imperial city, and the influence which the Church of Rome gained through its manifold services to the Churches of the Empire—all these gave to the bishop of Rome an advantage over his rivals in asserting a higher authority. By what means the bishop of Rome became Pope of Christendom need not now be recorded (see art. PAPACY). For the loss of the East by the Great Schism, the Papacy was compensated by a practically unchallenged authority over the Germanic peoples. But throughout the Middle Ages the claims of the Papacy, not only to the headship of the Christian Church, but even to a temporal dominion, a subordination of earthly rulers to its heavenly sway, were opposed by two forces, the one political and the other ecclesiastical, although they are often found in alliance—the growing spirit of nationality which resented the interference of Rome in the local ecclesiastical organization, and the surviving spirit of an earlier age which claimed that the Papal authority was subordinate to that of the General Council (the conciliar in contrast with the curialist view). At the Council of Trent, and completely at the Vatican Council, the curialist, or Ultramontane, view triumphed over the conciliar. This triumph resulted in the secession of the 'Old Catholics.'

(b) At the Reformation the spirit of nationalism found expression in the nationalist Protestant Churches, varying in their organization, but all subordinate to the State. The Anglican Church disowns the Papal supremacy, maintains the episcopal order, and acknowledges the Sovereign of the Realm as the Head of the Church. But within it there are two tendencies—the Catholic, which desires to maintain the continuity of tradition and custom with the pre-Reformation Church, and to secure as far as possible the spiritual independence of the Church, and chafes at the bonds the State imposes; and the Erastian, which regards Church and nation as identical, and the Crown and Parliament as expressive of the national will as legitimate authority in the national Church. The order of the Reformed Churches is not episcopal, but presbyterial, the individual congregation and the congregations in combination being governed by representatives of the Christian people. Some of the Lutheran Churches (Denmark and Sweden) are episcopal, and some are governed by district superintendents; but the subordination to the Government is carried to a degree that must seem intolerable to those who cherish the principle of the Church's spiritual independence. The fullest assertion of this principle is found in the Baptist and the Congregational Churches, in which the individual congregation is held to be complete in itself for all the necessary functions of the Christian Church, but is in no way precluded from combining with other Churches for common interests. A tendency to insist on the necessity for this wider union is increasingly asserting itself. The Society of Friends represents Christianity with the least possible organization. The Ortho-

dox Greek Church and the Eastern Churches have a patriarchate superior to the episcopate; but into the details of their organization it is not necessary now to enter.

(c) That Christian faith, to deliver its message and fulfil its mission in the world, must assume some external organization cannot but be conceded, and that this instrument has sometimes defeated the purpose of its existence must be recognized. The mechanics of the ecclesiastical organization has been a hindrance as well as a help to the dynamics of the spiritual community. Nothing probably in the polity of the Church has been more of an obstacle to its testimony and influence than the entangling alliances into which it has entered with the State, for through this door mammon has often entered in, and displaced Christ. While no form of polity is distinctive of, or essential to, Christianity, that is most genuinely and effectively Christian which leaves the largest room for the gracious and mighty Spirit of the Head of the Church, and yet is best adapted to the local and temporal conditions for the fulfilment of the ends of the Kingdom—the preservation of the savour of the salt of the earth, the prominence of the light of the world, the pervasion of human society by the heaven, and the growth and spread of the mustard-plant to the ends of the earth. So manifold has Christianity been in its development in doctrine, morals, worship, and polity, that no complete description is possible; it has been one and the same in all its forms and with all its changes in raising its Founder's name above every other name, in the certainty and expectation that in that name every knee shall yet bow, to the glory of God the Father.

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CHRISTMAS.—Christmas is the Feast of the Nativity of Christ, celebrated on December 25. There are two main problems with regard to the history of Christmas: (1) the celebration of an ecclesiastical feast, and (2) the chronological method which led to the choice of a special day. These two problems have to be kept apart, especially since it seems probable that the choice of a day preceded the celebration of an ecclesiastical feast. It is, however, desirable for the sake of clearness to reverse the actual order of development, and first to discuss the history of the institution of the feast.

I. THE INSTITUTION OF A FEAST OF THE NATIVITY.—There are two main theories on this point—that of Usener ('Das Weihnachtsfest', pt. i. of his *Religionsgesch. Untersuchungen*), and that of Duchesne (*Origines du culte chrétien*, pp. 247–254). According to Usener's view, the celebration of the Nativity was originally held everywhere on Jan. 6, and this was displaced in Rome in 353–4 by Pope Liberius in favour of Dec. 25, Jan. 6 being kept only for the Epiphany or Feast of the Baptism. From Rome the observance of Dec. 25 spread Eastwards, and was welcomed by the Orthodox as a means of emphasizing the fact that Jesus was born the Son of God, and of excluding the Adoptionist heresy. Duchesne, on the other hand, thinks that Jan. 6 was from the beginning the Eastern date, and Dec. 25 the Western date, and that the East and West combined each other's dates. Thus, while Usener and Duchesne agree in thinking that in the East Dec. 25 was derived from Rome, and are not seriously opposed to each other on this part of the question, they otherwise differ sharply as to the history of the feast in Rome and in the East.

The question chiefly turns on a number of small pieces of evidence which become most easily intelligible if arranged so far as possible under the names of the various localities. It is, however, desirable first to state certain pieces of negative evidence.

1. Negative evidence.—There is no evidence of the existence of a Feast of the Nativity before the 4th cent., except possibly among the Basilidians.

(a) Clement of Alexandria's statement as to the practice of the Basilidians may, but need not, mean that they observed a Feast of the Nativity. If they did, it was either on Jan. 6 or on Apr. 19–20 (for the evidence, see II. 1). Clement's words do not necessarily mean that the Orthodox had no Feast of the Nativity, but certainly do not imply the contrary. He himself dated the Nativity on Nov. 18 (see *Strom.* i. 147, 17 [ed. Sylberg], and cf. § II. 1, below).

(b) Origen, *c. Celsum*, viii. 22 (ed. Koetschau, p. 239), says: ἐὰν δὲ τις πρὸς ταῦτα ἀνθυποφέρῃ τὰ περὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν κυριακῶν ἢ παρασκευῶν ἢ τοῦ Πάσχα ἢ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς δι' ἡμερῶν γινόμενα λεκτέον καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο κ.τ.λ., thus recognizing only the weekly Sunday feast and Friday fast, and the yearly Paschal and Pentecostal feasts. Similarly in *Com. in Ev. Matt.* (ed. Delarue, iii. 471 [PG xiii. 396]) he says: ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . ἐπ' οὐδεμῶς γραφῆς εὐρομεν ὅπῃ δίκαιον γενέθλιον ἀγόμενον, ἀδικὸς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ τοῦ Παρὰ δ' Ἑρῳδῆς καὶ γὰρ ὅτι γενέθλιον ἀρχισυντοποῖς ἀναπείραι, ὅπῃ δὲ τοῦτου Ἰωάννης κ.τ.λ.—which he would hardly have said had it been customary to celebrate the Nativity. The same statement is made in *in Lev.* viii. (ed. Delarue, ii. 229 [PG xii. 405]).

(c) Arnobius (*c.* 296), in *adversus Nationes*, vii. 32 (ed. Reifferscheid, p. 266), says: 'Telluris natalis est: dii enim ex uteris prodeunt et habent dies laetos quibus eis adscriptum est auram usurpare vitalem.' It is argued that he would scarcely have spoken thus if Christians also had

been in the habit of celebrating the Nativity of Christ.

(d) The Donatists (311).—More important, if it were certain, would be the fact that the Donatists never observed the feast.

These schismatics did not break away from the Church because of any dogmatic innovations, but in a zeal for strictness, and regarded themselves as the conservative party. It is therefore significant that Augustine (*Serm.* ccii. 2) says: 'merito istam diem [i.e. Jan. 6] nunquam nobiscum haeretici Donatistae celebrare voluerunt.' 'Nobiscum' here can scarcely mean anything except 'at the same time as'; for the Donatists would, of course, on no day recognize the Catholics, whom they regarded as heathen. From this evidence Usener concludes that the feast on Jan. 6 was introduced after 311, and also that the Donatists knew of no Feast of the Nativity. Duchesne, on the other hand, regards it as probable that they knew Dec. 25, but not Jan. 6. Neither conclusion is justified by the facts. The evidence only shows that in Africa there was no Epiphany feast (Jan. 6) before 311, and for the rest Usener and Duchesne both seem to have read into the evidence the conclusion which they wished to find.

(e) Imperial legal ordinances.—In 389, Valentinianus issued a list of legal holidays (*Cod. Theodos.* ii. 8, 19), among which only Sundays and Easter (including Holy Week and Easter Week) are reckoned. Theodosius made no change in this respect in 438, nor did Alaric in 506, but Christmas and Epiphany appear in the contemporary expansions of Alaric's work, and they were inserted in the Justinian Code of 529. It is, however, noteworthy that the regulation forbidding performances in theatres and circuses on Sunday, which existed as early as 336 [originally an exception was made for the Imperial birthdays and accession feasts, but this was repealed in 409], was in 400 extended to the 15 days of Easter, Christmas, and Epiphany (see *Cod. Theodos.* xv. 5, 2, ii. 8, 20, 23–5).

2. Direct evidence.—(a) For Jan. 6 (Epiphany).—This evidence is probably sufficient, when added to the remarkable silence as to the existence of a Nativity feast up to the 4th cent., to show that it was not celebrated before that time. The earliest evidence which we possess for any such feast points, moreover, not to Dec. 25, but to Jan. 6, on which date the Birth and the Baptism of Jesus were simultaneously celebrated. The details of the origin and history of this feast on Jan. 6 will be given in art. EPIPHANY. It is sufficient for the present to say that, while the earliest direct statements as to this feast are apparently those in Ephraim Syrus († 373), it probably was introduced before 325, as it seems to have been observed both by Arians and Catholics, and finally, that, as a feast of the Baptism, it was observed in the 2nd cent. by the Basilidians (see Clement's evidence, II. 1, below), from whom it may have been derived.

(b) For Dec. 25.—The evidence for the introduction of Dec. 25 may be arranged under the names of the various churches.

(1) ROME.—The *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Mommsen, p. 12) says of Telesphorus: 'hic fecit natalem domini nostri Jesu Christi noctu missas celebrarentur'; but this passage is universally recognized as a late addition, devoid of historical value. Fortunately, however, other and better evidence exists. In the chronological collections of Filocalus (Th. Mommsen, 'Ueber dem Chronographen vom Jahr 354,' *ASG* for 1850, and also published separately) there is a list of bishops of Rome, ending with Liberius (of whom only the date of accession is given, so that he was still alive), followed by a *Deposito Martirum*, arranged according to their place in the calendar. As

Liberius is mentioned, but nothing is said of his banishment, it is clear that this list belongs to the year 354. But it is also plain that there is behind this an earlier list ending with Sylvester († 335), because all the bishops down to him are given according to their place in the calendar, but the next three—Marcus († 7th Oct. 336), Julius († 352), and Liberius—are added at the end of the list. Thus the original list of bishops was made in 336, and the recension of 354 is secondary (see Duchesne, *Bulletin critique*, xi. 41 ff.). The *Depositio Martyrum* begins: 'VIII Kal. Jan. natus Christus in Betleem Iudeae.' The question then arises, whether this statement belongs to the ground document of 336 or to the recension of 354. Duchesne holds the former view, Usener the latter. So far as the *Depositio* itself is concerned, it is to be noticed that the form of the entry is unique: at the *depositio* of each martyr is given merely the genitive of his name, to which the date is sometimes added. The only entry at all parallel is 'VIII. Kal. Martias natale Petri de catedra.' It is also curious that the *Depositio* is arranged in months, each being headed 'mense Januario,' 'mense Februario,' and so on. But the Nativity, instead of coming under December, is inserted at the beginning. This cannot be because the writer of 336 regarded the ecclesiastical year as beginning with Dec. 25, for in the list of bishops he begins with January and goes on to Dec. 31, the date of Sylvester's death in 335. These facts raise a suspicion that the reference to the Nativity belongs to 354 rather than to 336. This suspicion is confirmed by evidence contained in Ambrosius, *de Virginibus*, iii. 1 f., in which he quotes a sermon preached by Liberius (who became Pope on 22nd May or 21st June, 352 [see Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. Bisch.*, 1869, p. 262]), on the occasion of Marcellina, Ambrose's elder sister, becoming a nun. The important passage is the following:

'Bonas, inquit, filia, nuptias desiderasti. Vides quantus ad natalem sponsi tui populus convenerit, et nemo impastus recedit? Hic est qui rogatus ad nuptias aquam in vina convertit. In te quoque sincerum sacramentum conferet virgininitas, quae prius eras obnoxia vilibus naturae materialibus elementis. Hic est qui quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quatuor millia populi in deserto pavit. . . . Hodie quidem secundum hominem homo natus ex virgine sed ante omnia generatus ex Patre, qui matrem corpore, virtute referat Patrem. . . .'

The words 'Hodie . . . natus ex virgine' and the reference to the *dies natalis* of Christ show that it was delivered on the Feast of the Nativity; but the references to the miracle at Cana and the feeding of the multitude suggest that the Epiphany, not Christmas, was intended. These narratives belong to the Epiphany service, not to that of Christmas. Moreover, the last phrase obtains fresh force when we remember that the text in the Old Lat. of Ps 27 is 'Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te.' It is therefore not impossible that Liberius means that the birth from the Virgin and the generation from the Father in the baptism were celebrated on the same day—'Hodie quidem secundum hominem homo natus ex virgine sed ante omnia generatus ex patre.' In this case 'ante omnia' is antithetic to 'quidem,' and means 'above all,' not 'before all things' in a temporal sense. But, however this may be, and it is, of course, open to doubt, an exceedingly strong argument is found in the fact that Epiphany, not Christmas, has always been the recognized time for admitting nuns. The present regulations recognize Epiphany, Easter Week, the days of the Apostles, and Sundays; they can be traced back to the *Pontificale Romanum* of 1596 (Clement VIII.). But Gelasius (*Ep. xiv. 12*) in 494 omitted the Sundays, and the Sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory reduced the Easter Week to Easter Monday (*Sacr. Gel. i. 103*, and *Gregorii libr.*

sacram. in the Benedictine ed. vol. iii. p. 167c; cf. Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 272 f.).

The date of this sermon of Liberius is not certain; but from references in it to the tender youth of Marcellina it must have been early in his career as Pope. The earliest possible date is 353, and the latest possible date for the entry in the *Chronology of Filocalus* is 354. Therefore, as the sermon implies that the Nativity was celebrated on Jan. 6, and the chronology (taken from the Papal diptychon[?]) implies that it was, in 354, celebrated on Dec. 25, it follows that Marcellina must have become a nun on 6th Jan. 353, when the Nativity was celebrated, and that between this and 354 the date of the feast was changed by Pope Liberius to Dec. 25. If this be so, there remains uncertain only the minor point whether 25th Dec. of 353 or of 354 was the first Christmas in Rome.

It is possible that with this institution of Christmas on Dec. 25 by Pope Liberius ought also to be connected the foundation (between 358 and 386) of the church originally known as the Basilica Liberii, afterwards as S. Maria ad Præsepe, and since the 9th cent. as S. Maria Maggiore (cf. *Lib. Pontif. 37. 7*=p. 208, 5 in Duchesne's ed.). This church was the centre of the Roman celebration of Christmas. The Pope celebrated Mass there on the Vigil, and in the rooms provided by Xystus (the second founder) a feast was given by the bishops of Albano. The Pope remained until the evening for the service 'ad præsepium' (see Usener, *op. cit.*, p. 279; he derives his information from the *Ordo Romanus* and F. Caurellievi, *Notizie intorno alla novena, vigilia, notte e festa di natale*, first published anonymously in 1788).

Besides this, reference must be made to the Procession with Lights¹ on the Feast of the Purification (Candlemas [q.v.], Feb. 2). The facts cannot be established with certainty, but, according to Beletus (*PL ccii. 129 f.*), Liberius instituted this litany, which clearly marks the end of the Christmas season and could not have existed until Christmas was fixed on Dec. 25. Probably its institution was hastened by the desire to Christianize an obscure Roman procession, the *Amburbale* (cf. Servius in *Verg. Ecl. iii. 77*, and Beletus, *PL ccii. 864*), just as the *Litania major* on St. Mark's day took the place of the *Robigalia* (Apr. 25), and the *Litania minor*, or Rogation days, before Ascension day the place of the *Ambarvalia*.

These arguments (used by Usener in his 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 267 ff.) have met with wide acceptance even in Roman Catholic circles, despite Duchesne's criticism (see esp. S. Bäumer, in *Der Katholik*, lxx. [1890] 1-20), but it is obvious that they are somewhat complicated, and Duchesne's criticisms have a permanent value. If Usener's view be accepted, Christmas on Dec. 25 dates in Rome from 353 or 354. If Duchesne be right, it is at least as early as 336. On the whole, Usener seems to do most justice to all the facts in a very complicated series. The weak point in his position is the absence of any definite proof that Jan. 6 was observed in Rome before the time of Liberius; but Duchesne has not succeeded in explaining why, if Dec. 25 be the older feast in Rome, the Roman calendar reckons Sundays 'after Epiphany,' not 'after Christmas,' or why the Christmas services in Rome have their centre in the church of Liberius, while those of Epiphany are in the older basilica of St. Peter. The former point is perhaps unimportant, but the latter is very serious.

(2) CONSTANTINOPLE.—The evidence as to the introduction of the Feast of the Nativity on Dec.

¹ The present liturgy for the Candlemas procession represents a recension made by Pope Sergius (701) (cf. *Lib. Pontif.*, ed. Duchesne, i. 366 ff.), and the original character of a penitential litany is almost lost. But violet vestments are still used, and the service is introduced with 'Exsurge, Domine, adjuva nos.'

25 in Constantinople is contained partly in the indirect light thrown on the subject by Chrysostom, partly in the sermons of Gregory Nazianzen. Chrysostom (see (3) below), speaking in 388, says that the feast was not yet ten years old in the East, but that it had long been known 'from Thrace to Gades.' The latter expression practically covers the Western Church, for Thrace must be taken to mean the Mysian praefecture, which belonged more to Rome than to Constantinople. Thus, according to Chrysostom, the feast was introduced between 378 and 388, and nearer to the former than to the latter date.

Gregory's evidence supports this view, and suggests that he was actually the person who introduced the feast. The facts are supplied by his three sermons *eis τὰ Θεοφάνια*, *ἐστὶν Γενέθλια τοῦ Σωτῆρος* (Or. 38 [PG xxxvi. 312]), *eis τὰ ἅγια Φώτα* (Or. 39 [PG xxxvi. 336 ff.]) and *eis τὸ ἅγιον Βάπτισμα* (Or. 40 [PG xxxvi. 360 ff.]). It was suggested by C. Holtermann (in a dissertation defended at Wittenberg in 1884, entitled *Ex historia ecclesiastica τῶν Ἐπιφάνια*, etc.; it is usually, but erroneously, quoted under the name of J. Kindler, the Rector before whom the dissertation was defended [see P. de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, iv. 247]) that the first two of these sermons were delivered on the same day. In this case it would appear that Christmas had not yet been separated from Epiphany. But this view is almost certainly wrong, for in the first sermon (Or. 38) Gregory says:

Μικρὸν μὲν οὐν ὕστερον ὕψαι καὶ καθαρὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν ἡμῶν κἀβαρσιν . . . νυνὶ δὲ μοι δέξαι τὴν κύριον καὶ προσκίρην (PG xxxvi. 329); and again: τὰ δὲ νῦν Θεοφάνια ἢ πανηγυρίαι ἐστὶν Γενέθλια: λέγεται γὰρ ἀμόρφοι, δύο κειμένων προσφύγων ἐνὶ πράγματι . . . ὄνομα δὲ τῶ φανήναι μὲν Θεοφάνια τῷ δὲ γεννᾶσθαι Γενέθλια: τοῦτο ἐστὶν ἡμῶν ἢ πανηγυρίαι, τοῦτο ἐορτάζομεν σήμερον (PG xxxvi. 313 f.).

If these passages be compared with the beginning of Or. 39, it is plain that a different occasion is intended by the latter:

Πάλιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐμὸς, καὶ πάλιν μυστήριον . . . ἡ γὰρ ἁγία τῶν Φώτων ἡμέρα, εἰς ἣν ἀφῆκα, καὶ ἣν ἐορτάζωμεν ἡρώμεθα σήμερον, ἀκούην μὲν τὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ βάπτισμα λαμβάνει κ.τ.λ. (Or. 39, 1 [PG xxxvi. 336]); and τῇ μὲν οὖν γεννήσει τὰ εἰκότα προεωρτάσαμεν . . . νυνὶ δὲ πρᾶξις ἄλλη Χριστοῦ καὶ ἄλλο μυστήριον . . . Χριστὸς βαπτίζεται (PG xxxvi. 336).

Moreover, there is one passage which suggests that Gregory had himself introduced the Christmas feast, for he says in the Epiphany sermon (Or. 39): τῇ μὲν οὖν γεννήσει τὰ εἰκότα προεωρτάσαμεν, ἐγὼ τε ὁ τῆς ἐορτῆς ἑξαρχος κ.τ.λ. (PG xxxvi. 349), and a few lines lower down he continues: καὶ χάρις τῷ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἐλθόντι ἀλλοτρίως ὅτι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐδόξασεν. The natural conclusion from these passages is that Gregory had instituted this feast, and that this was the 'glory' which had been given to him. Usener seems to have no doubt that this is the true interpretation; and, considering the indirect evidence of Chrysostom that the feast actually was instituted at about the time that Gregory was in Constantinople, there is no serious reason for disputing his conclusion, though, if it were not so, it might be possible to explain ἑξαρχος merely as 'the officiant' in the Christmas services, and the 'glory' as the privilege and honour entailed by that position.

That Gregory was speaking in Constantinople is almost certain. Apart from the passage quoted above, in which he refers to himself as a foreigner, he says (PG xxxvi. 317):

ἡ βουλήσθε (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σήμερον ἐστίατορ ὑμῶν) ἐγὼ τὸν περὶ τοῦτων παραβῶ λόγον τοῖς καλοῖς ὑμῶν δαιτυμόσι, ὡς οἶόν τε ἐαυτῶν τε καὶ φιλοτιμῶς, ἵν' εἰδῇτε πῶς δύναται τρέφεσθαι ὁ ξένος τοῖς ἐγγυαρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀσκητοῖς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τοῖς τρυφῶντας ὁ μὴ τρυφῶν καὶ τοῖς περιουσίᾳ λαμπροῦς ὁ πένις τε καὶ ἀνέστιος:

These words obviously refer to the situation in Constantinople, to which he was called in 378 by the Orthodox party after the death of Valens. The date of the sermons must for the same reasons be placed between 378, when Gregory began his

ministrations in the Anastasia, and 381, when he retired to private life, after having been Patriarch of Constantinople for only a few weeks.

Thus there is considerable—indeed, little short of conclusive—evidence that the celebration of the Nativity on Dec. 25 was introduced by Gregory Nazianzen. Negative evidence supports this conclusion, for until the time of Theodosius (379) Constantinople was Arian, and the Arians seem always to have celebrated the Nativity on Jan. 6.

(3) ANTIOCH.—The writings of Chrysostom enable us to fix with considerable exactness the date at which the observance of the Feast of the Nativity on Dec. 25 was introduced at Antioch. In a sermon preached there in 388 (for the chronology of this part of Chrysostom's life, see Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' pp. 227–238) on the Feast of the Nativity, he states that its observance was not yet quite ten years old (καίτοι γε ὅσῳ δέκατον ἐστὶν ἔτος ἐξ οὗ δόλη καὶ γνώριμος ἦν αὐτῇ ἡ ἡμέρα γεγενῆσθαι), although it has been well known in other districts (ὅθεν οὐκ ἂν τις ἀμάρτοι καὶ νέαν αὐτῇν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀρχαίαν εἰπὼν) νέαν μὲν διὰ τὸ προσφάτως ἡμῶν γνωρισθῆναι, παλαιὰν δὲ καὶ ἀρχαίαν διὰ τὰς πρεσβυτέραις ταχέως ὁμηλίκαι γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπὸ φθόσαι μέτρον [ed. Montfaucon, ii. 355*, PG xlix. 351]), and a little further on he says that it τοῖς ἀπὸ Θορῆκης μέχρι Γαδελῶν οἰκοῦσι κατὰδόλος καὶ ἐπίσημος γέγονε. Moreover, it is plain from this argument that, though this observance might be ten years old in the Eastern Church generally, it was being celebrated for the first time in Antioch. This is shown by his statement that he had long hoped to see that day—the celebration of the Nativity—and not only to see it, but to do so in the presence of a large congregation. Thus 388 may be taken to be the date of the first celebration of Christmas in Antioch. Moreover, that it was really held on Dec. 25 is proved by the sermon delivered by Chrysostom on Dec. 20 in the same year, in which, after devoting some words to the memory of Philogonius (which thus fixes the day of the month, for Philogonius' day was Dec. 20), he goes on to urge the congregation to pay due reverence to the Feast of the Nativity, which would be celebrated five days later (cf. p. 498^a: *ἰκανὴ γὰρ τῶν πέντε ἡμερῶν τοῦτων ἡ προθεσμία, ἐὰν νήφης καὶ προσεύχης κ.τ.λ.*, and p. 499^c: *τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας ταύτας*). [For the reasons Chrysostom gives for fixing the Nativity on Dec. 25, see II. 5.]

(4) CAPPADOCIA.—The evidence for Cappadocia is contained in the writings of Basil of Caesarea and of Gregory of Nyssa.

(a) Basil of Caesarea.—In the writings of Basil there is a homily *eis τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γέννησιν* (PG xxxi. 1457 ff.) which was delivered between 371 and 379. The genuineness of this homily has been questioned, but apparently without sufficient reason, and it is now usually accepted. Usener thinks that it was delivered on Jan. 6 rather than on Dec. 25, because, although Basil speaks of the feast as that of the *ἐνανθρώπησις* and *γέννησις* τοῦ κυρίου, he also describes it as the *ἐπιφάνεια*, and refers to the Magi, who are liturgically connected with Epiphany, not with Christmas. The matter is, however, not so simple. It is noticeable that, though Basil in one place (p. 1469^b) speaks of the *ἐπιφάνεια* τοῦ κυρίου, in another he qualifies it as *τὴν διὰ σαρκὸς ἐπιφάνειαν* τοῦ κυρίου; and it is possible that he is using the word in a general, not in a technical, sense. Moreover, the reference to the Magi is doubtful; he says (p. 1472 f.): *ἀστέρες διατρέχουσιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, μάγοι κινεῖσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἔθνων, γῇ ὑποδύχεται ἐν σπηλαίῳ*, and this may refer to the legend that the Magi were summoned from their homes by phenomena which took place at the moment of the Nativity (see Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 242, and Lagarde, *Mittheil.* iv. 269). Usener further argues

that the famous visit of the Arian Valens to the Church at Caesarea at the Feast of the Epiphany in 372 shows that at that time there was no difference between the Orthodox and the Arian custom, as the purpose of Valens was to conciliate Basil and his party by joining in their festivity (see Greg. Nazianz., *Or.* 43, 52). But this argument is much weakened by the fact that it proves nothing as to whether Basil had had a celebration of the Nativity twelve days previously.

Basil seems, in any case, to have been responsible for a new name in connexion with the feast—*Θεοφάνια*. On p. 1473^a he says: *ὄνομα θάμεθα τῇ ἑορτῇ ἡμῶν, Θεοφάνια*. This is either an additional name for the feast on Jan. 6, or a name for the new feast on Dec. 25. If it be the latter, it is perhaps an indication that the feast on that date was quite new when Basil was speaking. Unfortunately, there is no decisive evidence as to which is the more probable view. Gregory Nazianzen (*Or.* 38, 2 [PG xxxvi. 313]) speaks of Dec. 25 as the *Θεοφάνια*, and so does Asterius of Amasea (*PG* xl. 337 f.); but Chrysostom and other writers (see Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 245) use it of the Epiphany feast on Jan. 6. It is therefore not impossible that the word was originally a doublet of *Ἐπιφάνεια*, which Basil and the Cappadocians tried, though without permanent success, to transfer to the new feast on Dec. 25.

(b) *Gregory of Nyssa*.—The evidence of this writer is more definite, for in his homily on St. Stephen's day (*PG* xli. 701 f.) he refers to the Feast of the Nativity which had been celebrated the day previously (*χθὲς ἡμᾶς ὁ τοῦ παντός Δεσπότης ἐορτάζει*), and in an Epiphany discourse he says: *ἐγεννήθη τὸν Κύριον Χριστὸς πρὸ ὁλίγων ἡμερῶν . . . βαπτίζεται σήμερον παρὰ Ἰωάννου*. The date of this latter discourse can probably be fixed by a reference to a heathen feast, almost certainly the New Year feast of the Kalends of January, which had taken place on the previous Sunday. Jan. 1 was on a Sunday, during the possible years, only in 383 (see Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest,' p. 247).

(5) *LYCAONIA*.—For this diocese no certain evidence is forthcoming. The homily of Amphilochius, *eis τὰ γενέθλια* (*PG* xxxix. 36^a), is taken by Usener (*op. cit.* p. 252) to refer to Dec. 25 rather than to Jan. 6; but there is nothing definite to prove this. Moreover, Amphilochius lived at least until 394, when the feast on Dec. 25 had in any case become general in Europe and Asia Minor.

(6) *ALEXANDRIA*.—The exact date when Dec. 25 was accepted in Alexandria as the Feast of the Nativity cannot be fixed, but it must have been between 400 and 432. These two *termini* are reached as follows: In 400, Cassian, in connexion with the Paschal letter of Theophilus of Alexandria, which thus fixes the date within narrow limits (the range of choice seems to be 399 and 400, and the latter is almost certainly correct), wrote:

'Intra Aegypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur ut peracto Epiphaniarum die, quem provinciae illius sacerdotes vel dominici baptismi, vel secundum carnem nativitatibus esse definiunt, et idcirco utriusque sacramenti sollemnitate non bifarie ut in occidentis provinciis, sed sub una diei hujus festivitatem celebrant, epistulae pontificis Alexandrini per universas Aegypti ecclesias dirigantur, quibus et initium quadragesimae et dies paschae . . . designantur' (*Coll. x. 2*; ed. Vindob. p. 286, 18).

The words in italics are the proof that up to 400 the Nativity and the Baptism were both celebrated on Jan. 6. This defines the *terminus a quo*. The *terminus ad quem* is provided by two sermons of Paul of Emesa, attached to the *acta* of the Council of Ephesus (Mansi, *Conc.* v. 293, and *PG* lxxvii. 1433). This Paul of Emesa had been sent by John of Antioch to Cyril of Antioch to make peace between the Churches after the events at the Council of 431, when some of the Antiochene bishops had refused to sign the anathema on

Nestorius, and as a sign of his and their orthodoxy he preached two sermons in Alexandria on the Incarnation. These sermons were carefully reported by shorthand writers, and ultimately incorporated in the proceedings of the Council of 431; the first was preached on the Feast of the Nativity on Choiak 29 (Dec. 25), and the second on Tybi 6 (Jan. 1) in 432. Thus in 432 the Feast of the Nativity had been separated from that of the Baptism. There is, unfortunately, no evidence to enable us to choose more exactly between these two limits. Usener thinks that Theophilus probably introduced the change, but there is nothing to prove this.

(7) *JERUSALEM*.—According to Basil of Seleucia, the observance of the Feast of the Nativity in Jerusalem was introduced by Juvenalis (425–458), who is famous for having defended, at the Council of Chalcedon, the independence of his see from Caesarea. Basil says (*PG* lxxxv. 469^b) of him: *δοῦς καὶ τὴν ἐπίδοξον καὶ σωτηριώδη τοῦ Κυρίου προσκυνομένην ἀράμενος ἐπέτελεσεν γένναν*. That this was not the earlier custom at Jerusalem may be seen from the evidence of Silvia of Aquitaine (c. 385), who found the Nativity and the Baptism both celebrated on Jan. 6.

On the other hand, Cosmas Indicopleustes (550) distinctly states that the Nativity was celebrated on Jan. 6 in Jerusalem, because it was thought that Lk 3rd implied that Jesus was baptized on His thirtieth birthday: *οἱ δὲ Ἱεροσολυμίται ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μακαρίου Λουκᾶ λέγοντος περὶ τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐτών ἅ, τοὺς Ἐπιφανίους παύσαντες τὴν γένναν* (*PG* lxxxviii. 197). He also states that on Dec. 25 they used to celebrate the feasts of David and James the Apostle (possibly a mistake for the Lord's brother; see *ib.* p. 195^a).

The statements of Cosmas and of Basil of Seleucia are clearly contradictory. Usener (*op. cit.* p. 328) thinks that Cosmas is using an old source, referring to the usage of Jerusalem before the time of Juvenalis; but Harnack (*ThLZ*, 1889, p. 201) prefers to think that Basil confused the Feast of the Nativity with the feasts of David and James, to which Cosmas alludes. In the next century the Feast of the Nativity on Dec. 25 was in any case established; for a sermon of Sophronius in 633 (probably) was clearly preached on that day (*PG* lxxxvii. 3, p. 3201, in Latin, and Greek text in *Rhein. Mus.*, 1886, p. 500 ff.).

An interesting, but probably unauthentic, letter of Cyril of Jerusalem is preserved by Johannes Nicænus (c. 900). In this Cyril asks Julius (or, according to one MS, Sylvester) of Rome (bishop 337–352) to consult the books brought from Jerusalem to Rome by the Jews in the time of Titus, and find out the real date of the Nativity. His reason was that it was so difficult to be on the same day both in Bethlehem, for the celebration of the Nativity, and on the banks of the Jordan, for the celebration of the Baptism (Combefis, *Hist. her. Monothelitarum*; *PG* xcvi. 1441^b). The answer to this letter is said to have been that the Nativity was really on Dec. 25. It is probable that this letter is not genuine, and Usener thinks that possibly the events of the time of Juvenalis have been ascribed to Cyril. If it be genuine, it is clear that the Church of Jerusalem did not give effect to the answer.

It should also be noted that the evidence of Epiphany (see II. 3 (b)) may possibly apply to Jerusalem as well as to Cyprus. In this case it would show that in 377 (the probable date of the *Paranion*) Jan. 6 was regarded as the date of the Nativity, and Nov. 8 as that of the Baptism. But there is no proof that there was a feast on either of these days.

(8) *ASIA*.—Some evidence as to the observance of

the feast in the Province of Asia is afforded by the *Homilia Paschalis VIII.* (printed in Chrysostom's works, ed. Montfaucon, viii., Append. p. 275 ff.), which Usener believes to have been written by an Asiatic presbyter in the beginning of 387 (see H. Usener, 'Weihnachtsfest', p. 241) in order to fix clearly the date of Easter in that and the following year. In this it is stated that the Nativity is on Dec. 25 (γίνεται γὰρ ὡς πάντες ἴσμεν πρὸ ὀκτώ καλανδῶν λαογραφῶν κατὰ Παύλου, p. 275), according to the Roman reckoning, whereas the Feast of the Epiphany is fixed according to the Asiatic calendar (τρισκαίδεκτην τετάρτου μηνὸς κατὰ Ἀσιανοῖς). The suggestion made by this passage is that in 387 the observance of the Nativity on Dec. 25 was new, and regarded as an innovation derived from Rome.

(9) SPAIN.—Usener (*op. cit.* p. 212) thinks that the Jan. 6 celebration of the Nativity remained in force until at least 380 in the Pyrenees peninsula. His reason is that the Synod of Saragossa in 380 decreed that no one should absent himself from church between Dec. 17 and Jan. 6. This was directed against the Priscillianists, who desired to fast on the Feast of the Nativity, because they regarded the Incarnation as a defilement of the Deity. He considers that this represents a three weeks' period of preparation—an Advent season—and points out that it cannot be taken as the octave before Christmas, as that would begin on Dec. 18, not on Dec. 17. The argument does not seem decisive.

(10) ARMENIA.—The observance of Dec. 25 is still unknown in Armenia, where both the Nativity and the Baptism are celebrated on Jan. 6 (see Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, pp. 181, 517 ff.). Duchesne, however, states (*Or. du culte chrétien*, p. 248) that they once observed Dec. 25. Apparently this was only for a short time; and in the 6th cent. they resumed their ancient use.

3. *Summary.*—Such is the chief evidence on which the history of the feast of December 25 must be based. The main issue is between Usener and Duchesne, and there seems, on the whole, to be a slight, though not decisive, balance of probability in favour of Usener. There is also a smaller point of some importance. It seems tolerably plain that Gregory Nazianzen brought the feast to Constantinople, and that Chrysostom took it thence to Antioch; but did it come to Constantinople *via* Cappadocia, or to Cappadocia *via* Constantinople? The answer to this question depends on the evidence of Basil of Caesarea, which Usener interprets to mean that Basil knew only of a Nativity feast on Jan. 6, but it is very doubtful whether he is right; if not, it is possible that in the East the Cappadocians were the first to celebrate the Nativity on Dec. 25. The homily of Basil deserves further study from this point of view.

II. *THE CHOICE OF A DATE FOR THE NATIVITY.*—There are two main lines of argument which seem to have affected the reasoning of the Church on this subject: (1) chronological arguments based on a 'plan of the ages,' and (2) conclusions drawn from data in the Gospels. It is, however, probable that the latter represent the arguments used to defend a given date, rather than the reasoning by which it was reached. Besides these, there is in Clement of Alexandria a definite statement as to various views concerning the date of the Nativity, but, unfortunately, without any explanation of the method by which they were reached. As this is both the oldest and the simplest, it will be best to deal with it first.

1. *Clement of Alexandria.*—In *Strom.* i. 147, 17 (ed. Sylberg), written between 193 and 211, Clement says: γίνονται οὖν ἀπ' οὗ ὁ κύριος γεννήθη ἡς Κομδίου τελευτῆς τὰ πάντα ἐτην ἑκατὸν ἐνετήκοντα τέσσαρα, μὴν εἰς ἡμέρας ὅγ, and, as Commodus was

killed on 31st Dec. 192, Clement must have dated the birth of Christ on 18th Nov. 3 B.C. But he goes on to show that there was no general agreement as to this date: εἰσι δὲ οἱ περιεργότερον τῇ γενέσει τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔτος ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν προστιθέντες, ἢν φασὶ ἔτους ἑπὶ Ἀδγούστου ἐν πέμπτῃ Παχῶν καὶ ἐκάδῃ. Pachon 25 = May 20, and a trace of this date is still preserved in the Egyptian calendar, which celebrates the entry of the child Jesus and His parents into Egypt on that date (Nilles, *Kalend. Manuale utriusque ecclesiae orient. et occident.*, Innsbrück, 1896, ii. 643). This date does not agree with Clement's other statement, even if Lagarde be right in thinking that γένεσις does not mean birth, but conception. It is, however, curious that it would on this hypothesis almost agree with either Dec. 25 or Jan. 6, if it were supposed that Jesus was a seven months' child. That this view did obtain is proved by Epiphanius, li. 29: φάσκει [Epiphanius, unfortunately, does not mention his source] δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δὲ δεκαδύο Κаланδῶν Ἰουλίῳν ἢ Ἰουλίῳν, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν, ἐν ὑπατεῖα Σουλτικίου Καμαρίου (?) Βηττέφ Πουμπηανῆς ὑπάτοις [ἐγεννήθη]. τοῦτο δὲ ἐσκόπησα ὅτι καὶ οἱ εἰπόντες τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς συλλήψεως, καὶ ὡς εὐηγγελίσαστο ὁ Ταβιθὴλ τὴν παρθένον, εἶπον τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τῶν τινῶν λεγόντων ἐν παραδόσει ὡς ὅτι διὰ ἑπτὰ μηνῶν ἐγεννήθη. And he then goes on to reckon that this 'seven months' theory would agree with Jan. 6 as the date of the Birth. It would be very curious if it really were true that in Egypt the view obtained that Jesus was a seven months' child, for exactly the same belief was held about Osiris.

Clement goes on, in *Strom.* i., to add: οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ βασιλείδου καὶ τοῦ βαπτισματος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν δοτάζουσι, προδιανυκτερεύοντες ἀναγνώσει . . . τὴν πεντεκαίδεκτην τοῦ Τυβὶ μηνός, τινὲς δ' αὖ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός, καὶ μὴν τινες αὐτῶν φασὶ Φαρμουθὶ γεγενῆσθαι κῶ ἢ κῆ. That is to say, the Basilidians kept the Feast of the Baptism on Jan. 10 or Jan. 6 [does the *καὶ* before τοῦ βαπτισματος mean 'as well as of the Nativity' ?], and some dated the Nativity on Apr. 19–20. The remarkable point in this evidence is that it shows no trace of Dec. 25 as the date of the Nativity, and connects Jan. 6 as the Feast of the Baptism only with a Gnostic sect; whether this date was really regarded by any one at that time as that of the Nativity rests only on the very precarious inference from the *καὶ* before τοῦ βαπτισματος.

2. *The chronology based on a 'plan of the ages.'*—This system is based on the theory of the world's history which is most frequently connected with (a) *Julius Africanus*, but is really much older. According to this, the seven days of creation represent seven periods of a thousand years (because for God a thousand years are as one day), and the Sabbath represents the seventh millennium in which the Messiah will reign (cf. Irenæus, v. 28, 3: 'Quotquot enim diebus hic factus est mundus tot et millenis annis consummatur. Et propter hoc ait Scriptura Genesios: Et consummata sunt cælum et terra, etc. Hoc autem est antefactorum narratio . . . et futurorum prophetia'). As evidence in support of this view, it was pointed out that Peleg died (acc. to LXX) in the year 3000, and Peleg means 'half.' It would seem [direct evidence is apparently not forthcoming] that it was then argued that the first coming of the Messiah was in the middle of the sixth day, i.e. in 5500 after the creation, leaving 600 years to run before the end. So, for instance, Hippolytus (*Com. in Dan.* iv. 23): δεῖ οὖν εἰ ἀνάγκης τὰ ἑξακισχίδια ἐτη πληροῦσθαι ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὸ σάββατον (see, further, H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzant. Chronographie*, Leipzig, 1880–93, i. 24 ff.; and Lagarde, *Mittheil.* iv. 313 ff.).

The rule that the end is foretold by the begin-

ning was applied to the minutest details of chronology. Eustathius of Antioch († 336), for instance, says:

γίνεται οὐδ' ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίην Φαλίξ ἐπὶ τρισχίλια, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίαν καὶ ἀνάστασιν ἐπὶ πεντακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τριάκοντα ἐν, ὡς λαίπειν τετρακόσια πενήτηκοντα ἐννέα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκτῆς χιλιάδος. ἔστι δὲ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελέσεως σημεῖον τὸ ἀνάβαστον καὶ εὐκρίτως ἐπ' ἀρχάτων τὸν ἡμερῶν ὁ κύριος ἐπιδημήσας τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν παρασκευῇ πέποιθεν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡμέρα ἐκτῆ, καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας ὥρα ἢ ὥσπερ ἐκτῆ ἡλίκᾳ ἐστανρωθή, τοῦ λόγον σηματοῖοντος διὰ τοῦ ἐκτῆς χιλιάδος τὸ ἡμῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὠρισμένος οὐκ εἶπεν ὥρα ἐκτῆ, ἀποφαινοντος τοῦ λόγον διὰ τὴν πλείω τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὑπερβαίνειν (Com. in Hexaemeron, ed. Lugd. p. 55 PG xviii. 767).

The doubt attaching to the genuineness of the Commentary is here unimportant, as Gelzer has shown that this passage goes back in reality to Africanus.

(b) *De Pascha Computus*.—The attempt to establish the day of the Nativity on these lines is found especially in the pseudo-Cyprianic tract, *de Pascha Computus*, which represents a lost work of Hippolytus. This anonymous tractate is found among the works of Cyprian. It is perhaps African, but is certainly not Cyprian's. It was written in 243, and has been shown to be based very closely on Hippolytus' *ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα* (see Hufnagel's *Die Ps.-Cyprianische Schrift de Pascha Computus*, Augsburg, 1896), which experience had, no doubt, shown to be imperfect. The writer's method of ascertaining the date of the Nativity is as follows:

He first establishes the fact that the first day of creation was at the vernal equinox, when everything breaks into life, and the day and night are equal, for God divided them equally (ch. 3). Moreover, the moon (created two days later) was created full. Thus the first day of creation was Sunday, 25th March, and the sun and moon were created on Wednesday, 28th March, when the moon was full. He then applies a 'sun and moon' cycle, and on the chronological data of the OT establishes Monday, 12th Apr., as the day of the Passover of the Exodus. After this he applies the same cycle to the interval between the Exodus and the Nativity, which is established (1) by adding together the reigns of the kings from the Exodus to the Captivity, giving 995 years; (2) by the exegesis of Dan 9:24-27, in which a period of 70 weeks is decreed. This 70 weeks is resolved into 62, 7, and 1. The 1 is taken off as belonging to the eschatological period in the future. The 7 weeks represent the 49 years taken up in building the temple, and the 62 weeks represent 434 years which must elapse between the building of the temple and the Messiah's birth. Besides this, the 70 years of captivity are added, so that the Nativity is seen to be 1548 years after the Exodus; and, as the Paschal lamb was a type of Christ, so He must be born at the time of Passover of that year, and, according to the cycle, this was in that year on March 28, the day of the creation of the sun. The writer continues: 'O quam praeclara et divina Domini providentia, ut in illo die quo factus sol in ipso die nasceretur Christus V. Kal. Apr. feria IV.' (ch. 19); and in the next chapter he repeats: 'Ecce iterum iam vere credamus quod V. Kal. Apr. secundum carnem natus sit Christus, in quo ipso die probavimus solem factum.'

The whole argument in this treatise is complicated by fantastic applications of the symbolism of numbers. For instance, the 62 weeks dealt with above represent 434 years. Deduct 100 (= Abraham's age at the birth of Isaac) and 334 remain. But the Greek for 300 is τ, the sign of the cross, and 34 = 31 + 3, i.e. the age of Jesus at the crucifixion + the 3 days in the tomb. Similarly, the parallelism between Jesus and the sun is supported by the fact that the solar year is 365½ days; but ½ day is 3 hours, which is a symbol of the 3 days at the beginning of creation, when there was as yet neither sun nor moon, and also of the 3 days in the tomb. Thus the ½ day is explained. The 365 days represent 300 + 10 + 31 + 18, of which 300 = τ, the sign of the cross, 16 = the year of the reign of Tiberius in which Jesus suffered, 31 = the age of Jesus at the crucifixion, and 18 = Ϟ, the contraction for 'Jesus.' There is much more of the same kind of argument to show that the day of the Nativity was really that of the creation of the sun.

Thus the writer of this treatise regarded March 28 as the day of the *nativitas*. In view of the statement of Harnack and others that this must mean 'conception,' not birth, it is necessary to add that there is nothing in the text to support this free rendering of the Latin.

(c) *Hippolytus* († c. 235).—As was stated above, the *de Pascha Computus* is based on Hippolytus. The actual arguments of the latter are no longer extant, but there is some evidence as to the date he selected. This, however, has been the subject of much controversy, and so far no universally

accepted result has been reached. The evidence is as follows:—

(1) On the monument of Hippolytus in the Lateran Museum there is, on the left hand side, the Paschal cycle of 112 years for 222 to 838 (see *CIG* 8613); and against the date *pro d. pas. aspen* (= Apr. 2) stands *γενεσις χ' ι* (Χριστοῦ ἡγουσίου, or a mistake for Χν. Χριστοῦ).

(2) In the Com. in Dan. 425 (ed. Bonwetsch, p. 242) he says: ἡ γὰρ πρώτη παρουσία τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἢ ἑσχατος ἐν ἡ γενεῇ τῶν ἐν Βηθλέεμ (πρὸ τεσσάρων ἀπριλίων) ἐγένετο πρὸ δεκτῆ καλῶνδον ἱανουαρίων, ἡμέρα τετράδι, βασιλευσίων Αἰγυπτίου κ.τ.λ. But it has been a greatly disputed point how much of this text is really due to Hippolytus. There are available for the text codex A (sæc. xi.) in the monastery of Vatopedi, codex B (sæc. xv.) at Chalki, codex J (sæc. xi.) in the library of Prince Chigi, and codex P (sæc. xiii.), Paris Gr. 159. There are also a Slavie version, and quotations in Syriac by George the Arabian (ed. Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 108-134), a bishop of the 8th cent. († 724). Of these authorities J Geo read merely . . . ἐν Βηθλέεμ ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτίου κ.τ.λ., thus omitting the exact day of the month; and A, while agreeing in the main with the group BP Slav., has the curious πρὸ τεσσάρων Ἀπριλίων.

Two theories have been suggested: (a) The original text was . . . ἐν Βηθλέεμ πρὸ τεσσάρων <χρόνων> ἀπριλίων ἡμῶν, τετράδι κ.τ.λ. (so Hilgenfeld and Bratke). The other dates and the short text of J Geo are merely the result of later scribes' alterations, in order to accommodate the text to their own customs. If this text be original, the commentary and the statue agree. Against this view Bonwetsch and others argue that the grouping of the MSS is 'decisively' opposed to this theory. Certainly it is opposed, but 'decisively' is too strong a word in view of the difficulty of explaining the origin of πρὸ δ' Ἀπριλίων in A on other theories; the possibility that the ancestor of ABP Slav. preserved a fragment of the true text in conflation, which BP Slav. have all independently corrected away, and only A has preserved, is not excluded. (B) According to the other theory, the date given by Hippolytus is intended to form part of a movable calendar regulated by the date of Easter. Salmon pointed out in this connexion that Hippolytus regarded the *γενεσις* of Christ as having taken place at the Passover, and he adds that in the year 5502 the Passover did fall on Apr. 2. He thought, however, that *γενεσις* must mean 'conception' rather than 'birth.' Bonwetsch carried the argument further, following Lagarde, showing that Hippolytus regarded 5500, not 5502, as the year of the *γενεσις*, and in that year the Passover was March 25. If *γενεσις* really means 'conception,' this implies that Dec. 25 was regarded as the day of the Birth. Part of this ingenious argument is, however, open to question: in Hippolytus' Com. in Dan. 242 and 321 *γενεσις* certainly seems to mean 'birth'; and it was taken in this sense by the writer of the *de Pascha Computus*, which, it is universally agreed, is little more than a new edition of Hippolytus' lost work, *ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα*, unless it be seriously maintained that here also *nativitas* and *nasci* refer to the conception and not to the birth (Harnack, *Chronol.*, 1904, II. 251, says: 'Die Empfängnis Jesu . . . ist unter "nativitas" gemeint,' but he gives no reason, and his view seems to be unnecessarily violent against the usual meaning of the Latin.)

The most probable view seems to be that Hippolytus really fixed the birth of Christ on the day which in 223 was the Passover, but there is reasonable room for doubt whether he intended this to be a fixed or a movable date. If the former, Apr. 2 was the date he intended; if the latter, Mar. 25.

The literature on this question may be conveniently given here: the most important contributions are Bratke, *ZWT.* 1892, pp. 129-176; Hilgenfeld, *ib.* 257-282, and 1893, pp. 106-117; Bratke, *JPTH.* 1892, pp. 439-456; Salmon, *Hermathena*, 1892, pp. 161-190; Bonwetsch, *GG4*, 1895 (Philol.-Hist. Klasse), pp. 515-527.

(d) *Summary*.—This evidence suggests that the earliest chronology in the West [Clement seems to represent a different point of view] fixed on Mar. 25 or 28 as the date of the Nativity, because of the theory that the history of the beginning is a prophecy of the end, and the Redeemer-God is in some way parallel with the sun. It is hardly necessary to point out that this idea points to various *religionsgeschichtliche* possibilities and parallelisms, especially in connexion with Mithraism (see, further, 6(a)). It is also fairly plain that the transition from Mar. 25 to Dec. 25 naturally followed as soon as the conception, not the birth, of Jesus was regarded as the true beginning of the Incarnation; but there is no evidence as to the date when this change was made, and therefore this point, however probable, remains hypothetical.

3. Further evidence of the influence of the solar year.—In Hippolytus (or the *de Pascha Computus*) the solar element is bound up with the system of

chronology connected with Africanus. There are also traces of 'solar' considerations in other writers, whose participation in these chronological arguments is less certain, though it was so widely diffused that the *argumentum e silentio* is not in itself sufficient to show that they did not share in it.

The chief instances of this are the *Clementine Homilies*, and Ephraim Syrus also is quoted by Epiphanius, so that the latter may be regarded as holding the same view.

(a) *The Clementine Homilies*.—These heretical books show a clear tendency to equate Jesus with the sun, and with the solar year. The chief passage is i. 6 (ed. Lagarde, p. 14):

ὅτι μὴ τις ἡμέρα ἐπὶ τῆς Τιβερίου Καίσαρος βασιλείας ἐξ ἑαρινῆς τροπῆς τῆν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσα πῦξενεν ἐκάστοτε καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὴ θεοῦ ἀγγέλου διέτρεχε τὸν κόσμον, τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βούλημα σιγῇ στέγειν μὴ δυναμένη ἐκείνη οὐκ ἔλαστο οὐκ ἔπλεον καὶ μαζὶν ἔλινετο λέγοντα ὡς τίς ποτε ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐξ ἑαρινῆς τροπῆς λαβὼν τὴν ἁρχὴν Ἰουδαίαν τῆν τοῦ αἰῶνος θεοῦ ἐπαγγελίαν βασιλείας, ἥ ἀποκλείειν λέγει, ἰάν τις αὐτὸν προκατορθῇ τὴν πολιτείαν.

This seems most naturally to mean that the writer dated the Nativity at the vernal equinox (ἡ ἑαρινῇ τροπῇ), though it might possibly refer to the first appearance of Jesus in public. The 'solar' idea also is clearly indicated in ii. 23 (p. 28):

ὥσπερ τῷ Κυρίῳ γεγέννησιν δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι τῶν τῶν ἡλίου δώδεκα μῶν φέροντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὥσάντος καὶ αὐτῷ [i.e. John] Ἰσραὴλ ἀδελφὴν γενέσθαι τράκατον, τὴν μηνιαίων τῶν σελήνης ἀπολήρουσιν λέγον. ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ αὐτὰς τις ἦν γυνὴ λεγομένη Ἐλένη, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο ἀνοικονόμησον ἢ, ἥμισυν γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ὅσα ἡ γυνὴ ἀτελὴ τὸν τῆς τριακοντάδος τέθεικεν ἀριθμὸν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς τελέτης ἥς ἡ πορεία τοῦ μηνὸς οὐ τέλειον ποιεῖται τὸν ὁδὸν [i.e. a woman, who counts only as half a man, was necessary, because the lunar month is not 30, but only 29½ days].

(b) *Ephraim Syrus*.—This writer accepts Jan. 6 as the date of the Nativity, but connects the date with the solar year, though in a different manner from that followed by pseudo-Cyprian and by the *Clementine Homilies*. For him not the equinox, but the solstice, is the important point, and he regards Jan. 6 as representing 12 days after the winter solstice, Dec. 25; and these days refer on the one hand to the twelve Apostles, and on the other to the twelve months. The important passage is a quotation in Epiphanius *Panar.* 51 (bk. ii. p. 482, ed. Dindorf):

ὡς καὶ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις σοφὸς Ἐφραίμ ἐμαρτύρησε τοῦτον τῷ λόγῳ ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσεσιν λέγων ὅτι, οὕτως γὰρ φρονουμένη ἡ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. παρουσία, ἡ κατὰ κάποια γενήσις αὐτοῦ ὅν τελευτᾷ ἐμαρτύρηται, ὅ καλεῖται ἐπιφάνεια ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς αὐθιγίας ἐπὶ δεκαετίῳ ἡμέραις διαστήσαντος ἕκαστη γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο τῶσαν γενέσθαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ δώδεκα μαθητῶν, ἐν τὴν δεκαετίῳ ἡμέραις τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς αὐθιγίας ἐπαίον ἀριθμὸν.

Similar references to the solar character of the Nativity may be found in his hymns, e.g. *de nativitate Christi in carne*, vi. 3, 7, etc. (see also the list of passages quoted by Usener, p. 195). As Epiphanius quotes Ephraim with approval, he must also have adopted the same reasoning.

4. Jan. 6.—It is obvious that, whereas the reasoning in the *de Pascha Computus* was directly influenced by solar arguments, and may have no other foundation, Epiphanius and Ephraim were trying to bring an already established date into agreement with solar considerations. This date was Jan. 6. It is doubtful whether it was first assigned to the Baptism and afterwards to the Nativity, or *vice versa*. The evidence of Clement shows that among the Basilidians in Alexandria it was the Feast of the Baptism, but whether it was also that of the Nativity is uncertain. Where the two feasts come together, it is possible that there was a double connexion between the two.

(a) *Exegetical*.—It was held that the day of the Baptism was also that of the Birth, because in Lk 3²², after the account of the Baptism, it says καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἡμερῶν ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἑτῶν τριάντα. This was taken to mean that it was the anniversary of the birthday (cf. Cosmas Indicopleustes: παρα-

γραφὴ ἐκ τῆν σύλληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου, quoted by Lagarde, p. 290, who says that the Jerusalemites keep the Nativity and the Baptism on the same day, relying on Lk 3²²; this, he says, is only a half truth, for, though it was true that the Baptism fell on the day of the Nativity, as Luke implies, the Church had separated the two celebrations, postponing that of the Baptism for twelve days). It is, however, not possible to prove that this exegesis is old, though it would not be surprising to find that it really is so.

(b) *Dogmatic*.—It is quite probable, though again difficult to prove definitely, that in many circles the Baptism was regarded as the birth according to the Spirit, and the Nativity as the birth according to the flesh; it was therefore natural that they should be celebrated on the same day.

It is, however, well to be cautious in accepting the view that Jan. 6 was everywhere the date assigned to the Baptism. Epiphanius' evidence on this point is important. In *Panar.* 51 (ed. Dindorf, ii. 482 ff.), he twice states that Christ was born on Jan. 6, and adds: καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ, τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐσάρκου γεννήσεως, τοῦτεστι κατὰ Ἀλγυπτίους Ἀθὺρ δωδεκάτη, πρὸ ἐξ εἰδῶν Νοεμβρίων κ.τ.λ. [i.e. the Baptism was on Nov. 8]. The whole question will be dealt with under EPIPHANY, where the reasons which led to the choice of Jan. 6 for a Christian festival will also be discussed.

5. The method of reaching the date from the Gospels.—In Chrysostom and in Cosmas Indicopleustes the date of the Nativity is deduced from the statement in Luke. The argument is the same in both, and is stated at such length that it is not possible to give it in quotation. It is, however, quite simple. It is argued that the occasion of Zacharias' visit to the temple was the Feast of Tabernacles, and that the day of his vision was the Day of Atonement, on which alone the high priest entered into the Holy of Holies. Therefore the date of the vision was—according to Chrysostom—the end of the month Gorpaios (i.e. September). Actually it would have been, on this reckoning, Gorpaios 10. The conception of John the Baptist followed, and the conception of Jesus was (Lk 1²⁶) six months later, i.e. at the end of March, and the Nativity was therefore at the end of December (see Chrysostom: *ἐκ τῆν γενέθλιον ἡμέραν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ.*, ed. Montf. ii. 354; and Cosmas Indicopleustes: *παραγραφὴ ἐκ τῆν σύλληψιν τοῦ Κυρίου*).

It is, of course, obvious that this exegesis is radically wrong: Zacharias was not the high priest, and the altar of incense was not in the Holy of Holies. It is scarcely less clear that the whole explanation is posterior to the institution of the feast, and was invented to prove, from the Gospels, a date which had already been chosen for other reasons. Whether those other reasons were simply the 'solar' argument or not cannot be decided; it can only be said that the 'solar' argument is the only one which is found in early Christian literature to account for Dec. 25.

6. Factors which tended to support the feast on Dec. 25.—There can be little doubt that the Church was anxious to distract the attention of Christians from the old heathen feast days by celebrating Christian festivals on the same days. On Dec. 25 was the *dies natalis solis invicti* or the *sol novus*, especially cultivated by the votaries of Mithraism. Moreover, the *Saturnalia* closed on Dec. 24.

(a) *The feast of the 'sol invictus'*.—It is not, in the absence of direct evidence, probable that the date was chosen in order to compete with this feast, though as soon as an equation began to be made between Christ and the sun, it was natural to

celebrate a Christian feast on the day previously consecrated to the sun. It is more likely that Christmas was first fixed by the reasoning given in the *de Pascha Computus*, and that use was afterwards made of the coincidence with the feast of the *sol novus*. The coincidence is adequately accounted for by the fact that the Christian was largely influenced by the idea that the Creation (and therefore the coming of the Redeemer) must have taken place at the vernal equinox; and, as soon as the coming of the Redeemer was taken to be the Conception rather than the Nativity, the latter date naturally fell on Dec. 25, which had been chosen for the feast of the *sol invictus*, because it was the time when the victory of light over darkness begins to be apparent in the lengthening of the day.

That the coincidence with the feast of the *sol invictus*, or *sol novus*, was made use of by Christians can be illustrated from many writers. Ps.-Ambrosius (*PL* xvii. 635 ff.) says:

'Bene quodammodo sanctum hunc diem Natalis Domini Solem Novum vulgus appellat. . . videamus igitur hic sol noster novus quo fonte nascatur,' etc.

Augustine (*Serm. cxc.; PL* xxxviii. 1007) says: 'Dominus . . . et diem quo nasceretur elegit. . . Nam et dies nativitatis ejus habet mysterium lucis ejus. . . Ideo die natalis D. N. Jesu Christi et nox incipit perpetui detrimenta, et dies sumere augmenta. Habebamus ergo fratres solemnem istum diem, non sicut indeles propter hunc solem, sed propter eum qui fecit hunc solem'; and still more strikingly in *Serm. cclxxxvii. (PL* xxxviii. 1302), on the Nativity of John the Baptist, he says: 'Denique quia humiliandus erat omnis homo Christo, ac per hoc et Johannes; et quod exaltandus erat Deus homo Christus, demonstravit et dies natalis, et genera passionum. Natus est Johannes hodie [June 25]; ab hodierno minuitur dies. Natus est Christus octavo calendas Januariarum; ab illo die crescent dies.'

Prudentius, *Hymnus VIII. Kal. Jan. (PL* lix. 889), says:

'Sol jam recurrens deserit!
Christusne terris nascitur,
Qui lucis augeat tramitem?' etc.

It will, however, be noticed that all these quotations are later than the institution of the feast, and this fact rather supports the view that the coincidence with the feast of the *sol invictus* was accidental, though naturally soon made use of.

(b) *The Saturnalia*.—It has sometimes been thought that Christmas was intended to replace the Saturnalia. This is, however, very improbable, because the coincidence of date is not perfect, and, in the second place, there seems to be little evidence that Christian writers connected the two feasts, though later many of the customs connected with the Saturnalia were preserved in connexion with Christmas (see below, CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS). Epiphanius, it is true (*Panar.* 51), says that the Saturnalia was held on Dec. 25 (an inaccurate statement), but it is merely an *obiter dictum* in the middle of a list of dates, and is quite deprived of importance by the fact that in the same passage he places the Nativity on Jan. 6. The possible connexion between Jan. 6 and a festival of Kore will be dealt with under EPIPHANY.

(c) *The date of the Nativity as influenced by the date of the Passion*.—In his *Origines du culte chrétien* (pp. 250-4), Duchesne suggests that both Dec. 25 and Jan. 6 can be explained as due to the view that Christ was conceived on the same day of the year as that on which He ultimately suffered. These were, he thinks, the traditional dates for the Crucifixion—April 6 and March 25. Circles which adopted April 6 as the date of the Conception naturally chose Jan. 6 as the date of the Nativity, and those which adopted March 25 chose Dec. 25. This theory is, however, not adequately borne out by facts. The *de Pascha Computus*, for instance, says that the Crucifixion was Apr. 9. It is, indeed, possible that it was held that, as Jesus

suffered on a Passover, so also He was conceived (or born?) on a Passover; for, according to the Hippolytan cycle, the Passover fell on March 25 in the year of the world 5500.

There is also considerable evidence that March 25 was a favourite date for the Passion (so Tert. *adv. Judæos*, 8; and in the 5th and 6th cents. there were sects in Gaul who wished to make a fixed feast of Easter, and always celebrated it on March 27, and Good Friday on March 25). But there is no proof that the dating of the Nativity really depended upon this theory, and the fact that Christmas has always been a fixed feast seems to be against it.

With regard to Jan. 6 there is less to be said in favour of Duchesne's theory. He can quote only a Montanist sect in Asia Minor, of whom Sozomen (*HE* vii. 18) says that they celebrated Easter on April 6, because they reckoned that, since the world was created on March 25 at the equinox, the first full moon was a fortnight later—disagreeing with the usual chronology, which thought that the moon was full at its creation. Duchesne supposes that this is a remnant of a wide-spread belief, and that, in combination with the idea that the Conception and the Crucifixion fell on the same day, it explains the date Jan. 6 for the Nativity. But this does not seem satisfactory. Jan. 6 for the Nativity is a widely spread tradition, and, if it were really bound up with a theory that Apr. 6 was the day of the Crucifixion, one would expect more evidence than that of an obscure Montanist sect.

7. Conclusion.—In conclusion, it may be well to glance back once more at the main problem of this rather confusing mass of evidence. The problem may be stated thus: Was the observance of Dec. 25 universally preceded by the observance of a Feast of the Nativity on Jan. 6, or is this true only of the East? As was stated at the beginning, Usener takes one side and Duchesne the other. Duchesne's theory certainly gains in probability from the fact that all the early Western chronological systems point to Dec. 25 (either directly or through March 25) rather than Jan. 6. This, of course, does not affect the question whether there actually was a feast, but only the date which was likely to have been chosen, if there was one. There is, indeed, singularly little, if any, evidence in the West for Jan. 6; and this supports Duchesne. Thus the question narrows itself down to this: whether the sermon of Liberius really implies Jan. 6 as a Feast of the Nativity or not. If it does, Usener's theory must win; if it does not, Duchesne's view is sufficiently supported by the chronological arguments to have superior claims. Further consideration is also desirable as to the exact importance of the fact that Dec. 25 is in Rome bound up with S. Maria Maggiore, and Jan. 6 with the older Basilica of St. Peter.

LITERATURE.—J. Bingham, *Orig. et antiq. eccles.* (1840), bk. xx. cap. 4; H. Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Bonn, 1889), pt. i. 'Weihnachtstest'; P. de Lagarde, *Mittheilungen*, iv. (Göttingen, 1891), 241 ff., 'Altes und Neues über das Weihnachtstest'; L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (Paris, 1902; Eng. tr., *Christian Worship*, 1903); G. Rietschel, art. 'Weihnachten', in *PRE*³, to which reference may be made for a very full list of older literature; F. C. Conybeare, 'The History of Christmas,' in *ALT*, Jan. 1899; S. Baumer, 'Das Fest der Geburt des Herrn in der altsächsischen Liturgie,' in *Der Katholik*, lxx. (1890) 1-20.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS.—Most of the Christmas customs now prevailing in Europe, or recorded from former times, are not genuine Christian customs, but heathen customs which have been absorbed or tolerated by the Church.

The cradle of Christ (*præsepe*), the characteristic object of reverence in Roman Catholic churches on Christmas Eve, is explained by Usener ('Weih-

nachtsfest,' p. 283) as borrowed from the cult of Adonis, the cave where the child Adonis was born being adopted for Christian cult by the Empress Helena, and later (335) richly endowed by the Emperor Constantine. But if the 'adoration in the cave' be a mere heathen invention, it was at all events adopted by Christianity as early as Mt 2 (cf. Lk 27). If not, this usage has its own origin, and was later combined with the custom known from the cult of Adonis.

This adoration of the cradle is the only important ceremony of the Roman Catholic Church proper to Christmas Eve, the other parts of the *vigilum*, fasting, etc., being common to all Catholic festivals.

The presbyter Also's treatise (dating, at the latest, from the 15th cent., and edited in 1889 by Usener) on Christmas customs in Bohemia shows us how popular customs in later times came to be connected with Church ceremonies and explained as Christian symbols. The monk mentions some explanations of these customs 'with which the devil has inspired his children': e.g. that the customs of the baking of white bread, the cutting and distributing of apples, and the wrapping of the fruit trees in white cloth, are to be observed in order to ensure a lucky year and a good harvest.

Few of the Christmas customs have been consecrated by the Church in that or some other way; most of them exist outside the Church, and have become 'holy' to the Christian mind only through an outward connexion with the feast days, the majority of them falling in pre-Christian times in those winter-days; others of various origin have been attracted to this greatest feast of the winter. The Christmas feast has inherited these customs chiefly from two sources—from Roman and from Teutonic paganism; we can therefore discern a Southern and a Northern stratum underlying the Christmas observances.

The Saturnalia in Rome provided the model for most of the merry customs of the Christmas time. This old Roman feast was celebrated on 17-24 December.

'The time was one of general joy and mirth. . . . During the festival, schools were closed . . . ; no punishment was inflicted, in place of the toga an undress garment was worn. Distinctions of rank were laid aside; slaves sat at table with their masters, or were actually waited on by them, and the utmost freedom of speech was allowed them. Gambling with dice, at other times illegal, was now permitted and practised. All classes exchanged gifts, the commonest being wax tapers and clay dolls. These dolls were especially given to children' (Fraser, *EBr* xxi. 321).

A good deal of this old Roman merriment is retained in the carnival (q.v.): the mummery, the fancy dress, the pointed hat (originally the hat of the free man, which slaves were allowed to wear during these days, now known as the 'fool's cap'), the universal teasing and mockery, and the *confetti* (formerly true grains of wheat or barley). Christmas inherited the general merriment in a more restrained form (excessive only in eating and drinking); games, giving of gifts (especially to children), abundance of sweetmeats and, as more ceremonious elements, burning of candles and bathing before the festival. We also note that the Christmas-time, like the Saturnalia, lasted at least seven days.

The Northern type of Christmas customs is found in the Teutonic Yule feast, well known from Icelandic sagas as well as from Greek and Latin chronicles. Procopius (6th cent. A.D.) describes a feast in the extreme North ('Thule'), at the returning of the sun after an absence of forty days. This may have been in the region of the midnight sun. In Southern Scandinavia, as in Germany, the festival seems to have been observed about the winter solstice; but we are not able to state the actual date of the hoggunott (as the holy night has been called), the dates of Snorre and the sagas being evidently influenced by the Christian calendar.

(Feilberg, *Jul*, i. 85 f.). At any rate, the feast was celebrated in the darkest time of the year, and at a period which was regarded as the end of the old year or the beginning of the new.

We know from the sagas that the *julblot*, the great sacrifice of midwinter, was offered 'for a good crop' (*til gröðrar* [*Heimskringla*, p. 3]), 'for the year's luck, and for peace' (*til drs ok friðrar* [*Flateyar saga*, i. 318, 8]). The hints given by the Bohemian Also are on the same lines; and the cult of Froy [Frey], especially practised at Yule-time, points in the same direction, Froy being the god who bestows rain and sunshine, fertility and growth, 'the god to be invoked for fertility and peace' (*Gylfaginning*, ch. 27). The *julgalt*, the pig offered to Froy on that occasion, has probably some connexion with the fertilization of the earth; in later customs the (Danish) *julgalt* was, at all events, a pastry baked particularly for the Christmas table, the crumbs of which were put in the earth together with the seed. The *julnisse* (Danish, a ghost possibly of a deceased farmer, at least wearing his garment), if not fed with porridge on Yule night, spoils the harvest or hurts the cattle. Several of the present-day games, rhymes, and riddles at Yule-time prognosticate the events of the year: the weather, the harvest, the prospects of the girls, fortune and misfortune, death, etc. Vaticinations of this kind are ordinarily the later and attenuated form of earlier magical proceedings. In a Danish Christmas hymn (by Grundtvig) the angels, if kindly received in the houses, prophesy 'a good year for the seed and grains slumbering in the field.'

Besides these rites and ideas pertaining to fertility, we observe a different stratum in the Teutonic Yule customs. As Yule-time is the darkest period of the year and the end of the calendar, it is particularly threatened by demons, especially the demons of the air. The *asgardsreid*, the 'wilde Jagd' of the god Odin or Frigga, followed by the *valkyrias*, hunting the souls, is heard in the roaring of the storms and the passage of the birds. Odin himself, as a Yule demon, was called *Jólnir*, 'the Lord of the Yule.' Monsters and evil spirits from the under world roam about during these nights, menacing and injuring human beings. A similar monster created by the popular fancy is the *Gryla*, a man-eating female demon with a long tail. In the Christmas jokes of later times these demonic figures seem to have been transformed into comic ones. The Scandinavian *julebuk* wore, until modern times, a devilish mask and horns, although the monster had the friendly mission of bringing gifts to the children.

This idea of the walking of evil spirits on the Yule nights has probably led to the adoption of a series of customs and beliefs, not originally Teutonic, which have left their stamp, nevertheless, on the mediæval and modern popular Christmas, viz. in the notion of houses being haunted by the ghosts of their former occupants. The notion is familiar in Persia and Greece, where the deceased members of the family were thought to visit the living ones at a certain season—February or March—always on intercalary days (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Iranian], i. 455). This belief has passed from antiquity into the Roman Catholic Church, which had the technical name *mundus patet* for it. 'All Souls' Day' (2 Nov.) was the day chosen by the Church for this cult of the dead; but the popular customs relating to the idea have accumulated round Christmas-time, and seem to have changed the whole festival into a systematic arrangement for a good reception of the friendly guests. The cleaning of house and stables, the slaughtering and brewing, baking and cooking, bathing and dressing, the burning of candles, the serving of

the supper—all the preparations of the busy time before Christmas to the moment of departing for church on Christmas Eve—have now an additional purpose; when the house is left, the dead come to visit and to scrutinize it, to see if all be in order, and then they take their meal from the ready table (cf. *Alaso*, iv. 170 f.: 'ut in noctibus veniant dii et comedant'), eating and drinking only the immaterial part of the meal. In Northern Sweden the peasants prepare a special table for these visitors; and accounts of some persons who have seen the dead on this evening in the house or in the church, where they also have their service, are well known in Germany and Scandinavia. The fertility of the year is made to depend on the good reception of the dead. In the Church hymns they sometimes take the shape of angels, or their functions are attributed to the angels (Feilberg, in his Danish book *Jul*, has collected a large number of these features of the Christmas festival).

The *English* Christmas customs are not deeply imbued with this animistic belief, but keep more of the traditions of the Saturnalia. As briefly described by an English writer (in *EBr*⁹ v. 704), the joyful character prevails:

'It was the custom on Christmas eve, after the usual devotions were over, to light large candles and throw on the hearth a huge log, called the Yule Log or Christmas Block. At court, and in the houses of the wealthy, an officer, named the Lord of Misrule, was appointed to superintend the revels; and in Scotland a similar functionary used to be appointed under the title of the Abbot of Unreason, till the year 1655, when the office was abolished by Act of Parliament. The reign of the Lord of Misrule began on All-Hallow eve, and lasted till Candlemas day. The favourite pastimes over which he presided were gaming, music, conjuring, dipping for nuts and apples, dancing, fool plough, hot cockles, blind man's buff, etc. . . . The favourite dishes for breakfast and supper at this season were the boar's head with an apple or orange in the mouth and set off with rosemary, plum pudding, and mince pies. The houses and churches were decked with evergreens, especially with mistletoe. This mistletoe is generally considered to be a remnant of Celtic religion, possibly a relatively modern revival rather than an old survival. The use of evergreen at Christmas-time is elsewhere rather modern. The German *Weihnachtsbaum*, a fir tree, cannot be traced further back than the 17th cent., and it was not in general use before the end of the 18th. In Scandinavia, where it is now quite as frequent as in Germany, it was unknown until the beginning of the 19th cent.; about the end of the same century it was carried to France by German families. Probably it was adopted at first through analogy with the *Maibaum*.

The etymology of the word 'Yule' is not clear, and its original meaning is therefore very uncertain. Falk and Torp (*Etymol. Ordbog*, 1903) adduce Old Norse *jól* (neut. plur.); Anglo-Sax. *geophil*, *geol* [*geohole* and *geophol*]; Indo-Germ. **gehol*, akin to Lat. *jocus* (from *yojo*); later (and through the German), Fr. *joli*, Eng. 'jolly', Ital. *giulivo*. Uhlenbeck (*Etymol. Wörterbuch der Sanskritsprache*, art. 'Yajo') has a more distant derivation from Skr. *yajai*, 'to invite' (invitation of guests or of ghosts (?)).

Cf. also preceding article.

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CHRONOLOGY.—Chronology determines the time of the occurrence of past events in terms of the periodic movements of some of the heavenly bodies; as, for example, the day and the year, the former being the length of time the earth takes to make a complete revolution on its axis, and the latter the

time it takes to complete its annual circuit round the sun. In order to make these mathematically precise units available for human chronology, it was indispensable to fix some starting-point, generally some momentous event in the history of a people, from which the dates of subsequent events were to be measured in so many days, or years, or centuries, or cycles. The working of this method in historical times may be illustrated by the phrases *Anno Domini*, *Anno Urbis Condita*, the former being the commencement of the Christian era, now used throughout Christendom, and the latter the year from which the Romans dated their recorded transactions. In this way the occurrence, recurrence, and succession of events are investigated and arranged, not only in the order of their chronological sequence, but with precise relationship to a fixed landmark in the stream of time. But, as this method is applicable only to the historic period, it became necessary to devise some other means of computing time, if it was desired to have any knowledge of what took place on the globe prior to the later stages of human civilization.

For the materials on which this new departure in chronological research is founded we are indebted to the science of Geology. The first significant step towards success was the recognition of the importance of superposition among the stratified beds of sedimentary rocks, the lower strata being necessarily older than those above them. A careful comparison of the heterogeneous objects contained in these beds has now led to such astounding results, that geologists are enabled to lay down, as it were on a chart, the progressive modifications which have taken place in the flora and fauna of bygone ages, as well as many of the concomitant physical changes which the world has undergone. The manner in which these correlated results come under the standards of mathematical chronology will be described when we come to discuss the details of the system.

As above defined, these two chronological systems naturally fall to be classed as *Absolute* and *Relative* Chronology; and we shall now proceed to examine their respective materials with sufficient fullness to give a general idea of their value as bringing to our knowledge memorials of the past history of man and his civilization.

i. **Absolute chronology.**—There can be little doubt that the earliest chronological units to attract the attention of mankind were the day, the year, the month, and the seasons; but, as the preservation of any records implies a certain knowledge of the art of calculating the periodic movements of the earth and the moon, it is evident that human sociology had made considerable progress before the year and day had been adopted as regular standards for the measurement of time. Indeed, it would have been almost impossible to transmit the memory of past transactions, with any degree of accuracy before the invention of letters and of the art of writing, so that the overlap between evanescent traditions and the development of historical records forms a wide borderland almost impermeable to Absolute Chronology, and made accessible to it only after much recondate research.

1. The solar day is the time that elapses between the sun's leaving the meridian and his return to it, and hence, owing to the obliquity of the ecliptic, the length of the day is continually varying. Moreover, the regular alternation of light and darkness, heat and cold, during the period produces a marked effect on the whole of the organic world. Not only mankind, but even some of the higher animals, regulate their actions in full confidence in the recurrence of its normal changes. In Britain and some other European countries, the day is reckoned to begin at midnight; but among the

ancients it began either at sunrise or at sunset. The Romans called the period between sunrise and sunset the natural day, and divided it into 12 *horæ*; but, since this interval varied from day to day, it is obvious that the Roman hour was correspondingly affected. The division of the day into 24 hours of equal length dates, however, from a very early period.

2. The cycle of 7 days, known as a *week*, was used by Hindus, Assyrians, Babylonians, and other Eastern peoples; and among the Jews the seventh day had a special religious significance assigned to it (see SABBATH). The close approximation of 7 days to a quarter of the lunar month may have suggested the origin of this period in social life, but it is regarded by the priestly writer of Gn 2^d (cf. Ex 20th) as a memorial of the story of the creation of the world. The days of the week were first named after the seven heavenly bodies then known, viz. Saturn, Juppiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the sun, and the moon; but, as now written in the English language, four of these names have been transformed into the Germanic equivalents of the Latin divinities which they respectively represent.

3. The moon, owing to her appreciable motion in the heavens and the variable phases of her illuminated surface, must have been an object of human interest at all times. As a unit of time, she has also played a conspicuous part by her *monthly* revolutions round the earth. Each revolution, counting from one new moon to the next, constitutes a lunar or synodic month, and measures 29 days, 12 hrs., 44 min., and 3 seconds.

4. The exact length of the year is the period which elapses between the sun's leaving either tropic and his return to the same position. This is called the tropical, or solar, year, and comprehends the twelve calendar months, as well as a complete rotation of the four seasons. Its mean length is 365 days, 5 hrs., 48 min., and 51.6 sec.; and it is generally considered as beginning on 1st January and ending on 31st December. In earlier times, however, its duration was variously estimated. At first 12 lunar months were supposed to be a near enough approach to the course of the seasons; but, being short by 11 days of the solar year, the discrepancy soon became apparent, and the 11 days had to be somehow distributed among the 12 lunar months. The Egyptians, who were early acquainted with the solar year, divided each lunar month into 30 days, and added 5 supplementary days at the end of the 12th month. The Jewish year consisted of 12 lunar months, a thirteenth month being from time to time added so as to make it, so far, correspond with the seasons and the solar year. The Greeks and Romans also adopted the 12 lunar months as the main divisions of the year, and had various artificial methods for adjudicating among them the surplus days necessary to make up the length of the solar year. The confusion thus caused in the social chronology of these classic countries continued till Julius Cæsar introduced the Julian Calendar, which assigned to the year 365 days, with a leap-year every fourth year. The first Julian year commenced with 1st Jan. 46 B.C.

It will be observed that the addition of a day every 4 years to the month of February was 11 minutes and a few seconds each year in excess of what was requisite to complete the solar year. This increment, being scarcely appreciable in a man's lifetime, remained undisturbed until it amounted, in A.D. 1582, to 10 complete days. By this time the discrepancy was causing great dislocation among the Church festivals, and hence Pope Gregory XIII., after careful study of the problem, undertook to rectify this anomalous state of affairs. Observing that in 1582 the vernal

equinox fell 10 days earlier (11th March) than it did at the Council of Nice (21st March, A.D. 325), he decided to reduce the year by 10 days. Accordingly it was ordained that the then 5th of Oct. 1582 should be called the 15th. To prevent the recurrence of similar errors in future, it was further ordained that every 100th year should not be counted a leap-year, excepting, however, every fourth hundredth, commencing with the year 2000. As a consequence of these prospective adjustments, it is calculated that the difference between the civil and the solar year will not amount to a day in 5000 years. Roman Catholic nations in general at once accepted the Gregorian Calendar, but it was not till after A.D. 1700 that the Germans and other Protestant nations adopted the New Style, as it was then called. In 1751 an Act was passed in England for adjusting the year in accordance with the Gregorian Calendar, by which time the difference amounted to 11 days. In the few countries, like Russia, in which the Old Style is still in vogue, it is now necessary to add 13 days to the day of their month in order to bring it into line with current European chronology.

The time at which the year began also varied among the different peoples of antiquity, some—Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, and others—dating it from the autumnal equinox, while the Greeks, up to the time of Meton (432 B.C.), dated their year from the winter solstice. The Jewish civil year began at the autumnal equinox, but their sacred year was reckoned from the vernal equinox. The Romans were the first to count the year from the 1st of January, but it was a considerable time later before the other European nations followed their example. In France it was adopted in 1563, in Scotland in 1600, and in England in 1752. Previous to the complete adoption of this mode of reckoning there was much uncertainty as to the commencement of the year, the most common date being the 25th of March, as was the case with the ecclesiastical year.

5. Another chronological point with regard to which old-world nationalities differed was *the beginning of their respective eras*. Thus the Greeks dated their current events from the first Olympiad, i.e. the first celebration of the famous games at which the victor's name was recorded—a date which is generally taken to correspond with the year 776 B.C. From historical records we know that this era continued in use till the 304th Olympiad, i.e. A.D. 440. Among the Romans it was the date of the foundation of their capital (753 B.C.) from which they counted their years. The Babylonians reckoned their years according to the era of Nabonassar (747 B.C.). When, however, different nationalities began and ceased to count according to their respective eras is not easily determined with certainty.

The Christian era is supposed to begin with the year in which Christ was born, but there are different opinions held as to the precise date of that event.¹ This era appears to have been first introduced into Italy in the 6th cent., and to have extended into Gaul and Britain about the close of the 8th century. Its author (Dionysius Exiguus) adopted the day of the Annunciation (the 25th March) as the commencement of the first year—a mode of reckoning which, as we have seen, was long prevalent in European countries.

6. The *duration of time* was sometimes defined in terms of so many summers or winters; and Herodotus makes mention of a generation as a recognized chronological unit in his day. The custom of counting years from special Saints' days,

¹ It is generally held that the birth of Christ took place from 4 to 6 years earlier than our present system implies (i.e. in 6 or 4 B.C.).

or from the beginning of the reign of some famous king, increased the confusion of the chronological materials of the proto-historic period, and adds to the difficulty of deciphering absolutely correct dates from those which can be regarded as such only within a small margin of possible error. The fact that the day and the year are not aliquot parts of each other is the *fons et origo mali* of many of the perplexing intricacies of early historical chronology.

The Biblical account of the time which elapsed from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ varies in a hopelessly irreconcilable fashion in different versions of the Scriptures. The Hebrew text assigns 4000 years to it, while the Septuagint reckons it at 6000 years.

Gabriel de Mortillet (in *Dict. des Sciences anthropol.*) tabulates the various estimates of the duration of this period by no less than 32 different authorities, from which it appears that the highest was 6984 years, and the lowest 3784 years—a difference of 3200 years.

ii. Relative chronology.—As already stated, this method deals, in the first place, only with the sequence of events, leaving their absolute antiquity to be determined from the collateral phenomena with which they were associated.

1. Among the multifarious contents of sedimentary rocks from which much of the evidential materials in this department of chronology are derived, *fossils* are the most important in supplying data for the interpretation of the history of the organic world. Mere sports of fortuitous circumstances, fossils were not intended either to instruct mankind or to be a permanent record of the forms of life in past ages. Yet such they have become in the hands of *homo sapiens*. A shell, a tooth, a petrified bone, or even the impression of an object long since disintegrated, often suffices to reveal the characteristics of genera and species now extinct. Throughout the æons during which the ever-changing manifestations of life have flourished on the globe, these footprints on the sands of time disclose the same story of successive scenes of organic life, each rising to higher ideals than its predecessor. New species were constantly appearing on the stage of existence, while others were hustled off in a relentless death struggle with their more highly equipped successors.

2. It is scarcely necessary to particularize the chronological problems suggested by the operations of wind, waves, running streams, etc., in excavating rocks and transporting the materials to distant localities. No one can help philosophizing on the stupendous results produced by such apparently trivial causes when operating for long ages. The gorge through which the river Niagara flows between the Falls and Queenstown, a distance of 7 miles, is believed by the most competent geologists to have been excavated by the disintegrating power of the water, facilitated in a portion of its course by some favourable conditions of the lower strata. Starting at the cliff at Queenstown, the waterfall has gradually receded to its present site. Now it is clear that, if we know the rate at which this recession is going on, we can approximately ascertain how long it has taken to excavate the entire gorge—a time which Sir Charles Lyell has estimated at 35,000 years.

3. But, however interesting these geological problems may be from an academic point of view, it is only when the stray *works of man* become blended with them, as, e.g., when commingled with the contents of stratified beds of aqueous deposits, or with the gradually accumulated debris of caves and other inhabited sites of early man, that they claim the attention of anthropologists, on account of the number of well-founded chronological inferences

to which they give rise. The products of man's hands, as disclosed by his progressive mechanical skill, have special characteristics by which they can be recognized in all their evolutionary stages, and are thus brought under the touchstone of Absolute Chronology. Fortunately, these past phases of civilization are not entirely obliterated, as, here and there, they have left traces behind them in the form of relics which, like instantaneous photos of shifting scenes, give glimpses of the past history of nations which can never again reappear on the stage of life. A combination of circumstances which would evolve a style of art that could be mistaken for that of any of the old world civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, or Greece would be as improbable as the re-appearance of extinct animals among the world's fauna of the future. Thus all the relics of the past have labels affixed to them which are legible to the initiated.

The following stratigraphical sequence from below upwards, the result of the ordinary laws of Nature, has been noted in the valley of the Forth, namely, estuary mud and clay, the decayed remains of a forest, a thick growth of peat, and, finally, cultivated land—this last change being due to the removal of the peat by human agency towards the close of the 18th century. During the process of removing this peat, some bronze vessels of pre-Roman types, a corduroy road of cut logs, supposed to have been constructed by the Romans, and the broken trunks of trees with their roots still *in situ* (one of which showed 314 rings or years' growth), were found on the surface of the underlying clay. Also embedded in this clay, but in different localities and at different times, were the skeletons of over a dozen whales, and associated with some of them were a few perforated deer-horn implements. The surface of these clays is now from 20 to 25 feet above present sea level (*PRSE*, vol. xxv. p. 242 ff.).

The circumstances in which these evidences of man's hand were intermingled with nature's operations leave no possibility of doubt that the land formerly under water has been raised 24 feet at least since the school of whales became stranded on the bed of the shallow firth which then extended for many miles to the west of Stirling; that man was contemporary with the cetacean catastrophe and even attacked the stranded animals with deer-horn implements; that, in consequence of the land upheaval, a portion of the raised sea-beach became the *habitat* of a great forest in which the oak predominated; that this forest was in full growth during the occupation of the district by the Romans; and that, subsequently, the trees succumbed to the inroads of growing peat, which, towards the end of the 18th cent., amounted to a thickness of 8 feet.

The Swiss antiquaries have occasionally attempted to deduce evidence of the age of their *habitations lacustres* by an investigation of the collateral changes which have taken place in the environment since they ceased to be inhabited. The materials for a chronological problem of this kind were found at the upper end of the lake of Neuchâtel, which the present writer has thus recorded:

'At the foot of Mount Chamblon, rather more than a mile from the lake (Neuchâtel) and not far from Yverdon, there are some deposits which the peasants have been in the habit of utilizing as fuel. Here in two spots, according to Mr. Rochat, the peat-cutters are reported to have met with piles and transverse beams with mortises. The tops of the piles were 6 to 10 feet below the surface. A flint arrow-head, two stone celts of serpentine, and a bronze bracelet were found in one of these bogs; and hence Messrs. Troyon and Rochat consider that there was a palafitte here—a supposition which involves the theory that the lake formerly extended to the locality. Nor is this theory without some evidence in support of it, as the amount of debris brought down by the Thielle is very great. On the supposition that the Roman city of Eborodunum, the ruins of which are now 2500 feet from the present shore,

was built on the lake in the 4th cent., Mr. Troyen calculates that the water of the lake would have been as far back as the site of the palafitte about fifteen centuries before the Christian era' (*Lake Dwellings of Europe*, 1890, p. 59).

4. Occasionally the rotation of the seasons has its traces stereotyped in the book of time so pronouncedly that they become legible, long afterwards, in terms of the ordinary units of Absolute Chronology. Thus trees growing in temperate regions have their age recorded in their structure by the well-known concentric circles, or annual growths. The horns of some animals also give similar indications of age. Such facts coming on the field of archaeology are often utilized as giving evidence of sequence. Thus, a forest of great trees growing over a tumulus, or a kitchen midden, proves that any archaeological remains found on excavating these sites are older than the trees. Again, some rivers, such as the Nile, which are subject to yearly inundations, leave behind them, each season, a thin layer of mud, from which it is manifest that the thickness of the accumulated layers in a given area is equivalent to the number of years which have passed since the inundations began to flow over that particular area.

A *propos* of the above statement, we may here note the well-known attempt of Horner to interpret the chronological significance of the intercalation of the works of man with the sedimentary deposits of the Delta of the Nile. As the result of excavations carried out at the statue of Ramses II. at Memphis in 1850, Horner ascertained that 9 feet 4 inches of mud accumulated since that monument had been erected, i.e. at the rate of 3½ inches in the century. He then dug several shafts in the vicinity of the statue; and in one of them, at a depth of 39 feet, he found a fragment of pottery which, according to the above rate of the increase of mud, would indicate the presence of man in the Nile valley some 13,000 years ago. In the light of recent archaeological investigations in Egypt, this inference is by no means improbable, as Flinders Petrie dates the Neolithic Period in that country as far back as 7000 B.C. (see *Philos. Transac.* 1855-58).

5. Anthropological researches have developed two well-defined lines on which chronological investigations may be profitably conducted, both of which start from the attainment by man of the erect attitude. The evidential materials to be gathered from these different sources consist, in the one case, of some fragments of a few skeletons of former races, which, by some fortuitous circumstances, have hitherto resisted the disintegrating forces of nature; and, in the other, of a number of man's handicraft works, which, being largely made of such enduring substance as flint, are abundantly met with. The successive modifications which these respective materials have undergone during the lapse of many ages, though different in kind, are found to bear a decided ratio to the progress of human intelligence. Thus, taking the human skull at the starting-point of humanity as comparable with that of one of the higher apes, we know, from its fossil remains, that during the onward march of time it has undergone some striking changes, both in form and in capacity, before reaching the normal type of modern civilized races. Similarly, the artificial products of man's hands show a steady improvement in type, technique, and efficiency, commensurate with his mechanical skill and power of applying it to utilitarian purposes. Stray objects of both these categories are not unfrequently associated in the same place, thus proving their contemporaneity, as was the case in the *Grotte de Spy*, in Belgium, where two human skeletons, the skulls of which were of a peculiarly low type, were found associated with flint implements of the earliest known forms used by Palaeolithic cave-men of Europe (*Archives de Biologie de Gand*, 1886).

Of the many arguments advanced in support of the great antiquity of man, perhaps the most convincing is that founded by Nüesch on the contents of the rock-shelter of Schönbühl, in Switzerland. This locality seems to have been a constant rendezvous for bands of roving hunters

from the Palaeolithic period down to the Bronze age. Nüesch, the explorer of the shelter, has expressed the opinion, founded on the relative thickness of the deposits and the character of the fauna represented in them, that the antiquity of its earliest human relics cannot be less than 20,000 years. The present writer has elsewhere epitomized the nature of the evidence on which this conclusion was based, as follows:

'According to Professor Nehrung, who has made a special study of the animals now inhabiting the arctic and sub-arctic regions, those characteristic of the former are—Band-lemming, Obi-lemming, arctic fox, mountain hare, reindeer, and musk-ox. With these are frequently associated a number of animals of migratory habits, such as northern vole, water-rat, glutton, ermine, little weasel, wolf, fox, and bear. Now the extraordinary fact was brought out, that, of these fourteen species, only the Obi-lemming and the musk-ox were unrepresented in the lowest relic-bed of the Schönbühl. The latter was, however, found in the debris of the Kesslerloch cave in the vicinity. It appears that the Band-lemming (*Myodes torquatus*) and the arctic fox are the most persistent animals of the arctic fauna, so that the presence of the bones of these two animals in the debris of this rock-shelter was alone sufficient to prove that the climate of the period was of an arctic character. In the upper portion of this deposit, relics of new animals, indicating a change to a sub-arctic climate, began to appear, and had their greatest development in the next succeeding layer.

The result of careful analysis of the contents of the other deposits showed that this arctic fauna became ultimately displaced by the true forest fauna of the Neolithic period. Among the newcomers were the badger, wild cat, hare, *Urus*, *Bos longifrons*, goat, and sheep; while, of those represented in the Palaeolithic deposit, a large number was absent. Thus both the arctic and sub-arctic fauna had given way to a forest fauna, and, synchronous with these changes, the Palaeolithic hunters and reindeer vanished from the district' (*PRSE*, vol. xxv, p. 98).

In the above chronological problem the natural phenomena, which stand in correlation with 20,000 years, consist of a complete transformation of an arctic climate with its characteristic flora and fauna to a temperate climate with the forest fauna of Neolithic times.

6. The application of astronomical science to the unravelling of the mysteries of the Megalithic monuments of pre-historic times is a promising innovation on the field of Relative Chronology. It was first stated by Sir John Herschel, in 1839, that the angle at which the entrance to the Great Pyramid slopes is such that, at the time of construction, one looking directly from the bottom of the long entrance could see a bright star of Draco on the meridian, and so near the true North Pole that it would be regarded as such. Accepting the correctness of this supposition, it is calculated that the date of construction of the Pyramid was 3440 B.C.

Recently Sir Norman Lockyer has made an effort to ascertain the date of Stonehenge by applying to it the same astronomical data which he and Penrose had used with 'sun-temples' in Greece and Egypt. On the hypothesis that Stonehenge was a sun-temple, and that its builders were in the habit of laying out the summer solstice for religious purposes by placing one or two monoliths in line with the altar and the rising sun, the antiquity of this mysterious monument becomes a mere astronomical problem, the solution of which, however, is conditional on the materials still present in the ruins being capable of supplying the necessary correct data. It is interesting to state that, from the recent measurements and calculations of Sir Norman Lockyer, the date of the construction of Stonehenge is announced to be 1680 B.C., with + 200 years as a possible margin of error (see *Stonehenge and other British Stone Monuments Astronomically considered*, London, 1906).

The above sketch is merely intended to serve as a general exposition of the chronological methods hitherto adopted in elucidating the past. Once the student gets among materials anterior to the use of coins and well-authenticated historical documents, he has to depend largely on supplementary methods of investigation. It is therefore deemed

unnecessary in this article to go beyond general principles, as the descriptive details of the chronological methods and different eras prevalent among foreign nations, ancient and modern, will be more appropriately discussed in such articles as CALENDAR, STARS, TIME, etc. ROBERT MUNRO.

CHRYSIPPUS.—Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus—this was the order of succession among the early Presidents of the Stoic school. Yet Chrysippus (282–209 B.C.) is usually regarded as the *second* founder of the school, according to the saying, 'Had there been no Chrysippus, there would have been no Stoa.' This, however, must not be taken too literally. For, on the one hand, the distinctive doctrines of Stoicism originated with Zeno; and, on the other hand, the contributions made by Cleanthes, on the lines of these fundamental doctrines, were neither few nor unimportant. What gives to Chrysippus his peculiar place is the fact that he was the dialectician in chief of the school—the redoubtable debater, aggressive and untiring, whose keenness, versatility, and acuteness, defensively and offensively applied, as well as his genius in formulating and systematizing, won for the school a fame that it never lost. Moreover, by his fondness for arguing both 'against' and 'for' a position, he stimulated opponents (such as Carneades) to active thinking, and furnished them in part with material for their adverse criticism.

Of the life of Chrysippus not much is known. The son of Apollonius, he was born somewhere about 282 B.C., perhaps at Tarsus, but more likely at Soli, in Cilicia. He was small in stature. On doubtful authority, his original occupation is said to have been that of a racer. Coming to Athens, at a date unknown, he attached himself as a pupil to Cleanthes, and threw himself eagerly into the study of the Stoic system, becoming ultimately, on the death of Cleanthes, the head of the school. His reputation for learning among his contemporaries was very great. He was noted for intellectual audacity and self-confidence; and his reliance on his own ability was shown, among other things, in the repeated request that he is represented as making to Cleanthes, 'Give me the principles, and I will find the proofs for myself.' He was extremely active as a controversialist, breaking a lance with Diodorus the Megaric over the question of the possible and the necessary in judgments; arguing with the Academics on the attainability of truth, and with the Epicureans on the structure of the Universe and the nature and standard of morality; and, while he defended and elaborated the Stoic cosmology and theory of knowledge, he developed the science of Logic (taken over, in the first instance, from Aristotle) in various directions, and, in his dialectical zeal, revelled in formal reasoning to an extent and in a manner that might have dismayed even a mediæval Doctor. His writings were voluminous (more than 705, it is said); but, if we may trust Diogenes Laërtius, they were not particularly original.

In contrasting him with Epicurus, Diog. Laërt. says that the works of Epicurus, also very many in number, were characterized by the fact that they were independent productions, emanations from his own brain (*οἰκεία συνάματα*), containing no extracts or quotations from other writers, whereas the works of Chrysippus were made up in great part of citations from other authors. Apollodorus, 'the Athenian,' puts it even more strongly. 'For,' says he, 'if one should take away from the books of Chrysippus all the matter furnished by others, his paper would be left empty' (Diog. Laërt. vii. 3).

This is clearly a prejudiced and exaggerated characterization, and must be received with caution. From what we know from other sources, we must credit Chrysippus with genuine originality, and must accept him as a dialectical force of an exceptional order. There is general consent, however, that he was diffuse and obscure in his

utterances and extremely careless in his style, and that his repetitions and appeals to authority were tedious. But that does not imply that he was not a man of really subtle and penetrating genius; and it is undoubted that he came to exercise a commanding authority over others. His subtlety is widely attested (see, e.g., Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.*, *passim*); and Epictetus, among others, bears testimony to his unique authority (*Diss.* i. 17, *Enchir.* 49), while Horace (*Sat.* ii. iii. 44) pays him the compliment of designating Stoicism 'the school and sect of Chrysippus' (*Chrysippi porticus et grex*). If, moreover, we look at the later Stoical writers, such as Seneca, we find that their allusions to and quotations from Chrysippus far outnumber those from other Stoic masters. There is no doubt that, in the Stoic school itself and among the various philosophic sects of ancient Greece and Rome, the name of Chrysippus was one to conjure with. Even the fact that his opponent Carneades, of the New Academy, could frankly admit that 'had there been no Chrysippus, there would have been no *me*,' bespeaks his supreme influence; and it is further significant that, when writers like Plutarch, Galen, and Alexander the Aphrodisian wish to attack Stoicism, it is Chrysippus that they choose as their chief adversary.

I. Logic.—Great as was the dialectical skill of Chrysippus, and outstanding as was his work in developing and elaborating the Stoic Logic, his intellectual subtlety was liable to be perverted in two separate directions—fancifulness and juggling with words.

We see an example of the first of these in many of his allegorical interpretations of Greek mythology, the flimsiness of which was acknowledged even by representatives of the Stoic sect itself. Seneca, for instance, in his *de Beneficiis* (i. 3), speaking of Chrysippus's allegorizing of the three Graces in relation to benefits, says that he 'fills his book with these folies, so that he speaks exceedingly little about the reason of giving and receiving and restoring a benefit; nor does he graft the fables on to his discourse, but, on the contrary, grafts the discourse on to the fables.' And, immediately after, he excuses his temerity in criticizing Chrysippus, on the plea that 'Chrysippus is an exceedingly great man, but a Greek, and his subtlety is very tenuous and blunted, and is apt to turn round upon itself; and, even when he seems to give effective treatment of anything, he pricks but does not penetrate (*pungit, non perforat*).'

On the other hand, Chrysippus was not above quibbling and sophistic reasoning. Like the other Greeks of the time, he delighted in intellectual puzzles ('the Heap,' 'the Liar,' etc.) and in verbal conceits. Thus, for example, he reasoned: 'If you say anything, it comes through your mouth; but you say "a waggon"; therefore, a waggon comes through your mouth' (Diog. Laërt. vii. 11). Much else of the same kind seems to have amused his fancy or exercised his ingenuity.

Nevertheless, Chrysippus made his mark in Formal Logic. He analyzed speech, he contributed to the doctrine of Definition and the handling of names or terms, he treated judgments or propositions in all their forms in great detail, he expended much energy in refuting (his opponents said, excogitating) fallacies, and in syllogistic reasoning he had the peculiarity of regarding the hypothetical syllogism as the fundamental type of inference.

In that part of Logic known as Theory of Knowledge, he worked with no little distinction, placing the criterion of truth in sense-perception and common notions (*αἰσθησις* and *πρόληψις*), and especially emphasizing the assent of the mind (*συγκατάθεσις*) as a leading factor in objective perception.

With the name of Chrysippus is closely associated the Stoic doctrine of the Categories. This is an attempt to face the metaphysical question of the nature of Reality, and it is considerably different from the doctrine of Aristotle. Beginning with Being (*τὸ ὄν*) or Something (*τι*), it went on to consider how this was determined. It must be taken as the permanent substratum or basis (*ὑποκείμενον*) of essential qualities (*τὸ ραδόν*), and, thus viewed, is implicated in changing states (*τὸ ῥαί*).

ἐχόν), and, consequently, in varied relations (τὸ πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐχόν). There are thus not ten categories, as with Aristotle, but only four—viz. (1) subject or substratum; (2) qualities (essential); (3) the non-essential qualities belonging to the object taken in itself, designated 'manner of being'; and (4) the other group of non-essential qualities, those qualities that the object possesses through its relation to other objects. Moreover, these four categories are not, like the ten of Aristotle, an enumeration of *summa genera* each of co-ordinate value with the others, but are arranged in a definite scheme, or graded system, in the relations of super-ordination and subordination, the order being a point of great importance, 'the second presupposing and attaching to the first; the third presupposing and attaching to the first, *plus* the second; the fourth presupposing and attaching to the first, *plus* the second and [the] third' (Grote, *Aristotle*,² p. 102).

2. *Physics*.—Here, too, Chrysippus was no mere echo. Like his predecessors, he was particularly insistent on the subordination of *Physics* to *Ethics*; and he occupied himself greatly with the exposition and analysis of the Universe, and such subtle topics as motion, time, and space. But, while adhering to the Materialism that characterized the Stoic school, he toned down the crude doctrine of his master Cleanthes, which maintained that, in sense-perception, the action of the object on the mind of the percipient was by means of actual dints, like that of a seal upon wax. He regarded the process as one of qualitative change or mental modification (ἐρεπολισμός ψυχῆς). Again, he was a doughty upholder of the doctrine of Fate, which seemed to follow from the reign of law which characterized Nature; and he identified Fate (εἰσαπέρν) with Providence (πρόνοια), holding that 'whatever is in accordance with providence is also fated, and, reversely, whatever is in accordance with fate also comes under providence.' He argued bravely, and in many ways, for the existence of God.

One of his favourite arguments was a peculiar modification of the cosmological proof, or argument from causality—viz. 'If there is anything that man cannot produce, the being who produces it is better than man. But man cannot produce the things that are in the world—the heavenly bodies, etc. He, therefore, who produces them is man's superior. But who is there that is superior to man, except it be God? Therefore, God is' (Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* iii. x. 25).

His conception of Cause was that of the Stoics generally—viz. efficiency or productive agency; but, in handling Fate, and in the interests of human responsibility—that is, with a view to rescuing the freedom of the will from necessity—he made a distinction between causes that are 'complete and principal' (*perfectæ et principales*) and causes that are simply 'accessory and proximate' (*adjuvantes et proximæ*). And he maintained that, when we say that all things happen by Fate, the meaning is that they happen not from antecedent causes of the complete and principal kind, but from accessory and proximate causes (Cicero, *de Fato*, xviii.).

In this connexion, he used the particularly suggestive illustration of a cylinder or a top. A cylinder, when set moving, has its own peculiar motion; but it needs to be moved from without. The proximate cause is this extrinsic impetus; but that does not determine how the cylinder shall continue its motion. This latter is specific to the cylinder itself, on account of its form. So with the will of man. It is not independent of pre-existent causes, but these do not determine it—they only put it in action; the result is dependent on its own specific nature—on the man's character.

On the principle of natural causation, also, he was a strenuous upholder of divination; and on this built a further proof of the existence of God. If God is (he reasoned), He must have the power of prediction in divination, through omens, etc.; and if, as matter of fact, we find that such prediction takes place, then God is. It needs only a slight adaptation to modern notions to apply this

to Scripture prophecy or to any accredited manifestation of the Deity to men. He had a view of his own, too, regarding the future existence of the individual soul. According to him, only the souls of the wise have immortality, and their immortality is not unending life, but duration till the Great Conflagration.

3. *Ethics*.—Stalwart logician though he was, Chrysippus gave the chief place in the Stoic scheme of the sciences to *Ethics*; in other words, *Ethics* was to him, as to Zeno and Cleanthes, the supreme and all-important science; and Logic and *Physics*, great in themselves, were only subsidiary. Accordingly, he interpreted the fundamental Stoic formula, 'Live agreeably to nature,' in relation indeed to the Whole or Universe, but also with a special reference to *human* nature. 'Our individual natures,' he said, 'are all parts of universal nature. Wherefore, the chief good is to live in accordance with nature, which is the same thing as in accordance with one's own nature and with the universal nature' (Diog. Laërt. vii. sect. 53). Now, human nature is, in its very essence, ethical. So Socrates had taught, and Chrysippus accepted it. *Ethics*, therefore, with Chrysippus, has a psychological foundation, and it runs up into Metaphysics and Theology. Man is akin to the Divine, emanating from the primal fire or ether, which, though material, is the embodiment of reason; and he should comport himself accordingly. He has freedom, and this freedom consists in emancipation from irrational desires (lust, riches, position in life, domination, and so forth), and in subjecting the will to the reason. On this account Chrysippus laid the greatest stress on the worth and dignity of the individual man, and on his power of will; and, as the passions or emotions (πάθη) are the disturbing element in right judgment, he gave a particularly full handling of the emotions on the basis of psychology. On the subject of Virtue, he peremptorily refused to allow pleasure to have anything to do in determining its value; virtue is self-sufficing, and needs no extraneous reward. This, however, did not prevent him from realizing that practice and habit are necessary to render virtue perfect in the individual—in other words, that there is such a thing as moral progress (προκοπή), and that character has to be built up. This was a point that later Stoicism fully developed; and, indeed, a good many of what are often regarded as the later ethical distinctions of Stoicism are to be found, in germ at least, in Chrysippus.

Nobly did Chrysippus wrestle with the problem of evil (pain and sin) in the world, and he reached the luminous conclusion that evil is good in disguise, that it is the condition and the means of moral progress, and is ultimately conducive to the best: Joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, adversity and prosperity, are parts of one harmonious whole, and each has its existence thereby justified.

This he expressed in a notable figure, by comparing evil with the coarse jest in the comedy. Such a jest is not to be commended on its own account, but it has a function in its special setting and improves the piece as a whole. 'So, too, you may criticize evil regarded by itself, yet allow that, taken with all else, it has its use' (Plutarch, *adv. Stoic.* 14).

He saw, moreover, that the perfection of the Universe (a dogma in the Stoic teaching) was not incompatible with the drawbacks and inconveniences that we find in Nature. On the contrary, Nature aims at producing things beautiful, as well as things useful, and, therefore, certain consequences of an inconvenient kind must follow.

Take, for instance, the human head (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* vi. 1. 31.). As the head is necessarily constructed of small and delicate bones, nothing can prevent its being liable to be easily broken. That is but a 'by-product' (κατὰ παραποσίθησιν, *per sequelas quadam necessariae*), incident on the material used and the end to be served.

Teleology and Optimism were both articles in his creed. But he had the Stoic dislike (the dislike, at least, of the early Greek Stoics, who were markedly under the influence of Cynicism) of conventionality in Ethics. And so, without fear, he pushed the Stoic doctrine of 'indifferent' things (*ἀδιάφορα*) to its extreme logical conclusion. Theoretically, he saw no reason why people should not marry their mothers, or their daughters, or their sons; or why they should not turn cannibals.

In himself, Chrysippus is typical of Stoical individualism. His self-confidence, his sturdy independence, his arrogance even, and his high ethical ideal showed his appreciation of the worth of the individual soul and the need of aiming at personal perfection. Yet such individualism was not incompatible with altruism and an appreciation of social duties. On the contrary, it is only in a social atmosphere, and by having respect to the interests and welfare of others, that the individual can secure his own interests and develop himself. Society, Chrysippus would allow, must nourish and protect the individual, but it must not swamp him: it demands his services, but it cannot coerce his will. Hence, Chrysippus stands forth as a robust ethicist of the early Stoic type—self-contained and rugged; unimpassioned, straightforward, contemptuous of compromise and of half measures.

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CHRYSTOSTOM.—See ANTIOCHENE THEOLOGY.

CHTHONIAN DEITIES.—See EARTH-GODS.

CHUHRAS.—The Chuhras of the Panjāb and Central India (known also as Lāl Begīs, followers of Lāl Beg [see below]) were, until a comparatively late period, an unnoticed race; but the fact that many of them are becoming Christians has made them better known, and created an interest in their history and religion. It was observed by Ibbetson, in the Panjāb Census Reports, that the religion of the Chuhras is nearer Christianity in its principles than any other religion in India. Briefly, these principles are as follows:—

There is one God; sin is a reality, man is sinful; there is a High Priest, who is also a Mediator, to whom they pray; sacrifice is part of the worship of God; the spirit of man at death returns to God; there will be a resurrection of the body; there will be a day of judgment; there are angels, and there are evil spirits; there is heaven, and there is hell.

The Chuhras have no temple, but only a dome-shaped mound of earth facing the east, in which there are niches for lamps that are lighted by way of worship. When a shrine is made to Bālā Shālī, their Mediator, it is consecrated by peculiar rites.

They dig a hole in the ground, and in it place a gold knife, a silver knife, a copper knife, the head of a sacrificed goat, and a coco-nut, all bound up in 1½ yard of red cloth. Having levelled the ground, they make an altar of mud, in which are formed three niches for lamps. These lamps are filled with oil, lighted, and placed in the niches, after which the goat's flesh is cooked and eaten, part being distributed to the poor. A *chela* (= disciple, or *gyānti*, i.e. one versed in mysterious lore) performs the priestly function, but they all partake together. On Thursdays they worship at this shrine. The order of the ceremonies is as follows: A basket of cakes, made of flour, butter, and sugar, is placed on the altar. The sacrifice of a fowl, a goat, or an ox is offered at some distance from the shrine; and melted butter and sweet-smelling gums, such as camphor, are burned. This is called *hom*. This done, the priest sprinkles the people with whey, to signify refreshment, and with water also from a cup he sprinkles them for blessing. Five pice, which are placed in the melted butter, become the priest's portion. The people stand before the shrine, while the priest recites in Panjābi some such rhythmic invocation as the following:

'O God, O God!
God's will be done!
May the gift of the hand avert evil!
May He have mercy on all!
We call on the One True Name,
The Great Shāh Bālā.
At Thy door there is supply for all.

What did they use in the first age?

Standards of gold,
Cushions of gold,
Horses of gold,
Cloth of gold,
Shops of gold,
Vessels of gold!

When the great and bountiful Lord comes mounted,
Bring the keys, and open the door of the temple;
Behold the face of the true Lord!
If the Master come not to the rites,
They are not complete, O believers.
Say, believers, All are saved.

The congregation say, 'Amen!'

In this manner the silver, copper, and earthen ages are celebrated. The praise of Bālā is next recited. He is described as one who, before the world was created, adored the Name of God, until he issued forth as a teacher of mankind. Now his flag, his red flag, flies high in heaven between both worlds, and they pray to him: 'For the sake of thy son Bāl Bambrīk, have pity on the black race.'

Again the congregation say 'Amen!' and they seat themselves. The incense is then burned, and the sweet cake, with the flesh of the sacrifice, is distributed and eaten. Some is set apart for the dogs and the crows.

They are now ready to sing, to the accompaniment of drum and cymbal, the Attributes of God. In these the creation of man is described:

'Praise God, the true Original, who sat
On waters dark, contemplative. He first
Of yielding clay, with care and wondrous art
As sculptor wise, began to mould the face
And features, form and limbs, of Adam. There
The image lay all lifeless still, without
Or sense or motion, when to the entrance door
Of this new mansion God led up the soul.
The voice of God said, "Enter." "Nay, I will
Not enter there," the soul cried fearfully.
"In house so dark I will not, cannot live."
He said, "A promise I do make—a day
Will come when I will set thee free, and take
Thee to Myself again." Thus urged, the soul
Obedient entered.'

In due course one of the four sons of Brāhmā, who had become incarnate, bearing away a dead cow, becomes thereby impure, and is excommunicated, with the promise that in the fourth age he will be restored to caste. The name of this fourth son, Jhaumpra, seems to be one of a series of names given to incarnate priests or teachers, and Bālā,

one of them, is described as having come from heaven for the sake of religion. He performed miracles, obtained gifts from heaven for his followers, including the heavenly inheritance, and instituted the rites of religion. One of the hymns contains the following :

'He comes to the world, the tenth incarnation.
Then only shall we worship rightly the name of the Lord.'
In the closing prayer God is thus addressed :
'I hang on Thy Name as a child on the breast.
Creator of all, none dandled Thee. Thou hast never been nursed.
Thou hadst neither sister nor brother, neither father nor mother.
The angels of God will come and break man's skull with a hammer.¹
The future is written—what can father or mother do?
None has escaped death. But the One Name of God is True, Omnipresent,
In Thy house there is no want.'

Their assurance of the resurrection is embodied in those hymns that are recited on such occasions, e.g. :

'O worship Him at day dawn, who made the herbs and flowers,
Who waters field and greenwood with soft refreshing showers.
His garden blooms with roses, the gardener's wife is glad :
Around her burst the new buds, the bowers with leaves are clad.
Within this pleasant garden, a royal mansion stands,
The lamp that lights its hall was not placed by human hands :
A soul within appearing begins to sport and play,
As any happy child would on summer holiday.
But see, the house is darkened, the soul has taken flight.
To God, who takes account of the deeds of sense and sight ;
Alone, a homeless wanderer, she now is doomed to roam,
But at the resurrection the Lord will bring her home.
The body clad but sparsely in garments poor and thin
Goes forth alike unfriended to wait the tomb within :
But that day fast approaches when God will souls recall,
There will be glad reunion, and God will keep us all.'

The closing words of the prayer are :

'O Bālā Shāh Nārī,
For the sake of thy son, Bāl Bāmbrīk,
Have mercy on the dark race.
Sādde Kūk tere agge
Teri Kūk dhur Dargāhe,
Our cry is to thee,
Thy cry reaches the presence of God.
Amen.

Their High Priest and Mediator is known by various names—Bālā Shāh, Bāl Beg, Balmik, etc. Enough has been said to show the nature of the religion of this people. They have shrines, religious rites, and superstitions, making up such a form of religion as one might expect in a down-trodden and long-oppressed race, surrounded by the votaries of other faiths. In their hymns they freely compare their faith with the Hindu and Muhammadan religions, and claim pre-eminence for their own.

They bury their dead. The body is dressed and placed in the side of the tomb, in a receptacle carefully cut out, and is not laid in the bottom of the grave. The shoulder is placed towards the north star, and the feet to the east. Mourning for the dead is extremely and sadly impressive, one woman chanting the dirge and the other women following her, while they beat forehead and breast with their hands in time to the dirge. Nothing could be sadder. They wail :

'Night has fallen in the forest.
Go not unto that darkness
Whence there is no returning.

Let us take the Name of God,
He is worshipped everywhere.

God's angel of death comes,
And calls a man from the world.
Bring cold water,
The sleeping man must be bathed.

In the grave he is shown his real house,
That was not your real house, my friend.
This where you are now placed is your dwelling-place.'

¹ When a Hindu is buried, the skull is broken to free the spirit.

For a woman we have the plaint :

'I saw thee first in the marriage palanquin ;
Go home now, thy time has come.

The cotton skeins are left in the basket,
The cotton is forsaken beside the spinning wheel.
In scanty dress, wife of the marriage bracelet,
Thou hast gone from the house.'

It is probable that, as the Chuhras are rapidly passing into the Christian Church, their religion will speedily be a thing of the past, but from what they at present believe it will be seen that they have been indeed like a child crying in the dark, stretching their hands out to God.

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CHURCH.—I. Origin and application of the word.—In slightly modified forms the word 'church' is common to all the Germanic tongues. Some early forms, like the O.H.G. *chirihha*, suggest a derivation from *κυριακόν*, 'belonging to the Lord,' 'the Lord's house.' Had the word 'church' entered through Ulfilas or any Christian teacher, that origin from a mere popular name for the Christian edifice would be incomprehensible. The source must then have been *ἐκκλησία*—the word sanctioned by long and universal usage as the name of the Christian society. So it was in all the Latin and, through them, all the Celtic tongues. But, if it be true that the word 'church' appeared in the Germanic speech in the 5th or possibly the 4th cent., i.e. before Christianity itself, it is easy to understand how the pagan German seized on the name for the building he robbed, rather than on the name for the fellowship he did not appreciate. Moreover, these marauders were much more likely to have picked up a word from the common speech like *κυριακόν*, than a word with high ecclesiastical associations like *ἐκκλησία*.

In addition to its original sense of 'the Lord's house,' 'church' is now employed for the service, as 'to attend church'; the clerical profession, as 'to enter the church'; the Church of Rome or of England in particular; the body of the Christian people, either in one local community, or in the world at large; or it may be an ideal conception embracing only true believers, either on earth only or also in heaven.

The associations of the word are still more perplexing than the meanings. It is only necessary to recall phrases like 'Church and State' or 'Church and Chapel' to understand why Hort should feel compelled to avoid it altogether and speak of the Christian *Ecclesia*. For his special purpose that method was defensible, but a general discussion should not shun the task of banishing vagueness and prejudice from common terms. Yet, as usage, not etymology, determines the meaning of words, we are concerned with the term 'church' chiefly as the equivalent of *ecclesia*. Ever since the Genevan revisers introduced 'church' in place of 'congregation,' 'church' means primarily the Christian society, and that is the subject with which we have to deal.

ἐκκλησία and *συναγωγή*, soon to embody all the differences between Judaism and Christianity, were originally so nearly synonymous that in the LXX both were used to tr. Heb. *qāhāl* (Nu 16³ *συναγωγή*, Dt 31³⁰ *ἐκκλησία*). From Dent. onwards *συναγωγή* is almost always used for *ἔδῃᾱ*, and *ἐκκλησία* for *qāhāl*. In Ja 2² *συναγωγή* is used for the ordinary gathering of the Christians for worship, whereas in Rev 2² and 3² (cf. 2⁸ and 3⁷) *ἐκκλησία* is quite definitely applied to the Christian assembly, and *συναγωγή* to the Jewish.

This might seem to indicate that the chief reason why *ecclesia* came to be applied to the Christian community was that *synagoga* was

appropriated for the Jewish. But *ecclesia* was already the more ideal conception. *Synagōgē* was only the local community, the visible congregation; the *ecclesia* was the ideal congregation of Israel.

Schürer (GV³ II. 438) says: 'συναγωγή expresses only an empirical state of things, while ἐκκλησία expresses at the same time a dogmatic judgment of worth.' Sohni (Kirchenrecht, 1892, I. 16 ff.) finds that there was also a difference of tone in the use of ἐκκλησία compared with ἀγορά or συνέδος, even in classical usage, while in later usage it stands for an assembly of the people as a whole, were it only in tumult. Still another cause for the preference of *ecclesia* is suggested by Wellhausen (Evang. Matth., 1904, p. 84): 'The original Aramaic word *ḥēlēliā* was applied to the Jewish as well as to the Christian community. The Palestinian Christians never made any distinction, but used it equally for Church and Synagogue. . . . In Greek ἐκκλησία is the more distinguished word, and it may be that the Jews of the Diaspora had already preferred it to συναγωγή, which had assumed a more limited and local sense, such as it did not have in the LXX. The Christians used it exclusively. The etymology according to which the ἐκκλητοί are the ἐκλεκτοί may have been before their minds.'

In Gal 1²² we find St. Paul speaking of 'the churches of Judaea which were in Christ,' as if the Jewish communities also might be churches. The expression 'all the churches of Christ salute you' (Ro 16¹⁰), Hort interprets as all the Jewish Christian churches. It is much more probable, however, that here Paul means all the churches of Corinth, from which he was writing. In that case he does not use the descriptive title to distinguish the churches of the Christ from other kinds of churches; but, with the saying 'Is Christ divided?' still in his mind, he would show that he had persuaded all the sections to distinguish themselves no longer as of Paul or Apollos or Cephas. When he speaks of persecuting the Church, though it was the Church of Judaea, he no longer says, 'of Christ,' but in both passages (1 Co 15⁹, Gal 1¹³) 'the Church of God.' Here probably, as Hort suggests, there is a reminiscence of Ps 74², and therefore a conscious appropriation of the OT conception of the congregation which God had purchased of old. That Paul should have appropriated it for the church in connexion with his poignant sorrow for having persecuted it may indicate the personal experience which gave such intensity to his sense of the unity of all Christians.

Though we have the means of tracing only Paul's usage, he could not have been impressed by the conception had he not found it already existing in the Church. This is confirmed by Peter's speeches. From the beginning we find the Christians conceiving themselves as the body of the elect who, though then obscure and oppressed, were to be manifested with Christ at His glorious appearing.

A summary of all the uses of the term *ecclesia* in the NT is given by Hort (Ecclesia, 1897, p. 119). This freedom of use does not, however, indicate either vague or varied meaning. It shows rather that 'church' stood for one comprehensive idea which could have many special applications. The word was not first applied to the local communities and then extended to embrace the whole, but stood for the NT Israel, and was meant to assert that the essence of the whole was in every part. Wherever two or three were gathered together, there the Church was in all its power and dignity, in all the promise of the Kingdom of God, and in possession of the blessings of that Kingdom.¹

¹ The credit of discovering this truth is due to Sohni: 'The faith of the Christian sees in every Christian assembly gathered in the Spirit, the whole of Christianity, the people of God, the total community. On that ground every assembly of Christians, whether small or great, which met in the name of the Lord, was called *ecclesia*, a national assembly of the NT Israel' (op. cit. 16-22). Kästenbusch approves, and adds: 'The words in Mt 18²⁰ "for where two or three," etc., was valid everywhere and of the whole Church. The *ἐκκλησία* is the head of the *οἶκος*, and this *οἶκος* is the *ἐκκλησία*. The use of the plural *ἐκκλησίαι* is to be compared with the use of *πνεύματα*, as in 1 Co 14³⁰ "the spirits of the prophets," though there was only one *πνεῦμα*.

2. The founding of the Church.—The community which regarded itself as the true Israel naturally made much of its OT foundations. Though the Apostles could not hand down all the preparation for understanding Christianity which came to them from Judaism, they handed on their reverence for the OT, so that, in the struggle with Gnosticism, respect for the OT revelation became a mark of the Church. This preparation consisted of two things: (1) Through the failure of national ideals, the old conception of racial unity among the Jews was slowly transformed into a religious bond. This religious conception, begun by the earliest prophets, was developed by the Exile, and finally reached its highest development among the Hellenistic Jews of the time of our Lord, to whom Hebrew had become a sacred tongue and Jerusalem a religious capital. (2) There was the development of a conception of God and of salvation which could not be confined to any merely external or national institution. At no time was the Jewish religion more nearly universal in its outlook or more missionary in its activities than in the time of our Lord; never was it nearer passing from the stage of a national creed into a Church.¹ To this spiritual preparation, not to the institutions of Judaism, Jesus linked His work; and the fact that Christianity was enabled to become a Church, while Judaism failed, was due primarily to the still more spiritual conceptions of God and of salvation which He brought into the world. That, in this sense of being its inspiration, Jesus created the Church cannot be questioned. It is, however, denied that He founded it in any other sense. That He ever founded it as an organization or even contemplated the continuance of His work in a permanent society is denied on three grounds: (1) that no authentic record of such a foundation exists in the Gospels; (2) that His relation to His nation was such that He could not have contemplated a religious society apart from it; (3) that His eschatological expectations were such that He could not have thought there was time or use for such an institution.

(1) That there is no authentic record of such a foundation.—Everything having to do with the Church as an actually existing society in the lifetime of Jesus is found in Mt., and is conspicuously absent from all the other Gospels. The word *ἐκκλησία* appears only in Mt 16¹⁸ and 18¹⁷. The final commission in Mt 28^{19,20} is much more general in Lk 24^{47b} and Jn 20²². The parables which speak of a mixed society (Mt 13^{25, 47, 22^{34c}}), in so far as they appear in the other Gospels, have a different application. The night, when in Mt 13³⁵ tares are sown, is in Mk 4²⁷ the time when the seed springs. The good and bad in Mt 22¹⁰ are in Lk 14²¹ the poor, halt, maimed, and blind—moral wrecks but genuine converts. When Mt 16¹⁸ and 18¹⁷ are accepted as genuine, the word *ecclesia* is interpreted simply as 'community,' ideally in the former and locally in the latter,² and more frequently all these sayings are regarded as having been modified under the stress of a situation in which the Church was still looked on as the society of the Kingdom of God, but in actual fact was becoming very unlike it. On neither view do we find any ground for believing that Jesus founded a society with a mixed membership and governed by officers having external authority. This does not, however, determine that Jesus was not aware of the impulse. Each local community is an *ἐκκλησία*, not a mere *συναγωγή*, because it is a representation of the whole' (Apostol. Symbol, 1900, II. 692).

¹ Bousset's *Rel. des Judentums*² (1906) develops this idea in detail.

² Bouschlag (NT Theol., Eng. tr., 1896, I. 162) and Hort (Ecclesia, p. 9) take this view. Holtzmann (NT Theol., 1897, I. 212), Wellhausen (Evang. Matth. 98), and others deny the authenticity of both sayings.

He gave His followers to the creation, in some form, of a separate society.

(2) *Christ's relation to the nation.*—Had Jesus, as Gore maintains, all along had in view the foundation of the Church, and had His whole training of His disciples been to make them into the stable nucleus of this society, a society which He marked off by appointing to it solemn ceremonies, with a Divine sanction attached to its legislative decisions, with a hierarchy to keep it one, holy, and catholic, there could never have been any doubt from the first about its separateness from Judaism. Apart from the fact that nothing but the insistence of Paul and the leadings of Providence made the disciples recognize this separateness at all, the argument that Jesus regarded Himself as not set but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Mt 15²⁴) is quite unanswerable against such a founding of the Church.

Yet, if Jesus did not deliberately separate either Himself or His followers from Judaism, it is equally true that He deliberately created a spirit which He could not fail to see would go its own road. In Mk. we can even trace the stages of a growing alienation (1⁴⁴ 21²⁻²², 23-25 71-5 10²⁻⁵ 12²⁸⁻³⁴).¹ The leading impulse from which this discontent sprang is apparent in all the Gospels. Primarily it was our Lord's doctrine of the heavenly Father as concerned with man as man, with the toiler, the outcast, the alien; the doctrine of salvation as acceptance of the Father's rule in His might, in the midst of the common life He has appointed. This involved a break with the old institution because its services were such as condemned the poor and the alien to a lower religious level and moral dependence, and because, having no relation to the common human need of God and the common human duty of seeing God in our daily life and our fellow-men, its requirements were as inadequate morally as they were burdensome ceremonially. When in the end He was charged with having said, 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another made without hands' (Mk 14⁵⁸), whether He actually said it or not, it expresses exactly what happened; and surely He could not have been blinder than His foes to the consequences of His work. Moreover, what could He mean by the saying, which all the Synoptic Gospels record, that new wine must be put in new bottles (Mt 9¹⁷, Mk 2²², Lk 5³⁷⁻³⁸), if not that His gospel was likely to embody itself in new forms? His task was to inspire with the new spirit and to commit the form it should take, as He ever committed all things of the morrow, to His heavenly Father.

(3) *The relation of the Church to the apocalyptic expectation of the Kingdom of God* is a large and at present a burning question. In our Lord's lifetime, we are told, men expected not a Church, but the immediate appearing of the Kingdom of God, so that not Jesus but the belief in the resurrection created the Church.²

(a) It is argued that Jesus regarded the Kingdom as so near that nothing was needed to fill up the interval. He is supposed to have lived in a tense state of expectation that God would immediately bring the present world-order to an end, and at the close to have held a sacred meal with His disciples as a seal of their reunion forthwith in the Kingdom which His sufferings were to introduce. But in Mk 13¹⁻¹³ we have a discourse, with every mark of genuineness, in which Jesus deprecates the expectation of a near end held by His disciples, warns them against false prophets, pictures them as a sufficiently visible company to be persecuted,

declares that the gospel must first be preached to all nations, and promises salvation only to those who endure to the end. Moreover, tense apocalyptic expectation is not in the least degree the mark of teaching which is full of story and interest in men.

(b) It is argued that the introduction of the Kingdom is conceived by Jesus as so entirely a work of God that there could be no place for any society either to introduce it or to prepare for it. This point is far more important. The principles of the apocalyptic school of interpretation¹ are that the apocalyptic sayings in the Gospels are the most fundamental and reliable. But the elements in the Gospels which authenticate themselves are the quietness and leisure of mind and the true spiritual penetration of Jesus. These things no one was capable of inventing for Him; whereas the ascription of crude apocalyptic ideas, which many of His followers certainly held, any of them was equal to. Therefore, if the spiritual and apocalyptic ideas in the Gospels are contradictory, it cannot be the apocalyptic which are the more reliable. There is, however, a vital and fundamental truth of Christianity underlying the eschatological view, to which nothing of its spirituality needs to be sacrificed. There is a sense in which, to use Schweitzer's clumsy formula, 'the affirmative can issue only from the superimposed negation.' The victory over the world consists in being prepared to lose it, the blessed use of life in being poor in spirit, the possession of our souls in the judgment of ourselves as sinners and in self-surrender. Jesus founded His Church for the precise purpose of living under the conception that life is not good in itself, but good only when we overcome it through faith in a rule which God Himself will introduce. In short, He founded it as the society of the Kingdom of God.

Jesus did not, with the Catholic theologians, identify the Kingdom of God with the Church, or, with modern theologians since Schleiermacher, with the progressive amelioration of humanity. The Kingdom is, as Loisy expresses it, the realization of perfect happiness in perfect justice, and of immortality in holiness. The Gospel is not only the restoration of the individual soul to the love of the Father; it is also the assurance that this love will one day have its perfect manifestation. Many passages, scarcely to be interpreted as metaphorical, indicate that this belief had a setting in accord with the expectations of the time, but the proportion of things is wholly inverted when this is put first and the Fatherhood of God and the salvation of His children are put second. The Kingdom of God is present in Jesus Himself, so that the sons of the bride-chamber cannot but rejoice (Mt 9¹⁵, Mk 2¹⁹, Lk 5³⁴); and the whole NT is a witness to the amazing strength and joyfulness which sprang from contact with His spirit. Thus the Kingdom of God was something which needed to be prepared for, yet could not be accomplished by any preparation; something present now, yet in the end a regeneration solely by the finger of God. Cf. also art. KINGDOM OF GOD.

Precisely this conception created the Church and determined its ideal. It rests on the conviction that the true Divine order is ever ready to break into the world, if men will only suffer it to break into their hearts. It is the society of those who already realize the blessings of the Kingdom of God in their hearts—pardon, grace, joy—and are so sure that it will come in fullness that they can live as if it actually were come, and so can disregard the whole question of visible power,

¹ See an interesting discussion of this point in Bittich's *Enst. der altkath. Kirche*², 1857, § 1.

² Weiss, *Die Schriften des NT*, 1907, I. 844.

¹ Schweitzer (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 1906, Eng. tr. *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1910) gives a full historical account of the apocalyptic interpretation.

organize themselves wholly on the basis of love, and leave all issues with God.

The founding of this society took place of itself. Only too soon the feeling of a corporation arose (Mk 9³⁸). Not with the organization but with the spirit of His society was Jesus occupied. His followers were to be a sufficiently visible body in the world to be hated, and to stand for something so manifestly contrary to the received order as to be everywhere persecuted. Yet they were to stand also for something so deep-rooted in the human heart that souls prepared for them by God would be found in the least likely places. The society was not to be exclusive (Mk 9³⁸), but was to esteem every kindness, to guard the weak, not to fear sacrifices, and, above all, it must avoid personal claims (Mk 9³⁸⁻⁴⁰). Service was to be the only title to authority, and the sole mark of authority was to be yet humbler service (Mk 9³⁸). In Mt 23⁸⁻¹² the whole type of authority by which other societies were ruled was forbidden. It was a society of souls made one, and equal by all being taught of God.

The Apostles, therefore, so far from being a hierarchy in germ, were called 'disciples' because Jesus appointed them to be with Him (Mk 3¹⁴, Lk 22²⁸), and 'apostles' as envoys in connexion with a special mission (Mk 3¹⁴). If there was any official title, it was 'the Twelve,' and the only suggestion of office even in it is in the passage which speaks of their judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Mt 19²⁸, Lk 22³⁰). Whether the passage is symbolical, or apocalyptic, or a mixture of both, it is used not to justify a claim to authority, but to require the renunciation of it. In Mt. it is followed by a parable requiring them to give a place equal to themselves to later comers; in Lk. it comes in in connexion with the requirement to be unlike those who exercise political power, and with the Master's own example of being One who serves. The Last Supper is interpreted in Lk. by connecting with it the strife about who should be greatest, and in Jn. by the washing of the disciples' feet. The symbolism is in the act, not the materials, and it says the same thing about the true order of the Church. It is, in accordance with our Lord's constant method, a parable in double form, with some deepening of meaning in the second member. Both forms speak of His sufferings and the Kingdom of God. It is the final embodiment of the contrasts in the Sermon on the Mount, in which the poor in spirit inherit the Kingdom of God. It speaks of the power to lose one's life for His sake and the gospel's, and to find it again in fellowship and joy and peace. Instead of being a rite which turns the officers of the Church into sacrificing priests, it seals all Christ's followers into an equal fellowship, wherein the cross, the direct opposite of all human power and authority, was the one source of might and dominion. This spirit, and not any ecclesiastical supremacy, He impressed upon His Church with the most solemn words and deeds.

3. The Apostolic conception of the Church.—It is of the first importance to know how those who received this conception from Jesus proceeded to put it into practice. What He actually left behind Him was a society in which no one counted anything that he possessed his own, and which occupied itself with prayer, fellowship in the breaking of bread, and evangelizing. This was the first uncontaminated attempt to realize the spirit of One who had a common purse with His disciples, to whom privilege was only a call to humility in service, who found the religious sphere in the common life amid common men, and who made love to God and man the sole law of His Kingdom. The persistence of this spirit appears in the total absence of ritual precept in any of the Apostolic

writings, and the unfailing fervour with which they urge charity, brotherly kindness, and love. From that spirit the idea of the unity of the Church as one universal body drew its power, and from that it also followed that the bond was not sought in any form of subjection of one person to another, or of one community to another.

If the Church was not created, it was at least continued, by the belief in the Resurrection. Believers were thereby made conscious that the power of the world to come was working in the present world-order. By having the sense of a direct relation to God through the spirit of Jesus, they were set free from fear of the Law and all other fears. They were 'saints'—not meaning morally perfect or even morally advanced, but spiritual in the sense of being related to God and wrought upon by His Spirit. The Apostolic doctrine of the Church is that it consists entirely of saints so understood. They are the spiritual who judge all things (1 Co 2¹⁵). Yet this most personal possession, this direct regard to God and refusal to be judged of any man, is the secret of all unity, for there is only one Spirit and only one Head. Because Paul can say 'the head of every man is Christ' (1 Co 11³), he can also say that 'we, who are many, are one body in Christ' (Ro 12⁵); and Peter can speak of 'a spiritual house' because through the Lord it is composed of 'living stones,' of 'a holy priesthood' (1 P 2⁵), and, still more strongly, of 'a royal priesthood' (2⁹).

Our Lord must have chosen the Apostles very badly if they did not, especially at the beginning, prove themselves in some sense leaders, and if they were not prepared in any crisis to assume responsibility and face danger; but He must have chosen them equally badly for His purpose, if they used this position to make themselves a dominant class within the fellowship. What we find is that, as they had had special opportunities, they were in a special sense witnesses; that they made suggestions, but from the first submitted them to the community (*τὸ πλῆθος*); that one of their earliest suggestions involved the surrender of the power of the purse; that they were soon content to be witnesses and missionaries to the scattered gatherings of Christians throughout Palestine; and that presently the Church entered upon new tasks without any Apostolic suggestion at all. Soon we fail to trace any corporate Apostolic influence, and find only the personal influence of two or three of them. Even these Paul speaks of as persons whose actions are not at all guaranteed by their office (Gal 2⁶), and to whom he would not for a moment surrender 'the liberty which we have in Christ Jesus.' Finally, we find them making an arrangement which deposed them for ever from any universal authority they may ever have exercised collectively or individually, because it withdrew from their influence the whole Gentile community.

The supreme work of the Apostles was to maintain the spirit of humility which was the real bond of the Church, and it was in this task that Peter was truly chief. He no longer girded himself and walked whither he would, but stretched forth his hand for others to gird him (Jn 21¹⁸). If we judge from 1 Co 3²², he even accepted Paul's rebuke in Christian humility. That, and not any authority of office, was the power which overcame every barrier of race and language, of caste and religious prejudice, and which made all believers feel themselves one in Christ Jesus. Nor was Paul different. He says of himself: 'Not that we have lordship over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith [*i.e.* your individual faith] ye stand' (2 Co 1²⁴). He expects submission for the common good, but it is only such as he himself renders (2 Th 3⁹). Nothing could be more impressive

than the absence of any appeal to external authority—to his own authority, to the authority of the Apostles or of Apostolic tradition, to the rule of elders or bishops, to anything indeed but the spirit of love—in the crisis about which he writes in 1 Cor., when both the unity and the purity of the Church were at stake. What he ordains in the Church is only an appeal to weigh well what others have found good (1 Co 10¹⁵). He might come with a rod, but it is not of ecclesiastical discipline. It is only the opposite of love and a spirit of meekness (4²¹). Finally, he closed his appeal with the great lyric on love (ch. 13), the only final solution he pretends to offer. Whatsoever office may have been in the Apostolic Church, it was always subordinate to that ideal.

Just as little was there any official subordination of one community to another. In many cases the local community could have been nothing but the meeting of the two or three in private houses. Even in Jerusalem the elders seem to have met in the house of James (Ac 21¹⁸), which probably means that they had no public meeting-place. The Christians at Ephesus definitely withdrew from the synagogue to the school of Tyrannus (Ac 19⁹), but probably even there the church did not long continue to exist as one congregation in one place. From Corinth, Paul sends the greetings of 'all the churches of Christ' (Ro 16¹⁶), and they were sufficiently different in type to wish to call themselves by different names (1 Co 14¹³). This freedom of assembly and indefiniteness of organization we find Ignatius still combating in the beginning of the 2nd century.¹

All the assemblies, however, were to walk *κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν* (2 Th 3⁶), which was not a body of doctrine, but a type of Christian conduct. They followed common customs (1 Co 11¹⁶ 14²⁸). No community was to proceed as if Christianity had begun with it or were to end with it (1 Co 14³⁸). The ministry of the Word, Baptism, and the Eucharist existed in all churches, and all ascribed them to the appointment of the Lord. This ministry depended not on appointment to office, but on the recognition by the congregation of a *charisma* (v.²⁹); and this gift was not for the edification of the local community only, but for the whole Church, valid wherever it was recognized. It was fundamentally a prophetic office, a power to make known God's will, and, therefore, was truly the foundation of the Church. The eldership seems to have been a more definitely official appointment, as it apparently belonged not to individual gatherings, but to the whole Christianity of a place.² It may have had its origin in the very attempt to maintain unity of spirit and co-operation when actual unity of fellowship became impossible. The local church could thereby take common action, and give expression to their sense of interest in one another and in the whole body of Christ. Fellowship by writing and travelling, mutual help, consultation, and regard for each other's opinion characterized all the Christian assemblies. Yet the only relation between two Churches which we have any means of tracing—that between Jerusalem and Antioch—shows how little it was official. The Church at Antioch was anxious to carry the Church at Jerusalem with it (Ac 15²), and was overjoyed at the sympathy received from the mother Church (v.²¹), but it is equally evident that the younger society had no intention of being overruled by the older (Gal 2⁹). Moreover, the very fact that Paul continued to seek an understanding with the

Church at Jerusalem shows that he did not regard it as claiming the rights of a metropolitan Church to direct the policy of its inferiors.

The Apostolic Church was thus wholly compacted in brotherhood and at the same time profoundly individual. That combination was made possible by a gospel which was at once the most personal of all possessions and the mightiest force to break down self-regard. This sense of having pardon and grace, inward peace and future hope, marked the Church off from the world, and yet made it a power in the world. What Paul says of the Jew who is a Jew inwardly (Ro 2²⁹), and of the Gentiles who have the law written in their hearts (v.¹⁵), shows that there was no such exclusive view as *nulla salus extra ecclesiam*, but there was a glad sense of possessing in a special degree a salvation which made it a joy to call others into a fellowship in which even the publican and the harlot could find their souls, and so attain to the liberty of the children of God which could be under no tutelage. In this society the Apostles themselves wrote and spoke simply as those who most fully recognized the blessings which constituted its brotherhood.

4. The Catholic idea of the Church.³—In the later NT writings a change of idea makes itself felt. Some discover it in Ephesians. There, it is said, we have Paul's metaphor, but not his meaning. Christ is the head, not, however, as the inspiring spirit of each member, but as part of the body. In 5³⁶, the Church, not the individual, is the object of justification. Further, this headship is no longer related to the Kingdom of God and interpreted through faith, but is mystical⁴ (vv.²⁹⁻³²). As the process Paul found so powerless in the Jewish society is not likely to have satisfied him simply because it was wrought through the Christian society, the Epistle cannot be authentic, if this view is correct. But it is easy to infer too much from a figure of speech. The members of the Church are those who have been chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world, to be holy and without blemish before Him in love (1⁴), who have a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the [individual] knowledge of Christ (v.¹⁷), who by lowliness and meekness keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and are one body because there is one Spirit (2⁴). Nor is unity, the starting-point, to be gained by submission, but is the result of each attaining to a full-grown manhood (4¹⁻¹⁴).

In the Pastoral Epistles, however, the Church is 'pillar and ground of the truth' (1 Ti 3¹⁵). Faith is not a renewing trust in God through Jesus Christ, but acceptance of right Church doctrine (1 Ti 1⁹, Tit 1¹⁻⁴). The Christian ethic is based on how men 'ought to behave themselves in the house of God' (1 Ti 3¹⁵), and the heretic is a vessel of dishonour (2 Ti 2²⁰), the whole conception of honour and dishonour being far away from Paul's conception of a body in which the uncomely parts have the more abundant comeliness (1 Co 12²⁴). Finally, in 2 Ti 2²¹ Jesus is no longer *κύριος*, but *δεσπότης*. It is difficult to escape the impression that we are here in the atmosphere of a later generation.

The post-Apostolic Church was essentially Gentile, but a Judaic type appeared in it for the simple reason that it had not had the benefit of the spiritual preparation of Judaism. The sense of the Father who is mightier than all sin and evil, and who works a spiritual deliverance through relating us directly to Himself and His purpose of love in Jesus Christ, gave place to a fear of sin and evil greater than the sense of God's might to overcome them. The apocalyptic hope was no longer the sense that the meek shall inherit the earth,

¹ *ad Magn.* 4, *ad Eph.* 20, etc.

² This is most certain regarding the Church of Jerusalem (Ac 11³⁰ 15⁴ etc.); but we can hardly suppose that there continued to be only one society, as there was an eldership, in Ephesus (Ac 20¹⁷) and Philippi (Ph 1⁴). This important fact no one known to the present writer has made any use of.

³ Compare the following two articles.

⁴ Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* ii. 254 ff.

but became material, and finally disappeared before the hope so to serve God as to merit heaven at last. God was mainly Ruler and Judge, and Jesus primarily a Saviour from hell to the bliss of heaven.

This result is neither mysterious nor discouraging. The same process which had been required for the few to understand Christ is also required for the many. Thus there must be an ever-recurring discipline of the Law, because, though every believing soul is from the first under the influence of the Spirit, for the perfection of His work every soul also needs a 'fullness of the time.' The heaven, therefore, has to disappear into the meal until the whole be leavened. The fellowship of believers founded on Christ, governed only by love and nourished by helpful interchange of spiritual gifts, did not vanish from the earth, but has remained as a leaven working in all the various legalisms that have arisen—the early Catholic, the Orthodox Eastern, the Roman, the Protestant. That being seen, the rapid growth of Catholicism is easy to understand. The conditions are always there, for, as Sohm says, the natural man is always a Catholic, and that does not cease to be true though he call himself a Protestant. He still likes material guarantees, and would rather not trust anything to God that can be managed by man. The essence of it is that an institution with official rule seems a better security than a fellowship with Divine gifts. So long as that continues, man needs and introduces for himself what Paul calls the schoolmaster of the Law—a thing that may be lower, but is continually necessary.

The Apostolic Church was founded on the Apostles and prophets, the interpreters of the mind of God, and it consisted of the saints who, being spiritual, were judges of this interpretation. The Catholic Church was founded on the bishop, the official representative, at first of Jesus Christ Himself, and afterwards of St. Peter among the Apostles. The result was an order which no longer needed to pass through mutual humility and love, in which the first needed no longer to be last in order to rule, in which the presence of the Spirit in each believer gradually lost significance, and which ultimately replaced the idea that the potentiality of the Kingdom of God was present where two or three were gathered together, by the idea that 'where the bishop is, there is the Catholic Church.'¹

In the first form of the Apostles' Creed the article on the Church is simply *ἀγία ἐκκλησία*. This Kattenbusch² interprets to mean an earthly community of the heavenly city. Two streams, he says, unite in the idea of holiness. First, there is the NT conception that it is to be of God; but to be of God and to be morally holy are one. The religious and the moral requirements are thereby united in love. Secondly, there is the heathen idea that what is holy is mysterious, awe-inspiring. As the heathen idea preponderated, the whole empirical manifestation of the Church came to be regarded as the direct creation of the Spirit, as miraculous, mysterious, heavenly. Both elements persisted in the Church, but the wonderful came to be put first and the ethical second. Not till many centuries afterwards was the term 'catholic' added in the Creed, for, though the expression is found already in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*,³ it there still means *καθ' ὅσον*, the Church in its wholeness, the Church in the sense that it was complete in the assembly of the two or three. Gradually the religious sense sank into the empirical, till in Cyprian we find it is simply the actual great Church (cf.

CATHOLICISM). The view that the Catholic Church in that sense was the one channel of Christian truth and the one sphere of salvation, had been developed largely by the Gnostic controversy.

5. Eastern, Roman, and Protestant doctrines of the Church.¹—(1) The most important document for understanding the Eastern Orthodox Church view is the treatise of Athanasius *On the Incarnation of the Logos*. The whole Greek doctrine of salvation is summed up in his phrase (liv. 3), *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐνπρωτόπῃσεν ἡμῖς θεωποιεῖσθαι*, 'For He [Christ] became man that we might become Divine.' In accordance with Neo-Platonic ideas, the Logos is the diffused Reason of God. With the aid of this conception Athanasius interprets the Incarnation as the sacramental presence of God in our humanity. It is a symbol which is also a reality. Through this sacrament in our humanity death is vanquished by the restoration to our nature of the lost Divine substance. On that conception of salvation was based the idea of the Church as primarily a mysterious hierurgical saving institution. In the *Catechism of Philaret* the Church is defined as 'a Divinely instituted community of men, united by the orthodox faith, the law of God, the hierarchy, and the Sacraments.'² It is characteristic of its view of itself that the orders of the priesthood in the Eastern Church are not hierarchical as with Rome, but hierurgical, each higher order being endowed with a superior mysterious natural force for administering the mysteries. This Church claims to be Catholic. Yet not largeness of view, but only failure to realize any world mission, prevents this Church from understanding 'catholic' in the same sense as Rome, i.e. as equal to a universal and exclusive claim.

(2) Unlike the Eastern Church, the Roman Catholic Church has not been able to rest, without question and without theory, on its assurance of identity with the Church founded by Jesus and His Apostles.

Its historical theory is that it was founded on the rock of St. Peter's office—a visible society divided from the first into hierarchy and people. Its task is conceived as the continuation of the Incarnation in the exercise of Christ's threefold office. Its marks are Apostolicity, Unity, Catholicity, Holiness. This last mark is not understood in the Puritan sense, but in the sense that the Church possesses the means of making holy, succeeds with some of her members, and is a sphere marked off for all from heathen and sinners. Its Catholicity is exclusive, 'Roman' and 'Catholic' being equivalents. This is a recognition of its world mission, though a material and even worldly recognition. Here primarily the Church is conceived as a hierarchical saving institution, not hierurgical as is the Eastern. The cause of the difference was mainly the practical and juridical temper of the Roman Church. God was primarily the Lawgiver and Judge, and salvation was His acquittal.

Many elements of progress appear. While tradition was exalted, the Roman Church had no wish to be hampered by it. The final development, the infallibility of the Papacy, is a device both for securing tradition and for manipulating it. Then the concern of the practical and juridical temper is universal sinfulness, not merely universal mortality. Salvation is not, therefore, mere infusion of a supernatural life, but is a life meriting God's approval. Jesus, as the legal mediator between God and man, must be man as well as God. Hence the historical Jesus never became for the

¹ Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* viii. 2.

² *Apostol. Symbol.* 1894-1900, II. 681 ff., and *Confessions-kunde*, 1892, I. 456 ff.

³ *Dedication*, and viii. 1.

¹ For a statement of the doctrine of the Church from the Anglican and Roman Catholic standpoints respectively, see the following two articles, and cf. CHRISTIANITY, VIII. f.

² Schaff, *Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*, p. 483.

West the mere symbol He too often was for the East.

Two influences largely determined the form in which this temper manifested itself. The first was the German invasion, which brought constitutional ideas to an end, and provided a wholly uncultivated people, who received Christianity implicitly on authority. The task of disciplining these people was a justification as well as a cause for the development of the Roman type. The second was the influence of Augustine. In his age it was natural that he should make much of the visible organization of the Church, as it seemed the only security for any kind of order, civil or ecclesiastical. But he wove into it the conception of the congregation of saints, so that religious and ecclesiastical ideas were indistinguishably mingled in the concept of authority. Something of the religious order was thereby saved, even in the very act of clothing the official order with power. While it was an evil that penitence, pardon, grace, love should have their security in the hierarchy and not in the Spirit of God, it was good that they remained in some way the centre of religious interest in the Church. Moreover, the various influences which Augustine strengthened in the Church—Neo-Platonic and Christian, mystical and hierarchical, evangelical and legal—have created many types of piety, and it is not the least promising element in the Roman Church that, even after the Reformation has removed much perilous material, these influences are still in ferment.

(3) The Protestant conception of the Church goes back to Augustine's idea of the *congregatio sanctorum* as the elect. The first to give it expression was Wyclif: 'Quod nullum est membrum sanctae matris ecclesiae nisi persona predestinata.' Its unity is in God's all-embracing operation on the one hand, and in love on the other. Through Hus, Wyclif's influence passed to Luther. The conception of the elect was in Luther the purely religious assurance of being wholly chosen by God's love and redeemed by God's grace. God was to him essentially the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, by forgiving men's sins, restores them to Himself, gives them His Spirit, and enables them to turn this common life into a true holy service. The treasure of the Church is this gospel of forgiveness, which is manifested alike in word and sacrament. Where this gospel is, God cannot fail so much that His true Church should not in some measure exist. The power to call forth faith, and thereby pardon, and to expose the meaning of unbelief, is the true power of the keys, the source of all right Christian authority in the Church. Neither the continuity nor the validity of the Church depends on the clergy, who are only the necessary expression of the priesthood of all believers, but on the existence of a true believing Church wherever the word of God is rightly preached and the sacraments rightly administered. To Luther the Church is also 'Catholic,' but he returns to the early meaning, and makes 'Catholic' equal to 'Christian.'

Lutherans speak of the 'Church strictly so called and the Church generally so called,' while the Reformed speak of the 'Invisible and the Visible Church.' Neither expression conveys very precisely what is meant. It is not a question of more or less definiteness of speech; nor is the true Church invisible in the sense that it has no manifestation. The actual Church is a community of mixed membership, but in principle, nevertheless, the Church is the community of believers. That is not to be understood in the sense that all wicked persons and hypocrites can or ought to be cast out of it, but only in the sense that these persons do not add anything to the meaning of the Church, and that the Church of believers, however few,

met in Christ's name, has all the promises and all the power of Christianity in its midst, is the Church according to its wholeness, and from that power the presence of others does not take anything away. This Church of believers alone is the Church Catholic or Universal.¹

The marks, therefore, of the Church, according to the Protestant conception, are (1) that it has unity in Jesus Christ as its one true Head; (2) that its one sufficient treasure is the gospel of grace, manifest in word and sacrament; and (3) that its one necessary official is the organ of the priesthood of all believers.

Into that conception a new legalism speedily returned, taking one form in Lutheranism and another in Calvinism. The Lutheran form was akin to the Eastern, and the Calvinist to the Roman; and in this respect the Anglican was of the Lutheran type. Both Lutheran and Calvinistic forms were caricatures of their gospels, the Lutheran of salvation as freedom through pardon and grace in the common secular life, and the Calvinist of salvation as being called through pardon and grace to serve the glory of God. The Lutheran, when he felt the need of relying on the compelling force of organization, readily fell back on the secular arm; and accepted a quiescent State Church; the Calvinist as naturally sought his force in the organization of the Church itself, and very readily came into conflict with the State in consequence. Hence we have on the one hand strenuous persuasives like Five Mile Acts, and on the other an infallible legal code in the Scriptures. In both cases right principles of Christianity lie obscured and perverted, and that which obscures and perverts is the same in both—the lack of faith, the wish to trust as little to God as possible, the desire to walk by sight, and by faith only when we cannot help ourselves.

Against this veiling of the truth in flesh it is vain to be angry. Till man is wholly spiritual it will be God's necessary way with him. We may not even despise, neglect, or fail to serve the organization. At the same time, it must ever be held, like the body, as subject to the soul, something that must ever be dying that the soul may live. Hence we have to recognize the significance of God's providential dealing in once more breaking down the discipline of the Law by division, criticism, and even unbelief. Out of this ferment a new phase of the Church's life must surely issue, and a new vision of the gospel, and then possibly a new and, we trust, a more spiritual incarnation of it in outward form, one in which there will be at once more freedom and more spiritual power.

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¹ This conception finds expression in all the Protestant creeds. It is very fully stated in *The Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, 3 and 4: 'At ecclesia non est tantum societas externarum rituum, sicut aliae politae, sed principaliter est societas fidei et Spiritus Sanctus in cordibus, quae tamen habet externas notas ut agnoscere possit, videlicet puram evangelii doctrinam et administrationem sacramentorum consentaneam evangelio Christi. This is the Church which alone is the body of Christ, is renewed, governed, and sanctified by His Spirit, is the pillar of the truth and the Kingdom of God. But the same conception is equally found in the Reformed Creeds, e.g. in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, Art. XIX., where the Visible Church is described as a congregation of faithful men, i.e. it is in principle a society of believers. Then follow Luther's marks by which it becomes visible, expressed almost in Luther's words, that 'the pure word of God be preached and the sacraments be duly administered.' The reason is that, wherever the means of grace exist, we cannot doubt God's power to use them to call into existence a true Church or fellowship of believers.

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CHURCH, DOCTRINE OF THE (Anglican).—1. Relation of the Christian to the Jewish Church.—The Christian Church, though it could not have its actual character before the Incarnation, grew out of, succeeded, and took the place of, the Jewish Church. In the providence of God, the Jewish nation had a special vocation and special privileges and gifts. The race was chosen to be the peculiar people of Almighty God, and in consequence of this choice the Jews held a position which belonged to no other nation. They possessed clearer and fuller knowledge of God than was found elsewhere. They had a system of worship marked by special sanctions, and affording special ways of approaching and holding communion with God. In the Divine purpose the possession of those privileges and gifts was designed to enable the Jews to be a witness in the world to God and His truth; to be the means of bringing others within the sphere of fuller blessings than they for the time had received; and to prepare themselves—and through themselves mankind—for the Incarnation.

2. The Christian Church founded by Christ, and formed by the Holy Spirit.—It was one part of the work of Christ to found the Church. The idea of the Church which underlies the Epistles of St. Paul, the aspects of it which are presented in the Acts of the Apostles, the existence of sacraments which are referred back to the institution of the Lord, the notion of the Church which is suggested by the parable of the Mustard Seed occurring in all three Synoptic Gospels (Mt 13³¹, Mk 4³⁰⁻³², Lk 13¹⁸), and the parable of the Leaven occurring in both the First and the Third Gospels (Mt 13³³, Lk 13²⁰), and the discourses in the Fourth Gospel (Jn 14-16), as well as passages which are peculiar to the First Gospel (Mt 16¹⁷⁻¹⁹ 18¹⁵⁻²⁰ 13²⁴⁻³⁰ 25¹⁻⁴⁰, cf. Lk 19¹²⁻²⁷), combine to indicate that the Church was designed and founded by Christ; and the obvious pains taken by Him in the choice and training of the Apostles accords with this. Thus, as a result of the ministry of Christ, there were at the time of the Ascension a general body of believers, and the smaller company of the Apostles. This nucleus of the Church was filled with the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost, and the gifts, of which there had been some anticipatory possession through the acts of the Lord Himself (Jn 20¹⁹⁻²³), became endowed with power for their actual use. Through this pouring forth of the Holy Spirit the whole Christian body received the specifically Christian life of union with Christ, the

distinctive personal indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and the characteristic Christian sonship to God; and the ministerial powers in the Apostles were made effective for their work in the Church.

3. The Church a visible society.—The idea of the Church as a visible society is found consistently throughout the NT. The whole conception of the Christian community in the Epistles, in Acts, and in the Apocalypse is incompatible with any other idea. The general standpoint of all four Gospels, no less than particular parables peculiar to the First Gospel (Mt 13²⁴⁻³⁰ 36-43 47-50), indicates that this idea goes back to, and was derived from, the teaching of Christ. As seen both in the NT and in later history, the Church has an ordered life of outward organization as well as of inward and spiritual power. To prayer and sacraments and worship and rules of conduct alike there is an outward as well as an inward side. There is an ordered ministry, with external rites and limitations, no less than with an inner call and an inner life.

4. The union of the Church with Christ and the Holy Spirit.—A characteristic element in the teaching of St. Paul is that aspect of the Church by which it is presented as the temple of the Holy Spirit and as the bride and body of Christ (Ro 12⁴, 1 Co 3¹⁰ 11 16 6¹⁵ 17 10¹⁷ 12¹² 13 27, 2 Co 6¹⁶ 11¹, Eph 120 22 23 25 6 20-22 4¹¹ 12 15 16 523-32, Col 1¹⁸ 24 2¹⁷⁻¹⁹). The Church, on this presentation of it, is made up of living persons, all of whom are individually members of Christ and shrines of the Holy Spirit. As such they compose the mystical body of Christ, of which He is the Head—the mystic bride, who, as a pure virgin, is espoused to Him. This presentation is closely connected with the doctrine of the sacraments. Christians are made members of Christ and shrines of the Holy Spirit in their baptism. The life of Christ, made theirs by baptism, is continuously maintained and strengthened through their reception of the Holy Communion.

5. The Church not limited to those now on earth.—The Church, thus viewed as the body and bride of Christ and as the temple of the Holy Spirit, is not to be limited to those members of it who are now living on earth. It includes also the members who are now invisible—the holy dead, and those who have yet to be. It is of this whole body, comprising both the visible society and its invisible members, that Christ is the Head. The visible society is the body and the bride and the temple, but it is so only by virtue of its share in the life of that larger community which embraces Christians of past ages, of the present, and of the future. The gifts and privileges of the visible society are real and actual, but the fullness of their power is manifested only in the universal life. A view of the Church which forgets the past and the future, and limits its vision to the present, must necessarily be impoverished and distorted. A clearer realization of this truth might have done something to prevent the mistakes involved in the Papal idea of the Church, with its postulate of a visible head on earth; and fuller attention to it might well lead Eastern Christians to reconsider their opinion that any who are not in external communion with them are out of communion with the Church.

6. The Church One.—The enlarged form of the Nicene Creed, as recited in the Liturgy, contains the words, 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church' (see Liturgy of St. Chrysostom: *εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν*; *Missale Romanum*: 'et Unam Sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam'; English Book of Common Prayer: 'And I believe One Catholic and Apostolical Church').¹ In this phrase the word 'One'

¹ By the request of the Editor this article has been written as a doctrinal statement, not as an historical investigation. Consequently any quotations are made as illustrations only, not for the purposes of proof, which would require a fuller and more detailed treatment. For a different standpoint, see the following article.

¹ The word 'Holy' may have been omitted in this Creed in the Book of Common Prayer by an accident, or through the

describes the first of the 'notes of the Church'—the note of Unity. By virtue of it, each separate congregation of the Church, the collection of congregations in any place, the aggregate of these in any country, and the whole number throughout the world make up one Church. The essential elements in this Unity may be stated, in accordance with the teaching of St. Paul (Eph 4⁴⁻⁶, 1 Co 10¹⁷ 12¹²⁻²⁷), as being the common worship of the one God, the common holding of the one faith, the common possession of the one sacramental life, the common aim at the attainment of the one hope, and the common indwelling by the one Spirit. Of all these elements there is the fullness which appertains to the life of the whole Church, since it includes the holy dead, together with those now living on earth and those who are still unborn. In regard to that fullness, the visible society of the Church now on earth strives towards an ideal of Unity which it does not here realize in fact. The closer the approximation may be, the greater is its perfection in respect of Unity. But the note of Unity is not lost because the approach to the ideal stops short of reaching it. Yet there is a minimum below which a religious body cannot sink without loss of this note. There are essential features in each element of the note which may not be abandoned. The essentials of worship, or of the faith, or of the sacraments can be lost as well as impaired; and, if they are lost, the note of Unity cannot survive them. This aspect of Unity is known as objective or organic Unity. It affords the outward means whereby the Church is maintained in union with Christ its Head. As so doing, it is essential to the life of the Church. It is distinct from that subjective Unity of external inter-communion which, though of high value and usefulness, is not of the essence of the Church. The organic or objective Unity of the Church is at the present time the common possession of Roman Catholics, Eastern Christians, and members of the Anglican Communion, since they all share in whatever is essential to the preservation of it. But the subjective Unity of any of them is limited to that within their own bodies, since they are out of external communion with, and are outwardly divided from, one another. The idea that the Unity of the Church is wholly unseen, simply the union of heart and soul and will of those who are spiritually united to God, fails to do justice to the requirements of the visible society which the Church on earth is. On the other hand, to maintain that a necessity of Unity is external inter-communion having its centre in the Pope of Rome fails to allow for the lack of Scriptural and historical basis for a view of the Papacy which makes outward adherence to it an essential part of the Church's life.

7. The Church Holy.—The word 'Holy' is the second of the four words in the description of the Church as 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic.' Thus Holiness is the second of the 'notes of the Church.' The Holiness which is a note of the Church is the organic or objective Holiness which is constituted by the doctrines and laws and sacraments and aims of the Church as Holy. As such, like organic or objective Unity, it is essential to the life of the Church, and must be distinguished from the subjective Holiness which is in the lives of individual members. The organic or objective Holiness would fail in its purpose if it were not used to promote subjective Holiness; but the conception of the Church which is involved in its being a visible society, and in St. Paul's recognition of

the whole Christian society in any place as holy, while condemning sins committed by members of it (e.g. 1 Co 11² with chs. 5, 6), and in the general rejection of such ideas as those of the Donatists, is contrary to any notion that subjective Holiness is a necessity if the Holiness which is an essential note of the Church is to be preserved. The Church is rightly described as Holy even if some of its members are sinful, as the ignorance of some members of a University does not hinder that University from being rightly described as learned, and the poverty of some members of a city does not hinder that city from being rightly described as rich (see A. P. Forbes, *A Short Explanation of the Nicene Creed*³, 1883, p. 278 f.).

8. The Church Catholic.—Catholicity is the third of the 'notes of the Church,' as specified in the description, 'One Holy Catholic and Apostolic.' As applied to the Church, the word 'Catholic' is the opposite at once of particular and of heretical. Thus it denotes both universal and orthodox. A well-known passage in the *Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (xviii. 23) sets out an expanded explanation of the sense in which the term has been applied to the Church:

'The Church is called Catholic because it extends throughout all the world from one end of the earth to the other; and because it teaches universally and completely all the doctrines which ought to come to the knowledge of men concerning things visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly; and because it brings into subjection to godliness the whole race of mankind, governors and governed, learned and ignorant; and because it treats and heals universally every class of sins that are committed in soul and body, and possesses in itself every form of virtue which is named, both in deeds and in words and in every kind of spiritual gifts.'

According to this expansion of universality and orthodoxy, the Church is Catholic as being for the whole world, as teaching the whole truth,¹ as ruling all kinds of men, as healing all kinds of sin, and as containing all kinds of virtue. The aim set before the Church by the word is the expansion and strengthening of Christ's Kingdom on earth, and the preservation of the true faith. The ideal suggested is that of complete universality, complete teaching of perfect truth, complete efficiency of service in extirpating sin and promoting virtue. The entire accomplishment of the ideal is not to be anticipated outside the perfected Kingdom of the future. But the Church would fail to preserve the note if it were to allow, as a part of permanent life, anything inconsistent with complete universality, or the whole truth, or entire success in dealing with moral life.

9. The Church Apostolic.—The fourth and last of the 'notes of the Church' is that of Apostolicity. The term 'Apostolic,' as applied to the Church in the Creed, affirms that the Church is descended from the Apostles by a due succession. Its historical meaning in this connexion may be illustrated by two passages in St. Irenæus and Tertullian. St. Irenæus writes:

'We can enumerate those who by the Apostles were appointed bishops in the Churches, and the successors of them (or their successors) even to our own time' (*Hær.* iii. lib. 1; cf. iv. xxv. 2, xxviii. 8).

Tertullian, writing while still a member of the Church, says:

'If any dare to connect themselves with the Apostolic age that they may appear to have descended from the Apostles because they have been under the rule of the Apostles, we can say, Let them then declare the origins of their Churches, let them unfold the succession of their bishops, so coming down from the beginning with continuous steps that the first bishop may have had as his consecrator and predecessor one of the Apostles or of Apostolic men who none the less remained in the communion of the Apostles. For in this way

¹ That is, the truth concerning faith and morals. Ultimately, in the heavenly Church, truth of all kinds will be proclaimed. In the present life, the teaching of, e.g., physical science is not part of the Church's official task, though gradual approximation to such instruction, as showing the harmony of all truth, may come within its sphere.

compilers following a Latin form of the Creed which did not contain it (see CCR, July 1879, pp. 372-383; Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, 1902, pp. 104-106). In either case there is no doctrinal significance in the omission, since the Apostles' Creed in the Morning and the Evening Prayer contains the word.

the Apostolic Churches bring down their accounts, as the Church of the Smyrneans goes back to Polycarp, who was appointed by John, and as the Church of the Romans to Clement, who was consecrated by Peter' (*de Præsc. Hær.* 32).

The Church, being a visible society, an organic body, a social community, needs the signs of transmitted authority which are found in an ordered succession. In the words in which St. Clement of Rome gave expression to the general sense of Christian thought—

'the Apostles received the Gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ was sent forth from God. So then Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in the appointed order. . . . They appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe' (*First Ep. to Cor.* 42).

Moreover, the life of the Church, being a sacramental life, needs the inward transmission which corresponds to the handing on of the outward signs of authority. The spiritual gifts which the sacraments are the means of conveying need the pledge and guarantee of an ordered ministry. As seen in history, this ordered ministry depends on episcopal ordination. The strong probability that an episcopal ministry was, in one form or another, a part of the system of the Church from the days of the Apostles must be viewed, not simply by itself, but in connexion with the certain fact that, whatever doubts and obscurities there may be as to certain details in the history of the ministry, the ultimate judgment of the universal Church settled down to regard the main stream of episcopal succession which had marked Church life from the earliest times as the plan of Divine appointment concerning the means for the security of the Divine gifts. Thus, an episcopal ministry descended from the Apostles is the guarantee of the Apostolicity of the Church.

10. *The Church the teacher of truth.*—The teaching office of the Church may be stated under three heads: (1) *The basis is Holy Scripture as the inspired Word of God.* The office of the Church is to state, collect, systematize, and explain the teaching contained in the Bible. Doctrine lacking Biblical foundation and support must stand outside the teaching which the Church gives authoritatively as the representative of God. (2) *The Church is the custodian of the tradition which has been handed down from the days of the Apostles.* The concurrent testimony of different parts of the Church as to doctrine which they have received by inheritance supplies that form of universality which is the sign of a genuine tradition. Thus, in the last quarter of the 2nd cent., St. Irenæus, taking the Church of Rome as a central and convenient witness to the tradition from the Apostles—a witness to which he adds that of the Churches of Smyrna and Ephesus—speaks of the tradition which is from the Apostles being therein preserved 'by those who are from every quarter' (*Hær.* III. iii. 2); and, almost at the end of the same century, Tertullian refers to the test of Apostolic truth as being the agreement of that which is taught by the Apostolic Churches (*de Præsc. Hær.* 36). (3) *The Church as the living home of the Holy Spirit is, as a teacher, very much more than a witness to the past.* The inherited Scriptural and traditional truth may from time to time need fresh expression. Meaning always inherent in it may need to be drawn out and expanded and enforced as the course of history is unfolded. The inherited truth itself may call for the denial of what would destroy it, or for the affirmation of its rightful consequences. The whole body of the Church is indwelt by the Holy Spirit; and the permanent utterances of the whole body are the expression of His voice. The utterances of the Church may take different forms, and may possess different degrees of de-

finiteness and of authority. A comparison of writers of different dates and localities may show that the teaching which they express is neither merely temporary nor merely local, or it may exhibit differences at different times or in different places, or the idiosyncrasies of individuals. The history of a Council may show that, even if by its constitution it was representative of the whole Church, its decisions were not in accordance with the real and permanent mind of the Church; or that, even if not fully representative of the Church in constitution, it expresses what the whole Church was prepared to accept as its definite and permanent mind. The Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia (A.D. 359) were in constitution representative enough, yet they failed to affirm doctrine which the whole Church regarded as vital; the 'Robber Council' of Ephesus (A.D. 449) was convoked to be a General Council, and it declared what the whole Church declared to be heresy. On the other hand, the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381), which was Eastern only, gave decisions which the whole Church ultimately received, and from which it cannot be anticipated that the Church will ever go back. The value of Conciliar approval or condemnation, or of the testimony of writers, or of inferences from practice or worship, lies not in these in themselves, but in the extent to which they are the genuine expression of the real mind of the universal Church; and a decision as to this extent must often require much investigation of the past or much patience in waiting for the verdict of time.

11. *The Church the home of sanctification.*—The Church is the Divinely appointed sphere for the bestowal and reception of the gifts of grace. In it are to be found the means of forgiveness and of holiness. The Church, as the body of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit, affords access to the Divine operations for the good of man. It gives opportunity for that common prayer and worship which have high approval from our Lord. It provides, by an ordered system, for the needs of the whole life of man. Holy Baptism is the means of conveying the forgiveness of original sin and any actual sins already committed, and of implanting in the soul, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, the germs of all true spiritual life. Through Confirmation there is new strength and the fuller operation of the presence of the Holy Spirit. In the Eucharist are the means of maintaining and renewing the union of the Christian with the life of Christ, the special Eucharistic presence of Christ by virtue of the consecration of the bread and wine to be through the power of the Holy Spirit His body and blood, and the centre of the sacrificial life and worship of the Church in the pleading of His manhood thus present and communicated in the Sacrament. Absolution is the appointed instrument by which those who have sinned since their baptism, and have repented and are desirous to amend, may receive the forgiveness of their sins through the application to their souls of the merits of the passion and death and life of Christ. The Unction of the Sick is a remedy against the weakness in body and soul which accompanies illness, a means for the reception of bodily and mental benefit and spiritual grace. By Holy Orders are provided the needed ministry for the Church's work and the preservation of the Apostolic succession. In Matrimony, family and home life and the relations of man and woman are secured against sin and brought under the operations of the grace of God. Through this whole system the earthly sojourn of man is afforded Divine protection and help and blessing.

and is made to be a school for his right development in all parts of his being.

12. The Church in relation to Scripture and history and human needs.—The historic Church is found to-day in the Eastern, Roman, and Anglican Churches, each of which preserves those features of life which are essential to the Church's being. Those features which are common to them all maintain the principles of the Church life which Holy Scripture records, and which are seen to have received embodiment in history. Further, the Church supplies what human needs demand. It is the sphere in which the ideas of Christian truth and morality are preserved and receive their due presentation for each successive age, as the State is the sphere for the retention and growth of social and political ideas. Thus making provision for the preservation of the thought and maxims which differentiate the Christian religion, it affords scope for the true development of individual Christians. As the existence of the State is necessary if the individual is to realize and give effect to his social and political capacities, so the Church is needed if the Christian is not to be maimed in his personal character and work. An isolated man is incapable of full human life, and an isolated Christian necessarily lacks something of Christianity. To live the complete Christian life, to participate in the full Christian worship, to possess and actualize the full Christian knowledge, requires membership in the Christian society. And it is not any kind of society which can properly supply the needs thus indicated. The episcopal ministry, which is the mark down the ages of the historic Church, and at the present time the common possession of Easterns, Roman Catholics, and Anglicans, is much more than a part of outward organization. It is the link whereby the society which possesses it is connected with the past history and present life of the Church; and it affords the possibility of that complete sacramental system which is the covenanted means of the union of Christians with the Lord and head of the Church.

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DARWELL STONE.

CHURCH, DOCTRINE OF THE (Roman Catholic).—I. General view.—The conception of 'the Church' (*Ecclesia*), as it meets us in the writings of the mediæval scholastics, and as we find it expounded by their Roman successors with greater precision after the controversies of the Reformation period, differs substantially from that put forward by any body of Christians who reject Papal authority. In the Roman communion, according to the most generally received definition—that of Bellarmine (†1621)—the Church is described as 'a body of men united together for the profession of the same Christian faith and by participation in the same sacraments, under the governance of lawful pastors, more especially of the Roman Pontiff, the sole Vicar of Christ on earth.' As will be seen, this definition at once excludes the idea of a multiplicity of Churches, almost as the belief of ancient Israel excluded the

idea of a multiplicity of Gods. If Roman theologians permit themselves, as they do, to speak of the Greek Church or the Anglican Church, the term is not used univocally but analogically, much in the same way as the Decalogue of old proclaimed, 'Thou shalt have no other Gods before Me.'

The idea of the Church summarized in the above definition has been reached by a process of argument similar to that indicated in the preceding article (§§ 1-3). Using the Gospels simply as historical documents and without reference to their inspired character, the Roman theologian, as a first stage in his logical edifice, infers that the man Jesus Christ, whose life is narrated therein, manifested His intention to establish and leave behind him a body of followers forming a visible society. To this body He promised heavenly protection and aid. The 'Holy Ghost' would teach them all truth, and He Himself would abide with them for ever (Mt 28²⁰). A predominant position in this organization was given to the Apostle Peter, who not only was bidden to feed the sheep and lambs of Christ (Jn 21¹⁶⁻¹⁷), but was declared the rock upon which the Church was to be built (Mt 16¹⁸). To him also were given the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and it was promised that the gates of hell should not prevail against the Church so founded. Now, in point of fact, so the argument proceeds, there is one body which throughout succeeding ages has verified this description. It has consistently proclaimed itself the heir of these promises. It has exercised uninterruptedly the power of binding and loosing. Alone among all rival organizations it claims that miracles not less stupendous than those recorded in the Gospels have been, and still are, wrought by its saints. Taking these facts and combining them with the wonders performed by Jesus Christ, and, above all else, with the fact of His resurrection from the dead, as also with arguments drawn from the propagation and history of Christianity and the moral reformation it has introduced into the world, the Roman theologian deduces the supernatural character of the whole institution. The Church's commission to teach, he infers, is Divinely authenticated. Henceforth we are justified, and indeed bound, to accept her pronouncements, whether she formulates creeds, determines the Canon of Scripture, or proclaims her own right to regulate the administration of the Sacraments. When her Divine Founder said, 'He that heareth you, heareth me,' the words were addressed not only to His immediate hearers, but to their successors for all time.

2. Dogmatic definitions.—It is, then, from the Church's official definitions that we may best gather an idea of her own claims and functions; but it is not to be assumed that the chronological order of these definitions affords any sort of guide to their relative importance. The doctrine, for example, of the Divine inspiration of Scripture is an important doctrine—it is especially so to those communions which make the Bible the sole rule of faith—but the question of inspiration was never formally defined until the Council of Trent in the 16th century. All must admit that for many ages previously the belief had been handed down as a mere matter of Christian tradition. The formal definition of Papal supremacy and infallibility as a dogma of faith was pronounced for the first time in the Council of the Vatican (1870), but it was held by the Fathers of the Council that this, like other dogmas, implicitly formed part of the deposit from the beginning. Without attempting to debate the matter here, it may at least be pointed out that the primacy of the Holy See, of which the infallibility dogma is the logical outcome and

climax, is by no means obscurely shadowed in the very earliest ages of Christian history. We have, for example, the authoritative tone of the letter addressed by Pope Clement to the Church of Corinth about A.D. 95; and again the famous passage of St. Irenæus (*Hæc.* iii. 3) which describes the Roman Church as the rallying point of all other Churches 'on account of its more excellent principality' (cf. on the text of this passage the *Revue Benedictine*, Oct. 1908, p. 515 ff., and Jan. 1910, p. 103), not to speak of numerous other indications in St. Cyprian, St. Chrysologus, and other early writers. Be this as it may, the Vatican Council of 1870, in its constitution headed 'On the Church of Christ,' judged it necessary

'for the custody, safety, and increase of the Catholic flock to set forth, according to the ancient and constant belief of the Universal Church, the doctrine to be believed and held by all Faithful concerning the institution, perpetuity, and nature of the sacred Apostolic primacy, in which consists the force and solidity of the whole Church.'

In accordance with this programme, the Council makes the following pronouncements: (i.) St. Peter was constituted, by our Lord, Prince of all the Apostles and visible Head of the whole Church militant, invested not merely with a primacy of honour, but with a true and proper jurisdiction. (ii.) The authority confided by our Lord to St. Peter to ensure the perpetual stability of the Church must of necessity have been meant to pass to his successors, the Roman Pontiffs. (iii.) In accordance with primitive tradition and the express decrees of the Council of Florence,

'the Roman Church, by the design of God, has the supremacy of ordinary power over all other (local) churches, and this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; and pastors and faithful of every rite and rank, whether singly and separately or collectively, are bound to it by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, not only in things which pertain to faith and morals, but also in things which pertain to the discipline and rule of the Church spread over the whole world, so that by preserving unity of communion and of the profession of the same faith with the Roman Pontiff, the Church of Christ is one flock and under one Chief Pastor.'¹

(iv.) The Vatican Council declares

'that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in discharge of his office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, he defines, in virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, is, through the Divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, endowed with that infallibility with which our Divine Redeemer willed that the Church should be furnished in defining doctrine of faith or morals; and, therefore, that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves and not in virtue of the consent of the Church.'

Other pronouncements of a more or less dogmatic character may be found in earlier decrees of Councils, notably that of Florence (1438), and in the Bulls of Popes like Gregory I. (†604), Nicholas I. (†867), and Boniface VIII. (†1303); but it is to be noticed that, in the much discussed Bull *Unam sanctam* of the last named, only one dogmatic definition is contained. This merely affirms that all men are subject to the Roman Pontiff, the context indicating that the matter of their salvation is here alone in view. The opponents of Boniface loudly protested that the Bull claimed for the Pope direct power over the State in temporal matters. There was even then a difference of opinion about the lawfulness of such a claim.

¹ The whole history of the Canon Law in the Middle Ages establishes the antiquity of this claim. The Pope, as F. W. Maitland has pointed out in his *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* (1898, p. 104, and *passim*), was 'the universal ordinary.' This right to step in and supersede the jurisdiction of the local bishop was uncontested, and was constantly exercised. There was no judgment of any spiritual authority from which an appeal did not lie to the Holy See. It was debated, indeed, in the 16th cent. whether it were not possible to appeal from the Pope to a General Council; but the same chapter of the Vatican 'Constitution de Ecclesia Christi' now clearly states that a General Council is not to be looked upon as an authority above the Pope and capable of revising his decisions.

No doubt many writers on the Papal side upheld the more extreme view, and mediæval authorities generally admitted without question that at least an indirect authority over princes and their temporal concerns belonged to the Holy See, but it would be an error to suppose that the acknowledgment of the Pope's direct jurisdiction over the civil government of States has at any time formed a necessary part of the Roman doctrine of *Ecclesia* (see Hergenröther, *Catholic Church and Christian State*, Eng. tr. vol. i. ch. i., and vol. ii. ch. xi.).

3. Notes of the Church.—It appears clearly, from the Vatican definitions and from other Papal pronouncements of the centuries preceding, that, since the divisions of Christendom introduced by the Reformation, the Church has laid more and more stress upon the note of *Unity*, and has more accurately explained that note by insisting that it involves of necessity the recognition of the authority of Christ's Vicar to teach and to legislate. Without this authoritative living voice, it is maintained, the continued existence of the Church as one ordered Society is impossible. Reason and experience alike prove the tendency of such a body to disintegrate into a chaos of contending sects. Every theory of the Church must involve 'certain essentials of worship, or faith, or of the sacraments' (see preceding article, § 6), which cannot be lost without forfeiting membership. But who can pronounce what these essentials are, except some voice which speaks with recognized authority? Nor would it be allowed that this requirement of union with the earthly Head of the Church is in itself new. The tone of St. Cyprian in his *de Unitate* and in his *Letters*, of St. Augustine in his discussion with the Donatists, or of Pope Pelagius II. (†590) in dealing with the Istrian schismatics (see Mansi, *Concilia*, 1901-09, ix. 892 ff. and 897 ff.), is, so the Roman theologian contends, precisely analogous to that of Catholic writers at the present day. Further, in regard to the note of *Catholicity*, it is part of the Roman position to lay much stress upon the actual diffusion of the Church throughout the world—a universality *de facto* as contrasted with the universality *de jure*. This, again, seems to be justified by an appeal to the Fathers, but it is needless to debate the point here. Finally, the Roman conception of the note of *Sanctity* naturally lays stress upon the claim that the Catholic Church has at all periods, even those of the greatest corruption of morals, been the fruitful mother of children who, by their heroic virtue, by their devoted zeal in preaching the gospel to the heathen, and by miracles attested after judicial investigation by competent tribunals, have proved their acceptance with God and have been raised to the honours of canonization.

4. Other characteristics.—From the conception of the Church as a complete, permanent, and ordered society, the government of which was entrusted to the Apostles and their successors, the consequence is deduced that, besides their *magisterium*, or commission to teach and define, the rulers of the Church, and primarily the Pope, are vested with a coercive jurisdiction and with the power of Orders. This latter function consists in the power of imparting a spiritual consecration, under circumstances conditioned partly by the original institution of our Saviour and partly by the enactments of the Church. Upon the observance of these conditions the validity of the Sacrament may depend, and in the eyes of a Roman Catholic theologian the Apostolicity of the Anglican communion is compromised by the defect of Orders owing to the inadequate Ordinal of the Edwardine Prayer Book. As for the coercive jurisdiction, this seems to be attested by many passages of the

New Testament (e.g. Mt 18¹⁷, 2 Th 3¹⁴, 1 Co 5³, 2 Co 10⁵, Ac 4¹⁸, etc.), and by the practice of the first centuries. And here comes in the much misunderstood 'pre-eminence' claimed for the Church over the State, the pre-eminence amounting fundamentally only to this, that, where duties plainly conflict, the spiritual is to be accounted higher than the temporal—in other words, God is to be obeyed rather than man. Hergenröther puts the matter well. Such a pre-eminence is, he urges, by no means destructive of civil authority.

'For the superiority of the Church over the civil power is only called forth practically when the latter is no longer within its own province, when the interests in question are not purely civil, but have also a religious character. In its province the civil power is fully independent as long as it does no injury to religion. The Church does not demand a recognition of her superiority over the State for the promotion of the personal and temporal interest of her rulers, but only for the maintenance of the truth revealed by God, which is for the true interest of the State and the Christian people' (*op. cit.* i. 14).

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that all mediæval theories of the relations of Church and State were framed upon the hypothesis that the subjects of any monarchy in Christendom had of necessity received Catholic baptism, and were therefore members of the Church. It was only in the course of centuries that theologians came to recognize a state of things under which a Christian people could be conceived to reject Papal authority in good faith and without culpable apostasy (see on all this matter Tanqueray, *Synopsis Theol. Fundamentalis*, pp. 514-536; and cf. Leo XIII.'s Encyclical *Immortale Dei*). We may note, further, that the axiom 'extra Ecclesiam nulla salus,' which seems to be as old as the time of Origen (*Hom. iii. in Josue*), is now, in view of the many Christians who are known to be born and baptized without any immediate means of coming to the knowledge of the 'true Church,' no longer interpreted with the crude literalism that sometimes prevailed in past ages. It is now universally held that those who without fault of their own are not members of the body of the Church may nevertheless belong to its soul ('pertinent ad animam Ecclesiae'), provided they seek to know the truth, possess faith and charity, and are contrite for the sins they have committed. Of other technical distinctions similar to that here made between the body and soul of the Church, it will be sufficient to note the contrasted terms *ecclesia docens* (the teaching body, i.e. the Apostles, and the bishops and priests who are their successors) and *ecclesia discens* (the learners, i.e. the general body of the faithful); also the division of the whole Communion of saints into the *ecclesia triumphans* (the souls of the blessed in heaven), the *ecclesia militans* (the Church militant on earth), and the *ecclesia patiens* (the souls suffering in purgatory).

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HERBERT THURSTON.

CHURCH ARMY.—The Church Army was founded in 1882 by the Rev. (afterwards Preb.) Wilson Carlile. It is an incorporated Society consisting (1910) of many thousands of members, about 800 paid officers (evangelists and mission-sisters), chosen from the working classes, and a staff at Headquarters numbering over 200. Many of the Headquarters staff, including the founder, are honorary. Its work is evangelistic and social, and is organized in a number of different departments. It has for many years past obtained much recognition and support from its effective manner of dealing with the failures of life, the wastrels, the criminal classes, and the unemployed. The Society may be said to have won the hearty approval of the country at large, and the goodwill not only of the bishops and clergy, but of nearly all leading philanthropists. It has repeatedly been referred to in terms of commendation in Government reports and blue-books, particularly in the annual reports of the Prison Commission and in the report of the Royal Commission on the Poor-law.

The founder of the Society was in 1881 curate of St. Mary Abbot's, Kensington, under the Rev. Ed. Carr Glyn (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough). He had for a long time had it much at heart that the Church should utilize the powers of its working-men members, who had hitherto had practically no scope for evangelistic work. His first essays were at Kensington; and in the year 1882 he organized the Church Army and began work in Vauxhall and Wandsworth, with a small staff of working-men officers and a few personal friends. The movement soon showed that it had the element of growth in it, and before long it became necessary to have a regular Training Home. There are now at work about 420 evangelists (called 'Captains'), and 370 mission-sisters. These last were a later thought, when it appeared that the work of women was almost as much needed as that of men. The sisters are not, generally speaking, what are called 'trained nurses,' but they have all had some experience in one of the London hospitals and in the Society's own dispensary, and have certificates for first aid. A certain number of them have gone through a full course in maternity, and hold the C.M.B. certificate. They are capable working-women, such as parish clergy need for visiting, for holding simple meetings, and for assisting the poor in cases of sickness and difficulty. In all cases the clergy engaging officers or sisters guarantee their salary, and agree to give them the scope which the Society asks in the way of services of which they are in sole charge, subject to the incumbent's orders. Each year about 60 men and 60 women are trained in the Society's Training Homes in London for the work. There are at the present time workers in many fields—foreign missions, police-court, and other forms of home missions and otherwise—including numbers of men in Holy Orders, who have gone through Church Army training, and have worked with the Society for some time.

Not very long after the establishment of the Society, the question became pressing as to how those to whom the gospel was preached could be helped physically. Many were hungry and destitute; many were idle beggars. The problem was how to help without hurting them. The answer was found in the system of *Labour Homes*, which are now scattered over the United Kingdom, most of the large cities having at least one. Each is under the care of a working-man evangelist and his wife, called the 'Father' and 'Mother' of the Home. These titles they are expected to justify by exercising the most potent influence for reformation—the power of Christian sympathy and friendship.

In almost every case the applicant is at first put to wood-chopping, the most convenient work to test a man's willingness. When he has proved himself fit and willing, he is passed on to different kinds of work. Some of the Labour Homes have proved themselves self-supporting, or nearly so. The average length of stay in a Home is between 3 and 4 months. The inmates are well fed, and have beds with clean white sheets, each having a separate cubicle when possible. A man's work is sufficient to pay for his board, but not in most cases for rent and salaries. Each man is credited with the proper market value of his work, reckoned as piecework, 6s. a week being charged for his board and lodging, a small sum given him as pocket-money, and the balance paid to him in cash on his leaving the Home. As a rule the Homes do not receive men suffering from disease, or over 45 years of age. All sorts come to the Homes, and a large proportion of them are men whose downfall is due directly or indirectly to drink.

One of the most encouraging branches of work is that connected with prisons and prisoners. An evangelist visits the prisons periodically, and offers the Society's help to men about to be discharged. A large number of the most satisfactory cases dealt with in the Labour Homes are men from prison, particularly those who have had only one sentence, though old offenders are also reclaimed. Such as these are surprised and grateful to find that a brotherly hand is stretched out to help them up from the depths. Officers with special qualifications take missions from time to time in all the convict prisons, and all the London and most other local prisons, with marked success. A number of workhouses throughout the country are thrown open to the Church Army for visiting and for missions; and reformatories, industrial schools, and training ships are also visited, with the best results to their inmates.

Many experienced officers have been appointed probation officers under the Probation Act; offenders, especially young ones, being committed to their care by the magistrates instead of being sent to gaol; and this branch of work has been particularly fruitful in saving youths from a life of crime. The Society has four special Homes for dealing with lads, two of them being used for young first offenders.

The Old Clo' departments for men and women do a most useful work. The clothing and other articles sent by the public to the Church Army are distributed by these departments among the Homes, and among poor people and families who come for help. To avoid pauperization the articles are sold at a nominal price.

Missions in barracks conducted by Church Army evangelists are welcomed by the military authorities, and a beginning has been made towards similar missions in the navy.

The Church Army's work on behalf of the unemployed has attained very large proportions, and it is impossible to do it justice in the space at disposal. It may be classed under two heads: the work at the King's Labour Tents and similar institutions, where single homeless men are enabled by a moderate task to earn food and lodging in decent surroundings (in connexion with which branch an Open-all-night Rest is opened during the winter); and the Queen's Labour Depôts, and numerous similar depôts throughout the country, where married men with families are enabled to earn a scanty though sufficient livelihood for their dependants while they are out of work, the wages in this case being paid in cash. The principle is strictly observed of giving relief by way of remuneration for work, not by way of free gifts, whether in money, food, or shelter, these being

found fatal to the independent spirit of the recipients.

The League of Friends of the Poor occupies an important place in Church Army work. This League consists of men and women of more or less leisure and means, banded together to give *personal service* to the poor by the method of each member becoming responsible for one poor family, to whom the member is expected to act as a kind, judicious, and sympathizing friend. No money is allowed to be given, but with that restriction the members are at liberty to use their own discretion in the means adopted to help, the central organization being always available for advice and support. The effect is found to be remarkable, both upon the befriended and their 'friends.' To many of the latter it has supplied quite a new interest in, and outlook upon, life and the problems of poverty.

An offshoot from this League is the Boys' Aid department, whose aim is to get hold of lads in danger of sinking into hooliganism, unemployment, and possible crime, and, by introducing them to one or other of the numerous organizations for the benefit of lads to be found in almost every parish, to provide as far as possible for a life of good citizenship. A certain number of these lads are emigrated to Australia.

The Church Army also sends men and families to Canada in suitable cases, every precaution being taken that those selected for assisted passages are such as will make useful self-reliant immigrants. The emigrants are expected to repay the sums advanced for passage-money, etc.; and it is found in practice that the very great majority of them do well in Canada, and are able without difficulty to make their re-payments by the stipulated instalments. The class chosen are those who, while respectable and industrious, have been unable for some reason or another to make a success of life at home. For the purpose of testing and training single applicants for emigration, and for selected inmates from the Labour Homes, the Society has a Farm Colony of nearly 800 acres in the north of Essex.

The Society has nearly seventy Mission-vans, veritable houses on wheels, continually perambulating throughout the dioceses of England and Wales and one Irish diocese, many dioceses having two vans at work, and some as many as four. Each van is occupied by an evangelist, with one or two assistants, going from village to village, halting for ten days or a fortnight at the request of the parish clergy, and holding missions in halls or the open air, visiting the people and distributing pure literature. For larger places, the Pioneer Department does work similar to that done by the vans in villages. Evangelists sent out by this department hold missions in crowded parishes, preaching in tents, halls, or the open air; and at times united missions are held, covering the whole of some moderate-sized town. The same department has charge of the missions which are periodically held on the seashore in certain holiday resorts, and on race-courses; also those to fruit- and hop-pickers and harvesters. In all these undertakings the Church Army works hand-in-hand with the clergy, never entering a parish or institution without the goodwill of the incumbent or chaplain.

So many-sided is the work of the Society that it is somewhat difficult to choose any one branch for separate mention. There is, however, one effort which, although not one of the most extensive, is yet so full of pathos and human interest that it is impossible to pass it by. When a man is sent to prison, the community ensures *him*, at all events, shelter and food sufficient to support life. Too often

the wife and little ones, who suffer for the sins of the husband and father, are left to starve or to enter the workhouse. This means breaking up the home; and the future of the children, already marred by the taint of the father's sin, is further clouded by the workhouse shadow. The stories which the Church Army could tell of the hunger and cold, leading to all sorts of sickness, which some of these poor creatures will endure rather than break up the home are heartrending in the extreme. The Society has a special branch for searching out and ministering to prisoners' wives and children, relieving their immediate necessities, and providing work to enable the mother to feed the little ones and to tide over the evil time until the breadwinner is set at large. For this purpose the Society has spacious workrooms, with a crèche for small children attached, in a pleasant part of London. The effect of this work is often twofold. Few indeed are the prisoners, bad though they may be, who do not feel gratitude when they hear that the Church Army has done something for the wife and children; and many a poor sinner has been so touched by what has been done in the name of Christ that it has been to him the turning-point from darkness to light.

The Women's Social department works on the same lines as that which is concerned with men, with necessary modifications. It has a number of Homes for Women and Girls in London and the provinces, the principles of earnest Christian sympathy and giving relief and help in return for work being strictly observed. Laundry-work and needle-work are naturally the staple industries. Useful Rescue work is also carried on. The same department has Boarding Homes for women in business, Clubs, and other institutions. There are also three Homes for Women Inebriates, where the inmates, while taught to rely on the Divine power for deliverance from their enslaving vice, are medically treated, with good results in many cases.

Another department conducts a Dispensary and Medical Mission for Women and Children, the patients being attended by women physicians. The same department has several Fresh Air Homes in the country and by the sea, where poor, ailing, over-tired women from the slums are received with their children. Church Army sisters needing rest and change are also cared for in these Homes.

The *Church Army Gazette*, a 3d. gospel paper for working-people, has a circulation of upwards of 100,000 weekly. It is printed, in common with the *Church Army Review* and the whole of the Society's other printing, at the Church Army Printing Works at Cowley, near Oxford, which are thoroughly equipped with the latest machinery, and constitute an effort towards bringing industry back into the green fields.

The Society has many other branches, but it is impossible to mention more than a few of these—the Banner and Art department, which executes all manner of plain and artistic needle-work, and gives employment to the better class of women from the Homes; the work-room for unemployed women: the Lantern department, with its 100,000 lantern slides on sale or hire, dealing with all sorts of subjects, sacred and secular; the Book department, which sells something like 400,000 publications, large and small, religious and secular, during the year; and the Princess Club, for factory girls.

Although the Society has developed from small beginnings into the wide ramifications of the present day, it remains essentially now what it was at first—a working-men's mission to working-men. This is the cause of its being, and this is its justification.

W. CARLILE.

CHURCH (British).—The British Church, whose history it is proposed to outline, may be regarded as extending from the introduction of Christianity into the island to the time when the Roman mission under St. Augustine, having converted the Saxons or English, created a new Church which anathematized the ancient Church of the land. The causes of the rise and overthrow of the British Church will be included in our survey.

For about a century and a half before Christianity could be regarded as definitely established in Britain, the country had formed part of the Roman Empire. It had, therefore, the advantages of a regularly constituted authority, with an administration founded on fixed principles. And although the principles, especially in their judicial aspect, were, on many points, different from those of the religion of Christ, the relation of the province to the Empire, and its consequent association with the older provinces, proved beneficial to the diffusion of the Christian religion in many ways.

No missionary's name is connected with the introduction of Christianity into Britain. In this it does not differ from many other countries. For instance, we do not know who first preached the gospel in South Gaul, or in Carthage and other places in North Africa—places in which there were churches long before the end of the 2nd century. But in the history of the evangelization of Ireland and non-Roman Britain (the land to the north of the wall of Hadrian), several centuries later, we find names of men who propagated the faith—Nynias, St. Patrick, and Columba. Not so in Britain; the first preacher's name is not known. Incidentally we may notice that the Christianizing of Britain was due largely to its occupation by the Romans.

1. **The British Church from its earliest appearance to the coming of monachism.**—The earliest apparent indication of the presence of Christians in Britain is to be found in the *adv. Judæos* of Tertullian, written about A.D. 206. Writing of the people who had believed in the Christ, he enumerates all those who had seen the vision of Pentecost (Ac 2⁸⁻¹¹), also the Gætuli, Mauri, Hispaniæ, Galliæ, and last of all mentions 'places in Britain which, though inaccessible to the Romans, have become subject to Christ' (ch. vii.). The passage, it must be allowed, is rhetorical in setting, but is it too rhetorical for the conveyance of truth, of what was known to the writer as fact? We observe that, of all the nations named, the *only people respecting whom a detail of contemporary historical fact is added are the Britanni*. Certain parts of Britain, he says, had not been reached by the Romans—a statement recognizing the difficulties encountered by the generals who preceded the Emperor Severus (208). These would be well known at Rome and Carthage. As Tertullian is describing what he knew to be fact, in the first part of the passage, we infer that he had reliable information respecting the second. There were Christians in Britain before 206, just as there was a Church at Carthage long before Tertullian became a member of it. V. Schultze writes as follows:

'The celebrated reference in Tertullian to Christians is hardly mere rhetoric. There could scarcely fail to be some Christians in the island, probably in the 2nd cent., as in other places which the Romans conquered. In a garrison of 80,000 men, having a large number of officers, and certainly no small number of persons who, with this or that motive, betook themselves to Britain, there were, as a matter of course, Christians to be found' (*Gesch. des Untergangs des griech.-röm. Heidentums*, Jena, 1887-92, II. 120).

We may with some confidence infer that Britain had seen Christians and Christian Churches in the interval between 180 and 200. The earliest Christians were immigrants who used the Latin tongue for worship and teaching. The Christianiz-

ing of Britain was the work of these immigrants. From the older provinces there came into the island skilled workers of all classes, physicians, and schoolmasters; many of these would be of the type described in the Letter of the Churches at Vienne and Lyon (Eus. *HE* v. 1)—Vettius Epagathus, Alexander the Phrygian physician, 'well known as a man of apostolic grace,' Attalus, 'a person of distinction,' and others. How far the Roman garrison, with its three great centres at Caerleon on Usk, Chester, and York, may have aided the beginning and the propagation of Christianity is a question very difficult to answer. The oldest *Acta*, it may be said, are those of soldiers, and Tertullian (*Apol.* 37) speaks of 'the men of yesterday' as now 'filling the very camps' (*castra ipsa*). Many soldiers were certainly Christians, and Harnack (*Hist. of Dogma*, 1894-99) speaks of the court and the camp as 'active proselytizing centres.' Britain must have benefited by their presence.

We may here refer to the traditions, falsely so called, which meet us in historical literature. Works containing materials for the study of these are the following: Ussher, *Britann. Eccles. Antiquitates*, 1689; Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., 1869-78, *Appendix*, A, pp. 25-6; Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1886-92, p. 102; John of Tynemouth, *Nova Legenda Anglica*, ed. Horstmann, 1901, II, 78; William of Malmesbury, *de Antiq. Glast. Eccles.*, ed. Hearne, 1727; Phillimore, 'The Triads' (Welsh), in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. vii.

(1) The legend of the British Bran is self-contradictory, and the real *Triads* contain no allusion to him in relation to the Introduction of Christianity.

(2) A visit by St. Paul to Britain has been inferred from the reference to Spain in Ro 15²⁴, 28; and a phrase in Clement's *Ep. to the Romans*, καὶ ἐν τῷ ῥήματι τῆς βίβλου εὐαγγέλιον, 'having come to the limit of the West,' would fittingly apply to Rome itself, as the context implies, by its reference to the Apostle's martyrdom in the next clause. The idea of a visit by St. Paul to Britain is an inference, and a weak one, not a tradition.

(3) Another instance of weak inference is the contention that St. Peter came to Britain. It is based on a letter from Innocent I., which speaks of St. Peter as constituting priests 'over all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and the interjunct islands.' It would be difficult to find Britain among these.

(4) Later writers make mention of Simon Zelotes, and of Aristobulus as Arwythli Hen, but they must be pronounced undeserving of any credence on these points.

(5) There are other two legends, one English, the other British: (a) The English legend is connected with the founding of Glastonbury, and appears for the first time in the writings of William of Malmesbury, who describes a very early charter which gives the British name *Inesitrin*. In the history of the church of Glastonia he also speaks of the place as called by the natives *Inesitrin*. This might mean the 'island or the monastery of Witrin.' William states that he takes his story respecting the Apostle Philip and Joseph of Arimathea from Freculphus. Two stories are thus blended by him: that of the ancient island or monastery of Witrin, and the legend of Philip and Joseph. The latter is to the effect that Philip sent Joseph of Arimathea to Britain 'in the sixty-third year from the Incarnation of the Lord.' The disciples with Joseph settled at Ynis Witrin, and experienced kindness from the king. The third king from him became a Christian. He was Lucius or Lies ap Coel, Coel being the second king. (b) The British legend represents a British prince bearing the name of Lucius as sending a letter to Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, requesting to be made a Christian by his command. The story given by William that Glastonbury was the cradle of British Christianity is evidently post-Norman, while the British legend is certainly as old as the 6th century. On the date of the oldest MS of the *Liber Pontificalis* on the story of Lucius and its appearance in the *Liber*, see p. cli. in Duchesne's edition.

It is difficult to accept the view advanced in Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 25, which makes the record belong to the time of Prosper, and connects it with attempts at Papal authority over Britain, and equally difficult to accept the view of Zimmer (*The Celtic Church in Brit. and Irel.*, Eng. tr. 1902, p. 2) that it was 'invented towards the end of the 7th cent. by a representative of Rome, in order to support him in his claims against the Britons.' Such purposes appear entirely foreign to the short notice of the *Liber Pontificalis*. This story is also given by Nennius and Bede, though with some modifications, both writers evidently depending upon a copy of the *Liber*.¹

Nennius (*Hist. Brittonum*, 22) falls into the confusion of placing the conversion and baptism of Lucius under Pope Eucharistus. There was no Roman bishop of this name, or of the name Euaristus, as five MSS read. The dates in Bede and Nennius are plainly impossible when we have regard to that given for Eleutherius, i.e. A.D. 174-189. This account is narrated with characteristic enlargements in the *Book of Llandáw*, and

¹ Bede, *Historia*, i. 4; *Chronicle*. The former gives a date that must be earlier than 100, the latter places the conversion of Lucius in 180.

in the *Hist. Regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth. It may be observed that the whole story is absent from the pages of Gildas, who does not know, apparently, of any one in particular as connected with the introduction of Christianity into Britain. Harnack explains the whole as a transcriptional error. The king was not a British prince, but Abgar IX. of Edessa, whose full name was Lucius Elius Septimius Megas Abgarus IX. The scribe was misled. A full notice of this conjecture is found in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxiv, p. 393, where, on the whole, the view is accepted. Yet it may have to wait for fuller elucidation.

Christianity brought to men a knowledge of one God as opposed to polytheism, with its idolatrous and bloody sacrifices and official pomp.¹ The *Epistula ad Diognetum*, which is the most striking Christian pamphlet of early times, gives a vivid conception of the Christian life about the year 150. It has been described as belonging to the heroic period; its words have not yet lost their power. Britain, then beginning to be Christian, began also to know men who had reached the ideas and feelings portrayed in this *Epistula*.

When Christianity came into Britain, probably some time before A.D. 200, important developments had secured a lasting place in the Church. The very name *Catholica Ecclesia* had acquired a meaning which renders the description 'Universal Church' somewhat inadequate. It had come to imply doctrine also, which, within a certain range, was uniform; it implied, further, a particular form of Church life which was approximately identical in all communities. Neither the doctrine nor the institutional form of the Church was quite fixed, though more or less definitely formed. Thus, long before the Christian community had begun its work in Britain, its ministry had developed almost uniformly in other parts—in Italy, Spain, Gaul, the Rhineland, and particularly in Africa, before Tertullian even had become a Christian. Its ministry consisted of a chief pastor who was called bishop (*episcopus*), aided in the offices of worship by others of a second rank named presbyters (*presbyteri*), while the less distinctive parts of the ritual and the charities of the brotherhood were administered by deacons (*diaconi*). This was the kind of Church that existed—possibly the only kind that could have existed—in Britain about A.D. 180-200. The British bishop, it should be remembered, was bishop of the *one* church in which he laboured, doing the work usually done to-day in every communion by the minister of a church. No diocesan bishop, during the centuries extending from those early times to the 10th or 11th cent., was evolved in the Church of Britain; presbyters there were in it, entrusted with functions which, after a time, only bishops could perform in the majority of churches. At first the Church in Britain was similar in all things to other older Churches; but, whereas these, in course of time, adopted new ways, the British Church clung conservatively to ancient customs, and so came to be regarded as a reprobate Church.

Our knowledge of the characteristics of the Early Church in Britain is of necessity inferential, for from native and direct sources there is hardly any information to be gained on these points. The barrenness of those sources will be evident when it is mentioned that not a single name is known to history except St. Alban until we come to the three bishops who in 314 travelled from York, Lincoln, and London to the Council of Arles. And after that date we meet with no representatives of the Church until we come to Pelagius, Palladius, and St. Patrick. The inscriptions even bear no trace of Christianity until the 6th cent. has begun.

The language which the Church in Britain employed for worship, for solemn ordinances, as well as for teaching, was Latin. In course of time, terms

¹ For an account of the heathenism of Britain, see artt. *QALTS*. DRUIDS.

from that language came to be used by the British people, and modern Welsh still contains a large number of Latin words. The immigrants, in addition to their Latin speech, brought over copies of the Latin Bible. This was of necessity in the version called Old Latin, and it obtained so strong a hold upon the mind and heart of the Church here that it continued in vigorous use three and a half centuries later.

Besides the Scriptures in Latin, the newcomers carried to their new home that short summary of doctrine which they called their *Symbolum*. This, probably, was the old Roman creed, or an older and simpler form of it—which in its more complete and fixed form was called the Apostles' Creed.¹ They must also have brought with them the mode of conducting public worship, consisting of common prayer, reading of Scripture, and sermon. Converts were admitted into Church communion after preparation as catechumens, and by the solemn rite of baptism. The Britons understood Augustine when in 603 he spoke of the rite 'by which we are regenerated unto God'—an expression that is found as early as Justin Martyr (about 150), and soon after in Latin terminology. There were at a very early period *interrogations* made of each person at his baptism, in the tenor of the articles of the Creed: 'Dost thou believe with thy whole heart in God the Father Almighty? I believe,' etc. etc.² Another rite, regarded as a part of baptism, was named *Chrism* or Confirmation (*q.v.*). In course of time it became separated from baptism, and was relegated to the bishop as his own special function; in Britain, however, it continued as a rite which could be performed also by the presbyter (if not by the deacon) who conducted the baptism. The Eucharist, regarded as the most solemn ordinance of the Church, was probably celebrated as in other Churches; it was presided over by the bishops alone, and took place at the second part of the service, to which none but *fideles* were admitted. Besides Sunday, the weekly sacred day of the Christians, Easter was regarded as an annual festival commemorating, earlier than 200, the Resurrection of the Lord. There were diverse ways, even in the West, of fixing the day on which the celebration should take place, and probably Britain had no uniform method of calculation until the year 314, when it adopted the then Roman mode of computation.

In this brief description of what prevailed in most, if not in all, countries, we see the Church of Britain about A.D. 200. There were in it, as well as in other facts not yet named, the seeds of bitter, harassing divergences. These did not develop, however, until four hundred years had passed by. A period of British life—internally undisturbed—may be said to extend from about 200 to about 600. It is probable that, with the exception of the local persecutions from Trajan to Marcus Aurelius, warfare against the Church as an institution was carried into Britain, for the first and only time, in the persecution called forth by the Edict of Decius in 250, or that of Valerian in 257. This time of trial showed, to borrow the words of Gildas, 'bright lamps of holy martyrs,' of whom he names three—Alban of Verulam, Julius, and Aaron of Caerleon ar Wyse or Urbs Legionum.

By most writers these martyrdoms are placed under Diocletian (from A.D. 303), owing to a false reading and wrong understanding of Gildas in his *de Excidio Britannicæ*. The best reading—*ut conficimus*, 'as we conjecture'—proves that Gildas himself did not know the exact time. St. Alban, Julius, and Aaron were probably victims of the fierce blast which swept over Britain under Decius or Valerian, rather than under

Diocletian. A careful reading of the chapter in Gildas creates the impression that it is a fragment of an ancient *Passio* or *Acta* of St. Alban. We find an account of St. Alban and the two other martyrs in Gildas' *de Excidio Britannicæ*, ch. 10, written about 540 (Cymmrodorion Soc. ed.); Bede, *Hist. Eccles. Gentis Anglorum*, written before 735; Constantius, *Vita Germani* (one of Bede's sources), written about 480. There were two families of the texts of the *Passions*; a copy of one, the 'Turin' text, came to Gildas, while Bede used an exemplar of the 'Paris' text. For full information respecting these texts, see W. Meyer, *Die Legende des H. Albanus, des Protomartyr Anglias, in Texten vor Beda*, 1904, and the review of his book in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xxiv. p. 397.

During the decade 286–296, Britain under Carausius and Allectus was practically independent; the Gallo-Roman Empire, recognized by the troops in Britain, lasted from 259 to 273. We are thus carried to the time of Valerian, or to the peaceful measures of Galerius (260), under whom, being a half-usurper, persecution was scarcely possible. Constantius carried on no persecuting severities.¹ We infer, therefore, that the persecution under which St. Alban and the two citizens of Caerleon, 'together with many others of both sexes,' suffered was the fierce onslaught of Valerian or Decius on individual Christians and on the Church in its collective existence. There can hardly be an escape from the conclusion that this period, 251 to 260, was the only time when the Church of Britain was persecuted. Alban was not the first martyr in Britain, as reputed; he was one of three, but had the good fortune to be glorified in the *Passio*, written in Gaul, not in Britain, and also by Gildas and Bede, and in the *Vita Germani* of Constantius.

British representatives were present in the Council at Arles in 314, summoned by Constantine to decide upon a grave difference that had arisen in Africa; but its Canons, like those of every Council, concerned the whole Church. There travelled thither, as the names are given in Mansi, from the Corbey MS: (1) Eborius episcopus de civitate Eboriacens provincia Britannia; (2) Restitutus episcopus de civitate Londinensi provincia supradicta; (3) Adelfius episcopus de civitate colonia Londinensium (MS Lindunsium; this correction must be made); (4) exinde Sacerdos presbyter, Arminius diaconus. Many signatures make it evident that numerous presbyters and deacons took part and voted in the Council—a striking fact. From York, from London, and from Lincoln respectively, Eborius (a name that became *Ifor* in the British tongue), Restitutus (whose name took the form *Rhystyd*), and Adelfius, with the presbyter and deacon, went to share at Arles in the work of framing the Canons, twenty-two in number. The Canons generally deal with the ordinary regulations and difficulties of pastoral work, and imply a great change in respect of discipline when compared with the old austerity (*antiqua austeritas*). But the first of them seems to be evidence of variance in the customs with respect to the celebration of Easter—a point that became so vital later, as deciding the relations of the British and Anglo-Roman Churches. It was in this Canon decided to observe the feast on 'one day and at one period,' *ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur*. As most of the Churches already held their Easter on the Lord's Day—the day of His Resurrection—this decision was of importance chiefly on account of its second clause. Rome in that age calculated its time of holding the sacred feast on a cycle of 84 years. Alexandria, with all the Churches of the East, had adopted the old civic cycle of Athens, called the Metonic cycle, and calculated upon a basis of 19 years. The point of chief importance is that the British bishops carried over the Roman 84-year cycle, with its high prestige, and

¹ Lactantius, *de Morte Persecutorum*, 24; Euseb. *Life of Constantine*, cf. *HE* viii. 13–15, ix. 2, x. 6–7.

² The differences between the Celtic form and the Continental are set out at length in the *Antiphony of Bangor* (ll. 21, ed. Warren, 1893–95), and by Burn in *Noctes of Remesiana* (1905).

³ See Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, 1858, p. 106; Achelis, 'Canons of Hippolytus,' *TU* vi. 4.

the Britons clung to it with the tenacity of a strong reverence for their fathers. Rome, on the other hand, went through several changes until it finally ended with the adoption of the Alexandrian calculation. Easter was a movable feast derived from the Jews, whose year was lunar, and its date was fixed by the first full moon of spring; as the lunar year is 11 days shorter than the solar, each full moon of Jan. 1 in any year is 12 days old on Jan. 1 of the following year. Many efforts had been made to find a system indicating the time when sun and moon should again have the same days. This interval, called a cycle, at Rome was 84, at Alexandria 19 years. Henceforth the British Church observed this Roman cycle, of which its bishops heard at Arles in 314. Cf. CALENDAR (Christian).

We have no reason to doubt that the Britons were orthodox, like the West generally, in their attitude during the great controversies which resulted in the faith of Nicæa respecting the Divinity of the Son, and in the Christology of Chalcedon. It is interesting now to read the book that was read by many in Britain—a book of deep thought and moderate opinion, viz. the *de Synodis*, written by Hilary of Poitiers, and addressed to, among others, the bishops of the provinces of Britain. This book, apparently, had prepared the minds of the Britons and others to oppose the religious tyranny of Constantius at Ariminum (359).

There is a point which is worthy of special notice, viz. that, in the 4th cent., forms of ritual and creed, differing as they did from those which became fixed later, were to be found in places widely apart throughout the Empire. For instance, the article in the Ancient Creed on the Church reads almost the same in the *Symbolum* used at Remesiana beyond the Adriatic as in that of the Churches of Gaul (where Faustus wrote), Britain, and Ireland. In Britain and Ireland their Creed taught men to say: 'I believe that there is one Holy Catholic Church,' not as in other places: 'I believe in the Holy Catholic Church.' It is possible that along the great military road, on which Remesiana lay, and which reached Milan through Aquileia, developed forms of ritual might travel from Constantinople without touching Rome. From Milan as centre these would reach the Irish Bangor, and Faustus, bishop of Riez in South Gaul. We have in this hypothesis, if true, an explanation also of the element of truth in the old contention that Christianity had come to Britain from the East. Eastern peculiarities there were, but they had come not directly, but in the way described above.¹

Pelagianism (*q.v.*) is sometimes represented as a current issuing from Britain; this, however, was not the case. Its original home was Rome, and its motive was a protest against Augustine's doctrine of sin and grace. Pelagius was a Briton; this is the evidence of all who speak of him, with the apparent exception of Jerome. The best way of understanding the life of Pelagius, and the relation of Britain to him, is to regard him as one of the many who made their pilgrimage to the East in order to know and learn the 'way of holiness' that was so spoken of in all parts as practised by 'the saints' in Egypt and Asia Minor. There were others who must have been drawn from Britain eastward and to Rome from the same motives as Pelagius. One of these was Palladius, a strong follower of Augustine.

The Pelagian controversy continued after the death of Pelagius in the far East, probably not long after 418, and even after the death of

Augustine (430). At last, by the instigation of Boniface and Celestine (422-432), bishops of Rome, Imperial edicts were issued against the Pelagians. They were exiled from Italy. It is known that Pelagius had a host of warm sympathizers at Rome, and it would not be surprising if many of his own countrymen should be amongst them. These men, 'enemies of grace,' would naturally return home, and, as Prosper says, 'take possession of the land of their birth.' Agricola and his father Severianus, if among the exiles from Rome, would answer this description; but we see by the *Pelagian Letters* which Caspari has edited, that there were other Pelagians in Britain, and the doctrine may have been spreading. Agricola, we are told by Prosper, was corrupting not individuals but *Churches*, so that there must have been no small influx of Pelagianism into Britain. Palladius, whom we regard as a Briton, succeeded in securing the intervention of the Roman bishop Celestine, who sent over Germanus of Auxerre in order to put an end to the heresy. Prosper's *Chronicle* opposite the year 429 records:

¹ Florentio et Dionysio Coss. (= A.D. 429): Agricola Pelagianus, Severiani Pelagiani episcopi filius, ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corruptit. Sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi papa Celestinus Germanum Antisiodorensis episcopum vice sua mittit, et deturbatis haereticis Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit.

Prosper, it should be remembered, was in Rome at this time and closely associated with Celestine; therefore his narrative commands especial credit.

There is, however, another witness who must also be consulted, viz. Constantius, the author of the *Vita Germani*, who wrote his book about the year 480.¹ The *Vita*, as we find it in Haddan-Stubbs, is proved to be largely interpolated; Wilhelm Levison has thoroughly examined it, and we turn to his work for full information respecting the book and its author (*Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xxix. [1903]). Constantius was one of those literary men made known to us in the letters and poems of Sidonius Apollinarius, and it was to him that Sidonius dedicated his *Letters*. Constantius informs us that Germanus, who to this day has been called in the British tongue *Garmon*, made two visits to Britain in order to oppose Pelagianism there; on the first of these he was accompanied by Lupus, bishop of Troyes. The *Vita*, however, relates further that an embassy was sent from Britain to inform the Gallic bishops that the Pelagian heresy was rapidly taking possession of the people, and that the earliest possible succour should be given to the Catholic faith. A Synod was held, and Germanus and Lupus were solicited to undertake the mission to Britain. The two bishops entered upon their work with energy, and succeeded in their task. The *Vita Germani*, written with a charm of style which made it exceedingly popular, is throughout full of miraculous incidents. This was the fashion of the time. But we are dependent upon the narrative of the *Vita* for all that occurred during the stay of the bishops in Britain—the visit to the grave of St. Alban, the Hallelujah victory, etc.

Many attempts have been made to reconcile the two accounts, that of Prosper and that of the *Vita*, but the statement of Prosper's *Chronicles* that Germanus was sent to Britain by Celestine as his representative (*vice sua*), and at the invitation of the British deacon Palladius, seems to be such as must be accepted; the embassy from Britain and the Council are, it is quite probable, due solely to the imagination of Constantius. The *Vita Lupi* is good evidence that Lupus accompanied the great bishop in this mission to Britain. It adds one special detail, viz. that the journey was made in

¹ Burn, *Nicæa of Remesiana*, p. lxxviii.; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 1889, p. 83; Barns, *JThSt*, July 1906, p. 501.

¹ *AS*, Julii vii. pp. 202-21. From the *Acta* the text is given in Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils*, vol. I.

winter. Germanus came to Britain in 429, about the same time as the English, at the invitation of Guorthigern, began their occupation of the island. This information we gather from the *Historia Brittonum* by Nennius. Germanus, or Garmon, remained in the memory of the British as the man who had saved the faith of the Church when threatened by a flood of Pelagianism, as the builder of monasteries, and as the great teacher of saints. But their reverence was enhanced by the belief that he had been a strong helper against the Saxons.

A few names appear before us about this time. One of these is Fastidius, a British bishop who wrote, some time between 420 and 430, a book to a widow named Fatalis, on *The Christian Life*, and another on *The Preserving of Widowhood*. In reality there is but one book known to us. The tractate has been erroneously described as containing Pelagian passages. It reminds one of some chapters in the *Imitatio* of Thomas à Kempis.

'Men sin egregiously,' it says, 'when they believe that God is the avenger not of sin but of heresy. . . . A Christian is he who extends pity to all, who in no case is ruffled by injury, who allows not a poor man to be oppressed if he be present . . . who has made himself poor to the world that he may become rich unto God.'

Fastidius insists on the necessity of obedience as well as faith, for a good life. His letter to the widow, a noble type of Christian womanhood, places clearly before us the idea of the Christian man as entertained in Britain about 420.¹

Another name that comes into view is Faustus. He was born in Britain, but was taken by his mother in early life to the monastery of Lerins. Maximus was then abbot of Lerins; on his appointment in 433 to be bishop of Riez, Faustus succeeded him as abbot, afterwards succeeding him also as bishop of Riez. He was acquainted with Sidonius Apollinaris, who describes his mother as holy and one who inspired reverence; 'to be introduced to her was as if Israel had introduced him to Rebecca, or Samuel to his mother Hannah'—a lady whose piety may be compared with that of the widow to whom Fastidius wrote, and both as examples of British piety. She took over her son to share in the discipline and saintliness of the communities at Marseilles and Lerins. Sidonius speaks in one of his letters of the books which Faustus was sending by the hands of Riocatus 'to your fellow-Britons.' Faustus is thus an instance of the early beginning in Britain of reverence for the monastic life.

Riocatus is another important personage. We meet him as the guest of Sidonius Apollinaris, being detained at his house because of the incursions of 'the barbarians' into Gaul. Riocatus is spoken of as bishop and monk (*antistes ac monachus*). He was then on his second visit, and was returning with a supply of books from Faustus. A stream of literature, copies of the Scriptures, tractates, etc., came to Britain from Lerins, an important literary centre. The visit of which we have spoken may have occurred between 460 and 470, though Riocatus might have been bishop many years earlier. In him we have evidence of monachism not only existing in Britain, but also favoured by the Church, or by some churches at least, since this man was bishop as well as monk. The friendliness between Faustus, who was a strong and fervid Semi-Pelagian, and Riocatus suggests the prevalence in Britain of Semi-Pelagian views.²

Of another—Nynias—we have information in Bede, who declares that he was a Briton. Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, in his *Vita Nyniani*, written in

the 12th cent., has preserved a few details. Nynias carried on missionary work in Northern Pict-land—in Caithness, in Sutherland, and even in Shetland. Ogham and other inscriptions testify to his activity. St. Patrick, until about the year 432, may be regarded as a Briton. In his *Confessio* he tells his story, and in the *Epistola* supplies a few details respecting his birth and his experience. The date of his birth may have been between 387 and 390. His death must have occurred about 461. His father was a deacon and a decurion, his grandfather a presbyter. It was not, however, until he had escaped from his captivity in Ireland and had dwelt some time at the monastery of Lerins, and afterwards for a longer period at Auxerre, that he was ordained bishop and sent as missionary to the Irish. Apparently there were no monks or monasteries in the parts where St. Patrick spent his early life; he learnt the ascetic way of life at Lerins. There is no need here to enter into any account of the labours which St. Patrick carried on as bishop among the Irish.

2. British monachism.—Monachism appears to have been one of the results of the visit of Germanus, and to be connected with the monasteries on the south coast of Gaul. Lupus, his youthful companion, had been at the monastery of Lerins. Riocatus, a British bishop and monk, held intercourse with Faustus, himself of British parentage, who had been abbot of Lerins; it is therefore quite natural to conclude that monachism came to Britain from South Gaul. Its home for the British was Marseilles or Lerins, neither of which monasteries was founded before about 410-15. British monachism may have been gradually making its way into the country about 420. It is stated in the *Life of St. Samson* that he restored a monastery which had been built by Germanus, i.e. in 429. We connect, therefore, the monachism of our island with the influence of Germanus, as well as with the impulse received from Marseilles or Lerins, or from both places.

There was thus introduced into Britain a new idea of the way in which moral perfection could be reached. It meant severe austerity, which, by mortifying the body, gave the spirit full play; it enjoined also the abandonment of the world's life, so as to secure full liberty for exercises of piety. Through monachism there was brought into the island a new spiritual force, and the monk clothed himself in a garb that was significantly symbolical of it. Its methods for the cultivation of spiritual discipline were prayer, reading, and meditation at fixed and stated hours. There seem to have been two types of monachism, to which the names 'Antonian' and 'Pachomian' have been given. Reminiscences of the former are frequent in the names of churches and parishes at the present day. For instance, *Llanddeusant* means a *llan*, or cell, for two monks; on the other hand, *Llanilltud* was a Pachomian institution, a monastery where many lived by one rule (*regula*).

The anchorite and the monk became rulers of the Church, the bishop and other members of the clerical order occupying a secondary position. Every *lanna*, *lann*, or *llan* was the cell of a recluse or a monastery, and such places covered the whole land. Even the Church at first was endangered by the abandonment of sacraments, and by the prevalence of new and unauthorized collective gatherings. Manual labour was undertaken by the monk, not for profit, but for his own moral discipline. The *Lausiac History* shows that such crafts as gardening, agriculture, smith's work, carpentry, fulling, weaving, tanning, shoemaking, and writing were practised in the monastery of Akhmim. From the earnings of such labours the monks provided themselves with food

¹ See Gennadius, *de Vir. Illust.* ch. 57; also Caspari, *Driebe, Abhandlungen und Predigten*, 1891, p. 352 ff. on *de Vita Christiana* (P.L. vol. 1.).

² Krusch, *Apoll. Sidon. Epistulae ad Carminia*, Berlin, 1896 [MGH viii. 167]; also Engelbrecht, *Studien über d. Schriften d. Bischöfe von Reii Faustus, Prague*, 1889, pref. p. xv.

and clothing, which were regarded as the common property of the community. The same system obtained in Britain, though on a smaller scale, as the *Life of St. David* shows. In the monastery founded at Tabennisi by Pachomius, all the monks were required to commit to memory the whole of the Psalter and the New Testament. This custom also prevailed in Britain, as we know from the quotations made by Gildas in the *de Excidio*. Even more extreme ascetic usages in the mortification of the body, borrowed from the Egyptian monasteries, were carried on by the monks in this island. The idea of monachism, it is evident, as regarded by the early British monks, was derived from Egypt. The biographer of St. David informs us definitely ('*Vita S. Davidis*' in *Cambro-British Saints*) that the saint imitated the Egyptian monks (*Egyptios monachos imitatus, similem eis duxit vitam*).

Two names appear in British tradition as prominent in the early days of monachism. There were, undoubtedly, others prior to them, whose names are not known. One of the two is Dubricius (Dyfrig), and the other Illtud, belonging to a younger generation; the period between 420 and 500 gives no names for history except the three—Dyfrig, Illtud, and Riccatus. The '*Life of Dubricius*' in the *Book of Llandav* is a very confused piece of biography. He is said to have been consecrated 'archbishop over all South Britain' by Germanus and Lupus, and his privileges were confirmed by 'Apostolic authority.' This account is contradicted by the narrative of Geoffrey of Monmouth, according to whom Dubricius was abbot at Heunllan, and afterwards at Mochros. Illtud was the first abbot of the place called after him Llanilltud, the term *llan* being a name given by the people to a monastery;¹ it now means 'parish church.' Illtud was a Briton, and through him monachism seems to have inspired high moral aims in a community of devoted disciples, among whom we find Gildas and St. David. Following the intimations of the older *Vita*, we are led to regard Llanilltud as an island, not a place in the midst of meadows and streams, as the British *Vita* suggests, and to conclude that the original Llanilltud must be the island called Caldy. It was not on the site of the present-day Lant-wit-Major (Llanilltud Fawr).

Contemporary with Illtud was Teilo, the founder and first bishop of Llandav, who had been a fellow-disciple of St. David under Paulinus.² Another contemporary was Caradoc of Llancarvan. We have narratives respecting four eminent disciples of Illtud—Gildas, Samson, Paul Aurelian, and St. David. In each of these men we observe a remarkable change in monkhood. The monk, instead of being simply a recluse, becomes a public preacher. Gildas, from the Tyne in the North, travelled far to become a disciple of Illtud at Llanilltud in South Wales. In the eagerness of his devotion he seems to have exceeded the Tabennisiot monks. He committed to memory nearly the whole Bible, and acquired an intimate knowledge of the Christian literature of the West. The teachings of Illtud were carried by him to Ireland. The close of his life was spent in Brittany, in accordance with a long-cherished desire for the life of an eremite, his death occurring, according to the *Vita* and the *Annales Cambriae* combined, on 29th Jan. 570. (Anscome, after a searching investigation, decides upon 554, which seems too early.) Besides the *de Excidio*, Gildas wrote *Letters*, of which fragments are extant; these show in him a remarkable trait—he writes as a man endowed with a moderation which a casual reader of the *de Excidio* would not expect to find.

An idea which seems to have possessed men in

¹ *Book of Llandav*, pp. 71, 120.

² *Ib.* p. 99.

Britain finds conspicuous illustration in Samson. His supreme message may be seen in the words addressed by him to his father: *Tu, quidem, frater Umbraphel, peregrinus esse debes*.¹ 'Thou must be a pilgrim' is for him and for many a constraining conviction. From Dumnonia he set sail for the land of his pilgrimage, settling at Dol, situated in that northern part of Brittany to which patriotic feelings towards the old home in Britain gave the name of *Dumnonia*. Paulus Aurelianus, or Pol de Leon, as he was later named, after a time spent as a solitary near his father's lands, crossed early to Brittany. He first settled on the island of Ushant, but afterwards in the Pagus Leonensis, where he built his *llan*, or monastery, and was created bishop. The spirit of Llanilltud made of him a missionary bishop and preacher.

The last to be named by us is David, or, as his countrymen called him, Dewi Sant. It ought to be superfluous to assert the fact of St. David's existence. This is made certain by the whole tone and character of the *Life* written by Ricemarchus at St. David's, where there were materials left since the saint's own time, and where Sulien, the biographer's father, the most learned bishop in all Britain, had lived. Beyond the short notice in the *Life of Paul Aurelian*, this *Vita* by Ricemarchus seems to be the source of all that has been written of St. David in Welsh poems and biographies of the Middle Ages, and in quite a library of books written later. The Welsh versions testify to its early popularity, but deal freely with it, making frequent omissions and changes. The *Vita* was a sermon for St. David's day; and the Welsh versions have given it more of the sermon's characteristics. That David was with Illtud we know for certain from the earlier Breton *Life of Samson* and the British *Life of Illtud*, but his teacher in the narrative of Ricemarchus was not Illtud but Paulinus. The spirit of Illtud, however, was in him, and he became a popular preacher, and by this, and by other ministrations of the pastoral type, he endeared himself to his people. Twelve monasteries in succession were founded by him; even Glastonbury is among these, and *Legminetre Monasterium*, which is represented to be a nunnery, and is called in the version *Llanllieni*. Several companions followed him to reside at *Vetus Rubus*, the Welsh name for which Giraldus gives as *Hen Meneu*, and the Latin as *Vetus Menevia* ('*Kambrice Hen Meneu, Latino vero Vetus Menevia*'). It was at this place, both as abbot and as bishop, that his life was spent, his death occurring at a comparatively early age. To him, above all others, has gone forth the reverence of the Welsh people. Intimations of this reverence are not infrequent. At a great synod held at Brevi (afterwards called Llandewivrevi) he was approached with profound marks of respect by delegates of the bishops there assembled, 118 in number, besides an innumerable multitude of presbyters, abbots, etc., and begged to abandon his place of retirement in order to preach to the people. Most reluctantly he complied, and preached as no other could. A second synod, to which the name *Victoria* is given, connected with St. David's name, was held, in which the decrees of the former were confirmed. These may be later echoes of him. We cannot be wrong in believing that the revival continued after the death of Gildas, the fearless reprove of princes and bishops, and of David, the great popular preacher. The names of several workers have been preserved.

We subjoin a Bibliography of the subject, with brief notes, dividing the whole into four classes.

I. *VITA OF PROBABLY BRETON ORIGIN*.—Those that we possess seem to have come from the Benedictine monastery of Fleury (Floriacum).

¹ Mabillon, *AS*, O.S.B., I. 154; *AS*, Jul. vi. p. 582; *Anal. Boll.* vi. (*Vita* II.); de la Borderie, *La Bretagne*; *RCel* v. 417.

(1) *Life of Samson—Vita S. Samsonis*, first printed in Mabilon's *AS*. See the Bollandists' *AS*, Jul. vi. pp. 573–81. Another *Life of Samson* is printed in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vi. De la Borderie places the substance of the older *Vita*, published by Mabillon, about A.D. 800–15, and gives the second *Vita* a date about 900 (see his *La Bretagne*, 1893, i. 560).

(2) *Life of Paul Aurelian*, or *Pol de Leon—Vita S. Pauli Aureliani*. See *AS*, Mart. ii. pp. 111–118. Another *Vita* is published in *Analecta Bollandiana*, i.; and the same from another MS by Cuissard in the *RClv* v. 417.

(3) *Life of Gildas—Vita S. Gildæ*, called *Vita I.*, was written by the Monk of Ruis, a monastery in Brittany. *Vita II.*, by Caradoc of Llancarvan, was written probably four or five centuries later than *Vita I.* Both are printed in the *Cymmrodorion ed.* of Gildas.

(4) *Life of Brictius*. This is published in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, ii.

(5) *Life of Maclovius*, now St. Malo. The *Liées* of Maclovius, six in all, have been published by Plaine and de la Borderie.

(6) *Life of Winwaloeus*, in French written *Guennoel*. The *Vita S. Winwaloei* is edited in the *Anal. Bolland.* vii. 117–249.

II. Vita, etc., or *British origins*.—The *Book of Llandaw*, or *Liber Landavensis*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, 1893. The vol. contains extracts from the *Liber Pontificalis* and from Bede, i. 6, 7, respecting Lucius Britannicus Rex and St. Alban, together with other sufferers from persecution. The compilation, which is really a chartulary of the Church of Llandaw, may have been drawn up about 1140–50; it contains a number of *Liées*.

(1) *Life of Samson*—a summary of Mabilon's *Vita*.

(2) *Lectioes*, or readings, from the *Life of Dubricius*.

(3) *Life of Teilo*.

(4) *Life of Oudocerus*.

The last two must be by the same author, who is also the writer of the *Life of Dubricius*, excluding the 'Lectioes' referred to. The whole four may be from the pen of the compiler himself.

III. CAMBRO-BRITISH SOURCES.—*Cambro-British Saints*, ed. in 1858 by W. J. Rees, contains:

(1) *Life of Brynach—Vita S. Bernaci*, from the MS *Vespasian A. xiv*.

(2) A British or Welsh *Life of Beuno*, from a MS 'in the possession of the Earl of Maclesfield,' compared with another in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford.

(3) *Life of Cadog*, or *Catwg—Vita S. Cadoci*, from the Br. Mus. MS *Vesp. A. xiv*, p. 17, and collated with Titus D. xxii, p. 51. This *Life* is, in parts, a chartulary of Llancarvan, c. 63, agreeing with p. 176 of the *Book of Llandaw*. The *Vita* is by far the fullest in the vol., with a style superior to all the rest. The Scripture quotations are numerous and of special interest.

(4) *Life of Carannog—Vita S. Caranoci*, from Br. Mus. *Vespasian A. xiv*; evidently a sermon for the saint's day.

(5) *Life of St. David*: (a) *Vita S. Davidis*, from Br. Mus. *Vespasian A. xiv*, collated with Nero E. 1. This *Life* was written by Ricemarchus (Rychmarch), who died Bishop of St. David's in 1090–97, and from it all other records of St. David seem to be derived. Another *Vita* of St. David was written by Giraldus Cambrensis, which simply repeats the older, containing no new matter beyond a few local points of detail. It is the same *Vita* as that of Ricemarchus. This fact reminds us that, when Giraldus wrote, about A.D. 1208, no more was known then at St. David's than we have at the present day. (b) A well-written Welsh *Life* also appears in this vol.; the same or a similar *Life* is also edited by J. Morris Jones, Bangor, in *Llyfyr Agykyr Llanddwyni*, 1846 (from the Jesus College MS 119). 'Hystoria o Vuchedd Dewi.' This Welsh *Life* is not quite a version, but a summary, abbreviated in parts, with not a few additions and changes. It is evidently a sermon, and worth reading.

(6) *Life of Gwynllwg—Vita S. Gwendli*, from Br. Mus. MS *Vesp. A. xiv*, collated with Titus D. xii; very confused, and of no value for us.

(7) *Life of Illtud—Vita S. Illuti*, 12th century. Its agreement with the *Book of Llandaw* is frequently evident.

(8) *Life of Cybi—Vita S. Kebii*. The anachronisms in this *Life* are astounding; Cybi is connected both with St. Martin of Tours, who died in 400, and with King Maelgwn of North Wales, whose death occurred in 547. Nothing in the *Vita* suggests any relation with Caergybi (Holyhead) except his sailing from Ireland for *Mona Insula*.

(9) *Life of Padarn—Vita S. Paterni*. In this *Vita*, again, we have a sermon for the saint's day. Padarn is made contemporary with David and Teilo, with whom he makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where the three are ordained archbishops. 'Britain,' according to the medieval biographer, is divided into 'three episcopates,' corresponding to three kingdoms: the kingdom of Fein (or Demetia), where St. David was bishop; the kingdom of Morgant, with St. Elind (Teilo) as bishop; the third *apud dextrales Brittanias*, which stands for Ceredigion (*civitas Sancti Paterni episcopi*). The whole *Vita* is diffuse and confusing.

(10) *Life of Gwenfrewi—Vita S. Winifredæ*, a work of the 12th cent., which has been handed down in two dubious forms.

(11) *Life of Pedrog—Vita S. Petroci*, a *Life* soberly written and conveying real facts.

IV. VITA FROM IRISH SOURCES.—Two of these are contained in Rees's volume.

(1) *Vita S. Aidai* (Aldi) f., a name which interchanges with *Maddoc* (Madaew).

(2) We introduce here the *Vita S. Kentigerni*, by Jocelin (c. 1180), a monk of Furness; the *Life* describes the exile which led Kentigern, at that time Bishop of Glasgow, to visit St. David at Menevia, and afterwards to build a monastery on the river Elwy in North Wales, now called Llanelwy. On his return to

Glasgow, he delegated his functions as abbot and bishop to his beloved disciple Asaph, or Asa, after whom the monastery, with its church, was named St. Asaph.

(3) *Vita S. Brendani*, from Br. Mus. *Vesp. A. xix*. There have been published several forms of his *Vita seu Navigatio*, containing sailor 'yarns' woven into the history of a saint. Bishop Moran's ed. is excellent.

(4) *Finian, Finan, or Vinnian* (Vennianus), Abbot of Clonard; *Vita* in Colgan's *AS Hiberniæ*, pp. 393–97. He became an Irish companion of David and Gildas at Kilmaun (Kilmynnyw).

(5) *Cornwall*, Abbot of the Irish Bangor; he connects North-Irish monachism with Britain, i.e. with David and Gildas.

Among these *Vitæ*, which are numerous, we class those that were written by the Armorican exiles, or their immediate followers, as the most reliable. Most of those designated British are late, and are really sermons intended to glorify the saint on his day. Those which are named Irish convey, in the majority of cases, accounts of a close relation with Britain, especially in the persons of David and Gildas.

3. The two churches which followed the conversion of the English.—St. Augustine, the Roman missionary, had asked the great Pope Gregory I., who sent him hither, as to the extent of his authority. He was instructed that he had no concern with Gallic bishops, 'but all the bishops of Britain we commit to thy fraternal care (*tue fraternitati*), so that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened by persuasion, the perverse corrected by authority.' It was in virtue of this authorization that Augustine approached the Britons in 603, when there was no English bishop besides himself in the island. (If the conference was held in 604, there were two new bishops.) A claim of authority on his part they could not understand, as they were inexperienced in metropolitan rule. Every one of their bishops was bishop of his own congregation solely, and there was no corporate aggregate of such churches in respect of which an archbishop could exercise authority over any bishop. The first conference (*colloquium*) was unsuccessful. The British bishops demanded time. They could not, they said, without the consent and leave of their people, abandon ancient customs. The absence of archiepiscopal authority is patent in such an assertion as this. At the second conference Augustine reduced his demands to three: (1) the adoption of the Roman method of calculating Easter; (2) the assimilation of a certain part of the baptismal service, to which the name *complexe* is given, to the Roman mode of administration; (3) that the Britons should join him in preaching to the English—a demand which had been made previously. Here we have a picture of monastic life—very many learned men came from the monastery of Bangor to y Coed, over which Dinoot (Brit. Dunawd = Donatus) was abbot. These men, previous to their meeting, sought advice from 'a holy and wise man who was wont to lead an anchorite life among them.' We catch a glimpse of the British monastery as a 'place of learning,' and of a solitary quietly settled near it who had the reputation of sanctity and wisdom. We observe that the terms used at the two conferences are 'customs' (*mores*) and 'traditions,' which the Britons cannot change. There is no question of doctrine. Above all, the Britons declare that they will not regard Augustine as archbishop (*neque illum pro archiepiscopo habituros respondebant*). These refusals were the cause of the existence henceforth of two Churches in the land instead of one as previously. The chief of the customs which the Britons refused to abandon was their 84-year cycle for the calculation of Easter. There was an absurdity in this demand, because Rome itself, after many attempts to emend this same cycle, beginning with the doubts of 444 and 451, finally abandoned it in 525, adopting then the Alexandrian tables of Dionysius Exiguus. It is evident that the Britons would have done well to abandon their cycle, but it is here that the 'tradition' came in. While the Roman Church and the Anglo-Roman held that they retained the Easter estab-

lished by St. Peter, on the other hand British tradition traced their mode of determining Easter to St. John. How was it possible to put aside a custom that had its beginning with the Apostle 'who was worthy to lie in the Lord's bosom'? It was from him they had learnt to hold their feast on the 14th day of the moon though it were Sunday, and never to celebrate it after the 20th. As 'tradition' the British had certainly the advantage, but their system of calculation was inferior to the Roman, borrowed as this was from Alexandria. At the Synod of Whitby (664) the two modes came to a full debate between Colman, the third of the Irish missionaries who had done such service by their labours in North and Mid-England, and the indefatigable Wilfrid. The grounds of belief on either side had nothing to do with the merits of the two ways of determining Easter Day; belief was made to rest by both sides on an impossible basis of tradition (Beda, *HE* iii. 25). Moved by reverence for ancestors and for St. John, the Britons continued steadfast in their refusal; in the Anglo-Roman Church the subject was often discussed, several Synods being held for that purpose. Aldhelm (Abbot of Malmesbury, 675-705) in his letter to the king and bishops of Dumnonia pronounces the British to be, because of their refusal on this point, non-Catholic. 'The precepts of your bishops,' he says, 'are not in accord with Catholic faith.' So also Beda, for the same reason, excludes the British from the Catholic Church. It was an unhappy difference, and there was harshness on the British side.

The other usage mentioned by Augustine to which the British bishops and learned men adhered was in their celebration of Baptism. The archbishop employs the unusual expression 'that ye should complete the ministry of baptism'—*ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, iuxta morem sanctae Romanae et apostolicae compleatis*. The term is found in the *Life of St. Brigid*. A vision describes 'two priests clothed in white pouring oil upon the head of a girl, completing the order of baptism in the usual way.' *Comple* refers to the last act of the rite, i.e. to 'confirmation,' a function allowed only to bishops in the Roman communities (see as to Ireland, on the absence of 'confirmation' there, St. Bernard's *Vita Malachi*, ch. 3). This divergence in confirmation from the Anglo-Roman usage must have been a frequent cause of irritation. The British tonsure also is mentioned by Aldhelm and Beda (not by Augustine) as a custom to be condemned, though in the 4th cent. it was customary in most, if not all, countries. Biggs is of opinion that its sole object was disfigurement. In Britain it continued as a survival from earlier times. We need not endeavour to point out other causes of a difference and separation which extended over centuries. The labours of Aidan, Finian, and Colman, though they conformed with the British as to Easter, were appreciated and honoured even by the English archbishop and by the historian Beda; it might have been the same after Augustine's conference, but for his tact.

One cannot help being curious as to what became of this British Church. An attempt was made in the early part of the 9th cent. by Elvod of Bangor to bring about compliance with the Roman demands, but his efforts do not seem to have been successful. It is the British Church that we find in the *Laws of Howel Dda* (Howel the Good) about the middle of the 10th century. It may be that it was still in existence when Ricemarchus wrote his *Life of St. David* at Menevia, but, when Geoffrey of Monmouth was writing at Llandâv, and Geraldus at St. David's, it had ceased to exist. There was no British

Church, certainly from the 12th century, probably from the 11th century. Another Church, the Anglo-Roman, had taken its place.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given fully in the course of the article. HUGH WILLIAMS.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—1. Anglo-Saxon times.—Britain, under the Romans, was part of a Christian empire, and its Church, with its organization, its saints, its doctrinal difficulties, grew up as part of the Holy Catholic Church. But with the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the West, Britain, as one of its outlying portions, was among the first countries to be isolated. During the 5th and 6th cents. barbarian tribes poured into the Empire—Goths and Lombards into Italy, Huns into Danubian lands, Vandals into Africa, Visigoths into Spain, and Angles and Saxons into Britain.

The British Church, thus cut off from the Church on the Continent, grew weaker and began to stagnate. In the neighbouring island of Ireland a different form of Christianity, not connected with the Empire, was, as the legends of St. Patrick show, both strong and active. The Irish Church rested not on episcopacy, but on monasticism, and, amidst much that was ill-organized and turbulent, there was fine enthusiasm and, above all, missionary zeal. The great Irish missionary, St. Columba, crossed over in 563 to Iona, and made that island an important centre of religious life and civilization until his death in 597. Meanwhile the British, and with them their Church, had been driven into Western Britain by the Angles and Saxons who invaded the island during the 5th and 6th cents., until by A.D. 600 the Western half of Britain was British, and the Eastern half Anglian and Saxon. The invaders were and remained heathen, for the British made no attempt to convert the pagan foes whom they abhorred.

From 590 to 604 Gregory I., a great ecclesiastical statesman, sat on the Papal throne. He had already combated Arianism in several Teutonic tribes, and he realized the greatness of the opportunity afforded him in Eastern Britain of converting the English straight from heathenism to orthodoxy. Accordingly, in 597, Augustine was despatched with a band of monks to Kent to begin a great English mission. He was wonderfully successful in Kent, and was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. The whole island was mapped out into dioceses by Gregory, who had a splendid faith in the future, though for the present only the sees of Canterbury and Rochester could be created. An effort was made through Paulinus to introduce the Roman form of faith into Northumbria, but after a temporary success the attempt failed. Another effort to unite with the British Church in the West also failed, through want of tact on the part of the Archbishop, and obstinacy on the part of the leaders of the British Church. Independently of Canterbury, the Roman form of Christianity was established in East Anglia and Wessex, and by 635, therefore, or about forty years after the coming of Augustine, Western Christianity, which looked to Rome as its head, was established in the South and East of England. But that was all; the British Church (see preceding article) still held aloof, and the North of England remained heathen.

This state of things lasted until after the middle of the 7th cent., but in the North of England great changes were taking place, for during civil war in Northumbria a fugitive prince fled to the monastery of Iona, and soon afterwards returned a Christian to his throne. This Oswald at once introduced Christianity into his kingdom, but naturally in its Celtic, not its Roman, form. He brought St. Aidan

from Iona to succeed where Paulinus had failed, and his work was so successful that, soon after his death in 651, not only was Northumbria Christian, but it had outlying missions in Mercia and Essex.

After the middle of the 7th cent., then, the problem that had to be settled was this—Should the Church of England be Celtic or Roman? The answer was given at the Council of Whitby (664). The discussion turned on the date for keeping Easter and certain other differences, but what was really at stake was the future of English civilization. The Council decided in favour of Roman Christianity, and that meant that the Celt, whose genius had been shown in mission work, was now to make way for the Roman, whose strength lay in organization. England was to look eastwards to Europe, not westwards to Ireland, for her civilization and religious development.

Almost immediately the Roman Archbishop Theodore came to carry out what had been decided upon at Whitby. He reorganized the Episcopate by dividing old and creating new sees. He instituted Church Councils to deal with the problems of the day, and he regulated the monasteries. Yet he was hindered a good deal by the able but erratic Wilfrid, who had done the Roman cause good service at Whitby, and had since become Bishop of York. Wilfrid found it difficult to submit to the re-arrangements of Theodore, and more than once had to flee the country and appeal to the Pope—a precedent which was to lead to difficulties in after years. But, in spite of hindrances, Theodore's work continued, and by the end of the 7th cent. the English Church was fully organized on a diocesan basis. More than this, an example of English unity had been set up in the Church which was to serve as a model for the State. Englishmen were still divided as Northumbrians, or Mercians, or men of Wessex. As Christians they were all one in the English Church.

Christianity at this time, in England as elsewhere, found its highest expression in monasticism. It was the Celtic form of monasticism which had spread from Iona into Northern England, with a discipline less stringent than that of Rome. The communities might be of men, or of women, or sometimes of men and women together, some of them married. The Celtic ideal aimed at retaining the separate individualities within the community, the Roman at the subordination of the individual to the life of the community as a whole. With the triumph of the Roman form of Christianity, there was an effort to supplant the laxer form of monasticism by the stricter Benedictine form. Of this movement Wilfrid was the champion, and it spread rapidly after the Whitby Council. In such monasteries the educational and literary work of the time went on. This found its climax in the work of Bede (673–735) at Jarrow, while Alcuin of York took across to the Court of Charlemagne the learning which he had gained in Northern England.

The Anglo-Saxon Church was also a missionary church. Its missionaries went about the Continent converting many Teutonic tribes who had remained heathen. Wilfrid himself was a missionary in Frisia, Willibrod went out from Ripon to continue the work, while Boniface, the greatest of these pioneers, went out from Wessex to Western Germany, and became Archbishop of Mainz.

During the two centuries after the Council of Whitby, the Church in England was gradually developing along the lines then laid down, and, in spite of some signs of weakness and decay, especially in Northumbria, during the early part of the 9th cent., it was an active, living, growing

Church. But with the middle of the 9th cent. all this was changed. For several years Danish hordes swept over the country from the sea, spreading out from Scandinavia to Ireland, England, and Northern France. These Vikings were also the champions of heathenism, and savagely attacked Christian churches and monasteries, slaying the inhabitants and carrying off what they could find. They spread into Northumbria and Mercia, and even into Wessex, until in 871 Alfred became king, and stemmed the tide of invasion.

The Anglo-Saxon Church, laboriously built up during two centuries, had well nigh collapsed before the Danes. Churches and monasteries had been destroyed; priests, monks, and nuns had perished. Religion and learning were at a very low ebb. Alfred set to work, first to conquer the Danes, then to unite them with the English, and finally to revive the life of the Church in England. The year 878 was the year of decision. In that year the Danes were conquered and confined to the east of England, and they accepted Christianity. Alfred then did his best to rebuild churches and monasteries, to make good ecclesiastical appointments, and to restore learning and education. By his noble example and earnest zeal he restored the foundations of the Church on which his successors could rebuild. For half a century after Alfred's death (in 901) his successors were reconquering Eastern England—the Danelaw—and the process was completed by the great reign of Edgar (957–975). This was the climax of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. In the process of conquest Wessex had become England, and the King of Wessex King of the English. In the Church also a twofold process had been going on. The leaders of the Church, the bishops, had more and more become statesmen, and the chief royal advisers. The monastic life, on the other hand, had received new inspiration from the Cluniac revival on the Continent, through the French monastery of Fleury, whither several English churchmen had gone for inspiration and help. Stricter celibacy was enforced alike in monasteries and in cathedrals, and round this revived and disciplined monastic life gathered all that was best in the Church. The central figure in this movement was Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (960–989) and chief adviser of Edgar. As statesman and ecclesiastic he gave the reformers his help, though he would not force the changes upon the unwilling. By example and authority much was done to rebuild the structure on the foundations restored by Alfred, but the reforms were never universal, nor did they last through the troublous days that followed Dunstan's death.

The earlier part of the 9th cent. saw the Church passing into a state of stagnation and decay. The renewed Danish invasions under Cnut had little direct influence, since Cnut adopted what he found, without introducing anything new, and the folly of his sons destroyed the hope of a Scandinavian Empire with its possibilities of wider influence for the Church. In the reign of Edward the Confessor the lowest ebb was reached. The saintly king chose his favourites from Normandy, the country of his exile, and, with his thoughts fixed upon the next world, neglected his kingdom in this. The real power passed to Godwin and his sons, and their policy was fatal alike in Church and in State, for their aim was insular, and they would have cut themselves off from much that was good on the Continent in their desire to realize a narrower form of patriotism. Reform was needed in the Church, but it was not from these English leaders that it was to come. On the field of Senlac the Anglo-Saxon monarchy met its doom, but the Anglo-Saxon Church was

saved from weakness and isolation by the new life there secured to it from Normandy.

2. The 12th and 13th centuries.—The Norman Conquest began a new era alike in Church and in State. The Normans were the most progressive race of the age, full of the old Viking energy, but ready to assimilate whatever was commendable in Western ideas. Under their rule England was to be no longer isolated, but brought, with the best in her old institutions, into close touch with European civilization. William the Conqueror was an able ruler, and at once impressed his strong personality on the conquered country; but the fact that he came under a banner blessed by the Pope gave the conquest additional importance for the Church, since in 1073 Hildebrand, the greatest of William's contemporaries, ascended the papal throne as Gregory VII. He did perhaps more than any other one man to influence the Church of the Middle Ages. His ideal was a theocracy, to be realized in the Catholic Church. Already the Cluniac revival had prepared the way by purifying the Church, as the Emperors of the middle of the 11th cent. had purified the Papacy. Already the doctrine of transubstantiation had placed the priest, who could actually bring into being his Divine Lord at the altar, on a higher plane altogether than that of the mere layman. Already the better feeling of Christendom was demanding the celibacy of the clergy, and a consequent devotion to the things of God. Now, therefore, in Gregory VII. the reformed Papacy, guiding a purified priesthood, was to control the world and realize the Kingdom of God on earth. It was a grand ideal, but, as carried out by man, it involved the long and often sordid medieval struggle between Church and State for mere supremacy.

The high claims of Gregory had to be met by William. Both Pope and King were helped by the wisdom of William's archbishop, Lanfranc, a brilliant scholar, a wise teacher, and an earnest monk. He was a firm upholder of the new ideas, but a good servant of William; and he succeeded in bringing about a compromise which gave to England a revived Church without involving William in subservency to the Papacy. Loyal Churchman though he was, William was a statesman first, and jealous of all encroachments on his power. 'Peter's pence' he would pay, but homage to the Pope he would not do, while no baron might be excommunicated, no Church Synod held, no Papal bull received, without the King's permission. The great question of investitures—Should the ecclesiastical or the secular authority appoint the bishops?—though so important on the Continent, was not a practical difficulty under William. He purified the English Episcopate himself, making good appointments, and removing Englishmen in favour of learned Normans. Sees were removed from the villages to the towns, and the supremacy of Canterbury was assured. Monasticism was revived, and the Cluniac revival allowed full scope. New monasteries were built, and the old were drastically reformed by Norman abbots. Everywhere the principle of celibacy was triumphant, and, though in the parishes those priests who had wives were not forced to put them away, still no priests were in future to marry. The distinction between the clergy and the laity, and the priest's sacerdotal power, were emphasized by the separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil courts, whereby all suits concerning the clergy were to be tried in courts where churchmen were judges and canon law was followed.

In the hands of three great men like Gregory, William, and Lanfranc, this settlement was good. But the question of investitures had some day to be decided, the independent existence of Church

courts was sure some day to create difficulties, and the balance of power between King and Pope could not fail at some time to be upset. The next two hundred years saw these problems worked out.

The Conqueror had left a strong government, resting on the personal power of a strong man. William Rufus turned this into a despotism, and used every power over Church or State to satisfy his avarice. Bishoprics and abbacies were kept vacant, that the king might have their revenues, or were sold to the highest bidder. In a moment of penitence William appointed Anselm, Abbot of Bec (see ANSELM OF CANTERBURY), to the long vacant see of Canterbury. Anselm was the greatest scholar of his time, and a saint as well, but he showed no lack of firmness in opposing the tyranny of the King, and further strengthened himself by going in person to Rome to secure the support of the Pope. On the death of William (in 1100), his more politic brother Henry succeeded him, and the struggle was no longer between righteousness and tyranny, but between Church and State to ascertain their respective spheres. Anselm's own position had been changed by his presence at the Council of Rome in 1099, which had made stringent decrees against clerical marriages and also against lay investiture; and the settlement of the investiture question could no longer be avoided. Should the kings of England go on appointing the bishops as the Conqueror had done, or should the principle for which the Pope was fighting on the Continent prevail, and the bishops be appointed by the Church itself? After six years of struggle the question was settled in 1107, again by a wise compromise. The bishop was recognized as at once a baron owing allegiance to the King, and an ecclesiastic bound to obey the Pope. He was therefore to be elected by the Cathedral chapter, but this election was to take place in the King's chapel. He was then to do allegiance as a baron to the King, and afterwards to receive the insignia of his office as a bishop from the Archbishop or the Pope. The Church thus retained the forms which it desired, but the substance of power remained with the King, who could always control the elections.

The reign of Stephen increased the power of the Church, because of the chaotic weakness of the State. Thus it was the attack on certain bishops that ruined Stephen's cause; it was the Church that mediated between the rivals for the crown; and amidst the turmoil of civil war the great Cistercian revival was planting new monasteries in the desolate North, and quietly restoring to civilization the devastated tracts of Yorkshire.

Henry II. came to the throne in 1154. He had inherited from his grandparents a great Anglo-French empire, which he increased by his marriage, so that he was King of England and overlord of the western half of France. He was an able ruler, and realized that a strong government was needed throughout his dominions, and more especially in England, after the weakness of Stephen's reign. His schemes for a great empire failed, but in England the monarchy which he founded was so strong that it survived the follies of his sons. Its strength lay in the great system of common law which Henry built up, and in the very able civil service which he created to carry on his administration. But this very strength soon brought the monarchy into conflict with the Church, for their ideals were mutually exclusive. The monarchy stood for a national ideal, and to the King the independent power of the Church involved an *imperium in imperio*. The Church stood for a cosmopolitan ideal, and to the Pope the control exercised by the Crown was an unholy usurpation. The struggle was fought out on the question of

the independence of the ecclesiastical courts. Were the clergy, like the laity, to be under the control of the King's courts or no? On the answer depended, on the one hand, the success of Henry's government; on the other, the solidarity of the Church in England with the Church on the Continent.

Thomas Becket was the archbishop who championed the cause of the Church. As a clerk he had already shown capacity, and had risen to be Chancellor, and chief adviser and friend of the King. In 1160 Henry made him archbishop in the hope that he would bring the Church into subordination to the Crown. He soon found his mistake. As Chancellor, Becket had put the State before the Church; as Archbishop, he unhesitatingly put the Church before the State. The struggle came to a head when the treatment of clerical criminals was discussed in 1164. The Constitutions of Clarendon laid down that the King's courts should settle what offenders came under the jurisdiction of the Church courts, and should punish the condemned. Becket gave his consent, then recanted, and fled the country. After a weary exile he returned, only to be murdered by some of the King's over-zealous followers. For the moment Henry gave up the Constitutions, but in reality the supremacy of civil law and justice had been assured. The Church had the inspiration of Becket's martyrdom to set against this loss.

With the death of Henry II. the government passed successively to his two sons, Richard and John. Richard was out of the country nearly all his reign, and the official class created by Henry reaped the benefit. The reign gives an interesting side-light on the relation of England to one great movement in the mediæval Church—the Crusades. Twice over, in 1095 and in 1147, Europe had been stirred by the call to save the Holy Sepulchre from the infidel, but England had scarcely heeded the call either time. Now a third effort was made in 1190, and Richard of England took part in it; but still the English did not join, nor did they help in the Crusade which in 1204 seized not Jerusalem but Constantinople. Thus the whole crusading movement left England untouched, and the alienation of her one crusading king from the interests of his own country only brings this aloofness into greater prominence.

Under John the strong monarchy of Henry II. became a cruel despotism. John was an able man, but he was faced by two men abler than himself. One was Innocent III., who brought the mediæval Papacy to its highest pitch of greatness. The other was Stephen Langton, archbishop from 1208 to 1228. John, in carrying out his violent will, had trampled on every class in the community, and had sought also to crush the Church. When Innocent appointed Langton archbishop, John refused for years to receive him, yielding at last only in fear of rebellion and invasion. At once, when Langton came, he united the suffering Church and the angry nation under his leadership, and was largely responsible for Magna Charta in 1215. This alliance marked a new stage in the relation of Church and State. Henry II. had struggled for order, and Becket for privilege. Now John was struggling for despotism, and Langton was leading the way towards liberty.

Under Henry III. two great parties took shape. On the one side was the monarchy, which united with the Papacy. On the other was the nation, which drew closer to the national Church. The King, who was weak, easily led, and inclined to foreign favourites, allowed the Pope to plunder the Church in England if he might do the same. The Church drew closer therefore to Simon de

Montfort and the party of reform, until the King's extravagance and misgovernment were held in check, first by Simon and later by Prince Edward. But, while politics was thus drawing nation and Church together, a great religious revival was doing still more for both, for the second quarter of the 13th cent. saw the coming of the Friars to England. Hitherto the highest religious ideal had been that of the monk, who wanted to withdraw from the world to save his own soul, and to pray for the world outside. St. Francis and St. Dominic showed that it was a higher ideal to go out into the worst places of the world, to save the souls of others. The Friars went everywhere. They raised the religious tone of the people, they captured the universities and guided scholastic philosophy, and they strengthened the cause of religion throughout the world. Neither King nor Pope could prevail against a nation learning its liberty, and a Church purified by a great ideal of self-sacrifice.

3. Later Middle Ages.—The end of the 13th cent. was important from two points of view: It was the time of the decline of the mediæval Papacy under Boniface VIII. (1294-1303), whose claims to universal power remained as imperious as ever, yet with ever less possibility of fulfilment. It was also the time when the English mediæval monarchy reached its zenith under Edward I. (1272-1307), who set himself to be a strong king, but with the loyal support of every section of the community. He gradually worked out the ideal at which Simon de Montfort had aimed, until a Parliament of three estates was brought into being in 1295; and, though for a time, in the midst of his struggle with internal difficulties and foreign war, Edward acted arbitrarily, he always sought to rule according to law, and to keep each part of the nation working towards the common good in subordination to the Crown.

This policy at once brought him into conflict with the Church at home and the Pope abroad. The clergy were hindering Edward by acquiring much land, which thus became exempt from the usual feudal obligations. Hence, in 1279, the Statute of Mortmain declared that no more land was to be alienated to ecclesiastical corporations. The old difficulty with the Church courts was re-appearing. Accordingly, in 1285, the writ *Circumspecte Agatis* laid down that suits between clergy and laity which involved the possession of land were to be decided in the King's courts. The Church, in short, was checked as landlord and as judge. In 1295 she had the chance of controlling her own destinies more effectively when summoned to the Model Parliament as one of the three Estates, but the chance was thrown away because the clergy preferred to separate from the Parliament and vote their own taxes in Convocation. It was a great mistake, and meant that in the next two centuries the Church in its isolation grew less and less able to influence the country.

Behind the clergy stood the Pope, and Boniface and Edward were soon in conflict over the ceaseless question of the boundary between the spheres of the sacred and the secular. Edward had taxed the clergy severely; therefore in 1296 there appeared the bull *Clericis Laicos*, which forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the King. Loyalty to the Pope and loyalty to the King were made incompatible; therefore Edward at once retaliated by outlawing the clergy, putting them, that is, outside all protection of the civil law. This brought the clergy to their knees, and they compromised by declaring that they offered the King certain voluntary contributions as individuals. The Pope had only succeeded in weakening the clergy and

making a breach with the King. Shortly afterwards he went a step further, and, declaring Scotland to be a fief of the Papacy, forbade Edward to invade it. This only brought from the Parliament assembled at Lincoln in 1301 a decisive repudiation of these papal claims, while in 1307 another Parliament, at Carlisle, after the death of Boniface, presented to the King a long petition against the papal encroachments.

During the 14th cent. religion was languishing in England. The most important cause of this was the condition of the Papacy during the seventy years' captivity at Avignon (1308-1378). During this time the Pope was the mere tool of the French King, and the moral and religious tone of the Papacy suffered enormously. When the Popes returned to Rome in 1378, it was only to produce a schism which lasted until 1417, with one Pope at Rome and another at Avignon. With the head of the Church in this condition, it was little wonder that the members suffered with it. For England the papal sojourn at Avignon was especially harmful, as this was the period of the Hundred Years' War with France, which began in 1337. The Pope was thus to a very special degree identified with the national enemies, and the unpopularity which had already shown itself enormously increased.

Another great cause of the decay of religion was the Black Death which swept through Europe in 1348 and 1349, destroying, it is computed, between a third and a half of the population. The normal conditions of life were upset; new relations between landlord and tenant, and between employer and employed, were suddenly created. There was the greatest difficulty in replacing the enormous losses among the clergy and in carrying on the ordinary religious life of the people. Parishes had to be supplied with whatever priests, if any, could be found; men, whether suitable or not, were too hastily turned into priests, and the usual standards of morals and learning among the clergy were greatly lowered. In the monasteries the losses had been enormous, and many of the monastic orders, and especially the Friars, never wholly recovered from the scourge. Monks and priests were thus suddenly removed, at the very moment when men's ideas of life in general were shaken by a vague but very real sense of fear before a disaster of such terrible magnitude. Lord and peasant alike often lacked the usual ministrations of the Church, and these things told heavily on the religious life of the country throughout the rest of the century.

The unpopularity of Pope and clergy steadily increased. It was against the Pope at Avignon that the two famous statutes of *Premunire* and *Provisors* were directed. The aim of the Statute of *Provisors*, in 1351, was to defend the rights of patronage against the undue claims of the Pope, and all papal nominations were declared forfeit to the crown. The Statute of *Premunire*, in 1353, was meant to check the judicial powers of the Pope, and it declared that any one who took out of the realm lawsuits whose cognizance belonged to the King's courts should be outlawed and forfeit his goods. These two statutes together were a serious blow to the power of the Papacy over England.

The leaders of the clergy in England were also unpopular. Various songs and poems of the time attacked them, and twice over (in 1341 and in 1371) an effort was made to break through the hitherto unvarying custom of putting the administration of the Government into clerical hands. The clergy, however, were still able to hold their own in this by virtue of their superior education. At the head of the opposition to the Church stood John

of Gaunt, and the leading ecclesiastic who suffered was William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester (1366-1404), whose name will always be remembered for his services to education in Winchester College and New College, Oxford. Gaunt's object was mainly political, but his attack is important as bringing into prominence the man in whom culminated all the opposition of the century to Pope and clergy alike. Born early in the 14th cent., John Wyclif went to Oxford while still very young, and about 1360 became Master of Balliol College. He became the centre of university life and of scholastic philosophy in the University, but his freedom of thought and speculation gradually brought him into conflict with the leaders of the Church. From 1363 until his death, in 1384, he held country livings, where he developed his ideas until they became no longer matters of academic discussion but sources of national inspiration. In him the growing feeling of discontent with the clergy and the Pope found its focus, and he has well been called the 'Morning Star of the Reformation.' To him Holy Scripture was the final authority for religious truth, and neither tradition nor the authority of the Church was to be acknowledged unless the words of Christ confirmed them. One outcome of this was his translation of the Bible from the Latin Vulgate, whereby the Scriptures were to become an open book for all who could read. But the clergy strongly opposed this popularizing of the secrets of faith, and the circulation of the manuscripts was rendered very difficult. Another great doctrine of Wyclif was that of the direct personal relation of man to God. This he expressed in the feudal terminology of the time in his dictum of 'dominion founded in grace.' God's grace gives the righteous man all things here and now, and there are no intermediaries between God and man. This involved certain consequences. A mediating priesthood was clearly contrary to the spirit of this doctrine, so Wyclif more and more attacked the clergy of all kinds. Then, in the hands of some of his less careful followers, the doctrine was developed into a defence of communism; for, if God gives the righteous man all things, this must include material as well as spiritual things, and therefore the poor may be encouraged to demand them from the rich. The received doctrine of transubstantiation, again, Wyclif declared contrary to fact and to logic, and taught a doctrine similar to that afterwards known as 'consubstantiation.' But the great link between Wyclif and the people lay in the stress which he laid on poverty as the rule of life for the clergy. Wealth was the bane of the Church, and he wished to sweep it away. The secular clergy had become rich and worldly; the monks, too, had fallen from their ideals and only cumbered the ground; but it was the Friars who were the subject of his most scathing satire, because they had fallen so utterly away from the ideal which came closest to that of Wyclif himself. An example of poverty was to be set forth anew by the 'Poor Priests' whom he sent out to preach his doctrines and to live out in their lives the purer Christianity which he sought to revive. It was these Poor Priests who turned Wyclif's teaching from Scholasticism into Lollardy.

For a while Lollardy spread as a revival of popular religion. The masses were touched by its earnest teaching and by its ideal of poverty; it penetrated even to the Court and the Queen, from whom it passed to Bohemia in the teaching of John Hus. It found expression in the popular literature of the time, and the ferment it created was not without its responsibility for the Peasants' Revolt in 1361. But it was not destined to last.

It was checked by the action of the Pope in the trial and excommunication of Wyclif in 1377. It was checked again in 1382, when a Council at London condemned his teaching, and a little later even the University of Oxford, the home and stronghold of his teaching, was forced to abjure his doctrines. The House of Lancaster completed the suppression when, in 1401, the Statute *De Heretico Comburendo* sentenced Wyclif's followers to the flames. A few suffered; many recanted. With the rigid orthodoxy of the new dynasty, and the disturbance of the times, the movement died away, and had little direct influence in bringing about the religious changes of the next century.

The 15th cent. was a period of collapse. The House of Lancaster secured itself on the throne by reviving the Hundred Years' War with France, and England was again embarked on the impossible task of conquering her neighbour. Nemesis came speedily in the utter exhaustion of the middle of the century, followed by the Wars of the Roses in the latter half. Alike under the Lancastrian lack of government and the Yorkist despotism the Church in England was becoming more and more unpopular. The higher clergy belonged to the aristocratic families and were out of touch with the people. The exhaustion of the nation was shared by the Church, and there was no enthusiasm, no religious zeal. The persecution of Lollardy had recoiled upon the Church, and now she suffered by her ultra-respectability and lack of enthusiasm. On the Continent things were little better. The Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel tried to reform the Church and the Papacy and failed, leaving the Popes more powerful in the second half of the century than before. Everywhere there was need of religious revival.

A few names stand out above the rest. Archbishop Chichele (1414-1443) was eager in the interests of education, and resisted the encroachments of the Pope. Cardinal Beaufort of Winchester proved himself a good servant of Henry VI., and upheld the dignity of the Church against the wild policy of the Duke of Gloucester. Gascoigne, Bishop of Chichester, was an able man, with original opinions which brought him into prison. But no one stands out as a great spiritual leader of men.

Yet the wind was stirring that was to breathe upon the dry bones. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and the Greeks were dispersed over Europe, taking their language with them. A little later, by means of the printing press, the new knowledge of the classics could sweep over Europe like a flood, and help to turn the Middle Ages into modern times. Scholasticism, the mediæval philosophy, was swept away, and instead truth was sought in the New Testament, and culture not in the Fathers but in the Classics. It was the Renaissance, the re-birth into new life; but that life was not complete until the mediæval Church had likewise been purified and developed by reform in its morals and progress in its doctrine. In this movement England played a leading part.

4. The Reformation.—The problem that was now to be solved was one of tremendous importance. How was the mediæval Church in England to be modified to meet the needs of the new age? A new dynasty was on the throne, and it was under the strong yet popular guidance of the Tudors that the Church was able to pass through the shock of religious upheaval.

Three great forces worked together to produce the English Reformation—the Renaissance, the King, and the Continental Reformation.

(a) In England the new learning had not produced the wild enthusiasm for classical culture which had

come to Italy, or the profound moral discontent which was beginning in Germany; but the restoration of the Greek Testament produced a new zeal for religious education. Several colleges were founded at the universities, where the new learning might be taught. Such were Christ's and St. John's at Cambridge—both due to the liberality of the Lady Margaret Tudor, mother of Henry VII.—and Corpus Christi at Oxford, which was founded by Bishop Fox of Winchester. The Grammar Schools of later centuries began with the foundation of St. Paul's School in London by Dean Colet. The classics, and especially Greek, were to be taught in such schools and colleges, and the old ideas of Scholasticism were to be replaced by the simpler truths of the Greek Testament. Many men stood forth as representatives of the new ideas. There was Colet himself, who first lectured on St. Paul's Epistles in Greek at Oxford, and then continued his lectures in London while Dean of St. Paul's. There was his Oxford contemporary, Erasmus, afterwards Professor of Greek in Cambridge, who in 1515 gave to this movement its great inspiration by the publication of a carefully edited Greek text of the New Testament. There was Sir Thomas More, another contemporary of Colet at Oxford, who took his love of learning into his career at the bar in London, and in 1515 gave his ideas to the world in his *Utopia*. There was William Tindale, who tried to bring the New Testament within the reach of all by translating Erasmus' text into English. This step, however, was more than the leaders of the Church approved, and the book was publicly burned. Yet the movement continued, secretly leavening the opinion of the more thoughtful minds of the country and, through them, of other classes. The great need was for a strong leader, and that leader seemed to be found in Thomas Wolsey. He had been at Oxford at the end of the 15th cent., had risen to power under Henry VII., and had become the favourite of the young king, Henry VIII. His aim was to use the new learning and new education to transform the Church by reform from within, so that it might satisfy the needs of the new age. As Archbishop of York, Chancellor, and favourite of the King, he was strong enough, as he was foreseeing enough, to have carried out his ideal. He encouraged the teaching of Greek; he helped to endow the education of the clergy with funds gained by the suppression of effete monasteries; and he did something to reform the monastic orders. But all that he did, he did as the servant of the King, seeing in the exaltation of the royal power the best hope of a force strong enough to carry through reform.

(b) This was to forget the personality of the second great factor in the English Reformation—Henry VIII. He had come to the throne in 1509, young, handsome, full of love for the new learning, liberal minded, but already headstrong, impatient of rule. His power was enormous, for the nobility had been crushed in the Wars of the Roses, and his father had left him great wealth. It seemed as if he were just the monarch to support the progress of the new ideas, and at first all promised well. Suddenly a change came, and in 1527 the attractions of Anne Boleyn set his mind on the possibility of a divorce from the queen, Katharine of Aragon. There were difficulties about the original marriage, and normally the Pope might have been induced to grant a dispensation, but just now he was a prisoner in the hands of Katharine's nephew, the Emperor Charles V. When, therefore, Henry applied for a divorce, the Pope appointed two cardinals, one of whom was Wolsey, to try the case; subsequently he withdrew the trial to Rome, and at length, in

1534, declared the marriage valid. Meanwhile Henry took the matter into his own hands, and prosecuted his suit in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He obtained a verdict in favour of divorce in 1533, and at once acted upon it. Anne Boleyn became queen, Wolsey was disgraced and overthrown, and Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, took his place. Thus Henry had successfully thrust aside the jurisdiction of the Pope in one particular matter. Could he stop there?

(c) The third great force influencing the religious changes in England was the Reformation on the Continent. The mediæval Church had grown more and more out of touch with the better spirits of the age, and now revolt against it had taken definite form. In 1517 Martin Luther had raised his protest against the papal system of Indulgences, and had set forth his doctrine of Justification by Faith. Many of the princes of Germany and a large proportion of the people supported him, until at last, in 1530, Germany became divided into two great religious parties, and the Reformers made clear the articles of their faith in the Augsburg Confession. But two facts must be remembered about Luther: he was a national hero, and he was a conservative reformer. He would have kept all of the Church system and doctrine that he did not find condemned by the Scriptures. A more drastic reformer than Luther was Zwingli, who in Switzerland wished to remove from the Church all for which the Scriptures gave no authority. His work was to be done more fully afterwards by Calvin. The most violent reformers of all were the Anabaptists, who wished to reconstruct society and the Church upon a basis of uncontrolled individualism (see ANABAPTISM). All these movements were profoundly influencing European thought and religion; it was natural that England, which had been gradually prepared by the new learning, and had just been brought into direct conflict with the Pope, should now play her part in the great religious changes.

One force was, however, still lacking—public opinion. At present there was a vague and traditional hostility to the papal aggressions rather than any desire for positive change. The present impetus came only from the King, not from the people—from above, not from below; thus the English Reformation began as a political rather than as a religious movement. The Reformation Parliament, which sat from 1529 to 1536, began by facing the results of the divorce upon the relations of Pope and King, and it ended by throwing off all papal jurisdiction over the English Church. The first step was to secure the obedience of the clergy to the King, and, after both Convocations had placed themselves in the King's hands, Parliament passed, in 1532, the Act for the Submission of the Clergy, which declared that no new Canons could be passed by Convocation without the King's consent, and that those in existence must receive his approval. With the Church behind him Henry could now freely resist the Pope. In the same year, therefore, the Act of *Annates* or Firstfruits cut off a large part of the Pope's revenue from England. In 1533 the Act in restraint of Appeals completed the work of the Act of *Praemunire* by requiring questions on ecclesiastical matters to be decided by the Church courts in England. This involved the destruction of the papal jurisdiction over all matters in England, including, as we have seen, the King's divorce. So far the work was destructive. What was to come in place of the Pope? In 1534 the Act for the Election of Bishops secured that the Episcopal hierarchy should be appointed by the King, acting by *congé d'élire* through the cathedral chapters, and in the same

year the Act of Supremacy declared that the King should be 'accepted and reputed the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England.' Thus the new form of the Church in England was to be Erastian rather than papal, but it was still part of the Catholic Church though separately organized.

What was now to be the relation of the new Head of the Church towards the monastic bodies? There were many points for Henry to consider. The monasteries were often rich, and Henry needed money. They represented a form of Christianity which had done its work and had now many abuses. They were, above all, the champions of the papal power in England, and as such were the chief opponents of the new policy. Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's successor, saw that to crush the monasteries was to ensure Henry's power in Church and State. Henry, therefore, determined on their destruction, and, by virtue of his new power as Head of the Church, appointed Cromwell his Vicar General to visit and report upon the monasteries in 1535. Commissioners were sent round, and pronounced that the monks were often guilty of immorality, that their finances were often in an unsound condition, that their discipline generally was bad, and that they practised religious trickeries. In 1536, therefore, a bill was passed for the suppression of monasteries with an income of less than £200 a year, and their revenues were diverted to the Crown. In 1539 the suppression of the larger monasteries was sanctioned, and such pressure was brought to bear that most of them surrendered to the King. The results were far-reaching. The Crown had removed its greatest opponents, and the Pope had lost his best champions. Henry was suddenly in possession of a vast amount of wealth, with which he was able to supply his needs without too frequent an appeal to Parliament. More important still was the creation of a new nobility, with wealth and estates granted from the monastic property; for these families were bound to be willing supporters of the policy to which they owed their existence, and stood henceforth as the link in ecclesiastical matters between the impetuous monarch and the still apathetic nation. Six new bishoprics were created, with monastic churches for their cathedrals, and this was all that was secured from the spoils for the Church. The peasantry, too, had lost a good friend—their almsgiver, their hospital, their kindly landlord—and it was not long before the place of the monastery had to be supplied in part by the Elizabethan Poor Law.

Another question faced the new Head of the Church. What was to be his attitude towards changes of doctrine? Henry had wished to be rid of the Pope's jurisdiction, but he had no real desire to separate himself from the doctrine of the Church. He had proved his orthodoxy when, in 1521, he had defended the Seven Sacraments against Luther, and he remained attached to the old doctrines to the end of his life, though, by the force of circumstances and by his own opposition to the Pope, he was at times obliged to allow advances in the direction of reform of doctrine. At his side was Thomas Cranmer, whose whole desire was for reform, but whose scholarly training would allow no hurried or extreme changes. Cranmer reverently maintained all that was good in the past, while rapidly assimilating what was best in the new ideas; he was willing to act in harmony with the Continental reformers, but not to be led by them; throughout, his scholarly instinct shrank from the turmoil of politics, and even led him to appear a time-server. The Ten Articles given to the Church in 1536, after the dissolution of the Reformation Parliament, were his work, but show clearly the influence of the

Lutheran Confession of Augsburg. They stand for a conservative reformation, keeping what was felt to be good in the old faith and doctrine, allowing the veneration of saints and the belief in purgatory, but giving up the doctrine of transubstantiation, and emphasizing the authority of the Scriptures and Justification by Faith. These articles were explained at greater length in *The Institution of a Christian Man*, a book published by royal authority in 1537. The final step was taken in the publication of the Great Bible in 1538, which was ordered to be placed in every church so that it could be read by all. The translation was based on that of Miles Coverdale, which had closely followed that of Tindale, whose efforts had been rewarded by execution at Antwerp in 1536.

But Henry now began to be frightened. He had no desire to throw in his lot with the Continental reformers, or to break with the Church in which alone he felt his salvation secure. He distrusted the schemes of Cromwell for an alliance with Lutheranism, and the tendencies of Cranmer towards doctrinal change, and suddenly the new movement was checked by the Statute of Six Articles in 1539, which restored the old Roman Catholic doctrine, and enforced it with the punishment of forfeiture and death. The reaction was complete when, in 1540, Cromwell was executed. Cranmer's hopes were checked; he could only wait his time in the coming reign. For the rest of Henry's reign little was done in the way of change, and in 1547 the King died. Yet the Reformation had begun. It was still a political rather than a religious movement, but the old foundations of faith had been shaken, and the knowledge of the Scriptures was spreading. The most important class in the country, the new nobility, were on the side of change; the average man was uncertain what was the right attitude towards the beliefs of his childhood, but the idea of change was repugnant, and the new movement was as yet neither popular nor national. England stood isolated. She had broken with the mediæval Papacy, and yet had held aloof from the Continental reformers.

For the next twelve years, however, Continental religious influence was very important in England. It was now the second generation of the Reformers, and the earlier immature views of the first generation had given place to more clearly thought out systems on both sides. The leading Reformer was John Calvin, who worked out his system of discipline and doctrine at Geneva, 1541-1564. He was no conservative like Luther, but would have swept the ancient Catholic Church away and substituted a new Protestant Church based on the doctrine of Predestination, with the Scriptures, and not the authority of the Church, as its source of truth, and with simplicity as the ideal of worship. On the other hand, the existence of Protestantism had led the Catholic Church to reform itself from within, and the Counter-Reformation had begun. The Papacy was no longer immoral, but zealous, earnest, and religious. The establishment of the Inquisition, in 1542, rooted out heresy in the more Catholic countries, and the foundation of the order of Jesuits in 1543 gave the Church its new army of loyal soldiers pledged to carry its influence wherever they were sent. The Council of Trent, which sat first in 1545 and again in 1562, set forth the creed of the Church, and stated clearly what its doctrines were. Nor was the Church without the help of the secular arm, for in the House of Hapsburg, which ruled in Germany and in Spain, she had a champion who was ready to help, and who in the person of Philip II. of Spain was more zealous in the cause of Rome than the Popes themselves.

The reign of Edward VI. is the story of the growth of Swiss influence on the Church in England. The youthful King was in the hands of his Council, of which Cranmer was an important member; while the Protector, Somerset, uncle of the King, used his influence to secure that Edward should be himself an ardent reformer. The extremists obtained more and more power. Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer were among the new bishops, and it was clear that the Church could not stay where Henry had left it. The issue of the two Prayer Books of 1549 and 1552 is the most important event of the reign. A book for the common worship of the Church was a pressing necessity, and Cranmer accordingly tried to meet the need in the Prayer Book of 1549. It retained much of the spirit and teaching of the old uses, and, though Lutheran influence was strong, it was allowed only within strict limits. It combined into the two daily services the old offices of the monasteries, it included the whole of the Psalter, and required the lessons to be taken from the Old and New Testaments only, while in the Communion Service the name 'Mass' and the idea of sacrifice at an altar were retained, though the doctrine of transubstantiation gave way to that of consubstantiation. But this book was too moderate for the extreme reformers who were finding their hopes realized in Calvin. Under their influence Cranmer issued a second Prayer Book in 1552, in which the Communion Service ceased to be a Mass and became a mere memorial feast celebrated at a table, while in the daily services the invocation of the Virgin and of saints, with many similar mediæval practices, was abolished. Simplicity of ritual and the removal of all superstition were the avowed aims; and, while the authority of Cranmer secured some continuity with the Catholic worship of the past, the efforts of the extremists brought the services as close to the practices of Continental reformers as possible.

In 1553 Edward VI. died, and under his sister Mary the Counter-Reformation dominated England. Mary's one aim was to undo all that had been done since 1529, for not only was she a Roman Catholic by conviction, but with the restoration of the old faith her mother's honour was bound up. Her marriage with Philip II. of Spain linked her to the Counter-Reformation in its most extreme form. She began by restoring the papal jurisdiction over England, and secured the support of Parliament for this, except on the one point of the restitution of the monastic lands. Then she set to work to root out the new opinions by persecution. Between 1555 and 1558 many reformers were put to death, and hundreds more fled to the Continent. Ridley and Latimer were burnt, and in the death of Cranmer at the stake Mary felt that her mother's disgrace was avenged. Yet she had failed to stamp out the new religion. Instead she had succeeded in doing for it what neither Henry VIII. nor Edward VI. had done—she had made it popular. The nation, hitherto largely apathetic, now saw that Roman Catholicism meant Spanish influence and the fires of persecution, and a new sympathy sprang up with the faith for which martyrs could die. With a wise ruler a reformed and national Church might now be possible.

Under Elizabeth (1558-1603) the religious settlement was made which has ever since been the basis of the Church of England. Elizabeth was the last and greatest of the Tudors. The daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, she inherited all her father's statesmanship and all her mother's vanity. She meant to rule, but she knew how to keep the support of her people. The position at home was throughout largely dependent on the state of affairs abroad. Philip of Spain had sought, while husband

of Queen Mary, to restore England to the faith, and still worked for that end in alliance with Mary of Scotland, a Roman Catholic and Elizabeth's heir to the throne. National union in religion as well as in politics now became vital, for in the presence of foreign complications the very existence of England was at stake, and religion and politics were so interwoven in the struggle of Hapsburg and Valois, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, that loyalty and conformity, treason and Roman Catholicism, were almost synonymous. Thus, though Elizabeth sometimes did what was unpopular, she was still all-powerful, because her people knew that she stood between them and the Counter-Reformation in the person of either Mary or Philip. Her ecclesiastical ideal, therefore, was primarily that of a Church sufficiently broad to satisfy the great majority of Englishmen, and, if men conformed outwardly to its requirements, she was very willing to leave their private opinions alone. She sought to avoid the extremes of either Edward or Mary, and to restore the Church as it had been at the end of her father's reign; and under her guidance the Church of England did emerge from the struggle as a *via media* between Roman Catholicism and Continental Protestantism, combining truths from each, but not satisfying the pronounced supporters of either. In doctrine Elizabeth herself leaned towards Roman Catholicism, but her advisers were mostly inclined to moderate reform. The religious leaders themselves were disunited. There were the Anglicans, who looked back to the ideals of Cranmer, and wanted the Church to be Catholic but reformed. Such were Parker, Jewel, and Hooker. There were also the men who were soon to be called Puritans, many of whom had been in exile under Mary, and now looked to Calvin as their leader, and wanted to see the Church break with its Catholic past and re-organized on a Presbyterian basis. Such were Cartwright, Knox, and Sandys. It is the divergence between these two groups and the Queen's inclination towards the former that give the clue to the history of the Church in her reign.

The basis of the Church was settled in 1559. The Act of Supremacy restored the headship of the sovereign much as it had been in the days of Henry VIII., but it claimed that the jurisdiction was ancient and had since been usurped. The Acts of the Reformation Parliament were revived, and the clergy had to take an oath to maintain the royal supremacy. Side by side with this went the Act of Uniformity, requiring the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., with certain modifications, to be exclusively used in the churches under strict penalties. The chief modifications were in combining the sentences of the two Edwardian Prayer Books at the Communion Service, and in retaining the vestments allowed in the first Prayer Book. The jurisdiction over the Church and the form of the public services were thus provided for. The consecration of Matthew Parker, a careful and able leader with the ideals of Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury further secured the episcopal character of the national Church, and the care with which the ceremony was performed with full ritual emphasized the fact that the Church of England insisted on her catholicity and maintained the Apostolic Succession. This at once ruled out the Presbyterian ideal, and was a great blow to the Puritans.

There still remained the question of doctrine. What were the English clergy to teach, and what was the Englishman to believe? The different Churches which the Reformation had brought into being had already compiled sets of articles stating their beliefs; and in 1552 Cranmer had compiled the forty-two Articles setting forth the beliefs of

the Edwardian Church. In 1563 these were modified and reduced to thirty-nine, which have ever since remained the expression of the Anglican faith. Their essential characteristic was the appeal to the Scriptures. They explained the truths of Christianity on that authority alone, and forbore to insist on anything that might not be proved from it. They were intentionally framed so as to fetter men's opinions as little as possible wherever the Bible itself was not positive in its teaching, but they laid down certain general principles as to ritual and church government. Convocation, however, passed them only by a single vote, and Parliamentary sanction did not follow until 1571. Then the conflict began as to the amount of obedience to them to be required of the clergy.

The means for securing obedience lay in the High Commission Court, a body consisting of the archbishop and certain assessors, through whom the Queen exercised her supremacy and secured the obedience of the clergy to the ritual and doctrine of the Church. The court had summary powers of jurisdiction, and often acted with a high hand; but, so long as it acted only against Roman Catholics, who were felt to be disloyal to the throne and in league with England's enemies, the action was popular. When it turned its powers against the Puritans, who were steadily increasing in numbers, it became more and more unpopular, until in the next century it was both feared and hated.

The Church Settlement once made, the chief interest of the rest of the reign lay in the relation of the Church to the extremists who were still outside. The Roman Catholics who remained in England were at first kindly treated by Elizabeth, as she had no wish to provoke the leaders of the Counter-Reformation; but when in 1568 Mary of Scotland, an ardent Roman Catholic, was driven from her throne and fled to England, the case was changed. Philip of Spain was too dilatory to act by himself, and was involved in troubles in the Netherlands; but Mary was now the centre of Roman intrigues in the heart of England, and Roman Catholicism and disloyalty to Elizabeth became more and more synonymous, as plot after plot was discovered to set Mary on the throne. In 1570 the Pope declared Elizabeth deposed, thus definitely making loyalty to the sovereign incompatible with faithfulness to the Church of Rome. In 1579 the Jesuits poured over from Douai to convert England, and increased the unpopularity of Roman Catholicism by its association with secret intrigue. In 1584 the assassination of William of Orange under Jesuit influence, and the reckless plots for the removal of Elizabeth in favour of Mary, made the very existence of the latter intolerably dangerous. In 1587 she was executed, and militant Roman Catholicism in England had lost its leader. There still remained Philip of Spain, who had hitherto waited for a rising in England before he would act. He saw that, if England was to be saved for Roman Catholicism, he must strike at once; and in 1588 the Invincible Armada set sail, only to be defeated, scattered, and utterly destroyed. With that great deliverance England's terror of Spain and Roman Catholicism was gone. England and her Church could afford to neglect the danger, the more so that in 1589 the Protestant Henry IV. ascended the French throne and brought the wars of religion in that country to an end. England only marred her triumph by a persecuting statute against 'Popish recusants' in 1593.

The relations of the Church with the Puritans followed a somewhat similar course. As the most zealous of the Reformers, the Puritans grew more and more dissatisfied with the compromise of Elizabeth's Church, and their opposition increased in vigour, though the necessity of loyalty to the

Queen in face of Roman Catholic intrigue kept it within bounds. They remained within the Church, but were severe critics of its teaching and ritual; it was through their influence that the Articles had with such difficulty passed through Convocation; and Parker's *Advertisements* in 1565, requiring the use of the surplice by the clergy in church, met with strong opposition. With the great leader, Cartwright, the discontent was more pronounced, and even the episcopal organization of the Church was questioned. In his *Admonitions to Parliament* (1572), Cartwright urged a Presbyterian form of government, and in 1582 he drew up a Book of Discipline, by which the Church was to be divided into synods and presbyteries, and the Prayer Book superseded by a Directory of Public Worship. Parliament, thanks to the influence of the Queen, rejected all these schemes, and subscription to the Articles was made more stringent than before. Finally, the Puritan opposition degenerated into libel, and the Martin Marprelate tracts of 1588 hurled scurrilous attacks at the triumphant bishops, who a little later, in 1593, secured themselves by a persecuting statute. Yet still the peace was kept, and the Puritan almost invariably remained a nominal, if dissatisfied, member of the Church, which, almost against its will, grew richer and stronger and broader for these very varieties of view. This breadth of outlook was seen in the writings of some of its leaders. Parker was himself a genuine scholar, and Whitgift was an able advocate of the Church; but in men like Jewel and Hooker the new Church found apologists of the first rank, the greatness of whose defence may be gauged by the almost unchanged value of their work. The plea was made good that the Church of England was Catholic, that it was reformed, and that the institution of Episcopacy and the authority of the Scriptures were both essential to her development.

In 1603 the great Queen died—lonely and majestic, the idol of her people to the end. She had brought the Church through the troubles of the 16th cent., and laid the foundations of its future development. She had satisfied the nation's need for a national Church, and left England the leading Protestant State in Europe. The troubles of the Church in the century to come were happily hidden from her eyes.

5. The 17th century.—The Elizabethan Church had been created at a time when the country was in danger, and patriotism itself required that the nation should oppose a united front in religious as in political matters. The sovereign who had created it was absolutely English, and her life was standing between her people and grave danger from without. In the 17th cent. the Church of the *via media* had to face the growing opposition of the two extremes under very different conditions. The stress of foreign danger was past, and it was no longer a want of patriotism, but rather a moral obligation, to make effective the long pent-up discontent with the national Church; while, further, Protestantism on the Continent was often in danger during the century, and the English nation, growing more Protestant by conviction, desired to play a part in the defence of its faith abroad. On the other hand, the Tudors, the most English of English dynasties, were now succeeded by the Stuarts, who remained foreigners in thought and feeling until they ceased to reign. The earlier Stuarts, especially, never understood their people, and they made the fundamental mistake of regarding the particular conditions of Church and State which had existed under Elizabeth as inherent in the nature of things.

During the century religious and political questions were still closely connected. The political

ideal of the nation was liberty, and the class of landowners who were taking the place of the old nobility were determined to secure it. Against this the Stuarts opposed their political maxim of the Divine Right of Kings. This meant absolutism, and was therefore diametrically opposed to the national aspirations. In religious affairs the monarchy strove to maintain the Church as Elizabeth had left it, enforcing its Catholic and Episcopalian nature and forcibly suppressing dissent. In return the Church preached passive obedience, and made the absolutism of the Crown a matter of faith. The result was that the dynasty and the nation were opposed both in politics and religion; the nation saw that the bishops were checking their religious hopes, and the King their political liberty; and more and more Puritanism gained ground among the political leaders. The Church was making the mistake of depending upon the King rather than upon the people, and was therefore inevitably involved in his disasters.

At the outset both Roman Catholics and Puritans expected much from James I. (1603–1625). The Roman Catholics saw in him the son of their late leader, Mary of Scotland; the Puritans looked to him as king of the country where their Presbyterian ideals were triumphant. But the enforcement of the recusancy laws soon showed the Roman Catholics that James was determined to maintain the attitude of Elizabeth, and the discovery in 1605 of the Gunpowder Plot to blow up James and his Parliament and to secure a Roman Catholic successor served only to justify their increasingly severe treatment. This continued for the rest of the reign, except during the King's negotiations for a Roman Catholic wife for his son, when he was forced to relax the laws in particular cases. The Puritans, too, were quickly undeceived. The 'millenary' petition which they presented led to the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, which was to decide whether the Church should make any concessions in the direction of Puritanism. The attitude of James and the bishops proved harsh and uncompromising, and the Puritans had to wait many years for their desired changes in doctrine and ritual. But there was one lasting result of this conference. A new translation of the Bible was ordered, and in 1611 appeared the Authorized Version, which has moulded English thought and literature ever since. It was a priceless gift to the real religion of the people. In 1617 Puritanism was again repulsed by the King's issue of the Book of Sports, which encouraged games on Sundays after morning service, for in their eyes this degraded the holiness of the Sabbath. It was over foreign affairs, however, that the King made himself most unpopular with their party, for it was in this reign that the great Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany. Protestantism, which for sixty years had lived at peace with Roman Catholicism, had now, in 1618, come to blows with it, and the Protestant leader, James's son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, was being thoroughly beaten. Here was England's opportunity to fight in defence of her religion. National feeling was deeply stirred, and Parliament wished to strike a decisive blow against Roman Catholic Austria. But James held back, and tried instead a futile series of negotiations. At his death the breach between Puritanism and the monarchy had grown wider, and with this new factor, that Puritanism was not now a dissatisfied minority, but was beginning to represent the majority.

With the reign of Charles I. (1625–1649) came the climax of the struggle. Was Elizabeth's settlement final, or was it to be superseded by a Church basing its teaching and administration on Calvinism? It was a mighty struggle, for the leaders on

both sides fought with an intense conviction of the justice of their cause. Charles himself was loyal to the Church and an enthusiastic admirer of it; but he did not understand the Puritans, and was never wise enough to know when to yield. Earnest and high-minded himself, he ruined all by his obstinacy, and his very loyalty to the Church dragged it down with him in his ruin. At the King's side stood Laud, made Bishop of London in 1628, and Archbishop in 1633. He was the guiding spirit of Anglicanism; his ideal, like that of Cranmer and Parker, was the maintenance of the Catholicity of the English branch of the Church. To him Puritanism represented merely a breach with the past of the Church, and schism from the one corporate whole. He saw the surest guarantee for the guarding of this Catholicity in uniformity of outward worship, and therefore set himself to crush out all that tended to irregularity of ritual. He declared that the Thirty-nine Articles were to be taken literally, and might not be construed to spell Calvinism. He required the holy table to be placed at the east end of churches, and railed in, that the Eucharist might be more decently celebrated. He reformed the cathedrals, and set the example of a daily, well-conducted service at St. Paul's. He had a great ideal, worthy of fulfilment, but he was not the man to carry it out. He was too overbearing, too interfering, too little in sympathy with the nation. Above all, he incurred fear and hatred by his development of the powers of the High Commission Court, where all offences against his requirements received summary and drastic punishment. Puritanism stood aghast. To it this meant not Catholicity, but Romanism; not government, but persecution; and, as such, it was to be thrust aside by voluntary exile, if not forcibly resisted. Besides this, Charles was governing arbitrarily during these years (1629-1640) without any Parliament, and it was again Laud who was his close adviser. If once the opportunity arose, Laud would now find that it was Puritanism, and not Anglicanism, that had the nation behind it. In 1637 such an opportunity came. The Scots rose as one man against the attempt to assimilate Presbyterian Scotland to Episcopal England; and, when Charles and Laud tried to punish them, their weakness was at once apparent. In their need of an army, they were forced to call the Long Parliament into being in 1640, and with the meeting of that famous Parliament it seemed as though Laud's work were to be undone for ever. He was at once impeached and imprisoned, and in 1644 he was executed.

For some time the battle raged round Episcopacy. A bill for its abolition failed to pass in 1641, for the country at large desired modification rather than abolition. But in 1642 war broke out between Charles and the Parliament, and, with a view to obtaining the help of Presbyterian Scotland, Parliament abolished Episcopacy in England, and in 1643 made the Solemn League and Covenant, which established Presbyterianism in its place. Then, when the Civil War went on and Charles was struggling with the Parliament and the army, the Westminster Assembly of Scottish and English Puritans (1643-1647) was drawing up the scheme for making the Church of England Presbyterian. It was the ideal of Cartwright realized. The Articles were modified, and all clergy were required to take the Covenant. Instead of the Prayer Book a Directory of Public Worship was drawn up, and church government was handed over to ministers, elders, and deacons arranged in various assemblies. The doctrines of English Presbyterianism were set forth in the Longer and Shorter Catechisms. All Laud's system was thus superseded by his triumphant opponents, who now had their committees in various

districts to punish the 'Malignants,' as they themselves had been punished by Laud. The various ornaments of glass and stone in the churches were consistently destroyed, and bare simplicity of ritual and worship was enforced. Anglicanism was wholly proscribed, and, under the storm which burst upon it, scarcely dared lift up its head. The weaker clergy subscribed, and the stronger lived in penury and hoped for better days.

Presbyterianism was not really an English product. It had been forced on Parliament by the need of the Scottish alliance, and it was supported by Parliament, but it never became popular with the nation. As the war went on, power passed from Parliament to the army and its leader, Oliver Cromwell, and Cromwell's aim was not Presbyterianism but Independency. He had been taught by the necessity of securing good soldiers, that, provided a man was religious, the form of his religion did not so much matter. His ideal, in short, was toleration, but within strict limits. The political exigencies of the time made it impossible to tolerate Roman Catholicism or Anglicanism, but independence of faith he could and did uphold. For five years (1653-1658) England was a Republic under a very strong dictator; Presbyterianism was its leading form of faith, but Independency flourished under many forms. The one essential was piety, and it seemed as though the time had at last come when the tenets a man held mattered less than what he really was. Cromwell felt that it was his mission to establish God's Kingdom on earth in the rule of the saints, and in 1653 he secured a Parliament of such saints, only to find them too impractical for the needs of good government. Within the Church he abolished subscription to Articles, and substituted a general engagement to be true and faithful to the government established. But some kind of test for ministers was found necessary, and so Boards of Triers were set up, who had to inquire into the fitness of candidates and eject the unsuitable from their cures. Sometimes there was persecution, and the Anglican clergy were little better off under Cromwell than they had been under the Parliament. Among the mass of the laity an outward appearance of piety became as necessary as good manners in other times. It was a high ideal, but Cromwell made two mistakes. The country was not peopled with saints but with sinners, and, that being so, it was vain to force piety on them by the power of the government. The attempt could only produce hypocrisy in many who pretended to be religious, and disgust in others who longed for the days of freedom and pleasure. With the death of Cromwell in 1658 his work collapsed. The rule of his son was a failure, and the Restoration of 1660 was the only alternative. Cromwell had dared grandly and failed grandly. Puritanism as a religious and political system had been tried and found wanting, but as an influence on the lives and thoughts of Englishmen it has lived on ever since, and has definitely left its mark on the religious element in the British national character. The Reformation, as Elizabeth left it, had been popular and national, but it had not perhaps touched the deepest side of the life of the individual, while Laud's earnest efforts had been focused upon his ideal for the religious corporate life of the nation. But henceforth the spirit of personal earnestness was to enrich those who remained loyal to the Church of England, as truly as those who differed from it.

With the Restoration of Charles II. (1660-1685) the Church of England came to its own again. The reaction from the rule of Puritanism was overwhelming, and the late unpopularity of Crown and Church was succeeded by a wild outburst of loyalty

to both. It seemed as if the last twenty years were to be blotted out, and the work of the Church might be taken up where Laud had laid it down. This was, indeed, the attitude of the leaders of the Church, who were now restored to power; and there was, too, a feeling of triumph after their years of humiliation, as they realized the support of the nation now rejoicing in its release from overzealous religious control. This was also the desire of Lord Clarendon, Charles's Prime Minister. To him the Church was the nation regarded from the religious point of view, and dissent from its requirements must be punished. Persecution, however, was the name which those who suffered gave to this policy, and their cause was soon championed by Lord Shaftesbury, who sought to secure some measure of toleration. For this he saw only one means—the exaltation of the royal power as a counter-balance to the Parliament, which was so uncompromisingly Anglican. But Charles was scarcely the man to play an important religious part. Indolent and pleasure-seeking, loving power, yet wise enough to know when to yield, he was quite willing to grant toleration by his own royal power, but his eyes were fixed only on the Roman Catholics, while Shaftesbury was thinking of the Puritans. Parliament would have no toleration at all which threatened its own power, and so for the present all schemes failed.

For the next thirty years the struggle between Puritans and Anglicans was not merely continued, with the positions reversed, but an old difficulty in new form was facing the Church of England in the revival of militant Roman Catholicism. It was no longer Spain that gave England cause for alarm, but France under Louis XIV. He had become King in 1643, and tried to make France the foremost country in Europe, and Roman Catholicism its religion. England, whose Puritanism had left her zealously Protestant, watched him at first calmly, then with growing distrust, as the suspicion gained ground that Charles was at heart a Roman Catholic, and secretly in league with Louis. Then the danger, which seemed to have ended with the Armada, became once again a very real thing to Englishmen, and a terror of Roman Catholicism swept over the country.

Immediately after the return of Charles II. a Parliament was called, which swept away all the Acts passed since 1642, and restored Anglicanism. The Episcopate was revived, and in 1661 the Savoy Conference was held to consider any alterations in Church or Prayer Book desired by the Puritans. Practically all the changes suggested were refused, and, although the Prayer Book issued in 1661 in the form in which we now know it contained some alterations, these were not in a Puritan direction. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity required its use in all churches throughout the country, and enforced subscription to the Articles from all the clergy. This was decisive, and Puritanism left the Church rather than obey. Under Elizabeth or Laud it had remained a dissatisfied minority within the Church, but since 1640 it had been in power and it could no longer return to the old position. So those clergymen who could not obey seceded from the Church, and modern Nonconformity, outside the Church, had begun. Clarendon next turned upon the seceders, in a series of repressive statutes. The Corporation Act in 1661 had already excluded Nonconformists from local government; in 1664 the Conventicle Act suppressed under severe penalties all religious meetings which did not use the Prayer Book, and in 1665 the Five Mile Act forbade any Nonconformist minister to be found within five miles of a town. It was a sad revenge for Anglicanism to take, and the Church was to suffer later. Charles and Shaftesbury tried to

check this by the issue of a royal Declaration of Indulgence in 1662, but the opposition of Parliament was so strong that it had to be withdrawn.

But by 1670 the Church had more to do to defend herself from fear of the Roman Catholics than to persecute the Puritans, for in that year Charles and Louis made the Treaty of Dover, to fight the Protestant Dutch, and—though it was not known at the time—to restore Roman Catholicism in England. As his part of the bond, Charles issued a second Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, but this time, Shaftesbury, in face of the danger from Louis, realized the King's aims and turned against him. The Test Act was passed by an anxious Parliament in 1673, requiring all officers in army, navy, or civil service to take the Holy Communion according to the Anglican rite. Charles recoiled, but suddenly the storm burst forth in greater fury than before. In 1678 a Popish Plot was said to be discovered, which threatened the nation with a Jesuit invasion and the assassination of the King. A panic seized the nation, and any hope that Charles may have had of converting it to his own faith vanished. In the excitement a bill to exclude James, the Roman Catholic brother of Charles, from the throne was brought before Parliament by Shaftesbury, but this was too bold a stroke, and the resentment which it provoked for various reasons was strong enough to enable Charles to dissolve Parliament in 1681. When he died in 1685, the monarchy was all the stronger for the reaction from the unworthy panic after the Popish Plot and the failure of this attempt to tamper with the succession. But with the accession of James II. (1685–1688) the worst fears of the nation were quickly revived. An avowed Roman Catholic was on the throne, and Louis in the same year gave England a hint of what militant Roman Catholicism could do in his revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had secured toleration for the Huguenots. When James proceeded to try to force his religion upon the country which had now been Protestant for a hundred years, the nation prepared for the struggle. Parliament refused to allow James to dispense with the Test Act. The efforts of James to force Roman Catholic officers into the army, his high-handed appointment of Roman Catholic Fellows to Oxford colleges, and, above all, his requirement in 1688 that the clergy should read from their pulpits his Declaration of Indulgence brought matters to a climax. Seven Bishops petitioned against the reading of the Declaration, and when brought to trial for treason were pronounced not guilty. The sequel to the trial was the invitation to William of Orange to come and save the country. Before him James fled, and in 1689 William and Mary ascended the throne.

During the hundred years since Elizabeth's settlement, each of the three great parties had thus sought to master the Church, and, national though the Church might be, the lesson of the century was that no one form would command the allegiance of the whole nation, and the great problem which remained unsolved was the right attitude of the Church to those who dissented from it. What the 17th cent. had taught was that persecution was not the right method to adopt. Triumphant Anglicanism under Charles I. and Charles II. had persecuted Puritanism and Roman Catholicism, only to be persecuted in its turn. Triumphant Puritanism had persecuted when its opportunity came, and the wild reaction of the Restoration was the result. For a moment Roman Catholicism had tried to force itself upon the Church and beat down opposition. It had only been driven out. Enforced conformity had been found to fail, and toleration by royal prerogative

had failed too. If the Church of England was to survive as the national Church, the right attitude towards dissent must soon be found.

6. The 18th century.—The Revolution of 1688 brought about entirely new relations between Church and State. The Church, which had been teaching Passive Obedience to the Lord's Anointed, was in a difficult position, for the Lord's Anointed was in exile because he was a Roman Catholic, and William III., his successor, ruled not in virtue of Divine right but by a Parliamentary title. Again, in William the supremacy over the Church was held by one who was not of its communion, but a Calvinist more in sympathy with the Puritans. All political power, further, was for some time in the hands of the Whigs, who were supported by the Dissenters, and were unfavourable to the old claims of Anglicanism. Both monarch and parliament therefore were at last ready to consider the demands of those who were dissatisfied with the Church, and the Church itself was too uncertain about its loyalty to be in a position to offer much resistance. Thus the gift of William III. to the nation was toleration.

William's own views were in favour of comprehension. The administration of the Church might be so widened as to comprehend the Dissenters, and the distinctive tenets of Anglicanism be so modified as to satisfy Puritanism. Neither Parliament nor Convocation would agree to this; therefore the only path was that of toleration. Dissent must be recognized and legalized as a body outside the Church, and the fact of the secession of 1662 became a recognized basis of the religious life of England. This was the meaning of the Toleration Act of 1689, which exempted from attendance at church all persons taking an oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns and making a declaration against Popery. They might meet for religious worship as they pleased, provided they subscribed to the articles which did not deal with the distinctive doctrines or ritual of the Church. It was a great step forward, but it was some time yet before the new principle was understood. Thus, during the last four years of Queen Anne, Anglicanism was again triumphant in the support of the Queen. In 1710 a sermon preached against the Dissenters by Dr. Sacheverell gave expression to the reaction, and more than one act was passed to exclude them from all share in administration or education. But these acts were repealed in the first year of George I.'s reign, and the principle of toleration held good, at least as regarded worship. The Corporation and Test Acts still excluded Dissenters from local government and the civil services, but during the 18th cent. these acts were evaded by annual bills of indemnity for those who disobeyed them. The acts remained on the Statute book, however, to mark the supremacy of the national Church.

The predominant party in the Church during the century from 1689 to 1789 was the Latitudinarian. The more zealous Anglican could not reconcile it with his conscience to take the oath to the new King, and therefore seceded from the Church as a Non-juror. This was a great loss to the Church, depriving it of much spiritual energy which it sadly needed in the following years. Latitudinarianism desired to avoid the heat of the last hundred years, and to show the reasonableness and breadth of the Christianity taught by the Church of England. The way was being prepared for this under William III. and Anne by men like Tillotson and Tenison, but it was not until after the accession of the House of Hanover in 1714 that the real era of Latitudinarianism began. Then for two generations or more there seemed little in the Christianity of the Church of England to distinguish it

from natural religion, and enthusiasm and religious commotion were kept out at all costs. With this idea before them Walpole and Queen Caroline made their appointments and guided the Church. Two results followed. One was that more and more the Church lost its hold on the nation at large, for there was no appeal to the emotions, and the cold reasonableness of the faith put forward produced apathy among most who heard it. Never was there a time when religion in England was at a lower ebb, or when vice was coarser and more shameless. Yet the other result was that the stress laid on the head rather than on the heart as the seat of religion produced an extraordinary body of Christian learning. It was the great age of Anglican apologetics, and book after book appeared dealing with the cardinal doctrines of Christianity and Anglicanism. The opposition, too, was great, but orthodoxy won all along the line. It is this intellectual triumph which gives the Latitudinarian era its importance. The struggle raged mainly round the doctrines of Revelation and the Divinity of Christ, and round subscription to the Articles. Revelation was denied by the Deists, of whom the most important was Matthew Tindal. His work, *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, was designed to show that all the truths of Christianity were to be found in natural religion, and so far as it taught anything new it was false. There was no place for any special revelation. Many men wrote against the Deists, but their work was put into the shade by Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature* (1736). In this Butler took the Deist's standpoint that there was a God who was an intelligent Author and Ruler of the universe, and showed that the difficulties which were alleged against any particular revelation of Himself were only analogous to those found when men sought to find Him through the works of Nature. The great guide in religion, as in life, was not certainty but probability. The *Analogy* was an immediate and abiding success, and Deism never recovered from the blow. Later in the century some opponents of Christianity took an atheistic attitude, but atheists were never in England the force they were in France.

The controversy concerning the Divinity of Christ was of course a struggle among Christians. It dealt with the fundamental question at the very root of Christianity which had, indeed, been settled by the defeat of Arianism, but had come up again in every age. The controversy arose after the publication in 1695 of John Locke's treatise, *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, in which he showed that, while the New Testament was the basis of Christianity, there were in it none of those later definitions of Christ's personality found in the creeds. The greatest champion of Arianism was Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, who, in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* (1712), set forth that the Father alone was Supreme God, and the Son a Divine Being only in so far as divinity was communicable by this Supreme God. Daniel Waterland, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, was the chief champion of orthodoxy, and in a series of works between 1719 and 1734, in vindication of Christ's Divinity, he showed that Christ must be all that orthodoxy claimed, or He must be mere man, and that every middle position which would make Him neither truly Divine nor merely human was impossible. The logical outcome of the position of his opponents was Unitarianism.

Out of this controversy arose the resistance to requiring subscription to the Articles. Could Articles of Religion framed in the 16th cent.

really be held as binding in the 18th? The struggle began with Hoadly, a favourite Court preacher, and Bishop of Bangor, and so is often known as the 'Bangorian Controversy.' He urged, in a book written in 1716, that the only necessity for a clergyman was sincerity, and that Articles and tests were useless and reactionary. This produced many replies and a condemnation from Convocation. The general feeling of the Church was strongly against Hoadly, for it was felt that in this struggle much was involved that was vital to a Church which cared intensely for its Catholic inheritance from the past; and Waterland, in the case of Arian subscription (1721), put forcibly the dangers of trifling with the Articles. In the middle of the century many others wrote against the burden of subscription, and several clergymen openly avowed that they subscribed without literally believing the doctrines involved. In 1772 a petition was presented to Parliament in favour of the abolition of subscription, but it failed, for the movement was still only that of a small minority, and the Church as a whole felt that the faith once delivered to the saints must be preserved by the existing tests for those who were ordained to teach it. One serious result followed the condemnation of Hoadly by Convocation, for that body was at once prorogued by the Crown and did not sit again for a hundred and thirty years. During that time, therefore, there was no organized body which could speak for the Church. Individual bishops or clergymen might publish their opinions, but the Church as a whole was left voiceless.

In the minds of the thoughtful few such controversies strengthened the position of the Church, but they hardly touched the mass of the nation. With the peace that followed the Hanoverian succession and the rule of Walpole (1720-1742), England developed in prosperity and population, but the Church did not expand to meet the new needs. Enthusiasm had been ruled out, and now it was precisely this enthusiasm that was needed to make religion appeal to the mass of Englishmen. It was to satisfy this need and to touch men's lives by an appeal to heart rather than head that Methodism arose.

Methodism was the outcome of the life and work of John Wesley (1703-1791), and it was the greatest religious fact of the 18th century. John Wesley was brought up as a member of the Church of England, and became earnest in his religious life while a young Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. After some experience of the colonies, he came under the influence of the Moravians in 1738, and was convinced of the truth of the doctrine of conscious conversion. 'Ye must be born again' was henceforth a cardinal point in his teaching, and he set to work to preach this doctrine and the necessarily enthusiastic life of devotion to God in Christ which must result. This brought him into conflict with the Church, which hated emotional religion. The pulpits were closed to him, and gradually Wesley was forced to realize that the Church had cast him out.

He had gathered together into societies those who were converted, in order that in each parish they might meet together for mutual help and comfort. Such societies were meant to help spiritual life within the Church, but instead of this they were persecuted and driven into separation, until they became, not its support, but its rival. But while the followers of Wesley found that the Church repudiated them, the nation realized its need of the gospel of which the Church had lost sight and which the Methodists claimed to preach. To the neglected masses of the nation, therefore, the Methodists

went, and once again religion came to touch their hearts and lives, and their roughness and their evil living gave place to piety and the fear of God.

There was little difference from the Church of England in actual doctrines; the difference lay rather in the relative emphasis laid upon them. To the Methodist it was momentary conversion rather than baptism that was regarded as the beginning of the Christian life; it was the sermon of edification rather than communion that was the centre of the common services. The more the Methodists increased and realized their mission, the more their organization developed, and with it their rivalry with the Church. The Class-meeting as the foundation of their membership, the Love-Feasts and Fellowship meetings, their tickets of membership from the minister, their lay preachers and superintendents all tended to make their organization so complete that, when Wesley died in 1791, the secession was only a matter of months.

The greatness of Wesley's influence is seen in a comparison between England and France. In France the leaders of the Revolution cast off religion altogether, and the instability and lawlessness of the years that followed were the result. In England, when the time of upheaval came, the masses had been touched by the religion of the Methodists, and they remained on the whole godly and law-abiding. The effect of Methodism upon the Church was no less important. The Evangelical Revival was the direct result of Wesley's work, and that revival became the dominant influence in the Church at the beginning of the 19th century. Yet the loss was enormous, for the schism has only widened with the years, making the outward unity of the Church in England ever more difficult to realize. For this, however, the blame must attach to the Church and not to Wesley.

It was thus, then, that the Church of England passed through the hundred years following the Revolution of 1688. Outwardly the century seemed dull and uninteresting, but an age which saw toleration become an actual fact, even though within strict limits, which saw the truths of Christianity once again stated in a way that silenced opposition, and which saw a popular revival of religion that has influenced the labouring classes to this day, was an age which enriched, ennobled, and enlightened both the nation and its Church.

7. The 19th century.—The thirty years which followed 1789 saw the direct effect of Wesley's work in the Evangelical Revival. A deeper sense of religion came back into the everyday life of churchmen, and the apathy of the preceding century was exchanged for a quickened zeal in the service of God. The revival is connected with many honoured names. Its leader was Charles Simeon (1782-1836), who, as Fellow of King's College and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, was the teacher of hundreds who went out to become clergymen throughout England. There were also men like John Newton, Vicar of Olney, and John Venn, Rector of Clapham, who gathered round him such a powerful congregation that it was known as the Clapham Sect. There was Bishop Porteous of London (1787-1809), who was in favour of the new opinions, but did much to steady the enthusiasm of some of the clergy. Among the laity were men like William Wilberforce, who was a member of Venn's congregation at Clapham; William Cowper, who lived at Olney and composed some of the most beautiful hymns of the time; and Robert Raikes, who founded Sunday Schools at Gloucester; while Hannah More, by her writings and personality, wielded a strong influence over the upper classes.

No rigid line can of course be drawn as to the

extent of the power of Evangelicalism. Roughly speaking, it may perhaps be said that, as Methodism proper touched the working classes, Evangelicalism appealed to the middle classes, the shop-keeper, and the business man. The two movements together brought back to the bulk of Englishmen that enthusiasm in religion which the earlier 18th cent. had derided. In many and many a household an earnest piety was the result. The aristocracy stood largely aloof, but the future of England lay with the classes to whom religion had again become a real thing.

Two other characteristics of Evangelicalism must be noticed. One was its individualistic nature. Its essence was the devotion of the individual to his Divine Lord, and the new life which resulted from it, rather than any idea of the corporate life of the whole body of Christians. It did immense good in thousands of individual lives throughout the Church, but it did little directly towards furthering the common life of the whole, of which those individuals were members. In many cases it even weakened the idea of the Church, for often the more earnest of the Evangelicals found the principles of the Methodists more congenial than the restrictions of the Church, and many therefore became Nonconformists. But in spite of this limitation the good effect of this individual religious zeal was incalculable. The other characteristic of Evangelicalism was its philanthropy. One after another of its leaders was distinguished for his zeal in the practical service of mankind. The abolition of the slave trade and of the possession of slaves will always be associated with the name of William Wilberforce. The foundation of the National Society in 1811 was largely connected with the Evangelicals, and marked their interest in the beginning of elementary education. The work of John Howard in prison reform was helped on by members of this school, while closely allied to these efforts was the foundation of two societies which have been of inestimable benefit in the service of humanity—the Church Missionary Society in 1799, and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804.

The great Reform Bill of 1832, which marks an epoch in the constitutional development of England, was also of immense importance in the history of the Church. Reform was in the air, and old institutions which could not justify themselves must be emended or removed. Reform as applied to the Church had already meant much. In 1823 the Corporation and Test Acts had been repealed, and so the Nonconformists had been put on a civil equality with Churchmen. In 1829, against the most violent opposition, and amidst the wildest excitement, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act had been passed, and Roman Catholics also received equal civil rights. But the Church was still established; it was still the recognized Church of the nation. In that fact lay at once its strength and its weakness.

In the next few years the Church had to pass through an important crisis in its existence. For more than a hundred years the spiritual ideal of the Church as a corporate body with a Divine life had been obscured. The Latitudinarians had forgotten it, and the Evangelicals had thought rather of the religious life of the individual. So far as the Church was thought of, it was thought of by most men as the Establishment, whose existence and power depended on the support of the State. When, therefore, in 1832 the nation suddenly awoke to the duties and responsibilities of self-government, was it possible that the Church of the nation should remain content with no higher an ideal than Erastianism? The answer to that question was the Oxford Movement. In 1833 a group

of Fellows of Oxford Colleges met together and determined to emphasize the Divine basis of the Church of England as a branch of the Catholic Church throughout the world, by publishing a series of *Tracts for the Times*, which should deal with the main points in her teaching and administration. They were men of great power and learning. Newman was at Oriel and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Pusey at Christchurch, Hurrell Froude, William Palmer, and John Keble were at Oriel, and Isaac Williams at Trinity. For eight years the *Tracts* continued to appear, and men began to realize that religion was not merely a matter for the individual, but that the Catholicity of the Church of England was a fundamental fact. The Elizabethan reformers and Laud had known this, but, because it had since been forgotten, the ideal of Catholicity and the fact of Roman Catholicism had become confused in the minds of Englishmen at large. In 1841 the crisis came. If the English Church were Catholic, what really was the relation of her Thirty-nine Articles to the doctrines of Roman Catholicism? Were they antagonistic or similar? In the famous Tract 90, Newman laid stress on the common Catholic doctrines of the two Churches, and the Tract was accordingly condemned by the authorities of the University of Oxford. A great outcry was raised throughout the kingdom, and not only was Tract 90 condemned, but all the others were branded as 'Popish' and disloyal to the Church of England. The series was at once stopped, and the leaders of the movement began to split into two parties: the one felt more and more that the Catholic position of the Church of England was unsound, and that the only true Catholic Church was that of Rome; the other held to the original position of the writers of the Tracts, and clung to their own Church as also of Divine origin. The schism was complete when in 1845 Newman and many of his friends seceded to the Church of Rome.

In spite of this disaster, the Tractarian movement has done immense good to the Church of England. It has restored the lost sense of its corporate unity and Divine basis. The later movements of the century, with their remarkable development of Church life, received their impetus from this revival at Oxford in the thirties. These movements are connected with the work of the Church at home, its treatment of ritual and intellectual questions, its expansion abroad, and the growth of self-government.

(a) The enormous industrial and political changes which transformed the nation during the 19th cent. produced corresponding changes in the organization and administration of the Church. The basis of this development was the quiet growth of life in the ecclesiastical unit, the parish. The ideal of common Christian life has been high, and to realize it churches have been built, parish-rooms founded, and clubs and societies and meetings of all kinds started in connexion with the church of the parish. All this is familiar now, but it was the growth of the 19th century. It has been carried out at some cost, for the zeal for organization has sometimes grown at the expense of other valuable sides of spiritual life. There has been a great expenditure by churchmen on these new forms of work, and the financial help of the Ecclesiastical Commission has been invaluable. Since the formation of this Commission in England in 1836, the revenues of the Church have been ably administered and grants made for the increase of the revenues of poor benefices, for the provision of curates, and for building new churches. Much of its help has been given only on condition that voluntary help was forthcoming, thus affording a great means of developing the liberality of individuals.

The changes in national life brought the Church face to face with new social problems. Parliament was doing its best to solve these problems by measures like the Poor Law, the Factory Acts, and measures for the control of housing; and churchmen played their part in securing these reforms. A notable little band of men about the uneasy times of 1848 were known as the Christian Socialists, led by F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and Thomas Hughes. In later times has come the growth of University Settlements, which have helped to bring the rich into closer contact with the poor; and the growth of school and college missions has done much to keep the young in touch with great social needs while their education is going on. The Oxford House in East London, and the Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Rugby missions are only typical of many similar efforts elsewhere. There is also the wider work of such organizations as the Church Army (*q.v.*) for the lowest classes, and the Church Lads' Brigade to touch the boys of the working classes. But the most important relation of the Church to social questions is the quiet work going on in every parish throughout the kingdom, where the clergy and their helpers relieve the wants of poverty and organize remedies to meet it.

Another form of social work is education. Here, too, the Church was active throughout the century. No national system of elementary education existed before 1870, but the Church had endeavoured to meet the need by the provision of schools in many parishes, where the doctrines of the Church as well as secular subjects should be taught. The National Society was founded for this purpose in 1811, and by 1833, when the first government grant was made, it had provided nearly 700 schools. By 1870 there was accommodation in such schools for over a million and a third children. The Act of 1870 set up a new type of school, the Board School, in which no denominational teaching was allowed, and the two types of school have existed side by side ever since, the activity of the Church enabling it to maintain its old schools and erect new. When, in 1891, elementary education was made free, there was a considerably larger number of children in Church Schools than in Board Schools, and, though the proportion is now gradually being reversed, there was still more than half the number of children being educated in Church Schools at the end of the 19th century. Nor must we forget the quiet educational work of the Sunday Schools in each parish, where week by week thousands of children are trained in the Anglican faith. Besides this relation to elementary education, the Church has immense influence over secondary education, for most of the public schools are governed by churchmen. The wealthier classes are thus trained as members of the Church, while the atmosphere of the older Universities, though far freer than it was, is also to a large extent Anglican. The training of the clergy themselves has also been greatly improved by the foundation of Theological Colleges in many dioceses.

The culmination of all this activity at home has been the growth of the Episcopate. At the beginning of the century there were still but twenty-six bishops, as there had been at the Reformation, and an increase was almost unthought of. But with the Ecclesiastical Commission a re-arrangement and an increase of dioceses began. The diocese of Ripon was created in 1836, that of Manchester in 1847, those of St. Albans and Truro in 1877, and since then seven new sees have been created, and others are in contemplation. The Episcopate has been further increased by the creation of suffragan bishops, who are attached to

the diocesan bishops as their assistants, and are indispensable for the more populous dioceses. The first of these was consecrated in 1870, and there are now twenty-eight. As against this increase in activity must be set off the apparent check to the Church in Ireland by its disestablishment in 1869. But, though this roused great opposition at the time, it has on the whole been an advantage to that Church. For it was never the national Church as it is in England, and its greater freedom and power of self-control, coupled with the good administration of the funds placed at its disposal, have made it more active and efficient than before.

(b) During the 19th cent. the Church has been face to face with new forms of truth, and intellectual problems of new kinds have been thrust upon her. Natural science raised new questions as to the nature of the material universe and its relation towards God, while historical research introduced a new science of textual criticism, and at first it was difficult for the Church to adjust her doctrines to these newer forms of truth. In 1859 appeared Darwin's *Origin of Species*, which seemed, with its theory of evolution, to controvert the received ideas about creation. In 1860 the famous *Essays and Reviews* were published, with the hope of helping more thoughtful men to see that the new forms of truth were not hostile to Christian teaching. But the book met with a storm of abuse. Convocation condemned it, bishops and clergy alike declaring it heretical. Two of the writers were prosecuted and condemned in the Ecclesiastical Courts, though they were acquitted by the Privy Council. The question of the inspiration of Scripture was raised in an acute form when, in 1862, Bishop Colenso of Natal published *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*, attacking the received Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Colenso was condemned by a Committee of Bishops, and excommunicated by the Bishops of South Africa as a heretic, for the opinions set forth in this and other writings. But gradually this attitude of resistance changed. A new generation of leaders arose, who tried to assimilate the new ideas and not to reject them. Men like Westcott, Lightfoot, and Hort at Cambridge, and Sanday, Driver, Gore, and Illingworth at Oxford, were setting the intellectual position of the English Church once again on a sure basis. The Revised Version of the Bible in 1881-5, did much to settle doubts as to the new criticism. The appearance of *Lux Mundi* was as heartily welcomed as that of *Essays and Reviews* had been condemned thirty years earlier. But the upheaval in religious opinion had been great, and instead of the unquestioning orthodoxy current at the beginning of the 19th cent., a more strenuous and thoughtful faith was now required of clergy and laity alike.

(c) At the beginning of the century the ritual of the services in the churches was very plain and sometimes almost careless, and one result of the Tractarian Movement was a desire to restore to the services more dignity and ritual. The love of Catholicity led some to desire to restore such vestments as seemed to be allowed by the Ornaments Rubric of Elizabeth. To others the importance of the Eucharist needed an emphasis which it had lost. To others a variety of vestments and an ornamentation of the East end of churches were the first requisite towards more reverence. Hence in some churches great changes were introduced into the services, and the difficulty was that, in cases of protest, the ultimate jurisdiction lay with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a body of lay judges which those who made the changes scrupled to obey in such matters.

The English Church Union was founded in 1859 to maintain and defend the newer forms of ritual, and some of its members suffered prosecution. Certain test cases raised different points as the century went on. In Liddell's case (1857) the ornaments of the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. were declared legal, and if a ritual addition were merely subsidiary to the service it might be used. In 1869, however, in the Purchas case, vestments and the eastward position were declared illegal. Meanwhile a Ritual Commission sat from 1867 to 1870, in order to deal with the whole question, but it led to no practical results, though in 1874 the Public Worship Regulation Act was passed, handing over decisions in ritual questions to a single lay judge. The Ridsdale case came before such a judge in 1875, but on appeal in 1877 the Privy Council ruled out most of the recent ritual as illegal. In 1890 the case of the Bishop of Lincoln was brought, not before a Privy Council of laymen overriding lower ecclesiastical courts, but before an ecclesiastical court consisting of the two Archbishops. Their decision, therefore, was regarded as final. The judgment allowed the eastward position at the Eucharist and other moderate points of ritual, and has ever since afforded a basis of agreement for the majority of churchmen.

(d) The expansion of the Church abroad has been even more striking than that of the Church at home. For centuries the idea of advance into the colonies had been very little realized, for there was a strong feeling against the extension of the episcopate outside England, for fear of a possible schism. The possibility of extension into heathen lands was hardly contemplated. The rapidity of the growth of the Church outside England, therefore, during the 19th cent. has been extraordinary. A few isolated clergymen had been working in New England in the 18th cent. under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but it was not until after the revolt of the American colonies that the episcopate was extended to that continent. In 1784 Samuel Seabury was consecrated Bishop of Connecticut by three Scottish Bishops, and in 1789 the first Bishop of Nova Scotia was consecrated. The beginning of the episcopate in the United States and in Canada was thus made; and there are now ninety-seven bishops in the States, and twenty-three in Canada. The English colonial episcopate has since spread to all the colonies as a sign of the life of the Church. In 1836 William Grant Broughton was made first Bishop of Australia, in 1841 George Augustus Selwyn of New Zealand; and now there are twenty-seven dioceses where then there were two. The first Bishop of South Africa was Robert Gray, sent out to Cape Town in 1847. His diocese has since become ten.

The extension of the episcopate into heathen countries is the best test of the missionary zeal of the Church. India is of course the first link between England and non-Christian countries. The first Bishop of Calcutta, Thomas Middleton, was consecrated in 1814, and was succeeded in 1823 by Reginald Heber. Gradually the episcopate extended, and, in spite of the opposition of the East India Company as long as it existed, missionaries to the natives as well as chaplains to the English multiplied. There are now eleven dioceses. In Northern and Central Africa the growth of missionary work has been no less marked. The work along the Niger in the West, in spite of all the difficulties of climate, the remarkable development of Uganda in the east, the mission founded in Central Africa by the Universities at the appeal of Livingstone, have all led to the foundation of missionary dioceses doing pioneer work. These now number eight. In China the first bishop was

appointed in 1849, and there are now six sees, while in Japan and Korea there are five. Behind all this growth of the episcopate in a hundred years lies the quiet zeal which sends out missionaries, builds churches, and continually pushes the Church's frontier a little further on. In missionary work the Church Missionary Society has been the most prominent, in colonial work the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

(e) All this expansion of the Church outside England and the growth of activity at home have produced new methods of organization and self-government. In the earlier part of the century a few leading bishops like Kaye of Lincoln, Blomfield of London, Van Mildert of Durham, and Philpotts of Exeter guided the ecclesiastical policy. But this was more and more felt to be unsatisfactory, and the need of the revival of Convocation became obvious. One man especially gave expression to the demand for this—Samuel Wilberforce, made Bishop of Oxford in 1846. By his activity and that of others the Convocation of Canterbury was revived in 1852, and that of York in 1856. Each of these formed the representative body for the Church in its province, and once again, after more than a hundred and thirty years, the Church had found its corporate voice. The two Houses of bishops and clergy were strengthened by the addition in 1886 of a House of representative laymen for the Southern province, and in 1890 for the Northern. In 1905 the six Houses began to sit together once a year as a Representative Church Council for discussion. Interest in matters affecting the Church has been increased by the formation of Diocesan Conferences in each diocese, where many matters of local importance have been settled. In 1867 there was held the first meeting of the Lambeth Conference, when all the bishops of the Anglican Church who could come were gathered together to discuss common problems. This has been followed by a similar gathering every ten years since. In 1867 there were seventy-six bishops present; at the last, held in 1908, there were two hundred and forty-two. The meeting of 1908 was preceded by a Pan-Anglican Congress, with representatives from every Anglican diocese throughout the world. The complexity of the government of this expanded Church of England has produced a great variety of means for discussion and counsel, but the basis of control is still the authority of the individual bishop of each diocese, acting in accordance with the requirements of the Prayer Book. In England the Church remains established, and the power of the bishops is limited by Acts of Parliament, but abroad the bishops are freer, and the mutual reaction of the two sets of conditions is helpful.

The history of the Church of England is a long story, but her vitality was never greater than it is now. For more than thirteen centuries the Church has been bound up with the life of the nation, receiving much and giving much. It has maintained its continuity with the past, and can hand on its priceless gift of Catholic doctrine and a historic episcopate. It has not been without its shortcomings, and different bodies of Nonconformists have arisen at different times because of these deficiencies, and have reminded the nation of forgotten sides of truth. There are signs that what was once hostility between different Christian Churches is becoming mutual respect for differences.

The future is full of promise for such a Church as this. It has become an Imperial Church, witnessing the expansion of its branches in the great free dominions which are so closely linked with England. It has become a missionary Church, bearing its Gospel all over the world, and ready to lose itself in the growth of national Churches in heathen lands. The Church of a free people, it

carries to an ever-widening circle of mankind the message that the truest liberty is the service of its Divine Master, Jesus Christ.

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CHURCH OF IRELAND.—See EPISCOPACY.

CHURCH OF ROME.—See WESTERN CHURCH.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.—See PRESBYTERIANISM.

CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM.

—See SWEDENBORGIANISM.

CIMMERIANS (Κιμμέριοι).—In Homer (*Od.* xi. 13 ff.) the ship of Odysseus is described as coming to

'the limits of the world, to deep-flowing Oceanus. There is the land and city of the Cimmerians, shrouded in mist and cloud; and never does the shining sun look down on them with his rays, neither when he climbs unto starry heaven, nor when again he turns earthward from the firmament, but baleful night is outspread over miserable men.'

The use of the phrases *δημὸς τε πόλις τε* and *δαίνοισι βροτοῖσι* shows that the Cimmerians are regarded as real men, living in organized community—not like the Cyclops, for example, who have no cities or other apparatus of civilized life (*Hom. Od.* ix. 112, *τοῖσιν δ' οὐδ' ἀγορὰ βουλὴ φέρουσι οὔτε θέμιστες*). As the poem now stands,¹ the home of the Cimmerians must be supposed to lie somewhere in the far West or North-west, on the edge of the world on that side, by the hither shore of the Ocean-river which forms the material limit of the Homeric world, where also is naturally imagined to be an entrance to the world of Shades. The Cimmerians are thus pictured as an outpost of humanity, and as such they must battle with conditions unknown to the rest of mankind—their lives are spent in a perpetual darkness which to all other life would be fatal (*ἥρσι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι . . . νδὲ δαΐφ*). Just so, in actual fact, does man on the outskirts of the habitable area of the earth—on the 'roof of the world' or in the polar regions—find the forces of Nature arrayed against him in the most hostile fashion. The characteristics of the outermost fringe were based to a certain extent on observation and report.

Pendants in some sort to the Cimmerians are various other groups on the verge of the world, such as the Læstrygonians (*Od.* x. 82 ff.), among whom 'the goings of night and day are hard together' (*id.* 86, *ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας εἰσι κέλευθαι*); but these also, in spite of their cannibalism,² are in a sense civilized—possessing a walled

¹ It is clear, from the absence of any reference to the Cimmerians by Circe in her instructions to Odysseus in *Od.* x. 508 ff., that this passage about them is a late addition (cf. Delmwig, *Die Leleger*, 1862, p. 56). But this does not affect the statements and conclusions of this article.

² But are not the two lines 116, 117, *πύργῳ ἔνα μάρμαρος ἔνδρον Ἀκρίστω δαΐωντι* | *τὸ δὲ δὴ εἰσέειπε φύγῃ ἀπὸ νῆας ἱεσέσθην*, an interpolation?

town (*αἰτὶ πολλέθρον*), and an assembly-place (*ἀγορὰ*), just like the most civilized Greeks. Against this, the expression 'not like men but like the Giants' (*Od.* x. 120, *οὐκ ἀνδρῶσιν ἑοικότες, ἀλλὰ Γίγαντας*) has nothing to say, describing merely their stature—men so far away must needs be different in some respects from ordinary folk.¹ Herodotus, again, mentions the Hyperboreans, 'men who live at the back of the North Wind' (iv. 32, where, however, he expresses his disbelief in their existence).² It is an old observation that in these Cimmerians of Homer we have a dim and distorted tradition of the long Arctic night³ (cf. the statement of Herod. iv. 25, that in the far North are men who sleep for six months of the year), while the account of the Læstrygonians embodies a vague report of the midnight sun within the Arctic Circle, or at any rate of the long summer days and short nights of northern lands (cf. Tac. *Agric.* 12, 'nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas'). That some dim report of such features of the North should have reached Greek lands as early as the second or even the third millennium B.C. along the trade route or routes by which Baltic amber came to the Mediterranean is not impossible (see Waldmann, *Der Bernstein im Alterthum*, 1883).

The ancient treatment of the Cimmerians is after a double fashion, corresponding to the double character which they assume in the poem. On the one hand, they are a mythical people associated with the land of spirits, having but a feeble hold upon reality. Hence by some (as by Silius Italicus, xii. 130 ff.) they were put actually in Hades, and this idea of them led to the creation of a variant name Cerberii (*Κερβεραῖοι*).⁴ This mode of treatment begins and ends with the purely fanciful. On the other hand are found various rationalistic explanations, which may be arranged in the following ascending order of significance:—

(1) On the lowest level of such explanations is the variant title *χεμῆριοι ἄνδρες*, 'Men of the Wintry Lands,' or *Κεμμέριοι*, 'People of the Mist.'

(2) When the scene of the Nekyia was located in later times by the shores of Lake Avernus in Italy, the Cimmerians also were removed thither, and the pseudo-rationalism of the imaginative Ephoros, who was never at a loss, found an explanation of the Homeric description, according to which the Cimmerians were subterranean folk who lived partly by mining and partly by oracle-mongering (Strabo, p. 244, *εἶναι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔθνος πάτριον μνῆσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ὄραν, ἀλλὰ τῶν νυκτὸς ἔξω πορεύεσθαι τῶν χασιμάτων*). This theory, so far at least as concerns the habitat of the Cimmerians, has been revived by Victor Bérard (*Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, 1902-03, ii. 311 ff.—in which he tries to show that the *Odyssey* is based upon a Phœnician *Periplus*, or *Mediterranean Pilot*, and that the Homeric localities are verifiable in their minutest details).

¹ Cf. the marvels of the far North as given by Herodotus—his goat-footed men, and one-eyed Arimaspians (iv. 25 and 27), his long-lived Ethiopians of the South (ii. 114); the breast-eyed, and dog-headed tribes (iv. 191) are left quite doubtful, and perhaps are not classed as human. The stature of the Læstrygonians has suggested that their prototypes were a Celtic or Germanic people (Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 1901, i. 368 ff.).

² But others know more about them, e.g. Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 16, *δαίμον Ὑπερβορέων* . . . *Ἀπόλλωνος δερπάνοντα* (cf. *Pylh.* x. 30), and Æsch. fr. 183. These folk on the edge of the world gradually become credited with all the virtues. See Rawlinson's note on Herod. iv. 32, and cf. art. HYPERBOREANS.

³ Cf. Berger, *Mythische Kosmographie*, 1904, p. 16.

⁴ Eustath. *Com. in Hom.* 1670. Cf. Schol., *εἶναι δὲ γράφουσι χεμῆριον* | *οἱ δὲ Κερβερίων, ὡς Κράτης*, | *ἡ νεκροῖς, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἡρώσι κείσθαι*, *πύργῳ, τὸν νεκρῶν, παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἡρῶν κείσθαι*. Aristoph. (*Frags.* 184 f.) makes Charon call τῖς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρῆν πεδῖον . . . ἢ τῶν Κερβερίων, ἢ τῶν ἀρκάδων, ἢ τῶν Ταύρων—a parody of the cries of Attic boatmen; so Soph. fr. 957 N. *ἔοικε Κεμμερίων*. see Hesych. (*Κεμμερων γὰρ λέγονται τὴν ὀμίχλῃν*).

(3) Among the names connected with the wanderings of Odysseus in the West, that of the Cimmerians alone has a firm hold upon reality, for the existence of Cimmerians on the northern shores of the Euxine and in Asia Minor is and was a known historical fact. Strabo, anxious for the credit of Homer's geographical knowledge, averred that the poet had been fully aware of the true place of his Cimmerians, but had transposed them to the West for his story's sake (p. 20, *πρὸς βορρᾶν καὶ ὁψιῶτα μετῄγαγεν οὐκ εἰς σκοτεινὴν τινα τόπον τὸν καθ' ἑἴρη, χρήσιμον ὅντα πρὸς τὴν μυθοποιάν*); and, moreover, had deliberately pilloried them for the evil they had wrought in Asia Minor even before his time (p. 149, *τάχα καὶ κατὰ τι κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων ἔχθος πρὸς τὸ φίλον τοῦτο*, cf. pp. 6 and 61). Strabo herein was indeed correct in the main—more correct than Bérard, whose theory ignores both the existence of the historical Cimmerians of the Euxine and the non-existence of any trace of their name in the neighbourhood of Cumæ, besides taking no account whatever of the wholesale transportation of the Odyssean adventures from the Pontus region to the West (see Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Homericke Untersuchungen*, 1884, p. 163 ff.). This transference, however, is a cardinal fact in the history of the *Odyssey*.

'It was when the compass of the Euxine was still unknown, . . . that the tale of the wanderings of Odysseus took form. . . . In the *Odyssey*, as we have it now, compounded of many different legends and poems, this is disguised; the island of Circe has been removed to the far west, and the scene of the Descent to the Underworld translated to the Atlantic Ocean. But Circe . . . belongs to the seas of Colchis; and the world of shades beyond the Cimmerians is to be sought near the Cimmerian Bosphorus' (Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 92=p. 89 of small edition).

Briefly given, disregarding chronological questions, the part played in history by the Cimmerians was as follows (cf. Strabo, p. 494): Inhabiting the regions round Lake Mæotis (*Αζοῦ*) on the northern shore of the Euxine, to which their name still clings in the modern *Crimea*, they were driven forth by a Scythian (Mongolian?) people, the Scoloti, who came from the steppes of Asia (Herod. iv. 6). They crossed into Asia Minor, either by way of the Danubian lands, or, as Herodotus says, by the Caucasus (iv. 12); for, on the one hand, they are found in association with Balkan tribes—Treres, Edones, and Thynians; on the other hand, they seem to make their first appearance in the eastern parts of Asia Minor. Cimmerian hordes under Tiushpa were defeated by Esar-haddon¹ (about 680 B.C.); but, thus thrown back upon Asia Minor, they sacked Sinope, overthrew Midas, the last king of Phrygia, and attacked Gyges of Lydia, who sought the help of Assyria. Gyges became the vassal of Ashurbanipal, but, having himself defeated the invaders and sent two of their chieftains bound to Nineveh, he repudiated Assyrian suzerainty. A second inroad of Cimmerians ended in his death and the sack of Sardis (657 B.C.). The great shrine of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt by them, and Magnesia on the Meander was destroyed (Strabo, p. 647). An echo of all this in its later phases is heard in the fragments of the poems in which Kallinos of Ephesus stirs his countrymen to their own defence—'the host of the Cimmerians is at hand, who do mighty deeds' (Strabo, p. 648). He calls upon Zeus 'to remember the fair thighs of bulls which Ephesus had burned, and to have compassion on her.' 'Are ye not ashamed,' he cries to the young men, 'to sit still as if ye abode in peace, when war has seized upon the whole

world?' These terrible inroads (cf. Herod. i. 6, *οὐ καταστροφή ἐγένετο τῶν πολιῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆς*) seem to have inspired the artist who, a generation or two later, painted the sarcophagus from Clazomenæ now in the Brit. Museum. On it we see the mounted barbarians swooping down with enormous swords, great quivers, and curved Scythian headgear, while alongside run fierce hounds (A. S. Murray, *Terra-cotta Sarcophagi in the B.M.*, 1898). During the reigns of Ardyas II. and Alyattes III., successors of Gyges, these terrible invaders seem gradually to have melted away without leaving a trace, unless we ascribe to their influence something of the frenzied rites of Ma, the fierce goddess of the Cappadocians (see Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, 1890, p. 242)—analogous to those of the so-called Artemis worshipped among the Tauri of the Crimea, who seem to have been the remnant of the Cimmerians.

Bury has explained 'the motive for placing the Cimmerians by the shores of Okeanos and associating them with the land of ghosts' in his article 'The Homeric and the historic Kimmerians' (*Klio* vi. [1906] 79 ff.). He points out that in Denmark and Scandinavia there was current, probably from very early times, a legend that the spirits of dead men were rowed across to the island of Brittia, opposite the mouths of the Rhine (Procop. *de Bell. Goth.* iv. 20, ed. Haury, ii. 539 ff.). By Brittia (*Brittia*), Britain was meant, though the Greek historian¹ did not understand this (cf. Gibbon, *Decline*, iv. 157, ed. Bury, whose later article corrects his note there). Cf. BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Teut.).

Now, the historian and traveller Poseidonios (2nd cent. B.C.) acutely conjectured that *Κιμμέριος* was simply *Κιμβρικός*, and that the Cimmerians were an offshoot of the Cimbrī (Strabo, p. 293, *Κιμμερίους τοῖς Κιμβροῖς ὀνομασάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων*). That the Cimmerians were indeed associated with the north is proved by a passage in the Orphic *Argonautica*, which describes the voyage of the Argo from the Euxine, and mentions the Cimmerians in the far north on the way to the 'Iernian Islands' (=the British Islands; see Bury, *op. cit.* p. 85, note 3, quoting *Orph. Arg.* 1120, ed. Abel, and verses 1166, 1181); this part of the poem probably preserves a tradition of the 6th cent. B.C., if it is not still older.²

'But however this may be, we have sufficient data for bringing the Homeric Kimmerians into relation with the historical Cimbrians. The Kimmerians are stamped as a people of the north, dwelling on the shores of ocean, close to the world of ghosts. A people of identical name, the Cimbrians, fulfil the first two conditions; and a fable of the world of ghosts on the shore of Ocean has come from their neighbourhood' (Bury, *op. cit.* p. 86).

The knowledge of these northern Cimmerians (Cimbrians) and of the Island of Ghosts in the ocean may have come to the Homeric world from Gaul by the medium of Phœnician traders who visited its northern shores.

The older Odysseus story, in which the Euxine was the theatre of the adventures, mentioned the Kimmerians (of South Russia); when the scene was transferred to the West, these eastern Kimmerians became the Kimmerians of Ocean, who were known from Phœnician report, and the place of the Nekyia was thus at once determined' (Bury, *op. cit.* p. 87).

It may be, however, that the story travelled eastwards *overland with the Cimmerians themselves*, they being, in fact, Cimbrians, as Poseidonios had guessed; and this is the simpler hypothesis. The Cimmerians, who are to be classed ethnologically in the Thracian group, may have been not pure Thracians but northern immigrants ruling over a conquered population (cf. Ridgeway, *op. cit.* i. 396 ff.). But, quite apart from the truth or falsity of the equation Cimmerians=Cimbrians, Bury has shown that 'the Homeric Kimmerians and their

¹ According to Bury, Procopius probably derived his information from Heruls in Constantinople.

² The poem as it stands is of late Roman date. See Gruppe in Roscher, s.v. 'Orpheus.'

¹ They are the Gimirrai of the Assyrian texts. See G. Smith, *Hist. of Assyrian Empire*, 1871, p. 64 (quoted in full in Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 465). Sayce, in his *Com.* on Herod., 1883, i. 6, points out that what Eusebius calls the first capture of Sardis, which he dates 1078 B.C., is really a tradition of the conquest of Ionia by the Hittites (see also p. 427). Consult also Gelzer, 'Das Zeitalter des Gyges,' in *Rheinisches Museum*, 1875, p. 280 ff.; E. Meyer, *Geogr. d. Alterth.*, 1834 ff., i. § 453 ff.

setting have a double relation, on the one hand to the *Kimmerioi* of the east, on the other to the Cimbri of the north-west' (*op. cit.* p. 88).

LITERATURE.—Engelmann's art. 'Kimmerier,' in Roscher [*is of little worth*]; U. Höfer, *de Cimmericis*, Belg. Progr. 1891. The works quoted deal chiefly with historical points; to them may be added K. Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*, Berlin, 1865; A. v. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1889-94, iii. 431; E. H. Berger, *Myth. Kosmog. der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1904; J. von Präseck, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906-1910, i. 112 f. W. J. WOODHOUSE.

CIRCUMAMBULATION.—This term is used to denote the custom of walking round objects or persons for the purpose of influencing or honouring them. The custom is observed, with a religious or magical signification, among the most diverse peoples, particularly among the Indo-Europeans. In India the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* enjoins walking round the offering, holding a burning coal in the hand.¹ The *Gṛhya Sūtras* require the young Brāhman, at the time of his being initiated, to drive three times round a tree or a sacred pool.² Other *Sūtras* enjoin any one who wishes to build a house to go three times round the site, sprinkling it with water, and repeating the verse of the *Rig Veda*, 'O waters, ye are wholesome.'³ Among marriage ceremonies the *Laws of Manu* order the bride to pass three times round the domestic hearth;⁴ it is the seventh step in this walk that makes the union irrevocable. Circumambulation also figured in the funeral ceremonies and the sacrifices of the *Pitris*. The *Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta* tells that the pyre on which lay the body of Buddha took fire of its own accord when the five hundred disciples had walked round it three times.⁵ Even at the present day, for the Hindus, circumambulation round certain sacred spots has the effect of blotting out sins (*cf.* further *PE* i. 10 f.). It was the same with the Buddhists who, long before our epoch, had constructed round their *stūpas*, or eminences containing relics, circular galleries to serve for the circumambulation of pilgrims. The Buddhists of Tibet and Japan have preserved this custom. At the side of roads in Tibet they build walls, or *manis*, on which they write an invocation, in order that passers-by may walk round it.⁶

Among the Greeks circumambulation is already described by Homer, who shows us Achilles making his squadrons and his chariots pass three times round the body of Patroclus (*Il.* xxiii. 13). Dancing often occurred in the worship of the Hellenic gods, and it generally included circular movements. The rhythmical movements of the dancers took place around altars, the performers turning first from east to west (*strophe*), then from west to east (*anti-strophe*). 'You cannot find a single ancient mystery in which there is no dancing,' wrote Lucian (*Περὶ ἀποχρησέως*, xv. 277). But it is not always easy to decide whether we have to do with real circumambulation or simply with a circuit rendered necessary in order to regain the starting-point. Certain rhythmical dances around the altar of Dionysus seem, indeed, to be circumambulation, as also does the dance of the Curetes around the cradle of Zeus.⁷ At Athens the name of *amphidromia* (ἀμφιδρόμια) was given to the custom of carrying the newborn, at a running pace, around the family hearth.⁸ It is worthy of notice that quite recently, among the Estonians, the father had to run round the church during the baptism

(for another explanation of this custom, see above, vol. ii. p. 648).¹

Among the Romans, in the celebration of marriage, the bridal pair passed round the family altar, while the *flamen dialis* pronounced the sacramental formulæ. This rite may be compared with the Brāhman ceremony referred to above, and also with the custom observed on the same occasion in certain villages in Scotland and Germany, whereby a procession round the house or the church has to be made either by the cortège of the bride or by the bride and bridegroom. The same rite is still observed in marriages celebrated by the Orthodox Greek Church.² In ancient Japan, the future pair walked round the central pillar of the house.

Among the Celts and the Gauls the custom of going round an individual whom it is desired to honour in an especial way, or who is believed to be invested with surpassing holiness, appears already in poems anterior to the Christian era.³ Plutarch narrates that the Gaul Vercingetorix, before surrendering to Caesar, walked three times round the chair on which his conqueror sat (*Caesar*, xxvii.). St. Patrick is described as consecrating the site of the cathedral of Armagh by a sunwise procession about it, and a century later Scattery Island was similarly hallowed by St. Senan. In like fashion, the *Cathach*, or 'Battle-book,' of the O'Donnells 'was always borne three times right-hand-wise round their army before battle, to assure victory; it was so employed as late as the fifteenth century'; and 'even at this day, the Irish people, when burying their dead, walk at least once, sometimes three times, round the graveyard, sunwise, with the coffin.'⁴ In Scotland, in the last centuries, it was sometimes the physician who moved around the sick person to relieve his sufferings (as is described by Sir Walter Scott in *Waverley*), sometimes the parishioners who did so around their minister, now and then the members of the family or friends who passed round an individual on the point of starting on a journey. Sometimes on the last night of December people made three circuits round a field, or a house, or a boat, holding a torch or a lighted wisp of straw in their hands, as in the Brāhman ritual. In the Hebrides processions took place, and perhaps still take place, round the cairns and ancient tumuli.⁵ There also funeral processions went three times round the church or the churchyard—a custom which is found likewise in Ireland, Holland, and Germany. The liturgy of the Greek Church is particularly rich in circumambulation. The Roman Catholic Church also uses it in the consecration of churches, in the enthroning of bishops, and in other exceptional ceremonies. Here, then, is a rite which, devised by our distant pre-historic ancestors, is still celebrated before our eyes in official liturgies and in popular customs, after having passed through at least three successive religions.

It would be premature to conclude that circumambulation is solely an Indo-European rite. In ancient Egypt we hear frequently of statues or symbols being carried round temples and cities. The point is whether a religious significance was attached to the circular nature of these processions.

¹ Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. Stallybrass, vol. iv. p. 1846.

² *Westph. Sagen*, quoted by Pictet, *Origines indo-européennes*, 1859-63, vol. ii. p. 499; Forbes Leslie, *Early Races of Scotland*, 1866, vol. i. p. 181; H. O. Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of Greek-Russian Church*, 1868, p. 153; W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, 1905, p. 90.

³ J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom* (Hibbert Lectures for 1886), p. 567.

⁴ Joyce, *Soc. Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, 1903, vol. i. p. 801 f.

⁵ For Scotland, see Constance Gordon Cumming, *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas*, 1876, vol. i. p. 210; A. Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, 1880, p. 79; Sir Walter Scott, *The Two Drovers*, etc.

¹ *SBE*, vol. xii. p. 145.

² *Ib.* vol. xxix. p. 210.

³ *Ib.* vol. xxix. p. 213.

⁴ *Ib.* vol. xxv. p. 295, vol. xxix. pp. 279, 382.

⁵ *Ib.* vol. xi. p. 129.

⁶ For Tibet, see W. Simpson, *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel*, London, 1899, pp. 29-32; for Japan, Constance Gordon Cumming in *Scribner's Monthly*, 1881, p. 735.

⁷ Emmanuel, *La Danse grecque antique* (Paris, 1896), pp. 201, 265, 296, 302, etc.

⁸ Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* (Paris, 1879), p. 53.

Muhammadans walk several times round certain sacred places, notably the Ka'ba at Mecca; and Oriental Christians perform the same ceremony round the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. A more decisive fact, so far as concerns the Semitic race, is related by Robertson Smith, on the authority of Nilus. In the most ancient form of sacrifice among the Arabs, the participants march three times round the altar on which the victim lies ready to be slain, and sing as they go.¹

Most savage peoples, especially the Redskins, the Australian aborigines, and the Negroes, take part in religious dances, in which there are circular movements; but these do not fall within the category of circumambulation unless they take place around an object or a being which serves at the same time as centre and as goal, or unless it is clear that a particular virtue is attached to the direction of the movement.

What is the object of circumambulation? Almost in every instance in which an explanation is given, it is represented as a rite intended to ward off sinister influences or to abstract propitious influences, in the interest either of those who perform the circumambulation or of the person or the thing placed in the centre. By an extension of meaning it has come to assume the general significance of a talisman, of something to bring good fortune. However, there is ground for making a distinction, at least in the case of the Indo-Europeans, according as circumambulation is performed towards the right hand, that is to say, from the east to the west passing by the south (in the manner of the progress of the hands of a watch), or in the opposite direction. The first alone brings good luck; among the Brāhmins it bears the name *pradakṣiṇa*; among the Latins *dextratio* (for example, in the ceremony of marriage); among the Celts, *deiseil* or *deasil* (all words which most etymologists derive from the same original root, which means 'the right'). The circuit in the opposite direction is called in Sanskrit *prasavya*, in Celtic *cartuasul*, most frequently translated by 'withershins.' The Latins characterized this manner of circumambulation as *sinister*, in the double meaning of the word ('ill-omened' and 'left'). It is generally considered as a process of black magic, in connexion with the ideas of malign influence, misfortune, and death. Along with prayers recited backwards, it constitutes the great weapon of sorcerers in Celtic and German countries. To go three times round the church *withershins* figures, in Scotland, among the rites of the witches' assembly.² According to an Irish tradition (*RCel* xv. 315), 'there was a sacred well at the foot of Side Nechtain (now Carbury Hill in County Kildare) on which none were to look save four privileged persons, on pain of some dreadful personal injury. But the lady Boand ridiculed the prohibition, and, going to the well, walked contemptuously thrice round it left-hand-wise: whereupon the well burst up round her, and broke her thigh-bone, one hand, and one eye. She fled in terror eastward; but the water pursued her till she arrived at the seashore, where she was drowned. Even after that the water continued to flow so as to form the river Boand or Boyne, which took its name from her.'³ Among the Brāhmins, in sacrifices offered to ancestors, the officiating priest begins by going round three times by the left, and not till then does he perform three turns by the right. This anomaly is thus explained in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*: 'The reason why he again moves thrice round from left to right is that, while the first time

(i.e. while performing the *prasavya*) he went away from here after those three ancestors of his, he now comes back again from them to this, his own world; that is why he again moves thrice from left to right.'⁴

The same contrast, explained in the same way, occurring likewise in the course of a funeral ceremony, is found in the Latin poet Statius's description of the funeral rites celebrated in honour of the son of Lycurgus. The warriors begin by going round the pyre three times *by the left* with their standards reversed as a sign of mourning:

Orbe rogum . . . lustrantque ex more sinistro
Orbe rogum

Then, at the command of the augur, they retrace their steps, this time by the right, in order to efface their mourning and the sinister omen:

Funeris auspiciū . . . luctus abolere, novique
Funeris auspiciū . . . dextri gyro

Perhaps it is for the same reason that, in the burial services of those Catholic Churches which follow the Roman ritual, the priest goes round the bier by the left. William Simpson has suggested a similar explanation concerning the systematic variations in certain cases of circumambulation among the Arabs.⁵

Up to this point we have not expounded the primary reason and general motive of the practice. As Mannhardt has shown in the case of other similar customs, circumambulation is a solar charm. The *pradakṣiṇa* represents the daily march of the sun, which, in our hemisphere, rises in the east, passes thence to the south, and sets in the west. This is what the Brāhman ritual tells us clearly: while the Brāhmins perform the *pradakṣiṇa*, says the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'they think "Sunwise this sacred work of ours shall be accomplished," and therefore they again walk thrice round sunwise.'⁶ It may be asked whether, in the same way, the treble repetition of the circuit is not connected with the idea of the traditional 'three steps' of Viṣṇu, the god of the sun. In Scotland also the primitive signification of the rite has never been lost sight of. *Deasil* and *sunwise* have remained synonyms. 'The propitiation,' Sir Walter Scott writes in the *Two Drovers*, 'consists, as is well known, in the person who makes the *deasil* walking three times round the person who is the object of the ceremony, taking great care to move according to the course of the sun.' Long ago, Plutarch, describing the Egyptian ceremony known as the 'Search for Osiris,' in which, at the time of the winter solstice, the image of a cow was carried seven times round the temple, states as a reason that 'the sun in winter arrives at the winter solstice only after seven months,' and he adds, 'they believe that by this observance they make the sun favourable to themselves and honour it.'⁷ The Japanese used to say that, if they marched against the sun when attacking an enemy, they would be going against the will of Heaven.⁸ Did they follow this rule in the Russo-Japanese war?

The instinct of imitation, however, is not the only force at work, especially in the origin of the rite. There was here an application of sympathetic magic—the idea, still so wide-spread among primitive peoples, that by imitating a phenomenon its recurrence can be assured or at least facilitated. The Navahos of Arizona, at the winter solstice, perform a magical dance in which a dancer, wearing a star on his head, turns about holding a representation of the sun at the end of a stick.

¹ Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 1889, p. 320.

² Jules Baisac, *Les grands Jours de la sorcellerie*, 1890, p. 212.

³ Joyce, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 284.

⁴ *SBE*, vol. xii. p. 425.

⁵ *Thebas*, vi. 215, 216, and 221-223.

⁶ W. Simpson, *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel*, p. 122.

⁷ *SBE*, vol. xii. p. 442.

⁸ *De Iud. et Onr.* 52.

⁶ Aston, *Shinto*, p. 340.

'This seems to represent,' explains a witness, 'the climax of the ceremony, which not only celebrates the winter solstice, but which has, as its special object, to compel the sun to stop his southern flight.'¹ In the ceremony of the *Hako*, celebrated by the Pawnees in order that the tribe may increase in number and strength, they make the circuit of the lodge four times at sunrise and at sunset, going round the sacred fireplace, from West to North and back to the West by the East, muttering all the time that they follow the rays of the sun which bring life. These four cir-

cuits, explained one of them, represent the four paths down which the lesser powers descend to man.¹

When once the regular march of the sun was identified with circumambulation by the right, it was natural that the reverse, circumambulation by the left, should be identified with the reversing of the normal course of Nature, and, in consequence, should be associated with the ideas of malign influence and death or evil, like all the ceremonies of the Liturgy, when they are executed backwards.

GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

CIRCUMCISION.

Introductory (L. H. GRAY), p. 659.

American (L. SPENCE), p. 670.

Egyptian (G. FOUCART), p. 670.

CIRCUMCISION (Introductory).—The term 'circumcision' is applied, in its strict sense, to a wide-spread surgical operation for the ablation of the male prepuce, and also, with a looser connotation, to simple incision of the prepuce, or even to two operations on the female genitals—clitoridectomy and ablation of the *labia minora* (the so-called 'female circumcision'). The operation on males is very common, not only among many primitive peoples as well as among some which have attained a high degree of civilization, but even in modern surgery, where it is, of course, performed solely for sanitary and therapeutic reasons—an explanation which, though not uncommonly urged, is not wholly satisfactory in accounting for its ultimate origin or for its practice among primitive races. The corresponding female operation is far more rare, both surgically and as a rite.

1. ANATOMICAL ASPECTS.—(a) *Male.*—The male prepuce is a loose fold of skin, lined on the inner side with mucous membrane, covering the *glans penis*, at whose base (the *corona glandis*) it is attached to the penis; while on the under side of the organ it has a further union with the *glans* by a fold termed the *frænum præputii*. On the *corona glandis* open the *glandula odorifera*, which generate a sebaceous secretion called *smegma præputii*. In modern surgery the necessity for circumcision arises chiefly in case of phimosis, a condition, whether congenital or acquired, in which the prepuce cannot be retracted so as to uncover the *glans* (this condition often giving rise to retention of urine, balanitis from accumulation of *smegma*, calculous concretions, impotence, *prolapsus ani*, cancer of the penis, balanoposthitis, *herpes præputialis*, white chancre, and other complaints), or in hypertrophy of the prepuce.

In its characteristic form the operation of circumcision consists in drawing forward the prepuce (with proper precautions, as by a shield, to prevent any incision of the *glans*), which, when sufficiently protracted, is amputated, the flow of blood, which is relatively slight, being checked by some styptic. Among primitive peoples, as well as among Jews and Muhammadans, the wound is then permitted to heal; but in modern surgical practice a more complete operation is performed.

After the ablation has been effected, it will be found that the surgeon has removed only a circle of skin, while the mucous membrane lining the prepuce still tightly embraces the *glans*; this he slits up, by introducing the point of a pair of scissors at the preputial orifice; and then, trimming off the angles of the flaps of mucous membrane, and sometimes snipping across the *frænum*, he turns back the mucous membrane, and attaches it to the edge of the cutaneous incision by sutures, usually of silk or catgut. Union readily takes place by simple dressing.

The physiological change arising from circum-

¹ George A. Dorsey, *Indians of the South-West*, Chicago, 1908, pp. 132, 171.

Jewish.—See 'Semitic.'

Muslim (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 677.

Semitic (G. A. BARTON), p. 679.

cision, apart from obviation of the dangers of phimosis or the inconvenience of hypertrophy, is that the mucous membrane covering the *glans* becomes obdurate and approximates the character of epidermis, thus lessening liability to venereal and other infections.

(b) *Female.*—The organs involved in 'female circumcision,' which consists simply in the ablation of the parts in question (often, however, with subsequent 'infibulation' [see below, 3, 6]), are, as already noted, the clitoris and the *labia minora*. The former of these is a small organ of erectile tissue, with a rudimentary *glans* and prepuce; it is, in fact, the female counterpart of the penis. The *labia minora* extend from the clitoris toward the *orificium vaginae*, and merge on the one side into the *labia majora*, and on the other into the wall of the vagina. Both the clitoris and the *labia minora* are occasionally hypertrophic, not only with great frequency among the African Galla and Hottentots (giving rise, among the latter, to the curious 'Hottentot apron'), but even among Asiatics and Europeans. Surgical operation may consequently become advisable; and, in view of the excitability of the clitoris, it was often deemed necessary, until very recent times, to excise it in cases of erotomania—an operation now recognized as unscientific and useless.

2. MALE CIRCUMCISION.—(a) *Geography.*—Disregarding modern surgical circumcision, which, being entirely sanitary and therapeutic in purpose, does not here concern us, the operation may be said to be almost world-wide, with the exception of Europe and non-Semitic Asia. The Indo-Germanic peoples, the Mongols, and the Finno-Ugric races (except where they have been influenced by Muhammadanism) alone are entirely unacquainted with it.² It can scarcely have been practised in pre-Aryan India (obviously we have no data regarding pre-Indo-Germanic Europe), for there is no allusion to it in Sanskrit literature, and no trace of it in modern India, even among peoples untouched by Hindu civilization. The custom is best known popularly from the Semites, especially the Hebrews and Muhammadans, as well as from the ancient Egyptians and Colchians (the latter, according to Herodotus [ii. 104 f.], closely akin to the Egyptians), while something analogous was practised by some American Indians (for all these see the following sections). It is also

¹ Alice C. Fletcher, 'The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony,' in the 22nd Annual Report of the BE, Washington, 1903, p. 184. Cf. vol. vii. of the same, 1891, p. 339; vol. viii. 1891, pp. 118, 129; vol. xi. 1894, p. 122.

² As a mere curiosity, mention may be made, in this connexion, of the very probable tradition, reported by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* i. 180), that Pythagoras, while in Egypt, underwent circumcision, that he might be reckoned among the higher classes, and be initiated into the esoteric wisdom of the Egyptians.

observed, at various ages, among many African and Polynesian peoples, who will here be particularly considered.

A convenient summary of the geographical distribution of non-Semitic circumcision is given by Andree (AA xiii. 74): 'Die Westküste (von Afrika) nebst Hinterländern gehört ihr—geringe Unterbrechungen ausgenommen—vom Senegal bis Benguela. Die Kaffernvölker mit Ausnahme der Zulu beschnitten, ebenso fast alle Ostafrikaner, die Galla jedoch ausgenommen. Sie herrscht auf Madagaskar, bei den christlichen Abessinern, Bogos und Kopten. Im Herzen des schwarzen Erdtheils ist sie von den Monbottu und Akka geübt. Fast alle Eingeborenen des australischen Continents, die Südwestecke ausgenommen, haben die Beschneidung; sie kommt vor in Melanesien, die Papuas von Neu-Guinea abgerechnet. Unter den Polynesiern fehlt sie den Maori. Vereinzelt ist sie bei nord-, mittel- und südamerikanischen Stämmen anzutreffen. Nach einer flüchtigen Schätzung sind es 200 Millionen Menschen, der siebenter Theil aller, die sie ausüben.'

(b) *Varieties.*—The most rudimentary form of male circumcision is a simple gash of the prepuce. This seems to be especially characteristic of the American continent and the Pacific islands, being found among the Totonacs of eastern Mexico and probably among the Mayas, as well as among the Orang Benua and in Tahiti, in the Marquesas, Waihu, Tonga, Samoa, Kunaie, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and the Ntendi Islands. In similar fashion, incision of the back of the prepuce is practised among some Australian tribes, and especially in East New Guinea and other Melanesian districts, as in Tanna (one of the New Hebrides) and in Fiji, while in Tonga the operation is performed by the simple process of tearing the prepuce with the fingers. Among the Somali, Masai, Wajajaga, and a few of the Kikuyu, a similar cut is made on the upper part of the *glans*, and the resulting flaps of skin are permitted to hang from the *frænum*. In the Aarau Archipelago and in Seranglao the upper part of the prepuce is pinched off (for the motive in these territories see below, under (m) c). Among the Tatars a wedge-shaped piece is excised from the prepuce; and an Arab tribe between Abu Arish and Hejaz not only ablate the prepuce, but also make an incision in the skin on the upper side of the penis extending the entire length of the organ, and, in addition, abscise a portion of the skin of the lower part of the abdomen. In Jewish circumcision there is a noteworthy deviation, which has a special reason. The original rite was doubtless simple ablation of the prepuce; but, with contact with classical civilization, the desire not to be different from the uncircumcised Greeks who surrounded them in the gymnasia led the Jews to resort to the operation of epispasm, by which *ἐπιτομήν δαυροῖς ἀποσφύριον* (1 Mac 1¹⁵; cf. 1 Co 7¹⁸, Jos. Ant. XII. v. 1, and the Talmudic passages cited in JE iv. 93; see also the 'Semitic' section below; for a description of the operation, which is now scarcely performed, 'except possibly to restore loss of substance from accident or disease' [E. M. L.], cf. Celsus, xxv. 1). To obviate the possibility of such concealment of Judaism, the Rabbis, probably after Bar Cochba's war (early 2nd cent. A.D.), made *peri'ah* (exposure of the *glans*) an indispensable requisite to valid circumcision. In this operation,

'after the excision has been completed, the *mohel* ["circumciser"] seizes the inner lining of the prepuce, which still covers the *glans*, with the thumb-nail and index-finger of each hand, and tears it so that he can roll it fully back over the *glans* and expose the latter completely' (Friedenwald, in JE iv. 90).

By far the most remarkable operation complementary to circumcision is the *aritha*, or *mika*, characteristic of Australia, and normally performed about a year after circumcision proper. This is defined as 'sub-incision of the penis, so that the penile urethra is laid open from the *meatus* right back to the junction with the scrotum' (Spencer-Gillen, p. 263). This operation, as performed in the Boulia district, is described as follows by Roth (*Ethnology Stud.* p. 178):

'While the man on top [the lad being held supine on the ground] holds the penis firm and tense with both hands, the actual operator, seated on the ground in front, makes a superficial incision, through skin only, extending from the external *meatus* down to near the scrotal pouch in a line with the median *raphe*; a deeper incision is next made with the same stone knife along the same line as the first, and, starting from the external orifice, opens up the canal as it is pushed onward. The extent of the wound is apparently inconsistent. I have observed it varying from a little over half an inch in some cases, to a gash opening up almost the whole of the penis as low down as half an inch from the scrotum, in others.' Among the Yoroinga of the Upper Georgina district 'the operation consists of two vertical cuts into the urethra extending from the external orifice, with a third independently transverse one below, the resulting flap of skin being allowed to take its own time apparently in subsequently rotting off down to the transverse cut' (*ib.*).

Among the Bani Chams actual circumcision is no longer practised, though it is represented ritually by a mock ceremony, performed by the head priest with a wooden knife, and connected with name-giving (see above, p. 345).

(c) Disposal of the ablated prepuce.—According to a Talmudic tradition, the tribe of Levi, which alone during the Exodus observed the obligation of circumcision, piled up the ablated foreskins in the wilderness and covered them with earth, a practice which later became general (Kohler, in JE iv. 93). Among the East African Wakikuyu the prepuce is buried in the ground in front of the boy just circumcised; while the African Bara father throws it into the river. From fear of its being used in black magic the Turks bury the prepuce as they do parings of nails, etc., and from a like motive the Amaxosa Kafir boy carries away his prepuce and buries it in a sacred spot. On the West Coast of Africa the prepuce, soaked in brandy, is swallowed by the boy operated on; the Arabs of Algiers wrap it in a cloth and put it on a tree or animal, which then becomes the gift to the operator; and the Hova of Madagascar wrap it in a banana leaf, which is given to a calf to eat. Among the Wolof, on the other hand, the prepuce is dried and carried by the lad circumcised, the object being the promotion of virility.¹ The Sakalava of Madagascar formerly made the operator swallow the prepuce which he had just ablated (the prepuce of the crown-prince is still swallowed by his uncle in Madagascar), but at the present time the foreskin is shot from a gun (a practice also observed by the Antankarana of the same island), or is fastened to a spear which is thrown over the house of the lad's father; if the spear falls sticking in the earth, it is a good omen. The triangular pieces excised by the Tatars are given to the boys' mothers, who wrap them in cloth and keep them; but, if the mothers are dead or absent, the pieces are often simply thrown away. Among the Australian Urabunna the stomach of each elder brother is touched with the foreskin, which is then placed on a fire-stick and buried without special ceremony or further attention (for a somewhat similar usage, probably Midianitish rather than Hebrew, and apparently performed under exceptional circumstances, see Ex 4³⁴, and of 'Semitic' section of this art. p. 679).

It is in Australia that precautions are most generally taken in disposing of the ablated prepuce. The northern Arunta bury it, together with the blood caused by the operation; at Fowler Bay it is swallowed by the operator (compare the former usage of the Sakalava); among the southern Arunta the younger brother swallows his elder brother's prepuce to make himself strong and tall;

¹ Cf. the wearing of the penis of slain warriors by the victors among the people of Mowat to increase the conqueror's strength by the courage of the dead; the eating of the genitals of beasts killed among some North American Indian tribes, these parts being torn with the teeth, never cut with an edged tool; the making of the testicles, heart, and liver of slain enemies into a broth and war-paint in South Africa; and the Central Australian usage of administering blood from the genitals in case of severe illness (Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 106 f.).

the Kalkodoon of Cloninny (North Queensland) string it on twine of human hair and hang it around the mother's neck 'to keep the devil away'; the Anula bury it beside a pool to make the water-lilies grow; and the Warramunga put it in a hole made in a tree by the witchetty grub, to increase the number of these edible delicacies. Among the Unmatjera,

'the boy puts his severed foreskin on a shield, covers it up with a broad spear-thrower, and then carries it in the darkness of night, lest any woman should see what he is doing, to a hollow tree, in which he deposits it. He tells no one where he has hidden it, except a man who stands to him in the relation of father's sister's son' (Frazer, *Independent Rev.* iv. 211; cf. the disposal of the ablated *labia* in Java (below, 3 (c)). The reason alleged for this custom is that, 'according to tradition, the early mythical ancestors of the tribe placed their foreskins in their *nanyi* trees, that is, their local totem centres, the trees from which their spirits came forth at birth, and to which they would return at death' (*ib.*; for Frazer's deductions from these Australian practices, see below under (m) x; and for a somewhat similar Javanese custom in connexion with female circumcision, under 3 (c)).

Finally, among the Yaroinga of the Upper Georgina District, the blood shed in circumcision is drunk by the women of the tribe as a strengthening draught (cf. below, 3 (b)).

(d) *Tabued foods.*—The tabu of certain foods during the period immediately following circumcision is recorded only sporadically. Bread may be eaten, and fresh milk drunk, among the Muhamadans of Bosnia, but the drinking of water unhallows the rite. Among the Australian Urabunna the jew lizard (supposed to create sexual desire, and always forbidden to women) is tabu at this time, as are opossums, snakes, echidnas, and all lizards at sub-incision in Central Australia. Some rudimentary traces of hygiene may be present in the tabu of meat in the Congo Basin and the region east of Loanda to the kingdom of Muata Jamwo, as well as in the prohibition of pork in Wydah and the coast region of West Africa.

(e) *Instruments employed.*—Circumcision is, as a rule, performed with the ordinary iron or steel instruments (particularly razors) in common use among the peoples practising it. Exceptions are not, however, unknown. There are distinct records among the Hebrews of the use of hard stone (the 'flint,' [x] of Ex 4^{2b} [although in this case the sudden exigency of the occasion does not absolutely require the assumption of a survival of primitive usage] and Jos 5^{2d}), which was also employed by the ancient Egyptians, as well as by the American Totonacs, the modern Alnajas of Abyssinia, and the Australians, and sometimes in Morocco. Post-Biblical Jewish tradition also permits the use of glass or of any other cutting material excepting reeds (Ploss, *Das Kind*³, i. 347 f.). In Tonga, besides the simple tearing of the prepuce with the fingers (already noted), a splinter of bamboo or a mussel shell may be employed; and 'the Maro-longs of South Africa used a "fire-stone" (meteorite), but now circumcise with an assegai' (Jacobs, in *JE* iv. 97). In Central Australia there is a tradition that circumcision was performed by means of a fire-stick before the introduction of stone knives, but that the practice was discontinued because of the excessive mortality resulting from the use of the sticks (Spencer-Gillen², p. 394); and among the Bani Chams a wooden knife is used in the mock ceremony which represents the ritual survival of Muhammadan circumcision.

(f) *Who are circumcised.*—Among nearly all peoples that observe circumcision it is requisite for at least every male to submit to the operation if he is to enjoy full tribal rights (cf. below, k); illustrations of this, as among the Hebrews, are too obvious to need citation. In a few cases, however, there is divergence from this general rule. In ancient Egypt, circumcision was restricted to priests and warriors (but see CIRCUMCISION [Eg.]), and it

was likewise peculiar to the higher classes among the Aztecs (and probably the Mayas) and in Rook Island (between New Guinea and New Britain). Contrariwise, in Tonga the highest chief was the one person exempt from the rite.

An interesting case of the gradual introduction of circumcision may be witnessed in some of the New Hebrides group. 'It has come up from Ambrym to the lower end of Pentecost, as a prevailing custom, and not very lately. It is done at any age, whenever the boy's friends choose to make the feast. It is not a mark of initiation and has no religious or superstitious character; it is a social distinction. . . . There is no doubt that the custom, for it is not a rite, has come across from the eastwards to the Southern New Hebrides' (Codrington, *Melanestians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 234).

(g) *Who circumcise.*—In primitive conditions it would naturally be some near kinsman who would perform the operation of circumcision. Among the early Hebrews this was apparently the head of the household or the father (Gn 17^{23d}), though in case of special necessity it might perhaps be performed even by the mother (cf. possibly Ex 4^{2b}; 1 Mac 1^{8b} is not decisive in view of v.²; for a divergent view, see the 'Semitic' section of this art.), while a leader or man of importance might also cause it to be performed (Jos 5^{2d}, 1 Mac 2^{4b}). In later times, however, the rite was performed by a specially trained man, usually called *mohel* ('circumciser'). In Nias, in the Malay Archipelago, it is likewise the father who circumcises; but in Nukahiva, in the Marquesas group, on the contrary, the father is the one person who is debarred from performing circumcision. From the Heb. use of *ḥṭh* (lit. 'circumciser') and *ḥṭṭ* (lit. 'circumcised') in the senses of 'wife's father' and 'daughter's husband' respectively, it would appear, since these terms first occur in connexion with Midianites (Ex 3¹ 4^{18, 23d}, Nu 10^{2b}, Jg 1¹⁶ 4¹¹) and Sodomites (Gn 19^{12, 14}), that among these two peoples circumcision was performed by the future father-in-law. From these passages the words *ḥṭh* and *ḥṭṭ* seem to have passed into the Heb. vocabulary with an entire loss of their original meaning, connoting merely 'father-in-law' and 'son-in-law' respectively (e.g. Dt 27² [feminine], Jg 15⁶ 19^{4c} 7. 9, 1 S 18¹⁸, 2 K 8²⁷, Neh 6⁸, Jer 7³⁴, Jl 2¹⁸). The most respected member of the family is chosen by the Antankarana of Madagascar, and among the Mandingo of West Africa the village elders perform it. The priest is the operator in Morocco, Samaria, Western Mexico, Tahiti, the Sandwich Islands, the Marquesas, and Easter Island, as well as among the Totonacs, as is the head priest in the mock survival among the Bani Chams, and the 'witch doctor' among such African tribes as the Masai, Wanika, and Waki-kuya. Too much cannot, however, be safely deduced from the choice of priests as circumcisers, for Andree (*op. cit.* p. 75) rightly calls attention to the fact that 'among primitive peoples the priest and the physician are commonly united in the same person, and the operation falls within the domain of the latter.' In Persia, Turkestan, and Upper Egypt the barber (with *quasi*-surgical functions like his mediæval European confrère) takes the place of the priest; and in Samoa, as among the African Wakamba, Wanika, and Kikuyu, a paid professional (somewhat analogous to the Jewish *mohel*) officiates. The smith is the circumciser among the West African Sarakolese, and in Kita (French Sudan; cf. the blacksmith's wife as the circumciser of girls in the same districts, below, 3 (f)); and in Samoa cases are even reported in which boys circumcise each other. Among the Falashas, three old women perform the operation (cf. the occasional circumcision by women among the ancient Hebrews); and perhaps the most remarkable officiant of all is the common executioner, who is the circumciser among the Sakalava of Madagascar. Among the Australian Unmatjera the father-in-law (apparently like the Midianites

and Sodomites; see above) performs the rite; while among the Urabunna the operator in cases of *aritha* is the *oknia* (the man who stands in the relation of father to the lad), though the previous operation of circumcision is performed by the grandfather and the mother's brother.

(h) *Where performed, and in whose presence.*—From the nature of circumcision it is usually performed only in the presence of persons of the same sex as the individual operated on, and generally in a secluded place (on *tabu* of this nature cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 297 f.). Almost the only instance of exception to this rule in the case of male circumcision is among the Central African Manuema, who perform the rite in the presence of women. At the same time, as just noted, women operate among the semi-Judaized Falashas (no definite conclusions can be drawn, in the present writer's opinion, for normal Hebrew usage from Ex 4², 1 Mac 1^{50f.}). The Totonacs circumcised in the temple, and the Hebrews in the father's house, although 'as early as the Geonic time the ceremony had been transferred from the house of the parents to the synagogue, where it took place after the service in the presence of the whole congregation' (Kohler, *JE* iv. 95). In the Congo region, on the other hand, circumcision is performed in a special hut. Previous to circumcision, various preparatory trainings, of brief duration, are often required, as among the Australians. These do not, however, materially affect the character of the rite, and come more properly under the head of initiation (*q.v.*; cf. also art. AUSTERITIES, particularly 2, 8 (3-4)). Except among the Jews, and possibly among the Totonacs (in view of the fact that they circumcised in their temples), distinctly religious ceremonies in connexion with circumcision are extremely rare, being recorded only in the case of the New Caledonians and the Fijians.

(i) *Age when circumcision is performed.*—It is a significant fact that circumcision, whatever explanation may be alleged for it, is almost invariably performed before or at the age of puberty, or at latest before marriage. The sole exceptions to this rule occur among the Hebrews, where peculiar conditions caused such violation of the general principle. Abraham and his household were naturally uncircumcised until the Divine covenant had been formally instituted by God, this taking place when Abraham was 99 years old (Gn 17^{23f.}; in the light of this no particular deduction can be drawn from the fact that Ishmael then happened to be 13 years of age); proselytes and persons intermarrying with the Hebrews would naturally be circumcised after attaining puberty (cf. Gn 34^{14f.}, Ex 12^{4f.}). By far the most noteworthy passage in this connexion is Jos 5²⁻⁹, which states that 'all the people that came out of Egypt . . . were circumcised: but all the people that were born in the wilderness by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, them they had not circumcised.' This younger generation Joshua circumcised after crossing the Jordan. The passage may well be taken as it stands, though the 'critical school' seek, without due consideration of the early age at which circumcision is performed among many peoples (see below), to see in it an implication that the primitive Hebrews practised the rite, like numerous other tribes, at the age of puberty, 'the circumcision of young warriors at that age signifying the consecration of their manhood to their task as men of the covenant battling against the uncircumcised inhabitants' (Kohler, *op. cit.* iv. 93). And the fact that even Moses neglected to circumcise his son (Ex 4²⁵) was very probably due to his Midianitish marriage, since the Midianites, like the Sodomites, apparently performed the rite shortly before marriage (see above, (g), and below, (m) β).

Waiving these sporadic exceptions, the various ages at which circumcision is performed may be tabulated as follows:

Soon after birth: Totonacs (eastern Mexico), and probably Mayas.

8 days: Jews, Samaritans, Abyssinians, South American Guamo, Otomaco, and Saliva (Orinoco region).

Multiple of 7 days: South-Western Arabs.

1-2 months: Wazegua of East Africa.

Before the end of the first year: African Ovaherero.

As soon as the child can walk: Washambala.

2-8 years: Muhammadans of Kashgar.

2-10 years: Muhammadans of Turkestan.

3-4 years: Masai, Usambara (East Africa), Persian Muhammadans (the last never later than 13).

4-5 years: Karakurtchina (Central Asia).

5 years: Anetiym (New Hebrides), Muhammadans of Algiers (the latter never later than 7).

6-8 years: Nias (Malay Archipelago).

6-10 years: Upper Egypt.

6-8 years: Kabyles.

6-13 years: Turks.

7 years: Swahili.

7-8 years: Akkra (Gold Coast).

7-10 years: Tanna (New Hebrides).

7 years and later: New Caledonia.

8 years: Bakwiri (Kamerun), Tahiti.

8-10 years: Somali, Kafirs, Congo Negroes, Samoa.

Before 10 years: Muhammadans in general.

10-12 years: many South American tribes.

12 years: Ewe (West Africa), Limo lo Pahalaa (Celebes).

12-18 years: Ishmaelites, Sarakolese (West Africa).

12-14 years: Mandingo (Sudan).

12-16 years: Wydah and coast region (West Africa; sometimes as late as 20).

14 years: Ancient Egypt, Bambarra, Kafra, Bechuana, Fiji.

14-16 years: Angardi (Murchison River, West Australia).

15 years: Bani Chams (ritual survival performed as a mock ceremony).

15-16 years: Wolof (Senegambia).

16-17 years: Wakikuyu (East Africa).

When the first hairs appear on the face: many South Australian tribes.

Puberty: Melanesians in general, Nukahiva (Marquesas), Wakamba, Wanika (both between Lake Victoria and the coast), Amakosa, Basuto.

These specific years can, of course, be taken only as approximate; and divergent years are sometimes recorded by different observers for the same people, as for Akkra (7-8 years and 12-13), Masai (3-4 years and puberty), Kafirs (8-10 years and puberty), and Tahiti (8 and 14 years). In at least some cases part of the discrepancy may be due to the custom of performing circumcisions *en masse*, as among the Masai, Wanika, Wakikuyu, Mandingo, Sarakolese, and Bechuana, as well as in Kita, the Congo basin, and Tahiti.

(j) *Effect on legal and social status.*—Generally speaking, in the words of the anonymous contributor on the African Banaka and Bapuku to Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien* (Berlin, 1903, p. 40 f.),

'ohne Beschneidung ist der Mann kein Mann, er ist schwach, nichts; er wird beschimpft, verlästert und sogar verbannt; er geht einsam umher, kann keine Frau bekommen. Nur der Beschneitene ist ein echter Mann, der erbberechtigt ist und arbeiten und fechten kann.'

Thus the child passes, on circumcision, from the harem or from the society of women to that of men, among the Turks, Malays of Menangkabau, Papuans, Nias, Hovas of Madagascar, and African Swahili, Wakikuyu, Basutos, Kafirs, and Mandingo; and he now also, as in Upper Egypt, enters upon religious life. The rite is occasionally connected with the giving of a permanent name to the child, as among the Jews (cf. Lk 1⁵⁹ 2²¹), many South Australian tribes (as the Dieri, near Adelaide), and the South American Tecunas (on the Upper Solimoes, in Brazil), as well as in the mock ceremony among the Bani Chams. Only after circumcision can the youth marry among the African Masai, Wakwafi, Penhls of Futa-Jallon, Bechuana, and Diakite-Sarakolese, as well as in Bambuk, Angola, and Kita, among the Hebrews (cf. Gn 34¹⁵⁻¹⁷), and apparently among the Midianites and Sodomites (see above, (g)). Among the South Australians along the Peake River, youths

can indeed associate with women after circumcision, but they are forbidden to marry before they have been sub-incised, a rule which holds generally wherever *aritha* is practised in Australia. Conversely, women refuse to have intercourse with uncircumcised men among the Bafote of the Loango Coast, while the Bakwiri women of Kamerun believe that physical harm would result to them from sexual relations with such men, and in Old Calabar lack of circumcision in either sex is ground for divorce. The uncircumcised are excluded from society generally by the Wanika of East Africa; and the Mombutu, Bongo, and Mittu of Central Africa refuse to eat with those who have not been circumcised. 'Uncircumcised' is a term of insult, not only as applied to the Philistines (Jg 14^s 15^{is}, 1 S 17^{2s} 26^{3s} 31⁴ etc.), but also among the South Australians and in Rook Island. Before circumcision a child is ritually unclean among the East African Amaxosa; and the Masai, Wakwafi, and Kikuyu consider iron implements tabu to the uncircumcised, which, in view of the sanctity attaching to this metal among primitive peoples, is certainly a significant fact.

Only after circumcision can the Malinka and Bambarra, along the upper Niger, bear arms or have a voice in the council; and not till then has a Peuhl or a Basuto the right and duty of taking part in warfare. In Kita, in the French Sudan, an uncircumcised man can, it is true, bear arms, but he is debarred from all rights of inheritance; and, in like manner, inheritance is conditional on circumcision among the Masai, Wakwafi, Damara, Hambo, and Wanika; while the Damara reckon a man's age from the time of his circumcision, not counting the previous years at all. In view of all this, it is not astonishing that, just as 'uncircumcised' is a contemptuous epithet among some peoples, as noted above, so circumcision is a mark of proud distinction among Jews, Mombutu, etc., and is even restricted to certain classes among Aztecs, Egyptians, and Melanesians (see above, (f)); while, though circumcision is not universal in Madagascar, no one who has not undergone the operation can become either a soldier or an official.

(k) In connexion with other initiation rites.—Attention has been called by Post (*Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1894-95, ii. 36 f.; cf. also art. AUSTERITIES, 8 (3), for further literature) to the fact that those peoples who perform circumcision at the age of puberty not infrequently combine it with usages distinctive of formal declaration of, and initiation into, manhood. Among the Kafirs and Bechuana the lad just circumcised is flogged until the blood flows, all the while being admonished of his duties; and the Bantu squirt cayenne pepper on the wounded penis. The young Basuto, for three months after circumcision, remain away from home, receiving instruction in all that they must henceforth observe as men; while among the Mandingo the newly circumcised rove at will for two months from village to village, exempt from all labour, and everywhere dancing and singing, their hosts welcoming them with all good cheer. Elsewhere, as among the Peuhls, in Darfur, and on the coast of Guinea, those who have just undergone circumcision may with impunity violate the usual regulations governing sexual relations and property rights (for African details of these adjuncts to circumcision, see Post, *African Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1887, ii. 291-293).

This licence, at least so far as sexual relations are concerned, is admirably explained by Crawley (*op. cit.* p. 309 f.) as being a 'trial' of one sex by the other, 'as if the preparation necessitated putting it to the test; and thereby each sex is practically

"inoculated" against the other, by being "inoculated" with each other, in view of the more permanent alliance of wedlock.' Attention is called below (m) to the Kikuyu fear of the consequences of the first sexual congress; and, in like fashion, many Central African tribes believe that both sexes must sustain sexual relations as soon as may be after initiation, or they will die. After circumcision, Kafir boys have the right of intercourse with any unmarried woman they wish; and similar customs prevail along the Congo and in Senegal; while, in like manner, 'immediately after circumcision a Ceramese boy must have intercourse with some girl, it matters not with whom, "by way of curing the wound." This is continued till the blood ceases to flow' (Crawley, citing Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Sebeles en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 135).

(l) Opposition to circumcision.—The Jews alone, with their rigid adherence to circumcision and their haughty attitude toward all others than themselves, have had to bear the brunt of opposition and ridicule because of a rite that was, to the nations surrounding them, distinctively characteristic of them; and the 'curti Indaei' were the objects of the sneers of the Græco-Roman world from Horace (*Sat.* i. ix. 70) onward (cf. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme*, Paris, 1895). Far more serious to the Jews than mockery were the efforts made, though in vain, by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 1^{4s} 6^{10s}) and Hadrian (cf. *J.E.* vi. 135) to suppress circumcision, together with all other distinctive features of Judaism. The same intense hatred of circumcision is manifested by the Mandæans, who will not admit Jews to their number, though Christians are permissible proselytes; and who, in the case of a Mandæan forcibly circumcised by Muhammadans, only with extreme reluctance received him again, condemning his descendants to perpetual isolation from their fellowship, and forbidding them to marry Mandæans (Siouffi, *Études sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens*, Paris, 1880, p. 72, note 3).

A controversy early arose in the primitive Church, as is well known, regarding circumcision, the Hellenistic party denying its necessity, and the Judaizing faction affirming it (cf. Ac 11^s 15^{1s} 21^{2s}). St. Paul, however, though he himself had been circumcised and had, under Jewish pressure, performed the rite on St. Timothy (Ph 3^s, Ac 16^s), and though he was far from depreciating it (Ro 3^{12s}), decided that it was unessential, at least in the case of Gentile converts (Ac 15^{12s}; cf. Gal 5²⁻⁴). Indeed, he regarded the mere presence or absence of physical circumcision as equally immaterial (Ro 3^{20s} 4^{12s}, 1 Co 7^{12s}, Gal 5⁶ 6^{12s}, Col 3¹¹), since the only true circumcision was spiritual (Ro 2^{29s}, Ph 3^{3s}, Col 2^{11s}), the Pauline attitude being here closely akin to that of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 4⁴ 6¹⁰ 9^{2s}; cf. Dt 10^{1s} 30^s). Though under divergent circumstances divergent modes of procedure might be advisable (cf. Ac 16^s with Gal 2^{12s}), St. Paul's one principle being that he 'might by all means save some' (1 Co 9^{12s}), he maintained that the guiding principle here must be personal honesty of conviction as to what was right for each particular individual (cf. Gal 2^{12s}), he himself feeling most keenly that he was entrusted with the 'gospel of the uncircumcision' as St. Peter was with the 'gospel of the circumcision' (Gal 2⁷⁻⁹).

The final victory in the struggle rested with the Gentile Christians, who advocated uncircumcision, and only one or two of the early heresies retained it. To these belong the Judaistic Ebionites (see EBIONISM), who boasted of their possession of circumcision as being 'the sign and stamp of the prophets and of the righteous,' even as it was of Christ Himself, basing their own practice immedi-

ately on Mt 10²⁵ (Iren. *Hær.* xxx. 26); while a similar attitude was taken by Cerinthus (cf. the passages cited by Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 414), who, despite the conclusions of Peake (above, p. 320), must at least in this respect have been what he is usually considered, a Judaizing Gnostic.

In the later history of the Church, circumcision is seldom a problem. Nevertheless, the Third Council of Toledo (8 May 589) found it necessary to prohibit Jews from purchasing Christian slaves, enacting that any Jew circumcising such a slave (on the basis of Gn 17^{12a}) should forfeit him; and this canon was incorporated by Recared in the *Leges Visigothorum* (ed. Zeumer, Hanover, 1894, p. 305 [=xii. ii. 12]) in the words, 'ille autem qui Christianum mancipium circumciderit, omnem facultatem amittat et fisco adgregetur.' The official pronouncement of the Roman Church on the subject is given in the bull of Eugene IV., *Cantate Domino* (4 Feb. 1441), which, after affirming that the requirements and ceremonies of the old Law, however proper for their time, have been abrogated by the coming of our Lord and the Sacraments of the NT, continues:

'Omnibus igitur, qui Christiano nomine gloriantur, præcipit omnino [sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia], quocunque tempore, vel ante vel post baptismum, a circumcissione cessandum; quoniam si quis in ea spem ponat sive non, sine interitu salutis aeternae observari omnino non potest' (Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*¹⁰, Freiburg, 1908, p. 247).

But the most astonishing attack on circumcision has come from the Jews themselves. This attitude arose chiefly in connexion with the problem of the reception of proselytes. As early as the first half-century after the destruction of the Temple, the *tanna* Joshua ben Hananiah pleaded that proselytes might be exempt from the rite (*JE* x. 223); but the question was not broached again until 1843, when the extreme radicals of the Frankfurt 'Verein der Reformfreunde' declared circumcision optional. This naturally evoked vehement protests, even from non-conservative Jews, and for the time the movement failed. In 1869, however, the Reformed leader, Isaac M. Wise, proposed the admission of proselytes without circumcision; and this usage, being officially sanctioned by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, held at New York in 1892, is now generally followed by Reformed synagogues (for further details, see *JE* iv. 96, 216, x. 357, 359).

(m) Origin and motives of circumcision.—To account for the origin of circumcision the most divergent theories have been proposed, some worthless, and others at least partially satisfactory. The names of the rite, so far as their etymology is clear, add little to our knowledge. Of these perhaps the most significant is the Arab. *ḥatana*, 'circumcise,' as compared not only with Arab. *ḥatuna*, 'to become akin to some one through his wife,' but especially with Heb. *ḥn*, 'wife's father,' *ḥn*, 'daughter's husband,' 'bridegroom,' and *ḥn*, 'wedding,' 'marriage' (see on these words above, (g)). The Arab. *fahhara*, 'to circumcise,' and *tahhīr*, 'circumcision,' however, properly mean only 'to purify' and 'purification,' which may, as Kohler (*op. cit.* p. 93) suggests, 'indicate the later religious view.' The Syr. *gar*, the ordinary verb for 'circumcise,' means simply 'cut,' and may be compared with the Gr. and Lat. *περίεμνω* and *circumcido*, lit. 'cut around.'¹ A number of African terms are given by Andree (*op. cit.* p. 64), but their precise connotation is unknown to the present writer. The exact meaning of the common Heb. term *למול* is disputed, though, according to

Haupt (*AJSJ* xxii. 250 f.), it is 'a denominative verb derived from *mōl*, "front"=*māl*=*ma'al*, from *מל*, "to be in front"; cf. Arab. *أول*, "first" . . . The verb *māl*, "to circumcise," is a privative denominative meaning "to remove the front." Among the Muhammadan Malays the rite is called *buang malu*, 'casting away of shame'; while 'in the Gaelic version of the Travels of Sir John Mandeville, where the Scripture account of Isaac and Ishmael is given, the term "heathen baptism" (*baistedh Gennlidhi*) is applied to circumcision' (Joyce, *Social Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, London, 1903, i. 235).

It is a curious fact that few peoples practising the rite have any legend or theory as to its origin. When questioned, they generally reply that they do not know why they do it, or say that 'it was done by our fathers,' the latter reason being assigned even by the natives of Goazacoalco in southern Mexico (*NR* i. 666).

Even so mild a legend, evidently pointing to the introduction of the custom from some other tribe, as that found among the Basuto (Ploss, *Das Kind*², i. 384), forms an exception to the general ignorance. 'Once upon a time some one came who sought to induce them to accept circumcision. Since, however, they first wished to be assured that it would not cause their death, they made the test on a stranger; and, when they saw that he suffered no harm, they then accepted the rite.' In this connexion, allusion may be made to a curious belief and practice, now abolished, of the Kikuyu of East Africa (Gayac, *Anthropos*, v. 317). The first time that a newly circumcised youth has sexual relations with a woman, it results in the death of one or the other (on the perils of sexual intercourse according to primitive psychology, especially for the first time, see above, (k), and cf. Crawley, *op. cit.*, *passim*). Accordingly, those who have just undergone the rite assemble in bands of fifteen or twenty, and, surprising some old woman in a lonely place, abuse her, and finally knock out her brains with a stone, her death freeing the youths from all peril. For a like reason newly circumcised girls have intercourse with an uncircumcised child; but this child, not yet being considered a human being, is not subsequently killed.

The various suggested explanations of the origin of circumcision may now briefly be considered.

(a) *Hygienic*.—This explanation is a very old one, being recorded by Herodotus (καθαρίσθητος εἶνεκεν προτιμώμενος καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι, ii. 37) for the ancient Egyptians, but specifically alleged among modern peoples only by the Samoans.¹ The theory has the support of so able a scholar as Steinmetz (*op. cit.*, *passim*), but the lack of hygienic concepts among primitive peoples renders the hypothesis extremely improbable; and its acceptance in the popular mind is doubtless due to modern surgical reasons for its performance.

(β) *Preparation for sexual life*.—This theory has far more in its favour, in view of the wide-spread practice of circumcision at the age of puberty (for examples, see above, (i)). In addition, this view is supported by the etymological connexion between Arab. *ḥatana* and Heb. *ḥn*, etc. (see preceding col.); and it is alleged to have been the original cause among the primitive Hebrews by Barton (*Sem. Origins*, London, 1902, pp. 100, 280 f.), though it seems to the present writer that he is incorrect in pressing Gn 34^{14a} and Ex 4^{24a} in this connexion, the one passage being better explicable as requiring circumcision before amalgamation (in other respects as well as in marriage) with the Hebrews, and the latter being the excited, or perhaps angry, exclamation of a Midianitish woman, who was probably familiar with circumcision just before marriage, and had, perhaps, induced Moses to postpone the rite for this very reason (cf. above, (g)). Still less is Barton justified in explaining Jos 5^{2a} as referring to 'the marriageable young men.' Some of these men were, indeed, doubtless just at the marriageable age; but others (cf. vv. 5-7) must have been far beyond the age of puberty. Yet the theory is at least partly correct.

¹ I think also that something of the same reason dictated the operation of male circumcision with the idea of discouraging masturbation.—[E. M. L.]

¹ In hot countries the penis is peculiarly liable to disease from retention of *smegma* behind the *glans*, therefore to 'cut around' and to 'purify' may have had a reference to hygienic considerations, and have become a religious observance (cf. next paragraph).—[E. M. L.]

It was, and is, a preparation for sexual life in so far as it is a preparation for the duties and privileges of manhood in general (cf. below, λ , μ); and the hypothesis receives some support from what was apparently the practice of the Midianites and Sodomites (see above, (g)).

The theory here considered has been learnedly advocated by Ploss (*op. cit.* i. 368 f.), who sees in it an attempt to correct nature, and, by averting phimosia, to ensure offspring for the person operated on. The frequent performance of the rite long before puberty he interprets as 'an effort to guarantee the child a posterity as numerous as possible' (for another explanation, see below, λ , μ). The desire to correct nature receives a striking exemplification among the modern Arabs, who 'declare that only in man is an impediment like the foreskin found, and wonder how it is possible for reproduction to occur among uncircumcised Christians' (Barton, *op. cit.* p. 101, citing Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 341, 410); and Rosenbaum (*Lustspiele im Alterthume*, Halle, 1889, p. 366 f.) similarly held that circumcision was designed to promote fertility.

(y) *Obviation of peril from sexual relations.*—This theory is defended by Crawley (*op. cit.* p. 137 f.). Denying that circumcision either prevents disease or had any real sanitary idea as its basis, though, 'when the religious habit became rational, the fallacy of sanitary intention in circumcision became prominent, and may often have been the reason for the continuance of the practice,' he holds that

'the last factor in the principle . . . is one very closely connected with contact, and applies especially to such practices as circumcision. The deleterious emanation from strange or new things is identical in theory with human emanations, not only from strange or unhandled beings, but from characteristic parts of such, and in later thought, from such parts of one's own personality. This dangerous emanation is any physical secretion religiously regarded, and its retention is prevented by cutting away separable parts which would easily harbour it. . . . This primitive notion is the same with those of personal cleanliness and of the removal of separable parts of a tabooed person. . . . When the part is cut off, there result the ideas, first of securing the safety of the rest by sacrificing a part, . . . and secondly, of sacrificing such part to a deity so as to consecrate the rest, by making it less "impure" or "taboo." . . . Circumcision and artificial hymen-perforation thus originated in the intention both to obviate hylo-idealistic danger resulting from apparent closure, and to remove a separable part of a taboo organ. . . . This removal also explains the practice of excision. The other ideas follow later, and the safety both of the individual and of those who will have contact is the more necessary because that contact is with the other, the dangerous sex.' It is thus that he explains the Hebrew and Egyptian view of circumcision as cleansing; while 'Sir A. B. Ellis infers that circumcision amongst the Yoruba and Ewe peoples is a sacrifice of a portion of the organ, which the god [Elegba, a phallic deity] inspires, to ensure the well-being of the rest.'

(d) *Test of endurance.*—This interpretation is maintained by Zaborowski ('Circumcision, a superstition en Afrique,' in *L'Anthropologie*, vii. 653-675, 'De la Circumcision des garçons et d'excision des filles comme pratique d'initiation,' in *BSAP*, 4th ser., v. 81-104), and, at least in Africa, his view receives a certain degree of confirmation through the connexion of circumcision with undoubted endurance tests (cf. above, (k)).

In Arabia, also, circumcision is associated with a test of endurance. During the performance of the mutilation practised by the Arabs between Abu Arish and Hejaz (described above, p. 660a), the person being operated upon is required to hold in his hand a lance, with its butt resting on his foot; he must not betray the slightest expression of pain, or allow the lance to quiver. Similar rules are found elsewhere, notably in Australia.

All this, however, is scarcely sufficient to make circumcision an endurance test *par excellence*, since stolidity is an absolute requisite in many rites besides circumcision, especially those of any sort of initiatory character (cf. art. AUSTERITIES, INITIATION).

(e) *Tribal mark.*—This theory is defended for the Hebrews, at least in part, by Barton (*op. cit.* p. 98 f.), on the basis of Gn 17¹⁰⁻¹², Ex 4²⁴, 12⁴, as being 'fora' or 'the' token of a covenant (אמנה) between Jahweh and Abraham. To this it may well be objected that the concealment of the part of the body affected by such a mark renders this explanation improbable; yet there is no doubt, even granting this objection, that the possession

of circumcision has operated, not only among the Hebrews, but also among many primitive peoples, to produce a heightening of tribal pride and consciousness of tribal unity, as is evinced by haughty contempt for all who are uncircumcised (cf. above, (j)). It must be admitted, however, that nowhere, except among the ancient Hebrews (if Gn 17¹⁰⁻¹² is really to be so interpreted; but see below under η), is such a concept of the meaning of circumcision apparently felt.

(f) *Sacrifice.*—This hypothesis seems best to explain the American forms of circumcision, especially among the Mexicans and Mayas (see 'American' section of this art.), and has been urged for the West African Yoruba and Ewe (see above, (c)); while a similar view has also been advanced to account for the obscure Ex 4²⁴, with the idea that the circumcision of Gershom ransomed either his life or that of his father, Moses, from the wrath of Jahweh. And Barton (*op. cit.* p. 100; below, p. 679; cf. Jeremias, in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrb. der Religionsgesch.*,² Tübingen, 1905, i. 381) holds that the circumstances under which the rite 'is performed in Arabia point to the origin of circumcision as a sacrifice to the goddess of fertility, by which the child was placed under her protection, and its reproductive powers consecrated to her service.' The mere fact, however, that sacrifice is offered in Arabia in connexion with circumcision scarcely warrants us in assuming that the rite itself (except in America) is sacrificial in origin. Lagrange, in his *Études sur les religions sémitiques*² (Paris, 1905), modifies this theory by making circumcision a sacrifice of a part to save the whole—an explanation which is not altogether convincing. On the possible connexion of sacrifice and sanctification with circumcision, see below, ξ .

(\eta) *Sanctification of the generative faculties.*—This theory, which is closely connected with the one just discussed, is advocated, for example, by Valetton (in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *op. cit.* i. 402). The great champion of this view, however, was Gerland (*Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, vi. 23, 40 f.), who based his conclusions on certain Polynesian customs.

Among many Polynesians and Melanesians there was the greatest reluctance to permit the bared *glans penis* to be seen, though, in all other respects, what we should call modesty was conspicuous by its absence. Even those islanders who did not practise circumcision bound the prepuce tightly over the *glans*. In like fashion, the *glans* was thrust, in the Admiralty Islands, into the cleft of a shell; on Humboldt Bay (New Guinea) little gourds were worn over the *glans*; the African Kafirs put little tufts of pepo or bits of leather over this part; the South American Bororos Cabacabas (a Tupi tribe) thrust it into a wooden ring; and the New Caledonians cover it with a girdle which holds it against the abdomen, permitting the remainder of the genitals to remain in full view (cf., further, Gerland, *op. cit.* vi. 575 f.). For this reason, Gerland concluded that 'man schützte die Vorhaut auf, um den den Göttern besonders heiligen, lebenspendenden Theil nicht zu verhüllen; man band ihn (aber wohl erst viel später, als sich polynesische Eigenthümlichkeit streng entwickelt hatte) wieder zu, um den Theil, der wegen seiner Heiligkeit streng Tabu d. h. den Göttern angehörig war, den Blicken der Menschen zu entziehen, damit kein Bruch des Tabu entstehe.' With this he further compares Gn 17¹⁰⁻¹² (for another explanation, see above, (c)), and thus also he explains the tattooing of the *glans* among the Tongans and other Polynesians. The theory has met with little favour, being deemed too artificial (cf. Ploss, *op. cit.* i. 370 f.); yet it must be remembered that the genitals are distinctly recognized as sacred among at least some peoples. Only thus can one explain the early Hebrew rite of swearing with the 'hand under the thigh' of the person to whom the oath is made (Gn 24², 9, 47²⁹), this part of the body being known to be that from which life proceeds (cf. Gn 35¹¹ 46²⁸, Ex 15, Jg 8³⁰, 1 K 18²⁶). And it may be suggested that a similar feeling of sanctity was, at least in some cases, one of the factors that led to the almost universal tabu laid upon the genitals of both sexes (though especially of women, where the sense of property rights [see art. ADULTERY] also played an important part), and their consequent concealment, thus being possibly a partial explanation of the sentiment of modesty in regard to sexual matters. It must also be borne in mind that sanctification may here possibly be construed as the result of sacrifice (see preceding paragraph, and below, ν).

(\theta) *Social distinction.*—This factor appears only among the ancient Egyptians, Aztecs, and a few

other peoples (see above, (f)); and the case of certain islands of the New Hebrides group suggests that, in some instances at least, a custom introduced from other tribes (cf. the Basuto legend quoted above, p. 664^b) was adopted first, as new fashions generally are, by the higher classes, and then was gradually extended till it became universal among the people concerned. On this theory, the curious exemption of the highest chief in Tonga from the rite (above, (f)) would be explained by the theory that he was too august to be subject to alien customs. But this phenomenon is extremely rare, and there is absolutely no reason to suppose that circumcision was primarily restricted to any one class. Its performance on every Australian of the tribes in which it is practised at all, and the similar phenomenon in Africa, as well as the express command in Gn 17¹⁰⁻¹⁴ 34^{10f}, Ex 12⁴⁸, all militate against such a hypothesis.

(i) *To increase sexual pleasure.*—While Philo ('de Circumcisione,' in *Opera*, ed. Mangey, ii. 210) and Maimonides (*More Nebuchim*, xlix. 391 f.) maintained that the object of circumcision was to check lust, Burton (*Mem. of the Anthropolog. Soc.* i. 318) put forth the theory that 'removal of the prepuce blunts the sensitiveness of the *glans penis* and protracts the act of Venus.' This remarkable explanation can scarcely be taken seriously (for a much more plausible reverse reason, to discourage onanism, see above, (a)), though it was alleged by a native to be the reason for the semi-*ariltha* practised along the north-west coast of Australia (Milucho-Maclay, *ZE*, 1880, p. 87). While the general attitude of Australians toward their women is scarcely such as to make this tender consideration of their feelings probable, such may, nevertheless, be a partial motive in regions where greater refinement (or perhaps degeneracy) exists. This is, according to Ploss (*Das Weib*², i. 569 f.), the reason for the pinching off of a part of the prepuce in the Aarau Archipelago and in Seranglao (cf. above, (b)).

With this Ploss compares the Dayak usage of piercing the *glans* with a silver needle, and, after the wound heals, of inserting in it small rods of brass, ivory, silver, or bamboo, the silver rods sometimes being perforated at both ends for little bundles of bristles. In similar fashion, the Alutse of North Celebes, the Battas of Sumatra, the Javanese, the Chinese, and the Sudanese often bind various substances on the *corona* to increase the size of the penis, and so to augment its friction in the vagina; while like practices are also recorded for India (Schmidt, *Beiträge zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 987 f.).

(κ) *Connected with belief in re-incarnation.*—On the basis of the Australian Unmatjera tradition recorded above ((c), *sub fin.*), Frazer ('Origin of Circumcision,' in *Independent Rev.* iv. 204-218) has put forth a theory which may offer a partial explanation of the rite, at least for Australia, though the present writer is not convinced that it is wholly satisfactory.

'It,' writes Frazer, 'as seems highly probable, such a custom as that recorded by the tradition ever prevailed, its intention could hardly be any other than that of securing the future birth and re-incarnation of the owner of the foreskin when he should have died and his spirit returned to its abode in the tree. It might well be thought that a man's new birth would be facilitated, if in his lifetime he could lay up a stock of vital energy for the use of his disembodied spirit after death. That he did, apparently, by detaching a vital portion of himself, namely, the foreskin, and depositing it in his *nanja* tree or rock, or whatever it might be' (211 f.). In *ariltha* (see below, γ), likewise, 'this strengthening and fertilizing virtue of the blood was applied, like the foreskin at circumcision, to lay up a store of energy in the *nanja* spot, against the time when the man's feeble ghost would need it. . . . That portion, whether the foreskin or the blood, was, in a manner, seed sown in order to grow up and provide his immortal spirit with a new body when his old body had mouldered in the dust. . . . the removal of a vital part of the person which shall serve as a link between two successive incarnations, by preparing for the novice a new body to house his spirit when his present tabernacle shall have been worn out' (214). In this connexion Frazer calls attention to Ezk 32¹⁸ 21^{24f} (cf. also Ezk 29¹⁰ 31¹⁸), although these passages do not necessarily imply that the uncircumcised were debarred from resurrection, while the circumcised might again come to life (for folk-tales of the 'renewal of life in the dismembered dead' type, see *CF*, ch. iv.).

(λ) *Mark of subjection.*—The idea of Herbert Spencer (cited by Jacobs, *JE* iv. 98), that circumcision 'was a mark of subjection introduced by conquering warriors to supersede the punishment of death,' hardly deserves mention, much less discussion.

(μ) *Initiation.*—In by far the great majority of cases circumcision is, as the examples collected above imply, and as Jacobs (*op. cit.*) concludes, initiatory in character. In this way the theories that it is a preparation for sexual life, an effort to avert sexual peril, a test of endurance, and a tribal mark (above, β, γ, δ, ε) are all seen to be part truths, since all these factors, and more besides, are necessary for the complete life of manhood. It is, then, but natural that the rite should normally be performed about the age of puberty. At the same time, since the rite must be performed some time, it appears that, for various reasons (chiefly, perhaps, the realization that circumcision becomes more painful, and even more dangerous, the longer it is postponed), the operation frequently takes place long before puberty, and even, as among the Hebrews, Wazegua, Ovaherero, and others (for examples, see above, (i)), in tender infancy (for another explanation of early circumcision, see above, (b)). It is, as Andree (*op. cit.* p. 76) rightly says, 'most usually a socio-political act, performed at the age of puberty' (on the religious problems involved, see below, ζ).

(ν) *Ariltha.*—This operation, often called 'artificial hypospadias,' has already been described (above, (b)), as has Frazer's explanation of it (above, κ). It was formerly held, largely on the authority of Milucho-Maclay (cf. Ploss, *Das Kind*², i. 358 f., ii. 422 f.), that the object of this operation was Malthusian, since the ejection of semen, taking place immediately in front of the scrotum, was alleged not to enter the vagina, so that the few men unoperated on were believed to procreate the entire offspring of the tribe. These conclusions are now known to be wrong.

In the first place, 'the natives, one and all in these tribes, believe that the child is the direct result of the entrance into the mother of an ancestral spirit individual. They have no idea of procreation as being directly associated with sexual intercourse [see art. CHASTITY, p. 479b], and firmly believe that children can be born without this taking place' (Spencer-Gillen b. p. 330). In the second place, the Australian mode of coitus (Roth, *op. cit.* p. 179), in which the man squats on his haunches, drawing the supine woman toward him, does secure the discharge of the semen into its natural receptacle.

It may perhaps be hesitatingly suggested, in lack of any better explanation, that the operation is designed to make the male genitals resemble the female, the opened *matius* answering to the *rima vulvæ*, the flaps of *corpus spongiosum* to the *labia*, etc., while micturition is performed of necessity in the female position. This explanation is the reverse of that suggested by Roth (see below, 3 (δ), ε), and bears a certain amount of analogy with the 'effeminates' of many American Indian tribes, who, after suffering atrophy of the genitals through excessive masturbation, etc., dress as women, and conduct themselves as such (cf. Waletz, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, iii. 118, 383; Fewkes, in *86 BREW*, 1907, p. 81; *NR*, *passim*; Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 210 f.). At the same time, analogous operations performed in Fiji, at various ages, and sometimes repeatedly on the same individual, are declared to be strictly therapeutic in intention (de Marzan, *Anthropos* v. 808 f.).

(ξ) *Conclusion.*—A survey of circumcision as a whole leads the present writer, at least, to conclude that there is no one cause that will satisfactorily account for every phase of the rite. One argument, and only one, of those cited above may be ruled out at once as worthless—the idea that circumcision was a mark of subjection (λ). Two others, that it was a mark of social distinction (θ), and that it was designed to increase sexual pleasure (i), may explain a very few instances. The plea that it was hygienic (α) can, even if found empirically to be true, scarcely have been the original motive—the Egyptians, in their report to Herodotus, were too civilized to serve as credible narrators of primitive usage, even if they were not giving a rational.

istic interpretation which would commend itself to a foreign traveller (and the same thing may possibly hold of the Samoans). The hypothesis that reincarnation was aided by circumcision (κ) explains one curious tradition, and is not without analogous ideas elsewhere; but that it accounts for the rite as a whole seems very doubtful. The theory of sacrifice (ζ), from which may have developed that of sanctification of the reproductive powers and their tabu (η), even as the concepts of preparation for sexual life, obviation of sexual danger, endurance tests, and tribal marks (β , γ , δ , ϵ) are apparently combined in initiation (μ), has undoubtedly been a factor, if not the factor, among some peoples. And among the Hebrews the rite may have had the meaning of the sanctification of the reproductive organs to Jahweh, 'He who causes to be' (on the etymology of κ , cf. Barton, *op. cit.* pp. 282-285; see also Kittel, in *PRE*³ viii. 533 ff., and the literature cited in *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* p. 218), as well as of initiation into the Hebrew community (cf. Gn 17^{10ff.}, Ex 12⁴⁸, and perhaps Gn 34^{4ff.}, though the last passage might be explained, on a strained hypothesis, as a ruse of the sons of Jacob to get the Shechemites into their power). From this point of view, the Hebrews would have had the most perfect idea of circumcision, as including both the great sources—sanctification of the sexual organs, and initiation.

It is even possible that, despite the variety of motives to which reference has already been made, all kinds of circumcision are ultimately reducible, not to two causes (sacrifice or sanctification of the reproductive faculties and initiation), but to one, sacrifice; since initiation, with its accompanying austerities, may conceivably be regarded as itself a sacrifice to the tribal deity to gain admission to the people whom he protects.

Is circumcision a religious rite? This is denied, except in sporadic instances, by Andree (*op. cit.* p. 75), and attention has already been called (above, (*h*)) to the extreme rarity of specifically religious rites in connexion with circumcision. Much depends, of course, on one's definition of religion; but, in view of the fact that among most primitive peoples religion is practically co-extensive with life, and still more in consideration of the ceremonies, such as feasts and the like, connected with the performance of the rite, the present writer strongly feels that in its inception, and late into its development, circumcision was essentially religious. This is self-evident among those peoples where circumcision is regarded either as a sacrifice or as sanctification of the genital organs (above, ζ , η). The religious explanation also seems to hold good if circumcision is considered as preparation for sexual life, as obviation of the perils connected with sexual union, or as initiation in general (above, β , γ , μ)—the three reasons for which, ostensibly at least, it is most generally performed. For to the primitive mind all matters connected with the reproductive functions and with their operations and results are essentially connected with religion, as Crawley has shown in his *Mystic Rose*; and all rites of initiation are likewise primarily religious (see INITIATION). If, as tentatively suggested above, even initiation is ultimately to be traced back to sacrifice, the religious origin of circumcision would be beyond question. Despite the lack of rites specifically declared to be religious in the majority of cases of circumcision, therefore, its origin seems to the present writer to be, under any hypothesis, religious; while survivals of primitive religious concepts are preserved even among peoples to whom the religious aspects of circumcision have become more or less blurred.

If it is difficult, and perhaps over-subtle in consideration of the mental equipment of primitive

man, to deduce all circumcision from any single cause, it is impossible to derive it from any one centre. The attempt was, indeed, made by R. Hartmann (*Völker Afrika's*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 178), who held that circumcision originated in Africa, whence it spread, through the Egyptians, to the Semites and to Asia. Borrowing is, of course, found among some peoples (see above, pp. 661, 664), and may well have been more prevalent than is generally known (that the Africans have been widely influenced in this respect by Muhammadanism is obvious); yet the possibility of independent origin and of various reasons must also be reckoned with. That such independent development actually took place is proved beyond all doubt by the existence of circumcision in America and Australia, where no sane person would allege African influence.

3. FEMALE CIRCUMCISION.—(a) Geography.—The operation of female circumcision is, or was, practised in ancient Egypt; in Muhammadan Africa by the Gallas, Abyssinians, Waboni, Wassania, Wanika, Agow, Gaffat, Gongga, Sara-kolese, and the natives of Kordofan (Nubia), Balad-Sudan, and Sennaar and the surrounding districts; in non-Muhammadan Africa by the Susu, Mandingo, Peuhls, Masai, Wakwafi, some Bechuanas, and the natives of Bambuk, Sierra Leone, Benin, Akkra, Old Calabar, and Loango; in Asia by the Arabs (both ancient and modern), and the Kamchatkans; by the Malays of the East Indian Archipelago, and in almost all the islands of the Alifure Archipelago; in America by the Totonacs (eastern Mexico), Chunchu, Pano, and Tunka (Peru), Tecuna (on the upper Solimoes, in western Brazil), and all the tribes on the Ucayale (north-eastern Peru); and in Australia by all tribes from the Urabunna in the south through the continent to the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria. To these must be added one sporadic occurrence in Europe—its adoption by the heretical Russian sect of Skoptzy ('circumcisers').

The practice of 'infibulation' (see next paragraph) has an even narrower range, being mainly restricted to north-eastern Africa, where it occurs among the Beja, Galla, Somali, Massaua, Sudanese, southern Nubians, and Danakil, as well as in part of Kordofan and in Sennaar. Outside Africa it is recorded among the Muhammadan Malays and the ancient Arabs; and it has been alleged to have been practised in Pegu in India, though this seems more than doubtful.

(b) Varieties.—The Totonacs of eastern Mexico merely made a simple gash in the *pudenda* with a silex knife; and the Abyssinians perform clitoridectomy with a stone. The normal operation, as now practised in Egypt, is, however, more elaborate, as is shown in the following description, quoted by Ploss (*Das Weib*³, i. 265) from Duhouset:

'La circoncision consiste seulement dans l'enlèvement du clitoris, et se pratique de la manière suivante sur les filles de neuf à douze ans. L'opérateur, qui est le plus souvent un barbier, se sert de ses doigts trempés dans le cendre pour saisir le clitoris, qu'il étire à plusieurs reprises d'arrière en avant, afin de trancher d'un seul coup de rasoir, lorsqu'il présente un simple filet de peau. La plaie est recouverte de cendre pour arrêter le sang, et se cicatrise après un repos complet de quelques jours. J'ai vu plus tard, de l'aveu même des opérateurs, le peu de soin qu'on apportait à circoncire les filles dans les limites religieuses de l'opération, qu'on pratique plus largement en saisissant les nymphes à la hauteur du clitoris, et les coupant presque à leur naissance, à la face interne des grandes lèvres, dont les replis muqueux, qui nous occupent, sont pour ainsi dire la doublure, cachant les organes reproducteurs; ce qui reste des petites lèvres forme, par la cicatrisation des parois lisses, s'indurant et se rétrécissant, une vulve béante, d'un aspect singulier chez les Fellas circoncises.'

A further development of circumcision is found in the Australian custom of female introcision, or cutting open of the vagina. This is practised only among those tribes which also perform *aritha*, or

sub-incision, of males (see above, 2 (b)). Here, as among the Pitta-Pitta and neighbouring tribes, a girl, on reaching the age of puberty, has her vaginal orifice enlarged 'by tearing it downwards with the first three fingers wound round and round with opossum-string'; while among the Ulaolinya and around Glenormiston an old man slits up a portion of the girl's *perineum* with a stone knife, after which he sweeps three fingers round inside the vaginal orifice (Roth, *op. cit.* p. 174). This operation is immediately followed by compulsory intercourse of the unfortunate girl with a number of young men, while the resultant bloody semen is collected and drunk by feeble, sick, and aged men of the tribe as being strength-giving (cf. above, 2 (c)).

With female circumcision must also be considered the characteristically African operation of 'infibulation,' or uniting (either by simple union or by suture) the *labia* just after circumcision has been performed, only a small aperture being left for the discharge of urine and menstrual blood. At marriage the vulva is forcibly re-opened, additional laceration often becoming necessary at parturition; but in many cases the infibulation is repeated time after time, as when the husband is going on a journey.

(c) Disposal of the ablated parts.—On this only scant information is accessible. In Java the parts ablated are wrapped in cotton with a bit of curcuma and buried under a horse-radish tree (*Moringa pterygosperma*; should the Unmatjera custom of hiding the ablated prepuce in a *nanja* tree [above, 2 (c)] be compared in this connexion?). The drinking of the blood, etc., produced by the operation of introcision among the Australian Ulaolinya and around Glenormiston has already been discussed in the preceding paragraph.

(d) Instruments employed.—The usual instrument used in female circumcision is a razor or other steel or iron cutting-tool; but among the Totonacs, Abyssinians, and Ulaolinya, as noted above (b), the more primitive stone knife is employed.

(e) Who are circumcised.—Wherever the rite of female circumcision is practised, it seems to be performed on all the women of the tribe concerned; at least there is no certain record of its being confined to special classes, as occasionally occurs in the analogous usage of male circumcision (above, 2 (f)).

(f) Who circumcise.—Though one would naturally expect that female circumcision would be performed by women only, just as male circumcision is almost invariably performed by men (above, 2 (g)), this is not always the case. The priest was the operator among the Totonacs, as is the fetish-doctor in Loanda, while the barber officiates in modern Egypt. Among the Australians male operators are especially common. Thus, among the northern Arunta, the Ipirra, and the Illiaura, circumcision is performed on girls by the mother's mother's brother; among the Warramunga, by the father's sister's son; among the Binbinga, Anula, and Mara, by the husband's father; among the Gnanji, by the mother's father; and by some old man among the Ulaolinya and around Glenormiston.

In the majority of cases, however, female circumcision is performed by a woman. Thus the wife of the priest operates in Seranglao and Gorong, as does the wife of the blacksmith among the Wolof and Sarakolese, and in Kita (French Sudan; cf. the smith as the circumciser of boys in the same districts, above, 2 (g)). Women professionally trained are employed by the Arabs; old women who ordinarily gain a livelihood as jugglers perform the operation among the Diakite Sarakolese; and

it also falls within the province of old women among the African Masai, Wanika, Wakikuyu, and Wakamba, the Malayan population of the Alfurese Archipelago, and the Peruvian Chuncho. Among the Australians the rite appears to be performed but seldom by women, though among the Kaitish the operator is the elder sister.

(g) Where performed, and in whose presence.—Like the corresponding male rite, female circumcision is almost invariably performed in a secluded place, and the opposite sex is almost universally excluded. Only among the Australian Warramunga does this rule seem to be violated. There female circumcision is performed in the presence of all the men and women in the camp, except those who stand to the girl operated on in the relation of husband's mother and husband's mother's brother.

(h) Age when female circumcision is performed.—The same variations as to the age at which female circumcision is performed prevail as are found in the case of the rite on males (see above, 2 (i)). The table of the principal peoples is as follows:

- 8 days after birth: Abyssinians.
 - Soon after birth: Totonacs (eastern Mexico), Pehlis (western Africa).
 - 2 weeks after birth: Sarakolese.
 - A few weeks after birth: modern Arabs.
 - 3-4 years: Somali.
 - 8-10 years: Copta.
 - 6-7 years: Malays, Javanese, etc.
 - 6-8 years: Warangi.
 - 7-8 years: modern Egypt.
 - 7-10 years: Seranglao, Gorong.
 - 8 years: Galla, Agow, Dongola (Kordofan).
 - 9-10 years: Upper Egypt, Sudanese.
 - 9-15 years: Celebes (Holontalo, Bone, Boalemo, Kattinggola).
 - 10 years: Chuncho (Peru).
 - 10-12 years: Malinke and Bambarra (Manding district of French Sudan).
 - Before puberty: Mara (Australia).
 - 14 years: Bamangwato (Bechuana stock), ancient Egypt.
 - 14-15 years: Australia generally.
 - Puberty: Alfurese Archipelago, African Wakamba, Wanika, Wajage, Wakikuyu, Mandingo, Malikise (Bechuana stock), Kafirs, Old Calabar.
 - 8 days before marriage: Loanda.
 - Soon after marriage: Masai, Wakwafi.
 - Even after bearing children: Guinea, Swahili.
- The principal ages for the operation of infibulation are as follows:
- 8 years: Sennaar, southern Nubia, Danakil.
 - 6 years: Sudanese.
 - 7 years: Harrar.
 - 8 years: Muhammadan Malays, part of Kordofan.
 - 8-9 years: Massaua.
 - 8-10 years: Beja, Galla, Somali.

Female circumcision, like the male operation, is frequently performed *en masse*, as among the Mandingo, Bechuana, Amaxosa, Massi, Wanika, Wakikuyu, and Wolof, as well as in Guinea and in Kita.

(i) Effect on legal and social status.—The legal and social effects of female circumcision are closely analogous to those resulting from the male operation (see above, 2 (j)). Not until the performance of the rite is the girl received among women (Chuncho of Peru); previous to it the Amaxosa regard a girl as unclean, and only after it do they and the Bechuana consider her mature. Accordingly, among the Masai and Wakwafi an uncircumcised woman cannot enter society, nor can she marry among the Basuto, Malinke, Bambarra, or Sudanese. Indeed, in the Sansanding States on the Niger it is believed that marriage would bring misfortune to an uncircumcised woman. Among the Gallina of Sierra Leone a girl at her circumcision receives the name which she is to bear for the remainder of her life; and only after the rite has been performed do those Muhammadans who observe it permit a woman to enter a mosque. Not until circumcision had been performed could a girl in ancient Egypt either marry or inherit property, and in Old Calabar lack of circumcision

in either sex constitutes ground for divorce. Among the Abyssinians 'uncircumcised' is a dire insult to apply to a woman, while 'uncircumcised woman' or 'son of an uncircumcised woman' bears a similar connotation among the Arabs.

(j) In connexion with other initiation rites.—A number of peoples combine female circumcision with other rites, such as feasts, etc., some of which imply that the whole ceremony is considered an initiation into maturity. Among the Bamangwato, girls at their circumcision are permitted to flog with thorns the boys of their own age, the latter being considered men only if they take this treatment cheerfully. Among certain Guinea negroes the three or four moons following circumcision were spent by the girls concerned in learning dances, songs, etc.; and in Senegambia the event was celebrated by a special feast.

(k) Opposition to female circumcision.—This has become a practical problem only in connexion with the Roman Catholic missions to Abyssinia in the 16th century. Deeming the rite a survival of paganism, the missionaries forbade it among their female converts, with the unexpected result that no Abyssinian would marry them. In this dilemma the missionaries were constrained to permit the continuance of the practice, after a surgeon sent to Abyssinia by the College of the Propaganda had formally declared the operation to be surgically necessary (Ploss, *Das Kind*², i. 380).

(l) Origin and motives of female circumcision.—(a) *Native reasons*.—These are far more abundant than in the case of male circumcision (see above, 2 (m)). Some are very general in scope, simply implying that the girl is no longer immature, but has attained years of responsibility. Thus the South American Pano consider a circumcised woman more capable and skilful in discharging her everyday duties. As a rule, however, the reasons alleged for the practice are connected with sex-functions. The Mandingo regard it as 'useful' and as promoting fertility; in Old Calabar it is performed as preparatory to marriage; and in the Alfures Archipelago its object (as apparently also among the African Sarakolese) is to check sexual desire, especially before marriage. The Masai think that, if an uncircumcised woman should give birth to a child, both mother and infant would die; and the Swahili perform the operation in cases when all the children of an uncircumcised woman die, since it is believed that those subsequently born will live. Elsewhere the same peoples seem to have divergent reasons for the rite, as in Old Calabar and on the Cross River, where some alleged that circumcision was performed to promote chastity, while others said that it was done to avert a sort of mania from which women had previously often suffered (hysteria from unsatisfied sexual desire. —[E. M. L.]).

(8) *To check sexual desire*.—This reason, which is frequently alleged by primitive peoples themselves (see preceding paragraph), has been a ground for the operation, until recent times, in modern surgery (see above, 1 (b)), the clitoris especially, as corresponding in the female to the male penis, having been regarded as the centre of sexual excitement. This cause is assigned, for example, by Brehm and Russeger, and is by no means without justification.¹

(γ) *To remove hypertrophy*.—In view of the hypertrophic development of the clitoris and labia among many peoples, whether congenital (as

¹ This, in my opinion, is the principal reason for female circumcision among all savages. Woman's condition being generally that of a slave or beast of burden, the male wished absolutely to control cohabitation, and, realizing that women at certain times instinctively desired the approach of the male, acted accordingly with the desire of limiting the excitability of the clitoris. —[E. M. L.]

among the Egyptians, Abyssinians, Galla, Agow, Gaffat, and Gonga) or acquired through excessive onanism and sexual indulgence (as among the Malays), circumcision is sometimes performed by primitive peoples, as it may be in modern surgery. This hypertrophy may, to some, cause invincible disgust (as among the Abyssinians [see preceding section]); or the abnormal size of the clitoris may, as alleged by Bruce for Abyssinia, actually hinder sexual congress.

(δ) *Preparation for sexual life*.—This was the reason not only in ancient Egypt, but also in Old Calabar, and to this motive the desire to remove all hypertrophy of the female genitals (see preceding paragraph) must be considered subsidiary.

(ε) *Intercision*.—This operation, which, as noted above (b), occurs only in Australia, is obviously preparatory to marriage. Since it is performed only where *arithia* is practised, it may perhaps be suggested that its purpose is to provide space for the sub-incised penis, which, when in a state of erection, flares out on either side of the *meatus*, while, the semen being discharged immediately in front of the scrotum, a larger orifice must be afforded if it is to enter the vagina.

This explanation seems to the present writer somewhat more probable than that of Roth (*op. cit.* p. 180), who suggests that the female rite of intercision was prior to *arithia*, and that, as denoting fitness for, or experience of, copulation, it was later transferred analogously to the male. This theory is, however, opposed to all other phenomena connected with circumcision, since in every case the male rite evidently was first developed, the female practice being evolved by analogy, as would seem to be shown, not only by general probability, but by its far narrower range.

(ζ) *Infibulation*.—The meaning of this practice is obvious. It is designed simply and solely to prevent any sexual intercourse until the proper time for it arrives. It is for this reason that the Russian Skoptzy, to ensure perpetual virginity, perform the rite with particular sternness, sometimes ablating even the upper part of the *labia majora*, alleging, like Origen, Mt 19¹² as their Scriptural authority.

The name of the practice, which, however, but ill describes it, is borrowed from the Roman custom of fastening a *fibula*, or clasp, through the prepuce in front of the *glans* to prevent sexual intercourse, etc. (cf. Celsus, vii. xxv. 3; Martial, vii. lxxxii. 1, xi. lxxv. 8; Juvenal, vi. 78, 378; Tertull. *Corona Mil.* xi., *de Pudic.* xvi.).

(η) *Conclusion*.—In a sense, female circumcision, like its male counterpart (see above, 2 (m), ξ), may be regarded as initiatory; at least it is almost invariably sexual in design. It is, indeed, connected in a few instances with quasi-religious observances (see above, (j)), but even these scarcely militate against its general character. That it evolved much later than male circumcision there seems no reason to doubt; it is but a pale and limited reflex of male circumcision; and Crawley (*op. cit.* pp. 138, 309) is doubtless right in tracing it to the same origin as the analogous operation on the male.

Like male circumcision, again, female circumcision can be traced to no one centre, but evolved independently in Africa, Australia, and America.

LITERATURE.—Comparatively little of the large literature on circumcision is available for ethnological consideration, most of it being concerned either with the surgical or the Hebrew aspects, and no small amount being superficial defences of wild and morbid theories. A considerable quantity of the older material is collected in Waitz-Gerland, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1860-77, i. 2 121 f., ii. 111 f., 251, 380, vi. 28, 40 f., 560 f., 733 f.; and newer sources are furnished by accounts of travels and by such periodicals as *JAI*, *Anthropos*, etc. Among older works mention may be made of Salomon, *Die Beschneidung*, Brunswick, 1844, pp. 1-43; while Redmondino, *Hist. of Circumcision*, London, 1891, is a typical treatise to be shunned. By far the best studies are by H. Ploss, *Das Kind*², Leipzig, 1884, i. 342-394, ii. 423 f., 437 f., 440, 442-445; Ploss-Bartels, *Das Weib*², Leipzig, 1908, i. 261-277, 569; R. Andree, 'Die Beschneidung', in *AA* [1889] xlii. 58-78; Spencer-Gillen², ch. vii.; Spencer-Gillen², ch. xi.; W. E. Roth, *Ethnolog. Stud. among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, p. 170 ff.; Wilken, 'Besnijdenis bij de volken van den ind. archipel', in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*

van Nederlandsch Indië, 1885. A considerable bibliography, especially from the surgical point of view, is given by Tomès, *Della Circumcisione*, Florence, 1895, pp. 67-71, and in *Index Catalogue of the Surgeon-Major's Library*, Washington, 1st and 2nd ser., s.v. 'Circumcision (ritual).' The special thanks of the present writer are due to his friend and physician, Ernest M. Lyon, M.D., of Newark, N.J., for kind assistance in regard to the medical portions of the present art.; his notes are indicated by the initials E. M. L.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

CIRCUMCISION (American).—A mutilation analogous to circumcision was practised by some American tribes, either (1) as a symbolical sacrifice of sexuality and type of the surrender of the desires to the religious sentiments; or (2) as a partial sacrifice, symbolical of the sacrifice of the whole body, to a certain deity, which at the same time bound the individual to the god and to his tribal associates by a blood bond. Partial sacrifice was, indeed, common to nearly all the American tribes in one form or another, the Mexicans, Mayas, and Peruvians regarding it as an almost daily usage. Blood was drawn from the ears, nose, and other parts, chiefly for the purpose of smearing idols and small household deities, like the *tepitoton* of Mexico and the *conopa* of Peru. Gumilla noticed the rite of circumcision or an analogous practice among the tribes of the Orinoco, and Coreal asserts that the Nicaraguans and Yucatecans performed it, but whether as a personal or tribal sacrifice is not clear. Garcia states that the Guaycurus practised it, probably as a tribal custom to bring them more nearly into touch with some deity. Modern notices concerning circumcision are rare, although Mackenzie states (*Voyages*, p. 27) that the Hares and Dogribs (Athapaskan tribes) possessed the rite as a tribal bond; but, as little is known of the mythology of the northern division of that family, the statement stands without later verification. In Mexico, among the Aztec priesthood, complete abscission or discerption of the virile parts was performed by some classes as a sacrifice of sexuality, and certain sects of nuns were mutilated in a similar manner. The latter practice had probably a remarkable origin. With the Mexicans, the god of fire, whose name was Huehuetēotl, was supposed to govern the passions, and it was thought that therefore the undying fire sacred to him must be watched by unspotted virgins. Among the Mayas the sacred fire was regarded as a personification or deification of the generative faculties, and a poem translated from the Mayan immediately after the Conquest, and quoted by Count de Waldeck (*Voyage pittoresque dans le Yucatan*, 1838, p. 49), throws some light on the subject. It is supposed to proceed from the lover of one of the vestals, and refers to the mystical meaning of her office:

'O vierge, quand pourrai-je te posséder pour ma compagne chérie?
Combien de temps faut-il encore que tes vœux soient accomplis?
Dis-moi le jour qui doit devancer la belle nuit où tous deux
Alimenterons le feu qui nous fit naître et que nous devons perpétuer.'

The knowledge that certain of the Indian tribes practised mutilation was made use of by numerous writers, along with other facts, in the attempt to prove that the American Indians were the lost ten tribes of Israel. But, as no exact knowledge of how the rite was or is performed is at hand, it is impossible to say in what way it is analogous to the Jewish custom. Such resemblances are based upon pure speculation, and have chiefly found their protagonists in those pseudo-scientific works which from time to time appear on alleged ethnological affinities.

There can be no doubt that, as elsewhere, circumcision in most parts of America was evolved from and regarded as a substitute for human sacrifice. In Mexico, where human sacrifice was

never abandoned, sacrifice of a part of the body was known. In Peru, partial sacrifice had almost taken the place of full sacrifice, and blood was drawn from the noses of children only. At some festivals the blood of children was mixed with dough, eaten, and the dough rubbed against the door-posts of the houses, much in the same manner as the blood of lambs was splashed upon the door-posts of the Jews at the Feast of the Passover. Thus the evolution of the sacrifice of the part for the whole is evident in America as elsewhere.

LITERATURE.—B. Sahagun, *Hist. General de las cosas de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1829; Davilla Padilla, *Hist. de la Prov. de Santiago de Mexico*, Brussels, 1626, lib. ii. cap. 88; A. Mackenzie, *Voyages*, London, 1801, vol. i.; P. J. Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado y defendido*, Madrid, 1746; F. G. Garcia, *Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1729; L. Spence, *The Mythologies of Ancient Mexico and Peru*, London, 1907; H. Ploss, *Das Kind*, Leipzig, 1884, i. 356 f., 377, 385; R. Andree, *AA* xiii. (1881) 72-74; H. H. Bancroft, *NR* i. 666, ii. 278 f., 679, iii. 439 f.

LEWIS SPENCE.

CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian).—1. Introduction.—The question of circumcision in Egypt has always been one of great interest, since it involves three questions of a general type. First, there is the investigation as to whether, as has been affirmed at various times, it can explain, by a historical connexion, circumcision as practised by the Israelites. In the second place, it may, if carefully studied in its general bearings and in its details, help to elucidate the question of the Libyan, Asiatic, or Bantu origin of the primitive civilization of Egypt—a question much debated and still very obscure. Finally, from the more general view-point of the history of religion, we may allow that the great antiquity and long life of Egypt make Egyptian circumcision a good means of solving the problem of the original source and signification of this usage that is witnessed to in so many religious civilizations. Very little, however, was known with regard to this custom in Egypt before the rise of Egyptology in 1860; a great mass of new information was recovered between 1860 and 1900; while very important new documentary evidence has been discovered between 1900 and 1910, which enables us, up to a certain point, to get a comprehensive view of the whole subject.

2. Documentary evidence.—The documentary evidence, properly so called, is of the most varied kinds: (1) scenes representing the actual operation; (2) frescoes and bas-reliefs showing nude figures circumcised; (3) statues of the same; (4) Egyptian texts of the classical period understood to refer to circumcision, from a religious or historical point of view; (5) papyrus-texts of the Roman epoch relating to the practice of circumcision; (6) evidence of classical authors; (7) the mummies of kings, chief priests, and a great number of Egyptians of noble rank or affluent condition.

But we must avoid being deluded in actual practice by this enumeration. The variety of sources of information would appear to be an excellent basis for scientific study, but two facts detract greatly from their value: (1) Several of these classes of evidence reduce to a very small number of examples, either because we do not know any more about them at present (as in the case of the scenes of circumcision and the statues), or because the whole material at our disposal has not yet undergone methodical study (as in the case of the mummies). (2) Even in an apparently well-supported series, investigation leads us either to eliminate much of the information as of doubtful value (as in the case of most Egyptian texts of the Pharaonic period), or to draw conclusions that appear at first sight absolutely opposed to each other. Further, even supposing we are so far agreed to-day as to the antiquity of this practice, the phases of the actual operation, and, to a certain extent, the age at which it was carried out, still the two most important points are not settled: (a) Was circumcision general in Egypt, or was it confined to certain classes? was it obligatory or optional in some cases, and in what cases, specially and in detail? (b) Can we, consequently, define the

origin of circumcision, its nature, and its religious and social significance?

This practical inadequacy and the conflicting evidence of the documents have resulted in very contrary opinions; and the recent publications called forth by the discovery of the Roman papyri show that disagreement persists. At a time when Egyptology had only the evidence of the classics and a few Egyptian monuments at its disposal, Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, i. 183, iii. 385) gave it as his opinion that circumcision was of great antiquity in Egypt; he proved this from the evidence of the ancient writers and his personal observations, and established very valuable analogies with the African world; but he did not think circumcision had been compulsory, except for priests and initiates (i. 183, iii. 385). It sprang, in his opinion, from motives of ceremonial purity, and only later became a distinguishing mark of the orthodox Egyptian as opposed to the outsider (*ib.* i. 183). Considering their date and the absence of documents discovered since, these views are remarkable. After Wilkinson, the predominating opinion seems to have been that circumcision was not of much importance in Egypt from a religious point of view. Manuals and dictionaries of Egyptology (Pierret, Brodrick, etc.) passed it in silence, or only mentioned its existence—proved by Chabas' bas-reliefs, classical texts, and mummies—without entering upon any discussion of the essential problems. The same silence is preserved in most histories of Egypt (Brugsch, Maspero, Petrie), which confine themselves to quoting the known evidence. Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 33) remarks in addition that, 'had the Egyptians also regarded it [circumcision] as a divine institution, they would have mentioned it more frequently'; and Bénédicté seems to be of the same opinion (*Grande Encyclopédie*, xi. 433).

Quite recently, Naville (in *Sphinx*, xiii. [1909] 253) goes a step further, contesting both the generality of this practice and its religious importance, by showing the scarcity and uncertainty of the texts, the paucity of the figures, and the lack of convincing results from the examination of the mummies. Wiedemann (in *OLZ*; see Lit.) appears to be the most determined denier of the importance of circumcision in Egypt. He has submitted all the sources of information to a severe but very short analysis, arriving at entirely negative conclusions: circumcision was never general, its frequency varied, it had no absolute religious value, it was not a privilege reserved to certain classes, and it was not even compulsory for the priests. Wilcken, on the other hand (see Lit.), holds that circumcision was practised by the whole people; and his opinion, based on the papyri of the Roman period, is corroborated by that of Bissing, which is founded on the Egyptian evidence proper, and the works of Wendland on Græco-Roman sources (*Sphinx*, vi. 158, xii. 29). This view seems also to be held by Elliot Smith (see Lit.), at least for the classes of society that practised mummification. Reitzenstein, following the same papyri of the Roman period, restricts circumcision to the priest-class. All these disagreements of the chief authors who have discussed the question are reproduced in other Egyptological works.

3. Representations and phases of circumcision. —We may hazard an attempt at reconciling these most divergent opinions. The best method is not to discuss the theories themselves, but to take the evidence and class it in categories, eliminating all doubtful elements. The starting-point of this investigation must naturally be the actual existence of circumcision in Egypt, as proved both by the classics and by the monuments of the Egypt-

tians (statues and figures of circumcised men, and mummies of circumcised people). This fact settled, we must next see whether we can, in addition, establish anything concerning the manner in which the actual operation was performed, where it took place, under what conditions, and at what age. These elements will serve as a means of approach to the more important problems; the general or restricted character of this practice, and its possible meaning and origin.

The silence of Herodotus and Strabo on the actual details is fortunately compensated for by the two representations left by the Egyptians, though certain secondary details in these are at variance. The first is a bas-relief in the Theban temple of Khonsu (XXIst dyn.). Reproduced for the first time by Chabas in 1861 (see Lit.) and mentioned in all works thereafter, it created a great sensation on its publication, and was for many years the only specimen of its kind (cf. Maspero, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, p. 68). A second representation was discovered by Loret at Saqqarah (1899), and was briefly commented on by Bissing (1902). The discovery at Saqqarah of an authentic representation of circumcision, dating from the VIth dyn., was at first met with doubts as to the actual existence of such evidence (cf. Wiedemann, *OLZ* vi. [1903], and Naville, *Sphinx*, xii. 253); but these doubts were dispelled by the evidence provided, in 1904 and 1907, by the reproductions and commentaries of Max Müller and Capart (see Lit.). The scene completes that of Karnak and, besides being more ancient, is also more detailed and precise, supplemented as it is by short hieroglyphic annotations.

The operation seems to have comprised two essential parts—the circumcision itself and a dressing. Only the first part is represented in the Theban bas-relief. The child is placed before the operator, and its arms are securely held by an assistant (a woman at Karnak, a man at Saqqarah; at Karnak the hands are held behind the back, at Saqqarah they are brought in front of the patient's eyes). There is no written explanation at Karnak; that of Saqqarah is important. Short though it is, it follows the custom of the period by being divided into three sections—the title of the scene, words spoken by the principal actor, and the 'response' of the assistant, meant in these scenes to assure the magic success of the actions represented by eunymous words. The title is *sobit*, 'circumcision'—a fact which for ever establishes this technical term for ancient Egyptian, and proves its connexion with the Ooptic word *swb*, *creb*. The operator says, 'Hold him, that he may not faint away'; and the assistant replies in the usual formula, 'Do your best.' Leaving out of account the age of the child (see below), and considering only the operation itself, we see that the operator knelt to his task, and held the organ in his left hand while he operated with his right. The instrument itself is a sort of small blade pointed like a siletto, in the Karnak bas-relief; and oval in shape with a medial line (an indication of relief (?)), in the Saqqarah scene. There is nothing to indicate what material it is composed of. Wilkinson, judging by hypothesis only, hesitates between the 'sharp stone' spoken of in Ex 4th and the 'sharp knife' mentioned in Jos 5th; Chabas (*op. cit.*) supposes, but doubtfully, that it was a stone knife, basing his opinion on the fact that the mummifiers used stone knives to open the bodies; and Max Müller thinks, but cannot prove, that the instrument in the Saqqarah bas-relief is a flint. We may safely suppose that the ideogram of the sign following the word *sobit* in the hieroglyphic title, which has the appearance of a sickle without a handle, is a survival of a primitive era and represents a stone instrument. In any case, we may admit that the use of the sharp stone instrument persisted long after the discovery of metal, because of the religious value of the custom, just as it persisted among the mummifiers for opening corpses, and as it has survived, in Africa itself, for numerous important sacerdotal ceremonies (cf. *Annales du Musée du Congo*, series iii. t. I. fasc. 2, 'La Religion' [Brussels, 1906]), and often, naturally, for circumcision itself. The question would be of exceptional interest for pre-historic antiquity, but at present we are reduced to mere hypothetical probability.

The Karnak bas-relief shows further that the operation was performed on several children on the same occasion. It shows a second child further back ready for the operation, and held by a second woman. This may offer a hint for comparing facts given very much later by the Græco-Roman papyri. The second phase of the operation is shown at Saqqarah. The title of the scene is *sunu*, 'anointing.' The operator says to the child, 'Here is something to make you comfortable (*nohisnu*), and the eunymous reply is, 'That is perfect.' The operator is seen rubbing the member operated on with a sub-

tance which is probably some kind of grease or balm (cf. Capart, 'Ruede Tombeaux' in *D'Art égypt.*, p. 51, who refers to Macalister's art. in *HDB* i. 443). We have no details, in these scenes or in any texts, to show whether the excised organ was the object of any of the innumerable ceremonies mentioned as belonging to non-civilized nations (destroyed, burned, buried, hidden, placed in the temple, worn round the child's neck, etc.).

The question of age does not receive much elucidation from these two representations, owing to the conventional methods of Egyptian art; but the Karnak children appear to be between six and ten years old (in any case, they are beyond the 'first childhood' of the Egyptians, which ends at four years), and those of Saqqarah look from ten to twelve. The much-quoted text of St. Ambrose seems to have been a misunderstood passage from an Armenian version of Philo enumerating the advantages of circumcision. The validity of his assertion, which was accepted unreservedly by Zaborowski and others, was long ago contested with great skill by Wilkinson, who held that there was no fixed time in Egypt for circumcision. Wilkinson's opinion seems confirmed by the texts of the papyri of the 2nd cent. A.D. (see Lit.). Thus in the Tebtunis Papyrus, iv. 292, the child presented is 7 years of age, and a second child is 11; and quite recently the Geneva Papyri, published by Nicole (1909), show a father presenting his three sons aged 2, 5, and 8. These facts, then, invalidate the conclusions of Reitzenstein and Walter Otto on the publication of the first papyri. The probability is—if we must assign a meaning to their number of 14 years—that this age was regarded, at least in the Roman period, as the extreme limit after which authority to circumcise could not be granted. It is most interesting to compare the fact established by Elliot Smith in his analysis of the mummy of a young prince of the XVIIIth dynasty, that 'this boy of eleven years of age, who still wears the Horus lock of hair, is not circumcised' (*Bull. Inst. égypt.* v. i. [1908] 225). The sum of this information seems to show, as regards the question of age, a state of affairs very like what is proved to exist among several modern African tribes, and, on the other hand, to exclude from the origin of Egyptian circumcision all connexion with puberty or puberty rites. There is a clear-cut distinction in every case between the Egyptian and the Israelite custom.

Circumcision took place in the temples, as we conclude from the bas-relief in the temple at Khonsu, and the fact that the Saqqarah bas-relief came from the tomb of a court priest. The texts of the papyri mentioned above show further that it was performed in accordance with rites (*τετακνῶς πεπετυμένον*, undoubtedly a particular method and under civil control), and the antiquity of the ceremony is established by the statement elsewhere that the ceremony was performed *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*. The operation was preceded by an examination of the body—which is a very important point for the significance of circumcision (see below)—by means of which temple-dignitaries, called in the papyri *κορυφαῖον καὶ ὑποκορυφαῖον*, made sure that the child was free from blemishes (*σημεῖα*). Their evidence was registered by the *τεροπρπαγματεῖς*, and there is no doubt that the whole proceeding is ancient (it was only employed and complicated afterwards by the Romans; see below). We cannot determine whether the reproduction of the verbal process in the temple-archives (with the optional copy for the person interested) is of Pharaonic antiquity or was introduced by the Roman administration.

4. General character of the practice.—(a) *Texts*.—These preliminary remarks lead us to investigate the questions to what extent circumcision was a general practice in Egypt, to which classes it was limited, if limited at all, and, in the latter case, whether it was regarded as an obligation or as a

privilege. Not only are the texts of the Pharaonic period very few, but not one of them can be regarded as having a definite and certain value. The three texts most often quoted (the inscriptions of Merenptah at Karnak and Athribis, and the inscription of Piankhi [cf. full references in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iii. 588, 601, iv. 443]) have no clear significance for our present subject. They make only incidental mention of circumcision in four or five words, and Egyptologists have never agreed as to the meaning of these words. Although, in the Merenptah inscriptions, Brugsch, Breasted, Erman, Maspero, and Meyer have accepted the meanings 'circumcised' and 'uncircumcised' for the respective terms in the Egyptian inscription, these meanings are contested by Bissing, Max Müller, and Wiedemann, and recently exactly inverted by Naville (*Sphinx*, xiv. [1910] 253). The terms in which Piankhi (*Grande Inscr.* 106, 159) speaks of the 'uncircumcised' lords, and of Nimrōti, 'who was circumcised and abstained from eating fish,' are capable of a much less precise translation, as Bissing has shown. And, finally, everything seems to justify the objection of Naville that all these terms are both vague and complicated, while the Egyptians had a technical word for 'circumcision' which has not been employed in any one of these inscriptions.

The meaning of these historical documents has been a matter of debate for forty years, with no decisive result. We must likewise pass over, as doubtful, texts like the passage in the Knumhotep inscription, in which some have seen an allusion to circumcision (cf. Wiedemann, *OLZ* vi. [1903] 97), and also a (unique) passage in the celebrated Texts of the Pyramids which speaks of a god *Tesebn*, translated 'circumciser' (cf. Maspero, *Pyramides de Saqqarah*, p. 123, n. 1; Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan*, i. 514), for there is no context to justify this purely etymological translation. All that finally remains is a very mystical text of the Book of the Dead (xvii. 23) and an *ostrakon* found by Spiegelberg in the Ramesseum at Thebes. The former, described long ago by de Rougé (see Lit.), speaks of 'the blood which fell from the phallus of Kā, when he accomplished his own mutilation.' The latter, of recent discovery, is dated the year 44 of the reign of Ramses II., and speaks of the day 'when men come to rid themselves of impurity before Amon.' Both of these documents seem to denote the act of circumcision by their periphrasis, though the former appeared very mystical to Bédérte, Naville, and several others. We shall see, however, further on, in what light they may both have a certain value, if, instead of examining them in isolation, we consider them in relation to the direct established evidence of the monuments and papyri.

In any case, it should be noted that this very meagre list is all that we have concerning circumcision in the extensive Pharaonic literature; and it is remarkable, as Naville has pointed out, that there is not a single formal mention of the practice in civil or religious papyri, in the inscriptions on the statues, or even in biographies (those, e.g., of Uni, Knumhotep, Khiti, Baknikhonsu, etc.) in which the person's story is related all through from birth to maturity. To arrive at any result, therefore, we must for the moment leave out of account these materials, which have no solidity by themselves, and look for more firmly-established data: first of all, in the material information left us by the Egyptians, in the form both of models of their own bodies (paintings and sculpture) and of their bodies themselves (mummies), and then in the texts of the Græco-Roman epoch.

(b) *Bas-reliefs and statues*.—In investigating whether circumcision was practised by all classes of

society, it is only from the paintings and bas-reliefs that we get any help, for the people of humble origin had no mummies or statues (the so-called 'slave' statuettes are too coarse to give any indications on a physiological detail of this kind). Fortunately, the Egyptians, from the IIIrd dynasty to the Saïtes, have carved and painted on the walls of temples, and especially of tombs, thousands of figures of peasants, workmen, slaves, etc. On the other hand, it is to be noted that the figure of a nude man is comparatively rare. Most of the figures are drawn wearing the short garment of the ordinary Egyptian. A certain number of cases, however, remain (chiefly in scenes of fishing, hunting in the marsh, of 'fording,' and 'boating jousts') in which nude men are figured. From this number we must deduct a large proportion in which the figures are too small, or too badly carved or painted, to allow of seeing whether the men were or were not circumcised. But there still remains a goodly number of very clear representations in spite of Wiedemann's contention (in *OLZ* vi. [1903] 97). Several were noted at the start of Egyptology by Wilkinson (*op. cit.* iii. 385, i. 183), who deduced from them his certainty of the very great antiquity of Egyptian circumcision. His evidence is valuable, for he had a most admirable knowledge of all the tomb-scenes discovered in his time. Chabas also speaks (*Rev. Arch.*, 1861, p. 299) of hypogæe paintings in which are seen figures with 'le prépuce dénudé,' and reaches the same conclusion as Wilkinson. The existence of these clear representations is attested more recently by Bissing (*Sphinx*, vi. 59) and Bénédite (*Grande Encycl.* xi. 153), and the present writer has verified for himself in Egypt, in various tombs at Gizeh and Saqqarah, bas-reliefs in which shepherds, sailors, and people of the marshes are clearly circumcised. We are therefore surprised that the existence of circumcision among the working classes in the Memphite period has been contested by several Egyptologists. This may be due to the fact that modern engravings and reproductions are, as a rule, not clear enough to allow of verifying circumcision otherwise than from the monuments themselves. Some publications are, however, found giving clear evidence (plates 39 and 86, for example, in Capart, 'Rue de Tombeaux,' *loc. cit.*

The probable conclusion, in short, at least for the Ancient Empire, seems to be that circumcision was practised by the people of the lower classes, though we can prove nothing further with regard to either the generality or the character of the practice. For the middle and upper classes the direct evidence is of the opposite kind. There are no fresco or bas-relief figures, because Egyptians of noble or middle-class condition never allowed themselves to be represented in nudity; but we have a few rare statues and—of great importance—mummies. The nude statues are very few, and we must further omit the painted statues, sometimes represented in scenes of a sculptor's workshop, because their details are hidden by one of the legs of the statue or else are indistinct. In the real statues, we must leave out of consideration figures of children (cf. Perrot-Chiplez, i. 441 f., 445; Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 1898, figs. 29 and 32), since they are conventional representations, in which the boy is always pictured as quite a child, and consequently not yet circumcised (see above). There remain, finally, *one* private statue of the Memphite period, and *one* royal statue of the first Theban empire (Bissing, however, in *Sphinx*, xii. 29, says there are several others, but he gives no references). The first of these two statues, that of the priest Anisakha, shown nude and circumcised, is described in the various editions of the *Guide au Musée du Caire*

(p. 7, No. 20 [ed. 1892], p. 25 [ed. 1903], p. 30 [ed. 1908]) as a monument of really exceptional importance, and is cited or reproduced in the principal treatises on Egyptian archæology (cf. Bissing, *Denkmäler*, pl. xii. a). It is of considerable interest, belonging as it does to a priest and dating back to the Vth dynasty. We get a valuable indication as to the compulsory character of circumcision for the sacerdotal body by comparing this monument with the evidence recently derived from the examination of the Karenen mummy (see below). If the priest Anisakha is the only Egyptian of noble rank who had such a statue, the king Awtā-ab-Rya (XIIth or XIIIth dyn.) is likewise the only king with a statue showing him nude. But the question of circumcision is less clear here. In spite of its importance (we have no other means of investigation for the kings of this period, from which we have no mummies), this question was not even examined by de Morgan on the discovery of the statue in the Dahshūr pyramid. It is generally admitted that the king is figured as circumcised (cf. Bissing, *Sphinx*, xii. 29). This appears to be the case, but it is not certain. In a recent letter, kindly addressed to the present writer, Lacau decides that examination does not justify the positive affirmation of circumcision, considering the present state of preservation of the statue, which is of wood, once covered with a coating of stucco and paint, which has now disappeared. There can be nothing more than a strong presumption that there was circumcision, 'le gland semblant découvert et d'aspect tronqué, mais on ne voit plus l'entaille triangulaire de la verge, comme dans la statue d'Anisakha.'

(c) *Royal and private mummies.*—While we derive very little information from such sources, we find in them indications of no inconsiderable value, when we associate them with what we can learn from the actual bodies of the Egyptians, preserved by embalmment. The examination of the royal mummies, particularly, may have a special importance for the solution of the question, since Pharaoh was the son and heir, and consequently the priest, of all the deities of Egypt. Unfortunately, the series of royal mummies, notwithstanding the apparently great number of them, is a very small affair in comparison with the long duration of the Egyptian State. It comprises only the XVIIIth to the XXist dynasties and the end of the XVIIth with the mummy of Soqnurfya. This would still be an important contribution, but, in the actual state of affairs, investigation is incomplete.

The precise facts are not so numerous as one might expect. Several of the royal bodies had been robbed and broken in pieces long ago by the 'plunderers,' and, at the official restoration of burial-places, had been badly repaired, with rubbish of all kinds, in order to give the mutilated corpses the outward appearance of complete mummies (e.g. Thothmes III.). In others, the state of preservation of the body is too imperfect (e.g. Soqnurfya); or else the mummy has undergone shocks that have spoiled it (e.g. Merenptah; 'part of the phallus broken off'; cf. *Annales*, viii. 152). Finally, we must take into consideration the custom (which seems to have been of very general practice for the mummies of sovereigns of the XIXth–XXth dynasties) of removing the genitalia and embalming them apart in a wooden box in the shape of a hollow statue of Osiris, now lost. This is the case particularly for the mummies of Seti I., Ramses II., and Ramses III. There remain, last of all, even among the small group of mummies of which a complete physiological description has been published, several uncertain cases, actual examination being naturally sometimes very difficult. Thus, in

the case of the mummy called 'the unknown prince,' Maspero (*Momies royales*, p. 550) points out 'traces of circumcision'; but Fouquet (*ib.* 776) says:

'Le gland était découvert au moment où l'individu a été emprisonné dans ses bandelettes. Il ne s'ensuit pas que l'on puisse affirmer qu'il en était toujours ainsi pendant la vie, ni surtout qu'il y ait eu circoncision.'

Thothmes IV. appears to have been circumcised, but there is no decisive proof.

'All parts of the surface of the body, including the somewhat diminutive genital organs, were well preserved. Circumcision seems to have been performed' (Elliot Smith, *Annales*, iv. 112, 'Tomb of Thutmosis, iv.' pl. xlii.).

On the other hand, Maspero affirms in formal terms that in the case of Thothmes II. the organs were found intact, and that this king was not circumcised (*Momies royales*, p. 547). It should be remarked, however, that this is the only clearly established case at present of an uncircumcised king, and this single exception does not justify Wiedemann when he speaks (*OLZ* vi. [1903] 97) of the numerous contradictions of the material investigation, and says there are 'certain uncircumcised mummies' (cf. also Bénédict's doubt in *Grande Encycl.* xi. 453). The opinion of Elliot Smith, who says of Amenhotep II. that he was circumcised 'like all other known adult Egyptian men,' is of great value in this discussion, this scholar having been specially entrusted with the investigation for all the mummies of the Musée du Caire. This entitles us to conclude that for the unpublished royal mummies he has been able to establish in general that the body has undergone circumcision.

When we come to the priests, we find our present inquiry in a still less complete state, and, in regard to what has been published, we have the same obstacles to absolute certainty. The group of the high priests of Amon and their families, found by Gribaut in 1891, presents a unique opportunity for study from this standpoint. Unfortunately a first great obstacle to the inquiry has been raised by the deplorable and unjustifiable action of de Morgan, who, being Director of Egyptian Antiquities at the time, scattered nearly half of this collection all over the world in seventeen groups of from four to five sarcophagi—a collection whose chief value was its unity (72 coffins out of 153). Only some of the mummies were examined by Fouquet. The remainder must, in each case, await examination by the various staffs of all these Societies (cf. Daresy, *Annales*, viii. 4-21). Until we get the volumes announced by the official Catalogue, for the part of the collection that is in Cairo, we must content ourselves with the dignitaries and priests examined by Maspero, or with the temporary notes of Elliot Smith.

Circumcision appears to have been the rule. Nevertheless, as in the case of the kings, we must take into account the mutilated condition of certain mummies (e.g. prince Stamonu=*Momies royales*, p. 538), the custom of amputating the penis (e.g. Nilsoni, father-in-law of Pinozmu I.=*Momies royales*, p. 574), and also doubtful cases (e.g. the high priest Nasi-pa-k-f [Elliot Smith, *Annales*, iv. 158: 'the prepuce extends midway between the *corona glandis* and the *meatus*, and it is impossible to say for certain whether circumcision has been performed']). In the meantime, though we cannot give a positive decision, we may say that we have the elements of such a decision. Even eliminating those mummies that have been robbed, mutilated, etc., there are still several hundreds in the various museums intact and identified, a methodical examination of which will serve our purpose. The question seems to have undergone examination in the past (cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* i. 183), but only in connexion with isolated cases, and without any scientific publication of results. We should have a like possibility of establishing an important point if we were to examine the enormous number of mummified phalli placed, in the Theban epoch, in those hollow statues in the form of Osiris of which we spoke above.

While our research is in such a backward stage, we must consider of capital importance the examination of the mummy of Karenen (Saggarah, Xth dyn. [?]), which is definitely recognized

by Elliot Smith and Dobbin as circumcised (cf. Quibell, *Excavations at Saggarah*, ii. 13). Its importance is twofold—in virtue of its locality and its date. It tends to prove that circumcision was *de règle* for priests at that period throughout the whole of Egypt. The examination of mummies of the same period, found in good condition at Beni Hasan and el-Bersheh, may transform this presumption into absolute proof. As regards people of the middle class, no research seems to have been made to settle the question of the circumcision of the mummies. As for people belonging to the working classes, we saw above that mummification was too expensive a practice for them, and all that we have left of them is a few dry bones.

If these results appear meagre when viewed alone, yet, when connected with the result of our other evidence, they already give a partial answer to the proposed question. To sum up: if there are many cases in which proof is impossible or uncertain, nevertheless all the certain cases but one are in favour of the universality of circumcision for members of the priestly classes. We have only one nude statue in all the sculpture of private life, and it is circumcised; only one of royal sculpture, and it also is circumcised; and only one verified mummy of a priest of the first Theban empire, and the same is the case with it, as also with all the kings and high priests of the second Theban Empire, with the exception of Thothmes II. If, however, we connect all this with the fact mentioned everywhere (cf. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* iii. 385; Zaborowski, *Grande Encycl.* xi. 453, etc.) that, in order thoroughly to investigate Egyptian religious teaching, Pythagoras had to submit to circumcision, this story, which had no value whatever by itself, becomes more important when placed alongside of our facts, and the facts themselves are fortified by the story. Similarly, the much-discussed passage Jos 5², interpreted in favour of the circumcision of the Egyptians, should be regarded with more confidence as an indication leading to the same general presumption. The whole result will tend to certainty if we now examine the Græco-Roman papyri spoken of above in the discussion of the questions of age and ceremonial.

(d) Papyri.—

Reitzenstein first published a papyrus in 1901 (see Lit.) from the collection of Strassburg, republished soon after by Wilcken, with two others from Berlin (see Lit.). In 1907, vol. II. of the Tebtunis Papyri had two more documents added—nos. 292 and 293. Finally, in 1909, J. Nicole published three more, taken from the Geneva collection. We have, then, to-day a series important numerically for the study of circumcision, and much the more so because of its homogeneity from a chronological point of view. All the documents are, in fact, of the 2nd cent. (A.D. 155=Geneva 1 and 2; A.D. 159=Strassburg; A.D. 171=Berlin 1; A.D. 185=Berlin 2; A.D. 187=Tebtunis 292; A.D. 189=Tebtunis 293; another without a date). They enable us to follow the modifications of regulations, to control the details by the variants, and to deduce to a certain extent what constituted the fixed Pharaonic part of the question.

At this period, circumcision in Egypt was submitted to increasingly minute rules (see below), which may be summarized thus:—

Application for circumcision had to be made by the father, or (failing him) by the mother, brother, uncle, or aunt of the child. It had to be in writing, and addressed to the chief administrator or his substitute. The chief made inquiry, and gave a favourable reply, if the conditions fixed by law were fulfilled. The child must be born of parents of priestly rank, and his parents themselves must be sprung from ascendants to this rank (*ἀπογενεράσθαι τοὺς γονεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερατικῶν γένους*). This was certified in writing and by means of proofs (*ἀσφάλεια*): (a) copies of certified statements in conformity with the public law of the local *depôt*; (b) testimony with the oath in the name of the Emperor, signed by a certain number of priests of

the temple or of the capital of the nome. After this, the circumcision had to be declared 'necessary' for priests with a view to the performance of the cultus—a rule which would consequently exclude priests who filled only civil offices. Finally, the child's birth-certificate had to be produced, and beyond the age-limit (13 years [?]) permission was refused. But this luxury of precautions was not enough. When all this was done, the leader, unable to proceed any further, wrote a letter to the ἀρχιερεῖς (who was not a court-priest, but a kind of controller of worship, a Roman citizen resident in Alexandria), stating that all the formalities had been gone through. After the ἀρχιερεῖς had looked into the matter, the candidate was obliged to present himself before the λειτουργοματεῖς of Alexandria, who were members of the clergy and attached to the service of the ἀρχιερεῖς, for an examination of his body. This was done by temple dignitaries (κορυφαῖοι καὶ ὑποκορυφαῖοι), and was registered by the λειτουργοματεῖς. Its chief aim was to see that the child was sound, and above all had no blemishes (σημεῖα) on its body. If it had accidental marks, the ceremony was postponed; if it was permanently marked, circumcision was refused. If the reply was that the child had no mark or spot (ἐλπόντων ἀσημιον αὐτὸν εἶναι), the ἀρχιερεῖς counter-signed the letter and gave authority to perform the circumcision λειτουργικῶς. A verbal process was then instituted and kept account of in the records.

From the general history of the East, and the growing minuteness of the papyri arranged in chronological order, it seems to follow that the Roman administration aimed at confining and restricting circumcision in Egypt, by multiplying the formalities and cases for refusal. Thus we may notice: the obligation of the applicant to establish his right to take the place of an absent father, since the father alone, in principle, could ask circumcision for his children; the necessity of proving, by a variety of documents and witnesses, the two generations of priestly rank in the child's ancestors (A.D. 171); the exclusion of priests who were not obliged, in view of strictly sacerdotal functions, to be circumcised (A.D. 187); the necessity of a journey to Alexandria; and the growing minuteness of the oath (A.D. 189). If, on the other hand, instead of studying the increasing obstacles interposed by the Roman government, we look at things from the Egyptian side, we may infer, from the universal nature of the manifestations, that at one time every temple had free control, proceeded to the circumcision of children of priestly families without distinguishing the various kinds of clerical functions, and, without troubling to investigate into ancestry, had the slaves and household retinue of the temple circumcised. (May this explain the bas-reliefs on which men of low rank are figured as circumcised?) The whole result confirms the impression, already formed on other grounds, that circumcision as a practice was strictly confined to whatever was connected with the service of an Egyptian god.

To return now to the evident ill-will of the Romans to circumcision, we see that their aim was to discourage, to weary by formalities, and to prevent any diffusion of the custom by means of repeated strict control and threats of punishment; that is, they did not allow of circumcision except in cases where they could not do otherwise. To have reached this fact is of extreme interest, because it proves that circumcision had a religious significance, which lay in the fact that it was impossible to perform certain acts unless the officiant was circumcised. This, indeed, is precisely what is formally declared in an important passage of one of the papyri: δὲν αὐτὸν περιμνηθῆναι διὰ τὸ μὴ

δύνασθαι τὰς λειτουργίας ἐκτελεῖν ἐλ μὴ τοῦτο γενήσεται (Tebt. Pap. t. ii., 1907, no. 293). This may be regarded as the most important text relating to Egyptian circumcision. The conception is bound to be an ancient possession of the Egyptians, part of the very essence of their religious ideas, since the Romans were forced to admit that the national worship could not be performed without it.

5. Question of origin.—If we admit, then, that circumcision, without being binding on all (since we cannot prove this), was at least a necessity for the priest-class (and that probably from very early times), we now come to the most difficult question of all, viz. the actual meaning attached to this custom by the Egyptians. The papyri again give us a new clue of the highest value when they consistently associate circumcision with the question of blemishes or marks (σημεῖα). If the ill-will of the Romans saw in these a means of preventing so many circumcisions, it must have been because they were a valid excuse in the eyes of the Egyptian. The presence of σημεῖα constituted an impurity, and destroyed the state of purity obtained by circumcision. Circumcision, therefore, attaches itself to that body of ideas, so often found in the various religions, which demands from the servants of the gods that he be sound (integer, ὁλόκληρος). This harmonizes with what we know otherwise of the prescriptions of bodily purity required of Egyptian priests: the head and beard shaven, the depilated body, the pared nails, ablutions, special clothing and sandals, etc. We may, in addition, connect with this, as having circumcision in view, the much-debated passage in the inscription of Piankhi, where it is said of Nimrōti that he was admitted to the presence of the king (see above) 'because he was clean' (uabu); and we may, in virtue of our conclusions, see a greater significance in the proposed translation of the Ramesseum ostrakon (see above). The practice of circumcision may have had this significance very early in Egypt; but the idea of a minister's 'purity,' like that of hygiene, cannot be a primitive one. If Egypt borrowed circumcision from some other people, that people connected it originally with a different idea; or, if Egypt practised the custom from her earliest history, she herself must have connected it with an idea of a primitive nature. Both these hypotheses issue in the same logical result. Such a vast question can only be summarized here in a few essential points. Our first hypothesis necessitates the investigation as to whether Egyptian circumcision is related to the Asiatic world, or to the world of West or South Africa. The evidence of the classical authors is of very little value here. Every one quotes Herodotus (ii. 37, 104); but what he says of the Colchians, Syrians, and Phoenicians in this connexion is of no help to the question propounded in regard to pre-historic times. It is the same with what he says of the Ethiopians, who represented at that time an empire organized by conquerors of Egyptian origin. The remarks of Diodorus on the Troglodytæ (iii. 32) are more valuable, since they concern a semi-savage people who had preserved their customs. The Egyptian texts furnish no solid basis, since, as has been said above, authorities are not agreed on the meanings of the decisive words; and, if the Aqayasha, one of the 'peoples of the sea,' were not circumcised, then Breasted's ingenious deduction (op. cit. ii. 10) as to the circumcision of the Hyksos is worthless (cf., however, David's cutting off the foreskins of the conquered as a trophy, 1 S 18²⁵⁻²⁶).

In place of the above doubtful information, we may discover a better clue, of the utmost importance, which has not yet been brought sufficiently to light: this is the fact that the people figured in the various monuments of pre-historic Egypt (called 'palettes')

are clearly shown to be circumcised. Without concluding, like Budge (*Egyptian Sudan*, i. 514), that the peoples of North-East Africa were undoubtedly circumcised, we may say, in a more general way, that Egypt in the earliest times was surrounded by circumcised peoples. This agrees with the extreme antiquity and prevalence of African circumcision attested by most ethnographies. On the other hand, there is an end to analogy when we compare Egypt with the non-civilized peoples of modern Africa. It will be noted chiefly that in Egypt there is no allusion in any form to 'circumcision months,' as among the Kikuyu; to circumcisions performed *en masse*, with periods of seclusion and disguise, as in the *nkimba* practised on the Congo; to great public festivals for the occasion, as among the ancient Hovas of Madagascar; to disguises and dances, as among the Nandi; or to rites parallel with initiation, as among the Masai. It has been seen, likewise, that the Egyptian age for circumcision, which varies so much, does not admit of any connexion with the 'puberty rites' which play so important a part in the majority of African cases. Furthermore, the frequent and highly important custom of giving a new personality, a new name, to the young African at circumcision is absolutely unknown with regard to Egypt. The Egyptian ceremony was not accompanied by rites and secret formule. Finally, the practically general parallelism in Africa between male circumcision and female 'excision' is not found in Pharaonic Egypt. It is wrong, then, to see in Egyptian circumcision 'an indication of relationship with Africa' (Chantepie de la Saussaye, p. 14). Divergences so numerous and on points of such characteristic importance allow of no proof of any connexion whatever between the origin of Egyptian circumcision and the practices of the black races. We are therefore obliged to regard Egyptian circumcision as an independent phenomenon, whose origin must be sought outside of any theories of borrowing from other races. Similarly, a conclusion as to what primitive idea gave rise to this phenomenon can lead only to the elimination of explanations impossible for this country, and the presentation of the most likely hypotheses, without deciding between them.

Among the numerous explanations suggested for circumcision in general, we must first of all, for reasons already given, exclude those that connect it, directly or indirectly, with puberty; e.g. the theory of 'redemption to admit to sexual life' (Lagrange, *Étude sur les religions sémitiques*², 1905), the 'rite of separation from the profane world' (van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, 1909), the 'sanctification of the organs of generation' (Robertson Smith; and Gunkel, in Chantepie de la Saussaye, p. 200), the 'release from a restriction,' instituted for a moral end (Leroy, *Religion des primitifs*, 1908, p. 209), the means of easing 'the generating breath of the father' (1) (Preuss, in *Globus*, lxxvi. 362), and the theory of generation (Schmidt, in *Anthropos*, 1908, p. 402). The hygienic character of the rite proposed elsewhere is now rejected by most authorities, and with reason, it would seem, at least if considered as hygiene of a sexual character. 'Magic hygiene' is still an open question. By this phrase we mean practices such as conjuring illnesses and driving away evil spirits, by drawing blood from a specially important part of the body by incision, scarification, or partial mutilation. The reasoning based on the pretended peculiar anatomy of certain races must also be set aside. Lastly, we cannot take our stand on any single line of Egyptian text giving notions of 'partial redemption' or 'sacrifice by substitution'—hypotheses so often upheld on this question (Réville, Chantepie de la Saussaye, etc.).

Being thus led by a process of elimination to see in circumcision the idea of a mark of submission to a god, a sign of initiation into a god, or alliance with a god, we may now state that the obscure passage, already quoted, in which mention is made of 'Rā mutilating himself,' may have a value far beyond what has been thought. Circumcision would then be an imitation of the action of Rā, and we know what importance was attached in Egyptian religion to the principle of actual or magic imitation of the actions of the gods, since that has formed the basis of the greater part of Egyptian worship. It would be a sign of admission into the company of those who belonged to the family and household of the god. But, of course, a story of this kind, no matter how ancient its date, cannot be of a really 'primitive' character. Such a story, indeed, usually serves as an ulterior explanation of an already very ancient fact. The story of Rā, then, may be a very ancient form of a cosmogonic myth, or of an astronomical phenomenon; and these two epithets themselves, allowing them to be of great antiquity, yet exclude what we mean by the word 'primitive' in its precise sense. If circumcision, then, existed in Egypt since the time of its 'primitive' religion, the myth of the mutilated Rā must have been an explanation composed posterior to the practice itself. All that now remains appears to be the fact that circumcision was a sign of affiliation to the cult of Rā (or of more ancient celestial gods). There is nothing in the case of Egypt to justify us in looking for the reason of this sign in the ratification of an alliance by common blood (a theory held in this connexion with regard to Israel, and taken up again lately, with modifications, by A. J. Reinach [see Lit.]). Nor can circumcision have been a mark of slavery in the god's service, which became afterwards, as in numerous cases, a mark of honour and of privileged class; for the kings (and before them the prehistoric chiefs) were priests inasmuch as they were sons and relatives of the god, not his slaves. In the ultimate analysis, the mark or sign of affiliation may be connected with the idea of a physical indication, like scars, tatuing, and slight mutilations, so common among non-civilized races, as a distinctive sign belonging exclusively to one family or one tribe. This last explanation must always be stated, on correct scientific lines, as a hypothesis, and the pure and simple notion may still be defended, that circumcision arose in Egypt from the idea of the ceremonial purity of the people in the service of their god.

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CIRCUMCISION (Muhammadan).—1. The legal aspect.—The practice was wide-spread, though not universal, in pagan Arabia, and to be uncircumcised (*aghral* or *aqlaf*) was thought disgraceful. After one of the Prophet's battles, when one of the slain Thaqafites was discovered to be in this condition, trouble was taken to prove that he was a Christian slave and no true member of the tribe.¹ The Qur'an has no ordinance on the subject, probably because the Prophet assumed it; those who would base the practice on the Qur'an quote the text, 'and follow the religion of Abraham, the *hanif*, who was not a polytheist' (*Sura*, iii. 89, etc.), where it is evident that the command extends only to the rejection of polytheism, and does not include other practices ascribed to Abraham. Attempts at basing it on tradition are not much more successful; some quote a supposed saying of the Prophet, 'circumcision is a *sunna* for men, and an honour for women,' but its spuriousness is evident on both internal and external grounds; for, though the word *sunna* is quite correctly applied in the sense of 'pre-Islamic practice not abrogated by Islām,'² the word 'to be followed' (*muttaba'a*) could not be omitted. This spurious tradition may, however, be the reason for the application of the word *sunna* to the practice as a euphemism by Indians, Persians, and Turks. Another tradition, quoted by Mālik in the *Muwatta'a*,³ is to the effect that, along with certain other practices, e.g. paring the nails, circumcision belongs to Natural Religion (*fitra*); but for this, too, the authority is insufficient; and the statement, immediately following, to the effect that Abraham was the first to practise it, appears to contradict it. A third tradition quoted is that the Prophet said to a convert to Islām, 'Cast off thee the hair of unbelief and be circumcised';⁴ but the chain of authorities for this contains an unknown name. The services of the two remaining 'sources of law'—agreement and analogy—have therefore been called in by the Muslim lawyers; but these quibbles need not be reproduced,⁵ and their weakness is obvious. Owing to this, there is some academical discussion as to the obligatoriness of circumcision; queries have at times been addressed to eminent jurists about it;⁶ and in general the schools of Ibn Hanbal and Shāfi'i are supposed to affirm it, and those of Mālik and Abū Hanifa to deny it. The Sh'rites also hold that it is obligatory,⁷ and to be enforced on proselytes to Islām; and in the Anglo-Muhammadan code 'the court will not admit the claim of a male person to sue or defend as a Muhammadan

if it appear that he has never been circumcised.'⁸ The system of Abū Hanifa permits a Muslim who has not undergone circumcision to give evidence, provided he has not neglected it in order to display contempt for Islām; in such a case he is disqualified, not on the ground of his physical condition, but as an evil liver.⁹ In general, the popular notion is that circumcision is a token of Islām;¹⁰ so in Hindustān, *Musulmanī* ('Muhammadanism') is a euphemism for it: in Tashkent the lad on whom it is performed is said 'to have become a Muslim after being an Unbeliever';¹¹ and the poet Sibṭ Ibn al-Ta'āwidihi (6th cent. A.H.) excuses the shedding of royal blood in the operation on the ground that even princes must obey Islām.¹² Nevertheless, there appear to have been times when circumcision was not rigidly observed, and there are communities which have either abandoned or never adopted it. So the Timurids in India did not observe it; and the number of circumcised Muslims in India is put by some experts at not more than 95 per cent. The number of Chinese Muslims who have not undergone the operation is said to be considerable;¹³ and some Berber tribes in the N. Atlas are said not to practise it.¹⁴ In some places the operation has a tendency to lapse into a surrogate. This is said to be the case in Turkey and parts of India.

2. Names for the rite, and theories of its purpose.—Besides the euphemisms which have been quoted, the legal name is *khitān*, which probably means no more than 'cutting,'¹⁵ for which *ṭuhr*, 'cleansing,' or one of its cognates, is often substituted; other phrases are *i'dhār* or *ta'dhīr*, 'removing a [sexual] obstacle,' and *qif*, 'decortication.'¹⁶ Of these words only the euphemism *ṭuhr*, 'cleansing,' has any obvious religious associations; it is interpreted as meaning rendering the body ceremonially clean, and so fit for prayer; and this view of its purpose is clearly taken by those authorities who hold that the operation should be performed just before a boy is of the age when he can be punished for neglecting his prayers. Another of the names quoted above implies a theory that the operation is physically necessary for those who are to enter the married state; this view, according to Doughty, is still held in Arabia, and some modern authorities (e.g. Renan) have taken the same view of its original purpose; on the other hand, there are anthropologists who hold the very different view that its purpose is to lessen concupiscence (cf. above, pp. 666, 669), and this, too, is supported by some Muslim theologians. Other views of its hygienic value are given by Ploss and Burton in the works cited, and by the Ottoman medical writer Risa.¹⁷

3. Operators and instruments.—In early times the operation was ordinarily performed by a surgeon,¹⁸ and for this purpose as for others¹⁹ non-Muslim doctors were employed by those who could afford them;²⁰ and this is said to be the case still in some countries. In N. Africa it is often performed

¹ R. K. Wilson, *Digest of Anglo-Mohammedan Law*, 1908, p. 92.

² *Hidāya*, 1831, li. 381. ³ Com. on Hariri, ed. i, p. 851.

⁴ Schuyler, *Turkistan*, London, 1876, i. 142; cf. Kaye, *Indian Mutiny*, 1889, li. 371.

⁵ *Diwān*, ed. Margoliouth, 172, 15.

⁶ Dabry de Thiersant, *Mahométisme en Chine*, 1878, li. 822.

⁷ Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte*, 1884, i. 364.

⁸ Attempts that have been made to connect this word with *ḥatan*, 'a relation by marriage with a daughter,' resemble Yarro's *lūga* a non-*lūga* theories (but see above, p. 664).

⁹ The operation on females is called properly *khaḍf*, and another on males (pagan rather than Muslim) *saikh*. The latter is described in Burton's *Pilgrimage*, 1893, li. 110.

¹⁰ *Studie über die rituelle Beschneidung*, 1906.

¹¹ *Fakhri*, ed. Ahlwardt, 1868, p. 152.

¹² So a Jewish surgeon was employed as castrator (Ibn Iyās, li. 150).

¹³ Sibṭ Ibn al-Ta'āwidihi, *loc. cit.*, states that the surgeon employed to circumcise the Khalif's sons was an 'Uy, i.e. non-Muslim.

¹ Ibn Hishām, ed. Wistenfeld, 1860, p. 850.

² *JRAS*, 1910, p. 313.

³ ed. Zūrānī, 1280, iv. 116.

⁴ *Iḥāf al-Sada*, Com. on Ghazālī's *Ihyā*, li. 418.

⁵ They will be found in the passage last cited.

⁶ See the *Fatawā* of Ibn Taimiyya, 1326, i. 44.

⁷ *Sharḥ al-Islām*, 1889, p. 308.

by one learned in the law (*faqih*). 'In Kāngra the *abdāl* is sometimes employed, and in the west of the Punjab the *pirhain*' [names for ascetics].¹ In Tunis, where the operator is called *tahhār*, 'cleanser,' he is usually a dealer in amulets.² In most countries he is a copper and barber. A fee may be demanded; in Tunis the minimum is usually four francs; among the Irākis in the N.W. provinces of India it is 'four annas and a pice or two from each of the friends present.'³ The instrument usually employed is a razor; in N. Africa, however, the operation is performed with scissors. There is a tradition that Abraham employed an axe, but was rebuked for his haste. Other instruments (*e.g.* split reeds) are employed in places to aid the operation or prevent danger, but the Jewish method does not appear to be in use. As a styptic, gunpowder or fine wood ashes are applied in Turkestan, and the like elsewhere; washing the wound with water is forbidden in Persia,⁴ and in Bosnia: the patient is not allowed to drink water for a month after the operation. In parts of India, salt is forbidden during convalescence. In some countries the month Rabi' is preferred for the operation; among the Irākis, Ramaḍān is favoured. The time for healing is usually put at a week; in some places it is supposed to take two or three days only, while elsewhere it is thought to take a month.

4. Age for the operation.—In early Arabia the operation seems to have been ordinarily deferred till puberty—a fact which was known to one of the compilers of Abraham's biography (in Genesis), who appears to have made it the basis for chronological and other deductions. Muhammad is said, like other prophets, to have been born *sine præputio*; he, however, followed the Jews in selecting the eighth (or, as the Muslims call it, the seventh—the day of birth not being included) day for the circumcision of his grandsons; and this day is recommended by many jurists, though there is some difficulty about the propriety of imitating the Jews.⁵ A theory favoured by some authorities is that, failing the eighth day, it should be done on the fortieth; failing that, in the seventh year.⁶ Another opinion is, as we have seen, that it should be delayed to the tenth year, because at that age a lad may be punished for having omitted his prayers.⁷ From the statements of travellers, there would appear to be great variety in this matter—partly from the desire to find the age when least risk attends the operation, partly from the practice of operating on all the lads in a family, or even in a community, at once, since thereby some of the expense is saved. In S.W. Arabia the seventh day after birth or any multiple of seven is said to be favoured;⁸ in Dahomey the seventh day (as above) is said to be normal among all communities, including Christians.⁹ The Muslims of Tunis vary from the second to the sixth year;¹⁰ those of India in general from the fifth to the ninth. In Persia the third or fourth year is normal; among the Kara-Kuchins of Central Asia the fourth or fifth; in Algiers the fifth; in N. Arabia the sixth.¹¹ In Turkey it is rarely performed before the sixth; the Bedawin visited by Burckhardt preferred the seventh;¹² the Irākis prefer the fifth or seventh; in Tashkent the normal age is between seven and ten, but the operation is sometimes delayed till later.¹³ In the Panjāb it varies from the seventh year to the twelfth. The practice in Egypt is similar; but the later year would seem to be

unusual.¹ In Bosnia it varies from the tenth to the thirteenth year. This community, when first converted, tried infant circumcision; but the resulting mortality caused them to abandon the practice.²

5. Concomitant ceremonies.—In most Islāmic countries the operation is preceded by an elaborate ceremonial, lasting in places as long as seven days. References to this custom in the literature are perhaps not quite common. The proper name for such a feast is said to be *i'dhār*,³ and the Prophet is supposed to have sanctioned it with three other feasts—wedding, birth, and housewarming.⁴ In the life of the mystic Abū Sa'id (d. 440) it is stated that, when some youths from Khotan were converted, the proceeds of the sale of a man's complete outfit were devoted to entertaining guests on the occasion of the circumcision.⁵ Congratulatory odes on such occasions are found in some collections of poetry, but not in many. On the other hand, travellers' narratives contain many descriptions of the ceremonial usual on such occasions. In Tunis it lasts a week; on the second morning the boy is clad in his best attire and paraded through the town mounted on a mule, accompanied by negroes and negresses bearing torches; during the operation itself (which comes at the end of the feast) boys make a loud noise by breaking earthenware pots in order to smother the cries of the *muṭṭahār* (boy being circumcised).⁶ Lane describes the parading of the *muṭṭahār* through the streets of Egypt, mounted on a fine horse, with a red turban, but otherwise dressed as a girl.⁷ The women's attire is used elsewhere on this occasion, and is intended to signify that, until the accomplishment of the act, the boy counts as one of the weaker sex. Similar ceremonies were witnessed by Meakin in Morocco.⁸ In Lahore the boy is dressed as a bridegroom, and the ceremony itself called *shādī* (Persian for 'wedding').⁹ Here during the operation the boy is seated on a stool, and, unless a companion in suffering can be found for him, the top of an earthen vessel is simultaneously cut off.¹⁰ Among the Irākis the boy stands during the operation; in most places he is made to lie on a bed. In Eastern Turkestan the day for the operation is fixed by an astrologer; the festival in the case of the wealthy lasts two or three days; at the end of the time the child's family are presented with eggs and garments for the child.¹¹ The following is Schuyler's description of the ceremony in Tashkent (*op. cit.* i. 141):

'The boy's friends gather at some place and come in procession, all disguised and decked out with paper caps, wooden swords, and shields of paper-rind, and the boy who is to be circumcised is carried on the back of one of the elder boys, in case the feast is not at his own house; if, however, it takes place at home, the boy is taken from the house through the streets in triumph, and then back again. He is, however, in a state of unconsciousness, having had administered to him early in the day a powerful narcotic, *gul-kān*, which is made of sugar-candy mixed with the sifted pollen from the hop-flowers and reduced to a hard paste.'

The cries of the boy during the performance are drowned by shouts of "Hail, Moslem, thou wast an Unbeliever." Even here, then, the boy is conscious during the operation itself; and, indeed, both this and that called *salkh* seem at times to serve as trials of endurance. Similar stories are told of the ceremonies in Turkey. It is performed with less elaboration in Persia and China; in the latter country it appears to have a more definitely religious character than elsewhere. The *carvies* seem generally to be burned or buried, sometimes in a mosque.

¹ JAI xxxvii. [1907] 255.

² BSAP, 1900, p. 538.

³ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces*, 1896, III. 6.

⁴ Polak, *Persien*, 1865, i. 197.

⁵ Ghazālī, *Ḥiyā' ul-ūlūm al-dīn*, 1306, i. 115.

⁶ *Iḥāf*, loc. cit. ⁷ *Muwatta*, ed. Zurkānī, iv. 119.

⁸ ZE x. 397, quoted by Ploess. ⁹ BSAP, 1900, p. 216.

¹⁰ *Ib.* p. 538. ¹¹ Burton, loc. cit. II. 110.

¹² *Voyages en Arabie*, 1833, III. 64.

¹³ Schuyler, loc. cit.

¹ *Al-Muqataf*, 1904, p. 185.

² Rāghib Ispahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt*, i. 395.

³ *Muṭṭahār* al-budūr, II. 43.

⁴ BSAP, 1900, p. 538.

⁵ *The Moors*, 1902, p. 243.

⁶ Similarly *khattana* is said to mean 'to give a wedding or circumcision feast.'

⁷ JAI, loc. cit.

⁸ Reference in Ploess.

⁹ *Asrār al-tauḥīd*, p. 243.

¹⁰ *Modern Egyptians*, 1871, II. 76.

¹¹ Thiersant, loc. cit.

6. General observations.—The fact that the Jewish, and to some extent the Christian, communities with whom the Muslims came mainly in contact practised the rite, distracted attention from it in the early days of Islam, and, as has been seen, the observances of natural religion with which it is classed are parts of ordinary cleanliness. To many of the tribes outside Arabia which adopted Islam it was also nothing new. Much pre-Islamic practice may, therefore, have been maintained in the varieties of ceremony which have been noticed. The female operation has never had the universality of the male, though an expression attributed to the Prophet might seem to imply it.¹ It is said that the modern expansion of Islam in Africa has a tendency to repress the female operation, while extending the male; and even the Shi'ite law-book cited renders the former unnecessary for converts. The origin of both rites in Arabia was absolutely forgotten, and we have no means of knowing whether they were borrowed from some other race or arose independently. From the fact that Muhammad permitted their continuance without interruption, it may be inferred that he was aware of no connexion between them and paganism; for his adoption of the Jewish day for the operation in lieu of the Ishmaelitic, and this after he had broken with the Jews and reintroduced pagan ceremonies into his system, we have no satisfactory explanation. The absence of any certain connexion between it and the Islamic system should render it comparatively easy for reformers of the latter to get rid of it.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CIRCUMCISION (Semitic).—Circumcision appears to have been common among the primitive Semites, since it is found perpetuated among all branches of the Semitic race, unless the Babylonians and Assyrians be an exception. Herodotus (ii. 104) informs us that it was practised by the ancient Phoenicians and Syrians; from several sources we learn that it was a custom of the Arabs;² Philostorgius (*HE* iii. 4) informs us that the Sabaeans observed it; it still survives among the Abyssinians;³ and its practice by the Hebrews is well known and will be discussed below. It has not yet been definitely found among the Babylonians and Assyrians, but a custom of 'purification' through which foreigners had to pass upon being adopted into Babylonian families may well have been circumcision.⁴ A practice which is so nearly co-extensive with the Semitic world probably originated with the common stock from which the Semites are sprung. In the earliest times it was apparently practised upon both women and men, and in some parts of the Arabian world the practice of circumcising females still survives. Thus a passage in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*⁵ declares that 'a mother circumcised is a mother joyous.' The custom of circumcising females is still practised among some of the Arabs of Moab.⁶ Probably in the beginning circumcision among the Semites was a sacrifice to, or a mark of consecration to, the goddess of fertility, and was designed to secure her favour in the production of offspring.⁷

At first it seems to have been performed upon the male at the time of marriage. This seems to be one of the meanings of Ex. 4^{2st}. (J). Moses had

not been circumcised, consequently Jahweh tried to kill him. Zipporah cut off the foreskin of her son, and 'cast it at Moses' feet'—a euphemism for placed it upon his pudenda—and said: 'Surely a bridegroom of blood art thou to me.' This vicarious circumcision satisfied Jahweh, and He let Moses go. Perhaps also the meaning of Gn 34²² was that circumcision was a preparation for marriage; such seems to have been the meaning of the rite among the Arabs. According to Doughty (*Arabia Deserta*¹, i. 128), among some of the Arabs a child was not circumcised in infancy, but when he had reached the age to take a wife. The operation was then performed in the presence of the maiden whom he was to marry; and, if he shrank from the ordeal or uttered a sigh, she disdained him.

That the rite originated far back in the Stone age is indicated by the fact that in the earliest narratives of the OT it was performed with flint knives (Ex 4²⁵, Jos 5²).

In later times, probably for humanitarian reasons, circumcision was performed when the boy was younger. Josephus (*Ant.* i. xii. 2) says that among the Arabs boys were circumcised when thirteen years old. It is doubtful, however, whether he had any better authority for this than the statement in Gn 17²³ that Ishmael was thirteen years old when Abraham circumcised him. Josephus cites this passage as the precedent which the Arabs followed, and in connexion with it says that the Jews circumcised when the boy was eight days old, because Isaac was circumcised at that age (Gn 21⁴). It is probable, therefore, that his information about the Arabs was inferential only.

Among the Bedawin of modern Arabia the rite is performed when the boys are much younger, but the age varies. Those of the Negd, among whom Doughty travelled, circumcise the child when he has come to three full years;¹ those of Moab, when he is four or five years old.² The occasion is celebrated by a feast, at which unmarried girls dance, while young men watch and select their wives from among the dancers.³ Among the Hebrews the rite was by the Priestly document placed at a still earlier age, so that the child was circumcised the eighth day after birth (Gn 17¹²⁻¹³, Lv 12³); and this custom, with slight exceptions which may extend the time to the eleventh day (cf. *Shab.* xix. 5 and 137a), is still maintained by the Jews. It is probably due to this Biblical regulation that in Abyssinia boys are now circumcised when eight or ten days old.⁴ The variation from eight to ten days is probably due to Jewish influence, and perhaps arose from a not very clear knowledge of the regulations of *Shab.* xix. 5, just referred to.

No details of how the rite was performed among the ancient Semites have survived except among the Hebrews. It is probable from Ex 4²⁵ that in early times circumcision was performed by the mother, but later, in the time of the P document, it was performed by the father (cf. Gn 17²³⁻²⁴). By the time of Josephus it was performed by special operators or surgeons (cf. *Ant.* xx. ii. 4), and this was also the case in the period represented by the Talmud (cf. *Shab.* 130b, 133b, 135, and 156a). If a Jewish physician was not available, the operation might be performed by a non-Jewish surgeon (cf. *Hul.* 4b; *Aboda Zara*, 27a). Among the Bedawin it is sometimes performed by the father, and sometimes by a barber. In early times it seems to have been sufficient to cut off the end of the foreskin which covers the top of the glans

¹ *Ilitq' al-khitānain* = congressus veneris.

² Jos. *Ant.* i. xii. 2; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* vi. 11; Sozomen, *HE* vi. 88; Haarbrücker, *Scharastani*, 1860-51, li. 85, § 4.

³ Cf. Wyld's *Modern Abyssinia*, 1901, p. 161; Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem*, 1904, p. 121.

⁴ See Ranke in *Bab. Exped.* of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, series A, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 29 ff.

⁵ Cf. xix. 59, 11 and 12 (quoted also by Jaussen in the reference given in the next note).

⁶ See Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 35.

⁷ See Barton, *Semitic Origins*, p. 98 ff.

¹ *Arabia Deserta*, i. 340 f., 361 f. 168 ff.).

² Jaussen, *op. cit.* 368.

³ See Wyld, *op. cit.* 161.

⁴ Doughty, *ib.*

penis. This was apparently done in a not very radical way, for it became possible for Jews to conceal the fact of circumcision by artificially extending the prepuce through surgical treatment (see 1 Mac 1¹⁸; Jos. Ant. XII. v. 1; 1 Co 7¹⁸; Assumption of Moses, 8). It was probably in consequence of this that the *peri'ah*, or laying bare of the *glans*, was instituted. According to this regulation, if any fringes of the foreskin remain, the circumcision is inefficacious (cf. *Shab.* xix. 6).

As performed among the Jews, circumcision involves not only the cutting away of the outer part of the prepuce, but the slitting of its inner lining to facilitate the total uncovering of the gland. The operation consists of three parts: (1) *milah*, the cutting away of the outer part of the prepuce, which is done by one sweep of the knife; (2) *peri'ah*, the tearing of the inner lining of the prepuce which still adheres to the gland, so as to lay the gland wholly bare (this is done by the operator with his thumb-nail and index finger); and (3) *mešisah*, or the sucking of the blood from the wound. In ancient times the ceremony was performed at the residence of the family, but in the time of the Geonim, between the 6th and 11th centuries A.D., it was transferred to the synagogue, and was performed in the presence of the congregation. The services for the day were modified, all the parts which were of a mournful nature being omitted; and sometimes appropriate hymns were recited instead, to make it a festal occasion. As in the time of Christ (cf. Lk 22¹), so in the Talmudic period (cf. *Shab.* 137b), the child was named immediately after his circumcision.

The circumcision of the female consists in cutting off the *nymphæ*, or *labia minora*, of the vulva, which unite over the clitoris. The rite is still performed upon the girls of some of the Arab tribes of Moab, as the time of marriage approaches (cf. Janssen, *op. cit.* 35).

In the beginning, then, Semitic circumcision was apparently a sacrifice to the goddess of fertility. Whether it was intended to ensure the blessing of the goddess, and so to secure more abundant offspring, or whether it was considered as the sacrifice of a part instead of the whole of the person, we may not clearly determine, though the writer regards the former alternative as the more probable. By the time of the Priestly document it was regarded in Israel as the sign of the covenant between the people and Jahweh (Gn 17¹⁻⁴). In consequence of this view, all Gentiles who became Jewish proselytes were circumcised. In later times it was regarded as a duty which should be accepted with the greatest joy (*Shab.* 130a). Jewish writers contend that it is not a sacrament, in the sense in which Baptism and Communion are sacraments to the Christian. But it is clear that, although no mystic character is attached to it, and no doctrine of a mysterious change of the nature of the recipient is built upon it, it does hold, when viewed as a distinctly Jewish rite of fundamental importance to the Jewish faith, much the same place outwardly that the sacraments have held in Christianity. An effort was made by Reformed Jews, beginning in 1843, to abolish circumcision, but without avail. Since 1892, however, the Reformed Jews of America have not required it of proselytes, on the ground that it is a measure of extreme cruelty when performed upon adults.

However circumcision may be viewed by modern Judaism, an effort was made in the OT period to make it 'the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.' Thus we read in Dt 10¹⁶ 'Circumcise the foreskin of your heart, and do not again make your necks stiff.' The meaning of this is made clear in Dt 30⁶ 'Jahweh, thy God, shall circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to

love Jahweh, thy God, with all thy heart, and all thy soul, that thou mayest live.' Here an ethical value is given to circumcision, by interpreting it as an index of a state or attitude of the heart. Similar uses of it are found in Jer 4⁴ and Lv 26⁴¹. These passages gave St. Paul his conception that the real circumcision was an inner experience (cf. Ro 2²⁹, Col 2¹¹).

LITERATURE.—J. Wellhausen, *Race arab. Heidentümer*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 174-176; G. A. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, London and N.Y., 1902, p. 98 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les rel. sémit.*, Paris, 1906, pp. 242-246; Janssen, *Costumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris, 1908, pp. 85, 861, 863 ff.; A. B. Wyde, *Middle Abyssinia*, London, 1901, p. 161; Schürer, *GVV*, Leipzig, 1902, iii. 172 ff.; A. Asher, *The Jewish Rite of Circumcision*, London, 1878; W. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg i. B., 1894, l. 187 ff.; A. Macalister, in *HDB* i. 442 ff.; I. Benzing in *EBI*, col. 829 ff.; K. Kohler, J. Jacobs, and A. Friedenwald, in *JB* iv. 92-102.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

CITY, CITY-GODS.—1. In spite of the importance attained by the cult of the city in Greek and Roman life, our knowledge of the religious, as distinct from the artistic, aspect of the subject is extremely scanty. From the earliest times in which the Greeks became familiar with the idea of the city as an organic existence, with an individuality of its own, distinct from that of other cities, it was natural that some one deity should be regarded as intimately connected with, if not controlling, the fortunes of the city. But the specialization of the general Tyche, who controlled the vicissitudes of human life in general, into a special Tyche swaying the fortunes of a particular State, was a comparatively late development. Thus the image of Tyche made by the sculptor Bupalus for Smyrna in the 6th cent., wearing the cylindrical *polos* characteristic of so many primitive deities, and holding the horn of plenty (Paus. iv. 30. 6), was no special Smyranean Tyche, but the universal goddess. Before the Hellenistic age it would seem that the place of the city-Fortune was taken by the chief deity of the State, as it certainly was by Athene at Athens, where Agathe Tyche seems to have been a mere hypostasis of the tutelary goddess. The form of Athene was so definitely fixed at a very early date that later ideas could not prevail to modify her appearance, even when she was considered in the aspect of Tyche. But elsewhere, as at Smyrna, Salamis, Paphos, and various Phœnician cities, we find the local goddesses, Cybele, Aphrodite, and Astarte, when considered as city-goddesses *par excellence*, wearing the mural crown distinctive of that phase of their activity. This guise, however, is not earlier than the 4th century.

2. The idea of Tyche as specially controlling the fortunes of the city has been traced back to Pindar, who calls her *φειρόμενος*, and in *Ol.* xii. invokes Soteira Tyche of Himera as daughter of Zeus Eleutherios, the god of political liberty. Nevertheless we are not justified in supposing that he regards her as the goddess of Himera exclusively; she is still the universal Tyche, who sways the affairs of States as of individuals, and can, of course, be invoked in the case of any particular city or individual. The idea of the *Τύχη πόλεως*, strictly speaking, dates from the 4th century. In that age two factors were gaining in importance in Greek political society—the monarchy and the new city within the State (as against the older city-State). Foundations like Alexandria and, later, Antioch represented an entirely new idea; and, concurrently with the discovery of this idea, the Greeks invented the formal representation of it, as the Tyche of the city, veiled and wearing the walled crown, and holding usually (at least in later times) the other attributes of the universal Tyche, a rudder and *cornucopia*. The head of the city-goddess wearing the walled crown is represented

on 4th cent. coins of Heracleia Pontica and of Salamis in Cyprus (where she is, as stated above, more or less identified with Aphrodite). After the time of Alexander these city-goddesses are represented with increasing frequency; under the Empire practically every city had its Tyche. The name *Τυχόπολις*, by which she was called at Myra in Lycia (Heberdey, *Opramoas*, Vienna, 1897, p. 50, xix. B 4), well expresses the complete fusion between the ideas of Tyche and city. Most famous of all the figures of such a goddess was the Tyche of Antioch, made by Eutychides of Sicyon. She was seated on a rock (Mt. Silpius) with a half-figure in swimming attitude at her feet (the River Orontes). She held a palm-branch, and her head was veiled and turreted. The earliest representation of this figure is found on coins struck by Tigranes at Antioch. Her cult was of course earlier, but to place the figure on the coins would to the Seleucids have savoured too much of civic independence. Tigranes probably allowed its use in order to propitiate the chief city in his newly acquired dominions. The figure became enormously popular, and is found on hundreds of coins struck by Greek cities in the East, as well as in marble replicas. The ordinary Tyche, holding *cornucopiae* and rudder, is, however, still commoner on coins of Greek cities, especially in Asia Minor.

3. In Rome the place of the Tyche was supplied in more than one way, characteristic of the Roman tendency to multiply abstractions. In the first place, we have the *genius* of the city. The *genius publicus*, or *genius urbis Romae*, was worshipped from a very early date (festival on Oct. 9th). Cities, municipia, colonies, provinces all had analogous *genii*, whose worship was a very real thing, so that Arnobius objected to the cult of the *civitas dei* (i. 28). In addition, and still more closely corresponding to the Greek Tyche, Rome had a special *Fortuna* or *Fortuna Populi Romani*, or *Fortuna Publica*, or again *Fortuna Publica Populi Romani Quirivium Primigenia*. It is possible that one of the cults of Fortune at Rome was borrowed from Praeneste. Finally, Rome herself was personified as Dea Roma, certainly as early as the 3rd cent., perhaps earlier. On a coin struck at Loeri in S. Italy about 280 or 275 B.C. she is represented as an armed female figure being crowned by Loyalty. Her helmeted head (not the head of Minerva; see Haeblerlin, 'Der Roma-Typus,' in *Corolla Numismatica*, Oxford, 1906), appears on the earliest Roman silver coins, first issued in the 3rd cent. (269 B.C.). Presumably one of the two similar heads on the earlier bronze *trientes* and *unciae* of the 4th cent. also represents her. We may, therefore, suppose that the Romans did not lag far behind the Greeks in inventing the cult of their city. The claim of the Smyrnaeans (*Tac. Ann.* iv. 56; cf. the claim of Alabanda, *Liv.* xliii. 6) to have been the first to found a temple of *Urbs Roma* in 195 B.C. must not be taken as showing that the worship was then first invented. Augustus authorized combined cults of Julius Caesar and Rome in temples at Ephesus and Nicæa, and of himself and Rome at Perganum and Nicomedia. Perhaps the most famous of these combined cults was that of Lyon, with its altar dedicated to Rome and Augustus. We must not, however, forget that in such a cult we have travelled beyond the idea of the mere city to the idea of the Imperial authority. The local Tyche was in no way incompatible with the Imperial goddess.

4. Of the nature of the cult we know nothing. Greek high priests and Roman *flamines* are mentioned; the chief festival was presumably always on the birthday of the city, as we know it to have been in the case of Rome and Constantinople. It is interesting to note that Constantine adopted the

Tyche of Constantinople into the Christian religion, placing a cross on her head, and that Julian accordingly abolished her worship. The personification of cities as female figures wearing turreted crowns has lingered down to the present day. In the Middle Ages it is occasionally found, as in the Joshua Roll (probably of the 10th cent.), where, for instance, there is such a figure of the city of Gebal reclining and holding a *cornucopiae*.

LITERATURE.—F. Allègre, *Étude sur la déesse grecque Tyche* ('Bibl. de la Fac. des Lettres de Lyon,' xiv. 1892), pp. 165-217; P. Gardner, 'Countries and Cities in Ancient Art' (*JHS*, 1888); Roscher's *Lexikon*, artt. 'Genius' (Birt) and 'Fortuna' (Drexler); Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 1903-06, p. 685.

G. F. HILL.

CIVIL RIGHTS.—Civil rights are those rights existing for the individual, and enjoyed by him, in a State or organized political community. They are usually said to be constituted, and granted to the individual, by the State, and by the State alone, and to be revocable at the will of the State and by the State alone. They can and are to be enjoyed within the State and nowhere else; and depend solely on the good will and good pleasure of the State. They have been frequently contrasted with natural rights, which, it is held, man enjoys by virtue of natural law, or Divine decree, or the constitution of human nature, and which do not owe their existence to the arbitrary will of the State but are inherent in the individual, and would belong to him if the State were not in existence. It is not implied in the assertion of natural rights that these are not enjoyed in a State. On the contrary, it is held that the excellence of a State is determined by the completeness with which natural rights are enjoyed within it and by the absence of any attempt to interfere with them or to set them aside. In short, natural rights may and ought to be enjoyed within the State, but they are not created by it. At the most they are only recognized by it.

The phrase is also used in a narrower sense to cover only those rights which are indisputably created by the State. Thus, for instance, on the Continent, legal sentences of so many months or so many years of imprisonment and so many more years of deprivation of civil rights are frequently recorded; and in Britain certain offences carry with them the inability to exercise civil rights in this sense. These civil rights may be termed political rights, for they have to do chiefly with the right to vote or to be elected to office. To deprive a criminal or an undischarged bankrupt of his civil rights in the wider sense would be to make him an outcast, and deprive him of all security and protection.

This distinction of natural from civil rights is nearly always denied by political theorists, and has almost a revolutionary and anarchistic character in modern times, because it implies the existence of a more primitive and fundamental authority than the sovereign State. However, not all individualists who protest against State interference—e.g. Herbert Spencer—are to be regarded as holding such a doctrine. Yet the treatment of the subject in most works of political science is somewhat scholastic, resting content with an analysis of the term 'sovereignty' instead of seeking the basis for a distinction which has been so frequently drawn and which so easily commends itself. The distinction between natural and civil rights is that between rights based on primitive and natural instincts and rights based on instincts acquired by the individual within the State, which, if not artificial, are certainly derivative, formed by the activity of the State itself re-acting on the individuals who compose it. Among the more fundamental may be classed the rights of the family, the right of the individual to life and the com-

ditions of development, the right to freedom of thought and conscience, and the right also to change the character of the State, which is sometimes called the right of revolution. Among the derivative rights are the right to participate in the government of the State, the right of private property in its actual forms, the right to a minimum of subsistence as recognized in Poor Laws. These last are indeed equally natural rights, but they are derivative in their present form; and the manner of their exercise is determined by the State. The right to the suffrage, for instance, is denied to the majority of the subjects of the State; and Mr. Gladstone's declaration in 1867, that it was the refusal, not the granting, of the suffrage that needed to be justified, does not imply that the right to vote is a natural right or anything more than an expediency for the State.

The controversy regarding natural rights has not been rendered more easy of solution by the tendency of political theorists, from Augustine and Aquinas to Machiavelli and Hobbes, to treat the State, if not as 'Leviathan,' yet as something sacrosanct, above criticism, with inalienable and indivisible rights of sovereignty, as the creator of law and not the subject of it. To the non-legal or non-political mind the doctrine of sovereignty, and the conclusions drawn from it, are too sweeping if not somewhat absurd, for the State cannot be regarded as a creation beyond morality and moral judgments. It is an institution, based on human nature and arising out of human necessities, and its value is to be estimated by the way in which it serves these human necessities and by the value of that part of human nature on which it is based. It is necessarily sovereign but it is not at all sacrosanct. Its value is the value of the desire which originated it; and, if it has subordinated other institutions similarly having value and authority, it must give effect to the desires which originated them. It must permit, if not guarantee, their exercise. It has perhaps more authority and more power than any other single institution, although the Church has proved a formidable rival; but it has not more power and authority than all the others combined. So, if the State neglects the functions it has assumed, and endeavours to rule in its own interest, and suppresses other institutions, it stands in a dangerous case. There is possibly no specific right of revolution, but the authority of the State might be upset by the combined authority of the other human desires which can no longer find their expression. Civil rights are therefore simply the natural human desires that have found effect in institutions which the State has subordinated to itself.

We are thus able to understand the distinction between natural and civil rights and at the same time to assert the supremacy of the State without regarding it as Leviathan. A civil right exists corresponding to every human desire that can be fitted into the harmony which the State's authority imposes. There are no civil rights beyond the State, because the State refuses to acknowledge the anarchic independence of any other institution. Civil rights are not created by the State, but are only guaranteed by it. When we say that civil rights cannot exist outside of the State, we are either employing a meaningless tautology or expressing the fact that we do not know of any stage of social existence where there has not been some political authority separate and distinct as in the modern State, or added to the natural functions of an institution designed for some other end, e.g. family, Church, etc. There are no natural rights, because we know of no pre-political society without power to impose a harmony on the

complex of human desires. But in another sense all civil rights are natural rights because they are based on human desires. Some of the desires are primitive and some are derivative; none is artificial; all are natural. This remains true, though it is an undoubted fact that all desires are modified by reaction from the institutions to which they have given rise, and also by the relation of these institutions to the State. A faithless or ineffective State might be dissolved in virtue of the combined authority of the desires to which it has failed to give effect; but it would be instantly and in the very act replaced by another State. For the State itself is the expression of a permanent desire. A return to anarchy is impossible, and the theory of anarchism itself simply establishes another kind of political authority.

There are thus as many civil rights and relationships—the terms are correlative—as there are institutions. We do not say as many as there are human desires, for there are some desires so fleeting in character and so individual in their occurrence that no corresponding institution has been created. There are also desires whose claims for satisfaction are so inconsistent with the claims made by other and worthier desires, that the corresponding institutions have been suppressed by the State in the exercise of its functions as arbiter and guarantor of the satisfaction of desires. Civil rights are thus of various degrees of importance, which they derive from the importance of the desires that originated the institution. They are the political expression of the ethical value of desires. Their importance is not determined solely by the question of priority of origin. The most important, no doubt, are historically the earliest to manifest themselves; but the later and more refined which are not developed, and do not manifest themselves, till the State has attained a large measure of its authority and supremacy, are less obviously dependent on the physical nature of man. The right to freedom of conscience is not the less important that the need for its recognition does not arise in primitive communities; and, indeed, it is perhaps recognized in the modern State and guaranteed by it only against rival institutions, and not as yet completely against the State itself.

An enumeration of civil rights would therefore be an enumeration of the more permanent human desires. These are subject to change with the development of civilization, because the scale of ethical values changes; and, though the name remains, the idea may be changed if only by the continued reaction of the State upon the institution in question. The right to a minimum of subsistence is a very different thing in the clan, with its periodical re-distribution of land, in the gild, with its sustenance of decayed members, and in the modern State, with its Poor Law operating through a workhouse test. The right of the child to opportunity is a different thing in the patriarchal family, which would permit Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac or Jephthah his daughter, from what it is in modern England, where the State legislates to prevent a father sending his children to work to earn a living for him, and concentrates to a large extent the responsibility for the child's education and health in the hands of its own officials. Civil rights are thus liable to change and modification, and the State has so well performed its duty and so fully justified its encroachments that the law is more than a technical guarantee of freedom and of civil rights. It has progressively given these a richer and a fuller meaning; and natural rights are never so well enjoyed as in the more perfect forms of the State.

LITERATURE.—Spinoza's political writings as interpreted in R. A. Duff, *Spinoza's Political Philosophy*, Glasgow, 1903; W. W. Willoughby, *Nature of the State*, New York, 1896; B. Bosanquet, *Philosophical Theory of the State*, London, 1899; D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*, London, 1895; the standard treatises on politics, such as H. Sidgwick's *Elements of Politics*, London, 1891. The doctrine of rights is maintained by individualist writers generally; see H. Spencer's *Justice*, London, 1891; and W. Donisthorpe's *Individualism*, London, 1889. For a practical criticism of the social contract theory, see J. Morley's *Rousseau*, London, 1873, and, for another point of view, the same writer's *Machiavelli*, London, 1897.

JOHN DAVIDSON.

CIVILITY, COURTESY.—These words have, in their ordinary use, similar, but not identical, connotation. Both stand, in general, for the dispositions and habits which lead to the observance of good manners, and are thus opposed to rudeness, want of consideration in small things, contempt of etiquette, and aversion to social distinctions and conventions. The word 'civility,' however, stands for less distinguished qualities than those comprised under 'courtesy.' Generally speaking, civility is a more negative and passive quality, shown chiefly in forbearance from acts likely to cause annoyance and discomfort, while courtesy implies beyond this a positive and active regard, whether inbred or consciously acquired, for the claims and sentiments of one's neighbours, so far as such regard tends to make social life easy and agreeable. If this difference is a real one, it may have its origin in the etymology and history of the words.

Civilitas, originally meaning the art of government, came to denote the general state of society, and finally the group of human qualities by which men and women are fitted to live together in orderly society. 'Civilitie' in Tudor times was used as equivalent to 'civilization.' The transference is not hard, since civilization certainly requires amenability to social rules, though other requirements may be equally imperative. Again, the character of early political society, in the stress laid on the necessary subordination of the lower classes, may explain how, in our use of the words 'civil' and 'uncivil,' we think, as a rule, more of the behaviour of social inferiors to superiors than *vice versa*, though the conduct of equals to one another, or even of superiors to inferiors, may sometimes be called 'civil' or the reverse.

'Courtesy,' on the other hand, is originally an aristocratic virtue derived from a *court*, and maintained by a high sense of honour and self-respect in a dominant class. It has in the history of many peoples become associated with all that goes to make up the idea of chivalry (*q.v.*). Thus English readers naturally look on Chaucer's 'Knight' as the typical case. Scrupulous attention to all recognized personal claims, ready helpfulness to the weak and the oppressed, observance of all the rules of good breeding, are among the conspicuous traits of the courteous aristocrat, whether found in ancient Arabia, in Japan, or in the upper society of mediæval Europe.

With the growth of democracy, the ideas of courtesy and of civility may seem to approximate. If, then, we attempt a rough analysis of the disposition or character under consideration, we need not attempt to distinguish between the two, except that the finer qualities would seem to belong to courtesy rather than to civility.

In such an analysis, one primary element is *self-control*. The most flagrant cases of bad manners, such as excessive laughter, or self-indulgence at table, are, of course, mainly due to want of self-discipline, and the same may be said of the less coarse and offensive habits of the self-obtruding bore. The positive side of this quality is more fitly described as *patience*, which, in fact, includes self-repression, and adds an altruistic element. Another necessary ingredient in civility or courtesy

is *presence of mind*. Persons who are not, by disposition or training, able to discern the right thing to do or say at any particular moment are certain to find themselves constantly placed, and placing others, in a position of embarrassment or annoyance. A certain dignity, based on the same kind of appreciation of one's own claims as is felt for those of other people, is an essential quality, as is also a degree of modesty sufficient to keep one's personal idiosyncrasies habitually in the background. Intellectual tastes are not indispensable (witness the character of Sir Roger de Coverley), though, if culture is present, it certainly lends an additional charm to courtesy.

But the fundamental characteristic of the highest form of courtesy is a *quick and imaginative sympathy*. This is the safest guide, not only in avoiding unpleasant social collisions, but in suggesting tactful modes of dealing with all manner of situations. It appears especially in the perfect host or hostess, who seems to have an intuitive knowledge of the feelings of each guest in a large assembly. It is partly an intellectual, partly a moral quality, and is generally accompanied by all the other ingredients of courtesy already mentioned.

It is a common matter of complaint that the standard of civility, courtesy, or good manners is declining among us at the present day. On this point it would be rash to offer an opinion, chiefly because one of the features of modern society is the partial obliteration of class distinctions; and, as each class has its traditional code of manners, such obliteration must cause upheavals. If, in the world generally, manners are tending to become slipshod and sometimes offensive, two causes may be assigned for the process: the hurry of modern life, which makes people think that they have no time for the lesser conveniences and amenities of society; and the depreciation of self-restraint as an element in education.

Civility and courtesy have a connexion with morals which is fairly close and generally evident. True, it is possible for a courteous person to be grossly immoral, and it is also possible for a highly moral person to be lacking in courtesy; yet a high regard for courtesy without moral principle is likely to lead to strange aberrations, as was the case in the later days of chivalry, and morality unadorned with grace of manners has often a forbidding character. 'Be courteous' does not rank with the precepts of the Decalogue, and its presence in AV of the Eng. Bible (1 P 3⁸) is due only to a happy mistranslation of *ταπεινόφρων*, 'modest' (RV 'humbleminded'). The same passage contains an injunction to be *συμπάεις*; and this, if the view given above be accurate, implies the cultivation of a tone of mind necessary for the development of genuine courtesy.

LITERATURE.—The literature on the subject is rather slight, as courtesy has not been regarded as worthy of much consideration by ethical writers, though it comes more or less under *benevolence*. There are many mediæval treatises on good manners, including Caxton's *Boke of Curtesye*. There is much good sense in Swift's *Essay on Good Manners*, reprinted from the *Guardian*, and in Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Godson*, 1890. For a glorification of mediæval habits of life as a model to modern gentlemen, see K. H. Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour*, 1829-45. The following references to modern works may be useful: W. Dickie, *The Culture of the Spiritual Life*, 1905, p. 121; C. C. Everett, *Ethics for Young People*, 1892, p. 110; M. Creighton, *The Claims of the Common Life*, 1905, p. 138; F. Paget, *Studies in the Christian Character*, 1895, p. 200; R. W. Dale, *Lives of Christ for Common Life*, 1884, p. 107; H. Belloc in *Dublin Review*, vol. cxi. (1907) p. 289.

ALICE GARDNER.

CIVILIZATION.—As in the case of other words used to describe certain stages of social development, the term 'civilization' has come to have a much more extended meaning than it originally possessed. In its literal sense civilization (*civilis*, 'pertaining to a citizen') implies a

social condition existing under the forms and government of an organized State. The citizen (*civis*) was the unit in the government of ancient Rome, and he occupied a similar position in the organization of the city-States of Greece. From the more limited sense thus indicated the term 'civilization' has gradually been extended in meaning until in current general use it has come to imply all that progress in arts, government, social equipment, social co-operation, and culture which separates man as a member of the higher societies from a condition of barbarism.

A study of the origins of civilization, and then of the principles underlying social development in modern political societies, is a very wide one; and it is tending to become more and more coincident in its subject matter with that which is usually included under the head of Sociology. It is a feature of the subject, however, that the principles of early societies have been more studied and are better understood than the principles of more recent social development. Four-fifths of the space in Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, for instance, is devoted to the discussion of topics relating to primitive man. The ideas and practices connected with the age of puberty, the customs and beliefs surrounding the profession of medicine-men in primitive society, the rites and beliefs associated with marriage in its early forms, the institution of totemism amongst savage peoples, and the doctrines of ancestor-worship in early tribal society, have all received a great amount of attention. The influence of conceptions associated with these and similar institutions in extending and organizing social consciousness in the primitive stages of society has been widely studied and discussed. The comparative study of later systems of civilization and the principles underlying them—and in particular the study of the principles governing the development of Western civilization for the past 2000 years—has made for less progress.

In all conditions of early society the first beginnings of the institutions of custom, of religion, and of law, which have held society together, have been closely associated with the family. The head of the family in primitive social conditions is the head of the social group; and the family and the relationships proceeding from it always constitute the basis of the State in its earliest forms. The history of civilization from this point forward is mainly the history of the development of larger and larger associations of men, of the forces which have held these associations together, and of the causes which have given them long life, vitality, and social efficiency in the highest sense.

There is no doubt that some kind of military efficiency was intimately associated with the origin of primitive social groups, and that the bonds of union were usually religious in character. J. G. Frazer's theory (*Early Hist. of Kingship*, 1905) of the origin of kingship in early society is to the effect that the office was developed out of magic—it being the magician rather than the military leader who first attained authority in the primitive group. In the further stages he imagines the more primitive functions as falling into the background and being exchanged for priestly duties as magic is superseded by religion. In still later phases a partition takes place between the civil and the religious aspect of the kingship, the temporal power being committed to one man and the spiritual to another. The military principle must, however, have been supreme under all aspects. Great prominence is given in early society to supposed blood-relationship, to which religious significance is attributed. The resulting social group of this kind must from the beginning have had a strong

selective value, for it would have behind it a powerful military principle of efficiency making for its successful development. As the family expanded into a larger social group like the Latin *gens*, and this again into the clan, the family life and the tie of supposed blood-relationship continued to possess great importance as a basis of social unity. We have examples of the patriarchal type of society well defined in the earlier records of the Jews. In the Hindu law down to the present day the joint family continues to be a family union of an unlimited number of persons and their wives, descended, or supposed to be descended, from a common male ancestor. The social development of most of the historic peoples has progressed far beyond this stage. The civilization of Eastern peoples has been greatly influenced by some of the more characteristic ideas of ancestor religion. The family relationship, the influence of ancestors, and the force of hereditary usage are amongst the most powerful causes giving to Chinese civilization of the present day its characteristic features. In the ancient Shintoism of Japan the deification of heroes and great men as well as of the forces of Nature was a feature. 'The great gods . . . are addressed as parents, or dear divine ancestors' (W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, p. 6). Although Shinto as a national religion is almost extinct, its influence has been considerable. So long as we are born Japanese, says Okakura-Yoshisaburo, 'our actual self, notwithstanding the different clothes we have put on, has ever remained true in its spirit to our native cult. Speaking generally, we are still Shintoists to this day' (*The Japanese Spirit*, p. 88). In the West, as civilization became more complex, the tribe, or a similar aggregate, included several groups of blood relations, although its organization still followed that of the family. This stage is clearly in sight in the early history of the city-States of Greece and Rome, and also in the history of the Jews; but it tended to merge in time in the more highly organized condition of the political State. Amongst most ancient peoples, and in the Mosaic constitution, as well as in the history of Greece and Rome, we find tribes with a political and religious meaning, which afterwards disappear. The tribal constitution, in short, lasted, as Bluntschli points out, 'as a bridge between the family and the State, and fell away as soon as the State was assured' (*The Theory of the State*).

As the epoch of the large modern State is approached, the tendency towards both aggregation and differentiation of function continues. The principles underlying and holding together the civilization of the more advanced peoples of the present day have become far more complex than at any previous stage. The modern State is no longer identified, as was the State in the ancient world, with the life of a city. It rests on a large organized territory moving towards still larger aggregation by federation. That our Western civilization, moreover, is essentially and ultimately a single organic unity, may be perceived from the fact that the principles underlying its development are more organic than those underlying the life of any of the States comprised within it. The resources, military, material, and cultural, have become immense. It has absorbed into it most of the results and most of the equipment of all past states of social order. In the States within it, while they remain independent of each other, differentiation upon differentiation of function has taken place, and is still taking place, in government, education, communication, and productive activities of all kinds. Our Western civilization has become a vast, highly organized, and interdependent whole, the wants of every part regulated by economic laws, extensive in their reach, and complex in their

application beyond anything which has prevailed before. Its accumulated power, its methods, and its knowledge now deeply affect the development of the individual born within it. Despite the wars that have taken place within it, and that have been due to it, Western civilization has been a surprisingly stable system of order, making on the whole for the peace of its peoples, and increasingly tending to discountenance military conquest. So great is the prestige of its methods and results, that they are now being eagerly borrowed by other peoples. It is materially influencing the standards of culture and conduct throughout the world, and in the result it is operating towards the gradual improvement and intensification of all the conditions of progress among nations.

In attempting to gauge the character and the causes of this twofold movement of society towards aggregation, organization, and stability on the one hand, and towards culture and efficiency on the other, we distinguish certain leading features. It is evident that the process as a whole is one in which society is becoming more and more organic, and in which the interests of the individual are therefore being increasingly subordinated to the needs and efficiency of society as a whole. What, therefore, it may be asked, is the cause of this deepening of the social consciousness? We see primitive society resolved into its component units when the sense of obligation to a military leader is dissolved with his death. What is the cause of this greatly increased sense of social duty, which, it may be observed, goes deeper than sense of loyalty to the particular State of which the citizen may be a member, and which in the last resort makes these striking results of our civilization possible?

A very pregnant remark of T. H. Green (*Prolegomena to Ethics*, bk. III. ch. iii.) was that during the ethical development of man the sense of social duty involved in the command 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' has never varied. What has varied is only the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?' If, in the light of this profoundly true reflexion, we regard social progress from the conditions of primitive society to those of the highest civilization of the present, it may be observed to possess certain marked features.

In the infancy of historic societies we see men regarded and treated always as members of a group. Everybody, as Maine (*Ancient Law*, 1907 ed., p. 138) has said, is first a citizen; then as a citizen he is a member of his order—of an aristocracy or a democracy, of an order of patricians or of plebeians, or of a caste; next he is a member of a *gens*, house, or clan; and lastly, he is a member of his family. In the aggregate of these fixed groups, as they become in time the basis of the primitive State, the ruling principle of the State—as it was, no doubt, the ruling principle of the earlier and smaller group—expressed under a multitude of forms, and amongst peoples widely separated from each other in every other respect, continues to be the same. While relationship within the State is always the most binding that can be conceived, all those without it are regarded as persons to whom no obligation of any kind is due. The bond of citizenship within the early societies had almost always a religious significance; but, from its nature, it gave rise to an attitude of exclusiveness which it is difficult for the modern mind to conceive. In the primitive stage of the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome, the limited conception of the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?' was very marked. In the early type of caste society to which Homer introduces us, says Mahaffy,

pale even the most deserving are of no account save as objects of plunder' (*Social Life in Greece*, 1874, p. 44).

A higher conception, but one still inspired with the strict principle of exclusiveness, is presented in the earlier records of the Jewish people. This exclusive spirit prevailed in great strength throughout the history of ancient Greece and Rome. Much has been written respecting the spread of more liberal and tolerant ideas in the later periods of those civilizations, but there is an aspect of the matter which must always be kept in mind. Gilbert Murray has recently (*Rise of the Greek Epic*, 1907) pointed out that, so far from prevailing features of early Greek civilization like slavery being characteristically Greek, they are just the reverse. They are only part of the primitive inheritance from barbarism from which Hellenism was struggling to free mankind. But, while there is a sense in which this saying is true, there is also a sense in which entirely misleading conclusions might be drawn from it. The comparative student of the history of institutions and types of civilization has always to keep before him that it was with the spirit of exclusiveness underlying this primitive inheritance that the political, social, and religious institutions of ancient Greece and Rome were vitally associated. For, while progress towards a wider conception of humanity is the fact which is vitally related to the development that is taking place in present-day civilization and all its institutions, such progress in the later history of the Greek States and in the Roman Empire represented not a process of life, but the decay and disintegration of the characteristic principles upon which society had been constituted. This is an important distinction, which must never be overlooked.

The sense of responsibility of men to each other and to life in general, as displayed in the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?', was very limited in the ancient civilizations. We witness this in the relations of the nation to other States and to conquered peoples, as displayed in the spirit of the Roman *jus civile*. We see the limited sense of responsibility to life in the relations of society to slaves, and of the head of the family to his dependents. We witness the spirit of it expressed in the Roman *patria potestas* and *manus*, and in the common customs of the time, such as the exposure of infants. In the ancient State the economic fabric of society rested on a basis of slavery, the slaves being comprised largely of prisoners taken in war and their descendants. The prisoner taken in war was held to have forfeited his life, so that any fate short of death to which he was consigned was regarded as a cause of gratitude (*Inst. Just.* lib. i. tit. iii.). The slave population of Attica at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war is put by Beloch at 100,000, as against a free population of 135,000. Estimating from the Roman census of 684, Mommsen puts the free population of the Italian peninsula at six or seven millions, with a slave population of thirteen or fourteen millions. It thus happened that the outward policy of the ancient State to other peoples became, by fundamental principles of its own life, a policy of military conquest and subjugation, the only limiting principle being the successful resistance of the others to whom the right of existence was thus denied. This epoch of history moved by inherent forces towards the final emergence of one supreme military State in an era of general conquest, and culminated in the example of universal dominion which we had in the Roman world before the rise of the civilization of our era.

The influence on the development of civilization of the wider conception of duty and responsibility to one's fellow-men which was introduced into the world with the spread of Christianity can hardly

'the key to the comprehension of all the details depends upon one leading principle—that consideration is due to the members of the caste, and even to its dependents, but that beyond its

be over-estimated. The extended conception of the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?' which has resulted from the characteristic doctrines of the Christian religion—a conception transcending all the claims of family, group, State, nation, people, or race, and even all the interests comprised in any existing order of society—has been the most powerful evolutionary force which has ever acted on society. It has tended to break up the absolutisms inherited from an older civilization, and to bring into being a new type of social efficiency. The idea has gradually been brought into prominence in recent times that, in the development of organized society, just as in the development of all other forms of life, there is constant and never-ceasing selection as between the more organic and the less organic, that is to say, between the more efficient and the less efficient. The enormous importance, therefore, of this new sense of responsibility to life introduced with the Christian religion, in laying the foundations of a more organic state of society, is a fundamental fact to be taken account of by the scientific student of social development in Western countries.

In the ancient State, as we see it represented in the civilizations of Greece and Rome, there resulted from the principles of its life the facts that the economic fabric of society came to be based on slavery, and that the principal aim of public policy was permanently directed towards the military conquest of other peoples. There were other characteristic results. Where the State represented the whole life and duties of man, freedom as against the State was unknown, and all human institutions tended to become closed *imperiums* organized round the opinions and ideals which happened to be in the ascendant. In law, in religion, in morals, in the status of citizens, in the attitude towards industry, in the economic organization of society, all these *imperiums*, resting ultimately on force, pressed upon the individual, and set definite and fixed bounds to the development of society. The principle limiting social efficiency was that there could be no free conflict of forces in society under such conditions. The present strangled the future, and every kind of human energy necessarily tended to reach its highest potentiality in relation to the present.

With the deepening influence of the conceptions of the Christian religion in the West, what we see in progress is the gradual projection of the sense of human brotherhood, and the sense of human responsibility outside all institutions, organized in the State. The extension of the conception of human brotherhood outside the limits of race and beyond all political boundaries; the deepening of the sense of human responsibility, first of all to fellow-creatures, and then to life itself; the more extended, more spiritual, and therefore more organic, conception of humanity which has come to prevail amongst us—all these are very marked accompaniments of the development which has since been characteristically associated with Western civilization. These wider conceptions, almost at the outset, brought Christianity into conflict with the State religion of the Roman Empire. In time the same ideas were applied in challenging the institution of slavery. Later, the challenge extended in the Church itself to its own system of ideas in their relation to the State. Western civilization has continued to carry this development forward in every direction. The slow revolution which has been effected has now extended to nearly all the institutions of political life; and in the struggles still in the future it is tending to involve all the institutions of economic life. The principle of efficiency is the freer conflict of all the forces in society, this fact expressing itself in the progressive

tendency towards equality of opportunity. Western history thus presents to us a type of civilization in which we see on a great scale the slow, increasing, and successful challenge of the ascendancy of the present in all social and political institutions. The results obtained have been far-reaching in their effects, and they are now profoundly influencing the development of most of the peoples of the world.

The principal feature, in short, which differentiates our civilization from the ancient civilization of Greece and Rome is, that modern Western civilization represents, in an ever-increasing degree, the enfranchisement of the future in the evolutionary process. The efficiency of society, as it grows more and more organic, is, that is to say, becoming more and more a projected efficiency. Regarding the political movement of the last five hundred years in most Western countries, we may perceive that in history it is this conception of the struggle between the less organic interests which represent the dominant present and the more organic interests which include future welfare that gives us the clue to the progress which has been taking place in all institutions. In the disappearance of slavery, in the freeing of the lower orders of the people, in the reform of land tenures, in the innumerable laws which have been passed enfranchising and equipping workmen and the masses of the people in the struggle for existence, what we have always in view is the slow retreat of the occupying classes, which obtained their position and influence under an earlier order of society, in which the ascendancy of the present resting on force was the ruling principle. It has been the deepening of the social consciousness, acting alike on the occupying classes and on the incoming masses, which has been the most powerful cause producing this development in social and political institutions. The meaning behind it is the movement under all forms towards equality of opportunity.

In the ancient civilizations the tendency to conquest was an inherent principle in the life of the military State. It is no longer an inherent principle in the modern State. The right of conquest is, indeed, still acknowledged in the international law of civilized States. But it may be observed to be a right becoming more and more impracticable and impossible among the more advanced peoples, simply because with the higher conception of the answer to the question 'Who is my neighbour?' it has become almost impossible that one nation should conquer another after the manner of the ancient world. It would be regarded as so great an outrage that it would undoubtedly prove to be one of the most unprofitable adventures in which a civilized State could engage. Militarism, it may be distinguished, is becoming mainly defensive amongst the more advanced nations. Like the civil power within the State, it is tending to represent rather the organized means of resistance to the methods of force, should these methods be invoked by others temporarily or permanently under the influence of less evolved standards of conduct.

In the early stages of the development of civilization the social organization tended to be co-extensive with the boundaries of the State or nation. But, with the deepening of social consciousness, it is tending to be no longer so. The social organism still includes the political State. But it tends to become a unity possessing a far deeper and wider meaning. Thus we may distinguish how our own civilization, as already stated, is a unity far more organic than the life of any of the States or nations belonging to it. It is a social organism which includes them all, while the principle of its own life is a common inheritance in the influence of those spiritual conceptions which have produced that extension of the social consciousness already referred

to. We may distinguish also the operation of the influences which are tending to extend the conception of the social organism not only to humanity, but, in the widest sense, so as to embrace the meaning and destiny of the race as a whole. But here we are carried into the midst of the capital problems of philosophy. It is, indeed, in the ethical, philosophical, and spiritual conceptions which are still extending and deepening the social consciousness that the whole question of the further development of civilization centres.

LITERATURE.—From the enormous mass of books dealing directly or indirectly with the subject of the above article, the following list, suggestive of others equally important, may be offered:—G. le Bon, *Les prem. Civilisations*, 1888; J. Lippert, *Kulturgesch.*, 1886-7; C. Seignobos, *Hist. de la civiis. anc.*, 1903 (Eng. tr. 1907); E. B. Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 4, 1903; E. J. Simcox, *Prim. Civilizations*, 1894; J. P. Mahaffy, *Lects. on Prim. Civilt.*, 1889; J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 4, 1900, also *Early Hist. of Kingship*, 1905; Sir J. Lubbock, *Orig. of Civilt.*, 1870; E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Bury, 1896-1900; W. Warde Fowler, *City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, 1898, 1895; S. Dill, *Roman Society in Last Cent. of the W. Empire*, 1898-9, also *Rom. Soc. from Nero to M. Aurelius*, 1904; J. B. Bury, *Hist. of the later Rom. Empire*, 1889; H. E. Seebohm, *Structures of Gr. Tribal Society*, 1895; J. Burckhardt, *Gr. Kulturgesch.*, 1898-1900; J. P. Mahaffy, *Survey of Gr. Culture*, 1896-1, also *Social Life in Greece*, ed. 1902; G. C. A. Murray, *Orig. of the Greek Epic*, 1907; Okakura-Yoshisaburo, *The Japanese Spirit*, 1905; W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, 1905; J. Legge, *Religions of China*, 1880; F. Max-Müller, *Six Syst. of Indian Philos.*, 1899; F. C. S. Schiller, *Studies in Humanism*, 1907; J. M. Baldwin, *Soc. and Ethical Interp.*, 1907; G. Tarde, *Social Laws*, 1899; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evol.*, 1906; T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, 1883; J. B. MacTaggart, *Hegelian Cosmology*, 1901; W. R. Sorley, *Recent Tendencies in Ethics*, 1904; H. Sidgwick, *Hist. of Ethics*, 1886; C. Seignobos, *Medieval Civilt.*, 1908; W. Moeller, *Hist. Christ. Church*, 1900; G. P. Gooch, *Annals of Pol. and Culture*, 1901; J. A. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*, 1875-88; H. T. Buckle, *Hist. of Civilt. in England*, ed. 1867-8; H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, 1876-96; C. H. Pearson, *National Life and Character*, 2, 1894; F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, 1898; E. Kidd, *Social Evolution*, 1894, *Principles of Western Civilization*, 1898, and *Two Principal Laws. Sociology*, 1908; D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*, 1895; Sir F. Pollock, *Introd. to Hist. of Science of Politics*, 1902; J. K. Bluntschli, *Lehre v. modern. Staat*, 1875-6 (Eng. tr. *Theory of the State*, 1885); P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'Etat moderne et ses fonctions*, 1900; E. A. Freeman, *Chief Periods of Europ. History*, 1885-6; W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of Europ. Morals*, 1890; H. Hallam, *View of State of Europe during Middle Ages*, ed. 1904; J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, 1899; Sir H. Maine, *Village Communities*, 1871, *Early Hist. of Institutions*, 1875, *Ancient Law*, ed. 1907, *Popular Government*, 1885; W. H. Mallock, *Aristoc. and Evolut.*, 1898; J. S. Mackenzie, *Introd. to Social Philosophy*, 1890, and *Lectures on Humanism*, 1907; A. J. Balfour, *Decadence*, 1908; F. Nietzsche, *Werke*, 1896-1901 (cf. esp. his *Gotzen-Dämmerung* (Eng. tr. *The Will to Power of the Gods*, 1901)); J. C. Sharpe, *Culture and Religion*, 1870; L. F. Ward, *Psychic Factors of Civilization*, 1901; W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*, 1908.

See also the art. in the present work on FAMILY, BROTHERHOOD (artificial), SLAVERY, LAW, ECONOMICS, INHERITANCE, WAR.

BENJAMIN KIDD.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.—See PURIFICATION.

CLEANTHES.—Cleanthes, the second Greek president of the Stoic school (born 331, died 232 B.C.—such are the most likely dates), was a native of Assos, in Asia Minor, and the son of Phantias. His original occupation was that of a boxer. He came to Athens a poor man, and joined himself to Zeno, the Stoic, whose philosophy he eagerly studied and accepted. He had a great reputation among his contemporaries for industry (both physical and mental), working hard over night for a mere living by drawing water in the gardens, and devoting himself to philosophy during the day. His laborious habits and his strenuous simple life, his upright character and his sincerity of conviction, won for him general admiration; but he was not commonly regarded as highly endowed mentally—indeed, he was esteemed as slow of intellect, and is represented as chiding himself for 'lack of brains' (*vous de mē*, Diog. Laert. vii. 171). We must not, however, take this too seriously. Self-depreciation is no sure sign of obtuseness, nor is

the opinion of one's contemporaries infallible. St. Thomas Aquinas, because of his apparent stolidity, was known by his companions at Cologne as 'the ox'; and yet the prediction of his master, Albertus Magnus, came absolutely true: 'That ox will make his lowings heard throughout Christendom.' So, when we find Cleanthes behaving meekly when he was designated 'an ass,' we need not think any the less of him. It only shows that he was one of those spirits who are finely touched to fine issues. But not only in the unresenting way in which he accepted gibes and insults did the gentleness of his nature come out; we see it also in his lenient judgments of others, especially of opponents in philosophy, and in his tendency to look at the best side of a man's character, not at the worst. Yet, gentle though he was, he was by no means destitute of keenness of wit and power of repartee. In character and disposition he was very much the Epicuretus of the early Greek period of the school. The manner of his death was remarkable. Suffering from swollen gums, he abstained for two days from food, on the advice of his physicians. At the end of that time he had so far recovered that his physicians gave him liberty to return to his normal mode of living. But he refused, saying that he had now got thus far on the way. And so, continuing in his abstinence, he died.

To Zeno, his master, he was consistently faithful and attached, submitting himself to his guidance as to life and conduct, and loyally accepting his teaching. Yet, though thus loyal, he was not lacking in independence of thought. He carried forward the Zenonian doctrines, emending and developing them, and he gave a coherence to the Stoic system that is quite noteworthy. His distinctive features are as follows:

1. While accepting the Zenonian division of the sciences into Logic, Physics, and Ethics (with the last as supreme), he gave explicit statement to what was implicit in the division, and duplicated each member, viz. Logic and Rhetoric, Physics and Theology, Ethics and Politics. By thus conjoining Rhetoric with Logic, he brought forward the importance of investigation into the value and nature of words, and gave an impulse to the school in a direction in which it won repute. By taking direct account of Theology as attaching to Physics, he indicated the wide sense in which the term Physics was understood by the Stoics, and also virtually acknowledged the essential Pantheism of the Stoic system—a Pantheism both materialistic and dynamic. And, by uniting Politics with Ethics, he indicated the necessity of recognition of the social environment for the proper understanding and appreciation of moral phenomena and moral principles. There was wisdom in the elaboration, and it bore testimony to the logical instinct of Cleanthes as a definer. It made the scheme more suitable for the inclusion, without unnecessary straining, of all the known sciences of the day.

2. We note, next, his pronounced materialism. Doubtless the teaching of Zeno was materialistic, but Cleanthes has the distinction of having carried out this basal principle in a drastic and thorough-going fashion. With him the physical property of strain or tension (*trōvos*) became supreme in the explanation of the formation and structure of the Universe. But he made rigorous application of it also to all the provinces and processes of mind. By this means he explained the phenomena of sense-perception—the mode by which we attain a knowledge of external reality through the senses. He regarded perception as effected by actual dints or hollow marks made by the object of sense on the soul, just like the impression that a seal leaves upon wax. This is a purely materialistic explana-

tion—so much so that even Chrysippus had to tone it down (see art. CHRYSIPPUS); but it appeared to account satisfactorily for the *hold* that external reality takes upon us in perception, and also for the *assurance* we obtain that it is external reality that impresses us. In accordance with this is the teaching that the mind is originally a *tabula rasa*—a sheet of clean paper, waiting to be written upon by the finger of experience. This, too, is an obviously materialistic doctrine, and seems to have originated with Cleanthes. Again, if we turn to the emotions, we find the same principle of explanation regarded as sufficient. His enumeration of the emotions, indeed, is rather scanty (he recognized, at any rate, fear, grief, and love); but, few or many, they were all ‘weaknesses,’ and, therefore, states to be got rid of, and were to be explained, on physical principles, by lack of tension. Nor was there need of any other ground of explanation when ethics and virtue were reached. Here, too, materialism supplied the key. The virtues had been enunciated by Plato as four in number—wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice. This list was expounded by Cleanthes, with a difference. The difference lay in the fact that, instead of ‘wisdom’ standing at the top, he put ‘self-control’ (*ἐγκράτεια*) there. This was done wittingly; for now it was made apparent that virtue, being self-control, consists in robust moral fibre, and so is explicable by strain or tension. Everywhere materialism reigned; and thus was absolute theoretical consistency given to the Stoic teaching.

3. To Cleanthes, the soul was material—he viewed it as ‘fiery breath’ or *πνεῦμα*. This follows from the Zenonian doctrine, taken over from Heraclitus, that fire is the primal substance of the Universe, in which all created beings participate. But Cleanthes proved the position by two definite arguments, which have often been repeated in similar connexion since—viz. (1) the intimate relationship and sympathy between soul and body—if the body is hurt the soul is pained, if the soul is anxious or depressed the body shows it in outward expression; (2) mental capacities in the individual, as well as physical qualities, are transmitted by ordinary generation from parent to child. Nevertheless, the soul, though material, is not destroyed by death: it survives the separation from the body and continues in conscious personal existence till the Great Conflagration, when it is re-absorbed into the primal fire or ether; and this, unlike what Chrysippus taught, applies to *all* human souls, and not merely to the souls of the wise. From the primal fire it issues again in due course, according to the doctrine of world-cycles—a doctrine that had an immense fascination for Cleanthes, and which he did much to elaborate and establish. In his view, also, the human soul is intimately bound up with the world, and should be assimilated to it, so that the world must be conceived as a macrocosm, having man exactly corresponding to it as a microcosm.

4. The name of Cleanthes is associated in chief with the theology of the Stoic school—a theology that is pantheistic and materialistic, but yet is made, in the hands of Cleanthes, to assume an impressive devotional aspect. There is nothing finer in the Greek language than the *Hymn to Zeus*, and it may very well be taken as a summary of the theological tenets of Stoicism. In the first place, there is an intensity of conviction and a stately, austere reverence about it that is supremely appropriate to an address to Zeus by one who, in so far as his principles were embodied in his life, felt himself in very deed akin to the Divine, and so worthy to hold communion with the Highest:

‘Above all gods most glorious, invoked by many a name, almighty evermore, who didst found the world and guidest all

by law—O Zeus, hail! for it is right that all mortals address thee. We are thine offspring, alone of mortal things that live and walk the earth moulded in image of the All; therefore, thee will I hymn and sing thy might continually.’

Next, it breathes that spirit of admiration for, and whole-hearted submission to, the world-order that is the true index of a pious sensitive religious nature:

‘Thee doth all this system that rolls round the earth obey in what path soever thou guidest it, and willingly is it governed by thee. . . . Nay more, what is uneven, thy skill doth make even; what knew not order, it setteth in order; and things that strive find all in thee a friend. For thus hast thou fitted all, evil with good, in one great whole, so that in all things reigns one reason everlasting.’

In this we find Cleanthes’ interpretation of the Zenonian formula ‘Live agreeably to nature.’ It was made from the standpoint of the Universe or All, not, as Chrysippus afterwards made it, mainly from the side of human nature, which is but a part of the Universe or All. The religious attitude of Cleanthes is still further illustrated by the striking lines reproduced by Epictetus in his *Enchiridion*, li. (for the deepest thoughts of Cleanthes are expressed in genuine effective poetry):

‘Lead me, O Zeus, and thou, O Destiny, whithersoever I am ordained by you to go. I will follow without hesitation. And even if, in evil mood, I would not, none the less must I follow’ (Seneca’s translation of these lines into Latin verse is well known [*Epistles*, cvii.]).

Lastly, the *Hymn* recognizes that the moral evil which is in the world is the result not of Fate, but of man’s free will:

‘Without thee, O Divinity, no deed is done on earth, nor in the ethereal vault divine, nor in the deep, save only what wicked men do in the folly of their hearts.’

In thus separating Fate from Providence and maintaining that moral evil, though fated, is not due to Providence—though pre-determined, is not foreordained—Cleanthes separated from his master Zeno, who had identified Fate with Providence, as also from his disciple Chrysippus, who did the same.

Although God’s existence is vouched for by the Stoic doctrine of *πολύθεϊς*, or common notions, and is attested by the general consent of mankind, nevertheless Cleanthes adduced other proofs of it. He laid the stress on the physical argument from the nature of the primitive ether or all-pervading creative and preservative fire; and he had still further reasonings, four of which are given by Cicero (*de Nat. Deorum*, ii. 5 and iii. 7)—viz. (1) the foreknowledge of future events; (2) lightning, tempests, and other shocks of Nature; (3) the abundance of good things that we enjoy from Nature; and (4) the invariable order of the stars and the heavens. The first of these refers to God as universal Reason, and was specially applied by the Stoics to divination; the second appeals to the terror aroused in man by certain of the more striking and threatening phenomena of Nature (tempests, earthquakes, etc.); the third takes account of the beneficence of Nature, and appeals to man’s sense of gratitude; the fourth, ‘and by far the strongest of all,’ is drawn from the regularity of the motion and revolution of the heavens and the magnificence and beauty of the heavenly bodies. This last is very significant. It reposes on the principle that order implies intelligence or mind—a principle that was used to great purpose, in modern times, by Principal Tulloch in his Burnett Prize Essay on *Theism* (1855), and for which he claimed the merit of stating the Teleological argument in a form that is not exposed to the objections urged so formidably against the more usual way of putting it—e.g. Paley’s or Thomas Reid’s.

5. As compared with his disciple and successor Chrysippus, Cleanthes was not a pronounced controversialist, although he argued keenly against the hedonism of the Epicureans. A logician, indeed, he was, and he took his part in discussing ‘the ruling argument’ (*ὁ κυριώτατος*) and other

famous puzzles of the time; he handled the doctrine of *λεκτά*, and introduced the term *λεκτός* in the sense of *κατηγορημα* into logical usage; and, in the list of his treatises given by Diog. Laert., there are several works on points or parts of Logic. But, for all that, he could lay no claim to the polemical activity and dialectical skill of Chrysippus. His gentle nature seemed to love contemplation and peace more than the turmoil of altercation and the war of words. Hence, he was satisfied to be looked upon as the burden-bearer, the mere recipient and transmitter of the Zenonian teaching, and did not resent the appellation 'ass.' Hence, too, Chrysippus, recognizing his wisdom but distrusting his polemical capacity, could request to be indoctrinated by him in the Stoic principles, while reserving to himself the task of discovering the demonstrations. Hence, further, when on one occasion Cleanthes, in later years, was hard pressed by the sophistry of an opponent, Chrysippus could thrust himself forward and say, 'Cease dragging the old man from more important matters, and propose these questions to us who are young' (Diog. Laert. vii. 182). The author of the *Hymn to Zeus* had his character moulded on the serene and more amiable side of virtue, and did not care to 'strive,' if only he might be left to high thought and placid contemplation of the Divine. And his own and after generations recognized his worth. Writing in the 6th cent. A.D., Simplicius (see his Commentary on Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, c. 78) says:

The eminence of this man was so great that I myself have seen at Assos, of which place he was a native, a very noble statue, worthy of his fame and of the magnificence of the Senate of Rome, who set it up in honour of him.'

If, as Tyndall once maintained, referring to Goethe, a public statue is the only worthy tribute to a really great man, then Cleanthes conforms to the test; and, at all events, his merits are not likely to be ignored by philosophy at the present moment. Recent research, led by Hirzel, has fully established his claim to be no mere echo of Zeno, and it also forbids our looking upon him as the rather weak master, hustled and wholly overshadowed by his greater pupil Chrysippus; it justifies us in assigning him a leading place in the formation of the Stoic creed, and in regarding him, in a real sense, and not merely nominally, as the second founder of the Stoic school.

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WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.

CLERICALISM AND ANTI-CLERICALISM.—I. Meaning and use of the terms.—These antithetical terms are the Anglicized forms of foreign originals, and on the Continent (where they are associated respectively with allegiance or opposition to Ultramontanism, if not, as happens in more extreme cases, to revealed religion as a whole) they bear a much more precise signification than they do in England. Isolated instances of the use of the word 'Clericalism' may be found earlier, but the term did not obtain general recognition in England previous to the last quarter of the 19th cent., whilst even then it made its way but slowly, and its employment was for some time journalistic rather than strictly literary (cf. the quotations given in *OED*, the last of which 'The chronic insurrection of the clergy, their hostility to republican institutions, their defiance of national supremacy is what is called in France clericalism') may be taken as evidence of the comparative

unfamiliarity of the word to English readers so late as the year 1883). The idea of Clericalism, however, together with that of its opposite, found constant expression in older English under other forms, e.g. 'priestdom,' 'priestcraft,' 'priest-ridden,' 'monkish,' 'popery,' 'prelacy,' etc., though the associations thus suggested are for the most part personal, sectional, or exceptional, rather than typical of a class, and are hence distinguished from those of Clericalism, which is a term both of wider scope and of more sinister import. In this its primary sense, then, Clericalism is a designation applying to all that conduces to the establishment of 'a spiritual despotism exercised by a sacerdotal caste.'

But the term is also frequently, indeed in England more frequently, used in another and milder sense, i.e. with reference to clerical propensities which are not so much acutely dangerous as rather causes of alienation and elements of disturbance. Clericalism, in this latter case, sometimes differs from that described in the former only by being a shade less pronounced, whilst at other times it stands for something comparatively harmless, e.g. mere mannerism. Hence, as the word is open to this ambiguity, its meaning in the several instances of its employment cannot be too carefully located and particularized. This caution is especially needful where the milder type of Clericalism is concerned, since in the other case, just because the type is more strongly marked (i.e. 'the overweening estimate and despotic use of human authority'), it is less liable to misconception. The word is, indeed, only too often used merely as a term of reproach, and without consideration of the fact that it stands for a variety of moral values.

The question here arises as to how far this term is to be regarded as indicating only the more historical forms of clerical perversity in the Christian Church, or, on the other hand, as having a wider application. In a sense the latter interpretation is to be preferred, inasmuch as Clericalism is by no means peculiar to the ecclesiastical history of Christianity. Restriction, on this view, would have reference, not to one religion as compared with others, but rather to the one type of Clericalism as compared with the other; for Clericalism of the more marked and aggravated kind, however widely diffused, can scarcely be shown to be world-wide, whereas the milder affection would seem to be inseparable from the very existence of an official clergy all the world over. But this question as to the applicability of restrictions in the use of the term is, after all, merely of academic interest, since in point of fact Clericalism cannot be profitably discussed unless it is very definitely associated with the historical cases in which it has been exemplified; and such cases, in order to be of service, must necessarily be derived from the ecclesiastical history of Christianity rather than from that of other and less familiar religions.

With regard to the use of the term 'Anti-Clericalism,' the points most requiring to be borne in mind may be briefly stated as follows: (1) the fact that, though this term may legitimately be applied to movements directed against the clergy in past history, it has a special significance of its own in relation to the latter-day revolutionary tendencies which gave birth to it; (2) the fact that, as thus understood, the term had, and to a great extent still has, primarily in view a political and ecclesiastical reference, i.e. the position of the clergy in regard to the Civil Power, but that it also often includes a reference not so much to the clergy as to that for which they stand, viz. the profession, defence, and propagation of the Orthodox Faith; (3) the fact that the term is not to be

regarded as exclusively the negation and antithesis of Clericalism (though it is so largely), since Anti-Clericalism is, in most cases, due not merely to the natural process of reaction in which it originated, but also to other and independent influences subsequently added; (4) the fact that the term is, properly speaking, opposed to Clericalism of the first and more aggravated type, rather than to that of the second and milder form, with which it can scarcely be brought into contrast.

2. Aggravated Clericalism (le Cléricalisme).—

(1) *Nature and aim.*—Clericalism, as thus understood, is perhaps best explained as due ultimately to 'the motive of *esprit de corps* . . . undoubtedly a great stimulus, and in its measure consistent with all simplicity and singleness of heart; but in an intense form, when the individual is absorbed in a blind obedience to a body, it corrupts the quality of religion; it ensnares the man in a kind of self-interest; and he sees in the success of the body the reflection of himself. . . . It becomes an egotistic motive. . . . When it exists under the special profession of religion, and a religion of humility, and has to be cloaked, not only is there the fault of concealment, but the vice itself is more intense by the concealment. . . . And thus the ambition of the clerical order has always been attended by peculiarly repulsive features which have been discriminated by the moral sense of mankind' (Moxley, *University Sermons*², 1877, pp. 83, 84).

It should be added, however, that the characteristics specified in the above masterly analysis attain to their full strength only when 'the ambition of the clerical order' encounters opposition, the worst features of Clericalism having always been most evidenced, not when the clergy are in a position of ascendancy, but when their power is only just beginning to make itself felt, or is on the decline. In ordinary cases the symptoms are less aggravated, and it would be a grave mistake to regard these abnormal developments of Clericalism as typical examples of its operation. But even in its more ordinary manifestations, Clericalism of the type here in question is always something more than ultra-professionalism, since its spirit is not merely too exclusively professional, but is also essentially incompatible with the spirit of the clerical, not to say of the Christian, profession. Moreover, Clericalism is distinguished from all parallel tendencies in secular callings by reason of the speciousness of its claims, these being always justified by an appeal to the highest motives, and, in their origin, usually admitting of such justification.¹ It is, indeed, of the essence of this self-aggrandizing tendency on the part of the clerical class that the claims advanced should take the form, if not of conclusions, yet at least of corollaries, deducible from first principles. The utilization of theological doctrine and ecclesiastical tradition for the purpose of substantiating such claims has been one of the most fruitful sources of perverse interpretation known to history (see under (3)). At the same time, it is of importance to observe that the theological and ecclesiastical supports of which Clericalism thus avails itself ought not (unless they owe their existence to the forgery or mutilation of documents) to be regarded as necessarily partaking of its nature, though, if they readily lend themselves to its designs, they can scarcely escape this imputation. Thus, a conviction of the truth of Roman or High Anglican doctrine, as regards the nature of the Christian ministry, does not, as such, indicate Clericalism. It does so only if it is made to serve to promote the exclusive interests of the clergy at the expense of the laity.

But Clericalism does not acquire its hold over mankind merely by claiming the support of doctrine and tradition; it seeks also to further its aims by means of a policy of *self-adaptation*. Thus, often

¹ 'If their aims and motives were wholly pure, they would, as a duty, cling tenaciously to their privileges; if these were corrupt, they would cling to them more tenaciously still' (J. Watt, 'The Latin Church,' in *Churches of Christendom* [St. Giles's Lectures, 4th ser., 1884], p. 162).

it devotes itself to objects which have little or nothing in common with its own proclivities, but from which, as the result of its embracing them, it hopes to derive either immediate or ultimate advantage: e.g. political (it may even be theological) liberalism, social reform, popular education, learned research. This indifference of Clericalism (and especially of Clericalism leavened, as in modern times it largely has been, by Jesuitism) to the causes with which it allies itself, so long as it is itself benefited, is as much one of its characteristics at certain epochs of history as is its attitude of resistance pure and simple at certain others. In both cases, and in one not less than the other, the end incessantly pursued is the exclusive ascendancy of the clerical order. And in both, indeed we may say in all, cases, Clericalism is the outcome of a professional bias, or rather of a perverted *esprit de corps*, prompting the clergy to make an immoderate, or illicit, use of their legitimate privileges for the benefit of their own class. This corruption of aim is a slow and insidious growth, the consciousness of which in most cases is either not realized or else repressed. When, however, Clericalism is put on its defence, its excuse always is that the same Divine sanction may be claimed for each successive augmentation of clerical authority as for its original exercise. It is to the mixture of sincerity and disingenuousness involved in the assertion of this claim that the peculiar associations of Clericalism, as well as the peculiar odium attaching to them, are to be attributed.

(2) *Anti-social characteristics.*—Clericalism may be regarded as an anti-social influence under two aspects, viz. as being (a) subversive of order, (b) inimical to progress.

(a) In respect to this consideration, Clericalism is always at bottom a *lawless* disposition.¹ This lawlessness, in the most typical cases, is like that to which standing armies are so frequently liable, and is due to the fact that the clergy, in consequence of their belonging to a class homogeneous in its composition, united in its aims, and divorced from the common life around them, are peculiarly exposed to the danger of developing anti-social and anti-civic tendencies.² Lawlessness, however, like every other attribute of Clericalism, results from a gradual process of deterioration. Thus, what was originally a righteous protest against the arbitrary encroachments of the Civil Power becomes transformed into a mere stalking-horse of clerical ambition.

(b) Clericalism, when it takes an anti-progressive form, is even more commonly of the nature of a *corruptio optimi*. Thus, in the Middle Ages, there was a beneficial side to the two forces most active in consolidating the clergy, viz. celibacy, which united the inferior clergy, and the exclusive right of investiture, which liberated the superior clergy from State control. Yet Gregory VII. worked out the whole theory of Clericalism on the basis of these two institutions, which afterwards were far more often employed to promote the one-sided interests of the clergy than as instruments for the protection of the weaker members of the community against the encroachments of Feudalism (Ranke, *Weltgesch.* [1881–88] vii. 312).

As an anti-progressive influence, Clericalism sometimes spreads simply by taking advantage

¹ 'Jacobinism, in his use of the word, included not merely the extreme movement party in France or England . . . but all the natural tendencies of mankind, whether democratic or priestly, to oppose the authority of Law, divine and human. . . . the two great opposite forms of human wickedness, white and red Jacobinism' (Stanley, *Life of Arnold*¹², 1881, ch. iv.).

² 'Prevented from growing into a hereditary caste, using amidst the dialects of different lands the same language, recognizing obedience to their superiors as the first principle of their order . . . the priests formed a commonwealth amongst the nations which could not but rule' (J. Watt, *loc. cit.*).

of the weakness of the community, the despotism of the clergy in this case depending rather on the disappearance of all else that is great and venerable than on any absolute moral strength accruing to the Church. But in European history, Clericalism has far more frequently, and with far more assurance of success, placed its confidence, not in any general influences favourable to its growth, but in the much more solid support which it has derived from its connexion with the Papacy. For, as is well known, the rise of Feudalism, previous to the acknowledgment of the Papal power, tended rather to weaken sacerdotal influence, and, before the Church was constituted into one unanimous body pervading all countries and acting in obedience to a single absolute head, the clergy were the upholders of national liberties against arbitrary sovereigns, and their natural position was that of antagonism to all despotic tendencies. And, as the Papacy thus fostered Clericalism (together, of course, with much that was as wholly beneficial as Clericalism was wholly harmful) by its creation of a centralized ecclesiastical system, so, after that system had been weakened by the Reformation, it did so in a different way by its alliance with the Jesuits. For, though Jesuitism is not strictly a clerical influence, indeed was started as a rival to that influence and found favour at Rome largely on that account, it has, more than any other factor, shaped the character of modern Clericalism. However, neither have the Popes had much to do with imparting this Jesuitical complexion to Clericalism, nor have either the Popes or the Jesuits been wholly anti-progressive, as is necessarily the case with Clericalism. The truth rather is, putting aside the Jesuits, that Clericalism has found in the Papacy its opportunity, and has made use of it for anti-progressive purposes. According to Tyrrell, it is not so much the Papacy as its 'modern interpretation' (by which he means the clericalist interpretation) that is 'the deadly enemy'; and it is in this light, also, that we must regard even the Encyclical *Pascendi* which, according to the same author, 'takes away the right of citizenship' (*Medievalism*, 1909, p. 135). Ecclesiastics and ecclesiastical institutions become infected by Clericalism as a moral disease, and it is this, and not their original nature, which makes them foes to progress. However, there is always a nobler strain in them, and it is never too late to hope that this 'may be made fruitful of true developments of the Catholic idea, by the marriage of Christian principles with the sane principles of growing civilization' (*ib.* p. 150).

(3) *Obscurantist theological influence.*—The influence of Clericalism on Biblical interpretation and Theology is so notorious that we sometimes forget the importance of discriminating its significance in different cases. In attempting to estimate these differences, we must remember (a) that the growth of the conception of hierarchical authority can scarcely fail in any age, least of all in an uncritical one, to give rise to corresponding developments in regard to matters Biblical and theological; (b) that, previous to the exploits of the Jesuits in the same field, the worst cases of the perversion of truth in the cause of Clericalism have not occurred in either of these two spheres so much as in the domain of ecclesiastical Law, to which alike the Isidorian forgeries and those of the Gregorian *Deus Dedit*, Anselm of Lucca, and Cardinal Gregorius really belong; and (c) that it is extremely difficult, with reference to errors, fanciful creations, unfounded assumptions, and false developments, to discover how far, if at all, the support given to Clericalism by the wrong line taken was due to a malign influence and to a deliberate intention to deceive.

In regard to Clericalism, the history of religious thought is like that of religious institutions. No theological doctrine or other form of Christian teaching is, as such, and at starting, a product of Clericalism, but, as time proceeds, the poison is communicated, and growth is checked, if not arrested. Thus the loose and for the most part allegorical interpretations of NT passages in the Early Church were afterwards made to serve the purposes of Clericalism with respect to the authority appertaining to the Church hierarchy. The same thing happened in other instances. Thus, if we follow the upbuilding of clerical authority in the Church (commonly mistaken for Clericalism), as we pass from Cyprian to Gregory I., from the latter to pseudo-Isidore and Gregory VII., 'we might conclude, on a superficial consideration' (as Harnack truly observes), that the process of degeneration was complete.

'But when we enter into detail, and take into account the ecclesiastical legislation from the time of Innocent III., we observe how much was still wanting to a strict application of it [Clericalism] in theory and practice till the end of the twelfth century. Only from the time of the fourth Lateran Council was full effect given to it, expressly in opposition to the Catharist and Waldensian parties' (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., vi. 119 f.).

In this case it is, of course, not meant that the teaching, e.g., of Cyprian, from whom the development starts, was not what we should nowadays call 'extreme'; for, as Bishop Lightfoot says (*Christian Ministry*, 1885, p. 258), it was Cyprian who not only 'crowned the edifice of episcopal power,' but who also was 'the first to put forward without relief or disguise these sacerdotalist assumptions' (though it should be remembered, *per contra*, that Cyprian's doctrine of the solidarity of the clergy with the laity is, rightly understood, all against Clericalism). The point rather is that the development from Cyprian down to Hildebrand was, in a certain sense, a natural one, and so far, therefore, not the outcome of Clericalism. Similarly as regards the teaching of Augustine. We constantly meet in Harnack with statements such as the following:

'While the Augustinian definition was firmly retained, that the Church is the community of believers or of the predestinated, the idea was always gaining a fuller acceptance that the hierarchy is the Church' (*op. cit.* vi. 119). 'Augustine neither followed out nor clearly perceived the hierarchical tendency of his position' [i.e. in reference to the millennial kingdom that had been announced by John, 'the Saints' reign' fulfilled in the Heads of the Church, the clergy] (*ib.* v. 152). In the case of ordination, Augustine again, as in other cases, 'bestowed on the Church a series of sacerdotal ideas, without himself being interested in their sacerdotal tendency' (*ib.* v. 161, note; the same is shown to be true of Gregory the Great).

These instances may serve to illustrate the growing influence of Clericalism on theological development during the early ages of the Christian Church, as well as its more mature influence during the Middle Ages.

When, however, the power of Clerical domination began to wane, i.e. during the 16th and 17th cents. (the era of the Protestant revolution), the influence of Clericalism on theology changed its character. It could now make itself felt only by resorting to compromises and by working through subterranean channels. Thus the somewhat halting theology of the Tridentine decrees does not exhibit any marked traces of Clericalism. Nothing, e.g., is laid down in them as regards the authority of the Papal power—a fact by which, as Harnack remarks, the Popes afterwards profited. Nor was this only, though, no doubt, it was chiefly, a matter of expediency. For, in regard to the conception of the Church and Clergy, as well as in regard to the outlook more generally, 'the Reformation forced even the old Church to judge spiritual things spiritually, or at least to adopt the appearance of a spiritual character' (Harnack, *op. cit.* vii. 22). The Tridentine theology to a slight extent, and the Port-Royal theology to a much

greater one (the latter being distinguished at once by its submission to authority, and its freedom from every tincture of Clericalism), witness to the truth of this assertion. Nevertheless, the 'Old Church' never went so far as to become convinced of the Reformation principle that, if the power of the clergy is to be maintained, it must establish itself on the foundation of the pure Word of God. 'The bishops, the councils, and even the Pope, he [Luther] would willingly have allowed to continue, or at least would have tolerated, if they had accepted the gospel' (*ib.* vii. 221). Instead of this, a quite different method was employed, directed to a quite different end. The clerical power was not vindicated after the fashion which 'the man of inward freedom' 'would have allowed or at least would have tolerated,' but after the fashion of Bellarmine and de Maistre. The task was entrusted to the Jesuits, whose activity, however, would have attained to no more fruition in the theological than in the practical sphere, if it had not concentrated itself on the enforcement of Papal claims in their 'modern interpretation.'

'What have the Jesuits and their friends not taught us . . . for two hundred years! The letters of Cyprian falsified, Eusebius falsified, numberless writings of the Church Fathers interpolated, the Constantinopolitan Symbol falsified by the Greeks, the Councils convoked contrary to the intentions of Rome, the Acts of the Councils falsified, the Decrees of the Councils of no account, the most venerable Church Fathers full of heterodox views and without authority—only one rock in this ocean of error and forgery, the chair of Peter, and, making itself heard through history, only one sure note . . . the testimony to the infallibility of the successor of Peter' (Harnack, *op. cit.* vii. 84). It only remains to point out that this work, begun by the Jesuits, has been further developed by the ecclesiastico-political skill of the Curia.

'In this way that was at last attained which the Curia and its followers already sought to reach in the sixteenth century; as the Church became the handmaid of the Pope, so dogma also became subject to his sovereign rule' (*ib.* vii. 221.).

3. Attenuated Clericalism.—(1) *Relation to the laity.*—This is a complex phenomenon, the investigation of which is attended by peculiar difficulties. For though, speaking generally, its root principle is the same as that of the Clericalism already characterized, it by no means admits of being explained by sole reference to that consideration; indeed, in many cases, it can scarcely, if at all, be derived from that source. Clericalism of this second type is much more bound up than is that of the first with national and local idiosyncrasies. More particularly, the features by which it is distinguished take their colour, much more than do those of the first type, from the features by which, in each case, the laity are distinguished. Thus, in some Protestant countries after the Reformation, the laity were differently situated from what they were in others, and this fact could not be without its influence on the behaviour of the clergy, and on Clericalism as a part of it. This, then, is at starting the point to which attention requires to be called, viz. the necessity of studying Clericalism of this milder type in relation to the position and antecedents of the particular class of people amongst whom it prevails.

Now, if we make this study, what appears is (a) that Clericalism is derived from something in common between clergy and laity. Thus, in some communities, especially democratic ones, the behaviour of the clergy, and even the display of its seamy side in the shape of Clericalism, are often largely determined by the tendencies, tastes, and fashions of the laity; indeed, to a greater or less extent, this must be always what happens. 'The people love to have it so,' or, as Charles Kingsley says in *Alton Locke*, 'the clergy are what the people make them.' This may even be so much the case that Clericalism may not meet with much, if with any, opposition. But it does not follow that Clericalism may not, up to a certain point, be a

representative phenomenon in other cases, i.e. where its existence is resented. This is an important and too much neglected consideration in regard to the subject of which we are now treating. At the same time, though this is one factor in Clericalism, it is not that which constitutes its chief significance. This consists in its disturbance of harmonious relations between clergy and laity, in its unsympathetic and unconciliatory tone, in its ultra-professional one-sidedness, in its assumption of superiority, in its blindness to the signs of the times. Such is what appears (b) as the result of the study of Clericalism in its relation to the laity. In other words, Clericalism of this type denotes a separatist tendency, a provocative attitude of the clergy, leading in the one case to their isolation, in the other to their estrangement, from the community to which they belong.

(2) *Extenuation and condemnation.*—A disposition of this kind, under some one or more of its forms, is often with justice, but perhaps still more often undeservedly, imputed to the clergy, and constitutes no small part of the reason for the failure of their efforts. Nor is it only the least zealous or even the least efficient members of the clerical body who lay themselves open to this reproach, or are thought to do so; sometimes it is precisely on account of their energy and enthusiasm that Clericalism is attributed to the clergy, both as a class and as individuals. In such cases, it must always be borne in mind that the objections and complaints urged may originate only in a desire on the part of the laity to find an excuse for their own inactivity and indifference. The cry of Clericalism is, indeed, only too likely to be raised when the clergy make demands which are distasteful or inconvenient. At the same time, after making due allowance for these misrepresentations, there remains a large number of instances in which the existence of Clericalism is neither to be denied nor extenuated. In this connexion, it must be remembered that the mere influence of clerical professionalism is by itself sufficient, if not counteracted by special efforts, to induce a spirit and manner tending to withdraw the clergy from human fellowship, to place them in a position of isolation as regards the main currents of contemporary life and thought, and ultimately to arouse against them feelings of more or less active hostility. Against such dangers no amount of learning or of practical capacity can be relied on to act as safeguards, unless these qualifications are combined with breadth of view and an ever-present sense of dependence on the co-operation of the laity. Sincerity and straightforwardness are also indispensably requisite if the clergy are to find acceptance in their surroundings, as men whose love of truth is a part of themselves and not merely a conventional profession.

As regards another matter falling under this same category of extenuation and condemnation, something has already been said in a former part of this article. The case referred to is that in which extreme and even extravagant views as to the claims of the clergy are combined with disinterestedness and inoffensive aims. That is not necessarily, nor is it by any means always in fact, a case which deserves the imputation of Clericalism. On the contrary, this combination may be, and often has been, embodied in the persons of some of the best and holiest of men. Nor are 'sacerdotalists' in point of doctrine the only class to whom the stigma of Clericalism may be attached. That stigma has, or should have, reference not so much to a man's beliefs as to the prejudicial effect exercised on his character and conduct by the wrong manner in which these are held and applied. Such an effect is obviously capable of being pro-

duced either in alliance with, or independently of, whatever theoretical line may be taken with regard to the question of clerical authority. At the same time, it is none the less true that a particular point of view always involves special dangers of its own, and few will be found to deny that the ecclesiastical position here in question exposes those who adopt it to temptations which no man, at all events no clergyman, can overcome, unless his whole heart and mind are set on resisting them. It is the failure to realize this truth that incapacitates so many of the clergy from exhibiting to the laity that spectacle of an uncorrupt life, that suggestion of 'truth in the inward parts,' which are the things most of all required in order to convince the world of the non-existence of Clericalism. The real offence is not the belief, honestly entertained, that the clergy as a class are possessed of exceptional privileges, but the spiritual pride and class bias with which that belief is so often associated. The same is true as regards the desire of the clergy to preserve unimpaired the sanctity of their own order. That, too, may defeat its own purposes, unless special pains are taken to prevent it from doing so. Such, at least, is the view of Clericalism which has been maintained throughout this article with respect alike to persons, institutions, doctrines, and Divine worship (for it must be remembered that the mere fact that the clergy are alone entitled to officiate in the observance of religious rites and ceremonies tends to invest them with attributes of peculiar dignity and importance). Nor does it seem possible, except by rigid adherence to this purely objective mode of treatment, to remain on neutral ground as regards the points at issue.

(3) *In reference to an Established Church.*—It is obvious that Clericalism presents itself in a different light according as the clergy affected by it do or do not minister in a Church which is recognized by the State, and which is in some sense and to some extent under its control. The existence of such a connexion between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity is by some chiefly valued on account of the restraints which it imposes on clerical lawlessness, whilst by others the exercise of this power is regarded either as indefensible in principle or else as discredited in its results. This question, however, cannot here be discussed (see art. STATE). But it may be observed that what makes the existence of Clericalism in Established Churches so especially to be regretted is that that of which it is the perversion and tainted outcome, viz. the assertion of convictions conscientiously professed and unflinchingly maintained, is nowhere more needed, and nowhere produces a more salutary effect than in the case of such Churches. Nowhere else is there more demand for

'that class of men who look not to what is expedient, but to what they believe to be true; and, bearing in mind the tendency in an established Church, and especially among the official classes, to become opportunist in character, thinking primarily of peace and the avoidance of difficulties rather than of fundamental truths, we should not forget that we stand indebted to these earnest men for a purifying and invigorating element in our life, which would be wanting if all were content to put peace in the first place, and to leave questions of truth in the background' (Bishop Percival, *Church and Faith*, 1901 [Essays on the teaching of the Church of England by various writers], Introduction, p. xxii.).

Yet Clericalism in an Established Church, though it may remind us of this undoubted fact, is very far from serving as an exemplary illustration of it. So little does it do so, that the thought of what it has become effaces from our minds the thought of what it might have been. Its 'boundless intemperance,' and contempt for authority sometimes rather suggest not merely that it could not under these, but that it could not under any, conditions have come to be of one mind with Richard Hooker in the belief that,

'were it so that the Clergy alone might give laws unto all the rest, forasmuch as every State doth desire to enlarge the bounds of their own liberties, it is easy to see how injurious this might prove unto men of other condition' (*Eccles. Pol. bk. viii. ch. vi. sect. 8*).

This essential lawlessness, not merely of act, but of temper and tone, is the one outstanding feature of Clericalism in the milder sense which is not mild, though the intransigence of Continental Clericalism is, of course, far in excess of it. But in all forms of this disposition lawlessness predominates, and in all of them it is despotic, unrestricted power (rather than transgression of the law) that is the aim proposed.

LITERATURE.—I. GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH AND OF SPIRITUAL POWER IN THE CLERGY DURING THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES.—(a) Ecclesiastical History.—E. Chastel, *Hist. du christianisme*, Geneva, 1881-84; P. Schaaf, *Hist. of the Christian Church*, new ed., Edinburgh, 1882ff.; J. Langen, *Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1881-88; R. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, Leipzig, 1892. (b) General History.—L. v. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1881, vols. iii. (Roman Empire to Constantine II.) and iv. (from the death of Constantine, 337, to Gregory the Great, 604).

ii. LATIN CHURCH.—H. H. Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, London, 1883.

iii. CLERICALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.—A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. 1894-99 (esp. chapters on Augustinianism in vol. v., the Doctrine of the Church in vol. vi., and, more or less, the whole of vol. vii.).

iv. AUTHORITIES ON SPECIAL QUESTIONS.—A. P. Stanley, *Christian Institutions*, London, 1881-84; J. B. Lightfoot, *Christian Ministry*, London, 1885; E. Hatch, *Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, London, 1888; E. W. Benson, *Cyprian*, London, 1897; F. W. Maitland, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*, London, 1898; J. Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, new ed., London, 1901; E. Scherer, *Mélanges de critique religieuse*, Paris, 1880, *Mélanges d'histoire religieuse*, Paris, 1884; G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, new ed., London and New York, 1909; F. H. Reusch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens*, Munich, 1894; E. L. Taunton, *Hist. of the Jesuits in England, 1680-1773*, London, 1901.

For a better understanding of Clericalism and Anti-Clericalism, a study may be recommended of some of the French classical writers of the 19th cent., e.g. Michelet, Edgar Quinet, and Victor Hugo. As regards the Infallibility Question in this connexion, see Janus, *Der Papst u. d. Concil*, ed. J. J. I. Dollinger and J. Friedrich, Leipzig, 1869; W. E. Gladstone, *The Vatican Decrees*, London, 1874; G. Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, London, 1902. For the Dreyfus question, see J. Reinach, *Hist. de l'affaire Dreyfus*, Paris, 1901 (cf. also the same writer's *Gambetta*?, Paris, 1884, in respect to the Seize Mai, and J. E. C. Bodley, *France*, London, 1893, under heading 'Seize Mai' in Index to both 1st and 2nd vols.).

As regards the tendencies referred to in the second part of the above art., it must suffice to give instances of publications inculcating the spirit in which difficulties emanating from this source require to be met, e.g. *Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice: Conference at Oxford*, Dec. 1899, ed. W. Sanday; B. F. Westcott, *Gifts for Ministry: to Candidates for Ordination*, Cambridge, 1890; M. Creighton, *The Church and the Nation: Charges and Addresses*, Edinburgh, 1901; J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, London, 1901; C. Gore, *Essays in Aid of the Reform of the Church*, London, 1898 (esp. on the recognition of the laity); *London Church Conference*, London, 1899, sect. on 'The Church and the Laity.'

C. A. WHITTUCK.

CLIMATE.—For about a century the conviction has been gaining ground that climate exerts a determining influence upon man's morals and religion. It has been argued, for example, that the religion of peoples in tropical zones is gentler or more passive and sensuous, and the character more voluptuous, whilst in colder regions the religious impulse is more rugged, the gods more stern, and the moral life more virile; that the heroic Nature-gods of early India, in contrast with those of a kindred people in Persia, are an index of the thunder, lightning, rainstorms, and imposing vegetation (conditioned by the climate) which abounded there; that the changes in historic Christianity, from a religion of renunciation, whilst it flourished in southern Europe and Asia, to one of aggressiveness and optimism, in modern times, in northern and western Europe and America, are the result of shifting its centre from a milder to a more invigorating climate; and innumerable other instances.

Counter arguments have been just as vigorously pressed: the early Christianity of Palestine and

the Buddhism of southern Asia are aggressive religions; ascetic and enthusiastically propagandist sects, in fact, all extremes, have flourished side by side in the same country; very different religions have been acclimated successfully in the same country; etc.

The problem is so involved with others relative to the effect of geographical conditions, the selection of food, social influences, the accidental selection of race characteristics, that the arguments for and against have failed to convince the minds of careful students generally. It reduces itself to the question whether traits are *caused* by climate or *conditioned* by it. Few persons deny that climate has its effect on character. But the claim of many students that climate is the principal cause of moral and religious peculiarities is more questionable. The fact of 'variants,' as, for example, in the same litter or brood, or as found universally in members of the same species in the same climate, seems to be overlooked in such a contention. These variants are greater the higher the evolution, and may account for the upshot of religious forms or conceptions in even larger measure than all environmental conditions taken together. It will readily be conceded that climate assists in determining which of the variants shall remain.

The difficulty in the question is that of isolating the effect of climate from other factors. Much has been done during recent years in that direction with respect to moral conduct, although nothing has yet been accomplished in the matter of religion. It has been shown by Dexter (*Weather Influences, passim*), in tracing statistically the relation between the time of year, temperature, barometric pressure, humidity, and wind, and insanity, suicide, drunkenness, assaults, and other moral disorders, and the deportment of school children, that a relation does exist. It appears that in the long run 'the deportment of pupils is best during cold, calm, and clear weather . . . at its worst during that characterized as hot and muggy.' Drunkenness and sickness vary inversely as temperature; crime and insanity vary directly with it. The effect of heat is greater upon females than upon males. Atmospheric conditions regulated by low barometer are productive of crime and insanity, whilst drunkenness is less prevalent under such conditions. A dry atmosphere is a stimulant to all forms of active disorder and to suicide, but is an enemy to intoxication and mental inexactness. During calms those life phenomena which are due to depleted vitality are excessive.

Dexter (*op. cit.* p. 286) has shown rather conclusively that 'varying meteorological conditions affect directly, though in different ways, the metabolism of life.' Since morals and religion must flourish in the soil of the bodily and mental reactions, it is safe to infer that climatic conditions have an influence in determining their nature.

LITERATURE.—E. G. Dexter, *Weather Influences*, New York, 1904; J. W. Draper, 'Influence of Climate upon National Character,' *Harper's Mag.* xxxi. 390 ff. and *passim*; H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization*, 2 vols., London, 1857-61; P. J. G. Cabanis, 'Infl. du Climat sur les habitudes morales,' *Œuvres Comp.*, Paris, 1823-25, iv. 132 ff.; H. Taine, *Philos. de l'art en Grèce*, Paris, 1869, and *Philos. de l'art dans les Pays Bas*, Paris, 1869; W. Falconer, *Remarks on the Influence of Climate, Situation, etc., on the Disposition and Temper, etc., of Mankind*, London, 1781.

EDWIN DILLER STARBUCK.

COCHIN-CHINA.—See ANNAM.

COCHIN JEWS.—See JEWS IN COCHIN.

COCK.—The cock (*Gallus domesticus*) is, in origin, an Indian bird, its immediate ancestor being the Bankiva cock of India—a stock with which it freely interbreeds. From India the

cock seems to have passed first to Persia, whence it was carried to Greece, and so, by the regular trade-routes, to Sicily and Italy, ultimately reaching, in ways not precisely known, the remaining portions of Europe; while in the East, in analogous fashion, it came to Java, Further India, China, the Philippines, etc. On the other hand, the bird is not represented on Egyptian monuments, and it appears in Babylonian art only in the late Persian period.

Protestant exegetes deny with practical unanimity (but see *EBI* i. 855) that the cock is mentioned in the OT; but Jerome, following Rabbinical tradition (see *JE* iv. 138 f.), translates שָׂכִי (Job 38³⁸, LXX σαυκαλῶν) by 'וריר' (Pr 30³¹, LXX omits), and נָבֵר (Is 22¹⁷, LXX ἀνέρας) by 'gallus' or 'gallus gallinaceus' (for modern Protestant theories on the meaning of these Heb. words, see *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* pp. 967, 287, 149 f., and the literature there cited).

Three characteristics of the cock would from the very first attract attention, viz. its shrill crow at dawn, its pugnacity, and its salacity,¹ but the importance of the trait first named has so completely overshadowed the other two in the folk-mind that only scanty traces of them have survived in popular lore.

The cock is, then, above all else the herald of the dawn; and, since the night is *par excellence* the time for all manner of demons, his proclamation of the rising sun, which puts the fiends to flight, gives him his prime significance as an apotropaic being—a belief well summarized in Horatio's words:

'The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
Doth with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat
Awake the god of day; and, at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
The extravagant and erring spirit hies
To his confine' (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, l. 1. 150-155) —

a concept which almost seems an echo of the lines of Prudentius (*Hymnus ad galli cantum*, 10-13):

'Ferunt vagantes daemonas
Laetos tenebris noctium
Gallo canente exterritos
Sparsim timere et cedere.'²

It was among the Iranians that the apotropaic aspect of the cock was most emphasized. This is earliest set forth in *Vendidad* xviii. 14 ff., where, in reply to Zarathustra's question as to who is the 'beadle' (*sraosavareza*) of Sraosā, Ahura Mazda replies that

'it is the bird named the "cock" (*parōdars*, "foreseer [of dawn]"), whom ill-speaking men call the "cock-a-doodle-doo" (*kahrkatās*, "crower"); . . . then that bird lifteth up his voice at the mighty dawn (saying): "Arise, O men, lead Best Righteousness, condemn the demons; unto you doth hurtle this long-pawed *Būkyasta* (the demon of Sloth); she putteth to sleep straightaway, at the wakening of light, all the material world."

In like manner the Pahlavi *Bundahishn*, xix. 33 (tr. West, *SBE* v. 73), declares that

'the cock is created in opposition to demons and wizards, co-operating with the dog; as it says in revelation, that, of the creatures of the world, those which are co-operating with *Srōs*, in destroying the fiends, are the cock and the dog.'

According to the Persian historian Mirkhond

¹ According to the Skr. *Vṛdhachārakya*, vi. 18, the cock teaches four things: early rising, fighting, generosity to dependents, and cotion (cf. Kressler, *Stimmen ind. Lebensklugheit*, Frankfurt, 1904, pp. 21, 163 f.; Böhtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, St. Petersburg, 1870-73, no. 5510). The etymology of the Indo-Germanic names for the cock gives no help in deciding on the bird's religious significance, for they are practically all either onomatopoeic, or denote 'singer' or 'caller' (see the detailed discussion by Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, s.v. 'Hahn, Huhn'). The Gr. name of the cock, ἀκρόφων, ἀκροφωνός, is hesitatingly compared by Prellwitz (*Etymology, Wörterb. der griech. Sprache* 2, Göttingen, 1905, p. 24) with ἀκείω, 'ward off', 'protect', or with ἀκέρω, 'shining'; but both suggestions are doubtful, though the first has something in its favour (cf. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg, 1907 ff., p. 42). Lewy's connexion (Semit. *Fremdwörter im Griech.*, Berlin, 1895, p. 11) with ἀκείω, 'trouble oneself for', 'heed', 'care for', has little to recommend it, in spite of his comparison, for development of meaning, with Avesta *parōdars*, 'cock' (on which see below).

² Among the Arabs it is believed that the cock crows when he becomes aware of the presence of *jinn* (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums* 2, Berlin, 1897, p. 151).

(*Hist. of the Early Kings of Persia*, tr. Shea, London, 1832, p. 56 f.),

'it is said that no demon can enter a house in which there is a cock; and, above all, should this bird come to the residence of a demon, and move his tongue to chaunt the praises of the glorious and exalted Creator, that instant the evil spirit takes to flight.' So potent, indeed, is the crow of the cock in driving away demons that a crowing hen should not be killed, for she may perhaps be helping the cock in his pious task (*Shāyast ī Shāyast* x. 30 [tr. West, *SBE* v. 330 f.])—an idea which is elaborated in the *Sad Dar* (xxiii. [ib. xxiv. 233 f.]), which states that in such a contingency another cock must be brought to the house, besides forbidding the killing of a cock because he crows unseasonably, since he may be frightening away a demon who has come at an unusual time. The reference to the killing of crowing hens is interesting in view of the widespread fear of such creatures as unnatural, and therefore uncanny and dangerous—a belief still expressed in such familiar proverbs as

'Whistling girls and crowing hens
Never come to any good ends.'

The concept of the cock as an apotropaic bird was adopted from Persia by Talmudic Judaism,¹ as in the benediction enjoined by *Berakhoth*, 60b, when the cock is heard to crow: 'Praised be Thou, O God, Lord of the world, that gavest understanding to the cock to distinguish between day and night, or when 'the Zohar says that in the hour of grace (about midnight), when God visits paradise to confer with the souls of the pious, a fire proceeds from this holy place and touches the wings of the cock, who then breaks out into praise to God, at the same time calling out to men to praise the Lord and do His service' (Ginzberg, in *JE* iv. 139).

In Armenia, so profoundly influenced by Iran, the cock is also an apotropaic bird, who by his crow frightens away the demons of disease. He sees the guardian angels rise to heaven when men sleep, and come to earth again towards dawn, when he greets them with his crow; and he can also perceive evil spirits. According to another tradition, towards dawn the cock of heaven first crows, and the angelic choirs begin their hymns of praise. These are heard by the cock on earth, who then awakens mankind, and himself lauds the Creator (Abeghian, *Armen. Volksglaube*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 38).

Among the Germanic peoples, as already shown by the quotation from *Hamlet*, a like belief is found, and this is also alluded to by Burchard of Worms (*Decreta*, ed. Cologne, 1548, p. 198c) in his polemic against the superstition 'quod immundi spiritus ante gallicinium plus ad nocendum potestatis habeant quam post, et gallus suo cantu plus valeat eos repellere et sedare quam illa divina mens quae est in homine sua fide et crucis signaculo.' Perhaps it was for this reason also that when, among the pagan Lithuanians, a house was blessed, the first creature to enter it was a cock, which was henceforth cherished instead of being killed for food, although not considered divine (Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussicae oder preussische Schaubühne*, ed. [in extracts] Pierson, Berlin, 1871, p. 37)—a belief which may underlie the German prohibition against eating the house-cock (Grimm⁴, App. p. 447). If a cock thus introduced into a Lithuanian house crowed during the night, it was a good omen; otherwise the building was abandoned, in the belief that an evil spirit had taken possession of it (Hannusch, *Wissenschaft des slavischen Mythos*, Lemberg, 1842, p. 285).

The apotropaic functions of the cock also come to the front in charms. Lucian (*Somnium*, 28 f.) makes Micylus open locked doors by laying on them the right long tail-feather of his cock; the name of the cock is employed to cure dysuria in an ass, as recorded by Suidas—*ἀλέκτωρ πίπει καὶ οὐχ οὐρεί*, *μύθος οὐ πίπει καὶ οὐρεί*; in Scotland a popular cure for epilepsy is to bury a cock under the patient's bed (Cox, *Introd. to Folklore*, London,

¹ The cock may, however, according to one Jewish superstition, himself be seized by demons, and he should accordingly be killed if he upsets a dish (*JE* iv. 139).

1895, p. 214); and the *Pentameron* (iv. 1) alludes to the *lapillus alectorius*, a stone like crystal and the size of a bean, obtained from the stomach of a cock and good for pregnant women and for inspiring courage, also adding that Milo of Crotona owed his marvellous strength to such a stone.² A similar concept may underlie the Tibetan (Buddhist) story of Mahāśadha and Viśāka, in which he who eats the head of a certain cock becomes king (*Tibetan Tales*, tr. Schiefner and Ralston, London, 1906, p. 129 f.); but this, like the Bukovina gipsy story of the hen that laid diamonds (ed. Miklosich, 'Über die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's', iv. 25–28, in *DWA W* xxiii.), is too general in type, and has too many parallels in which other birds take the place of the cock, to allow any definite conclusions to be drawn.

In his apotropaic aspect the cock may also be used as a scape-animal. From the period of the Geonim a cock (a hen for a woman) has been the normal *kapparah* (means of atonement) offered by each Jew on the day before the Day of Atonement.

² After the recitation of Ps 107:17–30 and Job 33:23 the fowl is swung around the head three times while the right hand is put upon the animal's head. At the same time the following is thrice said in Hebrew: "This be my substitute, my vicarious offering, my atonement. This cock [or hen] shall meet death, but I shall find a long and pleasant life of peace!" After this the animal is slaughtered and given to the poor, or, what is deemed better, is eaten by the owners while the value of it is given to the poor' (Kohler, in *JE* vii. 435 ff., where full literature is given).

A particularly interesting modern instance of the scape-cock is found in a Russian purification-ceremony for the driving out of death. This is described as follows by Deubner (*ARW* ix. 453) in his synopsis of Antschkoff's *Russian Ritual Spring-Song in the West and among the Slavs* (pt. i., St. Petersburg, 1903):

'Um Mittag schichten die Frauen an den beiden entgegengesetzten Enden des Dorfes je einen Düngerhaufen, den sie um Mitternacht anzünden. Zu dem einen Haufen führen die Mädchen einen Pflug, in weissen Hemden, mit aufgelösten Haaren, eine trägt hinter ihnen ein Heiligenbild. Zum anderen Haufen bringen die Frauen einen schwarzen Hahn, in schwarzen Rücken und schmutzigen Hemden. Dreimal tragen sie den Hahn herum. Dann ergreift eine Frau den Hahn und rennt mit ihm an das entgegengesetzte Ende des Dorfes; indem sie unterwegs zu jedem Haus läuft, die übrigen Frauen laufen ihr nach und schreien: "Geh unter, du schwarze Krankheit." Am Ende des Dorfes wirft die erste den Hahn in den schwellenden Dünger, die Mädchen werfen trockene Blätter und Reisig darauf. Dann fassen sie sich an der Hand und springen mit dem erwählten Rufe um das Feuer. Nach der Verbrennung des Hahnes, springen die Frauen in den Pflug, und die Mädchen umpfügen mit dem Heiligenbild an der Spitze dreimal das Dorf.'

That Greece received the cock from Iran, as already noted, is curiously emphasized by the repeated Greek definitions of it as 'the Persian bird' (e.g. Suidas, Περσικός ὄρνις 'ὁ ἀλέκτωρ, διὰ τὴν ἑλλάδα ἢ διὰ τὰ πολυτελή πάντα οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχρήσατο ἐκατέρο Περσικά), this being further attested by Aristophanes (*Aves*, 483–485; cf. 833–835 and 275 ff., where it is called the 'Median bird'):

αὐτίκα δ' ὅμιν πρῶτ' ἐπέδειξε τὸν ἀλεκτρονίον, ὡς ἐνθάδην ἤρχε τὴν Περσῶν πάντων πρότερος Δαριεὶον καὶ Μεγαθύσου, ὥστε καλεῖται Περσικός ὄρνις ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου.

The earliest literary allusion to the cock in Greece is Theognis, 863 f.:

ἐσπερίη γ' ἔειμι καὶ θρόρηι αἶθρι ἔσειμι,
ἦμος ἀλεκτρονίων φόβος ἔγερομένω.

Hellenic religion preserved many traces of the apotropaic functions of the cock, and the modern Greeks still hold that his crow scares away noc-

¹ The belief in this stone is at least as old as Lucretius, who declares (iv. 710 ff.) that the fiercest lions cannot look upon the cock:

'Nimirum quia sunt gallorum in corpore quaedam
Semina, quae, cum sunt oculis immissa leonum,
Pupillas interdiuturni acremque dolorem

Fraebant, ut nequam contra durare feroces,
naively adding that no similar harm befalls the human eye either because these 'semina' do not enter it, or, if they do, they can freely escape before doing injury.

turnal demons—a belief of which there is, curiously enough, no record in ancient Greece (Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 7, note). As an apotropaic bird the cock frequently appears on amulets and sculptures as early as the 6th cent. B.C., and it was probably in this aspect, as affrighting demons of disease, that its presence was desired at childbirth (Elian, *Hist. Animal.* iv. 29)—whence it was sacred to Leto (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, p. 1249),—and that it was sacred to Asklepios, Hebe, and Herakles (see Gruppe, *op. cit.* p. 454; Gruppe's view [p. 1443], that the cock was sacred to Asklepios as a god of fair weather, is regarded by the present writer as most improbable). And, as the Greeks sacrificed a cock to Asklepios, so the Romans offered the comb of the same bird to the Lares, in hopes of recovery from sickness (Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 233 f.).

From the cock as apotropaic it was but a step to the cock as chthonic, i.e. as a protector of the souls to or in the under world, in which capacity he appears in association with Hermes and Persephone (Gruppe, *op. cit.* pp. 795, 1321; cf. also Nilsson, *ARW* xi. 535–538). The Russians under Sviatoslav, according to Leo Diaconus, ix. 6, made offerings to the dead at Durostorum on the Ister, by strangling cocks and pigs, and then casting them into the water. With this may be compared the similar account of the pagan Russian sacrifice of a hen, at a funeral witnessed by the Arab traveller, Ibn Fadlān (Frāhn, *Ibn Fozlān's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, St. Petersburg, 1823, pp. 11–21; this particular account is perhaps more generally accessible in Krek, *Einleit. in die slav. Literaturgesch.*, Graz, 1887, pp. 426–431). Here, too, may come in the pagan Lithuanian usage of sacrificing cocks to the household serpents, which seem to have been regarded as incarnations of deceased ancestors (Guagnini, *Sarmatiae Europae descriptio*, Speyer, 1581, fol. 52b; see also above, vol. ii. p. 24).¹

The cock as chthonic (primarily apotropaic of demons hostile to the spirits of the dead) sometimes develops, by a perverse folk-logic, into the precise opposite of his original function; he becomes a bird of evil, especially if his colour be black. Thus a black cock is offered to appease the devil in Hungary (de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, London, 1872, ii. 289), just as a black hen was sacrificed to him in Germany (Grimm⁴, p. 843 f.); while at a cave on the Banka Hill, in Sarguja, the resident *dāno*, or demon, is propitiated by the periodical sacrifice of a cock with white and black feathers (*PR*² i. 284). For a similar reason, it may be, the Talmud (*Berakhoth*, 6a) represents the *shedim* as having, like the Greek sirens, cocks' feet. In this general connexion mention should be made not only of the use of the cock in black magic, which is found in India as early as the Atharva Veda (v. xxxi. 2), but also of the German belief that a cock, at the age of seven, lays a little egg, which must be thrown over the roof, else storms will beset the house; while the egg, if hatched, will produce a basilisk (Grimm⁴, App. p. 454). A like belief is found in Lithuania. A cock seven years old lays an egg, which must be put on down in an old pot and placed in the oven. From this egg is hatched a *kaviks* (a bird with a very long, bright tail; in literary usage *kaukas* means 'dwarf', 'elf', 'brownie'), which, properly fed and cherished, without undue curiosity as to its coming and

¹ The pagan Prussians sacrificed hens, geese, ducks, doves, peacocks, etc., to a deity named Shneybratus (Guagnini, *op. cit.* fol. 64b); but the functions of this god are unfortunately not yet known. Whether Solmsen (in Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 91 f.) is right in casting doubt even on the existence of the divinity may perhaps be questioned.

going, brings its master riches and prosperity (Bezenberger, *Litauische Forschungen*, Göttingen, 1882, p. 63 f.).

To this category may belong also the story (*Pentameron*, ii. 9) of the queen who ordered all cocks to be killed, since, because of the enchantment which they diabolically caused, she was unable to embrace her son; and this, too, may be the basis of the Germanic belief that thunder and lightning follow if a sorcerer throws a black cock in the air (the interpretation of this belief by Meyer, *German. Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, p. 111 is almost certainly incorrect).

From the cock's connexion with the dawn was derived his association with the sun—a concept found at a very early period in India, since at the *Asvamedha* (g.v.) a cock was sacrificed both to Savitr (the sun) and to Agni (the fire), besides being sacred to Anumati (the moon on its fifteenth day; cf. the Greek sacrifice of a white cock to the moon [*Vājasaneyasamhitā*, xxiv. 23, 32, 35, and parallel texts]). As a sun-bird the Greeks made the cock attend on Helios and Apollo, so that the sculptor Onatas carved a cock on the statue of Idomeneus, whom some legends regarded as a descendant of Helios (Pausanias, v. xxv. 9; cf. Welcker, *Griech. Götterlehre*, Leipzig, 1857–63, ii. 245).¹ Some Indian tribes of the Mexican Sierra Madre also regard the cock (which must here be a surrogate for some other bird, since this fowl is not indigenous to America) as the bird of the sun; and cakes (*karuānime* and *hazdri*) in the shape of a cock, made of coarse maize, are solemnly eaten at a feast held in June; otherwise, the sun-god would not let the eastern Rain-Mother go—in other words, he would cause a total drought (Preuss, *ARW* xi. 391 f.). A white cock is sacrificed to the sun godling in Northern India (*PR*² i. 20).

Pausanias records (*II. xxxiv. 3*) that at Methana, to avert damage to the grapes from the south-east wind, two men tore a white cock in half, ran, each with one of the halves, in opposite directions, round the vineyard, and buried the fowl at the spot where they met. This has apparently led Gruppe (*op. cit.* pp. 795, 847) to consider the cock as in some way connected with storm-demons—a theory pushed to ridiculous extremes by such adherents of the 'mythological' school as Meyer (*op. cit.* p. 110 f.).² The true explanation of this offering is doubtless that of Rouse (*op. cit.* pp. 204, 297)—'a private person, unless he be rich, can hardly be expected to offer a bull, or even a pig; his tribute was commonly a cock . . . the cock must have been a common offering, . . . the poor man's offering to other gods than Aesclepius.' In other words, the cock corresponds to the 'two turtle doves, or two young pigeons,' which the Mosaic code permitted the poor man to offer instead of a lamb (Lv 5th 12th).³ Indeed, it may well be questioned whether this does not present a better, because simpler, explanation of the offering of a cock to Asklepios, Helios, the moon, and Leto, than the more far-fetched reasons alleged above and supported by Gruppe.

In his general aspect of a bird of light and the sun, the cock came, among the Germanic peoples, to be connected with fire, this notion perhaps being furthered by the bird's red comb and

¹ By an illogical extension the cock was also sacred to the moon, its colour in this case being, for obvious reasons, white (Gruppe, *op. cit.* p. 795; cf. the Vedic sacrifice, already noted, of a cock to Anumati).

² Meyer thus explains the use of the cock on weather-vanes (on the antiquity of which see Grimm⁴, p. 558); but it seems more likely, as Grimm himself suggests, that the vigilance of the cock was the real reason for his selection to adorn the vane. The Arabs well call the cock *abu-l-yaqdān*, 'father of vigilance' (cf. Grimm⁴, App. p. 192).

³ Similarly, while the usual modern Muhammadan redemption-sacrifice at the birth of a child is a goat or sheep, 'in one of the villages of the Syrian Desert, it is customary when a Moslem woman brings forth a son to sacrifice a cock; when she bears a daughter they sacrifice a hen' (Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-Day*, London, 1902, p. 202 f.).

wattles, as well as by the frequent redness of his plumage (cf. also the Indian sacrifice of a cock to Agni, noted above). The Danish proverb, *den røde hane gæler over taget* ('the red cock crows on the roof'), means 'fire breaks out.' In Germanic mythology, moreover, the colour of the cock becomes important. The golden-combed cock awakes the heroes in Asgard, but a dark cock crows in the under-world (*Völuspá*, 54; considerable additional material on Germanic ideas of the cock is given by Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 110 f., but the present writer cannot sympathize with his 'mythological' interpretation of the cock as a storm-bird).

The cock appears but rarely in connexion with war, although 'at Lacedaemon, a captain, who had performed the work he had undertaken by cunning, or by courteous treaty, on laying down his command, immolated an ox; he that had done the business by battle offered a cock' (Plutarch, *Vita Marcelli*, xxii.; cf. *Vita Agesilai*, xxxiii.). On the other hand, the golden cock which, according to Plutarch (*Vita Artaxerxis*, x.), Artaxerxes privileged the Carian who had slain Cyrus to carry ever afterward 'upon his spear before the first ranks of the army in all expeditions' is not to be construed as connected in any real sense with a war-bird. The appropriateness of the gift lay simply in the resemblance of the crested Carian helmet to a cock's comb, for 'the Persians call the men of Caria cocks because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets' (Plutarch, *loc. cit.*). In like manner there was only a quasi-association with war in the Roman practice of taking fowls with the army or navy in hostile expeditions, their eating being considered a good omen, and their refusal of food being deemed a presage of ill (Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* II. iii.). A real war-omen, however, was the foretelling of Theban victory, by the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea, from the crowing of cocks, 'quia galli victi silere solent, canere victores' (Cicero, *de Divinat.* II. xxvi.).

This brings us to the consideration of the cock as a mantic bird. In India the crowing of a cock at evening is an evil omen (*Matsyapurāna*, cccxxvii. 5; *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, xlv. 69), although the cock is, in general, a lucky bird, especially in the early part of the day (*Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, lxxvi. 20, 48). Yet, to touch it is as bad as to touch a dog or a *chandāla* (a member of the lowest possible Hindu caste), though not as bad as to touch an ass or a camel (*Pañcatantra*, ed. Hertel, Cambridge, Mass. 1908, iii. 105); while a cock is one of the creatures that must not see a Brāhman eat or offer an oblation, since the wind from its wings causes ritual impurity (Manu, iii. 239-241).

The general Indian attitude concerning the cock seems to be summed up in the *Sākuna*, a late text-book (12 to 13th cent.) on the omens to be drawn from birds (ed. in extracts by Hultsch, *Proleg. zu des Vasantarāja Śākuna*, Leipzig, 1879, which states (viii. 53 f.):

avāmābhāgopahitasya śaśtāv
dlokaśabdān kila kukkutatasya
bhīto 'pi śabdān kukkuri tī 'mam
asū vimuñcan na bhavaty aṇiṣṭaḥ
tāro gabhirāḥ kadhito vīravo
nīśavāsāne nṛparāśṭraoradhīyāt
yo vātha yāmāṃ prāti yāmikasya
syād asya śabdān tv asaro virūddhaḥ,

'Verily the sight and sound of a cock (engaged) in laudation of one not standing on the left—even though terrified he (the cock) uttereth this sound of "cock-a-doodle-doo," it is not undesirable. His shrill, deep call uttered at night's end for the increase of the prince's realm, or what (crow) should be at the watchman's watch,¹ the sound thereof is an enemy checked.'

While, as we have already seen, the Pahlavi texts forbid the killing of a cock that crows unseasonably, the Persians often killed him.

¹ According to the reading of some manuscripts, 'on the left', in which case *asaro virūddhaḥ* might mean 'is most highly hostile.'

'The reasons why persons draw an evil omen from the unseasonable crowing of the cock, and at the same time put him to death, is this: that, when Kaiomars was seized with a fatal illness, at the time of the evening service this bird crowed aloud; and immediately after, this orthodox monarch passed away to the world of eternity' (Mirkhond, *op. cit.* p. 67).

In Germany there is a proverb that 'so oft der Hahn Christnachts kräht, so tener wird selbiges Jahr ein Viertel Korn' (Grimm², App. pp. 449, 475); and the Sandeh of Central Africa (where, as in America, the cock is not a native bird) divine by putting fowls under water, the future being adjudged favourable in proportion to the number of air-bubbles that then rise to the surface (Renel, *Les Religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1906, p. 204).

The salacity of the cock accounts for the use of the fowl as a corn-spirit and in marriage ceremonies. In its former aspect the cock has been discussed in detail by Frazer (*GB*² II. 266-9), who shows that the belief in it is common throughout Europe, and that the concept is manifested in two types. (1) The last sheaf of the harvest is called the cock, and may be bound in cock form; or a figure of the bird is made of flowers, wood, or other materials and carried home, where it may be kept till the next harvest. (2) The living cock is killed as a sacrifice.

On the latter type, which is doubtless the more primitive, Frazer very pertinently says:

'By being tied up in the last sheaf and killed, the cock is identified with the corn, and its death with the cutting of the corn. By keeping its feathers till spring, then mixing them with the seed-corn taken from the very sheaf in which the bird had been bound, and scattering the feathers together with the seed over the field, the identity of the bird with the corn is again emphasized, and its quickening and fertilizing power, as the corn-spirit, is intimated in the plainest manner. Thus the corn-spirit, in the form of a cock, is killed at harvest, but rises to fresh life and activity in spring. Again, the equivalence of the cock to the corn is expressed, hardly less plainly, in the custom of burying the bird in the ground, and cutting off its head (like the ears of corn) with the scythe.'

A reflex of the belief in the cock as a corn-spirit may exist in the pagan Balto-Slavic sacrifice of a cock and hen, among other offerings, to the earth (Prætorius, *op. cit.* p. 62)—a ceremony described in considerable detail by Guagnini (*op. cit.* fol. 60b-61a):

'Agrestis turba in Samogitia sacrificium quoddam solenne epulas gentili more sub finem mensis Octobris collectis frugibus quotannis celebrant hoc modo. Ad locum convivio epulisque sacris delectum omnes cum uxoris, liberis et servis conveniunt, mensam feno supersternunt, desuper panes apponunt et ex utraque panis parte duo cervisie vasa statuunt. Postea adducunt vitulum, porcum et porcam, gallum et gallinam, et caetera domestica iumenta, ex ordine mares et femellas. Haec mactant gentili more ad sacrificandum hoc modo: in primis augur sive incantator quispian verba quaedam proferens animal verberare baculo orditur, deinde omnes qui adsunt iumentum per caput pedesque baculis verberant, postea tergum, ventrem, et caetera membra concutunt dicentes: Haec tibi, O Ziemniemik deus (sic enim illum daemone agrestis turba appellat),¹ offerimus, gratiasque tibi agimus quod nos hoc anno incoleamus et omnibus abundantes conservare dignatus es; nunc vero te rogamus ut nos quoque hoc anno praesentem favere, tueri ab igne, ferro, peste, et inimicis quibuslibet defendere digneris. Postea carnes iumentorum ad sacrificium mactatorum comedunt, et ab unoquoque ferculo antequam comedant portunculam amputant, et in terram omnesque angulos domus proiciunt dicentes: Haec tibi, O Ziemniemik, nostra holocausta suscipe et comede benignus. Omnesque tunc temporis lautissime solenniter et opipare epulantur. Hic vero ritus gentilis et in Lithuania Russica ab agrestibus quibusdam in locis observatur.'

As a fertility bird the cock fills a rôle in marriage ceremonies. The Talmud (*Giṭṭin*, 57a) states that a cock and hen, as symbols of fecundity, were carried before the bride and bridegroom on the wedding day (*JE* vi. 344; cf. viii. 341). Among the southern Slavs the cock, as the symbol of the bridegroom, is often carried to the church by the wedding procession (Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, Vienna, 1885, p. 445 f.); and frequently in Hungary 'the wedding procession is headed by a cock guarded by two men with drawn swords.'

¹ On this Lithuanian deity, see Solmsen, in Usener, *op. cit.* p. 106.

As soon as the ceremony is over, a mock trial is held, and the poor bird, having been found guilty of bigamy, is solemnly sentenced to death and executed' (Hutchinson, *Marriage Customs in Many Lands*, London, 1897, p. 251 f.).¹

An interesting combination of fertility and mantle concepts is afforded by marriage customs of the Kafir of Delagoa Bay. Here the bride provides a white cock, and the bridegroom a black goat. Both bird and beast are killed by the master of ceremonies, after which 'the entrails of both creatures are immediately examined, in order to ascertain whether the fates are propitious, and little portions of the flesh are handed to both the bride and bridegroom, who are expected at least to taste them before they are cooked for the feast' (Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 126).

Finally, the cock is a totem or tabu. Here the classical example is that of the ancient Britons, who, as Cæsar states (*de Bell. Gall.* v. 12), 'leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare sua non putant; hæc tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causa' (cf. Renel, *op. cit.* p. 204). In India the eating of fowls' meat was expressly forbidden (Manu, v. 12, xi. 167; cf. Gautama, *Dharmasāstra* [ed. Stenzler, London, 1876], xvii. 29, xxiii. 5); and the cock, being sacred to Persephone and Demeter (as a chthonic and earth goddess respectively), was tabu to the *mystæ* at Eleusis (Porphyry, *de Abst.* iv. 16). A similar prohibition, according to Abraham Jakobson (cited by Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 324), existed among the 10th cent. Slavs, who would not eat young fowls 'for fear of sickness.' A condition of affairs precisely similar to that among the Britons was observed by Ulloa in the 18th cent. among some South American tribes, whose women, though they 'breed fowl and other domestic animals in their cottages, . . . never eat them . . . much less kill them' (cited by Jevons, *Intro. to the Hist. of Religion*, London, 1904, p. 116).

By the Chinese a cock is killed to give sanctity to an oath, as in legal proceedings. In many cases the function of the bird is still obscure, as, for example, the basis of his association with the Celtic god Succellus ('[the god of] the good mallet'), who is probably Cæsar's Dis Pater, regarded by Druidical tradition as the father of the Celtic race (Cæsar, vi. 18; cf. Renel, *op. cit.* pp. 252-255); as well as the same bird's connexion with the Gallic 'Mercury' (Renel, *op. cit.* pp. 304, 306-309).

LITERATURE.—L. H. Jætteles, 'Zur Gesch. des Haushuhns,' in *Zoolog. Garten*, xix.; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 814-829, 879-881; E. Hahn, *Haustiere und ihre Beziehung zur Wirtschaft des Menschen*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 291 f.; O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertums-kunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 322-325; A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, London, 1872, ii. 279-293; J. G. Frazer, *GP*, London, 1900, ii. 266-269; A. Brandl, 'The Cock in the North,' *SBW*, 1900; L. Ginzberg, art. 'Cock' in *JE* iv. 1881; E. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 91; W. Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 866-868; J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-1893, ii. 241 f.; M. Abeghian, *Armen. Volkslaube*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 88; O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, Index, s.v. 'Hahn'; E. Baethgen, *De ut significatibus galli in religionibus et artibus Græcorum et Romanorum*, Göttingen, 1887; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votives Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, Index, s.v. 'Cock'; Grimm ⁴, p. 568 f., App. p. 192; E. H. Meyer, *Germ. Mythol.*, Berlin, 1891, p. 110 f.; C. Renel, *Les Religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1906, pp. 265, 304-308.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

COERCION.—The 'current spelling is deceptive.' The word is from *coercitiō-em*, from *coercere*, 'to restrain' (*OED*). The occasional use of the word to indicate merely physical pressure may be passed over. The fundamental meaning is pressure brought to bear upon a voluntary agent to compel that agent to take a certain action, or to refrain from it. Von Jhering defines it as 'the accomplishment of a purpose by the compulsion of another's will' (*Zweck im Recht*, i.² 1893, p. 234). The pressure may be by an individual or by a social group or

¹ This killing of the cock may well be, as Hutchinson suggests, a survival of animal sacrifice (to a fertility deity ?).

institution. In the latter case, when the agent has a place in the group, the coerced one feels in various degrees that his moral autonomy has not been entirely sacrificed. He is a party to the coercion. Hence the coercions of representative government, whether in the State or in any special group, have a distinctly different moral aspect from the coercions of a mere tyranny of force. In late usage the government of individuals, after the abrogation of ordinary constitutional protection, has been called, in a peculiar sense, government by coercion. But, in point of fact, all government is by coercion, and it is open to question whether such usage is based upon a thoughtful consideration of the character of all coercion. Of course, in strict logic it is impossible to coerce a free agent, for freedom ceases with the degree of coercion; and the action becomes that of the coercer and not of the one coerced. Yet, such is the delicacy of the psychological situations involved, that authority may pass by an infinite series of grades of coercion from the gentle pressure of mere social usage to the compulsions of the State armed with the physical power to imprison, punish, and kill.

1. The question of the ethical character of any coercion is acutely raised by philosophical anarchy (see ANARCHY), which denies the moral right of any legal coercion. This contention involves the deeper question of the origin and character of all authority (see AUTHORITY), for authority in all its phases is linked with a long series of coercions. Thus, the parent deals coercively with the child, and the long period of dependence of the child upon the parental care is an important factor in the moralization of all human life (cf. John Fiske, *Cosmic Philosophy*, 1874, ii. 242 ff.). The *patria potestas* in early Roman law carried with it unlimited powers of coercion, even to the power over life and death (Morey, *Outlines of Roman Law*, 1893, p. 23); but this power underwent modifications in the development, under Stoic and Christian influences, of the conception of a person (*persona*) with certain natural rights. This, however, only involved the transference of the power of coercion from a single person to the State. This development in Roman law is instructive as marking the twofold character of coercion, and the transition from one type to the other. There was, on the one hand, a type of coercion based simply upon superior physical force, as in the relation of the master to the slave, in which personality was both practically and theoretically denied the slave, who was thus thought of not as an end in himself, but simply as a means to another's ends. But co-ordinate with this was another type, based really upon the affection of the family group; and here the very end of coercion was the protection and development of personality. Gradually this more moral conception began to affect the treatment of the slave, and, as his personality was slowly recognized, Roman law began to throw about it various protective requirements.

2. It is scarcely open to doubt that no authority rests for any length of time upon merely physical coercion. Not even the discipline of a prison or the barbarism of Mexican peonage rests upon mere brute force. There are psychological elements in all such relationships that render all coercion of any duration possible only where the agent *submits*, i.e. puts his personality, by a more or less conscious act of will, at the disposal of the one wielding authority. From the point of view of ethics it is of great consequence to inquire in every case as to the inner meaning of this submission. Historically, it may be demonstrated that all submission to a loveless coercion, as well as all exercise of the power of loveless coercion, has proved individually and socially demoralizing (as in the worst types of

slavery). It is to the facts that may easily be cited for this contention that philosophical anarchy most effectively points. It forgets, however, the essential character of the coercions of love in the development of moral autonomy, and in all group education. Thus it may be clearly recognized that the moral character of all coercion depends upon the purpose that determines the coercion (cf. the discussion of 'Zwang,' by von Jhering, *op. cit.* vol. i. ch. viii. pp. 234-570).

3. In legal discussions of coercion a distinction is usually attempted between bodily and mental coercion. Here the line is not easily drawn. Fear of bodily injury may lead to submission, without any real physical coercion. Very powerful mental impressions may be employed as effectively as bodily contacts, to reduce the will of another to the attitude of submission. The evidence of coercion in cases of rape, demanded in courts of law, is generally, from a modern ethical and psychological point of view, extremely unsatisfactory; and the legal discussion of 'undue influence' in testamentary cases is fraught with embarrassment (for example, cf. classic discussion in von Savigny's *System des heutigen röm. Rechts*, 1840, vol. iii. bk. ii. pp. 114-139). Freedom of will is a relative term, and all pressure is relative. Mental states are not yet subject to exact measurement, and so the measure of coercion cannot be exactly fixed. Between the most casual request and the all-powerful suggestion to a hypnotized subject, there is no sharp line (Münsterberg, *Psychology and Life*, 1899, pp. 239-242). The simplest suggestion has in it a measure of coercion, and the most brutal physical violence aimed at subduing another has in it a measure of mental suggestion. Only the ends sought and the purpose that guides coercion will determine their moral character, and only scientific and long-continued observation of their various degrees of social effectiveness will determine the wisdom or folly of various types of coercion, such as corporal punishment, imprisonment, fear of death, etc.

LITERATURE.—Beside the works quoted above, see F. Paulsen, *System der Ethik*, 1900, ch. ix. p. 424; J. Bentham, *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, 1823, ch. x. 'Of Motives'; William James, *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, vol. ii. ch. xvi. p. 486.

4. In modern pedagogics the forms which disciplinary and educative coercion should take are at last beginning to receive attention (see art. EDUCATION). Here it is in place to call attention only to what must be the underlying philosophy of all such disciplinary coercion. The human being, as an end in himself, must never be forgotten. All coercive reaction must therefore consider the welfare not only of the coercive group, institution or social machinery, but also of the member thus coerced. And the coercive reactions, to be truly rational and moral, must cease to carry a pseudo-retributive character. It is quite impossible to apply rationally the *lex talionis*. For one man's tooth or eye is not, and cannot be, a retributive equivalent for another's loss of these. The attempt to estimate sin and evil in terms of pain, or virtue in terms of pleasure, is the comparison of incommensurate quantities, however closely they may be linked in our experience. This is the weakness of Bentham's theory. These reactions of a coercive character can be experimentally tested only in their educative and protective efficiency. The social organism will always react powerfully to protect itself, and may sacrifice the individual in its endeavour thus to conserve its own life; but even in extreme cases (capital punishment, war, etc.) the reaction is irrational, and to that degree demoralizing, if the element of retribution enters into it at all. Any really just retribution could take place only on the basis of an exact weighing of the motive behind the act thus to be avenged, and so, if there is any coercion in the universe, it

must be in the hands of an all-wise God. There is, therefore, profound ethical sense in the demand of St. Paul for the banishment of 'wrath' and its coercive reactions from our breast (Ro 12^{19, 20}). At the same time it is open to question whether, on the basis of the revelation of God as the loving Father of all His creatures, there is room anywhere for retributive coercive reactions (see, however, the article REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS). The loving father does not and should not 'avenge' himself upon his children; all coercive reactions are disciplinary and educative with regard to the coerced individual, and defensive on the part of the coerced. Coercive reactions may seek dramatically to impress their character as disciplinary or protective reactions, by following the lines of the transgression, as blow for blow, but when they attempt retribution they exceed their own possible limits. The recognition of this is transforming penology, where the indeterminate sentence is in full recognition of the educative character of social coercive reaction.

LITERATURE.—Beccaria, *Dei Delitti e Delle pene*, 1764, tr. by J. A. Farrer (*Crimes and Punishments*, 1880); G. Tarde, *La Philosophie pénale*, 1892; F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*, 1895. Consult also Samuel J. Barrows' art. 'Penology' in Bliss's *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 1908, and Bentham's work already mentioned. For another aspect, see H. Spencer's *Education*, 1861. T. C. HALL.

COGNITION.—See EPISTEMOLOGY.

COINS AND MEDALS (Western).—In their relation to religion, coins and medals may be considered under three headings: (1) There are a certain number of coins and medals made to serve some religious or superstitious purpose. (2) Coins or medals are constantly used for such purposes, although never intended to be so used. (3) Many coin-types have a religious significance, and the development and decline of the religious element in such types have to be considered. For historical reasons it is convenient to reverse the above logical order in the consideration of these questions.

1. The religious significance of coin-types.—

[For the whole of this question, especially down to the end of the Byzantine period, general reference is due to G. Macdonald, *Coin Types*, 1905].

1. Until recent years, religion was regarded by most numismatists as the motive which inspired the selection of the types of the earliest Greek coins.

Few held this theory in the extreme form in which it was propounded by Thomas Burgon (*Numism. Journ.* 1837): for him no explanation of a type was satisfactory which did not find in it religious significance. E. Curtius (tr. in *Num. Chron.* 1870) developed Burgon's theory in accordance with his own view of the dominant importance of the priesthood in certain periods of Greek history. He reached the curious conclusion that money was first struck in temples, being an invention of the priests; hence the religious character of the designs, which were emblems of the divinities from whose shrines the coins were first issued. For this theory there was no vestige of sound proof, and it was not at the time generally accepted in full (cf. P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, 1883, p. 42; B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.* 1887, p. liv). But the essentially religious nature of the early coin-type was strongly upheld: 'It was simply the signet or guarantee of the issuer, a solemn affirmation on the part of the State that the coin was of just weight and good metal, a calling of the gods to witness against fraud.' The type was therefore necessarily a device 'which might appeal to the eyes of all as the sacred emblem of the god' (Head, *ib.*). The whole theory was vigorously attacked in 1892 (W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight-Standards*, 1892; cf. *Class. Rev.* vi. 470, vii. 79), and it was shown that many types could be explained on the religious theory only by assuming forced and over-subtle allusions. The explanation hinted at by Head in the words 'the signet or guarantee of the issuer' was then more fully developed. 'The type, whatever its character may be, appears on coins because it is the badge by which the issuing authority is recognized' (G. F. Hill, *Handbook of Gr. and Rom. Coins*, 1899).

The fact that the types on the earliest coins, whatever their significance, were selected solely and always because they happened to be the recognized badge or 'coat of arms' of the issuing authority has now been demonstrated in detail

(G. Macdonald, *op. cit.*). The proof of this fact does not affect the question of the primary origin of the badge, but it rightly removes the question out of the field of numismatics into that of ancient heraldry. There can be no doubt that many of the types, such as the owl at Athens, the bee at Ephesus, the Pegasus at Corinth, were of religious significance, but it was not for that reason, or out of any peculiarly religious character inherent in coinage, that they were chosen; it was simply because the coins were thereby made recognizable as coins of Athens or Ephesus or Corinth. Similarly the tunny of Cyzicus and the barley of Metapontum doubtless came to be adopted as badges because of the importance which belonged to them in the economic life of these two cities. But they were adopted as *coin-types* only because, for whatever reason, they were already the badges of the cities. The official seals doubtless bore the same devices.

2. Such was the origin of the coin-type. But with the increase in the number and variety of the coins struck by each mint in Greece it became necessary to vary the types. New types were thus invented and chosen, and many motives came into play; but the object in view seems always to have been to find something appropriate to the activities of the State which issued the coins. It was in the 4th cent. B.C. that the religious motive seems first to have become dominant (Macdonald, p. 117f.). From this time we may find on the various denominations struck at one mint a whole series of representations of deities with their corresponding attributes. Artificially selected types of this kind tended considerably to oust the old-fashioned badge from its position. Thus, 'before the close of the Hellenic period, it had come to be regarded as a matter of course that the types of coins should be religious in subject' (Macdonald, p. 135).

The appearance in and after Alexander the Great's time of the portraits of Greek kings is not a contradiction, but a confirmation of this rule. Alexander's own portrait is half-disguised by Divine attributes, such as the ram's horn of Ammon, or the lion's skin of Herakles; and it is as deified rulers that most, if not all, of the Diadochi and Epigoni appear, when they are portrayed, on their coins (Macdonald, p. 161f.).

3. The religious types of Greek coins fall into various classes. First, naturally, we place representations of the deities themselves; not merely the great Olympians, such as Zeus at Elis, Poseidon at Poseidonia, Apollo and Demeter on the coin of the Delphic Amphictyons, Athene at Athens and Corinth, Aphrodite at Cnidus, Hera at Argos; but minor supernatural powers and personifications, such as Nike, Homonoia, Tyche; city-deities, such as Antioch; river-gods, mountain-gods, and the like. To the same class belong the representations of aniconic objects of worship, such as the sacred Aphrodite-cones of Paphos or the Cilician Aphrodisias, the 'Artemis' of Perga, the sacred stone of Emisa. Deities are often represented, not merely as cultus figures, but in action—Hermes carries the infant Arcas (Pheneus), Apollo slays the Python (Croton), Herakles the Hydra (Phæstus). By a not unnatural confusion, the deity is sometimes represented in the action which properly belongs to the worshipper; thus, at Selinus, the river-god Selinos is represented as offering sacrifice. Heroized founders and other persons who were the object of cult are also represented, as Cydon suckled by a bitch (Cydonia), Themistocles at Magnesia in Ionia. At Apamea in Phrygia, Noah and his wife are represented, first in the ark (with the raven sitting on it, and the dove bringing the olive branch), and then, still on the same coin, on dry land, their hands raised in adoration. Other elaborate mythological scenes are not uncommon.

A very large class of religious types includes the attributes of the deities, such as the thunderbolt or the eagle of Zeus, the owl of Athene, the *caduceus* of Hermes, the wine-cup or grapes of Dionysus, the star-surmounted caps of the Dioscuri. Occasionally an object which one would not otherwise regard as religious is deliberately given a sacred character; thus on the earliest coin of Cyzicus is a tunny fish adorned with fillets, showing that it is dedicated to the local deity. Finally, we may class together the buildings connected with cults, such as the temples of Artemis at Ephesus, of Aphrodite at Paphos. There are, in fact, few aspects of Greek public religion which are not illustrated in some more or less direct manner by the types of Greek coins.

4. The same is true of Roman coins; the whole of the earliest regular series (the *aes grave*) bear on their obverses the heads of deities. Beginning with the heaviest denomination, the *as*, and descending, we have the—

<i>as</i>	with the head of Janus.
<i>semis</i>	" " Juppiter.
<i>triens</i>	" " Minerva, Dea Roma, or Virtus.
<i>quadrans</i>	" " Hercules.
<i>sextans</i>	" " Mercury.
<i>uncia</i>	" " Bellona.

This is in accordance with the rule prevailing in the Greek world in the 4th cent., when the Romans borrowed from the Greeks the idea of a coinage. About the end of the 2nd cent., types commemorating events in the history of the family of the monetary magistrates become important, and even the religious types seem to be chosen because of some connexion of the moneyers with the gods represented. Personifications occupy an increasingly important place among the types.

Under the Republic we have comparatively few, and those of an obvious character, such as Libertas and Victoria; but under the Empire we meet with a series of less obvious personifications of ideas, such as *Æternitas*, *Fortunitas*, *Fides*, *Pudicitia*, *Securitas*. The artistic conceptions of these qualities are usually quite mediocre. At Alexandria in Egypt, which was the most important mint outside Rome in the first three centuries of our era, such personifications were also common: thus we have not merely Justice, Peace, and Hope, but such ideas as *Kratisis* (Valour?), *Dynamis* (Dominion), and *Semasis* (Signal of Victory).

The general impression given by a survey of the Roman Imperial coinage (as distinct from the coinage of Greek mints under the Empire) is one of an absence of any active religious element.

5. Early in the 4th cent. the Christian element makes its appearance on the coins, at first sporadically and incidentally (see the summary in Macdonald, p. 226f.). Thus at Tarraco in A.D. 314 a cross appears in the field of the coins, though the type is still pagan; in 320 the  monogram appears at several mints as a symbol in the field, or decorating the Emperor's helmet; the standard of the cross transfixing a dragon is the type of a coin struck at Constantinople in A.D. 326, the year after the Council of Nicaea. The Christian monogram, flanked by A and Ω, is the type of well-known coins of Constantius II., Magnentius, and Decentius. But types of no religious import accompany these. Under Julian the Apostate there is a sudden revulsion in favour of strictly pagan religious types, such as the bull Apis. After Julian's death, Christian types once more prevail, although personifications, such as Concordia, and especially the goddess Victory, are by no means excluded.

The plain cross (of the Latin shape) within a wreath is the type of certain coins of Valentinian III. (424-455) and his sister Honoria. Under Olybrius (472) it figures still more prominently, without the wreath. But it is not until the next century that we find the cross 'potent' on steps, which is so characteristic of Byzantine coinage. The first instance is on a coin of Tiberius II. Constantine (574-582). About 450 was struck a

gold coin, celebrating the marriage of Pulcheria, sister of Theodosius II., to Marcian. It bears the inscription, FELICITER NVBTHS, and represents Christ standing, with His hands on the shoulders of bride and bridegroom. The reason for this, the first appearance of Christ on a coin, is that Pulcheria had vowed herself to virginity in her youth, and her marriage with Marcian was conditional on the respecting of her vows. But this coin is exceptional, and Christ is not again represented until the time of Justinian II. (685-695 and 705-711). The bust is without nimbus, holding the Gospels, and blessing; the inscription is 'Jesus Christ, King of Kings.' The Emperor is styled 'Our Lord Justinian, the servant of Christ.' Tradition says that Justinian threatened to adopt types offensive to the religious feelings of the Musalmāns; it is at least a curious fact that the independent Musalmān coinage originated at this time and bears a militant religious motto. But the iconoclasts who followed Justinian would have none of the bust of Christ, although they retained the cross. The bust was finally re-established about the middle of the 9th cent. on coins of Michael III. and Theodora, after the condemnation of the iconoclasts by the Council of Constantinople in 842.

From this time onwards we find an increasing variety of representations of Christ. He is enthroned, holding the Gospels, with cross on nimbus behind head (Leo VI. and Constantine X., 911-912, and later Emperors); crowning the Emperor, and sometimes also the Empress (Romanus I. 920-924; Romanus IV. and Eudocia, 1067-1070); standing, holding the Gospels, and styled EMMANOYHA (John Zimisces, 969-976); seated, with the Emperor kneeling, presented by St. Michael (Michael VII. Palaeologus, 1261-1282). The head of the Virgin ('Maria, Mother of God') first occurs on coins of Leo VI. Later we find her seated, holding the Child; in half-figure, holding a medallion with the head of Christ; standing, with the Emperor, holding the cross; or her bust surrounded by the walls of Constantinople (Michael VII. Palaeologus, 1261-1282 and later). Saints are also represented from the 10th cent. onwards: St. Alexander (Alexander, 912-913); St. Constantine (Alexius I., 1081-1118); St. George (John II. Comnenus, 1118-1143); St. Theodore (Manuel I. Comnenus, 1143-1180); St. Michael (Isaac II. Angelus, 1185-1195).

6. Of all the types introduced in the late Roman and Byzantine coinage, the most lasting in its effects, as might be expected, was the cross. It was borrowed by the barbarians with great freedom. The cruciform monogram of the early Carolingian coins is a modification of it. In some form or other it is the type, or the basis of the type, of innumerable coins of the Middle Ages; and its influence lingers on in the cruciform arrangement of such a coin as the Victorian double florin. But it is doubtful whether it had any religious significance after the close of the Middle Ages. Its convenience in the case of the English silver penny, for instance, as a guide for cutting the coin into halfpennies and farthings, and its obvious decorative possibilities, are quite sufficient to account for its popularity apart from its religious value. Its significance, however, is emphasized on such coins as the German denarii, on which the angles of the cross contain such words as CRVX, PAX, or as the obols of William of Petersheim (c. 1310), which bear a cross and the legend SIGNVM CRVCIS.

7. The representations of religious subjects on medieval and later coinages would repay a careful analysis. A few instances must suffice here. As in ancient times, the choice of the subject is due not to anything religious in the character of the coinage, but simply to the fact that it is the emblem of the State. The first silver pieces of Venice (1192-1205) have types closely copied from Byzantine coins; on one side is the Doge standing, receiving the banner from St. Mark; on the other, Christ enthroned (C. F. Keary, *Morphology of Coins*, 1886, Nos. 97, 98). The gold sequin introduced by Giov. Dandolo (1279-1280) had on the obverse the Doge kneeling, receiving the banner

from St. Mark; on the reverse, Christ standing in a mandorla of stars. This type persisted down to the end of the Venetian coinage (Keary, No. 99). A common type on the lower denominations is the winged lion of St. Mark. One of the types of another famous Italian coin, the Florentine gold florin, is a figure of St. John Baptist (Keary, No. 109). At Lucca the *Santo Volto* is represented; at Milan we have a seated figure of St. Ambrose (Keary, No. 102). Other saints (Italian coins show an immense number) are S. Petronio at Bologna, S. Geminiano at Modena, St. Peter at Rome, St. Ursus at Solothurn, St. Wenceslas in Bohemia. The English 'angel' received its name from its type—the archangel Michael spearing the Dragon. The 'Salute' of Henry VI. has a charming representation of the Annunciation; and St. George attacking the Dragon is still the type of the highest denomination of the British coinage. But the tendency in modern times is to revert, just as under the Roman Empire, to comparatively frigid personifications and allegories, such as the Britannia of the British pennies, etc., and the *Semeuse* of the modern French silver coins.

8. A word must be said of the religious mottoes which first made their appearance as a definite fashion in the course of the 11th century (Macdonald, p. 241). One of the earliest—an appeal (in verse) to the Virgin: *Δέσποινά σου εὐσεβή Μοῦνημαχον*—is found on a coin of Constantine Monomachus (1042-1065). Under Romanus IV. (1067-1070) we have *Ἡπαῖθε σοὶ τοῦ ναυαῖς ἐς ἡμᾶς νῆμα κεραιβοῖ*. At Venice the ducat took its name from the leonine hexameter which it bore: 'Sit tibi, Christe, datus quem tu regis iste ducatus.' The chief Florentine silver coin bore: 'Det tibi florere Christus, Florentia, vere.' 'Posui Deum auditorem meum,' 'Christus regnat, Christus vincit, Christus imperat,' 'Sit nomen Domini benedictum,' and the like, occur on English and French coins. The early Norman rulers of Sicily used not only the Greek motto *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ*, but also the Arab formula, 'There is no God but God; Muhammad is the prophet of God': but the latter was probably copied from Arab coins as a meaningless ornament. The 'IHS autem transiens per medium illorum ibat' of the English gold nobles has not been fully explained, but it evidently had some prophylactic significance (see Wroth, *Num. Chr.* 1882, p. 299; Blanchet, *Talismans anciens*, Paris, 1900, p. 8).

ii. The accidental religious use of coins and medals.—1. *Dedications*.—The object of a dedication is to give to the deity something valuable or representing value, with a view to propitiation or the expression of gratitude. Few media are more convenient than coins for such a purpose. Accordingly we find that coins have been thus used, probably ever since their invention down to the present day, when the tourist who wishes to return to Rome propitiates the nymph of the Trevi fountain with a soldo. Coins were, indeed, specially made with this object, but these come under another category; here we deal with coins used for this purpose, although never intended to be so used.

[See especially F. Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, 1878, I. 28 f., and in *Rev. Num.* 1874-1877, p. 325 f.; E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies*, 1901, I. 671 f.]

The evidence concerning the subject is manifold. First come numerous references in literature and inscriptions. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between dedications proper and temple fees. At the shrine of Amphiaras at Oropus a fee of not less than 9 obols was exacted from all patients who consulted the god; it was put into the money-box in presence of the sacristan (see the inscr. *IG vii.* 235), and sick people, if cured, threw a piece of gold or silver into the fountain of the god (Pausan. i. 34. 4). Here we have first the fee, then the dedication. Those who consulted the oracle of Hermes of the Market at Phars in Achaia first laid a bronze coin of the country on the altar to the right of the image (Pausan. vii. 22. 3). Those who visited the shrine of Aphrodite at Paphos paid a piece of money to the goddess 'as though to a courtesan' (Clem. Alex. *Protr.* p. 13, ed. Potter). Lucian's account of the wonder-working statue of the Corinthian general Pelichos (*Philopseudes*, 20) may

be romance, but the details are doubtless copied from the truth. This statue had obols lying at its feet, and there were also fastened to its thigh with wax some silver coins and leaves of silver (πέταλα, probably bracteates or thin ornamental disks made by beating out metal over coins), being votive offerings or payments for cures from people whom the hero had relieved of fever.

Another case in point is offered by the iron bars (βέλαισσοι) which Pheidon of Argos dedicated in the temple of the Argive Hera; such spits or bars, according to Aristotle (Pollux, ix. 77), had formed the earliest Peloponnesian currency, and were superseded by the introduction of silver, commonly attributed to Pheidon. However, as the connexion of Pheidon with the introduction of silver currency is doubtful, these bars may have been, not superseded currency, but standard measures, which he placed in the temple that they might be safely preserved (Th. Reinach, *L'Hist. par les monnaies*, 1902, p. 35 ff.). The Egyptian usage of throwing money into the Nile at a certain festival (Seneca, *Nat. Qu.* iv. ii. 7) was probably Greek rather than native in origin.

2. Roman authors also record the practice of *stipem ponere, iacere* or *conferre* (thus Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 5, § 182, Müll. : 'etiam nunc diis cum thesauris asses dant, stipem dicunt'; Seneca, *de Ben.* vii. iv. 8: 'et dis donum posuimus et stipem iecimus'; cf. *Liv.* xxv. 12). When M. Curtius leapt into the gulf, the people cast down 'gifts and fruits of the field' on him; in commemoration whereof it was the custom for Romans of all ranks to make an annual vow for the health of Augustus by casting a coin into the Lake of Curtius (Sueton. *Aug.* 57). Pliny the Younger tells us (*Ep.* viii. 8, 2) that coins could be seen lying at the bottom of the springs of Clitumnus. In 211 B.C. the soldiers of Hannibal, after plundering the temple of the goddess Ferona, left as a sort of expiation a large quantity of *rudera*, amorphous blocks, of bronze (*Liv.* xxvi. 11: 'aeris acervi, quum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent, post profectiorem Hannibalis magni inventi' [where *inducti* is to be preferred to *intacti*, and *iacerent* means 'dedicated']). As *aes rude* was no longer in use as money at the time, we may infer that these *rudera* were part of the old treasure of the temple.

3. These literary references can be supplemented from Greek inscriptions, especially temple inventories. In an Athenian list of 398-397 B.C. (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 1 [1898], 586, p. 288) we find '2 Phocaic staters; . . . Phocaic sixths; 11 Persian silver sigli.' According to the same account, the temple of the Brauronian Artemis contained certain 'false staters from Lacon sealed up in a box.' On the other hand (*ib.* p. 290), 'Andron of Elaius dedicated (ἀφιέρωτο) two gold drachms; Thrasyllus of Euonymeia a gold half-obol and two staters of Ægina.' In another list we have 'the false money from Eleusis' (*IG* ii. 654, l. 3). The Delian inventory of about 180 B.C. (Dittenberger, *op. cit.* p. 321) enumerates many coins of Philip II., Alexander, Lysimachus, Antiochus, Carystus in Eubœa, the Ptolemies, Ephesus, etc., some being of bronze plated with silver. An Attic list of 422-418 B.C. mentions a 'gold tetradrachm,' stating a weight which shows that it was not an ordinary coin, but a cast in gold (presumably made with the object of dedication) from a silver tetradrachm of Attic weight (*Hermes*, xxxvi. 317).

It is improbable that any large number of these treasures were the produce of fines for offences committed within the precincts; money so obtained would hardly have been carefully preserved as treasure and inventoried, but rather spent in the upkeep of the temple. Certainly the false pieces would not have been accepted in payment of fines, whereas they may well have been dedications (see below, iii. § 1). After being preserved for a decent time, dedicated coins, if of precious metal, were sometimes, if not usually, melted down and made into vessels for the sanctuary. An inscription of the 3rd century B.C. (O. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Brussels, 1897-1900, p. 827) records the melting down of a large quantity of dedications in order to replace the worn-out temple-service at the shrine of Amphiaras at Oropus; about half of these are gold or silver coins, most of them with the names of the dedicators attached; 5 gold staters are described as ἀντιγράφοι, having presumably lost their labels.

Most temples contained money-boxes, like those to be found in modern churches, for the receipt of offerings. Money thus acquired would probably be spent for the upkeep of the shrine, and was not strictly dedicated. On such ancient *thesauri* see Graeven, 'Die thönerne Sparbüchse im Altertum' (*Archäol. Jahrb.* xvi. 180-189); Babelon, *Traité*, p. 671; Edgar, *ZÄ* xl. 141.

4. The literary and epigraphic evidence is wholly confirmed by the actual finds. A very large proportion of such ancient coins as are known to have been dedicated comes from rivers and fountains. This does not prove that the custom was especially attached to water-deities; the explanation of the fact is that in such cases coins, being hidden by the water, escaped being carried off or melted down. The holy well at Oropus (§ 1) can be paralleled by innumerable cases from mediæval and modern times, from the British Isles, Brittany, Esthonia, etc. (Frazer on Pausan. i. 34. 4). Coventina's well at Procolitia on the Roman Wall yielded over 15,000 Roman coins (*Num. Chr.* 1879, p. 85 ff.); St. Querdon's well in Kirkcudbrightshire, hundreds of copper coins, going back for some centuries. With the Roman coins from a well at Bar Hill we shall deal later (iii. § 1). Ancient coins have been found in large quantities in medicinal springs in Italy and Gaul. Thus many thousands of Roman and other coins (going down to late Imperial times) and more than 1200 lbs. of *aes rude* (see above, § 2) were found at the bottom of the spring of Vicarello on the N. shore of the Lake of Bracciano, wrongly identified with Aquæ Apollinares (Henzen, *Rh. Mus.* 1854, p. 20 ff.). There are several instances from Gaul, including the fountain at Nîmes (see below, iii. § 1). At Amélie-Bains, near Arles (Pyrenées Orientales), Roman and Celtiberian coins were found in the hot springs, together with inscribed leaden tablets (*EA* iv. 1847, p. 409 f.).

Finds of coins, obviously dedicated, from river-beds have hitherto been recorded chiefly from France. Large quantities of Gaulish and Roman coins came from the bed of the Mayenne at the ford of St. Léonard, and from the Vilaine at Rennes; and gold coins of the Parisii occur in great numbers in a certain spot at the confluence of the Seine and Marne. Sheets of water such as those of Soing, Flines, and Grandlieu have also contributed their quota of dedicated coins. [Bibliography of this whole subject in Babelon, *Traité*, i. 674, note 2.]

In modern times we have a parallel to the statue of Pelichos in the image in the sanctuary of St. Michael in Mandamachos, Lesbos, to the face of which coins are affixed with wax (Rouse, *Gr. Votive Offerings*, 1902, p. 226). Hasluck (*JHS* xxix. [1909] 15) describes a method of divination common in the East (e.g. in the Marmara Islands): three crosses are made on a picture of the Virgin with a coin; if the coin sticks, the omen is propitious. In the inventory of the possessions of St. Mary's Guild, Boston, 1534, among the *jocalia* is a silver-gilt cross with Mary and John, 'w^t a sufferayn of golde thereto nailed & offeryd by John Reede' [communicated by C. R. Peers].

5. It has been thought that coins thus dedicated were purposely defaced, so as to prevent their returning into circulation. All the staters of the Parisii from the source above mentioned are said to have chisel-cuts. This does not, however, seem to have always been the case, and it is very doubtful whether such chisel-cuts can have been meant to demonetize them; they may equally well have been made to test their quality. When dedicating coins, the Greeks frequently placed on them incised (less commonly punctured) inscriptions. These had, as their primary object, not the demonetization of the pieces—the Greeks were careless of such trifles as a few scratches on the surface of a coin—but to record their dedication. The name of the dedicator, however, rarely, if ever, occurs on extant specimens. The most remarkable inscription is on a stater of Sicyon, probably to be read *ῥὰς Ἀρτέμιδος ῥὰς Ἰλίου* (Ἰλίου ἀρκεία), i.e. '(the property) of Artemis in Lacedæmon' (*JHS* xviii. [1898] 302 f.). We also find

ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου) on a coin of Croton; Μακεδὼν (Ἀθήνη) on a coin of Arsinoë Philadelphus, dedicated to Macedon, son of Osiris; Σαρπν(ιδί) ἄν.; Διον(ύση) ἄν.; Ὀσίρη(ς); or simply τερών, ἀνδρ., ἄν., or α., and in one case ἐχθά (JHS xvii. [1897] 83). Similar inscriptions on Roman coins are not common; but a Roman as has on the obverse the punctured letters SF, and on the reverse FORTVNAI STIPE incised (d'Ailly, *Recherches*, 1865, II. i. Pl. liv. 12: cf. Quintilian's phrase 'stipem posuisse fortunæ,' *Declam.* ix. 15).

A more systematic way of dealing with dedicated coins was adopted at the shrine of Zeus Kasios in Corycya. Here the authorities possessed a stamp with the letters Ἀδὲς Κασίο, which was impressed on the coin, marking it as the property of the god (B. M. *Catal. Coins*, 'Thessaly,' etc. p. 159). The coins dedicated in this way seem all to be of bronze. More respectful to the coins was the method exemplified by certain finds from the Gallo-German border, bronze tablets being made with circular holes for the coins. One from Forbach (Lorraine) is dedicated by Acceptoris and Mottio to the god Viscinus; similar tablets come from Sablon near Metz (Mowat, *Mém. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1888, t. ix. p. 280 f.). It has sometimes been thought that the halved coins which come chiefly from Gaul, being especially coins of Nemausus, Vienna, and Lugdunum, were halved with some religious object. For this belief there is no foundation whatever; the halving was merely a method of making small change (Blanchet, *Études de num.* 1902, II. 118-125; Strack, 'Halbierte Münzen im Altertum' in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cvii.).

6. Coins and medals used as relics and amulets. (See Lenormant, *Monn. dans l'ant.* I. 39 ff.; Babelon, pp. 76 f., 680 f.; Hill, 'The Thirty Pieces of Silver,' in *Archæol.*, lxx.)

The greater number of coins and medals used as amulets, etc., were expressly manufactured to that end; but actual coins also were often used in this way. The magic attaching to the name of Alexander the Great lent his coins a talismanic virtue; Trebellius Pollio tells us (*Trig. Tyr.* 13) that the Macriani wore the image of Alexander in all sorts of forms, 'quia dicuntur iuvare in omni actu suo, qui Alexandrum expressum vel auro gestitant vel argento.' Such images were often doubtless actual coins of the king. Mowat (*Rev. Num.* 1903, p. 20 f.) publishes a bronze Macedonian coin on which Alexander's head has been deliberately defaced, perhaps by a Christian who disapproved of the superstition. A curious case of superstitious reverence paid to an insignificant coin is mentioned by Pliny (*HN* xxxiv. 137). The Servilia family had a bronze 4-uncia piece to which they offered annual sacrifices with great ceremony; it consumed the gold and silver which were provided for it; it waxed and waned, thereby indicating vicissitudes in the fortune of the family. The 'copper coin with the sign of the cross' given by St. Germain to Ste. Geneviève when she vowed herself to God was possibly an early instance of an ordinary coin used as a devotional medal (St. Germain chanced to see the coin lying on the ground [*Acta Sanct. Boll.* t. i., Jan., p. 143]); it was a pledge of her holy vocation, and was to be worn by her round her neck. But it may equally well have been specially made for the purpose. Medals which were originally produced for an ordinary devotional purpose are sometimes found used as talismans. A good instance is the common medal, first made in the 16th cent., with the head of Christ on the one side and a Hebrew inscription on the other (iii. § 6), which was worn as a charm against epilepsy (J. D. Köhler, *Münzbelustigung*, vi. [1734] 353 f.).

7. The number and variety of coins of an ordinary kind used for charms are enormous; probably the great majority of the ancient and mediæval coins which exist with holes pierced in them, or loops attached for suspension, were worn less for ornament than as a protection against divers evil influences. Naturally a coin bearing a cross would be considered of special efficacy. Byzantine coins, it would seem, were generally known as 'monetæ Sanctæ Helenæ' (in mediæval Italy 'santelene' (cf. Ducange, *de Imper. Const. inf. ævi num.*, 1755, p. 110)), presumably because, as a rule, they repre-

sented the relic found by that Empress. Such coins—an extraordinary number of which are perforated for suspension—were effective against epilepsy (*EN*, 1908, p. 137; Bozsius, *de signis Eccl. Dei*, 1592, l. xv. cap. 12, who adds that even the Sultan of his time, Murad III., wore one; virtue against some diseases, he adds, was also inherent in the coins of St. Louis). One of these 'monetæ Sanctæ Helenæ' is mentioned in the Wardrobe Account of Henry III. a. 55 (*Notes and Queries*, ser. i. vol. i. p. 100). A famous specimen was at one time in the castle of the Knights of St. John at Rhodes: one of the *deniers de Sainte Helène*, on which are made the *bullettes de Rhodes*, viz. white wax impressions or casts, made on Good Friday, while the Office was being said. They possessed great virtue. By 1413 this relic had disappeared, or become dispossessed in popular favour by a silver Rhodian coin of the 4th cent. B.C., which professed to be one of the *Thirty Pieces of Silver*. Models of it were made under the same circumstances, and these were esteemed of virtue for the health of men, for the labour of women, and for perils by sea. Such impressions were made even after the coin had come with its owners to Malta.

Certain coins of Count David of Mansfeld in the 17th cent. and later coins of Kremnitz were worn in battle as a charm against being thrown from one's horse or wounded (Domanig, *Die deutsche Privat-Medaille*, 1893, p. 125); the superstition also attached to a specially made medal described below (iii. § a).

Finally, it is probable that the touch-piece, or coin (usually of gold) given by the kings of England to those whom they touched for the 'king's evil,' was supposed to have prophylactic virtue. The piece was usually an angel (types: St. Michael transfixing the Dragon, and a ship). In the last period of the use, special pieces were made with these types, the angel being no longer in circulation.

8. Incidentally we have already mentioned some coins which were preserved as relics. An obvious kind of relic was the 'numisma cum imagine B. Virginis' at the church of S. Wenceslas at Prague (*Rev. Numism.* 1899, p. 500). Canterbury Cathedral possessed a 'nummus perforatus lancea Sancti Mauricii Martyris.' This may have been any perforated coin with the head of an emperor (if the head was injured by the perforation, the mutilation would express the saint's refusal to worship the false god). More probably, however, it was a coin of the Byzantine Emperor Mauricius Tiberius.

The most remarkable series of coin-relics is, however, to be found in the various claimants to the honour of belonging to the Thirty Pieces of Silver. Between 15 and 20 such pieces have been traced; some are still extant. None of those of which the nature is known can have been in circulation in the time of Christ; no fewer than eight can be identified as ancient coins of Rhodes. Why the Knights of St. John (see above, § 7) chose this particular coin for this purpose we cannot say with certainty. But it is obvious that, when it was once established in the place of the 'denier de Sainte Helène' in the shrine which was visited by the great majority of pilgrims to the Holy Land, such pilgrims, meeting with similar coins (which are common in the Levant), would take them home, in the devout hope, speedily ripening into belief, that they too were of the Thirty Pieces. Thus many of the churches of Christendom must have acquired this kind of relic; we hear of them at Rome, Rosas in Catalonia, Enghien, Oviedo, Paris, Vincennes; the specimens in the first three places are still preserved. The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses one of the reproductions of these coins, which were made in great numbers; the words 'Imago Caesaris' have been added on the obverse, thus converting the head of the sun-god, the Rhodian Apollo, into the portrait of the Emperor, whose image and superscription were presumed by the relic-maker to have been visible on the Thirty Pieces, as well as on the 'penny' which was shown to Christ.

Besides the Rhodian coins, one of the famous Syracusan tetrachm pieces, of about 400 B.C., was regarded as a 'Judas-penny,' for it was set in a gold mount inscribed in Gothic letters: 'Quia precium sanguinis est.' A 'Judas-penny' still preserved in the treasury of Sens Cathedral is an Egyptian *dirhem* of the end of the 18th century. S. Eustorgio at Milan once possessed a gold *solidus* of the Emperor Zen which was worshipped as one of the gold coins offered to Christ by the Magi. Mediæval legend identified the Thirty Pieces of Silver with gold coins included in that offering. Finally, we note that 'Judas-pennies,' not sufficiently described to admit of identification, were once at the Visitandines in Aix, Notre Dame du Puy, St. Denis, Montserrat in Catalonia, S. Croce and the Annunziata in Florence. The piece in Notre Dame du Puy, and doubtless also the others, had efficacy in child-birth. It is, of course, possible that some of these were not genuine ancient coins, but

copies of others, such as the one at Rhodes. At least two other pieces are preserved in Russia, one at the Abbey of the Trinity and St. Sergius in Moscow, another at the Monastery of Suprasl near Bialystok [communicated by Prof. A. de Markoff].

Coins were also often used as ornaments for reliquaries (Babelon, *Traité*, i. 80), but more probably for decorative than for religious reasons.

9. Charon's obol.

[Seyffert, *de Numis in ore defunctorum repertis*, 1709; Mayor on Juvenal, iii. 265 f.; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Charon'; Rohde, *Psyche*, 1903, p. 306 f.; Hermann-Blümner, *Gr. Privataltertümer*, 1882, p. 307; Babelon, *Traité*, i. 516 f.].

In origin, the custom of placing a small coin between the teeth or in the hand of the dead was perhaps only a relic of the primitive custom of burying all a man's most valuable belongings with him. But in classical times the coin was certainly regarded as a fare; at Hermione it was not used, because there was a short cut to Hades (Strabo, viii. 373). One obol was the traditional sum; the δὴ ὀβολὸν mentioned by Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 140) are an exception made by the poet to hang a joke upon (see B. B. Rogers, *ad loc.*). Diodorus (i. 96. 8) says that the Egyptians had the custom, but we may doubt whether it was indigenous; if it was, as the Egyptians did not use coinage until late times, the coin must have been preceded by some other object of small value. The custom prevailed in many places outside Greece; in Frankish graves the deceased was provided with thin silver imitations of Roman coins. Instances coming down to comparatively modern times are recorded.

iii. Coins and medals made for purposes of religion or superstition.—1. From the practice of stamping dedicated coins, as was done by the priests of Zeus Kasios at Corcyra, it was but a step to supply worshippers with actual coins specially made for dedication. The most remarkable of such issues, and perhaps the only ones much differentiated in outward form from the ordinary coinage, are the ham-shaped pieces of Nemausus. These seem to have been struck with the official dies of the Roman mint; they are like the ordinary coins of the place, save that they are furnished with a ham-shaped appendage. They have been found only in the bed of the fountain at Nîmes, and this proves that they were made to be dedicated to the deity of the fountain. One can hardly doubt that they were cheap substitutes for a pig. [Bibliography in Babelon, *Traité*, i. 876.]

A less ambitious form of offering was counterfeit coin, of base metal. Of thirteen Roman denarii, ranging from M. Antonius to M. Aurelius (*Num. Chron.* 1905, p. 10 f.), found in the sludge at the bottom of a Roman well at Bar Hill in Scotland, one was of some alloy of copper, two were struck coins of silver, and ten were cast coins of tin. Not more than four different moulds were used for these ten coins, so they must have been made near the place where they were found, and we cannot doubt that they were made to be dedicated. Similarly a number of denarii found in the bed of the Tiber are of tin (*Riv. Ital. di Numism.* 1905, p. 167 f.). These counterfeit pieces are perhaps on the same footing as the false coins dedicated in Greek temples (ii. § 1), and as the paper money which the Chinese still offer to their gods.

2. We have already seen that a magical virtue attached to the image of Alexander the Great. The fashion of using such talismans seems to have become particularly prevalent in the 3rd cent. of our era, although there is no reason to suppose that the gold medallions of the Trésor de Tarse, dating from that century, and representing Hercules, Philip II., and Alexander, were talismans. John Chrysostom reproaches the Christians of his time for fastening bronze coins of Alexander the Macedonian to their head and feet. Some medals

of the late 4th or 5th cent. combine the head of Alexander with Christian symbols or figures such as the ✕ monogram, or the she-ass and her colt.

[For other specimens, see Babelon, p. 681 f.] A charm against the evil-eye bears on one side the head and title of Maximianus Herculeus, on the other a circle of various animals contending against the eye (*Ann. Soc. fr. de Num.* 1890, p. 237; for these and other medals showing Gnostic influence, see Babelon, p. 689). In modern times we may mention the common medals (going back in origin to the 16th cent.) with St. George and the Dragon ('S. Georgius equitum patronus') and Christ asleep in the ship ('in tempestate securitas'), which seem still to be made in quantities, and are supposed to give good luck on journeys on horseback or by sea (Köhler, *Münzbelustigung*, xxi. [1749] 109).

3. Coins, etc., made for currency in connexion with religious institutions. A rare but famous silver coin issued in the 4th cent. B.C. by the authorities of the temple of Apollo at Didyma in the territory of Miletus bears the inscription ΕΡ ΔΙΔΥΜΟΝ ΙΕΡΗ, i.e. 'sacred (drachm) issued from Didyma.' It doubtless represents the currency issued by the temple for circulation among visitors to the shrine. Probably many other Greek coins with less tell-tale inscriptions come within the same category, e.g. the bronze coinage issued by Eleusis in the 4th cent. B.C. No other Attic deme issued coins. In view of the religious character of the Hellenic athletic festivals, we are justified in placing the coinage of the Eleans for Olympia in a semi-religious category, and the same may be said of the coinage of the Delphic Amphictyonic Council. In later times festivals of all kinds were accompanied by special coinages; thus at Soli-Pompeiiopolis, in the year 229 of that city (= A.D. 163-164), there was a large and varied issue of coins which must have been intended to meet the demand created by some festival (*JHS* xviii. [1893] 166). It is probable, indeed, that of the vast number of insignificant cities issuing coins in Asia Minor under Roman rule, nearly all did so at considerable intervals, and only on the occasion of local festivals.

4. A famous gold coin of Wigmund, Archbishop of York (837-854?), has on the reverse a cross within a wreath, and the legend MVNVS DIVINVM (*B. M. Cat. Eng. Coins*, i. pl. xxiii. 6). Legend and type were probably borrowed from the gold coins of the Emperor Louis I. (814-840); and the object of the coins must have been the service of religion. Certain large silver coins of Alfred the Great are popularly known as 'offering-pennies'; and although there is no reason for the appellation in that case, it may well be that the *solidi* of Louis and Wigmund belong to the same class as the 'bezants' (i.e. originally Byzantine *solidi*) which the kings of England used to offer to God on high festival days—a custom in which originated the distribution of alms for the king by the Dean of Westminster (see *Num. Chron.* 1896, p. 254 f.).

The coinage issued in the Middle Ages by persons holding authority in the Church, such as the coinages of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, of the Abbots of St. Martin de Tours, of the Abbesses of Quédinburg, or in the 17th cent. by the Abbots of St. Honorat de Lérins, are not strictly religious coinages. These authorities exercised their rights for exactly the same reasons and with the same objects as temporal authorities. Counter-stamped Turkish coins and paper currency (5, 10, 20 paras, etc.) are issued at the present day by various Greek churches in Turkey, as at Maroneia and Thasos. A very minor branch of numismatics concerns itself with the sacramental tokens in use among certain churches, especially in Scotland; but these are admission-tickets rather than coins. The somewhat similar ecclesiastical *ménœux* or *jetons de présence*, used in France and elsewhere in the 16th and 16th cents., were given to persons as tokens that they had fulfilled certain qualifications entitling them to benefits.

5. Religious medals.—Medals specially made for religious purposes have already been mentioned incidentally. They go back to quite early Chris-

tian times (see Babelon, i. 686 f.). A piece no longer extant bore the legend *SVCCESSA VIVAS*, together with the martyrdom of St. Lawrence and a pilgrim at his tomb, the Christian monogram, and A and Ω. Some medallic pieces representing the heads of SS. Peter and Paul are generally held to go back to a very early period (Kraus, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, Freib. 1895, i. 195 f.). A medal-like coin, probably not earlier than the 9th cent., represents the Adoration of the Magi (Macdonald, pl. ix. 11). Of the same date is a piece in the Vatican representing the Baptism of Christ. The Adoration of the Magi is also found, with other types such as the Good Shepherd, the sacrifice of Isaac, the Crucifixion, etc., on pieces similar to the *Successa vivas* medal (J. B. de Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1869, p. 33 f.; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, 1878, p. 192 f.). We have already mentioned (ii. § 6) the medal or coin which was given to Ste. Geneviève at her consecration—a prototype of the medals worn at the present day by members of confraternities or pilgrims. Such medals were, it seems (from certain words of St. Zeno of Verona, quoted by Rossi, *l.c.*), given to neophytes at their baptism: St. Zeno speaks of their receiving 'aureum triplicis numismatis unione signatum'.

6. Towards the end of the 14th cent. a remarkable series of medals was made, two of which are still extant in several varieties (J. von Schlosser, 'Die ältesten Medaillen,' in *Jahrb. d. allerh. Kaiserhauses*, xviii. [1897]). This series seems to have included medals of the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Philippus Arabs, Constantine the Great, and Heraclius. They seem all to have related to epochs in the history of the Christian religion. On his medal, Constantine is represented on horseback; on the reverse is the Fountain of Life between two figures which probably represent the Church and paganism. On the medal of Heraclius is a bust of the Emperor with his eyes raised as in prayer; on the reverse he is shown in a chariot bringing back to Constantinople the Cross which had been recovered from the Persians. The original medals were probably made in Flanders. They herald the dawn of the Renaissance Medal. About the middle of the 15th cent., Matteo de' Pasti of Verona produced the first modern medal of Christ. [On the history of this subject see Hill, 'Medallic Portraits of Christ,' in *Reliquary*, 1904, 1905.] The head is an attempt to render the traditional features of Christ. It had some influence on later works of the same class; traces of the type are even seen in the medal attributed to the Nürnberg artist Peter Flötner. A more important medal of Christ was one of a pair which professed to reproduce the heads of Christ and St. Paul, which were on an emerald sent by the Sultan Bajazet II. to Pope Innocent VIII. about 1492. But the head of Christ is directly copied from a type which is due to the school of Jan van Eyck, and is represented by a profile head in the Berlin Gallery. The medal was popular, and was much copied; it also inspired a number of German woodcuts and line-engravings in the 16th century. The head of St. Paul is purely Italian in origin. In the 16th cent. a new medallic type of Christ came into vogue. Distantly inspired by the type created by Leonardo da Vinci, it was reproduced in countless variations. One of the commonest—still copied in vast quantities for sale to the credulous, who regard it as a 1st cent. portrait of Christ—is accompanied by blundered inscriptions in modern Hebrew characters: 'Messiah the king came in peace' . . . (the rest is uncertain), or 'Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah, God and Man in One.'

The object of these Hebrew medals may have been principally to serve as amulets (ii. § 6). From the middle of the 16th cent. onwards there is an

interminable series of medals of Christ, many of them issued by the Popes. The German medals with this subject begin about 1538. No object would be served by discussing the endless varieties of the religious medals of this late period, which represent not only Christ, but the Virgin and various Saints. They were issued by the Popes, by various ecclesiastics of lesser authority (some of the Bavarian abbots produced medals more interesting than the average), and in great quantities by the authorities of places of pilgrimage, and by confraternities for the decoration of their members.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given throughout the article. G. F. HILL.

COINS AND MEDALS (Eastern).—In attempting to estimate the value of the coinages of the East as sources of religious history, it will be convenient to arrange them in the following groups: (1) China and the Far East; (2) Ancient Persia; (3) Ancient India and later non-Muhammadan India; (4) Muhammadan coinages of the world.

1. China and the Far East.—Speaking generally, it may be said that the coinages of the Far East are purely secular in character. They have neither religious types like the ancient coinages of Greece, Rome, Persia, and India, nor religious inscriptions like the Muhammadan coinages of every age and country in which they were struck. Though they sometimes bear symbols which were no doubt regarded as auspicious signs, they rarely have types in the ordinary sense of the word; and their inscriptions are, as a rule, severely practical in character, giving information as to the weight and value of the coin, its date, or its genuineness. Side by side, however, with the coins in the various collections are to be seen medals, the religious character of which is patent. These are often called 'temple coins,' since they are distributed as talismans by Taoist or Buddhist priests at their temples. They are usually round like the current coins, and have, like them, a round or square hole in the centre; and they are often worn as amulets suspended from the neck. The figures which they bear are either definitely Taoist or Buddhist, e.g. the emblem of the 'eight immortals,' or the ordinary signs of the Mahāyāna, or 'Northern' Buddhist church; or they have a more general astrological significance, e.g. the signs of the zodiac; or they are simply intended to express long life, wealth, and good wishes generally. Such wishes are often expressed on these medals, as indeed in other forms of decorative Chinese art, in a sort of rebus by which the words of the sentence are suggested by the names of the objects shown (Chavannes, *JA*, 1901, pt. 2, p. 193). Sometimes also a good wish is conveyed by the form of the medal itself, as when, for example, it takes the shape of a peach, the symbol of longevity (J. M. S. Lockhart, *The Currency of the Farther East*, Hongkong, 1895-1898, p. 189).

LITERATURE.—S. de Chaudoir, *Rec. de Monnaies de la Chine, du Japon, de la Corée, d'Annam, et de Java*, St. Petersburg, 1842; E. de Villaret, *Numismat. japonaise*, Paris, 1892; N. G. Munro, *Coins of Japan*, Yokohama, 1904; Désiré Lacroix, *Numismat. annamite*, Saigon, 1900; A. Schroeder, *Annam. Études numismatiques*, Paris, 1905.

2. Ancient Persia.—The earliest Imperial coins of Persia, throughout the period of the Achaemenid dynasty (c. 558-331 B.C.), have invariably as their type the figure of the Great King represented as an archer, and possess no special interest from the point of view of religion or mythology. Coins issued by the Persian satraps during this period show, however, a greater variety, as their types are not only Persian, but also Phœnician or Greek in character. Thus the figure of Baaltars occurs

on coins of the satrap Mazzeus struck at Tarsus (c. 362-328 B.C.) (Hill, *Handbook of Gr. and Rom. Coins*, London, 1899, p. 259, pl. iv. 12); on a coin of Tiribazus struck at Issus in Cilicia, apparently Zeus (or Baal?) and Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda) are associated as obverse and reverse types (B. V. Head, *Hist. Numorum*, Oxford, 1887, p. 604; E. Babelon, *Les Perses achéménides*, Paris, 1893, pp. xxix, 21); and on a Cilician coin of Datames is seen the winged disk symbol of Ormuzd (Babelon, *op. cit.* p. 26). In the subsequent history of Persia, the types and inscriptions of the coins are predominantly Greek in character, both under the Seleucid kings of Syria (312-c. 250 B.C.) and under the kings of Parthia (c. 250 B.C.-A.D. 226) (Babelon, *Les Rois de Syrie*, Paris, 1890; Wroth, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Coins of Parthia'); but an exception to this general rule is afforded by the province of Persia, where a semi-independent dynasty seems to have ruled from probably about the same period as the defection of Parthia from the Seleucid Empire, c. 250 B.C. The reverse type of the coins struck by these kings of Persia is a Zoroastrian fire-altar, by the side of which the king is represented as either standing in an attitude of worship or seated on a throne (Mordtmann, *Ztschr. für Numis.*, 1877, p. 152, 1880, p. 40; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 698). The kings of Parthia were succeeded by the Sasanian dynasty, which represents the triumph of the ancient religion of Persia over the Hellenizing tendencies of the Parthians. The reverse type of the coins of the Sasanian monarchs throughout the whole period of their dominion (A.D. 226-642) is the fire-altar, sometimes associated with either one or two figures (the king and the high priest) in adoration (Mordtmann, *ZDMG*, 1854, pls. vi.-x.). For the evidence which the coins show of the transition from Zoroastrianism to Islam after the Arab conquest, see below, § 4.

3. Ancient India and later non-Muhammadan India.—(1) The pre-Muhammadan coinages of India fall into two distinct classes:

(a) An early indigenous coinage of silver and copper, approximately square or oblong in form, representing the development of a currency from weights of metal. These pieces bear a varying number of stamps or countermarks irregularly applied, partly probably by the authorities originally responsible for the issue, and partly by the bankers and money-changers through whose hands they passed in the course of circulation. On account of this chief characteristic, the term 'punch-marked' is commonly applied to this currency, which from the evidence of literature and representations in ancient sculptures appears to be at least as old as the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C.—(b) A number of coinages bearing definite types. These in general show the effect of various waves of foreign influence, beginning with the period of Persian (Achæmenid) dominion in Northern India (c. 500-331 B.C.), and, in particular, of the Greek influence, which was most strongly felt in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., through the medium of the neighbouring Hellenic kingdoms of Bactria and Parthia (see authorities quoted in Rapson, 'Indian Coins,' §§ 7-16, in *GIAP*, Strassburg, 1897). Fixed types also seem to have been developed independently, especially in Central and Southern India, through a systematic arrangement of the 'punch-marked' symbols which were originally applied indiscriminately on the primitive native coinage (ib. §§ 46, 129).

(2) More than 300 different symbols occurring on the 'punch-marked' coins have been enumerated (Theobald, *JASBe* lix. pt. i. p. 181, pls. viii.-xi.). It has sometimes been assumed that all of these must be religious or astrological in origin, and attempts have been made to explain their sig-

nificance. In the present state of our knowledge, all such attempts must be for the most part futile. An examination of these symbols shows that they are diverse in character. Some, such as the *swastika* and the *triskelis*, are found widely distributed in various parts of the world, and have been supposed to be primitive solar symbols; others appear to be more especially associated with Indian religions; while, in the case of others, it is difficult or impossible to trace any religious or astrological meaning whatever. Even in regard to the great majority of those symbols which are undoubtedly associated with Indian religions, 'in the present state of our knowledge it seems impossible to discriminate between their use so far as to say that, while some are Brāhmanical, others are Buddhist or Jain. They seem to be the common property of diverse sects in different parts of India' (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., p. clxxvii). This is abundantly proved by their association with inscriptions and sculptures in religious buildings the sectarian character of which is certain. Such symbols seem to have passed into general use as auspicious signs. In this respect they may be compared with the Christian symbols and monograms, one of which, indeed, JHS, has actually been placed on an Indian non-Christian coinage in recent times (Codrington, *Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, London, 1904, p. 19; Rodgers, *Coin-collecting in Northern India*, Allahabad, 1894, p. 117). Similar symbols continue to occur, as adjuncts to the main types, not only on subsequent coinages of Ancient India, but also on certain of the currencies of Muhammadan States in India at a still later period (cf., for example, the 'Table of Ornaments found on the Coins of the Sultans of Delhi,' by H. Nelson Wright, *Ind. Mus. Cat.*, vol. ii. p. 128). Such symbols were also commonly used in Ancient India as masons' marks (see H. Rivett-Carnac, *IA* vii. [1878] 295).

These facts would seem to show that the symbols found on the 'punch-marked' coinage, whatever their origin may have been, were used simply as the marks of localities or of individuals, without any special religious significance. They were used primarily to denote either the localities at which the coins were struck, the authorities responsible for their issue, or the money-changers through whose hands they passed.

To the authorities given in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, §§ 4, 5, add V. A. Smith, *Ind. Mus. Cat.*, vol. i. p. 181.

(3) The coinages with definite types may be classed generally as: (a) foreign (those of the various invaders of Northern India—Greeks, Parthians, Scythians, etc.), or (b) native. The types of both classes supply materials for the religious or mythological history of Ancient India, which have as yet been only very imperfectly utilized. Other sources of information, such as inscriptions, show that, in estimating the evidence which these types afford, certain considerations must always be borne in mind. In the first place, the religion indicated by the type on the reverse of a coin is not necessarily that of the monarch whose head appears on the obverse. In the case of foreign conquerors especially, the religion of the various States which acknowledged their supremacy was left undisturbed. The types of the coins, in such instances, reflect the religious ideas of the particular State and not those of the suzerain to which it owes allegiance. Such appears to have been the normal condition of things under the Saka and Kushana dominion, for example (see below, (5) (6)). On the other hand, the coins of the native Gupta dynasty everywhere show the Brāhmanical faith of the supreme rulers, although, as is certain from the inscriptions, Buddhism and

Jainism were flourishing in some of the provinces of their empire (see below, (8)). In using the testimony of coins, therefore, it is necessary to determine first of all in each case whether their types are local or Imperial in character. It must be remembered, further, that the numismatic record of Ancient India is extremely fragmentary, and that, while certain kingdoms, scarcely known from other sources, are abundantly represented by their coins, others, well known from inscriptions or literature, are entirely destitute of any numismatic record. From the religious point of view, as from every other, the coins afford a very inadequate illustration of the history of India regarded as a whole.

(4) The influence of Greek religious ideas was extended to India chiefly through the invasions and conquests of the Greek kings of Bactria. These began about 200 B.C.; but the evidence of Indian literature and inscriptions shows that communities of Greeks (*Yavanas* or *Yonas*—*Iaves*) were settled in N.W. India at an earlier period; and it is quite possible that these may date from the time of Alexander the Great (327–6 B.C.; see Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., p. xcviii). The divinities represented on the coins of the Greek princes who reigned in the Kabul Valley and the Panjāb during the period c. 200–25 B.C. are Greek—Zeus, Athene, Apollo, Artemis, Herakles, the Dioscuri—and the other types are, with a few exceptions, drawn from Greek mythology. Historically and geographically important are the representations in Greek fashion of the tutelary divinities (Skr. *naṅara-devatāḥ*) of two Indian cities—of Kapisa, the capital of the kingdom of Kapisa-Gandhāra, on a coin of Eucratides; and of Pushkalāvati, the Πευκελαῶτις of Alexander's historians, on a coin of less certain date and attribution (Rapson, *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 783, 786). Distinctively Indian religious types seem to occur on coins struck by two of these Greek princes—the 'tree within railing,' and the '*chaitiya*' on certain coins of Agathocles (Gardner, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Greek and Scythic Kings,' etc., pl. iv. 10; for the types, see Rapson, *ib.* 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., p. clxvi), and the 'wheel,' which has been reasonably identified with 'the wheel of the Law' (*dharma-chakra*) of Buddhism on one of the numerous currencies of Menander (Gardner, *op. cit.* pl. xii. 7; cf. M. G. Rawlinson, *Bactria*, Bombay, 1909, p. 121). If this identification is correct, it must be supposed that the coinage in question was struck in some district of Menander's empire in which Buddhism prevailed; but there is also some reason to suppose that Menander was himself a Buddhist and identical with the King Milinda of the Buddhist work *Milinda-pañha*, 'The Questions of King Milinda' (Rhys Davids, *SBE*, vol. xxxv. p. xviii). The further suggestion that the title which Menander bears on his coins—ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ=Prākṛit *Dharmika*, Skr. *Dhārmika*—is intended to have a specially Buddhist connotation='follower of the Law' (*Dharma*), is improbable, since this is a common epithet borne by a number of Hellenic kings, Bactrian, Indian, Parthian, and others, in whose case any such special meaning would seem to be impossible.

(5) Already in the second half of the 2nd cent. B.C. began the attacks on the Greek dominions in Northern India of the invading Scythians (Sakas) and Parthians (Pahlavas), who had already annihilated Greek power in Bactria. The coins, literature, and inscriptions alike indicate a close connexion between these two nationalities; and historically it is not always easy to distinguish between them. The coins show the transition from Greek to Scytho-Parthian rule in different districts of Northern India, and inscriptions afford

also some information as to the satrapal families who ruled over some of the provinces (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., pp. xcvi–ciii). But, so far as religious information is concerned, these two sources appear, at first sight, to be in direct conflict; and it is necessary to remember the warning given above (3) as to the imperfection of the numismatic record in Ancient India. While the inscriptions show that these foreign invaders had embraced Buddhism (cf. the Taxila copper-plate of Patika [Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica*, iv. 54]; the Mathurā lion-capital [Thomas, *ib.* ix. 139]), the mythology of their coins is almost entirely Greek. This apparent discrepancy is naturally explained by the fact that in Ancient India coins usually reflect the religious ideas of the district in which they circulate, rather than those of the sovereign. The States which had previously used Greek types would continue to do so, for some time at least, under their new masters.

(6) From the point of view of religious history, the coinage of the Kushanas, who established the next supremacy in Northern India, is important in several respects. The Kushana conqueror of Hermæus, the last of the Greek kings to reign in the Kabul Valley (probably c. 25 B.C.), imitates his coins but substitutes the figure of Herakles for that of Zeus as a reverse type (cf. Gardner, *loc. cit.* pl. xv. 1–7 with pl. xxv. 1–4). This exchange of one Greek divinity for another has not been explained, but it seems possible that the figure of Herakles may have been intended to represent Śiva, since Megasthenes seems to indicate that these two deities were popularly identified in India (McCrindle, *IA* vi. [1877] 122, also *Anc. India*, p. 39). Vīma-Kadphises, a successor, and possibly the immediate successor, of Kuṅjula-Kadphises, was undoubtedly a follower of Śiva or Mahēśvara, as he bears the title *mahēśvara* (=Skr. *māheśvara*, 'worshipper of Mahēśvara') on his coins, and his coin-types—Śiva, alone or accompanied by his bull Nandi, and Śiva's emblem, the trident—bear witness to the same fact (Gardner, *op. cit.* pl. xxv. 6–14; for the interpretation of the title *mahēśvara*, see Sylvain Lévi, *JA*, new ser. ix. 21; for the name Vīma, see Rapson, *Actes du xiv^{ème} Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers, 1905, vol. i. p. 219). The Kushana empire rose to its height under Kanishka, whose name appears, in the modified form of the Gr. alphabet used by the Kushanas, as KANĪKĪ (=Kanēshki). His relationship to his predecessors is uncertain, and his date is still one of the most contested points in Indian chronology (the various views are summarized by V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 1). His inscriptions show that he was himself a Buddhist, and he is famous in Buddhist literature as the great patron of the Mahāyāna. His coin-types and those of his successor Huvishka (=OOHĪKĪ) represent no fewer than five of the faiths professed by the nations and peoples included in their vast empire. Greek religion is represented by Helios, Selene (CAAHNĪ), and Herakles (HPAKĪAO); Persian by Mithra, etc. (for a list of these with their Persian equivalents and references to the literature, see *GIrP* [Strassburg, 1896–1900] ii. 75); Scythic by Nana or Nanaia; Brāhman by Skanda Kumāra, Viśakha, and Mahāśena; and Buddhism by Buddha (Gardner, *loc. cit.* pls. xxvi–xxix.).

'It has . . . been held hitherto that the coins of the Kushana kings Kanishka and Huvishka "show a remarkable eclecticism, for on their reverses are represented Greek and Scythic divinities, deities of the Avesta and of the Vedas, and Buddha" (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 78); and the Kushana monarchs have been credited with the profession of all or any of the different forms of faith indicated! The natural explanation of this diversity is that these various classes of coins were current in the different provinces of a large empire' (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, *Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. xli, note 1).

On the coins of Vāsudeva (=BAZOAHO or BAZOAHO), the last of the Kushana sovereigns whose name is at present known, only two deities appear, the Indian Śiva and the Scythic Nana. The coins of the later Kushanas, whose names, being probably indicated merely by initials, have not yet been discovered, fall into two chief classes, distinguished by the deity who appears as the reverse-type. One class with Śiva seems to have been current in the Kabul Valley, while the other with the goddess APΔOXΠO (=Ardokhsho), who has been identified with the Persian *Ashi vanguhi* (*GrP* ii. 75), belongs rather to the more eastern portion of the Kushana dominions (Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 74).

(7) In the present state of our knowledge, the types and symbols on the coins of the various provinces of the empire ruled over by the Andhra dynasty (c. B.C. 200–A.D. 240) can be made to supply little trustworthy information as to the religious history of this period; but the inscriptions (cf. the Nanaghat inscr. [Bühler in *Arch. Survey West Ind.*, vol. v. p. 60, pl. li. 1]) and the names of certain members of this dynasty show that they were adherents of Brāhmanism. Much the same remark may be made about the coins of the rivals of the Andhras in Western India—the Kshaharātas and the Western Kshatrapas (c. A.D. 120–390)—except that the wheel which appears on the coins of Bhūmaka, the earliest known Kshaharāta, would seem to indicate that he was a Buddhist (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty, Western Kshatrapas,' etc., cviii.).

(8) The types of the coins issued by the Imperial Gupta dynasty, the supremacy of which in Northern India is marked by its era beginning in A.D. 319, and generally those of the various powers which succeeded to the different provinces of the Gupta empire after its dismemberment had begun, c. A.D. 480, are almost entirely Brāhmanical in character; and this character was imposed also on the coinages of districts conquered by the Guptas, as, for instance, the territories of the Western Kshatrapas, where the silver coinage is made to bear not only a distinctively Brāhmanical type, the peacock,¹ but also the royal title *parama-bhāgavata*, 'worshipper of the Most Holy' (Vishnu or Krishna). At the same time, the inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty abundantly prove that Buddhism and Jainism were flourishing in various parts of its dominions.

For the coins, add to the authorities quoted in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 90 ff. Smith, *Ind. Mus. Cat.* i. 95; for the inscriptions, see J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. iii. [1888].

(9) The coinages of a number of powers ruling in Northern India in the period between the decline of the Gupta empire and the Muhammadan conquests (11th cent. A.D.) are imperfectly known. In this case, again, the numismatic record is of the most fragmentary nature. Some of the most important historical facts—the great empire of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, in the first part of the 7th cent. A.D., for example—are scarcely to be recognized from the coins. The same remark applies to Southern India, where the coinages at present afford, if possible, still less adequate illustration of the history. In Southern India, coinages of the Muhammadan form never entirely superseded the coinages bearing types, and the latter have continued to be struck in certain districts down to the present day. Of all these coinages it may be said generally that they often, but not invariably, show types and symbols which have a religious significance, and that further study will no doubt obtain from them important evidence to illustrate the religious history of the various kingdoms which they represent. Here two types call for special

¹ The bird of Kārtikeya, the god of war: it appears on Gupta coins in allusion to the names of two of the dynasty, Kumāra and Skanda, which are synonyms of Kārtikeya.

mention, because they became so firmly established in the kingdoms of the Rajput princes that they were allowed to remain for a considerable period almost unchanged, except for slight modifications and an alteration of the legends, by the Muhammadan conquerors, both Ghaznavids in the 11th cent., and Pathāns (Sultans of Dehli) at the end of the 12th century. These types are the 'Bull (of Śiva) and Horseman' and the 'Goddess (Lakshmi) seated.' Both are Brāhmanical. The former may be traced back to the Brāhman 'Shāhis of Gandhāra' (c. A.D. 860–950), while the latter is a very ancient Indian type (see below, § 4 (1)).

Cf. A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, 1891, *Coins of Medieval India*, London, 1894; W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, London, 1886.

(10) Of religious Indian medals, the best known are called *Rāma-tānkas*, 'coins of Rāma.' These bear the figures of Rāma and Sītā, attended usually by the monkey-god Hanumān. They appear to be of two kinds: (a) silver, with an inscription in Gurmukhi characters, '*Rām nām*,' 'The name of Rāma (or God)'—these come from the Panjāb; (b) gold and cup-shaped, with inscriptions, which, when legible, record the names of the leading characters in the story of Rāma. These medals are undoubtedly used in connexion with religious ceremonies at Hindu temples; but no account of their precise use seems to have been published. For class (b), see Gibbs, *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1883, p. 76.

(11) The following are examples of coins obtaining in India a value as charms or amulets which was not originally intended, (a) The mohurs and rupees of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, struck in A.H. 1000 (=A.D. 1591–2).—(b) The coins of the same Emperor which bear the *kalima* with the names of the four companions of Muhammad (see below, § 4 (4 b)). As these sell for more than their metal value, numerous imitations of them continue to be made (Rodgers, *op. cit.* 108).—(c) The zodiacal coins of the Mughal Emperor, Jahāngir. These, too, were extensively imitated in the 18th century (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Moghul Emperors,' p. lxxxi; see below, § 4 (4, b)).—(d) The Venetian sequin, which, as the chief commercial coin of the world during the 15th cent., was carried to India in great numbers, and has continued to be imitated ever since (Rodgers, *op. cit.* p. 118, where 'Dutch ducats' is a mistake for 'Venetian sequins').

4. The Muhammadan coinages of the world.—

(1) The progress and establishment of the Muhammadan power and of the religion of Muhammad are everywhere most clearly illustrated by coins. At first there appears a transitional stage, in which the coinages of the conquered dominions are substantially retained, so far as their main features are concerned, but adapted to the new faith by the addition of Arabic inscriptions or by the modification of types which conflict with Muhammadan ideas. Under the first Khalifs the extension of Islām was made chiefly at the expense of the Byzantine Empire in the West, and of the Sasanian Empire in the East. After the conquest of Syria (A.D. 638), the types of Heraclius I. and Constans II. are at first retained with slight modifications, but associated, in most cases, with Arabic inscriptions. A subsequent stage is marked by a modification of the types themselves. For example, the obverse type, which represents the Emperor holding a staff terminating in a cross, gives place to the figure of the Khalif with sword in hand, while the reverse type—a cross standing on four steps—becomes a column surmounted by a ball (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Oriental Coins: Additions,' vol. i. pp. 1–17, pls. i. ii.). In the case of Persia (conquered A.D. 642), the coins of the last Sasanian

kings were at first re-issued counter-marked with crescent and star and the Arabic inscription 'In the name of God' on the margin, and subsequently coins of the Sasanian type were struck with the name of the Arab governor of the province (Mordtmann, *ZDMG* viii. 148). The Arab conquests in Northern Africa (Carthage, A.D. 693) and Spain (A.D. 710) are shown by coins of the Byzantine type bearing Latin inscriptions in blundered characters, which are no doubt intended to be translations of well-known Arabic formulae—e.g. 'Non est Deus nisi Deus, et alius non est,' and 'In nomine tuo, Deus Omnipotens' (Codera, *Tratado de Numism. Arab. Española*, Madrid, 1879, p. 35, pl. i.; S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Oriental Coins: Additions,' vol. i. pp. 21–24, pl. iii.). Similarly, at a later date in India, when Muhammad ibn Sām overcame the confederacy of Rajput princes under Prithvi Rāja of Ajmir and founded the Muhammadan dynasty known as the Sultans of Dehli (A.D. 1192), the purely Hindu types of Dehli (*obv.* Horseman, *rev.* Siva's Bull) and of Kananj (the goddess Lakshmi) continued to be struck for some time, while the change of rulers and religion was indicated by the inscriptions (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Indian Coins: Sultāns of Dehli,' pp. xviii, xix).

(2) But such transitional coinages were merely wise expedients intended to facilitate the transference of authority. Wherever Muhammadan rule became firmly established, a distinctive coinage was struck, the two features of which are: (a) the absence of types, whether actual or symbolical representations, founded on the injunction of the Prophet, which forbade all such representations as tending to idolatry; and (b) the definitely religious and dogmatic character of the inscriptions. This distinctively Muhammadan form of coinage is usually supposed to date from A.H. 76 or 77 (=A.D. 695 or 696) in the reign of the Khalif 'Abd-al-Malik, though a few specimens are known which seem to prove that such an issue was attempted at somewhat earlier dates (*Coins and Medals*, ed. S. Lane-Poole, 1902, p. 165). Substantially the character of the coinage has remained unchanged, with a few exceptions, in every part of the Muhammadan world, from that period almost down to the present day, although in quite modern times the fashion of placing the sovereign's head on the obverse has sometimes been adopted from the West, and the elaboration of the royal name and titles has tended to displace the religious element until often little or nothing of it remains. The religious inscriptions which occur on Muhammadan coins are partly actual texts taken from the Qur'ān and partly pious phrases or prayers. The most frequent of all these is the *kalima*, or confession of faith, 'There is no God but God: Muhammad the apostle of God,' the two parts of which are taken respectively from Qur. xlvii. 21 and xlviii. 29. To the *kalima* the Shī'ahs add the phrase 'Ali the friend of God.'

The most convenient account of the religious legends on Muhammadan coins will be found in Codrington's *Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, pp. 20–30.

(3) Some special applications of these religious inscriptions deserve notice. On certain Moorish issues they seem to have been used simply as texts to inculcate virtue generally (cf. *B. M. Cat.*, 'Oriental Coins,' vol. v., and 'Additions,' ii.), while some of the legends of Muhammad ibn Taghlak, the Sultan of Dehli from A.D. 1324–1351, especially insist on the virtue of obedience to the powers that be. It is significant that quotations from the Qur'ān, such as 'Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those in authority among you,' etc. (iv. 62), and precepts such as 'Whoso obeys the Sultan obeys the Compassionate,' should have been placed on the fiduciary

currency which the Sultan found some difficulty in recommending to his unwilling subjects (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Indian Coins: Sultāns of Dehli,' p. xxii). The personal religious history of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar (A.D. 1556–1605), is illustrated by his coinage. He is known to have been dissatisfied with Islām, and to have made some attempt to promulgate a 'divine religion' of an eclectic character. Accordingly, from the 28th year of his reign the *kalima* is omitted on his coins, together with the names and virtues of the first four Khalifs, which had constituted its usual accompaniment in previous Mughal issues. In its place appears the *Ilāhī* (divine) formula, 'God is most great: glorified be His glory'; and, as the Arabic characters of the first half of this legend may also be read as 'Akbar is God,' it has been supposed that such a double meaning was intentional (Rodgers, *op. cit.* 105). It has been pointed out, however, that this would conflict with what is known of the earnestness and seriousness of Akbar's character; and in any case it is difficult to believe that the second meaning could have been intended to be taken literally (S. Lane-Poole, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Indian Coins: Moghul Emperors,' lxvii). With the reign of Akbar's successor, Jahāngir (A.D. 1605–1627), the *kalima* appears again, to be once more abolished for an entirely different reason by Aurangzib (A.D. 1659–1707), who feared lest the holy creed of Islām, if stamped on the coins, might come into 'unworthy places and fall under the feet of infidels' (Khāfi Khān, quoted by S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.* p. lxxi).

(4) The few exceptions to the general rule, that Muhammadan coins bear only inscriptions and are entirely without types, are furnished chiefly by: (a) Tatar and Turk invaders of Syria and Asia Minor, where, in the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era, Ayyubids, Seljuks, Urtukids, and Zangids issued coinages with types copied to a great extent from those of the Byzantine, Seleucid, or Roman coins which formerly circulated in those regions (*B. M. Cat.*, 'Oriental Coins,' vol. iii.).—(b) The Mughal Emperors, Akbar and Jahāngir. The types used by the former are few, and only one has much religious significance. This is the purely Hindu type of Rāma and Sitā (for as such the figures described in *B. M. Cat.*, 'Moghul Emperors,' pp. lxxix, 34, pl. v. 172, are to be identified; cf. Drouin, *RN*, 1902, p. 261, fig. 3, and p. 281). Jahāngir's types, on the other hand, though not numerous, are of a boldness which appears like a deliberate defiance of orthodoxy; for not only did he strike coins with his own portrait on the obverse, but he had himself represented as holding in one hand a book which probably is intended for a Qur'ān, and in the other a wine-glass (*B. M. Cat.*, 'Moghul Emperors,' p. lxxx, pl. ix. 312–319). He also struck a series of zodiacal coins with the mythological figures of the different constellations (*op. cit.* p. lxxx, pls. x. xi.).—(c) Various Muhammadan potentates in recent times, e.g. the Shāhs of Persia and certain native Indian princes, who have struck coins with their portrait on the obverse. This fashion is due to Western influence.

(5) Just as the Muhammadan conquerors at first issued coinages closely resembling those already current in the various countries, so it has occasionally happened in the course of history that, when the tide of conquest has turned, a coinage of the Muhammadan form has been continued by the victors, and Arabic inscriptions have been drawn into the service of another religion. The most notable cases in point are: (a) the Norman kings of Salerno and Sicily (Spinelli, *Monete Cufiche*, etc., Naples, 1844).—(b) Some Christian dynasties of Spain (Codera, *op. cit.*).—(c) Some of the Crusaders

(Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, Paris, 1878), all of whom struck coins with Christian legends in Arabic characters.

LITERATURE.—This is given fully in the different sections of the article.
E. J. RAPSON.

COLERIDGE.—

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was born on the 21st of October 1772, at Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, where his father, John Coleridge, was vicar and master of the Grammar School. After the death of his father, when Coleridge was at the age of nine, a presentation to Christ's Hospital was obtained for him; there he showed remarkable precocity, and read voraciously in Greek and Roman as well as English literature. In 1791 he was appointed to an exhibition at Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1793, being both disappointed in love and involved in debt, he enlisted in the army (16th Dragoons), but his discharge was obtained by his brothers (one of whom was an officer in the army), and he returned to the University. In 1794 he left Cambridge without taking a degree, and, after spending a while in London, commenced with Southey a course of lectures at Bristol. In 1795 he married Sarah Fricker (whose sister soon after was married to Southey), and settled at Clevedon. Next year in Bristol, he started the *Watchman* newspaper, and occasionally preached in Unitarian chapels. This was the year in which he began, as a remedy for neuralgia, to take laudanum. At the end of 1798 he settled at Nether Stowey; Wordsworth, to be near him, settled at Alfoxden; and they united in writing the *Lyrical Ballads*, which were published in 1798 and included the *Ancient Mariner*. At this time also Coleridge composed the first part of *Christabel*, and contributed to the *Morning Post*. In 1798 the brothers Wedgwood conferred on him two annuities of £75 each. He then went to Hanover, and spent a term at the University of Göttingen, learning the German language and literature, but not the Kantian philosophy, which he did not begin to study till April 1801 (*Letters*, 23rd March 1801, footnote, ed. E.H.C.). On his return to England he translated Schiller's *Wallenstein*. In 1800, as the Wordsworths were living at Grasmere, he settled at Keswick; and here he wrote the second part of *Christabel*, and plunged into the study of Metaphysics. From this time he became practically a slave of opium. He went to the Mediterranean in 1804, and at Malta became secretary to the Governor. He returned in 1806 by way of Rome to England. In January 1808, he lectured on Shakespeare at the Royal Institution, enunciating views which anticipated those of Schlegel; but these lectures were less successful than those on Shakespeare and Milton delivered afterwards in Bristol and in London. In 1816 he settled at Highgate with the Gillmans, and with them he remained till his death on the 25th of July 1834. The *Biographia Literaria*, after long delays due to disputes with publishers, appeared in July 1817. In December 1816 was published his first *Lay Sermon*, on the Bible as the *Statesman's Manual*; this was followed at once by a second lay sermon on the principles of public policy and economics. In 1818 he published *The Friend*, greatly altered from an earlier (1809) edition. From this period, his philosophy was fixed, and underwent no change. In 1824 he wrote, but did not publish, the *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*. In 1825 he published the *Aids to Reflection*, and in 1830 the *Church and State according to the Idea of Each*.

Coleridge has the rare distinction of being at once a great poet, a great critic, and a great philosopher. His published works in their quantity are by no means proportionate to the strength and grace of his genius. As Ludwig Tieck, who knew him, said upon the news of his death, 'A great spirit has passed away from the earth and left no adequate memorial.' It was by his conversation, especially during the peaceful years at Highgate, that he exerted the greatest influence, especially upon the younger minds of the day. 'There was no week,' wrote Southey to Henry Taylor, when Coleridge's *Table Talk* was published, 'in which his talk would not have furnished as much matter worthy of preservation as those two volumes contain.' In Coleridge the inventive and creative spirit, as Tieck noticed, outran the productive—'he thought too much to produce.' Poetic production, especially, was checked by the critical and analytic spirit which grew upon him, the more he suffered from disease and remedies worse than the disease. In philosophy, Coleridge did, in fact, do much more than has generally been allowed. It seems to have been a mistake for his friend, J. H. Green, not to publish the philosophical work, instead of spending his life qualifying himself to expound the system; and it is difficult to understand why Coleridge's work should have remained neglected in manuscript. The

charges made against Coleridge's originality by De Quincey and others might all be admitted for argument's sake, and all be answered with Milton's definition of plagiarism; for whatever he borrowed was, assuredly, 'bettered by the borrower.' The reputation of those from whom Coleridge borrowed owes him much. Nor should we forget his own principle, that originality both in poetry and philosophy should consist in giving freshness to old ideas.

Coleridge was not only a poet, a critic, and a philosopher. As a practical political writer, especially upon foreign policy, in the *Morning Post*, during the interval between the peace of Amiens and the outbreak of the Napoleonic war, and in the *Courier* at a later period, he exposed the character and designs of Napoleon, the conditions of his power, and the prospects of resistance to his aggressions, and so earned for himself the reproach of the Emperor's admirer, Byron, that he had 'both prophesied the ultimate downfall of Bonaparte, and himself mainly contributed to it' (Byron's *Observations upon an article in Blackwood's Mag.*). He also distinguished himself by his advocacy of protection for child-labour, and by his censure of the depopulation of the Highlands (2nd *Lay Sermon*, *Letters*, May 2nd, 1818, and *Anima Poetæ*, p. 204).

In his political philosophy, Coleridge belongs to the school of Burke (*Biog. Lit.* ch. x.; *The Friend*, sect. I. iv.), and he forms the connecting link between Burke and Gladstone's *State in its Relations with the Church* (1838). 'Coleridge's *Church and State*,' writes Gladstone's friend, J. R. Hope, 'is a work which has evidently had a great deal to do with Gladstone's fundamental ideas of the subject' (J. R. H. to Newman, 1st March 1839, in *Memoirs of Hope-Scott*, 1884, i. 176). His part in preparing the way for the Oxford Movement has been affirmed by two such witnesses as Carlyle and Newman, though his direct influence was felt chiefly at Cambridge. In religious philosophy, Coleridge has been described by Wilfrid Ward (a disciple of Newman) as the link between Burke and Newman. Though Newman in his old age forgot that he had ever read Coleridge, his 'Chronological Notes' for 1835 contain the entry: 'During this spring I, for the first time, read parts of Coleridge's works, and am surprised how much that I thought mine is to be found there' (see *Letters of Newman*, ed. Anne Mozley, 1891, 11th May 1834, footnote, 3rd July 1834, 9th Feb. 1835, and 28th Jan. 1836). Coleridge's religious and metaphysical philosophy must be understood to be that which he held from 1817 until his death. During those seventeen or eighteen years he never changed his ground (Letter of J. H. Green to Sara Coleridge, *Introd. to Biog. Lit.* p. xxxi, ed. Shedd, 1884). He has justly been called by Aubrey de Vere 'the Plato of English philosophy'; and it may be permissible for the present writer to say that, quite independently and in ignorance of de Vere's expression, he too wrote, publicly, that the title of 'the British Plato' might be given to this philosopher with more appropriateness than it had been given, by Coleridge himself, to Bacon.

The clue to Coleridge's intellectual history is furnished by Lamb's picture of him in Christ's Hospital expounding Plotinus to his schoolfellows. While still a youth in that school, he read some of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, and himself translated the eighth hymn of Synesius (*Biog. Lit.* i. 169, footnote, ed. Shawcross). After he went up to the University of Cambridge he had a Synesius of his own, and speaks of his intention of translating him (24th March 1794, *Letters*, ed. E. H. Coleridge). At the University he also read some of the 17th cent. Cambridge Platonists, certainly

Cudworth, from whom, probably, he derived most of the quotations from unfamiliar Greek authors with which his boyish vanity loved to astonish his companions. While he was at the University, under the influence of a Fellow of his college who was an open disseminator of theological radicalism, Coleridge became a follower of Priestley in theology and of Hartley in philosophy. But, as the doctrines of Platonism and the poetic mysticism of Synesius were his first love in philosophy, so to these his mind, after many wanderings, at last returned as to its native home. As a philosopher, Coleridge, as R. Garnett observes (*Life of Coleridge*, 1904, p. 80), continues the tradition of the Cambridge Platonists. Amid all his changes there was one principle to which he always remained faithful, which was native to his own mind, and which forms the foundation and the key to his philosophy. This was his ethical principle, which will be explained below. His philosophy he described as Platonism (Letter to J. Gooden, misdated 1814, probably 1824, in *Works*, iv. 399, ed. Shedd); and it was to his Platonic principles, under God, that he attributed his return to the Christian faith (*Anima Poete*, p. 259; *Biog. Lit.* ch. x.). Those who, reading only the *Biographia Literaria* (Coleridge's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*), suppose him to be a Schellingist should observe that what he there says of Schelling was written and sent to the printer in 1815, though not published until 1817, and that it refers chiefly to the physics and 'nature philosophy,' not to the theology, of that philosopher. In the 1818 edition of *The Friend*, Coleridge places Schelling's philosophy among the pantheistic systems, while declaring that Schelling himself strove to conceal from his own mind the consequences of his principles (*The Friend*, II. xi.; cf. S. T. C. to J. H. Green, 13th Dec. 1817, and to J. T. C., 8th April 1825, *Letters*, ed. E. H. C.; and J. H. Green to Sara Coleridge, *Introd. to Biog. Lit.* p. xxxi, ed. Shedd).

1. Philosophy.—Coleridge did not claim to be the author of a new and original system of philosophy. The highest use of genius, he held, is to give the impression and interest of novelty to admitted and neglected truth (*Aids to Reflection*, Aph. i.; *The Friend*, essay xv.).

'My system, if I may give it so fine a name, is an attempt to reduce all knowledge to harmony—to unite the separated fragments of the mirror of truth. It opposes no other system, but shows what is true in each, and how that which is true in the particular became in each of these systems falsehood because it was only half the truth' (*Table Talk*, 12th Sept. 1831).

The criterion of common sense was held by Coleridge (*Table Talk*, 28th June 1834) as well as by Reid, whose terminology he in part adopts (*Statesman's Manual*, App. E). He, however, expressed the relation between common sense and philosophy with more accuracy: 'It is the twofold function of philosophy to reconcile reason with common sense, and to elevate common sense into reason' (*Biog. Lit.* ch. xii.); and he emphatically rejected the pretensions of common sense—which judges of the world of the senses and the affairs of this life—to be the criterion of spiritual truth, especially of the mysteries of the Christian religion (see *Statesman's Manual*, App. E; *Notes on Baxter*, v. 443, ed. Shedd; *Notes on Taylor's History of Enthusiasm*, vi. 130; *Aids*, Aph. ix. on Spiritual Religion, footnote; *Notes on Jeremy Taylor*, v. 225, ed. Shedd; *The Friend*, sect. II. ii.).

2. Logic.—Coleridge's logic may be described as a Platonic theory of knowledge expressed in a Kantian terminology. The agreement between him and Kant, however, is less than he himself thought. With Coleridge, 'ideas' are not merely regulative, but also constitutive. 'Self-evident

propositions are principles not only of thought, but of truth and being. Space and time are forms of sensibility, but not mere forms. Reason and experience coincide; the ideas of the pure reason and the laws of Nature correspond. And 'the ground of this agreement' is to be sought 'in a supersensual essence, which, being at once the ideal of the reason and the cause of the material world, is the pre-establisher of the harmony in (each) and between both' (*The Friend*, II. v.; *Statesman's Manual*; *The Prometheus of Æschylus*, iv. 344, ed. Shedd). It should be noted that he has nowhere in his published writings assigned his reason for rejecting the theory of the origin of knowledge common to Aristotle, the Scholastics, and Locke; and that he is always unjust to Locke, classing him, strangely enough, with Hobbes, Hume, and Hartley. The distinction between the reason and the understanding in Coleridge is not the same as in Kant; for with Coleridge the categories and first principles are the object of the reason, and are furnished by it to the understanding. The distinction is in Coleridge much more akin to the distinction of the Scholastics between the reason and the *ratio particularis* (or faculty of reasoning from particular to particular found in a lower degree in brutes), or to Aristotle's distinction between the active and the passive intelligence (or internal senses). By Coleridge the distinction is used chiefly for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that the human mind may obscurely apprehend truths higher than it is able distinctly to comprehend, define, or understand, and which, when we attempt to define them, are expressed in a combination of concepts apparently contrary to one another. The speculative and the practical, or moral, reason are not two faculties, but one faculty exercising itself upon different objects. The moral reason is reason in the highest sense of the term, since by this we attain the knowledge of spiritual truth, and particularly of a personal God (*Aids*, *passim*, esp. Aph. viii. on Spiritual Religion; *Statesman's Manual*, App. B; *The Friend*, *passim*, esp. 1st landing-place, essay iv.). The conscience is not quite the same as the practical reason, since it adds to perception of right the sense of duty, and is the organ of the unconditional command. It is an authority. The conscience occupies an important place in Coleridge's philosophy, since he expressly notices, what all uncorrupted minds feel, that it not only commands us to avoid evil and to do good, but also to believe in the real distinction between good and evil, in the reality of the moral law, in the existence of a lawgiver and judge, and in a future life (*The Friend*, *Introd.* essay xv.). He who disbelieves these truths commits no mere speculative mistake, but a sin against his conscience. This express assertion of our responsibility for our opinions and beliefs, as well as for our actions, is perhaps the most valuable principle in Coleridge's philosophy. The conscience is thus in morals and religion what common sense is in the world of the senses; and philosophy must be in harmony with this spiritual common sense. Those who consciously oppose this authority are to be cured only by discipline, not by argument, and 'must be made better men, before they can become wiser' (*Biog. Lit.* ch. vii.; cf. *Aids*, 'Elements prelim. to Spiritual Religion,' and Aph. iv., v., and x. on Spiritual Religion).

3. Ethics.—Coleridge's ethical principle forms the foundation of all his philosophy. There is an absolute and essential distinction between good and evil, right and wrong; and man has the power, as of perceiving, so also of willing the good as good, as distinguished from the merely pleasurable, or from the expedient, which is the means to

the pleasurable. Happiness and virtue coincide, indeed, in the end; and in the meantime virtue and happiness are proportionate; and so are vice and misery. Happiness, in so far as it depends upon ourselves, depends upon virtue; but, at the same time, it is a part of virtue to care for one's own ultimate happiness as well as for that of others. This intuitive perception of the distinction between the right and the pleasurable, and of their tendency towards final conjunction, is a principle which Coleridge held throughout all his speculative changes. He no more doubted it when he was a Hartleyan than when he was a Kanto-Fichteian; and he no more doubted it when he was a necessitarian and a pantheist than when he was a vindicator of human freedom of will and of the personality of God. The conviction was, doubtless, confirmed by his early studies in the Cambridge Platonists and Bishop Butler, and by his study, in more mature life, of Kant and Fichte. But it was a native and vital product of his own reflexion; and it maintained and asserted itself in spite of the teaching then dominant at his University. He remarked to Hazlitt, at their first acquaintance (1798), that the adoption of Paley's *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* as a text-book at Cambridge was a disgrace to the national character. Though always an opponent of Hedonism as of an unqualified Eudæmonism and Utilitarianism, he never went to the Stoical extreme of Kant and Fichte, which he pronounced not only unnatural, but immoral. This perception of the good is Reason in the highest sense of the term; and, taken together with the power of willing the good as good, in preference to the pleasurable, it constitutes man's essential and specific distinction, and the likeness and image of God in the soul.

'A being altogether without morality is either a beast or a fiend, according as we conceive this want of conscience to be natural or self-produced. . . . Yet, if it were possible to conceive a man wholly immoral, it would remain impossible to conceive him without a moral obligation to be otherwise' (*The Friend*, sect. I. essay xlii.).

Corresponding to the distinction between the good and the pleasurable, or the expedient, is a distinction between virtue and mere prudence. The first of the cardinal virtues Coleridge would call by the name 'wisdom,' using the term 'prudence' as synonymous with enlightened self-interest.

The freedom of choice between the good and the pleasurable holds good so far as it is required for responsibility. But the will is weakened by original sin; and this inherent sinfulness and weakness seems to Coleridge a truth of natural religion, attested by universal conviction (for his ethics, see *Aids*, esp. *Introduct.*, *Aph.*, *Prædication* and *Moral Aph.*; *The Friend*, *Introduct.*, essays xv. and xvi.; 1st land.-pl., essays iv. and v.; sect. i., essays xiii. and xv.; sect. ii., essays i.-iii.; *Table Talk*, 20th Aug. 1831; *Letters*, 17th Dec. 1796, and 13th Dec. 1817).

4. Religion.—It was characteristic of Coleridge to give a moral origin to religion, and to assign a secondary position to proofs from Nature. This was more startling in the age when Paley's philosophy predominated than now. He says with perfect truth that the idea had dawned upon him before he studied Kant; and it would be a mistake to think his position identical with the Kantian. When Coleridge says that the existence and attributes of God cannot be scientifically and apodictically demonstrated, but are susceptible only of proof sufficient for moral certitude, it is to be remembered that he means by the term 'God' no mere *Anima mundi*, or First Mover, or Supreme Being, no mere Ground of the Universe, or Fate, or Law personified, but a Being at once infinite and personal, the eternal omnipotent Creator of the

world 'out of nothing,' and yet at the same time self-comprehensive, free, righteous, loving, merciful, and a hearer of prayer—a 'living God.' The existence and attributes of such a being are necessarily mysterious to the mind of man. And from the existence of such mystery at the very foundation of religion he drew the conclusion that mysteries in a religion form no rational objection against it. His attitude of mind towards the mysteries of the Divine nature and providence may be seen in his remarks upon the controversy about Election and Predestination (*Aids*, *Aph.* ii. on *Spir. Relig.*, comment; for his natural theology in general, see *Biog. Lit.* ch. x.; *Aids*, Conclusion; *Confessio Fidei*, v. 15, ed. Shedd; *The Friend*, sect. II. xi.; *Church and State*, ch. v., footnote). The belief in a future life, with Coleridge, rests chiefly upon a moral foundation—upon the command of conscience, which forbids us to aim at the pleasures of this life as the ultimate end or to make them the primary motive of action; upon the natural instinctive anticipation of a life beyond the grave; upon the severance between worldly fortune and moral merit; and upon the fact that disbelief in immortality (where it is original in any mind) has, in fact, had its source in a revolt against the law of conscience. With these arguments is combined the difference in kind between the attributes of corruptible things and the attributes proper to the human mind (*Confessio Fidei*, v. 16, ed. Shedd; *Notes on Davidson*, v. 504; *Aids*, *Aph.* xxiii. on *Spir. Relig.*, comm.; *Dialogue between Demosius and Mystes*, vi. 136, ed. Shedd).

5. Christianity.—Coleridge's interest in the evidences of Christianity was moral rather than intellectual. While Paley, addressing himself to the understanding, dwelt upon history and miracles, Coleridge appealed chiefly to the sublimity of the Christian doctrine, and to man's need (and sense of need) of redemption from his own sinfulness (*Aids*, *Aph.* vii. on *Spir. Relig.*, *Aph.* x., and Conclusion; *Statesman's Manual*, App. E; *Biog. Lit.*, Conclusion; *Letters*, 30th Mar. 1794). As to Coleridge's particular theological position, it is sufficiently known that his favourite theologian was the Scottish Archbishop Leighton; and that his disciples were the Broad Churchmen, such as Julius Hare and Frederick Maurice.

6. The Church.—Coleridge, without doubt, was the chief agent in reviving in England the idea of the Church as something distinct from an estate of the realm or a department of the State on the one hand, and a mere voluntary association on the other. In this respect he undoubtedly prepared the way for the High Church movement.

'My fixed principle is: that a Christianity without a Church exercising spiritual authority is vanity and delusion. . . . I condemn . . . the pretended right of every individual, competent and incompetent, to interpret Scripture in a sense of his own, in opposition to the judgment of the Church, without knowledge of the originals or of the languages, the history, customs, opinions, and controversies of the age and country in which they were written; and where the interpreter judges in ignorance or in contempt of uninterrupted tradition, the unanimous consent of Fathers and Councils, and the universal faith of the Church in all ages' (*Aids*, *Aph.* xiii. on *Spir. Relig.*, footnote).

Yet he sometimes allowed to himself a larger licence of personal theorizing than was in keeping with this principle, of which, in the abstract, he saw the justice. The unity of the Universal Church, the 'Church of Christ,' was for him an 'Idea,' or unity in the spirit, which might occasionally be realized in Ecumenical Councils. But the ordinary state of the Church is to be divided into national branches; and the established Church, e.g. of England, is a combination of two things, viz. the national Church and the educational estate of the realm (*The Church and State according to the Idea of Each*).

7. *Scripture*.—In the *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit* (a title suggested by a chapter in *Wilhelm Meister*), Coleridge made a well-meant and reverent attempt to offer a solution of the difficulties brought against the truth of Scripture from the secular sciences and history. It can hardly be said, however, that the particular solution which he proposed and the concept of inspiration which he put forward were quite in accordance with the traditional Christian doctrine of inspiration; while in some of his theological notes written upon margins he indulged in an altogether unwarrantable licence of pronouncing on *a priori* grounds what parts of the Gospels are and what are not genuine and authentic Scripture.

As he was a member of the Church of England, perhaps the fairest way of estimating Coleridge's work as a theologian is to quote the judgment pronounced upon him by the greatest ecclesiastic which that Church ever produced, while yet untroubled by a suspicion that he should ever leave it, and while filled with the profoundest confidence in its controversial position:

'While history in prose and verse [of Scott] was thus made the instrument of Church feelings and opinions, a philosophical basis for the same was under formation in England by a very original thinker, who, while he indulged a liberty of speculation which no Christian can tolerate, and advocated conclusions which were often heathen rather than Christian, yet after all instilled a higher philosophy into inquiring minds than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept. In this way he made trial of his age, and found it respond to him, and succeeded in interesting its genius in the cause of Catholic truth' (*The British Critic*, April 1839; Newman's *Essays*, 1877, i. 267 t.).

During the second quarter of the 19th cent. Coleridge's influence was both wide and deep; and its stimulus was felt by all English thinkers, even by minds trained, like that of Mill, under Bentham, Malthus, and Ricardo. If Coleridge had been more just to Locke, and if he had interpreted that philosopher in the sympathetic spirit in which he reconciled Bacon and Plato (in the *Essay on Method*, and in *The Friend*), his influence would probably have been still greater and more lasting.

LITERATURE.—After Coleridge's death several volumes of *Literary Remains*, and of *Theological Notes*, were published by his nephew, H. N. Coleridge. In 1847 his daughter published an edition of the *Biographia Literaria*, with an introduction and notes dealing fully with his relation to Schelling. An admirable edition was issued in 1907 by the Clarendon Press, with introduction and notes by J. Shawcross. Bohn's Library contains a useful edition of Coleridge's works for the general reader. In the U.S.A. the works have been edited by W. G. T. Shedd, 1858 and 1884; but this edition (published by Harper, 1886) has very grave printer's errors. In 1895, Coleridge's grand-nephew, E. H. Coleridge, published *Antima Poetæ* and two volumes of *Letters* (London).

Principal Shairp's *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy* (Edinburgh, 1868) has an excellent study of Coleridge. His political philosophy is expounded by J. S. Mill in vol. I. (1859) of his *Dissertations* (cf. Mill's Letters to Prof. Nichol, in the *Fortnightly Review*, May 1897). For his metaphysics and ethics, see *The American Catholic University Bulletin*, July 1906 and Jan. 1907, 'Coleridge' and 'Coleridge's Philosophy'; by M. J. Ryan.

J. Gillman's *Life of Coleridge* (of which only one volume was published, London, 1838) contains many valuable documents. The *Life in the English Men of Letters*, by H. D. Traill (London, 1884), is good, except for the exposition of the philosophy. The small *Life* by Hall Caine (London, 1887) is more just to Coleridge's character than his biographers have usually been. The *Life* by R. Garnett (1904) has the merit of showing Coleridge's place in the history of philosophy. The article in the *DNB* by Leslie Stephen is written with great historical accuracy and impartiality. The *Life* by A. Brandl (Berlin, 1886; Eng. tr. London, 1887) is a dissertation on the relations of English and German literature rather than a biography; with much research it has little judgment; there are many mistakes in point of fact; and the author has not the qualifications for writing about a poet or a metaphysician. The *Life* by J. D. Campbell (London, 1894) is a model of unpretentious, painstaking research, and of intelligent and fair judgment.

M. J. RYAN.

COLLECT (*Collecta*).—A collect is the short condensed form of prayer peculiar to the Western Church.

1. The name 'collect'.—Two derivations claim an almost equal degree of ancient authority. (1) In

the Latin Mass and other Services the *Oremus* ('Let us pray') was originally a call of the congregation to private prayer, the priest or person who led the devotions proposing certain heads of intercession ('dedit orationem')—a custom which is retained in the Missal Service for Good Friday and in the 'Bidding Prayer' of the Church of England.¹ A brief space having been left for this, the officiant 'collegit' (i.e. summed up) the petitions in a short prayer, which hence received the name 'collect.' The phrase 'colligere orationem' is referred to as well known by Cassian (5th cent.), *de Instit. Cenob.* II. vii.; and other testimonies to its use and to that of its correlative 'dare orationem' are given by Bona, *Rer. Liturg.* II. v. 2.

(2) The other ancient derivation of 'collect' explains it as the prayer said at the 'Collecta,' or 'Collectio'—a recognized name for an assembly 'collected' for public worship (Vulg. Lv 23³⁸, He 10²⁸; see Ducange, *Glossar. s.v.* 'Collecta'). This opinion is suggested by the wording of one of the places where 'Collecta' occurs in the Gregorian Sacramentary. On Feb. 2 (the Feast of the Purification) the rubric before the prayer to be said at the church where the people assembled for procession to the church where mass was to be celebrated runs, 'Oratio ad Collectam ad S. Adrianum.'

The 11th cent. author who styles himself 'Micrologus' gives (cap. iii.) both derivations, without deciding between them, and he is followed by Durandus (*Rationale Div. Offic.* [1473] lib. iv. cap. xv.) and Bona (*loc. cit.*). The second derivation, which is based on a single rubric in the latest form of the Roman Sacramentary, is rendered improbable by the fact that 'Collectio'—evidently the older form of 'Collecta' (as 'Missio' preceded 'Missa,' and 'Ascensio' preceded 'Ascensa')—appears as the normal word for 'a prayer' in the Gallican Service Books which represent an earlier type of liturgy than the Roman use. It will hardly be maintained that 'Collectio' and 'Collecta' had different origins. We have thus good reason for the inference that the word first came into existence in Gaul, and thence made its way to Rome. The early testimony of Cassian (*loc. cit.*), who wrote in Gaul, to the phrase 'colligere orationem' is significant in the same direction. In keeping, too, with the theory of the Gallican provenance of the word is the remarkable contrast we observe between the frequency with which 'Collectio' is found in the Gallican books, where it is used *passim*, and the rarity of the appearance of 'Collecta' in the Roman. In the Gregorian Sacramentary, 'Collecta' occurs thrice only, and in one case, already referred to, it plainly means 'congregation' and not 'prayer.' In the Gelasian and Leonine Sacramentaries it is not found at all. In the Missal which succeeded the Sacramentaries, with a few exceptions of community or local use,² the word occurs only in rubrical directions. Although

¹ Further witness to this ancient custom is borne by the *Flectamus genua* ('Let us kneel'), and the *Levate* ('Stand up'), which in the Roman ritual on certain days are interposed between the *Oremus* and the collect. The modern genuflection of the priest is a survival of the private prayer of the priest and people before they stood up, according to the practice of the early Church, for public prayer. The *Oremus* before the offertory is followed by no prayer at all—a feature which evidences a still greater omission in the Service (Duchesne, *Origines*, vi. 5, p. 172, Eng. ed.).

² The term 'Gallican' is frequently used to describe the Western non-Roman type of service, which included, with the Gallican, the kindred Celtic (British Isles), Mozarabic (Spain), and Ambrosian (North Italy) uses (Duchesne, *Orig.* p. 88, Eng. ed.; Procter and Frere, p. 8). The form 'Collectio' is peculiar to the Gallican and Celtic books.

³ e.g. a Missal of the Cistercian order (Paris, 1529) has 'Collecta' throughout, also one of Hildesheim (Nuremberg, 1511), and one of Upsala (Basel, 1513); and the Collection of Masses written in England in the 10th and 11th cents., which forms part of the *Leofric Missal* (ed. Warren, 1883), occasionally has the word instead of 'oratio.'

'Collect' was adopted, as far back as evidence goes,¹ by liturgists as the technical name for the prayer before the Epistle, it received but a niggard welcome in the Roman Service Books—which would hardly have been the case had it been of native origin. That it was nevertheless in popular use in England—perhaps kept alive by tradition from the early non-Roman Christianity of the country—seems proved by the fact that in the translation and revision of the Church Services in the 16th cent. it was brought forward into its rightful position. The Reformers would not have ventured to use the word so extensively as they did, if it had not been familiar to the people.

2. The Sacramentaries.—Collects in their fully developed structure are first presented to us in the Roman Sacramentaries; for the 'Collectiones' of the Gallican Service Books are longer and less concentrated, and more akin to Eastern models. These Sacramentaries contain the prayers used by the celebrant in the Mass and other sacramental rites, and have come down to us in three forms, each associated with the name of a Pope.

(1) *The Gregorian* is the most recent. Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) was traditionally regarded as the reviser of an earlier Service Book. His biographer, John the Deacon (latter half of 9th cent.), testifies ('Vita Gregorii,' ii. 17, in *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B.*, by D'Achery and Mabillon) that 'he compressed into one volume the Gelasian codex de Missarum Solemnis, making many retrenchments, a few changes, and some additions.'² But of the 'Gregorian' Sacramentary, as we know it, all that can be said with certainty is that it represents the Service Book in prevailing use at Rome in the 8th century. All existing MSS seem to be derived from an authenticated copy of that book, which was sent to Charlemagne, at his request, towards the close of that century, by Pope Adrian I., and to which a supplement adapting it for use in France was added by Alcuin (Letter of Adrian I. to Charlemagne, No. xli., in Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, 1738-1876, v. 587; Micrologus, cap. 60; Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacr.* liii.).

(2) *The Gelasian* represents the Sacramentary as it was before the 'Gregorian' revision, and carries us back at least to the 7th century. Its connexion with Pope Gelasius (492-496) is problematical. Unlike the later form of Sacramentary, all the MSS of which bear Gregory's name, none of the 'Gelasian' MSS is thus entitled. Writers of the 9th cent., as, e.g., John the Deacon, referred to above, call the Sacramentary 'Gelasian,' perhaps following a true tradition, although it may be that their only ground for so naming it was that the *Liber Pontificalis* (beginning of 6th cent.) assigned (i. 255) to Gelasius the authorship of Sacramental prefaces and prayers (Wilson, *Gel. Sacr.* lviii.).

(3) *The Leonine* exists only in one defective MS, which was discovered in the Chapter Library at Verona by Bianchini, and published by him in 1735. This MS, the probable date of which is the beginning of the 7th cent., is apparently the compilation of a private collector of missae extant in his time, many of which, no doubt, were of an earlier date. It cannot be regarded as a single Sacramentary, but it presents us with Service forms of a more ancient type than the 'Gelasian.' Its attribution to Pope Leo I. (440-461) was the mere conjecture of the first editor (Fetoe, *Sacr. Leon.*, 1896, vii.-ix.).

¹ In the second 'Ordo Romanus,' which is commented on by Amalarius of Metz (880), the words occur, 'Sequitur oratio prima quam collectam dicunt' (Migne, *PL* lxxviii. 971).

² We have Gregory's own testimony (Ep. ix. 12) that he added the Lord's Prayer at the end of the Canon of the Mass. The insertion of a new paragraph therein is also attributed to him (*Lit. Pon.* i. 312, ed. Duchesne, 1896).

We can thus trace back the Collect as a finished product well-nigh to the 6th cent., and we may confidently assign to it a much earlier origin. A form of prayer so artificial and elaborate in structure could not have come into existence at one bound: time must be allowed for a gradual development out of simpler forms. The fame of Gregory as a liturgical reformer renders it not improbable that the making or alteration of some collects was due to him, and the similar tradition attached to Gelasius suggests a like inference with regard to that Pope. The insistence in many collects on the frailty of human nature, and the need of Divine grace preventing and co-operating (see in Pr. Bk. the collects for Easter, Adv. iv., Epiph. iv., Trin. i., ix., xv., xvii. etc.), points for their composition to a time when the Pelagian controversy (beginning of 5th cent.) was fresh in the minds of men.

3. Arrangement of collects.—The Gallican Service Books are characterized by numerous 'Collectiones.' Take, for example, the 'Missae' for Epiphany in the *Missale Gothicum* (see Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 54¹), where the scheme of service is as follows:

1. An exhortation without a title, named *Præfatio* in other missae. 2. *Collectio sequitur*. 3. *Collectio post nomina*, i.e. after the diptychs. 4. *Collectio ad Pacem*, i.e. during the Kiss of Peace. 5. *Contestatio*, commencing 'Vere dignum.' 6. *Collectio post Sanctus*. 7. *Post Mysterium*, i.e. a prayer after the consecration. 8. *Ante orationem Dominicam*—a prayer. 9. *Post orationem Dominicam*—a prayer. 10. *Benedictio populi*—a series of short prayers. 11. *Post Eucharistiam*—a prayer after the communion of the people. 12. *Collectio sequitur*. The frequent use of the word 'Collectio' should be noted. In the Celtic Hour Office, 'Collectiones' were appended to each Canticle and each group of Psalms (Warren, *The Bangor Antiphony*, vol. ii. p. xix.). The multiplicity of prayers in the Masses of St. Columbanus was noticed and objected to at a Synod at Matiscon (Maçon), in Gaul (623), by a monk named Agrestius, who probably was acquainted with the Gelasian use (Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, ed. Krusch, p. 250).

In the Roman Sacramentaries and Missal the Collects are restricted to three positions in the service: (1) before the Epistle, (2) after the Offertory, (3) after the Communion. The first, as a rule the fullest of all, is the 'Collect' proper, the one to which that name is specially appropriated in liturgical language, though in the altar-books it is usually designated by the general term *oratio*. The second is the 'Secreta,' so named because it is said inaudibly by the priest (Amalarius, *de Offic. Eccl.* iii. xx.; Duchesne, *Orig.* vi. § 7, p. 176, Eng. tr.)—a custom which was introduced in very early times—or, less probably, because it is said over the elements which have just before been 'set apart' for sacramental use. This derivation, which Bossuet (*Explic. des prières de la messe*, p. 19, no. 1) puts forward, does not seem to have the support of any ancient authority (Bona, ii. ix. 6, note by Sala). The third is the 'Postcommunio.' In some MSS of the Gregorian type the second is called 'Super oblata,'² and the third 'Ad Complendum.' (The Leonine collects have no headings.) A supplementary collect, 'Ad populum,' appears in the Gelasian Sacramentary. In the Gregorian and in the Missal this is retained only on Ferial days in Lent, with the title 'Super populum.' The Gelasian Book provides two collects proper, i.e. before the Epistle, in each Mass; the Gregorian and Missal have only one. In mediæval times other prayers were permitted (or directed) to be added to this, provided the total did not exceed seven.³ This limitation was sup-

¹ The *Missale Gothicum* is also published by Mabillon, *de Lit. Gal.* lib. iii. (see p. 208), and Muratori, *Lit. Rom.* Vet. ii. col. 542.

² This may add some weight to the second derivation of 'Secreta' (see above).

³ The number of prayers was always to be uneven, for which rule various mystical reasons were given (Micrologus, cap. iv.). Prayers were to be added to the 'Secreta' and 'Postcommunio' equal in number to those added to the Collect proper (Durandus, iv. xv., *Sacrum Missal*, 1st Sunday of Advent, rubric).

posed to have reference to the number of petitions in the Lord's Prayer.

The Collect (proper) for the day gained an entrance at an early date into Laud's and other Hour offices, where it supplanted the Pater Noster which formerly closed the service (Batiffol, *Hist. du brév. rom.*, Eng. tr. by Baylay, pp. 96, 111).

4. How addressed.—The Roman collects are, with very few exceptions, addressed to the First Person of the Blessed Trinity. This was the most ancient usage of the Church, based upon the belief that the Eucharist was a representation of the sacrifice of Himself offered by the Son to the Father (Bona, II. v. 5). The 3rd Council of Carthage (397) made this custom a binding law by enacting (canon 24) that 'at the altar prayer shall always be directed to the Father' ('Quum altari adistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio'). It is remarkable that, notwithstanding this usage and law, the majority of the 'Collectiones' in the Western non-Roman liturgies are addressed to the Son. We may attribute this to the exigency of the position of the Hispano-Gallican Church, confronted as it was with the Arianism of the Northern invaders, who alleged the exclusive address of liturgical prayers to the Father as implying an inequality in the Trinity (Warren, *Bangor Ant.* vol. ii. p. xxvii; Cabrol, *DACL*, col. 655; Liddon, *The Divinity of Our Lord* [Bampton Lectures], p. 389).

5. Structure of collect.—The collect follows a clearly marked plan of construction. It consists of one short sentence containing a single petition, and in its complete form—for some collects lack one or more members—may be analyzed into five parts: (1) the invocation; (2) the reason upon which the petition is based; (3) the petition itself; (4) the benefit which the granting of the petition will confer; (5) the termination, which varies according to fixed rules (see below). Take for an illustration the Pr. Bk. collect for the 2nd Sunday in Lent, which comes from the Gregorian Sacramentary: (1) 'Almighty God, (2) who seest that we have no power of ourselves to help ourselves; (3) keep us both outwardly in our bodies, and inwardly in our souls; (4) that we may be defended from all adversities which may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt the soul; (5) through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

The termination was from early times made to harmonize with the phrasing of the preceding words. We find this feature already in the Gregorian Sacramentary, and even suggestions of it in the Gallican liturgies. In the later Service Books, careful rules, often expressed in hexameter verse, are laid down to meet every possible variety of phrasing, although the collects themselves generally conclude simply with 'Per' or 'Per Dominum,' or occasionally with a cue such as 'qui vivis,' 'per eundem,' to assist the memory of the priest. When several collects are recited together, the termination is appointed to be said only after the first and last.

The rules appear with great fullness in the *York Missal*, and may be thus summarized: (1) If the collect be addressed to the Father, it should end: 'through our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son [or, if our Lord has been previously mentioned, 'through the same Jesus Christ our Lord'], who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the 'same,' if the Holy Ghost has been previously mentioned) Holy Ghost, God, world without end.' If there be mention of the Trinity, the collect should end: 'In which [i.e. Trinity] thou livest and reignest, God,' etc. (2) A collect addressed to the Son should end: 'who liveth and reignest with God the Father in the unity of the 'same' Holy Ghost, God,' etc. (3) A collect addressed to the Trinity should end: 'who livest and reignest, God,' etc.

As a specimen of the memorial verses we add these, which occur in the *Sarum Breviary*:

"Per Dominum," dicas, si Patrem, presbyter, oras.
Si Christum memores, "per eundem," dicere debes.
Si loqueris Christo, "qui vivis," acriter memento.
"Qui tecum," si sit collectae finis in ipso.

6. Book of Common Prayer.—The way the collects have been dealt with in the Pr. Bk. is of special interest for English-speaking people. In the re-construction of the public Services in the 16th cent. the 'Secreta' and 'Postcommunio' disappeared as features of the Communion Office, but the Collect proper was retained, for the most part in versions, more or less literal, of the Latin forms. Thus the collects of the Pr. Bk. are mainly survivals, in living and familiar use, of the collects of the Sacramentaries, though only of a few out of many; for the simplification and retrenchment of the Services at the Reformation involved, here as elsewhere, the sacrifice of much liturgical wealth.

The Pr. Bk. collects derived, through the *Sarum Missal*, from the ancient sacramentaries may be thus classified according to their ultimate sources:

Leonine: Easter III., Trinity v., ix., xiii., xiv., and the substance of x. and xii., which appear in a revised form in the *Galasian Sacramentary*.

Galasian: Advent iv., Innocents, Palm Sunday, Good Friday 2nd and 3rd, Easter 1st part, Easter iv., v., Trinity I., II., vi., vii., viii., x., xi., xii., xv., xvi., xviii., xix., xx., xxi.; besides, Matins 2nd, Evensong 2nd and 3rd, Communion Office at end 1st, Commination (the 'Penitential Office for Ash Wednesday' in the American Pr. Bk.), 'O Lord, we beseech thee.'

Gregorian: Circumcision, St. Stephen, St. John Evang., Epiphany, Epiphany I., II., III., IV., v., Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Lent II., III., IV., v., Good Friday 1st, Easter 2nd part, Ascension, Ascension I., Whit Sunday, Trinity, Trinity III., IV., xvii., xviii., xxi., xxiv., xxv., St. Paul, Purification, Annunciation, St. Bartholomew, St. Michael, also the collects (in the Irish and American Pr. Bks.) for use at an early Communion on Christmas and Easter; besides, Matins 3rd, Litany, 'We humbly beseech thee,' 1st part, 'O God, whose nature and property,' Communion Office at end, 2nd and 4th. The fixed Collect Communion Office, 'Almighty God, unto whom all hearts be open,' and the 1st part of 'Almighty God, with whom do live' (Burial), come from the *Sarum Book*, but cannot be traced to the Sacramentaries. The Chuching Collect also was suggested by the *Sarum* form.

The translators of the collects for the 1st English Prayer Book (1549), among whom Cranmer probably took the leading part, were masters of nervous idiomatic English, who even in their most literal translations were not satisfied with a bald word for word reproduction of the Latin. They recognized the different genius and construction of the two languages, which must often make such a rendering obscure, if not unintelligible, to the English worshipper. They proceeded usually by way of paraphrase, preserving, as a rule, the general sense of the original, though often allowing themselves to expand the thoughts, and sometimes, more or less happily, to give them a different turn.

Instances of approximately literal translation.—Compare the Latin and English of Trinity xvii.: 'Tua nos, Domine, quaesumus, gratia semper et praeveniat et sequatur: ac bonis operibus iugiter praestet esse intentos' ('Lord, we pray thee, that thy grace may always prevent and follow us, and make us continually to begin to all good works'), and of Epiph. II.: 'Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, qui coelestia simul et terrena moderaris, supplicationes populi tui clementer exaudi, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus' ('Almighty and everlasting God, who dost govern all things in heaven and earth, mercifully hear the supplications of thy people, and grant us thy peace all the days of our life'). See also Trin. xiv., xxi., xxiii.

Instances of expansion of thought.—St. John Evang. 'enlighten' (*illustra*) becomes 'cast thy bright beams of light upon.' Easter: 'our prayers, which by preventing thou dost inspire, mayest thou also by assisting bring to effect' ('vota nostra, quae praeveniendo aspiras, etiam adjuvando prosequere') is paraphrased: 'we humbly beseech thee, that, as by thy special grace preventing us, thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect.' Asc. Day: 'we may also in mind dwell in heavenly places' ('ipsi quoque mentis in coelestibus habitamus') is thus enlarged: 'so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with him continually dwell.' Trin. xii.: 'who in the abundance of thy lovingkindness dost exceed the merits and prayers of thy supplicants' ('qui abundantia pietatis tuae et merita supplicum excedis et vota') takes the form 'who art always more ready to hear than we to pray, and art wont to give more than either we desire or deserve.' Strengthening words also are frequently introduced, e.g. Sept.: 'delivered by thy goodness'; Easter iv.: 'sundry and manifold changes,' 'diversely . . . fixed'; Lent III.: 'our defence against all our

enemies': Good Friday: 'graciously behold'; Lent iv.: 'may mercifully be relieved'—where the italicized words are not in the original.

Instances of change of thought.—Sexagesima: 'grant that by the protection of the teacher of the Gentiles' ('concede . . . ut . . . Doctoris gentium protectione') is changed into 'grant that by thy power.' Epiph. v., Trin. xlii.: 'guard with continual lovingkindness (*pietate*)' become respectively 'keep . . . continually in thy true religion,' and 'keep . . . in continual godliness.' Trin. vii.: 'foster (*nurtura*) what is good in us and . . . guard it when fostered (*nurtura*)' is turned into 'nourish us with all goodness . . . and keep us in the same.' Matins 2nd: 'whom to serve is to reign' ('cui servire, regnare est') becomes 'whose service is perfect freedom.'

At the final revision of 1662 this feature of paraphrase and variation was made still more prominent. Several of the collects which had been almost literally translated in 1549 were re-touched in this direction by Cosin and his assistants, often to their manifest improvement.

Thus St. John Evang.: 'May attain to thy everlasting gifts' ('ad dona perveniat sempiterna') was paraphrased 'may so walk in the light of Thy truth, that it may at length attain to the light of everlasting life.' Trin. viii.: 'God, whose providence is never deceived' ('Deus, cujus providentia in sui dispositione non fallitur') became 'O God, whose never-failing providence ordereth all things both in heaven and earth.' Trin. xviii.: 'The infections of the devil' ('diabolica contagia') was expanded into 'the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil.' Easter iv.: 'who do make the minds of the faithful to be of one will' ('qui fidei mentes unus efficit voluntatis') became 'who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men.' Collects similarly treated are Innocents, Epiph. iv., Trinity, Trin. ix., xlii., xix., St. Paul.

The collects of the Pr. Bk. not traceable to ancient sources are constructed on the traditional lines, and in beauty of thought and diction and in harmony of balanced clauses do not lose by comparison with the classical models. They are usually based on the Gospel or Epistle for the day. Many of them are for Saints' days, when, as a rule, the Latin collect asked for the Saint's intercession.

The original collects, which, except when otherwise stated, date from 1549, are: Adv. i., II. iii. (1661, replacing the 1549 translation of the Latin collect), Christmas, Epiph. vi. (1661), Quinquagesima, Ash Wednesday, Lent i., Easter Even (1661), Easter i., ii., St. Andrew (1662, replacing one of 1549), St. Thomas, St. Matthias, St. Mark, SS. Philip and James, St. Barnabas, St. John Baptist, St. Peter, St. James, the Transfiguration (American Pr. Bk., 1892), St. Matthew, St. Luke, SS. Simon and Jude, All Saints; also Communion Office at end, 3rd, 6th, 6th, the collect in the Communion of the Sick, and the Collect (Irish Pr. Bk., 1878) for the Rogation days, which is founded on one by Bp. Cosin, 1661. The other newly composed prayers, not formed after the ancient pattern, such as the two 'collects' for the King in the Communion Office, most of the prayers which follow the 3rd Collect at Matins and Evensong, and all but one ('O God, whose nature') of the 'Prayers and Thanksgivings upon several occasions' are outside the scope of this article.

Three collects only are addressed to the Second Person of the Trinity, viz. Adv. iii., St. Stephen (which in the original Latin is addressed to the Father), and Lent i. In the *Sarum Missal*, Adv. i., iii., iv. are so addressed; but in the Gelasian form of the last the address is to the Father, the change having been made in the Gregorian version. The 'Prayer of St. Chrysostom,' likewise addressed to the Son, comes from Eastern sources, and is not a true collect.

With regard to the endings of the collects, in the Prayer Book of 1549, these, for the most part, were left incomplete as in the *Sarum Book*; a few were supplied with cues such as 'who liveth and reigneth, etc.' (Easter). It was evidently assumed that the clergy would be acquainted with the rules which governed the terminations. The only collects in the present Pr. Bk. which have complete endings—mainly added in 1661—are those of the principal Festivals, with a few others, viz. Adv. iii., Christmas, Sept., Lent i., Good Friday 1st and 3rd, Easter, Ascension, Asc. i., Whitsunday, Trinity, St. Matthew; besides the 1st Prayer for the King in the Communion Office. The following have endings which vary from the traditional standards either by a doxological form or in other respects: Adv. i., iv., Epiph. vi., Trin. xlii., xlii., xiv., St. Thomas, Transfiguration (American Pr. Bk.), St. Luke, Communion 6th, Matins 2nd, Evensong 2nd and 3rd, 'Clergy and People,' 'In the time of dearth and famine,' 'O God, whose nature.'

In the projected revision of 1689 the collects were marked out for drastic treatment. At best, their framework was retained, and they were lengthened by the introduction of phrases from the Epistle and Gospel of the day, but often entirely new prayers were substituted for them. Fortunately the revision was not carried into

effect, and the Church was left in possession of her ancient devotional forms.

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COLLECTIVISM.—See SOCIALISM.

COMEDY.—See DRAMA.

COMFORT.—See CONSOLATION.

COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD.—

We shall first of all separate our subject from three others, which are closely connected with it, but which are treated in the special articles ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD, COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD, DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (including Funeral Feasts). In this article we shall confine our attention to the tombs, and the means used among the various peoples to commemorate the dead. Even when thus limited, the subject is a large one; for reverence for the dead and everything that has touched them, mingled with superstitious fear, is a feeling which has been common to the whole human race even from pre-historic times. Burial-places are considered tabu among the natives of Oceania. Among races which are civilized and possess a system of writing, tombstones usually bear the inscription: 'Erected in memory of . . .' Frequently a small screen is placed on the top, either to shelter the gifts brought to the dead or to provide a place for offering prayers or commemorative sacrifices; so that, among most peoples, the tombs have become altars where worship is rendered in memory or on behalf of the dead.

I.—1. Egyptians.—No race, except the Chinese, has cherished the memory of the dead more carefully, or raised more lasting monuments to them, than the Egyptians; cf. the pyramids, which are royal tombs, and the *mastabas*, or tombs of the common people, with which the ground in Egypt is studded. There the tomb was called the 'place of eternal rest,' and it might also be called the 'place of prayer and commemoration.' Indeed, the very arrangement of the burial-places reveals the existence of a worship rendered to the dead. Above the sepulchre and the deep shaft leading down to it, on the ground level, there was a chapel, the door of which had always to be kept open, to allow the relatives and friends of the deceased, and even the passers-by, to come and present their offerings or their prayers. The chapel contained a tablet, representing the 'double' (*ka*) of the deceased, seated at a table laden with food and fruit, and a commemorative legend of the first funeral feast. The cult of the dead consisted of three parts: the consecration of the tomb, the funeral ceremony, and the commemorative services.

These services were annual, and their purpose was to secure the peace of *Amenti* for the deceased, and to get the deity to grant that his soul should one day dwell with the gods. This is clearly indicated by numerous inscriptions on the funeral tablets and by the *Book of Obsequies*, discovered in 1877 (ed. and tr. Schiaparelli, *Libro dei funerali degli antichi Egizi*, 2 vols., Rome, 1882-90).

2. **Hebrews.**—The Hebrews could not have lived for two centuries in Egypt without borrowing several funeral customs from their masters. They also believed in the existence of a 'double' which they called *nephesh*. As in Egypt, the tomb was the place where they rendered worship, in which the eldest son of the deceased was the celebrant. 'Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself the pillar, which is in the King's dale; for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance' (2S 18¹⁸). The Hebrew verb used here means both 'to recall to memory' and to 'offer worship,' like the Latin *colere*. This worship rendered to the dead consisted of offerings of food, sacrifice of hair, ceremonial lamentations (*qināh* or *n'hī*), fasting, and the wearing of mourning clothes. The time of mourning lasted regularly seven days. These rites were repeated probably on each anniversary of the death.

We do not know whether the Hebrews held a festival in honour of all the dead, but it is certain that among the Jews, since the 10th cent. A.D., there has been a complete system of 'days prescribed for the commemoration of the dead.' The worshipper must visit the tomb of his dead relatives on the seventh and thirtieth days after, and on the anniversary of, their death. He places leaves or pebbles on it, says a prayer, and, on returning home, gives alms in memory of them. The rites consist of a prayer of praise to God, said, each Sabbath evening, by the eldest son of the deceased (*qaddish*), and a prayer for rest to his soul, repeated daily for thirty days (*hashkaba*). An annual commemoration of the souls of the dead takes place on the 'Day of Atonement.'

3. **Arabs.**—The pagan Arabs rendered worship to the dead near the *ansāb* or *naṣā'ib* ('funeral monuments'), and sacrificed animals to them, or made offerings of hair. Muhammad forbade this worship as idolatrous (*Qur'ān*, iii. 150-153). Instead of lamenting over them, he says, we must ask Allāh to forgive their sins. At the time of the beginnings of Islām, the Arabs used to pitch tents on the graves of the dead, whom they worshipped on account of their virtues and their piety, and to stay there for some time after the death. These tents, in the course of time, became transformed into stone mausoleums (*qubba*; cf. vol. i. p. 759). Thus the ancient worship rendered to the dead gradually gave place to prayers for the repose of their souls. The importance given in modern Islām to pilgrimages to, and prayers at, the tombs of the famous marabouts is well known. It is a form of saint-worship.

II. **INDO-EUROPEANS.**—1. **Hindus.**—The remembrance of the dead occupies an important place in the Vedas. The *pitris*, or 'ancestors,' after assuming a brilliant body, and drinking the *soma* which renders them immortal, are led by Agni into the presence of Yama, the king of the dead, and there enjoy eternal blessedness. According to certain myths, the souls of the dead dwell in the stars; according to others, they pass into the bodies of certain birds, and fly to and fro near the sacred rivers. It is the duty of the living to offer the *śrāddha*, or funeral sacrifice, to the *manes* at fixed times. There are two feasts of the dead among the Hindus: the *pitṛyajña* and the *pindāpitṛyajña* (see ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 23).

2. **Ancient Persians.**—Among the Mazdeans of Iran or ancient Persia also, the cult of the souls of the dead was prevalent, and the funeral rites were highly developed. The feasts of the dead may be divided into two classes: (1) the great feast of all the dead, or *Hamaspāthmaēdaya*, a kind of All Saints' Day, which is held at the end of the Parsi year and lasts ten days, called the *Fravardagān*; and (2) the funeral services in memory of a deceased person, which take place during the three days after the death, and are repeated on the 4th, 10th, and 30th days, and on the anniversary. In connexion with the second class, works of charity are always performed.

3. **Greeks.**—The Hellenes, or ancient Greeks, had the sense of moral beauty (e.g. that of civic virtue) too highly developed not to commemorate the dead, especially those who had been famous as benefactors of the State or had fallen on the field of honour. Annual festivals, called *επιτάφια*, were held at their tombs on the anniversary of their death. They consisted of sacrifices to the gods, funeral orations, and athletic games. The dead were interred in the Ceramicus, in a consecrated enclosure (the *δημόσιον σῆμα*), and, in accordance with one of Solon's laws, the funeral procession had to be free from all lamentation and to have the character of a triumphal march; for the dead were addressed by the name of *μακάρες*, 'the blessed'—a title reserved for the gods. The magnificent tomb that Artemisia built in the most beautiful part of Halicarnassus, in memory of her husband Mausolus, king of Caria (d. 379 B.C.), is well known. Since that time the name of 'mausoleum' has been given to all the sumptuous tombs built after its style by the Greeks and Romans.

4. **Romans.**—The Romans adopted, almost exactly, the rites in memory of the dead practised by the Greeks. The *exsequiae*, or obsequies, were also accompanied by prayers, speeches, and games, held in honour of the illustrious dead. In every house, sacrifices and prayers were offered to the souls of the ancestors, called *manes*, *lares*, or *penates*. On the anniversary of the death, the religious service known as *parentatio* was performed, and accompanied by a family meal. There was also a general festival of the dead, called *Feralia* or *Februalia*, held on Feb. 22; and, as living nature always asserts its rights, it was followed by the *Caristia*, which was a merry feast.

5. **Celts.**—Among the Celts (Gauls and Britons) the memory of the dead was preserved by means of standing-stones (*menhir*, e.g. the Carnac monoliths).

III. **CHRISTIAN CUSTOMS.**—The funeral rites of the Christians are distinguished from the pagan customs by a new point of view with regard to the dead. Whereas to the pagans, as to the Hebrews, death appeared as the 'king of terrors,' the destroyer of all life and all enjoyment, in the eyes of the first Christians it was the entrance into a higher life, and the deliverance from a world of strife and misery. Moreover, the Christians of primitive times avoided pronouncing the word 'death,' which to their contemporaries meant annihilation; they referred to that event by means of the expressions 'departure' (*excessus*), 'sleep' (*dormitio*), 'removal' (*assumptio*), or even 'setting' (*obitus*), a word denoting the setting of the stars). The deceased was called the 'one who goes before' (*praemisus*), or 'who has acquitted himself' (*defunctus*); and the burial-place was called the 'sleeping-place' (*κοιμητήριον*, *coemeterium*). In a word, instead of appearing to them as an end, death was a beginning, the entrance into a new and better life.

1. Christians of the first centuries.—(1) *Reasons for commemoration*.—For what reasons did the Christians preserve the memory of their dead? It was not, as in the case of the Romans, to appease the *manes* of their ancestors, but, in the first instance, to satisfy the need, felt by every loving heart, of giving evidence of a faithful remembrance of the departed object of its affection. In the second place, the early Christians wished to return thanks to God for having delivered their beloved dead from the sufferings of this world. But, as they were not quite sure that the sins of the deceased would find pardon before the just Judge, they prayed God to forgive them in consideration of the merits of their Saviour, in whom their beloved one had believed. Sometimes, if the person had died without having been baptized, his surviving friends were baptized for his sake (1 Co 15²⁹). If, on the other hand, the deceased was a martyr, or had distinguished himself by exceptional saintliness, they would appeal to him to intercede with God and Christ, who, on the general resurrection day, was to judge the living and the dead. But this was the exception. In the case of ordinary people who died, their sinful souls were commended to the Divine compassion: hence the name *commendatio*, which the Fathers of the Church gave to the funeral service.

(2) *Methods of commemoration*.—This leads to the consideration of the various methods in use in the Christian Church of the first centuries to perpetuate the memory of the dead. There were seven: (a) the tombstone, called *memoria*, and, for confessors of the faith, *confessio*; (b) the inscription on the tombstone, or *epitaph*; (c) the inscription on the *diptych* of the church; (d) the *commendatio*, or funeral oration; (e) the end of the year service, or *natalicia*; (f) necrology, or martyrology; and (g) the calendar, or menology.

(a) *Tombstones*, '*memoriae*,' and '*confessiones*.'—We know how carefully the first Christians attended to the burial-places of the dead. An idea of this can be obtained by one or two visits to the catacombs in Rome. Each coffin has its *loculus*, or niche, marked with the name of the deceased, and often ornamented with emblems. The deceased is frequently represented on it, standing praying, with outstretched arms, and palms turned towards the sky. It is these figures that are called *orantes*. When the Christians had to give up the catacombs, they erected a screen or a chapel above the grave of a martyr, so that his remains might not be confounded with the bones of the *lapsi*, and in order to preserve his memory from oblivion. This was called *confessio* or *martyrium*, and the custom of being buried near the tombs of saints or martyrs was very early established.¹

'Non ob aliud,' wrote St. Augustine to Paulinus, bishop of Nola, 'vel Memoriae vel Monumenta dicuntur ea quae insignita sunt sepulchra mortuorum, nisi quia eos qui viventium oculis morte subtrahit sunt, ne oblivione etiam cordibus subtrahantur, in memoriam revocant. . . . nam et Memoriae nomen id aperissime ostendit et Monumentum, eo quod monest mentem' (*de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda*, iv.).

Soon this name '*memorial*' was applied to all tombs; cf. the inscription: '*Memoria Anastasiae . . . Mater dulcissima in pace Christi recepta*' (end of 4th cent.).

(b) *Epitaphs*.—The inscriptions in the catacombs and in the oldest Christian burying-grounds are of great simplicity and express quiet confidence, thus forming a contrast to the lugubrious epitaphs of the pagans. All the emblems in the catacomb of St. Domitilla (called also *Nereus* and *Achilles*) show joy and gladness; they are winged spirits, children playing crowned with roses, or birds singing as they wing their flight towards

the sky; nowhere are seen crosses or death's heads, as they appear later in the Middle Ages. The inscriptions also breathe hope in the continued existence of the dead. The most frequent are '*In pace*,' '*Vivas in Deo*,' and *IXΘΥΣ* ('fish'), the letters of which form the initials of the Greek for 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.'

(c) *Diptychs*.—*Diptychs*, as the name indicates, were twin tablets, at first wooden and coated with wax, and then parchment. On the one were inscribed the names of living persons, e.g. bishops, benefactors of the Church, and those who had been baptized; on the other, the names of the faithful who had died in the faith of Christ—martyrs and simple worshippers. The deacon read these names from the ambo during the service. The diptychs formed the annals of each particular church. It was a much-coveted honour to have one's name inscribed there, and a disgrace to have it removed (*erascus*) in cases of grave sin, e.g. denial in times of persecution.

(d) *Commendatio*.—After the reading of the names on the diptych of the dead, the officiating priest delivered the *commendatio*. St. Augustine explains the meaning of this custom:

'Non videtur quae sunt adjumenta mortuorum, nisi ad hoc ut dum reculant ubi sint posita eorum quos diligunt corpora, eisdem sanctis illos tanquam patronis susceptos apud Dominum adiuvandos orando commendent' (*de Cura pro Mort. ger. iv.*).

The words in the *Confessiones* (ix. 12) of the same Church Father are still more explicit: '*Commendavit nobis nihil*,' he wrote, referring to Monica, his mother, '*nisi ut commemoraremus eam apud Tuum altare, ubi genuflexerat et unde noverat sanctam hostiam distribui fidelibus*.' The so-called *Liturgy of St. Mark* shows what was the meaning of the prayer: '*Horum omnium animabus dona regem, Dominator Domine Deus noster, in sanctis Tuis tabernaculis*.'

If the deceased had been a great bishop, a man famed for his piety, or a martyr, the priest pronounced his *eulogium*, and the simple *commendatio* became a *funeral oration*, e.g. the speech of St. Ambrose in memory of his brother Satyrus, that of St. Jerome in honour of Paula, and those of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in memory of his friend Basil of Caesarea, of his brother Casarius, and of his sister Gorgonia.

(e) *Natalicia* (*anniversaries*).—The commemoration of the dead on the anniversary of their death is a very old custom in the Church. We find traces of it as far back as Tertullian: '*oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua facimus*' (*de Corona*, iii., *ad Scapulam*, ii.). In the case of a martyr the ceremony was of a more solemn character; the people assembled at the place of his torture or at his grave, generally on the anniversary of the eve of his death, held an agape, and then, in the church, celebrated his heroic faith by an address. St. Cyprian refers to this (*Acts of the Martyrs*) in his *Ep.* xxxiv.: '*Sacrificia pro eis [martyribus] semper . . . offerimus quoties martyrum passionem et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus*,' and it is undoubtedly the origin of the Anniversary Masses which are still celebrated in the Roman Catholic Church and among the Greeks at the present day.

(f) *Necrology or martyrology*.—The custom of reading the *Acts of the Martyrs* or *Passiones* on the day of their death gave rise to martyrologies. These were registers in which were written down the names of the confessors of all the churches, with details of their cases, the kind of tortures undergone, the name of the judge, and the replies of the martyrs. The encyclical *Letter of the Smyranean Christians* on the martyrdom of their bishop Polycarp is a very ancient specimen. In the same way, the use of diptychs gave rise to necrologies or obituaries. In fact, when they gave up reading the diptychs of the dead in church, on account of the length of the lists (towards the end

¹ Hence the name of *confessio* given, in Italy, to the consecrated crypt which is generally placed under the altar in the church.

of the 6th cent.), they replaced them by registers called *neurologies* ('books of the dead'), *anniversary books*, or *books of life*. In these were inscribed the names of the dead who had deserved well of the church or the abbey. Rich donors, devout women, and even princes begged as a privilege to have their names inscribed on these obituaries. The Benedictines in the Middle Ages were famed for the care with which they preserved these books.

(g) *Calendars*.—Whereas martyrologies were common to the whole Catholic Church, calendars were the property of each particular church. The calendar, called 'menologion' by the Greeks, marked for each week the festivals of Christ, and the death of the bishops and confessors. Tertullian calls them the 'Church Calendars' (*de Corona militari*, xiii.). The oldest of them, e.g. the Roman (about the 4th cent.), and the Carthaginian, mention the exact place to which the worshipper had to go to celebrate the memory of the martyr. At that time the *natalicia* were celebrated on the very spot of the torture or at the grave.

2. *Roman Catholic Church*.—Of all the branches of Christianity the Roman Catholic Church has proved most careful in preserving the necrological customs of the Apostolic age. Besides the Anniversary Masses, which are intended to commemorate the death of a particular individual, it has instituted the Day of the Dead (All Souls' Day) and the festival of All Saints' Day.

The former, which is much the more ancient, takes place on 2nd Nov., and has the official title of 'Commemoration of all the Faithful Dead.' St. Augustine (*de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda*, iv.) alludes to it in the following words:

'Verum etsi aliqua necessitas vel humari corpora, vel in talibus locis humari nulla data facultate permittat, non sunt pretermittendae supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum: quas faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis eadem tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali commemoratione suscepti Ecclesia, ut quibus ad ista desunt parentes, aut filii . . . ab una eis exhibeantur pia matre communi.'

This service is divided into four parts or acts. The first takes place at Evensong of the preceding day. Lamentations are expressed at this ceremony by the chanting of several Psalms, especially the 130th: 'De profundis clamavi ad te, Domine.' Instead of finishing each Psalm with the Doxology, 'Gloria Patri,' the worshippers add the refrain 'Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis.' The second part includes the Matins and the three Nocturns, during which the Psalms and chapters from the Book of Job are chanted alternately. The Nocturns end with the response: 'Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna,' etc. The third part, which is called Lauds, sings the praises of God, in the words of Ps 64, and in the songs of Hezekiah and Zacharias, and recalls the promise of immortality made by Christ (Jn 11²⁵). The fourth consists of the reading of 1 Co 15 and Jn 5, the repetition of the 'Dies irae,' the offertory, communion, and post-communion. The offertory prayer gives beautiful expression to the thought underlying this service:

'Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni. . . Hostias et preces tibi, Domine, laudes offerimus: tu suscipe pro animabus illis, quarum hodie memoriam facimus: fac eas, Domine, de morte transire ad vitam.'

The object of the Festival of All Saints' Day (1st Nov.) is the glorification of the saints and martyrs who have made famous the name of Christian. Whereas All Souls' Day was of a sad and supplicatory nature, All Saints' Day is a festival of joyful glorification. It consists of three acts: (1) Vespers, at which several Psalms are repeated, and the faithful are called on to rejoice in the Lord and to glorify the saints and martyrs; (2)

Mass, during which Rev 7 and Mt 5 are read; and (3) the second Vespers, when the worshippers repeat part of a Psalm, and chant the hymn, 'Placare Christi servulus,' and the hymn, 'O quam gloriosum est regnum, in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes Sancti,' etc.

This festival was instituted by Pope Boniface IV. on the occasion of the dedication of the pagan Pantheon which was transformed into a Christian Church (A.D. 607). It was originally held on 12th May, but was transferred to 1st Nov. by Gregory IV.

3. *Greek Catholic Church*.—More minutely even than the Latin Church, the Greek Catholic Church has preserved the liturgy and commemorative rites of the dead as they were fixed by the Greek Fathers.

It is in the encyclical *Letter of the Smyrnan Christians* about the martyrdom of their bishop Polycarp that we find the most distinct reference to them.

'Afterwards [i.e. after the burning], it is stated in § xviii. of the letter, 'we carried away his bones, more precious than pearls of great price and more valuable than gold, and placed [i.e. buried] them in a suitable place. There, if it please God, as far as we are able, we shall re-assemble with gladness and joy to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom, in memory of those deceased athletes, as well as to exercise and prepare the future athletes of the faith.'

This text is of great importance, as it tells both the name of this commemoration service (*ἡμέρα γενέθλιος, natalis dies*, whence *Natalicia*) and the motives for this pious custom, viz. to perpetuate the memory of the deceased confessors, and to encourage the survivors to imitate their bravery. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (bk. viii. ch. 41) give the order and meaning of the prayers that were said for the dead. The deacon addressed the congregation in these words: 'Let us pray for our brethren who now rest in Christ Jesus.' Then the bishop offered a prayer: 'May it please the God of mercy, who has taken back the soul of our brother N., to pardon his sins both voluntary and involuntary, and, by His mercy, to place him in Abraham's bosom, in the region where the righteous rest along with the faithful servants of God.' This commemorative service did not take place until the third day after the death; prayers were renewed on the ninth and the fortieth day after, and on the anniversary of, the death. It is mentioned by Origen in his *Homilies on Job*, and by Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, in the fifth chapter of his *Μυσταγωγικαὶ Κατηχήσεις*, and it still exists in the Russian Church and in other Oriental Churches.

It is the writings of St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, that most abound in passages exhorting to commemoration of the dead; cf. his *Homil. de Consolatione Mortis*, ii., *de Futurorum Delictis*, and especially his *Homil. xli. in 1 Epist. ad Corinth.*, and *Homil. lxi. in Joannis Evangelium*. We shall quote the most characteristic extract from the last mentioned. After exhorting his listeners not to weep too much for the dead, since they have obtained peace, he adds:

'It is not in vain that we remember those who have departed this life and entered the Divine mysteries, and that we intercede for them, praying to the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world. And it is to give some consolation that the celebrant says at the altar: "For all those who have fallen asleep in Christ, and for those who perform the commemorative service in their behalf (ἐπιτελοῦντες τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μυσίας)."' And a little further on he says: 'May we never tire of bringing help to the dead and offering prayers for them, for it is a common expiation for the sins of the whole world. That is why we pray at this time for the dead of the whole world, and remember them along with the martyrs, confessors, and priests. For we all form a single body.' In *Aug. Confess.* iii. 2 we also meet with the beautiful thought of commemorating the dead of the universal Church as being members of one large family.

4. *Anglican Church*.—We shall now pass on to the Church of England. The first Prayer Book, compiled during the reign of Edward VI. (1549), had in several places retained prayers for the dead;

these were eliminated in the 1552 edition, which is at present in use. The High Church party has reintroduced into the Liturgy the prayers for the dead of the 1549 Prayer Book, and has revived the custom of *Requiem Masses*.

5. **Lutheran Church.**—The service 'in memory of the dead' is of late origin in the Church of the Augsburg Confession. It dates from the years following the wars of German independence against Napoleon I. 'Since these memorable years,' says Schleiermacher (*Festpredigt*, iv. xli. 3), 'when so many of our people fell in the field of honour for the defence of their fatherland, it has been the custom to close our ecclesiastical year by commemorating those who, during the course of the year, have been called from among us.' This service was instituted for the Reformed and Lutheran Churches by an ordinance of Frederick William III., king of Prussia (24th Aug. 1816), and introduced into the liturgy of the United Evangelical Church in 1829. It gradually spread over the whole of Protestant Germany, into the Nassau Duchy (1818), the kingdom of Saxony (1831), and the Grand Duchy of Darmstadt (1855). It generally takes place on the last Sabbath of the ecclesiastical year, i.e. of November; but in some places, e.g. in Württemberg, it is celebrated on the last day of the civil year, on St. Sylvester's day.

6. **Calvinists.**—Calvin and his disciples, the originators of the Reformation in France, the Netherlands, and Scotland, in opposing the Roman Catholic doctrines of purgatory and Masses for the dead, went too far in their measures on this point. They would not even tolerate the presence of a cross on the tombstone, or a funeral service in the church. But the human heart, whose love is stronger than death, reacted, and demanded that the beloved dead might again have a place in the public worship; hence, in the Netherlands, the service on the last night of the year (*Oudejaarsavond*), which the preachers devote to recalling the bereavements of the flock during the year; in the United States, Decoration Day (or Memorial Day), the day on which they decorate with flags the tombs of soldiers and sailors who have died for their country; and, in the Reformed Church of France, the attempts which have been made, during recent years, to introduce a service to commemorate the dead.

To Eugène Bersier, who has done so much for the improvement of the French Protestant liturgy, is due the honour of having, about the year 1882, in Paris, restored the commemoration of the dead on the last Sabbath of the year. Following in his footsteps, Charles Mennier (minister of the church of Boulogne-sur-Mer) composed a liturgy for the *Jour des morts* (2 Nov.), in which he made happy use of the 130th Psalm (*De profundis*) and of the chants of St. Ambrose (*Dies irae*). In it we find the thought: 'And you, beloved shades, pardon our injuries towards you. . . . We do not pray for you, because we have confidence through Jesus Christ that you are in the bosom of the Lord; but we ask you to intercede for us, if possible, and to open to us the entrance into the eternal tabernacles.' But Pastor Decoppet (of the Reformed Church of Paris) had the broadest conception of a commemorative service of the dead. Taking as his basis the 'mysterious communion of the living with the dead,' he arranged his liturgy for the said service in the form of a trilogy. In the first part he introduced remembrance of the dead in general by means of Psalms and passages from the Epistles of St. Paul. The second part is devoted to the memory of 'our Fathers in the faith.' Taking his stand on He 11¹³, he commends to the veneration of the faithful the figures of the prophets, apostles, reformers, and gospel missionaries, of whom so

many were martyrs. In the third part the author commemorates the dead who have died in the Lord, by passages from the NT on the depth of grief and the Divine consolation, interspersed with songs of hope and resurrection.

Summary.—The custom of commemorating the dead belongs to all countries and all times. Among uncivilized races, reverence for the dead is associated with superstitious fear, or with the idea of the impurity of the corpse; those more advanced in moral culture add to it belief in the further life of the double, or soul, of the dead. With most people the tombs—at least those of heroes, saints, and martyrs—have become altars, on which sacrifices and consecrated food, accompanied by prayers, are offered in their honour. It is among Christians that we find the most sublime form of commemoration of the dead—the notion that noble love and faith in Christ, common to both, have formed bonds between the living and the dead which are stronger than death—the 'communion of Saints.' The universality of this piety towards the dead, whatever its ceremonies may be, bears witness to an innate belief in the immortality of the soul. See also the art. on ANCESTOR-WORSHIP and on the various religions referred to.

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COMMERCE.—1. **Application of the term.**—'Commerce' is the Eng. form of the Lat. *commercium*, from *con* and *merz*, 'merchandise' (whence *mercari*, 'to trade'). It means literally, therefore, the exchange of merchandise, and has been used especially of this exchange when it takes place on a large scale and between nations. The word, however, is applied with a wider denotation. Indeed, of late there has been a tendency to apply the term to all economic processes involved in the production and distribution of wealth. Thus, Chambers of Commerce include, and are now frequently designed to include, manufacturers; and Faculties of Commerce (i.e. departments in Universities devoted to preparing students for a business life) are concerned with all business, so far as it is capable of being studied scientifically, and exclude only matters specifically technological. In spite, however, of this recent inclination to extend the denotation of the term 'commerce,' it may be taken that there is a fairly common agreement that, when employed carefully, it should be confined to economic operations of the nature of buying and selling. Thus, 'commercial' is ordinarily contrasted with 'industrial.' In this sense it will be understood in the present article, and 'trade' and 'commerce' will be regarded as synonymous.

2. **Nature and evolution of the 'commercial' function.**—Commerce may connect (a) producers with consumers proper, (b) producers with producers, and (c) capital with those requiring it for business purposes. The last class covers banking, financing, and stockbroking; but these, as rather special subjects, will not receive specific treatment in this article. The first class of commerce may be wholesale or retail, and this and the second class may be home or foreign. Commodities used to be distributed commonly through

the agency of dealers and fairs, but fairs had fallen generally into disuse in this country before the end of the 18th century. Now wholesale dealers stand usually between retailers and manufacturers, and place orders with the latter directly or through agents, according to their estimates of the requirements of the retailers. The foreign trade, except in so far as manufacturers conduct their own, is, on the export side, in the hands of 'shippers' and 'merchants.' Importation is directed by agents and wholesale houses. Many manufacturers, but as a rule only large firms, manage for themselves such exportation and importation as are necessary in their business. As regards selling, whether at home or abroad, the manufacturer tries to undertake as much as he can, excluding middlemen, when he turns out a special product which has to win its way against rival specialties, and depends for success upon building up a 'private market.'

Throughout the economic system of any community, industrial and commercial functions are interwoven one with another. The making of anything involves at many stages processes of buying and selling. To render this point clear, and to enable the character of economic evolution to be grasped, it will be advantageous to adopt formulae. Let capital letters stand for industrial processes, and small letters for commercial. Then generally the making of X, say a suit of clothes, may be represented by a series somewhat like the following, after division of labour has brought about some specialism of business:—(a, A, a'), (b, B, b'), (c, C, c'). The brackets in this example indicate distinct businesses. This formula implies some specialism of businesses, say spinning (a, A, a'), weaving (b, B, b'), and the making of clothes (c, C, c'), but supposes that each business conducts its commercial operations for itself. Now, such a form evidently does not represent the final stage in productive evolution in all cases. In order to facilitate the commercial steps, institutions, such as exchanges, appear, and their appearance is not infrequently followed (under conditions to be defined below) by the specialization of commercial functions as independent businesses. When this happens, our formula must be written:—(a), (A), (a'), b), (B), (b'), c), (C), (c). But the specialism is seldom so perfect that no commercial functions are left for manufacturers to perform. Usually the independent commercial man ('agent,' or 'broker,' as he is sometimes called) deals with a person in the manufacturing firm who is responsible for the buying or selling for the business, or both. The condition of the appearance of the independent commercial man, and of the extent to which commercial matters are left solely to him, is the extent to which the market in which businesses must sell is open to all, or is, so to speak, compounded of private markets. By a 'private market' we mean a group of people who have acquired the habit of buying from a certain firm because they believe that its products are best. A firm selling in a 'private market' would not trust the conduct of its sales to a broker who was selling also for similar firms, but would push business through its own travellers, who, in confining themselves to selling, represent a partial differentiation of commercial functions. Many markets are not 'private markets,' which are, perhaps, more peculiar to retail trade. Ordinarily, for instance, the market for pig-iron or cotton yarn is quite open. The qualities of these goods can easily be found out by buyers before they purchase. Hence businesses selling in open markets are in perfect and continuous competition, and, if the market is constituted of very many buyers and sellers, it is comprehensible that intermediaries, in

whom demand and supply are pooled, will begin to appear. The goods being of many qualities, and it being the business of the broker to find out where each quality can be bought or sold, and at what price, it will naturally pay the buyer who wants goods of a special quality, or the seller who desires to dispose of goods of a certain quality, to have recourse to the brokers' or agents' special knowledge.

3. Causes and effects of commercial specialism.

—Before advancing a stage further, to show how in certain markets an elaborate system arises whereby concentrated speculation is brought about, it will be desirable to consider how such specialism as has been described takes place, and what are its advantages. Adam Smith, in treating of division of labour in manufacture, based it too much, perhaps, upon the instinct in human nature 'to truck and to barter.' Every step in division of labour means economy,—the causes of this economy nobody has more minutely dissected than Adam Smith,—and economy under pressure of competition is sufficient to account for the progressive emergence of specialism. Saving of time, the formation of habits conducive to the end in view, and the induced specialism of machinery have commonly been accentuated among the advantages of specialism. To these is added the possibility of close personal adaptation, as an advantage of very great weight. When tasks are differentiated, a person is more likely to be able to find work which suits his tastes and powers. And there is another and more subtle gain. Competition (*q.v.*) tends to bring about a survival of the fittest at each kind of work in the world. If a man is performing a task compounded of two offices, say A and B, he may survive by virtue of his excellence at A (say buying and selling), though as a works' organizer (task B) he may be comparatively incompetent. He keeps his place if his average efficiency at A and B together is above a certain mark. Now, if A and B differentiate, a person thoroughly inefficient at work B would never be able to maintain his position in the face of more capable competitors. Thus, by specialism, there is encouraged an economic evolution whereby most tends to be evoked from the productive powers of the community.

4. Analysis of the commercial function.—Commercial functions are fundamentally of two orders. The one consists in finding buyers for sellers and sellers for buyers; the other, in assuming and dealing with the risk involved in anticipation of demand. A modern economy, it must be realized, is built upon anticipation of demand. We enter shops expecting to find what we want, that is, assuming that our wants have been anticipated. Shopkeepers must bear many of the risks of anticipating demand, wholesale dealers must carry some also, and the manufacturer is seldom wholly free from them, though, for reasons advanced above, it is desirable that he should be. Economic evolution is bringing about the concentration of these risks upon dealers, and, in so far as the dealing is intermingled with production, largely by means of an organized 'future' market. 'Futures,' in the broadest sense, are of many kinds, including 'futures' proper, 'options,' and 'straddles,' but it is unnecessary here to describe the last two classes, which may be regarded as means of hedging against risks of a special kind. The 'future' proper is a contract to deliver a fixed quantity of a commodity of a certain quality within a limited period at a fixed price. The periods are usually defined by months, and may reach as far as twelve months ahead. As the market price fluctuates and the estimates of brokers vary, they buy or sell 'futures' partly in view of

the contracts which they are actually under to deliver the commodity to which the 'futures' refer.

5. Effects of speculation by means of 'futures.'—A controversy has raged for years over the question of the good or harm done by these 'futures.' This is not the place to examine it in detail, but some points may be noted. In the first place, 'futures' concentrate speculation instead of creating it, except in so far as their existence induces the public which need not speculate to do so, and encourages a spirit of gambling. In the second place, they have the advantage of causing a location of risks where they can best be dealt with. Further, prices should be smoothed, so far as business in 'futures' is done by experts, if the experts do not tamper with the market; for the resultant of their anticipations should be more right than wrong, experts being persons of experience acquainted with all the relevant facts. At the same time it is true that the ignorant by gambling must do more harm than good, and may unsteady prices if they act in crowds, under the influence of waves of depression or an unduly sanguine feeling. By tampering with the market is meant (a) buying or selling with a view to altering market prices to the end that finally they may be rendered favourable for sales or purchases that have to be made; and (b) attempting to create 'corners,' i.e. monopolies in certain commodities. There is, unfortunately, no doubt that the developments of financing on a large scale, united with the organized system of exchanges, have led to more tampering with the market; but it is probable that the good effected by the organized market system still exceeds any harm brought about by means of it. The community would gain enormously if tampering with the market and gambling by the inexpert public could be stopped.

6. Value created by mere trading.—It used to be thought that both parties to an exchange could not possibly gain. The prevalence of this view partly accounted for the contempt in which mere trade used frequently to be held. The man who bought and sold goods did not add to their quality or quantity. If he had done any carrying work, he should be paid for his trouble, it was thought; but if he received more than fair pay for this, he was obviously robbing somebody. He was, as it were, a brigand intercepting goods and exacting toll. So it was commonly believed. It was not realized until recent times—consider, for instance, the need of Adam Smith's spirited attack on public opinion in the matter of forestalling and regrating corn—that value is not determined solely by the quantity and quality of things. Value is governed also by the use of things, that is, by the satisfaction which they yield directly or indirectly to persons. Persons differ, and their needs differ; and, even if they did not, the use of a thing to a person must vary inversely as the quantity of the thing which he already possesses. Hence the trader, in taking goods from places where they were wanted less to places where they were wanted more, was performing a service over and above carrying. And when he bought and retained goods for a time, so that he carried them over from a time when they were wanted less to a time when they were wanted more, he was performing an important service. Most emphatically what one party to an exchange gains the other party does not normally lose. Normally both gain, and the problem of commerce is so to distribute goods in time and place that the money value of the utility yielded by them may be maximized. It does not follow, of course, from the attainment of this result that the utility derived from them is maximized, since the rich man who wants a thing less may be willing to

pay for it a higher price than the poor man who wants it more. Demand price varies not only as the utility of a thing to a person, but also as the utility of the money which he gives for it, and the latter is high if his money income is small.

7. Ethics of trading.—The ethics of trading is still a stumbling-block to many, and, indeed, the problems involved are by no means simple. Mere buying and selling to make a profit on the turn-over does not at once appeal to us as an honourable occupation. In manufacture, a man may at least aim at excellence in his product, or at excellence of organization and government of his works. He is a captain of industry, and may be a great leader of men; so Carlyle has accustomed us to think of him. His work as ruler is, beyond question, honourable. Or, as artist, he may aim at beauty; or, as artificer, at perfection of means to end. It is not affirmed that all manufacturers do make these ends their objects. Most may think only of profit, and, in so far as they do, they are apt to degrade their work. At least the higher motive may be preached. But the existence of the higher motive is hardly evident in the case of commerce. The commercial man buys and sells in order to make money; and, if he makes money honestly, his function has been successfully performed. He has no army of workers to rule, and no excellence in product to aim at. So the contrast at first strikes us. But further thought will reveal the contrast as surface dissimilarity, hiding deeper resemblances. And, first, we may notice that at any rate traders can confer only benefits (except under unusual circumstances to be considered later) by their successes, though they may seek only their own advantage. The principle of Mandeville's *Fable of the Bees* holds of their work. So, at the worst, if evil (or, at any rate, what is not good in itself) be done, good comes of it. Secondly, we should observe that the manufacturer's work is permeated with commercial operations. We have pictured him as marshalling his army to a certain end. But he chooses his army and his end and his material means, and his choice is invariably directed by the principle of economy. The workman, too, in hiring himself out acts as a trader. The choice of a calling is governed by what can be earned at it as well as by taste, and it is right that choice should be so governed. For the leisure of life is as much our life as the time devoted to work, and the use that can be made of leisure depends upon the income which we are in a position to spend on it. So we observe that in making things the trading end is involved.

Next, we may notice that, in trading, the problem to be solved is in essentials not unlike that of manufacturing. Shortly expressed, the manufacturer is called upon to organize factors in production so as to get the greatest quantity of a given result. Similarly, the trader is called upon to organize the relative quantities in which goods are made, and the distribution of goods in space and time, so that they may be productive of the greatest utility. This involves estimating wants and the best means to their satisfaction; finding out where the required goods can be obtained most cheaply; and discovering the least costly routes. There are, indeed, complicated problems to be solved, and it is possible for the trader to take pride in economic solutions. In fact, it would be unusual to find a great man of commerce thinking only, or chiefly, of his fortune. Profit happens to be a test of correctness which he can apply to each step of his action, but his chief interest will lie, as a rule, in the distribution of goods, the opening up of new markets, and the retention of the old, by the exercise of adaptability, foresight, judgment, and appreciation of tendencies. The deeper we look,

'the more evident it becomes that all engaged in economic undertakings—manufacturers and traders—are on the same plane, and that each has an excellence to aim at as much as the artist or the mathematician.

8. Principles of payment for commercial work.—Intimately connected with the ethics of trade is the question of the amount of remuneration which the trader gets for his services. Though there would appear to be chaos in this matter, investigation reveals somewhat the same order ruling as that which governs the pay of other agents engaged in creating and distributing the wealth of the world. If the trader makes a great deal, it is clear that there is considerable need for his services. He makes a great deal, because goods are badly disposed in time and place, and are not being produced in those relative quantities which are most serviceable. The effect of his earning so high an income is to attract other persons into the particular business of trading in which he is engaged, and the competition of the newcomers for the work to be done reduces the profits of those already in the business. This process continues until the normal remuneration of the trader is brought down to the level earned in similar callings requiring the same sort of capacity and training, and entailing about the same risk. We may suppose that at different expected incomes different numbers of suitable people will be forthcoming, the number increasing as the income increases, because by the attractiveness of the higher income persons who otherwise would have chosen other courses are induced to enter the walks of commerce. Thus, we may affirm that the demand for the work of the trader and the supply of traders forthcoming settle the amount of money per year which each can earn. So far, we have been speaking of the man of commerce of average intelligence working with normal energy. But traders, like men in other callings, differ considerably in intelligence, gifts for their work, vigour, perseverance, and industry, and their incomes vary according to these differences. The incomes earned above the ordinary income are of the nature of rent, varying as the excess of efficiency of the person in question over the efficiency of the ordinary person, just as true rent of agricultural land varies as the fertility of land. These statements, it should be borne in mind, must not be interpreted as implying perfect orderliness in human affairs. Chance, of course, plays a large part in business as in all human affairs. Luck may elevate the incapable, and it is far from being wholly inaccurate to allege that in business 'to him that hath shall be given.' Further, it must be observed that the value of the sum-total of the work done by traders is far in excess of the amount of pay which they can secure.

9. Unsuitability of the military metaphors applied to international trade.—We shall now examine those large trading operations which take place between nations, and to which the term 'Commerce' is sometimes exclusively confined. In the discussion which follows, the governing principles of international trade will be brought out, and it will be made apparent that supremacy in respect of the export of any one thing need not imply superiority in the manufacture of that thing; further, that, if supremacy be measured by the quantity of foreign trade per head of the population, it by no means follows that this indicates the prosperity of a country. Military metaphors when applied to foreign trade have always resulted in mischievous fallacies. 'Conquering a market' is a phrase which gives some idea of what takes place, but it hides the peculiarity of all trading operations, namely, that a 'victory' must be accompanied by a defeat of the victors of corresponding

magnitude. In other words, we sell for value and not for nothing, and the value returned to us for our exports must ultimately be our imports. That is, if we conquer a new market and export a million more in value, we must eventually suffer a conquest in the same degree of one of our home markets and import a million more. It is best to enter upon a study of foreign trade with a mind free from plausible metaphors.

10. Why the theory of international trade differs from the theory of home trade.—The real reason why there is a distinct theory of international trade is that labour and capital are comparatively immobile as between two countries. It must not be supposed that complete immobility of labour or capital has to be assumed: the distinct theory is needed if the mobility is insufficient to bring about exchange throughout the world according to real costs of production, as we know it is. It should be observed that the immobility of capital is not nearly so great as that of labour, though it is true that a British capitalist is exceedingly chary about trusting his money to foreign industries carried on in places where he cannot watch them, and under laws and customs which he does not understand. It would seem, however, that the attractions of international stocks, combined with improved credit, the spread of information, and increased travel, which is breaking down distrust of foreigners, have been responsible for an enormous access of mobility to capital in the last quarter of a century.

11. Theory of international trade.—Trade between one nation and others is determined by the ratios between the costs of production of commodities in that country in relation to similar ratios in other countries. If these ratios differ, trade begins. This is known as the theory of comparative costs. Equilibrium, or a state of rest in trade, is finally reached where (a) ratios of exchange in all countries are the same (apart from cost of transport), and (b) each country's exports and imports exactly balance (apart from foreign loans, their repayment and interest upon them, the expenditure of travellers abroad, provision of fleets abroad, and certain other disturbing features which need not be dwelt upon here), both being valued according to the ratios of exchange established in the course of trade. In these two propositions the kernel of the whole theory of foreign commerce lies.

12. Paradoxes of foreign commerce.—From the theory of foreign trade under conditions of competition here expounded, for the first principles of which we are indebted to Ricardo, some important practical corollaries may be deduced. The first of these, to which attention has already been drawn, is that a country may be beaten in its home markets by goods from abroad which the home country could manufacture for itself at a lower real cost. England might possess exceptional advantages for the manufacture of steel with which German advantages in the same respect could not compare, and yet English steel might be undersold in England by German steel. The explanation might be somewhat as follows: that England enjoyed even greater relative facilities for the manufacture of cottons which she exported to Germany, and Germany, having to pay in something, found it cheapest to pay in steel. The next corollary is perhaps even more paradoxical. It may be expressed as twofold. On the one hand, we have the proposition that countries of the greatest efficiency do not necessarily enjoy the most trade per head of the population; on the other is the unexpected truth that the progress of a country—progress we mean in productive efficiency—may diminish that country's foreign trade. Lengthy

proofs of these two propositions are hardly necessary. Foreign trade, we have seen, depends upon the ratios between costs of production in a country in relation to these ratios in other countries. Evidently it does not necessarily follow that the country with the lowest real costs of production has the ratios between them creative of most trade per head; and evidently progress, the elevation of a country's productive power in the manufacture of certain goods, might destroy some of the existing differences between the sets of ratios which underlay the trade, and so sweep away a certain amount of it. If this conclusion be correct, it must be true also that decadence may increase a country's trade per head. We must add, however, after emphasizing this corollary, that what it points to as possible is not probable. Usually industrial advance means more trade; and the public is not wholly wrong, therefore, when it looks to the Board of Trade returns of imports and exports as to a barometer of prosperity.

13. Advantages of international commerce.—The economic advantages of foreign commerce have already been indicated to some extent. By exchange on a rational basis the utility of goods is enhanced. Moreover, people are enabled not only to obtain more cheaply what they could get directly but at a higher cost, but also to enjoy goods which they could not otherwise procure at all. But the direct economic advantages do not by any means exhaust the benefits derived from foreign trade. There are others equally important, and these we could not describe in more appropriate language than that of J. S. Mill:

'But the economical advantages of commerce are surpassed in importance by those of its effects which are intellectual and moral. It is hardly possible to overrate the value, in the present low state of human improvement, of placing human beings in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves, and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar. Commerce is now, what war once was, the principal source of this contact. Commercial adventurers from more advanced countries have generally been the first civilizers of barbarians. And commerce is the purpose of the far greater part of the communication which takes place between civilized nations. Such communication has always been, and is peculiarly in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress. To human beings, who, as hitherto educated, can scarcely cultivate even a good quality without running it into a fault, it is indispensable to be perpetually comparing their own notions and customs with the experience and example of persons in different circumstances from themselves: and there is no nation which does not need to borrow from others, not merely particular arts or practices, but essential points of character in which its own type is inferior. Finally, commerce first taught nations to see with good-will the wealth and prosperity of one another. Before, the patriot, unless sufficiently advanced in culture to feel the world his country, wished all countries weak, poor, and ill-governed, but his own: he now sees in their wealth and progress a direct source of wealth and progress to his own country. It is commerce which is rapidly rendering war obsolete, by strengthening and multiplying the personal interests which are in natural opposition to it. And it may be said without exaggeration, that the great extent and rapid increase of international trade, in being the principal guarantee of the peace of the world, is the great permanent security for the uninterrupted progress of the ideas, the institutions, and the character of the human race' (*Polit. Econ.* bk. iii. ch. xvii. § 5).

14. Effects of import and export duties.—The theory of the incidence of import and export duties is elaborate and involved; we must confine ourselves here in consequence to broad results only. The reader may find it helpful to conceive of such duties as additions made to the cost of transport exacted by the parties imposing the duties. All of them obviously must, as a rule, diminish the disadvantages which accrue from foreign trade, because they check exchanging, and exchanging in almost all cases results in advantage. In certain very unlikely circumstances a country may throw all the loss on to the foreigner, and perhaps gain a little from the foreigner in addition. Usually, however, both countries, the one imposing the duties and the one subject to them,

will share in the loss in varying degrees according to the state of trade.

15. Commercial policies.—Commercial policies refer to the attempts of Governments to encourage, curtail, or direct foreign trade. The first system which appeared is known as the Mercantile system, but the Mercantile system must not be regarded as a perfectly definite and coherent scheme of means for attaining certain ends agreed upon as desirable. The ends changed from time to time, and the popularity of the several means waxed and waned. Again, it is not easy to date the beginnings of the Mercantile system. Ideas which most would class as belonging to it were acted upon in the Middle Ages. It had not attained full vigour, however, or reached the dignity of a policy for general attack or defence, until the 17th century. This is readily comprehensible when we remember that it relates largely to foreign trade, and that foreign trade did not form any large part of the economic activities of the world until the 16th century. It was this century which witnessed both the direct opening up of the East from North-Western Europe, and the exploitation of the New World. Many nations were drawn into the new enterprises, notably the Dutch, French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, and the Mercantile system was in no slight degree an embodiment of national ideas as to what the relations between nations thus competing with each other should be. There was an industrial side to it also, but upon this we shall lay little stress in the present article.

16. Essentials of Mercantilism.—Broadly regarded, Mercantilism, in its most sensible form, was concerned with the utilization and regulation of foreign trade in the interests of national wealth and power. The sacrifice of wealth to power was sometimes entailed. It was thought undesirable that a country should become too dependent for necessities upon other countries; this partially explains the prohibitions and checks on the imports of certain commodities which competed against the products of staple home industries. Specially associated with Mercantilism is the theory of the Balance of Trade. It was held advantageous, according to this theory, to encourage exports and discourage imports on the ground chiefly that the difference would be paid for in bullion, and that it was beneficial to a country to contain much bullion. Bullion was necessary to carry on war, and, as Roscher has pointed out, a country with a high level of prices would have an advantage in war-time not only because it would be easier to raise a given sum by taxation to be spent abroad, but also because an invading army would find it more costly to maintain itself in such a country. There is no doubt, however, that Adam Smith was right in declaring that, apart from military considerations, too much importance was attached by Mercantilists to bullion as wealth, though he overstates the importance of the point. The relative imperishability of bullion, which rendered it so suitable for saving, probably accounted, to some extent, for the absurd estimation in which it was held. Adam Smith rightly insisted that Mercantilism was associated with distorted notions of wealth. We find the same distortion of ideas apart from the attitude towards bullion. There was a tendency to regard solid, lasting things, which ministered to elementary needs,—hardware and woollens, for instance,—as intrinsically more valuable than luxuries and things demolished in a single process of consumption, such as wines and silk and lace. The Methuen treaty with Portugal was no doubt popular in discouraging the French trade, because that trade brought luxuries into the country, as well as because the balance of

trade with France was unfavourable. Into this matter of the estimation of value the notions underlying sumptuary regulations may have worked their way; and if the Mercantilists were, by implication, illogical, they were not without some show of justification for the plans which they pursued. One group of Mercantilists have gained the name of 'Bullionists,' because they believed in regulations directly relating to trade involving bullion. Their ideas were acted upon to some extent. Prohibition of the exportation of bullion was not uncommon, and sometimes it was required that goods sent abroad should be paid for partly in bullion. By laws stamped with the notions of the bullionists, England's trade with the East was cramped. Their mistakes, as regarded even from a mercantile point of view, were pointed out by Mun in his *Discourse of Trade from England into the East Indies*² (1621), and *Enigand's Treasure by Foreign Trade* (1664, posthumous). He argued that exporting bullion to buy East Indian goods was but casting bread upon the waters, for it was found again, after many days, in augmented bulk, since the East Indian goods brought to the country could be sold abroad for much more bullion than they had cost. Again, there was another little group of politico-economic thinkers who advocated the theory known as that of the particular balance of trade. They believed in overhauling the nation's trade piece-meal, and discouraging that with the countries with which our balance was unfavourable. They overlooked that payment could be made to us through a third country, and that by discouragement of trade with such countries discouragement of the same weight was indirectly imposed on the nations with which our trade was favourable.

These being the characteristics of Mercantilism, we can understand the popularity of import duties and the rarity of export duties. Checks on the export of commodities were resorted to only when it was thought that the export would result in enhancing the value of another nation's export and depreciating ours. The Mercantilists, all will agree, were misled frequently by surface appearances, and failed too often to follow to their ultimate issue the reactions set up by prohibition, which is not astonishing in view of the undeveloped state then of economic science. Bounties on exports were not uncommon under Mercantilist domination, but there is reason to suppose that they were never so popular as import duties. The former led, it is true, to the same results as regards the balance of trade, but they cost the State money instead of bringing money into the treasury. Further, import duties created additional satisfaction, by protecting home industries. When import duties were charged, drawbacks (i.e. repayments of the duties if the goods were re-exported) were common.

17. *Navigation Acts.*—In connexion with Mercantilism we must not overlook the Navigation Acts. The English Navigation Acts discouraged the use of foreign shipping so far as English trade was concerned. Their provisions varied in detail from time to time. They were imposed with the object (a) of building up the fleet, and (b) of creating for England what had patently proved a rich mine of wealth for the Dutch. It is generally believed that the Navigation Acts greatly damaged the Dutch carrying trade; but the Dutch, notwithstanding, were still, according to Adam Smith, the greatest carriers in the world at the time when the *Wealth of Nations* was being written. Akin to the Navigation Laws was the herring bounty. In consequence of this, Adam Smith says, smacks put out to catch the bounty instead of fish. That they did so proves the efficacy of the bounty, which

was aimed at creating a race of seamen for the use of the Navy and the Mercantile Marine.

18. *Chartered Trading Companies.*—There are two other noteworthy aspects of Mercantilism or systems associated with it. The one is the pushing of commerce by Chartered Companies; the other, the so-called Colonial system. Groups of merchants were given privileges in respect of trade with certain places. In this way nearly the whole trading world was mapped out. The 17th cent. was the golden age of these Companies, which were really monopolists of commerce. The Companies were of two kinds, the regulated and the joint-stock. In the former, any trader could take part provided that he conformed to the rules and regulations of the Company, and paid its dues. In the latter, a capital was subscribed, and out of this alone were the trading ventures conducted. The regulated Companies were evidently the least restrictive. Whether our commerce owes much to these Trading Companies or not is a moot point—at any rate, we owe to them India. On the one hand, it is urged that commerce with backward countries could not have been opened up without large expenditure of capital, which the Companies alone could find; that the risks and dangers were too great for individuals; that the admittedly enormous expansion of foreign trade in the 17th cent. was due to them. On the other hand, it is contended that ventures by powerful Chartered Companies led to an undesirable intermingling of the idea of trade with that of establishing empire over savage lands, which was productive of endless international troubles, and that trade was expanding in the 17th cent. and the Companies restrained it by monopolizing it. Whatever truth there is in the last contention as regards early days, it is certain that, before the system was demolished, the case of the so-called 'interlopers' was proved up to the hilt.

19. *Colonial system.*—The Colonial system consisted in the preservation of Colonies as estates to be worked for the profit of the mother country. In general, certain commodities, known as the 'enumerated,' were not to be exported elsewhere than to the home country; and among the enumerated were not only war stores, but such articles as the home country desired to get cheap for itself, when no home industry would be thereby threatened, and those out of a monopoly of which it might hope to make a handsome profit. Even the prohibition of certain industries in the Colonies was resorted to as a protection of home industries, and the Colonies were not allowed to buy freely from foreign countries. Thus the Colonies—rightly known in many instances as plantations, for they were regarded as private estates to be worked in the interests of their owner, the home country—were rendered cheap sources of supply and private close markets for the home country. The home country did not become a mother country, properly termed, till the Colonies began to be thought of as national expansions for which sacrifices might be made. The new conception was at work beneath the surface even when the Colonial system seemed outwardly to be flourishing in full vigour.

20. *Downfall of Mercantilism.*—The whole impressive edifice of Mercantilism was shattered in a shorter time than Adam Smith, its great opponent, dared to think humanly possible. Political convulsions in France gave a stimulus to individualism, and in England the Industrial Revolution meant a series of changes so rapid and bewildering that appropriate regulations could not be drafted, and could not have been made sufficiently adaptable if they had been drafted. In the latter country,

before the *Wealth of Nations* had been half a century in the hands of the public, a violent reaction, full of impatience at all restraint, left little standing of the fabric erected by the economic statecraft of the generations preceding it.

21. *Protection*.—The next commercial policy which holds a place in history as a commercial system arose on the Continent and in the United States of America, out of a desire to resist the triumphant industrialism which in England had burst out of the narrow channels in which economic activities had previously been confined. It represented the re-assertion of nationalism against cosmopolitanism in economic affairs, and stood for the industrial development of the backward countries even at a cost. Its exponent best known to fame is Friedrich List. Its classical argument relates to the need for protecting infant industries. English conditions could hardly afford it a footing,—though agriculture could offer some plausible reasons for protection,—but it proved victorious amongst aspiring nations, who saw their small industries feebly sustaining, it would seem, the competition of England. List's National system was commonly carried out to the second stage, that of protecting industries; but to the third step, the removal of tariff barriers, there is still general aversion. This fact points to one weakness of the system, which is a weakness due wholly to popular political forces. It has more than once proved futile to attempt the removal of protection by gradual steps, in view of the see-saw of political affairs and the fact that even a small reduction of duties must, as a rule, result in some small economic convulsion; and drastic action might mean a more serious shock than any statesman would be prepared to risk. Apart from this difficulty, a careful investigation of the plea for protecting infant industries reveals arguments for and against. There are cases in which infant industries would flourish without protection, and cases in which they would not; but protection should certainly hasten industrial development. It would not be desirable for international division of labour to be carried to such an extreme that some countries would be confined to a narrow economic life, providing little else than food or raw materials for other countries; but it must not be assumed that in the absence of protection it would be carried to this extreme.

22. *Fair Trade, retaliation, and reciprocity*.—The third commercial policy to appear, which, however, has been of far less prominence, and has never advanced beyond the phase of advocacy in this country, sprang up in England out of Protectionist sentiment fortified by the disappointment of many half-hearted Free Traders at the continued and increasing Protectionism of other countries. It coincided with the rapid rise of Germany as an industrial power after the Franco-German War. Its advocates ask for 'Fair Trade.' They grant that universal Free Trade would be best for all, but argue that a Free Trade country in the midst of Protectionist rivals must lose. Their position has been attacked, but into the technical *minutiae* of the points debated we cannot now enter. Associated with the Fair Trade movement was a plea for a flank attack on Protection with the weapons of Protection, i.e. for retaliation. Such open tariff wars as have taken place have damaged heavily all parties engaged in them; but the fear of retaliation may, of course, keep restrictions on commerce within bounds. Reciprocity is different from retaliation in that it proceeds by mutual concession; but in the tariff bargaining which has taken place of late, it has been hardly distinguishable in essentials from the more overtly bellicose methods. Reciprocity may be of great service as

an aid to the establishment of Free Trade in securing concessions from foreign countries. It was employed in the Cobden-Chevalier treaty of 1860. It can be applied again between Protectionist countries when they are making their new tariffs, provided that each starts by putting forward as a basis for bargaining the tariff which it genuinely wants. When commercial treaties between such countries were first negotiated, no doubt this was done; but there is a prevailing suspicion to-day that the first drafts of tariffs are in part bogus documents intended to threaten, and that therefore retaliation is smothering reciprocity, each nation in effect saying what damage it is prepared to inflict if its wishes are not met. In connexion with retaliation and reciprocity, it should be noted that the most-favoured-nation clause is universally conceded to Free Trade nations. This clause, as hitherto interpreted, declares that no country's goods shall be treated more favourably than those of the Free Trade country. It ensures an important advantage to the Free Trade country. It has been pointed out, however, that a Free Trade country might in effect be discriminated against, if tariffs were made so detailed that the peculiar qualities of goods which it and it alone exported in bulk could be taxed at a rate exceptionally high in comparison with the duties on other qualities which competed with the former to some extent, but in which the Free Trade country did not specialize. Certain persons have of late contended that the most-favoured-nation clause ought to refer only to the duties which apply generally, and not to those lower ones applying to countries which have secured reduction by giving reduction as a *quid pro quo*. Such an interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause would greatly reduce its value.

23. *Colonial preference*.—The present time has seen in Great Britain the promulgation of yet another distinguishable proposal for altering our commercial system, but, as it is still a matter of political controversy, it cannot be examined at all fully in an article which aims at furnishing an account of commercial policies uncoloured by bias. It must, however, be shortly sketched, especially as it presents certain new features which bear upon the theory of trade expounded above. In the forefront of the new scheme stands the idea of a Colonial Empire on an economic foundation. It is claimed that the bonds uniting the mother country and her Colonies would be tightened if trade within the Colonial Empire were accorded advantages not enjoyed by other commerce touching any of its shores. Opposition has run along two lines. Some persons admit a probable gain, but contend that the cost of getting it would be too great, as a departure from Free Trade in the matter of England's relations with all outside countries would be involved. Others deny the gain even apart from cost. They dwell upon possibilities of quarrels within the Empire over business matters which cannot now arise, and argue that, unless the preference is to be practically valueless to England, the industrial development of the Colonies must be retarded. A subordinate idea attached to the scheme is that a tariff once created will afford a basis for bargaining, that is, render the policy of reciprocity again possible for this country. The third element in the scheme is protection against 'dumped goods,' the necessity of which is urged apart from all other considerations. This is a wholly novel idea, to which some attention must now be devoted.

24. *Dumping*.—It is said that Trust and *Kartell* organization has gone so far that the production of certain important commodities now rests in the

hands of monopolists in some countries. These monopolists find that it pays (a) to sell surpluses abroad, that is, anything of the product left over when, the home demand having been gauged, it has been determined what quantity it will pay best to sell at home on the understanding that the remainder realizes something below the existing foreign price abroad; and (b) even to produce a surplus to sell abroad below its cost of production, because by making it a saving is realized in the cost of production of every unit of the output owing to increasing returns. It must be admitted at once that theoretically both these courses are possible, and that the first, and perhaps the second to some slight extent, have been pursued. The dumped goods, the argument continues, come naturally to this Free Trade country, and disturb British industries. The reply of opponents is (a) that dumping is insignificant in comparison with trade of an ordinary kind, and that its effect is practically negligible; (b) that this country gains the cheap dumped goods—but it should be noticed as regards the second reply, that they are not very cheap, as they need not be sold for appreciably less than English goods; (c) that the dumped goods could not be distinguished from others of the same sort, and that, therefore, duties on all of the sort would be necessary, which would mean enormous loss and would largely fail in their object, since, *ex hypothesi*, the dumped goods can be sold at a lower price than goods not dumped; and (d) that the dangers of protection would be incurred and the advantages of the most-favoured-nation clause cast away. It should be added that the opposition also urges the incompatibility of the three schemes of which the plan is compounded. These are the salient points of the proposed new commercial policy and of the controversy taking place over it. It goes without saying that many arguments, both bad and indifferent, are being used on both sides, and that a recrudescence of other commercial policies has accompanied the promulgation of the new scheme.

LITERATURE.—On subjects so wide as those covered by the survey above the literature is most voluminous. This note on authorities must, therefore, include less than would ordinarily constitute even a very select bibliography. A good realistic and comparative anatomy of commerce has yet to be written, but certain works on special industries exist in which analysis is made of commercial functions and their relations to industrial functions. Of these the present writer's *Lancashire Cotton Industry* (1904) and J. H. Clapham's *Woolmen and Worsteds Industries* (1907) may be mentioned. Many of the most important generalizations relating to the operation of commercial functions in production will be found in A. Marshall's *Principles of Economics*, vol. 1. (last ed. 1907). All other standard works on Political Economy give some account of the subject. The most realistic of these among modern productions are J. S. Nicholson's *Principles of Polit. Econ.*, 3 vols. (1893-1901); G. Schmoller's *Grundriss der allg. Volkswirtschaftslehre* (vol. 1. 1901, and vol. II. 1904), and P. F. Leroy-Beaulieu's *Traité d'écon. politique*, 4 vols. (1896). Useful articles will also be found in J. Conrad, *HWB der Staatswissenschaften* 2 (1898-1901). G. F. Emery's *Stock and Produce Exchanges* (1896) might also be consulted.

The theory of foreign trade as first enunciated will be found in D. Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817). It is further elaborated in J. S. Mill's *Political Economy* (1848). A discussion of the various theoretical points involved will be found in three articles by Edgeworth in the *Economic Journal*, 1894. Useful books on the subject are Bastable's *International Trade* (1887) and *Commerce of Nations* (1892).

The development of commercial policies may be read in the Economic histories of Cunningham (1896) and Ashley (1888-93); J. A. Blanqui's *Hist. of Polit. Econ. in Europe* (1837 and 1842); Eng. tr. 1880). Schmoller's work already mentioned, W. A. S. Hewins' *Eng. Trade and Finance in the 17th Century* (1892), and J. R. Seeley's *Expansion of England* (1883). Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and F. List's *National System of Polit. Econ.* (1841; Eng. tr. 1885) ought not to be omitted. On the Free Trade question the material is legion.

S. J. CHAPMAN.

COMMON SENSE (Gr. κοινὴ αἰσθησις; Lat. *sensus communis*; It. *sensò commune*; Ger. *Gemeinsinn*; Fr. *sens commun*).—(1) According to Aristotle, common sense is that department of the soul to

which he assigned (a) the power of discriminating and comparing the data of the special senses, all of which are in communication with it; (b) the perception of the 'common sensibles' (τὰ κοινά), of which the principal are movement and rest, shape, magnitude, number; (c) the consciousness of perception; (d) the faculty of imagination; and (e) the faculty of memory (*de Anima*, iii. 1, 425a, 15; 2, 425b, 12). (2) Ordinary or normal understanding, rational intelligence; in a higher degree, good sound sense, practical ability and sagacity. (3) These qualities objectively regarded as embodied in the human community in the form of universal feeling or judgment; that body of opinion and belief regulating theory and practice which each one finds already existing in the community into which he is born. (4) The alleged faculty of primary truths; the full complement of those alleged fundamental intellectual and moral principles which we can only receive as self-evident truths belonging to man's original constitution, by which he tests the truth of that which he knows and the morality of that which he does; the same regarded as furnishing a complete philosophical system, principally represented by Scottish thinkers (see the art. SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY), called the Philosophy of Common Sense, based on the immediate intuition by all men of self, not-self, and certain intellectual and moral principles as self-evident truths.

The term first appears as a *terminus technicus* in the sense of (1), (above). It is for Aristotle the distinguishing and comparing faculty, since things compared must be brought before a single judging function at the same time. In virtue of its perception of movement we perceive all the other 'common sensibles,' and by means of it we perceive the fact of our perceiving, and have imagination and memory. Common Sense (sometimes 'Inner Sense') came then to stand for the faculty of perceiving what was common to the perceptions of sense, and especially one's own experiences.

Thus Thomas Aquinas: '*Sensus interior non dicitur communis per praedicationem, sicut genus, sed sicut communis radix, et principium exteriorum sensuum*' (*de Post. An.* 4); Leibniz: '*Sens interne, où les perceptions de ces différents sens externes se trouvent réunies*' (ed. Gerhardt, Berlin and Halle, 1849-63, vi. 501); Locke: 'the notice which the mind takes of its own operations'; Wolff: '*Mens etiam sibi conscia est earum quae in ipsa contingunt . . . se ipsam percipit sensu quodam interno*' (*Philosophia rationalis*, 1723, p. 31); Kant: 'Der innere Sinn, vermittelt dessen das Gemüt sich selbst oder seinen inneren Zustand anschaut, gibt zwar keine Anschauung von der Seele selbst als einem Objekt, allein es ist doch eine bestimmte Form unter der die Anschauung ihres inneren Zustandes allein möglich ist, so dass alles, was zu den inneren Bestimmungen gehört, in Verhältnissen der Zeit vorgestellt wird' (*Krit. der reinen Vernunft*, p. 501.).

Thus Common Sense became an 'internal' sense, which was regarded as the bond and focus of the five 'external' senses by which the various impressions received were reduced to the unity of a common consciousness. Modern psychology treats the subject under Perception, Self-Consciousness, Apperception, and Attention (*qq. v.*).

In the sense of (3), (above), Common Sense has been used as a basis for metaphysical theory and ethical investigation, and has developed into (4) in the systems of some thinkers. Thus Aristotle held that, since the first principles of morals could be got neither by induction nor by perception, inasmuch as human action implies a choice between alternatives, we must attend to the statements and beliefs of the elderly and experienced, who have developed the *habitus* of doing the right thing and have got an eye for it (*Nic. Eth.* 1143b). Thus also, in seeking the definition of the Good for man, Aristotle begins by taking his premisses from the beliefs of the many and wise, though he subjects these to scrutiny (Burnet, *Ethics of Aristotle*, 1904, pp. xxxviii, xli).

From such a start the transition to Intuitionism has proved easy in practice. Sidgwick practically identifies the morality of Common Sense with Intuitionism, holding that the affinity between Utilitarianism and Intuitionism is much greater than that between Universalistic and Egoistic Hedonism. Of course, no thinker may disregard the thought concrete in the world as he finds it; but his reflexion must enable him far to transcend the stage represented by the common consciousness. This seems more obvious and easy on epistemological than on practical points. The Common Sense theory of knowledge of the plain man probably contains little to give the philosopher pause other than its unwavering conviction of the independent reality of the not-self. But the objective standard of right must unquestionably be that which commends itself to the common sense of mankind. Where it seems to deviate from that, it must have the support of the most cultured and experienced among men, and thus merely await universal recognition. It must clearly be held that the meaning and end of human activity have to some extent embodied themselves in the 'facts' of moral life, while at the same time it ought to be recognized that these facts are not without a measure of fluidity and mutability. The conception of Evolution at first seemed disastrous to the conception of a moral standard; it has only overthrown the prejudice that this exists in its absolute form at any given moment in the conscience of man, which is probably best regarded, with Green, as the recognition by subjective reason of the objective reason embodied in the structure of society. Now, while it seems going too far to maintain that human society presents the final and perfect system of relationship into which self-conscious personalities are capable of entering, it may remain true that such an absolute system is immanent in the less perfect one we know—immanent as an idea—and that men have a faculty of recognizing and establishing it as it progressively reveals itself.

Common sense may generally be trusted on ordinary questions of conduct, but it is an unreliable judge of those exceptional cases which have, after all, the greatest influence on moral development.

Never explicitly hedonistic or egoistic, it represents an effort on the part of men to render life increasingly tolerable by the poising of counterbalancing weights of egoistic and altruistic impulse: 'In our science and in our common-sense judgment of things, in our moral convictions and in the instinctive ethics of conduct . . . we live on an indefinite capital of work done in the past' (Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr. [1885], i. 641).

The so-called Philosophy of Common Sense was a movement of real philosophical importance. It is true that there is a certain appeal in it throughout to vulgar common sense; but it represents an effort to transcend, while yet embracing, beliefs shared with the unphilosophical majority by the philosopher, who thus seeks to bring the common human element of his intellectual life into consistency with the specifically philosophic. The Anglo-Hegelian School, with its brilliant teachers, seemed to have put an end to the sober speculations of the School of Common Sense; but time brings its revenges, and it may be that much that these thinkers stood for will be more clearly, energetically, and successfully represented in our own times by those thinkers who recognize that Cognition is a direct relation of the mind to the Universe, and who resist any interpretation of knowledge which would make it appear to grow through a purely internal development, while they insist on the relative independence of objects apprehended, and the immense part played in knowledge by immediacy, however that be interpreted. The reader may be referred generally to recent volumes of *Mind* for apposite discussions; and it may be hinted, in conclusion, that the modern Realists may yet prove among the most formidable antagonists of Pragmatism, and antagonists whom the Pragmatists are perhaps not, as yet, fully equipped to encounter.

LITERATURE.—John I. Beare, *Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition*, Oxford, 1906; Aristotle, *Ethics* (there is an Eng. ed. by Peters, London, 1891); Andrew Seth, *Scottish Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1890; Hamilton's *Discussions*, London, 1852, and Notes to his ed. of Reid's works; Sidgwick, *Methods of Ethics*, London, 1893, and 'The Philosophy of Common Sense', *Mind*, new ser., vol. iv., 1895, p. 145; G. F. Stout, 'Are Presentations mental or physical?', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, London, 1909; H. A. Prichard, *Kant's Theory of Knowledge*, Oxford, 1909.

DAVID MORRISON.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD.

Primitive.—See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, STATE OF THE DEAD.

Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 728.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Chinese).

—I. BELIEFS UNDERLYING THE CONCEPTION.—The Chinese conception of the after life, or 'dark world,' as it is called, is that it is a replica of the 'bright' or present world—the negative side, of which mundane existence is the positive. The denizens of the 'shades' are supposed to occupy positions similar to those they held when on earth. The deceased Emperor still exercises authority, but over a realm of spirits; the sometime judge administers justice in a ghostly tribunal. The idea is evidently based upon the belief that life persists beyond the term of its exhibition in a physical environment, and that those who have taken a high place in the upper world, whether by virtue of noble birth or great attainments, cannot be relegated to immediate obscurity or unemployment in the post-mortem state. The conviction is also strengthened by the supposition of a heavenly origin of the race, which is traceable in the expression 'reverted to heaven,' commonly applied to the dead, and in the term 'Son of Heaven,' adopted by the Emperor, whose immediate ancestors

Christian (G. BONET MAURY), p. 732.

Muslim (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 733.

Persian (E. LEHMANN), p. 736.

are supposed to occupy a place at the court of the Supreme Being, and whose remote origin is traced to kinship with the Deity (cf. 'The Book of Odes,' where the beginning of the Shang dynasty [1766 B.C.] is traced to a black bird, i.e. swallow, sent down from heaven; and the Chow dynasty is said to have originated from the lady Kiang-yuen [2435 B.C.], who is represented as having trod on a footstep of the Divinity, and conceived, giving birth to How-tsi, afterwards deified as 'patron of agriculture,' and worshipped as an 'associate of God'). A hint is here afforded as to the meaning of the title 'Associate (or 'Mate') of Heaven,' which is frequently applied in later history to Emperors and sages. It seems to imply not only a traditional descent from the Deity, but also the fact that the life-work of such worthies was a fulfilment of the Divine will—they were 'fellow-workers with God'—and that their labours were not wholly suspended when they themselves were called to a higher sphere; they were still regarded as assisting God in the great scheme of His providential government of the world. Other instances

might be quoted; e.g. Yen-lo, the god of Hades, originally a just and perspicacious judge, who, after death, was appointed to the office of judge of the infernal regions; and the great warrior Kwan-ti, afterwards apotheosized as the 'god of war.'

It would appear, however, that, in the majority of cases, the bounds of active existence in that world are limited as in this; i.e., just as a living man may be reasonably expected to enjoy three generations of mundane existence before he passes into the shadowy realm of the dead, so, after a similar period of three generations of spiritual existence, he passes away into the unknown, the 'ghostly state,' of which no clue is obtainable, and no theory is permissible. In neither case, however, is he quite forgotten, for even the 'long departed' are remembered in the filial offerings of their descendants, though the nearer ancestors, as is natural, figure more prominently in the thoughts of the worshipper.

The dead, therefore, are regarded as really existing, for the time being, in the world of spirits. They have become 'guests on high.' Heaven is their home, but they are free to come and go as they please, so that their actual location at any given moment is uncertain. They may be present when the ancestral rites are being performed, occupying the 'spirit throne' or 'ancestral tablet,' but of this the celebrant cannot be assured; his duty is to act as if they were actually and consciously present, though no tangible indication be afforded him. Their function is, as already stated, to serve God; and in the pursuit of their vocation they take an active interest in the affairs of their own immediate descendants on earth, on whose behalf they act as mediators with the Deity. Their powers have not become attenuated by the process of disembodiment, but rather augmented by the ghostly attributes to which they have succeeded; and their position and influence have increased by virtue of the fact that they have risen above all the surviving members of the family in the scale of seniority—the most natural basis of authority under the patriarchal system which obtains in China—and are now Patriarchs of the Patriarchs. They are thus credited with greater or lesser powers, according to their station, of inviting blessings or calamities upon their descendants in return for the services which the latter are prepared to render or withhold. The spirits of those, however, who in life egregiously failed in their duty, are not regarded as possessing any influence in the spirit world, and are not supposed to occupy a place in the realm of heaven; like the spirits of those who have left no posterity, or who have been forgotten by their remote descendants, they are relegated to the 'uncovenanted mercies' of the 'ghostly state.'

In this connexion it may be stated that not all the ancestors are regarded as enjoying equal dignity; there comes a time when the more distant ones give way to the newer arrivals; the ancestors of a dynasty which has come to an end are replaced in the highest positions of dignity by those of the new line of rulers. Five representatives of the present Manchu dynasty occupy the chief places in the national Temple of Ancestors; the others have retired to comparative obscurity, but are not altogether forgotten, a place being reserved for them amongst the deceased Emperors and famous ministers of past dynasties, to whom a special temple is dedicated. In the case of private families, as has already been mentioned, the three generations immediately preceding are treated with special attention, the earlier ancestors being represented at the greater sacrifices, but not in the capacity of chief guests. This follows the analogy of Chinese banquets, where there is nominally but

one 'guest,' the others being invited to keep him company. Exceptions are made, however, in the case of some of the great dead, such as the founders of dynasties, or the great sages of antiquity. The great Yu, for example, the first of the line of Hsia (2205 B.C.), has a special temple on the site of his reputed place of burial; and Confucius is still worshipped in his own temples in every District city.

The ancestral spirits are represented as occupying, next to the Supreme Being, the highest place in the ranks of spirits, being far above those who preside over the several departments of Nature; but their position depends, in the majority of cases, upon the influence which their earthly representatives are able to exert in the world of men. If the descendants are people of no consequence, then, generally speaking, the ancestors have little influence. Thus there is a mutual dependence between the ancestral spirits and their surviving posterity, the former relying upon the latter for the exhibition of those virtues which will make the family great, and therefore enhance their own influence in the world of the departed; the latter looking to the former for the gifts which, through their advocacy with High Heaven, they are able to secure. In illustration of this fact it may be added that, when high rank is conferred upon an officer, his ancestors are ennobled at the same time, in an ascending scale of dignity, to the third generation preceding.

II. MEANS OF ESTABLISHING THE COMMUNION

—The importance of finding a means of communication with the departed, in view of these preconceptions, will at once be evident, and from very early days in Chinese history illustrations are available of both the theory and the practice of communion with the dead. The methods adopted for establishing this communion may be divided into two classes: sacrifice and divination.

1. *Sacrifice*.—In the various terms employed to denote 'sacrifice' we find a hint of the special object which inspired these offerings. The Chinese character or ideogram most commonly used in this connexion consists of two main parts—one, the radical which primarily means 'to inform,' and which is an essential part of the majority of words connected with 'spirits' and religious rites; the other representing a right hand and a piece of flesh. The whole conveys the idea of an offering to the spirits with a view to communicating with them. A second character, used interchangeably with this, is compounded of the same radical, together with the symbol for 'hour'; and is interpreted as meaning 'a meeting with those who have gone before.' The last of the three characters which express the 'three forms of sacrifice' consists of the two words 'high' and 'speak,' and thus all three seem to point to sacrifice as a 'means by which communication with spiritual beings is effected.'

The Chinese 'Canon of History' and the 'Odes' contain numerous references to the sacrifices which were offered in the Imperial worship of ancestors, and illustrate the importance attached to the practice, of which it is said: 'The first and greatest teaching is to be found in sacrifice.'

The Ancestral Temple (*Miao*) is mentioned as existing in the earliest ages of Chinese history. Of the Emperor Shun (2255-2205 B.C.) we are informed that, 'on his accession to the throne of Yao he worshipped in the Temple of the Accomplished Ancestors'; and also that 'he sacrificed with purity and reverence to the six Honoured Ones, who probably represent his own ancestors to the third generation preceding, and those of Yao his predecessor, who had adopted him as a son and successor, and whose ancestors were therefore bracketed with his own. Again, when he resigned the throne of Yu, he formally nominated him in

the same temple, as if with the express intention of presenting him to the spirits of the great rulers who had preceded him. Other instances might be quoted where the new ruler was presented to the inanimate form of the deceased sovereign, whilst appropriate sacrifices were at the same time offered before the coffin; cf. the accession of T'ai-kia (1753 B.C.) and of K'ang (1078 B.C.).

It seems probable that Shun introduced some innovations in the ancient methods of worship, for we read: 'He extended his worship to the host of spirits' (i.e. Nature-spirits)—a phrase which seems to convey the idea of a new departure, especially as the whole clause is introduced by the word 'thereafter,' which seems to support the contention that at this period some important additions were made to the theological ideas of the early Chinese.

During the Chow dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) the rites and ceremonies connected with sacrifices were greatly elaborated, especially about the time of the earliest rulers, Wen and Wu; but, in almost all the early instances which are recorded, it is the worship of the royal ancestors by the ruling monarchs that is depicted, though it is also implied that nobles and commoners were entitled to approach their own ancestors in more modest manner, as became their respective social stations.

An excellent example of the motive and method of communion with the dead is furnished by the case of the Duke of Chow, younger brother of King Wu (1122-1115 B.C.), who, when the king, his brother, fell ill, erected three altars, and prayed to the spirits of his ancestors of the three generations preceding, in the words: 'Your chief descendant is suffering from a severe and dangerous illness; if you three kings have in heaven the charge of watching over him, let me suffer for him. . . . He was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid to the four quarters of the empire, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower world. . . . O, do not let that precious heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground,' etc.

It was probably at this time that the practice of employing a 'personator of the dead' was definitely established, and that the 'ancestral tablet' came into general use. A few words of explanation may here be added with regard to these terms.

(a) *The 'personator of the dead.'*—It seems that, as early as the Hsia dynasty (2000 B.C.), some one was employed to act as the representative of the ancestor to whom sacrifices were being offered, but full details are not forthcoming until the time of the Chow dynasty. The 'personator' was always a near relative, generally a grandson, but never a son, of the deceased. He was dressed in appropriate costume, and took his place in the ancestral hall, when the first part of the flesh of the sacrifice was roasted, to represent the approach of the spirits in response to the sacrificial invitation; he remained seated so long as the offering continued, and when the rites were concluded he was escorted from the hall with the music of bells and drums. The custom fell into disuse at the close of the Chow dynasty; and the 'personator' has now been superseded by the portrait of the deceased, which is hung up on some special occasions when sacrifice is offered.

(b) *The 'ancestral tablet.'*—Though the origin of the tablet is traditionally ascribed to the latter part of the Chow dynasty, it is probable that, like the 'personator of the dead,' it was a development of an earlier method; and, judging from the fact that the character for 'tablet' is a combination of the radical for 'stone' and the phonetic 'lord' or 'pillar' (contracted), it seems probable that the tablet was originally a miniature of the headstone at the ancestral tomb, intended for use on the occasions when sacrifices were offered in the ancestral hall instead of at the grave. Modern tablets vary in size and quality. The most usual form consists of two upright pieces of wood, the outer piece fitting into a groove near the top of the inner piece, and both set upright in a socket in a wooden base, thus resembling very closely the usual Chinese

tombstone. Both outer and inner surfaces contain inscriptions specifying the names and titles of the deceased, the date of birth and death, etc., and, at the bottom, two characters which mean 'spirit throne.' The latter character is, at first, written imperfectly, and the ceremony of completing it, by the addition of a dot, is regarded as an event of great importance, a high literary official being secured to 'impose the dot,' which thus represents, as it were, the official *imprimatur*, a kind of minor canonization. The tablet is generally kept in the house until the period of mourning is over, and then finds a place in the ancestral hall of the clan, if such exists; or in the domestic shrine within the porch of the house. It is a common mistake to suppose that the tablet is regarded as the constant home of the spirit; it is only when sacrifices are offered before it that the spirit is expected to occupy his throne; and he vacates it as soon as the offering is completed, just as the 'personator' appeared and disappeared in earlier days.

(c) *Sacrificial materials.*—Of the nature of the materials employed in the ancestral sacrifices no indications are given in the earliest references. The practice was, apparently, so well established that it was not considered necessary to furnish details; but, judging from the analogy of later usages, and the inherent meaning of the words for 'sacrifice,' we may suppose that the earliest sacrifices consisted of the presentation of a selected animal, the pouring out of libations of pure water, and the offering of appropriate fruits. In the early days of the Chow dynasty, as has already been mentioned, these rites were greatly elaborated, and the 'Record of Rites,' which professedly belongs to this period, contains the most careful details with regard to the animals to be selected; the various kinds of spirits to be used in libations (the use of spirits having been substituted for water after the discovery of distillation, traditionally as early as Yu, 2205 B.C.); the costumes and positions of the celebrants and assistants; the musical instruments and tunes to be played; the dancing, or posturing, to accompany the rites; etc.

In this connexion it may be sufficient to state that, as early as the days of Shun, the animal offered in sacrifice to ancestors was a young bull; and presumably it was of a uniform colour—a point which is much emphasized in later usage; in fact, of such importance was this 'simplicity' considered, that the first duty of the officer, before slaying the victim, was to cut off a portion of the hair behind the ear, and present it before the ancestral shrine, in order to demonstrate the fact of this uniformity. Part of the fat of the victim was first extracted and burned, with a view to inviting, by its fragrance, the approach of the spirits; and their acceptance of the invitation was typified by the entrance of the 'personator' at this stage. The rest of the carcass was then cut up, and a portion of the raw meat was placed before the 'personator.' Prayer was offered to the spirit specially invoked. The meat was then cooked, and various dishes were presented to the ancestor, with goblets of spirits. After a long and elaborate ceremonial, the master of ceremonies announced that the spirit had partaken to repletion, the 'personator' vacated his seat, and the whole company present was entertained at a banquet. The response to the prayer was looked for on the following day, and was delivered by the 'personator.' The animals selected for the more important sacrifices were oxen, goats, and pigs; and in the minor sacrifices of private families the flesh of dogs or fowls was permitted. In the case of 'made dishes,' it seems that the special predilections of the departed were consulted, and a wide range of choice was allowed, the only restriction being that the character of the offerings should be determined by the rank of the recipient, rather than by the status of the offerer. A high official, for instance, was entitled to a funeral becoming his rank, but not to sacrifices of equal dignity, unless his descendants could claim a position equal to that formerly occupied by himself.

At the present day the rites of sacrifice are similar to those mentioned above, but there is observable a greater ostentation in the case of private persons, and a breaking down of the ancient distinctions between the observances permitted to the several classes of the people. The 'personator of the dead' has disappeared, as has already been mentioned.

The Imperial worship of ancestors is associated now, as in very early times, with that of Shang-ti (the Supreme Ruler) at the annual sacrifice of the winter solstice—the tablet representing Shang-ti being placed on the highest platform of the 'Altar of Heaven,' facing south, whilst those which represent the five Emperors are set on either side, facing east and west. The carcass of a calf, carefully selected, is placed before each shrine, together with pieces of silk and a number of sacrificial vessels. The distinguishing feature of the sacrifice to Shang-ti is the whole burnt-offering of a young bull in a special furnace, and the presentation of a large piece of blue jade, emblematic of the highest authority. The whole ceremony, including the preparatory season of fasting and purification, is fully described in the Manchu ritual.

The sacrifices to ancestors, on the part of the people generally, take place at the graves in spring and autumn; and also are performed before the 'tablet of the deceased' on the occasion of the periodic festivals—the first, third, and fifteenth of the first moon; the festival of 'Clear-Bright' (about the 6th April); the fifth of the fifth moon; the fifteenth of the seventh moon; the fifteenth of the eighth moon; the first of the tenth moon; on the last day of the year; and also on special occasions, such as weddings, etc. On less important occasions, such as a betrothal, or the assumption of the cap of puberty by a son of the house, announcements of the fact are made to the tablet, thus signifying the interest which the ancestors are supposed to take in the affairs of the family.

The manufacture of paper articles, for transmission to the dead by means of burning, affords employment for millions of people; in some cities the beating out of tinfoil, and fixing it to sheets of paper, to be afterwards shaped into imitation dollars or ingots, etc., is the staple industry. The use of these articles is a comparatively recent innovation, and indicates a very serious degradation of the idea of communion with the dead.

(d) *Object of the sacrifices.*—The commonly received opinion that sacrifices are offered to ancestors with a view to sustentation, though not entirely erroneous when applied to the case of the more ignorant Chinese, finds little support or authority among the intelligent classes or in the ancient literature. It is true that the spirits are represented as partaking to repletion, and as thoroughly enjoying the offerings presented to them; but these expressions must be taken as figures of speech, which merely imply that the spiritual guests appreciate the good intentions of their filial descendants, on the analogy of a Chinese banquet where such polite phraseology is considered *de rigueur*. In the Chinese classics it is repeatedly stated that the real value of the offering is to be measured by the spirit in which it is made; the true sacrifice is the heart of the offerer, without which the most elaborate ceremony will utterly fail to secure the approbation of the spirits. The exhibition of food which the offerer himself consumes, and the burning of paper money and utensils which benefit none but the manufacturer and retailer, possess no virtue apart from the 'bit of heart' which prompts the offering.

No doubt in early times the idea of communion with the spirits of the dead was a powerful motive in the offering of sacrifices, and is still prominent in the case of the Imperial celebration; but in the popular observances of ancestor-worship selfish considerations are not altogether absent; the distribution of the usufruct of the ancestral property, on the occasion of the annual sacrifices, is a powerful motive to a regular participation in the ancestral rites. Social convention is a very important factor; the desire to make as good a

show as one's neighbours is also an active stimulus; and superstition intervenes to confirm the time-honoured rites where the element of faith may be lacking.

Confucius seems to have regarded sacrifices as of subjective value only. Chucius, the great commentator of the 12th cent. A.D., insisted that there was not sufficient ground for the assurance that the spirits really existed; and the popular phrase 'dead and ended' may serve to indicate the real attitude of the Chinese mind towards the question. Thus, though in the Imperial worship of ancestors the good offices of deceased Emperors with the Supreme Being are reverently acknowledged and invoked, in the great majority of cases the offering of sacrifice is regarded merely as one of the 'accidents' of filial piety, which is still considered a virtue of supreme importance, and neglect of which will surely issue in disaster to the unfilial and forgetful, from whatever spiritual source the nemesis may arise.

It may be mentioned that a special festival is held on the 15th of the 7th moon for the benefit of the 'hungry ghosts' who have no descendants to sacrifice to them; and the customary offerings are made to them on the part of the people generally, not altogether from benevolent motives, but partly to obviate the possibility of injury to the living or uneasiness to the dead through the restlessness of these 'orphan spirits.'

2. *Divination.*—Another method of communion with the dead was by means of divination, which is referred to in the most ancient records. It is mentioned in the time of Shun (2255 B.C.) as being employed with a view to learning the will of the ancestors concerning the choice of a successor to the throne, and again in the selection of officials. P'an-keng (1401 B.C.) is said to have been thus guided by the ancestors in the choice of a site for his new capital. The Duke of Chow (12th cent. B.C.) is frequently represented as consulting his ancestors by this means.

The practice of divination seems to have been entrusted to certain officials, who consulted the omens indicated by the lines of the tortoise shell and the stalk of the milfoil plant. In the former case the upper shell of the tortoise was removed, and a quantity of ink spread over the under side; it was then held over a brazier, and the ink, in drying, formed a number of lines which the diviners professed to be able to interpret. The stalks of the milfoil, or yarrow, 49 in number, were manipulated according to certain prescribed rules, and the diagrams which they formed by combination were regarded as supplying further guidance. Other and simpler methods were in use among the people generally in early days, but those just mentioned were employed at the Court. The omens were generally consulted at the Ancestral Temple, as later references seem to prove.

The pseudo-scientific theories of Feng-shui (*q.v.*) (lit. 'Wind-Water') are closely connected with the subject of communion with the dead, one chief object being the selection of suitable grave-sites, where the dead may be expected to rest in peace, and thus be in a favourable condition for friendly communication with the living. Another and more recent innovation is the practice of inquiring of the dead by means of a ventriloquist in the person of a young girl, who, like the pythoness of Philippi, is supposed to reply on behalf of the deceased. A form of 'planchette,' consisting of a bent twig fastened to a cross piece which rests on the open palms of the medium's hands, is used to trace characters upon a tablet covered with sand, and by this means communications are supposed to be transmitted by the spirits to their living interlocutors. The plaintive cry which may still

he heard in all parts of China, uttered from the roof of the house, and directed towards the north, calling upon the soul, which has just taken its flight, to return to its old home, is mentioned in the 'Record of Rites,' and seems to be of immemorial antiquity. The preparation made for the return of the spirit on a stated day after death, when a table of eatables is placed in the kitchen, and a quantity of lime spread on the floor in front of the stove, with a view to tracing the approach of the spirit, may also be quoted as an instance of the popular view as to the possibility of communication with the dead.

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COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Christian).—The present article will not treat of any such practices as the calling up of the dead, mentioned, for example, in I S 28 (see 'Necromancy' in DIVINATION [Chr.]), and brought into vogue again in our own time by the 'Spiritualists' and 'Theosophists' (see SPIRITUALISM and THEOSOPHY). Nor shall we speak of the commemoration of the dead, which has been treated separately above. We shall notice here only the beliefs, rites, and customs concerning the communion of the living with the dead which are based on the Holy Scriptures, and which have been adopted by most of the Christian Churches. The idea of such intercourse has its origin in two fundamental beliefs: the belief in the immortality of the conscious and personal soul, and the confidence that the bonds of affection, religion, and gratitude, formed on earth, are eternal. These beliefs do not belong peculiarly to Christianity; they existed among the Gauls, and still subsist among the Parsis and the Jews.

For these more or less vague beliefs, Jesus Christ substituted an absolute conviction based on His revelations concerning the nature of God who is Spirit, His relations with man, and everlasting life. 'I am not alone,' He said, 'but I and the Father that sent me' (Jn 8¹⁶). He was aware of the constant presence of God with Him, and it was from that knowledge that He drew the strength necessary for maintaining to the end the struggle for the salvation of the world. In the same way Jesus lived in spiritual communion with Moses, whose law He had come to accomplish, and with Elijah and the other prophets, whose Messianic promises He fulfilled. We may recall, for instance, the scene of the Transfiguration, in the description of which the Apostles have expressed, in a manner as simple as it is admirable, their belief that their Master, the Messiah, was in spiritual relation with His predecessors. And later, when, in the struggle with the Pharisees and the Sadducees, Jesus foresaw His apparent defeat and death, He did not doubt for an instant that, even after His decease, He would continue to be in communion of spirit with His faithful friends. 'I will not leave you comfortless . . . yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me: because I live, ye shall live also' (Jn 14¹⁸). Then, at the moment of His ascension, He exclaimed: 'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world' (Mt 28²⁰).

But what are all these declarations worth, however solemn they are, in comparison with the pledge of His communion which He gave and gives still in the Eucharist? Our Lord and Master, in instituting this Sacrament, wished not only to

impress deeply on the minds of His Apostles the memory of His supreme sacrifice as a symbol of brotherhood, but to give, through these symbols of His body and His blood, a pledge of His real, though spiritual, presence with all those who should believe in Him and commune with His glorified soul.

The Apostles and the Fathers of the Church inherited this comforting faith, and never doubted that they kept up intercourse with their beloved dead, through the medium of Christ. Hence arose the custom, which seems strange to us, though quite in harmony with faithful love, of letting oneself be 'baptized for the dead' (1 Co 15²⁹). Those in view were certain deceased persons who had died converted to Christianity but without having been baptized; some relative who had a great affection for them, being persuaded that they could not be admitted into the Kingdom of heaven if they did not bear the seal of regeneration, thought he would secure the privilege for them by this vicarious baptism. This custom must have spread very quickly, for we know from Tertullian, Epiphanius, and John Chrysostom that it still existed in their time among some dissenting bodies. St. Paul in other passages (Gal 2²⁰, Ph 1²¹ 4¹⁸) asserts his faith in a close union between Christ and himself. Had not his conversion been accomplished by the feeling of the continual presence, nay more, the possession of this Jesus, whom he had the remorseful feeling of having persecuted in the person of St. Stephen? Is not this the meaning of that accusing voice which he heard on the way to Damascus: 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?'

The Apostolic Fathers, and then the Fathers of the Church, down to the end of the 4th cent., taught that it was lawful to remember before God the beloved dead, who died in the faith, and in the same way to pray on behalf of the martyrs, with a view to remission of the sins which they might have committed while on earth. Conversely it was held that these friends, now transfigured, thought of the living. Hence came that sentence inserted in the Apostles' Creed: 'I believe in the Communion of Saints.' According to their point of view, there was a solidarity, and an emulation of thoughts, good actions, and prayers, between the faithful in heaven and those on earth, who had a common faith in Jesus Christ. They believed that these three divisions of the Body of Jesus Christ—the Church Militant, the Church Expectant, and the Church Triumphant—lent each other mutual help. This is the root of the Catholic dogma of the transference of the merit of the saints to the living members of the Church.

We shall now notice the acts and customs by means of which this belief in the communion of the living and the dead showed itself in the Church. In the case of simple members who had passed away from the flock, the bond of affection was kept firm by means of visits to their tombs, by following their good example, and by reading their names, which were written on a diptych, in the church. After this reading, performed by the deacon, the priest used to pray for them thus: 'Horum omnium animabus dona requiem, Dominator Domine Deus noster, in sanctis tuis tabernaculis.' The communion of the faithful ones with the holy Victim of Calvary was maintained by prayer, by the imitation of His virtues, and by the Eucharist. From the time of the first persecutions, the Christians associated the martyrs, those heroic witnesses of Jesus Christ, with Him in their worship. They had a custom of gathering together on the anniversary of the death of the martyrs, at the very spot of their torture, or at their grave, and there, in an *agape* ('love-feast'), they used to

celebrate their sufferings with songs of triumph and prayers (see art. AGAPE). From the beginning of the 5th cent. they no longer prayed for them, for that would have seemed to do them wrong;¹ on the contrary, they commended themselves to their good services. But, it must be noticed, the praise of the saints or the martyrs was never separated from the praise of Christ; it was to Him as the supreme Intercessor, as the inexhaustible Source of holy life and of sacrifice, that the prayers were addressed. This cult of the dead was called *Natalia* or *Natalicia*, i.e. birth-day, and is the origin of anniversary masses.

When those Christians who, in the presence of torture, had denied Christ (*lapsi*), and other great sinners who had been excommunicated, wished to be reinstated in the Church after the close of persecution, they had a habit of imploring the intercession of the confessors who had survived the tortures and were enjoying a high reputation with the flock and with the bishop. From this point it was only one step more to attribute the same power to the deceased confessors, i.e. to the martyrs, for whom they reserved exclusively the title of *Saints*, and to invoke them as intercessors with God. Now this step was important, for it marks the boundary between that division of the Church which includes Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Lutherans on the one hand, and the Orthodox Greek and Roman Catholic Churches on the other. This step was taken in the 3rd century.

It is a strange fact that it was an Alexandrian theologian, Origen, afterwards condemned as a heretic, who first stated this belief in the intercessory power of the Saints. 'All those men,' he says (*in Cant. Cant.* iii. 75 [PG xiii. 160]), 'who have departed this life preserve their love for those whom they have left below, are anxious about their safety, and help them by their prayers and intercessions to God.' Then comes Jerome. In his *Ep. cviii. ad Eustochium* (PL xxii. 906), he addresses Paula, her mother, now dead, in these words: 'Farewell, Paula! Come and help by your prayers your very old friend who respects you. Thanks to your faith and your good works, you are associated with Christ. Now, when you are in His presence, you will obtain more easily whatever you ask.' Finally, St. Augustine, by the spell of his genius, consecrated this belief in the intercession of the Saints, and encouraged among the faithful the custom of invoking them apart from, and sometimes instead of, Jesus Christ. Every one knows his admirable prayer on behalf of Monica, his mother (*Confess.* ix. 13): 'I implore Thee, O Lord, to grant her pardon for her sins, for the love of that great Healer of our wounds, who was nailed to the cross. . . . If, during all the years that she lived after her baptism, she fell into any sin, pardon her, and do not treat her like a harsh Judge. . . . The only thing she has commended to us is to remember her at Thy altar, where she used to kneel during her lifetime, and where she had known the Holy Victim shared among the faithful.'

Henceforward the invocation of martyrs and saints, then the prayers addressed to the archangels and the Virgin Mary, as intercessors, became an integral part of the doctrine, ritual, and custom of the Roman Catholic Church. This practice is proved by numerous epitaphs, of which we shall quote a few: '*Et in orationibus tuis roges pro nobis, quia scimus te in Christo*'; '*Vivas in Deo et roges*'; '*Ora pro parentibus tuis*.' But it must be observed that these expressions are later than the 5th century.

¹ Cf. Augustine, *Sermo cccxix. de Stephano Martyre*: 'Injuria est pro martyre orare, cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari.'

Now there is a very great difference to be observed between these prayers addressed to the dead and the custom of having masses said to shorten the time of their stay in Purgatory. A few centuries were required before the Catholic doctrine arrived at this last stage. Masses for the dead originated in the practice of 'private masses,' which was established in the 7th and 8th centuries. Gregory I. was the first divine who taught that the sacrifice of the Mass could improve the condition of the dead in Purgatory. Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) confirmed the custom of private masses. Peter the Lombard (d. 1164) in his *Liber Sententiarum* (iv. 12), and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) in his *Summa Theologiae* (Suppl. part iii. 71, art. 10), completed the theory of the efficacy of the prayers and of the celebration of the Eucharist for the departed souls. Every one knows how this custom, combined with the sale of Indulgences, gave rise to such abuse that many honest priests called for a reform of the Church.

But, in virtue of the adage that 'the abuse of a thing is not an argument against its use,' we must ask ourselves if there is not, underlying these customs, a truly Christian idea, a legitimate sentiment. From the Christian point of view, the communion of the living with the dead derives its origin, as we have already noticed, from two or three beliefs deeply rooted in the human heart and confirmed by the Gospel—belief in the immortality of the soul, in the efficacy of prayer, and in the indissolubility of the bonds of love and religion formed on earth. This connexion is maintained and strengthened by visits and prayers at the grave of our beloved dead; and, in the case of heroes and martyrs, by the mention of their names and the praise of their virtues in public worship. Restricted to these uses, it seems to the present writer to be a legitimate and comforting belief, which may serve to stimulate to piety and virtue. It shows the strength of the ties which bind ancestors to their descendants. It has inspired much Christian poetry, for example the poem of Victor Laprade entitled *Nos morts nous aident*, and the hymn of R. de Saillens which begins with the line, 'Il me conduit, douce pensée,' of which the following are the essential ideas: we are never alone, either in trouble or in joy; besides Jesus, the Divine Shepherd, who always protects and guides His 'sheep,' our dead friends are present not far from us, invisible witnesses, who watch over us, and help us by their prayers; therefore let us faithfully maintain the spiritual communion with our dead which we had begun on earth.

LITERATURE.—Origen, *In Cant. Cant.* lib. III.; Cyprian, *Ep.* xii. 10; Tertullian, *de Monogamia*, ch. x.; Basil (of Caesarea), *Homilia in ad. martyres*; Gregory (of Nazianzus), *adv. Julian.* *Sermo 4.* also *Homilia xviii.* in *S. Cyprianum*; V. de Laprade, *Le Livre d'un père*, Paris, 1877; Comtesse A. de Gasparin, *Les Horizons célestes*, Paris, 1889; Augustine, *de Cura pro Mortuis gerenda*, also *Confess.* ix. 13; Jerome, *Ep. cviii. ad Eustochium*; Edm. le Blant, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, Paris, 1866, vol. I.; *Cantiques des Églises réformées de France*, Paris, 1898, 'Cantique' 244.

GASTON BONET MAURY.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Muslim).

—I. Pre-Islamic theory.—The scanty notices which we possess of pre-Islamic beliefs about the state of the departed are sufficient to indicate that, like other peoples who buried their dead, the Arabs supposed that some of the habits and capacities displayed during life lasted on beyond it, and that in emergencies the dead body could be called upon to discharge some of the functions of the living body. Just as crippled old warriors were taken to the battlefield, not to fight, but to exercise their good luck (*yumn al-nagiba*), so the custom of bringing dead heroes in their coffins to battle lasted on till the 4th cent. A.H. or later. A party of men, we are told, passed by the grave of Hâtîm of Tai,

whose hospitality was proverbial. They taunted the dead man with failing to provide them with a banquet; in the middle of the night they heard a voice summoning them to feast on a camel which they found freshly slaughtered by the tomb.¹ In another form of the story² the camel was brought by Ḥatīm's son, to whom his dead father appeared in a dream in consequence of the taunt. The relation of this apparition to the occupant of the grave would be the same as that of the wraith, or 'phantasm of the living,' to the living; and a commonplace of Arabic poetry, going back doubtless to pagan days, is the apparition of a mistress visiting her lover in a dream. The real person was not the apparition in either case, but the body; and prayers which survived into Islām were that the body might not be far removed, and that the grave might be well watered—water being no less necessary to the dead than to the living.

2. The innovation of Islām.—The paradox of Islām lay not in assuming the continuance of consciousness and personality, but in promising their complete recovery at the final judgment. Probably the most logical interpretation of these doctrines was that some fragment of the body would remain as a germ for the future restoration of the whole; and this seems to be the orthodox view. With it there is naturally associated the view ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās, 'the interpreter of the Qur'ān,' who, when asked what became of the soul at death, replied that it went out like a flame.³ He would have accepted the formula of Aristotle, which makes the soul the *entelechy* of the body.

It was not, however, possible to adhere to the doctrine of the resurrection and the final judgment, when men had to be roused to the sacrifice of their lives in the cause of Islām. The entry of the martyr into Paradise could not be delayed a moment after death. After the second battle and first defeat of the Prophet, a text was revealed forbidding the application to the martyrs of the term 'dead'; they were alive and in Paradise, waiting for their comrades. The next set of martyrs actually sent a touching message through the Prophet to their friends. Nor, again, could the punishment of unbelievers be deferred. After the victory of Badr, when the bodies of the slain pagans were being cast into a pit, the Prophet asked them one by one whether they were now convinced. His followers marvelled that he should address dead bodies; but he replied that they could hear perfectly, though they could not answer. The privilege of retaining consciousness, however, could not be confined to the bodies of unbelievers; those of slain Muslims were presently found to retain their freshness decades of years after their burial. When they were exhumed, blood still flowed from their wounds.

Whereas, then, with the pagans there were the dead body and the wraith, with the Muslims there was yet a third representative of the being, the inhabitant of Paradise or of Hell. The tradition—not without parallels in pagan beliefs—sometimes thinks of the former as a bird, or at least as possessed of wings. The difficulty of reconciling resurrection and judgment with the immediate entry into Paradise or Hell is usually got over by the supposition that there is a foretaste of their final fate in the case of both the pious and the wicked. Al-Ghazālī, in his classical treatise, more than suggests that men enter their final state at death, and that it is correct to say of a dead man that his resurrection has come. In any case, he rejects the supposition that death involves complete loss or

suspension of consciousness, and he is convinced that the dead continue to take an interest in the affairs of their relatives; when a newcomer arrives, he is met by his relatives, who wish to know what the various members of the family are doing, whether, *e.g.*, the daughters are married. Companions of the Prophet are said to have resisted temptation through the fear of giving pain to their departed relatives.⁴ The apparent inconsistency of these beliefs with Qur'ānic texts (*e.g.* 'thou canst not make the dead hear') is got over by allegorical interpretation.⁵

3. The popular belief.—The most ordinary form in which communication with the dead is thought to take place is in dreams; and cases in which the fate of the dead is revealed in this way are supposed to have occurred in every century of Islām. The poet Ferazdaq, who died in 110 A.H., seems to have appeared to several persons after his death, and assured them that he was saved; though his accounts of the reason were not perfectly consistent.⁶ His rival Jarir was also seen, 'suspended,' after his death. The free-thinker Abū'l-'Alā of Ma'arra in the 5th cent. A.H. was seen after his death, being devoured by two snakes.⁷ One of his works contains a series of imaginary interviews with various dead worthies, chiefly poets, who explain why they were saved.⁸ The persons most frequently seen in dreams are prophets and saints. In the year 586 A.H., Ibn 'Arabi in Cordova had a vision of all the prophets together, from Adam to Muḥammad; but the only one among them who addressed him was Hūd.⁹ Visions of the Prophet Muḥammad are specially welcome, because Satan cannot take his form, and such an apparition must be real.¹⁰ One of the friends of the biographer Yāqūt saw the Prophet in a dream; and, as the latter spoke *Persian*, this anecdote appears to be true.¹¹ In the year 346 A.H. a man appeared at Baghdad in the mosque that is 'between the stationers and the goldsmiths'; he said he was the messenger of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, who had appeared to him in a dream, desiring that a dirge on her sons should be chanted by a professional mourner, whom she specified; the congregation welcomed her messenger, and offered him a gratuity, which he declined.¹² When the famous traditionalist Ibn 'Asākir had delivered seven lectures on the virtues of Abū Bakr (the first Khalīf), and had then stopped, the Khalīf appeared to one of the audience in a dream, mounted on a camel, to assure him that the course would be continued.¹³ Visions of 'Alī and his sons are also common.

4. Beliefs connected with Sūfism.—It is recorded that the Prophet was in the habit of visiting graves, and this practice is recommended by Muslim theologians as a religious exercise.¹⁴ The notion of 'visiting' is so closely associated with the grave that the latter is called in Turkish 'a visiting-place.' Saints may, indeed, be visited either at their actual tombs or at the places which they frequented during their lives; so the Sayyid Nefīsa is buried in Maragha, 'near the Long Grave in the main street'; but she 'appears' in the Cairene sanctuary to which her affections were attached. Likewise Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rifā'i has a tomb in his home Umm 'Ubaida, and another in the desert where he used to perform his devotions; both

¹ *Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo, 1806 A.H., iv. 385 ff.

² Ibn Qutaiba, *op. cit.* pp. 186-191.

³ *Iḥyā' al-Aghāni*, xix. 45.

⁴ *Letters of Abū'l-'Alā*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1898, p. 132. Arabic text.

⁵ *Risālat al-Ghaffār*, published in 1908; excerpted by R. A. Nicholson, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1902.

⁶ *Fuṣṣṣat al-ḥikam*, Cairo, 1309 A.H., p. 191.

⁷ Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' al-'ulūm*, iv. 385.

⁸ *Dict. of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1910, iii. 40.

⁹ *Ib. v.* 240.

¹⁰ *Ib. v.* 144.

¹¹ *Ḥarīrī, Maqāma*, xi.

¹ *Kutub al-Aghāni*, xvi. 108.

² Mas'ūdi, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861-77, iii. 828.

³ Ibn Qutaiba, *On Conflicting Traditions*, Cairo, 1326 A.H., p. 186.

tombs are visited, but it is only in the latter that the visitor feels awe and terror.¹

The theory which, as we have seen, took shape in the early days of Islām, that the bodies of saints and martyrs retained their vital powers, became with many Sūfis something like a dogma. 'I have seen,' says one of these writers, 'four shaikhs who have the same control of their actions in their graves as they had when alive: 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilāni, Ma'rūf al-Karkhi,' and two others less celebrated.² Some details of this belief are given in the mystical encyclopædia of Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638 A.H.).³ A saint was being buried, and the person burying him took the winding-sheet off the face of the corpse and let the cheek touch the dust; the saint opened his eyes and said, 'Wouldst thou humiliate me before Him who hath exalted me?' Ibn 'Arabi declares that he had himself witnessed a similar event in the case of his friend Abdallah al-Habashi; the layer-out was, in consequence, afraid to wash the corpse, but the dead saint commanded him to continue. The life of these saints in their graves is, Ibn 'Arabi says, 'psychic,' i.e. confined to praising God; hence their oratories after their deaths must not be used for any improper purpose. When a man in an impure state entered the oratory of the dead saint Abū Yazid Bistāmī, his clothes took fire. Similarly, when some lads did mischief near the grave of Abū Sa'īd, the saint called out to them to stop.⁴ The remains of such saints continue to do after death what they did in their lifetime; one of them had petitioned to be allowed to pray in his grave after death, and he was seen doing so. In such a case, one who looks at the face of the dead would doubt whether he were alive or not; only he has ceased to breathe, and his pulse has ceased to beat. This was the case with Ibn 'Arabi's father, who had foretold the day of his death fifteen days before its occurrence. 'When we buried him, we were in doubt whether he were alive or dead.'

The writer who tells the most extravagant stories of this sort is the Egyptian mystic Sha'rānī, of the 10th cent. A.H., who has recounted in a lengthy treatise God's favours towards him.⁵ One of these was the facility with which he could hold intercourse with dead saints. This, he says, was owing to the courtesy with which he treated them when he visited their tombs, and his *dealing with them as though they were alive*. The experiences which he proceeds to record are certainly remarkable. He had omitted to visit the tomb of Shāfi'ī, founder of one of the law-schools; Shāfi'ī (who had been dead seven centuries) appeared to him in a dream, complaining of this neglect, and saying that he was imprisoned in his tomb and required the summons of a pious man [to enable him to leave it]. After vainly asking leave to delay his visit till the next day, Sha'rānī left the house where he was staying, and hastened to the tomb, which is in the neighbourhood of Cairo. Before he got there he was met by Shāfi'ī, who took him to the top of the cupola, and there entertained him with a meal of white bread, cheese, and melon of a sort just then introduced into Egypt. On another occasion Shāfi'ī extended the invitation to the whole of Sha'rānī's family, and appears to have entertained him and his daughters (whose names he gives) for some time in the mausoleum. When one of Sha'rānī's friends expressed some scepticism as to this intercourse with Shāfi'ī, the latter appeared in a dream to the friend, who was convinced and apologized. Sometimes the ghostly visitor consented to partake of food, and sometimes, having promised entertainment, he got living persons to provide it in his place. Occasionally Sha'rānī, when calling, failed to find his ghostly friends at home. This was the case when he visited the tomb of the Sūfi poet Ibn al-Farīd, who appeared the following night, in a dream, to apologize for his absence. Another saint on whom he called had left his tomb to attend a battle in Rhodes.

5. Muslim criticism of these narratives.—The degree of credence which attaches to these stories naturally varies with the intellectual calibre of individuals. Some criticism is thoroughly rationalistic; so the commentator on al-Ghazālī's work, in reference to the tradition that whoever sees the Prophet in a dream sees his real self, points out that this would imply that the Prophet could

appear in a dream only to one person at a time, that he must appear as he looked at the time of his death, and that the grave at Medina must be empty on these occasions. Probably many Muslims would agree with the views expressed by Ibn Taimiyya (d. 728 A.H.)¹ in his treatment of the whole subject of apparitions—the occurrence of which he by no means denies. Muslims, he says, visit the tombs of those whom they reverence, and occasionally the visitor sees the tomb unclosed, while some one in the form of the dead saint comes out or goes in, riding or walking. The visitor ordinarily supposes the apparition to be the dead saint himself; but, of course, it is a demon, who has taken the dead saint's form. Similarly it often happens that after a man's death some one in his form comes and talks to the living, pays his debts, returns his deposits, and gives an account of the state of the dead. People think (not unreasonably) that the apparition is the dead man himself, but they are mistaken; the apparition is a demon. So there are cases in which, when the corpse is carried to the grave, a hand is stretched out under the bier and put into that of the dead man's son. Sometimes a dying saint says, 'Let no one wash my body after my death; I myself will come from such and such a quarter and discharge that duty myself'; after the death a figure appears in the air and washes the corpse. The person who has received the charge supposes the figure to be the deceased; in reality it is a demon. Sometimes the pious visitor to the grave of the prophet or saint sees (as he thinks) the prophet or saint come out and embrace or salute him; the visitor asks questions of the dead, and receives a reply from some one whom he sees or perhaps only hears. At times, without visiting the grave, he sees in the waking state persons riding or on foot, and is told that they are prophets, e.g. Abraham, Jesus, or Muhammad, and saints, e.g. Abū Bakr, Omar, or one of the Apostles. Ibn Taimiyya adds that he has known cases in which a Muslim has invoked some shaikh who was absent or dead, and has seen him come and help him. In all these cases the apparition is a demon. If the person invoked from a distance is living, he often knows nothing of the experience; when, as is occasionally the case, he shares it, the demons must have wrought a double illusion. The author attests most of these cases from his personal experience, and adds that pagan countries like India are their usual location. So far from regarding them as a sign of God's favour, he thinks that those who are thus exposed to the deception of the demons must have brought the misfortune on themselves by invoking others besides God.

6. Attitude of modern Islāmic theology towards them.—Reformed Islām, as represented by the Cairene *Manār*, would apparently sweep away all these beliefs, which it supposes to be encouraged chiefly by the keepers of the tombs, who derive a rich harvest from the votive offerings and fees brought by the visitors.² The treatment of the subject by an orthodox writer, the Sayyid Taufiq al-Bakrī, head of the Shūfi communities in Egypt, in his manual for the guidance of his co-religionists,³ represents a slight advance on Sha'rānī. In the chapter on the visitation of tombs he quotes (apparently with approval) traditions to the effect that, whenever a man, passing by a tomb, salutes its inmate, the latter returns the greeting; that one of the blest was seen in a dream two years after his death, and stated that every Friday night and morning [with the Muslims the day begins at sunset] he and his companions met at the residence

¹ Sha'rānī, *Latā'if al-Minan*, Cairo, 1321 A.H., II. 11.

² Al-Shaṭanūfī, *Bahjat al-Aṣrār*, Cairo, 1304, p. 68.

³ *Meccan Revelations*, Cairo, 1293, I. 258.

⁴ Māhānī, *Aṣrār al-Taūhid*, Petersburg, 1899, p. 484.

⁵ *Latā'if al-Minan*, II. 10.

¹ *Al-Jawāb al-Sāḥih*, Cairo, 1905, I. 329.

² *Manār*, Cairo, 1320 A.H., p. 837.

³ *Al-Ta'lim wal-Irshād*, Cairo, about 1906.

of one of their number and made inquiries about their living friends. 'Your bodies or your souls?' asked the dreamer. 'Our bodies,' was the reply, 'have perished; so, of course, it is a meeting of our souls.' The dreamer went on to ask, 'When we visit you, do you know of it?' The reply was, 'Yes, on Friday evening and the whole of the day, and on Saturday till sunrise.' Another tradition extends the period of consciousness to the day before and the day after the Friday.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Persian).

—Among the Parsis no magical or mantic communion with the dead is observed, the feeding and clothing of the dead during the *Hamaspathma-daya* (the festival in honour of the Fravashis [see vol. i. p. 454 f.]) being a purely animistic offering to the deceased members of the family. In the official rites of the Avesta, however, we find several practices of communion with the dead, viz. the *Āfringān*, the ceremony practised in the houses immediately after a decease; and the *Srōsh Darīn*, the following ceremony in the temple. Both of them serve the purpose partly of cleansing the house and the community from the defilement of death, partly—and more particularly—of helping and strengthening the soul of the deceased on his dangerous journey to the other world and before the judges who decide the fate of the dead.

The *Āfringān* is celebrated in the evening, from the lighting of the stars until midnight, by the two priests (the *zōt* and the *raspi*), the elements of the cult being water, flowers, and fruits, and, above all, the sacred fire. The two priests place themselves one opposite the other, and sing the prayers and the confessions, known as *Ahuna vastrya* (*Yasna* xxvii. 13), *Ashem vohu* (*Yasna* xxvii. 14), and *Fravarāne* (*Yasna* xi. 16). The hymn used on this occasion is the *Dahma āfritish*: 'the blessing of the righteous' (*Yasna* ix.). Moreover, the daily prayers, the *gāhs*, are said as usual five times in the day; only they are now preceded by the *Srōsh-bāj* (see Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris,

1892-93, ii. 686 ff.), the adoration of Sraosha (the angel of death, the psychopompos of Persian mythology), and followed by the *Patet* (cf. Darmesteter, iii. 167 ff.), the confession of sin, as a strengthening of the soul, and an amends for the deceased's want of piety and righteousness in his lifetime.

The festival in the temple (*Srōsh Darīn*) has as its sacramental element the consecrated bread (*draona*), a loaf being presented to Sraosha and then broken and eaten by the *zōt* at the culmination of the service. From this sacred bread the whole festival has derived its name, *Srōsh Darīn*. On the afternoon of the third day the family and their friends assemble with the priest to celebrate a final festival, where, in addition to the daily prayers and the confessions of sin, vows are made in honour of the deceased, and alms and legacies are usually promised. The deceased, if he was a wealthy man, would also leave property for the poor, the amount of which is announced on the same occasion. The festival is concluded on the fourth day at dawn. This last moment is of the highest importance: now the fate of the soul is to be decided on the Chinvat Bridge (the bridge of judgment), and all the forces of prayer must be put forth to sustain him in the moment of judgment. Therefore, the prayers of the preceding days are repeated and supplied with four *āfringāns*, the last of which is addressed to Sraosha; finally, a *draona* is offered to him and to the Fravashis, the genii of the dead. This concludes the ritual of the ceremony, which is followed by a merry and abundant feast. Sheep are killed, and their fat is thrown into the fire before the eating of the flesh; the priests and the poor are given clothes and money. Arrived in heaven—thanks to this assistance—or in hell—in spite of it—the soul is left to itself without further communion with the living, the ideas and the customs of the cult of the Fravashis belonging to quite another sphere of popular belief.

LITERATURE.—J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-1893, ii. 146-154, 686 ff.; J. J. Modi, 'The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation,' *JASB*, ii. No. 7.

ED. LEHMANN.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY.

Introductory (N. SÖDERBLOM), p. 736.

American (H. B. ALEXANDER), p. 740.

Babylonian (A. JEREMIAS), p. 745.

Celtic (E. ANWYL), p. 747.

Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 751.

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Egyptian (W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE), p. 760.

Fijian (B. THOMSON), p. 762.

Greek and Roman (J. W. DUFF), p. 763.

Hebrew (G. A. BARTON), p. 771.

Hindu.—See BHAKTI-MĀRGA.

Japanese (M. REVON), p. 774.

Jewish.—See 'Hebrew.'

Muslim (R. A. NICHOLSON), p. 775.

Parsi (N. SÖDERBLOM), p. 776.

Vedic.—See VEDIC RELIGION.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Introductory).—Throughout the whole history of communion with deity a distinction is traceable between *direct* and *indirect* (or mediated) communion. The medium may be a person (occasionally an animal) or a thing. The former category includes ecstasies, heroes, prophets, revealers, saviours, and saints; the latter is represented by organizations like the kingship or the priesthood, and by various institutions, rites, sacrifices, and ceremonies, or by a church. A strong tendency is found in the great mass of religions to concentrate communion with deity upon the mediator. Especially at the primitive stage deity and mediator are readily confounded, for primitive man does not draw any clear distinction between deity and one who has a real communion with deity. Either deity is more or less consciously apprehended as an impersonal mysterious Power present in animals, men, souls, and things; or a man (or an animal, or a thing) is possessed by one

of the Powers, i.e. by a certain spirit or soul or god. The possession may be occasional (in trance), or perpetual (during the lifetime or after death), or the subject of it may even be an incarnation of a particular deity—for example, the Egyptian Apis, the *avatāras* of Vishṇu, the *imāms* of Shi'ism, the Dalai Lāma, incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, etc. The man full of *mana* (q.v.), or in communion—the magician, the king, the priest, the mystic, the *wālī* ('the intimate friend' of God, exalted in Muhammadan worship above the Prophet), the saint, or the incarnation—receives cult as a living god. The Divine man may be worshipped during his lifetime as well as after death. In many cases his intimate communion with deity, i.e. his being penetrated with power or divinity, is discovered or duly testified only after death. It may be that only his soul after death, not himself during his lifetime, is provided with *mana* or deity. The Church beatifies only after death; in some cases the sanctitude (i.e. com-

munion with deity, and state of being filled with mysterious power (see HOLINESS)), is exercised fully only by the dead (as, for instance, in the process of the beatification of Joan of Arc, healing wonders wrought by her in our time were considered to be especially convincing). The risen Christ is mightier than the Jesus who walked on earth. No more important step was ever taken in the development of religion than the introduction, already in the primitive stage, of the cult of heroes (*q.v.*), in which two motives prevail: the recognition of special communion with deity, *i.e.* of wonderful, supernatural, Divine power, in the living or in the dead (revelation [*q.v.*] in lower and higher sense), and the need of having divinity near and palpable in human history (Osiris, Adonis, Attis, Herakles, Krishna, and Rāma were supposed to have been men before becoming gods). Hence communion with deity may coincide with having Divine character—from primitive religion, which worships one supposed to have first-hand relations with deity, to historical Christianity, where Christ is at the same time the man in full communion with God and the revealer of God, God in human shape, the object of worship ('he that hath seen me hath seen the Father' [Jn 14]; cf. Buddha: 'who sees me, sees the *dhamma*'), and claiming also the fulfilment of ethical duties (Mt 25⁴⁰; cf. Buddha: 'Whosoever would wait upon me, let him wait upon the sick').

Communion with deity has three main forms, roughly corresponding to three stages of development: (1) individual (private), (2) institutional (social), and (3) personal.

1. Individual communion.—Physical abnormalities, particularly trance, are supposed to prove special communion with deity. These signs of communion may come spontaneously (either occasionally or as a permanent quality) or may be produced by austerities (*q.v.*), or by means such as narcotics, frantic dancing, crystal-gazing, etc. The 'supernatural,' ecstatic aptitudes are sometimes so strictly required, that the magician or priest is no longer recognized, or may even be killed, if he loses them. Communion with deity becomes an institution, and its representatives belong to the social order as kings or magicians or priests, with a developed system of preparation and inauguration. But, alongside this institutional magic or religion, private magical practice survives, especially (but not only) as sorcery (black magic), which is not only individualistic, not socially organized, but even anti-social, operating for maleficent purposes against members of the same blood (tribe).

2. Institutional and social communion.—This is managed by magicians, divine rulers, priests, or kings (sometimes without any official priesthood, as in China, ancient Sweden, etc.), and consists in various *rites*—ritual dances, ceremonies, pantomimes, mysteries—intended for special purposes in order to secure food, rain, fire, fertility, success in hunting, or in war, etc., or for general welfare. At a primitive stage this is sometimes (*e.g.* with the Australians) scarcely regarded as communion with a specific divinity or divinities, yet the All-Fathers and the mythical beings fill an important rôle in these rites, while at a more developed stage the rites have a close connexion with chthonic or heavenly Powers.

A special world-wide commerce with deity consists in a *wedding* with the god, in or outside the temple, or in a mysterious receiving of his seed (witnessed to by phallic symbols, myths, and liturgies all over the world, highly elaborated, *e.g.* in ancient Egyptian mysticism). The idea of this *unio sponsalis* still survives in pious language long after the abolition of the rites in question: 'Come

into me, Lord Hermes, as the fetus into the bosom of the woman' (Kenyon, *Greek Pap. Brit. Mus.* p. 116). Another cognate, very wide-spread, form of communion is that in which the pupil *dies* and *is re-born* to a new life. This is exemplified, among primitive peoples, in Africa and elsewhere, and in ancient Greece (*παλιγγεσία*), the 'twice-born' Brahmins, etc.

Sacrifice (*q.v.*) constitutes a real intercourse with divinity: (a) through presents (from a tobacco-leaf to hecatombs and the firstborn son) and presents in return—*do ut des*, a kind of bargain; (b) in order to produce a mysterious increase of the vitality (of the divinity of life, and therewith) of the clan, of the tribe, of the family, of the city, of the State—hanging of sacrifices in holy trees, hanging of skulls of killed enemies in the clubhouse or the community-hall, the killing of aged kings, etc.; (c) as a communion by means of a divine sacrifice, generally eaten as a sacramental-sacrificial meal—ancient Arabs, the Bacchæ, the eating of bread made from the last sheaf, bread representing the Great Mother, Tlaloc, etc., the eating of the colossal dough image of Huiztlopochtli, holy intoxicating drinks, mead, *soma-haoma*, milk, *φάρμακον ἀθανάσιον*, etc.; (d) as a way of acquiring supernatural powers through the approaching of deity by means of a victim or through the magical subduing of the divinity (Brāhmanic ritual, Tantrism); or (e) as an exercise and education in good manners and in human dignity, through the offerings of food, clothes, perfumes, etc., and through the observing of the rules of respectful conduct *vis-à-vis* the great forefathers and towards the divinities. This moral conception of sacrifice appears to the present writer to be a special feature of Chinese worship, an idea independently worked out in the *Lǐ-kǐ* and later Chinese works on ritual. Everywhere the rites (sacrifices, etc.) are accompanied by sacred *formulae*, which also may operate or influence the gods without rites.

Ascetic means are used as a preparation for communion with deity, and thus belong, to a greater or lesser extent, to the mysteries and initiations into manhood, priesthood, war, etc., as well as to sacrifice, and also to the acquiring of supernatural knowledge; but they may also be organized as a special form of holy life (*yogis, brāhmanas, dhikṣus*, Orphic life, Cynics, eremites, monks, dervishes, pilgrims, etc.), implying a nearer relation to deity, and acquisition of Divine power and of superhuman insight (see ASCETICISM, ĀŚRAMA, AUSTERITIES).

3. Personal communion.—The cravings of a humanity ethically and spiritually more developed, not being satisfied with institutional communion, reject it (*e.g.* the heterodox Indian beggar-orders, Heraclitus, Theophrastus, etc.), or give it, more or less consciously, a secondary place after personal communion (the Upanishads, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Socrates, Plato, the Stoics, OT prophets). Of course, personal intercourse with deity may also find place in institutional communion. When sacrifices cease (a) because there is no longer a god to whom to sacrifice (Jainism, Buddhism, etc.), (b) because there is no longer a proper place for sacrifice (Judaism after A.D. 70), (c) because the sacrifice has been made once for all (Ep. to the Hebrews, evangelical Christianity), or (d) when piety is not satisfied with that kind of communion (Upanishads, Lao-tse, the prophets, Orphism, etc.), prayer (*q.v.*) does not cease, but emancipates itself from the rites. Among primitive peoples (Melanesians [Codrington], Queensland [Roth], Bushmen [Orpen], etc.) in need, before going to sleep, and on other occasions, mightier beings (totems, All-Fathers, divinities) are invoked in quite impulsive words or

eries, which are not supposed by them to belong to their 'religion,' i.e. to the holy social rites. Prayer, indeed, seems to be older than sacrifice (according to R. Jose ben R. Chanina [Berak. 26 b], the patriarchs instituted prayer, the rabbis added sacrifice). At a higher stage, such personal outbursts in a finer form have found place in the great collections of prayers and hymns for institutional worship (Rigveda, the Gāthās, the Psalms). Invocations or utterances of an intimate personal kind may be repeated countless times in institutional communion—accompanying sacrifice, the putting on of the holy cord, or other rites—without any apprehension of their content (in some of the great religions without even understanding the language), until they are reclaimed for personal communion. The inward, personal element in the intercourse with God then becomes so predominant that special honour is accorded to *oratio mentalis*. Where an intensely immanent conception of deity obscures the Divine transcendence, and where pantheistic tendencies prevail, prayer passes into intellectual contemplation and illumination, an intuition without seeing anything but the Self (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upan.* iv. 3. 23 ff.; the Sūfi: 'I am God'; Eckhart: 'the soul becomes God'). For prayer Buddhism substitutes *dhyāna*, 'contemplation,' the effect of which corresponds, to a certain extent (as comfort, help, inward peace and composure, the finding of expedients in difficulties, etc.), to the hearing of prayer in Christianity. Dramatic tension and dualistic power in communion with deity belong to the theistic religions, where this communion and the whole spiritual life show an incomparably richer history than elsewhere. This is reflected in the Psalter and in the stream of prayer issuing from the Jewish prayer-book, whose characteristic is free spontaneity. Where legalistic, and consequently deistic, piety prevails, e.g. in modern Parsiism, free prayer without fixed words is unknown. A form of communion peculiar to synagogal Judaism and Christianity is congregational worship (i.e. collective personal communion). This was adopted by some of the eclectic religions of the Roman Empire, and has been introduced into India by the Brāhma Samāj (q.v.).

Communion has a somewhat different shape in the two main types of highest religion, corresponding to the two kinds of Mysticism (q.v.); the one originating chiefly in the sense of the Infinite, the other in the longing for the Ideal and in the striving for transformation; the one ultimately directed towards an impersonal goal, the other emphasizing personality.

(1) The former is chiefly represented by the two religious movements of universal scope in India and in Greece. (a) The Pantheism of Yājñavalkya and the Upanishads was continued in Brāhmanism and Buddhism (except the religion influenced by *bhakti*), and (b) Orphism mingled with Dionysiac religion, and, appearing in a new, purified, and sublimated form as Platonism, gave rise to Neo-Platonic Mysticism. This last was propagated, through Syrian mediation (Dionysius the Areopagite), throughout the West and the East, and modelled Christian Mysticism and Persian Šūfism (q.v.), but was seldom rigorously carried out. Already Plotinus had inconsistently applied to the One 'the positive quality of Goodness; and the more consequent theory of negative impersonality in the Godhead, e.g. with Eckhart ('goodness is only a vestment for God, covering His true hidden essence'), was counterbalanced by actual practice.

(2) Lao-tse, Zarathuštra, and Socrates show differently conditioned types of another Mysticism. This is still more clearly and thoroughly carried at where the overwhelming sense of God's activity

and holiness prevails, i.e. with Moses and the prophets, Christ, St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Birgitta, Luther, Bunyan, and others.

These two kinds of communion with deity are intermingled and graduated in manifold ways in real religion, but the difference coincides ultimately with the difference between acosmic salvation and prophetic, or revealed, religion. The communion with deity differs (a) as to the place accorded by religion (salvation) to the ethical standard aimed at or recognized in both kinds of higher religion, the ethical duties and ideals being considered on the one hand (a) as only a preparation or means (*vita purgativa*) to real communion (*vita contemplativa*), and (β) as a criterion of the soundness of the mystical experience, or, on the other hand, as the practice (accomplishment, realizing) of communion with God. (b) History is in the former case indifferent or troublesome to piety; in the latter it represents God's dealings with humanity, and constitutes the basis of communion with Him. (c) On the one side is a lofty detachment and aloofness ('Abgeschiedenheit ist mehr als Liebe' [Eckhart]), ultimately raised above every kind of authority; on the other, an emphasizing of personal and moral authority. (d) On the one side there is exaltation of *unio substantialis* (in its original sense [the Lutheran scholastics of the 17th cent. used it in another sense] of real, personal communion in opposition to accidental, impersonal communication of gifts and capacities) and of *unio sponsalis*; on the other side is *unio filialis* at the top of the scale. On the one side there is a higher appreciation of ecstatic states of mind (without despising the moral duties); on the other side, a higher appreciation of trust and of unaffected self-forgetfulness in the presence of the great tasks of life, the beauty of the ideal, and the great works of God (without despising the important rôle played by ecstatic experiences in the history of revelation). The dread of mere feeling and the exaltation of conscience and of moral independence may give to this kind of communion a certain sternness (Amos, Calvinism, Jansenism, Kantianism), which, however, is not essential to the type (Hosea, St. Paul, St. Augustine, Luther). (e) The gulf to be bridged by communion is considered by the former type mainly as a gulf between the finite and the Infinite, between temporal succession and change, and timeless contemplation and eternity, between complexity and One-ness; on the other side, between what is and what should be, between sinful man and Holy God. Sin (q.v.), disturbing the communion, is first considered as a transgression of the rules of institutional religion; and the consciousness of guilt, so emphatically attested by some hymns to Varuṇa in the Veda, and especially by the Assyr.-Bab. and the Hebrew psalms, emanates from this underlying reasoning, expressed or latent; one is visited with disaster or sickness, therefore God is angry, therefore one has sinned, therefore one must implore mercy and do penance. A more intimate sense of guilt, originating in a high ideal, not in unhappiness or psychological uneasiness, is manifest in some of the Hebrew psalms; in later Judaism and in Christianity; in Platonism and with the Stoics; in India, at least from Rāmānuja, perhaps earlier with Manikvaśaṅgar.

Intellectual mysticism has been accompanied by the *bride-mysticism* as a reaction, a marked opposition (India), or rather as a complement (Christian mysticism, Šūfism). In India the *bhakti-mārga* (q.v.), 'the way of affection (faith),' as opposed or added to the *jñāna-mārga*, 'the way of knowledge,' is attested by Buddhist works of the 4th cent. B.C., and by the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, at least for the 3rd cent. B.C., but it is probably older. In

Christianity the spiritual experiences expressed in the fervent language of the Song of Songs, already used in the early Church, e.g. by St. Jerome, but taking a new start and importance through St. Bernard (q.v.), are intermingled with, or separated from, the classical expressions of intellectualistic, Areopagitic mysticism. The five 'flavours,' or degrees, of *bhakti* (e.g. according to Chaitanya of the 16th cent.)—quiet contemplation of deity (or resignation); active service of deity (or obedience); personal friendship; filial, tender attachment; and, at the top, passionate love as that of a bride for her lover—have mainly the same content and pursue the same end as Bernhardian or Herrnhutic mysticism. In spite of the striking difference in temperament and language between a Saṅkara and a Chaitanya, or between a Spinoza and a Zinzendorf (or a Jalāl-al-Dīn Rūmī), the bride-mysticism also implies in its fulfilment a complete fusion, obliterating personality, without a distinction between an 'I' and a 'Thou.' But in *bhakti-mārga* (Rāmānuja, Tulasī Dāsa), as well as in Christian bride-symbolism, the symbol of lovers may develop in the same direction of spiritual and personal relations rather than in that of passionate sensual fusion; both *bhakti* and Western bridal symbolism may approach the classical meaning of *pietas*, 'faith.'

Communion with deity is a *mystery*. Among primitive peoples, women and children, as a rule, have no access to the mysteries of the tribe. Beside the official holy rites of the natural social bodies, there abound, especially in Polynesia, Melanesia, and Africa, secret societies, to which special inauguration gives admittance. [No one except the priest or king may enter the *adytos* of the temple. The sacrifice (e.g. in Israel, and in Brāhmanism), is surrounded with prescriptions indicating the mysterious character of the communion effected or maintained by means of a victim.] The distinguishing of quite a number of different degrees of communion, made by primitive secret societies, has been further developed, as to institutional communion, in the mystical religions of the Roman Empire, in the great theosophic systems (of Valentinus, of Mani, etc.), and in the ascetic orders of India, Christianity, and Islām, and was retained in a simplified form by early Christianity. The same process, as to personal religion, is seen in the ladder of mystic states and perfections worked out independently by Indian and Neo-Platonic psychology, and in the compound of Neo-Platonic influence and *nirvāṇa*-mysticism found in later Śaṭism. In evangelical religion the same tendency has created (a) the conception of *ordo salutis* as a series of pious degrees, and (b) in New England revivalism, a rational and experimental method of prayer and the training of souls (continued, as it were, without the practical aim and without the underlying dogmatics, by the modern North American psychological research into religion); but a differentiation of a series of esoteric religious stages is foreign to the spirit of prophetic religion and evangelical Christianity, which in its most genuine forms lacks methodical psychological training, *virtuosité*, and uniformity, but gives more scope for personal peculiarities and different vocations. Hence arises the apparently contradictory result that the communion with deity in ascetic and acosmic mysticism (in India and the West), which has occupied itself so eagerly with psychology, and which has elaborated fine progressive psychological methods of the utmost experimental acuteness (and which, in Buddhism, has become mere self-salvation by means of psychology, without a deity), shows less originality and variety as to the psychological material for solving the problem of personal communion with deity than prophetic or revealed

religion, which lays more stress upon the history of revelation than upon the states of mind. The heroes of personal religion, from the Bible onwards, offer a more fruitful field for the psychology of religion than the psychological tracts of Indian or Western mysticism, and the psychological statistics of average pious men and women. Communion with deity is regarded also in the Bible as a mystery, which lies, however, less in a certain spiritual state than in the revealed will of God (1 Co 4¹, Ro 11²⁵, Col 2⁹, Eph 1⁹; to the present writer it is by no means evident that the *parakletos* of Mk 4¹¹ does not emanate from Christ Himself).

Communion with deity is a mystery, because it is not the work of *man*. The distinction between God-made (spontaneous) and self-made communion and experiences is not confined (as Robertson Smith [*OTJC*², p. 297 n.] thought) to the OT prophets, although it is seen more strikingly in them because of their unique sense of God as activity and as living power. The *Kāthakopanishad* (ii. 23) declares: 'Only the one he (*ātman*) chooses, can understand him.' Socrates distinguished his own conclusions and ideas from the hints of the *daimonion*. In the Egypto-Hellenistic Hermes-religion we read: 'One cannot teach it, only God can awake it in the heart' (cf. the *Shepherd* of Hermas, Mand. 11); Plotinus, in his spiritual chastity and completeness the greatest of the mystics of the Infinite, declared: 'The beggar keeps waiting as near as he can to the door of the rich; perhaps the rich will open and give him an alms, perhaps once, perhaps twice; that is good fortune, not a work of his own' (and other passages); and St. Augustine's mother (*Conf.* vi. 13) and all the great Christian mystics have made the same distinction. At the same time, it is claimed that real communion with the true divinity depends upon the *sincerity of the will and intention* (*Bhagavad-Gītā*: 'true *bhakti* is addressed to the true God, whatever name it gives him'; Luther: 'As your trust is, so is your God, right trust makes right God, wrong trust makes an idol'; Kierkegaard: 'A heathen who heartily and ardently prays to an idol prays in reality to the true God, but he who outwardly and impersonally prays to the true God in reality prays to an idol').

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kinds of Mysticism, the one culminating in Plotinus, the other in Jesus, see N. Söderblom, *Uppenbarelsereligion*, Upsala, 1903, *Religionsproblemet*, Stockholm, 1910, *Uppenbarelse*, Stockholm, 1910.

NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (American).

—1. It is not until symbolization has proceeded so far that the distinction of seen and unseen world is clearly realized, until there is felt to be a gap between the passive tangible and the active intangible nature of things, that we can accurately speak of 'communion' with a lordlier world. To be sure, in the early stage there are all the germs of religious communion. There are cherishings, offerings, propitiations, pleas addressed to objects vaguely felt to be potent in man's destinies, the beginnings of sacrifice, penance, and prayer; but as yet there is no science of intercourse with a higher reality, for as yet the severance of this from the world of everyday contacts is not felt. Life is still on a sensuous basis, and the ideal world which makes religion possible is in process of creation.

Most of the American Indian peoples had already reached the higher stage when the white man came. They had learned to conceive of a Divine world interlocking with and dominating the human, however grotesquely it was blazoned by the imagination. But with few or none of them was the idealism thorough enough to make the distinction of worlds systematic; in whole areas of experience, primitive, instinctive Animism prevailed. Hence it is that we find everywhere in Indian rite the dominance of magic. For magic is a form not of communion in the strict sense, but of compulsion, and it tends to maintain itself in connexion with the less personalizing, more naive notions of Nature-powers; it is directed to the control not of deities, endowed with independent wills, but of those irresponsible Nature-forces which, if they are personified at all, are regarded as mere genii, slaves of the lamp or of the seal, and are counted in groups and kinds rather than as individuals. Magic is essentially a vast extension of the principle of identity; its universal formula is *similia similibus*, 'like affects like.' The Indian warrior who adorned his body with painted charms believed that he was thereby compelling to his aid the powers of Nature so symbolized; the dance in which he fore-represented the fall of his enemy laid a kind of obligation upon his god to fulfil its promise; the song in which he called down maledictions robbed his foe of strength by its very naming of weakness. The Huancas made tambours of the skins of slain foes, the beating of which was to put their enemies to flight; the Indians of Cuzco lighted fires on clear nights, in the belief that the smoke might act as clouds to prevent frost; the Sioux medicine-man made an image of the animal or other object which he regarded as the cause of disease, and then burned it, thus symbolically curing his patient; and certain tribes of the North-West are said to have made images of the children they wished to have, believing that the fondling of these images would encourage the coming of real children. Perhaps the clearest illustration of the primitive inability to separate the destinies of like things is to be found in the mandate of a prophet to the Ojibwas:

'The fire must never be suffered to go out in your lodge. Summer and winter, day and night, in the storm, or when it is calm, you must remember that the life in your body and the fire in your lodge are the same and of the same date. If you suffer your fire to be extinguished, at that moment your life will be at its end' (*LA RBEW*, pt. 2 [1906], p. 678).

Thus the symbol seemed to give man control over potencies other than his own, and so released him from his primitive servitude to helpless fear; he had but to find out the secret signs of nature to command her inmost forces. But all this is magic; it is not worship. Communion with gods—prayer and its response, sacrifice and its rewards, partici-

pation in Divine knowledge, sacramental blessings—is very different from compulsion of Nature-powers by the magic of mimicry.

And yet the ritual of worship plainly springs from the ritual of magic. Magic tends to cling to the lower and less clearly personified conceptions of super-nature; but, just as animistic elements persist into mystic thinking, so do the principles of magic persist in higher rites. Probably the only sure criterion of the transition from magic to worship, from compulsion to communion, is degree of personification; where man conceives a power as a person, capable of exercising intelligent will (as the Iroquoian *ongwe*, 'man-being'), he unconsciously comes to assume towards it the mental attitude which marks his intercourse with his own kind—the attitude of question and answer, gift and reward, service and mastership.

That the magic of resemblance permeates primitive theories of worship is sufficiently shown by the wide use of mummiery in feasts of the gods. This was especially characteristic of ancient Mexico, where worshippers and victims were often invested with the symbols of the divinity, as if thereby to partake of the Divine nature. In the Hopi dances the *katchinas* are similarly represented by the dancers. The Aztecs, in their mountain-worship, made edible images of these deities, which, after being worshipped, were eaten as a kind of sacrament. Votive offerings, too, were often in the likeness of the deity. The Mantas, says Garcilasso de la Vega (*History of the Incas*, ix. viii.), worshipped a huge emerald to which emeralds were the acceptable offering; in the Aztec worship of the rain godlings, pop-corn was scattered about to symbolize hail. The tears of the victims offered to the rain-gods were in Mexico, as with the Khonds of India, regarded as omens of the next season's rainfall.

2. As the scale of civilization ascends, magical elements sink farther and farther into the background. Among the more primitive Indians mimetic festivals, including 'mysteries,' or dramatic representations of myths, as well as dances, are the most conspicuous ceremonials. With the more settled and civilized peoples, other elements—temple service, cult—come to the front, and almost every type of ritualistic celebration and every conception of intercourse with the deity are developed.

Of the various types of ritual observance the tribal and national festivals probably retain most pronouncedly the magical element. They are directly associated with the social welfare of the celebrants, and serve to give expression to the ideal of solidarity which makes society possible. In this sense their magic is real; it has a psychological force in the consciousness of the participants, reflecting that change of mind which makes possible the development of a vast commune, like the empire of Peru, out of what must have been a mere anarchism analogous to that of the savage Amazonians. This social significance of the feast is well illustrated in the character of the five principal feasts of the Incas. Of these, the *Citu* was a symbolic purgation of society, probably with some reminiscence of ancestor-worship, analogous to the Roman *Lemuria* or the Greek *Antheisteria*. Of the remaining festivals, the chief was the great feast of the Sun at the summer solstice, at which delegates from all parts of the empire marched before the Inca in their national costumes, bearing gifts characteristic of the products of their provinces—clearly a symbolization of the empire of the national deity. Two other festivals were connected with the production of food: these were the feast of the young vegetation in the spring, designed to avert frosts and other blights; and the harvest home in the autumn, which was a minor and

chiefly family festival. The remaining celebration was the occasion of the initiation of young men to warriors' rank—an annual or biennial observance, the connexion of which with the welfare of the State is obvious.

These feasts may be taken as generally typical of American Indian tribal celebrations. Local conditions vary the period of celebration, the number, and the stress on this element or on that—as the stress on rain-making comes to characterize the 'dances' of the Pueblo Indians, or as the populous pantheons of Mexico caused a great increase in the number of festivals. But the social significance remains throughout, developing from what may be termed the summation of individual into tribal 'medicine' or 'orenda,'—as in the magic dances by which game is allured—up to the conception of a sacramental banquet of the worshippers with their god. This sacramental character is obvious in many rites; but it is worth while to instance, in the Aztec worship of Omacatl (god of banquets), the fabrication of an elongated cake which is termed a 'bone of the god' and is eaten by the participants in his festival. The eating of the body of the god recurs in several cults among the Aztecs, with whom ceremonial cannibalism was customary; with the Incas, on the other hand, the typical sacrament was a feast shared by the god with his worshippers, or with such of them as were deemed related to him, for in the great feast of the Sun only the 'children of the Sun' were allowed to partake of the vase of liquor from which their god and ancestor had first been invited to drink.

3. Rites and practices of an ascetic nature are numerous and varied throughout the American Indian world. At the root of such practices is not merely the desire to placate evil powers by self-inflicted punishments, but also the purely social desire to prove publicly one's endurance and valour. The horrible tortures inflicted upon themselves by the Mandans in the so-called 'Sun dance,' and similar practices of other Northern tribes, are probably as much due to a desire to prove worth and endurance as to propitiate the Sun or the Great Spirit. [Father de Smet states (*Life, Letters, and Travels*, New York, 1905) that the warriors of the Arikaras and Gros Ventres, in the fast preparatory to going on the warpath, 'make incisions in their bodies, thrust pieces of wood into their flesh beneath the shoulder blade, tie leather straps to them, and let themselves be hung from a post fastened horizontally upon the edge of a chasm 150 feet deep.']

Similarly, the fastings which introduce so many Indian festivals spring from a variety of motives. Among the hunting tribes, with whom involuntary fasts were a matter of common chance, to fast frequently in times of plenty was a part of the normal training of a 'brave.' The training began early. Eastman, describing his early childhood, says (*Indian Boyhood*, New York, 1902):

'Sometimes my uncle would wake me very early in the morning and challenge me to fast with him all day. I had to accept the challenge. We blackened our faces with charcoal, so that every boy in the village would know that I was fasting for the day. Then the little tempters would make my life a misery until the merciful sun hid behind the western hills.'

But there was also a far deeper, a mystical, motive which made the fast a prominent feature of the Indian's life. A fast was endured by the young Indian on the verge of manhood, seeking the revelation of his tutelary in vision or by some oracular manifestation of Nature. Similar fasts, especially by medicine-men and women, seeking revelation in dream and vision, were common. Copway (*The Ojibwa Nation*, London, 1850) describes in detail the visions of a young girl of his tribe (the Ojibwa) during a protracted period of fasting. It was in the summer season, and her

people were coasting along the lake-side. The girl was taken with a mood of pensive sadness, and spent much time alone.

'One evening she was seen standing on the peak of pictured rocks, and, as the sun was passing the horizon, and the waves dashed furiously, she was heard to sing for the first time. Her long black hair floated upon the wind, and her voice was heard above the rustling of the leaves and the noise of the waters. When night came, she could not be seen. She had fled to the rocky cave, from whence were to go up her petitions to her gods.' She was not found until the fourth day, and during all that time she had tasted neither food nor drink. Her friends besought her to return to the camp, but she refused to do so until the gods were propitious to her. The night of the fifth day a young warrior appeared to her in a vision: 'What will you have,' he asked, 'the furs from the woods—the plumes of rare birds—the animals of the forest—or a knowledge of the properties of wild flowers?' She answered: 'I want a knowledge of the roots, that I may relieve the nation's sufferings, and prolong the lives of the aged.' This was promised, but she was not yet satisfied. On following days and nights other visions came. In one of her dreams two beings conducted her to the top of a high hill, whence she could see the clouds and lightning beneath. Her companion said: 'That which is before you, bordering on the great hill, is infancy. It is pleasant but dangerous. The rocks represent the perilous times of life.' At the very summit, where all the world was spread out below, as far as the Western sea, one of the beings touched the maiden's hair, and half of it turned white. In a final dream she was asked to enter a canoe on the lake, and, when she had done so, one of her visitors sang:

'I walk on the waves of the sea,

I travel o'er hill and dale.'

'When becalmed,' said they, 'sing this, and you will hear us whisper to you.' The next day, the tenth of her fasting, she permitted herself to be taken to the camp. 'I have received the favour of the gods,' she said, 'I have travelled the journey of life, and have learned that I shall not die until my hair is turned white.'

It is obvious that there is the making of a mystical philosophy in this vision; and in a number of cases Indian religious sects have originated from the fasting-visions of their prophets. Characteristic of such visions is a journey into the spirit-world, whence the prophet returns to reveal 'the way' to his fellows; and in all Indian life there is nothing more pathetic and beautiful than the naive faith in these revelations.

Fasts of a purely ritualistic character naturally pertain to a more conventionalized stage of religion. In Peru two types of fasts were observed: one perfectly rigorous, the other merely involving abstinence from meat and seasoned food. In Mexico also fasts varied in their severity. In both countries fasts were imposed upon the priests that were not observed by the laity. The Peruvian priests fasted vicariously for the people.

Continence was enjoined as a feature of all important fasts. The notion of perpetual celibacy seems to have occurred only in Peru, where a certain number of priestesses were chosen to be 'Virgins of the Sun'; they were really regarded as the Sun's wives. Garcilasso states that there was a law that a virgin who fell should be immured alive, though there was no recorded instance of occasion for the infliction of this penalty—a law which, like their keeping of the perpetual fire in the temple of the Sun, is strikingly reminiscent of the Roman Vestals.

Penance for sins committed and confession of sins with a view to expiation were probably far more common than our records show. Confession and penance both appear in some North American religions of late origin, but probably from the influence of Catholic teachings. The clear case of native practice is the Aztec, recorded by Sahagun. The confession was secret, and the priest prescribed penance according to its gravity.

'They say that the Indians awaited old age before confessing the carnal sins. It is easy to comprehend that, although they had, indeed, committed errors in youth, they should not confess them before arriving at an advanced age, in order not to find themselves obliged to give over these follies till the senile years' (Sahagun, *Gen. Hist. of Affairs of New Spain*, i. xli). It is only fair to add that Sahagun's own account of the eagerness of the Indians to confess to the Spanish fathers rather belies this cynicism. The

Mexicans also severely punished lapses on the part of the servitors of the gods. At the festival of the gods of rain in the sixth Mexican month,

they chastised terribly on the waters of the lake those servants of the idols who had committed any fault in their service. Indeed, they were maltreated to the point of being left for dead on the shores of the lake, where their relatives came to bear them home almost without life' (Sahagun, *op. cit.* i. vi.).

4. Besides the rites considered—magical rites, designed to compel unseen powers to the performer's desire; and rites of service, whether of the nature of placation or of pleasuring ('tendence')—there remains a third form of communion: direct supplication, prayer. Expression of desire is the root of language, and it is, therefore, an idle quest to ask after the origin of any instinctive form of it. But we may, in a general way, classify some of the elementary types of prayer as having a more or less conventionalized character.

It is first to be noted that prayer is not necessarily vocal. It may be conducted by symbols, sign-language; and signs are practically always retained with it: that is, there are conventional postures and gestures with which he who prays naturally or customarily accompanies his words. The beginning and end of almost every formal address to deity by the North American tribes was accompanied by the raising of the calumet or other token. Garcilasso describes a peculiar Peruvian gesture of adoration made by 'kissing the air,' which, he says, was performed when approaching an idol or adoring the Sun.

Father de Smet, at a feast among the Blackfeet, was requested by a chief to 'speak again to the Great Spirit before commencing the feast. I made the sign of the cross,' he says, 'and said the prayer. All the time it lasted, all the savage company, following their chiefs' example, held their hands raised toward heaven: the moment it ended, they lowered their right hands to the ground. I asked the chief for an explanation of this ceremony. "We raise our hands," he replied, "because we are wholly dependent on the Great Spirit; it is His liberal hand that supplies all our wants. We strike the ground afterward, because we are miserable beings, worms crawling before His face" (*op. cit.* p. 253).

But other symbols besides gestures are employed. The Zuni's make extensive use of prayer-plumes in their worship of Nature-spirits and ancestors. In a ceremony in which she took part Mrs. Stevenson describes their *modus operandi*:

'After the *te'likinasse* [prayer-plumes] are all stood in the ground, each person takes a pinch of meal, brought by the mother-in-law in a cloth, and, holding the meal near the lips, repeats a prayer for health, long life, many clouds, much rain, food, and raiment, and the meal is sprinkled thickly over the plumes. . . . These plumes remain uncovered until sunset the following day, that the Sun Father, in passing over the road of day, may receive the prayers breathed upon the meal and into the plumes, the spiritual essence of the plumes conveying the breath prayers to him' (23 *RBEW* [1904], p. 120).

In many cases the symbolic objects used as prayers acquire a sanctity equal to or greater than that of a fetish or idol. This was especially true of the calumet and of the feathered wands employed in the Hako ceremonials. The prayer-sticks used in various Indian religions, in a manner analogous to the Catholic rosary, also acquire a fetishistic sacredness. These prayer-sticks are small strips of wood engraved with symbolic characters. Their use among the followers of the Kickapoo prophet Keokuk is described as follows:

'They reckon five of these [engraved] characters or marks. The first represents the heart, the second the heart and flesh, the third the life, the fourth their names, the fifth their families. During the service they run over these marks several times. First the person imagines himself as existing upon the earth, then he draws near the house of God, etc. Putting their finger on the lowest mark, they say: "O our Father, make our hearts like thy heart, as good as thine, as strong as thine.—As good as thy house, as good as the door of thy house, as hard and as good as the earth around thy house, as strong as thy walking staff. O our Father, make our hearts and our flesh like thy heart and thy flesh.—As powerful as thy heart and thy flesh.—Like thy house and thy door and thy staff, etc. O our Father, place our names beside thine—think of us as thou thinkest of thy house, of thy door, of the earth around thy house, etc." This prayer is 'repeated to satiety,' and in 'a monotonous musical tone' (de Smet, *op. cit.* p. 1086 f.).

In this prayer there are to be noted two characteristics bearing upon the early psychology of prayer-communion. First, it is sung or chanted. Song plays an important rôle in the life of the Indian. It accompanies all his ceremonies, it is the music to which he dances, even his games and gambling are accommodated to its measures. It is a spontaneous and natural expression of his emotion under all life's stresses, and it is only to be expected that his prayers should mostly take this form. Indeed, it may be doubted if all his songs are not of the nature of prayer, either plea or thanksgiving. Some such case is surely implied by his peculiar reverence for proprietary rights in songs. Frederic Burton, who has made an especial study of the music of the Ojibwas, says (*Craftsman*, July 1907) that 'the composer is the owner, and wherever ancient customs are still preserved no Indian ventures to sing a song that does not belong to his family.' This plainly indicates the sacred character of formalized emotional expression: there is prayer in the very utterance of emotion, and wherever the expression is such as to stir the emotions of listening men it is felt that it cannot be less mandatory upon the gods.

The second point to be noticed is the painstaking repetition (much abridged in the example as given): the worshipper goes over the ground step by step, lest any elision of utterance leave a loophole for misunderstanding or failure. This is practically name-magic. It is the principle of the incantation and the spell. The name is not merely a mark of identification; it is a part of the essential being; it is a kind of spiritual essence. In its utterance there is appropriation of the veritable existence of the named object, and control of its activities. This is a commonplace of savage thinking, which lies at the base of the formularization of prayer.

Doubtless there is a secondary, less conscious, motive underlying repetitive expression. For repetition reacts upon the mind, concentrating attention upon the object of desire, and adding to the magic of naming the magic of thinking, *i.e.* the potency which the mere thinking of anything exerts to bring that thing to pass. The primitive mind does not distinguish readily between truth and conception, fact and myth, and it is not surprising that its own activities should seem to it to exercise occult causation (a belief which the more enlightened are slow to let go).

These various motives are admirably illustrated by the Hako ceremonial. The Hako consists of songs and dances with much mimetic action, embodied in some twenty rituals. The first stanza of the first part of the first ritual is as follows:

Ho-o-o!
I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
Heru! Awahokshu. He!
I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

This stanza (there are thirteen in the song, varying only in the fourth verse) is explained by Miss Fletcher in detail (22 *RBEW*, pt. 2 [1904], p. 27): *Ho-o-o* is an introductory exclamation. The verse three times repeated is made up of variants of *I'hare*, which is an 'exclamation that conveys the intimation that something is presented to the mind on which one must reflect, must consider its significance and its teaching.' *Heru* is an 'exclamation of reverent feeling, as when one is approaching something sacred.' *Awahokshu* is 'a composite word; *awa* is a part of *Tira'wa*, the supernatural powers, and *hokshu* means sacred, holy; thus the word *Awahokshu* means the abode of the supernatural powers, the holy place where they dwell.' *He* is, again, a variant of *I'hare*. Many of the songs are of a more dramatic character, and some have stories connected with them which must be understood to make them comprehensible, but this

stanza gives a fair example of the frame of mind in which they are conceived and sung.

The ceremony of the Hako, as a whole, is more analogous to the mystery than to any other form of rite, for it embraces in its purpose the teaching of truths and the sanctifying of the participants, as well as a plea for blessings. But that the Indians themselves consider it as primarily a prayer is evidenced by the statement of the leader:

'We take up the Hako in the spring when the birds are mating, or in the summer when the birds are nesting and caring for their young, or in the fall when the birds are flocking, but not in the winter when all things are asleep. With the Hako we are praying for the gift of life, of strength, of plenty, and of peace, so we must pray when life is stirring everywhere' (22 *RBEW*, pt. 2, p. 231).

This is prayer, but it is prayer not far removed from magic.

Of prayers evincing a more individualized religious consciousness examples are not wanting, especially among the more cultured tribes. The lengthy Aztec supplications which have been preserved for us in what must be an approximately trustworthy form have been termed 'penitential psalms.' They are certainly replete with poetic imagery, though their perusal is likely to leave one with the feeling that the Aztecs were more keenly impressed with the smart and dolour of the general context of life than with any individual conviction of sin. Fine types of devotion are, nevertheless, not wanting. Father de Smet (*op. cit.* p. 326) records the supplication of an Indian who had lost three calumets (than which no greater loss could readily befall):

'O Great Spirit, you who see all things and undo all things; grant, I entreat you, that I may find what I am looking for; and yet let thy will be done.'

5. But we have yet to reach the most characteristic and heartfelt type of Indian religious experience—religious values as they strike home in the individual life. There can be no question that, as a race, the Indians are born mystics, and it is the mystic consciousness—in trance and vision—that is the most impressive factor of their religious life. The mysticism is begun already in the Indian's special view of Nature. For Nature is to him endowed with an inner, hidden life, having passions and volitions analogous to man's, so that her whole external form is but the curtaining outer flesh of this inner light. An animist is an incipient pantheist, and a pantheist is but a sophisticated, ratiocinating mystic. Reliance upon dreams, the visions brought on by fasting, the trance and mediumship of shamans and prophets, soul-journeys to the spirit-world—all these are phases of the underlying belief that man may find within himself revelation of a higher life, that the veil which parts the seen from the unseen is of the flimsiest. Possession by a higher power, *enthusiasm*, is also a tenet of Indian mysticism, taking form, amongst those peoples who had invented intoxicants, in the induced inspiration of drunkenness. Again, there was belief in the familiar, the *daemon*. A Pend d'Oreille prophet had foretold precisely a Blackfoot attack upon his people. When about to be baptized, he explained his gift:

'I am called the great doctor, yet never have I given myself up to the practices of juggling, nor condescended to exercise its deceptions. I derive all my strength from prayer; when in a hostile country, I address myself to the Master of Life and offer him my heart and soul, entreating him to protect us against our enemies. A voice had already warned me of coming danger; I then recommend prudence and vigilance throughout the camp; for the monitory voice has never deceived me. I have now a favour to request: the mysterious voice calls me by the name of Chalax, and if you will permit, I desire to bear that name until my death' (de Smet, *op. cit.* p. 475).

Black Coyote, an Arapaho marked by seventy patterned scars where strips of skin had been removed, explained them to Mooney. Several

of his children had died in rapid succession. In expiation, to save his family, he undertook a four days' fast. During the fast he heard a voice, 'somewhat resembling the cry of an owl or the subdued bark of a dog,' telling him that he must cut out seventy pieces of skin and offer them to the Sun. He immediately cut out seven pieces, held them out to the sun, prayed, and buried them. But the sun was not satisfied, and he was warned in a vision that the full number must be sacrificed.

Black Coyote was a leader of the 'Ghost dance' in his tribe, and it was through him that Mooney gained his first insight into the Indian understanding of this mystical religion. The 'Ghost dance' religion is the latest of a long series of Messianic religious movements, whereby the Indians have looked for an eventual release from white domination and the eventual restoration of their primitive state. Doubtless Christian doctrines have had an influence in giving form to the idea, and its recurrence and spread are to be largely accounted for by the fact of Indian contact with a strange and troubling race—a contact which has tended to awaken a sense of closer relationship and ethnic solidarity among the native tribes, and to stimulate the Indian mind to many unwonted ways of thought. But in their inception these religions, none the less, bear a thoroughly aboriginal cast. They come as revelations to the prophets who are their founders, come in trance and dream, and in large part their *modus operandi* is to induce trance and dream in their adherents—usually in the dances and fastings, perhaps hypnotisms, which dominate the ceremonial.

Wovoka, the prophet of the 'Ghost dance' religion, received his revelation at about the age of eighteen.

'On this occasion the "sun died" (was eclipsed), and he fell asleep in the daytime and was taken up to the other world. Here he saw God, with all the people who had died long ago engaged in their oldtime sports and occupations, all happy and for ever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarrelling, and live in peace with the whites; that they must work, and not lie or steal; that they must put away all the old practices that savoured of war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in this other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing this dance at intervals, for five consecutive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves and hasten the event' (Mooney, in 14 *RBEW*, p. 771 f.).

It is little wonder that, as this revelation passed from tribe to tribe, it came to mean a promise of restoration, here on this earth, of the old life the Indian still holds dear. The whites were to be forced back by the hand of God, the Indian dead were to come to life and re-people the land, the herds of buffalo were to be restored, plenty was to prevail for ever. And the dance became the occasion of vision of this blessed state, a ghostly realization of the hope deferred, sent for the comfort of those wearied in waiting.

How closely the utterances of the Indian may approach to those of the white mystic is shown in the account given by a Puget Sound prophet, 'John Slocum,' of his revelation.

'At night my breath was out, and I died. All at once I saw a shining light—great light—trying my soul. I looked and saw my body had no soul—looked at my own body—it was dead. . . . My soul left body and went up to judgment place of God. . . . I have seen a great light in my soul from that good land; I have understand all Christ wants us to do. Before I came alive I saw I was a sinner. Angel in heaven said to me, "You must go back and turn alive again on earth." . . . When I came back, I told my friends, "There is a God, there is a Christian people. My good friends, be Christian." When I came alive, I tell my friends, "Good thing in heaven. God is kind to us. If you all try hard and help me we will be better men on earth." And now we all feel that it is so' (14 *RBEW*, p. 762).

The ideas here are derived from the teachings of

the whites, but the mystical experience which gives them their force and vividness belongs to no particular race, or, if it belongs to any one more than another, it is surely the Indian whose claim to it is best.

6. In conclusion, a word must be said regarding the reflective aspect of the Indian's thought, his philosophy, and the devotional spirit responding to it. There is, of course, among the Indians, a gradation of conception as great as their gradation in culture, which ranges from the utter savagery of the naked cannibals of Brazil to the grave and refined decorum of men like the Aymara and Maya; but it may be questioned whether the intellectual advancement of the Indian at his best is not greater than that accompanying a like stage of material knowledge elsewhere in the world. The American continents appear not to have furnished the natural facilities for material conquests to be found in Mediterranean and some Asiatic regions; there were not equally ready natural alloys of metal, for example, and no animals comparable with the horse and ox capable of domestication.

Certainly the mental attainment of the Indian, at its climax, may be fairly compared with early Greek and Hindu thought. While Indian speculation had nowhere passed beyond the stage of mythologizing thought, it had, in its mythologies, frequently attained a henotheistic and approached a monotheistic or even a pantheistic conception of the Divine nature. The attainment of such conceptions is, in fact, almost implicit in the evolution of speech, as evidenced by the peculiar sanctity which attaches to a name in primitive thought, and its irresistible tendency to hypostatization. This is curiously illustrated by the Indian notion of an archetypal chief (a veritable Platonic idea) of every animal species, from which each individual of the species draws its life. The myth of such universals—*universalis ante res*, in the true Scholastic sense—is a plain consequence of the primitive inability to think an abstraction other than concretely; every idea corresponds to a reality because every idea is a present vision of its object. With man's growing consciousness of his superiority to the rest of the animal kingdom, it is inevitable that the archetype of his own species, the anthropomorphic god, should assume the leadership of the whole pantheon of animal deities.

Eventually, too, the Indian conception of the natural world as made up of congeries of active, volitional powers, of *makers* and *doers*, must result in the notion of a Supreme maker, controller of all lesser destinies. The Supreme Being will, to be sure, be concretely represented (that is always a necessity of primitive thinking), but the dominant idea is sure to be betrayed in his names and attributes. The Mexican Tezcatlipoca was represented under the form of a young man, but he was regarded as 'invisible and impalpable,' penetrating all places in heaven, in earth, and in hell. The very names of certain Peruvian deities prove their abstractness: Pachaychacher, 'he who instructs the world'; Chinchacamac, 'the creator and protector of the Chinchas'; Pachacamac, 'he who animates the world,' 'soul of the universe.' Possibly some of these names were originally epithets, but this does not detract from the fact that they came to be considered the proper description of the deity. Pachacamac was originally the god of the Yuncas, by whom he was worshipped under the form of an idol. It is an interesting commentary on the mental pre-eminence of the Incas that, when they had conquered the Yuncas, they assimilated Pachacamac to their own Sun-worship. The Sun was worshipped by the Incas as their ancestor, and, if not as a purely mono-

theistic god, at least as one infinitely superior to all others. But the god of the civilized Yuncas was not to be disregarded, and from the recorded remarks of some of the Inca emperors it is plain that sun-worship was not wholly satisfying to Inca intelligence. Hence it was that they adopted the belief in Pachacamac, regarding him as the sustainer of life; but they decreed that, because he was invisible, there should be no temples built to him and no sacrifices offered; they were to content themselves with adoring him, says Garcilasso, 'in their souls, with great veneration, as sufficiently appears from the external demonstrations which they made with the head, the eyes, the arms, with the whole attitude of body, whenever his name was mentioned' (*op. cit.* VI. xxx. cf. II. ii.).

In North America the more enlightened tribes seem all to have recognized a 'Great Spirit' or 'Master of Life,' a supreme power to whom was due an especial devotion, as the ultimate giver of all good. And it is curious to note how this belief constantly tends to elevate the Supreme Deity to a sphere remote from human interest; he becomes an impassive spectator of the world he has created, to whom it is useless to address prayers and sacrifices save through mediators.

Thus, the Ojibwas place at the head of their pantheon a Great Spirit or Manitou, whose name is mentioned only with reverence, but who plays no great part in worship. Beneath him is the good Manitou, from whom men receive the mysteries, and between whom and men Manabozho, the 'Great Rabbit,' acts as mediator and intercessor. A similar belief in a Supreme God and demiurgic beings appears among the Pawnees. 'All the powers that are in the heavens and all those that are upon the earth are derived from the mighty power, Tira'wa atius. He is the father of all things visible and invisible' (22 *BBEW*, pt. 2, p. 107). But, 'at the creation of the world it was arranged that there should be lesser powers. Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, could not come near to man, could not be seen or felt by him, therefore the lesser powers were permitted. They were to mediate between man and Tira'wa' (*ib.* p. 27). The following verses, translated by Miss Fletcher from a Pawnee ritual, show how nearly this conception approaches the monotheistic ideal:

'Each god in his place
Speaks out his thought, grants or rejects
Man's suppliant cry, asking for help;
But none can act until the Council grand
Comes to accord, thinks as one mind,
Has but one will, all must obey.
Hearken! The Council gave consent—
Hearken! And great Tira'wa, mightier than all' (*ib.* p. 367).

The name of the Supreme Being is never uttered by the Indian save with devout reverence. Indeed, one missionary, in commenting upon the lack of oaths in Indian tongues, states that the Indians are not merely shocked but terribly frightened at the white man's swearing. This points in the direction of name-magic, but that name-magic can be no full account of the Indian's attitude, that this attitude is indeed one of intense and earnest reverence, the barest acquaintance with Indian psychology makes sure.

But the Indian is not entirely free from that scepticism which advance in reflective thinking must always entail. It is recorded of the Inca Tupac Yupanqui that he questioned the divinity of the Sun on the ground that in following always the same course through the heavens it was acting the part of a slave rather than a free and regnant being. And there are certain utterances of the Aztec (such as that in which Tezcatlipoca is addressed: 'We men, we are but a pageant before

you, a spectacle for your sport and diversion') which imply an unlooked-for maturity of reflexion, and give promise of philosophic developments which we can scarce but regret the history of the world should not have made possible.

LITERATURE.—The literature of American Indian religious life is the literature of American Indian life in general, which is at once extensive and widely distributed. For North America the *Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1879 to date), together with the *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, previously published in part under the auspices of the Department of the Interior, are of first importance; and among these publications special mention should be made of the *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, pt. 1 [1907], in which extensive bibliographies are given, and also of 14 *BBEW*, pt. 2 [1896], embodying 'The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890,' by James Mooney, perhaps the most valuable single contribution to the study of the religious psychology of the Indian. Only second in value are the 78 vols. of *Thwaites'* ed. of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cincinnati, 1896-1901), with which should be mentioned the 4 vols. of the *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, S.J.* (New York, 1905). The works of George Catlin, H. R. Schoolcraft (especially *Algic Researches*, New York, 1829, and *Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indians of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1855), and Daniel G. Brinton (especially *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1868), deserve particular mention among earlier writings. The principal earlier works regarding the Indians of both Americas are given in the bibliography annexed to the article, 'Indians, American' in *EBR*.⁹ For the religions of Mexico and Peru the best general summaries are still those of Prescott (in his *Conquest of Mexico*, 1874, and *Conquest of Peru*, 1874), where bibliographical references will be found. For Peruvian religion no single work is so valuable as Garcilasso de la Vega's *History of the Incas*—in Spanish, French, and English editions (the latter by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1869); and for the religion of the Aztecs the most notable work is that of Bernardino de Sahagun, especially in the scholarly edition of Jourdanet and Siméon, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris, 1880). The *Maya Chronicles* (tr. Brinton, Philadelphia, 1882), and the *Quiché Popol Vuh*, a native work written down after the conquest (Fr. tr. by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, Paris, 1861), are Central American documents of the first value.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Babylonian).

—The supreme concern of all religions, as is maintained by Kant in his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (1793), is redemption. Religion is a striving after communion with Deity by a process of deliverance from the evil inherent in man and in his environment. In the religion of Babylonia, so far as it is historically known to us, the essential element manifests itself in the investigation of the 'mystery of heaven and earth' (*nisirtu samti u iršitini*), which 'the knower (*mudû*) guards and hands down to his son.' As in all mystery-religions, the interest centres in (1) the mystery of the cosmos, which alike in its totality and in its isolated phenomena is regarded as the revelation of a single undivided Divine power; and (2) the mystery of life—that life which in the cycle of phenomena arises out of death.

The inscriptions supply no direct evidence bearing upon the Bab. mysteries. These were concerned with things 'which fear of the Deity prohibits from being communicated to others.' Our knowledge of them must therefore be gathered from the mythology. The myths of the Babylonians are the materializing expression of a monistic cosmic doctrine, the leading axioms of which are (1) that the world is an embodiment of Deity; and (2) that the terrestrial structure corresponds to the celestial, every phenomenon in Nature being a revelation of the Divine.

To look for traces of a primitive religion in the Bab. records is a bootless task. In the historical period known to us religions thought rests upon a monistic conception of the Universe, while the mythology, which expresses this monistic conception in the language of symbol, provides in turn a basis for the cultus and the festive drama. The cultus, whether national or local, was designed to utilize the cosmic mystery for the benefit of the people at large and of the individual; the festive

drama represented the warfare of cyclic phenomena—the victory of light over darkness, and of life over death. Here we come upon the sources of religious deterioration. At the very heart of the cultus lay the art of the *astrologers and the cult of the magicians* (even hepatoscopy, according to which the structure of the cosmos was to be traced in the liver of the sheep, was neither more nor less than the practice of astrology transferred to the shambles of the priest, and its object was to apply the cosmic doctrine to the history of the individual), based upon the belief in demons, and this belief, again, was likewise a creation of mythology.

Alike in the mysteries and in the public religion of the Babylonians the motive power was the *aspiration after communion with Deity*, and the cult of magic which was based upon demonology had a similar object in view. In 1 Co 10²⁰ St. Paul, the greatest of religious philosophers, speaks thus of the heathen: *ἡ θύουσιν . . . δαίμονιαι καὶ οὐ θεοὶ θύουσιν* (cf. v.¹⁵ *κοινωνία*, in the Lord's Supper; and v.¹⁸ *κοινωνοί*, of the Israelites in their sacrifices).

The mystery of communion with Deity may assume either of two forms: the ascent of man to the Divine sphere, or the incarnation of the Deity in a human person. Traces of both are found in the Bab. records, and, if we possessed literary evidence regarding the religious mysteries, we should more clearly identify the two categories. In several important features the mysteries of Mithra may be adduced by way of illustration, as the religion of Mithra is simply a Persian reproduction of that of Babylonia. In the original Bab. sources we note the following phases of our subject:—

1. The ascent of the cosmic tower as a religious ceremony.—In the centre of every Bab. city stood a storeyed tower. 'Its pinnacle shall reach to heaven': so runs the regular formula in the later inscriptions upon buildings. This tower was regarded as the earthly replica of the heavenly sanctuary, whose storeys (the three regions of the Universe, or the seven spheres of the planets, rising to the highest heaven, the seat of the *summus deus*) lead to the *summus deus* (cf. the symbolical language in 1 Ti 3¹³ *βαθμὸν ἐαυτοῖς καλὸν περιποιούμεναι*; 2 Co 12² *ἕως τρίτου οὐρανοῦ*). Gudea (c. 2600 B.C.) says: 'Ningirsu ordains a good destiny for him who ascends to the top of the temple with the seven *tupkat*.' In the mysteries of Osiris and Mithra the place of the tower is taken by the ladder (in the Mithra cult, the ladder of the seven metals, corresponding to the seven planets; in the Manichaean *bimā*, five steps, to correspond with the number of the planets less the unpropitious two) which is ascended by the devotee. It is possible to regard the climbing of this *scala santa* as a mere *opus operatum*—an act to which as such the gods assign a reward. But we hold it to be by no means impossible that even in ancient Babylonia the physical mystery was associated with ethical conceptions, precisely as we find in the mysteries of a later date ('the soul's ascent to heaven'). Babylonian mythology, as, e.g., in the solar hymns, presents features of such moral intensity that we may venture to assume the presence of ethical ideas even in the beliefs that underlie the myths.

2. The religious festival of the death and restoration of Tammūz.—The community celebrated this festival by wailing and rejoicing, and by the performance of appropriate symbolic ceremonies. The observance is attested by numerous hymns in praise of Tammūz, and by the conclusion of 'Istar's Descent into Hell,' in which he is honoured as the resuscitated deity. The celebration was meant to express the longing of the individual to link his own destiny with the mystery of life. The same motive shows itself quite un-

mistakably in the Osiris mysteries of the Egyptians (cf. 'Egyptian' section of this article).

The identical conception is found in the Attis-Adonis-Dionysos-Mithra cults. As a matter of fact, all these are, so to speak, but dialects of the same spiritual tongue. Nor can there be any doubt that a similar idea lies at the basis of the myth and cult of Tammûz. Although our available material relating to the cult of Tammûz has not as yet supplied any direct evidence regarding the mysteries of that god, the epic of Gilgamesh shows indirectly that the idea of such mysteries was current in Babylonia. In this epic the myths which originally represented the doings of the gods are applied to heroes; to derive the mystery from the hero legend is to reverse the actual process of development. Gilgamesh is the Dr. Faustus of the Babylonians. He goes forth to seek his ancestor, who had at one time been received into 'the fellowship of the gods,' and who therefore bore the name *Uš-napištim* ('he saw life'). On an island beyond the river of death, moreover, Gilgamesh finds the herb that endows him with life. The story of his passing through suffering and death to life is then transferred to historical kings, and the king receives 'the food of life' from the gods, though other mortal beings reach the same goal, as may be gathered from the use of certain metaphorical expressions. Thus, an officer of the court, who has been emancipated by the king, gives thanks that the latter 'has held the herb of life to his nostrils.' The penitential psalms of the Babylonians likewise give expression to the idea that he who has suffered and gone down to death receives liberty and 'life.' Precisely as in the mysteries of Osiris, his destiny is compared with what happens to the moon, which proceeds through death to new life, i.e. through the three days of invisibility to the new moon which is welcomed with rejoicing.

3. The idea of a Divine incarnation in the person of the king.—The underlying principle of this has already been explained. The king, as man *kar' êšoxîr* (cf. the ideogram which indicates him as the 'great man'), is a microcosm. The Deity becomes incarnate in him. In the Etana myth, Bel and Enlil make search for a shepherd who shall govern the world. Sceptre, band, cap, and staff all lie ready before Anu. In a certain hymn Gilgamesh, who seeks and finds 'life,' is worshipped 'as the deity; he surveys the regions of the world; he rules the earth; and kings, governors, princes kneel before him.' Ninib, in a heroic poem, utters the wish 'that his royal dominion may extend to the confines of heaven and earth.' In the inscriptions the determinative of deity is affixed to the names of Sargon and Naram-sin, the founders of the first world-empire of history, as also to those of other Bab. kings. Naram-sin is 'the mighty god of Agade.' Esarhaddon, who sought to restore the ancient Bab. world-empire, 'ascends the throne of the deity.' Nor does the absence of the symbol of deity in any particular case imply that the king in question did not rank as Divine. The idea of the divinity of kings was always present, though it was not applied in every case. But the attribute of deity belonged in the ultimate to every individual. According to the regular form of expression, man is 'created in the image of the Deity'; he is 'the child of his god.' The hymns and prayers of the Babylonians are all founded upon this conception of communion with Deity.

4. The penitential psalms.—These are called 'threnodies for calming the heart,' and in the form in which they now appear in the library of Ashurbanipal they are part of the system of magic ceremonies. The psalms themselves, however, are of remote age, being products of the ancient Bab.

period. A transcript of one of them, together with a linguistic commentary, has been discovered at Sippar. The moral and religious intensity of the psalms would favour the theory that several of them at least were originally independent poetical compositions. Their impressive sense of guilt, the agony of being forsaken by the gods, and the pathetic cry for deliverance from deep distress remind us of the view expressed by Kant in his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, viz. that morality, i.e. the tragic struggle against the principle of evil waged by a man intensely conscious of his need of redemption, is the root of all religion. It is true that the psalms were supposed to be spoken by the king, or by one of his high officials. But the suppliant was regarded as the representative of the people; the monarch suffered vicariously—as the shepherd of men; and the more strenuously he applied himself to good works—principally of a ceremonial kind, it is true—the more acutely did he suffer, and the more earnestly did he sigh for salvation. The suppliant of the psalms speaks in the main with the Deity. He laments that the inner bond of communion which unites him as 'the child of his god' with 'his god' is broken. The sufferings which he describes are not merely those of the body, but also those of the soul. The psalms conclude with the utterance of joy as the speaker sees that his deliverance is at hand, and that he is to be brought back again 'to life.'

We give here a version of the most profound of these penitential psalms from the library of Ashurbanipal. This is the psalm of which a duplicate fragment and a philological commentary were found at Sippar.

'I attained to (long) life, it exceeded the term of life;
Whithersoever I turn, there it stands ill—ill indeed;
My affliction increases; my prosperity I see not.

If I cried to my god, he did not vouchsafe his countenance to me;

If I entreated my goddess, her head was not vouchsafed;
The soothsayer did not read the future by soothsaying;
By means of a libation the seer did not restore my right;
If I went to the necromancer, he let me understand nothing;

The magician did not unloose by a charm the curse upon me.

What confusion of things (is there) in the world!

If I looked behind me, trouble pursued me,
As if I had not offered a libation to my god,
Or at my meal my goddess had not been invoked,
My countenance not cast down, my act of prostration not seen.

(As one) on whose lips had ceased prayer and supplication;
(With whom) the day of God had been discontinued, the feast-day disregarded;

Who was remiss, did not give heed to the utterance (?) (of the gods),

Fear and worship (of God) did not teach his people,
Who did not invoke his god, ate of his food;
Forsook his goddess, brought no petition (?) before her.
Who him that was worshipped—his lord—forgot;
The name of his mighty god uttered contemptuously—
so did I appear.

But I myself thought only of prayer and supplication.

Prayer was my custom, sacrifice my rule.
The day of divine worship was the pleasure of my heart;
The day of the procession of the goddess was gain and riches (to me).

To do homage to the king, that was my delight;
Likewise to play for him, that was pleasant to me.
I taught my country to respect the name of God;
To revere the name of the goddess I instructed my people.
The adoration of the king I made giant(?) like;
Also in the veneration of the palace did I instruct my nation.
Did I but know that before God false things are acceptable!
But what seems good to oneself that is evil with God;
What is vile to one's mind that is good with his god.
Who could understand the counsel of the gods in heaven?
The purpose of a god—full of darkness (?)—who could fathom it?

How shall frail men comprehend the way of a god?
He who still lived in the evening was dead in the morning.
Suddenly was he distressed; swiftly was he crushed.
At one moment he still sings and plays;
In an instant he shrieks like a mourner.

Day and night their thought changes.
If they hunger, they are like a corpse;
If they are full, they think to equal their god.
If it be well with them, they talk of mounting to heaven.
If they are full of pains, they speak of going down to hell.
(Here a considerable fragment is missing.)¹

The house has become a prison unto me.
In the shackles of my flesh my arms are set;
My feet have been thrown into my own fetters.
(Here a line is missing.)

With a whip he has scourged me, full of . . .
With his rod he has pierced me—the thrust was violent.
All the day the pursuer pursues me;
During the night he does not let me breathe for a moment.

By rending (?) my joints are severed;
My limbs are dissolved, are . . .
In my ordure did I roll (?) like an ox;
Was bemired like a sheep with my own excrement.
My symptoms of fever remained obscure (?) to the magicians;
And the soothsayer has left my prognostications in darkness.
The exorcist has not handled my illness successfully;
Nor has the diviner set a termination to my malady.
My god did not help me, did not grasp me by the hand;
My goddess did not pity me, did not go by my side.

My coffin was (already) opened; they were preparing for my burial (?).
Though not yet dead, the dirge was performed for me;
My whole country cried: 'How he has been evil-treated!'
When my enemy heard this, his countenance shone;
It was told to my enemy (t.) (?)—her (?) spirit waxed cheerful.

But I know of a time for my whole family,
When amidst the shades their divinity shall receive honour'(?).

In the tablets of the library of Ashurbanipal this psalm was followed by a song of thanksgiving for Divinely wrought deliverance, but as yet the linguistic commentary to it contains all that has been discovered. According to the commentary, the conclusion of this thanksgiving gave expression to the following thoughts:

'He made my power equal to (that of) one who is perfect in power.

He wiped the rust from off me; he made me to shine like red gold;

My troubled course of life became serene.

By the divine stream, where the judgment of men is held,
The stain of slavery was cleansed away from me, the chain unbound;

In the mouth of the lion which would have devoured me,
Marduk has put a curb.'

The counterpart to these penitential psalms appears in the ethical counsels which are spoken of as being inscribed upon tablets setting forth the conditions of communion with Deity. In the text given below we see the mythopoetic process being applied to the Deity—more particularly in the case of Samsāš (the sun), and there is other evidence to show that moral ideas were in a special manner associated with the Samsāš myths. In a certain long hymn to Samsāš we find the constantly recurring refrain: 'That is acceptable to Samsāš—his life is prolonged.' The most important portion of the ethical text referred to runs as follows:

'Before thy god shalt thou have a heart of purity (?).

It is that which is due to the Deity.

Prayer, supplication, and casting down of the face
Shalt thou render to him early in the morning, then he shall send plenty.

In thy learning (?) look at the tablet:

Fear of God brings forth grace;

Sacrifice gives increase of life;

And prayer cancels sin.

He who fears the gods will not call in vain (?);

He who fears Anunnaki prolongs his life.

With friend and companion thou shalt not speak (evil);

Base things shalt thou not utter, kindness . . .

If thou dost promise, give . . .

If thou dost encourage, . . .

Thou shalt not rule tyrannically;

He who does so—his god is offended with him.

He is not acceptable to Samsāš: he (Samsāš) will recompense him with evil.

Offer food, give wine to drink;

Seek (?) truth, provide, and . . .

One who does this—his god has delight in him.

He is acceptable to Samsāš: he (Samsāš) will recompense him with good.'

These texts likewise, with all their profoundly religious spirit, are polytheistic in form. But it must be remembered that to the enlightened mind the various phenomena of Nature were not gods, but rather the manifestations of a single Divine power; and it was with this power that the man who felt his need of redemption sought to establish communion. The Babylonian religion, as is well known, developed a doctrine of redemption, specially associated with the figure of Marduk. The conception of redemption tends to embody itself in history; the representative of each new age is invested with the mythical elements of the conception. It became at length actual fact of history in Him who—*teste David cum Sibylla*—came to offer to mankind the gift of perfect communion with God.

LITERATURE.—H. Zimmern, in *KAT³*, 1903, p. 609f., also *Der alte Orient*, vii. 3 (1905), p. 27f. (containing the above interpretation of the penitential psalms); A. Jeremias, *Monothetistische Strömungen innerhalb der bab. Religion*, Leipzig, 1904, also *Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*², Leipzig, 1906, p. 205 ff., and (for the Osiris mystery) *Im Kampf um den alten Orient*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 62 ff.

A. JEREMIAS.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Celtic).¹

Among the Celts the methods of communion with Deity appear to have varied with the level reached in the process of religious development (and here, as elsewhere, we find a certain correlation between the means employed and the stage to which the evolution had attained), as well as with the nature of the deities themselves. In the main centres of Gallo-Roman civilization, for example, under the Empire, the methods of religious worship and communion with Deity were practically assimilated to those of the Græco-Roman pagan world, with its temples, altars, images, votive tablets, prayers, and the like (Greg. *Tur. Hist. Franc.* viii. 15, i. 29 (32); *de Virt. S. Jul.* 5). The remains of the Celto-Roman world, as well as the testimony of early post-Roman Christian writers, make this abundantly clear. At the same time, glimpses are visible in the classical writers, as well as in later folk-lore, of more primitive conditions, which present points of analogy with the methods of communion with Deity known to us from religions of a less advanced type.

1. Communion with Nature-deities.—A very large number of Celtic deities were the gods and goddesses of particular localities. These were, doubtless, closely associated with certain local natural phenomena, such as wells, rivers, caves, islands, arms of the sea, and the like. The practical part which these deities were thought to play in the life of their particular district was, no doubt, connected with the growth of crops; the continuance of sentient life (both animal and human); the restoration of man and beast to health; and the defence, both of the individual and of the community, from all enemies, visible and invisible. The methods employed for coming into communion with these purely local Divine beings were of various kinds, based upon the idea of contact; but little direct evidence is extant as to their character. The Celtic root *tong* ('to swear') probably meant 'to touch' (Lat. *tango*). The various charms and incantations (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Celtic]) of Celtic countries (founded largely on the principles of sympathetic magic) doubtless represent some of the methods employed; but it is not certain that the use of magic implies a steady and unwavering belief in the existence of Divine beings; and, at certain levels of thought, even in Christian

¹ Some lines can be restored from the commentary already mentioned, and from a duplicate in Constantinople. These cover a description of the speaker's afflicted state, this description having been introduced by the words: 'An evil spirit of death has come forth from his cavern.'

² Cf., throughout, art. *Osiris*.

countries, unscientific attempts of a magical type to influence Nature may have sprung into being.

In the case of pagan Gaul, we are fortunate in having some ancient evidence as to the methods of communicating with the deities of springs in the eight leaden tablets, found in June 1845 in the principal spring of Amélie-les-Bains, in the Pyrénées Orientales, which appear to contain an invocation to the spring-goddesses (Niskai), asking for restoration to health. These tablets have, unfortunately, been lost since 1849; but their finder, Col. A. Puigari, had made a copy of them, which was published in *RA* iv. pl. 71. (This has been (imperfectly) transcribed in *CIL* xii. 5387, and, with greater care, by Nicholson, *Celtic Researches*, London, 1904, p. 154 ff.) The address of Ausonius to the spring of Bordeaux as 'Divona, Celtarum lingua, fons addite divi' is of interest in this connexion.

Part of the value of the above tablets consists in the light which they throw on certain practices familiar to students of Celtic folk-lore (see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 354-395), such as the throwing of pins, buttons, rags, or other small objects into wells in order to obtain restoration to health; or the affixing of some fragment of a garment to a tree near a well. In all these and similar methods an attempt is made to link the person who requires the boon with the local supernatural being that can bestow it, through some object that has been in contact with the former, and that can be brought into contact with the latter, thus serving as a kind of channel of benefaction from one to the other. When, as occasionally happened, the assistance of the well-spirit was invoked against an evil-doer or an enemy, the well-spirit was brought into hostile knowledge of the enemy in question by the action of the seeker of Divine assistance in uttering the name of the enemy or evil-doer against whom the help was needed (Rhys, *op. cit.* i. 364). The devices adopted would vary according to localities, or according to the kind of natural object which the deity or spirit haunted, when it was sought to establish communication therewith.

Celtic folk-lore also appears to point to occasions when the local deity was not merely passive and invisible in the act of communion, but active; and there are suggestions that the being that was normally hidden from view might at times reveal himself in visible form. Sometimes the form which the manifestation takes is animal, as in the case of the water-bull, the water-horse, sacred fish, and other creatures; but sometimes it is human, as in the case of the Welsh *Afanc* (= Irish *abacc*, 'a dwarf'), the *Fenodyree*, or brownie, the Welsh *Cyhirraeth*, the lake-maiden, and the water-hag (see Rhys, *op. cit.* i. 32). These manifestations were, in the eyes of the pagan Celts, probably as varied in their motives as those of man to man, and comprised manifestations of vengeance or hostility (as in the production of floods), as well as of benefice.¹ It is easy to see how many stories imaginative races might weave out of the accounts of these manifestations; and many of the legends, both past and present, of Celtic countries show unmistakable traces of derivation from this source (Rhys, *op. cit. passim*).

2. *Communion with tribal deities.*—Side by side with local Nature-deities we have the deities of human racial communities. These were probably, in many cases, identical in practice with the deities of the soil, when a community had been long settled; but they are clearly distinguishable from them in idea, and, owing to tribal wanderings, they were doubtless, in many cases, distinguishable from them in fact. As for the forms under which the deities of this type were conceived, it was as natural for early man to picture them, like the local Nature-deities, in animal or plant as in human form—perhaps at one time it was even more natural. The animal-deities of the Celts may have been, in origin, partly local gods, partly communal gods, varying in character with the form

which the community took. The worship of the *Matres* and the *Matronæ* among the Celts probably reflects, for example, a stage of society in which the human counterparts of these goddesses were the most conspicuous social elements in the community. In this stage the Divine father of the community may have been conceived sometimes as a tree or a plant, sometimes as an animal, and sometimes, not impossibly, as a man. In the idea of communion with Deity in this connexion, the bond emphasized would be that of identity with the Divine nature rather than local contact. This would be attained partly by lineage, and partly by periodical consumption of the flesh of the Divine being.¹

In Dio, lxi. 7, the Britons are represented as 'sacrificing and feasting' (*θύομεν τε ἅμα καὶ ἐσθίουμεν*), and there is a passage of Arrian (*Cyneg.* xxxiv. 1) which suggests a certain tribal co-operation in a sacrificial worship of a goddess, whom he identifies with Artemis. For each animal taken by the hunter a certain sum was paid into the tribal treasury, and once a year, on the birthday of Artemis (*τῇ γενέθλῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*), the treasury was opened, and from the joint fund animals for sacrifice, such as a sheep, a goat, or a calf, were bought. After sacrificing, first of all, to the 'Savage Goddess' (*τῇ Ἀγροτέρῃ*), the worshippers and their dogs feasted, and on that day, Arrian adds, they adorned their dogs with garlands. It is not impossible that we have here an account of an ancient communal feast, where the older participation in the flesh of certain hunted totems was later commuted into that of feasting upon other animals. The reference of Caesar, too (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13. 4), to excommunication by the Druids among the Gauls ('*si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt*') implies that communion in sacrifice was a vital social bond, and, originally, it may well be that its essence was communion of substance with the tribal deity.

There is a suggestion also of a communal sacrifice in a passage of Diodorus (v. 284), where he says that, on certain religious occasions, there were, close to the worshippers, 'hearths laden with fire, and having upon them cauldrons and spits full of the carcasses of whole animals' (*πλήρεις κρέων δαμομένων*). In later times there may be an echo of these ceremonies in Magnobodus (*Vita Maurilii*, 19 [*AS*, 13 Sept., vol. iv. p. 74 DD], where reference is made to an ancient pagan feast which was conducted with much hilarity and some disorder ('*tanta stultorum hominum singulis animis turba conveniebat, ut diebus septem solemnia ibi sacriliga exsolverent bacchando, et choros gentiles ducendo; sed et frequenter post vina et epulas insurgentes in se multorum caede mutus sanguinem effundebant*').

In those harvest customs where the last sheaf cut is called the Maiden, and a feast is held in its presence, it is not impossible that the festival was originally a communal sacrifice. Such a feast is annually held, according to Frazer (*GB*² ii. 184), in the district of Lochaber, while there is a Devonshire practice called 'Crying the neck' (*ib.* 258 f.), which may originally have been the killing of the corn-spirit for the purpose of a sacrificial meal. The way in which the corn-spirit is conceived in certain districts of Scotland, for example (*ib.* 269), as a cock, a hare, or a goat, points clearly in the same direction.² Apparently, in some districts each farm has its own embodiment of it. There are traces of a period of similar communion with Deity among the Welsh, Scots, and Bretons in the respect paid to the wren, and the solemnity with which it was periodically slain (Frazer, *op. cit.* 442 f.).

Another method of communion with animal tribal deities was by imitation, as when men clad themselves in the skins of animals of the same kind as the deity. There was, for example, a

¹ On traces of totemism among the Celts, see art. *Celts*, above, p. 297 f.

² The significance of the names 'the Maiden' and 'the Hag' for the corn-spirit is discussed by Frazer (*op. cit.*) at length.

¹ The 'baucei' (Cassian, *Collat.* vii. 32. 2) and the 'dusi' (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xv. 28) were probably hostile divinities of this type.

Highland custom, whereby, on a certain day of the year, a man (doubtless as a representative of his tribe) clad himself in a cow-skin (see John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th Cent.*, ed. 1888, ii. 438). Nor does this reference stand alone, for in Elton (*Origins of English Hist.*, 1890, p. 411) there is quoted an old injunction prohibiting any masquerading in animals' skins ('si quis in Kal. Jan. in cervulo vel vitula vadit, id est, in ferarum habitus se communicant, et vestiuntur pelibus pecudum, et assumunt capita bestiarum,' etc.).

3. **Communion with Deity strengthened or renewed.**—It is impossible to read the accounts of the classical writers as to Celtic religion without observing the prominent place given therein to the idea of propitiatory sacrifice—a sacrifice which, at one time, appears to have meant the offering of human victims. It is by no means easy to discover the precise history of the ideas which led to these human sacrifices; but they appear to be based on the conceptions (a) that there could be no true communion with an angry deity if the worshipper was empty-handed; and (b) that the occurrence of calamities and catastrophes suggested that the gods had been treated with neglect, and so the deficiency of attention to them had to be made up by means of special offerings. With these ideas there was also associated that of the necessity of purging society, as well as the land, from undesirable elements; and, in some cases, there may have survived a reminiscence of the practice discussed in *GB* of slaying the human representative of a god before his vigour had begun to decay, in order to preserve the tribe. Of the latter practice, however, the writer has been able to discover no trace on Celtic soil, in spite of the fact that the tabus (*gessa*) laid upon the Irish kings of Tara suggest that they bore a certain sacred character (*The Book of Rights*, ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1847, pp. 3-8). Caesar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 16. 1-3) says distinctly that men who were seriously ill, or who were in the midst of war or great peril, would sacrifice, or vow to sacrifice, human victims, their theory being that the Divine majesty could be appeased only when a life was given for a life. Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 30) refers to the Britons as thinking it right to offer up the blood of captives, and Lucan (*Pharsal.* i. 444-446) speaks of such sacrifices as offered to the gods Esus, Taranis, and Teutates. This passage is also quoted by Lactantius (*Divin. Institut.* i. 21. 3, 'Esuam atque Teutatem humano cruore placabant'). Diodorus (v. 32. 6) says that every five years the Celts offer up their evil-doers (*κακοῦργοις*) by impalement (*ἀνακοντισμοῖς*) to the gods, and consecrate them with other sacrificial rites—notably by the construction of huge funeral piles. He says, too, that captives of war were also offered up, and that along with them certain animals taken in war were sacrificed, by burning or otherwise, among some tribes. In another passage (v. 31. 13) he speaks of a certain general as having sacrificed to the gods the youths that were most handsome, and who were in the flower of their age. Plutarch (*de Superstit.* 13, p. 171 B) also refers to the human sacrifices of the Gauls, which, he says, they considered the most perfect form of sacrifice (*θειωτάτην θυσίαν*). Athenæus (ii. 51, p. 160^e-f) refers to the Gaulish sacrifice of prisoners of war in the case of a defeat; and, in view of the statement of Caesar (vi. 16), it is difficult not to accept this as true. As for human sacrifices on other occasions, it is probable that Caesar (*loc. cit.*) gives the correct account of them, as being rewards to the gods for deliverance, and as being, in the case of certain tribes, a purification of society for the purpose of re-establishing more harmonious relations with a deity. Caesar alludes to the burning of certain huge images (*simulacra*),

whose limbs were made of wicker-work. In these, men were enclosed and burnt. In selecting men as victims, he states that criminals, such as brigands and thieves, were chosen by preference; but if the number of these was insufficient, then innocent victims were sacrificed. In Roman times, Gaulish human sacrifices were suppressed by Tiberius (according to Pliny); but a trace remained in the practice, which Mela (iii. 2. 18) mentions, of cutting off a portion of the flesh of those condemned to death, after bringing them to the altars. The commentator on Lucan, i. 445, speaks of human sacrifice to Teutates (whom he identifies with Mercury) in one sentence as a thing of the past ('qui humano apud eos sanguine colebatur'), while, in another sentence, he speaks in the present tense of a mode of appeasing the same god by thrusting a man head foremost into a full vat ('plenum semicupium'), and keeping him in this position till he is dead. Of Taranis (identified by him with Juppiter), the commentator says that he used to be appeased with human victims, but that he was now fully satisfied with cattle. Of Esus (whom he identifies with Mars), the commentator speaks in the present tense, and says that a man is hanged on a tree until his limbs waste away ('usque donec per cruorem membra digesserit'). In his note on Vergil, *Æn.* iii. 57 ('Auri sacra fames,' etc.), Servius says that there is a reference to a practice of the Gauls whereby, in Marseilles, a poor man volunteered to accept hospitality for a year at the public expense, and then, taking upon himself the sins of the whole community, to be thrown from a height as a propitiatory sacrifice.

The passage is a striking one, and is in keeping with usages known to exist elsewhere: 'Nam Massilienses quotiens pestilentia laborabant, unus ex pauperibus offerebat alendus anno integro publicis <sumptibus> et purioribus cibis. Hic postea ornatus verbenis et vestibus sacris circumducebatur per totam civitatem cum exsecrationibus, ut in ipsum reciderent mala totius civitatis, et sic prociiebatur.'

In his account of the inhabitants of Thule, Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* ii. 15) speaks of them as regarding the sacrifice of their first prisoner of war as the best; and the victim in this case, he says, was not merely slaughtered, but was hanged from a tree, thrown amid thorns, or put to death in some other horrible fashion. There are features of these sacrifices, in the accounts of the commentators in question on Lucan and on Vergil, as well as in that of Procopius, which forcibly suggest some connexion between them and the promotion of tree or plant life. That the religion of Gaul, in some districts at any rate, concerned itself with agricultural life is clear from the reference of Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Conf.* lxxvii.), taken from the account of the Passion of St. Symphorian, that an image of the goddess Berecynthia used to be carried out on a waggon, for the protection of the fields and vineyards. Similarly the reference in Strabo (iv. 4. 6, p. 198), taken from Artemidorus, as to the worship of Demeter and Persephone in an island near Britain, points in the same direction, and likewise Pliny's account (*HN* xvi. 251) of the gathering of the mistletoe. The oak was, undoubtedly, sacred among the Celts (Pliny, *op. cit.* xvi. 249, etc.; Maximus Tyrius, *Diss.* viii. 8). The various customs described by Frazer, which are connected with the growth of vegetation, the harvesting of corn, the death of the Carnival, and the like, have been exemplified by him and others from the usages of Celtic countries (see esp. *GB* i. 200, 223, ii. 78, 79, 176, 177, 184, 185, 236, 258, 259, 269, 317). How far these deities of vegetation are to be regarded as local or tribal, or a fusion of both, is a matter which cannot be determined with certainty.

One remarkable instance of tribal totemistic communion in the North of Ireland is given in Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topogr. Hib.* dist. iii. c. 25), but the story is indignantly denied by Keating, the Irish historian. According to this account, on the

accession of the king of Tyrconnell, a horse was slain and boiled, and the future king bathed in the broth. Then he and his people ate the flesh of the animal, and he drank of the broth in which he had bathed. The story, as given, indicated that the king was obliged to do everything that he could to identify himself with the nature of the animal that was killed; and this certainly suggests some form of totemism. E. Spenser's reference (*View of the State of Ireland*, ed. 1809, p. 101, in Morley's *Ireland under Elizabeth* and *James I.*, 1900) to cases in which he knew of the drinking of friends' blood deserves consideration in this connexion.

4. **Vestiges of Celtic sacrificial communion.**—There appear to be in Celtic folk-lore various vestiges of the ancient practice of sacrifice, whether communal or propitiatory. The Welsh MS of poetry called the *Book of Aneirin* contains an allusion to this practice, while Rhys, in his *Celtic Folklore* (i. 305, etc.), mentions a few instances from the Isle of Man. Traces of the practice, too, are to be found in Devonshire (Worth, *Hist. of Devonshire*, London, 1886) and in Scotland (J. Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1791-99, xi. 620; Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*³, Warrington, 1774). In Brittany, too, similar survivals exist (Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, 1886, p. 227 f.), and the periodical bonfires of Celtic countries (e.g. the Beltane fires of the Central Highlands) all point in the same direction. One of the aims of these bonfires—notably in winter, as Frazer points out—may have been to help the sun in his course by the communion of co-operation (*GB*² iii. 253, 259, 261, 280, 281, 284, 289, 290, 291, 293, 320, 321, 323, 325).

5. **Communion for revelation.**—One of the leading aims of communion with Deity is the acquisition of information as to the unknown, especially the future. In Celtic countries, practices of divination and the like were prevalent, and substantially the same methods were employed in them as in other lands. Aelian (*Var. Hist.* ii. 31) tells us that the Celts believed that the gods gave indications of the future through birds and signs, as well as by means of entrails and in other ways. The picture that Lucian (*Herakles*, i.) gives of the Celtic 'Ogmios' is that of a god who had pre-eminently the gift of speech. Diodorus (v. 31. 4) mentions the Celtic seers as foretelling the future through the observation of birds and the sacrifice of victims. Further, he says that it was their custom, in any matter of supreme importance, to offer up a human victim, 'to strike him over the diaphragm with a sword, and, on the fall of the person struck, to derive omens from his manner of falling and the writhings of his limbs, as well as from the flow of the blood.' Caesar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13. 4) speaks of interpretation being given by Celtic seers in matters of religion. There is a reference to Celtic augury in a passage of pseudo-Plutarch (*de Fluviiis*, vi. 4) which seeks to give an explanation of the name *Lugdunum*. In the practices of later folk-lore in Celtic countries there are numerous survivals of divination and prognostication through omens, dreams, and otherwise (Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, i. 318, 319, 325, 330). In a Welsh MS of the early 16th cent. (Peniarth MS, 163) there is a statement that, in the Isle of Man, men could see in full daylight those who had died. If strangers wished to see them, they had only to tread on the feet of the natives, and they, too, could see what the natives saw. The Welsh 12th cent. *Black Book of Carmarthen* refers to omens taken from sneezing (*trew*), and the Welsh word for 'a bonfire,' *coelcerth*, means literally 'a sure omen.' The practice of divination in connexion with bonfires is widely attested for Celtic countries.

6. **Ministers of communion with Deity.**—Aristotle (*frag.* 30, p. 1479^a, 32) says that there were Druids among the 'Celti' and 'Galatæ,' and the connexion in which the words are used shows that the office was viewed as a sacred one. Diodorus (v. 31. 4) speaks of the Druids as philosophers and divines, and says that the Celts had also prophets,

whose special function it was to foretell the future. In all sacrifices, however, he says that a philosopher (i.e. a Druid) was present. According to Caesar (*op. cit.* vi. 13. 4), the Druids were also teachers, and were exempt from military service and from taxation. Strabo (iv. 4. 4, p. 197) refers to the existence among the Celts of *oðdres* (Lat. pl. *vates*, 'prophets'). In Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 30) the Druids are represented as praying with hands upraised to heaven, while Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* 49) says that they were concerned with soothsaying (*μαντική*). In Hirtius (*de Bell. Gall.* viii. 38. 3) there is a reference to a certain type of priest (of Mars), called a 'gutuator,' Pliny (*HN* xxx. 13) tells us that Tiberius abolished the Druids by a decree of the Senate ('namque Tiberii Cæsaris principatus sustulit Druidas eorum et hoc genus vatium medicorumque per senatusconsultum'). In Ireland, the term 'Druid' for a seer is frequently found in the literature, and a hymn of St. Patrick in the *Liber Hymnorum* (a MS of the 11th or 12th cent.) asks for protection from the charms of Druids as well as of women. The term 'derwydd,' sometimes found in Welsh medieval literature, was especially associated with the composition of Welsh metrical vaticinations (see BARDS [Welsh], vol. ii. p. 417^b). For later survivals of sorcerers in Celtic countries, see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, ch. xi. The existence of women who acted as intermediaries with Deity among the Celts has been much debated; but the probability is that here, as elsewhere, women played a part in religious ritual. Plutarch (*Mul. Virt.* p. 257; *Amator.* 22) mentions a certain Camma, who was hereditary priestess of Artemis, but it is only in late writers that reference is made to *Dryades*, 'Druidesses' (e.g. in Lampridius, *Alex. Severus*, 60. 6; Vopiscus, quoted in Numerianus, 14; and Aurelian, 44. 4). These 'Druidesses' appear to have been only sorceresses.

Much discussion has arisen concerning the statement of Posidonius (quoted by Strabo, iv. 6, p. 193 f.) and that of Mela (ii. 6. 48) referring to certain propheticesses on an island opposite the mouth of the Loire and the shores of the Ouessini (Mela). In spite of the ingenious attempt of S. Reinach (*Cultes, mythes, et religions*, p. 186) to explain the origin and growth of Mela's account, the survival, in certain Celtic countries, of witchcraft and wind-making (Rhys, *op. cit.* i. 830; Frazer, *GB*² i. 121) makes it not impossible that the passages in question are based on some measure of fact; and the references to female well-attendants among the Celts seem unmistakable.

7. **Places of communion.**—In addition to wells and caves, those mysterious sacred spots of Celtic nature-religion, groves and clearings in groves, appear to have been held by the Celts in special regard. Diodorus (v. 27. 4) speaks of temples and sacred precincts; and there is abundant evidence that the Gauls had temples and, in Roman times, images. Diodorus (*loc. cit.*) mentions the sanctity, in the eyes of the Gauls, of sacred places, and the safety of the gold stored therein, in spite of Gaulish cupidity. The Celtic term for a sacred place was *nemeton* (Ir. *nemed*; Welsh, *nyfed*), a term which probably meant originally 'a clearing in a wood.' The name of the Galatian temple was *Drunemeton* ('the sacred place of the oak'). Even in Christian times, springs and groves continued to be held in respect, as may be seen from the *Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum* (c. 8th cent. A.D.), vi. 223: 'de sacris silvarum qua nimidas (= nemeta) vocant.' There is a similar explanation in the *Cartulaire de Quimperlé* (A.D. 1031): 'silva quae vocatur Nemet.' For an account of later survivals of sacred groves Celtic lands, see Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 187).

8. **Attitude of communion.**—On this head little information is obtainable, but Dio (lxii. 6) says that in prayer Boudicca (Boadicea) held up her hand to heaven (*τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέτελασσαν εἶπε*). Athenæus (iv. 36, pp. 151^a-152^a) quotes from Posidonius a statement to the effect that the Celts turned to the right in worshipping the gods

(*τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενοι*). Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv. 30) speaks of women with hair loose, holding torches before them, and of Druids praying with hands upraised to heaven. Both Tacitus and Strabo (iv. 198 f.) instance the Bacchic frenzy of the women who took part in Celtic rites, and Dionys. (*Perieg.* 570-574) speaks of them as garlanded with ivy. There is no reference to kneeling or the closing of the eyes. It is remarkable that Celtic philology throws very little light either on the attitude of Celtic communion with Deity or on its characteristics generally.

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COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Chinese).—

The early settlers in what we now call 'China,' seem to have carried with them, into the land of their adoption, certain well-defined religious ideas, amongst which the recognition of a Supreme Being and the possibility and duty of entering into relations with Him were prominent and pre-eminent. The term by which the Deity is described is *Shang-ti*, composed of two Chinese ideograms: *shang*, meaning 'that which is above,' 'the top,' and hence 'supreme'; and *ti*, said to consist of an ancient form of the same character *shang*, and the word 'to pierce,' and hence meaning 'an autocrat,' 'one who stands alone, whose authority is unequalled and unparalleled.' Thus *Shang-ti* is interpreted as the one supreme and unchallenged 'Sovereign on High,' or 'Supreme Ruler.' By some Chinese commentators *Shang-ti* is described as the 'Lord of Living Creatures,' and by others as being synonymous with 'Heaven.' The character employed to denote 'Heaven' is also deserving of notice; in its earliest forms it seems to present a rude picture of a human being, and thus, as it were, to invest with personality the mysterious and unknowable *Shang-ti*; but in the present mode of writing it is the character for 'one' over that for 'great'; and thus seems to stand for 'the Great One Above,' though it is generally used in an impersonal sense, as 'Providence,' contrasted with the more personal God, *Shang-ti*.

The name *Shang-ti* is introduced in the earliest recorded history without preface or apology, as requiring no explanation and admitting of no misunderstanding—in much the same way as 'Elohim' appears in the first chapter of Genesis, without any attempt at definition or prologue. His worship appears to go back to the very earliest ages of the Chinese people. Of *Hwang-ti*, one of the five sovereigns who bore rule at the dawn of Chinese history (2697 B.C.), we read that he sacrificed to *Shang-ti*, wearing his royal robes, and presenting a whole burnt-offering upon a round hillock, the latter representing the conventional shape of Heaven. The Emperor Shun (2255 B.C.), on his accession to the throne, sacrificed to *Shang-ti*; and from that time, in an almost unbroken line, the rulers of China have maintained their worship, with little change, down to the present moment. In the annual sacrifices, offered at the Altar of Heaven in Peking to-day, an almost exact parallel with the earliest recorded sacrifice to God is presented, *mutatis mutandis*, unaffected by the later developments of Confucianism in the 6th cent. B.C., or the materialistic school of the 12th cent. A.D., uncontaminated by the advent of Buddhism, or by the various religious systems which have become so firmly established in Chinese society, and undisturbed by the floods of invasion which have swept over China from time to time, or by the fact that the present rulers represent an alien race.

1. Object of communion with *Shang-ti*.—It was because *Shang-ti* was regarded as 'Lord of the Azure Heavens,' the 'Disposer Supreme' of thrones and dynasties, the 'Restorer of torpid life to Nature,' and the 'Giver of every good and perfect gift,' that he was approached by kings like T'ang the Completer (1766 B.C.), who initiated his attempt to overthrow the Hia dynasty by reverent sacrifice and fervent prayer; and Wu, the founder of

the Chow dynasty (1122 B.C.), who acknowledged his indebtedness to the Supreme Ruler, for the gift of the throne, by appropriate sacrifices, attributing the failure of his predecessor of the former dynasty to the fact that 'he did not reverence God above.' Throughout the Chinese classics the 'Divine right of kings' is everywhere regarded as depending upon the 'appointment' or decree of Heaven; and even as early as 2356 B.C. we find a hint of this fact in the adoption of the title 'Son of Heaven' by Shun, the king at that period, in acknowledgment of the decree of Heaven to which he traced his appointment. The same truth is referred to in the 'Doctrine of the Mean,' quoted from the Odes:

'He received from Heaven the emoluments of dignity. It protected him, assisted him, decreed him the throne,' etc., to which the compiler adds the inference, 'We may say, therefore, that he who is greatly virtuous will be sure to receive the appointment of Heaven.'

The Duke of Chow (12th cent. B.C.), in his proclamation to the people of Yin, speaks in unmistakable terms on the subject:

'From T'ang the Successful down to the Emperor Yi, every sovereign sought to make his virtue illustrious, and duly attended to the sacrifices; and thus it was that, while Heaven exercised a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the house of Yin, its sovereigns, on their part, were humbly careful not to lose the favour of God, and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven.'

Such being the relations between the Ruler on earth and the 'Ruler on High,' it was essential that the vicergerent of Heaven should be prepared to acknowledge the high, over-ruling power which was the ultimate source of his authority, and to offer that highest expression of filial submission and devotion which was implied by the sacrificial ritual; for only so long as the sovereign acted in accordance with the dictates of Heaven could he expect to maintain his high estate; and the fall of kings and dynasties is always attributed to the neglect of this supreme duty.

The ever-presence of the Deity is assumed in many passages of the Chinese canonical books, as, for example, the Odes:

'Say not Heaven is so far, so high,
Its servants; it is ever nigh;
And daily are we here within its sight.'

The most intimate relations are recorded as existing between the Supreme and His earthly representative, as, for example, in the case of King Wen (1231-1135 B.C.), of whom it is repeatedly said, 'God spake to Wen.' Not only so, but, since the king was regarded as the father of his people, and, under the patriarchal system, as the high priest of the great family represented by the nation, it was fitting that he should present on its behalf the common wants and cravings of the myriad people, in connexion with the recurring seasons and the 'kindly fruits of the earth.' Thus we find numerous instances of prayer being offered in case of drought; for example, King T'ang (1766 B.C.) is represented by Mencius as praying:

'I, the child Li, presume to use a dark-coloured victim, and announce to Thee, O Supreme Heavenly Sovereign, now there is a great drought,' etc.

Again, in the Odes, we read King Suan's appeal to Heaven in similar circumstances:

'For good years full soon I prayed, nor was late at any shrine with my first-fruits. God in Heaven, heedst Thou never prayer of mine. . . . To High Heaven I look and cry, O the endless agony.'

The institution of the first 'Harvest Festival' is attributed to How-tsi (2255 B.C.), lord of T'ai; and in the Odes a vivid picture is presented of the ceremonies which marked the offering of first-fruits in acknowledgment of the gifts of Heaven. The infliction of plague, pestilence, and famine is also traced to Heaven's displeasure in consequence of national disobedience.

Thus the operations of Heaven are recognized as extending to all departments of national and domestic life; but since, by the fiat of Chwan-hü (2513 B.C.), formal approach to the Deity was limited to the sovereign, while the people were forbidden under severe penalties to offer sacrifices to Shang-ti, they have been compelled to direct their prayers and express their thanks to the host of subordinate deities, such as How-tsi, patron of agriculture, the spirits representing the various forces of Nature, the spirits of the soil and grain, and the local and domestic deities—these being regarded as mediators between man and the Supreme Being, much in the same way as the provincial officials act as the 'middlemen' between the people and the sovereign. It thus happens that, though the Emperor alone, as the federal head of the race, approaches directly and immediately the presence of Shang-ti, the people in their family capacity are also permitted access to Him, though only by means of intermediaries, viz. the spirits and deities above mentioned; and thus, though the method of approach may vary in the degree of intimacy which obtains in the several cases, no one is altogether debarred from communion, direct or indirect, with the Deity.

2. Methods of communion.—

(1) *Sacrifices*.—See art. CONFUCIAN RELIGION.

(2) *Dreams*.—Another method of communion with the Deity is by dreams, of which we find instances as early as 1323 B.C., when Wu-ting, who had lately ascended the throne, had a revelation, in a dream, of the features of the man whom he was seeking for promotion to the office of chief minister. King Wu also (1122 B.C.) found corroboration, in his dreams, for the schemes which he was adopting, and which he believed to be dictated by Heaven. It is a common practice, nowadays, for people to repair to certain temples and spend the night there, in the hope that dreams will be given them, whereby the will of the Deity may be indicated to them.

(3) *Divination*.—Divination in various forms is also resorted to, with a view to discovering the intentions of Heaven, as is expressly stated in the case of King Wu. (For the special methods, cf. art. COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD [Chinese].) One form of divining which is very common is that of spirit-writing, a form of 'planchette,' the 'properties' consisting of a table covered with fine sand, and a peach stick, bent at one end and fastened to a cross-piece which rests upon the open palms of the medium. Sacrifices are first presented, and a prayer is offered to the Deity, requesting that a spirit-messenger may be dispatched to the house where the séance is to take place. When the spirit is believed to have arrived, he is invited to occupy a chair at the table, and another chair is placed for the use of the Deity who is supposed to have commissioned him. The fact of his arrival is announced by the peach stick tracing on the sand the character for 'arrived.' Worship is now offered, and libations are poured out. Questions are addressed to the spirit in due course, and answers are written upon the sandy surface. The questions must be written, and burnt, together with some gold tinsel, before the spirit-answer can be given.

Another method of inquiry is that of the *chiao*, generally made of a short piece of the root of the bamboo, split in halves, each piece presenting a concave and a convex side. These are thrown into the air, after an invocation of the Deity, and the positions which the *chiao* assumes on reaching the ground are supposed to indicate the nature of the response. If the convex side of one piece and the concave of the other are uppermost, the answer is supposed to be favourable; if two con-

vexes are exposed, the answer is negative; if two concaves turn up, the answer is indifferent.

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COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Christian).

—Communion with God is that close intimacy between man and God which had long been sought for in many ways, and reached its climax in Him who is truly God and perfectly man, Jesus of Nazareth. As Himself uniting God and man in His own Person, and as the means of union between men and God, He is at once the Example and the Giver of communion. One form of communion, seen both in Him and in the earliest exponents of Christianity, is Prayer. The first motion of the individual soul towards invisible realities, however elementary the environment of religion and culture may be, should find its expression in prayer, which, however, is not only a starting-point but also an invariable concomitant, and so far as the present life is concerned, a climax, of the soul's progress towards deity.

The acts and words of our Lord, and the practice and teaching of the earliest Christians, carry on and develop the characteristics of prayer which accompany the earlier searchings after God within the sphere of revealed religion in the OT, which, as the Christian era is approached, appear to grow in intensity, notwithstanding their insufficient solution of the problem of communion with God. Our Lord Himself prayed at the time of His baptism (Lk 3²¹), before the Transfiguration (9^{28L}), before choosing the Twelve (6^{12L}), before raising Lazarus (Jn 11^{41L}), on the way to Gethsemane (17), in the Agony (Mk 14³⁶⁻³⁹, Mt 26³⁹⁻⁴⁴, Lk 22⁴¹⁻⁴⁵), and on the cross (23^{34, 46}). In these events His abiding communion with the Father¹ takes the form of prayer, as prayer is made a means of (1) request, (2) union, or (3) intercession. The same aspects of prayer are in His teaching, as, e.g., in (1) Mt 7⁷⁻¹¹, Mk 11²⁴, Lk 11⁹⁻¹³ 18¹⁻⁸; (2) Jn 16^{26, 27}; (3) Mk 9²⁹. These three aspects of prayer are summed up in the Lord's Prayer. The first two words raise the concise clauses which follow into the sphere of the most spiritual communion, teaching that the Absolute is a Father listening to His children as they bring to Him their temporal wants, their spiritual cares, and their intercessions for the world around them. Prayer, again, as a means of communion was used by the earliest Christians, influenced in part, perhaps, by their traditional Jewish beliefs, and certainly largely by the example and precept of their Master. Prayer led to the outpouring of the Spirit (Ac 1¹⁴), the choice of St. Matthias (vv. 24-26), the journey of Ananias to St. Paul (9¹¹), the raising of Dorcas by St. Peter (9⁴⁰), the release from prison of St. Peter (12⁵), and of St. Paul and Silas (16²⁵). Prayer so efficacious suggests that those using it were through it in close communion with God; and in the case of St. Stephen, prayer and the vision of the unseen together mark the supreme dedication of his life (7⁵⁵⁻⁶⁰). Thus by means of prayer the earliest Christians continued not only in the Apostolic fellowship (2²), but also in union with God. How actual Christian communion in prayer linked on to the ways of preparation may be illustrated by observing that the meditation which rested on the habitual prayers

¹ It is worth while to notice the use of the word 'Father' in Lk 10²¹ 22⁴⁸ 23^{34, 46}.

of Cornelius, before he was a Christian, was an instrument for his conversion no less than the devotion of the Apostle who was to bring him to Christ (Ac 10). So also in the Epistles, prayer has the same aspects, and is similarly a means of communion. As in the Acts (9¹⁴ 22¹⁶), calling on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ is spoken of by St. Paul as a mark of a Christian (1 Co 1²). Elsewhere St. Paul refers to intercessory prayer—his own for his converts and theirs for him, and that of Christians in general for all men and for special classes and persons; to the help afforded to Christians in prayer by the Holy Spirit; and to constant prayer in the Spirit as accompanying the use of the 'armour of God' (e.g. Ro 8²⁶, Eph 6¹⁸, Col 4²⁻⁴, 1 Th 5¹⁷, 1 Ti 2¹⁵). Thus, in the mind of St. Paul, prayer necessitates and expresses the closest possible relation on the part of Christians with the Holy Trinity. In the rest of the NT the very incidental character of the references to prayer shows the extent to which it had become an ordinary and regular mode of communion between Christians and the Holy Trinity. St. James briefly alludes to 'the supplication of a righteous man' which 'availeth much in its working' (Ja 5¹⁶), and, in commanding the prayer of the presbyters of the Church, says that 'the prayer of faith shall save him that is sick' (v. 14⁶).

These dogmatically worded statements as to the efficacy of prayer necessarily imply that it establishes and maintains most intimate relations of fellowship between man and God. St. Peter gives as a reason for the observance of practical advice, 'that your prayers be not hindered' (1 P 3⁷); urges sound mind and sobriety 'unto prayer' (4⁷); and repeats the teaching of the Psalmist (Ps 34¹⁵), that the ears of God are ready to hear the supplication of man (1 P 3¹²). The brief statements in 1 Jn 3²¹, 5¹⁴ show the confidence in prayer which is a sign that the heart is with God; and 3 Jn 1⁴ indicates prayer as the means of converse with God concerning the prosperity and health of an earthly friend. St. Jude connects prayer with abiding in the love of God, when he exhorts those to whom he writes: 'building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Spirit, keep yourselves in the love of God' (Jude 30¹). In the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the Apocalypse, there are crowning statements as to the value of intercessory prayer, not only in regard to its efficacy as intercession, but also as illustrating the close access to God which it affords. Of Christ Himself it is said that He 'ever liveth to make intercession' (He 7²⁵), and that He so intercedes 'at the right hand of the throne of God' (12²); and His presence in the Heavens affords to Christians boldness and security in approaching the throne of grace (4¹⁶ 10²²). In the Apocalypse the nearness of prayer to the central presence of God is strikingly depicted. Before the Lamb are presented by the four and twenty elders 'golden bowls full of incense which are the prayers of the saints' (Rev 5⁸). 'Underneath the altar the souls of them which had been slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held,' cried out to their 'Master, the Holy and True' (6¹⁰). To 'the prayers of all the saints' is incense added, which with them goes 'up before God' (8³). Those who have the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit join with the whole Church in praying for the coming of the Lord; and their prayer has such impetratory power in effecting His presence, that all who are athirst are able to draw near and take freely the water of life (22¹⁷).

Teaching of specific books of NT on communion with God.—(1) *The Synoptic Gospels*.—In the life and death of Christ the principle of sin, which lay between man and communion with God,

is done away. Christ's life on earth was the answer to the fact and presence of human sin. As the goal of the life of man is the full and complete realization of his Divine sonship, so sin in its deepest reality includes all that lies between the human will and the Divine will as a barrier and separation. The gospel of Jesus Christ is, above all, the gospel of human salvation. But the salvation is more than salvation from guilt and the present power of sin; it includes the reception of strength for righteousness and of union with God. As a step towards realizing this, it is important to grasp the idea of the final conquest of sin in the life of Christ. At the beginning of His ministry our Lord's exhortation was to repentance (Mt 4⁷, Mk 1⁴). His ministry itself included works of forgiveness. During it He claimed to forgive sin (Mt 9²⁻⁶, Mk 2⁵⁻¹¹, Lk 5²⁰⁻²⁴). At the Last Supper He connected the pouring out of His life-blood with the remission of sin (Mt 26²⁸). His death was a sacrifice for sin. The sacrificial aspect is expressed in the words, 'the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many' (Mt 20²⁸, Mk 10⁴⁵). In the words from Heaven at the Baptism and the Transfiguration (Mt 3¹⁷, Mk 1¹¹, Lk 3²²; Mt 17², Mk 9⁷, Lk 9³⁵) the description of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah (Is 42¹) is applied to our Lord. At the institution of the Eucharist the words of Christ recall the Covenant Sacrifice of Ex 24⁸⁻⁹, and the promise of a New Covenant in Jer 31. Not only these references, but also the time, place, and Paschal festivities all combine to suggest that the death of Christ preserved an especial sacrificial significance. And, further, they indicate that the efficacy of this sacrifice consisted in the power to annul the principle of sin which lay between man and communion with the Father of all spirits. Our Lord's own words, Apostolic interpretation, and our own experience prove the power of the death of Christ to do away with sin. But when we ask how or why, in the immutable counsel of God, the death of His Son availed to abolish sin and death, that question is not explicitly raised or answered in the Synoptic Gospels. Incarnate love could be revealed only in this world of perishing souls; in all its beauty and grandeur it was conditioned by the facts of human sin and suffering. The life of Christ on earth was a long, slow process of a translation of pain and suffering into the terms of penitence. The sacrifice of the sinless Christ had part of its atoning value because, in His death, suffering and temptation were conquered and transmuted into the consummation of penitence. By the power of His offering of a perfect and vicarious sacrifice in the hour of death, He has abolished for ever all sin which lies between the heart of man and the mind of God. In the Synoptic Gospels the negative aspect of Christ's work precedes the inauguration of the Kingdom of God. In so far as we may speak of a conquest or forgiveness of sin in His days on earth, we may speak of the Kingdom as a present reality. Again, in so far as we see in His death the final conquest of sin, so far we may speak of His Kingdom as inaugurated and consummated in idea by His death. Christ then has overthrown the barrier of sin which lay between man and communion with God.

It may now be asked, What has Christ done positively and constructively to make possible the life of communion between God and man? (2) His unique teaching sums up all that was full of promise in the search for God recorded in the OT. The manner and method of it are more unique than its contents. Many of the ideas, e.g. the Fatherhood of God, the high destiny of man, the

value of the human soul, had been stated before in OT literature. What is new is the deep spiritual insight which sees into the very centre of truth. Not less noteworthy are the sureness and authoritativeness of His teaching. He spoke 'as having authority, and not as the scribes' (Mk 12²⁸, cf. Mt 7²⁹). He dealt mainly with the Kingdom of God, its nearness, the conditions for entrance into it, its nature as heavenly and eternal, not as a political world power; and with the life in the Kingdom, its approaching and epoch-making consummation. In His wonderful portrayal of life under the reign of God's will, our Lord showed what the life of communion with God essentially is. It is the life of love and humility, outwardly a continuous act of obedience to God, inwardly a life of spiritual prayer and utter self-surrender and dependence upon God. Careful study of the Divine meaning of His words, meditation and contemplation upon them, love for the life portrayed in the Gospel, are steps towards likeness to God. But purely subjective efforts alone cannot bring man into essential harmony with God. (b) Beyond the teaching about God, man, and the Kingdom, Jesus in His own life upon earth is an example of the most perfect communion with God. His mind is in such essential harmony with the Divine mind that He can say in the Agony, 'Not what I will, but what thou wilt' (Mt 26³⁹⁻⁴², Mk 14³⁶, Lk 22⁴²). By efforts on the part of Christians, the purity and love of Jesus may be partially apprehended and assimilated into their lives. But this is but man's unaided effort after righteousness, not the righteousness of God. The Christian life must be more than a shadow of the reality. (c) Through the institution of the Eucharist is given the means whereby Christians may make the mind and heart and will of God their own. Our Lord describes it as the gift of His manhood (Mt 26²⁶⁻²⁸, Mk 14²²⁻²⁴, Lk 22^{19f.}). Hence it affords the possibility of union with His human life; and, since He is God as well as man, with the Divine life itself.

(2) *St. Paul.*—Much has been written on the relations of the teaching of St. Paul to our Lord—how far Christianity would have succeeded in becoming the world-religion but for St. Paul, how much of the Gospel teaching is genuinely Christ's teaching and not due to Pauline influence. The present writers are not here concerned with these questions. They believe that our Lord was conscious of the establishment of communion between God and man through Himself; and that this was apprehended by St. Paul. The present question is simply how St. Paul assists in interpreting this stupendous fact. To St. Paul, God is endowed with all the essentials of the absolute, eternal, transcendent, yet immanent, Godhead. But, first and foremost, St. Paul presupposes the Fatherhood of God, the fundamental article of our Lord's teaching, without which communion between God and man would have been impossible. This Fatherhood is characterized by (a) righteousness, (b) wrath. Righteousness is the ethical ground of God's dealings with His children, the norm of their admission to communion with Him. Wrath is called forth by their refusal or failure to make the best use of pre-Christian means of communion. It was the righteous curse of God under which they lay when Christ 'in the fulness of the time' (Gal 4⁴) manifested God. But, as righteousness is of the essence of the Father who reveals Himself to man, so righteousness is the *sine qua non*, the presupposition and postulate, of the possibility that man should come into communion with God. Here it is that St. Paul sees the necessity for Christ, even on the negative side. Man had been created in the image and glory of God (1 Co 11⁷),

but the guilt of the Fall became hereditary in man (Ro 5¹²), and so man was dominated, not by righteousness, but by sin in his flesh. Man's vision of God and his sense of communion with Him were dimmed. He was in a state of unrighteousness (Ro 1¹⁸). How was this unrighteousness to be done away? How was the possibility of communion (righteousness) to be re-established? St. Paul answers—through Christ Jesus, and through Him alone. He emphasizes this point by contrasting Christ's removal of the obstacles with (not, be it noted, by deriding) two earlier attempts to restore man's righteousness—two attempts which, in the long run, had only led man to wallow still deeper in the mire of sin, and to wander still further from communion with God.

(a) The first attempt had been in the possibilities of partial communion held out to the Gentiles by the fatherly and forbearing Providence which gave them the bounties of Nature and sought to direct their gaze to heaven through the work of creation, and by means of the conscience and intelligence implanted in them individually. The result had been, not a heightening of the possibilities of communion with the all-loving Father, but—strangely paradoxical as it may seem—the increasing of their unrighteousness, by their communion with the god of this world, Satan, so that they sacrificed to demons, not to God (Ro 12¹⁻², 1 Co 10²⁰). (b) The other attempt to do away with the law of sin and death which made communion with the righteous Father impossible had been equally a failure. The Jewish Law had been far from providing a perfect means of access to God. St. Paul, looking back, saw in it only a more thorough obscuring of the path which leads to the presence of God. It had increased, not decreased, transgression. It had set man further from, not nearer to, righteousness (Ro 1-6, 9-11).

Man, therefore, still stood in need of the removal of the disabilities to communion, and it was, in part, to remove these that Christ came. With this removal, as a means to make communion with God once more possible for man, St. Paul deals exhaustively in metaphors, some drawn from the forensic terminology, and others from the ceremonial of the Great Day of Atonement. The act of Christ, His death on the cross, on which is based the justification or acquittal in the court of the Divine justice, is vicarious and representative in character, universal in its scope, a legal expiation, a justifying act, an obedience even unto death, annulling the condemnation resultant from the disobedience of the one man. The shedding of Christ's blood was, on the one hand, a propitiation set forth by God, who commended His own love toward us sinners and delivered Him up for us all; on the other hand, a sacrifice made by man, effecting redemption, resulting in reconciliation. Only one subjective act on man's part avails—the act of faith; and even this comes of, and has as its objective, the grace and power of God working through Christ. It is preceded or accompanied, indeed, by repentance, as man turns to God from idols, or comes to know God, or dies to sin, or crucifies the flesh, or puts off the old man; but it is itself the simple, childlike, submissive, enthusiastic, unconditional self-surrender of the man's whole being—intellect, affections, and purpose—to the will of God revealed in Christ Jesus.

Such in general terms is the Pauline teaching concerning the precedent and accompaniment of the Christian's initial justification, or restoration to a position of righteousness before God, the condition of fellowship with Him. And the power for this great movement of the whole being of man is derived from the death and resurrection of Christ (Romans, *passim*; cf. e.g. 1 Th 5⁹, 1 Co 15¹²⁻¹⁹, Eph 2, Col 1^{18f.}, 1 Ti 2^{3f.}, Tit 2^{13f.}). On the positive side, the writings of St. Paul, to whom sin was a deadly reality and the righteousness of God was the goal of human life, contain a wealth of ideas relating to communion with God. In the risen and exalted and glorified Christ there are possibilities surpassing even those in the crucifixion and death of the Messiah. In the Pauline speeches

in Acts, our Lord is still pre-eminently the Jewish Messiah who has come, and is, moreover, about to judge the world. Through this Jesus are remission of sins and justification for every one that believeth. If the Christ is not accepted, a day of judgment is at hand for those who reject Him (Ac 13⁴⁰⁻⁴¹). To take the speech at Pisidian Antioch as illustrative of the Apostle's ideas at this period, the life of righteousness and communion with God depends directly upon the acceptance of the crucified Jesus as the promised Messiah. The life of communion with God means life in the new era, which will soon be ushered in when Jesus shall reign in the Kingdom of the Blessed. The choice between life and death depends upon the acceptance or rejection of Christ Himself, not of His moral or social teaching. The language of Thessalonians yields us evidence for the same period. In 1 Th 4¹³⁻¹⁸ and in the so-called Apocalypse of 2 Th 2, the Apostle not only insists upon the resurrection of Christ, but also on the resurrection of others, of the faithful, with Him. 'For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus will God bring with him.' The fact of the resurrection does not in itself secure the life of communion with the Father. The resurrection is with Christ. At this period St. Paul appears to have been looking for the return of the Lord from heaven in the near future. The expectation of His hourly coming was so strong at Thessalonica that all work was being suspended in view of it. In this case his eschatological belief gave, at least, form to the thought of St. Paul. The heavenly Christ was soon to appear, and the saints, both the living and those asleep, were to reign with Him in the heavenly kingdom (1 Th 4¹⁶).

Some of the deepest and most mystical of St. Paul's teaching is in the second group of Epistles—1 and 2 Cor., Gal., and Romans. For convenience' sake it will be well to consider Romans as illustrative of St. Paul's mind at this period. In Ro 3²⁵ the negative aspect of this subject is well stated in the words, 'whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God.' In some sense the righteousness of God has been expressed in the death of His Son. On whatever grounds the death of the Eternal Son may be said to have possessed expiatory power, the fact of that power is unquestioned. Again, the 'gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth' (1⁶). There is in the gospel not only that which is able to cleanse from past sin and guilt, but also a positive power for our salvation. Here salvation is made to depend directly upon faith—'to every one that believeth.' The same fundamental idea occurs again, expressed in the words, 'the righteous shall live by faith' (1¹⁷); 'we reckon, therefore, that a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law' (3²⁸). It has been claimed that there are in this Epistle two fundamentally opposing conceptions of salvation: (a) the juridical, expressed in the forensic language of the OT, which St. Paul inherited from Judaism; and (b) the Christian or mystical conception, based on a faith which means union with Christ. It is impossible to deny an element of truth to this theory, inasmuch as the Apostle describes the process of human salvation in two sets of terms and images. But more than this it is difficult to admit. The ultimate ground of our acceptance in either case is not the work or merit of man, but the gracious mercy of God. We have access to this grace only by our faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. 'Being therefore justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ: through whom also we have had our access by

faith into this grace wherein we stand' (5¹¹). While we were still in a state of sin and alienated from God, we were reconciled to Him by the death of Christ. But, beyond reconciliation through death, we have life, we are saved by the life of the Son (5⁹⁻¹¹). The positive aspect of the subject is stated very clearly in 5^{12, 21}. As death and sin entered the world through one man, Adam, so grace and eternal life come through Jesus Christ. The gift of grace from the loving Father through the Son is the guarantee for the eternal life of communion with God. When the question is raised how this gift of life is infused into us, the answer is—through baptism. In that sacrament we are baptized into Christ's death, that is to say, into death as a victory over sin. But, as we have died with Him, so also we shall be raised in the general resurrection with Him and reign eternally. 'Even so reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus' (6¹¹). In ch. 7 the conflict of the good and evil in the human soul is graphically presented. As this passage forces on the mind the horror and reality of sin, it also emphasizes the necessity of a positive aid and power coming from without to our help. This power which enters within us, enabling us not only 'to will' but also 'to do' the right, is none other than the Spirit of Christ. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this Pauline idea of the indwelling of the Spirit of Jesus or of God in man. Apart from this indwelling and union with Christ, man is impotent. He is dead in sin and without hope.

It has been seen that in the earlier group of Epistles the Lord Jesus is conceived essentially as the Messiah now in heaven, but who is shortly to return and bring the Kingdom of Heaven into actuality. In this second group He is essentially the Second Adam 'who to the rescue came.' As the first Adam brought sin and death on humanity, so the second and heavenly Man brings life eternal. As the power of sin and death which created and maintained the barrier between God and man was due to an act of disobedience, so the positive power which gives life and communion with God is infused into humanity through a life of active obedience.

It has been pointed out how the guilt and power of sin have been removed and the principle of life and grace infused into humanity. These two necessary aspects in the work of salvation involve certain fundamental ideas as to the Person of the Mediator. Further, when it is asked how this life is infused and assimilated into the individual believer, the answer depends upon mystical views of Christ's Person and work. Through prayer, through the sacraments, through the Church, man may attain that oneness with God which the work of the Son has made possible. The effect or result of prayer is the rest in the presence of God which is essentially communion with Him (15²⁰⁻²³). Again, prayer is salvation. 'Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord shall be saved' (10¹³). Christians are to continue steadfastly in prayer, which is not fitful or irregular, since it means the realized presence of God (12¹³). In 1 Co. 11²⁰⁻²⁸ St. Paul gives an account of the institution of the Eucharist, which he claims to have received directly from the Lord (v. 23). That which is given in this rite is the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Himself (vv. 24, 25). The service has a memorial significance (vv. 24, 25). It proclaims the 'Lord's death till he come' (v. 26). Thus this passage contains explicit teaching that in the sacrament we feed on the body and blood of our Lord, that here we partake of and assimilate Him. In the most literal and real sense we may speak in this connexion of union with Christ. Thus we gain the

benefits which by His precious blood-shedding He hath procured for us, the life of communion with God.

Lastly, as a member of a society—the Christian Church—the Christian has his fellowship with Christ and God. The Church is the body of Christ of which we are the several members (12¹²). At Baptism the believer is baptized into His death, and becomes a mystical member of His body. In the later Epistles, Christ is the Head, and the Church is the body. These metaphors of body and members have a deep and spiritual meaning which only the use of metaphor could illustrate. If this language means anything, it means the real, full, and complete union of the believer with Christ in the sacraments of the Christian Church. Here lies the centre of gravity in the Christian religion. It is the sense of a union and communion with God realized and actualized in the life and death of His Blessed Son. It is only the sacramental system of the Christian society that makes possible the fullness of spiritual life in communion with the Father.

In the later Epistles there is drawn out more fully the cosmic significance of the Incarnation. But, as in 2 Co 5¹⁹ there is the idea of 'God in Christ reconciling the world to himself,' so in Ephesians the idea of reconciliation is prominent: 'But now in Christ Jesus ye who were in time past far off were made nigh by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace, who made both one, and brake down the middle wall of the partition' (Eph 2¹³⁻¹⁴). Not only has Christ broken down the barrier which lay between Jew and Gentile, but He has also removed all hindrances between these, when united to one another, and the presence of the Father. Again, 'He has raised us up with Him and made us to sit with Him in the heavenly places' (v. 9). The final result of the work and teaching of our Lord is that 'through him we both (Jew and Gentile) have our access in one Spirit unto the Father' (v. 18). Again, in 3¹² we have not only access to the throne and presence of God, but access with confidence, and this through the power of our faith in Christ. In this Epistle, St. Paul is dealing with universals and absolutes. The finality and absolute character of Christ's work (1) in the removal of sin, and (2) in the securing of our access to God, i.e. communion with Him, are marked. Lastly, the motive of all this is the love of Christ which passeth all knowledge.

(3) *St. James*.—This Epistle emphasizes that aspect of communion with God whereby man's part here and now, rather than what God has done in Christ, is considered (Ja 1⁷). The state of being in perfect communion with God, which is expressed by pure and undefiled religion, must be grounded, and find outward expression, in the doing of good work. The writer is conscious of man's ultimate high destiny as made in the image and likeness of God. But there have been many who have chosen the friendship of the world instead of the friendship of God, and so have given themselves over to do the work of Satan. Thus the idea of communion with God, or with the devil, is made to depend fundamentally on man's choice of the Father's friendship, or on his rejecting and vexing the Holy Spirit. In times past, and at present, man has been ruled by lust and evil desire, which have borne sin and death. If the writer's argument be dissected, it will be seen that this falling away from God's holy presence was due not so much to man's inherent depravity and utter sinfulness as to the imperfection of the Law. The life of communion with the Father is represented as a life in obedience to the perfect, royal law of liberty. This life with God was not possible under the OT dispensation, because the law of the OT was

external and compelling. The new law is inner and impelling, and is therefore the law of liberty.

It is not necessary here to make a detailed examination of the relation of 'faith' and 'works' in this Epistle to the same terms in St. Paul's letters. To St. Paul, as has been seen, faith was a real condition of communion with God. This St. James would not deny. For to him the term 'faith' conveyed the idea of a purely intellectual apprehension, not an assimilation and enthusiastic self-surrender to Christ as in Romans. 'Works' are not the legal works enjoined by the law, but deeds of mercy and kindness prompted by spontaneous self-imparting love for God and man. Hence salvation is based upon works, the works of man. God has in Christ removed sin, in that He has removed sin's power to keep man from God. The Father has accomplished this by a revelation of Himself in a perfect law of liberty, a royal law where obedience means life with Him (1²⁵).

The contrast between the life with God and existence apart from Him may be illustrated by the distinctions between the two wisdoms. There is one wisdom 'earthly, sensual, devilish,' which involves jealousy, faction, confusion, and every vile deed; 'the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without variance, without hypocrisy' (3¹⁵⁻¹⁷). Man must not neglect his part in the conquest of the devil (4⁷). The Christian's duty of prayer is inculcated (5¹⁵⁻²⁰). Man has been freed from sins by the gift of a perfect revelation of the will and mind of God in a perfect law. Man's final attainment of the righteousness of God, which means eternal communion with Him, will depend upon his obedience to God's Law. How far, then, does God give grace and strength to actualize this perfect obedience which is essentially communion with Him? God has planted in our hearts a 'word' which, unless rejected, is able to save souls (1²¹). This salvation is the consummation of right relations with God. The 'word' is a free gift from the Father. It is, or gives, the strength and grace necessary to obey the royal law of liberty. All things are from Him, life itself included (1¹⁷). The wisdom which is opposed to earthly wisdom is not man's own but God's; it is from above. All that Christians do, or are, depends on the free gift of God.

This Epistle contains the gospel of piety and good works, rather than that of faith. But the good works do not depend on initiative and power. The process of salvation must be expressed in good works. But they bring no merit. It is not through man's merit that he is enabled to obey the law. This royal law is fundamentally the law of love (2⁸). The life of obedience to the ideal law revealed through Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, is a process of drawing nigh unto God (4⁸). The power of prayer is mighty in its working. It is a source of comfort and strength to man in the life of obedience. The prayer of faith shall save him that is sick (5¹⁵⁻¹⁶). Through the manifold gifts of God the grace necessary for obedience is vouchsafed. This obedience in outward action is fundamentally the law of love, implanted by the Father in the heart. This is the ground and guarantee of communion with Him.

(4) *Hebrews*.—In this Epistle, Jesus Christ is presented as a supernatural, eternal, and uncreated Person. He is the Son in an absolute sense, superior to a long and illustrious line of prophets and servants of God. He is 'the effulgence of' the Divine 'glory,' 'the express image of the essence' of God. He was the Agent in creation, and is the Principle lying behind the moral order of the universe. The OT terms used to designate Jahweh are applied to the Person of the Son. On the other hand, he was man, tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin. Because of His sufferings and death, He is crowned with glory and honour. He learned obedience by the things which He suffered. He is not ashamed to call men brethren (chs. 1-4). Thus there are expressed the two dominant factors in the Incarnation—Jesus presented as the Eternal

and Uncreated Son; and Jesus, the Captain of our Salvation, who underwent a perfect human experience. These thoughts underlie the development of the argument, and determine the result of His work. The results of the work of Jesus are absolute in their efficacy, universal in their application, and the expression in the world of time and sense of spiritual realities and eternal laws.

To grasp the significance of the writer's thought on the negative aspect of Christ's work as destroying or annulling that which lay between the consciousness of man and the realization of communion with God, it is necessary to bear three things in mind: (a) He conceives religion as essentially a covenant relation between God and man. Communion is a relation which entails responsibilities and confers privileges. Many of the distinctions turn upon the essential differences between the covenant inaugurated by Moses and the New Covenant promised by Jeremiah and sealed by the death of Christ. (b) As the destiny of man, according to the Synoptic Gospels, is life in the Kingdom of God, and in the Fourth Gospel is eternal life, so in this Epistle the end of man's existence is eternal rest in the peace of God. This heavenly rest is contrasted with the rest which Israel in older times sought in the promised land, on the other side of Jordan. (c) The distinction between this world of sense and the unseen world of reality is evidence of the writer's dependence upon Alexandrian thought.

The death of Christ is compared with the covenant offerings of Ex 24²⁻³, with the burnt-offerings of the Law, and with the sin-offerings of the Day of Atonement (Lv 16). The efficacy of His death considered as a sacrifice is asserted in 9¹². On the problem of the remission of sins, the cancelling of guilt, the writer repeats the OT idea that apart from the shedding of blood there is no remission. But, in view of the majesty and eternity of His Person, the Blood of Christ avails to atone for all past sin. In virtue of the power of His blood He has entered within the veil, into the very presence of God. This is the end of all religions—to secure perfect and uninterrupted communion with God. Sin has always acted as a barrier. Hence in the OT dispensation ordinary Israelites could not enter into the Holy of Holies at all, nor could the high priest, except once a year, to offer burnt- and sin-offerings for himself and the people. But now, by His own offering of Himself, Christ has perfected for ever them that are sanctified. Whither He has gone before, Christians may follow with boldness, and draw near to the throne of grace. Offering Himself as a sacrifice for sin, Christ has destroyed every barrier of sin which formerly lay between man and God. The sacrifice in which He is both High Priest and Victim secures this result in the world of spirit, whereas the Levitical worship had availed only to the cleansing of the flesh.

Although the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice rests fundamentally upon the majesty of His Person, His sacrificial death may be contrasted with the Levitical bloody sacrifices in the following points: (a) they are many and repeated: His is once for all; (b) they are of dumb animals: His is the voluntary act of the human will; (c) they are offered by sinful priests who do not fully represent the people: His is offered by a sinless Offerer who is perfectly at one with His brethren; (d) they as sacrificial acts are transactions in the world of time and sense: His High Priestly act is an expression of the Eternal Spirit of the Divine Love; (e) they avail to cleanse the flesh from physical impurities: He cleanses the conscience from guilt, to serve the living God.

In this interpretation of the meaning of Christ's work we are in the realm of the Eternal Spirit. Christ as the sin-offering for humanity has freed all men potentially from the guilty consciousness of sin, and brings Christians to the heavenly rest of God. Yet in this Epistle the emphasis is not so much on the surrender of Christ's life as on the presentation of that life within the veil. Christ, our High Priest and the Author of our salvation, is the Perfecter and Finisher of our faith. (a) He is our Example, being tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin. In the light and strength of His victory we are to run the race set before us with confidence. (b) He is the Object and Ground of our faith. Faith is defined as 'that which gives reality to things hoped for, the proving

of things not seen' (11¹). In the Person of Jesus, in the Incarnation of the Eternal Son, the spiritual world of abiding reality is brought into the world of human ken. To those who hold fast with confidence to this faith, victory is assured in the end. (c) In the heavenly ministry of Christ He ever 'liveth to make intercession for us.' Our High Priest, because of His sufferings and death, is crowned with glory and honour. He has passed through the heavens, and now sits at the Father's right hand to plead the merits of His eternal sacrifice. The love and merciful kindness of God which were manifested in time and in the earthly ministry of Jesus are eternal and changeless principles, perpetually operative in our behalf. This must ultimately be the ground of our acceptance and the assurance of our life in communion with Him.

In this Epistle the thought of the perfection of Christ's sacrifice is parallel with St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. The benefits and efficacy of His perfect sacrifice are conditioned by our attitude of faith and trust. This is a necessary and fundamental element in the process of salvation. But behind and above all the perfection of Christ's sacrifice and His eternal ministry of love in heaven are the assurance and guarantee of the life of communion with God.

(5) *1 Peter*.—In the Petrine speeches in the Acts our Lord is the great Prophet whose mission is attested by His mighty works. He is identified with the Suffering Servant of Jahweh (Ac 3¹²⁻²⁶, cf. 4²⁷⁻³⁰; see Is 42¹ 52¹³ 53¹¹). He has suffered death by the foreknowledge and counsel of God. God has highly exalted Him and made Him to be both Lord and Christ. The allusions to the Servant of Jahweh suggest the atoning and saving significance of our Lord's sufferings and death. The prophets of old have spoken explicitly of the sufferings of Christ. Repentance and forgiveness of sins are brought into close connexion with these sufferings and His death (Ac 3¹²). In those speeches our Lord is the suffering Messiah. In His name repentance and remission of sins are preached. His death has wrought such a change in the status of man before God that he is in a position by a deliberate act of his own choice to attain forgiveness of sins and the life of communion and peace with God. With the growth of St. Peter's thought in the course of years, the process of salvation is more explicitly stated by him. The sufferings of Christ are followed by 'the glories' (1 P 1¹²). From past sins and corruptible life, Christians have been redeemed by the blood of Christ (v. 1⁹). 'He bare our sins in his body upon the tree, that we having died unto sins might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed' (2²⁴). The writer is not here dealing with the principle of sin as St. Paul did, but with individual sins. The thought is that we have been freed from the dominion and power of sin through a literal transfer of our sins to Him, and a literal substitution of the sinless Person of the Redeemer for the persons of us sinners. He was sinless, but in His own body He suffered the consequences and results of our sins. The avenging holiness and righteousness of God find expression in the vicarious sufferings and death of the Christ of God. It is far from the writer's intention to ascribe to Christ's sufferings as such the moral quality or value of punishment. The sufferings and death are ours because the sins which He bore are ours. There is a clear statement on salvation in the words, 'Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God; being put to death in the flesh but quickened in the Spirit' (3¹⁸). Our Lord suffered for sins which were not His own. He the righteous was offered in sacrifice for the unrighteous. Two

main ideas seem to be contained here: (a) that sin deserved punishment; and the wrath of God must be expressed, if not on the person of a sinner, on that of a vicarious sufferer; (b) that the righteous may by God's gracious provision suffer for the unrighteous. Further, 'He went and preached to the spirits in prison' (3¹⁹). Our Lord's saving work is not limited to this world, but extends into all spheres. There is no realm in which His saving activities do not reign. By the sufferings and death of Christ, which came to pass in the eternal counsels of God, man has been freed from the guilt and power of sin. He is sprinkled and glorified by the blood of Christ. Only on this condition is communion with God the Father made possible. Thus the death and sufferings of Christ have availed to secure the negative element in the process of human salvation—forgiveness of sins. How then is the necessary power and strength given to man whereby he may continue in the state of communion and fellowship with God? This question is evidently prominent in St. Peter's mind: 'Concerning which salvation the prophets sought and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come to you' (1¹⁰). There is in salvation a positive aspect which means the infusion of grace. This gift of God has been the subject of the revelation of God to man through the prophets in the OT. It is now given through Christ, and is most intimately connected with His sufferings and death. He 'was manifested at the end of the times for your sake, who through him are believers in God, which raised him from the dead, and gave him glory: so that your faith and hope might be in God' (1^{20L}). The faith and hope of man which make possible communion with the Father are here associated with the resurrection of Christ from the dead. His glorious resurrection as a spiritual fact was the symbol and emblem of His final and absolute victory over the forces of sin and death. The resurrection is the ground and guarantee of a new life, and gift of strength to man to overcome the power of Satan and to enter God's presence. As the soul of man has been purified through the blood of Christ, the life of the purified soul is the life of love (1^{22L}). The life of communion with God which has been ensured by Christ's death and the coming of grace into the heart finds its necessary complement in the life of love for the brethren (cf. the Johannine statement in 1 Jn 3¹⁴). The Jewish figure of Divine election is used to describe the life of the Church redeemed from sin (1 P 2⁵; cf. St. Paul in Romans). The process of salvation of individual souls has for its end the creation of a redeemed community, a holy Church, a spiritual house. The function of the redeemed is to be a priesthood offering spiritual sacrifices (1 P 2⁵⁻¹⁰, cf. Ex 19^{6L}). The idea of the priesthood of all believers is here stated explicitly. All Christians are sacrificing priests, elect of God; the life of communion with the Father is essentially a life of the offering of a sacrifice. The ultimate basis of the Christian's union with God is God's holiness (1¹⁸). The saving work involved in the life and death of Christ expresses in the world of time and sense the eternal laws of that redeeming holiness. In the death, and more especially in the resurrection, of His Son, are given grace and strength to abide in the life of love and sacrifice with God the Father.

(6) *St. John's Gospel¹ and Epistles*.—The ideas of Christ's Person enunciated in the Prologue lie behind the work as a whole. The distinctions between light and darkness, the world and the

heavenly sphere, God and man, time and eternity, are repeatedly insisted on by the Evangelist. Christ as the Eternal Logos of the Father, incarnate and dwelling among men, is a perfect revelation of the being and will and character of God. He who has seen Jesus the Son has seen the Father (Jn 14⁹). Christ, the incarnate Logos, is the Way, the Truth, and the Life (14⁶). Only through a knowledge of His Person and through faith in Him can man pass out of death into life. In 1²⁰ John the Baptist hails Him as 'the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.' Whether this is a reference to the Suffering Servant of Isaiah or to the lamb of the sin-offering, it certainly involves the sacrificial significance of Christ's death as availing to remove sin. But this idea is not completely worked out in the Gospel. God the Father is essentially love; the Son is love incarnate. To gain eternal life, which is a spiritual state of communion with God, man must know God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. By appearing as Light in the midst of darkness, the Eternal Son offers to every man the opportunity of seeing and joining himself to that light. Acceptance or rejection of this choice is left with man himself. The Son judges no man; the judgment or acceptance is automatic. The world in which men lie cut off from communion with God is represented as the abode of death or destruction; but the effect of Christ's mission is to implant in all who 'will to believe' in Him the principles of eternal life. As the Son is in virtue of His Divine power victorious over sin, hatred, and darkness, so man, by knowledge and faith in Him, may in the end achieve the same victory. As communion with God is expressed in the Synoptic Gospels as the reign of holiness in the Kingdom of God, so in the Fourth Gospel the same idea is represented by the phrase 'eternal life.' Eternal life is essentially the knowledge of God and His incarnate Son. Hence in the work of making possible a perfect communion with God, the negative aspect of Christ's work was to overcome and vanquish the ignorance and darkness in which the mind of man lay. The revelation of the love and light of God in the life and death of the Eternal Son is, on this side, a conquest of the realm of darkness and sin. On the positive side, the thought of an eternal life which begins now, overleaps death, and endures unto the ages of the ages, means an existence in communion with the Father. Christ is to prepare in the heavenly sphere a place for His disciples also. As He rests eternally in the bosom of the Father, so they in the end are to come whither He has gone. In this Gospel the doctrine of the Person of Christ is the fullest and richest in the NT literature. And as to the motive of the Incarnation, there is the sublime statement: 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life' (3¹⁶). The facts of the Incarnation, the life and death of Christ, were prior neither in time nor in principle to the merciful love of God. The love of God is not powerless till justice is satisfied. Rather, the Incarnation with all its attendant circumstances is an expression of the love of God which has existed from eternity. God is love, and love implies the revelation and gift of self. In the Fourth Gospel the Incarnation is God's gift to man of a perfect revelation of Himself. An acceptance of this supreme gift by knowledge of and faith in His Son means the closest communion with God and life eternal. 'If a man love me, he will keep my word; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him' (14²³); 'I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live:

¹ Notwithstanding much recent criticism which tends to minimize the historical value of this Gospel, it is here regarded as containing, upon the lowest estimate, a very large substratum of genuine discourses of our Lord.

and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die' (11^{22c}). In the Eucharistic discourses in ch. 6, our Lord speaks of Himself as 'the bread of life.' By feeding on the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of man, men have life in themselves. By unaided efforts they cannot attain life eternal. Life and communion with God are essentially gifts from a merciful Father through the Son. Though there is no account of the institution of the Eucharist in the Fourth Gospel, the necessity and fundamental importance of the sacramental life are repeatedly dwelt upon. The Son is the Bread which cometh down out of heaven and giveth life to the world. Life means an apprehension and assimilation of the flesh and blood of the Son which are food and drink indeed. It might almost be said that the final purpose of His Incarnation is stated in these terms: 'I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever.'¹

Finally, in this Gospel we are moving in the world not of time and sense, but of abiding spiritual realities. Death is more than the physical fact of fleshly dissolution. Life does not mean mere animate existence. Death is the spiritual and moral fact of a separation from, and incompatibility with, the Divine love. It is not an event in a moment of time, but an eternal loss. So life is more than existence; based on knowledge and faith, it means existence in the holy presence of God, in accordance with His will—in the last resort, communion with Him. This life is the gift of God to man through the Eternal Son of His love. As the Son in His human life possesses the most perfect achievement of communion with the Most High, so He is Himself the most perfect means whereby there is communion between men and God.

The mystical idealism of the Johannine Gospel is maintained in the First Epistle. But in the latter the Gospel message finds its actual realization in the ordinary practical life of the 1st cent. Christian community. The author reiterates Christ's negative work of removing the barrier—an act made possible by His Divine Sonship (3⁹⁻¹⁶ 4¹⁰). On this Divine Sonship is based also the positive aspect of communion. That which has been seen and heard in His manifestation is declared as a means towards the fellowship of Christians with one another and 'with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ' (1¹⁻³). By means of this union Christians are made children of God (3¹), and they continue to possess the actual indwelling of God if (a) they acknowledge Jesus as come in the flesh and as the Son of God (4²⁻¹⁵), and (b) prove their acknowledgment by the love for one another (4¹³) which shows that they have passed out of death into life (3¹⁴).

(7) *2 Peter and Jude*.—Through the work of our Lord the cleansing of sins has been effected (2 P 1³). This cleansing is from sins, not the principle of sin.² It is an act or transaction in past time which the writer's contemporaries were in danger of forgetting. Yet it also demands some appropriation of its effects on the part of the individual searcher after union with God. The Christian's righteousness and faith in God are determined by the Person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ. Both freedom from sins and power to work the righteousness of God at the present time depend directly upon faith and knowledge of Him (2 P 1⁵⁻⁹). Salvation is a

personal and moral apprehension of, and adhesion to, Him. He is the unique figure who Himself bridges the chasm between God and man. The long categories of sins show that the presence and power of sin in the world as the negation of communion with God are very real to the writer's consciousness. Not only man, but the angels also are involved, or have been involved, in this apostasy (2 P 2⁴, Jude 6¹).

A distinction is made between the objective and subjective elements in the work of salvation. The cleansing of sins, regarded as in some sense completed in past time (2 P 1³), may be called the objective element in the Atonement. Throughout 2 Peter strong emphasis is laid on knowledge, and in 2²⁰ the knowledge of Christ is said to have enabled man to be free from sin. This may be called the subjective element in the Atonement. In the world of time and sense, atonement was wrought in the life and death of the Son of God. But this transaction can have no meaning or saving value without knowledge of Jesus Christ. Such knowledge means an inner and spiritual apprehension and assimilation of His work and Himself with the very inmost being. By the knowledge of Christ and His death which has cleansed from sins there is approach through Him to God the Father. Thus, all the Christian's relations to God are conditioned by the Person and saving work of the Son; through Him cleansing has been wrought; through a knowledge of Him there is approach to the Father. For the present and future life of communion with God is expressed by the OT imagery of Divine election (2 P 1¹⁰); and entrance into the eternal Kingdom of Christ is attained by virtue of faith and knowledge and apprehension of the cleansing from sins (v.¹¹). There is here a link with the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels. Here, as there, the life of communion with God is represented by the idea of entrance into and life in the Kingdom of God and Christ. As members of that Kingdom, Christians abide in His presence and love, in communion with Him. Man has not yet fully entered into the Kingdom, and the process of salvation will not be complete 'until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts' (v.¹⁸) at the consummation of the Kingdom (cf. Mt 25). The great day of judgment and separation, and of the reign of Christ with His saints in glory, was coming as a thief in the night, and was to mean a changing of all things and a new heaven and earth (3¹⁰⁻¹³). For the present the life of man must be in peace, and blameless. As the long-suffering of the Lord has wrought salvation (3¹⁸), the lives of Christians here must be of the same kind. The life of communion with the Father is to find its consummation in the new heaven and earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. When, through the knowledge of Christ, the righteousness and peace of God are attained, there will be the new heaven and earth. Hence for the man who has attained the righteousness of God there is no death. He passes from this world order into the eternal and heavenly kingdom (Jude 24^c).

(8) *The Apocalypse*.—The language of this book points to a period of severe and prolonged persecution. A mighty war is being waged on earth between the Church of God and the powers of evil. There is a clear grasp and apprehension of the difficulties which lie before the Church and her consummation in the Kingdom of God. The Roman Empire, and the city of Rome in particular, are the incarnation of the spirit of evil (Rev 17⁴⁻⁶). The account of the war in heaven in 12⁷⁻⁹ suggests the mighty conflict fought out on earth between the

¹ There can be no doubt that in these passages there is a reference to the Eucharist, since the writer of the Gospel is looking back on some seventy years of Christian practice. To characterize the language as mere metaphor and symbol, without any corresponding reality, is to do violence to every accepted canon of criticism or exposition.

² A link with the Petrine rather than with the Pauline soteriology.

¹ With this thought of the alienation of all created beings from God's presence, compare the idea of the absolute and universal range of our Lord's saving work in 1 P 2¹⁹.

powers of light and darkness. Man's final victory over the forces of sin which separate him from God has been gained through the death of Christ as the Lamb of God (1⁸). The soteriology of this book, with which its relation is concerned, depends directly on the Christology. Our Lord is 'the Son of God' in the highest sense (2⁸), that is, the author insists on the same exalted dignity of our Lord's Person as in the Fourth Gospel. The favourite designation for Him is 'the Lamb,' this title being applied to Him twenty-nine times in the book. He is not only the Lamb, but the Lamb who has been slain; and the effect of His death has been the purchase and redemption of mankind (5⁹). All mankind were in bondage under the dominion of sin and death. By the death of the Lamb the purchase price has been paid. Man has been bought for God's own possession. His true life and destiny—communion with the Father—have thus been made possible. This power of the Lamb slain is due to His being the Eternal and Divine Son. Salvation is from God the Father and God the Son (5¹² 7¹⁰). The ultimate motive is to be found in the love of God; the immediate agency is through the death of the Lamb, the Eternal Son made man. The final effects of the death of the Lamb as an act which has purified all men from sin depend on the choice and action of the redeemed. Salvation includes a human as well as a Divine element. Man must make use of, and appropriate, those saving powers which the love of the Son, as expressed in His death, has provided (7¹⁴). Like St. Paul, the writer insists on the importance of Christ's resurrection in this connexion (1¹⁶). The resurrection of Christ as a spiritual fact expresses His final victory over the power of sin and death. Though the Lamb has been slain, yet there is victory in His death. He 'is alive for evermore.' He has the keys which open the way to life, that is, to a life of communion with the Father. By the death of the Lamb, the whole community has been purchased to be a kingdom of priests (1⁶). The Christian is set free from all that had hindered the offering of a perfect sacrifice to God. The death of Christ (the Lamb) as a sacrifice has freed man from sin. The life of communion with God thus gained is a life of uninterrupted sacrifice. This being so, how is power given to individual Christians whereby they are strengthened for this perfect ministry? How is there such a relation as is expressed in the phrase 'the patience and faith of the saints' (13¹⁰)? The writer interprets this relation in (a) the language of metaphor taken from the Jewish ceremonial (19⁸), (b) the language of the works of the Law (2³⁶), and (c) the description of keeping the commandments of God and holding the testimony of Jesus (12¹⁴). Thus, the idea of man's right relation to God and of communion with Him is expressed in a variety of images. Similarly, image after image—mostly taken from the OT, but not uncoloured by the Jewish apocalyptic writings—is used to denote the communion with God in which the true Christian abides, and the prayer and dedication by means of which it is gained and realized (2⁷, 10, 17, 28, 35, 12, 20, 21, 5⁸, 7¹³⁻¹⁷, 8⁴, 14-15, 20-6, 21, 22). At the centre of all is the stream of life which proceeds from the being of God, mediated through the manhood of the Son (22¹). Through all the stages of communion, the Church in the power of the Holy Spirit reaches that perfect attainment in which the Divine life is fully received (22¹⁷).

CONCLUSION.—Christian life is thus the highest form of communion with God which is attainable in the present stage of being, and the closest means of approach to that complete communion which is the true destiny of the human race. Led up to

by divers methods of preparation, Christianity supplies the individual Christian with a definite gift, which is made possible through the union of God and man in Jesus Christ. That definite gift is in the soul of the individual as his personal possession; but he has it through his place in the society which the incarnate Son of God constituted (see CHURCH). Intellectual powers are used in the reception of truth and grace; but they are assisted by Divine revelation. The communion of the spirit of man with the spiritual God fails in its purpose except so far as it is a means towards bringing the human life into conformity with the Divine life. All through the history of such communion there are the two sides—the inner and the outward. The Christian life will be well proportioned which makes due allowance for them both. The communion will be expressed by, and will find its realization in, such different means as the study of the Biblical records, the life of the Church in past times, and the histories of the saints; the use of public worship; the observance of sacred days and seasons; the intimate relation between the soul and God which is found in private and personal acts of prayer; the expression of a philosophy of religion which has as its aims both the further progress of believers and the conversion of unbelievers; the reception of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit; the partaking, with the knowledge and faith and right intention which the Holy Spirit makes possible, of the life of Christ communicated in the Sacraments, as the Christian is spiritually uplifted to be with Christ in heaven, and as Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit, acting on His sacred Manhood, and on the gifts offered by the Church, is present on earth. Employing such means, it moves on towards the consummation which has its mark in limitless perfection (1 Co 13¹², 1 Jn 3²).

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DARWELL STONE and D. C. SIMPSON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Egyptian).

—It is difficult to define this subject, as it will naturally appear under many different forms in other articles. The subjects of (1) offering, (2) theophagy, (3) covenant, (4) symbiosis, (5) magic, (6) oracle, (7) prayer, (8) adoration, (9) inspiration, (10) dream, (11) mysticism, and (12) trance, all

comprise communion with Deity, and it is not possible to deal with the latter except under some form of these various headings. All we can do here is to illustrate these different modes of communion as seen in Egyptian remains.

1. **Offering.**—The Egyptian idea was not that of burning a sacrifice in order that the smell of it might ascend to heaven, but that of setting out a table of food for the god, especially at the times when all his worshippers were assembled at a feast. Then the god and his adherents feasted together, with portions assigned to each (XXth dyn., Harris papyrus). The same is seen in the feasts held in the temples in later times, as illustrated by the well-known invitation 'to dine at the table of the Lord Serapis in the Serapeum' in the 2nd cent. A.D. (*Oxyrh. Papyri*, i. 177). Thus the essence of the offering was co-mensalism with the god.

2. **Theophagy.**—From a very early stratum of the religion comes the idea of feeding on the god. The animal-gods were so used in a communion feast, as seen at Memphis, where the sacred bulls were eaten, only the heads being preserved with the fragments of bone after the sacramental feast (XIXth dyn.). The same is implied at Thebes, where the sacred ram was killed each year. In pre-historic times the flesh was removed from the dead, and the bones were broken to extract the marrow, probably showing the practice of anthropophagy with a view to transmitting the virtues of the deceased. In the future life the dead fed on the gods; cf. the pyramid of King Unas (Vth dyn.):

'It is Unas who eats men, who nourishes himself on the gods. . . . It is Unas who devours their magic virtues and who eats their souls; the great ones are a repast for Unas in the morning, the middling ones at noon, and the little ones are the food of Unas for the evening. The old ones, male and female, are burnt up in the oven.'

3. **Covenant.**—The greater offerings and endowments for the gods were one side of a business contract or covenant.

'I give to thee wine,' or other offerings, says the king. The god replies, 'I give to thee health and strength.' 'I give thee joy and life for millions of years.' In his battle-prayer Ramses II. appeals to Amen on the ground of his great offerings to the god, and therefore demands his help in distress.

4. **Symbiosis.**—In the future life the dead were thought to go and live with the gods, generally in the boat of the sun-god Ra, with whom the dead performed the daily journey through the under world. In the Book of the Dead (ch. 178) the gods are besought thus: 'Feed N. with you; let him eat what you eat, drink as you drink, sit as you sit, be mighty as you are mighty, navigate as you navigate.'

5. **Magic.**—The essential idea is to compel the gods by magic formulæ (Wiedemann, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897, p. 269). In the early tales of magic the gods are not prominent; it is rather the course of Nature that is compelled, as in the vivification of a wax crocodile, or the joining of the head and body of a decapitated bird (Petrie, *Egypt. Tales*, i. [1895] p. 11). But the later magic formulæ are addressed to the gods and spirits, and threaten dire results if the magician is not obeyed. They are not unnatural for their time, as the little Greek boys threatened terrible results to their fathers if they could not have their own way (Papyri letters in *Oxyrh. Papyri*, i. 186).

Another part of magic in communion was the Divine marriage of Amen with the queen, resulting in the supernatural conception of the heir, as is recited of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III. Here the community with the Deity in procreation is similar to the Bab. priestess being a spouse of the god in his shrine. The king also was in communion with the Deity, as he dressed and acted in the marriage as the incarnation of the Deity. The frequent use of little images of the gods, often

protected in miniature shrines, hung round the neck, suggests a magic communion, like that of Louis XI. with the leaden images in his hat-band.

6. **Oracle.**—Oracular responses were given by the nodding of a statue of the god in reply to questions. In the XXist dynasty Men-kheper-ra, the pontiff, went to visit Amen, 'saying, "O my good lord, there is a matter, shall one recount it?" Then the great god nodded exceedingly, exceedingly. Then he went again to the great god, saying, "O my good lord, it is the matter of these servants against whom thou art wroth, who are in the Oasis, whither they are banished." Then the great god nodded exceedingly, while this commander of the army with his hands uplifted was praising his lord' (Breasted, *Anc. Records of Egypt*, 1906-7, iv. 318).

Again, in an inquiry about accusations in the XXist dynasty, the pontiff Painozem

'came before this great god. This great god saluted violently. He placed two tablets of writing before the great god: one writing said . . . there are matters which should be investigated . . . the other writing . . . there are no matters which should be investigated. These two tablets of writing were placed before the great god. The great god took the writing which said . . . there are no matters which should be investigated' (*ib.* 323).

In a religious fiction of later date the chief of Bekhten, in Asia, desires that the image of the god Khonsu be sent to Bekhten to perform the cure of his daughter. The king of Egypt

'repeated before Khonsu in Thebes, saying, "O my good lord, I repeat before thee concerning the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." Then led they Khonsu of Thebes to Khonsu the Plan Maker. . . . Then said his majesty before Khonsu of Thebes, "O thou good lord, if thou inclinest thy face to Khonsu the Plan Maker . . . he shall be conveyed to Bekhten." There was violent nodding. Then his majesty, "Send thy protection with him, that I may cause his majesty to go to Bekhten to save the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." Khonsu of Thebes nodded the head violently. Then he wrought the protection of Khonsu the Plan Maker four times.' At Bekhten 'then this god went to the place where Bentresh was. Then he wrought the protection of the daughter of the chief of Bekhten. She became well immediately' (*ib.* iii. 193). The phrase 'wrought the protection' here is literally 'did [or made] the *sa*'. The *sa* was a Divine emanation which was conferred from the gods by the laying on of hands.

7. **Prayer.**—An example of direct appeal—beyond all the usual formulæ—is that of the battle-prayer of Ramses II.:

"What is in thy heart, my father Amen, does a father ignore the face of a son? I have made petitions, and hast thou forgotten me? Even in my going stood I not on thy word? . . . What is thy will concerning these Anu [Syrians]? Amen shall bring to nought the ignorers of God. Made I never for thee great multitude of monuments? . . . Amen! behold this has been done to thee out of love, I call on thee, my father Amen, for I am in the midst of many nations whom I know not, the whole of every land is against me. . . . I end this waiting on the decrees of thy mouth, Amen! never overstepping thy decrees, even making to thee invocations from the ends of the earth." 'Amen came because I cried to him, he gave me his hand and I rejoiced: He cried out to me, "My protection is with thee, my face is with thee, Ramessu, loved of Amen, I am with thee, I am thy Father, my hand is with thee" (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, iii. [1905] 56 f.).

8. **Adoration.**—The Egyptian always stood with his hands raised, and the palms turned forward, when in adoration. Of the mental attitude there are many examples in the hymns of adoration to the gods, expatiating on the glory and power of the deity; but there is little trace of a personal expression. One remarkable maxim is: 'When thou worshippest him, do it quietly and without ostentation in the sanctuary of God, to whom clamour is abhorrent. Pray to him with a longing heart, in which all thy words are hidden, so will he grant thy request, and hear that which thou sayest, and accept thy offering' (Erman, *Egypt. Rel.*, Eng. tr., 1907, p. 84). A striking instance of official adoration is when Pankhy the Ethiopian (XXIIIrd dyn.) went to perform the royal ceremonies at Heliopolis. He ascended the steps to the shrine of Ra, he drew back the bolts, and, opening the ark, he looked on Ra in his shrine, and performed adoration before the two boats of Ra. Then he shut and sealed the doors. The address of Lucius to Isis (*Golden Ass*) is one of the finest passages of adoration in late times; but it is Greek rather than Egyptian.

9. **Inspiration.**—The impulse to perform great works was ascribed to the inspiration of the gods. Hatshepsut (XVIIIth dyn.) relates at the base of her great obelisk at Karnak:

'I sat in the palace, I remembered him who fashioned me (Amen, the divine parent of the miraculous birth of the queen), my heart led me to make for him two obelisks' (Breasted, II. 132). 'I have done this from a loving heart for my father Amen; I have entered upon his project of the first occurrence, I was wise by his excellent spirit, I did not forget anything of that which he executed. My majesty knoweth that he is divine. I did it under his command, he it was who led me; I conceived not any works without his doing, he it was who gave me directions. I slept not because of his temple, I erred not from that which he commanded, my heart was wise before my Father, I entered upon the affairs of his heart' (p. 131).

Direct inspiration of words was also accepted, as when Un-amen was detained at the court of Byblos (XXIth dyn.):

'Now, when he (the king of Byblos) sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of his noble youths, making him frenzied, so that he said, "Bring up the god (the image of Amen owned by Un-amen), bring the messenger of Amen who hath him, send him and let him go." Now, while the frenzied youth continued in frenzy during the night, I found a ship bound for Egypt' (ib. iv. 280).

10. **Dream.**—The belief in dreams as communications from a deity is seldom mentioned. The main instance is the dream of Tahutmes IV. (XVIIIth dyn.); when he

'rested in the shadow of this great god (the Sphinx), a vision of sleep seized him at the hour when the sun was in the zenith, and he found the majesty of this revered god speaking with his own mouth, as a father speaks with his son, saying, "Behold thou me I see thou me! my son Tahutmes, I am thy father Har-emakhti-Khepra-Ra-Atum, who will give to thee thy kingdom."

The sand of this desert upon which I am has reached me; turn to me to have that done which I have desired, knowing that thou art my son, my protector; come hither; behold, I am with thee, I am thy leader." When he had finished this speech, this king's son awoke' (ib. II. 323).

A stone head-rest or pillow, of the usual form, was found at Memphis having a small shrine hollowed in the side of it, evidently to contain an image of a god close beneath the sleeper's head. This was probably to favour communications in dreams. The Egyptians adopted the Semitic idea of dreaming in a temple, or in front of a sacred shrine, when seeking guidance in a Semitic land, as seen in Sinai (Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 1906, p. 67). The Greeks in Egypt had the custom of dreaming in the temples at Memphis, Kanobos, and Abydos (see, further, art. INCUBATION).

11. **Mysticism.**—The absence of documents relating to personal religion during the Egyptian monarchy prevents our finding mysticism, which is absent from the official religion. But in the later age we have the Hermetic books of about 500-200 B.C., and the accounts of the Ascetics of the 1st cent. A.D. In these we meet with the various emblems of Conversion—the Ray of Light, Baptism, and Re-birth.

'Good is holy silence, and a giving of a holiday to every sense.' 'Pray to catch a single ray of thought of the Unmanifest (God) by contemplating the ordering of Nature, inanimate and animate.' 'To reach re-birth throw out of work the bodily senses, and withdraw into thyself; will it, and the Deity shall come to birth.'

Of the Ascetics it is said (A.D. 10) that 'they are carried away with heavenly love, like those initiated in the practice of Corybantic Mysteries; they are a-fire with God until they behold the object of their love. After dancing and singing all night, thus drunken unto morning light with this fair drunkenness, with no head-heaviness or drowsiness, but with eyes and body even fresher than when they came to the banquet, they take their stand at dawn, when, catching sight of the rising sun, they raise their hands to heaven praying' (Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt*, 1909, pp. 92-93, 77).

Probably much of this mysticism was due to the influence of Indian thought from the Buddhist mission.

12. **Trance** seems to have been outside of the very practical and material ideas of the Egyptians, but it probably entered into the Ascetic system of later times. The devotees lived in solitary dwellings, each of which contained a shrine or *monastery* into which no other person ever entered. Here, in solitude, they performed the mysteries of the holy

life. No food or drink was ever used in it, but there the devotees rested for even a whole week at a time, without food or any external impression. Such a condition would certainly lead to trance and visions, like those of the later hermits.

In each of these modes of communion we have only samples, which do not give any complete view of the subject, but which illustrate its nature at one or two periods. These samples must not be thought to be general in their application; there must have been various views current together in the very mixed condition of Egyptian religion. As a modern parallel, we have simultaneously every shade of belief about Divine communion in the Eucharist, from the full theophagy of the Roman Church to the purely spiritual contemplation of the Plymouth Brethren. An extract from any religious work of the present day touching this subject would as little represent the variety of present thought as an extract from ancient writings can show us the extent of ancient thought.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Fijian).—A Fijian took no important step without the support of his god, conveyed to him by the priest in the frenzy of inspiration. Among the tribes under Polynesian influence in the Eastern islands he presented a whale's tooth to the priest of the tribal deity; among the Melanesian tribes of the interior he made his offering at the grave of the late chief, the last representative of the ancestor-god. Thus, in the revolt at Seangangga in 1895, the first act of the rebels, after throwing off Christianity, was to weed the grave of their late chief and present a root of *kava* to his *manes*.

The priesthood was generally hereditary, but outside the precincts of the temple it enjoyed no social consideration. There was no access to the god save through the priest, and, except on rare occasions, such as a campaign in a distant island, the priest could be inspired only in the temple. When the oracle was to be consulted, a message was sent to the priest; and the envoys, dressed and oiled, found him lying near the sacred corner of the temple-hut. He rose and sat down with his back against the white cloth by which the god visited him, the others sitting opposite. The chief envoy presented a whale's tooth, and explained the project for which Divine favour was sought. The priest took the tooth and gazed at it, absorbed in thought. All watched him attentively. Presently he began to tremble. Slight spasms distorted his features, his limbs twitched, and gradually the whole body was convulsed with violent muscular action; the veins swelled, the lips grew livid, the sweat poured down, and the eyes protruded unnaturally. The man was now possessed, and every word he uttered was that of the god. He began to cry in a shrill voice: '*Koi au! Koi au!*' ('It is I! It is I!'). The answer, generally couched in figurative and ambiguous terms, was screamed in falsetto, and the violent symptoms then began to abate. The priest looked about him, and, as the god screamed '*Au sa lako!*' ('I depart'), collapsed prone on the mat, or struck the ground with a club. At the same moment some one outside the temple announced by a blast on the conch, or a shot from a musket, that the god had returned to the spirit world. The convulsive twitchings continued for some time, even though the priest had so far recovered as to eat a meal or to smoke.¹

Williams gives the following example of the pronouncements of an oracle. Ndenge's priest cried, 'Great Fiji is my small club; Muamabila is the head; Kanaba is the handle. If I step

¹ There are several words to denote possession; *sika* means 'to appear,' *kundru*, 'to grumble'; the one refers to the appearance, the other to the sound, of possession by a god.

on Muaimbilla, I shall sink it into the sea, whilst Kamba shall rise to the sky; if I step on Kamba, it will be lost in the sea, whilst Muaimbilla could rise into the skies. Yes, Viti Levu is my small war-club; I can turn it as I please; I can turn it upside down' (*Fiji and the Fijians*, 225).

The propitiatory offering was invariably food, of which part, called the *singana*, was set aside for the god, and was eaten by his priest and a few privileged old men, for it was tabu to youths and women; the remainder of the feast was divided among the people.

The inspired paroxysm is something more than conscious deception. Williams heard a famous priest of Lakemba declare: 'I do not know what I say. My own mind departs from me, and then, when it is truly gone, my god speaks by me.' No doubt this man was absolutely sincere. Williams says that he 'had the most stubborn confidence in his deity, although his mistakes were such as to shake any ordinary trust. His inspired tremblings were of the most violent kind, bordering on frenzy' (*ib.* p. 228).

Christianity did not put an end to this kind of seizure, for in the first heat of conversion it was not uncommon in the mission services for a man to be inspired (by the Holy Spirit, as he said) and to interrupt the service with a torrent of gibberish, accompanied by all the contortions that seized the heathen priest. His companions would pat him gently on the shoulder with soothing exclamations. The missionaries, who had told them the story of Pentecost, could not well condemn the practice. The 'revival' at Viwa in 1845 was an extreme instance of this kind of possession. To judge from John Hunt's account (*ib.* p. 269), the whole island was seized with a kind of religious hysteria, and 'business, sleep, and food were entirely laid aside' for several days.

Another form of communion was confined to young men only; there was no recognized priesthood. The object of the rites, called *kalou-reve* or *ndomindomi*, according to the part of the group where they were practised, was to allure the 'little gods'—*luve-ni-vai* ('children of the water'), a timid race of immortals—to leave the sea and visit their votaries. It is not clear that the 'little gods' conferred any boon upon their worshippers, except to make them invulnerable in battle, and to afford them such amusement as may be enjoyed by amateur spiritualists who keep secret from their elders their dabbling in the black art. In a retired place near the sea a small house was built and enclosed by a rustic trellis-fence, tied at the crossings with a small-leaved vine, and interrupted at intervals by long poles decorated with streamers. No effort was spared to make the place attractive to the shy 'little gods'; the roof of the miniature temple was draped with bark cloth, the walls were studded with crab claws, and giant yams and painted coco-nuts were disposed about the foundation for their food and drink; within was a consecrated coco-nut or some other trifle. A party of twenty or thirty youths would spend weeks in this enclosure, drumming on the ground with hollow bamboos every morning and evening to attract the sea-gods. They observed certain tabus, but otherwise spent their days in idleness. In one case, cited by Williams (*op. cit.* p. 237), a jetty of loose stones was built into the sea to make the landing easier. When the gods were believed to be ascending, flags were set up to turn back any who might be disposed to make for the inland forests. On the great day another enclosure was made with long poles covered with green boughs, pennanted spears being set up at the four angles. Within this sat the lads, gaily draped, with their votive offerings before them, thumping on the earth with their bamboo drums. Presently the officers of the lodge were seen approaching, headed

by the *vininduvu*, a sort of past-master, capering wildly with a brandished axe; the *lingaviu* (fan-holder) circling round the drummers, waving an enormous fan; the *mbovororo*, dancing with the coco-nut which he was about to break on his bent knee; and the *lingavatu*, pounding a coco-nut with a stone. Amid a terrific din of shrieks and cat-calls the gods entered into the *raisevu*, who thereafter became a privileged person. Then all went mad; the *vakathambe* (landing-herald) shouted his challenge; the *matavitu* shot an arrow at him or at a coco-nut held under his arm; and all were possessed with the same frenzy as the inspired priests. One after another they ran to the *vininduvu* to be struck on the belly with a club, believing themselves then to be invulnerable, and sometimes he did them mortal injury. On the west coast of Vitilevu, the favourite landing-place of the *luve-ni-vai* is marked with a cairn of stones to which each worshipper and passer-by adds as he goes. In the more republican tribes of the west, commoners have risen to great influence through their adventures as *raisevu*.

The *mbaki* or *nanga* rites were peculiar to the western and inland tribes of Vitilevu. They were held in a sort of open-air temple—a parallelogram of flat stones set up on edge, with two rude altars dividing the enclosure. As a rule they were built not far from a chief's grave. Tradition ascribes the origin of the rites to two castaways, called Veisina and Rukuruku, who drifted to Fiji in a canoe from the westward, and at once began to teach Fijians their mysteries. The *nanga* was the 'bed' of the ancestors, that is, the spot where their descendants might hold communion with them, and the rites were four in number, according to the season: (1) the initiation of the youths; (2) the presentation of the first-fruits with prayers for increase; (3) the recovery of the sick; and (4) making warriors invulnerable. The votaries formed a secret society to which only the initiated in each village belonged; and so strict was the bond that, when votaries of the same *nanga* were at war, they could attend the annual rites in an enemy's country without fear of molestation, provided they could make their way thither unobserved. Each lodge comprised three degrees: (1) the *vere matua*, old men who acted as priests of the Order; (2) the *vinilolo*, the grown men; and (3) the *vilavou*, (lit. 'new year's men'), the novices. The great annual festival was the initiation of these youths, who were thus admitted to man's estate and brought into communion with the ancestors. During the ceremony the votaries lived upon food that had been consecrated months before—yams, and pigs which had been turned loose in the vicinity of the *nanga* after their tails had been cut off. The rites were designed to frighten the novices into respect for their elders and into secrecy. The *vere* became inspired like the priests, and, while in that state, they admonished the novices upon the virtues of valour and generosity, and announced to them the penalty of insanity and death to him who betrayed the mysteries to the uninitiated.

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BASIL H. THOMSON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Greek and Roman).—The scheme proposed in this article is to avoid attempting any full survey of the widest sense of 'communion' through religious rites and practices in general, and to direct attention to

communion through special forms of ecstasy, such as resulted from orgiastic worship, or initiatory rites, or philosophic exaltation, and to indicate traces of communion, whether in the Mysteries or in sacrificial feasts. It will be serviceable to consider Greek religion, as a whole, before Roman.

I. GREEK.—1. Certain aspects of communion in early Greek religion.—A chronological consideration of communion at succeeding epochs of Greek history is not a completely suitable mode of treatment in view of the fact that almost all the degrees of 'communion' are either explicitly or implicitly present at most of the historical stages. Without, however, attempting a chronological résumé, one may take a preliminary glance at some aspects of communion in early Greece. The article on *ÆGEAN RELIGION* (vol. i. p. 141) will serve to illustrate the presence of what we might term the more ordinary phases of communion in the religious observances of that brilliant civilization which included among its epochs the 'Minoan' and 'Mycenæan' ages, and which started as a true primitive religion from a Nature-faith without images. In its more developed worship of a Great Goddess with a Divine Son (resembling the cult of Ashtaroth with Tammuz or Cybele with Attis), this early age presents easily recognizable parallels with the ritual of later times, under such aspects of ritual as adoration, libation, and sacrifice (though apparently not burnt sacrifice). There are also, as in a seal-design from the palace at Knossos, indications of the sacred dance by women in 'Minoan' Crete, suggesting the aim at an intimate approach to the Divine through religious excitement. In this connexion it is an interesting probability that the religion of the Cretan Great Mother of the gods developed certain ideas of mystic communion with the divinity which were dominant in the Sabazian Cybele-ritual of Phrygia (Farnell, *CGS* iii. 297).

With the Homeric poems we reach a stage in Greek religion where the primitive is already largely obscured by the artistic, and where the discerning mind will feel the want, in religious inquiry, of something more than purely literary evidence. For in Homer religious usage itself is not always consistent, while the anthropomorphism of the gods and the forms already assumed by many of the legends indicate considerable changes upon the original religious conceptions, though at the same time they naturally do not indicate the survival of such original conceptions in actual contemporary belief or practice. At first sight, the anthropomorphic conception of Deity evident in Homer might seem to allow small possibility of any mystic communion between gods and men, for the gods may appear in the flesh (*ἐνσώφεις*, *Il.* xx. 131) and play their part as warriors. Yet, in the thought reflected in the *Odyssey*, at any rate, they have become more remote; for there 'the gods in no wise appear visibly to all' (*Od.* xvi. 161, *οὐ γὰρ πῶ πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐνσώφεις*). It is also in the *Odyssey* that the highly spiritual pronouncement is made touching the yearning of man for God. Often, doubtless, the yearning might be for help viewed externally—for the practical assistance lent by a heavenly ally; but often, too, for some more internal support, a mysterious but confident sharing in Divine quality which approximates to our notion of communion. The context in the *Odyssey* is significant. It is the reason given by Nestor's son to Athene, disguised as Mentor, to explain why prayer should be made by guests who have chanced to arrive during a festival of Poseidon; after drink-offering and prayer, Mentor is bidden hand to his fellow-guest the cup of honeyed wine for the purposes of a similar ritual, 'inasmuch as he too, methinks, prayeth to the deathless gods—for all

men have need of the gods' (*Od.* iii. 48, *πάντες δὲ θεῶν χάρουσι ἄνθρωποι*). Further, it is in sacrifice that Homeric religion best illustrates communion—not so much in the gift of a holocaust to be completely consumed by the deity as in the more prevalent conception of the sacred feast common to both deity and worshipper.

2. Communion through ecstasy.—It is worth while, as it is certainly convenient, to examine ecstasy separately, although logically it may accompany any feature of religious life or practice, and although the illustrations of it must perforce trench on the subject of mysteries and sacraments. The phenomenon of ecstasy—a familiar accompaniment of both barbaric and developed religions—consists in a transcending of the bounds of ordinary consciousness and a resultant feeling of communion with a Divine nature (see the analysis in Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 14–22). The stirring of unrestrained *ἐκστασις* lifts the spirit of the human votary completely out of workaday surroundings and beyond ordinary laws. The Greek notion of this process is observable in the terms *ἐκστασθαί* and *ἐκστασις*, and in the conception that the ecstatic condition is attended by the entrance of a Divine element; the devotee is *ἐνθεός*, 'filled with the god,' Divinely maddened. The Mænad feels herself to be, and names herself, Divine; and it is significant that Plato refers to the Bacchanals as drawing Divine inspiration like that of his enthusiastic lovers (*ἐκθουσιώντες*), who by contemplation and memory acquire something of the Divine nature, 'so far as it is possible for man to partake of God' (*Phædr.* 253A, *καθ' ὅσον δυνατὸν θεοῦ ἀνθρώπῳ μετασχεῖν*). The extreme forms of ecstasy are connected with 'the old and savage doctrine that morbid phantasy is supernatural experience' (Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* ii. 415), and may be compared with the 'ivresse spirituelle' of Ruysbroeck, which is discussed by M. Hébert in *Le Divin*, ch. ii., while a more intellectual type of communion may be compared with the 'degré suprême de l'union extatique' attainable through meditation, and discussed by Hébert in ch. iii.

Among the most usual means whereby the abnormal state of mind under examination may be induced are self-abandonment to emotion, frenzied outcries, unrestrained gestures, giddy dervish-like dancing, outlandish music, brandishing of torches, and the use of drink or drugs. An ecstatic mental condition or morbid exaltation may be the product of rigorous fasting observed with a view to attain, through dreams or visions, relationship with, and revelation from, spiritual beings. This is well illustrated by the 'incubation' (*q.v.*) of patients within the precincts of Asklepios at Epidaurus. Somewhat analogous was the belief in delirium, trance, or fainting fits as promising direct spiritual intercourse with a deity. The Pythonean was supposed to obtain a communication of the Divine will in her ecstatic trance, and she made herself ready for the afflatus by the ritual acts of chewing sacred laurel and drinking water possessing a miraculous virtue. Farnell proposes to define such ritual as 'a mantic sacrament,' declaring that 'the chewing the laurel may be regarded as a simple act of sacrament, whereby through contact with a sacred object she established communion between herself and the deity' (*CGS* iv. 188). The worship of Cybele exemplifies other modes of ecstatic communion. In the priest-king at Pessinos—himself identified with Attis, and possessed of mighty secular as well as sacred power through his credited union with the godhead—we have the finished pattern on which the catechumen might model his aspirations; and in this worship not only was there ecstasy through the orgiastic dance, and regeneration through food

and the blood baptism of the *taurobolium*, but, as Farnell points out (*CGS* iii. 300), 'the process of regeneration might be effected by a different kind of corporeal union with the divinity, the semblance of a mystic marriage.' Even self-mutilation implied an ecstatic craving for assimilation to the goddess, so that in the Cybele-service Farnell finds 'a ritual of communion that used a sexual symbolism.'

The 'ecstatic ritual' of communion is examined by Farnell (*op. cit.* v. 151-181), and the evidence disposes him to believe that orgiastic ritual was not confined to the private *thiasoi* of Greece, but that the State-cults were less tempered by the Hellenic spirit than has been imagined (*ib.* 159). Ecstatic ritual persisted down to a late period at Thebes and Delphi at least; and among the island communities the primitive tradition of Bacchic enthusiasm was nowhere maintained with such fidelity as in Crete (*ib.* v. 157; cf. iii. 297). There, at an early date—probably before Homer, in Farnell's opinion—the Thracio-Phrygian Dionysos cult was engrafted on the pre-Hellenic orgies which celebrated a Mother-goddess.

The tasting of the blood or the devouring of the raw flesh of an animal regarded as incarnating the god is also a common way of arousing similar excitement. This potent method of charging oneself with the personality or force of divinity by the drinking of blood will be more fully considered as an aspect of sacramental communion. At this point it may be enough to say that it played a part in native Hellenic ritual (*CGS* v. 164), was prominent in certain imported rites, and lasted until the later days of paganism, when the Cretans, for instance, at a Divine funeral-feast still rent a living bull with their teeth (Firmicus Maternus, p. 84, cited in *CGS* v. 303). It is a salient characteristic of the ecstasy of the Mænads; and it is about their frantic omophagy, their devouring of raw flesh and hot blood in haste lest the spirit might escape, that Arnobius writes: 'in order that you may exhibit yourselves filled with the majesty of godhead (*ut uos plenos numine ac maiestate doceatis*), you mangle with gory lips the flesh of bleating goats' (*adv. Gent.* v. 19. Farnell (*CGS* v. 166) cites in further illustration Clem. Alex., *Protrept.* 11 p. ἀνοφαγία τῆν ἱερομανίαν ἀγορεύς καὶ ρελακωνίη τὰς κρανομίας τῶν φόνων). The scathing words of Arnobius unwittingly contain the original secret of these savage and hurried dismemberments of bull, goat, or fawn. The votaries, aiming at the mystic relation between god, victim, and themselves, believed, indeed, that the banquet of raw flesh filled them with 'the majesty of the divinity.'

A reasonable question arises regarding the object aimed at in the ecstasy of frenzy described. Bohde inclines to hold that an adequate motive is found in the consciousness of communing with Deity and of absorption into the Infinite. And this heaven-sent possession may have been the end in itself in historic Greece. It is, however, fair, as it is scientific, to point out, with Farnell, that among primitive peoples such religious ecstasy is not generally an end but a means. Though doubtless regarded as a strangely pleasurable sensation, it is excited for some practical object, such as prophecy or exorcism. In the early stages of religious ecstasy there is much of what is termed vegetation-magic, the desire in some way to influence Nature, control the weather, and secure good harvests. And from such germs may be evolved in time the more spiritual aspirations after communion with Deity.

Yet, by way of contrast, it must not be forgotten that there was a very different avenue towards ecstasy, and one, curiously enough, associated with the same wild Dionysiac worship, where the rapturous communion with Deity was achieved through orgiastic rites and a savage sacramental act. As Farnell asks (*ib.* 162), 'what are we to say of the "silence of the Bakhche," alluded to in the strangest of Greek proverbs' (*Paroemiog. Graec. Diogen.* [Gött. 1851] 8. 43, Βάκχης τῖπόν; ἐπὶ τῶν σιωπηλῶν, παρ' ὅσων αἱ Βάκχαι σιωποῦν)? Was this simply physical exhaustion—a merely natural reaction—or was it the 'zenith reached by the flight of the spirit, when voices and sounds are hushed, and in the rapt silence the soul feels closest to God?' Farnell cites in illustration the similar method for attaining the highest and deepest communion known to the ancient theosophists (cf. v. 162; with references to Sudhata, 'Leises und lautes Beten,' in *ARW*, 1906, p. 200; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 42). But perhaps one of the most interesting illustrations lies in the fact that Euripides, in the very play which so power-

fully dramatizes the excesses of half-religious hysteria associated with the Dionysiac orgies, also shows his appreciation of the spiritual good and inward joy to be drawn from a tranquil life of holiness (e.g. *Bacch.* 385-391, 1002-1012; cf. G. Norwood, *The Riddle of the Bacchae*, 1908, pp. 114-117).

3. Philosophical communion: Neo-Platonism.—

This is an appropriate point at which to glance at the idea of communion with Deity which culminated in Neo-Platonism (*q.v.*). In much philosophy there was an absolute negation of communion with Deity. The Epicurean system furnishes an obvious example: and Aristotle's Deity, which κινεῖ ὡς ἐρῶμενον, admits but little possibility of mystic and spiritual communion. The Platonic theory of *δημιουργία*, however, in its doctrine of an elevation of the human spirit into the realm of a Divine *νοῦς*, through a ratiocination which should transcend the particulars of sense and time, was open to mystic refinement. For the extreme development of the idea of Divine transcendence we have to pass to the first half of of view, important, not merely for the philosophical the 3rd cent. A.D. Plotinus, the greatest representative of Neo-Platonism, is, from our point lineage of his system, but for its relation to his times. In its yearning after Divine illumination it is typical of its age; for it was a period whose natural precursor might be found in the 1st cent., when Philo Judæus represented an Alexandrian endeavour to Platonize historical Judaism, and, through a theistic treatment of the Platonic 'ideas,' to reach a consummation of unequivocal surrender to the Divine influence. It was a period, too, foreshadowed some generations earlier than itself, when Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*) and the 'Neo-Pythagoreans' based their idea of attaining relationship with Deity upon their eclectic Platonism; while a more vulgar mode of communion with Deity was illustrated in the thaumaturgic feats of Alexander of Abonoteichos (*q.v.*). Neo-Platonic mysticism itself is the best type of ecstatic philosophic communion. According to Plotinus, the One which transcends existence (*ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*) is not directly cognizable by reason; and the coveted identification with transcendent Deity comes not so much through knowledge as through ecstasy, coalescence, contact (*ἔκστασις*, ἀπλωσις, ἀφή). Much of the doctrine in his *Enneads* bears a resemblance to Oriental Mysticism, but—though this has not always been admitted—it appears to have been purely Hellenic (Zeller, *Phil. d. Griech.* iii. b. 69 ff., 419 ff.; Bann, *Gr. Philos.* ii. 341; Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, p. 106). It was lineally from Plato that Plotinus developed the doctrine of that ecstasy which supervenes upon the contemplation of intellectual beauty, and through which a supreme union with the Divine and Absolute One may be achieved. This subjective intensity of the mystic, as a kind of individual communion, forms a strong contrast to the more usual religious desire for some common act of impressive ritual. There is, further, no excitement in the preparation for the mystical attainment, as in many worships. A long process of internal quietude, of abstraction from sense, and of absorption in reason must attune the soul (*Enn.* vi. ix. 3); and Plotinus's religious position is that the soul, thus worthily prepared by active contemplation, must then passively wait, in a kind of hypnotic trance, for the manifestation of the Divinity. The Divine 'intoxication' of passion comes with that beatific vision which rises beyond beauty to the One Cause (*Enn.* vi. vii. 35). This climax of full communion with God was reached by Plotinus four times within the knowledge of Porphyry, who himself reached the consummation only once, namely in his sixty-eighth year (Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 23).

4. Deterioration of Neo-Platonism.—The system, then, culminated in a mystical act; and, as a matter of history, mystical observances tended to obscure

the theoretical basis. Iamblichus, for example, the Syrian pupil of Porphyry, influenced by Eastern superstitions, claimed that absorption into the Deity was dependent upon the use of divination and magic. A striking phenomenon is presented in this degeneration of the pure Mysticism of Plotinus into the superstition of the Neo-Platonists of the 4th and 5th centuries, who defended or adopted heathen sacrifices, divination, and wonder-working. But it is logically incontrovertible that the germs of superstition were inherent in the Neo-Platonic system, which postulated an unapproachable One and emanations involving secret affinities throughout the universe of Being.

'If man by almost superhuman effort, transcending any effort of the reason, can rise in ecstasy to an immediate vision of the inscrutable One, he can also communicate with lower powers. He finds allies in the invisible world in the demons who mediate between the world of pure intelligence and the world of reason. Thus the Neo-Platonists of the 4th century found place in their system for the ancient gods, and found no difficulty in communicating with them by prayer, oracle, or oration (S. Dill, *Rom. Soc. in last Cent. of Western Empire*, 104).

5. **Communion with Deity through initiation in Mysteries.**—As opinions are divided on the question whether initiation culminated in a sacramental ritual, certain aspects of the Mysteries may be discussed independently of the subject of the sacrificial meal. Anrich, as a preliminary to his discussion of ancient Mysteries, emphasizes the deeper yearnings after fellowship with the Divine ('Gemeinschaft mit Gott,' 'Teilnahme am göttlichen Leben,' 'Genuss des Göttlichen' [*Das antike Mysterienwesen*, 37]), which account for much of the Greek attitude towards Mystic religion, and for the acceptance of Oriental cults. The various secret worshipers classed as 'Mysteries' subserved the feeling that, besides the commoner modes of drawing near to a god, there were others revealed only to a select number of initiated. The most famous of the Mysteries were those whose names Lobeck used as titles for the three books of his famous *Aglaophamus, sive de theologia mystica Græcorum causis*, 1829—namely Eleusinia (the most holy of all), Orphica (the expiatory lore of which affected the Mysteries of Eleusis), and Samothracica (the venerated Pelasgian, rather than Phœnician, cult of the *Κάβειροι*). [See MYSTERIES.] There were also—under the titles of *θαλασσι*, *ἐραροι*, and *ὄρυγες*—numerous religious associations which charged themselves with the celebration of private Mysteries—frequently of barbarous origin (F. B. Jevons, *Intro. to the Hist. of Relig.* 334–348; Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*). That the Eleusinian Mysteries persisted, as proved by literature and inscriptions, down to the close of paganism (Anrich, *op. cit.* 40), is not surprising, in view of the power of their esoteric symbolism to minister to the desire for a Divine communion more intimate than was possible for perfunctory worshipers. Certainly the Eleusinian Mysteries reached a considerable degree of spirituality, and made far deeper demands than simple ceremonial purity. The nine days' fast, the long procession from Athens to Eleusis, the play of mysterious illuminations in the Great Hall, the sacred drama, the reverent exhibition of holy symbols, the homilies addressed to the initiated, the drinking of the sacred draught even as once the goddess had refreshed herself, and the handling of the sacred things were all methods of bringing the reverent worshiper into closer communion with Deity (see the well-known formula recorded by Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 18, 'I have fasted and I have drunk the *κυκεὼν*,' etc.). From ancient times initiation at Eleusis was believed to secure a happier lot in the other world ('*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 480–482; Pindar, *frag.* 102; Soph. *frag.* 719 [Dind.]; Isoc. *Paneg.*

28; Cic. *Legg.* ii. xiv.), and the balance of ancient authority suggests that communion in the Eleusinian Mysteries was considered to exercise effects permanent enough to mould for better the life of the initiated in this world. This is supported by the evidence of Diodorus and of Andocides.

'According to Sopater, initiation establishes a kinship of the soul with the divine nature; and Theon Smyrnenus says that the final stage of initiation is the state of bliss and divine favour which results from it' (W. M. Ramsay, art. 'Mysteries,' in *EBR*, with reference to Diod. Sic. *Hist.* v. 48; Andoc. *de Myst.* 31; Sopat. *Dier. Zetem.* p. 120, in Walz, *Rhet. Græc.* 1832–36; Theon Smyrn. *Mathem.* i. 18; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 39, 188–189; Ramsay's art. 'Mysteries' gives the chief authorities on the subject between 1829 (the date of *Aglaophamus*) and 1884, and includes references to inscriptions).

One highly important feature of the Eleusinian Mysteries was their ultimate admission of the alien. As early as the time of Herodotus (viii. 65), they were open to any Hellene who might choose to go through the prescribed ritual; and, after the condition of membership came to be initiation (*μύησις*) instead of citizenship, they could so appeal to mankind that Ælius Aristides in the 2nd cent. A.D. might fairly eulogize Eleusis as 'a common sanctuary for the world' (*καὶὸν τὴ τῆς γῆς ῥέπουσ, Eleus.* *Orat.* i. 256 [Jebb]).

Jevons has contended (*op. cit.* ch. xxiv. 'The Eleusinian Mysteries') that the start of the broader appeal made by Eleusis coincided with fresh stirrings in religion which spread from Semitic lands to Greece in the 6th cent. a.c. So it was that the opening of the Eleusinian sanctuary to the Athenians was the first step in the expansion of the cult of Demeter from a merely local agricultural worship into an element of national and afterwards of cosmopolitan religion. The belief grew stronger, he maintains, that more intimate communion with Deity was attainable than that secured by the gift-sacrifice. Hence a resuscitation of the old sacramental theory of sacrifice, along with an ancient ritual wherein that theory was bodied forth. Holy places like Eleusis, which had conserved archaic Hellenic rites, became popular with worshippers bent upon such communion. At the same time came an influx of Oriental worshipers—some of them readily identified or associated with existing native cults. Wandering *aprytes* introduced 'Mysteries,' and founded religious communities for the worship of alien deities—Iachos, Zagreus, Sabazios, Cybele—who were now rapidly acclimatized in Greece. The new cults thrived, fostered by their likeness to the cult of Dionysos, and by the Orphic myths which suggested that Iachos, Zagreus, and Sabazios were one and the same with Dionysos. The association of Iachos with the Eleusinia added a dramatic element, but did not change the central portion of the ritual—which, in Jevons's view, consisted in the administration of the sacrament of the *κυκεὼν* and the solemn exhibition of the ear or sheaf of corn to represent the Corn-Mother.

'As the worshippers of animal totems at their annual sacrifice consumed the flesh of their god and thus partook of his divine life, so the worshippers of the Corn-Goddess annually partook of the body of their deity, i.e. of a cake or paste or posset made of the meal of wheat and water' (Jevons, *op. cit.* p. 365f.; *Hymn to Dem.* 208, *ἀπὸ καὶ ὕδατος*. Wine, being 'the surrogate of blood, was excluded from the non-animal sacrifices offered to cereal deities' (Jevons, *op. cit.* 380)).

This theory is attractive and thoroughly consistent with practices wide-spread among mankind. It has the difficulty of being necessarily in part conjectural because of the absence of evidence regarding a secret ritual which it was impetuous to divulge; and it has been opposed by Farnell, who does not accept its totemic basis, and who submits that, for all we know, the sacred *κυκεὼν* might have been drunk by individuals apart, and not in communion. In a field so obscure, it is not surprising that interpretations should be numerous and varied. The recent theory of Lawson (*Modern Gr. Folklore and anc. Gr. Rel.* 572) may be mentioned, that 'the doctrine of the [mystic] marriage of men with their gods was the cardinal doctrine of the mysteries (for the other doctrine of bodily survival is merely preliminary and subordinate to this), and that "some dramatic representation was given as a means of instilling into men's minds the hope of attaining to that summit of bliss" (cf. Farnell's footnote, *CGS* iii. 198, referring to the evidence collected by Dieterich in *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 'proving in much ancient ritual the prevalence of the belief that mystic communion with the deity could be obtained through the semblance of sexual intercourse: it is found in the Attic-Cybele worship, and in the Isis-ritual (Joseph, *Ant.* xviii. iii.), and it probably explains the myth of Pasiphaë.'

6. **Communion through a sacrificial meal or theophagist ritual.**—The subject of the Mysteries obviously shades into that of the sacramental feast, which probably accompanied many of them. It will be seen that this portion of the subject is bound up with the ritual meaning of eating, sacrifice, and blood (see art. BLOOD, SACRIFICE). The

examination of rival theories concerning sacrifice does not fall within the purview of this article, but passing allusion to them is unavoidable. Certainly, on any basis, it is clear that, in sacrifice and usages attendant upon it, we have what worshippers have historically regarded as one of the most potent means of intimate relation with Deity. 'Toutes les religions,' says A. Réville, 'considèrent le sacrifice, plus ou moins transformé, comme le moyen par excellence de réaliser l'union de l'homme avec la divinité' (*Prolegomènes de l'histoire des religions*, 1886, p. 179).

Though Frazer, (*GB*² ii. 293) has maintained that the evidence is not yet convincing in favour of totemism among Aryan tribes, there are noted authorities on Comparative Religion who feel that, according to the analogy of usages and beliefs widespread over the globe, many features in Greek mythology and Greek ritual can find their ultimate explanation only as sacramental feasts on a totemic basis. This is a contention in A. Lang's *Custom and Myth* (1884). So, too, Reinach, building upon Mannhardt's demonstration of the wide prevalence of totemic rites in Europe, and supported by comparison with Robertson Smith's exposition of the theory of Semitic sacrifice, claims that, when the ancestors of the Greeks became agriculturists, the totemic rites of the nomads and shepherds, instead of completely vanishing, received a new interpretation in myth and rite. And similarly, although Farnell objects (*CGS* iii. 194-197), Jevons, as already indicated, has propounded the hypothesis of a corn-totem eaten sacramentally at Eleusis.

Some of Reinach's examples may be given. Aklalon is a typical one with which to start. The Aklalon myth, according to Reinach (*Cultes, mythes, et religions*, iii.), arose from a sacramental rite (*σacpavoc*) of the stag by women-worshippers masquerading as 'hinds,' in honour of Artemis, the hind-goddess of a totemistic clan. The traditional legend would arise from a semi-rationalistic interpretation of an old communion sacrifice; the devotees who tore the sacred stag to pieces became, euphemistically, the hunter's 'dogs.' Such sacramental *σacpavoc* was, as we have seen, a feature of Dionysiac ritual wherein the Menads aimed at securing communion with their deity so as to increase their influence upon the fertility of vegetation. (It may be noted in passing that Farnell, in *Feast's Work in Classical Studies*, 1908, suspects that 'the Boeotian Aklalon story was originally Bacchic, and that Artemis came only accidentally into it.') Such elucidation is to be contrasted with the older meteorological explanation, whereby the hunter torn by his hounds is viewed as an image of the fair verdure of earth scorched by the sun in the dog-days ('ein Bild des durch die Hitze der Hundstage zerstörten schönen Erdenlebens' [Roscher, s.v. 'Aklalon']). Reinach holds Aklalon, Hippolytos, Dionysos Zagreus, and Orpheus to be, like Adonis and Osiris, suffering heroes who are lamented as slain, but in the end resuscitated. In all such cases, he thinks, the myth implies an ancient sacrificial ritual, in which a sacred totem was slain and eaten in communion by the faithful. Frazer's view differs in so far as he would refer the origin of the death and resurrection of Adonis, Attis, Osiris, and Dionysos to simple rustic rites of harvest and vintage. But, while he regards them as vegetation-spirits rather than as totems, he admits the sacramental character in the harvest supper, when the divine animal is killed and devoured by the harvesters as an embodiment of the corn-spirit. On this theory, as much as on the totemic theory, we find communion with Deity through corn and wine. And it is a communion on the basis of the logic of primeval religion. By eating the body of the god the worshipper shares in the god's attributes and powers; for corn, it is argued, is the true body of a corn-god; and analogously, drinking the wine in the rites of a vine-god is a solemn and significant sacrament instead of mere revelry, for the juice of the grape is the god's blood (see Frazer, *GB*² i. 358 ff.).

Such beliefs are, in the ultimate resort, consonant with the savage psychology which argues the possibility of the acquisition of Divine properties by eating, and of which a simple instance is the ancient Maori practice whereby a warrior swallowed the eyes of his slain enemy on the ground that the *atua tonga*, or divinity, was supposed to reside in them (R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*², 1870, quoted by Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, 1900, p. 6; cf. 'Eating the God,' in Frazer, *GB*² ii. 318-336). Further, it is a fair induction from a mass of anthropological evidence that no more sacred and intimate bond of union could be secured in a primitive community than the sharing in the periodic sacrifice of a god viewed under the aspect of, or as incarnate in, an animal. It is a necessary inference, as many hold, following Robertson Smith, that the idea of communion, so far from being a later development, plays a great part in primitive sacrifice, and

precedes the gift-sacrifice (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*⁴, vol. II, ch. xviii., upholds gift-sacrifice as the most primitive, on the analogy of man's dealings with his fellow-man, and argues that the savage treats a god as he would a chief. Tylor assigns to sacrifice three stages, viz. (1) gift, (2) homage, and (3) abnegation).

After this brief glance at fundamental theories, it may be interesting to add certain examples given by Farnell from cults observed in Greece which illustrate ideas of communion. In the case of the mysterious *Βουφώνια* at the Diipolia on the Acropolis, he inclines (*CGS*, vol. i. p. 88 ff.) to favour Robertson Smith's explanation regarding the ox which was slain as victim, and whose slaying brought guilt upon the slayer; for here the sacrificer was subjected to a mock trial, and the instrument of slaughter was alone declared guilty and thrown into the sea. This suggests a Divine animal akin to the clan, and recalls the familiar feature of totemism whereby the clansmen claim kindred with an animal-god or sacrosanct animal, from whose flesh they as a rule abstain, but which, on solemn occasions, they eat sacramentally in order to strengthen the tie of kinship between them and the Divine life. This seems more satisfactory than Frazer's view (*GB*² ii. 38-41), that the ox represents the corn-spirit sacramentally devoured at the close of harvest in order that he may rise with fresher powers of production. So, in the worship of the originally Oriental goddess, Aphrodite, the mourning for Adonis (who is fundamentally the same as Attis) is probably not a lament over decaying Nature, but 'official mourning over the slaughter of the theanthropic victim in whose death the god died'; and the most ancient Adonis sacrifice would be the offering of a sacred swine to the swine-god—a sacramental Mystery wherein participants attested their kinship with the animal-god by immolating an animal which, save in such ritual, it would be *tabu* to slay (cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*² 290). Farnell recognizes the same mysterious idea in the ceremonial sacrifice of a bear at Brauron by bear-maidens in honour of Artemis as a bear-goddess (*CGS* ii. 435); in the sacrifice of the bull-calf to Dionysos at Tenedos (ib. v. 166); and in the sheep-offering to Aphrodite in Cyprus, if we accept a very plausible emendation made by Robertson Smith on a passage in Joannes Lydus (*CGS* ii. 645; Lydus, *de Mensibus*, 4, p. 80, Bonn ed., *πρόβατον καὶ οὐλοῦ ἑκαταμένου* [for *ἑκαταμένου*] *οὐλοῦν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ*).

Equally mysterious are traces in ritual which point back to the sacrifice of a human victim. Abundant proof has been forthcoming from modern anthropological research to confirm the world-wide association of human sacrifice with harvest ritual and the cults of vegetation-spirits (Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 358-361; Frazer, *GB*² ii. 238 ff.). There are such traces of an original human victim in the cult of Ge (*CGS* iii. 19-21) and in the legends concerning Orpheus. Farnell accepts the dismemberment of Orpheus by furious Thracian votaries as typical of that form of ritual whereby worshippers slay the priest who temporarily incarnates the god. Parallels are familiar from Frazer's *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*. Sacramental cannibalism on occasions of extreme religious excitement is discoverable at a fairly high level of culture, and is credible in the Thracians (Reinach's theory, in *Cultes*, etc., ii. 107-110, of Orpheus as a fox-totem rests on the rather slender evidence for taking *βαρβαρὸς* or *βαρβάρα* as a Thracian word for fox [Farnell, *CGS* v. 106 n.]).

In some ceremonies at the altar the difficulty is to decide whether any clear sacramental concept was involved. There are signs of it at Argos in a peculiar cathartic communion, and there is reason

to suppose that the victim at Delphi called *δωστήρ*, 'giver of holiness,' which was slain when the *δοιοί* were elected, was considered a temporary incarnation of deity, so that contact with flesh, blood, or skin, could communicate holiness. There is also likelihood in the view that the goat sacrifice in the Laconian *Koribides* was a genuine sacrament, where worshippers presumably believed they entered into communion with Apollo by devouring sacred flesh in which his spirit was (Farnell, *CGS* iv. 257-258). We know too little to affirm any sacramental idea in the local Attic cult of Apollo Agyieus at Acharnæ, whose worship was administered by *παρόνται* (*ib.* iv. 158). Something, however, more suggestive appears in Arcadia, a fit abode for primeval worships, where the sacrifice to Apollo Parrhasios had to be consumed in the sanctuary (*ἀναλίσκουσιν αὐτόθι τὸν ἱερὸν τὰ κρέα*, Paus. viii. 38, cited by Jevons, *op. cit.* 146); and similarly with another instance which Jevons gives:

'The festival at which the Athenians made sacrifice to Zeus Melichios, the Diasia, was one of the most ancient of their institutions; but . . . the Locrians of Myonia were still more faithful to the ritual which they had received from the common ancestors of Locrians and Athenians alike, for, like the Saracens and the Prussians, they offered the sacrifice by night, and consumed the victim before the rising of the sun' (*ἀναλίσκωσι τὰ κρέα αὐτόθι πρὶν ἢ ἡλίου ἐπιερχεῖν νομίζουσι*, Paus. x. 38).

In a less mystic sense the term 'sacrament' or 'communion' might be applied to the feast shared by deity and worshippers which is familiar from the earliest Greek literature. And there are many other cases of ritual where we cannot safely pronounce how far the idea of communion extended. Evidently the existence of *παρόνται* of Apollo at Acharnæ and at Delos is no proof that in the rites concerned the worshippers supposed Apollo to be dying a sacrificial death (Farnell, *CGS* iv. 258). In some cases a social, tribal, or political element has prevailed over the religious idea of communion with which it was originally bound up. For instance, primeval notions, only partially understood, survived at Athens in feasts at which the *hestiator* entertained his tribe (Jevons, *op. cit.* 159; *CIA* ii. 163, 578, 582, 602, 603, 631; cf. *Jul. Pollux, Onom.* iii. 67, *φυλῆς ἐστίασμα, τὴν φυλὴν ἐστίαω, κραναορίας ἐπινεῖωσι*). One could, of course, always describe a non-tribesman, in terms of religion, as one who was not in communion with the god of the tribe.

The evidence here collected shows that the idea of sacrificial communion certainly persisted in Greece among worships both indigenous and imported. But its persistence, apart from the Mysteries and private Orphic societies, was presumably sporadic. It is reasonable, therefore, to agree with Farnell in doubting whether the ritual and doctrine of communion sacrifice 'exercised a vital influence upon religious thought in the older Hellenism.' Certainly, although in this of all matters the argument from silence can count but little, it is a striking omission that Iamblichus, while analyzing other phenomena of relationship with the Divine in the *de Mysteriis*, betrays no knowledge of sacramental communion (*CGS* iii. 196). And yet history shows that this idea had a great career before it; and, if in the older Hellenism it remained largely occult, in later Greek times and in the later Roman world, as we shall see, it counted as a vital religious force.

II. ROMAN.—I. The practical nature of a Roman's relationship with the gods in ordinary ritual.—Boissier (*La Religion rom. d'Auguste aux Antonins*², i. 19), has an instructive sentence:

'Les Romains ont une façon particulière de comprendre les rapports de l'homme avec la Divinité: quand quel'un a des raisons de croire qu'un dieu est irrité contre lui, il lui demande humblement la paix, c'est le terme consacré (*pacem deorum exorare*), et l'on suppose qu'il se conclut alors entre eux une sorte de traité ou de contrat qui les lie tous deux.'

In short, this implies a kind of traffic rather

than communion with Deity—man must buy protection by prayers and offerings, and the Deity who has received a sacrifice is expected to respond by conferring favours. If this is broadly true of the practical Roman worshipper, it may further be said that neither the Roman as statesman nor the thinker reflecting upon Roman religion was inclined to view it much in the light of an avenue of spiritual communion with Deity. Polybius (vi. 56) thinks of the salutary effect of keeping the multitude in check by 'mystic terrors and solemn acting of the sort' (*τοῖς ἀδήλοις φόβους καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ*), and in the same chapter refers to the scrupulous fear of the gods as the very thing which kept the Roman commonwealth together. Varro, cited by Augustine, held it to be the interest of the community to be deceived in religion ('expedire igitur existimat falli in religione ciuitates,' *de Civ. Dei*, iv. xxvii. cf. vi. v.). Livy (i. xix.) credited Numa with putting the fear of the gods upon his folk as the most effective deterrent for an ignorant populace. Many such pronouncements—erroneous enough as explanations of the rise and strength of religion—taken along with the actual policy of rulers like Augustus, serve to show that much of the Roman State-religion was imposed, as it were, from without upon the worshipper for the good of the community. There was little, therefore, in all this which tended towards the spiritual. Yet in the primitive religion—in the ritual which had grown up out of aboriginal needs and had not been imposed—just as in primitive religions generally, there had been the genuine sense of dependence upon Deity and some recognition of the value of communion with Deity.

2. Comparative absence of ecstasy in Roman religion.—In comparison with the Greek, there was in the Roman decidedly less religious ecstasy or enthusiasm. Roman religion, when not domestic, was mainly political; and the whole was regulated by law and custom. Religious emotion was distrusted by the authorities, and the stern suppression of the Bacchanalia in 186 B.C., even if in part due to political motives, was typical of the strong objections felt to a ritual of excited transports, the nature of which has been made evident in earlier portions of this article. The cult of the Phrygian goddess Cybele and of Attis, though received in Rome from the times of Scipio Nasica, as is well known, was characteristically placed under restrictions; and the frenzy of this worship was almost as abnormal in Roman religion as the tumultuous Gallianisms of the *Attis* of Catullus are in Roman literature. Such alien religions only gradually increased their hold upon Rome; they did so as the desire for religious excitement became stronger; and hence it may be said that among the reasons for the attraction which the African and Oriental cults exercised upon many Romans of the Empire, and especially upon women; were, first, their more powerful and rapturous excitation of the emotions, and, secondly, their promise of a closer *rapprochement* to Deity than was proffered in the grave and calm State-religion. Some notable access of spiritual aspiration at Rome seems a necessary presupposition of many religious phenomena of the Imperial epoch. It is probably the real explanation of the extent to which such alien cults as that of Isis (*q.v.*) gained a footing. (A good picture of Isis worship is given in Apuleius, *Metam.* bk. xi., in connexion with the threefold initiation of Lucius into the Isis mysteries.) But it is right in this connexion to note the caveat which Boissier enters against overstating the theory. He points out (*op. cit.* ii. 211-212) that the welcome offered to foreign cults by Romans of the Empire, and especially by women, did not imply a protest against the national religion, but

was rather a consequence of the religious sentiments developed in the heart by the old worship. There was, it was recognized, a communion with Deity more intimate and mystical to be attained in the more emotional Eastern rites. In Boissier's view, then, this is more logical than to consider the acceptance of Eastern cults as a revulsion from national cults to something entirely novel. Certain it is that Rome, as it became a world-power, grew cosmopolitan in religion, and found room for votaries of Attis, Isis, Osiris, Serapis, Sabazios, and other deities, so that outlandish rituals, often coloured with mysticism, competed with the grave and restrained usages of Roman antiquity.

3. Ideas of sacramental communion in native Roman religion.—Accumulating evidence tends to show that, even if relatively deficient in imagination, the indigenous Roman religion exhibited from the earliest times, like so many early religions, clear traces of the common sacrificial feast partaken of for the purpose of uniting a deity more closely with his worshippers. Throughout Roman history there persisted a prominent illustration of the ancient theory that all meals were capable of being hallowed as sacred feasts common to both deity and worshipper (e.g. Athenæus, v. 19). This was the offering to the twin Lares observed by the Roman family at meals (Serv. ad *Æn.* i. 730; Ov. *Fast.* ii. 633). In the marriage ceremony, too, of *confarreatio* there probably was a similar implication (cf. C. Bailey, *Relig. of Anc. Rome*, 1907, p. 47). Broadly speaking, as Glover says (*Conflict of Religions in Early Roman Empire*, 1909, p. 15), 'the worship of all or most of these spirits of the country and of the home was joyful, an affair of meat and drink. The primitive sacrifice brought man and god near one another in the blood and flesh of the victim, which was of one race with them both' (cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*² Lect. xi.). Now, this domestic communion with Deity—a communion doubtless varying enormously in greater or less spirituality—possesses the special interest that it is the portion of Roman religion least tinctured with Orientalism or scepticism. Despite wide-spread secular opinion in the Augustan era, there was yet much sincere, even if vague, religious feeling among the less cultured ranks of society. The home-religion was a powerful early association in many minds, and Horace's tasteful ode on rustic piety to Phidyle (*III. xxiii.*) touches the spiritual value of the simplest sacrifice (*farre pio*) to the gods of home and hearth, in a manner that suggests something deeper than a literary exercise.

A few prominent instances may be given, where, either in the victim or in the substituted sacrifice, primitive Italian ideas of communion are suggested. At the *Parilia* in April, the shepherd, after purifying his sheep, brought offerings to the god (or goddess) Pales—including cakes of millet and pails of milk. 'The meal which followed, the shepherd himself appears to have shared with Pales' (W. Warde Fowler, *Rom. Festivals*, p. 81; cf. Ov. *Fast.* iv. 743-746, esp. 'dapibus resectis'). The deity was then entreated to avert evil from the flocks and to overlook unwitting trespass.

'We can hardly escape the conclusion,' says Warde Fowler (*ib. footnote*), 'that the idea of the common meal shared with the gods was a genuine Italian one; it is found here, in the *Terminalia* (Ov. *Fast.* ii. 655 ['spargitur et caso communis Terminis agno']), and in the worship of Jupiter.'

Let us turn to the *Feræ Latine* in honour of Jupiter Latiaris held on the Alban Mount under the presidency of Rome (Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 95-97). This festival—older than historic Rome itself—was a common festival of the most ancient Latin communities. In the presence of representatives from the different members of the league, the Roman consul offered a libation of milk; other

cities sent sheep and cheeses. But the central rite was the slaughter of a pure white heifer that had never felt the yoke. The flesh of this victim, sacrificed by the consul, was distributed amongst the deputies and consumed by them. Herein, certainly, there were political implications and obligations, but the religious element was most powerful; for it was felt that to be left out of this common meal or sacrament would be equivalent to being excluded from communion with the god of the Latin league. Indeed, the anxiety displayed to secure the allotted flesh, which emerges in cases where some one city had not received its portion (Livy, xxxii. i., xxxvii. iii.), exhibits a primitive trait recalling a well-known barbaric alacrity for communion, which may be illustrated in Hellenic omophagic rites, or in the frenzied hacking and devouring of the victim-camel sacrificed by Arabs, as described by Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*² 338. Warde Fowler (p. 97) deduces from the ritual that

'we are here in the presence of the oldest and finest religious conception of the Latin race, which yearly acknowledges its common kinship of blood and seals it by partaking in the common meal of a sacred victim, thus entering into communion with the god, the victim, and each other.'

Of the offerings it may be observed that they are characteristic of a pastoral rather than of an agricultural age. Helbig has commented on the absence of any mention of wine as proof that the origin of the festival must precede the introduction of the grape into Italy; and he holds its antiquity to be confirmed by the character of the ancient utensils dug up on the Alban Mount (*Die Italiker in der Poebene*, 1879, p. 71). In the white victim may be seen a reminiscence of a pre-historic breed of sacred cattle, which it was forbidden to slay, except at the annual renewal of kinship among the clansmen in their sacrament. This festival lasted for centuries after Jupiter Optimus Maximus of the Capitol had overshadowed the Latin Jupiter, and after some communities had so dwindled as scarcely to be able to find a representative to receive their portion of the victim (Cic. *pro Planc.* ix. 23, 'quibus e municipiis vix iam, qui carnem Latinis petant, reperiuntur'). Its antiquity and its duration are noteworthy.

'Perhaps no festival,' says Warde Fowler (*op. cit.* 96), 'Greek or Roman, carries us over such a vast period of time as this; its features betray its origin in the pastoral age, and it continued in almost uninterrupted grandeur till the end of the third century A.D., or even later' (*CIL* vi. 2021).

Briefer notice will serve for the remaining examples. A sacrificial meal was part of the August observances in honour of Hercules (Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 194). It is among the usages prescribed by Cato for the invocation of Mars Silvanus on behalf of the cattle (*de Re Rust.* 83, 'Ubi res diuina facta erit, statim ibidem consumito'). The eating of the victim with the blood so as to participate thereby in the common Divine life—a primitive usage found among the heathen Semites—has its parallel at Rome in the peculiar swine-offerings of the *Frates Arvales* (cf. above, vol. ii. p. 10^b). Again, the eating by worshippers of loaves at Aricia, perhaps baked in the image of the slain king of the grove, has parallels all over the world, among which may be mentioned the dough images of gods eaten sacramentally by Mexicans (Frazer, *GB*² ii. 337-342). The suggestion is that these loaves in human form were sacramental bread, and that, in the old times when the Divine priest-king of the grove was annually slain, the loaves were made in his image, to be eaten by worshippers.

'A dim recollection of the original connexion of these loaves with human sacrifices may perhaps be traced in the story that the effigies dedicated to Mania at the Compitalia were substitutes for human victims' (*ib. ii.* 344).

4. Certain ideas in Roman literature and philosophy regarding relationship with Deity.—In

many such feasts at Rome, as elsewhere, the original sacramental ideas were in time weakened and rationalized. By the period of the later Republic there were thinkers who found it hard to understand how any worshipper could suppose that by eating bread or drinking wine he thereby consumed the body and blood of a deity.

'When we call corn Ceres, and wine Bacchus,' says Cotta in Cicero's *de Nat. Deor.* (iii. xvi. 41), 'we use a common mode of speaking, but do you imagine anybody insane enough to believe that the thing on which he feeds is a god?'

It is no part of the scheme of this article to trace ideas of communion as they may be represented or criticized in Latin literature as a whole; for attention has rather been directed to the practice and meanings of actual ceremonial. Yet it may be legitimate to allude to certain representative authors. Unfortunately, the *de Nat. Deor.* labours from inconclusiveness, because Cicero prefers refuting the opinions of others to stating his own; and so from his indeterminate Academicism, whether here or in the *de Divinatione*, we reap little or nothing to our purpose. In the very next generation Virgil furnishes us, in the *Aeneid*, with one of the greatest artistic treatments of human dependence upon Deity, and of the realized need for close communing with the Divine. The variety of religious attitude in intellectual Rome is proved by the fact that while, on the one hand, we have Sceptic and Epicurean denials of all possibility of communion with Deity, we have, on the other hand, lofty utterances indicating appreciation of the doctrine that full communion with God may be independent of sacrifice, and that the primitive potencies of blood are needless where there is a true spiritual oblation of the worshipper's will and heart. To some such aspiration the great pronouncement of Persius marks an approach: 'Duty to God and man blended in the mind, purity in the depths of the heart, and high-souled nobleness—grant me to present these at the shrine, and a handful of meal shall win me acceptance' (*Sat.* ii. 73-75). In a similar spirit Seneca writes that God has no delight in the blood of bulls (*Ep.* 116, 'Colitur Deus non tauris, sed pia et recta uoluntate'); and true communion or true worship is defined by him in almost the same words elsewhere, as consisting 'in pia ac recta uoluntate uenerantium' (*de Ben.* i. vi. 3). The Deity is to reside in the heart (*Ep.* 46, 'Sacer intra nos spiritus sedet'), and for all men there is open a communion in that one body which is, according to Seneca's view, God or Nature (*Ep.* 93, 'membrarum sumus magni corporis'). This is stated from his cosmic standpoint—his pantheism; and on the moral side the doctrine becomes one of communion through assimilation or imitation: 'Vis deos propitiare? Bonus esto. Satis illos coluit quisquis imitatus est' (*Ep.* 95). And so we come round to the Stoic notion of partial elevation towards the Divine essence through the perfect self-possession of a sage. Perhaps we may take Quintilian's remarks on the praises of the gods as representative of the attitude of educated Romans at the close of the 1st cent. A.D. In iii. vii. he mentions the topics suitable for employment in eulogies upon the gods—namely, their greatness, power, and bounties; but a typical aloofness in his treatment indicates that Quintilian at least felt little need for close communion with a Higher Power.

5. Attraction to alien worshipers under the Empire.—How far, however, did Quintilian's contemporaries strain after closer relationship to the Divine? There is evidence that, though many thinkers adopted a similar attitude of aloofness, there was a wide-spread recognition that a more intimate relationship was a needful solace for the human soul. This is not the place to examine that evidence; but broadly it may be said that the

religious conditions of the Roman world during the early centuries of the Empire were such as to favour the triumph of Eastern cults (see S. Dill, *Rom. Soc. from Nero to M. Aurelius*, esp. chapters on 'Magna Mater,' 'Isis and Serapis,' 'The Religion of Mithra'; cf. T. R. Glover, *Conflict of Religions*, 1909, p. 260). The comparative inability of the ancient religion of Latium to satisfy any deep desire for moral regeneration or communion with Deity accounts for the ready welcome extended to alien worshipers, and even to many gross superstitions. Regeneration was the promise held out in the *taurobolium* (see the description in Prudentius, *peri Srephdron*, x. 1006-1050), or ceremony of the cleansing blood, which formed part of the worship of Cybele, though apparently so far not proved to have been included in that worship in the West until Hadrian's time. Inscriptions prove the belief in the renewal of life conferred through the Attis ritual: 'taurobolio criobolique in aeternum renatus' (Orelli, 2352, 6041), and a mystic sacramental communion was the central charm in the religion of Mithra.

6. Mithraism.—Of this religion a full account will appear under the article MITHRAISM, but it comes partially within the scope of our present inquiry, as the cult which in the Roman Empire—quite apart from such other analogies as its doctrines on morality, celibacy, fasting, mediation, salvation, and bliss—presented the closest resemblances to the sacramental ideas of Christianity, and as a cult which in some parts of the world bade fair to prove a successful rival (Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, i. 344; Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, 1893, xxxi. 579). Although, in general, it remained alien to the Greek world (art. 'Mithras' in Roscher, tr. from Cumont), and, although only by degrees had it by Trajan's time gained some footing in the West, since the Romans first came into momentary contact with Mithraists through the Cilician pirates in 67 B.C. (Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 24), yet Mithraism spread mainly, but not exclusively, as a soldier's worship, and won adherents in the capital, and especially on the frontiers; e.g. along the Danube, in Germany, and in Britain at military stations facing Wales or on Hadrian's Wall. [For conflicting views on the classes from which Mithraists were drawn in the Roman Empire, see de Jong (*Das antike Mysterienwesen*, p. 59), who favours Gasquet's opinion (*Essai sur le culte et les mystères de Mithra*, 1899, p. 140) that Mithraism did not penetrate the population outside the cantonnements. C. H. Moore, in a paper on the distribution of Oriental cults in Gaul and Germany (*Trans. of Amer. Philolog. Assoc.*, 1908), argues that Mithraism had even less exclusive connexion with the army than Cumont claims.] After enjoying the favour of some emperors, including Julian, Mithraism gradually lost ground; and the holy caves were destroyed in A.D. 378.

Mithra, the Persian god of light, in the perpetual sacrifice which he was conceived as offering, presented a type of the struggle after a higher and better life. The human soul, parted from the Divine, might, it was held, regain communion with Deity through fasting, penance, initiation, and a series of probationary in ascending grades which finally should lead the victorious devotee—the faithful soldier of Mithra—into unimpeded alliance with the Divine nature. The sacrifice of the bull, so prominent in the worship, seems to indicate that in remoter times a sacred bull, assimilated to the Sun, was immolated as Divine, its flesh and blood being consumed in a communion meal (S. Reinach, *Orpheus*, Eng. tr., 1909, p. 69). The victory-meal of the true Mithraic soldier consisted of water (or sometimes wine) and bread; and was denounced by early Christian writers as

a demoniac parody of the Holy Sacrament (e.g. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 66; Tert. de *Præscr.* 40 [ii. 38, Oehl.]). In contrast thereto, much modern feeling regards it as a historical phenomenon, to be accepted without repugnance, 'that both the idea of sacramental worship and the forms under which it is performed by the Christian Church are the almost universal heritage of mankind.' (W. R. Inge, in *Contentio Veritatis*, 1902, p. 279).

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COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Hebrew).—Communion with God, broadly speaking, means sharing in the thought or the spirit or the life of God. Any way in which men can be thought to share in the life or vitality of God, or in which it is believed that God's thought can be communicated to them, is a means of communion. Since the OT represents several centuries of history—centuries during which the Hebrews passed from barbarism to a high type of civilization—several conceptions of the nature and the means of communion with God are recorded in it, corresponding

with the different stages of development through which the people passed.

1. At feasts.—To begin with the oldest of these, we must consider communion at feasts. W. R. Smith has shown¹ that at least one important feature of Semitic sacrifice—he thought it the all-important feature—was the sacrificial meal, at which, in early times, the god was supposed to be present and to partake of the viands. This was believed to be real communion; for, as the god and the worshipper partook of the same sacred flesh, they were thought to share in a common life. In our oldest OT source—the J document—there is a trace of this form of communion, with a slight modification of its crassest features. In Ex 24¹¹ Moses and the seventy elders of Israel behold God, and eat and drink, i.e. they eat and drink in His presence. This is but a slight modification of an older view that God ate and drank with them. According to J, this commensal communion sealed the covenant between Jahweh and Israel. A kindred instance, though still somewhat further removed from the crassest primitive ideas, is found in 1 S 1. The feast which the parents of Samuel attended was a feast of commensal communion, for Hannah believed it to be the most favourable time to make her request to God. Communion was no longer confined to the physical side alone; it embraced also the interchange of ideas, and yet it hovered about the old commensal meal, for it was thought that God was then more easily approached than at other times.

Closely akin to the commensal conception of Ex 24¹¹ is that of Gn 15^{7, 8}, where the pieces of the sacrifice are piled in two heaps, and God comes in the form of a smoking furnace and a flaming torch, and walks between them. This confirms the covenant with Abraham. It is not stated that Abraham did the same, but the writer apparently meant to imply it. God and Abraham, by coming mutually under the influence of the sacrificial flesh, entered into a communion of mutual obligation.

Closely connected with the commensal idea of communion are the passages in which Jahweh or His angel appears to a man and speaks with him, imparting some specially important information; the man offers Him the hospitality of some refreshments, of which the Divine being partakes, and then vanishes. The instances of this all occur in the J document (Gn 18, Jg 6 and 13). Those to whom Jahweh is said to have appeared were Abraham, Gideon, and Manoah's wife. In all these cases the communion was partly oral and partly commensal, i.e. God ate or consumed the food which a human being had prepared for Him. To the same stratum of thought belong a number of instances where God appeared to men in human form and talked with them, without any connexion with sacrifice. For example, in Gn 38²⁷ God came down and walked in the garden in the cool of the day and talked with Adam and Eve and the serpent. In Gn 32^{24ff.} God came to Jacob near the Jabbok, and wrestled with him nearly the whole night. That this was regarded as real communion is shown by the fact that a later age looked back upon it as the turning-point in Jacob's character. In that night they believed he ceased to be a supplanter and became a prince of God. Another instance, taken, like the two preceding, from the J document, is found in Ex 4^{24ff.}, where Jahweh met Moses and his family and sought to kill Moses, and was deterred only by the circumcision of his son. According to this passage, it was thus that God communicated to Moses that circumcision was necessary.

In the period presented by the J document, then, communion with God was thought to be half

¹ *Rel. Sem.* 2, Lectures vii.-ix.

commensal and half conversational. In either case God was anthropomorphically conceived, although the crassest phases of anthropomorphism were passing away.

In this same early period of thought the manifestation of Jahweh for the deliverance of His people from oppression was regarded as a theophany. Perhaps this could not properly be called communion, and yet it borders closely upon it. The conception of the worshipping unit was the nation, and Jahweh's manifestation of power for the deliverance of the nation was a communication of His will which thrilled the worshipping unit with joy, and revived its enthusiasm for the service of Jahweh. Such a manifestation of Jahweh is commemorated in the Song of Deborah, Jg 5⁴⁻⁸, where Jahweh is pictured as coming in a thunderstorm for the deliverance of His people. In Ps 18 this theophanic manifestation of God is revived (vv. 7-16). If the 'I' of the Psalm represents the nation, the worshipping unit here is identical with that of Jg 5, and the Psalm represents a sort of national communion with God arising out of deliverance in the hard experiences of life. Again, in Hab 3¹⁴ this form of theophany is poetically reproduced. Probably the experience of deliverance here commemorated is national also, since the poem once stood in a psalter, but the chapter is open also to a personal interpretation, and it may be that, when it was written, the older view that God thus revealed Himself to the nation in time of stress was passing over to the conception of an individual revelation and an individual deliverance. At all events, in the book of Ezekiel the theophany by means of the lightning playing in a cloud has become a means of individual revelation (cf. Ezk 1^{13, 14, 27b}).

2. Through dreams.—When we pass from the J to the E document, i.e. from the 9th cent. to about 750 B.C., we come to a more exalted conception of communion. God no longer appears in human form, freely to converse with men; it is in dreams and visions of the night that He appears to impart His will and to give inspiration. Thus in Gn 20^{3ff} God appeared to Abimelech in a dream. In Gn 28^{12ff} Jacob in a dream had a sacramental vision which moved him to make a new covenant with God. The dreams of Joseph in Gn 37, of the chief butler and chief baker in ch. 40, and of Pharaoh in ch. 41, though at first sight they appear to belong to a different class, because God does not directly appear in them, are in reality instances of the same thing, for by means of the dream God is represented as imparting knowledge concerning His will for the future. The same may be said of Jg 7^{13ff}, where we are told that one of the Midianite invaders of Palestine dreamed a dream. In 1 S 28^{6, 15} it appears that dreams were recognized as one of the channels through which God gave His answers. In 1 K 3^{4, 15} the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream and made a sacramental revelation, which, according to the narrative, influenced all the king's future. Dt 13¹⁻⁵ classifies the dreamer of dreams with the prophet, and Jer 23^{25ff} recognizes the dream as one of the ways in which the prophet ascertains the Divine will. That this means of communion long survived among the Hebrews, is shown by the fact that Eliphaz is represented in Job 4^{12ff} as telling impressively of a Divine confirmation of his theology which came to him in a vision of the night; and in Dn 2^{1ff} revelations are made to Nebuchadnezzar in dreams.

3. In ecstasy and visions.—Another way in which God was thought to come especially near to men was in ecstatic frenzy. In such frenzy the nervous or emotional excitement inhibits the ordinary control of the brain, and the actions of the subject are controlled by the reflex working of lower nervous centres. In all parts of the world

people have been thought, when in such paroxysms, to be under the control of a supernatural being.¹ The subject speaks incoherently, laughs, rolls on the ground, exhibits various bodily contortions, and often in the end becomes unconscious. Among the Phœnicians at Gebal there was, about 1100 B.C., as an Egyptian record shows,² such a prophet who exerted great influence. That the earliest form of prophecy in Israel was of this character is clear from a number of passages. For example, in 1 S 19^{23, 24} one of the signs of the coming of the Spirit of God upon Saul for the prophetic anointing was that 'he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night.' That this kind of frenzy was regarded as of Divine origin is further shown by the fact that the word *nābhî* means in Hebrew both 'prophet' and 'lunatic.' A trace of this ecstatic conception of communion with God is found in the history of the prophet Elisha. We are told in 2 K 3¹⁵ that, when on a certain occasion an oracle was requested of him, he caused a minstrel to play to him till the necessary prophetic ecstasy was excited. Such frenzy was accordingly for a long period of Israel's history regarded as an extraordinarily good means of communing with God.

Midway between the dreams and visions of the earlier time and the more spiritual insight of the prophets to be treated below, stand the inaugural visions of such prophets as Isaiah and Ezekiel. The vision of Isaiah described in Is 6 was apparently not a dream (at least he does not speak of it as such), and yet in the vividness of its details it recalls the dream. This vision had also the strongest kind of sacramental significance for the prophet. He felt that in it his lips were cleansed, his grasp of the work God would do for His people was enlarged, God's need of him as a helper was brought home to his conscience, his will was moved so that self-consecration to the Divinely appointed task followed, and he was convinced that God had communicated to him what His future message was to be. The vision of Ezekiel (Ezk 1-3¹⁵) is narrated with less literary simplicity, and exhibits fewer elements of the full sacramental value of it to the prophet; but it is clear that by it he received his commission and his message. The more personal elements may be lacking only because the book of Ezekiel is throughout written in a less personal way than the book of Isaiah.

4. Spiritual insight of prophets.—The word *hāzōn* (חֲזוֹן) survived from the early and crude conceptions of the means of discerning the Divine will which have been described above, and was applied in later times to the utterances of all the literary prophets. Jastrow³ has made it probable that it may have originated in an inspection of the entrails of animals. However that may be, it lost that significance in later times, and stood for all prophetic visions. Some of these were undoubtedly visions of the night, akin to the dreams of an earlier time, such as the visions attributed to Daniel (Dn 8^{1ff}); but the term, when it stands in the title of a prophetic book, is, at least by implication, made to cover the results of the enlightened thinking of the prophet, which were commended by his judgment and conscience. Jeremiah, for example, tells us of no inaugural vision similar to those experienced by Isaiah and Ezekiel. He simply tells how the word of Jahweh came to him, how he naturally shrank, on account of his youth, from public service, and how he was assured that Jahweh's power would sustain him and carry him through. No mention is made of external access-

¹ See Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, 1905, chs. I-III.

² See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 1906-1907, iv. 280.

³ *JBL* xxviii. [1909] 60 ff.

sories to the vision. The impression is left that the Divine Spirit was working directly upon the mind and heart of the man, quickening his intelligence and his conscience. That the prophet who could conceive the covenant of Jahweh with His people as a matter of the inner spirit, the laws of which were inscribed on the heart, should be able to lift prophetic vision, and with it the conception of communion with God, out of all the objective accessories which cling to it with greater or less persistence from the cruder conceptions of earlier days, need not surprise us.

Having discerned this view of communion with God thus set forth in Jeremiah, we find, in turning back to the literary prophets who preceded him, that it was not new. Amos gives us no hint that his philippics against the sins of the nations had their birth in anything less spiritual than his intellectual and spiritual insight quickened by the Spirit of God. Hosea makes it clear that he was made a prophet by a flash of Divine illumination which enabled him to see the yearning love and sorrow of God for Israel, as well as his Divine patience and redemptive nature, all reflected, as in a mirror, in the tragic experiences which had darkened the prophet's home and broken his heart. His messages to Israel are not paraded as the thoughts of an unsubstantial dream, but are given forth as the ripe utterances of an illumined mind, a loving heart, a tender conscience, a chastened spirit. The great messages, too, of Isaiah, such as the beautiful Song of the Vineyard in ch. 5, are clearly the vigorous expressions of a new conception of duty and religion, born of a newly awakened ethical and spiritual insight.

In the great prophets, then, from the beginning of the prophetic writing, we have a spiritual conception of communion with God taken for granted. Visions and dreams are still at times spoken of, as in Is 29⁷ and Jer 14¹⁴ 23¹⁶. The prophet's career sometimes began with a vision akin in its form to the dreams of an earlier time, as we have seen to be the case with Isaiah and Ezekiel; but in reality each of these prophets was a spiritual leader in his time, and remains to our day an inspiring guide because he recognized in fact, if he did not clearly express, the truth that those great moments when the mind grasps new and larger truth, and the depths of being throb in consequence with new emotions, so that the will is moved to make the endeavour to realize in one's self or in one's nation a higher ideal of life, are moments of the highest sacramental significance, moments of most real communion, moments when God's thought is communicated to His servant, and God's purposes and life are shared by him.

With Jeremiah and Ezekiel the conceptions of communion with God entered upon a new stage. This resulted from the doctrine of the individual nature of religion taught by these prophets (see Jer 31²⁹, 30 and Ezk 18). Down to this time the prevailing notions of religion had been national. Religion was a relation between Jahweh and His people, the Israelitish nation, rather than a relation between Jahweh and individuals; and this had profoundly affected the conceptions of communion. Of course, a nation is made up of individuals, and the personal element in religion had never been wholly lacking. Even when the earliest and crassest conceptions prevailed, there must have been many examples of individual piety, of individual prayer which received an individual answer, of which the case of Hannah (1 S I. 2) is but one instance. Nevertheless, when it was thought that Jahweh looked upon the nation as a nation, that He visited the sins of the fathers upon the children even to the third and fourth generation, this fact must have tended to obliterate moral distinctions

in the individual, and to cast a blight over the highest type of personal communion and piety. It is not an accident, therefore, that in the poetry of the time after the Babylonian exile we find many expressions of personal communion of a spiritual character.

5. Expressions of personal communion.—One of the earliest of these is in the book of Job. This poem depicts the inward struggles of one who, overtaken by misfortunes, found the traditional theology in which he was reared out of accord with the facts of experience, and in his despair nearly made shipwreck of faith. With the energy of a hunted animal he demands a solution for a hundred puzzling problems. At last God answers him out of the whirlwind. In this answer no solution to one of Job's problems is offered. On the contrary, he is made to feel his littleness in contrast with God. And yet the Divine vision is portrayed by the poet as sacramental. Job declares (42⁴⁻⁶):

'I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear;
But now mine eye seeth thee,
Wherefore I abhor myself,
And repent in dust and ashes.'

The problems are not solved, but in the sacrament of the Divine vision the heart has learned to trust One who knows the solution.¹ Modern exegetes agree that Job does not represent the nation; he is thoroughly individual. His sufferings, agony, doubts, and vision are epochs in the growth of an individual soul. That the poet should find his solution in a sacramental vision in which, in self-aborrence, the soul enters into communion with God, is a striking testimony to the place that real spiritual communion with God had come to hold in the minds of Israel's greatest thinkers.

This conception of the spiritual nature of communion finds frequent expression in the Psalter, which was the hymn-book of post-exilic times. In their original form some of the Psalms may be of pre-exilic origin, but hymn-books are from time to time re-edited; sentiments which are no longer congruous with the religious feeling of the age, though owing to religious conservatism they may for a while be sung, are at last dropped, and language capable of expressing adequately the devotional life of the time is substituted for them. The Psalter no doubt underwent such revision, so that, even if the torso of a few psalms be pre-exilic, in the main it reflects the sentiments of the post-exilic time. In many passages in the Psalter the older forms of expression with reference to religion are maintained, and it is difficult to tell to what extent the psalmist had made his religion a matter of the spirit, but in others this difficulty vanishes. For example, Ps 63⁸,² was written by a man whose religion was inward, and whose life drew its strength from spiritual communion with God. Briggs translates these verses as follows:³

'When on my couch I remembered thee,
In the night watches was musing on thee,
My soul did cleave after thee;
On me did take hold thy right hand.'

These words depict an experience of the sacramental consciousness of God's presence as the author had known it in his night-meditations. Religion was to him no longer conformity to a set of rules, or mere participation in a gorgeous ritual; it was to have his spirit re-vivified and invigorated by real communion with the living God. The author of Ps 61 held similar views and knew of similar experiences. He says⁴ (vv. 10-11):

'In me, O God, create a clean heart,
And a spirit that is steadfast renew in my breast.'

¹ See Peake, 'Job,' in the *Century Bible*, p. 19, *Problem of Suffering in the OT*, p. 100 ff.

² 'The Psalms,' in *ICC* ii. (1906-1907) 72.

³ So rendered by Wellhausen-Furness in *Hantz's PB* (1906).

Cast me not off from thy presence,
And thy holy spirit, do not take from me.
Give me once more the glad sense of thy help,
And strengthen thou me with a spirit that is joyous.'

The man who could write thus knew of Divine disclosures such as come in real communion with God, not simply in an initial experience which should change the whole life, like that described in Job 42^{5, 6}, but, like the author of Ps 63, he had known it as the sustaining bread of each prosaic day—the vitalizing experience which gave him strength to live.

The Psalms, however, reflect a great variety of points of view. Ps 42, 43, and 84 move, so far as outward expression goes, in the realm of ceremonial religion; but, in the intensity of the feeling expressed and as regards the quality of that feeling, their authors are in accord with the writers of Ps 51 and 63. The writer of Ps 42, 43 was a Levite who had been torn from the temple and its service, and who accordingly felt that he had been torn from God. Nevertheless, as he sings (Ps 42^{1, 5}):

'As the hart pants for the water brooks,
So pants my soul for thee, O God.

Why art thou cast down, O my soul . . . ?
Wait thou on God, for even yet shall I praise him.'

he convinces us that under the outward form of temple festivities, processions, and ceremonial his soul had known the mystic touch of the Divine Spirit, and that it was longing for the renewal of that mystic touch to which he was giving expression. So the writer of Ps 84 speaks of the outward temple, when he says (v. 10):

'I choose to stand at the threshold of the house of my God,
Rather than dwell in tents of wickedness.'

Yet no one can doubt that v. 4, 'My heart and my flesh cry out for the living God,' is the cry of his personality, not for a sacred building, but for God Himself.

In this post-exilic period there was great variety. To some, like the author of Ps 50, ritual was foolishness, and religion consisted not in offering bullocks, but in righteousness and thanksgiving. To others, as the prophet Malachi, those who did not offer the bullocks were robbers of God (Mal 3⁹). The author of Ps 119 exhausts language in his effort to praise the Law. He loves the Law because it guides him into a pure life and directs his way to God. Of inward communion he clearly was not ignorant, but his communion is cold and formal in comparison with that of the authors of Ps 42, 51, 63, and 84. The author of Ps 73, like the author of the book of Job, had wrestled with doubts which threatened his sanity. He had found peace, as Job did, in a moment of sacramental illumination.

The second Isaiah and a number of psalmists regarded the contemplation of Nature as a means of communion with God. In Is 40^{12a} the prophet calls to mind the work of God in creation, and takes his hearers out into a Babylonian night to behold the marvels of God in the starry heavens, in order to beget in them the sacramental mood. Similarly in 41²⁶ 43^{14a} 44²⁶ 45^{12a} he points to the unusual events of current history for the same purpose. Psalmists also tell us that the contemplation of Nature is a means of communion with God. Thus in Ps 8^{3a} we read:

'When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained;
What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?
For thou hast made him but little lower than God,
And crownest him with glory and honour.'

The contemplation of Nature made the Psalmist conscious of his exalted religious privileges. Similarly the author of Ps 19¹⁻³ found the heavens a means of creating the sacramental temper:

The heavens declare the glory of God;
And the firmament sheweth his handywork.

The author of Ps 107, after passing in review the wonders of Nature, declares:

'Whoso is wise and will understand these things,
Even they shall understand the loving-kindness of Jahweh.'

Upon the same theme the writers of Ps 146, 147, and 148 speak with persuasive beauty. One theme runs through all. The stars, the growing grass, the care bestowed on dumb animals by God, the creation of the marvellous snow, the hoar frost, ice crystals, and the silent destruction of these, sea-monsters, fire, hail, stormy wind, and many other wonders—all are grounds for praise, and helps in apprehending God.

Side by side with this variety of personal experience, the Levitical ceremonial continued. The loaves of shewbread continued to be piled on the table in the sanctuary; they were a symbol of that old physical communion with God in which the primitive Israelite had believed. Perhaps the more superstitious still thought that God ate of this bread, and that thus in a sense the priests sat at God's table. Year by year the high priest entered the Holy of Holies with the sacrificial blood—a symbol of the way in which it had been in the olden time supposed that communion with God was restored. It may well have been that, as some witnessed this ceremonial, their hearts were stirred to realize more clearly their own union with God. Other ceremonies, such as the morning and evening sacrifice, probably acted on many in a similar way. Many there must have been who gave little attention to personal religion, but rested content in the performance of the ceremonies. And so it came about that in the last pre-Christian centuries Judaism presented as great a variety of types as does modern Christendom. There were the careless, there were the formalists, there were those who combined with formalism a mild type of spiritual religion, but there were also the passionate mystics, who rested not till their hearts were made alive by sacramental union with God, and their daily bread supplied through communion continually renewed.

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GEORGE A. BARTON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Japanese).—

Like all other races, the Japanese have naturally experienced the desire to bring themselves into communication with their gods in order to obtain from them solutions of the various questions which perplex them. For this purpose, in the first place they had recourse to divination (*ouranahi*), either to the official 'greater divination,' by omoplatoscopy, or to other secondary processes. This important part of Shintoism will be treated in art. DIVINATION (Japanese). Secondly, and subsidiarily to those fixed consultations, we find the Japanese entering into contact with the Deity by means of inspiration (*kanyakari*), a kind of possession, in which hypnotism seems to play the chief part, and which will be discussed in art. INSPIRATION (Japanese). In the present article we shall content ourselves with the inquiry whether, in Japan, these relations with the Deity took the special form of a communion properly so called, in the sense in which the theologians understand it.

In this connexion we find the custom of 'eating the god' on Japanese soil among the Ainu (*q. v.*), who ceremonially consume the bear brought up by them as a deity, and who also, when eating their rice, address a prayer to it as if to a god. But, it

may be asked, did such a belief exist among their conquerors, i.e. among the Japanese themselves? A curious text in the *Nihongi* reads as follows:

'The Emperor (Jimmu) commanded Michi no Omi no-Mikoto [a 'minister of the way'], saying: "We are now in person about to celebrate a festival to Taka-mi-musubi-no-Mikoto ('High-august-Producer,' one of the foremost primitive gods; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Japanese)); I appoint thee Ruler of the festival, and grant thee the title of Idzu-hime ['Sacred princess,' this office, in ordinary circumstances, being held by women]. The earthen jars which are set up shall be called the Idzube, or sacred jars; the fire shall be called Idzu no Kagu-tsuchi, or sacred-fire-father; the water shall be called Idzu no Midzu-ha no me, or sacred-water-female; the food shall be called Idzu-uka no me, or sacred-food-female; the firewood shall be called Idzu no Yama-tsuchi, or sacred-mountain-father; and the grass shall be called Idzu no No-tsuchi, or sacred-moor-father." Winter, 10th month, 1st day: The Emperor tasted the food of the Idzube, etc. (*Nihongi*, III. 191, tr. Aston, London, 1896, I. 122).

What are we to conclude from this document? Must we see in it an act by which the first legendary Emperor desired to assimilate the body of a deity, who, in this case, would be the famous 'goddess of Food' (Uke-mochi, for whom Idzu-uka no me is simply another name)? By no means. True, the food-offering is divinized, but the fact of participating in it does not imply any mystic idea. At the festival of first-fruits (*Nihiname*), which took place exactly at the time of year mentioned in this text, the Emperors are always seen to taste the food offered to the gods, but simply as a guest takes part in a banquet, and not as a worshipper communicating. Besides, it was quite natural that the Mikado, who himself was regarded as a living god (*iki-gami*), should thus associate himself with the feast of the celestial gods. But, after having offered the sacrifice of food to the gods, the worshippers also, in their turn, might eat of it. This is done even at the present day by the pilgrims to the temples of the goddess of the Sun and the goddess of Food at Ise. Further, even a stranger may be admitted to this rite; e.g., about a dozen years ago, the writer was present at a sacred dance of priestesses in an old temple in Nara, and was politely invited to eat a cake of sacred rice; and one morning, at a service held in the great temple of Nikkō to celebrate the peace after the Chino-Japanese war, the priests offered him the divine *sake* in a red earthenware cup of antique form.

Hence our conclusion is that, among this simple and matter-of-fact race, communion with the Deity has never been imagined in the highly mystical form which it has assumed among other races. In the sphere of religion proper, it does not exist at all, and in fact it appears only in the form of divination and inspiration, i.e. in processes which, especially in Japan, belong peculiarly to the sphere of magic.

M. REYON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Muslim).—

In many passages of the Qur'ān, Allāh is represented as an absolute sovereign, working His arbitrary will in solitary grandeur as though there were no possible relation between Him and His creatures except that of master and slave. This aspect of the Supreme Being was perhaps the dominant one in Muhammad's mind, but, inasmuch as he was guided by feeling rather than logic, it did not exclude the very different notion of a God near to men's hearts, who is the light of the heavens and the earth, and whose face is visible everywhere. Thus direct access to the Unseen is open not only to prophets and saints, but to all Muslims; inspiration, ecstasy, and dreams are phenomena of the same kind, however unlike in degree; hence it is said in a well-known tradition: 'Vision is a forty-sixth part of prophecy'; and dreams in which God Himself is seen are often recorded as matters of ordinary experience. As regards the prophets, Ibn Khaldūn (*Muqaddima*, Beyroun, 1900, p. 98)

says that they 'are created with the power of passing over from humanity, its flesh and its spirit, to the angels of the upper region, so that for a moment they become angels actually, and behold the heavenly host, and hear spiritual speech and the Divine allocation.' This is the state of prophetic inspiration (*wahy*).

But among Muslims the idea of communion is best exemplified, as it was most fruitfully developed, by those who lived the mystical life (see SŪFISM). The aim of the Sūfis is the attainment of union with God. Such union is a Divine gift, and cannot be acquired by study or effort; it is bestowed only on those who purify their hearts, banish all worldly thoughts and ambitions, and devote themselves entirely to God. Although the Sūfis have no term precisely corresponding to *κοινωνία*,¹ their technical vocabulary comprises a large number of words which express the notion of more or less complete communion with the Deity: e.g. *qurb* ('nearness'), *uns* ('intimacy'), *mushāhadat* ('contemplation'), *muhādathat*, *musāmarat*, *munājāt* ('spiritual conversation'), *hudūr* and *muhādarat* ('presence'), *sukr* ('intoxication'), *waṣūl* and *jam* ('union'), *fanā* ('annihilation'), and *baqā* ('subsistence'). A few extracts from Sūfi writers will show, as clearly as is possible, what meaning these terms are intended to convey. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj († A.D. 987) says in his *Kitāb al-Luma'* (MS, private collection):

'The state of nearness (*qurb*) belongs to one who beholds with his heart the nearness of God to him, and seeks to draw nigh unto Him by his piety, and concentrates his mind on God's presence by thinking of Him continually. There are three classes of them: (1) those who seek to draw nigh by divers acts of devotion, because they know that God hath knowledge of them and that He is near to them and hath power over them; (2) those who realize this profoundly, like 'Amir Ibn 'Abd al-Qais, who said, "I never looked at anything without regarding God as nearer to it than I was." And the poet says: "I realized Thee in my heart, and my tongue conversed with Thee secretly, and we were united in some ways but separated in others. If awe has hidden Thee from the sight of mine eyes, yet ecstasy has made Thee near to mine inmost parts"; (3) the spiritual adepts who lose consciousness of their nearness, and in this state God draws near to them.'

Hārith al-Muḥāsibī († A.D. 857) was asked, 'What is the sign of true intimacy (*uns*) with God?' He replied:

'To be grieved by associating with His creatures, and to be distressed by them, and to choose with the heart the sweetness of remembering Him.' He was asked, 'And what are the outward signs of one who is intimate with God?' He answered: 'He is isolated in company, but concentrated in solitude; a stranger at home, at home when he is abroad; present in absence, and absent in presence.' On being requested to explain the meaning of 'isolated in company, but concentrated in solitude,' he said: 'He is isolated in remembrance of God, engrossed in reflecting upon that which has taken possession of his heart, pleased with the sweetness of remembrance; and he is isolated from others by his own state, although he is present with them in body.' He then said, in answer to a further question: 'He who is concentrated in solitude is one who is concentrated by his thoughts and has made them all into a single thought in his heart, since all that he knows is concentrated in heedful contemplation and seemly reflexion upon the Divine omnipotence, so that he belongs entirely to God in his understanding and heart and thought and imagination' (*Ḥilyat al-Auliya'*, Leyden MS, II. 241).

Contemplation (*mushāhadat*) is defined as spiritual vision of God, which is produced either by soundness of intuition or by the power of love, according to the tradition that God said: 'My servant seeks to draw nigh unto Me by pious works until I love him, and when I love him I am his ear and his eye.' It is a state that cannot be described in words. The earliest definition of *fanā* ('annihilation') seems to be due to Abū Sa'īd al-Kharraz, who died towards the end of the 9th cent. A.D. He defined it as 'dying to the sight of human abasement (*ubūdiyyat*), and living in the contemplation of Divine omnipotence (*rubūdiyyat*); i.e. the true servant of God is so lost in contemplation that he

¹ The Arab. root meaning 'to participate' (*sharaka*) could not be used in this sense, as it had already been appropriated by Muhammad to signify the attribution of partners to God, i.e. polytheism.

no longer attributes his actions to himself, but refers them all to God.

Some account of the theories concerning union with the Deity which are held by Šūfis of the pantheistic school will be given in art. ŠŪFISM. Without entering into psychological or metaphysical subtleties, we may quote the following passage from the *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*, ii. 194, as a characteristic illustration of Muslim views on the nature of the mystical life:

'Some one said to Dhu 'l-Nūn of Egypt († A.D. 859): "The Šūfis know that God sees them in every circumstance, and they guard themselves by Him against every one besides." Another companion of Dhu 'l-Nūn, an ascetic, Ṭāhir by name, who was present among the audience, cried: "Nay, Abu 'l-Faiḍ,¹ they behold the Beloved of their hearts with the eyes of certainty, and see that He is existent in every case and near at every moment, and that He knows all that is wet and dry and foul and fair. . . . And through His government and providence and strengthening they become independent of their own providence, and plunge into seas and cross mountains through the joy of beholding His regard for them, and cleave the darkness asunder by the light of His contemplation. They are inspired by the sweetness of His being to drink deep of bitterness; and through His nearness and His standing over them they support adversities and endure afflictions; their confidence in His choice causes them to hazard their lives in what they do and suffer; their love of His will and their obedience to His pleasure make them well-pleased with the states in which He places them; and they are angry with themselves because they know what is due to Him, and because, on account of His justice towards them, they are ready to undergo punishment. This leads them to be filled with Him, so that in their veins and joints there is no room for love of aught except Him, and not even the weight of a mustard-seed in them remains empty of Him, and nothing is left in them save Him. They are His entirely, and He is their portion in this world and in the next. They are content with Him and He with them; He loves them and they love Him; they are His and He is theirs; He prefers them and they prefer Him; they remember Him and He remembers them. Those are the party of God (Qur. viii. 22), and the party of God are the prosperous."'

Other matters bearing on this subject, such as the methods by which the state of 'union' may be induced, and the miraculous powers vouchsafed to those who have attained or are capable of attaining it, will be discussed under ŠŪFISM.

LITERATURE.—Most works on Šūfism contain relevant matter. See D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Chicago, 1909); and R. A. Nicholson, Translation of the *Kashf al-mahjūb* (London, 1910).

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Parsi).—

1. The Avestan religion contains only one instance of a real, well-defined mysticism, viz. the glimpses from the Prophet's inner life, still extant in the Gathic literature. The most important indications of Zarathushtra's mystical vision of Ahura Mazda and of his intimate intercourse with the Heavenly Powers are to be found in *Yasna* xliii. 5-13 (see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 1899, pp. 40, 46). The obscurity of *Yas.* xxx. 3 makes it uncertain whether we have to do with a revelation of the two spiritual antagonists to the Prophet in a dream or not. In an inferior order of civilization, Zarathushtra is one of the classical instances of a mysticism applied to the will rather than to the feelings.

2. Zarathushtrianism having produced no second prophetic mind of original power, communion with God has found scope—without such personal mysticism—chiefly in the religious and moral practice, i.e. in the life-programme devised (at least partly) by Zarathushtra, and in rites, originating in the ethnic and naturalistic religion before him or outside his influence. Communion with God and the Heavenly Beings is sought for and exercised through strenuous obedience to religious and moral duties (consisting in the struggle against the demons), through attention to the fields and the cattle, and through strict observation of the rules of worship and of purity. The characteristics of this godly life are the absence of any ascetic means of bringing the soul into mystical communion with God (see ASCETICISM [Persian]), and the legalistic spirit that pervades it.

¹ Abu 'l-Faiḍ is the name of honour (*kunya*) of Dhu 'l-Nūn.

3. A survival of (or a borrowing from) a lower, naturalistic kind of communion with Deity is preserved in the Avestan worship—the holy intoxicating drink, the *haoma*. But its effect of bringing the priest into immediate communion with God, so strongly expressed in the Vedic hymns about *soma*, is obsolete in the Avesta. The intoxication by *haoma* is alluded to in *Yasna* x. 13 ff., but already in the Avesta its use has become a mere rule of the ritual, without any effect on body or mind. Later, and especially modern, Parsism has developed the moral side of that behaviour which constitutes communion with God. NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

COMMUNISM.—

'The most useful way in which we can employ the terms Communism and Communistic . . . is to restrict them to those schemes or measures of governmental interference for equalizing distribution which discard or override the principle that a labourer's remuneration should be proportioned to the value of his labour.'

This statement of Sidgwick (*Principles of Pol. Econ.* bk. iii. ch. vii. § 3) brings to the front the difference between Collectivism or Socialism (*q.v.*) and Communism. Socialism aims at putting the instruments of production into the hands of the State, so that all the product may be available for division among the various factors of production. At present, Socialism alleges that an altogether undue proportion of the product is captured by the capitalist, the employer, and the middleman. But Socialism does not, except in the views of some unrepresentative extremists, intend to divide this product without regard to the efficiency and the productive capacity of the worker. Communism, on the other hand, thinks rather of distribution than of production. It would be tolerant as to the methods of production if only the product were divided, not on the basis of absolute merit, but on that of the need of the consumer. A man should receive his share, not on the ground that he is a competent producer, but simply on the ground that he exists. Thus Socialism and Communism both start from the brotherhood of man. But Socialism deals with production, Communism with consumption; Socialism claims to be economic, Communism rests itself upon sentiment; Socialism would try to make work efficient by letting each man feel that the results of his labour were to accrue to him and to his fellow-workmen instead of becoming the perquisite of the capitalist employer; Communism would consider that the claim came not so much from the fact that the man had created something, as from the stern necessity of his having to subsist.

These differences are represented in two broad ways—intellectual and historical. The feature of Socialism, since the days of Karl Marx, has been its desire to establish itself on some unassailable economic position, on some labour theory of value, or some testimony of the wastefulness of competition. It quite realizes that if it is ever to command assent it must create intellectual conviction, not only among the masses, whose thinking is biased by their hard conditions of life, but also among the thinking classes, whose mental processes are carried on under a white light. But Communism has no economic literature. It has appealed to religion—most communistic attempts have been religious in their initiation; it has appealed to the brotherhood of man; it has adduced the undoubted anomalies of the present condition of things. But it has produced nothing in its justification that has had the same economic grip as Marx's *Capitalism*. Communistic literature has been the product of the dreamers. That is not to say that it has been without its far-reaching influence. The dreamers, after all, have been behind most of the great events of human history. But it is proof

that Communism as a theory is not to be criticized only from the economic standpoint. It has made its appeal to that in human life which goes deeper than even the postulates of economics. If, intellectually, Socialism and Communism have thus been severed, a historical difference is also apparent. That Socialism is spreading rapidly is not a matter requiring proof. Communism, however, is distinctly losing ground. It held a more prominent place in men's thoughts half a century ago than it does to-day. It is impossible to imagine a group of thinkers now being captured by a system of Communism as the intellectuals of Paris were held by the views of Saint-Simon. The conception of the possible in human society has dwindled with the extension of the possible in physical science. We are more certain of progress in the mastery of Nature than we are of progress in the mastery of human conditions. The history of the various communistic efforts, even carried out as they have been upon a scale small enough to allow of adequate superintendence, has been lamentable. The conviction has grown that the solution of the social problem is not to be found in those large schemes of human amelioration in which a man's need constitutes his primary claim for assistance. Optimism has waned as humanity has grown older.

Of all the attempts that have been made to constitute on paper an ideal Commonwealth, Plato's *Republic* remains the most noteworthy, because in it the problems that have manifested themselves in the practical effort to realize a communistic society have been clearly foreshadowed. Economics, as we understand the term, scarcely presented itself to the Greek thinkers; but it is just because Plato was concerned with the whole of human life, rather than with any particular theory of value, that his picture of a communistic society possesses such value. He is, of course, limited by the conditions of his time: he cannot think of a society that does not have the assistance of slave labour. But he sees that in a communism the position of women and the regulation of the family are all-important. If all things are to be held in common, is this principle to extend to the position of women? Are they individuals, regulative parts of the society, and capable of making a contract? Or are they things, part of the common stock of property? His view is that there must be a community of wives. To leave untouched the institution of the family is to perpetuate individualism. But then there will arise the danger that in a society where all the obligations are shared the sense of responsibility will suffer, and children will be brought into the world so recklessly that the permanence of the new society will be endangered. Hence arises the second change in the family condition. Children are to be begotten only under the control of the State, which is to regulate not merely their number, but also their parentage, and the age at which marriage may be entered on. The children are to be brought up together, ignorant of their parentage, in institutions where privilege will have no place, inheritance no influence. The preparation of the child for the purposes of the State will be all-important. The surplus population, which is anticipated, will be dealt with by migration, emigration, and colonization.

In Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), on the other hand, there is no attempt made to alter the institution of the family; but, just because of this, the *Utopia* fails to grapple with the special problem that all communistic efforts have had to face. Sir Thomas More thinks of a community of about four million souls living without private property, and having their labour superintended

by elected officers. People are not always to be kept at one task; they are to be moved about from one labour to another; and, as agricultural labour is the hardest of all, every one has to take his turn at it. The population question is dealt with by a levelling process. The surplus children of large families are to be adopted by those who have few or no children; and, if this will not meet the need, the excess of population is to emigrate. The native greed of mankind will disappear before the fact that, as all are delivered from the fear of want, no one will wish to take more than his share, while, as each man works in full view of the community, there will be no sluggards; the popular judgment will be a sufficient stimulus to industry.

Before we come to consider the conceptions of Communism, and the attempts at their realization which may have been supposed to spring from the views of the perfectibility of man current from the middle of the 18th cent. onwards, it would be well to go back and consider what was the relation of primitive Christianity to Communism. One great argument adduced in favour of Communism is that it is the system which has Biblical and Christian sanction. The assumption is that the Jerusalem Church was communistic. Of this there is no proof. We are told that 'as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold . . . and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need' (Ac 4³⁴). But this communism was no essential part of the polity of the primitive Church. If a man cared thus to give his wealth, it was counted as a good deed; but the special mention of 'Joseph surnamed Barnabas' (v.³⁶) in this connexion shows that the practice was by no means universal. The sin of Ananias and Sapphira was not that, having sold their land, they gave only a part of the price, but that they represented that part of the price to be the whole. Their sin was not refusal to surrender property, but lying. There was no obligation on them to give anything. As St. Peter said, 'Whiles it remained, did it not remain thine own? And after it was sold was it not in thy power?' (Ac 5⁴). At the same time, it is probable that the Jerusalem Church was largely communistic, and its subsequent history affords but a sorry argument in favour of Communism. That Church existed in a state of chronic poverty, and had to be supported by those young Churches that the Apostle Paul founded in Asia Minor and elsewhere. But here, again, it would be rash to attribute the poverty solely to the communistic ideas. It is clear from St. Paul's letters that the conception of the imminence of the Second Advent of the Lord resulted in the abandonment by many of their labour, and in their throwing of themselves upon the charity of the Church for their sustenance in the days that were to elapse before the elements were melted with fervent heat.

But it is quite possible that the primitive Church, in any approach it made towards Communism, had before it the remarkable example of the Essenes (q.v.). Every one in Palestine must have been familiar with the practice of these enthusiasts, who lived mainly in the Wilderness of Judæa, although scattered colonies existed throughout the land. They probably derived their name from Syr. ܥܨܝܐ (pl. ܥܨܝܐ, emph. ܥܨܝܐ), 'pious' (see Schürer, *GGV* ii. 560), and numbered altogether about 5000 souls. The account of them written (c. A.D. 20) by Philo of Alexandria (*Quod om. prob. lib.* 12-13) shows that at the very time of our Lord's human life they were a subject of public interest:

'No one had his private house, but shared his dwelling with all; and, living as they did in colonies, they threw open their

doors to any of their sect who came their way. They had a storehouse, common expenditure, common garments, common food eaten in *syssitia* (or common meals). This was made possible by their practice of putting whatever they each earned day by day into a common fund, out of which also the sick were supported when they could not work. The aged among them were objects of reverence and honour, and treated by the rest as parents by real children.'

Eusebius, in the *Præp. Evang.* (viii. 11), preserves a fragment of Philo's *Apology for the Jews*, which repeats, but also supplements, the information already given:

'There are no children or youths among them, but only full-grown men, or men already in the decline of life. . . . They are very industrious, and work hard from early sunrise to sunset as tillers of the soil, or herdsmen, or bee-farmers, or as craftsmen. Whatever they earn they hand over to the elected steward, who at once buys victuals for the common repast.' No Essene, adds Philo, on this account, marries, but all practise continence. 'For women are selfish and jealous, and apt to pervert men's characters by ceaseless chicanery and wiles; while, if they have children, they are puffed up and bold in speech, driving their husbands to actions which are a bar to any real fellowship with other men.'

The sect, says Pliny († A.D. 79), was kept up by recruits who were filled with the sorrow of this world.

'The number of their fellows is kept up and day by day renewed: for there flock to them from afar many who, wearied of battling with the rough sea of life, drift into their system. Thus for thousands of ages, strange to tell, the race is perpetuated, and yet no one is born in it. So does the contrition felt by others for their past life enrich this sect of men' (H.N. v. 17).

This communism of the Essenes, however, differs from most of those modern communistic efforts which we are now to consider, in having as its basis a profound pessimism. It did not put itself forward as a solution of the world's problem, but only as an escape from it. It was, as Pliny says, contrition that made men Essenes, not the abounding hopefulness which characterized the dreamers of eighteen hundred years later. Over this whole gap we may now leap, and find the genesis of modern Communism in those ideas of man's natural perfectibility that were current in France before the Revolution. Rousseau, in the *Contrat Social* (1762) had given utterance to the feeling of oppressed men that the system under which they were living had nothing inevitable about it, and could be radically altered if the plain man, in whose interest any system of government should be rooted, cared to bring about an alteration. Morelly, in the *Code de la Nature* (1755), said the same thing, with a more limited application. Man's depravity, he declared, was due to bad institutions; naturally man was virtuous. Consequently, if the institutions under which he was living were improved, his natural virtue would reassert itself. As things were, no one could work well, because of the hopelessness of poverty, on the one hand, or because of the disinclination to work that riches bring, on the other. But under regenerated conditions every one, as he was able, would contribute to the upkeep of, and in return would be maintained by, the State. These views tried to express themselves in 1796 in the conspiracy of Babeuf and his associates, who called themselves the 'Secte des Égaux.' They met, to begin with, in the Pantheon as a club. When the meetings were stopped by Bonaparte, the members organized themselves into a secret society, and the extent of the appeal which their views made may be judged from the fact that they soon had 17,000 well-armed men in the membership, and had also the support of several quarters of Paris. A manifesto written by Sylvain Maréchal, one of their number, declared:

'We will have real equality, no matter what it costs. Woe to those who come between us and our wishes. . . . If it is needful, let all civilization perish provided that we obtain real equality. . . . No further private property in land; the land belongs to no private person. We claim, we require, the enjoyment of the fruits of the land for all.'

The 'Equals' had imbibed the views of the Physiocrats as to land being the real source of all wealth,

and in the pursuit of their plans were prepared to go to any lengths. But Paris was in strong hands in 1796. The conspiracy was discovered, and 'a whiff of grape shot,' or its equivalent in cold steel, put an end to Babeuf in February 1797.

The really important contribution of France to the history of Communism was that made by Saint-Simon and his followers, from 1820 to 1832. Almost every well-known thinker in the France of that time was a Saint-Simonist, and Saint-Simon stands behind Auguste Comte and Positivism. If we ask ourselves how it was that views which now seem so extreme, because so logical, ever found a footing in so learned a society as that in which Comte, Leroux, Lesseps, Hippolyte Carnot, and Augustine Thierry had their place, we have to remember the exhaustion that had followed upon the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The Saint-Simonists put forward their views in a time of reaction. Men were tired of the militarism and absolutism which had brought France to the dust. They were a little ashamed, too, of the brutality that had characterized the Revolution. They did not desire to go back upon what the Revolution had done, but they longed to see a government based upon the consent of the whole, in which the actual reins of power should be in the hands of the wisest. The Revolution had abolished privilege in official matters; the Saint-Simonists wished to abolish privilege altogether. But it would be impossible ever to secure equality, so long as the children of those who had wealth were to be granted special educational and social advantages. As things were, there was not only hereditary wealth, but hereditary poverty. Mental inefficiency perpetuated itself, because those who might have become efficient, had they had the opportunity, were left in the condition into which they had been born. Hence inheritance of all kinds was to be done away with. A man could have no more than a life interest in his property; and even then he was to use it to the utmost, not selfishly, but for the good of the community. Saint-Simon was himself an aristocrat, a scion of the same house as the famous Saint-Simon of the *Memoirs*, and the paradox that views such as these should have proceeded from him may have given them a wider hearing than they would otherwise have received. But he died, after a life passed mainly in great poverty, in 1825, and his views were elaborated specially by his followers Bazard and Enfantin. In a letter which they addressed to the President of the Chamber of Deputies on 1st Oct. 1830 they said:

'The followers of Saint-Simon believe in the natural inequality of men, and look on this inequality as the basis of association, as the indispensable condition of social order. All they desire is the abolition of every privilege of birth without exception, and, as a consequence, the destruction of the greatest of all these privileges, the power of bequest, the effect of which is to leave to chance the apportionment of social advantages, and to condemn the largest class in number to vice, ignorance, and poverty. They desire that all instruments of labour, land, and capital, which now form, subdivided, the inheritance of private means, should be united in one social fund, and that this fund should be operated on principles of association by a hierarchy, so that each one will have his task according to his capacity, and wealth according to his work.'

It was this 'hierarchy' that led very soon to difficulty. Saint-Simon had intended that the industrial chiefs should be men of science. On his death, Bazard and Enfantin, aided by a remarkable group, carried on the work largely through the *Globe* newspaper. But Bazard seceded, and Enfantin removed the community to Menilmontant. What happened there belongs rather to the domain of morals than of economics. The question of a Priestess emerged, and a doctrine of free-love was stated. In August 1832, Enfantin was condemned, in a none too squeamish France, for the promulgation of articles injurious to public

morality. Saint-Simonism was extinguished in a burst of popular laughter.

Charles Fourier (1772-1837) was another dreamer whose dreams had much less foundation in things as they are than had those of Saint-Simon. He had a curious apocalyptic conception of the world, and its duration in all for 80,000 years. In the State that he imagined, neither duty nor self-interest was to be the chief motive of man, but his passions. Every one was to work according as his inclinations dictated. He thought of the world as becoming gradually covered with a system of *phalanges* which were to take the place of municipalities. In the centre of each phalange there was to be a phalanstery where the members were to live a life in common. The division of the workers into various trades would be arranged by each man following his own fancy; and each group, when arranged, would go out to work as soldiers go out to drill. This working group was to be the unit. Nationality under such a system would disappear, for the phalanges were to cover the globe, and were to number 2,985,984! The ruler of the whole system was to be the *Omnarque*, who was to live at Constantinople. Each phalange was to use the product of its own work, and exchange its surplus with other phalanges; each phalange might own capital, and in the phalange capital was to receive four-twelfths of the profit, labour five-twelfths, and ability three-twelfths. The scheme, of course, was a pure phantasy, and under it the marriage relationship was to become a species of polyandry. But the interest of this scheme is that, just as Saint-Simon stood behind Comte, so Fourier stood behind Louis Blanc.

It may be worth while stating at this point that Communism has nothing to do with the Paris Commune of 1871. In France the 'commune' is the municipality or borough. The Paris communists felt that the national affairs had been so badly handled that they desired to secure the communal or corporate independence of Paris and a democratic Republic. The movement was political, not economic.

While Europe may have supplied most of the communistic theory, the actual attempts at Communism in Europe are hardly worth considering. Robert Owen's 'Queenwood Community' at Tytherley in Hampshire (1839-1844) belonged to his old age, when the intellectual balance of his early and middle years had been largely lost. The United States have supplied almost numberless object-lessons, and several of these experiments are so significant—rather for the direction they have felt compelled to take than for any real success they have achieved—that they will be dealt with in a separate article (COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES OF AMERICA; cf. also art. AMANA SOCIETY). Those efforts have resulted in almost uniform failure. Any material success that one or two of them have achieved has been gained at the cost of almost all the variety and the gladness of life.

Some of the reasons for the failure of these communistic efforts are the following:

(1) *The question of the family* has been found to be insoluble in Communism. The danger in a society in which all are supported by all is that the individual may lose the sense of responsibility, and propagate his kind beyond the power of the community to maintain the increase of population. This difficulty has been met in various ways: by the insistence on celibacy—an unnatural and unhealthy state of things; by the attempt to regulate the sex relationship within the home—an interference that independent spirits will not tolerate; and, lastly, by a variety of experiments in free-love, in which the fact that the community carries the burden has been made the excuse for practices that would mean the death of society. The Saint-Simonists got themselves laughed out of existence, but there was something in their contention that the prime

necessity of Communism is the abolition of all inheritance; and, if inheritance is to be abolished, individual parentage must no longer be recognized. The children must belong to, and be nurtured by, the community, not by the parents.

(2) Any communistic success is conceivable only at the price of the *absolute surrender of liberty*. It is not unthinkable that a strong character might create a rich and powerful society, but he could do so only by acting as the autocrat, and by resolutely putting down all opposition. He would have to control everything absolutely—the family life, even in its most intimate aspect, as well as the commercial undertakings. But to live under such a tyranny is too great a price even for the meanest spirited to pay for an assurance of a mere subsistence. Unless some are to do more than their share of production, a watch has to be kept over the labours of all. The hours of rising are fixed for every one, the clothes they must wear, the food they must eat—all these things have to be ordered in the interests of the diligent as well as of the lazy, and the result is a perpetuation through a man's lifetime of the condition of the child at school.

(3) The various communistic attempts *have never been able to keep the best of their young people*, and so there are left only the dull and the unenterprising. The life within the commune itself is devoid of variety. The best wish to succeed, but they cannot find the conditions under which success is possible, when all their labour goes into one common stock, and where, as in almost all the communistic efforts, education is discouraged. Some of the keenest criticisms of Communism have come from members of a Society. Zoar was an attempt that died only lately. The blacksmith's comment was: 'Think how much I would have now, had I worked and saved for myself. Some in the Society have done hardly any work, but will get the same that I do. This way of doing business is not natural nor right.' See, further, p. 784^b.

(4) None of the communistic societies has been able to give any play to *man's desire for culture*. They have been founded with the highest aims, and yet have been compelled by the general inefficiency of the labour to concern themselves solely with the problem of a bare existence. Few have been able to satisfy any other wants in their members than those of food and clothing. Not one of the attempts has made any contribution to the world's art or literature, or music or learning. In these respects they have been absolutely sterile. The Shakers preferred the absence of dust to the presence of art. This negative virtue is characteristic of Communism.

(5) *On its economic side*, Communism is just as open to attack. The chronic poverty in which these attempts have mostly existed has been due to elements that are inseparable from the system:—(a) *Increased idleness*. It is not possible, human nature being what it is, to induce the ordinary man to work as hard for the community at large as for himself. He may, indeed, be roused by patriotism or by pride in his work; he is not insensible to the power of an idea. But those who are attracted by Communism are not men of this sort. Religiously they are often Quietists; in the practical affairs of life they lack energy; and the fact that they share only to an infinitesimal extent in the product of their own labour gives no spur to exertion.—(b) *Lack of thrift*. One observer after another has remarked the extravagance of communistic societies, in spite of the rigidity with which they may adhere to a simple dress and a simple life. In domestic affairs there is not likely to be the same attention to thrift in food and firing when the community is responsible for all defici-

encies, nor will the workman be so anxious to get the most out of his piece of cloth or block of stone when he feels that one of the ideas on which the communistic society rests is that the efficient should bear the burden of the inefficient.—(c) Idleness and thriftlessness imply *small capital and small efficiency of capital*. The population question would not have pressed so seriously upon communistic societies if it had not been for the fact that their capital, owing to the inefficiency of labour and the small amount of saving, remained small, and the efficiency of that capital, owing to the lack of competent direction and individual initiative, was relatively unimportant. It is this that has put an end to all dreams of the eventual adoption of Communism as a mode of life. Communism has to compete with the marvellously efficient enterprises of our modern time, with great combinations of capital in which every unit is being pushed to its utmost limit in yielding a return. One can conceive that, under a system of Socialism where the instruments of production belong to the community but where the products are divided not merely according to the need of the producer but according to the value of the product, the efficiency of capital might be maintained; but to begin with the consumption end of this problem is to ignore the facts of life.

It is small wonder, then, that with those who are utterly dissatisfied with the present individualist conditions, Communism has given place to Socialism as a possible solution. The attractiveness of the communistic idea of self-contained communities, labouring without selfishness for their own support and suffering none to lack, has been shown by the number of attempts that have been made to realize what great thinkers have dreamed of. The result has been uniform failure. The history of modern philanthropy shows that the strong are not unwilling to carry the burden of the weak. They wish, however, to carry that burden while yet having the opportunity of exercising their strength. They also wish the weak to feel that, while they will be supported, their weakness is itself no virtue, but rather a condition to be removed, if possible, by all the resources of education and the hope of individual reward.

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COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES OF AMERICA.—If the theories of modern Communism have been largely European in their origin, experiments in the communistic life have mostly found their seat in the United States. This has been due, partly to the willingness of a young people to make sociological ventures, and partly to the fact that unoccupied land has been easy to acquire. The number of experiments has been almost endless. J. H. Noyes in 1870 enumerated over one hundred such, but many ventures have been tried since that date, and we shall probably not err on the side of excess if we estimate that some two hundred communistic efforts have been made, be-

tween the Jamestown Colony of 1607 and Ruskin-Tennessee of 1894. Robert Owen, after his visit to America in 1824 and the institution of New Harmony, gave a great impetus to communistic effort, while the Chartist movement in England and the enthusiasm that led men to try to realize the dreams of Fourier had a similar effect. But the communistic trend of mind has always been at work, and the broad division that can readily be drawn in such movements is between those that were religious and those that were secular. Generally speaking, the religious efforts have succeeded best; but it would not be wise to conclude from this that a Communism with religion as its motive is ever likely to succeed. Too many questions are involved that are not religious but economic and social. Goldwin Smith's criticism is completely justified by events:

'A religious dictatorship seems essential to the unity and peace of these households, but when they have prospered economically the secret of their success has been the absence of children, which limited their expenses and enabled them to save money. Growing wealthy, they have ceased to proselytise, and if celibacy was kept up, have become tontines. They afford no proof whatever of the practicability of communism as a universal system' (*Questions of the Day*², 1894, p. 9).

One of the surprising things to those who know Nordhoff's book on *The Communistic Societies of the United States* is the rapidity with which some of the colonies, which seemed at that date (1875) to be prosperous, have collapsed. The study of those efforts—made, most of them, with such devotion and self-sacrifice, with picked settlers, under carefully chosen conditions that did much to ensure success if success could be ensured—shows clearly that Communism is not a practicable form of society, and explains how the interest, in our day, has passed from Communism to Socialism. It is possible only to select some of the more outstanding of those attempts. The Amana Society has already been treated in vol. i. p. 358 ff.

1. The Harmony Society (or Rappites, or Economists) was founded by George Rapp, son of a small farmer at Iptingen in Württemberg. Rapp was born in 1757, and received the usual sound, if somewhat scanty, education of the South Germany of those days. His reading consisted mainly of the German mystics; and this, with his own personal piety, made him profoundly discontented with the Christianity presented to him by the Lutheran Church. In 1787 he began to preach in his own house, and soon he gathered round him a very considerable congregation; in six years 300 families had associated themselves with him. Generally speaking, the teaching was Quietism—he taught obedience to the law, but, in the matter of worship, he claimed the liberty to act as he pleased. He was prosecuted, fined, and imprisoned, but, in spite of this, he prospered in worldly things. In 1803 he and his adherents determined to emigrate to the United States for the sake of liberty. With his son John and two trusted friends, Rapp went out first of all to prospect, and bought 5000 acres of wild land in the valley of the Conoquenessing, about 25 miles north of Pittsburg. Frederick, an adopted son of George Rapp, had been left behind in Germany to superintend the removal of the emigrants, and he turned out to be a man of rare business capacity. The subsequent success of the scheme must be ascribed, not only to George Rapp's genuine gift of spiritual leadership, but also to Frederick's organizing power.

The transference of so large a number of people was effected with apparent ease. On 4th July 1804, three hundred of the settlers landed at Baltimore, and, a few weeks later, another three hundred at Philadelphia. They were, almost all, either sons of the soil or artisans; and, during that

first winter, while Rapp and his best workmen were building houses on the newly acquired land, the emigrants scattered themselves throughout Maryland and Pennsylvania. On 15th February 1805 they gathered together and formally constituted themselves 'The Harmony Society.' They agreed to put all their possessions into a common fund; to adopt a uniform and simple style of dress and house; and in their labour to keep before them the welfare of the whole community. By summer they numbered 122 families, rather less than 750 persons in all. Their communism had not been in their minds when they left Germany; it had been forced upon them by facts. Some of the members were so poor that, but for the help of the community as a whole, they must have failed to make a beginning. But, from the first, the settlement was a success. The settlers were of the right kind: the men were all used to working with their hands, and the women were thrifty German housewives. Their management of the land was excellent, and, as they believed that the Second Coming of the Lord was imminent, their work was carried on in a faith which permitted no carelessness.

In 1807 a religious revival broke out amongst them, and, as they had been led to their communism by hard facts, so they seemed to be led to their next distinctive position by the revelation of God. They determined to refrain from marriage, and those that were already married lived as brother and sister. A few withdrew from the society as the result of this change of things, but they seem to have had no difficulty in maintaining this position once they had adopted it. No precautions were taken to separate men and women. The life was perfectly free and open; the exercise of discipline seems to have been almost unknown. The religious faith of the community was strong enough to support them even in so unnatural a conclusion. They interpreted Gn 1st literally, believing that Adam was a dual being combining both sexes in himself, and that, if he had remained in his original state, he would have brought forth new dual beings like himself to replenish this earth. The Fall consisted in Adam's yielding to impulse and demanding a mate for himself. In answer to his request God withdrew the female element from him and made it his counterpart. Jesus Christ was made in the image of Adam; i.e. He 'also was a dual being. Hence celibacy was the natural state of man, whereas marriage was the fallen state. Consequently the regenerate man would live a celibate life. In 1814 the Rappites moved from their first settlement, which had proved unsatisfactory in some respects. It had no water communication, and it did not grow vines; and the Rappites, while they abjured tobacco, loved sound drink. They bought 30,000 acres of land in the Wabash Valley in Indiana, and sold their old settlement with all that was on it for the very small sum of 100,000 dollars. In 'Harmony,' as the new settlement was called, they made rapid progress, all the more rapid because of the experience they had already gained. In 1817, one hundred and thirty new settlers joined them from Württemberg, and the best proof possible of the fact that they were satisfied with communism is to be found in the circumstance that in 1818, after seriously considering the matter, they burned the book in which were stated the amounts that each family had originally brought into the community. But in the second settlement they were troubled with malaria; accordingly, in 1824 'Harmony' was sold to Robert Owen for 105,000 dollars, and began afresh to make history under the name of 'New Harmony.' The Rappites removed to a new situation

on the Ohio, near Pittsburg, where they built 'Economy.' Again, as twice before, prosperity flowed in upon them. There was still sufficient youth among their members to let new efforts be undertaken. A woollen mill and a cotton mill, a saw mill, and a grist mill were built; a silk industry was established; and vineyards were planted. After six years of this life, they were greatly tested. An adventurer, Bernhardt Müller, who called himself the Count de Leon, was received into the settlement, and began to propound views that soon wrought dissension concerning marriage and the need of a more varied life. A vote was taken, and the new views were defeated. In 1832 the dissentients withdrew, and it is a proof of the prosperity of the colony that there was paid out to them in one year 105,000 dollars.

Up till this time the articles of association under which they had been living had been briefly these:

All the property of the individual members was conveyed absolutely to the association; obedience was promised to the superintendent, and each member undertook for himself and for his family to give hearty and willing labour; but, if any should withdraw from inability to conform to the wishes of the society, he renounced all claim for services rendered. In return, the association promised religious privileges and education; and also a sufficiency of food and clothing. Members falling into ill-health were to be maintained and nursed, and orphans were to be provided for by the community. After the de Leon episode a provision that any one withdrawing from the association should have refunded to him the value of all such property as he might have brought into it was repealed.

The life in 'Economy' seems to have been fuller than in most of the other communistic societies. Order was maintained without restraint; the members were not overworked; they lived well; they had the German love for, and proficiency in, music. Each family took what was required, and there was no stint; the tailor and the bootmaker, we are told, took a personal pride in seeing that the members were well-dressed and well-shod. But the inevitable came about—the members did not concern themselves regarding the future of their experiment because they believed the Second Advent to be so near. George Rapp, who died only in 1847, expressed this faith in a very touching way at the age of 90: 'If I did not know that the dear Lord meant I should present you all to Him, I should think my last moments come.' When members were asked as to the destination of the society, the only answer was, 'The Lord will show us a way.'

In 1874, at the time of Nordhoff's visit, there were living in this well-planned, well-built settlement only 110 persons, 'most of whom are aged, and none, I think, under 40' (*op. cit.* p. 68). The mills were closed, because there were no young people to work them; and yet, with their touching faith in the immediate end of all things mortal, no new members were sought. Rapp was succeeded by R. L. Bäker and Jacob Henrici. Bäker died in a short time, and on Henrici's death, in 1892, it was found that the affairs of the society were very involved, and that lawsuits were pending concerning the disposition of the property. John Duss was appointed by the courts as trustee; but, before this time, the Rappite organization had ceased to be a community, and had become a close corporation administered for the benefit of a dwindling membership. In 1903 the Liberty Land Company of Pittsburg purchased the entire Rappite estate of 2500 acres for 4,000,000 dollars, and this brave attempt that had lasted for a century came to an end. Celibacy had killed it.

2. The Shakers, or The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, are the oldest communistic society in existence. The parent society was established at Mount Lebanon, in the United States, in 1787, and, although within the last thirty years they have greatly diminished in

numbers, they are still wealthy, and immovable in their views. In contrast to so many of the communistic efforts, they are English and not German in origin; but in religion, like the members of Amana, Zoar, and Economy, they are Quakerists. A Quaker revival in England in 1747 resulted in the formation of a small sect, headed by Jane and James Wardley. To this sect there were added in 1758 Ann Lee and her parents. Persecution and imprisonment soon fell upon the members; and in 1770, as Ann Lee lay in prison, she had a revelation of the nature of sin and the reality of eternal life. She believed that in her Jesus Christ had become incarnate for the second time; and she was from henceforth acknowledged by the society as mother in Christ, and called 'Mother Ann.' Ann Lee was a married woman, and had had four children, who all died in infancy; but she is said to have regarded the marriage state with great repugnance. This fact probably conditioned her view of sin and of the character of the regenerate life. She declared that sexual lust was the evil of evils, and that no soul could follow Christ in the regeneration while living in the works of natural generation or any of the gratifications of lust. It is interesting to notice that this view of the relationship of the sexes belonged to the Shaking Quakers before their communism had been thought of. In so many of those communistic efforts it was the necessity for the restriction of population that led to peculiar views of the married state. With the Shakers, however, celibacy was from the outset a cardinal matter. In 1774, local persecution drove them, six men and two women, to America, and they settled at first in the woods of Watervliet, about seven miles northwest of Albany. Their courage was sustained by Mother Ann's constant prediction that in a short time they would see a great increase to their number, and, after waiting for five years, they saw the prophecy fulfilled. In the spring of 1780 there had taken place in the neighbourhood of New Lebanon a religious revival, and some of the converts, dissatisfied with the instruction they were receiving, wandered off until they found in the little Quaker fellowship that which they required. Ann Lee's stern teaching of the repression of all passion met their new-found earnestness. After this, Mother Ann spent two years preaching from place to place, and acquiring the reputation of being a faith-healer. She died in 1784, without having attempted to gather into communities those who had accepted her view of truth. She remained to the end quite illiterate; but she must have possessed a great deal of spiritual power, together with much practical wisdom. She believed in the sanctifying influence of hard work.

'Put your hands to work and give your hearts to God,' was one of her sayings. In the springtime she said to some farmers: 'It is now spring of the year, and you have all had the privilege of being taught the way of God, and now you may all go home and be faithful with your hands. Every faithful man will go forth and put up his fences in season, and will plough his ground in season, and put his crops into the ground in season; and such a man may with confidence look for a blessing' (Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 129).

She was succeeded in the leadership by Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright. After twelve years Meacham died, and again, for the next twenty-five years, the sole rule devolved upon a woman. This is a fact of importance, when we consider that the society in all its formative years was shaped by women. A good many of its peculiarities, and perhaps its virtues, depend on this. As the society had originated in a Revival, and had been increased by a Revival, so now it was the great Kentucky Revival of the first year or two of the 19th cent. that gave the Shakers a footing that has become so permanent. Although Kentucky was a thousand miles from Mount Lebanon, the Shakers,

hearing of the wonderful things that had happened, sent three of their number to 'open the testimony of salvation to the people, provided they were in a situation to receive it.' These missionaries, on arriving at their destination, were violently opposed, with the result that, spiritually, they prospered. Attention was drawn to their teaching; they made many converts. They founded five societies—two in Ohio, two in Kentucky, and one in Indiana. In Ohio, two other societies were afterwards formed; in New York, one. The Indiana society removed to Ohio, and it was in those years that the Shakers exhibited themselves as an aggressive religious force. Since 1830 no new societies have been founded, and since Nordhoff's visit the numbers have rapidly diminished.

Their religious beliefs are briefly the following:

(1) They hold, with the Rappites, that God is a dual person, male and female; that Adam likewise had in himself both sexes, being created in the image of God; and that 'the distinction of sex is eternal, inheres in the soul itself, and that no angels or spirits exist that are not male and female.' (2) They believe that Christ, one of the highest of the spirits, appeared first in the person of Jesus, representing the male order, and then in that of Ann Lee, representing the female element. (3) They believe that the Day of Judgment, the beginning of Christ's Kingdom on earth, began with the establishment of their church, and will be completed by its development. (4) They say that the five most prominent practical principles of the Pentecostal Church were: common property, a life of celibacy, non-resistance, a separate and distinct government, and power over physical disease. All these, except the last, they claim to have, and this they confidently expect that they will have. They believe that disease is an offence to God, and that men may be healthy if they will. (5) They reject the doctrine of the Trinity, of the Bodily Resurrection, and of an Atonement for sin. They do not worship either Jesus or Ann Lee, holding both to be simply elders in the Church, to be honoured and loved. (6) They believe that it is possible to communicate with the spirit-world, and that the special gifts of the Spirit have not ceased. (7) They believe that sinlessness of life is not only a possibility, but an obligation. (8) They hold that the world will have the opportunity of salvation in the next life.

In the practical working out of their belief, three things are specially noticeable: their celibacy, their communism, and the stress they lay upon open confession of sins. Any one who desires to join the society has to undergo a novitiate of at least a year, during which time he does not live in one of the 'families,' but is admitted to all the religious meetings, and is thoroughly instructed in the doctrines of the sect. No pressure is put on any one to join the society. If, at the end of the year, the novice is of the same mind, he has to set all his worldly affairs in order, and make sure that he is indebted to none. Married couples are admitted, but, when admitted, must live as brother and sister, each in a separate division of the family house. A husband may join, but only with the free consent of his wife; a wife, but only with the free consent of her husband. It is not necessary that any one applying for membership should possess property; but, if he have any worldly wealth, it must be made over in irrevocable gift to the community. Great stress is laid on confession before admission; those who desire to become members are required to confess to two of their own sex everything in their life that has been wrong. Memory is prompted, that this confession may be complete. It constitutes the break with the old life; it is the cleansing of the temple in which the Holy Spirit is henceforth to dwell. In making over his property, the novice undertakes never, directly or indirectly, 'to make or require any account of any interest, property, labour, or service which has been or may be devoted by us or any of us to the purposes aforesaid; nor bring any charge of debt or damage, nor hold any demand whatever, against the Church, nor against any member or members thereof on account of any property or service given, rendered, devoted, or consecrated to the aforesaid sacred and charitable purpose.' No account is rendered to the members, or published to the world, of the temporal affairs of the society.

The government of the community is a close oligarchy, practically an autocracy. The Ministry, consisting of males and females, is composed of not fewer than three or more than four members. When there are four, two are of each sex. Out of this Ministry one is appointed as the head of the society. The Ministry appoints the ministers, elders, and deacons. It is taken for granted that these appointments will receive the approval of the society, which is not consulted directly in the matter.

The communal life is of a very plain but substantial character. The members live in 'families' consisting of from thirty to eighty or ninety individuals. Each 'family' lives in a large house, divided in the upper storeys between men and women, each dormitory containing about four beds. Scrupulous cleanliness reigns everywhere. There are no pictures on the walls, because pictures gather dust.

'The beautiful,' said Elder Evans, the head of the community at the time of Nordhoff's visit, 'as you call it, is absurd and abnormal. It has no business with us. The divine man has no right to waste money upon what you would call beauty, in his house or his daily life, while there are people living in misery' (Nordhoff, *op. cit.* p. 164).

It may be said that this distrust of the beautiful is shown in the clothing of the members. The clothing is all made by themselves, and formerly they used to manufacture their own cloth. The men wear a very broad, stiff-brimmed felt hat, and a long light-blue coat. The dress of the women is so contrived that female charms shall be obscured. The bodice is quite straight, and the many-pleated skirt hides the figure; even the hair is concealed beneath a bonnet which also shrouds the face.

'Each brother is assigned to a sister, who takes care of his clothing, mends when it is needed, looks after his washing, tells him when he requires a new garment, reproves him if he is not orderly, and keeps a general sisterly oversight over his habits and temporal needs' (*ib.* p. 140).

The family rises in summer at half-past four, and in winter at five. Breakfast is at six, dinner at twelve, supper at six, and by half-past nine all have retired to rest. Great stress is laid now, as it was by Mother Ann, upon the importance of manual labour. They believe, and their belief has been justified by the result, that agriculture must be the foundation of a communistic life. They say that their mistakes have been made when they have undertaken manufactures. In the industries, such as shoemaking, which they maintain, they aim only at supplying their own needs. If the women work in the fields, it is only at the very lightest labour; their sphere is the house. None are allowed to overwork; and their history shows that, in a community where there are no children to labour for, a large measure of material prosperity may be attained with comparative ease. Their amusements are of the simplest character. In the evenings they all meet together. On one night extracts may be read from the newspapers, on another new hymns may be practised, on another a prayer-meeting may be held.

The most characteristic thing about their worship is a peculiar religious dance to music, but they have no religious ceremonies. Those who are moved to do so may address the meeting. An elder may perhaps speak upon holiness of life and consecration; another will ask for prayer in some special difficulty. It need hardly be said that in such a community, pledged to celibacy, the intercourse of the brothers and sisters is very strictly guarded. They have indeed a good deal of social intercourse; geniality is by no means frowned upon; but the utmost care is taken that no scandal shall be brought upon the order. The workshops of the men and women are separate. At table and at worship the sexes are kept apart. Men and women never meet alone. The whole life is ordered and regulated with unceasing vigilance. Hervey

Elkins, who had spent fifteen years as a Shaker, wrote:

'Not a single action of life, whether spiritual or temporal, from the initiative of confession, or cleansing the habitation of Christ, to that of dressing the right side first, stepping first with the right foot as you ascend a flight of stairs, folding the hands with the right hand thumb and fingers above those of the left, kneeling and rising again with the right leg first, and harnessing first the right-hand beast, but has a rule for its perfect and strict performance' (quoted by Nordhoff, *op. cit.* p. 170 ff.).

Of all the communistic efforts this is the one that most resembles what we know of the Essenes.

The population difficulty the Shakers settle by condemning their followers to celibacy. It is a life passed in negatives. It is no solution of the problem of a distraught society; and it is not surprising that, in spite of its honourable history and comparative economic success, the attempt is failing. New members are not joining the society, and it bids fair to collapse as completely as the Rappites have done. In 1874 the Shakers had fifty-eight communities with 2415 souls, and owned 100,000 acres of land. In 1905 the number of members had dwindled to about 1000.

3. The Society of Separatists at Zoar ceased to exist in 1898 after a life of over 80 years, but its history is so illustrative of the causes of ultimate decay in a communistic group that it deserves mention here. The Separatists of Zoar originated, like the Rappites, in Württemberg, the home of so much of the Pietism of Germany. In the beginning of the 19th cent. these dissenters from Lutheranism refused to send their children to the clergy schools or to allow their young men to serve as soldiers. They were so harassed and persecuted in consequence that life became almost impossible for them. The men and women who afterwards settled at Zoar had in Germany, for some years, formed a little group apart. Their trials had come to the notice of some English Quakers, who aided the wealthier members of the little sect in supplying funds for their emigration to America. Their leader was Joseph Bäumeler, and, on the arrival of the party at Philadelphia in August 1817, Bäumeler and a few others went on in advance to take possession of a tract of 5,600 acres which they had bought in the wilderness of Ohio. For this land they paid 3 dollars an acre, with credit for 15 years, while no interest was charged on the debt for the first three years. Bäumeler and his pioneers built the first log hut on their property on 1st December 1817; but, as winter was on them, the emigrants had to take service wherever they could find it among the farmers of the neighbourhood. When they left Germany, communism had been no part of their plan, but the fact that there were a number of old people among them and also many who were too poor to pay for their land, brought the leaders to see that, if the experiment was to go on at all, it would have to be on a communistic basis. In April 1818 they agreed to this community of goods. The 225 persons who composed the colony were most of them agriculturists, but there were also a number of weavers and other artisans. Altogether, in character and by training, it was such a company as to give a communistic experiment a good chance.

For the first ten years they were extremely poor. They were in debt, of course, for their land, and debt to communisms has generally been fatal. But the making of a canal in their neighbourhood in 1827 supplied them with profitable work. They soon found themselves out of debt, and from that time began to prosper very considerably. Joseph Bäumeler continued to be their leader, but the spelling of his name was modified through local pronunciation into Bimmeler, and the society came sometimes to be known as the 'Bimmeliers.' Marriage was at first prohibited amongst them,

but between 1828 and 1830, Joseph Bimmeler himself married an inmate of his own household. He had several children; and marriage, though not encouraged, was permitted in the community. They tried as far as possible to be self-contained; agriculture was, of course, their mainstay, but gradually they built a woollen factory, two flour-mills, a saw-mill, a planing-mill, a machine-shop, and a tannery. By 1874 they owned 7000 acres of land, had 300 members, and were supposed to be worth more than 1,000,000 dollars.

In their religious faith, there were no such distinctive or peculiar doctrines as have marked out the Rappites and the Shakers. Their religious constitution bears evident marks of its having originated in Germany. They thus declare in their twelve articles of faith that they cannot send their children into the schools of Babylon, i.e. schools of the State Church in Germany, and that they 'cannot serve the State as soldiers, because a Christian cannot murder his enemy, much less his friend.' While they gave loyalty to constituted authorities, they refused to give mortal honour to any, either by uncovering the head or by bending the knee. All religious ceremonies they banished. In their services they read the Bible, sang hymns, and read one of Bimmeler's discourses, which they carefully avoided calling sermons. They had no preacher or minister, but they encouraged music. The church had an organ; many of the households, poor as they were, had pianos; the boys were taught to read music and to play in a band. Two of their twelve articles of faith concerned marriage. The first declares that marriages are contracted by mutual consent and before witnesses; that they are then notified to the political authority, and 'we reject all intervention of priests or preachers.' The next related to the marriage state itself: 'all intercourse of the sexes except what is necessary to the perpetuation of the species we hold to be sinful and contrary to the ordinance and command of God. Complete virginity or entire cessation of sexual commerce is more commendable than marriage.'

Those changes in the policy of the society led to alterations in the constitution, and it was not till 1832 that this was finally settled. Under it the members were divided into two classes—the novices and the full associates. The novices had to serve at least a year before they were admitted to the society. During this year they bound themselves to labour with all industry in return for their board, clothing, and medical attendance. The children even of members had to serve this novitiate year if, on reaching their majority, they wished to join the society. All disputes had to be settled by arbitration within the society. When a novice wished to become an associate, a month's notice was given to the members of the society, and, if no objection was taken to him and he had no debts, he then made over by an absolute disposition, not only all the property he then had, but also all that might afterwards come to him by inheritance. He also undertook to obey 'with the utmost zeal and diligence, without opposition or grumbling,' the commands of the trustees; and undertook also that his children, until they reached their majority, should be considered as indentured to the society.

The administration was in the hands of three trustees, whose term of office was three years, although they might be re-elected an indefinite number of times. But in Zoar there was no absolutism such as existed among the Shakers. These trustees were elected by a ballot of the whole membership, including the women; and, while on the one hand they were supposed to have complete control over the temporal affairs of the

society, on the other hand they required the general consent of the society. There was also a standing committee of five, the purpose of which was to settle difficulties that might arise between individuals of the society, or between the rank and file and the administration.

Bimmeler died in 1853, but at the time of Nordhoff's visit the society was still flourishing. Its rapid collapse was brought about by the intrusion of the individualist spirit, by the fretting of the younger people at what seemed to them to be arbitrary restrictions, and by a number of small causes which separately might have had no disintegrating effect, but taken altogether meant the wreck of the experiment. As the doctor of the community said to a trained inquirer, as the end loomed in view, 'the old ones are not so anxious to quit, but the young ones are bound to wind up. They go out and get a taste of the world and its opportunities and activities, and they become discontented and restless.'

As Zoar came to be in the midst of a population of increasing density, more opportunities offered themselves to the members of making a little private gain. Some thrifty housewife would rear poultry and sell the eggs; was she entitled to keep what she received, or had this pittance to go into the common stock? A man might build a boat and hire it out in the summer evenings on the river; was he to share the results of his industry with those who idled in their leisure time? In a hundred ways this difficulty arose—in the catching and selling of fish, in doing laundry-work for the neighbourhood, etc. When Randall visited the community, he found in it one bicycle. He asked the lad who was riding it if Zoar had paid for the bicycle. 'No,' said the lad, 'I earned money nights working for the railroad and bought the wheel.' Other sources of discontent were involved in the very being of a communism. There was trouble over the apportionment of the tasks—some were hard, others were easy; some were cleanly, others were dirty. And then there was the difference between the willingness with which the members did their work. One member roundly declared that this system of communism put a premium on indolence. Then one member might desire to go for a holiday, and, as he had no money of his own, the community had to pay his expenses. Was this benefit to be extended to all, and were all to have a change of air, necessarily at the expense of the society? When enthusiasm ran high, questions such as these would not be asked; but, when they did begin to be asked, the movement was nearing its end. The diminution in the membership was of itself altering the character of the community. At Bimmeler's death, in 1853, there were 500 individuals in the society, including children. In 1885 there were 390; in 1898 there were 222, of whom 136 were members. The result was that, for the working of their very considerable estate and industries, they had largely to depend upon hired labour. Thus insensibly the whole character of the experiment had changed. It was no longer a communism in the strict sense of the word, but rather a limited liability company, in which each member held an equal number of shares.

In March 1898 it was agreed that the society should be dissolved, and in May the apportionment began. The society had become a tontine; the representatives of those who were dead had lost their rights. The membership, such as it was, would have been still smaller if members had not held on in the hope of sharing in the inevitable division. To begin with, by the sale of timber, etc., each member received 200 dollars; the estate was then valued and apportioned, and it was sup-

posed that each member received property to the value of about 2500 dollars. The result of the break-up was rather interesting. Most of the membership remained upon the plots that had been assigned to them in the division. Some had become so accustomed to the paternal government of the community that they had lost their power of initiative. Others found that competition required more energy than communism. The blacksmith said, 'I'm my own boss now, but I've got to work harder.' But perhaps the most remarkable thing was the pleasure of the people in the fact that they had something they could call their own. Randall was talking to the baker's wife when a buggy drove up with a good horse between the shafts. It was genuine human nature when she said with pride, 'That is *ours*; we *bought* it. Isn't it nice to have your own horse?'

4. Icaria ceased to exist in 1895 after a desperate struggle of 40 years. Its significance lies, not in itself, but in the object lesson that it gives of the need of a strong and almost absolute leadership and a unifying religious faith if a communism is to have any chance of success. Étienne Cabet was a barrister by profession, but a revolutionary by instinct. He was born at Dijon, in France, in 1788; after the revolution of 1830 he obtained a small appointment in Corsica, but his criticism of Louis Philippe was so vigorous that he was prosecuted, and to evade punishment had to flee to England. On the amnesty of 1839 he returned to France, and next year he wrote a romance, *Voyage en Icarie*, in which he set forth his communistic views. Through a paper which he conducted he secured the means of making an effort to realize his dream. He announced the purchase of a considerable tract of land on the Red River in Texas. Early in 1848, 150 persons set out for this colony, but they were attacked by yellow fever, and sent back such a report of the place that Cabet's conduct in the matter was judicially investigated. He was exculpated, and next year set out himself for America. On his arrival, he found that the Mormons had been expelled from Nauvoo, their town in Illinois. Thither, in May 1850, Cabet transferred his followers.

This effort seemed to have in it the germs of success. To begin with, it had become very widely known, and at one time Cabet had gathered round him no fewer than 1500 people. But he seems to have lacked all gift of leadership, as he certainly lacked all business instinct. In 1856 he was expelled from his own society, and went with those who still believed in him to St. Louis, where he died the same year. Nauvoo was sold, and the membership was dispersed, a few joining an offshoot that was making its attempt at Icaria, near Corning in Iowa. Here for years they maintained a most precarious existence. They had 4000 acres of land, but they owed 20,000 dollars. The debt swamped them; they had to give up the land to their creditors, but with the condition that in a certain number of years they might redeem half of it. This, by the utmost economy, they managed to do. When Nordhoff visited them they owned 1900 acres, much of it covered with valuable timber; they numbered 65 persons divided among 11 families. Of those individuals 20 were children, and only 23 members were voters, as women had no share in the management of the community.

After the Paris Commune of 1871 and the break-up of the International Working Men's Association in Geneva, they had several additions to their membership. These members, together with the younger section of the community, thought that the older members had become lax in the practice of their communistic theory. In 1877 the dispute came to a head over the merest trifle. Attached

to three houses of the community were small strips of ground on which the members who lived in those houses spent their leisure time in growing flowers and some grapes. Communistic theory, it was declared, required that what was grown in 'les petits jardins' should be divided amongst all. Nineteen voted in favour of this vestige of private property, thirteen against. The matter was carried to the law courts, and in August 1878 the society was dissolved on the technical ground that it had gone beyond its charter as an agricultural society in putting up and working a mill. The two bodies began life again side by side—the younger members calling themselves the 'Icarian Community,' while the older ones, late in applying for registration, had to be content with the title of the 'New Icarian Community.' In 1883-84 the younger section moved to California, where it has established itself on a semi-proprietary basis, as 'Icaria-Speranza.' After having wrecked the society on the question of the grapes, it now allows its membership to hold its apparel, furniture, and household goods as private property. Icaria in Iowa ceased to exist in 1895.

5. The Perfectionist Community of Oneida is perhaps the most widely known of the communistic experiments of the United States. Its revolutionary treatment of the marriage state brought it prominently before the public, and in 1880 the pressure of opinion could no longer be resisted. The communal experiment was abandoned, and Oneida was turned into a limited liability company. John H. Noyes, the founder, was born in 1811, and graduated at Dartmouth College. His original intention was to become a lawyer, but he eventually studied for the ministry. He was a man of unquestioned ability. The Oneida publications are numerous, and his own writings have a great deal of vigour and some style. In 1834 he came through what he believed was a genuine religious experience, and adopted Perfectionist views. He returned to his father's house at Putney, in Vermont, and began to gather disciples about him. One of these converts, Harriet Holton, a woman of good birth and some wealth, became his wife in 1838. Noyes held that selfishness was the root evil of the world, and that, in order to be completely unselfish, it was necessary not only that property should be held in common, but that no man should count any woman as linked to him by some proprietary right. In the community of believers every man should be the husband of every woman, while every woman should be the wife of every man. This detestable doctrine was the very essence of Noyes's communism, and he and his followers made no secret of it. In pamphlet after pamphlet—the British Museum possesses a complete set—the whole matter was stated. At Putney, where the first experiment in this communal life was made, riots arose; Noyes and his associates found refuge with some who agreed with them at Oneida, in Madison County, New York; and this Oneida Colony, together with one at Wallingford, became the headquarters of the group. As the societies grew, a considerable amount of wealth was brought into them; the members were intelligent and thrifty. Agriculture, to which they added the production of garden seeds, was their mainstay; but one of their number who had been a trapper showed them how to make traps, and this rather curious industry, together with a saw-mill, a blacksmith's shop, and a fruit farm, began to put them beyond the reach of want. For the seven years 1860-1866 their annual profit averaged 23,300 dollars, while their farms, plants, and buildings were lavishly kept up. In February 1874 they numbered altogether 283 persons, of whom

64 were under 21 years of age. They published, two or three times a week, the *Oneida Circular*, a bright, well-written paper, and generally made great use of their printing press in keeping their views before the public. Those views, extraordinary though they may seem, were never concealed. The Oneida Community until its dissolution was always propagandist.

The distinctive religious doctrine of the community was Perfectionism. Noyes taught that salvation from sin could and ought to be reached, not by any following out of cold duty, but as the result of an experience of fellowship with God. He insisted that the tap-root of all sin was selfishness. When selfishness was destroyed, the soul was rid of sin. To forsake self was to forsake sin, and the deduction drawn was the system of polyandry, or 'complex marriage,' under which no man claimed special relationship with one woman more than with another. Within the community, as has been said, any man could cohabit with any woman, but in practice this liberty had several restraints. Anything of the nature of courtship was sternly disallowed as partaking of selfishness. All requests for cohabitation—and they could proceed either from men or women—had to be made through some third person, and no one was obliged to receive attentions that he or she did not welcome. On entering the community the more youthful of one sex were always paired with the more aged of the other. Children, after they had been weaned, were put into a general nursery; the parents lost all special rights to them, and were not supposed to show any special interest in them. To have done so would have been a sign of selfishness, a proof that all had not been forsaken.

The administration of the society was characterized by great flexibility and a large amount of worldly wisdom. New members were admitted sparingly, and only after a considerable probation. On entrance they signed the creed of the society, and also an agreement to claim no wages for their labour while in the community. Noyes was himself the government of the society, and apart from his peculiar views guided it with great ability and business capacity. But he himself claimed that its prosperity depended on the daily evening meeting in which all the affairs of the society were freely discussed, and especially on the institution of Criticism. Under this every member from time to time invited the criticism of his fellows, and this criticism was no matter of form. The person whose turn it was to meet the judgment of his fellows sat silent under the ordeal, while one member after another unfolded his most intimate faults or commended his struggles and attainments. Perhaps the theoretical severity of the exercise was a little mitigated by the consciousness that the critic would in turn be the criticized; but the testimony of eye-witnesses is that the experience was a real ordeal, although it was conducted in no spirit of mere bitterness, while Noyes, in his summing up, was able to soften asperities.

Naturally enough such a society, practising its peculiar beliefs, not only without concealment, but with the aggressiveness of a propaganda, aroused intense hostility. It was the subject of constant agitation, to which Noyes replied with the greatest readiness. But there was no gainsaying the force of public opinion, and in 1880 Oneida was turned into a company, and the communal experiment was given up. Its commercial success had been considerable: it counted itself as latterly worth 600,000 dollars. Liberal terms were granted to the members by the new company. Support was first offered to all elderly and infirm persons

in lieu of stock; a guarantee of support and education was given to all the young people of the society up to sixteen years of age; and members able to work were guaranteed employment in the new company.

6. The communistic schemes of Fourier were in the United States preached with all the vehemence of a crusade by Albert Brisbane in the *Social Destiny of Man* (Philadelphia, 1840); and by Horace Greeley in the *New York Tribune*. Presently a newspaper called *The Phalanx* was wholly devoted to the teaching of Fourierism, and in 1845 this was superseded by *The Harbinger*, published at the Brook Farm Society. This paper was conducted with rare power, for behind it there were Horace Greeley, George Ripley, William Henry Channing, C. A. Dana, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Elizabeth Peabody. The result of this propaganda was the founding within two or three years of no fewer than twenty-nine Fourierist Communes or Phalanxes. Their history is a somewhat melancholy one; their average life was two and a half years. (Hinds [*Amer. Communities*, etc.] gives a complete list of these experiments.)

Brook Farm, near Boston, was founded in 1841 by George Ripley, who soon gathered round him a notable company of intellectual people. The effort had the cordial support of Emerson, but financially it was soon in difficulties. In 1844 it was swept into the Fourierist movement and lost the aid of Emerson and his coterie. Fourier's system was far too complicated for a little group of seventy people. The Phalanstery too, a building which had cost 7000 dollars and was capable of housing 150 people, was burned down. In 1845 the community ceased to exist.

The North American Phalanx was the longest lived of all the Fourier attempts. Its success, such as it was, was due to the fact that to it Horace Greeley devoted both his time and his means. The farm lay near Red Bank, New Jersey, about 40 miles from New York city, and consisted of 700 acres of good land. It was organized in August 1843, and soon there came into existence a mansion house accommodating one hundred persons (each family having a sitting-room and two bed-rooms), a saw-mill, a steam flour-mill, a packing house, etc. The community carried on a dried fruit business as well as agriculture generally. In 1854 there were 100 members, and the property was valued at 67,000 dollars. So far it might have been counted a success. It had paid its members wages, and an average of 5 per cent upon the capital invested. But all at once trouble arose. At a meeting which had been called to discuss the site of a new mill, larger questions were raised, and a vote was taken as to whether it was worth while continuing the experiment. A majority was in favour of giving it up; the property was realized, the shareholders receiving about 66 per cent of their holdings. The causes of this sudden break-up are difficult to state. There was certainly dissatisfaction with the wages paid, but that only shows that the enthusiasm was cooling. The manual workers could not understand that brain workers deserved a greater reward. Bucklin, who was chief of the agricultural department, received only ten cents a day more than the labourers. A school-teacher—and their school was famous—received nine cents an hour, but commanded easily in the competitive world five dollars for two hours. But the personal equation is also to be considered. Boredom is the shadow on most communes, and the settlers after thirteen years seem to have wearied of one another's society.

The Wisconsin Phalanx (1844-1850) seemed to have all the conditions of success. It possessed

1800 acres of fine land, situated near Ripon, Wisconsin. It had no debt, no religious difficulties, and no scandal amongst its membership. But the members got tired of it and dissensions broke out. Noyes said of it:

'Died, not by any of the common diseases of Associations, such as poverty, dissension, lack of wisdom, morality or religion, but by deliberate suicide, for reasons not fully disclosed.'

The Alphadelphia Phalanx was a similar effort.

The Altruist Community is a very small affair, led by Alcander Longley, one of the survivors of the North American Phalanx of more than half a century ago. They own 8½ acres at Sulphur Springs, 23 miles from St. Louis on the Mississippi.

The Bethel-Aurora Communities were founded by William Keil of Nordhausen in Germany. He emigrated to the United States in 1838, and worked as a tailor and as an agent for the German Tract Society, and then became an independent preacher. Bethel was begun on Government land in Shelby County, Missouri, in 1844. Keil had only two or three families to begin with, but the colony increased so rapidly that at one time it had 1000 members, almost all Germans. The settlers busied themselves in agriculture, tailoring, shoe-making, and machine work. As the community prospered, Keil's ideas grew, and in 1855 he set out for the Pacific coast with about eighty families, and founded Aurora, 30 miles from Portland. Soon Aurora owned 18,000 acres, and had between three and four hundred members. The characteristic of those two settlements was the wisdom of Keil's management and the fluidity of the organization. Keil was president, and had as his advisers four of the older members selected by himself. There were no set hours of work, no one was compelled to labour at a task he did not like, and the universal testimony is that the religious life of these communities was maintained at a very high level. But when Keil died in 1877 the guiding hand was withdrawn. Bethel dissolved in 1880 and Aurora in 1881.

The Brotherhood of the New Life was founded by Thomas Lake Harris, a spiritualist minister of English birth. It was not his first experiment in communism, as in 1851 he had founded the Mountain Cove Community of Spiritualists in the State of Virginia. He believed that he had found there the actual site of the Garden of Eden; but, if so, the serpent again entered in, and the Brotherhood was broken up. In 1866 he made his new venture at Salem-on-Erie, and the experiment has attracted more attention than it deserved, from the fact that with it Laurence Oliphant and his mother were connected. The system was patriarchal; all the members were counted as the guests or slaves of Harris, and had to do exactly as they were told. The picture in Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of her namesake* is not overdrawn. Laurence Oliphant put nearly £20,000 into the community, but in 1880 the breach took place with Harris, and the enterprise collapsed. Harris and his friends went to Santa Rosa in California, and began another community, which broke up in 1900.

The Ruskin Commonwealths were, as the name indicates, an outcome of the economic teaching of John Ruskin. J. A. Wayland, a newspaper proprietor, published at Greensburg, Indiana, a paper called *The Coming Nation*. He resolved to devote the profits of this paper to the establishment of a communistic society, and the ability of his management and the enthusiasm for the object were such that in August 1894 a beginning was made. A site was chosen that proved to be intractable land; so in 1895 the settlers moved to Cave Mills and began again. Wayland, at this stage, withdrew. Prosperity came to them at once. Printing

and agriculture were their mainstay, and soon 36 of the American labour papers were printed at Ruskin. But the Arcadia was soon destroyed. The members quarrelled amongst themselves; anarchistic views found adherents; and accepted moral standards were challenged. The community broke up in July 1899, while it was still solvent. Two hundred and forty-nine of the settlers went and joined the American Settlers' Co-operative Association at Duke, Ga.; but this venture also broke down in the end of 1901.

The Woman's Commonwealth was founded by Mrs. Martha MacWhirter at Belton, Texas. The movement was the fruit of a religious revival, and its adherents were, to begin with, greatly persecuted; but they were diligent, thrifty, and pious, and achieved material success. They do not exclude men from the membership, but the only man who joined the community withdrew after a few years. They have removed to Washington, D.C., and in 1906 numbered eighteen women.

The more important communistic societies throughout the world will be dealt with in separate articles under their own names.

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R. BRUCE TAYLOR.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS.—See COMMUNISM.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION.—See RELIGION.

COMPETITION.—*Introduction*.—'Competition' is the name commonly applied to that kind of relation which exists between rivals who are striving to attain the same end or object; it is a term characteristic of the system of modern commerce and industry, on which (on the hypothesis of free bargaining among sellers and buyers of goods or services) prices, rates of wages, and interest are determined. The 'higgling of the market,' as it has been called, is assumed to give free play to the forces of supply and demand, and out of the conflict of interests there emerges a price, or rate, which tends to equalize the supply and the demand; by the operation of competition a market value is obtained which is deemed the equitable rate in the circumstances. Competition of this kind is seen at its best on the Stock Exchange and in wholesale markets, where the conflict of interests is between experts who are practically on a par as regards their means of forming a judgment upon the economic conditions of the problem. But competition is by no means limited to commercial affairs; it is the chief method of determining the course of action in most cases of conduct where alternatives are presented, and the question is one of value or worth in which the fittest is a desideratum.

In the absence of competition, value is fixed by some customary standard, or it is arbitrarily determined by authority, or it is regulated by the self-interest or caprice of a monopolist individual

or ring sufficiently strong to control the conditions of sale. Economists have generally regarded competition in which the market is free and the competitors are on equal terms as the most equitable mode of securing a fair price. On the other hand, competition has often been assailed as an instrument of injustice and harshness, and it has been denounced by socialists, as a means of oppressing the labouring classes. It will be found, on examination of instances adduced in support of this charge, that the competition in such cases is not really free, but that, owing to some defect of ignorance, weakness, inability, etc., the competitors are not on equal terms, e.g. the employees may be keenly competing for the work, but the employer (in a sweated industry) may be *de facto* a monopolist who can dictate terms. This is not a case of genuine free competition.

To avoid any apparent approval of this one-sided and imperfect competition, the term 'free enterprise' has been adopted by economists as more correctly expressing the system under which individuals, or groups of individuals, combined in societies, freely compete to dispose of their goods or services, and others strive on like terms to purchase their goods or services; thus, by the play of the various forces, a rate is arrived at which will, in the circumstances, tend to equilibrium between supply and demand, satisfy the wants of society, and allow production to be carried on.

In primitive times, custom was the chief force in determining shares; and, though now a declining force, custom still survives in the form of 'customary' charges, fees, and rates. At a later period, authority fixed prices and wages for the labouring classes. The famous Apprenticeship Statute of Elizabeth (1563), which, along with its other regulations, authorized a local assize of bread, and fixed the wages and hours of labour, was a typical example of the views and practices long prevalent in England on these matters. The Industrial Revolution, which began in the latter part of the 18th cent., fostered the competitive system, though for many years its very partial operation acted adversely to the interests of the factory employees. The social and economic reforms of the 19th cent. have been instrumental in removing those disabilities, and have rendered the competition of the workers effective by measures affording education, liberty of combination, and collective bargaining, and by regulation of the processes of industry—in fact, by bringing about a set of conditions in which the parties to the industrial contract are placed upon approximately equal terms.

In some countries monopoly in the form of rings and trusts has gained a strong hold upon industry and commerce, and places restraints upon competition which tend to enrich the monopolists at the cost of the community. Socialism, again, advocates the substitution of the State for the individual in the ownership of wealth and the control of production as the means to an equitable distribution; but it is not yet proved that this system would afford the needful incentive to production, and it would probably be attended by evils far greater than those of a modified competitive system. Cf. COMMUNISM, SOCIALISM.

1. Various forms.—Meanwhile it may be urged that competition is an inherent factor in human nature; it is much more than a commercial or industrial phenomenon, and displays itself in a thousand forms.

(a) *In games and sports.*—In games and sports of every kind the competitive struggle is the essential feature; the spirit of rivalry, the keen desire for success in the contest between opponents, and the strong partisan spirit of the onlookers, all demonstrate the competitive instinct and exhibit

the gratification afforded by its exercise. Such competition does not necessarily beget ungenerous sentiments between individuals or nations. It is held to cultivate a manly and honourable spirit, to train men to seek success by fair and honest striving and to bear defeat with dignity. 'To play the game' is a phrase that is now applied to the serious affairs of life, and carries with it the connotation of honourable competition. Under the name of 'emulation,' competition is approved as a stimulus to rivalry in well-doing, and the competitive instinct is admitted as a wholesome factor among the forces which tend to develop human life and character.

(b) *In public service.*—In the public service and many other employments, appointments are made by competitive examination. In every occupation there is rivalry for place and priority; in the legal and medical professions the competition is for employment and rank, while the fees are usually fixed by custom. The selection of men for prominent posts in business, in politics, and in the Cabinet is a matter of competition in which relative merit is the avowed test. In every walk of life the competitive element appears; the reward may be pay, position, rank, power, dignity; the criterion is comparative worth. The competitive value of ability, capacity, industry, or skill of a kind suitable for the task is advanced as the only satisfactory ground of the award, and appointments which do not accord with the competitive idea are not deemed to be for the public advantage.

The universality of this competitive spirit, and the desire that the best man, instrument, or method shall be employed, and that superiority shall be established by fair contest, afford convincing proof that competition is a strong factor in human nature, and one which is apparently ineradicable. Every new invention that reduces the severity of labour, or adds to human comfort or convenience, competes with methods already existing, and tends to displace them by its superior efficiency; old trades are extinguished by the advent of new ones, just as wooden ships have given place to steel ships, and as the motor seems likely to drive out horsetraction. Economic progress is a competitive process; the best methods tend to survive, and inferior ones to disappear, in the contest for the highest utility.

2. Advantages.—Competition is not a thing, a force or agent; it is a method or mode of action, a relation between a number of conflicting forces at a point. The problem has some resemblance to that of the mechanical composition of forces. Competition has been denounced as the unrestricted action of self-interest, but many various interests enter into the determination of human conduct, and some self-interest at least is essential in every human being who lives by doing useful work; further, the interests of those dependent upon the worker are amongst the most potent in making him seek the best return for his labour. Again, there can be no competition unless individual self-interest is curbed and held in check by other competing self-interests; and it has been shown that the play of these various interests in a perfect market tends to give the rate most generally advantageous in the circumstances. Moreover, it is incorrect to suppose that competition always lowers prices and wages; it quite as frequently raises them; its action is an equalizing or levelling tendency. If, for example, prices be low in an isolated seaside village, and a railway be extended to reach the village, prices speedily rise to the level of other places offering like conveniences. If in any occupation there is an increased demand and more labour is required, wages tend to rise; if the trade declines and the demand for labour is

reduced, wages tend to fall. The Bank rate of interest fluctuates frequently; i.e. it rises or falls according to the relative scarcity or abundance of loanable capital. Competition simply seeks to produce equilibrium between supply and demand by bringing the whole of the competing factors to one level. Experience shows that, as human nature is at present constituted, self-interest stimulates industry, the acquisition of skill and knowledge, and enterprise, all of which are active agents in advancing the material well-being of the race.

Combination to some extent restrains the self-interest of the individual, but only to direct it more effectively in union with that of others. Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and Joint-Stock Companies do not remove competition; they organize it in groups of interests, and all alike aim at securing as large a share of wealth as possible for their members. The individual interest becomes a combined, yet still competitive, interest. If, however, combination develops into a monopoly, it extinguishes competition; the interests of the trust are adverse to those of the rest of society on which its tendency is to prey; monopoly gives full play to the action of selfish instincts.

Competition is often charged with causing waste, as by advertising, overlapping, and duplicating the machinery of supply. There is ground for the complaint; every institution devised by man has imperfections; they arise from his imperfect knowledge and from moral defects in human nature. Excessive advertising implies an over-eagerness for gain, and a desire to monopolize; it is a symptom of greed. The tendency to organize businesses on a large scale, both in production and in distribution, reduces the waste incidental to small businesses without destroying necessarily the advantages which flow from free competition.

3. Disadvantages.—The most serious defects of competition, however, arise from the fact that in practical affairs there are many limitations to its free action; the conditions of life do not afford equal opportunities, the competitors do not start on a par, either in education, capacity, opportunity, or means; hence competition is not usually, as the abstract theory assumes, real and effective; one party enjoys some advantage over the other, and the system seems to work out unfairly. The ill-effects of imperfect competition are illustrated in the 'sweated industries,' in underselling by a strong and wealthy rival with intent to crush out a weaker opponent, and in various modes of unscrupulous dealing. These cases give rise to an outcry against 'unrestricted competition,' and create a demand for some form of legislative interference. The previous analysis will have shown that the evil is not in *competition*, but in the circumstances which cause it to be imperfect and ineffective; the remedy, therefore, lies in removing the obstacles which render it ineffective. This is a difficult and tedious task, but it can be accomplished by patient and well-considered measures, which can only be briefly indicated here. (1) The first is the method of placing restraints upon particular abuses; of this method a century of social legislation offers a multitude of examples, such as laws forbidding the employment of women in mines, and of children under a certain age in any occupation, the protection from dangerous machinery, and rules and regulations under which certain industries may be carried on. (2) Other remedies aim at strengthening the weak by education, by the diffusion of special information and aids to organization, and by various measures which tend to render them effective in the defence of their own interests; these methods are manifold and costly, and they require time for their effective development. (3) Another method is for the State

or municipality to undertake the operations which tend to become monopolies, or which cannot be successfully carried out in the public interest except as single undertakings. The Post Office, waterworks, street-lighting, and tramways supply examples of this class.

In every case the mode and degree of Government interference should be determined only after full investigation and after the expediency of such interference has been proved, and it should not be of a kind to check free enterprise where that is possible. The joint application of these various methods has already accomplished much in modifying the defects of imperfect competition; it has raised whole industries from ineffective to effective competition, and has elevated the general standard of living of the masses. New developments of industry constantly call for new modes of interference. The aim, however, is not the elimination of competition; that seems to be undesirable and indeed impossible unless human nature first be greatly altered. The object is rather to give freer and ampler play to the efforts of men to exercise their powers of self-help and to develop their own individuality, to give them better opportunity, and to stimulate them to manly self-reliance and voluntary co-operation by offering greater security for the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry.

Conclusion.—Competition is not a system of life; it is not even an institution in the proper sense of the term; it has evolved as a method of dealing with certain relations which inevitably arise out of the existing organization of men in societies; it is limited in its operation to fields in which it is found expedient, and its bearing is economic and utilitarian. The acceptance of competition does not conflict with any of the nobler instincts or the exercise of the higher virtues. That the Bank rate should be determined by competition is most convenient and expedient, but every individual receiver of interest is at liberty to devote his receipts to purposes of philanthropy, to public or private charity, or to the promotion of any religious movement or end that he deems desirable. Even in these fields he will encounter competitive claims.

The old idea of competition as an original law of nature, ordained under evolution to work out the survival of the fittest and suppress inferior forms in every department of nature by its unimpeded action, has long ceased to receive acceptance in the domain to which ethical principles apply. The advocates of the *laissez-faire* principle in industrial competition during the early part of the 19th cent. professed to deduce their views from Adam Smith's doctrine of natural liberty. Adam Smith, however, had no experience or conception of the factory system; his efforts were directed to the removal of the disabilities which hampered trade and labour in his day. He advocated liberty, opportunity, education, freedom of enterprise, and he held that enlightened self-interest would in such circumstances work out happier and more prosperous economic conditions than those which the restrictions of his time permitted. It was a perversion of his doctrine of economic freedom to apply it to the defence of a system which enslaved children for the purpose of obtaining cheap labour. What constituted freedom to the children and women whose lives were worn out by the toil undergone in the mills before factory legislation became effective? The moral sense revolts at this interpretation of competition as an economic principle working for the common good.

It is in the *conditions* of life that ethics finds scope for its action, and the modification of these conditions is the task for religious and moral influences. In some form or other competition

will ultimately appear, unless, as already explained, monopoly or arbitrary authority excludes it. Ethics and economics join hands in the solution of practical social problems. Moral motives and principles should operate to modify unfavourable conditions and to mould voluntary conduct by the dictates of nobler sentiments, but they do not suspend economic laws although they alter the circumstances in which the economic action takes place. Ethical principles are imperative; they enforce duties the performance of which alters human conditions. Economic laws are statements of cause and effect; they indicate what results will follow from the combined action of certain forces. There is no discord and no conflict between the ethical and the economic; rather they act, as it were, on different planes.

The mistakes of the *laissez-faire* school with regard to competition arose out of their interpretation of its nature; they assumed that it was imperative and just in the circumstances existing, but neither authority nor justice appertains to economic laws any more than to the law of gravitation; they are the attributes of ethical motives to conduct. It is for man to do what is just in ameliorating the conditions in which his less fortunate fellow-creatures exist. Economic consequences will ensue from existing conditions whatever they may be, and competitive action is a form of economic activity which is unavoidable in modern industrial methods and conditions.

LITERATURE.—Every important work on general Economics makes reference to competition. The following may be consulted with advantage: Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, 1776; D. Ricardo, *Political Economy*², 1819; John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Pol. Econ.* 1848, new ed. 1909; J. E. Cairnes, *Leading Principles of Pol. Econ.* 1874; W. Stanley Jevons, *Theory of Pol. Econ.* 1879; Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*³, 1907, *Some Aspects of Competition*, 1890; Henry Sidgwick, *Principles of Pol. Econ.* 1883; E. R. A. Seligman, *Principles of Economics*, 1907. It will be seen how gradually the need for regulations and restraints has come to be recognized in order to render the operation of competition equitable and salutary.

G. ARMITAGE-SMITH.

COMPLACENCE (Biblical).—This term is represented by EV 'good pleasure' (*εὐδοκία*, Lk 2¹⁴, cf. 12³², Mt 3¹⁷, Eph 1⁵⁻⁹). Cf. Milton (*Par. Lost*, iii. 276):

'O thou
My sole complacence!'

In the Bible, complacence is a Divine as well as a human attribute. As a Divine attribute, its meaning and moral worth can best be seen by a consideration of the character of the persons with whom God is complacent or well pleased, and also of the ethical ends or purposes upon which the Divine complacence or good will is set.

1. In the OT.—In the OT the Divine complacence rests upon moral and spiritual character. The soul of Jahweh is well pleased with His servant, described in Is 42¹⁻⁴ as spiritual, gentle, modest, and courageous in the pursuit of moral ends. In the prophets generally the complacence of Jahweh rests upon moral character, especially upon the virtues of justice, kindness, and humility (cf. Mic 6⁸), and not upon acts of ritual service. In the Psalter, Jahweh is represented as delighting not in the strength of a horse, as taking no pleasure in the legs of a man, but as taking pleasure in them that fear Him and hope in His mercy (Ps 147^{10, 11}). In the Law of Holiness [H], Jahweh is pleased with sacrifices that are without blemish (Lv 22¹⁹), but probably He is pleased with them only as symbolic of the complete and perfect devotion of the worshipper's heart.

2. In the NT.—In the NT the Divine complacence is represented as resting pre-eminently upon Jesus Christ. At the Baptism (Mt 3¹⁷) and on the Mount of Transfiguration (17⁵) a voice from above declares that the Divine complacence rests upon Him. Then it is declared to rest upon

Him as the person in whom the ideal features of Jahweh's servant described in Is 42¹⁻⁴ are fully realized (Mt 12¹⁸). With Jesus, as realizing in His character gentleness, humility, and courage, and as the moral hope of men, God is pre-eminently well-pleased.

But at the same time the Divine complacence is said in the NT to rest upon men who by faith attain to Christlike elements of character. In such, faith is an essential condition of receiving the Divine complacence. 'Without faith it is impossible to please God' (He 11⁶, cf. 10³⁸). Then the Divine complacence rests upon the soul that serves Christ in a life of righteousness, peaceableness, and joy (Ro 14¹⁸); and also upon acts of generous brotherly kindness (He 13¹⁶).

The OT and NT are at one in exhibiting the Divine complacence as resting upon moral character or righteousness, and upon that alone. This righteousness, it may be well to point out, is not a righteousness divorced from religion. Jesus is the beloved Son of God; the ideal servant of Jahweh has the Divine Spirit put upon him; and men in general with whom God is well pleased have a righteousness which is received by faith and from the Holy Spirit. Not apart from God does any one enjoy the Divine complacence.

3. Complacence as the final good will or eternal good pleasure of God.—Cf. Baxter, *Cath. Theol.* i. 1, 8, 'As God's efficient will causeth the thing willed, so His final will or complacence supporteth the pleasing thing in being.' An example of this usage is found in Lk 12³², where Jesus tells His disciples not to fear, for it is the Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom; another example is found in Eph 1⁵ (cf. 1³), where it is according to the good pleasure of God that believers have been chosen in Christ to be holy and blameless and to be adopted as sons. In these passages the eternal complacence or good pleasure is directed to the creation of moral ends—holy persons and a Divine kingdom.

The idea is really the same here as in the two preceding sections, but it is now viewed *sub specie æternitatis*. The Divine complacence is in itself and eternally upon holy ends, whereas in the former sections it is upon those ends as realized in actual holy character.

4. Value and validity of the idea.—The value of the idea is that it shows the God of the Bible to be a God who from eternity to eternity and through all the days of man delights in holiness, and finds His joy in a kingdom of holy persons. A God with such a complacence is an absolutely holy, moral Being. The validity of the idea scarcely belongs to this article, but it may be said that, where God is really acknowledged as one whose sole complacence is in the eternal Son of God and in those made sons by faith, there will be moral and spiritual results which show the idea to be valid and true.

Terms under which the idea may be considered:—in OT *יָדוֹן*, *דָּוָה*; in NT *εὐδοκία*, *εὐδοκία*, *εὐδοκία*.

D. RUSSELL SCOTT.

COMPLETENESS.—Completeness in relation to religion may be taken to apply to the conditions of attainment of various stages on the road towards perfection (g.v.), though, it is true, completeness in its full sense is attained only when the triumph over the lower self-will is accomplished and there is final union with the Divine will. But there are various stages of struggle, and the toilsome climb upward has long ago been compared to the ascent of a ladder, every rung of which marks a completed victory over some temptations and allurements of the sinful world that would drag the soul down to perdition. Completeness is a quality or state of being which must ever enter

into our ideals, for only in the perfection of the parts can the harmony of the whole be assured.

Pythagoras held that the cosmos is built on number, and modern science deals with atomic numbers and vibrations, concord and dissonance, periods and spaces. Number demonstrably enters largely into the constitution of the Universe. Completeness in the sacred writings is generally indicated by the numbers 3, 7, and 12, and these show completion of certain elements, periods, or successive stages. Three is the perfect number; seven is the sacred, or complete scale number; twelve is the number of the manifest being, and signifies fullness. These numbers constantly appear throughout the Gospels. For instance, when Jesus was 'twelve years' old, 'after three days' He was taken in the temple disputing with the doctors (Lk 2:42, 46). Again, though often something happens on the sixth day, the climax is on the seventh, six being a number signifying preparation. Thus, 'after six days' (Mt 17) Jesus takes three disciples up a mountain and is transfigured before them on the seventh day. The number twelve appears in the important complete categories of the tribes, the disciples, the months of the year, and the signs of the zodiac. Nine, being the square of three, is a perfect number for completion on the three lower planes of being, i.e. the lower mental, the emotional, and the physical. Thus we have the nine 'fruits of the spirit' mentioned in Gal 5:22. Nine is the sacred number of being and becoming. Ten—the seven and the three—is a complete number, having relation to creative forces. There are ten Sephiroth, ten Prāṇāptis, or Lords of Being.

Completeness, therefore, is both qualitative and quantitative, and we must not lose sight of either aspect in considering it. Both aspects relate to ideals, and, as applied to human nature, perfection is not reached until the state of fullness is accomplished in both. St. Paul writes of attaining 'unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Eph 4:13). This would indicate the soul's perfection and fitness to enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

There are two sayings of Jesus—one preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 18), and the other to be found in the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome (ch. 12), and given as a quotation from the *Gospel of the Egyptians*—which express the soul's ultimate completeness in Christ. The first is: 'When ye trample on the garment of shame, and when the two shall be one, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' The meaning of this may be rendered: 'When ye have cast off the lower vehicle of the senses; and when the emotions, having been raised and united with the reason, are one with it; and when the twain, female-male, the double sex nature, have transcended their former aspects and have become one, then shall the Christ consciousness be attained. When the process is completed, the asexual condition is completed on the physical plane.'

The second saying is: 'When two shall be one, and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' The meaning is similar to that of the first. The lower and higher natures of man become one when the lower, or the without, becomes sufficiently purified to be united to the within, or Christ-body. 'That which God hath joined together let not man put asunder.' The natures male-female, female-male, are so that neither is before or after the other. But more than this; it has united the sexes, and so become sex-less. A paradox! but a paradox that is perfectly intelligible to those who read not after the letter, but with the eye of the Spirit. In the completed man the condition of sex separateness is outgrown; 'there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female; for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus' (Gal 3:28).

G. A. GASKELL.

COMPROMISE.—See **ETHICS**.

COMPURGATION.—This was a primitive legal process whereby a man accused in the courts, or making an accusation against another there, established his case by summoning his kindred and friends to testify on his behalf, not as to the facts of the case, but, in theory at least, as to his character. These were called his *compurga-*

tors, and took oath on his behalf; and the burden of their testimony was that the accused, for instance, was not an outlaw or a 'kinless loon,' but a regular member of society such as it was. In theory, the number of compurgators a man called was strictly regulated according to the offence, from one to thirty. Thus twenty-four had to be produced by a man accused of stealing a cow (Cosmo Innes, *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, 1872, p. 211). In the time of David I. it was becoming optional for the accused, or the defender, to accept wager of battle or to clear himself by purgation; and in the *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland* (i. 11), we find careful provision made: 'Si burgensibus calumpniatus preterierit etatem pugnandi et hoc essonaverit in sua responsione non pugnabit sed juramento xii. talium qualis ipse fuerit se purgabit' (cf. also *Leges Burgorum*, xxvi. 107; and *Fragmenta Collecta*, viii. 28). In some cases the oaths of eleven, in others of six, compurgators were sufficient. These compurgators did not give evidence, but simply vouched for the status of the accused or accuser. In practice, compurgation resolved itself frequently into little more than what Bagehot (*Physics and Politics*, 1887) and, after him, A. J. Balfour, have called the refinement of counting heads instead of breaking them. The greater *tourbe*—the more numerous body of compurgators—carried the day, as E. W. Robertson says in his *Scotland under her Early Kings*, 1862 (i. 267). But, if a poor man could produce even one respectable witness as his compurgator, in an accusation against oppression, his plea became the king's plea, and had all the prerogative privileges attached to a royal suit. This was, however, only in the later days, when 'the king's justice' and 'the king's peace' were setting aside and superseding local and tribal justice. To the 'kinless loon,' unable to bring forward any respectable witness to vouch for him, the legal alternative was the ordeal or the wager of battle. The latter, however, was available practically only against equals. Against superiors it was not available unless, indeed, the superior chose to provide a proxy to do battle for him. The Burgh Laws (*Burghs*, i. 8) carefully appreciate the dignity of the burgess of a Royal Burgh: 'Burgensis domini regis potest habere duellum de burgense abbatis, prioris, comitis vel buronis, sed non e converso.' On the other hand, except on the supposition of the possibility of bribing the clergy, who generally superintended the ordeal, which A. Lang suggests (*History of Scotland*, 1900, i. 149), there was little hope for the outlaw on trial by this method.

Upon these primitive legal processes, which, though by no means exclusively Celtic in origin, survived longer among Celtic peoples, the growing power of the kings introduced the system which ultimately developed into trial by jury. See also Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, 1860.

LITERATURE.—See the references in the article.

JOHN DAVIDSON.

COMTISM.—See **POSITIVISM**.

CONCENTRATION AND CONTEMPLATION.—There comes a time in the life of every soul when mental concentration becomes necessary to spiritual growth. For long periods mobility of thought and rapid changes from one object of perception to another are essential to mental development. The mind must constantly take in fresh ideas and contemplate them on all sides, bringing into play, at the same time, the faculties of analysis, judgment, synthesis, etc. Then, as the mental powers are perfected, the Ego becomes gradually aware of a distinction between

itself and its mental instrument, and this leads it to commence a course of mind-training, and the bringing of all the mental activities into subjection to the will. This regulative energy first takes the course of dismissing some subjects of thought and choosing others by direct exercise of volition, in this way changing states of consciousness by an effort proceeding from a higher mental plane than that of ordinary thought. By this means, objectionable thinking is dismissed, and worry, anxiety, grief, etc., are gradually surmounted. Concentration becomes possible as mental control becomes established. The will is then able to fix the attention, momentarily at first, on a particular idea, singled out from other ideas, and to keep it in view for a time. To do this effectually all streams of thought must be stopped, and the one idea kept steadily in mind. The difficulty of controlling the thoughts has always been recognized. Said Arjuna, 'For the mind is verily restless, O Krishna; it is impetuous, strong, and difficult to bend. I deem it as hard to curb as the wind.' To this Krishna replied, 'It may be curbed by constant practice and by indifference (or dispassion)' (*Bhagavad-Gita*, vi. 34, 35).

Agos ago, the deepest thinkers of the race advocated the practice of concentration as necessary in order to allow of the influx of spiritual energy and the raising of the soul to God. In India, the state of consciousness brought about by the successful practice of concentration is known as *yoga*. The meaning of *yoga* (g.v.) is usually given as 'union,' or the merging of the human will into the Divine will. In practical *yoga* the signification is taken differently. According to Patañjali:

'Concentration, or *yoga*, is the hindering of the modifications of the thinking principle. At the time of concentration the soul abides in the state of a spectator without a spectacle. At other times than that of concentration, the soul is in the same form as the modification of the mind. The modifications of the mind are of five kinds, and they are either painful or not painful; they are: Correct Cognition, Misconception, Fancy, Sleep, and Memory. . . . The hindering of the modifications of the mind, already referred to, is to be effected by means of Exercise and Dispassion. Exercise is the uninterrupted, or repeated, effort that the mind shall remain in its unmoved state. This exercise is a firm position observed out of regard for the end in view, and perseveringly adhered to for a long time without intermission. Dispassion is the having overcome one's desires. Dispassion, carried to the utmost, is indifference regarding all else than soul' (W. Q. Judge, *Yoga Aphorisms of Patañjali*, pp. 1-6).

In this Hindu system of *rāja yoga*, concentration is directed to correct the tendency of the mind to diffuseness, and obtain mental one-pointedness, or the fixing of the attention upon one idea kept steadily in view to the exclusion of other ideas. The object is not to cease from thought, but to control and direct the mental mechanism, and make it subservient to the higher will or intelligence which is above and separate from it. The observances which are conducive to concentration are, according to Patañjali, eight in number: Forbearance from wrong speaking or doing; Religious, or purificatory, observances; Suitable Postures; Suppression or Regulation of the Breath; Restraint over the Senses; Attention; Contemplation; and Profound Meditation. This last, called *samādhi* (g.v.), is understood so to raise the consciousness that high spiritual knowledge flows into the soul, and the conception is attained of unity with the All and the One. The posture in concentration must be steady and pleasant: what would suit a Hindu would not suit a Westerner. The breathing exercises, in exhalation, inhalation, and retention, are for the steadying of the life forces, and the production of certain physiological, followed by psychical, effects in the brain. In the system of Patañjali there are directions for performing concentration in regard to many ob-

jects, with a view to acquiring enlarged knowledge, faculties, and powers.

Among the Neo-Platonists, concentration was understood and practised, though not, perhaps, with the thoroughness of the Hindu *yogis*. Complete self-forgetfulness and union with the Divine nature were sought. Plotinus observes to Flaccus:

'The wise man recognizes the idea of God within him. This he develops by withdrawal into the Holy Place of his own soul. He who does not understand how the soul contains the Beautiful within itself seeks to realize the beauty without, by laborious production. His aim should rather be to concentrate and simplify, and so to expand his being; instead of going out into the manifold, to forsake it for the One, and so to float upwards towards the divine fount of being whose stream flows within him' (quoted by Max Müller in *Theosophy*, etc., 1893, p. 432).

The Mystics of the Middle Ages knew the value of concentration. Peter Poiret in his *Divine Economy* (p. 93) wrote:

'The understanding, to pass into the order of faith, must have these two conditions: the first, that it be empty, and shut to all ideas of worldly things, both heavenly and earthly; the second, that it keep itself open before God after an indeterminate and general manner, not particularly fixing upon anything. This being supposed, with the faith of desire aforementioned, God causes to rise in the soul His divine light, which is His eternal substantial word, which does Himself modify (if I may say so), or rather fills and quickens the understanding of the soul and enlightens it as He pleases.'

At the beginning of last century J. G. Fichte gave his experience:

'All inward spiritual energy appears, in immediate consciousness, as a concentration, comprehension, and contraction of the otherwise distracted thought into one point, and as a persistence in this one point, in opposition to the constant natural effort to throw off this concentration, and to become once more diffused abroad. Thus, I say, does all inward energy appear; and it is only in this concentration that man is independent, and feels himself to be independent. . . . In short, the original image of spiritual independence in consciousness is an ever self-forming and vitally persistent geometric point; just as the original image of dependence and of spiritual nonentity is an indefinitely outspreading surface. Independence draws the world into an apex; dependence spreads it out into a flat extended plain. In the former condition only is there power, and the consciousness of power; and hence in it only is a powerful and energetic comprehension and penetration of the world possible' (*Way towards the Blessed Life*, Eng. tr., 1849, p. 127).

Coming to modern times, we find in that remarkable work by Henry Wood, *Ideal Suggestion*, the following (abridged from pp. 60-70):

'If one who has never made any systematic effort to lift and control the thought-forces will, for a single month, earnestly pursue the course here suggested (of concentrating the mind on grand ideals), he will be surprised and delighted at the result, and nothing will induce him to go back to careless, aimless, and superficial thinking. When one goes into the silent sanctuary of the inner temple of soul to commune and aspire, the spiritual hearing becomes delicately sensitive, so that the "still small voice" is audible, the tumultuous waves of external sense are hushed, and there is a great calm. The ego gradually becomes conscious that it is face to face with the Divine Presence, that mighty, healing, loving, Fatherly life which is nearer to us than we are to ourselves.'

So important is it to have the direct testimony of experience in concentration that we add that of the deep-feeling and deep-thinking writer Edward Carpenter, who, in his *Art of Creation* (1904, p. 208 ff.), writes:

'The Self is entering into relation with the Body. For, that the individual should conceive and know himself . . . as identified and continuous with the Eternal Self of which his body is a manifestation, is indeed to begin a new life and to enter a hitherto undreamed world of possibilities. . . . To still the brain, and feel, feel, feel our identity with that deepest being within us, is the first thing. There in that union, in that identity, all the sins and errors of the actual world are done away. . . . Remaining there in silence as long as may be, then out of that state will inevitably spring a wave of conscious feeling—of joy, courage, love, expansion, or whatever it may be—a feeling not foreign or fabricated or ephemeral, but deeply rooted and expressive of our real life. Then holding on to that root-idea, that feeling, that emotion, that desire, whatever it may be, confident in its organic rightness . . . perfectly naturally and inevitably out of it will flow certain forms of Thought. . . . Long and persevering must the practice and exercise be, by which power to direct thought and feeling may be attained, and by which the sense of identity with the universal Self may be established.'

It will be seen, from the uniform testimony of deep religious thinkers of all ages of the world, that concentration is found to be a necessary step to the complete subjugation of the lower nature to

the higher. It is also necessary to the development of higher faculties, called intuitional or spiritual, because they are superior to and more illuminating than the ordinary human faculties. But it must be remembered that the exercise of intuitional faculty may have a spiritual result only, of incalculable value to the recipient, but incommunicable to others because inexpressible in terms of common experience.

See also artt. LOYOLA and MYSTICISM.

G. A. GASKELL.

CONCEPT (logical).—The logical concept consists of certain features in cognition which correspond to what Parmenides required of 'being'—that it should be 'uncreated and indestructible, alone, complete, immovable, and without end'; and also to what Plato required of each and all of the several 'forms' of being—that they should be single, eternal, and unchangeable. Both these thinkers professed to be describing the object of thought.

'You cannot find thought without something that is, to which it is betrothed' (Parmenides). 'Knowledge is relative to being . . . being is the sphere . . . of knowledge' (Plato, *Rep.* 477).

On the other hand, the concept corresponds to certain ideals in the use of words, on which the value of words in social converse, and as instruments of thought, depends; including definiteness and fixity of meaning. Throughout the history of Logic, the theory of the concept has been burdened with difficulties pressed on it by theories as to being; and has, on the other hand, been tempted to borrow types of solution proper only to easier problems of verbal usage. It has been dominated in turn by the theory of Universals and by that of Terms. The strictly logical problem, however, is to describe a certain function of cognitive process, whatever may be the metaphysical value of the objects, and to fix ideas of internal structure for that process, however much or little may be hoped from the usage of words in sustaining them.

1. Primary function of concept.—The primary function of the concept is thus described by Kant:

'Human knowledge takes place by means of ideas which make what is common to many things its ground—we cognize things only by means of attributes—all thought is nothing but conception by means of attributes' (*Introd. to Logic*, § 8).

The concept is thus primarily 'the predicate of possible judgments,' and so is 'contained in an indefinite number of different possible ideas, as the element common to all.' By virtue of this qualification, it subserves a secondary use in bringing this indefinite number of possible ideas within the area of possible subjects for predication, or, rather, in expanding this area beyond the confines of merely perceptual experience and imagery. As its organ in language, it uses the General Term or Universal Word, which has a possible, if not an actual, plurality in denotation.

'The Universal Word is that of which the signification is sufficiently to be understood without its ceasing to be common to several things, inasmuch as any hindrance to its being common is not that it cannot be so understood' (Averroes, *Kitaab-al-Najaf at Al-Mantiq*, Rome, 1593, p. 1; Vattier's tr. *La Logique*, 1668, § 11).

Although, as against the earlier modern doctrine—of Locke, Wolff, and Hamilton—that Judgment consists in a comparison of concepts, the judgment claims in our current logic to be the real unit of thought, and, although conceptual function can be realized only in the act of judgment, yet judgment has a distinctive function of its own: while for the sake of judgment, and at the moment of judgment, the ideational content, the content considered as 'incomplex' (Aristotle), must reach an ideal distinct from and only ancillary to the ideal of the judgment as a complete whole. The doctrine, more properly psychological, that the concept is created by judgment must be reconciled with an antithetical postulate in Logic, that 'the possibility of perfect judgments is determined by the

extent to which the raw material of all human ideas has taken permanent form in concepts' (Sigwart, *Logic*, § 40). And a description of the ideals or norms of the conceptual process takes a place preliminary to the normative theory of judgment.

The form which Nominalist Logic takes in this department is a doctrine of Terms—the words or phrases which constitute the predicative half of a proposition, or take the place of its subject. The doctrine of Terms has advantages over that of the concept as such, for purposes of clear teaching or for reference in scientific discussion. By classifying Terms into Unilateral and Bilateral, Singular and General, Concrete and Abstract, Attributive, Distributive and Collective, Absolute and Relative, Positive, Privative, and Negative, it calls attention to widely different ways in which the things and events about which we think have been manipulated by thought, previously to being dealt with in special judgments under present consideration. By the distinction between Denotation and conventional Connotation, and by the dependent distinction between Verbal Propositions and Real, it prepares the way for canons of consistency in the use of Terms, and of the assumption of self-evidence, or the requirement of proof, for propositions in the course of debate or of scientific instruction. These doctrines are able to be more definite than the corresponding doctrines of Conceptual Logic, though they emphasize too exclusively the formation of those special concepts which are already current in minds other than the individual thinking mind; and also the occasion and demand for proof which arise adventitiously in debate or teaching rather than from the individual's logical conscience. A special emphasis of that kind is needed only to express the individual's logical solicitude that his own concepts shall be shared, or shall be capable of being shared, by fellow-thinkers. 'In the construction of logical concepts, our aim is to establish one mode of arranging their manifold ideal contents for all thinking beings' (Sigwart, § 40). Community of concepts brings, not indeed the possibility itself of perfect judgments, but the possibility that these judgments may display the ostensive hall-mark of their perfectness, namely, 'universal validity.' For the universally valid is the 'necessary,' and the necessary 'corresponds with the existent.' Nevertheless, it is by a 'subjective' activity, and in the individual mind, that concepts must be initiated.

2. Negative rule of the concept.—As a negative qualification for the conceptual function, the ideational content, or distinctive outlook, of a cognition must be made independent of any one defined time or place. Parallel with the psychological description of an 'idea,' that it 'disengages itself from the original intuition with its spatial and temporal connexions' (Sigwart, § 7), the logical description of a predicate common to many possible judgments requires that a perceived or 'imaged' nature shall be 'freed from the individualizing conditions proper to space and time' (Aquinas, *de Universalibus*, Tract. 1). We must not, however, assume, with Aquinas, that it is quantitative limitation of matter, or, with Duns Scotus, that it is idiosyncrasy as a creative form, or that it is any other 'condition proper to space and time' except sheer particularity within the system of space and time itself, which is the negative of the conceptual principle. Otherwise, the natural course of development for the concept would be side-tracked in the Aristotelian ontology of matter, form, and substance, or in the modern epistemology of thing and person. Perceptual and imaged content lies at the mercy of a point and a moment in the Herakleitan flux, and the function of the concept is to transcend that point and moment. It may well be that the 'nature' which is freed from per-

ceptual limitations is not necessarily the nature of an individual substance, as Aristotle conceived this, whether individualized by matter or by idiosyncrasy. It may be a quality, a quantity, or an event—anything determinate; for example, *It rains*. The nature may, indeed, include individuality within itself, and we may form the concept of an individual thing or person, predicable of many particular moments or places of its existence: *This is the forest primeval, Thou art the man*. Our conceptual faculty accepts from Perception and Imagination such forms of the momentary material as may have found their way there from the structure of Reality.

'Accident and Genus and Property and Definition [the Predicables] will always be in one of the Categories [the structural forms of Reality], since all propositions through these signify either what a thing is, or quality or quantity, or some other category' (Aristotle, *Top.* i. ch. 7, 103b, 10).

And, similarly, our conceptual faculty accepts, and does not itself undertake the function of, those epistemological forms which in modern philosophy replace the Aristotelian categories. The Kantian categories, or pure concepts of the Understanding, are 'conceptions of objects as such.' They make possible the objects which fall under the Aristotelian categories. The concept in the logical sense merely makes them possible also as predicates in a judgment.

'General Logic has to investigate, not the source of conceptions, not how they arise as presentations, but how, in thinking, given presentations become conceptions. It is all one whether these conceptions contain anything either taken from experience, or factitious, or taken from the nature of the understanding. Their logical origin consists in the act of reflection by which one presentation common to several objects takes on the form required for Judgment' (Kant, *Logic*, pt. i. § 5).

3. **Positive rule of the concept.**—As a positive qualification for the conceptual function, the ideational content must be 'posited as identical with itself' (Lotze, *Outlines of Logic*, Eng. tr. 1887, § 9), and discriminated from the perceptual or imaged content which shares with it the point and moment of intuition (cf. Lotze, *Logic*, § 11). The psychological law that an idea, besides its intrinsic characteristics, acquires through its past history a determinative influence on the course of intellection, 'a meaning,' is thus paralleled by the logical faculty of Abstraction. The faculty, however, is prophetic in its motive; it aims at future judgments. But it does not, like the psychological law, necessarily contain historical reference, and therefore does not need to be initiated by Comparison. The theory that judgment consists of the comparison of concepts has naturally allied itself with a theory that conception consists of, or at least is based on, comparison of particular instances, and that the concept is a 'notion of resemblance' (Hamilton, *Lectures*, 1859-60, ii. 287, iii. 117). And neither Empiricism in Logic nor reformed Conceptualism has repudiated the latter theory with the same consistency as the former (J. S. Mill, *Examination of Hamilton*, 1865, chs. xvii. and xviii.). As a psychological or genetic fact, plurality of instances in experience gives an occasion and stimulus to the faculty of Abstraction, especially when reinforced by the application of a common name, and by the contrast of individual differences.

'It is the different combinations of attributes in different things, and their changeableness in one continuously intuited object, which first impels us to disengage them from one another, and makes us able to think of each independently; and it is the repetition of action which first impels us to express its permanent ground by an adjective' (Sigwart, § 6, 2).

And, under a methodological rule, comparison of instances may be made a chosen means to abstraction, as it was consciously by Socrates, and as it is instinctively by every one in learning the meaning of words.

'The notion lies so concealed among foreign things, that one may easily mistake in disengaging it therefrom . . . but the

labour is greatly facilitated if we compare instances together, as thereby we come to see what they have in common, and what circumstances may be omitted' (Wolff, *Logic*, 1712, Eng. tr. 1770, bk. i. § 9).

But into the strictly logical ideal of a predicate comparison enters only if it means the same act as Discrimination. It may, however, be part of a special fact predicated. In *Red is a colour*, the fact predicated is general unanalyzable resemblance to other colours—blue, yellow, and the rest—where these have been compared. General resemblance is one kind among other kinds of import in propositions, but not the universal import (Mill, *Logic*, 1843, bk. i. ch. 5).

4. **Regulation of simple universals.**—These negative and positive conditions may be fulfilled either by the simplest of our ideas, named First Universals by Lotze, or by ideas which contain several elements cohering or 'belonging together' on a plan. These latter are named by Lotze as more strictly Concepts.

In the case of the First Universals, identity must be sustained throughout a series of quantitative or qualitative variations, which are intrinsic to the mere presentation of the Universal, since without such variations there could be no consciousness. There must be simple identity throughout simple differences. Colour is identical throughout yellow, red, green, and blue; musical pitch, through bass, tenor, and soprano; loudness or warmth, through every degree of intensity; the linear, the enduring, the aggregative, through every magnitude in space, time, or numerical sum. Where, as in the case of loudness, the differences are quantitative, there must be abstraction of that sensible impressiveness which varies. But where, as in the case of colour and pitch, they are qualitative, we may suppose that the proper work of abstraction is done by a 'consciousness of resemblance' (Lotze, § 16); or by a logical *deus ex machina* in the form of a word, colour, pitch (Sigwart, § 41, 11); or that there is an unconscious 'pleonasm' in our perception of simple qualities, which, until it yields to scientific analysis and becomes conscious, leaves our idea 'confused' (Leibniz, *New Essays*, bk. iii. ch. iv. § 16). The abstraction in such cases is incomplete or implicit; but the function of the concept is realized, just as in fact and in analogical reasoning the resemblance between individual instances of a truth will do the work of a universal middle term. 'So far as you conceive the similarity of things you conceive something more, and the universality consists only in that' (Leibniz, bk. iv. ch. xvii.).

5. **Regulation of composite universals.**—When the unconscious 'pleonasm' of which Leibniz speaks becomes conscious, or when we abstract a conscious plurality, the composite concept contains, if not a plan of coherence, at least difference within its own content. Our faculty of Abstraction must maintain the composite identity, not merely through variations intrinsic to presentation, but through various textures of presentation. Without such variations in texture there could be consciousness, but no world. Some only, or all, of the elements of the composite may change: *coloured line*, through *red right line*, *yellow right line*, *blue curve*. Thus the concept furnishes a predicate, not merely for many possible simple judgments, but also for composite judgments, or for what Hamilton described as 'a fasciculus of judgments' not explicitly developed in thought (*Lectures*, iii. 117): *This is a line, and is coloured*. The several elements so realized are technically named 'marks' or 'attributes.'

The internal coherence which Lotze requires depends on general forms of relational existence or of the 'objective synthesis of apprehension,' such as those named 'categories' by Aristotle and

Kant respectively. They are interwoven with the composite material of our ideas in every degree of complexity, and may enter into a predicate either singly, for example a state, *I was asleep*, or as a plan of inter-related substances, states, activities, and modes, such as *I knew he thought I thought he thought I slept*. The logical value of a composite concept lies in the conscious identity of a relational scheme: the dependence of colour sensation on the muscular activity in tracing a line, the objective control of a knowing activity by a certain relational content of another person's thoughts. In Bacon's sentiment (*Essay* xliii.), *There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion*, the force is not merely that beauty has strangeness as well as proportion, but that the strangeness is in the proportion. If the scheme constitutes also a natural species, e.g. the interdependence of colour, consistence, weight, and certain chemical affinities and molecular susceptibilities—*metal*—it has scientific value as well. The symbolic expression to be chosen for the composite concept should therefore be, not such as $S = a + b + c$, but rather $S = f(a, b, c)$, and as relationships become clearly conscious, it might take on some specification of significance for f , such as $S = a(b^c \sin d)$ (Lotze, § 28).

6. Conscious realization of the function.—The concept, defined by its function and its ideal structure for the functional purpose, is not open to the reproaches made against Abstract Ideas by modern psychological Nominalists. Berkeley may have been conclusive as a psychologist, and certainly he was as a metaphysician, when he pointed out that we cannot perceive or imagine 'colour . . . which is neither red, nor blue, nor white, nor any other determinate colour'; or a triangle which is 'neither oblique nor rectangle, neither equilateral, equiangular, nor scalenon; but all and none of these at once'—'What more easy than for any one to look a little into his own thoughts, and there try whether he has, or can attain to have, an idea that shall correspond with' this description of 'the general idea of a triangle' (*Principles of Knowledge*, 1710, *Intro.*, §§ 8, 13). Hamilton and Mansel admit psychologically that the concept 'cannot in itself be depicted to sense or imagination' (Mansel, *Prolegomena Logica*², 1860, p. 15), and 'cannot be realized in thought at all' except it be 'applied to an object' (Hamilton, iii. 135). But for logic it is sufficient that the abstract idea can be realized as a 'mode of understanding' the contents of perception and imagination, and even can be realized only in relation to such contents: *This blue is a colour; This right-angled figure is a triangle*. When the concept is spoken of as an Essence, it is obviously with a reference to the concrete.

'The Essential is that whereof the content, on the one hand, is understood and grasped in the mind, and the thing to which it is essential, on the other, along with it at the same time; while the thing cannot be understood without the content being previously understood as belonging to it' (Avicenna, *op. cit.* p. 2; Vattier, § 1.1).

And Lotze would prefer to use the name 'concept' itself only when a content, or, as he himself describes it, 'the composite idea which we think as a connected whole,' is in explicit relation to the 'thing understood,' or 'composite matter.'

'I speak of a composite matter (s) as conceived . . . when it is accompanied by the thought of a Universal (S), which contains the condition and ground of the co-existence of all its marks and of the form of their connection' (*Logic*, § 26).

7. Secondary function.—This strictly relational significance of the concept, however, is only a secondary value, which it acquires when, instead of its primary use as a predicate, it takes on a secondary use as defining or replacing a subject, or as a constituent of a subject. *Mars is red* makes possible *The red planet keeps the first watch of the night*. *This band of colour is red* makes possible *Red lies at an extreme of the spectrum*. The merely attributive term becomes a concrete or an abstract term; it acquires the function which

in old logical technique is called *suppositio*. The concept itself becomes, in the phraseology of conceptual logicians, 'representative' of the merely perceptual or imaged subject which it defines or replaces. The concept is justified in assuming this secondary function under a postulate of Aristotle's, resembling, though not equivalent to, the *dictum de omni*: 'whenever anything is predicated as of a subject [that is, as the nature of a subject], whatever may be asserted of that predicate may be asserted of the subject' (*Categories* ch. 3, 16, 10).

In Plato's parable of the duncheon (*Rep.* bk. vii.), where, of course, the Aristotelian value for the perceptual individual as primary subject is not allowed, a prisoner who has returned from seeing the sunlit glory of conceptual realities will think and speak of these, rather than of the perceptual shadows as they flicker on the cavern walls. Through such parables Plato 'imported into the schools the portent of Realist philosophy' (Milton, *de Idea Platonica*). But it is especially the secondary function of the concept that tempts logical theory into the controversy as to Universals. So long as perceptual things and events are subjects, and concepts mere predicates, we need claim actuality only for the former, and validity only for the latter; and, whether we speak of such predicates as eternal 'forms,' with Plato, or as *sermones*, with Abelard, we are still logically in touch with reality through our subjects; and the 'real significance' of our total judgment, the ideational content considered as 'complex' (Aristotle), is the same. But if the concept takes the place of a perceptual or imaged subject, as it does in all Abstract Science, the significance of the judgment may be altered. Is abstract science still to be called 'true,' or can it be only 'valid'? In Aristotle's doctrine of Predicables, the Species stands as subject, or at least defines the individual who is implicit subject, to other kinds of predicate. And from this view of it the problem arises which Porphyry formulated:

'I shall omit to speak of genera and species as to whether they subsist in the nature of things or in mere conceptions only; whether, if subsistent, they are bodies or incorporeal; and whether they are separate from, or in and along with, perceptual things' (*Intro.* to *Categories*, l. 2).

Leaving aside, like Porphyry, the ontology and epistemology of the problem, the following answer may be offered for guidance in Methodology. The Platonic world of Ideas has mere validity, and not, like things and events, actual existence or occurrence (Lotze, bk. iii. ch. 2). It can in thought replace actuality, through only the unalterable conditions of our intuitive experience, as it does in 'a priori' science, or through belief narrowly so called in contrast with knowledge, as it does in empirical science (see art. BELIEF [logical]). The belief in genera and species rescues our conceptual faculty from the reproach of being either purposeless or arbitrary in our dealings with actuality, and gives practical seriousness to abstract truth. In such belief we expect the indefinitely frequent recurrence of perceptual subjects covered by a given conceptual description. A system of Jurisprudence assumes that theft and breach of contract will often come before our magistrates, though any particular heinousness of intention or seriousness of damage may be unique. Biology assumes the human organism, but not definite idiosyncrasies or monstrosities; Chemistry, the combination of elements in fixed proportions and groups, but not in fixed absolute quantities; Mensuration, definite shapes, but not sizes. There are forms of dimension, natural kinds, substances, and modes of event (Venn, *Emp. Logic*, 1889, ch. iii. § 4). The belief in them must, however, submit to regulative canons of Methodology, and must adapt itself to different spheres of fact and of purpose.

'All species are not compossible in the Universe, great as it is, and that too, not only in relation to things which exist contemporaneously, but also in relation to the whole series of things' (Leibniz, *New Essays*, bk. iii. ch. 6, § 12).

8. **Goal of development.**—The conceptual predicates of perceptual judgments and the conceptual subjects of abstract truth develop into larger systems, which register the achieved progress of knowledge and mark out the ideational areas within which both subject and predicate of further knowledge are to be sought. Examples are: atomic weight, acoustic vibration, plant fertilization, human nature, mercantile credit, political administration. Could knowledge unite all such as these in one supreme organization, it would have reached the 'Good' of Plato, and the 'All' of Parmenides.

9. **Formal perfections.**—(a) *Independent.*—The concept as a purely logical topic was especially prominent from the time of Descartes to that of Wolff. The ideal presented was, according to Wolff, as follows:

'A notion is clear when sufficient to distinguish by it the object to which it belongs . . . distinct, when we can repeat it to another or represent to ourselves its distinguishing marks separately; . . . complete, when the marks assigned are sufficient to distinguish the things at all times from other things; . . . adequate, if we have distinct notions also of the characteristics themselves' (*Logica*, ch. i. §§ 9-16, cf. *Philosophia Rationalis*, 1728, pt. i. § 2, ch. iii.). 'Descartes proceeded no farther than to clear and distinct ideas; Leibniz added adequacy. . . I thought it needful also to distinguish notions into complete and incomplete' (*Logica*, *Introductio*).

(b) *Relational.*—A further logical ideal prescribes conscious relations between our several concepts, which fit them to co-operate in determining any conceptual subject. This comes through the arrangement of concepts in a series proceeding from the 'category' or complex of categories as *summum genus* to complete description short of adding place and time, the *infima species*: *Substance, cube, cube of gold, cube of pure gold, cube of pure gold with sides measuring 1 cm.* The members of such a series, while they approach the *infima species*, must, as the price of their adequacy, sacrifice width of the sphere for their co-operative use. The law is that the intension and extension of a concept must stand in inverse relation to each other. The extension meant by such a law is not, of course, a number of individuals, or what Mill describes as 'an aggregate of objects possessing the attributes included in the concept' (*Exam.* p. 304), the denotation or application of its name. The name 'coin' applies to the output of the mints of the world; its concept co-operates in the function of description with the varied standards of material, design, and value.

That the 'predicamental line,' as early logicians called it, the deepening of intensive distinctiveness in a series of concepts, shall be finite is to be secured, not as they secured it, through Realist ontology (Aldrich, ed. Mansel¹, 1862, App. A), but by methodological canons of belief. Geometry closes its description of its subjects with such details as the equality and inequality of sides or angles in a triangle, Jurisprudence with the terms of indictment for a crime. Beyond the *infima species*, Science passes into mere Information. And that the sphere of varieties open to a genus shall be finite is secured by our limits of sensibility, as in the case of colours; by our faculty of intuition, as in triangles; by artificial standards, as in measurements; by experience and fact, as in races of mankind; or by our own practical purposes, as in virtues or legal contracts.

10. **Formal discipline.**—The rules for formally perfecting the concept through its relationships come under the topics Division and Definition. Those of Division require that each step of selection for a co-operative series shall be made in full view of the area of possibilities: we must

range under genera their species. Those of Definition require that the step itself shall be fully conscious: every open possibility of determinative accretion to the genus shall be closed except one, the Difference.

Cf. also the following article.

LITERATURE.—This is co-extensive with systems of Logic. Monographs are chiefly of metaphysical, psychological, or scientific interest. As recent representative books may be mentioned, in addition to those quoted above and those quoted under art. CONCEPTUALISM, the following: Joseph, *Introductio ad Logicam* (Aristotelian), Oxford, 1906; Peillaube, *Théorie des concepts* (Neo-scholastic), Paris, 1895; Janet and Séailles, *Hist. de la philosophie*, Paris, 1887, pt. i. § 3, chs. 1-3; Bain, *Mental Science*, 1884, App. A; and the *Logics* of Veitch (1885), Ueberweg (1868), Keynes² (1887), Wundt (1880-83), Erdmann (Eng. tr. 1896), Bosanquet (1888), and Venn³ (1894).

J. BROUGH.

CONCEPTION (psychological).—1. Definition.

—In knowledge of a class as opposed to its instances, of a totality as opposed to its parts, or of an individual as opposed to any of its particular appearances, and in the maintenance of a point of view, there is a common characteristic, viz. identification of reference, with change in the occasion of cognition. Such knowledge is conceptual, and, speaking psychologically, conception is the name for the state of cognition wherein the subject of consciousness recognizes identity of reference for differing experiences, and has an idea which Logic would term a 'general' or an 'abstract' idea. The psychology of conception must explain the recognition of 'sameness' amid change, and the generalization and abstraction which this involves; i.e. it must trace out the development of concepts. See CONCEPT (logical).

2. **Origins of current theory.**—Nowhere is psychology more inextricably interwoven with philosophical theories than in the doctrine of the concept. The present form of psychological discussion connects itself historically with the views of the earlier English philosophers, for whom the problem as to the nature of general ideas was one belonging to the theory of knowledge. By appealing to psychology for a solution they gave a new interpretation to the problem itself.

For Hobbes the question of ancient and mediæval philosophy, What corresponds to the universal of knowledge?, was replaced by the question, How does man advance from the particular experience of sense and memory to the universal knowledge of thought? His answer is, By use of signs, of which names are the chief.

'A mark, therefore, is a sensible object which a man erecteth voluntarily to himself, to the end to remember thereby somewhat past, when the same is objected to his sense again. . . . A name or appellation, therefore, is the voice of a man arbitrarily imposed for a mark to bring into his mind some conception concerning the things on which it is imposed.'¹

'Because from divers things we receive like conceptions, many things must needs have the same appellation . . . and those names we give to many are called universal to them all; as the name of man to every particular of mankind. . . . The universality of one name to many things, hath been the cause that men think the things are themselves universal; . . . deceiving themselves, by taking the universal or general appellation for the thing it signifieth.'²

With Locke the inquiry became more deeply tinged with psychology, and took the form of a psychological answer to the question, How come we by general terms?

'Words become general by being made the signs of general ideas; and ideas become general by separating from them the circumstances of time and place, and any other ideas that may determine them to this or that particular existence. By this way of abstraction they are made capable of representing more individuals than one; each of which, having in it a conformity to that abstract idea, is (as we call it) of that sort.'³

Psychological though this account may be, it throws little light on the nature of the state of consciousness wherein a man has a general idea, or on this way of abstraction which makes ideas capable of representing more individuals than one.

¹ *Human Nature*, ch. v. § 11.

² *Ib.* § 51.

³ *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, bk. iii. ch. iii. § 6.

It is comparatively easy for Berkeley's wit to discredit the supposed product :

'Whether others have this wonderful faculty of abstracting their ideas, they best can tell : for myself, I dare be confident I have it not.'¹

Berkeley's own account of general names is this :

'A word becomes general by being made the sign, not of an abstract general idea, but of several particular ideas, any one of which it indifferently suggests to the mind. . . . By observing how ideas become general, we may the better judge how words are made so. . . . To make this plain by an example. Suppose a geometrical line is demonstrating the method of cutting a line in two equal parts. He draws, for instance, a black line of an inch in length : this, which in itself is a particular line, is nevertheless with regard to its signification general ; since, as it is there used, it represents all particular lines whatsoever. . . . And, as that particular line becomes general by being made a sign, so the name "line," which taken absolutely is particular, by being a sign, is made general.'²

The same account is given by Hume, but a fuller explanation is attempted as to how an idea can be made a sign :

'Abstract ideas are . . . in themselves individual, however they may become general in their representation. The image in the mind is only that of a particular object, tho' the application of it in our reasoning be the same, as if it were universal. . . .

When we have found a resemblance among several objects, that often occur to us, we apply the same name to all of them, whatever differences we may observe in the degrees of their quantity and quality, and whatever other differences appear among them. After we have acquired a custom of this kind, the hearing of that name revives the idea of one of these objects, and makes the imagination conceive it with all its particular circumstances and proportions. . . . They are not really and in fact present to the mind, but only in power. . . . The word raises up an individual idea, along with a certain custom ; and that custom produces any other individual one, for which we may have occasion.'³

The contribution made to conceptual theory by the subsequent Association psychologists consisted in a fuller interpretation of Hume's doctrine of Custom. Thus James Mill, who follows Hobbes very closely on the question of the origin and function of general names, is able to give, as Hobbes could not, a psychology explanatory of the idea generated by the use of the name as a mark for various particulars :

'Man first becomes acquainted with individuals. He first names individuals. But individuals are innumerable, and he cannot have innumerable names. He must make one name serve for many individuals.'⁴

Hence individual names pass into general names — 'man,' 'horse,' etc. New individualizing names, used to carve out sub-classes from a group so named, become associated also with other groups, e.g. 'black' with 'man,' and also with 'horse.'

By frequent repetition, and the gradual strengthening of the association, these modifications are at last called up in such rapid succession that they appear commingled, and no longer many ideas but one.'⁵

Black is therefore no longer an individualizing attribute, but a general name. From such names, when their special class reference is lost, come the so-called abstract terms, e.g. 'blackness.'

Thus in the course of development, names being able by association to call up many different ideas, these ideas, also by association, coalesce into a complex idea.

'Ideas . . . which have been so often conjoined that, whenever one exists in the mind, the others immediately exist along with it, seem to run into one another, to coalesce, as it were, and out of many to form one idea ; which idea, however in reality complex, appears to be no less simple than any one of those of which it is compounded.'⁶

From Mill onwards, although the language used about the product may vary, the psychology of conception in the Association school is an account of the process of forming such complex ideas and of their expression in language. Alexander Bain may be taken as the best representative of this psychology. For Bain a general idea is the product of retentiveness and constructive imagination. He analyzes the process of forming it into four steps : (1) a classification of resembling instances ; (2) a generalization through abstraction (an instance is

taken as a type, or from various instances a type is formed embodying the features common to the class) ; (3) a name is given for the class and for its common features ; (4) the definition setting forth the common features is formulated. Retentiveness, by the Law of Similarity, supplies the first step in this process ; the remaining three—abstraction, naming, and definition—require the aid of constructive imagination, since the selection of this and that feature out of the material supplied by retentiveness is possible only for association guided by 'a sense of the effect to be produced, and a voluntary process of trial and error continued until the desired effect is actually produced.'¹

Bain also tells us that

'abstraction does not properly consist in the mental separation of one property of a thing from the other properties. . . . All the purposes of the abstract idea are served by conceiving a concrete thing in company with others resembling it in the attribute in question.' 'When we are discussing government, we commonly have in view a number of governments alternately thought of.' 'To be a good abstract reasoner, one should possess an ample range of concrete instances.'²

Whence comes that 'sense of the effect to be produced' which guides the trial of instances, Bain does not explain. 'The only generality possessing a separate existence is the name.' The name with a possible range of instances is what is in the mind when we have a general idea.

This line of thought—which attempts to explain how names acquire a general significance, and how a mental content, which by its origin is particular, can be so worked over that it can do duty as general—may be said to reach its culminating point in the doctrine of the 'generic image' introduced by Francis Galton :

'I doubt, however, whether "abstract idea" is a correct phrase in many of the cases in which it is used, and whether "cumulative idea" would not be more appropriate. The ideal faces obtained by the method of composite portraiture appear to have a great deal in common with these so-called abstract ideas. The composite portrait consists . . . of numerous superimposed pictures, forming a cumulative result in which the features that are common to all the likenesses are clearly seen ; those that are common to a few are relatively faint and are more or less overlooked, while those that are peculiar to single individuals leave no sensible trace at all.'³

'My argument is, that the generic images thus arise before the mind's eye, and the general impressions which are faint and faulty editions of them, are the analogues of these composite pictures.'⁴

3. Criticism of theories.—Here, then, the generality of significance is sought for in the image itself. Because my idea means 'dog in general,' my image must portray 'dog in general.' The complexity of the significance must be paralleled in the complexity of the mental content. Yet even so, such a content is hopelessly particular ; still, it is a dog, be it never so weird in form. This is the terminus to which the 'succession of various images' suggested by Berkeley, the 'power of calling up individual instances' claimed by Hume, the 'complex idea' of Mill, and the 'range of concrete particulars' of Bain naturally lead. But it is a blind alley in the maze of cognition. The necessary turning-point was missed as far back as Berkeley. Berkeley recognized the 'representative' function of the content of consciousness which lies behind a general name. He says the particular is 'a sign,' but his general theory of knowledge forbade his accepting any state of consciousness as representing what it itself was not. Of ideas the *esse* is *percipi*. If sensations cannot represent sensible qualities, how can a particular image represent other particulars ?

Berkeley's predecessor, Locke, who defined an idea as 'whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks,' might have made,

¹ *Senses and Intellect*⁴, 1894, 'Intellect,' ch. II. p. 541, ch. IV. p. 607.

² *Mental and Moral Science*⁴, 1884, ch. v. § 3.

³ *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*, 1883.

⁴ 'Association.'

⁵ *Ib.* Appendix.

¹ *Of the Principles of Human Knowledge*, Introd. § 10.

² *Ib.* §§ 11, 12.

³ *A Treatise on Human Nature*, pt. I. sect. VII.

⁴ *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, ch. VIII.

⁵ *Ib.* ch. IX.

⁶ *Ib.* ch. III.

and indeed in some passages in the *Essay* does seem to make, the distinction between a state of consciousness and the significance of that state. He is, at all events, clearly conscious that the product 'by this way of abstraction' has a representative function.

Hume, no less than Berkeley, finds it necessary to speak of the idea as 'a sign,' although in his *Treatise* he makes no clear distinction between a state of consciousness and its significance. It was the lack of this distinction between 'what is known' and 'the features of the state of knowing' that led the Association school to explain the perception of a thing with all its various sense-qualities by an escort of revived sensations accompanying the datum of the moment, and the conceptual force of an idea by a complex of associations, multitudinous or coalescing (see ASSOCIATION). Bain, in speaking of the 'effect which is to be produced' by constructive imagination, seems conscious of the representative function which the resultant state of consciousness has to fulfil, but he gives it no explicit psychological interpretation.

4. Re-construction of theory.—Stout formulates the needful distinction thus:

'In the process by which we take cognizance of an object, two constituents are distinguishable: (1) A thought-reference to something which, as the thinker means or intends it, is not a present modification of his individual consciousness. (2) A more or less specific modification of his individual consciousness, which defines and determines the direction of thought to this or that special object; this special mode of subjective experience we may call a *presentation*.'¹

The distinction is vital for the whole psychology of cognition, but the failure to recognize it has perhaps had its worst effects in the doctrine of Conception. How any mental state can mean or stand for what it itself is not, is in current psychology the problem of 'meaning.' The task of the psychology of conception is to seek, among the conditions and developments of meaning in general, those which bring forth 'generality' as a definite content of meaning, and further to inquire what are the special characteristics of the states of consciousness wherein this meaning is given.

5. Theory of meaning.—The earliest states of consciousness can hardly be regarded as signifying what they themselves are not. 'The only class of thoughts which can with any show of plausibility be said to resemble their objects are sensations.'² When life is sensory, what is known (if, indeed, we may use the word 'known') and the state whereupon it is known resemble one another—resemble only, for even here the state is conative and affective as well as sensory. The progress from this stage to the next, wherein one experience can suggest another not actually present, where, therefore, 'what is known' differs from 'the presentation' of it, is traceable to interest. From the first, the experiences which make up the stream of consciousness are not all of the same forcefulness. Organic selection alone would make this impossible, and to organic must be added subjective selection. Further, the course of the currents in the stream of consciousness is in part determined by subjective conditions. The term 'interest' is used to denote this 'forcefulness' and this 'set of direction' in the stream. The successive phases of consciousness which work out to a natural completion some forceful trend, e.g. the satisfaction of some organic craving, are connected in a specially intimate way, and constitute what Stout has termed a 'conative unity.' By virtue of this unity, when phases like the earlier ones recur in experience, they can suggest the later, or do the work of these in subsequent psychological life. This is the beginning of the 'representative function' of a present state of consciousness.

Baldwin distinguishes two modes in which representative value or meaning is given to the presentation of the moment—the 'recognitive' and the 'selective.' In the former, the datum of sensation determines the trend of the stream of consciousness; in the latter, the conative and affective processes set the current this way or that. With the former, therefore, past experience dominates meaning, for the present datum is not a bare 'that,' but has a function of its own derived from its history in experience. With the latter, the datum is coloured and interpreted by the light of present desires and feeling.

6. Meaning as perceptual.—Even at the stage of sense-perception, the development of meaning, both as 'recognitive' and as 'selective,' has progressed some way. A given sensation can stand for any experience which has entered into one conative unity with a like sensation, and the recurrence of a want or of an emotional condition will endow the present datum with power to suggest the sequence of experience relevant to the occasion. It is thus, to use James's phrase, that 'different states of consciousness have come to mean the same.' The table looked at and the table touched give different sense-data, but the data in each case can mean the same group of experiences and can suggest the same activity. Speaking of the ease with which a child recognizes an object as the same in spite of great differences, Baldwin says:

'What this really means is, that the child's motor attitudes are fewer than his receptive experiences. Each experience of man (for example) calls out the same attitude, the same incipient movement, the same coefficient of attention, on his part, as that, e.g., with which he hails "papa,"'¹

Although there is at this stage a sense of 'sameness,' and in so far nascent generalization, it seems premature to term it conception, or to say, with James, that the polyph which had the feeling 'Hullo! thingumbob again!' would be a conceptual thinker.

7. Meaning as conceptual.—In perception, whether the meaning be determined recognitively or selectively, the sameness or generality is embedded in the particularity of sense. For conception,

'the universal must, so to speak, be dragged from the dim background of consciousness, and thrust into the foreground, there to be scrutinised and manipulated by the mind.'²

An x must not merely be recognized as an x , but there must be consciousness of the features in virtue of which it is x and not y , i.e. consciousness of its x -ness.

Comparison is the psychical method, and language the instrument for accomplishing this task. Comparison involves both differentiation and assimilation, and is a more complex phase of mental process than either of these considered separately. In virtue of the dominant interest of the moment, experiences which differentiation has dissociated in representative value are brought before consciousness in a new unity, and experiences which assimilation has at first fused disclose distinctive values contributory to new resultant wholes. Such a process implies growing facility in the concentration of attention and enlargement in its span.

The dog differentiates a 'game' and the 'chase of prey.' A man unites them in the idea of 'sport'; but by the emergence of this very idea, 'sport,' a new antithesis is provided to the basal values—both 'game' and 'chase of prey,'—which, therefore, to the man become more definite and conscious ideas than they can be to the dog. Similarly, when the child referred to by Baldwin comes to feel the distinctive value of the genuine 'papa,' the emergence of this distinction will also serve to develop the unity of this and his other experiences on their basal value as 'man.'

¹ *Analytic Psychology*, 1896, bk. I. ch. I. p. 47.

² James, *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, ch. xii. p. 471.

¹ *Mental Development*, 1895, ch. xi. p. 325

² Stout, *op. cit.* bk. II. ch. ix. p. 174.

Memory, imagination, and sense-perception all supply occasions for this interplay of differentiation and assimilation, and—

'thus the common element stands out in contrast to the differences; whereas in mere recognition no such contrast exists.'¹

8. Function of names.—The use of names greatly assists this disengagement of the general meaning from the particular. The name, which is part of the group of experiences constituting knowledge of a particular thing, has the power of reviving the whole complex. And it has special value as a fixation point for the concentration of attention, because it can be given perpetual existence at will, and in this way can reinstate the whole unity much more vividly than any image. Again, sameness or difference of name facilitates comparison and contrast of instances, and thus helps to strike forth the universal embedded in the particular. Further, a name enters as an identical member into many unities. There is nothing in its own nature to determine the specific nature of the whole which it shall suggest. A bare word by itself may mean 'this' or 'that' or 'the other,' the specific determination depending upon the interest of the moment. With a combination of names, however, there will be a combination of the unities or wholes of which these names are integral parts; and thus there will be a certain mutual determination of meaning. It is to denote such mutual determination of one unity by another, and the consequent reconstruction of meaning, that the term 'apperception' (*q.v.*) may be most fittingly used.

9. General and abstract.—The two varieties of meaning noticed by Baldwin develop the two types of conceptual meaning, which are distinguished as knowledge of the general and knowledge of the abstract. It is recognitive meaning that leads to the idea of the class as opposed to its instances, of a totality as opposed to its parts, of an individual as opposed to its appearances. It is selective meaning that leads to abstractions, points of view. The latter are the concepts which James has especially in view when he says that '*the only meaning of essence is teleological*,' and that '*classification and conception are purely teleological weapons of the mind*.'² Conceptual meaning may be determined by the desires and needs of the subject, yet such selective meaning is as open to be shared by all mankind, and as objective, as is recognitive meaning. The two meanings can never be regarded as independent; the sensory and ideational data must influence the affective and conative values of the moment; and the affective and conative values must colour the data and their intrinsic meaning. It is only from the logical point of view that the concept, be it a general idea or an abstract idea, represents a norm or standard, the 'changeless' and 'necessary,' which regulates the flux of the 'particular' and 'contingent.'

10. Theory of presentation.—As to the nature of the state of consciousness whereupon the subject is aware of the general, can psychology ascribe to it any special characteristics? It would follow from the foregoing that the concept is a 'meaning,' and that, when the conditions of development are fulfilled, any state of consciousness may serve as its vehicle; in other words, no specific variety of presentation appears necessary for a thought reference which is general. A sense-datum may mean a perceived object,—it may mean an abstract idea; for example, to the lay mind a roughly worked flint may be just this stone 'and nothing more,' while to the ethnologist it suggests the occupations of prehistoric man. Similarly, an image may mean a memory or a concept; a word may be understood as a sense-determined particular or as a class name.

¹ Stout, *op. cit.* bk. II. ch. ix. p. 174.

² *Op. cit.* ch. xdl. p. 285.

Experimental research¹ has tended to confirm the conclusion to which a more speculative analysis has led. K. Marbe² has collected introspective records made by trained observers concerning their state of consciousness when they pronounced varied judgments, wherein the meaning ranged from simple to complex. These records give no evidence of any experiences which, as such, are characteristic either for the pronouncement of judgment or for the understanding and evaluation of a judgment pronounced by others. And what is true of judgment will be true of the conceptions involved. Later researches³ would seem to show that it is impossible to characterize introspectively the nature of an isolated moment of consciousness as one of conception or one of judgment. Remembering, indeed, that, as Ward says, 'like other forms of purposive activity, thinking is primarily undertaken as a means to an end, and especially the end of economy,'⁴ it would seem that introspection must report on the whole trend of consciousness, on a series of processes which hang together as the working out of an end, before it can diagnose the case as 'perceiving,' 'thinking,' 'willing,' etc. Thus one writer notes that there is a consciousness of the *Aufgabe*, or end, which controls the series of processes; others lay stress on *Bewusstseinlage*, awareness of the trend or consciousness of disposition or attitude towards given objects. These *Bewusstseinlagen* would seem to correspond to what James terms 'transitional states of consciousness' and to his 'feelings of tendency'—states which have a cognitive function, but whose nature psychology can hardly define. Stout recognizes similar constituents in the stream of thought.

'There is no absurdity in supposing a mode of presentational consciousness which is not composed of . . . experiences derived from and in some degree resembling in quality the sensations of the special senses; and there is no absurdity in supposing such modes of consciousness to possess a representative value or significance for thought.'⁵

It may be that it is upon the presence or absence of these presentations, or upon their character, or, again, upon the mode in which the whole series of cognitive, conative, and affective phases of consciousness are related to one another, that the difference between thought and will, perception and conception, depends.

Cf. also the preceding article.

LITERATURE.—The authorities cited in text; also Sully, *Human Mind*, London, 1892; Hobbouse, *Mind in Evolution*, London, 1901; Baldwin, *Thought and Things*, New York, 1903; Pillsbury, *Psychology of Reasoning*, New York and London, 1910; Wundt, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr., Leipzig, 1902; Külpe, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr., London, 1895; Binet, *L'Etude expérimentale de l'intelligence*, Paris, 1903; Ribot, *Evolution of General Ideas*, Eng. tr., London, 1899; Taine, *On Intelligence*, Eng. tr., London, 1871.

BEATRICE EDGEELL.

CONCEPTUALISM.—The question whose various answers may be grouped under the heads of Realism, Nominalism, and Conceptualism is that of the nature of genera and species (*i.e.* the universal), and their relation to the particular thing. It may be stated in the ontological or in the epistemological form, according as the aim is to discover the place occupied by the universal in *reality*, or its place in *knowledge*. While Realism maintains, in one form or another, the objective reality of the universal, and Nominalism takes the opposite course of denying actuality to all save the particular thing, Conceptualism mediates between these extremes. It agrees with Nominalism in denying separate, hypostatic reality to the

¹ On the value of the interrogatory method used in these investigations, see Wundt, *Psych. Studien*, III. (Leipzig, 1896) 301.

² *Experimentell-psychol. Untersuchungen über das Urtheil*, Leipzig, 1901.

³ Watt, Messer, Bühler (in *Archiv f. d. gesamte Psychologie*, 1905, 1906, 1907); Ach, *Ueber die Willensaktivität u. das Denken*, Göttingen, 1905.

⁴ Ward, art. 'Psychology,' in *EBR*, p. 77.

⁵ *Op. cit.* bk. I. ch. iv. p. 55.

universal. On the other hand, it holds, with Realism, that the universal is more than a mere name, or *flatus vocis*. The universal is real, in the first place epistemologically, as the concept (*q.v.*) wherein intelligence grasps the common attributes in different things, and raises them into a true notion. But it has also a certain ontological reality, inasmuch as, in the act of conception (*q.v.*), in which the common qualities of different things are apprehended in a unity, the natural predicate comes to the front (Abelard). In other words, that which belongs to the nature of the things, and is thus the basis of predication regarding them, forms the content of the act of conception. This universal (not mere *vox*, but *sermo*, i.e. predicate) possesses reality, though not hypostatic reality. The mediæval discussion of this question took its rise in the Latin translation by Boethius of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, which is an introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle; but the real source of the whole controversy lies farther back, in the discussions between the Sophists, with their doctrine of individualistic subjectivity, and the Attic Idealists, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, who insisted, each in his own way, that in knowledge the mind takes hold upon the real, which is universal. Modern epistemology inclines on the whole to the view that the individual thing, the object of knowledge, is the meeting-place of the universal and the particular; and that reality is neither pure particularity nor pure universality, but an essential unity and synthesis of the two.

LITERATURE.—Porphyry, *Isagoge*; von Prantl, *Gesch. der Logik*, Leipzig, 1856-70. Cousin, *Abelard's Opera*, Paris, 1840-59, *Fragments de philos. scolastique*, Paris, 1840, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abelard*, Paris, 1836; Hauréau, *Hist. de la philos. scolastique*, Paris, 1872-80; Rémusat, *Abelard*, Paris, 1845; art. 'Scholasticism' in *EB*⁹. See also standard Histories of Philosophy, and further references in the present work, *s.vv.* NOMINALISM, REALISM, SCHOLASTICISM.

FREDERICK TRACY.

CONCORDAT.—*Meaning of the word.*—In the Middle Ages, conventions of all kinds were called 'concordats,' especially agreements formed between the convents and the bishops, and between the bishops and the civil power. 'There was an ancient concordat made with the king and the bishop of Paris in 1222 for the settlement of the royal jurisdiction and of the temporality of the bishop in some parts of the said town. Among other points, it was agreed that public outcries *voce praeconis* should take place, by the authority of the king and the bishop conjointly, in the places where the temporal justice of the said bishop prevailed' (Fevret, *Traité de Pabus*, Lyons, 1736, i. 18; see, in Fink, *De concordatis dissertatio canonica*, Louvain, 1870, pp. 1-2, a list of episcopal concordats). But, since the 15th cent., more precisely since the Council of Constance, the name 'concordat' has usually been confined to the compacts which are entered into by the Pope on the one hand, and the civil power on the other. Taken in this sense, which is, if not the only one, at least the one most generally accepted, the concordat may be defined as a convention by which the Church of Rome and a State determine and regulate their mutual relations.

1. HISTORY.—I. Concordats before the 19th century.—The Church could not sign any treaty with the civil power during the whole time that she accepted or submitted to the yoke of the emperors or kings.

(a) The first concordat was the result of the effort which she made to free herself from the subjection of the Emperor of Germany. It was concluded at Worms in 1122 between Pope Calixtus II. and Emperor Henry V. It comprises two declarations, independent of each other. The first, drawn up in Henry's name, is entitled *Privilegium*

Imperatoris; the second, drawn up in Calixtus' name, is called *Privilegium Pontificis*. The Emperor takes an oath (1) to give up the right of investiture by ring and staff, (2) to guarantee freedom of episcopal election, (3) to restore the possessions taken from the Church. The Pope, on his side, authorizes the Emperor (1) to be present at the election of bishops and priests, (2) to give investiture by the sceptre. These two documents may be found in Hardouin, *Acta conciliorum*, vii. 1115, Paris, 1714, and in all collections of councils. The *Monumenta Germaniae*, sec. iv. t. i. 159 and 161, give a critical edition of them. The following is the translation:

'*Privilege of the Emperor.*—In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, I, Henry, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, for the love of God, the Holy Roman Church, and the lord Pope Calixtus, and for the salvation of my soul, abandon to God, to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to the holy Catholic Church, all investiture by the ring and the staff, and I grant that in all the churches of my Empire there shall be freedom of election and free consecration. All the possessions and all the rights of Saint Peter, which from the beginning of this quarrel to the present day have been taken away and are in my possession, I will do all in my power faithfully to restore. Further, I will restore, as indicated by the princes and the regulations of the law, the property in my possession which belongs to other churches, princes, and, in general, to all clergy and laity. As to those which I do not possess, I will do all in my power to have them restored. I will give true peace to the lord Pope Calixtus and to the Holy Roman Church, and to all those who are or have been of its party. Whenever the Holy Roman Church invokes my aid, I will give it faithfully. When she has cause to complain, I will show her justice.'

'*Privilege of Calixtus.*—I, Calixtus, servant of the servants of God, to thee Henry, my very dear son, by the grace of God Emperor of the Romans, I grant that the elections of bishops and abbots in the kingdom of Germany, that is to say, in the part of the Empire which constitutes thy kingdom, shall take place in thy presence, without simony or violence. When any discord happens to arise, thou shalt grant thy approbation and support to the better party, after taking the counsel and opinion of the metropolitan and the bishops of the district. Let the prelate-elect receive from thee investiture by the sceptre, and he shall fulfil all the obligations that he owes to thee. In other parts of the Empire, let the consecrated bishop receive from thee investiture by the sceptre within six months from his consecration. He shall fulfil to thee all the obligations which he owes to thee, with the exception of all the rights which are recognized to belong to the Roman Church. Every time that thou shalt express any complaint to me, and ask my help, I will come to thine aid, as I ought to do. I grant true peace to thee, and to all those who are or have been of thy party during the times of discord' (Bernheim, *Zur Gesch. des Wormser Konkordats*, Göttingen, 1898; Schaefer, *Zur Beurtheilung des Wormser Konkordats*, Berlin, 1905).

(b) At Worms the Papacy had tried to rescue the Church from the yoke of the civil power; three centuries later, at the Council of Constance (1418), it signed new conventions, but, this time, on quite different conditions. The *Concordats of Constance* (cf. Hübler, *Die Konstanzer Reformation u. die Konkordate von 1418*, Leipzig, 1867) mark the effort of Christianity to lighten the burden laid upon her by the Papacy. This was at the beginning of 1418. All the members of the Council were agreed upon the necessity of demanding reforms from the Pope, but they ceased to agree when they came to state definitely the reforms to be effected. Not being able to negotiate with all the nations at the same time, Pope Martin V. negotiated with each nation by itself. He accordingly signed conventions separately with the French, Germans, English, Italians, and Spaniards; hence arose five concordats, which long ago were reduced to three, because the Italian and Spanish conventions were expressed in the same form as the French.

The English concordat comprises the following six articles: (1) *On the number and nationality of cardinals.* The number of cardinals must be limited; they must be chosen indifferently from all the kingdoms of Christendom. (2) *On indulgences.* Indulgences make gold abound in certain privileged places, to the great detriment of the parish churches; they also give occasion for sinning to several people who, because of them,

believe themselves quite justified in committing sin. To bring this state of affairs to an end, bishops will denounce scandalous indulgences to the Pope, who will suppress them. (3) *On the government of the churches.* The churches shall henceforth be brought under the charge of the bishops. (4) *On the pontifical insignia.* Many inferior prelates received from Rome the right of wearing these insignia; concessions of this kind after the death of Gregory XI. are annulled; those granted previous to that event are retained. (5) *On dispensations.* Dispensations authorizing one and the same man to possess several benefices should be very rare; as a matter of fact, they are frequent; this state of things must disappear in the future; as for the past, we shall confine ourselves to suppressing scandalous concessions. Other abuses: the Apostolic See exempts for a longer or shorter period, in some cases for ever, the holders of benefices from entering upon the orders corresponding to their benefices; that must not be; henceforth the beneficed clergy must receive orders only if they are entitled to them. The Apostolic See gives dispensations of residence; it must no longer do so without legitimate reasons. Likewise it must no longer deliver letters to the monks authorizing them to receive benefices. (6) *On the admission of Englishmen to the various offices of the Roman curia.* The English nation must be treated like the other nations.

The French concordat comprises seven articles, which treat of (1) the number and character of cardinals; (2) the provision of churches and monasteries, the reservations of the Apostolic See, the collation of benefices, the 'expectativæ' favours, the confirmation of elected beneficiaries; (3) annates; (4) trials to be lodged at the Roman curia; (5) commendams; (6) indulgences; and (7) dispensations.

The German concordat consists of the following eleven articles: (1) on the number, character, and appointment of cardinals; (2) on the provision of churches, monasteries, priories, dignities, and other benefices; (3) on annates; (4) on the trials to be lodged at the Roman curia; (5) on commendams; (6) on simony; (7) on excommunicated persons; (8) on dispensations; (9) on the revenue of the Pope and the cardinals; (10) on indulgences; and (11) on the scope of this concordat.

In the last two concordats, the articles referring to cardinals and indulgences sum up the corresponding provisions of the English concordat. The article on annates is unknown in the English concordat, since, at that time, the rule about annates was not in operation, so to speak, in England. France and Germany knew it only too well, and sought to free themselves from it. The concordats of Constance gave them only partial satisfaction. With regard to France, the Pope pledged himself, for five years, to collect only half of the revenues of the first year of the churches and abbeys which should become vacant; he promised, besides, to bestow the 'expectativæ' favours neither on monastic benefices whose revenues did not exceed £4, nor on hospitals, hospices, inns, almshouses, or leper hospitals. With regard to Germany, he took an oath that he would not levy a tax on benefices of a revenue below twenty-four florins. The other articles refer to various abuses which the Roman curia promised to reform. The article relating to the provision of benefices, however, is an exception. Here the Pope makes no concession. He maintains that Rome has the right to endow various classes of benefices according to the regulations passed by John XXII. in the bull *Execrabilis* (1318) and in the bull *Ad regimen* (1325).

The concordats of Constance were read during the forty-third session of the Council which was

held on 21st March 1418. The edition which we possess is preceded by a preface by the cardinal of Ostia (*Universis et singulis, Joannes . . .*), from which we learn that the French concordat was recorded on 15th April and published on 2nd May. It was the same with the other concordats. The French and German concordats were concluded for five years (see Artt. 7 of the former and 11 of the latter). The English concordat was concluded *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* (see Art. 6 of this concordat). As a matter of fact, the German concordat very soon fell into disuse. The French concordat, rejected by the Parliament, was accepted by the Duke of Burgundy, who governed the north of France, but was rejected by the Dauphin (Charles VII.), who reigned in the south; then, several years later, it was suppressed throughout the whole extent of French territory. The English concordat was maintained without any difficulty. We have no information regarding the Italian and Spanish concordats (the English concordat may be found in Hardouin, viii. 893; von der Hardt, *Magnum æcumenicum Constantiense concilium*, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1700, i. 1079; Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britannia et Hibernia*, London, 1737, iii. 391; Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Constance*, Amsterdam, 1714, ii. 444; the French concordat in Hardouin, viii. 883; von der Hardt, iv. 1566; Lenfant, ii. 436; the German concordat in Hardouin, viii. 888; von der Hardt, i. 1055; Lenfant, ii. 108).

(c) The third concordat which we meet with is the *Concordat of Princes*, concluded between Eugenius IV. and the German princes in Feb. 1447. The circumstances were as follows:—When the Council of Basel had issued its decree of suspension against Eugenius (24th Jan. 1438), the electoral princes of Germany—the Emperor Sigismund having died in the midst of it all—began by declaring themselves neutral; then they published the declaration of Mainz, often called *Instrumentum acceptationis*, in which they professed to accept, with certain modifications, the decrees of the Council of Basel relating to the reform of the Church. The aim of Eugenius IV. was to abolish the neutrality, i.e. to bring the German princes to declare themselves on his side. His efforts were not in vain. He first won to his cause the head of the Empire, Frederick III., and his secretary Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.). Having become the partisan of Eugenius, Æneas prevailed upon several electoral princes and modified their arrangements. Still all the difficulties were not removed. The German princes, who had become favourable to Eugenius IV., continued to remain connected with the *Instrumentum acceptationis*, i.e. with the decrees of Basel. On 7th Jan. 1447 a solemn embassy, led by Æneas, appeared before the Pope, and informed him of the conditions under which they pledged themselves to recognize him. These conditions were four in number. They demanded of him that he should (1) call a General Council at a date and in a place which would be fixed without consulting him; (2) recognize the power, authority, and pre-eminence of this General Council; (3) lighten the burdens that weighed on the German nation; (4) withdraw the sentence of deposition that he had pronounced against two of the electoral princes, viz. the archbishops of Cologne and Trèves. After a month of negotiations, Eugenius IV. accepted these conditions on his death-bed, modifying them, however, by omissions and vague assertions.

The Concordat of Princes is composed of a brief and three bulls. By the brief *Ad ea ex debito* (6 Feb. 1447), the Pope, although he observes that the convocation of a General Council is not the best means of pacifying the Church, pledges himself to convoke one within ten months, and to take as its place of assembly one of the five villages named by the princes. He declares that he venerates the Council of Constance, and

the Councils which represent the Catholic Church, with their power, authority, and eminence (not pre-eminence), as they were venerated by his predecessors, from whom he does not wish to deviate in anything. The bull *Ad tranquillitatem* (5th Feb.) suppresses the burdens which weigh upon the German nation, in compliance with the decisions made at Basel and accepted at the diet of Mainz. It merely asks that an indemnity be granted to the Holy See in compensation for the pecuniary losses which the new state of things would inflict upon it, and it resolves that this point shall be the object of a special convention. The bull *Ad ea quæ* (5th Feb.) promises the reinstatement of the archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, provided that they swear obedience to the Pope. The bull, *Inter cetera desideria* (7th Feb.), ratifies all the ecclesiastical elections which took place in Germany during the time of the neutrality, removes the penalties which were then incurred, and absolves all the partisans of the Council of Basel who, within six months, shall return to the Holy See. We may remark here that, after having published the first three documents, Eugenius signed a secret bull, *Decet Romanæ pontificis*, by which he annulled those of his concessions which might, unknown to him, cause prejudice 'to the holy doctrine of the Fathers, and to the privileges and the authority of the Holy See' (cf. the texts in Walter, 100; Münch, I. 77; Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 1747-59, ad annum 1447, n. 4; for the history, cf. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1887, vii. § 830).

(d) The Concordat of Princes had not been signed by all the electors; moreover, it had put off to a later concordat the question of the compensation to be granted to the Holy See. It therefore required a complement, which it received in the *Vienna Concordat*. This convention was concluded on 17th Feb. 1448 between Pope Nicholas and Frederick III., head of the Empire, acting in the name of the German nation. It was promulgated by the bull *Ad sacram Petri sedem* on the 19th of the following March. It reserved to the Holy See the collation of a certain number of bishoprics and inferior benefices; authorized canonical election for the other benefices, with right of confirmation reserved to the Pope; and restored the annates which the Concordat of Princes had suppressed. In a word, the Vienna Concordat is almost an exact reproduction of the German part of the Concordat of Constance (text in Nussi, p. 15; discussion in Hefele, vii. § 831).

(e) Like Germany, France also had her concordat, known as the *French Concordat* of 1516, concluded between Leo X. and Francis I. as a result of an interview at Boulogne. The Church of France had, from 1438 up to this time, been under the rule of the *Pragmatic Sanction* of Bourges. Now this Pragmatic, borrowed from the Council of Basel, was extremely odious to the popes and kings, whom it left without authority over the clergy. Besides, since 1438, popes and kings had on several occasions attempted to repeal it, but without coming to any settlement. The concordat of 1516 suppressed it. It is expressed in the bull *Primitiva illa Ecclesia*, published on 18th Aug. 1516 and approved by the Lateran Council on 18th December following.

The special characteristic of this agreement is the suppression of elections. Up to 1516, bishops were elected by the chapters; abbots and priors by the convents. In the terms of the concordat, elections are abolished and give place to royal nomination, to which is afterwards added pontifical confirmation. When a bishopric becomes vacant, the king nominates to the place a licentiate or a doctor of theology or law, who has completed his 27th year, and has all the requisite qualifications. This nomination must take place within six months. The Pope confirms the nomination, if it is made according to the rules, but, if not, the king must make a second nomination, and if this again does not fulfil the conditions, the Pope nominates some one himself. Nevertheless, the Pope is authorized to provide for churches which happen to be vacant in the Roman curia (i.e. whose incumbents have died in Rome). Further, princes by blood, nobles, and mendicant monks distinguished by their merit are exempted from the obligation of degrees. The nomination of abbots and priors, as well as bishops, is the sole right of the king; it also must be confirmed by the Pope.

The concordat of 1516 encountered most lively opposition in France. The University forbade the printers and the publishers to print and issue the text of the convention. It published, besides, a proclamation in which, after praising the Councils of Basel and Constance, it appealed from the badly-advised Pope to the legitimate coming Council. The Parliament refused to record it for some time.

The clergy also gave utterance to protests. But the king went on, and the Parliament had to submit on 22nd March 1517, and make the entry (text of the bull *Primitiva* in Nussi, p. 20; Hardouin, ix. 1867; Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, 1822-23, xii. 75).

(f) In the 17th cent. Charles II. of England entered upon negotiations with Rome to reconcile the English Church with the Pope. The agent chosen by the king was an Irish nobleman, Richard Bellings, private secretary of the queen-mother, Henrietta of France. Bellings brought to Rome a document in which Charles II. declared that he accepted the profession of faith of Pius IV., the decrees of the Council of Trent and the other Councils on the subject of faith and morals, and, further, the rules that the two former Popes had laid down concerning Jansenius. He declared that he 'reserves, as they do in France and other countries, only certain special rights and certain customs which wont have consecrated in each particular church.' There followed the enumeration of the special rights claimed by the king: that archbishops and bishops should retain their Sees, but that they should receive a new consecration by three Apostolic legates sent from Rome for this purpose; that the archbishop of Canterbury should be raised to the dignity of patriarch and should be the centre of all the ecclesiastical administration of the kingdom, without appeal to Rome except in a very small number of cases; that provincial Synods should be held every year, and that provincial Councils should be assembled at fixed intervals; that the king should nominate all bishops; that ecclesiastical possessions, alienated during the preceding reigns, should remain the property of their present holders; that Protestants should maintain the free exercise of their religion; that the dispensation of celibacy should be applied to the bishops and priests who were already married; that the communion should be given in both kinds; that disputed questions of doctrine should not be discussed; that some religious orders should be re-established, but subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops.

Bellings brought back from Rome an answer which has not been recovered. For reasons that we do not know, nothing came of the scheme (cf. Barnes, 'Charles II. and Reunion with Rome,' *Monthly Review*, Dec. 1903).

(g) From the 16th to the 18th cent. Spain concluded six concordats, viz. the concordat of 6th Sept. 1523 between Charles v. and Hadrian VI.; the concordat of 14th Dec. 1529 between Charles v. and Clement VII.; the concordat of 8th Oct. 1640 between Philip IV. and Urban VIII.; the concordat of 17th June 1717 between Philip v. and Clement XI.; the concordat of 26th Sept. 1737 between Philip v. and Clement XII.; and the concordat of 11th Jan. 1753 between Ferdinand VI. and Benedict XIV. In this last convention, which held until 1833, the king obtained the right of nominating to almost all the benefices, on condition that he should contribute a considerable sum to the pontifical treasury (Nussi, p. 120).

The Spanish concordats have been discussed by Hergenröther, 'Spaniens Verhandlungen mit dem römischen Stuhle,' *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*, x. (1893) 1-45, 185-214, xi. (1894), 252-263, 367-401, xii. (1894) 46-60, 385-430, xiii. (1895) 91-106, 393-444, xiv. (1896) 170-215.

(h) In Italy we find the concordat of 17th Dec. 1757 between Maria Theresa and Benedict XIV. about the duchy of Milan (Nussi, p. 128); the concordat of 20th Jan. 1784 between Joseph II. and Pius VI. about the same duchy (*ib.* p. 138); the concordat of 24th March 1727, completed on the 29th of the following May, between Victor Amadeus and Benedict XIII. about Sardinia (*ib.* pp. 48, 54); the concordat of 5th Jan. 1741, of 1742, and of

24th June 1750 between Charles Emmanuel III. and Benedict XIV. about the same kingdom (*ib.* pp. 69, 98, 117); and the concordat of 2nd June 1741 between Charles III. and Benedict XIV. about the kingdom of the Two Sicilies (*ib.* p. 72).

(i) In Portugal we find the bull of Nicholas v. confirming the concordat of 1288 concluded between the bishops and the king of Portugal (Nussi, p. 2); the concordat of 17th July 1516 between Emmanuel and Leo X. (*ib.* p. 36); and the concordat of 20th July 1778 between Queen Mary and Pius VI. (*ib.* p. 136).

(j) Poland had a concordat concluded on 10th July 1737 between Augustus and Clement XII. (*ib.* p. 64).

(k) Bohemia had one concluded between Ferdinand II. and Urban VIII. on 8th March 1630 (*ib.* p. 39).

(l) Other concordats. Concerning Spain, between Eleonore and Gregory XII., 1372 (Hüfler, *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, vii. 364); concerning the Two Sicilies, between Hadrian IV. and William, 1156 (Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum vite*, ii. 352); between Celestine III. and Tancred (Watterich, ii. 732); between Innocent III. and Constance, about 1200 (Sentis, *Monarchia Sicula*, 83); between Clement IV. and Charles of Anjou, 1265 (Luenig, *Codex diplomaticus Italie*, ii. 946); and between Innocent VIII. and Ferdinand, 1487 (Raynaldus, *Annales eccl.*, ad annum 1487, p. 11).

2. Concordats of the 19th century.—(a) France.—The concordat of 1516 was valid in France until the Revolution, which put in its place the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). The religious tumults which this constitution aroused were appeased by the concordat of 1801, which inspired several other concordats, and consequently deserves special attention. It was Bonaparte who took the initiative in the concordat, and the first man to whom he made known his scheme was the Bishop of Vercelli, Martiniana. It was the day after the battle of Marengo. The conqueror of Austria, meeting the old prelate on the way, charged him to announce to the Pope that he wished to re-establish the religious affairs of France, and to treat with Rome on the following grounds: (1) renunciation of former bishops and exclusion of intruders; (2) nomination of new bishops by the Government, and canonical institution by the Holy See; (3) new circumscription of dioceses, justified by the reduction of the number of former ones; and (4) conversion of Church property into salaries for the clergy. The negotiations went through three stages. They were first started in Paris between Spina, the representative of the Holy See, and Bernier, the representative of the French Government (Nov. 1800—end of Feb. 1801); and they ended in a scheme of concordat presented by the First Consul for the signature of Spina, who refused, saying that he was deputed to negotiate and not to sign. The First Consul then sent his scheme to Rome. This was the second stage, which lasted from March to 6th June. The Pope, along with the cardinals, examined the French scheme, introduced several modifications into it, and sent his counter-scheme to the First Consul. In the meantime there arrived from Paris an ultimatum announcing that the negotiations would cease if the First Consul's scheme was not adopted in full in 46 days. The Pope opposed this ultimatum, and on 6th June the French minister, Cacault, left Rome. Then the third stage began. As a matter of fact, Cacault, obliged to set out to obey his master's orders, had taken Cardinal Consalvi with him. The latter arrived in Paris on 20th June. Negotiations were resumed, and continued until 5th July, when at last they were successfully completed. The most troublesome question, the one which had caused the conflicts, was the nomi-

nation of the bishops. From the beginning of the negotiations Rome had quite readily resigned herself to the reduction of the number of bishoprics, to the alienation of the Church property, and to the administration of the salary. But, on the other hand, the nomination of bishops was, in her opinion, a privilege of which only a purely Catholic Government was worthy. From the French Government which claimed this privilege Rome claimed in return that it should profess Catholicism. She had to give up her claims. The First Consul absolutely refused to write in the concordat that the French Government would profess the Catholic religion. Consalvi succeeded only in obtaining the promise that Catholic worship might be publicly exercised, conforming itself with the police regulations.

The French concordat of 1801 was signed at Paris on 15th July by the plenipotentiaries Consalvi, Spina, and Caselli on the one hand, and Joseph Bonaparte and Bernier on the other. It was ratified at Rome by the Pope in the bull *Ecclesia Christi* of 15th Aug. 1801, and at Paris by the First Consul on 10th Sept. following. It was recorded as a law of the State on 8th April 1802, and solemnly published on Easter Day, 17th April. The following is the text:

Convention between the French Government and His Holiness Pius VII. The Government of the Republic recognizes that the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion is the religion of the great majority of French citizens. His Holiness equally recognizes that this same religion has survived, and derives at the present time, the greatest good and the greatest glory from the establishment of Catholic worship in France, and from the personal profession of it by the Consuls of the Republic. Consequently, following this mutual recognition, as much for the good of religion as for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, they have agreed as follows: *Art. 1.* The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be freely exercised in France; its worship shall be public, conforming itself with the police regulations which the Government shall judge necessary for public tranquillity. *Art. 2.* The Holy See, in concert with the Government, shall make a new circumscription of the French dioceses. *Art. 3.* His Holiness shall declare to those holding French bishoprics that he expects from them in firm confidence, for the sake of peace and unity, every kind of sacrifice, even that of their Sees. After this exhortation, if they refuse this sacrifice commanded for the benefit of the Church (a refusal, however, which His Holiness does not expect), provision shall be made for the appointment of new officials to govern these newly-divided bishoprics in the following manner: *Art. 4.* The First Consul of the Republic shall nominate, within three months from the publication of the bull of His Holiness, to the archbishoprics and bishoprics under the new arrangement. His Holiness shall confer the canonical institutions, according to the forms established by agreement with France before the change of government. *Art. 5.* Nominations to bishoprics which shall be vacant immediately shall likewise be made by the First Consul, and canonical institution shall be given by the Holy See in conformity with the preceding article. *Art. 6.* The bishops, before entering upon their duties, shall take directly at the hands of the First Consul the oath of fidelity which was in use before the change of government, expressed in the following terms: "I swear and promise to God, on the Holy Gospels, to be obedient and faithful to the Government established by the constitution of the French Republic. I promise also to have no dealings, to be present at no council, to belong to no league, whether at home or abroad, which may be contrary to the public peace; and if, in my diocese or elsewhere, I learn that anything is being plotted to the prejudice of the State, I will make it known to the Government." *Art. 7.* The ecclesiastics of the second order shall take the same oath at the hands of the civil authorities named by the Government. *Art. 8.* The following form of prayer shall be recited at the end of the Mass, in all the churches of France: "Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam; Domine, salvos fac Consules." *Art. 9.* The bishops shall make a new circumscription of the parishes of their dioceses, which shall have no effect without the consent of the Government. *Art. 10.* The bishops shall nominate to the curacies. Their choice shall fall only upon persons acceptable to the Government. *Art. 11.* The bishops may have a Chapter in their Cathedral, and a Seminary for their diocese, but the Government shall not be obliged to endow them. *Art. 12.* All churches, metropolitan, cathedral, parish, and others not secularized, necessary for worship, shall be placed at the disposal of the bishops. *Art. 13.* His Holiness, for the sake of peace and the happy re-establishment of the Catholic religion, declares that neither he nor his successors shall in any way trouble those who have acquired alienated ecclesiastical property; and that consequently the possession of this same property, and the rights and revenues attached to it, shall remain unchanged in their hands or in those of their assignees. *Art. 14.* The Government shall guarantee an adequate salary to the bishops and clergy whose dioceses and parishes shall be included in the new division.

Art. 15. The Government shall at the same time take measures to enable French Catholics, if they wish, to endow churches. Art. 16. His Holiness recognizes in the First Consul of the Republic the same rights and prerogatives as the old Government enjoyed. Art. 17. It is agreed between the contracting parties that, in case any one of the successors of the First Consul now acting should not be a Catholic, the rights and prerogatives mentioned in the article above, and the nomination to bishoprics, shall be regulated, with respect to him, by a fresh convention' (Nussi, p. 139; Debidour, *Hist.* p. 880).

[The concordat of 1801 has been treated by Rinieri, *La Diplomazia pontificia nel secolo xix.*, Rome, 1902, in which there is an abundant bibliography; and by Mathieu, *Le Concordat de 1801*, Paris, 1903.]

The foregoing seventeen articles constitute only the concordat properly so called, i.e. the convention signed on 15th July 1801 by the plenipotentiaries of the French Government, and ratified in Rome on 15th Aug., then on 10th Sept. in Paris. But the political assemblies that recorded the concordat on the date of 8th April 1802 added to it, by command of the First Consul, a police regulation comprising seventy-seven articles, and known by the name of *Organic Articles*. Rome has never ceased to protest against the Organic Articles, but her protests have been in vain. All the Governments which have succeeded in France have placed these articles on the same footing as the concordat, and determined their attitude by them.

The concordat of 1801 was valid in the Church of France during the whole of the 19th cent., but it was suppressed by the law of 9th Dec. 1905, called the 'Law of Separation.' Two conventions, however, tried to supplant it, viz. the *Concordat of Fontainebleau* (1813) and the Concordat of 1817. The Concordat of Fontainebleau was concluded between Napoleon and Pius VII. on 25th Jan. 1813, and promulgated on 13th Feb. following. It comprised eleven articles, one of which, the fourth, authorized the Metropolitans to give canonical investiture to bishops in cases in which the Pope refused to give it within six months. But, in a letter to the Emperor written on 24th March, Pius VII. declared that his conscience compelled him to withdraw his signature. Napoleon went on, and on the very next day, 25th March, he declared the Concordat of Fontainebleau to be binding. His fall, which happened shortly afterwards, ruined his enterprise. The Concordat of Fontainebleau was not put into operation (Debidour, p. 693). It was the same with the concordat of 1817, concluded between Louis XVIII. and Pius VII. This convention, which was intended to annul the work of the First Consul and to revive the concordat of 1516, was not accepted by the French Parliament (Nussi, p. 153; Debidour, p. 696). On 1st Sept. 1836 the French Government signed a concordat with Pope Leo XIII. about Pondicherry (*Juris pontificii* . . . p. 349). It signed another on 7th Nov. 1893 about Tunis (*ib.* p. 369).

By the encyclical *Gravissimo officii* of 10th August 1906, Pius X. forbade Catholics to form the religious associations which, by Art. 4 of the Law of Separation, had the right to transfer church property. In consequence of this decision, which was contrary to the desires of the majority of the French bishops (*Le Temps*, 24th and 25th Aug. 1906), the Catholic Church of France was deprived of all its property.

(b) *Germany*.—The Peace of Luneville (1801) and the Decree of Ratisbon (1803), by secularizing the ecclesiastical estates and several abbeys, ruined the Church of Germany. It had to be re-constructed. Various schemes were planned. Bavaria, allured by the example of the French concordat, tried to obtain a regular contract from Rome. Württemberg and Baden followed the same track. Moreover, in 1804 the Emperor Francis II. thought that, to save the dying Holy Empire, he could negotiate a general concordat for the whole Empire. These enterprises vanished in 1806, when

the German Empire was succeeded by the Confederation of the Rhine, and when the chief of this Confederation, Napoleon, declared that he himself wished to give it a concordat. But the difficulties with Pope Pius VII., which very soon began, prevented Napoleon from carrying out his scheme. When the Congress of Vienna was opened, nothing had been accomplished. At this Congress, Metternich endeavoured to re-constitute the national German Church, and to spread the idea of a collective concordat in which the condition of all the German churches would be regulated at once along with Rome. His scheme, strongly supported by Wessenberg, who imagined a national Church independent of Rome, was opposed by Bavaria. The Congress of Vienna broke up without taking any action. Instead of a Catholic German Church governed by a collective concordat, they were to have Catholic German churches governed by particular concordats (cf. Goyan, *L'Allemagne religieuse: Le Catholicisme, 1800-1848*, Paris, 1905, i. 107 ff.; H. Brück, *Gesch. der kath. Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Mainz, 1889, i. 258).

Bavaria began with its concordat of 5th June 1817, ratified at Munich on 24th October. This convention comprises eighteen articles, of which the following are the chief provisions:

'Art. 1. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be preserved in its purity and integrity in the kingdom of Bavaria and the territories belonging to it, with the rights and privileges which belong to it in accordance with Divine laws and canonical principles. Art. 5. The duty of bishops being to see to the teaching of the faith and morality, they shall experience no obstacle to this duty even in the case of public schools. Art. 9. In view of the benefits resulting from the present convention to the affairs of the Church and religion, His Holiness shall grant to His Majesty King Maximilian Joseph and to his Catholic successors, by a bull which shall be drawn up immediately after the ratification of the present convention, permission for life to nominate, to the vacant archbishoprics and bishoprics of the kingdom of Bavaria, worthy ecclesiastics who have the qualifications required by the canonical laws. But His Holiness shall give them canonical institution according to the ordinary rules. Art. 15. Whenever the archbishops and bishops shall inform the Government that there have been printed or brought into the kingdom books whose contents are against the faith, good morals, or ecclesiastical discipline, the Government shall take suitable means to prevent their circulation.'

Rome could not but be glad at this concordat, so favourable to her interests; but her joy vanished when the Bavarian Government published the 'Religious Edict,' which subordinated the Church to the State. The Roman curia raised lively protests against these organic articles. After long conferences they ended with the Declaration of Tegernsee (1821), in which the king of Bavaria promised that the concordat, considered in itself, should have the value of a law of the State, and that the guarantees granted by him to the Catholic Church should be in no way diminished by the stipulations of the Religious Edict. The concordat of 1817 is still valid in Bavaria (text in Nussi, p. 146; Münch, ii. 217; Walter, p. 204).

After the concordat of Bavaria we come to the concordat of Prussia. The king of Prussia, Frederick William III., received many Catholic subjects at the Congress of Vienna, and he desired to give full satisfaction to their religious sentiments. He therefore resolved to negotiate with the Pope about the re-constitution of the bishoprics. In 1816 the scholar Niebuhr was sent to Rome to transact this business. The unwillingness of the Chancellor Hardenberg caused the affair to last a long time. At last, on 15th July 1821, there appeared the bull *De salute animarum*, the so-called 'delimiting bull,' which was ratified by Frederick's Government on 23rd Aug. following. So Prussia had her concordat. She has preserved it to the present day. It is in terms of the bull *De salute animarum* that the Catholic Church of Prussia is governed.

This bull refers specially to the regulating of the division of dioceses, the composition of chapters, and the material state

of the clergy. Most of the measures which it lays down would be of no interest, and need not be quoted here. Two points only are worthy of notice: (1) Bishops are nominated by chapters, who, in virtue of the brief *Quod de fidelium* of 16th July 1821, must ascertain by means which they shall consider good that the elected person shall be *persona grata* to the king; (2) Prussia takes an oath to guarantee before 1833 a really adequate endowment to the archbishops and chapters. But up to the present this article has remained a dead letter, and Prussia confines herself to paying the clergy the interest on the promised endowment (text in Nussi, p. 188; Münch, ii. 260; Walter, p. 239). In 1902, Germany concluded a concordat concerning the University of Strassburg (*Analecta ecclesiastica*, x. 491).

Hanover had its concordat three years after Prussia. It had commenced to negotiate with Rome as early as 1816, when its aim was a compact similar to the French concordat. But it did not succeed in getting Rome to accept its conditions, and, after five years of fruitless conferences, it resolved to follow the example of Prussia, and, like it, to bring into its concordat only the re-constitution of the dioceses. It therefore asked a 'delimiting bull,' which was granted on 24th March 1824. This was the bull *Impensa Romanorum pontificum*.

It fixes the limits of the two bishoprics of Hildesheim and Osnabrück, settles the revenues which the king promises to pay the clergy, and specifies that, within four years, these revenues shall be guaranteed by an endowment of real property. Lastly, it authorizes chapters to nominate the bishops, after, however, sounding the Government. Before giving canonical institution, Rome reserves to herself the right of making inquiries about the candidates presented to her (text in Nussi, p. 222; Münch, ii. 302; Walter, p. 265).

The governments of Württemberg, Baden, the two Hesses, ducal Saxony, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Waldeck, Bremen, and Frankfurt united to obtain from Rome a common concordat. They drew up, under the name of a 'declaration,' a scheme of Latin ecclesiastical constitution, which they presented to be accepted by Rome (1819). Consalvi replied to this scheme by a very different counter-scheme. The united governments modified their declaration slightly, and presented it once more as the *Magna Charta libertatis Ecclesie Catholice*. Consalvi drew up a second report, which emphasized the dissent, but proposed a delimiting bull as a basis of provisional understanding. This proposal was accepted, and on 16th Aug. 1821 there appeared the bull *Provida solersque*, which established the ecclesiastical province of the Upper Rhine, composed of the five bishoprics of Freiburg, Rottenburg, Mainz, Limburg, and Fulda, with Freiburg as the Metropolitan See (Nussi, p. 209). The States in question accepted this bull and published it, at the same time, however, adding a series of organic articles entitled *Church Pragmatic*. Rome strongly protested against this document. The States tried to resist, but the Pope refused canonical institution to the bishops who were presented to him. The States were then compelled to modify their Pragmatic. In consideration of this concession, the Pope published, on 11th April 1827, the bull *Ad Dominici gregis custodiam*, which appears as the complement of the preceding one, and establishes a pragmatic regulation in six articles.

The first of these articles authorizes the chapters to nominate the bishops, with the consent of the civil authority. The fifth entrusts the training of 'clerks' to episcopal seminaries supported by the State, but managed in conformity with the law of the Council of Trent. The sixth guarantees freedom of communication between bishops and the Holy See, and declares that each bishop in his diocese shall exercise to the full the jurisdiction conferred on him by canonical law (Nussi, p. 239).

The States, one after another, accepted this bull, with the reservation that nothing must be inferred 'which might injure the rights of royal sovereignty, or which might be adverse to the laws of the country, to episcopal rights, or to the rights of the Evangelical Church.' Then, on 30th Jan. 1830, they promulgated an ordinance entitled the 'Thirty-nine Articles,' which revived the old *Church Pragmatic*. Pope Pius VIII. replied to this ordinance by the brief *Pervenerat non ita* of 30th June

1830, in which, after reproaching the bishops for not having themselves informed him of the Thirty-nine Articles, he enjoined upon them to defend the liberties of the Church. For a long time the bishops turned a deaf ear to this order; but at last, in 1851, yielding to the general feeling, which, since the events of 1848, had been turning all minds towards liberty, they had a bill published, in which were enumerated the liberties required by the Church, namely: liberty in the training of 'clerks' and in nominations to ecclesiastical posts, the right of possessing and erecting Catholic schools, the admission of monastic orders into the country, and the free administration of the property of the Church. After various incidents, Württemberg concluded a concordat with Rome, which was expressed in the bull *Cum in sublimi* of 22nd June 1857 (Nussi, p. 321). Baden, on its side, concluded one which is confirmed by the bull *Eterni patris vicaria* of 22nd Sept. 1859 (Nussi, p. 330). These two conventions gave satisfaction to the episcopal claims, and gave them especially the right to control education. But in 1860 the Baden Parliament forced the Grand Duke to annul the ordinance which the concordat promulgated. In 1861 the Parliament of Württemberg followed the same line of action. The concordats of Württemberg and Baden were therefore abrogated before being put into effect. Instead of them, the two countries in question regulated the affairs of the Church by laws. The Württemberg law of 30th Jan. 1862 proved quite favourable, but the Baden law of 1864 subjected education to a régime contrary to the conditions of the concordat.

(c) *Austria*.—Down to the middle of last century the Catholic Church of Austria was under the regulations which Joseph II. had given it, i.e. it was completely subject to the civil power and almost detached from Rome. In 1849, under the pressure of the occurrences which had disturbed Germany in the preceding year, the Austrian bishops asked and obtained free intercourse with Rome and the abolition of the Imperial *pacet*. This was the beginning of a new era. In 1853 the Austrian Government begged a concordat from Rome. The negotiations ended amicably, and the concordat concluded on 18th Aug. 1855 was published in Rome by the bull *Deus humane salutis auctor* of 3rd Nov. 1855, and in Vienna by the law of 5th Nov. following. It comprises thirty-six articles, of which the following are the chief:

Art. 1. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be protected throughout the whole Austrian Empire and in all the countries belonging to it, with the rights and privileges which it ought to enjoy in accordance with Divine law and canonical prescriptions. *Art. 16.* The most august Emperor will not allow the Catholic Church, its faith, its liturgies, or its institutions to be slandered either in word, deed, or writing. Nor will he allow the prelates and ministers of the churches to be hindered in the discharge of their ministry, especially in everything that concerns religion and morals, or in the discipline of the Church.

Other articles place education and printing under the control of the bishops, remove matrimonial trials from civil courts and submit them to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and recognize in the bishop the right of inflicting punishment on the 'clerks.' According to Art. 19, bishops are to be presented, i.e. nominated, by the Emperor ('*praesentat seu nominat*'), and canonically appointed by the Pope. Art. 25 reserves to the Emperor the ancient right of patronage, authorizing him to nominate a certain number of canons and curates (Nussi, p. 310; *Collectio lacensis*, v. 1221). This concordat, which brought the Austrian State completely under the power of the Pope, had only an ephemeral life. As early as 1862, in the Reichsrath, it was exposed to attacks, which went on increasing. The opposition received a first satisfaction in the constitutional laws of 21st Dec. 1867 and 25th April 1868, which, while allowing the Church its freedom of action, declared

it subject to the laws of the State. Then came the three laws of 25th May 1868, which extended the jurisdiction of civil courts to marriages, removed from the bishops the management of schools, and allowed to Dissenters the same rights as to Catholics. The Pope protested strongly against these three laws, which he styled 'abominable laws' (address on 22nd Jan. 1868). It was in vain. The concordat of 1855, however, still continued to exist, at least theoretically, in spite of the great breaches made in it by the laws of 1868. It prolonged its existence until the day when the Vatican Council proclaimed Infallibility. Then the Austrian Government decided to denounce the concordat. In conformity with this decision, Count Beust, in a despatch of 30th July 1870, informed the Pope that the concordat of 1855 was 'affected by decay, and regarded as repealed by the Imperial and Royal Government.' Nevertheless, the religious position of Bosnia and Herzegovina is regulated by the concordat concluded between Austria and the Holy See on 8th June 1881 (*Juris pontificii*, p. 342).

(d) *Spain*.—The death of Ferdinand VII. (1833) was the signal for great disturbances, in the course of which the concordat of 1753 was annulled. To restore peace to the minds of the people, Queen Isabella II. concluded a fresh convention with Pope Pius IX., this being the concordat of 16th March 1851, whose chief provisions were:

Art. 1. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be the religion of the Spanish nation, to the exclusion of all other worship. It shall enjoy all the rights and privileges claimed by the law of God and canon law. Art. 2. Education shall be under the control of the bishops. Art. 4. Royal authority shall preserve the right of nominations guaranteed it by the concordat of 1753. The other articles deal chiefly with the new circumscription of bishops and the endowment of the clergy (Nussi, p. 281).

Some years later the Spanish Government violated this concordat by the so-called law of 'amortization,' which ordered the immediate sale of the Church property. The Roman curia protested, and the nuncio left Madrid. Being unable to maintain resistance for any length of time, the Spanish Government yielded, and signed the additional convention of 25th Aug. 1859 to the following effect:

The State promises not to sell any Church property in future without the consent of the Holy See; the Church has the right of possession; the Holy See accepts what has been done, and brings forward no claim against the sales effected; the Church property shall be converted into inalienable incomes (Nussi, p. 241).

Towards the end of last century the Spanish Government made two separate attempts (1881 and 1894) to remove education from under the control of the bishops, but both failed. On 19th June 1904, Spain concluded with Pope Pius X. a concordat intended to regulate the position of the monks. This convention comprises twelve articles, which may be summed up to the effect that the congregations at present existing remain; the establishment of new congregations shall be subordinated to the authorization of the ecclesiastical power and the civil power (*Acta sanctæ sedis*, xxxvii. 157).

Since 1901 the Spanish Government has been entreating the Vatican to modify the Concordat. While awaiting the end of the negotiations, which the Roman curia is contriving to prolong, it has (by a decree of 31st May 1910), to the great dissatisfaction of Rome, imposed restrictions on religious congregations and (by an ordinance of 10th June 1910) authorized the outward signs of non-Catholic cults.

(e) *Russia*.—On 3rd Aug. 1847 the Czar Nicholas I. concluded with Pope Pius IX. a concordat, the chief conditions of which were: the Holy See shall nominate bishops only after an understanding with the Czar (Art. 12); the bishops shall nominate as curates clergy approved by the Government

(Art. 30); the teaching in seminaries and the administration of ecclesiastical affairs shall be in the hands of the bishops (various articles, Nussi, p. 273). Between 1847 and 1866, Rome complained several times that this last point was not observed. At last, in 1866, the insult committed against the Pope in the palace of the Vatican by the Ambassador from Russia to the Holy See brought about the rupture of the diplomatic relations between Rome and St. Petersburg. Leo XIII. renewed them by the convention of 23rd Dec. 1882 (*Analecta ecclesiastica*, iv. 75); but his endeavours to secure liberty of ecclesiastical administration were futile.

(f) *Italy*.—Concordat of 16th Sept. 1803 between Napoleon and Pius VII. about the Italian Republic (Nussi, p. 142). Concordat of 17th July 1817 between Victor Emmanuel I. and Pius VII. with regard to Sardinia (Nussi, p. 155). Concordat of 18th Feb. 1818 between Ferdinand and Pius VII. concerning the Two Sicilies (Nussi, p. 178). Concordat of 16th April 1834 between Ferdinand II. and Gregory XVI., intended to complement the former one (Nussi, p. 254). Concordat of 27th March 1841 between Charles Albert and Gregory XVI. on the subject of ecclesiastical immunity in Sardinia (Nussi, p. 266). Concordat of 25th April 1851 between Leopold II. and Pius IX. regarding Tuscany (Nussi, p. 278). All these conventions, even that of 1803 concerning the Italian Republic, recognize Catholicism as the State religion, except where they are confined to granting privileges to the Church. They were all superseded at the time of the formation of the present kingdom of Italy.

(g) *Switzerland*.—There are three concordats to be mentioned here: (1) the concordat of 26th March 1828 between Leo XII. and the districts of Berne, Lucerne, Soleure, and Zug with reference to the establishment of the bishopric of Basel (Nussi, p. 242); (2) the concordat of 7th Nov. 1845 between Gregory XVI. and the district of St. Gall with reference to the establishment of the bishopric of this name (Nussi, p. 269); and (3) the concordat of 1st Sept. 1884 with the Federal Council to remove the Catholics of Tessin from under the jurisdiction of the Italian bishops (*Acta sanctæ sedis*, xxii. 449; *Juris pontificii*, p. 343). The last convention was definitely fixed on 16th March 1888 (*Juris pontificii*, p. 345).

(h) *Holland*.—The king of the Netherlands, William I., concluded with Pope Leo XII. a concordat attested by the bull *Quod jamdiu* of 16th Aug. 1827. The first article of this treaty declares that the French concordat of 1801 shall be applied to the country which is to-day called Holland, and which is designated in the convention by the name of 'the provinces north of Belgium.' Art. 17 of the French concordat, referring to the nomination of bishops, is excepted. The concordat of Holland stipulates that the bishops shall be nominated by the chapters, who, however, shall submit their choice to the consent of the king (Nussi, p. 232).

(i) *Belgium*.—The Catholic Church of this country was under the rule of the French concordat of 1801 until the year 1830. From that time, i.e. from the day of Belgian independence, the concordat was suppressed, and made way for a rule established by the Belgian constitution without a preliminary agreement with Rome. The State interferes neither in the nomination nor in the installation of ministers of worship, but it takes under its charge the salaries of bishops, curates, and vicars.

(j) *Portugal*.—Between this country and Pius IX. was concluded the concordat of 20th Feb. 1857 regarding the bishoprics of Goa and Macao (Nussi, p. 318). This concordat was supplanted by that of 7th Aug. 1886 (*Leonis Pontif. XIII. allocutiones*,

ii. 205; *Acta sanctæ sedis*, xix. 185; *Juris pontificii*, p. 349).

(k) *Montenegro*.—The concordat of 15th Aug. 1886 took Antivari under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Scutari (*Leonis Pontif. XIII. allocutiones*, ii. 275; *Juris pontificii*, p. 357).

(l) *England*.—In 1814 the Prime Minister, Lord Castlereagh, submitted to Cardinal Consalvi a scheme of concordat with regard to the English Catholics. Castlereagh claimed the three following points: (1) an oath of fidelity to the established Government and to the Constitution shall be imposed upon Catholics; (2) no episcopal nomination shall take place without the Government being previously advised of the candidates; the Government shall have power to offer objections and even to declare its *veto*; (3) all acts coming from Rome, except those of the Penitentiary, shall be submitted to the Royal *exequatur*. When Pius VII. was consulted by Consalvi, he replied that he accepted the oath of fidelity, but that he could not grant the king of England the *veto* or the *exequatur*. Lord Castlereagh's scheme fell through (de Richemont, 'Un essai de concordat entre l'Angleterre et le Saint-Siège,' *Correspondant*, 25th Sept. and 10th Oct. 1905).

(m) *Malta*.—On 12th Jan. 1890 there was concluded between England and Leo XIII. a concordat with regard to Malta. The clauses of this treaty were as follows:—(1) The British Government shall henceforth be consulted in the choice of the bishop of Malta and Gozzo; (2) the Holy See shall nominate an Englishman to superintend the seminary, where courses shall be given in English; (3) instructions shall be sent to the clergy to forbid interments in the churches (*Leonis Pontif. XIII. allocutiones*, iv. 68; *Juris pontificii*, p. 364).

(n) *Central America*.—The Republics of Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Hayti concluded concordats with Rome on the following dates: 7th Oct. 1852, Guatemala (Nussi, p. 303); 22nd April 1862, San Salvador and Honduras (Nussi, pp. 367, 349); 2nd Nov. 1861, Nicaragua (Nussi, p. 361); 7th Oct. 1852, Costa Rica (Nussi, p. 297); 28th March 1866, Hayti (Nussi, p. 346). All these conventions recognize Catholicism as the State religion, grant to the civil power the right of episcopal nomination, and fix the material resources of the clergy. Mexico, on the contrary, has refrained from forming any concordat, has proclaimed freedom of worship, and has left the Church to its own resources.

(o) *South America*.—Concordats similar to those we have just mentioned were concluded by Ecuador on 26th Sept. 1862 (Nussi, p. 349); Venezuela, on 26th July 1862 (Nussi, p. 356); Colombia, on 31st Dec. 1887 (*Acta sanctæ sedis*, xxi. 7; *Juris pontificii*, p. 358). Ecuador obtained a new concordat slightly modifying the former one on 2nd May 1881 (*Juris pontificii*, p. 335), completed by an additional convention of 8th Nov. 1890 (*ib.*, p. 339). Colombia supplemented its convention by an additional one on 20th July 1892 (*Analecta ecclesiastica*, i. 24; *Juris pontificii*, p. 362).

ii. JUDICIAL CHARACTER.—The problem of the judicial character of concordats gives rise to three main theories, which regard concordats (1) as privileges granted by the Church; (2) as international contracts or treaties; (3) as laws emanating from the civil power.

1. *Theory of privilege*.—This theory holds that in concordats the Church gives all and receives nothing; that it makes gracious concessions to the State to which the latter has no right, and that the State, on the contrary, when guaranteeing certain advantages to the Church, does no more than pay its debt. Concordats therefore do not

impose any obligation of justice on the Papacy, and the Pope may derogate from them when he thinks fit. According to these principles, the concordat may be defined (Tarquini, *Institutiones juris ecclesiastici publici*, Rome, 1862, p. 73) as 'an ecclesiastical law made by the authority of the Pope for a State or a Kingdom, at the instigation of the head of that State, and laying upon the prince the obligation of observing it religiously.' It is easily seen that this theory is based on the doctrine, so dear to the Middle Ages, that civil power is subordinated to ecclesiastical power. And, down to the middle of the 19th cent., it has been in favour with Roman theologians, as Baldi (*De nativa et peculiare indole concordatorum apud scholasticos interpretes*, Rome, 1883, p. 65ff.) has preposterously demonstrated.

The following are a few of the proofs brought forward by Baldi. To the question as to whether the Pope can derogate from the Germanic concordat, the canonist Branden replies: 'We need not pause long over this question. Whosoever recognizes that the Supreme Pontiff is the vicar of Christ, with full administration of all the possessions belonging to the churches, will have no difficulty in admitting that His Holiness, on account of the fullness of his power, can abrogate the concordat wholly or in part. When it is said that the concordat has the value of a contract, it means on the side of the Germanic peoples. They are, in the first place, obliged by Divine right, as Christians, to submit themselves to the Supreme Pontiff with regard to reservations. They are, moreover, bound by the concordat established with a view to pacification, so that they would be inexcusable if they refused to obey the Apostolic See by violating a ratified compact. But, on the Pope's side, the concordat made on behalf of the Germanic races contains only a favour whose fate depends entirely on the inclination of the Pope according to the words: *Quidquid tibi veris*. . . Now the Pope may easily give up papacy, but he cannot abdicate the powers inherent in papacy by Divine right.' The theologian Laymann wonders whether the Pontifical legate might confer benefices during the months when, according to the Germanic concordat, the collation is left to the bishops. He replies: 'The negative answer seems preferable to me for this reason: that the concordat of Nicholas v. with the German nation is supposed to have the value of a contract from which the Supreme Pontiff is not in the habit of derogating, although, in virtue of the fullness of his power, he might derogate.' In another place the same author expresses himself thus: 'The Pope, in consequence of the fullness of his power, may derogate from the concordat and confer benefices after the interval that is given to him, both during the months reserved to him, and in others also.'

The canonist Wagmareck says: 'In spite of the approval, ratification, and acceptance of the concordat by the Pope, the latter may, in consequence of the fullness of his power, abrogate this arrangement completely or in part, considering that it has as its aim the right to benefices and ecclesiastical property, a right which, being connected with spiritual things, has nothing whatever to do with the laity, and which the clergy themselves could not possess independently of the Supreme Pontiff.'

In Pirhing we read: 'Although, properly speaking, the Supreme Pontiff may, in virtue of the fullness of his authority, derogate (from the Germanic concordat) for some serious reason concerning the public welfare, he is, nevertheless, not in the habit of doing so, and he would not do it without disadvantage, except in the case where a serious and extraordinary cause demanded a measure of this kind for the good of the Church.'

Reiffenstül expresses himself thus: 'It is most probable that the pontifical legate cannot confer benefices during the months reserved to collators. This is, in fact, contrary to the spirit of the concordats passed between the Apostolic See and other nations. Now these concordats have the character of a contract from which the Supreme Pontiff is not accustomed to derogate, although, properly speaking, the fullness of his power allows him to do so.'

Nicolaris uses the same words: 'The Pope cannot derogate from the Germanic concordat arbitrarily and without a legitimate reason, but he may do so when a just and reasonable cause demands it. . . In the compacts which he makes he cannot and does not wish to abdicate his authority without reserving the chief part of it. A person may easily, for purposes of private utility, give up a private right; but he cannot give up a public right, especially when it is divine (which is the case) and when it is connected with the public interests of the Church. That the head of a hierarchical or politico-sacred body should not be the head of it, and should not have, as such, the power of Divine right inherent in the chief of that body, is a contradiction. But the concordats which the Pope passes with a king or a prince, from the point of view of the Pope, are not so much contracts as privileges. . . Now privileges are revocable. It is the same with concordats.' To support his statement, Nicolaris quotes a decision arrived at by the Court of Rota in the year 1610, which says: 'There is no doubt that the Pope may derogate from the concordat in virtue of the very great power that he possesses with regard to benefices. His is, in fact, the universal Ordinary, and he cannot have agreed to the concordat so far as to tie his own

hands. It is sometimes said that the Germanic concordat has the value of a contract. But this is not true, as spiritual things do not come under business, but are drawn up under the form of favours. Other texts may be found in Baldi, *op. cit.*

This theory reigned in the Catholic schools down to the year 1871. It was held by Tarquini, professor in the Roman College, in his book, *Institutiones juris ecclesiastici publici* (p. 73). It also formed the basis of the book published by Maurice de Bonald, *Deux questions sur le concordat de 1801*, Geneva, 1871. Several bishops declared to the author of the latter book that he had faithfully interpreted the mind of the Church (cf. the texts in *Acta sanctae sedis*, vi. 536 ff.), and the Pope himself sent him a brief (19th June 1872) to say that he had explained the real and authentic idea of concordats, as, in the conventions bearing upon the things which concern it, the Church does not seek to take possession of the rights of others, but yields up her own rights. But, shortly after, the Minister of Religions in Bavaria read the pontifical brief to the Parliament of that country, and concluded that, since the Holy See considered concordats as privileges and not as compacts, the civil power was not bound by them either. This incident caused great agitation, and showed the majority of the theologians how dangerous was the theory of the privilege-concordat. Since 1871 this theory has had only a very small number of representatives in the Catholic Church, among whom we may mention Scavini, *Theologia moralis*, Milan, 1894, bk. iv. p. 105; Gaspar de Luise, *De jure publico seu diplomatico Ecclesiae Catholicae*, Naples, 1877, p. 505; Baldi, *op. cit.* p. 65 ff.; Satolli, *Prima principia publici ecclesiastici*, Rome, 1888, p. 45. General opinion is in favour of the contract-concordat.

2. **Theory of contract.**—This theory regards concordats as contracts, which are included in the category of international treaties, and which lay a strict obligation of justice on the two contracting parties—on Popes and on Governments. It is based on the very terms of the concordats and on repeated declarations made by the Popes. In the bull *Primitiva illa Ecclesia*, Pope Leo X. practically says:

'As we agree to the above arrangement with King Francis, because of his sincere devotion to us and our See, . . . and as we desire its inviolable observation, we decide that it has the power and the value of a real obligatory contract, legitimately concluded between us and the Apostolic See on the one hand, and the above-mentioned king and his kingdom on the other, neither we nor our successors being able to derogate from it by any letter or favour.'

In the Spanish concordat of 1753 we read (Art. xxv.):

'His Holiness, pledging his faith as Supreme Pontiff, and his Majesty, giving his word as Catholic king, mutually promise in their name and in the name of their successors to observe completely and for all time each and all of the foregoing articles, wishing and declaring that neither the Holy See nor the Catholic king can claim more than is comprised and expressed in the above-mentioned chapters.'

In the bull *Ecclesia Christi*, intended to promulgate the French concordat of 1801, Pope Pius VII. says:

'We promise and take an oath in our name and in the name of our successors, to fulfil and observe sincerely and inviolably all that is contained in these articles.'

We read likewise in the Bavarian concordat:

'Each of the contracting parties, as well as his successors, promises to observe religiously all that has been agreed upon in these articles.'

The theory of the contract-concordat has been held in modern times by some jurists. Calvo (*Le Droit international*², Paris, 1870-72, i. 703) says:

'Concordats are not, properly speaking, international treaties, as the Church cannot be regarded as a nation. It is difficult, however, not to place them in the category of diplomatic agreements, since, on the one hand, they are concluded between two supreme authorities foreign to each other, who combine their action and negotiate on neutral ground for the purpose of preventing all chance of clashing, and since, on the other hand, they pass through all the formalities devoted

to the other treaties from the time of the negotiation until the exchange of ratifications.'

The same doctrine used to be taught also in France and in Germany by theologians interested in Gallic maxims. But until the most recent times theologians who were anxious to defend the rights of the Papacy rejected it. They were not ignorant of the declarations by which the Popes vowed to be faithful to concordatory stipulations, but they got rid of this objection by distinguishing between the Pope's ordinary power and his extraordinary power. According to them, concordats bound the ordinary power of the Pope, but not his extraordinary power. (This is very well explained by Baldi, p. 77.) Since 1872 several theologians and canonists, devoted to the maxims of the Curia, have taught the contract idea of concordats, combining it, however, in various degrees with the theory of the privilege-concordat. According to Giobbio (*I Concordati*, Rome, 1900, p. 54), concordats are contract-privileges, i.e. privileges granted by the Pope to the civil party, but granted under the form of a contract. Before him M. Liberatore (*La Chiesa e lo stato*, Rome, 1875, p. 353) had brought forward the same doctrine in slightly different words.

3. **Theory of the civil law.**—According to this theory, the concordat is a civil law, which from a judicial point of view is exactly the same as the other acts emanating from the legislative power of a country. Undoubtedly, before promulgating this law the State has settled the terms of it conjointly with the Pope. But this agreement, which has had an influence on the framing of the law, cannot have given any special judicial character to the law itself. Like all other laws, the concordatory law arises from the only legislative power in the country which has established it; it may be revoked as soon as this power thinks fit. This theory is held to-day by most jurists in France, Germany, and Italy. Bluntschli (*Das moderne Völkerrecht*, Heidelberg, 1871, p. 443) says:

'International law can protect concordats only in an imperfect way, because, on the one hand, the contracting State can make use of all the means authorized by the law, and can even have recourse to violence; and, on the other, if the Church does not possess these means, it can make use of those which religious authority grants it, and which are not placed under the control of international law. Concordats, therefore, form a separate class to which the principles which govern ordinary treaties must not be applied except with caution. . . . Concordats, as a rule, are only temporary settlements of the relations between Church and State, made by common consent, on the borders where they touch and often enter into conflict. In reality the State is quite as well authorized to settle these questions alone and without the help of the Church as the latter is to make religious resolutions. This right of both parties is not lost in consequence of the concordat.'

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CONCUBINAGE.

Introductory (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 809.
Christian (D. S. SCHAFF), p. 817.

CONCUBINAGE.—1. Definition.—Concubinage may be defined as the more or less permanent cohabitation (outside the true marriage bond) of a man with a woman or women, who usually form part of his household, and whose position may be that of secondary wives, women bought, acquired by gift, or captured in war, or domestic slaves. Captive women are generally made household slaves, and are not always necessarily concubines, but, where concubinage is recognized, they can hardly fail to become concubines, cohabitation with them on the part of the father or sons being occasional or habitual. In some cases they are made wives, legal or secondary, though it is sometimes illegal to marry a slave. The female servants of a wife may become the husband's concubines, though usually only with her permission (see § 4). In these various forms concubinage has had a well-nigh universal range, yet there are exceptions (see § 2). Its differentiation from marriage must have originated when some ceremony of marriage was first used, unless we suppose, with Westermarck (*Moral Ideas*, London, 1908, ii. 391, 395), that monogamy was originally the general form of union; hence the first wife had a higher place when polygamy became general.¹ But, if men were at first polygynous whenever possible, like many of the higher apes, taking women as it suited them, still one woman—the first acquired, the favourite, or the most assertive—would be in a better position than the others, and would occupy in relation to them the position which, later, the married woman occupied in relation to the secondary wives or concubines, when marriage, as a definite institution, came to be marked by a ceremony or by some regulated method of obtaining a wife, e.g. by purchase or service. The first wife would then, for many reasons, occupy a higher position than later wives, as is the case in most polygamous societies, or than women with whom the husband had relations without going through the ceremony of marriage. She was the first to be obtained by her husband, she would generally be of higher rank than later comers, and by her established position she would exert her authority over them.² Probably, too, the growing dignity of the first wife would lead to the neglect of the marriage ceremonial in the case of other wives. This would in any case be necessary where the man went to live with the family of his wife; subsequent 'wives' would be obtained in other ways, and would have a lower position. Thus, even when polygyny takes the form of polygamy with concubinage, the concubines being on a different footing from the wives, the latter, as compared with the first or chief wife, are usually in a subordinate position. In polygamous households with no concubines, the later wives can hardly be differentiated from concubines. The chief wife has been bought or served for, the secondary wives and concubines are women obtained in easier ways. Indeed, where wives are obtained only by purchase, a man will often be content to purchase one, and will obtain secondary wives or concu-

¹ If there was ever a primitive monogamous sentiment, it soon became obscured, as the polygynous sentiment has certainly been almost universal, though, in actual practice, polygyny is generally limited in any single society (see § 2).

² Even where all the wives are equal, as among the Bechuana, the first, or the woman of highest rank, 'has the upper hand when they are unable to agree' (Starcke, *Prim. Family*², London, 1896, p. 59).

Greek and Roman (W. KROLL), p. 819.

bines by means of raids undertaken expressly for that purpose, as among the Kafir, who make raids to capture women whom they make concubines to escape the necessity of purchasing wives. Here we must distinguish between the gaining of a bride by capture from a strange tribe—a practice which obtains among some 40 peoples (Tylor, *JAI* xviii. 245 ff.)—and the much more generally diffused custom of making secondary wives or slave concubines of women taken in war or raids.¹

This practice was probably the origin of slavery. Male captives were at first slain or sacrificed. Women and children, though sometimes sacrificed, eaten, prostituted, or sold, were more generally made slaves, secondary wives, or concubines. Their position as slave-workers led men to see the value of similarly enslaving male captives. Generally speaking, where there are no slave women, as among the Australians, Melanesians, Hottentots, Fuegians, and some American Indian tribes, there will be no concubines, and the wives are then in an extremely servile position.

The difference between the chief and lesser wives or concubines would certainly be augmented where the latter were captives, and the former chosen from native women. This difference extended itself as civilization advanced—the wife being taken from a man's own rank, concubines from women of a lower rank. Thus, in practice, polygyny in its various forms comes gradually to be monogamy, with legal concubinage; and finally issues in monogamy, with concubinage as an unauthorized or illegal practice. But at certain stages of society, as Spencer has shown (*Principles of Sociology*, i. [London, 1877] 708), there is a connexion between militancy and polygyny, warlike tribes which capture many women being inevitably polygynous. In the higher civilizations, while concubines are occasionally obtained by war, they are more often purchased, as in ancient Mexico, China, Japan, Abyssinia, India, etc.; or sometimes they form a gift from one king to another or to a subject.

2. Causes and limits of polygyny.—As long as men are regarded as the owners of women, there will be no limit set to their acquiring them, whether as wives or as concubines or both. Many causes have contributed to make man polygynous (see Westermarck, *Hist. of Hum. Mar.*² p. 483 ff.); nevertheless polygyny, whether in the form of polygamy or concubinage, could never, at any time or in any region, have been practised by all the members of a tribe or people. As an examination of descriptions of polygynous peoples shows, it is the privilege of the few, partly because of the expense of supporting several women, partly because a universal polygyny would necessitate an enormous excess of females over males, and partly because, at the lower levels of civilization, the old and influential men (Australia)—good hunters, brave warriors, and head men—and, at higher levels, the rich and powerful—chiefs, kings, and men of rank—appropriate most of the women. Thus, through necessity, the bulk of the people, the poorer and often the younger men, are monogamous, whether they like it or not. Polygyny thus comes to be associated with the reputation of a warrior, with wealth, or with greatness. It becomes a sign of these, and also the test of wealth or consequence. This is true even of the Australian natives, with whom a man's riches are measured by the number of his wives, or, as among the Urubunna tribe, the number of a

¹ Respect for women in war is sporadically found among American Indian tribes, the Kabyles, and elsewhere (*Hobhouse's Morals in Evolution*. London, 1906, i. 251).

man's *piraungaru* women depends on his power and popularity (Letourneau, *L'Evol. de l'esclavage*, 32; Spencer-Gillen², 62). Thus polygyny becomes the privilege of the few, and is sometimes forbidden to the common people. On the other hand, where maintenance is easy, or where, for any reason, there is a large surplus of women, it will be more widely diffused. And, since at certain levels women are the labourers and food-providers, and are skilful in the numerous occupations of savage life, they are able to provide for themselves and for their lords, and all the men of the tribe will try to possess as many of them as possible in order to be maintained by them. Nevertheless, as a general rule, it is true that polygyny is for the minority only, and is strictly proportioned to a man's prowess, wealth, or rank. Thus, in Dahomey 'the king has thousands of wives, the nobles hundreds, others tens, while the soldier is unable to support one' (Forbes, *Dahomey*, London, 1851, i. 25); and among the South American Araucanians the poor and feeble must be celibates or monogamous, while others buy wives and procure concubines by raids (D'Orbigny, *L'Homme américain*, Paris, 1839, i. 403). Statements like these regarding polygynous peoples are common—the people have one wife, chiefs, warriors, and kings have many wives and concubines, and in some cases they alone, or the wealthy, are allowed to possess them, as among some N. and S. American tribes, some Ainu tribes, and the ancient Peruvians (Westermarck, p. 437; von Siebold, Suppl. to ZE, 1881, p. 31; § 4 (6)).

A strict monogamy and, in consequence, no concubinage, occurs among some 50 peoples, either from necessity or from scarcity of women, but often also from preference. Some of these tribes are often the kindred of polygynous tribes. Among these monogamous groups are some of the lowest peoples—the Veddas, Andaman and Nicobar Islanders, and some Australian tribes (Bailey TES, new ser., ii. 291 ff.; Man, JAI xii. 136; Distant, ib. iii. 4; Curr, *Austral. Race*, London, 1886-7, i. 402, ii. 371, 378; cf. Westermarck, p. 436 ff.), while polygyny is rare among the Fuegians, Hottentots, and Bushmen (Westermarck, p. 442; Waitz, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, ii. 341; Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, London, 1822-4, ii. 60).

3. Concubinage among lower races.—If already, in the most primitive times, there was a tendency to give one wife a slightly better position than the others, this tendency is most marked both in savage and in barbaric polygamous societies, especially where polygamy is limited to rich or great men. A higher position is usually given to the first wife—the wife who was married according to a ceremony (which in some cases must not be repeated)—or, less frequently, to the favourite wife (e.g. the Damaras, where her son inherits [Anderson, *Lake Ngami*³, London, 1856, pp. 225, 228]), or to the one who has borne most or healthiest children (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, London, 1846, i. 240; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig, 1865, i. 226), or to one who has some outstanding characteristic. Where the first married is the chief wife, this is generally because she is of the husband's rank, while later 'wives' are of lower rank, sometimes even captives; and in such cases she is often regarded as the only legitimate wife. There are exceptions to this, as where each wife has a separate hut, chamber, or hearth, or where there is equal cohabitation with each, or each in turn is given a temporary supremacy, or where all are sisters (Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, 1894, i. 145, 63 f.). Yet even here the first wife tends to be recognized as chief. As a rule, this 'hierarchical polygamy' is well-marked. There is a chief or 'great' wife, and lesser wives who pay her respect, and who are often her handmaids, and are certainly in subjection to her. For this reason it is difficult to discriminate between instances of true monogamous marriage with concubinage and this hierarchical polygamy, since in one case the concubines, in the other the lesser

wives, are practically in the same position, are often acquired in the same way (by capture or purchase as slaves), and are not married with the usual ceremony, while their children have often a different status from those of the chief wife (§ 9). The examples of polygamy with concubinage will be discussed later; in such cases the position of the lesser wives is less servile than that of the concubines.

The monogamous Karoks of California permit a man to keep as many female slaves as he pleases, but cohabitation with more than one brings obloquy (Powers, *Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877, p. 22). Among many American Indian tribes a distinction is drawn between the first or real wife and all successors, her children alone being legitimate or of the father's rank (Westermarck, p. 443). In Guatemala a man could make concubines of his female slaves; and, when a young noble married a child wife, he was also given a concubine (NR ii. 650, 664). In Nicaragua, where bigamy was punished, and where it was forbidden under pain of death to use the marriage ceremony a second time, concubinage was recognized (NR ii. 671; Herrera, *Hist. générale*, Paris, 1671, i. 330). Among many S. American tribes the first wife and her children have special privileges, and she is mistress of the house. She has usually been purchased or acquired by the husband's labour; the others are captives made in tribal raids (Post, i. 143, note; Waitz, iii. 383; Wallace, *Amazon*, London, 1895, p. 346; Westermarck, p. 443; D'Orbigny, ii. 307). The Araucanians are forbidden to have more than one wife, but concubines are allowed (Post, i. 62). One wife and, subject to her, many concubines (often women captives captured in raids) are permitted to the Ainus, Mongols, and Tangutans (Bickmore, TES, new ser., vii. 20; Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, London, 1892, p. 288; Prejevalsky, *Mongolia*, London, 1876, i. 69, ii. 121). In Burma a married man who can afford it buys concubines; while among the peoples of the Indian archipelago and in Siam, the first wife or the wife who has been ceremonially married occupies a different position from that of the other wives or concubines (Letourneau, *La Condition de la femme*, 224; Crawford, *Indian Archipel.*, Edinburgh, 1830, i. 77, iii. 100; Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, London, 1855, p. 182). A Malay refused to give his daughter to a man of his own rank who is already married. If the latter wants more wives, he takes them from a lower class, and they are regarded as concubines, the ceremony being observed at the first marriage alone (Starcke, *Prim. Family*⁴, 264). With some of the aboriginal Indian tribes one wife only is permitted, but concubines are allowed (Deccan [Köhler, ZVRW viii. 114]), or the first wife has the pre-eminence, the others being her servants (Dalton, *Desor. Eth. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 216; Letourneau, *Evol. of Marriage*, 138). While polygamy was general in Polynesia, the lesser wives were subordinate to the chief wife, who did no hard work, and they were of lower rank, or captives taken in war. They were concubines rather than wives (Maoris, Tongans, Tahitians, Samoans, etc. [Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, London, 1870, p. 338; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 105, 107, 119; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1869, i. 273; Cook, *Voyage to the Pacific*, London, 1785, i. 401]). With the Bantus of Timor and the Nueri of New Guinea one legitimate wife and permissible concubinage is the rule (Post, i. 62). Among several of the Bantu peoples of Africa the lesser wives are in the position of concubines, e.g. with the Basutos the 'great' wife is mistress of the house, and the others are inferior, and regarded as concubines (Casella, *The Basutos*, London, 1861, p. 186); and among the tribes of East Central Africa the chief wife is a free woman and superintends the work of the others, who are slaves (Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 134). This is true also of some of the Negro tribes (Post, i. 62). Among the Hovas of Madagascar there is a chief wife (*vadi-be*) and 'little wives' (*vadi-keli*); the former has her own hut, the latter live together in equal servitude (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 297 f.; Rochon, 'Voy. to Madag.', in Pinkerton, *Voyages*, London, 1814, xvi. 747). Among the Australian polygynous tribes, where a man may have as many wives as he can obtain or keep, the first is superior in authority if she can maintain her position with the younger and later wives. This is especially the case where, besides his individual wife, a man takes one or more of the women belonging to the class into which he has a right to marry (Dawson, *Aust. Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 33; Woods, *Nat. Tribes of S. Aust.*, Adelaide, 1879, p. 12; Palmer, JAI xlii. 282; Howitt, ib. xx. 53 f.; Thomas, *Natives of Aust.*, London, 1906, p. 176). Sometimes, where marriage is forbidden to priests, as among Mongol tribes, they are permitted to have concubines (Köhne, ZVRW ix. 461).

But, among many savages there are marriages to several wives, concubinage sometimes co-exists with this polygamous arrangement, though even here the first wife married is usually the chief, and exercises authority over the lesser wives and concubines. In some cases, however, as among the ultra-polygamous Negro households, there may be several head wives (Post, *Afr. Jurisprud.*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1887, i. 313, 315). In most cases concubines are here captives taken in war or raids, though occasionally they are purchased.

Among the Eskimos polygamy and concubinage are occasionally found, women captured in fight being made concubines (Steller, *Kamschatka*, Frankfurt, 1774, ii. 157). Among the Apaches and other polygamous tribes of N. America, and among the nomadic tribes of the S. American pampas, besides wives there are numerous concubines—female prisoners taken in the *razzias* which are so frequent (Reclus, *Prim. Folk*, London, 1889, p. 128; D'Orbigny, i. 403). This is also true of the polygamous Kafir tribes that made raids expressly to obtain girls as concubines, who, unlike their wives, were without protection and at their mercy (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 77). But the most striking examples are found among the Negro tribes, especially those of Dahomey, Ashanti, etc. Generally a man has as many wives and concubines as he can buy or otherwise procure. Concubines are usually obtained in raids, or are bought as slaves, or are given to his favourites by the king. The number of wives and concubines increases in proportion to a man's position and wealth, the kings of the barbarous kingdoms often having hundreds or thousands in their harem, while they have a right over every unmarried girl (Speke, *Source of the Nile*, London, 1863, p. 344; Bosman, in Pinkerton, xvi. 479–80; Burton, *Mission to Gelele*, London, 1864, ii. 67; Letourneau, *L'Esclav. 81 f.*). The Fijians of New Guinea raid villages to obtain concubines, and in Fiji polygamy was accompanied by concubinage, chiefs often possessing hundreds of concubines, while there was a custom by which a bride took with her a child of the lower class and presented her to her husband when she had attained puberty (Letourneau, *ib.* 43, *Marriage*, p. 124; Williams, *Fiji*, London, 1858, i. 32). In Samoa, besides their wives, of whom one had a high position, chiefs made concubines of young women among their subjects (Pritchard, *Polynes. Remin.*, London, 1866, pp. 132, 372). In the Indian archipelago, polygamy with concubinage is generally confined to men of high rank (Westermarck, p. 440), but among the Lampongs of Sumatra the custom is for each man to have four wives, besides concubines. The third and fourth wives are subordinate to the first and second respectively, and the concubines to all four wives. The house is divided into three parts—*prampung*, *balangan*, and *tenga*. The first wife lives in the *prampung*, the second in the *balangan*, the third and fourth in wings of the *prampung* and *balangan*; the *tenga* is shared by the concubines (Post, *Ethnol. Jurisp.* i. 144 f.).

Some revolting forms of concubinage occur sporadically. For example, among the Caribs captive women were not eaten, but were kept for bearing children, who were eaten. The same occurred in Darien, where the mother also was eventually eaten (Andree, *Anthropophagie*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 72; Markham, *Travels of P. de Cieza de Leon*, London, 1864, p. 50 ff.). With this may be compared the Guarani and Tupi custom of allotting to each prisoner a woman of the tribe until the time came for him to be eaten, when the woman was one of the first to share in the meal; and the Mexican custom of giving four girls to the captive destined to be sacrificed to Tezcatlipoca. These were named after four goddesses, and were specially trained for this purpose (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 161; Andree, 85; *NR* iii. 423).

The custom of Europeans living with native women in different parts of the world and having children by them is a common form of concubinage, and one which dates from the first contact of white men with savages.

4. Concubinage among higher races.—(1) While monogamy was general among the people in *Egypt* (Herod. ii. 92), there was no restriction upon polygyny, and it flourished among the higher classes. Monogamy was binding upon the priests, but some of them appear to have had concubines; a high priest c. 40 A.D. says: 'I had beautiful concubines' (Diod. Sic. i. 80; W. Max Müller, *Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 5). Among the higher classes each wife had her own house, of which she was mistress; but they had different rights, according to their rank. Besides them were concubines—domestic slaves, or war captives, who had few rights. Kings had one chief wife—the 'great spouse' or queen, often a sister—many lesser wives varying in rank, and innumerable concubines—foreign women, hostages, captives, or slaves. On the monuments, kings boast of the number of women they had carried off in war. These were taken to the harems, while there was also a regular tribute of women from various places. The nobles imitated the royal establishment, and besides the legitimate wife had concubines, dancers, and slaves. Wall-paintings

often exhibit the king with his queen seated by him, and his lesser wives or concubines dancing before them. At a later period polygyny was still more the privilege of the higher classes and officials, while from the time of king Bocchoris onwards (c. 730 B.C.) marriage contracts are found in which a wife (probably because of her possession of property) has a clause inserted which insists on the husband's making her a payment in the event of his taking another wife or concubine (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, London, 1894, pp. 51 f., 270, 298; Flinders Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, London, 1896, ii. 274; Wilkinson, i. 318 f.; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 336 ff.; Paturet, *La Cond. jurid. de la femme dans l'anc. Egypte*, Paris, 1886, p. 22).

(2) With the ancient peoples of the East, concubinage was common and of great antiquity, the word for a rival wife (Heb. נָשִׂיָּה) being common to all the Semitic languages. Among the *Babylonians* the Code of Hammurabi shows the conditions of its existence about 2285 B.C. Polygamy was restricted, and had little hold upon the people, the bulk of whom were monogamous, the wife generally having a high place in the community. But it was commoner among the rich and powerful, one of the wives ranking before the others. In marriage contracts it was often stipulated that, if the husband took another wife or a concubine, the first wife might leave him, while he would have to pay her an indemnity (Maspero, p. 735; Sayce, *Social Life among the Assyrs. and Bab.*, London, 1893, p. 45 ff.; Johns, *JThSt* iv. 180). But, according to the Code, a man might marry a second wife if 'sickness had seized' the first (§ 148). The wife might give the husband a slave girl as a concubine to bear him children, but he must not then take one himself. If she tried to rival her mistress on that account, the latter might put a mark on her and place her among the slaves, but could not sell her if she had borne children. Where a childless wife failed to supply a concubine, the husband might take one himself, but she was not to be on an equality with the wife (§ 144 f.). A concubine might be put away, but her marriage portion must then be returned. This was what had been given her by her father when he gave her as a concubine (§§ 137, 183 f.). Such concubines were rather lesser wives, and the Code shows that they had a fixed status. But apparently a man's maidservants or slaves might also be concubines without legal status. Their children shared in the goods of the father at his death only if he had acknowledged them; but, in any case, they were free (§ 170 f.; Johns, *The Oldest Code of Laws*, London, 1903). Such slave concubines were entirely at the mercy of their master, whose right over them was absolute, and 'the begetting of children by their master was desired rather than otherwise' (Maspero, p. 735). Kings had several wives as well as concubines, and sometimes the son of a favourite slave might be nominated as the successor to the throne. They had also the right to take any female slave from her master as a concubine. In such a case the seller of the slave undertook all responsibility incurred by such a claim (*ib.* 708; Sayce, p. 77). There existed among the people irregular marriages, in which the father's consent was not required, and no purchase price was paid for the woman, though cohabitation, terminable at will, took place. Such a woman, however, was regarded by the law as a mere concubine, and had to wear a stone with her own and her husband's name and the date of their union (Maspero, p. 735).

In *Assyria*, kings were probably monogamous, but had several concubines; rich men also had many female slaves, dancers, and flute-players (Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, London, 1862,

i. 505; see also Kohler-Feiser, *Aus dem bab. Rechtsleben*, Leipzig, 1890-98).

(3) Among the *Hebrews*, though the bulk of the people were probably monogamous (but cf. 1 S 12), polygamy and concubinage were permissible and provided for in the laws (cf. Dt 21¹⁶), and were practised by the well-to-do (cf. Jg 19). The moving cause of polygyny was probably desire for offspring, as with many other peoples, especially in the East. In the patriarchal age there are some likenesses to the Bab. Code. Jacob is not to take other wives besides Laban's daughters (Gn 31³⁰). The wife might give her husband one of her female slaves as a concubine in order to raise up children—a common Eastern custom, the children being reckoned to the wife, who retained her authority over the slave. Thus, Sarah gave her handmaid Hagar to Abraham (who had other concubines); Rachel gave Bilhah to Jacob, 'that I may also have children by her'; and Leah gave him Zilpah when she 'saw that she had left bearing' (Gn 16³ 25⁶ [cf. 1 Ch 1³²] 30⁸⁻⁹). Each mother and her children had a separate tent (Gn 31³³). In Jg 8³⁰ Gideon has many wives and concubines. Concubinage, which would naturally result from the power of a man over his female slaves, is contemplated in the Law. In the Book of the Covenant a father may sell his daughter as a concubine or slave-wife for the buyer or his son. She is not to be set free in the Sabbatical year, though this rule is abrogated in Dt 15¹²⁻¹⁷ (or perhaps by that time the selling of a Hebrew woman as a concubine no longer existed). She was not to be sold to a foreigner; but, if she did not please her master, she might be redeemed by her kinsfolk, or she might be given to his son. If he took another, the food, raiment, and 'duty of marriage' of the first were not to be diminished (Ex 21⁷⁻¹¹). Failing any of these alternatives, she was free. Her position was nearly that of a legal wife. Captives (foreign women) taken in war were a fruitful source of concubinage (Nu 31¹³⁻¹⁸, Dt 20¹⁴), but special provisions were made for their treatment in the Deuteronomic code (Dt 21¹⁰⁻¹⁴). Not for a month was her owner to cohabit with a captive, but, unlike the legitimate wife, she could be repudiated without formal divorce, in which case she was free and could not be sold. As concubines a certain stigma attached to these captives in comparison with the wife obtained by purchase in the tribe (Gn 31³⁰), though the latter was scarcely more free. The rules about not selling concubines are in accordance with the general Oriental feeling that it is disgraceful to sell them, especially when they have borne children (cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*², London, 1903, p. 92). In Lv 25⁴⁴ bondmaids may be bought of the heathen or of 'strangers that do sojourn among you.' These, like all female slaves, would become concubines, and there was probably an extensive traffic in them. Polygamy and concubinage were largely practised by the wealthy and by kings, though in Dt 17¹⁷ the multiplying of wives by the latter is forbidden as a cause of unfaithfulness. David had 10, Solomon 300, and Rehoboam 60 concubines (2 S 5¹³ 20³, 1 K 11³, 2 Ch 11²¹). In this they followed the custom of most Oriental monarchs. Though legislation permitted polygyny, monogamy in later times is evidently held up as an ideal. This ideal is unmistakably set forth in Gn 22²³⁻²⁴, while it is again pointed to in the cases of Noah and his sons, and of Lot, Isaac, and Joseph. Monogamy is also assumed in Proverbs and elsewhere, and is strikingly exemplified in the Prophetic books in the relation of Jahweh to Israel alone among the nations, as that of husband to wife, while the inconveniences of polygyny are pointed out in Gn 16³ 30⁸, Dt 21¹⁶, 1 S 1¹⁸, 2 S 16²¹. There was thus in some quarters a protest against polygyny,

but, though it was doubtless less and less practised, it remained as a general custom (cf. Jos. Ant. xvii. i. 2).

(4) Among the early *Arabs*, captives taken in war became the wives or concubines of their captors; but, even in Muhammad's time, if they bore their master a child, they could not be sold or ransomed. Probably their children were then freeborn and legitimate. In earlier times, however, and in the case of Negro slave women, the children were slaves. Raids were undertaken with a special view of obtaining women (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 89).

In *Muhammadan* countries, a man, according to general opinion, may have four wives, and, if he can deal with them 'with equity,' as many slave concubines—'those whom your right hands have acquired' (*Qur'ān*, iv. 3)—as he pleases, provided they are not sisters or otherwise related in any way which would prevent his marrying them. Concubines are defenceless, and over them their owner has unlimited power, though sometimes the situation of a favourite concubine may be more agreeable than that of a wife (*DI*, p. 671; Lane, *op. cit.* i. 243). One of the wives, usually the first married, is regarded as the chief, and is called the 'great lady,' though her place may be taken by a lesser wife if she is childless, or if the latter becomes the favourite. Concubines may be war-captives, offspring of a female slave by another slave or another man, or women given as a gift, but more often they are purchased. After acquiring a female slave, the owner must wait for a period of 1 to 3 months before making her his concubine. Slave concubines may be Muslims, Jews, or Christians, but not idolaters or within the prohibited degrees. In Arabia and Egypt they are often of mixed Abyssinian race; black slave girls have generally a menial position. White female slaves, for whom a large price is paid, are to be found only in the harems of the wealthy (Lane, i. 241-2; Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 280 f.). Where a man has not four legal wives, public opinion regards it as commendable for him to marry a female slave who bears him a child, but she must first be set free. Where the child of a concubine is acknowledged by the father, it enjoys the same privileges and inheritance as the child of the free wife, and the mother cannot be sold or given away. Unless the owner emancipates and marries her, she remains a concubine, but is free at his death (Lane, i. 139 ff., 244; Letourneau, p. 280 f.). In practice many Muslims are monogamous from necessity or conviction—about 5 per cent in India and Egypt, and 2 per cent in Persia (Lane, i. 252; Amér 'Ali, *Personal Law of the Muham.*, London, 1880, p. 29 ff.). In India it is quite the exception to find any Muhammadan zenanas where there is a plurality save in the case of barrenness (Billington, *Women of India*, London, 1895, p. 16). On the other hand, it is not uncommon for a man to have concubines and no wives, in which case they are often made much of, and enjoy a luxury and comfort equal to that of a wife (Lane, i. 243). Where a wife has female slaves of her own, they cannot become the husband's concubines without her permission, and this is not often granted (*ib.* i. 241).

(5) Among the ancient *Persians* (including Parthians), kings had several wives, of whom one was regarded as wife in a different sense from the others, who were of lower birth; and the monarch also had many concubines, whom he had a right to take from any part of his kingdom. They were kept in close seclusion, and in each palace there were separate apartments for the queen and the concubines. The statement of Herodotus (i. 135), that the Persians marry many wives and keep a still greater number of concubines, refers only to

the wealthier classes, many of whom had an excessive number of concubines. The chief wife had to be of the husband's rank. In war, women and children were taken captive and became slaves, and the kings frequently made presents of several beautiful slaves to the bravest warriors. In Media, polygyny was common among the wealthy (see Herod. iii. 68, 88; Est ²²⁻¹⁵; Rawlinson, *op. cit.* iii. 216, 219, *Parthia*, London, 1894, pp. 404, 407, 414; Spiegel, *Erän. Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871-78, iii. 677, 679-80; Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 323). In modern Persia the Shah may take any woman, married or unmarried, free or slave, in the kingdom, and place her in his harem (Letourneau, p. 325).

(6) With the ancient *Mexicans*, *Mayas*, and *Chibchas*, while a titular monogamy prevailed, especially among the poor, the rich and powerful practised polygyny on a large scale. Besides the first, the true and lawful wife, whose children alone inherited, there were lesser wives and numerous concubines. Nobles had as many as 800 concubines, and they were counted by thousands in the palaces of the monarch. To his favourites or to visitors the latter would make presents of these concubines, or he occasionally offered them as sacrificial victims. In cohabiting with a concubine no ceremony was necessary, nor was her owner under any obligation to her. Concubines were generally war captives, or girls and women taken from their homes, or children sold by their parents. Each province paid to the monarch a tribute of Indian women for sacrifice or slavery. Another kind of marriage, differing from that of the chief wife, resembled the Roman concubinate. A priest knotted together the mantle of the man and the skirt of the woman, who could not then be repudiated without motive, though she and her children could not inherit. Another method of union was that by which parents chose young girls for their sons. No ceremony or contract was necessary for these temporary unions, but they were sometimes legitimated in the event of issue (see *NR* ii. 264, 271; Waitz, iv. 130, 360, 366; Prescott, *Conq. of Mex.*, New York, 1850, i. 121, 135; Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva España*, 1829, bk. vi. ch. 21; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 184).

In *Peru* a similar condition of affairs prevailed. Monogamy was obligatory for the people, but it was nominal for the Inca and the nobles. These had one chief or real wife (in the case of the Inca, his sister) besides other wives and concubines. The Inca's secondary wives were distant relatives; but besides them he had numerous concubines, taken from all parts of the kingdom, since all women were at his disposal, and it was a signal favour to be chosen for the royal harem. The Inca also had the choice of the Virgins of the Sun, who, when he dispensed with them and permitted them to return to their homes, were honoured and maintained in great state. The royal seraglio often numbered several thousands, dispersed through the different palaces (Prescott, *Conq. of Peru*, New York, 1890, p. 53 f.; Garc. de la Vega, *Royal Comment.*, London, 1869-71, i. 310; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 193 ff.).

(7) Among the ancient *Germans*, according to Tacitus (*Germ.* 18), monogamy was customary, save among the nobles, who were polygamous. This was also the case with the Scandinavians, though this polygyny probably meant marriage with one chief wife and union with lesser wives or concubines. Among the Scandinavians, especially in the later times of conquest, concubines were captives, often of noble rank, taken in war or raids, or foreign bondswomen, often from the East or Greece, bought in regular slave traffic. In the king's court there was usually a large train of

fair captive women who acted as wine-bearers at banquets, and such women were also found in lesser numbers in the houses of nobles. Kings gave presents of concubines to brave warriors, or one man offered 'gold-decked slaves' to another. The bond with such concubines was loose as compared with the marriage-tie, which was sacred and respected (Geijer, *Samlade Skrifter*, Stockholm, 1873-5, v. 88; *Heimskringla*, ed. Laing and Anderson, 1889, i. 127 ff.; Vigfusson-Powell, *Corp. Poet. Boreale*, Oxford, 1883, ii. 473 ff.). The later Germanic kings and emperors and often the rich, even into Christian times, had wives and numerous concubines. With the Germans the concubine had neither the rank nor the privileges of the wife, nor had her children any claim to succession, though in Norse law the children of a concubine of 20 years' standing were capable of inheriting (Ploss, *Das Weib*, Leipzig, 1905, i. 655). See also *CONCUBINAGE* (Christian). For the Slavs, cf. the references given by Krek, *Einleit. in die slav. Literaturgesch.*, Graz, 1887, p. 362, note.

(8) Among the *Celts* monogamy was general, though kings occasionally appear with two wives (*ZCP* iii. 9; Stokes, *Lives of Saints*, Oxford, 1890, p. 237). Concubinage was quite usual, especially among the higher classes, concubines being either war captives or slaves, but the legitimate wife was mistress of the house. Little is known of the practice of the Continental Celts, but the polygyny of the Gauls (Caesar, *BG* vi. 19) was probably of this kind, viz. a chief wife and lesser wives or concubines. In the Irish texts, concubinage is occasionally referred to, and so much was it a recognized institution that it is provided for in the Brehon Law. King Diarmaid in the 6th cent. had two legitimate wives and two concubines. The children of the latter were in an inferior position, and the second wife had been espoused because the first was barren. Popular custom is reflected in the mythico-heroic tales. The mythic king Conchobar takes his prisoner Deirdre and cohabits with her without any objection on the part of his wife, and then offers her to Eogan for a year. But sometimes the wife made objection to the presence of a concubine; e.g. Dubthlach's wife threatened him with divorce if he did not sell the slave whom he had bought, and who was about to bear him a child (later S. Brigit). The concubine was, therefore, sold to a Druid. Slave women were liable to become concubines, and were often subjected to gross indignities (see d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La Civilisation des Celtes*, Paris, 1899, p. 288 ff.; Joyce, *Social Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, London, 1903, ii. ch. 19). Free women in Ireland appear sometimes as concubines, or as united in free love to warriors (Meyer, *Cath Finntrága*, Oxford, 1885, p. 29). In Wales, girls were hired from their parents for a fixed price, and a penalty was enjoined if the connexion was relinquished (Gir. Camb. *Descr. Camb.* ii. 6).

(9) In *Abyssinia*, the Emperor has one wife, the *itighe*, and a large number of lesser wives or concubines, and he has also the right to send for any woman who pleases him. This is considered a great honour. His example is followed by the nobles and wealthy men, who, besides a wife, have many domestic concubines. Women taken in war are made concubines (Letourneau, *Marriage*, 162, *La Femme*, 286).

(10) In *China*, besides the chief wife, one or more secondary but legitimate wives or concubines are a recognized institution, the ceremony of marriage being gone through with the first only, who must be of the husband's rank. Bigamy, or raising a concubine to the rank of wife during the lifetime of the wife, is illegal, but a man whose

wife reaches the age of 40 without having children must take a concubine for the sake of the ancestral cult. The secondary wives must obey the chief wife, who calls the man 'husband,' while they call him 'master'; but she is not expected to show jealousy of them, and, as popular poetry insists, should provide for their comfort. They are of inferior station, and, as they are usually purchased, they are mainly a luxury of the rich. They may be repudiated without any formality, or sold again by their owner. Poor parents freely sell their daughters as concubines—this being legal in China—either directly to rich men or to men who trade in concubines, and who educate them and re-sell them at a high price. While concubinage is legal, at the present time it is blamed unless the wife has no children, and a man loses respect when he multiplies concubines. Frequently they are taken only with the wife's consent. Children of concubines and domestic slaves have the same legal rights as those of the wife, if the mother has been received into the house. They are regarded as the wife's children, not the concubine's; they wear mourning at her death, but not at that of their mother, and lavish on her expressions of affection and respect, while they treat their own mother with contempt (Medhurst, *JRAS China*, iv. 15, 21, 31; Gray, *China*, London, 1878, i. 212 ff.; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 246 ff.). Mandarins in Korea are obliged by custom to have more than one wife as well as several concubines, while concubinage is very common among the nobility, the wife being doomed by etiquette to a species of widowhood (Ross, *Hist. of Corea*, Paisley, 1879, p. 315; Griffis, *Corea*, London, 1882, p. 251).

(11) In ancient Japan, though wife, mistress, and concubine were terms which were not distinguished, an occasional distinction is drawn in the texts between the chief wife and secondary wives or concubines, of whom she sometimes shows jealousy, while they are of lesser rank (Chamberlain, *Ko-ji-ki*, Suppl. to *TASJ* x. [1883] pp. xxxviii, xl, 270). In later times the position of the wife became that of the wife in China, while concubinage was legalized, the law specifying the number of concubines a man might have according to his rank. Their children are equal in law with those of the wife, who is regarded as their mother. She is addressed as *O-ku-sama*, 'honourable lady of the house,' and her position is a high one; but she must not show jealousy, however numerous the concubines may be. In circles which represent modern Japan, concubinage is ceasing to be practised and is regarded as incompatible with civilization (Rein, *Japan*, London, 1884, p. 423; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 233; Griffis, *Rel. of Japan*, London, 1895, p. 320; Norman, *The Real Japan*, London, 1892, p. 183).

(12) In India, while the bulk of the people lived and still live in monogamy, polygyny has always been recognized and practised by the rulers and wealthy, though it is prohibited by certain tribes and sub-castes, or is permitted in theory but practised only in case of sterility, since the begetting of a son is all-important (Billington, *op. cit.* 15; Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, Ceremonies*, Oxford, 1897, i. 210; cf. also Strabo, p. 709). The Vedas show that polygyny was practised, though perhaps not commonly, and it included concubinage. One poet prays that Pushan will provide him with many damsels, and the texts speak of captive women taken in fight and given as presents (Muir, v. 457, 461). In later times several passages of Manu refer to a plurality of wives (iii. 12, viii. 204, ix. 85 ff.), though there is some attempt to establish monogamy (v. 168, ix. 77-82, 101). Brāhmanas and rich Kṣatriyas (to the latter of whom the loosest forms of marriage were

sanctioned) had lesser wives or concubines. The case of the Brāhman with four wives of different castes is contemplated,¹ but the first wife must be of his own caste, and she had precedence over the others, hence they were in the position of superior concubines rather than wives, and their children received a lesser share of the inheritance. The first marriage was regarded as more sacred, being contracted from a sense of duty, and not for mere self-gratification (iii. 12, ix. 147; Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, Madras, 1878, p. 75). The troop of wives who belong to the king, and whose duties are carefully prescribed, were also superior concubines rather than true wives (vii. 219 ff.). Women carried off in battle became slaves of the victors, i.e. concubines in an inferior position. In modern times polygyny is an undoubted right for those who can afford it, and concubinage is a matter of common custom, especially in the higher ranks, but the first wife is chief and retains her prerogatives. 'By the law a Hindu may marry as many wives, and by custom keep as many concubines, as he may choose' (Balfour, *Cyclop. of India*, London, 1885, iii. 252; Mayne, pp. 75, 372; Dubois, i. 211). Concubines are sometimes secretly kept in a separate establishment to avoid the wife's jealousy, though the *Padma Purāna* directs her to avoid domestic quarrels on account of another woman whom her husband may wish to keep (Dubois, i. 311, 351). Women who are unable to find husbands commonly form connexions as concubines, while devotees who take vows of celibacy often have concubines under various pretences (Dubois, i. 210, 288). Priestesses of the Śiva and Viṣṇu cults are frequently mistresses of the priests, and dancing girls associated with temples, e.g. that of Jagannātha-kṣātra in Orissa, are practically concubines of the officiating Brāhmanas (Dubois, i. 133-4; Ward, *Hist. Lit. and Relig. of the Hindoos*, London, 1817-20, ii. 134). Concubines are entitled to maintenance when the connexion with them has been of a permanent character, analogous to that of female slaves, members of a man's household, in earlier times (Mayne, p. 367; for further details and references, see Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 [= *GIAP* ii. 8], pp. 64-67).

(13) See CONCUBINAGE (Greek and Roman).

5. Forms of marriage and of sexual union analogous to concubinage.—Some forms of marriage, etc., are not far removed from marriage with concubinage.

(a) The custom of so-called group-marriage found especially among the Urabunna of Central Australia is of this kind. A man has one or more women allotted to him from the group with which marriage is possible to him. To them he has only a preferential right. Other men have access to them, while he has access to other women of the same group. The women to whom men have thus occasional access are *pirawungaru* to them, and they are in effect accessory wives (=secondary wives or concubines, Spencer-Gillens, pp. 62-3, bp. 73; for the analogous custom of the Dieri tribe, see Howitt, *passim*; and for 'group-marriage' as a whole, Thomas, *op. cit.* p. 127 ff.). Among other Central Australian tribes a man may lend his wife to men of the intermarrying group at any time. These also, with certain others, have access to her at the time of marriage, while a still wider system of access prevails at certain ceremonial occasions (Spencer-Gillens, p. 141). The women, apart from his wife or wives, to whom a man has access are practically occasional concubines to him.

(b) Where polygamy is systematically associated with polyandry, the wives with whom a man or men are associated practically stand to the first wife in the position of secondary wives or concubines. Where the husbands of a woman are brothers, as among the Todas, 'if the wife has one or more younger sisters, they in turn, on attaining a marriageable age, become the wives of their sister's husband or husbands' (Shortt, *TES*, new ser., vii. 240). Or, as among the Nairs, where a

¹ Roger, *Open-Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom*, Leyden, 1661, p. 217 f., records a Cooromandel tradition that the father of the poet Bhartṛhari had a wife from each of the four castes. The poet was his son by the Śūdra wife, and by his early devotion to his 300 wives caused his father much anxiety, because of the belief that 'whoever has begotten children by a Śūdra wife, he, so long as any descendants survive, remains deprived of heaven.'

woman may have several husbands, not necessarily brothers, a man may marry several women (Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, London, 1813, i. 385). Sometimes, too, these wives become paramours (concubines) of other men (Todas (Reclus), p. 197; Kunnayans of Madura (Mayne, p. 50)). In many instances of polyandry, especially of brothers, the elder brother is the chief husband and the younger are lesser husbands. The arrangement thus corresponds to that of the chief and lesser wives, and the younger brothers are a sort of 'male concubines' (cf. Westermarck, p. 516). In most of these cases the children are attributed to the chief husband and call him father.

(c) Besides the practice of lending wives or of exchanging them at festivals—both of very wide occurrence (see ADULTERY [Primitive and Savage], § 7)—the exchange of wives for a shorter or longer period as a sign of friendship occurs sporadically, often between chiefs. The custom is found among the Australians, Eskimos, several American Indian tribes, in Polynesia, with the negroes of Angola, etc. (Thomas, p. 177; Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, London, 1893, p. 148; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 107, 114, *Marriage*, 82, 61; Westermarck, pp. 75, 488), while Sir G. Mackenzie says tinkers in the 17th cent. used each other's wives as concubines (Lang, *Sir G. Mackenzie*, London, 1909, p. 322). In such cases the woman becomes the paramour of the man.

(d) Again, where a chief, ruler, or priest has, or claims, the right to a woman for the first night or nights of her marriage, such women are in the position of temporary concubines. This practice is found among the Eskimos, the Caribs, and certain Brazilian tribes; in Nicaragua; in Malabar, and Cambodia; in New Zealand; in Africa; in ancient Ireland, and elsewhere (Westermarck, p. 76 ff.; Giraud-Teulon, *Les Origines du mariage*, Paris, 1884, p. 82 ff.; Letourneau, *Marriage*, 47; Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 21). The right is also claimed at other times, or a chief or king may take any girl or woman as he pleases (Westermarck, p. 79; Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 208; Meyer, p. 29; O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, 1892, li. 408), or access may be granted as a favour, e.g. in the case of Kalmuk priests, who are not allowed to marry (Westermarck, p. 79; for other instances, cf. vol. i. 126b).

(e) There are numerous instances, especially among savages, in which girls before marriage are free to form connexions with men, while it is considered almost dishonourable not to have a lover (Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, li. 422). This is very common in Africa; and an extreme instance of it occurs among the *lusu*, where men do not marry until the age of thirty. Young men, therefore, are allowed to select one or two young girls after giving a present to the mother. The girls live in the warriors' quarters, and are given great liberty. When they are of a marriageable age, they return home, and must live morally (Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, li. 822). Among some American Indian tribes, girls preferred free love to marriage, and accompanied hunters on expeditions. If children were born they were legitimate, though not on the same level as children born in wedlock (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 135). In other cases these connexions are a kind of trial marriage, and may become permanent if the girl proves with child (Reclus, p. 194; Westermarck, pp. 23, 24, 71; Post, i. 54; Gir. Camb. li. 8; for the three years' trial connexions to certain Essenes, see Jos. *B. J.* viii. 15). But there are other temporary unions which are still more suggestive of concubinage. These are found sporadically among savages (Post, i. 63), but occur at higher levels also. Among the Assyrian Arabs a custom exists by which a woman is the wife of a man for three or four days in each week, but may form other connexions on the remaining days. Some have seen in this a survival of the *mot'a* marriage of the ancient Arabs—a form of temporary union with a woman dwelling with her own family (Spencer, i. 636; W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 33 ff.). In Persia a wife may be tried for a legally stipulated time, at the expiry of which the parties may separate or renew the contract (Westermarck, p. 519). In Japan a daughter may be hired for a temporary union, the duration of which is fixed by contract. This union often exists between Europeans and Japanese girls (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 232; Krellner, *Im fernem Osten*, Vienna, 1881, p. 235). In Tibet, temporary marriages are contracted for six months, one month, or a week—perhaps a form of polyandry. Traders form temporary connexions with women—a common custom elsewhere wherever caravans halt or markets are held (Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, London, 1891, pp. 212, 144). Among the ancient Irish, temporary marriages for a year existed. They were arranged at the Beltane festival (1st May), and at next Beltane were broken, when the woman passed to a new husband (Giraud-Teulon, p. 380). This is akin to the Scottish 'handfasting,' by which 'at the public fairs men selected female companions with whom to cohabit for a year. At the expiry of this period both parties were accounted free; they might either unite in marriage or live singly (Rogers, *Scotland, Social and Domestic*, London, 1869, p. 109).

(f) Occasionally a wife is allowed a legal paramour, to whom she stands in the relation of a concubine. He takes the place of the real husband in his absence, and is often a younger brother. This custom is found among the Aleuts, Thlinkets, Kolochees, Kaniagnuts, some African tribes, some Papuans, and in Nukuhiva (Erman, *ZE* iii. 163; Dall, *Alaska*, London, 1870, p. 416; Kohler, *ZVRW*, 1900, p. 384; Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, London, 1814, p. 83; Post, *Afr. Jurispr.* 448, 472). In Sparta a second husband was also permitted to increase the family (Xenoph. *Rep. Lac.* i. 9; Müller, *Doric Race*, London, 1880, li. 211). Among the Konyags adultery is punished by making the lover a member of the household, a secondary husband and servant (Reclus, p. 67).

(g) Among the Reddies, when a woman is married to a young

boy, she cohabits with the father or uncle of the boy, who, when he grows up, takes the wife of another boy (Shortt, *TFS*, new ser., vii. 264 f.). Cohabitation of the father with the *sou's* wife during his minority also exists among the Ostyaks, Osetes, and the Vellah caste in Coimbatore, in the Marquesas Islands; and it existed among the old Prussians and among the Russian serfs before the emancipation (Westermarck, p. 454; Post, i. 56).

6. The taking of a secondary wife or a concubine is not necessarily felt as a reproach by the legal wife. Frequently, where women have to work hard, the concubine is rather welcomed, and the wife may even encourage the husband to take one as a means of lightening her labours, especially as it also gives her a certain amount of power over the new-comer. This may also happen where polygyny gives standing, or is a proof of respectability and wealth.

Among the Zulus the chief wife works hard, so that the husband may be the sooner able to take a younger woman, over whom she will have authority. Other examples are found among Negro and Kafir tribes, the Apaches, Brazilian tribes, the Eskimos, Bagobos of the Philippines, etc. (Westermarck, p. 496; Nansen, *op. cit.* 144 ff.). Among the Arabs of Upper Egypt a wife expects her husband to provide her with a slave who will also be his concubine (Baker, *Nile Tributaries*, London, 1868, p. 125 ff.). Where the wife is old, or has no children, or is absolutely devoted to her husband, she will sometimes urge him to take a concubine, or will herself provide one, as examples cited above have shown (cf. also Lane, *Arab. Society*, London, 1883, p. 246 f.; Westermarck, pp. 489, 495). But generally the desire on the part of the man for variety, for the gratification of sensual passion, and occasionally the wish for numerous offspring, and the fear of childlessness, especially where ancestor-worship exists, are the motives for polygyny.

7. Bars to concubinage.—On the other hand, jealousy often causes much unpleasantness in polygynous households. It may lead to the suicide of the wife, or to her ill-treatment if she raises objections, or, again, to her ill-treatment of the new-comers. Hence jealousy is often a powerful means of preventing polygyny.

Taking a second wife or concubine is sometimes a ground for the wife's divorcing her husband (Tuaregs [Duvetier, *Les Touaregs*, Paris, 1864, p. 429]; Malays [under '*Semando* marriage,' Waitz, v. 145]; some Indian tribes [Post, i. 63; cf. vol. i. p. 125a], or for the wife's leaving her husband for a man who will take her as his only wife (Oharuas [Azara, *Amérique Mérid.*, Paris, 1809, li. 22]; see also § 4, above [Egyptians and Semites]). In some cases a second wife or concubine can be introduced only if the wife is childless (Santals, tribes of the Deccan, Panjab, and Bombay [Post, i. 63]), or with the wife's consent (Kandhs [Reclus, p. 281]; some Papuan tribes [Kohler, *ZVRW*, 1900, p. 341]; see also Post, i. 63). Sometimes no more than one concubine is permitted, as in the case of the Karoks (§ 3).

Among those lower peoples with whom monogamy is customary or polygamy is forbidden, concubinage is sometimes expressly interdicted or is quite unknown.

This is the case with the Papuans of Dorey (Earl, *Papuans*, London, 1853, p. 81), the Karens, Kandhs, Tamils in Ceylon, the Koch and Old Kukis, the Mrús and Tongthas (with whom it is wrong for a master to take advantage of a female slave), some tribes of the Malay Peninsula, etc. (Westermarck, p. 436; Mayne, p. 76; Dalton, p. 91; *JASBe* xxiv. 621; Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, pp. 193, 235). Outside of marriage the Kabyle law recognizes no sexual relation, and the concubinate is unknown (Hancouart and Letourneau, *Kabylie*, Paris, 1872-73, li. 148). In Cambodia, special laws protect female slaves. If one becomes pregnant, she may leave her master, while in the Malacca peninsula she is free in such a case (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 215; Waitz, i. 153). Public opinion among the Battaks is against cohabitation with a female slave. Should she become a concubine, custom (*adat*) regards her as a lesser wife (Letourneau, p. 201). See also § 4 (China, Japan).

In cases where the husband at marriage went to live with his wife's people, and where polyandry was not conjoined with polygamy, concubinage would seldom exist.

8. Standing of the concubine.—Where a concubine is a purchased slave, or a war captive, and often in other cases, she has no control over her own person. As the wife or daughter is often lent to a guest, so the lesser wife, concubine, or female slave is frequently given to him.

In Fiji, the concubines of the chiefs were at the disposal of warriors or guests (Letourneau, *Marriage*, 124). In Samoa, chiefs who tired of their concubines placed them in the guest-house (Fritchard, *op. cit.* 132, 172). In Abyssinia, the concubines of the king were offered to persons of importance (Combes and Tamiet, *Voy. en Abyss.*, Paris, 1889, li. 120). Herrera says of the Cumanas that 'great men kept as many women as they pleased, and gave the beautifullest of them to any stranger they entertained' (Spencer, i. 684).

Not infrequently concubines or slaves are pros

tituted for money, which goes to their owner, as among the Maoris (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 176), Nutka Columbians (*NR* i. 191-94, 217), the Greeks, the Babylonians (Kohler-Peiser, iv. 28-29), and the ancient Arabs, though this was forbidden by Muhammad (*DI*, p. 597), etc.

Generally the concubine can be repudiated without formality, or even sold, though there are exceptions, as when a slave becomes free when she bears her master a child (see above).

Adultery with a lesser wife or concubine is usually less severely punished than in the case of a chief wife.

Among some Negro tribes, adultery with the latter is punished with death, with the former by a fine (du Chaillu, *L'Afrique équat.*, Paris, 1862, pp. 67, 435). In Java, the punishment is slight (Waiz, i. 315). Among the Battaks, if the concubine has borne no children to the master, the lover must pay her value to him; but, if she has, both are punished with death (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 201). Among some Mongol tribes the owner could take all the lover's possessions, but the concubine was not punished, and unchastity with the concubines of priests (who were not married) was unpunished (Post, ii. 360, 374). In Muhammadan law the adultery of the slave wife is less culpable than that of the free woman (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 252). In Peru, criminal connexion with one of the Inca's wives or concubines (or with the Virgins of the Sun) was punished with death and confiscation (Prescott, p. 63; Letourneau, p. 195). Generally speaking, the lighter punishment for adultery with a concubine resembles the graded punishments allotted according to the rank of the wife in various societies.

As the wife is often sacrificed at her husband's death, to accompany him into the other world, so, very frequently, concubines are killed at their owner's death for the same purpose.

In Darien and Panama, all, and in Peru a chosen few, of the concubines of nobles or of the Inca were sacrificed (Seemann, *Voyage of H.M.S. Herald*, London, 1853, i. 316; Prescott, pp. 15, 43). In New Zealand, at the death of a chief, some female slaves were crucified; their sacrifice at the death of important persons was common in Melanesia (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 33, 119, *L'Esclav.* 42). The practice is common in Africa; while in India, at the death of a great prince, not only his wives, but often his whole harem, died on the pyre (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 399).

Frequently the eldest son or heir inherits his father's wives and concubines (excluding his own mother).

This occurred in Mexico in the case of women who had not borne children to the deceased, among the Mishmis, Maoris, Bechuana, many Negro tribes, and the ancient Arabs and Hebrews (Spencer, i. 680; McLennan, *Studies in Ancient Hist.*, 2nd ser., London, 1896, p. 475; Bosman, in Pinkerton, xvi. 480; du Chaillu, *op. cit.* 268; Letourneau, *La Femme*, 89; W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* 104 ff.; 2 S 1622 [Abesalom's act signified that his father was dethroned]. Sometimes the brother succeeds to his brother's wives and concubines (Spencer, i. 680). Among the Mapuches, grown-up sons by one wife take another widow as their common concubine (*ib.* 750).

9. Standing of children by concubines.—This varies in different regions. The concubine generally being in the position of a slave, and frequently a foreigner, the child is normally a slave and illegitimate, and inherits nothing at the father's death. This is the case among many savage and barbaric peoples, and is, to some extent, the result of counting descent through the mother—the child taking the mother's rank irrespective of that of the father. It also results from the dislike which some peoples have for any relation outside legitimate marriage.

Among the Algonquins, the children of the second wife were illegitimate (Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, London, 1807, p. 324; see also § 3, above). With the Mayas and Mexicans, children of concubines inherited nothing (*NR* i. 650, ii. 265). In New Zealand, even when children of a chief, they were of servile condition, and in Fiji the wives whose children inherited were few in number (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 176, *Marriage*, 124). In Guinea and in other parts of Negro Africa they are slaves; on the Gold Coast they are not regarded as relatives; and in Timbuctu are incapable of inheriting (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 39; Post, *Afric. Jurisp.* i. 239). In Cumana, the son of the chief wife inherits everything (Waiz, iii. 383); in the Kingemill Islands, the son of the wife of highest rank (Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Exped.*, N. York, 1851, p. 556). In Siam, the children of the wife married by the *khan mak* ceremony alone inherit (Colquhoun, *op. cit.* p. 182), and among the Tangutans and Mongols children of concubines are illegitimate, and inherit nothing (Prejelsky, *op. cit.* i. 62, ii. 121). Among the Lycians, children of a slave wife or a concubine were illegitimate (Herod. i. 173). In India, children by a concubine are entitled to maintenance, but not to inheritance. In some castes the children are

illegitimate, but the father may settle something upon them in his lifetime. The position of children by a Sûdra woman married to a man of higher caste is much disputed in the older law; sometimes they are said to be entitled to maintenance only, sometimes to a lesser or greater share of the inheritance (Mayne, pp. 63, 73, 390-91; Dubois, i. 210; see also § 4 [Arabs, Germans]).

Where children are sold by their fathers, those of concubines will generally be first traded for gain. The practice is common in the Solomon Islands, in large tracts of Negro Africa, and in China (Letourneau, *L'Esclav.* 39, 235; Giraud-Toulon, pp. 430, 431).

In some instances, inheritance is graded according to the position of the mother—the children of a chief wife being most favoured, those of the lesser wives and concubines receiving lesser shares.

With the Beluns of Timor, children of concubines inherit a third part of the residuum, and in the Philippines and Burma their share is small (Post, i. 147). With the Kivungas, children of lesser wives inherit two parts, children of slaves one part, and children of the chief wife four parts (Kohler, *ZVRW* vi. 197). In Egypt, all were legitimate; but those born in actual marriage took precedence of and had superior rank to children of women of inferior rank or slaves (Maspero, pp. 52, 273). In Peru, the eldest son of the *coya* alone inherited the throne, but children by other women had no inferior position (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 195 f.). In India, the illegitimate son of a Sûdra has privileges of inheritance (a moiety, and sometimes an equal share or the whole) when the mother has been under the father's control (his female slave or the slave of his male slave, according to Manu, ix. 179, and, in modern law, an unmarried Sûdra woman kept as a concubine. The concubine in earlier times would always be a slave). The underlying idea was that the marriage of a Sûdra was of so low a nature as to be itself a kind of irregular connexion (Mayne, pp. 63, 380 f., 463 ff.; Jolly, *ZDMG* xiv. [1890] 85).

In other cases, again, there is no difference in the position of children of a chief wife and of others. This is particularly the case where a childless wife gives her husband a concubine, or where the wife is reckoned the mother of all the children.

Examples are found in Brazil (v. Martius, *Völkerschaften Brasiliens*, 1867, i. 126); with some Negroes and Kafirs (Post, i. 17); in Abyssinia (Letourneau, *La Femme*, 289); among the Bodos and Dhimals (Hodgson, *Misc. Essays*, Lond. 1880, i. 122); among the Kandhs of Orissa (Kohler, *ZVRW* viii. 265); among the Ainus (Westermarck, p. 445); in Sarawak and Borneo, when a man dies intestate (Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, Lond. 1866, ii. 321); and among the Samoyedes and Tatars, with the latter of whom also male children by a concubine receive double the portion of a wife's female issue (Post, i. 17, 146). Among Muhammadan peoples, when sons of concubines are acknowledged by the father, they inherit equally with sons of wives; otherwise they are slaves (Lane, i. 148). In ancient Arabia, the son of a slave woman, if acknowledged, became a full tribesman (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 136). In Babylonia, the sons of a 'maid-servant,' i.e. a slave, shared equally with those of the wife if the father had said to them, 'My sons.' But they were slightly inferior (Johns, p. 85; see also § 4, above). Among the Hebrews, it is probable that all the children acknowledged by the father (except those born of adultery or incest) were legitimate; but the position of a concubine's sons is not defined legally with respect to inheritance. Nominally, they inherited with the other sons (the eldest of whom received a double share [Dt 21:17]), especially where they were reckoned as the children of the legal wife. All the sons of Jacob rank as heads of tribes (Gn 49). But perhaps generally they had a less share, and their position would depend on the attitude of father, wife, or other sons. Abraham gave his concubines' sons presents and sent them away (Gn 25:6); Sarah says, 'The son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son,' but this is because she is angry with Ishmael (Gn 21:10, cf. 16⁹). Jephthah's brothers drive him out, though he complains of the treatment, which may, therefore, have been unusual, even as, in his case, to the son of a harlot brought up in the father's household (Jg 11:7; see also § 4 [China, Japan]).

Where mother-right and inheritance through the mother prevail, there are some instances of the father making over his property to children of a lesser wife or concubine. This occurs among the Kimbunda, the Wanyanwazi (who allege as the reason that their wife's children have relatives to aid them, while the others have not [Burton, *Lake Regions*, London, 1880, ii. 23]), the Fantis, and in Guinea. Some have seen in this one method by which inheritance based on mother-right passed over to the patriarchy, which involved the succession of sons to fathers (McLennan, p. 114; Giraud-Toulon, p. 440). Where concubines are women captured in war, or purchased, they and their children belong to the man in a way in which the children of the wife under mother-right do not. And where there were many concubines of this sort, men would soon form 'a preference for marriage which made the husband his wife's lord, and made his children belong to him' (W. R. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 279; cf. Spencer, i. 651). This would be the case where genuine marriage by capture existed, since it tended to break up the whole system of mother-right.

10. Concubinage hardly exists in the lowest savage communities, but it is found in savage societies at a higher level, and is much more common in warlike, barbaric, and partially civilized societies, concubines being either war captives or purchased. In either case their position is little better than that of slaves, subject to their owner's caprices, though, if they become his favourites, their position is a happier one. In some cases they are slaves of the wife or part of her dowry, or house-servants or slaves. In all these societies concubinage is sanctioned by custom or law, whether monogamy or polygamy is the form of marriage, and very often laws exist regulating the position of the concubine, and even tending to ameliorate her position. Although polygamy is found in all barbaric civilizations, a tendency to monogamy, with more or less restricted concubinage, is found in many of them (Egypt, Babylon, the Hebrews), as it is also found sporadically at lower levels (§ 3); or polygamy is entirely restricted to the higher classes (Mexicans, Teutons, Celts, Abyssinians); or, again, polygamy is illegal, but concubinage is allowed (China, Japan, Greece, Rome). Finally, where a higher view of marriage begins to prevail, even concubinage tends to pass away, and becomes more and more a vicious luxury of a few of the rich, as it was in early and mediæval Europe. This is occasionally a natural tendency arising with the growth of a higher civilization, or from contact with a purely monogamous civilization, or it may be induced through the rise of a more ethical religion which condemns lust. For, wherever the monogamous sentiment prevails, wherever other attractions than youth and beauty are looked for in woman, wherever love becomes more refined and the devotion to one woman more absorbing, wherever it is felt that polygyny is an insult to the female sex, wherever woman tends to be on an equality with man, and wherever married people pledge themselves to purity of life, all irregular connexions are soon looked upon as wrong, and concubinage becomes more and more rare. In modern Christian countries it no longer exists as such, though rich men may keep women, more or less secretly, for the gratification of their passions, and prostitution is still an enormous social evil.

LITERATURE.—There is no work dealing exclusively with this subject, but much information will be found in G. E. Howard, *Hist. of Matrim. Institutions*, 3 vols., Chicago and London, 1904; C. Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, London, 1897; *La Condition de la femme dans les diverses races et civilisations*, Paris, 1903; *L'Évolution de l'esclavage*, Paris, 1894; A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethn. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1894-96; *Stud. zur Entwicklungsgesch. des Familienrechts*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1890; O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, s.v. 'Beischläferin,' 'Polygamie,' etc.; T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1859-72; C. S. Wake, *Evol. of Morality*, London, 1878; E. Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marriage*, London, 1891 [1894]. J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CONCUBINAGE (Christian).—From the beginning there were in the Church two distinct movements—one elevating and sanctifying the family, the other glorifying celibacy and virginity. Both are traced back to the NT, and the second more particularly, though not exclusively, to Mt 19¹² 22³⁰ and to St. Paul's words to the Corinthians (1 Co 7). The second was already vigorous in the early part of the 2nd century. Clement of Alexandria presents a beautiful picture of marriage (*Pædag.* iii. 250; Schaff, *Ch. Hist.* iii. 364); and Tertullian at the close of the treatise he wrote to his wife (*ad Uxorem*, 'Ante-Nic. Fathers,' Amer. ed. iv. 39-50) likewise emphasizes the dignity and blessedness of marriage, which he, as well as the other Fathers, regarded as a spiritual rather than a physical union. In spite of this high view of marriage, the conceptions of the early Fathers did not rise completely above the old Roman social

distinctions so as to set aside the concubinate relation as illegal according to the Scriptures.

For the clergy the rule of celibacy came to prevail in the Western Church, though a law of celibacy was voted down in the Council of Niceæ (325). The Synod of Elvira, early in the 4th cent., is by almost general agreement regarded as the first Council that insisted upon marital abstinence for the three higher grades of the clergy (see Funk, 'Cölibat und Priesterehe im christl. Altertum,' *Abhandlungen*, i. 121-155). In the East, marriage was always allowed to the clergy, although the rule came to prevail that priests might not marry a second time. As for the laity, the Church seems not to have spoken positively against concubinage for nearly 400 years. In accordance with the Roman practice, Callistus, bishop of Rome (217-222), permitted the concubinage of senators with freedwomen to continue. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 32, 'Ante-Nic. Fathers,' Amer. ed. vii. 494) allowed the baptism of a concubine who was faithful to her heathen consort ('slave to an unbeliever'), but they stipulated that, if a Christian have a concubine, be she a freedwoman or a slave, he must contract legal marriage as a condition of his remaining in the Church. The sentiment of the Church, however, was altogether in the right direction in the matter of the marriage of laymen. This is shown by Constantine's law of 320 (*de Conub.* v. 26), which forbade a man to have a concubine if his wife were living. His laws protecting womanhood, whether virgin, widow, or married, were a direct product of the Christian principle of the sanctity of marriage. Gibbon, in the course of a discussion of the Justinian laws concerning marriage, could say: 'The dignity of marriage was restored by the Christians' (ch. xlv. [vol. iv. p. 478, ed. Bury, 1906]).

The First Synod of Toledo (A.D. 400) marks a positive turning-point from the practice of old Rome. It declared that a Christian having both a believing wife and a concubine should be excluded from the Church. A man, however, who had not a wife but a concubine, and only one, should not be repelled from the Church ('qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet, communione non repellatur'; see Mansi, *Concilia*, 1901-09, iii. 997 ff.; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* ii. 78 ff.). About the same time (402) a Roman Synod (see Hefele, ii. 88) took the same action when it forbade a Christian to marry a deceased wife's sister, and in the same canon forbade him to have a concubine if he had a wife living. This action was regulative for the Middle Ages, and the canon of the Toletan Synod was often referred to. The judgment of Leo the Great (458) was not out of keeping with it, though it strongly favours the hard Roman law. When asked whether a man who left a concubine and married a wife committed bigamy, he replied in the negative (*Ep.* clxvii. 6, 'Nic. Fathers,' Amer. ed. xii. 110). The concubinage of clerics was from the 4th cent. frequently forbidden by conciliar action, and punished with severe penalties. The Third Synod of Orleans (538) forbade the ordination of a man who, during his wife's lifetime, or after her death, kept a concubine. The ecclesiastical references to lay-concubinage are relatively infrequent, but they are in the right direction.

Among the conciliar regulations of the early Middle Ages on lay-concubinage are the following: A Roman Council of 826 (Hefele, iv. 50) forbade a married man to have a concubine ('non licet uno tempore duas habere uxores, uxoremve et concubinam'); so also the Synods of Paris (829; see Hefele, iv. 67), of Mainz (851), and Rome (1059 and 1063). The Synod of Mainz (851) stipulated that a man who had a concubine and did not live with her legitimately might put her away

and marry another; and it also permitted a man having a single concubine to go to communion. Strange to say, the older Roman and Teutonic law was re-affirmed when the Synod of Tribur (895; see Hefele, iv. 556) declared that marriage could be contracted only between equals (as the law of Justinian had done by implication in the 6th cent. when it called concubinage 'unequal marriage').

The strict procedure of the Hildebrandian popes and Hildebrand himself, beginning with the Roman Council of 1059, against all priestly marriage or concubinage is set forth in art. CELIBACY (Christian). And it is sufficient here, in regard to clerical concubinage from this time on to the Reformation, to say that it continued in all countries, but especially in Spain, Hungary, Germany, and England. The Councils of London (1102, etc.) and Westminster, under Anselm and his successors (see Hefele, Lea, etc.), laid down, at the Pope's instance, the most stringent laws against the secret marriage or concubinage of priests and monks, and the entrance of their sons into the benefices of the fathers. The wide prevalence of concubinage is attested beyond contradiction by Eadmer, who says: 'Almost the greater and better part of the English clergy were the sons of priests' (*Hist. Nov. iv.*), by Giraldus Cambrensis, Walter Map, and such English chroniclers as Matthew Paris and Henry of Huntingdon. Adrian IV. (1154-1159), the only English Pope, was the son of a monk of St. Albans, an abbey which at a later period became notorious for its licentious degeneracy. The Bishop of Ely's concubine, Maud of Ramsbury, defended his castle of Devizes (1139) until her son was held up before her eyes and the threat was made to hang him (Ordericus Vitalis, bk. xiii. ch. 40 [Bohn's ed. 1853-56, iv. 211]). The Papal legates coming to England insisted upon the clergy abandoning their concubines; but one of them at least, the Cardinal of Crema, most urgent in these exhortations, was himself caught with a harlot after celebrating mass (Henry of Huntingdon, and Matthew Paris, an. 1125). In the middle of the 15th cent., de la Bere, bishop of St. David's, by his own statement (1452), drew 400 marks yearly from priests for the privilege of having concubines. In the earlier part of the 14th cent., Pelayo Alvarez, bishop of Silves in Portugal, in his famous 'Lament of the Church' (*de Planctu Ecclesiae*), declares that the clergy of Portugal lived freely with women, even women of noble birth, in life-long compacts, and that their children were almost as numerous as the children of laymen. John of Paris in his tracts (about 1330) questioned whether the law of celibacy should not be withdrawn, in view of the fact that it was so poorly observed. The clergy in parts of Germany in the 14th cent. refused to put away their wives. Nicolas of Clemanges says that laics in many parishes ('in plerisque parochiis') would not tolerate a cleric unless he had a concubine ('nisi concubinam habeat'). Lea (*Hist. of Sacerd. Celibacy*, i. 423) is forced in his concluding remarks on sacerdotal celibacy in the Middle Ages to say: 'The records . . . are full of the evidences that indiscriminate license of the worst kind prevailed throughout every rank of the hierarchy.' One of the most notorious offenders in high places in the 16th cent. was Cardinal Beaton of Scotland. On the eve of the Reformation, in Switzerland and other parts of the Church, the concubinage of the clergy was a large source of revenue to the bishops. In the diocese of Bamberg five gulden was paid by the priest for every child born to him, and about 1500 such children were born annually (see Hase, *Kirchengesch.*¹⁰ 1877, ii. 449). The income from the Swiss see of Constance from this source is said to have been 7500 gulden in 1522.

Zwingli lived in the relation of concubinage as priest, and Bullinger and Leo Judae were the sons of priests. Erasmus complained of the unhallowed gains of bishops from taxes levied upon priests holding concubines. The 'Complaints made by the German nation' to the Diet of Worms (1521) included a charge against the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries of permitting the cohabitation of priests on account of money ('wie sie unehe-liche Beiwohnung von gelts wechen gedulden').

The concubinage of laymen in any form was for the first time subjected to severe penalty by Leo X. and the Fifth Lateran Council (1516). The Council of Trent (1563) at its 24th session (Mirbt, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Papsttums*², 1901, pp. 245-249; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 1877, ii. 193 ff.), by its strict definition of marriage as a sacrament, by the ceremony it declared necessary, and by the repudiation of divorce except in the modified form of separation from bed and board, made all forms of concubinage unlawful and sinful. The validity of a civil contract of marriage was expressly denied by Pius IX. in the Syllabus of Errors of 1864 (No. 73; Mirbt, p. 369; Schaff, ii. 231); and the same Pope, in his Allocution of Sept. 1852, declared that civil marriage and marriage among Christians who deny the sacramental character of the rite are nothing more than a base and low concubinage condemned by the Church ('turpem et exitialem concubinatum, ab ecclesia damnatum'; Friedberg, *Kirchenrecht*⁸, p. 386).

The attitude of the Protestant Reformation and the Protestant Churches to marriage repudiates all concubinage as an adjunct to the union between one man and one woman, or as a substitute for it. Luther's first distinct and final pronouncement on the subject was issued in his *de Votis Monasticis* (1522). It took the ground that marriage is the natural state ordained by God, and that it has a dignity above the celibate state, and he urged nuns and monks to marry rather than indulge concealed passion. Luther's main position was taken by Marsiglius of Padua in his *Defensor Pacis*, 1324 (see Scholz, *Die Publizistik zur Zeit Philipps des Schönen*, Stuttgart, 1903, p. 452 ff.). In the year 1522, Zwingli and ten other priests petitioned the Bishop of Constance for permission to marry. It remains a blot on Luther's career that he gave his consent to the second marriage of Philip of Hesse, which was virtually concubinage. The well-known freedom of the princes at that day does not justify Luther in having allowed what he no doubt considered the lesser of two evils. The purity of his own family life set an example in the right direction, which, however, does not altogether counteract his advice to the prince of Hesse. The VI. Articles of Henry VIII. are the last official State legislation in England against clerical concubinage. They punished it, after the first offence, with death. In consequence, Cranmer sent his second wife, the sister of Osiander, back to Germany for a time. *The sacredness of the marriage tie and the sacredness of personal purity both in man and woman* have been principles of the Protestant Churches from the beginning, and control their treatment of all forms of fornication and concubinage. They look back as regulative to the Seventh Commandment, and to the words of our Lord concerning monogamy and the permanent nature of the marital tie.

LITERATURE.—E. A. Friedberg, *Corpus juris canonici*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1879-1881; Henry C. Lea, *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Chr. Ch.*³, 2 vols., London, 1907; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, 9 vols., Freiburg, 1893, Index under 'Concubinatus'; F. X. Funk, *Kirchengesch. Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, 2 vols., Paderborn, 1897-99, i. 121, 'Colibat und Priesterhe im christl. Altertum'; the works on Church History and the treatises on Canon Law, as E. Friedberg, *Lehrbuch des kath. und evangel. Kirchenrechts*¹, Leipzig, 1903, and P. Hergen-

röther (Rom. Cath.), *Lehrbuch des kath. Kirchenrechts*, Freiburg i. B. 1905, p. 690 ff. etc.; the art. 'Concubinatus' in Wetzler-Welte, iii. 842-846 and 'Konkubinatus' in *PRE* 3 x. 745-747. General reference may also be made to the literature given under CELIBACY (Christian).

DAVID S. SCHAFF.

CONCUBINAGE (Greek and Roman).—While the Greek and Latin terms for 'concubine' (παλλακίς, -ή, *pallakís*) are essentially the same, and are both directly derived from the Sem. *pilleges*, 'paramour,' we must, nevertheless, carefully distinguish between the two peoples in regard to the actual practice of concubinage.

1. **Greek.**—Among the Greeks, concubinage was based upon slavery. In Homeric times there might subsist between the owner and his purchased or captured slave-girl a relationship by which no one—save perhaps the regular wife—was offended: witness the cases of Achilles and Briseis, Agamemnon and Chryseis (whom he desired to take home, and of whom he thought more highly than of Clytemnestra, *Il.* i. 112). It is true that the sons born of such connexions were bastards (*vóthoi*), but the father often brought them up with his lawful children. Thus, Menelaus provides the marriage feast for his son by a slave mother (*Od.* iv. 10); while Theano, the wife of Antenor, seeks to please her husband by bringing up his son by a slave as one of her own children (*Il.* v. 70; cf. viii. 284, and Euripides, *Andromache*, 222). The fact of Priam's having a king's daughter as a secondary wife (*Il.* xxi. 85, xxii. 48) must be taken as indicative of a barbaric stage of civilization, and the same may be said of his having—besides nineteen sons by Hecuba—thirty-one by other women, one of the thirty-one being Doryklus, who is explicitly spoken of as *vóthos* (*Il.* xi. 490). Even in the Epic age, however, poetry was finding themes in the contentions arising out of these unions, as is illustrated by the story of Phoenix, who at the instigation of his mother set his face against his father's concubine (*Il.* ix. 449)—a subject afterwards handled dramatically by Euripides in his *Phoenix* (cf. also Sophocles, *Trachiniae*).

As regards the later period, our knowledge of the subject—partial as it is—relates only to Athens, though we may assume the existence of similar conditions in other States. In Athens a valid marriage could be contracted only by a man and a woman who were both citizens, since it was a union of this kind alone which could fulfil the real purpose of marriage, viz. the continued supply of citizens. Nevertheless, marriages between male citizens and alien women, and—though in rarer instances—between female citizens and alien men, were not infrequent, as is shown, in particular, by the inscriptions; such alliances, in fact, were almost a necessary consequence of the large proportion of foreigners resident in Athens. The harsh law mentioned in [Demosthenes] in *Neær.* 16, by which the alien party in such marriages was sold as a slave, cannot have had more than transitory validity. Practically no discredit rested upon those who entered a union of this kind, but their children remained *vóthoi*, i.e., though they were not slaves, they did not enjoy the rights of citizenship, and could not receive more than 1000 drachmæ of the paternal inheritance. Nevertheless, as generally elsewhere (Aristotle, *Polít.* iii. 3. 5; for Byzantium, Aristotle, *Oecon.* ii. 4), the strictness with which the regulations were applied varied according to the State's requirements in men and money. The *ἐπιγαμία* could be granted to foreign nationalities, as, e.g., to the Eubœans before 413 B.C. (Lysias, 34, 3), whereby, in all probability, even marriages previously contracted were legitimized, and, by the connivance of the authorities, *vóthoi* were admitted to the rank of citizens.

It must be borne in mind that the *vóthoi* in Athens were very numerous; in an earlier age a special gymnasium in the Cynosarges had been set apart for them (Plutarch, *Themist.* 1). In particular circumstances, it is true, a drastic revision of the roll of citizens (*διαψήφισις*) might be made. Thus in 445-4 B.C., when Psammetichus gifted a large quantity of corn to the Athenians, and an endeavour was made to reduce the number of recipients to the lowest possible figure, Pericles revived the ancient law that the rights of citizenship belonged only to the offspring of a marriage where both parties were citizens, whereupon it was found that 4760 *vóthoi* (the number is doubtless exaggerated) had been surreptitiously entered upon the burgess rolls. In the Comedians and Orators, accordingly, the gibe most frequently hurled against an enemy or an adversary at law was the reproach of non-citizenship, and hence a slur was sometimes cast upon the mother also, as, e.g., Aspasia, who is called *παλλακίς κυνῶπις* and *πόρνη* (Cratinus, frag. 241; Eupolis, frag. 98); but these epithets need not be taken too literally.

It is unlikely that any legalized system of concubinage existed in Athens. Here, as elsewhere, no doubt, a man might cohabit with his female slaves or with other women, and in one case at least the law countenanced the relationship; if a man had a *παλλακή* who had borne him free-born children, he might kill with impunity a lover whom he found in her company (Lysias, i. 30 f.; Demosthenes, in *Aristocr.* 23, 53). When it is said in [Demosth.] in *Neær.* 122 that *παλλακαί* are kept for the care of the body, the reference is probably to female slaves (cf. the instance in Antiphon, i. 14). Iseus, iii. 39, on the other hand, has in view the case where the legal guardian gives away a young woman as a *παλλακή* and provides her with a dowry; the reference can hardly be to a legal betrothal (*ἐγγύησις*). It was possible, of course, to take a *hetaira* into one's house as a *παλλακή*, as is reported of Hyperides and Isocrates (Athænaeus, xiii. p. 590d, 592d).

2. **Rome.**—In Rome, where several distinct kinds of marriage were recognized, every other sexual relationship was in ancient times probably called *pælicatus*. According to an old law which was traced to Numa, the *pælex* was forbidden to touch the altar of Juno—the patroness of marriage (Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, iv. 3. 3). Neither in this reference nor in any other from the ancient period can *pælex* signify a concubine with a recognized position beside the legal wife, as the moral rigour then prevalent in Rome repudiated every relationship of that kind; and, wherever the word *pælex* bears this meaning, as, e.g., in Comedy, it betrays the influence of Greek literature. Even in that age, doubtless, a sexual relationship might subsist between master and slave-girl (Valer. Max. vi. 7. 7), but, by reason of the downtrodden condition of Roman slaves, the *ancilla* did not take the place of the Greek *παλλακή*. By the close of the Republic, however, we have the testimony of Granius Flaccus (*Dig.* l. 16. 144) to the fact that 'now' the name was given to the mistress of a married man; and such liaisons were not uncommon (Cic. *de Orat.* i. 183). The epithet was then applied by Juvenal (ii. 57) to a slave-girl living in intimate relations with her owner; nor was a connexion of this kind treated as illegal until A.D. 326 (*Cod.* v. 26). We even find a discussion of the case where a wife in the marriage contract stipulates for an indemnification should the husband after marriage again take a concubine (*Dig.* xlv. 1. 121). Here the Roman practice diverges from that of Greece, as the offspring of such unions were regarded as *vulgo quæsitæ* (i.e. *sine patre* or *incerto patre*), and followed the status of the mother.

The terms *concubina* and *concubinatus* are first met with in the works of Plautus, and are there applied exclusively to Greek conditions; thus, to speak of a marriage without dowry as a *concubinatus* (*Trin.* 690, *Stich.* 562; cf. Terence, *Phormio*, 653) corresponds to the Attic, not the Roman, point of view. But the word was even then in use (*The Sauris ling. lat. iv.* 98), though it had not a legally determinate connotation; it was perhaps applied to the marriages of slaves (see below), or to those between *ingenui* and *libertinae*, which, though not valid in law, were probably recognized by public opinion in later times (*Cic. pro Sest.* 111). In the Imperial period, again, the signification of *concubinatus* was modified by the marriage laws of Augustus, which forbade the union of free-born men with women of tarnished reputation (courtesans, procuresses, adulteresses, actresses), while senators were further prohibited from marrying emancipated women or the daughters of parents of ill repute. The man who maintained a relation resembling marriage with any such woman (*i.e.* with her *alone*) was said to be living in *concubinatus*. The laws, it is true, so far recognized unions of this sort that proceedings for *stuprum* were not taken against the parties. The children were out and out *vulgo quæsi*, *spurii*, or *naturales*—these terms are used indifferently in the inscriptions, which also give *filiastræ*—and took the status of the mother, as appears even in their names: thus the son of Publius Paccius Januarius and Mameria Grapte is called C. Mamercius *sp(urii) f(ilius)*, not Paccius or P(ublii) *f(ilius)* (*CIL* x. 1138). They stood in no legal relationship to their father, and accordingly could not be abintestate heirs, but were, in all probability, legally related to their mother. The *concubinatus* of a patron and an emancipated woman was specially common, and ranked—from the senatorial point of view—as in the circumstances more respectable than marriage (*Dig.* xxv. 7 pr.). In later times it was customary for the governor of a province to live with a concubine, and Alexander Severus caused her to be maintained at the public expense (*Vit. Alex.* 42). No stain attached to such an arrangement, and in many cases the connexion was regarded by the public as a regular marriage, while it was sometimes eventually placed upon the higher footing (*e.g.* *CIL* v. 1071); in the inscriptions the concubine is not infrequently called *coniux*, and the man *maritus*. When Septimius Severus prohibited marriages between patroness and freedman, Bishop Callistus of Rome gave permission to the women of his diocese to live in *concubinatus* with *emancipati* and *servi* (Hippolytus, *Refut.* ix. 12). After the death of Faustina, Marcus Aurelius took as a concubine the daughter of a procurator, so that his children might not have a stepmother (*Vit. M. Aur.* 29).

The subject of military concubinage must be dealt with by itself. The *milites gregales*, who were Roman citizens, were prohibited from marrying, and the women with whom they cohabited—commonly, as it appears, called *focariæ*—were regarded as concubines, even when they had been the regular wives of the soldiers before the date of enrolment. But, if a soldier received his honourable discharge (*missio honesta*) at the close of his period of service, his concubine became a wife, unless there was some special impediment. As a matter of fact, the privilege of marrying an alien concubine belonged only to the troops of the metropolitan cohorts, while other soldiers were restricted to women who had the rights of citizenship. Such marriages, however, had no retrospective effect upon the children who had been born during the period of service (distinguished in the inscriptions by the addition of the word

castris), and these still remained *spurii* (see above). The restrictions in question seem to have been removed by Septimius Severus, who allowed the *milites gregales* to marry during service; they certainly possessed this right in the 4th cent. A.D. We have information to show that in the military town of Lambæsis from A.D. 198 the legionaries lived with their families outside the camp.

The term *concubinatus* did not embrace the *contubernium* of slaves, as the latter ranked simply as chattels. It frequently happened, indeed, that the owner favoured marriages amongst his slaves, either with a view to augmenting his property, or for other reasons, as when he thought that his overseer (*vilicus*) would not do his duty well without a helpmeet (Cato, *de Re Rustica*, 143). But such unions had no legal validity, though it is likely that in actual practice they were generally recognized, and sometimes the way to a regular marriage was opened by the emancipation of both parties (*Dig.* xxxii. 1. 41; *CIL* ii. 2265). The terms *maritus*, *uxor*, and *coniux* are also found in this connexion (*e.g.* Apuleius, *Metamorph.* viii. 22).

The Christian emperors from Constantine onwards endeavoured as a rule to suppress concubinage, and to legitimize the children of these unions. Justinian permitted legitimation in all cases where there was no lawful issue. He was not unfavourable to the practice of concubinage, and regarded it as in some sense a legal institution. The Church likewise gave its sanction to that species of concubinage which was permanent and substantially like marriage (*e.g.* Augustine, *de Bono Coniug.* 3), and tolerated it even among the clergy. In the East, concubinage was prohibited in the 9th cent. by Basilius Macedo and Leo the Wise, but it persisted in the West until it was proscribed by the legislation of the 16th century. See CONCUBINAGE (Christian).

LITERATURE.—E. Hruza, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des griech. u. röm. Familienrechtes* (Leipzig, 1892-94); O. Müller, 'Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. attischen Bürger-u. Ehenrechts', *Neue Jahrb.*, Suppl. xvi. 607; C. A. Savage, *The Athenian Family* (Baltimore, 1907); P. Meyer, *Der röm. Konkubinat* (Leipzig, 1895); F. Merkel, *GGA* (1890), p. 852; Marquardt-Mau, *Das Privatleben d. Römer* (Leipzig, 1888), i. 66, 176.

W. KROLL.

CONCURSUS.—According to theologians, God has not only created the world, but also by a continuous action (*creatio continua*) preserves it (*conservatio*), else it would cease to exist.

It has been argued, *e.g.*, by Aquinas (*c. Gent.* iii. 66-67; cf. *Sum.* i. qu. 105) and Suarez (*Metaph. Disp.* xxii. 1-8) that this *conservatio* involves that God concurs or acts immediately in the actions of finite beings, so that He is the cause of all their actions; and it is this activity, viewed in relation to the activity of created things, that is termed *concursum Divinum*. When this preservative and concurrent activity is regarded as directing the course of things towards their final end, there results the concept of the Divine governance of the world (*gubernatio*). The *providentia* of God is regarded as including (1) *conservatio*, and (2) *gubernatio*. The following texts from Scripture are quoted in support of the Divine concurrence:—Job 10⁹, Ps 104²⁹, Jer 23²⁴, Mt 5⁴⁰, Lk 12²⁸, Jn 3²¹ 15⁴, Ac 17²⁷, 1 Co 3⁷, Eph 1¹¹, Col 1¹⁷, He 1³, Wis 8¹ 11²⁷.

In Augustine's *de Civ. Dei*, xii. 25, God is conceived as ordering all things, as the true cause of growth and increase, and His secret power is viewed as penetrating all things; this efficient power being withdrawn, they sink into nothing.

The doctrine appears in a still more determinate form in Aquinas, who holds that God not only creates things, but also sustains and preserves them in being. It follows, however, from this that all inferior beings act only by virtue of the

Divine activity; for they give being to other things only if they themselves actually exist (*loc. cit.*). The same argument is used by Suarez (*loc. cit.*). God is therefore the cause, in all things that operate, of their operation; and each thing works as it does only through the power of God. Its activity is but the instrumental cause in the hand of God, who is the principal cause. God not only gives forms to things, but preserves them in being, directs them to their action, and is the end of their activities.

This theory of Aquinas is exposed to two opposite dangers or difficulties. On the one hand, it might be said, and was said by the Arabian philosophers, that God is the sole acting cause; that an action of the creature in addition to that of the Creator is rendered superfluous; that it is impossible to have two actions producing the same effect; that, therefore, it is not the fire that warms, but God in the fire. On the other hand, it may be said that God, having in the beginning given to things their forms and powers of action, no longer continues to act immediately in them. To these difficulties Aquinas acutely replies that, if the causal order in created things be withdrawn from them, this would imply a want of power in the Creator, who must be able not merely to act in things, but to give to them the power of acting; that the operative powers found in things would be assigned to them in vain—they would in fact be deprived of what was best in them—if nothing was effected by them; that, in fact, all created things would be, in a manner, in vain, if deprived of their proper operation. Again, a difference of operation, in view of the differences of finite things, would be no longer possible. To the objection that the same effect cannot proceed from the two causalities—the Divine and the finite—he replies that this would be so only if both belonged to the same order; it does not apply if one be the prime, the other the secondary, agent. If we make this distinction, we may regard the effect as produced, not partly by God and partly by the natural agent, but wholly by both, only in a different manner.

To the last—what may be called the deistic—difficulty, which would degrade the Divine action in things from an immediate to a merely mediate action, as was afterwards done by Durandus de S. Porciano, Aquinas replies with a very subtle metaphysical argument. Form is within the thing, its inner nature, and the more intensely so the greater its priority and universality; but God is especially the cause of universal being in all things, which is that which, above all, most intimately belongs to things. It follows that God operates most intimately in things; and it requires only the addition of the dialectical process to find in this the universal of the Hegelian philosophy.

In his application of these principles to human volition, Aquinas remains perfectly consistent. As he does not regard God as giving to things a power of acting which they of themselves exert, so neither does he regard God as giving to the human will a power of willing which it then exerts of itself in the natural order. This would perhaps make the explanation of human freedom more easy, but it would contradict his general view, and human freedom would not be a freedom in God. His language is emphatic: 'God is a cause to us not only of our will but also of our willing' (*c. Gent.* iii. 89). Yet God, while thus acting in our voluntary actions, does not coerce or compel us; we remain free; in fact, our freedom is the result of the action of God. This enabled Aquinas afterwards to take up the position that neither directly nor indirectly can God be considered as the cause of sin, i.e. of that defect in the act by reason of which it is sinful.

In the Catechism of the Council of Trent the position of Aquinas is maintained.

'Question xxii. God, by His government, does not overturn the force of secondary causes. But not only does God protect and govern all things that exist by His providence, but also, by an internal virtue, impels to motion and action whatever things move and act, and this in such a manner as that, although He excludes not, He yet prevents the agency of secondary causes; for his most secret influence extends to all things, and, as the wise man testifies, "reacheth from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things sweetly," Wisdom viii. 1' (tr. by J. Donovan, 1829).

In the Roman Catholic schools the doctrine gave rise to a famous controversy. The theory of the co-operation or concurrent action of God applies, as we have seen, not only to things with their natural forces, but also to the actions of men. In both cases a distinction may be drawn. The concurrence or co-operation is general, and without it

things cannot act; but it may also be held that the particular form or modification which the concurrence receives in particular things or in the actions of men is itself determined by the Divine concurrence or co-operating activity; or it may be held that this is determined by the particular physical or moral agent involved, the Divine concurrence empowering the agent to act, though the mode or form of action is due to the agent itself. This distinction becomes of great importance in connexion with the actions of men.

The Molinists, or followers of Molina, maintained a direct and positive influx of the Deity into the free acts of our will—an influx or influence not, however, into the will itself, which it neither moves, determines, nor bends to the act, but which it only assists and concurs with in the production of any act whatsoever. The Thomists maintained that this restricted too much the absolute dominion of God, if it did not subject His concurrence to human control. They held that a positive influx of the Deity takes place, not merely into actions, but into our determinations themselves, and efficaciously produces whatever of being and perfection is in our free acts. This physical 'pre-motion,' however, though efficaciously directing our actions, is not to the prejudice of our liberty, since the unimpeded power to do the opposite always remains in the free agent. Suarez endeavoured to supplement the Molinist doctrine by admitting a direct influence of the Deity on our action; which, however, was only a moral influence, due to the disposition of surrounding circumstances.

Molina illustrated his doctrine of the simultaneous concurrence of God with creatures by the comparison of two men towing a boat, or carrying a burden; but the distinction might perhaps be better illustrated by the attempts which are sometimes made, in connexion with the conservation of energy, by the defenders of free will, to separate the directivity of energy from the energy itself which is transferred.

The controversy thus merges in the free-will controversy, and it is chiefly in this form that the doctrine presents itself in Protestant theology. The doctrine of Predestination affords an extreme solution of the problem. That doctrine was upheld by both Luther and Calvin. According to Luther,

'the will of man may be called a free will, not in relation to what is above it, that is, God, but is to be esteemed free in relation to what is beneath it; that is to say, with my goods, fields, house, and farm, I can act, manage, and deal freely, as I will . . . but in relation to God, and in matters which concern his salvation, man has no free will, but is captive and subject to the will of God and of Satan' ('Vom unfreien Willen,' *Luther's Werke*, Frankfurt, 1840, p. 665).

The startling conjuncture contained in the close of this sentence is explained by another position in Luther's treatise. It is certainly stated in the Bible that God wills not the death of the sinner, but Luther distinguishes between the revealed and the hidden or inscrutable will of God (*ib.* p. 691); and by this latter will even sin is determined. It is an inevitable inference from this that evil is a moment in the hidden will, even if posited to be overcome. If Luther seems here to tend towards a monistic pantheism embracing evil in its scope, we must remember that his view is also a forecast of German speculation for almost three centuries. It may be said that Hegel's dialectic, which also includes evil as a moment within it, is an attempt to analyze this inscrutable will. This will is, intrinsically, not very different from the physical 'pre-motion' of Banez.

This consequence of Luther's doctrine was not very acceptable to his followers. Melancthon had already sought to make provision for human freedom, and in subsequent Lutheran dogmatics a greater independency is given to the creatures. J. Gerhard (*Locus ii.*, 'de Natura Dei,' § 187, vol. i. p. 294), following Lombardus, distinguishes three degrees of Divine presence: a general presence by

which God is present to all creatures and by which He preserves and governs them; a *special* presence of grace and glory in the saints; and a *singular* presence with which the whole and entire plenitude of Deity dwells in the human nature of Christ. The general presence of God is not a bare indistinctness apart from operation, or a bare operation apart from essential propinquity, but embraces both at once. Gerhard's view of the general presence of God does not include more than such a relation as that contemplated by Molina, at least so far as human action is concerned. In Quenstedt a more strictly Thomistic view is adopted.

'God,' he says, 'not only gives to secondary causes the power of acting and preserves it, but immediately flows into the action and effect of the creature, so that one and the same effect is produced, not by God alone, nor by the creature alone, nor partly by God partly by the creature, but by one total efficiency; by God and the creature at the same time; by God as universal and first cause, by the creature as particular and secondary' (quoted by Biedermann, *Christl. Dogmat.* 2 ii. 277).

It is obvious that the *concursus* may be differently conceived, according as stress is laid on the Divine action or on the action of the secondary causes. When the action of the latter is resolved completely into the former, we have a conception of the *concursus* similar to that which Descartes and Bayle had of the *conservatio*. These writers, instead of regarding the *conservatio* as a causation of the continued existence of things, viewed it as a continuous reproduction of the thing, a continuous re-creation of what was constantly falling back into nothing. In a similar manner the action of the secondary causes may be considered as wholly dependent on the Divine will, which resides in God, and gives to their action such and such a character. As Biedermann points out (*op. cit.* ii. 276), this mode of apprehending the *concursus* is the characteristic of the Reformed dogmatics, and philosophically agrees more nearly with the concept of God as the Absolute. On this view it follows that the Divine action must be conceived as *prævius* to, as well as simultaneous with, that of the creature. The action of the second cause is not conceived in these systems as influencing the first, but the first is held to influence the second by determining it to operation (cf. Pietet, vi. 311, quoted by Biedermann, ii. 277; Heidegger, *Medulla theol. Christ.*, 1696, loc. vii. 14). If these views be adopted, the difficulty of freeing the Divine Cause from responsibility for sin in human action becomes intensified; for it is difficult to see what is left to the human will, apart from the Divine, upon which the responsibility for sin may be laid.

If we interpret the *concursus* in the sense of Molina, and if, especially in relation to human actions, we regard it in such a way that God does one part, while to man is left some other part—the choosing or directing function—the doctrine is unquestionably exposed to the objection urged by E. von Hartmann (*Religion des Geistes*, Berlin, 1882, p. 352) that the collective (Divine-human) cause is halved, and an abstract nonistic solution is adopted for one half, and a deistic solution for the other. Hartmann's own solution, the concrete-monistic, which regards all Divine activity as activity of the creature, and all activity of the creature as Divine, is pantheistic, and excludes the concept of the *concursus*.

The problem that meets us in the Thomist and Lutheran theology postulates a more refined solution. The problem is to reconcile the eternal, unchangeable will of God with the free action of the human will in time. This seems conceivable only if we regard such free action as not altogether in time, but, with Kant, as an intelligible act out of time; or, with Hegel, as an infinite power of going back into self, of the ego, of thought, which free action can therefore be eternally willed as

such and as free by God. The problem is not confined to the human will; we encounter it also in the Infinite of mathematics. Modern speculation tends to view the Infinite as something actual. Our notion of the actual is, above all, that what is actual is, actually, what it is. Is then the infinite series of natural numbers actually odd or even? If it is not determinately one or the other, then apparently the actuality of the Infinite must be something different from what is ordinarily meant by actuality. In like manner, it may be argued that free action, in its indeterminate character, cannot be actually in time, or must be an eternal self-determined act out of time.

The term *concursus Dei* has also been applied to the doctrine of occasionalism (*q.v.*), which postulates the action of the Deity as mediating the connexion of soul and body; but this sense is quite distinct. The theological *concursus* acts in and with the natural action of the cause, and neither supersedes nor supplies its place.

LITERATURE.—Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* i. a, qu. cv. artt. 3, 4, 5, c. *Gent.* iii. 67-70; Suarez, *Metaph. Disp.* xx. vol. i. p. 660, Paris, 1619; J. Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, 1622, 'de Natura Dei'; J. H. Heidegger, *Corpus Theologiae Christianae*, ed. Schweizer, Zürich, 1700, vii. 24-31; Leibniz, *Theodicee*, Amsterdam, 1710, p. 27 ff., *Causa Dei Asserta*, ix. 12; Boedder, *Natural Theology*, 1896, iii. 1; Biedermann, *Christl. Dogmatik*, Berlin, 1884-1886, ii. 277.

G. J. STOKES.

CONDITIONAL IMMORTALITY.—The doctrine that immortality is not inherent but conditional, depending on the use made by the individual of this present life. 'From this point of view man is a candidate for immortality. Perpetual life becomes the portion of the man who, by faith, unites himself to God' (Petavel, *Problem of Immortality*, p. 15). In its modern form Conditionalism may be said to be contained in two propositions: (1) that the endless life of the righteous is not the result of any natural immortality inherent in man, but is the gift of God; (2) that the punishment of the wicked, in the world to come, will not be of endless duration, since their life must finally be extinguished.¹ Thus Conditionalism is important chiefly as an attempt to solve the problem of the ultimate fate of the obstinately wicked. Those who have found themselves unable to accept the traditional view that sinners live for ever in a state of suffering have, generally speaking, adopted one or other of two theories: Universalism (*q.v.*), the doctrine of the ultimate reconciliation of all men to God; or Conditionalism, which, in its modern development, involves Annihilationism (*q.v.*).

1. History of the doctrine.—Although Conditionalism, historically speaking, is a recent doctrine, not held by any considerable body of men until the 19th cent., it is found here and there, in a more or less developed form, from the earliest times. Some writers² have claimed for it an Egyptian origin. But the first certain instance of a philosophic presentation of conditionalistic ideas is found in the teaching of the Stoic Chrysippus († c. 206 B.C.). Diog. Laert. (vii. 157) says: Κλεάνθης μὲν οὐν πᾶσας [τὰς ψυχὰς] ἐπιδικαμένουν μέχρι τῆς ἐκπύρωσεως, Χρύσιππος δὲ τὰς τῶν σοφῶν μόνων. The view of Chrysippus was accepted by some, though not all, of the later Stoics,³ but Conditionalism never became a

¹ It is to be observed that these two propositions are quite separate. The second does not necessarily follow from the first.

² e.g. A. Matter, art. 'Ancientisme des Ames,' in *Encyclop. des sciences relig.* (Paris, 1877); G. Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, I. 315 (London, 1881); A. Wiedemann, *Anc. Egypt. Doctrine of Immortality* (Eng. tr., London, 1896).

³ Seneca, *Consolat. ad Marciam*, ad fin.: 'Nos quoque felices animæ et æterna sortitæ . . . labentibus cunctis . . . in antiqua elementa vertemur'; Tac. *Agria*. xvi.: 'Si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnæ animæ'; Arius Didymus (ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xv. 20): 'Ἐνιοὶ τὸν Στοικῶν λέγουσι] τὴν μὲν [ψυχὴν] τῶν σπουδαίων μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀναλίσσεως τῶν πάντων [ἐπιμένειν], τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀφρόνων πρὸς ποσότην χρόνου.

generally received doctrine among the Greeks and Romans. Roman Stoics like Epictetus and Aurelius either doubted or denied the immortality of the soul; while, on the other hand, the increasing popularity of Neo-Platonism brought into prominence the rival theory of its inherent immortality. Among the Jews some Rabbis, notably Maimonides († 1204),¹ held that the wicked would not live for ever. Of early Christian writers, however, there is only one who unquestionably taught a conditionalistic doctrine. At the beginning of the 4th cent. the African apologist Arnobius² (*Disput. adv. Gentes*, ii. 15-54) argues that the sin, imperfections, and infirmities of the soul make it impossible to believe that it came direct from God. And, for the same reason, it cannot be inherently immortal. It survives the body indeed, but is immortal only by the gift of God. The souls of the obstinately wicked are gradually destroyed in Gehenna. That which is immortal cannot suffer pain. But the souls of the obstinately wicked do suffer intense pain; therefore they must eventually die of it. 'Sunt enim [animæ] mediæ qualitatis (sicut Christo auctore compertum est) et interire quæ possint, Deum si ignoraverint, vitæ et ab exitu liberari si ad eius semina³ atque indulgentias applicarint' (*op. cit.* ii. 14).

From the 4th cent. to the 18th, Conditionalism was not taught by any one claiming to be an orthodox Christian. Certain isolated thinkers, like Duns Scotus († 1309) and Petrus Pomponatius (early 16th cent.), maintained that the immortality of the soul is incapable of demonstration.⁴ But such teaching does not, necessarily at any rate, involve Conditionalism. In truth, Conditionalism never commended itself to the Church. Platonic influences in the first place, and the growth of purgatorial doctrine⁵ later, tended to lead men further and further away from conditionalistic speculations, and during the early days of the Reformation the immense influence of Calvin brought about the acceptance by most Protestant bodies of formulæ which strongly affirmed the doctrine of the endlessness of punishment. But meantime conditionalist views were being put forward by certain isolated thinkers, Christian and non-Christian.

Fausto Paolo Sozzini (=Socinus, † 1604), in a letter written as early as 1563, rejected the doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul, and in his later controversy with Francesco Pucci he stated his views more fully.

He argues that, since man has the power of reproducing his species, he must be naturally mortal, for an immortal being does not beget children. Further, an immortal frame does not require food. Man's body is evidently different from a spiritual and immortal body. All the causes which lead to death existed even before man sinned. If man had not sinned, he might have been preserved from death by the favour of God, though naturally mortal. By sinning, Adam refused this gift for himself and his posterity. Therefore, unless by the favour of God, we too must die and remain in the state of death.⁶

Thomas Hobbes († 1679), in his *Leviathan* (iii. 38), says:

'The fire prepared for the wicked is an Everlasting Fire, that is to say, the Estate wherein no man can be without torture, both of body and mind, after the Resurrection, shall endure for ever; and in that sense the Fire shall be unquenchable, and

the torments Everlasting; but it cannot thence be inferred that he who shall be cast into that fire, or be tormented with those torments, shall endure and resist them so as to be eternally burnt and tortured, and yet never be destroyed or die. And though there be many places that affirm Everlasting Fire and Torments (into which men may be cast successively one after another for ever), yet I find none that affirm there shall be an Eternal Life therein of any individual person; but, to the contrary, an Everlasting Death.'

Similar views appear to have been held by John Locke († 1704).

By death some men understand 'endless torment in hell-fire: but it seems a strange way of understanding a law, which requires the plainest and clearest words, that by death should be meant eternal life in misery. Could any one be supposed [to intend] by a law that says, "For felony thou shalt die," not that he should lose his life, but be kept alive in perpetual exquisite torment?' (*Reasonableness of Christianity*, § 1).

Even so orthodox a Calvinist as Isaac Watts († 1748), in his *Ruin and Recovery of Mankind*, § xi. (*Works*, 1753, vi. 270-274), asks 'whether the word "death" might not be fairly construed to extend to the utter destruction of the life of the soul as well as of the body.'

On the Continent of Europe, Benedict Spinoza († 1677), in his posthumous tract¹ *de Deo, de Homine, et de Felicitate*, argued against the natural immortality of the soul, and elaborated his theory in the 5th book of his *Ethics*. In Prop. xlii., Scholium (Eng. tr., White-Stirling, 1894), he says:

'The ignorant man is not only agitated by external causes in many ways, and never enjoys true peace of soul, but lives also ignorant, as it were, both of God and of thought, and as soon as he ceases to suffer ceases also to be. On the other hand, the wise man, in so far as he is considered as such, is scarcely ever moved in his mind, but, being conscious, by a certain eternal necessity, of himself, of God, and of things, never ceases to be, and always enjoys true peace of soul.'

The exact meaning attached by Spinoza to phrases like 'never ceases to be' is a subject of dispute; but at least it is clear that he was a Conditionalist in the sense that his 'immortality' is not enjoyed by any but the wise man.

In France, J. J. Rousseau († 1778), while he held the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, yet thought that the souls of the very wicked perish at death. In a letter of 1758 he says:

'Il est vrai qu'il y a des âmes si noires que je ne puis concevoir qu'elles puissent jamais goûter cette éternelle béatitude dont il me semble que le plus doux sentiment doit être le contentement de soi-même. Cela me fait soupçonner qu'il se pourrait bien que les âmes des méchants fussent anéanties à leur mort, et qu'être et sentir fût le prix d'une bonne vie.'

The opinions quoted so far are chiefly those of philosophers and thinkers rather than theologians, and in some cases they are in the nature of *obiter dicta*. But in 1706 there appeared a complete treatise from the pen of the learned theologian and non-juror Henry Dodwell, advocating conditionalist views. Dodwell had been Camden Professor of History in the University of Oxford, and had a great reputation for scholarship and orthodoxy. The full title of his work sufficiently indicates the nature of its conclusions. It is called *An epistolary discourse proving from the Scriptures and the First Fathers that the soul is a principle naturally mortal—but immortalised actually by the pleasure of God to punishment or to reward, by its union with the Divine Baptismal Spirit, wherein is proved that none have the power of giving the Divine Immortalising Spirit since the Apostles, but only the Bishops*.² This work provoked considerable controversy, being answered by Samuel Clarke, Anthony Collins, and others. Dodwell defended himself in three pamphlets published in

¹ *Constitutiones de Fundamentis Legis*, pp. 47, 48, Lat. tr. by W. Vorst, Amsterdam, 1838. F. W. Farrar (*Eternal Hope*, London, 1892, Excursus v.) discusses the eschatological views of the Jews. See, further, J.E. art. 'Eschatology.'

² For the views of Arnobius see Smith-Wace's *DCB* (1877) i. 168.

³ For the unintelligible MS reading 'semina,' *minas* and *misericordiam* have been conjectured. Reifferscheid reads *misericordias*.

⁴ This view was implicitly condemned by the Fifth Lateran Council and by a Bull of Leo x. (1513).

⁵ The conception of Purgatory did in fact modify, for the faithful at least, the doctrine of endless punishment for the wicked in a Universalist direction.

⁶ Socinus, *Works* (Frankfort, 1656), i. 537 ff.; see also J. Toumin, *Life and Sentiments of Socinus* (1777).

¹ This treatise was not known to exist till the discovery by Ed. Boehmer of Halle (1851) of an abstract of it, and the subsequent finding of two Dutch MSS containing the whole of it. It is a rough draft of the *Ethics*. The word 'immortality' is used in it, but not in the *Ethics*.

² A little before the appearance of Dodwell's book, Aubert de Versé, a French Protestant, had formulated a theory of Conditionalism in his treatise *Le Protestant pacifique* (1894). He says: 'La mort est la mort, et la vie est la vie. La mort naturelle prive de la vie et du sentiment pour un temps, et la mort éternelle en prive pour jamais.' His position corresponds with that of Locke.

1707-1708; and an anonymous¹ work indicating his main position, *The Holy Spirit the Author of Immortality*, appeared in the latter year. The controversy, however, soon died out, and for over a century nothing more was heard of it.

The latter part of the 19th cent. saw a great revival of interest in eschatological questions, and the difficulties of the traditional view of the ultimate destiny of the obstinately wicked were stated with great force by a number of writers. In 1846, Edward White, a Congregational minister, published his *Life in Christ*, which is justly regarded as an epoch-making book in the history of Conditionalism.² White's views were supported by a considerable number of theologians and thinkers in England and America, as well as on the Continent of Europe. A fairly complete list will be found on pp. 18-26 and 500-501 of Petavel's work, *The Problem of Immortality* (Eng. tr. by F. A. Freer, 1892). In Germany Richard Rothe, in France and Switzerland Charles Lambert, Charles Byse, and E. Petavel,³ in Italy Oscar Cocorda, and in America C. F. Hudson and W. F. Huntingdon have been prominent advocates of conditionalistic views, and have won many adherents. Thus Conditionalism has at length, in the 20th cent., taken its place among those eschatological theories which are to be reckoned with.

2. Arguments in favour of Conditionalism.—The main arguments on which the more recent advocates of conditionalistic views rely to prove their case may be summed up as follows:—

(1) *Arguments based on the language of the OT and NT.*—The chief passages relied on by Conditionalists are the following: Gn 216.17 34.19, 22-24, Dt 30.15, 19, 20, Ps 214.37.10, 20 49.20 73.10, 20 92.7 94.23 145.20, Pr 8.35, 26 11.19 12.28 24.30, Is 51.8, Ezk 18.26-32, Mal 4.1-3, Mt 7.13-19 10.28 13.30, 40, 48, 49 16.36, Lk 13.4, 5, Jn 3.16, 18 5.24, 40 6.32-35 8.51 10.28 11.25 14.6, 19 15.6, Ro 6.21-23 7.8 8.11, 13, 1 Co 3.16, 17, 2 Co 2.15, 16 4.3, Gal 6.7, 8, Ph 3.18, 19, 1 Th 5.2, 2 Th 1.9 (ἀθάνατος αἰώνιος—a unique phrase in NT), 1 Ti 6.19, He 10.26-29 12.29, Ja 1.15 5.20, 1 P 1.12 4.18, 2 P 1.4 2.13 3.3, 1 Jn 3.15 5.11, 12, Rev 2.11 3.3 20.11 21.6 22.1, 4. These passages are held to prove: (a) that man is not inherently immortal; immortality is the attribute of God only (1 Ti 6.16); death, in its literal sense, is the result of the Fall; (b) that immortality is a gift offered to the righteous; (c) that it is conditional; the Bible never speaks of the immortality of the soul; (d) that obstinate sinners are frequently threatened with death, and spoken of as destroyed; and that death means destruction of body and soul.

It is plain that in all discussions on the language of Scripture the essential point is the precise meaning to be attached to the words 'life', 'death', and similar expressions.⁴ Are they to be interpreted literally or in a moral sense?⁵ The conditionalist

position (forcibly stated by Locke in a passage already quoted) is that Biblical writers, when they use these expressions, use them in the obvious and literal sense. The opposite view is put by S. D. F. Salmond in his *Christian Doctrine of Immortality* (Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 615-623). He argues that in a good many, at any rate, of the NT passages relied on by Conditionalists the word 'life' (ζωή) means something more than mere existence (e.g. Jn 5.4 11.25, 26, Eph 2.1-6, Col 2.13 3.1, 1 Ti 5.6). And, further, he quotes certain passages from the NT which, in his opinion, are irreconcilable with Conditionalism (Mt 25.46, Mk 3.29, Jn 3.36, Ac 1.25, Rev 20.10).¹

(2) *Patristic evidence.*—It is claimed by Conditionalists that the early Christian Fathers are on their side. The opinions of Arnobius have already been stated, and it is not seriously disputed, that he held conditionalistic views. But, from Dodwell onwards, conditionalist writers have brought forward a considerable body of Patristic evidence to prove their contention that many of the other Fathers in early times were on the same side. Some of the passages cited are not convincing,² but others certainly contain expressions which are, at any rate, capable of a conditionalistic interpretation. Justin Martyr (2 Apol. 7) uses the phrase ἵνα καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δάσκαλοι καὶ ἄνθρωποι μὴ κέτι ζῶσι. In his *Dialogue with Trypho* he puts into the mouth of the aged Christian who is instructing him words which seem formally to deny the inherent immortality of the soul. After a repudiation of the Platonic doctrine of pre-existence, he goes on to say (Dial. v.): οὐδὲ μὴ ἀθάνατον χρὴ λέγειν αὐτὴν (i.e. τὴν ψυχὴν), οὐκ εἰ ἀθάνατος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγέννητος δηλαδὴ. He then proceeds to develop his views, saying that the souls of the righteous will not die, while the souls of the wicked will be punished, ἐστ' αὐτὰς καὶ εἶναι καὶ κολάζεσθαι ὁ θεὸς θέλει. And later on in the same chapter he uses the phrase τούτου χάριν καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αἱ ψυχὰι καὶ κολάζονται.³ Irenæus (adv. Haer. v. 2) says: ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ὑπεροχῆς, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως, τὴν εἰς αἰὶν παραμὼν ἔχομεν. The most important, however, of the passages in Irenæus bearing on this question is found in ii. 56 (=ii. 34), where, in commenting on Ps 148.21, he concludes with these words (Lat. tr.):

'Non enim ex nobis, neque ex nostra natura vita est: sed secundum gratiam Dei datur. Et ideo qui servaverit datum vitae . . . accipiet et in saeculum saeculi longitudinem dierum. Qui autem abiecit eam . . . ipse se privat in saeculum saeculi perseverantia (= διαμνησί).'

More doubtful is the language of Athanasius, whose words are (de Incarnatione, 3):

εἰ δὲ παραβαίεν καὶ στυφαίνετες γένοιτο φαῖλοι, γινώσκουσιν ἑαυτοὺς τὴν ἐν θανάτῳ κατὰ φύσιν φθορὰν ὑπομένειν, καὶ μὴ κέτι μὲν ἐν παραδείσῳ ζῆναι, ἔξω δὲ τούτῳ λοιπὸν ἀποθνήσκοντας μένειν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ.

After Athanasius, conditionalistic doctrines are found but very rarely. Petavel quotes Nemesius, de Natura Hominis, i.; Theophylact, Com. on 1 Ti 6.16; Nicholas of Methone, Refut. 207 ff.; and a synodical letter of Sophronius read at the Third Council of Constantinople (A.D. 680) as instances of the sporadic survival of such views. But he

1 For further discussion of these and similar passages see C. A. Row, *Eternal Retribution* (1887), pp. 185-847.

2 e.g. Ep. Barn. 20 (where the phrase θάνατος αἰώνιος occurs); Clem. 1 Ep. ad Cor. 35 (eternal life is the gift of God); 2 Ep. ad Cor. 7 (ἀθανάτων ἀθάνατος); Ignatius, ad Polyc. 2, ad Sm., ad Ephes. 20 (the Eucharist is φάρμακον ἀθανασίας); Theophilus, ad Autolyt. ii. 27 (οὐτὶ οὐδὲν φόνος θνητῶν ἐγένετο, οὐτὶ ἀθάνατος); Lactantius, Inst. Div. vii. 5 ('non secula naturae, sed merces praemiumque virtutis'); Clem. Alex. Ped. i. 6, ad init. (immortality conferred by baptism).

3 Justin's pupil Tatian uses similar expressions; cf. adv. Graecos, 13 (146 B), οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν, θνητὴ δέ.

4 Elsewhere (e.g. c. Gentes, 83) Athanasius seems to teach the inherent immortality of the soul; and E. White (op. cit. p. 425) admits that he holds the doctrine of the "eternal death" of conscious suffering for the obstinately wicked.

¹ Assigned to Joseph Pitts in the B.M. Catalogue.

² *Life in Christ: Four Discourses upon the Scripture Doctrine that Immortality is the peculiar Privilege of the Regenerate*, London, 1846. A third edition of this work, revised and enlarged, was published in 1878, and was translated into French in 1880 by Charles Byse.

³ Dr E. Petavel is a distinguished Swiss theologian, and his work is the most complete account of Conditionalism yet published. He includes among the supporters of Conditionalism Dr R. W. Dale (quoted in the preface to Petavel's *Struggle for Eternal Life*, Eng. tr. 1876), Prof. Sir G. G. Stokes (quoted by E. White in preface to *Life in Christ*, p. vii), and Archbishop Whately, who, in *Scripture Revelations Concerning a Future State* (10 pp. 189, 190), suggests Conditionalism as a possible hypothesis.

⁴ The usual words for 'life' are Heb. חַיָּה and ζῆν, Gr. ζωή (more than 100 times in NT), and, less commonly, ψυχή. The words and phrases denoting 'death' and 'destruction' are much more numerous both in Hebrew and in Greek (Petavel, op. cit. pp. 445-452).

⁵ The language found in the NT . . . decidedly suggests that the ultimate penalty, in the eternal order, of impenitence is extinction of the guilty soul, even as the ultimate issue of the work and victory of Christ is the extinction of evil' (J. M. Schulhof, *Law of Forgiveness*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 146).

admits that they were generally 'drowned in the rising tide of the Platonic theory which was made to triumph in the Church by the pseudo-Clementines, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Jerome, and especially Augustine' (*op. cit.* 242). Taken as a whole, the Patristic evidence goes to show that a considerable number of early Fathers affirmed, in opposition to the Platonic doctrine of inherent immortality, that eternal life is the gift of God imparted through the Incarnation, and that the soul is not naturally immortal. Whether any of them, save Arnobius, went further than this in the direction of Annihilationism is not certain. Two considerations make us hesitate before pronouncing definitely. In the first place, there is often considerable doubt as to the exact sense in which the Fathers use the words 'life,' 'death,' and similar expressions. In many instances, they, like the writers of the Bible, seem to employ them with a moral and spiritual rather than a physical meaning. In the second place, the earliest of the Fathers were not scientific theologians, and their language is not always self-consistent. Justin Martyr, the most important witness for Conditionalistic views among the Apologists, uses language which clearly implies the endless suffering of the wicked.¹ All, therefore, that can be said with certainty is that many of the early Fathers support the first of the two propositions maintained by modern Conditionalists, while one at least (Arnobius) supports the second also, and holds that the punishment of the wicked will not be of endless duration.

(3) But, over and above the appeal to authority, Biblical and Patristic, Conditionalists urge that their views are in *harmony alike with the most recent theories of science and with the highest spiritual instincts of mankind*. Science, it is said, fails to supply any proof of the immortality of the soul. Conditionalism does not demand such proof, since it also rejects the doctrine of an inherent immortality. Again, science has shown that man is physically closely allied to the lower animals; while, intellectually, there is little, if anything, to choose between, *e.g.*, the higher animals and the most backward races of mankind. If we postulate immortality for all men alike, science asks whether we can logically stop at man and deny the immortality of the more intelligent animals. This difficulty, which confronts the Universalist and the Traditionalist alike, is no difficulty for the Conditionalist. Further, the doctrine of the 'survival of the fittest' is one of the most assured of those taught by modern science. Con-

ditionalism is that doctrine transferred to the spiritual world.¹ If, again, it is true that ultimately the value of every doctrine must be measured by its ethical and practical results, Conditionalism, it is urged, is, from this point of view, in a very strong position. It keeps the mean between 'the dualist pessimism which makes evil eternal, and the perfidious optimism which asserts that all will end well for every one.'² Traditionalism, by raising doubts as to God's justice and love, leads to despair and unbelief. Universalism, by teaching the ultimate salvation of all, fills men with a fatal sense of security, and robs them of a great motive for spiritual effort. Conditionalism does not run counter to our highest conceptions of the justice and love of God, while, by representing immortality as a prize to be won, it stimulates and inspires. At the same time, since it does not exclude the possibility of the suffering of the obstinately wicked before their annihilation, it gives due weight to the solemn warnings of Scripture.

On the whole, it may be said that, although Conditionalism presents certain difficulties of its own,³ it is free from many others which have been urged against its rivals. While some of the arguments adduced by Conditionalists, especially those founded on the language of the Bible and the early Fathers, will not prove all that its advocates claim for them, yet some important considerations of a scientific and ethical character are in its favour. The spread of the doctrine during the last fifty years among men of various schools of thought is a sufficient indication that it offers a solution of eschatological problems acceptable to a large and increasing number of seekers after truth.

LITERATURE.—Most of the more important works dealing with the subject have been mentioned in the course of the article. Besides those, the following are useful: C. Lambert, *Le Système du monde moral*, Paris, 1877 (treats the question from a philosophic standpoint); C. Byse, *Notre durée*, Paris, 1885; Oscar Cocorda, *L'Immortalità condizionata*, Torre Pellice, 1888; R. Rothe, *Dogmatik*, Heidelberg, 1870, vol. iii. (esp. pp. 133-169, 291-336); C. F. Hudson, *Debt and Grace*, New York, 1892 [discussion of Patristic evidence]; J. B. Heard, *The Tripartite Nature of Man*, Edinburgh, 1882; S. Senhouse-Minton, *The Glory of Christ*, London, 1899; H. Constable, *The Duration and Nature of Future Punishment*, London, 1876; Sir J. Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, London, 1853, vol. ii., Epilogue; F. Palmer, *Winning of Immortality*, New York, 1910. A full list of ancient and modern works on eschatology (including Conditionalism) is that of Ezra Abbot, compiled as an Appendix to W. R. Alger's *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, Boston, 1880. Cf. also art. ANNIHILATION in vol. i.

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CONDUCT.—See ETHICS.

CONFESSION.

Assyro-Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 825.
Christian.—See PENITENCE.

CONFESSION (Assyro-Babylonian).—Though the word for 'confession' in Assyr.-Bab. is uncertain,³ there is no doubt whatever that the idea existed among the peoples of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. By this term they understood the acknowledgment of sin or of wrongdoing on the part of one who felt himself thereby out of favour with the deity whom he worshipped, or in danger of that disadvantage. The sin or wrongdoing might affect a fellow-man, or might be an offence against religion, justice, or morality, for which the deity, jealous with regard to the due observance of right,

¹ Cf. *1 Apol.* xxi. 8: ἀναθανίζεσθαι δὲ ἡμεῖς μόνους δεδιδόμεθα τοὺς δούλους καὶ ἀναγέρνους ἑαυτοῖς βίωντας, κολαζέσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ πρὸς μεταβάλλοντας ἐν αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ πιστεύομεν. See also *xviii.* 1, iii. 6, 7; *2 Apol.* ix. 1.

² It was probably some form of the root *pītā* (*pētā*), 'to open,' 'reveal' (see *pīt pē*, below).

Egyptian (J. BAIKIE), p. 827.
Hebrew (A. E. SUFFRIN), p. 829.

exactod a penalty and inflicted punishment. This moral or religious aspect of sin, however, was probably a late development, the feeling of wrongdoing having been originally purely ritual—a failure to perform sacrifice or worship, or a defect either in the performance or in the offering. Thus it was that the feeling of being in disfavour with the deity arose, and one of the means of grace

¹ 'Le conditionnalisme serait, à ce point de vue, un cas particulier, le plus important, du procédé général de sélection qu'emploie la nature, de la prodigalité qui se remarque en toutes ses œuvres. Il se rapprocherait du Darwinisme' (Larousse, *Dict. Universel*, Supplément, p. 883f., Paris, 1878, art. 'Conditionnalisme' [a good account of the doctrine, chiefly from the philosophical side]).

² Petavel, *op. cit.* p. 386.

³ See the vigorous attack in Salmond, *op. cit.* pp. 611-629. J. A. Beet, *The Last Things* (London, 1905, pp. 236-240, 299-305), is more sympathetic.

ould naturally be the making of confession—self-humiliation and abasement by the acknowledgment of the sin. Humiliation was evidently regarded as being acceptable to the deity, and acknowledgment of wrongdoing as paving the way to forgiveness. Moreover, it may be supposed that the man who stood self-accused before the deity not only appeared the deity by that act, but also forestalled any informant who might present his misdeeds in a less favourable light.

With the Babylonians the feeling that the deity might be displeased by possible wrongdoing was exceedingly ancient, and probably originated with the Sumerians. A worshipper, in consequence of misfortune happening after he had offered prayer or sacrifice, or after he had performed a rite, found the cause in some imperfection of his service. Not only had the service to be perfect, but the celebrant likewise had to be faultless in all his members, or imperfections in the ceremonial would occur. Moreover, he had to be ritually clean. For this reason, sin was originally the transgression of ritual laws, and appears as such throughout Babylonian religious literature.¹

'Uncleanness has come against me; and to judge my cause, to decide my decision, have I fallen down before thee. Judge my cause, decide my decision, remove the evil sickness from my body, take away whatever is evil of my flesh, and my sinews. The evil which is in my body, my flesh, and my sinews, let it this day come forth, and let me see the light.'²

Confession and contrition, however, seems to have been a secondary thing with the Assyro-Babylonians—purification by means of ritual acts and ceremonies took its place. In the rituals for purification, a certain act has to be performed which is expressed by the Sumer. phrase *ka-tuh(h)uda*, rendered, apparently, by *pit pā*, 'opening of the mouth,' which followed the *ka-tuh(h)uda*, or 'washing of the mouth.' If the latter was symbolical of the necessity of speaking the truth, and the determination on the part of the worshipper to do so, then the 'opening of the mouth' (if that be the meaning of the expression), which follows, might stand for a direction to confess³ to the god the nature of the sin or deficiency which made the ceremony necessary.⁴

In all probability the nature of these confessions as indicated by some of the numerous Assyr.-Bab. penitential psalms. An exceedingly perfect one is that published in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iv. pl. 10. This is addressed to gods and goddesses known and unknown, and refers, therefore, to sins and failings both known and unknown. The following will indicate the nature of this example:

'The forbidden thing of my god unknowingly I have eaten;
The unallowed thing of my goddess unknowingly I have trampled on;

Lord, my sins are many, great are my omissions;
God, my sins are many, great are my failings;
Goddess, my sins are many, great are my failings.
The sins I committed I knew not;
The failings I committed I knew not;
The forbidden thing I ate I knew not;
The unallowed thing I trampled on I knew not.
The lord in the wrath of his heart hath looked upon me;
The god in the anger of his heart hath turned against me;
The goddess is angry with me and evilly hath entreated me;

A known or unknown god hath oppressed me;
A known or unknown goddess hath caused me pain.

¹ J. Morgenstern, 'The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion,' *MVG* x. (1905) 3, p. 2.

² *ib.* p. 4.

³ *Epēš pā*, 'to open the mouth (to speak),' is given as a synonym of *pit pā* (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, Berlin, 1901-05, p. 851a).

⁴ Rib-Addi attributes the weakness of old age, etc., from which he was suffering, to the anger of the gods of Gēbal on account of his sins, which, however, he had confessed (*hēš epēš ana lāni* [Winckler, *Tontafeln von Tel-el-Amarna*, Berlin, 1896, no. 71; Kaudtner, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1910, no. 187, lines 29 ff.]).

I besought, but none took my hand;
I wept, but he did not approach my side.
I call aloud, none heareth me;
I am oppressed, I cover myself, I look not up.'

The penitent here mentions that he had made supplication to his merciful god, had kissed the feet of his goddess, and had appealed to god and goddess known and unknown. He calls upon them all to look favourably upon him, and asks each how long his goodwill will be withheld. Men know nothing—not even whether they do evil or good. The suppliant, however, needs help, and (being willing to confess and acknowledge that he has sinned) continues as follows:

'Turn the failure I have committed to good;
Let the wind carry away the sin I have wrought;
Tear asunder my many misdeeds like a garment.
My god, my sins are 7 times 7—free me from my sins;
My goddess, my sins are 7 times 7—free me from my sins;
God known or unknown, my sins are 7 times 7—free me from my sins;
Goddess known or unknown, my sins are 7 times 7—free me from my sins;
Free me from my sins, that I may bow down before thee;
May thy heart, like the heart of the mother who bore (me), return to its place;
Like the mother who bore, the father who begot, may it return to its place.'

The following is part of a confession to a goddess:
bitterly do I lament.

[My sins] are many, my mind is embittered (thereby).
Lady,² cause me to know my act, set for me a refuge;
Remove my sins, lift up my countenance.³

Another text speaks of the shame which the penitent feels:

'He prostrates himself to his god with sighing;
He weeps, he withholds not lamentation (?)—
"Let me tell my deed—my unspeakable deed."
Let me repeat my word, my unspeakable word:
My god, let me tell⁶ my deed, my unspeakable deed."⁴

In this last, contrary to custom, there is apparently a desire to specify the nature of the deed, and things so bad seem to be presupposed that permission has to be asked to mention (or detail) them. Unfortunately, the text is defective after the last line translated, so that the conclusion to be deduced therefrom is doubtful; but it may be supposed that we have here a case in which confession, with specification of the sin or wrongdoing, is provided for.

In all these inscriptions the penitent makes his confession directly to the deity, without the intermediary of a priest or any other person. The priest, however, in certain cases, introduces him to his god, stating that he is sick, in distress, cast down, trembling, raining tears like a cloud, uttering words of submission with sighing. What, he asks, has my lord's servant thought out and planned? Let his mouth reveal what I do not know! Whereupon the penitent, confirming, speaks for himself:

'[Many are my sins, which I have wholly sinned;
Let this [misfortune] pass, let me go forth from tribulation.
[Many are my sins, which I have wholly sinned;
Let this [misfortune] pass, let me go forth from tribulation.]'

Numerous phrases asking for pardon, peace, comfort, etc., for the penitent follow, and were seemingly pronounced by the priest.

The king naturally had to keep himself pure and always fit to represent the people. For this reason, when he came to perform a ceremony, he said: 'May the tablet of my sins be broken'—probably an actual tablet, upon which all his misdeeds were inscribed.⁵

In Ashurbanipal's well-known prayer to Nebo,⁶ the confession of his sins, as well as his perfection

¹ Lit. 'I speak words,' or the like.

² *Istar* (Zēr-panitum); cf. vol. ii. p. 643b.

³ Haupt, *Akkadische und numerische Keilschrifttexte*, 1881, p. 116 f.; Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 34, Rückf. 1-8; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Ass. ii.* (Giessen, 1906) 76.

⁴ Lit. 'unrepeatable.' Or 'confess' (*luqūš*).

⁵ Zimmern, *op. cit.* pp. 86, 65 ff.

⁶ *ib.* p. 88, lines 18-21.

⁷ Morgenstern, *loc. cit.* p. 120.

⁸ Strong, *Trans. of the 9th Internat. Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1898, li. 199 ff.

in service, was the great offering which he made to the deity:

'Assur-bani-âpli confessed his sins,¹ he constantly prayed to Nebo, his lord;
What he set at the feet of the Queen of Nineveh he concealed not in the assembly of the great gods;
What he stored in the sanctuary of Urkiti he concealed not (even) in the assembly of his haters;
"In the assembly of my haters forsake me not, Nebo—
In the assembly of my oppressors (?) forsake not my life."²
At this point come the lines printed in art. BIRTH (Assyr.-Bab.) in vol. ii. p. 644^b, and the king is then informed that his haters shall disappear like ripples on the surface of the water, and like sandhills (?) on the face of the land—"thou shalt stand up, Assur-bani-âpli—in the presence of the great gods thou shalt give praise to Nebo." To all appearance, these concluding words contain the promise of ultimate pardon and rehabilitation.

LITERATURE.—This is indicated in the notes.
T. G. PINCHES.

CONFESSION (Egyptian).—Of the deep sense of the guiltiness of sin and the deep contrition for it which are characteristic of the Hebrew or of the Christian religion, the Egyptian knew nothing, or, at all events, expressed nothing. It would be too much to say that he had no sense of sin, for of the wrongness of certain acts, and, in a very marked and unusual degree, of the wrongness of certain frames and dispositions of character, he had a very clear and accurate perception; but, at all events, he had no conception of repentance, or, at least, none which has left any mark upon his religious literature. It must always be remembered that there are immense gaps in our knowledge of the Egyptian religion, and that the bulk of our information with regard to the view which the Egyptian entertained of sin is derived from a single book—the Book of the Dead—whose sole purpose was to secure for the deceased Egyptian a safe passage through the dangers which awaited him after death, and a triumphant vindication before the Judge of the under world; but in none of the religious literature that has survived—neither in the Book of the Dead, nor in any of the numerous hymns to the various deities, nor in any of the tomb-inscriptions—is there to be found the slightest trace of such a thing as acknowledgment of sin or repentance for it. There is no penitential element whatsoever in Egyptian religious literature. What we must understand by confession in the Egyptian religion would be much better described by such a word as 'repudiation.' So far as the written records go, no Egyptian ever confessed a sin; but every Egyptian sturdily and steadfastly repudiated sin, and, in fact, the destiny of the deceased in the other world depended largely on his ability to repudiate with clearness and accuracy a certain definite list of sinful acts, words, and thoughts.

Our information on the subject is almost entirely derived from the remarkable document known by the curious and self-contradictory title of the Negative Confession—a document which forms ch. cxxv. of the Book of the Dead. It is not possible to state with exactness when this very important document came into the form in which we now have it. The papyri which preserve it to us are not older than the time of the XVIIIth dynasty (1680-1350 B.C.); but it must have been in existence, at least in its main elements, long before that period. The inscription in the tomb of Ameny at Beni-Hasan (XIIth dyn.) contains a distinct element of repudiation: 'No little child have I injured; no widow have I oppressed; no fisherman have I hindered; no shepherd have I detained.' Large portions of the text of the Book of the Dead are found on coffins of the Middle

Kingdom (XIth and XIIth dynasties), and that Osirian view of the life after death to which the Negative Confession belongs is as old as the Pyramid texts (Vth and VIth dyn.), while a tradition which there is no reason to doubt ascribes the finding of ch. xxx. of the Book of the Dead (the famous appeal to the heart not to bear false witness against its owner in the Day of Judgment) to Prince Hordadef in the reign of Menkaura (IVth dyn.). While, therefore, the present Judgment-scene of the Book of the Dead, containing the Negative Confession, may not be older than the XVIIIth dynasty, there can be little doubt that its fundamental conceptions are almost as old as the Egyptian Kingdom.

Chapter cxxv. of the Book of the Dead consists of three parts: (a) an introduction, containing a hymn of adoration to Osiris, and a form of the repudiation of sins which, there is reason to believe, is older than the actual confession which follows it; (b) the Negative Confession itself; and (c) an address to the gods of the under world. The whole chapter forms a part of the ritual which is supposed to be gone through in the scene of the judgment of the dead, and the confessional part of it seems to be supplementary to the actual judgment whose issue was determined by the weighing of the heart of the deceased against the feather which was the emblem of Maat, the goddess of Truth. In his confession the Egyptian testified that he had not been guilty of certain sins which would have involved his punishment in the spirit world; but apparently his repudiation of iniquity was not held to be in itself sufficient for his vindication, since it had to be corroborated by the unprejudiced evidence afforded by the weighing of his heart. However stoutly the deceased might assert his innocence of all sin, it was not considered advisable to allow the heart to give its testimony before it had been implored in a special prayer not to shame its owner. In one of its many varying forms this prayer runs thus:

'O my heart, my mother! O my heart, my mother! O my heart of my existence upon earth! May nought stand up to oppose me in judgment in the presence of the lords of the trial; let it not be said of me and of that which I have done, "He hath done evil against that which is right and true"; may nought be against me in the presence of the great god, the Lord of Amenet! Homage to thee, O my heart! Homage to thee, O my heart! Homage to you, O my reins!'

The heart, thus cajoled, might be expected to corroborate the confessional statements of its owner.

It is not certain whether the repudiation of sins preceded or followed the weighing of the heart, and the point is immaterial. Arrived at the Judgment Hall—"the Hall of Double Maati," or of the Twofold Truth—the deceased began his confession by reciting a brief formula of invocation to Osiris, which runs as follows:

'Praise be to thee, thou great god, thou lord of the two truths! I have come to thee, O my lord, that I may behold thy beauty. I know thee, and I know the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Two Truths, who live on the evil-doers, and who drink their blood each day of the reckoning before Unnefer [Osiris]. I come to thee, and bring to thee truth, and chase away wrong-doing.'

After this invocation, he recited a preliminary repudiation of sins in a form somewhat shorter than that of the Negative Confession, the number of sins repudiated being generally about thirty-seven, as against forty-two in the more elaborate form which followed. The sins repudiated are not always the same in the various versions; but the variations are not in any case of great moment. The following version is from the well-known papyrus of Nu (XVIIIth dyn.):

'I have not done evil to mankind. I have not oppressed the members of my family. I have not wrought evil in the place of right and truth. I have had no knowledge of worthless men. I have not wrought evil. I have not set foremost in the considerations of each day that excessive labour should be performed

¹ *Iptet Assur-bani-âpli Arni-su.*

² *Ib. p. 206, lines 27-31, revised.*

for me. I have not brought forward my name for exaltation to honours. I have not ill-treated servants. I have not thought scorn of God. I have not defrauded the oppressed of his property. I have not done that which is an abomination unto the gods. I have not caused harm to be done to the servant by his master. I have not caused pain. I have made no one to suffer hunger. I have made no one to weep. I have done no murder. I have not given the order for murder to be done for me. I have not inflicted pain upon mankind. I have not defrauded the temples of their offerings. I have not purloined the cakes of the gods. I have not carried off the cakes offered to the *khus* [illuminated souls]. I have not committed fornication. I have not polluted myself, or diminished from the bushel. I have neither added to nor filched away land. I have not encroached upon the fields of others. I have not added to the weights of the scales. I have not misread the pointer of the scales. I have not carried away the milk from the mouths of children. I have not driven away the cattle which were upon their pastures. I have not snared the feathered fowl of the preserves of the gods. I have not caught fish with fish of their kind. I have not turned back water in its time. I have not cut a cutting in a canal of running water. I have not extinguished a fire when it should burn. I have not violated the times of the chosen meat-offerings. I have not driven off the cattle from the property of the gods. I have not repulsed God in his manifestations. I am pure. I am pure.'

In all probability this introduction represents an older form of confession, and was originally all that was expected of the deceased. The development of the doctrine of the Judgment, however, led to its being supplemented by a more extended and formal version. Along with Osiris, there sat in the Hall of the Two Truths forty-two gods, who formed a kind of jury before which the deceased had to plead. The number forty-two may have been selected because the most general division of the land of Egypt gave forty-two nomes or districts, and there was thus a god for each nome. Maspero suggests that they were chosen one from each of the cities of Egypt which recognized the authority of Osiris (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 188). These jurors were creatures of terrifying aspect and still more terrifying titles, and before each of them the deceased was obliged to declare that he had not committed the particular sin which that god had authority to punish. The titles of the gods are such as—'Clasper of Flame,' 'Devourer of Shades,' 'Crusher of Bones,' 'Devourer of Blood,' 'Destroyer,' and so forth. There are variations in the different papyri, and the list here given is from the papyrus of Nebeni in the British Museum. Each confession is prefaced by 'Hail thou,' and the title of the particular god addressed is given. The confession is as follows:

(1) I have not done iniquity. (2) I have not committed robbery with violence. (3) I have done violence to no man. (4) I have not committed theft. (5) I have not slain man or woman. (6) I have not made light the bushel. (7) I have not acted deceitfully. (8) I have not purloined the things which belong to God. (9) I have not uttered falsehood. (10) I have not carried away food. (11) I have not uttered evil words. (12) I have attacked no man. (13) I have not killed the beasts which are the property of God. (14) I have not acted deceitfully. (15) I have not laid waste ploughed land. (16) I have never pried into matters. (17) I have not set my mouth in motion against any man. (18) I have not given way to anger concerning myself without a cause. (19) I have not defiled the wife of a man. (20) I have not committed any sin against purity. (21) I have not struck fear into any man. (22) I have not violated sacred times and seasons. (23) I have not been a man of anger. (24) I have not made myself deaf to words of right and truth. (25) I have not stirred up strife. (26) I have made no man to weep. (27) I have not committed acts of impurity or sodomy. (28) I have not eaten my heart. (29) I have abused no man. (30) I have not acted with violence. (31) I have not judged hastily. (32) I have not taken vengeance upon the god. (33) I have not multiplied my speech overmuch. (34) I have not acted with deceit, or worked wickedness. (35) I have not cursed the king. (36) I have not fouled water. (37) I have not made haughty my voice. (38) I have not cursed the god. (39) I have not behaved with insolence. (40) I have not sought for distinctions. (41) I have not increased my wealth except with such things as are my own possessions. (42) I have not thought scorn of the god who is in my city.'

Following upon this confession comes an address to the assessor-gods in which the deceased passes from the repudiation of sin to the positive assertion of his meritorious conduct.

'Praise to you, ye gods, ye who are in the Hall of the Two Truths, in whose body is no lie, and who live in truth. . . . Behold I come to you without sin, without evil. . . . I have done

that which man commandeth and that wherewith the gods are content. I have pleased the god with that which he loveth. I have given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, and a passage over the river to him who hath no boat. I have made offerings to the god, and funerary gifts to the illuminated souls.'

An examination of the two lists shows that in both cases the compilers had some difficulty in making out the requisite number of sins, as there are several confessions which are practically duplicates of others which have been made before, e.g. in the Negative Confession, 'I have done violence to no man,' 'I have not acted with violence,' 'I have not behaved with violence'. and again, 'I have not acted deceitfully' occurs twice, while in addition we have 'I have not acted with deceit, or worked wickedness.' Such repetitions were, of course, almost inevitable when a definite list of transgressions had to be filled up by a sometimes hasty and often careless scribe, who well knew that the document on which he was engaged was never likely to be read by any one after it had once been placed in the coffin of the deceased.

An analysis of the sins repudiated in the introduction and the Negative Confession may be attempted, giving the number of sins falling under particular heads in either document:

	Intro- duction.	Negative Confession.
Sins against the gods	10	6
" " " person of others	12	4
" " property	6	5
" " purity	1	3
" " of deceit	3	4
" " of character and disposition	6	18

There are, of course, in both lists, some sins of such a character that they might occupy a place in more than one of these categories. An examination of this classification suggests what is on other grounds extremely probable—namely, that the introduction is a survival from more primitive times, and represents a code of morality earlier than that of the Negative Confession. Thus, sins of sacrilege and sins against the person of others occupy by far the most prominent position in the introduction, as would be expected in a more primitive state of society, amounting in number to 10 and 12 respectively—22 sins out of 37. In the Confession these numbers have shrunk to 6 and 4. On the other hand, the sense of the sinfulness of acts of impurity has increased, if we may assume its increase from a more elaborate repudiation of such acts. But the most remarkable development is the growth in the sense of the importance of character. While the introduction repudiates six sins specially affecting the inner man, the Confession repudiates no fewer than eighteen.

When we come to consider the particular sins which the Egyptian judged to be fatal to him who committed them, we find several which are obviously the product of the conditions under which Egyptian agriculture was carried on. 'I have not turned back water in its time,' and 'I have not cut a cutting in a canal of running water,' both point to dishonest appropriation of irrigation water. Leaving these out of consideration as being the result of special circumstances, we see that what the Egyptian wished to avoid, or to be held to have avoided, in his life was something like this—impiety and sacrilege; crimes of violence against others, either direct or by incitation; adultery and unnatural vice; cruelty, ferocity, and unkindness towards defenceless inferiors. In all these points the Egyptian Confession indicates a code of morality not superior to that current among other nations, and indeed in some respects distinctly of an outward and formal type. The stress laid upon merely ceremonial sins is an obvious defect. As Maspero says (*op. cit.* 191), 'the material interests of the temple were too

prominent, and the crime of killing a sacred goose or stealing a loaf from the bread offerings was considered as abominable as calumny or murder. Where the Confession is striking is in its development of the sense of those duties which a man owes to his own character and self-respect. Particularly remarkable is the stress laid upon reticence and control of speech. Four at least of the repudiations refer to this—deprecating slander, foul speaking, disdainfulness of speech, and mere profusion of words. This is quite in accordance with what we learn from other sources as to Egyptian ideals of character. 'Let thy thoughts be abundant,' says the oldest Wisdom book of Egypt, 'let thy words be under restraint.' Again, anger and hasty judgment, mischief-making, and the insolence of pride together furnish the subject of eight repudiations. If Erman's interpretation be correct, useless remorse is deprecated by the obscure repudiation 28, 'I have not eaten my heart.' Budge's version is more commonplace: 'I have not lost my temper and become angry.' The sin of closing the mind to ideas and inspirations of truth is repudiated in 24, 'I have not made myself deaf to words of right and truth,' and conceivably also in the last item of the introduction—'I have not repulsed God in His manifestations,' or 'stopped a god in his comings forth.' A sense of fair play even to the creatures gives us 31 of the introduction—'I have not caught fish with fish of their own kind' (? cf. Ex 23¹⁹ 'Thou shalt not see the a kid in his mother's milk').

On the whole, that which distinguishes the Egyptian Confession is not what it is so frequently extolled for—an exceptionally high standard of morality. The Confession itself shows that the standard was very much that which has obtained among all nations that have a right to be called civilized. Its distinction is the stress which it lays on the inner duties—those duties which a man owes to himself, and which ennoble and strengthen character. Self-restraint and self-possession, dignified reticence, and absence of meddlesomeness, the capacity of bearing prosperity without insolence, and the resolve to preserve an open mind towards the truth—the effort to maintain such a sound and wholesome standard marks out the Egyptian code as being of a particularly high type. Even if it be permissible to infer that the insistence on these virtues suggests that the Egyptian character was specially prone to faults against them, it must still be admitted that no other nation ever formulated and stereotyped such a list of man's duties to his own character as part of its acknowledged code of morality. It has been pointed out that what seems to us the defect of the whole idea of the Confession—the absence from it of anything approaching a sense of repentance for wrongdoing—appears to be a permanent factor of the Egyptian character.

The essential mode of justification in the judgment,' says Petrie (*Rel. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 89), 'was by the declaration of the deceased that he had not done various crimes; and to this day the Egyptian will rely on justifying himself by sheer assertion that he has not done wrong, in face of absolute proofs to the contrary.'

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CONFESSION (Hebrew).—1. The term.—The Hiph. and Hitp., חָתַן and חָתַנָה, of the verb חָתַן, 'to throw,' acquired the meanings of 'to praise' and 'to confess.' The former stands for both, the latter is the technical term for 'to confess.' Both are rendered in the LXX by εὐχαριστοῦμαι. The nouns derived from it are חָתָן, 'praise,' 'thanksgiving,' and in Jos 7¹⁹ and Ezr 10¹¹ 'confession of sin'; and the late Hebrew חָתָן = 'confession of sin.'

The connexion between throwing, praising, and confessing is not obvious. The suggestion that a gesticulation with the hand was made while praising and confessing is too fanciful. It is more probable that חָתַן signifies metaphorically 'to throw knowledge about,' to make it public, and is thus cognate to חָתַן and חָתַנָה.

2. Confession of sin against God.—Whatever the Israelitish conception of sin was in any period of their known history, an admission of it was expected from the penitent, whether a penalty was to follow or not. Without, therefore, following the chronological order of the various documents, we find throughout the OT individual and public confession insisted on and practised.

Very early in the Book of Genesis, the questions addressed to Adam and Cain (3⁹ 4⁹) were calculated to extract confession. Judah confesses Tamar more just than himself (38²⁶). Jacob confesses his unworthiness (32¹⁰), and his sons their guiltiness concerning Joseph (42²¹). Joshua urges Achan to confess (Jos 7¹⁹). David confesses when Nathan brings his sin home (2 S 12¹³); so do the Israelites in a body when brought to repentance (Nu 14⁴⁰, 1 S 7⁶ 12¹⁰).

The mission of the prophets was 'to declare unto Jacob his transgression and to Israel his sin' (Mic 3⁸; cf. Jl 2¹², Is 58¹), and a reciprocal acknowledgment was expected (Jer 2³⁵ 3¹², Hos 14¹).

The Psalter abounds in instances of public and individual confession. Foremost stands Ps 51, which embodies a fully-developed conception of sin and grace. Its ascription to David indicates an appreciation of David's confession in 2 S 12. Ps 32 is a model penitential psalm, in which a pious man is reluctant for some time to admit the sin of an accusing conscience, until some external circumstance forces confession from his lips (Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade*, Munich, 1905, p. 352). Similarly in Ps 38 a pious man ascribes his misfortunes to his sins which he can bear no longer, and unburdens his conscience by 'declaring his iniquity and confessing his sin' (v. 18).

The religious aspect of the book of Proverbs is Eudæmonism. The wise man is happy, and he is wise who regulates his life in accordance with the Divine commands. The sinner is a fool. Confession of sin is an act of wisdom (28¹³).

In the sacrificial cult, confession of sin was an essential element (Lv 5⁶ 16²¹, Nu 5⁶ 7). According to Maimonides (*Yad Ma'as, Hak. iii. 14*), the sacrificer of a sin, trespass, or burnt-offering laid both hands between the horns of the victim, and said:

'I have sinned, committed iniquity, transgressed, have done thus and thus. I repent before Thee, and this is my atoning sacrifice.'

On the Day of Atonement the high priest is said to have confessed three times. Standing by his victim between the porch and the altar, facing west, and with his hands upon its head, he made the following confession:

1 Malbim on Lv 5⁶ says that חָתַן has the opposite meaning of 'to conceal,' 'to deny.' It is peculiar to man to hide his knowledge of God and of his sin. The טָרָן proclaims them.

2 On this the Talmud remarks: 'Judah's praise consists in his confession'—a double play on his name (*Meg. 25⁶*; see also *Sot. 7* and 10).

3 The present writer is inclined to think that the unusual expression חָתָן is a mistake, having arisen from similarity to the previous חָתָן, and that the original reading was חָתָן חָתָן. This also completes the synthetic parallelism.

'I beseech thee, Jahweh, I have committed iniquity, I have transgressed, I have sinned before thee, I and my house. I beseech thee, Jahweh, forgive now the iniquities and the transgressions and the sins wherein I have committed iniquity and transgressed and sinned before thee, I and my house. As it is written in the law of thy servant Moses, "For on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you from all your sins."'

The priests and people responded: 'Blessed be the name of His glory for ever.' The second time was over the sin-offering of the priests, when the same formula was used, with the addition of 'the sons of Aaron, thy holy people' after 'I and my house.' The third confession was made over the scape-goat, and the same formula was worded in the third person plural, with 'Thy people, the house of Israel,' substituted for 'I and my house.'

The Exile wrought a material change in the religious disposition as well as in the outward fortunes of the people. In the place of the defiant Israelitish nation there returned from Babylon a Church of serious and timid Jews. Without doubting that they were the successors of ancient Israel and heirs to the promises, they were rendered diffident by their miserable resources. They saw in their inferiority God's chastisement for their sin. Confession of sin became henceforth a concomitant of religious exercise (see *Ezr* 9th, *Neh* 9th). The confession in *Dn* 9^{th-10} resembles in several ways that of *Neh.* and *Bar* 1^{st-17}; but, as Marti (*Com.* on *Dan.* p. 65) observes, the similarity is due not to quotations from each other, but to some common stereotyped liturgical prayers from which all drew.

A peculiar feature of exile and post-exilic confession is the aggregate conception of sin to which is reckoned the 'sins of the fathers.'¹ The truth contained in the Talmudic adage that Israelites were each other's sureties (*Sheb.* 39, and elsewhere) is older than the Talmud. Viewing themselves as partakers of a common blessing, they felt a share in the cause of the common misfortunes. Liturgical confession, therefore, arose not from a sense of individual sin or the imperfection of human nature, but from the desire for amelioration of present circumstances. It is the pious man who is ever ready to confess. Tobit enumerates his virtues, his loyalty to Jahweh and the Law (ch. 1). He leads a blameless life, but confesses his sins and goes into judgment with his fathers. His model integrity saves Azarias from the fire, but he confesses, 'We have sinned' (*LXX Dn* 3^{2st}). Individually a pious man had few sins to confess. Legal observance could keep him sinless, and the sacrificial cult made good that in which he failed through ignorance. 'No sinner ever slept in Jerusalem. The evening sacrifice atoned for sins of the day, and that of the morning for sins of the night' (*Mid. Rab.* and *Tanch.* on *Nu* 28th; also *Rashi* on *Is* 1st). Sin being not sinfulness but actual sin, and that a collection of single sins, a pious man was able to know what to do and what to avoid, so as to keep a clean balance with God. Not the righteous like the patriarchs, but actual sinners like Manasses, need repentance and confession (Prayer of Manasses). To this class of general liturgical confession belongs the sixth petition in the *Shemone Esre*: 'Forgive us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed.'

After the destruction of the Temple, the Day of Atonement, even without sacrifice, retained its expiatory power, and has since been observed as a day of fasting, repentance, and confession. The form of confession at first was brief and general—'We have sinned.' R. Akiba knew already the first four verses of the *Abinu Malkenu*, one of which is 'Our Father, our King, we have sinned before thee' (*Ta'an.* 25b). For other short forms of confession see *Yoma* 87b. That of Rab was:

¹ In the Sephardic and Kabbalistic recensions of the *Ashamnu* (see below), 'we and our fathers have sinned' is still given.

'Thou knowest the eternal secrets, and the hidden mysteries of all the living. Thou searchest out the innermost recesses, and triest the reins and the heart. Nothing is concealed from thee, or hidden from thine eyes.'

Longer is that of R. Hamnuna, which stands at the end of the *Shemone Esre*:

'O my God, before I was formed, I was nothing worth, and, now that I have been formed, I am but as though I had not been formed. Dost I am in my life; how much more so in my death. Behold, I am before thee as a vessel full of shame and confusion. O may it be thy will, O Lord my God and the God of my fathers, that I may sin no more; and, as for the sins I have committed, purge them away by thy great mercies, but not by means of sufferings and sore diseases.'

R. Bibi directed that one should say:

'I confess all the evil that I have done before thee. I stand on an evil path. Whatever I have done, I will do the like no more. May it be thy will, O Lord my God, to pardon all my iniquities, to forgive all my transgressions, and to atone for all my sins' (*Lev. R.* iii. 3).

A loud enumeration of individual sins was considered arrogant (*Sot.* 7b). The rule still is that confession of individual sins shall be inaudible, except when concealment would implicate the innocent (*Shulhan Aruk, Tur. Or. Hay.* 607).

The liturgy of the Day of Atonement gradually increased in bulk with suitable prayers and confessions, prominent among them being the *Ashamnu* and '*Al-Het*, called the lesser and greater confessions, and repeated four times in the course of the twenty-four hours of the fast, with a slight tap on the breast at the mention of each sin. The former consists of twenty-four expressions for sin, alphabetically arranged, the last letter being repeated three times. It is probably the confession referred to in the *Didache*. The '*Al-Het* is a more exhaustive catalogue of sin, also alphabetical, and has in the *Asikhenazic* use forty-four lines, each commencing, 'For the sin wherein we have sinned before thee,' etc.

It is a pious custom to submit to forty stripes save one, on the eve of the Day of Atonement. The penitent, lying prostrate with head towards the north, silently confesses his sins while (generally) the attendant of the synagogue lays on gently with thongs made of calf-skin, repeating three times *Ps* 78th (which in Hebrew has thirteen words), a word at each stroke (*Shulh. Ar., ut supra*).

There exists in the Prayer-book also a daily confession of sin, called *puq*, which is said morning and evening (except on festivals and other occasions) after the '*Amida*, in a sitting posture, with head resting on elbow. Originally it consisted of one verse:

'O thou who art merciful and gracious, I have sinned before thee. O Lord, full of mercy, have mercy upon me, and receive my supplications,'

after which private confession is made, and one's wants stated non-liturgically. Its older name is *קריאת*, 'prostration' (cf. *Jos* 7th). Since prostration was generally discontinued after the destruction of the Temple, this indicates its great antiquity.

'A distinguished man should not use *קריאת* unless he is sure that his prayer will be answered like Joshua's.' Compare Christ's posture in Gethsemane. R. Eliezer's mother did not allow him to 'fall on his face on the day of his excommunication' (*Bab. mes.* 59b). On Mondays and Thursdays the *puq* is preceded by a mediæval confessional prayer of legendary authorship.

Every Jew confesses on his deathbed, after a prescribed form. Criminals are urged to confess, within ten cubits' distance of the scene of execution. If they have nothing to confess, they are instructed to say: 'Let my death be an atonement for all my iniquities' (*Sanh.* vi. 2).

3. Confession of sin against man.—The Mosaic legislation made provision for material reparation of injuries done to one's neighbour. But the ideal of Hebrew equity went beyond legal compensation, and demanded the conciliation of the offended party, without which 'not all the rams of Nebaioth

in the world could procure pardon' (*Bab. kamma*, 92a). Thus Joseph's brethren pray for forgiveness (Gn 50¹⁷); note also the confession of Pharaoh (Ex 10¹⁷), and cf. 1 S 15²⁴ 24¹⁰ 26²¹, 2 S 19²⁰. In later Judaism it was raised to a positive precept. 'Although the offender offers the legal compensation, he is not yet forgiven until he entreats him for it' (*Bab. kam.* viii. 7). The Day of Atonement expiates sin against God, but not sin against man, unless the offended party is conciliated (*Yoma* viii. 9). Suspicion of the innocent comes under the category of injuries. The suspect must be informed of it, and honourable amends made to him (*Ber.* 31b). Strictly the conciliation must take place before three witnesses. If the offended party is dead, the conciliation should take place over his grave in the presence of ten witnesses (*Yoma* 86-88). The eve of the Day of Atonement is generally selected for acts of reparation of this kind. No distinction of class is acknowledged. Even Rabbis of renown were known to condescend to regain the goodwill of those whom they injured. Rab, in a dispute with a butcher, was offended by the latter. On the eve of the Fast he expected the transgressor to ask for forgiveness. As he did not do so, he called on him and effected the conciliation (*Yoma* 87). If the injured party refuses to forgive after the third entreaty, he is called cruel, except in the case of slander, which one is not bound to forgive (*Shulh. Ar., Tur Or. Hay.* 606).

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CONFESSIONS.

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I. Scope and limitations of the article.—It is the object of this article to furnish a survey of the history of Confessions of Faith, indicating their origin, their contents, and their inter-relationships, together with some brief reflexions, suggested by the survey, upon their uses and their influence for good and evil in the religious world. Other articles (CREEDS [Ecum.], COUNCILS [Christian: early]) will tell of the development of the three great Catholic Creeds of Christendom, and of the meeting of the historic authoritative assemblies of the Church. Under the title 'Confessions' it will not be possible to deal in detail with documents of a private, individual, or tentative character; these will be mentioned only when they are of special interest. The public Confessions which have been or still are authoritative in the various sections of the Chris-

tian Church will be treated comprehensively, though their great number—exceeding 150—makes it necessary to dismiss many of them with the briefest notice. A comparative glance will be turned on the non-Christian world in search of documents or testimonies analogous to the Creeds of Christendom. Happily, there is small room for doubt or controversy in regard to the authenticity of Confessions, and questions as to date, authorship, editions, etc., will for the most part be handled very lightly, in the interests of clearness. The table of contents printed above, and the chronological table of Confessions printed on pp. 894-901, will help to make plain the principle of arrangement followed in the article. Selections from the relevant literature will be given at various points throughout the article.

2. Definition: synonymous and similar terms.—Amid all diversities of name, literary form, occasion, purpose, and authority, a 'Confession' is a public avowal and formal statement, more or less detailed, of the doctrinal contents of religious belief, framed by an individual or by a group of individuals. It may be addressed, orally or in writing, to a few persons in sympathy or out of sympathy with it, or to a congregation, or to a church, or to the world. It may be a brief spontaneous ejaculation of faith, or a summary of deliberate conviction, or a veritable treatise on doctrine. If short, comprehensive, and dignified enough for use in public worship, and if prefaced by the words 'I believe,' or 'we believe,' it becomes a *Creed*. If longer and more minute and systematic, it is technically a *Confession*. Broken up and analytically simplified into a series of didactic questions and answers to assist the memory and intelligence of the young and the unlearned, it is a *Catechism*. Viewed as a proclamation, in an apologetic or other interest, of distinctive doctrine, it is a *Manifesto*, a *Declaration*, a *Profession*, a 'Symbol,' a 'Platform.' As a bond of union it is a *Consensus*, a *Covenant*, a *Form*, or *Formula*. As a test of doctrine it is a *Standard*. As a disavowal and condemnation of errors it is a 'Syllabus.' In respect of its contents, it may be entitled *Decrees*, *Canons*, *Articles*, *Theses*, *Propositions*, 'Places.' When modified and re-issued, it may appear as a 'Revision.' The form of words in which the individual subscribes or professes a Confession is the Formula of Subscription, or simply the 'Formula.'

3. Origin, aims, and uses.—If religion be the natural response of the human soul to the Power by whose fiat and by whose providence it exists, no element in religious experience is so comprehensive and so momentous as faith. Observation and knowledge of the facts of life, wonder, fear, and doubt in presence of them, underlie religion; but, unless they issue in distinctive faith, religion is still unconstituted. Faith does not shut its eyes to things seen, but, while seeing them, looks beyond to realities discerned behind them. It is the organ of religious truth. Like hope, its serene, and love, its passionate, sister, faith in its full meaning is vital to the highest experience of religion, and as such is bound to find expression when religion becomes self-conscious and articulate. It remembers the past, and leans upon it; it fills the present with life and power; it faces the future with eager expectancy; it is the bond between all the phases of religious life, the link, indeed, which unites that life with the Unseen God. In the language of religious self-utterance, therefore, *credo*, 'I believe,' and *confiteor*, 'I confess or acknowledge,' must always have a foremost place; they are presupposed in all the other moods of worship—in praise, in thanksgiving, in self-abasement, in supplication, in hope, and in love; they are the persistent undertones in the natural liturgy of the universal

religious consciousness. They imply that the period of ignorance or doubt is past; that the spiritual life is come to itself; that the seeker has at last found, and that the spirit is at rest.

The earliest confessions of faith, possibly the best, were avowals of faith in a Person, personal in subject and object alike, not narrowly intellectual—'I believe that God is'—so much as spiritual—'I rest my faith on God'; and the object of this living personal attachment, too full for words, was either God or a teacher who revealed Him. Faith in Jesus personally would naturally precede faith in His Messiahship. But it is obvious that even in personal faith the intelligence has always its discriminating part to play. 'I believe in Jesus the Christ' is a formula combining both forms—'I believe that He is the promised Christ,' and 'I trust Him.' Thus, in the so-called Apostles' Creed—the first elaborate Confession in the Church, and the basis of all others—the true nucleus consists of the threefold affirmation, 'I believe on (*πιστεύω εἰς*, *credo in*) God the Father . . . on Jesus Christ . . . on the Holy Spirit,' much more being intended than that each Person exists, a relationship of personal faith being, in fact, professed. But, just as in each of these simple affirmations a certain intellectual judgment is presupposed, so in the Creed, as a whole, room has been found for clauses descriptive of each Divine 'Person' and His sphere, and involving historical or doctrinal articles of mental faith. From a very early time, confession in terms of the Creed was taken to imply, if not to denote, acceptance of each of these details of history and doctrine—acceptance of the letter as well as of the spirit. Faith was soon understood to be professing not so much its fervent devotion to three Persons recognized as Divine, as its belief in a series of affirmations concerning them, particularly concerning Jesus, whose person, life, and work had been matter for protracted controversy. In the Confessions of the Reformation Period and later times, the personal object is finally lost in the doctrinal purpose; in them the Creed has become a body of distinctive doctrine, nothing else—an attempt to formulate the truth about God and His Christ, not a simple avowal of faith in the God of truth and in His Son, the Truth Incarnate.

Looking back upon the history of Creeds and Confessions, we observe great diversity in their origin and purpose. (1) First and simplest, they were brief spontaneous utterances of new-found conviction, addressed by individuals directly to their personal object, in gratitude, homage, or adoration. They might be utterly unsolicited, like the devotion of the Hebrew Psalmist: 'O Lord my God, in thee do I put my trust' (Ps 71), 'O God, thou art my God' (63); and the demoniacs' tribute to Jesus: 'Thou art the Son of God' (Mk 3¹¹), or deliberately invited, like the response of Simon Peter: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God' (Mt 16¹⁶). (2) Similarly, they were naturally evolved by the consciousness of the Christian community. Without any definite legislation or injunction, a certain type of profession came to be made at the admission of converts to membership in the Church, *e.g.* the Baptismal formula, or early forms of the Apostles' Creed. The *Te Deum*, a lyric creed, may have been formed similarly. (3) In time, and by natural consent, such individual and common Confessions as appealed to the general sense of Christian communities were adopted for liturgical repetition. The spontaneous lyric or acknowledgment became the familiar psalm, or hymn, or creed, prescribed for public use. (4) Beyond question, the catechizing of professed converts before baptism was the chief and original source of formal confessions. The answers expected from the professing believer gradually took

shape in a series of propositions which were recognized as a sufficient mark of Christianity and claim for admission to the Church. The Apostles' Creed in all its forms, shorter and longer, had this origin and aim. It was literally a *symbolum*, a 'password,' for use on the threshold of the Church. (5) From the beginning it was part of the purpose served by a confession to bear a public testimony to the object of one's faith—public not simply as made openly before the Church, but as before the outside world. The psychological influence of public confession upon a man's own character as a source of stability and decision was as much in view as its impression upon the unbelieving world. (6) Creeds and Confessions have frequently been drawn up simply as a vindication of the true character of the religious belief cherished by a body of Christians. They were primarily authentic expositions of distinctive doctrine, intended to remove misconceptions and to repudiate misrepresentations. Many, perhaps most, of the great Confessions of the Reformation were wholly of this apologetic character, *e.g.* the memorable Lutheran Confession presented to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, and Zwingli's 'Confession to Charles V.' on the same occasion. Subscription in such cases meant the acceptance and support of the doctrine, with no reference to, or promise of, literal adherence in the future. (7) Very often they were drawn up to settle controversy, either as a compromise between antagonistic issues, or as an authoritative affirmation of the one and condemnation of the other. They served thus to mark off true from false belief, at least according as majorities conceived of these, and gave rise to the accepted distinction between an orthodoxy and a heresy. In this category stand the Nicene Creed, the Canons of Dort, and the Formula Concordiæ, as conspicuous representatives. (8) On other occasions they were drawn up as deliberate bonds of contemplated union or re-union, apart from any pressure of controversy, *e.g.* the Westminster Confession. (9) A very frequent, though secondary, function of Confessions has been to serve as standards of orthodoxy either for members in general of a church, or more especially for office-bearers. Whether formally subscribed upon admission or tacitly accepted, they have been a usual basis of 'discipline.' To be convicted, on trial, of infidelity to them was sufficient warrant for excommunication. As a rule, the Catholic Creeds, though they have been thus used, have not been considered as adequate for disciplinary purposes, and have been supplemented in ecclesiastical usage by the longer Confessions. In the Protestant Churches it has generally been explicitly laid down that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the supreme standard of faith and practice, and that the accepted Confession is adopted only as a secondary or subordinate standard. (10) Lastly, it may be noted that Confessions have been published in a less authoritative and more speculative way as expositions of particular conceptions of the System of Christian Truth, drawn up with a view to the definition and formulation of men's views, apart either from controversy or ecclesiastical use. Such documents have been individual and tentative, and, unless adopted by Churches, scarcely enter into the present survey.

4. Confessions in ethnic religion.—Though intellectual faith in some degree is presupposed in every form and stage of religion, and though the materials for Confessions are never wanting in the great systems of religion, in all of which forms of public worship, theological literature, and sectarian divisions have their place, it is a striking fact that almost alone in Christendom have Creeds and Confessions in the strict sense been drawn up as

authoritative expositions of the contents of faith. Every religion and every sect within it, every school of philosophy as well as each individual thinker, has a distinctive group of tenets or articles of faith, which tend to find sooner or later a more or less authoritative expression, and so become stereotyped as a rule or norm of belief, and a test or watchword of adherence. These may without difficulty be pointed out in connexion with each of the great systems of human religion, for each has had not only its founder and its church, but its scriptures, its theologies, and its divisions. But we look almost in vain for any documents in ethnic religion, ancient or modern, which correspond to the Christian Creeds and Confessions. 'Antique religions,' writes Robertson Smith in his *Rel. Sem.* (1894, p. 16), 'had for the most part no creed; they consisted entirely of institutions and practices.' In modern times, contact with Christianity has not seldom induced the defenders of other faiths to draw up, teach, and circulate catechisms and manuals of their own cherished doctrine. Especially has this been the case in India, where, e.g., Hindu and Parsi and Buddhist catechisms have been issued for the better education of young and old in their religion, and for the correction of current misunderstandings and misrepresentations on the part of outsiders.¹ We may expect as one result of the rivalry of the great religions a great development of such activity throughout the non-Christian world, with, it may be, the evolution of definite ethnic Creeds and Confessions. But for the most part Oriental religion rests on regulated duties more than on systematized beliefs; ritual and moral works bring their reward, with such unswerving and rigorous precision that an exaltation of doctrine to be professed into the position of a criterion of a man's religion and a determinant of his hereafter is practically impossible. Codes of conduct abound, in which each step in life finds its direction. Hymns and prayers attest the life of faith and hope. Doctrines are articulated, and problems involved in them are faced and argued with unlimited speculative enterprise and genius. Cf. the various artt. on CREED.

5. Confessions in Hebrew religion.—Neither in ancient nor in subsequent Hebrew religion has there ever been exhibited a zeal for the composition and acceptance of binding Confessions. Like most ancient religions, that of Israel was national. Men inherited it naturally, were born into it. It was, indeed, with its beliefs and ceremonies, the distinctive possession of the race. Only in view of sectarian controversy and of proselytization would any formal definition of their faith be necessary beyond the simpler confessions which were inwoven in their forms of worship. Even at the admission of proselytes in ancient times it was not so much a formal profession of doctrines that was required as a sacramental and symbolic initiation through the rites of circumcision and baptism, admitting the Gentile to the household and nation, and therewith also to the religion of Israel. The Hebrew Creed, with its virtual monopoly of monotheism, was so conspicuous, so simple, and so well known as not to require any explicit formulation. Only after Hebrew religion became the religion of a book, of a closed canon of Scripture, did the impulse in Israel, as later in Christendom, arise to define its faith through scholastic controversy more narrowly than by the contents of the Book as a whole. The silencing of the voice of prophecy was the signal for the opening of the mouths of sectarian disputants claiming to possess

¹ Cf. the Hindu Catechisms of the Central College of Benares, the Parsi Catechism of Bombay (extracts in *Religious Systems of the World*, 1901, pp. 186-197), and the Buddhist Catechisms of Henry S. Olcott (for Sinhalese children), Madras, 1886, and of Subhadra Bhikshu (for Europeans), London, 1890.

orthodoxy and to condemn heresy. See art. CREED (Jewish).

6. Confessions in relation to Christ in the Gospels.—In all the Gospels, conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ, the veritable Son of God, is represented not only as His own fixed possession and the basis of His ministry in all its many-sidedness, and as strengthened by the repeated Voice from Heaven at His baptism and transfiguration, but as increasingly shared by the Baptist, by the disciples, and by others who came into contact with Him. The narratives further make it plain that it was a definite part of His purpose to elicit in time spontaneous acknowledgments of faith in His Messiahship spiritually understood in relation both to God and to humanity, and that He welcomed them, whether at the time He desired them to be openly proclaimed or not. It is, moreover, the obvious intention of the Four Evangelists, in their choice of biographical matter and in their writing, to be loyal to the aim of their Master, and similarly to induce faith in His Christhood (cf. Jn 20³¹ 'these [signs] are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name'). St. Mark, equally with St. John, is careful to record acknowledgments of His Messianic Sonship; nor are St. Matthew and St. Luke less concerned to do the same. There is accordingly in the Gospels a striking abundance of confessional utterance. It is almost wholly direct, personal, spontaneous, brief, simple in form, and concerned with Jesus' Christhood not merely in an official or national sense, but as constituting Him uniquely 'Son of God.' It is reinforced by such passages as, on the one hand, the parallels Mk 1¹, Mt 3¹⁷, Lk 3²², which reproduce the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus at His baptism, reflected in Peter, James, and John at His transfiguration (Mk 9⁷, Mt 17⁵, Lk 9²⁸); and, on the other hand, Mk 8³⁸, Mt 10³²⁻³³ 28¹⁸, Lk 12²², in which Jesus expressly enjoins fearless confession of Himself. The following are the chief passages:

In Mark the demons who Jesus heals confess Him 'the Holy One of God' (1²⁴), 'the Son of God' (3¹¹), 'Son of the Most High God' (5⁷); blind Bartimaeus hails Him as 'Son of David' (10⁴⁷); the deaf mute's father says, 'I believe; help thou mine unbelief' (9²⁴); the crowd acclaim Him, 'Hosanna! blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,' etc. (11^{9c}). To the high priest's question, 'Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' and to Pilate's question, 'Art thou king of the Jews?', He answers in the affirmative (14⁶¹ 15²). In mockery the soldiers hail Him 'King of the Jews' (15¹⁸), in sincerity the centurion at the Cross as 'truly a Son of God' (v. 39). In 8²⁹ Peter's confession is given as simply, 'Thou art the Christ.' In 12²⁸⁻³¹ Jesus condenses the sum of faith and duty in the two 'Great Commandments' prefaced by the 'Hear, O Israel.'

In Matthew we find Jesus confessed as 'Son of God' by demons (8²⁹), by disciples in the boat (14³³), and by the centurion (27⁵⁴); as 'Son of David' by blind men (9²⁷), by a Canaanitish woman (15²²), and by the acclaiming multitude (21⁹), including children (v. 15); as teacher of truth by Pharisees and Herodians (22¹⁶), and frequently as 'Lord' and 'Master'; as 'Christ the Son of the living God' by Peter (16¹⁶), and by Himself before the high priest (26⁶⁸); as 'King of the Jews' mockingly by soldiers (27²⁹), and by Himself before Pilate (v. 11). In the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and the Great Commandments, articles of the Kingdom are enshrined. In the baptismal formula, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit' (28¹⁹), a confessional summary or nucleus of belief is prescribed. Peter's failure to confess (26⁶⁸⁻⁷⁵) is an object-lesson, while in 7²¹ the insufficiency of mere formal confession is exposed: 'Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father.'

In Luke we have precise parallels to the passages in Mark and Matthew, marked only by slight variations. Demons confess Jesus as 'the Holy One of God' (4³⁴), 'the Son of God' (v. 41), 'Son of the Most High God' (8²²), the blind beggar as 'Son of David' (18³⁸), the crowd as 'the King that cometh in the name of the Lord' (19¹²), the centurion at the Cross as 'certainly a righteous man' (23⁴⁷), Peter as 'the Christ of God' (22⁷⁰); while He Himself acknowledges that He is the Son of God (22⁷⁰), and King of the Jews (23³). In addition to the Lord's Prayer and the Great Commandments, Luke also records the sayings which deprecate confession without obedience (6⁴⁶), and intolerance towards Christians of another following—'Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you' (9⁴⁰ 50).

In John we have the Gospel *par excellence* of confession. It is, throughout, the record of successive workings of conviction that Jesus is Christ, and their issue is explicit confession. Belief or faith is the keynote of the book. 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish' (3:16); 'he that believeth on the Son hath eternal life' (v. 36). Apart from the minor confessions of Nicodemus (3:2), and of the Samaritan woman (4:12) to whom Jesus is moved to declare Himself the Christ (v. 26, cf. 9:35-10:36), and of other Samaritans ('this is indeed the Saviour of the world', 4:42), the Gospel records those of John the Baptist—'the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world' (1:29), 'the Son of God' (v. 34); of Nathanael—'Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art King of Israel' (v. 49); of Martha—'I have believed that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, even he that cometh into the world' (11:27); of Peter for the Twelve—'we have believed and know that thou art the Holy One of God' (6:69); and, supreme among the series, that of Thomas to the Risen Lord—'My Lord and my God' (20:28)—it, with most scholars and in harmony with the Prologue to the Gospel, 'the Word was God,' we take the words of Thomas as an apostrophe to the Christ.

7. Confessions in the other Apostolic writings. —In the Apostolic writings which remain to be considered, the types of confession found in the Gospels are reproduced and extended. All preaching, all profession, and all participation in the Church's young life were of the nature of confession. The memory of Jesus was still vivid, and confession of Him by the Apostles was as personal and simple as ever, though, on the part of those who believed on the strength of their witness, faith naturally came to express itself in terms of what Jesus had historically been as well as of what He meant to the heart. The lapse of time could not but work changes in the forms of confession: reminiscence and doctrine were bound to colour them. The preachers of Jesus had to tell the story of His life in support of their contention that hope and prophecy found fulfilment in Him as the Christ. Their recollection of His career had to be set alongside of their estimate of His Person. Accordingly, in the Apostolic age confession fluctuated between three main forms: (1) acceptance of Him as Christ, or Lord, or Son of God; (2) acceptance of an outline of the main facts of tradition about His home and life; and (3) acceptance of the threefold Divine self-revelation in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Instruction of inquirers and converts seeking baptism tended to dwell on certain customary themes, just as the Apostolic preaching reflected in the Acts and Epistles tended to follow certain customary lines, and a more or less uniform standard of historical and doctrinal knowledge was expected to be attained as part, at least, of baptismal qualification. Inevitably the three types varied, but they varied in the direction of greater comprehensiveness and of ultimate convergence. What came in a later age to be known as the Apostles' Creed was, in fact, the briefest possible combination of the three, confessing at once Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Jesus as Christ, and the main facts of Jesus' earthly life, from conception and birth to death, resurrection, and ascension. We may note the following passages by way of illustration:

In Acts the summaries of the Apostolic sermons, though they vary in length and general character, are alike in this, that they embody personal professions of faith uttered with a missionary purpose. They plainly conform to one type: their common elements were the implicit articles of the growing creed of the Church, and they are presented, naturally, in a markedly Jewish setting. The confessions in Jerusalem of Peter (2:22-24, 3:5-6, 3:18-19), of Peter and the Apostles (5:30-32), of Stephen (7:55), those of Peter at Caesarea (10:36-43), and of Paul at Antioch of Pisidia (13:16-39), turn upon the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth according to prophecy, His wonderful works, His holiness and goodness, His crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, promise and gift of the Holy Spirit, upon the need of repentance towards God and faith in Christ. While He is 'Lord' and 'Master,' 'Christ' and 'Son of God,' the Deity of Jesus is not affirmed: He is 'the Son of Man' (7:56), 'a man approved of God,' whom 'God hath made both Lord and Christ' (2:34-35), God's 'Servant,' God's 'Holy and Righteous One,' 'the Prince of Life' (3:15-16). More consciously still the Apostolic faith and message are described as 'preaching Jesus' (8:25), 'teaching and preaching Jesus as the Christ' (5:42, 13:26, 28), witness of the resurrection of the Lord

Jesus' (4:33), 'testifying both to Jews and to Greeks repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ' (20:21), 'testifying the kingdom of God and persuading them concerning Jesus, both from the Law of Moses and from the prophets' (28:23), 'preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ' (v. 31), 'good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ' (8:12). Baptism, the sequel of confession, is uniformly administered 'in the name of Jesus Christ' (2:38, 10:48), 'the name' being the centre of belief, the word of preaching and of healing. According to a very early interpolation (8:17), it is administered by Philip on the condition 'if thou believest with all thy heart, and after the confession 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God' (cf. 16:31). But from the first it is distinguished from John's baptism as being 'of the Holy Spirit, the true Name being thus prepared for and implied.

Reference is made to doctrinal controversy not only between Sadducees and Pharisees: 'the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both' (2:23), an early theological use of the word 'confess' in reference to articles of faith; but also among Christians regarding circumcision (ch. 16). Christians are described as a 'sect' or 'heresy' of the Nazarenes, and marked off both from Jews and from Gentiles (24:11, 28). But Paul as a Christian can still make a confession characteristic of the Pharisaic school in which he had been trained—'This I confess unto thee, that after the Way which they call a sect ('heresy'), so serve I the God of our fathers, believing all things which are according to the Law, and which are written in the Prophets: having a hope toward God, which these also themselves look for, that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and unjust' (24:14); and, addressing Greeks in Athens, he can appeal to articles of belief held by Jews in common with them, viz. the Creatorship, Fatherhood, and Spirituality of God, and repentance for sin, Jesus being referred to only as 'a man whom God hath ordained' to be His instrument of judgment for all the world and authenticated by His resurrection (17:31).

In the Epistles of Paul, the apostle of faith, we look for the expansion and application, rather than the contraction and definition, of the first principles of Christian faith regarded as doctrine, but passages are not wanting in which an approach is made to a creed-summary. In his Epistles, Paul rests upon the brief confession which characterizes the Apostolic utterances generally in the Gospels and in Acts, stipulating only that it be sincere: 'No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit' (1 Co 12:3). 'The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith, which we preach: because if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation' (Ro 10:8-10). 'To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him' (1 Co 8:6). Among the foundation truths which Paul had received and hastened to deliver to the Corinthians he emphasizes these—'that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures; and that he appeared to Cephas . . . to all the apostles' (1 Co 15:3-7). In close connexion with the exhortation 'to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' he writes: 'there is one body, and one Spirit . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all' (Eph 4:3-6). In 1 Ti 3:16 he appears to quote a lyric creed or hymn of the mystery of the faith (cf. 1 Ti 3:9): 'Concessedly great is the mystery of godliness; He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory.' In 2 Ti 1:13 he urges Timothy to 'hold the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard from me . . . and guard the good deposit which was committed unto thee.' In these Epistles to Timothy and Titus there is a grave concern for the retention of 'sound' doctrine and tradition (cf. 1 Ti 1:10f., 2:17, 4:1, 6:1, 2-5, 12, 13, 20, 21, 2 Ti 2:20, 3:14, 4:3, Tit 1:8, 2:7, 8), a fear of speculation and controversy in the Church, and a dread of factious or heretical teaching (Tit 3:10). Plainly the instinct to stereotype the articles of faith is actively at work.

In Hebrews a distinction is made between the rudiments of religion, the first principles of Christ, which the Jew possessed in common with the Christian, viz. 'repentance from dead works, faith in God, baptismal doctrine, laying-on of hands, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment' (6:1f.), and mature or perfected doctrine. In 5:12 allusion is made to 'the first principles of the oracles of God' as matter of elementary knowledge.

In 1 John much stress is laid upon the duty of confessing Christ: 'every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God' (4:2f.); 'whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him, and he in God' (4:15; cf. 5:1). His true humanity and His Divine Sonship are thus the distinctive themes of a Christian confession (cf. 2 Jn 7-10).

Jude speaks of 'the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints' (v. 3) as threatened by antinomian heresy 'denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ' (v. 4)—suggesting that 'faith' had become a term denoting doctrine instead of a vital activity of the soul.

8. Confessions in the undivided Church: evolution of the Creeds.—Our survey of the NT refer-

ences to confessions of faith has made it evident that at the close of the Apostolic age no particular creed or confession could claim to have been exclusively or even expressly ordained for use either by Jesus or by His Apostles. The explicit sanction of both Master and Apostles could be claimed only for the simple confession, 'I believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God,' or its equivalents. Baptism before the Church was the natural occasion for confession of faith, and for baptism that simple formula was at first sufficient. But, as the Church grew and attracted men who had not enjoyed the privilege of Jewish education in religion either as Hebrews or as proselytes, the course of instruction, both questions and answers, preparatory to admission by baptism, had to be enlarged alike in regard to distinctive OT truth—God the One, the Creator, Upholder, Revealer, Judge—and in regard to distinctive Christian truth—the life and work of Jesus the Christ, the Christian Church, and the Christian Hope. Moreover, from the first, baptism in the name of Jesus, as Christ, Son of God, and Lord, involved a far from narrow range of definite doctrines: it certainly implied acceptance of the distinctive teachings of the Lord and of the Apostolic estimate (religious rather than theological) of His Person and Work: it was a baptism outwardly by water, but inwardly and supremely by the Holy Spirit, the sanctifier and enlightener of men, a baptism of repentance issuing in regeneration, of reconciliation and restoration to God the Father, of the forgiveness of sins, of admission to the Church, the Lord's body. No account of the significance of even the simplest form of baptism and confession would be historically just which ignored any one of these implications. Sacramental acts are always and everywhere charged with meaning, and meaning involves the essence of doctrine. Dogma may be as authoritatively present in ceremonial acts as in Scriptures and literary definitions. Baptism, like communion in the Lord's Supper, was from the first an act eloquent of historical and doctrinal convictions as well as of personal self-surrender and dependence, and these convictions had to do with Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. At first the sense of mystic union with Christ and with the Brotherhood, only deepened by the external enmity of the Jewish Church and by the scorn and suspicion of Greece and Rome, sufficed to make Christians careless, if not unconscious, of the variety of constructions which they individually and locally put upon their Scriptures, traditions, and sacraments. But, as the gate of baptism opened wider and wider to admit the ever-swelling stream of converts, new intellectual as well as moral and political ferment entered with the current, and future controversy was assured.

As was the case with Judaism, so Christianity even at the simplest was a learned religion, a faith resting or leaning upon authoritative Scriptures, which had never been interpreted unanimously by their devotees, a religion, therefore, calling for a learned body of exponents, whose individual characteristics could not but find expression in varying interpretation. It was careful to preserve not only its inherited Jewish Bible but its own Apostolic memoirs and correspondence, and during the 2nd and 3rd centuries it was simultaneously evolving both a Canon of NT Scripture and a standard summary or Canon of Christian Faith to be professed by converts and by worshippers at public service. The two developments were exactly parallel and equally inevitable. The formation of a Canon, provoked by perverse appeals to inferior writings and by the popular need of literary and devotional guidance, as well

as by controversy which threatened to be chronic and seriously to distract the Church and impair its usefulness and reputation, though it looked the larger task, was not only the more urgent but in reality the simpler; it proved so easy, comparatively, to find a line of division between the Apostolic and spiritually impressive writings and the less forceful and commanding products of the later age. Once formed and generally accepted, the double Canon of Jewish and Christian Scripture was bound to play a decisive part in the regulation of doctrine, in particular in the building and the testing of the Creeds. To be able to add to any article of faith the words 'according to the Scriptures,' or to appeal to them in reference not only to Hebrew Law and Prophecy but to Christian Gospel and Fulfilment, was decisive. It is a deeply significant historical fact that the two great Creed-producing eras of the Church, the era of the Fathers and the era of the Reformation, were times when the Scriptures through fresh study and earnest investigation literally 'had free course,' and that to the extraordinary development of serious Biblical scholarship in our own age, as much as to any concurrent cause, we owe our present-day Confessional unrest. There is truth in the paradox that Holy Scripture is never so authoritative and so powerful as when it provokes free inquiry and stirs that spirit of truth-seeking controversy which challenges even the Bible's own right to mould the thought of succeeding ages.

When the NT Canon was finally drawn up, there was as yet no form of Creed of more than local usage and authority. Each church or group of churches had had its own traditional baptismal form, written or—more usually—unwritten, and each writer on the Faith might formulate his own articles if he cared; but, as the closer organization of the Church proceeded, as presbyterian government gave place to episcopacy, and bishops in turn were subordinated to metropolitans or patriarchs, it was natural that a larger uniformity in Creed-usage should be sought and in time effected. Israel had had its high priest, and Rome with all its vastness had its Emperor and Pontifex; the Church, accordingly, as it grew and came to ecclesiastical self-consciousness, tended to draw together and centralize its organization, to become an *imperium in imperio*. The same causes or considerations which advanced the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and Alexandria above their fellows, naturally advanced their diocesan Creeds *pari passu*. As Rome drew to the front, its Creed moved with it. In the 4th cent. the Roman Creed was still one among many: even in Italy the Churches of Aquileia, Ravenna, and Milan, and in Africa those of Carthage and Hippo, cherished ancient forms of their own. But, alike in the Eastern and in the Western Churches, the baptismal confessions or 'rules of faith' which had grown up in the early centuries were, in spite of variations in detail, unmistakably one in type and substance, were, in fact, forms of what came to be known as the 'Apostles' Creed.' They are all alike in their brevity, their fitness for liturgical use, their Scripturalness and simplicity, and their structure as expansions of the threefold formula. They differ mainly in respect of their detailed omissions rather than in their positive contents.

'The Apostles' Creed.'—In the Western Church, dominated more and more by Rome, this earliest of formal Creeds never lost its ascendancy. The Roman form of it, itself of extremely early origin, is recorded in Latin and Greek in the second half of the 4th cent. by Rufinus and by Marcellus of Ancyra:

'I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ His only-begotten Son our Lord who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried; the third day He rose from the dead, He ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit; the holy Church; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; (the life everlasting).'

Later it took over clauses from the analogous Creeds of other churches, viz. 'descended into Hades' from Aquileia, 'catholic' (of the Church) from Eastern Creeds, 'the communion of saints' from Gaul, and 'the life everlasting,' if not already in the Roman form, from Ravenna or from Antioch. We do not find it in its now accepted form before the middle of the 8th cent., when the Papal efforts were directed towards securing liturgical uniformity throughout the Western Church.

The Nicene Creed.—In the Eastern Church the Roman Creed has never been recognized. Its Oriental parallels, current in Egypt, Asia, and Greece, held sway till replaced, for liturgical and theological purposes, by the Creed of Nicæa (A.D. 325). The Nicene Creed—itsself based chiefly on the Creed of Cæsarea, and the work of a Council convened by Constantine and consisting almost wholly of Eastern bishops—was the outcome of a deliberate attempt to impose on Christendom, which already possessed a Canon of Scripture, a standard or Canon of Faith which should not only terminate the Arian Controversy, but form a basis of ecclesiastical discipline and define orthodoxy. It was the first Creed that was framed by a Council, enforced by the secular power, purely controversial in origin, theological as distinct from Scriptural in its terms, and furnished with a concluding anathema. Enlarged as the *Constantinopolitan Creed* (A.D. 381; based on that of Jerusalem along with the Nicene), and supplemented by the *Symbol of Chalcedon* (A.D. 451; dealing with the Christological errors of Nestorius and Eutyches), it became and has remained the standard of doctrine in the Eastern Church. In the form of A.D. 381 it runs literally as follows (the Constantinopolitan additions being printed in italics):

'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds (ages), Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father; through whom all things were made; who on account of us men and our Salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate of (the) Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and entered into humanity; He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate and suffered and was buried, and the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; from thence He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who speak through the prophets; in one holy catholic and apostolic Church; we acknowledge one baptism unto remission of sins; we look for a resurrection from the dead, and a life of the world to come. Amen.'

The Constantinopolitan form omits the original termination: 'But as for those who say that "there was a time when He was not," and that "He was not before He was begotten," and that "from non-existence He came into being," or who allege that "He is of other substance or essence" or that "the Son of God is created" or "changeable" or "alterable," the Catholic Apostolic Church pronounces them anathema.'

The *Chalcedonian Symbol*, which is in the form of a decree or declaration or confession, not a liturgical creed, affirms:

'We then following the holy Fathers all with one consent teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood; truly God and at the same time truly man of a reasonable soul and a body; consubstantial with the Father according to His Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to His manhood, in all things like unto us apart from sin; begotten both before all worlds (ages), of the Father according to His Godhead, and also in these latter days, on account of us and our salvation, of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, according to His manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-

begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, separation; the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved and concurring in one Person and one Substance, not parted or divided into two persons but one and the same Son, and only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ; according as the prophets from the beginning have spoken concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself has taught us, and the creed of the holy Fathers has handed down to us.'

In the Western or Latin portion of the Catholic Church the Symbols of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, though they originated in the East among the Greeks and dealt with controversial matters of less interest to the less imaginative West, obtained instant recognition as authoritative Creeds drawn up by legitimate Ecumenical Councils. For the West, as for the East, they settled the henceforth orthodox doctrine of the Person and Work both of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and therewith of the Divine Trinity. But in the West, from the 6th to the 9th cent., the Eastern Creed in its Latin form received obscurely, but with increasing currency, an addition—the word *filiogue*, 'and from the Son,' in the clause affirming the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father. This addition, though small in bulk, was to retain its place and to contribute very powerfully to the ultimate schism of East and West. Characteristic also of the Western Church are two remarkable compositions which, though anonymous and devoid of conciliar authorization, won their way to general esteem and liturgical use and to all but Catholic authority—the Ambrosian Confessional hymn *Te Deum*, and the 'Athanasian' Creed *Quicumque*. They are canticles as well as creeds, embodying in their measured verses the orthodox trinitarian theology of the Ecumenical Creeds.

The *Te Deum* is a paraphrase and adaptation of the Apostles' Creed, pieced together, not improbably, from Greek liturgical materials, possibly, as tradition states, by Ambrose of Milan in the 4th cent., or, as some scholars conjecture, by his younger contemporary, Nicetas of Remesiana—certainly a familiar and well established hymn at the beginning of the 6th century. In his writing on 'The Three Symbols or Confessions of the Faith of Christ,' Luther reckons it as third to the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and speaks of it as, whether sung or not by Ambrose and Augustine after the baptism of the latter, 'a fine symbol or confession, to whomsoever it may belong, composed in song-form, not only to confess the right faith, but also to praise and thank God withal.'

The '*Athanasian*' Creed.—Longest of all, the *Symbolum Quicumque* consists of two distinct sections, which may have come into being separately, setting forth, on the one hand, the strictly Augustinian presentation of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity embodied in the earlier Creeds, including the *filiogue* clause, and, on the other, the Chalcedonian definition of the Person and Work of Christ, all prefaced and terminated by the declaration that, except a man believe faithfully the Catholic Faith therein set forth, he cannot be saved (*salvus esse*). It appears to have been completed about A.D. 800, and to have come into use first in the Churches of Gaul, North Africa, and Spain. By its minute and measured orthodoxy it effected a harmony of the accepted Creeds, at least with reference to the three Persons in the Godhead individually and in their mutual relations, and did so with such acceptance that, like the Chalcedonian Creed and the *Te Deum*, it passed into the Treasury of Faith without a challenge, in spite of a solemn anathema pronounced by the third and fourth Ecumenical Councils upon 'any person who should compose, exhibit, or pro-

duce any Creed other than that of the holy Fathers at Nicæa.' It is a merit of the Western Church that it found room, among the most sacred documents of its hereditary faith, not only for the controversial decrees of the first four Councils, but for the *Apostolicum*, the *Te Deum*, and the *Quicumque Vult*, anonymous compositions which express the piety as well as the learned conviction of the Church. But in the tyrannical stress laid in this latest of its Creeds upon the necessity, for salvation, of the faithful acceptance of so large a body of metaphysical and controversial doctrine, there lay an omen of impending disruption in the household of faith. Even before the Great Schism of East and West, there was already Confessional or Symbolic divergence. Not only in government, in language, and in worship, but also in doctrine, it was proving difficult, if not impossible, to maintain Constantine's imperial conception of the outward unity of the Catholic Apostolic Church. See, further, artt. COUNCILS, CREEDS (Ecumenical).

9. Confessions in the Greek and Oriental Churches.—Neither before nor after the Great Schism has the Greek or 'Holy Oriental Orthodox Catholic Apostolic' Church found it necessary or desirable to draw up a new Creed. It recognizes still, as its ultimate standards, the original Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the addition of Chalcedon, assigning to the *Apostolicum* and the *Quicumque* (of course without the words 'and from the Son') no higher status than that of devotional and private utility. It adheres faithfully to the 'Exposition of the Orthodox Faith' in which John of Damascus harmonized the theological work of the Greek Fathers and Councils of the first seven centuries (about A.D. 750). While proud of the doctrinal immutability thus evidenced, it has not, however, altogether eluded the necessity of producing or adopting or condemning particular Confessions and Catechisms, and in some sense defining its relation to modern movements of thought both in the Protestant and in the Roman Catholic world. Alike in Russia and in Greece there is every likelihood that in future it will have to undertake yet further definitions of its faith; for, thanks to the national autonomy of many of its constituent branches, it cannot but be more and more influenced by the modern advance of the peoples which it represents. In the Turkish as well as in the Russian dominions the advent of political and social reforms, of constitutional liberty and religious toleration, cannot but be the precursor of far-reaching theological activities resulting not only in the development of minor sects, but in the modification of traditional opinions in the Ancient Church.

(1) *General Confessions of the Greek Church.*—Immediately after the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, at the desire of the victorious Sultan, Muhammad II., Gennadius, the newly elected Patriarch, presented to him in Greek and Turkish a Confession of Christian faith in twenty popular articles, with seven appended arguments for the truth of Christianity.

The influence of Protestantism is unmistakable in the moderate orthodoxy of the *Confession of Metrophanes* (1625), a Patriarch of Alexandria, who had lived and studied in English and German Universities and wrote against Romanism without opposing Protestantism; and extremely marked in the *Confession of Cyril Lucar* (1629), Patriarch successively of Alexandria and Constantinople, who died a martyr to the Calvinism which he had embraced in Switzerland, and which he expounded boldly in ten chapters of his Confession.

On the other hand, Protestant doctrine was definitely condemned and repudiated in 1576 in the *Answers of Jeremiah*, Patriarch of Constanti-

nople, to two Lutheran professors of Tübingen who had sent a copy of the Augsburg Confession to him; in the *Catechism or Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogilas* (c. 1640, revised 1643), the learned Metropolitan of Kiev, whose polemic was also against Rome; and in 1672, at the same Synod of Jerusalem which formally approved of both the preceding works, in the *Confession of Dositheus*, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which, without reference to Rome, maintains the distinctive positions of the Eastern Church. As sanctioned by the Patriarchs of the Church in Synod, these three are authoritative expositions of orthodox doctrine.

Something of a reaction towards a more Scriptural and Protestant teaching may be recognized in the widely circulated *Catechism of Platon*, Metropolitan of Moscow, 1762, in the *Longer and Shorter Catechisms of Philaret* (1839, 1840), also a distinguished Metropolitan of Moscow, and in the minor manuals known as the *Primer* and *The Duty of Parish Priests*. The *Full Catechism* of Philaret was approved by all the Eastern Patriarchs as well as by the Russian Holy Synod, and in Russia has taken the place of its most authoritative predecessor, that of Mogilas.

The 'Old-Catholic' Conferences of 1874 and 1875 at Bonn issued in the formulation of a series of articles upon which the Western and Eastern Catholics and the Anglicans present were able to agree as a doctrinal basis for future reunion; but these articles, though markedly influenced by the Russo-Greek representatives, have not been formally recognized by their Synod.

(2) *Russian sects.*—Neither political nor ecclesiastical despotism has availed to prevent the rise of sects within the territories of the Russian State-church. Not to speak of the numerous following of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and elsewhere, three main sectarian groups with numerous subdivisions have been distinguished, and their united strength has been estimated as one-tenth of the whole population, or one-sixth of the Orthodox—some fourteen millions. The main groups consist of: (a) Starowjerzy, or Old-believers, who resented the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon in the 16th cent., and who are still represented by the *Popowzy* (priest-retaining and organized) and *Bespopowzy* (priestless and unorganized); (b) the Chlysty, Skopzy, Duchoborzy, and Molokany, characterized by mystic, ascetic, or rationalistic eccentricities; (c) Baptists, Standists, and others more or less in sympathy with Evangelical Protestantism and Pietism, among whose circles the theological, ethical, and social views of Leo Tolstoi have not seldom found a place.

(3) *Other Oriental Churches.*—Outside the pale of the Orthodox Oriental Church, with its federated patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Moscow, and National Churches of Russia, Servia, Rumania, Greece, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, there remain a number of Eastern National Churches, more or less attenuated by defections either to Greek or to Roman Catholicism, whose origin is very ancient, dating from successive doctrinal decisions of the Councils of the undivided Church. They are all loyal to the original Nicene doctrine, but are kept apart from the rest of Christendom by their rejection of subsequent additions to the accepted doctrine of Catholicism.

(a) The Armenian Church, the most powerful of the group, is the oldest existing National Church, dating as such from the 4th cent., though founded earlier. It was represented at the Council of Nicæa and accepted its Creed; though not a party to them, it recognized the subsequent decrees of 381 and 431, yet not as ecumenical; absent also from the Council of Chalcedon, it repudiated its

Symbol¹ (431), rejecting alike the Christology then affirmed and the Eutychian heresy then condemned, and holding an independent Monophysite view, viz. that Christ had neither two natures nor a Divine nature absorbing the human, but a single 'composite' or 'double' nature. Of its three liturgical Creeds for the Eucharistic, baptismal, and morning services, the first, and chief, which in its present form has been retained since the 6th cent., consists of the Nicene with modifications or additions directed against the earlier heresies of Apollinaris and Marcellus. Even in conjunction they fail to represent fully the doctrinal idiosyncrasies of the Church. From the 14th to the middle of the 19th cent. a composite Creed was in favour. Special professions of Armenian faith of an official though occasional character were presented to Western princes or popes or others in 1166, 1562, 1585, 1671 (see art. ARMENIA [Chr.] in vol. i. p. 803^b). There is a modern Catechism whose teaching betrays the influence of Græco-Russian orthodoxy.

(b) The Nestorian or Persian Church represents the persistence of an even earlier heresy than the Armenian, protesting against the Council of Ephesus (431) as having unjustly condemned Nestorius' doctrine of the two natures of Christ, according to which the human was marked off from the Divine so sharply that the title 'Mother of God' was refused to the Virgin Mary. Its baptismal confession is a pre-Chalcedonian variety of the Nicene.

(c) The Jacobite Churches, or Churches loyal to the tradition of Jacobus Baradaeus, Bishop of Edessa (543-578), are the ancient National Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches. They also, with the Armenian, reject the Chalcedonian and later Creeds, and cherish a Monophysite Christology.

(d) The Christians of St. Thomas, a handful of survivors of the ancient native Church of Nestorian converts on the south-west coast of India, have since the 17th cent. conformed to the Monophysitism of the Jacobite Churches.

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10. Confessions in the Roman and Old-Catholic Churches.—(1) *In the Church of Rome*.—From Nicæa (325) to the Vatican (1870) the Roman Catholic Church recognizes, in all, the decrees of twenty-one General Councils as in whole or part ecumenically binding. In the forefront of its doctrine stand the Apostles', the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan (with Eastern and Western additions from Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Toledo), and the Athanasian Creeds. Since the time of the final adjustment and adoption of these Symbols no

occasion for further Confession-making emerged until the era of the Reformation confronted the Church with numerous Protestant statements of doctrine, and elicited from it the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (1545-1563), which consolidated and stereotyped its doctrine, weaving into its dogmatic system the results of mediæval Councils, of Papal decisions, and of Patristic and Scholastic thought in opposition to the Reformers' direct appeal to the spirit and letter of Scripture.

The Decrees and Canons of the Reforming or Counter-Reforming Council of Trent, which was convened at the instance principally of the Emperor, Charles v., in Dec. 1545, by Pope Paul III., to revise and codify the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and thus to confront, if not conciliate, the Protestants with a compact authoritative system, mark the close of mediæval confusion, and the deliberate transition towards the modern Curialism in faith, organization, and morals which was ultimately effected in the 19th century. Whatever hopes the Emperor and other Princes or Churchmen of reforming sympathies cherished of a formulation of doctrine in Augustinian terms which the Reformers might be expected to accept were for the most part disappointed, though the decree on Justification went far towards that goal. The perhaps inevitable exclusion of Protestants from all effective participation in the work of the Council combined with the influence of the Jesuit order and the natural self-interest of the Papal authority to make it practically impossible for the Council to do any substantial justice to the spiritual demands which Protestantism expressed. The Decrees are the utterance of jealous defence; the Canons with their anathemas are the challenge of proud defiance. The party which was sensible of the debt of the religious world to Protestant heroism was easily outnumbered and suppressed at every stage, and their sympathetic insight into the mind and heart of the Reformers found no expression in the resultant dogmas.

The constitution of the Council and its historical setting must be carefully taken into account if one would appreciate the language of its decisions (see art. COUNCILS [Christian, modern]). Throughout its 25 sessions—from 1545 to 1547 under Paul III. at Trent (sessions i.-viii.) and Bologna (sessions ix.-x.), from 1551 to 1552 under Julius III. at Trent (sessions xi.-xvi.), and from 1562 to 1563 under Pius IV. at Trent (sessions xvii.-xxv.)—its proceedings were one long and anxious tissue of ecclesiastical and theological diplomacy and strategy, and its declarations had necessarily to be in every case a well-weighed compromise, conciliating, through omissions or ambiguities of phrase, the conflicting rival interests and tendencies. If Augustinian thought seemed on the surface to dominate the findings, room was carefully found for Scotist and Jesuit views of a Pelagian or semi-Pelagian type in their ultimate form. The gifted Jesuit scholars, Lainez and Salmeron, with the dignity of Papal theologians, were the most influential and consistent force throughout the processes both of drafting and debate, and it is on the whole their doctrine, dexterously cloaked in the terminology of their opponents, which is represented in the propositions laid down. Inspiration or genius will hardly be looked for in a body of doctrine whose origin thus lay in compromise. The very title 'Decrees' is eloquent of its true nature as a work of legislation by majority. Anything like theological spontaneity was out of the question in a Pope-ridden conclave. Anything but a Pope-ridden conclave was out of the question in the unreformed mediæval Church. Whatever concessions in detail to the claims of doctrinal and disciplinary reform the

decrees might contain, the seal of reaction was stamped indelibly over them by the twofold proviso which overrules and virtually annuls them—that the Pope was to be sole exponent of the decrees henceforth, and that no one, on pain of anathema, was to impeach the accepted usages and order of the Church—a proviso made yet more exacting by the clause in the subsequent Profession of Tridentine Faith, in which all holders of ecclesiastical office swore truly to obey the Bishop of Rome (Art. X.) and to maintain 'entire and inviolate' the Tridentine Faith to the end of their life (Art. XII.). Thus, though a majority in the Council was unprepared to admit that bishops had their power from and through the Pope and not directly from Christ, the Council by its own ultimate submission prepared the way for the Papal action in the 19th century.

The Decrees and Canons which concern us in this connexion are those of Sessions III. on the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed accepted as basis; IV. on Canonical Scripture; V. on Original Sin; VI. on Justification; VII. on the Sacraments in General, Baptism, and Confirmation; XIII. on the Sacrament of the Eucharist; XIV. on the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction; XXI. on Communion in both kinds, and Communion of Children; XXII. on the Sacrifice of the Mass; XXIII. on the Sacrament of Ordination; XXIV. on the Sacrament of Matrimony; XXV. on Purgatory, the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and Sacred Images, on Indulgences, Fodes, Fasts, Festivals, the Index, Catechism, Breviary, and Missal.

The Decrees proper are the positive statement of doctrine, the affirmative theses; the Canons, which follow the various decrees, are short statements and condemnations of contrary teachings, each concluding with an anathema. The later Syllabus of Errors in 1864 is thus a continuation of the dammnatory Canons of Trent.

Session III. declares that the 'sacred and holy, ecumenical and general Synod of Trent' ordains and decrees that a confession of faith be set forth, viz. 'the Symbol of faith which the holy Roman Church makes use of,—as being that principle wherein all who profess the faith of Christ necessarily agree,—the Creed of Nicea in the form of Constantinople, with the Western additions.

Session IV. treats of the bases of authoritative doctrine for the first time in conciliar history, and co-ordinates Holy Scripture, including the Apocrypha, in the Latin Vulgate alone, with 'unwritten traditions which, having been received from Christ's own lips by the Apostles, or transmitted, as it were, manually by the Apostles themselves, under the dictation of the Holy Spirit, have come down even to us' . . . 'preserved in continuous succession within the Catholic Church,' . . . which also it receives 'with an equal feeling of piety and reverence.' 'No one, relying on his own skill shall,—in matters of faith and of morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine,—wresting the sacred Scripture to his own senses, presume to interpret it contrary to that sense which holy Mother Church . . . hath held and doth hold; or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.'

Session V. condemns five erroneous opinions on Original Sin, of a Pelagian or semi-Pelagian type; but its apparent Augustinianism is so phrased as, e.g., to admit of the doctrine that what man lost through the Fall was the superadded *donum supernaturalis*, and nothing inherent in human nature as such; and it affirms that 'free will is not at all destroyed, but attenuated.' It ends by excluding the Virgin Mary from the operation of the taint—an anticipation of the Papal definition of 1854.

Session VI. contains the decree on Justification in 16 chapters, and concludes with no fewer than 33 canons. Chapter i. treats of the Inability of Nature and of the Law to justify man; ii. of the Dispensation and Mystery of the Advent of Christ; iii. states that, though Christ died for all, only

those receive the benefit of His death unto whom the merit of His Passion is communicated. As men not born of Adam do not share his sin, so men not born again in Christ cannot share His merit. iv. states that a man cannot be translated into the state of grace, since the promulgation of the gospel, without the laver of regeneration, or the desire thereof. v. declares that 'in adults the beginning of Justification is to be derived from the prevent grace of God, through Jesus Christ, i.e. through His calling, whereby without any merits on their part they are called, that so they who by sins were alienated from God may be disposed through His quickening and assisting grace to convert themselves to their own justification by freely assenting to and co-operating with that said grace: in such sort that, while God touches the heart of man by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, neither is man himself utterly inactive while he receives that inspiration, forasmuch as he is also able to reject it; nor yet is he able, by his own free will, without the grace of God, to move himself unto righteousness in His sight.' vi. sets forth the manner of preparation for justification. vii. affirms the characteristic Roman doctrine that Justification 'is not remission of sins merely, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inward man, through the voluntary reception of the grace, and of the gifts, whereby man from being unjust becomes just.' Its *final cause* is 'the glory of God and of Jesus Christ, and life everlasting.' Its *efficient cause* is 'a merciful God who washes and sanctifies gratuitously, signing and anointing with the holy Spirit of promise.' The *meritorious cause* is 'our Lord Jesus Christ, who, when we were enemies, merited justification for us by His most holy Passion on the wood of the Cross, and made satisfaction for us unto God the Father.' The *instrumental cause* is 'the sacrament of Baptism, which is the sacrament of that faith without which no man was ever justified.' The *alone formal cause* is 'the justice of God, not that whereby He Himself is just, but that whereby He maketh us just,' 'Man through Jesus Christ, in whom he is engrafted, receives in the said justification, together with the remission of sins, all these gifts infused at once—faith, hope, and charity: For faith, unless hope and charity be added thereto, neither unites man perfectly with Christ, nor makes him a living member of His body.' viii. states that the phrases 'justified by faith' and 'freely' are to be understood as meaning that faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification, but that faith is no more in itself able than good works to merit the grace of justification. ix. declaims against the vain confidence of heretics who rest in their personal assurance of justification apart from the Church and its ordinances; whereas 'no one can know with a certainty of faith which cannot be subject to error, that he has obtained the grace of God.' x. treats of the increase of Justification received; xi. of keeping the Commandments. xii. urges that 'no one, so long as he is in this mortal life, ought so far to presume, as regards the secret mystery of Divine predestination, as to determine for certain that he is assuredly in the number of the predestinate; as if it were true that he that is justified either cannot sin any more, or, if he do sin, that he ought to promise himself an assured repentance; for, except by special revelation, it cannot be known whom God hath chosen unto Himself.' xiii. deals similarly with the gift of Perseverance. xiv. sets forth the Sacrament of Penance, in the language of the Fathers 'a second plank after the shipwreck of grace lost,' as instituted by Christ when He said: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye

shall retain, they are retained.' The penitence of a Christian after his fall is very different from that at baptism: in it are included not only a cessation from sins, and a detestation of them, but also the sacramental confession of them—at least in desire—and sacerdotal absolution; and likewise satisfaction by fasts, alms, prayers, and the other pious exercises of a spiritual life, not, indeed, for the eternal punishment which with the guilt is remitted by the sacrament or by the desire of it, but for the temporal punishment which, as the sacred writings teach, is not always wholly remitted as is done in baptism. xv. sets forth that by every mortal sin grace is lost, but not faith. xvi. treats of the fruit of justification, i.e. the merit of good works, and the nature of that merit. God is the rewarder of faithful labour: life eternal is set forth in Scripture 'both as a grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward which is . . . to be faithfully rendered to their good works and merits.' Yet the Christian has no ground to glory, but justice is through Christ and of God throughout.

Session VII. sets forth the general doctrine of the Sacraments, 'through which all true justice either begins, or being begun is increased, or being lost is repaired,' in 13 canons, which condemn the denial that the sacraments were all instituted by Christ or are seven in number, that they differ from those of the Old Law, that they are of varying value, that they are necessary unto salvation, that they are for other ends than to nourish faith, that they contain and confer the grace they signify, that the grace is conferred through the act performed, that Baptism, Confirmation, and Ordination imprint an indelible character and therefore may not be repeated, that ministers alone may administer the word and sacraments, etc. Then follow 14 canons on Baptism, condemning, *inter alia*, the denial of the validity of baptism, 'even by heretics, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with the intention of doing what the Church doth,' and 3 canons on Confirmation.

Session XIII. treats of the Sacrament of the Eucharist in 8 chapters, followed by 11 canons. Chapter i., of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, affirms that after the consecration of the elements, He, 'true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the species of those sensible things.' His continual presence at the right hand of the Father does not contradict in a Divine being His sacramental presence. 'It is indeed a crime the most unworthy that they [the words of institution] should be wrested, by certain contentious and wicked men, to fictitious and imaginary tropes, whereby the verity of the flesh and blood of Christ is denied, contrary to the universal sense of the Church, which, as the pillar and ground of truth, has detested, as satanical, these inventions devised by impious men.' ii. defines the reason of the institution as the commemoration of Christ's death, the nourishment of men's souls, a pledge of the glory to come, and a symbol of the one body of which Christ is the head. iii. affirms the superiority of this sacrament to the others as consisting of the very Author of sanctity Himself. iv. affirms the complete transubstantiation of the elements into the substance of Christ's body and blood. v. defines the veneration shown to the sacrament as Divine worship, the *latria* due to the living God alone, and approves of the Corpus Christi festival. vi. approves of the reservation of the sacrament, and bearing it to the sick. vii. requires sacramental confession in preparation for the Eucharist by celebrants when possible as well as by people. viii. distinguishes three modes of reception—sacramental only, spiritual only, and both sacramental

and spiritual, and appeals for Christian uniformity in the celebration of the rite.

Session XIV. treats of the Sacraments of Penance (9 chapters and 15 canons) and Extreme Unction (3 chapters and 4 canons). Of Penance, ch. i. sets forth its necessity and institution; ii. its difference from Baptism; iii. its parts and fruit; iv. contrition as containing cessation from sin, the purpose and beginning of a new life and hatred of the old, *attrition* being imperfect contrition, a sense of sin's baseness and dire consequences, a gift of God and impulse of His Spirit not yet resident but truly moving in the sinner; v. confession of venial and mortal sins; vi. the ministry of confession, and absolution; vii. reservation of special cases of heinous sin to be dealt with by higher clergy; viii. the necessity and fruit of satisfaction or amends; and ix. works of satisfaction. Of Extreme Unction, ch. i. treats of its institution by the Apostle James; ii. of its effect; iii. of the minister who should perform it, and the time.

Session XXI. treats of Communion under both Species, and Communion of little Children. Chapter i. sets forth that laymen, and clergy, when not celebrating, are not bound of Divine right to communion under both species; ii. that it is within the power of the Church to dispense with that practice; 'although the use of both species has from the beginning of the Christian religion not been infrequent,' the custom had been already widely changed, and the change for 'weighty and just reasons' (not specified) had been sanctioned; iii. that Christ whole and entire, and a true sacrament, are received under either species; iv. that little children before the age of reason are not obliged to the sacramental communion of the Eucharist, having been baptized and incorporated with Christ, and being at that age incapable of losing the grace of their adoption. Infant communion, however, had legitimately been practised in antiquity. Then follow 4 canons, and a reservation to a later date of the question whether particular individuals or nations were to be allowed communion in both kinds.

Session XXII. treats of the Sacrifice of the Mass in 9 chapters and 9 canons. Chapter i. sets forth its institution; ii. that it is propitiatory for both the living and the dead; iii. that Masses in honour of saints are addressed to God, with solicitations of their patronage; iv. the sanctity and uplifting character of the canon of the Mass, composed as it is of the very words of the Lord, the traditions of the Apostles, and the pious institutions also of holy Pontiffs; v. the purpose of the solemn ceremonies associated with the Mass, since 'such is the nature of man that without external helps he cannot easily be raised to the meditation of Divine things'—e.g. lower or higher tones of voice, lights, incense, vestments, etc., 'derived from an Apostolical discipline and tradition, whereby both the majesty of so great a sacrifice might be recommended, and the minds of the faithful be excited, by those visible signs of religion and piety, to the contemplation of those most sublime things which are hidden in this sacrifice'; vi. that Mass, wherein the priest alone communicates, is approved, being on behalf of all the Church, though the Council would fain that all present might communicate; vii. that the mixture of water with the wine is enjoined because it is believed that Christ did this, and because the practice commemorates the issue of blood and water from His side, and because in Rev 17¹⁰ the peoples are called waters, and the union of water with the wine represents their union with Christ; viii. that it is not expedient to celebrate Mass everywhere in the vulgar tongue; but, in order that the sheep of Christ may not suffer hunger, or the little ones ask for bread and there be none to

break it unto them, pastors are charged frequently to expound some portion of the things read at Mass, especially on Lord's days and festivals.

Session XXIII. treats of the Sacrament of Order in 4 chapters and 8 canons. Chapter i. sets forth the institution of the Priesthood of the New Law 'into which the old has been translated,' with the power of consecrating, offering, and administering Christ's body and blood, as also of forgiving and of retaining sins; ii. the Seven Orders—priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, lector, and doorkeeper—the four, or five, last being the inferior; iii. that Order is truly and properly a sacrament; iv. the indelibility of the higher orders, the falsehood of the claim of priesthood for all believers, the principal place of bishops in the hierarchical order as superior to priests, as entrusted exclusively with the Sacrament of Confirmation and Ordination of Priests, without any regard to consent of people or of rulers, whereas 'all those who, being only called and instituted by the people, or by the civil power and magistrate, ascend to the exercise of these ministrations, and those who of their own rashness assume them to themselves, are not ministers of the Church, but are to be looked upon as thieves and robbers who have not entered by the door.'

Session XXIV. treats of the Sacrament of Matrimony in 1 chapter and 12 canons, setting forth its institution by 'the first parent of the human race, under the influence of the Divine Spirit'; its confirmation by Christ; His purchase by death of the grace which should perfect natural love, and confirm that indissoluble union and sanctify the married. The canons condemn the denial of its sacramental character, of the right of the Church to dispense in some of the levitically prohibited degrees or to add to their number, and of the plea of heresy or desertion, or even adultery, as a warrant for divorce; deny the right of the innocent party to marry during the lifetime of the adulterous partner, and the right to break clerical vows of celibacy on any plea; deny the inferiority of celibacy or virginity to marriage, and affirm its superiority, and condemn those who characterize the prohibition of marriages at certain seasons as a tyrannical superstition derived from the superstition of the heathen, and those who say that matrimonial causes do not belong to ecclesiastical judges.

Session XXV. orders right and circumspect teaching regarding Purgatory, the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, Sacred Images, and Indulgences. Abuses of a superstitious, unedifying, or mercenary nature are to be ended. Saints in heaven are to be invoked to intercede for men with God the Father through Jesus Christ His Son, who is our alone Redeemer and Saviour. No divinity or virtue is believed to reside in images of Christ, the Virgin Mother, and the other saints; but the honour which is shown to them is referred to the prototypes which they represent. In granting indulgences, moderation is to be observed, 'lest by excessive facility ecclesiastical discipline be enervated,' and 'all evil gains for the obtaining thereof,—whence a most prolific cause of abuses amongst the Christian people has been derived,' are to be 'wholly abolished.'

[Latin text and tr. in Schaff, *Creeeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, pp. 77-206; critical history in Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, 1907, II. 564-596 (detailed biblog. in note, p. 564), and in Schaff, *Hist. of Creeeds*, pp. 90-99, with biblog.; theological analysis and criticism in Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. VII. (1899) 35-72; art. in *PRE*.]

For the purposes of individual confession, the Council of Trent had declared the necessity of a binding 'formula of profession and oath' for all dignitaries and teachers of the Church. By order of Pius IV. the *Profession of the Tridentine Faith*, or *Creed of Pius IV.*, was prepared in 1564 by a com-

mission of Cardinals, and was at once made obligatory on the whole *ecclesia docens*. It passed also into general use for Protestant converts to Romanism. Obviously the decrees and canons of the Council were ill-suited for such uses. The *Profession* consists of 12 articles, the first containing in full the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the Western changes (italicized in the text below), the next 8 containing a short summary of the Tridentine decrees, the last 3 containing new matter, acknowledging the Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches, promising, on oath, obedience to its Bishop as the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Jesus Christ, accepting the canons and decrees of the Councils, including Trent, and promising lifelong adherence by God's help to 'this true Catholic faith without which no one can be saved.' The Creed is in the first person, and is as follows (tr. in Schaff, *Hist.*, pp. 98-99; also in his *Creeeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, pp. 207-210):

I. 'I . . . with a firm faith believe and profess all and every one of the things contained in the symbol of faith which the holy Roman Church makes use of, namely—

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds; *God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man;*

He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate; suffered and was buried;

and the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures; and ascended into heaven; sitteth on the right hand of the Father;

and He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end:

And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of life; who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets;

and one holy catholic and apostolic Church.

I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins:

and I look for the resurrection of the dead;

and the life of the world to come. Amen.'

II. 'I most steadfastly admit and embrace the apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church.'

III. 'I also admit the Holy Scriptures according to that sense which our holy Mother Church has held, and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.'

IV. 'I also profess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one, to wit: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these baptism, confirmation, and ordination cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. I also receive and admit the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church used in the solemn administration of the aforesaid sacraments.'

V. 'I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.'

VI. 'I profess likewise that in the Mass there is offered to God a true proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there is truly really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a change of the whole essence of the bread into the body, and of the whole essence of the wine into the blood; which change the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation.'

VII. 'I also confess that under either kind alone Christ is received whole and entire, and a true sacrament.'

VIII. 'I firmly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.'

Likewise that the saints reigning with Christ are to be honoured and invoked, and that they offer up prayers to God for us; and that their relics are to be held in veneration.'

IX. 'I most firmly assert that the images of Christ and of the perpetual Virgin, the Mother of God, and also of other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them.'

I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.'

X. 'I acknowledge the holy catholic apostolic Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches, and I promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, and as the vicar of Jesus Christ.'

XI. 'I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered defined and declared by the sacred Canons and ecumenical Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and I condemn reject and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the Church has condemned rejected and anathematized.'

XII. 'I do at this present freely profess and truly hold this true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved (*salvus esse*); and I promise most constantly to retain and confess the same entire and inviolate, with God's assistance, to the end of my life. And I will take care, as far as in me lies, that it shall be held taught and preached by my subjects, or by those the care of whom shall appertain to me in my office. This I promise vow and swear:—so help me God, and these holy Gospels of God.'

The *Profession of the Tridentine Faith* was followed in 1566 by the elaborate *Roman Catechism*, the preparation of which the Council had at first essayed, but finally handed over to the Pope. In 1564, Pius IV., advised by Cardinal Borromeo of Milan, entrusted the work to a learned and distinguished Commission of four prelates under Borromeo's supervision—Marini, Foscarari, Calini, and the Portuguese Freire—who were assisted in matters of style and rendering by eminent Latin scholars. The teaching is Dominican (three of the four Commissioners belonging, as did the Pope, to that order) and Thomist—a feature which ensured for it the opposition of the Jesuit order. It is not meant for the young or for popular reading, but for the equipment of the teaching clergy. It is exceedingly long and comprehensive, but admirably arranged and lucidly expressed. It contains four parts, which follow a lengthy introductory treatment of preliminary topics, and treats successively of (1) the Apostles' Creed, (2) the Sacraments, (3) the Ten Commandments, and (4) the Lord's Prayer. It is noteworthy that, while it adds to the Tridentine teaching sections which deal with the *limbus patrum*, the Authority of the Church, and the doctrine of the Church, it omits all reference to Indulgences and the Rosary. Apart from its franker Augustinianism, the Catechism reproduces very faithfully the substance of the Decrees of Trent, whose circumspection and whose massiveness it reflects. (See, further, art. CATECHISMS, p. 252 f.; Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 100–102.)

In 1568 appeared, under similar auspices, and with similar authority, the *Breviarium*, and in 1572 the *Missale Romanum*, the devotional and liturgical standards of the Church, which had been preceded in 1564 by the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* proclaiming the censure of the Church on literature heretical in doctrine or dangerous in tendency. A special *Confession of Urban VIII.*, under whose rule (1623–1644) Galileo was condemned, was prescribed for use at consecration by Greek and other Bishops in Eastern Churches united to Rome but retaining by special privilege their own rites and usages.

The long and chequered Papacy of Pius IX. brought with it a fresh stirring of polemic and dogmatic activity, which issued in a remarkable series of Papal publications. In 1854, after formal consultation by encyclical letter with the bishops on the propriety of satisfying the desire of the Catholic world for a solemn definition by the Apostolic See of the *Immaculate Conception* of the Virgin Mary, and on the completion of the labours of a special commission and a consistory of consultation, the Pope summoned a great assemblage of prelates to the Basilica of St. Peter, and in their presence, 'by authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own,' personally proclaimed it to be a doctrine revealed by God 'that the most blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her conception, by a

special grace and privilege of Almighty God, out of regard to the merits of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the human race, was preserved immune from all stain of original sin.' By that declaration not only a long course of controversy throughout the history of the Church, but also a long continued devotional and doctrinal development, was brought to a close, and the silence or doubt of the Fathers and the caution of Trent were replaced by the voice of certainty. In 1864 a Papal *Syllabus of Errors*, eighty in number, was issued with an encyclical, summarizing in ten divisions modern opinions which at various times had been condemned by the Pope: (1) Pantheism, Naturalism, Absolute Rationalism; (2) Moderate Rationalism; (3) Indifferentism, Latitudinarianism; (4) Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Clerico-liberal Societies; errors respecting (5) the Church and her Rights, (6) Civil Society, (7) Natural and Christian Ethics, (8) Christian Matrimony, (9) the Civil Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, (10) Modern Liberalism.

In 1870 the Vatican Council, convoked to promote the re-union of Christendom and to cope with modern errors and dangers, accepted and promulgated after revision two 'dogmatic' constitutions: (1) *on the Catholic Faith*, in four chapters, dealing with God as Creator, with Revelation, with Faith, and with Faith and Reason, condemning more fully than in the *Syllabus* errors of Pantheism, Naturalism, and Rationalism; (2) *on the Church of Christ*, also in four chapters, dealing with the institution of the Apostolic primacy in the blessed Peter, the perpetuity of St. Peter's primacy in the Roman Pontiff, the power and nature of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and the *infallibility of the Roman Pontiff*. In this second document the absolute finality of the Papal Jurisdiction is affirmed, on pain of anathema, in all matters pertaining alike to faith and morals and to the discipline and government of the Church, and in the form of a Papal decree it is solemnly declared a dogma Divinely revealed that

'the Roman Pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in the exercise of his office as Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority he defines the doctrine on faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the Divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter, possesses that power of infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be furnished in defining doctrine on faith or morals; and that accordingly such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, not from consent of the Church, irreformable: but if, as may God forbid, any one shall presume to gainsay this our definition, let him be anathema.'

It was thus the work of Pio Nono to complete the long and patiently evolved system of a constitutional Papal infallibility and autocracy in all matters concerning Christian faith, morals, discipline, and government.

Beyond these determinations of the Pope in the Vatican Council it has not been necessary, even if possible, for the Church to proceed in matters of faith. They have been supplemented, however, in detail by the fresh *Papal Syllabus of Pius X.* in 1907, against all forms of Modernism, and by the labours of the Commission on Biblical Studies.

Although the Vatican Council refused by a large majority to accept the Catechism submitted to it, numerous authorized local catechisms are in circulation for popular use throughout the Roman Catholic world, more or less completely revised to bring them into harmony with the new decrees. Of the older catechisms, besides that of Trent, which was for clerical rather than popular use, those of the learned Jesuit Peter Canisius (1554 and 1566) and of Cardinal Bellarmine (1603) may be mentioned as having commended themselves especially to Papal as well as to clerical and popular acceptance. Among the most influential

and authoritative expositions of Roman Catholic doctrine with an apologetic or polemic purpose are the *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ fidei adversus huius Temporis hereticos* of Robert Bellarmine (1587-90), the *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise Catholique sur les matières de Controverse* of Bossuet (1671), the *Symbolik* of J. A. Möhler (1832), and the *Prælectiones theologicæ* of the Jesuit Perrone (1835 ff.).

(2) *In the Old-Catholic Church.*—To the rule of history that each great successive formulation of ecumenical doctrine has been the occasion of, or has perpetuated, a corresponding schism of the Church, the work of the latest Roman General Council of 1870 was no exception. Its distinctive decrees were received under protest by many of the participants (esp. German, French, English, and N. Amer. representatives), and led finally to the formation in Bavaria and elsewhere in Germany of the Old-Catholic Church, loyal to the doctrinal Canons of Trent and earlier standards, and occupying a position similar to that of the earlier secession of the Church of Utrecht which took place in protest against the Papal claims embodied in the bull *Unigenitus* condemning Jansenist views in 1713.

Reference has already been made to the Old-Catholic Conferences at Bonn in 1874 and 1875 between representatives of the Græco-Russian, Anglican, and Old-Catholic Churches, at the former of which *Fourteen Theses* were agreed upon as a possible basis of Catholic re-union, dealing with the Canon and Apocrypha, the Text and Translations of Scripture, the Use of the Vernacular in Scripture and in liturgy, Justification through Faith working by Love, Salvation not by Merit, Works of Supererogation, Number of Sacraments, Scripture and Tradition, Succession of Anglican Orders, Immaculate Conception of Mary, Public and Private Confession, Indulgences, Prayers for the Dead, the Mass; and at the latter, *Six Theses* accepting the ecumenical Symbols and decisions of the undivided Church of the first six centuries, and in particular the Eastern doctrine of the Procession of the Spirit.

Old-Catholic Churches also exist in Switzerland, Austria, France, and America, while in Mexico, in Spain and Portugal, and in Italy, 'Reformed Catholic' Churches have been established, in great measure by means of Anglican support and on the Anglican model, professing a markedly Protestant type of doctrine (see Loofs, i. 412 ff.).

LITERATURE.—For standards of Roman Catholic Church, and bibliography: Schaff, *History of Creeds*, pp. 83-151, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, pp. 76-271; Loofs, *Symbolik*, i. 187-216 (on Oriental Churches in communion with Rome, 393-399); Denzinger, *Enchiridion*¹⁰, 1908; artt. in *Addis-Arnold's Cathol. Dict.*, 1903, in *Wetzer-Welte*, in the *Cathol. Encycl.*, in *Vacant-Mangenot's Dict. de Théol. Cathol.*, in *PRE*³; cf. also Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*, Eng. tr. 1873; Butler, *Hist. and Lit. Account of the Formularies, etc., of the R.C., Greek, and principal Prot. Churches*, 1816. For critical account of the doctrine, see Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vol. vii., 1899.

For Old-Catholic doctrine: Schaff, *History of Creeds*, pp. 191-202, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, p. 645 ff.; Loofs, i. 407 ff.; *PRE*³, art. 'Aikatholizismus.'

II. Confessions in the Reformed Churches: General introduction: Early efforts.—Beneath the rigorously smoothed and levelled surface of mediæval Christendom there lay but thinly covered the fruitful seeds of the various outgrowths of the Reformation. It is easy now to discern how far-reaching was the doctrinal and practical preparation for the great movements. For centuries before the crisis was reached, over against the demand of the Roman Curia that all learning and all thought, as well as all political and ecclesiastical life, should be organized in subjection to it, influences had been at work to stimulate freedom of thought and action. Even Scholasticism, ready though it was to buttress up the Papal claims and

dogmas by propositions, argument, and learning, had its opposing schools, its heresies, its impulses to make men think. The guilds in the great industrial and commercial cities, and the growing national sentiment in many lands, fostered a sense of independence and of personal dignity. Here and there, though without authorization, the Scriptures had been turned into the vernacular and read with eager curiosity, provoking, as they have always done, personal reflexion and untrammelled conviction. The Mystics, with their personal intimacy with the Unseen and their devotional confidence and freedom, and, on the other hand, the Humanists, with their knowledge of an old world new found, pointed men in the same direction. It was inevitable that, together with the sensitive conscience's fierce revolt against ecclesiastical abuses and immoralities, there should also come into being an attitude of mind as critical towards those mediæval accretions to the Church's doctrine with which the abuses had been bound up.

Long before the Reformation crisis, particular current opinions extraneous to the great Creeds and to the general spirit of Scripture had been singled out or massed in groups for discussion and hostile criticism. There was no disposition to debate afresh the problems which had found dogmatic solution in the Ecumenical Councils. Not the Person and Work of Christ or of the Holy Spirit, not the doctrine of the Divine Trinity, but the doctrines of the means of grace, Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Scripture, of the processes involved in personal salvation, and of the use of mediators other than the Son of God, were the themes at issue. With the old Creeds the new thinkers, almost without exception, had no controversy, but were amply satisfied; and when occasion arose for them to gather into Confessions the doctrine to which they adhered, it was their first care to express their loyalty to the ancient standards of Christendom. Both of the Reformation and of the pre-Reformation Confessions it is true that they were advanced for didactic and apologetic purposes rather than as Creeds, and that they were subordinated not only to the Word of God in Canonical Scripture, but also to the Catholic Creeds. According to the accepted academic procedure of the age, serious difference of theological opinion issued naturally in the formulation of a series of controversial propositions which embodied the moot points, and were flung out as a challenge to the champions of the learned world for debate in intellectual tournaments or disputations. Luther's Theses nailed upon the church-door at Wittenberg were only one in a long series, earlier and later, of academic invitations to serious argument; but to the pedantries of conventional disputation he brought a biting mother-wit and a passionate earnestness as well as a scholar's learning, and he was among the very first to discover and to wield the power of the pamphlet and the printing press in religious controversy. Both the Wyclifite and the Lutheran reformation-movements began with the fearless publication of propositions, theses, or 'places,' dealing not with the whole system of Christian doctrine, but with the topics involved in prevailing religious abuses. Only later, as the rift grew wider between the forces of reaction and reform, did it become necessary to round off in systematic form the theological opinions of Protestants; but rarely, if ever, was it the case that equal care and space were given to controversial and to non-controversial matter of faith. It is, in truth, a general defect in the Creeds and the Confessions of Christendom, viewed as systems of truth, that from the circumstances of their formation they have suffered distortion in varying degrees, and present a lack of internal pro-

portion and perspective which is due to polemical or other exigencies. They all bear the marks of their birth-time and birth-place, and it is to the distinctive and often transitory features in them that they draw our chief attention. It is unjust to judge them without regard to their origin and their purpose. Few, if any, of them were fair-weather or leisurely productions laid out for academic criticism or appreciation. Many of them were the work of hunted outlawed men, and were sealed with martyr blood. Viewed generally, they are seen to fall into groups: (1) before 1500, (2) in 16th cent., both directed against Roman Catholic abuses; (3) in 17th cent., the result of Protestant differences; and (4) in 19th cent., the age of increasing religious liberty resulting both in the multiplication of sects and in the simplification of Confessions. They are here considered according to an order partly chronological and partly based upon the varying degree of their divergence from the Roman system.

Pre-Reformation Articles, Confessions, and Catechisms.—Although it is scarcely possible to point to Confessions in the pre-Reformation centuries which correspond very closely to those of the succeeding age, it is abundantly evident that the leaven of reform in Church and doctrine was actively at work. Whether, as among the Albigenses and Cathari, the bounds of ancient Catholic orthodoxy were exceeded, or, as among the followers of Waldo, were observed, there was a wide-spread and steadily increasing reluctance from the 9th to the 15th cent. to acquiesce in the traditionalism, the Papal supremacy, and the crude sacramentalism of the Church. In the North of Italy, in the South of France, in Bohemia, and as far north as in Britain, there was a strong revulsion of feeling and interest towards a Scriptural simplicity in doctrine, worship, Church organization and life. Almost all the heresies and sects that disturbed the peace of Church and State appealed from Pope and Councils to Scripture and common sense, and advocated some form of Scriptural puritanism. Though reform within the Church was the invariable object of their protests, persecution and despair combined to drive them more or less out of the Roman communion, and their articles of reform became articles of schism and secession. From the 9th cent. onwards the sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, were a continual subject of controversy: these or articles were unceasingly advanced and retracted or condemned, concerning their number, meaning, administration, and effect. Similarly, questions regarding Scripture, Church-government and authority, access of believers to God, the place of works in justification, were constantly agitating men's minds. It was an age of discussion and debate, and the same instinct which prompted the Papacy to assert itself and steadily aggrandize its own authority led national Churches and gifted individuals alike to resent it and proclaim their own mind in turn; but it was manifestly an age of strenuous search for truth in thought and right in life. Naturally, the same age that produced the Schoolmen called also for the Inquisition. Confessions of faith in such a time tended to be individual and partial; often they were drawn up by persecutors as counts of an indictment for heresy, and, when accepted by the accused, were sealed by condemnation and death. The articles of faith were articles of martyrdom. But, as the movement for reform gained adherents, the time approached when the work of Waldo, Wyclif, and Hus should issue not only in definite Church-formation, but also in the framing of extended Confessions.

12. Confessions in the Waldensian, Bohemian, and Moravian Churches.—The Confessional documents of the Waldensian, Bohemian, and Moravian fraternities are, like the societies themselves, so closely bound up that they may fitly be grouped together. They form a long series preceding as well as following the Reformation, and share with Baptist or Anabaptist documents the distinction of exhibiting the longest Protestant descent. How soon after the origination of the Waldensian movement in the 12th cent. definite Articles of Faith were current we cannot say, but already in the 14th cent. we find evidence of the use of Articles of Faith and a brief catechism of Christian doctrine and morals. Like other literary products of the movement, these seem to have been long preserved orally, and committed to writing in the 15th century. Of that date we possess copies of a group of seven Articles of Faith in God, and of a simple catechism current among the Old Waldensians of France and Spain, containing seven paragraphs on the Godhead, seven on Man, the

Ten Commandments, and the Seven Works of Mercy. During the 15th cent. the simpler Waldensian and the more theological Hussite movements coalesced, and gave rise to writings in the Romance and Bohemian languages, whose interrelations are difficult to analyze. To c. 1410, and to Hus himself, Palacky assigns an early Hussite Catechism. To 1431 belongs the *Confessio Tabornitarum* of the most resolute followers of Hus, who rejected all doctrine and usage not sanctioned in Scripture. Especially interesting are the kindred and much-used *Waldensian* and *Bohemian Catechisms*, vivid, shrewd, homely, and spiritual in their dialogue. The former, 'The Smaller Questions,' contains 57 questions and answers, is earlier than 1490, follows the division—Faith, Hope, and Love—adopted in Augustine's *Enchiridion*, and includes the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; the latter, perhaps the work of Lucas of Prague, and first printed c. 1521, asks and answers 75 questions in very similar terms, adding the Beatitudes and other matter. While adhering to the simplicity of Scripture and the Apostles' Creed, and permeated by the reforming spirit, they come short of distinctive Reformation theology, e.g. in reference to the number of the sacraments (two 'necessary,' the other five 'less necessary'), and to justification. From 1467 to 1671 no fewer than 34 Bohemian Confessions are known to have been framed (Schaff, *Hist. Creeds*, p. 578). In 1503, just 50 years after the overthrow of the Hussites of Tabor, the rallied and reviving 'Unity of Brethren' (Bohemian, Moravian, and refugee Waldensian) submitted to Wladislaw II., king of Bohemia, a Confession of their Faith, rejecting the Worship of Saints, Purgatory, and Transubstantiation, and urging a symbolical doctrine of the Supper. In 1511 they submitted a Confession to Erasmus for his judgment, but without result. From the time of Luther's revolt they came in all their branches more and more into connexion and fellowship with the Reformers, Lutherans and Calvinists, and at last took their place in doctrine as in polity among the Protestant Churches. In 1532, under Lutheran influence, they tendered a Confession to George, Margrave of Brandenburg, with a preface by Luther himself commending their doctrine apart from certain aspects of their sacramental views. Their revised Confession to Ferdinand I. in 1535, purged of the obnoxious teaching on re-baptism, and modified in regard to justification and clerical celibacy, was cordially approved by Luther, and accepted as a basis of full fellowship. It contained an apologetic preface and 20 articles resembling the Augsburg Confession; it was issued in Bohemian and Latin, and is known as the *First Bohemian Confession*. In 1575 the Protestant Churches of Bohemia, whether Lutheran or Calvinist in sympathy, united by the common menace of Rome, drew up the *Second Bohemian Confession*, which, in conjunction with the *First*, superseded all the rest of the 34 Confessions credited to Bohemia during the two centuries after 1467. The *Second Bohemian Confession*, addressed to Maximilian II., contains 25 articles embodying the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession modified in harmony with the Calvinistic and Moravian teaching, and closely approximating to Melancthon's later sacramental theory.

In 1655, during the cruel massacre, the Piedmontese Waldensians adopted and sent out the *Waldensian Confession*, which is based upon, and in part abridged from, the French Reformed Confession of 1559 by Calvin. In 1855 the Confession was re-affirmed by the present Waldensian Church in Synod.

Although in Bohemia no resuscitation of the

ancient *national* Protestantism has been permitted, and the allegiance of Protestants is divided between Lutheranism and the Calvinism of the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession, the old *Unitas Fratrum* has been continuously represented on German soil by the Moravian Brethren, who own the authority of no Confession in a strict sense, and cherish a personal rather than a theological devotion, being ready to recognize and enter into fellowship with the devout of all denominations. They were able cordially to accept the Confession of Augsburg as in sufficient harmony with their own and the 'Reformed' doctrine, and, indeed, Spangenberg in the preface to his *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (Eng. ed. 1784), a weighty exposition of their belief, affirms that that Confession has been and will remain theirs. For light upon their doctrine one may with confidence turn to their impressive 'Easter Litany' (1749), and to the 'Summary' of their faith as centring in the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ in the 6 articles issued by the Synod of 1869. Reference may also be made to Bishop Schweinitz's 'Compendium of Doctrine,' in 17 articles drawn from the authorized 'Manual' of the Church, to the 'Catechism of Christian Doctrine for the Instruction of Youth in the Church of the United Brethren,' and the 'Epitome of Christian Doctrine for the Instruction of Candidates for Confirmation.'

LITERATURE.—Schaff, *Hist.*, pp. 665-680, 874-881, *Creeds of Evang. Prot. Churches*, pp. 757-770, 799-808; *PRE3*, artt. 'Waldenser,' 'Huss,' 'Böhmische Brüder,' 'Zinzendorf'; Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.*, Eng. tr. 1890, vols. II. and III.; works by Palacky, Loserth, C. U. Hahn, Dieckhoff, and von Zeechwitz.

13. Confessions in the Lutheran Churches.—Though not in themselves a Confession in any general sense, the 95 Theses of Martin Luther at Wittenberg in 1517 against the theory and practice of Indulgences co-operated with his famous disputations (e.g. at Heidelberg, 1518; at Leipzig, 1519), and with his powerful tracts, in precipitating Confessional formulations. Although the Theses, Disputations, and Tracts had reference to restricted doctrines, their immediate effect was to provoke heart-searching revision of the whole current system of doctrine in so far as it contained accretions to the ancient Catholic Creeds. In this revisory work Luther found in Philip Melancthon an invaluable and, indeed, an indispensable fellow-worker, one whose doctrinal system had found mature expression in the *Locci Communes* so early as 1521. If Luther's eagle eye pierced the forest of mediæval error, and if Luther's sinewy arms cleared the ground, it was Melancthon's gift and task to lay the foundations of Lutheran doctrine, massive, clear-cut, stable, and true. Each was the other's needed complement. Together they achieved a single work, than which a greater could hardly be conceived—the German Reformation. Their mutual understanding and their spiritual fellowship form one of the finest episodes and noblest features of that great movement.

It was in 1529 that Luther entered upon the work of doctrinal formulation. His first care was to provide for the spiritual wants of the neglected common people, especially for the young. A few catechetical works for the young and the unlearned had been prepared by monks in the Middle Ages. The Waldensian and Bohemian Reformers had made notable use of similar manuals prepared according to their distinctive views, and in 1523 a copy of one of these in Latin was presented to Luther. Luther himself had written a popular exposition of the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue as early as 1518. Catechisms had been published by such Reformers as Urbanus Regius, Lonicus, Melancthon, Brentius, and Lachmann, between 1520 and 1528. But Luther's 'Smaller Catechism,' or *Enchiridion*, immediately attained a position

and acceptance which not only placed it far above all its forerunners, but entitled it to rank as a Confession. It was preceded in the same year, 1529, by the 'Larger Catechism,' a looser and less happy work, which was, indeed, not strictly a catechism at all, but an exposition too long for a popular manual—which served, however, to guide and prepare its author for his still more congenial task, the composition of the *Enchiridion*. In delightfully homely and yet impressive questions and answers it expounds (1) the Decalogue, (2) the Apostles' Creed, (3) the Lord's Prayer, (4) the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, (5) the Sacrament of the Altar—the same succession of subjects which the Bohemian Brethren had made familiar in their Catechisms. See, further, art. CATECHISMS (Lutheran).

The *Fifteen Articles of the Marburg Conference*, 1529, were drawn up by Luther after the memorable discussion in which Melancthon and he represented the German Reformers, Zwingli and Œcolampadius the Swiss, in an effort to establish a doctrinal understanding and concordat between the Reformed Churches. Articles i.-xiv. on the Trinity, Incarnation, Life of Christ, Original Sin (qualified agreement), Redemption, Justification by Faith, Work of the Holy Spirit by Word and Sacraments, Baptism, Good Works the Fruit of Faith, Confession and Absolution, Civil Authority, Tradition, Necessity of Infant Baptism, were agreed upon without difficulty. Article xv. was left incomplete, through disagreement on the meaning of the words 'Hoc est corpus meum,' in the form of three propositions: (1) the Eucharist ought to be received in both kinds; (2) the Sacrifice of the Mass is inadmissible; (3) the Sacrament of the Altar is a sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the partaking of it is salutary. It was a happier omen for the future of Protestantism, only now being realized, that the words were added: 'And, although we are not at this time agreed as to whether the true Body and Blood of Christ are physically present in the bread and wine, we recommend that either party manifest a Christian love to the other, so far as the conscience of every man shall permit, and that both parties entreat Almighty God to confirm us by His Spirit in the right doctrine. Amen.'

A fortnight later the Marburg Articles were revised and enlarged, and presented as the *Seventeen Articles of Schwabach* at a gathering of Lutheran princes and representatives in that town, and were followed by the supplementary *Articles of Torgau* (March 1530), drawn up by Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, and Bugenhagen, for the Elector of Saxony, with a view to presentation in the interests of Catholic re-union at the forthcoming Diet at Augsburg. The Articles of Marburg or Schwabach are pacific and positive, in accordance with the conciliatory purpose of the conference from which they issued; the Torgau Articles are polemical against abuses and controversial in tone, dealing with clerical marriage, communion in both kinds, the Mass, confession, invocation of saints, faith's superiority to works, etc.; together they form the basis of the first and second portions respectively of the great *Augsburg Confession* of 1530, the supreme declaration and literary monument of the Reformation.

The Augsburg Confession.—Luther's enforced absence, under ban, from the Diet, threw upon Melancthon the entire responsibility for the formal composition of the *Augsburg Confession*; but, apart from the fact that the constituent articles of Marburg and Torgau were essentially Luther's, Melancthon was fresh from prolonged conference with him, was in constant correspondence with him, and was by temper, scholarship, and

insight uniquely fitted to represent him. Luther inspired, if Melancthon arranged and wrote. The theology belongs to both. When a draft was submitted to Luther for revision, he could write to the Elector: 'It pleases me very well, and I know of nothing by which I could better it or change it, nor would it be becoming, for I cannot move so softly and gently.' Indeed, in a letter to Jonas he dubbed it 'the softly stepping Apology,' and was inclined to complain of its leniency or silence on the subject of purgatory, saint-worship, and the Papal antichrist. Apart from these matters, the 'Augustana' is the classical statement of Lutheran doctrine, and has remained to the present day the bond between all Lutheran Churches. Its dignified simplicity, its temperate tone, and its Christian spirit have endeared it to successive generations, and have made it the model as well as the mother of later Confessions. Portions of it have become obsolete. The piety and thought it has fostered have outgrown their original vestments. But its profound loyalty to the best traditions of the Catholic Church and the great Fathers, its faithfulness to Scripture, none the less impressive because it is unlaboured and unobtrusive, and its deep note of evangelical experience, have secured for it a sacred place, perhaps beyond all other Confessions, in the living faith of its ministers and people. The *twenty-one* Articles of its first part state the main doctrines held by Lutherans: (1) in common with Roman Catholics, the doctrine of the Catholic Creeds; (2) in common with Augustinians, against Pelagianism and Donatism; (3) in opposition to Rome, esp. on Justification by Faith, the exclusive mediatorship of Christ, Church, ministry, and rites; and (4) in distinction from Zwinglians and Anabaptists (the former are not named), upon the meaning and administration of the sacraments, on confession, and on the millennium. The *seven* articles of the second part condemn the chief Roman abuses: (1) withholding the cup; (2) compulsory celibacy of clergy; (3) the Mass a sacrifice; (4) compulsory confession; (5) festivals and fasts; (6) monastic vows; (7) secular domination by bishops to the spiritual disadvantage and corruption of the Church.

The motto of the Confession is Ps 119⁴⁵ (Vulg.), 'and I spake of thy testimonies in the sight of kings, and was not ashamed.' The Preface, a formal and wordy address to the Emperor, is not from the pen of Melancthon but from that of Brück, the Saxon Chancellor, who also composed the Epilogue.

Contents of Part I.—Art. i., of *God*, affirms the Nicene doctrine, explains that 'person' means, not a part or quality, but 'that which properly subsists,' and condemns ancient and recent heresies. Art. ii., of *Original Sin*, teaches that, 'since Adam's fall, all men begotten after the common course of nature are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without trust in Him, and with fleshly appetite; and that this disease or original fault is truly sin, condemning and bringing eternal death now also upon all that are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit'; and condemns 'the Pelagians and others who deny this original fault to be sin indeed, and who, to lessen the glory of the merits and benefits of Christ, argue that a man may by the strength of his own reason be justified before God.' Art. iii., of *the Son of God*, expands slightly the language of the Apostles' Creed. Art. iv. thus sets forth *Justification*:—'Men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits, or works, but are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favour and their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who by His death hath satisfied for our sins. This faith doth God impute for righteousness before Him (Ro 3 and 4).' Art. v. sets forth *the Ministry of the Church* for the securing of that faith through the Holy Spirit, and condemns the Anabaptists. Art. vi., of *New Obedience*, teaches that 'this faith should bring forth good fruits, and that men ought to do the good works commanded of God, because it is God's will, and not for any confidence of meriting justification before God by their works. For remission of sins and justification is apprehended by faith, as also the voice of Christ witnesseth: "when ye have done all these things, say, We are unprofitable servants."'

Art. vii. teaches that *the Church* 'is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administered: unto the true unity of the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments: nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men

should be alike everywhere; as St. Paul saith: "There is one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." Art. viii., *What the Church is*, says: 'It is lawful to use the Sacraments administered by evil men, according to the voice of Christ (Mt 23), "The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat," etc. The Sacraments and the Word are effectual by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, though they be delivered by evil men.' Art. ix., of *Baptism*, teaches that it is necessary to salvation, and that children by it are offered to God and Christ into His favour; and condemns the Anabaptists. Art. x., of *the Lord's Supper*, affirms that 'the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are communicated to those that eat in the Lord's Supper'; but makes no attempt to explain how they are related to the elements—a remarkable silence illustrative perhaps of the reluctance of the Lutheran leaders at this time to formulate any new doctrine which would make their breach with Rome irreparable. Art. xi., of *Confession*, teaches that 'private absolution be retained, though enumeration of all offences be not necessary in confession. For it is impossible, according to the Psalm, 19¹² "Who can understand his errors?" In Art. xii. *Repentance* is said to consist of these two parts—one is contrition, or terrors stricken into the conscience by the recognition of sin; the other is faith, which is conceived by the Gospel or by absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience and freeth it from terrors. Then should follow good works, which are fruits of repentance.' Therefore the Anabaptists and the Novatians are condemned. According to Art. xiii., of *the Use of Sacraments*, they 'were ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather that they should be signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, set forth unto us to stir up and confirm faith in such as use them': they do not justify *ex opere operato*. Art. xiv., of *Ecclesiastical Orders*, teaches 'that no man should publicly in the Church teach or administer the Sacraments, except he be duly called.' In Art. xv., of *Ecclesiastical Rites*, it is taught that 'those only are to be observed which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquillity and good order in the Church; such as are set holidays, fasts, and such like. Yet concerning such things, men are to be admonished that consciences are not to be burdened as if such service were necessary to salvation. They are also to be admonished that human traditions, instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace, and to make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning foods and days, and such like, instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.'

Art. xvi., of *Civil Affairs*, teaches that 'such civil ordinances as are lawful are good works of God; Christians may lawfully bear civil office, sit in judgments, determine matters by the imperial laws . . . appoint just punishments, engage in just war, act as soldiers, make legal bargains and contracts, hold property, take an oath when the magistrates require it, marry a wife or be given in marriage.' It condemns the Anabaptists who forbid Christians these civil offices, also 'those who place the perfection of the Gospel, not in the fear of God and in faith, but in forsaking civil offices, inasmuch as the Gospel teacheth an everlasting righteousness of the heart.' Christians must necessarily obey their magistrates and laws, save only when they command any sin; for then they must rather obey God than men (Ac 5²⁹). Art. xvii., of *Christ's Return to Judgment*, condemns 'the Anabaptists who think that to condemn men and devils there shall be an end of torments; others also who now scatter Jewish opinions that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall occupy the kingdom of the world, the wicked being everywhere suppressed.' Art. xviii., of *Free Will*, affirms 'that man's will hath some liberty to work a civil righteousness, and to choose such things as reason can reach unto; but that it hath no power to work the righteousness of God, or a spiritual righteousness, without the Spirit of God; because the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God (1 Co 2:14). But this is wrought in the heart when men do receive the Spirit of God through the Word.' Augustine is quoted in support, and Pelagian opinions are condemned. Art. xix. teaches that 'although God doth create and preserve nature, the Cause of Sin is the will of the wicked, to wit, of the devil and ungodly men.'

Art. xx., of *Good Works*, repudiates the charge that Lutherans forbid good works: 'Their writings extant upon the Ten Commandments bear witness that they have taught to good purpose concerning every kind of life and its duties. . . . Of which things preachers in former times taught little or nothing; only they urged certain childish and needless works, as keeping of holidays, set fasts, fraternities, pilgrimages, worshippings of saints, rosaries, moneries, and such like things. Whereof our adversaries having had warning, they do now unlearn them, and do not preach concerning these unprofitable works as they were wont. Besides they begin now to make mention of faith, concerning which there was formerly a deep silence. They teach that we are not justified by works alone; but they conjoin faith and works, and say we are justified by faith and works. Which doctrine is more tolerable than the former one, and can afford more consolation. . . . Therefore our divines have thus admonished the churches:—(1) Our works cannot reconcile God, or deserve remission of sins, grace, and justification at His hands, but these we obtain by faith only, when we believe that we are received into favour for Christ's sake, who alone is appointed the Mediator and Propitiatory, by whom the Father is reconciled. He therefore that trusteth by his works to merit grace, doth despise the merit and grace of Christ, and seeketh by his own power to come to the Father without Christ;

whereas Christ hath expressly said of himself, "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (Jn 14th). This doctrine is handled by Paul almost everywhere:—"By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God, not of works" (Eph 2nd 9). Augustine doth in many volumes defend grace, and the righteousness of faith, against the merit of works. The like doth Ambrose teach in his book, *de Vocations Gentilium*, and elsewhere. . . . Godly and trembling consciences find by experience that this doctrine bringeth very great comfort . . . as St. Paul teacheth, "being justified by faith, we have peace with God" (Ro 5th). This doctrine doth wholly belong to the conflict of a troubled conscience, and cannot be understood but where the conscience hath felt that conflict. Wherefore all such as have had no experience thereof, and all that are profane men, who dream that Christian righteousness is naught else but a civil and philosophical righteousness, are poor judges of this matter. Formerly men's consciences were vexed with the doctrine of works; they did not hear any comfort out of the Gospel. Whereupon conscience drove some into the desert, into monasteries, hoping there to merit grace by a monastical life. . . . There was very great need therefore to teach and renew this doctrine. . . . (2) The name of faith doth not only signify a knowledge of the history, which may be in the wicked, and in the devil, but a faith which believeth also the effect of the history, that by Christ we have grace, righteousness, and remission of sins. (3) It is necessary to do good works . . . because it is the will of God that we should do them. . . . And, because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, and so put on new affections that they are able to bring forth good works. . . . Without faith the nature of man can by no means perform the works of the First or Second Table. Without faith it cannot call upon God, hope in God, bear the Cross; but seeketh help from man, and trusteth in man's help. So it cometh to pass that all lusts and human counsels bear sway in the heart so long as faith and trust in God are absent. Wherefore also Christ saith, "Without me ye can do nothing" (Jn 15th), and the Church singeth, "Without thy power is naught in man, naught that is innocent."

Art. xxi., of the *Worship of Saints*, teaches 'that the memory of saints may be set before us, in order that we may follow their faith and good works according to our calling; as the Emperor may follow David's example in making war to drive away the Turks from his country; for both are kings. But the Scripture teacheth not to invoke saints . . . because it offereth unto us one Christ the Mediator, Propitiator, High-priest, and Intercessor. . . . "If any man sin, we have an advocate with God, Jesus Christ the righteous" (1 Jn 2nd). Art. xxii. sums up the case, claiming for the doctrine harmony with Scripture, with the Church Catholic, even with the Roman Church so far as known from the Fathers, and repudiating the charge of heresy. 'It is concerning traditional abuses introduced without any definite authority that the dissension has arisen. It would be a becoming lenity on the part of the Bishops that in view of the Confession now presented they should be patient, since not even the Canons are so severe as to demand the same rites everywhere, nor were the rites of all churches at any time the same. It is a calumnious falsehood that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old, are abolished in our churches.'

The whole Confession, or 'Apology,' as Melancthon called it, is eloquent of its author's yearning to promote the re-union of divided Christendom; it breathes the spirit of defence, not defiance. It emphasizes points of agreement before it affirms points of conscientious difference. To many Roman Catholics it was an amazing revelation of the essential Catholicism of Lutheran teaching. To all it was proffered as a *via media* between the paths of sharp divergence. It failed to achieve its pacific purpose. An official Confutation of it was issued, which, in turn, was answered by Melancthon's able and learned *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, 1531, a lengthy and valuable exposition as well as vindication of the Confession, which came to be regarded and used itself as a standard in 1532 at Schweinfurt, and again at Schmalkald in 1537, and finally received a place among the classical Lutheran Symbols.

It was characteristic of the author of both Confession and Apology, and, indeed, characteristic of the spirit of the movement for which he laboured, that, as with Luther and the Schmalkald Articles, he did not regard either document as fixed and invariable, but took every opportunity of revising both, with the result that both in the printed and in the extant manuscript forms and in the early translations there are innumerable discrepancies, mostly minute, but in several instances serious and deliberate, and significant of the writer's open and changing mind. In accordance with the closing sentence, 'If aught shall be found wanting in this

Confession, we are ready, God willing, to set forth further truth in harmony with the Scriptures,' Melancthon made use of every call for a fresh issue to correct and modify and improve his views. In the edition of 1540, known as the *Variata*, this process reached its climax, when, as in the 1535 edition of his *Loci Communes*, a synergistic modification of his views on absolute predestination and human free-will, on repentance and good works, found expression; and instead of the clause, 'they teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are distributed to those that eat in the Lord's Supper; and they disapprove of those that teach otherwise,' there appeared the milder words, 'they teach that with bread and wine are truly exhibited the body and blood of Christ to those that eat in the Lord's Supper'—a refusal to condemn divergent Protestant views, and an approximation towards those Calvinistic and Zwinglian opinions with which the Marburg Conference and personal interviews with Calvin and Bucer had made Melancthon familiar.

No one can read the Augsburg Confession without being deeply impressed by the sincerity of its effort to conserve the Scriptural and spiritual essentials of traditional Christianity, and by the utter absence of any traces of the spirit of wanton innovation. It is, we may add, significant of the occasion which evoked it, and of the enthusiasm which it inspired, that as presented to the Diet it bore the signatures, not of theologians and churchmen, as in the case of the earlier articles, but of the Saxon Elector and other princes and rulers of Germany. Though there is endless local variety in the terms and formulæ of subscription, it is still the historic standard round which the forces of Lutheranism rally throughout the world. No subsequent Confession has been drawn up without regard to its teaching, and beyond the circle of its direct or indirect influence.

The *Articles of Schmalkald* in Thuringia, 1537, form Luther's last contribution to the Confessions of Protestantism. Paul III. had at last agreed to summon a General Council to meet at Mantua in 1537, and Luther was instructed by the Elector of Saxony to prepare a series of articles embodying the Reformer's convictions, as a basis of discussion at the Council. These were submitted to a gathering of princes and theologians at Schmalkald. Their tone is resolutely and aggressively Protestant. It was resolved, accordingly, not to proceed to the Council. Signatures were appended by the theologians present. Melancthon, by request, contributed an appendix on the Papal authority and primacy, but characteristically qualified his signature to the Articles:

'I, Philip Melancthon, approve the foregoing Articles as pious and Christian. But in regard to the Pope I hold that if he would admit the Gospel, we might also permit him for the sake of peace and the common concord of Christendom to exercise by human right his present jurisdiction over the bishops who are now or may hereafter be under his authority.'

As a whole, the Articles supplement the Confession of Augsburg by defining the Protestant attitude to the Papacy, and as such they contributed towards the final separation.

In section i., the doctrine of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds is reaffirmed. In section ii., on 'the office and work of Christ, or our Redemption,' justification by faith is vigorously maintained against all ecclesiastical and superstitious encroachments: upon it 'depends all that we teach and do against the Pope, the Devil, and all the world'; the Mass is 'an unspeakable abomination,' purgatory a 'Satanic delusion,' and the Pope 'the veritable Antichrist,' inasmuch as 'he will not suffer Christians to be saved without his power.' In section iii., fifteen articles deal with sin, the law, repentance, the sacraments, and other matters which 'we are free to debate with men of learning or understanding or settle among ourselves, without appeal to the Pope and his subjects, who are not greatly concerned about them, for they are devoid of conscience, but are intent upon money, honour, and power.' Transubstantiation is denied in favour of consubstantiation in its extreme form—'the true body and blood of Christ are administered and received not

only by pious but also by impious Christians.' If Luther thought that Melancthon had stepped too softly in the Augustana, there was no mistaking his own heavy footfall in the Articles of Schmalkald.

Luther died early in 1546, soon after the opening of the Council of Trent. The controversy with Rome and discussion of terms of re-union dragged on. Numerous *Interims*, or working arrangements, doctrinal as well as ecclesiastical, sometimes voluntary, sometimes coercive, continued as before to swell the Confessional output. The *Augsburg Interim* of 1548 is a notable example. It was drawn up by three theologians of modest ability—the scholastic Michael Holding, the humanist Julius von Pflug, and the reactionary Lutheran Agricola, who were selected by the Emperor Charles v. As was inevitable, compromise was secured only by recourse to gross ambiguity and a clumsy combination of opposites. Roman doctrine and usage were retained in reference to Transubstantiation, the number of the Sacraments, adoration of Mary and of Saints, the sovereignty of the Pope; while a modified acceptance of Justification by Faith and of clerical marriage, permission to use the Cup, and a revision of the doctrine of the Mass, were a sop to Protestant feeling. In 1549, Melancthon, in his eagerness for peace, outraged Protestant feeling by framing, along with other Wittenberg theologians, a precisely similar compromise, the *Leipzig Interim*, in which most Roman usages were represented as things 'indifferent,' as 'open matters'; but neither persuasion nor persecution availed to enforce either Interim. Two years later, in 1551, as a basis for discussion in the resumed meetings of the Council of Trent, Melancthon drew up the *Confessio Saxonica*, or, as he called it, the *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanæ*, a re-statement of Reformed doctrine in conciliatory and moderate but firmly Protestant terms. In 1552, at the request of Duke Christopher of Württemberg, a similar statement was prepared for the same purpose by Brenz—the *Württemberg Confession*. Both statements were duly dispatched by the hands of Protestant representatives to the Council; but the unlooked-for military intervention of the Elector Maurice effectually prevented their discussion, and diverted the current of events towards the final issue of the Settlement and Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

From the date of that Settlement, the political and national frontier between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism was definitely fixed, and the controversy of Lutherans with Rome called for no further additions to the Augsburg Confession and Apology and the supplementary Articles of Schmalkald. Thenceforward, unhappily, the Lutheran Church turned its attention to internal differences upon minor points of doctrine. These controversies were the occasion of the later formulations between 1555 and 1592, the close of the Confessional epoch in Lutheran history.

In 1559 a large and important convention of Swabian theologians and pastors met at Stuttgart to discuss a number of questions bearing on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which had been raised by Hagen, a Württemberg minister who had become a disciple and follower of Calvin. The old hiatus in the Marburg Articles was now to be filled up. Under the leadership of John Brenz, the distinctively Lutheran doctrine of the sacramental presence of the body and blood of the Risen Christ with the elements was re-asserted in language so strong as to merit the repudiated title of 'ubiquitarianism,' and founded upon the teaching that in the ascended Lord the human and the Divine are eternally conjoined at the right hand of the Majesty on high, filling all things, so that the body as well as the spirit of Christ is omnipresent,

a spiritual body and real presence 'orally' and in actual substance to be partaken of by all believers, in sacred and impenetrable association with the elements. Unbelievers and godless people may receive it with the hallowed but unchanged elements, though without faith they do so to their condemnation. In the 6th article it is claimed that this doctrine is in harmony with Scripture, and with justice that it agrees also with the Augsburg and the Württemberg Confessions. Beyond question, Brenz was loyal in this position to the whole mind of Luther, and to the characteristic standpoint of the original Lutheran Reformation. But where even Luther, as at Marburg, hesitated to go in doctrinal definition, Brenz and his fellows might well have paused. Not only in Tübingen and the rest of Württemberg, but beyond, a serious menace to Protestant unity was proclaimed. It was much, no doubt, to side with Luther; but, with Calvin and Melancthon both upon the other side, the assurance requisite for Confessional legislation was surely gravely imperilled. For that reason the Stuttgart Articles, although they became binding in Württemberg, were declined by other Lutheran provinces. Melancthon lived just long enough to see them, and to deprecate their 'unseasonable' formulation.

After, as before, Melancthon's death, his open-minded, mediative, liberal spirit, sympathizing now with Roman Catholic, anon with Calvinistic elements of faith, operated as a speculative ferment in all Lutheran lands. Conservative resistance to his opinions and to those which sprang from them logically or by exaggeration led to that bitter and protracted series of doctrinal feuds concerning sin, salvation, and the Sacrament of the Supper, of which the chief were associated with the following names:

(1) John Agricola, who, in opposition to Luther and Melancthon, urged that the law should be set aside in favour of the exclusive preaching of the gospel, even contrition being the fruit of the latter. (2) Andrew Osiander, who, while devoted to the doctrine of justification by faith, preferred the moral and mystical to the forensic meaning of 'justification,' merging it in sanctification through the indwelling of the living Christ, and was opposed by Mörlin and Chemnitz, the joint authors of the Prussian Confession, *Corpus Doctrinae Pruthenicum*, 1567. (3) George Major, who maintained that good works are necessary to salvation, being met by the paradox of Amsdorf that they are injurious to salvation. (4) John Pfeffinger, who defended and developed the later teaching of Melancthon, that a certain remnant of freedom to co-operate with Divine grace in conversion and salvation remains to man, being opposed by Amsdorf, Flacius, and others, who urged Luther's affirmation of the impotence of the natural man to do more than oppose the will of God. (5) Numerous sympathizers with the views of Calvin and of Melancthon on the Lord's Supper, the Person and Natures of Christ, and Predestination—the 'Crypto-Calvinists,' whose views found expression in Saxony during their short-lived ascendancy in the *Corpus Doctrinae Philippticum* (1560), the Wittenberg Catechism of 1571, and the *Consensus Dresdenensis* (1571), but were condemned, as we have seen, at Stuttgart.

At length the tide turned, and set in the direction of compromise. The old Confession of Augsburg was at first the natural rallying-point for the scattered energies of Lutheranism. It was the work of Melancthon, inspired throughout by Luther, the source of the doctrine of all parties. But the question was inevitable—Was it to be the original Augustana, or the revised and seriously altered form of 1540, which had been accepted by all the German Reformers at Worms in that year, and which even Calvin had been able to sign? In 1561, at the *Naumburg Assembly of Princes*, it was agreed to recognize afresh the Augustana in both forms with the Apology. But the clamour against encroaching Calvinism continued. To James Andreæ, a Tübingen professor and pupil of Brenz, belongs the credit of successfully inaugurating the Concord movement. In 1573 he suggested, as a basis of agreement, the substance of six irenic lectures. Later he modified them in accordance

with the criticisms of Martin Chemnitz, the most distinguished pupil of Melancthon and the most eminent of Lutheran theologians. Thus emerged in 1575 the lengthy *Swabian and Saxon Formula of Concord*, followed immediately by the brief *Maulbronn Formula* by Luke Oslander and Balthasar Bidenbach. Both were superseded by the *Book of Torgau*, in twelve articles derived from them, mainly by Andreae and Chemnitz, which found such wide-spread acceptance among the Lutheran princes to whom it was submitted, that its two chief authors, along with four others—Senecker, Musculus, Körner, and Chytræus—were encouraged to re-cast it finally in 1577 as the memorable *Formula of Concord* at Bergen, near Magdeburg, where they met by instruction of the Saxon Elector Augustus, who from the first had been the unfailing patron and liberal promoter of the Concord movement. In 1580, the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, the chief Lutheran Symbols between 1530 and 1577 were recognized, collected, and published in one volume, the *Book of Concord*, at Dresden, a Latin version following the German original.

Though it never attained to an authority and acceptance comparable with those of the Augustana and Luther's Catechisms, the Formula of Concord is a dignified and high-toned utterance, and it played a truly great and timely part in the history of Lutheranism. The effort to produce it practically exhausted the main controversial energies of Lutheran scholasticism, and accentuated the need for rest and quiet. If religious truth must be drawn out in fine-spun thought and expressed through strenuous argument in subtle scholastic propositions, this Formula deserves our admiration and our gratitude. It can scarcely be said with justice that the issues were trivial, or irrelevant, or idle. There will probably always be minds that cannot rest in Christian dogma without re-traversing those old and once well-worn paths of speculation and deduction. It is to be feared that lack of mental courage and resource too often prompts our modern adverse judgments upon those stern debates. We are more willing to let sleeping dogs lie undisturbed; but sleep is not death, and they may awake at any time, as indeed they have often done. We are indisposed to stir the ashes of this 16th cent. conflagration, perhaps in part because we have reason to suspect that deep below their cold surface the ancient fire may lurk unseen. The ultimates of the passionate controversy of that age remain, though we choose not to face them. Difficulties are not annihilated by the mere closing of our eyes in weariness. The language and temper of discussion have undergone a happy change, but who shall say that in the modern Protestant world men think alike to-day upon the meaning of the Sacraments, the relation between the Divine will and foreknowledge and human freedom, sin and salvation, the relation between the human and Divine natures in Christ on earth and in heaven? It may be, however, that we owe it to the undaunted efforts of the men whom we lightly set aside as the post-Reformation scholastics and polemics that we have learned either to practise or at least to respect undogmatic silence upon sacred mysteries left undisclosed by Holy Writ itself, and beyond the reach of Christian experience. The very districts of Germany which in the 16th and 17th centuries were most controversial and most Confession-ridden were the first to turn either to Pietism or to Rationalism. The same Tübingen which later startled Europe with its wanton historical criticism had been a stronghold of Lutheran Conservatism.

The *Formula of Concord* is in two divisions, each containing the same twelve articles in shorter or longer form—the

Epitome and the *Solida Repetitio et Declaratio*. The 'Epitome,' though only a fifth of the dimension of the 'Repetitio' (which contains a fuller exposition, fortified by citations from Scripture, the Fathers, the works of Luther, and the foregoing Confessions), is itself a massive document, and contains a full statement of the preponderant doctrine of the Lutheran Churches set forth in each article according to a fixed scheme: (1) the controversial issue; (2) the affirmative statement of the true doctrine; (3) the negation or condemnation of the false, the whole being prefaced by a significant and, for a Lutheran standard, unusual statement 'of the compendious rule and norm according to which all dogmas ought to be judged and all controversies which have arisen ought to be piously set forth and settled.' That rule, as in Calvinism, is 'the Prophetic and Apostolic writings both of the Old and of the New Testament' alone. All other ancient and modern writings are in no wise to be counted equal to them, but are at most witnesses to later doctrine. Thereafter, as subordinate standards of right doctrine, the three 'primitive Church Symbols' are accepted, with the 'first, unaltered' Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the same, the Schmalkald Articles, and, 'inasmuch as this matter of religion appertains also to the laity, and their eternal salvation is at stake, Dr. Luther's Smaller and Larger Catechisms, because we judge them to be as it were the Bible of the laity.' Then follow the twelve successive articles on Original Sin, Free-will, Righteousness of Faith before God, Good Works, Law and Gospel, Third Use of the Law, Lord's Supper, Person of Christ, Descent of Christ into Hades, Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, Predestination and Election, other Heresies and Sects—Anabaptists, Schwendfeldians, New Arians, and Anti-trinitarians. In every article the conservative Lutheran position is maintained as against the Romanist and Melancthonian, not to say against the Calvinist and Zwinglian and Anabaptist, and the victorious conclusions of the antecedent Lutheran controversies are firmly embodied, sometimes with moderated phraseology.

Especially noteworthy are two groups of Articles. Article II. states that man's will since the Fall and apart from regenerating grace 'is not only averse from God but even hostile,' even as his 'understanding and reason are wholly blind in spiritual things'; and in conversion man is wholly passive. In Art. III. Justification, as 'absolution from sin,' is sharply distinguished from regeneration and sanctification, and Faith, the only 'means and instrument whereby we lay hold on Christ the Saviour, and so in Christ lay hold on that righteousness which is able to stand before the judgment of God,' 'is not a bare knowledge of the history of Christ, but such and so great a gift of God as that by it we rightly recognize Christ our Redeemer in the word of the Gospel and confide in Him.' Moreover, 'although they that truly believe in Christ and are born again are even to the hour of death subject to many infirmities and stains, yet they ought not to doubt either of the righteousness which is imputed to them through faith, or concerning their eternal salvation'; and, 'after man is justified by faith, then that true and living faith works by love, and good works always follow justifying faith.' In Art. XI. Predestination or Election is distinguished from mere foreknowledge which 'extends both to good and evil men' and is not an efficient cause either of good or of evil; it 'extends only to the good and beloved children of God,' and 'procures their salvation,' and appoints those things which pertain to it: it is not to be explored by reason in the hidden counsel of God, but 'sought in the Word of God in which it is revealed: God and His Christ desire and invite all men to turn from sin and be saved: He is not willing that any should perish, but rather that all should be converted and believe in Christ'; it is false 'that some men are destined to destruction not on account of their sins, but by the mere counsel purpose and will of God.' Thus room is found for no Melancthonian synergy with God in salvation, but only for a synergy with Satan in perdition, an exercise of human free-will about which all parties in Christendom were thoroughly agreed.

In the closely related Articles VII. and VIII. on the Lord's Supper and the Two Natures in Christ, while transubstantiation is denied, a purely spiritual presence independent of the elements is set aside: the actual body is partaken of along with the symbols, by virtue of its ubiquity, through suffusion of the human by the Divine in the one and eternally indivisible Lord. In heaven as on earth there has been and is a *communicatio idiomatum*: the right hand of God, the seat of Christ, is not a particular locality; His risen body fills all things, and may therefore be recognized as interpenetrating the consecrated elements. Romanism and Calvinism could equally refute this half-way view: it lost the advantages of both extremes; and it proved too much for its own purpose, for omnipresence of the Lord's body would hallow all objects and not alone or specially the memorial elements. Similarly, the Incarnation was evacuated of meaning, and the dogma of Chalcedon, that there is no confusion or conversion of the two natures in Christ, was inevitably infringed. Interpenetration, sacramental and hypostatic, was the besetting idea of Lutheranism. In both fields of thought, as also in matters of government and ritual, it lacked either courage or discernment to break entirely with Rome and go all the way with the Reformed doctrine of Switzerland. Perhaps, had Melancthon's genius been more decided and uncompromising, his influence upon purely Lutheran formulations would have been more instead of less; he might have overcome the opposition which doctrinal half-measures only served to intensify.

The Formula of Concord became authoritative in Saxony, Coburg, Weimar, Württemberg, Baden, Mecklenburg, Lübeck, Hamburg, and for a time in the Palatinate and Brandenburg.

In 1581 recognition was given by the Church of Anhalt to the *Anhalt Confession*, or *Repetition* of the Augsburg Confession, a purely Melancthonian statement of Lutheran doctrine, drawn up mainly by Superintendent Wolfgang Ameling, and submitted in 1579 to a conference with Hessian divines at Cassel. This Confession is sometimes reckoned among the *Reformed* Confessions; but it is not Calvinistic, recognizing as it does the *Variata* Confession of Augsburg, the *Corpus Doctrinae* of Melancthon, the Schmalkald Articles and Luther's Catechisms, and clinging to the Lutheran sacramental theory of a *manducatio oralis*, and therewith of a *manducatio indignorum*. A somewhat similar position was taken up about the same time by the *Nassau Confession* (1573), prepared by a Saxon Crypto-Calvinist, Pezel, which rests upon the *Variata* and the Saxon Articles, rejecting the ubiquitous doctrine of strict Lutheranism. On the other hand, in 1592, Melancthonian and Crypto-Calvinistic doctrine was roundly condemned afresh by the *Saxon Visitation Articles*, prepared on the basis of a discussion between Andree and Beza in 1586 by the Marburg theologian Hunnius and others. Four groups of brief uncompromising propositions re-assert the Concord teaching—(1) on the Lord's Supper, (2) on the Person of Christ, (3) on Holy Baptism, and (4) on Predestination and the Eternal Providence of God—as the 'pure and true' doctrine. A similar series of groups pillory the alleged 'false and erroneous' teachings of the Calvinists. In Saxony, conformity to these articles was rigorously and cruelly enforced. Notice may also be taken of the attempt made in 1655 by the rigid conservative Calovius to secure the condemnation of the so-called 'Syncretism' of the liberal and pacific George Calixtus of Helmstadt and his school, who gave expression to the feeling of reaction against Lutheran bigotry and exclusiveness, and desired a Catholic understanding between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Romanists on the basis of the creeds and consensus of the first five centuries, relegating to a secondary place all points of controversial difference. Calovius' counterblast took the form of a *Repeated Consensus of the truly Lutheran Faith*, but happily it never attained to Confessional authority. The movement it sought to arrest has continued unabated to the present time.

Lutheran Confessions outside Germany.—A brief reference must suffice for the little group of Confessions representing various stages of Lutheranism in other lands. In no case are they marked by original contributions of any theological moment.

(a) In Denmark, so early as 1530, when 21 Lutheran preachers were arraigned, at the instance of the bishops, before the National Assembly at Copenhagen, they drew up under the leadership of Hans Tausen, the 'Danish Luther,' *Forty-Three Articles*. These remained to proclaim the Danish Reformed Faith until set aside in favour of the Augsb. Conf. and Luther's Small Catechism.

(b) In Bohemia (as above mentioned, p. 844) a Lutheran type of faith found expression (1) in the *Bohemian Confession* of 1535, which closely adheres to the Augsburg Confession, and (2), in alliance with Calvinism and the Teaching of the Brethren, in the *Bohemian Confession* of 1575, which adheres to the altered or Melancthonian version of Augsburg doctrine.

(c) In Hungary, Lutheran doctrine was restricted mainly to German-speaking districts, the teaching of Melancthon and Calvin appealing to the Magyar people. *Twelve Articles at Erdöd*

were framed in 1545, in harmony with the Augsburg Confession. Three years later, a similar Lutheran statement issued from a Synod which met at Mediasch, representing five towns in Upper Hungary, the *Confession of the Five Cities*.

(d) In Poland, Lutherans took part in the making and acceptance of the *Consensus of Sendomir* (1570), which, like the Second Bohemian Confession, emanated from a joint-Synod of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Brethren. It follows Melancthon's Saxon Repetition of the Augustana, in essential harmony with the Calvinistic position regarding the Lord's Supper, avoiding extreme Lutheran tenets. On Predestination it is silent, no controversy having emerged thereupon. A notable feature is the complete mutual recognition of the Churches concerned, and the practical exhortation to avoid strife and promote fellowship by every possible means.

(e) In the United States of America the Lutheran Churches have contented themselves with subscribing to the Augsburg Confession (unaltered), or to the whole Book of Concord, without adding to the Corpus of Lutheran Confessions.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the standard Histories of the Reformation and of Christian Doctrine (among the latter, esp. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr.), reference may be made to Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds* (ch. vi. with detailed authorities) and *Creeds of Evangelical Prot. Churches* (for most important texts, viz. Augustana, Luther's Small Catechism, Concord Formula [Epitome], and Saxon Visitation Articles); J. T. Müller, *Die symb. Bücher der evang. luth. Kirche*, Stuttgart, 1869; Hase, *Libri Symbolici Eccles. Evang.*, 1827, 1845, etc.; A. and S. Henkel, *The Christian Book of Concord*, 1854 (complete tr. from German); Köllner, *Symbolik der luth. Kirche*, 1837; Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, 1871; Winer, *Confessions of Christendom*. Also valuable detailed articles in *PRE* on the various documents.

14. Confessions in the Anglican (Episcopalian) Churches.—Although England may claim through Wyclif to have been the chief contributor to the early Reformation movement, it was not until a century and a half after the publication of Wyclif's *Twelve Theses* against Transubstantiation that the formulation of new Articles of religion was set about. In the interval, however, the national mind was far from idle. Wyclif's thought was not allowed to perish in the Universities, and, later, Luther's works were freely read and pondered. Church and Crown were able long to restrain the rising tide of freedom, but, when they fell out, the Reformation burst over the land in overwhelming force. In England, as in Saxony, the new cause found its patrons not only in the Universities but among cultured princes—a fact which goes far to explain not only the Erastianism, but the doctrinal, ritual, and constitutional conservatism common to the Anglican and Lutheran Churches. No doubt, the outward Reformation owed much to the royal and the national self-assertion characteristic of the age; and it was a strange providence that linked it with the domestic and dynastic predicament of Henry VIII., whose reluctant marriage with his brother's widow was prescribed by Spanish statecraft and sanctioned by the Papacy in violation both of its own most sacred laws and of the conscience of Europe. But in fact it experienced at Henry's hands as much embarrassment as help, and, though his mind had many enlightened sympathies, the royal 'Defender of the Faith' was not the real inaugurator of Reform. The land of Magna Charta and of John Wyclif could not keep still while the rest of Northern Europe was in the throes of the struggle for religious liberty. It was not likely to submit for ever to an Italian Papacy in the realm of truth and order. The English was essentially a native Reformation, though assisted from abroad.

Much as the English articles, accordingly, owed to Wittenberg and Switzerland, they retained a

character of their own. Like the English Church organization, service, and traditions, they are not to be summarily described as Lutheran or Zwinglian or Calvinistic. Happily the story of the evolution of the Anglican formularies can be recounted without controversy, though the business of their detailed interpretation is involved in intricate and delicate questions. Even as standards of doctrine, they have from the first been inextricably associated with the Prayer Book: in the nature of the case an exclusive and obligatory manual of service must throw as much light upon the doctrinal *arcana* of a Church's faith as even a formal body of theological propositions. To ignore or to miss this fact is to deprive oneself of the necessary key to the understanding of the peculiar history and position of the great Anglican Church. Beyond all the other Reformed Churches, the Anglican and the Lutheran clung to every reputable relic of Roman Catholic tradition and custom. If in its articles the former Church went further apart than the latter from the parent Romanism, in its ritual and its government and its tone it was more conservative. The theology of Puritan Anglicanism is an episode of which the Church has far less cause to be ashamed than many of its sons are wont to suppose, but it is an episode whose influence, however powerful still in Church and in derived 'Dissent,' was never more than partial and limited. Both from the history of the successive Articles of Faith and from the history of that revision of the Roman Service Book which issued in the Prayer Book, it is abundantly clear that the Anglican Church, since its break with Rome, has been in profound sympathy with the great leaders of the Continental Reformation, both German and Swiss, but it is not hastily to be identified with either of the historic groups.

Early Articles (1536-1543).—Six years after the publication of the Augsburg Confession, and two years after the abjuration of Papal supremacy by Parliament and both convocations of clergy, in 1536 appeared the earliest English articles. *The Ten Articles*, 'devised by the King's Highness Majesty to stablyshen Christen quietnes and unitie among us, and to avoide contentious opinions, and ordered to be read in churches,' are eloquent of the divided state of religious thought in England. On account of their extreme conservatism, representing the standpoint of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, rather than of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Foxe characterizes them as intended for 'weaklings newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome.' In view of the statement in a royal letter that the king 'was constrained to put his own pen to the book, and to conceive certain Articles which were by all the bishops and whole clergy of the realm in convocation agreed on as catholic,' it seems certain that the king, whose learning was considerable, and whose theological interest was lively, had a personal share in the composition or revision of the Articles. Very probably his intervention sufficed to turn the scales on the side of the conservatives, whose concern was to ward off Papal intrusion and to leave doctrine and ritual severely alone; yet the Augsburg influence is unmistakable. The document was of substantial use in that transitional time, and could conscientiously be subscribed by men like Foxe and Cranmer, who were prepared at once to go far further in advance. Like the Augsburg Confession, it falls into two parts: the first five Articles deal with doctrine, the second five with ceremonies.

In the first part the three ancient Creeds are insisted upon in addition to 'the whole body and Canon of the Bible' as standards of doctrine according to their plain 'purport' and the mind of 'the holy approved doctors of the Church'; those who will not accept them are 'very infidels or heretics and

members of the Devil with whom they shall perpetually be damned' (Art. 1). Baptism is 'a thing necessary for the attaining of eternal life': original sin cannot be remitted except by it; infants dying shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, otherwise not; in the adult or in children having the use of reason it is conditional upon penitence and doctrinal faith, and is effective through 'renovation of the Holy Ghost' (Art. 2). Penance is a sacrament 'institute of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation that no man which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved,' and its constituents of contrition, auricular confession, and an amended life of good works are required: 'item, that by penance and such good works of the same we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world' (Art. 3). 'As touching the Sacrament of the Altar . . . under the form and figure of bread and wine . . . is verily substantially and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered upon the cross for our redemption . . . and under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally really and in the very substance exhibited, distributed and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament' (Art. 4). Justification 'signifieth remission of our sins and our acceptation or reconciliation unto the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ'; it is attained 'by contrition and faith joined with charity'; . . . not as though our contrition or faith or any works proceeding thereof can worthily merit . . . Justification, but God also requireth good works to follow faith' (Art. 5).

According to the second part, images, especially of Christ and the Virgin, are to be retained, for their wholesome teaching and suggestion, but not for idolatry or ceremonial honour (Art. 6). Saints are to be honoured as elect of Christ, as having lived a godly life, and as reigning with Christ, also as 'advocates of our prayers and demands unto Christ,' but 'not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God' (Art. 7). 'Albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, . . . yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven . . . to be intercessors and to pray for us and with us . . . so that it be done without any vain superstition as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same' (Art. 8). Roman rites and ceremonies are 'good and laudable' and 'not to be contemned and cast away'; but they have no 'power to remit sin,' but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God (Art. 9). 'It is a very good and chitable deed to pray for souls departed and also to cause other to pray for them in masses and exequies . . . whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain,—but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture, therefore this with all other things we remit to Almighty God . . . wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced, as to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome's pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory and all the pains of it' (Art. 10).

Regarded both in themselves and in connexion with the 'Injunctions' issued in 1536 and 1538, these Articles, with all their caution, are unmistakably on the side of such reformation as Luther demanded. They were meant to unite old-school and new-school Christians, and to be tender towards everything hallowed by tradition, so long as superstition was not necessarily involved in it. Agreement on a more advanced basis of doctrine was at the time impossible. It is something that Transubstantiation was ignored, that the risks and fact of idolatry in Church observances were proclaimed, and that in the 'Injunctions' of 1538 a large public Bible was enjoined to be placed in every parish, within the reach of all. The Articles were followed up and superseded in 1537 by the *Institution of a Christian Man*, prepared by a committee of church dignitaries under Cranmer, and hence known as the *Bishops' Book*, which, though neither issued by Convocation nor revised by the king as purposed, nor issued by his authority, was published by the king's printer, and speedily became a practical formulary of Church doctrine. It contains an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and a repetition, from the Ten Articles, of the sections on Justification and Purgatory; and, though it retains seven sacraments, it refers severely to their abuses, and distinguishes between the three in the Articles and the others. Its standpoint and teaching are like

those of the Articles. In 1543 it was revised at Gardiner's instance, in characteristic fashion, by Henry VIII. in a reactionary interest and in keeping with his harsh anti-Protestant Statute of the Six Articles, and was issued with his authority and that of Convocation as *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. It was known as the *King's Book*, and is notable as insisting on the doctrine of Transubstantiation: 'in this most high Sacrament of the Altar the creatures which be taken to the use thereof as bread and wine do not remain still in their own substance . . . but be changed and turned to be the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour,' and as insisting upon clerical celibacy. With the Bishops' and the King's Books a *Catechism* was associated.

Evolution of the Thirty-nine Articles (1538-1562).—So early as 1538, conferences held between Anglican and Lutheran divines in Wittenberg and at Lambeth issued in the framing of *Thirteen Articles* towards a complete Confession of Faith. It was found impossible to reach agreement on disciplinary and ecclesiastical matters, and the project was abandoned, but the thirteen Articles on doctrinal subjects were retained by Cranmer, and in the succeeding reign of Edward they, not the Ten, became the basis of the final Articles of the Church.

They deal with (i.) the unity of God and Trinity of Persons, (ii.) original sin, (iii.) the two natures of Christ, (iv.) Justification, (v.) the Church, (vi.) Baptism, (vii.) the Eucharist, (viii.) Penance, (ix.) the use of sacraments, (x.) ministers of the Church, (xi.) rites of the Church, (xii.) civil affairs, (xiii.) the resurrection of bodies and final judgment. Throughout, the influence of the Augsburg Confession is paramount. Articles i.-iii. are almost identical with their prototype; others are largely in verbal, as well as entirely in theological, agreement with them; only on Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance is there substantial variation or addition, the doctrine, even in them, remaining the same.

In 1547, Cranmer issued a *Catechism* translated from a Lutheran German original. In 1549 appeared the *First Prayer Book of King Edward VI.*, a Service Book in English, prepared under Cranmer from the Use of Sarum, from a recent revision of the Breviary by Cardinal Quignon, and from a recent adaptation by Melancthon and Bucer of the ancient offices of Nürnberg. It was studiously moderate in its reforming purpose (e.g. in reference to the Eucharist and the Sign of the Cross), in order that the most conservative might be able to use it. The issue of Articles of Faith was long delayed by Cranmer, who hoped to secure a common Confession with Lutherans and Swiss Reformed, and who corresponded with Melancthon, Calvin, and Bullinger, with a view to that great end first suggested by Melancthon in 1539. From the end of 1545 to 1547, and from 1551 to 1553, the Earlier Sessions of the Council of Trent were being held—a spur, as Cranmer wrote to Calvin, to Protestants to vindicate the truth as they conceived it. Of course, sacramental definition was the great obstacle to Protestant agreement, and political difficulties made any extensive conference hard to secure. Cranmer had not abandoned his honourable hope for that consummation when, in 1551, upon instructions received, he furnished the Privy Council and Bishops with a first draft of the *Forty-Two Articles*, which passed through repeated revisions by lay as well as clerical hands, and were given a final mandate for subscription in 1553. Though they bore the title 'Articles agreed on by the bishops and other learned men in the Synod at London in the year of our Lord MDLIII,' it is not certain that they were ever formally discussed and sanctioned by Convocation.

Dr. E. C. S. Gibson thinks, Principal Lindsay is sure, that they were not, and they incline to regard the claim of the title as due to the unscrupulous determination of the Privy Council to secure their operation at once; but there are serious difficulties in the evidence, as Gibson concedes, and, in spite of the absence of any record of them in the minutes of Convocation,

which were scandalously defective,—according to Fuller, 'but one degree above blanks . . . scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein,'—there is little reason to abandon Archdeacon Hardwick's contrary opinion.

A *Catechism*, which was frequently printed along with the Articles, and certainly lacked the authority of Convocation, had been prepared shortly before. As for the contents of these Forty-Two Articles, their foundation is unmistakably the *Thirteen Articles*, which are embodied in them and impart their character and standpoint to the whole. It is to those earlier Articles that they are chiefly indebted for their Lutheran elements; for, though natural affinity and political expediency originally dictated a close alliance with Lutheranism, the independence and the genius for practical compromise which are characteristic of the English mind asserted themselves with growing force, and prompted the Anglican Church to steer a course through the alternatives of Continental thought, now approaching one type, now another, but avoiding thoroughgoing agreement with any. The framers of the Forty-Two Articles had not only the earlier English attempts in mind, but also the partial Tridentine scheme of doctrine, the Lutheran, the Zwinglian (to which Cranmer leaned in regard to the Lord's Supper), the Calvinist, and, over against all these, the medley of eccentric or heretical opinions roughly classed as Anabaptist and Socinian. The makers of the Anglican Articles at every stage cherished a statesmanlike desire, fostered assiduously both by the political sagacity of successive sovereigns and by the balance of conservative and liberal theological parties in Church and State, to remain in touch with Catholic as distinct from Papist tradition, at every possible point, while keeping in line with the primary evangelical positions of the Reformed Churches. Theological initiative or originality was neither displayed nor coveted: problems were worked out to practical, not speculative, solutions; concord was a prior objective to truth. The Articles are scarcely a system of ordered doctrine: upon many important topics they are silent; they lean theologically upon the Prayer Book or upon the Scriptures; they deal merely with topics agitating the religious world at the time, and are content simply to distinguish authorized from unauthorized doctrine, without attempting a fresh re-statement of Christian truth. Their purpose and character are manifestly polemic or apologetic rather than critical and constructive.

Articles XII. XIII. XXIII. XXVI. XXIX. XXX. condemn the Roman errors on merit and works of supererogation, purgatory, *grace ex opere operato*, transubstantiation, and sacrificial Masses. Art. V. XX. XXI. XXII. XXV. XXXI. XXXIII. XXXV. XXXVI. assert the fallibility of the Church of Rome and of General Councils as proved by facts, the exclusive claim of Scripture as warrant of any article of faith, the duty of setting forth the Bible in the language of the people, the lawfulness of clerical marriage, the proper attitude to traditions and ceremonies, and, finally, that the King of England is supreme head on earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England. . . . 'the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England.' Art. I.-IV. VI.-VIII. XIV. XV. XVIII. XIX. XXIV. XXVII. XXVIII. XXXII. XXXIII. XXXVI.-XLII. explicitly or implicitly condemn the varied opinions, classed as Anabaptist, which impugned the Creeds, Catholic Christology, faith in the Trinity, rights of individual property, the need of Scriptures, infant baptism, avoidance of excommunicated persons, reverence for traditions and ceremonies, obedience to magistrates, military service, taking of oaths, and which affirmed Christian perfection, inefficacy of services and sacraments conducted by unworthy ministers, ultimate universal salvation. While Art. I. II. XXIII. XXVI. XXVII. XXXII. reproduce the language of the Lutheran Confession on the Trinity, Incarnation, Ministry, Sacraments, and Church traditions, from the Thirteen Articles, there is no similar indebtedness in the Articles dealing with the characteristic Reformation topics bearing on the process of human salvation.

The following particulars may be noted: God is one, without bodily parts or passions, in three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity (I.); Christ has two whole and perfect natures, . . . suffered . . . to reconcile his Father to us and to be a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual (II.),

went down into Hell, truly rose again, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things . . . wherewith he ascended into heaven (IV.); Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is neither read therein nor may be proved thereby, although it be sometime received of the faithful as godly and profitable for order and comeliness, yet no man ought to be constrained to believe it as an article of faith or reputed it requisite to the necessity of salvation (V.): Original sin is not the following of Adam's example, but a taint inherited, deserving God's wrath and damnation: it remains in the baptized, though not to condemnation if they are believers (VII.); We have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God without the grace of God by Christ preventing us (IX.), yet no man's will is forced: his sin is his own (X.). Justification is by faith alone (XI.): works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit do not please God or prepare for grace, but have the nature of sin (XII.); it is presumptuous arrogance to speak of human works of supererogation (XIII.); Christ alone is sinless (XIV.): Predestination to life is God's everlasting purpose and decree, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen . . . such are called by His Spirit working in due season, through grace they obey the calling, are justified freely, made sons by adoption, made like the image of God's only-begotten Son; as the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons . . . as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God, so, for curious and carnal persons lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination is a most dangerous downfall whereby the Devil may thrust them either into desperation or into a recklessness of most unclean living no less perilous; although the decrees of predestination are unknown unto us, yet we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be universally set forth to us in holy Scripture, and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God (XVII.): The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance; the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome have alike erred not only in their living, but also in matters of their faith: it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything contrary to God's written word, nor may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes; they may err in all manner of matters, and have no authority apart from Scripture (XX.-XXII.): The Scholastic doctrine of Purgatory, pardons, and worship of Saints, is a fond thing vainly feigned and unscriptural (XXIII.): The Sacraments are but two, were ordained by Christ to knit together His people, not to be paraded, but rightly used; are efficacious only to such as receive them rightly, not as ritual acts; are not only badges and tokens of Christian profession, but rather certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by which He doth work invisibly in us and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him; they are not annulled by unworthy celebrants: Baptism is not only a sign of Christian profession, but also a sign and seal of our new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, right recipients are grafted in the Church, and the promises of forgiveness of sin and our adoption to be the sons of God are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer. The Lord's Supper is not only a sign of Christian charity, but is rather a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death, inasmuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a communion of the body of Christ; likewise the cup of blessing is a communion of the blood of Christ. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ, is repugnant to it, and hath given occasion to many superstitions; Christ's risen body cannot be present at one time in many and divers places; a believer ought not to believe or confess the real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament: the offering of the Cross was once for all (XXVI.-XXX.). The Prayer Book and ordinal of the English Church are godly and in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel (XXXV.): 'They are worthy of condemnation who endeavour to restore the dangerous opinion that all men, be they never so ungodly, shall at length be saved when they have suffered pains for their sins a certain time appointed by God's justice' (XLII.).

As a whole, it is clear that the Articles, in spite of their connexion with the Augsburg Confession, incline to the Reformed or Swiss rather than to the Lutheran type of doctrine. In reference to the doctrine of the Sacraments and of Scripture they are Reformed, not Lutheran, denying the ubiquity of the eternal body of Christ. On Justification and on the Church and observances they agree with both types, and are thoroughly Protestant. On Election and Predestination they occupy a prudent position, compatible with either type, passing over in silence the problems of the relation of God's all-embracing decree to the loss of

the non-elect or the reprobate. Earlier Lutheran Confessions had omitted the whole subject; Zwinglian Articles had merely touched upon it in a sentence Scripturally; the decrees of Trent in 1547 dismiss it in a cautious sentence without any definition (Sess. vi. can. 17); Calvinistic Confessions had treated it hitherto with even greater brevity and reserve than the English Articles themselves. It is absurd, with some Anglican writers, to deny the Calvinism of the Articles on this subject; but for Calvinistic influence and example they would not have discussed the subject at all. They go further than any contemporary formula, and much further than, e.g., the later *Scots Confession* of John Knox in 1560. They repudiate the opinion that all men shall ultimately be saved; they limit saving predestination to the 'Elect,' and affirm the total inability of natural man to save himself. It is surely a very negative virtue in the Articles, therefore, though common to all Confessions existing at the time, that they evade the problem why God has not predestined all equally to grace and salvation, if all alike have sinned and come short; it is hardly enough to say of Him that He elects to abandon some to their own courses, for surely it is as serious a reflexion upon the Divine perfection, love, and justice, to say that He fails to care for some as to say that He predestines some to reprobation and damnation. It is un-historical to deny the Calvinism of the English Articles, as distinct from the English Service Book to which they were added, merely because they do not, with later Calvinistic Confessions, endeavour to carry out the broad principles of election and grace to their narrowest ultimate conclusions. Anglican Puritanism might not be able to appeal for authority and vindication to the Prayer Book in its entirety, but to the Edwardine Articles it could legitimately look as to the rock whence in England it was hewn. These Articles are not developed, much less exaggerated, Calvinism. They are not Calvinistic in any partisan sense. But with Calvinistic doctrine, as already formulated, they are in unmistakable sympathy. It is not to be forgotten that Cranmer, their chief author, was partial to the Swiss type of doctrine, though personally well disposed to Lutheran divines and eagerly desirous of securing a doctrinal basis of re-union and harmony between all sections of the Reformed Church. The Articles of 1553 are a clear reflexion of that attitude.

While the discussion of the Forty-two Articles was in progress, and the simultaneous *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* was being prepared for issue early in 1553 (a new Code of doctrine and usage, which never became authoritative, but is useful as a work by the authors of the Forty-two Articles, throwing light upon their meaning and purpose), the Prayer Book of 1549 was issued in 1552 in a substantially revised form—the *Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.* The chief changes were directed to the complete de-Romanizing of the Communion Service. The old sequence was altered; a large portion of the consecration prayer was transferred to another place, with a separate title, its petition for the departed being left out; everything that intervened between the consecration and the reception of the elements was dropped, in order to discourage their adoration; and, instead of the words which accompanied their delivery, 'The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life . . . The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life,' there were substituted, 'Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart

by faith with thanksgiving. . . . Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful'—a form upon which Zwinglians as well as Calvinists, Lutherans, and Romanists might agree. At the same time a number of anything but ultra-Protestant or Puritanic ritual changes were made, e.g. the insertion of the so-called 'black rubric'—objected to by John Knox, then one of the royal chaplains—which, in the interest of reverence and decorous uniformity, ordained a kneeling posture in the act of Communion.

During the reign of Mary there was drawn up in 1554 and issued for circulation a *Confession of Protestant faith by a group of prisoners*, including Bishops Ferrar, Hooper, and Coverdale, the martyr Rogers, and, among other signatories, John Bradford, who is credited with its composition. It set forth their loyalty to Scripture, to the ancient Creeds and the great Councils, and to the doctrine of Athanasius, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Damascus; and in firm but moderate terms their adherence to Protestant opinions regarding faith, justification, public worship in the popular tongue, prayer to God alone, Purgatory, Masses for the dead, and the Sacraments. In 1555 a series of *Fifteen Test Articles of Bishop Gardiner* were thrust upon the University of Cambridge in the interests of the Roman Catholic reaction, followed by the *Five Articles* compiled by the latest Convocation of the reign in 1558: three on the Eucharist, the fourth on the supremacy of the Pope, and the fifth on the transference of ecclesiastical judgments from lay to clerical hands.

In the reign of Elizabeth, and under Archbishop Parker, the work of revision of the Service Book and Articles continued to be prosecuted, always with the consistent policy of safeguarding the Royal supremacy and a Protestant testimony to evangelical truth, and of retaining the ancient ritual and usage so far as innocent of idolatry and superstition—a policy which enabled the Crown to claim the privileges secured to a Lutheran, as distinct from a 'Reformed,' profession, by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The Elizabethan changes in Prayer Book and Articles in no wise impaired their essential Protestant testimony, but were intended to remove such elements in the Edwardine standards as were anti-Lutheran. In 1559 the new edition of the *Prayer Book* was issued in what was to prove substantially its permanent form, with the old delivery-sentences at the Communion restored and set in front of the corresponding sentences of Edward VI.—a monument of the spirit of mediation and doctrinal compromise characteristic of the Anglican Reformation. The Forty-two Articles were for a few years left unrevived and, as a test, at least, inoperative. In 1559 a short paraphrase of their doctrine in *Eleven Articles* was prepared and made obligatory by Parker and his associates, who at the same time drew up a tentative series of *Twenty-four Latin Articles*. The Eleven Articles were made binding only by episcopal authority, neither by Crown nor by Convocation, and were apparently intended to serve merely as a stop-gap; but in Ireland they became in 1563, by royal and episcopal ordinance, the accepted standard of doctrine along with the Irish Prayer Book, until replaced in 1815 by the Thirty-nine Articles.

At last, in January 1563, the revisory labours of Parker and his fellow-workers were brought to a close, when his draft of forty-two Articles was submitted to Convocation. These were by no means identical with the Forty-two of 1553. Their basis was the *Latin* issue of that formulary, varying in some particulars from the English.

They omitted the old articles on Grace (X), a part being transferred to the new X.; on Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (XVI.); on the Obligation of the Moral Law (XIX.), part

being retained in the new VII.; and against the Millenarians (XLI.), who had been suppressed. On the Holy Scriptures they omitted the clause which conceded that what was neither read therein nor could be proved thereby might be sometime received of the faithful as godly and profitable for an order and comeliness though not made obligatory. On Predestination they omitted the statement 'the Divine decrees are unknown to us,' to which the Council of Trent had added 'except by special revelation'; and on the Sacraments the stricture upon the phrase *ex opere operato*. They borrowed largely, and in accordance with Elizabethan policy, from the most recent notable Lutheran Confession, the Confession of Württemberg (1552)—in particular the clause in Art. II. on the eternal generation and consubstantiality of the Divine Son, and the whole new article on the Holy Spirit, both *verbatim*, the appendix to the article on Scripture, the articles on Free-will and Good Works, and part of the articles on Justification and on the Judicial Authority of the Church. Besides the new articles on the Holy Spirit and on Good Works borrowed from the Lutheran Confession, they added two others—one affirming the Scriptural authority of Communion in both kinds (XXX.), the other denying that wicked or unbelieving persons are partakers of Christ in the Sacrament, and therefore condemning a Lutheran tenet, for which reason probably it was omitted as impolitic in all the printed copies until 1571. Other changes of addition or substitution, numerous, though small in bulk, strengthened without exception the Protestant character of the whole, reduced the number of the Sacraments explicitly to two, affirmed that Transubstantiation overthrows the nature of a Sacrament, but declared that the body of Christ is after a heavenly manner given, taken, and eaten in the Supper.

The forty-two Articles thus submitted to Convocation by Parker emerged ten days later reduced in number to *Thirty-nine*.

Three articles were omitted as no longer needed against Anabaptist errors (XXXIX., XL., XLII. of the Edwardine series), denying that the resurrection is already brought to pass, that the souls of the departed die with the bodies or sleep idly, and that all men shall be saved ultimately. Half of Art. III. on Christ's descent into Hell was omitted, including the reference to 1 P. 3:9; in the Article on the Lord's Supper the Zwinglian paragraph denying the ubiquity and the real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood was left out in favour of the brief sentence—'The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner: and the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith'—a Lutheran-Calvinistic alternative. In Art. XX., on the Authority of the Church, the proposition, 'The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: and yet,' was prefaced to the existing words 'it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word'—an addition innocent enough, indeed implicit already and redundant, omitted in many unauthorized copies of the Articles, but later made the basis of furious controversy, and even credited to the interfering hand of Laud as a spurious interpolation.

Amid the alarms and difficulties caused by Romanist secessions, and the effects of the Bull of excommunication in 1570 upon timid or wavering spirits, the Houses of Parliament urged upon the Queen a bill to require subscription to the new Articles; but, jealous of her prerogative and resenting the initiative of the Commons, she declined until 1571, when the Articles assumed in Convocation their present form, including XXIX. and the preface to XX., and the bill became law. Changes urged by the growing Puritan party in Convocation, some of whom desired nothing less than a new Confession upon the Continental models, were not passed, and the Articles accordingly remained true to the moderate and mediating Reformed type which from the first had characterized the Anglican Reformation. The polemic of the Edwardine Articles against the Lutheran conception of the Supper and of the ubiquity of the actual body of Christ is laid aside, but Lutheran opinions are not set forth save upon less distinctive topics. Zwinglian conceptions are neither affirmed nor denied. Anabaptist heresies are ignored as no longer dangerous to the Church. Sympathy with moderate Calvinism (as expressed, e.g., in the Gallican and Belgic Confessions, 1559, 1561) remains unimpaired in the Articles on the Sacraments, on Scripture, and on Election and Predestination, though the ecclesiastical supremacy of the sovereign was anything but Calvinistic. Against the abuses and the errors of Rome there is no weakening or wavering of the Anglican protest. With all their halting between two opinions, their want

of theological originality, their intentional incompleteness, they have been a noble bulwark of Protestant conviction, and possess a simple dignity and catholicity of their own. Against their measured testimony, spoken with the formula of Trent as clearly in view as those of Lutheranism and Calvinism, even the interpretative casuistry and antiquarian imagination of the Oxford Movement urged their forces in vain. Their intention, their spirit, and their language are certainly Protestant. They stand, accordingly, in the closest affinity with the best work both of Wittenberg and of Geneva. They were made authoritative both in the original Latin and in the English of the Convocation of 1571, though, as Gibson points out (vol. i. p. 43 f.), the Act of the 13th of Elizabeth required subscription to the English edition of 1563, which was without Art. XXIX. and the first sentence of Art. XX., and exacted subscription only to the doctrinal as distinct from the disciplinary Articles—a concession to the Puritans; and the insistence upon subscription to *all* the Articles in the *final* form of 1571 prepared by Convocation rests upon ecclesiastical not parliamentary authority.

While the Prayer Book of 1559 underwent frequent revision in minor details by royal authority in Elizabeth's reign and later, losing the deprecation against the Bishop of Rome, reviving the use of such vestments as had been authorized under the First Prayer Book of Edward, and including a prayer that the sovereign might be kept 'in the true worshipping of' God (*i.e.* Protestant worship), it retained essentially the same doctrinal character both in the edition of James I. (1604) and in the revision effected by Convocation (1661) under Charles II. But the final permanence of the 39 Articles was not assured for some time. Subscription to all the Articles, first required by Convocation in 1571, was made precise in terms of the *Three Articles* of Archbishop Whitgift in 1583, to be signed by all candidates for orders and for office: (i.) acknowledging the Royal Supremacy in Church as well as State; (ii.) promising the exclusive use of the Prayer Book accepted as in harmony with the Word of God; and (iii.) allowing the 39 Articles, and believing them all to be agreeable to the Word of God. In 1604 these *Three Articles* of Subscription received synodal authorization, and were ordered to be signed in the explicit terms:

'I, N. N., do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to these three Articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.'

Finally in 1865, by the Clerical Subscription Act, the formula became:

'I, A. B., do solemnly make the following declaration. I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: I believe the doctrine of the Church of England as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God; and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority.'

The Prayer Book equally with the Articles is thus recognized as the standard of doctrine.

Puritan Articles.—The Marian persecution drove many of the English Reformers to seek refuge in Geneva, where they came under the influence of Calvin and his thought. Their return to England under Elizabeth introduced into English theology, previously dominated by Lutheran ideas, a new ferment. It was statecraft as much as conservatism that determined the public policy of adherence to the doctrine of Augsburg, which Calvinists could respect in spite of differences of opinion. Consideration for reactionaries restrained the hands that re-cast the Prayer Book. All Protestant parties, if possible, were to be able to agree upon the Articles. The strength of Cal-

vinistic sympathy prevailing in England during Elizabeth's reign is therefore in danger of being underrated by those who would estimate it by reference to such documents. Genevan ideas were not only a restraining influence in ritual matters, and a power behind both Articles and Service Book, but a force which from the first laid hold upon the Universities, especially Cambridge, the stronghold of Puritan culture and letters, where the *Institutes* of Calvin, based as it was upon the sanest exegesis of Scripture ever yet set forth by Christian scholarship, was long the favourite textbook of systematic theology.

It was from Cambridge and its Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Whitaker, an ardent and unflinching adherent of Calvin's system, eminent as the refuter of Bellarmine, that there emanated the *9 Lambeth Articles* of 1595. They were the outcome of a protracted controversy in the University, following an attack by a rising school of opinion, led by Peter Baro and William Barret, upon the current developed Calvinistic doctrine of the Divine decree as disloyal to the Thirty-nine Articles. They were drawn up by Whitaker at a conference convened at Lambeth by the primate, Dr. Whitgift, who 'agreed fully with them,' and wrote: 'I know them to be sound doctrines and uniformly professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority.' They never became statutory, and, indeed, were soon set aside even in Cambridge, where they were promptly imposed; but in the Anglican Church of Ireland they found an instant welcome, and in time passed bodily into the substance of the *19 Irish Articles* of 1615. They are nine in number and extremely brief, and their concern is with the Divine decree in relation to free will, faith, and unbelief. They affirm:

i. God from eternity hath predestined some to life, and hath reprobated some to death. ii. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not prevision of faith or perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the predestinate, but solely the will of God's good pleasure. iii. Of the predestinate there is a prearranged and certain number which can neither be increased nor diminished. iv. Those who are not predestined to salvation shall of necessity be condemned on account of their sins. v. True, living, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of God is not extinguished, doth not fall away, doth not vanish away in the elect either finally or totally. vi. A man truly faithful, that is, one endowed with justifying faith, is certain, with a full assurance of faith, of remission of his sins and everlasting salvation through Christ. vii. Saving grace is not assigned, communicated, granted to all men to enable them to be saved should they so have willed. viii. No one can come to Christ unless it shall have been given him, and unless the Father shall have drawn him; and not all men are drawn by the Father to come to the Son. ix. It is not set within the will or power of every human being to be saved.

The original form of these Articles was Latin. They plainly set forth the dark as well as the bright side of the elective decree, in terms which were derived from Calvin's developed theology, not from any Confession he ever drew up. They courageously grapple with the problem of the non-elect; for experience and fact show too plainly in this world that not all men are saved in Christ. All are called; not all enter in who hear the call. It is of grace that men are saved through faith. What, then, corresponds to that grace in the case of lost lives? They are not outside God's providence; they are subject to His will; He enables their every breath and act. His decree must embrace them in its all-pervasive sweep. Destiny is not arbitrary either for good or for evil; it makes room for freedom, and for faith when true free-will has been impaired. God reprobates, from eternity, human sin that is unrelieved by penitence and faith. If He foreknows the issues of our freedom to act and to believe, He may, He must, foreordain both judgment and forgiveness according to the measure of faith. Such is the position which

Calvinism, in harmony with a solemn vein of Scripture teaching in both Testaments, and in pursuance of Augustine's convictions, attempts to express. Probably no teaching has ever been more hideously caricatured or more deliberately misunderstood, partly because it probes deep things and taxes the intellect not less than the sentiment of men, partly because it was, in spite of explicit disavowal of God's authorship of sin, interpreted as making the Divine will responsible for sin, partly because it was thought to lend itself either to religious melancholy and despair or to presumption and hypocrisy. And, in truth, it is most seriously open to criticism precisely because it has been so persistently misunderstood. A doctrine that is apt to be distorted by its adherents not less than by its adversaries is a dangerous thing, and well deserves to be either set aside or hedged about, as in all Calvinistic Confessions, by grave warnings against its light or frequent handling. Its theory can be defended against all comers, from Scripture and from reason, but its use and publication in popular documents meant for ordinary minds has not unnaturally tended to discredit it.

At the Hampton Court Conference of 1604 a proposal to insert the Lambeth propositions in the Thirty-nine Articles failed. Though the two documents were in harmony, men might hold the received Articles without having either head or heart to acquiesce in the Lambeth addendum as a necessary or wholesome supplement. But in Ireland they were welcomed by the ascendant Puritanism of the Church, whose theological guiding-spirit was the learned Ussher, and were embodied by him in the *Irish Articles*, 'agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and the rest of the clergy of Ireland in the Convocation holden at Dublin in 1615,' which replaced in Ireland the Eleven Articles of Parker as a standard of doctrine until 1635, when, through Laud's urgency, but with Ussher's consent, the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563 were also accepted as a standard, co-ordinate at first, but soon virtually to supplant the others.

Beginning in true Calvinistic fashion with 'the Holy Scripture and the Three Creeds,' the *Irish Articles* treat successively, in 104—for the most part brief—propositions, of Faith in the Holy Trinity, Predestination, the Creation and Government of all Things, the Fall and Original Sin, Christ the Mediator of the Second Covenant, the Communicating of the Grace of Christ, Justification and Faith, Sanctification and Good Works, the Service of God, the Civil Magistrate, Duty towards our Neighbours, the Church and Ministry, the Authority of the Church, General Councils, and Bishop of Rome, the State of the Old and New Testaments, the Sacraments of the New Testament, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the State of Departed Souls, the General Resurrection, and Last Judgment. They weave together the doctrine and phraseology of the Crammer Articles with the Lambeth Supplement.

When the Westminster Assembly met, in the first instance, to revise the Thirty-nine Articles, and discontinued work upon that project in favour of a new Confession, it took the *Irish Articles* of Ussher as the basis of its own formulation, and adhered with close fidelity to the general sequence, doctrine, and language. Though Anglican representatives were invited by the Long Parliament to assist at the Westminster Assembly, their Royalism kept them away; but at least the work of Ussher was regarded with the utmost deference. At the Calvinistic Synod of Dort in 1619 the English Church was represented for a time by a group of distinguished theologians, who acted as advisory assessors without voting power, and endeavoured, to their credit, to mediate between the Remonstrants and their antagonists.

The Anglican Articles in America.—It only remains to be added that the Thirty-nine Articles have held their place throughout the whole Anglican Communion, in the missionary Churches of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Mexico derived from it, in the Scottish Episcopal Church, as well as in

the British Colonies. In the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, however, changes became necessary alike in the Prayer Book and in the Articles. In 1786 a provisional revised Prayer Book was published, known subsequently as the '*Proposed Book*,' containing, *inter alia*, 'Twenty Articles of Religion,' in which the Thirty-nine appeared re-cast, with many alterations of a latitudinarian type, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds being omitted, as also the clause in the *Apostolicum*, 'He descended into hell.' The Convention of 1786 restored the Nicene Creed and the discretionary use of the omitted clause in the Apostles' Creed, in compliance with the demand of the English Archbishops; but, while the House of Bishops was willing to restore the Athanasian Creed for permissory use, the House of Deputies 'would not allow of the Creed in any shape.' In 1799 a special Convention considered, without sanctioning, a Revision in *Seventeen Articles*. At last, in 1801, it was agreed to retain the Thirty-nine Articles, revised, with the sole theological change of the omission of the Athanasian Symbol, other changes being political.

Art. 21, *Of the Authority of General Councils*, was omitted, but its place and title retained for an explanatory note: 'The 21st of the former Articles is omitted, because it is partly of a local and civil nature, and is provided for as to the remaining parts of it in other Articles.' To Art. 35, *Of Homilies*, a note is added: 'This Article is received in this Church so far as it declares the Books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrine and instructive in piety and morals. But all references to the constitution and laws of England are considered as inapplicable to the circumstances of this Church, which also suspends the order for the reading of said homilies in churches until a revision of them may conveniently be made, for the clearing of them as well from obsolete words and phrases, as from the local references.' The 36th Art., *Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers*, reads thus: 'The Book of Consecration of Bishops and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, as set forth by the General Convention of this Church in 1792, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to said form, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.' In place of the 37th Art., *Of the Civil Magistrate*, there appears *Of the Power of the Civil Magistrate*: 'The power of the Civil Magistrate extendeth to all men, as well Clergy as Laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority regularly and legitimately constituted.'

In the Prayer Book the Athanasian Creed was, of course, omitted, while the influence of Bishop Seabury, who had been consecrated at Aberdeen, secured the restoration of the Prayer of Oblation and Consecration from the Scottish and earlier Edwardine Prayer Books.

In 1873 there was prepared by the *Reformed Episcopal Church* of America, which, in protest against Anglican ritualism and exclusiveness, had seceded from the Protestant Episcopal Church, a *Declaration of Principles*:

'I. The Reformed Episcopal Church, holding "the faith once delivered unto the saints," declares its belief in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God, and the sole rule of faith and practice: in the Creed "commonly called the Apostles' Creed": in the Divine institution of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper: and in the doctrines of grace substantially as they are set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. II. This Church recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy, not as of Divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of Church polity. III. This Church, retaining a liturgy which shall not be imperative or repressive of freedom in prayer, accepts the Book of Common Prayer as it was revised, prepared, and recommended for use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, A.D. 1785, reserving full liberty to alter, abridge, enlarge, and amend the same as may seem most conducive to the edification of the people, provided that the substance of the faith be kept entire. IV. This Church condemns and rejects the following erroneous and strange doctrines as contrary to God's Word:—*first*: that the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity; *second*: that Christian ministers are "priests" in another sense than that in which all believers are "a royal priesthood"; *third*: that the Lord's Table is an altar on which the oblation of the body and blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father; *fourth*: that the Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of Bread and Wine; *fifth*: that Regeneration is inseparably connected with Baptism.'

These principles are obviously such as would form a basis of any re-union of Episcopal and Presbyterian and other evangelical Churches.

In 1874 the Prayer Book was revised along the lines of the 'Proposed Book' of 1786, with the omission of the Athanasian Creed, the clause 'He descended into hell,' and the thanksgiving at baptism for the child's regeneration, and with the substitution of 'minister' and 'Lord's table' for 'priest' and 'altar' throughout. In 1875 the *Thirty-five Articles* were approved—a series more closely parallel with the *Thirty-nine* than either the *Twenty* of 1785 or the *Seventeen* of 1799, giving effect to the modifications required by the Declaration of Principles.

Anglican Catechisms.—In 1548, three years after Henry VIII. issued his 'Primer,' or devotional manual of the familiar acts of worship, to replace similar Roman Catholic 'Primers,' Cranmer translated and issued, with modifications, the Wittenberg Catechism of Justus Jonas—the work known as *Cranmer's Catechism*. With the successive issues of the Prayer Book under Edward and Elizabeth, authoritative Catechisms appeared under the title 'Confirmation, wherein is contained a Catechism for Children.' In 1604, by authority of the king, the explanation of the Sacraments by Dean Overall of St. Paul's was added, and in the final revision of 1661 the title became simply 'The Catechism.' In this form practically it was received by the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and also by the Catholic Apostolic or Irvingite Church.

It begins with the question, 'What is your name?' It discusses baptism and its meaning; the Apostles' Creed as implied in baptism; the commandments to be obeyed, and their summary in two; the Lord's Prayer; the Sacraments, the inward part or thing signified in the Lord's Supper being 'the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.' The last question, 'What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper?' is answered thus: 'To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ, with a thankful remembrance of His death; and be in charity with all men.'

Larger Catechisms for older minds were prepared, e.g. one by Bishop Poyntet of Winchester, issued in 1553 with the countenance of Cranmer and Convocation; and, on its model, one in three grades by Dean Nowell of St. Paul's in 1562. Perhaps the absence of any remarkable Anglican Catechisms may be explained in part by the wide and lasting currency of the approved Continental manuals, e.g. those of Luther, Jonas, Æcolampadius, Calvin, and Bullinger. See, further, CATECHISMS (Anglican).

LITERATURE.—The relevant portions of vols. I. and III. of Schaff, *Credentials of Christendom*; Hardwick, *Hist. of the Articles*, 1884; E. C. S. Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, 1896-7; Lindsay, *Hist. of the Reformation*, 1907, vol. II.; Maclear-Williams, *Intro. to the Articles of the Church of Eng.*, 1890; E. Tyrrell Green, *The Thirty-nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation*, 1896. The first two volumes enumerated reprint the most important documents and detail the older literature.

15. Confessions in the Zwinglian (Presbyterian) Churches.—Although, as we have seen, the influence of Ulrich Zwingli may be traced in Confessions beyond the pale of strictly Zwinglian Churches, the documents to be considered in this section form a compact group belonging to the forty years preceding 1566. They are practically contemporary with the earliest group of Lutheran documents, and are the true pioneers of the great Corpus of 'Reformed' standards, most of which reflect the views of Calvin. They belong to German Switzerland, and were formed in the cultured cities of Zürich, Bern, and Basel. They breathe the vigorous, independent, liberal, and devout atmosphere surrounding the personality of their chief inspirer, in whom, more than any other of the leaders of the Reformation, the instincts of Human-

ism were paramount. The characteristic views of Zwingli shocked contemporary Lutherans and Calvinists almost as violently as they startled Romanists, who, not unnaturally and perhaps not unjustly, represented them as the logical and inevitable outcome of the whole Reformation impulse. Happily much was done by mutual explanations and by fraternal intercourse to bring together Zwinglians and their co-Reformers, and at the present time there is a creditable and gratifying increase of readiness in Calvinistic and Lutheran lands to write and speak of Zwingli without caricature and misrepresentation. Beyond question, innumerable devout Christians who willingly conform to the Sacramental observances of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, Anglican, and even Roman Churches, cherish personally a conception of their meaning which approximates very closely to that of the undaunted chief pastor of Zürich.

The salient general features of Zwinglian doctrine comprise an absolute and exclusive reliance, in all matters of faith, organization, and usage, upon Scriptural warrant as distinct from ecclesiastical tradition, a confidence in common sense and historical perspective as means for the right interpretation of Scripture, an evangelic faith in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Christ and Christians, a sense of individual present-day responsibility and authority, and therewith of ministerial and indeed of general Christian parity natural to citizens in republican States, an emphasis upon practical morality springing from justifying faith, a scholarly openness of mind and an unpriestly dislike of mystery and circumstance, and, in reference to the Lord's Supper, a resting in its memorial aspect, explicitly set forth by Christ in the words 'in remembrance of me,' as sufficient definition of its purpose, without denying to the act of communion the spiritual presence of the risen Christ, who is in the midst of the two or three gathered together in His name, and who is with His people always, the elements and their appropriation being alike merely symbolic of corresponding spiritual realities. As one considers the remarkable anticipation by Zwingli of the modern tendencies of Reformed Christendom, in regard to Sacramental and Scriptural interpretation, the meaning of original sin, the union of Churches, the simplification of doctrine, parity of Christian members lay and clerical, and the happy fate of departed infants and heathen saints and sages, one is constrained to join in the chorus of regret that a mind so gifted, a character so disinterested, a will so courageous, a piety so profound, should have been cut off from earthly service so early in his career as a reformer and as a teacher.

The 67 Articles of Zürich were prepared for, and maintained at, the great public disputation held in that city in 1523, which virtually decided the repudiation of Rome. They thus correspond to Luther's Theses of six years before. Though not enforced as a standard, they were an epoch-making theological manifesto, and exercised a certain local normative function. They are a series of brief, trenchant, firm, and warm-toned sentences. They have the same shrewdness, picturesqueness, homeliness, impressiveness, and point, that arrest the mind and haunt the memory in Luther's sentences. As one reads them, one can readily appreciate the amazing freshness and the stirring power with which they appealed to the fettered minds of the prisoners of ecclesiastical tradition and sacerdotal tyranny. The Reformation produced no more impressive or thought-provoking document. Their scope, purport, and form may best be gathered from a few examples in their own words:

1. 'All who say that the Gospel is nothing without the approval of the Church err and cast reproach upon God.' 2.

The sum of the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, has made known to us the will of His heavenly Father, and redeemed us by His innocence from eternal death and reconciled us to God.' 3. 'Therefore Christ is the only way to salvation for all who were, who are, and who shall be.' 7, 8. 'Christ is the Head of all believers. All who live in this Head are His members, and children of God. And this is the true Catholic Church, the Communion of saints.' 17. 'Christ is the one eternal High Priest. Therefore those who give themselves out as high priests are opposed to the glory and power of Christ and reject Christ.' 18. 'Christ, who offered Himself once on the Cross, is the sufficient and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore the Mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the one sacrifice of the Cross and a seal of the redemption through Christ.' 22. 'Christ is our righteousness. Hence it follows that our works are good so far as they are Christ's, but not good so far as they are our own.' 24. 'No Christian is bound to works which Christ has not enjoined: he can eat when and what he pleases. It follows therefore that "cheese-and-butter letters" are Roman impositions.' 27. 'All Christians are brethren of Christ, and brethren one with another: therefore they ought not to call any one "father" upon earth. This does away with orders, sects, factions,' etc. 34. 'The so-called spiritual power has no ground for its display in the teaching of Christ.' 49. 'Greater scandal I know not than that priests should be forbidden lawful wedlock, but allowed for money to have concubines. Shame on it!' 50. 'God alone forgives sins, and that through Christ Jesus, our Lord, alone.' 52. 'Confession therefore to priest or neighbour ought not to be for remission of sins but for consultation.' 57. 'Holy Scripture knows of no purgatory after this life.' 58. 'The judgment of the deceased is known to God alone.' 59. 'The less that God reveals to us concerning these matters, the less ought they to be searched into by us.' 60. 'If any one in anxiety for the dead beseeches or prays for favour to them from God, I do not condemn him; but to appoint a time concerning it,—a seven-year for a mortal sin,—and to lie for profit, is not human but devilish.' 62. 'Scripture knows no other presbyters or priests than those who proclaim God's word.' 67. 'Should any one care to discuss with me interest, tithes, unbaptized children, confirmation, I profess myself ready to reply.'

In the same year a second public disputation was held in Zürich on Images and the Mass, and it was followed by the sending of an authoritative Instruction to the clergy of the Canton, written by Zwingli, with the title: '*A Brief Christian Introduction which the Honourable Council of the City of Zürich has sent to the pastors and preachers living in its cities, lands, and wherever its authority extends, so that they may henceforth in unison announce and preach the Gospel.*'

This important and by no means 'brief' declaration (printed, after the Theses, in the quaint original Swiss-German, by E. F. K. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 7-29), after a preliminary exhortation to pray earnestly for the light of God's word so that present troubles may be done away, discusses sin and repentance, the basis of Christ's teaching, the law as the opening of God's will, the Gospel the offer of His grace, the way of salvation by faith in Christ and the annulling of the law, the idolatrous results of the presence of images in churches, and finally the Mass as no sacrifice repeated, no offering and partaking of the physical body and blood, but grateful and believing commemoration of the living Saviour and communion with the living Lord.

In 1528 the magistrates of Bern followed the example of Zürich, and arranged for a public disputation upon Scriptural evidence. Berthold Haller, the local Reformer, with the aid of his colleague Francis Kolb and of Zwingli, drew up *The Ten Conclusions of Bern* as a basis of discussion, Zwingli turning them into Latin, Farel into French. Among the cities represented were Zürich, Basel, Constance, Strassburg, Augsburg, and Ulm; among the advocates of reform, Zwingli, Bucer, and Œcolampadius, in addition to Haller and Kolb. The conclusions were approved 'as Christian' by the great majority of the delegates, and accepted 'for ever,' to be observed 'at cost of life and property.' They became not only binding in Bern, but a manifesto respected over a wide area in and beyond Switzerland—the first more than cantonal definition of the Swiss type of Reformed faith.

Art. I. defines the holy Christian Church, whose only Head is Christ, as 'born of the Word,' as abiding in it, and not hearkening to the word of another. Art. II. states that 'the Church of Christ does not lay down laws and commandments beyond the Word of God: therefore all human traditions, called ecclesiastical, are only binding so far as they are founded and prescribed in the Word of God.' Art. III. 'Christ is our only wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and atonement for the sins of the whole world: therefore to acknowledge any other saving and atoning amends for sin is to deny Christ.' Art. IV. is the most

memorable; it says: 'That the body and blood of Christ is perceived essentially and corporeally in the Eucharistic bread, cannot be proved from Holy Scripture.' Art. V. 'The Mass, according to current usage, in which Christ is offered to God the Father for the sins of quick and dead, is contrary to Scripture, blasphemous the most holy sacrifice, passion, and death of Christ, and by reason of abuses is abominable in the sight of God.' Art. VI., on the ground of Christ's sole mediatorship, condemns the adoration and invocation of saints. Art. VII. sets aside as un-Scriptural the doctrine of purgatory, and all rites and practices based upon it. Art. VIII. declares the making of images for worship to be contrary to Old and New Testament Scripture. Where they are liable to be adored they must be abolished. Articles IX. and X. proclaim the lawfulness of marriage to all orders of men according to Scripture: fornication and iniquity are warrant for excommunication; to no class are they more pernicious than to the clergy.

Later controversy in Bern was brought to a close in 1532 by a Synod of 230 preachers, which issued with authority a lengthy series of doctrinal paragraphs introduced by an epistolary preface. These *Articles or Admonitions of the Synod of Bern* run to 45 substantial paragraphs abounding in Scripture citations, the whole taking the form of an instruction by pastors to pastors, practical theology being mingled throughout with Scriptural or doctrinal. (For full text of chief chapters, see Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 31-55.)

Two notable productions from Zwingli's own vigorous but hasty pen must be mentioned, though they were personal manifestos only, without Synodal authorization. He composed in 1530 a *Confession of Faith to the Emperor Charles V.*, for presentation at the great Diet at Augsburg. Though uninvited, and, like the Tetrapolitan Confession of Bucer and Capito, unwelcome and unheeded save for a virulent reply by the unresting Eck, spurned and resented not only by Romanists but by Lutherans, including even Melancthon, who abhorred its denial of the corporeal presence in the Sacrament, and were anxious to dissociate their cause before the Emperor from Zwinglian and Anabaptist extremists—it was a legitimate, timely, and dignified representation of the Swiss type of faith, and is justly praised by Müller for the transparent candour with which it avows its author's characteristic convictions on Divine Providence, Original Sin, and the Supper, for the judgment of the Church at large by Scripture standards.

The address of this *Fidei Ratio*, itself prefaced by the mottoes, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,' and 'Let truth prevail,' is followed by twelve paragraphs, and terminates with a solemn undertaking to maintain the truth stated, not as his own, but as Scriptural, and an appeal to the princes met in council to weigh it well, and if it be from God not to fight against it, but to resist the tyranny of corrupt Rome. Persecution and excommunication have failed. Let another way be tried: 'Idcirco sinite verbum Dei libere et spargi et germinare, O filii hominum, quicunque estis, qui ne gramen quidem vetare ne adolescat potestis. Abunde videtis hanc frugem imbre coelesti rigari, nec ullo hominum calore compesci posse ut arescat. Considerate non quid vos maxime cupiatis, sed quid mundus in Evangelii negotio exigit. Boni consulite, quicquid hoc est, et filios Dei vos esse studiis vestris ostendite.'

The first chapter reaffirms the teaching of the Catholic Creeds on the Divine Trinity and on the Person of Christ. The second affirms the Divine freedom, foreknowledge, goodness, which includes mercy as well as justice, and predestination, which as Divine cannot be conditional on our faith, but precedes it, and disposes all things, good and evil, freely. The third describes Christ as the one way to reconciliation and happiness, election being election to salvation through faith in Him. The fourth discusses original sin as different in us from Adam's wilful transgression, as properly a taint or disease rather than a true sin, a condition. He, having become a slave through forfeit of his freedom, could only beget slaves. Yet it may be spoken of as sin, for it makes us natural enemies of God, and entails upon us inevitable death. Its effect is exactly annulled by the atonement of the Second Adam, so that (ch. 5) it is rash to speak of infants, even those of heathen parents, as ever damned. Chapter 6 defines the various uses of the term 'Church,' in particular the invisible or true and inward,—that is, elect believers and their children who constitute the Bride of Christ,—as distinct from the outward and visible,—that is, nominal Christians and their households, who correspond to the whole Ten Virgins in the Lord's Parable: the former alone is inerrant. Chapter 7 denies that sacraments have power to

confer grace apart either from faith in the recipient or from the antecedent influence of the Spirit, and discusses Baptism. Chapter 8, at great length and with extreme care and insight, treats of the Lord's Supper in the light of Scripture, reason, and the great Fathers, disproving the corporeal, and proving the spiritual, presence, the elements being symbols representative and commemorative of the atoning death of Christ, whose benefits are communicated to us through faith. Chapter 9 admits that ceremonies neither contrary to Scripture nor destructive of faith through superstition, may be tolerated for the sake of charity until the day spring brightens, though the existence of any such is doubtful; but, wherever possible without extreme offence, they are rigorously to be abolished. Images prostituted to worship are diametrically opposed to Scripture. Those, however, which are not exposed for worship, or liable to be future objects of worship, 'so far as I from condemning that I recognize both painting and sculpture to be gifts of God.' Chapters 10 and 11 treat respectively of the offices of the Preacher and the Civil Magistrate as necessary and Divinely appointed. Chapter 12 discredits belief in Purgatory.

In 1531, three months before his death, Zwingli, at the request of the French Ambassador, composed what Bullinger calls his swan-song, the *Brief and Clear Exposition of Christian Faith to Francis I. of France*, the monarch to whom he had previously dedicated his chief work, the *Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione*, and to whom Calvin five years later was to dedicate his *Institutes*. This vigorous document repeats, in somewhat varied order and at shorter length, the teaching of its predecessor.

Meanwhile two Confessions, composed outside Switzerland by other than Swiss theologians, gave evidence of the wide spread of Zwingli's teaching. In 1528 a conference of preachers adopted the *Confession of East Friesland*, prepared by the Reformer Aportanus, in which (Müller, pp. xxi, 930) thirty brief articles, followed by a summary, set forth pure Zwinglian doctrine concerning the Word of God and the Sacraments in sharp distinction from Romanist, and in tolerant discrimination from Lutheran, views. In 1530, still in Zwingli's lifetime, there was prepared by Bucer and Capito, for submission to the Emperor and Diet at Augsburg, the *Confession of Strassburg, or of the Four Cities (Tetrapolitana)*, inasmuch as Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau joined with Strassburg in accepting it (Müller, pp. xxiii, 55). Put together in some haste, and in part from pre-existing materials composed by Capito, it states and vindicates from Scripture characteristically Zwinglian ideas of Christian faith, life, and institutions, in 23 substantial paragraphs, marking itself sharply off from Lutheranism by its sacramental doctrine, its repudiation of images and pictures, and its exclusive appeal to Holy Writ.

After Zwingli's death, the continuation and development of his work is manifest in a series of Confessional documents emanating from other Swiss towns.

At Basel, where the Reformation was somewhat stormily introduced in 1529, a Confession of Faith was drafted in 1531 by Zwingli's friend and henchman Ecolampadius, shortly before his death. Revised by Myconius in 1532, it was adopted by the city authorities in 1534, and by the city of Mülhausen in Alsace soon afterwards. It is known as the *1st Confession of Basel*, or as the *Confession of Mülhausen*. Its twelve Articles form a brief, simple, dignified, and moderate statement of Zwinglian doctrine as distinguished both from Romanist and from Anabaptist teaching. Though it is an exception to the rule of 'Reformed' Confessions, in not starting with an appeal to Scripture as the sole rule of faith, it ends with the equivalent noteworthy declaration: 'We submit this our Confession to the judgment of the Divine Scriptures, and hold ourselves ready always thankfully to obey God and His Word if we should be corrected out of the said Holy Scriptures'—a declaration which may have inspired the similar

undertaking in the Scots Confession of 1560. This venerable document maintained its position in the Church of Basel down to our own time, succumbing only in 1872 to the modern anti-Confessional movement (Müller, pp. xxv, 95-100).

At Basel, also, there was composed in 1536 a still more notable document, the *1st Helvetic Confession, or 2nd Confession of Basel*. It owed its origination to the peace-making genius of the Strassburg theologians, Bucer and Capito, who made it their great aim to reconcile the Swiss and Lutheran schools of Protestant doctrine—and also to the prospect of an Ecumenical Council being convened at Mantua. Theological representatives were sent by the Reformed cities of Switzerland—Bucer and Capito by Strassburg—to a conference at Basel. Bullinger, Myconius, Grynaeus, Leo Judae, and Megander were instructed to prepare the Confession; Leo Judae prepared the free German version. Their work, after discussion, was unanimously accepted and subscribed by the delegates, and became the first general Swiss Confession, the first 'Reformed' Confession of national authority. It is longer than its forerunner, containing 27 short paragraphs.

The first five articles affirm that Holy Scripture alone contains all that promotes the true knowledge, love, and honouring of God, right and true piety, and a pious, honourable, and godly life; it is its own sole interpreter; the Fathers are to be received only so far as in harmony with that interpretation; human traditions, however specious, are vain; the aim and end of Scripture is to declare the grace and good-will of God to man in Christ, appropriated by faith alone, and evidenced through love to others. Art. 6 treats of God the Three in One. Art. 7-10 discuss man as God's most perfect image on earth, immortal in soul, mortal in body, noblest and highest of creatures, created faultless, but by his own fault fallen into sin; original sin; free-will; God's eternal plan of restoration. Art. 11 and 12 treat of Jesus Christ, and 'what we have through Him'; and of the true aim of evangelical teaching, to persuade that it is by God's mercy and Christ's merit alone that we are saved. Art. 13 and 14 expound faith in the grace of God as the means of salvation; without trusting to works, it is prolific of them. Art. 15-20 treat of the Church, built upon the rock of living faith; of the ministry of the Word; of ecclesiastical authority; of the election of ministers; of Christ the chief shepherd; of the office of the ministry. Art. 21-23 discuss the Sacraments in language obviously intended to re-assure Lutherans, and to vindicate Swiss-Reformed reverence: they are holy symbols of high mysteries, not mere or empty signs, but significant signs accompanying spiritual realities; in Baptism, water is the sign, regeneration and adoption the reality; in the Supper the bread and wine are the signs, communion of the body and blood of the Lord is the spiritual reality: as the senses and members of the body apprehend the signs, so the soul receives the realities in which the whole fruit of the ordinance resides: the sacraments, therefore, are not only emblems of Christian membership in the Church, but symbols of Divine grace; the body and blood of Christ means Himself, His life, received and appropriated so that more and more He lives in us, and we in Him; the Sacraments are to be revered exceedingly for their significance, and for their sanctity as coming from the Lord's hands, but they owe their power and sacredness solely to Him, the Life. Art. 24-28 deal with public worship and ceremonies; with things neither commanded nor forbidden; with heretics and schismatics; with the civil magistrate; and with holy marriage.

Though the Confession was not destined to fulfil its purpose by being submitted to a General Council at Mantua, and, at the desire of the Strassburg delegates, long remained unprinted (Bullinger and Leo Judae, indeed, are said to have desired the insertion of a clause deprecating its use as a rule of faith, lest it should usurp the place of Holy Writ, the only true and sufficient bond of evangelical union), it continued for long to be the acknowledged embodiment of the faith of the Swiss Reformers. Alike in its Latin and in its fuller and more vigorous German form, both of which were authoritative, it is an attractive and impressive product of Swiss thought.

At Lausanne, later in the same year 1536, the military victory of the Reformation cause was followed up, under Bernese influences, by a theological disputation upon Theses prepared by Farel, in which the youthful Calvin took part. These *10 Theses of Lausanne* (given by Müller, p. 110) form a very brief outline of doctrine, echoing the *1st Helvetic*

Confession. Re-cast, or expanded, they were made officially binding in the same year.

At Zürich, in 1545, Bullinger was constrained to vindicate his Zwinglian colleagues against the persistent polemic of Luther, which had found expression that year in a 'Short Confession on the Holy Sacrament,' by issuing a *True Confession of the Ministers of the Church in Zürich . . . in particular on the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ* (extract in Müller, pp. 153-159). Neither in form nor in authority is the work a Confession. It is a theological manifesto or argument, firmly and unmistakably Zwinglian in character, and it prepared the way for the *Consensus of Zürich* of 1549, in which Bullinger and Calvin expressed their agreement on the Lord's Supper over against Lutheran influences and Swiss divisive tendencies. Calvin had taken exception to the extremer positions maintained by Bullinger in his last Confession. His objections were accepted in a friendly spirit. A fresh treatise was submitted to him in 1546. The outcome of his judgment on it was the formulation of a series of propositions, which Bullinger in turn divided into 26 Articles, and which contained the substance of the *Consensus* of 1549 (Müller, pp. 159-163). If Calvin was the author of this *Consensus*, which linked together the Churches of Zürich and Geneva and found acceptance in other countries, the influence of Bullinger pervades it, and it served as a welcome proof of the essential kinship of the two schools. Henceforward there was theological harmony in Protestant Switzerland; and Melancthon, though he rejected the clauses which made election the condition of the efficacy of the sacraments, abandoned all suspicion and hostility towards the Swiss.

The 26 Articles are brief, lucid, consistent. They repudiate Lutheran not less than Romanist conceptions of the Presence. The Lord's body is not locally on earth, but in heaven. The elements are not to be adored. The Spirit of God is the active energy; His grace and the communion of Christ are essentially independent of the elements and the partaking, for it is antecedent faith that appropriates—'fideles ante et extra sacramentorum usum Christo quoque communicant'; transubstantiation and consubstantiation are equally absurd.

At a Synod of the Reformed Churches in the Rhetian Alps, approval was given in 1552 to a Confession—the *Confessio Rhetica*—drawn up by Saluz Gallicius, and intended to establish a uniform system of doctrine in place of the existing theological chaos, in which Anabaptist, Lutheran, Zwinglian, Romanist, Socinian, and Pantheistic teachings mingled. In 1553 it was submitted to Bullinger, who cordially approved of it; and thereafter for centuries, in spite of the subsequent local recognition of the Second Helvetic Confession, it remained the authoritative Rhetian formula (Müller, pp. 163-170, where the doctrinal portions are given in full).

It opens with a tribute of loyalty to the three ancient Creeds; condemns the vanities of human learning and wisdom and contentions about words; asserts Christ crucified, risen, and ascended, to be the one foundation, and faith in Him to be the one means of salvation for fallen humanity. At greater length it affirms God's sovereignty, denies His responsibility for sin, and urges sobriety and caution in speaking of His predestination. Most fully and interestingly it sets forth, with illustrations from the Gospels and Epistles, the Zwinglian conception of the Sacraments, citing, in support of a metaphorical interpretation of the words 'This is my body,' similar figures from the teachings of Christ and of Paul, where a literal sense is out of the question; it proves from the Gospels the physical absence of Christ from earth, but asserts His spiritual presence; it recognizes a spiritual eating and drinking of His body and blood, in the sense of Jn 6; it acknowledges the Sacraments to be 'symbola, adeoque obligationes divinas gratiae et donorum Dei.' Finally, it deprecates any comparison between the authority of the Bible and its own; and it undertakes, in the most emphatic and in repeated terms, to welcome correction and amendment wherever it may be found unfaithful to the Scriptures, 'for we well remember that we are but men, and are therefore prone to error, ignorance, and deception.' Throughout, its language is popular, its arguments are shrewd and well-informed, and its desire to maintain a Scriptural simplicity is obvious and sincere.

Last and greatest in the Zwinglian series is the

Second Helvetic Confession, the *magnum opus* of Henry Bullinger. If the Confession of 1531 was Zwingli's 'swan-song,' this was Bullinger's own; for it was in 1562, while awaiting the expected call of death, that he gave the hours of his enforced leisure to its composition. It is the quiet overflow of his mature conviction, put in writing without polemical occasion and without ecclesiastical requisition, the last and private confession of a scholar and churchman who had been called to assist in the preparation of many public Confessions. Two years later, during the ravages of the plague at Zürich, he conceived the idea of leaving it to the chief magistrate after his death, as a testimony and guide to faith. But in the end of 1565 he received a request for such a statement from Frederick III., the Elector Palatine, who was desirous of proving, before the forthcoming Diet at Augsburg, that his Reformed profession was no merely individual or local faith, but a system of doctrine held in common by evangelical believers in Switzerland, Holland, France, and Britain also. The Confession was dispatched with the assurance that it was 'in harmony with the confession of the ancient Apostolic orthodox catholic Church, and likewise with all the faithful who with pure faith profess Christ throughout the churches of Germany, France, England, and other kingdoms and lands'; and it was received with enthusiasm, and ordered to be published in a German version, with a view to promoting common action among the Reformed Churches. In Switzerland, except at Basel, it was, with slight modifications, at once approved universally, and accordingly the Elector could present it to the Diet of 1566 as an already authoritative document. In the same year it was accepted by the Reformed Church in Scotland, in 1567 in Hungary, in 1571 in France and in Poland, and it was approved in many other lands, without superseding the local standards. No other Confession, save its immediate predecessor, the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563, has ever rivalled it in popularity or in authority among the Reformed Churches of the Continent. In theological ability and in doctrinal interest few Confessions can bear comparison with it. Objection may well be taken to it as an official document, on the ground of its great length and its combination of comprehensiveness and detail; but it would be difficult to conceive of a theological manifesto, or compendium of doctrine, more attractive in form and matter, more lucid, effective, and shrewd, more loyal to Scripture, or more instinct with common sense. It is no small tribute to its merits that its appearance was the signal for the cessation of theological controversy and unrest in Switzerland, and that it enjoyed, during so many centuries of eager thought and change, an unchallenged authority.

It consists of 80 chapters (printed in full, in Latin, by Müller, pp. 170-221, and by Schaaf, *Evang. Prot. Credo*, pp. 233-306, including prefaces; and in an elaborate English summary by Schaaf, *Hist.* pp. 396-420). The chapters vary in length from one or two pages upwards, and treat in succession of Holy Scripture, of its interpretation, the Fathers, Councils, and Traditions; of God, His unity and trinity; of idols or images of God, Christ, and of deities; of the adoration, worship, and invocation of God through the only mediator Jesus Christ; of the providence of God; of creation, angels, the devil, and man; of the Fall, of sin, and its cause; of free-will and human power; of predestination and the election of saints; of Jesus Christ, true God and man, the only Saviour of the world; of the Law of God; of the Gospel, its promises, spirit, and letter; of repentance and conversion; of the true justification of believers; of faith and good works and their rewards, and human merit; of the Catholic and holy Church of God and its only Head; of ministers of the Church, and their institution and duties; of the Sacraments; of Baptism; of the Lord's Supper; of religious meetings; of prayers, praise, and appointed times of worship; of festivals, fasts, and meats; of catechizing; of consolation and visitation of the sick; of Christian burial, care for the dead, purgatory, apparitions of spirits; of rites, ceremonies, and things indifferent; of church property; of celibacy and marriage; of the civil magistrate.

Its doctrinal standpoint is characteristic of the author and the time—a combination of the positions of Zwingli and Calvin, with an unbending attitude towards Rome, whose Tridentine Confession was being formulated at the selfsame time; with a courteous tone towards Lutheranism; with a firm adherence to the ancient Catholic Creeds, which are printed in the preface as authoritative; and with an underlying conviction that the doctrinal re-union of Christendom was possible upon a Scriptural basis alone, Confessional revision and re-adjustment being a Christian duty as better knowledge of the Word of God was attained.

The opening two chapters accordingly deal with the doctrine of Scripture as the supreme authority, being God's Word, as their own interpreter in the light of context and kindred passages, as God's normal means of revelation and edification, and as setting aside all other authority,—traditional, Patristic, or even Apostolic,—the Apocrypha being for the first time in Confessional history expressly excluded from the Canon. The third chapter affirms the unity and Trinity of God, accepts the Apostles' Creed, condemns Jews and Mohammedans and all who blaspheme this holy and adorable Trinity, and 'all heretics who deny the deity of Christ and the Holy Ghost.' The fourth condemns images, since God is a spirit and cannot be represented by an image; though Christ assumed man's nature, it was not to pose for sculptors and painters. The fifth condemns adoration or invocation of saints: 'nevertheless we neither despise nor undervalue the saints, but honour them as the members of Christ and the friends of God who have gloriously overcome the flesh and the world; we love them as brethren and hold them up as examples of faith and virtue, desiring to dwell with them eternally in heaven and to rejoice with them in Christ.' God's providence (ch. 6) is over all, operating through means to ends; 'we disapprove of the rash words of those who say that our efforts and endeavours are vain.' Man (chs. 7-8) consists of two diverse substances in one person—of an immortal soul, which, when separated from the body, neither sleeps nor dies, and of a mortal body, which at the last judgment shall be raised again from the dead. 'We condemn those who deny the immortality, or affirm the sleep of the soul, or teach that it is a part of God.' Man was created in true righteousness, good and upright, but of his own guilt fell; sin is our inborn corruption; as years roll on, we bring forth evil thoughts, words, and deeds, as corrupt trees corrupt fruits; only the regenerate can think or do good; only the regenerate and converted are truly free; they are not passive but active, 'being moved by the Spirit of God to do of themselves what they do'; yet the unregenerate are *telling* slaves to sin, they are not as mere stones or stones, utterly devoid of will and responsibility. The 10th chapter, on Predestination and Election, is especially interesting: it is frankly and simply Scriptural in its terms; it has been claimed alike as Calvinistic, Arminian, and Melancthonian, and could be approved by each type of theologian, for it is a moderate Calvinism or Augustinianism that it expresses: election and predestination is wholly of grace, it is in Christ and for His sake; though 'a small number of the elect' is spoken of, we ought to think well of all, and not seek out of Christ whether we are chosen, or count particular persons reprobate; we are to listen to the offers of grace undoubtedly, and trust God's love in Christ who is to be the 'mirror in which we behold our predestination'; 'we shall have a sufficient testimony of being written in the book of life if we live in communion with Christ, and if in true faith He is ours and we are His'; so are we to 'work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who worketh in us both to will and to do according to His good pleasure.' Chapter 11, defining the Person of Christ and distinguishing the two natures, accepts 'believingly and reverently the communication of properties, which is deduced from Scripture and employed by the universal ancient Church in explaining and reconciling passages apparently in contradiction.' In ch. 12 the citation of NT illustrations of penitence is followed by a typical passage: 'It is sufficient to confess our sins to God in private and in the public service; it is not necessary to confess to a priest, for this is nowhere commanded in the Scriptures; although we may seek counsel and comfort from a minister of the gospel in time of distress and trial (cf. Ja 5:16). The keys of the Kingdom of heaven, out of which the Papists forge swords, scythes, and crooks, are given to all legitimate ministers of the Church in the preaching of the Gospel and the maintenance of discipline (Mt 16:19, Jn 20:23, Mk 16:15, 2 Co 6:18-19). We condemn the lucrative Popish doctrines of penance and indulgences, and apply to them Peter's word to Simon Magus, 'Thy money perish with thee.' Ch. 13 distinguishes faith from human opinion and persuasion, describes it as a free gift of God through the Spirit and the means of grace, as capable of increase, and as the source of good works whose motives are gratitude and a desire to glorify God. Ch. 17, on the Church, vindicates its NT constitution, deprecates the divisions which have never been absent since Apostolic times but have been overruled for good, denies that its true unity resides in rites or ceremonies: 'the Church may be called *invisible*, not that the men composing it are invisible, but because they are known only to God, while we are often mistaken in our judgment: those who separate from that true Church cannot live before God'; 'as there was

no salvation out of the ark of Noah, so there is no certain salvation out of Christ, who exhibits Himself to the elect in the Church for their nourishment.' Ch. 18 affirms the sufficiency of the offices in the ministry in use in the Apostolic Church, without condemning later offices and titles; presbyters and bishops were one; the minister must be duly ordained by presbyters with prayer and the laying on of hands; ministers are equal in power and commission, and are not sacrificing priests; they ought to be learned as well as pious, but 'innocent simplicity may be more useful than haughty learning'; their unworthiness cannot impugn the efficacy of God's word and Sacraments which they are called to dispense. Ch. 19 defines the Sacraments as 'sacred rites instituted by God as signs and seals of His promises for the strengthening of our faith, and as pledges on our part for our consecration to Him'; they are two, not seven; of the five Roman additions, confirmation and extreme unction are human inventions and may be abolished without loss, while repentance, ordination, and marriage are valuable Divine institutions not sacramental; the supreme benefit of the sacraments is Christ Himself; they consist of the Word, the sign, and the thing signified; the sign could not pass into the thing signified without ceasing to be a sign; not the worthiness of the dispenser or of the recipient, but the faithfulness of God is the guarantee of their efficacy; unbelievers do not receive the reality with the sign, for the reality is not mechanically linked to the sign; in particular (ch. 21) the body of Christ is in heaven, whither our hearts must be raised, though He is present with all who communicate with Him, a veritable Sun of Righteousness shining upon us; 'the Mass, whatever it may have been in ancient times—has been turned from a salutary institution into a vain show and surrounded with various abuses which justify its abolition.' According to ch. 24, the Lord's day is 'observed in Christian freedom, not with Jewish superstition'; one day is not in itself holier than another; 'if congregations also commemorate the Lord's nativity, circumcision, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, we greatly approve of it, but feasts in honour of saints we reject.' Fasting and self-denial, if prompted by humility, and spontaneous and not aiming at merit or reward, may be a help to prayer and virtue, and should be used alike by Churches and individuals upon suitable occasions for spiritual profit. 'The more that human rites are accumulated in the Church (ch. 27), the more it is drawn away from Christian liberty and from Christ himself, while the ignorant seek in ceremonies what they should seek in Christ through faith.' The slighting or forbidding of marriage, unclean celibacy, and pretended continence, are condemned (ch. 29). The civil magistrate (ch. 30) is of God's own appointment, and may be a useful servant or a serious enemy of the Church: he is 'to preserve peace and public order, to promote and protect religion and good morals . . . to punish offenders against society, such as thieves, murderers, oppressors, blasphemers, and incorrigible heretics (if they are really heretics).' Wars are only justifiable in self-defence and after all efforts at peace have been exhausted. 'We condemn the Anabaptists who maintain that a Christian should not hold a civil office, that the magistrate has no right to punish any one by death, or to make war or to demand an oath.'

LITERATURE. The relevant portions of Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vols. I and III; Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*; Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. II; PRE³, the relevant articles. The first two works in conjunction leave little to be desired in regard either to the history or to the contents of the Zwinglian documents.

16. Confessions in the Calvinist (Presbyterian) Churches.—Between the Calvinist and the Zwinglian Confessions there was an intimate connexion—historical, geographical, and theological. Switzerland was their common birthplace. Unlike Luther, both Zwingli and Calvin were Humanists before they were Reformers, men of learning as well as statesmen, equally at home in the library and in the council chamber; but, like him, they found their peace and their inspiration in Holy Scripture, they had a rational, linguistic, and historical insight into the natural and true meaning of the Bible, and they gave Christ the central and dominating position in their doctrinal thought as well as in their Biblical exegesis. Zwingli gave expression to the reforming instinct of German Switzerland; Calvin, preceded by Farel and Viret, appealed not only to the French Cantons of his adopted land and to the Protestant Christians in France and Belgium, but to their brethren in many other lands. Without any propaganda, Calvin's influence spread instantaneously throughout the countries where German, Dutch, English, Bohemian, and Hungarian were spoken, reaching even Constantinople. More than any other form of Reformed doctrine—far more than Lutheran and Anglican—it proved itself catholic under the test of history, rising above racial differences, everywhere raising

the tone of life, and quickening zeal for religious and general culture. It is no mean testimony also to the original attractiveness and power of Calvin's system, that it not only gave rise to a scholasticism of its own which dominated at least two centuries, but was the parent of an unparalleled series of Confessional statements which bore a strong family resemblance to one another as well as to it. Ideas have altered, and instincts changed, but he would be a poor theologian and a narrow critic who could read for himself these documents without being profoundly impressed by the high order of their Scriptural learning and their logic and by their virile spirit, and without being moved to cherish a deeper respect for the exiled French theologian, the peer of Augustine and Aquinas, whose theological and religious genius was their immediate inspiration.

The Calvinist Confessions retain as doctrinal systems most of the features which broadly distinguished their Zwinglian forerunners from Romanism and from Lutheranism. In a small group of Confessions we have seen the outcome of harmonious co-operation between Zwinglian and Calvinist leaders, and an evidence of their kinship. If the three great leaders—Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin—were constrained, with the urgency of genius, to emphasize their distinctive tenets, it is a remarkable fact that each had a trusted lieutenant capable of appreciating and emphasizing the underlying unities, viz. Melancthon, Bullinger, and Beza—men who, had they been permitted, would have brought about a harmony of Protestant faith if not of polity. The specially Calvinistic features are four.

(1) In the forefront the primary and basal position of canonical and non-apocryphal Scripture as God's Word kept pure and inerrant, conformity to which, and sanction by which, are the only warrants of Christian belief and usage. The Bible is to be its own aid to interpretation, one passage assisting another, and none to be regarded in isolation.

(2) The eternal and absolute decree of God, whereby in His freedom and for His glory He has foreordained some portion of the human race, in spite of their sin, and not of their merit, to eternal salvation, and others, for their sins, to eternal damnation. This twofold decree, of election, in spite of sin, to forgiveness and blessedness, and of reprobation, for sin, to punishment and loss, drawn sternly from Old and New Testament Scripture and from Augustine, and faced unflinchingly, rests upon a dogmatic basis, including such elements as that God must have foreseen and foreknown the Fall and all its consequences, else His wisdom and omniscience are denied. He must therefore have permitted it under His all-ruling providence, for righteous ends and for merciful purposes, and to His glory. While all are called to repent and to have saving faith, not all respond, not all are *effectually* called, elect in *fact*; some—God alone knows who or how many (God also foreknows)—thus justly perish for their sins and for the sins of their fallen progenitors. Salvation is of grace, not for the sake of good works or of faith regarded as a merit; grace is in the nature of things liable to be deemed arbitrary, since it is not mechanical or forensic, but the eternal decree, which permitted the Fall and its transmitted consequences, is the unswerving embodiment of the immutable principle of grace in God. Human freedom, fettered in some measure now invariably, but originally intact, is alone responsible for sin and death, which even God could not have prevented without doing violence to the freedom of the creature whom He had made in His own image. Grace is open to all; none but

the impenitent and acquiescent sinner dares count himself lost; Divine predestination in Christ ought to be the ground of Christian confidence; the believer must make his calling sure, for God never does for man what He has given man power to do for himself.

(3) In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the elements and their consumption are signs or symbols of spiritual realities, of the spiritual presence of Christ and of His incorporation in the believer's life; participation and communion seal to men the benefits of Christ's life and death; the presence is real but not local; it is spiritual; it is the presence of the Lord not only in His Divinity but in His humanity; 'this is my body' are figurative words; faith is, as it were, the organ that partakes and assimilates, through the aid of the Holy Spirit, the spiritual body of the glorified Lord; there is no change in the elements, no transfusion of them with the flesh and blood of the Lord in a physical and local consubstantiation (the unbeliever receives nothing but mere bread and wine); it is a special sacramental presence, transcending the Saviour's wonted presence with His people, only vouchsafed to faith when the memorial rite is duly celebrated. Thus the Zwinglian view, not less than the Romanist and Lutheran, is set aside.

(4) In regard to the Church, Calvinism affirms the parity of presbyters, government by presbyterian courts, the association of lay or ruling elders with duly ordained or teaching elders in that government, the necessity of thoroughgoing discipline as to doctrine and morals, the absolute independence of the spiritual courts in matters spiritual, and the duty of the civil authorities to carry out their spiritual sentences to their appointed civil consequences.

It is characteristic of the Calvinistic Confessions that with singular unanimity they maintain, throughout their long history, these distinctive traits. So uniform are they, and so consistent in their adherence to the fundamental tenets of Calvin, that in most cases a bare historical reference will suffice, indicating their occasions and their inter-relations. It may be remarked, however, of the above four elements of the doctrine, that each was animated by an intensely practical motive, and prompted by an exact acquaintance with the teaching of the Bible as a *whole*, for Calvin had no peer as a student of Holy Writ. Calvinistic scholarship in Scripture, fortified by a practical religious experience not to be judged apart from the stern character of the troubled century in which through blood and groans it was gained, was the warrant for the system, some elements of which, especially (2), were only acquiesced in under submission to plain Scripture warrant. A later scholasticism degraded the Scripturalism of Zwingli and Calvin into literalism, and provoked popular nausea in more fastidious and critical times, and it was perhaps the one defect of Calvin's own outlook that he could not detach at any point the Old and New Testaments from each other. Having committed himself wholeheartedly to a system, purely Biblical in character, resting on non-Apocryphal Scripture as the unadulterated Word of God revealing all needed truth to man, Calvin could not discriminate between the Old and New, but read each in terms of the other, reaching a system of doctrine which was at least as faithful in form and contents to the Old Testament revelation as to the New. Only thus can one suggest an explanation for the amazing fact that the first Biblical interpreter of his age should, in full view of the teaching of Christ, leave out of his own doctrinal scheme all mention of the universal Fatherhood of God—an omission which not only came to deepen the

apparent gloom of the reverse side of his predestinarian teaching, but in the end has been responsible in every Christian country for the modern defection from his views. To him and to his fellows, Scripture was a new world with green pastures threaded by quiet waters, to which a tide of God's spirit had borne them beyond the reach of the dictation and tyranny of the Roman Church; and in the OT history there were innumerable episodes full of suggestive analogy for their unquiet era: there was the spectacle of theocracy embodied in a Church-bound State, and surrounded by pagan adversaries; of prophecy overpowering priesthood; of stern Divine retribution; of the vocation and endowment of elect individuals. Similarly, the doctrine of the comprehensive eternal decree, based on the OT as much as on the Epistle to the Romans and occasional passages in the Gospels, was but a re-statement of the sovereignty of God and the completeness of His prescient providence, and naturally seemed inevitable to the vigorous interpreter of non-Apocryphal Scripture, for whom no purgatory was conceivable, and to whom the Pauline conception of the completeness of human depravity and guilt, original and transmitted, was an axiom of thought. In an age of stern struggle, when men knew no outer calm but faced each day's emergencies with military decision and resource, the conscience-prompted confidence of election—first realized in the less invidious form of vocation, perhaps—was a thrilling power for good to resolute souls in touch with God's Word and the living Spirit it exhaled. The stories of Islam and of Israel are sufficient disproof of the benumbing influence which a more peaceful and leisurely and sceptical age is prone to ascribe to the faith which rests on a predestinatory decree. It is to disqualify oneself as a historian or critic of the Calvinistic Confessions, to start with the assumptions that it is presumptuous for any son of man to believe himself an elect instrument for the Kingdom of God; that faith in the eternal decree must breed either hypocrisy, blasphemy, or utter pessimism; or (failing to distinguish between predestination and pre-caution) that that faith necessarily makes God the author of evil and obliterates both human responsibility and all secondary causes. Though Beza and a number of lesser Calvinists carried the doctrine to *supralapsarian* extremities, Calvin's own position—Augustinian's, only more sharply defined—of *infralapsarianism* (in his own words, 'Adam fell, God's providence having so ordained it; yet he fell by his own guilt') was without exception adopted by the whole family of Calvinistic Confessions and Catechisms. If it be said that the motley predestination of some to bliss and others to woe leaves God guilty, before human conscience, of favouritism or respect of persons,—an impression which the popular mind can scarcely escape,—the Calvinist could appeal to Scripture (his final witness), and to everyday observation (his living commentary on Scripture), in proof that some are so chosen and endowed apart from any antecedent merit in themselves or their ancestors, the store of merit and the condition of the grace, in his judgment, being the work and offering of the blameless Son of God. Grace can never be earned or deserved, yet it need not be unrighteous or arbitrary, and it can descend only upon fit recipients, whom God alone can judge and know.

What the Theses of Wittenberg and Zürich were to Lutheran and Zwinglian Confessions, the immortal *Institutio Religionis Christianæ* was, and more, to the Calvinistic Confessions—more, for the work, even in its briefest and earliest form of 1536, but especially in the final edition, five

times longer, of 1559, contained not only the anticipation but the finished form of their doctrinal system. It was, indeed, not only a manual for students (as the preface modestly declares) and a scholar's summary of Biblical doctrine, but at the same time, as the noble epistle dedicatory to Francis I. avows, a literal confession of evangelical faith, an apology or positive vindication of the new teaching. If it inspired instant alarm in Romanist quarters, or won converts from them, if its pellucid Latinity and its masterly theology won admiration alike from foes and from rivals, it became for Protestants of well-nigh every type a veritable oracle, a source from which confessional, catechetical, and homiletic wants were unfailingly supplied. In diction, in structure, in comprehensiveness, in sheer mass and weight, in unflagging interest and power, in dignity and severe simplicity, it has all the characteristics of a classic, and, while recognizing that it can never be for us what it was to earlier centuries, we cannot but lament that, in an age which so freely proclaims its emancipation from its spell, so few should read it for themselves, so many should condemn it cheaply and at second hand. Signs are not wanting that at no distant time justice will be more generally done to Calvin as a prince among systematic theologians not less than a prince among Christian exegetes.

In the first edition of the *Institutes*—whose successive chapters deal with (1) the Law, the Ten Commandments; (2) Faith, the Apostles' Creed; (3) Prayer, the Lord's Prayer; (4) the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; (5) the five other reputed Sacraments, their true character; and (6) Christian Liberty, Ecclesiastical Power, and Political Administration—little is said of predestination, though it is not overlooked, but the other traits of Calvinism are in evidence. In the final edition that doctrine is fully developed, and the system is complete in four massive books: i. in 18 chapters, of the Knowledge of God the Creator, including Scripture and Man's original estate; ii. in 17 chapters, of the Knowledge of God the Redeemer in Christ, as first manifested to the Fathers under the Law, and thereafter to us under the Gospel, including Sin, Freedom, the Law, the Person and Offices of Christ; iii. in 25 chapters, of the mode of obtaining (*percipiendæ*) the Grace of Christ, the benefits it confers, and the effects resulting from it; and iv. in 20 chapters, of the external Means or Helps by which God allures us into fellowship with Christ and keeps us in it, including the Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Civil Government. Without trace of ostentation or any self-obtrusion, the book breathes an air of mature and settled conviction, almost confessional and dogmatic in its grave and well-weighed sentences, whose familiar words so tenaciously arrested the minds and the memories of their disciples as to force their way, directly or indirectly, into the Confessions and Catechisms of the adhering Churches. We may feel sure that, in the study or in the debating-hall of the Calvinistic formulators, no book lay so near the well-worn Bible as the *Institutes*, and none bore such evident marks of incessant use and affectionate deference.

It will be convenient to review the Confessions belonging to this family according to the countries of their origin—Switzerland, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Poland, and the rest of the Continent of Europe; then, in the British Isles—Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland—and their dependencies; and finally in America.

A. SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE.—(1) The *Geneva Catechism* was first prepared by Calvin in 1536, on the publication of the *Institutes*, not in catechetical but in propositional form, and appeared in French

It is a popular abstract of his systematic work in 58 sections, and terminates with a brief *Confession of Faith*, in 21 articles, to be signed by all the townsmen, affording, as Schaff puts it, 'probably the first instance of a formal pledge to a symbolical book in the history of the Reformed Church' (*Hist. of Creeds*, p. 468 [text in Müller, p. 111 ff.]). The Confession, whose opening words are 'Premièrement, nous protestons,' treats of the Word of God, the One God, God's Law, Man in his Nature, Man condemned in himself, Salvation, Justification, and Regeneration in Jesus, Remission of Sins always necessary for Believers, our whole Good in the Grace of God, Faith, Invocation of God alone and Christ's intercession, intelligent Prayer, the two Sacraments, human Traditions, Church, Excommunication, Ministers of the Word, Magistrates. The Catechism was re-cast in French, 1541, in 55 lessons, one for each Sunday in the year, and three for the great festivals; and in Latin, 1545 (text in Müller, p. 117 ff.). In this revised form it consisted of four parts—of Faith, the Apostles' Creed; of the Law, the Ten Commandments; of Prayer, the Lord's Prayer; of the Word of God and the Sacraments, as means of grace.

The opening and closing words are alike characteristic. The former are, indeed, memorable: 'What is the chief end of human life?—That men should know God, by whom they have been formed. What reason have you for saying that?—Since He hath made us, and placed us in this world, that He may be glorified in us: and in truth it is meet that our life, of which He is Himself the beginning, should be turned to His glory. What is the chief good of man?—The same. Wherefore dost thou hold it the chief good?—Because, apart from it, our lot is more unhappy than that of any of the brutes.' The closing words are: 'and that the elders should reject from communion those whom they have recognized to be by no means fit to receive the Supper and to be incapable of being admitted without pollution of the Sacrament.'

The Catechism long enjoyed extreme popularity, and was translated into many languages. In Scotland it was in regular use, being prescribed by the First Book of Discipline for Sabbath catechizing, as 'the most perfect that ever yet was used in the Kirk.' It is clear without being superficial, simple without being childish, lacking in the picturesque, but well arranged, comprehensive, and dignified. If it was excelled, it was only by its own offspring, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Luther's can scarcely be made a basis of comparison; it is so much less comprehensive in contents.

(2) The *Zürich Confession* (1545), the *Zürich Consensus* (1549), and the *Rhatian Confession* (1552) form a group by themselves, as noticed above (p. 860), containing a harmony of Zwinglian and Calvinistic doctrine.

(3) The *Consensus of Geneva* (1552), though it received the signatures of the pastorate, was a controversial treatise rather than a Confession. It formed, in fact, the second portion of Calvin's answer to the strictures passed by the Romanist theologian Pighius, and the ex-Carmelite physician Bolsec, upon his doctrine of predestination. A somewhat harsh polemic, it is interesting as an exposition of the grounds on which Calvin persisted in maintaining the doctrine in its fullest form, in face of caricature and argument alike, and, in spite of the hesitation and defection of his friends, as a comfort and stay to the believer.

(4) The *French Confession*, or *Confessio Gallica*, appeared in 1559 (the date of Calvin's final edition of the *Institutes*), and marks the close of his theological activity. In spite of persecution and obloquy, a group of important Protestant congregations had been formed in various parts of France in the years 1555 to 1558. In 1558 doctrinal differences arose at Poitiers, and the visit of one of the Paris pastors to that town seems to have first suggested a conference with a view to a Confession and a Book of Discipline. Calvin was not in

favour of the project, but in 1559 the first Synod of the French Reformed Church met in Paris, and both documents took shape. The Confession is in 40 articles, based upon a draft prepared by Calvin in 1557 for the congregation in Paris to be presented with a letter to the King of France in vindication of their principles. It was drawn up by Antoine de la Roche Chandon, a pupil of Calvin, and slightly modified and enlarged by the Synod. It has been re-affirmed again and again as the national standard of the French Church. The revision of 1571 by the Synod of La Rochelle gave it the name of the 'Confession of La Rochelle,' by which it is also known. A variant form, in 35 articles, before 1571, is supposed by Müller to consist of Calvin's draft, concerning which Morel, the Chairman of the Synod, wrote to Calvin: 'It has been decided to add some things to your Confession, but to change very few.' Calvin's desire that the Confession should not be made public and reach the eyes of the civil authorities was deferred to, but its privacy was extremely short-lived. It was prepared for immediate signature by all ministers. In its doctrine and in the arrangement of its short articles it is normally Calvinist.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 490, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, p. 356 ff., for text French and English; Müller, p. xxxii ff.; text, p. 221 ff.]

(5) The *Helvetic Consensus Formula* (1675) was the counterblast of orthodox Swiss Calvinism, especially in German Switzerland, centring in Zürich and Basel, to the innovations of the Saumur theologians, Amyraut, de La Place, and Cappel, Calvinist professors untouched by Arminianism. These taught, at variance from accepted views on 'particular' Predestination, the imputation of Adam's sin, and the literal inspiration of the Scriptures, maintaining that the decree of Divine grace was of conditional universality, that the guilt of Adam must be re-incurred by his descendants on their own responsibility to warrant condemnation, that the vowel-system in Biblical Hebrew was the invention of an age long subsequent to the composition and canonization of Scripture, and that in the Hebrew, as in the Greek, Bible the existence of variant readings and textual corruptions and lacunæ disproved the claim of literal or verbal inspiration and infallibility. The Saumur theologians, who thus seemed to abandon the outworks of the strict Calvinist position, acted in an apologetic as well as a scientific interest, in order to strengthen their system by the timely evacuation of fortifications which were sure to be turned or taken by Romanist and other adversaries. They fell back, in part, upon Lutheran and Zwinglian forms of thought. While maintaining the double decree based on God's providence and foreknowledge, they made it universal in intent, faith being the pre-ordained condition of its operation in grace; even the heathen, like young children, might be beneficiaries of the merit of Christ just as they are of God's universal providence, through a faith answering, however faintly, to that of Christians within the visible Church. Yet in the result none but the elect are saved. The decree is universal in intent, but man makes it particular in effect.

Amyraldism (*q.v.*) was, after continued debate, permitted by French Synods, but condemned nearly a generation later by the Swiss Reformed theologians. The Consensus Formula was prepared by John Henry Heidegger, Professor at Zürich, assisted by Lucas Gernler of Basel, and Francis Turretin of Geneva, all men of theological distinction and of eminently Christian spirit. Though polemical in purpose, its tone is courteous, and it rejects rather than condemns. It was intended to be an appendix to the accepted Calvinistic standards, not strictly

a fresh Symbol, and as such it exercised a local authority by order of Church and State in Zürich, Basel, and Geneva, and other Reformed Cantons, for half a century.

Articles 1-8 treat of biblical Inspiration, 4-6 of Predestination, 7-9 of the Covenant of Works before the Fall, 10-12 of the immediate Imputation of Adam's Sin to his Posterity, 13-16 of the Limitation of the Atonement to the elect alone in purpose as in effect, 17-22 of particular election, and of the insufficiency for salvation of the Divine revelation in nature and in providence, 23-25 of the two covenants,—against Amyraut's *three* of nature, law, and grace,—even Old Testament saints having been saved by faith in the earlier revelation of the Lamb of God and of the Divine Trinity, and 26 forbids teaching any doctrine extraneous or contrary to the Scriptures and such received standards as the Second Helvetic Confession and the Canons of Dort.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 477-489; Müller, pp. lxix, lxx, *Lat. text*, pp. 861-870.]

(6) *The Confession of the Free Evangelical Church of the Canton de Vaud* (1847), at Lausanne, was the Confessional firstfruits of the Revival of Evangelicalism in the Swiss and French Churches in the fifth decade of last century, which led to the disruption of the Established Churches and the formation, after the Scottish model, of Free denominations. Six articles in the first section of the Constitution, 'Of the Free Church in General,' define in simple terms the loyal adherence of the Church to Scripture, and to the 16th cent. evangelical doctrinal tradition as embodied, *e.g.*, in the Helvetic Confession; its intention of fraternizing with other evangelical bodies and recognizing their membership; and its claim to spiritual autonomy.

[French text in Müller, p. 903. Full particulars of the doctrinal standards of the Swiss Free Churches in detail will be found in the *Report of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance*, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1880, pp. 1081-1093.]

(7) *The Confession of the Free Church of Geneva* (1848) embodies the same spirit in more precise doctrinal terms. Its 17 short Articles state the substance of evangelical doctrine on Scripture, God, Christ, the Incarnation and Atonement, Regeneration, Justification, Sanctification, Judgment, the Church Invisible hidden in the Church Visible, the Sacraments as symbols and pledges of salvation, ecclesiastical fellowship. Salvation in all its phases is the gift of Divine Grace; true believers, its recipients, are elect in Christ from before the world's foundation, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father; God, who so loved the world as to give His only Son, ordains in this life that all men in all places should be converted, that each is responsible for his sin and unbelief, that Jesus repulses none who turns to Him, and that every sinner who sincerely invokes His name will be saved.

[French text in Müller, p. 905.]

(8) *The Constitution of the French Free Churches* (1849) includes a briefer and even simpler and more Scriptural statement of faith and principles, warmly evangelical in its terms, graceful and gracious in its language. Its clauses declare the faith that rests on Scripture, on God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the universal call to repentance and salvation, the resurrection and judgment to come; and close with a doxology.

[French text in Müller, p. 907. Full particulars of the doctrinal standards of the French Free Churches in detail will be found in the *Report of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance*, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1880, pp. 1068-1081.]

(9) *The Declaration of Faith of the Reformed Church of France* (1872) was the work of the first Synod that met since the suspension by Louis XIV. in 1660. Venerable as was the French Confession of La Rochelle, and sacred in its associations, it could not be re-affirmed without modification so late in the 19th century. Its authorization of the power of the magistrate to punish heresy by the sword was an article long since unlearned through bitter experience of its practical operation. But, even on the cardinal tenets of French Calvinistic tradition, unanimity and even substantial agreement were soon found to have passed away. The

Declaration, liberal and moderate as it is, was adopted only by a small majority and at the price of ultimate schism, the minority being averse to creed subscription. It was proposed by Charles Bois, professor at Montauban; affirms the fidelity of the Church to her original principles of faith and freedom; proclaims 'the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification'; and maintains, as the basis of the Church's teaching, 'the grand Christian facts represented in her religious solemnities, and set forth in her liturgies, especially in the Confession of Sins, the Apostles' Creed, and the order for the administration of the Lord's Supper.'

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 498 ff. incl. text; Müller, p. lxxix, and text p. 910.]

(10) *The Constitution of the Free Church of Neuchâtel* (1874) briefly sets forth in three articles of its first chapter its faith in Holy Scripture, and in the great facts contained in the Apostles' Creed, and its devotion to the good of the people at large.

[Müller, p. lxx; text, p. 911.]

B. GERMANY.—The German Reformed Confessions—a considerable group in themselves—profess a moderate Calvinism, in touch with the Lutheranism of Melancthon, chary, on the one hand, of referring to the decree of reprobation, but, on the other, faithful to the Genevan sacramental doctrine. Only one of them, the Heidelberg Catechism, attained to an international currency and authority.

(1) *The Confession of the Frankfort Community of Foreigners* (1554) was called for by popular hostility to their sacramental ideas, and was intended by them to rebut the charge of Anabaptism. The exiles included a portion of the fugitives from Continental persecution, many of them from Holland, who had taken refuge in London under Edward VI., but were compelled to disperse on Mary's accession. In 1551 they had presented to Edward a statement and vindication of their tenets, in the *Compendium Doctrinæ* by Martin Micron, which in a Dutch version was long cherished in Holland as an authoritative symbol. The Confession of 1554 was embodied in a Book of Church Order, 'Liturgia Sacra,' and is a revision of the earlier compendium under the influence of John à Lasco, their leader in England, and of Calvin. Its preface undertakes to show what constitutes a true Christian, and what the chief good of man, and bases faith on the Scriptures and their summary in the Apostles' Creed.

Part I treats of God, His attributes, and work, His Fatherhood to men not simply as creator, nor (as of Christ) their begotter, but as having elected them to adoptive sonship; and of man's creation and fall into sin. Part 2 treats of Jesus Christ, part 3 of the Holy Spirit. Part 4, 'of the Church,' ends with a repudiation of the Pope and of Roman Catholic errors.

[Müller, p. xlix; Latin text, pp. 667-686.]

(2) *The Emden Catechism* (1554) is closely connected with the Frankfort Confession. A Lasco was its author. It took the place of a larger Catechism for children based on Micron's *Compendium* and also of a Lutherizing substitute which an Emden pastor had prepared on his own authority. It became the recognized text-book and doctrinal norm of East Friesland, in whose dialect it is written. (Text in Müller, pp. 686-682.)

Its 94 questions deal simply and concisely with the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Plan of Salvation, the difference between Law and Gospel, the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Church, and Prayer. The opening question is, 'Wherefore art thou created a human being?—That I should be an image of God, and should know, love, and serve my God.' The second asks, 'Wherefore art thou become a Christian?' The third, 'How art thou sure that thou art a true Christian?' (Müller, p. li.)

(3) *The Heidelberg Catechism* (1563), the most popular, able, and authoritative of the German Reformed Confessions, was prepared on the basis

of earlier Catechisms, by two young Calvinist theologians in sympathy with Melancthon's standpoint—Zacharias Baer or Ursinus, and Caspar Olevig or Olevianus, professors at Heidelberg, who had had distinguished academic careers, had enjoyed friendly intercourse with the chief teachers of Germany and Switzerland, and had undergone privation and persecution for their views. Enjoying the entire confidence of the noble Elector Palatine, Frederick III., the first German prince to profess the Reformed doctrine, and so forfeit the political amnesty guaranteed only to Lutherans by the Augsburg Interim, they received from him the commission to prepare a manual which should serve alike for teaching the young and for settling the constant differences in doctrine between Lutherans, of both schools, and Calvinists, of which Heidelberg had become the continual scene. No commission was ever better justified. The Catechism, though it had detractors, soon established itself in every Reformed land and language. The Elector (whose interest in such work was later to be shown, in 1577, by a testamentary Confession left in his own writing) watched over its progress, and made frequent suggestions, one of which added to the second and later editions the sole polemic question and answer, no. 80, containing the clause, 'And thus the Mass at bottom is nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and passion of Jesus Christ, and an accursed idolatry.'

The Catechism opens with the question: 'What is thine only comfort in life and in death?—That I, with body and soul, both in life and in death, am not my own, but belong to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who with His precious blood has fully satisfied for all my sins, and redeemed me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my Father in heaven not a hair can fall from my head; yea, and that all things must work together for my salvation. Wherefore by His Holy Spirit He also assures me of eternal life, and makes me heartily willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him.' The second question is, 'How many things are necessary for thee to know that thou in this comfort mayest live and die happily?—Three things: First, the greatness of my sin and misery. Second, how I am redeemed from all my sins and misery. Third, how I am to be thankful to God for such redemption.' Its last question completes the exposition of the Lord's Prayer: 'What is the meaning of the word Amen?—Amen means, So shall it truly and surely be. For my prayer is much more certainly heard of God than I feel in my heart that I desire these things of Him.'

After the first two preface questions, the Catechism falls into three parts. Part I, 'Of Man's Misery,' questions 3-11, traces the knowledge of sin to God's Law, gives Christ's summary of the Law in two great commandments, affirms man's creation after God's image 'in righteousness and true holiness; that he might rightly know God his Creator, heartily love Him and live with Him in eternal blessedness, to praise and glorify Him,' traces sin to Adam's fall, and warns of God's wrath. Part II, 'Of Man's Redemption,' questions 12-85, expounds Anselm's view of the atonement in Christ, shows how the plan of grace was foreshadowed in the OT, how it is appropriated by faith which is 'not only a certain knowledge whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in His Word, but also a hearty trust which the Holy Ghost works in me by the Gospel that not only to others, but to me also, forgiveness of sins, everlasting righteousness and salvation are freely given by God, merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merits'; it then expounds the faith embodied in the Apostles' Creed in three divisions: of God the Father in Christ and our creation, of God the Son and our redemption, and of God the Holy Ghost and our sanctification—the Trinity revealed by God's Word; especially admirable being the questions on Providence, on the names of Christ and Christian, on the benefits of Christ's Ascension, on the Church and Communion of Saints, on Baptism and the Lord's Supper, though those on the Supper are very long and full; and on the office of the Keys. Part III, 'Of Thankfulness,' questions 86-129, sets forth Christian duty as the fruits of grateful penitence and faith, to the glory of God and the help of our neighbours, according to the Ten Commandments, which are expounded, in positive as well as negative terms, with a wealth of shrewd Christian wisdom and practical good sense, as, e.g., where the Fifth is made to teach not only obedience to parents and those in authority, and submission to their good instruction and correction, but that we 'bear patiently with their infirmities, since it is God's will to govern us by their hand.' Finally, with a view to obedience to God's will, the need of the aids of prayer is urged, and the successive clauses of the Lord's prayer are expounded.

No praise is too great for the simplicity of language, the accord with Scripture, the natural order, the theological restraint, and the devout tone

which characterize this Catechism. The excessive length of many of its answers militates against literal memorization, but the excellence of their contents goes far to atone for their length. It is a happy blend of Calvinist precision and comprehensiveness with Lutheran warmth and humanity. It is a miracle of unity and continuity, as wise in its omissions as in its contents. Predestination is not mentioned, save in the guise of election to good. It is Zwinglio-Calvinist on the Sacraments and on the natures of Christ, Luther-Calvinist in its anti-synergism, Melancthonian in its key-note of warm personal trust and in its mediative genius. It is, as Olevig from the first acknowledged, profoundly indebted to its forerunners. Their contributions and their influence on style, thought, and arrangement are patent. The Catechisms of Luther, Calvin, a Lasco, and Leo Judae were not only as familiar to the authors as Baer's own earlier products, but were freely used. Yet the workmanship never betrays patchwork, or suggests diversity of hands or heterogeneity of materials. By sheer worth it has won a high place for itself among the classics of religious instruction. It was adopted throughout every part of Reformed Germany, in Holland and its colonies, in Scotland, in Hungary, in Poland, Moravia, Bohemia. With German and Dutch colonists it crossed the seas, and it remains the standard of the Reformed Churches, German and Dutch, in America. It was authorized by the Presbyterian Church in the United States so recently as 1870. See also art. CATECHISMS (Heidelberg).

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 529-554 (on hist., contents, and bibliog.), *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 307-355 (text in Germ. and Eng.); Müller, pp. i-iii, 682-719 (Germ. text and proofs); *PRE3*; J. W. Nevin, *Hist. and Genius of the Heidelb. Catech.*, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1847.]

(4) The *Nassau Confession* (1578) belongs to the Reformed group more than to the Lutheran, unlike the contemporary Repetition of Anhalt (see on both, p. 850* above). Its author was the Saxon divine, Christopher Pezel, exiled for his Calvinistic sympathies. It was prepared by the order of Count John, in answer to the Formula of Concord, and sanctioned by the Synod of Dillenbourg.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, pp. liii-liv, *Germ. text*, pp. 720-739.]

(5) The *Bremen Consensus* (1595), preceded in 1572 by a 'Declaration,' marks the establishment of Calvinism in that city. Its author was Pezel, and its doctrine is distinguished from that of his earlier work only by the sections on Predestination and the Communion of the Sick. It definitely associates as manuals of pastoral instruction the works of the Swiss Reformers with those of Melancthon. Till 1784, all pastors were required to sign it.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, p. liv, *Germ. text*, pp. 739-799.]

(6) The *Confession of Anhalt* (1597) was introduced, on the temporary overthrow of Lutheranism, by the Prince Regent, John George. It contained 28 Calvinistic Articles, and upheld a moderate theory of Predestination (see Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.* § 144).

(7) The *Book of Stafford* (1599) was composed by the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, one of the many German nobles who busied themselves with theology and asserted themselves as doctrinal dictators. It was imposed upon a none too receptive clergy and people while the Margrave lived.

[Müller, pp. liv-lv; *Germ. text*, pp. 799-816.]

(8) The *Hessian Confession and Catechism* (1607) were moderate Calvinist re-statements of Lutheran standards, prompted by the Landgrave, and sanctioned by the Synod at Cassel. The Confession, while retaining its Lutheran basis, expresses the Reformed views on the Person of Christ and the Sacraments, and consists of five paragraphs on the Ten Commandments, on the abolition of images and pictures, on the Articles of the Faith and

the Person of Christ, on Election by Grace, on the Lord's Supper. Along with the Heidelberg Catechism, a modified form of Luther's Small Catechism, still in use, was authorized.

The latter begins: 'Art thou a Christian?—Yes, Sir. How dost thou know it?—Because I have been baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and know and believe the Christian teaching. . . . How many chief portions has the Christian teaching?—Five: the Ten Commandments, the ten Articles of the Christian Faith, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, or the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, pp. lv, lvi, Germ. texts, pp. 817-833.]

(9) The *Confession of the Heidelberg Theologians* (1607) is a manifesto of the Reformed Church doctrine, in its affirmative and negative aspects.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 565; Heppel, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reform. Kirchen Deutschlands*, Elberteld, 1860, p. 250 ff.]

(10) The *Bentheim Confession* (1613), which is still authoritative, was drawn up by authority of the ruling Count, a convinced Presbyterian. It has 12 Articles, each a sentence long, in the form of questions, e.g.—'Quæritur 1. De essentia divinae Unitate: an credas unam et individuum esse divinam essentiam. . . .' The topics are the Unity of the Divine Being, the Trinity of Persons, the Person of Jesus Christ, the Threefold Office of Christ, the Efficacy of His Death, Infant Baptism, Election in Christ, Salvation, the Means of Salvation. It declares the Divine will that all should be saved, but that persistent unbelievers and impenitents should be damned eternally. No Confession in the long series is less controversial and partisan, more simple and charitable.

[Müller, pp. lvi, Lat. text, pp. 833-834.]

(11) The *Confession of Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg* (1614), is the first of a group of three Confessions recognized in Brandenburg, the central and dominant province of Prussia, whose ruling house became Reformed, though the population mostly remained Lutheran. Though brought up in uncompromising Lutheranism, and indeed pledged to it, Sigismund's social intimacy with Calvinistic Holland and the Palatinate led him to become a close student of Reformed doctrine; and in 1613, five years after his accession, he openly professed his convinced adherence to it. Next year he vindicated the step by publishing his personal Confession of Faith, the fruit of personal study, assisted by Dr. Füßel, Superintendent of Zerbst.

In addition to the Word of God, 'the only rule of the pious which is perfect, sufficient for salvation, and abides for ever,' he recognizes the whole series of Ecumenical Creeds and decisions to A. D. 451, and the Augsburg Confession in both forms. The Confession opens with a reference to Biblical passages in which the duty of princes and kings to religion is set forth, and declares the Elector's sense of obligation to further the teaching of God's pure Word in school and church, and to abolish human ceremonies and superstitions. It rejects the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's bodily ubiquity, the practice of baptismal exorcism, and the use of the consecrated wafer; it sets forth the Calvinist doctrine of the Sacraments and Election, expressly adding that God sincerely desires the salvation of all, and is not responsible for sin; and it declares the Elector's purpose of religious toleration, God alone being judge of each man's faith. Later, however, Sigismund put down extreme Lutheran teaching in Church and Universities, and removed the Formula of Concord from the authorized standards of his Church.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 554-557; Müller, pp. lvi-lviii, Germ. text, pp. 835-848.]

(12) The *Leipzig Colloquy* (1631) was the outcome of a conference arranged by the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, in which, with the Landgrave of Hesse and three representative theologians of each communion, Reformed and Lutheran, they met to consolidate the Protestant forces in doctrinal alliance against the menace of Roman Catholicism. The basis of discussion was the Augsburg Confession. Substantial agreement was easily reached, except on the Lord's Supper and Body of Christ; on Predestination little more than verbal difference remained. Unhappily, the times were not ripe for a real understanding. The Colloquy was recognized, however, as having a certain authority in

Brandenburg, as explanatory of the Confession of Sigismund.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 558-560.]

(13) The *Declaration of Thorn* (1645) occupied a somewhat similar position among the Brandenburg Symbols, or *Confessiones Marchicae*. It was the Statement of Reformed Doctrine submitted to a Conference of Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic representatives, convened by the King of Poland, Wladislaw IV., himself a Roman Catholic, in hope to allay his subjects' religious dissensions. Among the delegates were Amos Comenius, the Moravian bishop; George Calixtus of Helmstädt, the mild Lutheran; and Calovius, the uncompromising Lutheran. Little or nothing came of the meeting, which, as Calixtus laments, proved an 'irritativum' instead of a 'caritativum' colloquium, as intended.

The Reformed Declaration in its first part, 'Professio Generalis,' affirms Scripture as the sole rule of faith, and the Ecumenical Creeds and decisions as subordinate and explanatory authorities, and accepts the Variata Augsburg Confession and the Consensus of Sendomir (1570) as essentially equivalent statements of Protestant doctrine. In the second part, 'Declaratio Specialis,' it states the Reformed system in its points of agreement with, and difference from, Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism respectively.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 560-563.]

(14) The *Articles of the Palatine Union of 1818* are an apparent exception to the general rule that the Union of Lutheran and Reformed Churches throughout Germany in 1817 and thereafter rested upon no new Confessional basis, but upon the formal recognition of the historical standards of both, many of whose doctrinal angularities and differences had been rubbed away by the hand of time. Yet in reality they simply express the universal basis of the union movement—honour to the ancient standards but not strict obligation, submission to Scripture alone, certainty that the offer of grace is free to all men, recognition of the Lord's Supper as a memorial feast and act of personal communion with Christ as Redeemer.

[Müller, pp. lxx-lxvi, Germ. text, p. 870 f.]

C. BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.—(1) The *Belgic Confession* (1561) took the place of Micon's *Compendium Doctrinae*, translated into Dutch in 1551, which along with kindred catechisms of à Lasco and others had been current in the Low Countries as a norm and manual of doctrine (cf. p. 865^b above). It was composed by Guy de Bray, pastor at Tournay, whose career as a Reformer had begun in exile in England and was to end in 1567 in martyrdom. De Bray submitted his work to a number of scholars and divines for suggestions and revision—among them Adrien de Saravia, a Leyden professor—and addressed it to Philip II. in the faint hope of mitigating his persecuting frenzy against the Reformation. The Confession, written in French originally, follows closely in contents and order the French or Gallic Confession of 1559, avoiding all provocative references, however, to Romanism, expanding the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Church, and Sacraments, and expressly dissociating itself from Anabaptism. It has 37 Articles, which Schaff adjudges, 'upon the whole, the best symbolical statement of the Calvinistic system of doctrine, with the exception of the Westminster Confession.' The main variant recensions were those of the Synod of Antwerp, 1566, in Latin, the reviser being Francis Junius, a pupil of Calvin and later a professor at Leyden; and, in French, Latin, and Dutch, of the Synod of Dort in 1619. The Confession, associated with the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort, has been the accepted Reformed Symbol of Belgium and Holland, and of the kindred Colonial Churches.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 502-508, *Evang. Prot. Creeds* (Fr. text of Dort, and Eng. of Dutch Ref. Ch. of America), pp. 383-430; Müller, p. xxiv, Lat. text, pp. 283-249.]

(2) The *Dutch Confession of 1566* is a compara-

tively obscure work of uncertain origin, of a milder Calvinism, Zwinglian indeed in character, reflecting in its 18 Articles the apologetic purpose of the Belgic Confession, but sharper in its anti-Romanist polemic.

[Müller, p. xxxv, Dutch text, pp. 935-940.]

(3) The *Remonstrance* of 1610 summed up in 5 Articles the Arminian modifications of orthodox Calvinism. James Arminius had died in 1609. His views were maintained by Episcopius (Bisschop), his successor at Leyden, and by the preacher Uytenbogaert, and were supported by such eminent jurist-statesmen as Barneveldt and Grotius. The 'Remonstrance' was drawn up by Uytenbogaert for presentation to the Estates of Holland and West Friesland, and was signed by 46 pastors. It represented an even more serious and determined attempt than Amyraldism—its kindred though independent French counterpart—to break down the rigour of supralapsarian and infralapsarian Calvinism. Though condemned by the weighty, if one-sided, Synod of Dort, and driven by force from Holland or suppressed for a time, it exerted an extremely wide-spread influence, especially throughout the English-speaking world, pervading the Anglican Church and its great Methodist offshoot. It represents the recoil of the human heart from the stern inferences of the head, from the darker aspects of Scripture teaching and of everyday observation of life. Its weapons against scholastic logic and learning are sentiment and humane feeling. It first denies five current propositions, then affirms five others, ending with the claim that the latter are 'agreeable to the word of God, tending to edification, and, as regards this argument, sufficient for salvation, so that it is not necessary or edifying to rise higher or to descend deeper.'

The first article affirms that election is conditional upon, and inseparable from, Divine foreknowledge of faith and perseverance, and reprobation upon foreknowledge of unbelief and sin persisted in. The second affirms that the atonement through Christ's death is universal and sufficient for all, though not necessarily accepted and actually effective in every case, denying any *a priori* limitation of it to elect persons. The third affirms that fallen man cannot accomplish good or attain to saving faith unless regenerated through the Holy Spirit; but the fourth denies that grace is irresistible, compelling the elect though withheld from the reprobate. The fifth denies that recipients of irresistible grace, those who through faith are 'Christo insit ac proinde Spiritus eius vivificantis participes,' are unable to fall away and necessarily persevere to the end, and affirms that it is impossible to say from Scripture whether the regenerate can ever fall away.

[Schaff, *Hist.* p. 508 ff., text of positive artt. in Dutch, Lat., and Eng. in *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 545-549; Müller, p. lviii; *PRE*³, art. 'Remonstranten'; in Dutch the series of works by Joannes Tiedeman, 1847-1872.]

(4) The *Canons of the Synod of Dort* (1619) are the final answer of orthodox Calvinism to the Remonstrants, accepted unanimously by a convention of 84 Reformed divines, 58 of whom were Dutch, and 18 lay assessors. The foreign representatives came at the request of the States-General from almost every 'Reformed' country. James I. of England sent Carleton, bishop of Llandaff, Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, Ward, professor at Cambridge, Joseph Hall (afterwards bishop of Norwich), replaced later by Thomas Goad, and one of his chaplains, Walter Balcanquhal, a Scot by birth, afterwards dean of Durham—with the shrewd advice to 'mitigate the heat on both sides,' and to urge the Dutch clergy 'not to deliver in the pulpit to the people those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides.' Distinguished French delegates were prevented from attending by the veto of the Crown. In addition to the flower of Dutch learning and piety, then at their highest, representatives, similarly distinguished, from Great Britain, the Palatinate, Hesse, the

chief Churches of Switzerland, Nassau, Bremen, and Emden, were present to deliberate and append their signatures to the findings of the Synod. One-sided though the assembly necessarily was, the Arminians being everywhere in a minority, no more learned or respectable Synod was ever convened, and no body more representative of the Reformed Protestant world ever met. The result of their discussions was a foregone conclusion; but, apart from special meetings, 154 regular sittings were held, and the whole subject under debate was examined and analyzed and set forth in dogmatic form with unexampled dialectic thoroughness and theological precision, and with an unmistakably reverent tone. Beyond question, the outcome is strictly loyal to the tradition of infralapsarian Calvinism at all points. Alike in logic and in Scripture-learning the new positions failed to win conviction. Consistency seemed to reside with their opponents. The Arminian theses were so largely based on the older doctrine that a more radical departure from the presuppositions of Calvinism would have been needed to substantiate their case. At this distance of time it is not easy to discover in them a very profound relief from the burdens under which they chafed. Where the difference between the two parties is not sentimental, it is apt to appear merely scholastic. Wesley in England was a convinced Arminian, Whitefield a Calvinist as convinced, so that they parted for ever as workers in the visible Church; but were the spirit and the outcome of their work as preachers not identical, were they not equally rewarded and equally 'owned'? Is it possible to believe that a world of thought really parted them or the communions which gathered round them? Would many among their vast audiences have recognized that between them there could yawn the theological abyss which the debates and canons of Dordrecht laboriously located and surveyed? The method rather than the practical outcome of their thought was at variance. Each could find warrant in formal Scriptures of the highest authority.

The Canons are arranged in four chapters corresponding to the Arminian re-statement (given in Müller, p. lix ff.) of the Remonstrance in four chapters, the third containing Articles 3 and 4 of the original Remonstrance. Each chapter affirms a group of theses, rejects a group of errors, and closes with the signatures of the Synod.

Ch. I., of *Divine Predestination*, affirms 18 propositions. 'As all men have sinned in Adam. . . God would have done no injustice by leaving them all to perish' (Art. 1). 'But in this the love of God was manifested, that He sent His only-begotten Son. . . that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life' (Art. 2). 'And that men may be brought to believe, God mercifully sends the messengers of these most joyful tidings to whom He will and at what time He pleaseth; by whose ministry men are called to repentance and faith in Christ crucified' (Art. 3). 'The wrath of God abideth on those who believe not this Gospel; but such as receive it, and embrace Jesus the Saviour by a true and living faith, are delivered' (Art. 4). 'The cause or guilt of this unbelief, as well as of all other sins, is nowise in God but in man himself: whereas faith in Jesus Christ and salvation through Him is the free gift of God' (Art. 5). 'That some receive the gift, and others not, proceeds from God's decree, according to which He graciously softens the hearts of the elect, however obstinate, and inclines them to believe: while He leaves the non-elect in His last judgment to their own wickedness and obduracy. And herein is especially displayed the profound, the merciful, and at the same time the righteous discrimination between men equally involved in ruin' (Art. 6). Election is of mere grace, sovereign good pleasure, is of a certain number of persons by nature neither better nor more deserving than others (cf. Eph 1:4, Ro 8:30). There are not various decrees of election, but one and the same. It was not founded upon foreseen faith and the obedience of faith or any other good quality or disposition in man as the pre-requisite cause or condition on which it depended but men are chosen to faith and to the obedience of faith. Election is the fountain of every saving good, Eph 1:4 (Art. 7-9). 'The elect cannot be cast away nor their number diminished. In due time (though in various degrees and in different measures) they attain the assurance of their election, not by inquisitively prying into the secret and deep things of God, but by observing in themselves with a spiritual joy and holy pleasure the infallible fruits of election pointed out in the word of God; such as a true faith in Christ, filial fear, a godly sorrow for sin, a hungering and thirsting after righteousness' (Artt. 11-13).

'The sense and certainty of this election afford additional matter . . . for daily humiliation before God . . . and rendering grateful returns of ardent love. The consideration of this doctrine is so far from encouraging remissness . . . or carnal security, that these in the just judgment of God are the usual effects of rash presumption, or of idle and wanton trifling with the grace of election, in those who refuse to walk in the ways of the elect' (Art. 13). This doctrine is to be 'published in the Church of God for which it was peculiarly designed, provided it be done with reverence, in the spirit of discretion and piety, for the glory of God's most holy name, and for enlivening and comforting His people, without vainly attempting to investigate the secret way of the Most High' (Art. 14). 'What peculiarly tends to illustrate and recommend the grace of election to us is the express testimony of Holy Scripture, that not all but some only are elected, while others are passed by in the eternal decree' (Art. 15). 'Those who do not yet experience a lively faith in Christ, an assured confidence of soul, peace of conscience, an earnest endeavour after filial obedience, and glorying in God through Christ, efficaciously wrought in them, and do nevertheless persist in the use of the means which God hath appointed for working these graces in us, ought not to be alarmed at the mention of reprobation, nor rank themselves among the reprobate, but diligently persevere in the use of means, and with ardent desires devoutly and humbly wait for a season of richer grace. . . . But this doctrine is justly terrible to those who, regardless of God and of the Saviour Jesus Christ, have wholly given themselves up to the cares of the world . . . so long as they are not seriously converted to God' (Art. 16). 'Since the Word of God testifies that the children of believers are holy, not by nature, but in virtue of the covenant of grace . . . godly parents have no reason to doubt of the election and salvation of their children whom it pleases God to call out of this life in their infancy' (Art. 17). 'To those who murmur at the free grace of election, and just severity of reprobation, we answer with the Apostle, " . . . who art thou that repliest against God?" and quote the language of our Saviour, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" And therefore, with holy adoration of these mysteries, we exclaim in the words of the Apostle, "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? . . . or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him and through him and to him are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen." (Art. 18).

Ch. II., of the Death of Christ and the Redemption of Man thereby, affirms 9 propositions, setting forth an atonement limited to the elect. 'The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin; is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world' (Art. 3). It is so for these reasons: 'because He was not only really man and perfectly holy, but also the only-begotten Son of God . . . and because His death was attended with a sense of the wrath and curse of God due to us for sin' (Art. 4). 'Moreover, the promise of the Gospel is that whosoever believeth in Christ crucified shall not perish but have everlasting life. This promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God out of His good pleasure sends the Gospel' (Art. 5). 'And, whereas many who are called by the Gospel do not repent nor believe in Christ but perish in unbelief, this is not owing to any defect or insufficiency in the sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross, but is wholly to be imputed to themselves' (Art. 6). 'But as many as truly believe and are delivered and saved from sin and destruction through the death of Christ, are indebted for this benefit solely to the grace of God given them in Christ from everlasting, and not to any merit of their own. For this was the sovereign counsel and most gracious will and purpose of God the Father, that the quickening and saving efficacy of the most precious death of His Son should extend to all the elect, for the bestowal upon them of the gift of justifying faith thereby to bring them infallibly to salvation . . . that Christ should effectually redeem out of every people, tribe, nation and language, all those, and those only, who were from eternity chosen . . . and given to Him by the Father'—a 'promise proceeding from everlasting love towards the elect' (Art. 7-9).

Ch. III., of the Corruption of Man, his Conversion to God, and the Manner thereof, affirms 17 propositions. 'Man was originally formed after the image of God. His understanding was adorned with a true and saving knowledge of his Creator and of spiritual things; his heart and will were upright, all his affections pure, the whole man holy. Tempted by the Devil, he fell; and begat children, corrupt not by imitation merely, but by the propagation of a vicious nature in consequence of a just judgment of God' (Art. 1 and 2). 'All men are thus children of wrath, incapable of any saving good; without regenerating grace neither able nor willing to return to God, to reform the depravity of their nature, nor to dispose themselves to reformation. . . . There remain, however, the glimmerings of natural light, whereby man retains some knowledge of God, of natural things and of the difference between good and evil. But so far is this light of nature from being sufficient to bring him to a saving knowledge of God . . . that he is incapable of using it aright even in things natural and civil' (Art. 3-4). The Law slightly failed, accusing, not sufficing to save. The Holy Spirit, through the word or ministry of reconciliation, alone can suffice (Art. 5-6). Israel was not chosen for its own merit or use of nature's light, but of God's free choice. 'All who are

called by the Gospel are unfeignedly called. Eternal life and rest are seriously promised to all who shall come to Him and believe on Him' (Art. 7-8). 'The fault lies in men themselves, who refuse to come and be converted. . . . But that others obey and are converted is not to be ascribed to the proper exercise of free will whereby one distinguishes himself above others equally furnished with grace sufficient for faith, but it must be wholly ascribed to God, who calls effectually in time the elect from eternity, confers upon them faith and repentance. . . . that they may glory not in themselves but in the Lord' (Art. 9-10). In conversion, God uses His appointed means, and sends His Spirit to soften and regenerate the heart, working a new creation, a resurrection from the dead—a supernatural work, most delightful, astonishing, mysterious, ineffable (Art. 11-12). 'The manner of this operation cannot be fully comprehended by believers in this life. Notwithstanding, they rest satisfied with knowing and experiencing that by this grace of God, they are enabled to believe with the heart and to love their Saviour. Faith is therefore to be considered as the gift of God, not as offered to man, to be accepted or rejected at his pleasure, but because it is in reality conferred, breathed and infused into him, and because he who works in man both to will and to do, produces both the will to believe and the act of believing also' (Art. 13-14). 'Recipients of this grace owe eternal gratitude to God. Whoever is not made partaker thereof is either altogether regardless of these spiritual gifts and satisfied with his own condition, or is in no apprehension of danger, and vainly boasts the possession of that which he has not. As for those who make an external profession of faith and live regular lives, we are bound after the example of the Apostle to judge and speak of them in the most favourable manner; for the secret recesses of the heart are unknown to us. And as to others who have not yet been called, it is our duty to pray for them to God. But we are in no wise to conduct ourselves towards them with haughtiness, as if we had made ourselves to differ' (Art. 15). 'This grace of regeneration does not treat men as senseless stocks and blocks, nor take away their will and its properties, neither does violence thereto; but spiritually quickens, heals, corrects, and at the same time sweetly and powerfully bends it to a true obedience in which true freedom resides. . . . It also in no wise excludes or subverts the use of the gospel which God has ordained to be the seed of regeneration and food of the soul' (Art. 16 and 17).

Ch. IV., of the Perseverance of the Saints, affirms 16 propositions. The elect are delivered 'from the dominion of sin in this life, though not altogether from the body of sin and from the infirmities of the flesh, so long as they continue in this world. Hence spring daily sins of infirmity, and hence spots adhere to the best works of the saints. But God is faithful, who, having conferred grace, mercifully confirms and powerfully preserves them therein, even to the end' (Art. 1-3). 'Converts are not always so influenced and actuated by the Spirit of God as not in some particular instances sinfully to deviate. They must be constant in watching and prayer. By such sins they very deeply offend God, incur a deadly guilt, grieve the Holy Spirit, . . . wound their consciences, and sometimes lose the sense of God's favour, for a time, until on their return into the right way by serious repentance, the light of God's fatherly countenance again shines upon them. . . . God does not permit them to be totally deserted and to plunge themselves into everlasting destruction' (Art. 4-8). 'Of this preservation and perseverance, assurance may be obtained according to the varying proportion of faith, not of revelation apart from, or contrary to God's Word, but from faith in God's promises, from the testimony of the Holy Spirit witnessing with our spirit that we are children and heirs of God, and from a serious and holy desire to preserve a good conscience and to perform good works. If the elect were deprived of this solid comfort, that they shall finally obtain the victory, and of this infallible pledge or earnest of eternal glory, they would be of all men the most miserable. This certainty of perseverance produces no spirit of pride or carnal security, but grateful humility and circumspection, lest God's fatherly countenance should be averted, and more grievous torment of conscience be incurred' (Art. 9-13). 'The carnal mind is unable to comprehend this doctrine and the certainty thereof which God hath most abundantly revealed in His Word. . . . Satan abhors it; the world ridicules it; the ignorant and hypocritical abuse it; and heretics oppose it. But the Spouse of Christ hath always most tenderly loved and constantly defended it, as an inestimable treasure; and God, against whom neither counsel nor strength can prevail, will dispose her to continue this conduct to the end' (Art. 15).

The Canons conclude with a solemn protest, declaration, and admonition. The protest discloses the urgency of their work in view of current representations 'that the doctrine of the Reformed Churches concerning predestination . . . by its own genius and necessary tendency, leads off the minds of men from all piety and religion; that it is an opiate administered by the flesh and the devil; and the stronghold of Satan, where he lies in wait for all, and from which he wounds multitudes, and mortally strikes through many with the darts both of despair and of security; that it makes God the author of sin, unjust tyrannical, hypocritical; that it is nothing more than an interpolated Stoicism, Manichæism, Libertinism, Muhammadanism; that it renders men carnally secure, since they are persuaded by it that nothing can hinder the salvation of the elect, let them live as they please; . . . and that if the reprobate should even perform truly all the works of the saints, their obedience would not in the least contribute to their salvation; that the same doctrine teaches that God by a mere arbitrary act of His will, without the least respect or view to any sin, has predestinated the

greatest part of the world to eternal damnation, and has created them for this very purpose; that in the same manner in which election is the fountain and cause of faith and good works, reprobation is the cause of unbelief and impiety; that many children of the faithful are torn, guiltless, from their mothers' breasts and tyrannically plunged into hell: so that neither baptism, nor the prayers of the Church at their baptism, can at all profit them.' These and 'many other things of the same kind the Reformed Churches not only do not acknowledge, but even detest with their whole soul.' Christians, therefore, are solemnly urged to judge of the Reformed faith from the authorized Confessions, and not from particular utterances of a few ancient and modern teachers, often wrested from their true sense and context, and to beware of the judgment which awaits false witnesses and calumniators. Preachers of this doctrine are to handle it with modesty, reverence, and caution, for comfort and assurance, not for despair, or pride, or controversy.

The Canons of Dort represent the last effort of rigid Calvinistic orthodoxy to meet the difficulties and objections besetting their system, both from a popular and from a theological point of view. Later formulation simply rests upon their conclusions. Beyond question, they are a completely consistent expansion of Calvin's theory. Subsequent history has not shown that they succeeded in their ulterior object of silencing objections or reassuring doubters. But their tone is as admirable as their eloquence is noble and sustained. Their ethical sensitiveness and zeal for the Divine glory, even at the cost of man's dignity, are manifest. Their courage in facing the problems of election and sin in the light of Scriptural revelation—problems which practically all non-Calvinistic systems discreetly elude or ignore—is worthy of the high spirit and noble ardour of the Dutch nation then emerging from their long struggle for independence. Their only polemic is against detractors; their attitude towards Arminianism is marred by no offence against charity or good taste. To read their stately sentences is to be disabused of prejudice and suspicion, and to understand the chorus of relief and praise that greeted their publication. The contradictions which they contain, and make no effort to reduce, are the irreducible antinomies of every honest system—analogue to those of miracle and law, and related intimately to the moral problems of heredity and environment, of freedom and limitation, of Divine foreknowledge of the actions of free agents. It is a great mistake to describe them as speculative, inquisitive, or presumptuous. They spring from a self-effacing desire to systematize and harmonize the teaching of Scripture, to promote assurance of ultimate salvation in Christians without self-trust yet without slavish impotence, to combine the energy of striving against sin with trust and rest in God, to justify forgiveness by its results, not by the deserts of its recipients. To the question, Why has not God conferred saving grace *effectually* upon all, since all alike are sinners and undeserving?—they either have no answer, or confess they cannot understand, implicitly appealing to godlessness and persistent impenitence as an observed fact in life, or lay the blame upon men who are already from their birth hopelessly under blame. They both assert and deny man's individual freedom since Adam. They leave inevitably upon the human mind an impression of arbitrariness in God. He might have elected and saved all, but for reasons of His own, good, no doubt, though inscrutable and seeming harsh, reasons not connected with the particular sins of individuals, He has not done so. His action appears un-ethical according to our standards of Christian judgment. To be able to save and not to do so, to be free to elect all sinners and not to do so, when all alike have come short, whether it be true to life's experience or not, is a painful character to attribute to the God and Father of Jesus Christ. Technical or formal safeguards or reservations, counter-assertions like afterthoughts at the close or the canons, will not avail to dispel from the

popular mind, however serious, the impression of Divine cruelty. This is enough in itself to discredit any religious manifesto, however guarded or studied in its phraseology. Where the divines of Dordrecht failed, others may well pause.

Along with the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, which the Synod of Dort reaffirmed, the Canons of Dort have remained the formal standard of the group of Dutch Reformed Churches in Holland and in the lands of its emigrant children. In the National Church of Holland, however, as distinct from the conservative secessions, they are no longer held as strictly binding. Their influence upon subsequent Calvinistic Confessions is obvious even to the superficial reader.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 512-523: full Lat. text in *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 550-580, Eng. text of Dutch Ref. Church of America, positive articles only, *ib.* pp. 581-597; Eng. text of positive and negative canons in Hall, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, 1842, pp. 539-573; Müller, pp. lviii-lxiv; full Lat. text, pp. 843-861.]

D. HUNGARY, POLAND, AND THE REST OF THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.—i. HUNGARY.—In Hungary the Reformation movement, originated from Wittenberg, was promoted by a numerous group of native workers, at their head Matthias Dévay, and was consolidated by the acceptance in 1545 of the Augsburg Confession. But with remarkable rapidity the Saxon gave place to the Swiss influence. Dévay and his successors passed over, in spite of personal ties to Wittenberg, to Zwinglian and Calvinistic views, the phrase '*corde, non ore*' in relation to the communion of the Lord's body becoming a watchword in the Magyar Church. The native Confessions belong to the years 1559-70, and to the lifetime and ascendancy of Peter Melius, the 'Hungarian Calvin,' teacher and pastor in Debreczen. They have all given place, however, since 1626 or 1646, to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession.

(1) The *Confession of Kolosvar* (*Claudiopolis*), 1559, is a brief '*Sententia*' on the Lord's Supper drawn up by Melius (Iuhasz), David, and seven colleagues met in synod; it was followed in the same year by a *Defensio*, or vindication, by David, both maintaining the Calvinist and rejecting the Lutheran doctrine. The *Confession of Vasarahely*, 1559, in Hungarian, reproduces its teaching.

(2) The *Confession of Debreczen* (1560-2) is the first general Calvinist Confession of the Church, dealing with election and other topics, doctrinal and ecclesiastical. It is based on the Fathers and on the Genevan teachers, was prepared by Melius, and was ratified by Synod. It is also known as *Confessio Agriavallensis*, or *Conf. Hungarorum*, or *Conf. Catholica*. Melius at the same time introduced into school and general use a *Catechism*, modelled upon and inspired throughout by Calvin's Catechism.

(3) The *Confession of Tarcsal and Torda*, adopted by the successive synods of those places in 1562 and 1563, is a shortened form of Beza's Compendium of Reformed Doctrine, the *Confessio Christianæ Fidei* of 1560. It incorporates the Ecumenical Creeds, and treats in six parts of the Holy Trinity, of God the Father, of Jesus Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of the Church, and of final Judgment.

(4) The *Confession of Czenger* (1570), or *Confessio Hungarica*, is the last and most important of a series of Synodic Declarations against the Unitarian movement in Hungary, earlier examples being the *Brief Confession of Pastors at Debreczen* (1567), the *Confession of Kassa* (1568), and the *Confession of Várad* (1569).

The Confession of the Synod of Czenger, at which Melius was the guiding mind, but from which the pastors who sympathized with Socinus and Servetus absented themselves, contains 11 chapters dealing with the One and Only God,—the only-begotten Son of God from eternity,—the Holy Spirit, as true and only God and Lord, having life in Himself,—the Words and Expres-

sions employed by the Holy Spirit concerning God through the Prophets and Apostles,—the Rules for the interpretation of expressions concerning God,—the Law and the Gospel in the Church,—the Rites and Sacraments of the Church, Infant Baptism and the Lord's Supper,—Christian liberty in food, drink, clothing, and ecclesiastical places of meeting,—Divine freedom from respect of persons in saving some and hardening others,—the Cause of Sin, and the Mediator the Son of God,—the removal of obnoxious heretics and antichrists. The Confession is less pleasing in tone than its predecessors, being burdened with polemic and controversy.

[On the Hungarian Confessions, see *Report of Second General Council of Presbyterian Alliance*, Philadelphia, 1880 (for a full account, though marred by misprints and unfamiliarity with English on the part of the Hungarian contributor, Francis Balogh, Prof. of Ch. Hist. at Debreczen), pp. 1099-1120; also Müller, *op. cit.* pp. xxxvi-xxxix, Latin texts of 2, 3, and 4, pp. 265-468; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 591f.]

ii. **BOHEMIA.**—In Bohemia, apart from the native Utraquism, whose standards have been discussed (p. 844^b), there was also, as in Hungary, a division of Protestant sympathies between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Reference has already (p. 844^b) been made to Calvinistic influence in the unionist Confession of 1575. But the outstanding Calvinist Bohemian Confession is the little known *Confession of 1609*, containing 20 chapters, almost catechetical in form, which had been presented to King Ferdinand, to the Emperor Maximilian II., and to King Sigismund Augustus II. of Poland—a revision and expansion of older documents of 1535 and 1564, retaining not a little of the native pre-Reformation type of teaching. The Reformed Church of Bohemia and Moravia recognizes the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession.

[Müller, *op. cit.* pp. xxxix-xl, text in Latin, pp. 458-500.]

iii. **PIEDMONT.**—In Piedmont there was drawn up, as mentioned above (p. 844^b), the Calvinistic *Waldensian Confession of 1655*, in 33 propositions with an appendix repudiating 14 Romanist accusations—based upon the French Confession of Calvin.

[French text in Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 500-505; French and English in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 757-770.]

iv. **POLAND.**—In Poland, apart from the *Declaration of Thorn*, mentioned above (p. 867) as a Confession recognized in Brandenburg, there needs only to be made a reference to the *Consensus of Sendomir* (1570). The death of John à Lasco and of Prince Radziwill, the leaders of the Polish Reformation, and the pressure of Roman propaganda, led to the meeting and Confederation of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren at Sendomir in 1570, and to the issue of a joint-Confession setting forth their agreement on the fundamental Articles of Protestant faith embodied in their standards, and their compromise on the Lord's Supper, in Melancthonian or Calvinist terms, affirming the substantial presence of Christ (not of His body and blood), denying that the elements are mere symbols, avoiding technical Lutheran language, and omitting all reference to the doctrine of Predestination. The Confession contains a lengthy passage on the Sacraments from Melancthon's 'Repetition' of the Augsburg Confession, drawn up in 1551 for the Council of Trent, and in Melancthon's spirit it acknowledges the Christian soundness of all three parties, and enjoins the cultivation of good relations between them. In 1570, at Posen, a series of 20 short supplementary Articles were adopted in confirmation of the Consensus. The Consensus was repeatedly ratified by Polish Synods.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 581-588; art. 'Sendomir,' in *PRE*; Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, Leipzig, 1840, p. 551 ff. (Lat. text); Beck, *Die symbolischen Bücher* 2, 1845, vol. ii. p. 87 ff. (Germ. text).]

v. **CONSTANTINOPLE.**—In Constantinople, Calvinism found an exponent in so exalted a personage as the Patriarch, Cyril Lucar, who was a life-long correspondent with the Genevan Reformers (see above, p. 837). His *Confession of Faith* (1631) went further than that of his suc-

cessor at Alexandria, Metrophanes (1625), who, while not openly espousing Protestant views, refrained from polemic against them, though opposing Roman Catholic tenets. It was supplemented by various *Catechisms*. The earliest form, of 1629, was in Latin. The edition of 1631 contained four added questions and answers, and was in Greek. The edition of 1633, at Geneva, was in both languages.

Of the 18 chapters, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 16 are Catholic and uncontroversial—on the doctrines of the Trinity, Creation and Providence, the Fall, the Incarnation and Glory of Christ, Faith, and Baptismal Regeneration, the Procession of the Spirit being expressed in terms of the phrasing of the mediating Council of Florence, 'proceeding from the Father through the Son.' In the other 10 chapters, the teaching is unmistakably Reformed and Calvinistic. The authority of Scripture is supreme as the infallible Word of God, and the Apocrypha are excluded from canonical authority (ch. 2 and appendix). The Church may err and sin, and needs the grace of the Holy Spirit and His teaching rather than that of any mortal man (ch. 12). On Predestination, Cyril agrees with Dort against the Arminians (ch. 3). He sets forth Justification in ch. 13 in these terms: 'We believe that man is justified by faith, not by works. But when we say "by faith," we understand its correlative, the righteousness of Christ, which faith, performing the office of the hand, apprehends and applies to us for salvation. And this . . . in no wise to the prejudice of works . . . they are by no means to be neglected, they are necessary means and evidences of our faith and a confirmation of our calling. . . . They are of themselves by no means sufficient to save man. The righteousness of Christ, applied to the penitent, alone justifies and saves the believer' (after Schaff). There are but two Sacraments instituted by Christ; both require faith for their efficacy (ch. 15). Transubstantiation and oral manducation are alike erroneous doctrines, and are to be replaced by Calvin's teaching on the real but spiritual presence and reception of the body and blood of Christ (ch. 17). Purgatory and post-mortem repentance are denied (ch. 18). The Confession, of course, never became authoritative, but it is a significant evidence of the influence of the Genevan School.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 54-57; art. 'Lukaris,' in *PRE*.]

vi. **SPAIN.**—In Spain three Calvinistic Confessions have been recognized:

(1) *Confession of 1559* of Spanish refugees from the Inquisition, in London. It is believed to have been very moderately Calvinistic in type, and contained 21 Articles.

(2) *Confession of Seville* (1869), on the basis of an earlier draft prepared at Gibraltar, accepted by the Churches of Seville, Cordova, Granada, Malaga, Cadiz, and Huelva. It contains 25 chapters with proof-texts. It is largely a reproduction of the Westminster Confession, in parts a translation of it.

(3) *Confession of Madrid* (1872), prepared and authorized by the Assembly of the Reformed Church of Spain, the 'Spanish Christian Church.' It contains 25 chapters, and is similar in character to that of 1869, the occasion for its preparation being the union of the Andalusian Churches forming the Spanish Reformed Church, which had recognized the earlier standard of doctrine, with a number of other congregations, some of which had been fostered by missions from Protestant countries.

[*Report of Second Gen. Council of Presbyterian Alliance*, Philad., 1880, pp. 1121-1123.]

vii. **ITALY.**—The *Confession of the Evangelical Church of Italy* (1870) is a very short statement in 8 Articles, adopted at Milan by a group of Free Churches met in Assembly, 'simply as the outward bond of unity in the faith and the banner of the Church.'

The Articles refer to (1) Scripture; (2) Man's original state, the Fall, and its result; (3) God's desire to save; (4) Salvation, its source, means, vehicle, and results; (5) the life of the Redeemed, and the source of its strength; (6) the Church; (7) Ministries in the Church; (8) the Second Advent of Christ, and Judgment.

[Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 787-788.]

E. THE BRITISH ISLANDS AND EMPIRE.—i. **ENGLAND.**—In Episcopalian England, as we have seen (pp. 851-857 above), Calvinism early made its presence felt, at first by reason of political exigencies under the cloak of Melancthonian Lutheranism, later with unmistakable clearness in the accepted Articles (1549-1563), though never in its extremer forms, and finally in the *Lambeth*

(1595) and *Irish* (1615) Articles, with sharp decision and without compromise.

ii. SCOTLAND.—In Presbyterian Scotland, Geneva teaching was dominant from the first, alike in Confessions and in Catechisms. Apart from the articles of belief or 'places' of the early Protestant teachers and martyrs, and the vernacular Catechism expounding the Apostles' Creed prepared by Archbishop Hamilton for priests and people on the eve of the Reformation in 1552, and the contemporary versified Creed of the 'Gude and Godlie Ballates,' (1) the first Confessional utterance of Scottish faith is the *Confession of the English Congregation at Geneva* (1556), which, along with forms of prayer, had been framed on the teaching of Calvin's 1536 Catechism and Forms of Prayer, for the congregation at Frankfort in 1555 by Knox and four others commissioned to do the work—Whittingham, Gilby, Foxe, and Cole. When part of the Frankfort congregation migrated to Geneva, they took with them this 'Forme of Prayers, etc.' The brief Confession is the first among its contents. It is a running paraphrase and expansion of the Apostles' Creed, whose clauses were printed as insets on the margin of the successive paragraphs. On Scripture, on the two-fold Decree, and on the Sacraments, it is completely loyal to Calvin, with whose approval, indeed, it was issued. On Knox's return to Scotland the 'Forme of Prayers' was speedily 'approved and received by the Church,' and issued, practically without change, for common use.

[Text in Dunlop's *Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, etc., of Public Authority in the Church of Scotland*, 1719, 1722, vol. ii. pp. 1-12; also, with introduction, in Laing's *Works of John Knox*, 1846-64, vol. iv. pp. 143-173.]

(2) The *Scots Confession* of 1560 marks the consummation of the Reformation in Scotland. It was drawn up in four days, by instruction of the Estates of Parliament, by Knox with the assistance of five others—Winram, Spottiswoode, Hillock, Douglas, and Rowe—and, after private revision by Lethington and Lord James Stewart, who tempered its language and secured the omission of an article on the 'dysobediens that subjects owe unto their magistrats,' it was approved by Parliament as 'hailsome and sound doctrine.' It is substantially the work of Knox himself, who had not only prepared the Geneva Confession with full knowledge of its Swiss counterparts, but had been consulted regarding the English Articles of Edward VI.

The Preface is a striking introduction, vivid, picturesque, and vigorous, and has often been the subject of well-deserved encomium. Like the First Confession of Basel (1534), it invites correction on the basis of Scripture, and disclaims inerrancy, 'protestand that gif onie man will note in this our Confessioun onie Article or sentence repugnant to Gods hailie word, that it wald please him of his gentleness and for christian charities sake to admonish us of the same in writing; and we upon our honoures and fidelitie, be Gods grace do promise unto him satisfaction fra the mouth of God, that is, fra his haly scriptures, or else reformation of that quhilk he sal prove to be amisse.' Opening with the words, 'Lang have we thirsted, dear Brethren, to have notified to the world the Sum of that Doctrine quhilk we professe, and for quhilk we have sustained Infamie and Danger,' it ends—'be the assistance of the mightie Spirit of the same our Lord Jesus Christ, we firmly purpose to abide to the end in the Confessioun of this our faith, as be Articles followis.'

Its 26 Articles treat of 'God, the Creation of Man, Original Sin, the Revelation of the Promise, the Continuance . . . of the Kirk, the Incarnation, why it behooved the Mediator to be very God and very Man, Election, Christ's Death, Passion and Burial, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Faith in the Holy Goste, the Cause of Gude Warkis, what Warkis are reputit Gude befor God, the Perfection of the Law and the Imperfection of Man, the Kirk, the Immortalitie of the Soules, the Notis be the quhilk the Trewe Kirk is decernit fra the false, and quha sall be Judge of the Doctrine, the Authoritie of the Scriptures, Generall Councilis, the Sacramentis, their Right Administration, to whom they appertaine, the Civile Magistrate, the Guiltis freel' given to the Kirk.' In common with the other standards of the Reformation, it deprecates heresy from the Catholic Creeds. The articles on Election (VII. and VIII.) are characteristic: the conjunction of Godhead and man-

hood in Christ proceeded from the eternal decree; for the same eternal God and Father who of mere grace elected us in Christ Jesus His Son before the foundation of the world appointed Him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastor . . . giving power to believers to be the sons of God . . . by which holy fraternity 'quhatsever wee have tynt in Adam is restored unto us agayne.' Nothing is said of a decree of reprobation, save that 'the reprobate' are mentioned as a class distinct from the elect (of the English Articles). Those who lack the Spirit of sanctification, and live in sin, cannot have Christ living in their hearts till they repent and are changed (XIII.). Good works are the fruit of faith, and faith the gift of the Spirit (XII. and XIII.). The true Church is invisible, known only to God, who knows His elect; it includes the children of true believers, saints in glory and saints who yet live and fight against sin; out of that true Church, as without Christ, there is no salvation, howsoever men may live according to equity and justice (XVI.). The notes of the true Church are three—the true preaching of the Word of God, the right administration of the Sacraments, discipline uprightly administered; the interpretation of Scripture belongs to no private or public person, to no Church by reason of any earthly pre-eminence, but to the Spirit of God by whom it was written; when in doubt we are to look to the utterance of the Spirit within the body of Scripture, to Christ's own example and commandment; by Scripture all teachers and Councils are to be judged (Art. XVIII.-XX.). Councils are fallible at the best. 'Not that we think that any policie and an ordour in ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places. For, as ceremonies sik as men have devised, are bot temporal; so may and aucht they to be changed when they rather foster superstition then that they edifie the Kirk using the same' (Art. XX.). The Two Sacraments of the New Testament correspond to Circumcision and Passover in the Old: they are not only to distinguish visibly God's people from others, but to exercise their faith, and seal in their hearts the assurance of His promise and of their union with Christ: they are not 'naked and baire signes': by them we are truly engrafted in and fed by Christ; the signs are neither to be worshipped nor handled lightly, but revered; the very body and blood of Christ are by virtue of His Godhead communicated to us, distant though He is in heaven, not by any transubstantiation, but through faith by the power of the Holy Spirit, so that we become flesh of His flesh, bone of His bone, and receive 'life and immortalitie. . . quhilk, albeit we confesse are nether given unto us at that time onelie, nether zit be the proper power and vertue of the Sacrament onelie; zit we affirme that the faithfull, in the right use of the Lords Table has conjunction with Christ Jesus as the natural man can not apprehend' (Art. XXI.; cf. Eng. Art.). Papists have corrupted, profaned, and adulterated the Sacraments: their stealing of the cup from God's people is sacrilege (Art. XXII.). The civil magistrate is ordained of God, and to be honoured and obeyed accordingly as the 'Lieu-tenants of God in whose Sessions God himself dois sit and judge'; to kings and magistrates the conservation and purgation of religion chiefly belong: 'Sik as resist the supreme power, doing that thing quhilk appertains to his charge do resist Goddis ordinance, and therefore cannot be guilties' (Art. XXIV.). Finally, though a Church have all the true notes, 'we meane not that everie particular person joyned with sik company be an elect member of Christ Jesus: For we acknowledge and confess that Dornell, Cockell, and Caffie may be saven, grow, and in great abundance lie in the middis of the wheit.' After a doxology, the Confession finely closes: 'Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be confounded; let them flee from thy presence that hate thy godlie name. Give thy servants strenth to speake thy word in bauldnesse, and let all Nations cleave to thy trew knowlege. Amen.'

It is the national and the native Confession of Scotland, exhaling the spirit of the thrilling times that brought it into being. It is practical rather than theological in its terms and purpose, keenly alive to the needs of the hour—persuasion rather than controversy. If the language of the preface is stern and harsh towards Roman Catholics, it is never mere abuse or caricature; it is the plain truthful speech of men who had seen and suffered, whose revered friends and teachers had been torn from their side and murdered for the truth. Though Edward Irving was less than fair to the Westminster Confession,—its supplanter, as he deemed it,—his often quoted words cannot be improved upon: 'The Scottish Confession was the banner of the Church in all her wrestlings and conflicts, the Westminster Confession but as the camp-colours which she hath used during her days of peace—the one for battle, the other for fair appearance and good order. This document . . . is written in a most honest, straightforward, manly style, without compliment or flattery, without affectation of logical precision and learned accuracy, as if it came fresh from the heart of laborious workmen, all the day long busy with the preaching of the truth, and sitting down at night to embody

the heads of what was continually taught. There is a freshness of life about it which no frequency of reading wears off (*Collected Writings*, Lond. 1864, i. 601).

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 680-685, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, text in Scots and Lat. pp. 487-479; Dunlop, *Collection*, pp. 13-98; Müller, Lat. text, pp. 249-263; C. G. M'Crie, *Confessions of the Church of Scotland*, 1907, pp. 14-21; Edward Irving, *Confessions, etc., of the Church of Scotland*, 1831; Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, 1900, p. 99 ff.; Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. II. p. 300 ff., and the Standard Scottish Church Histories.]

(3) The *Scottish National Covenants of 1581, 1638, and 1643* bridge the interval between the Scots and the Westminster Confessions. They are not technically Confessional in form, but they call themselves Confessions, and contain matter of the nature of doctrinal manifestos, and therefore claim a place in this review. They are a special feature of Scottish religion in arms against 'Popery' and 'Prelacy' in succession, and they expressly model themselves on such OT Covenants as those of Joshua and Jehoiada, witnessing to the genuinely national character of the Reform movement in that country.

The *National Covenant*, or *Second Scots Confession*, also called the *King's Confession* (1581), was in Scots and in Latin, the work of Knox's friend and colleague, John Craig. It solemnly reaffirms the Scots Confession, strengthening its condemnation of Roman usurpations

'upon the scriptures of God, the Kirk, the Civill Magistrate and consciences of men; all his tyrannous lawes made upon indifferent things againis our Christian libertie; . . . his fyve bastard sacraments . . . his cruell Judgement against infants departing without the Sacrament, his absolute necessitie of baptisme . . . his warldlie monarchie and wicked hierarchie . . . his erroneous and bloodie decreets made at Trente.'

Schaff describes it as the most fiercely anti-Popish of all Confessions, and notes that its reference to infant salvation, corresponding to the private view of Zwingli and Bullinger, is the first Confessional utterance of the kind. The closing sentences will serve as an example of its contents. In view of the existence of veiled Romanism and outward conformity in hope of the overthrow of the reformed faith,

'We theirow, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisie, and of sic double dealing with God and his Kirk, protest and call the Searcher of all heartis for witness, that our mindis and heartis do fullilie agree with this our Confession, promeis, aith and subscription: sa that we ar not movit with any warldlie respect, but ar perswadit onlie in our conscience, through the knowledge and love of Godis trew Religion prented in our heartis be the Holie Spreit, as we sal answer to him in the day when the secrets of heartis sal be disclosed. And because we perceive that the quyetness and stabilitie of our Religion and Kirk doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of the Kingis Majestie . . . We protest and promeis solemmetlie . . . that we sall defend his personne and authoritie with our gearre, bodies, and lyves, in the defence of Christis Evangell, libertie of our cuntry . . . as we desire our God to be a strong and mercifull defender to us in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holie Spreit, be all honour and glorie eternallie. Amen.'

The Covenant was signed by King James VI., and his household, nobles, and ministers; later in the same year by the General Assembly of the Church, and by all ranks and classes; later still in 1590 with additions.

The *Renewed National Covenant* of 1638 includes the first, with additions by Alexander Henderson and Johnston of Warriston, occasioned by the attempt of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud to force the Scottish Church to accept the Royal Supremacy, with a hierarchy, and an elaborate Anglican service approximating to the Roman.

The *Solemn League and Covenant* of 1643 is also 'anti-episcopal as well as anti-papal'—the connecting link between Scotch Presbyterianism and English Puritanism, between the General Assembly and the Westminster Assembly, between the Scotch Parliament and the Long Parliament. It aimed to secure uniformity of religion in the united realms' (Schaff, *Hist.* p. 689).

Its occasion was an appeal by the English Long Parliament and by the Westminster Assembly of Divines to the Scots for aid against Charles I. It

was drawn up by Alexander Henderson, then Rector of Edinburgh University and Moderator of the General Assembly, and was enthusiastically adopted by the Assembly and the Scottish Convention. It is not a theological but a politico-religious document.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 685-694, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 480-485; Dunlop, *Collection*, pp. 99-137; M'Crie, *Confessions of Church of Scotland*, pp. 21-27; Scottish Church Histories.]

(4) The *Aberdeen Confession* (1616), though the work of the Episcopalian party during its ascendancy, and accordingly linked with the Five Articles of Perth (1618) and the Laudian Service Book in popular dislike, is not a whit less Calvinistic in its Predestinarian or Sacramental or Scriptural doctrine than the Scots Confession, or indeed the subsequent Confession of Westminster. Its language is naturally free from the violence of 1560. Though approved by the Assembly of 1616, it had but a short-lived authority. It had been previously drafted (by Hall and Adamson, according to Scot of Cupar), and during the Assembly was revised by Robert Howie of St. Andrews, Forbes of Corse, Hay, Struthers, and Cowper (Calderwood, *History*, 1842-9, vii. 233-242). M'Crie credits it as a whole mainly to Howie.

[M'Crie, *Confessions*, pp. 27-35. Text in the *Bookes of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, 1839, pp. 1132-1139, as 'The New Confession of Faith'; Macpherson, *Hist. of Ch. in Scotland*, 1901, pp. 170-171; Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, 1900, p. 118; Grub, *Ecclies. History*, 1861, ii. 306.]

(5) *Catechisms authorized in Scotland before 1646*.—In no country was catechetical instruction of young and adult more prized or practised than in Scotland during the century after the Reformation. According to the First Book of Discipline (ch. 11, paragraph 3),

'After noone must the young children be publickly examined in their Catechism, in the Audience of the People; in doing whereof the Minister must take great diligence as well to cause the people understand the Questions proponed as the Answers, and the Doctrine that may be collected thereof: the order to be kept in teaching the Catechism, and how much of it is appointed for every Sunday is already distinguished in the Catechism printed with the Book of our Common Order; which Catechism [sc. Calvin's] is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the Kirk.'

A very large number of manuals were in circulation. At the Hampton Court Conference, King James complained that in Scotland every good mother's son counted himself fit to write a catechism. One of the earliest to secure currency was a *Metricall Catechism* by the Wedderburns, corresponding to metrical forms of the Psalter and Apostles' Creed. In Latin, or in translation, the *Geneva Catechism* of Calvin and the *Heidelberg* or *Palatine Catechism* were authoritative. Admirable native products were the *Larger* and the *Shorter* (abridged) *Catechisms* of John Craig, the author of the First Covenant. The former appeared in 1581, was authorized in 1590, abridged by order of Assembly, and issued afresh in the shorter form which was the standard of instruction till superseded by the Westminster Catechism.

Craig's *Larger Catechism* begins: 'Who made man and woman?—The eternal God of his goodness. Whereof made he them?—Of an earthly body and an heavenly spirit. To whose image made he them?—To his own image.' The *Shorter*, used for examination before Communion, begins: 'What are we by nature?—The children of God's wrath,' and contains 90 questions in 12 groups: of our bondage through Adam, our redemption by Christ, our Participation with Christ, the Word, our Liberty to serve God, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Supper, Discipline the Magistrate, 'the Table in special,' and the end of our Redemption.

In both works question and answer are uniquely brief and pithy, many of the answers being models of lucidity and effectiveness. The same may also be said of the Latin *Summula Catechismi* or *Elementa Pietatis* long used in higher schools, ascribed to Andrew Simpson of Perth—a little manual in 41 questions based on the 'Threefold State of Man,' (1) in sanctitate et sanitate, (2) sub peccato et morte, (3) sub Christi gratia.

[Horatius Bonar, *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*, London, 1866; Dunlop, *Collection*, II. 139-382; Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 696-701.]

(6) The *Westminster Confession and Catechisms* (1646-7) were the work of a memorable Assembly of Divines, selected, appointed, and maintained by the Long Parliament, 'to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England; and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations.' In 1640, Commissioners from Scotland had brought representations that 'it is to be wished that there were one Confession of Faith, one form of Catechism, one Directory for all the parts of the public worship of God . . . in all the churches of his majesty's dominions,' and the English Parliament reciprocated the desire. The Assembly was constituted in 1643, both Houses of Parliament without the Royal consent having condemned the episcopal hierarchy as 'evil, offensive, and burdensome to the kingdom,' and resolved to set up a government 'most agreeable to God's word, most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and in nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad.' The Assembly was to be composed of 151 members, 30 of whom were eminent laymen (10 Lords, and 20 Commons), among them Selden, Pym, St. John, and Vane, and the rest divines representative of the English counties—a group of moderate Episcopalians, including the learned James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Exeter, Bristol, and Worcester, and five doctors of divinity from the Universities, a group of about a dozen learned Independents headed by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, an influential Erastian group, including Lightfoot, Selden, and Coleman, all distinguished Hebrew scholars, and representing the mind of Parliament, and a group, by far the largest, of Presbyterians, either, like Twisse the Prolocutor, Gataker, Reynolds, and Palmer, maintaining the *jus humanum* of Presbytery as consistent with Scripture, or insisting on its *jus divinum* as commanded by Scripture. A group of Scottish Commissioners, five ministers, including Alexander Henderson, Rector of the University of Edinburgh, Robert Baillie, Principal and Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, Samuel Rutherford of the same office at St. Andrews, and George Gillespie, a youthful Edinburgh minister of unusual talent, and three covenanting laymen, the martyr Marquis of Argyle, Lord Maitland, afterwards the persecuting Earl of Lauderdale, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, uncle of Bishop Burnet, were associated with the Assembly throughout, acting on all its committees, and by force of character, scholarship, and debating power exercising an influence out of all proportion to their number. King Charles's veto and the troubles of the Civil War prevented the Episcopalian divines, with one or two exceptions, from attending, but Ussher's absence with the King at Oxford failed to prejudice his theological influence in the proceedings, for his Confessional work was their basis, and, after all, the Assembly, though Puritan, was Anglican in its orders. The members were without exception convinced Calvinists of the orthodox type, without even a tinge of Arminianism. They debated in perfect personal freedom, without haste or interference, under the common vow which was read at the beginning of each week's labours:

'I do seriously promise and vow, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God; nor in point of discipline, but what may make most for God's glory and the peace and good of His Church.'

The meetings were held first in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster, then in the historic Jerusalem Chamber in the Deanery. Ten weeks were devoted to the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles to bring them into unequivocally Calvinistic form on the lines of the Lambeth Articles and of Ussher's Irish Articles, and the first fifteen were finished, and supplied with Scripture proofs (for text, see Hall, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, pp. 505-512, where they are printed 'just as a matter of curiosity').

By order of Parliament the Assembly then turned its attention to the preparation of a Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Book of Discipline, for use throughout the three kingdoms. The Confession was ready after two years and a quarter of unremitting work, the Catechisms and Book of Order taking shape simultaneously. It was submitted in print to Parliament in Dec. 1646, and again in April 1647, when furnished by order with Scripture proofs, which, it appears, the divines had not been desirous of incorporating with it. The chief responsibility for the authorship may be assigned to Drs. Twisse, Tuckney, Arrowsmith, Reynolds, Temple, Hoyle, Palmer, Herle, and the Scottish Commissioners, though every sentence was openly debated with freedom and deliberation. Parliament carefully considered the successive Articles, and omitted XXX. and XXXI., on Church Censures, and on Synods and Councils, with parts of XX., XXIII., and XXIV., on Christian Liberty, on the Civil Magistrate, and on Marriage. The work was then issued in 1648 in English and Latin by Parliamentary authority, and enjoyed, until the Restoration, the unique distinction of being the Confessional standard of the whole United Kingdom. It first received Royal Sanction in 1690 under William and Mary. In Scotland the Assembly of 1647 approved of it in its complete form as 'most agreeable to the Word of God, and in nothing contrary to the received doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this Kirk.' In 1649 the Scottish Parliament also approved of it, and the Assembly ordained that 'in every house where there is any who can read, there be at least one copy of the Shorter and Larger Catechism, Confession of Faith, and Directory for family worship.' Though not intended by its English authors to be imposed on the individual conscience as a document for subscription, it was promptly so used in Scotland.

In its complete form, as still current, the Confession extends to 33 chapters, each containing a small group of articulate propositions. The chapters treat of Scripture, the Trinity, God's Decree, Creation, Providence, the Fall, Sin and its Punishment, God's Covenant with Man, Christ the Mediator, Free-will, Effectual Calling, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, Saving Faith, Repentance unto Life, Good Works, the Perseverance of Saints, Assurance of Grace and Salvation, the Law, Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience, Worship and the Sabbath, Lawful Oaths and Vows, the Civil Magistrate, Marriage and Divorce, the Church, the Communion of Saints, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Church Censures, Synods and Councils, the State after Death and the Resurrection, and the Last Judgment. This is the order throughout, with slight additions and subtractions and divisions, of the 19 Irish Articles of 1615 (see above, p. 855 f.), which begin with Scripture and end with the Last Judgment, and, much less closely, the order of the more theological portion of the 39 English Articles. It thus anticipates one of the most generally accepted modern divisions of Christian doctrine, viz. the sequence, after a preface on Scripture,

of God, Man, Christ, Salvation, Church, and Last Things.

The Doctrine of Scripture in ch. I. is a theological classic, and its contents deserve to be quoted not only as representative of the genius and spirit of the Westminster Assembly, but for their own dignity, comprehensiveness, and worth:

'I. Although the light of nature, and the works of Creation and Providence, do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God as to leave men inexcusable; yet are they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his will which is necessary unto salvation; therefore it pleased the Lord at sundry times and in divers manners to reveal himself and to declare that his will unto his Church; and afterwards for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the Church against the corruption of the flesh and the malice of Satan and of the world, to commit the same wholly unto writing; which maketh the Holy Scripture to be most necessary; those former ways of God's revealing his will unto his people being now ceased.'

Sec. II. enumerates the Canonical Books of Scripture 'as given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life,' omitting all reference to the Apocrypha, and placing the Epistle to the Hebrews after the list of Paul's Epistles as an anonymous book. Sec. III. runs: 'The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings.'—iv. 'The authority of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the Author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God.'—v. 'We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem of the holy Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts.'—vi. 'The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men. Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word; and that there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed.'—vii. 'All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.'—viii. 'The Old Testament in Hebrew (which was the native language of the people of God of old), and the New Testament in Greek (which at the time of the writing of it was most generally known to the nations), being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentic; so as in all controversies of religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these original tongues are not known to all the people of God who have right unto and interest in the Scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them, therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation unto which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and through patience and comfort of the Scriptures may have hope.'—ix. 'The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly.'—x. 'The supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture.'

Chs. III., v., IX., and XVII., on the Divine Decree, Providence, Free-will, and the Perseverance of the Saints, present a firm but far from extreme type of Calvinism. Written in full view of the great Reformed Confessions, they go beyond the 39 Articles, the Scots Confession, the Heidel-

berg Catechism, and the Helvetic Confessions, in emphasizing the darker side of the Decree; but, like the Canons of Dort and the Irish Articles, they are strictly infralapsarian, though eminent members of the Assembly like Twisse were supralapsarian Calvinists. The Fall and its havoc are under a permissive, not a causal or effective, decree. The term 'reprobation' is not used: 'preterition, passing by,' has replaced it as a milder expression, perhaps through the influence of men on the drafting committee like Calamy and Arrowsmith, who sympathized with the Amyraldist 'hypothetical universalism.' Human freedom is affirmed, and 'the liberty or contingency of second causes,' as compatible with the Divine sovereignty. Between 'particular election' and 'hypothetical universalism,' each of which found supporters in the debates, the Confession seems to halt.

Chs. VI.—IX., on Man, contain a development of the covenant-idea present in the Irish Articles: two Covenants with parallel ordinances, of Works in Adam, of Grace in Christ, are distinguished—a theological scheme, traceable perhaps to Bullinger, which emphasizes human freedom, and which had been taught on Biblical authority by Rollock in Scotland, by Cartwright in England, by Olevianus in Germany, and by Cocceius in Holland. Chs. X.—XVIII. are an exceptionally full and careful statement of the doctrines bound up with Justification. Ch. XXI., of Religious Worship and the Sabbath Day, affirms the Puritan view of worship and of Sabbath-observance, the Hebrew Sabbath being a perpetual commandment, 'changed' since the Resurrection of Christ to the first day of the week, the Lord's Day, so to be observed for ever. Ch. XXV., on the Church, distinguishes the Invisible Church, the whole number of the Elect, from the visible Catholic Church, all who

'profess the true religion, together with their children... the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.' 'This Catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less visible.' 'The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error; and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ but synagogues of Satan.' 'There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God.'

Ch. XXVI. deals with the heavenly and the earthly Communion of Saints, and the sacred obligations involved, in admirable terms. Chs. XXVII.—XXIX. set forth searchingly the full Calvinistic doctrine of the Sacraments in general and in particular, in terms which might satisfy every section of the Reformed Church apart from the Lutheran. Ch. XXX., of Church Censures, provides for discipline through the officers appointed by authority of Christ to hold the keys of the Kingdom, or visible Church. Ch. XXXI., of Synods and Councils, affirms their legitimate convocation either by authority of civil rulers or by their own, their right 'ministerially' to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience, etc., the authority of their decrees on spiritual matters if in harmony with God's Word, and declares, in words which necessarily apply to the Assembly itself and its articles:

'All Synods or Councils since the Apostles' times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as an help in both. (Of. xx. sec. II.: "God alone is lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship, so that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience, and the requiring of an implicit faith and an absolute and blind obedience is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also.") Synods and Councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs, which concern the Commonwealth, unless by way of humble

petition in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate.'

Ch. XXXII. declares that

'the bodies of men after death return to dust and see corruption, but their souls (which neither die nor sleep), having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none. At the last day such as are found alive shall not die, but be changed; and all the dead shall be raised up with the selfsame bodies, and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be united again to their souls for ever. The bodies of the unjust shall by the power of Christ be raised to dishonour: the bodies of the just by his Spirit unto honour, and be made conformable to his own glorious body.'

Ch. XXXIII. sets forth the nature of the Last Judgment, and its end

'for the manifestation of the glory of his [God's] mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect, and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient. . . . As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded that there shall be a day of judgment, both to deter all men from sin, and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity; so will he have that day unknown to men, that they may shake off all carnal security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come; and may be ever prepared to say, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen."'

Two portions of the Confession which have been the subject of ecclesiastical heart-searching or misgiving are those in chs. III. and X. concerning Predestination and Election, and in ch. XXIII. on the Civil Magistrate. The former, after stating that

'God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established,'

proceeds to affirm that some men and angels are predestinated, out of God's mere free grace and love without any foresight of faith or good works or any other thing in the creature, unto everlasting life, whose number is certain and definite, whereas the rest of mankind are foreordained to be passed by unto everlasting death for their sin, to the praise of God's glorious justice. Similarly—

'Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word. Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved: much less can men not professing the Christian religion be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they ever so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested' (x. sect. iii.).

These are essentially the positions of the Synod of Dort of 1619, subject to the same criticisms or misunderstandings. Nothing is said of the elect being few; no certain external or internal means for the recognition of the elect is indicated; the 'rest of mankind' may be few or many; it is not definitely affirmed that any infants die inelect, though the natural suggestion is that some, if not indeed many, do, especially as election even of adults is without regard to future merit or worth in them. It is not wonderful that the divines of Westminster, like their kinsmen and forerunners at Dort, should have felt it their duty to say:

'The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God revealed in his word and yielding obedience thereunto, may from the certainty of their effectual vocation be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel' (in. sect. viii.).

The other passage, on the Civil Magistrate, acknowledges the Divine origin and claims of his authority, his duty of taking

'order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that

the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed'; but continues:

'For the better effecting whereof he hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God'; yet he 'may not assume to himself the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'

the conception apparently being that he is not to interfere with spiritual things so long as they are Scripturally transacted by the Church, whose courts and decisions his strong arm is to enforce. Here also it may be admitted that the Confession did not succeed in foreclosing future embarrassment.

The Westminster Confession, then, does for the whole system of Calvinistic doctrine what the Canons of Dort did for one doctrine: it marks the maturest and most deliberate formulation of the scheme of Biblical revelation as it appeared to the most cultured and the most devout Puritan minds. It was the last great Creed-utterance of Calvinism, and intellectually and theologically it is a worthy child of the *Institutes*, a stately and noble standard for Bible-loving men. While influenced necessarily by Continental learning and controversy, it is essentially British, as well by heredity as by environment; for not only is it based upon the Thirty-nine Articles, modified and supplemented in a definitely Calvinistic sense at Lambeth and at Dublin, but it literally incorporates Ussher's Irish Articles, accepting their order and titles, and using, often without a word of change, whole sentences and paragraphs. To the reader of both documents the debt is patent on the surface, and the obligation goes down to the very heart of the thought. Ussher could not have secured more of his own way had he deserted the King and taken his seat in the Jerusalem Chamber. Only Laudian Anglicans could seriously have dissented from the doctrine laid down. Born on the Thames, in the capital of the southern kingdom, the Confession, itself a painful reminder to the revellers of the Restoration of the sternness of the Long Parliament, soon was discarded by the national Church for which it was primarily prepared; it found a home and instant welcome in Scotland, to pass out thence into all the world with the strenuous and hardy emigrants who planted their faith wherever they sought to make their way in life. It still remains, in spite of changing times and altered formulæ of adherence, the honoured symbol of a great group of powerful Churches throughout the British Empire and the great American Republic, embracing within their membership a large proportion of the foremost representatives of the world's highest material, social, educational, moral, and religious interests. The English-speaking Presbyterian Churches throughout the world without exception adhere either to it or to some comparatively slight modification of it; while its hold, direct or indirect, upon Congregationalists and Baptists and others, is a further tribute to its power both of education and of revival.

The *Larger Catechism of the Westminster Divines*, composed in 1647 simultaneously with the Confession and before the Shorter Catechism, was drafted mainly by Herbert Palmer, the author of a 'Catechism' in high repute, published in 1640, with a distinctive method of its own, and by Anthony Tackney, the learned Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and, like those other documents, furnished with carefully collected Scripture proofs. The basis of doctrine was Palmer's Catechism and Ussher's 'Body of Divinity,' and, of course, the debated conclusions of the Confession itself (Briggs, *Presbyterian Review*, Jan. 1880). The Scottish

Assembly of 1648 approved of it as a 'Directory for catechizing such as have made some proficiency in the knowledge of the grounds of Religion,' and it is not to be judged as a manual for the young. It contains 196 questions with answers that are not seldom very long, though admirably clear, because intended to be comprehensive.

It begins: 'What is the chief and highest end of man?—Man's chief and highest end is to glorify God and fully to enjoy him for ever. How doth it appear that there is a God?—The very light of nature in man, and the works of God declare plainly that there is a God; but his Word and Spirit only do sufficiently and effectually reveal him unto men for their salvation.' And it ends: 'What doth the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer teach us?' after setting forth the doctrines of God, His decrees, Creation, the Fall, Sin and its Punishment, the Covenant of Grace, Christ the Mediator, His Offices, Humiliation, and Exaltation, and Eternal Work, the Church, Membership in Christ, the Experience and Contents of Salvation, Future Judgment, the Commandments as Christian Duties, man's inability to keep them, the special aggravations of Sin, the Means of Grace—the Word, the Sacraments, and Prayer, with the proper meaning and use of each, the Lord's Prayer being expounded at the close.

The Larger Catechism, though too elaborate to be popular, is historically of service as a supplement and commentary on the Confession, and as the basis of the popular 'Shorter Catechism.'

The 'Shorter Catechism,' prepared immediately after the other documents by a small committee, and likewise approved in 1648 by the Church of Scotland as a 'Directory for catechizing such as are of weaker capacity,' is an acknowledged masterpiece, a triumph of happy arrangement, of condensed and comprehensive instruction, of lucid and forceful expression. While Tuckney was in the later stages of convener of the committee entrusted with its composition, and may have been largely responsible for its final phrasing, the brilliant Cambridge mathematician and divine, the secretary, John Wallis, Palmer's intimate friend, is believed to have taken a very large share in the work. Materials were drawn not only from the Confession and Larger Catechism and their sources, but from other Catechisms among the large number current at the time, e.g., besides Palmer's, those of Ezekiel Rogers, Matthew Newcomen, Gouge, and Ball (see A. F. Mitchell, *Westm. Assembly*, Lect. xii.; also *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, 1886, by the same author, pp. 3-39, where the chief parallels to each question and answer are printed). The Scottish Commissioners cannot have had much to do with its preparation, as most of them had departed home before its compilation was materially advanced; but in Scotland it became at once, and has remained, a household book, a Bible in miniature, and the working Creed of the nation. If its teaching seems difficult and exacting for 'such as are of weaker capacity' in our time, the fault may lie with our modern education, which so diffuses the interest and attention of the young over many subjects, mostly secular, that the concentration, formerly possible to all, upon religious and theological concerns, is hard to secure. No more successful compendium of Christian doctrine, arranged according to a theological scheme for practical instruction and for memorizing, has ever been published. Its theological terms, Pauline in their origin for the most part, sit far from easily upon the lips of children; but they aid the memory, condense the truth, and are, as they were intended to be, fit and stimulating matter for exposition by the teacher. It is probable that we are apt to exaggerate the value of self-explanatory simplicity in such a manual. The Catechism was not meant to be learned without a teacher, and the teacher certainly cannot complain that he has platitudes to teach who has its questions and answers to expound. While the Shorter Catechism's relation to the Longer is described by a Scottish Commissioner as that of milk to meat, there was no idea of diluting the milk for the young and weak; for it was a

recognized principle with the Assembly 'that the greatest care should be taken to frame the answer, not according to the model of the knowledge the child hath, but according to that the child ought to have.'

The Shorter Catechism contains 107 questions, the first and the last being the same as in the Larger Manual, with even simpler and happier answers. Many of the answers are classic utterances, and haunt both memory and intelligence. 'Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever.' 'The Scriptures principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man.' 'God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth' (an answer ascribed by tradition to Gillespie, but at least anticipated in its terms in *A Compendious Catechism*, by J. F., published in London, 1655 (see Schaff, *Hist.* p. 787, footnote on A. F. Mitchell's authority)). 'Sin is any want of conformity unto, or transgression of, the law of God.' 'Christ as our Redeemer executeth the offices of a Prophet, of a Priest, and of a King, both in His estate of Humiliation and Exaltation.' 'Christ executeth the office of a Prophet in revealing to us by His Word and Spirit the will of God for our salvation.' 'Christ executeth the office of a Priest in His once offering up of Himself a sacrifice to satisfy Divine justice, and reconcile us to God, and in making continual intercession for us.' 'Christ executeth the office of a King in subduing us to Himself, in ruling and defending us, and in restraining and conquering all His and our enemies.' 'The Spirit applyeth to us the Redemption purchased by Christ, by working faith in us, and thereby uniting us to Christ in His effectual calling.' 'Effectual calling is the work of God's Spirit, whereby, convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ, and renewing our wills, He doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ freely offered to us in the Gospel.' 'Justification is an act of God's free grace, wherein He pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in His sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us and received by faith alone.' 'Adoption is an act of God's free grace, whereby we are received into the number, and have a right to all the privileges, of the sons of God.' 'Sanctification is the work of God's free grace whereby we are renewed in the whole man after the image of God, and are enabled more and more to die unto sin, and live unto righteousness.' 'The benefits which in this life do accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification, are assurance of God's love, peace of conscience, joy in the Holy Ghost, increase of grace, and perseverance therein to the end.' 'The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory, and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection.' 'No mere man since the fall is able in this life perfectly to keep the commandments of God, but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed.' 'Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace whereby we receive and rest upon Him alone for salvation, as He is offered to us in the Gospel.' 'The outward and ordinary means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption are His ordinances, especially the Word, Sacraments, and Prayer, all which are made effectual to the elect for salvation.' 'That the Word may become effectual to salvation, we must attend thereto with diligence, preparation, and prayer, receive it with faith and love, lay it up in our hearts, and practise it in our lives.' 'A sacrament is an holy ordinance, instituted by Christ, wherein, by sensible signs, Christ and the benefits of the New Covenant are represented, sealed, and applied to Believers.' The Apostles' Creed, though not formally incorporated or expounded in the body of the Catechism, is printed at the close with the judicious note:

'Albeit the substance of the doctrine comprised in that abridgment commonly called the *Apostles' Creed* be fully set forth in each of the Catechisms, so as there is no necessity of inserting the Creed itself, yet it is here annexed, not as though it were composed by the Apostles, or ought to be esteemed canonical Scripture as the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer (much less a prayer, as ignorant people have been apt to make both it and the Decalogue), but because it is a brief sum of the Christian Faith, agreeable to the Word of God, and anciently received in the Churches of Christ.'

A catechism containing sentences like the answers quoted, prepared with such fidelity to Holy Writ, and couched in language so dignified and unaffected, is in every way worthy of the authors of the Westminster Confession, and of the devoted acceptance of the Churches whose young life it has nourished in spiritual truth throughout the subsequent generations, and whose ageing members its well remembered lessons have supported and solaced.

[The text of the Westminster Standards is printed in full in Dunlop's *Collection*, vol. I. pp. 1-444, and in Müller's *Bekenntnisschriften* (pp. 542-652); the Confession and Shorter Catechism in Schaff, *Catechisms of Evang. Prot. Churches*, pp. 600-704. For history, see Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 701-804, a valuable account with comparisons and criticisms and useful bibliography of older works in general and special literature. The *Minutes of the Sessions of the Westm. Assembly (1644-1649)* are edited by Alex. F. Mitchell and John Struthers, Edin. 1874; cf. Hethering-

ton, *History of the Assembly*⁴, 1878: A. F. Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly* (rev. ed. Philad. 1897). *The Westminster Conf.*⁵ 1887; Warfield, 'The Making of the Westminster Conf.', in *PRR*, Apr. 1901, p. 226 ff.; cf. also Beveridge, *Hist. of the Westminster Assembly*, Edin. 1904, an accurate popular summary of the matter contained in the earlier works; A. F. Mitchell, *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (an invaluable study); H. Bonar, *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*. On the doctrine of the Confession a recent work, *Theology of the Westminster Symbols*, by Edw. D. Morris, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A., 1900, pp. 868, is one of the most complete and well informed.]

(7) *Modifications of the Westminster Confession in British Presbyterian Churches* have not been wanting, but the changes hitherto effected have not been very substantial, though the attitude of the Churches to it has been unmistakably altered.

In Scotland, the adoptive home of the Confession, the forces of religious conservatism have combined with an intelligent appreciation of its solid worth and Scriptural foundation to retain it well-nigh inviolate as the symbol of every branch of the divided Church. By varying formulæ of subscription in the National Church, and by declaratory acts or statements in the Free Churches, a modicum of relief has been sought for tender consciences. In the Church of Scotland the earlier formulæ of 1694 and 1711, which declared the signatory's belief in the whole doctrine of the Confession, and that of 1889, which omitted the word 'whole,' were mitigated by a declaration appointed in 1903 to be read publicly before subscription, to the effect that the Confession 'is to be regarded as an infallible rule of faith and worship only in so far as it accords with Holy Scripture interpreted by the Holy Spirit,' replaced in 1910 by a formula framed with the concurrent authority of Parliament: 'I hereby subscribe the Confession of Faith, declaring that I accept it as the Confession of this Church, and that I believe the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith contained therein.' In the United Presbyterian Church and in the Free Church, Declaratory Acts were passed in 1879 and 1892 to define on certain points the sense in which the Confession was to be understood, disowning the view that the Confession inculcated persecuting principles in relation to the duties of the Civil Magistrate, and the view that its doctrine of sin and grace taught that human corruption has destroyed human responsibility and the power to do virtuous actions, or that some infants are eternally lost, or that men are foreordained to death irrespective of their sin, or that Divine grace is not extended to any who are out of reach of its ordinary means.

In England a similar course was taken by the Presbyterian Church, but abandoned in 1888, and in 1890 *The Articles of the Faith*, 24 in number, were drawn up by a committee presided over by Principal Oswald Dykes, in order to define the doctrines in the Westminster Confession which were counted *de fide* and vital. These Articles briefly set forth a moderately conservative statement, influenced by the other standard Confessional utterances of Protestant Christianity, on God, the Trinity, Creation, Providence, the Fall, Saving Grace, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Work of Christ, the Exaltation of Christ, the Gospel, the Holy Spirit, Election and Regeneration, Justification by Faith, Sonship in Christ, the Law and New Obedience, Sanctification and Perseverance, the Church, Church Order and Fellowship, Holy Scripture, the Sacraments, the Second Advent, the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the Life Everlasting. Comparison of these titles with those of the Confession at once reveals many of the doctrinal omissions. In the article on Election nothing is said of reprobation or preterition; it is as follows:

'We humbly own and believe that God the Father, before the foundation of the world, was pleased of His sovereign grace to choose unto Himself in Christ a people, whom He gave to the Son, and to whom the Holy Spirit imparts spiritual life by a

secret and wonderful operation of His power, using as His ordinary means, where years of understanding have been reached, the truths of His Word in ways agreeable to the nature of man: so that being born from above they are the children of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.'

Elsewhere the language of election is avoided; instead of 'the elect' we read of 'Christ's people,' 'every one who repents and believes,' and so on. A noteworthy feature of the articles is their use of the proper language of a Creed: 'we believe,' 'we acknowledge,' 'we adore,' 'we own,' etc.

[*The Articles of the Faith*, issued by Publication Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1890. There is also a small account of their scope, etc., pub. by Donald Fraser, one of the framers.]

In China (1890) and in India (South, 1901; all, 1904), unions of the Presbyterian Mission Churches have been consummated upon the bases of 11 and of 12 short Articles epitomizing the doctrine of the Westminster Confession along similar lines, positive, Scriptural, and non-controversial, emphasizing the particular doctrines most required by missionary circumstances, and expressly affirming their loyalty to the standards of the parent Churches, the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Canons of Dort, 'as worthy exponents of the Word of God, and as systems of doctrine to be taught in our churches and seminaries.'

The 12 Indian Presbyterian Articles were adopted at Allahabad in Dec. 1904 (printed at the Allahabad Mission Press in 1905). I. affirms the Scriptures to be the 'Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and duty.' II. defines God as 'a Spirit, self-existent, omnipresent, yet distinct from all other spirits and from all material things: infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, truth, and love.' III. affirms the Trinity. IV. affirms Divine creation, providence, and government, without responsibility for sin. V. describes man's original estate as in God's image: 'all men have the same origin, and are brethren.' VI. describes the Fall, affirms the sin of all Adam's descendants in him, their addition of actual sin to original guilt and corruption, their desert of punishment. VII. affirms God's gift of Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, as Saviour; His two distinct natures as true God and true man; His conception and birth, perfect obedience and sacrifice, 'to satisfy Divine justice and reconcile men to God'; His death, burial, resurrection, ascension, intercession, and future coming, 'to raise the dead and judge the world.' VIII. treats of the Holy Spirit, who 'maketh men partakers of salvation.' IX. sets forth God's saving purpose and method of grace: 'While God chose a people in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without blemish before Him in love; having foreordained them unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ, unto Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, which He freely bestowed on them in the beloved; He maketh a full and free offer of salvation to all men, and commandeth them to repent of their sins, to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ as their Saviour, and to live a humble and holy life after His example, and in obedience to God's revealed will. Those who believe in Christ and obey Him are saved, the chief benefits which they receive being justification, adoption into the number of the sons of God, sanctification through the indwelling of the Spirit, and eternal glory. Believers may also in this life enjoy assurance of their salvation. In His gracious work the Holy Spirit useth the means of grace, especially the Word, Sacraments, and Prayer.' X. treats simply of the Sacraments, and their significance as signs and seals. XI. sets forth Christian duties. XII. affirms resurrection, judgment to come, reward and punishment: 'Those who have believed in Christ and obeyed Him shall be openly acquitted and received into glory; but the unbelieving and wicked, being condemned, shall suffer the punishment due to their sins.' There follow—*The Acts of acceptance*: 'I receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church, as based on and in accord with the Word of God; and I declare it to be the Confession of my faith'; a *declaratory note*: 'In administering this test, the Courts of the Church exercise the discretion and charity that are required by the Word of God, and demanded by the interests of the Church'; the *Constitution of the Church*, in 15 Articles; the *27 Canons*, or *Standing Orders*; and the *Local Organization*. The whole work impresses the outside reader as wise, guarded, practical, well-conceived, and well-expressed, and admirably suited to the needs of the Indian Church. The echoes of Western controversy are as subdued as possible within it.

In Wales, the native Calvinistic-Methodist or Presbyterian Church, which formerly professed the 39 English Articles understood in a Calvinistic sense, adheres to the *Welsh Confession of 1823*, published also in English in 1827, which was authorized by the 'Associations' of Bala and Aberystwyth in 1823.

The Confession contains 44 Articles treating of God's Being, the Scriptures, the Attributes of God, the Persons of the Trinity, God's Decree, Creation, Providence, Man's Original State, the Covenant of Works, the Fall and Original Sin, the State of Man by Nature, the Election of Grace, the Covenant of Grace, the Person of the Father and His work in Salvation, the Person of Christ the Mediator, His Offices, His Humiliation and Exaltation, Redemption, Christ's Intercession, the Person and Work of the Holy Ghost, the Necessity for His work to apply the Plan of Salvation, the Call of the Gospel, Union with Christ, Justification, Adoption, Regeneration, Sanctification, Saving Faith and its Fruits, Repentance unto Life, the Moral Law, Good Works, Peace of Conscience, Assurance of Hope, Perseverance in Grace, the Church, Church Fellowship, the Ordinances of the Gospel, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Obedience to the Civil Government, Death and the State after Death, the Resurrection, General Judgment, the Eternal State of the Wicked and the Godly.

It is in all essentials a statement of the Westminster doctrine, whose general order, and whose language, with Methodist variations, it adopts. On the problems of election, and the asperities of Calvinistic doctrine on reprobation and the non-elect, it is discreetly silent. Kings and civil authorities are ordained of God; are to be honoured for the sake of their office, and not merely for personal virtues; and are to be obeyed in all things that are in accordance with the Word of God, the taxes they impose being paid without murmur, concealment, or fraud. In its English form it lacks the vigour of style and the dignity of its source—a loss natural in a paraphrase.

[Full text in Müller, *op. cit.*, and in publications of the Church. Brief reference in Schaff, *Hist.* p. 903.]

(8) In the *Presbyterian Church in America*, the Westminster Confession, after being subscribed and accepted *simpliciter* for a time as in Britain, experienced similar modifications and qualifications. The Synod of Philadelphia in 1729 declared: 'We do therefore agree that all the ministers of this Synod . . . shall declare their agreement in and approbation of the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms . . . as being in all the essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine, and do also adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the Confession of our faith,' adding later that some clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters were not received 'in any such sense as to suppose the civil magistrate hath a controlling power over Synods with respect to the exercise of their ministerial authority, or power to persecute any for their religion . . .'

The Union of the Synods of Philadelphia and New York in 1758 adopted a similar declaration. The United Synod in 1787 amended the third section of ch. XXIII, 'Of the Civil Magistrate,' so as to exclude all interference with matters of faith, and to enjoin equal protection of all Churches and of the liberty of all men; ch. XXXI, so as to set aside the right of the Civil Ruler to call councils or assemblies; the last sentence of ch. XX. sect. iv., so as to omit the words 'and by the power of the Civil Magistrate' in reference to Church discipline and censures; and omitted 'tolerating a false religion' from the enumeration of sins against the Second Commandment in the Larger Catechism. At the re-union in 1869 of the 'Old School' and 'New School' sections of the Church, divided since 1837, the basis affirmed consisted of the 'common standards; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments shall be acknowledged to be the inspired Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice; the Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the holy Scriptures.' The same Church, 'The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,' felt it necessary in 1902—(a) to pass a Declaratory Statement defining the sense in which ch. III, 'Of God's Eternal Decree,' was held as—

'concerning those who are saved in Christ, in harmony with the doctrine of His love to all mankind, His gift of His Son to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and His readiness to bestow His saving grace on all who seek it;—concerning those who perish, as in harmony with the doctrine that God desires not the death of any sinner, but has provided in Christ a salvation sufficient for all, adapted to all, and freely offered in the Gospel to all; that men are fully responsible for their treatment of God's gracious offer; that His decree hinders no man from

accepting that offer; and that no man is condemned, (except on the ground of his sin)';

and declaring that ch. X. sect. iii.,

'is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost; we believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how He pleases.'

(b) to amend ch. XVI. sect. vii. to read:

'Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things which God commands, and in themselves praiseworthy and useful, and although the neglect of such things is sinful and displeasing unto God; yet, because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner, according to His Word, nor to a right end, the glory of God, they come short of what God requires, and do not make any man meet to receive the grace of God';

to omit ch. XXII. sect. iii., the last sentence:

'yet it is a sin to refuse an oath touching anything that is good and just, being imposed by lawful authority';

and to amend ch. XXV. sect. vi. to read:

'The Lord Jesus Christ is the only head of the Church, and the claim of any man to be the vicar of Christ and the head of the Church is unscriptural, without warrant in fact, and is a usurpation dishonouring to the Lord Jesus Christ.'

(c) 'to express more fully the doctrine of the Church concerning the Holy Spirit, Missions, and the Love of God for all men,' by adding two new chapters to the Confession, viz.

XXXIV. 'Of the Holy Spirit' as (a) the Third Person in the Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of the same substance, equal in power and glory; (b) the omnipresent Lord and Giver of life, source of all good thoughts, pure desires, and holy counsels, inspirer of Prophecy and Scripture, dispenser of the Gospel; (c) the only efficient agent in the application of redemption; (d) the bond of communion, the mover and enabler of officers and members of the Church, the preserver and increaser of the Church.

XXXV. 'Of the Love of God, and Missions': that (a) God freely offers His salvation to all men in the Gospel; (b) in the Gospel, God declares His love for the world and desire that all men should be saved, reveals fully the only way, promises eternal life to all who repent and believe in Christ, invites and commands all to embrace the offered mercy; and, by His Spirit accompanying the Word, pleads with men to accept His gracious invitation; (c) it is the duty and privilege of all immediately to accept, otherwise they incur aggravated guilt, and perish by their own fault; (d) since there is no other way of salvation than that revealed in the Gospel, and faith ordinarily comes by hearing the Word of God, Christ has commissioned His Church to go into all the world, and to make disciples of all nations. All believers are under obligation to sustain established ordinances of religion, and to contribute, by prayer, gifts, and personal efforts, to the extension of the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole earth.

(d) to publish a *Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith* in 16 Articles: Of God, Revelation, the Eternal Purpose, Creation, the Sin of Man, the Grace of God, Election, Our Lord Jesus Christ, Faith and Repentance, the Holy Spirit, the New Birth and the New Life, the Resurrection and the Life to Come, the Law of God, the Church and Sacraments, the Last Judgment, Christian Service and the Final Triumph. Each Article is brief, uncontroversial, and well expressed, beginning, as in the English Presbyterian Articles of 1890, of which they bear signs of close and appreciative study, with the words 'we believe,' and passing in many instances to such cognate phrases as 'we rejoice,' 'we confidently look for,' 'we joyfully receive.' The Articles, as a whole, rank very high among such statements. Their tone and language are unexceptionable. True to their time, they do not wrestle with difficulties; they show no concern about the points which sundered Calvinist, or rather 'Gomarist,' and Arminian; they are as though the Synod of Dort had never been. But there is every likelihood that, in producing them, the powerful 'Presbyterian Church in America,' like its namesake in England, has done a pioneer work, in which it will ere long be followed by many other kindred bodies. More than any other Confession, perhaps, it speaks in modern language, such as the pulpit may utter frankly and without alteration or paraphrase. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that every Protestant Church might cheerfully and heartily accept it for use both at home and in the mission field. Time alone can

disclose whether its avoidance of the controversial will secure a permanent concord. The Federation of the four main Presbyterian Churches in the United States, at present being consummated, is perhaps an augury of the early adoption of a similar document, or perhaps the document itself.

[Full text in Müller, pp. 941-946, where also the Declaration is printed; earlier history in Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 804-810.]

(9) *The Westminster Confession in the United Presbyterian Church in America.*—The 'Associate' and 'Associate Reformed' Churches, which united in 1858 to form the 'United Presbyterian Church in America,' had held the Confession much more rigorously than the 'Presbyterian Church' just discussed. The former had not at any time altered the text of the Confession, but had contented itself with issuing in 1784 a *Testimony*, five of whose articles refer to the Civil Magistrate, and deny that he is a ruler in the Church, or may grant privileges to those whom he considers true believers to the hurt of the natural rights of others, or has to do with other than civil and social obligations. The latter had in 1799 modified ch. XX. sect. iv., XXIII. sect. iii., and XXXI. sect. ii., safeguarding the autonomy of the Church, affirming the duty of the magistrate to protect it and enforce its lawful censures, and to further it without encroaching on the civil rights of others, and allowing him in special cases the right of calling an ecclesiastical synod to consult and advise about matters of religion; and in the Larger Catechism had changed 'tolerating' into 'authorizing a false religion' among sins against the Second Commandment. At the union of 1858 the word 'tolerating' was restored in the Catechism, and modifications of the same three chapters were agreed upon. They affirmed the autonomy of the Church, the right and duty of the magistrate to punish those whose principles and practices, whether religious or political, openly propagated and maintained, were, in his judgment, subversive of the foundations of properly constituted society, but not to presume to judge heresy or schism; nothing being said of his right to summon ecclesiastical synods. Throughout its history, and all its divisions, this branch of the Presbyterian Church maintained the rest of the Westminster doctrine without dubiety or hesitation.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 810-813.]

(10) *The Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, another large Presbyterian body in the United States, sprung from a revival in Kentucky and Tennessee at the close of the 18th cent., in which Methodists assisted Presbyterians, so early as 1813 adopted a Confession prepared by a Committee directed by Finis Ewing, and in 1829 ratified it after a final revision. The *Cumberland Confession* consists of the Westminster Confession with the American amendments of chs. XXIII. and XXXI. (see (8) above), with the teaching on Perseverance in ch. XVII. substantially retained, but with the doctrine of unconditional election and preterition in ch. III. cut out as seeming to encourage fatalism, and with the change of 'elect infants' in ch. X. sect. iii. into 'all infants.' A like Arminian change was made in the Shorter Catechism, so that to Qn. 7 the Answer runs:

'The decrees of God are his purpose according to the counsel of his own will, whereby he hath foreordained to bring to pass what shall be for his own glory: sin not being for God's glory, therefore he hath not decreed it.'

In Answer 20, 'God having elected some' is changed to 'God did provide salvation for all mankind'; and Qn. 31 runs, not 'What is effectual calling?', but 'What is the work of the Spirit?'

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 813-816.]

In 1881 the Cumberland Church appointed a Committee to prepare a new Confession. In 1883 it was finished, and unanimously adopted. It contains 36 chapters, with 115 consecutively num-

bered sections, following the general outline and order of the Westminster Confession, though with characteristic alterations and additions. The topics are: Holy Scriptures, Holy Trinity, Decrees of God, Creation, Providence, Fall of Man, God's Covenant with Man, Christ the Mediator, Free-will, Divine Influence (in place of Effectual Calling), Repentance unto Life, Saving Faith, Justification, Regeneration, Adoption, Sanctification, Growth in Grace [order of last group of seven is changed], Good Works, Preservation of Believers, Christian Assurance, the Law of God, Christian Liberty, Religious Worship, Sabbath-day, Lawful Oaths and Vows, Civil Government, Marriage and Divorce, the Church, Christian Communion, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Church Authority, Church Courts, Death and Resurrection, the Judgment. The diction of the Articles cannot be compared with the Westminster sentences, beside which they sound conversational and spasmodic or halting. The chapter on the Decrees is completely given as follows:

'God, for the manifestation of his glory and goodness, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordained or determined what he himself would do, what he would require his intelligent creatures to do, and what should be the awards, respectively, of the obedient and the disobedient. Though all Divine decrees may not be revealed to men, yet it is certain that God has decreed nothing contrary to his revealed will or written word.'

The doctrine corresponds in every respect with the earlier revision of the Westminster Confession by the same Church, whose principles and chief ideas it consistently applies throughout.

[Text in Müller, pp. 912-927.]

(11) *In Canada.*—The doctrinal changes effected by the Presbyterian Churches in the United States go far to explain the unparalleled step which in Canada the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Methodist Churches are seriously contemplating in their proposed union. In truth, those alterations leave no standing ground for the traditional differences between Arminian and Conservative Calvinists. After four years of conference (1904-8), agreement has been reached in Committee regarding 19 Articles as the doctrine which the Churches, if ultimately united, would profess. The Baptist and Anglican Churches did not see their way to participate, as invited, in the unrestricted conference and negotiation. With its great home-mission problem, Canada, though little affected by theological laxity or indifference, has been driven by practical necessities to rise above all minor doctrinal differences. In it, both Methodists and Presbyterians have set their brethren in other lands a wise example in ending schism among themselves, and closing their own ranks. It will be a new day for Protestant Christianity, if three such denominations as Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists should find it feasible to unite their forces, whether for home or foreign missionary enterprise.

The Preamble runs: 'We . . . do hereby set forth the substance of the Christian faith as commonly held among us. In doing so, we build upon the foundation laid by the Apostles and Prophets, confessing that Jesus Christ Himself is the cornerstone. We affirm our belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the primary source and ultimate standard of Christian faith and life. We acknowledge the teaching of the great Creeds of the ancient Church. We further maintain our allegiance to the Evangelical doctrines of the Reformation as set forth in common in the doctrinal standards adopted by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, by the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, and by the Methodist Church. We present the accompanying statement as a brief summary of our common faith, and commend it to the studious attention of the members and adherents of the negotiating Churches, as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures.'

Art. I. is of God; II., of Revelation; III., of the Divine Purpose: 'We believe that the eternal, wise, holy, and loving purpose of God embraces all events, so that, while the freedom of man is not taken away, nor is God the author of sin, yet in His providence He makes all things work together in the fulfilment of His sovereign design and the manifestation of His glory': IV., of Creation and Providence; V., of the Sin of

Man: 'We believe that our first parents being tempted chose evil, and so fell away from God, and came under the power of sin, the penalty of which is eternal death; and that, by reason of this disobedience, all men are born with a sinful nature, that we have broken God's law, and that no man can be saved but by His grace'; VI., of the Grace of God; '... God ... in the Gospel freely offers His all-sufficient salvation to all men. ... also that God, in His own good pleasure, gave to His Son a people, an innumerable multitude, chosen in Christ unto holiness, service, and salvation'; VII., of the Lord Jesus Christ: VIII., of the Holy Spirit; IX., of Regeneration; X., of Faith and Repentance; XI., of Justification and Sonship; XII., of Sanctification; XIII., of the Law of God; XIV., of the Church; XV., of the Sacraments; XVI., of the Ministry; XVII., of Church Order and Fellowship; XVIII., of the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the Future Life; XIX., of Christian Service and the Final Triumph.

Candidates for ordination must be 'in essential agreement' with the doctrine of the Church, and accept the Statement above 'as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures,' and must answer three questions affirmatively, viz. (1) 'Do you believe yourself to be a child of God, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ?' (2) 'Do you believe yourself to be called to the office of the Christian ministry, and that your chief motives are zeal for the glory of God, love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire for the salvation of men?' (3) 'Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines required for eternal salvation in our Lord Jesus Christ? And are you resolved out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing which is not agreeable thereto?'

[Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Joint Committee on Church Union, etc., Toronto, Dec. 1908.]

(12) In *South Africa* a basis of union between the Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist Churches was drawn up and recommended in 1909 by a Conference at Bloemfontein, on Presbyterian initiative, the Dutch Reformed Church not seeing its way to co-operate in the movement. *Inter alia*, 5 somewhat slight and loosely-drafted clauses set forth the simple evangelical basis of doctrine proposed. The Churches have not as yet assented to the proposed basis, the last three named having decided adversely meanwhile.

[Draft Constitution, etc., issued by order of Conference, 1909.]

(13) In *Southern India*, in July 1908 the first General Assembly of the 'South India United Church,' representing Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, met and adopted a basis of union, including a Confession in 5 Articles: of God; of Revelation and Scripture; of Man's Creation in God's Image, Common Brotherhood, Sin and Helplessness; of God's Salvation through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit; and of the Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Things to come. There is a prefatory and a concluding note affirming:

(1) 'As the Confession is a human instrument, it is understood that persons assenting to it do not commit themselves to every word or phrase, but accept it as a basis of union, and as embodying substantially the vital truths held in common by the uniting churches'; (2) 'the church reserves to itself the right to revise its general Confession of Faith whenever the consensus of opinion of the United Body demands it.'

Other unions and federations elsewhere in the world, accomplished or being negotiated, involve no new standards, but rest on those already recognized.

17. Confessions in the Baptist Churches.—The 16th cent. revolt against the superstition, formalism, corruption, and hierarchic tyranny of the Roman Church, which in the Lutheran, Anglican, Zwinglian, and Calvinist Churches proceeded on strictly ecclesiastical lines, assumed a more radical form in the Anabaptist societies which sprang up throughout Europe. Their rise and their doctrines have been amply described in an earlier article (see ANABAPTISM in vol. i. p. 406). In worship they observed a puritan simplicity and fervour. In polity they inclined to presbyterian or congregational organization. In doctrine they cherished no artificial or coercive unity, being kept together by common revulsion from traditionalism, by common persecution, and by a common quest after a simpler Biblical piety and personal experience. Towards the State as towards the Church they looked with suspicion and distrust, dreading its

worldliness, its appeal to force, its reliance on oaths, and in return they were hated as its subverters. They deserve honour as the pioneers of religious toleration—a principle always more easily mastered by the persecuted than by the persecutor. Much that is best in Quaker and in Baptist thought and life they anticipated, as they themselves had been anticipated by the Brethren, their namesakes, of earlier centuries in Bohemia and in the Alpine Valleys. They had a lively appreciation of the doctrinal and ethical superiority of the New to the Old Testament, a vivid sense of individual responsibility and relationship to God, a reliance on the direct leading of the Holy Spirit. In their doctrine, as in their life, they strove to reproduce the NT ideal, demanding literal obedience to Christian precepts at their hardest, and in all things sincerity and simplicity. In an age like theirs it was inevitable that their attitude towards the Sacraments, especially Baptism, should arouse the keenest attention and lead to the fiercest antagonism and obloquy. Their free-thought on Baptism, their faith in the universal salvation of departed infants, their disbelief in infant-baptism as the degradation of the Sacrament to a meaningless or superstitious form, and their consequent insistence on adult re-baptism, seemed to be their crowning heresy, or blasphemy, or sacrilege, and won for them the name of 'Anabaptist.' Among their number were outstanding Humanists as well as illiterate peasants, well-balanced minds as well as crazy enthusiasts. Scorned, hated, reviled, and tormented by Romanist and orthodox Protestant alike, they were in innumerable instances the salt of their age. It was their misfortune to live before their time; it was their lot to suffer for its coming. With better information about their character and views, history at last is making a tardy reparation to their memory. The chapter on Anabaptism in a modern Church History is a strange and welcome contrast to its older counterpart (e.g. Lindsay, *Hist. of Reform.* ii. 430-469).

(1) *Anabaptist Confessions.*—Even before 1500, a simple *Catechism*, printed in many languages, was in current use, along with early versions of the Bible, among the Anabaptist societies. In the third decade of the 16th cent. conferences are known to have taken place with a view to their closer union—in 1524 at Waldshut in the house of their scholarly and eloquent leader Balthasar Hübmaier, when a statement of principles, in particular against the miraculous efficacy of Sacraments, was prepared, and separation from the Roman Church resolved upon; in 1526 at Augsburg; and in 1527 also at Augsburg, where a General Synod representative of widely scattered cities 'drew up a statement of doctrinal truth, which is very simple, and corresponds intimately with what is now taught among the Moravian Brethren' (Lindsay, *op. cit.* ii. 435). The tragic Münster episode, which did so much to bring discredit upon the Anabaptist name, gave to the world *Bernhard Rothmann's Theses and Confession of Faith*, 1532 (summary in Detmer's work on him, Münster, 1904; Lindsay, *Hist.* ii. 452, 456), the *21 Articles*, or *Rules*, of Jan Matthys, the Melchiorite Dutch visionary (1533), and an *Apology*, or *Confession of the Faith and Life of the Christian Society at Münster* (Lindsay, ii. 464 and footnote).

(2) *Mennonite Confessions.*—Under the apostolic influence of the devoted Menno Simons, a Dutch priest who joined the Anabaptist movement in 1536 and gave the last twenty-five years of his martyr life to the cause, the scattered and dispirited congregations revived and, in spite of persecution, were organized into a church, in which baptism, though conditional upon profession of faith spontaneously made, was still for the most part

administered by sprinkling, not immersion. Winer (*Comparative View of Doctrines and Confessions*, Introd. § 5) enumerates a group of Mennonite documents as follows:

The *Confession of Waterland* (1580), the most important, drawn up in Dutch by Ris and Gerardi, represents the Waterland division of the Church, which was more liberal in its discipline, but contains the characteristic doctrine of all sections. It consists of 40 Articles, which deny the guilt of original or transmitted sin; affirm the conditional election of all, and universal atonement; condemn oaths, war, civil office, litigation, revenge, worldly amusements, and infant baptism as unscriptural; approve of obedience to civil magistrates in all things not contrary to conscience and God's word; but on other points conform to the normal tenets of Protestantism.

Confessions were also published in 1591; in 1628 *Ontermann's Confession of the One God*; in 1629 *the Confession of the Olive Branch*; in 1630 *the Short Confession of the United Frisian and German Baptists*, and *Cornelis' 15 Principal Articles*; in 1664 *a Leyden Confession*; and in 1766 *Ris' Doctrine of the True Mennonites*, sanctioned by many churches. *Catechisms* widely used were those of 1697 by Dooregest, Beets, and Schyn, of 1743 by Baudouin, and of 1783.

[Winer, *op. cit.* pp. 29-31, with bibliog. and further details.]

(3) *Calvinistic Baptist Confessions in Britain and America*.—The great majority of modern Baptists belong to the 'Regular' or 'Particular' denomination, and are, apart from the mode and age or condition and theory of baptism, Calvinists in doctrine, Voluntaries and Congregationalists in polity. They believe in the salvation of all who die before attaining to years of discretion, and hold that baptism is simply an outward sign and profession of grace already received, of faith in Christ, and membership in His Church. Their Confessions, in harmony with their Congregationalist polity, are not so much obligatory standards as manifestos of prevailing doctrine, issued often with an apologetic purpose.

The *Confession of Seven Churches in London* (1644) was published during the sitting of the Westminster Assembly, from whose deliberations Baptist divines were excluded, 'for the vindication of the truth and information of the ignorant: likewise for the taking off of those aspersions which are frequently both in pulpit and print unjustly cast upon them.' Its 52 Articles are Calvinistic throughout, apart from the Sacraments and Church polity. Its closing paragraph, like the *Scots Confession*, disclaims infallibility:

'We confess that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know; and if any shall do us that friendly part to show us from the Word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them. But if any man shall impose upon us anything that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in His strength rather embrace all reproaching and tortures of men . . . than do anything against the least title of the Truth of God. . . . And if any shall call what we have said heresy, then do we with the Apostle acknowledge that after the way they call heresy worship we the God of our fathers, disclaiming all heresies (rightly so called). . . .'

[Text in Underhill's *Collection of Baptist Confessions*, pub. by Hanserd Knollys Society; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 854; Green, *Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*, Lond. 1898, p. 150 f.]

The 46 Articles of Somerset were adopted by sixteen churches in that county and neighbourhood in 1656.

The *Confession of 1677*, re-issued in 1688 and again in 1689 with the approval of the representatives of a hundred congregations met in London, became at once the recognized standard, and has remained the historic manifesto of the Particular Baptists not only in Britain but in America, where it received the sanction of the Association of 1742 at Philadelphia, and the title *Confession of Philadel-*

phia. Its 32 chapters are simply a Baptist recension of the Westminster Confession, altered only in the chapters dealing with the Church and the Sacraments. It thus corresponds to the Congregational Savoy Declaration of 1658, and in fact professes to have for its aim, in adhering to the Westminster Confession, to 'show the agreement of Baptists with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists' in all the fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion, and to demonstrate that they have 'no itch to clog religion with new words.'

From the Savoy Declaration ch. xx. is inserted, 'of the Gospel and the Extent of Grace thereof' (see p. 884f, below). In ch. xx. of the Westminster Confession Art. 4 is omitted respecting resistance to the Civil Magistrate and punishment of heretics by the same power. In ch. xxiii., 'of the Civil Magistrate,' Artt. 3 and 4 are omitted, which admit the power of magistrates to take order to maintain the purity of the Church and to summon councils, and their right to be obeyed by all notwithstanding evil character or unbelief, and a short sentence is inserted enjoining 'subjection in all lawful things . . . to be yielded . . . in the Lord,' and prayers to be offered on their behalf. In ch. xxv., 'of the Church,' the six articles are re-cast, modified, and expanded into fifteen—enjoining communion in the visible Church, defining membership in Baptist terms, recognizing bishops or elders and deacons as office-bearers, appointing their election to be by congregational suffrage and their ordination to be by prayer and fasting and the imposition of hands, urging fellowship between congregations, and the holding of assemblies to advise and counsel, not to exercise jurisdiction. In place of ch. xxvii., 'of the Sacraments,' two articles stand: '1. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are ordinances of positive and sovereign institution, appointed by the Lord Jesus, the only Lawgiver, to be continued in His Church to the end of the world. 2. These holy appointments are to be administered by those only who are qualified, and thereunto called, according to the commission of Christ.' In place of ch. xxviii., 'of Baptism,' four articles stand: '1. Baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament ordained by Jesus Christ to be unto the party baptized a sign of his fellowship with Him in His death and resurrection; of his being engrafted into Him; of remission of sins; and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to live and walk in newness of life. 2. Those who do actually profess repentance towards God, faith in and obedience to our Lord Jesus, are the only proper subjects of this ordinance. 3. The outward element to be used in this ordinance is water, wherein the party is to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. 4. Immersion, or dipping of the person in water, is necessary to the due administration of this ordinance.' Ch. xxx., 'of Church Censures,' and ch. xxxi., 'of Synods and Councils,' are omitted wholly.

The *Baptist Catechism commonly called Keach's Catechism*, which bears the same relation to the Westminster Shorter Catechism as the Baptist Confession of 1677 to that of Westminster, was prepared in 1693 by William Collins, by instruction of the Assembly of that year in London. Benjamin Keach had been associated with Collins in the re-issue of the Confession in 1688, and is credited with a considerable share in the work. Underhill, who gives it in his *Collection* (pp. 247-270), describes it as 'the only Catechism of value among Baptists.'

The *New Hampshire Confession* (1833) is the work of J. Newton Brown of New Hampshire, a theological author and editor. It has been accepted generally by American Baptists, especially in the Northern and Western States, since its adoption by the New Hampshire Convention. Its 18 Articles (text in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 742-748), each of which begins with the words 'We believe . . .,' treat very briefly of the Scriptures, the True God, the Fall of Man, the Way of Salvation, Justification, the Freedom of Salvation, Grace in Regeneration, Repentance and Faith, God's Purpose of Grace, Sanctification, the Perseverance of Saints, the Harmony of the Law and the Gospel, a Gospel Church, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Christian Sabbath, Civil Government, the Righteous and the Wicked, and the World to come. The language is often felicitous in its attempt to express the essence of Calvinism in terms which shall not repel.

Three articles may serve as specimens of the work. Art. VI., 'of the Freedom of Salvation,' runs: 'We believe that the blessings of salvation are made free to all by the Gospel; that it is the immediate duty of all to accept them by a cordial, penitent, and obedient faith: and that nothing prevents the

salvation of the greatest sinner on earth but his own inherent depravity and voluntary rejection of the Gospel; which rejection involves him in an aggravated condemnation.' Art. IX., 'of God's Purpose of Grace,' runs: 'We believe that election is the eternal purpose of God, according to which He graciously regenerates, sanctifies, and saves sinners; that, being perfectly consistent with the free agency of man, it comprehends all the means in connection with the end; that it is a most glorious display of God's sovereign goodness, being infinitely free, wise, holy, and unchangeable; that it utterly excludes boasting, and promotes humility, love, prayer, praise, trust in God, and active imitation of His free mercy; that it encourages the use of means in the highest degree; that it may be ascertained by its effects in all who truly believe the Gospel; that it is the foundation of Christian assurance; and that to ascertain it with regard to ourselves demands and deserves the utmost diligence.' Art. XIV., 'of Baptism and the Lord's Supper,' runs: 'We believe that Christian Baptism is the immersion in water of a believer, into the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost; to show forth in a solemn and beautiful emblem our faith in the crucified, buried, and risen Saviour, with its effect in our death to sin and resurrection to a new life; that it is pre-requisite to the privileges of a church relation, and to the Lord's Supper, in which the members of the Church, by the sacred use of bread and wine, are to commemorate together the dying love of Christ; preceded always by solemn self-examination.'

(4) *Arminian Baptist Confessions in Britain and America*.—The Free-will, or General, or Arminian Baptists, like the Mennonites, affirm conditional election, the freedom of the human will, and the possibility of falling away from grace. They also diverge somewhat from Congregationalism in retaining a form of episcopate with pastors and deacons, and in assigning more authority to their General Assemblies. Their earliest confession is the *Declaration of Faith of English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland*, drawn up in 1611, in 100 Articles (based on 37 prepared in Dutch by two Mennonite Pastors, De Ries and Gerrits, in 1609), by John Smyth for his congregation of English refugees, and, after controversy, re-cast in rival form by his colleague Helwys in 27 Articles in the same year.

Of the latter form Art. V. says: 'God before the foundation of the world hath predestinated that all that believe in Him shall be saved, and all that believe not shall be damned; all which He knew before, not that God hath predestinated men to be wicked, and so be damned, but that men being wicked shall be damned.' Art. VII. denies the necessary 'perseverance' of Saints: 'men may fall away from the grace of God, and from the truths which they have received and acknowledged.' Art. X. defines the Church as the company of believers baptized upon their own confession of faith, without requiring immersion. Art. XXIV. enjoins obedience to magistrates.

[Text in Underhill's *Collection*, pp. 1-10.]

The *London Confession*, in 25 Articles, was presented to Charles II. in 1660.

[Text in Underhill, pp. 107-120.]

The *Orthodox Creed of 1678* emanated from the Free-will Baptists of Oxfordshire. According to Schaff, 'it makes a near approach to Calvinism, with a view to unite Protestants in the fundamental articles against the errors of Rome' (*Hist.* p. 858).

[Text in Underhill, pp. 120-168.]

The *Confession of the American Free-will Baptists*, approved by Conference in 1834, revised in 1848, 1865, and 1868, is the most important and authoritative statement of Arminian Baptist views. Its 21 brief chapters, some but a sentence long, treat of Scripture, the Being and Attributes of God, Divine Government and Providence, Creation, Primitive State of Man and Fall, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Atonement and Mediation of Christ, the Gospel Call (as 'co-extensive with the atonement to all men both by the word and by the strivings of the Spirit; so that salvation is rendered equally possible to all; and if any fail of eternal life the fault is wholly their own'), Repentance, Faith, Regeneration, Justification and Sanctification, Perseverance of the Saints ('there are strong grounds to hope that the truly regenerate will persevere unto the end and be saved, through the power of Divine grace which is pledged for their support; but their future obedience and final salvation are neither deter-

mined nor certain; since through infirmity and manifold temptations they are in danger of falling; and they ought therefore to watch and pray, lest they make shipwreck of faith and be lost'), the Sabbath, the Church, the Gospel Ministry, Ordinances of the Gospel, Death and the Intermediate State, the Second Coming of Christ, the Resurrection, the General Judgment, and Future Retributions.

[Text in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 749-756.]

LITERATURE.—Schaff, *Hist.*, and *Evang. Prot. Creeds*; Underhill, *Confessions of Faith*, etc., 1864, for the 17th century; Crosby, *History of the English Baptists*, Lond. 1788-40; Cramp, *Baptist History*, Philadelphia, 1871; T. Armitage, *History of the Baptists*, N.Y. 1887; H. C. Vedder, *Short History of the Baptists*, Philadelphia, 1891; Newman, *History of the Baptists of the U.S.*, N.Y. 1894; art. in *PRE*³ and Schaff-Herzog ('Anabaptists,' 'Baptists,' 'Mennonites'), and art. ANABAPTISM in vol. I.

18. *Confessions in the Independent or Congregational Churches*.—Congregationalism in Britain and America, a product of the English Puritanism of Elizabeth's reign, stands related historically to Calvinism very much as the Baptist movement, whose congregational form of polity and whose free attitude to Confessions of Faith it shares. Without Confessional coercion, and without any reliance upon the ecclesiastical authority of high courts or assemblies, Congregationalism has grown up and flourished, like Baptist Calvinism, under the shadow and dominant influence of the Westminster Standards. It acknowledges no binding Confession. The particular or local congregation is a doctrinal law to itself, bound only by such doctrinal restrictions as may be embodied in its own constitution or charter or deed of trust. Particular congregations are bound to one another by the simple tie of fellowship, doctrinal sympathy, and affinity—a tie terminable at any time should egregious departure from type take place. Till recently, Congregationalists, like Baptists, have maintained a remarkable homogeneity in spite of their freedom—a testimony to their loyalty to the traditions not less than to the congregational charters of the body. They have steadfastly resisted all tendencies to elevate common doctrinal statements into obligatory Confessions (preferring to call them declarations or 'platforms'), and every temptation to form Presbyterian federations with legislative and jurisdictional courts. Neither civil nor ecclesiastical authority or dignity is allowed to exercise power over a local congregation. For the rest, their history has run parallel with that of Presbyterianism, their re-adjustments of the Westminster type of doctrine proceeding on similar lines.

Robert Browne's *Statement of Congregational Principles*, published in 1582 at Middelburg in Holland, was the pioneer declaration. It is in the form of an elaborate Catechism of 185 questions, each supplied with an answer, a counter-question and its answer, definitions of the terms employed, and an analytic division. Its doctrine is orthodox Calvinism, but questions 35-127 develop the characteristics of Congregational polity under the doctrine of the Church. Though Browne, after years of courageous propaganda, ultimately abandoned his own cause and returned to the Church of England, the movement was long associated with his name as 'Brownism.' It was in Holland where Anabaptism prepared the way for it, and in New England that it first found a refuge.

[Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York, 1893, pp. 1-27, where full citations of the relevant literature are made.]

The *London Confession of 1589* was prepared for the struggling congregation in that city by Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood, its two leading members, then imprisoned for their separatist

teaching and afterwards martyred. It was entitled 'A True Description out of the Word of God of the Visible Church,' and was printed at Dort. Less democratic than Browne's work in its view of the authority of the elders, it makes the same claim to NT warrant for the free election of pastors and teachers, elders, deacons, and widows, by the congregation. It is silent on the system of doctrine, being in complete sympathy with the ruling Calvinism.

[Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 22-40, including the text.]

The *London-Amsterdam True Confession* of 1596 was published to vindicate the London fugitives resident in and near Amsterdam from the odium of wilful schism and of heresy. It seems to have been the work chiefly of the gifted Henry Ainsworth. Its 45 Articles deal with doctrine, in which they are in harmony with Continental and Anglican Calvinism; and with Church government, in which they carry further the Congregational principles of the Confession of 1589, tightening discipline through provision for the deposition and even excommunication of unworthy ministers, and through the requirement of transference certificates from one congregation to another, urging complete separation from the Established Church, and calmly contemplating the use of civil power to reform it in harmony with their principles.

[Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 41-74, incl. text and bibliog.]

The *Points of Difference between Congregationalism and the Church of England* were submitted by the same body of exiles to James I. on his accession, in 1603. Of the 14 points the following may be quoted as representative:

1. 'That Christ the Lord hath by His last Testament given to His Church, and set therein, sufficient ordinary Offices, with the manner of calling or Entrance, Works, and Maintenance, for the administration of His holy things, and for the sufficient ordinary instruction guidance and service of His Church, to the end of the world.' 2. 'That every particular Church hath like and full interest and power to enjoy and practise all the ordinances of Christ. . . . 3. 'That every true visible Church is a company of people called and separated from the world by the word of God, and joyned together by voluntary profession of the faith of Christ, in the fellowship of the Gospel. And that therefore no knowne Atheist, unbeliever, Heretique, or wicked liver be received or retained a member. . . . 5. 'That being thus joyned, every Church hath power in Christ to chuse and take unto themselves meet and sufficient persons into the Offices and functions of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons and Helpers. . . . and that no Antichristian Hierarchie, or Ministerie, of Popes, Archbishops, Lord-bishops, Suffraganes, Deanes, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Parsons, Vicars, Priests, Dumb-ministers, nor any such like be set over the Spouse and Church of Christ. . . .

[Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 75-80, incl. text.]

Between 1617 and 1647, Walker (*op. cit.* pp. 81-156) details a group of minor documents illustrating the spread of Congregational principles, especially in New England—the *Seven Articles of 1617*, a minimum statement, almost an abnegation, of Congregational views submitted on behalf of the English refugees in Leyden in support of their application to the Virginia Colonizing Company for a grant of land in America on which to settle; the *Mayflower Compact*, a civil covenant of the Congregational type, in 1620; the *Covenants and Creeds of Salem Church*, 1629-1665; the *Covenant of the Charlestown-Boston Church*, 1630; Hooker's *Summary of Congregational Principles* (1645), a learned but discursive American reply to Samuel Rutherford's searching criticism of Congregationalism in his *Due Right of Presbyteries* (1644); and the *Creed-Covenant of the Church at Windsor, Connecticut* (1647).

The *Cambridge (New England) Platform of Church Discipline* (1648), following upon the *Tentative Conclusions* of the Cambridge Synod of 1646, is a supplement to the Westminster Confession of 1646, which the Synod, having perused and considered it 'with much gladness of heart, and thankfulness to God,' judged 'to be very holy,

orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith,' and therefore freely and fully consented thereunto 'for the substance thereof.' The Synod acknowledged that the sections bearing on Vocation were not passed without debate or in their stricter sense. The Westminster doctrine of Church government and discipline in chs. xxv., xxx., and xxxi. was to be replaced by the new Platform. The Synod hoped that by this 'professed consent and free concurrence' with the Westminster Divines it would appear to the world that, as they were 'a remnant of the people of the same nation with them,' so they were 'professors of the same common faith, and fellow-heirs of the same common salvation.' The Platform is credited to Richard Mather, and contains 17 substantial chapters, after a lengthy preface. It is a careful and minute application of Congregational principles to the details of the Puritan doctrine of the Church.

[Walker, pp. 180-237; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 886.]

The *Savoy Declaration* (1658) did for the English Churches what the Cambridge Platform did for the American; it has been the historical basis of their teaching. With some reluctance Cromwell had agreed to act upon the advice and request of certain influential Independents in Parliament to arrange for the publication of a Confession of Faith for the whole realm, differences of opinion being tolerated except in the cases of Popery and Prelacy. Representatives were sent by 120 Congregational Churches in and near London, in response to a circular addressed to them by the Clerk of the Council of State, to a Conference in the Savoy Palace in London. The Conference did not meet till nearly four weeks after the Great Protector's death. It elected to prepare a new Confession, and authorized a committee of six—Drs. Goodwin, Owen, Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill (all save Owen members of the Westminster Assembly)—to prepare the draft. Within a fortnight the work was done and unanimously accepted. It consists of a very lengthy 'Preface,' descriptive of the work, deprecating coercion in the use of Confessions, which thereby became 'Impositions' and 'Exactions' of Faith, and urging toleration in matters non-essential among Churches that held the necessary foundations of faith and holiness; a 'Declaration of Faith,' consisting of the doctrinal matter of the Westminster Confession slightly modified, and a System of Polity, or 'Institution of Churches.'

The 'Declaration of Faith' is in 32 chapters, two of the Westminster Confession being omitted, as they had previously been by the Long Parliament, viz. xxx. and xxxi., 'of Church Censures' and 'of Synods and Councils,' one, viz. xx., being added, 'of the Gospel, and of the Extent of the Grace thereof.' Ch. xxi., 'of Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience,' is slightly modified. Ch. xxiv., 'of the Civil Magistrate,' is altered to exclude the civil punishment of heresy, though 'blasphemy and errors subverting the faith and inevitably destroying the souls of them that receive them' are to be prevented. Ch. xxv., 'of Marriage,' is shortened by omissions. Ch. xxvi., 'of the Church,' is modified by omissions and additions. The 'Institution of Churches' sets forth Congregationalism in 30 propositions providing for constitution, government, discipline, organization, and fellowship.

[Walker, pp. 240-408, where the Savoy changes are indicated by black type in the text; Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 829-833, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 707-729.]

In Britain, since 1658, the following have been the chief products of Confessional activity. In 1691 there were published *Nine Heads of Agreement* between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in and near London, who had been drawn together by the persecution associated with the Act of Uniformity in 1662. They are more Congregationalist than Presbyterian, anything like a Presbyterian system of courts being an impossibility at the time. Their acceptance in England, like the union they accompanied, was short-lived, but they found favour and exerted

influence in America. In 1833 appeared the *Declaration of the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, setting forth the 'Faith, Church Order, and Discipline of the Congregational or Independent Dissenters.' It was composed by Dr. Redford of Worcester, was unanimously adopted, after revision, by the Union, and has maintained its place as its official manifesto. It is prefaced by 7 preliminary notes which disclaim for it technical or critical precision, deny the utility of creeds as bonds of union, admit the existence of differences of opinion within the Union, but claim a greater harmony than among Churches requiring subscription. Its 'Principles of Religion,' in 20 propositions, are a moderate popular statement of Calvinistic doctrine. Its concluding 'Principles of Church Order and Discipline' are 13 in number, and claim Divine sanction for the polity they outline.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 833-836, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 730-734; Walker, pp. 440-462, 542-552.]

In America, since 1648, the following documents have emerged: The *Boston Declaration* of 1680, approved by the Synod of the New England Churches, is simply the Savoy Confession with the Cambridge Platform. The *Saybrook Platform* (1708) marked the adoption by the Connecticut Churches of the Boston Declaration with the English Heads of Agreement of 1691. In 1801 the same sympathy with Presbyterians, deepened by common home-missionary problems, led to the adoption of a *Plan of Union*, in 4 sections, by the Connecticut Churches. In 1865 the National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States, which met at Boston, emitted a *Declaration of Faith*, of which the first draft was prepared by Drs. Joseph P. Thomson, Edward A. Lawrence, and George P. Fisher, followed by a second and a third, the third being adopted on Burial Hill, Plymouth, where the earliest meeting-house of the Pilgrim Fathers had stood. This *Burial Hill Declaration* impressively affirms the Synod's adherence to the faith and order of the Apostolic and Primitive Churches held by their fathers, and substantially as embodied in the Confessions and Platforms which the Synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or re-affirmed. The last five paragraphs briefly summarize 'the great fundamental truths in which all Christians should agree,' and which should be a basis of fellowship.—God the Triune, Jesus Christ the Incarnate Word, the Holy Comforter, Sin, Atonement, Sanctification, Church, Ministry, Sacraments, Judgment to come,—state the testimony on which these doctrines rest, and close with a proffer of fellowship with all who hold them and with an avowal of missionary purpose.

The *Obertin Declaration* of 1871 is a more matter-of-fact re-affirmation, without any doctrinal detail. In 1883, in response to long-continued demands for a Declaration which should be less superficial than those of 1865 and 1871, and more suitable both for use in private and public instruction, and for use in the trust-deeds of local churches, a body of twenty-five representative commissioners completed a Creed of 12 Articles subscribed by all but three of their number. This *Commission Creed*, which was duly authorized as a common manifesto, has found wide acceptance. Congregationalism apart, it is on the same lines as the modern Presbyterian statements. It is cast in true creed form, each article beginning, 'We believe.' It is catholic and evangelical in its doctrine; the historic difficulties in Calvinism are passed over; the language is simple, vigorous, and appropriate; even the doctrine of the Church in Art. X. is in such terms as would commend it to others than Congregationalists. Altogether it is one of the most successful modern Declarations.

The *Union Statement*, issued by a joint-Committee at Dayton, O., in Feb. 1906, with a view to union between Congregationalists, Methodist Protestants, and United Brethren, bears the same character and has gained similar approval. It affirms 'consent to the teaching of the Ancient Symbols of the undivided Church, and to that substance of Christian doctrine which is common to the Creeds and Confessions which we have inherited from the past,' though attention has been drawn to the significance of its omissions from the traditional system.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 835-840, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 734-737; Walker, pp. 238-582, Incl. texts of all documents down to 1883; art. 'Congregationalists' in Schaff-Herzog by Morton Dexter.]

GENERAL LITERATURE.—The works cited will be found sufficient, Williston Walker's *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York, 1893, being especially full and reliable. In Schaff, Walker, and the art. in Schaff-Herzog a full statement of the relevant literature will be obtained.

19. Confessions in the Arminian and Methodist Churches.—Originally a spiritual and ethical revival within the Church of England, Methodism grew up under the Thirty-nine Articles and never formally renounced its allegiance to them. But from the first, except in Whitefield's following, it objected resolutely to the distinctively Calvinistic elements in them, and avowed its acceptance of them as in harmony with the Five Points of Arminianism (given above, p. 868*). From the Wesleys to William Booth, Wesleyan teachers have 'abhorred' the Calvinistic doctrine of the Divine decrees as subversive of Divine justice and love, and of human freedom, responsibility, activity, and hope, though, as intensely practical and empiric thinkers, it might have occurred to them as a paradox, on that view, that Whitefield and countless other preachers and teachers in the orthodox Calvinistic succession had never been conscious of any such pernicious results of their views. But, if Methodism be guilty of exaggeration and misrepresentation in its conception of the signification and implications of the Calvinistic doctrine, as when it makes it teach that God passed over or damned the 'rest of mankind' *irrespective of their sin*, its motive is of the highest, its purpose is intensely practical, and its own phenomenal success has vindicated it. In polity, at least, it has borrowed from Calvinism, not only in its practically presbyterian organization in Britain, but in its conception of the episcopate as a superintending presbyterate in America. Practical elasticity and adaptability characterize its polity, just as spiritual impressiveness and emotional effectiveness mark its theology, common sense rather than abstract consistency being the principle of both, and appealing peculiarly to the English mind. Not historical learning, not even conformity to Scripture, not outward continuity with the past, not intellectual perfection, is the final test of a Church and system, but practical efficacy in the supreme work of reaching the heart, curbing the passions, converting the soul, and transforming the character. Clerical privilege and pedantry must bow to the prophetic necessities of the Spirit of God and His saving work. More than any other system, save that of the Friends, with which it has not a little in common, Wesleyan Methodism enthrones the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, testing all doctrines and all work by His felt presence and power. It has thus addressed itself with peculiar success to the practical and empiric instincts of the 19th cent., of whose religious history it has been, next to Christian missions, the outstanding phenomenon. In an age which worships power and has faith in success, it has wielded an unprecedented influence and achieved an unparalleled success. The revival of which it was the leading force has affected almost every other Church for

good, it has stimulated the thought of every other system, and it has transformed the world's conception of the nature and basis of religion.

However the Methodist Churches may differ from one another, in Britain and America, in reference to organization, government, and discipline, they are at one in regard to doctrine, maintaining unaltered Wesley's own position. They have no formally complete, distinctive Confession, but, instead, a certain relation to the Anglican Articles defined by Wesley himself, and the basis of doctrine supplied by Wesley's notes on the New Testament which rest on Bengel's admirable *Gnomon*, or Commentary, and by his 58 published sermons down to 1771. The basis is thus threefold.

(1) *Methodism and the 39 Articles.*—In England, Wesley left the Articles formally undisturbed, in conformity with his scrupulous loyalty to Anglican order, contenting himself with disavowing their predestinarian and allied elements, and interpreting them in an Arminian sense. In America, however, in doctrine as in polity and orders, he felt himself less fettered. He gave the Methodist Episcopal Church, which he founded there, a recension of the 39 Articles suited to its special circumstances, and so abbreviated as to eliminate their obnoxious Calvinism and, negatively at least, to conform to his views. The 25 Articles, as they are called, adopted by Conference in Baltimore in 1784 (except XXIII., recognizing the independence of the United States, which was not approved till 1804), reveal Wesley's precise attitude to the 39.

He omitted the political articles applicable only to England, the strongly Augustinian articles (XVII., of Predestination, as teaching unconditional election and the necessary perseverance of the elect; XIII., of Works before Justification, as having the nature of sins) and Art. VIII., which re-affirms the three Ecumenical Creeds. Art. X., of Free-will, he retained, though it teaches, with Augustine and Calvin, man's natural inability since the Fall to do good works without the grace of God, inasmuch as it was his view that of God's free grace free-will is supernaturally restored to all men universally. From Art. II. he omitted the clauses 'begotten from everlasting of the Father' and 'of His substance,' from IX. the clauses which affirm the persistence of original sin in the regenerate and so conflict with his doctrine of Christian Perfection. In XVI. the words 'sin after baptism' are altered to 'sin after justification,' to exclude the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; and in XXV., of the Sacraments, before 'signs of grace' the words 'sure witnesses and effectual' are omitted. But there is no positive addition of Arminian teaching to the Articles.

(2) *Methodism and Arminianism.*—Wesley made no secret of his entire concurrence with the five cardinal points of Arminianism. They are embodied in his discourses. Human free-will retained in some measure in spite of the Fall, as the basis of individual as distinct from racial responsibility; the voluntary self-limitation of the sovereign will of God in its relations to free agents; foreknowledge of free actions and character as the ground of Divine predestination; the universal extent of the Atonement; the resistibleness of Divine grace, and the possibility of final falling away from the regenerate and sanctified state—these are fundamental Wesleyan as well as Arminian tenets, plausible and common-sense on the face of them, raising no popular difficulties such as beset the antagonistic Calvinistic definitions, and thus avoiding the tendency to morbidity, make-believe, and paralysis not always erroneously attributed to them. In reality the two systems are not diametrically opposed, if the common terms be used in a common sense; but Wesleyan thought, urged by a practical impulse, did not scruple over metaphysical difficulties whether latent in Scripture or in reason, but fastened upon the form of doctrine which appealed most directly to the heart and conscience. Thus Arminianism, which failed to maintain itself in Holland or to win a settlement in Scotland, found a home in England and among English settlers across the Atlantic. Indeed, it must be

added that recent changes in the thought and standards of Calvinism have for the most part been in the direction of a tacit compromise with Arminian doctrine, if not of surrender to it. But Methodism does not share the Pelagian sympathies of Arminianism, takes a darker view of original sin as more than a disease, as complete depravity, attributes human freedom since the Fall not to any partial survival of original freedom, but to the direct prevenient grace of the Spirit of God in the individual soul, and lays far greater stress upon definite conversion and regeneration as a necessary subjective experience for every man.

(3) *The Original Element in Methodism.*—The sermons bring to light three distinctive doctrines which are fundamental in the Methodist system. i. *The Universality of the Offer of Saving Grace.*—All men are born into an order not only of sin through Adam, but of saving grace through Christ, by whose righteousness the free gift came upon all men unto justification. They are thus held guiltless through Christ's atoning merit until personal responsibility in the years of discretion is attained. 'Christ's atonement covers the deficiency of ability in the case of infants, and the deficiency of opportunity in the case of the heathen.' Three dispensations embrace the whole race of men: that of the Father—the heathen and Muhammadans who know God only through nature, providence, and conscience; that of the Son—all who are born and brought up in Christian lands; and that of the Holy Spirit—those who have experienced for themselves the saving grace of the Spirit. ii. *The present Assurance of Salvation.*—The Spirit of God witnesses with our own spirits that we are children of grace, that we are accepted now and shall be saved hereafter if we persevere. iii. *Perfectionism.*—If apostasy be always possible, Christian perfection is also ever in prospect as the grand incentive to effort, perfection not beyond the reach either of enhancement or of loss, but thorough and all-pervading sanctification, the state in which deliberate sin is left behind, love to God is supreme, and every true faculty of human life fully enjoyed.

Calvinistic Methodism in Wales has already been treated under Calvinism (see above, p. 878 f.), and *Baptist Arminianism* in § 17 (4).

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 882-900, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 807-813; *Intro.* to *Winer's Confessions of Christendom*, Eng. tr. pp. lxxvi-lxxviii; Works by John Wesley, Richard Watson, W. B. Pope; *Doctrines and Discipline of Meth. Episc. Church*, ed. Bishop Harris, N.Y. 1872; *A New History of Methodism* by W. J. Townsend and others, 2 vols., London, 1909; art. in *McClintock-Strong's Cyclopedia*, a Methodist publication, etc.]

20. *Confessions in the Salvation Army.*—Offspring of Methodism as it is, with many marks of its parentage, the Salvation Army occupies ground of its own Confessionally. In creed as in organization, it prides itself on its combination of freedom with authority, of simplicity with elasticity and practical effectiveness. Its doctrines are set forth authoritatively by the founder and General, William Booth, in a variety of manuals prepared for children and adults, phrased in language of admirable directness and lucidity. There is a series of *Directories*, or Catechisms, graded for children under 10 years of age, and from 10 to 14 years, and for parents and workers, based on a threefold scheme: Revelation (God, Creation, the four Last Things, Christ, the Bible), Experience (Sin, Forgiveness, the Conditions of Salvation), and Obedience (How to keep Saved, Faith, Prayer, Duty, the Army). *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers of the Salvation Army* is a little treatise discussing in 12 chapters: Salvation, How to keep Religion, Character, the Care of the Body, Improvement of the Mind, Home Life, in the World, the Army, Fighting, Giving and Collecting Money, Personal Dealing, Sickness, and Bereavement. *The*

Doctrines of the Salvation Army, a catechetical manual 'prepared for the use of Cadets in training for officership,' contains in its latest form 29 chapters which discuss with incisive vigour, if often narrowly, the Doctrines (a Creed), God, Jesus Christ is God, How we became Sinners, Redemption, the Extent of the Atonement, the Finished Work of Christ, Election, the Holy Ghost, the Conditions of Salvation, the Forgiveness of Sins, Conversion, the Two Natures, Assurance, Sanctification (7 chapters), Backsliding, Final Perseverance, Death and After, Hell, the Bible, Getting Men Saved, Woman's Right to preach, the Government of the Army. In the last-named work, whose brevity and comprehensiveness perhaps render a certain unfairness to other types of doctrine unavoidable, the chapter on election and its alleged basis in Scripture is a deliberate and express onslaught upon Calvinism, which is represented as teaching 'that God has from all eternity, of His own good pleasure, and without any regard to their conduct, reprobated or left the remainder of mankind to everlasting damnation,' whereas Calvinists have always taught that it is for sin inherited and committed that men are condemned. It will also be observed that there is no doctrine of the Sacraments, neither Baptism nor the Lord's Supper having any place in the Army.

Two documents embedded in the manuals mentioned stand out as having symbolic authority: the 'Articles of War' (1878) in the *Orders and Regulations* (ch. ix. § 3), and the Creed (1872), which forms the first chapter, and the Answer to the first Question, in *The Doctrines of the Salvation Army* (9th ed. 1908).

(a) The 'Articles of War' are 16 in number—8 doctrinal affirmations of personal belief, and 8 solemn vows of personal conduct. They are as follows:

'(1) Having received with all my heart the salvation offered to me by the tender mercy of Jehovah, I do here and now publicly acknowledge God to be my Father and King, Jesus Christ to be my Saviour, and the Holy Spirit to be my Guide, Comforter, and Strength; and that I will, by His help, love, serve, worship, and obey this glorious God through all time and through all eternity. (2) Believing solemnly that the Salvation Army has been raised up by God, and is sustained and directed by Him, I do hereby declare my full determination, by God's help, to be a true soldier of the Army till I die. (3) I am thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Army's teaching. (4) I believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and conversion by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to salvation, and that all men may be saved. (5) I believe that we are saved by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and he that believeth hath the witness of it in himself. I have got it. Thank God! (6) I believe that the Scriptures were given by inspiration of God, and that they teach that not only does continuance in the favour of God depend upon increased faith in and obedience to Christ, but that it is possible for those who have been truly converted to fall away and be eternally lost. (7) I believe that it is the privilege of all God's people to be "wholly sanctified," and that "their whole spirit and soul and body" may "be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." That is to say, I believe that after conversion there remain in the heart of the believer inclinations to evil, or roots of bitterness, which, unless overpowered by Divine grace, produce actual sin; but these evil tendencies can be entirely taken away by the Spirit of God; and the whole heart, thus cleansed from anything contrary to the will of God, or entirely sanctified, will then produce the fruit of the Spirit only. And I believe that persons thus entirely sanctified may, by the power of God, be kept unblamable and unprovable before Him. (8) I believe in the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the everlasting punishment of the wicked.' Art. 9 declares renunciation of the world for service in Christ's Army, cost what it may. Art. 10 promises abstinence from intoxicants and narcotics save when medically prescribed; (11) from profanity and obscenity; (12) from dishonesty, unfairness, and deceit; (13) from oppressive, cruel, or cowardly treatment of those who are in one's power or are dependent on one. Art. 14 promises the spending of time, strength, money, and influence for the War, and the endeavour to induce one's friends and others to do the same; and (15) obedience to the lawful orders of one's Officers. Art. 16 declares: 'I do here and now call upon all present to witness that I enter into this undertaking, and sign these Articles of War of my own free will, feeling that the love of Christ, who died to save me, requires from me this devotion of my life to His service for the salvation of the whole world, and

therefore wish now to be enrolled as a Soldier of the Salvation Army.'

(b) The principal *Doctrines* are:

'(1) We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by the inspiration of God, and that they only constitute the Divine rule of Christian faith and practice. (2) We believe that there is only one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things. (3) We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—undivided in essence, co-equal in power and glory, and the only proper object of religious worship. (4) We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God, and truly and properly man. (5) We believe that our first parents were created in a state of innocence, but by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness; and that, in consequence of their fall, all men have become sinners, totally depraved, and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God. (6) We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ has, by His suffering and death, made an atonement for the whole world, so that whosoever will may be saved. (7) We believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to salvation. (8) We believe that we are justified by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and he that believeth hath the witness in himself. (9) We believe that the Scriptures teach that not only does continuance in the favour of God depend upon continued faith in and obedience to Christ, but that it is possible for those who have been truly converted to fall away and be eternally lost. (10) We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be "wholly sanctified," etc. (as 'Articles of War,' no. 7). (11) We believe in the immortality of the soul, etc. (as *ib.* no. 8).'

From these two Creeds, the Fighting and the Teaching Faith of the Army, which to some slight extent supplement one another, the doctrinal basis of the Army in a Methodist Arminianism is evident. For the militant mission on which it has set out it has reduced its orthodox Wesleyanism to the smallest possible compass. Even in doctrine its impedimenta must go into the smallest of knapsacks, but in its essentials the body of Ecumenical doctrine on God, Christ, the Spirit, of evangelical doctrine on Scripture, on the saving work of Christ and the life to come, of Arminian doctrine on the extent of the Atonement, and of Methodist doctrine on sin, conversion, assurance, the universality of grace, and possible perfection—is included in the bundle. The metaphysics of doctrine, whether suggested by Scripture or not, is left alone. Common sense and immediate emotional power are the criteria of the truth found in Scripture which is essential for the campaign against sin. For scholarship and afterthought there is no place or time. No room is found even for those most compact of Christian treasures, the two great Sacraments, which are 'not essential to salvation,' which have been occasions of continual division and endless controversy, and whose efficacy, it is claimed, can better be secured by signing the Articles of War, by wearing uniform and bearing testimony, and by dedicatory solemnities for children or for adults.

21. *Confessions in the Society of Friends, or Quakers.*—The Confessional attitude of the Quakers is in evident affinity with that of Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Salvationists, at many points; but it represents a more radical breach with Christian convention. They renounce all external authority in matters spiritual, the letter of Scripture not less than subordinate standards, in favour of the direct and inward guidance of the illuminant Spirit of God, the Inner Light. Ceremonies and sacraments, traditions and conventions, organizations and official teachers, are set aside. Yet history repeated itself in their experience, apologetic statements of their teaching being necessitated by popular caricature and theological misrepresentation. These often took the form of condensed summaries, catechetical or propositional in structure. Among those enumerated by Thomas Evans in his *Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends* (Philad. 1828, and later reprints) are a *Confession and Profession of Faith in God* by Richard Farnsworth (1658), and similar statements by George Fox the younger

(1659 and 1661), by John Crook in 1662, by William Smith in 1664, by William Penn in 1668, by Whitehead and Penn in 1671, by Penn and others in 1698, and by George Fox, the founder himself, in 1671, 1675, and 1682. The nearest approach to an authoritative Confession is supplied by the works of Robert Barclay, the proprietor of Ury, in Kincardineshire, Scotland, the theologian of the movement, and an untiring propagator of its doctrine. He wrote a *Catechism* in 1673, the answers consisting of judiciously selected passages of Scripture, and the questions containing a good deal of polemical and didactic matter, a brief *Confession of Faith* of 23 Articles in Scriptural language being added at the close. In 1675 appeared his *magnum opus*, the *Apology*, whose central 15 *Theses* have obtained a wide independent circulation as a reliable statement of Quaker principles.

The *Theses* are addressed or dedicated 'to the Clergy, of what sort soever, unto whose hands they may come; but more particularly to the Doctors, Professors, and Students of Divinity in the Universities and Schools of Great Britain, whether Prelatical, Presbyterian, or any other, to whom the Author wisheth unfeigned repentance, unto the acknowledgment of the Truth, with the uncompromising and not very conciliatory remark upon their great learning: 'Your school divinity, which taketh up almost a man's whole lifetime to learn, brings not a whit nearer to God, neither makes any man less wicked, or more righteous, than he was. Therefore hath God laid aside the wise and learned, and the disputers of this world; and hath chosen a few despicable and unlearned instruments, as to letter-learning, as he did fishermen of old, to publish his pure and naked truth, and to free it of those mists and fogs wherewith the clergy hath clouded it that the people might admire and maintain them.'

Proposition (1) '*Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge*,' affirms it to be the knowledge of God. (2) '*Concerning Immediate Revelation*,' declares the 'testimony of the Spirit of God' to be in all generations the true revelation: Divine inward revelations neither do nor can contradict Scripture or Reason, but are not to be subjected to either as to a higher authority or standard. (3) '*Concerning the Scriptures*,' describes them as a record of historical fact and of prophetic truth and principles, as only a declaration of the fountain, not the fountain itself; 'nevertheless as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit . . . by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them.' (4) '*Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall*,' affirms the utterly 'fallen, degenerate, and dead' condition of all Adam's posterity, deprived of the sensation of the inward testimony or seed of God, and their inability to know anything aright unless 'united to the Divine Light'; yet the evil seed is not imputed to infants till by transgression they actually join themselves therewith. (5) and (6) '*Concerning the Universal Redemption by Christ and also the Saving and Spiritual Light, wherewith every man is enlightened*,' treat of Christ, the Son of God, sent in His Infinite love and universal purpose of Redemption, as the Light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, a light as universal as the seed of sin, being the purchase of His death who tasted death for every man; all men, heathen or infant, receive that benefit and inward Light which is not the mere light of Nature, even though they are without knowledge of the outward history of Christ's life, 'which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such, from whom God Himself hath withheld it; yet they may be made partakers of the mystery of His death if they suffer His seed and light—enlightening their hearts—to take place.' (7) '*Concerning Justification*,' states that those who do not resist this light have produced in them 'a spiritual birth bringing forth holiness,' 'by which holy birth, to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working His works in us, as we are sanctified so we are justified in the sight of God.' (8) '*Concerning Perfection*,' affirms that in the regenerate 'the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected unto the truth, so as not to obey any suggestion of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning . . . and in that respect perfect; yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth a possibility of sinning.' . . . (9) '*Concerning Perseverance, and the Possibility of Falling from Grace*,' affirms that Divine grace resisted becomes man's condemnation; even when it has been accepted, shipwreck may be made of faith; those who have 'tasted of the heavenly gift and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost' may fall away; yet others may in this life attain such an increase and stability in the truth as to be beyond the reach of total apostasy. (10) '*Concerning the Ministry*,' affirms that it is this gift or light that constitutes a minister or pastor, not any human commission or literature; without it a ministry is deception: it is to be exercised without hire or bargaining, yet 'if God hath called any from their employments . . . it may be lawful for such, according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord, to receive such temporals—to wit, what may be needful to them for meat and clothing—as are freely given them by those to whom they have communicated spirituals.' (11) '*Concerning Worship*,' declares

that 'all true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons: . . . all other worship then, both praises, prayers, and preachings, which man sets about in his own will and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone, as himself sees meet, whether they be a prescribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind, they are all but superstitious, will-worship, and abominable idolatry in the sight of God.' (12) '*Concerning Baptism*,' states that it is 'not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ': it is 'a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and Fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins we may walk in newness of life': the baptism of infants 'is a mere human tradition for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the Scripture.' (13) '*Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ*,' affirms it also to be spiritual and symbolic. (14) '*Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in matters purely religious, and pertaining to the conscience*,' affirms God's sole lordship over the conscience: 'all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning . . . which men are afflicted with, for the alone exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship or opinion, proceedeth from the spirit of Cain, the murderer, and is contrary to the truth; provided always that no man, under the pretence of conscience, prejudice his neighbour in life or estate, or do anything destructive to, or inconsistent with, human society.' (15) '*Concerning Salutations and Recreations, etc.*,' declares that, since 'the chief end of all religion is to redeem man from the spirit and vain conversation of this world,' 'therefore all the vain customs and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected . . . such as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and orings of the body, and such other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them, . . . as also the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, sportings and gamings, which are invented to pass away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witness of God in the heart.'

Quakerism is thus a protest against ecclesiasticism, sacramentarianism, biblicism, sacerdotalism, traditionalism, and rationalism alike, a rigorous and consistent reaction against every element of dangerous formalism and literalism in Christianity; spiritual to the core, mystic and intuitional, individualistic. It subordinates, to the point of sacrifice, the letter to the spirit, the form or symbol to the substance. It assumes a spiritual advancement or education possessed only by the few, and underestimates the use of letter and symbol because of their abuse. If 'their oddities in dress and habits are the shadows of virtues' (Schaff, *Hist.* p. 866), their idiosyncrasies in doctrine are at worst the exaggeration of truths, thought-compelling, impressive, and searching distillations of Scripture teaching and of sanctified common sense. They had their anticipators in this or that peculiarity of their life and teaching, though they are not indebted to them. They have, beyond question, prepared the way for much that is characteristic in Methodism and Salvationism, particularly. They represent Puritanism puritanized, a sublimation of prophetic Christianity, a spiritual outgrowth from a highly developed type of popular religion. More than is generally appreciated, their conceptions of Scripture, the Sacraments, Spiritual Liberty, the Inward Light, the Indwelling Christ, the Essence of Worship and of Ministry, and the Meaning of Justification, have led the way to views now widely entertained by the most thoughtful Christians in all the Churches and outside them. What Mysticism has been in general Religion, or Quietism in Roman Catholicism, Quakerism has been in Protestantism. Its very exaggerations and crudities were deliberate—arresting symbols and advertisements of its essential message. It has given silence a place in worship, and it has exercised the universal conscience by its Socratic demand for perfect sincerity and consistency. If it can be the religion only of a few, the world may be grateful to have contained those few. If it has given no criterion to distinguish the true from spurious movings of the Spirit, and lends itself to subtle or crude individualisms and egotistic whims and conventional make-believes peculiar to itself, it has a page of Christian history devoted to it whose

freedom from serious blemish most other branches of the Church might wistfully envy.

[Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 859-873, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 789-798; Barclay's Works; Evans, *op. cit. supra*; artt. in various Encyclopedias.]

22. Confessions in Socinian and Unitarian Churches, and in the rest of Christendom.—The independent attitude to doctrinal standards adopted by the Churches discussed in the last five divisions prepares us for the completely anti-Confessional and negative position of present-day Unitarianism, which has for its sole distinctive dogma the humanity, the non-divinity, of Jesus Christ, but refuses to fortify even that residuum of historical Christian doctrine behind Confessional bulwarks. But in the Reformation era, Unitarian Christianity was far from entertaining such doctrinal self-restraint. It did not even dethrone the miraculous and supernatural in the person and history of Jesus. It uttered its theological convictions in Confessional and catechetical form in the Socinian standards, not as binding creeds, of course, but as didactic manifestos. These reveal its origin in a Humanistic rationalism, which regards Christ simply as a revealer or teacher of moral and religious truth, His death as a prophet's martyrdom, and the Church as a school. Not the needs of the heart and the conscience, but those of the intellect, were paramount in its rise. Its conception of sin and its cause and its seriousness was very different from that which dominated Luther and the other orthodox Reformers, and led to its complete divergence from them. It denied original sin and guilt, vicarious atonement, the Incarnation and eternal Divinity of Christ, and the Trinity; and it discounted the inspiration of a great part of Scripture, especially the Old Testament.

An early *Catechism and Confession* in Scriptural language was published at Cracow by the preacher Schomann in 1574. A *Smaller Catechism* for children followed in 1605. The *Larger or Racovian Catechism*, by Schmalz and Moscorovius, based on a fragmentary Catechism by Fausto Sozzini, was published at Rakau, a small town in Poland which was the centre of the movement, first in Polish in 1605, then in German in 1608, and finally in the standard Latin form, with modifications, in 1609. The *Confession of 1642* by Schlichting, of which the Confession of the Prussian Socinians in 1666 is simply an extract, took the form of an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, with numerous Scripture citations, and adopted an attitude of less acute antagonism to orthodoxy than the Catechism of 1605-9.

The Racovian Catechism of 1605-9 is the standard expression of Socinian doctrine. It is essentially theological rather than religious, rationalistic yet also supernaturalistic, controversial and argumentative. It begins: 'Tell me what is the Christian Religion?' and answers, 'It is the way pointed out and revealed to men by God to obtain eternal life.' 'Where is that way pointed out and revealed?—In Holy Scripture, but chiefly in the New Testament.' The Catechism contains 8 sections of varying length. Section I. treats of Religion and Holy Scripture in general, containing four chapters on Holy Scripture (4 qns.), its Certitude (26 qns.), its Perfection (5 qns.), its Perspicuity (4 qns.). Section II. treats of the Way of Salvation and the Reasons for Revelation (10 qns.). Section III. treats of the Knowledge of God as the Supreme Lord of all things, in three scholastic chapters on the Knowledge, Being, and Will of God (44 qns.). Section IV. at great length treats of the Person of Christ, the first step in the discussion of the general knowledge of Christ (97 qns.). Section V. treats of the Prophetic Office of Christ, the Central and Supreme doctrine in the System, in an opening chapter (8 qns.),

followed by supplementary chapters on the Teachings He added to the Law (108 qns.), the Teachings He handed down under Seal (8 qns.), the Lord's Supper (11 qns.), Water-baptism (5 qns.), the Promises of Eternal Life (9 qns.), and of the Holy Spirit (14 qns.), the Confirmation of the Divine Will (3 qns.), the Death of Christ (39 qns.), Faith (7 qns.), Free-will (30 qns.), Justification (4 qns.). Section VI. treats of Christ's Priestly office (11 qns.), and VII. of His Kingly Office (20 qns.). The closing Section VIII. treats of the Church of Christ, as the body of His disciples, in four chapters, on the Visible Church (3 qns.), the Government of the Church (17 qns.), Ecclesiastical Discipline (13 qns.), and the Church Invisible (4 qns.).

[For discussion of the various editions and of the early sources in the private cathisms of Gregory Paul Schomann, and Fausto Sozzini, see Thomas Rees, *Racovian Catechism*, Lond. 1818, Introd. p. lxxii ff. For Latin text of Sozzini's *Christianæ Religionis Brevis Institutio*, and of another unfinished catechism by the same writer, see 'Fausti Socini Senensis Opera Omnia,' in the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant*, Irenopoli post annum Domini 1656, vol. i. pp. 651-676 and 677-689. For text of the Catech. of 1609, see edition Irenopoli post annum 1659. For Eng. tr. of completed edition of 1659, see Rees, *op. cit.* pp. 1-383 (a serviceable work). Cf. Winer, *Confessions*, Introd. pp. 31-34 (a somewhat confused account); Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 470-483; Fock, *Der Socinianismus*, 1847. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vii. 137 ff., gives a very full and searching critical analysis of the Racovian Catechism.]

Confessional documents can hardly be said to exist in the remaining organizations within, or on the frontier of, the Christian world, whose name is legion. Original and more or less authoritative books or groups of writings exist for many of them, or statements of their salient features emanating from their apostles or preachers, but authoritative Confessions in any strict sense they do not possess. Irvingism and Darbyism on the one hand, and on the other Christian Science, Swedenborgianism, and Mormonism, not to mention lesser sects, are systems with distinctive doctrines, but without documents which would bring them under the present survey. It may be of interest, however, to quote a group of Articles, as a summary of Mormon doctrine, by its Apostle and Prophet, Joseph Smith, written soon after the constitution of 'the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,' at New York in 1840:

'1. We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost. 2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression. 3. We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel. 4. We believe that these ordinances are: (i.) Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; (ii.) Repentance; (iii.) Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; (iv.) Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. 5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by "prophecy and by the laying on of hands," by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof. 6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church, viz. apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc. 7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc. 8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God. 9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God. 10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this Continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaic glory. 11. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may. 12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, magistrates, in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law. 13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul: "We believe all things, we hope all things"; we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things' (quoted in *Religious Systems of the World*, 1901, p. 668 f.).

It will be observed that the practice of polygamy had no sanction in the Articles of the Mormon Faith.

CONCLUSION: THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE OF CONFESSIONS.—A survey of the Confessions of Christendom, living or dead, cannot fail to leave on the student of religious history a deep impression. (1) They constitute a stupendous fact, a phenomenon quite unparalleled in the religious world, a striking evidence of the unique power of the personality, life, and teaching of Christ, through Scripture and the Church, to stir the human intellect to its depths. Divided as Christendom is, and honeycombed by different opinions, dogmatic differences are a proof of the grasp of its great facts upon different types of mind. Other religions have their sects and their internal dissensions, but none of them has made any such appeal to the mind and the imagination of the human race, stimulating it to its loftiest efforts and educating it to its highest truths. (2) They proclaim the universal fact of doctrinal change as well as of mental and spiritual variety. *πύρρα βίη* is the burden of one aspect of their history. The Church, obsessed, rightly or wrongly, by the ideal of doctrinal uniformity, has been unable, either by the aid of temporal authority or by means of excommunication or by appeal to superstitious fear, to maintain its unity. It is destined, it may be, to attain to the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace only through infinite and harrowing division, provoked and anon repented, and therewith to learn that persuasion and conviction are the only worthy instruments for the spread of truth, and that even among Christian dogmas the struggle to survive must inevitably in God's providence eliminate the unfit. (3) They suggest that in the intelligence and scholarship of Christendom, conscience is far from slumbering; that the very diversity of historical opinion, acquired not without heart-searching and solemnly professed, is an evidence of the existence of that intense seriousness and love of truth without which a final harmony would be impossible. Beneath the obvious dissensus of the Confessions there is in truth a consensus, felt at least in presence of rival systems of religion and in face of the common enemies of faith. No student can peruse Schaff's admirable concluding conspectus of the doctrinal agreements and differences between the various Church-communions (*Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 919-930), or the careful pages and Tables of Winer's *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom*, without being deeply impressed by the subtle interpenetration of great ideas and deep-seated instincts through groups of Churches outwardly far removed from one another. It is a wholesome experience to find, even in sects whose names have become bywords of oddity and even absurdity, a staunch adherence, in standards and in practice, to great principles of religious truth and life; and it suggests to the student of history that in many cases these systems have been adopted for the sake of those principles and in spite of their eccentricities. The debt of the world to thinking minorities is nowhere more clearly expressed than in the successive rise of the great Protestant denominations whose standards have been reviewed. Each stands for an idea or a group of ideas whose life was in danger of being strangled in the meshes of convention. However we may deplore the divisions of Christendom, signs are now abundant that the age of schism is over, and that, for the great mass of Christians throughout the world, catholicity is no longer synonymous with external or even intellectual uniformity. Some of the smallest sects have been most catholic in spirit because most tolerant by serious conviction. Union movements among Presbyterians, among Baptists, among Methodists, and among Congregationalists, movements even between the groups, Protestant

and Evangelical Alliances in face of common adversaries, World Conferences and International Councils of kindred communions, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregationalist, or others, overtures for an ecclesiastical understanding between Anglicans and Greek Catholics, or between Presbyterians and Anglicans, the ebb and flow of converts from one Church to another from which no communion is immune—these are features of the age in which we live, attesting the facts that the lessons of history are being widely learned, that the struggles of the past for liberty and charity have not been in vain, that other than doctrinal elements of religion are having justice done to them, that temperamental as well as intellectual differences between men and peoples are being allowed for and respected.

It is often said that the day of Confessions is past, and that the Christian world as a whole has become, or is fast becoming, anti-Confessional. It is certain that in all the Churches, Roman Catholic and even Greek Catholic included, an attitude of quiet personal independence, reverent but firm, towards the historic symbols of faith is increasingly being adopted, alike by clergy and by people, in spite of every effort to arrest the movement. Unless some world-catastrophe sets back the standard of clerical and popular education, this attitude will certainly continue and spread. Adherence to historic dogmas is valueless, and indeed pernicious, if it be not intelligent and spontaneous. Assent, ignorant or constrained, is not consent. If it is death to a Creed to be exposed to the storms of free thought, it ought to die. It is such buffeting by the elements of experience, it is such conflict with the ravaging forces of time and change, that reveals with unrivalled impressiveness and certainty the faith that can dare to call itself eternal. Constitutional change, as distinct from the revolutionary alterations by passing impulse which only provoke reaction, is legitimate, and ought to be provided for without prejudice or craven fear, for a creed that is not believed to be true is not worthy of the name. No system deserves the name of faith which rests on mistrust of God and doubt of His providential guidance. No Confession can be spiritual or safe which has to be safeguarded by the whip of discipline, or by measures which disclose an ignoble despair of God's Holy Spirit. Doctrinal understandings or declarations which are maintained by Church Courts and Authorities through precarious or narrow majorities involve in every case a painful loss of prestige. The Creed which has not in it the note of triumphal assurance, carrying the hearts of all its adherents with it in a gush of emotion, ought not to rush into publicity, or pretend to an authority which in reality it does not possess. How to change without loss of continuity, how to grow without loss of identity, how to be free in doctrine while clinging to a sacred past, how to meet the protean spirit of the times without bowing down to it, yet without alienating its rightful instincts and flouting its proper needs—these are the practical difficulties to the mind of a Church which would be true to the past, honest with the present, and helpful to the future; and there has never been an age in human history so keenly alive to them as the present, so eager and so anxious to deal with them, so capable of appreciating and handling them aright. The experience of creedless Churches, like the Unitarian, helped though they have been during a century of unparalleled research, scientific attainment, and intellectual liberty, by the prestige of almost complete doctrinal freedom, and influential as they have been in stimulating the thought of the Christian world at large, in promoting scholarship, and in correcting tritheistic and superstitious tendencies in ortho-

dox Church life, has not been such as to prove that there is in Christendom in general any wide-spread dislike or distrust of creeds as creeds.

Particular Confessions, among them the most time-honoured, even the Ecumenical Creeds themselves, whose evolution has become matter of common knowledge, are accepted with reserve, are studied and appreciated in the light of their age, their antecedent controversies, the limitations of the scholarship of their day and of the minds that framed them. The 'higher criticism' of Holy Scripture was bound to be accompanied by a historical and critical study of the very documents which were intended to serve as determinants of the sense in which Scripture was to be accepted and believed. And just as 'adherence to Scripture' has lost throughout the great evangelical Protestant communions the meaning of literal in favour of spiritual acceptance in the light of history and learning, so adherence to a particular Creed or Confession must needs be effected by an accurate acquaintance with the circumstances of its origin, which in some instances at least reveal a hitherto unsuspected liberalism of purpose in their authors.

Hence it has come about, in Churches so inherently conservative as the Presbyterian, that throughout the whole world their devotion to theological, historical, and Scriptural scholarship has brought about a complete change of attitude towards Scripture and their 'subordinate standards.' By Declaratory Statements, or modified formulæ of subscription, or even by the formulation of new Confessions, they have endeavoured to be true to the new knowledge, to ease the conscience of those who have already subscribed their historic standards, and to facilitate the entrance of recruits fresh from the new school-training to the none too crowded ranks of the ministry, and to the rank and file of the general membership. If they adhere to the old standards, as for the most part they sincerely do, it is with express reservations, binding themselves to their 'substance' or their 'essentials,' or 'the fundamentals of Reformed Doctrine,' whether these are defined or not. The individual conscience and intellect are considered in a manner hitherto unknown, and a liberty of private judgment formerly undreamt of is tacitly assumed. The indignity and scandal of 'discipline' for breach of minute fidelity to documents three centuries old is too acutely felt to permit of its ready exercise. For once an age of intense missionary purpose has been an age of open mind, and the *odium theologicum* has been assigned a definite place in the catalogue of un-Christian failings. In presence of the appalling spectacle of crime and unbelief and ignorance and misery in the world's great centres of population, and in presence of the awe-inspiring spectacle of the world's great systems of non-Christian faith, even the gravest doctrinal differences have shrunk perceptibly, though it would be ridiculous to say that they are likely ever to disappear. Men are constrained to co-operate and combine when confronted by common foes. And at last there is being established throughout the Christian world that atmosphere of fraternal interest and mutual trust which is an absolute pre-requisite of any doctrinal consensus or harmony to come.

Creeds and Confessions there must be. Faith, though it embraces more than intellect, cannot renounce the intellect, or dispense with words and forms of uttered thought. There cannot be a gospel, or preacher's tidings for the saving of mankind, without an antecedent creed or body of belief, articulate or inarticulate. Preaching is the utterance of belief, as well as of experience; and, if men are to speak from a common platform, within a common organization, for the propaga-

tion and increase of religion, they must have a common basis of faith, which may well be expressed in some form of public Creed. It is unthinkable that the vast aggregate of doctrinal symbols evolved by the Christian Church in all lands during nineteen centuries of intense activity should have proceeded from any but a profoundly natural and honourable instinct in the soul of faith. But it is also now unthinkable that any one type of doctrine should claim, without self-discrediting presumption, to have a monopoly of Divine and saving truth entrusted to it. It is not more certain that a branch of the Church ought to publish the faith which animates it, so far as words can do so, than that it ought to publish such changes in that faith as time under the Spirit of Truth brings with it. The obligation is identical. Faith, though it changes, remains faith notwithstanding, and, when it regains a position of stable equilibrium, it ought not to be hid, but expressed in public as a fresh message of goodness for the world. If Christianity be true, and Christ the Truth, new knowledge should be welcome to all Christians as an increase to their heritage of truth. Obscurantism in every form, suspicion of fresh light however betrayed, is fatal to the good name of a Church and to the reputation of the religion it would protect. It is treachery to faith to suggest that it can be preserved only by enclosure within fences, or by isolation from contagion in the stir of science and of life. Religion can have few deadlier foes than the man who thinks that its influence or future can really be destroyed by tampering with a particular Creed.

What of the *ethics of subscription*? If Creeds are believed, they may as well be signed as repeated. But, as the years advance, and thought moves forward on unresting feet, is it right to ask men still to assent to them? The terms they employ may grow obsolete, or convey new meanings. Particular tenets, few or many, may recede from the foreground of interest, become open questions, or even become discredited. Between the period of complete faith and the period of discrediting, there must have passed years of transition and uncertainty. What could subscription possibly mean then? Again, few doctrinal standards have been drawn up by unanimous consent. From the first a minority has doubted some particulars in them. Their assent was general, or at least incomplete, given for the sake of peace and harmony. Allowance, therefore, must be made for the element of legitimate compromise inseparable from all social organizations. Loyalty to the spirit and general tenor of the teaching, not to the letter, alone can be fairly expected in public as distinct from private standards. If the society or corporation adjudges the individual to have seriously transgressed the common understanding, it may excommunicate him, or he may withdraw himself and renounce communion if he is conscious that he has overstepped the reasonable limits of variation. Each must decide for himself or itself on such a question. But at least it seems unethical, especially in periods of acknowledged transition, to lay it down that formal subscription to historical Confessions implies literal and complete acceptance of their details. There must be some play where public and private faith are linked together. The Member of Parliament, the political holder of office, who swears to uphold the Constitution, is expected to amend it if the people or his own judgment so decide. The men whose task it is to repeal old laws and enact new laws share with all others the duty of obedience to law. So, in every Church which believes that its preachers have in some measure a prophetic vocation, liberty must needs be conceded to them to defy

the popular mind if it seems to them that God so wills. As Churches may change yet remain themselves, may alter their Confessions yet retain their identity, so in such cases the individual who subscribes and finds that he outgrows the system to which he has subscribed is not therefore bound to withdraw from the communion unless he judges his breach with its standards to be radical, fundamental. No rule can be laid down which will cover all cases equitably. A sense of honour in the individual, a sense of chivalry in the community, and patient consideration on the part of both, must in each particular instance decide, in the light of all the circumstances. It should be remembered that there is no evidence that Christ exacted or expected any identity of belief from His disciples, or equipped His Apostles with any precisely uniform message to the world. It is certain that the Apostles were never confronted with documents or declarations in any sense analogous to the Confessions of modern Christendom, or even to the Creeds of the ancient Church. Their faith was personal and in a Person. Whenever we are assured that the faith of a fellow

Christian is also personal and directed towards the same Person, we should beware of withholding fellowship from him because of minor differences.

GENERAL LITERATURE. — Indispensable general works are Philip Schaff, 8 vols. entitled *A History of the Creeds of Christendom*; *The Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*; *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*, New York, 1876, Lond. 1877 (5th ed., New York, 1887, with few changes), by far the most valuable work on the whole subject; G. B. Winer, *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom* (Eng. tr., W. B. Pope), Edinb. 1873; P. Hall, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, Lond. 1842; S. G. Green, *The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*, Lond. 1898 (an admirable general survey, with careful discussion of related topics); E. F. Karl Müller, *Symbolik*, Leipzig, 1896; G. F. Oehler, *Lehrbuch der Symbolik*, 2nd ed. by Hermann, 1891; H. Schmidt, *Handbuch der Symbolik*, Berlin, 1890; and the partial works on 'Symbolik,' by Loofs (Leipzig, 1902) and Kattenbusch (Freiburg, 1892), with their admirable series of articles in *PRE3*, including a gen. art. 'Symbole, Symbolik,' in that work. The Croall Lectures of 1902, on 'Creeds and Churches,' by A. Stewart, are in course of preparation for publication. For a theological discussion of the chief dogmatic utterances and tendencies down to the Reformation era, and in the Roman Church to the 19th cent., Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. from 3rd ed., 7 vols., 1894-1899, is of supreme value.

[Many of the translations in this article are taken from or based on the rendering given by Schaff—in all cases revised.]

W. A. CURTIS.

HISTORICAL TABLE
OF
CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM.

[W A. CURTIS.]

HISTORICAL TABLE OF

Date.	Greek Church.	Roman Church.	Waldensian, Moravian, Bohemian.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1400					1381 Wyclif's 12 Theses against Transubstantiation.	
1420			1410 Hussite Catechism.			
1440	1453 Conf. of Gennadius, Patr. of Constantinople.		1431 Conf. of the Taborites.			
1460						
1480			1489 Waldensian Catech. 'The Smaller Questions.			
1500						
1510			1508 Conf. of Bohemian Brethren to Wladislaw II. of Bohemia.			
1520			1521 Bohemian Catechism.	1517 Luther's 95 Theses.		1523 Zwingli's 67 Articles of Zürich. 1523 Brief Christian Introduction to Clergy of Zürich, by Zwingli.
1530			1532 Conf. of Bohemian Brethren to George of Brandenburg.	1529 Luther's Catech. 1530 Augsburg Conf. 1530 Tausen's 43 Danish Articles. 1581 Apology of Augsburg Conf.		1528 Ten Conclusions of Bern. 1528 Conf. of E. Friesland. 1530 Zwingli's Conf. to Charles V. 1530 Conf. of Strassburg (or Four Cities). 1531 Zwingli's Conf. to Francis I. 1532 Articles of Synod of Bern.
			1535 First Bohem. Confession to Ferdinand I.	1535 First Bohem. Conf.		1534 1st Conf. of Basel.
1540				1537 Articles of Schmalkald. 1540 Augsburg Conf., 'Variata' ed. 1545 Articles of Erdöd in Hungary. 1548 Conf. of Five Hungarian Cities.	1536 Ten Articles of Henry VIII. 1537 Bishops' Book and Catechism. 1538 Cranmer's 13 Artt. (private). 1539 The 6 Articles. 1543 King's Book and Catech. (Henry VIII.) 1548 Cranmer's Catech. (from German). 1549 Edward VI.'s 1st Prayer Book, Cranmer's Artt., English Catechism.	1536 1st Helvetic Conf. Ten Theses of Lausanne 1545 Confession of Zürich 1549 Consensus of Zürich.
1550						

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM.

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (British and American).	Baptist.	Independent, or Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Scottian, or Unitarian.	Date.
						1400
						1420
						1440
						1460
						1480
		before 1500 Early Anabaptist Catechism.				1500
						1510
						1520
		1524 { Anabaptist Statements of Principles at Waldshut and Augsburg. 1526 { 1527 {				1530
		1532 Conf. and Theses of Rothmann of Münster.				
		1532 Artt. of Jan Matthys.				
		1533 Münster Conf.				
1536 (Calvin's Institutes: 1st edition).						
1536 Geneva Conf. and Catechism, French.						
	[1538-1563 Calvinistic elements in English Articles.]					
						1540
1541 Geneva Confession, French, enlarged.						
1545 Geneva Conf., Latin.						
1545 Conf. of Zürich.						
1549 Consensus of Zürich.						
						1550

HISTORICAL TABLE OF

Date.	Greek Church.	Roman Church.	Waldensian, Moravian, Bohemian.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1550				1551 Conf. of the Saxon Churches. 1552 Swabian or Württemberg Confession. 1559 Stuttgart Conf.	1552 Edward vi.'s 2nd Prayer Book, Revised Articles. 1553 Edw. vi., 42 Artt. 1554 Artt. of Prisoners (under Mary). 1555 Gardiner's Artt. 1558 The 5 Articles. 1559 Elizab.'s Revision of Edw. vi.'s Pr. Bk. Parker's 11 Artt.	1552 Rhaetian Confession (Switz.).
1560		1563 Canons and Decrees of Trent. 1564 Profession of Faith of Trent.	1564 Confession of Brethren.	1567 Prussian Corpus Doctrinae.	1568 89 (or 88) Articles and Catechism.	1566 (1562) 2nd Helvetic Confession.
1570			1570 Consensus of Sendomir.	1570 Consensus of Sendomir. 1571 Consensus of Dresden. 1574-5 Swab. and Sax. Formula.		
1580			1575 Second Bohemian Conf. (Calv., Luth.).	1575 Second Bohemian Confession. 1575-6 Maulbronn Formula. Book of Torgau. 1577 Formula of Concord. 1580 Book of Concord. 1581 Repetition of Anhalt.		
1590				1592 Saxon Visitation Articles.	1595 Lambeth Articles (Calv.).]	
1600						
1610			1609 Bohemian Conf. (Calv.).			

HISTORICAL TABLE OF

Date.	Greek Church.	Roman Church.	Waldensian, Moravian, Bohemian.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1620	1625 Conf. of Metrophanes Critopulus. [1629 Conf. of Cyril Lucar (Calv.)]				[1615 Irish Articles (Calv.)]	
1630						
1640	1640 Orthodox Conf. of Mogilas.					
1650			1655 Waldensian Calv. Conf., based on Conf. Gallica, 1559 (re-aff. by Wald. Synod in 1855).	[1655 Abortive Repeated Consensus by Calovius against syncretism of Calixtus.]		
1660						
1670	1672 Conf. of Dositheus.				1661 Anglican Catechism.	
1680						
1690						
1700						
1720 1740						
1760	1764 Catech. of Metropol. Platon.		1740 Moravian Easter Litany.			
1780						

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM—*continued.*

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (British and American).	Baptist.	Independent, or Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date.
1613 Bentheim Conf. 1614 Conf. of Sigismund of Brandenburg.	1615 Irish Articles. 1616 Aberdeen Conf.		1617-1647 American Minor Articles.			1620
1619 Canons of Dort.						1630
1629 Conf. of Cyril Lucar (Constantinople).						1630
1631 Leipzig Colloquy.	1638 Scottish Nat. Copt. Renewed.					1640
	1643 Solemn League and Covenant.	1644 Conf. of Seven Churches, Lond.			1642 Socinian Conf. by Schlichting	
1646 Declaration of Thorn.	1646-7 Westminster Conf., Larger and Shorter Catecha.		1648 Cambridge Platform, U.S.A.			1650
1645 Waldensian Conf.		1656 Somerset Artt.	1658 Savoy Declaration.	1658 Earliest Quaker Conf. 1658-1682 Quaker Statements. 1660 London Conf. (Bapt. Armin.).		1660
		1660 London Conf. (Arminian).				1670
1675-8 Helvetic Consensus Formula.		1677 Recension of Westm. Conf. 1678 Orthodox Creed (Arminian).		1673 Barclay's Catechism. 1675 Barclay's Apology. 1678 Orthodox Bapt. Creed (Armin.).		1680
			1680 Boston Declaration, U.S.A.			1690
		1693 Keach's Cat. (Recension of Westm. Shorter Catechism).	1691 Heads of Agreement.			1700
			1708 Saybrook Platform, U.S.A.			1720 1740
		1742 Philadelphia Conf. (= 1677 Conf. above).				1760
		1766 Ris' Mennonite Doctrine.		1784 Wesley's 25 Artt. (America).		1780

HISTORICAL TABLE OF

Date.	Greek Church.	Roman Church.	Waldensian, Moravian, Bohemian.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1800						
1810					1801 American Revision of the 39 Articles.	
1820						
1830						
1840	1839 Longer Catech. of Philaret. 1840 Shorter Catech. of Philaret.					
1850		1854 Decree of Immaculate Conception, by Pius ix.				
1860		1864 Papal Syllabus.	1869 Moravian Summary.			
1870		1870 Decrees of Vatican Council				
		1874 xiv. Old Catholic Theses of Bonn. 1875 vi. Old Catholic Theses of Bonn (Fillouque).			1875 American Revision of the 39 Articles, the 25 Reformed Episcopal Articles.	
1880						
1890						
1900						
		1907 New Syllabus of Pius x. agst. 66 Modernist Propositions.				
1910						

CONFESSIONS OF FAITH IN CHRISTENDOM—continued.

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (British and American).	Baptist.	Independent, or Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date.
	1787 American Revision of Westminster Confession.					1800
1818 Articles of Union in the Palatinate.	1823 Welsh Calvinist Methodist Conf. 1829 Cumberland Ch. Conf., U.S.A.	1833 New Hampshire Conf., U.S.A. 1834 Conf. of American Free-will Baptists.	1833 Declaration of Cong. Union of England.	1834 Conf. of Amer. Free-Will Baptists.		1810 1820 1830
1847 Evang. Church Conf. of Canton de Vaud. 1848 Evang. Church Conf. of Geneva. 1849 Constitution of Evangelical French Churches.						1840
						1850
						1860
1866 Conf. of Seville.			1865 Declaration of American Union.			1870
1870 Conf. of Italian Evangelical Church.			1871 Oberlin Declaration, U.S.A.	1872 Doctrines of the Salvation Army.		
1872 Declaration of French Reformed Ch. 1872 Conf. of Madrid. 1874 Constitution of Free Ch. of Neuchâtel.						
	1883 Cumberland Ch. New Conf. 1890 Artt. of Presb. Ch. in England. 1890 Artt. of Presb. Church in China.		1883 Commission Creed, U.S.A.	1878 Articles of War, of the Salvation Army.		1880 1890 1900
	1901 Artt. of Presb. Ch. in S. India. 1902 Amer. Revision and New Articles. 1904 Conf. of Presb. Church in India.		1906 Union Statement, U.S.A.			
	[1908 XIX. Artt. of Canadian Union, as proposed.] [1909 Proposed Artt. of Union in South Africa.]					1910

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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C

CONFIRMATION.—**1. Names.**—The word 'confirmation,' as used in this article, indicates an act, closely connected with baptism, in which prayer for the Holy Spirit is joined with some ceremony, such as the laying on of hands or anointing, through which the gift of the Spirit is believed to be conferred. So long as confirmation continued to be administered at the same time as baptism, the two forming a single rite, the need of a special name for the former was not much felt. The rite as a whole was known as baptism, and the part of it which was associated with the gift of the Spirit was designated by terms derived from its most prominent ceremony, such as 'laying on of hands' (*ἐπιθεῖς χερῶν*, He 6²; ἡ χειροθεσία, Clem. Alex. *Exc. Th.* 22; *Const. Ap.* ii. 32, iii. 16, vii. 44; cf. Firmilian, *ap. Cyp. Ep.* 75; *impositio manus*) and 'chrism.' The word 'seal' (*σφραγίς*), originally, it seems, applied to baptism (Hermas, *Sim.* ix. xvi. 2-4; Iren. *Dem.* 3), was early used of confirmation, with reference to the signing of the baptized with the cross (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 3; Cornelius, *ap. Eus. HE* vi. xliii. 14f.; cf. *Const. Ap.* iii. 17). 'Confirmation,' now universally accepted as the name of the rite in the West, does not appear to have been so used before the 5th century. It occurs in Faustus, Bishop of Riez, formerly Abbot of Lérins, *de Sp. S.* ii. 4 (ed. Engelbrecht, Vienna, 1889, p. 143), *hom. in die Pent.* (Bigne, *Max. Bib. Pat.*, Paris, 1677, vi. 649), and the cognate verb is similarly applied by St. Patrick (*Ep.* 2), who spent some years at Lérins. It appears, therefore, to have originated in Gaul, and probably at Lérins, though it was perhaps not fully established as a name of the rite at Lérins when St. Patrick left that monastery c. A.D. 415 (Bury, *Life of St. Patr.*, 1905, pp. 294, 336 ff.), since in his *Confession* (38, 51) he uses the word *consummare* instead of *confirmare*. St. Ambrose had at an earlier date used the latter verb with a similar but not identical meaning (*de Myst.* 42); and in the middle of the 5th cent. Pope Leo I. (*Ep.* 159) applies it to the laying on of hands on those who had been baptized in heresy. In Egypt at the present day the rite is called *tathbit*—a word exactly equivalent to 'confirmation.' In the 9th cent., when confirmation was deferred, the newly baptized were said to be 'confirmed' by the reception of the Holy Communion

(Alcuin, *Ep.* 90; Jesse Ambian. *Ep. de bapt.*; Amalarius, *de Cær. Bapt.* 4; Raban. Maur. *de Cler. Inst.* i. 29).

2. Confirmation in the Apostolic Age.—A study of Ac 19¹⁻⁶—the account of the twelve disciples who had been baptized into John's baptism—seems to yield the following results. St. Paul's first question implies that a reception of the Holy Spirit usually, though not always, synchronized with admission to the Christian Society, and that in the case of disciples whose conversion was not due to the preaching of him or his immediate companions (v. 2 *ἑλθετε πιστεύσατες*). It is also implied in what follows that the outpouring of the Spirit was not a result of the act of baptism (v. 3), but that it was mediated, at least in St. Paul's practice, by a laying on of hands which normally followed immediately upon baptism (v. 4). Since apparently St. Paul, in accordance with his rule (1 Co 14¹⁻¹⁷), which was also that of other Apostles (Ac 10⁴⁸, cf. 28⁸), did not himself baptize the Ephesian disciples, though he laid his hands upon them (v. 5¹ *ἐβαπτίσθησαν . . . ἐπιθέντος τοῦ Παύλου*), it may be inferred that, while baptism was commonly administered by persons of lower ministerial rank, confirmation was reserved for those who had a higher place in the ministry, if not for Apostles.

These conclusions are confirmed by the narrative of the planting of the Church in Samaria (Ac 8¹²⁻¹⁷). From it we learn that the practice of the older Apostles coincided with that of St. Paul. Baptism by itself did not convey the gift of the Spirit. That was mediated by a laying on of hands by Apostles, with prayer for the Holy Spirit (vv. 15, 17), the baptisms having been previously performed by Philip, and perhaps by others of inferior ministerial office who accompanied him. It is hinted that, at least when St. Luke wrote, according to established usage the bestowal of the Holy Spirit was not separated in time from the administration of baptism (v. 18).

In each of these cases the reception of the Spirit was manifested by the exercise of miraculous powers (8¹⁸ 19⁶). But it would be contrary to the teaching of the NT as a whole to suppose that such manifestations were of the essence of the gift. If we may suppose (Chase, *Confirmation in the Apostolic Age*, p. 35) that 2 Ti 1⁶ refers to

Timothy's confirmation, rather than to his ordination, it proves that the graces looked for as a result of the laying on of hands were such as 'power and love and soberness' (cf. Ac 24¹², where 'wonders and signs' are confined to the Apostles).

The inferences which have here been drawn from Ac 8¹²⁻¹⁷ 19¹⁻⁶ are corroborated by many references in the Epistles to a reception of the Holy Spirit on admission to the Church (Ro 5⁵, 2 Co 5⁵, Eph 1¹³, 4³⁰, 1 Jn 2²⁷ 3²⁴), in some of which St. Paul uses the very phrase ascribed to him by St. Luke, as pointing to a laying on of hands, πνεῦμα ἐλάβετε (Ro 8¹⁵, 1 Co 2¹², 2 Co 11⁴, Gal 3²⁴), while others appear to indicate that the bestowal of the gift was an act distinct from and following the washing (1 Co 6¹¹ 12¹³, 2 Co 1²¹, Tit 3⁴²). To these may be added He 6³, where βαπτισμοὶ ἐπιθεοὺς τε χειρῶν must at least include a laying on of hands closely connected with a Christian act of lustration.

3. A review of the evidence afforded by the NT, therefore, leads to the belief that in the Apostolic age a rite of confirmation was widely, if not universally, used, the main parts of which were prayer and imposition of hands. But it has been held that at this period, as in later ages, with the laying on of hands was associated an anointing of the neophytes. In support of this view it has been urged (Chase, *op. cit.* p. 53): (a) that unction and imposition of hands are 'closely related symbolical acts' in both OT and NT (cf. Nu 8¹⁰ with Ex 28¹, etc.; and Mk 6⁵ 8²³ and Ac 28⁸ with Mk 6¹³ and Ja 5¹⁴); (b) that anointing is associated with confirmation in the earliest sub-Apostolic records (Iren. *Hær.* I. xxi. 3; Tert.; *Can. Hipp.* 134-136; to the authorities cited by Chase may be added Theophilus of Antioch; see below, § 5 a); (c) that the supposition adds force to such passages as 2 Co 1²¹, 1 Jn 2^{20, 27}.

It must be noticed, however, (a) that no Scripture evidence has been produced that unction was used along with the laying on of hands; while, on the other hand, it was, among both Jews and Gentiles, an accompaniment of the bath (Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, p. 386, citing Ru 3⁸, Ezk 16³, to which add Sus 1⁷); (b) that neither Irenæus (*loc. cit.*) nor Theophilus makes any reference to the laying on of hands; and both Tertullian and *Can. Hipp.* connect the unction not with it but with the immersion (see below, §§ 21, 26, cf. § 22); (c) that, if 2 Co 1²¹ enumerates in order the acts of the initiatory rites, σφραγισμὸς is naturally regarded as indicating baptism (see above, § 1), and the implication, therefore, is that the unction preceded baptism, and was separated by it from confirmation. The connexion of the unction with the gift of the Spirit in 1 Jn 2^{20, 27} does not by itself establish the contention. It may, however, in part account for the close relation which subsisted in later times between the unction and the imposition of hands, leading in some cases to the overshadowing, or even the superseding, of the latter by the former.

On the whole, the reasonable inference from the facts appears to be that unction was a primitive accompaniment of baptism rather than of confirmation.

4. The passages of the NT examined in § 2 point to confirmation by laying on of hands after baptism. Nevertheless, it must be remarked that there is no indication that any feeling of incongruity was occasioned by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon Cornelius and his friends before they were baptized (Ac 10⁴⁴⁻⁴⁸), and it is recorded that Ananias laid hands on Saul that he might be 'filled with the Holy Ghost,' and afterwards baptized him (Ac 9¹⁷). These facts suggest the possibility that confirmation may regularly have preceded baptism in some regions, concerning whose customs in this

matter the NT supplies no information. It will be found that this suggestion has some bearing upon peculiarities of the early Syrian rite of initiation (§ 7).

5. References to confirmation in the sub-Apostolic period.—It was not to be expected that the scanty remains of the earliest extra-canonical Christian literature would supply many references to confirmation. In the *Didache* and Justin Martyr's *1st Apology*, both of which contain accounts of the baptismal rite, explicit mention of it might, indeed, have been looked for. The absence of such mention in the former may, however, be accounted for by supposing that its administration belonged to apostles and prophets, for whose guidance the *Didache* was not intended. In Justin, on the other hand, but few details of the baptismal rite are given (*1 Apol.* 61), and we are told (ch. 65) that, after the washing, the neophyte was brought into the assembly, where prayer was made for him and others, followed by the kiss of peace and the Eucharist. That this is a vague account of the confirmation is rendered probable by its resemblance in general outline to *Can. Hipp.* 135 ff. (see below, §§ 26, 28). Irenæus seems to imply that a laying on of hands followed the immersion, both being included in the rite of baptism. Thus in *Hær.* III. xvii. 1, 2 he seems to distinguish the grace of baptism from the gift of the Spirit; and in *Dem.* 3 he describes the former as forgiveness of sins and regeneration, while in *Dem.* 41 f. he speaks of the Apostles as baptizing their converts and giving them the Holy Spirit, and connects this with the present life of the Church, by describing believers as the habitation of the Spirit given in baptism (cf. *Hær.* IV. xxxviii. 1, 2).

6. The ancient Syrian rite.—About the ceremonies of baptism used in Syria in earlier centuries there is a considerable amount of evidence, which must be set out as briefly as possible.

(a) From Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch (c. 180), we learn (*ad Autol.* I. 12, ii. 16) that anointing with the 'oil of God' was, when he wrote, an important feature of the initiatory rite; and his statement that the name 'Christian' was derived from it implies (see Ac 11²⁶) that he believed it to date from the Apostolic age. According to him, the immersion conveyed re-birth and remission of sins.

(b) *Clementine Recognitions*, iii. 67 (Gersdorf, p. 110; Lagarde, p. 119) (c. 200 [?]). A description of baptism is put into the mouth of St. Peter. It includes anointing with oil sanctified by prayer, immersion in the threefold Name, and Holy Communion.

(c) *Didascalia*, III. xii. 2 f. (Funk, p. 208) (c. 230). When speaking of the duties of deaconesses at the baptism of women, the writer mentions anointing by the bishop with the oil of unction on the head 'at the laying on of hands.' An anointing of the rest of the body by deaconesses or other women follows, and then the baptism by the bishop or by deacons or presbyters, at his command. Funk accounts for the absence of reference to a post-baptismal unction by supposing that the deaconesses had no share in it; but it must not be assumed that there was any unction after the baptism.

(d) *Syr. Acts of Judas Thomas*, in Wright, *Apoc. Ac. of Ap.* (vol. II. Eng. tr.), 1871 (3rd cent.). This work contains five detailed accounts of baptisms (pp. 165, 188, 257, 267, 289), which, combined, give the following results: After the blessing of the oil, the candidates are anointed with the seal on the head, the men first. Their bodies are then anointed, in the case of the men by Judas, in the case of the women by a woman. They are subsequently baptized and communicated. There is no intimation of a consecration of the water, and apparently no recognition of a distinction between the grace conveyed by the anointing and by the immersion.

(e) Aphraates (c. 345). In one of his few allusions to the baptismal rite this writer mentions the unction before the baptism (*Dem.* xii. 15), though he does not actually state that the former preceded the latter in the rite. He does not, apparently, mention the gift of the Spirit, but he connects both regeneration and the putting on of spiritual armour with 'the water' (*Dem.* vi. 1, xiv. 16).

(f) Ephraim, *Epiphany Hymns* (Eng. tr. by Gwynn in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. xlii.) (c. 350). From many allusions we gather that the baptismal rite included the following elements in the order in which they are here mentioned: (1) anointing with 'the seal' (iii. 1, 2, v. 8); (2) the baptism (xi. 8, xiv. 41 f. [for the order of these two, see iii. 1, 17, iv. 1, vi. 9, 20, viii. 22]); (3) vesting of the neophytes in white (vi. 15, 18, xlii. 1, 5, cf. iv. 3); (4) crowning (xiii. 5); and (5) communion (vii. 23, viii. 22, cf. iii. 17, xlii. 17). From *Sermo Ezeq.* in *Ps. cxl.* 8 (*Opp. Syr.*, Rome, 1787-43, II. 382) it appears that the anointing

'with the seal of the Holy Spirit' on the head was followed by unction of the members of the body. In the commentary on J 24 (b. 232) mention is made of the oil and fragrant *μύρον* with which the 'midle' are sealed and put on the armour of the Holy Spirit. [In this passage 'midle' may mean 'baptizand', in accordance with the order implied in the *Epiphany Hymns* (see the passage quoted in Dietrich, p. 63, n. 15).] The priest is the minister both of the unction and of the baptism (*Epiph. Hymns*, iv. 4, v. 81).

(g) *History of John the son of Zebedee* (4th cent. [?]), in Wright, *op. cit.* Two baptisms are described in detail (pp. 38, 58). The 'fine scented' oil was first consecrated, and then the water, fire appearing over the former after consecration. Afterwards the candidates were signed on the forehead, and their bodies anointed. Then followed the baptism, the vesting in white, the giving of the kiss of peace to the neophytes, and the communion. The immersion was 'for the forgiveness of debts and the pardon of sins,' while the appearance of fire on the oil may indicate that the unction conveyed the gift of the Spirit.

(h) *Apostolic Constitutions* (c. 380). The *Ordo Baptismi* agrees closely with that of the contemporary Church of Jerus. (below, § 28). But that the compiler, in introducing a second, post-baptismal, unction, was consciously innovating upon Syrian custom, is clear. (1) Upon it alone of the component parts of the rite does he comment, and his remark upon it is polemical in tone (vii. 44): ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν λέγεται· ἐκείνους γὰρ ἡ δύναμις τῆς χειροθεσίας ἐστὶν αὐτῇ. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ εἰς ἐκείνους τοῖς ἐκλήουσιν γένηται παρὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἱεροῦ τοιαύτη τίς εἰς ἑσθαρ μόνον καταβαίνει· οὐ βαπτίζουσιν ὡς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι κ.τ.λ. (2) He connects the gift of the Spirit with unction before baptism, while the post-baptismal unction is merely 'the seal of the covenants' or 'the confirmation of the confession' (iii. 16 f., vii. 22).

(i) St. Chrysostom (c. 390), in discourses delivered at Antioch, makes it plain that he regarded the bestowal of the Holy Spirit as mediated by unction (*in 1 Tim.* ii. 2), and as closely connected with baptism, which was followed by Holy Communion (*in Mt.* xii. 8, *in 1 Co.* xxx. 2; in the latter passage Mason (*Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*, p. 365) mistranslates ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος 'directly after baptism'). Preaching at Constantinople, he implies that there confirmation followed baptism; but, by his remark that it was not wonderful that Cornelius received the Spirit before baptism, since 'this takes place also in our own day' ('καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τοῦτο γέγονεν'), he hints that elsewhere it preceded it (*in Ac.* xxiv. 2). He distinguished the 'Spirit of remission,' which the Samaritans received at their baptism, from the 'Spirit of signs' subsequently given, and probably held that the former was the gift bestowed in later times by the anointing (*in Ac.* xviii. 2 f. of xl. 1 f.).

(j) *Life of Rabbulah*, in Overbeck, *S. Ephr. Syriaci, opp.*, p. 164 (c. 450). On his arrival at the river Jordan, Rabbulah 'recited the Belief before' the priests, who then 'anointed and baptized him'; and immediately after he was come up from the water 'a cloth was wrapped about his body' after the custom of the spiritual kindred of Christ.' The latter ceremony no doubt corresponded to the vesting of the neophytes in white.

(k) Theodoret, *in Cant.* i. 2 (c. 450). Those who are being initiated are said, after renunciation and profession of allegiance (and therefore before baptism), to receive 'as it were a certain royal seal, the unction of the spiritual ointment, receiving thereby, as in a figure, the invisible grace of the all-holy Spirit.' To argue (Mason, *op. cit.* p. 874), against the natural force of the words, that the unction followed baptism, because it was made with ointment (*μύρον*) and not with oil, is to assume that the Syrian usage of this period agreed with that of other places and other times. There is independent evidence that in Syria scented oil or ointment was used for the preliminary unction (above, f, g). In fact, in Syria to a comparatively late date, and in early writers elsewhere, there seems to have been no sharp distinction between *μύρον* and oil (see below, § 20, and Hippol. *in Dan.* i. 16). Elsewhere, as here, Theodoret seems to assume that normally the gift of the Holy Spirit conveyed by the laying on of hands preceded baptism (*in Heb.* vi. 1 ff., cf. *Qu.* in Nu. 47).

(l) Narsai, *Homilies*, 21, 22 (Nestorian, end of 5th cent.). According to these homilies, after the consecration of the oil the candidate was signed with it, first on the forehead and then over the whole body. After this—the water having been consecrated—he was immersed, and, on ascending from the font, was given the kiss of peace, clothed, and communicated. By the oil the Spirit was imparted (Connolly, in *TS* viii. 40, 43, 45, 50–52).

(m) *Baptism of Constantine*, in Overbeck, *op. cit.* p. 365 (c. 500 [?]). After the blessing of the font, Constantine is said to have been anointed with oil, baptized, and communicated.

(n) Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (Monophysite, 512–519), habitually speaks of anointing with chrism as following and completing baptism. Since he quotes the *Testamentum Domini* as authoritative on the subject of baptism, it may be inferred that the rite, as he practised it, resembled that which is described in that work. See especially *Epp.* ix. 1, 3 (ed. E. W. Brooks).

(o) The catholicos Isô'yâhb i. (Nestorian, 580–596). In his *Questions* (Dietrich, *Dis. nestor. Tausliturgia*, p. 94 ff.) directions are given for the baptism of adults by a priest, and for the baptism of a sick person by a deacon. In each case a signing with oil (of men on the breast, of women on the forehead) is followed by the baptism. The only acts mentioned subsequent to baptism are the clothing of the women by the deaconesses and their crowning by the priest, and the administration of the Eucharist, if it is customary, by the deacon to the person baptized by him.

7. From this evidence some important inferences may be drawn. It would seem that throughout Syria up to the 5th cent., and among the Nestorians to the end of the 6th cent., the initiatory rite included three principal acts—unction, baptism, and communion of the baptized. The unction consisted of two parts—the signing of the head (3rd and 4th cents.), forehead (4th and 5th cents., and later in the case of women), or breast (6th cent.), and the anointing of the body. The gift of the Holy Spirit is usually associated with the unction (see above, § 6 f, g, h, i, k, l, and cf. c, where the unction is 'at the laying on of hands'); and in this connexion it should be noticed that the evidence for the consecration of the oil is earlier than for the consecration of the font (see b, d). There is no trace, apart from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, of any important act following the immersion except the communion of the baptized. Thus, according to the earliest known custom of the Syrian Christians, confirmation preceded baptism. It is not difficult to believe that this usage was simply a development of local primitive practice. In places where the laying on of hands for the imparting of the gift of the Spirit took place before baptism (above, § 4), if the baptismal unction also preceded the immersion (see § 3), the laying on of hands and the unction would in time come to be closely associated. Thus the confirmation would become the unction 'at the laying on of hands' (§ 6 c). Finally, in accordance with a tendency of which there are many examples, the unction would supersede the laying on of hands, except so far as the signing of the person with oil could be so described (cf. § 6 k).

In the early part of the 3rd cent. (§ 6 c) confirmation was reserved to the bishop, but, according to all later authorities, the entire rite is administered by one person—bishop or priest—assisted by a deacon or deaconess. It will be observed that there is early evidence for three minor ceremonies between the immersion and the baptismal Eucharist—the kiss of peace (§ 6 g, i), vesting in white (§ 6 f, g, j, l, o), and crowning (§ 6 f, c).

8. Modern Nestorian rite.—The Syrian ritual was re-cast shortly after the middle of the 7th cent. by the catholicos Isô'yâhb iii. (652–661), and the office of baptism drawn up by him is the basis of the rite as now practised by the East Syrians. He allowed the pre-baptismal anointing to remain; indeed, he seems to have restored the ancient custom of an unction (that is, probably, a signing with oil) on the head, followed by an anointing of the body. The result of this change has been much confusion, through the persistence of 6th cent. customs, in the existing MSS. But in one point all agree. In the formula pronounced at this unction there is no reference to the gift of the Spirit. No special grace seems to be connected with it, and in a rubric it is described as a symbolic act indicating that 'the acknowledgment of the Trinity is imprinted on the heart' of the person about to be baptized. It no longer corresponds to confirmation.

The distinguishing feature of Isô'yâhb's ritual is, in fact, confirmation after baptism. It consists of two main acts—the imposition of the hand upon the head of the baptized with an appropriate prayer, and the signing of the forehead with oil (not ointment), accompanied by a formula. Some of the MSS omit mention of the use of oil in this signing, but there is good evidence that it was ordered by Isô'yâhb, and it is apparently still customary (A. J. Maclean, *Recent Discoveries illustrating early Christian Life and Worship*, 1904, p. 68). In the present Nestorian rite, as everywhere in the East, the priest is the minister

of confirmation. But it is characterized by several unusual features. The priest (not the bishop) consecrates the oil at each performance of the rite, the laying on of the hand is separated from the signing, and there is no use of ointment, as distinct from olive oil, at any part of the rite.

That post-baptismal confirmation was actually introduced by Isô'yāhb III. follows almost certainly from the evidence given in § 6, for there seems to have been no catholicos between Isô'yāhb I. and Isô'yāhb III. who was a liturgical reformer. The supposition is confirmed by the fact that Isô'yāhb III. was a traveller, who must have had some knowledge of non-Syrian rites (Connolly, *op. cit.* p. xlix), and by the number and magnitude of the variations of existing rituals from each other, and from the *Ordo* drawn up by him—a natural consequence of so startling an innovation.

One or two of these may be mentioned. Isô'yāhb seems to have given no direction about the ceremony of crowning. Hence in some MSS it is omitted. In one it is described as a custom in some places. In another it appears in its original position after the vesting, and therefore before confirmation (Dietrich, *op. cit.* p. 87). Its present place is after the final signing (Maclean-Browne, *The Catholics of the East*, 1892, p. 272). Again, Isô'yāhb I. ordered that the water should not be let out of the font till after the mysteries—i.e. apparently the Eucharist—had been administered (Dietrich, *op. cit.* p. 94). Isô'yāhb III., on the contrary, ordered that it should be let out before the confirmation (*ib.* p. 92). Nevertheless the older usage persisted, and is still followed (*ib.* pp. 601, 82, 101 f.).

The post-baptismal Eucharist was retained by Isô'yāhb III., and apparently still remained in the time of Elias III. (1176–1190; see Dietrich, *op. cit.* p. 101); but it has long fallen into desuetude (*ib.* p. 91 f.).

9. Rites of the Syrian Monophysites.—We have seen (§ 6 n) that post-baptismal confirmation with chrism is implied in the letters of Severus of Antioch. It is, in fact, probable that its introduction into Syria was due to him. Tradition ascribes to Severus a Gr. *Ordo Baptismi* which was translated into Syr. by James of Edessa in the latter part of the 7th cent., and received the approbation of Gregory Barhebraeus six hundred years later (Denzinger, *Ritus orient.* i. 266, 279, 280). Four of the existing rituals, of which two bear the name of Severus and one that of James, while the fourth is anonymous (*ib.* p. 267), resemble one another closely, and are apparently all derived from the Syr. *Ordo* of James of Edessa, and thus ultimately from the Gr. of Severus. The anonymous ritual probably represents a recension subsequent to that of Barhebraeus. There is also a short office for the baptism of the dying (*ib.* p. 318), attributed to Severus' contemporary Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis (c. 435–519). All these Orders contain a post-baptismal signing or unction. In two respects they stand apart both from ancient Syrian and from modern Nestorian usage: they have no form for the blessing of the oil, which is consecrated, not by the priest at the baptism, but by the bishop (*ib.* p. 361); and at the final unction unguent, likewise consecrated by the bishop, is used instead of oil.

10. On the other hand, among the liturgical reforms attributed to Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch (471–488), by Theodorus Lector (Valesius, *Hist.*, ed. Reading, 1720, iii. 582), was the consecration of the *μύρον* in the church before the whole people. This might seem to give colour to the supposition that post-baptismal confirmation was introduced among the Monophysites by him. But Peter, Bishop of Edessa (498), appears from the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite (32, ed. Wright, p. 23), written during his episcopate, to have adopted the principal reforms of the Fuller about A.D. 500: among other things, 'he [prayed] over the oil of unction on the Thursday [before Easter] before the whole people.' From

this passage it would seem that Theodorus quoted the actual words of the Fuller, and that the latter used *μύρον* as equivalent to oil (cf. § 6 k). It may be inferred that what the Fuller did was to reserve the consecration of the oil of unction to the bishop, and that post-baptismal chrismation had not come into use at Antioch in 488, or at Edessa by the end of the century.

11. The post-baptismal confirmation consisted of a prayer followed by a threefold signing of the baptized with chrism on the forehead and other parts of the body, with the formula, 'N. is signed with the holy chrism, the sweetness of the odour of Christ, the seal of the true faith, the complement of the gift of the Holy Ghost, in the Name,' etc., followed by an anointing of the rest of the body, the vesting in white, and prayers, one of which contained a petition for the sending forth of the Holy Spirit upon the neophytes.

That this form of confirmation is a later addition is perhaps already sufficiently clear. But this becomes still more evident when we consider the portion of the office which immediately precedes the immersion. Here the Monophysite rituals seem to follow ancient usage more closely than the Nestorian. Before baptism the candidates are signed on the forehead with oil, and their bodies are anointed. The connexion between these two acts is obscured in all the MSS by the interpolation between them of the consecration of the water. They are accompanied by prayers which distinctly associate with them the gift of the Spirit.

The first prayer has the petition: 'Vouchsafe to send upon them thy Holy Spirit.' The second begins: 'Holy Father, who by the hands of thy holy Apostles didst give the Holy Spirit to those who had been baptized, send now also, using the shadow of my hands, thy Holy Spirit on those who are about to be baptized . . . that they may be worthy of thy holy anointing.' This is evidence that a laying on of hands once preceded this unction, though no mention is made of it in the extant rituals (cf. § 6 a, b). The third runs: 'Thou who didst send upon thy only-begotten Son . . . thy Holy Spirit . . . and didst sanctify the waters of Jordan, may it please thee that the same thy Holy Spirit may dwell upon these thy servants . . . and do thou perfect them . . . purifying them by thy holy laver,' etc. This extract seems to indicate (1) that the consecration of the font originally followed the anointing, and (2) that the indwelling of the Spirit preceded the purification of the laver.

Thus the Monophysite rite is strangely anomalous. It has two distinct anointings, one before and the other after baptism, by both of which it is implied that the gift of the Holy Spirit is mediated. The former was at one time accompanied by an imposition of hands, and the references to the gift of the Spirit in immediate connexion with it are still much more precise and emphatic than in connexion with the latter, which is now regarded as the confirmation.

12. Of the attendant ceremonies, the vesting, the crowning, and communion follow the chrismation. All are omitted in the anonymous ritual.

It has not been thought necessary to take account here of two rituals used by the Monophysites, bearing the name of St. Basil, since they are not of Syrian origin. One is a mere translation of the Gr. *Ordo*, the other incorporates some Syrian elements (Denzinger, *op. cit.* p. 818).

13. Maronite rite.—It is probable that the two closely similar early Maronite baptismal rituals (Denzinger, *op. cit.* pp. 334, 351) are derived from an Order drawn up by James of Serug († 521), whose name appears at the head of one of them. But that they have been subjected to considerable revision is evident; e.g. the baptismal formula is not in the third person, as in all other Eastern Orders, but in the first, as in the Latin rite. This assimilation to Western standards was carried much further about the year 1700, when the Order now in use was composed (*ib.* pp. 334, 350). Till that revision, however, some ancient Syrian characteristics were preserved. The oil was consecrated at each baptism, and at the consecration

the deacon bid the prayers of the people that those who were to be baptized might be made 'pure temples for the habitation of the Holy Spirit.' Again, the pre-baptismal unction was divided into two parts, as in the Monophysite rite, by the consecration of the water. Before this consecration the candidate was signed with oil on the forehead, the prayer following, 'Let thy Holy Spirit come and dwell and rest upon the head of this thy servant,' etc.; after it the priest again signed him with oil, this time on the head, and the deacon anointed his body. After the baptism the candidate was signed with chrism, and then his body was anointed (*ib.* p. 349), or the principal members were signed (*ib.* p. 357), a formula being used similar to that of the Monophysite rite. In an accompanying prayer (not in all MSS) the words occur, 'Grant us by this seal the union of thy Holy Spirit.' Thus in this rite there is the same anomaly as in the Monophysite, proving that the post-baptismal confirmation had no place in the ancient Syrian Order from which it was derived.

14. The attendant ceremonies are the vesting—which in one Order retains its original place immediately after baptism (*ib.* p. 357), and in the other (*ib.* p. 349) is postponed till after the chrismation—the crowning, and the communion.

15. Armenian rites.—The Armenian baptismal ritual is said to have been drawn up by the catholicos John Mandakuni (c. 495). It was revised at the end of the 9th cent. (Conybeare, *Rituale*, p. xxvii ff.). The extant office obviously differs much from the original from which it was derived. After the consecration of the 'holy oil,' the filling and consecration of the font takes place, and then the baptism. After this there is a prayer for the baptized, and an anointing with the 'holy oil,' with which the forehead and several members of the body are signed, in each case with an appropriate formula. In these formulæ no mention is made of the Holy Spirit.

The consecration of the oil at the beginning of the baptismal office proper seems to imply an unction before immersion, which has fallen into desuetude (cf. Denzinger, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 57). At present simple oil is not used at all, and this prayer of consecration is said over the chrism which has been already consecrated by the catholicos at Etchmiadzin (*ib.* p. 34; Neale, *Hist. East. Ch.*, 1850, Introd. p. 987). The single petition for the grace of the Holy Spirit in the prayer before the anointing is so wanting in definiteness that this act can scarcely be regarded as a confirmation. It is less emphatic than the clause in the prayer of consecration, 'Send the grace of thy Holy Spirit into this oil, to the end that it shall be to him that is anointed therewith unto holiness of spiritual wisdom,' etc. On the whole, it appears that this rite is of Syrian origin, and that it once had two unctions, with each of which the gift of the Spirit was associated (cf. §§ 11, 13). As in the modern Nestorian rite, the unctions were probably performed, not with chrism, but with oil consecrated by the priest in the course of the office; though the use of chrism consecrated by the catholicos was certainly in vogue to some extent as early as the 7th cent. (Denzinger, p. 55).

16. After the unction follow the vesting, crowning, bowing to the altar, and communion. The prayer used at the bowing to the altar has no special appropriateness to this ceremony; but it contains words which imply a laying on of the hand ('Stretch forth thy unseen right hand and bless him'), and is perhaps misplaced.

17. The baptismal office of the Paulicians of Armenia (Conybeare, *Key*, p. 96) has neither anointing nor imposition of hands, but after the

affusion there are prayers for the gift of the Holy Spirit to the baptized, interspersed with lessons (Mt 3¹³⁻¹⁷, Ac 2¹⁻⁴, Mk 1⁹⁻¹¹, Gal 3²⁴⁻²⁹, Lk 3²¹, Ac 8²⁶⁻⁴⁰ [with the 'Western' additions in vv. 37, 39], Jn 20¹⁰⁻²²; but not Ac 8¹⁴, 19¹⁷). One of the prayers seems to imply that communion followed (*ib.* p. 98, cf. p. xlix). The minister is the 'elect one.' This rite cannot be said to include an act of confirmation, but it was probably derived from one in which confirmation followed baptism.

18. Orthodox Eastern rite.—The baptismal office of the Orthodox Church (Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον*, 1647, p. 350) closely resembles that which was used at Constantinople in the 8th cent. (Conybeare, *Rituale*, p. 389), and both belong to a group which comprises the *Ordo Baptismi* in *Const. Ap.* vii. 39-45 (cf. iii. 16 f.) and the rite as described by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. Myst.*) and ps.-Dionysius (*Hier. Eccl.* ii. 2, 3). The *Ordo* in *Const. Ap.* seems to represent an attempt to bring the Syrian rite into agreement with that of the Church of Jerusalem. It accordingly preserves some Syrian features.

Combining the testimony of all these documents, we learn that the following series of acts in the modern office has descended from the 4th cent.: anointing with exorcized oil, consecration of the font, baptism, vesting in white, anointing with chrism on the forehead and other parts of the body (the vesting follows the chrismation in St. Cyril), and communion. In St. Cyril and ps.-Dionysius the second unction is associated with the gift of the Spirit, and in the present rite it is accompanied by the formula, 'The seal of the gift of the Holy Spirit' (cf. the spurious can. 7 of C. Constantinop. 1.). It is, therefore, rightly described as confirmation. It is said, however, that the chrism is now administered with a spoon (Maclean, *Rec. Discoveries*, p. 68); thus no vestige of the primitive laying on of hands remains at this point of the rite. That c. A.D. 325 it was still an act distinct from the chrismation is shown by the evidence of Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem (Conybeare, *Key*, pp. 183, 186).

Among the Orthodox the chrism is consecrated by the Patriarch apart from the administration of baptism. The practice of the 4th cent. in this matter is somewhat obscurely described by Macarius (*ut supra*).

It is possible that the rite of the Church of Jerusalem with its modern Greek derivative was developed from an ancient Syrian rite in which confirmation preceded baptism. But however that may be, it is highly probable that many of the more modern features of the Monophysite, Maronite, and Armenian rituals—especially post-baptismal confirmation with chrism—were borrowed from it (cf. Conybeare, *Key*, p. 179).

19. The Egyptian rite.—The baptismal rituals of the Alexandrian Copts (Denzinger, *op. cit.* p. 191) and the Abyssinians (*ib.* p. 222) vary so slightly from each other that they may be treated as one. There are two unctions, but the first is performed outside the baptistery and is separated from the baptism by a long interval. Immediately after the baptism comes the confirmation. The priest, standing before the altar, prays for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit on the baptized, and signs his forehead or head with chrism in the threefold Name. Other parts of the body are then signed, each with an appropriate formula. This is succeeded by the laying on of the hand with a formula in which the words occur, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' and another prayer for the neophyte, including a petition for the sending forth of the Spirit upon him. Both oil and chrism are consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria (*ib.* pp. 54, 248 f.).

By means of the newly recovered Sacramentary of Serapion and the evidence of contemporary writers, it has been shown that an Order of confirmation identical with this in its main features was in use in Egypt in the 4th cent. (Brightman, in *JThSt* i. 252 f., 263 ff., 268 ff.). Indeed, some of its elements can be traced much further back. Origen alludes to the final unction in several places (*Hom. in Lev.* vi. 5, in *Rom.* v. 8; *Sel. in Ezk.* 16). The laying on of hands seems also to be implied by him, and if so, he certainly regarded it as of Apostolic origin (*de Princ.* i. iii. 27; cf. *Clem. Alex. Eac. Th.* 22). In Egypt alone has the laying on of hands been preserved, apart from the signing with chrism, by an unbroken tradition, as part of confirmation. In the 4th cent., indeed, it preceded instead of following the chrismation (Brightman, *loc. cit.* p. 265); but in Abyssinia at present there is laying on of hands with prayer for the Holy Spirit, before as well as after the chrismation. In early times, as now, the priest administered the chrism, but only as the delegate of the bishop (Ambrosiaster, *Qu. Veteris et Novi Test.*, ci. 5; in *Eph.* iv. 12).

20. After confirmation follow the vesting, crowning, and communion of the baptized. In Abyssinia and, until comparatively recent times, at Alexandria, they received milk and honey in the Eucharist. At Alexandria only milk is now given. No early evidence has been discovered for the crowning; but the vesting is alluded to in the 4th cent., the baptismal Eucharist is referred to by Origen (*Sel. in Ex.* [PG xii. 283]), and apparently the giving of milk and honey is mentioned by the writer of the *Ep. of Barnabas* (6) and by *Clem. Alex.* (*Ped.* i. 6).

21. The African rite.—In several passages (*de Præsc. Hær.* 36, 40; *de Bapt.* 6 ff., 17; *de Res. Carn.* 8; *adv. Marc.* i. 14; *de Cor.* 3; *de Pud.* 9) Tertullian alludes to the ceremonies of the rite of initiation. From them we learn that immediately after the immersion the baptized was anointed, perhaps over the whole body ('perungimur,' *de Bapt.* 7). He was afterwards signed with the cross, apparently on the forehead. The laying on of the hand followed, and finally the Eucharist. At some point of the rite the neophyte received a mixture of milk and honey. The exact position of this ceremony is doubtful; but it was certainly between the anointing and the Eucharist, and probably immediately after the former. It is possibly hinted in one place that the baptized was crowned (*de Præsc.* 40).

The imposition of the hand is separated from the unction by the signing, and probably the giving of milk and honey. Moreover, while the spiritual effect of baptism is remission of sins, of unction consecration, and of the signing protection, the gift of the Holy Spirit is attributed to the imposition of the hand. The unction, therefore, is connected with baptism rather than with confirmation (cf. BAPTISM [Early Chr.], vol. ii. p. 387* (β)). The proper minister of the entire rite is the bishop, but with his authority it may be performed by a presbyter or a deacon. Tertullian holds that in case of necessity a layman may baptize (and confirm); but it seems to be implied that this opinion was not generally accepted. Since Tertullian (*de Cor.* 3) claims the authority of long-standing tradition for several of the ceremonies, it is probable that he describes the rite as it was practised in Carthage at least as early as the middle of the 2nd century.

22. The letters of Cyprian on the baptism of heretics confirm and supplement the information given by Tertullian. According to him, the special gift of baptism is remission of sins (*Ep.* lxi. 11, lxx. 1, lxxiii. 6, lxxiv. 5) and regeneration (lxxiv. 7); but the regeneration is not com-

plete without the gift of the Spirit (lxxii. 1, lxxiii. 21), which is conveyed by the laying on of the hand (lxxii. 1, lxxiii. 6, lxxiv. 5). Thus baptism and confirmation are distinct, yet closely related as parts of the same rite (lxx. 3, lxxiii. 9). The immersion was immediately followed by unction (lxx. 2), and it is implied that the unction was connected rather with baptism than with confirmation. The gift of the Spirit is not associated with it in the one passage in which it is mentioned; and in that passage, arguing against the validity of heretical baptism, as distinct from confirmation, Cyprian makes a point out of the invalidity of the unction which accompanied it. It is to be added that he speaks of sanctification (*sanctificatio*) as one of the benefits conferred by baptism, in the narrower sense (e.g. lxx. 1, 8, 11, lxx. 2, lxxiii. 18 f., lxxiv. 5, 7), just as Tertullian had connected the same (*consecratio*) with unction. The act by which the Holy Spirit was communicated was, therefore, the imposition of the hand. But this act was accompanied by prayer for the Holy Spirit and signing of the baptized on the forehead (lxxiii. 6, 9; *ad Demetrian.* 22). At some time in the course of the rite, probably after confirmation, the kiss of peace was given (lxxiv. 4). The bishop confirmed, but apparently he did not usually baptize (lxxiii. 9). The oil used in the unction was consecrated on the altar at the Eucharist, and therefore not at the administration of baptism (lxx. 2).

23. The mode of administration of the rite remained much as it was in the 2nd cent. till at least the beginning of the 5th; but the giving of milk and honey was transferred to the baptismal Eucharist (C. Carthag. III. c. 24, longer form).

For the order, see St. Augustine, *Serm.* 824; for consecration of oil at the Eucharist, *de Bapt. cont. Don.* v. 23; for conferring the Holy Spirit by imposition of hand with prayer, *ib.* iii. 16, *de Trin.* xv. 46, *Retract.* i. 12, 9, *Tract. in Ep. Jo.* vi. 10; for communion, *Serm.* 324, 227, 228; for the bishop as minister, *de Trin.* xv. 46, and for the presbyter acting in his stead, *Serm.* 824.

By the second half of the 5th cent. the unction had become a more prominent feature, and was closely connected with the imposition of the hand, for which it was a preparation (Optat. Milev. iv. 7, vii. 4; Aug. *contra litt. Pet.* ii. 239), though it still always followed baptism (Avitus Vienn. *Ep.* 24). The material used seems to have been no longer simple oil (Optat. *loc. cit.*; Aug. *de Trin.* xv. 46, *conf. litt. Pet.* ii. 104). The unction, though not apparently held to convey the Spirit, is the 'sacramentum Spiritus sancti' (Aug. *Serm.* 227, *Tract. in Ep. Jo.* iii. 5, 12). During this period attempts were made to abolish the consecration of the chrism by priests, which appears to have been the older custom; but the practice still continued (C. Carth. II. c. 3, III. c. 36; C. Hipp. c. 34; Joan. Diac. *Ep. ad Senar.* 8).

24. The Gallican rite.—The rite which prevailed most widely in the West in early centuries was that known as the Gallican, which was used in North Italy, Gaul, Spain, probably Britain, and Ireland. The earliest descriptions of it are found in Ambrose, *de Mysteriis*, and another tract founded upon it, viz. ps.-Ambrose, *de Sacramentis*. These witness to the use of North Italy c. A.D. 400. In this rite baptism was immediately followed by an anointing with chrism on the head or forehead (Prudent. *Psychom.* 360; Patr. *Ep.* 3; Missal. *Bobien.*; cf. *Stowe Missal*), with the formula 'Deus . . . qui te regeneravit . . . ipse te unget,' etc. After the chrismation the feet of the candidates were washed (Maximus Taurin. *Tract.* iii.; Cassarius, *Serm.* clxviii. 3, clcvii. 2 [PL xxxix. 2071, 2220], *Serm. de unct. cap.* [PL xl. 1211]; C. Elib. c. 48; and the Orders), and they were vested in white. They then received the *signaculum spirituale*—apparently a signing with the chrism (cf. Greg.

Tur. Hist. Franc. ii. 31)—which was accompanied by a prayer for the septiform Spirit, no doubt similar to that which occurs in all later Western rites, including the Anglican (Isidor. *de Eccl. Off.* ii. xxvii. 3; Ildefons. *de Cogn. Bapt.* 127). Finally, they communicated (*Sac. Gall.*; *Sac. Goth.*; *Stowe Missal*; Zeno Veron. *Tract.* ii. 38, 53). Since there is early evidence that confirmation consisted of two acts—chrismation and ‘imposition of the hand’ or ‘benediction’ (Gaul: C. Arous. i. c. 1 f.; Gennadius Massil. *de Eccl. Dog.* 52; Avitus, *Ep.* 24; Spain: Isidor. *op. cit.* ii. xxv. 9, xxvii. 1; Ildefons. *op. cit.* 121–125, 128 f.)—it may be inferred that both the unction and the *signaculum*, though not in immediate sequence, belonged to it. In some *Ordines* the *signaculum*, or laying on of hands, disappeared as a separate act (Gaul: German. Paris. *Ep.* 2; *Sac. Gall.*; *Sac. Goth.*; North Italy: Maximus Taurin. *ut supra*; *Missal. Bobbien.*; Ireland: Patr. *Ep.* 21; *Stowe Missal*), and with it the invocation of the septiform Spirit. Thus the ‘confirmation’ was reduced to an anointing with chrism, perhaps including a signing, without any direct prayer for the Holy Spirit. If this was the use of the Irish Church in the 12th cent., the statement of St. Bernard (*Vita S. Mal.* 3), that confirmation was not practised in Ireland, is not only intelligible but justified.

25. It is clear that about the end of the 4th cent. baptism and confirmation were ordinarily administered by the same person (Ambr. *op. cit.*; ps. Ambr. *op. cit.*; Pacianus, *Serm. de bapt.* 6, *Ep.* i. 6; Zeno Veron. *Tract.* ii. 53). This, according to Ambrose and Pacianus, was the bishop; but ps. Ambrose seems to make the presbyter the minister of both (Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, 1901, p. 80). A century earlier the Synod of Elvira (cc. 38, 77) implies that if a presbyter baptized he also confirmed, and that presbyterial confirmation prevailed widely in later times, in spite of continual efforts to suppress it, there is abundant evidence (Gaul: C. Arous. i. c. 1 f.; C. Arel. ii. c. 28 f.; Gallican Statutes [C. Carth. iv.], c. 36; Leo, *Ep. de priv. Chorep.*; C. Epao. c. 16; C. Antisiodoren. c. 6; C. Hispal. ii. c. 7; *Sac. Gall.*; *Sac. Goth.*, cf. C. Vassen. c. 3; North Italy: *Missal. Bobbien.*; Ireland: *Stowe Missal*; Spain: C. Tolet. i. c. 20; Mart. Bracar. *Capitula*, 52; Isidor. *op. cit.* ii. xxvii.; Ildefons. *op. cit.* 128, 131; cf. Montanus, *Ep.* 1 [Mansi, viii. 788]; C. Bracar. ii. c. 19).

This summary of the evidence will suffice to show that between the Gallican and the Eastern confirmation rites there are many points of resemblance. Gallican usages gave place to Roman in France at the end of the 8th century. They had a more prolonged existence in Spain, Milan, and Ireland (Duchesne, *Orig.* p. 97 ff.).

26. The Roman rite.—If the Gallican rite resembled those of the Eastern Church, the baptismal rite of Rome was akin rather to that of Africa. According to the *Canons of Hippolytus* (134 ff.), in the Rom. use of c. A.D. 200, the priest, immediately after administering baptism, signed the baptized on the forehead, mouth, and breast with the *χρῖσμα ἐξαγιασμένο*, or oil of unction, which had been consecrated by the bishop at an earlier stage of the office, and then proceeded to anoint his body. The baptized was then vested and brought into the church, where he was confirmed by the bishop. The confirmation consisted of imposition of the hand and a prayer, in which there was a thanksgiving for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and a petition that the neophyte might receive the earnest of the Kingdom, followed by the sign on the forehead without oil.

That this represents early Rom. practice is confirmed by Hippolytus, in *Dan.* i. 16, where the oil used in the bath is said to signify ‘the powers (*δυνάμεις* (read *δυνάμεις* ?)) of the Holy

Spirit wherewith (αἰς) the believers are anointed after the laver, as though (ὡς) with ointment,’ the implication being that oil was not actually used in conferring the Holy Spirit.

Thus the unction was connected with baptism, not with the laying on of hands.

The imposition of the hand continued to be the principal act in confirmation till at least the end of the 4th cent., when it was accompanied by the prayer for the septiform Spirit (Jerome, *cont. Luc.* 9; Siricius, *Ep. ad Himer.*). But by that time the unction on the forehead seems to have come to be regarded as closely associated with it, and as belonging, like it, rather to the bishop than to the priest. In 416, Pope Innocent I. permitted an additional unction, which must not be on the forehead, by the priest after baptism. This is the first notice of the double chrismation, which soon afterwards became the regular practice of the Roman Church (Innoc. *Ep. ad Dec.* 6, cf. 9; Joan. Diac. *Ep. ad Senar.* 6, 14). A signing of the head with chrism after baptism, with a formula almost identical with that of the Gallican rite (§ 24), is enjoined in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* and in later Rom. books.

27. The development of the Rom. order of confirmation is instructive. In the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (which agrees with the description of the Rom. rite in the Epistle of Jesse of Amiens, A.D. 812), and the 9th cent. *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 453)—as in the much later *Liber S. Cuthberti* (C. Wordsworth, *Pontif. S. Andreæ*, 1885, App. 5)—the imposition of the hand, with the prayer for the septiform Spirit, is preserved, and at the subsequent chrismation a special formula is used. In the *Gregorian Sacramentary* the laying on of the hand gives place to the raising of the hand. In later orders the raising or extending of the hand is sometimes accompanied by the formula ‘*Spiritus sanctus superveniat*,’ etc., the prayer for the septiform Spirit following, and a formula more or less resembling the Gelasian being used with the signing. Of the latter the latest form is that which Pope Eugenius IV. (*Decr. pro Armen.*) declared to be the ‘form’ of the sacrament.

28. In the *Canons of Hippolytus*, and in most later Orders in which confirmation immediately follows baptism, the communion of the neophytes is enjoined. The communion commonly followed baptism when confirmation was deferred, though it is sometimes ordered with the reservation that it is to be administered only if the neophytes are of suitable age. Two ceremonies anciently followed confirmation (*Can. Hipp.*)—the kissing of the neophyte, with the words, ‘The Lord be with you,’ and the giving of milk and honey. The former has disappeared from all later Orders, but the memory of it is preserved in the words ‘*Pax vobiscum*’ after the chrismation. The latter continued till the 6th cent. (Joan. Diac. *op. cit.* 12). The bishop has always been the minister of confirmation in the Rom. Church, though apparently Innocent I. (*ut supra*) permitted priests to confirm in cases of necessity if authorized to do so by the bishop. The bishop has also always consecrated the chrism (but see Joan. Diac. *op. cit.* 8).

29. The mingling of Roman and Gallican rites.—In early centuries the Rom. rite was used only in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. That it had not been adopted in the Gr. district of Lucania at the end of the 5th cent. is easily understood (Gelas. *Ep.* ix. 6, 10); but it is more surprising that at the beginning of the same cent. Pope Innocent I. should find it necessary to urge a bishop of Umbria to bring the customs of his diocese into conformity with those of Rome. From his letter to Decentius (416) it may be gathered that at Eugubium (Gubbio) the consecration of the chrism was not reserved to the bishops, and that presbyters anointed the baptized with chrism (apparently on

the forehead) and laid hands upon them, with an invocation of the Spirit. Thus in Eugubium (c. 400) the baptismal rite was of the Gallican type (cf. Leo, *Ep.* 168). Innocent compromised matters with Decentius by suffering the chrismation by the priest to remain, provided it was not on the forehead, and provided the baptized was subsequently confirmed in Rom. fashion by the bishop. One result of his letter, which was widely quoted as an authoritative document, was, no doubt, the modification of Gallican usage in a Rome-ward direction in many places; another was the introduction into the Rom. baptismal office of the post-baptismal chrismation. The Western rite, in fact, combines the Gallican and the earlier Rom. confirmation Orders, which suffices to explain the anxiety of Gallican writers like Rabanus Maurus (*de Cler. Inst.* i. 28-30; cf. Theodulf, *de Ord. Bapt.* 14; Jesse of Amiens, *Ep. de bapt.* [P.L. cv. 790]), not long after the suppression of the Gallican customs, to distinguish the spiritual effect of the two chrismations, assuming that each of them conveyed a gift of the Spirit. The phenomenon is not unlike that which presents itself in the rites of Western Syria (above, §§ 11, 13, 15). The consequence of the interaction of the Rom. and Gallican rites, exemplified in this striking case, is that the present Latin confirmation rite is not purely Roman, though it is not now possible to distinguish in all cases those features which were developed within the Rom. Church from others which may have been imported from without. Cf. the following article.

30. The separation of confirmation from baptism.—For many centuries in the West, confirmation has been divided from baptism by a considerable interval. The beginning of this separation of the rites may be traced to the 3rd cent., when the validity of heretical confirmation was denied even by those who admitted the validity of heretical baptism (but see E. W. Benson, *Cyprian*, 1897, p. 420). By them persons baptized in heresy, when they joined the Catholic Church, were admitted by a ceremony analogous to, if not identical with, confirmation. Later on we find cases contemplated in which confirmation at the time of baptism was impossible, either because the minister was a deacon or a layman, or because the baptizing priest had no chrism (C. Elib. cc. 38, 77; C. Araus. i. c. 2). But the practice of administering confirmation apart from baptism in ordinary cases had a different origin. The Rom. tradition of restricting the administration of confirmation to bishops involved its postponement in the case of all persons baptized by a priest in the absence of the bishop. This, of course, became more frequent as the Church spread beyond the cities, as bishops became fewer in proportion to the number of Christians, and infant baptism became the rule. It was already common at the end of the 4th cent. (Jerome, *loc. cit.*; cf. Anon. *de Re-baptismate*, 4f.). But the separation of the rites did not become universal in the West for many centuries, and, when confirmation was postponed, it was usually only deferred till the offices of a bishop could be had. If it was not administered in infancy, the delay was due to the negligence of parents or of the bishops themselves. On the eve of the Reformation, infant confirmation was still the normal practice (see, e.g., Tindale, *Answer to More*, 1531, ed. Parker Soc., 1860, p. 72). At a much earlier period, however, there was a movement towards admitting to confirmation only those of more mature age (Gratian, *Decr.* III. v. 6; Syn. Colonien. 1280, c. 5), and in the latter part of the 16th cent. it became the rule, both in the Rom. and in the Anglican Communion, that candidates for confirmation should have come to years of discretion (Eng. Pr. Bk.; *Cat. ad paroch.* ii. 2, § 8; cf. *CQR* xxiii. 72ff.).

For information about modern offices of confirmation and substitutes therefor, in the Reformed Communions, it must suffice to refer to the works named at the close of the following list of authorities, and to art. BAPTISM (Later Chr.), vol. ii. p. 404.

LITERATURE.—F. H. Chase, *Confirmation in the Apost. Age*, Lond. 1909; A. J. Mason, *The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*, Lond. 1898; L. Duchesne, *Orig. du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1898 (Eng. tr. *Chr. Worship*, 1903); H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Würzburg, 1863, vol. i., and *Enchiridion symbol. et defin.*, Freiburg, 1903; J. A. Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus Basilicæ Universalis*, Rome, 1749, vols. i.-iii.; E. Martène de Ant. Eccl. Ritibus, Antwerp, 1700; A. J. Maclean, *The Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910, ch. vi.; G. Dietrich, *Die nestor. Taufliturgie*, Giessen, 1903; R. H. Connolly, 'The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai' (*TS* viii. [1909]); F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1906, *The Key of Truth*, Oxford, 1898; F. E. Brightman, 'Sacramentary of Serapion' (*JThSt* i. [1899-1900] 88); Procter-Frere, *New Hist. of Book of Com. Prayer*, Lond. 1906, ch. xiv.; J. Dowden, *Workmanship of the Pr. Bk.*, Lond. 1899, pp. 33-37; *Further Studies in the Pr. Bk.*, Lond. 1908, ch. xii.; J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Com. Prayer*, new ed. 1903; W. Caspari, *Die evangel. Konfirmation, vornehmlich in der lutherischen Kirche*, Leipzig, 1890.

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CONFIRMATION (Roman Catholic).—As a supplement to the data furnished in the preceding article, the following points illustrating the position of Confirmation in the present teaching and practice of the Roman Catholic Church seem worthy of note:—

1. Dogmatic tenets.—The doctrine according to which Confirmation is named as the second of seven Sacraments is clearly enunciated at least as early as the middle of the 12th century. In a sermon which is put into the mouth of St. Otto, Bishop of Bamberg († 1139), by his biographer Herbold (c. 1159), the preacher, addressing the newly baptized Pomeranians, discourses at some length of the seven Sacraments. Enumerating them in their order, he says:

'The second Sacrament is Confirmation, that is, the anointing with chrism on the forehead. This Sacrament is necessary for those that are to conquer, to wit, that they be protected and armed by the strengthening of the Holy Spirit, as they will have to fight against all the temptations and corruptions of this present life. Neither is this rite to be deferred until old age, as some suppose, but it is to be received in the vigour of youth itself, because that age is more exposed to temptation' (Pertz, *MGH* xxii. 783).

Most of this doctrine, including the sevenfold number of the Sacraments, can be shown to have been taught by Radulfus Ardens fifty years earlier, in his as yet unprinted *Speculum Universale* (see Grabmann, *Gesch. der scholast. Methode*, i. 259), but much vagueness still prevailed regarding the nature and definition of a Sacrament. A decretal of Innocent III. in 1204, included in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Friedberg, Leipzig, 1876-80, ii. 133), outlines further the main points upon which stress was laid by scholastic theologians both before and after the Council of Trent.

'By the unction,' he says, 'of the forehead with chrism (*per frontis chrismationem*) is denoted the imposition of hands, which is otherwise called Confirmation, because by this means the Holy Spirit is bestowed for increase and strength. Hence, while a simple priest (*sacerdos vel presbyter*) may perform other unctions, this ought not to be administered by any one but a high priest, that is to say a bishop, seeing it is recorded of the Apostles alone, whose vicars the bishops are, that they conferred the Holy Spirit by the imposition of hands' (cf. *Ac* 8:14ff.).

During the Council of Florence (1438-1445), a bull was issued by Eugenius IV., known as the *Decretum pro Armenis*. This, taken as a whole, was not so much a dogmatic decree, defining points of faith, as an instruction to secure uniformity of practice. A portion of it, which consists of a compendious treatise on the Sacraments, is taken almost word for word from an opusculum of St. Thomas Aquinas, *De fidei articulis et septem sacramentis*. The 'matter' of the Sacrament is declared to be chrism, i.e. oil mixed with balsam, and the 'form' to be the words, 'I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and I confirm thee with the chrism of salvation in the name of the Father and

of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,' spoken both then and now by the bishop in administering the unction. In view, however, of the imperfectly dogmatic nature of the *Decretum pro Armenis*, this decision is not held to be an infallible pronouncement. On the contrary, the more commonly accepted view regards the act of unction as itself constituting an imposition of hands, so that the 'matter' comprises both the unction with chrism and the laying on of hands.¹

The most prevalent theory, then, concerning Confirmation regards the 'outward sign' of the Sacrament as consisting in the act of the bishop, who makes the sign of the cross with chrism upon the candidate's forehead, whilst he pronounces the words already quoted. The Council of Trent, in its systematic review of Sacramental doctrine, is very guarded in its affirmations concerning Confirmation. It contents itself with declaring that it is 'truly and properly a sacrament,' and 'one of the seven, all of which were instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord.' It denies that 'it was in olden days nothing else but a sort of catechism in which those who were entering upon youth gave an account of their faith in the presence of the Church.' It condemns those (Reformers) who had declared that to attribute any virtue to the chrism used in Confirmation was an outrage to the Holy Ghost. It also rejected the view that every simple priest could administer the Sacrament; but, by pronouncing that a bishop was 'the ordinary minister,' it tolerated the practice by which simple priests in special cases receive from the Holy See faculties to confirm. Finally, the Council declares (Sess. vii. can. 9) that 'in Confirmation a character is imprinted in the soul, that is, a certain spiritual and indelible sign, on account of which the Sacrament cannot be repeated.' It will be observed that this leaves many questions open. In particular, nothing is said as to the time and manner of the institution by Christ, whether direct or indirect; and no definition is given regarding the matter and form—for example, as to whether the use of chrism is essential to the validity of the Sacrament.

Of late years another pronouncement, which, however, is not usually regarded as possessing infallible authority, has been made in the decree of the Inquisition, *Lamentabili sane*, of 3rd July 1907. This, in its 44th heading, condemns the following proposition as an error, viz., 'there is no proof that the rite of the Sacrament of Confirmation was employed by the Apostles; while the formal distinction between the two Sacraments, Baptism and Confirmation, has no place in the history of primitive Christianity' (Denzinger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion*¹⁰, Freiburg, 1908, n. 2044).

Lastly, it should be noticed that, according to the teaching outlined in the above-mentioned *Decretum pro Armenis*, and universally held by Catholic theologians, the Sacrament of Baptism is *vita spiritualis janua*, and consequently no other Sacrament can take effect except in the case of those who have first been admitted to the life of supernatural grace through these portals. Hence it follows that, if Confirmation should precede Baptism, it would be invalid.

2. Adjustment of theory to historical fact.—It must be sufficiently obvious that, accepting the foregoing as a summary of approved Roman teaching upon the Sacrament of Confirmation, some

¹ This point of view may be curiously paralleled by some of the prayers of the early coronation rituals, in which the sovereign is described by the officiant prelate as receiving his crown *per impositionem manus nostræ* (e.g. in Legg, *Three Coronation Orders*, Henry Bradshaw Soc., 1900, p. 62); and it is supported by the wording of the *Professio Fidei* of Michael Palæologus, drafted at the Second Council of Lyons (1274), which speaks of the *sacramentum confirmationis quod per manus impositionem episcoporum conferunt chrismando renatos*.

explanations are needed to bring these tenets into accord with the facts of early Church history set forth in the preceding article. Attention may be directed, in particular, to the following points:—

(1) Although Trent teaches that Confirmation, like all the other Sacraments, was instituted by Christ, nothing is positively laid down concerning the manner of that institution, i.e. whether immediate or mediate, whether in *genere* or in *specie*. Modern theological opinion seems to favour the view that Christ did Himself immediately institute all the Sacraments (i.e. that we do not owe their institution to the Church, acting upon His general commission), but that He did not Himself give them all to the Church fully constituted. As a recent authority puts the matter:

'On some Sacraments particularly essential to Christianity, Baptism and Holy Eucharist for example, Christ explained Himself completely, so that the Church has had from the very beginning full and entire consciousness of these sacramental rites. As to the rest, the Saviour laid down their essential principles, leaving to development to show the Apostles and the Church what the Divine Master wished to accomplish. . . . In other words, Jesus instituted immediately and explicitly Baptism and Holy Eucharist; He instituted immediately but implicitly the five other Sacraments' (Pourrat, *Theol. of the Sacraments*, Eng. tr. p. 301 f.).

(2) It would be readily conceded that, in the case of such a Sacrament as Confirmation, the historical evidence is in some respects imperfect and obscure. The Church does not claim to clear up all the dark passages, but she claims to supplement by supernatural guidance and theological reasoning the data which we owe to natural research.

(3) With regard to the early recognition of the gift of the Holy Spirit as a distinct rite following Baptism, great stress is usually laid by Roman Catholic theologians, and deservedly, upon the opening of the heavens and the descent of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove upon our Saviour after His baptism in the Jordan. This, taken in combination with the NT passages cited in §§ 2 and 3 of the preceding article, seems to provide a sound historical foundation for such an immediate but implicit institution of the Sacrament by Christ as has just been spoken of.

(4) The extensive treatment which, following Connolly's *Homilies of Narsai*, pp. xlii-xlix, has been given to the peculiarities of the ancient Syrian rite in the preceding article (§§ 7 and 8), tends to obscure the very local character of the observances by which the gift of the Spirit seems to be connected with unctions preceding baptism. At Jerusalem itself, where the testimony of St. Cyril is explicit, as well as at Constantinople, Alexandria, Northern Africa, Rome, and throughout the West, we find full and clear historical evidence which not only establishes the practice of conferring the Holy Spirit after baptism, either by unction or by imposition of hands, but points to a very marked consciousness of the distinction between the two rites; in other words, to the recognition of Confirmation as a sanctification of a separate order, often conferred by a separate minister. For a discussion of this subject the reader may be referred to Dölger, *Das Sakrament der Firmung*, while the same writer, in an article in the *Röm. Quartalschrift* (1905, pp. 1-41), has dealt with the archaeological evidence of early date, which establishes the existence in many places, e.g. at Naples, Rome, and Salona in Dalmatia, of a separate Confirmation chapel (*consignatorium, chrismarium*) distinct from the baptistery. In the Syrian Church, however, the accounts given of the unction, e.g. the lengthy discussion of Narsai himself, do not seem to remove it from the category of a mere ceremony subsidiary to baptism, while the effort made in the *Apostolic Constitutions* to alter the Syrian practice, introduc-

ing an unction with chrism after baptism (see Connolly, p. xlvii), points to a consciousness that the former practice was fundamentally incomplete. Or, can it be that, after all, a post-baptismal unction was in use, although for some unaccountable reason it is not formally spoken of in the Syrian texts? It is certainly strange that, as has been pointed out by A. J. Maclean (*JThSt*, Jan. 1910, p. 316), 'in the present East Syrian rite the post-baptismal anointing is not explicitly mentioned, though it is usually administered in practice.'

(5) With regard to many other points—e.g. the alleged re-administration of Confirmation when heretics were reconciled to the Church (see previous article, §§ 22 and 30), the reservation to the bishop of the power of consecrating the chrism, or, again, the history of the introduction of the unctions with the 'oil of catechumens' and chrism, which now precede and follow the administration of baptism in the Roman rite—it is submitted that our ancient authorities do not speak with sufficient clearness to warrant any certain conclusions. Much difference of opinion upon such matters exists even among writers of the same theological sympathies.

3. Modern liturgical details.—Two or three details of the ritual prescribed in the *Pontificale Romanum* call for brief comment.

(1) The bishop holds his hands out over the candidates while saying certain preliminary prayers. This action was formerly considered by some to constitute a *manuum impositio*, and to be of the essence of the rite.

(2) The candidates—it is not now the custom to confirm children before they are seven or eight years old—are presented to the bishop by a godfather or godmother, according to sex. This practice seems, however, to date back to the time when Confirmation was administered immediately after Baptism, at which period the same godparents served for both ceremonies.

(3) A curious rubric, still printed, though obsolete in practice, directs that the candidate who is not an infant shall place his foot upon the foot of the godfather. This seems to be a vestige of some feudal practice of commendation, and may be compared with a similar practice in Teutonic marriages (cf. Grimm, *Deut. Rechtsalterthümer*, Berlin, 1881, pp. 142, 155-156, and Weinhold, *Deutsche Frauen*², Vienna, 1882, ii. 40 ff.).

(4) After the unction, the bishop is directed to give the newly confirmed a slight blow on the cheek, with the words *Pax tecum*. This is most probably an imitation of the blow by which knighthood was conferred (cf. the *Ordo* 'De Benedictione Novi Militie,' in the *Pontificale Romanum*; and Martene, *de Antiq. Eccles. Ritibus*, Venice, 1783, ii. 240). But there is perhaps something also to be said for the view that the blow may have originally been given to the child to impress upon his mind the fact of his confirmation (cf. Tougard in *Précis historiques*, Jan. 1888; Heuser in *Amer. Eccles. Review*, May 1889; and F. Brenner, *Verrichtung der Firmung*, p. 68), much as the boys of the parish were formerly whipped at specified places on the occasion of the 'beating of the bounds.' An early instance, before 1200, of the mention of such a blow in administering confirmation occurs in the Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, vii. 95).

LITERATURE.—The best historical account is that of F. J. Dölger, *Das Sakrament der Firmung*, Vienna, 1906. A very full treatment of the subject is also given by various critics in Vacant-Mangenot, *Dict. de théol. cathol.*, Paris, 1905, iii. 975-1108. Consult also Chardon, *Hist. des sacrements*, Paris, 1745; N. Gühr, *Die heil. Sakramente*, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1899; B. Nepefny, *Die Firmung*, Passau, 1869; Van Noort, *Tract. de Sacramentis*, Amsterdam, 1905; M. Grabmann, *Gesch. der scholast. Methode*, Freiburg, 1909; P. Pourrat, *La Théol. sacramentaire*³, Paris, 1909 (Eng. tr., St. Louis, Mo., 1910); F. Brenner, *Geschichte*.

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HERBERT THURSTON.

CONFORMITY.—The ethical question regarding conformity is, How far may a man, from regard to the feelings or authority of others, consent in outward action to what, apart from such regard, he is not inwardly convinced is right or true, or what he is even inwardly convinced is not right or true—more shortly, How far may a man conceal or act against his own inward conviction, in deference to the feelings of other persons or to external authority? Such a question cannot be simply set aside as illegitimate, unless we are prepared to assert for certain abstract formulæ of duty (e.g. that we ought to speak the truth) a kind of absoluteness which ignores the social ends to which all duties are relative, and ignores also the way in which a general rule, valid under ordinary and tacitly assumed conditions, may be modified or abrogated by the presence of extraordinary conditions not contemplated in the general statement. No one would seriously contend, e.g., that the duty of promise-keeping requires the promiser not to stop even to save a drowning man's life, if by so doing he would have to break an appointment. On the other hand, it is evident that our question is, as it has been called (Morley, *On Compromise*), 'a question of boundaries,' a question involving a conflict of duties. And, so far as the decision of such questions turns upon the infinite variety and subtle details of personal relations between individuals, ethical science can have nothing to say beyond the vaguest generalities, such as that, on the one hand, we ought not unnecessarily to wound other people's feelings, or that, on the other, we ought not to suppress our convictions except for grave reasons. It is difficult, e.g., to see how the writer just quoted is entitled to say, so emphatically as he does, that 'one relationship in life, and one only, justifies us in being silent where otherwise it would be right to speak; this relationship is that between child and parents' (*op. cit.* p. 165). If we take a duty such as that of a son to support and care for his parents in old age, it is obvious that the duty is one which falls upon a son as such: the relationship is the very basis of the duty. But we can hardly say the same of the duty of suppressing one's convictions: here the relationship seems to require only that added degree of deference which a son will naturally pay to his parents' opinions in all relations of life. And, if so, it is surely paradoxical to contend that a like deference is not equally obligatory in the more intimate relation of husband and wife.

It would seem, then, that the only cases in which we can look for a definite development of ethical doctrine in regard to conformity—as distinguished from mere casuistical discussion—are those in which some external authority has a peculiar claim upon our conformity, in a sense analogous to that in which parents have a peculiar claim to their boy's obedience or to their adult son's support. The two authorities which most evidently possess such a claim, and whose claims most need discussion, are the State and the Church. How far is a citizen morally permitted or obliged to obey legal injunctions of whose nature or objects he disapproves? How far, e.g., is military service to be obligatory upon a Quaker, payment of Church rates upon a Dissenter? And the question of obligation is, of course, both accentuated and modified when the citizen is himself an official of the State acting as such; e.g., how

far is a soldier or a subordinate officer, when ordered to fire upon a mob, relieved from all moral responsibility by the fact of his superior's command? Very similar questions are raised by the Church's claim to authority. How far may a layman, and still more a clergyman, subscribe a creed which he does not fully or literally believe?

All that can be attempted here is to point out some of the more general considerations which must be kept steadily in view if these questions are to be adequately discussed. In the first place, we must put aside as an empty truism—irrelevant or even question-begging—the assertion that a man must at all costs obey his conscience. For our problem is precisely to determine what, in the above cases, conscience really commands. We cannot, then, from the ethical point of view, start with a deliverance of conscience as a fixed datum. (From the political point of view, the ruler must needs take the conscience of any section of his subjects as a datum to be reckoned with. Not that he is obliged to give way to their conscience if he thinks them wrong,—for the sanctity of conscience can extend, in any ultimate sense, no further than the amount of moral truth which it apprehends,—but he must take it into account as one of the data of his problem. A Christian ruler might be very unwise in trying to enforce monogamy on a Muhammadan population, and yet the United States be entirely justified in putting down Mormonism.) In the second place, we must be on our guard against a fallacy into which we are likely to fall, if we begin by considering what the individual's duty would be, apart from his relation to the external authority, and then bring in this relation as a modifying circumstance. For we are then apt to think of the relation as *merely* a modifying circumstance, in the sense of being essentially subordinate to the abstract rule of duty. That is to say, we are apt to assume beforehand that the relation to the external authority *cannot* be important enough to alter the whole character of the duty. And thus, by the very form in which we put our question, we already go far to prejudice the answer. It would be absurd, *e.g.*, to begin the consideration of the duty of military service in time of war by laying down that we may not kill a man who has done no wrong, and then go on to ask whether we may break this rule at the command of the State. If, with Tolstoi, we begin by putting the question in this form, we have already committed ourselves, tacitly or by implication, to that denial of the value and authority of the State as an institution to which he proceeds to give open expression (*Kingdom of God is within you*, 1894, ch. vii.). But, on any less extravagant view than his, it is impossible for the citizen of a State, that is to say, the institution on which the whole system of law and order in life practically depends, to treat his relation to the State in any matter of public duty as a mere qualifying circumstance to be taken into account *after* his duty has been *otherwise* determined. In any matter of public duty the real question at issue as regards conformity is always this, Do I think the *particular human interest*¹ that is endangered by conformity so vital, that I, with others of like mind, am prepared to endanger, by our refusal of service or our passive resistance or our active rebellion, the institution on which the *whole fabric of human interests* depends? This, at any rate, is the question of principle. To say, with regard to a par-

ticular case, that no such danger to the State is likely to ensue, is (1) to admit that the interest, however important in itself, is a narrow one; and (2) to ignore the fact that the State depends on a *universal habit* of obedience, which is undermined in some degree by every example of disobedience. If, then, the citizen cannot answer the above question of principle in the affirmative, he does no wrong by conformity—provided always, of course, that in his capacity as a citizen he uses all lawful means to secure the particular interest endangered.

We have illustrated the duty of conformity, as regards the ordinary citizen, from the supposed case of a citizen required to serve in the army. It is worth while to illustrate the duty of an official of the State from the corresponding case of a soldier required, *e.g.*, to fire on a mob. For it is interesting to observe that our English system of law commits in practice, and in an even aggravated form, the same mistake as that to which we have objected in theory. It treats the soldier's special duty of obedience to military law as a mere qualifying circumstance in relation to his general civic duty to obey the ordinary law of the land; or, rather, it says he must obey both laws, and choose as best he can which to obey when they conflict. Hence 'he may . . . be liable to be shot by a court-martial if he disobeys an order, and to be hanged by a judge and jury if he obeys it' (Dicey, *Law of the Constitution*², 1902, p. 298, and cf. case cited p. 297, note 4). In the actual working of the legal machinery the absurdity of this situation is, of course, largely relieved by reliance on the common sense of a jury and by the power of the Crown 'to nullify the effect of an unjust conviction by means of a pardon' (Dicey, p. 301). But the situation illustrates very well the practical consequences of the theoretical error.

The question of religious conformity differs from that of civic in this respect, that membership of a Church is voluntary in a sense in which citizenship is not. We ought not, indeed, to exaggerate this difference, for in the case of a person of strong religious convictions, and of (what may be roughly called) 'high' Church views, it may amount to very little in practice. We can hardly wonder, *e.g.*, at the submission with which Roman Catholic disbelievers in Papal Infallibility received the decree, when the choice lay between submission and excommunication. Provided that we recognize, however, that Protestants and Nonconformists are, in the very nature of the case, disposed to take a less grave view of schism in the ecclesiastical sphere than the secular moralist must take of rebellion in the civic sphere, the question of principle and the general considerations to be kept in view are otherwise similar. If we begin by assuming that the repetition of a creed in a church service is to be judged like an ordinary assertion made with reference to a simple matter of fact in words chosen by ourselves, and that subscription to a creed is to be judged like an ordinary promise made with reference to a particular act in terms chosen by ourselves, and that the only question as regards conformity, accordingly, is whether and how far we may relax the ordinary rules of truth-speaking and promise-keeping in church matters without bad results, we simply prejudice the answer from the outset. We may as well go on to repudiate creeds and Churches altogether, as Tolstoi repudiates the State. Argument about the function of a creed and the adequacy of actual creeds does not fall within the scope of this article, any more than argument about unity and schism. So it will here be simply assumed that the kind of creed with which we are practically concerned is to be regarded as a traditional symbol of the Church's

¹ It might be objected that what is endangered by war is, not a particular human interest, but the sanctity of human life in general. But the objection simply repeats the original fallacy. There is no World-Empire which could assert the sanctity of human life against warring States, and therefore we have to choose, not between a cosmopolitan and a civic patriotism, but between a civic patriotism and anarchy.

faith, and is to be interpreted by the authority of the present-day Church itself. From the point of view thus assumed we must regard such an accusation as that of 'hard, flat, unmistakable falsehood' (Sidgwick, in the controversy referred to in literature below), brought against clergymen who do not accept certain propositions in the Apostles' Creed in their literal sense, as analogous to the accusation of murder brought against soldiers who, under orders, fire on an enemy or on a riotous mob. The only objective definition of the extent of the clergyman's obligation is that which is given to it by the authoritative organs of the Church's government. And if he satisfies his own ecclesiastical superiors, outsiders have no right to apply to his action a standard which implicitly sets aside the Church's authority. We need not, of course, deny that a Church would do well to revise a creed which in any considerable measure has ceased to afford an adequate expression of its faith. But this is a question of the Church's obligation rather than of the individual clergyman's. Just as a citizen may—within wide limits—rightly conform to a law which he thinks unjust, so too a churchman may—within corresponding, if perhaps narrower, limits—rightly conform to a creed that contains propositions which he thinks untrue (whether in a historical or in a religious sense)—provided always, of course, that the churchman, like the citizen, has used all lawful means to have the evil remedied.

A special difficulty is caused by the fact, just alluded to, that propositions may be true in a religious sense, while false in a literal, historical, or scientific sense; or, to put the distinction in a less objectionable or ambiguous way, a proposition intended to express a genuine religious truth, which the believer does accept, may express it in a form which he is unable to accept, not because of any religious reason, but because the proposition so formulated combines the genuine religious truth with other statements neither true nor religious; e.g., to very many religious persons the Divinity of Christ is inconceivable apart from His miraculous birth, but to others 'it is just blasphemy to suppose that the divinity of a man who comes nearer to God than other men consists in some abnormality of his physical organization' (Nettleship, *Philosophical Remains*, 1897, p. 105; cf. whole Letter). If the Church at large enforces the former view, while the individual takes the latter, the case is specially hard, because the individual then finds himself expelled from the communion of the Church, although he is not conscious of any real or religious divergence from its faith. See also art. NONCONFORMITY.

LITERATURE.—On the general ethical principles: T. H. Green, *Proleg. to Ethics*, Oxford, 1883, bk. iv. ch. ii., and *Princ. of Polit. Obligation* (reprinted from *Works*, vol. ii.), Lond. 1895, especially sect. H. On conformity generally: J. Morley, *On Compromise*, Lond. 1877 (often reprinted). On the ethics of religious conformity: an interesting discussion between J. Sidgwick and H. Rashdall in *J.E.*, vol. vi. and vii., 1896-7, continued by Sidgwick, *Practical Ethics*, Lond. 1898, pp. 142 ff., and T. O. Smith, *J.E.*, vol. x. **HENRY BARKER.**

CONFUCIAN RELIGION.—The Confucian religion is the ancient religion of China, the worship of the Universe by worship of its parts and phenomena. In the age of Han, two centuries before and two after the birth of Christ, that Universalism divided itself into two branches—Taoism and Confucianism, and simultaneously Buddhism was grafted upon it. Buddhism probably found its way into China principally in the universalistic form which is called Mahāyāna, so that it could live and thrive perfectly upon the congeneric stem. And so we have in China three religions, as three branches upon one root or trunk, which is Universalism.

The Chinese Empire was created in the 3rd cent. B.C., when the mighty Shi Hwang, of the Ts'ing dynasty, which had ruled in the north-west since the 9th cent. B.C., destroyed in streams of blood the complex of States which, up to that time, had existed in the birthplace of higher East Asian culture, the home of Confucius and Mencius. But the House of Ts'ing did not exist long enough to organize the great creation of this first Emperor of China. It collapsed after a few years, giving place to the glorious House of Han, which maintained itself and its throne till the 3rd cent. A.D. This dynasty, in organizing the enormous young Empire, built up a political constitution, naturally and systematically taking for its guide the principles, rules, and precedents of the old time, that is to say, the ancient literature, in so far as it was not irrecoverably lost in the flames which Shi Hwang, in a frenzy of pride, had kindled to devour it. With a view to the completion of this gigantic task of organization, this classical literature was sought for, restored, emended, commented upon, and thus there arose a classical, ultra-conservative State-constitution, which, handed down as an heirloom to all succeeding dynasties, exists to this day. The religious elements contained in the classics were necessarily incorporated with that constitution, together with the political, seeing that everything contained in the classics was to be preserved and developed as a holy institution of the ancients; in other words, those religious elements became the State religion. This is, in consequence, now fully two thousand years old. Its basal principle, Universalism, is, of course, older, much older than the classical books by which it has been preserved. As is the case with many origins, that of China's Universalism is lost in the darkness of antiquity.

With the classical books the name of Confucius is inseparably associated. Five are called *King*; the others are called *Shu*. Certainly Confucius did not write them all; they belong partly to a much older, partly to a later, period. He is held to have written only one *King*, the *Ch'un-t's'u*. Three other *Kings*, called the *Shu*, or Book of History, the *Shi*, or Songs, and the *Yih*, or Natural Mutations, he is said merely to have compiled or edited; and even this may not be true. In the books which constitute the fifth *King*, entitled *Li-ki*, or Memorials on Social Laws and Rites, he and his disciples are mentioned so frequently that this classic appears to have been composed from information about him, and from sayings originating with himself. The four *Shu* originated almost entirely with disciples of the sage; they contain sayings, doctrines, and conversations of their master, mostly of an ethical and political complexion. The titles are: *Lun-yü*, or Discourses and Conversations; *Chung-yung*, or Doctrine of the Mean; *T'ai-hioh*, or Great Study; and *Meng-tszé*, or (Works of) Mencius.

We may then just as well call Confucianism Classicism, and the classics the holy books or bibles of Confucianism. Universalism, which it represents, is known by the name of Taoism. Indeed, its starting-point is the Tao, which means the 'Road' or 'Way,' that is to say, the road in which the Universe moves, its method and processes, its conduct and operation, the complex of phenomena regularly recurring in it—in short, the Order of the World, Nature, or Natural Order. Actually, it is in the main the annual rotation of the seasons, the process of renovation and decay of Nature; and it may, accordingly, be called Time, the creator and destroyer. According to the classics, Tao is the *Yang* and the *Yin*, the two cosmic souls or breaths which represent the male and the female part of the Universe,

assimilated respectively with the fructifying Heavens, and with the Earth which they fructify, as also with heat and cold, light and darkness. The vicissitudes of these souls, indeed, every year produce the seasons and their phenomena.

Universalism defines the Yang as a supreme universal *shen*, or deity, living, creating, which divides itself into an infinite number of *shen*, and deposes them into beings; and it defines the Yin as a universal *kwei*, likewise divisible into myriads of particles, each of which, in a man, may form his other soul. Accordingly, creation is a continuous emanation or effusion, and destruction a never ceasing re-absorption, of particles of the Yang and the Yin. These particles, the *shen* and *kwei*, are innumerable. The Universe is crowded with them in all its parts. A *shen*, being a part of the Yang, or the beatific half of the Universe, is a good spirit or a god, and a *kwei*, belonging to the Yin, is, as a rule, a spirit of evil, a spectre, a devil, or demon. As there is no power beyond the Tao, there is no good in the Universe but that which comes from the *shen*, no evil but that which the *kwei* cause or inflict.

We may, accordingly, say that Confucianism is a universalistic Animism, polytheistic and polydemonistic. The gods are such *shen* as animate heaven, the sun and moon, the stars, wind, rain, clouds, thunder, the earth, mountains, rivers, etc.; in particular also the *shen* of deceased men are gods. And *kwei* swarm everywhere; this is a dogma as true as the existence of the Yin, as true also as the existence of the Tao, or Order of the World. They perform in that Order the part of distributors of evil, thus exercising a dominant influence over human fate. But, since the Yang is high above the Yin, as high as heaven which belongs to it is above the earth, Heaven is the chief *shen*, or god, who rules and controls all spectres and their actions; and so theology has this great dogma, that no spirits harm men without the authorization of Heaven or its silent consent. They are, accordingly, Heaven's agents for punishing the bad; and this dogma is a principal article in the Confucian system of ethics.

1. Because the Emperor stands at the head of the realm, nay, of the whole earth, he is the head of the State religion. He acknowledges the superiority only of Heaven, whose son he is. Heaven is the natural protector of his throne and house, which would unavoidably perish if, by wicked conduct, he forfeited Heaven's favour. Heaven is the highest god that exists, there being in the Chinese system no god beyond the world, no maker of it, no Jahweh, no Allah. It bears to this hour its old classical names, *T'ien*, Heaven; *Ti*, Emperor; or *Shang-ti*, Supreme Emperor (cf. also vol. iii. p. 549 f.).

The most important sacrifice offered to this god takes place on the night of the winter-solstice, an important moment in the Order of the World, when Heaven's beneficent influence is re-born, because the Yang, or light and heat, then begins to increase after having descended to its lowest ebb. The sacrifice is presented on the so-called Round Eminence (*yen k'iu*), also known as the Altar of Heaven (*T'ien tan*), which stands to the south of the Tatar city. This altar, quite open to the sky, is composed of three circular marble terraces of different diameters, placed one above the other, all provided with marble balustrades, and accessible by staircases which exactly face the four chief points of the compass. At the northern and eastern sides there are buildings for various purposes. A wide area, partly a park with gigantic trees, and surrounded by high walls, lies around this altar, which is the largest in the world. On the longest night of the year,

the Emperor proceeds to the altar, escorted by princes, grandees, officers, and troops, to the number of many hundreds. Everybody is in the richest ceremonial dress. The spectacle, illuminated by the scanty light of large torches, is most imposing. Every magnate, minister, and mandarin has his assigned place on the altar and its terraces, or on the marble pavement which surrounds it. On the upper terrace, a large tablet, inscribed 'Imperial Heaven, Supreme Emperor,' stands in a shrine on the north side, and faces due south. In two rows, facing east and west, are shrines which contain tablets of the ancestors of the Emperor. Before each tablet a variety of sacrificial food is placed—soup, meat, fish, dates, chest-nuts, rice, vegetables, spirits, etc., all conformably to ancient classical precedent and tradition. On the second terrace are tablets for the spirits of the sun, the moon, the Great Bear, the five planets, the twenty-eight principal constellations, and the host of stars; furthermore, there are those of the winds, clouds, rain, and thunder. Before these tablets are dishes and baskets with sacrificial articles. Cows, goats, and swine have been slaughtered for all those offerings, and, while the ceremonies are proceeding, a bullock or heifer is burning on a pyre as a special offering to high heaven. The Emperor, who has purified himself for the solemnity by fasting, is led up the altar by the southern flight of steps, which on both sides is crowded by dignitaries. Directors of the ceremonies guide him, and loudly proclaim every action or rite which he has to perform. The spirit of Heaven is invited, by means of a hymn accompanied by sacred music, to descend and settle in the tablet. Before this tablet, and subsequently before those of his ancestors, the Emperor offers incense, jade, silk, broth, and rice-spirits. He humbly kneels, and knocks his forehead against the pavement several times. A grandee reads a statutory prayer in a loud voice, and several officials offer incense, silk, and spirits to the tablets of the sun, moon, stars, clouds, rain, wind, and thunder. Finally, the sacrificial gifts are carried away, thrown into furnaces, and burned.

This Imperial sacrifice is probably the most pompous worship which ever has been paid on this earth to a divinity of Nature. It is attended by a large body of musicians and religious dancers, performing at every important moment.

In the same vast altar-park there is, to the north of the Round Eminence, another altar of the same form, but of smaller dimensions, bearing a large circular building with dome or cupola, called *ki nien tien*, or 'temple where prayers are sent up for a good year,' that is to say, for an abundant harvest throughout the Empire. Here a sacrifice is offered by the Emperor to Heaven and to his ancestors, in the first decade of the first month of the year; while, to obtain seasonable rains for the crops, a sacrifice is presented in the same building, in the first month of the summer, to the same tablets, as also to those of rain, thunder, clouds, and winds. This ceremony is repeated if rains do not fall in due time or sufficiently copiously. These sacrifices are mostly performed by princes or ministers, as proxies of the Son of Heaven.

The ritual for all the State sacrifices is similar to that for Heaven, but the pomp and offerings vary with the rank of the gods.

Next to Heaven in the series of State divinities is Earth, called officially *Hu-t'u*, or 'Empress Earth,' whose square altar of marble, open to the sky, is situated in a vast walled park, outside the northern wall of Peking. Here a solemn sacrifice is offered annually by the Emperor, or his proxy, on the day of the summer solstice, to the tablet

of Earth and to those of the Imperial ancestors, and, on the second terrace, to the tablets of the chief mountains, rivers, and seas.

From the fact that the Emperor, in performing the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, allots a second place to the tablets of his ancestors, it follows that they stand, in the system of the State religion, next to Heaven and Earth in rank. Solemn sacrifices are offered to them by the Emperor in the *Tai miao*, or 'Grand Temple,' on the south-east of the Palace grounds, and at the mausolea, in temples erected there, one in front of each grave-mound.

Next in rank to the Imperial ancestors in the pantheon of the State are the *Sie-Tsih*, or gods of the ground, and of millet or corn. They have their large open altar in a park to the west of the Grand Temple. The Emperor sacrifices there in spring and autumn, or sends a proxy to perform this high-priestly duty.

2. The above are the so-called *Ta-sze*, or 'Great Sacrifices.' Next in rank are those of the second category, the *Chung-sze*, or 'Middle Sacrifices.' These are presented at various altars or temples erected in or about Peking. The Sun-god has his large walled park, with round, open altar-terrace, outside the main east gate, to the region of sunrise; the Moon-goddess has her square altar outside the west gate, because the west is the region in which the new moon is born. Sacrifices are offered there to the sun by the Emperor or his proxy, at the astronomical mid-spring, when the sun conquers darkness; the Moon receives her sacrifice on the day of mid-autumn,—autumn being, in China's natural philosophy, associated with the west, where the new moonlight is born.

The other State-gods of this Middle Class are the famous men of fabulous antiquity who introduced the Tao, or Order of the Universe, among men, thus conferring on them the blessings of civilization, learning, and ethics. They may be enumerated as follows:—

(1) *Shen Nung*, the 'divine husbandman,' the Emperor (28th cent. B.C.) who taught people husbandry. He is worshipped by the Emperor, or his proxy, with a sacrifice on an auspicious day in the second month of the spring, when the works of husbandry are supposed to begin, this rite being performed on an open square altar in a walled park, situated west of the great Altar of Heaven.

(2) *Sien-ts'an*, or 'the first breeder of silkworms,' supposed to have been the wife of the Emperor Hwang (27th cent. B.C.). In the first month of spring, the Empress, followed by a great train of court-ladies, presents a sacrifice to her on an altar in the park of the Palace.

(3) 188 Imperial and princely rulers of the past. The five Emperors of the oldest mythical period receive special sacrificial worship in a temple in the Palace, viz. Fuh Hi, Shen Nung, Hwang-ti, Yao, and Shun, together with the founders of the house of Cheu, and Confucius.

(4) Confucius. He is worshipped together with his nearest ancestors, and over seventy earlier and later exponents of his doctrine and school, all of whom have tablets in his temples throughout the Empire.

(5) State deities also are the men and women who, in the course of the centuries, have been distinguished for Confucian virtue and learning. Four temples are built for them near every Confucius temple.

(6) The *T'ien Shen*, or 'deities of the sky,' that is to say, of the clouds, the rain, the wind, and thunder.

(7) The *T'ü-ki*, or 'earth-gods,' are the ten principal mountains of the Empire, besides five hills and ranges of hills which dominate the site of the

mausolea of the present dynasty; further, the four seas or oceans at the four sides of the Empire or of the earth, and the four main rivers of China, viz. the Hwang-ho, the Yang-tze, the Hwai, and the Tsi; and, finally, the mountains and streams in the neighbourhood of Peking, and various others within the Empire.

(8) Next comes *T'ai-sui*, or 'the Great Year,' the planet Jupiter, whose path in the heavens governs the arrangement of the almanac which is annually published by Imperial authority, and gives the various days considered suitable for the transaction of the various business of life. This god thus rules the Tao, or revolution of the Universe, and consequently the Tao of human life, which, in order to bestow happiness and prosperity, must fit in with the Universal Tao, or course of Time.

3. The third section of the Confucian State religion embraces the *Kün-sze*, or 'Collective Sacrifices.' These are all offered by mandarins to the gods in the following lists: (1) the *Sien-i*, or 'physicians of the past,' patriarchs of the art of promoting and preserving human health: Fuh Hi, Shen Nung, and Hwang-ti; (2) *Kwan-yü*, the war-god of the present dynasty, a great hero of the 2nd and 3rd cents. A.D.; (3) *Wen-ch'ang*, a star in the Great Bear, the patron of the classical studies on which is based the selection of State officials, who by their rule maintain the Tao among men; (4) *Peh-kih kiün*, 'the ruler of the north pole'; (5) *Huo shen*, 'the god of fire'; (6) *Pao-shen*, 'the cannon-gods'; (7) *Ch'ing-hwang shen*, 'gods of the walls and moats,' that is to say, the patron divinities of walled cities and forts throughout the Empire; (8) *Tung-yoh shen*, the 'god of the Eastern Mountain,' i.e. the Thaisan in Shan-tung; (9) four *Lung*, or dragons, gods of water and rain, for whom temples exist in the environs of Peking, apparently for the management and regulation of the *fung-shui* of the city and the Imperial palace; (10) *Ma Tsu-p'o*, the goddess of the ocean and water; (11) *Hu-t'u-shen*, or 'god of the ground'; and *Sze-kung shen*, the patron of architecture, to each of whom, before any building works are undertaken, sacrifices are offered on altars erected on the site of the building; (12) *Yao shen*, 'the gods of the porcelain kilns'; (13) *Men shen*, the gods of certain Palace doors and gates of Peking; and (14) *Ts'ang-shen*, 'the gods of the store-houses' of Peking and Tung-chow.

Many of these State sacrifices are also offered by the authorities throughout the provinces, on altars or in temples which have been built for this purpose in the chief city of each province, department, or district—namely, those of the gods of the ground and of millet; those of Shen Nung, Confucius, and the gods of clouds, rain, wind, and thunder; those of the mountains and rivers in the country; those of the walls and moats of the city; and those of Kwan-yü. In Peking, as in the provinces, there are, moreover, temples, built with the same official design, for a great number of historical persons who have rendered services to the dynasties and the people. They have, on that account, received titles of honour from the Emperors, and have their special temples in the places where they lived and worked. There are also similar temples for former wise and faithful princes, nobles, and statesmen; for men who have sacrificed their lives in the service of the dynasty, etc.

4. Lastly, three sacrifices are prescribed to be offered annually by the authorities all through the Empire for the repose and refreshment of the souls of the departed in general.

All the State sacrifices take place either on certain fixed days of the calendar, or on days which are indicated as favourable and felicitous.

This synopsis of the State pantheon shows that the Confucian religion is a mixture of Nature-worship and worship of the dead. It is the rule to represent the gods who are believed to have lived as men, by images in human form, and the others by tablets inscribed with their principal divine titles. Images as well as tablets are inhabited by the spirits, especially when, at sacrifices, these have been formally prayed to or summoned, with or without music, to descend into those objects. Confucian worship and sacrifice, then, being actually addressed to animate images, is idolatry. Certainly it is quite inconsistent with the Chinese spirit to think of such tablets and images as mere wood and paint.

The religion of the State, performed by the Son of Heaven as high priest, and by ministers and mandarins all through the Empire as his proxies, is thoroughly ritualistic. Since, during the Han dynasty, under the auspices of Emperors and by the care of illustrious scholars, the classics were rescued from oblivion, an elaborate ritual, based on those classics, was at the same time called into existence in the form of rescripts, regulating in minutest detail every point in the State religion. Subsequent dynasties framed their institutions in general, and their ritual of the State religion in particular, on those of the House of Han, though with modifications and additions of more or less importance. Instances of eminent statesmen presenting memorials to the throne, in which they criticized rituals and proposed corrections, abound in the historical works; and these instances prove that formal codifications of rites have always been in existence since the reign of the House of Han.

These codifications have for the most part been preserved in the dynastic Histories, but it is not possible now to decide whether they are given in their entirety or in an abridged shape. None of them equals in elaboration that of the Khai-yuen period (713-741). This vast compendium of statutory rites of the Tang dynasty is a systematic compilation of nearly all the ceremonial usages mentioned in the classical books, with a few additional elements borrowed from the House of Han. It was drawn up by the statesman Siao Sung, assisted, as we may admit, by a body of officials and scholars, and it has been the medium through which the most ancient religious institutions of China have held their place as standard-rites of the State religion to this day. The *Ta Ts'ing houi tien*, or Collective Statutes of the Great House of Ts'ing, are moulded on it. It is also the prototype of the *Ta Ts'ing tung li*, or General Rituals of the Great Ts'ing dynasty, which is an official codification of the rites proper for the use of the nation and its rulers. Therefore, whoever is able to read and interpret Chinese texts has it in his power to study and describe in its details the State religion from official printed documents.

The conclusion is, of course, ready to hand, that the State religion is instituted for no other purpose than to influence the Universe by the worship of gods who constitute the Yang, in order that happiness may be ensured to the Emperor and his house and to his people. It is, in other words, a religion purporting to secure the good working of the Tao, or Universal Order, thus naturally to frustrate the work of the Yin and its spectres. Thus the exercise of that religion is reasonably the highest duty of rulers, whom that Tao has assigned to secure that good working among men. The people are not allowed to take part in it, except by erecting the State temples and altars, and keeping them in good repair at their own cost and by their own labour. The only religion allowed to them by the State is

the worship of their own ancestors, which is classical and therefore Confucian.

Yet, as everywhere in the world, religious instincts in China go their own way, in spite of official rescripts. Not content with the worship of their ancestors, the people freely indulge in the worship of Confucian deities. In villages and in other localities they have temples for the worship of mountains, streams, rocks, and the like. The god of the earth in particular enjoys much veneration; in all quarters the people have erected temples or chapels and shrines to him; they regard and worship him as the god of wealth, and the patron divinity of agriculture. And everywhere the people resort to certain State temples in the chief towns of provinces, departments, and districts, and worship the idols there after their own fashion.

This popular worship of Confucian divinities being practised all through the Empire, the images of gods exist by tens of thousands, the temples by thousands. Almost every temple has its idol gods which are co-ordinate or subordinate in rank to the chief god, so that China fully deserves to be called the most idolatrous country in the world. This religion is also practised in private houses, many of which have altars for gods and goddesses, to whom, on fixed days, sacrifices are annually presented.

The worship of ancestors is mentioned in the ancient classics so often, and in such detail, that we cannot doubt it was also the core of the ancient religion. It has assumed the form of a most elaborate system of disposal of the dead. Washing and dressing of corpses, confining and burial, and grave-building are matters of the greatest solicitude. The erection of large tumuli for princes and nobles was always the rule in China, and the mansolea built for emperors and princes were magnificent structures. Those of the present ruling dynasty certainly belong to the greatest and grandest which the hand of man ever produced.

The ancestral cult is regulated in the State ritual by special rescripts for all classes of the Chinese people. Many a well-to-do family possesses its ancestral temple, where the soul tablets of its older generations are preserved, and where sacrifices are offered to them. In the dwelling-house a part of the altar is set apart for the worship of the latest generations. A temple in front of the altar serves for the offerings, which are presented by the family on various fixed days in the calendar, with the father or grandfather at their head. Besides, there is an altar on each grave, which has been built with some outlay, and the mansolea of the great of this earth have even a temple, containing an altar with the tablet of the soul which rests with the body in the grave. In the first months and years after the burial, certain sacrifices are offered on the grave; later on there is one sacrifice in every year, in spring, in the *Ts'ing ming* season, reserved for visits to the family tombs, and for cleaning and repairing them. Of course the tombs are visited on many other occasions (cf., further, art. COM-MUNION WITH THE DEAD [Chinese]).

No doubt ancestor-worship has some value as an ethical element. The punishing hand of the forefathers is always present on the house-altar and in the temple of the family, and will deter many a son or daughter from evil. Ancestor-worship strengthens the ties of family life, as it supplies the descendants with a rallying point in the common ancestral altar. It thus fosters a spirit of mutual help in the emergencies of life, and it has exercised a powerful influence upon Chinese family life and social institutions.

LITERATURE.—See end of next article.

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CONFUCIUS.—The system which is known in the West as Confucianism is described in China as *Jü-kiao*, or 'School of the Learned,' and professes to conserve the teachings of K'ung Fu-tsu, the philosopher Kung, whose name is familiar to Westerners under the Latinized form of Confucius. *Jü-kiao* represents orthodoxy in China, all other systems being nominally heterodox, though Taoism and Buddhism have, as a result of long association, been popularly admitted to a place among the 'three Schools.' Buddhism is, of course, exotic in its origin, but Taoism is based upon the same ancient materials as Confucius requisitioned. Lao-tse, or Laocius, to whom is attributed the system known as *Tao-kiao*, or 'School of the Way,' commonly known as 'Taoism,' was a strenuous reformer, who boldly applied the teachings which he discovered in the ancient Chinese records to the amelioration of existing conditions, making non-interference and the suppression of personal ambition the keystones of his system. Confucius made no profession of original thought, and confessed himself to be but a transmitter of the manners and maxims of the 'good old times.' What he attempted to do was to apply to the degenerate days in which he lived the best elements of the accumulated wisdom and experience of the past, which he found locked up in the ancient records, and reflected in the time-honoured ceremonials. These he endeavoured to elucidate and emphasize, not only *viva voce* to the ardent disciples who flocked to him from all quarters, and to the feudal lords whom he interviewed in the course of his wanderings from State to State, but also by carefully prepared and annotated editions of the early writings for the benefit of posterity. His highest hope was to lead the rulers of the feudal kingdoms, by easy stages, to the gentler manners of the past, and thus to initiate a reign of peace. In order to appreciate the standpoint of Confucius and his contemporary Laocius, it is necessary that the political circumstances of their times should be carefully considered.

1. The times in which Confucius lived.—The Chow dynasty, established by King Wu (1122 B.C.), was in a declining condition at the time when Confucius was born, and the central authority, which gave its name to the Central State, or 'Middle Kingdom,' as the Chinese call their Empire even to-day, was powerless to enforce its dicta upon the turbulent States which were its nominal vassals. Constant war, with its dreadful concomitants, was the 'sign of the times.' The soldier was in the ascendant, the schoolmaster unemployed. Agriculture languished for lack of manual labour, and plague, pestilence, and famine wrought untold horrors upon the feudal kingdoms. In the midst of scenes such as these a son was born (551 B.C.) to an ancient officer of the K'ung family, who had distinguished himself by commanding physique and martial powers in the wars of his times, and who was then living a retired life in the State of Lu, situated in the modern province of Shantung. The infant was given the name of K'iu = 'a hillock' (in allusion to certain circumstances of his birth and appearance), with the alternative Chung-Ni, or 'second Mount Ni,' there being another 'Mount Ni' in the person of an elder step-brother, the offspring of a concubine.

The life of K'ung K'iu, or, as we know him, Confucius, may be divided into 5 periods: (1) 551-531, covering his early boyhood, his marriage at the age of 19, and his appointment to the office of keeper of the State granaries, and, a year later, to that of guardian of the common lands; (2) 530-501, when he devoted himself to the work of teaching, and gradually collected around him an enthusiastic band of disciples, at the same

time completing his own education and labouring at a new edition of the ancient Odes and Historical Records; (3) 500-496, when, for a short period, he acted as magistrate in his native State, and, as a result of the signal success of his methods, was promoted to the office of Minister of Works, and, subsequently, to that of Minister of Justice, resigning his office only when he found his counsels unavailing to turn the reigning Duke from the evil ways he had adopted; (4) 496-483, when he wandered over a large number of the feudal States, vainly endeavouring to induce their rulers to reform their manners and return to the ancient ways; and (5) 483-478, the last period of his life, spent in his native State, during which he devoted himself to the completion of his literary labours in connexion with the ancient records, and to the production of his one original work, the *Ch'un-t'zu* = 'Spring and Autumn' annals.

2. The Confucian library.—The materials upon which the system known as Confucianism is based are to be found in the various *King*, or *Canons*, and the *Shu*, or *Writings*, which are attributed to Confucius and his disciples. These have been variously tabulated at different periods of history, but are nowadays generally described as the 'Four *Shu*' and the 'Five *King*' (see preceding art., p. 12^b).

3. The doctrines of Confucius.—When the condition of the feudal kingdoms in Confucius' time is borne in mind, it will be seen to follow naturally that the great object towards which he directed his efforts was the tranquillizing of the Empire. The possibility of effecting this aim he demonstrated in three ways: (1) by his redactions of the ancient historical records and poetry, showing, to the present and to all future ages, the method by which the great rulers of antiquity, Yao, Shun, and others, had succeeded in controlling and directing the 'black-haired people'; (2) by his personal instructions and counsels to the various nobles whom he interviewed in the course of his journeyings through the feudal kingdoms, and to the ardent students who delighted to sit at his feet; and (3) by his own example in the small spheres which were entrusted to him, and where his methods are represented as being entirely successful. This, indeed, was the cardinal principle which he so frequently emphasized, viz., that, if Sage and Sovereign could be combined in one person, the difficulties of empire would disappear. The force of example was the great motive power he sought to apply to every exigency; if the lord paramount would but imitate the ancient worthies, the various princes would be excited to emulation, and thus, through every grade of society, the process would be continued until the whole nation was reformed. The stages by which this process was to be completed are thus described in the 'Great Learning' ['Great Study']:

'The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the Empire first ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their own States, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were thus rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their States were rightly governed. Their States being rightly governed, the whole Empire was made tranquil and happy.'

As to extraneous aids to the effecting of this purpose, Confucius could only propose the illustrious examples of antiquity, which he delighted in discovering and popularizing; he could promise no assistance from above. Heaven might commis-

sion men to perform certain tasks, and protect them whilst in the execution of them, but, for the carrying out of those commissions, man must depend upon his own unaided abilities, upon that 'nature,' predisposed towards goodness, which Heaven had conferred on him, and to which he himself must allow its full development, in harmony with the observed course of Nature and the examples of the great sages of the past. The gifts of nature vary in different individuals. There are four great classes of mankind: (1) those who possess intuitive knowledge; (2) those whose natural abilities enable them to learn with ease; (3) those who, though naturally dull, are able by earnest application to become learned; and (4) those who decline the attempt to acquire knowledge because of natural incapacity and indifference. Yet, in spite of the diversities of natural gifts, it is possible for every man, by means of self-culture, to reach the highest development of which his nature is capable; and nothing less than this should satisfy the aspirant. 'Rest in the highest,' or 'Cease only when the acme is reached,' is the key-note of the 'Great Learning.' Confucius himself aimed high; he did not expend his strength in the interests of common men, but concentrated his efforts on the education of rulers, either those who were already in office or those who were likely to attain to power, believing that, if he should succeed in implanting his opinions amongst the highest classes, the regeneration of the masses would follow as a matter of course.

There is practically nothing of a religious nature in Confucianism pure and simple. Religion, in the strict sense, existed in China long before his day, and survives even to the present in the sacrifice to Shang-ti, described on p. 13, which the Emperor offers as the representative of the myriad people. Confucius seems to have directed all his energies to the promotion of self-culture, adopting an attitude of strict reserve on the question of religion. He certainly countenanced the religious observances of his time so far as they were consonant with the ancient rites, and did not openly rebuke the extravagances which existed, as, for instance, the burial alive of human victims, which was not unknown in his day. Perhaps in this matter he was guided by a principle which he enunciated, viz., 'When good government prevails in a State, language may be lofty and bold, and actions the same. When bad government prevails, the actions may be lofty and bold, but the language may be with some reserve.' It may be that he had but little sympathy with the religious decadence of his own times and the abuses which were then prevalent, but he evidently considered it no part of his mission to attack them in any iconoclastic spirit, and he preferred to adopt an attitude of strict reticence towards the question of religion, recommending the observance of the accustomed ritual, but deprecating a too close inquiry into the spiritual phenomena. He evidently regarded the offering of sacrifice as of great subjective value, but professed ignorance of the meaning of the great sacrifice to Shang-ti. He certainly added nothing to the contemporary knowledge of God or of spirits; he had nothing to say with regard to death or the hereafter; the 'present distress' was a sufficient occasion for the exercise of his disciplinary methods; the present life was the only theatre in which he sought to inspire men to act their part. The existence of the Empire was imperilled through the unceasing struggles of the feudal States, and his great endeavour was to induce their several rulers to suppress their overweening ambitions, and to cultivate that moderation, that harmonious balance, which is emphasized in the 'Doctrine of the Mean'; so that the various

parts of the social organism might work together smoothly and with mutual profit, like a perfectly fitted and well-oiled machine, each State furnishing its quota of Imperial service, each ruler and officer occupying his appointed place, and all friction being avoided, so that the Middle Kingdom might become once more a model to the barbarians on its frontiers, and a power which no alien combination might venture to impugn.

Confucius was, above all things, a political reformer, but one who founded his political principles upon moral bases. He wished the harmony of Nature to be reflected in the world of men, and hence the very first essential in his system was the cultivation of knowledge, especially natural science. But, by a strange irony of fate, the chapter of the 'Great Learning' which was supposed to deal with this fundamental question has been lost, and what remains is occupied with the lesser details which appear as branches detached from the tree. The abortive attempts of later philosophers to deal with the phenomena of Nature are described in art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Chinese).

The steps in the process of self-culture have already been enumerated; the completion of knowledge leads to sincerity in thought, for the reason that the scholar who has thus attained enlightenment can no longer be deceived by outward appearances or inward imaginings. Being thus freed from the deceptive influences of passion, emotion, fear, etc., he is able to rectify his heart, i.e. to restrain wayward thoughts, feelings, and tendencies; as a consequence, his outward actions are conformed to the highest ideals of propriety, i.e. the cultivation of the person; and, from this point, he becomes a centre of influence which extends to his family, his State, etc., so that the whole Empire is made tranquil and happy.

This may be said to be the Confucian gospel in a word, and it will be evident that it is based upon the conviction that man's nature is originally good, and merely requires cultivation on right lines to bring it to its highest perfection. Confucius admitted that 'by nature men are nearly alike; by practice they get to be wide apart.' It follows, therefore, that what is prescribed for rulers should also apply, in a measure, to the mass of the people; they may not have the opportunity of pursuing their studies to the same degree, but all must share in the process of self-culture, and thus bear a part in the tranquillizing of the Empire, which is to be brought about by the regulation of the individual State, family, and person.

In the family and social relations the recognition of a common brotherhood is to be the inspiration and obligation of all corporate life. 'Within the four seas all are brethren,' and this is the idea which underlies (1) the principle of 'Benevolence,' which is the first of the five cardinal virtues. Upon this follow: (2) 'Uprightness of Mind,' i.e. the exhibition of moral excellence, as the word seems to denote; (3) 'Propriety in Demeanour,' the observance of convention, including the orthodoxies of religious worship, etc.; (4) 'Practical Sagacity,' or 'Knowledge of Affairs'; and (5) 'Good Faith.' The whole may be combined in the word which may serve as a rule of life—Reciprocity or Considerateness, i.e. 'What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.' These were to be regarded as the special characteristics of rulers; but the five cardinal relations, upon which the whole social structure is based, were required of all classes, and were defined as those existing between sovereign and subject, father and son, elder brother and younger, husband and wife, friend and friend. Filial conduct and its correlate of fraternal subordination may be described as the corner-stones of the system, for upon them depend

not only self-culture, but also the regulation of the family and the government of the State. It may have been for this reason that Confucius was willing to overlook the extravagant attention paid to ancestor-worship, because it served to emphasize his own doctrines of Divine right and the paramount importance of acquiescence in the prevailing order. He anticipates St. Paul in saying, 'Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers . . . the powers that be are ordained of God' (Ro 13). The appointment of a new ruler is described as the 'receiving of Heaven's decree'; every subject of the State must, therefore, accept his ordered place, and every member of the family, in like manner, must fulfil his part with loyal submission. There must be 'no contrariety' in the home or in the State; no trespass beyond the appointed limits, no disruption of the social harmonies. This is the teaching of the 'Doctrine of the Mean,' which follows on the 'Great Learning'; i.e. the avoidance of all *eccentricity*, or departure from the normal course as exemplified in Nature. Equilibrium and Harmony are the two essentials to happy social relations and a contented empire, Equilibrium being the negative side when the mind is not aroused by feeling or emotion, and Harmony the positive side when feeling is excited but acts in due accord with its environment.

Amongst the factors which conduce towards correctness of conduct are included Poetry, which inspires to the attempting of noble deeds; Ceremonials, by which the habit of correct action is established; Music, which, if orthodox, produces an atmosphere congenial to the cultivation of virtue, and gives a finish to character; and Archery, which is recommended as exercising a moral discipline.

From the above it may be seen how little of a transcendental character there is in the teachings of Confucius. The process of self-culture must proceed independently of any spiritual aid, except in so far as the conventional rites of sacrifice may be considered as of such a nature—a supposition which appears to be negated by the fact that to Confucius they were evidently of little objective value.

The doctrines thus enumerated find illustration in the *Analects*, or Counsels, of Confucius—a collection of acts and sayings attributed to him by his immediate disciples; and they are represented in concrete form in the person of the 'princely man,' or ideal scholar, who is constantly held up as a standard of imitation, and a criterion of conduct—an ideal which, by the way, Confucius himself disclaimed having attained.

The principles of Confucius found further exposition in the writings of Mencius (Mêng k'o, 372-289 B.C.), who is accorded the title of 'Second Sage,' or the next in order of dignity to Confucius himself. The work which bears his name enlarges on the topics of Benevolence and Righteousness, which formed the subject of his discussions with the rulers of the several States he visited and the disciples he gathered. But the most popular exponent of Confucianism was Chu Hsi, or Chucius (A.D. 1130-1200), whose commentaries on the classical books are now generally accepted as the highest standard of orthodoxy. Like Confucius, he proceeds upon the assumption that human nature is originally good, but applies his speculations to the hitherto unsolved problem of the origin of evil. So great has been the influence of Chucius upon modern thought in China, that 'Chucianism' might be substituted for 'Confucianism' as descriptive of the later development of the tenets of Confucius and his followers.

4. Secret of the success of Confucianism.—In view of what has been stated above as to the

absence of religious motive in Confucianism, it may be asked how the system which is thus denominated attained its present popularity and general acceptance. As a matter of fact, Confucius utterly failed to convince his generation or the value of the methods he so ardently advocated. Outside of the circle of those who formed his school of disciples he appears to have had few admirers. No ruler of his day was prepared to put his opinions to the test; only in the small sphere which he himself occupied, for a short period, in his own State of Lu, was he able to demonstrate their practical character. His personal influence over his immediate followers must have been immense, though his family life was unfortunate; but, when his despairing complaint of the non-appreciation of his doctrines and non-recognition of his character had been silenced by death, and after his favourite disciples had passed away, it seemed as if the very memory of the sage was about to perish. Many years elapsed before any national attempt to commemorate him was initiated, but succeeding ages and dynasties have vied with one another in elevating him in the scale of posthumous dignities, until, at the beginning of the present century, he was at last raised to the pre-eminent position of 'Co-assessor with Heaven and Earth.'

No doubt the intense patriotism of Confucius was a feature which won the hearts of those who delighted to learn from him; everything was subordinated to the well-being of the distracted Empire, and to this end he was prepared to sacrifice his personal ambitions, and to subject himself to ignominy and even physical danger. His doctrine of the Divine right of virtuous sovereigns, even though usurpers, was entirely congenial to the founders of later dynasties, such as the Han line of rulers, who were anxious to conciliate the student classes that had suffered so severely under the regime of the short-lived Ts'ing dynasty, and who sought to find justification for their claim to the supreme authority in the literature which their predecessors so greatly feared. The masses were well content with the abolition of the severe measures with which the first Empire (the Ts'ing) had familiarized them, and were prepared to accept the new conditions. Hence it was the policy of the new rulers and the scholars to come to an understanding, and an active endeavour was made to restore the Confucian literature which survived the fires of Ts'ing, for such writings were now almost the sole survivors of the ancient records, and were regarded with a new interest and an ever growing veneration. The course of time served only to deepen the impression, though Confucianism did not succeed in obtaining exclusive recognition until long ages of conflict with Taoism and Buddhism had passed. The masses, too, were predisposed in favour of the Confucian system, not only because of its intrinsic excellence, but because it advocated the rights of the people, and aimed at individual happiness as well as at the larger issue of national tranquillity. Hence it was to the interest of all classes—the newly established rulers, the scholarly classes, and the majority of the people—that the system of Confucius should be accepted as a moral code, even though the feudal conditions to which it owed its birth, and for the amelioration of which it had been designed, had long passed away. The establishment of the Hanlin academy and of the system of literary examinations, during the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 755), had the effect of encouraging the study of the Confucian classics amongst all sections of society, since a complete knowledge of the text was required by those who presented themselves for examination with a view to official employment.

5. Defects of Confucianism.—The failure of

Confucianism to satisfy the cravings of man's spiritual nature, its attitude of reserve on questions affecting the unseen world, its silence with regard to sin and its remedy, and its equivocal references to the possibility and value of prayer—all these have had the effect of paving the way for the introduction of Buddhism, with its doctrines of an All-merciful One, its spiritual aids and consolations, its plans of salvation and theory of a 'Western Paradise,' and its recognition of woman's place in its propaganda (cf. art. CHINA [Buddhism in]). Here also is offered a field where Christianity, when once relieved of the prejudice and suspicion which now encompass it, will find a place and a welcome, and the true Sage whom Confucius dimly outlined, the true 'Coming One' of whom the Buddha prophesied, will be recognized in Jesus Christ, in whom alone the highest definition of brotherhood is exhibited, and in whom alone fatherhood, in the ultimate sense, is pronounced—the Fatherhood of God, whose offspring is not limited to the confines of the four seas, but embraces 'all nations of men' who 'dwell on all the face of the earth' (Ac 17²⁶); in whom also is found that motive power which can compensate for the weaknesses and disabilities of a corrupted human nature, and can enable men to attain to the highest perfection—a standard far transcending that which Confucius had in mind when he enunciated his great axiom, 'Rest in the highest excellence.'¹

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CONGREGATIONALISM.—I. The name.—The term 'Congregational' came into general use about the beginning of the great Civil War in England, and contemporaneously in New England, as descriptive of a form of Church polity in which the local congregation is the unit of organization and the source of ecclesiastical government (e.g. Richard Mather, *An Apologie*, London, 1643 [written 1639], p. 6, and generally in the literature of the succeeding years). From the last decade of the 16th cent. its adherents had been nick-named 'Brownists,' from Robert Browne (see BROWNISM). Against this name they protested (e.g. *A True Confession*, Amsterdam, 1596, title; *An Apologetical Narration*, London, 1643, p. 24). They were also called 'Separatists,' because of their withdrawal from the English Establishment. The title 'Independency' was attached to the system at about the same time as that of 'Congregationalism' (in 1642), and, though an object of early protest (e.g. *An Apologetical Narration*, p. 23), long remained its usual designation in Great Britain, though it is now generally supplanted by 'Congregationalism.' In America it was never in use. 'Congregationalist,' as a title of the adherents of the polity, is encountered in 1692 (C. Mather, *Blessed Unions*, Boston); and 'Congregationalism,' in 1716 (I. Mather, *Disquisi-*

tion on Ecclesiastical Councils, Boston, p. vi). As a polity, Congregationalism is much more wide-spread than the Congregational name. The Baptists, the Plymouth Brethren, the Disciples of Christ, the Unitarians of the United States, as well as certain sections of the Adventists and of the Lutherans, are congregationally governed. In this article, however, only that group of Churches to which the name 'Congregational' is attached by historic, popular, and official usage, will be considered.

2. Fundamental principles.—Early Congregationalism was a product of the devotion of the Reformation epoch to the Bible. That period exalted the Bible as the only rule of faith and practice. If the Scriptures teach fully all that it is requisite for men to know or believe, and all duties of the Christian life, it was but logical to raise the question whether they did not also contain a complete and authoritative guide as to the nature, organization, officering and administration of the Christian Church. It was the conviction that the Bible contains such a pattern that gave rise to Congregationalism.

'The partes of Church-Government are all of them exactly described in the word of God . . . soe that it is not left in the power of men, officers, Churches, or any state in the world to add, or diminish, or alter any thing in the least measure therein' (*Cambridge Platform*, 1648, ch. i.; see also *A True Confession*, 1596, of the London-Amsterdam Church, ch. xx.).

Examining the Scriptures, therefore, in the light of the knowledge of their age, and under a profound conviction of an inspiration which made every portion a word of God, the Congregationalists of the 16th and 17th cents. denied the existence of national or territorial Churches; and, while holding that the invisible Church 'conteyneth in it all the Elect of God that have bin, are, or shal be' (*A True Description*, Dort, 1589, p. i), affirmed that none but local associations of experiential Christians are visible Churches. Each of these Churches has Christ as its immediate and only Head. Each 'hath powre and commandement to elect and ordeine their own ministerie,' as well as 'to receive in or to cut off anie member' (*A True Confession*, chs. xxiii. and xxiv.). Each local church is therefore a completely self-governing body.

There can be no doubt that early Congregationalism felt a mystical conviction, not now characteristic of it, that Christ is in so real and true a sense the Head of each church of His disciples, and they are so one with Him by covenant, that the acts of such a church, though those of human agents, are in vital reality His acts, whether in the admittance of members, the choice of officers, or the administration of discipline.

That which distinguishes between a chance assemblage of Christian people and a church is that the members of the local congregation are united into church-estate by 'a willing covenant made with their God' and with one another (R. Browne, *A Booke which sheweth*, Middelburg, 1582, p. 3). 'A company becomes a Church, by joyning in Covenant' (R. Mather, *An Apologie*, p. 5). Yet this covenant is not necessarily formal, though it is more desirable that it be so, for 'wee conceive the substance of it is kept where there is a real agreement and consent of a company of faithful persons to meet constantly together in one congregation for the publick worship of God and their mutuall edification' (*Cambridge Platform*, ch. iv.). The only fit persons to enter into such a covenant, and hence the only proper church-members, are those of personal religious experience; but, by a comparison with the Abrahamic covenant of Gn 17, early Congregationalists argued that the children of such covenanting members were included in the parents' covenant and were themselves therefore church-members. The status of such children, when grown to maturity and not conscious of a personal religious

¹ Cf. J. Iwerach, *Is God Knowable?*, 1884, p. 112 f.

faith, was a sore puzzle to New England Congregationalism from the middle of the 17th to the end of the 18th cent., and led to the strenuous controversies known as the Half-Way Covenant discussions; but the belief of Congregationalism has always been that the true material of church-membership is to be found only in conscious and purposeful Christian discipleship.

Such a local church as has been described should have no officers but those of NT example—'pastors, teachers, elders, deacons, helpers' (*A True Confession*, ch. xix.). The 'pastor' 'hath the gift of exhorting and applying especiallie'; the 'teacher' that 'of teaching especiallie' (R. Browne, *A Booke which sheweth*, p. 32). Both preached, though the teacher gave special attention to doctrinal exposition. Both administered the sacraments. The 'ruling elder' was a disciplinary officer, reckoned to the ministry, whose 'work is to joyne with the pastor and teacher in those acts of spiritual rule which are distinct from the ministry of the word and sacraments' (*Cambridge Platform*, ch. vii.). Only in the absence of pastor and teacher could the ruling elder preach, and in no case could he administer the sacraments. All three officers, known as 'teaching' and 'ruling' elders, were chosen by the congregation they served, and, in earliest Congregationalism, were ordained by representatives of the congregation. Ordination, being considered but the recognition of a charge in a particular church, was to be repeated at each fresh entrance into office. But by the time that the *Cambridge Platform* was adopted, in 1648, custom was changing, and ordination was passing from the membership of the particular church to the hands of those already in the ministry. 'In such churches where there are no elders, and the church so desire, wee see not why imposition of hands may not be performed by the elders of other churches' (*ib.* ch. ix.). Ordinations by the membership of the local church ceased soon after the middle of the 17th century. Two other classes of officers were recognized as to be chosen by the church. Of these the more important were 'deacons,' whose work was 'to receive the offerings of the church, gifts given to the church, and to keep the treasury of the church, and therewith to serve the tables which the church is to provide for, as the Lord's table, the table of the ministers, and of such as are in necessitie' (*Cambridge Platform*, ch. vii.). Theoretically desirable were 'helpers' or 'widows' 'to minister in the church in giving attendance to the sick' (*ib.*); but, though an instance or two of their appointment may be found in early English Congregational practice, none held office in New England.

Each local church was from the first free to express its faith in its own language, and to make such tests for admittance to its membership as it chose. Congregationalists from the beginning felt, however, that churches had relations of fellowship one with another, which were generally pictured as those of sisterhood in a common family of God.

'There be synodes or meetings of sundrie churches, which are when the weaker churches seeke helpe of the stronger, for deciding or redressing of matters, or else the stronger looke to them for redresse' (R. Browne, *A Booke which sheweth*, p. 30).

Although churches be distinct, and therefore may not be confounded one with another; and equal, and therefore have not dominion one over another; yet all the churches ought to preserve church-communion one with another' (*Cambridge Platform*, ch. xv.).

The two principles of local autonomy and fellowship have always been the foci of Congregationalism, and the latter has preserved it from Independency. The principle of fellowship gave rise almost at the settlement of New England to the occasional council—a meeting of pastors and

lay delegates from such churches as the church seeking advice chooses to summon, called to give counsel in such matters as the ordination, installation, and dismissal of ministers, cases of discipline beyond the power of the local church to control, and similar ecclesiastical exigencies. Such councils have always been a feature of American Congregational practice, though not employed in Great Britain.

3. Present Congregational principles and organization.—Early Congregationalism, as thus described, has undergone much modification in detail, though its essential features still remain unaltered. Modern Congregationalism, like its prototype, still conceives of the Church as a local company of experiential Christians, autonomous, yet owing fellowship to sister churches. But it does not find, as its early leaders did, any hard and fast pattern of the Church in the Scriptures. It would emphasize the congregational as a desirable, rather than as the only rightful, polity. Congregationalism sees the merits of that polity in its democracy, its voluntarism, its capacity to develop full, rounded, Christian manhood and womanhood, its freedom, and its flexibility. The number of officers supposed by early Congregationalism to be required by Scripture proved long ago beyond the power of a small congregation to maintain. Though instances of the 'teacher' and 'ruling elder' continued late into the 18th cent., and a single example of the 'ruling elder' may be found in the 19th, most Congregational churches, on either side of the Atlantic, had before the close of the 17th cent. reduced their officers to a pastor and several deacons. These are the chief officers of a Congregational church at the present time. Of comparatively modern growth are such additional officers as a superintendent of the Sunday School, a treasurer, a choir-master, and the like. Only the pastor is now ordinarily ordained. In a few churches deaconesses have been recently introduced, and, in most, several members are chosen, usually annually, to serve with the pastor and deacons as an executive committee by which the admittance of members and other ecclesiastical business are primarily considered, though with ultimate reference, on its recommendation, to the whole body of the church.

The larger fellowship of the churches is expressed not only in the occasional councils, characteristic of the United States, of which mention has been made, but in a close-knit network of regularly recurrent meetings in which larger or smaller groups of churches are represented. Some 'Associations' came into existence in Great Britain in the time of the Commonwealth, and probably survived the vicissitudes of the Restoration; but, beginning with that of Devonshire, organized in 1785, county 'Associations' spread rapidly through England. The desire for a larger expression of fellowship found embodiment in the additional organization of a 'Union' for Scotland in 1812, and for England and Wales in 1832. The latter now meets twice a year. In the United States, the first voluntary ministerial 'Association' was formed in Cambridge, Mass., in 1690. In Connecticut, 'Consociations' of ministers and lay delegates were organized in 1709. The system of meetings representative of churches by pastors and lay delegates was not generally introduced, however, till the early years of the 19th century. It is now universal in American Congregationalism. A variety of nomenclature exists, but uniformity is now being sought, so that the local groups into which churches are confederated shall be known as 'Associations,' and the larger State-wide organizations as 'Conferences.' After preliminary gatherings representative of the Congre-

gationalism of the United States as a whole, held in Albany, N.Y., in 1852, and in Boston, Mass., in 1865, the 'National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States' was formed in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1871, and has met triennially since. Similar organizations exist in Canada and the British colonies. In 1891, an International Council, representative of world-wide Congregationalism, met in London, and subsequent sessions were held in Boston in 1899, and in Edinburgh in 1908.

None of these representative bodies, though composed of delegates from the churches, possesses judicial or legislative authority. Their action is purely advisory; but such action, in actual practice, carries great weight. An important function discharged by the local Associations in Great Britain and America is that of certification of ministerial good-standing; and efforts are being made in America to constitute the local Association the regular ordaining body instead of the occasional council.

4. *Relation to the State.*—Original Congregationalism denied the existence of a State Church, and practised voluntarism in church maintenance and ministerial support. As a party of protest it could not do otherwise. At the same time it held, with Calvinism in general, that civil rulers ought 'to establish and mayntein by their lawes every part of God's word, his pure religion and true ministerie' (*A True Confession*, ch. xxxix.). It was natural, therefore, that wherever Congregationalism became the dominant faith, it entered into an intimacy of association with the State, not wholly justified, perhaps, by a strict construction of its principles. The political history of England afforded few such opportunities. Under Cromwell, Congregationalists enjoyed some State patronage; and, in 1658, a council of the Congregational Churches of England, the 'Savoy Synod,' met in London with Governmental approval, though not directly called by the Government, its work being a revision of the Westminster Confession and a statement of polity. From the Restoration to the present day Congregationalism has not been in a position to receive Governmental support in Great Britain, and therefore counts voluntarism among its cardinal principles.

In the New England colonies the situation was widely different. In Massachusetts the political franchise was from 1631 to 1664 confined by law to members of Congregational churches. In New Haven Colony it was similarly restricted from 1639 to 1665. Between 1638 and 1655 all the Congregational colonies of New England passed statutes basing ministerial support on universal taxation. The colonial legislatures, though maintaining the theory of ecclesiastical autonomy, were really the ultimate bodies of appeal in ecclesiastical controversies. By civil authority 'Synods' were called, composed of ministers and representatives of churches, to discuss doctrinal and administrative problems in 1637, 1646, 1662, 1679, 1708, and 1741. The Congregational churches were a real 'Establishment,' from the support of which Episcopalians were not relieved in Massachusetts and Connecticut till 1727, and Baptists and Quakers not till 1728 and 1729. This connexion with the State continued in Connecticut till 1818, and in Massachusetts till 1834. Since then, in America, Congregationalism has had purely voluntary support; but voluntarism has never been a fundamental contention in America as in Great Britain. American Congregationalists have, however, cheerfully acquiesced in the separation of Church and State characteristic of the United States.

5. *Continental antecedents.*—It is difficult to

estimate the possible influence of the more radical Continental parties of the Reformation age in the origin of Congregationalism. Their direct connexion it is impossible to demonstrate, and English Congregationalism seems far more a radical growth out of English Puritanism than any effect of Continental discussions. Nevertheless, the fact deserves notice that many of the most characteristic positions of Congregationalism were anticipated by the radicals of the Reformation age, notably the Anabaptists (see art. ANABAPTISM).

Originating in Switzerland in 1523 or 1524, and apparently arising nearly contemporaneously in other parts of the Continent, the Anabaptists were known chiefly for their rejection of infant baptism, their chiliastic hopes, their condemnation of oaths, their opposition to war, their denial to Christian disciples of the right to hold civil office, and their criticism of the Augustinian theology. Congregationalism followed them in none of these things. But they also held that the Church is made up of local congregations of experiential Christians, and that each congregation is self-governing, and is empowered in democratic fashion by the suffrages of its members to choose and ordain its own officers and administer its own discipline. They held that the Bible is the all-sufficient rule of faith and practice. In these principles Congregationalism agreed with them. Drawn mostly from the ignorant lower orders of the population, though not without a few educated leaders, the Anabaptists were severely persecuted by Catholics and Protestants alike; and, in the opinion of their opponents, the movement bore its appropriate fruitage in the frightful fanaticism in Münster in 1534-1535. The fanatical element was only a fraction of the Anabaptist party, however, and notably under the lead of Menno Simons (1492-1559) it grew in orderly fashion, especially in the Netherlands, where it obtained protection from William the Silent, and became wide-spread among the artisan classes. The terrible wars with Spain through which the Netherlands independence was achieved drove thousands of Protestant Dutch and Walloon working-men to England, where they constituted a not inconsiderable element in the population of London, and more than half the inhabitants of Norwich—cities intimately identified with the beginnings of Congregationalism—at the very time when Congregationalism had its origin. It is not probable that any large portion of the Netherlands exiles were Anabaptists, but there were Anabaptists among them; and it is not impossible that some more or less unconscious infiltration of Anabaptist ideas may have prepared the way for Congregationalism. Of this, however, there is no direct proof, though the similarity between some of the principles of the Anabaptists and those of the Congregationalists makes the question of a connexion an interesting problem.

6. *History.*—The beginnings of Congregationalism, so far as they can be definitely traced, were associated with Puritanism, of which it was the most radical expression. The form of the Church caused relatively little discussion in the early years of the English Reformation, and, when discussion arose, it was forced by practical rather than by theoretical considerations. England presented a most difficult problem at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. A clergy and a population, a great proportion of whom, while eager to maintain England for Englishmen, were averse to any considerable doctrinal changes, had accepted with outward conformity the restoration of a uniform service in the English tongue, and admitted the royal supremacy over the Church.

From a Governmental point of view it was eminently wise to make the transition from Roman Catholicism as easy as possible, and to keep as many of the ancient clergy in office as would acquiesce in the new institutions, without inquiring too minutely into their spiritual fitness. From the religious standpoint, however, such a course was extremely distasteful, especially to those more earnest Protestants who, like many who had gone into exile under Queen Mary, had drawn their ideals from Geneva. These men desired the abolition of such vestments and ceremonies as seemed to them calculated to preserve what they deemed Roman superstitions. They wished to see an earnest, educated, preaching ministry established in every parish, and to institute a vigorous discipline by which the Church could be purged from unworthy members. They were soon nick-named 'Puritans.' Their attempts to effect these results, especially the modification of vestments and ceremonies, encountered the opposition of Elizabeth and her spiritual agents, the bishops—an opposition based in large measure on a desire to avoid controversy and civil discord. But this opposition aroused further questioning, which ushered in a second stage of Puritanism. Men, of whom Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) was typical, began to ask whether a form of Church government that opposed reforms which seemed to them so desirable was Divinely warranted. By 1593, Cartwright, who became that year Lady Margaret professor of Divinity in Cambridge, was attacking the constitution of the

Church of England itself, and urging its further reformation along lines essentially borrowed from Presbyterianism as it had been developed under the influence of Calvin and his disciples. This seemed to him and to his party the Scriptural model of what a Church should be. Cartwright held to the existence of a national Church. The disaffected Puritan was not to separate from it; but to labour in it to introduce as much of what he believed to be Gospel order and discipline as he might, and to wait for the strong hand of civil authority to reform the often-altered Church of England into full conformity to what he deemed the Divine pattern. To come out from it and to found different churches was no part of the duty of a Christian. These views of Cartwright represented the opinions of the vast majority of Puritans down to the Great Rebellion. To the more radical thinkers of the time this condition of things seemed intolerable. They would come out from the Church and organize at once as they believed the Church should be organized. They were 'Separatists.' Such was an obscure company of which Richard Fitz was pastor, which was arrested in Plumber's Hall, London, 19th June 1567, and has often been called 'the first Congregational Church.' But their Congregationalism, though evident, was not systematically developed. The first careful theoretic exponent of Congregationalism was Robert Browne (1550?-1633), whose life and doctrines are considered in art. BROWNIISM. Whether through the influence of his books, or as an independent illustration of the same tendencies which led Browne to separation, a similar movement soon showed itself in London, under the leadership of a radical Puritan clergyman, John Greenwood (?-1593), and a lawyer of ability, Henry Barrowe (1546?-1593). Arrested in 1587, they were yet able to write from their prison treatises of which Barrowe's *A Briefe Discoverie of the False Church*, 1590, is the most important. Their sympathizers increased, however, and, in 1592, a Congregational Church was formed in London, or, if organized four or five years earlier, as is possible, was then more definitely established, with Francis Johnson (1562-1618) as its 'pastor' and Greenwood as its 'teacher.' This activity excited the authorities. On 6th April 1593, Barrowe and Greenwood were hanged for denying the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, and the rest of the church was gradually driven into exile. It found a refuge in Amsterdam, where its experience proved stormy owing to exaggerated attempts to enforce discipline.

The same causes which had resulted in the movements in which Browne and Barrowe were leaders induced a company of advanced Puritans in Gainsborough and the region about Scrooby to organize two Separatist churches, probably late in 1605 or early in 1606. Of that in Gainsborough, Rev. John Smyth (?-1612) was the leader; and in that meeting in the home of William Brewster (1560?-1644), postmaster in Scrooby, Rev. Richard Clyfton, Rev. John Robinson (1576?-1625), and the youthful William Bradford (1590-1657), in addition to Brewster himself, were the most prominent. Compelled to leave England, both congregations found a refuge in Amsterdam, where Smyth and his associates adopted Baptist principles. The Scrooby exiles, under the lead of Robinson, removed, in 1609, to Leyden; but, being anxious to live on English soil, even across the Atlantic, a minority of the church, under the spiritual oversight of 'ruling elder' William Brewster, made the voyage in the *Mayflower*, and established the colony of Plymouth in New England in 1620. Meanwhile, in 1616, a Congregational church, which still exists, was founded in the Southwark district of London by Rev. Henry Jacob (1563-1624), who had been a member of the Leyden congregation.

It may be doubted, however, whether Congregationalism would have developed in power on either side of the Atlantic had it not been for the stimulus of the great Puritan struggle with Charles I.

Puritan thought, despairing of securing the reforms desired in England, inclined to seek the New World to which the Scrooby-Leyden Pilgrims had already shown the way. In 1628 the advancement of Puritan emigration, under John Endicott, landed in Salem, Massachusetts. On 4th March 1629 the royal charter creating the 'Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay' was sealed. The same year the Salem colony was largely reinforced. In 1630 no fewer than 1000 persons left old England for the new, and the emigration ran full tide till the advent of the Long Parliament in 1640 changed the political situation in the homeland. To the Massachusetts colony of 1629, Connecticut was added in 1635-1636, and New Haven in 1636. These settlers were Puritans, not Separatists. They were, many of them, men of wealth and position, and they had among them a large proportion of well-educated, influential ministers. Yet the remarkable fact is that, on their arrival in the new land, they organized their ecclesiastical institutions, beginning with the church in Salem in 1629, essentially on the model of Separatist Plymouth. The explanation is that the Scripture model of Church government seemed to them that which Separatism had already anticipated, and, under the freedom of the plastic conditions of new settlements, they created churches of practically the same type as the earlier Separatist congregations. But, as has been indicated in the section on the relations of Congregationalism to the State, these New England churches became a real Establishment, and enjoyed State support in a manner for which the earlier Separatism never had opportunity, and which it repudiated in principle. The history of Congregationalism in 17th-cent. New England was largely that of growth in numbers by reason of the slow increase of the population, of a declining religious enthusiasm, and of discussions arising from the development of polity. Education was fostered not only by lesser schools, but by the founding of Harvard College in 1636, and of Yale College in 1701. There was little doctrinal division, all the churches representing the current Puritan Calvinism, and there was remarkable uniformity in organization, worship, and method.

Congregationalism made slow progress in England from its permanent establishment in Southwark in 1616 to the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640. Its chief representatives found refuge in New England or in the Netherlands. But, with the outbreak of the struggle between King and Parliament, and the return of a number of the exiles, it grew very rapidly. Though the Westminster Assembly, which began its sessions in 1643, was overwhelmingly Presbyterian, it included five determined Congregationalists and several at least partial adherents. The desire of Cromwell and the army for a large toleration was favourable to the spread of Congregationalism. Congregationalists were appointed to many important ecclesiastical and educational posts under the Protectorate, and enjoyed the cordial favour of Cromwell. The Savoy Synod, held in London in 1658, gathered the representatives of 120 churches. Congregationalists suffered with other Nonconformists from the repressive policy of the Restoration, but their churches were not extinguished, and at the Revolution in 1689 the Toleration Act secured them legal standing, under rather onerous conditions, in common with other Dissenters. The enthusiasm of the epoch of the struggle between King and Parliament and of the Commonwealth was spent, and Congregationalism shared in the spiritual decline of the first half of the 18th century. It was touched, however, but slightly by the Arian and Socinian defection that made such inroads on contemporary English Pres-

hyterianism. During the latter half of the 18th cent. it felt with increasing power the stimulus of the great Evangelical movement which the Wesleys and Whitefield had initiated, and experienced a profound spiritual re-awakening which led to rapid growth. County Associations were generally established between 1785 and 1810. The London Missionary Society, nominally an undenominational organization for carrying the gospel to the heathen, but increasingly Congregational in constituency, came into being in 1795. The Home Missionary Society was organized in 1819, and the Colonial Missionary Society in 1836. The year 1832 saw the formation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The period from that time to the present has been one of healthful growth and spiritual fruitfulness.

In Scotland, Congregationalism did not gain a permanent foothold till the last decade of the 18th cent., when it won its way as the supporter of a warm, evangelical type of piety and preaching. Its hold on the Scottish people has been relatively small, but it has proved a vigorous force in the religious life of the nation.

The earlier part of the 18th cent. witnessed a decline in the spiritual vigour of Congregationalism in America as in England. From this condition in America it was powerfully aroused by the 'Great Awakening' in 1740-1742, through the preaching of George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, and other promoters of the revivals. The 'Awakening' led to division of sentiment, though not to actual separation, in the New England churches—the 'Old Lights' opposing its methods, which the 'New Lights' favoured. With Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) a great theological development began, essentially Calvinistic in fundamentals, but with no little modification of historic Calvinism. This was continued by Joseph Bellamy (1719-1790), Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), Jonathan Edwards the younger (1745-1801), Nathanael Emmons (1745-1840), Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), Nathaniel W. Taylor (1786-1858), and others, and produced the most distinctive school of theology that America has originated. In the Revolutionary War the Congregational churches sympathized warmly with the colonial cause. The year 1792 saw the beginning of a great epoch of revivals, which continued to recur at intervals till 1858. By 1800, Congregationalism, which had been practically confined to New England, began to spread westward with the settlement of the country, and the process was initiated which has resulted in the establishment of nearly three-quarters of the present Congregational churches of the United States beyond New England borders.

By 1815 a Unitarian movement, the roots of which ran back into the 18th cent., was felt especially in Massachusetts, and resulted in a separation, which still continues, from the main Congregational body. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized in 1810 to do the work indicated in its title. Home missionary work was begun by State bodies, commencing with Connecticut in 1774, and resulted, in 1826, in the formation of a Home Missionary Society of national scope. The American Missionary Association, which has laboured chiefly among the Negroes and the Indians, came into being in 1846; and the Congregational Church Building Society dates from 1853.

World-wide Congregationalism has expressed its fellowship in International Councils, of which previous mention has been made.

7. Beliefs.—Congregationalism has been a system of Church polity rather than a peculiar form of faith. In its early history it stood, in common with Puritanism in general, on the basis of

Calvinism. The Cambridge Synod in New England, in 1648, approved the doctrinal portions of the Westminster Confession; and the Savoy Synod in London, ten years later, expressed a like concurrence, except for slight modifications. The 'New England Theology' of the 18th and 19th cents., whatever its departures from earlier Calvinism, belonged to the Calvinistic school. It regarded itself as an improved or 'consistent' Calvinism. The Declaration adopted by the Union of the Congregational Churches of England and Wales in 1833 is distinctly, though mildly, Calvinistic. The National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States, held in Boston in 1865, was with difficulty prevented from adopting a declaration that the faith of the Churches was 'that which is commonly known among us as Calvinism.' The Declaration was frustrated by the determined efforts of those who deprecated any party shibboleth. But the later years of the 19th cent. witnessed a rapid decline of interest in the older doctrinal discussions. The 'Declaration' adopted by the National Council at Oberlin, in 1871, was designed by its omissions to make the way easy for those of Arminian sympathies. The 'Creed,' prepared in 1833 by a commission appointed by the National Council, maintains the same neutrality between Calvinism and Arminianism. It will be remembered that these various expressions of belief have the value only of testimonies, each local church being free to declare its faith in its own way. Since the last of them was set forth, however, the Congregational churches, in common with Protestantism generally, have been passing through a period of theological re-statement—the result of Biblical criticism, of the wide prevalence of an evolutionary view of history, of the new emphasis on the Divine immanence, and of a quickened conception of social service as a main aim of the Christian life, whether of individuals or of Churches. No body of Christians has on the whole been more willing to welcome these newer views than the Congregationalists, but the degree in which they have been accepted varies widely in different churches. It is not sufficient, however, to disturb their sense of fellowship and of continuity with their historic past, or the broad fundamental outlines of their conception of the meaning of the Gospel.

8. Worship.—The Congregational churches, at their origin, shared to the full the Puritan objections to ceremonies and vestments which seemed to savour of Romanism, and, like the more radical Puritans in general, they rejected fixed forms of prayer. They long confined the hymns of their services to rhymed portions of Scripture. It was not till the first half of the 18th cent., through the influence of the English Congregational hymn-writer, Rev. Isaac Watts (1674-1748), that this prejudice against hymns 'of human composition' gradually broke down. The typical Congregational service of the 17th cent. began with a prayer in words of the minister's own choosing, followed by the reading of Scripture, generally with comments verse by verse, then the singing of a psalm, the sermon, a second free prayer, a second psalm, and the benediction. This order was slightly modified, very possibly through the influence of the Westminster Directory, so that the sequence became commonly a brief prayer of invocation, reading of the Scriptures, usually without comment, singing, a 'long prayer,' the sermon, prayer, singing, and the benediction. This remained the almost universal order till within half a century, and still constitutes an approximate outline of Congregational worship. The last few decades have witnessed a large use of responsive readings, anthems, and other efforts at the 'enrichment' of

service, and the individual freedom of each congregation makes possible a considerable variety of usage. Opposition to some use of fixed forms of prayer is waning, but Congregational worship is still non-liturgical in its fundamental character. The Lord's Supper has been observed since the early days of Congregationalism at intervals of a month or two months. Till near the close of the 18th cent. Congregational worship involved two services, such as have been described, each Sunday, and in large towns a mid-week 'lecture,' which was really another sermon. About the end of the 18th cent. the 'prayer-meeting' was generally introduced for the cultivation of the Christian life — by prayer, Scripture exposition, singing, and informal addresses, under the presidency of the pastor, but with free participation by the laity. It has been ever since a feature of congregational worship, but its successful maintenance, save in times of unusual religious interest, is generally regarded as one of the most difficult of pastoral problems.

9. **Characteristics.**—Congregationalism has always favoured education, both in the pulpit and in the pew. In England many 'academies' were founded after the Toleration Act and throughout the 18th century. A number of these have become flourishing 'colleges,' their aim being to train a learned ministry and to provide the higher education for laymen which ecclesiastical tests, now abrogated, then made unattainable in the Universities. In the United States the Congregationalists have been foremost among religious bodies in planting colleges and fostering schools. The Congregational spirit has not been sectarian, however, and these institutions have been freely opened, and have not been used as a means of denominational propaganda.

Congregationalists have been greatly interested in home and foreign missions. The efforts of the Rev. John Eliot (1604-1690), begun in 1646, for the conversion of the Massachusetts Indians, led to the incorporation by the Long Parliament, in 1649, of the first English Foreign Missionary Society, the 'President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England.' The establishment of the London Missionary Society in 1795 and of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810 has already been noted.

The flexibility of Congregationalism has made it easy to try experiments in methods of Christian work, and these churches, as a whole, have always been ready to welcome novel activities which seemed to promise greater usefulness in Christian service.

10. **Problems.**—The problems of Congregationalism are those of democracy generally. That which is most pressing is how to secure efficiency without sacrificing democratic liberty. Congregationalism has proved itself admirably adapted to rural conditions among a homogeneous population of intelligence. It has been less successful in cities where contrasts in wealth and education are extreme. Each church being a self-governing, democratic community, there is always danger that those congregations in the more needy parts of a city will be unduly weak in resources both of money and of men of ability. Congregationalism endeavours, with partial success, to counteract this tendency by Home Missionary aid and superintendence. There is also the peril, in city communities, where congregations are gathered largely by elective affinity, that a church may become essentially a religious club. As in all democratic bodies, union for strategic advance is often accomplished at the cost of undue effort, or is not achieved at all. In order to make itself more efficient in these re-

spects, without forfeiting the essential autonomy of the local church, Congregationalism, both in Great Britain and in America, is at present displaying a centralizing tendency. The advisory powers of Associations are being extended and increased, and a system of superintendency, by committees or individuals, without judicial or mandatory powers, but with large advisory influence, is in process of development. The watchword of this movement, now felt on both sides of the Atlantic, is 'a more efficient Congregationalism.'

11. **Statistics.**—In the statistics of Congregationalism only those who have become church-members by a profession of personal Christian experience are included. The figures, it is usually thought, must be multiplied five-fold to represent the total number of adherents.

In the following table only church-members are included:

Countries.	Churches, Chapels, and Stations.	Church Members.	Sunday-School Scholars.
England and Wales . .	4,652	459,147	675,785
Scotland	211	35,920	34,521
Ireland	40	2,262	4,021
Channel Islands . .	12	333	444
Canada—			
Nova Scotia . . .	21	831	733
New Brunswick . .	8	277	73
Ontario	88	5,538	4,574
Quebec	18	3,725	2,959
Newfoundland . .	13	324	868
British Guiana . .	53	5,146	4,663
New South Wales . .	82	4,956	8,443
Queensland	50	2,227	4,594
South Australia . .	63	3,388	6,011
Victoria	87	4,219	7,448
Western Australia .	43	1,189	2,284
New Zealand . . .	36	2,241	2,633
Tasmania	49	902	1,897
South Africa . . .	333	17,565	7,938
American Zulu Mission	49	2,406	2,225
Natal	47	503	668
Sierra Leone . . .	1	500	250
Jamaica	45	3,422	1,570
China	3	527	425
India	15	598	418
Japan	94	13,806	10,044
Syria	3	83	..
United States . . .	5,991	780,718	696,367
Independent and Mission Sunday Schools	..	..	49,776
American Foreign Missionary Churches .	554	78,671	73,685
	12,708	1,876,424	1,605,417

LITERATURE.—The literature of Congregationalism is enormous, but a substantially complete bibliography to 1879, embracing 7250 titles, may be found in H. M. Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature*, New York, 1880. The following works will be found of special value:—

(1) **POLITY.**—Robert Browne, *A Book which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians*, Middelburg, 1582; Henry Barrowe, *A Briefe Discoverie of the False Church*, Dort, 1590; John Robinson, various treatises between 1610 and 1625, collected in R. Ashton's *Works of John Robinson*, London, 1851; Richard Mather, *Church-Government and Church-Covenant Discussed*, London, 1643; John Cotton, *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven*, London, 1644; Thomas Hooker, *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, London, 1648; *A Platform of Church Discipline*, etc. (The 'Cambridge Platform'), Cambridge, Mass. 1649, and twenty-five later editions; *A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congreg. Churches in England* (The 'Savoy Declaration'), London, 1658, and eleven later editions; *Heads of Agreement Assented to by the United Ministers in and about London*, London, 1691, and many later editions; *A Confession of Faith*, etc. (The 'Saybrook Platform'), New London, Conn. 1710, and six later editions; John Wise, *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches*, Boston, 1717; Cotton Mather, *Ratio Disciplinae*, Boston, 1726; Thomas C. Upham, *Ratio Disciplinae*, Portland, Maine, 1829; Woodbury Davis, *Congreg. Polity, Usages, and Law*, Boston, 1865; H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism: What it is; Whence it is; How it Works*, Boston, 1865, also *A Handbook of Congregationalism*. Boston

1890, and *The Council Manual for a Congreg. Church*, Boston, 1896; Edgar L. Heermance, *Democracy in the Church*, Boston, 1906. The more important documents relating to Congregational polity have been collected and annotated by Williston Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York, 1893.

(2) *HISTORY*.—Champlin Burrage, *The True Story of Robert Browne*, Oxford, 1906; F. J. Powicke, *Henry Barrow*, London, 1900; O. S. Davis, *John Robinson*, Boston, 1903; William Bradford, *Hist. of Plymouth Plantation*, Boston, 1856; John Brown, *The Pilgrim Fathers*, London, 1895; E. Arber, *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, London, 1897; John A. Goodwin, *The Pilgrim Republic*, Boston, 1888; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London, 1702; Benjamin Hanbury, *Historical Memorials relating to the Independents*, London, 1839-44; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, New York, 1857; George Punchard, *Hist. of Congregationalism*, Boston, 1885-81; John Waddington, *Congreg. Hist.*, London, 1869-78; H. M. Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature*, New York, 1880; Williston Walker, *Hist. of the Congreg. Churches in the United States*, New York, 1894; Albert E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America*, New York, 1894; George Leon Walker, *Some Aspects of the Religious Life of New England*, Boston, 1897; James Ross, *A Hist. of Congreg. Independency in Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900; Williston Walker, *Ten New England Leaders*, Boston, 1901; R. W. Dale, *Hist. of Eng. Congregationalism*, London, 1907. An official *Congregational Year-Book* is issued annually by both the British and the American bodies.

WILLISTON WALKER.

CONNEXIONALISM.—There are many systems of Church organization in which itinerant evangelists link together scattered congregations, and maintain a strong corporate feeling by regular meetings among themselves, when they as a body arrange the sphere of work for each, and often exercise other functions of government. Such systems are usually styled 'Connexional,' and although that name is also employed more loosely, it is such systems that are here compared with one another. They flourish where a democracy, or an oligarchy, is inspired with a zeal for propaganda, and especially where a revival is prompted and supported by Bible study.

Connexional elements may be traced even in the Apostolic era, when the Apostles allotted among themselves their fields of labour, and when St. Paul and his comrades travelled widely, and kept in touch with the churches they founded, both by visits and by letters, and by delegates to supervise, such as Timothy, and Tychicus, and Titus. But the Greek churches brought over the Greek love of independence, and the Third Epistle of John shows at the close of the Apostolic age a local minister revolting against the mere presence of any visiting missionary. This tendency was reinforced by a jealousy between the officers of business, appointed primarily to 'serve tables,' and the gifted brethren, including those who were set apart to give themselves to the ministry of the word. The local administrators steadily gained in esteem at the expense of the travelling evangelists, and, when the Montanist movement failed, the reaction within the Catholic Church practically ended the career of the evangelists. They survived only on the frontiers of Christendom, and we shall see that connexionalism flourishes best in the mission stage of a church, and in communities which emphasize evangelism.

While a bureaucracy of church officials developed, on lines suggested by the Roman civil service, there was no room for connexionalism in this diocesan system. But among the laity there arose a new plan of organization, whereby those who were in thorough earnest about their Christian life put themselves under severe discipline as monks. Basil for the East, and Benedict for the West, produced bodies of rules to order the community life, and these were widely adopted. But neither the one nor the other contemplated evangelism as a leading feature; salvation of self rather than salvation of others was the chief aim. Although the Irish-Scottish monks had a loftier conception, yet they

conspicuously lacked the faculty of organization, and their foundations remained isolated. Two races have displayed a genius for method and order—the Roman and the English,—and certain developments of the Benedictine scheme due to these nations show signs of connexionalism.

Thus Stephen Harding in 1119 inspired the Cistercian method, whereby the religious belonged to an Order rather than to a single House. Year by year the Abbots of the Houses met in consultation, and in theory not only the humbler members, but the Abbots themselves, could be transferred from convent to convent. Since, however, no systematic plan of rotation was adopted, or even any rule that rotation should take place, there was in practice much inertia. And as the aims of the Order did not exalt evangelism, there was no special motive for circulation.

A century later the English Benedictines moved in the same direction, but the Italians evolved farthest, producing the Silvestrine, the Celestine, and the Olivetan organizations. Instead of officers being appointed for life, they had fixed terms of duty; a General Chapter chose a nominating committee which selected them. This line of evolution culminated in 1432, with the approval of the Cassinese constitution. Details of these schemes are given by Abbot Gasquet in his *Introduction to Montalembert's Monks of the West* (Eng. tr. 1861-79).

It might have been expected that the friars would show more originality, that their ideal of brotherhood would express itself in a democratic rule, and that their ideal of service would impel them to steady organized work for others. But the movement was soon captured by the Roman Curia, and the time-honoured diocesan pattern was adopted, with the slight changes needed for definitely local groups of professed Christians instead of areas within which a professed clergy ministered to a population nominally Christian. Thus friaries were grouped into congregations under a provincial, and all were ruled by a minister-general. The Roman monarchical ideal prevailed in the plan of government.

But a similar movement, originated by Peter Waldo of Lyons, being discountenanced by the authorities, was free to elaborate its own machinery (Newman, *Manual of Church History*, i. 571-8). In 1218 a conference was held at Bergamo, when, amongst other matters, the polity came up for discussion. An annual meeting was held, usually in Lombardy, when probationers were admitted to membership after long training and testing. They made promises of celibacy, poverty, and readiness to evangelize, quite on the Franciscan model. But, once the initiate was admitted, he found himself a member of a governing corporation, which not only recruited itself and saw to the purity of the whole body, but also required reports from every part of the field, and administered the funds of the community, gathered during the year. The Lombards, indeed, with the Italian instinct, decidedly preferred a single head, chosen for life; and they favoured a general life tenure of all offices. The Germans, again, upheld the plan of Waldo, that all offices should be terminable, and that there should be no single head, but several rectors. In this matter the two parties apparently agreed to differ, maintaining their own customs and recognizing the legitimacy of each others' officers. But the unique feature is that the annual meeting had full powers, and actually exercised them in the appointment of all officers, in allotting to each member his work, and in determining its nature and sphere. To some extent this scheme influenced the Bohemian Brethren and the Moravian Anabaptists, though these bodies

adopted the Italian plan of a single head holding office for life.

In 1527 an important conference was held at Augsburg, when delegates from the 'Brethren' organized on new lines (Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, Edinb. 1907, ii. 435). All the officers of all the congregations within a convenient district chose a committee of themselves to act for the group, and the committee chose a president. The districts associated on the same principle, and thus a pyramid of committees was erected. To these people, popularly known as 'Anabaptists,' is therefore due not only the machinery of a single congregation, which was presently taken over by Calvin in his *Institutio*, and put in practice at Geneva, but also the machinery for an alliance of congregations, adopted in France during 1559, and in Scotland next year, and so well known as the Presbyterian schema. But the 'Brethren' had one feature which was dropped by the French, the Scots, and the Dutch—an order of evangelists whose business it was to travel and propagate the faith. It is not quite clear how these were appointed, or how their routes were determined—if, indeed, appointment and travelling were not spontaneous rather than systematic. And, although several conferences were held, the persecutions of the next few years were enough to disorganize any machinery.

A year after the fall of Münster, an important meeting was held a few miles away at Bockholt, when the Anabaptists of Lower Germany and England re-organized and adopted the connexional plan (Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 88). Each congregation sent delegates to an annual meeting, which stationed the ministers and arranged for the support of those who itinerated, besides aiding poor congregations and members. This system was developed in the Netherlands and up the Rhine, and, though many divisions occurred,—into Mennonites, Waterlanders, Doopsgezinden, Flemings, Old Flemings, Frisians, etc.,—yet each body held to the connexional type. As most of these Connexions held the doctrine of passive resistance, and objected to bearing arms or taking oaths, they found their position extremely awkward during the Napoleonic era; and the renewed conscriptions of the last forty years have caused their practical disappearance from Europe, and their emigration to America (Barclay, *op. cit.* 243). In the New World may still be found the remnants of these ancient bodies, and of kindred organizations like the Schwenkfeldians, true to the connexional type in that the annual meeting governs; but, as the numbers have greatly diminished, the vote is exercised not by officers alone, but by all male members.

Recurring to the Reformation period, we find forty churches in Lombardy and Switzerland acting together; and a special convention was held at Venice in 1550 (Newman, *Hist. of Anti-Pedobaptism*, Philad. 1896, pp. 327-9). The Waldensian plan so well known in the vicinity had been adopted in general outline, and the government lay in the hands of the itinerant preachers, who associated with themselves candidates under training, and not only visited all the congregations, but also ordained the local ministers. These churches mostly adopted anti-Trinitarian views, and were persecuted till they left the district; but many members went to Moravia and Poland, where they spread their tenets, so that the 'Socinians' were indebted to them for hints on ecclesiastical polity as well as on doctrine.

The Reformed Churches took over from the Anabaptists the general scheme of organization, and especially the principle that, whether in a

single congregation or in a court supervising several congregations, the power was vested entirely in the officers. Ordinary members might have a voice and vote in electing an elder, but his ordination rested with the existing elders, who thus tended to become a self-perpetuating caste. Ruling elders were usually local, but preaching elders or ministers were liable to move; in Germany and Scotland the authority of the State was interposed in various matters, extending occasionally to the location of a minister, and thus the autonomy of the Churches was crippled. Owing partly to the high educational qualifications of the Reformed ministry, and partly to general inertia, long tenure of a pastorate became customary, and thus one frequent feature of a Connexion was obscured. But in theory the whole spiritual government of a Presbyterian church resides with the ordained members, and they have at least a veto on any increase of their number, or on the translation of any minister; nor is his personal preference a decisive factor any more than the wish of a single congregation. While these theories are still upheld, the connexional element is not extruded, however little certain powers may be actually exercised. Yet there has been much specialization, so that ruling elders hardly rank themselves with ministers on the ground of their common ordination; and their interests are so local that they hardly consider themselves a class apart from their fellow-members, with a corporate life of their own; still less do the officers as such pursue systematically a policy of extension, a policy which seems closely linked with the vigour of connexionalism.

In England, voluntary sects were unable to organize till the general relaxation of government in 1640. Then the General Baptists, who for thirty years had been in close contact with the Waterlanders of Amsterdam, entered on a vigorous campaign of evangelism. As churches were gathered in different parts of the country, they were kept in touch, and the earliest minutes that survive testify to some plan of organization. Thus, thirty congregations in and near Leicestershire and Lincolnshire sent delegates to a conference in 1651, which stated the faith and order which they held in common: in concise terms they set forth that gifted men are set apart for preaching, and are maintained by voluntary gifts. Five years later a 'General Assembly' was held in London, attended by delegates from Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Bucks, Northants, and other parts. The constitution of the Assembly is not stated, but the minutes show two classes of superior officers: Elders are explicitly said to be local, bound to serve their own congregations for life, and having no status in other congregations; Messengers exercise a general superintendence over whole districts, but are forbidden to choose other Messengers without the unanimous consent of the Churches. The minutes are signed by ten Messengers and eight Elders (Brit. Museum, *Add. MSS* 36709).

In 1678, Thomas Grantham published a folio on primitive Christianity, and, when expatiating on the officers of the Christian Church, he put in the forefront the Messengers or Apostles, whose permanent functions were to succeed the original Apostles 'as Travelling Ministers, to plant churches, and to settle those in order who are as Sheep without a Shepherd.' These, like the Bishops (or Elders) and Deacons, were to be elected by the free choice of the brotherhood and then ordained; and it is expressly laid down that the power of ordination is not limited to those who were already ordained, but is shared by all who have received the gifts of God's Holy Spirit. Then, in discussing General Assemblies, which were proved to be Scriptural, and were therefore

held regularly by the General Baptists, not only the Messengers and Elders who signed were admitted to the meetings, but also any gifted brethren who chose to attend. The office of Messenger was evidently regarded as a task by some. So, from the analogy of Timothy and Titus, it was claimed by Grantham that, while they had a larger circuit, had business in many places, and so were greater servants than the fixed ministers, yet they had no jurisdiction over other bishops (Grantham, *Ancient Christian Religion*, 186). Then, in a special treatise, Grantham showed that the actual practice of the Brethren was to 'send forth Men to act Authoritatively, both in preaching to the World, and setting things in order to remote Congregations, to exercise Discipline by Excommunication of Offenders and remitting the Penitent; by ordaining them Elders, and dispensing to them the Holy Mysteries or Ordinances' (*op. cit.* 160).

Grantham wrote on his own authority only, but probably expressed the feeling of the Fen districts—Lincoln, Hunts, and Cambridge. In the same year a meeting of the General Baptists, near Bucks and Oxon, adopted a Confession, drawn up by Monk, another Messenger, in which Article xxxix. is very explicit:

'General Councils, or assemblies, consisting of bishops, elders, and brethren, of the several churches of Christ, and being legally convened, and met together out of all the churches, and the churches appearing there by their representatives, make but one Church, and have lawful right and suffrage in this general meeting or assembly, to act in the name of Christ, it being of Divine authority, and is the best means under heaven to preserve unity, to prevent heresy, and superintendency among or in any congregation whatsoever within its own limits or jurisdiction,' etc.

In a long article, xxxi., 'Of Officers in the Church of Christ,' we see a slight difference of opinion as to the power of ordination:

The bishop or messenger is to 'be chosen thereunto by the common suffrage of the Church, and solemnly set apart by fasting or prayer, with imposition of hands, by the bishops of the same function, ordinarily; and those bishops, so ordained, have the government of those churches that had suffrage in their election, and no other ordinarily; as also to preach the word or gospel to the world, or unbelievers. And the particular pastor, or elder, in like manner is to be chosen by the common suffrage of the particular congregation, and ordained by the bishop or messenger God hath placed in the church he hath charge of,' etc. (Hanserd Knollys Society, *Confessions of Faith*, pp. 159, 160).

When after 1689 the organization comes into full light, and its records become continuous, we find not only this order of Messengers fully rooted in the esteem of the Connexion, but numerous Associations established, each of which was supposed to have one Messenger at least, while all sent representatives to the General Assembly. As everything depended on voluntary consent, the choice of a new Messenger was a matter of careful negotiation between the Assembly and the Association concerned, usually extending over more than a year, and generally the consent was sought of the church where he was a member. Ordination was by authority of the Assembly, or of the Association concerned, and was usually performed by the existing Messengers. In practice the office was maintained by voluntary subscription, which, however, was not large enough to free the officer from the necessity of supporting himself, often by manual labour. The Messenger usually resided for life within his district, and visited all the churches there freely. The order was considered superior to the Eldership, both priority and presidency being conceded. But there are no signs that the Messengers ever met together apart from the Elders of local churches, or that they acted as a corporate body. The Elders were so far from any system of itinerancy, that in 1696 it was resolved that no Elder might leave his own people and be established as Elder over another people in another place (T. Goadby,

By-paths of Baptist History, London, 1871, p. 244). The funds of the Connexion were vested in lay trustees, on trusts so loosely expressed that the Messengers never tried to assert any legal claim to them. (The Minutes of Assembly are published by the Baptist Historical Society.)

As the Connexion lost vitality during the 18th cent., whole Associations ceased to meet, and therefore their Messengers died out, while the local churches, in many cases, asserted their independence. Then the foundation of the New Connexion of General Baptists effectually stopped the revival of the Old Connexion, and attracted some of its component parts. Yet, even at the present day, there are about a score of churches, unobtrusively pursuing their way, with their Messengers, keeping up their General Assembly, and showing still this primitive connexional system, though completely devoid of that which inspires it, the spirit of propagandism.

In the 17th cent. this organization had been copied and developed by the Society of Friends, who were also in direct contact with the Dutch Mennonite Connexion (Barclay, *op. cit.* 342). While a group of local Friends formed a church for local purposes, the provision of evangelists was clearly beyond the power of such a group. At first George Fox organized, then associations of local churches recognized, ministers and certified them as fit to travel; these then shared his responsibility, both gathering converts and organizing them into churches, even appointing the first Elders (*ib.* 388). By 1661 a regular Yearly Meeting was established in London for the whole Society (*ib.* 392). As custom became settled, it was agreed that the Travelling Ministers were *ex officio* members of this Yearly Meeting, and Fox even applied to them the term 'Apostles,' which the General Baptists also had borrowed from Scripture. The other members were to be chosen by the quarterly meetings out of the local Elders, but these did not always sit with the 'Public Labourers' (*ib.* 404). These Travelling Ministers retained for themselves the right to organize and control their own work of evangelization, which fell entirely into their hands when Fox passed away. They met regularly on Monday and Sunday to arrange where they would preach; they discussed openings for new work, and the character of those who wished to be recognized as ministers, and they kept a roll of their own membership (*ib.* 381).

The fervour of the age died down, and propagandism became of less importance, so that the Travelling Ministers lost their pre-eminence. In 1735 the Yearly Meeting forbade their meeting to control its own membership, and within twenty years they were brought under the direction of Mixed Meetings, in which the dominant element was a new kind of Elder, whose main business was to administer, not to preach. Thus, with the cessation of evangelizing came the transformation from the connexional type in the Society. The pyramidal series of courts remains, but the Travelling Ministers now form a very small element in them, and in the Society.

The general decay of the 18th cent. was met by the vigorous evangelism of Whitefield and Wesley; and, as crystallization took place, it was on the connexional system. In 1744 six clergymen and five lay preachers met, and traced the foundations of the Methodist polity; forty years later, Wesley enrolled a deed in Chancery which settled the government of the Connexion, while in the same year a Conference at Baltimore organized the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. The United Empire Loyalists laid the foundation of Methodism in Canada, while from

England other Methodists spread throughout the British dominions. Questions of Church polity, however, have been fiercely debated, and have led to many secessions in both England and America, which have only partially been offset by reunions; the very principle of these secessions calls in question the connexional scheme. As Wesley organized it, the body with supreme authority in spiritual matters was a Conference of a hundred ministers. These, however, he desired to act in harmony with the whole number of mutually recognized ministers, and his wishes have invariably been respected. Thus all questions of doctrine, of discipline, and of ministerial standing and employment, are settled by the ministers in full conclave. It was against the exclusion of other members that revolts chiefly occurred, and the resulting bodies, such as the Primitive Methodists and the United Methodists, temper their Conferences with laymen in at least an equal proportion. Even the Wesleyan Methodists now have a Representative Conference, with equal numbers of ministers and laymen meeting first and dealing with all matters of policy and finance. But here it is to be noted that the trust deeds on which chapel property is held ensure that the enjoyment is secured to the ministers stationed by the Pastoral Conference. The Methodist Episcopal Churches have moved on similar lines; but here the bishops retain their exclusive powers, and when met as a body they define the duties of each member. While an increasing deference is paid to local wishes, the supreme authority technically resides in the Conference, and in England at least the Conferences regularly exercise their powers. The itinerant system is being encroached upon by the claims of central offices or by the new system of Central Missions, in which continuity of service is regarded as important. Wesley's three year rule is also being relaxed, both in the parent body by ingenious constructions of the Deed Poll, and in the offshoots by open legislation.

The title of 'Connexion' was adopted by other bodies, such as the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales, the Countess of Huntingdon's chaplains, and the New Connexion of General Baptists. Historically these originated almost independently of one another and of other bodies, and in their gradual organization they have profited by the experience of Methodists and Presbyterians, besides steadily rejecting the central feature of the ever-present Episcopal system; thus they have given new extensions to the term 'Connexion.'

The Leicester preachers, who formed the nucleus of the New Connexion of General Baptists, had retained all power to themselves at first, and so had the Yorkshire preachers who joined with them; but soon the local officers were associated, and, when negotiations were undertaken with the Lincolnshire churches of the Old Connexion, they explicitly repudiated the office of Messenger as not of Divine institution, although they were ready to discuss its expediency. The first rules were drafted by ministers alone, who advised that the Association should be open only to ministers and elders; but the separate churches made steady efforts to secure local control by the whole body of local members. Thus in 1817 their historian summed up to the effect that they were in their discipline strictly congregational, that each society allowed no foreign control even from its own Conferences or Association, and that the rights of church members were sacred against the encroachments of their own officers (A. Taylor, *Hist. of Eng. Gen. Baptists*, Lond. 1818, ii. 468). In that year also the basis of representation in the Association was settled on such terms that the pastors were far outnumbered by the lay delegates. Twenty years

later a new constitution was drafted, but was carefully emended, to ensure the independence of the churches; and the united action was reduced to the consideration of cases referred spontaneously by Conferences, churches, or individuals, to the management of the academy and of some publications, to the conduct of home and foreign missions (J. H. Wood, *Hist. of the Baptists*, Lond. 1847, p. 278). Even as regards the ministry, the advisory committee to report on applicants had equal numbers of laymen and ministers, while the ministers had no joint function peculiar to themselves. When we note, also, the disappearance of any itinerant system, it will appear that the mere name of Connexion survived the reality in this case; and since 1891, in order to establish more intimate relations with Baptists of another school, the meetings of the Association have been reduced to a mere formal gathering.

Similarly, the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion has long ceased to show any connexional vitality, and the methods of its churches and ministers approximate to the Congregationalists. In the Principality, however, the Calvinistic Methodists have moved the other way, as is shown in their adoption of the title 'Presbyterian Church of Wales'; yet, while the ministers are ordained only with the approval of an Association, and have part of their time claimed by the whole body rather than by the local congregation, there is a feature of Connexionalism still discernible.

Many mission fields present good examples of connexional principles. Often the whole body of foreign workers are associated into a Synod or Conference, which reviews the progress of the band, decides on plans, and allots the individual members to their departments. Rarely, indeed, do the native converts have any voice at all in such a meeting, though a native minister may have a seat in Conference as a worker. Sometimes the decisions of the Conference are subject to review by a committee chosen by the subscribers who defray the expenses, and by this feature a special complication is introduced into the connexional machinery. This power of the purse is one of the most important factors in the modification of Connexionalism. Not only may a committee sitting in Britain tend to regard the workers abroad rather in the light of civil servants, to be moved about at the will of an ecclesiastical Foreign Office; but also in home affairs a rich Methodist circuit often appears to obtain the particular ministers it wishes, even against the apparent good of the whole Connexion. Yet this same power of the purse can manifestly be used to stereotype connexional methods in the drawing up of trust deeds, so that all ecclesiastical property, buildings and endowments alike, can be placed under the control of the Conference of workers, and not of local supporters.

Another menace to Connexionalism, as to all other organizations, is the irrepressible ambition of some men to wield power. In the early days, an outside autocrat like Constantine was able to capture and transform the machinery of the Church. For many centuries within Christian circles, a steady claim to supremacy has been put forth from Rome by an oligarchy of Pope and cardinals, who have succeeded in rendering nearly every revival subservient to their concentrated rule. Nor is it needful to look outside connexional circles: the corps of ministers most readily arranges to perpetuate itself, excluding the mass of members from all direct influence; it reaches out beyond the stationing and supervising of its own members, to the control of all activity, on which it can at least interpose a veto. Such encroachments have more than once excited revolt,

and led to the formation of other bodies in which such domination is expressly guarded against. Within the body of active self-governing workers there has often arisen some commanding figure, whose actual influence extends far beyond the nominal position he holds; but such a phenomenon is equally common under any system of management, and no such leader has proved able, or even desirous, to found a dynasty which may subvert the general principles.

In estimating the permanence of the type, we have to bear in mind that details of organization are not prescribed in the New Testament, but a few principles are insisted upon as fundamental. None is more urgently reiterated than: 'All ye are brethren; one is your Master, even the Christ.' Again, the primary object of the Church is evangelization: Go everywhere, tell all peoples, enlist the converts, instruct them in the ways of Christ; such are the purposes for which the Church was called into being. Propagandism and brotherhood are thus to be inwrought in any scheme. Now, as a matter of history, every great revival of religion has been marked by an appreciation of these elements, and has fashioned its machinery on somewhat connexional lines. True, the Franciscans were brought under the control of the Curia, but the very struggle against this, and the rapid degeneracy from the spirit of Francis, show the natural relation of Connexionalism to these principles, so that the disappearance of the one imperils the existence of the other. Similarly the transformation of the connexional type among the old General Baptists and the Friends reflects the decay of the spirit of propaganda in those bodies. But the great Methodist Churches, with their firm grasp on the evangelistic purpose of their existence, and their warm fraternity, hold fast to the connexional system as the best embodiment of their principles. And whenever a revival takes place, even on a microscopic scale, it seems natural that those who are actively concerned shall meet simply as brethren to consult and arrange mutually as to the division of labour.

LITERATURE.—E. Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, London, 1883; A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, Edinburgh, 1898; K. Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation*, London, 1897; R. Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, London, 1877; T. Grantham, *Christianism Primitive, or the Ancient Christian Religion*, London, 1878; A. H. Newman, *Manual of Church History*, Philadelphia, 2 vols., 1900-3; *Consolidated Rules of the Primitive Methodist Connection*, London, 1902; Wesleyan Annual Minutes of Conference, London; *World Missionary Conference*, 'The Church in the Mission Field,' Edinburgh, 1910. W. T. WHITLEY.

CONSANGUINITY.—By 'consanguinity' is meant blood-relationship, and more particularly, close blood-relationship. When we speak of a consanguineous union, we mean that the two organisms are near relatives; when we speak of a high degree of consanguinity in a herd or in a community, we mean that there has been much inbreeding or endogamy. It is desirable to know what the biological facts are in regard to the results of the sex-union of closely consanguineous organisms, but it must be admitted that clear-cut facts are few. It should also be noted that, as the range of living creatures expresses a very long gamut, we must be very careful in arguing from one level to another. What is normal and apparently wholesome at one grade of organization may not be desirable at another.

It seems to have been securely established that some hermaphrodite animals habitually fertilize their own eggs. This autogamy has been proved in some tapeworms and flukes—not auspicious illustrations; it seems sometimes to occur in the freshwater hydra and a few other free-living

animals. There are numerous self-fertilizing flowers, though there is no case known where cross-fertilization is impossible. It may also be that one hermaphrodite liver-fluke sometimes inseminates another, so that the habitual autogamy may be interrupted. In the great majority of hermaphrodite animals, such as earthworms and snails, cross-fertilization is the invariable rule. It is also relevant to recall the fact that in many of the small Crustaceans, in many Rotifers, and in some insects, such as Aphides, there may be long-continued parthenogenesis—generation succeeding generation without loss of vitality, although the eggs develop without any fertilization. In some of the Rotifers the males are still undiscovered; Reaumur kept Aphides breeding parthenogenetically for over three years (50 consecutive generations), and Weismann kept females of a common water flea (*Cypris reptans*) breeding in the same way for eight years. This shows that at certain levels of organization a vigorous life may be kept up for many generations, not only without any introduction of 'fresh blood,' but without the presence of any males.

A number of careful experiments have been made on in-breeding, but there is imperative need for more. Weismann in-bred mice for twenty-nine generations, and his assistant Von Guaita continued the experiment for seven more generations, but the only notable general result was a reduction of the fertility by about thirty per cent. Some experimenters, such as Crampe, have found that the in-breeding of rats resulted in disease and abnormality, but this was not observable in the equally careful experiments of Ritzema-Eos. He in-bred rats for thirty generations; for the first four years (twenty generations) there was almost no reduction in fertility; after that there was a very marked decrease of fertility, an increase in the rate of mortality, and a diminution of size. These and other experiments on mammals, though insufficient to be satisfactory as a basis for generalization, suggest that very close in-breeding may be continued for many generations without any observable evil effects, and, on the other hand, that there are limits beyond which in-breeding becomes disadvantageous. It is certain that, if there be well-defined hereditary predisposition to disease in the stock, then in-breeding soon spells ruin.

'Extensive experiments by Castle and others [see *Proc. Amer. Acad.* xli. 731-786] on the in-breeding of the pomace-fly (*Drosophila ampelophila*) led to the general result that "inbreeding probably reduces very slightly the productiveness of *Drosophila*, but the productiveness may be fully maintained under constant inbreeding (brother and sister) if selection be made from the more productive families"' (J. A. Thomson, *Heredity*, 1908, p. 393).

Some of the histories of domesticated breeds are so well recorded that they may be ranked as carefully-conducted experiments, and it seems that some very successful breeds of cattle—such as Polled Angus—have in their early stages of establishment involved extremely close in-breeding. When we examine the pedigree of famous bulls and stallions, we find in some cases an extraordinarily close consanguinity. Valuable results have often been attained by using the same stallion repeatedly on successive generations.

From breeding experiments four general results seem to be clear: (1) that progressive results have usually followed mating within a narrow range of relationship; (2) that close in-breeding has a great utility in fixing characters or developing 'prepotency'; (3) that close in-breeding may go far without any injurious effect on physique; and (4) that, if there be any morbid idiosyncrasy, close in-breeding tends to perpetuate and augment it.

Darwin paid much attention to the question of in-breeding (see *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* [London, 1868], etc.), and his general conclusions were:

(1) 'The consequences of close interbreeding carried on for too long a time are, as is generally believed, loss of size, constitutional vigour, and fertility, sometimes accompanied by a tendency to malformation.' (2) 'The evil effects from close interbreeding are difficult to detect, for they accumulate slowly and differ much in degree in different species, whilst the good effects which almost invariably follow a cross are from the first manifest.' (3) 'It should, however, be clearly understood that the advantage of close interbreeding, as far as the retention of character is concerned, is indisputable, and often outweighs the evil of a slight loss of constitutional vigour.'

From his researches on flowering plants, Darwin concluded that there was 'something injurious' connected with self-fertilization; and although he came to recognize that self-fertilization was more frequent and more successful than he had at first believed, he adhered on the whole to the aphorism, 'Nature abhors perpetual self-fertilization.' In his book on *Cross and Self Fertilisation* (1876), however, he says: 'If the word "perpetual" had been omitted, the aphorism would have been false. As it stands, I believe that it is true, though perhaps rather too strongly expressed.' The fact is that self-fertilization in flowers is for the most part relatively, and not absolutely, injurious.

In the present state of our knowledge, it seems fair to say that there is little biological evidence to show that there is anything necessarily disadvantageous or dangerous in close consanguineous unions. These seem often to occur in nature in isolated and restricted areas, and they are frequent

in successful breeding. It must be admitted that evil effects sometimes follow prolonged consanguineous pairing in the artificial conditions of stock-breeding, but it must not be hastily inferred that these evil effects are necessarily due to the consanguinity. There may be persistence of unwholesome conditions of life which have a cumulative evil effect as generation succeeds generation, or there may be some organic taint in the early members of the stock which becomes aggravated, just as a desirable organic peculiarity may be enhanced.

Bateson expresses the view of most biologists when he says:

'It should perhaps be pointed out categorically that nothing in our present knowledge can be taken with any confidence as a reason for regarding consanguineous marriages as improper or specially dangerous. All that can be said is that such marriages give extra chances of the appearances of recessive characteristics among the offspring. Some of these are doubtless bad qualities, but we do not yet know that among the recessives there may not be valuable qualities also' (*Mendel's Principles of Heredity*, new ed., London, 1909, p. 220).

When we take into account such evidence as there is from animals and from plants, and such studies as those of Huth (*Marriage of Near Kin*², 1887), and the instances and counter-instances of communities with a high degree of consanguinity, we are led to the conclusion that the prejudices and laws of many peoples against the marriage of near kin rest on a basis not so much biological as social.

See MARRIAGE.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given throughout the art., but see also under MARRIAGE.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

CONSCIENCE.

Introductory (J. H. HYSLOP), p. 30.

Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 33.

Egyptian (G. FOUCART), p. 34.

CONSCIENCE.—The term 'conscience' is derived from the Lat. *scientia*, which meant originally 'joint knowledge,' or the knowledge which we share with others. It soon came to denote, however, what we mean by concomitant knowledge, that is, consciousness or self-consciousness, and only in later literature had it the meaning which we attach to 'conscience.' Even then it was not exactly what we mean by it as the arbiter and motive power in right and wrong. The Greek equivalent of Lat. *scientia* was *gnôstis*. This was in use by Plato and the Stoics, and denoted joint knowledge, and with the Stoics it also denoted the knowledge of right and wrong. In Cicero *scientia* can often be translated indifferently 'conscience' or 'consciousness.' It is the same with the French term *conscience*.

It is more distinctively in modern times that a radical difference is marked between the idea of consciousness and that of conscience. Consciousness with us is a purely intellectual function, a generic term for the phenomena of mind, or for that concomitant act of mind which Hamilton has well called the 'complement of the cognitive energies.' 'Conscience' is a term with a moral import, though complicated with the intellectual, and implies an emotional content at the same time. 'Consciousness' is thus a term for Psychology, and 'conscience' one, for Ethics, with the distinction, however, that consciousness is implied in the problems of Ethics, while conscience is not necessarily so implied in those of Psychology. 'Conscience' is thus a name for the function of distinguishing between right and wrong, and of enforcing the one or preventing the other. The difference between the ancient and the modern conception of it is determined by the difference between their ideas of morality, and may be said to reflect the whole

Greek and Roman (W. H. S. JONES), p. 37.

Jewish (M. GASTER), p. 41.

Muslim (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 46.

difference between their ethical and religious civilizations. The morality of antiquity, in so far as it was a subject of reflexion, hardly got beyond the conception of prudence—except, perhaps, with the Stoics. That of modern times involves the idea of duty or devotion to a law which may require sacrifice. There is no doubt a perfect reconciliation between these two points of view when we come to make a concrete examination of the facts to which they are supposed to apply; but in their abstract formulæ they seem opposed to each other. In its conception of rational conduct antiquity sacrificed a proximate to a remoter interest; modern ideas assume to deny all interest or happiness, and to demand unswerving obedience to law. But when this is carefully scrutinized it often turns out to be a sacrifice of the interests of the present life to a remoter interest in a life to come. The Christian system was the originator of the phrases which came to express inflexible obedience to duty; but this system was based on the immortality of the soul, and on the rewards and punishments apportioned to the nature of one's conduct in this life. Hence, when its moral conceptions are subjected to analysis, they do not differ absolutely in kind from those of antiquity, but they take two worlds into account where the ancient took only one, namely, the present world. The difference, so far as it is a difference, was between a materialistic and a spiritualistic view of the present life, and also between merely intelligent action and such action as involved duty with personal sacrifice.

The difficulty of comparing our modern conception of conscience with that of the ancients is apparent in the philosophy of Plato. Though he used the etymological equivalent of the modern term 'conscience,' this was not the term for one of the main functions of conscience with us.

'Reason' was the function which did service for conscience, and even this was not the motive agency in the direction of the will, but the guide for other influences. The myth of the chariot with the two steeds represents Plato's conception of the moral nature. Plato's distinction was between 'rational' and 'irrational' conduct, by which he meant the distinction between intelligent and ignorant conduct. Irrational action was under the influence of desire and passion, two unruly steeds which in their behaviour never looked before and after, but rushed into action without deliberation or reflexion. Reason was the charioteer whose function it was to direct these two steeds or impulses towards an end which represented knowledge of what the subject does, instead of blind passion. In this conception, however, reason furnishes light but not power. The motive agency was in the desires and passions, and reason only gave counsel or directed them, without providing any other end than these impulses offered. It took a more spiritual age to supply an end which was distinct from that of sense and passion, and so to modify the conception which gave rise to the more modern idea of conscience. The distinction between right and wrong with Plato, and, for that matter, with all Greece, was that between the prudent and the imprudent, between what was best for the individual and what was injurious to him, and the judge of this was intelligence, not conscience in our use of the term. The nearest conception to ours was the Stoic obedience to law, a law too which sacrificed the impulses and started the reflective mind towards the later Christian doctrine. But it was still an appeal to reason, and tried to reconcile its opposition to passion by insisting upon traditional ethics in details. But other Greek thinkers conceived reason as the director, not the commander, of the impulses, and so the Greek point of view was not that of the supremacy of conscience, but the supremacy of reason, thus making prudence instead of law its standard of morality. The emotional element of conscience the ancients did not recognize. The influence which introduced this factor into the conception was partly the Christian idea of sacrifice, and partly the idea of respect for an inner law of life and conduct, suggested by the Stoic ethics, and made effective in the Christian system by the necessity of eschewing politics. This conception was explicitly formulated in later thought, and especially in the ethics of Immanuel Kant, as represented in his 'categorical imperative,' an unbending sense of duty, regardless, in some thinkers, of all consequences, and in others of pleasure and pain. Here it denotes not only the consciousness of moral distinctions, but also an impelling motive or influence towards the execution of the right and the evasion of the wrong.

The Furies, or *Erinyes* (q.v.), are often regarded as mythological representations of the Greek idea of conscience. But this interpretation of them is due to certain analogies with the more modern conception of remorse as a punishment for sin inflicted by conscience on the transgressor. The Furies were not inner monitors, but external agencies punishing the individual for the violations of the moral law. Remorse is an inner punisher. In the rationalistic stage of Greek reflexion there was a tendency on the part of some thinkers to give a subjective interpretation to the idea of the *Erinyes*, but this never availed to suggest to them the modern idea of conscience as a distinct function of the mind. There was no tendency in Greek thought to combine the ideas of reason, self-consciousness, and penitence for sin so as to form the complex idea which has done so much service in modern times. The consciousness of sin was not a characteristic of the Greek mind.

It was the general character of Christianity that gave rise to the new conception of conscience, and this was because it created a new morality. The Greek never got away from the secular view of things. Whatever his talk about the Divine, he associated it with the æsthetic and political view

of the world; his ethical interests were confined to the present life and its joys. But Christianity extended the horizon of human hope beyond the present, and created the brotherhood of man, a new social feeling and interest. At the same time it brought a doctrine of personal salvation, based upon the idea that the present life was a probation for a better, and that man's only hope of happiness in the next life was his conformity to duty here. With this new social ideal, the extension of man's horizon of hope, and the strenuousness of his conception of duty and limited probation, the idea of morality was formed with a direct reference to a spiritual as opposed to a material or carnal world. Morality was conceived as possibly demanding a sacrifice of all that the Greek mind valued in life, namely, the world of sense, or the intellectual world of speculation—which was only the grosser sense-world a little refined. The transfer of happiness to a spiritual world forced morality to neglect that end here, and gave a very abstract meaning to duty. It also laid so much stress on the moral law, and so little on mere intellectual culture, that morality became the important characteristic of the man who was to be saved; that is to say, his morality and not his wisdom saved him. This, too, was the consequence of the democratic as opposed to the aristocratic view of social relations involved. In all, however, it substituted moral for intellectual virtues, and started civilization on a new tack, which was to make conscience more important than culture, while it gave a larger content to the conception of man's moral nature. As conduct rather than knowledge came to be the condition of salvation, the idea of conscience took root as the most important part of man's constitution, and it was appealed to not only to secure individual salvation, but also as the characteristic in man which reflected his lineage with the Divine.

The early Fathers defined conscience as the director of man's spiritual nature, and the distinguisher between right and wrong. Apparently not until Descartes did it take on the special import of an inner faculty to punish the soul for its sins. The function of remorse was recognized long before, but it took philosophic reflexion to introduce the idea into the scholastic conception of conscience. The same conception prevails in Spinoza. But this is entirely altered when we come to Kant. He identifies conscience with the function of the 'categorical imperative,' or sense of duty. Conscience, he says, is not the product of experience, but an inherited or original capacity of the soul, and is identical with the law of duty. This was equally a departure from the ancient idea that it was an intellectual function, and from the Cartesian idea that it was the after-emotion of the soul in regard to conduct. It was not, with Kant, a faculty of judgment determining means to end, or deciding when any particular course was right or wrong, but the faculty which impelled the right attitude of mind towards any course which the judgment made right or wrong. The consequence was that conscience was convertible with the inner sense of duty or the compulsory nature of the moral law.

Bishop Butler's view preceded that of Kant historically, but was much the same as that of the great German. It did not have the same development, but it reflected the logical consequence of the age toward this view. Butler expounds his conception of conscience in his *Sermons*, which are an analysis of human nature. There is a tendency to emphasize the emotional element, but the intellectual is admitted as essential to it. He says:

'There is a principle of reflection in men, by which they distinguish between, approve and disapprove their own actions. We are plainly constituted such sort of creatures as to reflect upon our own nature. The mind can take a view of what passes within itself, its propensions, aversions, passions, affections, as

respecting such objects, and in such degrees; and of the several actions consequent thereupon. In this survey it approves of one, disapproves of another, and towards a third is affected in neither of these ways, but is quite indifferent. This principle in man, by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions, is conscience' (*Serm. I. § 71.*).

He is careful subsequently to insist that the function involves 'reflexion,' and distinguishes it from the appetencies or natural affections, as the agency which can give their promptings stability and rationality. The conception at this point takes on some resemblance to that of Plato, with additions from the course of Christian development. But in completing his conception of it he assigns a supremacy to conscience which is based not on its power but on its right to prior judgment in questions of right and wrong.

'Thus,' he says, 'that principle, by which we survey, and either approve or disapprove our own heart, temper, and actions, is not only to be considered as what is in its turn to have some influence; which may be said of every passion of the lowest appetites; but likewise as being superior; as from its very nature manifestly claiming superiority over all others—inasmuch that you cannot form a notion of this faculty, conscience, without taking in judgment, direction, superintendency. This is a constituent part of the idea, that is, of the faculty itself: and, to preside and govern, from the very economy and constitution of man, belongs to it. Had it strength, as it has right; had it power, as it has manifest authority; it would absolutely govern the world' (*Serm. II. § 19.*).

In respect of the idea of authority, this view is strikingly like that of Kant, but it contains an element of judgment and emotional attitude after the act which does not appear to make a part of Kant's conception. Kant starts with a law of rational action which is to hold good for all rational beings, and makes this an imperative duty which is to regulate conduct without regard to consequences or external relations and conditions. External deeds are with him neither good nor bad. The only good or bad thing in the world is a good or bad will, and any will governed by the 'categorical imperative,' or sense of duty, is moral, regardless of what the external act is. One does not need to know the means to an end or to reflect on consequences in order to be virtuous in this conception. Neither the amount of intelligence or wisdom nor the after-emotional effects of approval or disapproval have anything to do with virtue, but only the right attitude of the will and reverence for the law. The motive or mere sense of duty was sufficient to determine the whole character of conduct, and this motive constituted the nature of conscience.

Both these schools or tendencies resulted in the conception that conscience is a simple and unique faculty of the mind. This was especially indicated in the simplicity of its function in the Kantian system, and in the view that it was not a product of experience, and with the English thinkers it was further favoured by the emphasis placed upon its presence in man as an evidence of the Divine. The Kantian argument for immortality and the existence of God pointed in a similar direction, as it rested on the moral nature of man. Both schools treated conscience as an implanted power and not the result of experience, and accordingly their conception came into conflict with the implications of the doctrine of evolution. This theory attempted to derive conscience from various elements in man's social nature, and refused to regard it as an implanted and unique faculty of the mind. The controversy between the two schools was made clear by the relation of the idea of conscience to the theistic interpretation of the cosmos. The last resource of the theologian for the proof of a Divine existence had been the unique and moral character of conscience. Evolution had assumed that it had proved its claims in all other matters, and was reluctant to make an exception of conscience. It was only natural that it should so treat the question, and it was unfortunate for the theistic

view of things that it seemed to stake its claims on the integrity of its argument regarding the origin of conscience.

This controversy, however, is not the best setting for the consideration of conscience. We should first see what we think it is as a fact, and we can then discuss its origin. The tendency since the rise of the controversy has been to consider conscience not as a unique or simple faculty, but as a complex of mental phenomena organized with reference to moral ends. Instead of being made a separate faculty—the 'faculty' Psychology having been abandoned—it is considered as the *mind occupied with moral phenomena*. This enables us to conceive it as the organization of all that intelligence and feeling which are connected with the actions called moral or immoral. There was an approximation to this view in the conception of Butler, but it was concealed by the prevailing interest in other questions. But, taking conscience as a complex instead of a simple function, the present writer would recognize three general elements in it: (1) The *intellectual or cognitive* element, which is concerned with the perception of the means to ends, and the fact of some end which we agree to call the good as distinct from the merely true. Other mental functions are called in to estimate what shall be the good as distinct from the true, but the intellectual judgment and perceptions are involved in determining both the fact of this ideal and the necessary means to its realization, and on these means rests a part of the judgment of right and wrong. In fact, right and wrong hardly have any meaning without this conception of means to ends. (2) The *emotional* element, which is primarily the valuation of facts and things in relation to our welfare, whether they represent retrospective or prospective feelings. Hence they divide into what we shall call the *judicial* and the *legislative* feelings. The judicial feeling represents the approval or disapproval of self or actions in their relation to the moral law. The legislative feeling is the sense of duty, or 'categorical imperative,' and commands obedience as the retrospective feelings pass judgment on acts already done. (3) The *desiderative* element, or that mental state which may be called reverence, good-will, or conscientiousness, and is representative of respect for law, where the sense of duty represents a sense of compulsion often against the desires. The highest condition of conscience is that in which respect for law is substituted for the imperative which feels a struggle against natural desire.

These various elements will include all the social instincts which figure so prominently in the theories of Darwin and Spencer and the evolutionists generally. The important point, however, is that they show the moral nature or conscience to be complex and not simple. The view solves some perplexities in the evolutionist controversy. The difficulty proposed by the older view, in its effort to utilize the distinction between man and the animal in respect of morality, was that evolution could not account for this new increment in the process of creating man, and that, since it was not derived from anything like it in previous organic life from which man was supposed to be developed physically, a special creative act was necessary to account for it in man. But with the analysis of conscience into elements which may be found in all consciousness, animal or otherwise, we may suppose that the process of evolution has only organized or consolidated elements otherwise separate into a systematic tendency to act in the direction we call conscience. In this manner we may admit the uniqueness of the function, and so its distinction from animal life, while we at the same time accept the evolution, if not of the ele

ments, certainly of the organic whole for which the term stands. The distinction as a whole between man and animal is preserved, while the identity of their elements is maintained, evolution being formative, not creative.

The consequence of this view is that conscience is no more simple than the æsthetic faculty or any other function of the mind. It receives a distinct name merely because of the importance attaching to certain fixed relations between men and their conduct. All the functions of the mind are employed in the determination of action, and it seems simple only because we are in the habit of seizing some one particular mark in the whole for denominating the process; and, in any case in which a single term is used to denominate a fact, a natural tendency arises to consider that fact a simple one. But in matters of moral character there are many mental states and many external relations involved, and so long as conscience is a term to denote the moral nature it must include all these factors.

The problem, however, of its origin is not so important as its validity as a function of mind. The perplexity created by the controversy of the religious mind with the evolutionist was caused by the original conception that its meaning and value as a function of mind depended on its origin. The assumption was that, unless it had a Divine origin, its authority was impaired. In other words, its validity was made to depend on its creative origin instead of upon its judgment of facts. The consequence was that evolution only enforced the conclusion which the theist admitted hypothetically. But once realize, as we do in all other scientific and philosophic problems, that historical origin does not determine validity, and the authority of conscience will depend on the same criteria as those which determine ordinary truths, and not upon any contingency of its remote source, whether it be a simple or a complex faculty. We do not make any other scientific truth depend on the cause of its origin but upon its conformity to facts and the law of things. It must be the same with the dictates of conscience. They are valid or invalid irrespective of the mode of their origin, and because of their relation to the welfare of the individual.

LITERATURE.—L. Stephen, *Science of Ethics*, Lond. 1882, ch. viii.; T. H. Green, *Proleg. to Ethics*, Oxf. 1883, bk. ii. ch. v., and bk. iv. ch. i.; I. A. Dorner, *Chr. Ethics* (Eng. tr. 1887), pt. i. ch. iii. 2nd div. 2nd sect.; H. Paulsen, *Syst. of Ethics* (Eng. tr. 1899), bk. ii. ch. vi.; see also Butler, *Sermons*, ed. W. E. Gladstone, Oxf. 1896; Darwin, *Descent of Man*, Lond. 1871; and H. Spencer, *Principles of Ethics*, Lond. 1898.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

CONSCIENCE (Babylonian).—As is indicated in the art. **CONFESSION** (vol. iii. p. 825), the Assyro-Babylonians felt strongly the consciousness of the commission of sin and wrongdoing, and herein the idea of conscience appears plainly, and must have presented itself with all its force to their minds. Confession of sin, in fact, can exist in all sincerity only when conscience speaks to a man, and tells him that he is in fault—when,

'Sitting in lamentation,
In bitter mutterings and pain of heart,
In evil weeping, in evil lamentation,
He mourns like a dove; tearfully night and day,
To his merciful god like an ox he lows, (and)
Bitter lamentation he constantly makes.'¹

The Assyro-Bab. conception of sin, however, differed from that prevailing in a Christian community, as the failings of a religious man belonging to those ancient nationalities might be due to causes over which he had no control—the effects of the actions of evil spirits, or the ritual uncleanness brought about by acts of forgetfulness or by the effects of illness. The disadvantage arising from this consisted in the disfavour of the gods, or of the king as the gods' representative, and there was a desire to avoid such disfavour in future by

¹ *WAT* iv. 3 pl. 28, 50 ff.

refraining from the commission of the misdeeds which brought it about. This, though not the Christian idea of conscience (including, as it does, the feeling of remorse), may have tended to bring about the frame of mind which we understand thereby, or something akin to it.

An excellent example of the heart-searchings of the Babylonians and their remorse of conscience is given by the 2nd tablet of the *Surpu*-series. Here the afflicted man has not only to ask himself whether he has committed the sins of blasphemy, uncleanness, bribery (?) to thwart the ends of justice, used false balances, removed his neighbour's landmark, etc., but must also put to himself searching questions as to whether he has separated father and son (or other near relatives), refrained from freeing the captive, failed to enable the imprisoned to see the light of day, whether, being 'upright of mouth,' his heart was nevertheless faithless, and whether, while saying 'Yes' with his mouth, 'No' was in his heart.¹ As these queries run to about 80 lines, it will easily be recognized that the Babylonian, in his conscientiousness, was exceedingly thorough.

In fact, we may, perhaps, see in the last of the following lines something expressing the idea which the word 'conscience' contains:

'On account of his eye, which is filled with tears, [accept thou his] lamentation;

On account of his troubled face, [accept thou his] lamentation;

On account of his mind (?), from which tears depart not, [accept thou his] lamentation;

On account of his lips, on which a bridle is placed, [accept thou his] lamentation;²

On account of his hands, which rest spread abroad, [accept thou his] lamentation;

On account of his breast, which complains like a resounding flute, [accept thou his] lamentation.'³

In this extract the breast, the seat of the feelings, may be regarded as the inner conscience of a man, and as practically synonymous with the heart, when used in the same sense. In the Laws of Hammurabi, the person who had a complaint to make was recommended to go before Merodach and Zérpanitum in prayer, 'with perfection of heart.' 'Perfection of heart' would, therefore, seem to have been an expression equivalent to freedom from the consciousness of sin—a clear conscience. In the fullest sense of the words, therefore, the great gods of Babylonia exacted, for their favour, not only that rectitude in the sight of the world which every right-minded person desires, but also a good conscience, such as would urge one to repentance, contrition, reconciliation, and restitution when the interests of his fellow-men were involved.

Numerous inscriptions, mostly of the nature of penitential psalms and litanies, might be quoted in illustration of the above, but very little fresh information is to be obtained from them.⁴ Their cumulative evidence, however, shows the Babylonians in a most favourable light, notwithstanding that the objects of their worship were the gods and goddesses of their national pantheon. Religious in the extreme, the constant aim of the believer among them was a clear conscience, without which there was no hope of happiness, but, on the contrary, pain and grief in this world, and, to all appearance, separation in the world to come from the deity whom they worshipped.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the notes.

T. G. PINCHES.

¹ Zimmer, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis der bab. Rel.*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 2-7.

² Sumerian: *Šumduṃ sikur-e šubbata tra...*; Babylonian: *Ina šapti-su ša laḡas nadda [bikiti-su liḡe]*.

³ Haupt, *Akkad. u. sumer. Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881, no. 19, with additions. The text being imperfect, the above rendering is given with reserve. For a rendering without the additions, see Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Assyrii*, ii. (Giessen, 1908) p. 81, lines 13-16.

⁴ See Jastrow, *op. cit.* il. 1-137 ('Klagelieder und Bussgebete').

CONSCIENCE (Egyptian).—The actual word 'conscience' does not occur in the indexes of Egyptological works—which is *a priori* a significant fact. For not only must we suppose that the word has no exact equivalent in the Egyptian vocabulary (any more than have the terms 'sanction,' 'morality,' 'remorse,' etc.), but we must also conclude that the literature of ancient Egypt has nothing to say on the subject. Of course, we find numerous writings on propriety, on duty, on everything connected with the vast domain of ethics in general; but there is nothing that bears directly upon the phenomena of conscience in themselves. Since, on the other hand, we still find most delicate manifestations of what we might call an *organized* conscience in Egypt, in its literature and religious works, we must presume that the Egyptians had quite a different conception of conscience from ours for both of the senses in which the word is used to-day. Psychologically, they connected it with very different phenomena, and with methods of perception of the 'ego' which are no longer ours. Morally, conscience was regarded as playing a part in concepts grouped in a different way from that followed by our method. Or, rather, Egyptian thought arranged the operations of the moral conscience in separate and independent categories, whereas we make them a unity. It would take too long to investigate whether this fact is due to the general inability of the Egyptians to make abstract definitions, or, on the other hand, to the method whereby Egyptian intellectual civilization originally formed the foundations of its knowledge. The latter is probably the more correct view.

These radical differences of terminology explain, at any rate, why the question has never yet been entered into in modern works of Egyptology. These speak very often of the moral culture of Egypt, but never of its conscience or of the possible formation of the same (the work of Flinders Petrie, *Religion and Conscience*, is the only exception at present; but note also the restriction made in the literature at the end of this article). In fact, the complete absence in ancient Egypt of definition or treatment of the subject forces us to a long process of reconstruction of the Egyptian conscience by means of the direct study of whatever implicit manifestations of conscience can be seen in the whole collection of Egyptian writings. Thus, inscriptions such as a prayer, a hymn, a biography, or a copy of a deed of division or a lawsuit; or testamentary or epistolary papyri; or even magical incantations may supply a detail here or there; and the sum of such contributions may gradually make it possible to reach a knowledge of Egyptian conscience. This study is necessarily a very intricate one; but it is indispensable for our ultimate understanding of the duties and divisions of Egyptian morality, of which so much has been said. What follows cannot be any more than a first attempt, of provisional character.

It is a common thing to read that the Egyptians 'had a conscience superior to that of the other peoples of classic antiquity.' Such an expression is ambiguous. Its actual meaning, as Petrie rightly notes (*op. cit.* 86), must be that the *theoretical standards* were nowhere so well defined and apparently so high as in Egypt. The gradual development of these standards can be followed in a long historical series of documents.¹ But the

study of this evolution constitutes an inquiry which belongs to moral and social history. It amounts, in short, to an attempt to disentangle the notion of the *co-ordinate* moral system, with its sanctions and its more or less successful attempts at a codification of duties—the whole being organized on the standards of which we have just spoken. An investigation of this nature must be accompanied by that of the word 'duty,' because it is connected logically with the conception of moral obligation, and with the various questions attached thereto (nature of duty, categories, origins, sanctions, etc.). This has been the treatment followed in almost all the works occupied with the word 'conscience' in general.

It appears, then, to have been a mistake to study the 'duties' of Egyptian morality in connexion with conscience, as Petrie has done (*op. cit.*); and an examination of his work shows precisely that, among the hundreds of obligations and prohibitions figuring among the duties, the majority (food tabus, ritual and sexual tabus, etc.) arise from sources quite apart from the true domain of conscience.

We must, consequently, occupy ourselves exclusively with the phenomenon 'conscience' considered by itself, *i.e.* that immediate intuition of good and bad, that inward feeling, instinctive (from its appearing innate), which shows itself contemporaneously with an action. There is in it a quasi-spontaneous disposition of the mind to make the judgment (which it forms on actions and intentions) subordinate to an idea that appears to be *sui generis*.

Applying as it does to a dead race, and to a race which has left no didactic matter of its own on the subject, our study must be cautious, and should begin by limiting our field of inquiry as much as possible. Thus we must dismiss as too wide the definition that 'conscience is the mass of intuitions as to what is good or bad,' because an apparent intuition may be an acquisition that has become so rapid by force of habit that it seems instinctive (either by individual education or by hereditary transmission of the tendency). This suggests the subject of physical movements (*e.g.* 'struggling' movements) which seem instinctive, but are not necessarily innate. Petrie (*op. cit.* 92) shows very clearly that similarly the body of intuitions which we call conscience is the accumulated heritage of centuries. Not one of the apparent 'intuitions' brought to light by Egyptian writings can be classed with any degree of certainty among the primordial phenomena. They must be studied as one of the fundamental elements of a social morality composed of all the individual consciences brought together, and it belongs to ethics to investigate how heredity has impressed them little by little until they have the force of instinct (*cf.* A. Leroy, *Religion des primitifs*, Paris, 1909, p. 211).

Thus limited, the question comes to be whether there is in the body of Egyptian literature a means of defining the *initial* element (we must avoid the words 'innate' and 'acquired'), or the *earliest possible* elements from which the Egyptian moral conscience seems to proceed. In a question of this type, if we do not want it to extend indefinitely, it is a good method of procedure to apply to Egypt the principal theories relating to the origin of conscience among primitive peoples, and to investigate whether what we know of Egyptian religion and ethics agrees with them.

At the very outset, it seems certain that the Egyptian conscience cannot be brought into connexion with the Divine world of the nation. The literary expressions employed in the question as to 'whether conscience is the herald of the Lawgiver or the Lawgiver Himself' have no precise meaning here. If we can prove that social morality is the product of the body of individual

¹ Especially if we use documents very much neglected as a rule, such as: the 'Negative Confession' of the Roman era; the 'Duties of the Governor' (Rekhmara inscription), and, generally, the biographies of the first Theban empire. Hitherto we have made too exclusive a use of the celebrated ch. xxv. of the Book of the Dead and of the 'Treatises on Wisdom' (inaccurately called 'Treatises on Morality').

consciences, and show the initial separateness of morality and any given religious system, we see that this separation naturally affects the origin of conscience. Now this separation of morality from religious beliefs has been attempted time after time, since Tylor, in all the religions of uncivilized or semi-civilized peoples. But nowhere is this phenomenon more scientifically clear than in Egypt, where, from the time of the pre-historic texts of the Funerary Books to the Roman Empire, the accession of the gods to the domain of morality was a slow process. Right down to near the latter period, Osiris was almost the only god connected with a moral idea (Ptah of Memphis is *perhaps* an exception, if we judge by the latest discoveries, in his temples, of stelæ to the name of 'Ptah who hears the plaint of the wretched' [cf. Petrie, *Memphis*, I, Lond. 1908, p. 17 ff.]). The other gods neither prescribed nor taught anything of morality. They only punished those who did them wrong, and blessed their benefactors. It may even be remarked, as one of the strongest characteristics of Egyptian religions, that this neutrality of the gods persists throughout the whole domain of ethics.

The systems which base conscience on 'sympathy' seem incapable of explaining its manifestations in Egypt. Not one of the texts of the monuments, *e.g.*, or of the moral or popular literature, makes any mention of, or even allusion to, anything of the nature of the Shinto doctrine of *kami*. In Egypt, 'to follow the dictates of the heart' would lead to very different results from those of a fundamental concept that 'the heart is good.' On the contrary, the total impression given by Egyptian writings may be summed up in two remarks which do not favour this system. (1) We find a great lack of those ideas which are often regarded as indications of the 'sympathetic' origin of conscience. These are the feelings which are usually qualified with 'temporary sanction,' and are called the pleasure and joy of doing good, and the remorse, regret, and repentance for evil-doing. Inversely, certain chapters of the Pyramids and the Book of the Dead, and certain reflexions of the popular tales, offer lamentable analogies, in point of 'sympathy,' with the present mental status of the very lowest races among those studied in the Congo (cf. *Notes sur la vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations au Congo Belge*, ser. iii, fasc. I, [Brussels, 1909]). (2) The study of 'sanctions' properly so called (of very different kinds, of course) reveals an *organization* (*i.e.* a *formation*) which shows its connexion with fundamental elements that are quite different, and perhaps even totally opposite.

The history of this will be examined elsewhere (see ETHICS). Here, however, we should note this tangle—at first sight inextricable—of the most various fundamental sanctions. The lowest of these are based on violation of 'tabus,' and have no possible connexion with any moral action whatever; the others show themselves as consequences, conceived from a utilitarian point of view (and recognized as such by *experience*), of incoherent series of actions which are not arranged in any kind of rational groups. We see this in the absolute and persistent inability of the Egyptians to compose any kind of reasonable list of sanctions. All that we find (Treatises on Wisdom, Book of the Dead, Maxims, Proverbs, Instructions, etc.) are lists formed in reference, not to classes of duties, but to the individuals or forces whence these sanctions proceed: the gods, chiefs, the dead, the family. Sometimes, indeed, there is a suggestion of the motives of command or prohibition. But then we find a vast confusion: the career, renown, long life, the gratitude of men, business gains and losses, eschatological conditions, reciprocity, etc. Few documentary sources give the idea of a moral conscience with any other basis better than that of 'innate goodness' or 'sympathy.'

The *innate* appreciation of right and wrong, which in any regard as the irreducible, constitutive element of the moral conscience, seems at first sight a good theory for Egypt. There is probably no other ancient literature so impregnated

with ideas of right and justice. Discourses like the one supposed to be addressed by the king to his vizier on the duties of the guardians of justice (cf. Newberry, *Bekkhamra*, Lond. 1900, p. 33), the statements of ch. cxxv. of the Book of the Dead, and especially the constant references of the biographical inscriptions to equity and hatred of wrong in all its moral and social forms, would seem to picture the very inmost mental state of the race. A critical examination of the texts, however, makes this tempting hypothesis untenable. In eschatology, we find that the idea of 'retribution' or that lofty idea of the 'average of years of good fortune' (cf. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, Oxford, 1900, pp. 41–66) is of very late appearance, and the most perfect injustice preceded it, for—as has been noticed—the famous 'Negative Confession' confines itself to a magical affirmation without proofs. Finally, the moral concept which it supposes in relation to the actions of this life is not ancient in respect of its insertion in the Book of the Dead; there is no getting over the plain fact that, while we have for several years been in possession of about two hundred specimens of the Book of the Dead of earlier date than the XVIIIth dynasty, we have not one containing a single line of the only moral chapter of this literature. It is the same with the ordinary inscriptions, where the development can be followed from the *mastabas* of the IVth dynasty. Right and wrong do not appear at first except in the form of affirmations of the lawful ownership of various goods, or the absence of wrong done to those things of which the deceased has need—which is quite a different thing. Even reducing it to its humblest form (as conceded, *e.g.*, by Réville, *Prolegomènes*, Paris, 1881, p. 276), we cannot reach the evidence of a primordial, irreducible element, consisting of an *innate* feeling of right, for any one of the ancient Egyptian cases. On the other hand, it is not easy to find satisfaction in a system like that taken up lately by Leroy (*op. cit.* 205), which posits at the outset an irreducible *innate* idea of right, while admitting the infinite and contradictory variety of practical applications. It is an evident paralogy to make, from the establishment of a connexion by mental operation, an entity existing by itself. The philological examination of the texts that one would apply to this special exposition might arrive some time at the evidence of the primitive confusion of the notions of goodness and utility, but never at an abstract conception of right; such a process would lead rather to conclusions remarkably like that suggested by the examination of the moral ideas of the races recently examined in Equatorial Africa, in the basin of the Congo, or in British East Africa.

Petrie's conclusion is the theory of *utility* brought to perfection by heredity (*op. cit.* 88).

His views may be summed up as follows: The conscious idea of right and wrong conforms at its basis with what is useful or the reverse for the community. Passing centuries have gradually done away with this idea, and have imposed on the individual, and thereafter on his descendants, respect for it (if not intelligence); so that his manner of appreciating it has, like hereditary movements, become instinctive. In fact, the primitive reasoning of the ancestor has been transmitted to his posterity in the form of propensities to conscience.

This theory of Petrie's is a remodelled form, to suit Egypt, of the conception that we find elsewhere in all sorts of analogous forms; *e.g.* 'le précepte devient axiomatique dans la conscience par hérédité' (Réville, *op. cit.* 276); or the elementary principles are 'l'utilité, l'opinion, les sentiments affectifs, l'hérédité' (G. Le Bon, *Premières civilisations*, ed. 1905, p. 95), etc. The whole idea seems well adapted to the Egyptian world, so well organized in all its workings for social co-operation and utility.

But this is a narrow basis, and must be broadened. Such a system does not explain why Egypt, having the same constitutive elements of conscience as the other African peoples, should have developed its moral conscience further than

they. A more precise and intricate mechanism must be found, and can be found—in the present writer's opinion—in a careful examination of Egyptian literature. A total of 500 or 600 proverbs, maxims, precepts, ideas, or thoughts of a moral type, extending from the IVth dynasty to the Christian era, will suffice for this inquiry, the business of which is not to define the idea of duty or its working out (see ETHICS), but to find the elements of formation of what we call conscience in Egypt. The development of the utilitarian and social datum will appear as the result of the combination of two chief elements.

The first consists essentially in the feeling that there is no indifferent action, and that every action has consequences for its author. This idea is by no means of the same nature as that of right and wrong. It is not even the idea of responsibility, but it contains the latter in embryo. It also includes the future idea of *reciprocity*, applied to the doer of the action. It thus reduces itself to the form: 'If I do this, the same will be done to me (or will happen to me)'; then to the form: 'I shall not do that, so that the same may not be done to me (or happen to me).' A comparison of the mentality of the black African of to-day with the Egyptian texts makes it possible to hold that this idea of the necessary consequences of every good or bad action is a truly innate idea, or, if not innate, at least the most primitive instinctive idea that can be found. It does not presuppose, so far as appears, a developed intelligence or a long education. The African—to continue our illustration—is surrounded by an infinite number of forces and spirits of such importance that every human action and movement affects them, for good or ill—we might almost say, most often for ill. And this pessimism, rightly remarked as a characteristic of the African mind, is still visible in Egyptian literature. The action, with its consequences, agreeable or harmful or displeasing to one or other of those innumerable spirits and forces, begets the immediate perception of a good or evil consequence for the doer. This is clearly seen in the case of numerous interdictions of a ritual nature, or in the mysterious vengeance of spirits and gods offended unawares, or in violent deaths. The famous ch. cxxv. itself, looked at from this point of view, shows itself to be composed from the very same elements as those of a Kavirondo or Ubangi native's conscience. And the idea that other men, neighbours and fellow-men, are linked, by their death or by their guardian-spirits, to this sum of mysterious forces brought into motion by every action, seems to have supplied the natural means for the extension of this primitive feeling.

Whether the original mental operation is *innate* or not will not be discussed here. The positive fact is that what, in every case, is described as the first manifestation of the feeling of conscience among the 'non-civilized' Africans is at the foundation of Egyptian mentality. Experiment naturally gave this feeling definiteness and precision, and, low as we may judge it from the moral point of view, it started a great forward movement on the day when it became the idea of *necessary reciprocity*, attached to the actions or intentions. We can still detect that stage very clearly in Egypt (especially in the popular tales), when this idea is embodied in the vague form of a sort of 'fatality,' whose consequences man lets loose by his own action. It is only later, and in a very imperfect form, that this mechanism is connected with precise interventions: (1) with the dead as punishing or rewarding (cf., e.g., the expression 'your gods (i.e. your defunct dead) will bless you if you do,' etc.); (2) with the guardian-deities of the dead. And yet, even in historic times, the perception of the results of the evil action is attached to forces that are quite vague and undefined, such as chance, misfortune, and accident. These are the survivals, modified by time, of the 'spirits' of the most ancient Egyptian beliefs. Never have national religions been able to rise higher.

If we find at the base of Egyptian thought first fear, and then, with progress, the idea of personal responsibility, we must demonstrate why finally

this sort of 'conscience' later developed so differently in Egypt and among the African peoples of whom we have been speaking. A second factor came into play, which was indispensable to the evolution, and it seems that it was this factor which organized the Egyptian conscience, with its special traits, with its imperfections—but also with its nobility. The second element consists very probably in the idea of order, or the idea of the harmony of the world—later designated by the word *κόσμος*. The first knowledge of 'order' in the progress and forces of the world naturally began as purely material order, in the domain of physics and geography. We have explained in art. CALENDAR (Egyptian): the important part played in this question by the observation of the stars, and the idea that the Divine influences of the stellar powers governed the world. As the heavenly vault set the example of order, and directed events on earth, the knowledge of the laws and harmonies of the sensible world followed. A relation of this kind between the astral world and the earth seems to have been made very much more natural in Egypt by the character of the climate, in which the regularity of certain rhythms and the well-defined character of certain opposites were noticeable (the periodicity of the Nile's rise, the fixity of the seasons and winds, the contrast between the desert and the valley, etc.). The knowledge of this supposed co-relation helped the Egyptians to establish the first ideas of the correspondence that could exist between this regular rhythm of the material world and the individual efforts of men to associate their own activity therewith in a beneficial manner. Hence arose a more and more clear comprehension of the identity of what is useful for man with what is indicated by the order of astral powers. Such a conviction must in its turn engender gradually, as the foundations of intuitive conscience, the ideas of the necessity of all uniting together for the common struggle, of the necessity of solidarity, of the superiority of the general interest over the particular, and of the dependence of the individual upon the community.

The whole question, then, in the special case of Egypt, turns upon the theory that the origin of conscience 'se rattache aux efforts faits par l'homme depuis la préhistoire pour se civiliser par la coopération et la solidarité' (G. Le Bon, *Origines*, 1906, p. 191). But, instead of general hypotheses, we have here documentary evidences of this evolution; e.g. in the very frequent references in the ancient texts to the important rôle, from a moral standpoint, filled by the questions relating to water, irrigation, and the struggle against the desert (cf. ch. cxxv. of the Book of the Dead; certain passages in the panegyrics of the lords of Syut in the Xth dynasty; or of Beni Hasan in the XIIIth, etc.). The idea of a higher authority and an earthly hierarchy being necessary in this world, as they are in the celestial world, for the common good, is also a result of a conscience based on the vision of the *κόσμος*; this vision has likewise impregnated all the literature of the 'moral' type.

In conclusion, from the vague fear common to all primitive societies, the nature and climate of Egypt developed the more fertile and definite idea of an arrangement of the forces and beings of the sensible world into regular armies, some of which are man's allies and preside over the progress of the world, while others try to harass the world and so hurt man. The comprehension of consequences was followed by the comprehension of the necessity of social order, the comprehension of social interest, etc. Owing simply to its complex origin, Egyptian conscience never succeeded, in its reasoned elaboration of duties, in separating ritual *tabu* from the obligation of the moral domain. These were for the Egyptian two different forms of the necessary co-operation of men for the maintaining of the order requisite to society.

A satisfying counter-proof of this view is supplied by a comparison with a certain number of living races in the uncivilized parts of Africa. It might be concluded that the degree of organization of the moral conscience in Africa is

usually proportionate to the clearness of the conception of order in the terrestrial world, meteorological or astronomical (cf., e.g., the comparative series of the collection of *Monographies descriptives* by Van Overbergh, Brussels, 1907 ff., with what is said of the Bavi and of Benin by R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, London, 1906, and *Nigeria Studies*, 1910, for the various manifestations of conscience among these peoples).

The Egyptian idea, then, ends in something very analogous to the statement of Chinese wisdom, that the natural order of the world is bound up with its political, social, and moral order, and is even quite identical with it. Only—in spite of passages of certain texts—the Egyptians do not seem to have been able to formulate this view with the same theoretical clearness. It is in any case curious to notice—and here we have probably more than a simple coincidence—that, just as the sanctions of Taoism in China are of late date, so in Egypt the organization of definite sanctions (rewards and punishments in permanent categories) did not appear until well after the actual organization of the moral conscience.

The history of this organization will be discussed in art. *ETHOS*. We need only observe here (1) that the material κόσμος has become harmony, equity, and moral and intellectual truth by a series of evolutions which can be shown philologically by the series of Egyptian texts, and that this series is analogous to the series which has gradually transformed the data on the human voice, cry, or vibration, into concepts where the word 'voice' is taken to mean the spoken word, and then becomes the equivalent of λόγος; and (2) that the appearance of the moral conscience, based on the comprehension of the κόσμος, does not in any way assume the attribution of a properly so-called moral character to the beings or forces directing the κόσμος. These simply did their own work in this world, without ever making any express demand upon the Egyptian's co-operation; and the latter simply sought, for his own good, to bring his efforts into harmony with those of the directors of the supposed order. Hence he derived, among innumerable other acquisitions, a certain number of ideas on conscience, morality, interdictions, obligations, etc. A significant fact in this respect is that, in the majority of cases, the sanctions of these obligations and interdictions are tacked on to all possible kinds of beings and things, except beings of a Divine character.

LITERATURE.—As was said at the beginning, the only work really dealing with the subject is W. M. Flinders Petrie's little book, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1898. Even here we must observe that the real question of conscience is treated only on pp. 86–109, the rest of the book being practically given up to a summary of Egyptian mythology (pp. 1–85), and an examination of the various categories of duties (pp. 109–163).

GEORGE FOUCART.

CONSCIENCE (Greek and Roman).—I. GREEK.—I. Definition.—Conscience operates when the individual passes an intellectual judgment on definite acts, accomplished or purposed, of his own, and decides whether these acts are right or wrong. Such judgments, being self-regarding, are always accompanied by self-satisfaction, or self-dissatisfaction, according as the individual feels he has fulfilled, or fallen short of, the moral law; conscience punishes or approves, deters or suggests. It has an intellectual side and an emotional side; it may be enlightened or the reverse, sensitive or the reverse. Its enlightenment is to be estimated by the moral ideal of the individual; he may obey the moral law through fear of punishment here or hereafter; through hope of reward here or hereafter; or simply in order to realize the ideal self. The most educated conscience is that of the man who has the highest ideal, who wishes to realize the best life of which humanity is capable. The sensitiveness of conscience depends partly upon heredity, and partly upon habit and training. Some people naturally feel their shortcomings more acutely than others, while indulgence in vice always tends to lessen the shame felt at such indulgence.

2. Homer and early times.—Although there is embedded in the Greek language the notion, in later times developed by philosophers, that virtue and sin have an intellectual side (Homer's phrase for 'versed in wickedness' is ἀπειρία εἰδώς,

'knowing lawless deeds' [see, for example, *Od.* ix. 189, 428, xx. 287]), yet the most common moral terms used in early times refer to the emotional side of conscience. In Homer we have: (1) αἰδώς (*aiḍōmat*), used of those who feel reverence towards the gods (*Il.* xxiv. 503; *Od.* ix. 269, xxi. 28), towards suppliants or guests (*Il.* i. 23, 377, xxi. 74, xxii. 419; *Od.* iii. 96, iv. 326), or of those who inhibit their passions in order to realize some higher end (*Il.* v. 530, vi. 442, vii. 93, xiii. 122, xv. 561, 657, 661, xxiv. 44; *Od.* iii. 24, vi. 66, 221, viii. 172, 324, 480, xiv. 146, xx. 171). The substantive may be rendered 'shame at offending gods or men,' 'respect for the moral rebuke of others,' 'modesty,' 'sense of honour,' 'self-respect.' (2) If αἰδώς sometimes approximates to the 'lawgiving conscience' which precedes an act, ἀλοχύνουσι (*Od.* vii. 305, xviii. 12, xxi. 323) generally represents the shame (or the fear of it) inflicted by the 'judging conscience,' although it is not always possible to distinguish between the terms. (3) The indignation felt by others at transgression is represented by νέμεσις (*Il.* vi. 351; *Od.* ii. 136, xxii. 40), but occasionally νέμεσις is self-regarding (*Od.* ii. 64, 138, iv. 158; *Il.* xvi. 544, xvii. 254), and on one occasion (*Od.* i. 263) θεοὺς νέμεσθεο means 'he stood in awe of the gods.' (4) A feeling of reverence for the rights of humanity is expressed in *Il.* xviii. 178 by σέβας, and in *Il.* vi. 417 by the verb σεβάζεσθαι.

The moral sanctions of the Homeric Greek were thus (i.) fear of the gods, (ii.) respect for public opinion (φάρσι ἀνδρῶν, *Od.* xxi. 323), and (iii.) self-respect (Helen calls herself 'a dog,' *Il.* vi. 356), and a sense of honour which sometimes led to deeds of heroism. Achilles would rather die than fail to avenge his friend Patroclus (*Il.* xviii. 95 ff.)—an instance of devotion to duty which Socrates, in the Platonic *Apology* (28 CD), quotes with strong approval. Conscience, in fact, was acting, although as yet no special word existed to represent it, while the intellectual side was less developed than the emotional.

3. Individual merged in the citizen.—The characteristically Greek respect for public opinion found freer scope as city life developed, and as State discipline became the chief educator of the Greek people. The citizen looked upon morality as submission to the will of a corporate body. 'We lie here in obedience to our country's commands,' was the epitaph of the noblest heroes that Greece ever produced. The law, in fact, was invested with a peculiar sanctity of its own, and the individual found moral satisfaction in yielding implicit obedience to the powers that be; in modern language, he surrendered his conscience to the general conscience, and was content to be guided by the latter. Plato (*Crito*, 51 E) makes Socrates personify the Laws, who point out that every citizen has virtually agreed to abide by them, and not to prefer his own sense of right and wrong. That such was the belief of the historical Socrates is shown by Xenoph. *Mem.* iv. iv. 12, where τὸ νόμιμον is equated with τὸ δίκαιον. It was generally felt that the vast majority of men needed some strong external constraint. Hesiod (*Works*, 182 ff.) dreads the departure of moral fear from the earth, and the Platonic Protagoras (*Prot.* 322 B C) calls αἰδώς and δίκη the bonds of political and social life. The language of Aeschylus is stronger still. 'Who,' asks Athene (*Eum.* 699), 'is righteous if he fear nothing?' In a remarkable passage of the *Ajax* of Sophocles (1073 ff.) it is stated that φόβος and αἰδώς are a necessary defence to both States and armies; that only δέος and ἀλοχύνη can bring a man safety. Plato, in a yet more striking passage (*Laws*, 699 C), makes φόβος and αἰδώς responsible for the Athenian victories over Persia. The

Athenians, he says, had a despotic mistress in *αἰδώς*, through whom they were the willing slaves of the laws (698 B), and those who would be good must be similarly disciplined.

4. Unwritten laws.—But, in spite of the tendency to merge morality in legality, the Greek was aware that the individual ought to form moral judgments for himself when the laws were silent. The jurymen at Athens swore to decide suits according to the laws, but, when these were no guide, to judge the case conscientiously (*γνώμῃ τῇ ἀρίστῃ*, Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 15. 5; cf. *Æsch. Eunn.* 674). Again, the Greek acknowledged certain great 'unwritten laws,' of which Socrates (Xenoph. *Mem.* iv. iv. 19f.) mentions four—to worship the gods, honour parents, avoid incest, and repay benefactors. Occasionally the unwritten laws might clash with those of the State; then the individual must decide between them. The tragedians are constantly depicting situations in which a character has to choose between the traditional code and some higher moral end. Philoctetes is a good example, while Antigone readily faces death rather than obey the edict of Creon, and, by leaving her brother unburied, violate the unwritten laws.

5. Decay of State discipline.—It is remarkable that the notion of conscience was more clearly apprehended just at the time when the morality of the masses began to decline, that is, during the period subsequent to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. The reason is partly that, as the State discipline slackened, the vicious and weaker characters, no longer having so firm a check upon them, grew more immoral, while the stronger and nobler natures (not necessarily the philosophers) learned to obey an inner law of righteousness. But the latter were comparatively few, and Plato, in the second book of the *Republic*, repeats the story of Gyges' ring in such a way as to show his own belief that the many are incapable of being virtuous for the sake of virtue.

6. Decay of State religion.—Not only the State discipline, but the belief in the State religion, had by this time lost much of the power it once possessed. Few thinking men continued to believe in the existence, let alone the providence, of Zeus, Apollo, and the other Olympians. The story told by Herodotus (vi. 86) of Glaucus and the Delphic oracle illustrates how the State religion had once been, in some respects at least, a good moral influence. When, however, the Divine sanction failed to exert effective control, the individual conscience more clearly manifested itself. In yet another way did the decay of belief in the Olympic pantheon further the development of the idea of conscience; the early Greek had thought, with a strange inconsistency, that the gods both tempted men to sin and punished sin; at first he blamed the gods for leading him astray; then, deprived of this excuse, he began to blame himself.

7. Other components in Greek religion.—But there were other and more abiding components than Olympian worship in the religion of the Greeks. One should note the *φάρμακός*, or scapegoat, mentioned by Hipponax (frag. 4ff., ed. Bergk) and Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 733). Fear of spirits (probably Pelasgian in origin, as it is not to be found in Homer), especially dread of a murdered man's ghost, gave rise to the ideas of an avenging deity (*ἀλδοτωρ*), and of blood-guilt (*παλαμναῖος*, *προστρόπαιος*, *ἐναγής*). The latter might infect a whole family, or even a State (Thuc. vii. 18). Doubtless at first the infection (*μῦσος*, *μύσος*) was regarded as something material, to be cleansed by expiatory ceremonies, or it might even be personified (Furies, *μητρὸς ἑγκρατοὶ κόρες* [*Æsch. Choeph.* 1061]); but in time the doctrine was spiritualized.

Xenophon (*Cyrop.* viii. vii. 18) speaks of the fears that the souls of wronged persons bring upon murderers, and of the avenging spirits (*παλαμναῖος*) which they cause to visit the unholy; while Euripides interprets the Furies of *Æschylus* as the stings of conscience (*Orestes*, 396).

Orphism introduced the doctrine that the soul was exiled from heaven because of sin, and that reunion could be achieved only by purification. In Homer the gods lead men to transgress, but Orphism taught that guilt arose from man himself. Abstinence and rites were the Orphic means of cleansing; but, however degrading this teaching might be in unscrupulous hands (Plato, *Rep.* ii. 364 E), it was possible to give it a spiritual interpretation (*μητρεῖται κακότητος* [Empedocles 406, ed. Karsten]), and it most certainly helped to foster a sense of sin. The doctrine of *ὁμοιωσις* (becoming like unto God) is Orphic in origin, and gave to the world an ideal which increased in moral value as the idea of the Divine nature was purified and ennobled. According to Orphism, man was good and bad, Divine and human. The realization of man's dual nature must have tended to develop the individual conscience. In the Pythagorean sect, which owed much to Orphism, examination of the conscience was enjoined (according to C. Martha, *Études morales sur l'antiquité*, 1883) from early times, and in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides we have an Orphic who is horrified at the suggestion to commit a sexual offence. In the history of morals the idea of physical impurity generally precedes, and leads up to, the conception of a guilty soul.

8. Morality and the human heart.—Whatever the origin may have been, the 5th cent. witnessed the development of the idea that the human soul (*ψυχή*, *φύσις*, *φρήν*, *νοῦς*) is the supreme judge in the sphere of morality. The mere fact that philosophers like Xenophanes criticized the Homeric theology on moral grounds, shows that they regarded human nature as superior to religious tradition. This thought is specially prominent in the plays of Euripides. The *Ion* is an angry protest of the human soul against a conscienceless god who ravishes maids and leaves them to their shame (*Ion*, 892; cf. 880). The heart of man is considered by Euripides to be the seat—possibly the source—of virtue and of vice. Chastity is said to reside in the human *φύσις* (*Bacchæ*, 314, 315, *Hipp.* 79, *Tro.* 987, 988); Theonoe (*Hel.* 1002, 1003) has a 'mighty shrine of righteousness' in her *φύσις*; the unhappy Phædra exclaims, 'My hands are pure; the stain is on my soul' (*Hipp.* 317). Conscience the law-giver and conscience the accuser are both manifest in these dramas. The countryman in the *Electra* is too honourable to consummate the marriage which has been forced upon Electra; Macaria goes voluntarily and readily to an awful death in order to save her kindred; Orestes is tormented by the consciousness of matricide. Like many other men of a sensitive moral nature, Euripides is painfully aware that the times are out of joint; oaths are no longer sacred, and *αἰδώς* has vanished from the earth (*Medea*, 439). This dramatist, perhaps more than his great predecessors, admired the beauty of self-sacrifice; Alcestis and Macaria are worthy successors to Prometheus and Antigone.

The Greek of the 5th cent. was thus fully aware of the working of conscience, and he began to use special words to describe it. These laid stress, not upon the emotion which follows a judgment of conscience, but upon the intellectual character of that judgment. One word is *σύννοια*, 'deep thought' (Eurip. *And.* 805), which does not appear to have become popular in the moral sense. Another is *σύννοια*, 'understanding,' used by Euripides to describe the remorse of Orestes (*Or.* 396), by Menander (fr. incert. 86, Meineke), who says that 'conscience doth make cowards,' and by Polybius (xviii. xxvi. 13). The last passage is to this effect: 'There is no more terrible witness, or more formidable accuser, than the conscience that dwells in each man's soul.' But the most

common term is the verb *συνίδω*, with its participial substantive *τὸ συνειδός*, meaning either (a) 'to be cognizant,' or (b) 'to share in the knowledge of another.' This verb expresses at once the intellectual character of a judgment of conscience and the dual nature of human personality. It is impossible to decide when the term first acquired its moral meaning, but it is used of a clear conscience by Sophocles (*ap. Stob. Flor.* xxiv. 6) and (with a negative) by Plato (*Rep.* 331 A, *τῷ μηδὲν ἑαυτῷ ἄδικον ἐνεαίδοντι ἡδέα ἐλπίς*), and of a guilty conscience by Euripides (*Or.* 396) and by Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 999, *Theogn.* 477). Stobaeus has collected a number of passages dealing with *τὸ συνειδός* in his *Florilegium*, ch. xxiv., and it is interesting to note that he attributes to Pythagoras an exhortation 'to feel shame most of all before oneself,' and the statement that conscience deals more cruel blows than the lash. We are reminded that the Pythagoreans laid stress upon self-examination, not as an exercise of memory, but as a moral discipline.

One other word for conscience may be noted here. A scruple is sometimes called *ἐνθύμιον*, 'something lying heavy on the heart' (Herod. viii. 54; Thuc. vii. 50; Antipho, *Tetral.* ii. 1, 2, 4, 9; Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 739; Eurip. *Her. Fur.* 722).

9. Shame before the self.—A clearer distinction now begins to be drawn between the shame which results from fear of punishment or disgrace, and the shame which accompanies loss of self-respect. Democritus, a profound moralist without an ethical system, looks for happiness in serenity of soul (fr. 9-11, ed. Natorp). Sin should be avoided, not through fear, but because it *ought* to be avoided (*διὰ τὸ δεόν*, fr. 45). Even when alone, a man ought not to do or say anything base. He should be ashamed before himself rather than before others (fr. 42). He should no more do evil when nobody will learn about it than when everybody will do so; it is best to reverence oneself (*ἑαυτὸν μάλιστα ἀδείψαι*, fr. 43). The Attic orators not only emphasize the uneasiness of conscience resulting from the fear of discovery, but also extol the life that is free from self-reproach, although the two ideas are sometimes combined. Antipho (*Tetral.* i. 3, 3) mentions as moral checks both fear (*φόβος*) and dread of sin (*ἄδικία*), and he thinks that a jury will be influenced by respect for 'the gods, piety (*τοῦ εἰσεβοῦς*), and themselves' (*Or.* vi. 3, cf. also vi. 1). Isocrates (*Nic.* 39 A) bids us envy not the rich, but those conscious of no sin. Fear of punishment or of disgrace may be implied here, but a clearer note is sounded in [Isocrates] 5 B: 'Never expect to hide a sin. Even if others learn nothing of it, you will be conscious of it yourself.' Lysias (*Or.* xix. 59) speaks of one who thought that a good man ought to help his friends, even though nobody should know about it. In the pseudo-Demosthenic speech against Aristogiton, the writer says (780) that 'there are altars of justice, discipline, and honour (*αἰδώς*) among all men; the fairest and holiest are in the soul and nature of the individual.' Socrates is made in the Xenophontic *Apology* (§ 5) to avow that in the past he has enjoyed the most pleasant possession a man can have, the consciousness that his life has always been holy and just (cf. also Xen. *Apol.* § 24, and Stob. *Flor.* xxiv. 13). Finally, a fragment of the comic poet Diphilus (*ap. Stob.* xxiv. 1) denies that a man who is not ashamed before himself when he has done wrong can be ashamed before others who are ignorant of it.

10. Philosophy and conscience.—It has been maintained, and as energetically denied, that this clearer realization of the shamefulness of sin is to be attributed to the work of the philosophers. Both seem to have been due to the same cause, namely, the decay of old beliefs, but it is perhaps unreasonable to deny a real, though indefinite, influence to philosophic ethics. It should be noticed, however, that *συνίδω* and *τὸ συνειδός* are popular, not philosophic, expressions.

There are plenty of examples throughout the course of Greek literature and Greek history of the individual deliberately following the dictates of his better self, but such acts are rarely associated with the words employed to designate 'con-

science.' The latter (*τὸ συνειδός*, etc.) generally refer, not to the law-making conscience, but to an adverse decision of the judging conscience, and to the self-dissatisfaction which accompanies it. Now, it was with the enlightenment of morality that Greek ethical philosophy chiefly concerned itself. As a rule it passed over the shame that accompanies wrong-doing, and never tried to make it the highest moral motive. Convinced that vice is ignorance, both Socrates and Plato devoted their lives to educating the moral sense; and Plato constantly insists that mere conscientiousness, like that, for example, of Euthyphro, is not sufficient. But if sin is nothing more than a mistaken notion of what is good, no place is left for shame and remorse. Carried to its logical conclusion, the doctrine denies either the existence or the reasonableness of moral praise and moral blame. Socrates trusted to reason to guide him aright in moral questions, and doubtless fathered any scruples he might occasionally feel on his *δαμόνιον*—probably a hallucination of the sense of hearing.

(1) Plato.—Plato regarded as true morality only that which springs from knowledge of the idea of good. Morality founded on fear he continually disparages, especially if the fear be that of public opinion (cf. *Crito*, 47 C, *Phaedo*, 82 A B, and *Euthyphro*, 12 C), though he admitted that the majority of men were incapable of 'philosophic' virtue, and should be compelled to obey, not the fluctuating general conscience, but the dictates of philosophic rulers (*Rep.* 519, 520). Consequently, *αἰδώς* is for the many rather than for the few, and it and fear form the two warders of the ideal State (*Rep.* 465 B). Towards the end of his life, Plato emphasized more the value of awe and reverence. Every legislator, he says in the *Laws* (647 A), will hold moral fear in high honour: fear, law, and true reason are the principles that keep the appetites in check (783 A); strong public opinion restrains a man from incest, the fear of committing which, even unknowingly, makes a man ready to kill himself (Edipus, Macareus, 838 C). But what Plato valued was the fear that checks crime, not the shame that follows it, and he therefore set little store by the popular conception of *τὸ συνειδός*; it is the old man Cephalus in the *Republic*, the representative of the old morality, who is made to sound the praises of a 'conscience void of offence,' and to enlarge on the terrors of the wicked.

Conscience the lawgiver, though working in the hearts of men, was as yet but feebly apprehended as an idea, and herein the work of Plato bore fruit. The keynote of his ethical philosophy is that the really virtuous man must know what the good is, i.e. must have an educated morality. And when a man knows what virtue is, he cannot help acting virtuously; for no one is voluntarily wicked. Sin is a disease of the soul (*Gorgias*, 479 B), and he who sees this will submit to anything, even to death, to rid himself of the plague. Even though the gods and men are unaware who is righteous and who is not, righteousness accompanied by all the punishments of sin is better than unrighteousness accompanied by all the rewards of virtue (*Rep.* 366 DE). Plato felt that the enlightened soul, brought face to face with sin in all its nakedness, would turn from it in disgust.

(2) Aristotle.—Aristotle, taking the end of man to be a full and virtuous life, the result of habituation and practical wisdom, never discusses conscience. The first principles of the science of human conduct, he thought, were perceived immediately, by a kind of intuition (*αἰσθησις*, *Ethics*, 1142a). He values highly self-respect, and the beauty and desirableness of virtuous actions; *αἰδώς* he regards sometimes as modesty, befitting only the young

(1129 b), sometimes as a shrinking from the ugliness of sin (1116 a, 1179 b). Emphasizing as much as Plato the necessity of an enlightened intelligence for truly virtuous conduct, Aristotle did good service by insisting (again with Plato, *Laws*, 653 B) upon the importance of training youth by habituation to love good and to hate evil (*Ethics*, 1104 b).

(3) *Stoics*.—It has been held that the Stoics, with their individualism, their doctrine of the self-sufficiency of man, their neglect of public opinion, their elaboration of the idea of duty (*προσηκον, καθήκον*), and their exhortations to live a life according to the Divine reason implanted in the heart of man, did much to develop the notion of conscience. Some believe that they coined the word *συνείδησις*, but this is more than unlikely. By *συνείδησις* conscience is described in the (of course apocryphal) sayings of Bias and Periander recorded by Stobæus (*Flor.* xxiv. 11, 12), in Wf 17¹, in the NT, in Diodorus (iv. 65. 7: *διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν τοῦ μύθους εἰς μανίαν περίεστη*), in Lucian (*Amores*, 49), and in the proverbs assigned to Menander (*Monosticha*, 654: conscience is a god to all mortals). Chrysippus (Diog. Laert. vii. 85) used the word, but he meant, not conscience, but consciousness. Even the later Stoic writers, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, though they constantly mention the action of conscience, seem purposely to avoid the word *συνείδησις*. The fact is that all the Greek words for 'conscience' look, with scarcely an exception, to conscience the judge, and are associated with shame. Plutarch, in his famous description of conscience (*Moralia*, 476 F), says, in wonderfully modern language, that it wounds and pricks the soul. Thought, which softens other pains, only increases this; the guilty mind punishes itself. The Greeks, familiar as they were with the working of conscience the legislator, had no special word to describe it, although its emotional side is hinted at in *αἰδώς*. Now, the Stoics attributed 'absence of emotion' (*ἀπάθεια*) to their wise man; yet, though he would not entertain fear of disgrace (Diog. Laert. vii. 112, 116), he would feel *αἰδώς*. It was the legislating conscience, *ὁρῶς λόγος*, that the Stoics emphasized; but, while Roman Stoicism came to express this by *conscientia*, among the Greeks it had no generally recognized name.

(4) *Epicureans*.—Perhaps it was the Epicureans who developed the idea of a guilty conscience, and this would account for the Stoics avoiding the term *συνείδησις*. At any rate, Epicurus held that sin is an evil only because of the fear of discovery (Diog. Laert. x. 151), and a graphic description of conscience the accuser is to be found in the poems of the Epicurean Lucretius (*de Rer. Nat.* iii. 1014-1023, cf. iv. 1135). Probably, however, philosophy, whether Stoic or Epicurean, had less influence than the facts of moral experience, which were more and more consciously realized by the popular mind.

II. Summary.—From the earliest times the Greeks had terms referring to the emotional side of conscience in most of its aspects. From the end of the 5th cent. *σύνεσις* and *συνείδησις* were used to denote the intellectual aspect of conscience the judge. Orphism had emphasized the dual nature of human personality, while the gradual decay of the State religion and of State discipline, along with the intellectual movements of the 5th cent., forced men to realize that they had a judge in their own hearts. The idea, present from the first, that a man should feel shame before himself grew clearer; the hatefulness of sin was more acknowledged, and is urged with unsurpassed moral force in the writings of Plato. From the first it was felt that man owes allegiance to his better self; that he must obey, not only the traditional code, but the dictates of an inner law. Hinted at occasionally in *αἰδώς*, this feeling was not crystallized into a special term;

but the philosophers laid stress upon educating this better self, and thereby enlightening morality. Of the individualistic schools, the Stoics insisted on obedience to an inner law of reason, the Epicureans on the fears that follow wrong-doing. The growth of the idea of conscience was due to the development of the people; philosophy merely tried to inspire higher ideals by which conscience might judge. As the notion of conscience developed, morality appears to have declined. The relaxation of the bonds of external discipline, while it caused the few to acknowledge an inner judge and lawgiver, allowed the many to sink into superstition and moral degradation.

It should be noticed in conclusion that among the Greeks conscience was as yet scarcely connected with religion. The Christian's conscience accuses the sinner before God; the Greek's conscience accused him before himself. Cf. general art. CONSCIENCE.

II. ROMAN.—The Greeks, although they had many words denoting the emotions connected with moral self-criticism, failed to bring into common use any term summing up all their experience of the action of conscience; the Romans, richer in words denoting obligation, crystallized into *conscientia* the different aspects of conscience soon after Stoic teaching began to be effective.

1. Common moral terms.—*Pietas*, one of the commonest moral terms, signifies a sense of duty, not only towards the gods (Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 115, *Top.* 90), but also towards country, parents, and friends. It combines the notions of loyalty, respect, and (sometimes) affection. *Fides* (faithfulness, trustworthiness), 'the foundation of justice' (Cic. *de Off.* i. 23), was thought to be a virtue peculiarly characteristic of the early Romans. It is combined with *pudor* and *probitas* in Cicero (*de Rep.* iii. 28), and moralists insisted that it meant loyalty to intention rather than to the spoken word (*de Off.* i. 40). The formula *ex animi sententia* was used of conscientious fulfilment of an oath, while *pudor* denoted the shame which prevents or follows a violation of the moral law. But in no term is the notion of conscience more clearly implied than in *religio*. Originally used of a feeling of awe towards an unknown object, it came to mean a scruple as to the proper means of propitiating a divinity. Cicero distinguishes it from *superstitio*; and though, when applied to the worship of the gods, it contains little moral meaning, when used metaphorically it often denotes or implies the action of conscience. Thus Cicero combines it with *auctoritas*, *æquitas*, *fides*, and *timor* in describing the character of certain witnesses, and it often denotes conscientious carrying out of a duty (*ad Fam.* xi. 29, *pro Font.* xiv. [40], *pro Roscio Com.* xv. [45]; Livy, xxiii. 11). The remorse caused by conscience is not infrequently described by such phrases as *morsus animi* (Livy, vi. 34), *tormenta pectoris* (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 6), and *flagella mentis* (Quint. *Declam.* xii. 28; cf. Juv. xiii. 194, 195).

2. Obligation to external, and to internal, law.—In early times obligation was felt to an external moral law; it was only when the Republic was tottering to its fall, and the State religion ceased to hold the hearts and minds of men, that the inner voice of conscience was heard more clearly. We cannot trace the development of the idea so well as in the case of Greece, because, with the exception of Plautus and Terence (who adapted or translated Greek originals), there is very little Latin literature of earlier date than the 1st cent. B.C. But it cannot be doubted that much of the change was due to the teaching of the Stoics, especially of Posidonius and Panaetius, who exhorted men to follow the deity within them, i.e. the Divine reason, of which a portion has been given to each

individual. The conception of this deity (*δαίμων*), this fragment of the Divine mind, this guide and protector, must have helped to develop the notion of conscience; indeed, Epictetus (fr. 97) speaks of God handing men over to be guarded by 'their innate conscience.' Cicero, in speaking of the sanctity of an oath, warns us (*de Off.* iii. 44) that he who takes an oath summons as witness God, 'that is, his own mind'; and the same writer is the first to employ the noun *conscientia* (*pro Roscio Am.* 67).

The verb *conscire* occurs only once (Hor. *Ep.* i. i. 61), and is there used (with a negative) of a clear conscience. *Conscius* is often used without any moral meaning, but once in Plautus (*Most.* 544) *animus conscius* has the sense of a guilty conscience; this phrase and *mens conscia* are occasionally found with the same meaning in later writers (Lucret. iii. 1018, iv. 1135; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 485; Sallust, *Cat.* 14). Ovid (*Fasti*, iv. 311) uses *conscia mens recti* of a clear conscience that laughs at slander; but in Virgil (*Aen.* i. 604), *mens sibi conscia recti* probably refers to conscience the guide, which leads men to differentiate between right and wrong.

In the sense of 'consciousness,' *conscientia* is rare, but it is exceedingly common in most writers after Cicero with the meaning 'conscience.' The first time it occurs it is joined to *animi* (Cic. *pro Roscio Am.* 67, 'conscientiae animi terrent'—the writer's rationalistic interpretation of the Furies), and, as Mulder remarks (*De conscientiae notione*, p. 97 f.), the expressions *animi conscientia*, *mentis conscientia* (the latter in Cic. *pro Cluent.* 159) are intermediate between the vague *pectus*, *animus*, *mens*, on the one hand, and plain *conscientia* with its full moral meaning on the other.

From Cicero onwards the idea of conscience grows more distinct and more full of meaning. It is regarded as Divine (Cic. *Parad.* iv. 29); it accuses and judges (Livy, xxxiii. 28; Tac. *Hist.* iv. 72; Sen. *de Ben.* vi. 42); it is a witness (Sen. *Ep.* 43; Quint. *Inst. Or.* v. xi. 41; Juv. xiii. 198). *Bona conscientia*, *mala conscientia*, 'clear conscience,' 'guilty conscience,' are terms which do not appear to be used by Cicero, but are common enough in Seneca and other later writers. But *conscientia* (with a genitive case added) not infrequently occurs in Cicero with the meaning of 'a clear conscience,' which he calls 'fruit' (*Phil.* ii. 114), 'a reward' (*de Rep.* vi. 8), 'a joy' (*ad Fam.* v. 7), and 'a comfort' (*ib.* vi. 6, 12).

3. Conscience the lawgiver valued as a guide.—The Stoic teaching, insisting as it did upon obedience to the Divine reason in the heart, led men not merely to fear conscience, but to value it highly as a director of life. Cicero recognizes conscience as a lawgiver (*ad Att.* xiii. 20), and so does the younger Pliny (*Ep.* i. 22), while the idea is especially common in Seneca. Conscience, from Cicero onwards, is considered a better guide than public opinion (Cic. *de Fin.* ii. 71, *ad Att.* xii. 28; Livy, xxxiii. 28; Pliny, *Ep.* i. 8, iii. 20; Sen. *de Ben.* vi. 42), though it is difficult to decide whether these are cases of the judging conscience or of the legislating conscience; indeed, it is impossible to keep these quite distinct, as a judgment on a past act is, of course, a guide to future conduct.

4. Summary.—Conscience, then, was always acting, but at first it took the form of a strong feeling of obligation to an external moral law that was sanctioned by tradition, religion, and the State. As the influence of these grew weaker, men transferred their allegiance to their own hearts, and realized that they had within them an accuser, a judge, and a guide. The Stoic doctrine of a Divine reason immanent in each individual was a most powerful aid to a clearer conception of

conscience; the writings of Cicero and Seneca, who were both imbued with Stoicism, afford the best evidence of the way in which the notion of conscience developed.

The ethical terms used by the early Greeks emphasized chiefly the emotional side of conscience; those used by the early Romans laid stress on moral obligation. Among both peoples the development of the idea of conscience was due to the decay of the State religion and of the State discipline, and the consequent turning of men's thoughts inwards; but, whereas the Greek philosophers made little use of the popular term *ῥᾷ σκευδός*, and devoted their energies to improving the moral ideal according to which conscience judges, the Roman Stoics appear to have adopted the term *conscientia*, and to have made it express far more than its Greek equivalent. The Greek word nearly always stands for a guilty conscience; the Latin word, although very often associated with guilt, not infrequently denotes moral self-satisfaction or the inner promptings of conscience the lawgiver. Neither word is associated with the State religion; but, while philosophic religion neglected *ῥᾷ σκευδός*, *conscientia* was naturally used as an equivalent of the Stoic 'guardian,' the fragment of Divine reason implanted in the heart of each individual. Hence Christianity found in *conscientia* a term whose fuller meaning it could develop by its doctrine of the Holy Spirit accusing, exhorting, and 'leading into all truth.' But it should be noticed that the ancients made no attempt to analyze psychologically the conception of conscience, which remained to the last popular rather than philosophic, in spite of its adoption by Roman Stoicism.

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CONSCIENCE (Jewish).—Conscience is an essential element in the system of Jewish ethics. It is the motive power and the last arbiter for the moral rectitude of man; it is the judge, and at the same time the highest standard by which his actions in his relation to God and to his neighbours are measured. Conscientiousness in the fulfilment of duties is a moral heightening of the principle of duty, and is the necessary preparation for the virtues of mercy and love. The principle of righteousness which underlies conscience may be of a purely legal and ceremonial character, whereas conscience goes beyond simple legal forms, and springs from higher motives than those of obedience to the law and the performance of ceremonies. The motive force is a truer conception of the relation between man and God, and the acknowledgment of the principle that human perfection can be attained only by imitating, as far as human power allows, the ways of God. The 'hallowing of life' is the real object of all the laws, and still more so of the moral injunctions and acts of conscience which supplement them and assist in achieving the purpose of making the Jewish nation 'a kingdom of priests and an holy nation' (Ex 19^a). More than once is the sanctification of life enunciated in the Pentateuch, and the reason given is 'because I am holy.' The holiness of God is the ultimate reason and explanation of the laws which would cause man, who had been formed

'in the image of God,' to reach a higher standard, and place him almost on a par with the angels (Ps 8⁹). As explained by the Rabbis, the various instances recorded in the Bible of God's direct communion with the Patriarchs were intended to teach their descendants how to act. 'Just as God clothes the naked (Adam and Eve), so should man clothe the naked; just as God visits the sick (Abraham), so should man make it his duty to visit the sick; just as God buries the dead (Moses), so must man bury the dead; just as God comforts the mourners, so must man comfort the mourner' (*Gen. rabba*, viii., *Pirke R. Yehudah*, § 25); in fact, all acts of charity and benevolence, all those duties which a man is bound to perform, not in virtue of a direct command or a legal prescription, but prompted by his 'heart,' are to conform to the Divine standard and promote the hallowing of life—the sanctification of God's name. And all the blessings that follow from it—peace, happiness, charity, goodwill, love—make man approach the Divine. The seat of this higher conception of moral duty—self-imposed duty, not duty imposed from without—was placed in the 'heart,' which stands in Hebrew for mind, sentiment, feeling, conscience.¹ Hence 'a pure heart,' 'a clean heart,' as mentioned by the Psalmist, means a clean conscience, a pure mind, a noble conception of duty fulfilled without any other motive than the desire of self-sanctification.

In Jewish teaching, however, the legal and the purely ethical have never been really separated, but have been treated as concomitant principles. For, as remarked above, the justification and explanation of the former were sought in the latter, and both were to lead to the sanctification of life. Thus we read: 'And the heart of David smote him' (1 S 24⁹). In Isaiah 58 these ethical principles are summed up in a masterly manner, and show us the workings of that spirit of holiness in the practical walks of life. The other books of the Prophets teem with denunciations against 'hardness of heart,' harsh treatment of widows, orphans, and slaves, and dishonest dealings with one's neighbour. Moral perfection is thus defined by the prophet Micah (6⁸): 'He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' 'To do justly' was the particular realm of the mind, the work of conscience for God's sake, the work assigned to 'the heart' (cf. Concordance, s.v. 'Heart'; and the expressions 'with all thy heart,' 'with the whole heart,' etc.).

These ethical principles and guides of life, in addition to the legal prescriptions, found terse expression in proverbs and maxims, saws of wise men, and teachings left by venerated persons—a kind of moral compendia like the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The authors of some of the apocryphal books followed these examples, and the Books of Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon, as well as Fourth Maccabees, are nothing other than such moral compendia. Direct reference to conscience we find in Sir 42⁹ and Wis 17¹⁰ (11), which are in the spirit of Jewish ethical teaching. A special class of ethical literature starts from the same period, i.e. before the destruction of the Temple, and it has continued to our day—the literature of 'Testaments,' or ethical wills of some great personage. These circulated afterwards far and wide, and became recognized moral guides independent of the codes of laws which regulated the strictly formal mode of life. It would be out of place here to discuss the whole range of ethical teaching; hence we must limit ourselves to those

passages that refer to 'conscience,' uprightness, moral responsibility, in the daily relations between man and man—references found scattered throughout these books. A brief survey of this branch of literature, however, is imperative for the historical sequence of such teachings, and in view of the fact that ethics had not been reduced to a system, or split up into sections differentiating the moral value of one principle as opposed to another. All stand on the same footing, and demand the same attention. There is no room for eclecticism in these collections. The oldest example is perhaps the *Testament of Tobias*, which emphasizes, as he had done in his lifetime, the moral duty of burying the dead—one of those pious duties and works of charity which the law does not prescribe, and neglect of which is not punishable by its letter, but whose fulfilment was a matter of conscience for every pious Jew. More important is the reference (To 14¹⁰) to the *History of Achiacharus* (Ahiqār), since recovered and restored to its place at the end of the Book of Tobit. This is a collection of wise maxims and guides to proper deeds and moral actions, though in the versions preserved it is more in the nature of worldly practical wisdom of not too elevated a type. Its interest lies also in another direction; the form of address, 'O my son,' etc., is repeated in a large number of treatises to be mentioned later on. Richer is the harvest yielded by the *Twelve Testaments*, in which apparently the very word 'conscience' occurs for the first time in Palestinian texts: Reub. 4³ 'Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my impiety' (cf. Charles, *ad loc.* p. 9). In other testaments the same idea occurs: Jud. 20⁸, where the corresponding word is 'heart,' and similarly Gad 5⁸. To this category of testamentary teaching the present writer would assign also the famous collection of the 'Fathers of the Synagogue,' called 'The Chapters' (*Pirke Aboth*) after they had been grouped together in chapters. They can only be properly understood as such testamentary injunctions, the last wills of the leading men of the Great Synagogue and their successors in the high position of spiritual guides and leaders of the people during the period of the Second Temple. The authors have been grouped chronologically, and these chains of ethical maxims served the purpose of being a chain of tradition. In reality they are the principal ethical teachings representing the ethical wills of those sages, and as wills they fall naturally into their place, whilst hitherto they had been a riddle. A few examples may suffice:

'Rabban Gamaliel, the son of R. Judah the Prince, said: "An excellent thing is the study of the Torah combined with moral discipline (*derekh eres*), for the practice of both causes sin to be out of remembrance" (il. 2).¹

'Hillel said: "Judge not thy neighbour until thou art come into his place" (il. 5). According to R. Eleazar, the good way to which a man should cleave is 'the possession of a good heart,' and the evil to be shunned, 'a wicked heart' (il. 12, 13), where 'heart,' no doubt, is to be taken in the Biblical sense. 'R. Eliezer said: "Let the honour of thy friend be dear unto thee as thine own" (il. 14). 'R. Jose said: "Let the property of thy friend be dear to thee as thine own" (il. 16). Among those who have no share in the world to come, R. Eleazar the Muddaita places the man who puts his fellow-man to shame in public. It is the moral and not the legal sin which is to be shunned, and if committed it is to be expiated by 'repentance and good deeds,' as is often repeated here (iv. 16; cf. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², Cambridge, 1897, *ad loc.*)

Round this collection of maxims grew up a whole cycle of similar teachings, accretions, and additions from other sources, and examples drawn from the lives of other sages. It also was commented upon by the most prominent writers of subsequent ages. One of the oldest is a small collection known as the 'Work (or Story) of R.

¹ As will be seen, there is no Hebrew word which corresponds entirely with 'conscience.'

² The phrase *derekh eres* has hitherto been wrongly translated 'worldly business.' It can only mean, at least in this passage, 'moral discipline,' and one of the later compilations intended to serve as a 'moral guide' bears the title *Derekh eres*.

Judah the Prince' (*Ma'aseh R. Yehudah ha-Nāsi*), and later on developed into the 'Chapters of R. Judah the Prince' (*Pirke di Rabbenu ha-Kaddosh*). Another is 'The Will of Eliezer the Great,' or 'The Ways of the Pious' (*Savaath R. Eliezer hagadol, or Orhoth Saddikim*), agreeing in many points with the history of Achiacharus. It shows exactly the same development as other collections of maxims, apologies, and saws in universal literature, inasmuch as, to one portion, or to a small, old, and genuine section, other elements of a similar tendency are added. The names of the reputed authors vary, and a compilation ascribed originally to Talmudic authorities, i.e. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, is then transferred to a much later Eliezer of the year 1050. The substance, however, is the same; and most of these collections merely repeat older materials, increased in later times by some similar maxims from other sources. The burden of the message of these collections is to seek the judge in one's own conscience, and to find the punishment for moral guilt in remorse of conscience, in the consciousness of a fall from a moral height, and in the desecration or profanation of the Sacred Name. In a much more elaborate manner the theme is enlarged upon in the 'Chapters or Maxims of R. Nathan' (*Aboth di R. N.*) of the 7th-8th cent., into which much of the accumulated matter had flowed; and in the book called *Derekh eres*, 'Moral Guide' (of which two recensions have been preserved—'Major' and 'Minor'), and in the *Tanna debe Eliahu*, in which the prophet Elijah is the teacher. The feeling of inner responsibility for moral faults and the glory in conscientious performance of ethical deeds have found in this book a powerful, and at the same time an elevating, poetical expression. The way to shun sin, to lead a pious, modest, exemplary life, full of humility and charity, and to accomplish 'the duties of the heart' is here expounded in simple and withal dignified language. This book belongs still to the Talmudic period, and is certainly anterior to the 9th century.

But the postulates of ethical teaching were not limited to mere maxims, highly appreciated and honouring to those who had formulated them, but still of a purely theoretical value. On the contrary, as far as possible, they were introduced into the fabric of consistent legislation, and, though many of the acts in question were not indictable before the regular tribunal, the conscience and religious principles of the individual remaining the ultimate forum before which they could be brought, some of them at least were brought within the four corners of the Law, and were made offences amenable to its rigours. Starting from the prohibition of oppression, fraud, and violence against widows, orphans, and strangers (Ex 22²⁴, Lv 19³³), and, more especially, of fraud and overreaching in business transactions (Lv 25^{14, 17} 'And if thou sell aught unto thy neighbour, or buy of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not wrong one another'; 'And ye shall not wrong one another; but thou shalt fear thy God'), the Rabbis have extended the effects of these prohibitions very far, and have very clearly defined the principle of overreaching, and also established the rule that it applied to Jew and non-Jew alike. They have shown a high conception of moral duty and obligation, and have applied a lofty standard of moral rectitude in the interpretation of these commands, which are called 'subjects left to the discretion of the heart' (*Debārīm ha-mešurīm la-leb*); the 'heart,' of course, stands for 'conscience'. The law is called *Ona'ah*, from the hypothetical root of the Heb. word *hōnāh* in the above Biblical passages. They have made this law very severe, and any deviation from its strict application makes the sale or pur-

chase void. To take advantage in any way of favourable legal circumstances, or of ignorance, or of quibbles, is sufficient to annul the transaction.

Oppression by means of word alone and not by deed is considered even worse than overreaching in the matter of money (*Bab. mes.* 58b): 'If a man repents, he must not be reminded of his sins'; 'If a man is a proselyte, he must not be told of his heathen ancestry, for money can be restored, but spiritual agony can never be made good.' Nor is a man to ask for the price of an object unless he has the intention of buying, for he is thereby deceiving the vendor, who is unable to read the man's heart (*Mishn. Bab. mes.* ch. iv.; see also *Lampronti Pahad Yizhak*, s.v. 'Ona'ah') [the whole of the Rabbinical literature on the question of overreaching, from the Mishna down to the 17th cent.]. 'If a man, under a flimsy pretext, withdraws from a bargain, they say: "May He who obtained redress (by punishment) from the men of the Flood and the men of the Dispersion (of Babel) be sure to obtain redress from (i.e. to punish) the man who does not keep his word"' (*Mishn. Bab. mes.* iv. 2). In addition to overreaching, the Sages also inveigh strongly against obtaining a good opinion under false pretences, which they call 'stealing a good opinion' (*Genebath Da'ath*): 'Of seven kinds of thieves, those who steal a good opinion (create a false impression in their favour) are the worst, for, if they could, they would attempt to deceive the Almighty' (*Tosetta, Z. Kama*, vii.). 'He who deceives man by such devices is like unto him who attempts to deceive God' (*Kailath rab. fol. 18a*). 'Do not invite a man to dine with these when thou knowest that he is not then inclined to eat'; 'one must not open a jar of oil or wine pretending to do it in honour of a guest, if it [has to be opened as it] is already sold to a customer, and thereby create a good opinion by false appearance of consideration, be it a Jew or a Gentile' (*Hullin, 94a; Shulhan Arukh Hoshen Mishpat, ch. 228; and Maimonides in his Principles of Ethics*).

The reason for all these precepts is that they are inimical to the sanctification of life, and cause the defamation of the Divine Name, which are in the keeping of man's conscience, and left to the 'discretion of the heart.'

'A queen having lost her jewels, it was announced by royal proclamation that whoever should find and return them within thirty days would obtain a rich reward, but if after thirty days, he would be put to death. R. Samuel b. Sosarti, having found them, returned them after thirty days. When asked why he did so, as he was exposing himself to suffer capital punishment, he replied: "If I had returned the jewels within the thirty days, the people would have said that I had done so for the reward; I have therefore kept them till now, so as to show, even at the risk of severe punishment, that one is bound to return the property found even if it belonged to a Gentile"' (*Jerus. Talm., Bab. mes.* ch. ii.). Again, 'R. Shimeon b. Shefatā bought an ass from an Ishmaelite. When his pupils examined it more closely, they found a jewel hanging round its neck, and they said to him: "O master, it is a blessing from above, thou hast become rich!"; whereupon he replied: "I bought the ass and not the jewel," and he returned the jewel to the Ishmaelite owner' (*ib.*).

It would be easy to multiply examples and maxims of an ethical character from the Talmudic literature.

The Talmudic Sages coined a word for moral obligation which affords us a glimpse into the working of their mind. They use the verb *hayyab*, from the Bibl. root *hob*, which means 'material debt,' and employ it to designate man's moral 'indebtedness,' his moral 'obligation,' which he must fulfil, lest by neglect he become 'guilty.' The moral duty stands at least on a par with his legal obligations, and most of the ethical duties mentioned in the Talmud are regularly introduced by the formula *hayyab ādām*, 'a man is bound' (of course by moral conscience) to do this or that. This formula has since become stereotyped, and is never used in connexion with legal commandments.

In this ethical Haggada the material is not arranged according to any system, starting, as it were, from the fundamental principle of the love of God or of His Unity, and then deducing from it those secondary principles which form the subject of a moral life. The teaching was of a purely practical nature; the people did not care to follow it up to its theoretical beginnings. The Bible set the example. There also the laws and commandments are not arranged in any systematic order, and some of the fundamental principles are placed next to matters of relatively minor importance. At the end of the 9th cent., however, a great change took place. Under the influence, indirectly

of Greek, and directly of Arabic, philosophic speculations, the Jews began to develop systems of religious philosophy in which special attention was often paid to the ethical side of the Jewish faith. Whilst, in the older period of Hellenism, Jewish thinkers were influenced by Plato and the Stoa, such as Philo and the author of the pseudo-Josephus 'On the Rule of the Intellect,' and were more or less guided by allegorical interpretations of the Bible, the philosophers of later times were mostly under the influence of Aristotle and his Arabic commentators, such as al-Fārābī (†950), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, †1038), Ghazālī (†1111), and Ibn Rushd (Averroës, †1198), while the purely theological speculation of the adherents of the *Kalām* (the Mutakallimūn) also found followers among the Jews.

Before referring to the Jewish philosophers, it is of interest to mention a fact hitherto entirely ignored in connexion with the dissemination of their moral teachings. Such collections of maxims as are mentioned above were also put into verse, and formed terse epigrams or long didactic poems—a form better adapted to render them popular, for the masses do not care for historical or theoretical investigations, and still less for philosophical justifications of moral conduct. Fragments of the ancient saws of Ben Sira were then collected, and other collections of a similar nature were made. It is owing to this tendency that about that period (9th–10th cent.) the Book of Sirach was re-translated into Hebrew, as the language of the newly discovered version testifies. It is the period of 'Achiacharus' in its modern recension (Lukman, etc.). A century later no less a person than the last of the great *Gēnīm* of Babylon, Hai (940–1039), wrote his rhymed didactical poem *Mūsar Haskel*—also a kind of moral *vade-mecum* adapted to the understanding of the people, and probably taught in the schools and otherwise learnt by heart. It agrees also with the 'will' of Eleazar, Achiacharus, etc. A few examples must suffice.

'My son, my first word is: Fear the Lord; and with each of thy deeds give praise unto Him' (vv. 1, 3). 'Forgive the sin and transgression of thy neighbour, and be ready to accept repentance and regret.' 'Be not treacherous or seek strife, and foster not rebellion' (vv. 75 ff.). 'When thou hearest the defamation of thy neighbour, cover it up and pretend not to have heard it' (vv. 88–89). 'Wisdom is to walk in the path of faithfulness and of the fear of God; and true understanding (character) is to avoid evil.' 'Be an (honest) judge among thy people' (vv. 114 ff.). 'In all thy transactions choose righteousness; have pity on the poor and miserable, and appoint an adviser and admonisher to thy soul' (vv. 135 ff.). 'Let thy heart (mind) beware of pride (proud insolence)' (163). 'Do not say to thy neighbour, Come to-morrow, when thou canst give to-day; give and do not tarry.' 'Judge thyself as thou wouldst judge others' (176).

His contemporary Samuel Ha-Nagid imitated Hai in Spain, in his *Ben Kokeleth* ('Son of Ecclesiastes'). On other didactic poems we need not dwell.

To return to the Jewish philosophers, we note that, though they were all bent on finding in Judaism the highest expression of Divine truth, and aimed at leading to the highest good, yet they differed in their definition of the *summum bonum* and in the means of attaining it. To cultivate all the virtues was the road which led to the knowledge of God, and in this knowledge was to be found the ultimate goal of human perfection, i.e. nearness to God. Hence sometimes the intellect and moral conscience were not clearly distinguished from one another. This is not the place to discuss the various systems of ethics evolved by these Jewish philosophers. It may suffice to point out that every system of thought among Arabs and mediæval Scholastics is to be found among the Jews. Of those thinkers some—like Saadya, Gabirol, Ibn Zaddik, and Maimonides—are more rationalistic, assigning to the knowledge of God

and to Wisdom the highest potentiality for good, and considering that the highest aim is to be attained by moderation, by the rule of the intellect over the actions and thoughts of man, while others incline more to the mystical side. To the latter category belongs Behay, the first philosopher to write a special work on the 'Duties of the Heart' (such is the title of the book, *Hoboth ha-Lebaboth*). He recognizes human conscience as the last arbiter and the true inward prompter and guide in all moral actions which lie outside the specifically legal injunctions. He lays special stress on the elevating and purifying influence of moral consciousness, and therefore leads up to a kind of religious asceticism or Quietism, by recommending retirement from life, abstinence, and prayer as means for attaining perfection. Without being morbid, he exhibits a high moral sensitiveness, and has had a lasting influence upon succeeding generations. One can trace his influence especially in a whole series of subsequent writings.

These philosophical writings, being almost all composed in Arabic, had to be first translated into Hebrew, and only then could they gain a wider circulation. The writings of Saadya thus reached France and Central Europe, through the medium of the Hebrew anonymous translation which was used by Berechyah ha-Nakdan (second half of 12th cent.) in his two ethical compilations—the 'Compendium' and the 'Refiner' (*Hibbur* and *Maṣref*, ed. H. Gollancz, London, 1902). He eliminated the entire speculative part, and retained only the ethical, which he augmented with excerpts from the writings of Ibn Gabirol, Behay, and Nissim.

Of sin and repentance he says: 'From the passage Hos 14th. "Return, for thou hast sinned," we learn that we should have an inward regret at our guilt, and that we should reflect that our sins have proved unto us a wretched stumbling-block' (p. 71, ed. Gollancz). He speaks most emphatically of the 'duties of the heart.' All action rests upon the heart's intention and upon the secret thoughts; their study must necessarily precede the study of the physical, practical performance of the commandments. And he goes on to relate the following: 'A pious man once said to his disciples, "If you had no sins whatever, I should be afraid lest you had something worse than sins." And they asked, "What can be worse than sins?" He answered: "Insolent pride, for it is written, Every one that is proud in heart is an abomination unto the Lord" (Pr. 16th) (ch. cxvii, p. 113 (Heb.)). Very beautiful is the chapter devoted to 'the heart' (ch. iii, in the *Maṣref*), in which the author has skillfully collected verses of the Bible, teachings of the Sages, and philosophical speculations, to show that Reason, Law, and Tradition demand of a man the performance of those actions by which human perfection can be attained, and that man must be guided by an enlightened understanding and a pure heart, i.e. by pure conscience.

Of the same way of thinking as Behay was Abraham b. Ḥiyah (middle of 12th cent.), although he was more emphatic about fasting and repentance to assuage the pangs of stricken conscience, and to serve as the means of avoiding sin. Like Behay, he shows points of contact with the teaching of Ghazālī and of the *Sūfis* (the pure brethren). Of the Intellectuals, or, better, of those who derive all the moral virtues—charity, piety, energy, loving-kindness, love of God, moral rectitude, etc.—from the knowledge of God, and seek the road to that knowledge in the 'middle way,' the most prominent is Maimonides. He enunciates his views in his commentary on the 'Chapters of the Fathers,' in the chapters on the 'Knowledge of God' in his great Compendium of the Law, in his 'Guide of the Perplexed,' and in other writings. The problem which agitated the philosophers of that time, and, one may add, the philosophers of religion at all times, was that of human free will, with the concomitant problem of reward and punishment, of virtue and vice, of human perfection and debasement. He decides unhesitatingly, in accordance with the general consensus of Jewish opinion, that man is a free agent in all his moral actions. Man's soul is the seat of know-

ledge, and from it alone emanates the impulse to action or inaction (Introd. to *Aboth*, ch. viii.). It is his moral conscience which causes reward or punishment for deeds which are neither commanded by the Divine legislation nor forbidden by it (*Guide*, iii. 17, fifth theory). In ch. liii. Maimonides defines the meaning of the Heb. words *hesed* ('loving-kindness'), *mishpāt* ('judgment'), and *ṣedāqāh* ('righteousness'), and says of the last:

'The term *ṣedāqāh* is derived from *ṣadeh*, "righteousness." It denotes the act of giving every one his due, and of showing kindness to every being according as it deserves. In Scripture, however, the expression *ṣedāqāh* is not used in the first sense, and does not apply to the payment of what we owe to others. When we, therefore, give the hired labourer his wages, or pay a debt, we do not perform an act of *ṣedāqāh*. But we do perform an act of *ṣedāqāh* when we fulfil those duties towards our fellow-men which our moral conscience imposes upon us, e.g. when we heal the wound of the sufferer.' And again: '*ṣedāqāh* is a kindness prompted by moral conscience, and is a means for attaining perfection of the soul.'

He also insists on the harmony between good action and good thought: in the exercise of human free will the good must be sought for its own sake; and the evil must be shunned because of its inherent wickedness, not out of fear of punishment or in the expectation of reward (Com. to *Aboth*, i. 3, on the passage: 'Be like servants who minister to their master without the condition of receiving a reward'). He rebukes men who, though they do not possess a certain virtue, yet, appreciating its perfection,

'sometimes desire to make others believe that they possess that virtue. Thus people, e.g., adorn themselves with the poems of others, and publish them as their own productions. Also in various branches of science, ambitious yet lazy men appropriate the opinions expressed by other persons, and boast of them that they have originated these notions' (*Guide*, ii. 40).

And he condemns men who seek honour at the expense of others and spread insinuations and slanderous statements (*Hilch. Teshubah*, iv. 4). He is no less emphatic in his condemnation of those who try to overreach Jew or Gentile, or create a false opinion in their favour. Such men are an abomination before the Lord,¹ for the aim and object of a moral life is to approach the Divine.

'Having acquired the true knowledge of God, the knowledge of His Providence, and of the manner in which it influences His creatures in their productions and continued existence, he (i.e. man) will then be determined always to seek loving-kindness, righteousness, and judgment, and thus imitate the ways of God' (*Guide*, iii. 54, *ad fin.*; cf. *Jer. 9* 23¹⁷). With this sentence Maimonides concludes his *Guide*.

The next period, which commences almost with the close of the philosophical era at the end of the 13th cent., shows the deep impress of those two streams of thought reaching down from the past. The ethical and the philosophical, the mystical and the rationalistic, the purely practical and the deeply spiritual, moral, and unselfish teaching were caught up in one current and gathered into one stream (cf. Berechyah, above). A new word is used to denote this new ethical literature—*Mūsār*, 'Moral Discipline,' foreshadowed in Hai's poem, and occurring already in the Proverbs as 'moral teaching' (1st, cf. 4th 5th etc.). Henceforward it denotes 'piety,' 'religious-moral life,' embracing the legal in a narrower and the ethical in the largest sense. The works belonging to this period inculcate the practice of virtue, honesty, piety, resignation, charity, love of one's neighbour, and saintliness of life. There is a psychological reason for the abundance of such books from the 13th cent. onwards. It was the time of the direst persecution of the Jews in many lands, and, unless the Sages and teachers of those generations had fortified the moral courage of the harassed and unfortunate people, every trace of consciousness of the moral duties of man would have been obliterated. The sense of sin and chastisement, of Divine visitation justified by inward backsliding,

¹ He refers, of course, to the Talmudic passages quoted above (*Be'ra*, 94a, and B. *ḥamma*, 113a).

was deepened by these books of *Mūsār*, in which the best teaching of the past was placed before the readers in as simple a language as could be commanded. Each author, following the bent of his own inclination, laid stress now on one side of the moral life, now on the other. Thus, some would exhort to fasting and ascetic practices; others to works of unselfish love of God and men; others would teach wisdom, moderation, patience, and freedom from passion; but all were united in the conviction that human life is worthily lived only when it is placed in the service of God, for the benefit of mankind, and for the glorification of His name. A man's conscience must be pure, and every one is equally responsible for thought as for deed, whether prescribed by the Law or left to the discretion of one's own heart, for God sees everything, and nothing is hidden from Him. We are, and ought to be, the judges of our actions, and to us is left free choice to decide which way to turn.

What lends special importance to this *Mūsār* literature is the fact that most of these books of *Mūsār* were translated at an early date into the vernacular language for the benefit and instruction of the middle-class Jews, who were not sufficiently acquainted with the Hebrew to read them in the original language. These books became the literature *par excellence* of Jewish women; they were translated into the Jewish-German and the Jewish-Spanish languages, and parts also into Arabic and Persian, thus becoming real 'household treasures.' Shabbethai Bass gives a list of no fewer than 120 such books in his bibliography (*Siftei Yeshenim*, printed in the year 1680, fol. 15a), exclusive of the numerous commentaries on the 'Chapters of the Fathers' (*ib.* fol. 18a). A few of the more prominent may be mentioned, for, besides reminiscences of, and direct quotations from, the older literature, the authors have added some more instructions—personal expressions of their own conceptions of the duty and moral obligation incumbent on every Jew. Here, of course, the notions of the fear of God and the love of God prevail, for everything must be done out of that love and for the sake of hallowing His name by moral actions, and thereby sanctifying human life.

Nahmanides, in 1267, writes to his son from Acco a 'moral epistle,' in which he enjoins, among other things, that he be modest and humble: 'When thou speakest, bend thy head and lift up thine heart (*sursum corda*), and speak quietly, and consider every man whom thou address as being greater than thou art. If he be poor and thou rich, or thou a greater scholar than he is, then think that thou art more full of guilt; or, if he be sinning, that he is doing it out of ignorance, unintentionally, and not deliberately. In all thy deeds and thoughts remember Him of whom it is said that His glory filleth the world.'

Jonah of Gerona (†1263), known as the *Hasid* and *Kaddosh*, i.e. Martyr, wrote, in the strain of Behay, his famous *Sha'arei Teshubah*, 'Gates of Repentance,' and *Sefer ha-Yirah*, 'Book of the Fear of God,' where the feeling of consciousness of the gravity of sin and the duty of repentance are expounded in a masterly manner. He says: 'There are people who believe that, if you do not transgress any of the written laws, you cannot commit sin, for it is connected with active work. And yet there is no greater loss for the soul than to imagine that purity consists only in not having gone the way of active sin, and not also in the neglect of the performance of deeds of charity and of good works. For the highest perfections can be achieved only by carrying out injunctions (which are not direct legal commandments, but ethical demands), such as the exercise of free will, love of God, contemplation of His loving-kindness, the recognition of God's ways in His visitation of man, and, above all, in the sanctification of His name by worship, fear, and by cleaving unto Him' (*Sha'arei Teshubah* ii. §§ 14, 17). 'Do not pretend that thou art not able to help by word or deed, for, if thou refusest, thy strength will wane' (*ib.* § 70). 'Thou shalt not take a bribe (Ex 238) means also, Thou shalt not allow thy judgment to be influenced by flattery,' for the purity of conscience will thereby be clouded (*ib.* § 98).

Almost contemporary with these were Yehudah the Pious in Germany (12th cent.), and his pupil Eleazar of Worms (†1238), and Yehiel b. Yekutiel in Rome (1278), as well as Moses of Coucy in France (1239-45), who wrote ethical treatises and guides for a moral life—the 'Book of the Pious,' *Sefer Hasidim* (Yehudah); the 'Perfection of Human Conscience,' *Me'alah*

ha-Middoth (Yekutieli); and the great Code of Laws, *Sefer Mishvot ha-Gadol* (Moses of Coucy). Each of these men represents a special school of thought. The first two are of a mystical disposition, Quietists; the writer in Rome follows, on the whole, the philosophical writers; while the codifier of the Law, like Maimonides, introduces chapters on ethical duties into the very Code. 'Be fair to every one, be he a Jew or a Gentile.' 'Money obtained by sweating the workman, or by buying stolen goods and idols as ornaments, brings no blessing.' 'Draw the attention of the Gentile to his mistake (in any business transaction); and better live on charity and begging than appropriate the money of others, which will be a disgrace to Judaism and to the Jewish name.' 'Be honest with every one, no matter to what faith he belongs.' 'Those who clip the coin, who sell short measure, who practice usury, are a curse; and there is no blessing in their money.' 'Do not say, "I will repay evil," but trust in God, and He will help thee.' 'If any one has defrauded thee or brought false witness against thee, or has ruined thee, do not avenge the injustice by doing the same to him.' 'Do not listen to slander' (Yehudah Hasid). 'Act in such a manner that thou needst not be ashamed of thyself.' 'Keep thee imagination pure, so that thy deeds may be likewise.' 'Know that the reward from the Lord is in accordance with thy resistance to sin.' 'The highest aim and ambition of man should be to fulfil the commandments, to sanctify His name, and to sacrifice himself for God's sake' (Eleazar). 'A Sage said: "Whoever sows hatred reaps regret." 'Be true and honest, as our Sages say: "Let your yea be yea and your nay nay." 'If a Gentile trusts you and relies upon your word, you must in all your transactions justify his confidence and be true and honest, so that the name of God be sanctified' (Yekutieli). 'Whosoever is a novice in the fear of God shall say every morning on rising: "To-day I will be a faithful servant of the Lord; I will beware of wrath, lying, hatred, strife, and envy; I will not look (sustfully) upon women, and I will forgive those who hurt me." 'Whoever forgives is forgiven; hard-heartedness and implacability are grave sins unworthy of a Jew' (Moses of Coucy).

The mystical philosophy of religion embodied in the *Zohar*, the chief exponent of the later Kabbālā, recognizes no less emphatically the call of conscience. The fulfilment of moral duties is not only a reward in itself, but it is the main cause of the harmony of the world and of the uninterrupted flow of Divine grace from the highest spheres down to the mundane sphere. 'Woe unto the sinners, for they keep the Divine glory in exile,' is a constantly recurring phrase. The mystical philosophy has in this case not contributed to weaken the moral fibre, and a high tone of ethical loftiness pervades the pages of the *Zohar*.

In conclusion, a few wills may now be mentioned. That of Asher b. Yehiel is of special interest on account of the fact that his code of the Law, with slight modifications, is the direct source of the recognized standard religious Jewish Code. He died in 1327, and by his will continued the old tradition, which was carried on to the end of the 18th cent. and even later. Among the authors are men like his son, Yehudah b. Asher († 1349), Abraham, and his grandson Sheftel Hurwitz (17th cent.), and the founder of the sect of the modern *Hasidim*, Israel Ba'al Shem-Tob (end of 18th cent.). Differing somewhat in their views on Divine worship, they are at one in the conception of moral duty and human responsibility, as lying not in the fulfilment of legal commandments alone, but to a greater degree in the performance of moral obligations for which there is no incentive by the promise of reward, and no threat of punishment for neglect.

Last, not least, the 'Shining Lamp,' *Menorath ha-Ma'or*, of Israel ben Joseph Alnau († 1391), preserved partly in the *Reshith Hokhmah*, 'Beginning of Principles of Wisdom,' of Elijah de Vidas (16th cent.), and the compilation of Isaac Aboab under the same name, *Menorath ha-Ma'or*, contain the gist of the ethical and Haggadic teaching of the Rabbis. Though a rather large volume, this book has been the household book of Jewry from the time of its compilation (c. 1300) to the present day. It has been translated into many languages, and, together with the Book of Elijah de Vidas, it is the Golden Treasury. The love of one's neighbour, and the principles of moral rectitude, of moral duty, of the heinousness of

clandestine sin and open hypocrisy, of the happiness wrought by repentance and a clean conscience, of loving-kindness and mercy as Divine attributes to be imitated by man, of moral perfection to be attained not only by outward ceremonial law or by fulfilment of prescribed legislation, but by following the inner voices of the soul and the unwritten commands of the Divine in man, of the hallowing of life and the sanctification of the name of God—of all this the book is full. Its aim is summed up in exemplifying the words of the prophet, in the light of Maimonides' interpretation that the highest duty of man is to fulfil acts of *hesed*, 'loving-kindness,' *mishpāt*, 'judgment,' and *sedāqah*, 'righteousness': 'For I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord' (Jer 9²⁴). This has remained the guiding principle for 'conscience' in Judaism.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited in the article, see L. Zunn, *Gottesdienst, Vorträge der Juden*, Frankfurt, 1892, p. 108 ff., 'Ethische Hagada,' also *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, i., Berlin, 1845, p. 122 ff. 'Sittenlehrer'; D. Rosin, *Ethik des Maimonides*, Breslau, 1876; M. Lazarus, *The Ethics of Judaism*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1901-2; art. 'Ethics' in JE; S. Baeck, 'Die Sittenlehrer, in *Jüd. Literat.*, ed. Winter-Wünsche, iii., Trèves, 1896, p. 627 ff.; I. Suwalski, *Hayyot ha-Yehudi al pi ha-Talmud*, Warsaw, 1893.

M. GASTER.

CONSCIENCE (Muslim).—I. Names for the phenomenon.—The normal manifestations of the conscience, whether in individuals or in communities, are to be found in uneasiness about acts perpetrated in the past, and the desire to make amends for them, or in refraining from perpetration, on grounds of abstract right and wrong. These manifestations are to be found among moral agents with few or no exceptions, but they are not always labelled with a name. Probably the nearest equivalent in Arabic is the word *al-zājir*, 'the restrainer,' defined as 'God's preacher in the heart of the believer, the light cast therein which summons him to the truth'; but it obviously refers to the second group of manifestations only, and its limitation to 'Believers' is due to the fact that in a sense, according to the Islāmic system, the unbeliever can do no wrong, as being outside God's covenant. For the first group probably the word *sarira*, 'the secret,' i.e. the secret self, would be the nearest synonym; this is the word used in the maxim 'God concerns Himself with your consciences,' embodied by Omar I. in his *Instructions to a Judge*. The modern Islāmic languages employ conventional translations of the European words; in Turkish *vicdan* (properly 'sensation') is employed, in Arabic *damir* ('the hidden being'). But for the adjective 'conscientious' it is probable that a paraphrase would have to be used.

2. The conscience in law.—The maxim quoted above was of the highest importance for the development of Islām. Whereas St. Paul says, 'he is not a Jew who is one outwardly' (Ro 2²⁹), the Prophet's doctrine was, 'he is a Muslim who is one outwardly,' i.e. who pronounces a certain formula and pays a certain rate. In virtue of this principle, and another to the effect that Islām cancelled all that was before it, the Prophet's most stubborn opponents and persecutors might be admitted to the privileges of Islām without any atonement for their former conduct being necessary, or any guarantee that their conversion was dictated by anything but fear. The phrase 'union of hearts' was applied to the winning over of opponents by bribes. The inquisition into people's private character and opinions, carried on by some Islāmic sovereigns, was in open contradiction to the Prophet's principles, and confession of secret sin was so far from being encouraged by the Prophet, that, in a tradition of fair authority, he is represented as doing his utmost to dissuade a man from confess-

ing. In the maxim quoted from Omar the reference is to the credibility of Muslim witnesses, into which no inquiry may be made. Provided they are not notorious evil-livers—a term which is clearly defined—all Muslims are credible. On the other hand, to religious performances the maxim 'acts are by their intentions' applies. And Omar held that the Divine power would intervene to expose cases of shameless hypocrisy which would seriously interfere with the course of justice.

3. Conscience as a guide to the individual.—So far as the conscience is identical with the moral sense, or instinctive notions of right and wrong, the Prophet's system took little account of it; indeed, its tendency was to make the Prophet's revelations and practice the sole source whence knowledge of right and wrong could be obtained. His followers constantly handed their consciences over to his keeping, being unwilling to set their opinion against his. The fact that he claimed obedience only *in licitis et honestis* shows that he did not really claim the infallibility which logic compelled his followers to ascribe to him. That logic was, however, irresistible; for, if the right of private judgment were once allowed, clearly people could not be compelled to accept Islam at all. Although, then, there are occasional attempts at basing a system of ethics on either reason or the natural sense of right, these are not really in accordance with the spirit of the religion. The reference is regularly to the Qur'an, the practice of the Prophet, and the sayings of his followers: 'Whoso makes them his model goes right' is a common saying. The scope allowed to the conscience in private affairs by Muslim writers is similar to that indicated by the maxim *noblesse oblige*. So the formula, 'I appeal from you to yourself,' i.e. 'your better self,' is occasionally heard.¹ Hence the word *abiyy*, 'refusing,' is often applied by poets to a soul which declines of itself to enter humiliating courses.

4. The public conscience.—In Oriental despotisms the sovereign does not, as a rule, pay much regard to public opinion, and it might be hard to find any case in Muslim history in which the conduct of the sovereign had been of itself actively resented; neither parricide nor fratricide, debauchery, nor even heresy, appears to have of itself stirred up such indignation among the subjects as to cost a sovereign his throne. The assassination of the monster al-Hakim, the Fātimid Khalif (A.D. 1021), seems to have caused more indignation than his long catalogue of atrocities. Cases are therefore of interest in which concessions are made by the sovereign to the public conscience, to the extent of salving it; for such concessions imply that the sovereign thought it worth salving. A fiction with which we meet in Egyptian history more than once is the discovery of buried treasure, enabling the sovereign to build a mosque—there being a doubt whether the Muslims would attend worship in one which had been built out of ill-gotten gains. The murder of a brother was occasionally explained in an official document as an accidental death,² etc.; but, on the other hand, clever usurpers not infrequently gathered followers by stirring up public indignation against those whom they wished to overthrow. The Umayyad and Abbāsiid dynasties both won their first triumphs in this way. It was at times thought worth while to murder a saintly man and make it appear that a sovereign had perpetrated the crime, with the view of getting him dethroned.³ Similarly, in our time there have been suspicions of atrocities being engineered in the Ottoman empire for the purpose

of rousing the conscience of Europe. The best-informed political writers in the East insist on the maxim, 'the people follow the religion of their kings,' and the maxim, 'even in your conscience curse not the king' (Ec 10²⁰), represents the prevailing practice.

5. Noteworthy manifestations of the conscience.—Although the lives of the Muslim sovereigns, as told by their chroniclers, frequently, if not ordinarily, display absolute ruthlessness, yet in their relations with those persons who played the part of the Hebrew prophets, conscientiousness seems to have been the rule rather than the exception. Cases in which the sovereign, however arbitrary, permitted himself to be rebuked by a saint, and even followed the saint's advice, are quite common.⁴ A saint might even denounce the doings of a Khalif from the pulpit.⁵ The following anecdote of the Ghaznavid Mahmūd b. Sabuktakin illustrates the conscientiousness of an Oriental despot. A traditionalist was summoned to repeat edifying matter before the Sultan. The man commenced his discourse before he had been asked, and a slave was told to box his ears. The blow rendered the preacher permanently deaf. The Sultan was deeply distressed at this result, and offered abundant gifts in compensation; the traditionalist declined them all, saying he would accept nothing but what had been taken from him, the power of hearing. Requests from the Sultan for pardon were met merely with a reference to the final judgment. To this stubborn reply the Sultan answered with an embrace.⁶

There is a considerable literature on the desirability of cleansing the 'inner man,' of which Ghazālī's 'Scrutiny of the Hearts' may be mentioned as an example.⁴

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CONSCIENTIOUSNESS.—Conscientiousness (from 'conscience' [q.v.]) may be described as an attitude within the moral life, a source of virtue, rather than one of the virtues. Judgment, with its intellectual reference, and integrity, with its emotional reference, are involved, imparting direction to conduct, and tending strongly to the adaptation of habit on the basis of new values.

Developed morality presupposes two main groups of elements which interact with each other. These are the objective and the subjective, often termed the universal (or social) and the individual (or personal). The former consists of customs and usages, of conventions, observances, and legal or quasi-legal codes, of social and political institutions. All, in turn, are integral to a cultural organization such as a race, a people, or even an epoch. The latter, though inseparable from the former, consists of the peculiar contribution resultant upon the reaction of individuals to the norms of the social unity. So long as this response remains unconscious or unreflective, personal character misses complete distinctiveness, and tends to keep the level of the general, customary average. But when, thanks to a subtle admixture of intellect and emotion, men place themselves in a reflective attitude towards the norms of the communal spirit, conscientiousness supervenes, and obligation acquires an enhanced, because positively recognized, influence upon character.

Conscientiousness, then, is reflective intelligence grown into character. It involves a greater and wider recognition of obligation in general, and a larger and more stable emotional response to everything that presents itself as duty; as well as the habit of deliberate consideration of the moral situation and of the acts demanded by it' (J. Dewey, *Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics*, 1891, p. 200).

In a word, conscientiousness is marked by the

¹ e.g. Tabarī, iii. 688.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 209.

³ Yāqūt, *Dict. of Learned Men*, v.

⁴ *Mukhtashafat al-ḡulub*, Cairo, 1893.

¹ Yāqūt, *Dict. of Learned Men*, ed. Margoliouth, 1910, vol. v.

² *Life of Ibn al-'Amīd*.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 161 (Cairo, 1898).

⁴ *Id.* ix. 29.

presence of a reinforced requirement of conscience, and by the effort to meet it. Yet, even so, the condition of moral anxiety, accompanied by habitual introspection, can hardly be accepted as an equitable account of the matter. This view savours too much of temporary circumstances, associated, say, with such supposititious entities as the 'Non-conformist conscience,' the 'New England conscience,' or the like. Possibly the Puritan strain led Green to formulate his over-subjective analysis:

'There remain the cases (1) of reflexion on past actions of our own, (2) of consideration whether an act should be presently done, which it rests with ourselves to do or not to do. In both these cases, the question of the character or state of will which an action represents may be raised with a possibility of being answered. Given an ideal of virtue . . . a man may ask himself, Was I, in doing so and so, acting as a good man should, with a pure heart, with a will set on the objects on which it should be set?—or again, Shall I, in doing so and so, be acting as a good man should, goodness being understood in the same sense? . . . The habit in a man of raising such questions about himself as those just indicated, is what we have mainly in view when we call him conscientious' (*Prot. to Ethics*, 1883, p. 322 f.).

But conscientiousness is not to be identified with conscience 'in its extreme form of self-reflectiveness,' which 'investigates with the searching power of an expert, in order to discover the slightest deflection from what it holds to be good. It is because of its personal or individual character that it is able to put forward a claim to independence of the State or of any social order' (S. Alexander, *Moral Order and Progress*, 1889, p. 157 f.). Accordingly, one may accentuate the subjective aspect of conscientiousness readily, and thus minimize the objective reference. If it be reduced to a mere analysis of internal moods, it may very well indicate weakness rather than strength of character.

'The simply ethical temper is related to spiritual productiveness as mere good taste is to creativeness in poetry and art. With so circumspect a step it makes no way; and, though it never wanders, never flies. For ever occupied in distinguishing, it acquires the habit of fear instead of love—nay, above all things, *fears to love*. Its maxims are maxims of avoidance, which shape themselves into negatives, and guard every avenue with the flaming sword of prohibition, "Thou shalt not." In apprehension of possible evil, it dares not surrender itself to any admiration and fling itself into unrestrained action for any haunting end: the admiration must first be scrutinized, till it has cooled and its force is gone; the end in view is traced through a thicket of comparisons, till it is lost in the wood. Nothing, accordingly, is more rare than a character at once balanced and powerful, judicial and enthusiastic; and faultless perception is apt to involve feeble inspiration' (James Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*², 1886, ii. 60).

Thus the division of opinion regarding conscientiousness has its roots in the two groups of elements inseparable from morality. If the objective factor be emphasized, knowledge of social demands, or insight into their nature, is viewed as the dominant feature. If, on the other hand, emphasis be laid on the subjective factor, self-examination, with anxiety about personal moods and feelings, assumes primary importance.

In the Greek world, where our sense of conscientiousness had not developed, but where 'wisdom' (*σοφία*, *σύνεσις*, not yet *συνέλησις*) played a parallel rôle, the community-aggregate of predispositions and tendencies in the realm of values (cf. Grote, *Plato and the Other Companions of Sokrates*, 1865, i. 249) furnished plentiful material which was regarded as neither good nor bad. The 'wise man' was likened to an artist, who shaped this raw stuff into the masterpiece of a model life. For example, 'Aristotle presents us with the general type of a subtle and shifting problem, the solution of which must be worked out afresh by each individual in each particular case. Conduct to him is a free and living creature, and not a machine controlled by fixed laws. Every life is a work of art shaped by the man who lives it' (G. L. Dickinson, *The Greek View of Life*³, 1907, p. 137).

Accordingly, paradox though it may seem, virtue was knowledge, in the sense that the superior, and therefore thoughtful, citizen superimposed a conscious (reflective) attitude upon the traditional custom of the *πολιτεία*. In this way the 'higher law' of wisdom was made manifest. But, leaving

the imperfect Socratics out of account (cf. CYNICS, CASUISTRY), it bore rather upon group-norms than upon the independent 'conscientious' judgment of the individual. The internal thrust of the principle had to await Stoicism and the Christian consciousness.

Nevertheless, the classical moralists of Greece did originate the idea of inward principle, of individual reaction upon the cultural situation, with the result that, consequent upon profound civil vicissitudes, the Stoic conception of 'conscience,' based on the independence of the 'wise man,' grew up and acquired fixity. In this way, dynamic progress in morality, as contrasted with static custom, was enlivened—not, however, without pathological accompaniments, because the restraints of the old society weakened. Despite this, two heritages had been prepared for the Christian consciousness: the conception of inner principle, mediated individually; and the doctrine that, in the sphere of morality at least, whatever might be said of religion, this inward principle must be adjudged by the mind. Thus the contrast between the two elements—the objective or social and the subjective or individual—took definite shape. And successive conceptions of conscientiousness witnessed, if not a struggle, then a lack of balance, between them. At one time, as in the mediæval view of 'prudence,' the objective tended to assert itself; at another, as in the Puritan emphasis on 'righteousness,' the subjective exercised primacy. In a word, men constructed their description of the source of virtue on the basis of current relative evaluation of the virtues.

The very fact, then, that the Christian consciousness has substituted 'conscientiousness' for the 'wisdom' of the Greeks—and this finally—suffices to show that the internal and individual had won full recognition. The conscientious man must use discernment, according to the inward principle, with reference to the norms of social custom. Moral progress and initiative pivot upon this. On the other hand, this initiative is concerned about these same customs—to discover how they may be preserved lively. And yet, of necessity, this process means that, because they are subjects of concern and of consequent new estimate, they must alter.

Conscientiousness, then, may be described as genuine concern, mediated intelligently, for all such values. This cannot but result in approval and disapproval; and these attitudes are traceable in part to emotional convictions about an inward ideal. So far as the conscientious man has made this ideal his own, being able to say, 'This one thing I do,' it has become 'the way and the truth' for him. Accordingly, in the issue, conscientiousness turns out to be an energetic pursuit of an individual-social ideal—an ideal that appeals to emotion mainly through objective associations, and to intellect mainly through intelligent personal reactions to those associations. The conscientious man is at once responsive to social achievements and ends, and considerate of the one principle whereby these ends are relegated to their due places in a harmonious whole. He feels that his own goodness is bound up with that of others, hence personal assertion of the norm as he envisages it; he knows that his own progress must depend ultimately upon the clearness of his apprehension of the inward principle. Thus reflective insight, on the basis of affective conviction, grasping and transforming group-norms, constitutes the moral attitude known as conscientiousness. For this reason, the latter is held to be the source and guardian of virtue. It serves itself the central factor to be reckoned with in an active moral consciousness.

But, further, this implies that conscientiousness

is characterized by disinterestedness. Otherwise, it would not include a concrete estimate of the entire import of an action. Self-assertion here becomes a species of self-forgetfulness. For by this quality the self-reference of conscientiousness is merged in a larger whole. So, if this quality be emphasized, conscientiousness may find a place in the list of virtues. It would then stand as the chief of the cardinal virtues, thus becoming more or less identical with what modern moralists have termed the 'good will.' This implies that it is the guarantee, not of mental acumen or of aesthetic taste, but of goodness realizing itself throughout the entire circle of a life which, in turn, draws sustenance from the norms of the community. In these norms the conscientious man discovers new stimuli to the inner principle. But the necessity for reflexion rules out supposititious automatic deliverances of an equally supposititious 'internal tribunal'—'conscience.' Briefly, vital interest in the good, as the principle reveals it, at once sets problems, and points the conditions of their solution. Fusion of sober judgment with earnest aspiration, and fusion of restraint, mediated socially, with fervent desire, both passing over into will, constitute the modern counterpart of the Greek 'wisdom.' And this species of ethical apperception which imports our experience into a moral order, and also perceives that it is originated from a moral order, is true conscientiousness. It is the pre-requisite and accompaniment of any end which moral beings can adopt for the completion of their well-being. Hence its inevitable relation to questions which pass over into the field of religion.

See also CONSCIENCE, ETHICS (Christian), WISDOM.

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CONSCIOUSNESS.—What is consciousness? From the dawn of modern philosophy the question has been discussed, and psychology and philosophy have endeavoured to find a reply. The answers have been very various, but we may not summarize them in this article. To summarize those given from the time of Descartes onwards would be to write a history of modern philosophy. And at present the question is more widely and more incisively discussed than ever before. Some philosophers and psychologists almost insist on discarding the name altogether, while others make the results of the analysis of consciousness the whole of their philosophy. For example, A. E. Taylor writes:

'This is perhaps the place to add the further remark that, if we would be rigidly accurate in psychological terminology, we ought to banish the very expression "consciousness" or "states of consciousness" from our language. What are really given in experience are attentive processes with a certain common character. We abstract this character and give it the name of "consciousness," and then fall into the blunder of calling

the concrete processes "states" or "modifications" of this abstraction, just as in dealing with physical things we make abstraction of their common properties under the name of "matter," and then talk as if the things themselves were "forms of matter." Properly speaking, there are physical things and there are minds, but there are no such things in the actual world as "matter" and "consciousness," and we do well to avoid using the words when we can help it' (*Elements of Metaphysics*, p. 79 n.). In the text, with all the emphasis of italics, Taylor says: 'We cannot too strongly insist that if by "self-consciousness" is meant a cognitive state which is its own object, there is no such thing, and it is a psychological impossibility that there should be any such thing as self-consciousness. No cognitive state ever has itself for its own object. Every cognitive state has for its object something other than itself' (*ib.* p. 79).

Taylor makes short work of consciousness; and if we took his view, the writing of an article on consciousness might be dispensed with. But, as we are hardly able to conceive what is meant by a cognitive state which has an object which is something other than itself, we may be permitted to go on. It is scarcely consistent with the ordinary use of language, and certainly quite inconsistent with the use of psychological language, to speak of a cognitive state in active relation with an object. For whom is the state, and who is aware of it? But this question may be better discussed at a later stage. Meanwhile it may be safely said that the word 'consciousness' denotes some phase or aspect of our mental life, and that it is not identical with any of the other aspects which we apply to particular mental processes or states. It is not feeling, nor is it willing, nor is it thinking; but these states or processes have this at least in common, that they are conscious states. The contrast does not lie between feeling and consciousness, or between willing and consciousness, or between thinking and consciousness. The contrast lies between consciousness and unconsciousness. For the characteristic of every mental state, or of every mental process, seems just to consist in the fact that they are states of a conscious subject, and that they are for that subject.

While this is so, many questions of interest and importance arise as to the relations of the subject to its states, as to the distinction, if there is a distinction, between the phrases 'states of consciousness' and 'consciousness of states.' Is consciousness to be identified with the sum of its states? Can we neglect the reference to a subject, and proceed to analyze, compare, classify, and arrange these states according to the laws of their growth, their interrelations, and so on, leaving out of sight, as common to them all, their relation to a common subject? This has been done, and, in fact, it is the ordinary psychological procedure. But there is always a sort of uneasiness about proceeding in this way; for many inconvenient questions arise as to the subject for whom the experiences are, and the unity to which they are referred. Ideas, processes, and states come and go; they cluster together, they occupy our attention, and they seem to pass into the unconscious. It is natural that the scene of their appearance should be likened to a theatre, and that, while they have passed from the scene, they should have a sort of existence behind the scenes. It may be well to quote the classic illustration of Hume:

'For my part, when I enter most intimately into what I call *myself*, I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I never can catch *myself* at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception. When my perceptions are removed for any time, as by sound sleep, so long am I insensible of *myself*, and may truly be said not to exist. And were all my perceptions removed by death, and could I neither think, nor feel, nor see, nor love, nor hate, after the dissolution of my body, I should be entirely annihilated, nor do I conceive what is further requisite to make me a perfect non-entity. If any one, upon serious and unprejudiced reflexion, thinks he has a different notion of *himself*, I must confess I can reason no longer with him. All I can allow him is, that he may be in the right as well as I, and that we are essentially different in this particular. He may, perhaps per-

ceive something simple and continued, which he calls *himself*; though I am certain there is no such principle in me.

But, setting aside some metaphysicians of this kind, I may venture to affirm of the rest of mankind, that they are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and movement. Our eyes cannot turn in their sockets without varying our perceptions. Our thought is still more variable than our sight; and all our other senses and faculties contribute to this change; nor is there any single power of the soul which remains unalterably the same, perhaps for one moment. The mind is a kind of theatre, where several perceptions successively make their appearance; pass, re-pass, glide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations. There is properly no *simplicity* in it at one time, nor *identity* in different; whatever natural propensity we may have to imagine that simplicity and identity. The comparison of the theatre must not mislead us. They are the successive perceptions only that constitute the mind; nor have we the most distant notion of the place where these scenes are represented, or of the materials of which it is composed' (Hume's *Works*, ed. Green and Grose, London, 1909, I. 534 f.). Or, again, a little further on: 'What we call mind is nothing but a heap or bundle of different perceptions united together by certain relations, and supposed, though falsely, to be endowed with a certain simplicity and identity.'

It is a curious passage, and the more we study it the more curious it appears. There is the suggestion of a theatre, so often made since by other psychologists, and no sooner is it made than it is withdrawn. Yet it has fulfilled its aim. It has directed our attention to the stage, and has so far served its purpose. But a theatre suggests a stage, and players, and spectators. These suggestions, however, are somewhat inconvenient, and raise awkward questions. So we are told that 'the comparison of the theatre must not mislead us.' For it is 'the successive perceptions only that constitute the mind.' One is compelled to ask, What is a perception, and what is a succession? Above we were told that 'several perceptions successively make their appearance—pass, re-pass, glide away, and mingle in an infinite variety of postures and situations.' The perceptions make their appearance—to whom? Hume had formerly spoken of 'what I call *myself*.' So it is to what he calls himself that the perceptions appear, and all the passing, re-passing, and other movements are perceived by himself. And yet the mind that perceives, that looks on at the gliding show, is nothing but the bundle or collection of different perceptions. Is the mind aware that it is a bundle? Or that it is a collection? Whence came the bundle or collection? And how does it recognize itself to be a unity? In the passage before us, Hume is unable to state his argument without the implication, in every sentence, of what he formally denies. He is in the presence of a unique fact—the fact of a succession of perceptions which recognizes itself as a bundle or collection. How is it so? We are careful to state it in his own language, for that language implies the unity of the conscious subject to which all the gliding appearances are referred. It would appear that we are face to face with a unique kind of thing—a thing which seems at the same time to be knower and known, actor and spectator, a show and the spectator for whom the show is. For all these passing, re-passing, and gliding appearances, so felicitously described by Hume, had an existence only for himself; and, while other people may have similar experiences, these particular experiences were for him alone. And he was something more than the bundle of perceptions, he was the self for whom the perceptions were. We do not require here to discuss the relation of body and mind (see BODY AND MIND, BRAIN AND MIND, MIND), or of physiology and psychology. Nor can we dwell on the attempts to deduce the unity of consciousness from the unity of the nervous system. There is a parallelism between the growth of mind and the growth of an organized nervous system. Physiology has often given useful hints to psychology. There are parallels between the evolution of the organism and the

evolution of consciousness. But, while that is so, the fact of consciousness remains without parallel, and its nature must only be described and not explained. It is interesting, for example, to follow Herbert Spencer through his works setting forth the Synthetic Philosophy, from the First Principles, through Biology and Psychology to Sociology and Ethics. It is of special interest to mark the description of the origin and growth of these, and then to notice how psychology enters in. After he has described the evolution of the nervous system, he seeks to correlate the stages of evolution with a corresponding mental growth. How about consciousness? Whence did it come?

'In its higher forms, instinct is probably accompanied by a rudimentary consciousness. There cannot be co-ordination of many stimuli without some ganglion through which they are all brought into relation. In the process of bringing them into relation, this ganglion must be subject to the influence of each—must undergo many changes. And the quick succession of changes in a ganglion, implying, as it does, perpetual experiences of differences and likenesses, constitutes the raw material of consciousness. The implication is that, as fast as instinct is developed, some kind of consciousness becomes nascent' (*Psychology*, London, 1885, sect. 196).

So far we obtain only a raw material of consciousness and some kind of nascent consciousness. Another passage from the *Psychology* seems to show how a consciousness must arise:

'Separate impressions are received by the senses—by different parts of the body. If they go no further than the places at which they are received, they are useless. Or, if only some of them are brought into relation with one another, they are useless. That an effectual adjustment may be made, they must be all brought into relation with one another. But this implies some centre of communication common to them all, through which they severally pass; and as they cannot pass through it simultaneously, they must pass through it in succession. So that, as the external phenomena responded to become greater in number and more complicated in kind, the variety and rapidity of the changes to which this common centre of communication is subject must increase—there must result an unbroken series of these changes, there must arise a consciousness. Hence the progress of the correspondence between the organism and its environment necessitates a gradual reduction of the sensorial changes to a succession; and by so doing evolves a distinct consciousness—a consciousness that becomes higher as the succession becomes more rapid and the correspondence more complete' (sect. 179).

It is interesting to note how, in the description of the process, Spencer is constrained to assume, as in existence, the consciousness whose genesis he is seeking to describe. He speaks of 'perpetual experiences of differences and likenesses' in the ganglion through which the numerous stimuli are co-ordinated. If these exist, then we submit that the work supposed to be effected by consciousness is already being done. If these stimuli can be co-ordinated by a ganglion, what is the need of a consciousness to do a work already sufficiently provided for? As we read on, the wonder increases. The impressions received by the senses must be adjusted, and the adjustment is made through a centre of communication through which they pass in succession. But this centre, through which the impressions pass in succession, does a business which is ever on the increase, and, in order that its work may be done, a consciousness must arise. Why? As a matter of fact, a consciousness has arisen—something which is aware of the various changes within itself, which also has a certain power of intervention. But in the description of the whole process no place is left at which a consciousness can enter in. Either one must hold that consciousness has been implicitly present from the beginning, or it can never appear on the terms assigned to its entrance by Spencer.

That there is a relation between consciousness and the nervous states of the organism is unquestionable. But the origin and character of that relationship are not sufficiently described by Spencer. From the above account of the origin of consciousness, it appears as altogether a superfluous addition to a nervous system. The work of co-ordination has been already accomplished, and has, indeed,

automatically proceeded until the stimuli have learned how to pass through a centre, and to pass in orderly procession. Yet, on the whole, consciousness is greatly needed in the system of Spencer. For 'all mental action whatever,' we are told a little further on, 'is definable as the continuous differentiation and integration of states of consciousness' (*op. cit.* ii. 301). Are the states of consciousness determined by the states of the organism? Are they part of the integration and differentiation of matter and motion? Or is there only a parallelism between the two? Is psychophysical parallelism the ultimate word on the relationship between the two? Or is the consciousness simply an epiphenomenon, a mere accompaniment, or, in the metaphor of Huxley, is it simply the ticking of the clock which is mistaken for its function?

Leaving on one side the questions of the origin of consciousness as unanswerable, and the further questions of the relations of mind and body as too large for our proper theme, let us ask, What is really meant by conscious life, or, in other words, by consciousness? As we reflect on what happens when we attend to the processes of our inner life, we note three main characteristics: (1) There is the fact of change; without change, or without the entrance of a new fact into consciousness, there is no consciousness. Continued sameness would mean unconsciousness. (2) There is the preservation or reproduction of previously given elements, with some connexion between elements formerly given and those that are new. (3) There is the inward unity of recognition. In the stream of the inner life there are always present those three factors. Thus synthesis is the fundamental fact of all consciousness. But the synthetic activity of consciousness has always a certain end in view. This will become abundantly clear as we look at the mental attitude towards an object. This attitude is threefold, corresponding to the three aspects of mental activity. Consciousness is always occupied with some object. It is not needful to define the object for our present purpose. But, be it what it may, (1) it is an object of knowledge; we seem to know it, or to know something about it. (2) It brings to us some pleasure or pain; it affects us in some way. (3) We tend to alter it, transform it, take possession of it, and master it. We desire to have a clearer view of its character, or to make it serve our purpose. An object is thus related to us in three ways; and these three are the fundamental aspects of conscious activity—knowing, feeling, and striving, which are three aspects of the same mental state, not to be separated from each other, not to be thought of as successive in time, but elements of one concrete experience. From any of these points of view we arrive at the conclusion of the unity of the subject, which recognizes all these attitudes as its own. Cognition, recognition, or any other name descriptive of the cognitive attitude, presupposes the unity of the subject. The feeling of pleasure in activity, or of pain in the interruption of the activity, presupposes a central point into relation with which the changing elements of consciousness are brought. Similarly, it may be shown that all conative activity presupposes the unity of the subject, for it is the attempt to bring the object into harmonious relations with the other objects formerly or presently held together in our experience.

Thus from many points of view, as we look at the living, moving, thinking, willing, concrete being, we are presented with the fact of a unitary consciousness, of a real self, capable of a real experience. Yet it has been possible for systems to be constructed, theories of knowledge to be promulgated, psychological theories to be set forth, and

views to be argued, from which personalism has been excluded, and all reference to self and the unity of the self avoided. It is worth while to see how this has been possible. The possibility of it has not been without advantage in the interests of science. What does science desire to accomplish? A man of science does not know anything, does not desire to know anything, save the objects in their causal relation to one another. He seeks to look at things as parts of Nature, strives to construct and to model them until he has arranged them in their sequence as causes and effects. He strives to find the linkages, and, when he has linked all things together in a scheme which seems to include the whole, he is satisfied with his work. But, in order to fulfil this purpose, he has to make himself a martyr to science. He is no longer a man with his will and his purpose, a living, breathing man with a life of his own; he has become what we may call an abstract spectator, a consciousness which simply becomes aware of the ongoing and the linkages of the energies of the universe. Such a personality is not a real man. The standpoint of the spectator involves certain abstractions. He has put aside all interests, all living attitudes, and all the varied manifoldness of his concrete life, and has converted himself into a mere onlooker, whose whole aim is to understand the ways in which things are linked together. It is so far an artificial attitude, but in this abstraction from all that relates to personal will and purpose lies the enormous strength of the scientific attitude. It enables the onlooker to regard the processes of the world as the outcome of laws, to bring them into relations, to master them, and harness them to the fulfilment of his purposes. In fact, the scientific spectator who desires simply to know and to master the system of the world, abstracts altogether from his own life-interests, even from his own individuality, becomes merely a spectator of processes which are not for this individual or for that, but the same for every one. Further, not only does he abstract from all personal interests and from all individual proclivities, he finally comes to abstract from the activity of the knowing subject itself, and to look at the world as a system complete in itself, and independent of any subject. This mere abstract knower, who has detached himself from every personal characteristic, attitude, and interest, who simply watches the processes of Nature and registers them, is a useful creature for many purposes, but he can scarcely be taken as a complete and adequate representative of what consciousness, or self-consciousness in the fullness of its concrete being, means.

Science must proceed after the fashion described, if it is to do its work. But we ought to remind ourselves of the limitations prescribed by this attitude. In particular, we are not to put this abstract spectator, who has reduced himself to the stature of a mere spectator, in the place of the living man. The synthetic unity of apperception, to use Kant's phrase, may be all that is required for the purposes of explaining and describing the world, but this abstract attitude of the subject is not sufficient when we seek to speak of consciousness or of self-consciousness as it is in living experience. In the science of psychology we have also to assume this abstract attitude. Before the psychologist are the perceptions and thoughts, the feelings and emotions, the judgments and volitions, which he is to study and describe. He is well aware that the only key to the understanding of them lies within himself. No one save himself is aware of these conscious states, so far as they are his own. They are for him part of his own individual experience, and no one else has these particular experiences. But he has to take them as typical, and the subject

which has the experience becomes an abstract detached subject, a spectator who stands outside of the skull of everybody, and is supposed to have the manifold life of every conscious subject open to his gaze. It is necessary to make these abstractions; to make them is indispensable for the solution of particular problems, and helps us to attain to that mastery of the world which is essential for the fulfilment of the tasks of life. It is not needful to quarrel with the abstract attitude of every science, or to accuse it of wilful neglect of many elements in conscious life; our quarrel arises only when these special scientific aspects are set forth as complete and exhaustive accounts of the world.

To deal rightly with the question of consciousness which we have in hand, we must not be content to regard it as it appears in abstract science—merely as that which is aware of the processes of the world's ongoing, or merely as the abstract subject which meets us in psychological treatises. To neglect the subject and all its individual experiences, hopes, fears, and wishes, is quite right on the part of the physicist, the chemist, and the naturalist; and so to exclude the individual, and to declare that biography forms no part of psychology, is quite legitimate when the psychologist is seeking to understand the process of consciousness in general. But if the aim is to understand the fullness, the manifoldness, the complexity, as well as the unity, of mental life, the method is inadequate. The psychologist looks at the inner life as mere contents of consciousness. This consciousness only becomes aware of what is going on, and from this point of view it is nothing more. All contents are of equal value, or, rather, they are of value simply because they have a place in the stream of consciousness. But this view of consciousness is of value only to the psychologist, whose business is to describe and explain the contents of consciousness, and to organize them into a system. When we look away from the peculiar business of psychology, and speak of men in their habit as they live, we are aware of a great deal of which psychology takes no notice. There is the life which the poet sees, expresses, and interprets; there is the life of which the historian writes, which he seeks to interpret and to understand; there is the world of political, social, moral, and religious interests; and all of us are in that world—each a separate personality, characterized for selves and others as personalities, with the power of looking before and after, of foreseeing ends, and adopting means to realize them, of forming ideals, and of living up to them. Again, in every act of ours, in every feeling, every volition, and every thought, we are conscious of a self which expresses itself in aims and meanings. We see ourselves girt about with duties, laden with responsibilities, and we feel that we have a meaning in ourselves, and a place in the world.

We are not called on to explain here the different meanings which the self has for the psychologist, and for all others, such as the poet, the historian, the jurist, the artist. In the works of all these we are in a field of personal will and personal interest; in the company of the psychologist we are merely in the presence of a consciousness which is reduced to the aspect of being only aware of its contents, and has no special interest in, or preference for, any of these contents. Such a potentiality we may leave on one side as we proceed to deal with consciousness. What is it? Well, it is not to be identified with the sum of all its states, or with the sum of all its real or consistent presentations. It is not the stream of changes which goes on within it, or merely the awareness of the contents of that stream. It is not knowing, or willing, or feeling, for outside of it there is no feeling, no willing, no

knowing. Consciousness is the condition of all mental life; without consciousness there is no mental life. A psychical fact is simply a fact in consciousness, and it is nothing else. Unconscious knowing is a phrase to which we can attach no meaning. Just as little can we interpret a willing of which we have no consciousness.

Consciousness, therefore, is undefinable. Like all ultimates, we must simply accept it as the condition of the explanation of all else, itself remaining unexplained. It may not be identified with the sum of its states, any more than we can identify a real whole with the sum of its parts. For, after we have summed up the parts, there remains unaccounted for the wholeness of the whole. A machine is not the sum of its parts, and an organism is something more than the sum of its structures and functions. This statement, true of every whole, is uniquely true of the whole of consciousness. It is not a faculty in addition to other faculties, as memory is different, say, from imagination; it is implied in all the faculties of the mind. It is an essential property of every process that goes on within the mind. The simplest view is that which regards consciousness as the sphere in which immediate experience goes on. We are baffled by the very simplicity of the immediate operation of consciousness. We are baffled also by the fact that out of this simplicity are evolved all the results of the activity of consciousness in relation to the world and to self. Sciences, poems, histories, all the outcome of human endeavour, are due to the activity of consciousness. But what we are conscious of at any given moment is simply the mental states, activities, and passivities, and the presentations with which they work. What we insist on here is that consciousness cannot be deduced from anything else.

Certainly it cannot be deduced from the play of unconscious forces, or from the elaboration of correspondences between the growth of consciousness and the evolution of a nervous system. It may be well to dwell for a little on the attempts made to deduce consciousness from the play of unconscious forces. 'Latent mental modifications,' 'unconscious cerebrations,' are among the phrases used in this connexion. W. James, in discussing the 'mind-stuff' theory, thus deals with the distinction between the unconscious and the conscious being of the mental state:

'It is the sovereign means for believing what one likes in psychology, and of turning what might become a science into a tumbling-ground for whimsies. It has numerous champions, and elaborate reasons to give for itself. We must therefore accord it due consideration' (*Principles of Psychology*, I. 163 f.).

In answer to the question, Do unconscious mental states exist?, James enumerates no fewer than ten proofs,—an almost exhaustive list,—submits them to a drastic criticism, and returns the verdict, 'Not proven.' Of one proof he says:

'None of these facts, then, appealed to so confidently in proof of the existence of ideas in an unconscious state, prove anything of the sort. They prove either that conscious ideas were present which the next instant were forgotten; or they prove that certain results, similar to results of reasoning, may be wrought out by rapid brain-processes to which no ideation seems attached' (*ib.* 170). The tenth proof may be quoted more fully: 'There is a great class of experiences in our mental life which may be described as discoveries that a subjective condition which we have been having is really something different from what we had supposed. We suddenly find ourselves bored by a thing which we thought we were enjoying well enough; or in love with a person whom we imagined we only liked. Or else we deliberately analyze our motives, and find that at bottom they contain jealousies and cupidities which we little suspected to be there. Our feelings towards people are perfect wells of motivation, unconscious of itself, which introspection brings to light. And our sensations likewise: we constantly discover new elements in sensations which we have been in the habit of receiving all our days, elements, too, which have been there from the first, since otherwise we should have been unable to distinguish the sensations containing them from others nearly allied. The elements must exist, for we use them to discriminate by; but they must exist in an unconscious state, since we see

completely fail to single them out. The books of the analytic school of psychology abound in examples of the kind. Who knows the countless associations that mingle with his each and every thought? Who can pick apart all the nameless feelings that stream in at every moment from his various internal organs, muscles, heart, glands, lungs, etc., and compose in their totality his sense of bodily life? Who is aware of the part played by feelings of innervation and suggestions of possible muscular exertion in all his judgments of distance, shape, and size? Consider, too, the difference between a sensation which we simply have and one which we attend to. Attention gives results that seem like fresh creations; and yet the feelings and elements of feeling which it reveals must have been already there—in an unconscious state' (ib. 170 f.).

Thus far the statement of the proof of unconscious mental states is real and existent. Of this argument, or proof, so fully stated, James says:

'These reasonings are one tissue of confusion. Two states of mind which refer to the same external reality . . . are described as the same state of mind or "idea," published, as it were, in two editions; and then, whatever qualities of the second edition are found openly lacking in the first are explained as having really been there, only in an "unconscious" way. It would be difficult to believe that intelligent men could be guilty of so patent a fallacy, were not the history of psychology there to give the proof. The psychological stock-in-trade of some authors is the belief that two thoughts about one thing are virtually the same thought, and that this same thought may in subsequent reflexions become more and more conscious of what it really was all along from the first. But, once make the distinction between simply having an idea at the moment of its presence, and subsequently knowing all sorts of things about it; make, moreover, that between a state of mind itself, taken as a subjective fact, on the one hand, and the objective thing it knows, on the other, and one has no difficulty in escaping from the labyrinth' (p. 172).

He deals with the latter distinction first, and thus concludes:

'There is only one "phase" in which an idea can be, and that is a fully conscious condition. If it is not in that condition, then it is not at all' (p. 173).

His language in dealing with the distinction between simply having an idea and knowing all sorts of things about it we quote fully, as it is of the highest importance in view of what we must discuss presently:

'The truth is here even simpler to unravel. When I decide that I have, without knowing it, been for several weeks in love, I am simply giving a name to a state which previously I have not named, but which was fully conscious; which had no residual mode of being, except the manner in which it was conscious; and which, though it was a feeling towards the same person for whom I now have a much more inflamed feeling, and though it continuously led into the latter, and is similar enough to be called by the same name, is yet in no sense identical with the latter, and least of all in an "unconscious" way. Again, the feelings from our viscera and other dimly-felt organs, the feelings of innervation (if such there be), and those of muscular exertion which, in our spatial judgments, are supposed unconsciously to determine what we shall perceive, are just exactly what we feel them, perfectly determinate conscious states, not vague editions of other conscious states. They may be faint and weak; they may be very vague cognizers of the same realities which other conscious states cognize and name exactly; they may be unconscious of much in the reality which the other states are conscious of. But that does not make them, in themselves, a whit dim or vague or unconscious. They are eternally as they feel when they exist, and can, neither actually nor potentially, be identified with anything else than their own faint selves. A faint feeling may be looked back upon and classified and understood in its relations to what went before or after it in the stream of thought. But it, on the one hand, and the later state of mind which knows all these things about it, on the other, are surely not two conditions, one conscious and the other "unconscious," of the same identical psychic fact' (p. 174).

Apart from the somewhat curious phraseology, which would seem to imply that a state is conscious of its own object—which is rather startling—the argument seems conclusive. Yet it may be well to note that a reference to the conscious subject, when we speak of a conscious state, is always in order. But it is misleading to speak of conscious states cognizing faintly or fully, when we mean that the subject cognizes through these states more or less fully. But, as we follow James through the subsequent evolution of his thought, we feel that he seems to have departed from the conclusion reached in the passages we have quoted. At all events, he writes as follows:

'I cannot but think that the most important step forward that has occurred in psychology since I have been a student of that science is the discovery, first made in 1886, that, in certain subjects at least, there is not only the consciousness of the ordinary field, with its usual centre and margin, but an addition thereto in the shape of a set of memories, thoughts, and feelings,

which are extra-marginal and outside of the primary consciousness altogether, but yet must be classed as conscious facts of some sort, able to reveal their presence by unmistakable signs. I call this the most important step forward, because, unlike the other advances which psychology has made, this discovery has revealed to us an entirely unsuspected peculiarity in the constitution of human nature' (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 233). Again: 'The sub-conscious self is nowadays a well-accredited psychological entity; and I believe that in it we have exactly the mediating term required. Apart from all religious considerations, there is actually and literally more life in our total soul than we are at any time aware of. The exploration of the trans-marginal field has hardly yet been seriously undertaken; but what Mr. Myers said in 1892 in his essay on the Subliminal Consciousness is as true as when it was first written: "Each of us is in reality an abiding psychical entity far more extensive than he knows—an individuality which can never express itself completely through any corporeal manifestation. The Self manifests through the organism; but there is always some part of the Self unmanifested, and always, as it seems, some power of organic expression in abeyance or reserve." Much of the content of this larger background against which our conscious being stands out in relief is insignificant. Imperfect memories, silly jingles, inhibitive timidities, "dissolutive" phenomena of various sorts, as Myers calls them, enter into it for a large part. But in it many of the performances of genius seem also to have their origin' (p. 511 f.).

The sub-conscious self can, according to Sanday, do even more wonderful things than these:

'Besides the upper region of consciousness, there is a lower region into which the conscious mind cannot enter. It cannot enter, and yet it possesses a strange magnetic power by which the contents of the lower region are, as it were, drawn upwards and brought within the range of its cognition. This lower region is a storehouse of experiences of the most varied kinds; in fact, all the experiences that make up human life.' Having described these experiences, the author goes on: 'All these things are latent. The door of that treasure-house, which is also a workshop, is locked, so far as the conscious personality is concerned. For it there is no "harrowing of hell," no triumphant descent into the nether world, followed by a release and return of captives on any large scale. The door is locked against any such violent irruption. And yet, in some strange way, there seem to be open chinks and crevices through which there is a constant coming and going, denizens or manufactured products of the lower world returning to the upper air of consciousness, and once more entering into the train and sequence of what we call active life, though, indeed, the invisible processes of this life are just as active as the visible. It appears to be the function of the sub-conscious and unconscious states to feed the conscious. There is that continual movement from below upwards of which I have been speaking. A never-ending train of images, memories, and ideas keeps emerging into the light. But only in part are they subject to the will and conscious reason. Only in part do they come at call. And only in part do they come in fully organized form. . . . The wonderful thing is that, while the unconscious and sub-conscious processes are (generally speaking) similar in kind to the conscious, they surpass them in degree. They are subtler, intenser, further-reaching, more penetrating. It is something more than metaphor when we describe the sub-conscious states as more "profound" (*Christologies, Ancient and Modern*, Oct. 1910, pp. 142-145).

The wonderful passage just quoted prompts one to ask a number of questions. We are told that the door of the treasure-house is locked; yet Sanday seems to have obtained the key, for he describes the treasures which are there, and the work which is done there, and is able to compare it with the work done in the upper air. He is able also to declare that the processes down below are subtler, intenser, further-reaching, more penetrating. How has he come to know all this? If it be so, what is the use of a consciousness if the sub-conscious and the unconscious can do so much better work, and at so much less cost? As for ourselves, we are inclined to say of these fancies that they are 'whimsies'—the word Professor James himself employed when dealing with the question of the existence of unconscious mental states. James has seemingly changed his view on the matter, and we submit that he was bound to answer his own arguments as these are set forth in his *Principles of Psychology*. These seem to us as cogent as they were before what he calls the discovery in 1886. When he declares that 'the sub-conscious self is nowadays a well-accredited psychological entity,' we are surely entitled to ask what meaning he attaches to the word 'self' in this connexion. In the interesting chapter on the consciousness of self in the *Principles of Psychology*, he speaks of the constituents of the self as the material self, the social self, the spiritual

self, and the pure ego. In the course of the discussion he says that the substantialist view of the soul 'is at all events needless for expressing the actual subjective phenomena of consciousness as they appear.' We have formulated them all without its aid, by the supposition of a stream of thoughts, each substantially different from the rest, but cognitive of the rest and "appropriate" of each other's content. At least, if I have not already succeeded in making this plausible to the reader, I am hopeless of convincing him by anything I could add now. The unity, the identity, the individuality, and the immateriality that appear in the psychic life are thus accounted for as phenomenal and temporal facts exclusively, and with no need of reference to any more simple or substantial agent than the present Thought or "section" of the stream' (*op. cit.* i. 344).

It is true that this passage relates only to the active subjective phenomena of consciousness as they appear. Are we to have one method and one form of process as applied to the phenomena of consciousness, and another when we apply them to the sub-conscious and the unconscious? Under what heading are we to place the entity called 'the sub-conscious self'? Is it material, social, spiritual? Or is it the pure ego? Yet the sub-conscious self is 'a well-accredited psychological entity.' Are we to lay stress on the adjective 'psychological,' or on the substantive 'entity'? We should like to know a little more regarding the sub-conscious self, but it seems that it is really outside the scope of psychological investigation. The door is locked, and no one can find the key. The effects of this doctrine of the sub-conscious self on psychology, ethics, and theology are so far-reaching, and to us so disastrous, that a thorough investigation of it and its claims is urgent. That investigation cannot be made here and now; we are concerned with it only so far as it bears on our present theme.

What are we to make of this wonderful sub-conscious self, which does such marvellous things? Are we to take it as a positive conception, and with Hartmann use it as an explanatory principle, when all other sources of explanation fail? Then we say with Höfding: 'Psychology is on secure ground only when it confines itself to the clear and certain phenomena and laws of consciousness' (*Psychology*, Eng. tr. p. 73). True, Höfding immediately adds: 'But, starting from this point, it discovers the unconscious, and sees, to its astonishment, that psychological laws prevail beyond the province of conscious life. In what follows we shall adduce some examples to make this clear.' Reference is made to memory, to the physiology of the senses, to instinct, and to tact, to the fact that an unconscious activity can be carried on simultaneously with a conscious, as 'when a spinner turns the wheel, and draws out the thread, while her thoughts are far away.' But, as the outcome of the whole discussion, Höfding cautiously says:

'Notwithstanding the intimate connection and close interaction between the conscious and the unconscious, the latter remains for us a negative conception. The unconscious processes are cerebral processes just as much as the conscious, but whether, like these, they are of several kinds, we do not know. Instead of speaking of unconscious thought or unconscious feeling, it would be safer—if we wish to avoid all hypotheses—to speak with Carpenter and John Stuart Mill of unconscious cerebration, were not this expression unsuitable, as suggesting, in the first place, the mistaken notion that there may be consciousness of cerebration, properly so called, and because, in the second place, it might appear to affirm that there is nothing at all in unconscious activity related to what we know in ourselves as conscious states' (p. 81).

While mental activity may extend beyond consciousness, and while self may have a larger range than the consciousness is aware of at any one time, it is not possible for psychology, or for clear science, to seek for the principles of rational explanation anywhere save in the conscious life itself. The unconscious must remain a negative conception. It is simply metaphor, and bad metaphor at that, to speak of 'invasions,' of 'rushes' and 'uprushes,' from the lower world, and it is vain to seek for explanations of the on-

going of our mental life from what is supposed to have gone on in the sub-conscious self. We must exhaust the possibilities of consciousness, as the source of explanation, ere we seek to bring in the sub-conscious and the unconscious as a positive principle of explanation, as, from the very nature of the case, it is impossible to bring these into clear consciousness, or into consciousness at all. Instead of saying, with Sanday, that the function of the unconscious is to feed the conscious, it would be more consistent with the facts to say that the unconscious and the sub-conscious are storehouses of products manufactured by consciousness, and kept in *retentis* until they are needed. Habit has been described as lapsed intelligence, and is the outcome of repeated conscious processes, so often repeated that they have become automatic. Similarly it may be possible to deal with all the evidence of sub-conscious and unconscious activity of the self so as to show that all or most of these activities had conscious beginnings, and, in any case, that they are not unrelated to conscious activity either in the past or in the present.

At all events, it is not from these unconscious or sub-conscious experiences that our evidence is derived, out of which are built up those conclusions which make up the science, the poetry, the history, and the philosophy of the world. For the principles which underlie these achievements of the human mind, the linkages which bind them together, and the certainty which they attain to are derived from the conscious and not from the unconscious activity of the mind. The basis of certainty lies in consciousness. Its affirmations, its intuitions, are the foundations on which we build. Not on invasions from the sub-conscious, nor on uprushes from the unconscious come those convictions of truth, reality, and necessity, which turn the raw material of our experience into the organized knowledge of the race.

'The necessity of thought which is manifested in the certainty of particular acts of judgment owes its distinctive character in the last instance to the unity of self-consciousness. Every particular judgment may be repeated, with the consciousness of the identity of subject and predicate as well as of the act of judgment; starting from the same data, it is always the same synthesis which takes place, and only self-consciousness cannot exist apart from this invariability. Thus our judging ego, with its varying activity, is opposed to particular acts of judgment as a universal, as the same and the permanent which binds together the different and temporarily separated acts of thought. With the confidence of the movement in each particular case is connected the consciousness of unvarying repetition, of return to the same point. In this constancy, which presents a general law in contrast with the particular act, we are conscious of judgment as something withdrawn from the sphere in which we have a subjective choice and are free to bring about alterations; we are conscious of it in the same way as when it maintains itself in some particular act against contradiction. Because this identity and constancy of our action is the condition of our consciousness as one and undivided, it is also the final and fundamental basis upon which we can fall back' (Sigwart, *Logic*, Eng. tr. i. 137).

It is one of the merits of Sigwart's great treatise on *Logic* that he brings all the logical judgments into close relation to the unity and identity of self-consciousness. We know no work in which this has been done so thoroughly and so convincingly. Take another passage, dealing with certainty:

'The certainty that a judgment is permanent, that the synthesis is irrevocable, that I shall always say the same—this certainty can be forthcoming only when it is known to depend, not upon momentary psychological motives, which vary as time goes on, but upon something which is immutably the same every time I think, and is unaffected by any change. This something is, on the one hand, my self-consciousness itself, the certainty that I am I, the same person who now thinks and who thought before, who thinks both one thing and another. On the other hand, it is that about which I judge, my thought itself as far as regards its invariable content, which I recognize as identical each time, and which is quite independent of the state of mind of the individual thinker. The certainty that I am and think is final and fundamental, the condition of all thought and all certainty whatever. Here there can be none but immediate and self-evident certainty; we cannot even say that it is necessary, for it is prior to all necessity. In the

same way, the certainty of my consciousness that I think this or that is immediate and self-evident; it is inextricably interwoven with my self-consciousness; the one involves the other' (p. 240).

The form under which consciousness exists is that of the distinction of subject and object. As factors in the synthesis of consciousness there are to be distinguished the object of which we are conscious, and the subject which is conscious of the object. The object is for the subject, and is either a state of the subject, or an activity of it, or a quality of external things. When this distinction is clearly made, there is a clear consciousness; when vaguely made, there is a vague consciousness; when it is not made at all, there is no consciousness. When we are conscious, we are conscious of something, and we are conscious of that something only as we distinguish it from self, and place it over against self as its object. We are not to enter into the age-long controversy as to whether there can be a merely sensitive consciousness which is neither subject nor object, but consists only of particular feelings. It has been widely contended that a purely sensitive consciousness is possible, and that the reference to subject and object, which all admit as characteristic of full-grown consciousness, arises out of associated experiences. These are classified as vivid and faint, the vivid coming from the object, and the faint from the subject. Out of these particular feelings association builds up the conception of both subject and object. But Hume does not allow any validity to this conception; it is only a fiction of the mind. Herbert Spencer, while he strives to account for the distinction of subject and object by the associationalist theory eked out by the theory of evolution, does admit, or rather lays stress on, the distinction between subject and object, as a cardinal principle of his synthetic philosophy. But the mere addition of units of conscious feeling could never reach a unitary consciousness. For these units of feeling are each different from all the rest, and, as they begin in time, they perish as soon as they appear, unless they are held together by reference to the self whose they are. States of consciousness can never be without a consciousness of states. If there is to be a consciousness of states, there must be a subject which discriminates itself from the states, can hold them together for discrimination or comparison, and can distinguish all of them as states of itself.

Consciousness may range from the simplest awareness to the closest discrimination. It may be vague and narrow, or it may be clear and comprehensive. The lowest range of consciousness may be dim and indefinite, as when we are dropping off to sleep, or when our attention is directed to something else. In fact, many impressions may be made on our senses which rise only to the threshold of consciousness, and perhaps may not rise even to the threshold.

'In these cases, consciousness approaches a vanishing point, and often reaches and passes it. The object exists for us only as a vague objectivity without definite significance. They emerge from this state only by a voluntary or involuntary direction of our attention towards them. If, now, we choose to call this state unconscious, and reserve the name of consciousness only for clear or distinct consciousness, we should say that very many mental states exist below consciousness. This has often been done, and the theory maintained that we may have manifold sensations and feelings without being conscious of them. But this is simply the extravagance of confounding a vague and imperfect consciousness with none, the truth being that we may have vague and unobtrusive sensations without directing our attention to them; the lower limit of consciousness does not admit of being definitely fixed' (Bowne, *Intro. to Psychological Theory*, p. 289 f.).

The truth is, that we are unable to express consciousness save in the form 'I am thinking this or that, I am feeling pain, I am doing this act, or I am intending to take such a course of action.' It is quite true, as Hume says, that we always

find ourselves in some particular state, but in every state, whatsoever it may be, we find ourselves. It is not possible to interview a blank self, or to abstract the ego, so as to have an idea of it as we have of external objects, or of events of a particular kind in consciousness, nor can we make our self completely an object, for, even if that were possible, there is always that subjective activity of the subject which goes on while we seek to make the ego completely objective. While this is so, yet the further step which is so often taken, namely, to abstract altogether from the subject, and to make conscious activity only a stream of thought, or a mere aggregate, seems altogether illegitimate. Can we have a stream of thought, without a single permanent subject of our psychic activities? Even a stream has its identity, and anything which we can call a unity is something more, as already observed, than the sum of its parts. But can we really think of a feeling in abstraction from something that feels, or of a willing without a subject that wills, or of a thought without a thinker? Can we really think of our psychical life in an impersonal way? It is possible to describe, as in fact we do, the outward happenings of the world, and in an impersonal way to say 'it rains,' 'it thunders,' 'it hails,' 'it storms,' 'it is dark,' or 'it is a stormy night.' Try this in describing the psychic life, and immediately we feel how incongruous it is. 'It thinks,' 'it wills,' 'it feels,' 'it is in pain,' 'it is full of joy'—we can write so, as we can write nonsense, but the incongruity is too obvious, when plainly put, to allow us for one moment to regard it as an adequate account of the facts.

Even when a psychologist reduces the phenomena of consciousness to a stream of thought, he is constrained in unguarded moments to speak of our will, our psychical states, thus adding to the stream that factor without which it could not have been even a stream. In the mere statement of the case—a statement which seems at first to eliminate the necessity of a subject—one is forced to imply the subject in every statement. One is compelled to imply a subject. For ideas, feeling, or will are not there in a vacuum; they are, after all, only modes of consciousness. We may neglect a pain which nobody feels, a pleasure which is pleasant to nobody, or a will and a purpose which is the activity of no one. Is it possible to imagine or conceive a perception of these inner experiences where there is no perceiver, a perception which is only the bare object perceived, a mere subjectless feeling? How are we to account for the connexion of all the events of seeing, hearing, feeling, and for the recognition we have that we have had these experiences before, and that we have a memory of them, without the supposition of a subject whose experiences they were? Is it possible for any one really to think of an impersonal stream of thought, which binds into unity all the particular psychical events of our experience, and to suppose, further, an additional impersonal event, by which all the other impersonal events are gathered into one, while yet this additional event is only a phantom, an illusion, although it has the strange power of seeming to itself identical through all the successive moments of its experience? Can we really think so? Is it not easier, more consistent with the facts, to assume the subject as real, as present to all its states, and as able somehow to hold them together, and to group them according to their real resemblances. Can any one think of himself as the sum of the events of his experience, only with the inexplicable addition that it is he who thinks them so? Hume boldly calls this a fiction, and Stuart Mill calls it a 'final inexplicability,' and neglects it as a source of explanation. Is it not the easiest solution simply to acknowledge

that the ideas of persistence and duration find their simplest explanation from the supposition that we are, and know ourselves to be, identical in time?

While we have thus to postulate continuity of the conscious subject—for on any other supposition we should be unable to account for the ideas of change, continuity, or permanence—there are many questions which remain for discussion and for settlement. It is almost a matter of course to say that psychical events as such exist only in so far as they are present in consciousness; their distinctive character lies in the fact that they are conscious. A seeing, of which we know nothing, a pain of which we are not aware, an act of volition which takes place without our being able to notice it, are not possible, for the seeing, etc., is only by means of consciousness. While this is true, it is also true that there are different degrees and modes of becoming conscious. When a consciousness has attained to some fullness of self-possession, and is in possession of the results of experience, there is for such a consciousness a fund of experience organized into masses, and any new experience can take up a new feeling or idea into such an ideal mass already formed. The process is so fully described in many psychological textbooks that we need not dwell on it here. Thus, we refer any new experience of colour to the class of colours we already know, and, being in possession of these names, we name the new experience of colour accordingly. But there was a time in the growth of the subject when names were not in our possession. These names of general ideas are formed gradually from particular perceptions, which at the beginning had no name. But even for the particular perception, or for the particular experience, there is this indispensable condition, that there should be a discrimination of the particular elements which co-exist at every moment, and some notice taken of them. These two conditions must be present before we can properly speak of consciousness at all.

At this earliest stage of conscious life, ere the subject is in possession of the wealth of organized experience, the subject is, as it were, lost in the object.

Our immediate consciousness of objects seems at first to be a mere presentment of them to the passive subject, to a self that is not in any way occupied with itself, or even conscious of itself at all. The outwardly directed gaze seems simply to admit the object, and not to react, still less to be aware of itself as reacting, upon it. But, in the first place, we have learned to recognise that, whether we are conscious of it or not, there is always a reaction, an analytic and synthetic activity of thought, even in our simplest perceptive consciousness; for, without this reaction, no idea of any object as distinct from, and related to, other objects could ever arise to trouble the self-involved sleep of sense. Apart from such reaction, we might say that the sensitive subject would remain for ever confined to itself, were it not that in that case there would properly be no self to be confined to; for where there is no outward, there is, of course, no inward life. It is thus the mental activity of the subject that creates for him a world of objects, or, to put it more simply, that enables him to become conscious of the world of objects in which he exists. . . . In the second place, not only is the subject active in perception, but he necessarily and inevitably has an inchoate consciousness of himself as a subject, in distinction from the subjects which that activity enables him to apprehend. For to apprehend an effect, as such, is to distinguish it from, and relate it to the self that is conscious of it. It is to refer an idea or feeling to that which is other than the self, to reject it from the self and to objectify it; and such a rejection or repulsion necessarily involves, on the other side, a withdrawal of the self from the object. The simplest outward-looking gaze, which seems to lose itself in the object to which it is directed, yet recognises that object as other than itself or its own state; and, indeed, all its absorption in the object may be said to be its effort to heal the breach, of which, in the very act of perception, it has become conscious. Hence we come to the result that, even in its utmost apparent passivity of perception, the mind is active; and even in its utmost absorption in the object, it is conscious of the self in distinction from it. It is true that the subjective aspects of the consciousness of objects are at first latent, or they are present only in an imperfect and inchoate form. Attention is not specially directed to them; and in any descrip-

tion which the individual would give of his own consciousness, they would generally be omitted. But they are always there. For it is not possible, in the nature of things, that there should be an object, except for a subject, or without that subject distinguishing the object from itself, and itself from the object. In this sense there can be no consciousness of objects without self-consciousness. Even, therefore, if the word "I" be delayed for a little, the inchoate thought of it cannot be wanting to one who is conscious of objects as such' (Edward Caird, *The Evolution of Religion*, i. 183-185).

As we know consciousness in ourselves, it has a beginning, a growth, and a history. Thrust into the midst of conditions not realized, slowly learning to find itself at home in the world, and gradually coming to the knowledge that there is an external order to which it is related, the self-conscious being, in intercourse with things, comes, so far, to the knowledge of the world and of itself. The story need not be told here, but there is a story, for the finite personality does come to the knowledge of itself. It learns to distinguish between itself and the world. But consciousness becomes clear and definite when it recognizes that there are distinctions among its objects, and relations into which these can be gathered up. These relations become ever more clear and definite, and, as knowledge progresses, consciousness finds itself in an ordered world, and, just in proportion to its recognition and mastery over the order of the world, is its recognition of itself as the counterpart of the order of the universe. Its own rational principles are realized there, and it becomes more rational as it recognizes the objective value of its own rational nature, as embodied in a rational world. But we may not regard the distinction of self and not-self as if it were identical with the distinction of subject and object. The first may be called an ontological distinction, for it relates to the distinction between two things which make up the whole sphere of being, whereas the distinction between subject and object describes a mental function. The contents of the two are constantly changing. At one moment the object may be this table, with its shape, colour, material; and the next moment it may be the mental process which passed through the mind when the table was the object. The object may be things in the outward world, or it may be the state of consciousness by means of which we deal with the outer world. It may be the thing I see, or it may be the vision through which I see it. The distinction between subject and object is the form under which consciousness always takes place; subject and object are a relation within one experience, and they are essential to the reality of that experience.

It may be observed that the conception of self, like all other conceptions, is one of gradual growth, and the time of its full realization is, for us, not yet. We are not to look for the self as if it were laid on a shelf, a thing among other things. It is the subject of all experience, and usually it is the last conception which is reached by the conscious subject itself. This late recognition of the conception of itself may be paralleled by the late emergence, in the history of thought, of the problem of thought itself. Nothing is nearer to us than thought, and yet the problem of thought is one of the very hardest to grasp. Spontaneous thought deals with objects rather than with itself, and reflexion is hard. Thought hides behind itself; it is so occupied with its processes and problems that it does not reflect on them, and, having reached conclusions unreflectingly, often takes these as original data given from without. Knowledge is taken for granted, and the knowing process was for a long time utterly neglected. Nor had knowledge any suspicion of the complexity of the knowing process, nor did knowledge find it necessary to submit itself to an analysis of the process of knowing or to inquire into its own validity. It was

inevitable that in the long run the question of the possibility of knowledge should arise, but it could not arise until knowledge had been at work for a long time, and had attained to some mastery over itself and its work. So is it with the problem of the self. As shown by Caird in the quotation above, the consciousness of the self in the consciousness of objects is at first latent; it may be delayed, but it is always implicitly there. As a matter of fact, it may always be latent and never come into clear consciousness at all. Self-experience may be the only form which self-consciousness may assume. The self may be so lost in the process of experience, so absorbed in its feelings, desires, and thoughts, that it may never reflect on itself, and never ask consciously what it is. It may remain on this level all through life. Absorbed in its object, living out its experience of pleasure, engrossed in its own pursuits, and interested in the success of its plans, it may never seek to reflect on its own nature or on the order implied in the most simple experience. One may be active, energetic, far-sighted, wise, and yet may have never given a single hour to the thought of that self which has all these characteristics, for in the history of human thought and its evolution the simplest and most fundamental of all problems are the latest to emerge into the light.

The two factors—subject and object—which always represent the form which experience has, are not, at the outset, explicitly distinguished, and experience may go on all through life without any clear consciousness of the distinction. Yet the two inseparable factors are always there. It is always possible, however, to focus our attention on the one factor or on the other. The mind may direct attention on the object or on the subject. The consciousness of self may remain at the level of mere self-experience; it may be so absorbed in the object as never to ask itself about itself. It may, indeed, neglect itself altogether, and may so seek to formulate its experience as to make the subjective factor disappear. Thus it may seek to become a philosophy, and find a sufficient explanation of experience in a something which does not require a subject of knowledge at all. But such a philosophy, though it constantly reappears, is after all inadequate to answer the questions which constantly recur and which we need not here restate. For immediately the question arises as to the subject for whom all experience is possible, and, when we ask this question, the answer must be that a self which is conscious at all has implicitly within itself the possibility of a complete self-consciousness. Focusing our attention, then, on this factor of experience, we can regard it as the subject of experience which takes up all particular experiences, rules them, binds them into a system, and makes them elements in one consistent experience. In this event self-consciousness would have attained its ideal, for it would have reached the goal of self-knowledge and self-control. The conception of a perfect self-consciousness consists in the fact that it is in possession of itself, and can set the bounds of its own experience. Self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control—in these, and not in finitude or infinitude, lies the conception of a perfect selfhood. But for finite beings, for us men, this ideal is a goal, and cannot be an actual attainment. For we do not set the limits of our own experience; we are subject to inrushes from without, we have experiences which are inherently irrational, and we have feelings which are sometimes uncontrollable, and generally there is so much of our experience which is simply given that we cannot be said to be masters of ourselves. Yet the growth of a rational personality is measured by the progress of the mastery which it has over

the elements of its own experience, and the power of placing every impulsive and merely emotional element under the guidance of reasonable self-consciousness.

Thus, then, we may regard the self as conscious of itself in all its manifold experiences. Knowledge is possible, because all the objects of knowledge can be brought into relation to the self. Objects out of all relation to the conscious self are for that self non-existent. Whether we look at the self-conscious being from the point of view of knowledge, or from the ethical, or the aesthetic, or the religious point of view, the result is to raise our estimate of the self-conscious being to the highest. For each of these affirms that the self-conscious being is the postulate without which truth, beauty, goodness are without meaning or worth. The conscious subject is the subject for whom all objects are; it is also the subject in which goodness is realized, and ethics affirms that the self is that in which goodness is to be realized through a continual process of self-realization and self-determination. The world of beauty has no meaning without the seeing eye and the ideals which the self in intercourse with the world builds up for itself.

We do not require to follow out the results of the analysis of self-consciousness into its further issues, or to enter into the discussion regarding an absolute, all-inclusive self-consciousness. Whoever seeks to follow out that argument into all its consequences may find it fully unfolded in the works of Hegel and his followers, as well as in the works of Green, of the two Cairds, of Royce, and of many others. It may, however, be said that it is scarcely possible to describe the totality of things according to the analogy of one self. The Hegelian philosophy is a perfect description of the way in which an inchoate self arrives, or may arrive, at self-consciousness. It is of the highest value from that point of view. But to make it absolute seems too great a demand. For this is a universe of many selves, and the unity of the universe cannot be construed after the fashion of the growth and evolution of one self. While, therefore, the world is indebted to the Hegelian idealists for the analysis of self-consciousness, and for the far-reaching results of that analysis, the attempt to construe the life of the universe after that analogy cannot be regarded as final.

Ere we close, it may be well to notice the argument of Bradley, because it would make all the contentings of this article invalid. We quote his summary:

'We had found that our ideas as to the nature of things—as to substance and adjective, relation and quality, space and time, motion and activity—were in their essence indefensible. But we had heard somewhere a rumour that the self was to bring order into chaos. And we were curious first to know what this term might stand for. The present chapter has supplied us with an answer too plentiful. Self has turned out to mean so many things, to mean them so ambiguously, and to be so wavering in its applications, that we do not feel encouraged. We found, first, that a man's self might be his total present contents, discoverable on making an imaginary cross section. Or it might be the average contents we should presume ourselves likely to find, together with something else which we call dispositions. From this we drifted into a search for the self as the essential point or area within the self; and we discovered that we really did not know what this was. Then we went on to perceive that, under personal identity, we entertained a confused bundle of conflicting ideas. Again the self, as merely that which for the time being interests, proved not satisfactory; and from this we passed to the distinction and the division of self as against the not-self. Here, in both the theoretical and again in the practical relation, we found that the self had no contents that were fixed; or it had, at least, none sufficient to make it a self' (*Appearance and Reality*², p. 101 f.).

In his own ironical way Bradley had said elsewhere:

'There remains still left a third moral, which, as I am informed, has been drawn by others, that if we are not able to rest with the vulgar, nor to shout in the battle of our great schools,

It might be worth our while to remember that we live on an island, and that our national mind, if we do not enlarge it, may also grow insular; that not far from us there lies (they say so) a world of thought, which, with all variety, is neither one nor the other of our two philosophies, but whose battle is the battle of philosophy itself against two undying and opposite one-sidednesses; a philosophy which *thinks* what the vulgar believe; a philosophy, lastly, which we have all refuted, and, having so cleared our consciences, which some of us at least might take steps to understand' (*Ethical Studies*, p. 38).

Perhaps *Appearance and Reality* is the endeavour to think what the vulgar believe. But there is left in it no shred of belief of what the vulgar believe. Of the whole work set forth with such amazing ability in the last named treatise this much may be said, that it amounts to a demonstration of the uselessness of the attempt to interpret experience from a mere abstract point of view. Bradley finds that all the categories and relations of thought abound in contradiction. Inherence, predication, quality, identity, causality, unity, space, and time are full of contradictions. When we arrive at the question of the self and its reality, contradictions swarm more and more. What is the way out of this network of contradictions? They are somehow removed in the Absolute. These contradictions are Appearance, and Reality has somehow absorbed them into itself. But it would be quite possible to show that the same method used by Bradley to discredit Appearance would work havoc also with the Absolute. That is on the supposition that his logical procedure could be carried out in the Absolute. The greatest contradiction we know is the contradiction between the rigour of his logic as applied to Appearance, and the slackness of it as applied to the Absolute. Apart from this, is not the method of Bradley simply an illustration of a wrong conception of the categories, and of their application?

'The epistemological interest makes us unwilling to admit anything that cannot be conceptually grasped. Accordingly it seeks to make ideas all-embracing. At the same time it is clear that this view is a tissue of abstractions. The impersonal idea is a pure fiction. All actual ideas are owned by, or belong to, some one, and mean nothing as floating free. We have already seen that the various categories of thought, apart from their formal character as modes of intellectual procedure, get any real significance only in the concrete self-conscious life of the living mind. Apart from this, when considered as real, they become self-destructive or contradictory. The idealism of the type we are now considering assumes that these categories admit of being conceived in themselves, and that they are in measure the pre-conditions of concrete existence, and in such a way that we might almost suppose that a personal being is compounded of being, plus unity, plus identity, plus causality, etc. Thus personal existence appears as the outcome and product of something more ultimate and fundamental. The fictitious nature of this view has already appeared. When we ask what we mean by any of these categories, it turns out, as we have seen, that we mean the significance we find them to have in our self-conscious life. In the concrete the terms have no meaning except as it is abstracted from our own personal experience. The only unity we know anything about, apart from the formal unities of logic, is the unity of the unitary self; and the only identity we know anything about is no abstract continuity of existence through an abstract time; it is simply the self-equality of intelligence throughout its experience. And the change which we find is not an abstract change running off in an abstract time, but is simply the successive form under which the self-equal intelligence realizes its purpose and projects the realizing activity against the background of its self-consciousness. Similarly for being itself: in the concrete it means the passing object of perception, or else it means existence like our own' (Bowne, *Personalism*, p. 253 ff.). Again, 'The notion of the self can easily be taken in such a way as to be worthless. We are asked of what use the self is, after all, in explaining the mental life. How does its unity explain the plurality and variety of consciousness?, and the answer is that it does not explain it, and yet the unity is no less necessary. For the consciousness of plurality is demonstrably impossible without the fact of conscious unity. This unity does not, indeed, enable us to deduce plurality, and hence the plurality must be viewed as an aspect of the unity, but not as an aspect of an abstract unity without distinction or difference, but a living conscious unity, which is one in its manifoldness and manifold in its oneness. Taken verbally, this might easily be shown to be contradictory, but, taken concretely, it is the fact of consciousness, and none the less so because our formal and discursive thought finds it impossible to construe it' (*ib.* p. 261 f.).

The unity of consciousness, the identity of the

self-conscious life, the progressive realization of the self in intercourse and in interaction with the world and with its fellows, are thus among the most sure of our beliefs, and among the most indispensable of our postulates. Many further questions arise which cannot be discussed here, for the adequate solution of any one problem involves the solution of every other. But no problem can be solved on a merely impersonal plane, and no category is of value except as a function of the concrete personal life.

LITERATURE.—The following is a selection from the vast literature dealing with the question: Adamson, *The Development of Modern Philosophy*, 1903; Bowne, *Introduct. to Psychological Theory*, 1886, also *Personalism*, 1908; Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, 1893 (2nd ed. 1897), also *Ethical Studies*, 1876; Edward Caird, *The Evolution of Religion*, 2 vols. 1893; Höffding, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr. 1892; James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols. 1891, also *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902; Green, *Works*, ed. Nettleship, vol. 1. (1885); Külpe, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr. 1895, also *Introduct. to Philosophy*, Eng. tr. 1897; Lotze, *Metaphysic*, Eng. tr. 1884; Ladd, *Philosophy of Knowledge*, 1887; Münsterberg, *Psychology and Life*, 1899; Shadworth Hodgson, *The Metaphysic of Experience*, 4 vols. 1898; Stout, *Manual of Psychology*, 2 vols. 1898-9; Sigwart, *Logic*, 2 vols., Eng. tr. 1895; Ward, art. 'Psychology', in *EBR*, also *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, 2 vols. 1899; Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, 1903; Wundt, *Human and Animal Psychology*, Eng. tr. 1894; Villa, *Contemporary Psychology*, 1903; Royce, *The Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, 1897, also *The World and the Individual*, 2 vols. 1900-1; see also the *Histories of Philosophy*, such as Ueberweg, Höffding, Erdmann. JAMES IVERACH.

CONSECRATION.—'Consecration,' or 'dedication,' may be defined as the solemn setting apart of persons or things for some particular religious work or use. The essence of any such rite or ceremony is to be found in the performance, whenever possible, of some act which is typical, or symbolical, of that for which the setting apart or consecration takes place. This act, either from the first or in process of time, is naturally accompanied by some announcement to the congregation of what is being done or intended, and by forms of prayer asking for the Divine approval and blessing; but no such accompaniments are really essential to the consecration itself, though they increase the dignity of the occasion and tend to general edification. This is, indeed, true of all symbolical rites and ceremonies in their ultimate simplicity, and the Biblical narrative well illustrates the truth in its account of the marriage of Adam and Eve (Gn 2²³), where the essence of the marriage rite is described in the simple statement that 'the Lord God brought unto the man' the woman whom He had made of the rib taken from his side.

With regard, however, to the consecration of persons or things in the stricter sense with which we are now dealing, we see traces of the original idea in various instances. The ordination of a lector (reader) consists in permitting him for the first time to read the Gospel in the course of the service.¹ A priest is made by permitting him (as in the modern Roman Pontifical) to celebrate the Holy Mysteries simultaneously with the consecrating bishop;² and in the same way an altar, and even a church itself,³ are consecrated by being first used for Holy Communion, and so on. Again, there are cases where the act is more conveniently and suitably symbolical rather than typical: e.g.

¹ Cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxiii. 2, where he speaks of a young lector Aurelius thus: 'Dominico legit interim nobis, id est, auspiciatus est pacem, dum delectat lectionem' ('while he acts in his new capacity as lector').

² See Procter and Frere, *New Hist. of Book of Com. Pr.*, Lond. 1901, p. 669 note.

³ Cf. the letter of Pope Vigilius to Profuturus of Braga (A.D. 538): 'consecrationem cuiuslibet ecclesie in qua sanctuaria non ponitur celebrantem tantum scimus esse missarum.' See J. Wordsworth (*On the Rite of Consecration*, p. 6 f.), who points out the significance of the fact that the words *apocryphus* and *Dominicum* are used both for the Lord's House or Temple and for the Lord's Supper or Sacrifice; see also Duchesne *Origines du culte chrét.* p. 404 (Eng. tr.).

the doorkeeper of the church receives the keys of the church doors, the sub-deacon receives the chalice and paten (the vessels of his office), the virgin is veiled to signify her marriage with Christ (or His Church), the lector himself actually receives a copy of those Gospels which he is henceforth privileged to read, and so on. The Greek word commonly used to denote dedication of buildings (*ἐγκαινία*; cf. *κατατίθειν* and *καταρτίζειν*¹) itself suggests that the idea here emphasized lies at the root of the ceremonies employed.

It is hardly necessary to say that the Christians were not the first to introduce the practice of thus consecrating, or dedicating, persons or things to religious purposes. Apart from the well-known custom of the Jews (e.g. in dedicating houses, Dt 20⁶, Ps 30 [title]; or city-walls, Neh 12⁷; or the Temple, 2 Ch. 5. 6; Jos. *Ant.* xi. iv. 7 f., xv. xi. 6), both the Greeks and the Romans (and other nations as well) observed such ceremonies for their priests and sacred buildings. But for Christians, during a considerable period after the foundation of their faith, anything but the simplest and least imposing ceremonies in connexion with consecration would have been both out of place and practically impossible. This article does not deal (except incidentally thus far) with the ordination of the clergy (see ORDINATION). We proceed, therefore, to consider the cases (chiefly those of buildings) to which the word 'consecration' is more usually applied in the present day.

During the first three centuries of the Christian era we have little evidence, if any, of regular rites or ceremonies being in use when places or buildings were set apart for Divine service. Of course, such places or buildings gradually became more and more numerous, and more and more carefully restricted to religious purposes, as persecution decreased and the affairs of the Church became more settled. But we can easily imagine that, almost from the first, forms and ceremonies grew up in connexion with their dedication; for instance, as J. Wordsworth has reminded us,² the two primary conditions were probably 'a transference of previous ownership on the part of the Founder, and an acceptance of the trust by the Bishop of the Diocese'; and the only essential ceremony was the solemn celebration of the Holy Eucharist.³

The part played by the Founder or Builder would, in accordance with Jewish and heathen precedent, be a considerable one; and Christian custom, acting in accordance with the principles of Roman law, would prescribe the dedication by solemn and ceremonial use. The *usurpatio juris* of the Christian Society in its new home could hardly be otherwise exemplified than by the Sacrament in which believers, gathered under the presidency of their chief pastor, came together to meet their Lord in His new house, to plead His sacrifice, and to feast upon it.⁴

We have to dismiss as evidence the quotation from Philo Judeus, *de Vita Contempl.*, given by Eusebius (*HE* ii. 17. 9) and adduced by Bona (*de Reb. Liturg.*, Rome, 1671, i. xix.): *ἐν ἐκαστῇ δὲ οἰκίᾳ* [of the Therapeutae in Egypt] *ἔστιν οἰκία ἑρὸν δ καλεῖται σημείων καὶ μοναστηρίον κ.τ.λ.*, because Eusebius's identification of the Therapeutae with the Christian ascetics of S. Mark in Alexandria is baseless and next to impossible. And the statement in the Calendar from the Library of the Queen of Sweden, quoted by Baronius (*Annal.* A.D.

57, no. 100), 'Kal. Ang. Romae dedicatio primae ecclesiae a beato Petro constructae et consecratae,' is unhistorical;¹ and so, no doubt, is the assertion attributed to Euodius (Niceph. ii. 3), who was the first bishop of Antioch, that James was consecrated first bishop of Jerusalem, and that the seven deacons were ordained in that house in which Christ instituted the Lord's Supper, and where the Holy Ghost descended on the Apostles.

It is not till the cessation of the persecution of Diocletian that we are on safe ground with regard to any actually recorded service of dedication. Eusebius (*HE* x. 3) speaks of the restoration of peace at that time being marked by the founding of new churches, and, among other signs, mentions *ἐγκαινίων ἑορτά κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἀρτί νεωγαγῶν προσευκτηρίων ἀπερρώσεις*, a notable instance being the dedication of the Church at Tyre (in the name of Paulinus), which took place A.D. 314, and at which the historian himself preached the inaugural sermon.² There was a large concourse of bishops, clergy, and people on the occasion, and the Holy Mysteries were apparently celebrated, but no other distinctively initiatory ceremony is mentioned. This occasion is historically important, because it seems to be the first recorded instance, both (1) of a kind of consecration service, and (2) of a church with what is now commonly called a 'dedication,' i.e. consecrated under the title of a patron saint. Subsequently, instances of both sorts become more and more frequent.

As Duchesne (*loc. cit.*) has pointed out, the church of S. Paulinus at Tyre is a representative of one out of two types of church in the first ages, viz. what we should now call the parochial church of a town or district. Of this type there would sometimes be more than one needed and provided in any single town or district, the principal one of which would, of course, be the 'cathedral,' as we now call it, where the bishop's throne was set up. Churches of this type seem often to have been known by the names of their founders or other great persons connected with the place (e.g. at Tyre above, S. Denys and others at Alexandria [Epiph. *Hær.* lxx. 2; *PG* xlii. 205], and S. Ambrose at Milan);³ or by some great Christian doctrine or event (e.g. *Ἁγία Σοφία* at Constantinople [A.D. 360], or the *Ἀνάστασις* at Jerusalem).⁴ A church called *Dominicum aureum* was dedicated at Antioch by Constantius in 341 (Soer. ii. 8; Sozom. iii. 5).

The other type of church was that which was connected with the tombs of martyrs and other saints. In the catacombs (*g.v.*) at Rome, and in the burying-places (*cemetery, polyandria*) generally, the custom gradually grew up (1) of keeping the anniversary of such persons' death (*natalis*) or burial (*depositio*) by a service at their grave, their very tombstone often forming the altar for the consecration of the Sacred Elements; and then (2) of holding services there more frequently than once a year.⁵ After a time a church was built over the spot, and called after the name of the martyr or confessor who lay buried under its altar (hence the term *martyrium*, and the like, applied to churches). As churches had to be

¹ Cf. *Mart. Hier.*; D'Achéry, *Spicileg.* (Paris, 1655-67) tom. iv. The Church of S. Peter ad Vincula on the Esquiline was dedicated in the name of both S. Peter and S. Paul on Aug. 1, in the episcopate of Felix IV. (432-440). There may, however, have been some church-building there before that date.

² Quoted by him at length (*loc. cit.* 4).

³ The *Gel. Sacramentary* (ed. Wilson, Oxford, 1894, p. 140 f.) contains 'orationes et preces in dedicatione basilicarum quam conditor non dedicatam reliquit,' and also '[missa] in ejusdem conditoris agendis.'

⁴ The mediæval cathedral at Aix in Provence is said to be dedicated to the Transfigured Saviour; and in later times we have dedications like the Ascension, Corpus Christi, etc., or even Holy Cross, House of Prayer, and the like.

⁵ Hence what are called the 'stations' and the 'stator days' of early Roman service-books and calendars.

⁶ Wordsworth, *loc. cit.*

more numerous than martyrs' tombs, it also became sufficient to have some portion of a saint or some small personal relic of him (*pignora, sanctuaria*), perhaps only a piece of linen dipped in his blood, or even portions of the Gospel or of consecrated bread, to represent or symbolize the 'patron' in each case; and eventually this second type of church was adopted, though very gradually, and not so universally as is sometimes imagined, at all events throughout Western Christendom.¹ See, further, art. COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD.

Perhaps we may at this point distinguish yet a third type of church of which we sometimes hear in ancient history, viz. buildings which were adapted from secular or heathen purposes to Christian. It used to be held that this was the origin of the *basilica* form of church, the Roman law-court or business-exchange being turned into a Christian building; but this theory has been, we think, successfully disproved of late years.² We do, however, hear of heathen temples being so converted, though it is probable that in many cases the old building was pulled down and a new one erected with the old material; e.g. the Pantheon at Rome was consecrated by Boniface IV. (608-614) under the title of S. Mary ad Martyres on May 13; and Martène (*de Ant. Ritt.*, Antwerp, 1700, II. xiv. 4-5) gives other instances in both East and West.³ Jewish synagogues were also subjected to the same treatment.⁴

As to the ceremonies connected with the dedication of churches, considerable diversity must have prevailed from the first, if we are to judge by such scanty evidence as we possess; and this diversity lasted in the West well into the Middle Ages. At Tyre in 314, as we have seen, the ceremonial is of the simplest; a large assembly of bishops, clergy, and laity from the town and neighbourhood assisted at the first celebration of the Holy Mysteries, and a dedicatory sermon was preached. More than 200 years later the essence of dedication was still distinctly recognized as consisting in the public celebration of the Holy Communion and nothing else. In 538, Vigilius, Bp. of Rome, writes to Profuturus of Braga (in Spain) to the effect that, in the case of ordinary churches, it is not even necessary to sprinkle holy water by way of consecration,⁵ since this is sufficiently effected by the celebration of Mass; in the case of churches of the second type above described, the relics of martyrs (*sanctuaria*) must be previously deposited in the church, or, if they have been removed, they must be replaced. The 'Leonine' Sacramentary contains a 'missa in dedicatione [ecclesiae]'; but this is, of course, for use either after the dedicatory rite itself or on the anniversary day.⁶

It is noticeable that, while the earliest form of

the 'Gregorian' Sacramentary does not provide for the dedication of churches, the 'Gelasian' does; and this, combined with other evidence or indications given and discussed by Duchesne (*op. cit.*), suggests that, in this as in other cases, the local Roman church was originally inclined to a severe simplicity in matters of ritual, and that the fuller ceremonies and forms of prayer which afterwards obtained and are still in use in the Roman Communion are traceable to foreign or 'Gallican' influences.² It seems not unlikely also that those ceremonies in the Western rite which are distinctive of consecration proper are ultimately derived from the East (e.g. from the Byzantine ritual), and that only the part relating to the deposition of relics in the new building is originally Roman. The student cannot fail to be struck, as Duchesne and others have pointed out, with the fact that this deposition of the relics, as given in its fullest form in the two most ancient *Ordines Romani*,³ partakes distinctly of a funeral character, while the 'Gallican' ceremonies all point to the idea of adapting the Christian baptism of persons to the dedication of buildings. The modern Roman service is a combination of the two types of ceremony, but in it the deposition of the relics is to some extent outbalanced and overshadowed by the consecration rites proper.

A concise description in detail of the regulations and order of service as now provided in the Roman Pontifical is subjoined, and will be found useful, both because it exhibits most of the rites that have gradually gathered round the occasion in Western Christendom, and because it is the basis on which, since the Reformation, the Bishops of the Anglican Communion have, with varying degrees of exactness, drawn up their Consecration Offices.

With regard to the first point, it will be well to bear carefully in mind what J. Wordsworth has remarked in the valuable treatise (*On the Rite of Consecration*, p. 13) to which reference has already been made: 'I conjecture that (here), as usual, in process of time, diverse ceremonies were heaped together without much regard to their congruity.' Wordsworth makes this remark with special reference to the ceremony of the *absec-darium* (see below), but one feels its applicability to a good deal of the present overloaded service. As to post-Reformation forms of consecration, the student will find a list of those 'in use in the 17th century' on p. 27 f. of the same treatise, and the present Sarum Form on p. 30 ff. (with the music). This is much the most satisfactory adaptation of ancient forms and uses, Eastern as well as Western, that the present writer is acquainted with. The S.P.O.E. also publish the forms authorized for the dioceses of London, Truro, Worcester, Wakefield, and Winchester; and of these the first three more or less follow the old lines, whilst the last two are based on Bp. Andrews' Form (1820). It may be added that no Form would seem to be really adequate which does not provide that the consecrating bishop shall conclude the consecration with a solemn Eucharist, either at the time itself, or, if the service take place in the evening, at a reasonably early hour the next morning.⁴ This provision is made in the Form of the modern Irish Church, and in that of the Church of the United States of America.

The similar description of the modern Eastern rite, with which this article concludes, will be likewise interesting both in itself and as illustrating much that has been said during the course of our discussion.

i. **MODERN ROMAN USE.**—1. Preparatory regulations.—(1) Consecration may take place any day, but by preference on Sunday or a Saint's day. (2) The archdeacon is to give notice of the day fixed beforehand. (3) The consecrator, the clergy, and the people should fast before the service. (4) On the evening before, the consecrating bishop prepares the relics which are to be deposited in the church, placing them under seal in a suitable casket, with three grains of frankincense and a written record of the consecration, and laying the

¹ P. 133 ff., ed. Wilson.

² On this point, see E. Bishop, *Genesis of the Roman Rite*, 1899; and Wickham Legg, *Rec. Lit. Research*, p. 8 ff.

³ One, that of S. Amand (Paris, 974) of the late 7th cent. printed by Duchesne (*op. cit.* p. 456 ff.); the other, that of Verona, edited by F. Bianchini (*Anast. Biblioth.* iii. 48).

⁴ See Wordsworth's remarks (*op. cit.* p. 9 f.).

¹ See on this point a valuable paper by Wickham Legg, in no. lxixii. of *Ch. Hist. Soc.'s Tracts*, p. 53 ff., and another by J. Wordsworth in no. lii. of the same series, p. 19 ff. (already quoted). Cf. also P. Lejay's article on the Ambrosian Rite in *DACL*, pp. 1437-9. 'I would venture to suggest that the reason of the absence of the rite from this [English] form of consecration was that the early British and Irish Churches only dedicated their churches to living saints. In this case no relics could be had, and therefore the rite was of necessity omitted' (T. Olden on the *Leabhar Breac*, 1900, vol. iv. pt. ii., S. Paul's Eccles. Soc. p. 99).

² E.g. by G. Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral*, App. 1, p. 217 ff.

³ Cf. Bede, *HE* i. 30.

⁴ Cf. *Gal. Sacram.* p. 141 f. (ed. Wilson), which gives 'orationes et preces in dedicatione loci illius ubi prius fuit synagoga.'

⁵ This, which is now such an important part of the Roman rite, seems originally to have been practised by Christians to purify their private houses rather than their churches (see Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 407 [quoting *Lib. Pontif.* i. 127]).

⁶ P. 16, ed. Feltoe, Camb. 1896; the collect here speaks of 'hostias quas maiestati tue in honore beati apostoli Petri cui haec est basilica sacra deferimus,' and each of the other formulae also mentions S. Peter.

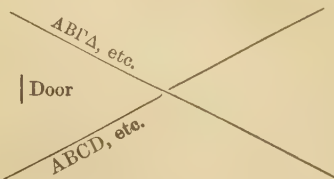
casket on a bier with lighted candles under a tent before the principal door.¹ Vigil is kept, and Nocturns and Lauds are sung before the relics that night.² (5) Inside the church a large number of articles have to be prepared for various purposes during the service, and care has to be taken that the church has a free passage round it outside. (6) On the morning of the day itself the bishop enters the church in ordinary dress, and sees that everything is in order, and that the 12 candles over the 12 consecration crosses on the inner walls are lighted.³ He then leaves the church empty, save for one deacon vested in amice, alb, girdle, and white stole, who stands behind the principal door, when it is closed upon him.

2. The ceremony.—(1) The service proper is now begun. The bishop, having fully vested himself, and being attended by another deacon, a sub-deacon, acolytes, and other ministers, goes to the place where the relics are reposing, and the seven Penitential Psalms are recited. He then proceeds to a faldstool before the church door, and, kneeling there, after an antiphon and collect ('*Actiones nostras, quaesumus, Domine,*' etc.),⁴ says with the choir the first portion of the Litany.

(2) The next ceremony is the exorcizing and blessing of salt and water, which, being afterwards mixed and again blessed, are made use of in the following manner: First the bishop sprinkles himself and his assistants, whilst the choir sing the usual antiphon, '*Asperges me,*' etc.; he then marches three times, preceded by two candle-bearers, round the outside of the church, sprinkling the walls as he goes,⁵ the choir singing an appropriate responsory; each time he reaches the principal door, he first kneels and says a collect, and then performs this very ancient and dramatic ceremony:⁶ he stands on the threshold and strikes the door with the butt end of his staff,⁷ saying, '*Attollite portas, principes, vestras,*' etc. (Ps 23^v Vulg.); the deacon from within (see above) inquires, in the words of ver. 8, '*Quis est iste rex glorie?*' and the bishop answers, '*Dominus fortis et potens,*' etc.; at the third time those who stand by call out '*Aperite,*' the bishop makes the sign of the cross on the threshold, the door is opened, and the procession passes in, the bishop proclaiming, '*Pax huic domui,*' and the deacon from within replying, '*In introitu vestro.*'

(3) Whilst the bishop goes to the centre of the building, two antiphons are sung, the use of the second of which is very ancient, '*Zachæe, festinans descende*' (see above). Then, during the singing of the '*Veni, Creator Spiritus,*' one of the ministers sprinkles ashes⁸ in the form of a

S. Andrew's cross (*decussis*) on the floor of the nave,⁹ thus:



The second part of the Litany is next said to the end, but with special petitions by the bishop, standing, for the church and its altar now in act of being consecrated. After this the bishop says two collects, the second an ancient one ('*Magnificare, Domine,*' etc.),² and then, whilst the choir sings the song of Zacharias (Lk 1^{68a}), with antiphon '*O quam metuendus,*' etc., between every two verses, he occupies himself in writing with the end of his staff the letters of the Greek alphabet on the cross aforesaid, from the left Western corner to the opposite Eastern corner, and of the Latin alphabet from right to left.³

(4) This done, the bishop approaches within a fair distance (*spatio congruenti*) of the high altar, and says three times: '*Dens, in adiutorium meum intende, Ky Domine, ad adiuvandam me festina,*' with the '*Gloria Patri.*' Hereupon salt and water are for a second time exorcized and blessed (with new formulæ); ashes also are blessed and mixed with the salt and water; then wine is blessed and added to the mixture.⁴ Finally, two prayers are uttered: (i.) that the Holy Spirit may be sent down upon the mixture;⁵ and (ii.) that all kinds of

¹ The origin of this rite, which is probably Gallican, has puzzled the learned. It has been connected with the cross drawn by the Roman augurs in laying out a *templum*, and by the surveyors (*agrimensores*) in measuring out land for a colony (e.g. de Rossi, *Bullet. di archeol. crist.*, 1881, p. 140 ff.). The application of the second usage is approved by Duchesne (*op. cit.* p. 417), and by H. le Clercq and P. Lejay (*DACL*, p. 58, 1438). On the other hand, Wordsworth (*op. cit.* p. 11 ff.) criticizes the applicability of either usage to the rite in question. The surveyor's cross was, he says, 'one of 4 right angles,' like the St. George's cross on our flags, cutting the four sides into equal portions,' and the letters they used were in no way attached to these lines, but 'scattered all about the plans.' It is therefore, of the two, more likely that the peculiar Christian rite came from 'a vague memory' of the old laying out of a heathen temple than from the other; and he prefers de Rossi's suggestion that the figure is really a Greek χ and the initial of our Lord's name in that language. 'To write His name' symbolically upon the new church floor 'would be a very fitting mark of His ownership.' He further conjectures that the ceremony originally belonged to the laying out of the first sketch or foundation of the building rather than to the actual consecration (see note 5 above); cf. the Gr. *σταντορίων* and the modern laying of the foundation-stone. The antiphon, '*Fundamentum alud nemo potest,*' etc., and the Psalm 86, '*Fundamenta eius,*' etc., which are found at this point in *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*, tend to corroborate the view suggested. It may be added that the ceremony, as at present practised, is rather ineffective, and does not appear to fit at all well into the rest of the service.

² Duchesne thinks that this and two other prayers which occur later on (*Deus qui loca, etc.*, and *Deus sanctificationum, etc.*) may have been borrowed by the Gallican Rite from some Roman *Missa Dedicatio*. This first one occurs in the *Gelasian Sacram.* (p. 140, ed. Wilson) in such a *Missa*, but in the *Misal* of Gellone, *Egb. Pont.*, *Egbert* (472 Mur.), etc., in the same place as now. The other two are both found in *Pont. of Egbert* and *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*

³ In some early Sacramentaries it seems as if the Latin alphabet was written on both the intersecting lines, and we hear also of the Hebrew alphabet being likewise sometimes used. To Wordsworth (*op. cit.* p. 12) 'the alphabet seems to be another symbol of Christ as the word of God, not only Alpha and Omega, but all that lies between,—every element, in fact, of human speech.'

⁴ This holy water is technically called in later times 'Gregorian,' as though instituted by Gregory the Great; its use seems to have been common to both the Roman and the 'Gallican' Rites, though in the letter of Bp. Vigilius to Profuturus (A.D. 538) it is mentioned only to be disapproved of ('*nihil iudicamus officere si per eam [ecclesiam] minime aqua exorcizata lactetur*'). The *ordo* of Verona (see note 3 on p. 60b) mentions the use at the end of the service, but this may be a later addition.

⁵ Gell., *Egb. Pont.*, *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*, etc.

¹ This is most conveniently the west door, if the structure has one.

² All this is in accordance with very ancient use, probably Gallican (see *Sacramentary of Drogon, Bishop of Metz* [826-855], quoted by Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 487 ff., and described by Delisle, *Mém. sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, Paris, 1886, p. 100 ff.).

³ Gallican. These crosses are still often to be found in our English churches. 'It is said that the English use differed from the foreign in having crosses both within and without. The Irish use shows its primitive character in ordering the crosses to be cut with a knife, no doubt on wooden posts,' etc. (J. Wordsworth, *op. cit.* p. 16; cf. Wickham Legg, *op. cit.* p. 54).

⁴ *Pontifical of Egbert*, 1853 (Surtees Soc.), *Benedictional of Archbp. Robert* (H. Bradshaw Soc.); cf. *Gel. Sacr.* (p. 827, ed. Wilson, 1894). The antiphon now is '*Adeste, Deus unus omnipotens,*' etc.; in the above-named Pontificals it is '*Zachæe, festinans descende,*' etc., which now comes later in the service.

⁵ This is the first of two sprinklings that occur; see note 1 on next col. for comments on the origin of the practice.

⁶ Gallican. *Egb. Pont.*, *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*, etc.

⁷ The earliest word for 'staff' here is *cambuca* (or *cambuta*), 'shepherd's crook,' perhaps derived from *καμνέειν*.

⁸ The introduction of ashes on which to write looks very like a later artifice to enable the 'bishop to do something which at first he would have been able to do without difficulty' (J. Wordsworth).

benefits typified by it may accrue to the newly consecrated building. The bishop then signs the inside of the church door with two crosses, using his staff, and uttering another prayer suitable to the action. Returning to his former position, he invites the congregation to pray for a blessing upon the building, 'per aspersionem huius aquae cum vino, sale et cinere mixtae.'¹

(5) *Consecration of the altar.*—The choir begins by singing Psalm 92 ('Judicia me,' etc.), with the antiphon ('Introibo,' etc.),² while the bishop, standing before the altar, dips his thumb into the 'Gregorian' water and makes a cross first in the middle of the *mensa* and then at each of its four corners, saying, 'Sanctificetur hoc altare,' etc., each time. At the conclusion of the introit, the bishop, having said the prayer 'Singulare illud,' etc., goes seven times round the altar, sprinkling the holy water with a branch of hyssop, whilst the antiphon ('Asperges,' etc.) and Psalm 50 ('Miserere mei,' etc.) are said.³

(6) All the walls and pavements of the church inside are sprinkled in the same manner three times, during the singing of Psalms 121, 67, and 90, with various antiphons. Two prayers⁴ (both ancient) and a preface follow, the bishop standing with his face towards the door.

(7) The bishop now goes up once more to the altar, mixes some cement with holy water, which he duly blesses, and throws what remains of the water away at the base of the altar.

(8) His next duty is to go and bring the relics solemnly to their new resting-place in, or under, the altar that has been prepared for them.⁵ This he does with much ceremony while the choir sings Psalm 94 ('Venite, exultemus,' etc.), with several antiphons. But, before entering the church with his sacred burden, he carries it once round the building outside, and delivers a set oration at the principal door, on the duty of treating churches with reverence⁶ and on the importance of endowments, after which the archdeacon reads two decrees of the Council of Trent. The bishop next addresses the founder of the church as to his intentions in maintaining it and the clergy attached to it, and, on being satisfied with regard to them,⁷ asks for the people's prayers on his behalf, whereupon the responsory ('Erit mihi Dominus in Deum,' etc., Gn 28^{21, 22}) is sung. The bishop also signs the outside of the door with chrism, which he has brought down with him from the sanctuary. At last the procession enters the church itself bearing the relics, while Psalms 149 and 150 are sung, with various antiphons. After a collect ('Deus, qui in omni loco,' etc.),⁸ the bishop

first signs with chrism the receptacle¹ in which the relics are to be laid, and then places the vessel containing them therein.² While the antiphon 'Sub altare Dei,' etc., is sung, he censes the relics, and fixes with the cement he has previously prepared (see above) the slab upon the *confessio*. Further antiphons are sung, and other collects ('Deus qui ex omni cohabitationibus [or coactione],'³ etc., and 'Dirigatur oratio nostra,' etc.) are said while this work is carefully completed.

(9)⁴ The *mensa altaris* (i.e. the upper slab) is then censed, anointed, and blessed with a number of antiphons, collects, and Psalms (83, 91, 44, 45, and 86). In this part of the ceremony *oleum catechumenorum* as well as *sanctum chrisma* is used for anointing, to typify the right of confirmation as the completion of the initiatory rite.

(10) After this the 12 consecration crosses of the inner walls of the building (see above) are each separately visited to be anointed, censed, and blessed, after the singing of Ps 147, an antiphon, and two responsories.

(11) Incense is now specially blessed, and has then by the bishop's own hands to be formed into 5 crosses, placed with holy water, oil, chrism, and wax on the 5 crosses of the *mensa*, and lighted with antiphons and prayer ('Domine sancte,' etc.).⁵ The ashes are carefully removed, the bishop says another prayer and preface,⁶ and Ps 67 is sung, with an antiphon. The altar is yet again anointed in silence, and, after two more prayers ('Majestatem tuam,' etc.,⁷ and 'Supplices te deprecamur,' etc.), the bishop goes to his throne near the altar and cleanses his hands with bread, while the subdeacons wipe the *mensa* with coarse towels.

(12) The other vessels and ornaments of the church and altar are then similarly dedicated with antiphons, responsories, Ps 62, and collects, and at last, when the altar has been properly vested and prepared, the *Missa dedicationis* is solemnly celebrated.

At the end of the service the ashes on which the alphabet was traced are removed, and the whole church is cleansed.

ii. *MODERN EASTERN RITE.*—For this we must take the Orthodox Greek Church as the norm. Here there is a general resemblance to the Western rite; but, though there has been a certain amount of elaboration introduced into the service during the last 200 years,⁸—partly, perhaps, in the direction of assimilation to Western usage,⁹—yet it is, on the whole, a simpler ceremony, and there are important divergencies.

To begin with, there is a short and simple form

¹ This ceremony seems to be somewhat delayed by the intrusion of the consecration of the High Altar and others if required, though, no doubt, that ceremony consists in part of sprinkling with the water.

² The usual introit at Mass.

³ The rite may be derived from the Christian practice of sprinkling holy water in their dwellings (see Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 407, and cf. *Gal. Sacr.* p. 285 ff., ed. Wilson), which provides two forms of 'Benedictio aquae spargendae in domo'. See note 5 on p. 60^a above.

⁴ These are the prayers mentioned in note 2 on p. 61^b above. The preface is in *Pont. Egb.* and *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*

⁵ It seems probable that this might at one time take place on another day or even, as has already been mentioned, not at all in certain cases. In the *Ambr. Pontifical* (ed. Magistretti, Milan, 1897), *Pont. Egb.*, and *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*, the deposition of relics is placed later in the service, after the blessing of the linen and other apparatus; in the *Pontifical* of Dunstan there is a separate heading here: 'Incipit ordo quomodo in sancta Romana ecclesia reliquiae conduntur'; and similar evidence is supplied by other Pontificals; see Dewick's remarks in a footnote to Wordworth, *op. cit.* p. 22.

⁶ For an early instance of reverence for churches in a hitherto neglected portion of Christendom, cf. canons 83 and 58 of Rabula, Bp. of Edessa (A.D. 411-435), quoted by F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, London, 1904, p. 145 f.

⁷ All these (exhortation, decrees, and address) or any of them may be omitted now.

⁸ *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*, *Greg.* (481 Mur.), etc.

¹ This is now called 'confessio, id est, sepulchrum altaris. The term *confessio* is found also in many early books; it is equivalent to *martyrium*, and means the hollow place beneath the altar which is still to be seen in some of the oldest Roman churches, and which is the origin of the later and larger crypts, marking the place of burial of the martyrs over whom the church was first raised.

² The only direction now is that this should be done 'veneranter,' but in the *Ambr. Pontif.* and *Pont. of Egb.*, as also in *Greg.* (481 Mur.), the rubric requires that a veil should be stretched in front of the altar at this point ('extenso velo inter eos [sc. clericos] et populum'). Both the *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.* and the *Pont. Egb.* characterize a prayer at this part of the service as 'oratio post velatum altare,' but it is not quite clear whether the word does not here mean 'vested' rather than 'veiled.' What this veil was which Duchesne considers 'Gallican' is uncertain; perhaps it was only the ordinary altar curtain, which there is reason to believe used to be drawn before the altar at the consecration in the Mass (see Wickham Legg, *op. cit.* p. 9).

³ *Gal.* (p. 139, ed. Wilson) and *Greg.* (482 Mur.), *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*, etc.

⁴ Sections (9), (10), and (11) seem each to be of 'Gallican' origin.

⁵ *Greg.* (485 Mur.).

⁶ Both of these are found in *Greg.* (484-5 Mur.) and *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*

⁷ *Greg.* (486 Mur.) and *Bened. of Archbp. Robt.*

⁸ See Neale, *Gen. Intro. to Hist. of East. Ch.*, London, 1866, p. 1043, etc.

⁹ But see what is said on p. 60^b above

provided for laying a foundation-stone. This consists of first censuring the site, the choir going in procession with the bishop round the foundations, singing the *ἀπολυτικά* of the saint in whose name the church is to be dedicated. Then, after a prayer on the site of the future altar, the bishop takes a stone, makes the sign of the cross with it, and lays it somewhere on the foundation, saying, 'God is in the midst of thee,' etc.

In due time, when the church is built and ready for use, the dedication (*ἐγκαίνια*) itself takes place. The following articles have to be prepared beforehand: 4 drams of pure wax, 20 drams each of mastic, myrrh, aloes, incense, resin, and ladanum, 2 vessels, some paper and twine, a litre of finely powdered marble, relics of martyrs with a little silver receptacle, holy chrism, 10 cubits of linen cloth, 2 napkins, 4 pieces of white soap, a new sponge, a vessel of wine, 4 pieces of cloth embroidered with the figures or names of the Evangelists, the *κατασάρκιον*¹ and as many *ἀντιμύσια*² as the bishop intends to consecrate (see below, p. 63^b).

Then, on the evening before the day fixed for the consecration, the bishop and clergy meet in the new church. The relics are placed upon the *δίσκος* (paten) in three parts on the altar, and covered with the *δορεπισκος* and the *ἀθήρ*. A short service is conducted, consisting of the Blessing, the Trisagion, the Lord's Prayer, certain *τροπάρια*, and the Dismissal (*ἀπόλυσις*).

Next, if the church is to be fully dedicated (i.e. not as a mere oratory or for temporary use),³ the relics are taken out into some neighbouring consecrated church, and laid upon the altar there; otherwise, this adjournment does not take place, and whatever service there is, is performed in the new building. Vigil is kept that night in presence of the relics. (1) There is a special *ἐσπερινος* (Vespers), with proper *ὕμνημα* and three proper lessons (viz. 1 K 8²²⁻⁶¹, Ezk 43³⁷⁻⁴⁴, and Pr 3¹⁹⁻³⁵). (2) Later on, again, there is a special *ὁρθρός* (Lauds), in which the Gospel is that of the saint of the dedication; the proper canon, with its nine odes, is attributed to John of Damascus. This service is concluded with the great Doxology.

Next day, after a short rest, the bishop and clergy assemble once more in the new church. In one vessel the wax, mastic, etc., are all melted together in a fire. In the other water is heated. The *mensa* is taken off its supporting pillars, and paper is wrapped round the latter, projecting an inch above the top, so as to hold the powdered marble when it is poured in. Thereupon the priest begins the office of the Prothesis, while the bishop proceeds to the old church, where he dons his episcopal robes, and orders the Liturgy proper to be begun. A procession is formed, in which the people carry lighted tapers, the clergy the Gospels, and the bishop the relics on his head. They start for the new church, singing various *τροπάρια*, and marching round the precincts, till they reach the doors, outside which the relics are deposited on the *τετραπόδιον*.⁴ After the *προκελευμενος*, the Epistle (*ἀποστόλος*; He 2^{11-2nd}) and the Gospel (Mt 16¹³⁻²⁰) are read.

After this, another procession takes place round

¹ A linen cloth, the length of the Holy Table, forming the middle one of its three coverings.

² The bottom cloth upon the Holy Table is so called. The natural derivation of the word would be as if it were a substitute (*ἀντί*) for the *mensa*, and this seems to accord with the use of the article; but it is always spelt with *α*, not *α*, and *μύσια* is said to be a canister (Neale, *op. cit.* p. 138).

³ The word for this is *ἐκτεθρονισμένος*, which is said to imply the setting up of the bishop's throne in it, because every church in his diocese is potentially his cathedral, and becomes so for the time when he is present (see Neale, *op. cit.* p. 1043, note, and Fortescue, *Orth. East. Ch.*, London, 1907, p. 404, note 2).

⁴ This four-legged table usually stands near the *iconostasis* for the use of the clergy (see Neale, *op. cit.* p. 1044).

the outside of the church, whilst they sing the 3rd ode of the canon mentioned at *ὁρθρός* above. This is followed by a second Epistle (He 9¹⁻⁸) and Gospel (Lk 10³⁸⁻⁴²).

For a third time they march round the walls, while the 6th ode of the canon is sung. Then the relics are laid upon the *τετραπόδιον* as before, the bishop prays, and a *τροπάριον* is sung. Standing before the closed church doors, the clergy sing Ps 24th, some from within demanding 'Who is the King of Glory?' and those without answering.¹ Thereupon the doors are thrown open, and the procession enters the church; the bishop, passing up the nave, solemnly places the relics in their receptacle, pours chrism on them, and prays. The powdered marble and the hot mixture of wax and other ingredients are then poured round the base and at the top of the pillars of the altar, and the *mensa* is securely replaced and fixed thereon. While the cement cools and dries, Ps 145 and 23 are sung.

They then swathe the bishop in the 10 cubits of linen which have been provided, and fasten the 2 napkins over his arms, so that his vestments are entirely protected from being soiled in the ceremonies which ensue.² After this he kneels down (this being an unusually solemn attitude for prayer in the East) and recites a long prayer of dedication, and the deacon says the litany (*ἐκρενή*). Then the bishop washes the *mensa*, first with the soap and warm water during the singing of Ps 84, next with the wine³ while Ps 51st is sung, using the *ἀντιμύσια* to wipe it off; lastly, he makes three crosses with the chrism (or oil) on the *mensa*, spreading the oil from them all over the top, and also on the pillars, while Ps 133 is being sung.

The vesting of the altar next takes place. At the corners of the *mensa* the 4 cloths with the Evangelists' names or figures on them are fixed with the cement; over them the *κατασάρκιον*, with its four tassels at the corners, is spread, during the singing of Ps 132; then, after washing his hands, the bishop takes the outer covering (called *ἐκρενδύρις*) and unfolds it over the *mensa* while they sing Ps 93. Lastly, he takes all the new *ἀντιμύσια* which are to be consecrated, and spreads them out, one on top of the other, on the altar; and on the top of all he puts an *ἀντιμύσιον* which has already been consecrated; meanwhile Ps 26 is sung.

After this, first the altar, then the whole church, is censured. Next the *ἀντιμύσια* are anointed, where they lie, with chrism into which the relics or something which has been in contact with them have been pounded, so as to communicate their virtues to the *ἀντιμύσια*. Each pillar in the body of the church is likewise anointed with the sign of the cross. The deacon says a *συναπτή*, and the bishop recites another long prayer. Finally, the Liturgy proceeds to the end as usual, the Epistle now being He 3¹⁻⁴, and the Gospel Jn 10²².

The Liturgy must be repeated for 7 successive days on the new altar, and the new *ἀντιμύσια* remain there as before. After that they are all regarded as fully consecrated, and may be distributed as occasion requires.⁴

It will thus be seen that at a consecration chief stress is laid on (a) the erection of the altar in the new church, and (b) the hallowing of the *ἀντιμύσια*, which can never be a separate service, and is

¹ Neale (*op. cit.* p. 1044, note) thinks this dramatic way of singing these verses is a modern interpolation from the Roman rite, and that it was not known to Goar or his editors in the 17th or early 18th century. But this is somewhat doubtful.

² S. Simon of Thessalonica interprets this as symbolizing the grave-cloths of our Lord (see Neale, *in loc.*).

³ It has been suggested as probable that a blooming vine-spray or rose-branch was originally used at this point, and that the idea of the wine was borrowed from the West.

⁴ Their proper position in future is below the *κατασάρκιον*, next to the surface of the *mensa* itself.

peculiar to the East. The Syrians, however, are said to use slabs of wood instead of cloths for this purpose, and in cases of necessity permit the Eucharist to be offered on a leaf of the Gospels, or even on the hands of a deacon.¹

See also ANOINTING, EUCHARIST, KING, ORDINATION, PRIEST, SACRAMENT, SANCTIFICATION.

LITERATURE.—G. Baldwin Brown, *From Schola to Cathedral*, London, 1886; Caspari, art. 'Kirchweihe,' in *PRE³*; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1889 (Eng. tr., *Christian Worship*, 1903), ch. xii.; H. le Clercq in *DACL*, p. 68; P. Lejay, *ib.* p. 1437 ff.; H. F. Stewart, *Invoc. of Saints*, London, 1907, Appendix, p. 108 ff.; J. Wickham Legg, *Three Chapters in Rec. Lit. Research* (Ch. Hist. Soc. lxiii.), 1903; J. Wordsworth, *On the Rite of Consecration of Churches* (Ch. Hist. Soc. lii.), 1899; J. M. Neale, *General Introduction to History of Eastern Church*, 1850; A. Fortescue, *Orthodox Eastern Church*, London, 1907; G. Horner, *Coptic Consecration of Church and Altar*, London, 1902. C. L. FELTOE.

CONSENT.—The usual meaning of the noun 'consent' is voluntary agreement to, or acquiescence in, another's proposal. The verb is used similarly: 'to consent' is voluntarily to accede to, or acquiesce in, what another proposes or desires; to agree, comply, yield. The original meaning of the word (from Lat. *consentire* = 'to feel, think, judge, etc., together') is almost obsolete. It is rarely used to denote agreement in sentiment, opinion, or judgment, though this meaning is preserved in the phrases 'common consent,' 'universal consent' (*consensus gentium*). Thus we find it in Sidgwick's *Methods of Ethics*⁶ (1901), bk. i. ch. viii. §3. We are led, he says, to endeavour to set at rest doubts as to the validity of the particular moral judgments of men 'by appealing to general rules, more firmly established on a basis of common consent.' And in Matthew Arnold's *Mixed Essays*, 1879 ('Equality'), we find the sentence: 'As to the duty of pursuing equality, there is no such consent among us' (p. 49). Most of the primary, and some secondary, meanings of the word have, however, been taken by other words, so that we now speak, e.g., of *assenting* to statements, doctrines, and creeds, and of *consenting* to proposals. Examples of this use of the word are to be found as early as the 12th cent. (see *OED*, s.v.).

A stage logically intermediate between the primitive and modern uses is the employment of 'consent' to denote agreement in a course of action. 'When the wills of many concur,' says Hobbes, 'to one and the same action and effect, the concurrence of wills is called consent' (*Works*, iv. xii.), and in Lk 14¹⁸ we read that 'all with one consent began to make excuse.' There is no reference to the sentiment, opinion, or judgment of the persons concurring to act.

But in its modern prevalent use 'consent' denotes a type of volition which implies acquiescence in what is proposed by another, an acquiescence, not in the proposer's sentiment or judgment, but merely in his proposal.² The state of mind preceding consent seems to include some reluctance to the action proposed. The reluctance may be of any degree, from mere indifference, through definite disinclination (which may be due simply to lack of light), to decided aversion. In the typical case of consenting, the reluctance is overcome without ceasing to exist. When reluctance ceases, the end takes on a more or less desirable character. An end desired is our own, whatever be the psychological origin of the idea of the end. It may have been suggested by another because he approved of it or desired its realization; but, while the end is his

only, and not attractive to us, there may be an indifference, at least, if not a more positive reluctance, to adopt it. When it touches us and creates desire or wins approval, it becomes to that extent our own end, and ceases to be what we acquiesce in. We consent to, that is, voluntarily acquiesce in, an end which is not our own in the sense explained. Consent so defined raises difficult moral problems.

The fact that a deed is done reluctantly does not do away with the fact that it is willed, nor, according to John Stuart Mill (*Utilitarianism*, 1901, ch. ii.), does it affect the morality of the action. It may affect our judgment of the character of the person doing it, but the morality of the volition depends upon the nature of the whole result which was foreseen to depend upon the volition. The apothecary in selling poison to Romeo said, 'My poverty, not my will consents,' but he could not disclaim responsibility for the poisoning proposed by Romeo. He did not wish the poisoning, yet 'the consent, though said not to be of the will, might have been enough to hang for' (T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, 1890, bk. ii. ch. ii.). A man who consents to a wrong action may plead poverty, compulsion, etc., as extenuating circumstances, but would these affect our judgment of his culpability, except in the same way as similar considerations would affect our judgment of an action which he conceived and carried out entirely on his own initiative?

It is difficult to fix the nature and the degree of responsibility attaching to consent, since acquiescence in any particular case may signify much or very little. It may mean, e.g., anything between non-interference and full co-operation. Would we give as much credit to one who permits a good deed to be done as to another who actively helps to perform it? Would we blame equally persons who allow an evil to be done, assist in doing it, or do it entirely themselves? Salome consented to the proposal of Herodias that John the Baptist should be beheaded, and demanded his head of the king. Herod consented and ordered the execution (Mt 14⁸). Herodias, Salome, and Herod willed the death. Were they equally responsible and reprehensible? Again, acquiescence in the same deed may have a different moral significance in the case of different persons. Pilate consented to the demand of the people to crucify Jesus Christ. Jesus consented to die. The consent of the one showed him to be a weak and unjust ruler; the consent of the other revealed Him as a Saviour of men. It is clear, therefore, that, in order to determine the moral significance of an act of consent, the whole complex result willed must be analyzed into its elements and considered in their relation to one another, and also in relation to the concrete conditions in which the person willing finds himself. The situation is often very complicated. The acquiescence of Jesus in His own death, e.g., was an act of obedience to His Father's will, yet consenting to that will involved the committing of a crime by the Jews and Pilate. Matheson (*Studies of the Portrait of Christ*, 1899-1900, bk. ii. ch. iii.) thinks that the agony of Gethsemane was largely due to His aversion to allow such a crime, and to doubt whether it could be in accordance with the will of God. 'Taking up the cross' for a Christian frequently means consenting to a course of action which he does not desire, and cannot see the reason for, or the reasonableness of; nevertheless he acquiesces, in the belief that he is doing the will of God, and that the will of God is good.

Submission of the will to authority of any kind amounts, directly or indirectly, to acquiescence in what is proposed by others. Obedience is consent, so is compromise; co-operation involves it. We cannot live in social relations with others without

¹ See art. 'Antimensium,' in *DCA* i. 91 f.

² There is a distinct difference in consciousness between the consent of belief and the consent of will. The consent of belief is, in a measure, a forced consent,—it attaches to what stands in the order of things whether I consent or no. The consent of will is a forceful consent—a consent to what shall be through me' (Baldwin, *Handbook of Psychology*, 1891, 'Will and Feeling,' p. 171).

having, now and again, to do things for them which we do not ourselves desire, and on which we may not be able to pass judgment. For it is not easy to know whether the ends which our fellow-men set themselves to realize with our help are, on the whole, good. The goodness of particular ends is, within limits, relative to the individual. An end which is good for one to aim at may be bad for another. This is true irrespective of our conception of the ultimate ideal of life. Even if the ultimate good be one and the same for all, it is individualized in a different form for every life, and each claims the right to realize it in his own way. This seems a legitimate claim, and consequently the good man may feel called upon to regard consent to special ends which he does not desire, and is not in a position to approve or disapprove, as a normal duty. By recognizing the claims of his neighbours to his love and help, he admits also their right to expect him sometimes to acquiesce in their purposes and to trust their judgments. He must act, not on his own insight, but in dependence on that of others. His will must consent to theirs. The appeal of many proposals may depend not so much on their intrinsic reasonableness, as on the persons making them. Therefore the wise man is only partially able to realize the ideal of a life according to reason. He can scarcely hope that the ends which his fellow-men seek are always good. Moreover, good men often come into apparent conflict with one another, and co-operation is limited by competition.

A more difficult problem is raised by a consideration of the fact that man's life is lived in a world over whose course he has very little control. If the world is the result of blind forces utterly indifferent to human ends, the wise man has no ground for hoping that life will ever be satisfactory. He cannot acquiesce in such a world. His mind and heart must protest against it, however useless the protest may be. If these forces form a mechanical system, whose operations can be traced and related, man's intelligence may bow to the inevitable order, and seek to understand it, but his conscience does not consent to such a scheme. The moral will would be inevitably opposed to a merely mechanical cosmical process. It cannot acquiesce in a world which is not based on moral principles, and which is not ultimately amenable to human ends.

And even on this assumption a completely rational life is an ideal which is scarcely realizable by any one in the present state of existence. And, therefore, Kant (cf. *Critique of Practical Reason*) maintained that immortality is a necessary moral postulate. He maintained, moreover, that the existence of the supremely Good Will must be postulated as creator and governor in order to secure complete harmony between the perfect moral will of man and the conditions of his happiness. There appeared to be no other way of guaranteeing the realization of the *bonum consummatum*.

Many of the higher religions teach submission to this sovereign will, whose ways are often inscrutable, as the highest duty. The Christian position is that we should will that God's will be done, and consent, therefore, to all that is involved in the operations of that will, whether we like and approve them or not; knowing, in the words of St. Paul, that 'all things work together for good to them that love God' (Ro 8th). In a sense such a view effects a partial synthesis between the two attitudes of acting from rational insight and consenting to the order of the world. For, if its fundamental assumptions are true, a man acts autonomously and rationally in willing continuously the realization of the supremely good and reasonable will; and also by consenting, in detail, to

particular events, and to particulars of conduct, even when unable to desire and approve them. The practical problem then reduces itself to knowing what that will intends us to do.

A synthesis of a different kind is attempted in some metaphysical systems, such as that of Spinoza (cf. his *Ethics* and *Treatise on the Improvement of the Understanding*). Everything that exists, Spinoza thought, follows eternally and necessarily from the being of the One Substance. The end of life is to obtain rational insight of an intuitive kind into this being, to see self as one of its modes, and to acquiesce in the order of things. When the order of the Universe—Substance, Nature, God, Truth, are Spinoza's terms—is understood, we more than acquiesce in it; we find satisfaction in the knowledge. Supreme and enduring happiness consists in the intellectual love of God (*amor intellectualis Dei*).

For consent in marriage, see MARRIAGE.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

DAVID PHILLIPS.

CONSEQUENCE.—If a proposition p implies a proposition q , but q does not in turn imply p , then p is called the antecedent and q the consequent; whereas, if each implies the other, they are preferably called equivalents. *Logical consequence* is thus the relation obtaining between a conclusion and its premisses, such that if the premisses are true the conclusion is true. The reverse of this relation—the relation holding between the consequent and an antecedent—is logical presupposition. That is, the consequent is logically presupposed by the antecedent; for only if it be true can the latter be true, whereas the antecedent might be false and the consequent still true.

By *causal consequence*, on the other hand, is meant the relation between an antecedent event and its effect; and the philosophically important question at once arises, Are the two types of consequence the same? For a century it has been believed that Hume and Kant proved successfully that the relation between cause and effect is not that of logical consequence, by showing that we discover causal relations not by deduction, but by observation and experiment, or inductively. But this does not follow; for, though it is true that our discovery of causal relations is usually made inductively, the relations discovered are logical. Moreover, many causal relations have been deduced, to wit, those inferred in mechanics and mathematical physics. Indeed, all causal laws can be explicitly formulated as propositions of the type p implies q . Perhaps what confuses us is that the temporal relation between an antecedent cause and its effect is foreign to logical consequence, and that the antecedent event seems to us, for practical reasons, necessary for the effect, and not the effect for it. But the effect is quite as necessary for the cause as the cause for the effect; and, though in a temporal system, such as the world is, events must be related in time, still this relation is logically accidental to the generic relation whereby from the nature of one part of the world-system we are enabled to infer the nature of another part. This generic relation is that of logical implication, and is either the causal relation or a class of which the causal relation is a member. See CAUSE, CAUSALITY.

LITERATURE.—Spinoza, *Ethics*, pt. I.; Hume, *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, sects. iv.-vii.; B. Russell, *Principles of Mathematics*, London, 1903, chs. iii. and iv.

WALTER T. MARVIN.

CONSISTENCY (Ethical).—In so far as ethics is a theory, we must ask whether such a theory is open to the test of consistency; and in so far as ethics bears upon conduct, we must inquire whether consistency also applies to the practical sphere. In

regard to its *theoretical* aspect, the question arises whether ethics is simply knowledge of moral facts, or whether it must fashion an ideal to serve as a rule for conduct; whether, that is to say, it merely describes, or also enjoins and commands. If it be merely descriptive, its sole aim will be to discover the characteristic and essential features of morality. The latter view has very largely come into favour in modern times.

1. *Consistency in naturalistic ethics.*—*Utilitarianism, Eudæmonism, or the Ethics of Feeling*, proposes to explain the origin of morality. It starts from phenomena; it examines the native capacities of mankind, and even tries to trace the development of these. It occupies itself with the psychological analysis of impulses, feelings, and emotions, with man's relations to his environment, and his dependence upon, or relative independence of, this environment; with his relations to Nature, to his fellows, and to the communities in which he finds himself; with suffering and his reaction against it; with his estimate of things by means of a 'value-judgment,' which may itself be variously construed, and with the origin of these value-judgments. In so far as ethics bears this empirical character, its business is to subject the conduct of men to historical and psychological investigation, to analyze it, to discover, if possible, the laws which actually regulate human life and which furnish a standard of value for conduct, and to determine the class of actions most conformable to this standard. For this school, in fact, the only important matter is to draw from the boundless mass of material such general truths as will be valid within this particular sphere.

It is impossible on these lines ever to get beyond probability or merely relative points of view. An ethical theory of this sort is inevitably tied down to the relative. Consistency can find no footing here. All that is required is to bring the manifold data under general categories by induction. Empirical thinkers, and more especially sceptics, who place their mark of interrogation upon everything, will even tell us that the endeavour to introduce consistency into ethics is a mere futility, and really prevents us from doing justice to the facts. A moralist like Bentham, for instance, will have nothing to do with consistency. For, though he admits the validity of the general proposition that morality is concerned with the good of the whole, he yet holds that experience alone shows what makes for this good. Laws derived from the facts are only of relative value. A change in the facts will necessarily involve a change in the laws. Those who favour the historical method give special prominence to the fact that ethical ideas undergo extensive modifications, and that every age has its own particular assortment of such ideas, won from the most heterogeneous points of view, and therefore quite incapable of being reduced to unity. Effete conceptions—vestiges of earlier modes of thought—still continue to operate in certain circles, or in the general consciousness, at a time when other usages and ideas, by no means reconcilable with the old, have come to the front. Hence, it is said, the collision of duties and the existence of contradictory views of moral life are just what we might anticipate, and accordingly the demand for consistency is sheer folly. Moral judgments are thus the result of a psychical and historical process—the mere temporary compromise between the competing interests of the day. To look for consistency under such conditions is to shut one's eyes to the facts. A like judgment must be passed upon the theory which finds morality in the spontaneity of our nature, which builds upon instinct and unconscious tendency, and which, as wholly *averse* to rational principles, would trace

moral action to the impulse of an inherent goodness in mankind, or of partly conscious, partly unconscious, propensity; or, again, would even bring in the operation of a natural creative potency. On this theory, also, the entire function of ethics is to describe the impulses as they appear in experience.

The explanation of this antipathy on the part of empirical ethics to the idea of consistency is that the system merely registers and describes the various types of ethical thought and action, classifying them under general headings, and refraining from any attempt to harmonize these, on the ground that the moral ideas and phenomena emerge in the most diverse departments of human life, in the most disparate phases of culture, and in ages most remote from one another, and that accordingly they cannot well be brought into organic unity. Indeed, many even maintain that the sphere of practice is the proper arena for the irrational, for a power quite impervious to reason. Here, it is said, we encounter the fact of personality; here the concrete, the merely particular, comes into play—that which in the last resort eludes the grasp of thought. All general principles are therefore but bare abstractions, drawn from a limited field of experience, and as divergent as the data they refer to.

2. *Consistency in religious ethics.*—Frequently, too, even *religious* ethics gives no more consideration to the idea of consistency than does empirical ethics. The ethics of religion has usually been content to give sacred sanction to a traditional morality, which has grown up amongst a people under the most heterogeneous influences; or it has, at most, added sundry directions regarding ceremonial observances, ecclesiastical duties, and especially works of piety. We need not expect to find a harmonious consistency under such conditions.

We have an instance of this in *Jewish* ethics, with its multifarious precepts regarding individual conduct, and regarding social, ceremonial, and political affairs. The ethics of the *Persian* religion embraces a vast array of ceremonial and moral ordinances, together with injunctions regarding social duties, such as planting trees, killing noxious animals, and the like. Jewish and Persian ethics, however, so far agree in resolving all the various regulations into a formal *unity*, namely, the will of God, as the source of all; and it is the same will which fixes the penalty of transgression and the reward of obedience.

A second type of religious ethics is that which admits a dualistic morality. In *Buddhism*, for instance, there is one morality for the monks and another for the laity. The universalism of this religion was not carried to its final issue; thus, woman was placed in a lower rank than man, and the system of caste was left undisturbed; and, while the leading principle of Buddhist ethics was the complete surrender of desire in a life of patience and contemplative wisdom, this was subsequently enjoined in different degrees for layman and monk respectively. The monks were required not only to eschew adultery, but to abstain entirely from sexual intercourse, to avoid luxury, and to give themselves to meditation. A distinction was also made between venial and mortal sins. Rules of propriety were added to moral obligations. A consistently developed ethical theory is thus clearly out of the question.

The same is true of the ethics of *Brāhmanism*. The *Law Book of Manu* contains an exposition of duties, as also injunctions regarding the retention of the caste system, and regarding submission to the Brāhmins. On the other hand, there is, as early as the *Upanishads*, the formula *Tat tvam asi*, 'That (the Cosmos) art thou,' which bids each find himself in his fellow-man; and, while asceticism, solitary meditation, and withdrawal into the forest count for more than family or business life, yet a compromise is made between the two by the regulation that the forest life shall be adopted only after a man has lived in a family and brought up a son.

Consistency is likewise alien to the ethics of *Roman Catholicism*. For one thing, morality is here made to rest upon the isolated fiat of an external authority; for another, a distinction is drawn between obligations and counsels. Moreover, the sacrament of penance prescribes a series of external works; while, finally, the monastic ethics of the *religious* is severed from the ethics of the laity.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to imagine that religious ethics must necessarily assume this double form, or that it can be no more than a mere aggregation of contingent and isolated commands, and must in consequence lack consistency.

As a matter of fact, the ethics of *Confucius*, who put a check upon belief in spirits, soothsaying, and exorcism, and who read a Divine revelation in the natural and social order, exhibits a more homogeneous and self-consistent character than any of the above. 'The wise man obeys the law and awaits his destiny; that is the sum-total of duty.' This law sets forth the right hierarchy of social relationship in the subjection of the wife to the husband, of children to parents; in family affection, which is to be nurtured by ancestor-worship; in the separation of the sexes, as providing a 'barrier for the people'; in the subordination of the younger to the older, and of the subject to the ruler.

The law also decrees that this social order shall be represented in the ritual. Kindness to the poor, the friendless, the widow, and the orphan, is commended, and great stress is laid upon faithfulness in friendship. The governmental system should aim at nurturing a peaceful, industrious, and contented people. It quite accords with all this that Confucius sets great store by ancient tradition and history, as exhibiting the decrees of heaven in punishment and reward. Observance of this moral order is at the same time a religious duty. It is obvious that, notwithstanding the aphoristic form which this moral teaching tends to assume, nearly everything is dominated by a single thought.

Finally, the ethics of *Christianity* exhibits certain features which not only imply that the entire moral life is brought under one point of view, but also set forth a consistent moral ideal.

3. Consistency in rational ethics.—(a) *As the application of an abstract law.*—While religious ethics, therefore, either as giving formal sanction to incongruous usages, or as massing together arbitrary laws, or as separating the moral interests of religion from those of the secular life, tends in the main to dispense with consistency, the case is quite different with rational ethics. The fundamental tenet of the latter school is that the moral is grounded in the rational; and, even if a distinction be made, as by Kant, between practical and theoretical reason, the test of consistency holds good in either. When Kant wishes to prove that a breach of the universal moral law is indefensible, he points to the contradictions which such a breach involves. If we would test the validity of a maxim, we have but to ask how it would work as a universal law. Thus, for instance, the refusal to implement a promise, were it made a universal rule, would result in a state of things where no promise was accepted, *i.e.* the maxim would defeat its own purpose. The criterion applied here is therefore that of logical consistency. Similarly, in his *Critique of Practical Reason*, Kant resorts to the logical categories as furnishing a more precise definition of freedom. In one form or another, rational ethics makes out a case for an unconditional factor in morality, and it must vindicate the claim of this unconditional and universal principle to be supreme, *i.e.* to determine everything that comes within its province; in a word, it demands consistency.

Consistency in rational ethics is, primarily, the requirement that the practical side of life in its entirety shall be brought to the test of the universal moral law, and made subject to it.

Thus the *Stoics* maintained that all morality lay in the one supreme virtue, namely, harmony with the law of nature or of reason. From the same standpoint Kant treated morality in a purely formal way, taking reverence for the law as the sole motive. This law, however, being as yet wholly abstract, is incapable of positively determining the concrete materials of conduct. Given conditions are brought within the scope of the law; they are not, however, derived from the law, but only tested by it. For example, the institution of marriage is not deduced from the law, nor is its place in the ethical economy assigned by the law; the sole question is whether, marriage being assumed, the universally valid law can take effect in the relationship. Strictly speaking, in such a case we can say only that the law must not be infringed; we cannot determine the actual duties of marriage. It is, in fact, precisely on this account that Kant distinguishes between duties of perfect and those of imperfect obligation. Thus, for instance, the obligation of developing one's natural powers is an imperfect one, because, while the maxim of such effort is undoubtedly a law, the mode and degree of the effort are in no way defined by it, but are left to personal choice. Even on Kant's view, therefore, there is a certain permissive sphere in morals, to which the consistency of the moral law cannot be extended—a sphere for casuistry, in which particular cases cannot be decided by the law.

Kant's mode of applying the test of consistency in the field of rational ethics stands in contrast with that of *Herbart*. On the one hand, the unifying principle from which Herbart starts is an *esthetic a priori* judgment regarding relations of will, and from this judgment proceed the ethical ideas. On the other hand, he enumerates five such relations of will (recalling the five axioms of Whewell), which he simply places side by side. To look for consistency here is apparently out of the question, as these five ideas are neither traced to, nor derived from, a single principle. Closer examination, however, reveals that these ideas are in fact held together by the thought of a harmony in all the principal relations of will, while a similar unifying potency is attributed to the conception of living society, which combines all the ideas in harmonious unity, embracing both individual and social relations of will. Looked at in this way, the ethics

of Herbart presents us with a much more concrete ideal than Kant's universal abstract law, and so exhibits a higher degree of consistency.

(b) *Consistency in the structure of the concrete moral ideal.*—The criterion of consistency is applied even more cogently by those who seek by speculative methods to give the ideal a concrete form. It was on these lines that *Plato* fashioned his ideal Republic, which he regarded as the highest image of the Good upon earth, though his dualism stood in the way of a perfectly consistent theory. In the main, however, he sought to delineate a harmonious antitype of the Idea of the Good; and it was his conviction of the universal supremacy of this Idea that moved him to incorporate in his scheme the concrete conditions of human life and the special faculties of the soul. In the *Laws*, it is true, he somewhat lowers the Ideal in favour of the existent civic situation, yet this does not so much imply a surrender of consistency as a desire to actualize his ideal State amid given conditions. The Idea of the Good which manifests itself in the individual (as virtue) and in the State—the macrocosm of man—is set forth by Plato with the strictest consistency as the unifying principle of morals. This is even more true of *Aristotle*. With him, the one *voûs* is supreme in man, laying down just proportions for all emotions and all goods; and, although he gives an empirical tabulation of the particular virtues rather than a classification dominated by a universal principle, yet his guiding thought is that the dianoetic virtues are concerned with the development of the practical intelligence, while the ethical virtues have to do with reason's mastery of the passions by exercise. In effect, therefore, according to Aristotle, virtue is one, *viz.* the supremacy of reason, which, however, can be adequately realized only in the State—the State itself, again, being founded upon the home. Aristotle also agrees with Plato in linking his doctrine of virtue to the Idea of the Supreme Good, but he concedes a much wider scope to the operation of reason in practical life, and thus carries out his ethical doctrine in a more consistent way.

In modern times, *J. G. Fichte* and *Schleiermacher* have urged the importance of unity in ethical theory, and have given complete consistency to the moral ideal. True, Schleiermacher discarded imperative ethics and advocated the descriptive method. In his opinion, however, ethics is not an empirical or inductive, but rather a speculative, science. The moral ideal is not an ideal of obligation, but it is described as the ideal by which men act—duty; or in terms of the faculty which manifests itself as lawful—virtue; or in terms of the result of action—the highest good. In all this Schleiermacher applies the ideal with such rigorous consistency as to demand that every man, with due allowance for his individual nature, shall construct and realize his ideal concretely and in full detail. He gives no place to the distinction between perfect and imperfect obligations, or to the collision of duties, since at every moment only one mode of action is ethically possible—that, namely, which in the circumstances best furthers the entire moral process. Morality being an integral whole, every action is in its degree a reflexion of this whole. The distinction he draws between symbolizing and organizing action he admits to be relative only, since each includes the other in smaller compass; the same is true of the universal and the individual factor. Each ethical province therefore in a measure embraces the other, and, when combined, they constitute the highest good—a unity absolutely complete in itself. The ideal has no gaps, and, consequently, nothing

is merely permissive. The ideal embraces the entire range of human conduct; in fact, even the mode of action in any given situation is determined by fixed rules.

According to Schleiermacher, reason is a power which moulds nature to new issues; and among modern thinkers it is he who has most consistently developed the thought that the whole spiritual life of man is ethically determined, no phase whatever being left out. His *Theological Ethics* bears the same character. It simply describes how the religious impulse—the Divine spirit operating as the intensified power of reason—works as the constraining motive in the determination of moral action in its details, and how it strengthens this rational action (as it is called in his *Philosophical Ethics*) without running counter to it or altering its content. The man who is in harmony with the Spirit of God is, in thought and feeling, an integral concentrated force, which manifests itself in the moral ideal, and effects the highest good. This concrete form of the ideal exhibits a far more strict consistency and uniformity than does the abstract idea of universally valid law.

(c) *Consistency in the historical development.*—We can scarcely look for a more exigent standard of consistency in ethics than that of Schleiermacher, but we may give more consideration to the fact of *development*. Schleiermacher's ideal is really timeless. No doubt he holds that the speculative view of ethics may be brought into relation with historical science and practical life by means of critical and technical studies, and he desiderates that full account be taken of the individual's special place in the Kingdom of God; he even grafts upon the ideal the laws by which the whole course of conduct must be directed; but, nevertheless, he practically overlooks the factor of development in the moral consciousness. In his *Kritik der bisherigen Sittenlehre* he submits the history of ethics to a searching investigation, but from a purely critical point of view. This defect was made good by J. G. Fichte, and notably by Hegel; subsequently also by Chalybäus,¹ Harms,² and von Hartmann.³ These thinkers took account of the successive stages through which morality had passed, and contended for consistency in the ethical idea. As an example we may take Hegel's *Rechtsphilosophie*, which also comprises his ethics.

In the history of moral experience Hegel sees a logically necessary process of development. He argues that the component factors of the moral idea are exhibited in the several stadia of the developing moral consciousness; that they are all conserved in the highest stadium, and incorporated in the all-embracing unity of the moral organism. From the *pre-moral condition* of the natural life, with its impulses, out of which, in process of time, grows a system of wants, Hegel differentiates the stage of *abstract law*, in which man is subject to an external arbitrary norm, expressed primarily in the regulation of property and contract. Next, consciousness passes, by an inner necessity, from this purely outward phase of freedom to the stage of *morality*, which lays stress upon inner feeling in an abstract and one-sided way. Advance is then made to the stage of *Sittlichkeit*, or *established observance*, in which moral thought allies itself with an objective content embodied in the moral community. This content manifests itself first of all in the family, which forms an expression of natural feeling, and in which individual property becomes family property; it then appears as civil society, with its system of wants, police regulations, and corporate institutions; finally comes the State, which assimilates the results of the whole development. The State conserves the family and civil society, in which the individual finds his satisfaction; it conserves the inner disposition, which now acquires a concrete ethical content; it conserves the sphere of abstract law, and even the life of natural impulse together with its system of wants.

Now we may possibly take exception to some of the details of this sequence, but we cannot well ignore its leading idea, viz. that man advances from a state of nature to a state of average

morality characterized by statutory law; that, passing from the stage of positive enactment, he formulates the law abstractly as good disposition; and that, finally, he transforms this abstract morality into concrete established observance, thus arriving at a Supreme Good which recapitulates in itself all the preceding stages. The idea of consistency in ethical knowledge is thus extended to the process of development, and at the final stage we are brought to a provisional harmony in which the consistency of the ethical idea is revealed as the economy of the moral organism.

(d) *Consistency in the relation of Ethics to the ultimate principle of Philosophy.*—Speculative moralists, however, carry consistency to still further lengths. Not only do they assign to ethics, as a special science, its proper place in the system as a whole—as even Kant does, in his distinction of theoretical and practical reason—but they either trace it to, or deduce it from, an ultimate unity, a supreme integral principle, thus fitting it *organically into a complete philosophical rationale of the universe*. Such is the procedure of Plato, who holds that true knowledge involves morality, and that morality carries with it insight into truth, and who therefore regards the science of knowing, or dialectics, as the cardinal science, embracing not only knowledge but also the supreme content of knowledge, i.e. true being or the Ideas, of which the highest is that of the Good and Beautiful. These Ideas Plato deems to be realities, so that the True and the Good and the Beautiful are one. The subject-matter of metaphysics or dialectics, which embraces the knowledge of being, is identical with the Good and Beautiful; and, as this highest Idea is Deity, metaphysics, religion, and morality are in the last resort one—just as truth, goodness, and beauty cannot be dissevered. Plato's differentiation of physics and ethics from dialectics is due to the fact that the good and beautiful of the actual world is only a copy of the real—a mere representation in material form, since the world is the sphere of becoming.

Although Aristotle and the Stoics likewise aspired to place ethics in its right connexion with philosophy as a whole, yet their endeavours after unity, their ideas of consistency, were not carried out so fully as Plato's, the reason being that their interest in experience and the special sciences was greater than his, and so far deranged their philosophical views. On the other hand, we have a striking instance of consistency in the work of Spinoza. Even his mathematical method, which in reality is logical rather than mathematical, supplies an illustration of this. He regards metaphysics, ethics, and religion as constituting an integral whole; and, further, his theory of the parallelism of thought and extension enables him to incorporate physics into this unity. Here, therefore, we have an attempt on a grand scale to connect ethics organically with the entire system, and to enforce the principle of consistency to its extreme limit. A similar course is followed by the *Absolute Philosophy* of Germany, as exemplified by Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and, as they take the historical process into account, their system is even more comprehensive than that of Spinoza. Hegel looks upon man's whole moral experience in its several gradations as a phase of development in the self-manifestation of the Absolute, or the Idea, which actualizes itself in moral life in order to attain, in aesthetic intuition, in religious conception, and, finally, in philosophic thought, a survey of the whole process. Moral life is thus an aspect of the Idea, a stadium in its development. Here consistency reaches the acme of rigour. Schleiermacher, too, endeavoured to bring ethics into organic connexion

¹ *System der spekulativen Ethik* (Leipz. 1850).

² See his admirable work *Die Formen der Ethik* (Berlin, 1878), afterwards incorporated in his *Ethik*, ed. Wiese (1889), 12, 47 ff.

³ *Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins* (Berlin, 1879).

with his whole philosophy. For him, as for Schelling, the highest principle was indifference, *i.e.* the absolute unity of opposites. This principle is confronted by the world, where, in virtue of the underlying unity, the several opposites of thought and being, real and ideal, manifest themselves as diverse, indeed, yet not inconsistent. This interfusion of real and ideal, if the former preponderates, is nature; if the latter preponderates, it is reason. Reason and nature, however, tend towards a state of mutual adjustment, reason becoming nature by its activity, and nature likewise labouring to become reason. Thus ethics becomes physics, and physics ethics. Still another opposition confronts true scientific knowledge. Our thought is at once speculative and conditioned by experience. Hence the science of reason and the science of nature have each a speculative and an empirical side. The speculative science of reason is ethics; the empirical is history. The speculative science of nature is *Natur-philosophie*, while the empirical embraces the special natural sciences. Ethics and history are interlinked by technical and critical studies. Such is Schleiermacher's way of making ethics an organic part of universal science.

4. General investigation.—It appears from the foregoing synopsis that moralists differ very greatly in regard to consistency as applied to ethical theory, the main cleavage corresponding to that between the empirical and the rational interpretation of morality. If morality be regarded as merely a means to the greatest possible good, then reason itself must be similarly interpreted, and, on this view, consistency comes into consideration only in so far as it is conducive to the same end. This general good, it is alleged, is best served by obedience to rules which have been inferred from experience. But absolute laws, laws permitting of no exception, are scarcely within the scope of such a hypothesis. General rules are deduced from limited empirical data, and, if such data be augmented, the rules will be correspondingly modified. They are, by their very structure, incompatible with absolute validity. Should it be asserted, for instance, that a man must, with a view to his own happiness, subordinate his personal interests to those of others, this law will be recognized by him only so long as he finds it to his own advantage. Thus ethics, if it be but a means to a relative end, cannot itself get beyond relativity, and must renounce consistency.

The same result follows when a purely empirical theory of development is applied to morality. Altered conditions or the progress of civilization will necessitate a change in moral laws. Since, on this theory, ethics merely summarizes the best directions for human well-being under given circumstances, and since the variability of such directions and maxims is held to prove the relative character of the science, strict consistency is put out of court. As corroborative of this view, it is alleged, in particular, that ethics must needs keep within the limits of the attainable, and that it is impossible to apply the idea of consistency at all hazards. If we bear in mind the way in which men really act, the way in which impulses, feelings, and passions are adjusted by the psychological mechanism, and in which we become conscious of this adjusting process, we can formulate rules which, so far from remaining mere ideals, take account of men's actual capacities and circumstances, and are therefore capable of being put into practice.

But even the most extreme empiricism must allow that morality emerges only when certain demands are made in reference to the data of experience—demands which this school finds so

little self-explanatory that it has recourse to all manner of 'sanctions' to establish their authority. Without the antithesis of an ideal confronting the data of experience as a regulative law, morality is impossible. It may, indeed, be said that this ideal is simply the resultant of our empirical value-judgments, a product derived from experience by abstraction. Thus, for instance, the law of altruism, as against egoism, may be traced to the experience that other-regarding conduct brings an increase of satisfaction. But the question then arises whether this generalization is universally valid; and, again, whence comes the faculty by which such generalizations are made. The truth is, this faculty of abstraction is that by which we colligate the manifold in a unity, on the assumption that it is amenable to law. The ideal set up by the moral reason is something more than an aggregate of rules, derived by abstraction from value-judgments; it is in reality reason's own craving for unity, which it seeks to realize in the ethical judgment it applies to the facts of volition. The unity which is not overtly given in our various impulses, feelings, and passions is demanded by reason, and the demand cannot be met by anything relative. It is a fact that a number of moralists take their stand upon the unconditional character of morality; and this fact can neither be explained nor explained away by the empirical school. Reason cannot rest till it has moulded the manifold into a unity, and in the ethical field this means not only that reason constructs ideals, but that its ideals are consistent. It is, of course, true that different epochs have different ideals, but this by no means implies that the ideals of any period were defective in the matter of consistency. Reason has built up its ideals in ever-enlarging form; it has in ever-increasing measure incorporated therein the various spheres of conduct; and, by defining the mutual relations of these spheres, it has attained perfect symmetry in its ideal. Indeed, reason has at length reached a point where it can survey the whole historical sequence of ideals in a single view, and where it seeks to grasp the process of development by which the approved elements of the earlier ideals are taken up into the ampler range of the later. In short, if by an inherent necessity the moral reason is to carry out its task of ideal-making, and if its demand for unity is put forward unconditionally, then the entire field of voluntary action must be subjected to its authority, and its ideal must seek to effect the complete organization of moral life. In ethics, therefore, consistency is an unconditional requirement. Since the whole spiritual life of man is touched by the will, it must of necessity fall under the moral ideal.

It has been said, indeed, that the concept can never reach the concrete, the particular. But, while this is the case, we can nevertheless form the *concept of the particular*, and can accordingly assign the particular to its proper place in the ethical system, subordinating it to the whole in such a way as to make it an organic part thereof—a component which, so far from causing any dislocation, really works with all the rest as mutually complementary, and is thus wrought into the harmony of the whole. If it be deemed pedantic thus to bestrew the whole way of life 'with man-traps of duty,' it must be frankly conceded that there are sections of life where movement must be free, as, for example, the sphere of recreation, of sociality, of imagination, or the æsthetic sphere. But the moral ideal encompasses these tracts in such a manner as to permit a certain freedom therein, provided that there be no over-stepping of the limits laid down by the moral system as a whole. Here, therefore, we have no exception to

the moral law, but simply an application of the ethical principle that each sphere shall be dealt with in its own way, while ever remaining a constituent part of the moral organism, and keeping within its own bounds. Here too, therefore, the unifying formative reason may manifest itself in constructing ideals.

Further, consistency, to be effective, must be complete. No doubt, it is at present a prevalent view that a narrow and one-sided policy achieves the best results. An oppressed class, for instance, demands its rights; these are not to be won, it is said, by deliberations as to how that particular section of society is to be fitted into the social organism; nothing but the ruthless enforcement of its claims can secure for it improved conditions of life, though eventually, of course, such amelioration may benefit the whole. Again, it is asserted that a State attains prosperity not by enthusiasm for the ideal of humanity, but by a self-centred struggle for a recognized place in the council of the nations. Or, again, the individual who has formed new religious views must, it is held, not walk softly or make compromises, but must carry his views into effect ruthlessly, *i.e.* consistently. Mankind, in short, makes progress only by the one-sided pursuit of narrow aims. Society is so constituted that, while one man is carrying out his ideals with inexorable consistency, his action is being circumscribed by the interests of others. The whole process culminates in the mutual adjustment of interests. Thus the striving of reason for unity at length attains its end unconsciously, although the several parts seemed to be inharmoniously distributed. Progress is secured by mutual conflict. It is wrong, therefore, to lay the burden of this final adjustment upon the individual; all that we can expect from him is consistency in his own particular sphere, and in the advocacy of his special interests.

Plausible as such a theory may seem, and numerous as are its champions, it is nevertheless untenable. Were it consciously put into practice, it would forthwith plunge nations, classes, municipalities, and individuals—in fact, human society at large—into embittered strife, without a single reconciling element. Passions would become rampant, and animosities more virulent. We must preferably hold to the other view, *viz.* that the individual shall recognize the rights of others; that each class, each group, shall feel itself to be an organic part of the larger whole, the State; and each nation a section of the human race; and that in the conflict of opinion every man shall take pains to apprehend what is good in the view of others. As a matter of fact, it is not laid upon men to prosecute their individual aims with relentless consistency, but rather to realize those aims in a manner compatible with the ideal, so that personal interests may be advanced without detriment to the larger whole. Such a mode of apprehending the moral task demands, without doubt, a higher degree of intelligence. But a consistency which is merely sectional is no consistency at all, and is incapable of securing true progress, for it carries within itself the seed of reaction, which will sooner or later germinate. Moral development proceeds from the more simple conditions to the more complex; but, for that very reason, the prime necessity is to gain control of these complicated conditions by taking into account the various relevant elements which they contain, and by subordinating them to the unifying and moulding power of reason. Our abiding problem is to systematize the whole ethical data in harmony with the ideal, for only such an issue can adequately meet the unconditional demand for unity which reason makes.

5. Consistency between the moral ideal and practice. — The more perfectly consistency is attained in the formation of ideals, the less possible is it to ignore the discrepancy between the ideal and the actual moral situation. When the reality is compared with the ideal, it appears incongruous, contradictory, one-sided, narrow, circumscribed, rent by antitheses—in a word, bad; while the ideal itself seems but a futile and impracticable demand. In particular, it is rational ethics, with its special insistence upon a logically constructed ideal, which is mainly affected by the discrepancy, so that its boasted consistency would here seem to become abortive. Plato traces the defects of the empirical world—as compared with the Idea—to matter, and thus ends in dualism. Spinoza deduces not only the inadequate ideas and affections, but also the adequate ideas—not only human servitude, but also human freedom—from the same mathematical necessity, and can therefore make his ideal avail at most only for the favoured few. Nor could Hegel dislodge this discrepancy; for, though he held the antithesis to be the very mainspring of progress, and as such to be subject to logical sequence, the contradiction was not thereby removed. Above all, Kant felt the opposition between the practical reason and the natural propensities so intensely that he went to the very verge of dualism. Even Schleiermacher was forced to recognize a difference between the speculative moral ideal and actual moral practice, and accordingly he introduced—in his *Christian Ethics*—a ‘purifying activity,’ which was in reality a confession of the discrepancy. Now this contradiction seems to turn the consistency of the moral ideal into a mere abstraction. Consequently many thinkers of to-day would have us recognize a certain irrational factor in the world, a factor which necessarily precludes a consistent application of the moral ideal to the facts of life. According to von Hartmann, the will is non-logical, and the sole task of ethics is to evince this fact, moral action being in the end simply an anodyne to the will, which finds no satisfaction in any moral result. Here the antagonism is carried to such a point that moral action is made a means to its own ultimate abrogation. From all this it would appear that the consistent formation of ideals, as essayed more especially by the rational school of moralists, comes to grief upon the incongruity between the ideal and the actual.

Now this would undoubtedly be true, were the construction of ideals the final task of ethics. Such, however, is not the case. Nature, and especially human nature, is so constituted that it must have recourse to reason as a means to its own harmony and perfection. The first stage, therefore, is the idealizing activity of reason, the outcome of which is the rationally harmonized image of nature. But this is *only* the first stage; and, when once consistency has been realized here, a further advance is made, for now practice is to be moulded into conformity with the ideal. Thus the contradiction above noted is simply a necessary point of transition—necessary, that is, if we are to have ethical life or action at all. In other words, if moral results are to be achieved by the rational activity of the soul, then the end, the task set before us, must first of all be known; and only when it is known can we proceed to the task of realizing it. The antithesis between the rational ideal and human nature, as it is, is not an absolute one. The truth is rather, that life, as we know it, awaits the rational action of the soul as the medium by which it is to be harmonized and transfigured. The initial, or idealizing, stage of the moral process of reason is therefore responsible for no more than the harmonious, consistent for-

mation of the ideal. Once this has been attained, consistency makes the further demand that the ideal shall not remain a bare ideal, but shall be realized. It is impossible to rest satisfied with the mere self-consistency of the ideal: consistency must also govern its practical application to life.

Now, as regards this practical accomplishment of the ideal, we must bear in mind that there are two factors in the process. There is, first of all, the application of the ideal to the concrete facts of life; and, secondly, its realization on the part of the will. In either aspect we must take account of consistency, *i.e.* of the requirement that the unifying impulse of reason shall operate throughout with absolute authority.

The application of the ideal to the concrete case implies the faculty of taste or judgment,—Kant's *Urtheilskraft*,—the instinctive form of which is conscience. In accordance with what has already been said, this immediate judgment of conscience cannot be self-sustaining, but, in so far as it is valid, it pre-supposes knowledge of the moral ideal, as well as the right use of the concrete ideas of the end which have been grafted upon the ideal by education. Now, since practical life sets particular tasks before us, and since a particular task requires a particular time for its performance, the question arises, what action ought to ensue at a given moment—for, of course, the ideal, as something concrete, has various sides. But it is impossible to act consistently with reference to more than one side at a time, and, if we take the one nearest to us as the most important, our act will be consistent in a partial sense only. The ecclesiastic, for example, may fix his mind so intently upon the interests of his church as to be oblivious of other duties. Such a one-sided consistency is the result of limitation, and leads to fanaticism: *fiat justitia, pereat mundus!* We may, in fact, find a consistency which is so rigid as to verge upon puerility, as, *e.g.*, when some positive law, such as Sabbath-observance, is over-emphasized in the manner of the Pharisees. The vital matter is rather to keep the ideal before the mind in every act. Every act must be of such a kind as will, in its degree and place, further the entire moral process; only so can the ideal be realized in each particular case. This may seem too great a burden to lay upon the generality of mankind. How many, it may be asked, are so far advanced in ethical knowledge, or so proficient in the exercise of their judgment, as to be capable of subjecting every case to such thorough-going reflexion? The majority trust to their conscience, which may be said to express the average ethical culture of the day, and at best they plead for some modification of the universal law in view of their personal circumstances. For instance, in regard to the obligation of philanthropy, they point to the state of their resources, or to their responsibility to those that have the first claim upon them; and, on the whole, they fare wonderfully well with this instinctive judgment, for they are in this way making a genuinely consistent application of the ideal. The explanation is, of course, that every man finds himself in a certain situation, in certain definite relationships; and a whole array of actions—provision for one's family, assiduity in one's calling, etc.—have become matters of use and wont. With respect to such things there grows up a certain moral conviction, which requires no special preliminary consideration, since, so to speak, it has become transformed into flesh and blood. Thus the immediate judgment of conscience is, in general, the consistent application of the ideal to the particular case.

It is different when one takes an active part in public life. Exact knowledge will then be required,

so that one's decisions may be of the right kind; and a mature reflexion upon one's own faculty of judgment will be no more than proper. The same thing applies when we are confronted with important issues. Here also a man must carefully weigh all the salient facts of the situation, so that his action may in its own measure meet the entire moral demands of the occasion. The realization of the ideal will in such instances call for a developed tact and foresight, while these qualities will also be needed in order to understand the faculties by which, and the conditions in which, we must act, as well as the laws of the objects we wish to work upon. Self-knowledge and knowledge of facts are the pre-requisites of framing right ends and applying appropriate means. No relaxation of consistency is discernible here, for it is precisely the world as *given* which is to be transformed by the moral ideal. On the contrary, consistency demands that everything necessary to the accomplishment of that great end shall be done.

When, however, the intelligence has been thus brought to bear consistently upon particular cases, it is then required, first, that the will shall harmonize with the intelligence, and, secondly, that the appropriate mental and bodily organs shall be at the disposal of the will. The former desideratum is in this instance the fundamental union of the will with the moral ideal, *i.e.* the good will combined with love or enthusiasm for the ideal. This good will is also of crucial importance for particular volitions. But, in the second place, the volition can be carried into effect only by the exercise of the relative organs, and here the significance of psychology and psychophysics for ethics comes into view. We need not, however, speak of this aspect in detail. Enough has been said to show that in ethics the idea of consistency, alike in the formation and in the practical realization of the moral ideal, is of decisive importance.

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CONSOLATION, COMFORT (Christian).—

Consolation is an act or process of giving comfort; the state of being comforted; or the condition and consciousness of relief from anxiety and distress, or of support in sorrow and affliction. *Comfort* is a complex emotion induced by means of consolation, or the act or process of comforting; but, although it is to be classed among the emotional states, it has certain well-defined presentational aspects. In its fullest, and especially in its religious, sense, there is the consciousness of a person whose presence, words, or acts are the source of the feeling of comfort, and constitute the consoling element. Although there are several weakened uses of the term 'comfort,' and it is often employed in an abstract and derived sense, the personal (or quasi-personal) source is always implied. The immediate effect upon the will is that of solace or soothing, restraint from agonizing or neurotic effort, and the inhibition of excited acts. The subconscious effect is that of a tonic, and the will is braced thereby for healthful exercise.¹ Whilst the consciousness of a personal presence and influence is the dominant feature in religious consolation, there is always, in the background at least, the presentation of something that produces pain,

¹ See W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 506.

distress, or anxiety. Probably in most cases the cause of the painful feeling is at first the focus of attention, but the process of consolation forces it into the background as the comfort is being experienced. The consciousness of personal help and support is the positive element in the case, whilst the negative is the sense of relief and mitigation.

As consolation and comfort play an exceedingly important part in the Christian consciousness and in the offices of religion, the connotation of these terms in devotional literature is in general identical with Scripture usage, from which it is derived. The Heb. word *נִחֵם* (Ps 119⁵⁰, Job 6¹⁰) has its root-meaning in the act of breathing pantingly or sighing, probably as the expression of deep, sympathetic feeling on the part of the consoler. It especially refers to God as the Comforter of His people in their affliction, calamity, or persecution, or even in their repentance. In most cases, as in Ps 119^{50, 78}, comfort is given to the righteous, as such, in their tribulation, but in some other instances, as in Is 40¹, the comfort follows upon repentance, and Jahweh is represented as having changed from His state of anger to that of pity and compassion for His people. The richest form of comfort in the OT is probably what is often designated 'the motherhood of God' (Is 66¹³).¹

The NT conception of consolation and comfort in general has no reference to sin, but refers rather to the persecution, distress, and tribulation to which the faithful are exposed. The word most frequently employed is *παράκλησις*, whose primary significance is that of the ministrations of one called to assist, counsel, or relieve. *παράκλησις* (1 Co 14³ only) refers to comfort given by word or speech, whilst *παρηγορία* (Col 4¹ only) brings out the aspect of soothing. The presence of God is the dominant feature in Christian consolation, together with the promises, assurances, and pledges of support and ultimate victory through Christ. God as manifested in Christ is the Comforter of His children; but more specifically the presence and power of God realized in the Spirit, through whom Christ returned to His disciples at Pentecost, indicate the significance of the Holy Spirit being designated the Comforter (*παράκλητος*, Jn 14^{16, 26} 15²⁶ 16⁷).

There are two instances in the NT where comfort may be considered to have reference to repentance and forgiveness. The first instance is that of the second Beatitude (Mt 5⁴), but it is by no means certain that the 'mourning' (of *πενθοῦντες*) refers to one's own sin. The other case is in 2 Co 7¹⁰, where it appears that St. Paul experiences the comfort on account of the godly sorrow which is felt by the Corinthian converts. The most familiar instance in devotional literature of the function of comfort in remission of sin is in the Book of Common Prayer immediately after the Absolution, in the Office of Holy Communion: 'Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith,' etc. The personal ministrations of sympathy, love, and support in the midst of sorrow and pain are far more prominent in the NT and in Christian literature than deliverance from the evils themselves. It is as though the inevitableness of suffering were recognized, especially the forms of it that Christians are called upon to bear for their Master's sake and as incidental to their work of extending the Redeemer's kingdom. 'All that would live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution' (2 Ti 3¹²). In the sense, therefore, in which tribulation is regarded as partaking of Christ's sufferings, and as the result of well-doing

or endured for righteousness' sake, consolation is not given in the form of the removal of such grievances, but in the consciousness of the Divine presence and approval, and the grace of God to support and sustain throughout all these experiences.

Whilst the Divine Being is the ultimate source of comfort, the 'Father of mercies and God of all comfort' (2 Co 1³), it is explicitly taught by St. Paul that Christian believers should in their turn become comforters of those who need sympathy and strength. In harmony with this injunction, the consolations of religion may be administered by the officers of the Church and by all who have had to pass through such experiences themselves. They are to be the instruments whereby the Divine comfort is mediated and brought to bear upon other souls and lives. Barnabas, who was exceptionally gifted in this respect, was fitly surnamed 'son of consolation' (*υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*, Ac 4³⁶).

The circumstances under which the administration of consolation is needed by the Christian and generally commented upon in devotional and in homiletical literature will now be summarized.

(1) *Physical or mental limitations, pain, or distress.*—The comfort consists in the knowledge of the disciplinary value of suffering, the consciousness of the transcendent power of the spiritual in the realized infirmity of the flesh, and the acquisition and development of the gifts and graces of sympathy, tenderness, and gentleness with other sufferers, together with patience and fortitude. 'Tunc non est melius remedium quam patientia, et abnegatio mei in voluntate Dei' (à Kempis, *de Imit. Christi*, lib. ii. c. ix. 6). The classic example of this form of consolation is that of St. Paul's 'thorn in the flesh,' and his comment thereupon, 'Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my weaknesses, that the strength of Christ may rest upon me . . . for when I am weak, then am I strong' (2 Co 12⁹).

(2) *Anxiety, perplexity, and care.*—Here the Christian needs the assurance that he is in the hands of an All-wise and All-loving Heavenly Father, and that, so long as he makes God's cause and kingdom his chief interest and aim, all that is necessary for the effective discharge of his duty and the accomplishment of his work will be secured to him (Mt 6³³). As God is in the whole environment of our life, so shall those who trust in Him be under His direction, as they are beneath His protecting hand.

(3) *Depression and spiritual desolation.*—The best consolation under these conditions is the exhortation to continue in the prayerful and persistent discharge of duty and Christian work, and to wait patiently for the revealing of God's face and favour, and especially not to rely too exclusively upon one's feelings. Von Hügel points out the need for the 'sober and stable, consistent and persistent, laborious upbuilding of moral and religious character, work, and evidence,' instead of yielding to 'fierce and fitful,' 'wayward and fleeting feelings,' in the hours of darkness and isolation of soul (*The Mystical Element of Religion*, i. 5 f.). The exercise of faith strengthens the Christian in the consciousness that prayer for light and joy will sooner or later be heard, and that the inner witness will be given.

(4) *Difficulty in Christian work, opposition and persecution.*—Here the conflict of wills comes into play, and the determination of the heart against God and in defiance of the gracious influences that are brought into operation. This is particularly distressing when, as in the time of persecution, the opposition assumes an aggressive form. Christians are exhorted in the NT not to grow faint-hearted or weary in bearing their testimony even though they may have to seal it with their blood

¹ The Arab. *تعزية* signifies the act of 'being kind to,' or 'patient with' (a person), and consequently 'comfort.'

They are encouraged to take comfort in the prospect and promise of the ultimate triumph of the truth and the all-conquering power of love which refuses not to suffer and to die. Moreover, they are to regard their sufferings borne in love on behalf of others as the means whereby the hearts of their opponents and persecutors are to be reached, and they are taught to pray and hope that the opposition will be ultimately broken down. The line of consolation adopted by the Fathers in encouraging the Churches to endure persecution was in general to remind them of the predictions of our Lord and the Apostles (Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* lib. iv. c. xxiii.); to point to the notable examples of martyrdom, from the death of Abel to the passion of our Lord (Cyprian, *Ep.* lv.); and also to seek to win the hearts of men by 'Christ's new way of patience' (Tert., *adv. Marcion.* lib. iv. c. 16).

(5) *Bereavement.*—Those who are bereaved are comforted by the blessed memories of the past, which ever remain as a sacred treasure, and by the promises that they shall meet again those who die in the Lord, for their life is assured in the Resurrection life of the Conqueror of death and the grave. St. Ambrose stated the ground of the Christian's hope thus: 'Habent gentiles solatia sua, quia requiem malorum omnium mortem existimant. . . . Nos vero ut erectiores præmio, ita etiam patientiores solatio esse debemus; non enim amitti, sed præmitti videntur, quos non assumptura mors, sed æternitas receptura est' (*de Excessu Fratris sui Satyri*, lib. i. c. 71). St. Paul refers to the state of the sainted dead, and their final triumph through their Lord, and admonishes the Thessalonians to 'comfort one another with these words' (1 Th 4¹⁸).

(6) *Death and the fear of death.*—Beyond all other consolations the consciousness of the presence and power of Christ—the Resurrection and the Life, who has triumphed over the last enemy—is assured to the believer. So closely related is the dying saint to his Lord, that St. Paul speaks of him as being amongst those who are asleep in (or through) Jesus (*ὁὐὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, 1 Th 4¹⁴), and as dying unto the Lord (Ro 14⁸). This thought is also carried out by St. John in the Apocalypse: 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord' (*ὁὐὰ Κυρίου*, Rev 14¹³). This relationship ensures to Christian believers the hope of heaven, eternal life, and a glorious resurrection.

Whilst the experiences here summarized call for consolation, and that consolation is found in the promises of Scripture and in waiting upon God, there is always an implicit reference to the Divine Being Himself as the primary source of comfort. Thomas à Kempis clearly expresses this when he says: 'Unde non poteris, anima mea, plene consolari nec perfecte recreari, nisi in Deo, consolatore pauperum ac susceptore humilium' (*de Imit. Christi*, lib. iii. c. xvi.). In a secondary or derived sense, the words of God, His attributes, and His gifts are often referred to as being in themselves comforts, just as, in ordinary affairs, material things are designated 'comforts' if they minister to our well-being, not being luxuries on the one hand, or necessities on the other. Also it is one of the duties and privileges of Christian believers to be the means of communicating the comfort they have received of God to other souls, by sympathy and tenderness, and by the support of collective faith and intercessory prayer. In the exercise of this function of consolation, the reflex action is experienced, which, in no slight degree, brings a sense of satisfaction, and even of joy, in being of service to suffering humanity.

Further, comfort is realized by Christians in the consciousness of community with their Lord in His sufferings, in being partakers with Him in the

work of redemption, in drinking of the cup from which He drank, and in being baptized with His baptism. In tribulation incurred in the service of humanity, and incidental to the accomplishment of His work, there is, as St. Paul expressed it, the filling up what is lacking of the afflictions of Christ (Col 1²⁴). The Mystics of all schools have always been accustomed to direct the attention of the persecuted to the cross of Christ as the chief source of consolation, especially where sufferings have resulted from devotion to His cause. In contemplating thus the marks of His pain and anguish and the sense of desolation that He endured upon the cross, they have realized that they were one with Him in bearing reproach and ignominy, even though they could not suffer as He did in expiation of human guilt. Moreover, the thought of the transcendence of Christ's sufferings inspired a feeling of gratitude and an inspiration to the believing soul to endure 'the contradiction of sinners' without complaint or impatience. John Newton, in his well-known hymn, 'Begone, unbelief,' etc., dwells upon this thought—'Did Jesus thus suffer, and shall I repine?' These considerations inspired the hymn of John Keble, in *The Christian Year*, for Good Friday, that to the cross the mourner's eye should turn 'with softer power for comfort' in earth's darkest hour than on any bright day.

The full meaning of Christian consolation is not exhausted apart from the conception of the mystic union of Christ with the believer. There is a sense in which the Church has ever been conscious that, as Christ is the head of the body of believers, He suffers not only for their sins, but in all the sorrows and tribulation that God's people have to endure. God's consolation is, in this mystical sense, the realization of Christ's presence with us in all life's painful experiences, in His humanity and His eternal priesthood. The realization of God's presence in Christ bears the promise of ultimate triumph, and, although Christ's disciples shall have tribulation in the world, their final conquest is secured and guaranteed in His victory over all.

LITERATURE.—There is no subject more frequently referred to in the whole of devotional literature than consolation, but the specific treatment of it is somewhat slight. For psychological treatment, see W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902 (chapters on 'Saintliness' and 'Mysticism,' and the Conclusions); Fr. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, 2 vols., London, 1908-9 (esp. the Introduction and pt. iii.). Devotional works: Thomas à Kempis, *de Imitatione Christi* (in various editions and Eng. translations); St. Francis de Sales (frequent references scattered throughout his writings); J. H. Burn, *Manual of Consolation*, London, 1902; Père Huguet, *The Consoling Thoughts of St. Francis de Sales*, Dublin, n.d.; Frassinetti, *Consolation of a Devout Soul*, London, 1875; Cowper, Newton, Doddridge, etc., *Comfort for the Mourner*, London, 1822; R. Buchanan, *Comfort in Affliction*, Edin. 1871; C. H. Spurgeon, *Twelve Sermons for the Troubled and Tired*, London, 1896; J. H. Jowett, *The Silver Lining*, London, 1907-8; E. Romanes, *The Hallowing of Sorrow*, London, 1896; H. Black, *Comfort*, London, 1910. Cf. also Chrysostom, *ad Stagiritum* (PG xlvii.); Honoratus, *Ep. consolatoria* (PL.); J. Hinton, *The Mystery of Pain*, London, 1866, 1870; C. Kingsley, *Out of the Deep*, London, 1880; S. A. Brooke, *Sunshine and Shadow*, London, 1886; J. E. Hopkins, *Christ the Consoler*², London, 1879, 1884.

J. G. JAMES.

CONSOLATION (Greek and Roman).—In Greece the germs of a literature of consolation can be traced to ancient times. The dead were commemorated in threnodies, which were designed also to console the bereaved, and a great vogue was enjoyed by a *threnos* of Pindar, in which the ideas of the Orphic eschatology were drawn upon for consolation, and which is made use of in the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Arctochos*. In Athens it was customary, probably after the Persian wars, to engage a rhetor to deliver a funeral oration—like that, e.g., which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles—regarding those who had fallen in battle; and it was usual at the close to address the relatives in consoling terms. Several of these

orations are still extant; one, the *epitaphios* of Hyperides, is known to have been delivered in 322 B.C. The grounds of consolation are set forth in ch. 20 of the *Menexenos* of Plato, which is a parody upon the sophistic *epitaphios* of the type seen in that composed by Gorgias. Philosophy likewise had at an early stage wrought out certain consolatory lines of thought, and it is possible that the writings of Antisthenes the Cynic may have suggested what Xenophon makes Socrates say in the *Apology*. Aristotle's dialogue 'Eudemus on the Soul,' and the 'Callisthenes on Mourning' of Theophrastus, were also well stored with consoling sentiments. But the standard work of the kind was that of Crantor the Academic (c. 270 B.C.) 'On Mourning,' which was sent by the author to a friend whose children had died, and which Cicero calls 'aureolus et ad verbum descendens libellus' (*Acad.* ii. 135). As it treated of sorrow not as a reprehensible emotion—in the manner of the Stoics—but rather as a natural impulse, requiring only to be kept within bounds, the book found many readers; and, when Cicero, in 45 B.C., essayed the composition of his *Consolatio* for his own comfort after the demise of his daughter Tullia, he made Crantor's work the basis of his own, while he reproduced its ideas a little later in the *Disp. Tusc.* (esp. i. 19-72). Plutarch does the same thing in the piece addressed to Apollonia. Epicurus also had elaborated many comforting sentiments, as he was specially concerned to deliver men from the fear of death; he sought to convince them of the painlessness of dying, and of the absolute cessation of perception thereafter, thus grappling with the popular superstitions about the terrors of the under world (Lucret. *de Rer. Nat.* iii., with Heinze's *com.*).

Nor had the rhetoricians neglected the consolatory oration, and in the Hellenistic period—perhaps even from the time of Isocrates—they had framed for this species of composition certain rules, which in their later form are found in the *μέθοδος ἐπιταφίων* of pseudo-Dionysius and the *περὶ παραμυθητικῆς* of Menander (4th cent. A.D.). These rules are followed not merely by heathen, but even by Christian, funeral discourses (cf. F. Bauer, *Die Trostreden des Gregor v. Nyssa*, Marburg, 1892). It is specially worthy of note that the plan of composition elaborated by the rhetoricians was taken over by poetry, the most outstanding instance of this being the *Consolatio ad Liviam* which bears the name of Ovid, and which is neither a fabrication of the Renaissance period nor, as was long believed, a product emanating, under Seneca's influence, from the later school of rhetoric, but a poem actually presented to Livia upon the death of Drusus in 9 B.C. The rhetorical scheme had also an influence upon the work of Statius (esp. *Silvæ*, ii. 6: 'Consolatio ad Flavianum Ursum').

Among the elements of a consolatory oration a special place is given to the praise of the deceased. According to the detailed rules for the *ἐγκώμιον*, this permitted of great amplification. The discourse likewise described the way in which the departed would be received by his ancestors and the heroes of antiquity. The bereaved were also shown that their experience was common to mankind, that not only individuals but whole kingdoms had perished, that life is simply a trust from the Deity, and that excessive grief can profit neither the mourner nor the dead. Instances were also given of men who, like Priam, would have been happier had they died earlier.

A distinct species of this literature appears in the 'consolations' addressed to those who had been banished, as, e.g., Seneca's letter to his mother Helvia, and Plutarch's *περὶ φυγῆς*. In

these, as in works of consolation generally, special use is made of the ideas expressed in the popular diatribe of the Cynics, emphasis being laid upon the thought that the home of the wise man is not a particular city but the whole world. Here, too, the writers drew extensively upon the examples of celebrated exiles, such as Antenor, Evander, and Diomedes.

LITERATURE.—K. Buresch, *Leipziger Studien*, ix. (1886) 1; A. Gercke, in *Tirocinium Philologum* (Bonn, 1888); Skutsch, 'Consolatio ad Liviam,' in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 938; A. Giesecke, *De philosophorum veterum quæ ad exilium spectant sententiis* (Leipzig, 1891). W. KROLL.

CONSTANCY.—This quality is most clearly manifested by instinct (*q.v.*)—the innate tendency to respond similarly to similar influences. Reasoning introduces variations. As a large part of the experience of savages is due to instinct, their conduct can be predicted till they are moved by thought, and then they are erratic; for guiding principles are lacking, with the result that waywardness and fickleness are conspicuous. Attention is irksome to them (as to children), and tasks that are readily begun are swiftly abandoned. The civilized man criticizes and often resists instincts, while he compels the various choices that are open to him to move in directions favourable to his designs. Constancy may belong to a single thread of a life, or it may be characteristic of the entire collection of activities. An affection of love or hate may abide for years without having occasion to display itself and without affecting the ordinary conduct; at length the opportunity comes, and the fires that had been hidden blaze out. In other cases there are purposes which day by day mould all the circumstances and call into their service every power of body and mind.

(1) *Social influences and the necessity of obtaining a livelihood* account for many sorts of constancy. Personal tendencies to variation are subject to limitations imposed by the opinions and plans of others. To a large extent we must all comply with demands made upon us, and it is so hazardous to forsake the career to which one has been bred, that the trade or profession chosen secures the service of the entire life. Success requires patience and perseverance. Hand and mind gain facility by continuous endeavours, the spur to which is often the necessity of providing for domestic needs. Nevertheless, in the most mechanical calling there may live affections and aspirations due to an ever fresh willingness; in the moss-covered well there is spring water. The soul can steadily rise, though outwardly the man appears to be treading a mill-round. Fidelity to persons and to causes frequently makes music in what appear to be monotonous histories.

(2) *Tendencies to constancy are not equally strong in all natures.* There are weather-cock, and there are stubborn, souls; for flexibility and firmness are partly to be ascribed to constitution. Undisciplined no one can be satisfactory, but the discipline required differs in each case. Some vessels drift to and fro and are in danger of foundering, while others stick fast on the rocks and look as if they would be battered to pieces by the waves; the Christian religion would guide the one class and release the other. To change the constitution is a miracle of which Christianity believes itself to have the secret. Shallow soil can be deepened and rock can be dissolved; hence there may appear corn-producing fields, and gardens lovely and fragrant with flowers.

(3) *When is constancy admirable?* Only when it is a quality of aims that enrich human experience, when it belongs to a purpose to convert moral ideals to the actual, to acquire and spread truth, to respond gladly to whatsoever is pure and lovely,

to love men and to labour for their good, to make one's life valuable to humanity. Such purposes admit minor changes, whereas evil motives, such as pride, may lie behind some forms of constancy. In order to maintain a vitally important consistency, superficial inconsistency is often imperative. There cannot be a righteous adhesion to opinions the falsity of which has been demonstrated, for 'constancy in mistake is constant folly.' Would not a resolution never to vote differently, never to espouse another faith, imply that in youth infallibility had been acquired? An abiding loyalty to truth necessitates changes in beliefs, habits, and allies. But serious men cannot alter easily or without pain. The lower consistency is abandoned for a higher, and the abandonment is often accompanied by loss of what is dear, without any apparent compensating gain.

(4) *The conditions of constancy.*—Failing the predominance of one idea or affection, the ideas and affections must be of a kind to work together with a good measure of harmony. 'A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways' (Ja 1st). Serious and deep contradictions are ruinous. A commanding purpose (or purposes that harmonize with one another) will consolidate and organize the impulses and desires, so that, from being a mob, they are converted into an army. Noble aims will gather about themselves the strength and warmth of the lower impulses; and after a time the habit of beating down sensual and unsocial impulses will cause the soul to move more and more easily on the higher than on the lower paths. Courage will be required, and sacrifices also. Devotion to the interests of persons can survive the discovery of unworthiness in those whom one loves; and the cause espoused can still be served, though it fails to gain popular approbation; 'many waters cannot quench love' (Ca 8th). Generally there is the sympathy of some companions whose support helps to keep the fires of zeal burning. Especially is constancy promoted if the general plan of life or some particular design or way is believed to have the favour of heaven; for then there is the assurance of supernatural assistance, and all the rills and streams of one's purposes seem to be drawn into the river of God's will. The human will is never so firm as when it thinks itself to be merged in God's, and great confidence possesses the aspirant to sanctity who reads, 'This is the will of God, even your sanctification' (1 Th 4th).

(5) *The effects of constancy.*—In Oliver Cromwell's Bible was the inscription, 'O. C. 1644, Qui cessat esse melior cessat esse bonus.' Mere visits to realms of thought, or occasional excursions into any sphere of activity, are insufficient to make deep marks on character, or to give skill in any handicraft or profession. A few warm days in winter can produce no harvest. Who can be an accomplished musician, scientist, linguist, without persistent toil? Great are the differences between the results of *καρτέω* and *μαρτέω*. A favourite word in the Fourth Gospel is *μένω*: the branch that 'abides' in the vine bears much fruit (Jn 15th). No wonder that Bunyan had an aversion to the lives of Mr. Pliable and Mr. Temporary, seeing that such men not only fail to reach the Celestial City, but even discourage other pilgrims. By constancy power is accumulated and capitalized, skill is acquired, and the soul makes for itself a tradition which it is ashamed not to honour. While the man becomes a law to himself, observers can rely upon him and infer his future from his past conduct, for there is logical connexion between the past and the present. Constancy makes the good better and the bad worse. See also **PERSEVERANCE**.

LITERATURE.—J. Sally, *Outlines of Psychology*, new ed., London, 1894, ch. on 'Habit'; W. James, *Psychology*, London, 1892, vol. ii. ch. iv.; T. Carlyle, *Past and Present*, bk. ii. ch. xvii. 'Beginnings'; and bk. iv. ch. iv. 'Permanence'; Carveth Read, *Natural and Social Ethics*, London, 1910.

W. J. HENDERSON.

CONSTANTINE.—I. Life.—Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus was born on 27th Feb. of a year uncertain, generally given as 274, but probably a little later.¹ The place was Naissus (Nisch) in Dardania (Serbia) (Anon. Valesii, 2; Constant. Porphyrogenitus, de *Thematibus*, ii. 9 [in Migne, PG cxiii.]). The fiction of his birth at York, current in all mediæval English historians (the silence of Bede, *HE* i. 8, should be noted), arose from a misunderstanding of the phrase 'illic oriendo' (*Panegy.* vi. 4), which refers to his accession, not his birth. Constantine's father, M. Flavius Valerius Constantius (the surname Chlorus is not found until late Greek writers), was a noble Dardanian soldier, whose mother was the niece of the emperor Claudius. His mother, Flavia Helena (b. about 250; Euseb. *Vita Constantini*,² iii. 46), was the daughter or servant (Ambrose, de *Obitu Theodosii*, 42) of an innkeeper of Drepanum in Bithynia, a city rebuilt by Constantine in 327 in her honour and re-named Helenopolis. Her marriage to Constantius was probably irregular (Anon. Vales. 1; Zosimus, *Res Gestæ*, ii. 8; these passages should not be pressed as more than morganatic [see *Digest*. xxv. 7]) until after the birth of her son (cf. Constantine's legislation, *infra*, V. i. d (2)). When Constantine was about 14, his father was promoted by Diocletian to the rank of 'Cæsar' (1st March 293), with the government of Gaul and Britain, on condition that he divorced Helena and married Theodora, daughter of the emperor Maximian. Constantine did not accompany his father, but was left at Diocletian's court at Nicomedia, possibly as a hostage, until the growing jealousy of Galerius, after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian (1st May 305), compelled him to a memorable ride across Europe to his father's camp at Boulogne (Lactant. de *Mortibus Persecut.* 24; Anon. Vales. 3, 8), where he arrived in time to share his father's victories over the Piets (Eumenius, *Panegy.* vii. 7).

The death of Constantius at York (25th July 306) was followed by the proclamation by the army of Constantine as 'Cæsar' (Zos. ii. 9; 'Augustus' in Euseb. *HE* viii. 13, *VC* i. 22, though this higher honour was not ratified by Galerius until the following year [*Panegy.* vi. 5; coins in Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* viii. 72; Lact. *MP* 25]). His seat of government was Trèves, which he embellished with many buildings. In 307 he strengthened his position by his marriage at Arles to Fausta, the daughter of Maximian. The Empire was thus divided between six rulers: in the East, Galerius, Licinian (Valerius Licinianus Licinius), and Maximian Daza; in the West, Constantine (Gaul and Britain), Maximian, who had re-assumed the purple, and his son Maxentius. But Maximian, after a crafty intrigue against Constantine, was captured and forced to strangle himself in Feb. 310 (Lact. *MP* 29, 30; Eumen. *Panegy.* vii. 20), while the death of Galerius at Sardica (Anon. Vales. 3, 8) in May 311 led to the division of the Empire between Constantine, Licinian, and Maximian Daza. The three refused to recognize Maxentius, whose tyranny in his province of Italy, Africa, and Spain, gave Constantine an excuse for the invasion of Italy (Euseb. *HE* ix. 9. 2, *VC* i. 26; Nazarius, *Panegy.* x. 19, 31; Zos. ii. 14 says Maxentius was the aggressor). He

¹ Seeck, *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. antik. Welt*, i. 435 n., gives 280 as the date, but his reference, *CIL* i. 3 p. 302, seems inaccurate.

² Hereafter cited as *VC*.

³ Hereafter cited as *MP*.

crossed the Alps (Sept. 312) either by Mt. Cenis or by Mt. Genève (see the contemporary [A.D. 333] *Itin. Anon. Burdigalense*, ed. Geyer in *CSEL* xxxix. 5), captured Susa and Verona (Oct.), and within 58 days of declaring war defeated the sluggish Maxentius at Saxa Rubra, about 9 miles N.W. of Rome. The drowning of Maxentius in attempting to escape over the Milvian Bridge (Ponte Molle) completed his triumph, 28th Oct. 312 (Anon. Vales. 4, 12; Lact. *MP* 44; Euseb. *HE* ix. 9; there is a full account in Seeck, *op. cit.* i. 109-137).

Constantine's victory was followed, early in 313, by a conference at Milan with Licinian, and by the marriage of Licinian to his sister Constantia. The defeat of Daza by Licinian near Adrianople (30th Apr. 313) and his death in August at Tarsus left Constantine and Licinian in sole possession—the ex-emperor Diocletian dying probably that same summer (Seeck, *op. cit.* i. 459 f., following as his source Idatius, *Consulares Fasti*, dates 3rd Dec. 316) at Salona. But the concord of the two was hollow. The first civil war between them was ended by the triumphs of Constantine at Cibalis (Vinkovci in Hungary), 8th Oct. 314, and Mardia in Thrace (Anon. Vales. 5; Zos. ii. 18-20), after which a truce was patched up, Constantine leaving Licinian in possession of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Constantine now devoted himself to internal reforms, from which he was called away by the war with the Goths and Sarmatians in Illyricum and Dacia (322) and the final struggle with Licinian. The victories, in spite of Licinian's superior forces, of Adrianople (3rd July 323) and Chrysopolis (Scutari, 8th Sept. 323) were followed by the humiliation and enforced death of Licinian in 324 (Soc. *HE* i. 4; Euseb. *VC* ii. 18; Zos. ii. 28; Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 6) and the re-union of the Empire under one head.

The foundation by Constantine of a new capital (4th Nov. 326 [Anon. *de Antiq. Constant.* i. 3, in A. Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, Paris, 1711]; see Burckhardt, *Die Zeit*, etc. 415; but de Broglie, *L'Église*, etc. i. 440 f., dates in 328) at Byzantium is one of the great events of history. In reality it continued Diocletian's policy of ruling from Nicomedia. It was dedicated on 11th May 330 (Gibbon, ed. Bury, ii. 157 n.), under the title of New Rome. The removal of the seat of government was completed by an entire re-organization of the Empire, the new absolute monarchy of Diocletian which had taken the place of the old principate being consolidated and systematized (see Seeck, *op. cit.* ii.). Constantine's last years, though years of peace, were unfortunate. His character degenerated (Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 7), his expensive building operations drained the Empire of its resources (Zos. ii. 32, 35, 38; Schiller, *Röm. Kaiserzeit*, ii. 230), his habits became effeminate, and his jealousy of a rival made his family life miserable. His eldest son Crispus, the offspring of an early irregular marriage with Minervina, had shown great ability in forcing the straits of Hellespont against the superior fleet of Licinian (323), yet he was executed (July 326) at his father's command (Amm. Marcell. xiv. 11), though the reason for this act is obscure. This was followed, possibly a year or two later, by the execution of his wife Fausta on the charge of adultery.¹ In 331 Constantine was forced to attack the Sarmatians, who had encamped near the Danube. His victory—for his supposed defeat is a curious error of Gibbon (ii. 217)—was the last of his successes. He died near Nicomedia on Whitsunday, 22nd May 337, though he nominally reigned for four months (until 9th Sept.) after his death.

¹ For detailed investigation of this domestic tragedy see Görres and Seeck, 'Die Verwandtenmorde Constantin's des Grossen,' in *ZWT* xxx. (1897), 348 ff., xxxii. (1899) 63 ff.

In spite of the claims of Rome, he was buried at Constantinople in the great church of the Trinity (later called 'Holy Apostles'), which he had completed for the purpose the previous Easter. At Rome the heathen senate enrolled him among the gods (V. Schultze, *Untergang d. gr.-röm. Heidentums*, 1887-92, i. 66), though the medal struck to commemorate this was made of a Christian type (King, *Christian Numismatics*, 1873, p. 53). In 1204, his tomb was destroyed by the Latin crusaders on their capture of Constantinople.

Constantine's life, like that of Charles the Great, has become legendary, and was one of the favourite romances of the mediaeval Church. On these see the critical studies of E. Heydenreich, esp. 'Constantin der Grosse in den Sagen des Mittelalters' in *Ztschr. f. Geschichtswissenschaft*, ix. (1893) 9, 1 ff.

II. Extent of the Church at the time of Constantine's 'conversion.'—At the outset of an inquiry into the great change brought about by Constantine, it is of importance to understand the extent and influence of the Church and its attraction for any statesman.

(a) *Numbers.*—Materials for forming an estimate of the strength of Christianity under Diocletian will be found in Harnack's elaborate survey (*Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr. ii. [1904] 240-456). From a careful study it would appear that in the East the Christians, except in a few towns, were still only a small minority, at the most—one-ninth or so of the whole (H. Richter, *Weström. Reich* [1865], p. 85)—and in the West they would be considerably less. Unfortunately we do not know the population of the Empire. The figure of Gibbon (i. 42), 120 millions, is absurdly large; J. Beloch (*Bevölkerung d. gr.-röm. Welt*, 1886) gives it under Augustus at 54 millions, but this seems too small. If we take it at 60 millions under Nero, the great famines, etc., in the middle of the 3rd cent. would have reduced it to slightly less under Constantine. At the outside, therefore, the Christians would scarcely number five millions (Gibbon's proportion, $\frac{1}{12}$ [ii. 65], thus comes to the same result), or less than the Jews, who numbered over six millions, of whom one million were in Egypt. In Rome in 250 we calculate from Eusebius, *HE* vi. 43. 11, that the Christians numbered between 40,000 and 50,000 in a city of nearly a million, i.e. $\frac{1}{20}$, though this proportion would be higher in the time of Constantine. In the country districts the Christians were far less numerous than in the towns.

(b) *Influence.*—But what the Christians lacked in numbers they more than made up by their organization, unity, wealth, and driving power. In these matters only the Jews could equal them, but Judaism was hindered by its Law from ever becoming an international religion. The Christians, shut off from the pleasures of the world, had grown immensely rich, while their morality, sobriety, and enthusiasm would attract any statesman who looked deeper than popular rumour. For any statesman anxious to infuse new life into a dying world Christianity had no rival except, possibly, Mithraism, for Neo-Platonism, etc., had no value for the vulgar; nor must we overlook the value to the statesman of the Christian doctrine of immortality (Burckhardt, *op. cit.* p. 140).

III. Personal relation to Christianity.—The personal relation of Constantine to Christianity is a subject of much importance, as upon its decision many questions, both theological and ecclesiastical, depend. As to the date of his 'conversion' the earliest authorities are contradictory. Lactant. *Instit. Div.* vii. 27, a work finished before 311, would be conclusive, but the passage has been shown by its editor, Brandt (*CSEL* xix. 668), to be an interpolation. Equally

conclusive would be sentences in the letter of Constantine to the bishops at Arles in 314 or 316 (Optat. Milev. *Mon. Vet.* [CSEL xxvi. 208]), but these probably reflect merely the opinions of Hosius (see *infra*, IV. (b)). Zos. ii. 29 (cf. Soz. *HE* i. 3) dates the conversion after the execution of Crispus, to the remorse for which he attributes it. For our part we first detect a warmer note as to Christianity about 314, in Constantine's letter to Chrestus (Euseb. *HE* x. 5). As regards his whole relation to Christianity, the data are involved and have been variously interpreted, while the difficulty has been increased by the delay of his baptism until his death. The whole problem has been rendered additionally obscure by the complex imperfect character of Constantine himself—calculating, shrewd, superstitious, often cruel, cynical—whose one great instance of consummate foresight alone entitles him to be called 'Great.' Brieger (*Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.* iv. [1881] 163 ff.) and Gibbon make it altogether a question of politics; but, as Bury has pointed out (Gibbon, ii. 566), this is to ascribe to Constantine a freedom from superstition which, though natural in an English deist of the 18th cent., was altogether unknown in the 4th. Schiller (*op. cit.* ii. 213) believes that his ideal was a syncretistic fusion of the best elements of Christianity and paganism. But Constantine's powers of observation must have shown him the impossibility of any such syncretism; the refusal of precisely such syncretism lay at the root of the whole persecution of Diocletian. As a summary of the following survey we incline to think that Constantine at first leaned to toleration for political reasons, as a system of balance or equal opportunity for heathenism and Christianity; and that the success of his arms and the identification of his vanquished foes with heathenism (cf. Constantine's *Oratio ad Sanct. Coetum*, 23–26, of which this is the concluding thought) led to a policy of self-interest passing into an intellectual, possibly even a moral, conviction; with the consequent effort, but without unstatesmanlike haste, to supplant heathenism by Christianity, and in certain directions (see *infra*, V. i.) to alter the laws accordingly. The relapse of his last years was rather moral degeneration than any reaction (Burckhardt) towards paganism, while at its best his religion was probably a 'strange jumble' (Niebuhr, *Röm. Hist.*, Eng. tr. [1823 ff.] v. 449) of creed and superstition.

(a) *In early life.*—That Constantine's mother Helena was a Christian before her divorce has been asserted (Theodoret, *HE* i. 17); but Eusebius (*VC* iii. 47) ascribes her conversion to her son. While there is no reason to identify his father Constantius' leaning towards Monotheism (Euseb. *VC* i. 17, ii. 49) with a belief in Christianity, it is of importance to note his tolerant disposition. During the great persecution of Diocletian it was only in Constantius' provinces of Gaul and Britain that there was any safety for Christians (Optat. Milev. i. 22),¹ though even Constantius thought it well to conform to the edict of Diocletian to the extent of destroying the churches (Lact. *MP* 15, as against Euseb. *HE* viii. 13. 13). Here and there also there were one or two martyrs—not necessarily, of course, by Constantius' orders.² To the tolerant practice and disposition of his father we must add the influence of Nicomedia, at the palace of which Constantine was brought up. The

power of the Christians, whose great basilica towered up against the palace, the fact that, in the court itself, Prisca the wife and Valeria the daughter of Diocletian, the influential eunuchs Dorotheus and Gorgonius, and Lucian the chamberlain, were Christians (Lact. *MP* 15), the resistance of the Christians to Diocletian's edicts, and the chaos produced by attempts to carry out the edicts—all must have impressed him with the folly and impossibility of a policy of persecution (cf. Constantine's *Orat. ad Sanct. Coet.* 25). Yet, while in Gaul, his personal cult appears to have been that of Apollo or the sun-god (Eumen. *Panegyrr.* vii. 21), and even late in his reign he was still under its influence, so that, e.g., his statue at Constantinople was a mutilated sun-god from Athens (cf. *infra*, V. ii. (c) 'Sunday').

(b) *In his struggle with Maxentius.*—Rumours of the persecution in the East under Galerius and Maximin Daza would confirm Constantine in his conception of its folly and in his policy of toleration (Lact. *MP* 24. 9). He was therefore a willing party in signing, with Licinian, Galerius' edict of toleration (30th Apr. 311). In his struggle with Maxentius, the plea of Constantine's invasion was the deliverance of Rome from his tyranny and vices (Euseb. *HE* ix. 2, *VC* i. 33; *Panegyrr.* ix. 4; Julian, *Cæs.*, ed. Hertlein, pp. 405, 422), and the Christians as such were tolerably treated (Optat. Milev. i. 18). As regards the famous vision at the Milvian Bridge opinion will always be divided. In our earliest authority (Lact. *MP* 44, written in 314, probably by the tutor of Crispus), Constantine was warned in a dream on the night before the battle to draw the monogram of Christ (☩) upon the shields of his soldiers.

For the form of the monogram and *labarum*, see Smith-Cheetham, *DCA* i. 494. We may note that the *labarum* (derivation unknown), or standard with this monogram, appears on Græco-Bactrian coins of the 2nd and 1st cent. a.c., and also on Tarantine coins of the 3rd cent. a.c. (cf. Soc. *HE* v. 17, and Soz. *HE* vii. 15, for symbols of the cross as a sign of immortality on temples of Isis; see also Schiller, *op. cit.* ii. 205 n.; Madden, *Nym. Chron.*, 1377, p. 17 ff.). According to E. Rapp (*Das Labarum und d. Sonnenkultus*, Bonn, 1866), there is no well-attested use of the *labarum* as a Christian symbol before 323 (see below, p. 78^b, top).

The familiar story is not found in Euseb. *HE* ix. 9, which is silent on the subject, but occurs in the later *VC* i. 28 (cf. also *ib.* ii. 55; Soz. *HE* i. 4), where Eusebius states that Constantine told it him 'long afterwards and confirmed it with an oath,' but gives no date. The value of this personal statement is discounted by the silence of Constantine in his *Orat. ad Sanct. Coet.*, where surely of all places he would have dilated upon it. Oaths with Constantine were also very common. Allowing for exaggerations in the intervening years, we may take it that something external happened, possibly a solar halo, which not unfrequently assumes the form of a cross,³ and that this was interpreted by Constantine as an augury of Divine intervention. There is proof of the dream in the inscription by the Senate on the arch of Constantine, dedicated in 315. The 'instinctu divinitatis' (*CIL* vi. 1139) there alleged as the cause of victory (cf. Constantine, *Orat. ad Sanct. Coet.* 26) has been shown to be original and no later addition (cf. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 1892, p. 20 f.; Garrucci, in King, *op. cit.* p. 20). Additional proof is found also in the pagan *Panegyrr.* ix. (written in 313) ch. 4 'te divina præcepta,' ch. 11 'tu divino monitus instinctu.' Whether this 'cæleste signum,' as Lactantius,

¹ Spain, where persecutions abounded, was not, as is often stated, in his government, but was under the charge of Datian, an officer of Maximian.

² For the martyrs in Britain—St. Alban (very doubtful), Aaron, and Julius (more doubtful still)—see Bede, *HE*, ed. Plummer, ii. 17–20; Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils*, Oxford, 1869–78, i. 6; Harnack, *Expansion*, ii. 410, n. 4.

³ This explanation was first given by Fabricius (*Bib. Græc.* vi. 8–29). Stanley (*Eastern Church*, p. 181) refers to the Aurora Borealis of 1843 and its curious popular interpretations; cf. Nazarius, *Panegyrr.* (written in 321), ch. 14, of the hosts in the sky in 312–313 that were 'the talk of all Gaul.'

loc. cit., calls it, was a miracle¹ brings in considerations beyond our scope.²

We are told (Euseb. *HE* ix. 9, 10, 11, *VC* i. 40) that, after the victory of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine erected at Rome a statue of himself, with the spear he usually carried in his right hand shaped like a cross. As evidence the *VC* is almost valueless, and Brieger thought that the passage in *HE* was an interpolation. But Eusebius mentioned this statue in a speech at Tyre in 314 (*HE* x. 4, 16), and this seems to decide its existence and the general belief in the East in 314 as to Constantine's position, though the popular Christian rumour might not be a correct interpretation of the artist's work.³ The spear-cross was probably designedly ambiguous. A more important evidence of Constantine's favour for the Christians is his handing over to the Roman bishop (before Oct. 313; see *infra*, p. 79^b) of the 'domus Faustæ,' a palace possibly of his wife, formerly belonging to the Lateran family (Gregorovius, *Rome in Middle Ages* [Eng. tr. 1894 ff.], i. 88), which became the residence of the Bishops of Rome (*Lib. Pontif.*, ed. Duchesne, i. 191). The erection of the churches commonly attributed to him (Lateran, St. Peter's) is probably a little later, if we may judge from the fact that they were built with pagan spoils (Greg. *op. cit.* i. 92), though the small St. Paul's (*fuori le mura*), the foundation of which was wrongly attributed to Constantine, would come under the head of the oratories restored after the edict of Milan (Duchesne, *op. cit.* i. 178, 195; Lanciani, *op. cit.* p. 150 ff.; Greg. *op. cit.* i. 100). On the whole the evidence of Constantine's churches in Rome (the list of which in the *Lib. Pontif.* is very exaggerated) is inconclusive as to the date of his conversion.

(c) *Between 312 and 323.*—After the victory of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine and Licinian promulgated at Milan, in the spring of 313, a second edict of toleration—'free liberty to choose that form of worship which they consider most suitable'—and restoration of forfeited churches and property.

For this edict see Euseb. *HE* x. 5, and for its original Latin form, Lact. *MP* 48. Note the non-committal religious references—'Quidquid est divinitatis in sede caelesti.' This edict was second to that of Galerius, to which the 'hard conditions' (*αἰσχροί*) of § 4 refer. Mason (*Persecution of Diocletian*, 1876, p. 327 ff.) has exploded the older idea (still held in *DCE* i. 688) that Constantine issued a second edict of toleration at Milan, before the Milvian Bridge, and that this was the third.

But, until 323, Constantine kept a balance between Christianity and heathenism, though inclining more and more to the former (see *infra*, IV. (c)). About 317, he selected the Christian Lactantius to be the tutor of his son Crispus (b. 306[?]; Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* 80). From 315 onwards, pagan emblems (Mars, 'Genius Pop. Rom.', Sol) disappeared from his coins, and indifferent legends ('Beata tranquillitas,' etc.) took their place. This period of neutrality was ended by his conflict with Licinian. In 319, Licinian had begun to oppress the Christians, especially in his army (Workman, *Persecution in Early Church*, 1906, p. 187 n.), though without much bloodshed (Euseb. *HE* x. 8; *VC* i. 49–56, ii. 1, 2; Sozomen, *HE* i. 7; for a clear examination see F. Görrer, *Die Licin. Christenverfolgung*, Leipzig, 1875, esp. p. 29 ff. To this persecution belong the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste [see O. v. Gebhardt, *Acta Mart. Selecta*, 1902,

pp. 166–181]). This foolish move gave Constantine the opportunity of appearing as the advocate of the Christians (323), who were really far more numerous in Licinian's domains than in the West. The struggle thus became a crusade, and the *labarum* was stamped on most coins (Euseb. *HE* x. 9, *VC* ii. 6–12; Schiller, *op. cit.* ii. 211; Madden, *Num. Chron.*, 1877, p. 53 ff.).

(d) *From 323 to his death.*—After his conflict with Licinian, Constantine, according to Eusebius, put his hand seriously to the work, forbidding pagan sacrifices in general (see *infra*, p. 81^a), and building churches (*VC* ii. 44–46). But, on the whole, his attitude to paganism was cautious, though his aversion to the old faith would be increased by his unfortunate reception in heathen Rome in 326, which led to his abandoning it for Constantinople. After this he seems to have increased the privileges of the clergy (Soz. *HE* i. 8, 9), and he rewarded towns that turned temples into churches (Soz. *HE* i. 18; Soz. *HE* ii. 5), in several cases because of immoral rites (cf. Euseb. *Laud. Constant.* 8). Many temples were also despoiled for the founding of Constantinople, and by his expressed wish the new city was free from organized heathenism (Euseb. *VC* iii. 48). At the same time the existing temples of Byzantium—Cybele, Castor and Pollux, etc.—were not destroyed, and the city itself was dedicated to Tyche (Fortuna), though without temple services (Zos. ii. 21; Schultze, *op. cit.* ii. 281; for this Tyche, Bury refers to a study of J. Strzygowski, 'Die Tyche v. Konstant.' in *Analecta Graeciensi*, Graz, 1893). By this time Constantine's 'conversion,' hitherto chiefly political, had become an intellectual belief in Christianity as an historical religion capable of proof (see Constantine's remarkable sermon, *Orat. ad Sanct. Coet.*, esp. chs. 4, 11, 18, 19, where the Sibyl and Virgil's 4th Eclogue are appealed to). The return of his aged mother Helena from her pilgrimage to Palestine (undertaken in 326, possibly because of her son's execution of Crispus), with two nails from the Cross, one of which he turned into the bit of his war-horse,¹ led to his foundation at Jerusalem of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the site of a temple of Venus (Soz. *HE* i. 17; Euseb. *VC* iii. 30), and he also prepared a form of common daily prayer for the army (Euseb. *VC* iv. 20).

Though not even a catechumen, Constantine delighted in preaching sermons, in Latin, to the applauding crowds; one of these has been preserved to us by Eusebius (*VC* iv. 29). But at the same time his alienation from Catholicism towards Arianism was increasing (see *infra*, p. 80), helped probably by the death of his mother Helena (c. 330 [Euseb. *VC* iii. 47]; buried at Constantinople [Soz. *HE* i. 17]). The fact that he did not take any steps either to become a catechumen or to be baptized until he felt near to death, may be explained as due either to political balancing, or to lack of decision, or, more probably, to the belief that baptism, like the heathen lustrations, ensured the remission of sins, and to the growing dread of post-baptismal sin. He was finally baptized by the Arian bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia (Euseb. *VC* iv. 62–63; Jerome, *Chron.*, ann. 2353 [in *PL* xxvii. 680]). In the Greek Church he has practically been canonized by the title *ἰσχωροκός*, 'Equal to the Apostles.'

Into the large question of the advantage or otherwise to the Church of Constantine's adoption of

¹ J. H. Newman (*Essays on Eccles. Miracles*, 1843, p. 103 ff.) and de Broglie (*op. cit.* i. 216 ff.) give the best defence of this view.

² It may be of interest to note that the signs would probably be read in Latin—'in hoc signo vinces'—and not Greek—*τοῦτο σῶναι*—as Constantine spoke Latin. The annalists are divided on the subject.

³ Cf. Eusebius' mistake (*HE* vii. 18) of a statue of Æsculapius at Panes for one of Jesus.

¹ Soz. *HE* i. 17; Soz. *HE* ii. 1; too characteristic to be an invention. But the rest of the chapter—'the invention of the Cross'—must be discredited owing to the complete silence of Euseb. *VC* iii. 26, 30, and of the *Itin. Burdigalense* (written 333 [in *CSEL* xxxix.]). The story is first found in Cyril of Jerusalem (b. 315), *Ep. ad Const.* 3, the genuineness of which is, however, doubtful.

Christianity as the State religion, we cannot enter.

The familiar lines of Dante (*Inferno*, cix. 115),

'Ah! Constantine! to how much ill gave birth,
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy Pope received of thee,'

have really a wider significance than the false donation; and the judgment of Mill (*Essay on Liberty*, ch. 2) deserves to be pondered: 'It is a bitter thought how different the Christianity of the world might have been, had it been adopted as the religion of the Empire under the auspices of Marcus Aurelius, instead of those of Constantine!' For a contrary judgment cf. Newman, *Arians*, 1871, p. 248.

IV. Constantine and the Church.—(a) *Relations of Church and State*.—Nothing was further from the intention of Constantine than to abandon to the Church any portion of his Imperial prerogative, and this determination would be increased by the sycophancy of the Court clergy. Into his adoption of the new religion he carried all the old Roman ideas, for his 'conversion' was not a revolution in the political genius of the Empire. Whatever crudity there may have been about his religious opinions, his views as an official were clear. To the Roman governor religion was a department of the civil service. The consequences of this are apparent in the after history of the Church. The Emperor, it is true, could not be the Pontifex Maximus of the new religion—this title, retained by Constantine, was dropped by Gratian (Zos. iv. 36), and in time lapsed to the Bishop of Rome—but the new autocracy founded by Diocletian and himself (on this see Gibbon, ch. xvii., with Bury's appendix) made this of less moment than for the early Cæsars. For that matter, the official title of the new monarchy was the higher 'deus' (Schiller, *op. cit.* ii. 33, 34). In consequence, in the Eastern Church the Emperor was always the supreme head, as his modern representative, the Czar, is to-day; but in the West the abandonment by Constantine of Rome for his new capital gave the bishops of Rome their great opportunity.

Thus Constantine and his successors, while giving the Church Councils full liberty of discussion, insisted that their own consent was necessary to confer validity on the canons; and they regulated the business by Imperial commissioners, often laymen. So, at the Council of Arles, Constantine deputed Bishop Marinus to preside (Euseb. *HE* x. 5. 19; Mansi, ii. 469); at the Council of Nice, Bishop Hosius of Cordova (on this complicated question see *DCB* i. 168, and, for the Rom. Cath. view, Hefele, *Councils*, Eng. tr. 1871, i. 37 ff.); while at the Council of Tyre (335) he sent the consular Dionysius as commissioner (Euseb. *VC* iv. 42; *PL* viii. 562). The doctrine asserted by Constantine was never wholly lost even in the Roman Catholic Church, and was of great influence as late as the Council of Constance (cf. also Articles of the Anglican Church, no. 21).

(b) *Constantine and heresy*.—To the Roman magistrate religious recusancy was tantamount to political disaffection. Constantine and his successors were therefore driven, almost before the ink on the decree of toleration was dry, to deal with heresies and schisms within the Church itself. To allow the Church to be rent into diverse parties would be to destroy the very solidarity and universality ('catholic') which had marked it out to the politician from all other religions as destined to become supreme. Hence the anxiety of Constantine to secure the peace of the 'legitimate Catholic Church' (Euseb. *HE* x. 5. 20).

(i.) Constantine's first intervention was in regard to the Donatists (*q.v.*).

For Constantine and the Donatists we have Optatus Milev. *de Schismate Donatist.* (written about 375) l. 22 f.; but Optatus is neither complete nor altogether trustworthy. We also

possess a valuable collection of anonymous documents, *Decem Monumenta Vet. ad Donatist. hist. pertinentia*, usually bound up with Optatus (best ed. of both by C. Ziwsa in *CSEL* xxvi. [1893]; also by Dupin [1702] and Migne, *PL* viii. 674 ff.). Certain letters of Augustine (*Epp.* 88, 43) add to our knowledge. For a critical examination see O. Seeck, 'Quellen u. Urkunden über die Anfänge des Donatismus' in *Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.* x. [1889] 505-568, and L. Duchesne, *Le Dossier du donatisme*, Paris, 1889.

In answer to the appeal of the Donatists (15th Apr. 313) forwarded by Anulinus, proconsul of Africa, Constantine summoned Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, and the ten accusing bishops to appear at Rome before a synod over which he instructed Pope Miltiades to preside (Euseb. *HE* x. 5. 18; August. *Ep.* 88, c. *Crescon.* iii. 81). At the same time, prompted by Hosius, bishop of Cordova, he gave Cæcilian certain marks of his esteem (Euseb. *HE* x. 6). The synod met (2-4 Oct. 313) in 'the casa of Fausta on the Lateran,' and the decision was given against the Donatists (Optat. *op. cit.* i. 23-24; Aug. *contra Ep. Parmen.* i. 10; *Ep.* 43, 5 [14]). On the further appeal of the Donatists, Cæcilian was detained at Brescia (*ib.* i. 26), and two bishops were dispatched by Constantine to Africa to make inquiries 'ubi esset Catholica.' As they reported in favour of Cæcilian, the Donatists pressed the appeal, and Constantine ordered the case to be re-tried at Arles (Euseb. *HE* x. 5. 21; Optat. *op. cit.* i. 26; *Decem Mon. Vet.* iii. iv. v.).¹ About the same time (Feb. 15, 315) a commission was appointed by Constantine to inquire into the guilt of bp. Felix of Autumni.² Of the decisions of Arles we have only fragmentary evidence (F. Maassen, *Quellen des canon. Rechts*, Graz, 1870, p. 188 ff.), and its date, 1st Aug. 314 or 316, is uncertain, though probably the latter.³ As the Donatists were still not satisfied, Constantine heard their appeal at Milan (10th Nov. 316; Augustine, c. *Crescon.* iii. 16, 67, 82, iv. 9, *ad Don.* 19, 33, 56), and confirmed the decisions of the Councils (August. *Brev. coll. Carth.* d. iii. c. 12 ff., *contra Ep. Parm.* i. 11; cf. *PL* viii. 750). Constantine thereupon issued edicts confiscating the churches of the Donatists (August. *Ep.* 105, 2, 9; 88, 3), though within a few years (5th May 321) he adopted a policy of toleration or indifference (Optatus, *Dec. Mon. Vet.* viii., *Brev.* iii. 40, 42; cf. Aug. *ad Don.* 56, *Ep.* 141, 9).

(ii.) As regards other heretics, Eusebius (*VC* iii. 63-65) tells us of his zeal against 'Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians' (i.e. followers of Paul of Samosata), those 'who are called Cataphrygians' (i.e. Montanists) and the confiscation of their meeting-places to 'the Catholic Church.' Thus, as Eusebius puts it, 'the savage beasts were driven to flight.' Constantine's refusal to 'heretics' of the privileges granted to the Church became part of the law of the Empire (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 5. 1; *Cod. Just.* i. 5. 1; in 326).

(iii.) To the greater Arian difficulty which distracted the Eastern Church [see art. *ARIANISM*, vol. i. p. 777] the attention of Constantine seems to have been drawn about the year 319. As a majority of the bishops of Asia appeared to support Arius' cause, Constantine, in the hope of ending the dispute, first sent his confidential adviser Hosius, bishop of Cordova, to Bishop Alexander of Alexandria and the presbyter Arius, with a characteristic letter begging them to lay aside 'this insignificant subject of controversy' and co-operate

¹ If no. v. is genuine, it was either dictated by Hosius or shows interpolations. It does not seem to the present writer that it can be safely used with reference to Constantine's character and Christianity at this period.

² This is the correct form, not *Apturny*. For the text of this trial see *Dec. Mon. Vet.* ii., in *CSEL* xxvi. 197, and for its date L. Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 634.

³ So Seeck, *op. cit.*; but Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 640, argues for 314; time for the events seems to the present writer to demand the later date. For the decisions see *Dec. Mon. Vet.* iv. (*CSEL* xxvi. 206), also in *PL* viii. 813; August. *Ep.* 48. For the council see *PL* viii. 815; Hefele, *Councils*, Eng. tr. I. 180 ff.

with him in restoring unity (Euseb. *VC* ii. 64-72). As this failed, Constantine, on the advice of Hosius (Sulpic. Severus, *Chron.* ii. 40, 5 ed. Halm in *CSEL* i.), summoned a Council which met at Nicæa (19th June-25th Aug. 325). The 'ecumenical' (*ὀικουμενική*, i.e. 'of the Empire,' cf. Lk 21 and *CIL*, *passim*) character of the Council—about 10 bishops from the West, and 308 from the East (Athanasius, *ad Afros*, 2; cf. Soc. *HE* i. 9)—and its importance alike mark the beginning of a new era for Christianity. Its controversies do not concern us; but for our present purpose it should be noted that the influence of Constantine for peace was considerable (Theod. *HE* i. 11), that the Council was summoned in his name (Euseb. *VC* iii. 6), that Constantine presided at the opening (*ib.* iii. 10 ff.) and addressed it at its close (*ib.* iii. 21), and that he communicated its decision to the Church of Alexandria (Soc. *HE* i. 9). But in 328 there was a change of policy. Whether owing to the influence of his sister Constantia, the widow of Licinian, who had herself been influenced by Eusebius of Nicomedia, or because Constantine was now more in touch with the speculative East than in his earlier years, he sought a less stringent enforcement of Nicene doctrine. The Arianizing Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had been banished at the close of the Council, now reappeared and gained the Emperor's ear. The result was seen in the deposition of Athanasius (cf. vol. ii. p. 169, or W. Bright in *DCB* i. 186) by the Council of Tyre (335), his banishment by Constantine (336) to Trèves, the rehabilitation of Arius by Constantine (Soc. *HE* i. 26), and the order that he should be received back into fellowship at Constantinople (336). The death of Constantine left the Arian trouble to his successors, under whom Arianism became still more identified with Court circles.

We may point out that Constantine's whole policy as regards heresy and unity fastened upon the Church for sixteen hundred years a policy of intolerance. The result was soon seen in the case of Priscillian (see PRISCILLIANISM).

(c) *Endowments*.—The supposed 'Donation of Constantine,' all-important historically as this falsehood proved, need not detain us. It carried with it the story of Constantine's leprosy, and baptism by Sylvester at Rome.

The story will be found in *PL* viii. 567-578. Its date was probably the 8th century. In 1229 two men who ventured to doubt its genuineness were burnt at Strassburg, and as late as 1583 it was deemed heresy to dispute it (Lea, *Inquisition in Middle Ages*, 1888, iii. 568 n.). Its overthrow by L. Valla (*in Donat. Const. Declam.* in Brown, *Fascic. Rerum Expetend.* [1690] i. 132) was one of the first results of the Renaissance.

The benefactions of Constantine were, however, considerable. For instance, he sent Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, 3000 *folles* (φολλεις), or purses, i.e. nearly £18,000 (Euseb. *HE* x. 6; cf. *VC* iv. 28). Great sums were also spent on the building of churches (Euseb. *HE* x. 2, 3, 4), especially at Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre [Euseb. *VC* iii. 34-40]), Bethlehem (*ib.* 43), Nicomedia (*ib.* 50), and Rome. Of his benefactions to the great basilicas at Rome we possess a list that seems authentic (*PL* viii. 803 ff.), though many of the gifts mentioned are later accumulations (Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. *Introd.* p. 152). Of great importance from another standpoint is his order of fifty copies of the Scriptures 'legibly described and of a portable size' (Euseb. *VC* iv. 36).

V. Influence of Constantine's establishment of Christianity upon legislation.—The following are the most important evidences of the growth, during the reign of Constantine, of specifically Christian laws or of the influence of Christian sentiment.

i. *MORALS*.—(a) *Slaves*.—There was no abolition of slavery; this was not a burning question in the Early Church. But slaves condemned to

games or to the mines must not be branded in the face, 'which is fashioned in the likeness of the Divine beauty' (*Cod. Th.* ix. 40. 2, March 315; *PL* viii. 119). In dividing estates, families of slaves must not be separated (*Cod. Th.* ii. 25, in 334; *PL* viii. 376). Masters must not kill or wantonly torture their slaves (*Cod. Th.* ix. 12, chs. 1, 2 in 319 and 326; *Cod. Just.* ix. 14; *PL* viii. 161). But the wording of this last law left many loopholes of escape, while fugitive slaves must not only be given up (*Cod. Just.* vi. 1. 4, in 317; *PL* viii. 150), but could be examined by torture (*Cod. Just.* vi. 1. 4, 6, in 317 and 333) or deprived of a foot (*ib.* vi. 1. 3, undated). The abolition of crucifixion (Soz. *HE* i. 8) and the breaking of legs (Aur. Victor, *Cæs.* 41) would chiefly apply to slaves. But the illegality of Christians being held as slaves by Jews (Euseb. *VC* iv. 27; *Cod. Th.* xvi. 9. 1, 2, 4, xvi. 8. 6; cf. *Cod. Just.* i. 10) witnessed rather to the growing hatred of the Jews (cf. *Cod. Th.* xvi. 8. 1; *Cod. Just.* i. 9. 3; *PL* viii. 130, in Oct. 315).

(b) *Gladiators*.—Gladiatorial shows were prohibited in 325 (*Cod. Th.* xv. 12. 1; *PL* viii. 293; *Cod. Just.* xi. 44; cf. Euseb. *VC* iv. 25; Soc. *HE* i. 18), though the law was certainly not enforced in Italy. That at Constantinople there were never any gladiatorial shows may be ascribed to the influence of Christianity, when we remember Constantine's bloody slaughters at Trèves in his early life (Eumen. *Paneg.* 12).

(c) *Adultery*, etc.—(1) Concubinage was disallowed for married men (*Cod. Just.* v. 26 in 326; cf. *Digest.* i. 25. 7). (2) Rape, etc., was to be severely punished, the woman, even if not a consenting party, by disinheritance; abettors, if slaves, by burning, if freemen, by banishment (*Cod. Th.* ix. 23. 1; *PL* viii. 195-198, in April 320).

(d) *Children, debtors*, etc.—(1) Poor parents were forbidden to kill their infant children, the care of whom was henceforth to be an Imperial charge (*Cod. Th.* xi. 27. 1, 2; for Italy first in 315 [*PL* viii. 121], then for Africa and other provinces in 322 [*PL* viii. 236]). The Christian sentiment of this law (cf. Lactant. *Instit.* vi. 20) is more obvious than its correct political economy. Exposure of children was not forbidden until 374 (*Cod. Just.* viii. 51. 2, ix. 16. 7). The growing poverty of the Empire alone was responsible for Constantine's allowing the sale of infant children by poor people (*Cod. Th.* v. 8. 1; v. 7. 1, in 329 and 331; cf. *Cod. Just.* iv. 43)—a practice forbidden in 294 by Diocletian (*Cod. Just.* i.c.). (2) Illegitimate children were legitimized by after-wedlock in the case of free-born women (*Cod. Just.* v. 27. 1, 5, in 336; cf. *PL* viii. 387-389). (3) Debtors must not be scourged, or, except in special cases, imprisoned (*Cod. Th.* xi. 7. 3, in Feb. 320; *PL* viii. 189). Prisoners were not to be confined without air and light, or with 'chains that cleave to their bones,' or to be imprisoned before trial (*Cod. Th.* ix. 3. 1, 2; *Cod. Just.* ix. 4. 1, 2, in 320 and 326; *PL* viii. 199, 299).

ii. *CLERGY AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP*.—(a) The 'Catholic' clergy were freed from the discharge of civil duties (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 1, 2, in Nov. 313, Oct. 319; *PL* viii. 102, 180), but in July 320 the abuse of this led to its restriction (*PL* viii. 200), as was also the case in June 326 (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 2, 6; *PL* viii. 314). (b) Exception was made to the *lex Papia Poppæa* against celibacy in favour of the clergy, thus allowing them to inherit (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 2. 4). (c) Public works and the sitting of the courts were forbidden on Sundays, 'dies solis' (*Cod. Th.* ii. 8. 1; *Cod. Just.* iii. 12. 2, in July 321; *PL* viii. 224; note the balanced 'dies solis,' which would suit Mithraism also). (d) Manumissions were permitted to be solemnly made in

churches as well as in temples (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 2. 4, iv. 7. 1; *Cod. Just.* i. 13. 1, 2, in 316 and Ap. 321; *PL* viii. 214f.). As these manumissions were made on Sundays, and especially at Easter, Christianity became associated in the public mind with the release of slaves.

iii. **PAGAN WORSHIP AND RITES.**—(a) Prohibition of pagan sacrifices in general (*Euseb. VC* ii. 44, 45, iv. 23, 25).

That there was such a law may be inferred from *Cod. Th.* xvi. 10. 2, 'law of our divine Father,' but it was certainly not carried out in the West, where the progress of Christianity was but slow (*S. Dill, Roman Society in the Last Century of the W. Empire*, 1898, vol. i. ch. i.; cf. A. Beugnot, *Hist. de la destruction du paganisme* [Paris, 1835], i. 106ff.). Moreover, Constantine more than once proclaimed liberty to the pagans to enjoy their temples (*Euseb. VC* ii. 56, 60; *Constant. Orat. ad Sanct. Coet.* 11; cf. Libanius [c. 384], *Orat. pro Templis* [ed. Forster], iii. xxx; *Symmachus, Ep.* x. 4). The question is well discussed in de Broglie (*op. cit.* i. 446-461). Beugnot (*op. cit.* i. 100) takes the prohibition to refer to nocturnal and private sacrifices only.

(b) The re-enactment, Feb. and May 319, of the law of Tiberius against divination (*Cod. Th.* ix. 16. 1, 2; *PL* viii. 155, 162). In Dec. 319 the consultation of *haruspices* was allowed when public buildings were struck by lightning (*Cod. Th.* xvi. 10. 1; *PL* viii. 202).

LITERATURE.—(a) **SOURCES.**—The estimate we form of Constantine depends chiefly upon the value we attach to the conflicting authorities. Some of the Latin sources may conveniently be read in Migne, *PL* viii., 'Opera Constantini'; but, as this is both incomplete and uncritical, and contains much that is false, it should be used with care, especially as regards Constantine's correspondence. For the life of Constantine we gain most from the following: *The Panegyricists*, inflated Gallic orations delivered on state occasions, but with a valuable residuum of fact. Two, delivered in 307 and 313, are of unknown authorship, three are probably by Eumenius (297, 310, 311), and one by Nazarius (321); in Migne, *PL* viii. 581ff., or, better, A. Böhren's *XII Panegyrici Lat.* (1874), to which edition references have been made by number and chapter. Another work of special pleading, though from a different standpoint, is the *de Mortibus Persecutorum* (best ed. by S. Brandt, in *CSBL* xxvii. [1897]). This work, ascribed in the MS to an unknown L. Cæcilius, was attributed before the close of the 4th cent., e.g. by Jerome in 393 (*de Vir. Illust.* 20), to L. Cæcilius Firmianus Lactantius. The genuineness of this ascription has been assailed by his editor, S. Brandt (*SWAW* ccxv. [1892]), and justified by Bury (Gibbon, ii. 631-632). The date is probably about 315. Of the works of Eusebius of Caesarea, the *HE*, published early in 325, is of great value, but the *Vita Constantini* (*VC*) in four books, written between 337 and 340, is a pious eulogy (see *Socrates, HE* i. 1) rather than serious history (best ed. of Eusebius by Heinichen [1868-70]; good Eng. tr. by McGiffert and Richardson [New York, 1890]). Of contemporary non-Christian writers we may mention Constantine's secretary Eutropius, *Breviarium ab urbe condita* (ed. F. Rühl, 1887, or H. Droysen in *MGH* ii. [1878]). A most valuable source is the anonymous fragment first printed by H. Valesio, hence called *Anonymus Valesii* (best ed. by Mommsen in *Chronica Minora*, *MGH* [1892] i. 7-11). As the clerical passages in it have been shown by Mommsen (*op. cit.* pref. p. 6) to be interpolations from Orosius, it was probably written before the establishment of Christianity. The valuable contemporary pagan history of Praxeagoras is known to us only in a brief summary of Photius (in O. Müller, *FHG* iv. 2 [Paris, 1851]).

Of later writers we may single out Eunapius of Sardis (347-414). His *History* (ed. O. Müller, *ib.* iv. 7-56) was one of the main sources of the anti-Christian Zosimos, whose *History* (ed. L. Mendelssohn, 1887) was written towards the close of the 5th cent., and is of great value in spite of its bias. The *Oration on Constantine* of Julian the Apostate (ed. F. O. Hertlein, 1875-76) is always of value for what it concedes. Ammianus Marcellinus (b. 330) in his great work *Res Gestæ* (ed. V. Gardthausen, 1874, Eng. tr. Ph. Holland, 1609), though a pagan, treats Christianity without bitterness. Another important source is the *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. T. Mommsen in *MGH* i. [1892] 199 ff.). Of the Christian historians, *Socrates* (*HE*) and *Sozomenus* (*HE*), who both wrote about 440, add little to Eusebius, while the later Greek chroniclers may safely be neglected. For Constantine and the Donatists see *supra* IV. b. (1), p. 79.

The **Laws of Constantine**, an important source, must be studied in the *Codes of Theodosius and Justinian*, especially the former. As the *Code of Theodosius* is very bulky (ed. Godfrey, with valuable commentaries, 6 vols., Leipzig, 1736-45; also ed. Hänel, Bonn, 1842), the student may content himself with the chronological excerpts in Migne, *PL* viii. 92-400. For the *Code of Justinian* reference should be made to the ed. of P. Krueger (Berlin, 1877). Almost as important as the written sources is the evidence of Constantine's coins and medals. The value of these has been well brought out by Schiller (*op. cit. infra*). For further study reference may be made to the well-known works of H. Cohen, *Descript. hist. des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain* (Paris, 1863); A. Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. viii. (Vienna, 1797). Garrucci's *Numismatica*

Constantiniana (Rome, 1856) does not seem to be in the Brit. Mus. (1910), but is partly translated in C. W. King, *Early Christian Numismatics* (Lond. 1873). M. Madden's 'Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine the Great' (in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1877-78) is of great value.

(b) **RECENT WRITERS.**—Constantine has been treated with great fullness in all Church Histories and Dictionaries (the art. by J. Wordsworth in Smith's *DCB* is of special value), and in numerous monographs. (For a good list of these up to 1890 see Richardson's *Introd.* in Schaff, *Ante-Nicene Library*, 'Eusebius,' pp. 455-465.) The following works are essential for the general history: E. Gibbon, ed. J. B. Bury (1896; new edition, 1910ff.), with valuable notes and appendices; and H. Schiller, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, 2 vols. (Gotha, 1887). Of special monographs mentioned in this study the following may be singled out: J. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen* (Basel, 1853; 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1880); O. Seeck, *Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1895-1901); V. Schultze, *Gesch. d. Untergangs d. gr.-röm. Heidentums*, 2 vols. (Jena, 1887-92). Of older works, the conservative J. V. A. de Broglie, *L'Eglise et l'empire rom. au ive siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1856), A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church* (1876; brilliant portrait of Constantine), and G. Boissier's *La Fin du paganisme*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891), should not be overlooked.

H. B. WORKMAN.

CONSUMPTION (Economic).—Since *The Wealth of Nations* gave the consumer rather than the producer or the merchant the first right to consideration, questions relating to consumption have always been prominent in Economics, though, especially in English books, they have not been formed into a separate branch of doctrine. It was thought that general questions about desire and utility were matter for Ethics, and should have a place in the preface, but not in the body, of Economics. This is still a common view, even when it is held that 'a true theory of consumption is the keystone of political economy' (Keynes, *Scope and Method of Polit. Econ.*, Lond. 1891, p. 107). And the special or more practical questions of consumption are then taken up under the familiar heads of production (*q.v.*), distribution (*q.v.*), and public finance or policy. The place which the general doctrine of consumption is now likely to hold is due to a better systematizing of the matter of Economics—as a science rather than into a series of co-ordinate divisions. The theory of value is made the centre, and from it come two questions, viz. the conditions of demand and the conditions of supply. The question of demand is that of consumption.

Its topic is utility, and its cardinal notion the Law of Diminishing Utility. An object or service has utility so far as it satisfies a desire. When bought it is bought for its utility; when consumed it is only the utility that is destroyed; when produced it is utility that is given to it.

The Law of Diminishing Utility is: other things being equal, there is always a point beyond which the utility of a commodity diminishes for every additional quantity of it that one possesses. It might be called the Law of Diminishing Desire. Its basis is the familiar fact that as a desire becomes satisfied it becomes exhausted for the time being. This is true not merely of appetites, but of higher desires whose satisfaction begets others. And it is true for indirect consumption (when commodities are used as means of production) as well as for direct consumption (when they directly satisfy a desire). Simple though the law is, it has (1) an important theoretical use, and (2) still more important practical applications.

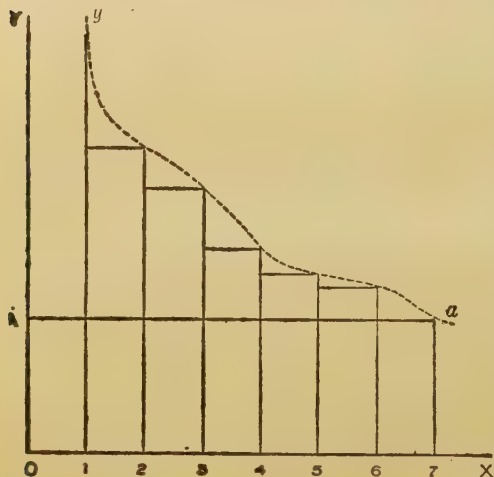
1. **Theoretically** it accounts for the price which a buyer is willing to pay—(a) for different quantities of the same goods, and (b) for different goods, and so it accounts (c) for the prices that have to be paid in any market.

(a) The first case is directly contemplated in the law, and is best illustrated in the price that one is willing to pay for any necessary commodity. Necessaries have the greatest utility because they are necessary, and in the pinch of famine they command the highest prices. But beyond a certain quantity they are not necessary, and then their

utility is limited by the simple desire of consuming them. As this desire becomes satisfied, the pleasure in consuming diminishes, and with it the utility of the commodity, till it vanishes altogether, because the desire is satisfied.

(b) Similar considerations are apparent when we ask what we are willing to pay for different commodities. It depends, of course, on our desires. But the interest of the question is that these are in competition, since we cannot satisfy them all even if we had the means; and the special economic interest of the question is that our means are limited. It is the question how a given income is spent. And in terms of the general law we have these two answers: (1) every one seeks to secure the greatest Total Utility from his income, and (2) he does this by looking to the Marginal Utility of his various purchases in order to make it equal in them all. The first statement is obvious, but the second needs explaining. By marginal utility is meant the utility of any commodity, or quantity of it, that a buyer is just willing to take at a certain price. His debate with himself is always whether he could do better with his shilling now or in the future; and, if he buys and regrets, it is always because he might have had a greater utility for his shilling if he had bought something else with it, or if he had kept it. To spend well is not to buy the same degree of utility with every shilling, for infinite or necessary utilities are usually cheap. The difference between the price for which one gets them, and the price that one would be willing to pay for them, is called the Consumer's Surplus.

These notions of surplus utility, total utility, and marginal utility are most clearly presented in diagram. For every commodity there can be drawn a curve representing all three. The shape of the curve is different for different commodities and for different consumers; but in accordance with



the general law of diminishing utility it shows in all cases a more or less regular fall in utility with every addition to the quantity bought. Annexed is the general curve for any necessary commodity. On $O X$ are marked the units of quantity bought, and so of the price paid; and the diminishing areas drawn on them represent the diminishing utilities, the first being infinite, representing the infinite utility of that unit. The areas having equal bases, their difference may be represented by their height, and a curve drawn as in the figure. If a consumer buys 7 units, the marginal utility is that of the

last portion, and he makes this his marginal purchase, because for the same unit of money he expects a greater utility of spending it on something else than on an eighth unit of this commodity. The total utility is represented by the total area of the figure, and the surplus utility by the area $A Y a$. Taking all his purchases into account, it is clear that he will have nothing to regret (except, of course, the nature of his desires) if his marginal purchases have all an equal degree of utility. For he will thus have the greatest total utility from his income.

(c) A commodity has a different marginal utility for different consumers, the difference being due to the difference in their incomes and their desires. Hence with every price at which a commodity is offered there corresponds a certain demand; and, in general, the greater the price the less the demand, and the less the price the greater the demand. It is in expectation of a sufficient demand at a profitable price that commodities are produced, and it is on the correctness of his expectations, and not on the cost of production, that a producer relies for his price and profit. This is the essential consideration in the familiar law of supply and demand which accounts for all values that are fixed by competition (*q.v.*).

2. As the ultimate aim of economic effort is to consume what is produced, the practical questions regarding consumption may run into great detail; and their answers easily run to one-sidedness if the questions are not systematic. This is seen in the conflict of popular opinions about the spending of the rich. It would be hard to say whether people approve more of the rich man who spends much, and so spreads his wealth, or of the rich man who spends little, and appears, therefore, not to give work to others. And whatever may be thought of the spendthrift, the miser, and the philanthropist as individuals, there is great diversity of opinion about the first two, and some about the philanthropist, as members of the body economic. And not all professional economists appear to have reconciled the truth in the two opposite statements that 'demand for commodities is not demand for labour,' and that 'want of work is due to under-consumption.'

The aim of economic organization and effort is, under conditions, to produce the greatest total utility; and, if we ask how economic progress is to be estimated, we ask the conditions on which this total utility depends. First it depends on the quantity and quality of wealth produced, and so on the full and the most efficient use of the labour and the natural and acquired resources of a country. And in looking at the economic progress of a country we are apt to look no further than at the amount and quality of wealth that is thus produced, and at its distribution with a view to further production. But the amount of utility in wealth depends on the intensity and variety of the desires for whose satisfaction the wealth is consumed. This is the head under which all practical questions of consumption find their place. It is conveniently divided into two by considering, first, the satisfaction of desires that all seek to satisfy, and then the satisfaction of other desires. Regarding the former, it is apparent that the total utility from a country's produce is greater when the margin at which the very poor cease to purchase is extended, and the margin of others is contracted so as to exclude waste and gluttony. A country of great houses and vile hovels is so far not making so much of its wealth as one where the houses are less great and the hovels less vile.

But it is when we turn from more or less necessary desires that we see the complexity of the question that may be organized from the point of view

of consumption. It is here that there is the nearest connexion between Economics and Ethics. The moral ideal is that of complete living, and requires a character having variety and depth of interests or desires, quite as much as one having these in unity or system, and so in harmony. In economic progress there must be this variety and depth if the utility of wealth is to grow with its increase; and an obvious point is that many desires—most of the higher desires, intellectual, æsthetic, and social—are very little destructive of utility. The cost of creating them, *e.g.* by education, is greater than the cost of gratifying them, and is therefore much the more important consideration. The most destructive desires need no learning.

It is also obvious from the nature of consumption that no comment on an economic system can be more severe than that it makes, or even lets, the poor grow poorer while the rich grow richer. The comment is often made, but it is made mainly on the erroneous ground that the gain of one must always be the loss of another. It has not been true in fact of our present economic system (see DISTRIBUTION); still the comment might with advantage be more absurd on the face of it. From the same point of view it would be a very adverse comment on the progress of invention if it could still be said that the labourer has not been spared any of the severity and exhaustion of muscular work that he had before the revolution in industry. For nothing tells more against a wealth of life. But, on the contrary, the saving in mere hardness of toil has been one of the best fruits of invention (see PRODUCTION).

While there is ground for charging defects in consumption not to thriftlessness merely, but to the bad distribution of wealth and the struggle to have rather than to enjoy, there is a source that is at least as serious. So long as individual wealth is devoted to the service of a few desires, its increase must be consumed with diminishing utility. Luxury is for the most part such a spending, both when it is for self-indulgence and when it is for ostentation (see LUXURY). But the evil is not so much in the presence of luxury as in the absence of the desire for better things. The pursuit of wealth has been far more eager than the pursuit of desires wherewith to give it the fullest utility. There is not yet any general belief that they can become so absorbing as those that need no learning. The common view of education is much more concerned with giving power to acquire than power to enjoy; and we are all children enough to enjoy no property of a thing so much as that it is our own. Such reflexions do not point to a want of progress but to the long way to go, and to the fundamental way in which economic depends on moral progress.

The statistics of consumption that have most practical interest are concerned with the expenditure of small incomes. There are two methods of collecting them. One, the 'intensive' method, makes a minute study of individual families and their mode of life. It is most completely represented in the work of Le Play (1806-1882) and his school. Examples of it—though not so minute—are to be found in Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1889-97); Rowntree, *Poverty* (1901); and in *Family Budgets* (1896), collected by members of the Economic Club. The other, the 'extensive' method, looks rather to the quantity of its facts. Its chief expositor was Ernst Engel (1821-1896), who formulated a law, usually called Engel's Law, of which the main part is that as income rises the proportion of it spent on food diminishes. And later statistics from various countries give a general support to his view that this proportion may be used as a comparative

measure of well-being, *viz.* the higher the proportion of earnings spent on food, the poorer a community, and any class in a community. An excellent example of the method is to be found in the U.S. *Bulletin* for 1903 of the Bureau of Labour. 'The figures of income and expenditure furnished in detail by 2567 families in 33 States, representing the leading industrial centres of the country, comprise the material for the detailed study of the cost of living. Certain data which do not enter so much into detail were collected in regard to the cost of living in 25,440 families.' For the United Kingdom the Board of Trade carried out an inquiry, and published an interesting memorandum on it in its *Second Series of Memoranda* with reference to British and Foreign Trade (1904), and within the last few years it has published extensive Reports on the *Cost of Living of the Working Classes* in the principal towns of the United Kingdom (1908), of Germany (1908), of France (1909), and of Belgium (1910). The German Imperial Statistical Office published in 1909 a report on the cost of living of 892 families with a small income. A full account of it will be found in the U.S. *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labour*, May 1910.

LITERATURE.—A general treatment of the statistics of consumption is given in R. Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Economics* (=pt. II. of *Science of Statistics*), Lond. 1899, with a bibliographical note on p. 19; and a fuller treatment and note are to be found in art. 'Konsumtionsbudget' in J. Conrad's *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*², Jena, 1900. There is a 'Bibliography of Studies on the Cost of Living' in the *Bulletin of the Bureau of Labour*, May 1910.

W. MITCHELL.

CONTEMPT.—This word is used either (a) in the subjective sense of the act of despising, or (b) objectively of the condition of being despised. In illustration of (a), Murray (*OED*, *s.v.*) quotes from Marbeck's *Book of Notes* (1581) the following passage: 'Contempt consisteth chieffely in three things: for either wee contemne onelie in minde . . . or lastlie when we adde words or deedes, which have ignominie or contumelie ioined with them.' One of the most familiar usages of the word is in the technical expression 'contempt of court,' as referring to any failure to recognize or obey the ruler of a court of justice or other legal authority. In the passive sense (b), the expression 'bring into contempt' may be adduced; more rare is the use of 'a contempt' as equivalent to 'an object of contempt' (Gn 38²³ AVm).

1. Terminology.—In the primitive ages the superiority of the physically strong over the physically weak was accompanied by a feeling of scorn, which readily reflected itself in speech. The defeat of a foe, or the successful outwitting of inferior skill or cleverness by force of arms or cunning, tended to create a vocabulary of contempt (see art. BOASTING for similar phenomena). The word δειλός ('coward') in Homer came to mean 'worthless' and 'insignificant' (cf. the apostrophe ἀ δειλέ, 'poor creature'). All languages exhibit the interjectional forms of contempt. Sometimes the same monosyllabic exclamation is used to express other emotions, so that its exact force can be determined only by the context (cf. 'tush!' 'pish!' 'pshaw!' or Lat. *ph* or *phu*). There are also dissyllabic words such as *atat* (or *attat*) in Latin, *oôd* (Mk 15²), of derisive joy or horror, 'avant!' and the like. Then we have phrases like ἐς κόρακος of Greek comedy, and *I in malam crucem* of Plautus and Terence. These suggest obvious analogies in English and other languages. Argumentative scorn expresses itself in the Latin use of *scilicet*, ironical or contemptuous assertion of what is obviously false (cf. *nisi vero*). More obvious still, as exhibiting the feeling of scorn or disgust, is the opprobrious apostrophe

common to all languages (cf. *carcer, cruz, patibulum*, *παρά* [Mt 5²²], *μωρέ* [ib.], 'dog,' 'cur,' 'cullion' [Shakespeare, *Taming of Shrew*, iv. ii. 20], 'geck and gull' [*Twelfth Night*, v. i. 351], 'John-a-dreams' [*Hamlet*, II. ii. 595], 'zed' [*Lear*, II. ii. 69, a term of contempt, because last letter in the alphabet], *et hoc genus omne*). 'The Philistine said to David, Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves?' (1 S 17⁴³); cf. 'After whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog, after a flea?' (1 S 24¹⁴). 'The Eastern street dog is a type of all that is cowardly, lazy, filthy, treacherous, and contemptible' (*HDB*, s.v. 'Dog').

Both in the Heb. of the OT and in the Greek of the NT the verbal forms expressing various degrees of scorn, derision, or disparagement are remarkably rich. In the OT we find *נָאָה* and *נָאָה* [original meaning dub.]; *נָאָה* with the root idea of rejection; *נָאָה* where the idea of scorn is connected with the mimicry of a foreigner's speech; and *נָאָה*, 'smile.' In the NT we have *ἀνιδρώω*, *ἀδελνέω*, *ἐξουθενάω*, *καταφρονέω*, *περιφρονέω*, *ὀλιγωρέω*, and the expressive *ἐμυκτηρίζω* (Lk 16¹⁴ 23³⁰ = 'turn up the nose at'). The mimetic or descriptive verb is as conspicuous in exhibiting the feeling of disgust as in other cases (cf. 'strut,' 'swagger'); and the word *ἐμυκτηρίζω* recalls Shakespeare's 'I will bite my thumb at them' (*Romeo and Juliet*, I. i. 48 f., a contemptuous action for beginning a quarrel); 'to give her the avault,' i.e. to send her away contemptuously (*Henry VIII*, II. iii. 10); or Pistol's expression (2 *Hen.* IV. v. iii. 124), 'Fig me, like the bragging Spaniard' (thumb thrust between first and second fingers as a mark of contempt and insult). The word *ἐμυκτηρίζω* (2 P 3³, Jude 18; in 2 P 3³ *ἐμυκτηριζομένη* is also found) suggests rather more obviously external act or gesture than *καταφρονέω* (Ac 13⁴¹). It may be noted in passing that contempt takes in literature the form of satire, in art that of caricature (see art. 'Satire' in *EBR*⁹ and 'Caricature' in *EBR*¹⁰).

From Lucilius down to the present day scorn is an ingredient of satire. 'Facit indignatio versum,' said Juvenal (*Sat.* i. 79); and it was a wholesome loathing of decadent morals that inspired such a satire as the Sixth, his 'Legend of Bad Women' (Mackail). The contempt of satire is fierce and bitter; but it can also be genial, as in Don Quixote, where the follies of mediæval chivalry are held up to derision. There is a similar distinction in the art of the caricaturist.

2. *Psychology.*—The psychological analysis of contempt has not often been attempted. It obviously belongs to the category of what Wundt calls the objective emotions (*Outlines of Psychology*, ed. 1908, p. 197), and is generally to be classified as a species of anger, finding a place in what the same writer distinguishes as the 'excitement-depression' series of emotions, or in what Royce prefers to call 'the restlessness and quiescence' series (*Outlines of Psychology*, 1903, p. 178). Macdougall, in his *Introduction to Social Psychology*, draws a distinction between scorn as a binary compound of anger and disgust, or a tertiary compound, if positive self-feeling is added to these, and contempt, which he regards as 'a binary compound of disgust and positive self-feeling, differing from scorn in the absence of the element of anger.' In ordinary usage, however, scorn (q.v.) and contempt are used interchangeably; and, while some kinds of contempt are notably free from anger and suggest serene self-esteem, e.g. the attitude of the educated towards the illiterate, there are other forms in which one may detect the element of indignation, e.g. the loathing which a noble mind feels towards a cruel or ignoble deed. In Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, III. i. 157 f., Olivia remarks:

'O, what a deal of scorn looks beautiful
In the contempt and anger of his lip!'

where obviously contempt is regarded as of close kinship with anger.

Disgust, aversion, and shrinking from an object are undoubtedly marked features of contempt; sometimes this is accompanied by facial and other physical reaction, sometimes it is merely intellectual, as when Horace remarks: 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo' (*Od.* III. i. 1). While, then, we can distinguish the main elements which make up the emotion of contempt, its quality is capable of multitudinous subtle gradations and internal shadings, corresponding with the objects and situations which call it forth.

3. *Ethics.*—(1) *In the OT.*—Contempt, as an emotion which, like anger, finds expression in word and deed, or as part of a mental condition, naturally passes into the sphere of ethical judgment. It is an element in the character of the Psalmist's God, as when he says, 'The Lord shall have them in derision' (Ps 2², referring to the rebellion of His disaffected subjects; so of the heathen, Ps 59⁹). In both passages the conception of contempt is associated with laughter. Such graphic anthropomorphism is not obsolete: e.g. R. Browning's lines,

'... Happy that I can
Be crossed and thwarted as a man,
Not left in God's contempt apart . . .'
(*Easter-Day*, xxxiii.),

where a failure of ideal is associated with the sense of Divine rejection and wrath. The monotheistic contempt for idol-making and idolatry (cf. Is 40^{10a}) in prophetic literature is an expression of the belief in God's unique and unapproachable righteousness. In the OT, especially in the Wisdom literature, the 'scorner,' or contemptuous man, (*שָׂרֵץ*) is a familiar figure. He not only does evil, but scoffs at the good (Ps 1¹), seeks wisdom and finds it not (Pr 14⁹), dislikes reproof (15¹²), is an abomination (24⁹), and is punished (21¹¹, Is 29²⁰). The 'scorner,' in fact, belongs to the class 'fool,' which is so conspicuous in the teaching of Proverbs: the fool despises wisdom (Pr 17), his neighbour (14²¹), and the duty of obedience to parents (30¹¹). Esau's despising of his birthright (Gn 25³⁴) was the indication of 'profanity' (He 12¹⁶) or spiritual apathy, in the same way that Israel's contempt for Jahweh's statutes and judgments (Lv 26^{15, 43}, Ezk 20^{12, 16, 24}, Am 2⁴) or for 'the word of the Holy One' (Is 5³⁴) was the sign of an evil heart. Objectively, national failure brings a nemesis of derision (Jer 48^{26f, 39}), or such derision may be an element of persecution (20⁷, La 3⁴).

(2) *In the NT.*—We have already cited the passage (Mt 5²²) where Jesus deals with the contemptuous terms 'Raca' and 'Thou fool,' and condemns them on the ground that they indicate a defective disposition of the heart and are therefore to be judged under the new law before the same tribunals and punished by the same penalties as were offences, like homicide, under the old dispensation. Thus, our Lord's treatment of contempt is in harmony with the principles of His general ethical teaching. Moreover, so far as contempt was an anti-social sentiment and opposed to the recognition of the claims of a common humanity, the law of compassion, and the sense of the infinite dignity of the individual soul, it was to be sternly repressed. 'Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones' (18⁹), i.e. the humble and helpless of humanity. The idea of scornful rejection of the truth is contained in the warning, 'He that rejecteth (*ἀδελνέω*) you rejecteth me' (Lk 10¹⁶). Jesus thought of the Pharisees as those that 'trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised (*ἐξουθενοῦντας*) others' (18⁹).

He did not hesitate to use the language of contempt respecting the unreality of Pharisaic morals on the ground 'that their whole life was an acted play,' and that their zeal for righteousness was unwarmed by love for their brothers, for men as such; nor did He scruple to use the term 'that fox' (13²) of Herod Antipas as summing up his moral cowardice and cunning. But contempt of man for man, of class for class, the disparagement of lowly conditions, even of sinners (as opposed to their sins), is ruled out by the example and teaching of Christ. Christ's view of man was 'a transvaluation of all values.' The first promise of the changed view of humanity is given in the *Magnificat*, 'He hath exalted them of low degree' (16²).

The Greek contempt for humility, the arrogance (*ὕπερηφάνεια*) which Theophrastus (*Characters*, § iv.) defined as 'a certain scorn for all the world beside oneself,' was excluded for ever from the higher ethics of Christianity. Evolutionary ethics, of which the extreme is reached in the thought of Nietzsche, still glorifies brute strength and satirizes the 'slave-morality' of the crowd, but the 'super-man' who alone will be tolerated by the world is not the embodiment of strength, physical and intellectual, but the embodiment of perfect love. Aristotle's 'lofty-minded man' looks down upon others 'justly (for he judges truly); but most people do so at random' (*Ethics*, iv. 3). Even the limitation of the parenthesis, however, fails to convince us; for in the same context we are told that 'he is not lavish of praise: for this reason he speaks no evil, not even of his enemies, unless it be to show his scorn.' Contrast this with Christ's teaching, which enjoins the love of one's enemies and exalts meekness. The noblest character of ancient teaching 'walks, like contempt, alone' (*Timon of Athens*, iv. ii. 15), and views his fellows (to quote Shakespeare again) through the 'scornful perspective' which contempt lends him (*All's Well*, v. iii. 48). He is quite oblivious of the claims of human brotherhood. In fact, his snobbery is hardly distinguishable from that satirized by Thackeray, and is equally out of harmony with the Christian spirit. Pride of birth, intellect, and dominion is by Dante (*Purg.* x. xi. xii.) consigned to the first terrace of purgatory, from which the poet is escorted by the angel of Humility to the sound of celestial voices, singing, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit' (xii. 3 ff.).

The haughtiness which despises its inferiors, whether it take the form of reserve (*εὐπωλεία*) or of active scorn (*ὕβρις*), is as incompatible with the humanitarian ideal of Christianity as the institution of slavery. The treatment of any human being as a chattel or instrument is no longer tolerable. 'Base things of the world and things that are despised did God choose' (1 Co 1²⁸). The scorn of the man of the world for piety is an index of an oblique moral vision (cf. the Master of Ballantrae's contempt for his steward's strict and puritanical notions ['my evangelist,' he calls him ironically] in Stevenson's *Master of Ballantrae*). St. Paul warns the Thessalonians (1 Th 5²⁰) against contempt of 'prophecys,' implying that manifestations of the Spirit have to be judged with careful discrimination, and that they are not to be distrusted because fanaticism or unreality accompanies them in particular instances. Contempt is often a form of bigotry, and the symptom of defective charity or tolerance; and not seldom it is implicit in a cold rationalism or in the materialism which rejects immortality and religion. On the other hand, to be despised by the general conscience is no mean punishment. 'Let no man despise thy youth' (1 Ti 4²), or 'Let no man despise thee' (Tit 2¹⁵), is a summons to the cultivation of moral dignity, which at all stages of our

life, and not in youth alone, is the fine flower of a Christian personality. If, on the one hand, contempt is opposed to humility, reverence, compassion, and love, it is, on the other hand, a legitimate element of the moral indignation of which the Founder of Christianity is the noblest exemplar.

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R. MARTIN POPE.

CONTENTMENT.—Contentment—the condition of being satisfied—is a state of mind which may be regarded as a purely ethical product, or as a phase of religious experience. In the philosophy of life we are able to differentiate three types of contentment: Oriental, Græco-Roman, and Christian; and we propose to treat the subject under these heads. Royce, in his *Outlines of Psychology* (1903), has classified emotions under two dimensions, namely, restlessness and quiescence. If this classification be accepted, it is obvious that the virtue of contentment gathers up into one experience the emotions of the quiescent order.

1. Oriental.—The essential element in the Oriental scheme of life is the suppression of desire. This is common to Brāhmanism and Buddhism. Barth (*Religions of India*, Eng. tr. 1882, p. 84) has remarked that the Hindu mind recognizes 'no medium between mental excitement and torpid indifference.' Pantheism, fatalism, the denial of personality and of any real immortality but that of the act—these impress upon all that the Oriental produces 'a certain monotonous character compounded of satiety and ungratified zeal.' So far as we can arrive at any conception of *nirvāna*, we may think of it as the serenity of the monk, exempt from all desire, contemplating without passion all that the average man holds dear—love and hate, power and oppression, riches and poverty, fame and contempt—and awaiting with complete *ataraxia* the advent of death. The *nirvāna*-on-earth reached by the *arhat* is a pledge of the *nirvāna*-after-death, his 'refreshment from the fire of passion' being the earnest of his 'refreshment from the fire of existence' (cf. Pousin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 103 [*Buddhism*, p. 14]). Some exponents of Buddhism point out that, while *nirvāna* is negatively the destruction of selfish desire and ignorance, it is positively universal sympathy or love for all beings. Cf. 'A Vow of the Bodhisattva' (Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 398):

'For the sake of all sentient beings on earth,
I aspire for the abode of enlightenment which is most high;
In all-embracing love awakened, and with a heart steadily firm,
Even my life I will sacrifice, dear as it is.

In enlightenment no sorrows are found, no burning desires;
'Tis enjoyed by all men who are wise.
All sentient creatures from the turbulent waters of the triple world

I'll release, and to eternal peace them I'll lead.'

When it is objected that contentment can find no place in a scheme of life in which *karma*, or the law of moral causation, prevails, the reply is made that the selfishness of the rich will bear inevitable retribution in a future existence, while the sufferings of the poor, if the poor do not despair of them and yield to temptation, will bring them a future fortune. On the other hand, it is argued that human inequalities are not to be ascribed to the diversity of the individual *karma* (Suzuki, *op. cit.* p. 189 f.). Poverty is not the result of evil deeds. The economic sphere is not that in which the law

of *karma* operates. If a man lives in obscurity and misery, he is not concerned to find the explanation of these things in the past, nor is he anxious about the future. Social injustices and economic inequalities are inevitable in the present order.

'A virtuous man is contented with his cleanliness of conscience and purity of heart. . . . In point of fact, what proceeds from meritorious deeds is spiritual bliss only,—contentment, tranquillity of mind, meekness of heart, and immovability of faith' (*ib.* p. 190 f.).

Again, the true conception of *karma* is not merely individualistic; that is, it is not true that our deeds affect only our own fate. These deeds

'leave permanent effects on the general system of sentient beings, of which the actor is merely a component part; and it is not the actor himself only, but everybody constituting a grand psychic community called "Dharmadhātu" (spiritual universe), that suffers or enjoys the outcome of a moral deed' (*ib.* p. 192 f.).

In this way the inherent contradictions of the Buddhist view of life are modernized by an enthusiastic exponent; nevertheless, the denial of a Supreme Being and of personal immortality leaves us with a scheme of life so mechanical and cold that contentment becomes merely a fatalistic joyless acceptance of things as they are. Granting the admirable and even noble idealism of the Oriental, we miss the cheerfulness of the Christian saint who rests in the belief that a Universal Love dwells at the heart of creation and 'sweetly orders all that is.' Moreover, the ideal of contentment proclaimed by Buddhism is remote from life: it is too abstract and academic; it is the offspring of the cloister, and consequently eclectic and esoteric. Even when it glorifies compassion and charity, it loses itself in vagueness, and, except in some rare passages of the teaching of Śākyamuni, proclaims a universal benevolence rather than specific acts of sympathy. If love be 'the fulfilling of the law' and the condition of true contentment, it has no real place in a philosophy which denies the reality of the ego, or in a religion in which saintliness is synonymous with impossibility.

At the same time, it is but just to remember that, whatever its stress on extreme renunciation of all the joys of life may have been, Brāhmanism was far more human in its concept of contentment than was Buddhism. Thus the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 92, xii. 12502) can say that 'no end is there of greed [lit. "of thirst"], (but) contentment is the highest good' (*santosah paramam sukham*), or we may read in the collection of quatrains attributed to Bhartṛhari: 'Poor be he whose greed is great; if the mind be content, who is rich (or) who is poor?'

2. Græco-Roman.—While in Eastern thought the extinction of desire is the *summum bonum* of the ethical or religious life, a quite different idea of personality was held by the thinkers of Greece. They were frankly humanistic in their outlook. The glory and power, the gifts and virtues, of the individual life, the supremacy of reason and wisdom, and the harmony and perfectibility of the soul were cardinal points in their system. We begin with the Socratic identification of virtue and knowledge. For a man to know what he is doing and why—in a word, wisdom—this is his supreme possession. Without claiming to have discovered an abstract theory of the Good or the Wise, and while on the whole sceptical as to the possibility of such a discovery, Socrates provisionally conceived of the Good or the Wise as the faithful performance of the customary duties of life, and proclaimed that therein lay the secret of happiness. But what impressed his contemporaries was his independence of judgment and fearless criticism of conventional notions, rather than his love of knowledge. The result was the appearance of two opposing schools of thought—the Cynics, of whom Antisthenes and Diogenes were the notable figures,

and the Cyrenaics, of whom Aristippus was the head. The watchword of the first was self-mastery—the practice of endurance and asceticism; that of the second, pleasure—the serene and untroubled pursuit of the pleasure of the moment, regardless of consequences. Neither to Plato nor to Aristotle was the practical conduct of life of such moment as the pursuit of truth and the ideal interpretation of the universe. With the advent of the Hellenistic period, about 300 B.C., the interest of the State or community became subordinated to that of the individual. The realism of Cynic and Cyrenaic was succeeded by the systems of Zeno and Epicurus, in which once more 'ethics is the end and goal; and an ethic, moreover, which looks only to the interest of the individual.' To Stoics and Epicureans the supreme interest is the possession of individual independence, the saving of one's own soul, and the ordering of life nobly and happily. The Epicurean doctrine (see EPICUREANS) was far from being a mere glorification of voluptuousness and immoral living. The picture given by Seneca of the Epicurean garden leaves on us the impression of a life of frugality and leisure—'plain living and high thinking.' The pleasure which Epicureanism regarded as the end of existence was not mere sensuality; it rather consisted, in its finer forms, of freedom from pain or disturbing elements (*ἀταραξία*). The pleasures of mind were nobler than those of body. It is not material enjoyments that are the givers of pleasure; 'it is sober reasoning,' says Epicurus in his letter to Menæceus, 'searching out the reasons for every choice and avoidance, and banishing those beliefs through which the greatest tumults take possession of the soul.' Another word that sums up the contented life is *ἀτάρκεια* ('self-sufficiency'), which was afterwards to be used in Christian ethics. 'We consider self-sufficiency a great good in order that, if we do not possess much, we may be satisfied with little' (Diog. Laert. x. 130 on Epic.). Nowhere do we find the spirit of Epicurean contentment so charmingly expressed as in the odes of Horace, the poet who, enamoured of his Sabine farm ('satis beatus unicus Sabinis,' *Odes*, II. xviii. 14) far from the haunts and din of city life, urges his friends to 'sweet content' ('desiderantem quod satis est,' *Odes*, III. i. 25), to calmness of outlook ('quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere,' *Odes*, I. ix. 12) or to patient endurance:

'Aequum memento rebus in arduis
servare mentem' (*Odes*, II. III. 11.)

In such phrases we discover the fascination of the Epicurean ideal 'of withdrawing from political and dialectical conflict to simple living and serene leisure, in imitation of the eternal leisure of the gods apart from the fortuitous concourse of atoms that we call a world' (H. Sidgwick, 'Ethics,' *EB*).

The Stoic conception of contentment may be summed up in the word *ἀράθεια* ('impassivity'). The Stoic sage did not, like an Oriental *yogi*, regard all phenomena as illusions; nor did his essentially Pantheistic view of the universe destroy his sense of personal freedom and volition. Man can enter, by virtue of his gift of reason, into relationship with the Eternal reason. His one aim, indeed, is to live a life of reason, or, as the Stoic phrased it, a life 'in conformity with Nature.' Such a life is the true virtue, and is its own reward, quite apart from external goods or advantages. The average man conceives of pain, sickness, and death as evils; to the sage living the life of reason they are merely 'indifferent.' Human passions are only diseases of the reason. The sage 'will strive to keep the mastery over such faulty fancies, and be true to the consummate virtue,

which is passionless and calm.' Such is the Stoic *apathy*.

'It postulated,' says Capes (*Stoicism*, p. 49), 'not only the absolute supremacy of reason, but its right to claim to be the only motive force within the soul, for it would make a solitude of all besides and call it peace; but it implied no torpor of ecstatic reveries and mystic contemplation, such as those which Eastern ascetics have enjoyed, in their attempts to close every pore and inlet of emotion, and to end almost in pure nothingness of individual being.'

This type of contentment is illustrated *passim* in the writings of the Roman Stoics—Seneca, Epictetus (see esp. the latter's chapter on 'Contentment,' *Diss.* i. 12 [Long's tr.])—and also in the *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius (cf. esp. bk. viii.).

3. Christian.—Before considering the Christian ideal of contentment, with which the Stoic found itself confronted in the early ages of Christianity, we may glance for a moment at the OT. The pure monotheism of the Hebrew saint and his unswerving belief in a Divine Providence shaped for him an experience widely different from those which we have considered above. The possession of God is his true wealth. 'The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want' (Ps 23). Sadness, pain, exile, loss of wealth and property, drought and disease, were nought compared with his unshaken sense of God's presence and reality. Cf. the magnificent psalm of cheerful submission in Hab 3¹⁷⁻¹⁹, which Cowper has reproduced in the well-known hymn, *Sometimes a light surprises*, or the memorable cry of resignation, 'The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord' (Job 1²¹). In the Wisdom books we find happiness associated closely with a common-sense view of life's limitations; e.g. Pr 15¹⁷ 17¹⁹ etc., or, more nobly, with the possession of wisdom (Pr 3¹³⁻¹⁹). So far as the Prophetic writings are concerned, a clear apprehension of evils, social and political, a remorseless unveiling of injustice and oppression, and fierce invectives against idolatry, meaningless ritual, and false materialism, are combined with unswerving faith in the Divine guidance and in the ultimate victory of the Divine righteousness. The panic-stricken despair of the materialist is nobly contrasted with the calm of the monotheist in Is 30^{15*} (cf. art. 'Contentment' in *HDB*). Generally speaking, in the writers of the OT contentment is the fruit of faith.

In the NT the same association of contentment with belief in God is evidenced in the teaching of our Lord. The new feature is the sublime conception of God's Fatherhood. It is the Fatherhood of God which points Christ's warning against anxiety and adds an immortal beauty to the words in Mt. 6²⁴⁻³⁴. Christ does not proclaim insensibility to the ills of life. He recognizes them, but calls upon us to live as children, to believe that God cares for us, and perfectly to trust the love, the wisdom, and the power of our Heavenly Father. This conception dominates the whole of His teaching. He uttered warnings against the love of wealth (Mt 6¹⁹), against self-seeking (Mk 10⁴⁰), against social discontent (Lk 12¹³⁻¹⁵), and against selfish slothfulness (Mt 25²⁴⁻²⁸). The last passage shows that Christ condemned inertia, while He praised activity when its end was not selfish but 'the Kingdom of heaven.' It was no part of His plan to encourage agitation against social and political evils, or against public institutions which were inimical to the highest interests of humanity; but He proclaimed the positive conception of the Kingdom of heaven, as an ideal of human life wherein the interest of the individual became one with the interest of the community; in other words, a corporate righteousness, the foundation of which was love binding individuals and classes together. The Christian conception of contentment never

* Cf. Paulsen, *System of Ethics*, p. 491, for relation of contentment to covetousness.

makes resignation to life's limitations and ills a mere passive attitude of the soul; submission to God's will in life and death is an energy or act of a sanctified will. Such it was in our Lord's acceptance of the cross as the will of His Father. Dante's words (*Par.* iii. 85), *e la sua voluntate è nostra pace* (see the wonderful exposition of these words in Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, i. 215), give the secret of Christian calm.

It is also to be noted that contentment in the NT is closely associated with the truth of immortality. St. Paul can cheerfully bear 'the sufferings of this present time' as 'not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us' (Ro 8¹⁸). And it is this belief that differentiates his *ἀνδρεία* ('self-sufficiency') from that of the Epicurean. His steadfast equanimity does not spring from contemplation of the great negative that life must soon end, but from the great positive that true life has no end' (Medley, *Interpretations of Horace*, 1910, p. 58, and cf. Lucretius, v. 1117f.,

'Quod si quis vera vitam ratione gubernet,
divitiæ grandes homini sunt, vivere parce
aequo animo').

Moreover, if, as Lightfoot suggested, there was a reference in St. Paul's epistles to the Stoic ideal of the sage and citizen of the world as alone possessing absolute wealth and freedom, that ideal is transfigured in the Christian experience. 'Already are ye filled, already ye are become rich, ye have reigned without us. We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ; we are weak, but ye are strong; ye have glory, but we have dishonour' (1 Co 4⁸⁻¹⁰). Cf. also the passage in 2 Co 6¹⁰ 'as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.' St. Paul's sublime inner resources, as being one with Christ and the sharer of His crucified and risen life, render him independent of outward conditions—'in everything at every time having every self-sufficiency . . . in everything enriched' (2 Co 9⁸⁻¹¹); and finally, 'I have learnt in whatsoever circumstances I am to be self-sufficing . . . I have all strength in Him that giveth me power . . . I have all things to the full and to overflowing' (Ph 4^{11-13, 12}). The Stoic attains his universal kingship 'by self-isolation: the other by incorporation' (Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 305). 'Godliness with contentment (*ἀνταρκέλας*) is great gain' (1 Ti 6⁸)—thus does the Apostle sum up the wealth of the Christian saint. Heroism, patience, courage, endurance, whether we look for them in the annals of persecution and martyrdom, or in the daily round of common life with its constant cares and trials, may be regarded as the fruits of contentment, the *ἀνδρεία* which inhabits what Wordsworth calls the

'central calm subsisting at the heart
Of endless agitation.'

LITERATURE.—For the Oriental aspects of the subject two recent volumes, written from quite opposite points of view, may be consulted: L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique* (Paris, 1909), and D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* (London, 1907). Of the former there is a concise summary in English: *Buddhism*, a tr. published by the C.T.S. in the series *Lectures on the History of Religions*. Besides works quoted there are also to be named: W. W. Capes, *Stoicism* (London, 1880); W. L. Davidson, *The Stoic Creed* (Edin. 1907); W. Wallace, *Epicureanism* (London, 1890); R. W. Dale, *Laws of Christ for Common Life* (London, 1885), p. 157 f.; F. Paulsen, *Syst. of Ethics* (Eng. tr., London, 1899), pp. 491 and 503; H. Sidgwick, art. 'Ethics,' in *EBR* and *Outlines of Hist. of Ethics*, London, 1886 (where *EBR* art. is considerably altered and enlarged); J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, London, 1878 (Essay on St. Paul and Seneca).

R. MARTIN POPE.

CONTINGENCY.—The term *contingentia*, as applied to that which is actual and accidental in contrast to that which is logically necessary and in accordance with law, originated with the Schoolmen. The idea involved goes back, however, to the problems of Greek philosophy. The thinkers

of Greece, once they had discovered the significance of general conceptions, and of the order of things typified thereby, came to distinguish between the world which moves in accordance with these conceptions and that which is not wholly determined by them. The former, at this stage of thought, was identified with the sphere of the heavenly bodies, the latter with the sublunary world, where the rigid sway of law—the authority of form and conception—was circumscribed by accident and anomaly. It was only upon a basis of materialism that Democritus was able to trace a rational order throughout the entire universe, while Heraclitus, the Eleatics, and the Stoics did the same only in virtue of their pantheistic principles. The philosophy of the Church, on its metaphysical side, attached itself, not to the two last-named schools, but to Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists. In this way it also took over the idea of 'contingency'; and accordingly we find it urging, now, with Aristotle, the imperfection of the lower sphere, and now, with Neo-Platonism, the disorganization of the pure Idea by matter and sense. In the ecclesiastical philosophy, moreover, the term 'contingency' acquired a new meaning from its connexion with Judeo-Christian Theism. It was now used to express the volitional nature of the Creator, who is not limited by universal laws, but actually reveals the most profound elements of His being in the contingency of what eludes these laws. Thus, as Conceptual Realism (*universalia ante res*) evoked counter-movements of an empirical character, and interest in maintaining the freedom of the Divine will tended to strengthen them, there arose in Scholasticism various attempts to reconcile the validity of the pure Idea with a recognition of the actual—compromises which ranged from the specifically Aristotelian systems to Mysticism and Nominalism.

Not until the dawn of modern philosophy was there a revival of the pantheism of Heraclitus and the Stoics, as represented in the philosophies of Nature that sprang up with the Renaissance; and, as it came to be recognized, in consequence of the newer investigation of Nature, that the laws of the sidereal world are identical with those of the lower sphere, there arose a fresh wave of pure Rationalism which excluded contingency. Then the mathematico-physical interpretation of the world, with the system of Spinoza in the forefront, made this revived Rationalism supreme. All the more vigorous, however, was the reaction of that Empiricism which, with its insistence upon the fact of contingency, took shape in the hands of Locke and Hume, of Leibniz and Kant; for, in spite of the fundamental Rationalism of the latter two thinkers, the one distinguished between the *vérités de raison* and the *vérités de fait*, the other between the rationality of the categories and the contingency of the matter of experience. The problem having thus been placed upon the new basis of a universal cosmic order, the Aristotelian view of contingency as confined to the sublunary world was, of course, discarded, as was also the Neo-Platonic identification of contingency with the irrationality of matter and sense. But contingency emerged once more in connexion with a general cosmical movement in epistemology and metaphysics, as the term was now used to signify the irrational factor beside and within the rational, and as the idea came into immediate touch with the questions regarding the conception of Deity; the thought of a creative will which acts without motive was pitted against that of a logical necessity by which the world proceeds from the Idea. It was in these controversies that the full significance of the conception of contingency was at length realized.

The various aspects of the problem must be considered in detail, as follows:

1. The difference between the universal and necessary categories of thought and the facts embraced, unified, and controlled by these categories.—The facts, as such, are irrational and contingent. We cannot comprehend why this or that should exist; and, even if any particular thing be rationalized in virtue of its derivation from another, yet that other itself remains contingent. Should it be affirmed, however, that the whole manifold of phenomena can logically be deduced from the fact of the world as a whole,—a consummation which as yet is not even remotely possible, and remains at best a logical postulate,—nevertheless, the existence of the world itself would still remain irrational and contingent. The truly incomprehensible thing, as D'Alembert puts it, is that anything should exist at all. Here, in fact, we have the reason why metaphysics must, in the ultimate resort, refer the existence of the actual to the arbitrary fiat of Deity, precisely as was done by Augustine and the Nominalists, and, in another form, by the modern theories of Schelling and von Hartmann. Yet even so decided a rationalist as Descartes fell back upon the same explanation of the world as a whole.

2. The contingent elements in rational and logical necessity itself.—The so-called 'cosmic law,' 'cosmic idea,' and 'cosmic unity' are never more than phantasms of the mind, or postulates, and are incapable of actual realization. The objective fact is in reality a number of laws operating together, by the simultaneous application of which to the particular the latter becomes intelligible. But this very plurality of laws makes the laws themselves contingent, alike in relation to one another and to the ideal of the one supreme cosmic law. Then there is the further difficulty of depicting the manner in which the real is controlled by the laws. If we are not prepared to fall back upon the myth of Plato's Ideal world, or of Scholastic Realism,—as is instinctively done nowadays by most of those who make much of the idea of law,—we must interpret the laws of Nature as primarily of subjective import, i.e. as lending order, form, and perspicuity to the facts—an import which is undoubtedly involved in the orderly nature of the world, though we cannot see how. This procedure, however, introduces an excessive degree of arbitrariness and contingency into the idea of law. And if we seek, with the modern idealism of Kant and Fichte, to explain the agreement of law with reality on the theory that the world is generated by consciousness, yet the fact remains that the application of the laws which regulate the world, and are to be regarded as forming an organized unity, is in all cases guided by some particular interest of the mind engaged, and consequently furnishes a rationale, not of the entire reality, but only of that special aspect favoured by the interest in question. Such a selective and isolating procedure, however,—and no other is possible,—also involves an element of contingency.

3. The idea of individuality.—Even if we assume the existence of a universal rational order, yet we must admit that every single concrete phenomenon found in this network of rationality has a certain individual content, i.e. it cannot be fully explained by universal laws, but always exhibits some special and distinct element not derivable therefrom. This holds good alike of the simplest natural event and of the most delicate complex of psychical life. As a matter of fact, the universe itself and its development do not form a particular case of a general conception, but are absolutely unique. The problem of individuation is therefore identical with the problem of contingency in its general sense. The fact of individuality plays havoc with every

system of thoroughgoing rationalism, which accordingly usually endeavours to deny or ignore the existence of the particular, or to interpret it as something else. This is what Leibniz means when he says that Spinoza would be right if there were no monads.

4. The problem of the new.—On the principles of a purely rational system, nothing new could ever emerge in the world of the real. Everything would be involved in the existence of the whole, and therefore eternally present therein; or the apparently new would be only a phase and form of forces always present in unvarying quantity. It is clear, however, that on either alternative the new is got rid of by a mere evasion. In the first case, it still persists as something that has emerged in the process of development, as that which distinguishes the actual from the potential; in the second, as appearance and manifestation. A thoroughgoing rationalism must, like the Eleatic school, repudiate movement and becoming altogether, for, if it does not, then the admission that something has come into existence which was not contained in the antecedent situation implies an element of contingency. Hegel, in importing into the rationality of the Idea the principles of negation and transition to the antithesis, and in basing metaphysics on the principle of becoming, really, though surreptitiously, provides a place in his system for the contingent and irrational. Metaphysically expressed, this contingent element is the idea of creation and 'positing,' which is here applied to the particular in the same way as to the universe in § 1 above. Epistemologically expressed, it is the idea of a causality of non-equivalence, as opposed to the causal equivalence with which alone a consistent rationalism can be satisfied. In the causality of equivalence the nexus signifies identity of essence, with a mere change of form. In causal non-equivalence the nexus provides a place for the new. The endeavour to reduce all our knowledge of causes to the former category is hopeless, and accordingly an element of contingency clings to the conception of causality itself.

5. The connexion between contingency and freedom.—Freedom, in the sense of self-determination by universal laws, and our concurrence therewith, as contrasted with the haphazard of a purely psychical motivation, involves *per se* no contingency whatever. On the contrary, as determination by universal moral and social law, it forms the true germ of the conception of law in general, which is first of all realized in the personal sphere, and then transferred to the uniformities of the world-process. In reality, however, the causal 'must' of the process of things, when judged by the absolute standard of ideal values, manifests itself as something contingent. For, if these values represent the true significance of the existent, it is impossible to see why they should demand for their realization this particular sphere of causality. Moreover, freedom, in the sense indicated, implies the exclusion of absolute rational necessity from that sphere of objectivity which is at once the base and the theatre of its activity, since it demands, in the order of things, a certain elasticity, in virtue of which it may intervene in the manifold and mould it to its own ends. From this side also, therefore, an element of contingency insinuates itself into the conception of universal laws—a conception which is thus once more shown to include an element of the merely actual, and to be no longer a conviction of the absolutely valid. In relation to the ideal of universal necessity, interrupted or variable laws are contingent. Here, in fact, we touch the grounds, as well as the limits, of determinism, which is never more than a deduction from the axiom of the absolute rationality of

things, and never reaches the level of a truth scientifically proved.

6. Contingency in the ideas of freedom themselves.—While the ultimate cognizable source of the idea of law, and, therefore, of unconditional necessity also, lies in the ideas of freedom, absolute value, and validity, yet the particular elements of that ideal order cannot be regarded as in themselves necessary. Our observation does not carry us beyond an actual control of the soul by ideas bearing this or that interpretation, but we can never derive these from the conception of absolute necessity. As regards their form, moral ideas may be unconditionally necessary, but their content is dependent upon the actual conditions of human life. Here we come upon the root of the old Scholastic controversy whether the moral laws are good because God wills them, or whether God wills them because they are good. We thus see that the idea of contingency pierces even to the deepest sources of all ideas of necessity.

The problem of contingency, then, in its various aspects, contains *in nuce* all the problems of philosophy, just as from the opposite side they are all contained in the problem of Rationalism. The question of contingency is in reality the question as to the relation of the irrational to the rational, of the actual to the logical, of creation to the eternity and necessity of the world. The reconciliation of these opposites is impossible. The actual thinking activity of man consists in a continuous combination of the antitheses. Absolute Rationalism, with Pantheism as its logical conclusion, and absolute Irrationalism, with its logical consequence of the irrelation and incoherence of things, or Polytheism, are alike impossible. The final synthesis does not lie within the scope of human thought, and all attempts to reach it lead to contradiction.

In its religious aspect, the idea of contingency implies the vitality, multiplicity, and freedom of the world in God, and, indeed, the creative freedom of God Himself; while Rationalism, on the other hand, signifies the unity of the world, the supremacy of the super-sensuous, the comprehension of all things in a universal Divine law. Here, again, the logical solution lies beyond us. In actual practice, it is true, Judæo-Christian Theism takes cognizance of both sides at once, and is therefore, speculatively, the most fertile religious principle. Even that interpretation, however, has its incoherences and its contradictions. But, in the last resort, it remains to be said, such antinomies are ineradicably present in every anti-theistic system as well—in Pantheism and Nominalistic Empiricism alike.

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CONTINUITY (Gr. *συνεχεια*, *τὸ συνεχές*; Lat. *continuatio*, *continuum*).—We may perhaps distinguish three stages in the history of the notion of continuity: (1) a pre-scientific stage, in which the notion is no more than a simple description of certain obvious facts of sense-experience; (2) a second stage, in which scientific philosophy first arrives at an apparently clear and distinct conception of the continuous as a peculiar kind of magnitude which cannot be divided into units. This stage of reflexion makes its appearance for the first time in the Eleatic criticism of the assumptions of Pythagorean Geometry, and culminates in the Philosophy of Aristotle, in which the conception of a 'uniform continuous motion' is central for the whole doctrine of Nature.

Mathematically, it leads to the sharp contrast between Arithmetic as the science of non-continuous, and Geometry as the study of continuous, magnitude, which we find carried out in the elements of Euclid. (3) The third stage, represented by the labours of the 19th cent. mathematicians, and embodied in such theories of the continuous as those of Dedekind and Georg Cantor, consists essentially in the attempt to develop, by means of an extension of the notion of number, a purely arithmetical conception of the continuum, and so to restore the correspondence, broken down by Eleatic criticism, between Geometry and Arithmetic. That the new mathematical conceptions must, as they become more widely known, exercise an important influence on the development of philosophical thought in general is clear, though it is perhaps yet too early to predict the precise form which that influence will take.

1. The primary notion of continuity.—Here, as in all study of the technical concepts of science, we have to begin by going back to the history of Greek thought in its expression in language. As abundant evidence proves, the primary notion implied by *συνεχής* is 'having nothing between,' 'presenting no sensible gap,' 'hanging together.' Thus, with reference to space, we find Thucydides speaking of the siege-works at Platæa as *συνεχῆ οἰκίσματα*, 'buildings without a gap,' which, as he goes on to say, looked like an unbroken wall (iii. 21). So, with reference to time, in the medical writings of the 5th cent. *συνεχεῖς πυρετοί*, 'non-remitting fevers,' are distinguished from *διαλειπόντες πυρετοί*, 'periodical fevers,' and in Thucydides (v. 85) a *συνεχὴς ῥῆσις*, or 'uninterrupted address,' is contrasted with a free conference, in which each point made by one party is immediately answered by the spokesman of the other. In all these cases we are dealing with a simple experience not yet coloured by scientific reflexion. Every one knows the difference between an unbroken line and a series of dots with sensible intervals between them, between a steady persisting pain and one which comes and goes, between the flight of a missile and that of a bird. The former seem to 'hang together,' the latter do not; and it is this sensible 'hanging together' which the plain man has in mind when he speaks of the former as 'continuous.' So far no distinction has been made between a 'continuous' and a 'discrete' kind of magnitude, one which cannot, and one which can, be broken up into ultimate units, themselves indivisible. The plain man, for instance, would not object to talking of a 'continuous' series of integers (e.g. those from 1 to 10), though he commonly looks on an integer as a 'collection of ones' (exactly as Aristotle did). He would call the series 'broken' only if one of the members were left out.

2. The Pythagorean Mathematics and the Eleatic criticism; views of Plato and Aristotle.—Serious reflexion on the presuppositions involved in the notion of the 'unbroken' first meets us in the criticism of the Eleatic philosophers of the 5th cent. on the mathematical and cosmological views of their Pythagorean neighbours. Amid all the uncertainty which surrounds the reconstruction of early Pythagoreanism, one thing seems certain. The Pythagoreans were primarily interested in Arithmetic because they saw in it the key to the interpretation of Nature. In particular, they looked on Geometry, the foundation of all genuine physical science, as an application of Arithmetic. 'Things are made up of numbers' because they are endowed with geometrical form and magnitude, and are therefore ultimately made of points, and a point is simply a 'unit having position' (*μονὰς θέσιν ἔχουσα*). The point differs from the 'unit,' or 'number 1,' only in the additional peculiarity that

it 'has position.' Hence, since a whole number (*ἀριθμός*) is simply a 'collection of units,' and since a geometrical figure is a collection of 'units having position,' there is an absolute correspondence between Arithmetic, the science of number, and Geometry. This is why, in the Pythagorean scheme of the sciences, retained by Plato in the *Republic* and *Epinomis*, Arithmetic is made to take precedence of Geometry. The later arrangement, followed by Euclid—in which Geometry, so far as it can be pursued without the study of incommensurables, comes first (bks. i.-iv. vi.), Arithmetic next (bks. vii.-ix.), and then the theory of surds (bk. x.)—is due to the effects of the criticism of which we have now to speak.

The Pythagorean doctrine itself led very directly to consequences which were fatal to its own assumptions. If lines are simply made up of an integral number of 'units,' it ought to be possible in theory to answer the question how many points there are in any given terminated line. In other words, all lines ought to be commensurable, since the 'unit' measures them all without remainder, just as any two integers, even if prime to each other, yet have 1 as their G.C.M. But an immediate consequence of the 'Pythagorean theorem' (Eucl. i. 47) itself is that there is no assignable whole number of 'units' in the base of the equilateral right-angled triangle.

In other words, $\sqrt{2}$ is incommensurable with any integer. If the Pythagoreans employed a strictly scientific method for their crowning achievement—the inscription of the dodecahedron in the sphere—they must likewise have known the construction of the 'golden section' (Eucl. ii. 11), which introduces us to another 'irrational' magnitude, $\sqrt{5}$. The legends which assert that Hippasus of Rhegium was drowned by the brotherhood for revealing one or other of these facts show how acutely the Pythagoreans felt the contradiction between their assumption and their conclusion. Hence, it is not wonderful that their critics should have pressed it to the utmost. Parmenides (fl. c. 475 B.C., according to Plato) had already attacked their fundamental position by asserting in his poem that, since *μη εἶν* ('what is not,' 'empty space') is a pure unreality, *τὸ εἶν* ('what is,' 'body') cannot be divided at all, because it is *συνεχὴς πᾶν* ('all hanging together'), and *εἶν εἶντι πελάζει* ('what is touches what is'). In other words, a body cannot be made up of 'units.' Similarly he had denied the reality of all temporal succession. Time is not made up of 'moments,' because what is 'never was and never will be, since it is *now*, all at once, one, unbroken' (*ἐπεὶ νῦν ἔστιν, ὁμοῦ πᾶν, ἓν, συνεχές*). This conclusion would be immeasurably strengthened by the discovery of surd or 'irrational' lengths (i.e. lengths which have not, to the unit of measurement we assume, the *λόγος*, or *ratio*, of one whole number to another). We may put the difficulty thus. The Pythagorean conception of the point as a 'unit' of length involves the view that, if on a terminated straight line AB we mark off points corresponding to the successive integers, we have only to make our unit of length sufficiently small (i.e. to take our successive points near enough together) to exhaust all the points of the line. The discovery of a single 'surd' length is enough to show that this is false. However close together we take our points, we shall never have included one which lies from the origin at a distance equal to the diagonal of a square on the 'unit' length; or again, there will not be among them any point at which a straight line is divided in 'extreme and mean ratio.' Such a conclusion would, of course, be destructive of Geometry, because it would invalidate some of its most fundamental constructions. How far the study of surds was advanced

in the 5th cent. we do not know, but probably not far, since in the *Theaetetus* (p. 147 D ff.) Plato assumes the discovery of the successive quadratic surds from $\sqrt{3}$ to $\sqrt{17}$ to have been a recent achievement of his friends, Theodorus, Theaetetus, and the younger Socrates. Plato and his school are known to have given much attention to the subject, which was especially advanced by Theaetetus, and an incidental reference in the early Peripatetic tract on 'Indivisible Lines' shows us that they had already examined and named at least two of the types of surd expressions studied in Euclid x.—the *ἀπὸ τετραγώνου* and the *ἐκ δύο ὁρίστων*.

But, even without the explicit study of surd magnitudes, results equally fatal to the Pythagorean identification of Geometry with applied Arithmetic can be derived from the argument from infinite divisibility, and it was this argument which was specially pressed home by Parmenides' pupil, Zeno of Elea (fl. c. 450, according to Plato). To appreciate Zeno's employment of the argument, we need to bear in mind that what the Greeks called *ἀριθμός* is always a natural whole number or integer. (Even in Euclid, the notion of a rational fraction does not occur. What we regard as rational fractions he always treats as *ratios* of one integer to another.) Now, argued Zeno, any length, however small, can be bisected, but no number of repeated bisections will ever leave us with an indivisible 'unit,' but only with a length which can be bisected again. Or, since the argument shows that the 'units' in any length must be infinitely numerous, if the 'unit' has any magnitude at all, every length will be infinite, while, if we take the 'units' to be zeros, every length will be infinitely small, since the sum of an infinity of zeros is still zero. Yet again, if a point has magnitude, the addition or subtraction of one point will alter the length of a line, while, if the point can be added or subtracted without affecting the length of the line, it has no magnitude, and is nothing at all (see the fragments of Zeno in Diels, *Vorsokratiker*², i. [1906] 130, 133 f.). The famous 'paradoxes' of Zeno, dealing with the concept of motion (for which see Diels, *loc. cit.* p. 131 f.; Burnet, *Early Gr. Philosophy*², pp. 366-369; Milhaud, *Les Philosophes-géomètres de la Grèce*, pp. 130-140), are all aimed at the same notion of space and time as made up of minima of length and duration, and, as against this conception, are unanswerable. They do not, however, really prove all that Zeno meant they should.

From Plato (*Parmenides*, 128 D) we learn that Zeno's object was to 'reinforce' the doctrine of Parmenides that 'the All is One,' by showing that the rival theory that it is Many leads to absurd results. He meant, then, to show that space and time cannot be continua of points or moments. All that he really proved was that they cannot consist of points or moments which themselves have magnitude, that the 'elements' of a continuum cannot be 'units' homogeneous with the continuum constructed out of them. He has, in fact, shown that there must be more points on the line, more moments in the shortest lapse of time, than there are members of the series of natural numbers, or, what comes to the same thing, that, though every continuum is infinitely divisible, infinite divisibility is not an adequate criterion of continuity. He has not shown that the number-system itself is not capable of an extension which would make it possible to establish a genuine one-to-one correlation between its members and all the points of a terminated straight line. Since, however, the Greeks had no conception of any method of constructing numbers other than the adding of successive units to an aggregate, the effect of Zeno's criticism was, in time, to effect a complete revolu-

tion in their conception of Geometry. Plato, indeed, clings to the old view of number as the foundation of Geometry, but that was probably, as we shall see, merely because he did not share the common view which identified number with whole number. But the Academy, whose results are represented for us by the work of Euclid (the last of a series of *στοιχεῖα*, all whose predecessors seem to have been connected with the Platonic school), re-arranged the curriculum of Mathematics in a way which can have been due only to the Eleatic criticism. In the final form given to the *στοιχεία*, or A-B-C, of the subject by Euclid, Plane Geometry comes first (bks. i.-vi.), embracing the theory of Proportion as re-cast by Eudoxus, so as to make it applicable to incommensurables and commensurables alike (bk. v.), then Arithmetic (where all the magnitudes are *ex hypothesi* commensurable [bks. vii.-ix.]), then the study of Incommensurables (which, for the Greeks, meant expressions involving quadratic surds [bk. x.]), finally Solid Geometry, culminating in the inscription of the dodecahedron (bks. xi.-xiii.). The effect is that the question of the commensurability or incommensurability of the lines dealt with is never raised in the books which treat of Plane Geometry. Only once does Euclid in these books explicitly undertake the construction of a surd magnitude—viz. in ii. 11, the construction of the 'golden section,' which had to be dealt with early because it is required for the inscription of the pentagon (iv. 11), and this in its turn for that of the dodecahedron (xiii. 17). In ii. 11 alone is it tacitly presupposed that a straight line possesses a continuity which is more than the capacity for being infinitely divided into aliquot parts, and it is interesting to see that the scholia to the proposition (Euclid, ed. Heiberg, v. 248-251) specially call attention to the fact that the 'problem cannot be represented by numbers,' 'is not explicable by counters.' We may note that the researches of the Academy into 'irrationals,' as represented by Euclid x., do not go beyond the consideration of various types of surds involving the extraction of a square root. This limitation is, in fact, the theoretical counterpart of the practical restriction to constructions which can be carried out with ruler and compass, for 'an analytical expression is capable of construction by ruler and compass only when it can be derived from given magnitudes by a finite number of rational operations and square roots, since the intersection of two straight lines, of two circles, of a straight line and a circle, is always equivalent to a rational operation or the extraction of a square root' (F. Klein, *Vorträge über ausgewählte Fragen der Elementargeometrie*, Leipz. 1895, *ad init.*). A further discovery of the 5th cent., which, if it could have been followed up, would have been even more fatal to the old arithmetical treatment of Geometry, was that of the so-called *quadratrix* (*τετραγωνίζουσα*), made by Hippias of Elis. This curve, which gets its name from the fact that, if it could be mechanically described, it would solve the problem of 'squaring the circle,' has for its equation in polar co-ordinates

$$\rho = \frac{\omega}{\sin \omega} \times \frac{2R}{\pi}, \text{ and is thus the first example in}$$

Greek mathematics of a transcendental function.

Summing up, we may say that the actual effect of the Eleatic criticism was to establish a sharp distinction between number, as composed of 'units, and *μέγεθος* ('continuous magnitude'), which has no 'unit' or 'minimum.' A number is simply *πλήθος μονάδων*, an 'aggregate of ones' (Euclid vii., def. 1, 2), and consequently any two numbers have a 'common measure.' The straight line, being infinitely divisible into lesser straight lines, has no 'unit,' and hence two such lines often have no

'common measure,' and are therefore incommensurable. The point is put very clearly in the introductory scholium to Euclid x. (Heiberg, v. 415):

'The Pythagoreans first began to investigate commensurability, being the first to discover it from their study of numbers. For, whereas the number 1 is a common measure of all numbers, they failed to find a common measure of magnitudes (*μεγεθῶν*). The reason is that any number, however you divide it, leaves you with a least part which admits no further division. But no magnitude, though you divide it *ad infinitum*, leaves you with a part which is a minimum . . . but only with a part which can itself be divided *ad infinitum*.'

Thus, owing to the criticism of Zeno, infinite divisibility came to be regarded as the sufficient criterion of continuity. In language the effect of the polemic was that the old definition of the point as a 'unit with position,' which we know to be Pythagorean, was replaced by that which now stands at the opening of Euclid's *Elements*, 'A point is that which has no parts' (*σημεῖον ἔστιν οὐ μέρος οὐθέν*). In thus being indivisible the point does not, of course, differ from the 'unit,' or 'number 1' (*μονάς*) (cf. Plato, *Republic*, 525 E), but it can no longer be called *μονάς*, because it is now clearly seen that, unlike the 'unit,' the point cannot be a 'measure' of anything. Hence in Plato and Aristotle *μονάς* always means the number 1; for 'point' Aristotle always says *σημεῖον* or *σημῆν*, while Plato (see Aristotle, *Metaph.* A 992^a, 21) employed the designation *ἀρχὴ γραμμῆς*, 'the beginning of the line.' There are perhaps still perceptible traces of 5th cent. opposition to the consequences which Zeno had drawn from infinite divisibility. Protagoras, like Zeno, a member of the Periclean circle, argued, in 'refutation' of the geometers, that a circle and tangent have a stretch, not a single point, in common (Aristotle, *Metaph.* B 997^b, 35). This looks like an attempt to deny the infinite divisibility of the line, and to identify the *minimum visibile* with the unit of extension, and thus to get rid of the notion of incommensurability. Hence it may be, as Burnet has suggested (*op. cit.* 188), that the formula Protagoras chose for his relativism, 'Man is the *measure* of all things,' was influenced by opposition to the new doctrine of magnitudes which have 'no common measure.' The anti-mathematical argument of Protagoras led to a rejoinder from his greater townsman Democritus, in the catalogue of whose works drawn up in the 1st cent. A.D. by Thrasyllus we find one on 'the contact of the circle and the sphere,' and another on 'irrational lines.' According to Plato and Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 144 ff.), who are unwillingly confirmed by Xenophon (*Mem.* iv. vii. 3, 5), Socrates, too, was among the mathematicians, and it may be noted that in the three chief places where Plato makes him exhibit mathematical interests (*Meno*, 82-85 B, *Theaetetus*, 148 AB, *Republic*, 546 BC) a problem involving surd magnitudes is, in each case, under consideration.

Plato's attitude towards the problem raised by the discovery of surds, and the recognition that the infinitely divisible cannot be made of 'units,' is, at first sight, perplexing. He is deeply interested in the study of surd expressions, and fully aware of the infinite divisibility of *μεγεθῶν*, but refuses to take the step of severing Geometry from Arithmetic, and of selecting elementary Plane Geometry (which can be studied without any reference to the existence or non-existence of 'units') as the subject with which Mathematics should begin. To the last he insists that Arithmetic, the theory of numbers, is the foundation on which all other branches of Mathematics should be based, and the clue to their meaning. We can exempt him from the charge of inconsequence only by supposing that his retention of Arithmetic as the corner-stone of Mathematics was due to a conviction that 'number' is not exhausted by the series of the natural numbers; the *μοναδικὸν ἀριθμὸν*, or

numbers made up of units, which Aristotle always asserts are the only numbers there are. If the concept of number be widened so as to take in the surds, so Plato probably thought, we may still adhere to the notion of one-to-one correspondence of the points on a terminated line with the members of the number-series, without incurring any of the difficulties which were fatal to the old Pythagorean geometry. (Just so; our ordinary Analytical Geometry rests on assuming such a correspondence of the points of the line with the complete series of the real numbers.) That Plato had formed some such conception of a possible extension of the concept of number seems clear from more than one consideration. The suggestion, as Milhaud has shown (*op. cit.* bk. ii. ch. 5), explains why Aristotle regards it as a capital point against Plato to insist that there is no way of generating numbers except by the addition of units, and why so much is made in *Metaphysics* M of the complaint that the 'numbers' of which the Platonic 'Ideas' are composed are not all *συμβλητοί*, commensurable with one another. Aristotle is, in effect, complaining that Plato's theory presents us with expressions like $\sqrt{2}$, $\sqrt{3}$, $a + \sqrt{b}$, and the like; whereas he himself holds that there is no place for them in the number-series, just as Euclid is always careful to speak of such magnitudes as *μεγέθη*, and to symbolize them by straight lines and rectangles. Positive evidence to the same effect is furnished by a remarkable passage of one of Plato's latest works, the *Epinomis*, the point of which is to maintain that all Mathematics is really the study of the generation and properties of numbers (*Epin.* 990 C ff.). We are particularly told here that the names 'geometry' and 'stereometry' are altogether misleading, and the former is said to be 'extremely absurd.' 'Geometry' is 'manifestly an assimilation, effected by reference to surfaces, of numbers which are not in their own nature similar'; and 'stereometry' is the 'study of numbers raised to the third power, and similar to the nature of the solid, where again those which are dissimilar are made similar by a further device.' (The passage should be read in Burnet's edition, the only one in which the text has not been perverted by editorial dullness.)

The passage just quoted represents the highest development of the Platonic theory of number. It is clearly an attempt to vindicate for the number-series itself the same character of a continuum as that which belongs to the straight line, by finding room in it for numbers answering to the irrational lengths of Geometry. If we followed out Plato's suggestions in his own spirit, what they would lead to would be something of the following kind. Taking a terminated straight line, we might first assign the co-ordinates 0 and 1 to its end-points. Then, by infinitely repeated division, we should get one and only one point corresponding to each rational fraction between 0 and 1. Then, by inserting further points corresponding to all the irrationals between 0 and 1, we should obtain points corresponding to the whole series of algebraic numbers. The resulting number-series would not, however, exhaust the points on the line, and would therefore not possess the continuity of the point-series, since it would contain no terms whose co-ordinates are transcendental numbers, though it would contain an infinity of points not obtainable by the process of repeated division.

Aristotle's statement that Plato refused to speak of 'points,' but called them instead 'the beginning of the line,' seems to indicate another attempt to face a difficulty inherent in the current conception of whole number. From the earliest times of Pythagoreanism downwards, we find it regularly assumed that the number-series must begin with 1,

the 'unit.' But the criticism of Zeno had shown that we cannot think of the 'point' as a 'unit length.' If the correspondence between Geometry and Arithmetic is to be kept up, as Plato wished it to be, we must begin our number-series with something which answers to a zero of magnitude in Geometry; the first number must be 0, not 1. It was, no doubt, this character of the point as a zero which led Plato to avoid recognizing it as a distinct entity, and to call it 'the beginning of the line.' It seems most probable, however, that he did not clearly draw the right conclusion that, in the same way, 0 is the beginning of the number-series. More probably he thought of the point, as Xenocrates is known to have done, as an 'infinitesimal line,' and must be added to the list of thinkers like Leibniz, who have been led astray in their theory of the continuous by this phantasm of a thing which is somehow at once something and nothing.

Further interesting contributions are made to the theory of continuity in the puzzling dialogue *Parmenides*. Without raising the question of the purport of the dialogue as a whole, we may note the references made in its antinomies to the difficulty of regarding a continuum as constructed out of real elements. We may take first the treatment of 'contact' (p. 148 D ff.). When a number of things are in contact, each 'lies next to' (*ἐφ' ἑξ ἑς κείρα*) that which is in contact with it; e.g. if a straight line is made up of distinct 'units' in contact with one another, the units must leave no gaps between them, and each must have a definite 'next adjacent' unit. In modern phraseology, the line must be a 'well-ordered' assemblage of points. Hence, in a series of n members there must be $(n-1)$ contacts. It is therefore inferred that, 'if there is not number in τὰ ἄλλα' (the things 'other than the One,' 'the Many'), the 'One' cannot 'be in contact with them.' For Geometry this plainly means that, if the points on the line are not 'units' (and the criticism of Zeno had shown that they are not), no point on a line has an immediately adjacent or next point. Since every integer has a next integer in the actual number-series, this means that the points on a terminated straight line, taken in the order of their distances from one of the end-points, cannot be symbolized by the series of integers. Continuity, as exhibited in the line, must be something other than the mere unbroken succession of the whole number-series 1, 2, 3, . . . n , . . . Later on (155 E-157 B), we have an argument to show that the very concept of change leads to the thought of time as a series of 'moments' which have no duration, just as the points on a line have no extension. When a body which was moving comes to rest, or *vice versa*, there is a transition from the one state to the other. This cannot take place 'in time,' i.e. there is no interval, however small, in which the body is neither moving nor at rest, but passing out of motion into rest; in any given interval it is either moving or stationary. Hence the transition occupies no duration, but happens instantaneously, and we are compelled to form the 'paradoxical' (*ἄτοπος*) conception of the 'instantaneous' (*τὸ ἐξαίφνης*). The paradox seems to lie in the fact that it is hard to decide whether the moment at which the velocity 0 is reached should be counted as the last moment of motion or as the first moment of rest. We must, in the one case, think of the time during which the body moves as having no last moment, in the other of the time during which it is stationary as having no first moment—an immediate consequence of the consideration that no moment has a 'next' moment.

In Aristotle we meet with none of the anticipations of a ripper thought which fascinate us in Plato, but we have, by way of compensation, a very

explicit account of continuity, in so far as infinite divisibility may be taken as a sufficient criterion of it. The notion is fundamental in the Aristotelian system, because the steady and uninterrupted process of the development of latent potentialities into actualities, which, for Aristotle, constitutes 'Nature,' depends in the last resort upon the uniform and continuous movement of the heavens, and continuous movement demands the continuity of time and space. Hence any denial of the continuity of extension, duration, and movement is fatal to Aristotle's whole *Naturphilosophie*. The tract on the *Categories* gives us the general view current in Academic circles and presupposed by the more special discussions in Aristotle's discourses on 'Physics.' τὸ πᾶσον (*quantum*) has two species—τὸ διακριμένον (elsewhere also τὸ διαπεριόν), 'the discrete'; and τὸ συνεχές, 'the continuous.' The vital difference between them is that the 'parts' (*μέρη*) of the 'discrete' *quantum* have no κοινὸς ὅρος, or 'common boundary,' at which they join; e.g. 10 (for Aristotle always confuses the number of a collection with the collection itself, and many of his attacks on Plato arise from inability to see that, though there are many pairs of things in the world, there is only one number 2, and this number itself is not a 'pair') consists of 7 + 3, but no one of the 'units' of the 7 is identical with any unit of the 3. But the 'parts' of a 'continuous' *quantum* always have such a 'common boundary,' which, in the case of the line, is a point; i.e. when the terminated straight line AB is divided at C, the writer reckons C as belonging both to AC, of which it is the last point, and to CB, of which it is the first, thus illogically counting the one point C twice over. Similarly with time: the present moment 'joins on' (*συνάπτει*) both to the past and to the future. It may be taken either as the first or as the last moment of an unbroken time-series. This is the really important point in the distinction drawn for us between the two kinds of *quanta*, since it implies, of course, that the *συνεχές πᾶσον* or continuum is infinitely divisible, and therefore does not consist of units or minima. It is added that not all continua are composed of parts which 'have position'; e.g. since the past, present, and future are not all co-existent, no part of time is 'anywhere' relatively to the rest. The parts have not position, but only 'order' (*τάξις*), and so far resemble the members of the whole number-series. (We must not, of course, press this analogy too far, since it would lead to the view that the 'parts' of time form a 'well-ordered' aggregate, in which each term has an immediately next term. Time would then be made up of minima of duration, and would not be continuous in the writer's sense [*Categories*, 5^b-6^a].)

More characteristic is the account given in *Metaphysics* Δ 1020^a, 7 ff.—πᾶσον (*quantum*) means 'that which can be divided into constituents inherent in it, whereof each is one and "this"' (τὸ διαπεριόν εἰς ἐνυπάρχοντα ὧν ἕκαστον ἢ ἕκαστον ἐν τι καὶ τὸδε τι πέφυκεν εἶναι [1020^a, 8]). Such a *quantum* is a πλήθος, or assemblage, if it can be numbered; a μέγεθος if it can only be measured. Thus a πλήθος can be divided into countable non-continuous elements, but a μέγεθος only into continua. (We cannot, e.g., divide a line into points, but only into lesser lines, so that infinite divisibility is taken as the criterion of μέγεθος, 'continuous quantity.') A delimited (πεπερασμένον) πλήθος is a whole number; a delimited μέγεθος is a line, surface, or body, according to the number of its dimensions. Thus there is only one kind of magnitude which is continuous in its own right (καθ' αὐτό)—extension. Time and movement are continua, not in their own right, but derivatively (κατὰ συμβεβηκός), in virtue of their connexion with the μέγεθος *per se*, extension. Since the trajectory of

a moving body is a continuum, the motion is a continuum also, and therefore also the time occupied in the transit. A fuller, but logically unsatisfactory, account is given in the *Physics*. The Eleatics had held that the continuous is indivisible (a theory which meets us again in Spinoza). Aristotle points out that, on the contrary, only the continuous is infinitely divisible (185^b, 10). So we are told in bk. I that 'motion' (the fundamental category of a science of 'Nature') is generally held (*δοκεῖ*) to be one of the continua, and it is in the continuous that the 'infinite' first makes itself noticeable. Hence, those who give definitions of continuity commonly presuppose the concept of the infinite, on the ground that 'what is divisible *ad infinitum* is continuous' (200^b, 18). The point that the one primary continuum is spatial recurs in bk. Δ, ch. xi. Time is relative to change (*μεταβολή*), since it is only where we perceive change that we are conscious of duration. If the 'seven sleepers' woke up, they would not be aware that time had elapsed during their sleep. They would 'connect the former *now* with the subsequent *now*, and make one of them.' To know what time is, we have to ask in what way it is related to motion (*τι τῆς κινήσεως ἔστω*). But what moves, moves *from* somewhere to somewhere. The character of motion depends on that of the path it traverses. Motion is thus continuous because its path is so, and time is continuous because motion is. Time is 'the number of motion in respect of before and after' (220^a, 24). The use of the word 'number' is unhappy, since Aristotle is never tired of insisting that there are no numbers but the *μοναδικὰς ἀριθμούς*, the whole numbers made by addition of *units*; and the definition, taken strictly, is thus inconsistent with the view that there is no minimum of duration. The Platonic account (see *Timæus*, 37 D, and the Academic collection of *δρος*) that time is the *measure* (*μέτρον*) of motion, which Aristotle sometimes repeats, is thus much more accurate.

We finally reach Aristotle's own formal definition of *ὁ συνεχές* in *Physics* E 227^a, where it is given as the last resultant of a whole series of previous definitions. Things are 'together' (*ἅμα*) when they are in 'one and the same primary place' (*ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ πρώτῳ*), i.e. enclosed in the same circumambient surface. Two things of which the extremities are 'together' are 'in contact,' or 'touch' each other. A thing is 'between' (*μεταξὺ*) two others, when something which is continuously changing arrives at it 'before it reaches the end of the process of change' (i.e. C is between A and B, if, in moving continuously from A to B, you pass C before reaching B. Thus the 'derivative' notion of continuous movement is illogically employed to define the 'primary' continuum of extension!). We now define 'next after,' and 'immediately adherent.' A term in an ordered series is 'next after' (*ἐπέξῃς*) another when there is no term of the same kind between them. The phrase 'adherent to' (*ἐχόμενον*) means both 'next after' a given term and 'in contact' with it (*ὃ ἀν' ἐπέξῃς ὁ ἀπτηται*). Finally, continuity is a special case of immediate adherence, which arises when the two 'ends' (*πέρας*) of things which immediately adhere become one and identical (*λέγω δ' εἶναι συνεχές ὅταν ταῦτὸ γένηται καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑκατέρῳ πέρας οἱς ἀπτηνται*). Alexander of Aphrodisias, as we learn from Simplicius, found this passage hard to interpret, and with good reason. Apart from the logical *hysteron proteron* already noted, there is a further difficulty involved in the definitions of 'together' and 'contact.' What is meant by 'the same primary place'? Simplicius escapes from Alexander's uncertainty as to whether the notion of continuity is not tacitly presupposed by such a phrase only by giving

it a purely relative sense; it may mean at will 'in the same town,' 'the same house,' 'the same room,' etc. In fact, it has no definite meaning at all. The same defect attaches to the subsequent definitions, which depend on that of 'together.' Two things are 'in contact' when their extremities are 'together.' And such contact may exist without continuity. The extremities, as in the case of things which are merely 'adherent,' may be 'together' and yet remain distinct. Such a definition does not satisfy our geometrical notion of 'contact.' However small we take the 'primary place' of the two extremities to be, so long as the extremities remain distinct, there is no contact. However small the distance between a straight line and a circle may be, so long as it remains finite at all, the straight line is not a tangent; it becomes a tangent only when there is one point, and only one, which lies both on the circle and on the straight line. Thus, surfaces which 'adhere' must be absolutely identical. Aristotle is, in fact, assuming (with an eye to his astronomical theories) that we can have a set of concentric spheres enclosed within one another so that no space is left between the convexity of one and the concavity of the next outermost, and yet that the convexity and the concavity remain distinct surfaces. But this is geometrically impossible.

The one point of real interest which emerges from the discussion is the hint of a connexion between the notion of continuity and that of series. As Aristotle states the connexion, it is open to unanswerable criticism, since the very impossibility of dividing the continuous into 'units' shows that a continuum, as given, cannot consist of members each having a 'next following term,' but the main idea has borne remarkable fruit in our own days in Cantor's 'ordinal' definition of the continuum, and a striking attempt has been made by Zermelo (in *Mathematische Annalen*, LIX. iv. 514 ff.) to show that any continuous series (e.g. that of the points on a terminated straight line) permits of an arrangement of its members such that every one has a 'next following' member. That no member of such a series as given in experience has a 'next' member is, with laudable inconsistency, insisted on by Aristotle himself. 'Nothing continuous can be made out of indivisibles, e.g. a line cannot be made out of points' (*Phys.* Z 231^a, 24). For, by definition, the extremities (*ἐσχατα*) of things which are continuous coalesce, but an indivisible point or moment has *no* extremities. The consequence is that the line cannot 'consist of' points, since even by infinitely repeated division we can only break it up into lesser lines, which are, again, divisible. *συνεχῇ* can be divided only into *συνεχῇ*, or, as Bradley has put it, space (and time) are 'lengths of lengths of—nothing that we can find' (*Appearance and Reality*², London, 1897, p. 37). On the straight line, e.g., we can find nothing but points, yet it is not a series or class of points, but something more, though what that something is we cannot say. This leads Aristotle to break with the Platonic view that Arithmetic, Geometry, and Kinematics form a single science with a single body of postulates. 'Physics,' so he unhappily concludes, is distinct from Mathematics, and Mathematics itself falls into two distinct doctrines, each with its own peculiar postulates—the theory of the *διαρισμένον πᾶσον*, or number, Arithmetic; and Geometry, the theory of the *συνεχές πᾶσον*—and it is a logical fallacy to attempt to prove a conclusion which belongs to the one science from the postulates of the other (*οὐκ ἄρα ἔστιν ἐξ ἄλλου γένους μεταβάττα δεῖξαι, ὅσον τὸ γεωμετρικὸν ἀριθμητικῇ*, *Anal. Post.* A 75^b, 38). Zeno has at last come by his rights, in spite of Aristotle's personal failure to appreciate his historical significance.

To consider the way in which Aristotle goes on to develop the view that the regular and continuous development from potentiality to actuality which makes up the life of Nature, as we see it in the evolution of the adult organism from the germ, and of the germ, in turn, from the adult organism, or even in any steady qualitative change from one 'opposite' (e.g. white, hot, dry) to its contrary (black, cold, moist), depends upon the domination of Nature by the unending 'uniform' and continuous circular revolutions of the celestial spheres—would take us too far from our immediate subject. We may merely note that it is an indispensable feature of this view that these revolutions are 'irreversible,' and always take place not only with uniform velocity, but in the same sense, since a sudden reversal would be equivalent to a momentary breach of continuity. The moving body would, Aristotle thinks, have to be twice at the same point X, if X is to be both the goal of the movement in one direction and the starting-point for the movement in the other. Motion in a straight line without reversal is excluded by the assumed finitude of the universe, and thus, according to Aristotle, only the circle remains, since it is the only curve of which 'every part is congruent with every other,' i.e. the only curve of constant curvature. (For all this, see *Physics* ②, *de Caelo*, and *de Generat.*, *passim*; *Metaph.* A, chs. vi.-viii.)

From the special tract against Xenocrates and his assumption of infinitesimal lines which are indivisible (*de Lineis Insecabilibus*, a work of some early Peripatetic, apparently not Aristotle himself) nothing can be drawn for our purpose, though it is historically interesting, as showing that the study of at least some of the irrationals examined in Euclid x. goes back to Plato and his immediate followers, as does also the notion of the 'infinitesimal.' Some interesting notices are preserved to us by Sextus Empiricus, in bk. x. of his attack on Dogmatic Philosophers, which reveal the fact that the polemic of the Megarian formal logicians against Aristotle's whole conception of the gradual development of potentiality into actuality, of which we read, e.g., in *Metaphysics* ② 1046b, 29-32, was connected with a revival of Zeno's arguments against motion. Diodorus Cronus (*Sextus, contra Mathematicos*, x. 86) specially attacked the notion of a 'state' of motion, i.e. a time at which one cannot say of a moving material point (an *ἀκίνητος σῶμα*, i.e. a 'material point,' not an 'atom' in the sense of Democritus or Epicurus, since the atom was *not* *ἀκίνητος*) that it is at any position, but only that it is moving from one position to another, though one can, Diodorus admits, say that such a body must have moved, when it is seen first at A and afterwards at B. The view of the reality of a 'state of movement' here attacked is, in fact, one of the chief difficulties inherent in Aristotle's whole treatment of continuity.

Nothing would be gained by following the history of the notion of continuity in Greek philosophy beyond the time of Aristotle. The Stoics, to be sure, influenced later thought considerably by their vigorous insistence on the idea of the absolute continuity of *matter*, but neither they nor the Neo-Platonists, whose doctrines may be called the final outcome of Greek speculation, added anything to what Aristotle had laid down as to the logical analysis of the concept of the continuous itself. The sharp division between the two kinds of *μέτρα*, those which are divisible into ultimate 'units' (the 'discrete' *quantia*) and those which are not (the *συνεχές*, or continuous *μέτρα*), the adoption of infinite divisibility as the criterion of continuity, and the consequent view that incommensurables belong to Geometry and have no place in Arithmetic—were the permanent legacy from the ancient to the modern philosophy of the continuous.

3. Modern attitude.—The general acquiescence in Aristotle's distinctions makes it unnecessary to treat at any great length of the views of most modern philosophers on the nature of a continuum. For the most part these views have been determined by the conception of infinite divisibility as the sufficient and necessary condition of continuity. Even Descartes seems to have been blinded to the real difficulties of the subject by his familiarity with the practice of employing the symbols of Algebra indifferently to denote rational and irrational magnitudes. He appears never to have asked himself what conception must be formed of number, if we are to recognize such expressions as $\sqrt{2}$, $\sqrt[3]{2}$, and the like as numbers, and thus his *Geometrie*, with all its historical importance, can scarcely be called a contribution to the philosophy of Mathematics. Nor does it appear that the continuity which he claims for matter amounts to more than infinite divisibility,

the absence of real 'atoms' or 'units' of extension. Hobbes explicitly accepts the Aristotelian definition, 'Continua inter se tum spatia tum tempora duo dicuntur, quorum est aliqua pars communis' (*de Corpore*, vii. 10); 'Corpora etiam duo . . . continua dicuntur eadem ratione qua duo spatia' (*ib.* viii. 9). Spinoza even reverts to the Eleatic position, according to which extension, because continuous, is not really divisible at all, and is supposed to have parts or elements only by an illusion: 'Substantia absolute infinita est indivisibilis' (*Ethica*, i. 13); 'ex his sequitur . . . nullam substantiam corpoream, quatenus substantia est, esse divisibilem' (*ib.* corollarium). Hence he infers that *quantitas* is divisible only so long as we merely *imagine* it—i.e. think inaccurately about it; when we form the *concept* of it, we see it to be 'infinita, unica, et indivisibilis' (*Ethica*, i. 15, schol.). It should follow that we can form no *concept* of a plane, a straight line, or a point—a conclusion which would be the *reductio ad absurdum* of Spinozism. Similarly Kant's critical philosophy throws no real light on the nature of a continuum. Indeed, if we take seriously the *Asthetik*, with its account of the way in which the mathematical concepts of space and time are generated, we shall clearly be led to think of both as composed of minima, and therefore not continuous, though, to be sure, this account conflicts with the repeated assertion that both are 'infinite given wholes.' (The 'synthetic unity of apperception' cannot help us here, since it is just as much manifested in the counting of the units of a group of 'discrete' *quantia* as in that 'drawing' of a line of which Kant has so much to say.) So, when we are told in the account of the 'Schematism of the pure Concepts of the Understanding' that if we think of any number, e.g. 5 or 500, this thought is 'the representation of a method for representing in an image an assemblage conformably to a certain concept,' we see at once that Kant is thinking exclusively of the natural integers, which do *not* form a continuum. How it can be true that 'the pure image of all magnitudes (*quantorum*) of the outer sense is space, and that of all objects of the senses in general is time,' and that 'the pure *schema* of magnitude (*quantitatis*) as a concept is number, which is a representation which comprehends in one the successive addition of one to one,' remains an unsolved mystery, unless space and time are to be non-continuous; and the difficulty is only increased when Kant goes on to say that both space and time are '*quantia continua* because no part of them can be given, . . . except in such a way that the part is once more a space or a time.' Nothing can conceal the fact that Kant is trying to combine Aristotle's denial that a *συνεχές* can consist of minima with a theory which requires the construction of space and time out of such minima. He even repeats in this very connexion the old criterion of continuity, that it is 'that property of magnitudes in virtue of which no part of them is the minimum (no part simple).' It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the 'antinomies' of the *Transcendental Dialectic* have really nothing to do with the problems of continuity. What their *theses* presuppose is merely the summation of infinite series, and the difficulties Kant professes to find in such a summation exist just as much where every term of the series has a next term as where it has not; e.g. the difficulty, if there is one, about the completion of the synthesis exists just as much when we consider 2 as the sum of the series $1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2^2} + \dots + \frac{1}{2^n} + \dots$ as when we ask whether the 'world had a beginning in time,' as Hegel correctly saw. In principle, Ka t,

like Aristotle, identifies the infinitely divisible with the continuous.

Hegel's own account is so largely coloured by metaphor, and so distorted by his determination to prove that every concept is precisely what it is not (that, *e.g.*, perfect continuity and absolute discreteness are the same thing), that it is far from easy to say what his real meaning is. Since, however, he supposes Kant's second antinomy (everything must be, and yet cannot be, composed of simple elements) to be concerned with continuity (*Werke*, iii. 216), he, too, presumably means by continuity no more than divisibility *ad infinitum*. His enthusiastic praise of Zeno, and of Aristotle's treatment of the problems of space, time, and motion, points to the same conclusion (*ib.* p. 227). The vagueness of Hegel's notions may be seen from the fact that he actually regards the *Anzahl*, or cardinal number, of a group as itself a group of 'units,' and asserts that it is at once 'continuous' (because it is one group among others) and 'discrete' (because it is a group of units (*ib.* p. 233 f.)).

Leibniz may fairly demand separate consideration, in virtue of the peculiar stress which he lays on the Principle of Continuity as fundamental, not only for Mathematics, but for Metaphysics. This principle, as stated by him, is much more than an assertion of the continuity of space, time, and motion. Since his philosophy requires a denial of the validity of a vacuum, he is led further to maintain the continuity of matter against all forms of the atomic theory. Further, the conception is regarded as holding not merely of *phenomena*, but of the substances or 'monads,' whose interrelations and internal self-development are the reality of which the extended and temporal world is symbolical. Real substances form a continuous hierarchy, in which each member differs from some other by a purely infinitesimal difference. Or, as Leibniz himself states the principle in a letter to Malebranche, dated 8th Dec. 1692, 'datis ordinatis etiam quæsitæ sunt ordinata et consentanea.' Hence the absolute continuity of the series of monads has the continuity of the various *μετέθω* as an immediate consequence (Couturat, *Logique de Leibniz*, p. 233 ff.). A special case of this principle is the correspondence between soul and body, which Leibniz describes as follows Couturat, *Opusc. et frag.* p. 621): 'God has from the beginning constructed soul and body with such skill that . . . omnia quæ in uno fiunt per se perfecte respondeant omnibus quæ in altero fiunt.' As to the nature of the continuity thus asserted, we learn much from the dialogue on motion composed by Leibniz on his journey of 1676 to visit Spinoza (*op. cit.* pp. 594-627). The question there raised is whether the moment at which a man dies may be regarded as at once the last moment at which he is alive and the first at which he is dead (as it must be, according to the Aristotelian account of *τὸ συνεχές*). To say that Aristotle's view is correct seems to violate the law of contradiction; to reject it seems to imply that two moments—the last of life and the first of death—are immediately adjacent, and, if moments can be immediately adjacent, why not points? (*ib.* p. 601). But we are thus led to conceive of extension and time as made up of series of indivisible points and moments (*ib.* p. 608), and find ourselves involved in the 'labyrinth of the continuum.' For we are forced to say that the number of points in the side of a square is infinite, and, since we can draw one and only one parallel from any point in the diagonal to a given side, and since this parallel cuts two of the sides of the square in determinate points, the diagonal will contain the same number of points as the side,

and will therefore be equal to it. This Leibniz regards as a proof that the line cannot be an aggregate of points (*ib.* p. 611). The number of points in each will, in fact, he argues, be identical with the 'number of all numbers,' since in both cases it is infinite. Leibniz's way out of the difficulty is to deny that there is a 'number of all numbers,' since, as he holds, such a number, if there were one, would be the greatest possible integer, but there is no greatest possible integer. Hence there is no such thing as a *ratio* of one infinite to another (*ib.* p. 612 f.), and no assignable number of points on a line. There are as many as we choose to take, but we never take all there are to take. It is, indeed, true that every portion of extended matter is actually infinitely divided, but it is divided into portions which are themselves continua, not into points, and no portion is actually divided into all the minor parts possible. Thus, in the end, Leibniz adheres to the position that the continuous cannot be composed of simple elements, and it is for this very reason that space and time and motion are regarded by him as merely phenomenal, since the real, as we read at the beginning of the *Monadology*, must be composed of simple elements. How these views are to be reconciled with the further positions that there is at least one continuum, that of the monads themselves, which does consist of simple elements, and that order in space is phenomenal of the order of real monads, it is not very easy to see.

4. The number-continuum in modern Mathematics.—Under this head it is impossible to say more than a few words in the present article. The reader who wishes for more information may be referred to the works mentioned in the annexed bibliography, especially to the brief and luminous chapter on the continuum in Couturat's work, *Les Principes des mathématiques*. As we have seen, the first discovery of the continuum was due to the discovery of incommensurable magnitudes in Geometry, which led to the age-long severance of the originally united studies of Arithmetic and Geometry. It has been the great achievement of the modern Theory of Assemblages to show that the number-system is so far from being inadequate to cope with the continuity of the points of the straight line (the so-called 'linear continuum') that the only precise definition of continuity we can obtain is one which can be stated in terms involving nothing but the properties of ordered numerical series, and that the only certainly known linear continuum is that of the 'real' numbers. In other words, it is no immediate datum of intuition that the straight line is absolutely continuous. Its continuity is postulated, not intuited, and means no more than the assumption that there are on every terminated straight line as many distinct points as there are distinct real numbers in a given segment of the number-series, such as that composed of all the 'real numbers' $>0 < 1$. To begin with, we have to see that none of the old familiar criteria of continuity is really adequate to express the property which we have in mind when we speak of the continuousness of this number-series. It is clear that infinite divisibility is no such criterion, since it gives us only a series corresponding to that of the rational fractions. By no process of infinite division of a unit length could we ever arrive at such quotients as $\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$, $\frac{1}{\sqrt{3}}$. This corresponds to the arithmetical consideration that the complete assemblage of rational fractions between 0 and 1 does not form a continuous series, since it omits all the fractions which have surds for their numerator or denominator or both. Even the inclusion in the series of all fractions having algebraical

surd in their numerator or denominator would not make it completely continuous, since we should still have no place left for the infinitely numerous fractions involving 'transcendental' numbers in their numerator or denominator. In fact, it is possible to make such an arrangement of the series of rational fractions, and even of algebraic fractions, that each term of the series has an immediately next term. In other words, both series can be so arranged that each member corresponds in order to one and only one member of the series of natural integers, 1, 2, 3, . . . Their ordinal number, or 'type of order,' is thus the same as that of the series of integers itself. Nor, again, is the number-continuum adequately defined by the property that no term of the series as taken in ascending order has an immediately adjacent term. For this would obviously be true of the assemblage of rational numbers, and again of that of all algebraic numbers, though neither of these exhausts the whole of the number-series. The task of the modern theorist is thus a twofold one. He has first to formulate a satisfactory definition of the concept 'real' number, showing not only how the assemblage of 'real' numbers is logically related to that of integers or 'natural' numbers, but also how the existence of the 'real' numbers follows from that of 'natural' numbers. Secondly, he has to identify the peculiar characteristics which distinguish the whole assemblage of 'real numbers' from those of 'natural' or 'rational' or 'algebraic' numbers; that is, he has to point out the criterion of the continuity of a series.

It is the achievement of Cantor to have first stated this criterion exactly, and afterwards to have re-cast it in terms involving nothing but the notion of serial order, and entirely independent of any appeal to our intuition of space. We can here do no more than give Cantor's two definitions of the linear continuum with such brief explanation as is necessary for their comprehension. To understand his original definition we have first to make clear the meaning of the terms 'point manifold,' 'limiting point,' and 'derivative.' By a 'point manifold' is meant any aggregate of numerical values whatsoever. Any 'point' X is said to be a 'limiting point' of such a manifold M , if, given a finite number ϵ , however small, there is always at least one 'point' of the manifold M which is at a finite 'distance' less than ϵ from X . (Such a limiting point may, or again may not, be itself a 'point' of M .) The 'derivative' of M is the assemblage formed by all the limiting points of M . When every 'point' of M is one of the limiting points of M , and every limiting point of M also a 'point' of M , that is, when the manifold M is identical with its own 'derivative,' M is said to be *perfect*. Further, M is said to be *zusammenhängend*, or 'cohesive,' when, if any two points of M , p_0, p_1 , be given, it is always possible to find in M any finite number of points $p_1, p_2, \dots, p_n \dots$ intermediate between p_0 and p_1 such that the distances $p_0 p_1, p_1 p_2, \dots, p_{n-1} p_n$ are each less than a given finite number ϵ , however small ϵ may be. The definition of the linear, or one-dimensional, continuum is, then, that it is a 'point manifold' which is both perfect and cohesive. It is manifest that the series of 'real' numbers between 0 and 1 satisfies these conditions, and that the removal of even a single term from it would prevent this realization. The series of 'rational fractions,' on the other hand, would satisfy the demand for cohesiveness, but would not be 'perfect,' since the surd fractions are obviously limiting points of the series of rational fractions. With the postulate that to every real number from 0 to 1 we can assign one and only one corresponding distance on the straight line, the straight line is also obvi-

ously a linear continuum satisfying the definition (Couturat, *Principes*, p. 91 f.). It still, however, remains the fact that Cantor's first definition retains the appearance of an appeal to geometrical intuition. The notion of 'distance,' in however metaphorical a sense, is employed in explaining both cohesion and perfectness. And this means, as Couturat says, that the definition is essentially relative. 'It defines a continuous manifold only by reference to another manifold (metaphorically called space), which is already continuous, in which it may have limiting points not contained in itself' (*op. cit.* p. 92). Hence it is only in Cantor's second definition, where no notions but those of serial order are presupposed, that we get 'an absolute definition of a continuum by means of its intrinsic properties.' To obtain the definition, we start again with certain auxiliary conceptions. We consider the type of order exhibited by the rational numbers which are >0 and <1 . This series has three peculiarities: (1) it is *denumerable*, that is, we can rearrange its terms so that they correspond one to one with the successive integers; (2) it has neither a first nor a last term; (3) between any two terms there is always a third; and these three characteristics are proved sufficient for the complete determination of the type of order exhibited by the series. Any series possessing them may then be called a series of the type of order η . Next we have to introduce the notion of what Cantor calls a 'fundamental series.' We may confine our attention to the case of an ascending fundamental series. By this is meant a series in which the terms have the type of order η just defined. Such a series S is said to have a limit in η , if there is a term in η which is the first after all the terms of S . We then call any manifold *perfect* if all the 'fundamental series' contained in it have a limit in it, and if all its terms are limits of 'fundamental series' contained in it. With these presuppositions, the type of order θ , belonging to a one-dimensional continuum, is defined as follows: 'The manifold θ (1) is perfect, and (2) contains within itself a denumerable manifold E , such that there is always at least one term of E between any two terms of θ .' The definition is manifestly satisfied by the series of 'real' numbers, since it can readily be shown that the series is 'perfect' in the sense defined, and that, moreover, there is always at least one term of the series of the 'rational' numbers between any two 'real' numbers (Couturat, *op. cit.* p. 93 f.; B. Russell, *Principles of Mathematics*, London, 1903, vol. i. ch. 36).

The two definitions are not exactly equivalent, since we can construct series which satisfy the second without satisfying the first (e.g., to take an example from Couturat, the manifold composed of the real numbers <1 , together with those from 2 to 3 inclusive, satisfies the requirements of the 'ordinal' definition, but not those of the other, since there is always a finite interval >1 between the number 2 and any of those which precede it). But every assemblage which satisfies the first, or 'relative,' definition clearly also satisfies the second, or 'absolute.' This might be regarded as a ground for doubting whether Cantor's final result is quite the same thing as an analysis of what is implicitly contained in the simple pre-scientific notion of continuity as unbrokenness. But it remains true that his analysis succeeds in defining for us, by means of purely intrinsic properties, the continuity of the 'real' numbers, and that we have no reason to think that Geometry requires us to ascribe any different kind of continuity to the straight line. We are thus finally enabled to remove the apparently insuperable barrier established by the Eleatic criticism be-

tween Geometry and the theory of number. Every geometrical proposition can once more be stated in terms which involve only the notions with which the study of number has already made us familiar. 'This fact,' as Couturat says (*op. cit.* p. 97), 'finally refutes all the doctrines which regard the notion of the continuous as arising from sensuous intuition and refractory to the understanding.'

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CONTRACT.—i. DEFINITION.—If one makes an engagement to go to dinner at a friend's house, no contract arises, because the purpose of the engagement is not such that the law will deal with it; or again, if one buys an article in a shop for ready money, that is not usually termed a contract, because there the whole transaction is terminated, as it were, on the instant; but, if one undertakes to pay for the article afterwards, a continuing contract emerges, because, in this case, the agreement gives rise to an undertaking which can be appropriately enforced by law. From these examples we see that contract is really the combination of two legal ideas—that of agreement and that of obligation. In the case of the invitation to dinner there is agreement, but no legal obligation connected with it; in the case of the sale of goods for ready money, the obligation fades away as soon as it arises. But, according to the Indian Contract Act, for example, 'an agreement enforceable by law is a contract' (Sect. 2 (h)); and, where we find such an agreement, we find a legal

tie, an obligation, something for the law to take hold of, directly affecting the contracting parties. In other words, the agreement, as it has been put, 'contemplates something to be done or forborne by one or more of the parties for use of the others or other,' to which the law can attach itself; and it is generally said that it must be the intention, or implied intention, of the parties that the relation should have a legally binding effect. Sir Frederick Pollock, writing with reference to the English law, adds to the word 'agreement' the word 'promise' (*Principles of Contract*¹, 1902, pp. 2, 3, 5). But that is a minor subtlety. Theoretically, at least, we can fix our attention on an agreement as the starting-point in which there must be, as it is frequently stated, the meeting of two minds in one and the same intention. And thus the more technical treatment of contract fits into those statements of the doctrine in which it is regarded as a phase of the legal will, constantly to be found in the works of philosophical jurists—especially German jurists. The relation represents the meeting of individual wills in one intention, as opposed to the individual's endeavours to realize his will by means of the materials found in the world around him, which gives rise, logically, to the conception of property. In the former case, the individual meets his fellows; in the latter, the external, material world.

It has, however, been suggested that it is not necessary, in order that a contract should be entered into, that the wills of the parties should be really at one (Holland, *Jurisprudence*¹⁰, 1906, ch. xii.). Should we not say, it is argued, that here emphatically the law regards not the will in itself, but the will as manifested voluntarily? There are well-founded expectations which the law endeavours to protect by its enforcement of contract, and these do not always arise from expressions which truly represent the intention. What of the case in which a party enters into a contract, resolved all the time not to perform his part, yet inducing another party to enter into it on the contrary supposition? Surely the contract will hold good. Is it not the will, as expressed, and nothing more, that the law regards, leaving the question of a true *consensus* on one side, as beyond its province altogether? The language of positive systems of law, it is said, moreover, is ambiguous on the point; for the question is practically a new one, and it has not till recently been seriously considered how far a true *consensus*, in the significance explained above, is needed. In answer to this doctrine, it may be maintained that, although the inner agreement is a fact to be proved, and in some cases is not allowed to be disproved, the agreement itself is vital to the theory of contract. The inference drawn is that there was an agreement; and such inferences depend for their reasonableness and usefulness on the fact that in the vast majority of cases they are sound. Without reference to the will—to the inner intention, if one chooses—the expression of agreement would be meaningless. It must in the last resort be connected with the man, with the personality; and not merely attach itself to outward forms of expression. Unless this is done, we obtain a view of contract which is too scholastic to be satisfactory.

The two main aspects of the agreement by which the tie is created find their typical form in the ideas of offer and acceptance, which give rise to a large body of law in a developed system. On the other hand, such facts as error, fraud, misrepresentation, undue influence, and force operate on the consent embodied in the agreement, and may vitiate it wholly, or create a flaw which renders it reducible from one side. These are most usefully studied in relation to some definite legal

¹ The ordinary collected texts of ancient and modern philosophers have been omitted from this list.

system. Again, the State itself places certain legal restraints upon contract generally, with regard to its subject-matter; these are more important from the standpoint of the general reader. In Pollock's work on *Contract*, agreements are said in English law to be unlawful and void (1) if the matter or purpose with which they deal is contrary to positive law; (2) if it is contrary to positive morality recognized as such by law; (3) if it is contrary to the common welfare, as tending to prejudice the State in its external relations, or in its internal relations, or as tending to improper or excessive interference with the lawful actions of individual citizens (*op. cit.* 275). And we may say generally that the State will refuse to recognize a contract not only when it is simply illegal (without further explanation being offered), but also when the object is *contra bonos mores*, or when it is against 'public policy' and cannot be allowed free scope in the State's own organization. In the case of public policy, the disputable points which arise are numerous, and the dividing lines between what the State should, and what it should not, do are extremely difficult to find. Then we may couple with such restraints the complicated subject of *form*. The modern tendency is towards simplicity of form. Complexity is undoubtedly repugnant to the spirit of our own days, when the bustle of commercial enterprise demands essentials and nothing but essentials. A complicated form, however, prevents a bargain from being rashly made, and it renders it easier to prove afterwards what has taken place. The tendency to reduce the 'solemn form' can have free scope only so far as is possible with a due regard to the exigencies of proof.

ii. **CLASSIFICATION.**—Contracts have very frequently been divided into *principal* and *accessory*; and this division is a good one. It is not so clear that the division of the first class into *onerous* and *gratuitous*, often made, is equally useful (although Kant declared that it was the rational one); for principal contracts seem rather to fall into several distinct groups. The following list will afford the reader a bird's-eye view of the field of modern contract. It follows mainly the arrangement given by Holland in his *Jurisprudence*.

i. **Principal contracts.**—Principal contracts are those which are entered into, so to speak, for their own sake, as opposed to accessory contracts.

(1) *Contracts of alienation.*—These may be gratuitous, when they are contracts to give, but are not generally so. In fact, a contract to give is generally enforceable by law only in certain limited cases. But gifts made in view of marriage are not considered as mere gifts, for marriage is an onerous consideration. Then under this head fall barter and exchange, when regarded as contracts; and, more important, sale. A distinct line should be drawn between barter and sale; the essence of sale seems to be, in the simplest words, the giving of something for *money*. Specific formalities are generally imposed upon contracts for sale of certain important classes of property, such as the *res mancipi* of the Roman Law, 'real property,' immovables. Apart from these, perhaps the most important variation in the views taken of the contract by different legal systems is connected with the transfer of the property sold. Sometimes a contract of sale, in the usual case, *per se*, transfers the property—it has the power of transference by itself. Sometimes it has no such legal consequence; it remains an agreement to transfer merely. The parties to the contract, again, may have various duties, but two of them are generally recognized. The duty of the seller is to deliver the goods, and the duty of the purchaser is to accept and pay for them. These duties, regarded from the point of

view of rights, yield the main rights of purchaser and seller.

(2) *Contracts dealing with hiring, loan, etc.*—Hiring has largely superseded gratuitous loan; and the law of hiring has been extended in many directions. Two important branches of it in the commercial world are contracts for carriage and agency. Both in commercial and in domestic life we find contracts for the hire of servants engaging much attention. As regards immovables, hiring is generally guarded by specific restrictions. In a loan for consumption, we find money or certain kinds of things given to the opposite party on the undertaking that he shall on a future day return, not necessarily the things themselves, but their equivalent in kind. It is in connexion with this branch of the law that the interesting problems of how to treat usury from the legal point of view arise. In a loan for use, again, which is in essence gratuitous, the identical thing lent is returned. In deposit, one gives a thing to another in order that the latter may keep it for him gratuitously and restore it upon demand.

It will be observed that this group of contracts is very miscellaneous. Holland has attempted to minimize the confusion by making the two principal divisions of (a) contracts for permissive use, and (b) contracts for service. In the first class (a) he places (1) loan for consumption; (2) loan for use; and (3) 'letting for hire.' In the second (b) he places contracts (1) for care-taking; (2) for doing work on materials; (3) for carriage; (4) for professional or domestic services; (5) for agency; (6) for partnership. Then, under a separate head (c) he places contracts for negative services, in which one party undertakes to abstain from certain acts—a mode of contract somewhat grudgingly recognized by law. This procedure helps to introduce some order into the mass of almost intractable material; although, for example, it places contracts for partnership under contracts for service—a doubtful arrangement. The reader, however, may certainly begin by taking the whole of the large class of contracts with which we are dealing as capable of being split up into three divisions—permissive use, service, negative service—although he may afterwards come to consider the principles of grouping somewhat strained. Partnership, which is thus disposed of under 'service,' is said to be the relation which subsists between persons carrying on a business in common, with a view of profit (Partnership Act, 1890); and the law of partnership widens out into the whole law of Joint Stock Companies.

Agency deserves special notice. It is itself a contract, as has been pointed out; but it is also an important instrument in extending the power of contract. It enables us, as it were, to move objects at a distance. Through it, the contractor can work at the other side of the world. In the ordinary use of the term, agency is constituted where one person is employed to act for another—to represent him in dealings with third persons. A distinction between a general and a special agent is often made; but it is of doubtful value logically; it seems to be most consistently drawn between an agent whose business has a defined scope and character, apart from the terms of his agreement with his principal, and one who is merely empowered to do certain specific acts. The main logical point to be noticed in the law of agency is that, when the agent contracts as an agent with third parties, he binds his principal, and then, so to speak, drops out of the transaction. If he binds himself, he is something more than a mere agent; and any exceptions are modifications of the general principle. On the other hand, it must be noticed that the agent does not really act

as the blind instrument of his principal, as the pen or the hand acts. His real usefulness arises from his being an intelligent instrument, and without the help of such intelligent instruments many of the tasks of modern commerce would be quite impossible.

(3) *Contracts of marriage.*—But marriage is only technically and in a somewhat strained sense a contract. No doubt it cannot be entered into without the consent of at least two parties. But the relationship stands by itself; and even in a system of law, like that of Scotland, which favours the contractual construction, there are grave difficulties in regarding it as a contract in anything more than a very technical sense. In contract, the tendency is to allow the contracting parties to attach what conditions they please to their bargain, provided these are not against 'good morals' or 'public policy'; it may be conditional in its origin, and its duration is dependent on the will of the parties. In marriage these features are not present. When it is entered into, it is not governed by private contract in its most important particulars, but by the fixed rules of the law of husband and wife. It cannot be entered into on condition that a certain event shall happen, or that it shall be dissolvable at pleasure, or that it shall last for a certain fixed period of time. The relation between the two persons, also, extends an influence to their relatives and maintains that influence even after death ends the marriage. The husband and wife create not only their own *status*, but the *status* of their children; and that *status* can never be taken away or infringed by the acts of the parties (Fraser, *Husband and Wife*², 1876, ch. ii.). Such considerations, primarily applicable to Scots Law, show us how marriage must be differentiated from an ordinary contract. Of course, it may be said that all these restrictions are made merely with the object of maintaining 'good morals' and furthering 'public policy.' But the whole tendency of contract is to leave the parties as far as possible to shape their own bargain; and, where we have a relation so governed in its essentials by the law—so restricted to meet the needs, as the law conceives them, of family life—as marriage is, it is only in a very peculiar and, as we have said, technical sense that it can be called contractual. It derives its type not from the contracting parties, but from moral and social considerations, which are held to be superior to their wishes; and these considerations not only *restrict* it, but *shape* it.

A distinction must, of course, be drawn between an engagement to marry in the future—an 'engagement' in popular language—and an engagement which actually amounts to a marriage. The former more nearly approaches a contract of the ordinary type than the latter, provided it is recognized by the system of law which governs it as a fit subject for legal interference. When that is the case, we find unfulfilled engagements frequently giving rise to actions for breach of promise of marriage. On the whole, such actions seem to be discouraged by the systems of law in vogue on the Continent; and many jurists are of opinion that they ought to be abolished in our own country. But this opinion, it should be noted, does not imply that actions for *seduction* should be discontinued.

(4) *Wagering contracts.*—This is an unfortunate name for an important group. In these contracts, one of the effects of the contract, as regards profit and loss, either for all the parties, or for some of them, depends upon an uncertain event. But it is almost impossible to define them satisfactorily; and that statement must be taken as merely explanatory. Broadly, bets and stakes are not enforceable in modern law. And the most im-

portant group under the general head is formed by contracts of insurance—mar ne, fire, and life insurance, and less important types. Of course, these are not logically gambling transactions, but are rather attempts to eliminate the risks of the unforeseen.

2. *Accessory contracts.*—There is a large number of contracts which may be entered into as accessory to the main transaction; and these form, as previously stated, a second main branch of the subject. It may suffice to name a few of them—indemnity, suretyship, warranty, ratification. A promissory note forms such a contract. Suretyship is in many systems a formal contract; and the guarantee may sometimes support an obligation which is merely natural, *i.e.*, which itself cannot be enforced—a curious point.

3. There are certain legal relations placed on the borders, as it were, of contract proper, which must not be forgotten. Thus the Indian Contract Act speaks of certain relations resembling those created by contract. Broadly speaking, they correspond to the Roman division of obligations which arise not *ex contractu*, but *quasi ex contractu*. They may, therefore, be described as *quasi-contracts*; they have also been called 'implied contracts'; but it is perhaps better to reserve this name for those cases where the implication is most clearly seen. They are, at any rate, analogous to contract; for it is necessary, in following out the ramifications of a legal system, to hold that a *nexus* analogous to that of contract is sometimes created from force of circumstances, though not by express agreement. Often the person bound may reasonably be held to have agreed to the formation of the tie, but that is not perhaps essential in all circumstances. Thus the doctrine of *negotiorum gestio* consists, in principle, in the management of the affairs of an absent person (or sometimes of a person merely unable to attend to his affairs himself) by one who undertakes that task without the knowledge of the other; and, it is not infrequently stated, on the presumption that the other, had he known the circumstances, would have approved. There does not seem to be any peculiar difficulty in treating of such relations, except that they do not yield very readily to analytic classification.

iii. *EXTINCTION OF CONTRACTS.*—Contracts may be extinguished in various ways—by performance, by such legal facts as events which excuse performance, or by release of performance. Or there may be a substitute for performance interjected; or it may simply happen that the non-performance of the contract alters the whole aspect of affairs and gives rise to a new set of rights. Performance is the natural, and undoubtedly also the usual, mode of closing the transaction.

iv. *SOCIAL BEARING OF CONTRACTS.*—Contract, standing as it does at the centre of the great department of Private Law, has many important bearings on the general problems of society. It forms an endeavour made by the State to set up a sanction for expectations of good faith which have grown up through the dealings of the averagely fair-minded man. True, it has been suggested that contract is merely the taking of a risk, since the only universal consequence of a contract is to make the defaulter pay damages; but, as already pointed out, it is the observance of contract that is usually contemplated; it is performance, and not payment of damages, that makes the social wheels go round. And the State, having brought its sanction to bear on this enormous mass of relations, finds itself compelled to interpose certain restrictions—to lay down those limitations of which we have spoken before. What precisely these ought to be, and how they ought to operate, depends on

many different social considerations. Is the exploitation of the individual by his fellows—the driving of a hard bargain wrung from a man's necessity, when his poverty, but not his will, consents, or the over-reaching of one not worldly-wise—a fit matter for State interference? Are combinations of 'labour' to be recognized wholly or partially, or altogether condemned? Are contracts for service to be regulated, when the claims which arise under them bid fair to reduce one party to the position of existing merely as an instrument for the realization of another's personality instead of being an end in himself? Slavery, it is certain, cannot now be tolerated; but how far will the law, if it attempts to abolish various forms of so-called practical slavery, accomplish good, or how far will it merely afford encouragement to laziness and fraud? These questions and many others are among the implications of contract, though doubtless they lead us far beyond the subject of contract itself. Probably most of them must be answered, not abstractly, but in relation to the particular community with which we have for the time being to deal. What is one man's freedom is another man's ruin. The character and state of social advancement of the community must always be taken into consideration. But, however that may be, the importance of the great branch of law which deals with the right to another man's conduct can never be safely ignored.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the text, the following may be consulted: W. R. Anson, *Principles of the English Law of Contract* 11, 1906; G. J. Bell, *Principles of the Law of Scotland* 10, 1899, for the Scots Law; F. Pollock, *First Book of Jurisprudence*, 1896, pt. i. ch. 8; Kant, *Philosophy of Law*, Eng. tr. 1837, sect. 31; W. A. Watt, *Theory of Contract in its Social Light*, 1897. W. A. WATT.

CONTROVERSY.—1. The term 'controversy' is not exclusively applied to the weapon with which battles have been fought in the field of theology and philosophy, and skill in disputation has not been valued by professed dialecticians alone. Professor Edward Caird tells us that the philosopher Kant was keenly alive to the uses of controversial methods as a mental training, and that in the year 1758 he announced to his class on metaphysics that on two days in the week he would treat polemically the doctrines expounded on previous days, this being 'one of the most excellent means to attain to profound views of any question' (*Critical Philosophy of Kant*, i. 162). This polemical method consisted in first proving a proposition and then trying to prove its opposite—an exercise of the intellect to which attention has often been devoted in schools of learning, with a view to cultivating a high standard of controversial ability. To Kant it did not so much bring dialectic skill as rivet into the attitude of criticism a mind already critical, even sceptical. The essential thing for him, as for Socrates, was the problem of knowledge, the limitations of our knowing, the question how far we can know anything at all. So throughout life he practised earnestly the polemical method which he recommended to his students, using it as a touchstone to test what is knowable and expose the illusions of the understanding. To this attitude of mind, this deep-seated love of inquiry and discussion, we owe what is considered the greatest system of philosophy of modern times—a philosophy critical alike in spirit and in name.

2. The Kantian 'dialectic,' however, is not a new phenomenon in the history of philosophical thought. In the connotation which it bears for him, that of an arguing for and against, Kant inherited the term from the Stoics and Aristotle. But the practice of dialectic is to be connected with the name of Socrates. As friendly discussion

in the market-place about the ethical problems which alone were of interest or moment to him, Socrates held it to be the ideal method of philosophizing. He thought that there were answers, more or less definite, to these questions, and that this was the way in which the answers were to be got. This earnest conviction, this seeking after truth in the belief that it is to be found, is one of the essential respects in which Socrates is to be distinguished from the class of professional Sophists to which, in the eye of the ordinary Athenian, he undoubtedly belonged. These men were in the first place teachers of argument and rhetoric, and regarded disputation of this kind as an end in itself. They argued in order to show their pupils how arguing should be done; they talked for victory. But they did not stop here. They were from some points of view extremists in philosophy, and they often took up a concept or idea with the deliberate purpose of showing it to be full of contradictions, and hence unthinkable. The Sophist did not hesitate to tackle any question, or, as Aristotle would say, to 'talk persuasively' on any subject. As the exponents and popularizers of an esoteric philosophy—they were not for the most part originators of new doctrine—they raised problems in the spheres of ethics, politics, and religion, debating freely, in a spirit of tolerant scepticism, questions the mere discussion of which in the eyes of the old-fashioned was not only new, but impious and depraving. Like Abelard, who has been called the mediæval counterpart of such a teacher as Protagoras, the Sophist at his best, they thought that every question could be argued for and against, or in Abelard's phrase, *sic et non*. To them none was sacred. At the first glance, criticism of this kind seemed wholly destructive; many of its immediate effects were undeniably pernicious. But this beating about, this disputing and overturning, was of supreme value, not only in the interests of education, but also in the narrower field of dialectic. It was owing to the Sophists mainly that Aristotle was able to draw attention to a clearly marked difference in the matter of our thought. He saw that relatively few problems belong, like those of mathematics, to the sphere of what is strictly demonstrable, and that beyond this, on the vast mass of questions which puzzle and interest mankind, we can have discussion, but can never have certainty.

3. It was, however, in the Middle Ages that dialectic or discussion in the Platonic and Aristotelian sense became professedly the vehicle of philosophical inquiry. Bound as they were at every step by tradition and authority, the methods of the Schoolmen were formal and pedantic; in this respect they were less fortunate than the thinkers of antiquity. At the same time the mediæval method of exposition, in so far as it was a method of argument, was that of Hellas. To write dialogues in the Platonic manner was no longer the fashion, nor was it, perhaps, within the powers of men of that age; but, though the written word was untouched by the finer graces of poetry and imagination, yet never in the history of philosophy and theology—a sphere of learning at that time co-extensive with literature—have skill in controversy and dialectical ability brought wider fame to their possessors; never were these talents enthroned higher among the objects of intellectual ambition than in the time of Abelard and his rivals. These wandering teachers of the Middle Ages, whose mission it was, after the manner of the ancient Sophists, to popularize the learning of the schools, were also in the most literal sense gladiators in the arena of philosophical controversy.

4. Turning from the sphere of history and

speculative thought to that of everyday life, we find that here the uses of controversy are less obvious, but not less real. In the ordinary sense of the word it may be nothing more than negative criticism, the mere raising of objections to a doctrine or theory brought forward. But, even so, it is of practical value in sharpening the faculties and clearing up confusion in the mind. For contradiction, whether it proceeds from conviction or not, is always stimulating, and even a superficial discussion of most questions is enlightening. When, however, controversy is fairly carried on, that is, with candour and moderation, in a spirit of honest inquiry, it is of great ethical and educative value. The prejudices of the fair-minded rarely withstand the presentation of fact or the persuasion of sincere conviction. We start, most of us, knowing but one side of controverted questions; an argument with an intelligent opponent will show us the other side, and expose the weaknesses of both positions. If our conclusions are sound, we shall realize their value; if they are faulty, light will be thrown on the premisses on which they are based. John Stuart Mill, in his eloquent defence of liberty of thought and discussion, says that every one ought to make a habit of seeking this experience, and that outside the sphere of mathematics no man's opinions deserve the name of knowledge except in so far as he has gone through the mental process which would have been required of him in carrying on an active controversy with opponents (*On Liberty*, ch. 2).

5. The benefit to the individual of such a knowledge of most subjects no open-minded person is likely to deny. But there is a deeper aspect of the question. It has often, and rightly, been said that controversy is the battlefield upon which truth comes into collision with error, and that by means of it alone we can acquire new truth. The progress of the race is thus best served by unlimited freedom of discussion, by such a right 'to argue freely according to conscience' as Milton held to be among the first of human liberties. Mill lays stress upon another point. It is a matter of history that the ethical and religious doctrines of the world owed their preservation and development to the fact that they were vigorously defended against attack in the earlier stages of their existence. What is true of sects and nations applies equally to the spiritual life of individuals. It is the convictions for which we must fight that we are in least danger of losing. It is beliefs which are most universally accepted, most rarely questioned, that are apt to become least full of meaning to us, even to be accepted by us mechanically. It would be easy to multiply instances of this. Can the precepts of Christianity, for example, be said to bear the same literal meaning for us as they did for the Founder and the persecuted of the early Church? Or, to take the case of religion in Scotland, is there in Scotsmen of to-day the fire, the blind devout faith, the love of the Church, which animated their forefathers? Most people, even allowing for change of circumstances and conditions, are inclined to answer these questions in the negative. Certainly creeds and opinions do seem to draw the breath of life from the heat of battle, to grow faint and languid when the struggle is over. This is one sense in which peace and harmony do not make for progress.

6. Every theory, however sound, has its limitations. All doctrines may be, in the main, erroneous; at the best they can contain only a part of the truth, for the truth lies always somewhere between the extreme positions on which man takes his stand. While the progress of knowledge, in spite of apparent disheartening

retrogressions, bears always onward and upward, its course is, as Hegel says, a zigzag movement, tending now in the direction of one of these opposite poles of thought, now in the direction of another. Dogmatism (to use Kant's expression for these extremes), criticism, and scepticism follow one another, and are succeeded by dogmatism—a new dogmatism—again. But in this struggle of theory with theory, of half truth with half truth, the way is gradually becoming clearer, the fresh starting-point is always a little higher, and, human intelligence being limited and fallible, all this can come about only in this way.

LITERATURE.—The reader will find the source of most of the ideas suggested above in such works as: E. Caird, *Critical Philosophy of Kant*, 1889; Hegel, *History of Philosophy*, Eng. tr. 1892-98; and J. S. Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859, pt. II. See also well-known Histories of Greek Philosophy, such as that of Zeller, of Ueberweg, of Erdmann, and of Schwieger. On the significance of the work of the Sophists, the student may be referred to G. Grote, *History of Greece*, new ed., 1870, pt. II.

M. CAMPBELL SMITH.

CONVENTICLE.—The word is derived from Lat. *conventiculum*, dim. of *conventus*. According to Bingham (*Orig. Eccles.*), it originally signified no more than an assembly, and was frequently used by ancient writers for a church. It came to be applied specifically to meetings of religious associations, particularly private and secret gatherings for worship. Later it became a term of depreciation or reproach, implying that those of whom it was used were in opposition to the ruling ecclesiastical authorities; for example, it was applied to a cabal of mutinous monks in a convent or monastery. Ultimately it came to mean religious meetings of dissenters from an Established Church, held in places that were not recognized as specially intended for public worship or for the exercise of religious functions. It implied that a condition of affairs obtained in which the State made a distinction between a form or forms of religion whose practice and propagation were authorized by statute, and such as were expressly prohibited by enactment. This usage has received legal sanction in Britain.

In this sense the term 'conventicle' may be, and has been, widely applied. Harnack (*Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, 1905, II. 313) uses it of the meetings of the adherents of Mithraism in the Eastern parts of the Roman Empire throughout the domain of Hellenism (Greece, Asia, Syria, Egypt, etc.), in which regions it was a banned cult, while those who professed it were regarded as belonging to a barbarous and illicit sect (F. Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1908). To attend 'conventicles' was the hall-mark of fanaticism, according to Celsus, who represented the contemporary opinion which cherished a lively contempt for all who attached themselves to religions competing with the Imperial cultus.

In accordance with the accepted usage of the word, Church historians properly assert that Christianity took its rise ecclesiastically from a conventicle. Such was the meeting in the Upper Room of the first disciples of Christ after the Ascension (Ac 1¹⁸). This gathering was the type of those which soon began to meet for prayer, mutual edification, and memorial observances, in private houses such as that of Mary, the mother of John (Ac 12¹²). Within a short time they drew upon themselves the suspicions of the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities, who branded the new faith as impermissibly heretical, and instituted a persecution directed to the harrying and suppression of these conventicles, one of their most zealous agents being he who became the Apostle Paul.

When Christianity became a world-religion and spread in all directions throughout the Roman Empire, it was at first tolerated, and enjoyed Government protection, along with many other cults in vogue. Religions had to receive licence from the State, which was jealous to secure itself against the danger of conspiracies maturing under the guise of religious confraternities. Largely through the influence of political considerations

(see Gwatkin, Harnack, Dill, Weinel, etc.) Christianity soon became suspect, and a *religio illicita*. Its meetings thus became strictly conventicles. Harnack applies the term to characterize such house-meetings as that mentioned in Col 4¹⁵, and Schaff uses it in his account of the primitive period as descriptive of the 'ecclesiolae in ecclesia,' the independent separate units of the Church as they existed in the various centres in which it had found footing—Rome, Corinth, etc. (*Kirchengesch.*, 1851, i. 454). In the succeeding century the catacombs (*q.v.*) were the scene of Christian conventicles (Withrow, *The Catacombs of Rome*, new ed., London, 1895, p. 104).

With the establishment of Christianity by Constantine as the State religion, all its meetings were legitimized, and the term of odium could no longer be rightly applied. In the 4th and 5th centuries the description again became applicable to the meetings of such Christian nonconformists as the Montanists and the Donatists, which were prohibited by the State under penalty of proscription and death. This policy was rigorously encouraged by the leaders of the Churches enjoying State recognition and support.

When the corruptions of the Church of Rome aroused a growing hostility in the 13th and 14th centuries, those who were united in the attitude of protest began to abandon the churches and to associate themselves in private or secret meeting-places. Against these the machinery of suppression was quickly put into operation, and once more conventicles entered into history. In England the word was early applied to the meetings of the followers of Wyclif, who, recognizing the incompetence and neglect of the regular clergy, sent out peripatetic preachers to meet the spiritual needs of the people. Both the practice and the word were carried by the Lollards (as the most determined supporters of Wyclif were called) to Scotland, where they did much to initiate or strengthen the movement of revolt from the ecclesiastical domination of Rome.

It was not, however, till after the Reformation that 'conventicle' became a term with a legal connotation, according to which it was descriptive of the meeting-place or assemblage for worship or consultation of those who departed from the Established Church of England. Queen Elizabeth, in her contest with Puritanism, strenuously asserted the royal supremacy in matters religious and ecclesiastical, and insisted upon the rigorous application of the Act of Uniformity, which demanded that all subjects of the realm must conform to the usages and tenets of the Church established by law. Clerical nonconformity was punished by deposition. As the result of the inquisition that followed, so many ministers were deprived of their livings that their places either could not be filled at all or were filled by incompetent and unpopular substitutes. Large numbers of the people refused to accept the ministrations of these substitutes, and gathered together for worship in private houses or other suitable places. These conventicles were, under that name, expressly declared illegal. The 11th Article of the Book of Canons (drawn up in 1603) censures 'the maintainers of conventicles'; the 12th, 'the maintainers of constitutions made in conventicles,' and the 73rd runs thus:

'Forasmuch as all conventicles and secret meetings of priests and ministers have ever been justly accounted very hateful to the state of the Church wherein they live, we do ordain that no priests or ministers of the Word of God, nor any other persons, shall meet together in any private house or elsewhere to consult upon any matter or course to be taken by them, or upon their motion or direction by any other, which may any tend to the impeaching or depraving of the doctrine of the Church of England, or the Book of Common Prayer, or any part of the government or discipline now established in the Church of England, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*.'

Under these enactments the adherents of Anabaptism (*q.v.*), which had been propagated in England by refugees from the Continent, were ordered to leave the Kingdom. Even during the subsequent reign of Puritanism, the meetings of this particular body were regarded and treated after the same fashion by the Protector Cromwell, who was incensed by their aggressive fanaticism. For other persecuted sects, with only one or two exceptions, there was a breathing-space of toleration and freedom.

After the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty, established Episcopacy once more became intolerant under the aegis of Charles II. An Act of Uniformity was promulgated in 1662, which ordained the expulsion from his charge of any clergyman who refused to subscribe to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer and to the doctrine of the King's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, and held by the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, prohibiting such from exercising his religious functions in private houses. 2000 clergymen were ejected from their livings in one day for declining to comply with these tests. This enactment was reinforced in 1664 by a statute called 'the Conventicle Act,' which rendered illegal any gathering in a private house for religious worship attended by a number exceeding by five the regular members of the household, under penalty of fine, imprisonment, or transportation. A second version of this Act deprived these outed ministers of the right of trial by jury, and empowered any justice of the peace to convict them on the oath of a single informer, who was to be rewarded with a third of all fines levied (D. Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, new ed., Lond. 1822, iv. chs. 7, 8). Large numbers of nonconformists were put in jail. Pepys, in his diary of August 7, 1664, observes: 'I saw several poor creatures carried by, by constables, for being at conventicles . . . I would to God they would conform.' He refers to Quakers, who were amongst the worst sufferers during the persecution consequent on the passing of the Acts. Bishop Burnet, in his *History of his own Time*, 1724-34, i. 471, admirably describes how they resolutely declined to obey the law, and openly and fearlessly continued their prohibited meetings. They would hold them in the street before the closed doors of their meeting-houses, when these were shut by order. The children, who might not be arrested because of their youth, would also hold conventicles in the street in the absence of their parents in jail, suffering patiently the jeers and cuffs of magistrates and unsympathetic onlookers (F. S. Turner, *Quakers*, London, 1889, p. 164).

Identical measures were taken during the same reign to secure the suppression of Presbyterianism in Scotland, where it had been the popular and dominant form of religion since the Reformation. From 1662 to 1678 various Acts were passed by the Privy Council and the Court of High Commission, prohibiting conventicles and imposing penalties of increasing severity upon those who attended them, masters being made responsible for their servants, landlords for their tenants, magistrates for the citizens of the burghs over which they presided. It was forbidden to supply denounced persons with meat or drink, or to harbour or have intercourse of any kind with them. These measures proving unavailing to effect their purpose, it was ultimately enacted that attendance should incur the penalty of death. Those in command of the military, and even the common soldiers themselves, were given authority to inflict it immediately on the spot of capture, without the formality of a legal trial—an authority which was used without scruple or mercy in numerous instances by such as

Claverhouse. This policy proved, however, quite abortive. The bulk of the religious population in the south and south-west districts continued to attend the conventicles, which were arranged and conducted by the outed ministers. Where the congregation was too large for any suitable private house, resort was had to barns, granaries, or such like commodious buildings. Frequently, however, the number of those who flocked to these illegal gatherings amounted to thousands, and the result was the institution of field-conventicles—meetings held, sometimes under cover of night, in the open air, on moors or hills, or in glens and ravines, or wherever safety and suitability could be combined. These frequently lasted for hours, the preaching taking up a large portion of the time. At such conventicles, the ordinances of the Church according to Presbyterianism were faithfully observed. Baptism was administered, and Communion was dispensed, often to hundreds together, and even thousands, the rite taking days to celebrate, several ministers officiating in turn. When repressive measures became more severe and attendance at these gatherings was enacted to be a capital offence, the men came armed with such rude weapons as were obtainable—scythes, flails, etc. Sentinels were posted at look-out points; for the royalist soldiery, aided by spies and informers, often succeeded in surprising these meetings. It was the attack upon such a conventicle that precipitated the battle of Drumclog, 11th June 1679, which issued in the only victory gained by the Covenanters (as the upholders of Presbyterianism were called), and the only defeat sustained by Claverhouse (known in song as 'Bonnie Dundee'), the most zealous and efficient of the military persecutors. During the years of persecution culminating in the 'Killing Times,' it is calculated that some 18,000 people suffered in one way or another for attending these conventicles. Yet they kept alive and deepened an intense religious faith in the land, while greatly raising the moral tone of many districts in which they were held, as, e.g., at places on the borders where pillagers and moss-troopers became peaceful and honest. Their impressive solemnity, intensified by the conditions under which they were held, frequently turned the hearts even of enemies present in disguise (A. Smellie, *Men of the Covenant*, 1904; R. Simpson, *Gleanings among the Mountains*, 1846; W. H. Carlsaw, *Heroes of the Covenant*, 1900).

After the Revolution of 1688 and the accession of William of Orange to the British throne, an Act of Toleration was passed, relating to England, which exempted from the penalties of the laws against conventicles those who took the oath of allegiance and subscribed to the doctrinal sections of the Thirty-nine Articles. Meeting-houses were required to be registered, and then came under protection of the law. In Scotland all the repressive Acts were abrogated; Presbyterianism was restored by the State to its ecclesiastical supremacy.

Similar measures of suppression in Continental countries resulted in the resort of the persecuted to similar kinds of meeting. During the merciless and prolonged attempt of Philip II. of Spain in the Netherlands to compel conformity to the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant party headed by *Les Gueux* ('The Beggars') were forbidden free exercise of their worship, and immediately field-preachings were organized all over the country, of the same character as those in Scotland—conducted by the excommunicated ministers and surrounded by armed guards and sentinels (Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1906-7, vol. ii. bk. iii. ch. v.). The same scenes were enacted in the southern districts of France during the heroic

struggle of the Huguenot Camisards ('les Enfants de Dieu,' as they called themselves [see CAMISARDS]) to assert religious freedom against the suppressive measures of Louis XIV., inspired by Cardinal Richelieu's vision of a unified France, spurred by the incitements of Madame de Maintenon (herself once a Huguenot), and encouraged by the eloquence of the great preacher Bossuet. Their field-conventicles were called desert-preachings—the name 'desert' being borrowed from the Bible as descriptive of the solitary places, in wild mountain-regions, in which the meetings were commonly held. A peculiarity of these Camisard gatherings was the large part played by the 'prophets'—men and women, and occasionally children, generally quite uneducated and often normally of small capacity for speech or thought—who spoke or were accepted as speaking under the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, after the manner of the prophets in the primitive Church (Peyrat, *Hist. des pasteurs du désert*, Paris, 1842; C. Tylor, *The Camisards*, London, 1893).

In the history of German Protestantism the conventicle played a part in Pietism (*q.v.*). The *collegia pietatis*, established by Spener and his followers, provoked the opposition of the strictly orthodox Lutherans, and considerable disturbance was the result, as at Frankfurt, where the police interfered. All sorts of scandal were rife about these conventicles, and the over-enthusiastic manner in which some of them were conducted lent colour to the charges. In Württemberg a wise middle course was adopted. Those conventicles in which the great principles of Lutheranism were respected received legal sanction, while the more radical assemblages were banned (cf. *PRE*³ xv. 790, xviii. 612). In Sweden, Pietism roused similar opposition, and a law of 1726 forbade all conventicles conducted by laymen, though private devotional meetings under the direction of the clergy were permitted, this law not being repealed until 1858 (*PRE*³ xviii. 33, 36).

At the present time, it is perhaps only in Russia, with the Greek Church in a position of ecclesiastical supremacy recognized by the State, that conventicles in the strict sense can still be said to continue. Measures of repression are from time to time directed by the Government against dissenting sects which have incurred its suspicion and hostility, such as the Stundists (*q.v.*) and the Doukhobors (*q.v.*), who were denied the liberty of private meetings for worship. The spirit of tolerance seems, however, to be rapidly gaining ground, and nonconformists of any kind, on giving satisfactory assurances to the police, are generally permitted liberty of worship according to their accepted mode. The signs of the times point to the spirit of religious toleration soon becoming universal, with the consequent cessation of that hostile and repressive attitude of State or Established Church to any form of religion which resulted in conventicles.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

A. MITCHELL HUNTER.

CONVERSION.—1. **Ethnic Conversion.**—Conversion, the greatest of moral events, is not the monopoly of one religion. It is a human as well as a Christian fact. As there is one blood in the veins of all nations, and one breath in all nostrils, so there is one Divine Spirit brooding over and striving within all souls. God has made all men with a capacity for conversion, with possibilities of response to the highest call (Ac 17²⁷). And in every age and race there have been minds that have turned to the light, hearts that have felt the 'expulsive power of a new affection,' wills that have striven, and not all in vain, to attain the ideal. We need not grudge the name or the idea

of conversion to many experiences recorded in non-Christian literature. 'Faciasne quod olim mutatus Polemon?'¹ (Hor. Sat. II. iii. 253 f.).

The movement which was initiated by the religious teachers of Greece led to many conversions from polytheism to monotheism, and it had its saints and martyrs. Dill has shown that, towards the beginning of the Christian era, Græco-Roman philosophy became evangelical; it sent out an array of preachers to convert men to a higher and purer ideal (*Rom. Society from Nero to M. Aurelius*, London, 1904, bk. iii. ch. ii.). 'Some of the schools even developed a true pastoral activity, exercising an oversight of their members, and seeking to mould their moral life and habits according to the dictates of true wisdom' (Menzies, *Hist. of Religion*, London, 1895, p. 301). 'I regard myself,' said Seneca, 'not so much as a reformed, but as a transfigured man' (*Ep.* 6). The science of Comparative Religion is proving the truth of the intuition that there is 'a light which lighteth every man' (Jn 1⁹). The conversion of Gautama, afterwards known as the Buddha, is as real a fact as that of Saul of Tarsus, Francis of Assisi, or any other spirit that has ever obeyed the heavenly vision. This pampered child of fortune turned from his pleasures and palaces as illusion and vanity; he sought and found, as he believed, the cause of sorrow and the way to subdue it; and he drew a vast stream of mankind after him to the religion of renunciation. It was the best they could do; they followed the gleam; they loved the highest when they saw it. Similar phenomena are found in Confucianism, Islām, and all other great religions. God has not left Himself without witness in any nation, and the same choice between good and evil, between self-seeking and self-sacrifice, presents itself in some form or other to every human being. The spiritual ascent of man has been accomplished by a long series of conversions, from the lowest fetishism to the highest theism. To Christian philosophy, every upward movement of the human mind suggests that 'Christ, in His universal relation to humanity, may be able to pour His new life into open hearts, even when there is complete ignorance concerning the facts of His history and work' (Clarke, *Outline of Christian Theology*, Edinburgh, 1898, p. 398). And yet, so great is the difference between all such movements and the experience which is called Christian conversion, that one cannot but acclaim the essential truth of a well-known passage in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*:

'Blame not the word [conversion]; rejoice rather that such a word, signifying such a thing, has come to light in our modern Era, though hidden from the wisest Ancients. The Old World knew nothing of Conversion; instead of an *Ecoe Homo*, they had only some *Chocoe of Hercules*. It was a new-stained progress in the Moral Development of man: hereby has the Highest come home to the bosoms of the most Limited; what to Plato was but a hallucination, and to Socrates a chimera, is now clear and certain to your Zinzendorfs, your Wesleys, and the poorest of their Pietists and Methodists' (bk. II. ch. 10).

2. Conversion in the Bible.—The term 'conversion' (ἐπιστροφή) occurs but once in the Bible (Ac 15¹). At the close of his first great mission, St. Paul went to Jerusalem to take counsel with the Apostles and elders, and he and Barnabas passed through Phœnicia and Samaria, 'telling the whole tale (ἐκδηγοῦμενοι) of the conversion of the Gentiles, to the great joy of all the brethren.' It was a momentous event, pregnant with the mightiest issues, marking an epoch in the history of the

¹ Polemon was a youth of Athens, the son of Philostratus, who spent the greater part of his life in riot and drunkenness. He once, when intoxicated, entered the school of Xenocrates, and was so struck with the eloquence of the academician, and the force of his arguments, that from that moment he renounced the dissipated life he had led, and applied himself totally to the study of philosophy. After the death of Xenocrates he succeeded in the school where his reformation had been effected' (Lemprière, *Class. Diet.*, ed. 1839, s.v. 'Polemon').

world. In the LXX the verb ἐπιστρέφω stands for נָשָׁב, נָשָׁב, and נָשָׁב, and times without number for שָׁב and שָׁב. In AV of the OT 'convert' occurs five times—in Ps 19⁷ (Vulg. *convertens animas*), where RV uses 'restoring'; in Ps 51¹², where RV retains 'sinners shall be converted,' while the margin has 'shall return'; in Is 1²⁷, where RVm changes 'her converts' into 'they that return of her'; in Is 6¹⁰, where RV has 'turn again'; and in Is 60⁶, where 'converted' becomes in the RV 'turned.' In the NT ἐπιστρέφω appears very frequently, and in AV it is nine times rendered 'convert'; but this word appears only twice in RV (Ja 5^{19,20}), being everywhere else changed into 'turn' or 'turn again.' But, wherever the Gr. word is followed by ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον, ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, or the like, it undoubtedly connotes all that is commonly signified by 'convert,' e.g. in Ac 9³⁵ 11²¹ 14¹⁵ 26³⁰, 1 P 2²⁵.

The Bible is the drama of the conversion of the world, of the turning, or rather the return, of man to God. The sacred writings must, in the last resort, always determine and control our conception of the origin, growth, and nature of the spiritual life. Without them there would be no Christian conversion, for there could be no adequate knowledge of God as revealed by Christ Jesus. If we are able to trace the lineaments of the soul of a Christian, it is because we have in the Bible the gradually perfected norm of the new life.

i. THE OT.—The OT is a mine of gold for the inductive study of the facts of conversion, but the prospector has to encounter certain initial difficulties. The subject of conversion is often the nation as a whole, and the part played by the individual is usually left to be inferred instead of being directly expressed. Again, the Oriental mind is not analytic; it reasons *a priori*; it is noumenal rather than phenomenal. Where the West says, 'Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,' the East is content with '*causam*.' To search for secondary causes, to pry too curiously into the subjective conditions of spiritual experience, seems to it not only superfluous, but even a little profane. 'This is Jahweh's doing' (Ps 118²³), 'The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the watercourses; he turneth it whithersoever he will' (Pr 21¹), 'None can stay his hand' (Dn 4³⁵), are characteristic Eastern utterances. Once more, the Hebrew habit of thinking in pictures—due in great measure to the absence of abstract terms from the language—causes many spiritual experiences to be clothed in a figurative or symbolical garb. The psychologist must be a very skilful as well as reverent exegete who would re-tell in modern scientific phraseology the story of the conversion of Jacob at Bethel, of Moses in Arabia, of Solomon at Gibeon, of Isaiah in Jerusalem. The last of these experiences, enshrined in an incomparably vivid and illuminating page of autobiography (Is 6¹⁻⁸), presents a type of conversion in Israel which is no doubt, in some respects, unique and incommunicable, but in its broad outlines may be regarded as normative. Four distinct moments are enumerated in the thrilling and transforming experience. There is a *vision*, flashed upon the young Hebrew's inner eye, of the King, Jahweh of hosts, whose glory fills the earth. There is a *conviction* of sin, personal and national, concentrating itself like a subtle poison in unclean lips. There is the unutterable comfort of *absolution*, which comes in the hand of a Divine messenger, by the way of the altar, to a heart wrung with anguish. And there is a *mission*, Divinely offered and humbly accepted, to live in the service of God for the welfare of men.

Just because Israel's moral and spiritual ideal—

their conception both of God and of man—was so much higher and purer than that of any other nation of antiquity, conversion was to them a more real and radical experience than elsewhere. Theologically construed, conversion was, in their eyes, always a reversion, not to a low but to a high type, not to an animal but to a Divine pattern. This was not a movement contrary to nature; it was man finding himself, realizing his own true nature. But the general point of view was intensely ethical rather than speculative. Historically, the one aim of the spiritual leaders of Israel was to constrain the backsliding nation to 'return,' to 'be converted,' unto Jahweh. 'Let the wicked return unto Jahweh,' 'Return ye, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions,' 'Turn yourselves, and live,' 'Take with you words, and return unto Jahweh' (Is 55⁷, Ezk 18³⁰⁻³², Hos 14²). The Prophetic literature rings with the clear call to a definite change of spiritual attitude. Conversion is always equivalent to repentance and faith. But the same Hebrew word (שׁוּב) expresses both the turning to and the turning again from Jahweh, conversion and perversion, and the two movements form the perpetual systole and diastole of the heart of Israel. The possibility of conversion is based upon the consciousness of Divine redemption in the past and the hope of Divine co-operation in the present. 'Return unto me; for I have redeemed thee,' 'Turn thou me, and I shall be [or, that I may be] turned' (Is 44²², Jer 31¹³). God alone can replace the old antagonism by a new disposition, can change the stony heart into one of flesh. The command, 'Make you a new heart and a new spirit' (Ezk 18³¹), would be a mockery if it were not accompanied by the promise, 'A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you' (36²⁶), and unless there were a Divine response to the prayer, 'Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me' (Ps 51¹⁰).

The Book of Psalms gives lyrical expression to the joy of conversion, to the triumph of the soul's return unto its rest in God. The Psalms have many authors, and it matters little whether any singer describes his first or a subsequent spiritual experience, or whether 'the I Psalms' are intended to mirror the heart of the nation as well as the individual. Be that as it may, no human document has greater value for the psychologist of conversion. Here (especially in the Penitential Psalms, 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143) he finds 'the sick soul' sighing, groaning, despairing, sure that God has hidden His face, spending nights in sleepless agony, tossing wearily to and fro, watering the couch with tears. Here is the tortured conscience, whose sins are exposed in the light of God's countenance, gnawed with remorse, seized with the pains of Sheol. Here is the sense of inward uncleanness, of hereditary sin, the horrible feeling of being sunk in the miry clay of a deep pit from which there is no deliverance. Here is the piercing cry out of abyssal depths, the prayer for Divine mercy and forgiveness. And here is the glimmering light in the darkness, the blaze of spiritual illumination, the clear vision of God, the sense of His redeeming love; and, lastly, the rapture of deliverance, the gratitude that words can never utter, the desire to tell to others what Jahweh hath done for the soul, that sinners may be converted unto him.

At an early period the Hebrew nation began to devote much care to the training of the young. There was an enthusiasm for education (see EDUCATION [Jewish]), and the discipline was never merely intellectual, but always primarily ethical and spiritual. 'The fear of Jahweh is the beginning [or, it may be, 'the chief part'] of wisdom' (Pr 1⁷). Here 'wisdom' is almost equivalent to

'religion.' It was often personified by its lovers, and praised as a mother or a bride (Pr 2, 3), and even as the eternal companion of Jahweh (Pr 8). The great aim of Hebrew parents—no mention is made of schools—was so to 'train up a child' in the service of God and in the atmosphere of healthy piety, that in his manhood he should need no sudden, violent, convulsive return unto Jahweh from a life of sin and shame. How entirely such pedagogy corresponds with our latest ideals of education, we shall see later. That the end was often realized, we cannot doubt. Some of the noblest servants of God knew that they were sanctified from their mother's womb (Jer 1⁸, Lk 1¹⁵). There was no time when they did not reverence and love Jahweh, no time when they played the fool, no time when they needed to hear the arresting trumpet-voice, 'Turn ye, turn ye . . . why will ye die?' (Ezk 33¹¹). But there are incalculable elements in human nature as well as defects in the best education, and the sons of many servants of Jahweh—such as Eli, David, Josiah—showed that it is always in man's power to abuse the mystery of his freedom and defeat the grace of God.

Conversion in the OT was often a profound and radical change. The desire for God—the hunger, the thirst, the panting, the fainting—was pathetic as it was passionate, and the response to the human cry was the outstretching of a strong arm that not only wrought deliverance from evil, but drew men into close and satisfying fellowship with God. Yet the joy of conversion was never quite full. It was for a long period troubled by the idea that spiritual restoration must necessarily be followed and attested by material prosperity. To the end it awaited a fuller revelation of the Fatherhood of God, the atonement of sin, and the hope of immortality. There was to be a final answer to the oft-repeated prayer, 'Turn us again, O God, and cause thy face to shine, and we shall be saved' (Ps 80^{8, 7, 19}).

ii. THE NT.—In the NT, conversion is the chief end of all teaching and preaching. It has rightly been called (*Ecce Homo*¹¹, London, 1873, p. 243) 'the true articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae.' Jesus began His ministry by preaching repentance and faith (Mk 1¹⁵), which are together equivalent to Christian conversion. The call of the early Church was, 'Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out' (Ac 3¹⁹). The language in which conversion is described varies greatly, as do the subjective experiences of individuals; but the root or core of the change is always the same. It is figured as a translation out of darkness into marvellous light (1 P 2⁹), as a being born again, or 'from above' (Jn 3³), as a redemption from all iniquity (Tit 2¹⁴), as a passing out of death into life (Jn 5²⁴), as a turning from the power of Satan unto God (Ac 26¹⁸), as a new creation (2 Co 5¹⁷), as putting off an old and putting on a new man (Col 3⁹), as becoming children of God (Ro 8¹⁶), as having Christ dwelling in the heart by faith (Eph 3¹⁷), as a dying and rising again (Ro 6⁷⁻⁸). Practically, it is a new life which turns all the forces of one's being into a new channel. All the energies that formerly made a man a sinner are now employed to make him a saint. His carefulness, indignation, zeal, and revenge are directed against his sin (2 Co 7¹⁴). The converting power is never the mere force of truth, or the beauty of holiness, but always the fascination of a Person. The whole life of the convert organizes itself anew around Christ living, dying, rising, and reigning; He is the power of God unto salvation (Ro 1¹⁶). The NT tells of multitudes who have been reclaimed from vice, and never gone back. Science regards all facts with reverence, and the NT abounds in such transfigured realism as the fol-

lowing: 'Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you: but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God' (1 Co 6⁹⁻¹¹). NT conversions have been classified as moral, spiritual, intellectual, and practical (John Watson, *Inspiration of our Faith*, p. 79 ff.); and such groupings are useful, if not logically perfect. There are conversions from sin to holiness, from doubt to faith, from legality to grace, from selfishness to service. But we must beware of analyzing the indivisible self into so many faculties, and ascribing conversion to the exercise of one of them, to the exclusion of the others. Conversion is the response of the whole personality—whether regarded as mind, or heart, or will—to the personal Christ. It is man's meeting with Christ, believing in Christ, gaining new life in Christ. Intelligence, emotion, volition are all mastered by the Author and Finisher of Christian faith. The harmonious functioning of every energy of the mind is the perfect spiritual life.

Jowett, in a fine essay on 'Conversion and Changes of Character,' calls attention to the fact that 'with the first believers the influence of Christianity was almost always sudden.' He finds that this lay in the nature of things. The earliest converts had no Christian training in childhood and youth. When they heard the gospel, they were pricked with the sense of sin, they were melted with the love of Christ, and they needed no time of probation. But their conversion, however sudden, and however wonderful the attending circumstances, was none the less sincere and lasting. They became the very opposite of their former selves; their spiritual nature came again like the flesh of a little child (Jowett, *Theological Essays*, p. 40). Sometimes the change was violent and dramatic, as in the case of St. Paul, whose conversion is the most momentous in history; sometimes it was quiet and unsensational, as in the instances of Zachæus, Matthew, Lydia, Timothy. But, whether the type was explosive or gentle, the change was radical and complete. And it is important to note that it was always the opposite of a gradual and laborious reformation.

'Easier to change many things than one is the common saying. Easier, we may add, in religion or morality, to change the whole than the part. Easier, because more natural, more agreeable to the voice of conscience and the promises of Scripture. . . . Take care of the little things of life, and the great ones will take care of themselves, is the maxim of the trader. But more true is it in religion that we should take care of the great things, and the trifles of life will take care of themselves. Christianity is not an art acquired by long practice; it does not carve and polish human nature with a graving tool; it makes the whole man; first pouring out his soul before God, and then casting him in a mould' (Jowett, *op. cit.* 55).

For certain purposes, theology distinguishes conversion from regeneration. They are the human and the Divine side of the same experience. Regeneration is the gift of God's grace, the power or principle of the new life implanted by His Spirit; conversion is the act of human freedom, the voluntary turning of the heart to God. The one is a necessity—'ye must be born again' (Jn 3⁷); the other, a duty—'repent and be converted' (Ac 3¹⁹). Regeneration occurs but once, conversion may have to be repeated. 'Convert your conversion' is the keen counsel of Adolphe Monod (*Saint Paul*, Paris, 1859, p. 114). St. Peter's faith never failed, for his Master prayed for him, and his love never grew cold; but in a moment of temptation he denied his Lord, and his need to be re-converted was painfully evident (Lk 22³²). And if there is any truth in the *Domine, quo vadis?* legend, he had yet another con-

version at the very end of his life, and it was again a look on the face of Christ that wrought the change. 'And Peter turned, and rushed on Rome, and died.' Conversion plays too important a part to be exhausted in a single decision.

'The whole life of a man,' says Fraser of Brea, 'is a continued conversion to God, in which he is perpetually humbled under sense of sin, and draws nearer and nearer to God, with more fervent faith and love, and daily walks closer with the Lord, endeavouring at perfection. And God doth, as it were, act over and over again His work in the heart, forming His people more exactly than before: and therefore no wonder they meet with something like a second, yea, and a third and fourth conversion, especially where there are backslidings' (*Memoirs*, Edinburgh, 1738, ch. v. 3).

St. Paul describes his own conversion objectively in the Acts, and subjectively in his Epistle to the Romans. Ro 7 is the most searching analysis ever given of the divided self, the *homo duplex*. Whether it mirrors a first or second or still later spiritual conflict is immaterial, for each crisis is in many respects the same. How forcibly the Apostle's self-dissection illustrates the teaching of the modern psychologist!

'The . . . basis of the twice-born character seems to be a certain discordancy or heterogeneity in the native temperament of the subject, an incompletely unified moral and intellectual constitution. "Homo duplex, homo duplex!" writes Alphonse Daudet. . . . Heterogeneity may make havoc of the subject's life. There are persons whose existence is little more than a series of zigzags, as now one tendency and now another gets the upper hand. Their spirit wars with their flesh, they wish for incompatibles, wayward impulses interrupt their most deliberate plans, and their lives are one long drama of repentance and of effort to repair misdeeds and mistakes. . . . The higher and the lower feelings, the useful and the erring impulses, begin by being a comparative chaos within us—they must end by forming a stable system of functions in right subordination' (James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902, lect. viii. p. 167 ff.).

While the battle rages in the Apostle's soul, while his heart is a kingdom divided against itself, and in all the chambers of his being his moral ideal is torn between friends and foes, his anguish is pitiful. 'O wretched man that I am,' he cries, 'who shall deliver me?' (Ro 7²⁴). But in the end, by the power of Christ, his higher self triumphs over his lower; his divided spirit is healed; peace and harmony take the place of civil war and turmoil; and the most tragic lament in the Bible is followed by the finest psalm-song.

3. Conversion in Church history.—The supreme task of the Church is the conversion of the world—the making disciples of all nations (Mt 28¹⁹). The apostolic and evangelic continuity of spiritual life is to be maintained, the Christian faith is to be propagated, the Kingdom of God is to come, through an unbroken succession of conversions. All the preachers who have profoundly moved the heart of mankind—master-spirits like Chrysostom, Savonarola, Luther, Wesley—have made conversion their theme. And, from a scientific point of view, the evidential value of conversions is the highest.

'St. Augustine,' says Romanes, 'after thirty years of age, and other Fathers, bear testimony to a sudden, enduring, and extraordinary change in themselves, called *conversion*. Now this experience has been repeated and testified to by countless millions of civilized men and women in all nations and all degrees of culture. It signifies not whether the conversion be sudden or gradual, though, as a psychological phenomenon, it is more remarkable when sudden and there is no symptom of mental aberration otherwise. But, even as a gradual growth in mature age, its evidential value is not less' (*Thoughts on Religion*, p. 162).

The theology of the Church was early caught in the meshes of the problem of the relation of Divine grace to human freedom in the experience of conversion. Thought has moved between two extremes. On the one hand, the sovereignty of God is emphasized, grace is irresistible, the number of the elect is certain and must be made up, the Divine good pleasure is certain to take effect. Under such conditions, man, impotent in the grip of original sin, is converted almost against his will. He is scarcely more than an automaton; his salvation appears to be due to his mere good

fortune; he chances to be a vessel unto honour. On the other hand, human liberty is accentuated; conversion is viewed as the outcome of forces resident in man himself; he has a native power to repent and believe, and the new life is from first to last a hard-earned, self-obtained, personal possession. The age-long controversy between Augustinian and Pelagian, Calvinist and Arminian, regarding the fact of conversion has now spent much of its force. With the help of a better psychology we can do justice to both the Divine and the human initiative. God is all-operative love, and man's whole equipment is His gift. All the conditions of human life are Divinely ordered, and man has an intense consciousness of dependence. He has nothing that he has not received. But part of his equipment is his freedom. He is above the mechanical order of nature. He has a real and not an illusive sovereignty. He is conscious of acting of his own accord, and of using the causal order for ends which he himself chooses. He is a free, self-determining personality, and his conversion can only mean that under the impulse of love he voluntarily and joyfully surrenders himself to God. A German theologian illustrates the interaction of Divine sovereignty and human freedom in conversion by the familiar process of persuading and being persuaded—*Anregung und Ueberzeugung* (Seeberg, art. 'Bekehrung,' in *PRE*). Every man is constrained by the love of Christ; but every man is fully persuaded in his own mind. If the convert calls the grace or fascination of Christ 'irresistible,' he speaks with the enthusiasm of a lover; but it is bad theology to change the warm logic of the heart into a cold dogma of the intellect. Man may after all use the Divine gift of freedom to oppose—it may be to thwart—the will of God. The wise use of individuality is to make Divine ends personal ends, and to pour forth all the energy of one's being in the service which is perfect liberty.

Conversion meant in the Middle Ages, as it still does in Roman Catholicism, the adoption of a creed and submission to the authority of the Church. In Protestant theology it always means the re-birth of the soul, but in the Anglican Church there is a strong tendency to regard regeneration and conversion as independent experiences, separable in time, and different in important aspects. Certainly, if regeneration is mediated by baptism, the subject of which is usually unconscious of the rite, while conversion is the deliberate turning of the will to God, the personal acceptance of Christ by faith, then the second process is often separated from the first by a long interval; and it is possible to contend, as Anglican theology sometimes does, that 'a regenerated man is not necessarily a converted man.' If the effect of baptism is that 'it remits all sin, original and actual; that it bestows sanctifying grace, and endues the soul with the heavenly virtues of faith, hope, and charity; that it makes the recipient a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven' (V. Staley, *The Catholic Religion*, London, 1893, p. 243), there can be little need for another religious phase called conversion. But this view appears to lose all touch with the central truth and vital experience of the NT, to empty the Christian religion of its moral and spiritual contents, and to reduce it to the level of a magical formula.

4. Conversion in the light of science.—Professor Henry Drummond was an eye-witness of the facts of conversion, as the youthful comrade of Mr. Moody in a great revival of religion. From that time he never ceased to advocate a scientific treatment of the phenomena of the spiritual life, which he happily called 'the contemporary activities of

the Holy Ghost.' There can be nothing presumptuous in the endeavour to classify the facts and discover the laws of the new life. To the man of science all facts are sacred, and before the fact of conversion, as before any other, he will sit down 'as a little child.' Far too scanty attention has been given to the human side of soteriology. In order to understand the Saviour better, we must look more to the saved. Christ asked that He might be believed 'for the very works' sake' (Jn 14¹¹), and He worketh hitherto (5²⁴). The serious study of the facts of conversion may be the best present-day mode of handling the Word of life. The Christ of history may be reached through the Christ of experience. Christianity, as Harnack reiterates, is 'eternal life here and now in the power of God and in His presence.' Its best evidence is the logic of life. *Solvitur ambulando*, it is proved by its present spiritual movements and triumphs. In the realm of experimental theology, the twentieth century may join hands with the first.

During the last dozen years there has been a remarkable response to the plea for a science of conversion, for an empirical study of 'the soul of a Christian.' It has fittingly come from the psychologist rather than the theologian; and the new quest has characteristically been urged with special keenness in America. The publication of Starbuck's *Psychology of Religion* in the 'Contemporary Science Series' (1899) marked an epoch in the modern Church. In this book and its numerous successors the whole spiritual realm has been annexed by science. Religious experiences without number have been collected, classified, and described. 'That cruel reticence,' whereof Ruskin complained, 'in the breasts of wise men which makes them always hide their deeper thoughts,' has to a great extent been overcome. Law and order have been introduced into an apparent chaos. Theology, which has been too long metaphysical, has become experimental; it has been brought into line with the whole scientific movement; it has found a concrete basis in the facts of the spiritual life. Dynamics have taken the place of statics. Conversion is no longer regarded as a mere mystery or portent, before which we must stand in silent amazement. It abides our question and becomes articulate. It expresses itself in the language of the modern mind. It welcomes the application of the canons of science, and yields up many of its secrets to patient and reverent research. It has a rationale. It is seen to have discoverable relations to other known psychological facts. And, in the spiritual as in the natural world, God is a God of order. He arranges everything upon definite principles. The law of cause and effect controls the spiritual life. Arbitrariness must once for all be eliminated from the fortunes of the soul. God's action is always causal, never casual. His sovereignty is as different from the 'mere good pleasure' of an Eastern despot as day is from night. The science of conversion is still in its infancy, but certain conclusions seem to have been securely won.

(1) *There is a conversion period.*—The re-birth does not take place with the same frequency in all the seven ages of human life, though a man may be born again when he is old. Conversion is in general a fact of adolescence. It is closely related to those great physical and mental changes which mark the transition from childhood to youth and manhood. It is the time of storm and stress, in which Nature calls for readjustment all along the line. As reason, feeling, and moral sense mature, they precipitate a spiritual crisis. The soul awakes and aspires. The spiritual development proceeds, as a rule, *pari passu* with the physiological and

psychological development, and a wide induction proves that

'among females there are two tidal waves of religious awakening, at about 13 and 16, followed by a less significant period at 18; while among males the great wave is at about 16, preceded by a wavelet at 12, and followed by a surging up at 18 or 19' (Starbuck, *op. cit.* p. 34). 'Feeling plays a larger part in the religious life of females, while males are controlled more by intellect and volition' (*ib.* 66). 'Conversion for males is a more violent incident than for females, and more sudden' (*ib.* 95). And 'one may say that if conversion has not occurred before 20, the chances are small that it will ever be experienced' (*ib.* 28).

(2) *Conversion is often sudden.*—This statement is sometimes received with incredulity and even contempt, but psychology completely justifies it by bringing it into relation with other well-known mental processes. There are moments, as Browning says in his *Cristina*,

'When the spirit's true endowments
Stand out plainly from its false ones.'

Our best thoughts are often startling intuitions, 'flashes struck from midnight.' The seeker after truth utters his sudden 'Eureka,' and so does the seeker after a Saviour (Jn 14⁴⁵). Love, both natural and spiritual, is often love at first sight; when two souls, like two dewdrops, rush into one, the time element counts for nothing; the psychological moment has in it the quality of eternity. Our wills and our hearts are ours to make them God's, and life's most momentous decisions may be swiftly over.

'The world and its laws,' to quote Jowett again (*op. cit.* p. 53), 'have nothing to do with our free determinations. At any moment we can begin a new life.' R. L. Stevenson prays the Celestial Surgeon to stab his spirit broad awake (*Underwoods*, p. 46). 'A word did it,' said Savonarola of his own conversion.

Even those who have never avoided God, never dishonoured Christ, often become suddenly and profoundly conscious of their need of conversion; and there are creative periods of the mind when the repulsion from evil and the attraction to good are tremendously strong. While, however, the actual change is frequently swift, there is almost invariably a season of preparation for it. Conversion is the climax of a gradation, the crisis of a process more or less drawn out. The evidence on this point is all but unanimous. We may even accept Vinet's strong statement: 'Rome might more easily be built, than a man converted, in a day. Such a prodigy is possible with God; but in a thousand, in ten thousand cases to one, we may safely predict that He will not perform it' (*Outlines of Theology*³, 1870, p. 84). Vinet is here perhaps misusing language, confounding the means with the end, the way with the goal. He does not for a moment deny that the final *coup* is often instantaneous. In such cases conversion is the firing of a slowly-laid train, the bursting of a silently-maturing bud, the transformation scene in the life-long drama of the soul. It is evident that much is lost by the deliberate postponement of decision.

'Convert me, but not yet,' was Augustine's prayer. 'Men are quick to feel, and keen to know; but they are not only slow, they are averse to decide. Yet it is for decision that Christianity calls, it is for decision that the energetic universe calls, far more than for a mere impression in response. A crisis has from time to time to be forced, a crisis of the will' (P. T. Forsyth, *Preaching and the Modern Mind*, 1907, p. 181).

(3) *Conversion may be unconscious.*—There is a happy class of Christians who cannot tell when or how they began to believe; who have 'no bitter regrets, no broken lives, no ugly memories.' Theirs is the *anima naturaliter Christiana*, the *schöne Seele* that has always been on the side of the angels. It was the teaching of Bushnell that, under the pervasive influence of the Christian family, the child should grow up a Christian, and never know himself to be otherwise. The Christian life, being natural to man, should begin with the beginnings of conscious experience; and a great wrong is done to a child when he is led to imagine that he must wait till he comes to years of discretion and

then have an experience which will make him a Christian. If God's will for him is realized, there will be no rude break, but a beautiful continuity, in his spiritual life. 'Of such is the kingdom of God' (Mk 10¹⁴), said Jesus of the children of Galilee, and the prevention of a fall from the grace vouchsafed to childhood should be the aim of all education.

'That is the ideal type of conversion in a Christian land; and it is the scandalous neglect of duty by Christian parents and by the Church which has made it less frequent than it should be' (D. W. Forrest, *The Christ of History and of Experience*, 355).

The child is father of the man;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.'

Some, indeed, deny that in this experience there is any conversion at all. Francis Newman distinguished the 'once-born' from the 'twice-born' Christian, and this idea—legitimate enough as a protest against an exclusively revivalistic type of conversion—has been taken seriously by some psychologists and greatly overworked. It is not a Christian idea. Jesus assumes in many indirect ways the natural finfulness of the human heart and its need of regeneration. Even the child who is 'sanctified from his mother's womb' is twice-born. The most 'sky-blue' and 'healthy-minded' Christian is regenerated. Science is here rendering a valuable service to theology. It has proved that every man has a sub-conscious as well as a conscious self, and that changes both small and great occur in the subliminal region of the mind.

'Consciousness is a very poor witness to what takes place in the abysses of soul life. The remembered experiences of individuals are pitifully fragmentary and puerile, and often absurdly mistaken as to cause, process, issue, and object' (Hall, *Adolescence*, p. 341).

We are largely the creatures of instinct and unconscious imitation, and, if many things are wrought into the fabric of our being without our knowledge, why not the grace of God?

'Think you, 'mid all this mighty sum
Of things for ever speaking,
That nothing of itself will come,
But we must still be seeking?'

God 'giveth his beloved in sleep' (Ps 127³), and His beneficence is as wonderful in an unconscious as in a conscious regeneration. But see, on this whole subject, art. CONSCIOUSNESS, p. 53.

(4) *Conversion must not be stereotyped.*—The phenomena of the spiritual life are marvellously complex, and psychology teaches us to resist every attempt to standardize, normalize, conventionalize it. Every individual has his own ancestry, his own history, his own idiosyncrasy, and therefore his own spiritual experience. The variety of grace is like the variety of nature. God does not repeat Himself; He loves originals more than duplicates. The conversion on the way to Damascus cannot be a pattern for all men. There need not always be the same tragic intensity, the same high lights, the same deep shadows. The diversities of operations of the selfsame Spirit must all be orthodox. But every man is tempted to make his own experience a kind of law for other people. Schleiermacher thinks that the religious life is, in its inception and growth, the product of feeling; Herrmann believes that 'greater and higher than all the emotions within the Christian, there rises and towers religious thought.' The type of religious experience that seems native to a cultured community is calm and restrained; but the fervours of the Salvation Army and the Methodist meeting are to the psychologist no less natural.

Théodore Monod tells of a French friend who thus described his conversion: 'I cannot say that I had a very strong sense of sin. I just felt happy in the love of God. God did to me as a mother will sometimes do to her child who has overslept himself: he woke me with a kiss' (Moody, *Sovereign Grace*, Lond. 1899, p. 113). The Christian of the unconscious type, who has never felt a single reaction or upheaval, may join hands with the convert who knows himself to be a brand plucked from the burning, to whom conversion is a thing volcanic or cataclysmic, in whom 'habits of years' standing are overthrown in as many

moments,' and whose 'very organic impulses and desires are so utterly transformed that he can scarcely recognize himself' (Pratt, *Psychology of Religious Belief*, p. 251).

(5) *Conversion is still a mystery.*—In being studied scientifically, spiritual phenomena lose none of their Divine significance. Psychology has done much and will yet do more; it even asserts that, 'if we know the person psychologically, we can prophesy quite correctly the type of his conversion, whether sudden or gradual, quiet or excited' (Cutten, *Psych. Phen. of Christianity*, p. 255). But, after all, psychology can see only the under side of conversion. Spiritual life, like natural life, is in its final cause and real nature inscrutable. Nothing can be more crude than the notion that to discover the reign of law is to eliminate God and mystery. Law is only God's uniform method of working, and 'He is in the field when He is most invisible.' We have not to deal with a God remote from the world and manifested only through occasional interferences with the order of Nature, but with a God whose dwelling and working are in the lives of men. Just as the correlation of brain states with mental states does not prove the case of the materialist, so the correlation of conversion with certain mental and physical forces is far from proving that the inception and growth of the spiritual life is not a Divine act.

'That it [conversion] may all be due to so-called natural causes,' says Romanes, 'is no evidence against its so-called supernatural source, unless we beg the whole question of the Divine in Nature' (*op. cit.* p. 163). Even Ritschl, with all his dislike for mysticism, never denies that God Himself is present and operative in regeneration, using the religious community as His medium, not His substitute. 'This wonderful change,' says Pfeiderer, 'is not arbitrarily brought about by man himself, but experienced as a thing that has happened to him; it appears to him as the operation of a higher power, as the gift of undeserved divine favour or grace. And is not this in truth the case? Careful thought, in fact, can do nothing but confirm what the believer holds as a truth requiring no proof' (*Philosophy of Religion*, Eng. tr. iv. [1888] 128).

Proude complains that conversion, like other Christian doctrines, has been 'pawed and fingered by unctuous hands for now near two hundred years. The bloom is gone from the flower. The plumage, once shining with hues direct from heaven, is soiled and bedraggled. The most solemn of all realities have been degraded into the passwords of technical theology' (*Life of Bunyan*, London, 1880, p. 34). But all that is needed to bring back the bloom to the flower and the plumage to the wing is a new springtime. Human errors and caricatures do not alter Divine facts, any more than the mists extinguish the stars. A wide survey of the data of the spiritual life leads to the conclusion that the majority of conversions have little of the picturesque or dramatic in them; that some take place beneath the threshold of consciousness; that others are but dumb yearnings of penitence and faith towards God; that the memorabilia of soul-life are usually very brief, the convert sometimes limiting himself to the wondering exclamation, 'Whereas I was blind, now I see' (Jn 9²⁵). Yet every conversion enfolds in itself a Divine secret—the mystery of life—whose power and beauty will gradually be unfolded to the eye, but whose inner significance no mind can penetrate. The psychological study of the New Life will probably do more than anything else to convince the twentieth century of the immanence and the transcendence of God.

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JAMES STRACHAN.

CONVICTION.—1. *Conviction in relation to belief.*—Conviction that certain doctrines of religion are true is seldom or never the result of a rational process; it rather springs from a feeling in the mind that the doctrines suit a mental and emotional condition and bring peace to the soul. As Schopenhauer has well said:

'Man has, as a rule, no faculty for weighing reasons and discriminating between what is false and what is true; and, besides, the labour which nature and the needs of nature impose upon him leaves him no time for such inquiries, or for the education which they presuppose. In his case, therefore, it is no use talking of a reasoned conviction; he has to fall back on belief and authority' (*Religion: a Dialogue*, tr. by T. B. Saunders, 1889, p. 19).

Conviction implies active acceptance of propositions as indubitably true. It is not in itself any proof of truth, because different people may have diametrically opposite convictions, and some convictions have led to most lamentable results in persecutions, and in denial of equality in human rights and liberties. Bagehot remarks, in discussing 'The Emotion of Conviction':

'Nor is this intensity a sign of truth, for it is precisely strongest on those points in which men differ most from each other. John Knox felt it in his anti-Catholicism; Ignatius Loyola in his anti-Protestantism; and both, I suppose, felt it as much as it is possible to feel it' (*Lit. Studies*, 1879, ii. 414).

All experience shows that the personal equation, idiosyncrasy, or state of development of each ego is a prominent factor in the determination of convictions. The convictions of the two clever men, Cardinal Newman and his brother F. W. Newman, were widely apart, although their heredity was the same, and their upbringing was under identical general circumstances. In the case of these two thinkers, the divergence, of course, could only have been due to their different emotional and mental natures in different stages of development, for the same subject-matter of conviction was before the mind of each of them.

Conviction, then, as a feeling of reality indicating truth, is not fully trustworthy in respect of propositions as a whole, yet we may be assured that when the feelings are stirred, there are elements in the doctrines believed which are true relatively both to some universal principles and to the corresponding principles in man. For man is potentially, though not actually, the measure of the universe. The outer form of beliefs is often false, while the inner life—that which awakens emotional response—is true either for higher or for lower stimulation to development. Convictions suitable and useful to low stages of human evolution are eventually outgrown and seen to be erroneous. They are then replaced by others more true to outer and inner conditions, and more efficacious in promoting the growth of the soul.

There is also what may be called a coercive element in belief and conviction. This proceeds from pressure of environment, eventuating in the imposing of the customary opinion of those around on the unresisting and undiscriminating mind. G. F. Stout has said:

'There must . . . in the framing of a belief be always some endeavour to conform to conditions other than, and independent of, our own subjective tendencies. Our inability to attain ends otherwise than through certain means constitutes a restriction of mental activity within more or less definite channels' (*Manual of Psychology*, 2, 1901, p. 567 f.).

It is only the thinker who can stand alone; most people do not think, but readily come under the

personal influence of those who confidently and plausibly proffer doctrines and statements for the acceptance of ill-equipped minds.

Respecting conviction as the result of a mental process, and determined by evidence, there is usually a change of belief and of mind-content. Here we have the force of evidence driving out old belief and substituting new; conviction then leaves old opinion and clings to new. In this case the feeling of reality comes as a response to the force of evidence applied by comparison and judgment.

'What is believed to be real (and so said to be known) is indeed mainly a matter of intellection; but it is also a matter of both feeling and will. In respect of all the higher intellectual, æsthetic, ethical, and religious realities, feeling and choice largely determine knowledge through the dependence of this belief on them. Yet we have spoken of this belief as feeling, not because it is a special form of affective phenomena, but because as conviction—having that warmth of colouring which the word implies—it may be regarded as a sort of universal affective accompaniment of the intellectual and voluntary aspects of all knowledge' (G. T. Ladd, *Psychology*, 1894, p. 514).

Convictions are beliefs accepted and vitalized by the emotions of those convinced that realities are indicated by them. The acceptance of beliefs is partly determined by the absence of contradictory beliefs in the mind when the new propositions are tendered. This fact Buckle long ago pointed out.

'The sense that anything we think of is unreal can only come when that thing is contradicted by some other thing of which we think. Any object which remains uncontradicted is *ipso facto* believed and posited as absolute reality' (W. James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 1906, vol. ii, p. 238 f.).

The absence of antagonistic ideas in the mind permits indiscriminately the acceptance of true and of false forms of belief. Children may be brought up to believe almost anything religious. In the same way the presence of beliefs antagonistic to proffered ideas may as often keep out the true as the false. Bias towards false forms, and erroneous prejudice, make impossible the advent of certain truths to the soul. Hence it is that new general truths are seldom acquired after mental maturity. Minds usually become hopelessly biased long before middle age. While credulity may sometimes permit the truth to enter, constant incredulity resists the truth and hugs old errors.

The test of actuality we find in our own consciousness and life. 'Whatever things have intimate and continuous connexion with my life are things of whose reality I cannot doubt' (James, *op. cit.* p. 298). Doctrines strongly stirring the higher emotions, and not conflicting with prejudice, appeal with a force which carries conviction with it, though the doctrines may vary with all the religions of the world. Truth hides under many forms. We may be sure that, in all these varying doctrines as applied to the human heart, there is a living element of eternal truth. God does not forsake the beings that have emanated from Himself. Each soul has the conditions and the knowledge it can bear and make use of under the religion it is born to or adopts.

2. *Conviction of sin* is usually present in the state of consciousness known as conversion (*q.v.*), or change of heart. It is a 'sense of sin,' a feeling of unworthiness and general wretchedness, accompanied by a strong desire to lead a better life. It is shown by a more or less sudden distaste for accustomed thought, language, and conduct, and by a new-found yearning within for an improved state of being. Conviction may last for days, months, or years before the crisis, or conversion, supervenes, and this is followed by restfulness of mind and lightness of heart. Conversion is described by Starbuck as a sudden forsaking of the lower for the higher self:

'A process of struggling away from sin, rather than of striving toward righteousness; . . . it seems to be a step in growth which calls into activity the deeper instincts. . . . The feelings,

which are the primal elements in consciousness, function so strongly. In the tendency to resist conviction we see, also, an indication that the new life is forcing its way even against the person's will' (*The Psychology of Religion*, 1899, p. 64).

Though the proximate cause of conviction of sin is often fear of torments to come, yet we may be sure that behind this fear there are certain emotional and mental conditions ripe for a change to a higher state.

Viewing the phenomena observable at great religious revivals, such as the movement among the Welsh people in the years 1904-1905, we may recognize, despite certain objectionable features and mistaken views and conduct, the action of the Holy Spirit in meeting the aspirations of those who are struggling amid the difficulties and illusions of the lower planes of emotion. It is through the power of the Spirit, which is the life-force of the universe, that the transmutation of the emotions is effected, and this must be at the bidding of the lower nature. The raising of the emotions to higher levels is part of the process of evolution, and, when accomplished, is a sign of the soul's development, or growth in grace.

LITERATURE.—The literature is given in the article.

G. A. GASKELL.

CONVOCATION.—This is the name given to the general assembly of the clergy of the Church of England. The older name was 'synod,' of which 'convocation' became the equivalent when English began to take the place of Latin in the official documents of the Church. We read of the 'Synode of London' in 1553, but of the 'convocation holden in London' in 1562. The synodal activity of the Christian Church is coeval with her life. It gradually took form in diocesan, provincial, and national synods, and these different forms of synods were held wherever Christianity was established. The British Church, in common with the rest of Christendom, was familiar with conciliar action—witness the Council of Verulam in A.D. 446. In Anglo-Saxon times, Church Councils were assembled 'acourse with our Parliaments' as national synods, while the bishops and clergy in addition were constituent members of the 'great council' of the nation.

In Norman times the conciliar activity of the Church became still greater. Bishops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, and deans were summoned; but the first known instance of the representative element occurs in 1225 under Langton. Later in this century, however, we have proof of direct representation in a provincial synod, for in 1273 we find Archbishop Kilwarby issuing his mandate to the Bishop of London in these terms:

'You are to direct on our part each of the suffragan bishops of our Church to call and bring with him to the aforesaid synod three or four of the greater, more discreet, and prudent persons of his Church and diocese, that by the assistance of their common counsel such important affairs of the Church of God by His aiding mercy may be brought to a happy conclusion.'

Four years later 'proctors of all clergy of each diocese' were specifically named in a similar mandate. In 1283, Archbishop Peckham ordered the attendance of two proctors for the clergy of each diocese as well as one for each cathedral and collegiate church, and this seems to have become the rule for the Province of Canterbury. In the Province of York, the rule, dating from 1279, was that two proctors for the clergy should attend from each archdeaconry. Side by side with provincial synods were diocesan synods, which were held under their several bishops to enforce the decrees of the provincial synods. National synods fell into disuse through the jealousy felt by the two Archbishops of their respective claims.

It is to be noted that this synodal action of the Church preceded the attempt made by Edward I. in 1295 to incorporate the clergy into his newly

devised parliamentary system. The king hoped that the clergy would not only meet, as heretofore, as the spiritual councillors of the Archbishops, but that they would also add to their spiritual duties the further duty of sitting in Parliament as his council, especially to make it easier for him to raise money by taxation. The king's attempt, however, failed through the refusal of the clergy to obey the royal summons addressed to them, through the Archbishops, in the famous *præmunientes* clause. The Crown acquiesced, after 1340, in the rule that the clergy should tax themselves in their Convocation, and in consequence the attendance of proctors in Parliament did not outlive the following century. The writ with the *præmunientes* clause is still issued at the summoning of every Parliament, but is never obeyed. Convocation, however, is still summoned in both Provinces whenever Parliament is summoned, though it would seem that there is nothing to hinder its meeting at other times 'if the existence of affairs shall so require.'

Convocation, in common with the Church of England as a whole, lost much of its independence, and at the same time much of its power and influence, at the Reformation. The Act of Submission (25 Henry VIII. c. 19) embodies in its preamble an Act of Convocation abjuring all power to make or act on any canons without the king's consent; and it affirms that Convocation always had been, and ought always to be, assembled only by the king's writ. Accordingly, Convocation was reduced to an instrument of the 'Supreme Head' or 'Supreme Governor' for ecclesiastical purposes, and was given the duties of considering forms of public worship, articles of religion, and canons, though not as possessing any independent effective authority. Indeed, it is now an established rule of law that canons made by the clergy in Convocation are of no binding power over the laity.

After the Restoration, Convocation prepared in 1661 the Act of Uniformity, revised the Prayer-Book, and re-modelled the canons. The same Convocation is remarkable as being the last to grant a clerical subsidy—acting, it is said, in dropping the custom, upon a verbal agreement made between the Lord Chancellor Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon. This has been declared to be 'the greatest alteration in the constitution ever made without an express law.' Since this change Convocation has ceased to enjoy any political importance.

After the Revolution, the history of Convocation is a story of bitter conflicts between the two Houses, in which Atterbury, Wake, and Burnet played leading parts. This conflict culminated in 1717, when the Lower House was about to censure the writings of Bishop Hoadley, whereupon Convocation was prorogued by royal writ, and met no more (except formally till 1741) until it was again summoned for business in 1852, through the efforts of Bishop Wilberforce and others.

Convocation now assembles concurrently with Parliament, being summoned by a royal writ addressed to the Archbishops. In Canterbury the Upper House consists of 23 members, the Lower of 154. In the Province of York the corresponding numbers are 9 and 69. The custom of separating into Upper and Lower houses dates from the end of the 14th cent., when the inferior clergy began to withdraw into a lower room, viz. one under the chapter-house of St. Paul's Cathedral, or a school-room in the crypt.

Though Convocation is described in Canon 139 of 1604 as 'the true Church of England by representation,' it remains an unreformed body. The official element is preponderant, and the large

body of stipendiary curates is without any voice in the election of clergy-proctors. It is not surprising, therefore, that Convocation exercises but little influence over the minds of the majority of the members of the Church of England, though it affords an excellent opportunity for the more highly-placed clergy to discuss affairs as they affect the Church, and though its debates and reports are of a uniformly high order, and are frequently of permanent value. See also art. CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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CO-OPERATION.—Co-operation (*i.e.* literally 'working together') might express any combined action of two or more persons for any purpose. It is used in general, and will be employed here, to denote the combinations of working men for production or distribution of commodities, including incidentally some other forms of mutual help. In 1794, Dr. Shute Barrington, bishop of Durham, established a co-operative store at Mongewell, in the county of Oxford, for the benefit of the poor of that and three small adjoining parishes. A quantity of bacon, cheese, and other articles was procured from wholesale dealers to be subdivided and sold at prime cost for ready money. The salesman was an infirm old man who could not read or write, but his honesty was unimpeached, and he was allowed a shilling a week as well as the benefit of the shop. The transactions of 1798 amounted to £223. The net saving to the poor in the cost of their supplies was 21 per cent. In 1800, the Rev. Dr. Glassey opened a similar village shop at Greenford in Middlesex. The receipts for six months exceeded £150, and the margin of saving was from 15 to 25 per cent according to the nature of the article sold. A third was established about the same time at Hanwell, by the Rev. G. Glassey, vicar of that parish, with like success. In all three cases, great good was done by avoiding the burden of debt.

In 1795, a co-operative saw-mill was established at Hull, and it continued in operation for a hundred years. In 1796 a parish windmill was erected by subscription on Barham Downs in the county of Kent, and in 1797 one at Chislehurst. A co-operative society at Nottingham has existed for more than 100 years.

In 1844, a few workmen of Rochdale joined in establishing a society called the 'Equitable Pioneers,' and that Society was so successful that their example was followed in many parts of the country. It now has more than 16,000 members holding £300,000 in shares, and its sales amount to £340,000 a year. A portion of its profits is yearly applied to educational purposes. The paid up capital consists largely of accumulation of past profits. No credit is given. By its means the workmen of Rochdale have been enabled to supply themselves with necessaries of life, genuine in quality and at a cheap price, and to accumulate out of their savings and the profits of their trade a capital sum averaging nearly £20 for each shareholder. This Society was registered as a Friendly Society under the Act of 1846.

In 1850, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, the Rev. Chas. Kingsley, Mr. J. M. Ludlow, Mr. T. Hughes, Mr. E. Vansittart Neale, and others, joined in the formation of a Society for promoting Workmen's Associations, and commenced a Working Tailors' Association. The excellent motives and aspirations

by which they were actuated had been eloquently set forth in a series of tracts by those accomplished men; and, if they could have found a body of members and officers capable of carrying out their ideas in a business-like manner, the associations which they formed might have done lasting good. As it was, their enterprise greatly impressed the public mind and rendered it familiar with the idea of co-operation. Though their initiative as patrons of co-operation was a failure, they remained the true friends, and in some sense the apostles, of the co-operative movement, and to their advice and counsel is due much of the success that has attended that movement under the direct management of the working men themselves.

The undertakings which experienced this early check were productive; those which followed the lines laid down by the Rochdale pioneers were distributive, though, in the long run, it has not been unusual for a distributive store to find it worth while to undertake productive business as well. It is obvious that a productive enterprise has elements of difficulty that are absent from a mere distributive store. The essential principle of co-operation seems to be that the man who contributes his labour to the production of the commodity is entitled to share in the produce after a sufficient sinking fund to replace the capital expended in the plant has been set aside, and hence a system of profit-sharing has been introduced, upon which, of late, attempts have been made to establish productive businesses. There is reason to think, however, that the distributive element in co-operation will remain its more prominent feature.

The sharing of profit implies logically the sharing of loss; and this is the rock upon which some productive enterprises have split. Yet it is evident that the social reforms which were in the minds of the early promoters of co-operation are to be realized rather by the productive element of it than by mere distribution, useful as that is in many respects.

A further development of co-operation has arisen in the union of a number of stores to form a wholesale society; and the wholesale societies of Manchester and Glasgow are striking examples of the power of associations of working men to carry on gigantic undertakings by means of small savings. The Manchester society (to which more than 1000 societies contribute) effected sales of goods for nearly £25,000,000 and earned profits exceeding £600,000 in the last year recorded. It acts as the banker of the smaller stores, and transacts a vast business in that capacity. It owns a fleet of ships, and has warehouses both at home and abroad in which a variety of industries are carried on. The total number of societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act in the United Kingdom is 2800; the number of members exceeds 2,500,000; the amount of funds, £58,000,000. It will be readily inferred from these figures how great has been the influence of these societies upon the welfare of the industrial population. The same inference may be drawn from the fact that, according to a previous return, 344 societies had built or aided in building 37,000 houses for their members, while more than £8,000,000 had been expended in building those houses or been advanced to the members to enable them to do so.

Another branch of co-operative enterprise has had more success abroad than in this country. People's Banks and agricultural credit societies flourish in Italy and in Germany, and are now being actively promoted here. In Ireland, Sir Horace Plunkett has established a number of co-operative creameries with excellent results.

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Annual Reports of Co-operative Congresses from 1869, passim;
Reports of Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies from 1876, passim; H. W. Wolff, *People's Banks: A Record of Social and Economic Success*, Lond. 1910. E. W. BRABROOK.

COPTIC CHURCH.—*Introductory.*—When Christianity was first introduced into Egypt, it found itself confronted not only by the religious environment common to all Hellenistic provinces of the Roman Empire, but also by the influence of the old native religion. The latter, although beginning to show signs of the rapid decay which was soon to overtake it, was still immensely powerful, especially in the towns and villages situated at some distance up the Nile, away from Alexandria. In certain ways it had scarcely been touched by Hellenic influence, and had, indeed, rather itself influenced Hellenic thought. It had certainly impressed itself strongly on the imagination of the Platonic idealists of Alexandria, as is evidenced by Plutarch's treatise *de Iside et Osiride* and by bk. xi. of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius. But, although at the beginning of the Roman period the native priests still kept alight the sacred lamp of religious knowledge, the general mass of the people had become ignorant of a great number of the lesser-known deities, and of the meaning of much of the ceremonial. Nevertheless, the main doctrines of the old religion were as firmly rooted as ever. The worship of the gods of the dead was still paramount, and especially there remained unshaken the belief in the dead man-god Osiris, who had been slain by the power of Evil, but who lived again as king of the dead. The people still believed in the so-called 'resurrection,' that is to say, they thought it was possible that the dead might live for ever if the same ceremonies were carried out which enabled Osiris to escape corruption. Also, if we may rely on such papyri as that containing the tale of Setne Khaemwas and Si-Osiri, not only was the weighing of the dead man's good and evil deeds still thought to be necessary before the soul could pass the judgment-hall of Osiris, but very elevated notions of morality and justice played an important part in the hopes pertaining to eternal felicity. On the other hand, the Greek syncretists of Alexandria had adopted the cult of Osiris and Isis, and had transcendentalized it out of all knowledge, to suit the current Platonic doctrines of the day; according to them, the *mysteries* of the Egyptian religion were to be understood only by the esoteric, after long study and strict asceticism. Platonism had also involved the large Jewish community in Alexandria, and demanded from its devotees, as we know from Therapeutic ideals, the practice of asceticism and contemplation. There can be little doubt that these two things—(1) the belief in a future life to be obtained through a god who had himself overcome death, and (2) the transcendentalized form of Osiris- and Isis-worship adopted by the Greeks, which demanded asceticism and abstinence from the desires of the flesh—largely influenced the early Christian communities in Egypt.

1. *Introduction of Christianity into Egypt.*—The tradition that St. Mark was the earliest to preach the gospel of Christ in Alexandria is first related by Eusebius, but prefaced by the word *φάσι*. In spite of the tradition being firmly rooted to this day, it has little historical value. When and by whom the gospel was introduced into Egypt is unknown, and, indeed, the whole history of the Alexandrian Church is enveloped in obscurity until the episcopate of Demetrius (A.D. 189-231), when it appears as a flourishing institution, with a school of philosophic learning attached to it which must already have made its influence felt far beyond the city itself. Eusebius (*HE* vi. 11-13) states that 'thousands' were martyred from Egypt and all the

Thebaid during the persecution of Septimius Severus in 202; and Clement (*Strom.* vi. 18), writing at about this date, tells us that Christianity had spread to 'every nation, village, and town,' so that, even allowing for exaggeration, there can be no doubt that the new faith had made great progress during the first two centuries of our era. Harnack (*Expansion of Christianity*², 1908, ii. 166 ff.) has collected a list of districts where we have definite evidence of Christian communities prior to the persecution under Diocletian in 303. Archaeological research has borne out the literary evidence in several of the localities. They are as follows: the districts of Prosopitis, Athribis, Sais and Arsinoë, Antinoë, Thmues, Philadelphia in the Arsinoite nome, Alexander Insula in the Fayyum, Hermopolis Magna, Nilopolis, Ptolemais in Pentapolis, Berenice in Cyrenaica, Oxyrhynchus, the oasis of Khargeh, and Esneh (Latopolis). As to the form of Church government during the earliest period little is known. It is possible, though by no means certain, that the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, was compiled in Egypt, and may represent the primitive form of Church government in that country. From this work, generally assigned to the earliest age of the Church, the order of bishops and deacons would appear at first to have been entirely subordinate to that of the 'apostles' and 'prophets,' and to have been, at the time of the writer, a comparatively recent organization. The 'apostles' were itinerant missionaries and evangelists, while the 'prophet' alone was allowed to have a fixed abode in any locality. The latter commanded extraordinary reverence, and the first-fruits of the community were his by right. He spoke in ecstasy, and presided at the *Agape*. Nevertheless, both from the warnings uttered in the *Didache* against false prophets, and from the *Shepherd of Hermas*, we know that the office of prophet was frequently abused by fraudulent persons, and it gradually lost prestige until the more thorough organization of bishops and deacons eventually supplanted it. By the time of the episcopate of Demetrius the form of government represented by the *Didache* would have disappeared (if it ever had been in force in Egypt), and we know that Demetrius himself was the first to appoint other bishops (three in number) outside Alexandria, thus probably bringing the scattered communities for the first time under his central jurisdiction. Hitherto they had probably been under the direction of deacons and presbyters.

It is probable that the earliest Gospels in circulation in Egypt were not the canonical ones. In Clement's day, besides the four canonical sources for the life and teaching of Christ, there were still in general use two other Gospels known as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*. There is every reason to suppose that these two documents preceded the four Apostolic Gospels in Egypt, and were in all probability the ones used by the earliest Christian community there, for it is not likely that they would have forced themselves into popularity if the four sources bearing more authoritative names had been in the field from the first. Clement, however, sharply distinguishes between these two Gospels and the four canonical ones; and, although they were apparently used side by side, it is evident that the two earlier were beginning to be dropped by the more orthodox at the commencement of the 3rd century. The *Gospel according to the Hebrews* was read chiefly by Jewish converts, either in Aramaic or in a Greek translation. It appears to have had Ebionite tendencies, in spite of its close parallelism with canonical sources. The *Gospel according to the Egyptians* implies by its title that it was intended for use either by the native

Egyptians, as distinct from the Alexandrians, or else by the Gentile converts in distinction from the Jewish. The latter inference is the more probable, as there seems to have been little attempt at first to reach the masses of the native Egyptians, the appeal of the new faith being made almost entirely to those of Hellenic birth or education. Here again we find that, in spite of the close parallel between the known fragments and the canonical sources, there is not only a tendency to Modalism, but also a strong tinge of Encratism. The latter was the doctrine of the Encratites (*q.v.*), a very early sect within the Church, which set up extreme asceticism and abstinence from sexual intercourse as the Christian ideal. There can be little doubt that the asceticism affected by the devotees of Isis and the Jewish Therapeutae had become thus introduced in very early times into the Christian communities of Alexandria. Clement, however, defends the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* from the charge of extreme Encratism.

It was hoped that the finding of the now famous 'Sayings of Jesus' at Oxyrhynchus by Grenfell and Hunt would have thrown some light on these early uncanonical versions; not only have they not done so, but their own origin is extremely uncertain.

The first series of these 'Sayings' (eight in number) was found in 1897 with a host of other valuable literary fragments, and their date, on palaeographical grounds, is to be assigned to about the year 200 or shortly after. Each saying is prefaced by the words 'Jesus saith'; four have their equivalent in the canonical sources; one is too fragmentary to be made out; and three are new, with a tendency to mysticism and a harsh and severe judgment of mankind. Harnack saw in them excerpts from the lost *Gospel according to the Egyptians* (*Expositor*, Nov., Dec. 1897), but other theologians and the finders themselves were not by any means unanimously in agreement with him. The second series, found in 1903 on the same site, written on the back of a land-survey list, is attributed to Thomas and another disciple whose name is missing. This, however, may only be a bold claim on the part of the writer. They agree in form and in date with the first series, but differ in being less akin to canonical sources. One of the sayings is almost exactly parallel with a quotation of Clement's from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and can therefore be assigned to that work without hesitation. But whether each series is a selection of sayings from any one Gospel or from different Gospels is a matter of considerable doubt; Grenfell and Hunt themselves came to the conclusion that the find was a collection of 'sayings' as such, and that the theory of extracts was unjustifiable.

There was also found at Oxyrhynchus a fragment of an uncanonical Gospel, which unfortunately breaks off just where it appears to be closely parallel with the known passage from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, in which Jesus is represented as advocating extreme asceticism as the Christian ideal. Altogether it must be admitted that the Oxyrhynchus finds have served to puzzle rather than to enlighten us with regard to the early Christian documents of Egypt.

But we are at least able to surmise that there was considerable uncanonical competition with the canonical sources, and that the uncanonical Gospels were strongly tinged with the ascetic ideals prevalent at the time in Alexandria; also, incidentally, that a Christian community flourished as far south as Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 200, if not earlier.

Archæology also helps to throw light on this early period of Christianity in Egypt, although here again the evidence is scattered and obscure. It was the custom at this time to ferry the mummies of the dead down the river, with wooden tickets, or *tesserae*, tied round the neck, bearing the name of the deceased and of the cemetery to which the body was to be consigned. A large number of these *tesserae* exist in museums to-day. One at least (in the Berlin museum) from Akhmim was that of a Christian; and, although the symbol ☩ on it has caused it to be considered post-Constantinian in date, there are good reasons for assigning it to an earlier period. There are also other tickets couched in phraseology known to be Christian, but which cannot be absolutely identified as such. They at least prove that in this neighbourhood Christians were mummified and buried in the same

cemeteries as their pagan brethren—from which we may presume that these early Egyptian Christians still believed in the necessity of preserving the body in order that the existence of the soul might be assured (see DEATH, etc. [Coptic]). From the same site there came the fine collection of tapestry, some of which dates from the earliest times of the Roman empire. The symbols of the fish and the cross occur as patterns, and these have been thought to have come from very early Christian burials. If this be so, it points to a Christian community existing in Akhmim early in the 2nd century. We also have as evidence the *libelli*, several of which have been preserved to us. These were certificates issued, during the persecution of Decius (A.D. 250), to those who had recanted by sacrificing publicly to the gods. Those to whom they were issued were known as *libellatici*; and, although it is not always certain that it was a Christian to whom the *libellus* was granted, the probability that it was so is very strong. Mention must be made of the *Epistle of Psenosiris* (a presbyter who had fled to the oasis of Khargeh, probably during the Decian persecutions), in which he commends a female exile Politike to a fellow-presbyter. It is also probable that one at least of the mummies found at Antinoë is the remains of a Christian burial that may be dated as early as the close of the 2nd century.

The name of the deceased, according to Gayet, was Euphemian, a devotee of some Gnostic sect. The evidence for the latter supposition is, however, slender. The cords which bound the shroud were sealed with a curious mixture of pagan and Christian sealings, including the ✕; but, if the contention that this symbol is evidence of a post-Constantinian age be correct, the early date assigned must be abandoned. Another remarkable object from the same site is a shroud, with the figure of a handsome woman painted on the exterior, in the manner of the beginning of the 2nd century. The hand is represented as clasping a peculiar form of gilt 'crux ansata,' or symbol of life. Whether this is Christian there must be considerable doubt.

2. **Gnosticism and Arianism.**—Although our knowledge of the early Christian communities in the upper country is so remarkably slight, when once the Church became well established in Alexandria the Christians began to form an important part of the community of that city, while the works of Clement and Origen prove that the intellectual stimulus of the pagan Hellenic schools was not lost upon the Christians. The famous 'catechetical' school, founded, according to Eusebius (*HE* v. 10), in the earliest days of the community, and presided over in turn by Pantænus, Clement, and Origen, was designed not only to teach catechumens, but also to appeal, by a system of philosophy, to cultivated pagans. In an age of apologists its influence was very considerable, but confined entirely to those of Hellenic education. Such a propaganda was useless to the natives of the upper country. The power, too, of Demetrius, as sovereign bishop of all Egypt, was very great; and he must have occupied a position similar to that of the pagan 'Chief Priest of Alexandria and all Egypt,' and the Jewish Ethnarch. This powerful position was retained by his successors until it reached its highest point under Athanasius, and lasted, indeed, until the Council of Chalcedon. On the whole, too, at first the Alexandrian Church had good opportunity of developing itself free from interference; for, with the exception of the persecutions of Severus in 202 and of Decius in 250, there was little or no external pressure brought to bear on the Christians. The real enemy at this time lay within the Church itself in the shape of the Gnostic sects. The earliest record of the conflict between those who professed a higher *gnosis* and the preachers of the simple gospel is the dispute between St. Peter and Simon Magnus, the latter of whom appears to have been the first to associate Christianity with Gnostic mysteries. From Pales-

tine the esoteric cult quickly spread to Egypt by what was called a 'counter-Apostolic succession' of famous Gnostic teachers, and perhaps reached its height in the systems promulgated by Basilides and Valentinus, both of whom laboured in Egypt (Epiphanius, *Hæc.* xxiv. 1, xxxi. 7). See BASILIDES, GNOSTICISM, PISTIS SOPHIA, VALENTINUS.

We know from the Christian writers and apologists, chiefly from Hippolytus and Epiphanius, how wide-spread Gnosticism became in Egypt, and how it threatened to become a menace to the Church in the early part of the 3rd century. Perhaps the so-called letter of Hadrian to Servian (in reality a 3rd cent. document) may be interpreted in this light when it speaks of

'people who worship Serapis being Christians, while those who call themselves bishops of Christ are adherents of Serapis. . . . No Christian presbyter but is an astrologer, a soothsayer, a vile wretch. When the Patriarch himself visits Egypt, he is forced by some to worship Serapis, by others to worship Christ.'

In spite of the venom which characterizes this attack on the Alexandrians, it points to the fact that the syncretism rife at the period had attacked the Christian religion also. This is borne out to a considerable extent by archaeological discoveries in Upper Egypt. The excavations at Antinoë conducted by Gayet have revealed Christian burials of a very peculiar type. Some of the rock-cut tombs had chapels built before the entrance, stuccoed inside and covered with frescoes, most of which have unfortunately perished, but what fragments have been discovered are typical of the earliest forms of Christian symbolism. Two of the bodies at least in this cemetery were equipped with wine-jars and baskets for bread, perhaps intended for a mystic Eucharist for the dead, while another burial contained a model in terra-cotta of several persons seated at a table, the whole forming a group, supposed to represent the *Agape*. Many peculiar objects were found, including a kind of primitive rosary, or board for counting prayers, surmounted by a cross. It is possible that the old Egyptian idea that the welfare of the soul depended upon the nourishing of the body by magical food still survived. The bodies of Christians at this time were always mummified, and in some cases the remains of martyrs were preserved in the houses, for the gaze of the faithful, in accordance with the pagan custom of the time (Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* [PG xxvi. 967]). The chapels and provisions of food may therefore be a continuation of the old pagan custom whereby the soul of the deceased was nourished by the mystic food of the Eucharist. This is borne out not only by one of the Acts of the Council of Hippo (393), which forbade the burial of the holy elements with the dead, but also by the fact that in the oasis of Khargeh a number of Christian tombs were provided with a chapel containing a niche for food-offerings after the pagan manner (Myres, *Man*, 1901, No. 91). On the other hand, we may perhaps see in these peculiar customs traces of some Gnostic rite, such as the mystic sacrament mentioned in *Pistis Sophia*, performed for the remission of sins. Syncretism can go no further than the mummy of the so-called Christian priest from Dêr el-Bahari. It is probably of very early date—possibly the beginning of the 3rd century. On the shroud the deceased is represented holding in one hand a cup, in the other corn-ears—according to Naville (*Deir el Bahari*, 1898-1901, ii. 5), emblems of the Eucharist. On his left shoulder is the *swastika* emblem, and below is the barque of Socharis adored by the gods Anubis and Aput.

Although, during the persecution of Decius in 250, large numbers of Christians appear to have recanted, the persecution of Diocletian in 303 found the Church stronger and resistance much more stubborn. Many were martyred, and the

Copts reckoned their dates from this stormy period — 'the era of martyrs.' In the succeeding reign, numbers languished in the dye factories of the Thebaid, and in the porphyry mines of the desert ('Mart. Pal.' in *TU* xiv. 4); but with the accession of Constantine to sole power, Christianity was adopted as the State religion, and thus placed in a stronger position than ever before. But, although, within the Church, Gnosticism was fast waning, and the more fantastic sects had become objects of ridicule, a new trouble broke out in 319, owing to the preaching of Arius, a presbyter of the Church of Saint Baucalis in Alexandria, on the relationship of Christ to the Father.

This is not the place to go into the full details concerning the doctrinal struggle which shook the Church to its foundations. It is sufficient to say here that Arius implied that the Son was inferior to the Father. He argued that, as the Son was begotten of the Father, there must have been a time when the Son did not exist. Therefore the Son was not co-eternal with the Father, and not of the same nature, but of like nature. The Son was not God, or eternal, or omniscient, but a creature (*κτίσμα*), although, as such, beyond all mortal comparison. The opposition to this doctrine was headed by a young deacon in the household of the patriarch Alexander, named Athanasius. The quarrel proceeded with unprecedented bitterness and intriguing on both sides. The Emperor was appealed to, but, rather than give a decision, he summoned a council of bishops at Nicæa to formulate a creed. Their decision led to the formulation of the famous creed of the orthodox party and to the excommunication and banishment of Arius; but, on his offering a written explanation, the Emperor directed that he should be received back into the Church. Athanasius, who had meanwhile (328) succeeded Alexander as bishop of Alexandria, refused to obey the Emperor's order, and, at a council of bishops held at Tyre, he in his turn was deposed and banished. On the death of Constantine in 337, Athanasius returned to Alexandria with the support of Constantine II. and Constans; but, on the death of the former in 340, Constantine III., partner in the Empire and an Arian, succeeded in deposing him, and had Gregory elected as patriarch by a council of bishops held at Antioch. Athanasius withdrew only when an armed escort and threats of violence on the part of its commander, who conducted the Arian patriarch to the city, compelled him to retire. In the absence of Athanasius his supporters kept up constant rioting, and burnt the metropolitan church. A temporary peace was later patched up, and Athanasius returned as bishop; but the death of Constans enabled Constantius again to depose him—not without violence, for the Athanasians resisted vigorously. The bishop escaped into hiding with his friends, and George of Cappadocia was chosen as Arian patriarch. The succession, however, of the pagan emperor, Julian, led to more rioting, and George was murdered. Athanasius returned again, in spite of opposition at first on the Emperor's part, and succeeded in holding his office through this and the following reigns of Jovian and Valens (although the latter was an Arian) until his death in 373. See, further, *ARIANISM, ATHANASIUS*.

But the seeds of discord had already been sown in the Egyptian Church before the Arian controversy broke out. During the persecution of Diocletian, Peter, who was then bishop of Alexandria, and was in the end martyred, fled from Alexandria. During his absence, Meletius, bishop of the important see of Lycopolis, ordained and intruded priests into other dioceses, and assumed the character of primate. He has also been charged by Athanasius and Socrates, but without good reason, with having denied the faith under persecution. When affairs had settled down somewhat under Alexander, Meletius's case was brought before the Council of Nicæa, and that assembly severely censured him. During the life of Alexander, Meletius acquiesced quietly, but on the accession of Athanasius he flung himself into the ranks of the opposing party, seemingly not so much because he sympathized with the Arian doctrines as out of dislike to Athanasius, and, as he possessed a considerable following, the quarrel was thereby embittered and intensified.

3. Eremitic movement.—The foregoing tends to show that, as soon as Christianity began to get the upper hand in Egypt, the Church itself was rent with violent factions, which led to the disorder and turbulence which characterized the 4th and 5th centuries. Meanwhile a new factor had appeared on the scene—a new movement which was to have world-wide influence throughout the whole

of Christendom. We have seen how, even in the early days of the Church, when Christianity was confined mainly to those of Hellenic birth or education, there was a tendency to asceticism or mysticism. In their extreme forms these two movements led to fantastic Gnostic systems, but the more sober and quiet side manifested itself among those Christians who carried out their ascetic ideals, not by withdrawing from the world, but by living in the midst of their own households, observing fasts, abstaining from marriage, and devoting themselves to prayer and the care of the sick and the poor. But, although these ascetic ideals, which affected the Egyptian Church to such a remarkable degree, and, through it, in later times the Church throughout the world, seem to have had their origin in Egypt, it is curious to note that the native Egyptian character in the past had exhibited little or no tendency either to asceticism or to mysticism. Magic in pagan Egypt was, and had always been, of an eminently practical kind, and, so far as we can judge, never included philosophic mysticism of any sort; indeed, the native mind was incapable of any of the higher subtleties of thought. It seems, therefore, that these two potent forces were introduced into Egypt by the Greeks, through the medium of Platonic and Pythagorean philosophers, and associated with the native Egyptian religion by the Platonizing of the Osiris and Isis cult. We know that the Jewish community in Egypt was subject to an identical process. The fragments of lost Gospels, as well as the works of Clement and Origen, prove how these ideals, prevalent in the pagan and Jewish communities of Alexandria, exercised their influence on the early Christian Church. During the 3rd cent., however, Christianity began to make many converts among the native worshippers of Osiris and Isis, among those of the population who were little influenced by Hellenic ideas, had little or no Greek blood in their veins, and were quite as incapable of understanding Clement's or Origen's conception of Christianity as Plutarch's theories about Osiris and Isis. Nevertheless, the ascetic side of the new faith seems to have appealed strongly to them, although the mystic and philosophic ideas interwoven with asceticism were not in the least comprehended. The literal practice of asceticism became at once a thing of paramount importance, and its wide-spread influence was due in the first place to the example of one man—Anthony, the first to cut himself off from intercourse with the world, and to perform those extraordinary feats of endurance which appealed so strongly to the Egyptians, and produced countless hosts of imitators.

Our chief authorities for the history of this movement are *The Life of Anthony* (a work attributed to Athanasius), Cassian, and especially the *Lausiac History*. The arguments of the school of Weingarten, that these are monastic works of the 6th cent., may be said to have been finally disposed of by Dom Cuthbert Butler in his admirable edition of the *Lausiac History*. From these sources we draw a wealth of material concerning the ascetic movement, which is supplemented by the later Coptic documents. The first man who actually led the ascetic life, cut off from his fellow-men, was one Paul, who was driven into the desert during the Decian persecutions in 250, and there may well have been others who were forced to lead solitary lives owing to the same circumstances; but it is to Anthony that the world looks as the founder of eremitic solitude.

Born probably about the year 250, of *fellaḥ* parents, Anthony was converted to Christianity as a boy by hearing the Gospels read in a church. (As he is said to have known no Greek, this presupposes the existence of a Coptic version at this early date.) For fifteen years he lived with ascetics, who at that time practised the ascetic life in huts built outside the town:

but, deeming this insufficient, he withdrew to the desert, and endured a life of strict solitude in a cave for upwards of twenty years. During this period large numbers were fired with his enthusiasm, and the burning deserts of Lower Egypt, especially those of Scete and Nitria, swarmed with solitary who were following his example. About the year 305 he was induced to quit his cave and organize these bands of monks, and, later, he was even persuaded by Athanasius to come to Alexandria to preach against Arianism. He died at an advanced age, and left special directions that his body should not be preserved by mummification, as he had expressed his detestation of the Christians continuing this pagan custom. The ideals of monachism that he left as a heritage are remarkable for the fact that they possess little system. There was no particular Rule of Life in the Antonian communities, although the elder and more leading ascetics were looked to for advice, and sought as arbiters in disputes. The monks would visit one another frequently, and discourse on the Scriptures and the life of the Spirit, but there were also those who dwelt in the further desert of 'cells,' who were hermits indeed, living out of sight and hearing of their fellow-men and one another, enduring the most extraordinary physical deprivations, and warding off absolute intellectual stagnation by repeating long passages from the Psalms and other Scriptures learnt by heart. Although the monks assembled on Saturdays and Sundays in the great church, the other days of the week were spent mostly in solitude. The whole system was individualistic, each working for his personal advance in virtue, contending against his fellows in severities and mortification of the flesh, and striving, as Dom Butler says, 'to make a record' in austerities, and to outdo the others in the length of his fasts, and his general observance of the ascetic life.

About the same time that Anthony left his desert cavern to organize his followers, Pachomius, another Egyptian, founded a more cohesive system of monachism in the south, at Tabennisi. Pachomius also was born of pagan parents, and, according to the Coptic 'Life,' was for some time a member of one of the communities of Serapis at Shenest (Chenoboscium). These communities, although hardly ascetic in the stricter sense of the word, were priestly organizations bound by definite rules; and it is quite possible that Pachomius may have utilized some points in their system when, after he had been converted to Christianity, he founded his cenobitic monastery of monks. Briefly, the Pachomian organization was as follows. In place of the friendly and almost family relation of the monks to one another in the Antonian communities, he substituted a much more definite system. The monastery was divided into houses presided over by a superior and steward, in each of which the monks carried on a particular trade—gardening, husbandry, carpentry, iron-work, dyeing, tanning, and so forth; and these trades were carried on, not as penances, but as a useful occupation in life. It would appear that the austerities of the northern monks were not attempted, although any one monk could practise especial severities if he pleased. Food was to be eaten in sufficient quantities for a man's daily need, and meals were to be taken in common, although the cowl was to be drawn over the head so that each should be invisible to his fellow while eating. They learnt the Scriptures by heart, and assembled in the great church only on the more solemn festivals. So rapid was the extension of Pachomius's system, that at his death (c. 345) it included eight monasteries and many hundreds of monks, while his sister had founded a similar institution for women.

It is difficult to give a just estimate of this movement, which is the most outstanding, not only in Egypt, but in the entire Church of the time. That the monks offered in many cases examples of great patience, self-denial, and singleness of heart and spirit is not to be denied. On the other hand, few of his followers seem to have been possessed with the kindness and shrewdness that are generally attributed to Anthony. Many of them outdid one another in the severity of their ascetic self-discipline, but it would appear in many cases that the general result was a stunting of the intellect and a narrowing of the outlook on life. Amélineau, whose acquaintance with the documents of this period is very extensive, has said that it has been customary to hold up the monks of the pre-Chalcedon days as a pattern of virtue, and the Jacobite as a picture of vice, whereas, as a matter of fact, there is little to distinguish between the two; that the Egyptian monk, although given to asceticism, was at times a very ordinary mortal, 'mangent net, buvant sec,' and prone to irregularities of life. Certainly even the most admiring chroniclers relate with perfect frankness sad lapses from virtue on the part of individual ascetics. This, however, does not imply that all were bad, and there is no doubt that at first the ascetics were, on the whole, animated by a high ideal. They threw themselves passionately on the

side of Athanasius during the Arian controversy, and sheltered him in their desert communities while he was in exile. It is highly improbable that they understood the complicated doctrinal point involved; it was sufficient for them that Arius seemed to desire to dethrone the Son from His equality with the Father. But, as time went on, they became fiercer, more bigoted, and a prey to the inherent superstitions of their race. Childish miracles and belief in innumerable devils took the place of the old magic and demonology which had fascinated the Egyptians in pagan times, while in the following century the fact that hordes of fierce monks could be summoned to Alexandria by the patriarch led to the increase of religious turbulence and sectarian strife.

There is no doubt that the adoption of Christianity as the State religion and the rise of monasticism were the immediate forerunners of a period of steady deterioration throughout the Egyptian Church. The death-knell of paganism was already rung, and with it that of the culture and freedom of philosophic thought that had made Alexandria the intellectual centre of the Hellenistic world. In 379 the Emperor Theodosius attempted to force the Christian faith on the entire population of the Roman Empire, and this was followed in 385 by the sack of the temple of Serapis and the conversion of other pagan temples into churches. Meanwhile the character of the illiterate monks began to assert itself, and their child-like faith in angels and demons led to the communities of Scete being accused by the patriarch Theophilus of Origenism, while the unscrupulousness of the latter's methods, as revealed in the incident of the Tall Brothers, led to recriminations and unedifying quarrels. In fact, the power of the patriarch had risen to such a pitch that he did not hesitate to consider that those who were his theological opponents were rebels against the Emperor, and, acting in accordance with this idea, he took some troops and destroyed several of the Nitrian monasteries. During the reign of his successor, Cyril, turbulence and disorder increased rather than diminished. The Christians organized a wholesale plundering of the Jews in Alexandria, whose quarters were sacked by hordes of monks and fanatics, and the richest element of the community was driven into exile. This was followed by the murder of Hypatia, a young and beautiful woman, who strove to keep alive the lamp of pagan culture by lectures on Neo-Platonic philosophy. The bigotry and turbulence of the Christian mob at this period seem to have known no bounds. But, as the Patriarchs grew more powerful, and the Christians more fanatical, the relations between the Egyptian Church and Constantinople became more and more strained, until open rupture took place on a question of doctrine, which was decided at a Council held at Chalcedon in 451.

4. Monophysitism.—The controversy which had been the cause of the Council of Nicæa was concerned with the relationship of the Son to the Father. The fresh divisions that were taking place in the Church were now due to disputes on the nature of the Son—whether that nature was human or Divine, or both. Cyril, who had already been on bad terms with the See of Constantinople when it was occupied by John Chrysostom, had later taken a violent part in opposing the doctrines of Nestorius, which implied that the Divine nature was not incarnate in Christ, but subsidiary to the human nature. The chief opponent of the doctrine of Nestorius was a young priest named Eutyches, who, in his zeal to assert the Divine nature of Christ, went further than the Alexandrian school and Cyril were prepared to go, by asserting that, after the Incarnation, Christ had

only one nature—the Divine. Meanwhile, Cyril had died in 444, and Dioscorus, his successor, warmly supported the cause of Eutyches, backed by the majority of the Egyptian monks. Eutyches was finally declared excommunicate and banished, at the Council of Chalcedon, but he counted among his adherents the majority of the Egyptian Christians. Added to the ever-increasing friction between Constantinople and the Alexandrian See, due to the turbulence and fierce independence of the Christians of Egypt, was the peculiar bent of the Egyptian mind, unable to appreciate the subtleties of argument indulged in by the Greeks and Levantines. The attempts of the Arians to dethrone Christ from His equality with the Father they could understand, but two natures which were yet one nature—this was beyond their comprehension. Henceforward the cry was 'One Nature,' and it has remained so to this day. Egypt at this time might be described almost as one vast monastery, and the fierce ascetics of the desert stoutly maintained the doctrine of the single nature of Christ. The power of the monastic institutions was now almost paramount, and the authority exercised by such monks as Shnoute and Bgoul was enormous. The tendency was to unite the systems of Pachomius and Anthony by combining the cenobitic or true monastic organization with the strict asceticism of the Antonian eremites, and the network of monasteries was fast extending all over the country.

5. During the 6th century.—The century following the separation of the greater part of the Egyptian Church from the orthodox at the Council of Chalcedon is remarkable in Alexandria only for the unifying disputes between the Monophysite patriarchs and the orthodox, or *Melkites*, as they were called because of their adherence to the Imperial influence of Constantinople, and, in the upper country, to the growing power of the monastic system. The land was held largely by the monasteries, whose ruins now are not the least remarkable feature all over Egypt. The cultivation was chiefly in the hands of the monks. It is stated in the Life of Shnoute that his monastery fed the prisoners captured from a raid of the Blemmyes for three months at a cost of 265,000 drachmæ, with 85,000 *artabai* of wheat and 200 *artabai* of olives. The numerous inscribed *ostraka*, and the commencement of a vast Coptic literature, consisting chiefly of Lives and Sayings of holy men and monks, show the commercial and literary activity of the monks. They were strong enough to prevent Imperial pressure for the over-exaction of taxes, and in this way maintained to a certain extent the dwindling prosperity of the country, although the minority who were not connected with the monastic institutions were crushed by cruel burdens. But religious life was gradually sinking to a low ebb, and was distinguished by little spirituality. While the Alexandrians were occupied with the opposing factions of Melkites and Monophysites, the monks of Upper Egypt were engrossed in petty squabbles between monastery and monastery, or the enumeration of absurd miracles wrought by the foremost ascetics. Religious life, like political, was fast losing all dignity and depth.

6. The Persian and the Arab domination.—In the year 616 the break-up of the Imperial power in Egypt began with the occupation of the country by the Persians on behalf of the Sasanian king Chosroës. For ten years they held sway in Egypt. Whether the Copts welcomed their new masters is a matter of some doubt. That they hated the Byzantine domination is certain. Ever since Justinian had given the Melkite Patriarch the military authority of a prefect, in the futile hope of coercing

the Monophysites into orthodoxy, the Copts had been harried and oppressed by the Imperial power. The whole nation now looked to their own elected Patriarch, not so much as the champion of the Monophysite doctrine, but as the leader of the nationalists against the minions of Imperial bigotry and corruption. The wonderful victories of Heraclius, who drove out the Persians and re-conquered Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, were a cause of rejoicing to orthodox and Monophysite alike throughout the Eastern Empire, and it is possible that a wiser statesman than the Emperor might, amid the universal rejoicings of Christendom, have secured some kind of reconciliation. But Heraclius would extend no tolerance to heretics, with the result that a few years later, when a sterner and more implacable enemy was at the gate, the Copts of Egypt were ready to welcome him. In 642, Egypt was ceded to 'Amr ibn al-'Asi, who had conquered it in the name of Islâm.

The Arab tradition is that the conquest was aided by the treachery of one called Mukaukis (probably the Byzantine honorific title *μυκαυκίς*), who is generally supposed to have been the Coptic Patriarch. It must be mentioned, however, that it has been ably argued by A. J. Butler in *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (1902), that the Copts were intensely hostile to the Arabs, and that the treacherous 'Mukaukis' was none other than Cyrus, the Melkite Patriarch. It is probable that the Copts, after years of oppression on the part of the orthodox and Imperial party, welcomed their new masters as a change which, as they thought, could not in any case be for the worse.

From the doctrinal and ethical point of view, the Coptic Church has little history of interest during its long subjection to the rule of Islâm. The Arab invaders imposed a poll-tax on all infidels, and it is probable that from the first many were converted to the faith of Muhammad in order to avoid payment. For the first three centuries or more, it is true, considerable activity is evinced by Coptic literature, which is represented during this period by countless MSS, chiefly of a homiletic character, or containing Lives of holy men, although such important historical works as the *Chronicles* of John of Nikiou must not be overlooked. Such art as was still possessed by the Christian workman was either suppressed or forced into the service of his masters. The Copts, as they gradually became a smaller and smaller section of the population, were ostracized by the Muhammadans and cut off from all intellectual stimulus and growth. They do not seem to have shared in any way in the artistic and intellectual triumphs characteristic of certain periods among the Muslims. It is true that under some rulers individual Christians rose to high office, but their position was usually even more precarious than that of their Muhammadan colleagues. Frequently they were subjected to severe persecution, and were forced to wear dark cloaks; and under Hakim, since Muslim and Christian were much alike when naked in the public baths, they were compelled to have a cross branded on their bodies in order that none of the faithful might wittingly be polluted by contact with the infidel. Such a system was bound in time to crush the Christians almost out of existence. The monasteries dwindled, and finally, in the 17th cent., the Coptic language itself ceased to be spoken, although certain portions of the Scriptures are still read in the churches to this day in the ancient language. The Copts seem to have been little influenced by the victories of the Crusaders, and, indeed, as Crusaders and Copts looked on each other as heretics, little co-operation would have been possible. It is interesting to note that the surrender of Constantinople to the Turks seems to have reacted badly on them even in their then wretched state of ignorance; for in the correspondence, so long after that event as 1617, addressed by Cyril, then Coptic Patriarch, to George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, we

read: 'On account of our sins we are become the most contemptible of all nations; and with the overthrow of the Empire have lost the liberal arts' (Neale, *Hist. of the Eastern Church*, ii. [1850] 385). From the 16th cent. onwards the Roman Church has made intermittent efforts to convert the Copts to Roman Catholicism, but with little success. They have clung to their own Monophysite doctrine, and to their ritual of St. Mark, with the same doggedness with which they have resisted Islam.

7. The Coptic Church of to-day.—After centuries of oppression and ostracism, the Copts to-day are naturally a people apart. The males having intermarried little with the Arabs, they are supposed to represent more faithfully the old Egyptian type; but this is doubtful. Several of their fine churches, some of them dating from Byzantine times, are still in use, although stripped for the most part of their woodwork and pictures. The liturgy and ritual of St. Mark are in use. The Eucharist is in one kind, only the priests taking the wine; the bread is given to the communicants in wooden spoons, and confession is obligatory before receiving the Eucharist. Women are not allowed into the body of the church, but confined to the narthex. There are five great fasts: (1) the Fast of Nineveh, for three days and three nights before Lent; (2) the Great Fast (Lent), occupying 55 days; (3) the Fast of the Nativity, during the 28 days before Christmas; (4) the Fast of the Apostles, following the Festival of the Ascension; (5) the Fast of the Virgin, for 15 days prior to the Feast of the Assumption. The Festivals are those of the Nativity, *el Ghits*, or Baptism of Jesus, the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Easter (the Great Festival), Ascension, and Whitsunday. Baptism is universal, and, though attempts have been made by the Patriarchs in the past to enforce its early application, boys, as a rule, are not baptized till they are 40, and girls till they are 80, days old. Circumcision is general. The hierarchy to-day consists of the Patriarch, 12 bishops, and priests and deacons. The Patriarch is always elected from among the monks of the Monastery of St. Anthony. In recent years the Copts have acquired considerable wealth, and in some districts have become important members of the community. Their willingness to be educated is shown by the fact that, though they are only 6 per cent of the population of Egypt, 17 per cent of the children at school are Copts. This education is enhanced by the schools of the foreign missionaries, which supply teaching of a sort that enables the Copts to become clerks and book-keepers—occupations to which their talents are admirably adapted; but attempts to turn them into Protestants or Roman Catholics are of doubtful wisdom. The monastic system is still in force, and some of the ancient monasteries are inhabited by a few monks; but the monks themselves are narrow and ignorant, while in a few cases they have not a very good reputation for an orderly life. With regard to marriage, and more especially death, the Copts have adopted many of the customs of their Muslim neighbours.

This article cannot be closed without some mention of the Copts as missionaries. During the 6th and 7th centuries the whole of Nubia was Christianized, and for many years the Arabs were opposed by the Christian kingdoms which had their centres at Dongola, Alwa, and Soba. But the missionary efforts of the Copts did not stop here, for Christianity was afterwards introduced into Abyssinia. In connexion with this, mention may be made of the recently found gravestone of a Coptic bishop of the island of Set, beyond the second cataract, probably dating from the 9th cent.; the ruins of churches between Kasr Ibrahim and Wadi Halfa, the subject of a recent monograph by Mileham (*Churches in Lower Nubia*, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1910); and also the newly discovered Nubian version of the Life of St. Menas, published (1909) by Budge for the Trustees of the British Museum. The Christian communities of Nubia, which at one time extended from Assuan to the Blue Nile, gradually crumbled away, from pressure exerted either by the neighbouring heathen

tribes, or by the Muslims, until they were finally exterminated by the powerful Fung dynasty of negro kings at the end of the 15th century. Abyssinia, however, remained Christian and Monophysite, and its Metropolitan is still a Coptic bishop appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria.

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P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

CORN, CORN-SPIRIT.—See HARVEST.

CORNERS.—Among the Semitic peoples, as among others also, an especial sacredness or significance was supposed to pertain to the corners of structures, fields, and other objects. The evidence for this conception can be most widely traced among the Semitic peoples in connexion with buildings.

1. Bab.-Assyrian.—Among the Babylonians and Assyrians it took the form of making a deposit of inscriptions and images under the corner or corners of a temple, palace, or tower. The inscriptions were, in the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, usually in the form of hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal cylinders, or cylinders in the form of barrels. Such deposits, placed under the corners or built into them, were found by Taylor at Mugheir, Loftus at Senkereh, Rawlinson at Birs Nimroud, Botta and Oppert at Khorsabad,¹ and Rassam at Kouyunjik. The great cylinder of Ashurbanipal was found at the corner of a room, not at the corner of a building. Many of the chronicles of the Bab. and Assyrian kings were prepared and deposited in little receptacles of masonry at the corners of walls. At Tellah, de Sarzec found similar receptacles which contained bronze statuettes of human figures,² both male and female, and of animals.³ The making of these deposits was probably, as in Egypt, accompanied by sacrifice. Thus Sargon of Assyria (722-705 B.C.) says (Cylinder Inscription, l. 60): 'To the brick-god, the lord of brick foundations, and to the chief architect, Bel, I offered a sacrificial lamb, I poured a libation, I raised the lifting up of hands.'

In emphasizing the importance of this custom, Perrot and Chézy are led into one slight error. They state that king Nabu-na'id (555-538 B.C.) says that he sought for the corner-stones of Hammurabi and of one of the Kassite kings, digging until he found them. The impression is that he identified the corner-stones of the respective kings by reading the inscriptions deposited in connexion with them—an idea which is gained from a translation of an inscription of Nabu-na'id made by Oppert when the science of Assyriology was young. We now

¹ See Perrot-Chézy, *Hist. de l'art dans l'ant. II.* 828-338; and George Smith, *Assyr. Discoveries*, London, 1883, p. 69.

² See *TSBA* vii. 67, and Plan A.

³ See Perrot-Chézy, *op. cit.* 829; E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Paris, 1884, p. 63 f.

⁴ See Lyon, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 87.

know that a *temenu* was not a corner-stone, but a paved court or terrace. Since such pavements were usually made of bricks, each one of which was stamped with the name of the builder, they were easily identified.

2. **Egyptian.**—In Egypt, foundation deposits have been found at several places. One made by Thothmes IV. of the XVIIIth dynasty is reported from Memphis;¹ another set was found at each of the corners of a temple at Nebesheh built by Aahmes II. of the XXVth dynasty;² another, under a XXVth dynasty building at Defenneh founded by Psametik I.;³ a complete set belonging to a building of Hophrah, at Naukratis;⁴ and at three corners of a temple of the Ptolemaic period, at Gemaïyemi.⁵ At Thebes, foundation deposits showed that a temple built by Queen Tausert of the XIXth dynasty once stood on a spot south of the Ramesseum, although the temple itself had entirely disappeared.⁶ At Abydos, foundation deposits, or the receptacles for them, were found from Thothmes III. and Amenophis III. of the XVIIIth dynasty,⁷ Sesostris III. of the XIIth dynasty,⁸ and Pepi of the Vth dynasty.⁹ At Koptos, a box (though robbed of its contents) was found under a threshold;¹⁰ at Kahun, a receptacle (still full) under the middle of a building of Sesostris II. of the XIIth dynasty;¹¹ and, at Illahun, deposits at the corners of a temple also by the last-mentioned monarch.¹² At Gizeh no such deposits were found under the temples belonging to the IVth dynasty.¹³ These deposits in Egypt consisted of plaques of copper or stone on which the name of the builder was inscribed, together with models of the tools and materials which were used in the construction. At Defenneh, however, the bones of birds and animals offered in sacrifice were also found, together with the ashes of sacrifices which had been consumed. These showed that the sacrifice was the important feature connected with the deposits, and that the other objects were incidental to it. A similar deposit has recently been found under the corner of the castle of a Nubian chieftain of the time of the XVIIIth dynasty in Egyptianized Nubia. This differed, however, from the Egyptian deposits in that it consisted of ten mud-sealings. These represent a conqueror wearing the Nubian ostrich feather, who holds a crouching captive by a cord. On a level with the chief's shoulder is the figure of an animal like a dog.¹⁴

3. **Canaanite.**—The evidence for the sacredness of corners and for foundation sacrifices in ancient Palestine is of a more grim nature. At Gezer the skeleton of a woman was found built into the wall of a house at the corner.¹⁵ More numerous, however, were the skeletons of children found under the corners, children having been used for such sacrifices oftener than adults.¹⁶ The sacrifices at Gezer, like the Egyptian deposits, were not always placed at the corners. The skeleton of a man, and sometimes those of children, were found buried under the middle of a house or a room.¹⁷ With these sacrifices, vessels to contain food for the victims were also buried, as sometimes were lamps. Later, the sacrifices themselves were omitted, but the bowl and lamp were still used as foundation deposits.¹⁸ At Megiddo and Taanach,

¹ Petrie, *Memphis*, vol. I., London, 1909, p. 8.

² Petrie, *Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, London, 1888, p. 14.

³ *Id.* p. 65.

⁴ Petrie, *Naukratis*, London, 1886, p. 28.

⁵ Petrie, *Nebesheh*, etc., p. 39 f.

⁶ Maspero, *Manual of Egypt. Archaeology*, p. 49.

⁷ Petrie, *Abydos*, vol. I., London, 1902.

⁸ *Id.* vol. III., 1904, p. 19.

⁹ *Id.* vol. II., 1903, p. 11.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Koptos*, London, 1896, p. 11.

¹¹ Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hamara*, London, 1890, p. 22.

¹² Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob*, London, 1891, p. 5.

¹³ A private letter from Reinsner.

¹⁴ See D. Randall Maciver, *Areika*, Oxford, 1909, p. 9.

¹⁵ See Macalister, *Bible Side Lights*, p. 168 ff.

¹⁶ *Id.* p. 170 ff.

¹⁷ *Id.* p. 169 ff.

¹⁸ *Id.* p. 171.

foundations were apparently consecrated by human sacrifices, but those reported were not found at the corners, but in the centre of the houses or rooms.¹

4. **Hebrew.**—From the sacred nature and importance of corner-stones, which in the earlier time led to such ceremonies as have been described, certain literary uses have survived in the Old Testament. Thus Jer 51²⁸ and Job 38⁶ use 'corners' and 'corner-stones' as synonyms for 'foundations.' In Jg 20³ and 1 S 14³⁸ 'corners' is used figuratively for 'chiefs'; in Zec 10⁴ 'corner-stone' is apparently a synonym for 'ruler.' In Is 23¹⁶ it occurs in an enigmatic passage, where, whether the 'corner-stone' is a figure for a king or a kingdom, or for trust in Jahweh or the relation of Jahweh to His people, the result is righteousness. Such figurative uses of 'corner' led in two late passages to the thought that it was the crowning stone of a corner, not the foundation stone, which was important (see Ps 118²², Zec 4⁷).

In Zec 9¹⁸ the 'corners of the altar' are mentioned as being 'filled.' These were projections which were sometimes called 'horns' (see ALTAR [Semitic], § 17). Possibly, like the corners of buildings, the corners of the altar were thought to be specially sacred.

The sacredness which attached to corners was applied by the Hebrews to the hair. Lv 19²⁷ reads, 'Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.' As under certain circumstances hair was regarded by the Semites as sacred to Jahweh (see W. R. Smith, pp. 323-331), possibly the corners were all considered to be sacred to Him. One might infer from the statement of Herodotus (iii. 8) about the hair of the Arabs that they sacrificed the 'corners' of their hair to their god. Whatever the motive of the Levitical regulation, —whether to differentiate their custom from that of the heathen Arabs, or simply to keep locks sacred to Jahweh untouched,—it has produced among the Jews of modern Palestine and elsewhere in the Orient and in Eastern Europe, as well as among the strictly orthodox Jews of Russia and Poland, the curious custom of permitting the lock at each side of the forehead to grow long. These locks are curled and permitted to hang down in front of the ears, presenting a peculiar appearance, and distinguishing the Jew from all other religionists in that land (cf. Mannheimer, in JE ix. 595).

Another Hebrew regulation, arising from the sacredness of corners, was the law which forbade a man in harvest to reap the corners of his field (Lv 19⁹ 23²²). Because the corner of the field was sacred to Jahweh, the grain which grew in it must be left, that the poor might come and gather it. This regulation was generally observed in OT times, as the Book of Ruth shows. Since the law was indefinite, however, just what this law demanded of a farmer became a matter of debate when the oral law developed. The results of these discussions were afterwards embodied in the Mishnic tract *Pe'ah*, or 'Corner.' Perhaps because the Bab. Jews were nearly all engaged in commerce, this tract is copied in the Bab. Talmud without additions. But in Palestine, where the Jews were still agriculturists, the law of the 'corner' was still vital and developing, so that the Jerusalem Talmud contains a Gemara upon the Mishnic text.

The first problem to which the Rabbis addressed themselves was how much the owner of a field must leave for the poor in order to satisfy the law. It was agreed that a just man would leave one-

¹ See Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 45, 54; Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, Vienna, 1904, p. 61.

sixtieth of the field as a 'corner,' though the amount might vary with the size of the field, the number of the poor, and the richness of the yield. If a man left one stalk standing, he could not be held to have broken the law, for the sacred text did not define the size of a corner. Seemingly all possible questions were raised and decided by the Rabbis. For example, they decided that a man fulfilled the law if he left the proper amount in the middle of the field instead of in a corner; that the law applied to leguminous plants as well as to grain; that it applied to the following trees: tanners' sumac, the carob tree, nut trees, almond trees, vineyards, pomegranates, olive trees, and the date palm. They had to decide when the 'corner' should be estimated before the tithes were paid, and when after; when two men shared a field, whether they must both leave a 'corner'; if a man raised two kinds of grain in his field, whether he must leave a corner for each; if a man left a 'corner' for the poor and they did not take it, how long he must wait before he could take it himself; whether, if something more than what was intended were left in the field through forgetfulness, the owner could return for it, or whether it must be counted as a 'corner'; whether a rich man, who, when on a journey, had been compelled to avail himself of *pe'ah*, was obliged to restore it; and many other points such as arose in administering the law.

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CORRUPTION AND BRIBERY.—I. Ancient Rome.—For first-hand information on bribery in ancient Rome we naturally turn to the speeches of Cicero, *pro Cn. Plancio* and *pro L. Murena*. As we study these, we feel inclined to subscribe to the dictum of Montesquieu upon the condition of Rome and her provinces under the Republic: 'La liberté était dans le centre, et la tyrannie aux extrémités.' The provinces were the farm of the Roman people, and the provincials were the live stock to be fleeced by the governor. Whether a Cæcilius or a Cornelius obtained a province, it is at once clear that the main aim of the governor, during the year of his provincial life, was to acquire enough money to purchase that supreme object of his ambition—the consulship. In order to ingratiate himself with the people, he therefore supplied the citizens of Rome with large quantities of corn below cost price, the deficiency being made up by the province. When the rivalry for the consulship grew acute, it became usual for a candidate, anxious to secure his election, to give the people a *munus*, or 'treat,' in the way of a gladiatorial show. A *munus*, it may be remarked, sometimes cost the candidate a matter of seven thousand pounds. All this expense came out of the amount accumulated during the year of provincial life, and an ample margin had likewise to be provided to bribe the jury who should try the successful candidate for bribing the tribes. This indirect bribery of the people dated from the beginning of the 6th cent. of Rome.

'For five hundred years,' writes Mommsen (*Hist.* iii. 40), 'the community had been content with one festival in the year, and with one circus. The first Roman demagogue by profession, Gaius Flaminius, added a second festival and a second circus [in the year 220 B.C.]; and by these institutions—the tendency of which is sufficiently indicated by the very name of the new festival, "the plebeian games"—he probably purchased the permission to give battle at the Trasimene lake.'

In 159 B.C. the *lex Cornelia* punished with exile those found guilty of bribing the electors with money; it is, therefore, evident that the direct purchase of the votes of the electors must have existed a considerable time before the passing of that law. Indeed, as early as the year 432 B.C., we meet with the first law against *ambitus*, forbidding persons to add white to their dress to signify that they were candidates. 'Ne cui album,' Livy informs us (IV. xxv. 13), 'investimentum addere petitionis liceret causa.' This measure reminds us of the (English) Corrupt Practices Act of 1854, prohibiting the giving of cockades to voters. The *lex Poetelia* (358 B.C.) forbade candidates to carry on their canvass anywhere save in the Forum and Campus Martius. 'De ambitu,' writes Livy (VII. xv. 12), 'ab C. Poetelio tribuno plebis auctoribus patribus tum primum ad populum latum est; eaque rogatione novorum maxime hominum ambitionem, qui mundinas et conciliabula obire soliti erant, compressam credebant.' The laws against *ambitus* increased in number, but decreased in value. In 181 B.C. the *lex Cornelia Baebia* was passed (LIV. XL. xix. 11). Attempts were made to remedy the corrupt practices of the day by the *lex Gabinia*, or Ballot Act (139 B.C.), and the *lex Maria*. In the former it was enacted that in elections voting should be by ballot, i.e. by writing the name of the candidate on a ticket or tablet (*tabella*). By the latter, C. Marius, in his second consulate (104 B.C.), established the *pontes*, or narrow passages to the voting-booths, by which he designed the protection of the voters against the evil influence of the astute electioneering agents. Regular agents (*interpretes*) were employed to arrange the bargain with the elector, and the money promised (*pronuntiata* [cf. Cic. *pro. Planc.* 45; *Ep. ad Att.* i. xvi. 13]) was paid by the candidates themselves, either directly to the paymasters (*divisores* [cf. *Ep. ad Att.* IV. xvi. 7; *pro Planc.* 55]) for distribution, or to trustees (*sequestres*) appointed by the parties, who held it until the elections were over. Cicero, in the *de Lege Agr.* (ii. 4), terms the *lex Gabinia* the law whereby 'Liberty can assert herself without a word'; but in practice the voice of Liberty was as much stifled then as it was afterwards in the case of the English boroughs. In Rome, as in England, electors appear to have habitually adhered to their contracts.

By the *lex Ælia Calpurnia* (67 B.C.), a heavy fine was imposed on the candidate who should use bribery, whether successful or not; and this law deprived him for ever of the right of holding an office or sitting in the Senate, in this respect surpassing in stringency even the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act, under which the disability to sit in the House of Commons or to vote at an election to Parliament lasts only seven years. This just law contains a provision which grates somewhat harshly on our ears. If a person convicted of bribery secured the conviction of another on the same charge, in the eyes of the law his guilt was wiped out. The *lex Ælia Calpurnia* seems to have inflicted a fine on *divisores* and other agents, thus recognizing a principle which was long ignored in English legislation. The law in question was repeated, with additional rigour as to its penal clauses, in the *lex Tullia de ambitu*, which was passed in Cicero's consulate (63 B.C.). The purport of this measure is given in the *Scholia Bobbiensia* (p. 309) and in Dio Cassius (xxxvii. 29), as well as by Cicero himself in several passages of the speeches *pro Murena* (47, 89), in *Vatinium*, and others (*pro Sest.* 133; *Interr. in Vat.* 37; *pro Planc.* 83).

In his desire for reform, Cicero was supported by all true patriots, amongst others by Servius Sulpicius, who wished for some change of the laws

relating to elections under certain conditions, viz. to establish *confusio suffragiorum*, or 'mass-voting,' as a means of preventing bribery, whenever a fresh election took place in consequence of an elected magistrate having been convicted of *ambitus*. We also begin to hear of *iudices editicii* to try cases of bribery. The Senate, on Cicero's motion, declared by a *senatus-consultum* the provisions of the *lex Ælia Calpurnia* applicable to any candidate who should keep about him hired followers, or who should entertain the people with gladiatorial shows—except under the peculiar circumstances of its being required by a testamentary disposition—or refreshments of any kind. The last clause is perhaps the earliest law against 'treating' of which we find record. In the provinces the *lex Colonia Genetiva* likewise forbade treating at municipal elections. By it—and the provisions sound wonderfully modern—no candidate is to give, or cause to be given, dinners; he is not to have more than nine any day at dinner; nor is he to give, or cause to be given, bribes or gifts; nor is any one else to give dinners or bribes for him. The penalty for the violation of this statute is five thousand sesterces. The *lex Tullia* of Cicero's consulate confirmed the provisions of the *lex Ælia Calpurnia*, punished corrupt candidates with ten years' exile, and inflicted severe penalties on corrupt electors. It prohibited the candidate from exhibiting gladiatorial shows or public amusements within two years of the commencement of his candidature.

If efficiently enforced, the *lex Tullia* should have stamped out bribery. Roman history, however, shows how little effect this law exercised in putting an end to corruption. The price of the consulate showed no tendency to fall. The quotations for the year 54 B.C. show the enormous figure of ten million sesterces—practically £100,000—offered for the first voting division alone. A few facts about some of the chief men speak eloquently as to the spread of bribery. In the year 62 B.C., Cæsar owed nearly £250,000 sterling. When twenty-four years of age, Marcus Antonius owed £50,000; fourteen years later his liability was no less than £300,000. Cicero (*Ep. ad Att. iv. xv. 7*) writes to Atticus: 'Bribery is at boiling point. *Ecoe signum!* On 15th July interest on money rose from 4 to 8 per cent.' This means that money was so much in demand for the electors that the rate of interest doubled. The Senate felt impelled to take action, and in 61 B.C. two noteworthy decrees were passed. By one it was rendered lawful to search the houses of magistrates suspected of having money deposited with them to be used for corrupt purposes (*ib. i. xvi. 13*). By the other it was enacted that any magistrate in whose house bribing agents should be harboured should be held guilty of a State offence. When Cicero (*pro Plane.*) speaks of a sum of money hidden in the Flaminian circus, and seized by the authorities, he clearly implies that the concealers thereof meant the voters to find it.

This ancient plan has been imitated in modern times. For example, in 1868 each freeman in the city of Dublin received his £5 note from a hole in the wall. At Shaftesbury, in 1774, an alderman of the town, disguised as Punch, passed through a hole in the door twenty guineas to each voter, for which each was obliged to sign a bill payable to a fictitious Glenbucket, in order to disguise the nature of the transaction.

The two decrees of 61 B.C. were as ill obeyed as their predecessors. In the year 59 B.C. was carried the *lex Licinia de Sodaliciis*, which forbade the corruption of the tribes by means of the illegal organization of clubs. This law brings before us the difference between legal and illegal canvassing, and at times the border line between the two was thin. For example, it was right and proper to give treats or public shows to the voters in their tribes (*tributim*), but it was illegitimate if given to

the people *en masse* (*vulgo*). It was right and proper to employ *liberalitas* in the conduct of the election, while it was wrong and improper to use *largitio* (*pro Mur. 77*). It was fitting that candidates should look to their *sodalicia*, or 'brotherhoods,' for assistance at the time of election; but, if they employed the *sodales* to mark off the tribe into small companies (*decurie*), each to be brought by the viles of one of the brotherhood to favour a particular candidate, then the Licinian law pronounced this candidate guilty of using undue influence (on the *modus operandi*, cf. *pro Plane. 44-47*, also 37, 39). Unsuccessful candidates could be punished for ordinary *ambitus*, but only successful ones could be tried under the provisions of the *Act de Sodaliciis*. In 52 B.C. Pompeius introduced a measure against bribery, intimidation, and illegal influence, which applied to offences committed so far back as 20 years before his third consulship. That the offenders were many is evident from the letters of Cicero. In *Fam. vii. ii. 4* he writes: 'I am kept incessantly at work by the number of trials under the new Act.' The retrospective clause proved of grave importance, and in the issue hastened the fall of the Republic. Julius Cæsar perceived the hopelessness of attempting to suppress corruption by statute, and he endeavoured to minimize its effects by reserving to himself the choice of half the candidates. Under the Empire the all-important power of the Princeps left no room for *ambitio*, save in the restricted sphere of election to municipal office. The attention of Augustus was directed not against electoral corruption, but against the bribing of jurymen. Cicero's reference to this is well known. Clodius had been acquitted on the charge of violating the rites of the Bona Dea, when Cicero gave evidence against the *alibi* which he set up. 'The jury,' sneered Clodius, 'did not give you credit on your oath.' 'Yes,' retorted Cicero, 'twenty-five out of the fifty-six did; the remaining thirty-one refused you credit, for they took the bribe in advance.'

When we bear in mind the scanty amount of legislation in early times, it is obvious that strenuous efforts—at least on paper—were made to put down corruption. In practice, however, little was done, and we feel inclined to think that many of these laws savoured of the pious resolutions often passed at public meetings nowadays. The laws, like the resolutions, looked well. An unenlightened electorate like the Roman may have a vague sense of public duty which we may call Imperialism. Unless moved by this spirit, or unless highly organized by the party system, it is almost inevitable that bribes will be employed with such voters. The Roman lacked this sense of Imperialism, and he certainly lacked the party spirit.

'Party phrases,' writes Mommsen (*iii. 300*), 'were in free circulation: of the parties themselves there was little trace in matters really and directly practical. Throughout the whole seventh century the annual public elections to the civil magistracies, especially to the consulship and censorship, formed the real standing question of the day, and the focus of political agitation; but it was only in isolated and rare instances that the different candidates represented opposite political principles; ordinarily the question related purely to persons, and it was for the course of affairs a matter of indifference whether the majority of votes fell to a Cæcilian or to a Cornelian. The Romans thus lacked that which outweighs and compensates all the evils of party-life—the free and common movement of the masses towards what they discern as a befitting aim—and yet endured all those evils solely for the benefit of the paltry game of the ruling coteries.'

2. Ancient Greece.—Greek history discloses a purer state of affairs than Roman, and this is due, *inter alia*, to the fact that Imperialism and party spirit prevailed to a large extent in Greece. Nicías knew that he could reckon on the spirit of Imperialism when he reminded his soldiers, in dire straits in the harbour of Syracuse, of τὸ μέγα νόημα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. The democracy of Athens possessed

a political education superior to the Roman, and her citizens developed a sense of duty to the City of the Violet Crown, not possessed to the same extent by him who owed allegiance to the City of the Seven Hills. When no longer moved by these better feelings, party spirit (*epithela*) exercised much influence. Solon saw the useful aspect of loyalty to party when he punished the citizen who, on the outbreak of any sedition or attempt at revolution, should stand aloof and take part with neither side—an enactment that we find in some Continental constitutions. Aristotle (*Pol.* v. ix. 11) records the terms of an oligarchical oath taken on assuming office. 'And I will be malignant,' it runs, 'against the people, and I will devise against them whatever evil I can.' In order to meet with a parallel to this frank statement of one's duty to his party, we must refer to the notorious remark of President Andrew Jackson when he proclaimed the doctrine, 'To the victors belong the spoils.' The dependence of office on lot, the mode of electing the elders in Lacedæmon (Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 26), rendered electoral corruption impossible in Greece. One fact is highly significant. The word *dekazein*, the only Greek word for 'to bribe,' is a very rare verb indeed, and its normal use is for tampering with juries rather than with electors. Aristotle does not recognize electoral corruption at all, unless such be his meaning when he says that in Carthage the most important offices, including even the throne and the command of the forces, were 'purchasable' (*ἀντιράς*, *Pol.* ii. xi. 10), adding the outspoken reflexion, 'It is natural that a man should make money of his office if he has to pay for it.' Perhaps his meaning is that it may have been possible to purchase high office in Carthage, just as it was possible, till our own day, to purchase commissions in the British army or judicial positions in France. If his meaning is that office was accessible only by bribery,—and this seems to be the view of Polybius (vi. lvi. 4),—then in this respect Carthage, in the opinion of Aristotle, was unique in the ancient world.

The payment of persons invested with public functions to induce them to use them unjustly, and of juries to procure verdicts against the evidence, were, however, grave forms of corruption. The quarrels of Demosthenes and Æschines show how untrustworthy the public functionaries became, and the history of Sparta illustrates the same matter (Herod. ix. 87, 88).

Pausanias, for example, when attainted of treason, returned to Sparta in the certainty that he could buy off his punishment (Thuc. i. 131). Laotychides, Pleistonnax, Astoychus, Cleandridas, and Gylippus all took bribes. Thucydides tells us (viii. 45) that the trierarchs and generals of the Lacedæmonian and allied fleet—all save Hermocrates—took money from Tissaphernes to betray the interests of their country. Themistocles (Herod. viii. 4, 5) took and administered bribes; but it was to save, not to betray, his country. Aristotle evidently thought that the ephorality in Sparta was corrupt. 'The ephors,' he remarks, 'are chosen from the whole body of the people, so the office often falls into the hands of very needy persons, who accordingly have shown themselves corrupt' (*Pol.* ii. ix. 19). As he terms the ephorality 'the keystone of the constitution,' we may infer that Sparta was more corrupt than the majority of the Greek States.

One remark of Aristotle shows clearly how little electoral corruption prevailed in Greece. He condemns canvassing; he condemns even the candidate's application for office. 'The man,' he informs us, 'who is fit for the place should have it, whether he wants it or not. No one would apply for office if he were not ambitious; and ambition and covetousness are the most common motives to crime' (*Pol.* ii. ix. 27). With regard to corruption, Aristotle was plainly afraid of the embezzling of public moneys, and the dishonest discharge of public functions. To meet the former abuse, he proposes (v. viii. 19) that transfers of public money should be made in the presence of all the citizens, and

that duplicates of the accounts should be deposited with certain bodies; and, to counteract the latter, that there should be 'certain distinctions ordained by law for those who have a good name for probity.' In England and other countries the latter provision is customarily observed. Aristotle holds that public officials should be absolved from the necessity of supporting themselves while serving the State. They must have leisure to govern. But at the present time, he writes (*Pol.* iii. vi. 10), 'for the sake of the profit to be made out of the public purse and official position, men want to be always in office. They hunt after places with such eagerness that one might imagine they were invalids to whom health was impossible except when in office.' These official salaries, however, must not be so great as to excite cupidity. A mere competence was not the goal of that 'ambition' which Aristotle regarded with such alarm.

3. The East.—In the West we are accustomed to speak of the dangers of democracy; but in this, as in so many other particulars, no such language prevails in the East. In India—till lately, at least—the people are not to be feared. 'Blessed are the poor and needy' is the familiar account of Holy Writ. St. James, however, stands in some dread of the influence of the rich and powerful (cf. chs. 2, 5). In the East the masses are never the objects of attempts at corruption, but the classes are; whereas in the West the exact reverse holds good. The corruption in the East assumes the terrible form of being directed from below upwards. The aged Samuel, when he invites the closest examination of his conduct, exclaims, 'Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith?' (1 S 12³). Amos, in his denunciation of the rule of Jeroboam II., exclaims, 'They afflict the just, they take a bribe, and they turn aside the poor in the gate from their right' (Am 5¹²).

In the OT the acceptance of a bribe is expressly forbidden (Ex 23^{1, 6, 8}, Dt 16¹⁹), and one of the grievous woes of Isaiah is launched at them 'which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him' (Is 5²³; cf. Job 15³⁴, Am 2⁹), while 'he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes . . . shall dwell on high' (Is 33¹⁶). Accordingly, Jehoshaphat forbade his judges to accept bribes (2 Ch 19⁷; cf. Ex 18²¹), though it is only too obvious that the Hebrews were by no means unfamiliar with corruption (Is 1²³, Ezk 22¹³, Mic 7³, Mt 28¹²), among the cases being the betrayal of our Lord by Judas. Talmudic Judaism was very severe on bribery, though it seems to have been permissible, before the time when the judge received a regular salary, for him to accept an equal amount from each of two litigant parties before trying a case (*JE* iii. 379-381).

Zoroastrianism, with its intense horror of falsehood, was naturally strongly opposed to bribery, though no specific mention of corruption occurs in the extant Avesta texts. According to the late Pahlavi vision of *Artā-Virāf* (ch. lxxix., ed. Haug and West, Bombay, 1872, p. 194), the soul of the bribe-taker suffered horrible torture in the world to come. Both in China and in Japan the corrupt judge is severely punished; and it may here be noted that in ancient America, among the Aztecs, such a judge suffered the death penalty in grave cases of bribery, while for lighter forms of venality he was degraded from office, with the additional contumely of having his head shorn (Post, *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1894-95, ii. 328).

In the East it is always the people who bribe, it is always the officials who are bribed; and in India

the difference between East and West is conspicuous. It is perfectly true that the Hindu law-books rank bribery in the class of 'open thefts,' and that the crime was punishable by fine, confiscation of property, banishment, loss of the case, etc. (Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* [= *GIAP* ii. 8], pp. 125, 142); but, in spite of this, the native Indian under British rule is greatly puzzled by the apparent purity of the English officials. That they are really incorruptible he cannot believe. He looks on incorruptibility as Charles II. looked on honour and virtue. Yet he knows that he could not dare to offer a bribe to the 'Burra Sahib' directly. It must, he thinks, be conveyed through successive grades of native servants about the Court, and it will surely—for, after all, an Englishman is not different from other mortals—be accepted, if offered with sufficient discretion. No experience can teach him that pure administration of justice is an existing fact, or anything else but a means subtly devised for making small bribes ineffectual.

A native became an Indian Civil Servant, and, as such, accepted presents. His principle in so doing was that of Francis Bacon. He gave his judgment on the merits of the case. If the plaintiff won, he kept his gift and returned that of the defendant, and *vice versa*. The hard thing is that the Indians understood and admired the attitude of this judge, while that of his British colleague was incomprehensible to the native mind. That incorruptibility is regarded as a rare virtue is clearly shown in a memoir of the Hon. Onocool Chunder Mookerjee, who attained the position of a judgeship in the High Court. 'Such was the integrity of this remarkable man,' writes his nephew, 'that, having taken a brief from one party in a case and read it, he invariably refused a fee from the other side.'

4. Great Britain and Ireland.—We turn from the East to the West, and we find the whole situation changed. With us the tendency is to corrupt the people in many insidious ways. In Stuart days the members of Parliament were corrupted because they were not easily amenable to public opinion. It was then thought necessary to lubricate the wheels of political machinery with golden oil; but, as the people gained more control, this bribery of their representatives slowly passed away. Tampering with judge and jury was once common in England.

A statute of the reign of Henry VII. in the year 1494 recites that 'perjury is much and customarily used within the city of London among such persons as passen and been immaned upon issues joined between party and party.' *The Dance of Death*, translated from the French in the same reign by John Lydgate, and adapted to the England of his day, mentions a juror who had given a false verdict for money. Stowe tells us that in 1468 many London jurors were punished by having papers fastened to their heads, setting forth how they had been tampered with in such and such a suit. A letter from the Bishop of London to Cardinal Wolsey, given by Grafton in his *Chronicles*, says that a London jury would find Abel guilty of the murder of Cain. Jardine, in his *Criminal Trials*, p. 8, maintains that the 'proceedings against persons accused of State offences in the early periods of our history do not deserve the name of trials; they were a mockery of justice.'

The impeachment of Bacon made possible the long line of incorruptible judges and immaculate juries that justly forms the glory of England, though the want of publicity gave a longer duration to the existence of bribery by bestowal of office and valuable consideration. This state of affairs is painfully apparent in the reign of George III. For example, 388 peers were created, nearly all for political jobbery (May, *Constitutional History of England*, i. 282). Bad as matters were in England, in Ireland they were a great deal worse.

'I long,' wrote Lord Cornwallis, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Duke of Portland on 12th Dec. 1798, 'to kick those whom my public duty obliges me to court. My occupation is to negotiate and job with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that without a union the British Empire must be dissolved.'

Corruption in England, as in Rome, assumes the shape of bribery of the electorate. This reached its widest development in the days of George III. Writing to Lord North, 16th Oct. 1779, the king said, 'If the Duke of Northumberland requires some gold pills for the election, it would be wrong not to satisfy him.' Aristotle laid down that man

was a political animal, but the evidence of election petitions goes to prove that man is an avaricious animal. If Rome gave her citizens bread and circuses, England was no whit less lavish to her electors. Charles II. held that every man had his price, and the perusal of the details of electioneering almost tempts us to agree with him. If the struggle for the consulate in the 700th year of the Roman Republic produced an offer of nearly £100,000 for the vote of *prærogativa*, it is humiliating to reflect that a little over a hundred years ago, in 1807, when Wilberforce contested Yorkshire against Lord Milton and the Hon. Henry Lascelles, the total expenses of the candidates exceeded a quarter of a million. In the same year, at Wootton Bassett, the price of a single vote rose from twenty guineas to forty-five. From the will of Lord Vernon, £5000 seems to have been the recognized sum paid in 1812 for a seat in Parliament. At so recent a date as the General Election of 1874, corruption was organized on a large scale. 'The moment the trumpet is sounded for a General Election,' deposes a witness before a Norwich Election Commission, 'there seems to spring from the ground, as it were, a host of employment-seekers.' This form of corruption, the bribing of voters by offering good wages for the discharge of nominal functions during the period of election, is now the subtlest form of bribery, except perhaps the bribery which takes the form of munificent donations to local charities. The days are gone when the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire could buy a butcher's vote with a kiss, when the genial Dick Steele could win over the women with an apple-stuffed with guineas—as a prize for the best wife.

5. America.—In the far Western world, our cousins do not seem to have got rid of corruption. Parts of the United States are no better than the small boroughs of Southern England were before the Corrupt Practices Act of 1883. Venality occurs, according to J. Bryce (*American Commonwealth*, ii. 238), chiefly in connexion with private legislation. Foreign missions and consulates, department bureaux, custom-house and revenue offices, army and navy contracts, postmasterships, agencies, and places of all sorts are the spoils of the victors. The essence of the United States system is that paid offices are given and taken away for party reasons. In England, less than sixty men vacate their places with a change of ministry; in America, all officials do so, except those who are appointed after passing the Civil Service examinations. Corruption, of course, is not confined to the taking or giving of money bribes, for by graft there is the taking or giving of bribes in kind. Thus the person corrupted may receive the allotment of a certain quantity of stock or shares in a company, or of an interest in a profitable contract, or of a land grant. Another form may be the doing of a job, e.g. promising a contractor that he shall have the clothing of the police or the cleansing of the city thoroughfares, in return for his political support; giving official advertisements to a particular newspaper which puffs you; promising a railroad president, whose subscription to party funds is hoped for, to secure the defeat of a bill seeking to regulate the freight charges of his road, or threatening its land grants.

The effects of Andrew Jackson's famous doctrine of 'To the victors belong the spoils' can perhaps best be seen in the operations of the Tammany Ring in New York City. The cost of erecting and furnishing the County Court House was estimated in 1868 at \$250,000, but before the end of 1871 about \$18,000,000 had been expended upon it, and it was still unfinished. The items of \$404,847 for safes and \$7500 for thermometers show how the extra money had disappeared. The total price which the city paid for the privilege of being ruled by Tammany from the beginning of 1869 to Sept. 1871—that is, thirty-two months—amounted to no less a sum than \$81,000,000.

6. France.—France believes as thoroughly as America in the creed of Andrew Jackson. As in Greece, so in France, direct tampering with the electorate hardly exists. The Wilson scandals showed that political corruption was wide-spread in the Republic. The public and private bribery of the supporters of the Second Empire left many evil traces behind it. The embellishment of the capital fostered a spirit of jobbery, infecting all the departments of the State. The most dreadful of all the scandals was the Panama affair. The thrift of France had subscribed fifty millions sterling for the piercing of the Isthmus of Panama, undertaken by M. de Lesseps. In 1892 it was known that most of the money had disappeared, and at the trial it was clear that corruption accounted for the disappearance. Floquet avowed that, when Prime Minister, he had laid hands upon £12,000 of the Panama funds, and had utilized it in combating the enemies of the Government on questions unconnected with the Canal (Bodley, *France*, p. 503). He based his defence on the perilous doctrine that, under normal circumstances, it was the right and the duty of the Ministry to supervise the distribution of such subsidies so as to prevent them from being used to the prejudice of the Government (Chambre des Députés: Séance du 23 Décembre 1892). This principle has been followed by ministers both before and since the days of Floquet. The party system is probably the strongest purifying agent in Parliamentary government under extended suffrage. But, as in Rome, so in France. In neither country did the party system exist, and consequently, in both, corruption prevailed. No doubt, the general working of the Parliamentary system assists the operation of a corrupt policy. It is, however, clear that the absence of government by parties means the presence of bribery. 'The great motive power,' concludes Bodley (p. 515), 'to keep wavering members on the path of parliamentary integrity is the party system, and this is wanting in France.' Indirect

tampering with the electorate can always be observed. There is a bridge to be built, or a *lycée* to be instituted, especially in the *arrondissement* which shows itself faithful to the Government. Here we must meet with the kind of corruption we are certain to encounter in the future.

'Perhaps we are not at liberty to forget,' writes Sir Henry Maine in his *Popular Government* (p. 106), 'that there are two kinds of bribery. It can be carried on by promising or giving to expectant partisans places paid out of the taxes, or it may consist in the directer process of legislating away the property of one class and transferring it to another. It is this last which is likely to be the corruption of these latter days.'

Corruption used to appeal to individuals; now it appeals to classes. The farmer is bribed with an anticipation of prairie rent, and the artisan is bribed by the prospect of protective legislation. The future alone can disclose whether the old form or the new form of corruption is the more dangerous.

LITERATURE.—T. C. Anstey, *Election Trials*, 1870; Aristotle *Politics*; Bolingbroke, 'On Bribery and Corruption,' in *Collection of Political Tracts*, 1769; J. E. C. Bodley, *France*, 1898; J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 1888; Cicero, *Orat. pro Cn. Plancio*, and *pro L. Murena*, and the *Epistles*, ed. R. Y. Tyrrell and L. O. Purser, 1879-97; W. D. Christie, *Ballot and Corruption*, 1872; Darenberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Ambitus' and 'Dekasmon Graphe' [these are notable articles]; R. Grafton, *Chronicle, or Hist. of England*, 1809; H. Hallam, *Constitutional Hist. of Eng.*, 1863; Herodotus, *History*; V. H. H. Hobart, *Essays*, vol. ii. (1886); D. Jardine, *Criminal Trials*, 1832-35; W. E. H. Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, ed. 1899; Livy, *Hist. Rom. libri qui supersunt*; J. Lydgate, *The Dance of Death*, 1554; London Chamber of Commerce, *Report on Secret Commissions*, 1899; H. Maine, *Popular Government*, 1885; T. E. May, *Constitutional Hist. of England*, 1863-65; Meier-Lipsius, *Alt. Prozess*, 1883-87, p. 444 t.; T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, Eng. tr. ed. 1894, *Röm. Strafrecht*, 1899, pp. 865-875; Parliamentary Papers (820), *Bribery at Elections*, 1835 (547); Pintarch, *Lycurgus*; W. Rein, *Criminalrecht der Römer*, 1844, pp. 701-733; A. F. Rudorff, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.* (ed. 1859), ii. 399; W. Smith, *Dict. of Ant.* 1890-91, s.v. 'Ambitus' and 'Decasmus'; ed. of Bacon's Works by J. Spedding (vol. viii.), R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath (1857-74); J. F. Stephen, *Hist. of Criminal Law*, 1883, *Digest of Criminal Law*, 1877; J. Stowe, 'Historical Memoranda,' in J. Gairdner, *Three 15th Cent. Chronicles*, 1880; W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 1883-90; Thucydides, *Hist. of the Peloponnesian War*; J. Whiston, 'England's Calamities, 1696,' in *Hart. Misc.*, 1808-1813, vol. vi.; A. W. Zumpt, *Das Criminalrecht der röm. Republik*, 1865-69, ii. 2, p. 217, and *passim*. B. H. MURRAY.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY.

Introductory (L. H. GRAY), p. 125.
 North American (L. SPENCE), p. 126.
 Babylonian (A. H. SAYCE), p. 128.
 Buddhist (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 129.
 Celtic (G. DOTTIN), p. 138.
 Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 138.
 Christian (E. K. MITCHELL and C. M. GEER), p. 141.
 Egyptian (W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE), p. 144.
 Greek (I. F. BURNS), p. 145.
 Hebrew (J. P. PETERS), p. 151.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Introductory).—By cosmogony is meant the theory of the origin of the universe. The existence of a developed cosmogony seems to be characteristic of a somewhat advanced degree of thought. Among the Australians, for example, such careful observers as Spencer, Gillen, and Howitt record no cosmogonic myths, and the South American Indians and even the Finns have but scanty legends of this type. On the other hand, the Polynesians and North American Indian stocks have cosmogonies of considerable elaboration. The reason for this deficiency in certain parts of the world evidently lies in the amount of abstract thought required for the development of a cosmogony; for, though the existence of living beings, especially those of human kind, presents a creation problem which even primitive man endeavours to solve in many ways long before attempting to account for the beginning of the universe, these solutions do not come, strictly speaking, within the scope of cos-

mogony (H. J. JACOBI), p. 155.
 Iranian (L. H. GRAY), p. 161.
 Japanese (M. REVON), p. 162.
 Jewish (H. LOEWE), p. 167.
 Mexican and S. American (R. LOWIE), p. 168.
 Muhammadan (S. LANE-POOLE), p. 174.
 Polynesian (L. H. GRAY), p. 174.
 Roman (I. F. BURNS), p. 175.
 Teutonic (S. G. YOUNGERT), p. 176.
 Vedic.—See VEDIC RELIGION.

mogony, but rather within that of creation (*q.v.*). Yet it must be remembered that at least the rudiments of cosmogonic ideas may exist among tribes which are not now known to entertain them. A further element of difficulty is introduced into the study of primitive cosmogonies by the unconscious absorption of foreign elements derived from Christian missionaries, just as is the case with legends of the Flood.

Throughout all cosmogony run certain basal principles, and it is also noteworthy that legends of this character, at first discordant and contradictory, gradually become harmonized and unified with the progress of religious speculation. Cosmogonic myths, almost without exception, seek to explain the creation of the world from the fewest possible elements. Among the Babylonians, where at least two divergent systems of cosmogony may be traced, the primal element of the universe was water, symbolized and ruled by Tiamât, the personification of 'chaos,' until she was slain by

the god Marduk. This cosmic ocean recurs in other systems as well, notably in some of the Hindu cosmogonies and in the Egyptian legend of the Creation. Yet in various parts of the Nile Valley different cosmogonies were held; at Elephantine it was believed that Khnum had made the cosmic egg from the mud of the Nile; while at Memphis, Ptah was said to have carved the earth, like a statue, into its present form. Among the Greeks, with their highly developed philosophic and abstract thought, a large number of cosmogonies were devised, the prime component of the universe being ocean, according to Homer; earth, according to Hesiod; air, according to Epimenides; ether, according to the rhapsodic cosmogony; water and earth, according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus; water and slime, according to Athenagoras; and water, according to Thales. The Greek cosmogonies may be divided into three classes; those beginning with a spiritual principle, as Zeus; those beginning with an abstract principle, as Chaos, Time, and Night; and those beginning with a material principle, such as water, earth, and ether. Of these, the third category is doubtless the most primitive, although even the Hesiodic cosmogony is so highly developed that it is a system of philosophy rather than of religion. An almost equal degree of speculative thought appears in the earliest record of India's cosmogony. The late 129th hymn of the tenth book of the *Rigveda* describes the 'That,' or abstract universe, as fired with inward meditation that resulted in the creative *Kāma*, which corresponds strikingly and curiously with the cosmogonic Eros of the Greeks. Other Vedic hymns vaguely ascribe the creation of the world to various deities, while a late hymn of the *Rigveda* (x. 90) declares that the world was formed from the different members of the body of a giant. In the later development of Hindu thought the universe is the creation of Brahmā (or of Prajāpati or some other All-God), while the universe itself is conceived as a cosmic egg—a legend as early as the *Brāhmaṇas*, and recalling the cosmic egg of Egypt, the Polynesian creation-myths, and the Greek Orphic mysteries. It is also noteworthy that creation is ascribed to sexual congress in cosmogonies so diverse as the Hindu, Maori, and Taoist.

The Greek and Hindu cosmogonies may be termed *quasi*-philosophic, while the Babylonian creation-myth is rather one of opposition. In the Iranian legend of the origin of the universe the same element of opposition appears, and at the same time it may possibly illustrate the bond which links the two. The earliest form of the legend is marked by a conflict between Ormazd and Ahriman, and the entire cosmic process is a series of beneficent creations by the former and of maleficent counter-creations by the latter, thus affording an analogue, in a certain sense, with the conflicts of the children of Papa and Rangī in the New Zealand creation-myth. At a later period, however, philosophic speculation evolved the doctrine of 'boundless time,' from which both Ormazd and Ahriman, represented by Light and Darkness in Manichæism, were sprung. It is clear that this unitarian tendency is a later development; and if one may argue from analogy it would seem that the earliest Greek cosmogony, instead of being philosophic like the Hesiodic version, was based on opposition, as Hesiod's account itself seems in places to imply.

The order of creation naturally varies in different cosmogonic legends. In one of the numerous systems of Egyptian cosmogony the primal spirit and primal matter co-exist from all eternity in indissoluble union. The primal spirit longs to create, thus recalling the cosmic Desire (*Kāma*, *Ēpos*) of the Hindu and Greek systems. This

results in motion of the primal material, whose basal qualities thus become visible. With the aid of one of them the cosmic egg is formed, from which arises Rē, the god of light, who forms the world and all that it contains. In the Iranian account, as given by the *Bundahishn*, the order of earthly creation is sky, stars, moon, sun, land, sea, river, plants, animals, and man. A certain similarity with the Greek cosmogonies, as represented by Hesiod, is shown in the Germanic version given by the *Völuspá*, in that the creation of the gods, to which the Babylonian creation tablets also refer, is elaborately described. The basal elements are primeval time, Ginnungagap (which corresponds, in many respects, to the Greek Chaos), and primeval matter. The gods Odin, Hœnir, and Lódhur raise aloft the sun and moon (or the earth). After this Midgardh, the home of mankind, is built; the plants are produced by the warmth of the southern sun; the seasons are ordained. The home of the gods is then built, and the three Norns, or Fates, appear, while the cosmogony closes with the creation of dwarfs and men. In this last system the cosmic egg, which plays so prominent a part in many creation-legends, is replaced by the cosmic tree, which is, at least to a certain extent, paralleled by the golden lotus of the Hindu *Purāṇas*.

A curiously isolated cosmogony is found in Chinese Taoism, which derives the four seasons from the conjunction of the male and female principles Yang and Yin. The four seasons, in their turn, produce the eight *kua*, or phenomena of Nature, which are the source of the universe. Equally isolated is the general type of the North American Indian cosmogony, which is essentially one of opposition. It presupposes the prior existence of another world before the earth of man. In this world dwelt the gods, who gradually came into conflict with each other, and in the struggle all, with a few exceptions, were transformed into those objects, both animate and inanimate, to which they were in disposition most closely akin, thus giving rise to beasts, birds, reptiles, trees, rocks, and everything else. Meanwhile, the divinities who had escaped metamorphosis departed to other regions, the present world being occupied by American Indians.

In entire keeping with the late development of cosmogony and its pre-eminently philosophic character, there is almost no instance of an ethical import being attached to it. Few peoples seem to have thought of a design for which the world was brought into being. The Iranians, however, held that the universe was created for the glory of Ormazd, who should finally triumph completely over the machinations and creations of the evil Ahriman. In conclusion, it must be noted that the concept of creation *ex nihilo* was practically unknown to the ancient world. It is present neither in Babylonian, Egyptian, nor Greek; and its existence in Iranian thought is at least problematical. On the other hand, the keenest philosophers of antiquity, the Hindus, evolved the idea as early as the *Rigveda*, even though but vaguely, declaring in a late hymn (x. 72. 2): 'in the primal age of the gods being was born of non-being' (*devānām pūrve yuge satah sad ajāyata*).

LITERATURE.—FRANZ LUKAS, *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker* (Leipzig, 1893); CHANTÉPIE DE LA SANSAYE, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.* (2 vols., Tübingen, 1905).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (North American).—1. Athapaskan family (widely distributed in many tribes from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific).—The Athapascans of the North-west attribute the phenomena of creation to a raven,

whose eyes were fire, whose glances were lightning, and the clapping of whose wings was thunder. On his descent to the ocean, the earth instantly rose, and remained on the surface of the water. From this being, also, the Athapascans traced their descent.¹ Yeti by name, it saved their ancestors from the flood, and succoured them by bringing them fire from heaven. It probably sprang, with the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl, from some common original form. The more eastern Athapascans believe their ancestors to have sprung from a dog, probably an eponymous totemic being.

2. Iroquoian family (Hurons, Mohawks, Oneidas, etc., situated from the St. Lawrence to the Roanoke, and the Cherokees in Eastern Tennessee).—The Iroquois tribes believe in a similar myth. Their original female ancestress fell from heaven. There was as yet no land to receive her, but presently it 'suddenly bubbled up under her feet, and waxed bigger, so that ere long a whole country was perceptible.'² Some Iroquois tribes, however, believed that amphibious animals, such as the otter, beaver, and musk-rat, beholding her descent, hastened to dig up sufficient earth from beneath the waters to provide her with an island upon which she might dwell.³ Several Iroquois tribes regarded a mountain near the falls of the Oswego River in New York State as the locality in which their forefathers originated, and the name of the Oneida ('People of the stone') is held to indicate some such relationship.

3. Algonquian family (formerly distributed over an area embracing a space from Newfoundland to the Rockies, and from Churchill River on the north to Pamlico Sound on the south).—The words for 'light' and 'rabbit' in the Algonquian tongue are the same, so that Manibosho or Michabo, the sun, their creative agency, has become confounded by them with the rabbit. The myth relates that one day, when Michabo was hunting, the wolves which he used as dogs entered a great lake, and disappeared there. He entered the lake to rescue them, but it rose suddenly, overflowed its banks, covered the land, and destroyed the world. Michabo dispatched the raven to find a piece of earth wherewith to rebuild the land; but, after having searched everywhere, the bird returned, and reported that it could find none. Then he ordered the otter to dive for some, but the animal returned to the surface without any. At last he sent down the musk-rat, which returned with a small piece, which sufficed for Michabo to re-create the solid earth as it now stands. The trees having lost their branches, he shot arrows at their bare trunks, and the arrows became new limbs. He then avenged himself upon the malevolent beings who had caused the flood, and married the musk-rat, by whose aid he peopled the world.

4. Muskogean family (Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, etc., confined chiefly to the Gulf States east of the Mississippi).—The Muskogees believe that before the Creation a great body of water alone was visible. Over the dreary waste two pigeons flew to and fro, and at last espied a blade of grass rising above the surface. Dry land gradually followed, and the mainland and islands took their present shapes. In the centre of the hill *Nunne Chaha* was the house of Esangetuh Emisee, the 'Master of Breath,' who moulded the first man from the clay which surrounded his abode. The waters still covered the earth, so that he was compelled to build a great wall to dry the mud-fashioned men upon. When the soft mud had hardened into flesh and bone, he directed the waters to

their present places, and gave the dry land to the men whom he had made. Here we cannot doubt that the appearance of the two pigeons signifies the brooding of the creative spirit upon the waste of waters. The similarity of this myth to the Creation story of Genesis is most remarkable.

5. Siouan family (Dakotas, Winnebagoes, Mandans, etc., dwelling on the right bank of the Mississippi and Missouri valley).—The Mandan branch of the Sioux possess a very complete creation-myth, which bears a strong resemblance to those of the Karaya Indians of the Amazon and the Warrau Indians of Guiana. They affirm that the entire nation resided in an underground village near a great subterranean lake. The roots of a grape-vine penetrated to their habitation, and some of the more adventurous of them climbed up the vine, and were rewarded with a sight of the earth, which they coveted because of its richness in fruits and the plentifulness of buffalo meat. The pioneers returned laden with grapes, the taste of which so enchanted the people that they resolved to forsake their subterranean dwelling for the delights of the upper world. Men, women, and children clamored up the vine; but, when about half the nation had ascended, a corpulent woman who was climbing up broke the vine with her weight, and by her fall filled up the gap which led to the upper world. At death, the Mandans expect to rejoin their forefathers in their original seat, the good reaching the ancient village by way of the lake, which the burden of the sins of the wicked will not allow them to cross. The cognate Minnetarees had a tradition that their original progenitor emerged from the waters of a lake, bearing in his hand an ear of maize—a typical example of the culture-hero myth. As regards the actual creation of the earth, the Mandans had a vague tradition, resembling that of the Muskogees, concerning the brooding of pigeons upon the primeval waste of waters.

6. Californian sub-families.—California was, and is now, sparsely peopled by a number of Indian tribes belonging to as many as twenty-one distinct linguistic families. The mythologies of these tribes were, however, very similar to one another, and were characterized by unusually well-developed and consistent creation-myths, which are perhaps best typified by that of the Maidu, formerly dwelling in the Sacramento Valley and the adjacent Sierra Nevada. Their mythic era appears to fall into a number of periods, each of which is dealt with by a group of myths. It is in the first of these that their creation-myth makes its appearance, with the coming of Kodoyanpe the Creator, and Coyote. They discovered the world, and proceeded to place it in fitting order for its first inhabitants. These they made from small wooden images, but, as they engaged in violent conflict, they were metamorphosed into animals. Kodoyanpe conceived an antipathy to Coyote, whose evil desires clashed with his beneficent wishes, and resolved upon his destruction. In this he was assisted by a being known as 'the Conqueror,' who destroyed many monsters and evil beings which later would have endangered the life of men who were yet unborn. In the last scene of the cosmic drama Kodoyanpe is defeated by Coyote, and takes his flight eastwards—which shows, at least, that he is not a sun-god. The Indians then spring from the places where the small wooden figures of the 'first people' had been buried. Unlike most American creation-myths, this is a veritable creative act, not a mere reconstruction of the universe. In the beginning was only the great primeval waste of waters upon which Kodoyanpe and Coyote dropped in a canoe. Of the origin of these supernatural beings the Maidu were ignorant; but a neighbouring people, the Achomawi, pushed their cosmogonic legend much

¹ Mackenzie, *Hist. of the Fur Trade*, 1801, p. 83; Richardson, *Arctic Expedition*, 1851, p. 239.

² Soc. Hist. of New York, c. 1660, iv. 130.

³ *Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1638, p. 161.

further back. According to them, at first there existed only the shoreless sea and the clear sky. A small cloud appeared thereupon, which gradually increased in size, and then condensed until it became the silver-grey fox, the Creator. Then arose a fog, which, condensing, became Coyote. The Ashochimi of California told of the drowning of the world so that no man escaped. But, when the waters retired, the Coyote went forth and planted the feathers of various birds, which grew into the various tribes of men.¹

7. Chinookan family (a distinct family, formerly dwelling on Columbia River).—The creation-myth of the Chinooks is practically the same as that of the Maidu, and relates how Italapas, the Coyote, encountering a heavy surf at a place called Got'at, was afraid that he might be drifted away, and threw sand upon the surf, saying, 'This shall be a prairie, and no surf. The future generations shall walk on that prairie.' The Chinookan mythology is rich in myths of the other world, and in cosmogonic sun-, moon-, and star-myths, which are dealt with at length in art. CHINOOKS.

8. Caddoan family (Pawnees, Kichai, Wichita, etc., dwelling in Nebraska and Arkansas).—The Caddo believed that they came originally from the under world, and related that the first individual to emerge into the light of day was an old man, carrying in one hand fire and a pipe, and in the other a drum. He was followed by his wife with corn and pumpkin-seed. They spoke of a creator, Atius Tiraawa, intangible and omnipotent, whose house was the heavens, and whose messengers were the eagle and the buzzard. He it was who called sun, moon, and stars into being, and ordered them their various circuits.²

9. Shoshonean family (Hopi or Moqui, Comanches, etc., inhabiting a tract from Oregon to Texas, and from Nevada to Colorado).—The Shoshonean stock had originally no conception of a Great Spirit. They speak of the earth as always having existed, and of the human race as having emerged through an opening in the earth called the *Sipapu*, which was identified with the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. The dead they suppose to return to the under world. The Sky-father and Earth-mother they hold as responsible for the upkeep of the universe.

10. Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (Zuñi, etc.).—The Zuñi believe that the Creator—Awonawilona, Maker and Container of all—existed before the beginning of time, in the darkness which knew no beginning.³ He then conceived within himself, and, projecting his creative thoughts into the void of night, evolved fogs potent with growth. He next took upon himself the form of the Sun, the father of men, who thus came into being, and by whose light and brightness the cloud-mists resolved themselves into water, gradually evolving into the primeval sea. Then from his flesh, 'outdrawn from the surface of his person,' he made the seed of two worlds, and fecundated the sea therewith. By the heat of his rays green scums formed, which became the 'Fourfold containing Mother-earth,' and the 'All-covering Father-sky.' Terrestrial life sprang from the embraces of these, and they separated. These twain were described as 'transmutable at thought, manifesting themselves in any form at will, as dancers may by mask-making' (Cushing, *op. cit.* 379 f.). Then, from the lowest of the four wombs of the world, the seed of men and living things took form and grew, until the lowest cave or womb grew over-full of living and half-finished creatures, men among them, and the press became so great that Poshaiyankya, the

wisest and foremost of men, arising from the nethermost sea, obtained egress from the first world-cave through such a dark and narrow pathway that movement was difficult. Alone did Poshaiyankya come from one cave to another into this world, then island-like, lying amidst the world-waters, vast, wet, and unstable. He sought and found the Sun-father, and entreated him to deliver the men and the creatures from that nethermost world. In another variation of the legend the people were delivered by one Janauluha, a master magician, who, bearing a staff plumed and covered with feathers, guided imprisoned humanity upward to the light. He then created birds of shining plumage, the raven and the macaw, who were the spirits of winter and summer, and the totems of the two original clans of men.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the article, see A. Bastian, *Vorgeschichtliche Schöpfungsbilder*, Berlin, 1893; de Charencey, 'Le Déluge d'après les traditions indiennes de l'Amérique du Nord,' in *Revue Américaine*, vol. I.

LEWIS SPENCE.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Babylonian).—The cosmology generally accepted in Babylonia had its origin at Eridu, the primitive seaport of the country, on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Here the land was constantly growing through the deposition of silt, and the belief consequently arose that the earth had originated in the same way. The water of 'the great deep,' accordingly, came to be regarded as the primordial element out of which the universe was generated. The 'Deep' was identified with the Persian Gulf, which was conceived as encircling the earth, and as such was called the *Nāru Marratu*, the 'Bitter' or 'Salt River.' On its inner bank in the extreme north was 'the Mountain of the World,' on which the sky rested and the gods had their seat. An early Babylonian map of the world (*Cuneiform Texts*, xxii. 48) places at certain distances from one another on the outer bank a number of *nagē*, or 'coastlands,' which, however, seem to owe their origin to the discovery of the existence of countries beyond the region of the Euphrates and Tigris, made subsequently to the period when the primitive system of cosmology first became an article of belief. In one of the islands off the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris the Babylonian Paradise was located, where the Chaldean Noah and other ancient heroes were supposed to dwell.

Apsu, 'the Deep,' belonged to the orderly framework of Nature; the waters of the annual inundation which irrigated the Babylonian plain poured into it, and the trading vessels which brought wealth and culture to Eridu passed over its bosom. Hence it became the home of Ea, the culture-god of Eridu; his palace was within it, and his throne, *Du-azagga*, 'the holy mound,' was identified with an island which had been formed on the eastern side of the Gulf. But there was another aspect under which the watery element could be regarded; the thunderstorm and the whirlwind rose out of the Gulf, carrying destruction in their path, and the deep itself had once burst its bonds and destroyed mankind with a deluge. Under this destructive and anarchic aspect the watery element was known as *Tiamtu* or *Tiamât* (Heb. *Tēhôm*), which was mythologically pictured as a dragon, the enemy of the gods of light and law. While *Apsu*, the Deep, had been the origin of all things in the present orderly universe, *Tiamât* was a yet older principle, whose anarchic waters still existed beyond the limits of the universe, in the waters above the firmament and the waters below the earth and sea, which were always ready to break forth once more as soon as the barriers of law that confined them were removed. The conception of *Tiamât*

¹ Stephen Powers, *Indian Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877, p. 200.

² G. B. Grinnell, in *JAF*, 1893, p. 113.

³ F. H. Cushing, 'Zuñi Creation Myths,' in *IS REW*, 1896.

probably emanated from Nippur in northern Babylonia, and was harmonized with difficulty with the cosmology of Eridu (Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 376, 377).

The cosmological beliefs of Eridu are embodied in a bilingual (Sumerian and Babylonian) poem, discovered by Pinches (*JRAS*, 1891, pp. 393-408), which, however, in its present form has been much modernized by the introduction of lines referring to Babylon and the other chief cities of later Babylonia, and the substitution of Merodach, the god of Babylon, for Ea, the god of Eridu. The original version began as follows:

'No holy house, no house of the gods in a holy place had as yet been built,
No reed had grown, no tree been planted,
No bricks been made, no brick-mould formed,
No house been built, no city founded,
No city built, no man (*adam*) made to stand upright;
The deep was uncreated, Eridu unbuilt,
The seat of its holy house, the house of the gods, unerected:
All the earth was sea,
While within the sea was a current' (literally 'watercourse,' *pišannu*).

Then we are told how

'(Ea) tied (reeds) together to form a weir in the water,
He made dust and mixed it with the reeds of the weir,
That the gods might dwell in the seat of their well-being;
The cattle of the field (*Edinnu*), the living creatures in the field, he created;
The Tigris and Euphrates he made and set them in their place,
Giving them good names,
Moss and seed-plant of the marsh, rush and reed he created,
He created the green herb of the field,
The earth, the marsh, the jungle,
The cow and its young, the calf, the sheep and its young, the lamb of the fold.'

Of far later date is the so-called Epic of Creation, which is really a hymn in honour of Merodach and his overthrow of Tiamât and the powers of chaos. As this involved the creation of the existing world, the poem is prefaced by an account of the origin of the universe as it was conceived in the schools. The cosmology is frankly materialistic, abstract principles taking the place of the gods who are themselves the offspring of the principles, in flagrant contradiction of the rest of the Epic, in which the god Merodach appears as the creator. The Semitic idea of generation is invoked in order to explain the creation, which thus becomes a process of evolution, the old animistic objects of Sumerian worship being introduced to form the links in the chain of development. Water remains the primordial element, but an attempt is made to reconcile the antagonism between the two conceptions of this element, according as it is regarded as anarchic or as under the dominion of law, by making Apšu (the Deep) and Tiamât (the watery chaos) complementary principles whose union resulted in starting the evolutionary process. The first lines of the Epic run thus:

'When above unnamed was the heaven,
(And) earth below by a name was uncalled,
Apšu (the deep) in the beginning (*ristû*) being their begetter,
(And) the flood (Mummu) of Tiamât the mother of them all,
Their waters were embosomed together (in one place),
But no reed had been harvested, no marsh-plant seen;
At that time the gods had not appeared, any one (of them)
By no name were they called, no destiny [was fixed].
Then were the gods created in the midst of [heaven?],
Lakhamu and Lakhamu appeared [the first].
The ages multiplied, they . . .
Ansar and Kisar (the Upper and Lower Firmaments) were created . . .
Long were the days, forth came . . .
Anu their son, [Bel and Ea].'

The cosmogony of the Epic is reproduced by Damascius, a contemporary of Justinian (*de Prim. Princip.* 125 [p. 384, ed. Kopp, 1826]).

'The Babylonians,' he says, 'like the rest of the barbarians, pass over in silence the one principle of the universe and constitute two, Tavrthê (Tiamât) and Apasôn (Apšu), making Apasôn the husband of Tavrthê, and denominating her "the mother of the gods." And from these proceeds an only-begotten son Mômymis, which, I conceive, is no other than the intelligible world (*νοῦτος κόσμος*) proceeding from the two principles. From

them also another progeny is derived, Lakhê and Lakhos (corrupted in the MSS into Dakhê, Dakhos); and again a third, Kissarê and Assôros; from which last three others proceed, Anos and Illillos (corrupted into Illinos) and Aos. And of Aos and Davkê (Damkina) is born a son called Bêlos (Bel-Merodach), who, they say, is the fabricator of the world.'

Here Mummu, 'the flood' or chaos, who is identified with Tiamât in the cuneiform text, becomes the son of Tiamât and Apšu, and is accordingly explained by Damascius as the ideal world—that is to say, the world as it exists in the mind before it is realized externally. Such an explanation, however, is excluded by the Epic, where Mummu would rather correspond with the 'darkness' which in Gn 1² is said to have been 'upon the face of the deep.'

According to the Babylonian legend, the appearance of the gods of light and order was followed by the revolt of Tiamât (or, as it would seem, according to another version, of Apšu). But the powers of darkness and chaos were overthrown by Bel-Merodach, who cut Tiamât in two, and stretched the sky across one of the two halves, thus preventing the waters which were in her veins from breaking forth again, while the other half was similarly confined under the earth and sea, the springs of which it feeds. The conquest of Tiamât was followed by the creation of man, who was brought into existence in order to build temples and altars and offer sacrifices and prayers to the gods. The world, however, had to be prepared for the reception of man by fixing the movements of the celestial luminaries, and so regulating the sacred calendar, and then by creating plants and animals which could be offered or used in the service of the temple. The heavenly bodies had existed before the war with Tiamât, since the deities with whom they were identified had been the offspring of the trinity or triad of Anu, En-il, and Ea. Indeed, Bel-Merodach himself was originally a Sun-god.

In the Epic, allusion is made to another system of cosmology, which ascribed the universe to the creative word. Merodach is described as destroying and creating by his word alone, and so proving his fitness to destroy the forces of anarchy and create a world that should be governed by law.

Another system of cosmology was that which emanated from Nippur (now Niffer) in northern Babylonia. In this Tiamât, the dragon of the subterranean waters of chaos, was the elementary principle, the earth having risen out of it in the form of a mountain. The brood of chaos, composite creatures who belonged to a first and imperfect creation, continued to exist in the dark underground, which was also the dwelling-place of the ghosts and demons of night. How the world-mountain was believed to have been formed we do not yet know. At the Syrian Hierapolis (Membij) the waters of the deluge of the Babylonian Sisylthes were believed to have drained off into a cavern beneath the temple, which was accordingly kept securely closed, and Simi, the daughter of the supreme god Hadad, was said to have put an end to the attacks of a demon by filling the pit in which the monster lived, with the water of the sea (Cureton and Renan, in Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, ii. p. xlv).

LITERATURE.—H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1896); A. H. Sayce, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (1877), ch. vi., and *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (1905), pt. ii. ch. vi.; L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (1902); M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyriens*, Glessen, 1909.

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COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Buddhist).—I. Preliminary notes.—

(1) In the earliest times, speculations on the universe were apparently regarded as wrong. We may recall the attitude of the Buddha towards (heretical) doctrines of the infinity or non-infinity of the world (see AGNOSTICISM [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 221), and his efforts to give a moral or psychological meaning to

the researches of natural science: when a monk wants to know where the material elements (earth, water, etc.) stop in their extent, the Buddha explains, by way of answer, how people are delivered from desire and from existence. Obviously that is where the problem lies; the exterior world, in fact, exists only as long as one is conscious of it (*Digha*, i. 215).¹

It is probable that a large number of Buddhists, imbued with the 'moralism' of their master, avoided frivolous curiosities, — 'non-Buddhist', 'mundane' disciplines (*lokayāta*),² — and were content with denying, on the one hand, a supreme personal creating power (a lord, *Īśvara*), against the theists, the Brahmins; and, on the other, the innate independent power of things (*svabhāva*), against the *svabhāva*adins, the materialists. The formula, 'The diversity of the world comes from the act,'³ contains for a well-informed Buddhist the Alpha and Omega of the necessary cosmological information.

But, long before the time when the Mahāyānist books demanded that the learned Buddhist, the preaching Bodhisattva, must have a knowledge of lay sciences,⁴ a Buddhist cosmology was formed, constituting a very well developed collection of various opinions and systematizations; and, in fact, accurate information on cosmological questions seems to have been as ancient as the statements defending or ridiculing the speculations of this kind which we recalled above.

The aim of the present article is to give an outline of Buddhist cosmology, without entering into details (except on a few points which have not yet been published, or are obscure), and without spending time over variants. It should prove interesting, and profitable for the history of the sects, to study the history of the various theories, to distinguish the most ancient elements and aspects of them, and to note the succession of borrowings, inventions, and arrangements. Such a study, however, is possible for only a limited number of the theories; we shall endeavour to pursue it wherever we can with prudence.

(2) *Meaning of the word.* — 'Cosmology' seems to be the most accurate translation of *lokaprajñapti*, 'world-teaching,' a term denoting that part of the Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharma* ('summaries and systematization of matters of doctrine' [see *ABHIDHAMMA*, vol. i. p. 19]) which deals with cosmological problems — the origin, arrangement, and destruction of the universe.⁵

But the *lokaprajñapti* deals also with questions that we do not include as cosmological: the Buddhists, in fact (at least the Sarvāstivādins), distinguish two 'worlds' (*loka*) — the *bhājanaloka*, 'receptacle-world,'⁶ the universe as the abode of beings (*sattva*), and the *sattvaloka*, 'world of beings,' i.e. the mass of living beings. There are, accordingly, two *lokaprajñapti*, the first a 'cosmology,' the second a 'zoology' (*sattva* = *śōva*).⁷

There are, naturally, close connexions between these two 'worlds,' for the first is made for the second, being created and arranged to form a shelter for it. The whole of demonology, anthropology, and theology (i.e. pantheology) is connected with cosmology. Although it is difficult to separate the two, we shall give special prominence to the facts considered by our sources as relating to the 'receptacle-world' (*bhājanaloka*); e.g., the abodes of the gods, the length of their lives, the dimensions

of their bodies, and their 'non-embryogeny' are 'cosmological,' while their psychology and the right they possess or do not possess to the exercise of virtue are 'zoological' (*sattvalaukika*). The beings, likewise, in one and the same class, inhabiting the same part of the 'receptacle-world,' may differ in their method of generation; men, serpent-dragons, and *garuḍas* (mythic birds) are not always born from the womb or the egg; the *chakravartin* kings (see art. *CHAKRAVARTIN*, vol. iii. p. 386 f.) resemble gods far more than men, etc. — none of this is cosmological.

Nevertheless, in order to understand the cosmological system, we must know the main lines of the distribution of beings (*sattvaloka*). There are (1) 'immaterial' beings, who form the 'immaterial' category (*dhātu*), the *arūpya*; they are nowhere; they have no place in the 'receptacle-world' (but see below, § 8); (2) beings called 'material' (*rūpin*),¹ but of a subtle material; they inhabit the higher part of the 'receptacle-world,' i.e. the *rūpadhātu*, or 'material category or region,' according as we regard the beings or their habitation (see § 7); and (3) material beings, of grosser substance the lower they are in the scale, living in a world of gross material, concupiscent (*kāmāvacara*, *kāmaḥvuj*, *kāmaprabhāvita*), and subject to sensual and especially sexual desire (men alone are capable of continence, *saṃvara*, in this respect); these beings occupy the lower part of the 'receptacle-world,' the *kāmadhātu*, or 'concupiscent category or region.'²

On the other hand, beings are divided into five categories, two good and three bad, called *gati*, 'destinies,' 'kinds of existence,' themselves further subdivided into numerous sub-*gatis*: (1) the gods (*devas*) of three classes, according as they constitute the first *dhātu* (four kinds), or inhabit the second *dhātu* (sixteen kinds and sixteen 'places,' *āvāsa*), or inhabit the third *dhātu*, the *kāmadhātu* (six kinds and six 'places') (see below, § 6); (2) men, who are allotted four places, the four continents (see below, § 4); (3) ghosts (*pretas*), one place [see below, § 5 (iii.)]; (4) animals, one place [see below, § 5 (ii.)]; and (5) the damned, eight places; eight hells [see below, § 5 (i.)]. According to this division, there would be twenty places in the *kāmadhātu*. Indeed, it is not at all a satisfactory division,³ for there are numerous categories of beings who have no place in it, notably the *asuras*.

Many treatises, some of them of ancient date, regard the *asuras* as a sixth *gati*, placing them between men and ghosts (see *JPTS*, 1889, p. 105 [this is the opinion of the *Andhakas* and several *Uttarāpathakas*]; Burnouf, *Lotus*, 1852, p. 309 [*SBE* xxi. 7]; *Piṭapūtrasaṃgama*, ad *Bodhiccharyāvatāra*, ix. 73; *JPTS*, 1884, p. 158, etc.). But the authorities on *Abhidharma* (*Kathāvatthu*, viii. 1; the Sarvāstivādin *Saṃgītiparyāya* [in *JPTS*, 1905, p. 102]; Chandakīrti's *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*)⁴ hold that the *asuras* are not a *gati*. Some of them have the same colour, pleasures, and length of life as the gods or the ghosts, and intermarry with them.⁵ Nevertheless, the *asuras* have a well-defined place or places (see below, § 5 (iv.)).

As regards the numerous demi-gods, good and bad genii, vampires (*vīkṣas*), dragons (*nāgas*), divine birds (*garuḍas*), and celestial musicians (*gandharvas*, cf. *Mahāvūyupatti*, § 166), some of them have a definite place in hell (demons of torture), at the foot of Meru, or near the deities whose followers or commensals they are (see below, § 5 ad fin.); others have the position rather of magician-ghosts. Popular mythology had shrewd theories concerning them, but they do not appear to have much importance in 'cosmology' (*lokaprajñapti*).

(3) *Sources.* — The most systematic work on Buddhist cosmology is undoubtedly the second *Rūpa* is usually translated 'form,' *arūpa*, 'formless,' and *arūpya*, 'formlessness.' But, although 'matter' is far from being to us what *rūpa* is to the Buddhists, the present writer prefers the translation 'matter' (see C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1900, p. xliii; *JPTS*, 1884, p. 27 f.; *Mahāvūyupatti*, § 101, etc.).

² Generally translated 'desire-sphere,' but 'desire' is inaccurate. There is desire, attachment (*rāga*), in the 'region of matter,' but only 'attachment to life' (*bhavarāga*); in the 'region of concupiscent' there is also 'attachment to sensual pleasures' (*kāmāraṇa*), 'concupiscent.'

³ Cf. al-Bīrūnī on 'the different classes of created beings and their names,' *India*, tr. Sachau (1910), ch. viii.

⁴ Buddhaghosa refers to *Majjhima*, i. 73; see *Digha*, xxxiii.; *Avadānaśataka*, xii.; *Madhyamakavartti*, p. 269, 9 and note.

⁵ Tanjur, *Mdo*, xxiv.

⁶ See *Kathāvatthu*, loc. cit.; cf. *JPTS*, 1884, p. 158.

¹ Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, London, 1899, i. 280; cf. the 'foolish questions' in *Milinda*, p. 295 (*SBE* xxxvi. 153).

² Rhys Davids, *op. cit.* i. 166, and Bendall's review in *Athenaeum*, June 30th, 1900; also *Sikṣasamuccaya*, p. 192, 7. ³ *Karmajñāna lokavācchitryam* (*Abhidharmakośa*, iv. st. 1). On *Karma* as the cause of the universe, see art. *KARMA*.

⁴ e.g. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ch. viii.

⁵ This last part, the destruction of the universe, has been treated in the art. *ACTS OF THE WORLD* (Buddhist), vol. i. p. 189. The *Abhidharma* of the Pāli language does not seem to include any *lokaprajñapti*.

⁶ This expression does not appear to exist in Pāli, where we find *sākkhāraloka*, 'material world' (including trees, etc.) (see Childers, *Dict. of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, p. 453), and *okāsaloka* (= *avakāsaloka*), 'room-world,' Spence Hardy (see Childers, p. 299) translates 'the world of space,' the far-extended vacuum (see *Vissuddhimagga*, vii. [*JPTS*, 1891-2, p. 99]).

⁷ The *pudgala paññatti*, which constitutes one of the sections of the Pāli *Abhidharma* (*JPTS*, 1883), is the enumeration and definition of the various categories of 'individuals,' 'noble individuals' (*āryapudgala*), etc., from the moral standpoint, particularly from the point of view of their progress in the 'way' of *nirvāṇa* (*JPTS*, 1905, p. 133).

treatise of the *Abhidharma* (*Abhidharmaśāstra*) of the Sarvāstivādin school, entitled *Prajñāpīṣāstra*, the first section of which is the *Lokaprajñāpi* (Tanjur, *Mdo*, lxii, 1; see Takakusu, *JPTS*, 1905, pp. 77, 117, 142).¹ On this section is based the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu² (ch. iii. st. I-44 *sattvatoka*, 45-102 *bhājanatoka*), known particularly for the commentary of Yaśomitra, *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*.³

A Tibetan work of the end of the 18th cent., *Dpag-bsam-lyon-bzavi* (= *Kalpadrūma*), ed. by Sarat Chandra, Calcutta, 1908, refers to the same *Abhidharmakośa*, which is quoted by Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome, 1762), p. 470, and used, along with other Sarvāstivādin sources and the Chinese literature of the two vehicles, by S. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures* (London, 1871), p. 15 f., the most complete work that we have on the subject as yet.

The ancient sources (Pāli and Skt. 'Little Vehicle'), which are the most interesting of all, are somewhat scanty and scattered; they will be mentioned *ad locum*.

The Pāli commentaries have had little attention from this point of view. Probably most of the information they contain has passed into the works of Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* (London, 1860), and *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists* (London, 1866).⁴

2. Foundation of the universe: the 'great elements.'—(a) An important cosmogonical feature can be traced in the earliest Buddhist texts, and is evidently pre-Buddhistic. When Ānanda inquires as to the causes of earthquakes, Buddha answers as follows: 'This great earth, Ānanda, is established on water, the water on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ānanda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken.'⁵ Another *sūtra* relates the questions of the Brāhman Kāśyapa: 'On what rests the earth?'—'On the circle of water.' 'And the circle of water?'—'On the wind.' 'And the wind?'—'On the ether.' 'And the ether?'—'You go too far, O Brāhman. The ether does not rest on anything; it has no support.'⁶ (see below, § 9).

¹ By the kindness of Dr. Cordier, the present writer has been enabled to use extracts from this work, for the *dīpas* in particular (see below, § 4). Prof. Takakusu seems to be mistaken when he says the section does not exist in Chinese (see p. 118 of his art.).

² On this work see the article in vol. i. p. 20; Burnouf, *Introduction à l'hist. du bouddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844, pp. 563-574 ff.; and the article of Takakusu. The present writer is indebted to Mr. F. W. Thomas for a copy of ch. iii. (Tibetan tr.).

³ This source will be quoted as A.K.V., and the folio in the MS of the 'Société asiatique' will be given; sometimes reference will be made to the MS of Burnouf (Burn.) in the 'Bibliothèque nationale.'

⁴ The European works most frequently referred to in this art. are: Warren, *Buddhism in Translations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1896); Burnouf, *Lotus de la bonne loi* (Paris, 1852), and *Introduction à l'hist. du bouddhisme indien* (Paris, 1844); Rémusat, *Mélanges posthumes* (Paris, 1843); Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome, 1762); Köppen, *Religion des Buddha* (Berlin, 1857-59); Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet* (London, 1895); C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology* (London, 1900). See also literature at art. AGES OF THE WORLD (Buddhist).

⁵ See *Dīgha*, ii. 107 (*SBE* xi. 45), and cf. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 204; also *Aṅguttara*, iv. 312; *Milinda*, p. 68 (*SBE* xxxv. 106); Beal, *Catena*, p. 471. The authorities of Rémusat, *Mélanges posthumes*, p. 79 f., sometimes add a circle of fire between water and wind, and a circle of diamond (where the relics of the Buddhas are enclosed) between wind and ether.

⁶ Quoted in A.K.V., and translated by Burnouf, *Introd.* p. 448 (see *SBE* xxxv. 106); cf. *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 166, n. 5; Sañkara, *ad Brahmasūtras*, n. ii. 4; Rāmānuja, *ad* n. iii. 1. For the Vedic origins of this notion, spoken of by Burnouf, cf. *Brhadāraṇyaka*, iii. 6; *Āitareya-brāhmaṇa*, xi. 6. 4. 'The sky rests on the air, the air on the earth, the earth on the waters, the waters on the reality (truth, *satya*), the reality on the brahman, the brahman on the tapas (creative fervour)'; *Chāṇḍogya*, i. 9. 1: 'It is the space whence all these creatures proceed and into which they again descend' (see Oltmanns, *Théosophie brahmanique*, Paris, 1906, i. 292; Deussen-Geden, *Phil. of the Upanishads*, Edin. 1906, p. 214 ff.).

(b) The Buddhists admit four 'great elements' (*mahābhūta*).¹ called great because they are the substance of all material things; they are earth, water, fire, and wind, or, as Mrs. Rhys Davids expresses it, earth-element, fluid-element, flame-element, and air-element (for their specific qualities reference may be made to *Dhammasaṅgani*, § 962 [= C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Bud. Psych.* p. 241], and to *Viśuddhimagga*, xi. [tr. by Warren, *op. cit.* p. 157], where their functions in the human body are especially treated. Cf. also *Majjhima*, i. 195 and iii. 240 [quoted in A.K.V., Burn. 42a], and *Sikkasamuccaya*, p. 244, a re-cast of *Majjhima*, iii. 240). The 'great elements' constitute the *bhūtarūpa*, 'element-matter', whence is derived 'elementary matter', 'dependent matter' (*bhautikāṇ rūpam, upādāna rūpam*), e.g. the sense-organs, in so far as they are distinct from 'the eye of flesh', etc. This kind of matter is subtle and refined, in contradistinction to the elements that are solid and gross (*sūkṣma, prapita; audārika, hina*).

The common Indian belief that there is a fifth great element, viz. ether (or space, *ākāśa*),² is accepted by the Vaiśhāṣikas, who quote the *sūtra* mentioned above (2 a); and it would not be difficult to find documentary or logical arguments in their favour. (*Ākāśa* is reckoned a *dhātu* (a term that often denotes 'element': *prthivīdhātu*, 'earthy-element', etc.), and the *Abhidharma* ranks it in the category of *rūpa* (matter).) But for the Sautrāntikas and Mādhyamikas *ākāśa* is simply 'space' (not 'ether'), 'void' (*vyoman*=sky), not a thing (*artha*), but simply the absence of anything tangible, that which gives place to things, whence its name (*anākāśaḥ dadātīti ākāśam*).³ This is only a name, as the past, *nirvāṇa*, and the person (*pudgala*) are only names (says a *sūtra*). But the Buddhists do not deny a 'far extended vacuum', eternal, infinite, not made (*asaṃskṛta*), the great nonentity to which, according to the materialists (*Dīgha*, i. 35; *Samyutta*, iii. 207), the senses and intelligence return at death.

3. The small universe: general notions.—

We shall see below (§ 9) that the Buddhists imagined great 'cosmoi', or 'chilocosmoi', but we shall first consider the 'small universe', the creative unit of these great combinations, which extend to the farthest limits of space.

The starting-point of the 'small cosmology' is the old Indian and Brāhmanic geographical notion: in the centre of the world is a great mountain (Meru, Sumeru = Himalaya), where the gods dwell, and round which the sun moves. To the south lies India (*Jambudvīpa*); to the other sides, the other continents. The following is the Buddhist description, in its most systematic form (*Abhidharmakośa* and commentary). When the time has come for a new creation, after chaos, when everything is burnt up or 'volatilized' (see art. AGES OF THE WORLD [Buddhist]), the heaven of Brahma appears first of all (and the gods who had been re-born in higher heavens come to be re-born here); then the heavens of the gods *Paranirmitavāsavartins*, *Nirmānaratis*, *Tuṣitas*, and *Yāmas* (see § 6); next, much lower, come (1) the wind-circle (*vāyumanḍala*), infinite in surface, resting on space, and 1,600,000 *yojanas* (or leagues) in thickness.⁴ On this wind-circle, the cloud of the creation pours a sea of 1,120,000 leagues of golden water in a circle of 1,203,450 leagues' diameter. This sea, set in motion by the wind, gives (2) the water-circle (*āpmanḍala*), of 800,000 leagues' thickness, and (3) the golden earth (*koñchanamayi bhūmi*), which rises to the top like cream on milk, 320,000 leagues in thickness. The cloud then pours on this golden earth gold, precious stones,

¹ C. A. F. Rhys Davids (*op. cit.* pp. 166, 197, 205) translates *mahābhūta* 'the things that have become, die, grow, Genowden, *ra yavajjāna*, a far more scientific term than elements or *bhūta*,' but possibly the expression *mahābhūta* is pre-Buddhist, and is used in a sense that is not specifically Buddhist. What is not matter (*rūpa*)—thought, etc.—although 'becoming' par excellence, is not *bhūta*.

² There is a good summary on *ākāśa*, 'space' or 'ether', in Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar, *Vedānta according to Rāmānuja* (Vienna, 1906), p. 52. See also Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 515; *Sloka-vārtika*, pp. 380, 770 (Chowkhambā Skr. Ser.), tr. pp. 196, 435 (*Bibl. Indica*, 1907); Sarat Chandra, *Tib. Dict.* (Calcutta, 1902), p. 425; *Sikkasamuccaya*, pp. 249, 323; *Madhyamakavṛtti*, pp. 129, 271, 389, 413, 505, 528; *Aṅguttara*, i. 176; *Majjhima*, iii. 241; *Kathāvatthu*, vi. 6. 7; and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.* p. 198 (cf. *Viśuddhimagga*, *JPTS*, 1891, p. 124, and *JPTS*, 1884, pp. 27, 29).

³ *Ākāśa* is great, since it gives place to the production (*bhava*?) of all rūpa, but it is not a *bhūta* (Chandrakīrti, *Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa*, p. 275a).

⁴ Certain sources give the names of the whirlwinds of this wind-circle: see Beal, *Catena*, p. 191; cf. below, p. 137. According to *Abhidharmakośa*, iii. 87, the *yojana*=8 *krośa* (= the length the voice can carry)=4000 'arcs' (*daya*?)=16,000 hands (*hasta*, i.e. 'cubits')=16,000×24 fingers (*angul*).

earth, water, iron, etc., which form (a) in the centre of the system, Mount Meru; (b) eight mountains, or concentric chains of mountains, seven of which (of gold) are quite near Meru and near each other, while the eighth (of iron) is almost at the very edge of the system; (c) oceans flowing between the concentric mountain-chains; and (d) islands, notably four great islands or continents situated in the largest of the oceans—the 'exterior' ocean, between the 7th and 8th mountains.¹

The outside mountain is called Chakravāla, and this name is also applied to the entire 'small universe', *lokadhātu*, or *chāturdvīpakalokadhātu*, 'four-continents-universe.'

Chakravāla (*oṣṭā, oṣṭā, the Sakala of Sp. Hardy*) = 'circle', 'bracelet', 'horizon' (see E. Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, Paris, 1882, p. 6 ff.). In the northern sources there are a *chakravāla*-mountain and a great-*chakravāla*-mountain, called 'black mountains' or 'time-mountains' (*kālaparvata*; see Mahesvara, ad *Amarakosa*, 2, 2, 2; *Dharmasāṅgraha*, § 124; *Lalitavistara* [Halle, 1902], p. 132; *Lotus*, in *SBE* xxi. 232; *Sikāsāsamuchchaya*, p. 246). Perhaps the 'great *chakravāla*' envelops a group of small universes (see below, § 9). Between three universes, which form three tangent circles, there is a dark region, 'intramundane darkness' (*lokāntarika*), a special hell—a cosmic abyss, which recalls the *anārambhanam tamas*, 'unsupported darkness,' of *Rigveda*, i. 182. 6, vii. 104. 3 (see *Dīgha*, com. on ii. 12; Sp. Hardy, *Legends*, p. 110; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 332; and Beal, *Catena*, p. 64).

The iron-mountain-range, Chakravāla, like the continents, rests on the golden earth. It is 312½ leagues high and 312½ broad, and 312½ leagues above the level of the exterior ocean which it surrounds. This ocean is 322,000 leagues in extent,² and is bounded on the inner side by the *Nemindhara* range ('felly-bearing'), 625 leagues in height and breadth, and 312½ leagues in projection (above the ocean's level). Then there is an ocean of 1250 leagues;³ then *Vinataka*, 'inclined,' 1250 in height and breadth, 625 in projection; an ocean of 2500 leagues; *Āśvakarṇa*, 'horse-ear,' 2500; an ocean of 5000; *Sudarśana*, 'beautiful,' 5000; an ocean of 10,000; *Khadiraka*, 'acacia (?)', 10,000; an ocean, 20,000; *Isādhara*, 'plough-pole-bearing,' 20,000; an ocean, 40,000; *Yugandhara*, 'yoke-bearing,' 40,000; an ocean, 80,000; Mount Meru, 160,000 leagues high, 80,000 leagues above the level of the ocean, 80,000 leagues broad, and 320,000 leagues in perimeter. The distance, therefore, from the axis of Meru to the Chakravāla-mountain is 600,437.5 leagues; the diameter of the whole is 1,200,875 (*Abhidharmakośa*).

As regards the order of the mountains, we have followed A. K. V., *Dīvyāvadāna* (p. 217), Beal, Eitel (*Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, London, 1888); there are curious variations in *Mahāvastu*, p. 246; *Dharmasāṅgraha*, § 125; *Mahāvastu*, ii. 300; *Sikāsā*, p. 246; *Visuddhimagga*, and *Nemijātaka* (*Jātaka*, vi. 125). Cf. a curious discussion in Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 844, on the commentators on some of these divergencies; cf. also Sp. Hardy, *Legends*, p. 82. The names of the mountains are sometimes doubtful, e.g. *Isādhara*, *Isādhara*, *Isādhara*, *Isādhara*, *Isādhara*. The dimensions of the mountains and oceans also differ. The Pāli documents have, as the starting-point of their calculations, a Meru of 168,000 leagues high, with base 84 × 84, and 80,000 above sea-level (ancient source, *Anguttara*, iv. 100); from this, if we adopt a scheme that appears as classical in all sources, we get 42,000 for the first ocean, and the same for the first circular chain of mountains, then 21,000. . . This would give a greater total diameter than that which we get according to the *Abhidharmakośa*. Now, the Pāli *Jñānānkāra* has for the diameter of Chakravāla 1,119,440 (Sp. Hardy, *Legends*, p. 85, seems inaccurate), and the *Visuddhimagga* has 1,203,450, i.e. the number attributed by the *Kōsa* to the water-circle, which, according to A. K. V., exceeds Chakravāla by 2575.

The seven concentric mountain-ranges have the generic name of *Kulachala*, 'principal, noble mountains.' They are composed of gold, being excrescences of the golden earth. They are 'like walls,' their height and thickness being equal. One may ask,

however, whether they are perpendicular, or, like our mountains, inclined. The answer is that they are really a little broader at the base (A. K. V.). It is not clear whether they are circular or form squares. They are often represented square; I-tsing believes the earth to be square, like Buddhist convents. It is quite certain that, in the Sanskrit *Abhidharmakośa*, Meru is a parallelepiped.⁴

4. *Dvīpas*, 'islands' or 'continents,' (abodes of mankind).⁵ In the 'exterior' ocean, facing the eastern, southern, etc., sides of Mount Meru, and lit up in succession at distances of 6 hours after each other by the sun turning round Meru, are four islands (*dvīpa, dvīpa*). They are formed of excellent earth, and rest on the golden earth, or circle of gold (*kāñchanachakra*), with a depth of 80,000 leagues of water (cf. *Dīvyāvadāna*, p. 197, 7). These islands are supposed to be on a level with the ocean, and it appears that, in this general definition, the small variations that constitute our earthly mountains are not taken into consideration.⁶

(1) In the east is the *Pūrvavideha*, 'Eastern Videha,'⁷ in the form of a half or crescent moon, to which are attributed, nevertheless, four sides: three 2000 leagues (*yojana*) long, the fourth 350 leagues (perimeter, 6350 leagues). The men in this continent dwell in towns and villages, and live for 250 years; they are 8 cubits (*hasta*) in height, and their faces, like the continent itself, are half-moon-shaped.⁸

(2) In the south is *Jambudvīpa*,⁹ 'Rose-apple-tree's continent,'¹⁰ our continent, the continent where the Buddhas are born. It is a chariot in form, with four sides: three 2000 leagues long, the fourth 3.5 leagues (perimeter, 6003.5). The men there live 100 years at most;¹¹ their height is from 3.50 to 4 cubits; they resemble the continent in shape. (3) In the west is the *Aparagodāna* (or '*godāniya* or '*goyāna*'), 'Western pasturage.'¹² It

¹ The present writer does not know the source of Sp. Hardy's curious description (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 10): Meru is round; at the summit and at the base it is 10,000 leagues in diameter, halfway up (at the sea-level) 50,000, and halfway up the projecting part 30,000 leagues. On Brāhminical authorities concerning Meru, see Böhtlingk-Roth, s.v. 'Meru'; Fausbøll, *Indian Mythology*, 1903; E. W. Hopkins, *JACS*, 1910, p. 366; Al-Bīrūnī, *India*, i. 242, 327.

² The Pāli canonical sources seem very scanty; thus the enumeration of the *dvīpas* is missing in the chapter of the 'Four' in the *Anguttara*, while the *Saṃyutta* speaks of four *dvīpas*, the possession of which is not so precious as that of the four virtues. See Spence Hardy, *Manual*, pp. 4, 14, *Legends*, p. 85; Warren, p. 40, 64; *Mahāvastu*, p. 164; *Dharmasāṅgraha*, § 120; *Dīvyāvadāna*, p. 214 ff.; *Lalitavistara*, p. 149; Georgi, *Tibet*, p. 473; Köppen, *Buddhism*, i. 233; Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 397; Rémusat, *Le Fou-ki*, Paris, 1836, p. 81, *Mélanges* posth. p. 71; Beal, *Catena*, p. 21, 35. The Brāhmins have various nomenclatures for the continents, and notably one of four: *Bhadraśva* ('good horses'), *Jambu*, *Ketumāla*, *Uttarakuru* (see E. W. Hopkins, *JACS*, 1910, p. 368, and art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Indian]).

³ Sarad Chandra (*Tibetan Dict.* p. 1173 ff.) gives the names of the mountains of the several continents—six, four, five, and two respectively—with the names of the wild beasts inhabiting them.

⁴ *Videha* = the modern Tirhut; Tibetan *lus-hphags*, 'noble body' (play on the Skt. word *deha*, 'body'), 'because the human height there is double what it is in our continent,' i.e. in the *Jambudvīpa*.

⁵ *Bhūmivāsāt*, 'because of the influence of the place, as well as the inhabitants of the Himalāya or the Vindhya mountains, have particular characteristics' (A. K. V. 256a; cf. Sp. Hardy, *Legends*, p. 85). Notice the good foundation for this ethnographical observation. The inhabitants of these parts of India are really of Tibetan race or 'autochthonous.'

⁶ Also *Jambusand(h)a*, 'thicket of jambu-trees' (*Anguttara*, iv. 90; *Suttantapitaka*, 552; A. K. V. 252a).

⁷ On this name, see art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian), *Anguttara*, i. 104 (1888). According to Sarad Chandra (*Tib. Dict.* p. 1048), this continent is also named 'from the jam-jam sound made by the falling from heaven of the leaves of the wishing-tree into the river Ganges.' We are not concerned with the Buddhist geography of this continent (Sp. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 15, etc.).

⁸ The *Vidhāga* (PTS, 1004, p. 422) knows only one length of human life which is the same as that of *Jambū*: *assavātam alipam va bhivyo dā*. Life differs in one and the same continent according to the period of the age of the world (see AGES OF THE WORLD [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 189).

⁹ This is, at least, the meaning of the Tibetan *Nub ba-las-spyod*, but *godā* is a geographical name.

¹ See an excellent map of the Chakravāla (100,000 leagues to an inch) in Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, Colombo, 1908.

² There are numerous legends on this 'great ocean'; see Sp. Hardy, *Legends*, p. 121. On the *Mahāsāmudra* we may refer to *Saṃyutta*, v. 441.

³ The generic name of the seven 'interior' oceans is *śānta* (?), Tibetan *rol-mtsho*, 'lakes with gentle waves.' For their particular names, see *Dharmasāṅgraha*, § 126; Childers, s.v. 'Sāgaro'; Sp. Hardy, *Legends*, p. 84; Rémusat, *op. cit.* p. 80.

is round, i.e. it has three sides of 2500 leagues (perim. 7500); length of human life, 500 years; height, 16 cubits. (4) In the north, the *Uttarakuru*, 'Northern Kuru-land'² (*Auttarakaurava*), is an oblong, 4×2000 leagues. There are neither villages nor towns; length of life, 2000 years; height, 32 cubits.

The above dimensions are those of the *Lokaprajñapti* and the *Abhidharmakośa* (ii. 53 f.). The *Lalitavistara* has them arranged in this order—9000, 7000, 8000, and 10,000 leagues; Sp. Hardy has 7000, 10,000 (in length and breadth), 7000, and 8000.

In the diagrams which the Buddhist cult (Great Vehicle and Tantrism) uses for the 'offering of the universe',³ the continents are represented: (1) half-moon (*arāhachandra*) and white, (2) triangular (*tryaśra*) and golden, (3) circular and red, and (4) square and dark blue.

According to the 'northern' sources, there are alongside of each continent two small continents (*upadīpas*), of the same shape but half the size, in the following order, starting from N.E.: Deha and Videha, Chāmara (Chowrie?) and Aparachāmara (Western Chowrie), Sātas-island and Uttaramitrānī-island, Kurus-island and Kauravas-island. Their inhabitants are monstrous creatures with three eyes, legs, and ears (*Kalpadruma*). According to *Jātaka*, i. 63 (Warren, p. 64), there is an archipelago of 600 islands round each continent.

The *Mahāvūṭpatti* names the last four 'little continents' according to the names of their inhabitants (cf. *uttarāḥ kuravāḥ* [*Mahābhārata*, vi. 208])—*Sāta*, an inhabitant of Sāta, an ancient geographical name, although the readings *Sāta* and *Sāthā* have a feminine appearance; Tibetan *gyo-lan*, 'deceitful' (= *sātha*); *Uttaramitrānī* = *lam-mchog-hgro*, 'best-way-going'. For *kurus* and *kauravas* (*sgra-mi-shān* and *sgra-mi-shān-zla*, according to Desgodins), see Waddell, p. 399.

5. Unhappy existences (*apāya*).—(i.) THE DAMNED.⁴—(a) *Hot hells*.—Twenty thousand leagues under *Jambūdvīpa* (the southern part, or part under *Bodh Gaya*) is the *Avīchi* hell ('no release' [?]), forming a cube of 20,000 leagues. Above it are seven other hot hells, called (in descending order): (1) *Saijīva*, 'reviving,' because winds re-animate the dying damned; (2) *Kālasūtra*, 'black string,' which cuts the damned into pieces (cf. *JPTS*, 1884, p. 76); (3) *Saṅghāta*, 'dashing together,' between mountains, etc.; (4) *Raurava*, 'weeping'; (5) *Mahāraurava*, 'great weeping'; (6) *Tāpana*, 'heating'; and (7) *Pratāpana*, 'greatly heating' (*A.K.V.* ad iii. 58).

Some authorities (cf. *A.K.V.* and Beal, *Catena*, p. 67) think that the hells are pyramidal in shape, each of them being smaller towards the upper part, 'like a heap of grain.' We are told also that each hell is 4000 leagues deep. According to the *Kalpadruma*, there is, first of all, a layer of 600 leagues of white clay, then 500 leagues of black clay, then the *Saijīva* and the other six hells occupying 10,000 leagues, the last of them, *Pratāpana*, reaching 19,000 leagues underneath the surface of the *Jambūdvīpa*; then the *Avīchi* is 20,000 leagues.⁵

No name seems to exist in the earliest Pāli texts for the burning 'great hell' of *Majjhima*, i. 337, ii. 167, 183 (cf. *Anguttara*, i. 138), which is also the hell in which schismatics suffer for an 'age of the world' (*kalpa*) (see *Chullavagga*, vi. 5, 4; *Anguttara*, v. 76, etc.). This hell is clearly the *Avīchi* of the later literature.⁶ See, e.g., the description in *Majjhima* of the ma-

hāniraya, which has three names: (1) *chaphassāyatānika* (cf. *Saṅkhyā*, iv. 126), 'six organs (suffering)'; (2) *sankhisa-nāhata*, 'reunion of javelins,' because every thousand years (or every hundred years) two javelins pierce the heart of the damned, and meet inside it; and (3) *pachchātānandaniya*, 'to be known only by personal experience.' After innumerable centuries the guilty one passes into the *utsāda*, a zone which surrounds the great hell, and where there is access through four gates to the four cardinal points, and there suffers the pain called *vūṭṭhānima*.

On each of the four sides of each hell there are four *utsādas* (*ussada*; *osupat* in Sp. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 27), excrescences (cf. *narakakumbha*, 'hell-jar,' 'hell-prominence'), ante-chambers, or rather 'post-chambers,' of hell, in which the damned in succession are tortured on leaving hell (in which they are sometimes finally rejected). They are: (1) *kukkūla* (*kukkūla*), 'fiery pit,' 'chaff-fire'; (2) *kuṇapa*, 'corpse-quagmire' (cf. *gūṭhaniraya*); (3) *ksuramārga*, 'razor-road,' etc. (etc. = *asipattravana*, 'sword-leaved forest,' and *sālmālvana*, 'seemul-forest' with cruel birds); (4) the *nadi*, 'river,' by its name *Vaitarani*, the Indian Styx, which is conjectured to be as early as the *Brāhmanas* (cf. *Khārodakā nadi* [*Majjhima*], *A.K.V.* iii. 59).¹

Hell contains sixteen *utsādas* (*brgyad-po kun-la thag bu-drug*, 'to each of the eight, sixteen *utsādas*' [*A.K.V.*]). A primitive idea, which is more satisfactory, is to regard the four *utsādas* as so many zones surrounding the igneous cage in the centre.

The damned of the *Saijīva* live there for 600 years of 12 months of 30 days, but each day is equal to the length of the life of gods in the heaven of the Four Kings (see below, § 6), and so on, life in the *Tāpana* being calculated as a function of the life of the *paranirmitāvaśavartin* gods (see *ib.*). In the *Pratāpana* life lasts for half of an *antarakalpa* (see art. *AGES OF THE WORLD* [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 188), in the *Avīchi* one *antarakalpa* (*A.K.V.*). The interpretation of the *Kōsa* is, therefore, similar to *Buddhaghosa's* (*Kāthāvatthu*, xii. 1), which fixes the existence of the damned, called *kalpasha*, 'lasting a *kalpa*,' at $\frac{1}{16}$ of a (great) *kalpa*, while the *Rājagirikas* understand a great *kalpa* here (see the texts concerning schematics quoted above).²

(b) *Cold hells*.—According to the northern sources, eight cold hells are distinguished: (1) *Arbuda*, (2) *Nirarbuda*, (3) *Atāta*, (4) *Hahava*, (5) *Huhuva*, (6) *Utpala*, (7) *Padma*, (8) *Mahāpadma*. (1), (2), (6), (7), and (8) are named from the shape of their inhabitants; in (1) and (2) the damned are like *arbudas*, 'a round mass,' 'bubble,' 'tumour,' 'first-month fetus'; in (6), (7), and (8) they resemble lotuses. The names of (3), (4), and (5) are onomatopoeitic: the teeth of the damned, knocking against each other with the cold, produce the sound *atāta*, etc. (*A.K.V.*).³

These hells, which are 2000 leagues deep, are arranged in stages, like the hot hells, and near them (*Kalpadruma*); or—a view which seems preferable—they are placed in the 'intra-mundane darkness' (*lokāntarika niraya*), among the *Chakravālas* (Beal, *Catena*, p. 64, according to *Abhidharmasāstra*; *Dialogues*, ii. 9). Sp. Hardy (*Manual*, p. 59) places the ghosts (*pretas*) in this darkness.

The ancient Pāli texts, *Saṅgutta*, i. 152, *Anguttara*, v. 172, and *Suttanipāta*, p. 123 (*SBE* v. 119), give the same nomenclature with a few variants and additions (Kern, *Manual of Ind. Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 58); but the names, originally at least, did not refer to distinct hells. They denoted the periods, increasing by the multiple 20, during which the damned person lives in hell: 'If there were a load of sesamum seed containing sixty bushels (20 *khāris*), and a man after the lapse of

¹ On the *utsādas*, see Morris, in *JPTS*, 1887, p. 144; *Mahāvūṭpatti*, § 215; Burnout, *Lotus*, p. 568; E. Senart, *Mahāvūṭ*, i. 6, 372 note, iii. 369, with which cf. *Majjhima*, iii. 135 (Neumann, iii. 854, translates *kukkūtaniraya* wrongly as 'dogs' hell'), *JPTS*, 1884, p. 155, 1887, p. 47; Sarat Chandra, *Tib. Diet.*, p. 983; Waddell, p. 96; *Suttanipāta*, v. 670.

² *Buddhaghosa* gives a different interpretation (ad *Kāthāvatthu*, xi. 5).

³ *Arbuda* = Tib. *chu-bur*, 'water-bubble'; *nirarbuda* = *chu-bur-rād-ba-can*, 'dust-bubbles' (but elsewhere *rād-ba-can* [?]); then *so-tham-pa*, 'chattering of teeth,' and *a-chu* . . . *zer-ba*, 'where one says "Akiu"; *ut-pala* = *ti-ba-bur-gas-pa*, 'where one is split [by the cold] like an *utpala*,' i.e. the damned are split into 8, 30, or 60 pieces, according to the number of petals of the lotus after which the hell is called (Georgi, *Alph. Tibet.* p. 266; cf. Beal, *Catena*, p. 63, and Waddell, p. 96).

¹ = 3 in the *Abhidharmakośa*. Sp. Hardy has 3'1285 (*Manual*, p. 10).

² Different from the *Kurus* (Central India) and the Southern *Kurus*. It is Ptolemy's *Ottorokorra* (see art. *BLIST*, *AGODE* of *REK* [Buddhist], vol. ii. p. 637, and [Hindui] *ib.* p. 693 f., and also *Anguttara*, iv. 396, on the moral and spiritual characters of the *Uttarakurus*). The Tibetan translation of this word, like several others, is onomatopoeitic, *sgra-mi-shān*, 'disagreeable sound' (*ku-rava*; *ku-ru*, *ku*, a pejorative, *ru*, 'to make any noise'), 'for during the seven days before death, one hears the disagreeable sound of the death.'

³ See 'Adikarmapradīpa,' in Pousin, *Bouddhisme; Études et Matériaux*, Brussels and London, 1898, p. 224; Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 398 (with plate); Georgi, *Alph. Tibetanum*, p. 472.

⁴ See art. *HELL* (Buddhist). The chief sources for the Buddhist hells are *A.K.V.* fol. 256; *Kalpadruma*, p. 5; *Mahāvūṭ*, i. 4; *Nāgārjuna's* 'Epistle,' in *JPTS*, 1886; Chandra-gomin's 'Epistle,' in *Zapiski*, iv. 29 ff.; *JPTS*, 1884, p. 164; Beal, *Catena*, p. 67; Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 32; and on the pains, *Anguttara*, i. 138 (Warren, p. 257); *Dīrghavāda*, p. 375; *Majjhima*, no. 129; *Kāthāvatthu*, xx. 3. A comparison with the Brāhmanical and Hindu sources is instructive and necessary (see especially Feer, 'L'Enfer indien,' in *J.A.*, 1892, ii. [partly translated in the *JETS* of India, 1894, pt. iv. app. ii.]).

⁵ Cf. Sp. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 27. Waddell makes the hells begin 11,900 leagues below the surface.

⁶ *Avīchi*, 'no refuge,' 'no release.' The Chinese sources mention various regions in the *Avīchi*; cf. the *Saddharma-smṛtyu-paśāna* (Nanjio, *Catalogue*, 1883, pp. 679, 804) quoted in *Sikāsamuchchaya*, p. 69 f., the 'terrible-roads' (3000 leagues), 'the infernal precipice,' 'the hole with wheels,' etc.

every hundred years were to take from it one sesamum seed, that load would sooner dwindle away than one Abbuda hell; and even as are twenty Abbuda hells, so is one Nirabbuda hell.' The *Abhidharmakośa* (iii. 84) has the same method of counting for the *arbuda*, etc. *Arbuda*, etc., are what are called 'high numerals' (*Mahāvīyutpatti*, § 246 [101-102], § 250 [9-14]; see AGES OF THE WORLD [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 188').

(c) There are some hells about which we know nothing but the names, e.g. the *Sahasavaka* (*Vimānavatthu*, p. 50), and the traditions of the Great Vehicle are rich in multiple inventions. We may mention the hells that the Tibetans call 'ephemeral' (*hi-tshe-ba*), which are the 'frontier hells' of Beal (*Catena*, p. 65), Skt. *prādeśika* or *pratyekanarakas* (?) (see *Mahāvastu*, i. 458, and Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 320). They are reserved for small sins or for special categories of sinners (see art. *BODUR-SATTVA*, vol. ii. p. 744b). They are found on the borders of the hells, in the ocean, in the world of men, and in the deserts of *Jambudvīpa*. There are 84,000 of them.

(ii.) ANIMALS.—The animals form the class immediately above the damned. They are divided into many categories (e.g. *Majjhima*, no. 129), and their special abode is the 'exterior ocean'; but, as everybody knows, they are met with in the world of men, and (in spite of what certain heretics say) not in the world of the gods (*Kathāvatthu*, xx. 4).

(iii.) PRETAS, 'THE DEAD' or 'GHOSTS'.—The popular beliefs concerning the dead have not yet been systematized, as may be seen from the *Peta-vatthu* and the literature of every epoch (see art. DEATH, etc. [Buddhist], STATE OF THE DEAD [Buddhist], etc.). Speaking generally, we may say that the *pretas* dwell almost everywhere throughout the world of men, but especially in the kingdom of *Yama*, which is divided into 36 provinces, situated 500 leagues below *Jambudvīpa*. There they live 500 years, a day being equal to a human month.¹

(iv.) ASURAS, 'NON-GODS'.²—Their abode is especially in the caverns of Mount Meru, below the level of the sea, where there are four towns of 11,000 leagues, at depths of 20,000, 40,000, 60,000, and 80,000 leagues, namely, 'Shining,' 'Star-tassel,' 'Deep,' and 'Golden town,' with Rāhu (the spirit of the eclipse), *Kaṇhamālādharā*, *Puṣpamālādharā*, and *Vemachitra* as kings.³ But they often leave their abysses to conquer Meru, and fight with the 'Thirty-three gods' and their vanguard (dragons and *yakṣas*); hence the mistake made by some authors in saying that they dwell on the fourth stage of Meru.

There is an infinite number of *yakṣas* (*yakkha*, 'a being to be worshipped,' 'a powerful spirit' [Kern, *Manual*, p. 59]), terrestrial (*bhauma*, living on the surface of the earth and under the earth), atmospheric, etc.⁴ Three categories occupy a special place in our sources (*Abhidharmakośa*, iii. 56) as inhabitants of Mount Meru.

On Meru there are four terraces (*pariṣaṇḍa*, *ban-rim*) of 16,000, 8000, 4000, and 2000 leagues, separated from each other by 10,000 leagues. The fourth is reserved for the Four Kings, who are classed as gods (*devas*) (see below, § 6); the other three are inhabited by (1) the *yakṣas karotāpānis*, 'bowl in hand,' (2) the *yakṣas mālādharas*, 'bearing

¹ A study of the *pretas* 'with magical power,' and of the king of the *pretas* (*pettirāja*), as well as that of the 'guardians of the hells' (who may bear the name of god [*Kathāvatthu*, xx. 3]), etc., belongs to the doctrine of existing beings rather than to cosmology.

² On the *asuras*, see above, p. 130; and art. DAITYA.

³ According to *Kalpadrūpa*, p. 6; Beal (*Catena*, p. 51) is of a different opinion. See Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 601 (in error); Köppen, i. 246; Nāgārjuna's 'Epistle,' in *JPTS*, 1886, p. 27; *Mahāvīyutpatti*, § 171; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 126, 148, 222; *Mahāvastu*, i. 30, ii. 344, iii. 138, 254. The *Mahāvastu* speaks of five armies of *asuras*, but mentions only three kings—*Vemachitrin*, *Rāhu*, and *Mucchlinda*. The *Kathāvatthu* (viii. 1) associates the companions of *Vepacitti* with the gods, and the *kāṭakāṇjakas* with the *pretas*. On the war of the *asuras* with the *asuras*, see *Āṅguttara*, iv. 433; *JPTS*, 1908, p. 145, etc.

⁴ We may mention the twenty-eight generals of the *yakṣas* referred to in *Latīvīstara*, p. 202.

garlands,' and (3) the *yakṣas sadāmadas* (*saddamattas* [*Digha*, ii. 260]), 'always drunk.'¹

6. Heavens of the concupiscence-world (*kāma-dhātu*).—(a) On the fourth terrace of Meru is the retinue of the Four Great Kings (*chāturmahārājakāyikas*, *catummahārājikas*), 80,000 in all (?),² and (higher up, if we are to believe *Digha*, i. 216) the Four Great Kings, rulers of the cardinal points. These are the first beings who regularly receive the name of 'gods,' and are classed as such. The length of their life is 500 years, a day being equal to 50 human years, and their height is $\frac{1}{2}$ *krōśa* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojana*, 'league'). Perhaps the numerous servants and courtiers of the Great Kings, the *gan-dharvas*, 'celestial musicians,' etc., although they are not *devas*, ought to be regarded as belonging to this category.

Half-way up Meru are the chariots of the sun (51 leagues), of the moon (a league further down), and of the stars. These deities do not form a special class.³

(b) On the summit of Meru are the gods 'who have the Thirty-three at their head' (*trāyastriṃśas*; *tāvatimsas*), to the number of 100,000 (?), and, above them (according to *Digha*), is their king Śakra, *devānām indra*, 'the Indra of the gods.' Their town, 'Lovely view,' is 2500 miles square, and contains the Palace of Victory (*vaijayaṇṭa* [*Majjhima*, i. 253]), etc. They live for 1000 years, one day being equal to 100 human years (*Digha*, ii. 327),⁴ and their height is $\frac{1}{2}$ *krōśa*.

Then there are palaces which might be called aerial (*vimāna*):⁵

(c) 160,000 leagues above *Jambudvīpa*, i.e. 80,000 above the Thirty-three, and 80,000 leagues broad, the palace of the *yāmas* gods,⁶ whose king *Suyāma*, according to *Digha*, dwells higher up. Length of life, 2000 years, one day = 200 human years; height, $\frac{1}{2}$ *krōśa*.

(d) The abode of the *tusitas*, 'satisfied' or 'blissful'; the residence of a future Buddha before his last existence; king, *Samtuṣita*; length of life, 4000 years; height, 1 *krōśa*.

(e) The abode of the *nirmāṇaratis*, 'who have their pleasure in creation,' 'happy creators'; king, *Sunirmita*, 'well-built.' According to the *A.K.V.*, the meaning of this name is 'enjoying self-created pleasures,' in contrast with the inferior gods, who enjoy objects which are presented to them on account of their deserts (cf. *Itivuttaka*, p. 94). Length of life, 8000 years; height, $\frac{1}{2}$ *krōśa*.

(f) 1,280,000 leagues above *Jambudvīpa*, 640,000 leagues broad, the abode of the 60,000 *paranirmitāvāsārtins* (*paranirmita*, and sometimes wrongly [*?*] *pari*), having *Vaśavartin*, 'the sovereign,' as king (*Digha*, i. 219). The name of these gods means 'rulers over the things created by

¹ See *Mahāvīyutpatti*, § 163, 38-38; Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 599 (quoting Georgi, p. 480); *Mahāvastu*, i. 30; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 218 (which mentions *nāgas*, 'dragons,' resting on the water [*udakaniṣṭhita*] at the foot of Meru); Morris, *JPTS*, 1891, pp. 21-25. These *devit*, *diti* *minors*, are sometimes called *devas*, especially the *karotāpānis* (*Divyāvadāna* and *Mahāvīyutpatti*); so also the *bhauma devas* in *Latīvīstara*, etc. *Devat-mitra*, 'god-son,' 'divine,' is sometimes an epithet of greater gods.

² According to *Latīvīstara*, p. 46, 19.

³ See *A.K.V.* iii. 60; Beal, *Catena*, p. 71; Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 26.

⁴ Here, as elsewhere, years consisting of 12 months of 30 days are meant. In *Divyāvadāna*, p. 225, the day of Śakra and of the Thirty-three is equal to only one human year; hence a total of 360,000 human years.

⁵ The Tibetan translation means 'non-measurable (*vi-māna*) mansions.' These palaces may be spiritual, i.e. they are composed of subtle matter: 'splendid, pagoda-shaped palaces, movable from place to place by an effort of will' (Childers, *Dict.* p. 574); see *Vimānavatthu*, and Böhtlingk-Roth, s.v. 'Vimāna.'

⁶ The meaning of *yāmas* is not clear. The Tibetan is *hthab-bral-ba*, 'free from battle,' because they have not to wage war with the *asuras*, as the Thirty-three have to do. The *yāmas*, as we have seen (§ 3), are created before the *chakravāla*. The kings are named in *Latīvīstara*, p. 44.

others,' 'disposers of others' creations' (C. A. F. Rhys Davids' tr.), i.e. they themselves create, or they cause others to create, the objects of enjoyment which they desire. Length of life, 160,000 years, one day = 16,000 human years; height, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *krośa*.

Some sources regard Māra, the Satan of early Buddhism, as the Supreme god of the world of concupiscence, and assign a special place to him, Mārābhavana, with 68,000 good assistants. Length of life, 32,000 years (see *Lalitavistara*, index, and Beal, *Catena*, p. 85, who adds, from the Chinese *Dirghāgama*, the weight of the clothing of each class; it varies from 1 *oz.* to 1½ *oz.*).

The gods of 'concupiscence' (*kāma*bhogin) enjoy sensuous pleasures; but there is a progressive refinement in their food (see C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddh. Psych.* p. 197). In the higher spheres the sexual act is accomplished by binding (*ādingana*, among the *yāmas*), by joining hands (*pānyāpti*, among the *tuṣṭas*), by smiling (*hasita*, among the *nirmāparatis*), or by a simple look (*uṣṭita*, among the *paranirmitaśaśavartins*) (see A.K.V. iii. 62, and Georgi, p. 483). On the birth of the gods, who do not come out of the womb, although they are not 'apparitional beings' (see § 7), see Beal, *Catena*, pp. 74, 78, and cf. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 58.

The Four Kings and the Thirty-three are well-known in the Brāhmanical sources, and are much older than Buddhism. There are several Brāhmanical references to the *yāmas* (*suyāmas*), *tuṣṭas*, *nirmāparatis* (*Mahābhārata*, xiii. 18, 74; see Burnout, *Introd.* p. 604 f.), but they are probably borrowed from Buddhism (*tuṣṭā brahma-kāya*).

The sextuple division of the gods of concupiscence appears in the earliest Buddhist books, e.g. *Majjhima*, ii. 194, iii. 100, *Digha*, i. 216; and the length of the lives is fixed just as in the scholastic era (*Vibhanga*, p. 422). But lists of gods, like *Digha*, ii. 256 (six series of ten divine groups, *kāyas*), seem to be older than this sextuple division (see reference to *yāmas*, etc., on p. 261).

7. Heavens of the material world (*rūpādhatu*) or Brahmā-world.—Probably the most ancient documents on divine beings superior to the *devas* properly so-called, to the gods of desire, are *Digha*, i. 17, 34, 195.¹ The following is a summary. According to the 'names, expressions, turns of speech, designations in common use in the world' (the indifference of Buddhists to what is not the way of salvation is clearly shown in these precautions of the ancient editor, who seems to have been conscious that the Buddha regards such things as accessory and un-sure), there are three classes of gods (or kinds of existence, *attabhāva*), which must not be called by each other's names, viz. (1) 'divine, having form (or material, *rūpī*), belonging to the sensuous (or sexual) plan (*kāma*śācāra), feeding on solid food,' in a word, 'solid' (*olarika*), 'formed of the four great elements'; (2) 'divine, having form, made of mind, with all major and minor links complete, not deficient in any organs,' in a word, 'made of mind' (*manomaya*);² (3) immaterial (formless), made up of consciousness (or thought, *saññā*) only.

To the first class belong the six categories of gods 'who enjoy pleasures' (*kāma*bhuy), the Four Kings, . . . the *paranirmitaśaśavartins*.

We must now consider the second class, *rūpācāra*, or gods of the realm of matter, of whom Brahmā is the ancient type and the representative *par excellence* to such a degree that the 'world of matter' is called the 'world of Brahmā.' The gods here are born without parents, by apparitional birth (*āupapātika*); they are not immaterial, but their matter is subtle (*sūkṣma*, *pranīta*), for they feed on joy (*prītibhākṣa*), and are luminous—the same as the first men (see art. AGES OF THE WORLD [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 190³). We may compare the *rūbhū*s of *Mahābhārata*, iii. 15461; 'They have divine bodies, and not material forms' (*vigrahā-mūrti*).⁴ The idea of the progressive refinement of the body of the gods is old (*Satapathabrāhmaṇa*, x. i. 5. 4; *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, ii. 1-5 [Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i. 48]; and with the Brāhmanas the worlds of Prajāpati (cf. *Majjhima*, i. 2) and

Brahmā were placed above the heavens of the *karma*-gods (gods owing to their merit) and the birth-gods (*Taitt. Up.* ii. 8; Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 15). Being by his nature invisible to the inferior gods, Brahmā creates a 'solid' body for himself when it pleases him to show himself to the Thirty-three (*Digha*, ii. 210). In this respect there is some resemblance between the *Kenopaniṣad* and *Digha*, i. 220. The connexion is still more marked with *Majjhima*, i. 330, where Brahmā (the god Brahmā then called *Baka*, 'Heron') tries in vain to disappear from the eyes of Buddha; he was more successful with Varuṇa, the Vedic god.

The text which we have quoted, 'divine . . . with all major and minor limbs complete' (cf. *Majjhima*, ii. 17, i. 26), is clear enough: the *rūpa*-gods possess all the organs of the body. This opinion, however, came to be regarded as almost 'heretical' by Pāli orthodoxy as well as by Northern orthodoxy (see *Vibhanga*, p. 418; *Kathāvatthu*, viii. 7, with the commentary, and A.K.V. (Burn. 44). Smell (*gandha*) and taste (*rasa*) are solid food (*kaṇḍakārahāra*), and consequently cannot be perceived by the gods of *rūpādhatu*; therefore noses and tongues are useless to them. If these gods possess these organs, it is replied that it is merely for reasons of beauty. The sexual organ is of no use to them, and it would detract from their beauty if it were not hidden as it was in the body of Śākyamuni (see *Suttanipāṭa*, p. 99 = *SBE* x. 100, and elsewhere). This discussion, which we might consider rather frivolous, is characteristic of a part of scholastic Buddhism; there are some points in it which we shall never see clearly, and about which the Buddhists themselves are confused.

The Buddhists, making the most of the theory of the four *dhyānas* (*jhānas*, 'trances'), have established very coherent systems on the hierarchy of the so-called 'material' celestial spheres. The complete table is as follows:

(i.) FIRST-TRANCE HEAVENS.—(1) *Brahmapārśadyas* (or *°kāyikas*),¹ retinue of Brahmā; length of life, 20 small ages of the world (20 *antarakālpas* = $\frac{1}{2}$ great *kālpa*); height, $\frac{1}{2}$ league. The heaven is situated 2,580,000 leagues above *Jambudvīpa*,² and is 1,290,000 leagues broad. These numbers have to be doubled for the following heavens. (2) *Brahmapurohitās*, 'Brahmā-chaplains'; length of life, $\frac{1}{2}$ great *kālpa*; height, 1 league. (3) *Mahābrahmāṇas*, 'Great Brahmās'; length of life, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kālpa*; height, $1\frac{1}{2}$ league.³

The common opinion is that there are as many stages as there are classes of gods. But some say that 'Brahmā has no distinct abode; only in the middle of the *purohita*-heaven there is a high storeyed tower, and this is the abode of Brahmā.' Every trance-heaven has a king, ministers, and people (Beal, *Catena*, p. 95; cf. *Anguttara*, ii. 128, where Brahmākāyika [life, 1 *kālpa*] is the general name of the gods of the first trance). Contrast with this *Digha*, i. 216: the retinue of the great Brahmā does not know 'where, why, whence Brahmā is.' This text is not familiar with *purohitās*. On the other hand, according to A.K.V., the Kashmirians do not distinguish the *purohitās* from the great Brahmās. It will be noted that this plural, 'great Brahmās,' is strange, because there cannot be, and in former Buddhist mythology there was not, more than one Brahmā. But the early texts, when mentioning several 'prenomenes' of different Brahmās, probably believed to belong to different cosmoi or to different ages of the world, have opened the way for this new idea. On different classes of Brahmās, see below, § 9.

(ii.) SECOND-TRANCE HEAVENS.—(1) *Paritābhas* ('Limited splendour'); length of life, 2 *kālpas*; height, 2 leagues. These figures are doubled for the next five classes. (2) *Apramāṇābhas*, 'Im-

¹ Mentioned in *Sahyutta*, i. 145, 155. The *Lalitavistara* (p. 150) draws a distinction between *°kāyikas* and *°parśadyas* (see also p. 44).

² According to *Kalpadrūma*, Feer (*AMG* v. 535) says 256, i.e. double the height of the heaven of the *paranirmitaśaśavartins*.

³ We give the heights and lengths of life according to the A.K.V. 'The first gods of the *rūpa*-world are $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojana* in height; another $\frac{1}{2}$ *yojana* must be added for the following classes, and one must double from the *paritābhas*.' As regards the length of life, the Pāli sources have for these three classes $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and 1 *kālpa* (*Vibhanga*, p. 424; Warren, p. 290). The text quoted in the commentary to *Kathāvatthu*, xl. 6, however, assigns a *kālpa* to the *brahmākāyikas*; but, according to Buddhaghosa, it refers to a *kappakadesa*, i.e. a portion of a *kālpa*. The *Abhidharmakośa* has $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kālpa* (see Feer, *AMG* v. 535); but its commentary, the *Vyākhyā*, maintains that *kālpa* must be taken to mean $\frac{1}{2}$ *kālpa*, therefore $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{2}$. It refers to a large *kālpa*; but, according to the *Kalpadrūma*, the length of life in the *rūpa*-world extends from a small *kālpa* ($\frac{1}{16}$ of a large *kālpa*) to 16 small *kālpas*.

¹ See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i. 46, 259, 260 (line 2 to be read: 'The second has form. . .'); cf. *Sumaṅgalavāṇīśini*, ad loc.

² On *manomaya*, see art. BOHISATVA, vol. ii. p. 742b, note §; also A.K.V. 265.

³ See Faussöll *Indian Mythology*, p. 144.

But we must not regard the double negation 'neither consciousness . . . ' as an absolute negation of consciousness; though (*chitta*) and its derivatives (*chaitta*) remain, although in a very attenuated state.¹ In fact, if thought happened to cease in these immaterial existences, the result would be *nirvāṇa*; and we know (*Āṅguttara*, i. 267) that 'non-converted' persons (*prthagjana*) may reach them without being worthy of *nirvāṇa*, without being free from the danger of falling back again into hell or among the *pretas*.

Several schools maintain the existence of 'matter' in the 'Immaterial World.' This refers to a 'fine or attenuated form of matter,' according to the *Mahāsāṅghikas*, but such that it includes the five kinds of perceptible knowledge (*vijñāna-kāyas*).² The syllable *ā* of *ārupa*, 'formlessness' (which is the *vādhi*, initial emphasis, of the abstract word derived from *drūpa*, 'formless'), is explained as a diminutive (*śaḍarthe*). An argument in favour of this opinion is that the intellect (*vijñāna*) needs a material support (*āśraya*), and this support must be the special 'matter' called *hṛdayanastu*, 'heart-thing' (according to the *A. K. V.* the opinion of the *Tāmaraparijaya*, i.e. the Buddhists of Taprobane, the Sinhalese).³ Another argument is that, according to the formula of 'dependent origination' name (intellectual data) and matter (*rūpa*) proceed from *vijñāna*.⁴

9. Cosmic systems, chiliocosms.—It is possible that the most ancient Buddhist cosmology did not imagine anything but the 'small universe,' the *chakravāla* properly speaking; but, in documents which appear to be very archaic (agreeing, in fact, with what we believe we know of the teaching of the Buddha), the notion of the infinity of the world is stated—from which arises that of the existence of other universes (*lokadhātu*) or *chakravālas* similar to ours;⁵ and in the *Āṅguttara* (i. 227) we find great combinations of 'thousands of universes,' which will remain the basis of the 'great cosmology,' if we may thus express it, namely: (1) A system of a thousand universes, 'small chiliocosm,' *sahasā chūlanikā lokadhātu*,⁶ or *sahasadhā loka* (ib. v. 59); (2) a system of a million universes, a thousand 'small chiliocosms'; this is the 'middle chiliocosm,' *dvisahassā majjhīmikā lokadhātu* ('two-thousandth middle universe'); and (3) a system of a thousand million universes, 'great chiliocosm,' or 'three-thousandth great-thousandth universe,' *tisahassā mahāsahasā lokadhātu*.⁷

¹ See *Kāthāvatthu*, iii. 12; Beal, *Catena*, p. 91; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddh. Psych.* p. 74 f.; *Saṅgītiśūta* (*Digha*, xxxiii.), in Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 809; *Āṅguttara*, v. 7, 318.

² See Beal, *Catena*, pp. 92, 104; Wastellieff, *Buddhismus*, 1860, p. 237 (261).

³ See *A. K. V.* (Burn. 28b), cited in Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 513 (cf. Walliser, *Phil. Grundlage des älteren Buddhismus*, Heidelberg, 1904, p. 106). On the *hadayavatthu*, 'basis' or 'site,' of the *sensorium commune* (*manas*), see C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.* p. 123, note; cf. p. 173 and index; *JPTS*, 1884, p. 28; *Visuddhimagga*, *JPTS*, 1891, p. 124, and Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 609; the rôle of the heart in the ancient Hindu philosophy is well known (Böhtlingk-Roth, s.v. 'Dhātū', p. 934^b).

⁴ *Kāthāvatthu*, viii. 8; cf. Warren, *Buddhism*, p. 178, l. 15, and see also *Saṅgītiśūta*, iii. 53.

⁵ The *Brahmāṇas* admit the infinity of the world upwards and sideways (see *Pañcaviṃśabrahmaṇa*, xviii. 6, 2, in Hopkins, 'Gods and Saints of the Great Brahmanā', *Trans. Connecticut Acad.* xv. 25, July 1909). The theory that the world is infinite across, and finite in upward and downward directions, is condemned in *Digha*, i. 23 (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i. 36; see AENOSTICISM [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 224^b, note). A tradition which was long in being attested (*Athasālini*, § 374, quoted in Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 844, wanting in the 'Chapter of the Fours' of the *Āṅguttara*, as Rhys Davids remarks, *loc. cit.*) states that four things are infinite: space, the number of universes, the number of living beings, and the wisdom of a Buddha.

⁶ *Lokadhātu*, masc. in *Mahāvastu*, i. 40, 7, and *Sikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 246; fem. in *Pāli Mahāvastu*, ii. 300, 16, *Karuṇapūṇḍarika*, p. 4, etc. The word *sukhāvati*, 'the happy' (see BLEST, ABOVE OF THE [Bud.], vol. ii. p. 688^b), must be understood as *sukhāvati lokadhātu*, 'the happy world,' and not as *sukhāvati bhūmi*, 'the happy earth or storey.'

⁷ The *Skr.* forms in *Mahāvastupatti*, § 153, *Boḥicharyāvātārapāṇīkā*, ad ii. 14: *sahasas chūdikā lokadhātuh*; *drisahaso madhyamo* . . . ; *trisahasamahāsahasro* There are variants in *Mahāvastu* and elsewhere (*trisahasā* . . .). See Lefmann, *Lalitavistara überet*, Berlin, 1874, p. 298. *Chūdikā*, *chātika* (Pāli-Prākṛit *chūka*, 'small') cf. *Skr. kṛudh* is traced to *chūḍā*, 'top,' 'crest' (tuft left on the head after tonsure), but see *Saddharmapūṇḍarika*, p. 327 (*śūdrakalokadhātu*).

The traditional meaning of the words *dvisahassi*, *tisahassi*, seems to be quite clear. The *Āṅguttara* says that the *dvisahassi* = 1000 *sahasā*, and the *tisahassi* = 1000 *dvisahassi*. *Dvi* and *ti* are exponents, not multipliers. We find 1000, 1000², 1000³, Schmidt's interpretation, 'das grosse Tausend der 3000 Welten,' is wrong; and Köppen (*Buddhismus*, ii. 337) is also incorrect, if we can trust the *Āṅguttara* and the *Abhidharmakośa*. But it must be remembered that the universes appear grouped in triads in order to form the hell of 'intramundane darkness'—which justifies the number 3000. But in the multiplication of 1000 by 1000 there are other differences which strike scholars: 'The holy words of Buddha cannot be in disagreement; how is it then that there are so many differences in the accounts found in the *sūtras* and treatises (*Abhidharmasūtras*)?' For instance, in regard to the number of mountains called *Sumeru* (there is a *Meru* in each small universe, *chakravāla* [see above, p. 131]), if we rely on the *Āgamas* (= *Pāli nikāya*, 'canonic collection') and the *Kośa*, each great chiliocosm has one thousand million, whereas the *Svaraparakāśa* and the *Avatamsaka* (Great Vehicle) say there are only ten millions. Then with regard to the various measurements and the contradictory statements relating to the number of the *rūpa*-heavens,¹ how are these differences to be accounted for?²

In order to establish a sort of coherence among these multiplications of universes and on account of theories on the more or less complete destructions of the world, the following arrangement has been imagined:—

One thousand *chakravālas* make a small chiliocosm, with 4000 continents, 1000 *Merus*, and 1000 heavens of *Brahmā*-gods (gods of the first trance). This small chiliocosm is surrounded by a mountain which separates it from the neighbouring small chiliocosms; and there is by way of a roof, so to speak, a heaven of gods of the second trance. The middle chiliocosm includes 1000 heavens of this second trance, with as many small chiliocosms beneath them; the walls reach up to the third trance; it is covered by a heaven of the third trance. The great chiliocosm comprises 1000 heavens of this trance, and is crowned with a heaven of the fourth.

The documents which show this superimposing do not seem to be very old (Köppen, i. 236; Rémusat, *Mélanges posthumes*, p. 94; but Beal, p. 103, cites the *Vibhāṣāsāstra*). The *Lalitavistara* (p. 150) certainly does not know it, for it informs us that the great chiliocosm contains a thousand million (100 *koṭis*) heavens of each kind.

We must point out a certain number of cosmic multiplications which are independent of and probably previous to the chiliocosmic conception; e.g. *Mahāvastu*, i. 5, 81 (*Ātaka*, i. 63), *āyath dasasahasā lokadhātu* (where the reference is to 10,000 worlds and not to 1000¹⁰ worlds); *Digha*, ii. 139, where the gods of ten universes (*dasāsu lokadhātusū*) gather together to be present at the death of the Buddha. There are different kinds of *Brahmā*-gods; in *Digha*, ii. 261, *Mahābrahmā*, 'the great Brahmanā,' reigns over 1000 *Brahmā*-worlds; *Majjhima*, iii. 101, distinguishes between a *Sahasro brahmā*, 'thousandth Brahmanā,' governing a *sahasā lokadhātu* (cf. *Āṅguttara*, i. 277), a *Dvisahasso* . . . and a *Dasasahasro* (10,000th-Brahmanā), governing a *dasasahasā lokadhātu* (cf. *Saṅgītiśūta*, i. 146). See *Visuddhimagga*, xii. (Warren, p. 321; S. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 2; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 363) on the three 'fields' or 'domains' (*ketra*) of the Buddha: 'Birth-domain (*janma*) comprises 10,000 worlds; all tremble at different moments in the life of a Buddha (cf. *Mahāvastu*, i. 6, 81). Authority-domain (*ajñā*) comprises a hundred thousand times ten millions of worlds (= 100 great chiliocosms); over all extends the protecting power of the "formula of protection" (the so-called *paritta*) given by the Buddha. Knowledge-domain (*jñāna*) is without limit.' The *Mahāvastu* mentions a *buddhaketra* equal to 61 great chiliocosms, and an *upakṣetra* equal to 244 great chiliocosms (i. 121, cf. pp. xxxii and 471, and iii. 341). In the later literature 'great chiliocosm' and *buddhaketra* are, as a rule, synonymous (cf. *Āṅguttara*, i. 228).

The chiliocosm did not satisfy the Buddhist imagination. The *Mahāvastu* (i. 122) and the *Mahāyānasūtras* consider that the number of chiliocosms, or 'fields of Buddha,' is infinite in every direction (e.g. *Lotus*, xi; *SBE* xxi. 232), and there are quoted, by the dozen, names of these 'great universes' (e.g. *Karuṇapūṇḍarika*); and in the *Avatamsaka* we get a systematic arrangement of these chiliocosms.

On whirlwinds rests the Fragrant Ocean, which carries an infinite number of world-germs (*lokajīva* ?); from it there issue lotuses infinite in number—very far removed, indeed, from each other. From each of these lotuses is born a universe (great chiliocosm), above which (separated by whirlwinds) there are three, then five, and so on up to the twentieth tier, where there are 39 great chiliocosms. We are not told whether this development of a 'world-germ' is in the form of a *tranche* or of a fan, or whether it is to be understood as an inverted

¹ The text says *arūpā*-heavens. This must be a mistake (see above, p. 136).

² *Show-hun*, tr. in Beal, *Catena*, p. 103.

pyramid (I, 32, 54, . . . 392). But, on the other hand, we learn that the universe in which we are, the *Sahalokadhātu*,¹ forms part of the thirteenth stage, and constitutes the 'field' of the Buddha Vairocana (see art. *ADIBUDDHA*, vol. i. p. 99^a note II), and that, on the same level at the same stage, in the extreme west, is the blessed universe of the Buddha Amitābha, the *Sukhāvāṭi*, where a *kalpa* of our universe is equal to a day and a night (see art. *BLESSED, ABODES OF THE (Buddhist)*, vol. ii. p. 638^b).²

LITERATURE.—See preliminary note 3 on p. 180 f., and p. 181^a, note 4, and works mentioned throughout the article. See also the tr. of the *Abhidhammasaṅgaha* by Shive Zan Aung and C. A. F. Rhys Davids under the title *Compendium of Philosophy (PTS)*, London, 1910, the tr. of *Digha*, ii., by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. (Oxford, 1910). Reference must also be made to Mañjuśaṅgā-savajra's *Siddhanta*, i. fol. 223-248.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Celtic).

—We do not know the ancient Celtic ideas with respect to the origin of the world. According to Strabo (IV. iv. 4), the Druids, as well as others, said that the soul and the world were immortal, and that one day fire and water would prevail. On the other hand, the Celts of the Adriatic said to Alexander: 'We fear only one thing, and that is that the sky may fall on us' (Strabo, VII. iii. 8). This belief in the fall of the sky is seen frequently in the oaths of Irish epic poetry. In a note on the hymn of Ultan (verse 9) mention is made of the two pillars of the sky.

These confused and contradictory ideas do not enable us to re-construct Celtic cosmology. It would be dangerous, besides, to look for this cosmology in the Christian legends of the Irish Middle Ages, or in the so-called secrets of the bards of the Island of Britain, or in the oral traditions of Armorican Brittany; for the elements contained in these different sources are either foreign or modern in origin. See also art. *CELTS*, vol. iii. p. 298.

LITERATURE.—Rogel de Belloguet, *Ethnogenie gauloise*, Paris, 1861-75, iii. 137; C. Julian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris, 1907, i. 380, ii. 126, 176; H. Gaidoz in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 1897-1901, i. 371.

G. DOTTIN.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY

(Chinese).—Chinese theories of cosmogony and cosmology may be said to be of comparatively modern date. They profess, however, to be based on a system which claims an almost immemorial antiquity, i.e. the 8 trigrams, which are usually attributed to Fu-hsi (2552 B.C.), though somewhat contradictory accounts are given as to their ultimate origin. These figures were intended to represent the stalks of the milfoil (*Ptarmica sibirica*), which were employed by diviners in close association with the lines which were produced on the shell of the tortoise, as described in art. *COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Chinese)*, vol. iii. p. 731^b. The stalks were divided into longer and shorter lengths, and the order in which they were drawn and disposed, in varying combinations of long and short or 'strong' and 'weak' lines, was interpreted

¹ This expression seems to denote a great chiliocosm, but it is certain that its natural meaning should be the small universe, the *chakravāla* in which we live. *Saha* is an adjective; we find a fem. form *sahā* (*Mahāvijyūtpatti*, i. 154, 21; *Dīnyāvadāna*, p. 293, 19; *Mahāvastu*, ii. 379, 21; *Lankāvatāra*, in Burnout, *Introduction*, p. 596; *Karuṇapūṇḍarīka*, p. 119; Wilson, ii. 32; and probably *Rājataranginī*, i. 172, where A. Stein reads *mahi*), and more rarely the masc. form *saha* (Triglotte, § 46, and *sahalokanātha*, in *Mahāvastu*, ii. 385). This expression, which has been translated 'enduring', 'suffering', or 'supporting' (from root *sah*), is not clear. The Tibetan *mi mjed* or *mjed* (see Jaschke, *Tib. Dict.*, London, 1881, p. 174) does not shed any light on the question, and the designation of Brahmā as *Sahāpati* (*Sahāpati*) remains obscure (Burnout, *Introduction*, p. 594; Beal, *Catena*, p. 16; Eitel, *Handbook*, p. 134).

² The present sources are Rémusat, *Mélanges posthumes*, p. 96; Beal, *Catena*, p. 121. The two authors differ on many points; e.g. Beal regards *Sahā* as the name of the whole thirteenth stage. Between the *Sahā* (centre of this stage) and the *Sukhāvāṭi* (regarded not as a chiliocosm but as a privileged *chakravāla*, with no hell, and no cosmic mountains), there are 10,000,000,000 universes. The original source is the *Avatamsaka*—a word which denotes a part of the Chinese canon of the Great Vehicle (Nanjo, *Catal.*, 1883, p. 32 ff., on which see Taranātha, p. 63, and Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, esp. p. 157 [171] f.).

in accordance with the arbitrary methods which prevailed from time to time, but of which the details have not been handed down. It may, however, safely be assumed that the function of the trigrams was limited to questions of tribal or domestic interest, and that nothing of a theological or cosmological character was attached to them.

The trigrams were arranged in 8 groups thus :

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A new arrangement was invented by Si-peh (1231-1135 B.C.), during his two years' imprisonment at the hands of the ruler of the Yin dynasty, and it is probable that to him is also due the combination of the original 8 trigrams to form the 64 hexagrams which are the basis of the *Yi-king*, or Canon of Permutations, commonly known as the Book of Changes.

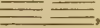
Si-peh, afterwards canonized as Wên-wang (= King Wên), appended to each of the hexagrams an explanatory outline, giving the general sense supposed to be conveyed by the figure, but his son Tan, better known as Chow-kung (Duke of Chow), added an analysis, showing how each line of the hexagram was to be interpreted so as to contribute to the general conclusion which his father had established. The deductions of King Wên, with the analyses of the Duke of Chow, form the text of the *Yi-king*. Throughout the 64 chapters of the original work there is nothing whatever of a cosmological character; the compilers were entirely occupied with political and personal matters, endeavouring to learn from the omens furnished by the stalks and their representative symbols the probable results of certain courses of conduct which were in contemplation. The harmless trifling, as it seemed to his jailers, with which the prisoner, Si-peh, employed his leisure, was in reality a means by which he was able to develop his revolutionary schemes without let or hindrance; none but himself knew the significance attaching to the harmless straws with which he amused himself; and when, in course of time, his liberty was restored, he was enabled to consummate his schemes with complete success.

A new element is, however, introduced in the 10 Appendices to the *Yi-king* which bear the imprimatur of Confucius, though it seems probable that only the first and second are properly attributed to him. To Confucius it seemed inevitable that the thought which had been expended upon the hexagrams, by sages so eminent as Si-peh and his son, could not fail to be of permanent value, and that, though the political conditions which had first inspired their studies no longer existed, the lessons which they contributed might be applied with equal value to the troublous circumstances of his own times. Hence Confucius, in later life, devoted a great deal of attention to the study of the *Yi-king*, frankly acknowledging the difficulty he experienced in the interpretation of its cryptic phraseology, and in adapting its lessons to his own enlarged conception of the scope of the work. Later commentators, building upon the theory that the three lines of the early trigrams represent the three powers—Heaven, Earth, and Man—attempt to transfer the lessons of the figures from the smaller stage of human affairs to the larger theatre of universal Nature. In the Appendices, therefore, we discover, in an ever-ascending scale, the application of the hexagrams to the constitution and course of Nature, the later chapters furnishing some of the material out of which Chu-hsi (Chucius, A.D. 1130-1200) developed his scheme of cosmogony and cosmology, which now represents modern Chinese philosophic thought on the subject.

A word of explanation may here be necessary in order to show the mechanism of the developed

system of the *Yi-king*. Each trigram bears a distinctive name, as well as a local habitation or direction, together with a natural affinity, quality, etc. Thus the 6th group, as arranged by Si-pek, originally the first group according to the earlier system, consisting of 3 unbroken or 'strong' lines, is denominated *k'ien*, which means 'untiring,' 'strength,' etc., and represents Heaven, a sovereign, a father, etc. Its locality or direction is north-west; its affinity, ether; its quality, humidity, etc.

The hexagrams are formed by the combination of 2 trigrams, and also have distinctive names. Each line bears a certain relation to the other lines; thus the first or bottom line in the lower trigram is related to the first line of the upper trigram, i.e. to the 4th line of the hexagram. The position of the various lines is a most important consideration—sometimes a 'strong' line is found in a 'weak' place, and *vice versa*.

An illustration from Legge's *Yi-king* (SBE, xvi. 71) may serve to indicate the method of interpretation. The 7th hexagram, known as *sze*, is written thus: , consisting of the 2 tri-

grams *k'an* , representing water, and *kw'un* , representing earth, suggesting, by the combination, waters collected on the earth, or, in the language of the diviner, multitudes of people mustering for purposes of defence or attack. The 'strong' or unbroken line occupies the most important place in the *inner* or lower trigram, i.e. the middle, second only to the middle place in the *outer*, or upper, trigram, which is the paramount position in the whole figure. The 'strong' line, therefore, occupying a secondary position, must stand for the leader of the host; were he to occupy the highest position, i.e. the 5th line from the bottom—the middle line of the upper trigram—he would represent the sovereign. These, of course, are perfectly arbitrary preconceptions.

The Duke of Chow thus interprets the figure: 'The first line (reckoning from below), divided, shows the host going forth according to the rules (for such a movement). If these (rules) be not good, there will be evil.' Legge adds: 'The line is divided, a weak line in a strong place, not correct; this justifies the caution which follows.'

'The second line, undivided, shows (the leader) in the midst of the hosts. There will be good fortune and no error. The king has thrice conveyed to him his charge.'

'The third line, divided, shows how the hosts may possibly have many commanders; (in such a case) there will be evil.' Legge explains: 'The third place is odd, and should be occupied by a strong line, instead of which we have a weak line in it. But it is at the top of the lower trigram, and its subject should be in office or activity. There is suggested the idea that its subject has vaulted over the second line, and wishes to share in the command and honour of him who has been appointed to be commander-in-chief. The lesson of the previous line is made of none effect. We have a divided authority in the expedition. The result can only be evil.'

'The fourth line, divided, shows the hosts in retreat: there is no error.' Legge comments thus: 'The line is also weak, and victory cannot be expected; but in the fourth place a weak line is in its correct position, and its subject will do what is right in his circumstances. He will retreat, and a retreat is for him the part of wisdom.'

'The fifth line, divided, shows birds in the fields, which it is advantageous to seize (and destroy). There will be no error. If the oldest son lead the host, and younger men be (also) in command, however firm and correct he may be, there will be evil.' Legge interprets the Duke's findings thus: 'We have an intimation [in this passage] . . . that only defensive war, or war waged by the rightful authority to put down rebellion and lawlessness, is right. "The birds in the fields" are emblematic of plunderers and invaders, whom it will be well to destroy. The fifth line symbolizes the chief authority, but here he is weak or humble, and has given all power and authority to execute judgment into the hands of the commander-in-chief, who is the oldest son; and in the subject of line 3 we have an example of the younger men who would cause evil if allowed to share his power.'

'The topmost line, divided, shows the great ruler delivering his charges (to the men who have distinguished themselves), appointing some to be rulers of States, and others to be chiefs of clans. But small men should not be employed (in such positions).' Legge thus comments: 'The action of the hexagram has been gone through. The expedition has been conducted to a successful end. The enemy has been subdued.

His territories are at the disposal of the conqueror. The commander-in-chief has done his part well. His sovereign, "the great ruler," comes upon the scene, and rewards the officers who have been conspicuous by their bravery and skill, conferring on them rank and lands. But he is warned to have respect in doing so to their moral character. Small men, of ordinary or less than ordinary character, may be rewarded with riches and certain honours; but land and the welfare of its population should not be given into the hands of any who are not equal to the responsibility of such a trust.'

To turn now to the main deduction of King Wên, of which the above is the detailed explanation. We find the lessons of the hexagram thus expressed: '*Sze* indicates how (in the age which it supposes), with firmness and correctness and (a leader of) age and experience, there will be no error.'

It will be observed, from this example, how the character of the lines (whether divided or undivided), their place in the hexagram (whether odd or even, e.g. 1, 3, 5; or 2, 4, 6), and their mutual relation to each other (2 corresponding to 5, etc.) are all of great importance in the exposition of the lessons they are supposed to convey. The mutual relation of the 2 trigrams in each hexagram is also a matter of importance.

This specimen will serve to show how little there is of any cosmological element in the original Book of Changes, and how far the modern commentators have wandered from the intention of the compiler and his earliest expositor; in fact, it was only by an arbitrary forcing of the primitive modes of divination, and the introduction of entirely new ideas in the Appendixes, that Chucius succeeded in building up the system which is attributed to him, and which has only the slightest affinity with the diagrams of King Wên. A rough parallel might be established between the diagrams and our modern playing cards, in which the calendar may be said to be represented, though with no cosmological intention, the 4 suits representing the 4 seasons; the 13 cards in each suit = the 13 sidereal months; the 52 cards = the 52 weeks of the year; the 364 pips (including the value of the 'coat' cards) = the days of the year, etc.; and, as the cards are now employed by pretended 'fortune-tellers' as a key to the secrets of human existence, so the hexagrams of King Wên came to be applied, in course of time, to issues much larger than were ever contemplated by their inventor.

The chief exponent of the modern system was Chucius, whose name is pre-eminent amongst the philosophers of the Sung school of the 11th and 12th centuries in China. Confucius and Mencius were practical philosophers, but Chucius was not content to accept the fact of Heaven and Earth, which had been sufficient for the great teachers who preceded him; he endeavoured to establish a systematic theory of the origin of all things, finding in the *Yi-king*, as he supposed, a groundwork for his researches. He was further aided in his speculations by Taoistic and Buddhist suggestions, as well as by other philosophic concepts which may well have reached China by that time, and which to an ardent and omnivorous student would prove attractive. It is not unlikely that he was familiar with Persian and early Christian ideas propagated by the Nestorian teachers in the centuries preceding him.

It is very important to bear in mind that the earliest conception of the Chinese regarding the universe was a theological one, while the later system of Chucius is philosophical; and it is owing to this fact that Chucius found himself involved in frequent difficulties in the endeavour to harmonize the two. The ancient or theological concept takes its starting-point from Shang-ti, or Heaven; the Taoistic or philosophic theory goes no further back than the 'Great Extreme'; but Chucius, though professedly no theologian, appears unable to elimin-

ate from his system some traces of the ancient conviction that behind all phenomena there is a power, variously described as Heaven, the 'Controller,' the 'Great Framer' (or 'Potter'), etc., while he shrank from any suggestion of anthropomorphism, and disclaimed the view that that power actively interfered in the affairs of men.

As a matter of fact, the theories of Chucius are not intended to account for ultimate beginnings; his conception of the present world is that it is but one of a long series of similar existences which have flourished in turn, and have been corrupted, each disappearing eventually from view and giving place to a new world. He makes no attempt to explain how the primal element came into being, but finds his starting-point in the theory of the existence of a Natural Law which he denominates *Li* (pronounced *Lee*), and a vital essence which he calls *K'i* (pronounced *Chee*). He does not inquire wherein this Law resides, or where this vital 'breath' is derived from. The theologian may contend for the recognition of a Divine creator or framer, but Chucius, though he does not traverse the argument, declines to discuss the subject. In inquiring, therefore, into the evolution of this present world, he finds its material basis in *K'i* (vapour, breath, air, etc.), and its active principle in *Li*—both eternal in their nature, as existing before the clock of time began to strike, yet admitting of a priority of order in the case of *Li*. The alternate action and inaction of *Li*, in the sphere of *K'i*, produced the positive and negative forms, *Yang* and *Yin*, variously represented as Light and Darkness, Heaven and Earth, Male and Female, etc., whose vicissitudes constitute the *Tao*, or Course of Nature, as reflected in the 4 seasons, the alternations of day and night, etc. The *Yang* and *Yin* contain the 'Five elements' in embryo, viz. metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, of which water and fire are regarded as the simplest forms. Each element possesses a *Yang* and a *Yin* quality, and all are pervaded by *Li*. As a result of the interaction of these two 'forms'—the *Yang* and the *Yin*, which are in constant motion—a certain amount of 'sediment' is precipitated to the centre of the whirling mass and becomes Earth, whilst the more subtle excreta are flung upwards to the outer ring of the circle, and become Heaven. Earth remains motionless in the centre, whilst the Heavens revolve continually, as the movements of the heavenly bodies serve to show.

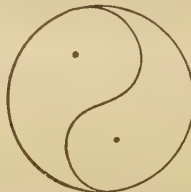
The myriad creatures were produced by the spontaneous coagulation of the finer essences of the five elements in the *Yang-Yin*, forming a hermaphroditic being or pair, which in course of time separated and gave birth to the male and female species which now constitute the human race.

It will be seen at a glance how far removed these theories are from the system of divination attributed to King Wen, and it seems inevitable that they represent an interpretation of that system entirely alien to the purpose which inspired its first exponents. From Chucius' own words, we are led to conclude that the study of the *Yi* had made little progress during the centuries which had elapsed from the days of Confucius until his own time. It seems probable that the later Appendixes, popularly ascribed to the great 'Master' himself, belong to a period long posterior, and they seem to reflect opinions which began to be current only in Chucius' days. Philosophers such as Shao-yung (A.D. 1011-1077), of whom Chucius says, 'From the time of Confucius no one understood this (i.e. the relation between the Great Extreme, the 8 diagrams, etc.) until Shao explained it,' and Chow Tun-i (A.D. 1017-1073), to whom is attributed the circular diagram of the Great Extreme, apparently made use of the *Yi* as a vehicle of

Taoistic ideas, and applied to the 'strong' and 'weak' lines of King Wen the system of *Yang* and *Yin*, which nowhere appears in the text of the *Yi*, but which is suggested by the words of Lao-tze in the *Tao-Tê-King*:

'Tao produced unity; unity produced duality; duality produced trinity; and trinity produced the innumerable objects; the innumerable objects, carrying the feminine or shadow principle on the one side, and the masculine or sunlight principle on the other, created a just harmony by their respective clashes of primitive impulse or ether' (Parker's tr.).

It may be assumed, therefore, that the Chinese cosmogony is of comparatively recent origin, and that the ancients were content to accept the fact of the universe without abstruse theorizing as to its origin and method. The Sung philosophers adopted the trilinear figures of the *Yi*, but devised a new diagram of what they called the 'Great Extreme,' viz. a circle intended to represent the ultimate principle *Li*, which, in their system, indicates the limit of philosophical discussion. This circle was subdivided thus:



to illustrate the interaction and constant gyrations of the *Yang* and *Yin*, i.e. the primal essence, or *K'i* in its 2 forms, the motive power in which is *Li*. Another circle represents the *K'i* as divided into its constituent elements, i.e. the five active principles—water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Sometimes the four seasons are represented.

From these we may learn that, according to Chucius, the world came into existence as a result of the operation of *Li*, or 'Natural Law,' setting in motion the *K'i*, or 'vital essence,' which, by the interaction of its two forms, *Yang* and *Yin*, containing the 5 elements, threw off, in its perpetual revolutions, the excreta which coagulated respectively into Heaven, on the outward edge, and Earth, in the centre; and that the vicissitudes of *Yang* and *Yin* account for the regular succession of day and night, the alternate waxing and waning of the same being the cause of the four seasons; and that, when the great cycle, calculated as occupying a *kalpa*, or 129,600 years, is accomplished through the exhaustion of the *Yang* element in man, as exhibited by moral declension and universal corruption, the whole system is resolved into its constituent elements, and a new heaven and earth are called into being.

Man's place in Nature.—As to the place which man occupies in this system, since man is compounded of the five elements constituting the *K'i*, or vital essence, in which the *Li* operates, he is described as a microcosm—a world in miniature—from which it follows that every man has within him a 'spark of the Divine.' In some men the *Yang* predominates; in others the *Yin*. Of the former are the Sages, the great men of past and present times; the latter are represented by the 'mean' men, the dull, the criminal, etc. As in the case of Nature, so man has his seasons of spring, summer, etc., and his days and nights, and, like the world, comes to an end by the exhaustion of the *K'i*, or vital breath. His great business, therefore, is to frame and fashion his life so as to live in conformity with the *Tao*, or observed order of the universe. 'No contrariety' must be his motto. By so doing he may attain in time the proud distinction of being an associate of Heaven and

Earth. As to his future, neither Lao-tze, Confucius, nor Chucius has anything to say; probably, from the philosophical point of view, death to them, though they would not discuss it, meant a return to the original chaos, like the universe at the end of its cycle of existence; or, to express it in the polite but equivocal phrase of ancient and modern days, a 'return to Heaven.'

The philosophic idea was, however, too lofty and illusive for common acceptance, and, during the Sung dynasty, the tradition of a 'first man' was evolved, ascribing the ancestry of the human race to a certain P'an-ku, of whom it is stated in the *Lu-she* (Mayers' tr.):

'When the great first principle had given birth to the two primary forms, and these had produced the four secondary figures, the latter underwent transformations and evolutions, whence the natural objects depending from their respective influences came abundantly into being. The first who came forth to rule the world was named P'an-ku, and he was also called the "Undeveloped and Unenlightened" (i.e. the Embryo).'

This idea is now almost universally accepted by the mass of the unlearned in China, and by not a few of the scholarly class, being, as it were, a sort of concretion of the indefinite theories of the Chucian philosophers as to the origin of man.

The place occupied by spiritual beings.—Though Confucius and Chucius (16 centuries later) were unwilling to enter into the question of spiritual existences, and though the latter expressly declared the difficulties involved in such a theory, the fact that the earliest records refer so frequently to the existence of spirits made it necessary that a place should be found for them in the Chinese philosophy, and, accordingly, the *Kuei-shen*, or spirits, were adopted as representing, so to speak, in personal form, the activities at work in the changing phenomena of Nature; but the ancient doctrine that the spirits are the ministers of God, carrying out His behests, on the analogy of the officers of State fulfilling the decrees of the sovereign, survives, in a somewhat debased form, in the popular opinion which invests the earth and air with a numberless host of good and evil spirits or demons.

The place of God.—In the earliest days of which we possess any record, Shang-ti, or God, appears to have occupied a chief place in the mind of China's rulers, but at the beginning of the Chow dynasty (12th cent. B.C.) we find the terms 'Heaven' and 'Earth' coming into prominence, representing the operations of God in Nature and Providence, and, as a consequence, Shang-ti is removed to a greater distance than that intimate relation in which he seems to have stood *vis-à-vis* his votaries in the earlier days. Later developments contributed towards the increasing of this distance, and the attitude of Confucius towards metaphysical and transcendental questions tended to widen the chasm. Chucius appears to have relegated God to a position of infinite remoteness and unknowableness, though he did not deny the possibility of there being an ultimate ruling power, of whose existence individual students must satisfy themselves; and he refers to the 'Great Framer,' the 'Root of the Great Extreme,' the 'Heavenly decree which set in motion the primal elements,' etc. His conviction seems to be that God, or the 'Infinite,' invested the *K'i*, or vital essence, with His own *Li*, or Law, and then allowed the creation to develop itself spontaneously, He Himself taking no further active share in the affairs of Nature or of human life. Such a contention, indeed, was directly contrary to the earlier beliefs, and led Chucius, unwillingly, into conflict with the received opinions. He, however, steadily refused to discuss the matter, and insisted that every man should be 'fully persuaded in his own mind' and make his own investigations. Here again the agnosticism

of Chucius was unable to overcome the immemorial persuasion of his fellow-countrymen, that the 'Supreme Ruler' interferes actively in the affairs of the nation, and sends forth His agents, including spirits and sages, to fulfil His behests. Hence it happens that Shang-ti is still worshipped officially by the Emperors of China, and Heaven is invoked by the mass of the people, whilst the spirits are solicited to exert their influence on behalf of their petitioners. The theological concept has thus survived the philosophical, and, by a strange inconsistency, the materialism of Confucius and Chucius, as represented by the modern Chinese literate, is exhibited in a country which, above all others, is remarkable for its active and almost frenzied addiction to the propitiation of spirits and demons.

LITERATURE.—J. Legge, 'Yi-king, in *SBE*, vol. xvi. [1882]; T. M'Clatchie, tr. of the works of the philosopher Choofoo-tze in *The Chinese Repository*, xviii. [Shanghai, 1874]; cf. also the literature appended to art. CONFUCIUS.

W. GILBERT WALSH.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Christian).—**I. Early.**—The early Christians were not seriously perplexed by questions of cosmogony. They had come into a heritage, whereby they had grown up into the current Palestinian-Jewish ideas of the origin and constitution of the world. Moreover, they looked out upon the world and the whole realm of Nature from the purely religious standpoint. 'In the beginning God' (Gn 1¹) was the primary article of their faith. It was Jahweh, the God of Israel, who had 'measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance. . . . It is he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth . . . that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in. . . . I am Jahweh, and there is none else. . . . I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil. I, Jahweh, do all these things' (Is 40¹²⁻²² 45⁵⁻⁷). Psalms 8 and 104 express the same idea of the sole, beneficent creatorship of God, and in Psalms 136 and 148 creation by the *spoken word* is confidently expressed. The Book of Job is likewise pervaded by this belief, and the same is true of Pr 8²²⁻³¹. These seem to have been the primary sources from which the early Christians drew their conception of the material cosmos and God's relation to it. This simple religious view found free expression in their prayers: 'O Lord, thou that didst make the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is' (Ac 4²⁴). And Jesus had expressed His faith in the same direct and simple way. To Him God was 'Lord of heaven and earth' (Mt 11²⁶), who 'maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust' (Mt 5⁴⁵). His heavenly Father also feeds the birds of the heavens, and clothes the grass of the fields (Mt 6^{26, 30}). The disciples, like their Master, were absorbed in the thought of the loving care of God, and His gracious provision for all His creatures. 'In him,' says St. Paul, 'we live, and move, and have our being' (Ac 17²⁸).

But the profound and enduring impression which Jesus made upon His followers soon constrained them to associate Him with the Father in the work of creation. It was He who had brought redemption from sin, and given them a glad new sense of sonship with God. But Lordship in the spiritual world must and did ultimately involve equal Lordship in the material world and in the whole realm of the Divine activity. This idea was early expressed by St. Paul, who says: 'To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus

Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him' (1 Co 8⁹); 'for in him [the Son] were all things created . . . things visible and things invisible . . . and he is before all things, and in him all things consist' (Col 1^{16a}; cf. He 1^{11c}). 'By faith we understand,' says the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews, 'that the worlds have been framed by the word (*phrasi*) of God' (He 11³). 'In the beginning was the Logos,' says St. John, 'and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God . . . all things were made by him' (Jn 1³; cf. Rev 4¹¹). The specific use of the word Logos by the Fourth Evangelist completed and confirmed a development which had been in progress for several decades, by which Jesus as the Son was definitely classed with God the Father, and associated with Him in the creation and government of both the visible and the invisible world. It also tended to reconcile and adjust the Christian faith to the late Jewish development of the concept 'wisdom' (Pr 8, Sir 24, Wis 8, and the like) and the current Hellenistic idea of the Logos (Book of Wisdom, Philo Judæus, and the like). Christian cosmology henceforth was definitely related to the Person of Christ.

But the tragic fate which overtook Jesus, and His own utterances concerning the machinations of the 'prince of this world,' together with His teachings regarding His 'return,' and the 'day of judgment,' and the 'last things,' made a deep and solemn impression upon His disciples. Everything seemed to constrain them to believe in the presence of an opposing Satanic power in the universe (Ac 5, 8, 13; Rev 2¹³ and oft.). St. Paul speaks of the 'lawless one' . . . whose 'coming is according to the working of Satan' (2 Th 2^{8c}); he declares that the 'whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now' (Ro 8²²), and that 'our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph 6¹²). The Book of Revelation attempts to describe this great world-drama, this duel between good and evil, and the final triumph of the 'Lamb that hath been slain.' In this more or less incoherent and dualistic view of things, we have the outcropping of Babylonian and Persian ideas, which for several generations had been occupying a large place in Jewish thought (see *Test. Twelve Patriarchs*, Bk. of Jubilees, Bk. of Enoch, *Assump. of Moses*; cf. Mt 4¹⁴, 12^{24a}, 13³⁹, Jn 8⁴⁴, 12³¹, Ac 13¹⁰, 2 Co 11¹⁴, Eph 2², 6¹², Ja 4⁷, 1 P 5⁸, He 2¹⁴, 1 Jn 3⁸, and oft.). Christian cosmology, accordingly, becomes profoundly affected by the resurgence of Bab.-Pers.-Jewish ideas, and takes on a dualistic cast.

The lapse into 'sins of the flesh' on the part of professing Christians, as well as the appalling moral corruption of environing paganism, gradually led to the conviction that sin has its primal seat in 'the flesh.' Here, again, we have the outcropping of ideas already rife in current Judaism and paganism. St. Paul's teaching was more or less infected by the half-assumption of the physical basis of sin, and he exhibits a distinct tendency toward asceticism (Gal 5^{16a}, 1 Co 3¹⁴, 7^{1a}, Ro 7^{14a}). The whole trend of thought within the Christian Church gradually became reactionary and ascetic. Some began to withdraw from marital and social relations and to 'flee from the world.' Asceticism entered as a constituent element into Christian ethics, and soon coloured the whole view of things, giving its character to contemporary cosmology. If evil is inherent in matter, or, rather, if matter is inherently evil, the question of the creation and government of the world by an all-wise and beneficent God becomes seriously complicated. The Christians were, as a rule, inclined to emphasize

the Genesis story of the 'Creation' and 'Fall,' and thereby to shield God from complicity in the introduction of evil into the universe. But there were other and diverse accounts of the origin of the cosmos and the entrance of evil into it.

The Gnostics were not only the 'first Christian theologians,' but the first cosmogonists and cosmologists. Indeed, their primary concern was to discover and develop a theory of the cosmos which should shield the Supreme Being from all complicity in, or responsibility for, its creation, which seemed to them to involve also the production of evil. They, accordingly, assumed that the material cosmos arose through the more or less blind and perverse activity of the Demiurge, who was far removed from the Supreme God and the heavenly Pleroma. Although man was created by the Demiurge, he yet received, through 'Sophia,' sparks from the Divine nature, and is struggling to get free from his material bondage. Ascetic discipline is, accordingly, one of the means by which the Gnostic is to overcome 'sin in the flesh,' and secure salvation. Another means is the rational revelation which the Logos made to the world when He became manifest in the Christ. The 'prince of this world' must be overthrown by the Supreme God, who has sent His Son to rescue men from their bondage to evil (= *δὲν*). In all these Gnostic views we have but the exaggeration or perversion of ideas that were then present in current Christian thought, and which had come as a heritage from Judaism and environing paganism. In other words, Gnosticism (*q.v.*) was but an aberrant form of the Christian faith, and its crude and fantastic cosmologies were, after all, only abortive efforts to solve the riddle of the universe in a supposedly Christian fashion. The cosmic views of the Gnostics persisted in modified forms in Neo-Platonism (*q.v.*) and in Manichæism (*q.v.*).

The Apologists, contemporaries of the Gnostics, fell back, as a rule, upon the simple 'Creation' and 'Fall' stories of Genesis, and thereby escaped the worst excesses. They also made ample use of the Platonic-Stoic-Philonian Logos idea, and emphasized the mediatorship of the Logos in the work of creation. They were likewise surcharged with a belief in demons and opposing Satanic powers, but they looked forward to the destruction of the material cosmos and the overthrow of all hostile forces. Justin Martyr and Athenagoras speak of God as having fashioned the world out of formless material (*ὄλη*), but Theophilus declares that God created all things *ex nihilo* (*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*). Each based his assumption upon Gn 1^{1c}, 2^{4c} (Justin, *Apol.* i. 10, 20, 59, 67; Athenag. *Apol. for Christ.* 15; Theophilus, *Autol.* i. 6, 7, 10, ii. 4, 6, 10; cf. Tatian, *Addr. to Greeks*, 5 and 12; Aristides, *Apol.* 1 and 4). The Apologists, as a rule, thought of evil as inherent in matter, and accordingly were inclined towards asceticism; but they preserved, to a degree, the simpler religious view of Apostolic times, which they derived mainly from the OT.

Irenæus and Tertullian, Clem. Alex., Origen, and Hippolytus reject the Gnostic theory of the creation of the world by the Demiurge, and emphasize the function of the Logos-Son in the whole realm of the Divine activity. The NT writings are now quoted as authoritative Scripture, but the OT is also heavily drawn upon to explain God's relation to the cosmos. But, as was to be expected, these men were 'children of their own times,' although seeking to pass on a heritage. Some of the earlier crudities were retained, especially the belief in evil as somehow inherent in material things. With some slight aberrations, the Church Fathers of the 3rd cent. were true to the unformulated cosmology of the OT and NT, coloured by the speculations of the Apologists

(Iren. c. *Hær.* i. iii. 6, x. 1 f., xxii. 1, ii. x. and xi., v. xviii.; Tert. *adv. Herm.* 29-34 and 45, *adv. Prax.* 19, *adv. Marc.* i. 15 and 16; Clem. Alex. *Str.* vi. 16; Origen, *de Prin.*, Præf., i. ii., ii. i. iii. ix., iii. v., c. *Cels.* vi. 49-61, *Com. in Joh.* i. 17 and 22; Hippol. *Phil.* i. 1 f., c. *Noët.* 9-14; cf. Arnob. *adv. Gent.* ii. 58; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* ii. 10, vii. 5; *Symb. Apostol.*).

The Nicene Fathers make no distinct advance upon the cosmology of their predecessors. Athanasius refutes the heathen views of the origin and constitution of the universe (c. *Gent.* 6, 7, 29, 35-40), and emphasizes the co-operation of the Son in the work of creation (c. *Arianos.* i. 22, 29, ii. 21). Eusebius, in his *Præp. Evang.*, describes the cosmologies of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Greeks (i. 6-11), and later expands the Creation-story of the Hebrews, quoting, in confirmation of his own views, from Philo, Origen, Dionysius Alex., Maximus, Plato, and others (vii. 10-22, viii. 13 f., xi. 29-38, xiv. 23). Plato he assumes to have derived his knowledge of the creation and constitution of the universe from Moses. Eusebius then sets forth the teaching of the Stoics and Neo-Platonists by extended quotations, testing always by the Genesis story. The standard exposition of Gn 1 and 2 meets us in Basil's *Hexameron*. But the treatment here is homiletical and fervently religious. In this we are reminded of the early Christian view of things (NT; Clem. Rom. 20 and 33; Herm. *Past. Vis.* i. 3, 4, iii. 4, 1; *Didache*, 3 and 10).

Augustine has only incidental allusions to cosmology, but is chiefly interested in defending the Creator from complicity in the origin of evil. This he does by assuming that sin has its principal seat in the will. Rebellion against God on the part of both angels and men was the beginning of sin and the cause of 'all our woes, with loss of Eden' (*Conf.* vii. 5-7, 9, 15-20, xii. 7, 8, 12, 15-29, *de Civ. Dei*, xi. 4, 6-23, xii. 10-15). The eschatological element, which was so prominent in Apostolic times, has practically disappeared in Augustine. It began to wane at the opening of the 2nd cent., and diminished as the Church became established in the Empire and set about to conquer the world. In other respects the cosmological elements remain in about the same proportions.

The picture which the early Christians made for themselves of the cosmos and its related parts is not easily portrayed. The earth is, of course, central in their universe, and is surrounded and sustained from beneath by the chaotic watery abyss. Above is the firmament, which supports the heavens as a fixed vault, furnishing a path for the sun and all the planets. Beyond and above the firmament are the fixed stars, and all the hosts of heaven. The waters above the firmament are separated by it from the waters beneath, and serve as a fountain to refresh the earth with timely showers. Sheol, or Hades, was placed beneath the earth, and served as the prison-house, or waiting-place, for departed spirits. The cosmos as a whole was conceived as having been created for the sake of man and the heavenly intelligences, and as ruled over in wisdom and righteousness. It reveals the glory of God, and interprets His majesty and eternal Divinity.

LITERATURE.—E. W. Möller, *Gesch. der Kosmol. in der griech. Kirche*, Halle, 1880; R. B. Kübel, 'Zur ethischen Lehre vom Kosmos und Askese,' in *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.* i. (1890) 100 f.; E. Zeller, *Philos. der Gr.*, Leipzig, 1892 i., iii.; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. 1894-99, ii. 202 f., 247 f.; F. Kattenbusch, *Das apostol. Symb.*, Leipzig, 1900, ii. 515 f., 522 f., etc.; C. R. Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, London, 1897, i. 273 f.; HDB, art. 'Cosmogony'; PRE³, art. 'Schöpfung' and 'Welt'; Vacant, *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, Paris, 1905, art. 'Création'.

E. K. MITCHELL.

2. Mediæval and modern.—In the period from the fall of the Roman Empire to the 10th cent.

there was little thought upon these subjects. The leaders of the Church were content to follow the teachings of the Fathers, and Augustine's interpretation of the formation of the world was accepted without question. The first one to depart from the accepted belief, or to try to explain it in a philosophical way, was John Scotus Erigena. In his study of the writings of Dionysius he became acquainted with Neo-Platonic ideas, and he tried to apply these to the Biblical account of Creation. He departed from the views of the Fathers by bringing in the theory that all things emanate from God. His views are expressed in his book entitled *Concerning the Division of Nature*, including under 'Nature' the sum-total of existence. Nature in this sense is divided into four species: that which creates and is not created; that which is created and creates; that which is created and does not create; that which neither creates nor is created. The first of these—that which creates and is not created—is God as the essence, source, and substance of all things, the one Being who truly exists. Erigena's view is pantheistic, in that he teaches that God created the world out of His own essence. He held to an all-including unity because God is all. It was easy for him to reconcile his apparent pantheism with the teaching of the Church, by saying that the Divine essence was the nothing out of which the world was created.

Through the Middle Ages the Schoolmen gave little attention to the subject of Creation. They were content to accept the views which had been handed down to them, and those who failed to do this were sure to come into conflict with the Church authorities. It was agreed that the universe came into being and was sustained and governed by the Divine will. Whether the six days of Creation were days of twenty-four hours each was open to some discussion; but two points must be agreed to by the orthodox, viz. that the universe was created out of nothing, and that it was not from eternity, but had a beginning in time. The most profound thinker on this subject in the mediæval period was Anselm of Canterbury, who modified the traditional views by the introduction of Platonic ideas. He explains (*Monolog.* ix.) the meaning of the expression *ex nihilo* by saying that there is no way by which anything can be made by another unless it previously exists in the mind of the one making it. Before creation things existed eternally, from God and in God, as ideas. They did not exist as individuals, but in the sense that God foresaw and predestined that they would be made. They were in the Divine mind as an example, similitude, or rule of what was to be made. Before the making of the universe it was in the thought of the Supreme Being, but no material existed out of which it was to be made. Yet it was not nothing in its relation to the reason of the One making. By reasoning in this way Anselm is able to reconcile his philosophical views with the accepted interpretation of the account given in Genesis. There is one passage (*Cur Deus Homo*, i. 18) in which he implies that perhaps the six days of Creation were different from the days with which we are acquainted. Thomas Aquinas discusses the subject at considerable length, but adds little to the current views. He accepts the Biblical cosmology, admitting that there is room for a difference of opinion about the six days. Like Albertus Magnus, he teaches that Creation was a miracle which cannot be comprehended by the natural reason. He believed that it was not possible to demonstrate that matter was not eternal, deprecating the efforts of other men to make the temporal character of the material universe a matter that could be proven.

He taught that it was an article of faith to believe that the world was created in time.

Contemporary with the Schoolmen were the various heretical sects, differing in some respects from the orthodox in their views of the creation and government of the world. The most divergent from the commonly accepted views were the dualistic sects, which at the same time claimed to be Christian. They went by various names, such as Cathari, Albigenses, and so on. They seem to have gained their heretical views from contact with the religions of the East, where dualism was very common at the time. In general they held that there were two principles, or spirits, or creators, which had to do with the making of the universe visible and invisible. These two were the good and the evil, and both were from eternity, though some held that the evil spirit was originally good and had fallen from his first estate. The evil spirit was the author of the OT, and the maker of all visible Nature. He had created man as a physical being, and was the cause of all natural phenomena and all disorders in Nature. The good spirit was the author of the NT. He was also the creator of the human soul, which had been captured and imprisoned by the evil spirit.

In the later Middle Ages there arose various schools of Mystics. Some of these were heretical and frankly pantheistic. Others, like Master Eckhart, considered themselves orthodox Christians, but were unable to escape the suspicion of pantheism. Eckhart was in agreement with Aquinas in his belief that there existed from eternity a world of ideas distinct from the world of creatures. He explained what seemed to his contemporaries to be pantheism, by saying that creatures are made in time and out of nothing, and that they existed from eternity in God in the same sense that a work of art exists in the mind of the artist before it takes material form. The existence of the creation from all time was in the Divine reason. God exists in created visible objects as their essence. The external world is but the reflexion of the innermost essence of God.

The modern Roman Catholic Church holds to the teaching of Aquinas, but allows a difference of opinion on unimportant points. What a Roman Catholic must believe to-day in regard to cosmology and cosmogony is defined by the Vatican Decrees. The Council declared against the statement that matter alone exists, and in opposition to the view that the substance and essence of God and of all things are one and the same; also in opposition to the view that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, or at least spiritual, have emanated from the Divine substance, or that the Divine essence by the manifestation and evolution of itself became all things, or that God is universal or indefinite Being, which, by determining itself, constitutes the universality of things. The positive statement by the Council was that God from the very beginning of time produced out of nothing the world and all things both spiritual and corporeal.

The Protestant position, as given in the earlier creeds, is merely a paraphrase of the cosmology found in Genesis. The Westminster Confession states: 'It pleased God in the beginning to make or create out of nothing the world and all things therein in the space of six days' (iv. 1). The Belgic Confession is more explicit: 'We believe that the Father by the Word created of nothing the heavens, the earth, and all creatures, as it seemed good unto Him, giving unto every creature its being, shape, forms, and several offices to serve its creator.' 'We believe that He doth also uphold and govern them by His infinite power for the service of mankind to the end that man may serve His God' (Art. xii.).

There is, of course, no authoritative statement for Protestantism relating to Christian cosmology and cosmogony. With the freedom of investigation which characterizes modern Protestantism, there are many divergent views. Some still hold to the statements of the older creeds, and believe that the conclusions of science have nothing to do with religion. The extreme holders of this position maintain that the world was made in six days of twenty-four hours each, but this view has a decreasing number of adherents. Others believe that the account of Creation given in Genesis is strictly scientific, and that the statements there found correspond in a minute degree to the facts of geology. Others consider that the account in Genesis agrees with the facts only in a general way. Others regard the account as a myth or legend corresponding to the Creation stories in Assyrian and Babylonian literature. The only points upon which modern Protestants agree are that God is the source of the universe; that it came into being as a result of the free exercise of His will; and that it is continually under His care and control.

See also art. CREATION.

LITERATURE.—Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*; T. Harper, *The Metaphysics of the School*, 1879; art. 'Création,' in *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* iii. 2079-2093. See also 'Creation' in J. Agar Beet, *A Manual of Theology*, 1906; W. Adams Brown, *Christian Theology in Outline*, 1907; W. N. Clarke, *An Outline of Christian Theology*, 1898; L. A. Dorner, *A System of Chr. Doctrine*, Eng. tr. 1880-82; G. P. Fisher, *Hist. of Chr. Doctrine*, 1896; C. Harris, *Pro Fide*, 1905; C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1872-73; W. G. T. Shedd, *Dogmatic Theology*, 1889-94; H. C. Sheldon, *A Hist. of Chr. Doctrine*, 1886; A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 1907-9; T. B. Strong, *A Manual of Theology* 2, 1903. C. M. GEER.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Egyptian).—We shall here divide this subject into three stages: (1) earth-myths, (2) sun-myths, (3) theolgy.

1. **Earth-myths.**—The attention of primitive man was naturally first directed to explaining tangible Nature—the earth, the sea, and the mists which lay on the land. The most elementary distinction between racial views is the sex of the earth and of the abyss or sea, which from its blueness was naturally thought to be of the same nature as the blue sky—the heavenly ocean. In Egypt the sky (Nut) was feminine, the land (To) was masculine. Exceptionally in the 13th cent. B.C., when Semitic influence was strongest, the sexes were reversed, as in Hebrew *shāmāyīm* ('heavens') is masculine, and *'ādāmāh* ('earth') is feminine. Similarly in Babylonia, Ea (the deep) and Anu (the sky) are masculine, while Damkina (the land) is feminine. The same attribution is adopted by Greek, Latin, and German, and in the New Zealand mythology. Egypt was, therefore, exceptional in the sex of land and sky.

These elements of land and water were thought to have been evolved in the primal chaos of the universal ocean (Nu or Nun), when 'not yet was the heaven, not yet the earth, men were not, not yet born were the gods, not yet was death' (Pyramid of Pepy I., l. 663).

This idea passed to Hesiod, along with the same sexes as in Egypt:

From chaos were generated Erebus (masc.) and black Night (fem.),

And from Night again were generated Ether and Day.

Whom she brought forth, having conceived from the embrace of Erebus.

(Theogony, 123 ff.)

He probably derived it through the Sidonians, who, Damascius asserts, 'before all things place Chronos, and Pothos, and Omichlēs, and by a connexion between Pothos and Omichlēs, as the two principles, are generated Aer and Aura.' This view then seems to have prevailed in the eastern Mediterranean.

The lifting of the watery mists, which are seen rising each morning from the Nile, the parting of them from the earth and the raising of them to the sky, was a work variously attributed

to Ra (the sun) or Shu (the atmosphere). The heaven (Nut) was forced apart from the earth (Keb or Seb); and usually Shu is represented upholding Nut over his head.

Similarly in New Zealand, the earth and heaven clave together in the darkness, and had produced gods and men. The gods try to part them, but cannot until the god and father of forests, birds, and insects strives; 'his head is now firmly planted on his mother the earth, his feet he raises up and rests against his father the skies, he strains his back and limbs with mighty effort. Now are rent apart Rangī and Papa, and with cries and groans of woe they shriek aloud. . . . It was the fierce thrusting of Tane which tore the heaven from the earth, so that they were rent apart, and darkness was made manifest, and so was the light' (G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, Lond. 1855 [reprint, p. 3]).

In Egypt it was similarly assumed that Seb and Nut had produced Ra or Shu before they were separated.

2. Sun-myths.—The genesis of the sun (Ra) is variously attributed to Seb and to Nut. According to one view, Ra was 'the egg of the great cockler,' Seb being, by a play on words, equated with the goose. In another view, Ra was born as a calf of the celestial cow, or child of the sky-goddess; and this may be the motive for regarding the sky as feminine. Another, and a more general, view, when the theologic frame of creation came forward, was to posit the formation of Ra direct from the chaos Nun, and so make him an ancestor of Seb and Nut. Probably this view was that of the Heliopolitan Ra-worshippers, as distinct from the older Seb- and Nut-worshippers in the Nile valley. Ra came into being 'while as yet there was no heaven, . . . and there was nothing that was with him in that place where he was . . . resting in the waters of Nun, and he found no place where he could stand' (Erman, *Religion*, p. 26). Ra then united with his own shadow, and from his seed created Shu and Tefnut, in the midst of the chaos. Shu certainly represents space or air, symbolized by an ostrich feather; Tefnut represents moisture. From Shu and Tefnut were born Seb and Nut; and from them, in turn, the Osiride family, and mankind.

The heaven was regarded as an ocean parallel with that on earth. It was on the heavenly ocean that the sun, the moon, and the stars sailed in ships each day and night. To explain the sun's re-appearing in the morning, they supposed a nocturnal ocean beneath the world, on which the sun sailed as by day. The dead were, on this view, considered as joining the boat of Ra, and sailing, under his protection, through the hours of the night as well as of the day.

3. Theology.—The gods associated with creation are many. *Khnemu*, 'the Shaper,' who shapes living things on his potter's wheel, 'created all that is, he formed all that exists, he is the father of fathers, the mother of mothers . . . he fashioned men, he made the gods, he was father from the beginning . . . he is the creator of the heaven, the earth, the under world, the water, the mountains . . . he formed a male and a female of all birds, fishes, wild beasts, cattle, and of all worms' (Wiedemann, *HDB*, vol. v. p. 179^b). He is figured always with the ram's head, to signify his creative power, and was worshipped at the source of the Nile—the cataract. *Ptah*, 'the Great Artificer,' the Demiurge, shapes the sun- and moon-eggs on his potter's wheel; he is the god of law and order who created all things by *Maat*, truth or exactness. *Osiris* 'formed with his hand the earth, its water, its air, its plants, all its cattle, all its birds, all its winged fowl, all its reptiles, all its quadrupeds.' This is the development of the primitive idea of Osiris as a god of vegetation. *Amon-Ra* also, on the growth of his worship when Thebes was the capital, became 'the father of the gods, the fashioner of men,' and all other things (see Wiedemann, *loc. cit.*).

Thoth, according to Hermopolite legend, when in the chaos of Nun, created Seb and Nut by his word; and they were parted asunder at Hermopolis. This creation by the word was the highly spiritualized idea of later times, and is seen in the *Korē Kosmou* (500 B.C.), where Thoth-Hermes is first of the gods.

Other sky-gods are *Anher*, 'He who goes above god of Theni or Gizeh; and *Horus* as the sky supported by four pillars who are the four sons of Horus. The mixtures of ideas in later times are complex, and so combined with the theology, that we cannot touch on them here. Our object has been to show the primitive ideas, and the various nuclei of thought which were combined.

LITERATURE.—A. Wiedemann, *Relig. of the Anc. Egyptians*, Lond. 1897, also his art. in *HDB*, vol. v. pp. 176-187; G. Maspero, *Daunt of Civilization*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1894; A. Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1907.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Greek).

—Since the word 'cosmogony' describes the origin of the universe by the figure of birth, it suggests to us in the first instance accounts of a mainly poetic and mythological kind. Yet science also has its fairy tales, and one who sought for information about Greek cosmogonies might not unreasonably look for some account of that, for example, which is contained in the *Timæus*. If this be introduced, so should those of one or two other philosophical systems. We propose, therefore, to deal first with what may be called the poetic cosmogonies, and afterwards with the philosophical. We shall devote rather more space to the former, as being probably less familiar to most readers. In the case of the latter, we shall take three typical examples, describe them briefly, and try to show the place of each in the history of Greek thought as to the relation between God and the world.

1. *POETICAL COSMOGONIES*.—1. *Homer*.—We find in Homer not a complete cosmogony, but ideas of a cosmogonical kind, or, rather, of a geogonical, as all he is concerned about is the world in which we live. In *Il.* xiv. 246, Oceanus is the father (*γενεῖς*) of all the gods, and in xiv. 201 he is the father, and Tethys the mother. The latter name is usually derived (F. Lukas, *Kosmogonien*, p. 154 n.) from *θησθαι*, 'to suck' (*τροφή* = 'nurse'). Tethys will then symbolize the suckling mother, Earth. But behind these Nature-powers stands a third still more august, the goddess Night. In *Il.* xiv. 244, Zeus is referred to as younger, indeed, but more potent, than Oceanus; Night, on the other hand, even Zeus fears to offend (*ib.* 259 ff.). Lukas, therefore, follows Damascius (6th cent. A.D.), our chief authority on the first principles of the Greek cosmogonies, in supposing that, for Homer, Night was the supreme geogonical conception (Damasc. *περί πρώτων ἀρχῶν*, c. 124, ed. Kopp, 1826, p. 382).

2. *Oldest Orphic cosmogony*.—To this head Lukas refers those fundamental conceptions which in various fragmentary notices are directly ascribed to Orpheus. Not the least evidence of their antiquity is their practical identity with what we have found in Homer. Eudemus the Peripatetic declared, according to Damascius (*l.c.*), that Orpheus made his beginning with Night. John Lydus (6th cent. A.D.) stated that Orpheus' three first principles were: Night, Earth, Heaven (Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1829, i. 494). Plato, again, quotes a couplet as from Orpheus, describing Oceanus and Tethys as the first wedded pair (*Crat.* 402 B), while he informs us in the *Timæus* (41 A) that Oceanus and Tethys were the offspring of Earth and Heaven. As the former statement is expressly referred to Orpheus, we may be sure that he had the same

real or fancied authority for the latter. In this Orphic cosmogony, it will be seen, Oceanus and Tethys are a degree less venerable than in Homer; Earth and Heaven are the older pair. Yet the difference is insignificant, and here, as in Homer, Night is the supreme conception. According to Gruppe (*Griech. Culte*, etc., 1887, i. 613 f.), the cosmogony of *Il.* xiv. was borrowed from the Orphic. But the question of their relation is an extremely difficult one, which cannot be discussed here.

3. Hesiod.—In the introduction to his *Theogony*, Hesiod actually names Earth, Heaven, and Night—the reputed Orphic trinity—as the sources of the gods (verses 106–107); and one feels that, whatever its origin, he is using a familiar and probably already ancient formula. But, at the outset of the poem proper, he proceeds to give us what in fact, though not in name, is a cosmogony of his own (verses 116–136). Its outline is as follows: In the beginning was Chaos, after whom, on the one hand, came Gaia and Eros, and, on the other, Erebus and Night. Erebus and Night were the parents of Æther (or Light) and Day. Gaia of herself produced, first Uranus (Heaven), that he might be a cover to her round about, and that she might be a secure dwelling-place for the gods; and after him the mountains and seas. Lastly, mating with Uranus, she became mother of all the gods, except the few who sprang from Erebus and Night.

At the top, then, of Hesiod's cosmogony stands Chaos. Its meaning has been variously interpreted by ancient no less than by modern commentators. It has been taken for Water, Air, Fire, and Space (cf. for ref. Lukas, *op. cit.* p. 157 f.). Etymology has been appealed to in each case. But no derivation seems more probable than that from $\chi\alpha$ or $\chi\alpha\upsilon$ (the root of $\chi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\omega$, 'to gape,' $\chi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma$, $\chi\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$, Lat. *hisco*, *hiatus*, etc.). Thus we get the meaning of Space, and this further accords with the manner in which Hesiod seems to have arrived at his first principle, viz. by *abstraction*. In pondering the origin of the universe, he thinks away one by one its various contents, until he reaches Space as the final presupposition of all things. As Time comes first in the Phœnician cosmogony given by Eudemus, and, as we shall see, in some Greek cosmogonies, so does Space in this of Hesiod. Zeller (*Pre-Socr. Phil.* i. 88 f.) agrees with Lukas that Space was Hesiod's first principle, and that he reached it by abstraction, but thinks that Hesiod pictured it 'as an immeasurable, waste, and formless mass,' while Lukas understands by it the mere unlimited void.

On the next cosmogonical stage we have two pairs, of which the first is Gaia and Eros. Gaia is Earth, not however as an element, but as a vaguely conceived mass. There is, at first sight, something detached about the appearance of Eros. He enters the stage with the others, but seems to perform no rôle. But the reason is that he is a potency rather than a person. He is the soul of all the unions here recorded. He is the Eros, not of art, but of early local cult like that at Thespis (Paus. ix. 27. 1), who was life and love in one, and was taken over by the Orphics (cf. Gomperz, *Gr. Thinkers*, i. 89, and, for the connexion of Eros with the Orphics, J. Harrison, *Proleg. to Gr. Relig.* ch. xii.). We are not told how Gaia and Eros came into being. They may symbolize matter and spirit, but they are not derived from Chaos as a higher principle. The ruling principle of the cosmogony is not that of cause and effect, but that of sequence in time. We only hear that Gaia and Eros came afterwards (*ἔπειτα*). And the same is doubtless true of the second pair, Erebus and Night. They are said to have come *ἐκ* $\chi\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$, but the *ἐκ* may be merely local (Space being referred to), or temporal, or both. Accordingly Gaia, Eros, Erebus, and

Night occupy together the second cosmogonical stage.

A step further removed from Chaos are Æther and Day, who are children of Erebus and Night. So the unrelieved darkness gives place to the succession of night and day. Earth also at this stage gives birth to Heaven, that he may shield her with his vault, to the mountains also and the seas; and then, when all is ready for their reception, Earth and Heaven become the parents of the gods.

In Hesiod's cosmogony there is no real attempt to explain the causes of things. But it has, according to Lukas, two elements of speculative worth—the conception of *purpose* in creation (the provision of a safe home for the gods), and the far-reaching *abstraction* by which the poet goes back to Space, and then step by step reconstructs the world.

Passing by Acusilaus, a prose chronicler of the 6th cent., and, like Hesiod, a native of Boeotia, whose cosmogony, contained in Damascus, resembles Hesiod's, and has also a marked Orphic colouring (Lukas, *op. cit.* pp. 162–163), we come next to—

4. Pherecydes.—He was a native of Syros, but lived at Athens at the court of Pisistratus (6th cent. B.C.). At Athens 'he founded an Orphic community, though how far he was the disciple and prophet of the Orphic doctrines we are hardly able to say' (Gomperz, *op. cit.* i. 86). His own work has been lost, but numerous notices, which have come down to us from ancient times, and which relate to various parts of his cosmogony, enable us to form, though with reserve on some disputed points, a tolerably full as well as reliable estimate of his system. According to both Damascius (e. 124, ed. Kopp, p. 334) and Diog. Laert. (i. 119), Pherecydes derived the universe from three first principles—Zas (=Zeus), Chronos, and Chthonia (or Chthon). At the summit of the cosmogony, then, stands Zeus. He is probably best regarded as a purely spiritual principle (so, e.g., Arist. *Met.* xiv. 4, 1091a, and many moderns, but cf. e.g. Zeller, *op. cit.* i. 91), so far as mind was consciously distinguished from matter at that early date. The spiritual interpretation is confirmed by the statement of Proclus (5th cent. A.D.)—which at the same time presents a new and interesting phase of the cosmogony—that the Zeus of Pherecydes changed himself into Eros when he meant to create the world (*Tim.* 155). Zeus as such, therefore, stands outside the world; he is the principle of supreme might. Chronos, the second member of the trinity, naturally denotes the Time, in which everything happens, and occupies an analogous position to Space in Hesiod's cosmogony. Lastly, Chthonia must be taken to mean either primary matter (Lukas, *op. cit.* p. 170) or the Earth-spirit (Gomperz, *op. cit.* i. 88).

Some of the ancients asserted that *water* was Pherecydes' first principle; but this conflicts not only with Diog. Laert. but with the more detailed account of the cosmogony given in Damascus. A full discussion of this obscure and difficult question will be found in Lukas, *op. cit.* pp. 168–170, or Zeller, *op. cit.* i. 93–94 n.

As regards the relation of the three principles to one another, Damascius implies that Zeus was in some sense first; but his exposition is purely Neo-Platonic. It is safer, therefore, to trust the more objective Diogenes, according to whom the three first principles of Pherecydes were alike eternal (*ἴσταν ἀεί*).

The cosmogony begins when Chronos produces from his seed Fire, Air, and Water, who then beget the five families of the gods. Thus gods and elements alike are the offspring of Time. And now Zeus-Eros plans to create the world. But at this stage, according to Max. Tyrius (*Dissert.* xxix. p. 304, ed. Davis; cf. also Celsus *ap. Origen c. Cels.* vi. 42, *et al.*), a fearful conflict intervenes betwixt Cronos (not to be confused with Chronos) and the

dragon Ophioneus for the lordship of Nature. Only when Cronos wins and the dragon is cast into the sea can Zeus set about his creative task. The episode is not quite of a piece with the cosmogony, since Zeus is from eternity,—there is no Cronos before him. But there is no reason to doubt that Pherecydes employed the myth. Perhaps, as Philo of Byblus states (*ap. Eus. Præp. Ev. i. 10, 33*), he borrowed it from the Phœnicians. In any case the meaning is clear: before the ordered world, the *κόσμος*, can be established, a victory must be won over the forces of disorder.

The final stage is related by Clem. Alex. (*Strom. vi. 621 A*): 'Pherecydes the Syrian says: Zas makes a mantle, large and fair, and broiders on it earth and ocean and ocean's dwellings.' Again he speaks (*ib. 642 A*) of 'the winged oak and the embroidered mantle that rests upon it.' The 'winged oak' is no doubt 'the earth floating freely in space'—a conception lately introduced by Anaximander (Gomperz, *op. cit. i. 89*). The rest of the imagery explains itself.

Points of likeness between the cosmogonies of Pherecydes and Hesiod will readily occur to the reader. Here we only note points in which Pherecydes marks an advance. In the first place, Zeus, according to the interpretation here followed, and even on the lower, is a more spiritual conception than Chaos (Space). In the second, there is a certain suggestion of science in the cosmogony. The four elements are named before the formation of the world. So far, indeed, as our accounts go, Pherecydes does not work the suggestion out. On the other hand, he clearly treated Eros (Love) as a cosmical principle, and one cannot but suspect that, if his whole work had reached us, we should have found that Zeus-Eros used the elements as materials for his creative task.

Damascius (c. 124, ed. Kopp, p. 385) gives a fragment of a cosmogony by the Cretan Epimenides (c. 600 B.C.). In this cosmogony we meet for the first time among the Greeks the doctrine of the World-Egg. But it is little more than mentioned, and so we shall pass at once to give some account of the later Orphic cosmogonies, in which it plays a prominent part.

5. Later Orphic cosmogonies.—In a former section we dealt with certain thoughts about the origin of the world which were ascribed to Orpheus, but here we are dealing with entire systems. They are highly mystical and pantheistic, and, though fanciful and grotesque, are most naturally referred to a period of religious and philosophical syncretism. Hence some critics like Zeller (*op. cit. i. 100 ff.*) refuse to regard any of them as earlier than the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C. Others, however, assign a much earlier date to the one which Damascius tells us was contained in the current 'Rhapsodies,' and which he describes as the usual Orphic theology. Thus O. Gruppe (in Roscher, *s.v. 'Orpheus'*) argues strongly, but cautiously, in favour of the view that it was formed in the 6th cent. B.C. on the basis of a still earlier Orphic myth. To this system we now turn our attention.

(1) *Rhapsodist cosmogony.*—This includes what the Orphics taught both about the Divine nature and about its relation to the world. The fullest account of the former is contained in Damascius (c. 123, ed. Kopp, p. 380). He must, indeed, be used with caution, owing to his Neo-Platonic bias. Lukas points this out, but thinks he may be trusted for the number, sequence, and names of his first principles. In this he seems to go too far, but, if we combine all that is essential in Damascius with what we learn from other sources, especially Orphic fragments (for which cf. Gruppe, *l.c. p. 1139*), we reach the following result, which will be

found in essential agreement with what, for example, is contained in Zeller (*op. cit. i. 104*) or in Gruppe (in Roscher, *s.v. 'Phanes'*). At the summit of the system stands Chronos (Time). Next come Æther (bright, fiery substance, cf. 'Stoic cosmogony' below) and Chaos (Space). Lukas observes that, though Time is named before Space, it is not viewed as producing it, but merely as the active principle, while Space receives that which arises in Time (but cf. Zeller, *l.c.*). After Æther and Chaos comes the Egg, which is viewed sometimes as the offspring of Chronos and Æther (fr. 53), sometimes as that of Æther and Chaos (Proclus, *Tim. i. 138*). In either case it springs from Æther, and is thus, as Lukas calls it, an Egg of Light. Damascius elsewhere describes it as *ἀργύρεον*, 'silver-white.' And it deserves the name, not only because it was formed from the light of heaven, but because from it, as we shall see, Phanes, the light of the world, proceeded. Finally, there issues from the Egg the first Orphic god. Damascius, who favours trinities, calls him Phanes-Ericapeus-Metis, which is generally interpreted 'Light, Life-giver, Counsel.' But, above all, he is Phanes, 'Light,' who becomes at will the light of reason, the light of life, and—for he is also Eros—the light of love. As first-born of the gods he is Protogonos. There is something sublime in these conceptions. But Phanes was also 'polymorphic, a beast-mystery god,' a creature monstrous and grotesque, as in the fragment quoted by Proclus (*Tim. ii. 130*):

'Heads had he many,
Head of a ram, a bull, a snake, and a bright-eyed lion'
(J. Harrison, *op. cit. p. 651*).

Such was the Orphic doctrine of the Divine nature. It had one feature which, according to Lukas, gave speculative value to the Rhapsodist cosmogony. This is the effort to explain the origin of life. While many cosmogonies begin with a Divine being, the Orphic sees in his God the last stage in the evolution of life out of the lifeless.

We have next to consider Phanes' relation to the world. He had in him all the forces, or *σπέρματα*, out of which it sprang. Hence, though he was sometimes called its creator, he was generally thought of as having given it birth. The idea took the form of a theogony, in which the successive dynasties of gods represent the successive stages in the evolution of the world. In this process, part of the god became the world's life; with the other he withdrew as sun into the heavens, where only Night could look on him, while his splendour amazed the other gods. But when Zeus attained to sovereignty he devoured Phanes. Thus the old order was dissolved, but thus also Zeus became the sum of all things. He became Phanes (see next section), and from him a new race of gods, a new world, sprang. In his son, Dionysos, the god of the mysteries, Phanes was born again. Like Phanes, Zeus became the world—*Ζεὺς κεφαλὴ, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται* (fr. 123),—but, like Phanes also, he dwelt apart, for his mind was the ether (Gruppe, in Roscher, *s.v. 'Orpheus'* and 'Phanes'; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v. 'Orpheus'*; Zeller, *op. cit. p. 104 f.*; J. Adam, *Relig. Teachers of Greece*, p. 95 f.; Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 518 ff.; fr. 120 ff.).

The story of the swallowing of Phanes has usually been explained as a device to recover for Zeus his ancient dignity as source of life—for had he not long ago devoured Metis and borne Athene? This could be done by showing that he swallowed Phanes who was also Metis. But Gruppe sees in the story a different motive. It was to depict the periodical renewal of the universe, which he regards as the ground thought of the Rhapsodist cosmogony. This was a feature of Stoic cosmo-

gony (see below) to which the Orphic doctrine has other points of resemblance—especially its pantheistic materialism, and its view of Æther as the principle of Divine life. On the whole, it is difficult not to believe that there was a close connexion between the two cosmogonies, on which ever side the borrowing lies.

(2) *The cosmogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus.*—From the Rhapsodist theology, Damascius passes to one which he describes as ἡ κατὰ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον φερόμενὴ καὶ Ἑλληνικόν. It is uncertain, and cannot be here discussed, whether it was known to Hellanicus of Lesbos in the 5th cent. B.C., or was published under his name by Hieronymus in one of the later pre-Christian centuries. It was generally Orphic in character, but differed, as Damascius indicates, from the current Orphic theology. We cannot, indeed, be sure as to its precise form. This is due chiefly to the fact that we find in Athenagoras (2nd cent. A.D.) what is evidently a different version of the same original doctrine. The differences will be afterwards mentioned. Meantime we shall notice briefly the main points in Damascius' version.

At the head of this cosmogony we find, not Chronos, as in the last, but—Water and Slime. Out of these springs Chronos. This does not mean that Time is not viewed as an active first principle, but only that it is more concrete. Here Time is viewed as force—force which presupposes matter to work on. The Orphic imagination runs riot in depicting this force. Chronos is a winged dragon with the heads of a bull and a lion, and betwixt them the face of a god. He is Chronos-Herakles-Ananke-Adrasteia. Herakles betokens his might, Ananke his necessity, Adrasteia his inevitability. Next, Chronos produces Æther, Chaos, and Erebus. We met Æther and Chaos in the Rhapsodist cosmogony, but here they follow after primary matter, and so Æther is more grossly conceived as *humid* (ὕδρεος). In the last, where Erebus is *misty* (δυσχλῶδες). Lastly, in the midst of the vaporous space, with its mingled light and gloom, Chronos produced an Egg (ᾧδον ἐγέννησεν). This naturally implies that it partook of the substance with which space was filled. It was, therefore, formed out of grosser elements than the Egg of the Rhapsodist cosmogony. Thus also we are told that it had within it the seed of male and female, and likewise of all manner of things without life. For this very reason it better deserves to be called a World-Egg. But it is not an Egg of Light. And, lastly, we have the same contrast in the Divine Being, the Maker and Ruler of the world, who issues from the Egg. In his monstrous and grotesque form he resembles the first-born God of the other cosmogony. But he has lost his title of Phanes, the god of light, and appears as Protogonos-Zeus-Pan.

As compared with the current Orphic doctrine, that just examined is marked by a certain coarse realism. Both in form and spirit it is less distinctively Greek. In some points, indeed, it closely resembles the Phœnician cosmogony, and Zeller maintains that its author borrowed directly from that source (*op. cit.* i. 102-3 n.; but, on the other side, cf. Gruppe, in Roscher, s.v. 'Orpheus,' p. 1141).

In describing the Orphic doctrine, Athenagoras, who was a Christian, no doubt selected the cosmogony of Hellanicus and Hieronymus because he saw most in it to condemn. But what specially concerns us is the form in which he presented it. The series begins with Water and Slime, and out of these Chronos-Herakles is evolved. But here the resemblance to Damascius ceases. No mention is made of Æther, Chaos, and Erebus. Chronos-Herakles produces a gigantic egg, which breaks into halves, of which the upper forms the heaven, and the lower the earth. In this naive conception there is clearly no element of speculative value. The egg has no special significance beyond its shape. On the other hand, in the cosmogonies

described by Damascius, the World-Egg is an expression of the profound thought that the universe is an organism, gradually formed from an original germ, in obedience to the same law which governs every living thing.

(3) Before leaving the Orphic cosmogonies proper, we may briefly notice three others of minor importance. (a) The first and the best known is that of *Apollonius Rhodius* (3rd cent. B.C.), who in the *Argonautica* (i. 494 ff.) puts into the mouth of Orpheus some verses describing the origin of the world. Here the separation of the four elements is ascribed to the action of Discord—an idea evidently borrowed from Empedocles. The legend of Ophioneus and Chronos, which was used by Pherecydes (see above), is introduced in a somewhat different and, judging by internal evidence, less authentic form (cf. Gomperz, *op. cit.* i. 91). (b) *Alexander of Aphrodisias* (3rd cent. A.D.) gives us the following series: Chaos, Oceanus, Night, Uranus, Zeus. This, it will be seen, resembles the older rather than the later form of Orphic cosmogonies. (c) Lastly, the author of the *Clementine Recognitions* (x. xvii.) gives a brief summary of Orphic doctrine. Some of the first principles, notably the Egg and Phantasia, remind us of the Rhapsodist cosmogony, but the account as a whole is less coherent, and strikes one as probably less accurate, than that of Damascius.

6. *Aristophanes.*—In one famous passage (*Av.* 693 ff.) Aristophanes depicts the origin of the universe. In the beginning were Chaos, Night, Erebus, and Tartarus. Into the bosom of Erebus, Night laid a wind-born egg (ὄρνις ἐνέμεινον φόνον) from which, as the seasons rolled, Eros sprang, gleaming with golden wings. Eros blended all things together, and from their union Heaven, Ocean, Earth, and the race of the gods were born. J. Harrison (*op. cit.* p. 626) calls the passage about the birth of Love 'pure Orphism.' And, indeed, Gruppe (in Roscher, s.v. 'Orpheus,' p. 1121) maintains that the gold-winged Eros springing from the egg was part of the oldest Orphic doctrine. But some details in the passage remind us of other cosmogonies, especially that of Hesiod (cf. Lukas, *op. cit.* p. 196).

The 'theologians,' as Aristotle calls those whose doctrines we have been considering, represent a perfectly distinct phase of Greek thought. 'Their mind was less scientific than that of the "physiologists."' They made a far keener demand for a vivid representation of the origin and development of the world' (Gomperz, *op. cit.* i. 85). Nor were they satisfied with the current mythology. Its tales were perhaps too immoral. Certainly its cosmogony was too vague. And so they sought to fill up its gaps partly from local legend, partly from the traditions of foreign peoples.

Gomperz has striven to show (*op. cit.* i. 92-97) that various features in the Greek cosmogonies—the World-Egg, the twofold nature of the Orphic godhead, in which the male and female attributes were united, and the important position occupied by Chronos as the Time-principle—were ultimately derived from Babylon, although the two former had probably their direct source in Egypt, but a discussion of this question would carry us beyond our present limits.

II. *PHILOSOPHICAL COSMOGONIES.*—The cosmogonies we have examined, though not without elements of speculative value, are essentially hypothetical in character; those to which we now turn represent the effort to explain the world on philosophical principles, and in each case from a distinct philosophical point of view. For this very reason, however, they cannot be properly understood or appreciated apart from the general movement of Greek thought. This, therefore, we must also try very briefly to indicate.

1. *Early Ionian philosophers.*—The earliest Greek philosophers were natives of Ionia in Asia Minor. Beginning with *Thales*, who flourished at Miletus about 600 B.C., they each sought to explain

the universe from a single, and that a material first principle. They discussed more or less fully the nature of the changes which the primary matter underwent, but the ultimate cause of the movement, by which the world in all its parts was formed out of material elements, was a subject on which Thales and his immediate successors had little or nothing to say. The reason was that they regarded the cause as inherent in the nature of matter itself (Gomperz, *op. cit.* i. 56). This was also true of Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 500 B.C.): to him also matter was 'organically alive' (*ib.* p. 66). But a great step in the history of Greek speculation is marked by his doctrine of the *Logos*, by which he gave expression to the thought that the world-forming process must be guided by Intelligence. He taught, indeed, that all reality is material, and that the primary element is Fire; but, as he assigned to the latter the attribute of reason, he called it also the *Logos*. In other words, the *Logos* viewed on its corporeal side was Fire, and Fire viewed on its spiritual side was the *Logos* (J. Adam, *op. cit.* p. 224). Here, then, a first principle was postulated, which was at once material and rational, and it was on this basis that the Stoic cosmogony (see below) was afterwards reared. But before that time the great thinkers of Greece had sought to show that the world was framed by God as at once a rational and non-material Being, and Heraclitus at least paved the way for that conception when he endowed his First Cause with the attribute of reason.

2. The first Greek philosopher who traced the world to a non-material agency was Empedocles (c. 450 B.C.). He did this in his doctrine of the four elements, whose movements were determined by the twofold agency of Love and Discord (J. Adam, *op. cit.* p. 245). But a far more important step in the direction of idealism was taken by Anaxagoras, who, though born rather earlier than Empedocles, probably had the work of the latter before him when he wrote (*ib.* p. 254). According to Aristotle, it was Anaxagoras who first pointed to the real cause of the movement by which the world was formed. This cause he named *Nous*, or Reason, to which also he seems to have attributed a mainly, if not exclusively, transcendent existence (*ib.* p. 371).

3. Plato.—Though Anaxagoras did not make much use of his great conception, it led to far-reaching results. Especially it brought into clear view the opposition between matter and spirit. The opposition may not be absolute, but it was naturally the distinction between the two which first occupied the attention of philosophers. It was the chief problem of Plato's Dialectic. But it is with its cosmological aspect that we are here concerned. If the First Cause was purely immaterial, how could He act on matter at all so as to create the world? In this question and the answer to it lies the chief significance of the cosmogony which Plato has set before us in the *Timæus*:

Even apart from much that does not strictly belong to it, the cosmogony of the *Timæus* is intricate, but here it will be enough to consider its main ideas. For a fuller exposition and discussion the reader may be referred to Jowett's *Plato*, vol. iii., or to Adam, *op. cit.* p. 380 ff.

God formed the world out of a material so intractable that it could not be completely moulded to His will. But He introduced into the primary substance 'as many proportions as it was possible for it to receive' (*Tim.* 69 B). The stubborn power, which thus resists the Creator, Plato calls 'Necessity.' It is the root of evil in the world, and, as it will not wholly yield to God, 'the Creator in Plato is still subject to a remnant of Necessity which he cannot wholly overcome' (Jowett, *Plato*, iii. 391).

In forming the world, God gave it a Body and also a Soul. (1) *The body*. On certain portions of

primary matter, which was formless and chaotic, God imprinted various mathematical 'forms' and 'numbers' (*Tim.* 53 B). Thus arose the four elements of which the body of the universe was composed. The idea of a Divine mathematician, in which Pythagorean influence is plainly visible, runs through the whole account of creation. According to Plutarch, Plato said that God is always playing the mathematician (*θεός δὲ μαθηματικὸς*). (2) *The soul*. Plato describes the elements of which the World-Soul was composed, but his account is highly metaphysical, and need not detain us here. It is enough to examine its attributes. Of these the first is Motion. It is manifested in the movements of the planets (*Tim.* 36 D), but it has other aspects, not directly referred to in the *Timæus*, which are important in estimating the nature of the World-Soul. According to the *Laws* (x. 896 A), the essential quality of soul is self-movement. Further, the Soul is the cause of movement in other things, and by movement (*κίνησις*) Plato understood every kind of change (*ib.*, *Phædrus*, 245 C). The World-Soul, therefore, is the cause, not only of locomotion, but also of 'separation and combination, growth, decay, and dissolution' (J. Adam, *op. cit.* p. 368). The second attribute is Intelligence. It is here to be taken in the widest sense, for we are given to understand that the World-Soul apprehends not only ideas, but sensible realities, and such as lie between the two (*ib.* p. 369 f.). On the other hand, 'the World-Soul, as described in the *Timæus*, has nothing analogous to the principles of anger and desire . . . which, according to Plato, constitute so large and turbulent a portion of the human soul' (*ib.* p. 370). Plato speaks of the World-Soul as created. In what sense he used the term he nowhere precisely explains, but there can be little doubt that he thought of an emanational process. Such is the view of the writer just quoted, who thus sums up the cosmogonical process: 'At the beginning of Time, God created the Universe. A spirit or soul went forth from him, and inhabited the body which he redeemed from chaos by imprinting mathematical forms on primordial matter' (*ib.* p. 373).

The universe, thus formed of body and soul, is described as *εἰκὼν τοῦ ποιητοῦ, μονογενής*, 'image of its Creator, only-begotten.' Thus it is related to Him as son to father. Further, it is itself a god, a *θεὸς ἀσθητός*, or 'perceivable god' (*Tim.* 92 C). On the other hand, the Creator is a Being mysteriously remote, 'hard to discover' (*ib.* 28 C), who, when He had made the world, 'abode in his own nature' (*ib.* 42 E).

We may now see how the Platonic cosmogony was an attempt to explain the world on dualistic principles. Since God as pure thought could have no contact with matter, Plato was obliged to assume for the work of creation some formative principle separate from God Himself. Hence the separate existence of the mathematical forms imprinted on matter, and especially of the World-Soul incorporated within it. It is from this point of view that Caird describes the World-Soul as 'a kind of bridge to connect two terms which it is impossible really to unite' (*Evolution of Theology in the Gr. Phil.* ii. 266).

4. Although Aristotle (*q.v.*) effectually criticized the theory of 'Ideas,' which Plato held to exist apart from matter, yet his own doctrine was fundamentally dualistic, as appears from his view of the Divine life as an energy of self-contemplation. But after his time Greek thought swung round to the opposite pole. Abandoning the dualism by which mind and matter, subject and object, were opposed to each other as mutually exclusive realities, it sought to explain the world by means of

a single principle. This men sought where they felt surest of finding it, in their own subjective experience. Thus they hoped for a certainty which they could never have about an object with whose appearances only they were acquainted. It may be added that the subjective trend in philosophy was part of a general movement affecting the last epoch of Greek national life, from Alexander the Great onwards (Schwegler, *Hist. of Phil.* pp. 120-122). Now, the subjective life itself has two sides, the one universal and spiritual, the other individual and material. It was on the latter view of man's nature that the Epicureans based both their ethical and their physical theories. The Stoics, on the other hand, appealed in their Ethics to man's rational nature, while in their Physics they derived the world from a material principle (for the reason of this apparent inconsistency, see Schwegler, *op. cit.* p. 125). It will be seen that in their use of a single principle the Stoics and Epicureans returned to the point from which philosophy had diverged after the time of Heraclitus, but, as R. D. Hicks remarks (art. 'Stoics,' in *EBR*¹¹), 'until dualism had been thought out, as in the Peripatetic school, it was impossible that monism (or at any rate materialistic monism) should be definitely and consciously maintained.' Both the Epicureans and the Stoics had what may be called a materialistic cosmogony, but that of the Stoics is in several ways the more important, and to it therefore we now turn.

5. Stoic cosmogony.—The Stoic first principle was akin to the Fire of Heraclitus, but of a subtler nature—a fiery breath (*πνεῦμα*) or ether (*αἰθήρ*). But in a more important respect it differed from Heraclitus' first principle. For the Stoic primary substance was matter regarded in its distinctively active aspect as force. Viewed in relation to the actual world, it is thus described by R. D. Hicks (*loc. cit.*):

'Before there was heaven or earth, there was primitive substance or Pneuma, the everlasting presupposition of particular things. This is the totality of all existence; out of it the whole visible universe proceeds, hereafter to be again resolved into it. Not the less is it the creative force, or deity, which develops and shapes this universal order or cosmos.'

So far the Stoic theory reminds us of much that we have already met with in other systems. But the *mode* of the creative activity, as conceived by the Stoics, was altogether new. The Stoic primary substance, be it remembered, is matter and force in one (cf. Zeller, *Stoics*, etc., p. 148: 'the forming force . . . is in itself something material,' etc.). Its force is that of *tension*, the expansive and dispersive pressure due to heat, and the extremity of the tension is seen in the fact that all distinction of particular things, due to relative density, is lost within it. It cannot long withstand the intensity of this inward pressure. It sways to and fro, and this movement cools a little the glowing ether. Condensation begins, and with it the first distinction within the primal substance—the separation of force from matter. Matter is now the relatively passive; but, as first formed, it differs but little from the pure activity of the substance from which it sprang. It is the element of fire. But again, as condensation proceeds, fire produces air, and this in turn the grosser elements of water and earth. Throughout the process, however, the more active substance never quite surrenders its own nature. Thus only a portion of air becomes water or earth, and something of the pure *Pneuma* itself remains in the ether which stretches above and around the world. As already seen, the distinction of active and passive in the case of the four elements is only relative; and this appears still further in the blending of the elements with one another, and the formation of all particular things. In the universe thus formed the finer substances are

those in which the tension of the primary substance is greatest, and the solid are those in which it is most relaxed, and in which matter appears most inert and passive. And, finally, all the shapes and other attributes of things are referred to the ethereal force. Here the need of a guiding Intelligence is most felt. And in fact the force moving in the world was to the Stoic the Soul of the World. Although material, it was, like the Fire of Heraclitus, also intelligent, even as the λόγοι σπερματικοί before the dawn of creation slumbered within it.

The Stoic cosmogony was the chief attempt made by the Greeks not merely to derive but to *explain* the origin of the world from a purely material first principle. It was ingenious, and its account of the manner in which force works in the material world contained elements of permanent value. But it went too far in treating force as a genetic first principle. For material energy is always relative to matter as passive and inert. Nor does it, indeed, appear that the Stoics conceived of force as anything else than the formative aspect of matter (cf. Zeller, *l.c.*). Nevertheless, by regarding it as a primary substance out of which the world was evolved, they *ipso facto* ascribed to it an independent reality. Hence the Stoic first principle was an abstraction which could explain nothing.

6. Neo-Platonic cosmogony.—Before leaving the Greek cosmogonies, we must notice briefly a second and very different attempt to explain the origin of the world from a monistic standpoint. We refer to the system of the Neo-Platonists, who belonged to the last period of Greek thought, when Stoicism and Epicureanism had run their course. The Neo-Platonists taught that the ultimate source of being was neither matter nor spirit, but a real unity transcending both. In this they might seem to quit the subjective standpoint of the later philosophical systems. Yet in reality theirs was the most subjective of all. They found the key to the Divine nature solely in the subjective side of human experience, in the unity given to outward impressions by the thinking subject. They taught also that the material is less real and perfect than the ideal world, that intellectual cognition is the pathway to truth and goodness, and that actual contact with these realities is attained only by means of an 'ecstasy,' in which the distinction between subject and object disappears.

The Neo-Platonists claimed that their doctrine was the direct outcome of Plato's teaching, but in this they did less than justice to the objective element in the latter. No doubt there were features in Plato, especially the terms in which he described the transcendence of God, which gave some support to this claim. But Neo-Platonism owed far more to Oriental influence, the causes of which we cannot stop to inquire (cf. Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philos.* i. 222 f.). It is, in fact, a blend of Greek and Oriental elements. It may be added that 'the religious philosophy of the Alexandrian Jews and the Gnosis of early Christianity are products of the same elements, but under an Oriental form' (*ib.* p. 223).

Plotinus (A.D. 204-269) is the most representative teacher of this school. Of his doctrine, contained in the six *Enneads*, which were published by his pupil Porphyry, a very brief summary must suffice:—The first principle, from which Plotinus derives the universe, is called by him the One, or the Good. This supreme essence is absolutely transcendent, and incognizable. It cannot be described as either Being or Intelligence, for either epithet would imply a limitation of its absolute unity. It is *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας* and also *ἐπέκεινα*

νοήσεως. It is not however, irrational, but only supra-rational (ὑπερβηχὸς τὴν νοῦ φύσιν). Its title of 'the Good' immediately reminds us of the Supreme Being in Plato. But, in spite of the abstract manner in which 'the Good' or 'the Idea of the Good' is described in the *Republic*, it is clear that Plato ascribed to it both being and intelligence. (For the meaning of 'the Good' in Plato, and for a comparison with Plotinus, see J. Adam, *op. cit.* p. 446 f., and Ueberweg, *op. cit.* i. 122, 246 f.)

As the source of all things, the One produces first of all the highest kind of actual being, which is Mind (νοῦς), i.e. the Divine Mind (Ueberweg, *op. cit.* i. 248). In this Mind the Ideas (νοήματα) are immanent. They are not, however, mere thoughts, but parts of the Mind's essence, and for this reason, on which Plotinus lays great stress, they are absolutely true objects of thought. Thus the Nous is at once the Subject and the Object of knowledge; in the first aspect Plotinus regards it as at rest, in the second as active. But how did the Nous originate from the One? Plotinus regards this as a problem so difficult that it must be approached with prayer (*Enn.* v. 1, 6). He finds an analogy in the idea of radiation (περιλαμψίς). The Nous arises from the One like brightness from the sun (*ib.*). The great difficulty, of course, was to explain how actual Being could arise from a source to which the attribute of Being was denied. But he finds a solution 'in the transcending power of the One, which latter, as the superior, can send forth from the superabundance of its perfection the inferior, without having contained the latter, as such, in itself' (Ueberweg, *op. cit.* i. 247; *Enn.* v. 2, 1).

As the One produces Mind, so does Mind produce Soul (ψυχὴν γεννᾷ νοῦς, *Enn.* v. 1, 7). And, as Ideas appear along with Mind, so does Body along with Soul. As Plotinus expresses it, Soul, as it issues from Nous, extends itself into the corporeal, as the point extended becomes a line (*ib.* iv. 1). Plotinus says that the Soul has a divisible element, yet he also says that it is immaterial. He tries to reconcile the two statements as follows: 'The soul is *per se* indivisible, being divided only as related to the bodies into which it enters, since these could not receive it if it remained undivided' (*ib.* iv. 21; Ueberweg, *op. cit.* i. 249). The Soul in its entirety is present throughout the body, yet in all its faculties—reason, memory, perception, and even life-force—is absolutely separable from it. There is a plurality of souls. The highest of all is the Soul of the World, but other souls have also a separate existence of their own (*Enn.* iv. 3, 7, iv. 9).

Lastly, what is the Neo-Platonist view about the nature and origin of matter? In Plato, matter and mind remain as two ultimate facts. Plotinus, on the other hand, declares that the soul, in virtue of its mobility, *begets* matter (*ib.* iii. 7, 10, iv. 3, 9; Ueberweg, *loc. cit.* i. 249). Now, so far as the material is known to us, i.e. so far as it possesses form, it partakes of an ideal nature. But Plotinus recognizes that beneath that form there is a *substratum* (ὑποκείμενον), a something which is different from the form and which might take other forms. This *substratum* he calls the βάθος, or 'depth,' of each thing, and he says that it has no real existence; it is *μη ὄν*. He explains its nature partly by reference to the Ideas which are the objects of Nous. In its most general sense the term εἶδη ('matter') is also applied to these. And just because they are objects of thought, they also possess this quality of βάθος, or 'depth.' But they are nevertheless wholly real, like the Mind which knows them. And Plotinus says that the *substratum* of sensible things is only a shadow (εἰδωλον)

of the *substratum*, as their form is but a shadow of the form pertaining to the Ideas.

The theory whose essential features we have thus tried to give represents the last important attempt made by Greek thought to explain the origin of the world. It fails mainly through the abstractness of its first principle—a Unity of which not even Being can be predicated.

In its mysticism the Neo-Platonic theory of the world reminds us not a little of the Orphic cosmogonies. It resembles them, indeed, both in form and in spirit, as might be inferred from the fact that the notices of the latter given by Damascius are interwoven with Neo-Platonic conceptions.

LITERATURE.—The following, though only a selection from an immense number of books dealing with various parts of the subject, will, together with their references, supply all needed help to those who wish to study it further: F. Lukas, *Die Grundbeg. in den Kosmog. der alten Völker*, Leipzig, 1893, to whom the writer has been specially indebted in the first part of the subject; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Culte und Mythen*, I, Leipzig, 1887, and art. 'Orpheus' and 'Phanes,' in Roscher; E. Abel, *Orphica*, Leipzig, 1885; T. Gomperz, *Gr. Thinkers*, Eng. tr., vol. I, London, 1901; E. Zeller, *Stoics*, etc., new and rev. ed., do. 1892, *Pre-Socr. Phil.*, vol. I, do. 1881, *Outlines of Hist. of Gr. Phil.*, do. 1892, *Plato and the Older Acad.*, do. 1876; J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to Study of Gr. Relig.*, Camb., 1908; J. Adam, *The Relig. Teachers of Greece*, Edinb., 1902; B. Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, vol. III, Oxford, 1892; R. D. Hicks, art. 'Stoics,' in *EBR*, also *Stoic and Epicur.*, London, 1910; T. Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, Camb. 1901; C. Bigg, *Neoplatonism*, Lond. 1895; E. Caird, *The Evol. of Theol. in the Gr. Philosophers*, Glasgow, 1904; J. Horowitz, *Philons u. Platons Lehre v. d. Welterschöpfung*, Marburg, 1900; R. Adamson, *Development of Gr. Philos.*, ed. W. R. Sorley and R. P. Hardie, London, 1908; A. Schweigler, *Handb. of the Hist. of Philos.*, Edin. 1885; F. Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philos.*, vol. I, London, 1872; J. E. Erdmann, *Hist. of Philos.*, do. 1898; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., do. 1894-1899. I. F. BURNS.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Hebrew).—There are generally recognized in the Hebrew Scriptures two formal cosmogonies, the earlier of which is contained in Gn 2, beginning with v.⁴, or rather v.⁵.

1. Cosmogony of J.—This story, as we have it, belongs to the pre-exilic, historical, Prophetic narrative of the Judean kingdom (J), which was in course of composition from about the time of Solomon until the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. The cosmogony, as much as we have of it in Gn 2, assumes the world as already existing, and deals only with its preparation for the use of man. With it is connected the story of the Garden of Eden, the Temptation, and the Fall and its consequences. The object is not so much to answer the question, How did the world come into existence? as the questions, Where did man come from? Why does man differ from the beasts? especially, Why does man have a sex consciousness and a sex shame, which the beasts do not have? and, Why must man, who is the crown of creation, toil and labour to get his bread, and to reproduce his kind, by the sweat of his brow and the agony of his body? So far as the nature of man is concerned, this cosmogony, while naively primitive, is full of a childlike wisdom and sweet spirituality, which has commended it to all succeeding ages, and which was doubtless the cause of this part of the J narrative being preserved at a time when the Pentateuch was cast into the present form and prefaced by the great cosmogony of the Priestly Code (Gn 1-2^d).

In the cosmogony of Gn 2, the earth is assumed as already in existence, a barren place on which there were no shrubs and no herbs, because Jahweh Elohim had not yet caused rain to fall on it, and because—a charming bucolic touch, characteristic of the anthropomorphism of the whole narrative—there were no men to till the ground. But a fountain¹ went up out of the

¹ נַחַל, practically a *šar. ley.* (the only other occurrence is Job 36²⁷), rendered in EV 'mist.' LXX has πηγή, which, practically, Gunkel follows. This accords with the following narrative, the reference being apparently to the great source out of which came all the rivers of the world. In this narrative the waters

earth and watered all the face of the ground (v. 5). Then, out of the dust of the ground, moistened by this water, Jahweh Elohim, like a potter, made man, and, having made him, breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, whereupon man became a living creature. And, because he was made out of the ground (*'ādāmā*), therefore he was called 'man' (*'ādām*). Then Jahweh Elohim planted a garden in Eden, far away to the east, and caused all sorts of beautiful trees and goodly fruits to grow there, and the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Through the garden, coming from the fountain which connected with the waters beneath the earth, flowed a great stream, watering the garden and dividing, as it left it, into the four great rivers of the world—Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates.

Jahweh Elohim put man in His garden to till it and guard it, and permitted him to eat of all the trees in the garden, except only of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Then, seeing that the man was alone, He planned to give him a helpmeet, and formed all the beasts and birds and brought them to man, who named them. But among them was found no mate for man. Then Jahweh Elohim caused man to fall into a profound sleep, and, taking one of his ribs, clothed it with flesh and made out of it woman; and her the man at once recognized as his mate, bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. Woman (*'ishshā*) was she called, because derived from man (*'ish*); therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and cleaves to his wife, and they become (literally, by physical union) one flesh. And the two of them, the man and his wife, were naked, and were not ashamed.¹

The story here told is in many of its particulars identical with the cosmogonies and cosmologies which we meet elsewhere. The thought is world thought, the out-thinking of primitive man almost anywhere. When he asks himself the question, Of what is man created? the natural answer is: Dead, he returns to dust; therefore, out of dust he came; and so, as the potter makes vessels out of clay (dust mixed with water), God made man. So breath, which is wind (a part of God's breath), is the element of life; for, if the wind or breath goes out of a man, he is dead. So, again, the relation of name to thing, which plays so important a part in this cosmogony, is not characteristic of any one people, but is a very wide-spread conception of primitive men. Name and thing are one. To know the name is to know the essence of the thing; and to know is to have power over—the utterance by Adam of the names of the beasts put those beasts in subjection to him who had given them their names. The serious plays upon words—*'ādāmā* and *'ādām*, *'ish* and *'ishshā*—are based upon the same theory of the identity of name and thing. Of course, this assumes that the primitive language was Hebrew, in accordance with the universal belief of primitive peoples that their own language was spoken by God Himself. The story of the origin of mankind, told in the person of a being bearing the name 'Man,' is common also to various national cosmological myths. The same is true of the relation of man and woman here described, and, to a considerable extent, of the garden of God in which man was placed.

But, while much in the story may be classed as universal primitive thought, there are also certain ear-marks which unmistakably indicate a Bab. connexion for at least some of the fundamental thoughts of our tale.

The park or garden which God plants, and in which He sets the man whom He creates, is far off, in some remote land away to the east. This is the case also with the Egyptian paradise; but, when we note the name Eden, apparently the Bab. *ēdinu*, 'plain,' for the garden, and the names of the rivers which have their source in it, we are obliged to recognize the influence of Bab. thought. The garden, it is true, is not in Babylonia, yet

it lies in the region out of which the rivers of Babylonia take their origin. It is a plain on the top of the mysterious mountain of the north, where, in Bab. thought, the gods had their abode.¹ Probably also the fourfold number of the rivers connects itself with those representations which we find in early Bab. art of a four-divided stream, all the rivers of the earth pouring out from one great fountain connecting with the great deep, the waters beneath the earth. In the relation of man to the beasts, before woman was created, there is also at least a suggestion of resemblance to the story of the wild primitive man, Eabani, in the Bab. Gilgamesh legend. Eabani was made out of clay by the goddess Ishtar, in whom is the womb of life. At the outset he consorted with the beasts of the field. 'He ate grass with the gazelles, he drank water with the cattle of the field, he amused himself with the animals of the water.' Out of this condition he was raised to true manhood by entering into relation with a woman, a priestess of Ishtar, who came to entice him. It was by finding a mate in her that he developed out of a being like the beasts into civilizable man. So, apparently, in the thought of the Heb. story, Adam was at first like Eabani, but no true mate was found for him among the beasts of the field. His manhood required a helpmeet of his own kind, bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh. Perhaps another Bab. element is the eating of the tree of life, which appears in the sequel of this story, the Fall of Man (Gn 3). This bears a certain resemblance to the Adapa myth, of which a copy was found among the Tell el-Amarna tablets. The cherubim also which God placed eastward of the Garden of Eden, appear to be of Bab. origin. The peculiar emphasis laid upon Assyria in the geography of the Garden of Eden, and apparently on a very early Assyria, when Ashur, and not Calah or Nineveh, was the capital of Assyria, when, in fact, the city of Ashur was Assyria (for the Tigris is here made to flow to the east of Assyria), leads one to ask whether the Bab. elements in this story were not largely, or in some part, mediated through Upper Mesopotamia, with which the ancestry of Israel was connected by a very strong tradition. Cf., further, COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Bab.).

But while the cosmogony of this story has evident connexions with Bab. thought, such connexions are ancient and remote. The characteristic colouring is evidently Palestinian. It is the native of a *b'ēlāh* land, a land of the *b'a'al*, like Palestine (where fertility comes directly from the rain sent down from heaven), not the native of a land like Babylonia (where fertility depends on the overflowing of the rivers), who gives us in Gn 2 the picture of the barrenness of the world before Jahweh Elohim sent rain and man tilled the ground. It is worthy of note that similarly, in the J version of the Flood story, the Flood was caused by the rain which Jahweh sent from heaven, not by the breaking out also of the waters of the abyss beneath.²

Another independent evidence of the antiquity of the J cosmogony, in addition to the allusion to Assyria, is the relation of man to woman. It is not the woman who leaves father and mother to cleave to the man, but the man who leaves father and mother to cleave to his wife—an apparent survival of the old matriarchy, of which we also have an example in the Samson story, where the woman remains with her tribe or clan or family, and is visited by the man (Jg 15').

In general, we may say of the cosmogony contained in Gn 2 that it is based upon a primitive folklore developed in Palestine, going back to a very great antiquity, into which have been absorbed, at some time or another, by an indirect process, some elements of Bab. myth and legend, possibly coming through the Mesopotamian region, with which, according to tradition, the Israelitic ancestors were closely connected. In the form in which it has come down to us, it has been thoroughly Hebraized, above all in the monotheism of its conceptions. The Creation is due to Jahweh only. There is no other God mentioned. He is Elohim (God), albeit He is conceived of in a most anthropomorphic fashion. Growing upon Canaanite soil, rooting in the remote past, utilizing in its composition Bab.

¹ In the most important Heb. traditions the abode of God (Jahu) was in the south, in Sinal, or Horeb (cf. e.g. Jg 6⁹, Ex 19¹¹); but, by a borrowing apparently from Can. traditions (ultimately derived, probably, from Babylonia), it is also placed in the mountain of the north (cf. Ps 46, Ezk 1), as is the account of the Deluge (Gn 7¹¹).

² Cf., for the latter, the P version of the Flood story (Gn 7¹¹).

beneath the earth are assumed; it is only with the rain, which comes from above, from Jahweh Elohim, that we are concerned. Cf. Skinner, *ad loc.*

¹ This story is a man's story, *homo sexualis*. In general it is an interesting example of the methods of early thought. Man measures the universe by himself. He explains the relations of all about him by what he knows of himself. Woman depends upon man, and woman was made for man. She is a subordinate but very intimate part of himself. The rib is chosen for the material of her construction because ribs are relatively numerous, and therefore superfluous, in man's composition, while at the same time a rib belongs so much to the inward part of man, so to speak, as to establish by its use in the construction of woman the most intimate relation with himself.

material indirectly derived, it shows, in the last stages of its development, the high, spiritual thought of the Prophetic narrators of the 9th and 8th cent. B.C., who paved the way for the great writing prophets of the succeeding centuries.

The story was evidently popular among the Hebrews, not on the side of what may be properly called its cosmogony, but for its account of the Garden of God in Eden and the Fall of man, which we find particularly used in later literature in the Book of Ezekiel (cf., for instance, ch. 28, and the other chapters dealing with the fall of Tyre). It is this element also which has profoundly influenced Christian thought. The cosmogony proper is negligible in its influence on later thought, and is manifestly in itself very incomplete.

2. Cosmogonic myths in Hebrew literature.—A more complete and more systematic cosmogony is contained in Gn 1. The composition of this chapter dates probably from the early post-exilic period, but it is founded on old myths, which appear in much older passages, and which display a striking similarity to the cosmogonic myths of Babylonia. Some of these passages it is worth while to consider before we analyze the more systematic and elaborate cosmogony of Gn 1.

Ps 89¹⁴ is an old passage, of Galilean origin (as is shown clearly by the use, in v. 12, of Tabor and Hermon as landmarks of north and south), now forming part of a later Psalm. This is one of those Psalms whose words imply a polytheistic conception: 'Who among the clouds is like unto Jahweh, is equal to Jahweh among the sons of the gods?' Jahweh is described as ruling the waves of the sea, stilling the tumult of its billows. He has smitten and contemptuously treated Rahab. With His strong arm He has scattered His foes. This is referred to as a part of the Creation work by which He founded the heavens and the earth, the world and its fullness, Creation being depicted as connected with a battle of Jahweh against some monster, here called Rahab, and its allies, who are foes of God or of the gods.

Ps 74¹²⁻¹⁷ is similarly an ancient passage, apparently of north Israelitic origin,¹ in a Psalm which, in its later form, is Maccabean. Here God is described as having, in olden time, done wonderful works in the midst of the earth. He divided the sea by His strength, He smote the heads of dragons or sea-monsters on the waters, He crushed the heads of Leviathan and gave him for food to the jackals—a more specific note of that contemptuous treatment to which there is reference in Ps 89. That this is part of a Creation-myth is shown by the following description, where, as the result of this battle with the sea-dragons and Leviathan, God digs out the fountains and the valleys in which their waters run, dries up the primitive rivers, forms night and day, moon and sun, establishes the boundaries of the earth, etc.

The Book of Job, while itself of relatively late origin, is notably full of old traits. In it we find a number of references to mythical monsters, with whom God contended in connexion with the creation of the world. Of these the most noteworthy perhaps is Job 26^{12f}:

'With his strength he troubled the sea,
And with his skill he pierced Rahab.
His wind spread out heaven,
His hand slew flying serpent.'

We have here two monsters—Rahab (connected with the sea) and flying serpent (connected with the heavens). The battle with the sea, indicated in the first line, is connected with the piercing of Rahab; and bound up with this is the spreading

¹ Cf., among other things, the almost exclusive reference in the Asaph Psalter to Jacob, Joseph, and Benjamin, and the use of Elohim instead of Jahweh—differentiating this collection, or rather these collections, from the first book of Psalms, precisely as E is differentiated from J in the Pentateuch.

out of heaven by His wind, and the slaughter, apparently in heaven, of another monster.

Chapters 40 and 41 deal much more fully with two monsters, here, however, differently named—Behemoth, whose home is on the dry land, and the much more dreadful Leviathan, which inhabits the deep. These monsters were evidently well known in Heb. tradition of a later date. Thus, in 2 Es 6⁴⁰⁻⁴² we have a description of two living creatures which God preserved on the fifth day of creation—Behemoth and Leviathan—to the former of whom He gave as his habitation a part of the dry land whereon are a thousand hills, while to the latter He gave that seventh part of the earth occupied by the sea. In Enoch 60⁷⁻⁹ we find the same two monsters, with the further note that Behemoth, who occupies the barren waste, is a male, while Leviathan, the monster of the abyss, over the source of the waters, is a female. Enoch 54⁹ corresponds somewhat more closely with the account of the two animals in Job, in that it describes the water which is above the heavens as male, and the water which is under the earth as female. In Job 7¹² and 9¹⁸ we have incidental references to a sea-monster of the deep called in one place 'dragon,' *ṭān*,² and in the other Rahab,³ which, with its allies, has been overcome by God and imprisoned by Him. In ch. 38 there is no mention of the monsters, but of a struggle of God with the deep itself (v. 74): 'When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy: when God shut up the sea with doors, fastening it in with bars and gates.' According to the cosmogonic ideas of this book, 'God spread out the sky, strong as a molten mirror' (37¹⁸); this rests upon pillars (26¹¹), and above it are the waters held up by the clouds (v. 9): the earth rests upon a chaos of waters or a great sea (v. 7); in the bowels of the earth is Sheol or Abaddon (v. 9). Waters are closely connected with darkness, and both those above and those below the earth form the habitation of monsters.

Abundant other references, early and late, show this to be certainly a very wide-spread view of the origin of the world among the Hebrews and later Jews. There are, however, slight variants of this general view, and the monsters of the deep are called by different names. The deep itself and the chaos to which the original deep belonged are designated sometimes merely by words expressing the sea, at other times by more technical titles; and the same is true of the monsters of chaos or the deep.

The ancient myth is applied also to historical events, very much as we may find parts of the *Nibelungenlied* mixed up with actual historical events of mediæval history, or in Babylonian literature events of the history of Erech combined with the Epic of Gilgamesh.⁴ In Is 51⁹ the delivery from Egypt is described in terms of the old cosmogonic myth: 'The arm of Jahweh cut Rahab in pieces, pierced the dragon.' In Is 30⁷ Egypt is called Rahab because 'she helpeth in vain.' In Ps 87⁴ and elsewhere we find the same use. The myth is also applied eschatologically. As God once created the earth after destroying the monsters of chaos, so He shall again, out of a world reduced to chaos because of the wickedness of man, re-create a new earth and a new heaven

¹ See also Ezk 29³⁻⁶, Ps-Sol 22^{2b-34}. In Ezekiel the dragon-myth is used in describing the fate of Egypt, and in the Psalms of Solomon, of Pompey; but in both cases the ancient myth is clearly in mind.

² In Ps 40⁴ the plural of this, *ṭāhām*, appears to mean 'false gods'; and *ṭōhū* is used in the same sense in 1 S 12²⁴ and Is 41²⁹.

³ Folk-lore frequently exhibits this phenomenon. So, for instance, in the Wendish Spreewald one finds old fairy tales, identical with those collected by Grimm, told about Frederick the Great, Ziethen, and others of the same period.

by the same means (cf. the late Isaianic Apocalypse, Is 24-27). Here, however, we have (27¹) three monsters: Leviathan the swift serpent or flying serpent (which appears to be alluded to in Job 3⁸, inhabiting the waters above the firmament and causing the eclipse); Leviathan the crooked serpent, which is the sea encircling the earth; and the dragon in the depths of the sea, which is the serpent of Am 9².

In a somewhat similar picture of the reduction of the earth to chaos through the wrath of God, in Jer 4^{23a}, birds, men, and beasts are destroyed; mountains and hills lose their solidity and shake to and fro; the light of the heavens is turned into darkness; and the earth becomes waste and void—*tôhû* and *bôhû*—the technical words for 'chaos' used in Gn 1².

Out of these various references we may reconstruct the general cosmogonic conception of the Hebrews: first, a condition of chaos and darkness, a waste of waters, inhabited by monstrous and noxious forms; then a battle of Jahweh, with the approval and rejoicing of the gods (divine or semi-divine beings, stars, etc.), against the deep and the monsters of chaos, in which in some way He uses the wind. By means of this He spreads out a firmament above, resting upon pillars, provided with windows,¹ through which the waters above may be let down upon the earth. Beneath, upon the great void, He spreads the earth, a dwelling-place for living things, under which is the sea or abyss (*t'hôm*).² In this abyss, as also in the heights above, still dwell great monsters, whom the Lord has preserved there, whom no other than He can control, and who are dangerous and noxious to men and to the works of men.

This was not only the cosmogonic thought of the Hebrews; it also constituted an element of their religion, and was represented in their ritual and religious paraphernalia. So, in the temple of Solomon was a great laver, the so-called 'sea,' representing the *t'hôm*;* and on the candlesticks of Herod's temple, as represented on Titus' Arch at Rome, are apparently pictured the monsters of that *t'hôm* which Jahweh had overcome.⁴

This cosmogony clearly is closely related to that of Babylonia, where we have the same contest of Marduk (acting for the other gods, whom he thereby largely supplants) with a great female monster, *Tiamât*,⁵ which is by root the same as the Heb. *t'hôm*. This monster he splits in two, after inflating her with a great wind. He reduces her various allies to submission, and, after treating her corpse with contumely, he divides it into two parts, out of one of which he makes the heaven, and out of the other the earth, the waters being thus separated into two great seas, the one above the firmament of heaven and the other beneath the earth.

3. Systematized cosmogony of the Priestly Code.—The Bab. cosmogony, as we know it in the cuneiform texts, is contained in seven tablets. Similarly the systematized cosmogony of the Heb. Priestly Code (Gn 1-24), which formulates and develops in a scientific and exact manner the popular belief, is divided into seven days.

This cosmogony commences with the description of a condition where the earth was *tôhû* and *bôhû* (i.e. chaos)—two words evidently handed down from antiquity. This chaotic condition is further described as 'darkness upon the face of *t'hôm*.' *T'hôm*, as already stated, is radically identical with the Bab. *Tiamât* (here used without the article), and is evidently, like *tôhû* and *bôhû*, a technical term of the cosmogonic

myth. Following this description of the condition of darkness, chaos, and enormity, the narrative proceeds: 'The wind of God was rushing upon the face of the waters.'¹ Here perhaps we have a remnant of the myth which represents Marduk using the wind as his weapon against *Tiamât*.

Having thus condensed the mythical material, which bulks so largely in the Bab. story, and which evidently played an equally important part in the common Jewish cosmogony, and having altogether eliminated its polytheism, the Priestly narrator then proceeds on a higher plane to describe Creation as a result of seven utterances of God. The order of these creative utterances may be supposed to coincide in general with that of the Bab. seven tablets, although this cannot be stated certainly, owing to the fragmentary condition of those tablets.

First came light; second, the firmament in the midst of the waters, to divide the waters beneath from the waters above; third, the separation of dry land and the springing of verdure, trees, and the like upon the earth; fourth, the creation of sun, moon, and stars, which are set in the heavens, both to give light and to rule the day and the night—the latter, perhaps, containing a trace of the polytheistic conception of the old astral worship, which it is intended to correct by stating that these rulers of day and night are creations of God; fifth, the creatures of the sea and the birds of the air, both of them created out of water, among which it is noteworthy that the writer recognizes the continued existence of the great sea-monsters, dragons, serpents, etc., of the popular belief (v. 2), included in Job, Enoch, and Esdras, under the titles Behemoth and Leviathan. The sixth day covers the creation of the creatures of the earth and of man. In the note of the creation of man (v. 26) we have a remnant of the more primitive anthropomorphic conception of God, of which the writer could not readily divest himself, in the statement that man was made in the image of God; and perhaps also an echo of the earlier polytheism in the words put in the mouth of Elohim: 'Let us make man in our image.' Not that the writer means to speak of more than one God of Israel, but he cannot yet altogether divest himself of the thought of a plurality of gods in human shape. The resting of God on the seventh day, and the establishment in connexion with that of an eternal Sabbath, are peculiarly Hebrew; for, although a rudimentary Sabbath existed among the Babylonians, it played no important part in Bab. religion or mythology. The seventh tablet of the Babylonian Creation-series, with which in Hebrew corresponds the establishment of the Sabbath as a part of Creation itself, contains a hymn of praise to Marduk as the creator.

The question arises, To what extent was this cosmogony based on Bab. ideas? We have already seen that, in general, it is a statement, in precise, scientific, monotheistic, and unmythological form, of cosmogonic views prevailing among the people of Israel from an early period. Certain resemblances have also been pointed out between those cosmogonic myths and the cosmogonic myths of the Babylonians. It would seem that at some early period Bab. cosmogony became known to the people of Palestine. The general view at present is that, in some form, locally modified, the Bab. cosmogony became the common property of Palestine and surrounding regions during the centuries of predominating Bab. influence in the West (c. 2000 B.C.), and that the Hebrews adopted that cosmogony, in whole or in part, gradually modifying it to fit into their religion,² eliminating the polytheistic and grosser traits, and spiritualizing and rationalizing the residue. The cosmogonic myth, accordingly, pursued the same course

¹ Commonly rendered 'the spirit of God was brooding,' etc. This rendering of the Heb. כִּכְוֶהֶת is suggested by a supposed connexion with an Aram. root. In Hebrew it occurs elsewhere only in Dt 32¹¹, in a description of the vulture teaching its young to fly, where it has been translated 'hovering.' This is manifestly incorrect (but see Skinner on Gn 1²). The parent birds do not hover over the young when turning them out of the nest to fly for themselves, but make rushes at them, and away from them. The LXX has preserved the correct tr. of the word כִּכְוֶהֶת of Gn 1², viz. *ἐνεπνεύετο*, 'was rushing upon.' This agrees with other references in Heb. literature to the use by God of wind in creation (see above), and also agrees with the Bab. myth.

² Unfortunately we lack, up to the present time, a sufficient knowledge of Phœnician cosmogony and the cosmogony of other neighbouring peoples to prove or disprove this theory. True, certain fragments of Phœn. cosmogony have come down to us, claimed to be the relics of the writings of a certain Sanchuniathon; but, in the first place, it is very doubtful whether such a man ever existed, and, in the second place, what has been handed down has reached us in such a form that it is almost impossible to determine its origins and connexions. We do find, however, in Phœn. cosmogony, a creature, *Tauthe*, which is the same as *Tiamât* and the Heb. *t'hôm*, and a *Bau*, which appears to be the Hebrew *bôhû*; so that extent Phœn. remains may be said to support this hypothesis.

¹ Cf. Gn 7¹¹, 2 K 72¹⁹, Ps 78²⁹.

² Gn 7¹¹ 49²⁵, Dt 33¹³, Ps 42⁷ 78¹⁵, Pr 32²⁰.

³ 1 K 7²³, interpreted by comparison with Bab. use.

⁴ Cf. the similar use in Bab. temples.

⁵ In the Bab. myth we have also *apsu*, 'sea,' as a technical term or name. At least once in Hebrew (Is 40¹⁷) the corresponding root *DSK* has the same sense.

as almost everything else in Hebrew ritual and religion. The cosmogony in Gn 1 represents the final stage of its development, when the effort was made to rid it altogether of its grosser and polytheistic elements, to spiritualize it, and to fit it into the new scheme of the purified and reformed religion of Israel, which the priestly schools of the Captivity sought to establish. The final author may possibly have been affected directly by Bab. models to the extent that he adopted from the seven tablets his arrangement by seven days; but even this seems improbable, for the seven-day system was already in existence in Israel, and constituted an integral part of its religion. The Bab. seven tablets of Creation were ancient. Their 'sevenness' is an element which would naturally have impressed any people, but especially one regarding the number seven as holy; and, while there is no other evidence in the Biblical passages, indicating acquaintance with the cosmogonic myth, of knowledge of this 'sevenness,' it nevertheless seems more probable that it formed part of the popular scheme of cosmogony,¹ even though the events of the days of Creation may not coincide altogether with the order of events in the Bab. tablets, than that it was borrowed by the Priestly Code from the Babylonians. The author of the Priestly Code cosmogony was concerned rather with those things which differentiate the Heb. from the Bab. versions of the cosmogony. And, indeed, the difference between the two is far more striking than the resemblance. It is wonderful how out of the fantastical, puerile, and gross fancies of the Bab. original there has been developed so sane, so lofty, and so spiritual a system of cosmogony as that contained in Gn 1-2⁴.

4. Cosmogony of J compared with popular cosmogony and cosmogony of P.—How does it happen that two cosmogonies so radically different in conception continued to exist side by side? As already pointed out, ch. 2 deals, not with the creation of the world, but with the problems of man. It finds him on the barren hills of Judæa. It does not concern itself with their creation, but with the manner in which they are made habitable, and the problems of the men who inhabited them, who had been driven out, for their sins, from the beautiful Garden of God in the fertile far east, to live on, and to till, this land of thorns and thistles. Had the narrator been asked how the dry land, the heavens, etc., came into existence, he would doubtless, incompatible as the two things seem to us, have told of a contest of Jahweh with chaos and the monsters of the deep, and the formation of an earth resting on the great deep, with the solid firmament of heaven above, and the waters still above that—substantially the scheme described in Gn 1, though not in the same systematized and highly developed form. Theoretically he believed in a deep beneath the earth, as is shown in the fountain from which a stream came out and watered the Garden of God, being the source of all the rivers of the world. But practically this deep was negligible in Judæa, where one must look to Jahweh for water from heaven; and so even in the Flood-story of J the water comes down only from above.

5. The highest and final Hebrew thought concerning Creation.—The cosmogony of Gn 1-2⁴, lofty as it is in its monotheistic conception of the power of God, did not reach the highest limits of Hebrew thought. Hampered by the old myths, it stood perilously near dualism in reckoning chaos, darkness, and the deep as existing, independently

of God, from eternity. There were men of the same period, but of a different school of thought, with prophetic vision, and a higher, less hampered spirituality, who had perceived and were teaching a still higher thought, namely, that God was the Creator of darkness as well as of light, of chaos as well as of order, of evil as well as of good. Deutero-Isaiah was familiar, as we have seen, with the popular cosmogonic myths, and apparently also with the more formal cosmogony ultimately formulated in Gn 1-2⁴; but its fundamental conception of the opposition of chaos, darkness, and the deep to God he utterly rejects. 'I am Jahweh, and there is none else, forming light and creating darkness, making prosperity and creating evil' (Is 45^{6a}). This is the highest expression of the creative thought in the Old Testament. In Pr 8²⁰⁻²¹ Creation is an expression of the wisdom of God, which is almost hypostatized. In some of the late Psalms we have very beautiful and spiritual conceptions of Creation, especially in Ps 104,¹ but in principle these are only poetic liberties with the cosmogony of Gn 1. More and more this cosmogony became an essential part of the religion of the Jews, on which Judaism and Christianity, almost up to the present time, have founded literally their conception of the creation of the world. Along with this also some of the old mythological conceptions continued to linger on.² Indeed, there is nothing in Gn 1 to forbid them, and, as we have seen, the writer of v.²¹ evidently himself believed in the existence of the mythical monsters of the deep. What part these played in later Judaism one may see from the Book of Esdras and from Enoch, which have already been quoted, and finally even from the Apocalypse in the New Testament, many of the images and concepts in which, particularly in chs. 12, 13, 17, 21, reflect the ancient mythology of the battle of the representative of the gods with the dragons and monsters of chaos and the deep.

LITERATURE.—The OT commentaries, especially those of Delitzsch (Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1888-89), Dillmann, (Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1897), Holzinger (Freiburg, 1898), Gunkel² (Göttingen, 1902), Driver³ (London, 1905), Ayles (New York, 1904), and Skinner (Edinburgh, 1910), on *Genesis*; A. B. Davidson (London, 1882), Dillmann⁴ (Leipzig, 1891), Budde (Göttingen, 1896), and Duhm (Freiburg, 1897), on *Job*; Cheyne⁵ (London, 1886), Dillmann-Kittel (Leipzig, 1898), Marti (Tübingen, 1900), and Duhm² (Göttingen, 1902), on *Isaiah*; Bertholet (Freiburg, 1897) and Kraetzschmar (Göttingen, 1900), on *Ezekiel*. Cf. also artt. 'Cosmogony,' 'Rahab,' 'Sea-monster,' in *HDB*; 'Behemoth and Leviathan' and 'Dragon,' in *EBi*; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, Gött. 1896, esp. pp. 29-90; F. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 160, 202, 402, 404; K. Budde, *Bibl. Urgeschichte*, Gießen, 1883; W. Baudissin, *Stud. z. sem. Religionsgesch.*, Leipzig, 1876-78; H. Gressmann, *Altorient. Texte u. Bilder z. AT*, Tüb. 1909; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les rel. sémit.*, Paris, 1905; J. P. Peters, *Early Heb. Story*, London, 1904.

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COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian).

—Cosmological speculations were, in India as elsewhere, the first manifestation of philosophical thought; they are already met with in the Rig-veda, in single verses as well as in entire hymns. The basis of these speculations, in the Vedic period, was not a generally adopted theory or mythological conception as to the origin of the world; widely differing ideas about this problem seem to have been current, which the more philosophically minded poets developed and combined. There is a kind of progress from crude and unconnected notions to more refined ideas and broader views; but this development did not lead to a well-established cosmogony such as we find in the first chapter of Genesis. A similar variety of opinion prevailed also in the period of the Brahmanas and Upanishads, though there is an apparent tendency towards closer agreement. Uniformity, however, was never

¹ Cf., for instance, the form of the Fourth Commandment in Ex 20, which, however far removed from the form of the original 'Word,' is at least much earlier than the Priestly Code.

² Cf. also Ps 88⁶.

³ Ps 148⁷.

achieved, even in the Purāṇas; for all statements, however contradictory, contained in the revealed literature were regarded as truth, and might be reproduced by later writers. Cosmography, on the other hand, had another fate. Different writers of the same period are much more nearly at one regarding the plan and structure of the Universe, at least in its main outlines, than regarding its origin and development; but it goes without saying that both sets of ideas—cosmogonic as well as cosmographic—are equally fanciful, and lack the basis of well-ascertained facts.

1. Vedic period.—The world, according to Vedic notions, consists of three parts—earth, air, and sky, or heaven. But, when the idea of 'Universe' is to be expressed, the phrase most commonly used is 'heaven and earth.' Both Heaven and Earth are regarded as gods and as the parents of gods (*deva-putra*), even although they are said to have been generated by gods. Sometimes one god,—Indra, or Agni, or Rudra, or Soma,—sometimes all the gods together, are said to have generated or created heaven and earth, the whole world; and the act of creating is metaphorically expressed as building, sacrificing, or weaving. That heaven and earth should be parents of the gods, and at the same time have been generated by them, is a downright self-contradiction; but it seems to have only enhanced the mystery of this conception without lessening its value, since it recurs even in advanced speculation. It is avoided in the declaration that mother Aditi is everything, and brings forth everything by and from herself, though in another place it is said that Aditi brought forth Dakṣa, and Dakṣa generated Aditi. Here Aditi is apparently a mythological expression for the female principle in creation, and Dakṣa for the male principle or creative force. The latter is more directly called Puruṣa, man or male spirit, and is conceived as the primeval male who is transformed, or who transforms himself, into the world. To him is dedicated the famous *Puruṣasūkta*, Rīgveda, x. 90, which recurs, with variations, in the *Atharvaveda* (xix. 6), the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (xxxi.), and the *Taittiriya Aranyaka* (iii. 12), and greatly influenced later theosophical speculation. As a specimen of Vedic cosmogony we subjoin Muir's translation of it (from *Orig. Skr. Texts*, v. 368 ff.), though it, or rather the original, contains many obscure points:

'Puruṣa has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he transcended (it) by a space of ten fingers (1). Puruṣa himself is this whole [universe], whatever has been, and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since through food he expands (2). Such is his greatness; and Puruṣa is superior to this. And existing things are a quarter (or foot) of him, and that which is immortal in the sky is three-quarters of him (3). With three-quarters Puruṣa mounted upwards. A quarter of him again was produced here below. He then became diffused everywhere among things animate and inanimate (4). From him Virāj was born, and from Virāj, Puruṣa. As soon as he was born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before (5). When the gods offered up Puruṣa as a sacrifice, the spring was his clarified butter, summer its fuel, and autumn the [accompanying] oblation (6). This victim, Puruṣa born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass; with him as their offering, the gods, Sādhyas, and Rīṣis sacrificed (7). From that universal oblation were produced curds and clarified butter. He (Puruṣa) formed those aerial creatures, and the animals, both wild and tame (8). From that universal sacrifice sprang the hymns called Rīch and Sāman, the metres, and the Yajus (9). From it were produced horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth, cows, goats, and sheep (10). When they divided Puruṣa, into how many parts did they distribute him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were called his thighs and feet? (11). The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth; the Rājanya became his arms; the Vaiśya his thighs; the Śūdra sprang from his feet (12). The moon was produced from his soul; the sun from his eye; Indra and Agni from his mouth; and Vāyu from his breath (13). From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet came the earth; from his ear the four quarters; so they formed the worlds (14). When the gods, in performing their sacrifice, bound Puruṣa as a victim, there were seven pieces of wood laid for him round the fire, and thrice seven pieces of fuel employed (15). With sacrifice the

gods worshipped the sacrifice. These were the first institutions. These great beings attained to the heaven where the gods, the ancient Sādhyas, reside (16).

The unity of the Godhead as the cause of the world, which is recognized in the above hymn, is directly expressed in others where he is called the One, the Unborn, and placed above all gods. In two hymns (Rīgveda, x. 81, 82) he is invoked under the name Viśvakarman, 'All-creator,' who in later mythology became the architect of the gods; in another remarkable hymn (x. 121) the poet inquires who is the first-born god that created the world and upholds it, and in the last verse he invokes him as Prajāpati, 'Lord of the creatures.' Prajāpati later became the current designation of the creator, and synonymous with Brahmā. In connexion with Viśvakarman and Prajāpati occurs what seems to be an ancient mythological conception: the highest god is said to have originated in the primeval waters as the Golden Germ (*Hiranyagarbha*) which contained all the gods and the world, or became the creator. This idea was afterwards developed to that of the world-egg, and of *Hiranyagarbha* = Brahmā.

An entirely different treatment of the cosmological problem is contained in the philosophical hymn, Rīgveda, x. 129 (cf. *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 8, 9, 3-6), which, for depth of speculation, is one of the most admirable poems of the Rīgveda. Notwithstanding the labour of many ingenious interpreters, the meaning of some passages still remains doubtful; yet a general idea of its contents may be got from the subjoined metrical translation of Muir (*op. cit.* v. 356, note 530):

'Then there was neither Aught nor Nought, no air nor sky, beyond.

What covered all? Where rested all? In watery gulf profound?

Nor death was then, nor deathlessness, nor change of night and day.

That One breathed calmly, self-sustained; nought else beyond It lay.

Gloom hid in gloom existed first—one sea, eluding view.

That One, a void in chaos wrapt, by inward fervour grew.

Within It first arose desire, the primal germ of mind,

Which Nothing with Existence links, as sages searching find.

The kindling ray that shot across the dark and drear abyss,—

Was it beneath? or high aloft? What bard can answer this?

There fountaining powers were found, and mighty forces strove,—

A self-supporting mass beneath, and energy above.

Who knows, who ever told, from whence this vast creation rose?

No gods had then been born,—who then can e'er the truth disclose?

Whence sprang this world, and whether framed by hand divine or no,—

Its lord in heaven alone can tell, if even he can show.'

In the *Atharvaveda* we meet with some cosmological hymns, chiefly of the Prajāpati type, in which the highest god and creator is conceived under other forms, and invoked under various names, such as Rohita (the red one), Anadvān (the ox), Vaśā (the cow), Kāla (time), Kāma (desire), etc.

LITERATURE.—J. Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, London, 1858-73, iv. ch. 1, v. sect. xxi.; L. Scherman, *Philos. Hymnen aus der Rīg- und Atharvaveda-Samhitā*, Strassburg, 1887; P. Deussen, *Allgem. Gesch. der Philosophie*, 12 1 (Leipzig, 1900); K. F. Geldner, 'Zur Kosmogonie des Rīgveda' (*Universitätschrift zur feierlichen Einführung des Rektors*, Marburg, 1908).

2. Period of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. —The Brāhmaṇas contain many legends about Prajāpati's creating of the world. They usually open with some statement like the following: 'In the beginning was Prajāpati, nothing but Prajāpati; he desired, "May I become many"; he performed austerities, and thereby created these worlds' (either the living beings, or heaven, air, and earth). Besides Prajāpati, other names of the creator are met with: Svayambhū Nārāyaṇa, Svayambhū Brahman, and even Non-Being. The authors of the Brāhmaṇas, being wholly engrossed with liturgy and ceremonial, introduce these legends in order to explain some detail of ritual

or the like; and therefore, after a few general remarks on the creation of the world, they plunge again into ritualistic discussions (see the specimens given by Deussen, *op. cit.* p. 183 ff.). But the little information they give is sufficient to show what were in their time the popular opinions about the origin of the world. Besides the statement that Prajāpati was at the beginning of things, there are others, according to which the waters seem to have been believed to be coeval with him or to have preceded him. Thus it is said (*Taittiriya Samhitā*, v. 6, 4, 2, and similarly vii. 1, 5, 1) that in the beginning there was nothing but the waters, and Prajāpati, as wind, went over them or floated on a lotus leaf. Connected with this order of ideas is the now more fully developed conception of the world-egg in *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff., which runs thus in Muir's translation (iv. 25):

'In the beginning this universe was water, nothing but water. The waters desired, "How can we be reproduced?" So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. From it in a year a male (*puruṣa*) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. . . . He divided this golden egg. . . . In a year he desired to speak. He uttered "bhūr," which became this earth; "bhuvah," which became this firmament; and "svaṛ," which became that sky. . . . He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life as one may perceive the opposite bank of a river. Desiring offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself; with his mouth he created the gods,' etc.

We append, for the sake of comparison, another ancient account of the world-egg from the *Chhândogya Upaniṣad*, iii. 19 (*SBE* i. 54 f.): 'In the beginning this was non-existent. It became existent, it grew.' It turned into an egg. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold. The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrane (of the yolk) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers, the fluid the sea. And what was born from it was Aditya, the sun,' etc.

While the authors of the Brāhmaṇas treated cosmogonic myths from their liturgical point of view, the authors of the Upaniṣads used them in order to illustrate their great philosophical tenet of the transcendent oneness of Brahman and its presence in all created things. Accordingly, they frequently substitute for Prajāpati philosophical abstractions, e.g. Brahman, Ātman, Not-Being, or Being, and derive from this first principle the worlds, or the Vedas, or those cosmical and psychological agencies which chiefly engross their speculations. They develop and combine these notions in ever-varying ways; but it is to be understood, or it is expressly stated, that the first principle, after having created things, entered them, so that it is present in them, and, in a way, is identical with, and yet different from, them. It is impossible to reduce the variety of opinion on the origin of the world, contained in the Upaniṣads, to one general idea underlying them; we shall, therefore, illustrate them by some selected specimens.

In *Brhad Aranyaka*, i. 4, the creation is ascribed to Ātman in the shape of a man (*puruṣa*): as there was nothing but himself, he felt no delight, and therefore 'made this his Self to fall in two, and thence arose husband and wife.' He embraced her, and men were born. In the same way he created all beings that exist in pairs. Then he created other things, developed them by name and form, and 'entered thither, to the very tips of the finger-nails, as a razor might be fitted in a razor-case, or as fire in a fire-place' (*SBE* xv. 87). The account of the world-egg in the *Chhândogya Upaniṣad* has already been quoted above. Of a less mythological and more speculative character is a passage in *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, ii. 1, according to which from this Self (Brahman) sprang space, from space wind, from wind fire, from fire water, from water earth, from earth food, from food seed, men, and all creatures. An older account in *Chhândogya*

Upaniṣad, vi. 2, 2 f., mentions only three elements; it runs thus (*SBE* i. 93 ff.):

(Uddālaka speaks to Śvetaketu): 'In the beginning, my dear, there was that only which is (*ṛb̄ ṁ*), one only, without a second. Others say, in the beginning there was that only which is not (*ṛb̄ ṁ ṁ*), one only, without a second; and from that which is not, that which is was born.' 'But how could it be thus, my dear?' the father continued. 'How could that which is, be born of that which is not? No, my dear, only that which is, was in the beginning, one only, without a second. It thought, "May I be many, may I grow forth." It sent forth fire. That fire thought, "May I be many, may I grow forth." It sent forth water. And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and perspires, water is produced on him from fire alone. Water thought, "May I be many, may I grow forth." It sent forth earth (food). Therefore whenever it rains anywhere, most food is then produced. From water alone is eatable food produced. . . . That Being (i.e. that which had produced fire, water, and earth) thought, "Let me now enter those three beings (fire, water, earth) with this living Self (*jīva ātma*), and let me then reveal (develop) names and forms." Then that Being, having said, "Let me make each of these three tripartite" (so that fire, water, and earth should each have itself for its principal ingredient, besides an admixture of the other two), entered into those three beings with this living self only, and revealed names and forms,' etc.

Here we have the first forerunner of Sāṅkhya ideas, which are more fully developed in the *Svet-āsvatara* and some later Upaniṣads which form the connecting link between this period and that of the Epics and Purāṇas. The genesis of the evolutionary theory of Sāṅkhya can be traced to these Upaniṣads (see Deussen, *op. cit.* i. 2, p. 216); but we pass this subject over here, as it will be treated in § 3.

The notions as to the structure of the Universe entertained by the Vedic poets continued to prevail in the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, where frequently the Universe is spoken of as tripartite: earth, air, and sky, symbolized in the three 'great utterances' (*vyāhrtis*), 'bhūr,' 'bhuvah,' 'svaṛ.' In *Āitareya Aranyaka*, ii. 4, 1, however, it is said that in the beginning the Self sent forth the worlds of Ambhas, Marichī, Mara, and Ap. 'That Ambhas (water) is above the heaven, and it is heaven, the support. The Marichīs (the lights) are the sky. The Mara (mortal) is the earth, and the waters under the earth are the Ap world.' Nine or ten worlds are enumerated in *Brhad Aranyaka Upaniṣad*, iii. 6, viz. the worlds of wind, air, Gandharvas, sun, moon, stars, gods, Indra, Prajāpati, and Brahman;¹ each of these worlds is woven into the next higher one, 'like warp and woof.' More importance is attached to a sevenfold division of the world. This was introduced by the augmentation of the *vyāhrtis* from three, the usual number, to seven, which number first occurs in *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, x. 27 f. There we find the following *vyāhrtis*: 'bhūr,' 'bhuvah,' 'svaṛ,' 'mahar,' 'janas,' 'tapas,' and 'satyam.' Now, as the three first, the original *vyāhrtis* ('bhūr,' 'bhuvah,' 'svaṛ'), symbolically denoted the three worlds (earth, air, sky), so the four added *vyāhrtis* ('mahar,' 'janas,' 'tapas,' 'satyam') became names of still higher worlds. Thus, in some later Upaniṣads seven worlds are mentioned, and in the *Aranyaka Upaniṣad* these seven worlds ('bhūr' . . . 'satyam') are distinguished from seven nether worlds: Atala, Pātāla, Vītala, Sūtala, Rasātala, Mahātala, and Talātala. This last conception of a twice sevenfold world was, in the next period, developed in detail.

3. Period of the Epics and the Purāṇas.—While in the preceding period cosmogonic myths are of an episodic character, the same subject is now treated more at length, and for its own sake. Its importance is fully recognized in the Purāṇas; for cosmogony and secondary creation—i.e. the successive destructions and renovations of the world—belong to the five characteristic topics (*pañchalakṣaṇa*) of the Purāṇas.

¹ In the cosmography of the *Yogabhāṣya*, which will be dealt with in § 3, the names of the highest celestial spheres are Mahendra, Prajāpati, and Brahman.

The variety of views as to the origin of the world which obtained in the preceding periods still continues; but there is a decided tendency towards introducing some order. The mythological elements of cosmogony are mostly adopted from Vedic literature, and further developed; some are of more modern origin; both elements are variously combined. These mythological elements are as follows: (1) the highest godhead, Brahman or Ātman, identified with Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, Śaṃbhu, etc., according to the sectarian tendency of the author; (2) the primeval waters or darkness; (3) the Puruṣa or Hiraṇyagarbha, who sprang up therein; (4) the world-egg, which brought forth Brahmā (or Prajāpati, Pitāmaha); (5) the lotus, from which sprang Brahmā; the lotus itself came forth either from the waters or from the navel of Viṣṇu; (6) the intermediate creators, or mental sons of Brahmā, numbering seven or eight, Marichi, etc.; (7) the successive creations and destructions of the world. Though the last-mentioned conception can be traced to a greater antiquity,¹ it was only then developed into a gigantic chronology of the world which reckoned by *kalpas*, *manvantaras*, and *yugas* (see art. AGES OF THE WORLD [Indian]). This system was employed in order to reconcile conflicting views on the origin of the world by assigning some cosmogonic processes to primary, some to secondary, creation, and by distinguishing the several secondary creations. But all these attempts at systematic order resulted in greater confusion, for primary and secondary creations were inextricably mixed up with one another. The framers of cosmogonic systems in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas freely laid under contribution the Sāṅkhya philosophy; they took over from it the evolutionary theory as taught by Kapila, or they tried to improve on it. As it formed the theoretical foundation of cosmogony, a brief sketch of it must be given here.

According to Sāṅkhya philosophy, there are two principles, entirely independent of each other: (1) the souls, *Puruṣas*; and (2) *Prakṛti*, original nature, or *Pradhāna* (principle, viz. matter), which is made up of the three *guṇas* (secondary elements)—darkness (*tamās*), activity (*rajas*), and goodness (*satva*)—in the state of equipoise. When this equilibrium is disturbed through the presence (or co-existence) of the *Puruṣa*, then from *Prakṛti* is developed *Mahān* or *Buddhi*, the thinking substance, which chiefly consists of *satva*. From *Buddhi* is developed *Ahaṁkāra*, a substance the function of which is to produce the conceit of individuality. *Ahaṁkāra* produces the mind (*manas*), the five organs of sense (*buddhindriya*), the five organs of action (*karmendriya*), and the five subtle elements (*tanmātrā*). The last, combining with one another, form the five gross elements (*mahābhūta*): space (or air), fire, wind, water, and earth. These are the twenty-five principles (*tattvas*) of Sāṅkhya. They and the order of their production have been adopted, and adapted to the order of ideas taught in the Upaniṣads, by the authors of those parts of the *Mahābhārata* which deal with the evolution of the world. In trying to reconcile Vedic cosmogony with the principles of Sāṅkhya philosophy, those didactic poets invented various changes of the latter or of their arrangement, though none of these attempts was generally adopted. We shall mention only two points in which the epic writers departed from the Sāṅkhya system and, at the same time, disagreed among themselves. (1) The established belief in a first cause, Brahman or Ātman, was radically opposed to the Sāṅkhya doctrine of two mutually independent principles, *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*; yet both

views had to be harmonized somehow. No wonder that opinion differed widely on this head. For instance, *Puruṣa* is identified with *Pradhāna*, or Hiraṇyagarbha with *Buddhi*, or Brahman with *Ahaṁkāra*, etc. (2) The Sāṅkhya doctrine, which derived the elements from *Ahaṁkāra* through the interposition of the transcendent *tanmātrās*, seems to have been thought unduly abstruse by those poets who preached to a mixed audience. They therefore usually omit the *tanmātrās*, and make the *mahābhūtas* the direct product of *Ahaṁkāra*, just as in the Upaniṣads the elements are said to have sprung directly from Brahman. It is needless for our purpose to multiply instances; for details the reader is referred to E. Washburn Hopkins' work, *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, in which epic philosophy is exhaustively treated (p. 85 ff.). It must, however, be stated that some scholars, e.g. Dahlmann,² and Deussen,³ are of the opinion that epic Sāṅkhya represents a preliminary state of speculation, from which systematic Sāṅkhya was developed.

The cosmological passages of the Great Epic belong to an age of transition, and none of them seems ever to have been generally accepted as an authoritative exposition of the subject. It is, however, different with another document which may roughly be assigned to the same period—the cosmogonic account in the *Laws of Manu*, i. 5 ff.; for it (or parts of it) is quoted in a great number of mediæval works, and it may therefore serve to illustrate the state of the views on cosmogony which prevailed before the time when the Purāṇas took their present form. We quote here Bühler's translation in *SBE* xxv. 2 ff.

'This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness, unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep (5). Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhū, himself) indiscernible, (but) making (all) this, the great elements and the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible (creative) power, dispelling the darkness (6). He who can be perceived by the internal organ (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shone forth of his own (will) (7). He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them (8). That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world (9). The waters are called *nārāṇ*, (for) the waters are, indeed, the offspring of Nara; as they were his first residence (*ayana*), he thence is named Nārāyaṇa (10). From that (first) cause, which is indiscernible, eternal, and both real and unreal, was produced that male (Puruṣa), who is famed in this world (under the appellation) of Brahman (11). The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves (12); and out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters (13). From himself (*dimanah*) he also drew forth the mind, which is both real and unreal, likewise from the mind egoism, which possesses the function of self-consciousness (and 14) lordly (14); moreover, the great one, the soul, and all (products) affected by the three qualities, and, in their order, the five organs which perceive the objects of sensation (15). But, joining minute particles even of those six, which possess measureless power, with particles of himself, he created all beings (16). Because those six (kinds of) minute particles, which form the (creator's) frame, enter (*ā-śrī*) these (creatures), therefore the wise call his frame *śūra* (the body) (17). That the great elements enter, together with their functions and the mind, through its minute parts the framer of all beings, the imperishable one (18). But from minute body (framing) particles of these seven very powerful Puruṣas springs this (world), the perishable from the imperishable (19). Among them, each (succeeding) element acquires the quality of the preceding one, and whatever place (in the sequence) each of them occupies, even so many qualities it is declared to possess (20). But in the beginning he assigned their several names, actions, and conditions to all (created beings), even according to the words of the Veda (21). He, the Lord, also created the class of the gods, who are endowed with life, and whose nature is action; and the subtle class of the Sādhyas, and the eternal sacrifice (22). But from fire, wind, and the sun he drew forth the threefold eternal Veda, called Rich, Yajus, and Sāman, for the due performance of the sacrifice (23). Time and the divisions of time,

¹ It is found as early as the *Śvetāśvatara* and *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣads*.

² *Mahābhārata-Studien*, II. 'Die Sāṅkhya-Philosophie', Berlin, 1902.

³ *Op. cit.* I. 3. p. 13.

the lunar mansions and the planets, the rivers, the oceans, the mountains, plains, and uneven ground (24), austerity, speech, pleasure, desire, and anger, this whole creation he likewise produced, as he desired to call these beings into existence (25). Moreover, in order to distinguish actions, he separated merit from demerit, and he caused the creatures to be affected by the pairs (of opposites), such as pain and pleasure (26). But with the minute perishable particles of the five (elements) which have been mentioned, this whole (world) is framed in due order (27). . . . But for the sake of the prosperity of the worlds, he caused the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya, and the Śūdra to proceed from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet (31). Dividing his own body, the Lord became half male and half female; with that female he produced Virāj (32).¹ From Virāj sprang Manu Svāyambhu, who, 'desiring to produce created beings, performed very difficult austerities, and (thereby) called into existence ten great sages, lords of created beings—Marichi, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vasishtha, Bhṛgu, and Nārada (34, 35).² These secondary Prajāpatis created the other Manu, gods, demons, men, animals, plants, etc. Next comes the account of the destructions and secondary creations of the world, the days and nights of Brahmā, the system of *yugas* and *manvantaras*, etc. (For details, see AGES OF THE WORLD [Indian].)

A very full discussion of the cosmogony in Manu and its relation to the accounts in other sources will be found in W. Jahn, *Über die kosmogon. Grundanschauungen im Mānava-dharma-śāstram*, Leipzig, 1904.

Cosmogony in the Purāṇas, in the form in which they have come down to us, is, on the whole, a later development of that which we have just described. Here, too, the evolutionary theory of Sāṅkhya has been so modified as to agree with the Vedāntic doctrine about the oneness of Brahman, by assuming that *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* are but two forms of the Supreme Deity, who is identified with one of the popular gods according to the sectarian character of the work. An abstract from the account of the creation in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*¹ may serve to illustrate Paurāṇic cosmogony, if we keep in mind that the accounts in other Purāṇas are, on the whole, similar in tenor, though they may vary in details. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the self-existent Brahman is Vāsudeva; he is originally and essentially but one, still he exists in three successively proceeding forms: *Puruṣa*, *Pradhāna* (both unevolved and evolved), and *Kālā* (time), the latter acting as the bond connecting the former two. When the Supreme Deity enters *Puruṣa* and *Pradhāna* (the equilibrium of the three *guṇas*), then *Pradhāna* produces Mahān or Buddhi, which in its turn produces Anāṅkāra; and so the five subtle elements, the gross elements, and the eleven organs are produced, much in the same way as is taught in Sāṅkhya philosophy. But the Purāṇas teach, in addition to the evolutionary theory, that each generating principle or element envelops the one generated by it. The gross elements combine into a compact mass, the world-egg (*brāhmāṇḍa*), which rests on the waters, and is surrounded by seven envelopes—water, wind, fire, air, Anāṅkāra, Buddhi, and *Pradhāna*. In the world-egg the highest deity, invested with the *guṇa* activity, appeared in the form of Brahmā, and created all things. The same deity in the *guṇa* goodness preserves, as Viṣṇu, the Universe till the end of a *kalpa*, when the same god, in the awful form of Rudra, destroys it. The third chapter of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* deals with time, the days and nights of Brahmā, the duration of his life, etc. (see AGES OF THE WORLD [Indian]). The next chapter describes how, in the beginning of a *kalpa*, Nārāyaṇa, in the shape of a boar, raised the earth from beneath the waters and created the four lower spheres—earth, sky, heaven, and Maharloka. In the fifth chapter occur some more speculations of Sāṅkhya character, and a description of nine creations:

¹ The first creation was that of Mahat, or Intellect, which is called the creation of Brahmā. The second was that of the rudimental principles (*tanmātrās*), thence termed elemental creation (*Bhūtasarga*). The third was the modified form of egotism, termed the organic creation or creation of the senses (*Āndriyika*). These three were the Prakṛta creations, the

developments of indiscrete nature, preceded by the Indiscrete principle. The fourth or fundamental creation (of perceptible things) was that of inanimate bodies. The fifth, the *Tairāgyayona* creation, was that of animals. The sixth was the *Urdhvasrota* creation, or that of the divinities. The creation of the *Arvāk*-*srota* beings was the seventh, and was that of man. There is an eighth creation, termed *Anugraha*, which possesses both the qualities of goodness and darkness. Of these creations five are secondary, and three are primary. But there is a ninth, the *Kaumāra* creation, which is both primary and secondary. These are the nine creations of the great progenitor of all, and, both as primary and secondary, are the radical causes of the world, proceeding from the sovereign creator.¹

The seventh chapter relates how Brahmā after the creation of the world created 'other mind-born sons like himself'; about the number and names, however, of these Prajāpatis, or mental sons of Brahmā, the different Purāṇas do not agree.² Then Brahmā created Manu Svāyambhuva, for the protection of created beings. Manu's daughter Prasūti was married to one of the Prajāpatis, Dakṣa, who thereby became the ancestor of a great number of divine beings, mostly of an allegorical character, as personified virtues and vices.

The preceding abstracts from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* give some idea of the heterogeneous character of the cosmogonic theory which henceforth was generally adopted. Mythological and theosophic notions inherited from the Vedic period have been combined with notions of later origin—genealogic legends, the evolutionary system of Sāṅkhya, and the scheme of the Ages of the World—in order to give a rational theory of the origin and development of the world in harmony with the teachings of the Vedas. But the materials proved too refractory, or rather the authors were not bold enough in re-modelling the old traditions; hence their work leaves the impression of disparate parts, ill-combined or only formally united.

The authors of the Purāṇas succeeded better in delineating a plan of the Universe; for the cosmographic notions which are contained in the Vedas, and which have been sketched above under § 1, lent themselves readily to such an undertaking. The Great Epic added little to the old stock of cosmographic ideas, except a detailed description of the earth and some particulars about the hells. There was, indeed, the ancient belief in worlds of Indra, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Agni, Āditya, Yama, etc., but the notions as to the situation of these worlds (except those of Indra and Yama) seem always to have been rather vague, so that the authors of the Purāṇas were not over much prejudiced by tradition in their endeavours to devise a systematic cosmography. The system is practically the same in all Purāṇas; the following description of it is based on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, while for the discrepancies in details the reader may be referred to Wilson's notes in his translation of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.

The whole system of the worlds contained in the world-egg may be divided into three parts in agreement with the current expressions *trībhuvana*, *trailokya*, etc., 'the three worlds.' The middle part, which is, however, many times nearer the base than the top, is formed by the earth, an enormous disk of five hundred millions of *yojanas* in extent; it is encircled by the Lokāloka mountain, and contains the continents and oceans. A description of the earth need not detain us here, as it will be given in the art. GEOGRAPHY (Mythical). Above the earth are the heavens, and below it the nether worlds, or *Pātāla*. But actually the Universe is divided into two parts; for it consists of seven upper regions, the lowest of which is the earth, and of the seven nether regions. Hence frequently fourteen worlds are spoken of. To these two divisions have been added the hells, somewhere in the lowest part of the Universe. The number of

¹ Wilson, *op. cit.* i. 74 ff.

² *Ib.* p. 100, note; cf. the passage from Manu quoted above, verse 34 f.

¹ H. H. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vol. I. (London, 1864).

hells seems originally not to have been fixed (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ii. 6), though Manu (iv. 87) gives their number as twenty-one.¹

Omitting the hells, there are seven nether worlds (*Atala*, *Vitala*, *Nitala*, *Gabhastimat*, *Mahātala*, *Sutala*, and *Pātāla*),² and the seven upper worlds (*Bhūr* [the earth], *Dyaus*, *Svar*, *Mahar*, *Janas*, *Tapas*, and *Satya*). *Pātāla*—for this is also the collective name of the seven nether worlds—extends downwards 70,000 *yojanas* below the surface of the earth, each of its seven regions having a depth of 10,000 *yojanas*. *Pātāla* is the abode of *Nāgas*, *Daiṭyas*, and *Dānavas*, and it equals the heavens in beauty and magnificence. Below *Pātāla* is the dragon *Seṣa*, who 'bears the entire world like a diadem upon his head, and who is the foundation on which the seven *Pātālas* rest.' As said above, the hells, or *narakas*, are beneath *Pātāla*; but their exact situation cannot be made out, because some place them below, some above, the waters which encircle the Universe. The cause of this uncertainty with regard to the hells seems to have been that originally they were not distinguished from the nether worlds. For, as will be seen below (§ 4), the Jains have seven hells instead of seven *Pātālas*, and find room for the *Asuras* in caves below the earth and above the first hell, instead of seven *Pātālas*. The upper regions begin with the terrestrial sphere, *Bhūrloka*; the next is *Bhuvārloka*, or *Dyaus*, which reaches thence to the sun; while from the sun to the pole star extends the *Svarloka*, or the heaven of the gods. These three worlds are destroyed at the end of each *kalpa*. The next higher world, *Mahārloka*, is not destroyed, but at the end of the *kalpa* its tenants repair to the next region, the *Janaloka*, the inhabitants of which are *Sanandana* and other sons of *Brahmā*. The sixth region is *Tapaloka*, peopled by the *Vairāja* gods; and above it is the highest region, *Satyaloka* or *Brahmaloka*, the inhabitants of which never know death. It must, however, be stated that the different *Purāṇas* do not agree regarding the inhabitants of the higher heavens. The distance of these regions from one another increases from below upwards: *Mahārloka* is ten million *yojanas* above the pole star, *Janaloka* twenty, *Tapaloka* eighty, and *Satyaloka* a hundred and twenty, millions of *yojanas* above the next lower region.

A somewhat different description of the Universe is given by *Vyāsa* in the *Yogabhāṣya*, iii. 28. This account, which may be ascribed to the 7th cent. A.D., is much more detailed than that of the *Purāṇas*, with which, however, it agrees on the whole. But it has also some curious affinities with the Buddhist description of the world, in proper names as well as in the part played by contemplation. The entire Universe is contained in the world-egg, which is but an infinitesimally small particle of the *Pradhāna*. It consists of seven regions (*bhūmis*), one above the other. The lowest is *Bhūrloka*, which extends from the lowest hell to the top of mount *Meru*. The second region, *Antarikṣaloka*, reaches to the pole star. The third is termed *Svar*- or *Mahendraloka*; the fourth *Mahar*- or *Prājāpatyaloka*. The fifth, sixth, and seventh regions, called *Jana*-, *Tapa*-, and *Satya*-*lokas*, form together the tripartite *Brāhmaloka*. *Bhūrloka* is subdivided into hells, *Pātālas*, and earth. At the bottom of *Bhūrloka* are the seven hells, one above the other. Their names are: *Avichi*, *Ghana*, *Salila*, *Anala*, *Anila*, *Ākāśa*, and *Tamaḥpratiṣṭha*; with the exception of *Avichi*, a popular name of hell, these hells seem to be identical with the envelopes of the world-egg

in the Paurāṇic account. Probably for this reason these six hells each bear another name, as stated by *Vyāsa*, viz. *Mahākāla*, *Ambariṣa*, *Raurava*, *Mahāraurava*, *Kālasūtra*, and *Andhatāmira*. Above the hells are the seven *Pātālas*: *Mahātāla*, *Rasātāla*, *Atala*, *Sutala*, *Vitala*, *Talātāla*, and *Pātāla*. Above these seven *bhūmis* is the eighth, the earth, *Vasumatī*, with the seven continents, etc., which may be passed over here.

As to the inhabitants of the seven regions of the Universe, the following notions are found. (1) In the *Pātālas*, in the oceans and on the mountains of the earth live the following classes of gods (*devanikāyas*): *Asuras*, *Gandharvas*, *Kinnaras*, *Kimpuruṣas*, *Yakṣas*, *Rākṣasas*, *Bhūtas*, *Pretas*, *Apasmārakas*, *Apsaras*, *Brahmarākṣasas*, *Kṣmāṇḍas*, and *Vināyakas*; in the continents live gods and men, and on *Meru* are the parks and palaces of the gods. (2) *Antarikṣaloka* is the sphere of the celestial bodies. (3) In *Mahendra* are six classes of gods: *Tridaśas*, *Agniśvātas*, *Yāmyas*, *Tuṣitas*, *Apārinirmītavāsavartins*, and *Parinirmītavāsavartins*. (4) In *Prājāpatya* there are five classes of gods: *Kumudas*, *Ribhus*, *Pratardanas*, *Añjanābhas*, and *Prachitābhas*. (5) In *Janaloka* there are four classes: *Brahmapurohitas*, *Brahmakāyikas*, *Brahmamahākāyikas*, and *Amaras*. (6) In *Tapaloka* there are three classes: *Ābhāsvaras*, *Mahābhāsvaras*, and *Satyamahābhāsvaras*. (7) In *Satyaloka* there are four classes: *Achyutas*, *Sudhanivāsas*, *Satyābhas*, and *Sanjñāsānjñins*. The gods in the regions from *Prājāpatya* upwards live on contemplation (*dhyānāhāra*); their powers and the duration of their life increase by bounds from below upwards; the gods in *Tapaloka* are not reborn in a lower sphere, and the four classes of gods in *Satyaloka* realize the happiness of the four degrees of contemplation respectively—*savitarka*, *savichāra*, *ānandamātra*, and *asmitāmātra-dhyāna*. Cf. art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Buddhist).

The detailed knowledge of the structure of the Universe was generally believed to have been reached by contemplation; this is expressly stated by *Patañjali* in *Yogasūtra*, iii. 28, and by the Jain writer *Umāsvāti* in *Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra*, ix. 37. Notwithstanding, or rather because of, its visionary character, Paurāṇic cosmography became, as it were, an article of faith.¹ The general belief in it was not shaken even by the introduction of scientific astronomy, though the astronomers tried to remodel the traditional cosmography on the basis of their science. The result of this compromise may be seen in the following abstract from the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, xii. 29 ff.:²

'This *Brahma*-egg is hollow; within it is the universe, consisting of earth, sky, etc.; it has the form of a sphere, like a receptacle made of a pair of caldrons (29). A circle within the *Brahma*-egg is styled the orbit of the ether (*vyoman*); within that is the revolution of the asterisms (*bhaḥ*); and likewise, in order, one below the other (30) revolve *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, the sun, *Venus*, *Mercury*, and the moon; below, in succession, the Perfected (*siddha*), the Possessors of Knowledge (*vidyādhara*), and the clouds (31). . . . Seven cavities within it, the abodes of serpents (*nāga*) and demons (*asura*), endowed with the savour of heavenly plants, delightful, are the inter-terrestrial (*pātāla*) earths (35). A collection of manifold jewels, a mountain of gold, is *Meru*, passing through the middle of the earth-globe, and protruding on either side (36).'

Literature to §§ 2 and 3 has been indicated in the above.

4. **Jain cosmography.**—According to the Jains, the world is eternal, without beginning or end. They have therefore no cosmogony, but they have a cosmography of their own which differs widely from that of the *Brāhmins*, especially with regard to the upper spheres or heavens. The Universe takes up only that part of space which, from this

¹ It is worthy of remark that in these cosmographic systems worlds are assigned to the more ancient gods, viz. *Indra*, the *Prajāpatis*, and *Brahman*, but not to *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*; indeed *Viṣṇu*'s heaven, *Vaiṣṇuptha*, is wanting in those lists of heavens. Apparently the authors of cosmography had not come under the influence of popular *Vaiṣṇavism* or *Saivism*.

² Burgess's tr. in *JAOS* vi. 246.

¹ For particulars, see *Wilson*, *op. cit.* ii. 215, and *Hall's* note to that passage.

² For variations in other *Purāṇas*, see *Wilson*, *op. cit.* i. 208.

circumstance, is called Lokākāśa; the remaining part, Alokākāśa, is an absolute void and perfectly impenetrable to anything, either matter or souls. The Lokākāśa is coterminous with the two substances Dharma and Adharma, the substrata of motion and rest, which are, therefore, the indispensable conditions of the presence of all existing things. 'The world is figured by the Jains as a spindle resting on half of another; or, as they describe it, three cups, of which the lowest is inverted; and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one. They also represent the world by comparison to a woman with her arms akimbo.'¹ Older, however, is the comparison with a man (*puruṣa*). The disk of the earth is in the lower part of the middle, and forms the waist of the *puruṣa*; below the earth are the hells, and above it the upper regions. The entire world rests on a big layer of 'thick water,' this on one of 'thick wind,' and this again on one of 'thin wind.' The last two layers measure innumerable thousands of *yojanas*. The seven lower regions (*bhūmis*), one below the other, are Ratnaprabhā, Sankarāprabhā, Vālukāprabhā, Paṅkāprabhā, Dhūmaprabhā, Tamāprabhā, and Mahātāmāprabhā. Another set of names for them is given by Umāsvāti: Dharmā, Vamśā, Sailā, Añjanā, Ariṣṭā, Mādhavyā, and Mādāhavi (cf. the double set of names for the hells in the *Yogabhāṣya*, above, § 3). These regions contain the hells; the lowest one has but five, while the highest one, Ratnaprabhā, has three millions of hells. Their inhabitants are the damned, *nārakas*, whose stay in hell is not without end, but for fixed periods of time, varying from 10,000 years to 33 oceans of years, when they are re-born in other conditions of life. These regions are separated from each other by layers of 10,000 *yojanas* containing no hells; but in the layer separating Ratnaprabhā from the earth are the dwellings of the Bhavanāśāsin gods; these dwellings are apparently the Jain counterpart of the Brāhmanic Pātalas. Above the seven regions of the hells is the disk of the earth, with its numerous continents in concentric circles separated by rings of oceans (see art. GEOGRAPHY [Mythical]). In the middle of the earth towers Mount Meru, 100,000 *yojanas* high, round which revolve suns, moons, and stars, the Jyotiṣka-gods. Immediately above the top of Mount Meru begins the threefold series of heavenly regions styled Vimānas, and inhabited by the Vaimānika gods. These regions are as follows: (1) the twelve *kalpas*, Saudharma, Aśāna, Sanatkuṃāra, Māhendra, Brahma-loka,² Lāntaka, Mahāśukra, Sahasrārā, Anata, Prānata, Arāna, and Achyuta (the Digambaras add Brahmottara before Lāntaka; Kāpiṣṭha and Śukra after it, and Satāra after Mahāśukra); (2) the nine *Graivayakas* (these heavens form the neck [*grīva*] of the man figuring the world; hence their name); (3) the five *Anuttaras*, Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta, Aparājita, and Sarvārthasiddha. The gods in the Anuttara Vimānas will be re-born no more than twice. It is to be understood that all these twenty-six heavens are one above the other. Above Sarvārthasiddha, at the top of the Universe, is situated Iṣatprāgbhāra, the place where the souls resort on their liberation (*nirvāṇa*). The following description of it is given in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, xxxvi. 57 ff. (*SBE* xlv. 211 f.):

'Perfected souls are debarred from the non-world (Alōka); they reside on the top of the world; they leave their bodies here (below), and go there, on reaching perfection (57). Twelve

yojanas above the (Vimāna) Sarvārtha is the place called Iṣatprāgbhāra, which has the form of an umbrella (58). It is forty-five hundred thousand *yojanas* long, and as many broad, and it is somewhat more than three times as many in circumference (59). Its thickness is eight *yojanas*; it is greatest in the middle, and decreases toward the margin; till it is thinner than the wing of a fly (60). This place, by nature pure, consisting of white gold, resembles in form an open umbrella, as has been said by the best of Jinās (61). (Above it) is a pure blessed place (called Sita), which is white like a conch-shell, the *arkā*-stone, and *kunda*-flowers; a *yojana* thence is the end of the world (62). The perfected souls penetrate the sixth part of the uppermost *krōśa* of the (above-mentioned) *yojanas* (63). There at the top of the world reside the blessed perfected souls, rid of all transmigration, and arrived at the excellent state of perfection (64).'

In concluding our exposition of Jain cosmography it may be remarked that the knowledge of it seems always to have been popular among the Jains, for the plan of the Universe as described above is always before the mind of Jain authors, and they presuppose an acquaintance with it on the part of their readers.

LITERATURE.—The above account of Jain cosmography is based chiefly on Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra* (tr. by the present writer in *ZDMG* ix. [Leipzig, 1906]).

H. JACOBI.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Iranian).—The chief Iranian texts on the creation of the world are *Vendidad* i. and *Bundahishn*. Of these the more elaborate is the latter, and according to it both Ormazd and Ahriman have existed from all eternity—a view which is as old as the Gāthās (cf. *Yasna* xxx. 3, which distinctly terms the two spirits 'twins'—*yemā*—and xlv. 2). The pair are parted by the ether (*vāyu*), and Ormazd dwells in 'endless light,' while his opponent lurks in an abyss of infinite darkness. Ormazd, moreover, was aware, through his omniscience, of the existence of Ahriman, but the evil spirit was ignorant of the higher being until aroused to conflict with him by beholding light. Thereupon, as Ormazd created excellent lands, Ahriman sought to mar his work by bringing into being plagues, moral and physical. Herein the essential dualism of Zoroastrianism finds one of its most important illustrations.

Zoroastrian cosmogony covers a period of 12,000 years, which are divided into four ages of 3,000 years each. The first of these epochs is the age of the spiritual creation, in which the creations remained 'in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies' (*Bundahishn* i. 8; *Selections of Zāt-spāram* i. 22). These spiritual creations bear a remarkable analogy to the Platonic 'Ideas,' and Darmesteter has sought (*Le Zend-Avesta* iii., Paris, 1893, pp. li-liiii), although without success, to trace an actual connexion between the two. Meanwhile, Ahriman created demons for the overthrow of the creatures of Ormazd, and refused the peace which the celestial being offered him. Thereupon, they agreed to combat for nine thousand years, Ormazd foreknowing that for three thousand years all things would go according to his own will, while in the second three thousand years the two spirits should struggle in bitter conflict, and in the third Ahriman should be utterly put to rout. The second epoch of three thousand years was that of the material creation, the order being, after the Amesha Spentas (*g.v.*), heaven (including the heavenly bodies), water, earth, plants, animals, and man. The third period of three thousand years begins with the eruption of Ahriman into the good creation of Ormazd. The evil spirit spreads disease, devastations, and noxious creatures, throughout the world, harming and defiling water, earth, plants, and fire, in addition to slaying the primeval ox and the primeval man. Finally, however, the demoniac hosts are driven back to hell. The remainder of this period is concerned with the legendary history of the Iranian kings, so that

¹ Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1837, II. 198.

² About the Brahma-loka the following details are given: in it live the Lokāntika gods (who will reach *nirvāṇa* after one re-birth); and round it, in the cardinal and intermediate points of the compass, N.E., E. etc., are situated the Vimānas of the following eight classes of gods: Śarasvatās, Adityas, Vahnīs, Aruṇas, Gardatoyas, Tūṣṭas, Ayyābādhas, and Ariṣṭas.

neither it nor the final eschatologic period comes under consideration in an outline of the Persian cosmogony.

Throughout the Avesta the creation of all things is ascribed to Ahura Mazda (Ormazd), as in *Yasna* xvi. 1, although a certain amount of creative activity is also attributed to the Amshaspands (*Yasna* lrv. 12; *Vīsparad* xi. 12; *Yast* xix. 18). In *Yasna* xxxvii. 1 occurs the striking passage: 'Here, then, we worship Ahura Mazda, who created both kine and holiness, and created water, created both good trees and light, both the earth and all good things' (cf. xlv. 3-5). That this belief was Iranian is shown by the recurrence of similar phraseology in the Old Persian inscriptions, as in N.R. a, 1-3: 'A great god is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yon heaven, who created man, who created peace for man, who made Darius king, the one king of many, the one ruler of many,' although similar phrases are not unknown in Assyrian inscriptions (Gray, *AJSL* xvii. 152).

The creation itself, according to the Parsi *Āfrin Gahanbār* (tr. by Darmesteter, *op. cit.* pp. 180-187, and edited by him in *Études iran.*, Paris, 1883, ii. 318-333) and the *Bundahishn* xxv. 1 (cf. also the section of the *Great Bundahishn*, tr. by Blochet, *RHR* xxxii. 223), occupied a year. The tradition of a cosmic epoch of 12,000 years, although not mentioned in the extant Avesta, must be of considerable antiquity, for the historian Theopompus, an author of the 4th cent. B.C., says, in a fragment preserved by Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride*, xlvii.): 'According to the Magi, one of the gods conquers and the other is conquered for three thousand years each; and for another three thousand years they fight and war, and one destroys the works of the other; but finally Hades loses, and mankind shall be blessed, neither needing nourishment nor casting shadows.'¹ The Iranian cosmogony seems to have been geocentric, and, according to *Dāristān-i-Denik* xxxvii. 24, 'the sky is in three thirds, of which the one at the top is joined to the endless light, in which is the constantly-beneficial space; the one at the bottom reached to the gloomy abyss, in which is the fiend full of evil; and one is between those two thirds which are below and above' (cf. *Yast* xiii. 2). This has led some scholars, notably Spiegel, to seek to find the idea of the cosmic egg in Iran, but of this, as Casartelli has well pointed out, there seems to be little evidence. The question whether the Iranian cosmogony presupposes a creation *ex nihilo* has been much discussed, although it would seem from the phrase in the *Bundahishn* (xxx. 5), 'when they were formed, it was not forming the future out of the past,' that at least in the later development of the religion this doctrine was not unknown. The earlier texts, however, shed little light on this problem, nor do the verbs used of the creative activity of Ormazd (*dā*, 'establish,' *θwares*, 'cut'; *taš*, 'form,' cf. Gr. *τέκνω*) and Ahriman (*karat*, 'cut') give much aid, although *θwares*, *taš*, and *karat* seem to imply the elaboration of already existing material, while it may be urged that *dā* connotes, at least in some passages, actual creation *ex nihilo*. Equally dubious is the problem of the origin of the Iranian cosmogony. An elaborate comparison has been drawn by Spiegel (*Erānische Alterthumskunde*, i. 440-457) between the Iranian and the Semitic, particularly Hebrew, accounts of the creation of the world; but this is, to say the least, unproven. It is true that, both in Genesis and in the *Bundahishn*, creation occupies six periods, but in the former the epoch

is a week of six days, and in the latter a year of six *gāhānbārs*, and the correspondence in the main between the order of the two accounts is a natural sequence of development, and not necessarily due to the borrowing of either from the other. It should also be noted that the Iranian account makes no allowance for the seventh day of the Biblical record, thus further increasing the improbability of borrowing from either side. On the other hand, the division of the earth into seven *karšvars*, or 'zones,' which is mentioned repeatedly in the Avesta (as in *Yasna* lxi. 5; *Yast* xix. 82), and is as old as the *Gāthās* (*Yasna* xxxii. 3), is doubtless late Babylonian in origin, especially as the Semitic cosmogony likewise divided the earth into seven zones (*tubūḡātī*). This origin of the Iranian *karšvars* seems more probable than the view which equates them with the *dvipas* ('islands') of Hindu cosmogony, which usually number seven, although they are occasionally regarded as four or thirteen. They are not mentioned, however, before the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, and are thus probably too late to have influenced the Avesta (cf. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, i.² London, 1872, pp. 489-504; and, for the proof of Bab. influence, P. Jensen, *Kosmol. der Babylonier*, Strassburg, 1890, pp. 175-184).

The cosmogony of the Iranians, as outlined in the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts, underwent some slight changes in the course of time as a result of philosophic thought. The reduction of the dualism of the *Gāthās*—itself, no doubt, a reduction of an earlier polytheism—to a monotheism gave rise to the elaboration of the concept of 'Boundless Time' (*zrvan akarana*), which is hailed as a godling even in the so-called Younger Avesta (*Yasna* lxxii. 10; *Nyāiś* i. 8; *Vendidad* xix. 13). The Zarvanite sect, which was an important factor in Parsiism as early as the 4th cent. A.D., derived both Ormazd and Ahriman from 'Boundless Time,' making the evil spirit born first in consequence of the doubt of 'Boundless Time,' while Ormazd did not come into being until later, and was long inferior in power to Ahriman. In somewhat similar fashion, the Kaiyomartians, another Zoroastrian sect, held that Ahriman, the principle of evil, was sprung from Yazdān ('God,' i.e. Ormazd) because of his sinful thought, 'if I had an adversary, how would he be fashioned?' (Cf. the account of these sects by al-Shahrastāni, tr. Haarbrücker, i. Halle, 1850, pp. 276-280; and see Spiegel, *Erān. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 175-189; Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris, 1877, pp. 314-338.) This extreme unitarian tendency, however, by which evil itself was traced back ultimately to Ormazd, was always rejected by orthodox Zoroastrianism.

LITERATURE.—Spiegel, *Erān. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 141-151 (Leipzig, 1878); Jackson, 'Iran. Religion,' in Geiger-Kuhn's *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 668-678 (Strassburg, 1904); Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdaism Religion under the Sassanid Emperors*, by Jamspey, Am. Bombay, 1889, pp. 94-128; Lukka, *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 100-138; Söderblom, 'Theopompus and the Avestan Ages of the World,' in *Dastur Hooshang Memorial Vol.* pp. 222-230 (Bombay, 1911).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Japanese).—The most ancient and most authentic account of Japanese cosmogony is found in the *Kojiki* ('Records of Ancient Matters,' A.D. 712). The following is the description of the genesis of the universe contained in this valuable text:

'The names of the Deities that became (i.e. that were born) in the Plain of High Heaven, when Heaven and Earth began, were Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami (the Deity Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven), next Taka-mi-musu-bi-no-kami (the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity), next Kami-musu-bi-no-kami (the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity). These three Deities were all Deities born alone (i.e. spontaneously, without being procreated), and hid their persons (i.e. disappeared, by death or otherwise). The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when

¹ For the Gr. text, see vol. I. p. 205a, where a different interpretation from the one here given (which agrees independently with that of Lagrange, *RB*, 1904, p. 86) may be found.

the country (i.e. the earth), young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were Umsai-asht-kabi-hiko-ji-no-kami (the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder-Deity), next Ame-no-toko-tachi-no-kami (the Deity Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven). These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons. The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities (i.e. were separate from those who came into existence afterwards).

The names of the Deities that were born next were Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami (the Deity Standing-Eternally-on-Earth), next Toyo-kumo-nu-no-kami (the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity). These two Deities were likewise Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were U-hiji-ni-no-kami (the Deity Mud-Earth-Lord), next his younger sister (i.e. wife) Su-hiji-ni-no-kami (the Deity Mud-Earth-Lady); next Tsunu-guhi-no-kami (the Germ-Integrating-Deity), next his younger sister Iku-guhi-no-kami (the Life-Integrating-Deity); next Oho-to-no-ji-no-kami (the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place), next his younger sister Oho-to-no-be-no-kami (the Deity Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place); next Omo-daru-no-kami (the Deity Perfect-Exterior), next his younger sister Aya-kashiko-ne-no-kami (the Deity Oh-Awful, or Venerable-Lady); next Izana-gi-no-kami (the Deity the Male-Who-Invites), next his younger sister Izana-mi-no-kami (the Deity the Female-Who-Invites). From the Deity Standing-Eternally-in-Heaven down to the Deity the Female-Who-Invites in the foregoing list are what are termed the Seven Divine Generations. The two solitary Deities above-mentioned are each called one generation: of the succeeding ten Deities each pair of Deities is called a generation' (*Kojiki*, at the beginning of vol. I; tr. B. H. Chamberlain, ed. 1906, p. 15 f.).

From these very first lines of the sacred account we have before us a genesis that is not lacking in grandeur. The world appears as a nebulous, moving chaos; Divine beings develop in it by spontaneous generation, some being born in the heart of space, others coming from a reed-shoot that has arisen from the mud; while others spring up, at first solitary, then in pairs, following a progress and bearing names that recall in a striking manner our theory of evolution. This rational explanation of the ancient national myth did not escape the Japanese commentators who elucidated these texts in the 18th and 19th centuries.

'The god U-hiji-ni and the goddess Su-hiji-ni, says Hirata, 'are so called because they contained the germs from which the earth itself was to spring. The god Oho-to-no-ji and the goddess Oho-to-no-be are so called from the primitive appearance of this earth. The god Tsunu-guhi and the goddess Iku-guhi are so called from the common appearance of the earth and the deities when they sprang into existence. The god Omo-daru and the goddess Aya-kashiko-ne are so called from the perfect character of the august persons of these deities. Thus the names of all these gods were given them according to the gradual progress of the creation.'

And, indeed, it cannot be denied that the above-quoted myth conceals under the transparent symbolism of its Divine figures an intellectual effort to find a logical explanation of the genesis of the universe.

To this slender outline of the *Kojiki* we may now add the complementary picture supplied by the *Nihongi* ('Chronicles of Japan,' A.D. 720). This account is less simple, and is permeated by Chinese ideas, which must be eliminated; but, on the other hand, it is also richer in various developments borrowed from other indigenous sources.

'Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the *In* and *Yō* not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an egg, which was of obscurely defined limits, and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly diffused and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth. The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty. Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth was established subsequently. Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them. Hence it is said that, when the world began to be created, the soil of which lands were composed floated about in a manner which might be compared to the floating of a fish sporting on the surface of the water. At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. Now this became transformed into a god, and was called Kunitoko-tachi-no-mikoto (the August Standing-Eternally-on-Earth). Next there was Kuni-no-sa-tsuchi-no-mikoto (the August True-Soil-of-the-Country), and next Toyo-kumu-nu-no-mikoto (the August Luxuriant-Integrating-Master), in all three Deities. These were pure males spontaneously developed by the operation of the principle of Heaven.'

At this point the account breaks off, and the narrator gives us curious variants from the ancient manuscripts (now lost) that he had before him.

Sometimes we have the original existence, in the midst of the Void (*sora*), of a 'thing whose form cannot be described,' and from which the first god is produced. Sometimes, again, we have the birth, 'at the time when the country was young and the earth was young, floating like floating oil,' within the country, of a 'thing in appearance like unto a reed-shoot when it shows itself above the ground.' Sometimes, again, all we are told is that, 'when the Heavens and the Earth were in a state of chaos, there was at the very outset a Divine man'; or, 'when the Heavens and the Earth began, there were Deities produced together.' Another version, which is more original, says: 'Before the Heavens and the Earth, there existed something which might be compared to a cloud floating on the sea, and having no means of support. In the midst of this was engendered a thing resembling a reed-shoot springing out of the mud; and this thing was immediately metamorphosed into human form.' A last variant shows us once more 'a thing produced in the midst of the Void, which resembled a reed-shoot and changed into a god'; then a 'thing produced in the midst of the Void, like floating oil, from which a god was developed.' After this we see unfolding again the series of the Seven Divine Generations (see the *Nihongi*, Shukai ed. i. 1-4; W. G. Aston's tr., Yokohama, 1896, i. 1 ff.).

All these texts are valuable from their very incoherence, which, like the incoherence of the Hindu myths on the same subject, proves their authenticity and affords all the more interest from the point of view of comparative mythology. In the first place, indeed, this abundance of versions enables us to trace in Japan the cosmogonic myths of many other races: e.g. the idea that gods and men were sprung from certain plants—an idea that we meet with from the time of the ancient Greeks, who believed that they had sprung from the earth like cabbages, were born from certain trees, or had risen out of a marsh, right down to the Amazulu, who make their Unkulunkulu come from a bed of reeds or even from a reed-shoot (which corresponds exactly with the Japanese idea). In the second place, by examining these most ancient texts in relation to each other, we can distinguish, as far as is possible, the true native Japanese conception from the Chinese notions added thereto. The idea of the separation of the Heavens and the Earth, with which the *Nihongi* begins, and which also exists in China (myth of Pan-ku), is found again in India, Greece (Kronos myth), and New Zealand (Rangi and Papa), and consequently it would be rash to affirm a simple Chinese imitation here. But the whole passage on the *In* and the *Yō* (the *Yin* and the *Yang*, the passive or female principle, and the active or male principle, which are the mainspring of Nature in Chinese philosophy) is clearly only a little dissertation of foreign metaphysics, preparing the way for the native tradition of Izanagi and Izanami, the creators of Japan. As regards the cosmic egg which appears next, although it is found among a great number of peoples, both ancient (Indians, Egyptians, Phœnicians, Greeks) and modern (Fijians, Finns, etc.), and may therefore have been one of the spontaneous hypotheses which struggled for mastery in the mind of the primitive Japanese, it seems more probable that it also was a product of the same Chinese inspiration, especially when we consider the fact that this idea of the egg is posterior to the indication of the male and female principles, and that it does not harmonize very well with the image of the fish employed immediately after. It is only at this point ('Hence it is said . . .') that the real national account, agreeing with that of the *Kojiki*, begins. Thus we see the

leading line of the purely Japanese myth disentangling itself, viz. the essential notion of a floating earth, from which springs a reed-shoot, which in turn engenders the human form. And in this way we have, along with the origin of the world, the origin of man himself: the cosmogony terminates in a mysterious theogony, in which the Divine and human elements are confused in an insensible transition.

At this stage the last couple born in the Plain of the High Heavens are commissioned by the other gods to 'make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land':

'Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities, His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to "make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land." Granting to them an heavenly jewelled spear, they thus deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven (most probably, the Rainbow), pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine till it went curdle curdle, and drew the spear up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro (i.e. Self-Condensed)' (*Kojiki*, 19).

Izanagi and Izanami descend from Heaven to this island and celebrate their union. They give birth first to a weakly child, which they abandon in a reed-boat, and then to the islet of Awa (Foam), which also they refuse to acknowledge. But, on being told by the celestial gods that, if 'these children were not good,' it is 'because the woman spoke first' in the marriage-ceremony, they resume their work of creation under more favourable conditions, and give birth first to the island of Awaji (Foam-way), and then to the other islands of the archipelago. After this, they put into the world in the same manner a whole tribe of Nature-gods. Here, again, we observe the idea of evolution so familiar to Japanese thought.

The god of Fire, Kagu-tsuchi, Izanami's last-born, accidentally scorches his mother so badly that she dies in a terrible fever. Izanagi in despair drags himself round about the body groaning, and from his tears is born another god. He buries his wife on Mount Hiba, on the borders of the land of Izumo. Then, in the fury of his grief, he tears the matricide to pieces, the blood and scattered members also changing into new deities. He finally descends to Hades to recover his wife, and finds himself face to face with a mass of putrid matter. Horror-struck, he returns to the light of day, and proceeds to elaborate ablutions in a river of Kyūshū, in order to get rid of the uncleanness contracted in his sojourn with darkness and death. Twelve deities are at this time born from his staff, various parts of his clothing, and his bracelets, as he throws them on the ground; then fourteen others spring from the various processes of his ablutions, among these being three illustrious deities who are the last to appear, when he washes his left eye, his right eye, and his nose, viz. Ame-terasu-oho-mi-kami (the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity), Tsuki-yomi-no kami (the Moon-Night-Deity), and Take-haya-susa-no-wo-nomikoto (His Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness). To these three deities—the goddess of the Sun, the god of the Moon, and the god of the Ocean, soon transformed into the god of the Storm—Izanagi proceeds to give the investiture of the government of the universe:

'At this time His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites greatly rejoiced, saying: "I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten three illustrious children." At once jinglingly taking off and shaking the string of jewels forming his august necklode, he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, saying: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain of High Heaven." With this charge he bestowed it on her. . . . Next he said to the Moon-Night-Deity: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Dominion of the Night." Thus he charged him. Next he said to His Brave-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "Do Thine Augustness rule the Sea-Plain"' (*Kojiki*, 50).

So, then, is the universe organized in its essen-

tial elements. It still remains, however, to complete the construction of the earth. This is the task, after the death of Izanagi, of a descendant of Susa-no-wo in the sixth generation—the god Oho-kuni-nushi (Master-of-the-Great-Land, i.e. of Izumo), who is the hero of a new cycle of legends. He is assisted in his work first by a dwarf god, a sort of magician, from foreign parts, and then by a mysterious spirit, which reveals itself as one of the hero's own doubles. One might be tempted to think that here it is no longer a question of the task of the material construction of the world, but rather some political organization of the country by a powerful chief. But this is not so, as is shown by the following curious account taken by the author from an old document at the very heart of this legendary cycle, the *Izumo Fudoki* ('Topographical Description of Izumo,' A.D. 733):

'The august god declared: "The country of Izumo . . . is indeed a youthful country of narrow stuff. The original country is still very little. Therefore, I am going to sew a new piece of land to it." He spoke; and, as he looked towards the cape of Shiragi (a Korean kingdom) to see whether there was not an excess of land there, he said to himself: "There is an excess of land," and with a mattock he hollowed out a cleft like that between a young maiden's breasts; he separated the part with blows, like those dealt on the gills of a large fish (to kill it); and cut it away . . . ; and, fastening round it a thick three-strand rope, he drew it along, balanced, as if by *tazura* (*Pueraria Thunbergiana*) blackened by frost, and as smoothly as a boat on a river, saying: "Come, Land! Come, Land!" The piece of land thus sewed on is to be found between the extreme boundary of Kozu and the promontory of Kizuki, which has been formed eight times. The post arranged in this way is Mount Sahime, on the boundary between the country of Ihami and that of Izumo. Moreover, the rope with which he dragged the land along is the long beach of Sono. When he looked towards the country of Saki, at the gates of the North (i.e. in the North), to see whether there was not an excess of land there, he said: "There is an excess of land" (as above, down to "Come, Land!"). The land thus brought and sewed on is the country of Sada, which extends from the very borders of Taku to here. When he looked towards the country of Sunami, at the gates of the North, to see whether there was not an excess of land there, he said: "There is an excess of land" (once more the same words, ending with "Come, Land!"). The land thus brought and sewed on is the country of Kurami, extending from the borders of Taguhi to here. When he looked towards Cape Tsutau, of Koehi, to see whether there was not an excess of land there, he said: "There is an excess of land" (always the same phrase). The country thus brought and sewed on is Cape Miho. The rope with which it was brought is the island of Yomi (one of the place-names that are connected with the entrance to Hades, situated in Izumo). The post arranged in this way is Mount Oho-kami, in Habaki. "Now we have finished bringing land," he said. And, as he drove his august staff into the ground, in the wood of O-u, he cried: "O-we!" whence the name O-u" (*Izumo Fudoki*, ed. Ohira, 1896, pp. 4-6).

This 'bringing of land' (*kuni-biki*), the naive account of which ends with an equally childish explanation of the name of the place, is a striking illustration of the material character of the task devolving upon Oho-kuni-nushi—the finishing of the work begun by the creator-couple, then continued by Izanagi on his being widowed, and finally interrupted by Izanagi's death. Only the method is different. A short passage in the *Nihongi* (ii. 366) shows the extent to which this putting together of the country seemed a natural work: one night, in A.D. 684, a noise was heard coming from the east like the rolling of drums; in the morning it was seen that an island had suddenly risen out of the waves; the conclusion was that the ominous noise was the din the gods made when building this island in the darkness. Without leaving Japan, we can trace the same idea of building in an Ainu myth. It is intended to explain why the west coast of Yezo ends in treacherous rocks, while the east slopes down gently to the sea. The explanation is that the island was built by a Divine couple, and the woman, who had charge of the west shore, neglected her task by speaking all the time.

In short, apart from spontaneous generation, which is freely admitted for the primordial gods, the creation of the world can be explained prin-

cipally either by a more or less precise normal generation or by a Divine construction. The idea of generation is the one that dominates the Japanese myths, and is seen in its most material form in the story of Izanagi and Izanami. Nothing could be more natural than this conception, for it is logical to think that things, just as organic beings, could not form themselves without connexion of male and female. Among some peoples, the primitive couple are placed at the very beginning of the evolution: e.g. in Nicaragua, a man and woman, Famagoztad and Zipaltotl, created the heavens, the earth, moon, stars, and human beings—the whole world; in Polynesia, Tangaloa and O-te-papa are the parents of the islands and their inhabitants. We have the same idea among the Japanese, except that, being more metaphysical, and wishing to find the cause of the first couple, they imagined vague terrestrial deities who had to precede the first couple, and then went still further back to far-off deities, some of whom are still attached to the earth, while others appeared spontaneously in Heaven. As to the idea of construction, it appears chiefly, as we have just seen, when the task of perfecting the work of creation comes into question. These are two conceptions which are likewise found among the ancient Greeks, and which were combined in the Pythagorean cosmogony.

We now pass from the formation of the world to the laws controlling it. We find among the ancient Japanese various attempts at explanations, which sometimes even form a rudimentary cosmology. What they wanted to explain first of all was the cause of the great physical phenomena, beginning with the phenomena of light, which are the most striking of all to the primitive man, as they are to the child. For instance, Why do the sun and moon not shine at the same time?—Because the goddess of the Sun, enraged by a crime committed by the god of the Moon, determined never to see him again:

'Now when Ama-terasu-no-oho-kami was already in Heaven, she said: "I hear that in the Central country of reed-plains there is the Deity Uke-mochi-no-kami (the goddess of Food). Do thou, Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto, go and wait upon her." Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto, on receiving this command, descended and went to the place where Uke-mochi-no-kami was. Thereupon Uke-mochi-no-kami turned her head towards the land, and forthwith from her mouth there came boiled rice: she faced the sea, and again there came from her mouth things broad of fin and things narrow of fin (i.e. fishes both great and small). She faced the mountains, and again there came from her mouth things rough of hair and things soft of hair (i.e. all kinds of game). These things were all prepared and set out on one hundred tables for his entertainment. Then Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto became flushed with anger, and said: "Filthy! Nasty! That thou shouldst dare to feed me with things disgorged from thy mouth." So he drew his sword and slew her, and then returned and made his report, relating all the circumstances. Upon this Ama-terasu-no-oho-kami was exceedingly angry, and said: "Thou art a wicked Deity. I must not see thee face to face." So they were separated by one day and one night, and dwelt apart' (*Nihongi*, i. 32).

Similarly, How does it happen that the brightness of the Sun is one day totally obscured?—The same Sun-goddess, persecuted by her terrible brother, Susa-no-wo, and indignant at his wickedness, hides herself in a celestial cave; and, when the other gods make her come out by magic processes, the world is lit up again (*Kojiki*, 52-65). In the same way, again, Why, at a more recent time, did the heavens remain dark for whole days on end?—Because two priests were buried in the same tomb; on the separation of their coffins, the division of night from day re-appeared (*Nihongi*, i. 238).

In the first legend, we have to do with a fundamental law of the universe; in the second, with an unusual phenomenon of such a kind as to strike the imagination for a time; in the third, with a far less important occurrence in which we see hardly anything more than a portent. The first mystery is explained by an important act in the drama played by the gods; the second, by an

analogous incident, in which, however, human intervention is already making itself more evident; the last, as the result of a simple mistake in ritual. But in all three cases one and the same psychological process appears—a process explaining the normal order and the exceptional disorders of light by the human passions of the Sun. And the story of the other gods would give us similar motives for all the physical phenomena which exercised primitive intelligence—from the stability of the solid sky, which the winds hold up like pillars (*Ritual*, no. iv.), to the instability of the soil, which the subterranean god shakes with earthquakes (*Nihongi*, ii. 124). Nor must we omit to note how the resentment of a sea-princess against a terrestrial god is offered as the explanation of the fact that 'there is no communication between the earth and the sea' (*Nihongi*, i. 107).

After these attempts to explain the greater aspects of Nature, the ancient Japanese turned their attention to lesser objects—stones, plants, animals. The thing which most impressed them about stone was the spark they could get from it, and this mysterious property the myths are quick to explain, solving at the same time the same question with regard to the fire-principle concealed in tree and plant. When a flint is rubbed, or two pieces of wood are rubbed together for a time, fire appears; it must therefore be concealed in these substances. In order to exist thus in a latent manner, it must have entered these substances. But how? It is here that the hypotheses differ more or less according to the various mythologies.

In New Zealand, Maui obtained from an old Divine grandmother, Mahu-Ika, one of her nails, which produced fire by friction; only he extinguished this fire at once, started off to renew his request, and continued until Mahu-Ika had to part with all her nails one by one; finally, she became enraged and pursued him with her flames, and was prevented from consuming him only by an opportune fall of rain; fortunately some sparks got lodged in certain trees, and from them they can be brought forth again. This is clearly the logical evolution of the production of fire, first by knocking a stone, then by rubbing certain hard woods. Alongside of this Maori Prometheus we may place the Prometheus of the Thlinkets, who fills the same civilizing rôle on the north-west coast of the Pacific: the hero Yehl, in the shape of a raven, stole the heavenly fire, carrying off a burning brand in his mouth; the fire fell upon stones and pieces of wood, and it is from these that it can be extracted again to-day. The same idea is found among the Eskimos, according to whom the rocks contain fire-spirits which are often seen in the form of will-o'-the-wisps; among the American Indians—e.g. the Sioux and Chippeways—who believe that flints are thrown down by thunderbolts; among the black races of Africa, who established the same connexion between heavenly fire and stones on earth; and among the ancient Hindus, who supposed that there were Agnis, apparently descended from Heaven, in stones, plants, and trees, just as they knew them to be present in the whole of Nature, in man, in the cloud, and even in the sea.

It is interesting to find this wide-spread myth in Japan. When the god of Fire was slain by his father, his blood leapt up in one place to the sky, and there, in the region of the Milky Way (*Nihongi*, i. 23, 29), it seems to have lit up certain stars which, like Sirius, appear pale to-day, but which, at the time when the Japanese myths were elaborated, certainly shone with a ruddy glow (cf. *Hor. Sat. II. v. 39*; *Seneca, Quest. Nat. bk. i.*); in another place, this blood flowed over the ground, and infused the fire-principle into plants and trees, stones and rocks. One variant of the *Nihongi* (i. 29) is particularly clear on this point:

'At this time the blood from the wounds spurted out and stained the rocks, trees, and herbage. This is the reason that herbs, trees, and pebbles naturally contain the element of fire.'

These myths, touching sometimes upon cosmogony, sometimes upon cosmology, but always coming from the same desire to explain the most varied phenomena, had, of course, to attempt to account for all the strange things in the animal world. For example, why has the *bêche-de-mer* (trepang) a peculiar mouth? Because long ago its mouth was slit as a Divine punishment:

'Ame-no-uzume-no-mikoto (Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female) drove together all the things broad of fin and the things narrow of fin, and asked them, saying: "Will ye respectfully serve the august son of the Heavenly Deities?" upon which all the fishes declared that they would respectfully serve him. Only the *bêche-de-mer* said nothing. Then Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female spoke to the *bêche-de-mer*, saying: "Ah! This mouth is a mouth that gives no reply!" and slit the mouth with her small string-sword. So at the present day the *bêche-de-mer* has a slit mouth' (*Kojiki*, 189).

In the same way the Breton legend explains how the plaice, for making a grimace at the Holy Virgin, ever after had a crooked mouth; and an Oceanic legend tells how the sole refused to sing, and was trampled upon by the angered fishes, and was flat ever after. In Japan itself a popular tale, which is not in the sacred books, but which is nevertheless undoubtedly very ancient, tells us that the reason why the medusa has no bones to sustain her shapeless substance is that, for being stupid in the performance of a task entrusted to her by the god of the Seas, she was so mauled by blows that she was reduced to pulp. In all these stories, as in that of the Biblical serpent condemned to creep for ever (Gn 3^d), the punishment continues in the descendants of the afflicted animal—a very natural conclusion, since the established form of the animal precisely constitutes the *raison d'être* of the myth.

We find myths of this kind to an even greater extent in relation to man himself, his physical nature, and, above all, his death, which shocks his instinct of preservation. Like all primitive peoples, the ancient Japanese see in death an abnormal phenomenon. Natural death does not exist: death must be the work of some supernatural agent. The fatal fever of Izanami must be a manifestation of the god of fire, and the last illness of the hero Yamato-dake, who was seized with a sudden chill in an icy shower, must be the effect of the vengeance of the god of the mountain when he lost his way. Speaking in a more general way, just as the majority of civilized races claim a spiritual immortality which they deny to animals, so primitive man liked to believe that physical immortality would have distinguished him from all other beings, if death had not been introduced into the world by some mistake or as a mysterious punishment. This conception is found equally among Hebrews and Greeks, Kafirs and Hottentots, Fijians, New Zealanders, etc. The punishment hypothesis is that of the Shinto myth:

'Ama-tsu-hi-daka-hiko-ho-no-ni-nigi-no-mikoto (His Augustness Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty) met a beautiful person at the august Cape of Kasasa, and asked her whose daughter she was. She replied, saying: "I am a daughter of Oho-yama-tsu-mi-no-kami (the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor), and my name is the Divine-Princess-of-Ata, another name by which I am called being Ko-no-hana-sakura-hime (the Princess Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees)." Again he asked: "Hast thou any brethren?" She replied, saying: "There is my elder sister, Iha-naga-hime (the Princess Long, i.e. Enduring, as-the-Rocks)." Then he charged her, saying: "I wish to make thee my wife. How wilt this be?" She replied, saying: "I am not able to say. My father, the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, will say." So he sent a request to her father the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor, who, greatly delighted, respectfully sent her off, joining to her her elder sister Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and causing merchandise to be carried on tables holding an hundred. So then, owing to the elder sister being very hideous, His Augustness Prince Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty was alarmed at the sight of her, and sent her back, only keeping the younger sister Princess Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, whom he wedded for one night. Then the Deity Great-Mountain-Possessor was covered with shame at Princess Long-as-the-Rocks being sent back, and sent a message, saying: "My reason for respectfully presenting both my daughters together was that, by sending Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, the august offspring of the Heavenly Deity, though the snow fall and the wind blow, might live eternally immovable like unto the enduring rocks, and again that, by sending Princess Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, they might live flourishingly like unto the flowering of the blossoms of the trees: to ensure this, I offered them. But owing to thy thus sending back Princess Long-as-the-Rocks, and keeping only Princess Blossoming-Brilliantly-Like-the-Flowers-of-the-Trees, the august offspring of the Heavenly Deity shall be but as frail as the flowers of

the trees." So it is for this reason that, down to the present day, the august lives of Their Augustnesses the Heavenly Sovereigns are not long' (*Kojiki*, 140-142).

This curse seems at first sight to apply only to the Imperial line, but there is no doubt whatever that, in primitive thought, it was meant to explain why all men are mortal. This is proved by the following variant of the *Nihongi* (i. 94):

'Iha-naga-hime, in her shame and resentment, spat and wept. She said: "The race of visible mankind shall change swiftly like the flowers of the trees, and shall decay and pass away." This is the reason why the life of man is so short.'

There is a rather striking resemblance to be seen between this myth and a legend of the North American Indians: the Pebble and the Bush were with child at the same time, but the children of the Bush were born first; that is why man is subject to death. Iha-naga-hime also recalls in a wonderful manner O-te-papa, the rock-wife of Tangaloa, in Polynesian myth.

Besides death, life also has its place, especially among a light-hearted people like the ancient Japanese, whom even Buddhism itself could not subdue. They sought to probe to the origin of death, but they understood none the less that this was not the only problem of their destiny. They admired life with its fertility; and another important myth proceeds to tell how, in spite of the calls of the region of darkness, humanity develops and triumphs in the immortality of its perpetual rejuvenation. Izanagi, the father of men and islands, fled from the subterranean kingdom, pursued by the Furies, the Thunderbolts, and all the horrible army of Hades.

'Last of all his younger sister Her Augustness the Princess-Who-Invites came out herself in pursuit. So he drew a thousand-draught rock, and blocked up the Even Pass of Hades (Yomo-tsu-hira-saka, forming the frontier-line between Hades and the World of the Living), and placed the rock in the middle; and they stood opposite to one another and exchanged leave-takings; and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites said: "My lovely elder brother, Thine Augustness! If thou do like this, I will in one day strangle to death a thousand of the folks of thy land." Then His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites replied: "My lovely younger sister, Thine Augustness! If thou do this, I will in one day set up a thousand and five hundred parturition-houses (the separate hut for a woman about to be delivered). In this manner each day a thousand people would surely die, and each day a thousand and five hundred people would surely be born."

Izanami is thus conquered; Izanagi prevails; and in commemoration of his victory the Japanese thereafter called themselves Ame-no-masu-hito-ra, 'the heavenly surplus-population.'

All these stories—the common aim of which was to answer the innumerable questions of primitive curiosity regarding the affairs of Nature and of man, of physical phenomena and living beings, the origin of the world and its present appearance, in short, regarding everything that afterwards constituted the complicated object of the sciences—provide us with a mythology in which cosmogony holds the place of honour, and cosmology is only beginning to appear. The ancient Japanese felt themselves enveloped in mysteries which they would have been glad to solve; but, as the limited extent of their knowledge set strict bounds to their attempts, they soon tired of looking for these causes; they accordingly stopped short with infantile explanations which seemed satisfying to them, but which could scarcely approach a deep investigation of the laws that underlie the sensible world. It was only under Chinese influence that this type of investigation developed, and that the ancient mythology became complicated with abstract principles, as we have seen in the typical example of the story of the creation in the *Nihongi*. This desire to harmonize national tradition with the philosophical ideas of China, or even of Europe, was bound to end in the most ludicrous theories in the hands of the modern Shintoist theologians. Thus, e.g., they attempted to explain the origin of the stars, sometimes by investigating whether they

might have sprung from the excess of material stirred up and scattered into space by Izanagi's spear, sometimes by supposing that the shell of the primitive egg got broken, and that the fragments were caught up by the rotatory motion of the sun and thus drawn into the astronomical whirl (Hirata, *Koshiden*, 1812, ii. 36, 38). But these apologist fantasies are clearly foreign to the simple cosmogony and embryonic cosmology of the ancient Japanese.

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COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Jewish).

—Speaking generally, it may be said that speculation as to the origin of the world was not encouraged during the early Rabbinic period. Between Biblical times and the era of the Jewish philosophers, cosmology in the modern sense can scarcely be said to have flourished, and ultimately it is so closely connected with philosophy itself that separate treatment is scarcely possible. The well-known verses of Ben Sira (Sir 34th),

*Search not the things that are too wonderful for thee;
And seek not that which is hid from thee;
 . . . thou hast no business with the secret things

(tr. O. Taylor),

are quoted in Talmud and Midrash, and are applied to this form of investigation (see *JQR* iii. [1890-1] 690; Bab. *Hagiga*, 113a, etc.; Midr. *Beresith Rabba*, ch. viii.; cf. also parallel passages quoted in *JQR* iii. 698). It may also be said that, in most cases where cosmological elements are found in Rabbinic sources, the scientific character is subordinated to the religious. Leaving the Biblical records, the following are the main groups of writings, during this intermediate period, which deal with the question of creation: (1) references in Talmud and Midrash (cited above); (2) special references to the 'Logos' as distinct from other means of creation; (3) Kabbalistic writings and references, such as the *Sepher Yēšira* and the *Zohar*, etc.

With regard to the first class, the verses of Ben Sira which have been cited are typical of the disapproval displayed by the Rabbis towards cosmological study. With them should be carefully compared the Gemara in the first Mishna of the second *perek* of *Hagiga* (11b). This passage is the *locus classicus*, though scarcely less noteworthy are the beginnings of *Genesis Rabba* and *Tanhuma*. It is evident that the dislike of the Rabbis to the study of cosmology was due to two causes—the fact that the material and method appeared to be Greek in origin, and the fact that such study sometimes led to atheism and apostasy. In support of this the famous story of Elisha b. Abuya (Aler) (cf. *Hagiga*, 15b foot, etc.) may be recalled. The study of Greek mythology and philosophy leads to Hellenization, and must be discouraged.¹ It would seem, however, that the ardour for these studies grew, in spite of checks from the Rabbis; and the latter seem to have abandoned a policy of resistance and adopted a new attitude—that the creation of the world must be shown to have depended entirely on the Divine power. Hence the early chapters of *Beresith Rabba* are devoted to proving that God, and God alone, is the Creator. There are clear traces of replies, on the

part of the Rabbis who are there quoted, to opponents, who seem to have been Gnostics and dualists, by whom the Biblical scheme of creation is rejected; in some cases it would seem as though we were face to face with Pantheistic ideas, but that would be difficult to establish. The *creatio ex nihilo* is frequently affirmed, but this question, as well as that of the 'eternity of matter,' belongs to Jewish philosophy rather than to cosmology; they cannot be considered without reference to later writers, e.g. Maimonides and Judah Hallevi.

Each of the three great Semitic religions has had to face the problem of harmonizing a doctrine of pre-existence, in some shape or form, with a concurrent belief in the *creatio ex nihilo*. In the case of Christianity it is the Arian controversy. Among the Muslims, the question of the Qur'an—whether it was created or eternal—was one of the points on which the Mutazilite heresy turned. But in Judaism, at least in the early period, the question of the pre-existence of the Torah was never a burning one. It was the application to the Torah of Pr 8th that gave rise to this belief. Perhaps Gnostic ideas were originally responsible, but at all events it is certain that Jewish theology, whether private or official, was not seriously disturbed. Had this been the case, the doctrine must have been pushed to its logical conclusion, and it would have been alleged that the Torah had some share in the actual work of creation (contrast *B. Rabba*, ed. Theodor, p. 6). But, while the *Beresith Rabba* compares the Torah to the parchment plans of an architect, the functions of the Divine Creator are not only never usurped, but, on the contrary, the supremacy of the Godhead in the work of creation is emphatically stated. From this it may be inferred that the belief was never reduced to definite form. The same may be said of the passages in the Midrash. Their purpose is homily, not science; their concern is to praise the works of the Deity rather than to investigate the ways of Nature or to explain the riddle of the universe. This is clear from the methods employed. A verse of Scripture is regularly interpreted by natural phenomena, and the functions of heaven and earth are derived philologically from the Bible. Had the objective of the Rabbis been practical, a different plan would have been adopted. As it is, arguments *post factum* are quite legitimate and in keeping with the purpose.

To imagine that the Rabbis would have been content with such methods of argument, or would have considered them adequate, is impossible for two reasons. (1) This would overlook the true character of Haggāda (i.e. allegoric homily); and (2) it would imply ignorance of the scientific capabilities of the Rabbis. It is only necessary to turn to astronomy, in order to see what they could achieve. Hence it is desirable, for cosmological purposes, to pass over *Beresith Rabba* and most Talmudical passages. It is also fair to exclude the famous controversy of Hillel and Shammai as to the relative precedence of Heaven and Earth¹ in this category (*Hag. 12a*), because their objective also was religion, not science. On the whole, the dogma of the *creatio ex nihilo* was accepted, though not without reservations and even opposition. In 2 Mac 7th the author speaks actually of a creation ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, but Wis 11th prefers the theory of re-arrangement of existing matter rather than creation.² Philo allegorizes: God gave the form, not the matter; though, of course, ultimately He is the Creator. According to the

¹ Cf. *Hagiga*, 11b, בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרֵאשִׁית . . . בְּרֵאשִׁית . . .
*Men are not to expound . . . the work of Creation with two
(sc. disciples), tr. Sireane.

¹ This was one of the questions asked by Alexander of Macedon (see *Tamid*, 32a, and *B. Rabba*, ed. Theodor, p. 13).

² ἡ παρονομασία σου χεῖρ κτίστῃ τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀυφάνων ὕλων.

beginning of *de Opific. Mundi*, the world was created for the מַלְאָכִים ; and with the מַלְאָכִים all natural phenomena must be in harmony. This is perhaps an extension of the Midrashic thought that the world was created בְּמַלְאָכִים (*B. Rabba*, ed. Theodor, p. 9, line 9). Philo's Logos does not perform quite the same functions as the Mishnic or Targumic Logos or Memra—if such a term may be used. In *Aboth* (v. 1) we read that the world was created by ten מַלְאָכִים , or sayings; that is to say, וַיֹּאמֶר , 'And God said,' occurs ten times with reference to the Creation. Now this theory has developed from what may briefly and conveniently be described as the Targumic attitude—the objection to anthropomorphism. The *Maṣmār*, or *Memra*, to some extent intervenes and becomes the mouthpiece or instrument of creation. This gives rise to theories of Mediators, whether in form of Demiurge or of *Metatron*, which are, however, often expressly repudiated: e.g. *Beresith Rabba* (ed. Theodor, p. 5, l. 10, and p. 27, l. 3), where the date of the creation of angels is discussed. The question is in itself unimportant. Stress is laid on the fact that they could not have been created on the first day, lest any share in the work of the creation should be ascribed to them. *Metatron* ($\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\omicron\ \text{or}\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\rho$?) is mentioned by name frequently (cf. *Sanhedrin*, 38b, which is a warning against ascribing Divine powers to *Metatron*). It may be doubted whether it was ever believed that the *Maṣmārōth* actually exercised functions; it is more probable that the idea was invented to account for the text, and repudiated when felt to be dangerous. At all events it cannot be included in true cosmology.

In considering the Kabbala, which, of course, belongs really to a later period, the same air of unreality is experienced. In the *Sepher Yēṣira* and similar works, permutations and arrangements of numbers and letters are the basis of argument, and this is typical of the whole mystical outlook of the Kabbala. A close relation is postulated between the real and the unseen, between the written word and the abstract idea of which it is the symbol; hence it was believed to be possible to extract the spiritual from the physical form, i.e. from the word in which it was confined. The deductions are, of course, ingenious, but they are reached by literary or quasi-philological arguments. It is obvious that either scientific investigation or carefully selected tradition must form the foundation of cosmology, and it cannot definitely be stated to what practical extent the authors of Kabbalistic reasoning desired their results to be taken. The truth is that between the period of the Bible and that of the mediæval Jewish philosophers there is no real cosmology. The Scriptures supplied the needs of all seekers, until Judaism was brought face to face with Aristotelianism and Neo-Platonism. Hitherto cosmology was not taken seriously in the scientific sense, it was mere homily; but henceforward it became an integral portion of the system of each thinker. It is impossible to discuss the theories of בְּרֵאשִׁית , *creatio ex nihilo*, in mediæval times, apart from the rest of the philosophy which was established upon it.

LITERATURE.—There is a critical edition of the Midrash *Beresith Rabba* by J. Theodor (Berlin, 1903). For those unacquainted with Hebrew the Talmudic references may be studied in M. L. Rodkinson's tr. (*Hagiqa*=vol. vi.), New York, 1899, or preferably in L. Goldschmidt's Germ. tr. (Berlin, 1897 ff.). The treatise *Hagiqa* was translated (with notes, etc.) by A. W. Streane, Cambridge, 1891. Some idea of the Midrash may be obtained from S. Rapaport's *Tales and Maxims from the Midrash* (London, 1907); see also J.E. art. 'Cosmology,' 'Creation.'

HERBERT LOEWE.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Mexican and South American).—I. Mexico.—On the origin

and constitution of the universe the ancient Mexicans developed a number of complex and, in part, discordant myths. In the earliest times, according to Sahagun's version, the gods assembled in Teotihuacan for the purpose of debating who was to govern the world and who was to be the sun, for at that time there was no daylight. A deity named Tecuciztecatl offered to illuminate the world. His compeers asked who would act as his mate, but none of them could summon sufficient courage, each offering excuses. At last they delegated the task to Nanauatzin, who was afflicted with the pox (*buboso*), and he cheerfully acquiesced. The luminaries-elect then began a four days' penance. A fire was built, and both made their offerings. After the four days had elapsed, Tecuciztecatl and Nanauatzin received their ceremonial vestments. The gods ranged themselves in two rows, one on either side of the fire, and first called upon Tecuciztecatl to leap into the flames. The deity approached the blaze, but recoiled from its excessive heat. Four times he made the attempt, and four times he abandoned it. Then the gods ordered Nanauatzin to try. He mustered up all his courage, closed his eyes, and leapt into the flames. Immediately a crackling sound was heard. Then Tecuciztecatl followed suit. When the two deities had been completely consumed by the fire, the other gods seated themselves, expecting to see them rise. After a long period of waiting, the sky assumed a reddish aspect, and there appeared the light of dawn. The gods fell on their knees and turned hither and thither, not knowing from what quarter the sun would come, for the light of dawn was shining everywhere. At last it rose from the east, swaying to and fro, and dazzling the onlookers with its brilliancy. Presently the moon rose from the same cardinal direction. They appeared in the same order in which the two gods had entered the fire. At first sun and moon were equally brilliant. The other gods debated whether this was proper, and decided in the negative. Then one of them began to run, and struck Tecuciztecatl's face with a hare. Straightway it turned darker, lost its splendour, and assumed the present appearance of the moon. Though the sun and the moon had thus been created, they were still stationary. The gods asked one another: 'How could we live under these conditions? The sun does not move. Are we to spend all our life among unworthy mortals? Let us all die, so that our death may animate these luminaries.' The wind then offered to kill the gods, and did so. Still the sun did not begin to move. At last the wind blew so violently that he forced the sun to commence its journey, but the moon remained stationary for a while. Finally, it also began to move. Thus, sun and moon became separated and assumed the habit of rising at different hours of the day. Had Tecuciztecatl leapt into the fire before Nanauatzin, he would have been the sun.¹

A somewhat similar version has been recorded by Mendieta. Citlalatonac and Citlalicue appear as the primeval deities. The latter bore a flint, which her enraged sons hurled to the earth. From the shattered stone there developed 1600 gods, who asked their mother for permission to create mankind. Citlalicue referred them to Mictlantecutli, who was to furnish them with the bones and ashes of the deceased. The messenger of the gods received the required objects from the lord of the under world, but, lest Mictlantecutli might recall his gift, he fled in haste, stumbled, and broke the bones. He quickly gathered the fragments and presented them to the gods, who enclosed them in

¹ Sahagun, *Hist. gén. des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* (Paris, 1880), 478-482.

a bag and bespattered them with their own blood. On the fourth day there issued forth a boy, and on the eighth a girl. These became the ancestors of mankind. The sun was not yet in existence. The gods assembled in Teotihuacan and announced that whosoever would jump into the fire should be transformed into the sun. One man ventured to leap in, and the spectators anxiously watched for the rising of the sun. In the meantime they laid a wager that the animals present would not be able to guess the place whence the sun would rise, and, as the animals actually failed to do so, they were all sacrificed. At last the sun appeared, but did not move. Angered by his immovability, Citli ('Hare') let fly three arrows at him, wounding him twice. The enraged solar deity hurled one arrow back at the enemy, piercing his forehead. The gods then recognized their relative inferiority, and consented to be sacrificed. Xolotl tore out their hearts, and himself committed suicide. Appeased by this sacrifice, the sun began his daily course.¹

A rather different tale is narrated in the Zumaraga Codex. There dwelt originally in the thirteenth heaven a Divine couple, Tonacatecutli and Tonacacihuatl, who begat four sons, viz. Camaxtli, Yayanquitezcatlipuca, Quetzalcoatl, and Huitzilopochtli. After 600 years of inactivity these four created the world. Quetzalcoatl and Huitzilopochtli created fire and a half-sun, the first pair of human beings, the days, the denizens of infernal regions, the heavens beyond the thirteenth, and finally water and the monster Cipactli. In the further creation the entire quartet participated. They formed the sea-deities Tlalocatecutli and Chalchiuhtlicue, and then created out of Cipactli the earth and her deity Tlaltecuctli. The first human pair, Oxomoco and Cipactonal, begat a son who married a woman shaped out of Xochiquetzal's hair. As the half-sun gave forth but little light, it was decided to perfect it, and accordingly Tezcatlipoca transformed himself into a real sun. Then the giants were created. After Tezcatlipoca had shone for 676 years (13 cycles), Quetzalcoatl hurled him into the water, himself assuming solar functions, while his enemy transformed himself into a tiger which devoured the giant race. In commemoration of this event, there developed the constellation of Charles's Wain, which represents Tezcatlipoca descending into the ocean. After Quetzalcoatl had served for an equal space of time, his rival hurled him headlong with a blow of his paws, causing a tempest that destroyed the majority of human beings. Then Tlalocatecutli reigned as the sun for 364 years (7 cycles), but Quetzalcoatl drove him away by means of a torrent of fire and installed Chalchiuhtlicue in his place. She served in this position for 312 years (6 cycles), then a deluge occurred, mankind were changed into fish, and the heavens fell down. The divine quartet next opened a passage under ground, and created four men. By the joint efforts of all of these the sky was raised to its present altitude. As a token of his gratitude, Tonacatecutli transferred to his sons the sovereignty of the stars, they settled in the heavens, and by their migrations they are smoothing the path known as the Milky Way. Two years later Tezcatlipoca first produced fire by friction, and, several years later still, a new race of man was created. After the lapse of five years, the gods decreed the formation of a new sun. War was waged in order to secure a sufficient number of human sacrifices for the sun, then the gods fasted, drew blood from their own bodies, and heaped up firewood. Into the blaze Quetzalcoatl

cast his own son, who thus became the sun. Tlalocatecutli, however, threw his son into the ashes, thus making him rise as the moon, which continually follows the sun without ever overtaking it. Both luminaries wander through the air without ever reaching the heavens. The Codex Vaticanus mentions the bi-sexual deity Ometecutli as the creator of the universe. He creates the first human pair, Oxomoco and Cipactonal. These beget Tonacatecutli, to whom the later stages of creation are due.¹

The modern Tarahumare believe that the present world was preceded by many others, all of which were destroyed. In these earlier periods all the watercourses flowed eastward, but now there are also some rivers that empty into the Pacific. Originally, the world was but a waste of sand, which the bears put into shape. The rocks were at first soft and small, but they grew to be large and hard. The people grew up from the soil, and the earth was quite level. At that time men lived to be only one year old, dying like the flowers. According to another tradition, they came from heaven with corn and potatoes in their ears, and were led by Tata Dios—a solar character designated by a Christian name—into the mountains, the middle of the world. In the beginning, the Morning Star was the only heavenly body to illuminate the earth, and the 600 Indians then in existence were greatly irritated by the surrounding darkness, for they were unable to do their work and were continually stumbling about. The sun and the moon were then children, dressed in palm-leaf garments and dwelling in a house thatched with palm leaves. The Indians at last dipped small crosses into *tesvino* (native beer) and with them touched the sun and the moon on the chest, on the head, and on the back. Then they began to shine.²

2. Maya.—The creation-myth of the ancient Quiché is the fullest cosmogony of the Maya stock now accessible to us. In the beginning there were heaven and water, but everything was stagnant and dark. Gucumatz, Tepeu, and Hurakan held a council and created the world, forming mountains, plains, and rivers. First there appeared the vegetable, and later the animal, kingdom. But the animals were unable to call by name or greet their creators, and were accordingly condemned to be killed and eaten. Next the gods created men out of clay; but, as this material lacked vitality, it dissolved in the water. Then the deities invoked the aid of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, and created a man out of the wood of one tree and a woman from the sap of another. Both were able to move about and propagate their kind, but they lacked intelligence and lived like the brute creation. Accordingly the gods sent showers of pitch which caused a flood, and wild animals which destroyed the race. From the few survivors are descended the small monkeys dwelling in the forests. At last there were created four perfect men out of yellow and white maize: Balam Quitze, Balam Agab, Mahucutah, and Iquibalam. These were intelligent, and were able to perceive things far and near by the light of the morning star, and to penetrate the most recondite matters. Rejoicing in their powers, they thanked their creators. The latter, however, became envious of their creatures and blew a cloud over their eyes, so that they were able to see only what was near. While the men were asleep, the gods created four women for them. The race multiplied, but, as they lacked patron deities, they moved to Tulan Zuiva, where they acquired the necessary divinities.

¹ Brühl, *op. cit.* 398-401.

² Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (New York, 1902, London, 1902), i. 296-298.

¹ G. Brühl, *Die Kulturvölker Alt-Amerikas* (New York, 1875-1887), 400

Tohil, one of these tutelary gods, gave fire to the people, but it was extinguished by rain and hail, and Tohil then created it anew by stamping his feet. Owing to the suffering undergone by the people in Tulan, they abandoned the place under Tohil's guidance, and, after long-continued migrations, reached Mt. Hacavitz. There sun, moon, and stars were called into being, though they did not then shine as brightly as they do now. The origin of these heavenly bodies, however, is differently accounted for in the myth of Hunahpu and Xbalanque, the miraculously born twin heroes of Quiché folklore. In order to avenge their father's death, the brothers descend to the infernal realm of Xibalba, and slay their parent's murderers. They cause their father and his brother to rise as the sun and moon respectively, while 400 youths who had been killed by the Xibalba monarch's son are transferred to the sky as stars.¹

The Maya proper of the present day believe that the world is in the fourth period of its existence. In the first era there lived the Saiyamwinkoob ('Adjusters'), the mythical dwarfish aborigines of Yucatan, who are credited with the construction of the ruins before the appearance of the sun. As soon as the sun appeared, these people turned to stone. Figures found in the temples of Chichen Itza and other archaeological sites are supposed to represent the Saiyamwinkoob. After a deluge, another race, the 'Offenders,' came into being, but again a flood destroyed the greater part of the world, and the Masehualli, or modern Maya, rose to power. Another deluge occurred and ushered in the present period, during which a mixture of all the previous inhabitants of Yucatan took place. The present natives of Yucatan distinguish seven heavens, each of which has a hole in the centre, one directly above the other. A giant tree (*Bombax ceiba*) sends its branches through these seven openings, and by means of it the spirits of the dead clamber up to their final place of repose. One version substitutes a ladder of vines for the tree. The *Gran Dios* of the white man is believed to reside in the uppermost heaven, while the lower heavens are peopled by the older deities of the natives, now degraded to the rank of subordinate spirits. Below the earth there is an under world. The spirits of the dead first descend to this region for a short space of time, but soon begin their ascent to the upper worlds. Men who have died in war and women who have died in childbirth are absolved from the obligation to visit the under world, and commence their ascent without delay.²

3. Chibcha.—The Chibcha philosophers postulated as the original substance *chiminigagua*—light enclosed in some undefined envelope. When the light freed itself from this covering, it created black birds which flew through the world, emitting radiant air from their beaks. Later it created all living things save men. Mankind traced their descent from a woman named Bachue (or Fuzachogue) and a boy, both of whom issued from a lagoon in the vicinity of Tunja. On reaching puberty, the boy married his companion, and their numerous progeny soon peopled the entire country. According to another myth, mankind was created by the *caciques* of Sogamozo and Ramiriqui—men out of yellow earth, and women out of hollow plant-stems. As darkness reigned over the earth, the *cacique* of Sogamozo bade his nephew, Ramiriqui, ascend to the sky and illuminate the world. Nevertheless, the night remained dark. Accordingly the *cacique* transformed himself into the moon. An interesting cosmological concept was

connected with the myth of Chibchachum. This deity, angered by the inhabitants of Bogota, had afflicted them with an inundation of the Sopo and Tibito rivers. The Indians prayed to Bechica, who put a stop to the devastation of the country and punished Chibchachum by ordering him to support the earth, which hitherto had rested on wooden props. Earthquakes originated whenever the tired Atlas shifted his burden from one shoulder to the other.³

4. Peru.—A number of essentially different Peruvian cosmogonies are recorded in the earlier writings. According to one legend, Con, a boneless son of the sun and the moon, created the world and man, levelled mountains, and raised valleys by his supernatural powers. He is said to have come from the north. J. von Tschudi regards him as the deity of the Chimú, the natives of the north-western coast district. Con became displeased with the dwellers of the coast, and converted the region into a desert, though he mitigated this punishment by allowing some rivers to flow through the land so that the people might slake their thirst, and also provided his creatures with wild herbs and fruits. After him came Pachacamac, another son of the sun and the moon, and Con disappeared. Pachacamac transformed into birds, apes, pumas, and other animals the human race called into being by his brother. He then created the Indians of historical times, giving them for their occupation the cultivation of fields and the growing of fruit. Turrue's fuller account relates that in the beginning of the world Pachacamac created a man and a woman, without, however, supplying them with food. The man starved, but the woman prayed to the sun for relief, and the deity descended, comforted her, and impregnated her with his rays, so that she gave birth to a son four days later. Pachacamac, however, was angered at the thought that she had supplicated his father rather than himself, destroyed the infant, cut him in pieces, and sowed the dismembered parts of the child's body. From the teeth grew corn, from the bones yuccas, and from the flesh all the other fruits and vegetables. Thus, the Indians were indebted to Pachacamac for their food. The slain child's mother, however, clamoured for revenge. The sun again took pity on her, and created another son, Vichama, out of the murdered infant's umbilical cord. When grown to maturity, Vichama set out to journey all over the world. In the meantime Pachacamac killed his mother and caused birds of prey to devour her body, except the hair and bones, which he left near the shore. Then he created men and women, and appointed chiefs to rule over them. When Vichama learned of his mother's death, he restored her to life from her concealed hair and bones; then he set out to avenge her destruction. Pachacamac threw himself into the sea where afterwards stood the temple and city named after him. Vichama devastated the fields, and implored the sun to turn the people of Vegueta into stone, because, he alleged, they had participated in his mother's murder. Thus, all Pachacamac's creatures were transformed into stones. Repenting of their deed, the sun and Vichama transferred the former chiefs and nobles to the coast, setting them up there as *huacas* to be worshipped in the future. Then Vichama implored his father to create a new race. The sun gave him eggs of gold, silver, and copper, from which there developed the chiefs, their wives, and the common herd, respectively. Still another legend derives mankind from two male and two female stars sent down to earth by Pachacamac.⁴

¹ Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Péopé Vah* (Paris, 1861), 1-51, 187-193; Brühl, *op. cit.* 447 f.

² A. M. Tozzer, *A Comparative Study of the Mayas and Lacandonas* (New York and London, 1907), 153-156.

³ Brühl, *op. cit.* 461 f., 458.

⁴ Uhle, *Pachacamac* (Philadelphia, 1903), 492; Brühl, *op. cit.* 464 f.

On the shores of Lake Titicaca there developed variants of another myth. Before the reign of the Incas, the natives believed, there was no sun, and their ancestors prayed to the gods for light. Suddenly the sun rose radiant from the island of Titicaca. At the same time there appeared from the south a white man of slim figure, who levelled the mountains and caused springs to gush forth from the rocks. Hence he was regarded as the author of all things, the creator of the sun, mankind, and the brute creation. He travelled northward, and never retraced his steps. In the course of his journey he admonished the Indians to live in peace. The name by which he was commonly known was Ticiviracocha. Some time after his departure there appeared another man who cured the sick and wrought miracles. The inhabitants of Pueblo Cacha, however, rose against him, and were about to stone him to death; but he merely raised his hands, and flames darted from the sky, threatening to consume his assailants. Taking pity on the terrified Indians, he extinguished the fire, leaving only the burnt rocks as evidence of his power. He then wandered to the coast, spread his cloak over the waves, and vanished from sight. The name of this second wonder-worker was Viracocha. For a more substantial creation-tale we are indebted to Betanzos. Long ago, according to his narrative, there rose from a lake Con Tici Viracocha, who created heaven and earth and mankind, but did not supply them with light. Offended by man's ingratitude, he transformed the race into stones. He again rose out of the lake with several companions, created the sun in Tiahuanaco, and later the moon and the stars. Next, he re-peopled the earth in the following way: for every province he fashioned a number of stone images; then he sent all but two of his companions towards the east, where they called into being such people as their master had indicated in his stone effigies; finally, he dispatched, with similar powers, the two men that had remained with him, one to Condesuyo, and the other to Andesuyo, while he himself wandered to Cuzco, creating human beings as he passed along. In Pueblo Cacha he was attacked by the newly created Indians, but reduced them to submission, as in the version already quoted. In Cuzco he also created a tribe, and gave to the place its name. When he arrived at the seashore, he was joined by his associates, and they all walked across the sea as though it were solid earth. The full name given to this creator is Con Tici Viracocha Pachayachachic, while his assistants figure as 'viracochas' generically. In Molina's version, the two *viracochas* that remained with their master after the others had set out on their mission are called Ymayman Viracocha, and Tocapo Viracocha. The former was credited with having named trees and plants, and with having instructed the Indians as to their nutritive and medicinal virtues. Tocapo, on the other hand, named the rivers, and taught the people about the fruits and flowers. According to the same variant of the myth, the sun, while rising from the Island of Titicaca in human shape, addressed the ancestors of the Incas, promising them that their descendants would rule the land and subject many tribes.¹

5. Primitive tribes.—The *Arawak* of Guiana say that, before the existence of mankind, a being broke off twigs and pieces of bark from a silk-cotton tree and threw them broadcast around him. Some turned into birds; others fell into the water and became fish; still others fell on land and became beasts, reptiles, men, and women. The *Warrau* myth begins with a period when the ancestors of the Indians lived in the sky. There

Okonorote', a great hunter, once pursued a bird for many days. At length he was able to shoot it, but his quarry fell into a deep pit and was lost to sight. Okonorote', however, saw daylight in the pit, and soon discovered a land down below, inhabited by many quadrupeds. He hung a long piece of bush-rope down towards the earth, and climbed down. After a successful chase, he returned home with some venison. The *Warrau* relished the food so much that they decided to emigrate to the earth. After many of them had climbed down, a woman of large proportions got stuck in the opening, and, though her fellow-tribesmen attempted to extricate her, it was found impossible. Accordingly, those *Warrau* who were already on the earth were obliged to remain in their new place of residence, while those who were still in the sky-land could not but stay in the upper regions. The same story, with trifling modifications, is told by the Carib Indians.¹

The *Bakairi*, a Carib tribe living on the affluents of the upper Xingu river, regard the sun as a large ball made of the feathers of the red macaw and the toucan, and the moon as a corresponding ball of the tail feathers of the Cassicus. The sun is covered at night with a large pot, which is removed at daybreak. During the rainy season it is carried by a snail, during the dry season by the fast-flying humming-bird. The waning of the moon is due to the successive appearance of a lizard, an ordinary armadillo, and a giant armadillo, the last of which completely covers the feather-ball. Corresponding explanations are offered for solar and lunar eclipses. Orion is a frame for drying manioc, the larger stars form doorpost knobs, and Sirius constitutes a large cross-beam supporting the frame on the side. The Pleiades are simply a pile of flour-grains. The firmament shows merely a duplication of terrestrial affairs: the Indians find there manioc, cultivated soil, forests, etc. The Milky Way is a huge totem, near which the two culture-heroes, Keri and Kame, performed their deeds. Other heavenly phenomena are regarded as a jaguar, ant-eater, vulture, etc.

The place of a genuine cosmogony is taken by a number of myths, accounting not so much for the ultimate origin as for the more or less miraculous arrangement and regulation of observed phenomena through the power of the twin culture-heroes, Keri and Kame. Practically everything now existing in the universe is believed to have existed from the very beginning: there were even some *Bakairi* tribesmen and members of other tribes. Conditions, however, represented a sort of topsy-turvydom as compared with the present cosmos. In the beginning the earth was the sky. Earth and sky were in close proximity, so that it was possible to walk to and fro. Keri bade the sky shift its position, for his people were dying; but the sky refused to do so. Then Keri decided to depart. Accordingly, he and all his tribe went to the earth, and the sky rose to its present height. The sun was in the possession of the Urubú vulture; when the bird was away, darkness reigned supreme. Owing to this darkness, the tapir fell into a pit belonging to the Urubú. Keri saw him and entered one of his front feet; while Kame, who had entered a little yellow singing-bird, was to inform his brother of everything that was going on. When the vulture swooped down on his prey, Keri seized him, and on pain of death, ordered him to surrender the sun. The Urubú dispatched his brother to bring the sun, but his messenger only came back with the dawn. Sent back again, the vulture's brother offered Keri the moon, but the hero persisted in his demand until the sun was presented to him. Then he released the Urubú. The sun was shining continually, and Keri did not know what to do with it, though finally he covered it with a large pot, which was simply removed to make daylight. Thus, the later-day distinction of day and night was first introduced. The moon was given to Kame. Another quasi-cosmogonic tale accounts for the origin of the Paranaatinga and Ronuro-Kulisehu rivers. Keri and Kame were sent for water. They found three pots with water, but broke two of them, so that the water flowed down, forming the water-courses in question.

The remaining origin-tales of the *Bakairi*, though for the greater part belonging to the same cycle, are not cosmogonic at all, but merely narrate the heroes' exploits in acquiring fire, manioc, tobacco, the hammock, and other necessities of life for the benefit of mankind.²

¹ E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883), 376 f.

² K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), 357-386.

¹ Brühl, *op. cit.* 464-472.

The *Paressi*, though members of the Nu-Arawak family, possess a number of cosmic notions akin to those of the Bakairi. They also believe the sun to be composed of red macaw feathers, which are hidden in a gourd at night and uncovered by their owner at daybreak. The moon consists of yellow 'mutung' feathers. The full moon begins to wane when a thin spider appears on its edge, and it is successively covered by four armadillos, the last being the giant armadillo, *Dasyurus gigas*. The galaxy is dotted with countless yellow fruits, and of the stars many are recognized as an ostrich, jaguar, or some other animal. In the beginning there was a woman named Maisö. Neither earth nor water was in existence, and there was no light. She took a piece of wood and introduced it into her body, from which there then issued forth the Rio Cuyaba. Its muddy stream was soon followed by the limpid waters of the Rio Paressi. Maisö then placed land in the stream, and thus made the earth. Maisö also gave birth to many quasi-human beings of stone, first of all being Darukavaitere, who married Uarahiulu. This couple precreated the sun, the moon, and all the other celestial beings, and assigned to each its place in the firmament. Next, Darukavaitere begat parrots and snakes, until Maisö made his wife conceive Uazale, the ancestor of the Paressi and the first really human being.¹

Of the *Weltanschauung* of the *Bororo* we have, unfortunately, but a meagre sketch. Like the Bakairi and Paressi, they regard the sun and moon as bunches of macaw feathers. Mankind are believed to dwell on a large island in a river. The sun and moon, or their owners, are on one side and pass through the river; when they meet, the moon passes by and becomes the new moon. The Pleiades are the blossoms of a tree, Orion is looked upon as a tortoise, and single stars are generally regarded as sand-fleas, Venus, for example, being characterized as 'the large sand-flea.' The rainbow is supposed to be a large shamanistic water-snake. A meteor that appeared during the second German Xingu expedition was regarded as the soul of a shaman bent on afflicting some Bororo with dysentery.²

The cosmogonic notions of the *Jibaro* of Ecuador are insufficiently known. According to one tale, the world was fashioned by a great spirit who amused himself with manufacturing clay objects. He constructed a large blue vessel, and placed it where the sky is nowadays seen.

A more detailed account is given of the deluge. A member of the Murato sub-tribe was fishing in a lagoon. A little crocodile swallowed his hook, and was killed by the Indian. The mother of the crocodiles was so incensed at this deed that she struck the water with her tail, and flooded all the country bordering on the lagoon. All the Indians perished, save a single individual who climbed a *pivai* palm, where he stayed many days in utter darkness. From time to time he dropped a *pivai* fruit, but he invariably heard it strike water. One day, however, the fruit appeared to strike the earth. The Murato climbed down, built a lodge, began to till the soil, and planted a piece of flesh from his own body. From this there grew up a woman, whom he married. A deluge-myth derived from the *Cahari*, but also attributed by Suarez to the *Jibaro*, records the escape of two brothers, who fled from the flood to the top of a mountain, which continued rising with the elevation of the waters. After the flood the two Indians went in quest of food, and on their return were astonished to find some dishes already prepared in the hut they had constructed. One of the brothers hid himself in order to fathom the mystery, and discovered two parrot-women, who set themselves to preparing the meal. Suddenly rushing from his hiding-place, he seized one of the bird-women and married her. The couple had three sons and three daughters, who became the ancestors of the *Jibaro*.³

The *Caraya* of the Araguayá River believe that their ancestor, Kaboi, and his people once lived in the under world, where the sun shone when the earth was dark, and *vice versa*. Hearing the call of a bird, Kaboi decided to follow it. He got to

an opening leading to the earth, but, while his companions succeeded in passing through it, he himself proved too large and was able to get only his head above ground. The other Indians gathered many kinds of fruit, also honey and bees, as well as dead and dry wood, and brought their finds to the chief. Kaboi told them that, while the country seemed to be beautiful and fertile, its inhabitants, as indicated by the dry wood, could not live to the old age that fell to the lot of their own people, for in the under world the Indians attained a very great age, and died only when they were too old to move any part of their body. In spite of this warning, the people preferred to stay above ground. Accordingly, while their fellow-beings in the lower regions are still in the prime of life, the descendants of Kaboi's companions are destined to die. At an apparently later period, two powerful beings, Tenira and Sokroa, hurled all the Indians into a blazing fire and then destroyed each other in a trial of strength. Only two dwarf parrots and two belated youths, returning from the hunt after the destruction of their fellow-tribesmen, escaped. When the young men set out on the next day to hunt, they heard the pounding of mortars, and on their return discovered that their meals had been prepared by unknown hands. This was repeated on the next day. On the third day they discovered that the food had been cooked by the two parrot-women, married them, and thus became the ancestors of the modern *Caraya*.

Another tale recounts the destruction of the Indians by a flood. The *Caraya* were out hunting and drove their game into a pit. After taking out the captured animals, they dug up the magician named Anatiua, and brought him to their village. Frightened by his strange antics and unintelligible gibberish, they fled from him, but Anatiua pursued them. He had with him numerous calabashes filled with water. By breaking these, he made the river rise until he had caused a deluge. The Indians fled to the top of two mountain-peaks, but Anatiua summoned to his aid several species of fish. Finally, one fish possessing a beak-like mouth ascended the peaks from the rear, pushed the people down, and thus drowned them. Only a few of them escaped. These descended to the valley when the waters had fallen again.⁴

The *Caingang* of the State of Paraná (Brazil) tell of a great flood which submerged the entire world inhabited by their ancestors, with the exception of a single mountain-peak. The *Caingang*, the *Kadjurukre*, and the *Kame* all swam towards this summit, carrying firesticks in their mouths, but only the *Caingang* and a small number of *Kuruton* Indians reached the goal, where they stayed without food for many days, some lying on the ground, while others, for lack of space, were obliged to cling to the branches of the trees. They were beginning to give up hope when they heard the singing of *saracura* (water-fowl), which were carrying hampers full of earth. By dropping this into the water, they caused the flood to recede. The Indians shouted to them to make haste, which they did, asking the ducks to aid them. In a short time they got to the summit of the mountain and formed a platform, on which the *Caingang* departed, those that had clung to the branches of the trees being transformed into *Monito*, and the *Kuruton* into *Caraya*, Indians. Because the *saracura* had begun their work in the east, all the watercourses of the land flow towards the west into the Paraná. After the flood the *Caingang* established themselves in the vicinity of the mountains. The *Kadjurukre* and *Kame*, whose souls had gone to dwell inside the sierra, began to cut roads, and finally succeeded in getting out in two opposite directions. The *Kadjurukre* entered a level country watered by a brook and without rocks, so that their feet remained small. The road of the *Kame*, however, led to a rocky region,

¹ Von den Steinen, *op. cit.* 435-439.

² *Ib.* 513-515.

³ Rivet, *Les Indiens Jibaro* (Paris, 1908), 91 f.

⁴ P. Ehrenreich, 'Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens,' *Veröffentlichungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde*, II. (Berlin, 1891) 39-41.

where their feet were bruised and swelled up to their present size. As there was no spring there, they had to beg water of the Kadjurukre. On leaving the sierra, the Caingang ordered the Kuruton to look for the baskets and calabashes which they had abandoned below before the deluge. The Kuruton departed, but were too lazy to re-ascend the mountain, so they remained where they were and never joined the Caingang. During the night following their departure from the sierra, they built a fire, and a Kadjurukre made tigers out of the ashes and coals, bidding them devour the people and the game. As he had not enough coal left for painting the creatures he meant to fashion next, he made the tapirs, painting them with ashes and bidding them eat game. But, as they were hard of hearing, they asked him to tell them again what to do. Being already engaged in creating another species, the Kadjurukre answered gruffly, 'Eat leaves and the branches of trees!' Since then they have eaten only foliage and the branches or fruits of trees. The Kadjurukre was making another animal, which still lacked a tongue, teeth, and several claws, when the day began to break. As he was unable to complete the animal in the daylight, he quickly put a thin rod in its mouth and said, 'As you have no teeth, feed on ants!' Hence the imperfections of the ant-eater. The next night the Kadjurukre resumed his labours and created other animals and insects, among them the bees. In the meantime the Kame had created other animals to combat his rival's, such as the pumas, venomous snakes, and wasps. All the Indians marched on together. The young men of the Kadjurukre's band married the girls in the Kame's, and *vice versa*; and, as there were still left a great many young men, these married the Caingang women. For this reason the Kadjurukre, Caingang, and Kame consider themselves allies and relatives of one another.¹

The *Tupi* derive their origin from Monan, the creator. Offended by his creatures, this deity caused a universal conflagration, which destroyed all human beings save Irinmage. Upon the solicitation of Irinmage, Monan extinguished the fire, and afterwards gave him a wife. From the descendants of this pair there issued Monan Maire, who acted as culture-hero, transforming men into animals and establishing the cultivation of plants. However, the Indians feared him for his magic, and forced him to commit suicide. One of his descendants, Maire Poxi, dwelt in insignificance among mankind, but finally ascended to heaven radiant with beauty. His son vainly attempted to follow, being transformed into stone. Another scion of the same line, Maire Ata, begat the twins Tameduare and Arikute. The brothers went in search of their father, who resided in the east, and were subjected to a number of tests. They proved their miraculous powers by shooting an arrow into the sky and sending an arrow into its notch, continuing this process until the chain of arrows was complete. They further passed through clashing rocks ('symplegades') and descended to the under world. In the course of their wanderings Arikute attacked his brother, who caused a deluge, from which both were obliged to flee, seeking the shelter of trees. After the flood they re-peopled the earth, becoming the ancestors of two tribal divisions.²

The *Araucanians* worship as their supreme deity the representative of thunder, lightning, and fire, the latter being regarded as the origin of all life. This deity, Pillan, is believed to reside on the highest summits of the Andes, and definite localities

are still named after him. At a later period there appeared Mapu, the creator of the earth, and Pillan became his enemy, gradually assuming the character of an evil being. His messengers and subordinate genii introduced disease among the Indians and their cattle, but could be driven away by means of burning branches. One of these supernatural beings, named Cherruve, took the form of comets and large meteors, and generally resided near the crater of volcanoes. Smaller meteorites were inhabited by another form of being with human head and serpentine body. The moon, Anchimalguen, was the wife of the sun, and was formerly regarded as a beneficent deity. More recently, she is described as an *ignis fatuus*, who frightens the traveller by throwing herself under his horse's body. When the rider attempts to lasso her, she flees and seeks refuge in the hut of a witch.³

RÉSUMÉ.—While the material available for comparison is far from complete, some interesting historical problems present themselves to the student of Central and South American myths. So far as homologies occur among neighbouring tribes, or tribes linguistically affiliated, the theory of dispersion from a common source of origin offers the readiest explanation of the similarities in question. Thus, there can be no doubt that the Warrau and Carib myths recorded by Im Thurn have a common prototype, and the conception of sun and moon as balls of feathers can hardly be supposed to have originated independently among the Bakairi, Paressi, and Bororo. The surreptitious preparation of food by bird-women constitutes so characteristic a motive that, though the Jibaro are far removed from the Caraya, we cannot assume that the incident developed twice, and we must depend on future research to indicate more clearly the path of transmission. It is far more difficult to apply this theory to the South American deluge-myths. While in the northern half of the New World the deluge-myth generally assumes a stereotyped form from the Atlantic to the Pacific, embodying highly characteristic elements, the South American narratives of floods do not seem to be united by any striking element of likeness. In the absence of such homologies the possibility of independent development cannot be denied, and we might suppose with Andree² that, so far as the myths are autochthonous, the flood motive has been suggested several times by local inundations. In view of the cultural affinity of North and South America, the question broached by Ehrenreich, whether this relationship is exemplified in the mythology of these continents, is of great significance. As Ehrenreich points out, the arrow-chain by which heroes ascend to an upper world in British Columbian mythology recurs among the Eastern Tupi, who are separated from their northern kinsmen by fifty degrees of latitude; and the blocking of a passage-way to another world by a person of generous proportions is equally prominent in the Warrau, Caraya, and Mandan cosmogonies.³ But, striking as are these resemblances, they are as yet suggestive rather than convincing, and it must devolve on future investigators to settle the problem of a pristine community of cosmogonic tales in the Western Hemisphere.

Psychologically, it is perhaps worth while to emphasize the essentially unphilosophical character of the South American cosmogonies. A certain degree of systematization is apparent in the Mexican, Mayan, and Peruvian myths; but the bulk of even these cosmogonic narratives is akin in spirit

¹ Lucien Adam, 'Le Parler des Caingangs', *Congrès Internat. des Américanistes*, XIIe Session (Paris, 1902), 317-330.

² P. Ehrenreich, *Die Mythen u. Legenden der südamer. Urvölker und ihre Beziehungen zu denen Nordamerikas und der alten Welt* (Berlin, 1905), 30, 41, 42.

¹ O. Bürger, *Acht Lehr- und Wanderjahre in Chile* (Leipzig, 1900), 88.

² K. Andree, *Flutagen* (Brunswick, 1891).

³ Ehrenreich, *op. cit.* 50, 52.

and substance to the folk-tales current among their less civilized congeners in both Americas. The Quiché myth is probably fuller of abstract conceptions than any other Central and South American creation-story, yet these metaphysical portions of the *Popol Vuh* are relatively insignificant compared with the elaborate tale of the twin heroes, which has numerous parallels on both continents. Contrary to the traditional theory that folk-tales are degenerate myths, it might, therefore, be plausibly contended that myths are merely *Märchen* with a speculative gloss, or secondarily invested with a religious significance. This view, however, which has been urged by the present writer,¹ still awaits intensive discussion.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the article.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Muhammadan).—The account in the Qur'an of the creation of the universe is founded upon an imperfect version of the story in Genesis. In xli. 8 ff. it is written (Rodwell's tr.):

'Do ye indeed disbelieve in Him who in two days created the earth? . . . and He hath placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it, and He hath blessed it, and distributed its nourishments throughout it, for the cravings of all alike, in four days; then He applied Himself to the heaven, which was but smoke: and to it and to the earth He said: "Come ye, in obedience or against your will"; and they both said: "We come obedient." And He completed them as seven heavens in two days, and in each heaven made known its office: and He furnished the lower heaven with lights and guardian angels.' Other references are xv. 16 ff., xvi. 8 ff., xxxv. 12, etc.

The commentators Zamahshari and Baidāwī, whose remarks are abstracted in the notes to Sale's *Koran* (Lond. 1734, p. 389), explain that the 'smoke' or 'darkness' of the heaven proceeded from the waters under the throne of God (which was created before the heavens and the earth), and rose above the water; and, the water being dried up, the earth was formed out of it; and the heavens out of the smoke which had mounted aloft. It is added that the heavens were created on Thursday; the sun, moon, and stars on Friday, in the evening of which Adam was made. The guardian angels were appointed to ward off prying devils (Baidāwī, *ib.* 211). The Traditions add little to this vague material:

'God was; but nothing was before Him, and His imperial throne was upon water. After that God created the regions and the earth; and wrote everything on the tablet of His own memory.' The angels were created from a bright gem, and the *Jinn* from fire without smoke, and Adam from clay. 'When God created Adam in paradise . . . the devil came and took a look at him, and, when he saw him with a body, he knew that God had created a creation which could not guard itself from hunger' (*Mishkāt al-Maqābīh*, tr. Matthews, Calcutta, 1810, xxiv. i. 1).

Orthodox Muslim imagination has elaborated a fantastic idea of the Creation out of these scanty materials, aided by suggestions from foreign sources (such as the seven spheres and seven climates), but without allowing notions of science or philosophy to trench upon revelation. Thus the Qur'an (ii. 20, lxxviii. 6) states that the earth was 'spread out as a bed,' or 'as a carpet'; so it manifestly must be a flat surface. The Muhammadans interpret the sayings of their Prophet literally, and believe that there are seven heavens, one above the other, and seven earths, one beneath the other; and they lay down the distances between them, and the diameter of each, and the substance of which each is constructed, with much precision. (These valueless speculations and opinions may be read in some detail in Lane, *1001 Nights*, London, 1859, Introd., note 2.) One account pretends that, the seven superimposed earths being unstable, God created a series of supports beneath them: first He ordered an immense angel to go beneath and hold the earth (or rather the seven earths) on his

¹ Lowie, 'The Test-Theme in North American Mythology,' *JAFS* xli. (1908) 97-148, xlii. (1909) 431 ff.

shoulders; and beneath his feet, to support him, God created a rock of ruby, with 7000 perforations, from each of which poured a sea. But the rock stood upon nothing, so God created a huge bull called Kuyūta, with 4000 eyes, and an equal number of other features, to bear it up on his back and horns. And under the bull God made Behemoth (Bahamūt), the giant fish, to lie; beneath which was placed water, and under the water darkness, 'and the knowledge of mankind fails as to what is under the darkness' (al-Damiri, Ibn-al-Wardī, etc., *ap.* Lane, *op. cit.*); but the general belief is that there lies Hell with its seven stages, just as Paradise is supposed to be in the seventh heaven or above it. Muslim philosophers naturally did not always subscribe to such opinions, but, as their philosophy was wholly borrowed, their ideas of cosmogony possess no original value.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

COSMOGONY (Polynesian).—Throughout Polynesia the creation of the world is assigned to Tangaloa, the god of heaven, who is thus named in Tonga and Samoa, while in Tahiti, Raiatea, the Hervey Islands, and elsewhere he is called Taaroa, in New Zealand Tangaroa, and in Hawaii Kanaloa. He dwells in the highest heaven, and is often believed to have the form of a bird, this being his aspect as the celestial wind-god. The sun is his left eye, and he is likewise often the god of the sea, the mirror and the earthly representative of the blue sky. His wife is an enormous rock named O-te-papa, by whom he became the parent of the gods, the planets, the sea, and the winds. The gods, in their turn, were the parents of mankind, although, according to other accounts, Tangaloa himself formed man of red earth. Besides O-te-papa, Tangaloa had other wives, by one of whom, Hina, at once his daughter and his wife (as in many other cosmogonic myths), some legends made him the parent of heaven, earth, sea, and numerous gods. After man he created beasts, fowls, and fishes. Still other creation-myths ascribe the creation of the sky, clouds, stars, winds, beasts, fishes, sea, and the like to Raitubu, 'the maker of heaven,' a sort of demiurge and the son of Tangaloa. The earth is also explained, especially in the western Society Islands, as the exterior of Tangaloa's body, while in Raiatea he was believed to live in a sort of mussel, throwing away the shells from time to time, and thus enlarging the world. The myth of the cosmic egg was not unknown in Polynesia. A legend current in Hawaii, the Society Islands, and Tahiti, made Tangaloa, in his aspect as a bird, a prisoner for long ages in a gigantic egg. He finally broke this place of confinement, however, and the two halves of the shell formed the heaven and the earth, while the smaller fragments became the islands. Another tradition makes the islands bits broken from the cosmic rock O-te-papa, as she was dragged by her husband through the sea, or else pieces broken off from the mainland by angry gods. The myth of the cosmic egg recurs in New Zealand, where mankind were believed to be produced from an egg laid on the waters by a gigantic bird.

Tangaloa's exertions at the creation of the world were so great that, according to some cosmogonic legends of Polynesia, the salt sweat which streamed from him formed the ocean. From this ocean Tangaloa attempted to fish the earth; but, just as land was appearing above the surface of the water, his line broke, and the potential continent was dashed into a mass of small islands. A similar legend of Tangaloa fishing up the earth was found in Samoa, though the inchoate condition of Polynesian cosmogony is again exemplified by the existence in this island of divergent myths on this subject. Two islands, Savaii and Upolu, were

hurled from heaven by Tangaloa. He then sent his daughter, Turi or Tuli, to people this first land, and she, assuming the form of a snipe, settled down upon the islands, bearing with her a creeper which grew in the earth that formed beneath her feet. From the decaying leaves and tendrils of the creeper came worms, which Tuli pecked in two with her beak, thus forming human beings.

Both heaven and earth were regarded as impersonal in Samoa, Tahiti, and Rarotonga, and as being so close together that men could not stand upright, but were forced to crawl on the ground. The two were separated, according to the Samoan and Rarotongan versions of the myth, by a man who pressed them apart. In Tahiti, on the other hand, Ru, the sea-god, raised the sky to its present elevation. In Raiatea, a monstrous cuttle-fish held the earth and the heaven together, but he was killed by the sun-god Maui, whereupon the sky rose up to heaven. On the shoulders or the back of this god the earth rests; and, when he moves, the earth quakes. He is also confused with Tangaloa as the deity who fished the earth from the sea, while in other legends he takes the place of Tangaloa's daughter, Tuli, assumes the shape of a bird, and forms man by dividing a worm in two. In Tonga the earthquake is caused by the subterranean god Mafuike, who carries Samoa in his left arm. This same phenomenon is elsewhere ascribed to other gods, such as Maui himself in Tahiti.

Throughout this cycle of Polynesian cosmogonic myth one fact, not without parallel in other religions, is clear. O-te-papa, the primal barren earth or rock, represents the female principle, which is fructified and made to give birth to all things living, by the fertilizing rain which falls from the superincumbent male Tangaloa, the sky. In New Zealand the myth of the separation of earth and sky undergoes a curious modification.

Originally Rangī, the sky, who takes the place of the general Polynesian Tangaloa, who becomes a mere sea-god in this island, was closely united in nuptial embrace with Papa, the earth. From this union sprang countless children, but they were forced to dwell in utter darkness. In discomfort at this gloomy existence, the offspring of the pair sought to separate their parents. Tu-matauenga, the most cruel of all, urged that Rangī and Papa be killed; but Tane-mahuta, the god of trees, urged that the pair be parted. All assented, excepting Tawhiri-matea, the god of winds. The gods in turn now endeavoured to break the embrace of their parents—Rongo-matane, the god of cultivated plants, Haumia-tikitiki, the god of wild plants, Tangaloa, the god of fishes and reptiles, and Tu-matauenga, the god of heroes. Finally, Tane-mahuta pressed his back against his mother and his feet against his father, thus parting Rangī from Papa. Tawhiri-matea, however, was angry with his brothers and followed his father, so that the wind and his children, the storm winds, still make war on the forests and the sea, and only man, the offspring of the terrible Tu-matauenga, is able to resist them. Strife also arose among the gods who had remained on earth, especially between the god of the sea and the god of the forest, since the latter gave Tu-matauenga wood for fishing-implements, whereas the sea is angry with men and seeks to devour them. On the other hand, Ma-taenga and his offspring, mankind, were able to conquer all the gods, with the exception of the wind which blows from heaven.

This version, although more detailed than any other Polynesian creation-myth, is obviously of much later origin than the legends current elsewhere in this part of Oceania.

LITERATURE.—Waltz-Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker* (Leipzig, 1873), vi. 232-239, 245-254; A. Bastian, *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier* (Leipzig, 1881). LOUIS H. GRAY.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Roman).

—The only Roman cosmogonies which go beyond mere single statements about the origin of the world are found in the works of later writers. They belong, therefore, to a period when Roman culture was permeated with foreign, and especially Greek, elements. On the other hand, we meet with various cosmogonical ideas which may be referred without hesitation to the earliest Roman times. We shall, therefore, give some account of these, and afterwards inquire how far they enter into, and

give a genuinely Roman character to, the cosmogonies of a later age.

1. **Early cosmogonical ideas.**—Nearly all the cosmogonical ideas of the Romans were connected with the god Janus, who is admittedly one of the very oldest Roman divinities (cf. e.g. Herodian, i. 16: *θεὸς ἀρχαῖτατος τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιχώριος*). As F. Lukas (see Literature) puts it, he is related to Juppiter as the First is to the Highest. Accordingly, in the public worship of the Romans the first sacrifice was paid to Janus (Mart. *Epig.* x. 28. 2). As first in time he was naturally also regarded as the cause of all that followed after. So Festus, explaining why the first sacrifice was paid to Janus, adds: 'Jano primum fuisse supplicatum, quasi parenti, a quo rerum omnium factum putabant principium.' M. Val. Messala, the augur (50 B.C.), describes his cosmogonical character more fully: 'qui cuncta fingit eademque regit, aquae terraeque vim ac naturam gravem atque pronam in profundum dilatentem, ignis atque animae levem, in immensum in sublime fugientem, copulavit circumdato coelo,' etc. (Macr. *Sat.* i. 9). Martial (*Epig.* x. 28. 1) describes him as 'sator mundi.' As the author of organic life, he is described in a fragment of the Salaric Hymn (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 7, 26) as 'donus cerus'—where 'donus' = *bonus*, 'good,' and 'cerus' (or 'kerus,' connected with *creo*, Skr. *kar*, 'to make') means a creative spirit, and, as it is an older word for Genius, the creative deity of the family in particular (Lukas, p. 200). As the author of life, he was also invoked as Consivius (*a conserendo*, Macr. *Sat.* i. 9, 16).

It is clear, then, that Janus was a cosmogonic personage. But it is difficult to say what cosmic principle, if any, was originally represented by him. Here everything depends on the meaning of the name, about which opinions have varied greatly both in ancient and in modern times (cf. Roscher, s.v. 'Janus'). Of the ancient explanations, that which regarded Janus as a personification of the Sun (Nigid. Fig. in Macr. *Sat.* i. 9, 11, etc.) has been most generally adopted by recent writers, amongst whom we include those who think of the sun's light rather than the sun itself (cf. Roscher, l.c.; Lukas, p. 202, etc.). According to another and very similar ancient view, Janus represented the Heaven (Macr. *Sat.* i. 9, 11), and, further, we are informed by Varro that in this character he occupied a place of the highest honour among the Etruscans—*ἀνὴρ παρὰ θεοῖς οὐρανὸν λέγεσθαι καὶ ἑσπερον πᾶσι πρῶτος* (ap. J. Lydus, *De mens.* iv. 2). Now, there is a remarkable fragment of an Etruscan cosmogony in the oracle of Vegöia or Vegone (see *Gromat. Vet.* 350; cf. Müller-Deecke, *Die Etrusk.* ii. 30 ff., 165, 299, 312; Preller, *Röm. Mythol.* i. 172, 256), which begins: 'Scias mare ex aethere remotum. Cum autem Juppiter terram Etruriae sibi vindicavit,' etc. Here we have a Latin translation, probably of the 2nd or 3rd cent. B.C., of an ancient Etruscan oracle, which, according to Preller, represents ancient Italian popular belief. The oracle, which relates to the protection of landed property in Etruria, is thus prefaced by a priestly doctrine about the origin of the world: the Sea arose by separation out of primal Aether—and the same must also have been asserted in the original oracle about the Earth (Preller, i. 256 n.). But Aether is practically the same as Heaven (see art. *ÆTHER* in vol. i.; Roscher, s.v. 'Aither'), with which we are told that Janus was identified in Etruria, and it includes the notion of Light (see 'Greek' art. above; and Lukas, p. 208—'Aether=Licht des Himmels'), which others regarded as the essential attribute of Janus. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the early Italians not only regarded Janus as creator of the world, but pictured his creative activity after the manner described

in the Etruscan oracle (Lukas, *loc. cit.*; Preller, p. 172).

2. *Literary cosmogonies.*—We are now in a position to inquire how far the cosmogonies of the later poets can be regarded as an independent product of Roman thought. We may fairly ascribe this character to any cosmogony which is based on the ideas already described. Franz Lukas has tried to show that this is the case with regard to the theory sketched by Ovid in the *Metam.* i. 5 ff., and *Fasti*, i. 103 ff. Ovid's is also, so far as we know, the only complete cosmogony whose dependence on primitive Roman ideas can be at all confidently asserted. To it, therefore, we shall now turn.

In the *Metamorphoses* we read that the world was preceded by Chaos. This was not, however, the empty void of the Hesiodic cosmogony, but the primary substance with which space was filled. It was a formless and confused mass—'rudis indigestaque moles'—the parts of which all struggled with one another, by reason of opposite qualities of moist and dry, hot and cold, etc. The process by which the world arose out of Chaos is attributed to what Ovid calls 'Deus et melior natura.' The 'melior natura' is evidently the material force by means of which order is brought out of chaos. Did it reside in matter from the first? The passage is not clear on this point (cf. Lukas, p. 208). But at least it implies that at some point of time the Deity either infused a higher nature into the primal substance, or gave effect to a higher power latent within it. Forthwith the diverse elements separated from each other, and united with their like, and the wholes thus formed took up a relative position in accordance with their several natures. Fire, the lightest element, flashed forth from the topmost arch of heaven; beneath it was the Air, and lower still the Earth, while Water, encircling the latter ('circumfluit humor'), still further compressed its solid mass. Next, the Deity moulded the Earth, which must here be taken as including the liquid element, into a sphere, and formed it in all its parts—seas, fountains, lakes, marshes, and rivers, plains, valleys, hills, and zones. He likewise completed the severance of the Æther from the Air, the region of cloud and storm. Then the constellations, erstwhile hidden in Chaos, glowed in the firmament. Life in all its grades appeared. The stars, as Divine Beings, dwelt in heaven; fish, bird, and beast tenanted their respective homes, and lastly Man was born.

The cosmogony of the *Fasti* is similar, but with some notable differences. There is nothing here about the 'Deus' or the 'melior natura.' The former is absent because the poet is concerned with the evolution of the four elements rather than with the formation of the world; and the latter, because here, whatever may be the case in the *Metam.*, the evolution of the primary matter is regarded as due to its own indwelling force. Another difference lies in the fact that the primary matter, which is again called Chaos, is here expressly identified with the god Janus. This brings us directly to the question whether the Ovidian cosmogony is to be regarded as essentially Roman. Now, the mere fact that Ovid equates Chaos with Janus counts for little, as the connexion of the names depends on a fantastic etymology (cf. Roscher, *s.v.* 'Janus,' pp. 35, 43). What is important is that the cosmogonical ideas contained in the *Fasti* are expressly associated with the old Roman god. The ground-thought of the passage is the separation of the elements from primal matter in obedience to the law of its own nature. The same thought is present in the *Metam.*, though there the evolutionary process is ascribed in part to a 'melior natura' working along with a separate Divine agency. We have seen, further, that the

separation of the elements from the primal Æther (and that apparently without reference to an external agency) was an ancient Etruscan doctrine, and that in all probability Æther and Janus were equivalent terms. Still the connexion of the Etruscan doctrine with Janus rested on conjectural etymological grounds. But the fact that Ovid expressly associates the same ideas with Janus is strong evidence both that the former inference was correct, and that we have here a genuine Roman cosmogony. At the same time it is probable that in the working out of the fundamental idea Ovid was more or less indebted to Greek thought (cf. Lukas, p. 209).

The idea of a force inherent in primary matter, which forms the basis of Ovid's cosmogony, appears also in the representations which other poets give of Nature in general. As examples of these, Lukas refers to Virg. *Georg.* ii. 336 ff., and *Æn.* vi. 724 ff. In the former passage the poet ascribes the origin of the world to the same force which at each new spring-time clothes it with fresh life:

Non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
Iluxisse dies; aliumve habuisse tenorem
Crediderim. Ver illud erat; ver magnus agebat
Orbis, et hibernis parebant fatibus Euri,
Quum prima lucem pecudes haurire, viridique
Ferae progenies duris caput extulit arvis,
Immissaque ferae silvis et sidera coelo.

In the second passage he speaks of the Soul which animates the body of the world, which streams through every member, and from which every living creature sprang. In both these passages the poet, no doubt, borrowed freely from other writers, and especially from Lucretius (see Conington's *Virg.*). But he gives expression to the thought which we have seen reason to believe was familiar to the Romans from the earliest time—that, namely, of the evolutionary capacity of matter.

LITERATURE.—Roscher (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Gr.], 'Literature'), where readers will find a full account and criticism of views relating to Janus; F. Lukas, *Kosm.* (see *ib.*); *Gromat. Vel.*, ex rec. C. Lachmann, 2 vols., Berlin, 1848-67; K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, new ed. by W. Deecke, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1877; L. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. by H. Jordan, Berlin, 1881-3. I. F. BURNS.

COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Teutonic).—The word 'Teutonic,' as we take it, is in its way descriptive of all peoples of Germanic origin, such as the Scandinavian, German, Dutch, and Anglo-Saxon. The word 'Teuton' first appears in the 4th cent. B.C., and is then applied to the Germanic tribe living around the mouth of the river Elbe. Modern ethnologists join in the common division of the Teutonic race, as yet existing, into three branches: (1) the Scandinavian, (2) the Low German, and (3) the High German. The Scandinavian branch includes the Icelanders, the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Danes; the Low German branch includes the Frisians, the Dutch, the Low or Northern Germans, the Flemings, and the Anglo-Saxons; the High Germans are the Germans of Middle and Upper Germany, of Switzerland, and of Austria. For convenience' sake it is just as well, however, to speak only of the Scandinavian and the German branches, since this is both common and satisfactory.¹

As Teutons, these two great branches had a common origin and a common faith in the supernatural. Thus their myths are also essentially identical, though the Scandinavian is much richer than the German. This is especially the case with reference to their cosmogony, for which we have to depend almost entirely upon Scandinavian sources. But whether the common stock of Teutonic belief

¹ Some divide the entire Teutonic race into the Eastern, Western, and Northern branches. Of these the Eastern, which once consisted of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Moevgoths, is now extinct; and the other two divisions are identical with the German and the Scandinavian branches.

is faithfully preserved in the Northern myths is a matter of much dispute. In reference to this problem, two different schools have developed—the conservative, and the critical—to which must be added a number of more or less independent investigators of a mediating type, leaning towards the one side or the other, though, of course, having much in common with both (cf. Literature at end of art.).

It is, however, safe to say that most modern scholars hold that Christianity in its earlier forms has, in a marked degree, influenced the old Norse poets, their songs, and their sagas, and consequently has made it very difficult to ascertain which elements in this mythology are genuinely Teutonic. The important poem *Völuspá* especially is viewed with much suspicion, as may be well noted, for instance, in E. H. Meyer's edition of it (*Völuspá, eine Untersuchung*, Berlin, 1889), in which he arrives at the conclusion that this great cosmogonic source is a mere Christian poem in a heathen disguise, composed in the 12th cent. by Saemund the Learned. Several later authors do not agree with this view, but rather consider it erroneous, though they allow that the great song has suffered from foreign influences, probably mostly Christian. Furthermore, it is generally held that the author of this poem, as well as of all the songs of the poetic Edda, is unknown, though the various lays were all collected in the 13th century.

From the German sources little can be learnt concerning the cosmogony of the old Teutons. Indeed, they tell us next to nothing of any of the beginnings, and they have no prophecies with reference to the future, while there is much of both kinds in the Scandinavian myths. Traces, indeed, have been found in Germany of a mythological belief similar to the Scandinavian, and even identical with it. Thus in Waitz's 'Merseburg MS' (probably from the 10th cent.) there are indications of a Balder as an originally Teutonic character; Odin is mentioned and Frija his wife, as is also a class of beings named Idisi, who perform the same services as the Valkyries of the Northern myths. These names occur in certain magic formulæ of undoubted heathen character, which are contained in the manuscript just mentioned. A similar source is the so-called 'Wessobrunn Prayer' from the 8th cent., in which, according to Müllenhoff and others, there are traces also of an original Teutonic cosmogony with the concept of a large void and yawning abyss, etc. But this may have been derived from Christian influences, as Wackernagel contends. Another source is found in Tacitus' works, in which he incidentally or otherwise touches upon the belief of the Teutons (cf. esp. *An.* xiii. 57; *Germ.* ii.). From these notices it seems that the old Teutons considered fire and water, and also salt, as original elements. Similar notions are to be found in Snorri Sturlason's *Gylfaginning*, chs. 5 and 6 (cf. below, p. 178, on the cow Audhumla licking salty stones in Ginnungagap). Finally, there exists at Mainz a letter of Daniel of Winchester (*Ep.* 15, Mon. Moguntina Coll.) to Boniface, the missionary to the Germans, written c. 720, which to some extent describes the cultus and beliefs of the ancient heathen. In it there are some references to the origin of the world and of the gods themselves.

These are really the only remains which we possess from the German branch of the Teutons as to the beginning of the world, except that in the idiom of the language itself and in certain remaining forms of magic there are some recollections of ideas once entertained by the original Teutons. But from all these remnants brought together there cannot be constructed anything like a

Teutonic cosmogony. For such we have, as already indicated, to turn to the North.

The two main cosmogonic sources of the Scandinavian branch of the Teutons are Snorri Sturlason's *Gylfaginning* and the *Völuspá*. The former is, however, of less value as being very much a construction from the period of its composition, so that we shall have to draw mainly from the latter. According to it, the origin of the world, with its resultants, was as follows:

'There was, in times of old, where Ymir dwelt,
nor land nor sea, nor gelid waves;
earth existed not, nor heaven above;
there was a chaotic chasm,
and verdure nowhere.

Before Bör's sons raised up heaven's vault,
they who the noble Midhgardh shaped,
the sun shone from the south
on the structure's rocks;

there was the earth begrown
with green herbage.

The sun from the south, the moon's companion,
her right hand cast round the heavenly horses;
the sun knew not where it had a dwelling;
the moon knew not what power it possessed;
the stars knew not where they had station.

The Aesir met on Idha's plain;
they altar-steads and temples high constructed;
their strength they proved, all things tried,
furnaces established,
precious things forged,
formed tongs, and fabricated tools.

At tables played at home; joyous they were;
to them was not the want of gold,
until there came Thurs-maidens three
all powerful,
from Jötunheim.

Then went all the powers to their judgment-seats,
the all-holy gods, and thereon held council
who should the dwarfs' race create,
from the sea-giant's blood
and livid bones.

Then was Mótsognir created,
greatest of all the dwarfs,
and Durin second;
there in man's likeness
they created many dwarfs from earth,
as Durin said.'

Then follows a list of some fifty-five dwarfs, which the high gods created to be remembered as long as mortal men exist on earth. And, as in Genesis and most other cosmogonies, so in the Edda there is a story of a double creation, for now we are told that

'There came three mighty and benevolent Aesir
to the world from their assembly.
They found on earth nearly powerless
Ask and Embla,
void of destiny.

Spirit they possessed not, sense they had not,
nor blood, nor motive powers, nor goodly colour.
Spirit gave Odin, sense gave Hoenir,
blood gave Lodhur,
and goodly colour.'

According to this description of the Creation, we find that before either heaven or earth was made there existed a chaotic state with a deep yawning chasm, later called Ginnungagap ('yawning gap'). This may be considered as the *terminus a quo* for the Teutonic idea of creation. In the *Völuspá* the story of the making of the world is given as here quoted, but it would hardly be fair to make this the only source of the cosmogony of the Teutons, as long as there is another, which proceeds to a much more detailed description. This is found in the prose Edda of Snorri Sturlason, and under the heading *Gylfaginning*, as before mentioned, but it is rather too extensive to quote. In the remaining literature of the Eddas there are also a few other references to the creation of the world and the

origin of things, and these, together with the two main sources just mentioned, offer the following composite view of the Teutonic cosmogony.

Ginnungagap was limited to the north by the cold and frosty region called Niflheim, and to the south by Múspellsheim, with its fire and burning heat. In Ginnungagap itself the cold from Niflheim, carried along by the twelve poisonous rivers, the Elivágar from the fountain Hvergelmir in the lowest depths of the abyss, met the heat from Múspellsheim, resulting in the first development of life, which took form in a being similar to a man and called Ymir, who was of immense size and became the progenitor of the giants.

Along with Ymir there arose from the same union of cold and heat a monstrous cow called Audhumla—an original conception, it seems, and as such the fructifying power. With her milk she sustained Ymir, while she herself fed from the salty stones in Ginnungagap, which she licked. From her contact with the salty stones there grew forth another being called Buri, who united with Ymir's daughter Bestla, a sister of Mimir, the water-demon. By Bestla, Buri had a son Bór, who became the father of Odin, Vili, and Vé. Of these Odin was the greatest, and as such he is sometimes called the father of the gods. Odin and his brethren finally killed Ymir, drowning in his own blood his entire progeny, the giants, with the exception of Bergelmir, who escaped, and, in his turn, now became the father of a new race of giants. With Ymir's body the gods filled the awful and dark abyss, Ginnungagap, and there made the world. From Ymir's flesh they formed the earth; from his blood the rivers, lakes, and seas; from his teeth and smaller bones they made the rocks and pebbles; while from the larger bones they formed the mountains. With his eyebrows they surrounded this new-made earth, and called it Midgardh, outside of which there was the ocean—the whole being now overtopped by heaven, which was made out of Ymir's skull and illuminated with sparks from Múspellsheim itself. From the giant's brains the gods made the flying clouds and the mists.

The next creative act of the Aesir, or high gods, was the making of man. Originally he was made into a pair from the mystic trees Ask and Embla, which the sons of Bór found on the seacoast, when one day they were walking there. To these new-made beings Odin himself gave life, Hoenir understanding, and Lódhur the blood and the lower senses, placing all this in a most beautiful form. Of man in his original state we noted the following from the *Völuspá*: 'Spirit they possessed not, sense they had not, nor blood, nor motive powers, nor goodly colour; spirit gave Odin, sense gave Hoenir, blood gave Lódhur, and goodly colour.' It should be remarked that Hoenir and Lódhur are identical with Vé and Vili.

As we have seen, the dwarfs made another class of beings with which men always had to contend, and who probably represent a later stage in the forming of the Teutonic myths, caused, perhaps, by the resistance of an earlier race to the coming invaders. These dwarfs constituted a hostile power of great number, and are mentioned at many places in the Eddas and in the earlier Icelandic literature.

From the account of the creation of man we have seen that trees have had a prominent place in the Teutonic mind from the very beginning. Most important of these trees was the great ash Yggdrasil, which was the life-tree, the tree of cosmic unity and of all existence, spreading its branches out over the whole world, and reaching with its top even to the abode of the gods, while sending its roots under the world in order to support it. Of

these roots, one goes to Niflheim, where it is constantly gnawed by the subterranean serpent Nídhögg in order to destroy the tree and the world; the second root stretches to the region of the giants, where it enters the spring of Mimir, the great ruler of the nether world and the keeper of the tree itself. From this spring even Odin has to draw his wisdom. The third root reaches to the home of the gods themselves, from under which the sacred spring of Urd has its place, and whence the Norns, the sole arbiters of all human destinies, constantly scoop water to pour over the great ash, so as not to allow it to wither. But, notwithstanding all this care, there will come a time when the great tree will lose some of its leaves and branches, and then it will begin to groan. This will be the signal of Ragnarök, or the end of the present condition of the world. Now the final struggle between the gods and the giants, between good and evil, shall be fought, when evil will be for ever vanquished. After this the Yggdrasil will flourish as never before, and there shall be a new age, with a new earth, in which the hosts of the righteous shall dwell for ever in perfect bliss.

This is as nearly as possible an objective statement of the views of the early Teutons as regards the beginning of the world. But no one can tell whether these beliefs were not preceded by others of a more rude and simple character. This view seems probable to the present writer. But, as the examination of this hypothesis would lead us into the altogether uncertain, we shall have to rest satisfied with the matter we have in hand, and congratulate ourselves that we have so much. Perhaps its philosophy may be summed up as follows. The early Teutons believed in a pre-existing substance in a completely chaotic state, out of which, through the incompatible forces of cold and heat, there arose the primitive forms of life, endowed from the beginning with reproductive power. In this early state only the most monstrous beings were produced—beings like Ymir and his race, the giants. In the generating forces of the cow Audhumla, as well as in the two trees Ask and Embla, we meet new factors of organization, forming gods and men, which have a very near relationship. These are not generated outside of Nature, but within it, and are thus dependent upon it. Hence it follows that even the gods themselves are temporal a *parte ante*, and not eternal. Undoubtedly this was the early idea of the Teutonic race as regards the superior powers in which it believed. Furthermore, the gods are not real creators, but organizers forming the desirable objects out of pre-existing elements, which may have been considered as eternal. The gods may be said to have been generated from Nature, while man is the work of these gods through Nature, and they all in common have to conquer their baser instincts in order to remain free from trouble and curse. It is along these lines that the world itself, considered as a whole, will proceed until, after a final struggle, the new world, with its new conditions of happiness and bliss, shall be ushered in.

Such is the story of the cosmogony of the Teutons contained in some of the most sublime poetry of ancient literature. Few will doubt that it has, at least in a measure, been influenced by early mediæval Christianity, as Meyer and Bugge, together with many others, have proved; but none will deny that in these Icelandic lays we possess the essential strata of genuine Teutonic belief.

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man. Mythologie, Leipzig, 1906; H. Paul, *Grundriss d. germ. Phil.* III. 2, Strassburg, 1896-1900; H. Petersen, *Om nordboernes gudekyrkelse*, Copenhagen, 1876; K. Simrock, *Handbuch d. deutschen Mythologie*?, Bonn, 1887, §§ 6-53; F. Kauffmann, *Deutsche Mythologie*?, Leipzig, 1898; Paul Hermann, *Nordische Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1903; H. Schück, 'Svensk gudatros under hednaden,' *Finsk Tidskrift*, 1898; cf. also T. Möbius, *Catalogus Librorum*, Leipzig, 1860, also his *Verzeichniss*, Leipzig, 1880.

Darmesteter, Rydberg, and Grimm belong to the 'conservative' school, while Mogk and Meyer are very critical with reference to the contents in much of the Icelandic literature, particularly in *Völsungd* and the *Snorra Edda*; Golther occupies a sort of intermediate ground; Müllenhoff is generally considered a very safe guide and a good authority.

S. G. YOUNGERT.

COUNCILS AND SYNODS.

Buddhist (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 179.

Christian—

Early (D. STONE), p. 185.

COUNCILS (Buddhist).—

Before giving a short survey of the traditions relative to the Buddhist Councils, it seems advisable to state what these Councils were. While it is impossible to accept the Buddhist opinion, which views them as ecumenical assemblies after the Nicene type, it is at the same time necessary to explain how Buddhist monastic life, without the help of such solemn assemblies, nevertheless resulted in a sort of 'catholicism,' and secured the redaction and the compilation of Canons of scriptures very like one another. The problem of the origin and character of the early sects cannot be evaded, for sectarianism is as old as catholicism in the Buddhist world; and Councils are said to have been held by the 'orthodox' to impugn sectarianism, and by the 'heterodox' to define their own peculiar tenets. As the history of the Canons and of the Sects will be dealt with elsewhere, we shall say here only what is necessary to avoid misleading ideas about the Councils, and to justify our half-conservative, half-critical position.

I. COUNCILS, CANONS, AND SECTS.—The professed dogma of the Buddhists of the post-canonic ages is that Councils were solemn synods of Saints, where quasi-omniscient and sinless old men (*arhats*, *sthaviras*) gathered in order to rehearse, to 'chant together' (*saṅgiti*), the Word of Buddha (First Council), or to re-state it against the heretical views of innovators (Second and Third Councils), or to approve the addition of new treatises to the sacred lore, or to give authoritativeness to some theory of exegesis (Third Council and Kāśika's Council).

It is hardly necessary to point out that, as regards the First Council, the ecclesiastical dogma is untenable. No European would admit the 'authenticity' of the whole Pāli scriptures; and—without troubling to refer to a number of specious arguments—in presence of such facts as are adduced by Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 176) or R. O. Franke ('Buddhist Councils' in *JPTS*, 1908, p. 8), the relative lateness of a great or the greater part of the *Nikāyas* themselves is evident (see below, on the later Councils). But it is safe to believe with Kern, whose critical methods are by no means uncritical, that there have been 'synods' ('Qu'il y ait eu des synodes, personne ne le nie' [*Geschiedenis*, II. 265]). Upaniṣads as well as Suttantas furnish many evidences of the habit of discussing doctrinal matters.¹ We shall venture to add (1) that Councils were sometimes legal sessions, of the type approved of in the Pāli *Vinaya*, held by the parochial or diocesan (or even polydiocesan) clergy, i.e. a *saṅgha*, in order to inquire into accusations brought against a monk or group of monks (First Council, ordeal of Ānanda [if it be historical], Second Council, on the ten extra-allowances of the monks of Vaiśālī); (2) that heretical views, no less than extra-legal practices, may have been a matter of scandal, of inquiry, of doctrinal appreciation by the *soi-disant* supporters of tradition (Council on the Five Points

Christian—

Mediaeval (D. S. SCHAFF), p. 193.

Modern (H. THURSTON), p. 197.

of Mahādeva?)—there was on some occasions at least more or less formal 'consensus' of the contending parties; (3) that, possibly—we dare not say probably, for no human being knows anything about it, and 'probably' would be misleading where no appreciation of probability is possible—immediately after the death of the Master, some of his disciples, headed by Upālī or Ānanda or Kāśyapa, tried to ascertain at least a list of his authentic sermons and teachings; they agreed, let us say, on the technical 'phrases' which are the oldest form of the *Prātimokṣa* (cf. *Mahāvūyutpatti*, § 256 ff.), on the wording of the Benares sermon, etc.; (4) that kings of old concerned themselves with ecclesiastical affairs, as did kings of later times¹—synods and doctrinal disputations, usual in the Middle Ages, as we are told in many sources,² may sometimes have acquired special importance, owing to royal intervention (Āśoka, Kāśika?); (5) that some monasteries (and in early times there were huge monasteries) were like permanent councils. Their 'living libraries' became Canons; for the canonic shape which the Word of Buddha (*buddhapravachana*) received at last, when Word became Scripture, had been for a very long time foreshadowed by the oral and mnemonic distribution of the Word into several Baskets (*Piṭakas*) and Collections (*Nikāyas*).³

Real synods, regional or local, would have furnished Buddhists with the idea of primitive and catholic Councils, if the immemorial custom of conversing on the Law had not early evolved this very idea, and if the sectarian spirit had not given to it a special importance: 'Our Scriptures are the Word of Buddha, for they have been authenticated by sinless and divinely-eyed witnesses.'

But, while acknowledging the possibility (even the probability) of synods, we are at no loss to point out more certain and farther reaching causes of the facts to be explained, viz. the formation of the body of the Scriptures, the general (if not strict) 'consensus' of the sects of the Hinayāna as concerns Buddha's teaching, and, conversely, the splitting of the Order into sects.

If one excepts the division of the clergy named *āraṇyikas*, 'forest men,' or *pratyekabuddhas*, 'those who leave the world to live as the saints of old' (*vipravrajyā* [see Poussin, *Boudhisme*, 1909, p. 365, and art. TANTRAS]), Buddhist monks have never been hermits, 'rhinoceros-like' solitaries. A novitiate so-called, and often prolonged apprenticeship, study, and service at the feet of the preceptor, fortnightly confession, coenobitic life, and prolonged living together during the rainy season

¹ We may cite Āśoka's Bhābrī Edict and Pillar inscription at Sārnāth (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*?, Oxford, 1908, p. 160); also (possibly) his Edict on the Quinquennial Assembly (Fourth Rock Edict) (V. A. Smith, *Āśoka*, Oxford, 1901, p. 116; Kern, *Manual*, 101); on the assemblies convened by Harsa, see V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 322; Kern, *loc. cit.*, and *Geschiedenis*, II. 220.

² For instance, Tārānātha (*Geschichte des Buddhismus im Indien*, tr. Schleier, 1869), Hsien Tsiang (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, tr. Beal, 1884).

³ On the oral transmission of the *Vinayas*, see Fa-hien, xxxi.

¹ See, for instance, *Digha*, I. 178; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I., Oxford, 1899, p. 244, n. 2.

were designed to prevent the admission of heterogeneous elements or to lead to their expulsion.¹ True Buddhist life was secured in every monastery, and the itinerant habits² which led the Brethren from their aboriginal country to the farthest monasteries of the 'Universal Church' established strong ties between the fraternities. Thus, the sons of Śākya constitute only one family 'held together (not) merely through their common reverence for their master, and through a common spiritual aim'³ but by frequent intercourse and a common fear of deviating from Buddha's practice. Rival orders, whether Jain or Brahman, were a danger to orthodoxy, although they were also a cause of it.

There are no bishops in the Buddhist Order, nor even abbots in monasteries (*vihāras*); there was no monk entitled by the Buddha himself, or by the Church, or by 'Elders in number' (*sambhūta*), to be the 'protection' (*paṭisāraṇa*) of his brothers.⁴ Nevertheless, the present writer is now inclined to believe that Buddhism contains more of a hierarchy than Oldenberg (*Buddha*⁵, p. 395 = *Bouddha*⁶, p. 333) and he himself (*Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1909, p. 335) have hitherto been willing to admit.

The 'ecclesiastical age,' the number of years elapsed since the admission into the Order, and the 'sanctity' (arhat-ship), the number of years elapsed since the acquisition of the passionlessness of an arhat, are the principle of a hierarchy—not a constraining, but a very effectual one. The rule of addressing an 'elder in religious life' by a special title, *bhante*, 'venerable,' instead of using the primitive and levelling *āvuso*, 'friend,' is attributed to the dying Buddha; it was enforced at an early epoch, though not at the very beginning.⁵ Arhats were jealous of their privileges; they regarded it as a very grave crime unduly to claim

¹ As too often happens in such obscure fields, our documents are double-edged, and one can use them to demonstrate conflicting theories—original 'orthodoxy' as well as original 'anarchy.' For instance, we are told of monks 'who had no preceptors and received no exhortation or instruction,' wearing improper garments, eating improper food . . . (*Mahāvagga*, I. 25, in *SBE* xiii. [Vinaya Texts, pt. I.] 161); of 'a certain monk, who had formerly belonged to a non-Buddhist school, silencing his preceptor by reasoning, and going back to that same non-Buddhist school' (*ib.* I. 31. 8). Even old monks return to the world or go over to a (schismatic) faction (*ib.* I. 36. 1). There are monks who forbid novices the use of all food that is taken with the mouth (*ib.* I. 57. 3). Relations with non-Buddhist devotees are forbidden (*Pāc.* 41). The *jaṭilas*, or ascetics with matted hair, are said to have thrown their hair and their sacrificial utensils into the river when Buddha converted them; nevertheless, the phrase *nāthi hutam*, 'obligations to fire are of no use,' is with the Buddhists a heretical tenet (*mithyādrṣṭi*), just as it was probably with the *jaṭilas*. It is not held as absurd and impossible that a monk, when at the half month the *Paṭimokkha* ('Book of Confession') is being recited, should say: 'Now for the first time do I notice that this rule, they say, is handed down in the Suttas . . .' (*Pāc.* 73). Nay, we find the case discussed of not a single monk, among all the Brethren dwelling in some particular place, knowing the *Paṭimokkha* (*Mahāvagga*, II. 77. 6 [*SBE* xiii. p. xxxiv]), but this would prove far too much. It sometimes happens that the sinful monks are strong, and the pious monks feeble; these last are dejected, forced to silence in the *saṅgha*, and go away to another country (*Anguttara*, I. 63).

All these testimonies, and many others, e.g. the dishonest method of securing concord and orthodoxy by manipulation of the votes (Oldenberg, *Buddha*⁵, p. 398 = *Bouddha*⁶ [tr. Foucher], p. 388; *Chullavagga*, IV. 14, 26, in *SBE* xx. [Vinaya Texts, pt. III.] 56), establish at the same time: (1) that there are germs of division, and no small danger of the Order's losing its originality; (2) that, conversely, there is a catholic and traditional spirit, asserting itself in the rules of excommunication, etc. That this spirit gained the upper hand is sufficiently proved by the history of the Church, the constitution of Canons, etc. But the same history (growth of Mahāsaṅgha, Lokottaravāda, Mahāyāna, Tantrayāna) confirms the view that there has always been a Buddhism *du dehors*, a heretical, popular Buddhism, which later gained the predominance.

² See Minayeff, *Recherches sur le bouddhisme*, ch. v. esp. p. 116 ff.; cf. S. Lévi, 'Saintes écritures du Bouddhisme,' *Conférences faites au Musée Guimet, AMG Bibl. de vulgarisation*, xxxi. (1909) 125.

³ *SBE* xiii. p. xii; see Poussin, *Muséon*, 1905, p. 311.

⁴ *Majjhima*, III. 8; reference in Oldenberg, *Buddha*⁵, p. 397 = *Bouddha*⁶, p. 335.

⁵ On this point, see R. O. Franke, *JPTS*, 1908, p. 181. His inquiry shows how much light can be derived from a careful comparison of texts. It establishes the fact that 'in the older canonical texts there appears a certain customary mode of address, different from that prescribed for the future by the Buddha.' Here, again, one may urge that the doctrine of the 'elderness' is not primitive.

arhat-ship; they considered themselves as the spiritual aristocracy of the Church, the universal *saṅgha* (cf. the legend of the judgment of Ananda),¹ There are not only Elders (*thera*), but 'Older Elders' (*theratara* = *πρεσβύτερος*, *therachirapabbajita*), and 'the oldest Elder on earth' (*pathavyā saṅghathera*);² and these old monks are styled 'Fathers of the Church,' 'Leaders of the Church' (*saṅghapituro*, *saṅghaparināyaka*).³

Thus was evolved the idea of Patriarchs, *vinayapāṃokkhas*, 'chiefs of discipline,' or *ācāryas*, 'Masters,' who are supposed by the Sinhalese and the Northern Buddhists to have successively controlled the universal Church. Oldenberg rightly observes that this idea of Patriarchs is foreign to the canonical literature; but we are told in *Dīgha*, II. 124, that such and such a *saṅgha* possesses *theras* and *pāṃokkhas*.⁴

The feeling of the unity of the Order, and the actual striving to promote or to restore this unity, assert themselves in the sermons of Buddha on 'schism' (*saṅghabhedā*),⁵ the most hateful crime, in punishment of which an eternity (*kappa*, 'age of the world') of suffering is hardly sufficient!⁶ In some cases Buddha goes so far as to forbid the re-ordination of monks who have turned away to schism (or who have followed schismatics).⁷

But we ought to be aware that these sermons contain a lesson to the 'rigorists,' or conservative party, as well as to fosterers of division.

The following is reported to Buddha: 'A certain monk, Lord, had committed an offence which he considered as an offence, while the other monks considered that offence as no offence. Afterwards he began to consider that offence as no offence, and the other monks began to consider that offence as an offence. . . . Then those monks . . . pronounced expulsion against that monk for his refusal to see that offence. . . . Then that monk got his companions and friends among the monks on his side, and sent a messenger to his companions and friends among the monks of the whole country. . . . And the partisans of the expelled monk . . . persevered on the side of that expelled monk and followed him. . . . Buddha piteously exclaims: 'The *saṅgha* is divided! The *saṅgha* is divided!' but he has words of rebuke for the 'expellers': 'Do not think, O monks, that you are to pronounce expulsion against a monk for this or that, saying: "It occurs to us to do so."⁸

One has to distinguish between what is really important and what is not worth disputing. *Paṭimokkha*, the essential rule of the Order, and *Dhamma*, the essential doctrine leading to salvation

¹ In *Mahāyāna*, *saṅgha* = *bodhisattvagana*, 'the cohort of the celestial Bodhisattvas' (*Sāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Com. II. st. 1). In the later *Hinayāna*, *saṅgha* = *chattāro pariyāyika*, the four owners of, and the four candidates for, the fruits of *śrotāpanna* . . . arhat (*Kāthāvatthu*, Com. p. 32, *Madhyamakavivṛti*, p. 478). This idea that saints (or quasi-saints) only are real members of the *saṅgha* is visible in *Saṃyutta*, I. 233: *chattāro eva paṭipannā chattāro eva phale* (*thitā esa saṅgho yujjhūto*, and also in the history of Councils (*Chullavagga*, XI. xii.), see discussion in *Kāthāvatthu*, xvii. 6.

² *Chullavagga*, xii.

³ *Dīgha*, II. 77 (= *SBE* xl. 6): 'So long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words,' etc. (We have objections to the translation 'of the order,' and prefer 'of the fraternities, of the parishes.') Here, again, the text shows that disrespect towards Elders was not impossible. Cf. the Vaiśālī legend.

⁴ See *Buddha*⁵, 398 (= *Bouddha*⁶, 336), reference to *Dīpanīsa*, v., *Parivāra*, 2; Kern, II. 291; *Samantapāsādikā*, 292 (*Vinaya-piṭakam*, vol. III. [1881]). See also, on the 'Northern' Patriarchs, Kern, *Geschiedenis*, I. 215.

⁵ There are a number of synonyms, or quasi-synonyms, which are translated as follows: 'altercations, contentions, discord, quarrels, divisions' among the *saṅgha* (*bhedā*), disunion among the *saṅgha* (*naji*), separations among the *saṅgha* (*vavathāna*), schism among the *saṅgha* (*nānakarava*; *SBE* xvii. 288). There is 'disunion,' when the number of disputing monks does not exceed eight; 'schism,' when they are nine or more (*Chullavagga*). It must be observed that the Vinaya has in view disputes in a parish; but it states that 'expelled' monks search for partisans 'in the whole country' (*janapada*), and that 'expellers' give notice abroad of the expulsion. The *Abhidharmakosa* distinguishes between common *saṅghabhedā* and *chakrabhedā* (7), which is the real *saṅghabhedā*; it adds that *bhedā* supposes in the 'schismatic' (*bhettar*) the folly of believing oneself a 'Master' (*āstara*), like Buddha.

⁶ *Itivuttaka*, § 18 = *Anguttara*, v. 76 = *Kāthāvatthu*, xlii. 1 = *Parivāra*, xvii. 78 = *Chullavagga*, vii. 5. 4. [We are indebted for these references to Prof. R. O. Franke.]

⁷ See *Chullavagga*, vii. 5. 4; but cf. the whole paragraph.

⁸ *Mahāvagga*, x. 1; the translators of 'Vinaya Texts' (*SBE* xvii. 237) have: 'expulsion against a bhikkhu whatever be the facts of the case. . . . (*yaṃsīm vā taṃsīm vā*).

—these are important; and happily 'there are not,' Ananda says to Buddha, 'two monks who differ concerning the Eightfold Path, the Four Efforts,' etc.¹ There are also *Adhīpātīnakkha*, *Ajjhāyāva*, and *Abhidhamma*, subtleties or refinements or niceties concerning monastic life and doctrine, but these are mere trifles.

When two monks differ (or believe that they differ) on *Abhidhamma*, one has to content oneself with the mere statement of facts: 'You differ concerning the meaning and the letter [of a Sūtra]; well, do acknowledge that you differ, and do not dispute thereof.'²

Again, 'orthodoxy' has two aspects: not to rest content with 'unreliable' evidences (see below), and not to impugn systematically received opinions: 'Whatsoever monk . . . shall speak thus: "I cannot submit myself to that precept, brother, until I shall have inquired touching it of another monk, an experienced master of the Discipline," that is a Pācittiya, a fault requiring repentance' (*Pāc. 71*).

The principle of the *āchiṇṇa* at once occurs to us, according to which 'it is allowable to do a thing on the ground that "my preceptor, my teacher, has practised this or that"': this principle, acknowledged in Brāhman circles, was maintained by some Buddhists, the heretics of Vaiśālī (*Chullavagga*, xii. 2, 8); and it was to some extent agreed to by the orthodox, for we are told that, when the First Council was just concluded, there came a celebrated monk, Purāṇa, with his 500 disciples, who refused to adhere to the resolutions of the Council: 'The doctrine and the disciplinary rule have been well sung by the Elders; nevertheless, even in such manner as it has been heard by me, and received by me from the very mouth of the Blessed One, in that manner will I bear it in my memory.' Neither the Elders nor the chief writer have a word of rebuke for this individualism (*Chullavagga*, xi. 11).

There are, we say, evidences of a very tolerating tendency; in order to assure concord, the most reasonable are to yield, for discord is the greatest evil. The care to live 'well, without dispute,' and the care not to lose any word of Buddha, whencesoever it might come, were both commended.

It may even happen that laymen are the only supporters of some important texts: 'If he sends a messenger to the monks, saying, "Might their reverences come and learn this suttanta; otherwise this suttanta will fall into oblivion," . . . then you ought to go even during the rainy season' (*Mahāvagga*, iii. 5, 9 [SBE xiii. p. xxvii]).

But the care to be 'orthodox,' and not to alter Buddha's practice (*Buddha-āchiṇṇa*) has not proved less effective. Not only irregular practices, but sinful theories (*pāpikā dīṭṭhi*), must be abandoned.³ The legend of the Vaiśālī Council relates the endeavours of the 'good ones' to enforce the old rules.⁴ The *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, without mentioning Councils, points out that one ought not to rest content, in the matter of the orthodoxy of a theory or of a practice, merely with the testimony of a hearer of Buddha, of an Elder, of a (parish) *saṅgha*, or of many Elders, but that one must look at what we venture to style the original source: 'Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable' [of a hearer, of an Elder, etc.] should be carefully understood, and then one must go for them to the Sūtra, look for them in the Discipline. If they are not to be found in the Sūtra, if they are not to be seen in the Discipline, then you may come to the conclusion, "Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One" (*Digha*, ii. 124).⁵

¹ *Majjhima*, ii. 245; cf. iii. 128. But we are told by Buddhaghosa that these very lists were altered by heretics (see *Anguttara*, i. 1893 [not 1895], p. 98).

² *Majjhima*, ii. 238 (nos. 103 and 104).

³ See SBE xiii. 226, note: 'Temporary expulsion . . . is pronounced against monks who refuse . . . to renounce a false doctrine.'

⁴ See below, p. 183.

⁵ Although Buddha said: 'Syllables are without any importance; you ought not to dispute on mere trifles' (*Majjhima*, ii. 240).

⁶ See SBE xi. 67; *Dialogues*, ii. 133 (Rhys Davids' tr., from which we venture to differ somewhat in wording); cf. the Sanskrit rendering of these criteria of authenticity in Poussin, *Buddhisme*, p. 144.

There is no reason to deny *a priori* that such a notion of the *Dhamma-Vinaya*, as being more authoritative than individual assertions or local traditions, is very old and even primitive. Without turning the early monachism into a catholicism, one may trace strong catholic tendencies in the 'universal fraternity' (*chātuvāsa saṅgha*). The order of the dying Buddha that, after his death, 'the "Law" is the recourse, the lamp, the island,' has been obeyed. From religious and intellectual needs has issued a system of rehearsing practical, legendary, and doctrinal lore—an ever-increasing and more or less organic growth of the primitive wisdom. The schools which style themselves *śāśvatas* (*Thera*, *Theravādins*) wrongly believe that they maintain the doctrine ascertained in the Councils of the Elders; but the older and more 'historical' conception is very similar, viz. that there was a tradition, called the tradition of the Elders, because the Elders were in early times the authoritative witnesses of the Buddha's word.

To sum up: it is not to be believed that 'Canons' were compiled before a relatively late epoch, and additions were possible for a long time after the sacred lore had been converted into sacred books: the Pāli *Parivāra* and *Abhidhammas* may be quoted as evident additions. But already at the time of the compilation of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, the notion of an authentic tradition, whose claims are not to be overborne by isolated *theras* or by parish-clergy, had made its way. And, without admitting a solemn consensus of the universal Church, gathered in Nicene-like assemblies, one can understand how the cœnobic and itinerant organization of the clergy produced this 'common patrimony' of all the sects—to use Cecil Bendall's phrase—which underlies the sectarian development of the Canons known to us.¹

Whilst, in order to explain the 'splitting into sects' and the diversity of the Canons, a Buddhist would admit the *mūlasaṅgiti-bhraṇsa*, 'decay of the original chanting together of the Law,' 'rupture of the primitive consensus,' we shall rather look at the manifold and numerous variants in the wording, and not a few discrepancies in the *mise en œuvre* of the 'common patrimony,' as the natural result of a (doctrinally and locally) diversified work on the oral tradition. The Pāli Canon itself, with its 'polygenous' *loci communes*, its repetitions, its parallel stories with interchangeable heroes, and its contradictions, furnishes us with the best idea of what this tradition was. Nay, it would not be impossible to extract from this Canon two or three Canons all complete, all like one another, and all conflicting.

If the above observations are correct, it is not impossible to work out a provisional theory concerning the origin and the character of sects.² The legend of Purāṇa and numerous evidences of every kind prove that a central authority was wanting, that the original precise dogmatism postulated by some modern historians is purely conjectural, that Buddhist monachism contained germs of 'localization' or division.³ But all this is not inconsistent with a sort of 'catholicism' or 'orthodoxy' at least. Sects (*bhedas*) may arise and develop, without being the results or the causes of formal schisms or divisions of the Church (*saṅghabheda*), and without implying repudiation or the prohibition of 'eating together' or 'communicating together' with monks (*asambhogash saṅghena*, [*Mahāvagga*, x. etc.])—a prohibition which is made known by the repudiating parish to the parishes in general. There may

¹ The consensus of the different sects as concerns the sacred character of many passages, in dogma or history, is not a proof that these passages were unanimously acknowledged before the splitting into sects. Mutual borrowing from sect to sect was by no means impossible; opposition between sects was, on the whole, restricted to a few rules of practice or a few doctrinal tenets; local traditions, or fresh acquisitions, by a particular sect, by some monastery or group of monasteries, were, we must admit, generally welcomed by the others. And it may be urged that a sect—possibly the Pāli-speaking one—which would surpass its fellow-sects in compiling an organized body of Scriptures (or, to be more precise, in designing a drawer-desk in which to put the Buddha's words) would exercise *ipso facto* a profound and decisive influence on the Buddhist Order at large. It does not follow that the traditions of this sect were the oldest, or genuine and free from borrowing, or that they have not been, since their earliest compilation, manipulated, developed, or adulterated in many ways.

² See art. *Śekṛa* (Buddhist). We are not here concerned with the 'Great Vehicle' (*Mahāyāna*).

³ 'Forest men' are allowed to observe ascetic practices that are more or less in contradiction to the principles of the 'middle way' between asceticism and laxity—a principle solemnly stated in the Benares Sermon.

be 'cantonments' without discord, 'diversities' without excommunication. It is, for instance, a fact that Buddhists used their own dialect—Buddha himself is said to have allowed his disciples to do so; and diversity of language is more than sufficient to cause distinction and what we may call 'liturgical' opposition. Details concerning monastic life, robes, and food are also decisive in this regard: discrepancies could not but arise. The Pāli *Vinaya* states that extra allowances ought to be tolerated in some provinces (*Avanti*); four monks make a *saṅgha* in 'bordering countries', nine are necessary in 'middle countries' (*madhyameṣu*), etc.

As we know from later documents, such discrepancies did not lead to scandal or rupture. Of course, a monk ought to follow the rules to which he has subscribed as a novice; but he is not obliged to protest when he is the guest of monks who use food forbidden to him; conversely, his guests have no right to force their own rules upon him.³ But, as it is said, 'the very water has taken fire' (*SBE* xx. 119), the very evidence to which we refer shows that intolerance, too, was by no means impossible in such cases.

Diocesan varieties, which we may consider as the usual origin of sectarian rivalries, did not prevent union and communion, and, therefore, did not prevent collaboration on the Canonical Literature. Anything that claimed to be 'Buddha's word' obtained, as a rule, adhesion. *Sūtras* attested by extraneous tradition (*parasaṃyayas*) were taken into consideration, for later doctrinal contradictions between schools depend upon excesses rather than upon sources, and are more concerned with the meaning of the *Sūtras* than with their authenticity. Schools work on a common literary stock, made up from mutual borrowings, and they arrive at divergent conclusions, even when they do not start from divergent dogmatical tenets. As a rule, doctrinal contradictions do not disrupt the *saṅgha*. If the clergy of a diocese, through the action of a synod or otherwise, draw up a synthesis of the Law, the objection is ready at hand: 'You alter the Law' (*śāsanāṃ navakāṃ*).³ 'No, we have not modified the cardinal principles, theological or moral,' is the answer. And this answer, be it right or wrong, is probably accepted. It may happen that a theory, for instance, the *pudgalavāda* ('doctrine of a permanent ego'), would lead some sectaries so far as to deny the authenticity of certain *sūtras*; or, conversely, it may be a question amongst the orthodox whether such sectaries have any right to style themselves Buddhists, and yet they are recognized as 'scions' of the tradition of the Elders.⁴

Thus, if we consider the mutual relations of sects and their legal position as branches of the universal *Saṅgha*—leaving out of account doctrinal divergences which are not, as such, of paramount importance—sects are not to be contrasted as hostile bodies, with closed traditions. The dream of Bimbisāra may be quoted as giving a true symbol of the Buddhist church:

King Bimbisāra once saw in a dream that a piece of cloth was torn, and a gold stick broken, both into eighteen fragments.⁵ Being frightened, he asked the Buddha the reason. In reply, Buddha said: 'More than a hundred years after my attainment of *nirvāṇa*, there will arise a king, named Aśoka. . . . At that time, my teaching, handed down by several Bhikṣus, will be split into eighteen schools, all agreeing, however, in the end, that is to say, all attaining the goal of final liberation. The dream foretells this, O king, you need not be afraid.'⁶

II. TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE COUNCILS.—

1. First Council or Rājagṛha Council.—The Pāli canonical narrative of the First Council (*Chullavagga*, xi. [SBE xx. 370]) may be summarized in the words of Kern:⁷ 'After the demise of the Master, a certain Subhaddha said to his fellows: "Do not grieve! We are happily rid of the Great Ascetic. We used to be annoyed by being told, "This becometh you, this becometh you not." But now we shall be able to do what we like, and what we do not like we shall not have to do." In order to obviate the dangerous effects of such unseemly

utterances, Kāśyapa the Great made the proposal that the Brethren should assemble to rehearse the Lord's precepts. The proposal was adopted, and Kāśyapa was now entreated to select 500 Arhats. This being done, it was decided that Rājagṛha should be the place of assembly. During a seven months' session the *Vinaya* ("Discipline") was fixed, with the assistance of Upālī; the *Dhamma* ("Law," doctrine), with the assistance of Ānanda.' There are added some details regarding certain errors or misdeeds of Ānanda, who had to make amends for them. Lastly, a celebrated monk, Purāṇa, arrives when the 'chanting together' of the Law is completed, and, although he admits that the Law has been well 'sung' by the Elders or Arhats, he prefers to 'bear' the Law as he has himself received it from the Master.

According to Oldenberg, 'what we have here before us is not history, but pure invention';¹ and every one will agree with him, as far as the 'chanting together' of the whole *Vinaya* and *Dhamma* (= *Sūtras*) is concerned, although, in the words of Kern, 'it is by no means incredible that the disciples, after the death of the founder of their sect, came together to come to an agreement concerning the principal points of the creed and of the discipline.'² As concerns the minor details, whose unhistorical character is by no means evident (misdeeds of Ānanda, excommunication of Chhanna, etc.), Minayeff thinks that they are to some extent historical, and the present writer does not see how this opinion can be 'proved' to be either right or wrong.³ He ventures to believe that it is right. The author of *Chullavagga*, xi., in order to embellish his history of the First Council (a legend or a quasi-legend, an 'ætiologic' or 'apologetic' construction which may cover some kernel of truth), has used traditional data, which are neither more nor less reliable than the whole of the ancient Buddhist Tradition contained in *Vinayas* or *Sūtras*. Moreover, it is not necessary to decide whether these data are true or false; in any case, they present us with useful evidence as to the early Church.

The narratives of several sects—*Dharmaguptas*, *Mahīśāsakas*, *Sarvāstivādins*, *Mahāśāṅghikas*—are parallel with the *Chullavagga*. Although there are manifold discrepancies, it is far from certain that they furnish us with independent traditions.⁴ The *Chullavagga* looks older, for it does not contain any allusion to the rehearsing of the Abhidharma.

Much importance has been attributed by Oldenberg and Franke to the fact that the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*⁵ altogether ignores the Council, although it tells of the indecent attitude of Subhaddha (which, according to the *Chullavagga*, was the occasion of the Council); while, on the other hand, the *Chullavagga* depends (or seems to depend) on the *Mahāparinibbāna*;⁶ therefore, when the last text was compiled, the very idea of a primitive Council had not yet appeared. The present writer does not think that such weighty conclusions can be drawn from a mere literary comparison of the documents. The very argument would not have emerged if the Pāli *Mahāparinibbāna*, like some northern editions of the 'Last days of Buddha,' had been followed by the narrative of the Council; and it is not absurd to suppose that its redactor, for mere literary reasons, abstained from giving an account of the Council.⁷

¹ *Introd. to Vinaya Piṭakam*, p. xxvii.

² Kern, *Manual*, p. 103. According to *Digha*, iii. 210, the divisions among the Jains at the death of the Jina caused Śāriputta to 'rehearse' the Law, to compile a mere numerical enumeration of the dogmatic topics. There is much truth in this information.

³ As is well said by Oldenberg, quoted in *IA*, 1908, p. 7.

⁴ See R. O. Franke, 'Buddhist Councils,' in *JPTS*, 1908, p. 75.

⁵ 'The Book of the Great Decease,' the Pāli narrative of the last days and the funeral of Buddha, tr. Rhys Davids, *SBE* xl., and *Dialogues*, ii.

⁶ See *Dialogues*, ii. 70.

⁷ See *IA*, 1908, p. 8, note; also Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Transl. of the Bud. Tripiṭaka* (Oxford, 1853), no. 552, and *SBE* xl. p. xxxviii. [We are indebted for this reference and this argument to M. Louis Finot.] A typical instance of the complexity of these literary and historical problems is furnished by the various narratives of the episode of Purāṇa.

This episode is more developed in some *Vinayas* than it is in the Pāli *Vinaya Chullavagga*. According to the *Vinaya* of the *Mahīśāsakas*, Purāṇa demanded the insertion of seven permissions (keeping food indoors, cooking indoors, etc.); according to the *Dharmaguptas*, of eight. Now the Pāli *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, vi. 17-19, 20. 4, 32) states that the problem of the 'eight

¹ *Chullavagga*, v. 33. 1: *sakā nirutti*, 'one's own language'—understood by the commentary as meaning 'Buddha's own language.' See Oldenberg, *Introd. to Vinaya Piṭakam* (1879), p. xlix; Minayeff, *Pāli Grammar* (Guyard's French tr., Paris, 1874), pp. xxxix, xlix, and *Pāṇinīyā* (1869), p. xlv.

² I-tsing, *Religieux éminents*, tr. Ed. Chavannes (Paris, 1894), p. 45.

³ *Kathāvatthu*, xxi. 1; cf. *Majjhima*, ii. 245.

⁴ For more details, see art. *Secrs* (Buddhist).

⁵ This figure, 18, which does not agree with our lists of sects, possibly depends upon the 18 *bhedakara-vatthus*, 'causes of division in the Church'—a fanciful list (*Chullavagga*, vi. 5. 2).

⁶ I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion* (tr. Takakura, Oxford, 1896), pp. 13-14; cf. and cf. Taranātha, tr. Von Schietner, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 274; and Watters, *On Yuan Chuang* (1904), i. 162 ff.: 'The tenets of the Schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high; heresies on special doctrines lead many ways to the same end. . . .'

⁷ *Manual* (1896), p. 101 f. (with some omissions).

2. Council of Vaiśālī (Vesālī).—According to a tradition fully developed in *Chullavagga*, xii. (SBE xx. 386), and common at least to several sects, there was held, in the year 100 or 110 after the Nirvāṇa,¹ a Council to examine and condemn ten extra-legal practices of the monks of Vaiśālī. The inhabitants of Vaiśālī and surrounding country (Vraja, the modern Braj) are known as *Vṛjīs* (Pāli *Vajjīs*), and the heretic monks as *Vṛjiputrakas* (Pāli, *Vajjiputtakas*). The heretical practices were described, or technically pointed out, in short phrases—'two fingers,' 'another village,' 'dwelling-place,' etc.—some of which were no longer intelligible when *Chullavagga*, xii., and the other *Vinayas* alluded to were compiled, as is shown by the discrepancies in the interpretation of the 'phrases.'

We may safely acknowledge the historical character of a Vaiśālīan controversy on ten points of monastic discipline, but it is as yet impossible to draw from our documents any conclusion regarding the importance or the date of the event, the development of the monastic institution at that time, or the date of the Pāli *Vinaya* as a whole. The present writer considers it a misleading opinion that the whole Pāli *Vinaya* was anterior to the Vaiśālī Council because it does not contain any allusion to the ten 'phrases.' Further, as is generally admitted, the figures 100 and 110 are round numbers.

Oldenberg's remarks on Vaiśālī (Intro. to *Vinaya Piṭakam*, and 'Buddh. Studien,' ZDMG xlii. 613) cannot be said to have settled the question in favour of the priority of the *Vinaya*. For a discussion of the arguments *pro* and *con* one may refer to *IA*, 1908, p. 81 ff.

R. O. Franke defends an altogether different estimate of the 'Vaiśālīan' legend. His argument against Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī, is, in short, as follows: The author of *Chullavagga*, xi. (First Council), has turned into history the saying of Buddha that 'after my death, O monks, the Law ought to be your refuge.' Therefore, thought this ecclesiastical romancer, the Elders compiled the Law just after the Nirvāṇa; and, as there was no tradition whatever concerning this supposed Council, he employed all the 'evangelical' data which could be of use for an 'apostolic' history. Again, Buddha was said to have delivered many discourses (compiled in the Suttas or in the *Vinaya*) concerning heretics 'who proclaim and hold as right (*dhamma*) what is wrong (*adhamma*), as Discipline (*vinaya*) what is un-Discipline (*avinaya*);' may more, he predicted that the Vajjia would be destroyed owing to their disrespect for Arhats, their discords, etc. Various misdeeds of the Vesālīan *Vajjiputtakas* were also well known; during the lifetime of Buddha, they adhered to the 'five points' (ascetic exaggerations of Devadatta), *Chullavagga*, vii. 4. 1; or, on the contrary, they indulged in the most strange indulgences—eating, bathing, and sleeping as they pleased, and permitting themselves sexual intercourse (*Vinaya Piṭakam*, ii. 23; *Pār. i*, 7. 1). From these data, the ecclesiastical romancer has constructed a history of a schism (finally settled at Vaiśālī), parallel with his history of the compilation of the Law (First Council), and showing the same literary skill: '... The chronicle of the "Second Council" ... is not only a merely literary construction; it does not even possess any relevant subject-matter. Whether such monkish steam as those ten puerilities was ever let off

(or seven) points was discussed during the lifetime of the Buddha, who, after having authorized the 'keeping of food indoors,' etc., withdrew this concession (see *IA*, 1908, p. 5). It is not easy to draw any conclusion from such coincidences. (1) One may say that the *Mahāsāṅghikas* and the *Dharmaguptas* have embellished the history of the Council through attributing to Purāṇa some opinions alluded to and condemned in the *Vinaya*; and this opinion is right enough, for Purāṇa seems not to have been a man to patronize extra allowances; and, from a merely literary point of view, the *Mahāvagga* (our Pāli recension, or some other edition of the subject matter of the *Mahāvagga*) is the probable source of the *Mahāsāṅghika* information. But (2) it is very probable, or rather certain, that the redactors of the *Vinaya* (*Pāli-mokkha*, *Mahāvagga*, etc.) have 'antedated' many prescriptions and many events, Buddha himself being said to have condemned practices or tenets which, in fact, appeared only after his death, and became occasions of disputes or schisms.

¹ The date 100 anno nirvāṇi, according to the *Chullavagga*, the *Mahāsāṅghikas* (Wassilief, in Tārānātha, p. 291), the *Dharmaguptas* (Beal, *Four Lectures on Bud. Lit. in China* [London, 1882], p. 83, and Berlin Congress of Orientalists, Ostas. section, p. 33), and Fā-hien (xxv., at the end); the date 110, according to the Sarvāstivādins (Rockhill, *Life*, p. 171; *IA*, 1908, p. 104), Hsien Tsiang (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, li. 73 f., cf. p. 75, note). Tārānātha (p. 42) says that the figure 'in the *Vinaya* of other schools' is 210 and 220.

has little or no importance for the history of Buddhist literature.¹

3. The two Aśokas and their Councils.—

(1) The Pāli *Vinaya* (*Chullavagga*, xii.) states that the Vesālī Council was held in A.B. 100, but it does not name the reigning sovereign, and it contains no allusion to any later Council. Othersources (*Mahāsāṅghikas*, *Dharmaguptas*, and *Sarvāstivādins* [A.B. 110]) seem to be equally silent on these points.

(2) Pāli later sources (Sinhalese sources) know the name of the sovereign, Kāśāśoka, and they add that the Vesālīan schismatics (*Vajjiputtakas*) in their turn held a Council, the 'Great Assembly,' whence issued the sect *Mahāsāṅghika*, 'of the Great Assembly'—while the *Mahāsāṅghikas* are said by other sources to maintain that this 'Great Assembly' was held immediately after the Rājagṛha Council.

(3) Vasumitra, the author of a treatise on the sects, hitherto undated (see Minayeff, *Recherches*, p. 195), who seems to ignore Vaiśālī, tells us of a Council held in A.B. 100, at Pāṭliputra, under Aśoka, concerning 'five points';² the Council resulted in the division between the Church and the *Mahāsāṅghika* sect.

(4) Bhavya, the author of another treatise on the sects, relates the tradition of the Sammitiyyas that a Council was held in A.B. 137, at Pāṭliputra, under the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma,³ [concerning 'five points'].

(5) According to the same authority, the *Śthaviras* say that a Council was held in A.B. 160, at Pāṭliputra, under Aśoka, concerning some controverted question, and that it resulted in the *Mahāsāṅghika* schism.

(6) According to Tārānātha (p. 44), during the lifetime of Aśoka, Vatsa, a Brahman from Kāśmīr, a monk or even an elder (*sthavira*) preached to the common people the doctrine of the existence of a soul, and caused no little discussion among the clergy. The 'noble Black' (*ārya Kāla* or *Kṛṣṇa*), who had succeeded Dhitika in the 'protection of the Law,' assembled the whole body of clergy in the Puṣkarinī-monastery, in Maru (Marwar), and after a session of three months the followers of Vatsa and Vatsa himself were converted.

This council appears in an altogether different light, namely, as 'the collection of the Scriptures' through the efforts of Vatsa, in Tanjur, Mdo, 182, where it is dated A.B. 400, and in Bhavya, with the figure 200 or 400.⁴ The sect of the Vatsai-

¹ To the present writer it appears that one might safely maintain the reverse. It is *a priori* probable that the discussion of Buddha on schisms, the prediction of the misfortune of the Vajjias, and their fanciful attribution to them of extra-legal practices, either ascetic or sinful, far from being the literary cause of the legend of a schism, are the consequence, the reflexion of some tradition relative to some historical events in which the Vajjia (or Vaiśālīans) were concerned. And the dispute on the 'ten points' was probably such an event. We are greatly mistaken if a part of the *Vinaya*, nay, of the *Pāli-mokkha* itself, is not made up of new (we do not say modern) acquisitions of the earliest Buddhist discipline, acquisitions mainly due to the development of the Order and to the necessity of stating rules for new cases—acquisitions which were, of course, antedated and solemnly attributed to Buddha himself. For instance, when Buddha is said to have first authorized and finally withdrawn some allowance, have we not some right to suppose that the Church itself had modified its rules? We know little of this early history. Buddhist *Vinaya* and *Sūtra* may be compared with an apocryphal Gospel where the decisions of Nicaea and the Canons of Olney may be found side by side with Apostolic traditions. We have only a few episodes which bear an appearance of truth, in so far at least that they are not piously antedated; but amongst them is the Council of Vaiśālī. The 'ten points' have not been 'concocted' from the data of the *Vinaya* by pseudo-historians, even if the narrative depends on the *Vinaya*, as R. O. Franke has proved it to do; on the contrary, it is not impossible that the *Vinaya* has been largely amplified owing to many Vaiśālī-like disputes.

² Five doctrines on Arhat-ship and the Path, the originator of which is named Mahādeva, and sometimes Bhadrā (see below, p. 184, and *JRAS*, 1910, p. 413).

³ The word 'king' (Tibet. *rgyal-po*) is in the singular (see Rockhill, *Life*, p. 188, note), but Nanda and Mahāpadma are two persons (cf. Tārānātha, p. 61; Wassilief, p. 47 [51]). Nanda seems to have been the second or third successor of Aśoka (see V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1901, p. 861).

⁴ See Bhavya ap. Rockhill's *Life*, p. 187. In the words of the latter, '... a Council held in the year A.B. 137 (see (4) above) ... the monks continued to quarrel for sixty-three years afterwards, that is to say, till A.B. 200; and 102 years later (i.e. A.B. 302) the *Śthavira* and *Vātsīputriya* schools verified the canon ["rightly collected the doctrine"].' The present writer holds, against Rockhill, (1) that *gnas-brtan gnas mahā bus* must be translated *Śthavira Vātsīputriyena* (cf. *Ymptrege*), that is to say, 'the Elder and head Vātsīputra collected the doctrine'; (2) that the figure 102 is wrong; Bhavya's *brgya phrag gñis* may be or must be 200 (see Jäschke, *Tibet. Grammar*, Eng. tr., London, 1883, p. 31 n.), and Mañjuśrīśāśvavajra, quoting Bhavya, has *his brgya*, that is to say, 200. We have 137+63=A.B. 200. If we add 200, we have 400, the date of the Vātsīputriya Council according to Tanjur, t. 132, fol. 32 (Tārānātha, p. 298). We prefer to take the figure 200 of Bhavya as the total 137+63, for the phrases *de-nas lo brgya phrag gñis hḍas paṭ rjes la*, *de rjes lo his brgya hḍaspaṭ* may be translated: 'then (*talas*) two hundred years being elapsed, then, after two hundred years' (cf. Tārānātha, p. 298, line 6 f.). [The dispute of 63 years, says Tārānātha (p. 61), lasted 100 years from its commencement till its final settlement.]

putriyas, 'adherents of Vatsiputra,' scions of the *śāhviras*, is well known for its theory of a soul (*pudgala*).¹
(7) Sinhalese sources: a Council in A.B. 236, at Pāṭaliputra, under Aśoka (Dharmāsoka), which proclaimed the orthodoxy of the *Vibhajjavāda* ('doctrine of the distinction'), to which belongs the Pāli or Sinhalese Church, and authenticated the last of the Pāli Abhidharma treatises, the *Kathāvatthu*.

The obvious conclusions are as follows. (a) Nothing precise was known concerning the origin of the Mahāśāṅghikas. They claimed to be ancient and orthodox. Others styled them heretics and schismatics. The Sinhalese identified them with the Vesālian Vajjiputtakas, but there is no evidence in favour of this identification; some sects believed that they originated out of the dispute on the 'five points,' and it seems certain that they admitted the 'five points.' (b) There was a tradition of a Vesālian Council on 'ten points,' late uncertain, no mention of king; and (c) a tradition of a Council on 'some controverted question,' more precisely on 'five points'; date uncertain, and probably no mention of king. (d) The monks of Ceylon supposed that their *Kathāvatthu*, a catalogue of heresies, had been first preached mysteriously by Buddha; they were well aware that the book was 'modern,' nay, that it had been revealed by Tissa Moggaliputta, some centuries after the Nirvāṇa; and they had reasons to admit that their Scriptures, inclusive of the *Kathāvatthu*, had been rehearsed in a Council, which could not be the Vaiśālī Council, since the *Chullavagga* ignores Tissa and the *Kathāvatthu*.

It was reasonable to place all the important events in the history of the Church under Aśoka, a sovereign who had evidently been a second 'mover of the Wheel of the Law'; and this was done. [Note the exceptional mention of Nanda and Mahāpadma, above, p. 183.] Again, Pāṭaliputra was the evident seat of such meetings. Our Northern documents are scanty and conflicting, but they give the impression that there was no certain tradition of the date of Aśoka: 100, 110, 137, or 160 are figures out of which no chronology can be extracted ('no oil out of sand,' *na ekaṭābhīyas tasmā*).

Sinhalese tradition places the Vaiśālī Council in 100 under Kālāsoka, and the Pāṭaliputra Council in 236 under Dharmāsoka. Besides the 'Northern' figures for Aśoka (100 [110], 137, 160), there was a fourth figure, A.B. 236 (17 or 19 years after his coronation in A.B. 217, 219). We are not concerned with the question whether these were fanciful or traditional computations. In fact, the authors of the ecclesiastical history 'concocted' in Ceylon admitted this figure, without troubling themselves very much to adjust it to some other chronological details of their own; and, as they maintained the canonic date of Vaiśālī, and were at a loss to name the sovereign reigning in A.B. 100, they imagined a 'black Aśoka,' *Kālāsoka*—a mere *idolum libri*.²

The Sinhalese narrative of the Third Council is open to serious objections as concerns the rehearsal of the Pāli Canon and of the *Kathāvatthu* as it stands now, and as regards the solemn declaration by the whole clergy that Buddha was a *Vibhajjavādin*, i.e. that he adhered to the tenets of the school of this name. But some details are historical, and the story itself rests on historical ground. Aśoka's inscriptions are explicit enough as to the king's intervention in clerical questions: we know that he decreed expulsion ('putting in white [*i.e.* layman's] garments') against [monks or] nuns. The Sinhalese tradition may be relied upon when it affirms that such rules were enforced against bad monks, 'pseudo-Buddhists';³ but that 'heretics' were ill-treated by the king seems rather incredible. On the other hand, it is unfortunate that the inscriptions contain no allusion to a 'Council,' and some historians feel obliged to place

the Council in the short time between the Pillar-inscriptions and the death of the king (see ii. 126). But the question is whether the Council was what it is said to have been, a 'Nicene' Assembly, and not rather a series of synods or dogmatic disputations.

Until the *Kathāvatthu* has been thoroughly studied and compared with 'Northern' documents, it will be impossible to describe the ancient doctrinal discussions; but we already possess a few hints which may prove useful.

(a) The name of Tissa Moggaliputta, the hero of the Third Council and the 'defender' of the *Vibhajjavādin* faith, is quoted in the books of a rival sect, the Sarvāstivādins. The *Vijñānakāya*, a treatise of this sect, 'is a tedious argumentative treatise combating the views of a Moggalin who denied the reality of the Past and the Future . . .' (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I. 374). This 'thesis of the omni-existence' (*sarvāstivāda*), which gave their name to the Sarvāstivādins, is discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* (l. 6-10). It is at least possible that a Moggaliputta maintained the system or method of distinction (*vibhajja*) which already appears in the sermons of Buddha on *sabbam aṭṭhi*? 'Does anything exist?' (*Samyutta*), and is employed in some places of the *Kathāvatthu*.

(b) It is an interesting fact that the 'five points'—the five theories attributed to a schismatic, Mahādeva by name, concerning the Arhat-ship and the Meditation—whichever, according to the 'northern' sources, were discussed under Aśoka and formed the origin of the Mahāśāṅghika schism,—are also discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* (ii. 1-6).¹

(c) Further, the first heresy condemned in the *Kathāvatthu*—'Is there in the truest and highest sense a soul (*pudgala*)?'—is known from the Northern sources as the capital tenet of the Vātsīputriyas (see above, p. 184); and we believe that the problem of the 'soul' aroused division in the earliest times. The second heresy—'Can an Arhat fall from Arhat-ship?'—is also very ancient, etc.

To sum up: it seems almost certain that a number of heresies discussed in the *Kathāvatthu* may have occasioned discussions, synods, and divisions in the days of Aśoka, and even before his time; that there was a *Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa*, a 'book on controversies,' which could be easily completed, and, in fact, has been enlarged through many and manifold additions. There is no reason to doubt that, in a primitive form, it was in some way connected with Tissa Moggaliputta.

4. Council of Kaniska.—The documents concerning this Council are late, 'more or less at variance, and, moreover, very vague.'²

It seems that this Assembly is, for the Sarvāstivādin School, what Moggaliputta's Council is for the *Vibhajjavādin* School of Ceylon—an apologetic quasi-invention. Like the *Vibhajjavādins*, the Sarvāstivādins possess treatises on Abhidharma,³ and maintain that these are authoritative (word of the Buddha) their authenticity or authority was, they say, recognized at the Council held under Kaniska, and, moreover, a Commentary on the Abhidharma-treatises (*Vibhāṣā*) was compiled or written on this occasion. It must be observed that the *Abhidharmakośa*, while stating the conflicting theories of the *Vaiśāṅkikas* (scions of the Sarvāstivādins, relying on the *Vibhāṣā*) and of the *Sautrāntika* (who consider the Abhidharma-treatises as 'human' works), does not mention, we think, Kaniska's Council; further, that all the Kāśmīras (monks of Kāśmīr, the stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins and *Vaiśāṅkikas*) are not *Vaiśāṅkikas*.

The narratives of this Council are to some extent dogmatic legends,⁴ and seem only to bear witness to the literary activity of the Sarvāstivādins. As is well said by Takakusu, until the treatises of this school shall have been made accessible to scholars, it will be vain to argue about the Council or its proceedings (see artt. *VAIBHĀŚIKAS*, *SARVĀSTIVĀDINS*).

¹ See *JRAS*, 1910, p. 413.

² Kern, *Manual*, p. 121 (see also *Geschiedenis*, II. 359). Kern gives a summary of the narratives of Fa-hien, Hsien Tsiang, Taranātha (Tibet. *Lebensbeschreibung Sakyas Munis*, tr. von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1849). V. A. Smith (*Early History*, p. 249 ff.) adds new evidences, especially Takakusu's observations. The date of Kaniska, in the present writer's opinion, has not yet been ascertained; but there is nothing to prove that the Sarvāstivādin books are either earlier or later than Kaniska (q.v.).

³ It seems certain that the two Abhidharmic collections have nothing in common.

⁴ The present writer cannot agree with Kern's opinion (*Manual*, p. 122) that, as a result of the Council, 'somehow an agreement, a *modus vivendi*, was hit upon on the base of the principal truths unassailed by any of the 18 sects.' Such an interpretation of the legends is opposed by the fact that the Sarvāstivādin character of the Council seems to be proved.

¹ *Vātsīputriya*—the reading is certain—is translated *gnas-māhi* *bu*; *Vātsa* is a conjecture of Schiefner for *gnas-pa*; *Vātsīputra*, a conjecture of the present writer for *gnas-māhi* *bu*. Kern says that the *Vātsīputriyas* are 'evidently the same as the Vajjiputtakas of the (Sinhalese) Chronicles' (*Manual*, p. 111); that is to say, in their genealogy 'of the sects the Sinhalese give to the Vātsīputriyas the old name Vajjiputtakas. But there is only quasi-homophony between these two names.'

² See V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1901, p. 355. We are much indebted to this authority.

³ See *Samantapāsādikā*, *Vñyāna*, III. 312 [read line 19 *apapabājesi*, 'forced to quit the order']; cf. *Sikṣasāmañchaya*, p. 66 (which forbids such spiritual usurpation of the 'civil power'), and *Lotus of the Good Law*, *SEE* xxi. ch. xii. 17.

5. We must be content simply to note a tradition as to later Councils: A.B. 400—Vātsiputra's Council; A.B. 700—Mahāsammatīyas' Council; A.B. 800—a Council under Bhūtika and Buddhāmītra (Wassilief, *ap. Taranātha*, p. 298).

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L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

COUNCILS (Christian: Early, to A.D. 870).—1. The various kinds of Councils.—The Councils of the early Church may be classified as follows: (1) Diocesan, being the assembly of a single diocese; (2) Provincial, being of all the dioceses comprised in an ecclesiastical province; (3) Councils of united provinces, being assemblies of several neighbouring provinces, sometimes called Plenary Councils (*concilia plenaria*); (4) Patriarchal, being of the provinces united in one patriarchate, sometimes called Plenary or Universal Councils (*concilia plenaria* or *concilia universalia*); (5) National, being of the provinces existing in a country, sometimes called Plenary or Universal Councils, frequently identical with Primate and Patriarchal Councils; (6) General Councils of the East or of the West, being of all the provinces in the East or the West; (7) General Councils representing in their constitutions the whole Church; (8) Ecumenical Councils, being Councils whose decisions were accepted by the whole Church.¹ To these may be added (9) the Councils held at Constantinople in the 4th and following centuries, known as the Home Councils (*οἰκουμενικαὶ ἐνδημοῦσαι*); and (10) the Mixed Councils (*concilia mixta*) of the 9th and following centuries, held in regard to matters of Church and State.

2. The constitution of Councils.—(1) A diocesan Council consisted normally of the presbyters of the diocese, meeting under the presidency of the bishop. The rule of the bishop was not regarded as being rightly exercised altogether independently of the presbyters, although he had the power and the responsibility of decisions.

In the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch the authority of the bishop is constantly viewed as being exercised in connexion with the presbyters (see, e.g., *ad Eph.* 20; *ad Magn.* 6, 7; *ad Trall.* 3). St. Cyprian (*Ep.* xiv. 4), writing to his presbyters and deacons, says: 'From the beginning of my episcopate I determined to do nothing separately of my own judgment, without your advice and without the assent of the laity.' The advice of clergy and laity was sought by the bishop in regard to those whom he ordained. St. Cyprian (*Ep.* xxviii. 1) writes to his presbyters and deacons and laity: 'In the ordination of clergy it is our custom to consult you beforehand, and to consider in common counsel the character and deserts of individuals'; and a canon of the 6th cent. Gallican document, known as the canons of the 'Fourth Council of Carthage' (canon 22; see Hardouin, *Concilia*, i. 980), which passed into the general Western canon law (*Decret.* ii. xxiv. 6), enacted 'that a bishop is not to ordain clergy without the advice of his clergy, so that he may look for the assent and witness of the people.'

¹ The nomenclature is not uniform; but it prevents confusion to use 'General' for Councils representative of the whole Church in their constitution, and 'Ecumenical' for those whose decisions are accepted by the whole Church.

From this dependence of the bishop on the advice of those in his diocese the diocesan Councils had their origin. The normal constitution of such Councils was that they consisted of the bishop and presbyters of the diocese, though in important matters other bishops were sometimes associated with the Council.

For instance, a Carthaginian Council, probably earlier than A.D. 249, is described by St. Cyprian (*Ep.* i. 1) as composed of 'I and my fellow-bishops who were present, and our fellow-presbyters who sat with us.' At a Roman Council held a little later there were present, besides Cornelius the Bishop of Rome and the Roman presbyters, five bishops who happened to be at Rome at the time (Cornelius in *Cypr. Ep.* xlix. 2). About A.D. 320, Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, summoned a Council of the presbyters, together with certain bishops who were then at Alexandria, to consider the case of Arius (see *Epiph. adv. Hær.* lix. 2). A 6th cent. Gallican canon in the so-called 'Fourth Council of Carthage' (canon 25; see Hardouin, i. 980), which passed into the general Western canon law (*Decret.* ii. xv. 7 [6]), enacted 'that a bishop is not to hear the case of any one without the presence of his clergy; and the judgment of the bishop shall be void if it is not confirmed by the presence of the clergy.'

By means of his diocesan Council the bishop had the advice of his presbyters and their assent to his decisions in the exercise of discipline and the selection of candidates for ordination, and, moreover, knew the mind of his diocese when he came to meet other bishops in the larger Councils.

(2) As the diocesan Councils arose from the relation of the bishop to the presbyters of his diocese, so the provincial and larger Councils had their origin from his relation to the other bishops of the province. The local Council concerning Arius, held at Alexandria by Bishop Alexander, mentioned above, led to that bishop convening a Council of many bishops (Socrates, *HE* i. 6). The still larger Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) was also due to the controversy about Arius; and this Council formulated a specific provision for the holding of provincial Councils in order that the excommunications of individual bishops might be revised by the bishops of the province, and the danger of injustice consequently lessened.

'In regard to the excommunicated, whether of the clergy or of the laity, the sentence passed by the bishops of each province shall have the force of law in accordance with the canon which enacts that those who have been excommunicated by some bishops shall not be admitted by others. Inquiry must, however, be made to see that the bishop has not passed the sentences of excommunication from smallness of mind, or from love of strife, or from some such perversity. In order, then, that such an inquiry may be held, it has seemed good to decide that during each year, in each province, Councils be held twice in the year, that all the bishops of the province may meet together, and that such inquiries be made, and that thus those who have evidently offended against their bishop may be seen by all to have been reasonably excommunicated, until the assembly of the bishops may think well to pronounce a milder sentence in their case. The Councils are to be held, the one before Lent, in order that all smallness of mind may be put away, and that the gift may be offered to God in pureness, the other in the autumn' (canon 5; see Hardouin, i. 323-326).

This canon of Nicea is of great importance as illustrating (a) the purpose of revising the acts of individual bishops by the holding of provincial Councils; and (b) the connexion between the exercise of the bishop's authority and his power of excommunication. Similarly, it was enacted by the Council of Antioch in 341 that,

'If any one be excommunicated by his own bishop, he may not be admitted by other bishops unless he has been restored by his own bishop, or unless a Council has been held and he has appeared before it and made his defence, and convinced the Council and obtained a new decision. This decree applies to laity and presbyters and deacons and all ecclesiastics' (canon 6; see Hardouin, i. 695).

Apart from exceptions at Rome at the end of the 5th cent., and in Spain in the 7th cent., to be mentioned later, the constituent members of provincial and larger Councils were bishops only, though presbyters and deacons and lay people were sometimes present. The earliest instances of Councils of a character to be reckoned with provincial or larger Councils are those held during

the 2nd cent. in Asia Minor concerning Montanism, and in many places concerning the date of Easter. Such scanty evidence as exists about these Councils indicates that the members of them were bishops only (see Euseb. *HE* v. 16, 23, 24; *Libellus Synodicus*, in Hardouin, v. 1493-1496; Salmon, in Smith-Wace, *DCB* iii. 938; Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, i. 123-130, 151-153). At the African Councils held in the middle of the 3rd cent., presbyters and deacons and lay people were present (see Cypr. *Epp.* xvi. 4, xvii. 1, 3, xix. 2, xxx. 5, xxxi. 6, xxxiv. 4, lv. 5, lix. 15, lxiv. 1), and expressed their opinions, sometimes in opposition to that of their bishop (*ib.* xvii. 3, lix. 15); but the actual decisions were the work of the assembled bishops, who alone were the constituent members of the Councils. For instance, a Council summoned to discuss the question of the validity of baptism administered by schismatics was held at Carthage on 1st Sept. 256. Besides the eighty-seven bishops from provincial Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania, who were the members of the Council, there were present presbyters and deacons, and a large number of lay people. That only the bishops were the constituent members of the Council is shown by the judicial pronouncements being their work alone (see 'Sententia Episcoporum,' in *S. Cypriani Opera*; cf. Cypr. *Epp.* i. 1, xix. 2, xlv., xlv. 2, 4, lix. 13, lxiv. 1, lxx. 1, lxxi. 1, lxxii. 1, lxxiii. 1). The Councils held at Antioch in 264 or 265, and 289, to consider the charges against Paul of Samosata, are described by Eusebius as consisting of bishops. Presbyters and deacons were present at Antioch in connexion with the Councils, and at one of them a presbyter took a prominent part in the discussions; but there is no reason to suppose that these Councils differed from those at Carthage, so as to include others besides bishops as constituent members possessing votes, though the letter written to announce the decision of the last Council of the series was in the name of 'bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and the Churches of God' (see Euseb. vii. 27-30). Similarly, the Arabian Councils about 244 consisted of bishops, though Origen, who was a presbyter, took part in a conference held in connexion with one of the Councils, and appears to have spoken in the actual proceedings of another Council, but on the invitation of the bishops, not as a member of the Council (see Euseb. vi. 33, 37). The constituent members of the Councils held in the 4th cent. were bishops, and any presbyters or deacons or ecclesiastics in minor orders who might be the representatives of absent bishops and empowered to vote on behalf of those whom they represented. Thus, at Elvira in 305, twenty-six or thirty-six presbyters were present, had seats, and signed the decrees in a group after the bishops; deacons were present standing; and lay people were present. But the decrees were described as the decisions of the bishops (see 'Acts of Elvira,' in Hardouin, i. 249, 250). In like manner, at Arles in 314 some presbyters and deacons and ecclesiastics in minor orders were present in attendance on bishops or as representatives of absent bishops; but the natural inference from all the evidence is that the only constituent members of the Council, that is, those with a right to be present and vote, were bishops and representatives of absent bishops (see 'Acts of Arles,' in Hardouin, i. 266-268; cf. Euseb. x. 5). So again, at Nicea in 325, many presbyters, deacons, and acolytes were present as attendants of bishops; Athanasius, then an archdeacon in attendance on the Bishop of Alexandria, was prominent in discussions connected with the Council; laymen took part in conferences before its formal opening; and the Emperor Constantine, though still unbaptized, was present at some of the pro-

ceedings, as the head of the State. But the accounts of all the authorities show that bishops and representatives of absent bishops were the only constituent members of the Council (see Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 6-14; Socrates, i. 8-14; Sozomen, i. 15-25; cf. Bright, *The Age of the Fathers*, .903, i. 78).

Till nearly the end of the 5th cent. the evidence suggests the same conclusions as those which have been mentioned in regard to the Councils of the 2nd and 3rd and early 4th cents., namely, that at provincial and larger Councils bishops alone were entitled to be present and vote, or, if unable to attend the Council, to nominate representatives with power to vote in their absence; that they frequently brought with them to Councils presbyters or deacons in attendance on them and for purposes of consultation, but without votes; and that they often were careful to ascertain the mind of the lay people about the matters which it was the work of the Council to discuss and decide upon. In the series of Roman Councils held in the latter part of the 5th cent. and during the early years of the 6th cent., the constitution of some Councils was the same as already described; in other Councils of the series the presbyters and deacons, who were the precursors of the cardinals, appear to have held a position like that of the bishops. For instance, presbyters apparently shared in the authority of the bishops at the Council held in 495 (see the 'Acts,' in Hardouin, ii. 941-948); and both presbyters and deacons at that held in 499 (*ib.* ii. 959-963). A different instance of others than bishops being members of provincial or larger Councils is in the Spanish Councils of the 7th cent., which included abbots, as, for example, the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653 (*ib.* iii. 967).¹

3. The relation of the laity to Councils.—It is important to distinguish two separate matters: the position of the Christian laity as such, that is, as members of the Christian society, the Church; and the position of the representatives of the State. (1) As already mentioned, Christian lay people—in earlier times probably a multitude who were allowed to come in, and probably including women as well as men,² and in later times selected representatives—were present at Councils. Neither in diocesan nor in larger Councils do they appear to have been members with votes. They were present in order that they might (a) express their opinions on matters under discussion; see, e.g., Cypr. *Epp.* xvii. 3, lix. 15; (b) bring abuses to the knowledge of Councils; see, e.g., canon 4 of Fourth Council of Toledo (633), in Hardouin, iii. 580; (c) know the decisions which the members of the Councils made; see, e.g., the letter of Viventolus, the Archbishop of Lyons, summoning the Council of Epao (517), in Hardouin, ii. 1046. (2) As the friendship of the State towards the Church increased, and the relations between them became closer, the Emperors, or their representatives, and great men of the State were present at Councils. At Nicea (325), Constantine, though unbaptized, and therefore in no sense a representative of the Christian laity, was present (see above); and the Emperors were represented, and were in some cases present, at four of the other six Ecumenical Councils (see below), namely at Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople (680), and Nicea (787); see 'Acts of Ephesus,' p. i. cap. xx.; 'Acts of Chalcedon,' Acts i. vi.; 'Acts of Constantinople,'

¹ The position of the presbyters in the Roman Councils and that of the abbots in the Spanish Councils mentioned above probably had much to do with the events through which the English provincial Councils in the 13th cent. included abbots and priors and representatives of cathedral and collegiate chapters and of benefited parochial clergy. This, again, was one cause of the privileges of the Lower Houses of the Canterbury and York Convocations.

² Cf. *Act* 1:14-26 for a parallel in Apostolic times.

Act i.; 'Acts of Nicæa,' Acts i., viii., in Hardouin, i. 1345-1348, ii. 53, 463-465, iii. 1056, iv. 33-40, 481-485. Instances of illustrious laymen, present at Councils of the Church as representatives of the State, are not infrequent in later times, particularly in Spanish and Anglo-Saxon Councils; see, e.g., the Acts of the Roman Council of 495 (Hardouin, ii. 943); the Second Council of Orange in 529 (*ib.* 1102); eleven out of the series of sixteen Councils held at Toledo from 589 to 701, the laymen at which were in some cases chosen by the Council itself, and in other cases appointed by the king (*ib.* iii.); and the Councils at Cloveshoo in 747 and 822 (*ib.* iii. 1952, 1953, iv. 1245). Side by side with these Councils, to which lay representatives of the State were admitted, there were Councils restricted to bishops, as, e.g., the Sixth and Seventh Councils of Toledo (638 and 646) and the Councils of Hertford (673) and Hatfield (680) (see Hardouin, iii. 608-610, 623-625; Bede, *HE* iv. 5, 17, 18; cf. Bright, *Chapters of Early Eng. Ch. Hist.*³ 1897, pp. 276, 357, 358; Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, 1899, pp. 137, 151). Lay people were members of the mixed Councils held on matters of joint interest to Church and State; and these sometimes included women, as, e.g., the abbess Hilda at Whitby (664), and the abbess Ælfeda at the Council on the Nidd in Northumberland (705) (see Hardouin, iii. 993, 1826; Haddan-Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, 1869-1878, iii. 101, 266).

4. The convocation of Councils.—Diocesan and provincial Councils were convoked by the bishop of the diocese and the metropolitan of the province respectively. In regard to larger Councils it is necessary to consider the relation of (1) the Emperor, and (2) the Pope; and any initiative of the Pope in regard to local Councils may be discussed together with his relation to the larger Councils.

(1) Each of the seven Ecumenical Councils was summoned by an Emperor—Nicæa (325) by Constantine the Great (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 5, 6);¹ Constantinople (381) by Theodosius I. (Socrates, v. 8; Sozomen, vii. 7; Theodoret, *HE* v. 7); Ephesus (431) by Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. (see 'Acts of Ephesus,' p. i. cap. xix., xx., in Hardouin, i. 1343-1348); Chalcedon (451) by Marcian and Valentinian III. (see 'Acts of Chalcedon,' p. i. cap. xxx.-xxxvi., *ib.* ii. 45-52); Constantinople (553) by Justinian (see 'Acts of Constantinople,' Coll. i., *ib.* iii. 56); Constantinople (680-1) by Constantine II. (see 'Acts of Constantinople,' Act i., *ib.* iii. 1056); and Nicæa (787) by the Emperor Constantine VI. and the Empress Irene (see 'Acts of Nicæa,' 'Divalis sacra,' and Act i., *ib.* iv. 21-24, 36).

(2) Pope Victor I. appears to have given the initiative for the holding of local Councils to discuss the Paschal question in the 2nd century. Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, mentions that the Asiatic Council was summoned by him at the desire of Victor (see his letter in Euseb. *HE* v. 24). This makes it probable that the Councils held in other places at the same time on the same question were convoked because of a wish expressed by Victor. The relation of the Popes to the convoking of the seven Ecumenical Councils must be considered in some detail. (a) It came to be believed that Pope Sylvester I. had shared in, or agreed to, the summoning of the Council of Nicæa (325) by Constantine. In the address of the Sixth Ecumenical

Council (Constantinople, 680) to Constantine IV. it is said that Constantine the Great and Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, summoned the Council of Nicæa (Hardouin, iii. 1417), and in the *Liber Pontificalis* (xxxiv.) it is said that this Council was held with his assent. If it is the case, as Rufinus (*HE* i. 1) says, that Constantine acted in accordance with the views of the bishops, there is strong probability that the Bishop of Rome would be one of those consulted. (b) The Second Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 381, was summoned from the East only, and no Western bishop took part in it. There is no evidence¹ and no probability that the Pope had anything to do with the convocation of it. (c) Pope Celestine I. took no part in the summoning of the Third Ecumenical Council, held at Ephesus in 431. (d) The circumstances connected with the summoning of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, held at Chalcedon in 451, are complicated. They justify the words of Pope Leo I. himself, that the Council was held 'by the command of the Christian princes and by the consent of the Apostolic See' (St. Leo, *Ep.* cxiv. 1), and the courtly phrase of the Emperor Marcian, that the Council was to take place at the suggestion of the Pope (*Opera S. Leonis*, *Ep.* lxxiii.), if some latitude of interpretation is allowed to this phrase. They are inconsistent with the statement of the bishops of Mœsia in their letter to the Emperor Leo that the Council had been assembled 'by the order of Leo, the Roman pontiff, who is truly the head of the bishops, and of the venerable bishop Anatolius' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' cod. encyc. 12, 'Ep. Episc. Mœs. sec. ad Leonem Imper.,' in Hardouin, ii. 710). The facts are as follows. After the 'Robbersynod' of Ephesus in 449, Pope Leo I. asked the Emperor Theodosius II. to summon a Council of bishops from all parts of the world to meet in Italy (*Ep.* xlv.).² He twice repeated the same request (*Epp.* liv., lxi.), though on the second occasion he said that the Council would be unnecessary if without it the bishops would subscribe an orthodox statement of the faith (*Ep.* lxi.). He also asked Valentinian III., the Western Emperor, and his mother and his wife, Galla Placidia and Licinia Eudoxia, to support this request to Theodosius (*Epp.* lv.-lviii.). Soon after St. Leo's third letter to Theodosius, that Emperor died. His successors, Pulcheria and Marcian, wrote to St. Leo that they were willing to convocate a Council, evidently intending that it should be held in the East (St. Leo, *Ep.* lxxiv.), but circumstances had changed since St. Leo had expressed his wish for a Council, and he wrote two letters to Marcian and another to Pulcheria, dropping the wish for a Council, and in the second letter to Marcian urging that it would not now be advisable to hold one (*Epp.* lxxii., lxxiii., lxxiv.). After the writing of the first of these letters, and before the second and third, the Emperor Marcian convoked the Fourth Ecumenical Council. When the Council had been summoned, St. Leo wrote two letters to Marcian. In the first of them, dated 24th June 451, he said that he had hoped for the postponement of the Council, but that, since the Emperor had determined on its being held, he would not offer any hindrance, and appointed representatives to be present at it (*Ep.* lxxix. 1). In the second letter, dated 26th June 451, he wrote that, though he had requested the postponement of the Council, he would not oppose the Emperor's arrangements

¹ In connexion with his summoning of the Council as well as with his presence at it, there is need of remembering that Constantine was still unbaptized. He was baptized shortly before his death by Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia (see Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 61, 62; Socrates, i. 39; Sozomen, ii. 34; Theodoret, *HE* i. 82; St. Ambrose, *de Obiit. Theod.* 40; St. Jerome, *Chron.* sub anno 354. This evidence is too early and strong for it to be credible that Constantine was baptized at an earlier date by Sylvester, Bishop of Rome (see *Liber Pontificalis*, xxxiv.).

¹ The reference to the letters of Pope Damasus to Theodosius in the synodical letter preserved by Theodoret (*HE* v. 9) concerns the Council of 382, not that of 381; see v. 8.

² In making this request, St. Leo may possibly have been influenced by the appeals made to him by Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylæum: see G. Amelli, *S. Leone Magno e l'Oriente*, Rome, 1882, pp. 41-49; *Spicilegium Cassinense*, Monte Cassino, 1893, l. 182-187.

(*Ep. xc. 1*). (e) The attitude of Pope Vigilius towards the Fifth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 553, was in some respects the opposite of that of St. Leo towards the Council of Chalcedon. In his condemnation of Theodorus of Caesarea, Pope Vigilius mentions that such a Council had been contemplated at a meeting at which were present, besides the Emperor and the civil officials, many bishops, including the Bishop of Constantinople and the Bishop of Milan (*Fragm. damn. Theod.*, in Hardouin, iii. 8). Vigilius himself more than once expressed a wish that the Council should be held ('*Ep. ad univ. Eccl.*' and '*Constitutum*,' in Hardouin, iii. 3, 12, 13); but when it had been convoked by the Emperor and the time for holding it had arrived, he desired that it should be postponed, and held aloof from the proceedings of it ('*Acts of Constantinople*,' Coll. i., ii., in Hardouin, iii. 63-66). (f) Pope Agatho I. took no part in the summoning of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 680-681. (g) It was stated by Pope Adrian I. that the Seventh Ecumenical Council, held at Nicea in 787, was by his appointment ('*Acts of Nicea*,' '*Hadriani Scriptum*,' *ib.* iv. 818); but the Council was convoked by the Empress and the Emperor on the suggestion of Tarasius, the Bishop of Constantinople ('*Acts of Nicea*,' '*Apol. ad pop. a Tarasio*,' *ib.* iv. 24, 25), and the only fact to justify the Pope's statement appears to be the practical assent which he gave after receiving the letter from the Empress and the Emperor announcing their intention of convoking the Council ('*Acts of Nicea*,' '*Divalis sacra ad Hadrianum*,' *ib.* iv. 21-24).

5. The presidents of Councils.—The president of a diocesan Council was the bishop of the diocese, of a provincial Council the metropolitan of the province, and of a larger Council the chief bishop present, or a bishop locally eminent, or some bishop of special note. The presidents of the seven Ecumenical Councils were as follows. (a) At Nicea (325), Hosius, the Bishop of Cordova, presided (see the list of signatures in Hardouin, i. 311, 312; cf. Socrates, i. 13). Possibly the reason why he held this position, notwithstanding the presence of Vito and Vincentius, the legates of Pope Sylvester I. (see Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 7; Socrates, i. 13; Sozomen, i. 17; Theodoret, i. 7; signatures in Hardouin, i. 311, 312), and the fact that he was a Western bishop presiding in a Council held in the East, was that he was appointed by the Emperor Constantine, whose chief ecclesiastical adviser he was. Both St. Athanasius and Theodoret, however, speak as though his prominence at Councils was due to his personal eminence.

St. Athanasius writes: 'It is unnecessary that I should speak of the great Hosius, happy in his old age, a true confessor. . . . This aged man is not unknown, but of the greatest distinction. What Council has there been of which he was not the leader, and in which by his right words he did not convince all?' (*Apolog. de fuga*, 5). Theodoret, after quoting this passage, continues: 'Hosius was Bishop of Cordova, and was prominent at the Council of Nicea, and took the first place among those who assembled at Sardica' (*HE* ii. 15).

It is unlikely that credit ought to be given to a statement of Gelasius of Cyzicus, a writer in the second half of the 5th cent., universally regarded as usually untrustworthy, that Hosius presided as the representative of the Pope (see his *Act. Conc. Nic.* ii. 5). (b) At Constantinople (381) the presidents were successively Meletius, Bishop of Antioch; Gregory of Nazianzus, Bishop of Constantinople; and Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople. Neither the Pope nor any Papal representative was present. (c) At Ephesus (431), St. Cyril of Alexandria was president. The Acts of the Council say that he 'took the place of Celestine, the most holy and most sacred archbishop of the Romans' (see '*Acts of Ephesus*,' in Hardouin, i. 1353, 1465, 1468, 1485, 1509, 1512, 1527, etc.).

Pope Celestine I. sent as legates the bishops Arcadius and Projectus and the presbyter Philip-pus. (d) At Chalcedon (451) the Imperial commissioners (see '*Acts of Chalcedon*,' in Hardouin, ii. 53, 65, 68, 69, 89, 93, 113, 272, 273, 308), and in the sixth session the Emperor Marcian (see '*Acts of Chalcedon*,' Act vi., *ib.* ii. 485-489), acted as presidents; the chief place among the members of the Council was held by the legates of Pope Leo I.—Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface (St. Leo, *Epp.* lxxxix., ciii.; cf. '*Ep. Syn. Chalc.*,' in *Opera S. Leonis*, *Ep.* xviii. 1; '*Acts of Chalcedon*,' Acts i., iii., in Hardouin, ii. 53, 310, 365).¹ (e) At Constantinople (553), Eutychius, Bishop of Constantinople, was president (see '*Acts of Constantinople*,' Coll. viii., in Hardouin, iii. 201); the Pope was neither present nor represented. (f) At Constantinople (680-681) the Emperor Constantine iv. presided ('*Acts of Constantinople*,' Act i., *ib.* iii. 1056); the legates of Pope Agatho I., the presbyters Theodore and George, and the deacon John held the first place among the members of the Council ('*Acts of Constantinople*,' e.g. Acts i., xviii., *ib.* iii. 1056, 1401). (g) At Nicea (787) the legates of Pope Adrian I.—the archpresbyter Peter and the abbot Peter—presided ('*Acts of Nicea*,' Acts i., vii., *ib.* iv. 28, 456).

6. The ratification of Councils.—(1) The decrees of the seven Ecumenical Councils received civil sanction from the Emperors: (a) in the case of Nicea (325) by a letter from the Emperor Constantine (see Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 17-20; Socrates, i. 9; Sozomen, i. 21; Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Act. Conc. Nic.* ii. 36); (b) in the case of Constantinople (381) by an edict of the Emperor Theodosius I. (see Socrates, v. 8; Sozomen, vii. 9); (c) in the case of Ephesus (431) in substance by letters and decrees of the Emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. (see '*Acts of Ephesus*,' in Hardouin, i. 1616, 1669, 1716); (d) in the case of Chalcedon (451) by the decrees and letters of the Emperors Valentinian III. and Marcian, and a letter of the Empress Pulcheria (see '*Acts of Chalcedon*,' p. iii. cap. iii.-xiii., *ib.* ii. 660-688); (e) in the case of Constantinople (553) by an approbation of the Emperor Justinian, if we may trust the statement of Zonaras (*Ann.* xiv. 8), which in this matter has the support of strong general probability;² (f) in the case of Constantinople (680-681) by the signature and edict of the Emperor Constantine IV. (see '*Acts of Constantinople*,' Act xviii., '*Edict. Const.*,' in Hardouin, iii. 1436, 1445-1457, 1633-1639); (g) in the case of Nicea (787) by the signing of the decrees of the Council by the Empress Irene and the Emperor Constantine VI. (see '*Acts of Nicea*,' Act viii., *ib.* iv. 485).³

(2) With the exception of the Second Council and the canons of the Fourth, the decrees of the seven Ecumenical Councils were (a) subscribed by the Papal legates, or (b) both so subscribed and subsequently approved by the Pope, or (c) eventually approved by the Pope. The decisions of Nicea (325) were subscribed by the Papal legates (see '*Acts of Nicea*,' in Hardouin, i. 311-312); those of Ephesus (431) were subscribed by the Papal legates and referred to with approval in letters by Pope Sixtus III. (see '*Acts of Ephesus*,' *ib.* i. 1527; '*Epp. Xysti III. ad Cyrillum*,' in

¹ Julian, Bishop of Cos, and a presbyter Basil are also said to have been appointed as papal legates, but do not appear to have held the same position at the Council as the three mentioned above (see St. Leo, *Epp.* lxxxvi., xc., xciii., xciii.).

² The evidence afforded about this Council by Zonaras is not valuable; but there is no reason for doubting his statement referred to above.

³ There is no record in this case of a formal edict after the Council; but the whole course of events after the Council shows that the decrees were regarded by the State authorities as being in force.

Constant, *Epp. Rom. Pontif.* col. 1231-1240); those of Chalcedon (451) were subscribed by the Papal legates and accepted by Pope Leo I. (see 'Acts of Chalcedon,' in Hardouin, ii. 465-468; St. Leo, *Ep.* xiv.); those of Constantinople (680-681) were subscribed by the Papal legates and accepted by Pope Leo II. (see 'Acts of Constantinople,' in Hardouin, iii. 1424, 1425, 1469-1478, 1729-1736); and those of Nicea (787) were subscribed by the Papal legates and accepted by Pope Adrian I. (see 'Acts of Nicæa,' *ib.* iv. 456, 819). In the case of the Fifth Council, held at Constantinople in 553, Pope Vigilius at first dissented from the action of the Council (Vigilius, *Constitutum* of 553, *ib.* iii. 10-48), and the Council struck his name from the diptychs ('Acts of Constantinople,' Coll. vii., *ib.* iii. 186, 187); but he afterwards changed his mind and declared his approval of the decisions (Vigilius, *Ep. Decret.*; *Constitutum* of 554, in Hardouin, iii. 213-244).

7. The relation of the Emperor to Councils.—After the time of Constantine the Great, the close relations between Church and State led not only to the summoning of Councils and the ratification of their decrees by the Emperors, but also to an influence—sometimes greater, sometimes less—in many other ways. But, whatever the aggressiveness of certain Emperors and the sycophancy of prominent members of the Church at some times, the State recognized, and the Church maintained, that the work of ecclesiastical decisions and legislation belonged to the Church, not to the State. A few instances from Church and State may suffice to illustrate this fact. Both the Second and the Third Ecumenical Councils, in asking the Emperor Theodosius I. and the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian III. respectively to ratify their decisions, spoke of the decisions themselves as wholly their own work, independently of the State (see 'Acts of Constantinople,' 381, and 'Acts of Ephesus,' Act v., in Hardouin, i. 808, 1501-1510). The Emperor Constantine the Great, in giving circulation to the decrees of the First Ecumenical Council, said: 'Whatever is determined in the holy assemblies of the bishops is to be regarded as showing the will of God' (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 20). The Emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. wrote to the Third Ecumenical Council that they had sent Candidian to be their representative, 'to have no share in the discussions which may take place about doctrine; for it is unlawful that one who is not on the list of the holy bishops should mingle in the affairs of the Church' ('Acts of Ephesus,' p. i. cap. xx., in Hardouin, i. 1345). The Emperor Marcian addressed the Fourth Ecumenical Council: 'Our will is to be present at the Council is that we may ratify those things which are done, not that we may exercise any power' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' Act vi., *ib.* ii. 465). The historian Theodoret records a dialogue between the Emperor Constantius II. and Pope Liberius, in which Liberius insisted, and incurred banishment for insisting, that St. Athanasius must not be condemned without a fair trial by ecclesiastical authorities and a sentence passed upon him after such a trial in accordance with the rules of the Church (see Theodoret, *HE* ii. 16). The same principle of the independence of the Church is emphatically declared in the letter written by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, to the Emperor Constantius II., in which he said:

'Push not yourself into the affairs of the Church, neither give commands to us about them; but rather do you learn them from us. God has committed to your hands a kingdom. He has entrusted us with the affairs of the Church. And as he who should steal your rule would be resisting God who appointed it, so do you be afraid on your part to take upon yourself the affairs of the Church and become guilty of a great offence. It is written, "Render unto Cæsar the things that

are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Therefore it is not lawful for us to bear rule upon the earth, and you, Sire, have not authority to burn incense. . . . This is my determination; I unite not with the Arians, but I anathematize their heresy. I subscribe not against Athanasius, whom we and the Church of the Romans and the whole council acquitted' (St. Athan. *Hist. Arian.* 44).

Such instances show that, while the Church acquiesced in the use of the most extravagant language to describe the Emperor, as when the Imperial commissioners and others called him 'the divine head,' 'the divine and immortal head,' 'our most divine lord,' or when a letter from him was styled a 'divine letter' (see, e.g., 'Acts of Ephesus,' p. i. cap. 19, 20; 'Epp. Cath.' cap. 17, and 'Acts of Chalcedon,' p. i.; 'Epp.' 20, 36, Acts iv., xi., xiv. p. iii. cap. 5, 7, in Hardouin, i. 1344, 1345, 1616, ii. 36, 52, 413, 545, 572, 664, 668), it was not allowed that the Emperor had any right to dictate what the Councils should do.

8. The relation of the Pope to Councils.—The subject of the relation of the Popes to the convoking and confirming of Councils has been dealt with above. It is necessary to examine also the view of the Papal authority taken by the Councils. As of the Emperor, so of the Pope, language of a strong kind was used at and by the Councils. It must suffice to quote some of the most remarkable instances. At Ephesus (431) the Papal legate Philip described St. Peter as 'the prince and head of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith, and the foundation of the Catholic Church'; declared that he 'up to this time and always lives in his successors and gives judgment'; and in this context referred to Pope Celestine as the 'successor and representative' of St. Peter ('Acts of Ephesus,' in Hardouin, i. 1477, 1478); and the Fathers of the Council, in giving sentence against Nestorius, used the words, 'necessarily impelled by (*ἀνά*) the canons and by (*ἐκ*) the letter of our most holy Father and fellow-minister, Celestine, Bishop of the Roman Church' ('Acts of Ephesus,' Act i., *ib.* i. 1421, 1422). At Chalcedon (451) the Papal legate Paschasius called the Pope the 'head of all the Churches' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' Act i., *ib.* ii. 67, 68); and the Fathers of the Council in their letter to the Emperor Marcian spoke of the Pope as the 'invulnerable champion' whom 'God provided,' and in their letter to Pope Leo described him as the 'head' of which they were the 'members,' and as him to whom 'was entrusted by the Saviour the guarding of the vine,' the Church ('Acts of Chalcedon,' p. iii. cap. 1, 2, *ib.* ii. 643, 644, 655, 656). At Constantinople (680-681) the Fathers of the Council wrote to Pope Agatho: 'We commit to thee, as the chief ruler of the universal Church standing on the firm rock of the faith, what is to be done,' to give effect to the decisions of the Council; and described the Pope's letter to the Emperor as 'uttered about divine truth by the chief head of the Apostles' ('Acts of Constantinople,' Act xviii., *ib.* iii. 1437-1440). Yet, notwithstanding all such statements, the Councils did not regard the Papal utterances as settling anything; they examined and tested the judgment of the Popes; they assented to these as conforming to orthodox standards; they did not shrink from declaring a Pope to be a heretic. At Ephesus (431) the condemnation of Nestorius was not passed until after the most elaborate consideration of his case, though the letter of Pope Celestine condemning him was before them ('Acts of Ephesus,' Act i., *ib.* i. 1353-1434). At Chalcedon (451) there was a like examination of the *Tome* of Pope Leo, and it was eventually approved as being 'consonant with the confession of great Peter' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' Act v., *ib.* ii. 455, 456). The Fifth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 553, insisted on condemning Theo-

dore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret, in spite of the resistance of Pope Vigilius ('Acts of Constantinople,' Coll. viii., *ib.* iii. 187-208). The Sixth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 680-681, anathematized Pope Honorius I. as a heretic; and with reference to the letters of Sergius and Honorius declared:

'We find that these documents are altogether alien from the doctrines of the Apostles and the decisions of the holy Councils and all the accepted holy Fathers, and that they follow the false teachings of the heretics. We entirely reject them, and we excommunicate them as destructive to the soul. Moreover, we have determined that the names of the very men whose doctrines we excommunicate as impious are to be cast out from the holy Church of God, namely Sergius. . . . And besides these, we have decided that Honorius, who was Pope of the elder Rome, is to be cast out of the holy Church of God and anathematized together with them. . . . To Theodore of Pharan, the heretic, anathema. To Sergius, the heretic, anathema. To Cyrus, the heretic, anathema. To Honorius, the heretic, anathema. To Pyrrhus, the heretic, anathema' ('Acts of Constantinople,' Acts xiii., xvi., in Hardouin, iii. 1332, 1333, 1335).

A comparison of the different parts of the evidence shows that, while the Pope was regarded as the chief bishop of Christendom, and while his authority and influence were great, the Councils held that it was for them and not for him to decide in matters of doctrine and discipline; and that, while the ordinary and normal desirable process was that Pope and Council should be in agreement, and that what the Council decided the Pope should accept and give effect to, a necessity might arise of a Council taking its own line in opposition to a Pope, and even of condemning him as heretical.

As regards the disciplinary power of the Pope, regulations of the Councils of Nicaea (325) and Sardica (343) are of special importance. Canon 6 of Nicaea assumes the possession by the Pope of a certain patriarchal authority in Italy, parallel with that of other patriarchs elsewhere, referred to as an illustration in a way which may imply a primacy on the part of Rome:

'The old customs in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis are to be preserved so that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have authority over all these, since this is customary also in the case of the Bishop of Rome. In like manner, in Antioch and in the other provinces the rights are to be preserved to the Churches.'

Canons 3, 4, and 5 of Sardica provide for appeals to Rome in certain cases. They enact that, if a bishop has been deposed by the bishops of his province, there may be an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, who is to decide whether the appeal is to be allowed or not; if it is allowed, the Pope is to nominate bishops from the neighbourhood of the province in question to act as the court for the second hearing of the case; if the appellant can persuade the Pope to do so, the Pope may send presbyters of his own to act as his legates (*ἐλπίαι ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου* . . . *ἐχούσας τε τὴν αὐθεντίαν τοῦτον παρ' οὗ ἀπεστάλησαν*) in the court thus formed.

9. The authority of Councils.—The degree of authority which a Council possessed varied greatly with its character. A local Council in itself could make no claim to acceptance wider than in the locality to which it belonged, and its decisions were always open to revision by a larger and more representative body. Thus, a diocesan Council had authority for its diocese, and a provincial Council for its province, but in each case this authority was subject to appeal from the diocese to the province, from the province to a union of provinces, and from any smaller Council to a Council of the whole Church; and as the Council was more fully representative, so its authority was greater. But a Council, however fully representative in constitution, was not finally authoritative simply because of that constitution. The ratification of its decrees by the Emperor gave civil sanction, and the assent to them by the Pope supplied a further ecclesiastical step (cf. the famous saying of St. Augustine, 'Iam enim de hac causa duo con-

cilia missa sunt ad sedem apostolicam: inde etiam rescripta venerunt. Causa finita est: utinam aliquando finiatur error' [*Serm.* cxxxi. 10]). But the Council did not become Ecumenical, in the sense in which that word has been here used, and so completely binding on the whole body of the Church, without the general acceptance by the Church of its doctrinal decisions, since a Council, however representative in constitution, might fail to represent the real mind of the Church, just as a civil body of the most completely representative character, so far as constitution is concerned, might fail to represent the real wishes of the nation which elected it. This acceptance by the whole body of the Church was given to each of the seven Councils which have here been called 'Ecumenical.' In the case of these Councils the acceptance was not always easily or immediately received. For instance, the First Ecumenical Council, that of Nicaea (325), proved to be the occasion of controversy rather than the settlement of it, and did not receive universal acceptance for more than fifty years, until after the Second Ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople (381); and the decisions of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, that of Nicaea (787), were for a long time without acceptance in the West, were actually rejected by the Council of Frankfurt (794) under a misunderstanding of their meaning,¹ and only gradually came to that recognition in the West which, added to the Eastern acceptance, constituted universal approbation. An instance of the way in which a Council not representative of the whole Church by its constitution may become Ecumenical through universal acceptance of its doctrinal teaching is in the Second Ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople (381), which was summoned from the East only, and which no Western bishop attended. The authority of the Ecumenical Councils is thus that of the whole Church. The idea of authority, whether as resident in the Church or as expressed by Councils, was based on the belief that the Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, was giving effect to the teaching of Holy Scripture and the deposit of faith committed by our Lord to His apostles. St. Athanasius described the work of the orthodox bishops at Nicaea (325) as having been 'to collect the sense (*διάνοια*) of the Scriptures' (*de Decr. Nic. Syn.* 20). The work done at Constantinople (381) was described by the bishops who met at Constantinople in the following year, who were almost the same as those of the Council of 381, in the words:

'We, whether we have endured persecutions or tribulations (or the threats of monarchs or the cruelties of rulers or some other trial at the hands of the heretics, have borne these for the sake of the faith of the gospel which was ratified at Nicaea in Bithynia, by the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers under the guidance of God. For this which we have been at pains to preserve ought to be sufficient for you and for us and for all who do not wrest the word of the true faith. It is the most ancient faith. It is in accordance with our baptism. It teaches us to believe in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and consequently in one Godhead and Power and Essence of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, the dignity being equal and the majesty co-eternal; in three wholly perfect Subsistences or three perfect Persons. . . . We also preserve unperverted the doctrine of

¹ The Council of Nicaea (787) affirmed the lawfulness of 'reverence of honour' (*τιμητική προσκύνησις*) addressed to the images of our Lord and the saints, but condemned any offering of 'real worship of adoration' (*ἀληθινή λατρεία*) to them ('Acts of Nicaea,' Act vii., in Hardouin, iv. 456). What the Council of Frankfurt (794) rejected was the offering of adoration: 'Allata est in medium questio de nova Græcorum synodo quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopolitani [obviously a blunder for Nicaea] fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur ut qui imaginibus sanctorum ita ut deificæ Trinitati servitium aut adorationem non impenderent anathema indicarentur. Qui supra sanctissimi patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitium reuocantes contempserunt atque consentientes condemnauerunt' (canon 2 in Hardouin, iv. 904). This ascribes to the Nicene Council (787) exactly what that Council had rejected—the offering to images of the adoration due to the Holy Trinity.

the Incarnation of the Lord, receiving the tradition that the dispensation of the flesh is not without soul or without reason or imperfect, and being fully convinced that the Word of God was perfect before the ages and became perfect man in the last days for our salvation' (see Theodoret, *HE* v. 9).

At Ephesus (431) the bishops gave as their reason for the approval of the letters of St. Cyril that they 'were in no respect discordant with the Scriptures inspired by God or with the faith which has been handed down, which was set forth in the great Council by the holy Fathers who assembled at Nicæa,' and, as their reason for the condemnation of Nestorius, that his teaching was 'wholly alien from the faith of the Apostles and the gospel' ('Acts of Ephesus,' Act v., in Hardouin, i. 1505). At Chalcedon (451) the letter of St. Cyril of Alexandria to John of Antioch was read, containing the following passage:

'Concerning the Virgin Mother of God how we both think and say, and concerning the manner of the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten Son of God, we will speak briefly, necessarily, not by way of addition, but as a full completion, as we have received from the beginning from the divine Scriptures and from the tradition of the holy Fathers.'

The *Tome* of St. Leo, which also was read to the Council, appealed chiefly to the evidence of Holy Scripture, but likewise to the creed confessed by the whole body of Christians. After the *Tome* had been read, the bishops exclaimed:

'This is the faith of the Fathers. This is the faith of the Apostles. Thus do we all believe. Thus do the orthodox believe. Anathema to him who does not so believe. Peter has spoken thus through Leo. Thus did the Apostles teach. Piously and truly has Leo taught. Thus taught Cyril. Eternal be the memory of Cyril. Leo and Cyril taught alike. Thus taught Leo and Cyril. Anathema to him who does not so believe. This is the true faith. Thus are we, the orthodox, minded. This is the faith of the Fathers' ('Acts of Chalcedon,' Act I, II, in Hardouin, II, 121, 305).

At Constantinople (553) the bishops declared:

'Being gathered together, before all things we have briefly confessed that we hold that faith which our Lord Jesus Christ, true God, delivered to His holy Apostles, and through them to the holy Churches, and which the holy Fathers and doctors who succeeded them delivered to the peoples committed to their care'; and described themselves, in their condemnation of heresy, as lighting 'the light of knowledge from the divine Scriptures and the teaching of the Apostles' ('Acts of Constantinople,' 558, Coll. viii., in Hardouin, III, 189, 194).

The bishops at Constantinople (680-681) stated:

'We have examined the synodical letter of Sophronius of holy memory, once patriarch of the holy city of Christ our God, Jerusalem; and, as we have found it to be in harmony with the true faith and in accordance with the teachings of the Apostles and the holy approved Fathers, we have judged it to be orthodox and have received it as profitable to the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church'; described themselves as 'following the five holy Ecumenical Councils and the holy and approved Fathers,' and as defining the faith 'according as the prophets from the beginning have taught, and Jesus Christ Himself has instructed us, and the symbol of the holy Fathers has delivered to us'; and in their letter to Pope Agatho I. said of their work: 'On us shone the grace of the all-holy Spirit, bestowing His power through your continual prayer, so that we might root out every tare and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, and commanding that they should be consumed with fire. And, agreeing in heart and tongue and hand, we have put forth, by the assistance of the life-giving Spirit, a definition most free from error and most certain, not removing the ancient landmarks, as it is said, which God forbid, but abiding by the testimonies of the holy and approved Fathers' ('Acts of Constantinople,' 680-681, Act xiii., xviii., in Hardouin, III, 1833, 1400, 1440).

At Nicæa (787) the bishops defined their work:

'Thus the teaching of our holy Fathers is strengthened, that is, the tradition of the Catholic Church, which has received the Gospel from one end to the other. Thus we follow Paul, who spoke in Christ, and all the company of the divine Apostles and the holy Fathers, holding fast the traditions which we have received'; and wrote to the Empress Irene and to the Emperor Constantius VI.: 'Following the traditions of the Apostles and the Fathers, we are bold to speak, being of one mind in the concord given by the all-holy Spirit; and being all brought together in one, having the tradition of the Catholic Church in harmony with us, we are in accord with the agreeing voices set forth by the six Ecumenical Councils' ('Acts of Nicæa,' Act vii., in Hardouin, IV, 456, 478).

For their great doctrinal decisions the Ecumenical Councils thus possess the authority of the universal Church, and base their work on that tradition of the faith which goes back to and rests on the authority of our Lord Himself. A more difficult

question arises as to the degree of their authority in certain other matters. Some disciplinary enactments obviously dealt with local and temporary circumstances, and therefore have only local and temporary force, as, e.g., regulations about letters of commendation made at Chalcedon (451) in canon 11; but in other matters of discipline it is less easy to decide how far a principle is involved which may tend towards some degree of permanent authority.

An instance may show the complexity of the problem thus raised. The First Ecumenical Council, acting in accordance with the condemnation of 'usury' in canon 20 of the Council of Elvira (305), the excommunication of 'ministers who lend money for interest' in canon 12 of the Council of Arles (314), and the regulation in the forty-fourth *Apostolical Canon*, that 'a bishop, priest, or deacon, who seeks interest from those who owe him money must either cease from the practice or be deposed,' enacted that: 'Since many who are in the list of the clergy, moved by covetousness and the spirit of gain, have forgotten the divine word which says, "He hath not given his money upon interest," and lend and require one per cent per month, the holy and great Council declares that, if any one after this decree be found to be receiving interest . . . he shall be deposed from the clerical office and his name shall be struck off the list' (canon 17); and this canon passed into the ordinary law of both East and West, and became part of the *Corpus iuris canonici* (*Decretum*, I. xlvii. 2, II. xiv. 4 (8)). This canon differs markedly, on the one hand, from doctrinal decisions concerning central truth; and, on the other hand, from regulations of merely local and temporary import.

ro. The work of the Seven Ecumenical Councils.—It has already been indicated that the Ecumenical Councils dealt with matters of very varying character and importance, some doctrinal, others disciplinary.

(1) Their great work was in regard to the *theology of the Incarnation*.—(a) By the acceptance of the Nicene Creed, and in particular of the phrase in it 'of the same essence as the Father' (*ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί*), the FIRST COUNCIL OF NICÆA (325) affirmed the real Deity of Christ (see CONFESSIONS, in vol. III. p. 836, and CREEDS [Ecumenical]). (b) The FIRST COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (381) ratified the work of the Council of Nicæa (325) in regard to the Deity of Christ; and in particular, by its condemnation of Apollinarianism—the heresy which maintained that our Lord did not possess a higher human soul or spirit—protected the completeness of Christ's manhood; see canon 1:

'The confession of faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers who were assembled at Nicæa in Bithynia shall not be abolished, but shall remain; and every heresy shall be anathematized, especially that of the Eunomians or Anomeans, the Arians or Eudoxians, the semi-Arians or Pneumatomachians, the Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarians.'

It has been thought by some that this Council affirmed the longer form of the Nicene Creed, sometimes called the Constantinopolitan Creed (see CONFESSIONS, and CREEDS, *ut supra*). (c) The FIRST COUNCIL OF EPHEBUS (431), by its approval of the letters of St. Cyril of Alexandria and its condemnation of Nestorius, affirmed the one Person of Christ, so that it is accurate to call the Blessed Virgin Mary 'the Mother of God' (*θεοτόκος*), and to say that 'God was born and died.' (d) The COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (451) ratified the work of the three earlier Councils by its affirmation of the Deity, complete manhood, and one Person of Christ, and by its acceptance of the original Nicene Creed and the Constantinopolitan Creed (see CONFESSIONS, and CREEDS); and declared also the distinctness and permanent reality of Christ's two natures of Deity and manhood by accepting the *Tome* of St. Leo and by acknowledging

'two natures, without confusion, without change, without rending, without separation, while the distinction of the natures is in no way destroyed because of the union, but rather the peculiarity of each nature is preserved and concurs into one Person and one Hypostasis' (Act v., in Hardouin, II, 453-456).

(e) The SECOND COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (553), by its condemnation of the 'Three Chapters'—that is (1) the person and writings of Theodore

of Mopsuestia, (2) the writings of Theodoret in defence of Nestorius and against St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Council of Ephesus (431), and (3) the letter of Ibas to Maris—rejected anew the Nestorian heresy and affirmed the doctrine of the one Person of Christ. The words of the sentence of the Council are:

'We receive the four holy Councils, that is, of Nicæa, of Constantinople, the First of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon; and we have affirmed and do affirm those truths which they defined in defence of the one and the same faith. We declare those who do not receive these Councils to be apart from the Catholic Church. We condemn and anathematize, together with all other heretics who have been condemned and anathematized by the aforesaid four holy Councils and by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, Theodore who was Bishop of Mopsuestia and his wicked writings, and the wicked writings of Theodoret against the right faith and against the twelve chapters of the holy Cyril and against the First Council of Ephesus, and his writings in defence of Theodores and Nestorius. Moreover, we anathematize also the wicked letter which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, which denies that God the Word was incarnate of the holy Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, and so was made man' ('Acts of Constantinople', 653, Coll. viii., in Hardouin, iii. 193, 194; cf. Evagrius, *HE* iv. 38).

(f) THE THIRD COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE (680-681) condemned the Monothelite heresy, according to which there is only one will in Christ, and affirmed the reality of His human will as well as of His Divine will. After declaring their adherence to the Councils of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), and Constantinople (553), and after reciting the original Nicene Creed and the enlarged Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed (see CONFESSIONS, and CREEDS, *ut supra*), the bishops said:

'This holy and orthodox creed of the Divine grace was in itself enough for the complete knowledge and confirmation of the orthodox faith; but since the author of evil has never ceased to find a serpent to help him, and thereby to diffuse his deadly poison among the human race, and so to find fit instruments to accomplish his will—we mean Theodoret, who was Bishop of Pharan; Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, who were bishops of this royal city; also Honorius, who was Pope of old Rome; and Cyrus, who held the bishopric of Alexandria; also Macarius, who was recently in charge of Antioch, and his disciple, Stephen—he did not fail to bring through them scandalous errors on the whole Church by disseminating in new fashion among the orthodox people the heresy of the one will and one operation in the two natures of the one Christ our true God, one Person of the Holy Trinity, . . . the heresy which serves to take away the fullness of the Incarnation of the one Lord Jesus Christ our God by means of a crafty notion, and which impiously brings in the idea of His rationally quickened flesh as being without will and operation. . . . In like manner, following the teaching of the holy Fathers, we proclaim two natural wills (*θελησεις τρεις θεληματα*) in Him, and two natural operations, without division, without change, without severance, without confusion, and two natural wills not opposed to one another—God forbid—as the wicked heretics said, but his human will following, and not resisting or opposing, but rather subject to His divine and almighty will' ('Acts of Constantinople', 680-681, Act xviii., in Hardouin, iii. 1395-1400).

(g) THE SECOND COUNCIL OF NICÆA (787) dealt with the contentions of the Iconoclasts that Christ might not be represented in a material form because of the infinity of the Godhead, or, as the more moderate members of the party taught, that the representations of Him might not be venerated. In view of these contentions, the Council affirmed the teaching of the six earlier Ecumenical Councils, and proceeded to declare that the material representations of our Lord were the visible signs of the reality of the Incarnation, and that the veneration of these and of the images of the saints—which was to be distinguished from the adoration due to God alone—lifted the thoughts of the worshippers to the realities which these visible things represented:

'We, holding fast in everything the decrees and acts of our divinely guided Fathers, proclaim them with one mouth and one heart, adding nothing to, taking nothing away from, the things which they delivered to us, but in these we are strong, in these we are established; we so confess, we so teach, as the six holy Ecumenical Councils have defined and determined. And we believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son and Word, through whom all things were made; and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-Giver, con-

substantial and co-eternal with the Father and His co-eternal Son—the Trinity uncreated, undivided, incomprehensible uncircumscribed, which wholly and alone is to be adored and venerated and worshipped, one Godhead, one Lordship, one Dominion, one Kingdom and Power, which without division is apportioned to the Persons, and without confusion is joined to the Essence. And we confess that One of the same holy and co-essential Trinity, our Lord Jesus Christ, the true God, in the last days for our salvation became flesh and was made Man, and by the saving dispensation of His passion and resurrection and ascension into heaven did save our race and set us free from idolatry. . . . The Lord of glory Himself, God who became Man, saved us and set us free from idolatry. To Him, therefore, be glory; to Him be grace; to Him be thanksgiving; to Him be praise; to Him be majesty. His is redemption and salvation. He alone is able to save to the uttermost. This is the work of no other men, who came from the dust. He Himself, through the dispensation of His incarnation, has fulfilled for us, on whom the ends of the world are come, the words foretold by the prophets. . . . And we greet the words of the Lord, and of the apostles, and of the prophets, by which we have been taught to honour and magnify, first her who is actually and really the Mother of God, who is above all the heavenly powers, and then the holy powers of the angels, the blessed and illustrious apostles, the glorious prophets, the victorious martyrs who fought for Christ, the holy and God-fearing doctors, and all the saints; and to seek for their intercessions, which are able to make us at home with God, the King of all, if we keep His commandments, and strive to live virtuously. We greet, moreover, the figure of the honourable and life-giving cross, and the holy relics of the saints; and we receive and greet and embrace the holy and venerable images, according to the primitive tradition of the Holy Catholic Church of God, that is, our Holy Fathers, who both received them and determined that they should be in all the holy churches of God, and in every place of His dominion. These honourable images, as has been said before, we honour and greet and honourably venerate; namely, the image of the Incarnation of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ; and of our unstained Lady, the all-holy Mother of God, of whom He was pleased to become flesh, that He might save us and set us free from all wicked idolatry; and of the holy and bodiless angels, who appeared in the form of men to the righteous; and the figures and images of the divine and far-famed apostles, the God-speaking prophets, the triumphant martyrs, and the saints; so that, through their representations, we may be led to the recollection and memory of them who are represented, and may attain to some share in their holiness. . . . In proportion as the saints are beheld by their images, those who behold them are uplifted in memory and affection of those who are represented, so as to assign to these greeting and honourable veneration, not the real adoration which, according to our faith, is due to the nature of God only; but that to these, as to the figure of the honourable and life-giving cross, and to the holy Gospels, and to the other sacred objects, there should be brought incense and lights to do them honour, as has been the pious custom of men of old' ('Acts of Nicæa', 787, Acts iv., vii., in Hardouin, iv. 264, 265, 456).

(2) Of the work done by the Ecumenical Councils in addition to the protection and development of the doctrine of the Incarnation, only a few representative instances can be given. The decision in regard to the schism caused by Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis, intruding into other dioceses and ordaining in them; the decision about the dispute as to the right day for keeping Easter; the regulation that all were to pray standing on Sundays, at Nicæa (325); the assigning of the first place after the Bishop of Rome to the Bishop of Constantinople, at Constantinople (381); the prohibition of simony and the regulations about deaconesses, at Chalcedon (451)—show the wide scope of the disciplinary enactments of these councils.

II. Other important Councils.—Illustrations of Councils other than the Seven Ecumenical Councils may be placed in three groups.

(1) *The Councils held at Constantinople in 869 and 879.*—That in 869 was regarded in the West, and is still regarded by the Church of Rome, as the Eighth Ecumenical Council. Its chief work was the condemnation of Photius, one of the claimants to the See of Constantinople, who in 866 had issued an encyclical letter in which he attacked the Westerns for (a) keeping Saturday as a fast; (b) eating milk and cheese during part of Lent; (c) not allowing married men to be priests; (d) restricting confirmation to bishops; (e) teaching the double procession of the Holy Ghost (*Ep.* i. 13, in Migne, *PG* cii. 721-742); and who in 867 had presided at a Council at Constantinople which had anathematized the Pope ('Acts of Constan-

tinople,' 869, in Hardouin, v. 749-1196). The Council held in 879 is regarded in the East as the Eighth Ecumenical Council. It reversed the proceedings of the Council of 869 and acknowledged Photius. Legates of the Pope were present at it, and assented to its work; but it was eventually repudiated by the Pope. The absence of Eastern acceptance of the Council of 869 and of Western acceptance of the Council of 879 makes both these Councils to be without that universal acceptance which is a condition of ecumenicity.

(2) Between the Council of Nicæa (325) and the Council of Constantinople (381) a series of Councils concerning the Arian controversy were held. The most important of them were those at Antioch in 341, with supplementary assemblies later in the same year and in 344, which drew up five Creeds which in themselves were orthodox, but which played into the hands of the semi-Arians by the use of ambiguous expressions about the Deity of Christ; at Sardica in 343, which defended St. Athanasius; and the simultaneous Council at Philippopolis, which condemned him and accepted the fourth of the Antiochene Creeds; at Sirmium in 351, 357, and 358, which were favourable to the semi-Arians, and the third of which drew up a Creed of the same character as the Antiochene Creeds; at Ariminum in 359, which accepted a semi-Arian Creed; at Seleucia in 359, which accepted the same Creed as that adopted at Ariminum; and at Alexandria in 362, which, on the temporary return of St. Athanasius to his See, dealt with the various practical difficulties which had arisen through the dominance of the Arians during the reign of Constantius II.

(3) *Particular Councils of special importance.*—(a) The Councils of Laodicea, held between 341 and 381, of Carthage in 397 and 419, and the Quinisext, or Trullan, Council of Constantinople (692) made regulations in regard to the books which might be read in church.—(b) A series of Councils held in the 5th cent. in Africa and Palestine and Italy were concerned with the Pelagian heresy. With these must be placed the highly important Second Council of Orange (529), which condemned Semi-Pelagianism, and definitely asserted the need of Divine grace both to lead man to choose good and to enable him to give effect to his choice; but took pains to avoid exaggerations in the opposite direction, by adding to the canons the following statement:

'When grace has been received through baptism, all the baptized, by the help and co-operation of Christ, are able and ought to fulfil those things which pertain to the salvation of the soul, if they are willing to labour faithfully. That any are predestined to evil by the power of God, we not only do not believe, but also, if there are any who wish to believe so great an evil, we say anathema to them with all abhorrence. This also we healthfully confess and believe, that in every good work it is not we who begin and afterwards are aided by the mercy of God, but God Himself in the first instance inspires into us, without any good deserts of our own preceding, belief in Him and love for Him, so that we both faithfully seek for the sacrament of Baptism, and after Baptism are able with His help to fulfil those things which are pleasing to him' ('Acts of Orange,' 529, in Hardouin, ii. 1101, 1102).

These decisions at Orange were accepted as expressing the general mind of the Church (see PELAGIANISM, SEMI-PELAGIANISM).—(c) A Council was held at Constantinople in 543, to which the *Fifteen Anathematisms on Origen*, which are sometimes ascribed to the Fifth Ecumenical Council, probably belong. They include the anathema, 'If any one maintains the legendary pre-existence of souls and the monstrous idea of restitution which follows from it, let him be anathema' (see Hardouin, iii. 284).—(d) The Third Council of Toledo (589) was the occasion of the Spanish Church and nation repudiating their traditional Arianism, and accepting the Catholic faith as expressed by the orthodox Councils. It is of importance, in regard

to the history of the Creeds and to controversies between the East and the West, that the clause in the enlarged form of the Nicene Creed was recited at this Council as 'ex Patre et Filio procedentem' (see Hardouin, iii. 472).—(e) The Quinisext, or Trullan, Council of Constantinople (692) reaffirmed the doctrinal declarations of the six Ecumenical Councils which had by that time been held, and added to them a series of disciplinary canons which became a recognized part of the Eastern canon law.—(f) The Council of Frankfort (794), expressing the general mind of the Church, condemned the heresy of Adoptionism, declaring that it 'ought to be utterly rooted out of the Church' (canon 1; see Hardouin, iv. 904, and cf. art. ADOPTIANISM). Under a misapprehension, it rejected the decisions of the Second Council of Nicæa about images (see above, p. 190ⁿ).

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COUNCILS (Christian: Mediæval, 870-1400).

—The Councils of this protracted period were not important from a doctrinal standpoint, as compared with the Ecumenical Councils from 325 to 869, or as compared with the later Councils of Trent and the Vatican. The dogma of Transubstantiation is the only dogma which was defined (at the Fourth Lateran, 1215) that had not been defined by one of the first eight Ecumenical Councils. These Synods are, however, of unusual value for the light they throw upon the clerical manners of the period, and the advocacy they gave to some of the greater social and ecclesiastical movements of the Middle Ages. They legislated upon the relation of the Church to the Empire, upon the prerogatives and election of the Popes, upon Church reforms, especially against simony and priestly concubinage, upon heresy and its punishment, upon the details of the conduct of worship, priestly dress and manners, upon the crusades, upon the evils of feud (through the truce of God), and upon the tournaments. As regards locality, Rome was all through the period the chief centre of Church assemblies. Down to 1200, few Synods, of which any account is preserved, were held outside Germany, France, Italy, and England. The important Synod of Szoboles (1092) in Hungarian territory was one of the exceptions. After 1150 the Spanish Synods came into prominence on account of the regulations touching heresy and its extirpation. A notable feature is that not only the Synods in Rome, but many outside of it, were presided over by Popes in person or through their legates. Such were the Synods in France, Germany, and Italy, attended by Leo IX., Urban II., Innocent II., Alexander III., Lucius III. The presence of the supreme head of Christendom gave to the acts of such

Synods a semi-Ecumenical importance. The period witnessed seven Ecumenical Councils, the first in the West, and all called and presided over by Popes. The decrees of some of them are of less importance than the legislation of some of the local Synods, such as the Reform Synods held in Rome in 1049, 1059, etc., the Synod of Clermont (1095), which set the first crusade in motion, the Synod of Verona (1184), which took up heresy, and the Synod of Tours (1229), which, in addition to other important regulations aimed against heretics, forbade laymen to possess copies of the Scriptures. We shall treat the subject under five heads.

I. 870-900.—The Synods of this dark age, so far as they are known to us, were only of temporary and local importance. The subjects discussed were crimes against the clergy and their punishment, the payment of tithes, the rights of patrons over church livings, marriage and divorce. No new measures of Church reform or ecclesiastical polity were taken up. No new statements of doctrine were made. No Synod of importance was held at Rome. The Synod of Tribur, near Mainz (895), was one of the best of them (see Hefele, iv. 552 ff.). It was attended by the three great German archbishops, Hermann of Cologne, Hatto of Mainz, and Rothod of Trèves, by 19 bishops, and many abbots. Twelve of its 58 canons concern marriage, which is declared valid only when the parties are equals. A man having a concubine was expressly permitted, in addition, to take a wife. A man committing adultery with another man's wife was forbidden to marry her, even if the husband died. The old Roman law evidently still had its influence, but the movement of the Church was in the right direction, and at the Roman Synod (1059) under Nicolas II. a layman was forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to have a wife and a concubine at the same time.

II. 900-1050.—The 10th cent. witnessed even fewer Synods than the 9th (Hefele, iv. 571), and this, according to the canonist Hergenröther, was a sign of the decay of Catholic discipline (*Kathol. Kirchenrecht*, 342). The Ottos and Henry III. had a taste for calling Synods, regarding themselves as the successors of Constantine, Theodosius, Marcian, and other Roman Emperors. After the year 1000 there is a very noticeable increase in the number of Synods. Here, again, no theological dogma is stated which had not already been defined. The prerogative of the Papal Chair, which was to form such a conspicuous subject of Conciliar discussion after 1050, was not touched upon, except incidentally at the Synod of St. Bâle, near Rheims (991), where Gerbert, afterwards Sylvester II., took a prominent part, and Archbishop Arnulf was deposed. Sylvester, on becoming Pope, restored him (Hefele, iv. 637 ff., 654; Loofs, *Dogmengesch.*, Halle, 1906, p. 249). A Synod of Rome under Sylvester (998), in the spirit of Nicolas I., imposed a penance of eight years upon Robert, king of France, for his marriage with his blood-relation, Bertha; and the Archbishop of Tours and other prelates, who had assented to the incestuous relationship, were suspended. Of the Synods which took up the cases of individual Popes, the Synod of Rome (963) deposed John XII. and elected Leo VIII.; the Roman Synod of 964 reinstated John XII.; and another Roman Synod (964) restored Leo VIII. Otto the Great called the last of these Synods. The most famous of them, the Synod of Sutri, has a permanent interest, as bearing upon the relation between a Council and the Papacy. It was controlled by Henry III., and disposed of three Popes and elected a fourth. Benedict IX. resigned, Sylvester III. was imprisoned, and Gregory VI. deposed himself, his

resignation being accepted by the assembled Fathers. Descending from the throne, he implored forgiveness for having usurped the supreme seat of Christendom by simoniacal purchase. Clement II. was then seated.

The Synodical legislation of 1000-1050 shows a great revival of interest in ecclesiastical discipline and order, and is characterized by three notable features—a strong movement towards the moral reform of the clergy, the check put upon feuds and bloodshed, and the repression of heresy. The Synods of Pavia (1018), presided over by Benedict VIII., of Goslar (1019), Seligenstadt (1022), and Bourges (1031), busied themselves with questions of reform, especially with the incontinence of the clergy. The deposition of all clerics who had wives or concubines was decreed, from sub-deacon to bishop. The Synod of Seligenstadt recognized the crying evil of excessive masses, when it limited a priest to three a day. The legislation against the deep-rooted evil of uninterrupted feud and blood-revenge begins with the Synod of Poitiers (1000). The Synod of Limoges (1031) threatened the interdict as punishment for such feud. The legislation which started in France was perfected there. The agreement of peace (*pax Dei*), dating from 1034, which required a cessation of warfare all the days of the week, was found impracticable, and (about 1040) Synods in Southern France established the *treuga Dei*, the peace or truce of God, whereby cessation from bloodshed was ordered from Wednesday evening to Monday at sunrise, thus including the sacred days of the Ascension, Passion, Burial, and Resurrection. Later Synods, as the Synod of Narbonne (1054) and the great Synod of Clermont (1095), under the presidency of Urban II., extended the limits of the truce to the Lenten period and other holy seasons of the Church year. This humane legislation was confirmed by the first three Ecumenical Councils of the West (1123, 1139, 1179); and, in putting a check upon the barbarism of mediæval society, it stood probably for a more remarkable measure than the principle of arbitration in international disputes which is now gaining recognition. The Synodical action on heresy opens with the Synod of Orleans (1022). There had been no call for repressive measures for hundreds of years, as heresy was practically unknown in Western Europe. It appeared again in Southern France and Northern Italy; and at Orleans, in the presence of Robert, king of France, and his consort, 13 persons were burned for erroneous teachings and practices. This legislation was taken up by the Synod of Arras, Southern France (1025), which condemned heretics who had emigrated from Italy and rejected baptism and the Lord's Supper, despised marriage, and 'annulled' the Church. Again, at the Synod of Rheims (1049), heretics were condemned. This legislation was renewed at a later time and elaborated by many Synods, culminating in the measure of the Inquisition laid down by Innocent III. at the Fourth Lateran, the rules of the Synod of Tours, and the decrees of Innocent's successors.

III. 1050-1122.—In this, the Hildebrandian period, Synods are numerous. They are a sign of a new age in Church history, and an indication of the administration of vigorous personalities. Their decisions had much influence on the permanent policy and practice of the Latin Church. Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), the most imposing figure of the period, lent the great weight of his presence at these Synods and his confirmation to their enactments. Other powerful Popes who did the same were Leo IX., Nicolas II., and Urban II. The chief subjects legislated upon were the Papal prerogative as involved in the

ceremony of investiture, clerical concubinage, ecclesiastical simony, the mode of electing the Pope, and the crusades. The so-called Reform Synods, assembling in Rome, which took up the first three questions, form an epoch in the history of the Western Church, and bear the same relation to the earlier periods of the Middle Ages that the reformatory Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel bear to their last period. The Lord's Supper was the only question of a doctrinal nature to be discussed, being taken up in connexion with the dynamic theory advocated by Berengar of Tours (d. 1088). The doctrine of the transmutation of the elements was assumed, the word 'transubstantiation' not being used. Through the influence of Lanfranc, Berengar's views were condemned in Rome (1050). He failed to appear at the Synod of Vercelli (1050), over which Leo IX. presided. His case was subsequently taken up at several Synods, notably at the Roman Synods (1059 and 1079). At both of these Synods he retracted his view, but afterwards recalled his denials, declaring that they had been made through fear. The 113 bishops present at the Synod of 1059 he called 'wild beasts.' The protection of Gregory VII. saved him. The famous law regulating Papal election and confining it to the cardinals was passed at the Roman Synod of 1059, under the presidency of Nicolas II. The law was elaborated by Alexander III. at the Ecumenical Council of 1179, and again at the second Ecumenical Council at Lyons (1274).

The Reform Synods began at the opening of the period in 1049. At the Roman Synod of 1047, Clement II. had already declared against simony, and punished some bishops who practised it. The Roman Synod of 1049, under Leo IX., declared war in earnest against the two evils of simony and clerical marriage, renewed the old laws on the subject, and forbade to clerics, from the sub-deacon up to the higher orders, the exercise of religious functions so long as they were married or kept concubines. This legislation was repeated the same year by Synods at Rheims and Mainz, both presided over by Leo. Vigorous laws were also passed by the Roman Synods of 1059 and 1061, under Nicolas II., and by the Synod of Melfi, near Monte Cassino (1059), presided over by the same Pontiff. The energy with which the canon of celibacy was pushed is shown by Nicolas' despatch of legates to propagate the Papal views, and the action of the Synods of Vienne and Tours (1060) along the same line. Gregory VII. won for himself a foremost place among Papal reformers by the boldness with which he advocated moral reforms, and the suffering he was ready to undergo in their interest. Simony, clerical concubinage, and lay investiture were the three evils against which he waged vigorous war. At the Lenten Synod in Rome (1074), the first of his pontificate, he ordered all holding ecclesiastical offices by purchase to relinquish them, and all guilty of the *crimen fornicationis*, that is, having a wife or a concubine, to desist from saying mass. To the resistance offered by localities and bishops to the latter decree was added the unfavourable action of the local Synods of Paris and Erfurt (1074). But such Synodal action was as a passing cloud. Other Synods came to Gregory's aid, and those held at Rome year by year renewed the war; and the legislation condemning the marriage of the clergy was repeated again and again, even in far-off England, as at the Synods of Winchester under Lanfranc (1076), at London under Anselm (1102, 1108), and at Westminster (1138), etc. These Synods extended the war to the sons of priests, who were excluded from succeeding to the benefices held by their fathers. The Roman Synod of 1083, the last

under Gregory, placed in one and the same category the sons of priests, the sons of adulterers, and all other bastards, and pronounced them ineligible for ordination. The difficulty met with in putting a stop to the marriage of clerics is shown by the action of the Hungarian Synod of Szoboles (1092), which, for the sake of peace, granted priests already married the indulgence to keep their wives (see Hefele, v. 204 ff.).

A positive prohibition of lay investiture was laid down by Gregory in the Lenten Synod at Rome (1075). Henceforward the custom was illegal where by the Emperor and princes had inducted bishops and abbots into their office by the gift of ring and staff. This right Gregory now reserved for the spiritual authorities, to whom it properly belonged. The principle was asserted at one Council after another, and thus the moral weight of Conciliar action was added to the heroic boldness of Gregory in his personal struggle with Henry IV., until the matter was finally settled by the Concordat of Worms (1122).

Synods undertook an easy task when they began to urge Western Christendom to endeavour to rescue Jerusalem and the other sacred sites from the grasp of the infidel. The spirit of chivalry, as well as the impulse of piety, was touched when the appeal was made to assert by arms the right of the Church to the localities where the Redeemer was born, had died, and lay in the grave for three days. The subject was first brought to the attention of a Council at the Synod of Piacenza (1095), when an embassy appeared from the Emperor Alexius calling for aid against the encroachments of the Turk upon the Eastern Empire. At the Council of Clermont (1095), presided over by Urban II., the first crusade was determined upon. Urban's address, picturing the distress of Jerusalem, fired the heart of the large assembly with such enthusiasm, that the cry arose, 'God wills it, God wills it,' and multitudes took the cross. More effective sermon was never preached, and at once throughout Central Europe was heard the noise of preparation for the main army which was to start under Godfrey, and the preliminary swarms under Peter the Hermit, Walter the Penniless, etc. See CRUSADES.

IV. 1122-1400 (the Ecumenical Councils).—This period of 280 years is marked by seven Ecumenical Councils, a great increase in the number of local Synods, and their spread over all Western Europe. They were called forth by the crusades, the spread of heresy, the conflicts of the Popes with the Emperors, the evils in the Church which called for reformation, and other considerations. The inclination of the Popes to strengthen their hands and carry out their plans through the action of Synods continued to be a marked feature of the Papal policy, as it had been in the Hildebrandian age. The greatest of the Popes—Alexander III., Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV.—summoned Synods and laid their projects before them. The Ecumenical Councils were called by Popes, and the secular prince had nothing to do with their being summoned. Thus the theory of the ancient Church was set aside (see Döllinger-Friedrich, *Das Papstthum*, 88 ff.). The Papal ratification gave authority to their decrees, and the first canon of the First Lateran runs: 'Auctoritate sedis apost. prohibemus,' etc. It is true that the approbation of the assembled prelates is sometimes mentioned, and it was assumed that it was given. The formula ran: 'Sacro approbante concilio,' or 'Sacro praesente concilio.' So the Fourth Lateran. The seven General Councils were as follows:—

(1) *The First Lateran* (1123), so called from having met in the Lateran Church in Rome, was

—following the counting of the Latins—the 9th Ecumenical Council, or the next in the list after the Council of Constantinople (869). It was called by Calixtus II., and had for its principal object the ratification of the Concordat of Worms, known also as the *Pactum Calixtinum*. By that pact the Church reserved to itself the exclusive right of investing bishops with the ring and the crozier, and of inducting them into the spiritual functions of their sees, while the temporal prince retained the right of inducting them into the temporalities and of being present at the elections. Our reports of the First Lateran vary in giving the number of attending bishops and abbots as 300–997. It was the first Ecumenical Council to enjoin clerical celibacy. Following the example of Urban II. at Clermont, it granted indulgence of sins to all participating in the crusades, and, in addition, it took their relatives and their goods under the special protection of the Church.

(2) *The Second Lateran*, or 10th Ecumenical (1139), was opened with an address by Innocent II., witnessed the close of the disastrous Papal schism which had distracted the Church for nine years, and pronounced against the heresy of Arnold of Brescia (see Otto of Freising, *de gestis Frederici*, ii. 20). It also condemned simony, priestly concubinage, and the ministrations of the sons of priests, and introduced a new element in forbidding, for a term of years, tournaments. Like the First Lateran and the Third Lateran, it enjoined the truce of God.

(3) *The Third Lateran*, or 11th Ecumenical (1179), was summoned and presided over by Alexander III. 237 or, according to other reports, 300 or 396 bishops were present, besides many abbots and other clergy. It celebrated the establishment of peace between the Papacy and Frederick Barbarossa. It made some additions to the rules for electing a Pope. Falling back on the 12th canon of the Second Lateran, it legislated against heretics, especially the Cathari and Patarini, and ordered separate burial-places and churches for lepers.

(4) *The Fourth Lateran*, or 12th Ecumenical (1215), was, with the Council of Constance, the most important ecclesiastical assembly of the Middle Ages, and one of the most eventful in all Church history. Its two chief acts were the declaration of Transubstantiation as a dogma of the Church, and the establishment of the Inquisition. The Council was called by Innocent III., and attended by 412 bishops, 800 abbots, the representatives of many absent prelates, also the representatives of the Emperor Frederick II., the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, the kings of England, France, Aragon, Hungary, and Jerusalem, and other crowned heads. The Latin patriarchs of the East were also there. The sessions were opened with a sermon by the Pope on Lk 22¹⁹ ‘With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you.’ In his letter of convocation, Innocent had announced as the objects of the Council: measures for the re-conquest of Jerusalem and the betterment of the Church. The business was issued by the Pope, and free discussion in his Imperial presence was not to be thought of. The doctrine of the Eucharist was discussed for the first time at a General Council, and the assembly made the formal declaration that Christ’s body and blood are truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar under the forms of bread and wine, the bread being *transubstantiated* into the body and the wine into the blood (Mansi, xxii. 982; Mirbt, *Quellen*, 133). The formal adoption of the Inquisition by the Council introduced its harsh and un-Christian measures into the body of the discipline of the Latin Church. The Synods of

Verona (1184), Avignon (1209), and Montpellier (1215) had already taken definite action, but these were local assemblies, although the first was under the presidency of a Pope. The Inquisition, thus established by the highest authority of the Church, —for both Pope and Ecumenical Council ratified it, —was intended to crush freedom of thought wherever the Catholic Church went, and deliberately commended those measures of the civil power which resulted in tens of thousands being brought to the stake for errors of opinion. The third canon calls heresy *heretica foeditas*, and not only summoned all bishops to search out and punish heretics with ecclesiastical penalties, but required rulers, upon pain of excommunication, to clear their realms of heresy by the use of the sword. More especially was the decree launched against the Albigenses; and the Catholics who girded themselves with the sword for the reduction of that people to the faith were promised the same indulgence that was offered to those who took part in the crusades against the Saracens (Mansi, xxii. 986 ff.; Mirbt, *Quellen*, 133 ff.). The Council also approved Innocent’s proposed crusade, which was fixed to start in June 1217. The Pope promised as his own contribution a vessel for the crusaders from Rome and its vicinity, and £30,000 in money. The indulgence for sins was extended to those who contributed to the expenses of the enterprise, as well as to those who went to the East. The speedy death of Innocent deprived it of his powerful support, and, in spite of the efforts of his two successors, Honorius III. and Gregory IX., it was never realized, unless the bizarre expedition of Frederick II. in 1229 be regarded in that light. To these decisions of greater moment were added a series of acts of a moral and ecclesiastical nature, which would of themselves render the Fourth Lateran one of the notable Councils in the history of the Church. The further establishment of monastic orders was forbidden—a canon repeated with an important modification at the second General Council of Lyons (1274). The Jews and Saracens were ordered to wear a different dress from the Christians, lest unawares there might be carnal intercourse between them, and the Jews were forbidden to appear out of doors during Passion week, and excluded from public office. Tournaments were forbidden for three years, on the ground that they would interfere with the crusade. This rule was repeated at the Ecumenical Council of Lyons (1245).

(5) *The First Council of Lyons*, or the 13th Ecumenical (1245), was called by Innocent IV., who had fled from Rome to escape Frederick II. It took the place of the Council called by Gregory IX., whose assemblage had been prevented by the violent action of Frederick and his son Enzo. Innocent, in his opening address, called attention to five wounds of the Church, namely, the low estate of the clergy, the distressed condition of Jerusalem, the Greek schism, the menace of the Tatars in Eastern Europe, and the persecution of the Church by Frederick II. The last was the greatest and most painful wound of all, and itself justified the assembly. With the assent of the Council, Innocent formally deposed Frederick from his throne. No ecclesiastical Synod before or since has taken such ominous action against an exalted monarch. Frederick was unequal to the contest, and died, defeated (1250).

(6) *The Second Council of Lyons*, or the 14th Ecumenical (1274), was summoned by Gregory X., and attended by 500 bishops, 70 abbots, and 1000 other ecclesiastics. Gregory opened the proceedings with an address on Lk 22¹⁹, the text which Innocent III. had used in 1215. The main topic was the re-union of Christendom. The Greek

Church was represented by Imperial delegates—Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, the archbishop of Nicæa, and other bishops. The Emperor through his representatives announced his acceptance of the double procession of the Holy Spirit, and the primacy of the Apostolic see. The Apostles' Creed was sung in Latin, and then in Greek. A termination of the Schism seemed to be at hand, but the articles of agreement, when they became known in the East, were rejected, and the Council proved a failure at its historic point.

(7) *The Council of Vienne*, or the 15th Ecumenical (October 16, 1311–May 6, 1312), was called by Clement V., the first of the Avignon Popes, at the demand of Philip the Fair of France. The reports of the Council are unsatisfactory, but among the chief objects of business were the abolition of the order of the Knights Templar, the establishment of peace between the two contending wings in the Franciscan order, and the condemnation of Boniface VIII. as a heretic. The condemnation of Boniface, which Philip had strenuously demanded, was, after much discussion, set aside, in view, it is supposed, of Clement's concession to the French sovereign that the Templars should be destroyed.

V. 1122–1400 (important local Synods).—Speaking in a general way, the local Synods of this period derive their chief importance from their regulations concerning the detection and punishment of heresy. They throw much light upon the religious conditions and clerical manners of the period. After the Council of Vienne, and until the close of the 14th century, Synods no longer had the importance they had had before. This was due to the distracted condition of Western Christendom, resulting from the exile of the Papacy to Avignon, to the growing tendency to freedom of thought and expression, as manifested by Dante and by the publicists in the age of Boniface VIII., and the increasing tendency, since Boniface VIII., to autocratic Papal government through bulls. Among the more important of the local Synods were the following:—(1) *Toulouse* (1119), which passed important legislation against heretics. (2) *Tours* (1163), attended by 17 cardinals, 124 bishops, and 414 abbots. Alexander III. presided in person. Thomas à Becket, whose difficulties had begun, was present. The Synod's regulations against heresy are of historical importance. (3) *The Council of Clarendon* (1164), a mixed council of laymen and bishops, passed the famous Clarendon Constitutions, which struck at the root of ecclesiastical arrogance as represented by such prelates as Thomas à Becket, and led to his flight from England. (4) *Verona* (1164), presided over by Lucius III., passed a lengthy and notable decree concerning the trial and punishment of heretics. It makes the first Conciliar mention of the *pauperes de Lugduno*, or Waldenses. Walter Map, the English *littérateur*, was present, and has left us an interesting account of the examination and appearance of the humble Waldensian representatives. Impenitent heretics were turned over to the worldly authority, and magistrates and princes were ordered to aid bishops in spying out heretics and bringing them to trial, on pain of excommunication. (5) *The Synod of Trèves* (1227) has a place of importance on account of its canons which bear upon the administration of the sacraments (see Hefele, v. 944–55). (6) *Toulouse* (1229), presided over by the Papal legate, celebrated the close of the bloody crusades against the Albigenses, prescribed the final punishment of the house of Toulouse, and passed notable canons for the punishment of heretics, its 14th canon forbidding laymen to have in their possession the Old and New Testaments in the original or in translation. The laity—men and women—were ordered

to attend the Communion three times a year, and to visit the confessional the same number of times, upon pain of being suspected of heresy. Toulouse was in the centre of the territory most infected with heresy. There the Papal inquisitors were most active in the 13th century, and many Synods in that region and in Spain—at Beziers, Tarragona, Narbonne, Albi, etc.—repeat the rules for the detection and punishment of the unfortunate victims of the Inquisition. When, in a later century, persecutions for witchcraft were carried on, it was a Papal bull—the bull of Innocent VIII.—and a book—the *Malleus maleficarum*—which encouraged that awful movement, rather than the acts of Synods.

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COUNCILS (Christian: Modern, 1400–1910).—

It will be convenient to deal with the Councils of this period under four separate heads. Supremely important as were the dogmatic pronouncements both of Trent and of the Vatican, they were themselves the utterances of two dissimilar assemblies, deliberating under the stress of quite different combinations of circumstances, and animated by a notably different spirit. On the other hand, the ecclesiastico-political influences at work in the early part of the 15th cent., owing to the Great Schism, were absolutely unique in the history of Christianity, while, from the outset of this period, the high relief and importance given to General Councils (owing to the gravity of the crisis and the desperate nature of the evils, which only an Ecumenical assembly could remedy) tended to throw altogether into the background the decrees of diocesan and provincial Synods, and to rob them of all dogmatic character and influence. We have, then, for our four divisions:—(1) The Councils of Pisa, of Constance, and of Basel-Ferrara-Florence, all of which were held under the shadow of the religious anarchy created by the Great Schism of the West, and in all of which the position and power of a *concilium generale* in itself was a question of primary importance. (2) Trent, the great Reformation Council, in respect of which the Fifth Lateran may be regarded as an ineffective preliminary, overshadowed by the really important work which the Papal legates and the Fathers of Trent, in spite of disheartening political obstacles, carried steadfastly to a conclusion. (3) The Council of the Vatican, giving expression to that recognition of the Papal *magisterium* and that acquiescence in the policy of centralization which three centuries of peace, organization, and discipline had bred in the hearts of the more pious, if not always the more learned, representatives of the Roman obedience. (4) We also require to give some brief consideration to the local Synods which, in these last four centuries, have done little more than popularize the great principles of dogma and

discipline laid down at Trent. To the influence of these Synods as a whole is also largely due the extension of those anti-Gallican tendencies which eventually took formal and articulate shape in the definitions of the Vatican.

1. Councils of Pisa, Constance, Basel-Ferrara-Florence.—(1) *Council of Pisa.*—The one outstanding fact in the religious situation at the beginning of the 15th cent. was the division of Christendom owing to the Schism. All attempts to bring about an accommodation between the rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., had hitherto proved abortive. The situation was intolerable, and patience was becoming exhausted. Finally, in July 1408, cardinals belonging to both Papal courts met at Livorno and proposed as a solution the *via concilii generalis utriusque obediencie*, appointing 25 March 1409 for the meeting of such an assembly. The appeal evoked considerable response. At its maximum the attendance numbered from 22 to 24 cardinals, 80 bishops, 87 abbots, etc., while 102 bishops unable to attend in person sent procurators. In its eighth session (18 May) the Council proclaimed itself ecumenical and canonically convoked. On 5 June it deposed both the reigning Popes as notoriously guilty of schism and heresy, and empowered the cardinals then at Pisa to elect a new Pope in their place. The choice fell upon Peter Philargi, Archbishop of Milan (Alexander V.). But, as neither Benedict XIII. nor Gregory XII. was willing to submit, the only immediate result was that there were now three claimants to the Papacy instead of two. As for the second avowed purpose of convening the assembly at Pisa (the *causa reformationis*), it was agreed that a more careful preparation of measures of reform was necessary than could then be attempted. Any such projects must, therefore, be left for the consideration of another Council to meet in three years' time. Accordingly, on 7 Aug. 1409, the new Pope dissolved the assembly.

It has been the custom to speak of the Council of Pisa with scant respect as a foolish expedient, foredoomed to failure, which only added to the divisions of Christendom. Moreover, on the ground that it was not summoned by a legitimate Pope, or by the whole Church, or generally acknowledged, it has not usually been allowed, except by avowed Gallicans, to rank among the Ecumenical Councils (cf. e.g. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, 1907 ff., I. 89); but a much more favourable view of its aims and its results has recently found acceptance (see esp. Blumetzrieder, *Das Generalkonzil*, 806-339). In any case, the assembly at Pisa certainly did much to pave the way for the solution ultimately reached.

(2) *Council of Constance.*—Alexander V., the Pope elected at Pisa, died within a year of his election, when he was succeeded by John XXIII. (Baldassare Cossa), who, though not the monster of depravity his enemies have depicted, was certainly unworthy of his high position, and was himself the cause of scandal rather than a promoter of reform. Nothing in John's behaviour seemed to promise an end of the Schism, and so, after an abortive Council at Rome (1412), which mainly occupied itself with Wyclif's writings, Sigismund, king of the Romans, put pressure on John and forced him to summon a Council to meet at Constance on 1 Nov. 1414. Under Sigismund's patronage, a vast and rather motley assembly gathered there, with the triple object (1) of defining the true doctrine of the Church with regard to the teaching of Wyclif and Hus (*causa fidei*); (2) of putting an end to the Schism (*causa unionis*); and (3) of reforming the Church alike in its head and in its members (*causa reformationis*). In respect of the first object a long series of propositions was extracted from the writings of Wyclif and his Bohemian followers, and these were unanimously condemned. On the question of Communion in one kind the Council drafted a detailed decree, in which the custom of the Church was approved, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist 'should be

received by those who consecrated it under both kinds, and by the laity only under one,' seeing that 'it must be most firmly held that the Body and Blood of Christ are contained entire both under the species of bread and under the species of wine.'

In the 15th session of the Council (6 July 1415), Hus, who, in spite of his safe-conduct from King Sigismund, had been kept in close confinement for several months previously, was, after his refusal to retract his errors, solemnly degraded from the priesthood and burnt at the stake. No special pleading can palliate this breach of faith, whether the main responsibility falls upon Sigismund personally or upon the ecclesiastics of the Council (see Wylie, *The Council of Constance to the Death of John Hus*).

Meanwhile, as regards the healing of the Schism, the path of the Council had not been so easy. In spite of John's favoured position as the convoker of the assembly under the protection of Sigismund, men were not slow to declare that a settlement could be reached only by the resignation of all three Popes. To destroy the numerical preponderance of the Italian bishops a plan was adopted of voting by nations (Italian, German, French, English, and, at a later date, also Spanish) to the exclusion, in the general sessions, of the system previously adhered to, which based the decision upon the simple majority of voices. The outcry against Pope John made itself more insistently heard, and on 20 March 1415 he fled from the city. Despite the desertion of its official president, the Council, at the instigation primarily of Zabarella, d'Ailly, and Gerson, passed the famous 'Decrees of Constance,' declaring itself to be ecumenical and lawfully convened; asserting the claim of a General Council, in so far as it holds its jurisdiction immediately from God, to the obedience of all men, even though of Papal dignity; and finally proclaiming that contumacious resistance to its authority was a crime legally deserving of punishment, and involving, it might be, the guilt of schism or heresy. The formal deposition of John, on the grounds of simony, immorality, and the fostering of schism, followed shortly afterwards. Gregory XII. resigned, and Benedict XIII., after he had been forsaken by the King of Arragon, was also deposed (26 July 1417). Finally, Odo Colonna (Martin V.) was elected Pope (11 Nov. 1417) by 23 cardinals and 30 deputies—six from each of the five nations—thus at last ending the Schism.

A few spasmodic attempts at reform were also made before the Council dispersed. Serious differences of opinion among the 'nations'—the Italian bishops, for example, favouring the Papal claim to Provisors—led to the decision that, while certain general decrees should be passed upon matters as to which all were agreed, the Pope should be left free on the contested points to arrange Concordats with the different nations separately. The periodical convening of General Councils was also determined upon, the first to be held at Pavia in 1423; and on 22 April 1418, Martin V. dissolved the assembly.

The ecumenicity of the Council of Constance is a subject of much debate. No one, practically speaking, denies that character to the Council after the election of Martin V. Again, the doctrinal decrees condemning Wyclif and Hus are certainly covered by the declaration of Martin V. in the last session, that he desired to maintain and to ratify the decrees, 'in matters of faith,' which had been determined by the assembled Fathers *conciliariter*. But the decrees maintaining the superiority of a General Council over the Pope were not, so it is held, arrived at *conciliariter* but rather *unilateraliter*. In any case, Martin's language obviously suggests that he did not approve the decrees of Constance *en bloc*, while, if he excepted anything from his sanction, it must have been the bold, and up to that time almost unheard of, pretension to exalt conciliar authority at the expense of the Papacy, which in 1682 became the founda-

tion of the famous Gallican Articles (see, e.g., Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, i. 60-72). By no Roman theologian of the present day is the ecumenicity of the Council of Constance admitted without reservation.

(3) *Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence*.—In accordance with the provisions of Constance, Martin V. was bound to convoke a Council at Pavia in 1423; this was done, but the small attendance, the transference to Siena on account of plague, and other causes, furnished a reasonable pretext for dissolving the assembly altogether in May 1424. Deference, however, was still paid to the agreement arrived at in Constance regarding the periodical recurrence of Councils, and Basel was selected for the next meeting in 1431. Martin V. died before the day appointed, and Eugenius IV., who succeeded him, looking with apprehension at the spirit which had already manifested itself in the handful of delegates present at Basel—a spirit which still persisted in treating the Pope as only the *caput ministeriale ecclesie*—decided to dissolve the Council even before the end of 1431. A period of great distraction followed. Eugenius, who had to some extent been misinformed regarding the condition of affairs at Basel, and who was also, no doubt, honestly influenced by the desire to facilitate the re-union of the Greeks by summoning a Council in some, to them more accessible, town in Italy, was eventually constrained, by the determination of the prelates at Basel and the political support accorded them, to set aside his bull of dissolution and to suffer the Council to proceed. Meanwhile the assembly had explicitly renewed the decrees of Constance asserting the supremacy of a General Council over the Pope, and denying to the Pope the right of dissolution without the consent of the Council itself. Notwithstanding this, Eugenius found himself compelled to pronounce (*decernimus et declaramus*) the continuity of the Council of Basel as a legitimately constituted assembly from the beginning, to declare *pure et simpliciter* that it was in the enjoyment of his favour, and to annul (*cassamus, revocamus*, etc.) whatever he himself had attempted 'to its prejudice or against its authority.'

During the period which followed, beginning with the 16th session (5 Feb. 1434), the assembly passed many useful decrees of reformation, but, by its almost entire abolition of annates and reservations, it bore very hardly upon the financial resources of the Holy See.

With regard to some dogmatic points in the proposed re-union with the Greeks there was further friction between Pope and Council, and the unstable peace was at length entirely wrecked over the question of the locality to which the Orientals should be invited for the discussion of their differences. On this point Eugenius stood firm, and when, on 18 Sept. 1437, he convened a Re-union Council to meet at Ferrara, Christendom at large gave him its support in the long run. The remnant of the Basel assembly, after defining, on 17 Sept. 1439, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin (Mansi, xxix. 184), proceeded, under the leadership of Card. Lewis Aleman, first to suspend and then to depose Eugenius; and on 5 Nov. 1439 they elected a new anti-Pope, Felix V. But the common sense of Europe revolted against this renewal of the Schism. The handful of prelates at Basel were gradually deserted by their supporters. In 1448 they were banished from the city, migrated to Lausanne, and eventually, in 1449, made their submission to Nicholas V.

Meanwhile, at Ferrara, whence in Jan. 1439 the assembly, for sanitary reasons, was transferred to Florence, a conspicuously representative deputation of the Greeks, headed by Joseph II., Patriarch

of Constantinople, and the Emperor John Palæologus, had gathered for the Re-union Council, influenced mainly, no doubt, by the hope of inducing a united Christendom to make common cause in resisting the Turks. The path of conciliation was a very thorny one, but eventually the *Filioque* difficulty was broached, and in the end the Western doctrine was accepted by all the Greek representatives save Marcus Eugenius of Ephesus. Agreement was also arrived at concerning the use of unleavened bread, the 'epiclesis' question in the liturgy, the doctrine of purgatory, and, with more difficulty, the Roman primacy. Most, but not quite all, of the matters discussed were enshrined in a Papal bull *Latentur cæli* (6 July 1439), which informed the world that the decree of union had received the signature of the Greek representatives.

Though the main object of the Re-union Council had thus, for the time being, been attained, it continued to sit on, probably as a counterpoise to the schismatical assembly at Basel. Several other Eastern Churches—the Armenians (autumn of 1439), the Jacobites (1442), and, after the sessions of the Council had been transferred to the Lateran, the Syrian church of Mesopotamia (1444), and certain Maronites and Nestorian Chaldeans (1445)—sent in their submission. The conspectus of doctrine, however, in the respective decrees of union, notably the *decretum pro Armenis* and the *decretum pro Jacobitis* (Denzinger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*¹⁰, Freiburg, 1908, nos. 695-715), though very important as an indication of theological opinion, is not usually regarded as an infallible pronouncement, being considered as aiming rather at disciplinary instruction than at definition of dogma.

The question of the ecumenicity of the decrees of Basel-Ferrara-Florence has been much discussed, and the theologians of the extreme Gallican school in the 17th and 18th centuries habitually maintained that the anti-Papal edicts of Basel, like those of Constance, were to be regarded as the duly authorized expression of the voice of the Church assembled in General Council. At present the more received view asserts that, while the sessions at Ferrara-Florence may be regarded as ecumenical, those at Basel can claim ecumenicity only for the decrees passed before 1437 and concerned with the suppression of heresy, the peace of Christendom, and the reform of the Church. The Papal approval necessary for their validity cannot be considered to have extended to any other matter (see Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, i. 80-86, and Baudrillart in *Dict. Théol. Cath.* ii. [1905] 125-128).

2. The Council of Reform (Council of Trent).—

The extravagant pretensions of the Councils of Constance and Basel had had disastrous results. The hope of reform in the Church was almost crushed, for the very mention of the word 'Council' awakened resentment and mistrust. Still the energetic protests of such men as Savonarola and Geiler of Kaisersberg kept the idea alive, and, when the friction between Julius II. and Louis XII. induced the latter to threaten the Pope with a General Council and to organize the schismatical assembly at Pisa (1511), the need of reform was put forward as a rallying cry. Julius responded by anathematizing the *concordiabulum* and its authors, but at the same time he convoked a Council himself, the Fifth Lateran (1512), generally reckoned the 18th General Council. It was not numerously attended, and, though it was prolonged by Leo X. until 1517, the work of reform in the Church, with which it professed to identify itself, was taken in hand very half-heartedly. Some useful decrees were passed concerning Papal provisions to benefices, etc., but the chief work accomplished was the condemnation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII., for which was substituted a Concordat with Francis I. (18 Aug. 1516). This received the formal approval of the Council, 19 Dec. 1516; and in the bull *Pastor æternus*, issued with the approval of the assembled Fathers in the

same connexion, the Pope was declared to possess authority over General Councils, which he had also the right to convoke, transfer, and dissolve (Mansi, xxxii. 967). Indirectly the 'Gravamina' drafted by Wimpfeling in 1510, which in many respects were based on the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, received their answer in the same bull.

There was little, then, in the proceedings of the Fifth Lateran to still the clamour for the suppression of abuses, which made itself heard more and more insistently after the revolt of Luther in 1517. Soon the appeal came, in a form not to be ignored, from the great ruler and statesman who found himself called upon at the same time to maintain the peace of the German Empire and to uphold the ancient faith. The preliminaries of the Council which Charles V. aspired to control form a long and extraordinarily intricate history, the details of which have only recently been given to the world in such collections of original documents as the *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland* and the *Concil. Trident. . . . nova collectio*, iv., edited for the Görres Gesellschaft by Ehse, or, again, the fifth volume of Pastor's *Gesch. der Päpste*. The Council was first to have met at Mantua on 23 May 1537 (Ehse, p. 3), but the unwillingness of the Protestants to take part in an assembly on Italian soil, together with the numberless political complications, as well as the disagreements between Pope and Emperor, caused many delays. In 1542, Paul III. summoned the Council to meet at Trent on 1 Nov. of that year, but the difficulties were such that a beginning was not made until 13 Dec. 1545. Three Roman cardinals presided as legates over its early sessions—del Monte (afterwards Julius III.), Cervini (afterwards Marcellus II.), and Reginald Pole. The city of Trent had been selected, as situated upon Imperial territory, though south of the Alps, and easily accessible both from Germany and Italy. In the 8th session (11 March 1547), on account of the appearance of the plague, the transference of the Council to Bologna was decided upon, in spite of the opposition of the Emperor. Still, as Charles's bishops remained at Trent and the numbers at Bologna were very small, no decrees were passed during the two sessions held there. To put an end to the impossible situation, Paul III. prorogued the Council on 17 Sept. 1549.

Julius III. again convoked the Fathers in 1551, and business was transacted in the 13th to 16th sessions (11 Oct. 1551–28 Apr. 1552); but, on the fresh outbreak of hostilities against the Emperor, when the troops of the Elector of Saxony seemed to threaten the safety of the Council, another prorogation took place.

Finally, Pius IV. (29 Nov. 1560) summoned the bishops to Trent for the third time. They should have met at Easter, but the work of the Council did not begin until Jan. 1562. The Pope's interest in the proceedings, which were pushed on with great energy, was manifested alike in the sending of five Cardinal legates to represent him, and in the voluminous correspondence maintained by the Pontiff's nephew and secretary, Card. Charles Borromeo, afterwards canonized (see Susta, *Die röm. Curie und d. Concil. v. Tr. unter Pius IV.*). The 17th–22nd sessions were held between 15 Jan. and 17 Sept. 1562, after which followed a long period of stormy discussions which nearly brought about the abandonment of the Council; but, thanks to the tact of the Papal legates, two other public sessions were held in July and November. The 25th and concluding session took place under the presidency of Card. Morone, 3–4 Dec. 1563.

It should be noted, as regards the method of procedure, that by the word 'session,' which is

always used in quoting the decrees of Trent (thus, for example, the famous ordinance for the founding of seminaries in every diocese is cited 'Conc. Trid. sess. xxiv. *de Reform.* cap. 14'), we must understand the public and solemn sittings in which the Fathers met to record, by an as nearly as possible unanimous vote, the acceptance of decrees already prepared and agreed to. No discussion took place at these sittings; the subjects pronounced upon had already been fully debated in preliminary 'general congregations.' Further, in anticipation of these general congregations, schedules of 'articles' were usually drafted by the legates, and then certain theologians (*theologi minores*), who themselves had no vote, were invited to express their opinion thereon before the assembled Fathers, to assist them in forming a judgment. At the same time it had been arranged, almost from the beginning of the Council, that doctrine and discipline should be discussed simultaneously. The Pope had wished the dogmatic questions at issue between the Catholics and the Protestants to be authoritatively defined before the Fathers turned their attention to reform within the Church. Charles V., on the other hand, had wished these delicate points of doctrine to be deferred, and he demanded precedence for the correction of abuses. The Council compromised by issuing, at each session productive of legislation, a body of ordinances *de Reformatione* together with a varying number of dogmatic decisions and canons. All questions were decided not by nations, but by a simple majority of voices. Practically speaking, only prelates of episcopal dignity and the generals of religious orders had votes, though Paul III., in the first period of the Council, allowed the procurators of certain German bishops to vote, on the plea that the state of that country rendered it difficult for bishops to quit their dioceses. The Italian sees had at all times a great numerical preponderance. France, owing to its rivalry with the Emperor, sent hardly any representatives except its ambassadors. No Protestants appeared in the first period of the Council, but in the second period, under Julius III., a body of Protestant divines—of course under a safe-conduct—attended the deliberations which preceded the 15th session, in view of the possibility of arriving at some compromise regarding the concession of the cup to the laity. They were not allowed a vote, being in that respect on the same footing as those Catholic divines who were not bishops. A safe-conduct was also offered to Protestants of all countries in the 18th session (4 March 1562), but none availed themselves of the invitation. For various causes several of the sessions were barren of all legislation. For a summary of the decrees and canons of the Council, see art. *CONFESSIONS*, vol. iii. pp. 839–841.

The publishing of a revised index of prohibited books, as well as of a Missal, a Breviary, and a doctrinal Catechism (the famous *Catechismus ad Parochos*), which last had already been set in hand, was left to the charge of the Holy See; and, with a recognition of the need of Papal confirmation for its decrees, the great Council concluded its work.

A convenient summary of the more noteworthy additions made by the Council of Trent to the body of doctrine previously defined is afforded by the *Professio Fidei Tridentina*, commonly known as the Creed of Pope Pius IV. Its Confessional importance is indicated by the fact that at the present day a convert joining the Church of Rome is required to make such a profession of faith in the same or equivalent terms. Formerly the Creed of Pope Pius itself was always used, but latterly the option has been given of employing a shorter form. *Per contra*, when in the year 1714

a *Form for admitting converts from the Church of Rome* was drawn up and approved by both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, the proselyte, if in holy orders, was to be asked: 'Dost thou in particular renounce the twelve last articles added in the confession commonly called "the Creed of Pope Pius IV.," after having read them and duly considered them?'—to which the proselyte was required to answer: 'I do upon mature deliberation reject them all, as founded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God' (see *The Month*, Jan. 1907, pp. 1-18). This Anglican form for the reception of a convert has of recent years been considerably modified.

Prof. Fid. Trid. is quoted in full in art. CONFESSIONS, vol. iii. p. 841 f.

3. **The Vatican Council.**—The first hint of Pope Pius IX.'s intention to convoke an Ecumenical Council seems to date from 6 Dec. 1864, and a little later all the Cardinals resident in Rome were invited to send in their written opinion upon the proposal. The majority favoured it, but a few feared political complications. Only two of the twenty-one, when speaking of the purposes to be served by such an assembly, made any reference to a definition of Papal infallibility (Granderath, *Gesch.* i. 44). The matter being further brought to the notice of a select number of bishops in all parts of Europe, together with certain Catholic Orientals, an almost unanimous reply was received in favour of the scheme. The motive principally insisted on was the dangerous and subversive nature of much modern religious teaching, which rendered it desirable to emphasize the powers inherent in the Holy See as against the Gallican and Erastian tendencies of the times. In 1868, accordingly, a bull was issued convoking the Council for 8 Dec. 1869. A special Congregation of Cardinals had already been appointed to prepare the topics to be discussed and pronounced upon, and, in subordination to this, five separate sub-committees, or 'commissions,' were created to deal with (i.) Doctrine, (ii.) Discipline, (iii.) the Regulars (i.e. Monks and Nuns), (iv.) the Oriental Churches and Foreign Missions, and (v.) Politico-eclesiastical questions. Considerable uneasiness was aroused in circles of Gallican sympathy by the strong Ultramontane bias of many of the preliminary arrangements. The selection of consultants invited to sit on the commissions—a selection which excluded such scholars as Dollinger and von Schulte—evoked protest from many moderate men, e.g. from Cardinal von Schwartzberg, Archbishop of Prague.

The endorsement by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 6 Feb. 1868, of a wish, attributed to many influential French Catholics, that the definition of Papal infallibility might be carried by acclamation, was taken to indicate the mind, not only of the Jesuits, but of Pius IX. himself. The occasion was used by Dollinger to publish five articles anonymously in the *AZ* of Augsburg, in which the main purpose of the forthcoming Council was assumed to be the definition of the Pope's infallibility, and the doctrine was attacked on historical grounds. The articles were reprinted under the pseudonym of 'Janus,' and were widely read outside Germany. Other publications, deprecating a pronouncement in favour of infallibility, were issued by Mgr. Maret, titular Archbishop of Sura, and Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans.

The Papal constitution *Multiplices inter* of 27 Nov. 1869, determining the procedure of the Council and affirming the Pope's exclusive right to decide what matters should be submitted for discussion, also gave considerable dissatisfaction; and, when the known opponents of the proposed definition were systematically excluded from the 'deputa-

tions' and from other sub-committees appointed in the Council, it became clear that the infallibilists, secure in their overwhelming majority, intended to carry things with a high hand. They were, moreover, better organized, more nearly unanimous, and more energetic than their opponents, who, from the fact that the objection was, in the case of the greater number, one of expediency, not of principle, lacked cohesion, and were far from presenting a united front. Even those who most pressed the historical difficulty knew that it was largely founded on a series of highly debatable incidents about which we have no clear information. That the opponents of the definition were sincere when almost all described themselves as 'inopportunist' rather than anti-infallibilists may be inferred from their subsequent submission, and may be illustrated from the famous letter of Newman to the Bishop of Birmingham, which, made public through an indiscretion, showed upon the face of it that it was written to his bishop in absolute candour. Herein, at the very time that he describes the projected definition as the work of 'an aggressive insolent faction,' he remarks: 'When we are all at rest and have no doubts, and—at least practically, not to say doctrinally—hold the Holy Father to be infallible, suddenly there is thunder in the clear sky,' etc.; while, again, the conclusion of the letter makes it manifest that the writer had no intention of doing otherwise than loyally to accept the definition, if it were pronounced (see *Collectio Lacensis*, vii. 1513). On the other hand, Manning (not then a Cardinal) seems to have been the chief and most energetic of the organizers of the movement within the Council to press forward the definition as a matter of the utmost urgency (see Granderath, *Gesch.* ii. 69, 73), and he himself made no secret of the policy of the committee organized by him, to exclude from the *deputatio de fide* every name known to be adverse to the definition. This, however, was the work of a section, who were carrying through a plan of campaign on constitutional lines. It was not the work of the Pope or the Curia (cf. Friedrich, *Gesch.* iii. 175).

The first two public 'sessions' of the Vatican Council transacted only formal business (8 Dec. 1869, and 6 Jan. 1870); but previously to the third session, which took place on Low-Sunday (24 Apr.) 1870, a considerable amount of work was done, and the *Constitutio dogmatica de Fide Catholica* was then passed unanimously. It consists of a prologue and four chapters—(i.) of God the Creator of all things, (ii.) of Revelation, (iii.) of Faith, and (iv.) of Faith and Reason—followed by 18 canons which sum up the principal points defined, and subject the contrary propositions to anathema. The errors so condemned included some of the fundamental conceptions of Pantheism, Naturalism, and Rationalism; for example, canon 4 of (i.) runs thus:

'If any one shall say that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, or at least spiritual, have emanated from the Divine substance, or that the Divine essence, by the manifestation or evolution of itself, becomes all things; or, lastly, that God is universal or indefinite being, which, by determining itself, constitutes the universality of things, distinct according to genus, species, and individuals: let him be anathema.'

Again, in ch. ii. the Council, developing somewhat the doctrine defined at Trent (sess. iv.), declares that:

'The books of the Old and New Testament [as enumerated by the Council of Trent] are to be received as sacred and canonical, in their integrity, with all their parts . . . not because, having been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her [the Church's] authority, or merely because they contain revelation, with no admixture of error; but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself.'

It is to be noted also that, contrary to the usage

of earlier General Councils, the Vatican decrees are formally issued, not in the name of the Ecumenical Synod, but 'in the name of the Supreme Pontiff, with the bishops of the whole world assembled round us and judging with us.' An amendment, proposing to add the word *definitivus* to the *sedentibus Nobiscum et judicantibus universi orbis episcopis* of the decree, was rejected after a somewhat heated discussion.

Twenty of the general congregations (10th to 29th) which preceded the third session were given up to questions of disciplinary reform, the most interesting of which was perhaps the proposal to draw up one form of elementary catechism, the use of which should be obligatory throughout the whole Church. But this, like other disciplinary schemes, came to nothing, owing to the premature termination of the Council. Much time was, however, wasted in debate, and the Papal ordinance of 20 Feb. 1870, for abbreviating the discussions and introducing a form of closure, despite the violent protests it elicited from the minority, was really a necessary measure.

By this time, however, the energetic agitation of Manning, Sénestrey, and other leading infallibilists, resulting, for example, in a petition for the definition, signed by 480 of the Fathers, had pushed matters so far that the subject could not be shelved. Originally the question of Papal infallibility had not formed part of the proposed decree 'on the Church of Christ' (see *Coll. Lacensis*, vii. 567-578), but it was later on added to the *schemata*, and became the subject of the liveliest controversy. The Cardinal Presidents in the general congregations opposed rather than favoured the efforts to declare this discussion urgent, but they yielded eventually to the agitation headed by Manning and Sénestrey (Granderath, *Gesch.* iii. 270). Fourteen sittings were devoted to the infallibility question in general, and sixty-four speeches were delivered before the closure was applied. Thirteen other sittings and fifty-seven speeches were devoted to amendments. Finally, when the vote was taken (13 July 1870), of 601 Fathers present 450 voted *placet*, 88 *non placet*, and 62 *placet juxta modum*. Throughout the debate not more than three or four speakers had openly expressed disbelief in the doctrine itself; the minority, as a rule, contested only the opportuneness of defining it.

Before the public session, 18 July 1870, many of the minority left Rome. Of the 535 Fathers present only two voted *non placet*. The whole decree *de Ecclesia Christi*, like its predecessor, consists of four chapters. Ch. i. concerns the Apostolic primacy of St. Peter, ch. ii. the perpetuity of the primacy in the Roman pontiffs, ch. iii. the powers and nature of the primacy, and ch. iv. the infallible teaching of the Holy See. The kernel of the doctrine thus set forth is expressed in the terms quoted above, in art. CONFESSIONS, vol. iii. p. 628^a.

Owing to the heat of summer and the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, fewer than 200 Fathers stayed on in Rome. Some further discussions on matters of discipline took place, but the occupation of Rome by the Piedmontese troops occurred soon afterwards, and on 20 Oct. 1870, Pope Pius IX. formally prorogued the assembly.

Severe criticisms have been directed by many Old Catholic and other writers (cf. e.g. Littledale, art. 'Vatican Council,' in *EBV*⁹) against the procedure followed in the Vatican Council, more especially with regard to the infallibility definition. It has been urged that the minority were coerced into a simulated acceptance of the decrees, that the assembly was not representative, that the majority was largely formed of Italian, missionary, or titular bishops, who came without mandate from any appreciable body of the faithful,¹ that free discussion

was not permitted, etc. There is no doubt foundation for some of these objections, but the facts remain that, owing to the facility of locomotion, the assembly was not less, but immensely more, representative of the Catholic episcopate than any of its predecessors; that the vast majority were whole-hearted in favour of the definition; that in no Council of the Church has it ever been the custom to attach weight to the suffrages of the bishops in proportion to the population of the dioceses they represented; that the greater part of the opposition, whether sincerely or not, had from the beginning styled itself 'inopportunist,' not anti-infallibilist, and so forth. No special pleading can disguise the fact that the subsequent action of the faithful at large has as completely justified the Fathers of the Vatican as the subsequent action of the faithful justified the Fathers of Nicaea or Chalcedon. If the inopportunist bishops made their submission, as they all did without exception, we may assume that either they followed the dictates of their conscience in so doing, or else they were convinced that their flocks would not support them in any act of schism. Whether we hold that the ultimate appeal lies to the collective voice of the bishops or to the sense of the great body of the faithful, the definition in either case, from the point of view of the Roman Church, is fully justified. The sensitiveness to the rights of minorities displayed by the critics of the Council is, after all, a thing of modern growth. Any alleged high-handedness or irregularity of procedure at the Vatican could probably be paralleled many times over in the history of earlier Councils. No view of the Divine constitution of the Church has ever regarded the assistance of the Holy Spirit as promised only to the learned few in any episcopal assembly, while the plea that the minority had not been able to make their objections heard, after all the discussions on the spot, and after the sensation caused, long months before, by the writings of Dollinger, Dupanloup, and others, cannot be treated seriously.

4. Councils other than Ecumenical.—Upon the plenary Councils, provincial Councils, and diocesan Synods of this period, little need be said. Although elaborate disciplinary regulations aiming at the correction of abuses among both clergy and people were passed in such Councils as those of Mainz (1451), Sens, or, more correctly, Paris (1528), Cologne (1536 and 1549), and Augsburg (1548), still the political disturbances of the times, and the moral anarchy which almost necessarily follows in the wake of a fundamental change in religion, stood in the way of any lasting improvement. It was to the Council of Trent that men's eyes were turned (not altogether in vain) to inaugurate a new era, and the annual diocesan Synods and triennial provincial Councils, which in many places (e.g. at Milan under St. Charles Borromeo) were convoked in strict obedience to the Tridentine decrees (sess. xxiv. *de Reform.* cap. 2), undoubtedly helped greatly to turn the Council's measures of reform to practical account. But under Pope Sixtus v. the important Papal constitution *Immensa* (22 June 1589) profoundly modified the conditions which affected the legislation of these provincial Synods. It was now required that the decrees of provincial (though not diocesan) Synods must be submitted to a Roman Congregation, and could be promulgated only after correction, and subject to the modifications, or even the additions, of the congregation in question. This measure, which was made the ground of animated protest at the Vatican Council (see Granderath, ii. 179 ff.), has greatly furthered the centralizing tendencies at work in the Church of Rome during the last three centuries, but it has also much diminished the importance of provincial synods, now practically deprived of their independence. The same cause was probably not without its effect in bringing about the almost entire neglect of such Councils during the 17th and 18th centuries. In comparatively modern times—possibly as a result of the religious reaction which followed upon the French Revolution—a renewed energy began to make itself felt in convoking these assemblies. In France, for example, in the year 1849 Provincial Councils were people, while 65 bishops came from the States of the Church with a population of less than 1,000,000. But statistics of this kind are plainly most fallacious. The 2,000,000 of the diocese of Paris include the hordes of the Commune who twelve months later became masters of the city, imprisoned the Archbishop, and condemned him to death. It would be as reasonable to argue that Manning represented the six millions of London and the adjacent counties comprised in his diocese.

¹ It has been pointed out, for example, that Mgr. Darboy (inopportunist), Archbishop of Paris, represented 2,000,000

held at Paris, Rheims, Tours, and Avignon; and in 1850 at Albi, Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, Sens, Aix, Toulouse, and Bourges. In Central Europe there were provincial Councils at Vienna (1858), Gran (1858), Cologne (1860), Prague (1860), Kalocsa (1863), etc. In the United States six bishops assisted at the first Provincial Council of Baltimore (1829), but at the first Plenary Council, which met at Baltimore in 1852, the presence of six archbishops and twenty-six bishops marked the developments of Roman Catholicism in the New World. In England four Provincial Councils have been held since the restoration of the hierarchy, viz. in 1852, 1853, 1859, and 1873.

Historically speaking, apart from the Vatican Council, interest during the last three hundred years has centred chiefly in conventions of a rather unorthodox character. Such, for example, was the Gallican Assembly of the clergy summoned by Louis XIV. (1681-1682), which drew up the famous four Gallican Articles: (1) denying any jurisdiction of the Pope over the royal authority in temporal matters; (2) declaring the Pope to be inferior to a General Council; (3) limiting the exercise of the Papal prerogative by the Conciliary decrees and by the customs of the Gallican Church; and (4) affirming that the Pope's definitions, even in matters of faith, become irrefragable only when confirmed by the consent of the whole Church. Louis XIV. imposed the teaching of these Articles upon the clergy throughout his dominions; but, in the face of uncompromising Papal opposition, he eventually withdrew them in 1693.

Very similar was the spirit which, growing out of the 'Febronianism,' or 'Josephism,' current in Germany in the 18th cent., manifested itself at the so-called Synod of Pistoia (1786). The Synod was convened by Scipio Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia-Prato, at the instigation of Ludolph, Grand Duke of Tuscany; and it passed a long array of decrees on points of canon law, ceremonial, the rights of the secular authority in religious matters, etc.—all very Gallican and Jansenistic in spirit. Pius VI., in the bull *Auctorem fidei* (1794), condemned 85 propositions of the Synod of Pistoia; and Ricci, in 1799, and again in 1803, made humble submission to the censure thus passed.

LITERATURE.—I. **GENERAL.**—Most of the great collections of the Councils, e.g. those of Mansi, Hardouin, Labbe and Cossart, etc., have already been mentioned. It may be noticed, as the contrary has been implied in a printed advertisement emanating from the publisher himself, that at the date of writing (Oct. 1910), the volume of indexes long ago promised as vol. xxxvi. in the facsimile reprint of Mansi has not yet appeared. On the Canon Law of Councils, see Wernz, *Un decretatum*, Rome, 1906, li. 22, 720 ff. P. Hinschius, *System des kath. Kirchenrechts*, Berlin, 1869, iii. 833 ff. Upon the relations between Pope and Council, see J. Turmel, *Hist. de la théol. positive du Concile de Trente au Concile du Vatican*, Paris, 1904, pp. 300-405.

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of the Görres Gesellschaft, are announced to be in the press; ten or twelve volumes are contemplated); J. Le Plat, *Monumentorum ad Hist. Conc. Trid. spectantium Collectio*, 7 vols., Louvain, 1781-1787; I. v. Dollinger, *Ungedruckte Berichte u. Tagebücher z. Gesch. d. Con. v. Tr.*, 2 vols., Nördlingen, 1876; A. v. Druffel-Brandi, *Monumenta Tridentina*, 4 vols., Munich, 1885-1897; J. Susta, *Die röm. Curie und das Con. v. Tr. unter Pius IV.*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1904-1909; T. v. Sichel, *Zur Gesch. des Concils v. Tr.*, Vienna, 1872; L. Maynier, *Étude histor. sur le Conc. de Trente*, Paris, 1874; O. Braunsberger, *Beati P. Canisii Epistulae ad Acta*, vol. iii., Freiburg, 1901; L. Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, vol. v., Freiburg, 1909. The two standard histories are, of course, Stora-Pallavicino, *istoria del Conc. di Trento*, Rome, 1652 (3 vols., written with access to the archives, from the official and Ultramontane standpoint); and 'Pietro Soave Polano' (Fra Paolo Sarpi), *Hist. del Conc. Trid.*, Venice, 1629 (conspicuously anti-Papal in tone, and often distorting facts in the interest of the writer's prejudices). J. A. Freude's *Lectures on the Council of Trent*, London, 1896, treats only of the first period of the Council, and is written without any reference to the abundant new material published within the last fifty years. *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* have been translated into English by J. Waterworth, London, 1848.

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v. **OTHER COUNCILS.**—The principal collection is *Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Conciliorum recentiorum*, 7 vols., Freiburg, 1869-1890, but the proceedings of many of the provincial and other Synods, e.g. those of Baltimore, Westminster, and Maynooth, are published separately. A very famous local collection is also the *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis*, 2 vols., Milan, 1599.

HERBERT THURSTON.

COUNSELS AND PRECEPTS.—According to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, 'precepts' are commands laid upon every Christian, obedience to which cannot be avoided without risking the loss of eternal salvation ('quae sunt necessaria ad consequendum finem aeternae beatitudinis,' Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, II. i. q. cviii. art. 4). 'Counsels' or 'counsels of perfection' are suggestions of very virtuous ways of living, by the following out of which a man may arrive more quickly and better at eternal life ('per quae melius et expeditius potest homo consequi finem praedictum,' *ib.*), but which he may yet refuse without incurring blame or imperilling the salvation of his soul ('consilium autem in optione ponitur ejus cui datur,' *ib.*). The 'precepts' are the new law of the gospel. 'Counsels' are something added to that law.

This formal doctrine is simply a statement of the judgment formed by the Church on Christian living—a reasonable account of certain plain phenomena which came within the view of all observers. It was obvious from the very earliest times that some men renounced more of the world's goods, honours, and pleasures than others did; accomplishing, as it seemed, a more complete dedication of their mental and bodily powers to the Lord. These were naturally thought of as living a fuller and higher kind of spiritual life. The judgment was in accord with that of St. Paul (1 Co 7^{26ff.}), where the virgin state is reckoned superior to the married, although he that marries has not sinned.

The distinction between a higher and lower Christian life meets us in Hermas (c. 84-85) *ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ νοήματι ἐκτός τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ*, *συναιρῶν περὶ τοῦτο δοῦναι περισσώτερον καὶ ἐν ἐνδοξότερον παρά τῷ θεῷ οὐ ἐμύλλας εἶναι* [Sim. v. 8. 3. cf. *Mand.* iv. 4. 2]; in Tertullian in greater detail (*ad Uxor.* i. 8. ii. 1, *adv. Marc.* i. 29, *de Monog.* i. 6, *de Pudic.* 16); in Cyprinus, who repeats almost the words of his 'master' ('nec hoc jubet Dominus sed hortatur; nec jugum necessitatis imponit, quando maneat voluntatis arbitrium liberum . . . carnis desideria castrantes majores

gratiae premium in coelestibus obtinetis' [*de Habit. Virg.* 23]; in Origen, where a new idea is introduced and a new passage of Scripture referred to ('Donec quis hoc facit tantum quod debet, id est ea quae praecepta sunt, inutilis servus est; si autem addas aliquid praeceptis, tunc jam non inutilis servus eris' [*ad Rom.* iii. 3]); in the pseudo-Clementine *Epistles to Virgins*, where there is a repetition of Hermas' teaching [*Ep. ad Virg.* i. 4]; and in Methodius, who teaches, as Tertullian does, the lawfulness of marriage, but the superior sanctity of the virgin state [*Convo.* iii. 13, 14].

The rise of Monasticism gave a new importance to the distinction between a higher and lower Christian life. Hitherto the contrast between the most obviously ascetic and the most naturally human kinds of life had been plain but less striking, less clamorous for reasoned expression, than it was when the whole Church became aware of the supreme self-denial of St. Anthony and his followers. The drift of crowds of nominal Christians into the Church, which followed the conversion of Constantine, tending, as it did, towards a relaxation of the earlier strictness and a lowering of the general standard of Christian living, still further emphasized the distinction, and made the formulating of a theory of Christian life which would cover all the observed facts an absolute necessity. It is noticeable that the early monks themselves neither elaborated nor seemed conscious of the theory that their lives were the following out of counsels of a higher way and transcended the obedience to the commands obligatory on all Christians. It was St. Ambrose who explained their position for them, and formulated more clearly than any of his predecessors the doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts':

'Officium autem omne aut medium aut perfectum est, quod aequae Scripturarum auctoritate probare possumus. Habemus etenim in Evangelio dixisse Dominum: Si vis in vitam aeternam venire, serva mandata. Dixit ille: quae? etc., following Mt 19:17, adding: 'Haec sunt media officia, quibus aliquid deest. Denique dicit illi adolescens: Omnia haec custodivi,' etc., following vv. 20, 21, adding, 'Hoc est igitur perfectum officium' [*de Offic. Mtn.* i. xi.]. Here for the first time in this connexion the passage which afterwards became a standard proof of the doctrine is quoted from St. Matthew (see also, for St. Ambrose's statement of the doctrine, *de Vid.* xii.). The use of the expressions 'medium' and 'perfectum officium' suggests that St. Ambrose felt the influence of Stoic philosophy. St. Augustine, in his *Enchiridion* (121) and elsewhere, and St. Jerome (*adv. Jovin.* i. 12), teach as St. Ambrose does.

So far the doctrine of the distinction between 'counsels' and 'precepts' appears to have been quite a natural and probably an inevitable explanation of observed fact. The way of Christ was a way of renunciation. It is thus that He Himself sets it forth when He demands absolute poverty (Mt 19:17) and recognizes virginity persisted in for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake (v. 12). It was obvious that some Christians accomplished a more complete renunciation than others. Yet the general conscience of the Church refused to count blameworthy those who renounced less. It followed that the life of more perfect renunciation was a higher kind of life voluntarily entered upon by those who were ambitious of perfection. It is probable that the doctrine thus enunciated by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine was wholesome for the Church. There was continually set before men a very lofty kind of life, and this was recognized as worthy of peculiar praise on earth and as inheriting a great reward in heaven.

The doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts' was worked out by the Schoolmen, and made to serve a purpose which was not conducive to spiritual life in the Church. As the power of the Church to remit the temporal and purgatorial punishments of sin came to be more and more insisted on, the need was felt of a theory which should justify the power claimed and ultimately make less hopelessly unintelligible the distribution of indulgences. The existence of a treasury of merits ('thesaurus meritorum' [Ps.-Clem. vi.; *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, 1343]) was supposed; and it was placed at the

disposal of the head of the Church for distribution. This treasury was filled with the infinite merits of Christ and the superfluous merits of those who, by following the counsels of perfection, had done more than was required (*opera supererogationis*) for their own salvation. ('In operibus poenitentiae supererogaverunt ad mensuram debitorum suorum, et multi etiam tribulationes injustas sustinuerunt patienter, per quas multitudo poenarum poterat expiari eis deberetur,' Thomas Aq. *Summa*, suppl. qu. xxv. art. 1). In the end the conscience of the Church was shocked, and the Reformation precipitated, by the shameless sale of these indulgences. Luther and his fellow-Reformers, in attacking the traffic, traced it back first to the theory of a 'treasury of merits' and then to the doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts' (Luther, *Werke*, Erlangen edition, 1826-57, lx. 256, v. 216, iv. 451; *Articuli Smalcaldici*, iii. 3, 39). It is plain, however, that, although the existence of the 'treasury of merits' was logically deducible from the doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts,' the deduction need never have been made. The Schoolmen might have stopped short of it; probably would never have thought of making it but for the necessity of completing and strengthening the doctrine of the remission of penalties. Also the Reformers might have recognized as justifiable and inevitable the original distinction between counsels of perfection and obligatory precepts. Their position probably would have been stronger if they had.

In another way also the doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts,' as elaborated by the Schoolmen, militated against spirituality, viz. by lowering the general tone of the Christian life. The harder sayings of our Lord, especially those in the Sermon on the Mount, came to be reckoned as 'counsels,' and so removed from the life ideals of ordinary men. Thus among the 'counsels,' ordinarily reckoned as twelve, are to be found: loving our enemies, giving alms not only from our superfluity, not swearing without necessity, and so on (see H. Lämmer, *Die vortribent. kath. Theol.*, Berl. 1858, p. 171 ff.). It is inevitable that at periods of low spiritual vitality there will be a tendency to transfer into the catalogue of counsels of perfection duties which make very high demands on devotion, in communities where the Catholic doctrine is fully accepted. This constitutes a serious danger and a real objection to the doctrine.

The Protestant theologians denied that there was any choice given to man between a higher and a lower kind of Christian life. The fundamental command to love the Lord with all the heart was binding upon all, and, as there was no possibility of doing more than this, so every failure to attain to the fullness of such love was sin (Luther, xiv. 35). Cases like that of the young man in the Gospel who was bidden to sell all and follow Christ (Mt 19:17) were met by the assumption that the command in such cases was to an individual, absolutely binding on that individual under pain of the sin of definite and deliberate disobedience; but, having nothing to do, either as a suggestion of higher perfection or as an example of eminent virtue, with those to whom such a personal command was not given. This was Wyclif's position ('omne consilium Christi obligat quemcunque ipso consultum'). It ignored the distinction (made, however, only in Mt., not in the parallel passages) between 'if thou wilt enter into life' and 'if thou wilt be perfect.' This theory that a 'counsel' was simply a precept given to an individual—according to Wyclif only to an 'heroic' individual—was modified by the later Reformers; and 'counsels' came to be considered as means suggested to certain individuals whereby they might fulfil the com-

mandments of which the 'counsels' seemed to be refinements. Sometimes for these particular individuals the 'counsel' was the *only* means by which the original commandment could be fulfilled at all. Luther, opposing Eck, says that 'counsels' are not 'supra' but 'infra praecepta'; because they are only means of conveniently fulfilling commandments. Thus virginity is not a counsel to be adopted at will or refused. It is a means, perhaps for some the only means, of fulfilling the law of chastity. To such individuals it is evident that to refrain from marriage is a precept, absolutely obligatory. To the others it is not a counsel of perfection, since, being able in the married state to observe the law of chastity, there is nothing to be gained by renouncing marriage (Luther, *de Votis Monasticis*, viii. 583, 30 ff.).

The result of the Protestant theory is a reversal of the previous judgment of the Christian conscience about those who follow the evangelic 'counsels.' A life of virginity or of voluntary poverty ought no longer to be considered a very eminent kind of devotion. It is a confession of weakness, an absolutely less perfect way of following Christ than that of the ordinary citizen of the world. In comparison with the old Catholic judgment that the way of greater renunciation is the way of nobler devotion, the Protestant view appears strained, and is not in accordance with the voice of the general conscience. It is not possible to alter the judgment of the common man's conscience so as to bring it into line with the deductions which theological thinkers make from the positions forced upon them by their polemics. In spite of their theory, Protestants still continue to regard as peculiarly admirable the lives of those who have sacrificed wealth, honour, or bodily desire for the sake of Christ (for full discussion of this fact see Append. III. of J. O. Hannay's *Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism*, 1903). It is, however, to be observed that the Protestant theologian's denial of special honour to lives of complete renunciation has had a certain effect. Protestantism is less rich than Catholicism in examples of heroic Christianity. The general tendency of Protestantism has been to raise to a high level the common Christian life and to develop certain virtues of a kind suitable to the lives of citizens. It has not made for, and, except in comparatively rare instances, has not achieved, the production of unique saints, like, for example, St. Francis of Assisi, whose devotion lays hold upon the popular imagination. This failure must be attributed to the denial of the doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts,' and the consequent unwillingness of Protestant teachers to hold up for admiration lives which must always be rare, and are never imitable except by those who realize the peculiar glory of very great kinds of renunciation.

Further, it has happened that certain evangelic sayings, regarded by the Schoolmen as counsels of perfection, have, in times of high religious vitality, laid hold of the consciences of earnest Protestants and compelled obedience. Thus, during the 17th cent. in England, our Lord's teaching about the non-resistance of evil fascinated the early Quakers. In a Catholic community their kind of life would have been recognized as a following of a counsel of perfection, and they might very well have become an Order within the Church. The refusal of Protestants to recognize the distinction between 'counsels' and 'precepts' had a double effect. It forced the Quakers, who in this matter thought as Protestants, to defend their literal obedience to the commands of Christ as the only way of following Christ. It obliged those Christians whose consciences did not forbid them to use force in self-protection or in the interests of society, to

condemn the position of the Quakers as fantastic, exaggerated, and definitely wrong. The same sort of thing happened in Germany and Flanders at the time of the Anabaptist protest against the possession of private property; and less strikingly in other similar cases (see J. O. Hannay, *op. cit.* ch. i.). The greater and more fully organized Protestant Churches have thus been deprived of the services of many very enthusiastic men and women who might have been most valuable in deepening the spirituality of the general life; and the teachers of these Churches have been obliged to read glosses into certain passages of Scripture, notably certain passages of the Sermon on the Mount, in such a way as to obscure their plain meaning and weaken their original force.

It appears, therefore, that in formulating the doctrine of 'counsels' and 'precepts' the Catholic Church did no more than endorse and give scientific expression to the natural and obvious judgment of conscience which recognized in the life of great renunciation a peculiarly high kind of life; that by formulating the doctrine the Church ran the risk of deductions being made from it which would in the end outrage, and actually have outraged, the consciences of sincere believers; and the further risk of the list of 'counsels' being enlarged and that of 'precepts' diminished, until the common man's standard of life was seriously lowered. It appears also that Protestant theologians, in refusing to endorse the natural judgments of conscience, have not succeeded, in fact, in preventing such judgments being made by their followers, but have deprived Protestants of an incentive to a lofty kind of life; and have risked, and actually suffered, the loss to organized Protestant Churches of souls who have felt the need of heroic self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ.

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JAMES O. HANNAY.

COURAGE.—Courage has figured as one of the prominent virtues in every ethical system. Yet it has from early times given trouble to scientific moralists, because it seems at first sight compatible with an utterly worthless or vicious character. This is, however, only the case where it is identified with fearlessness (*q.v.*). Absence of fear in physical danger may be the result of temperament and so contain no moral element at all, while a certain dread of moral evil is not exclusive of courage as usually understood. Thus the Greek philosophers discerned that, to gain an accurate notion of courage, it was necessary to define things worthy or unworthy of fear.

In some of Plato's Dialogues, notably the *Laches* and the *Protagoras*, we are made to see the difficulty of finding a place for courage in any system which recognizes the paramount position of wisdom or knowledge in moral life, since not only do brute beasts show spirit and endurance in combat, but the conduct of men in vigorous military efforts loses the merit of courage if prudence suggests that the forces are adequate to the occasion. In the *Republic*, however (bk. iv. 429 f.), Plato distinctly lays down the principle that the Guardians of the City (in whom the virtue of courage principally resides) must acquire that quality by a sound training in the nature of things to be feared and of things not to be feared.

Aristotle, in bk. iii. of the *Nic. Ethics*, submits the whole subject to a searching analysis. According to his principle of the Mean, courage lies between rashness on the one hand and cowardice on the other. As fear, the foreboding of evil, is not

altogether to be disparaged, Aristotle, like Plato, has to distinguish legitimate from illegitimate fears, and finds that courage exists where danger is despised from a noble motive—from preference of that which is most honourable. He subsequently distinguishes real courage from five spurious forms: (1) that which is induced by respect for authority, or for opinion; (2) that which comes from knowledge that the danger apprehended is not real; (3) courage arising solely from emotion—anger or vengeance—which man shares with some animals; (4) the courage of a hopeful temperament; (5) the courage of ignorance which cannot recognize danger. It may, perhaps, be said that this distinction between genuine and spurious courage corresponds for the most part to the modern distinction between moral courage and that which is purely physical.

Although Aristotle in his general treatment of courage seems somewhat nearer to the modern ideas than Plato, in one respect Plato would seem to us more satisfactory; he includes in courage the power and will to resist evil generally, or to bear calamity without flinching; whereas Aristotle would restrict the term to its primary military significance, regarding other meanings as derivative or metaphorical. Certainly it seems illogical to refuse the epithet of 'courageous' to a man who is not alarmed but stands to his duty in a shipwreck or an earthquake, while allowing it to one who behaves in like manner during the attack on a city.

Courage thus held its place with the three other virtues—wisdom, justice, temperance—in the system of Greece and Rome. These 'cardinal' virtues were combined with the three Christian graces of faith, hope, and charity, to form the seven virtues inculcated in the Christian morality of the Middle Ages. Yet in the new atmosphere, courage—or fortitude, as it is commonly called in this connexion—underwent some transmutation. St. Ambrose—who derived his ethical system from the Greeks *via* Cicero, and passed it on to St. Augustine, and through him to the Western world—would make fortitude include boldness in withstanding temptations to sin. To a certain extent, he agrees here with Plato. But he also dwells much on heroic endurance of physical suffering as shown by the Christian martyrs. It would seem probable that the martyr-cult must have tended in the direction of emphasizing the passive side of courage or fortitude, by which it is assimilated to patience or resignation.

The Christian idea of fortitude is expressed in many admirable works of mediæval art. Many readers will recall Ruskin's remarks on the Fortitude of Botticelli (*Mornings in Florence*, iii.):

'Botticelli's Fortitude is no match, it may be, for any that are coming. Worn, somewhat; and not a little weary, instead of standing ready for all comers, she is sitting, apparently in reverie, her fingers playing restlessly and idly—nay, I think, even nervously, about the hilt of her sword . . . and yet, how swiftly and gladly will they close on it, when the far-off trumpet blows, which she will hear through all her reverie.'

It may be noticed that by mediæval Christian moralists fortitude is regarded as the corrective of *accidie* (*g.v.*), the sin of gloom and inaction. It seems thus to contain necessarily an element of cheerfulness, a resolution to live in an atmosphere of hope.

Perhaps there are few virtues that have varied more than courage in their manifestations among different peoples and at different times. There is always an æsthetic as well as a purely moral element in the conception of courage, and human notions vary even more about the beautiful than about the good. Thus, during the age of chivalry in the West, the maturer civilization of the East looked on the aggressive, unreasoning courage of the Crusaders as crude and barbarous, while the

knightly spirit of the Franks despised Eastern subtlety as mean and cowardly. Non-military times call for the exercise of patience more than for that of intrepidity,—though both are essential to the well-being of any people,—and there is occasionally cause for fear lest a comparative contempt for merely physical courage, or 'spirit,' may bring about general slackness of effort. On the whole, however, the actively combative powers are likely to retain their importance in popular esteem.

There is one kind of courage which seems especially to belong to a highly civilized society—intellectual courage. By this is to be understood the power and determination to follow loyally and reasonably one's own beliefs and principles, irrespective not only of the disapproval of neighbours, but also of painful disturbance in one's own mind. The abandonment of an intellectual position, which has been reached by honest effort, for fear of the further efforts which may be required to reconstitute one's theories in the light of new knowledge, is a cowardly proceeding, and ought to receive more reprobation than it commonly incurs.

Of cowardice (*ignavia*) as the opposite of courage, little need be said. It is commonly due to constitutional timidity not checked by habits of self-control, or to a selfish propensity to exaggerate the importance of personal dangers and risks; or, again, to a want of appreciation of ideals worthy of risk on the part of those who desire to attain them.

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COURTESY.—See CIVILITY.

COUVADE.—See BIRTH.

COVENANT.—I. Introduction.—A covenant is a bond or agreement entered into between two persons or groups of persons, or between a man or a group of men and a god or gods. The covenant thus entered upon may be for a specified time, or for all time; it may cover certain clearly-defined purposes, or it may be indefinite. The covenant state is usually produced, or—at a later time—symbolized, by artificial means: eating or drinking together; drinking, or being inculcated with, one another's blood; or by exchange of names or of articles belonging to the covenanting parties. The relation produced by the covenant, as well as the real intention of these ritual acts, is still in debate. According to some writers, the covenant produces kinship and introduces the stranger into the clan which now adopts him.

'He who has drunk a clansman's blood is no longer a stranger but a brother, and included in the mystic circle of those who have a share in the life-blood that is common to all the clan' (W. R. Smith, p. 215; cf. Hartland, *LP* ii. 237).

This is regarded as the primitive purpose of the covenant, and, moreover,

'if the individual kinsman made a blood-covenant with a stranger, the whole of each tribe was bound thereby,' while 'the original form of alliance . . . was always and necessarily between clans, not between individuals' (Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Religion*, 99, 142).

The actual evidence hardly supports these views, nor does the covenant producing kinship appear among the lowest races. Generally the covenant is an engagement between individuals, between representatives, or between tribes; but there is hardly ever produced kinship or blood-relationship. Hence another theory maintains that the covenant relationship is that of the identity of individuals, who are mutually inculcated by cer-

tain ritual actions of which the blood-covenant is a well-known, though probably a late, instance. There is produced identity of aims and interests, as well as mutual agreement and sympathy.

'Each has a part of the other in his keeping, and this part not only assimilates each to the other by transmission of properties, but is a pledge, deposit, and hostage. Thus identity of interests is secured, and the possibility of mutual treachery or wrong is prevented, not only by the fact that injury done to B by A is equivalent to injury done by A to himself, but also by the fact that, if B is wronged, he may work vengeance by injuring . . . the part of A which he possesses' (Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 287).

Without laying too much stress on the latter part of this theory, it is certain that the covenant-relationship as one of identity fits the facts better than as one of kinship. Yet it may be observed that, if the covenant produces identity of aims and interests, since the aims and interests of the individual are largely those of his kin, the covenant state will so far produce a kinship relation. But, as a third theory, it is maintained that the ritual act (eating together, transfusion of blood, etc.), while it involves the parties to the covenant in certain duties to each other, 'serves as a conductor of conditional imprecations,' of potential punishments for the transgression of these duties (Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, i. 590, ii. 208; art. CURSING AND BLESSING, p. 369^b, below).

Frequently the parties to a covenant take an oath to keep it, or execrate vengeance on each other if it is broken. And, as many examples show, the food, drink, blood, etc., is itself the oath or curse, or is the vehicle of either. Thus, in Madagascar, the oath-takers pray that the liquid may poison him who is faithless to the bond (Dumont d'Urville, *Voy. pittoresque autour du monde*, Paris, 1834-1835, i. 81). Or, as in Morocco, a compact of friendship is sealed by eating together at the tomb of a saint, and, according to the phrase used, 'the food will repay' him who breaks the compact (Westermarck, i. 587; cf. below, p. 369^b).

Examples show now the working of the principle contained in one of these theories, now that involved in the others, but the kinship theory is seldom observed in the complete form which the theory itself presupposes. It is not impossible that the primitive covenant contained both the idea of mutual identity and that of a conditional curse, for the two are not mutually exclusive, as various examples suggest. But it should not be forgotten that the covenant frequently implies no more than faithfulness to the object of the covenant, without any thought of its producing identity of persons, of aims, or of interests, much less of kinship.

2. **Covenants between men.**—Of all the various outward signs of the covenant, that to which most attention has been drawn is that each party to it *drinks or is inoculated with the other's blood, or that they smear each other or some sacred object with it*. Where the parties to the covenant form two groups, selected individuals undergo the ceremony, which usually forms an indissoluble bond (see BLOOD; BROTHERHOOD [artificial], and works cited there). Probably the idea that kinship means blood-relationship—a relationship which can be produced by the blood-covenant—is not primitive. More primitive is the idea that contact, eating and drinking together, exchange of names, garments, weapons, and the like, will produce a close bond, whether involving identity or relationship, between two unrelated persons. Here the underlying ideas are that the whole adheres in the part, that whatever has been in contact with a person, whatever is his, is for all practical purposes himself; that for another to obtain possession of it brings the owner under his control; hence to offer it to another is in effect to offer

oneself. Thus mutual eating, especially where the food is exchanged, or the mutual exchange of common possessions, makes men entirely dependent upon each other, makes their aims and interests the same, or produces identity or, according to the first theory, kinship. Here, primitively, the act of eating or exchange is itself the covenant, but the food or articles exchanged are also seen to be vehicles of conditional oaths or curses verbally pronounced. At the same time, witnesses human or Divine may be called to the compact which has been made. The purposes for which a covenant is entered upon are, e.g., friendship and comradeship between individuals; the adoption of a stranger into a kin-group; mutual aid and protection—assistance in war, in revenge, or in some hostile purpose; peace between tribes after war; commercial purposes; union between the members of a society or association, usually at the time of initiation into it, etc. It is obvious that, since a covenant brings the parties to it into such close affinity, their responsibilities towards each other are great and must be accurately fulfilled, while also there are produced many mutual privileges.

Where a common meal is the chief feature of a covenant, there is the idea that what is partaken of in common establishes a bond of union or of identity, and this is still more marked where there is an exchange of food. It is possible that the covenant-meal may have been the earliest form of the covenant, and it should be observed that, quite apart from the theoretic view of the effects of mutual eating common among primitive peoples, there is a natural basis to it. For, wherever men eat and drink together, they tend to be friendly towards each other. But, where the theoretic view prevails, the eating together of unrelated persons produces automatically the covenant-state. The stranger who eats with the Arab is no longer a stranger; the two parties have entered upon a bond of friendship, with mutual obligations which are absolutely sacred. The same is true elsewhere, as among the Omaha Indians, with whom, if an enemy

'appear in the lodge, and receive a mouthful of food or water, or put the pipe in his mouth . . . he is bound for the time being by the ties of hospitality' (Dorsey, *S RBEV*, 1884, p. 271).

In general the stranger is regarded as a source of potential evil. Hence to give him food identifies him with his host, and probably at the same time makes him liable, should he do wrong, to a conditional curse swallowed with the food. We find also covenants of mutual friendship expressed by eating together, especially where there has hitherto been hostility between the parties. Thus in Morocco persons who wish to be reconciled join hands before a holy man or at a saint's tomb, usually after partaking of a common meal. This is the usual method of sealing a compact of friendship. If any party to the compact is guilty of a breach of faith, it is commonly said that 'God and the food will repay him,' the food being the vehicle of a conditional curse (Westermarck, ii. 623-624; cf. Gn 26²⁸⁻³¹ 31⁴⁴⁻⁴⁶; see also the article CURSING AND BLESSING, p. 373^b). Between villages, clans, or tribes, which have been at war, on the cessation of hostilities the covenant of peace is almost invariably marked by a common meal or a species of sacrament. A typical instance is found among the Battas, who, on making peace and forming unions, divide the heart of a slain animal into as many pieces as there are chiefs present. Each chief roasts his piece, holds it up, and says:

'If I should ever violate my oath, I am willing to be slaughtered like the bleeding animal which lies before me, and to be devoured like the piece of heart I am about to eat' (Featherman, *Soc. Hist. of the Races of Mankind*, London, 1881-1891, II. 833).

Among the Ceramese the covenant of peace between two villages is entered upon by the people of one village making a feast to which those of the other are invited. The chiefs drop some of their blood into a dish of food, and weapons are also dipped into it. The food is then eaten alternately. A similar feast is also held at the other village, and the covenant is complete. Here there is a combination (found elsewhere also) of the blood-covenant with the covenant-meal (Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen*, The Hague, 1886, p. 128; cf., for a similar instance among the Nilotic Negroes, Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*; London, 1902, ii. 795).

Drinking together is another common form of covenant ceremony, the draught being frequently accompanied by an oath, while, as many examples show, the liquid partaken of is regarded as the oath itself, which will harm the breaker of it. But there is also such a simple form of friendship covenant as that of the aborigines of Formosa, who put their arms round each other's necks and drink simultaneously a cup of wine (*L'Anthropologie*, v. [Paris, 1894] 352). Survivals of such a ceremony as this are well known. Nor is it improbable that drinking each other's blood at the making of a covenant was an extension of such a practice, while it is a common custom to mingle some blood with the liquid which is drunk.

As the basis of a covenant of friendship, the *exchange of names* is very frequent among savage tribes, the name being regarded as part of the personality, while the sacred nature of the act is seen in the fact that the name is usually not revealed, lest any one should do its owner harm by making use of it. In such a case the alliance is indissoluble, and forms one of the most sacred of bonds. Other exchanges of personal belongings—garments or weapons—form the basis of covenants of friendship, and will make lasting friends of men who have been enemies. A temporary exchange of wives is occasionally found as a means of sealing a compact, especially among Australian tribes, with whom also, on the occasion of making peace between tribes or certain other alliances, a general exchange of wives takes place for the time being. By this means the identity or union of the two parties is assured (cf. *ADULTERY*, vol. i. p. 125 (b); *JAI* xxiv. 169, 173).

Saliva is occasionally the vehicle of the covenant state. Thus, among the Orango in the Bissagos Archipelago the ceremony for sealing a friendship is to spit in each other's hands. The Masai spat at a man with whom they swore eternal friendship (Hinde, *Last of the Masai*, London, 1901, p. 47); and among the Somalis a stranger becomes a member of his host's family by the host spitting in his right hand and rubbing it on the stranger's forehead (Paulitschke, *Ethnogr. Nordost-Afrikas*, Berlin, 1893-1896, p. 246).

Opposite theories of the meaning of this rite are found. Mutual spitting is regarded as an interchange of life, since by many peoples saliva is held to contain the element of life (Crombie, *Trans. Inter. FL Cong.*, 1891, p. 249 ff.). Westermarck, on the other hand, is of the opinion that saliva is the vehicle of a conditional curse, since the Masai spit copiously when cursing (*op. cit.* ii. 209). Spitting among the Masai is also reported to be a sign of the greatest goodwill and a compliment (Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 833).

Covenants of peace between tribes which have been at war are frequently sealed by a common meal (see above). In some cases the material of the covenant-meal is the flesh of a human victim. Thus, the people of Vate kill one or more of their number and send the flesh for consumption to the hostile tribe with whom they desire peace (Erschine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the W. Pacific*, London, 1853, p. 334). In other alliances the cannibal meal is found. Chiefs among the Bambala

(a Bantu tribe), in making a covenant against future bloodshed, partake with their followers of the flesh of a slave fattened for the occasion. Any chief who kills a slave after such a covenant must pay a fine to every village which took part in the bond (*JAI* xxxv. 404, 409). This is equivalent to that form of the blood-covenant in which the blood of a slaughtered victim is drunk by all the parties to the compact (cf. Herod. iii. 11; and the case of Catiline and his fellow-conspirators, who drank the blood of a slave in wine).

A pleasanter practice, and one ultimately based on the fact that sensuous satisfaction tends to goodwill, is that of *smoking the calumet* among American Indian tribes which had been at war. It was also done at the ratification of treaties and as a symbol of hospitality, and was regarded as so sacred that to break the covenant thus made would have been followed automatically by fatal consequences.

Other ceremonies are used elsewhere, with the purpose of making a covenant of peace binding. In Tahiti a wreath was made of green boughs, to which each party contributed. Two young dogs were exchanged, and a band of cloth was made together. The wreath and the cloth were then offered to the gods, and imprecations were uttered on those who should break the covenant (Ellis, *Polynes. Researches*, London, 1829, i. 318; see other instances in Farrer, *Military Manners and Customs*, London, 1885, p. 162 ff.).

Where the bodies of the parties to a covenant are cut to obtain blood, the marks of the wounds serve as tokens of the covenant. Similarly the garments or weapons exchanged will be constant reminders of it. At other times a cairn is set up as a witness of the covenant state (cf. Gn 31⁴⁵; Frazer, in *Anthrop. Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, p. 131 ff.).

In later times, and in more advanced civilizations, the covenant becomes simply a bond or oath for mutual support, or for amity between men more or less animated by a common purpose. Here there is little or no idea of kinship or identity, though some of the older ritual acts may survive, and the parties to such bonds recognize a brotherly feeling existing between themselves as a result of their bond and of their common purpose. In fact, the covenant at all times is intended to produce solidarity among those who are parties to it, though in these later covenants brotherhood is not actually and automatically produced. And, though the breaker of the covenant risks great dangers, these are not supposed to result automatically from the oath which he has taken, as in many instances from savage life.

3. *Covenants between men and gods, etc.*—The ceremonies and symbolism of covenants are even more important than the words of contract used, and, in fact, they constitute the covenant. Hence, in great measure, all religious ceremonial and worship is the expression of a covenant relationship between men and gods. For the worship paid, men expect the god to perform duties towards them, and this worship also tends to confirm that relationship. But there are certain ceremonies, especially those of a sacramental or sacrificial nature, in which the covenant relationship appears more emphatically. In all sacrifices in which the victim is, or represents, the god, and in which a sacramental meal is made of his flesh, the meal is the expression of a close union or a covenant between the god and the group of worshippers. This is seen in the fact that all the worshippers partake, while there are instances, as in Hawaii, where a refusal to eat would be followed by death (Bastian, *Der Mensch*, Leipzig, 1860, iii. 152). But, even where the slain animal is not the god,

the sacrifice or the meal which follows it marks a desire for union with the god, and is an expression of a covenant alliance with him. In this case, as in covenants between men, there is a common meal of which the two parties to the covenant partake—the god and the group of worshippers. In the OT, God is often represented as making a covenant with individuals and their descendants, or with Israel (Gn 9¹⁵, Nu 25¹⁸, Ex 6²⁴, Dt 5³, Jer 34¹⁸), and the probability is that sacrifice was the basis of all covenant rites between God and the individual or the people of Israel (cf. Ps 50⁵, Jer 34¹⁸). This is particularly noticeable in the case of the covenant with Abraham (Gn 15⁸⁻⁹) and with Israel at Sinai (Ex 24⁴⁻⁸). In the first case there is no mention of a sacrificial meal, and in the second the blood of the sacrifice is sprinkled on the altar and the people, thus uniting the covenanting parties, since the altar is the token of God's presence. This rite of sprinkling image or altar and worshippers, or the analogous custom of the worshipper shedding his blood or sprinkling it on the *sacra* (cf. 1 K 18³⁶), is widely spread, and constitutes a simple method of union with the god—in other words, of effecting or strengthening the covenant relation with him, or of reminding him of it. In other cases the covenant ritual consists in placing and leaving the worshipper's hair, clothing, etc., on the altar, but frequently in the OT the sacrificial meal may be regarded as the basis of the covenant—the god or his worshippers eating together and renewing their union with each other. Hence, according to one theory, the meal itself unites god and men in an act of communion (W. R. Smith, p. 271); or, according to another view, the food is here again the vehicle of conditional curses mutually transferred to god and worshipper (Westermarck, *op. cit.* ii. 623 ff.). Both purposes may, however, be served by the sacrificial meal. It is certainly the case that, in the view of the OT writers, breaking of the covenant by the individual or the nation was followed by punishment (Dt 17², Jos 7¹¹⁻¹², 23¹⁶, Jg 2⁹, 2 K 18¹²⁻¹³), while blessing followed its being observed (Ps 132¹²). In any case, what holds true of these OT sacrifices is true of similar sacrifices elsewhere. Indeed, in some aspects the mere offering of sacrifice to a god, thus propitiating him, is the token of an alliance with him; hence the worshipper asks and expects help from the god to whom he, for his part, is faithful. The same is true of the vows made to a god by a worshipper, in which he promises certain things, usually a sacrifice, for some specified help given him by the god.

In the OT other things are found as signs of a Divine and human covenant, e.g. the rainbow in the case of Noah and his posterity (Gn 9¹²), though here a covenant sacrifice appears also (8²⁰⁻²¹); circumcision is the token of the covenant with Israel (Gn 17¹⁰⁻¹²), though it is to some extent a sacrificial rite; and in Ex 31¹⁶ the Sabbath is to be kept for a perpetual covenant. For marks or cuttings on the body as signs of a covenant, see BADGES.

Totemism, as 'an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of natural or artificial objects on the other side, which objects are called the totems of the human group' (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, iv. 1), is essentially a covenant relationship, since both parties have entered explicitly or implicitly into an alliance for mutual help and protection. This covenant state is generally furthered by various ritual acts, by which men assimilate themselves to their totem, these being analogous to the covenant rites between human beings. The group of men is, in effect, identified with the animal species which is their totem: the relation is one of

identity. Similarly, in the rites used at puberty for obtaining an individual animal guardian or *manitou*, and in the relative positions in which the individual and his *manitou* stand to each other, there is the suggestion that this relation is essentially a covenant one. Blood-letting is the most significant of these rites. Thus, the Mosquito Indians are said to have sealed their compact with the *manitou* by drawing blood from different parts of their body (NR i. 740). Among the Indians of Honduras each youth formed a contract with his *nagual*, by offering some of his blood to it, 'whereupon such friendship was contracted between them that, when one of them died, the other did not survive' (Herrera, *General Hist. of . . . America*, 1740, iv. 188).

The American Indian youth generally killed the animal which was to be his *manitou*, and used its skin as a 'medicine-bag.' There was thus some kind of blood-covenant between the youth and his guardian, and, as in Omaha Indian belief there was a bond between them so close that the man acquired the properties of the animal, so generally it was held that the youth would not survive the death of his *nagual*; and there was a common idea of the identity of the two, or perhaps of an interchange of life between them.

The meal eaten by survivors at a death, and repeated on anniversary occasions, and of which the ghost is supposed to partake, has the intention of uniting the ghostly and human eaters, and of preserving the goodwill of the ghost by showing that he is not forgotten. It is thus a species of covenant with the dead. This is still more closely marked in cases where the mourners eat the dead man himself—perhaps the origin of the funeral feast. Other methods of this implicit covenant with the dead may be looked for in such rites as that of the mourners cutting themselves, letting the blood drop on the grave, making offerings of their hair, or anointing themselves with the fat or decomposed matter of the corpse. These are analogous to the similar rites in connexion with the cult of gods (see Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 277 ff.; Jevons, *op. cit.* 41 ff.).

Various customs in human covenants—in which, e.g., the parties hold an animal which is sacrificed, its blood being sometimes sprinkled on a sacred object, or are sprinkled with sacrificial blood or that of an animal not apparently sacrificial—are probably connected with that type of covenant sacrifice in which the parties are a god and a group of men. Here, perhaps, the sacred nature of the sacrifice makes it an important basis of the human covenant, while sacrifices are frequently the vehicles of a curse; or, again, the god to whom the sacrifice or the blood is offered is regarded as a third party to the covenant (for examples, see BROTHERHOOD [artificial], vol. ii. pp. 859, 870; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heid.*, Berlin, 1897, p. 128; Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 228). In many human covenants a god is expressly called upon as witness to the contract, as in the similar appeal in the case of an oath. The god is then expected to visit with his wrath the breaker of the covenant (cf. Herod. iii. 8; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, London, 1903, ii. 342; Wilson, *Western Africa*, 1856, pp. 210, 392).

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COVENANT (American).—The substitution of an artificial for a natural basis of subsistence had the effect in America, as elsewhere, of establishing

the gods as the principal members of the agricultural community. On their co-operation the maintenance of such a community depended. To some extent the obligation was mutual; for, while men reaped much benefit from the encouragement, advice, and practical assistance of the gods, they were beholden to men for the sustenance tendered through sacrifice. A definite and tacit, if unwritten, covenant thus came into being between gods and men, any human breach of which was visited with Divine punishment. The arrangement was purely one of self-interest on both sides. Man felt the necessity of placating the only beings from whom he could obtain foreknowledge of seasonal and other changes, and, deeply sensible of the value of supernatural assistance, he rewarded it as handsomely as he could—by gifts of such food, drink, and clothing as in his sight appeared most desirable.

Commencing this practice by an 'understanding' with the earlier tribal deities, he later extended it to the 'great gods' of the heavens and earth, whom from time to time he admitted into his pantheon. He felt that the wealth accruing from this co-operation with Divine beings should be fairly divided. This applied to the fruits of the earth produced under supernatural guidance, and to such live stock as had been raised under the same auspices. A step further, and we perceive that the logical outcome of such a policy was to set apart such fields and flocks as would satisfy the god, for his own special use—these to be worked and tended by (in all probability) the most skilful labourers. Thus, according to Gumilla (*Orinoco Ilustrado*, Madrid, 1745, vol. ii. p. 278), a tribe of the Guayanos, in consternation at an eclipse of the moon, at once commenced work upon a plantation for the moon-spirit, considering the eclipse to be a sign of his displeasure at their failure to supply him with a separate field of maize. The gods of Peru had their own herds of llamas and pacos, the flesh of which was largely consumed on their altars, while the wool, woven into cloth, was burned to provide them with 'astral' clothing, or used in the provision of raiment for their images and attendants.

When mere animal sacrifice fails, either, as in Mexico, owing to the lack of large animals, or, perhaps, because of a more sanguinary popular temperament, the blood of human victims is supplied to the gods as nutriment. Thus the Mexican god Huitzilopochtli lived wholly upon human sacrifice, countless thousands of victims, for the most part members of hostile tribes, being slain annually upon his altar. The hunter, too, as well as the cultivator and herdsman, paid his debt to the gods, who assisted him to track his game in dreams. Thus the Nicaraguan tendered to his deer- and rabbit-gods clotted blood wrapped in a cloth, and the Otomi offered blood to the great Cloud-serpent, Mixcoatl. Dwellings, too, were supplied to the Divine beings.

The natural conclusion of the savage in these circumstances is that a breach of his covenant with the gods brings upon him calamities of every description. There is much temptation on the part of the cultivator to withhold a portion of the firstfruits or other sacrifice; and, should this temptation overcome him, he becomes an easy prey to the malevolence of the slighted deity. The Peruvians believed that in such a case the offended god sent an evil spirit to haunt the wrongdoer, and that it lay in wait for him in his habitual resorts. His crops failed, his health gave way under some terrible disease, his stock perished. Such were thought to be the consequences of *hucha*, or sin, in Peru; and, in the event of a national calamity, every member of the com-

munity was rigorously examined, until, the guilty one being discovered, restitution was forced from him. Throughout the two Americas the idea of the covenant with the gods was quite as current as elsewhere; and its inevitable workings have been observed in the economy of nearly every tribe.

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COVENANTERS.—The subscribers of the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant rejected the theory of the Divine right of kings, and vigorously opposed the absolutism which crushed the liberties of the people. In the days of James VI., before the Covenants, the conflict was begun. George Buchanan in 1579 published his *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, in which he taught that kings are chosen and continued in office by the people, and, in particular, that the Scots had always claimed and exercised the right to call wicked rulers to account. Two Scotsmen had already dealt with the old question of the right of kings. As early as 1521, John Major asserted in his *History* that the people first made kings, and could dethrone them; while Hector Boece in his *History*, published in 1527, assumed that the royal authority is derived from the people. In 1584, Buchanan's book was condemned by Act of Parliament, and in the same year were passed the 'Black Acts,' which declared, contrary to the teaching of Knox, that the king was head of the Church as of the State, that assemblies should not meet without his sanction, that there should be bishops who should be appointed by him, and that ministers should not discuss public affairs under pain of treason. When these statutes were framed, James's adviser was James Stuart, Earl of Arran, who had succeeded Esmé Stuart, Lord of Aubigny. Leaving the court of Henry III. of France, in which the doctrine of royal absolutism was cherished, D'Aubigny had proceeded to Scotland, on the mission of the Guises for the restoration of Mary Stuart and the Catholic religion, and there had taught the young king to be an autocrat. The Scots, however, feared a popish plot; and honestly or dishonestly he approved the drawing up of the Negative Confession, assailing Romanism, which in 1581 was signed by James and his courtiers. While D'Aubigny was directing the king, Andrew Melvill was leading the Church and inveighing against 'the bloodie guillie of absolute authority.' By his influence the Assembly of 1580 condemned Episcopacy; and in 1581 presbyteries were established with the king's consent, and the Assembly approved the Second Book of Discipline. The Raid of Ruthven, which was devised for the liberation of James from the hands of D'Aubigny, was successful; but it could not make the king forget the Frenchman's lessons in absolutism; and, when Arran was the chief counsellor, the Black Acts, with their assertion of the royal supremacy, were passed. Though Arran's rule terminated in 1585, James was able, two years later, to persuade the Parliament to declare that all ecclesiastical property belonged to the crown.

For a time, however, James did nothing for the bishops, and before and after his marriage seemed to favour Presbyterianism. In 1590 the Assembly ordained 'the subscription of the band of maintaining religion and confession *de novo*,' and, in 1592, Presbyterianism received from Parliament its 'Magna Charta,' whereby the ecclesiastical courts were legalized, and the liberty of the Church was ratified by the abrogation of the Black Acts, so far as they interfered with its authority in matters

of religion. The royal favour to Presbyterianism was of short duration, and in 1596 Andrew Melvill told James that he was 'but God's sillie vassall,' and said :

'Sir, as diverse tymes before, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdomes in Scotland; there is Christ Jesus and His kingdom the Kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a head, nor a Lord, but a member.'

The words did not convince, and James, casting aside tradition, called by his own authority Assemblies, which yielded to his pressure. At last in 1610 an Assembly restored Episcopacy, and in 1612 the Estates ratified the new order of ecclesiastical government. In justification of his authority, James published, in 1598, *The True Law of Free Monarchies*, and set forth the Divine origin of the royal power.

'Monarchy,' he wrote, 'as resembling the Divinity, approacheth nearest to perfection, as all the learned and wise men from the beginning have agreed upon.' He declared that 'kings are called Gods by the propheticall King David, because they sit upon God his throne upon earth, and have the count of their ministration to give unto him.' Scripture texts were used to show that the people should pay obedience to the king 'as to God's lieutenant on earth, obeying his commandments in all things, except directly against God, as the commands of God's minister, acknowledging him a judge set by God over them, having power to judge them, but to be judged only by God, to whom only he must give account of his judgment.'

In the *Basiliikon Doron*, published shortly after *The True Law of Free Monarchies*, James instructed his son to know and love God, who had made him 'a little God to sit on his throne, and rule over other men.'

True to his exalted notion of his office, James used his authority to change the government of the Church, and then turned to the customs and forms of worship. In the Assembly of 1616, called by him, and the first which met after 1610, a new Confession of Faith, Catechism, Liturgy, and Book of Canons were projected; and in an Assembly at Perth in 1618 royal coercion secured the passing of the famous Five Articles, which were startling innovations in the Scottish ritual. When the government of the Church had been changed and the ritual modified, the king was satisfied with the exercise and recognition of his supremacy; but, while by his actions and writings he showed his attachment to the theory of the Divine right of kings, he ruled in the Church through Assemblies, and, though these were coerced, he preserved the recognized forms of legislation.

Charles I. succeeded to his father's belief in his Divine right, and continued, but without tact or discretion, the assertion of royal absolutism. In May 1635 he signed the warrant for a Book of Canons, which in the following year was imposed upon the Scottish Church, without the sanction of either an Assembly or a Parliament. Reference was made in the Book itself to a Liturgy, afterwards known as Laud's Liturgy, which was ratified in 1636, and in 1637, on the sole authority of the king, was sent to Scotland. The Canons, as they made no outward change in the Church, did not stir the people, though they saw in them a violent exercise of royal power; but the Liturgy, also devised by the king as an autocrat, roused a popular clamour, and set the nation against him. The Liturgy met with instant opposition, and the riot which occurred in the church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, when it was first read, inaugurated a revolution which spread through the greater part of Scotland. The Scots, ever fond of legal bonds of association, prepared a document which is known as the 'National Covenant,' and multitudes signed it.

The document was prepared by Johnston of Warriston, one of the ablest of the lawyers, and the Rev. Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, who was the ecclesiastical leader of the

Presbyterians; and with them most probably was associated Hope, the king's advocate. It included the Negative Confession of 1581, which James VI. had signed; a list of the Acts of Parliament confirming the Confession; and the Covenant proper, by which the subscribers bound themselves to defend their religion and their king as guardian of it. The signing of the Covenant was begun on 28th Feb. 1638, in the Greyfriars churchyard, which contained the burial-place of George Buchanan, whose *De Jure* helped to drive James towards absolutism. If the first Covenanters, drawn from all classes and representing the greater part of the country, were rebels against the king's tyranny, their document infringed no law of the land. Yet it was the bond of a nation against the sovereign, and, with troubles in England, Charles was forced to yield. He appointed the Marquis of Hamilton as his commissioner, who tried to divide the Covenanters by means of a new Covenant, the King's Covenant, which included but did not enforce the Confession of 1581; and, when the project failed, Hamilton in his master's name promised a free Assembly, a Parliament, and the abolition of the Courts of High Commission which, with bishops among the judges, tried ecclesiastical cases. The Presbyterians did not admit that the royal assent was necessary for an Assembly, and accordingly they called one, which met on 21st November in Glasgow. The Marquis of Hamilton appeared as the king's representative, and the members chose Henderson as moderator and Johnston of Warriston as clerk.

Henderson and his associates had summoned the bishops, but these refused to recognize the authority of the Assembly; and, when their cases were considered, the commissioner declared the proceedings illegal, and dissolved the Assembly. The Presbyterians, however, were undaunted, and the business was continued, without and in spite of the king's representative. The bishops were deposed, and some of them excommunicated; the Book of Canons, the Liturgy, and the Five Articles of Perth were condemned, and the Courts of Commission abolished. Thus did the Covenanters in the Glasgow Assembly answer the king with his absolutism. The Earl of Argyle accepted the Covenant in Glasgow, and it had been signed by the Earl of Montrose in Edinburgh.

War was inevitable, and Charles devised schemes for which he had no money. He attempted, however, to irritate the English by representing that the Scots were preparing an invasion; and the Scots, in defence of their honesty, published 'An Information for all good Christians within the Kingdoms of England.' Another document appeared, the 'Large Declaration,' which Dr. Balcanquhal wrote and Charles authorized. It was the king's version of his troubles with the Scots, and was not a contribution to truth. Something more than a distribution of pamphlets was required to settle the quarrel between the people and their king, and Charles mustered an army of 21,000 men at Berwick. The Scottish forces, numbering 20,000 men, were entrusted to Alexander Leslie, who had followed the profession of arms on the Continent. Marching southwards, he fixed his quarters at Dunse Law, twelve miles from Berwick. The First Bishops' War was a demonstration and not a battle, and on 18th June 1639 commissioners arranged the Pacification of Berwick, which secured their demands for the Covenanters.

By the Treaty an Assembly and a Parliament were to meet; and on 12th August the Assembly sanctioned the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly, that they might have undisputed legal validity. The members requested the Privy Council to require every one in the nation to sign the Covenant, and,

so doing, violated the rules of toleration. The Earl of Traquair, the king's commissioner, ratified the proceedings of the Assembly, though Charles indicated to Archbishop Spottiswoode that what had been done could be undone. Parliament approved the action of the Assembly in overthrowing Episcopacy; and, in spite of his action as commissioner to the Assembly, Traquair refused assent in the king's name, and against precedent dissolved the Parliament. War was once more inevitable, since the nation's demands, in spite of the Treaty of Berwick, had been refused. Charles summoned an English Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, and dismissed it when supplies for a war with Scotland were refused. He succeeded, however, in collecting a force at York on 22nd August 1640; and on the 20th of the same month Leslie entered England with an army of 20,000, and marched to Newcastle. The Second Bishops' War was no more romantic than the First; and commissioners were appointed to meet at Ripon, and to arrange terms of peace on the basis of the abolition of Episcopacy and the recognition of the Covenant. The troubles in England forced Charles again to yield to the Scots, though not till 10th August 1641 was an arrangement made with the Long Parliament, which had taken the business out of the hands of the king.

Hoping to create a party in his favour, Charles in 1641 visited Scotland, and remedied further abuses, especially in the Privy Council and Court of Session, which by his own act were filled with his partisans. He expected to strengthen the opponents of the Covenant, already represented by the Incendiaries and the Plotters or Banders. The Earl of Traquair and Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the archbishop's son, were the chief men among the Incendiaries, who had been the advisers of Charles from the time of the Covenant; while the Plotters were led by Montrose, who had passed to the side of the king, perhaps through jealousy of Argyle's prominence among the Covenanters. The affair known as 'The Incident,' whether it was a fact or merely a story, told against the king, and, when he departed from Scotland in October, he had neither weakened his enemies nor strengthened his own party.

In August 1642, Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, and the Civil War in England was begun. The king and the Parliament each sought the aid of the Scots, who, though themselves divided, were in great numbers favourable to the Parliamentary cause. The Parliament informed them that an Assembly at Westminster had been appointed to consider 'a reformation in church discipline and ceremonies'; and on 2nd Aug. 1643 the General Assembly, associated with the Convention of the Scottish Estates, put forward the Solemn League and Covenant, drafted by Alexander Henderson, as the condition of an alliance. The subscribers to the Covenant were to bind themselves to preserve the Reformed religion in Scotland, to secure in England and Ireland a reform in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best Reformed Churches; to seek the extirpation of Popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, and schism; and to defend the privileges of the Parliament, and also the person and authority of the king. The English Parliament accepted the Covenant on 25th September, and in Jan. 1644, Leslie, who had been created Earl of Leven, led an army into England, which helped to secure the victory of Marston Moor. In his difficulties, Charles granted a commission to Montrose, and, after an arrangement with the Marquis of Antrim, sent him a wild horde of Irish and Scots-Celts. Victory after victory in Scotland was gained by

Montrose, though at the expense of horrible cruelties perpetrated by the savages of his army; and he did not know defeat till September 1645, when he met David Leslie, Leven's nephew, at Philiphaugh. The triumph of the Covenanters was secured, and was cruelly celebrated in the execution of Sir Robert Spottiswoode and other Malignants, as the Royalists were called.

In England, the Parliamentary party, after their victory at Naseby, had no further need of the Scots; and they, on the other hand, being opposed by the Independents, despaired of the success of the Solemn League and Covenant. Charles understood the situation, and in May 1646 threw himself into the hands of the Scots. Yet he would not accept their Covenants, and they would not support him. Had he agreed to their terms, they would have defended him; but they handed him over to the English Parliament, on condition that his life should be spared, and the money due to them be paid.

One last effort to save their king was to be made by some of the Scottish nobles. The Earls of Loudon, Lanark, and Lauderdale visited him at Carisbrooke Castle, and made a compact, known as 'The Engagement,' according to which they were to find an army for him, and he was to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years. In the Scottish Parliament, the nobles, barons, and commissioners from the large towns showed by a decided majority that they trusted the king, though the clergy, on the other hand, would not believe that he was sincere. Hamilton, however, raised an army of 10,000 men, who when they reached England were met by Cromwell and defeated.

Charles was executed on 30th Jan. 1649, and Covenanters and Royalists alike were horrified. Charles was the victim of his cherished principle of the Divine right of kings, which, bequeathed to him by his father, destroyed the peace of Scotland, turning a loyal people into rebels whom history has justified. James was a despot who knew the value of discretion; but Charles, with an erroneous doctrine of his personality and an archaic theory of his power, was destitute of tact, and the Scots strenuously opposed him in the defence of their liberties. Yet, though he was a tyrant in their eyes, they would have remembered that he was their king and would not have taken his life.

Six days after the execution at Whitehall, Charles II. was proclaimed king by the Scottish Estates, though he was to be acknowledged only on condition that he accepted the Covenants. The zeal of the Covenanters was not diminishing, and just before the death of the king they secured the Act of Classes, which excluded from civil and military posts all who were hostile to the Covenants. Montrose cared nothing for the Estates, and still dreamed that the country might be subdued. He failed, however, to gather the Royalist army of his visions, and yet would not cease from romantic expeditions and attacks. At last he was taken, and was beheaded on 21st May 1650 at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. Charles II. landed in Scotland in June, and, according to an agreement already made, accepted the Covenants. His presence was a menace to England, and on 22nd July, Cromwell crossed the Border. David Leslie was in command of the Scottish army, which in the rush of events was now gathered for the defence of the king, though many of the Covenanters, led by Johnston of Warriston and James Guthrie, minister of Stirling, did not put their trust in Charles. In their fanaticism they succeeded in banishing all Malignants from the army, and so interfered with Leslie that Cromwell secured a decisive victory at Dunbar. Immediately after the battle they prepared a Remonstrance against the government of Argyle

and his friends, and presented it to the Committee of Estates, with the declaration that they rejected Charles till he proved 'the reality of his profession.' Argyle was forced to choose an alliance with the Remonstrants or with the Malignants, and he gave his support to the friends of Charles. The Committee of the Estates accordingly passed a Resolution in condemnation of the Remonstrance, and the Estates abolished the Act of Classes. On 1st Jan. 1651, Charles was crowned at Scone, and Malignants and Resolutioners alike were satisfied. Cromwell, however, was still in the country, and once more David Leslie was placed in command of an army. In hope of a rising in favour of Charles, the Scots marched into England, but Cromwell followed and utterly defeated them at Worcester. Scotland was subjected to English rule; and, though toleration was enforced, Resolutioners and Remonstrants continued their quarrel, till in 1653 the General Assembly was closed and its meetings forbidden. Enthusiasm for the Covenants was no longer national but sectarian. The National Covenant had been the protest of a realm against the absolutism of the king, and the Solemn League and Covenant had been framed for the reformation of religion by those who believed that the true Church should be Presbyterian. In the events which followed the National Covenant, Charles had been compelled to submit to the Scots, and after his death the Covenanters, true to the Solemn League and Covenant, became the guardians of Presbyterianism. Fanaticism divided them, but the factions were none the less devoted to the Church which James and Charles I. had assailed, and to its worship and government which had been saved from the hands of the destroyers.

Scotland hailed the Restoration with joy, as the English rule was ended and the king was to reign who had been crowned at Scone. The Remonstrants or Protesters alone, in their anxiety for the Church, did not share in the joy, and soon it was seen that they were not foolish in their alarm. Charles nominated a Privy Council, without waiting for a Parliament to advise in the selection; and, while the members of the Council were with him in London, he entrusted the government to the Committee of the Estates, which had not acted after 1651. Remembering injuries and destitute of gratitude, he committed Argyle to the Tower, and then sent him to Scotland for trial, and at the same time issued an order for the seizure of Johnston of Warriston, who, however, escaped to France. The Committee of Estates, recognizing the attitude of the king to the Covenanters, broke up a meeting of Protesters, and seized among others James Guthrie, the minister of Stirling. In their eagerness to please they issued a proclamation against 'all unlawful and unwarrantable meetings and conventicles'; and, in decreeing that there should be no meetings 'without his Majesty's special authority,' showed how the men in the king's service no longer opposed the absolutism and supremacy which had been fatal to his father. It seemed at first that Charles, though ruthless towards the Remonstrants, would uphold the Church for the sake of the Resolutioners; and James Sharp, minister of Crail and professor in St. Andrews, whom the Resolutioners had sent to London, returned on the last day of August with a communication to the Presbytery of Edinburgh. 'We do resolve,' Charles wrote, 'to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland as it is settled by law'; but, while he referred to the government as it existed, he soon afterwards put a strange interpretation on his words. On 1st Jan. 1661, a Parliament with carefully selected members met, and in its sessions passed a multitude of Acts. In an oath of allegiance, Charles was

declared 'supreme Governor of this kingdom over all persons and in all causes'; and a Rescissory Act, which revoked the legislation of every Parliament after 1633, destroyed what the nation had built up in the struggle against royal absolutism. The Church 'settled by law,' to which Charles referred in his letter to the Edinburgh Presbytery, was no longer Presbyterian, and in a communication to the Privy Council he wrote: 'We have, after mature deliberation, declared to those of your Council here our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority for restoring of that Church to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles, during the reigns of our royal father and grandfather of blessed memory, and as it now stands settled by law.' The Church was Episcopal, but only one of the bishops was alive; and four men, of whom were James Sharp and Robert Leighton, set out for London to receive episcopal consecration.

The second session of the 'Drunken Parliament,' as it was called, began on 8th May 1662, and, after an Act for 'the restitution and re-establishment of the ancient government of the Church by archbishops and bishops,' the prelates were admitted to the dignity of an Estate. Thereafter the Covenants were declared to be treasonable, and holders of offices of trust were required to abjure them. Another Act was tragic in its consequences. Patronage had been abolished in 1649, and the election of ministers had been entrusted to the kirk-sessions. The Parliament now decreed that every minister who had been ordained after 1649 should receive a presentation from the patron, and institution from the bishop. In the west and south nearly three hundred men refused to comply; and churches were closed till 'curates' were found for them. In the third session of the Parliament the Earl of Rothes took the place of the Earl of Middleton as the king's representative, though the Earl of Lauderdale was the real director of the business. Ecclesiastical affairs were in hopeless disorder. The churches from which the ministers had been excluded were almost empty, and the people flocked to private houses in which these men preached. The Parliament sought a remedy in an Act which required the 'outed' ministers to abstain from preaching, and the people to attend the churches. Fines were to be imposed on those who would not obey, and the Privy Council were to receive reports from the curates regarding offenders. Before the close of the Parliament, Johnston of Warriston, who had been apprehended in France, was sent to execution. Argyle and James Guthrie, and also a man named Govan, had been condemned; and Warriston followed them to the scaffold and to martyrdom for the Covenants. The victims of the king's wrath were few, and Argyle and Guthrie, conspicuous champions of the people's rights, might have satisfied his vengeance; but Warriston was pursued till his death was accomplished. Samuel Rutherford, the Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, was summoned to appear at Edinburgh, and died before he could answer. In his *Lex Rex* he had set forth the democratic principles which George Buchanan taught in the *De Jure*; and, when he could not be brought to sentence, his book was publicly burned by order of the Government.

Without consent of the Church, Charles II. changed its constitution, and the men who would not obey his orders were driven from their livings. James VI. had forced or corrupted Assemblies and Parliaments to be his agents, while Charles I. had imposed the Canons and Liturgy with neither Assembly nor Parliament. It is true that Charles II. acted through a Parliament and through his Privy Council, but the Parliament was not freely

elected, and the Church itself was not consulted. The 300 evicted ministers could urge the Presbyterian claim of free assembly. Their theory of the Divine origin of the Presbyterian polity might be denied, but they could point to Knox and Melville as the upholders of the Church's freedom, and to the struggles and successes of the first Covenanters. Many of the ministers quietly accepted the Episcopacy ordained by the 'Drunken Parliament,' but the men who were ejected, and not the men who conformed, were obedient to the Presbyterian tradition, and as heirs of the Covenanters were entitled to their name. Opponents of the royal absolutism and advocates of ecclesiastical freedom, the second race of the Covenanters were destined to bear testimony through suffering to their devotion to the lost liberties of their Church.

Fines were imposed by the Privy Council on those who neglected the ministrations of the curates, and soldiers were quartered on offenders till these were paid. At Archbishop Sharp's suggestion the Court of High Commission was re-instituted to deal with breakers of the law, and the troubles increased when Covenanters, to whom an Act of Indemnity had not extended, were ordered by the Court to pay their fines. In the disaffected districts the people were galled by the tyranny of the Council in imposing fines, quartering soldiers, and breaking up conventicles (*q.v.*) for worship. Passive obedience was not a favourite custom of the Scots, and a rising of the oppressed was to be expected. Sir James Turner, the most zealous of the soldiers of the Government, was in Dumfries, and on 15th Nov. 1666 was attacked and taken prisoner by a company of men from Galloway, who had been stirred by a shameful tale of cruelty. From Dumfries they marched, 3000 in number but untrained, across the country to Lanark, where they renewed their adherence to the Covenant. Intending to pass to Edinburgh, they turned on their way to the city, as Sir Thomas Dalziel, a fanatic Royalist who had served in Muscovy, was on their track, and they reached Rullion Green, on the southern slopes of the Pentlands. Dalziel with his disciplined force routed them. Some were killed, many fled, and at least fifty were taken. Two of the leaders, John Neilson of Corsack and Hugh M'Kail, who was a preacher, were tortured with the boot in presence of the Council, that they might reveal a supposed league with the Dutch, and were afterwards sent to the scaffold. Ten men, and then five, were hanged in Edinburgh, and the work of execution was continued in Glasgow and Ayr. Many of those who had been engaged in the rising were fined and their lands and goods confiscated. To Dalziel was given the task of quieting the disturbed places, and with his ruthless severities he terrorized the people. In 1667, however, a respite was offered when Lauderdale, who had overthrown Rothes and Sharp in the Council, intimated an indemnity, under conditions, for the Pentland rising. While many accepted the terms, the sternest of the Presbyterians refused obedience to a Government which required conformity to an Episcopal Church and ignored the Covenant.

After the indemnity no further step towards conciliation was taken till 1669, when an Indulgence was offered. It was ordained that vacant parishes might be given to ministers who were willing to accept collation from the bishops; and those who would not take collation might have the manse and glebe, without the stipend, if they agreed, among other conditions, to administer the sacraments to their parishioners alone. Forty-two ministers, professing their adherence to Presbyterianism, were admitted; but the most zealous of the Covenanters inveighed against them, and

extreme Episcopalians objected to the Indulgence as an Act of Erastianism. Lauderdale, though responsible for the Indulgence with any clemency involved in it, was an avowed supporter of the royal absolutism; and under him the Parliament of 1669 declared in the Asserty Act 'that his Majesty hath the supreme authority and supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical within this kingdom; and that, by virtue thereof, the ordering and disposal of the external government and policy of the Church doth properly belong to his Majesty and his successors, as an inherent right of the crown.'

Burnet, the Archbishop of Glasgow, was deposed for his opposition to the king's authority in the issue of the Indulgence, and Leighton, who succeeded him, proposed an 'accommodation' for peace between Presbyterians and Episcopalians. The scheme was futile, as compromise pleased no one, and Leighton, resigning the archbishopric, departed to England. The Indulgence did not remove the opposition of the Covenanters, and they flocked to the conventicles, carrying arms for safety in attack. The Government, on the other hand, showed no leniency. In 1670 an Act was passed which required any one on oath to give information regarding conventicles and the men who attended them; and another Act made death and confiscation of goods the penalty for preaching at conventicles. Not content with these severities, the Parliament decreed that punishment, even to exile, should be inflicted on those who had their children baptized by the non-conforming ministers, and also on those who for three successive Sundays absented themselves from the parish church. The conventicles, in spite of the Government, did not cease, and the Bass Rock was turned into a prison. In 1672 the Parliament declared the ordination of ministers by the Covenanters a crime, and decreed that parents should be punished who left their children unbaptized by the curates for more than thirty days. For some reason a second Indulgence was published. It was offered to eighty of the clergy, and some of them accepted it, but the Covenanters were not quieted. The Government in their straits decreed that magistrates for the burghs and landowners in respect of their estates were to be made responsible for conventicles, and householders were to answer for their families and servants. Another step was taken in 1675, when letters of intercommuning were issued against 100 persons, including men and women of social position, who were not to be harboured or fed or clothed by any one. Though landowners in 1674 had been made responsible for their tenants and servants, they were required in 1677 to take a bond for all persons on their lands. Many of these men in the disturbed counties, though friendly to the Government, would not sign such a bond; and in February 1678 a host of 6000 Highlanders with 3000 Lowlanders was sent to Ayrshire and let loose for plunder. The Duke of Hamilton and also the Earls of Atholl and Perth appeared with expostulations before the king, and, though Charles approved Lauderdale's actions, the Highlanders were withdrawn. The disorder increased, however, in spite of indulgences and coercive Acts; and the year 1679 witnessed among other tragedies the murder of Archbishop Sharp. From the day of his acceptance of the archbishopric there were few who even respected him, and the Covenanters hated him as their fiercest oppressor. Travelling to St. Andrews he was murdered at Magus Muir, three miles from the city, by a band of men who had been outlawed for attending conventicles. These men were not taken, though a proclamation was issued for their arrest; and another tragic event was to increase the troubles. On 27th May

—the anniversary of the Restoration—a company of eighty men gathered in Rutherglen, and, after extinguishing the bonfires, affixed to the market-cross a paper denouncing the Acts of Parliament against Presbyterianism. The same company, increased in numbers, held a conventicle on the Sunday which followed; and Graham of Claverhouse with a troop of soldiers was sent to disperse it and to seize the men who had appeared at Rutherglen. At Drumclog, two miles from Loudon Hill, where the conventicle had assembled, an engagement took place, and Claverhouse was defeated. The victors determined to form a camp, and many flocked to it. The Government, on the other hand, made ready an army, and the king sent the Duke of Monmouth to command it. The battle of Bothwell Bridge was fought on 22nd June with disastrous results to the Covenanters. They had enthusiasm; but, divided over the Indulgences, they quarrelled when they should have been drilling themselves for action, and there was no capable and trusted leader. While the number of the dead was not great, more than 1000 prisoners were taken and conveyed to Edinburgh. For months many of the wretched men were confined in the Greyfriars churchyard. Two of the ministers were hanged, and five men, who had not been involved in the death of the Archbishop, were sent for execution to Magus Muir, that the murder might be avenged. Many were allowed to leave their prison, after taking a bond not again to bear arms; and others, to the number of 250, were packed into a ship sailing to Barbados, that they might be sold into slavery. The ship, however, was wrecked on one of the Orkney Islands, and 200 of the unfortunate men, who were kept under the hatches, were drowned.

Thanks to Monmouth, an Act of Indemnity was passed for those who had been at Bothwell Bridge, and a third Indulgence for ministers was published. Conditions, however, were attached, and there were few who did not reject them. Clemency was accordingly thrown aside, and diligent search was made for those who had been at Bothwell. The thumbkins and lighted matches to the fingers were used by the savage soldiers of the Government to force unwilling informers to reveal their secrets. Oppression again had its natural consequences, and wild men were made wilder. The Presbyterians who still remained staunch to the Covenants separated from communion with those who had accepted the Indulgences, and deliberately threw off allegiance to the king. Two ministers, Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, were the leaders, and they and their followers called themselves 'Society People,' and were known as Cameronians, Wanderers, Hillmen, or Whigs. On 22nd June 1680, Cameron and Cargill with some of their men, twenty-one in all, entered Sanquhar and affixed to the market-cross a declaration that they disowned Charles Stuart as king for 'his perjury and breach of covenant to God and His Kirk.' These men did at Sanquhar, in the time of Charles Stuart, what England and Scotland afterwards did when James Stuart was king. Cameron and Cargill were marked by the Government, and at Aird's Moss, on 20th July, Cameron was killed, when he and Hackston of Rathillet, with some of the Hillmen, were attacked by a company of dragoons. Hackston was executed at Edinburgh with a display of abominable cruelty, and Cargill, who was not at Aird's Moss, became the leader of the Covenanters. He appeared in October at Torwood, and in a great assemblage excommunicated the king, the Duke of York, the Duke of Lauderdale, and others; and, though the sentence was futile and the action altogether fanatical, the devotion to a cause consecrated in the tradition of the

country made Cargill a hero in the eyes of the persecuted Whigs. He, too, was to die for the Covenant, and in 1681 was executed in Edinburgh.

In 1681 the Duke of York appeared in Scotland, and, in place of Lauderdale, acted as Royal Commissioner. After the Act for securing the Protestant religion, the Parliament, at his direction and to suit his purposes as a Catholic, passed an Act which declared that the kings of the realm derived their power from God, succeeding to it by lineal descent, and that the succession could not be changed. This declaration, in favour of the Divine right of the king, was followed by the Test Act, which required every holder of office to swear that he owned the Protestant religion as set forth in the Confession of 1567, acknowledged the supremacy of the king in all causes, would not consult about any State matter without royal licence or command, and would never endeavour to alter anything in the Government of the country. Never before had the Scottish Parliament displayed such abject subservience. Eighty of the ministers refused to take the test, and left their parishes; and in January 1682, fifty of the Covenanters published at Lanark a fresh declaration, and burned the Succession and Test Acts. The 'Society People' were counted rebels, as they were, and were treated with savage cruelty; Dalziel and Claverhouse, merciless leaders of the rudest soldiers, earned infamous reputations; and, when the troubles were at an end, men continued to talk of the 'Bloody Clavers,' while they spoke, too, of the 'Bloody Mackenzie,' the Lord Advocate, who was pitiless in his prosecutions. Their victims were fined or sent to slavery, and some were shot and some were hanged. In November 1684 the 'Society People' published their 'Apologetical Declaration,' drawn up by James Renwick, a young minister, which contained a warning to their persecutors that they counted them, and would punish them, as the enemies of God and His covenanted work; and they did not shrink from killing their foes. An oath of abjuration of the Apologetical Declaration was at once prepared by the Government, and he who did not take it might be shot without pretence of trial. John Brown of Priesthill, in whose house were found bullets and treasonable papers, refused to take the oath. 'Whereupon,' wrote Claverhouse, 'I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly.' A few days later, though Claverhouse was not the perpetrator of the deed, an old woman and a girl were drowned at Wigton, as they would not abjure the Apologetical Declaration.

James II. ascended the throne in 1685, and the Estates expressed their gratitude for the blessings which they owed 'to the sacred race of their most glorious kings, and to the solid, absolute authority wherewith they were invested by the first and fundamental laws of the monarchy.' Acts were passed against the Covenanters, and in one it was declared that any person who preached at or attended a conventicle was to be punished with death and confiscation of goods. The accession of James marked no change of policy in the treatment of the Covenanters, and the first year was known as 'the black year, the killing time.' Argyle, in the plot with Monmouth for the removal of James from the throne, landed in Scotland in 1685; but he received no help from the Covenanters, whose cause, at an earlier time, he had forsaken. The plot ended in failure, and Argyle was taken and carried to Edinburgh, where he was beheaded. Before he arrived in the city, the Government resolved to make sure that their prisoners, who might be in sympathy with him, were securely guarded. About 200 of the Covenanters were accordingly removed to Dunnottar Castle. Men

and women were thrown together into a vault, with but one window for air, and the space hardly gave them room to sit down. Days passed before any of them were removed, and then forty men were sent to another vault, where a break in the wall gave the only current of air. After two months those who were alive were taken to Leith; and, while a few promised allegiance, the majority were sent as slaves to the Plantations.

James was a Roman Catholic, and, whatever his schemes were for the return to Rome of the nations over which he was king, he determined to repeal the penal laws against the Roman Catholics. The Scottish Parliament, which again and again had admitted the royal absolutism, would not consent to more than a serious consideration of his communication regarding the repeal, and was dissolved. Thereafter the Privy Council received an intimation from him that his prerogative enabled him to dispense with all laws, and he charged the Council to rescind the penal laws. Even the most subservient Government could not ignore the fact that Scotland dreaded a return of Popery. James accordingly extended to the Presbyterians the toleration he desired for the Catholics, and they were allowed to meet in private houses or chapels, if no disloyal doctrines were preached. The 'Society People,' however, were excluded from the new Indulgences, as they had thrown off allegiance to the king, and they continued in their opposition and frequented their conventicles. Their leader was James Renwick, and in February 1688, having refused to acknowledge the Government, he was put to death, the last martyr for the Covenants. The year which witnessed the execution of the Covenanter in Edinburgh witnessed also the arrival in London of William of Orange and the flight of James.

In the period between the imposition of the Liturgy and the death of Charles I., and, again, in the period between the Restoration and the Revolution, the Covenanters were the guardians of freedom. After the Restoration the nobles and barons, as if there had been no Covenants, admitted with extraordinary servility the despotism of the kings; and even the Covenanters themselves were not united, since those who profited by the Indulgences submitted to the king, who was an ecclesiastical autocrat. The 'Society People' alone were faithful to the Covenants.

Recognizing Presbyterianism as Divinely instituted, and declaring, therefore, the rights of their Church to be those of the Redeemer, they fought for Christ and the Covenant; and at last threw off allegiance to the king as the enemy of their Lord. In Scotland throughout the 17th cent. the royal absolutism was displayed almost entirely in affairs of the Church, and there was no clear issue, without appeals to religion, between despotism and liberty. Yet in the sphere of the Church, where tyranny pressed, and where a contest alone was possible, the Covenanters asserted the rights of the people.

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COVENANT THEOLOGY.—1. Preliminary definition.—By this term is designated a type of theological thought which expresses the relations between God and man in the formula of a covenant or legal agreement, formally entered into by two contracting parties. It was specially common among the English Puritans, from whom it passed to their descendants in America. On the Continent it is first found among the German Reformed theologians in the second half of the 16th century. Its best known Continental representative is Cocceius (John Koch, 1603-69), who is often wrongly said to be its author.¹ Through him and his successors (Burmman, Witsius, and others) it received its most elaborate literary expression, and ever since has constituted one of the recognized types of Calvinistic or Reformed theology. It is the purpose of this article to explain the nature of this type, and to give some account of its origin and history.

2. Nature of the covenant theology.—(1) *The covenant idea and the covenant theology distinguished.*—At the outset it is necessary to distinguish between the covenant idea and the covenant theology. The covenant idea is common Christian property. It is an inheritance of Christianity from the OT, which frequently describes the relation between Jahweh and His people in terms of a covenant, entered into either with individual Israelites (e.g., Noah, Abraham, Phinehas, David), or with the nation as a whole. The covenant theology describes a special type of Christian thought which gives this idea a central importance not elsewhere assigned to it, and uses it as the organizing principle of the entire theological system. According to this scheme, God at the Creation entered into an agreement with Adam as the federal head of the race, promising to him and to his descendants eternal life on condition of his obedience to the Divine command that he should not eat of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and threatening him with eternal death for himself and his descendants in case of his disobedience. Adam having failed to stand the test, God entered into a second agreement with Christ as the second Adam, on behalf of the elect, promising them forgiveness and eternal life in consideration of Christ's perfect obedience and satisfaction imputed to them by faith, as well as all the gifts and graces which are necessary to the realization of this supreme blessing in experience. The covenant theology in its developed form is a scheme of doctrine in which the entire system of divinity is expressed in the terms of these two covenants, and man's assurance of salvation based upon the fact that he is included within the latter. In order to understand its origin and significance, it is necessary to consider the problem which it was designed to solve.

(2) *The covenant as a ground of assurance.*—This problem was, in a word, the reconciliation of the sovereignty of God with man's assurance of salvation. The federal theologians, as they are called, were Calvinists. Their major premiss was the absolute sovereignty of God. Man, in their view, had no independent right as against his Maker. Unquestioning submission to the Divine command was his duty. Perfect obedience, were such possible, carried with it no merit, and could guarantee no reward. If, then, man was to be admitted to the Divine fellowship or assured of the Divine favour, it could be only by some voluntary condescension on God's part, establishing by arbitrary enactment

¹ So by Strong (*Systematic Theology*⁴, Philad. 1907, p. 612f.).

relations which had no necessary foundation in nature. The importance of the covenant for these theologians consisted in its assurance that such condescension had, as a matter of fact, taken place. By the covenant God not only bound Himself to a certain definite line of conduct, so far as man was concerned, and in so far restricted the freedom of His own choice,¹ but He made known in detail to His creature the nature and conditions of His gracious purpose, and so removed the uncertainty to which he would otherwise have been exposed.

'God,' says Thomas Shephard, in his preface to Bulkeley's *Gospel Covenant*,² 'might have done good to man before his fall, as also since his fall, without binding himself in the bond of Covenant . . . but the Lord's heart is so full of love (especially to his own) that it cannot be contained so long within the bounds of secrecy, . . . but it must beforehand overflow and break out into the many streames of a blessed Covenant.'

Arminian theologians also made use of the covenant idea.³ But for them it had less importance, because their view of the relation between man and his Maker was founded on natural right. Thus, Arminius, while recognizing that God dealt with our first parents by way of covenant, distinguished between the law of nature, which God wrote on the heart of man, and the symbolical law, or law of precept, which deals with matters in themselves indifferent apart from the Divine command. While it is man's duty to obey in either case, the latter obedience is 'far inferior,' and 'is not so much obedience itself as the external profession of willingly yielding obedience' (*Works*, Eng. tr. ii. 370). To the Calvinistic theologians, on the other hand, the highest virtue consisted in submission to the will of God simply because it was God's will, and the covenants gained their great importance because they defined the specific form which, from age to age, that will assumed for man.

This precision of statement explains the prominence of the covenant idea in Puritanism. Puritanism, as is well known, is a type of thought which makes much of uniformity. The Puritan believed that God had not only revealed a way of salvation, but had established certain institutions and laid down certain laws, by means of which this salvation was to be mediated to those whom God had chosen to enjoy its blessings. He was a churchman as well as an individualist, and valued the covenant not only as the ground of personal assurance to the individual Christian, but as the charter which established the existence and defined the laws of the Christian society.

From this fact two further consequences follow which are necessary to the complete definition of the covenant theology: (a) the covenant furnished the framework for the treatment of Christian ethics; and (b) it gave the key to the Christian interpretation of history.

(3) *The covenant as the standard of Christian duty.*—The use of the covenant as a standard of duty, important as it later became, is derivative, not primary. The earlier theologians knew of but one covenant between God and man, namely, the covenant of grace. In this the Father, in consideration of Christ's promise of obedience even unto death, agreed to accept His satisfaction as an

¹ Cf. John Preston (*The New Covenant, or the Saint's Portion*, London, 1629): 'These words contain a further and a greater favour expressed to Abraham than the former words do . . . that is, I will not only tell thee what I am able to do, I will not only express to thee in general that I will deal well with thee, etc. . . . but I am willing to enter into covenant with thee, that is, I will bind myself, I will engage myself, I will enter into bond, as it were, I will not be at liberty any more, but I am willing to make a covenant, a compact and agreement with thee,' etc. (p. 70).

² *The Gospel Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace opened*, etc. . . . preached in Concord in New England, by Peter Bulkeley, London, 1646.

³ Cf. Arminius, *Works*, Eng. tr. by Nichols, London, 1825 ff., ft. 369 ff., 389 ff.; Limborch, *Complete System*, Eng. tr. by Jones, London, 1702, bk. III. ch. i. § 7, p. 211 ff.

equivalent for the punishment due by guilty man, and to accept the persons of the elect as righteous for His sake. God's dealings with Adam in Paradise were not brought under the covenant idea except in so far as the promise to Eve that her seed should bruise the serpent's head (Gn 3¹⁰) was regarded as an anticipation of the later covenant of grace. In the course of time, however, the idea was extended to include all God's dealings with man, before as well as after the Fall. Two covenants were distinguished—the covenant of works made in Paradise with Adam as the federal head of the race, and the covenant of grace made with Christ, the second Adam, or with the elect in Him as their representative. In the former, God reveals the substance of the moral law as the condition which He prescribes for the attainment of salvation. In the latter, He acquaints men with the machinery which He devised for the repair of Adam's fault. But the substitution of the second for the first covenant does not render the moral law obsolete; it only alters man's relation to that law. After as well as before the Fall perfect holiness is essential to salvation, and not the least of the blessings of the covenant of grace is its clear repetition of the substance of the law originally promulgated in Paradise. The covenant of grace differs from the covenant of works in the fact that it adds to the law the promise, i.e. the disclosure of the means through which Adam's original fault is to be repaired and the blessings of salvation won by Christ to be mediated to the elect. Accordingly, the covenant of grace includes, with the substance of the moral law, institutions of worship (i.e. sacraments and ceremonies) which, varying from age to age, typify Christ, and seal to believers the grace which He has merited for them.¹

The literature of the covenant, therefore, is full of discussion as to the nature of the Church and of the sacraments. Since the sacraments are signs and seals of the covenant of grace, it is essential that they should be rightly administered, and that those only should be admitted to partake of them who are really entitled to the privilege. Here we find differences of opinion among those who were agreed as to the general significance of the covenant and were at one in their opposition to Arminianism. Some held that the regenerate only had any right to the privilege of the sacraments;² others were willing to take a Christian profession (i.e. a dogmatical, as distinct from a justifying, faith) as *prima facie* evidence of right of admission to the sacraments.³ The controversy as to the half-way covenant, which agitated New England in the latter part of the 17th and in the 18th cent., is an echo of these earlier disputes.

There was also difference of opinion as to the extent to which the conditional language properly applicable to the covenant of works could be rightly employed of the covenant of grace. In the case of the covenant of works we have to do with a real condition. The whole significance of the agreement into which Adam entered with his Maker turned upon his possession of the freedom of contingency. But, in the case of Adam's descendants, such freedom is lacking. The contracting party in the second covenant is Christ, the second Adam; and one of the most important considerations in the compact into which He entered with the Father was that the Holy Spirit should

¹ The later Covenant theologians, interested in showing the uniformity of God's method with man, carry back the idea of the sacrament to Paradise, and associate it with the law as well as with the Gospel (cf. Thomas Blake, *The Covenant Sealed, or a Treatise of the Sacraments of both Covenants*, . . . London, 1655, p. 9 ff.).

² e.g. Richard Baxter, *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-Membership and Baptism* (London, 1666), p. 327, quoted by Blake, *op. cit.* p. 114.

³ Thomas Blake, *op. cit.* p. 114.

be granted to the elect to make possible a faith of which they are incapable by nature. It would seem, then, an abuse of language to speak of any condition to be fulfilled on the part of the elect as distinct from Christ, and this was the position taken by some of the more rigorous Puritans. Christ, they held, was the sole party to the covenant of grace.¹ Others,² however, distinguished two covenants: the covenant of redemption entered into between the Father and the Son, and the covenant of grace made with the elect through Him. The covenant of grace, no less than that of works, they regarded as conditional, the difference being that in the former case the sole condition was faith in Christ, which faith was itself made possible through the gift of the Spirit.

But, whatever difference of opinion there may have been as to the conditionality of the covenant of grace, all agreed that no one could be saved whose life did not conform to the standard which it revealed. Of all heresies Antinomianism (*q.v.*) was most abhorrent to the Puritan, and many controversial tracts reveal the eagerness of the advocates of the covenant theology to clear their skirts from any imputation of sympathy with so abominable and dangerous an opinion. The assurance in which the Puritans rejoiced was indeed an assurance of salvation, but it was a salvation which included ultimate conformity to the Divine law.³

(4) *The covenant as a key to the Christian interpretation of history.*—Thus far we have considered the covenant theology primarily on its practical side, but it had an important theoretical significance as well, since it furnished the formula for the Christian interpretation of history. The Biblical writers speak of a number of different covenants entered into by God with different individuals at different times, and it was natural that the problem of the relation of these covenants one to another should engage the attention of Christian theologians. Protestants were agreed that God followed a uniform method in His treatment of men, and hence could not admit any essential difference in principle between the covenants; but they could not shut their eyes to the contrast between the covenant with Moses at Sinai and the new covenant foretold by Jeremiah and the prophets, which the Apostle Paul identifies with the Christian gospel; nor could they overlook the contrast drawn by Paul himself between the promise to Abraham and the law given by Moses. Thus, the relation between these different covenants constituted a problem, the solution of which furnished the nearest approach to a philosophy of history which the theology of the time possessed.

In general, it may be said that it was the disposition of the earlier Protestant theologians to minimize the difference between the Christian gospel and its preparation in the religion of Israel. All the Reformers recognize the contrast between the OT and the NT, and devote a section of their theology to a discussion of their differences. But they are agreed that these differences are superficial, and that, in substance, the two Testaments are the same. What the old dispensation shadows forth in types, the new fulfils in reality, but both alike, the OT and the NT, the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ, are to be regarded as different forms of the one covenant of grace (cf. the Westminster formula, 'one covenant under different administrations,' *Westm. Con.* vii. 5, 6).

¹ So John Saltmarsh, *Free Grace, or the Floodings of Christ's Flood freely to Sinners*, London, 1646, p. 125; Tobias Crisp (1600-1642), *Christ Alone Exalted*, 1643-6.

² e.g. Daniel Williams, *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated*, etc., London, 1692, a reply to Crisp.

³ This consciousness of strict moral responsibility found expression in the National Covenants, to which reference will presently be made, as well as in the large space given to the exposition of the moral law in the Catechisms of Puritanism.

With the recognition of the twofold covenant a further distinction is introduced. We have now the contrast between the covenant of works entered into between God and Adam, the substance of whose requirement is repeated in the law given on Sinai, and the covenant of grace under its twofold administration, the OT and the NT. Another distinction meets us in William Ames (*Amesius*),¹ and was further developed by Cocceius and his successors in the early part of the 17th century. These theologians, while making use of the general formula already described, distinguished within the administration of the old dispensation various historic stages marked by characteristics of their own.² Thus, there are the periods (1) from Adam to Noah, (2) from Noah to Abraham, (3) from Abraham to Moses, (4) from Moses to David, (5) from David to Christ, each of which has its own institutions and sacraments. In like manner, the NT has its own divisions, e.g. (1) from the Advent to the Resurrection, (2) from the Resurrection to the Second Coming, and (3) the Final Consummation in the world to come. Such a treatment made it possible for those theologians to do more justice to the facts of Biblical history than was possible under the more rigorous scheme of their predecessors. Robertson Smith, speaking of the federal theology of Cocceius, says with justice that, 'with all its defects,' it 'is the most important attempt, in the older Protestant theology, to do justice to the historical development of revelation' (*Prophets of Israel*, Edin. 1882, p. 375).

Thus the covenant theology has a threefold significance. In the first place, it is a theory of salvation; in the second place, it is a programme for conduct; in the third place, it is a philosophy of history. The section that follows will attempt to show how the different interests cross and re-cross in the course of the history.

3. *History of the covenant theology.*—(1) *The antecedents.*—The Biblical basis for the covenant theology is found partly in the account given in the OT of various covenants made by Jahweh with Israel³ or with representative Israelites,⁴ partly in the Pauline identification of the Christian gospel with the new or spiritual covenant prophesied by Jeremiah and other prophets.

The Heb. word בְּרִית, tr. 'covenant' in our versions, denotes either a treaty or alliance entered into between equals (e.g. between Abraham and the Amorites, Gn 14¹⁸, AV and RV 'confederate'; Hiram and Solomon, 1 K 5¹², AV and RV 'league'), or a constitution or ordinance establishing the relation between a monarch and his subjects (e.g. David and the Israelites, 2 S 5³; Zedekiah and his people, Jer 34⁸⁻¹⁸). This difference of meaning is not without its bearing on the later history.

If we analyze the transactions described in the OT by the term 'covenant' (בְּרִית), we find that they fall into two classes—those in which Jahweh reveals to His servants a purpose which He has conceived independently of man, and whose execution is dependent upon no one but Himself, and those in which the conduct of the people with whom the covenant is made is a determining factor. Of the former class are the covenants with Noah and Abraham; to the latter belong the covenant at Sinai and the later covenants with Jehoiada (2 K 11¹⁷), Hezekiah (2 Ch 29¹⁰), and Josiah (2 K 23³). The promise to Noah that day and night shall no more fail (Gn 8²²), or to

¹ (1576-1633) *Medulla S.S. Theologiae*, Eng. tr. *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity*, 1642, chs. xxxviii., xxxix.

² Gess (*Gesch. der prot. Dogmatik*, Berlin, 1857, II. 265), following Schweizer (*Reform. Glaubenslehre*, I. 103 ff.) and Schneckenburger (*Vergleichende Darstellung*, etc., II. 146), regards this disposition to apply the covenanting form to the different stages in the history of religion as characteristic of the Reformed theology from the first, and finds its beginnings in Bullinger and Leo Jud.

³ e.g. at Sinai (Ex 19²⁴ [E] 34¹⁰, 37²⁸ [J] 31¹⁶, Lv 21³ [P] 24²⁶ [Dt 4¹³]) in the plain of Moab (Dt 29¹⁻¹¹).

⁴ e.g. Noah (Gn 9¹¹⁻¹⁷ [P], Is 54¹⁰, Jer 33²⁰⁻²⁵); Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Gn 15¹⁸ [J] 17²¹, Ex 24⁴, Lv 24⁴² [P], 2 K 13²³, 1 Ch 16¹⁰, Ps 105⁸⁻¹⁰, Neh 9⁸, Jer 34¹⁸); Phinehas, (Nu 25¹² [P]); Joshua and Israel (Jos 24²⁸ [E]); David (Ps 89²⁸⁻³⁴, 132¹², cf. 2 S 7, 1 Ch 17); Jehoiada (2 K 11¹⁷, 2 Ch 29¹⁰); Hezekiah (2 Ch 29¹⁰); Josiah (2 K 23³); and Ezra (Ezr 10⁸).

Abraham that in his seed all nations shall be blessed (Gn 12³ etc.), is obviously not in the same class with the promises which accompanied the giving of the Law to Israel, which were, in the nature of the case, conditional upon the future conduct of the Israelites. Yet both alike are described by the same word.

Besides these covenants there is also frequent reference in the prophets to a new covenant which Jahweh is to establish with redeemed Israel in the future (Jer 31³¹⁻³³, cf. Is 42⁶ 49⁸ 55³ 59²¹ 61⁸, Jer 32⁴⁰ 50⁵, Ezk 16⁶⁰ 62¹⁰ 37²⁶ 34²⁸ 37²⁶, Ezk 218³⁰). Unlike the old covenant, this is to be inward and spiritual, a law written on the hearts of the people (Jer 31³³), and will be of everlasting validity.

This new covenant the NT identifies with the Christian gospel, which is contrasted with the Mosaic law as the former or old covenant (Gal 4⁴, He 9¹⁵, 18, cf. 8², 2 Co 3⁶). Like the latter, it was sealed with sacrifice—even the blood of Christ, who by His voluntary obedience and submission unto death has rendered the older sacrificial system superfluous and become the mediator of a new and better covenant (He 7²² 8⁶⁻⁹ 12²⁴), since it is an everlasting one (13²⁰). This new covenant is symbolized in the cup which Jesus gave to His disciples at the Last Supper (Mt 26²⁸, Mk 14²⁴, Lk 22²⁰, 1 Co 11²⁵). It has its anticipation in the covenant of promise made by Jahweh with Abraham (Gal 3¹⁷ cf. Eph 2¹², Ac 8²), which, being prior to the Law, could not be superseded by it.

We find thus in the NT the same double usage which we found in the OT, the word *διαθήκη* being used now to denote a free promise of God, as to Abraham and his seed, and later to Christian believers in the gospel, now of a series of precepts and orders given through Moses and his successors, and conditional in their effects upon the obedience of the people.

In He 9¹⁸ the idea of the covenant is interchanged with that of the testament, or will—a substitution which explains the uniform rendering of *διαθήκη* in the Vulgate by the Lat. *testamentum*, and its frequent translation in AV by the word 'testament' (e.g. Mt 26²⁸, Mk 14²⁴, Lk 22²⁰, 1 Co 11²⁵, 2 Co 3⁶, 14, He 7²² 9¹⁷).

In view of the emphasis laid by the Biblical writers upon the covenant idea, and their use of the conception to describe the different steps in the Divine training of mankind, it is surprising that it should so early and so completely have fallen into the background. Irenæus is the only early Christian writer who makes much use of it. He distinguishes several different covenants (*διαθήκη, testamentum*) into which God has entered with man, and regards the study of their nature and relations as a legitimate subject for Christian investigation.¹ His interest in the subject is, doubtless, due to the fact that, like St. Paul, he was chiefly concerned with the question of the nature of the difference between Judaism and Christianity—a difference which naturally expressed itself in the contrast between the old covenant and the new. When this question fell into the background, as it soon did, the covenant phraseology went out of use. Augustine makes no use of the idea in his *City of God*, and it plays no important part in the theology of Roman Cathol-

¹ While in one passage (III. xi. 8) Irenæus distinguishes four distinct covenants (namely, those with Noah [so the Greek text; the Latin reads 'Adam,' and substitutes Noah for Abraham, omitting the latter], Abraham, Moses, and Christ), in general he recognizes only two, namely, the old covenant, or law, given through Moses, and the new, or gospel, given through Christ (III. xii. 11; IV. ix. 1, xxxii. 2). According to this division, God's dealing with man in the pre-Mosaic period is not to be conceived under the covenant relation, the reason being that law is not needed by those who are just (IV. xvi. 2). The Law, by which Irenæus means the Jewish ceremonial law, was added later because of sin, and was destined in time to be replaced by the Christian gospel, or new law of liberty (*lex vivificatrix*, IV. xxxiv. 4), as the means through which alone full righteousness and salvation are made possible.

We have thus in Irenæus three distinct stages in the process of the Divine training of man—the pre-Mosaic period, typified by Abraham, in which man works out his own salvation through obedience to the natural law written on the heart; the period from Moses to Christ, in which his salvation is conditioned upon fidelity to the Jewish ceremonial law; and the period of the gospel, in which the ceremonial law is abrogated, and salvation depends upon man's free fulfilment of the moral law, which Christ has reaffirmed and reinforced with new sanctions. While, in general, the covenant idea is applied to the two later of these periods only, in principle the three belong together, and, in one passage, the covenant idea is extended backwards to include the pre-Mosaic period. In this, as we shall see, Irenæus is typical of the development of the later covenant theology.

On the theology of Irenæus, cf. Werner, 'Der Paulinismus des Irenæus,' in *TU*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 179-202. On the significance of Irenæus in early Christian theology, cf. W. A. Brown, *Essence of Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 64 f.

icism. It was only when the rise of a new religious type, historically derived from Catholicism, but independent of it, brought the question of the distinctive nature of Christianity again into the foreground, that the subjects which engaged Irenæus' thought became again of general interest. This condition emerged at the Reformation, and one of its consequences was the revival of the covenant idea.

But, though Catholicism contributed little directly to the preparation for this type of theology, its indirect contribution was great. The conception of God as lawgiver and judge, the expression of Christ's work in terms of satisfaction and equivalence, the conception of the Christian Church as the inheritor of the rights and privileges of the Jewish Church, and the loss of St. Paul's sense of the novelty of Christianity as a historic religion, all helped to prepare the way for the use by Protestant theologians of OT legalistic phraseology to describe a type of religious experience whose characteristic feature was the denial of the possibility of salvation by works.

(2) *The beginnings of the covenant theology.*—In tracing the history of the covenant theology in Protestantism, we have to recall the distinction already made between the covenant idea and the covenant theology. The idea of the covenant or testament is used by all the Reformers to express God's gracious revelation to His people, both before and after Christ. Two such revelations were distinguished, the OT and the NT, agreeing in substance, but differing in administration, and the nature at once of the agreement and of the difference forms the subject of a special *locus* in the early Protestant dogmatics (e.g. on the Law and the Gospel; on the difference between the OT and the NT).¹ But the conception was not given the structural importance in the system which it later acquired, and which warrants us in speaking of a covenant theology as distinct from the covenant idea.

We may take Calvin as typical of all the Reformers. He distinguishes the Gospel not merely from the Law, but from earlier gracious revelations of God within the OT, yet he hastens to add that we must not imagine that the Gospel has 'succeeded the whole Law in such a sense as to introduce a different mode of salvation. It rather confirms the Law, and proves that everything which it promised is fulfilled. What was shadow, it has made substance. When Christ says that the Law and the Prophets were until John, he does not consign the fathers to the curse, which, as the slaves of the Law, they could not escape. He intimates that they were only imbued with the rudiments, and remained far beneath the height of the Gospel doctrine. . . . Hence we infer that, when the whole Law is spoken of, the Gospel differs from it only in respect of clearness of manifestation' (*Institutes*, II. ix. 4).²

¹ Thus Calvin finds the agreement (1) in the common hope of immortality; (2) in the fact that both were established by the mercy of God; (3) in that 'they both had and knew Christ, the Mediator, by whom they were united to God and made capable of receiving His promises.' The difference consisted (1) in that in the old covenant the heavenly inheritance was exhibited under the form of temporal blessings, which was not the case in the new; (2) in that the OT typified Christ under ceremonies which exhibited 'only the image of truth, the shadow, not the substance,' whereas the NT gives us 'both the full truth and the entire body'; (3) in that the OT is literal, and the NT spiritual; (4) in that the OT is one of bondage, the NT one of liberty; and, finally, (5) in that the OT is for one people only, while the NT is for all. Cf. Brown, *Essence of Christianity*, p. 103 f.

² It is instructive to compare Calvin's view with that of Irenæus. He follows Irenæus in conceiving of two covenants or testaments, the Old and the New. He agrees with him further in that he does not apply the term 'covenant' to God's primitive revelation to Adam in Paradise. He differs from Irenæus in that he brings both covenants under the conception of grace rather than of law. Irenæus, like the early theologians in general, conceived salvation primarily in terms of the fulfilment of law. To Calvin, as to all the Reformers, salvation is a means of repairing the damage wrought by man's transgression of law. Like Irenæus, Calvin regards both covenants as expressions of a single principle. But, whereas Irenæus carries forward the idea of merit from the Law and applies it to the Gospel, Calvin carries back the idea of free grace into the Law, and interprets the latter by the

In thus emphasizing the essential unity of God's dealings with His people, Calvin is representative of all the Reformers. Luther¹ and Melancthon² recognize no difference in principle between God's dealings with His people under the old dispensation and under the new. The first specific treatise on the covenant which the present writer has been able to discover is that of the Swiss reformer, Henry Bullinger, which bears date 1534, and has for its title *De Testamento sive fœdere Dei unico et æterno*. Bullinger, like his predecessors, recognizes only one covenant, namely, the covenant of grace.³

The beginnings of the covenant theology in a technical sense are to be found on German soil, and precede the more famous school of Cocceius by more than half a century. Its representatives were Reformed theologians who, under the influence of a warm and vital piety, had developed a theology which differed in several respects from the stricter predestinarianism of Switzerland and France. This theology had three main characteristics. In the first place, it used the conception of the Divine covenant, with its synonyms, the Church or the Kingdom, as a comprehensive theological idea to express the purpose at once of creation and of redemption, and to give unity to the rest of the system. In the second place, it associated this conception with the idea of the believer's mystic union with Christ; and, in the third place, it deduced from the combination of these two conceptions, rather than from the doctrine of predestination, its doctrine of the perseverance of the saints.⁴ The two best known representatives of this theology were Caspar Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus, the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism.⁵

Olevianus' most important dogmatic monograph, published anonymously in 1585, is entitled *De substantia fœderis gratuiti inter Deum et electos, itemque de mediis*, etc. This work, as the title indicates, discusses the nature of the free covenant between God and the elect, and the means through which its substance is communicated to us. The substance of the covenant consists in God's promise and oath that He will never be angry with His former. We may say, indeed, that the characteristic feature of the Reformed theology is the attempt to use legal phraseology to express a gospel which is essentially anti-legal; and the reason why the covenant idea finds such favour with its representatives is the fact that the covenant expresses an obligation voluntarily assumed on either side, and hence not properly to be brought under the sphere of necessity.

¹ Cf. the references in Köstlin, *Luthers Theologie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und ihrem inneren Zusammenhang*², Stuttgart, 1883, 2 vols., esp. II. 376 ff., Eng. tr. II. 359 ff.

² Cf. his *Loc Communes*, ed. Kolde, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1900, esp. p. 211 ff.

³ The design of Bullinger's treatise is to show that the gospel is older than Judaism, Muhammadanism, and Catholicism; indeed, that it goes back to 'Noah, Enoch, Seth, Abel, Adam, who without circumcision pleased God through faith.' He holds that there is no Christian virtue commended in the NT which was not equally exemplified in the words and deeds of Abraham. Cf. the citations given by Rockwell, *Die Doppelte des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen*, Marburg, 1904, p. 223, note 2.

⁴ So Heppé, *Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus im 16ten Jahrhundert*, Gotha, 1857, I. 143 ff. Heppé is the best authority on the German Reformed theology, and this work gives much information concerning works otherwise inaccessible to English readers. Cf. esp. pp. 139 ff., 188 ff.

⁵ Besides Olevianus and Ursinus, Heppé mentions, as representatives of the covenant theology, Andrew Hyperius, Professor of Theology at Marburg from 1541 to 1564 (*Methodi theologicæ sive præcipuorum Christianæ religionis locorum communium*, Basel, 1566); Peter Boquinius, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, died 1582 (*Æægesis divina atque humana controversas*, Heidelberg, 1581); Joachim Cursus (*Æægesis perspicua et ferme integra controversas de sacra cœna*, 1574, ed. Scheffer, Marburg, 1858); Bohnius (*Methodus theologicæ*, Oyp. ed. 3, I. 234 ff.); Raphael Eglin, Professor of Theology in Marburg (*Diezodius theologicus de magno illo institutionis nostras in Christum mysterio Rom. 6; De fœdere gratiæ ex loco Rom. 8²¹*, Marburg, 1613), and esp. the theologians of Bremen, Matthias Martinus (*Christianæ doctrinæ summa capita*, 1603), and Ludwig Crocius (*De perseverantia sanctorum libri septem dogmatici et apologetici*, Bremen, 1616).

elect, but will receive them as sons of God and heirs of eternal life in Jesus Christ. This promise consists in the offering through the gospel of the Son of God, with the double benefit which He brings, namely, the remission of sins and renewal after the Divine image through the life-giving Spirit. These gifts are made known to us outwardly, by the word and by visible signs, as a testimony of agreement between God and ourselves, and are confirmed with inner efficacy by the free gift of faith through the infinite mercy of God to the elect. The work is introduced by a discussion of the following questions: (1) Who is God, the author of the covenant? (2) Who is man, with whom God establishes His covenant? (3) What is the nature of the covenant itself?

Even more striking in its historic significance is an earlier treatise of Olevianus, the *Expositio Symboli*,¹ in which the Apostles' Creed is interpreted under the form of an exposition of the covenant of grace, the articles of the Creed being regarded as a brief statement of the terms of the covenant. It is to be noted that the first book of the *De substantia fœderis* also takes the form of an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the second book being given to the proofs of the covenant. Under this head Olevianus discusses the function of the Church, and more specifically the word and the sacraments. Here we see the covenant idea given structural significance and made a comprehensive conception under which the whole content of Christian faith and practice may be brought.²

Olevianus recognized in principle but a single covenant, namely, the covenant of grace. It was reserved for his successors (e.g. Raphael Eglin, and Matthias Martinus) to extend the covenant idea to the relation of man before the Fall and to distinguish two covenants—that of works and that of grace.³ With this distinction the scheme of the covenant theology in its later form is complete.

(3) *The covenant theology in Puritanism.*—Parallel with the movement already described, we find another developing on the other side of the channel. In English Puritanism, as we have already seen, the covenant idea found congenial soil, and the later treatises of Cocceius and his school owe quite as much to the impulse gained from English writers⁴ as to the German theologians already referred to.

¹ *Expositio Symboli Apostolici, sive articulorum fidei, in qua summa gratuiti fœderis æterni inter Deum et fideles breviter et perspicue tractatur*, Frankfurt, 1576.

² While agreeing in substance with Olevianus, Ursinus does not give the covenant so important a place in the structure of his system. His views are set forth most fully in his *Sum of the Christian Religion* of 1598 (*Corpus doctrinæ christianæ ecclesiæ papæ reformatarum, continens explicationes catecheticas D. Zachariæ Ursini . . . studio Davidis Parei . . .*). This work was the outgrowth of Ursinus' lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism, first published in Geneva in 1584; afterwards in a fuller edition by David Pareus in 1591. Pareus' work was a revision and amplification based upon his own notes, and included much matter for which Ursinus was not responsible. This matter the later edition of 1598 omits, and it may be regarded as the most authoritative statement of Ursinus' views. It was often reprinted, and was translated into English under the title, *The Summe of Christian Religion*, by Dr. Henry Parry, London, 1645.

The discussion of the covenant is introduced by Ursinus between Questions 18 and 19, which deal with the mediatorship of Christ, and the gospel, and includes the following sub-heads: (1) What a covenant is; (2) Whether it can be made without a mediator; (3) Whether there be but one and the same covenant, or more; (4) In what the old and the new covenant agree, and in what they differ.

³ Cf. Heppé, *op. cit.* p. 197. It is an interesting question when the idea of the covenant of God with Adam first makes its appearance. We find no trace of it in our canonical Scriptures. Schmidt (art. 'Covenant' in *EBI*) finds the first appearance of the idea in Sir 17¹², but the reference is not altogether clear, and other commentators refer the passage to Sinai.

⁴ Among Cocceius' teachers, besides Martinus and Crocius, was the English Puritan, William Ames.

The covenant idea makes its earliest appearance in English history in practical rather than theoretical form, in the National Covenants entered into by the Scottish people and their rulers. These were solemn engagements, in which the nation as a whole pledged itself to be true to the revealed will of God as set forth in the Scriptures, and interpreted with the stern literalism of the Puritan conscience. Such a national covenant is the so-called *Second Scottish Confession*, a practical appendix to the early Confession of Knox (1560), to which the people publicly subscribed in the year 1581. It was frequently renewed in the course of the later history, and played a momentous part in the struggles of the Stuarts with their rebellious fellow-countrymen. It is not strange that an idea familiarized to the Scottish people in so dramatic a way should have received early literary expression. See art. COVENANTERS.

One of the earliest Scottish monographs on the covenant bears date 1598, and is by Robert Rollock (1555-1598), a distinguished Principal of the University of Edinburgh (*Quæstiones et Responsiones aliquot de fœdere Dei deque sacramento quod fœderis Dei sigillum est*). Here already there is emphasized the close connexion between the covenant and the sacrament which is characteristic of the later history.¹

English monographs were frequent during the first half of the 17th century. An anonymous treatise, bearing date 1616, is dedicated to the mayor and magistrates of the town of Feversham in Kent.² Like Olevianus, its author uses the covenant idea as a framework for the exposition of the Creed. His practical interest is apparent in his emphasis upon the importance of renewing one's covenant made in baptism through 'a continual repeating' of it, which takes place in catechizing the children of the faithful (p. 63). Other treatises by John Preston (*The New Covenant, or the Saints' Portion*, London, 1629), and George Downame (*The Covenant of Grace, or an Exposition upon Lk 17th. 74. 75*, Dublin, 1631), are likewise practical in nature.

The theological significance of the idea is apparent in the place given to it in systematic treatises. William Ames (1576-1633) in his *Modulus S.S. Theologie* (Eng. tr. *Marrow of Sacred Divinity*, 1642)³ distinguishes two covenants—the law or covenant of works given to Adam in Paradise, having as its symbols the two trees of the Garden (I. x. 33), and the covenant of grace made with the redeemed through Christ. Ames traces the various steps in the administration of the covenant of grace, distinguishing not only the periods before and after Christ (the OT and NT), but also, under the first, the periods from Adam to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to Christ; and, under the second, the period from Christ to the end of the world and the eternal reign of the saints in heaven (I. xxxviii. xxxix.). In this he anticipates the later teaching of his pupil Cocceius.

Even more detailed is the description of the covenant given by Ussher in his *Body of Divinity*.⁴ Here the nature of the compact made by God with Adam is described in great detail, and man in the person of our first parent is declared to have pro-

¹ Mitchell (*Westminster Assembly*, London, 1883, p. 877) cites Howie as another early Scottish representative of the covenant theology, but the present writer has not been able to verify the reference.

² *The covenant between God and man plainly declared in laying down the chiefest points of Christian religion*, London, 1616.

³ Cf. also William Perkins, *A Golden Chain, or the description of theologie* (*Works*, London, 1635, i. 701.); *An exposition of the symbols or Creeds of the Apostles* (ib. p. 164 ff.); John Downame, *The Summe of Sacred Divinitie*, London, n.d., bk. I. ch. xvi., bk. II. ch. i.

⁴ *Body of Divinitie, or the Summe and Substance of Christian Religion*, London, 1645.

mised 'by that power which he had received to keep the whole law, binding himself over to punishment in case he did not obey' (p. 126). On the other hand, the covenant of grace was made by 'God alone,' who, immediately after man's fall in Paradise, declared to Adam His gracious purpose to save the elect through Christ (p. 158).¹

Through Ussher the covenant idea received its first confessional expression in Puritanism. It appears in the 21st article of the *Irish Articles*, of which he was the author, and from them passed to the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, in which it forms the subject of a special chapter (vii.).²

The covenant was frequently discussed in the latter half of the 17th century. It appears not only in the works of the great Puritan theologians, Richard Baxter³ (1615-1691), and John Owen⁴ (1616-1683), but in many monographs by men less known to fame, e.g. John Saltmarsh,⁵ Thomas Blake,⁶ William Allen,⁷ Edward Leigh,⁸ and Daniel Williams.⁹ It filled an important rôle in the controversies that divided the different parties in the Church, and a correct understanding of its nature and scope was regarded as one of the prime requisites of a sound orthodoxy.

Thus, as we have already seen, the stricter and the looser predestinarians were divided as to the conditionality of the covenant of grace. The stricter predestinarians denied that it was conditional at all. Like Ussher, they held that God alone was its author, or, at most, God and Christ. Representatives of this view were Saltmarsh and Crisp. Others, like Owen and Baxter himself, held to a true conditionality. They distinguished between the covenant of redemption, made between the Father and the Son, and the covenant of grace, made by the Father with the elect in Christ;¹⁰ and, while they held that the redeemed were enabled to fulfil their part only through the grace which Christ had merited for them, yet they believed in preaching as though all depended upon

¹ Cf. also *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, in two parts, 1645, 1649, by E. F., edited with Introduction, Notes, and an Appendix, Biographical and Bibliographical, by O. G. M'Orrie, 1902. The sub-title of this 'epoch-marking, if not epoch-making,' work, as M'Orrie calls it, reads: 'Touching both the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace: with their use and end, both in the time of the Old Testament and in the time of the New' (*Confessiones of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1907, p. 69).

² Even more prominent is the use made of the covenant idea in the *Sum of Saving Knowledge*, a brief compendium of doctrine which appeared in Scotland in 1650, and is bound up with the Confession and Catechisms in many of the later Scottish editions. Here the language of bargain and sale appears in its baldest form (e.g. Head II.: 'By virtue of the foresaid bargain, made before the world began, He, i.e. Christ, is, in all ages, since the fall of Adam, still upon the work of applying actually the purchased benefits unto the elect: and that He doth by way of entertaining a covenant of free grace and reconciliation with them through faith in Himself, by which covenant He makes over to every believer, a right and interest in Himself, and in all His blessings.')

³ Cf. his *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants' Church-Membership and Baptism*, London, 1658 (pp. 100 ff., 112 ff., 223 ff., 326 ff.), as well as his Preface to Allen's *Discourse on the Nature, Ends, and Difference of the Two Covenants*, London, 1673.

⁴ Cf. his *Doctrine of Justification by Faith*, ch. viii. xiii.; *Treatise on the Doctrine of Perseverance* (*Works*, ed. Gould, xl. 205), Edin. 1851-55, *Salus Electorum Sanguis Jesu, or the Death of Death in the Death of Christ* (Gould's ed., x. 168 ff.).

⁵ *Free Grace, or the Flowings of Christ's Blood freely to Sinners*, London, 1646.

⁶ *Vindiciae Fœderis, or a Treatise of the Covenant of God, entered with mankind, etc.*, London, 1663, *The Covenant Sealed, or a Treatise of the Sacraments of both Covenants, polemically and practically, especially of the Sacraments of the Covenant of Grace*, London, 1655.

⁷ *A Discourse of the Nature, Ends, and Difference of the Two Covenants*, London, 1673.

⁸ *A Treatise of the Divine Promises, in five books. . . In the four last a declaration of the covenant itself, the bundle and body of all the Promises*, London, 1633.

⁹ *Gospel Truth Stated and Vindicated, wherein some of Dr. Crisp's opinions are considered, and the opposite truths are plainly stated and confirmed*, London, 1692.

¹⁰ Cf. Owen, *Doctrine of Justification by Faith*, ch. viii. (*Works*, ed. Gould, v. 191).

the action of the human will. The tract of Williams, already referred to, gives an interesting picture of the questions in controversy, and the extent to which the stricter party were willing to carry their logic.

That these controversies were not confined to Old England, but speedily found their way across the water, finds interesting confirmation in a treatise of Peter Bulkeley, which appeared in London in 1646, and is entitled *The Gospel Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace opened*. It gives the substance of sermons preached by its author in his parish in Concord, in New England. He speaks of great divisions which had arisen about the covenant, and some busybodies who called the preachers 'legall preachers,' and said that they were 'wholly ignorant of the covenant of grace, and . . . shut up under a covenant of works.' The reference is evidently to the rising Antinomianism which is associated with the name of Anne Hutchinson, 'that wretched Jezabell,' as Bulkeley calls her (p. 293). Bulkeley, who himself seems to have been a man of moderate views, gives a list of the questions in dispute, e.g. (1) whether the covenant of grace was made between God and man, or only between God the Father and Christ; (2) what is the meaning of the reference to Abraham's seed in Gal 3¹⁶; (3) what the covenant of Sinai was, whether of works or of grace; (4) whether justification may be evidenced by sanctification; (5) whether the commandment commanding faith be a commandment of the law; (6) whether faith be a condition antecedent to justification or only consequent; and (7) whether the conditional promises be promises of free grace or no (Preface, p. 3).

The theoretical difference had its practical effect in the doctrine of the Church. The question here turned on how far it was possible to preserve the purity of the Church in the administration of the sacraments and ecclesiastical discipline. All but the Baptists agreed that the covenant of grace, like the Abrahamic covenant of the OT, included the children of believers, and therefore defended the practice of infant baptism. But this position raised perplexing questions as to the administration of the other sacraments. Since baptism could rightfully be administered to some who were not regenerate, why should the Lord's Supper be confined any more strictly? Why not recognize that the covenant conferred upon the children of believers certain ecclesiastical rights which extended beyond the circle of the elect, and be willing to accept a dogmatical, as distinct from a justifying, faith as the sufficient ground for admission to the Supper? This was the position taken by Blake in his interesting treatise entitled *The Covenant Sealed*—a position which brought him into a controversy with Baxter, in which it must be confessed that he puts that sturdy defender of the larger liberty to sore straits to defend his more exclusive position on this point.¹

These practical controversies also had their echoes in America. The question as to those who could rightly be admitted to the Lord's Supper was one which agitated the New England churches for many years, and in the so-called half-way covenant the laxer practice advocated by Blake was long prevalent.²

A typical example of the Puritan treatment of the covenant is William Strong's posthumous *Discourse of the Two Covenants* (London, 1678), a voluminous treatise of 447 large quarto pages, the substance of which was originally delivered in the form of sermons. Comparing it with similar treatises by Continental writers, we notice its practical interest, which appears (1) in the constant application of the points made to the different classes of people living in Strong's own day; (2) in the emphasis laid upon the obligations created by the covenant as distinct from its benefits; and (3) in its full discussion of the covenant relation of the children of believers. On the last point he leans to the views of Blake rather than to the stricter views of Baxter. He claims federal holiness for the children of the righteous as distinct from the personal holiness of regeneration; but he does

not specifically apply the principle involved to the question of the Lord's Supper.

(4) *Cocceius and his school*.—The most eminent representative of the covenant theology is undoubtedly John Koch, or, as he is better known by his Latin name, Cocceius. He was born in Bremen in 1603, studied Hebrew under Matthias Martinus, and theology under Ames and Crocius. He was Professor of Theology successively at Bremen, 1630-1636; at Franeker, 1636-1650, where he succeeded Ames; and at Leyden, 1650-1669, where he died. He became the leading opponent and reformer of the scholasticism of his day, and by his more historical treatment of theology prepared the way for the later discipline of Biblical Theology. In this attempt he found a fruitful clue in the covenant idea, which he used as the organizing principle of his system.

Cocceius' leading monograph is entitled *Summa doctrinæ de fœdere et testamento Dei*, and was published at Leyden in 1648.¹ After a discussion on the meaning of the word *fœdus*, or 'covenant,' he defines the covenant of God as nothing else 'than the Divine declaration of the method (*ratio*) of perceiving the love of God and of obtaining union and communion with him' (*Opera*, Amsterdam, 1673, i. 10). It differs from human covenants in the absence of the mutual feature. God alone initiates it, yet it becomes complete only when man by God's grace binds himself to accept its provisions.²

Cocceius, like earlier theologians, distinguishes two covenants, that of works and that of grace. The sum of the former is the law, both natural and written. It is made with Adam for himself and for all his descendants, except Christ. It was abrogated in a fivefold way: (1) so far as the possibility of its fulfilment is concerned, by sin; (2) so far as its condemnation is concerned, by Christ, as set forth in the promises and apprehended by faith; (3) so far as its terror is concerned, by the promulgation of the new covenant; (4) so far as the struggle with sin is concerned, by the death of the body; and (5) so far as all its effects are concerned, by the resurrection from the dead.

The new covenant is the agreement between the Father and Christ as the second Adam, wherein God declares His purpose, in consideration of Christ's atoning sacrifice, to save certain individuals by working in them faith through the word of promise and the gift of the Spirit, and to confirm the same by the institution of the Church, with its sacraments. This covenant is set forth in various ways, both before and after the coming of Christ. It was made known to Adam in Paradise through the institution of sacrifice, and renewed to Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, and to all the people of Israel through Moses. But its most glorious promulgation was through the coming of Christ Himself in the flesh, and the full revelation of God's loving purpose which He made. In this connexion, Cocceius is led to treat at length of the difference between the economies of the OT and of the NT, and to indicate wherein the superior excellence of the NT consists.

The novelty of Cocceius' treatment consists not so much in the special ideas which he enunciates as in the detail in which they are carried out, and, above all, in the free use which he makes of the Biblical material. The idea of the twofold covenant,

¹ Later enlarged edd. 1654, 1660. The covenant is also treated at length in Cocceius' *Summa Theologiæ ex Sacris Scripturis repetita* (Leyden, 1662, Amsterdam and Geneva, 1665), of which the covenant of works forms the subject of the eighth *locus*, and the covenant of grace of the fourteenth and following *loci*.

² Cocceius distinguishes between that form of covenant in which no condition is required on man's part (e.g. the promise to Noah that day and night shall never fail) and the more usual form, which includes the stipulation of acceptance and obedience by man.

¹ Cf. pp. 114, 189. Blake's argument with Baxter turns upon the question whether faith that is short of justifying entitles to baptism, but the principles involved apply with even greater force to the more radical position taken by Blake with reference to the Lord's Supper.

² Cf. F. H. Foster, *A Genetic History of the New England Theology*, Chicago, 1907, p. 81 ff.

as we have seen, goes back to Cocceius' teacher, Matthias Martinus; the distinction of different periods within the OT dispensation is recognized by Ames, but there is a breath of freedom and of originality about Cocceius' treatment which gives it a distinction of its own. It broke away from the prevailing tradition of the contemporary scholasticism, and it called forth, as such innovations always do, bitter opposition on the part of those who sat in the seat of authority.¹ Cocceius, temperate and devout as he was, soon found himself the centre of a bitter controversy, and, what was probably the last thing in the world which he intended, the founder of a school.

Among the representatives of the school of Cocceius may be mentioned Wilhelm Momma,² Francis Burmann,³ Johann Braun,⁴ Johann van der Wayen,⁵ and Hermann Witsius.⁶ The treatise of Witsius on the economy of the covenants was early translated into English, and had many readers both in England and in America. It is one of the best sources for the knowledge of the covenant theology in its later and more developed form.⁷

After an initial discussion of the covenant in general, Witsius begins by describing the covenant of works. He takes up successively the contracting parties, the law or the condition, the promises by which it was accompanied, the penal sanction which was attached to it, and the sacraments by which it was sealed. He speaks of its violation by man's sin, and its consequent abrogation by God in favour of the new covenant of grace. Like Cocceius, Witsius distinguishes between the covenant of redemption, made by the Father with the Son, and the covenant of grace, made by God with the elect. The substance of this is set forth under the familiar theological heads of 'election,' 'effectual calling,' 'regeneration,' 'faith,' etc.; and then its different economies or dispensations in the OT and NT, with their several sacraments and ceremonies, are discussed at length.

With this treatment, the covenant theology reaches its final development. Those who come after add nothing in principle to that which has gone before.

(5) *The later history.*—It is not necessary to follow the later history in detail. Treatises on the covenant continued to be written both in England and on the Continent. Ezekiel Hopkins, Bishop of Londonderry, left the manuscript of a series of sermons on the doctrine of the two covenants, posthumously published in 1712, in which he declares that 'of all the mysterious depths in Christian religion, there is none more necessary for our information or more influential upon our practice than a right apprehension and a distinct knowledge of the doctrine of the covenants' (p. 2). Thomas Boston, a Scottish Presbyterian (1676-1732), wrote a treatise on the covenant of grace,⁸ which was often republished both in England and in America, and

¹ Among the leaders in the attack upon Cocceius were Samuel Maresius, Professor of Theology at Groningen, and Glabertus Voetius, Professor of Theology at Utrecht.

² *De varia conditione et statu ecclesiae Dei sub triplici economia patriarcharum ac Testamenti Veteris ac denique Novi*, Amsterdam, 1673, 2 vols., 4th ed., Basel, 1718.

³ *Synopsis Theologiae et specialium economiae fœderum Dei ab initio sæculorum usque ad consummationem eorum*, Utrecht, 1671.

⁴ *Doctrina fœderum, sive systema theologiae didacticæ et elementis*, Amsterdam, 1688.

⁵ *Summa theologiae christianæ*, 1689.

⁶ *De economia fœderum Dei cum hominibus libri iv.*, 1677.

⁷ Others who were influenced by Cocceius were Abraham Feldanus (1597-1678; *Corpus theologiae christianæ in xv. locos digestum*, 1686) and van Til (*Theologiae utriusque compendium cum naturalis cum revelatæ*, Leyden, 1704), though in the case of both these writers the Cartesian influence is also apparent (cf. Gass, *op. cit.* ii. 300 ff. 321, note).

⁸ *A View of the Covenant of Grace, from the Sacred Records*, posthumously published by his son, Thomas Boston. Boston also left among his papers a similar treatise on the covenant of works, which was published in 1798, with a preface by Michael Boston.

had the rare compliment paid it of being embodied with scarcely the change of a word, in a work written nearly a hundred years later (J. Colquhoun, *Treatise on the Covenant of Grace*)¹—not, indeed, without handsome acknowledgment on the part of the borrower. On the Continent, Turretin² gave the covenant idea a large place in his theology, and with his system it passed to America, to reappear in the federalism of the Princeton theologians, Charles and A. A. Hodge.³ It has continued down to our day to form one of the prominent tenets of evangelical Calvinism.⁴

On the other hand, Jonathan Edwards makes little use of the covenant idea. While the covenant is occasionally mentioned in his history of redemption, the reference is only incidental, and the idea exercises no formative influence upon the structure of the work. This is the more striking because of the extent to which Edwards holds fast to the main tenets of the older Calvinism. The reason is not far to seek. Edwards' primary interest was in the eternal law of things. Not will, but nature, was fundamental in his thought of God. To such a theology the covenant idea, born as it was of the effort to limit the Divine arbitrariness, was foreign. With the stricter predestinarians, like Crisp and Saltmarsh, the covenant idea had long been simply a form into which the wine of a very different gospel had been poured.⁵ Edwards, before all things the original thinker, was not interested in preserving a form to which there was no content to correspond. To the federal theologians, on the other hand, the covenant idea answered a real need. Their conception of freedom involved power to the contrary, both in the case of man and of God. In the former case, it was the foundation of human responsibility, and the covenant of works was conceived as a real transaction between different individuals.⁶ In the latter case, it gave free scope to the electing grace of God; and the covenant of grace, as we have already seen, had its significance as determining the channel within which God, in the exercise of His Divine sovereignty, had determined to confine the river of His grace. God might have acted otherwise, if He had chosen, so the argument ran, but He was pleased to do thus and so, and this sovereign pleasure He has made known to us through the gracious covenant into which He has entered with man through Christ.

It is, no doubt, the weakening of this conception of freedom in our day which explains the falling into the background of the covenant theology. Arbitrariness, whether on man's part or on God's, is no longer the prevailing danger against which theologians are concerned to guard, and, in a world of law, other terms than those of private agreement seem better fitted to express the profoundest and most abiding relationships between God and man. It would, however, be a mistake to minimize the services rendered by the covenant theology to Christian progress. Artificial in its account of the relation between God and man, it was in reality

¹ Edinburgh, 1818. Among others to whom the author expresses his indebtedness are the following, not hitherto mentioned in this art.: Cloppenburg, Moor, Erskine, Brown, Hervey, Gib, Muirhead, and Gill.

² Francis Turretin, *Institutio Theologiae Elencticae*, Geneva, 1679-85 (*Opera*, New York, 1847, i. 618 ff., *Locus viii.*; ii. 151 ff., *Locus xli.*).

³ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, New York, 1871-73, ii. 117 ff., 354 ff.; A. A. Hodge, *Outlines of Theology, rewritten and enlarged*, New York, 1879, pp. 809 ff., 387 ff.

⁴ Cf. the use of the covenant idea by Timothy Dwight, in his *Theology, Explained and Defended* (Middletown, 1818, i. 437, ii. 207 ff.).

⁵ Heppe (*op. cit.* i. 143 ff.) calls attention to the difference of interest which separated the early covenant theologians from the stricter predestinarians, with whose teaching their system had so much in common.

⁶ This interest appears with special clearness in the American federalists. Cf. A. A. Hodge, *op. cit.* p. 310 f., Questions 5, 9.

designed as a protest against arbitrariness. Untrustworthy in its view of the development of the Biblical religion, it helped to prepare the way for a more scientific treatment of the Biblical history. To its more earnest advocates the covenant theology, as distinct from the type of thought which it opposed, expressed the difference between a God whose purpose was known and whose character could be trusted, and a God whose nature was mysterious and whose actions were unpredictable. Few terms were richer in experimental significance to those who had been trained to understand it than that which gives its title to this article, for none more fully revealed the heart of God. Writing to his son-in-law, Fleetwood, Cromwell sends the following message to his daughter: 'Bid her be cheerful, and rejoice in the Lord, once and again; if she knows the covenant, she cannot but do so.' 'The covenant,' says Edward Leigh, in the title to his *Treatise of the Divine Promises*, Lond. 1633, 'is itself the bundle and body of all the promises.'

LITERATURE.—The more important works on the covenant have been cited in the article. On the Biblical usage, see A. B. Davidson, *Theol. of OT*, Edin. 1904, p. 239 ff., and his art. 'Covenant,' in *HDB*; art. 'Covenant,' in *EBI*; R. Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundestheologie im AT*, Marburg, 1896; Valetton, in *ZATW* xii. [1892] 1-22, 224-226, xiii. [1893] 245-279; A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, Freiburg, 1896, pp. 46, 87 ff., 176, 214; W. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, London, 1894, pp. 269 ff., 312 ff., 479 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, art. 'Covenant,' in *Expositor*, 6th ser. viii. (Nov. 1898), 521-536.

On the history of the covenant theology in general, cf. Diestel, 'Studien zur Föderaltheologie,' *Jahrb. f. deutsch. Theol.* x. [Gotha, 1865] 309 ff.; T. M. Lindsay, art. 'Covenant Theology,' in the *Brit. and For. Evangel. Review*, July 1879, p. 521 ff.; G. F. Fisher, *Discussions in History and Theology*, N.Y., 1889, pp. 355-409; M. Schneckenburger, *Vergleichende Darstellung des luther. und reform. Lehrbegriffs*, Stuttgart, 1855, ii. 140 ff.; J. H. A. Ebrard, *Christl. Dogmatik*, Königsberg, 1863, i. 77 ff.; and the relevant sections in the histories of W. Gass (*Gesch. der prot. Dogmatik in ihrem Zusammenhange mit der Theol. überhaupt*, Berlin, 1887, ii. 234 ff.), and A. Schweizer (*Die Glaubenslehre der evangel.-reform. Kirche*, Zürich, 1844, i. 103 ff.). Cf. also Emanuel Graf von Korf, *Die Anfänge der Föderaltheologie und ihre erste Ausgestaltung in Zürich und Holland*, Bonn, 1908.

The most reliable account of the beginnings of the covenant theology in Germany is found in H. Hepp, *Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantismus im 16ten Jahrhundert*, Gotha, 1857, i. 139 ff., 188 ff., in which a full description is given of the content of many works otherwise inaccessible to English readers. The theology of Cocceius and his school is fully discussed in the works of Gass and of Diestel, already mentioned, where references to the literature may be found. On the covenant theology in Puritanism, cf. C. G. McCrie, *The Confessions of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1907, p. 86 ff.; A. F. Mitchell, *The Theology of the Reformed Church, with special reference to the Westminster Standards* (in Report of Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Churches, 1880, p. 477).

Besides the works cited in the text may be mentioned F. Gomarus, *De Fœderis Dei*, 1594; Wendelin, *Systema Majus*, 1656; J. Ball, *Treatise on the Covenant of Grace*, 1645; Burgess, *Vindicia Legis* (referred to by Blake, in his *Covenant Sealed*); Cotton, *The Covenant of God's Free Grace* (1645); and S. Charnock, *Discourse of God's being the Author of Reconciliation* (Nichol's ed. of the Puritans), iii. 371 ff. H. Malcom, in his *Theological Index* (references to the principal works in every department of religious literature), Boston, 1895), p. 180, gives the titles of a number of works not accessible to the present writer, but without exact description (e.g. Hulsemann, *De Pacto Dei*; Musæus, *De Pacto Dei cum Hominitibus*; Bostock, *On the Covenant of Grace*; Bell, *Covenant of Grace and of Works*; Dixon, *Nature of the Two Covenants*; Taylor, *On the Covenant of Grace*; Kelley, *The Divine Covenants*, etc.).

A good monograph on the history of the covenant theology is still a desideratum. W. ADAMS BROWN.

COVETOUSNESS.—Covetousness in its most general meaning expresses an eager desire to gain some possession on which the heart is set. At first the desire, though strong, may be innocent and even commendable. Thus Caxton says (Geoffroy de la Tour-Landry, i. ii.): 'She ever coveted the pees and love of her lord,' and Shakespeare represents the King in *Henry V.* (Act iv. Sc. 3) as saying:

¹Letter 199, Carlyle's edition, quoted by Lindsay, in *Brit. and For. Evangel. Rev.*, July 1879, p. 521 ff.

'By Jove, I am not covetous for gold,
Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost;
It yearns me not if men my garments wear;
Such outward things dwell not in my desires:
But if it be a sin to covet honour,
I am the most offending soul alive.'

In the AV of the Bible the word 'covet' is commonly of evil significance, but it is also used to translate words of good import. Thus in 1 Co 12³¹ we have St. Paul's exhortation, 'Covet [RV "Desire"] earnestly the best gifts.' Keen desire, however, was usually associated with unworthy objects, and Hobbes (*Leviathan*, i. vi. 26) went so far as to declare: 'Desire of Riches [is called] Covetousness: a name used alwayes in signification of blame.'

In distinction from avarice (*q.v.*), covetousness emphasizes the desire for things not possessed; avarice, the undue retention of actual possessions. Thus, in covetousness the very desire may constitute an evil, and possibly St. Paul, in his declaration of the way in which sin came home to him (Ro 7⁷), dwells upon the part played by the Tenth Commandment in the process, because inordinate desires are there condemned. The possessions sought may not be an evil in themselves, but the heart's desire may be unduly set upon them. An all-absorbing passion for material possessions may be restrained by the experience of their inability to constitute real happiness in life, and by the knowledge that, sooner or later, all material things must be left behind at death; but this passion is effectively curbed only when a still more passionate desire for the nobler possessions of mind and spirit and life lays hold of the heart.

The evil in covetousness may be due, however, not merely to the strength of the desire, but to the fact that the object of desire is the possession of some one else. It may be noble to seek to possess the spiritual insight or the Christian grace of another, for the imparting of such a gift ennobles and enriches both giver and receiver; but to desire a neighbour's land or goods is to seek his impoverishment. When Ahab coveted Naboth's vineyard (1 K 21), and David coveted Uriah's wife (2 S 11), they fell into deadly sin, and similar desires bring shame and guilt on those who cherish them. When these desires are expressed in acts, they are condemned by the law as crimes. True restraint is exercised only when the rights of others are recognized and honoured.

The very spring of covetousness is found in the common experience that what is not possessed seems always most desirable. The virtues and defects of actual possessions are known by the owners, but the blessings that are beyond reach are painted by the imagination in glowing colours, and incite the heart to ardent desire. This tendency has led to some noble achievements, but it is also the source of amusing comedies, and of many of the deepest tragedies of life. The very opposite state of mind is happily represented in the reply that James Smetham gave to a friend when he was asked to go to Rome and Venice:

'I suppose I ought to wish to go with you to Rome and Venice. . . . Nothing but a sense of duty will ever drive me to Rome and Venice. My difficulty is to appreciate our little back-garden, our copper beech, our weeping ash, our little nailed-up rose tree, and twisting yellow creepers' (*Letters of James Smetham*, London, 1892, p. 86 f.).

LITERATURE.—H. L. Martensen, *Christian Ethics* (General), Edin. 1885, p. 106 ff.; Newman Smyth, *Christian Ethics*, Edin. 1902, p. 395; J. Oswald Dykes, *The Manifesto of the King*, London, 1887, p. 450. D. MACRAE TOD.

COW (Hindu).¹—The belief in the sanctity of the cow, which is a very prominent feature of Hinduism, seems to have been inherited by the Indians from pre-historic times, before they and

¹For the place of the cow in other religions, see *art. ANIMALS* in vol. i. p. 506 ff.

the Iranians had separated. In the Avesta¹ we meet with a Divine being called *geus urvan* (or Goshurun), lit. 'the soul of the cow,' who is regarded as the personification and guardian of living beings. Similarly, in the R̥gveda the mystical relation between the cow and the universe is several times alluded to.² It is further developed in the Atharvaveda, one hymn of which (x. 10) is addressed to Vāśā, the prototype of cows, and a kind of generating principle of the universe; and another (iv. 11) to Anadvān, the primeval ox, to whom a similar function is attributed. In Vedic times the word *go*, 'cow,' was used to express some other ideas, not merely in an allegorical way, but rather in a mystical sense so as to suggest a mysterious connexion between them and the cow. Thus in the *Naighaṇṭuka* (the ancient list of Vedic synonyms, on which Yāska commented in the *Nirukta*) the word *go*, which originally and usually denotes 'cow,' is given as a synonym of (1) earth, (2) heaven, (3) rays of light, (4) speech, and (5) singer.³ The Earth especially was conceived under the figure of a cow, and is so represented in later mythology. This idea goes back to the Vedic *Samhitās*. In a hymn, or rather a prose piece, of the Atharvaveda (viii. 10), Virāj, who 'verily was this universe in the beginning,' is extolled, and she is said to have come to various classes of beings; in paragraphs 22-29 she comes to Divine beings and men, who milk from her things characteristic of their functions—the milker, the calf,⁴ and the milking-vessel being stated in each case. Paragraph 24 runs thus:

'She ascended; she came to men; men called to her: "O rich in cheer, come!" of her Manu son of Vivasvat was sprung [lit. "calf"]; earth was vessel; her Pṛthvi son of Vena milked; from her he milked both cultivation and grain.'⁵

This passage contains the germ of a myth which has been fully developed in the Purāṇas.⁶

Pṛthvi, son of Vena, having been constituted universal monarch, desired to recover for his subjects edible plants, which, during the preceding period of anarchy, had all perished. He therefore assailed the Earth, which, assuming the form of a cow, fled from him and traversed all the heavenly regions. At last she yielded to him, and promised to fecundate the soil with her milk. Thereupon Pṛthvi fastened the surface of the earth with his bow, uprooting and thrusting away hundreds and thousands of mountains. Having made Svāyambhuva Manu, the calf, he milked the Earth, and received the milk into his own hand, for the benefit of mankind. Thence proceeded all kinds of corn and vegetables upon which people subsist now and always. By granting life to the Earth, Pṛthvi was as her father; and she thence derived the patronymic appellation *Pṛthivī* ('daughter of Pṛthvi'). Then the gods, the sages, the demons, the Rākṣasas, the Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Pīṭras, serpents, mountains, and trees took a milking vessel suited to their kind, and milked the Earth of appropriate milk. And the milker and the calf were both peculiar to their own species.⁷

This story is most frequently alluded to in classical Sanskrit literature. In legends and popular stories the Earth is occasionally said to assume the figure of a cow, especially in times of distress, and to implore the gods for help, or to give advice to a king or queen, to whom she appears in a dream. Again, the mythical identification of the Earth with a cow furnishes the basis of many poetical conceits, e.g. that a king should milk the Earth tenderly in order to get plentiful revenue, etc. (see

¹ e.g. *Yasna*, xxviii. 1, xdx. 5. 9 (for a complete list of references, see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.* 1640 (Strassburg, 1901); or also the Pahlavi texts translated in *SBZ* v. 201, 163, 402, xvi. 380, xxxvii. 237 ff.

² e.g. i. 163, 3, viii. 90. 15, x. 11. 1. On the cow in the period of the R̥gveda, see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythol.* (= *GIAP* iii. 1a), Strassburg, 1897, Index, s.v. 'Cow,' 'Cows'; and Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 221 ff.

³ *Naigh.* i. 4, 5, ii. iii. 18. Classical lexicographers attribute still further meanings to the word *go*; e.g. Hemachandra in the *Anekārthasamgraha* (i. 6) enumerates the following meanings: sun, water, eye, heaven, heavenly quarter, kine, ray of light, thunderbolt, earth, arrow, and speech.

⁴ The Hindus suppose that a cow yields milk only in the presence of her calf.

⁵ Harvard Oriental Series, viii. 514.

⁶ The account in the text is from the *Vṛṣa Purāṇa* (Wilson's tr., London, 1864-70, i. ch. xiii.). More details given in other Purāṇas are mentioned in Wilson, i. 188 ff.

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Böhtlingk-Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterb.*, St. Petersburg, 1855-75, s.v. 'Go,' 12).

The identification of cow and speech has not given rise to popular myths, but, as speech is regarded as something Divine in origin and holy in character, it added to the sanctity of the cow, though this identification was perhaps due not so much to a popular association of ideas as to a chance similarity of sound between the two words *go*, 'cow,' and *gā*, 'to sing,' or perhaps *gir* 'speech.'

The sanctity of the cow, which has been shown to underlie certain ancient mythical conceptions, has a practical bearing on religion. It was considered a heinous sin to kill a cow or to eat her flesh. A well-known verse¹ says: 'All that kill, eat, and permit the slaughter of, cows, rot in hell for as many years as there are hairs on the body of the cow so slain.' The same feeling is already present, but not yet so strongly developed, in Vedic times. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, when prohibiting the eating of the flesh of the cow (iii. 1, 2, 21), adds the interesting statement: 'Yajñavalkya said: "I, for one, eat it, provided that it is tender." And the *Grhya Sūtras* permit the slaughter of a cow on the arrival of a guest, especially at a wedding or a sacrifice. But this ancient practice was given up in later times, when substitutes for the flesh of a cow became the rule in the entertainment of guests.²

In the Great Epic the sacredness of the cow is a firmly established fact. Chapters 69-82 of the *Anuśāsana parvan* of the *Mahābhārata*,³ which chiefly treat of the giving of cows and the merit acquired by it, contain much curious information about the religious ideas regarding the cow, which became deeply engrained in the Hindu mind through the superstitious veneration of the cow. The reason alleged for its sacredness is that cows are the essential requisites for sacrifice, and that 'with their milk and with the Havis manufactured therefrom they uphold all creatures of the universe' (81. 2); they are themselves sacred and capable of cleansing others. Not only are the cows themselves sacred, but the five products of the cow (*pañcagavya*)—milk, curds, ghi, dung, and urine—are means of purifying man, and are used in many ways for that purpose, some of which are rather disgusting. But the pious are told 'never to feel any repugnance for the urine and the dung of the cow' (ib. 78. 17). A curious myth relating to the latter item is told in the *Mahābhārata* (xiii. 82):

Śrī, the goddess of Fortune, who had left the demons for the gods, came to the cows, desiring to reside in them. They would, however, have nothing to do with that fickle deity, but in the end they were moved by her entreaties and consented to honour her: 'Do thou live in our urine and dung; both these are sacred, O auspicious goddess!'

Cows are the daughters of the heavenly Surabhi ('the fragrant one,' so called from the peculiar smell of cows), who was created by Prajāpati from his breath (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 5. 2, 6). This notion gives rise to the following myth:⁴

Dakṣa the creator, for the sake of the beings he had created drank a quantity of nectar. He became gratified with the nectar he had quaffed, and thereupon an eruption came out, diffusing an excellent perfume all round. As the result of that eruption, Dakṣa saw that it gave birth to a cow which he called Surabhi. This Surabhi was thus a daughter of his, which had sprung from his mouth. The cow called Surabhi brought forth a number of cows, which came to be regarded as the mothers of the world.⁵

¹ *Mahābhārata*, xiii. 74. 4.

² The ancient practice was noticed by a writer of the 7th cent., Bhavabhūti, in his dramatic play *Uttararāmacharita*, 4th Act; but, as the scene is laid in the remote past, we cannot draw any conclusion from it with regard to the usage at the time of the author.

³ We quote from Pratāpa Chandra Ray's translation (Calcutta, 1893).

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, xiii. 77.

There is also a cow-heaven, Goloka, the residence of Surabhi. Once the mother of cows practised austerities, and so pleased Brahmā by her freedom from cupidity that he granted her immortality and assigned her as residence a region above the three worlds, the famous Goloka, while her daughters live among men. In another account,¹ however, Surabhi is said to dwell in Rasātala, the lowest region in the nether world, and to have for daughters the Dikpālīs, or goddesses presiding over the heavenly quarters. The cow-heaven, Goloka, is frequently mentioned in the epics and the Purāṇas. It is described as a kind of paradise, a most beautiful place of the greatest splendour and happiness, which can be attained only by the most pious and virtuous, especially by givers of cows and by their worshippers. For the cow became the centre of a peculiar worship, with proper *mantras* (*Mahābhārata*, xiii. 80. 1-3, 78. 24f.) and rites.² The devotees had to recite the names of the cows, and to bow their heads in reverence to them (*ib.* 78. 16), and they were enjoined to subsist on the five products of the cow, to bathe, using cow dung at the time, etc. For some religious purposes the devotee has to live and to sleep among cows in a cow-pen, or to follow a cow everywhere, as did Dilpa in the story told in the second book of the *Raghuvamśa*.

Lastly, attention may be called to the story according to which Kṛṣṇa, one of the most popular gods of India, passed his youth among cowherds and became the lover of the *gopīs*, their daughters, especially of the lovely Rādhā. This fact illustrates the high reputation which resulted from the connexion with cows, since even herdsmen were thought the fit guardians and companions of the highest god.

Reverence for the cow has not diminished in modern times.³ It is well known that the Hindus of the present day are filled with horror at the slaughter of the cow, which is therefore prohibited in native States under treaties with the English.

LITERATURE.—The literature is given in the article.

H. JACOBI.

COYOTEROS.—The Coyoterōs are a tribal division of the Apaches (*q.v.*), said by Drake (*Indian Tribes of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1884, i. 424) to have been the largest and fiercest of all the Apache tribes, although, owing to the indiscriminate method in which tribal names have been applied, it is difficult to make certain that other tribes are not included in the estimate of its size. The original home of the Coyoterōs was on the head-waters of the Gila, between that river and San Carlos; but they were of nomadic habits, and ranged through Arizona and western New Mexico. Geographically, they are divided into two groups—Pinal Coyoterōs and White Mountain Coyoterōs. The greater number of them are now located on the San Carlos reservation, with other tribes of the Apaches. They took a prominent part in the rebellion caused by the discontent which followed when the Apaches were moved from their tribal grounds to a reservation.

The Spanish name *Coyotero* is said to have been given them on account of the fact that they subsisted partly on the flesh of coyotes, or prairie wolves (Hardy, *Travels in the Interior of Mexico*, London, 1829, p. 430, quoted by Bancroft, *NR* i. 474). Ruxton (*Journ. Ethnol. Soc. Lond.*, 1st ser., ii. 95 [1850]) calls them *coyoterōs*, or 'wolf-eaters.' It is suggested, however, that the name may have been derived from their roving and unsettled habits (Hodge, *Handbook*, p. 356). Among the

¹ *Mahābhārata*, iii. 102. For other references to Goloka, see Bēhtlingk-Roth, *s.v.*

² Cf., further, Hillebrandt, *Rituālit.* (= *GIAP* iii. 2), Strassburg, 1897, p. 88.

³ See the very full discussion of this subject in *PR* ii. 226 f.

Tonto Apaches they are known as *Palāwi* or *Pawitlka* (Gatschet, *Yuma-Spr.* i. [1883] 371, 411; *ZE* xv. 123), while the Navaho name for them was *Silkā*, 'on the mountain' (ten Kate, *Synonymie*, Amsterdam, 1884, p. 6).

In culture they did not differ materially from the other Apaches. Among the Apache tribes themselves, distinctions were recognized in the character of the weapons, the distinguishing mark of the Coyoterōs being the method of winging the arrows. These bore three feathers on the shaft, which was of reed, finished with hard wood and tipped with iron or flint (Cremony, *Life among the Apaches*², San Francisco, 1877, p. 103). Like other members of the Athapascan linguistic stock, they readily assimilated the culture of neighbouring tribes; and, just as the Lipan followed the Comanche, the Pinal Coyoterōs showed traces of Pueblo customs. Their nomadic habits, as well as the character of the country, were unfavourable to any great advance in civilization, while their habitat in Sierra Blanca was peculiarly adapted to the raids by which, like other Apaches, they acquired food and wealth. Their captives were held as slaves until ransomed or sold. The Pinal-eños earned an unenviable notoriety by their success in this tribal pursuit (see Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Travels in New Mexico*, New York, 1854). Apaches are divided into clans, but these are not totemic. Their names are taken, not from animals, but from natural features of their locality. Affiliation of the clans in different tribes is recognized. Among the Coyoterōs, clans have been recorded, counterparts of which have been found among other Apache divisions and also among the Navahos; while Bourke (*JAF* l. iii. [1890] 112) records a number of identifications between the White Mountain Apaches and the Pinal Coyoterōs.

The Apaches displayed little care in the disposal of their dead. The method followed by the Coyoterōs is described by H. C. Yarrow ('A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians,' *1 RB&W*, 1881, p. 111f.), who says they take the least possible trouble. A hole in the ground made by a tree stump or a stone is found, and into this they cram the body, partially wrapped up. The stone or stump is then rolled back. They mourn for thirty days, uttering loud lamentations at intervals; but, he adds, unless they are reminded of it, this is frequently forgotten.

LITERATURE.—References to the Coyoterōs are scattered through the literature dealing with the Apaches (see above, and at end of art. APACHES, in vol. I.); cf. also especially footnotes, *passim*, in Bancroft, *NE*; and F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (= *Bull.* 30 *BE*, Washington, 1907), pt. 1, under 'Apache' and 'Coyotero.'

E. N. FALLAIZE.

CREATION.—I. The conception in primitive heathenism.—The principle of causality is a necessary category of thought. The desire for knowledge of the nature and origin of things is inborn. It stimulates the eager wonder and prompts the clamorous questions of every child and savage. Primitive man is philosophical in so far as he does not take things as a matter of course, as he makes the phenomena around him objects of reflexion, as he is keen to understand how everything came about. He is mentally a child, with a child's vague fears of the unknown, a child's love of a thrilling tale, and a child's readiness to be satisfied with any explanation, however grotesque and absurd, of the things which arouse his interest. Curiosity and credulity are the characteristics of the primitive mind, and the roots of all mythology, which has not inaptly been called 'primitive metaphysics.' At the same time it has to be remembered that the childhood of the race included the maturity of the individual, and in not a few creation-myths

there are features which reflect the vices and passions of grown men as well as the simplicity of children. The theories of the savage are of necessity like their inventor, matching his barbaric manners and customs, his crude emotions and rude conduct. Primitive man stands helpless in the midst of a universe of which he knows not the laws, but he is of imagination all compact, and therefore never at a loss for an answer to the questions which are the subject-matter of science and philosophy. He can explain the phenomena of Nature, the making of the universe, the descent of man. The background of all myths is the experience of primitive man interpreted by himself. The tales he spins, the theories he invents, may be grave or gay, prosaic or poetical, attractive or repulsive, clever or absurd; enough if they satisfy him. He does not know how defective is his logic, how riotous his fancy. He is experimenting in thought as best he can, and 'the science of the modern *savant* has been evolved out of the errors of the simple savage' (Jevons, *Introd.* p. 9).

But the problem of origins has to be solved by religion as well as by philosophy, though it is approached from a different side and in a different spirit. Man has not only a speculative, but a religious instinct. Religion is one of his native vital forces, without which he would have what Schelling termed 'an original atheism of consciousness.' No one can manufacture his religion, which is a native personal datum; all that he requires is the due exercise and cultivation of Nature's supreme gift. It is this element in the common consciousness of all generations which makes the search for a Creator a continuous pursuit. The question whether 'the savage state . . . represents an early condition of mankind' (Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* i. 32), or whether we might 'as well judge the wine by the dregs as primitive man by the savage' (Gwatkin, *Knowledge of God*, 1908, i. 253), may be left open. For in the genuine products of the religious sense, uncontaminated by the fancies of the mythopoetic faculty, there seems to be no contrast of high and low. Increasing research into the mental habits of the least advanced races of mankind now living tends to demonstrate that, side by side with the most foolish, tedious, and often repulsive myths, there is almost invariably a high, if vague, conception of a good Being who is the Maker of all things, the undying Guardian of the moral life of men. The evidence is presented with adequate thoroughness and with literary charm in the writings of Andrew Lang and F. B. Jevons.

A. Lang stands in wonder before 'the high gods of low races' (*Making of Religion*², p. 173 ff.). He must needs smile at the opinion expressed by Flint in the earlier days of Comparative Religion (in *Faiths of the World*, Edin. 1882, p. 413), that 'at the bottom of the religious scale . . . it is always easy to see how wretchedly the divine is conceived of . . . how little conscious of his own true wants . . . is the poor worshipper' (*ib.* p. 253). He is convinced that the animistic theory of Spencer and Tylor does not fit the facts. 'The high gods of savages are not ghosts' (p. 250). 'It is a positive fact that among some of the lowest savages there exists, not a doctrinal and abstract Monotheism, but a belief in a moral, powerful, kindly creative Being, while this belief is found in juxtaposition with ghosts, totems, fetiches, and so on' (p. 254 f.). Lang presents 'an array of moral and august savage supreme Beings'; and he believes that 'an old, nay, an obsolete theory—that of degeneration in religion—has facts at its basis, which its very supporters have ignored, which orthodoxy has overlooked' (p. 252).

He finds that 'the belief in relatively pure creative beings, whether they are morally adored, without sacrifice, or merely neglected, is so widely diffused that Anthropology must ignore them, or account for them as "loan-gods," or—give up her theory' (*ib.* p. 225). He observes that the idea of a Good Maker, once reached, becomes 'the germ of future theism,' and he seeks the highest confirmation of his theory in the religion of Israel, which is 'probably a revival and purification of the old conception of a moral, beneficent creator, whose creed had been involved in sacrifice and anthropomorphic myth' (Lang, *Myth, Rit. and Rel.* i. 329).

Unfortunately this involution of religion in

mythology is all but universal. When primitive man tries to explain *how* the world was made, his speculative faculty lands him in all kinds of error and confusion; his theories are incredibly childish and whimsical.

'Savages begin . . . by mythically regarding various animals, spiders, grasshoppers, ravens, eagles, cockatoos, as the creators or recoverers of the world. As civilization advances, those animals still perform their beneficent functions, but are looked on as gods in disguise' (*ib.* i. 241 f.).

Bunjl, the South Australian maker of men and things, is identified with the eagle-hawk; Cagn, the Bushman Creator, with the mantis-insect; and even Brahmā or Vishnu, with a boar, a fish, or a tortoise. Among the native tribes of America the hawk, the coyote, or the musk-rat is the demiurge; among others the crow, the raven, or the hare plays the chief rôle in the task of creation. If the Creator does not partake of the character of a totem or worshipful beast, he is identified with a wizard or medicine-man. Every race has had its legendary account of the origin of things, and, while creation-myths can never be far in advance of the ideas and sentiments of a people, they may, and often do, lag far behind. Religious conservatism makes adult nations slow to put away the childish things that faith has once consecrated. If a creation-legend has found its *vates sacer*, and been incorporated with the ritual of the altar, scarcely anything short of a miracle is strong enough to charm it from the popular mind.

2. The conception in civilized paganism.—All the early ideas of creation are, of course, geocentric. The 'earth' of which mythology offers an account may be but a circle of hills and valleys known to some wandering tribe. But the great phenomena of Nature—sun, moon, and stars, day and night, storm-wind and thunder-cloud, birds and beasts and men—are much the same everywhere, and they form the warp and woof of all cosmogonies. In spite of immense diversities of detail, there is a family likeness in the creation-myths of the world. Nothing is more striking than the parallelism between Hesiod's savage stories and those of the Maoris and Mangaians of to-day. The primitive mind, working on the same materials, seems everywhere to evolve the same crude and infantine speculations regarding the origin of things. Cf. the artt. on COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY.

(1) *Egypt*.—The religious history of Egypt, extending over many thousands of years, is the history of a theism almost choked by an animism which deified beasts and birds and trees. The priests of the temples, who were the advanced thinkers of the nation, endeavoured to be true to the high theistic tradition, and therefore chose to regard the innumerable popular gods as only various manifestations of the one Divine creative energy. Even the priests were henotheists rather than monotheists, worshipping one god as if there were no other, ascribing to him all the highest attributes of deity, but without any idea of logically denying the reality of other gods. Ptah, the chief god of Memphis, whom the Greeks identified with Hephaestus, was called by his priests the 'master-artisan,' i.e. the Creator. At Elephantine, in the clay district beside the cataracts, Khnum was the demiurge, who moulded his creatures like a potter. At Hermopolis it was Thoth who made the world, speaking it into existence. 'That which flows from his mouth, happens, and that which he speaks, comes into being.'

The following hymns date from at least 2000 B.C. (1) To Amon-Ra: 'Hail to thee, maker of all things, lord of law, father of the gods; maker of men, creator of beasts. . . . The one without a second . . . king alone, single among the gods.' (2) To Ptah: 'To him is due the work of the hands, the walking of the feet, the sight of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the breathing of the nostrils, the courage of the heart, the vigour of the hand, activity in body and in the mouth of all the gods

and men, and of all living animals: intelligence and speech, whatever is in the heart and whatever is on the tongue' (Renouf, *Orig. and Growth of Rel. of Anc. Egypt*, p. 220).

In a papyrus in Turin, the following words are put into the mouth of 'the almighty God, the self-existing': 'I am the maker of heaven and of the earth, I raise its mountains and the creatures which are upon it: I make the waters. . . . I am the maker of heaven, and of the mysteries of the twofold horizon. It is I who have given to all the gods the soul which is within them. When I open my eyes, there is light; when I close them, there is darkness. I make the hours, and the hours come into existence. I am Chepera in the morning, Râ at noon, Tâui in the evening' (ib. p. 221 f.). And the following is an extract from a hymn preserved in the museum at Bulak: 'Hail to thee, Amon-Râ . . . lord of all existences, the support of things, the support of all things. The One in his works, single among the gods. . . . Lord of truth, father of the gods; maker of men, creator of beasts. . . . Most glorious one, chief maker of the earth after his image, how great are his thoughts above every God! Atnu, maker of men . . . giving them life . . . listening to the poor who is in distress, gentle of heart when one cries unto him' (ib. 225).

In Egypt, however, as everywhere, the mythical mingled with the religious, the irrational with the rational. See COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Egyptian).

(2) *India*.—The problem of the origin of things naturally fascinated 'the brooding mind of India.' For ages the East was 'plunged in thought,' and brought up a few pearls, with many empty shells, from the depths. 'Some of the hymns of the Rig-veda are, if not monotheistic, at least henotheistic in their pure and lofty idea of creation. Varuna is praised as the maker of all things:

Truly admirable for grandeur are the works of Him who has separated the two worlds and fixed their vast extent: of Him who has set in motion the high and sublime firmament, who has spread out the heavens above and the earth beneath. . . . This Asura (Lord), who is acquainted with all things, has propped up these heavens, he has fixed the boundaries of the earth. He is enthroned above all the worlds, universal king; all the laws of the world are the laws of Varuna. . . . Between this earth and the sublime heaven above, all things, O Varuna, are of thy creation' (Darmesteter, *Sol. Essays*, p. 234).

But in India, too, we see the inevitable conflict between religion and mythology, with religion often defeated and defiled. The gods of the Vedas are, on the whole, of the usual polytheistic type, and side by side with the majestic hymns of creation we find a crowd of fanciful, humorous, often obscene, myths of the making of the world, all in flagrant contradiction with every pure religious conception. See COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian).

The advanced thinkers of the *Vedānta* accepted a philosophy of idealism, and carried it so far as to affirm that the world of phenomena had no real existence; to the enlightened it was all illusion; only to the soul which was entangled in the deception of the senses did it still appear real. Instead of explaining the universe, they explained it away, and they did not deem it necessary to answer the question, 'Who created *maya*?'

(3) *Persia*.—The Avesta, the sacred book of the Persians, begins with the words, 'I proclaim and worship Ahura Mazda, the Creator.' The religious poetry of Persia does not stop short of monotheism, while its mythology and theology teach a dualism of the most pronounced type.

'It is through me,' says Ahura to his prophet, Zoroaster, 'that the firmament, with its distant boundaries . . . subsists without pillars to rest upon; it is through me that the earth, through me that the sun, the moon, and the stars take their radiant course through the atmosphere: it was I who formed the seeds in such a manner that, when sown in the earth, they should grow,' etc. (Darmesteter, *op. cit.*, p. 238).

Much more poetical is the following piece, which in its eager questioning singularly resembles Job 38-39:

'Reveal to me the truth, O Ahura! What was the beginning of the good creation?
Who is the father, who, at the beginning of time, begat Order?
Who has traced for the sun and the stars the paths that they must follow?
Who makes the moon increase and decrease? . . .
Who has fixed the earth and the immovable stars to establish them firmly, so that they might not fall? Who has fixed the waters and the trees?

Who has directed the rapid course of the wind and of the clouds? What skilful artist has made the light and the darkness! . . .

Those are the things that I wish to ask Thee, O Mazda, G. beneficent Spirit, O Creator of all things!' (ib. p. 290 f.).

The theology of Persia teaches that from the beginning the kingdoms of Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda, 'the Lord Wisdom') and Ahriman (Angra Mainyu, 'destructive spirit') were independent of each other. Ormuzd created this material world as a kind of rampart between the two invisible realms. Heaven and its lights were first made by his word; then, in succession, the waters, the solid land, the plants, the animals, and, lastly, man. But his rival tried to undo all the work, to spoil the fair creation. He confronted light with darkness, he pitted demons against angels, and to life, love, virtue, and truth he opposed error, vice, hatred, and death. Since then, the history of the world has been the history of the conflict between the two kingdoms of good and evil, wherein this earth is the broad field of battle. See, further, COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Iranian).

Lagarde and other scholars have strongly maintained that the Hebrew cosmogony in Gn 1 is in some respects dependent on the Persian creation-story, particularly as regards the order of events; but it is more probable that the Persian influence on Israel did not begin till after the time of the writing of the Priestly Document to which Gn 1 belongs. Be that as it may, the Persian dualism, with its eternally opposed principles of light and darkness, good and evil, had its obvious parallels in Greek thought, and was revived in Manichæism, while even shrewd thinkers like J. S. Mill have thought that the defects of the universe can be best explained by supposing the Creator hampered through the insufficiency and intractableness of the materials with which He had to work (J. S. Mill, *Three Essays on Religion*, Lond. ed. 1904, pp. 178, 186).

(5) *Greece*.—See COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Greek).

3. The Biblical conception.—The OT has three types of ideas regarding the Creation, embedded in three strata of its literature. (1) The first is found in Gn 2nd-3rd. The narrative has all the fresh charm of the ancient writing (J) to which it belongs. It is full of naive anthropomorphisms, representing God as moulding, breathing, planting, walking, and it undoubtedly has a background of popular mythology. But the writer adorns whatever he touches, transfusing old legends with a new spirit, so that 'in depth of moral and religious insight the passage is unsurpassed in the OT' (Skinner, *Genesis*, 52). There is no attempt here to represent the creation of 'heaven and earth'; these are taken for granted; speculation is not yet advanced enough to grapple with such magnitudes. The whole interest centres in the making first of man, and then of a pleasant and fruitful place for his abode. See, further, COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Heb.).

(2) Another type of creation doctrine is found in the Deutero-Isaiah. It was the mission of this prophet to comfort Israel in her exile, and he fulfils it by giving her a lofty conception of God the Creator. He teaches that Jahweh is not merely the God of Israel, but the only God, who brought all things into being by a free act of creation. 'Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand? . . . Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created these' (Is 40^{12, 26}). Jahweh is greater than the infinite sea and sky. It was this prophet who made the creatorship of Jahweh a fundamental Jewish belief, and it is to be noted that in his doctrine there is not the faintest echo of the old creation-legends, not the remotest suggestion of a primeval chaos, or of a conflict between light and darkness, to say nothing of a slaying of 'dragons of the prime.' As if to lay the ghosts of all such superstitions, he makes the God of creation say: 'I am Jahweh, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil: I am Jahweh, that doeth all these things' (Is 45⁷).

Pure religion has gained an absolute victory over mythology.

(3) The third type of cosmogony is found in Gn 1. This majestic prologue to the Bible belongs to those Priestly Writings (P) of the post-exilic period which form the greater part of the Hexateuch. Our interpretation of the opening sentences is affected by our solution of a difficult and delicate problem of syntax. Most scholars now read the passage thus:

'When God began to create the heaven and the earth—the earth being without form and void, and darkness being upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God brooding upon the face of the waters—God said, Let there be light, and there was light.'

If this exegesis is correct, the writer teaches a dualism. He thinks of a dark watery chaos existing before the creation began, and gives it the mythical name *Tēhōm* ('the Deep'), which is evidently the Heb. equivalent of the Bab. *Tiamāt*. This is the first of many parallels between the two famous Epics of creation. See, further, COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Heb.).

The doctrine of a creation out of nothing—*ex nihilo*—is nowhere expressly taught in Holy Scripture. The first near approach to it occurs in the words of the mother of the Maccabees: *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεός* (2 Mac 7²³), which are too definitely rendered by the Vulgate: *ex nihilo fecit illa Deus*. The Wisdom of Solomon, on the other hand, distinctly reproduces the Platonic doctrine of the creation of the world 'out of formless matter,' *ἐξ ἀμορφου ὕλης* (11¹⁷). In the NT the Divine creation of the world is presupposed in many sayings of our Lord and His Apostles, as in those which mention the foundation of the world (Mt 25³⁴, Lk 11⁵⁰, Jn 17²⁴, Eph 1⁴, He 4³, 1 P 1²⁰), the creation of man and woman (Mt 19⁴⁻⁶, Ac 17²⁴⁻²⁶, 1 Ti 2¹³); and those which represent Him as the Maker of heaven and earth (Mt 11²⁵, Lk 10²¹, Ac 17²⁴), the Source of all things (Ro 11³⁶, 1 Co 8⁶, Eph 4⁹), the Father who through the Son made the world (Jn 1³, Col 1¹⁶⁻¹⁸, He 1³). Faith grasps the fact 'that the worlds have been framed by the word (*λόγος*) of God; so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear' (*ὃν ἐκ φανερῶν*, He 11³).

4. The Greek conception.—While the old cosmogonic myths were fading in the light of the pure religion of Israel, the wise men of Greece were turning upon them the light of philosophy. The great decisive step which the Ionian cosmologists took once for all consisted, as Grote and Zeller have shown, in the substitution of impersonal causes acting according to law in place of personal causes acting arbitrarily. Burnet expresses the matter by simply saying that they 'left off telling tales.' This was the beginning of a new era in the evolution of thought, and 'history teaches that science has never existed except among those peoples which the Greeks have influenced' (*Early Greek Phil.*, 1892, pp. 8, 27). For details of Greek speculation, see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Greek).

5. The dogmatic conception.—Till recent times the Church's doctrine of creation was based on the acceptance of Gn 1 as literal history, and particularly on an ungrammatical exegesis of the first three verses. Most of the Fathers, the scholastics, and the Protestant theologians believed that the world was miraculously created out of nothing, in six days, some six thousand years ago. This was a truth of revelation, which closed all questions. Luther comments on Gn 1, that 'Moses is writing history and reporting things that actually happened' ('*meldet geschahene Dinge*'). The matter therefore cannot be treated speculatively. To reason about it were profane. 'God was pleased,' says Calvin, 'that a history of the creation should

exist,' and he repeats a story of Augustine's about 'a good old man, who, when some one pertly asked . . . what God did before the world was created, answered: He made a hell for the inquisitive' (*Instit.* i. xiv. 1). But the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* cannot be deduced from Gn 1¹⁻³, which rather, as we have seen, teaches a dualism. This was, indeed, the explicit doctrine of some of the early Fathers, who remained in closer touch with the Jews, and therefore correctly interpreted the passage in question. Justin Martyr, quoting Gn 1¹⁻³, says that Plato (whom he accuses of atticizing Moses) and his followers 'and we ourselves' have thence learned that 'through the Word of God the whole world came into existence out of things subjacent and before declared by Moses' (*Apol.* i. 59). Clement of Alexandria also maintained that Plato took from Moses his doctrine of a formless matter, expressly referring for the latter to Gn 1² (*Strom.* v. 14).

But Christian thought could not rest in a dualism, whether Mosaic or Platonic or Gnostic. The doctrine of an eternal matter was seen to be a dangerous rival to the doctrine of the eternal Logos, and almost with one accord the theologians of the East and West alike set themselves to demolish the pagan conception of an uncreated *ὕλη*. With the LXX or the Vulgate instead of the Hebrew text before them, they honestly counted Moses as a monist. But, though revelation thus seemed to be on their side, they still habitually based their doctrine upon reason. They were Christian philosophers meeting other philosophers on common ground. Their arguments have been restated in C. M. Walsh's recent book, *The Doctrine of Creation* (1910). 'God alone is without beginning' was the thesis they defended. If matter were uncreated, it would be equal with God—a second God. If there were two first principles, they would be incommunicable without a third, which would be the ultimate principle. Plainly the one must come from the other, and, yet more plainly, matter from God rather than the reverse. To be Lord of all, God must have created matter. If it were uncreated, the world could not be constructed out of it, for it could not be receptive of the qualities which God wished to impose upon it, unless God Himself had made it such as He wished it to be. That which is capable of being made into an artistic world must itself have had a wise and skilful Maker.

These arguments are certainly sufficient to prove the dependence of all things upon God, and the derivation of all things from God. But the affirmation of a time—or rather an eternity—in which God was not a Creator, in which the universe was non-existent, is another matter. Some of the greatest minds found it impossible to conceive such acosmism. Origen held that before the creation of our world God had created others, as He will create others after ours, without beginning or end; that matter, or the substance underlying all the successive worlds, is eternally created (*de Princip.* iii. v. 3-4). Augustine had the deep and pregnant thought that the preservation of the world is a continuous creation (*de Civ. Dei.* xii. 25). Scotus Erigena, the profoundest thinker in the Middle Ages, taught that God's working is equally eternal with His being; that creation is involved in His essence; that He necessarily manifests Himself in the world; that He precedes it not in time but only in the idea, as its cause (*de Divisione Naturae.* iii. 25). Thomas Aquinas confessed that reason could only be satisfied with the assumption that the world had no beginning; that, God being the *sufficiens causa mundi*, the cause must apparently always have its effect; and that the doctrine of a beginning, or the non-eternity of the world, is to be

received *sola fide*, by an act of pure faith, in deference to authority: '*Mundum incoepisse est credibile, non autem demonstrabile vel scribile*' (c. *Gent.* ii. 38; *Summa*, i. 46, 104). The *Theologia Germanica* has this profound passage: 'It belongeth unto the Will, and is its property, that it should will something. What else is it for? For it were vain, unless it had some work to do, and this it cannot have without the creature (or creation). Therefore there must be creatures, and God will have them, to the end that the Will may be put in exercise by their means, and work' (ch. 51). Jacob Boehme likewise saw that a hidden will, which did not become present to itself in the object of its creation, would not attain to manifestation for itself, and so would remain unconscious.

6. The philosophical conception. — Philosophy entered upon a new era when it first ventured to ignore and then to repudiate the orthodox doctrine of creation. For a time it claimed its independence very modestly and tentatively. It seemed still content to bend the knee to authority. Bacon made a distinction between 'one who philosophizes according to the sense alone,' and 'Sacred Writ'—the former representing matter as 'self-existing,' the latter as 'from God.' That 'matter was created from nothing, we know by faith,' as it is 'one to which those philosophies could not rise' (*Works*, ed. Spedding, v. 491). Descartes introduces his revolutionary ideas in the humblest tone. 'It may be believed, without discredit to the miracle of creation, that the nature of things purely material is much more easily conceived when they are beheld coming . . . gradually into existence, than when they are only considered as produced at once in a finished and perfect state' (*On Method*, v.). Locke did not feel justified in rejecting the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*. He maintained that the impossibility of conceiving the making of something of which no part existed before cannot be regarded as a reasonable criterion to set a limit to the operations of an infinite Mind. To him the existence of an extra-mundane Creator was capable of demonstration. Its evidence, if he was not mistaken, was equal to mathematical certainty (*Hum. Understanding*, iv. 10). Such demonstrations were numerous during the age of Natural Religion, and Coleridge, not without reason, complained that men had come to regard the relation of the Creator to the universe in the same light as that of a mason to his work. Such mechanical deism easily gave place to pure materialism. It was Spinoza who led philosophy into more fruitful fields. As opposed to those *mechanical* conceptions, 'the developed idea of God as the omnipresent Life of the world, constantly operating in and through natural laws, is common to educated theism with pantheism, and is what modern theism owes to pantheistic exaggeration' (Fraser, *Phil. of Theism*², p. 83). Spinoza regarded the traditional theory of creation as making the nature of God arbitrary and the existence of the world a matter of chance. He therefore entirely rejected it. For, though his *Natura naturans*, or Nature active, may in a manner be called the Creator of his *Natura naturata*, or Nature passive, these are consubstantial and co-eternal, neither before nor after the other. There is no beginning in the universe; there can be no end. The existing order of things is the only one possible, and in its involuntary evolution it flows from its cause, the one infinite reality, with the same mathematical necessity with which the angles of a triangle are derived from the triangle. Fichte follows Spinoza in emphatically repudiating the doctrine of creation, calling it 'the root error of all false metaphysics and dogmatics,' which perverts the idea of God from the outset, investing it with caprice,

and changing thought into a dreaming play of fancy ('ein träumendes Phantasiren,' *Werke*, 1845, v. 479). Hegel accepts the category of creation, but fills it with a new content. 'God,' he says, 'is the Creator of the world; it belongs to His being, His essence, to be Creator; in so far as He is not this, He is imperfectly conceived. Creation is not an act undertaken once upon a time. What belongs to the Idea belongs to it as an eternal moment or determination' (*Werke*, 1832, xii. 157 f.). 'God does not create the world once; He is the eternal Creator. This eternal self-revelation, this *actus*, is His notion, His definition' (*ib.* p. 181). '*Ohne Welt ist Gott nicht Gott*' (xi. 122). Schleiermacher felt that the idea of a beginning of God's creative activity places Him as a temporal being in the domain of change. He regarded the work of God as Creator as one with His work as Preserver, and the two together as identical with the totality of causation in Nature (*Der christl. Glaube*, 1889, i. 294-297).

All the English Idealists agree in identifying the Creation with God's self-manifestation, which they regard as an eternally necessary moral act. 'It is of the very essence of mind or spirit,' says John Caird, 'that it contains in it the necessity of self-manifestation in objective form, and therefore that which we speak of as "the creation of the world" must be conceived as the expression not of arbitrary will, but of the very nature and being of God' (*Fund. Ideas of Christianity*, i. 84 f.). Green expressed the same profound thought more daringly by saying that the world is as necessary to God as God is to the world. The words of two leading German thinkers will show how the later philosophy and theology have welcomed the new conception:

'The will to create,' says Lotze, 'is an absolutely eternal predicate of God, and ought not to be used to designate a deed of His, so much as the absolute dependence of the world upon His will, in contradistinction to its voluntary emanation from His nature' (*Out. of Phil.* of *Ref.* 74). 'It is a sensuous representation,' says Lipsius, 'to trace creation back to a single act now lying in the past, or to speak of a first beginning of creation; rather is the whole world-development, so soon as it is viewed religiously, to be brought under the idea of creation, consequently to be regarded as without beginning or end' (*Dogmatik*, 293).

We cannot do better than close this section with the calm pronouncement of the Nestor of Scottish philosophy:

'I do not find,' says A. C. Fraser, 'that the presence of order and design within the cosmos means that the cosmos must have had a beginning. That the universe should exist without either a beginning or an end of its orderly metamorphoses, does not seem less consistent with the ideas of theism and providence, than the hypothesis of its sudden creation in time—whatever that may mean. . . . We seem to be born into an unbeginning and unending divinely natural evolution' (*Theism*², pp. 125, 133).

7. The scientific conception. — Science has widened man's cosmic view and increased his cosmic emotion. His doctrine of creation is transfigured in the light of astronomy and geology, biology and paleontology. His vision of the making of this world at a certain recent time, and of the rest of the universe with it, is replaced by a grander vision of the slow and progressive formation, by the action of physical forces, of a universe in which countless new worlds are being formed to-day just as this one—this satellite of the sun—was formed hundreds of millions of years ago. His idea of a primeval chaos, which found expression in all his antique cosmogonies (as in *Gn* 1²), is discarded for the conviction that, when he goes back as far as the wings of imagination can carry him, this universe, however changed in aspect, is still a cosmos. And his old belief that 'there are just as many species of plants and animals as there were different forms originally created by the Infinite Being; and that these different forms, according to the laws of reproduction imposed

upon them, produced others, but always forms like themselves' (Linnæus), has yielded to 'a view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and, that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being evolved' (Darwin, *Origin of Species*⁶, p. 403).

'The progress of science, as Driver frankly admits, 'has brought the Cosmogony of Genesis into sharp and undisguised antagonism with the Cosmogony of science, . . . and to expect to find in it supernatural information on points of scientific fact, is to mistake its entire purpose' (*Genesis*, p. 33). There is nothing, however, in the cosmogony of science that is in conflict with that conception of 'a great and good Maker of the world' which is found at the heart of so many primitive and savage religions; or with Isaiah's idea of a Creator who 'hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance'; or with the Platonic faith expressed in the *Timæus*: 'Let me tell you, then, why the Creator created and made the universe. He was good, and desired that all things should be as like Himself as possible' (Jowett, *ili*, 613).

The scientific conception of creation has important bearings upon religion. It has at once made God greater and brought Him nearer. It has not only immeasurably expanded the heavens which declare His glory, but it has substituted the action of an immanent for the action of a transcendent Creator. 'The general effect of the intellectual movement of modern times,' says J. Fiske, 'has been to discredit more than ever' before the Latin idea of God as a power outside of nature and occasionally interfering with it' (*Thorough Nature to God*, 147). The 'Great Original' can no longer be conceived as a Demiurge or Master-builder, putting forth His power once and then staying His hand; His creative action is spread all along the line of gradual development, revealing itself in ever higher potencies. And in place of a God beyond the stars, who created the world once upon a time and then was content with 'seeing it go,' we have a Spirit who is 'closer than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.'

Further research into the ultimate nature of matter seems destined to upset many hypotheses.

'There is nothing,' said Lord Kelvin, 'between absolute scientific belief in a Creative power, and the acceptance of the theory of a fortuitous concourse of atoms. . . . If you think strongly enough, you will be forced by science to the belief in God which is the foundation of all religion' (*Nineteenth Cent.*, June 1903). And now, even the atomic theory of the origin of things, after a vogue of more than 2000 years, is at length being set aside, for it is found, as Sir O. Lodge says, that the 'atoms of matter, instead of being ultimate, "are liable . . . to break up or explode, and so resolve themselves into simpler forms," called electrons, which again are described as "knots or twists or vortices, or some sort of either static or kinetic modification, of the ether of space" (*Life and Matter*, 28, 32). Ether 'is probably the fundamental substratum of the whole material world, underlying every kind of activity, and constituting the very atoms of which our own bodies are composed' (*The Substance of Faith*, 74). 'If any one thinks that ether, with all its massiveness and energy, has probably no psychical significance, I find myself unable to agree with him' (*The Ether of Space*, 1909, p. 114).

The scientific idea of creation as involution and evolution has thus brought us nearer than ever to 'the Mind which, like our own, must underlie the material fabric,' the Nous of Anaxagoras. 'The process of evolution can be regarded as the gradual unfolding of the Divine Thought, or Logos, throughout the universe, by the action of Spirit upon matter' (*Substance of Faith*, 59). There are some who 'recognise in this extraordinary development a contact between this material frame of things and a universe higher and other than anything known to our senses: . . . a universe capable of infinite development . . . long after this planet . . . shall have fulfilled its present spire of destiny, and retired cold and lifeless upon its endless way' (*Life and Matter*, 199 t.).

LITERATURE.—E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*⁸, London, 1891 (41903); A. Læng, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, London, 1887, also *Making of Religions*, London, 1900; F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1896, *Religion in Evolution*, do. 1906, *The Idea of God in Early Religions*, Cambridge, 1910; H. M. Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God* (Gifford Lectures, 1906), 2 Edinburgh, 1908; P. Le Page Renouf, *Origin and Growth of Rel. of Anc. Egypt* (Hibbert Lectures, 1879), London, 1880; Max Müller, *Introduct. to Science of Religion*, London, 1878, new ed. 1883; J. Darmesteter, *Selected Essays*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, also *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1893; J. Skinner, 'Genesis,' in *ICC*, Edinburgh, 1910; S. R. Driver, 'Genesis,' in *Westminster Com.*, London, 1904, 71909; J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, London, 1892; J. Adam, *Religious Teachers of Greece* (Gifford Lectures, 1908), Edinburgh, 1908; C. M. Walsby, *Doctrine of Creation*, London, 1919; A. C. Fraser, *Philosophy of Theism* (Gifford Lectures, 1895-96), Edinburgh and London, 1890; John Caird, *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, Glasgow, 1899; H. Lotze, *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1892; Lipsius, *Dogmatik*⁹, Brunswick, 1898; C. Darwin, *Origin of Species*¹⁰, London, 1891; J. Fiske, *Thorough Nature to God*, London, 1900; G. J. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*¹¹, ed. O. Gore, London, 1896; J. Iverach, *Christianity and Evolution*, London, 1894, also *Theism*, London, 1900; Lord Kelvin, art. in *Nineteenth Century*, June 1903; Sir Oliver Lodge, *Life and Matter*, London, 1905, also *The Substance of Faith*, London, 1907; see also the Literature appended to the various art. on COSMOGENY and COSMOLOGY. J. STRACHAN.

CREEDS AND ARTICLES.

Bab.-Assyr. (T. G. PINCHES), p. 231.
Buddhist (J. H. BATESON), p. 232.
Christian (A. E. BURN), p. 237.
Egyptian (J. BAIKIE), p. 242.

Hebrew.—See 'Jewish.'
Jewish (H. HIRSCHFELD), p. 244.
Muhammadan (S. LANE-POOLE), p. 246.
Parsi (N. SÖDERBLOM), p. 247.

CREED (Bab.-Assyr.).—Though the religion of Babylonia and Assyria was practically homogeneous, there were probably nearly as many different beliefs as there were States or provinces; and the creed of the people became modified from time to time, either through the progress of thought or on account of political exigencies. These changes in the beliefs of the people, which sometimes bore upon the nature of the gods whom they worshipped, were in some cases such as to form either important variations in the original creeds, or transformations such as might have made a fresh statement of their position needful.

Notwithstanding that this was the case, it is not certain that in any of the centres of religious teaching the priests ever thought of putting forward anything in the nature of a creed, as we understand the word to-day; indeed, no document in which

they have formulated the articles of their belief has yet come down to us, except the well-known legends of their gods (which, however, are more of the nature of sacred books), and certain introductions to incantations. That they should have formulated a statement of their religious beliefs, however, would not by any means have been either an impossible thing or against their ideas of religious propriety. Often enough, and seemingly at all periods, they declared their creeds in the names they bore. Thus, in the time of Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina (c. 4000 B.C.), we meet with names similar to the following: (*Sûr-Bau*, 'man of Bau'; *Ura-Dumuzi*, 'servant of Tammuz'; *Enim-Surupak*¹-zida, 'the word of Surupak is true,' or the

¹ Or *Sukerra*. This was the god of Surippak, or Suruppak, now Fara, which was the city of Ut-napistim, the Babylonian Noah.

like; *Amar-Asnan*, 'the corn-god's steer,' etc.; and names of the same character continued to be used all through the succeeding periods. During the early Semitic period (2000 B.C.) there occur names like *Šumma-ilu-lā-ūlia*, 'if God were not my god'; *Šumma-ilu-lā-Samas*, 'if my god were not the sun-god'; *Sin-lā-šanān*, 'Sin (the moon-god) has no equal'; *Zēr-panitum-ummi*, 'Zērpanitum is my mother'; *Yauun-ilu*, 'Jah is God'; *Nabum-ilu*, 'Nebo is god,' etc. In Assyrian literature we likewise find such names as *Assur-taklak*, 'I trust in Assur'; *Tukulti-Ninip*, 'my trust is Ninip,' with its synonym *Tukulti-apil-ēšarra* (Tiglath-pileser), 'my trust is the son of E-šarra'; *Ušur-amat-ēa*, 'keep the word (or command) of Ea'; *Sin-badān*, 'Sin is our mountain (of defence),' etc. Some names express belief as to the identity of divinities—possibly in opposition to those whose creed was different: for instance, *Nabū-yā'u*, 'Nebo is Jah'; *Yā-Dagunu*, 'Jah is Dagon'; and such names as *Yā-ābini*, 'Jah is our father,' form an interesting series. The Babylonians, like all the Semites, were intensely religious, and seldom objected to asserting their creed; indeed, some of the above names show that the Western Semites in general announced it boldly, and that what men called themselves became, as it were, a challenge to such as they regarded as heterodox.

Naturally, these are very short professions of faith, and it is doubtful whether longer ones are likely to be found. Sometimes, however, it seems to have been considered necessary to make some kind of a statement before beginning the utterance of an incantation. This took the form of a recital of some religious or mythological event, which justified the mystic words and the ceremonies which were to follow. Among these are the stories of the various evil spirits, the poetical description of the vine of Eridu, and the primitive account of the Creation prefixed to, and forming part of, the incantation to toothache. The composition must like a creed, however, is that known as the bilingual story of the Creation, which is prefixed to an incantation for purification:

Incantation.—The holy house, the house of the gods, in a holy place had not been made;

A plant had not been brought forth, a tree had not been created;

A brick had not been laid, a beam had not been shaped;

A house had not been built, a city had not been constructed;

A city had not been made, the inhabitants had not been installed (?);

Niffer had not been built, E-kura¹ had not been constructed;

Erech had not been built, E-anna² had not been constructed;

The Abyss had not been made, Eridu had not been constructed;

The holy house, the house of the gods—its seat had not been made;

The whole of the lands were sea.

When within the sea there was a stream,

In that day Eridu was made, E-sagila was constructed—

E-sagila, which the god Lugal-du-azaga had founded within the Abyss.

Babylon was built, E-sagila was completed;

He made the gods and the Anunnaki altogether,

The holy city, the seat of their hearts' joy, as supreme he proclaimed;

Marduk bound together a reed-bank before the waters,

He made earth, and poured it out against the bank,

To settle the gods in a seat of joy of heart.

He made mankind—

Aruru made the seed of mankind with him.

He made the beasts of the field and the living creatures in the desert;

He made the Tigris and the Euphrates, and set (them) there.

Well³ proclaimed he their name.

Herb, the marsh-plant, the reed, and the thicket, he made;

He made the verdure of the plain;

The lands (and) the marshes were the reedy bank.

The cow, her young, the steer; the sheep, her young, the lamb of the fold;

Plantations and forests also.

The goat and the wild goat were dear (?) to him.

Lord Marduk made a bank on the sea-shore,

... [whilch at first he made not,

¹ The temple at Niffer.

² The temple at Erech.

³ Or, 'as (being) good.'

... he caused to be.

[He made [the plant], he made the tree—

[Everything] he made there—

[He laid the brick], he made the beams;

[He constructed the house], he built the city;

[He built the city], he established the community;

[He built the city Niffer], he built E-kura the temple;

[He built the city Erech], he built E-anna [the temple].

Here the obverse breaks off, and, where the text becomes legible again, on the reverse, it is an incantation for purification, similar to many others in Assyro-Babylonian literature.

It seems probable that the other centres of Divine worship in Babylonia had similar statements of the creed held in the place, and this presupposes theological schools and colleges for the priests. At present we do not know much, if anything, about them; but the temple-libraries may ultimately yield information upon the point, together with statements of their beliefs similar to that translated above.

Cf. also artt. BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, and COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Bab.).

LITERATURE.—M. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Assy.*, Giessen, 1905 ff.; T. G. Pinches, 'Relig. Ideas of the Babylonians' (*Journ. of Vic. Inst.*, 1895), *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.*, London, 1906, 'La Rel. des Babyloniens 2000 ans avant J.-C.' (*1st Congr. for Hist. of Religions*, Paris, 1900), 'Yā and Yāwa' (*PSBA*, 1892), 'The Bab. Gods of War' (*ib.* 1906), 'The Legend of Merodach' (*ib.* 1908), 'The Goddess Ištar' (*ib.* 1909); F. Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 74, and *passim*.

T. G. PINCHES.

CREED (Buddhist).—Nearly six centuries before the birth of Christ, at a time when religious speculation in India was rife, Siddhārtha Gautama, the son of a Sākya chieftain, went forth from his home to 'seek after what was right.' Reverence and affection for the founder of one of the world's greatest religions have led his disciples, during many centuries, and in different Eastern countries, to embellish, in apocryphal literature, the story of Gautama's life and teaching. But it is beyond doubt that the scheme of life, religious faith, and moral standards attributed to the founder of Buddhism represents his actual teaching. In regard to this the greatest authorities on Buddhism are agreed.

'When it is recollected,' says Rhys Davids, 'that Gautama Buddha did not leave behind him a number of deeply simple sayings, from which his followers subsequently built up a system or systems of their own, but had himself thoroughly elaborated his doctrine, partly as to details, after, but in its fundamental points even before, his mission began; that, during his long career as teacher, he had ample time to repeat the principles and details of the system over and over again to his disciples, and to test their knowledge of it; and finally, that his leading disciples were, like himself, accustomed to the subtlest metaphysical distinctions, and trained to that wonderful command of memory which Indian ascetics then possessed; when these facts are recalled to mind, it will be seen that much more reliance may reasonably be placed upon the doctrinal parts of the Buddhist Scriptures than upon correspondingly late records of other religions' (*Buddhism*, p. 86 f.).

Oldenberg (*Buddha*, p. 203 f., Eng. tr.) speaks to the same general effect: 'On the whole we shall be authorized to refer to Buddha himself the most essential trains of thought which we find recorded in the sacred texts, and in many places it is probably not too much to believe that the very words in which the ascetic of the Sākya house couched his gospel of deliverance have come down to us as they fell from his lips. We find that, throughout the vast complex of ancient Buddhist literature which has been collected, certain mottoes and formulas, the expression of Buddhist convictions upon some of the weightiest problems of religious thought, are expressed over and over again in a standard form adopted once for all. Why may not these be words which have received their currency from the founder of Buddhism, which had been spoken by him hundreds and thousands of times throughout his long life, devoted to teaching?'

In the valley of the Ganges, the birthplace of Buddhism, there was, at the time when the new religion came into being, a maze of interacting ideas, which Rhys Davids (*Early Buddhism*, p. 23) has classified as follows: (1) The very wide and varied group of ideas about souls supposed to dwell within the bodies of men and animals, and to animate moving objects in Nature (trees and plants, rivers, planets, etc.). These may be summed under the convenient modern term of *Animism*. (2) We have later and more advanced

ideas about the souls supposed to animate the greater phenomena of Nature. These may be summed under the convenient modern term of *Polytheism*. (3) We have the still later idea of a unity lying behind all these phenomena, both of the first and of the second class—the hypothesis of a one First Cause on which the whole universe in its varied forms depends, in which it lives and moves, and which is the only reality. This may be summed under the convenient modern term of *Monism*. (4) We have the opposite view. In this the First Cause has either not been reached in thought, or it has been considered and deliberately rejected; but otherwise the whole soul-theory has been retained and amplified, and the hypothesis of the eternity of matter is held at the same time. This may be summed under the convenient modern term of *Dualism*.

These modern Western terms, though useful for classification, never exactly fit the ancient Eastern thought. And we must never forget that the clear-cut distinctions we now use were then perceptible to only quite a few of the clearest thinkers. Most of the people held a strange jumble of many of the notions current around them. The enumeration here made is merely intended to show that, when Buddhism arose, the country was setting, very much as the Western world was at the same period, with a multitude of theories on all sorts of questions—ethical, philosophical, and religious. There was much superstition, no doubt, and no little sophistry. But, owing partly to the easy economic conditions of those times, partly also to the mutual courtesy and intellectual alertness of the people, there was a very large proportion of them who were earnestly occupied in more or less successful attempts to solve the highest problems of thought and conduct' (ib. p. 24).

Traces of the influence of all these ideas upon his mind can be found in the teaching of Gautama, but the current beliefs satisfied neither his nature nor his aspirations. In two authoritative texts he reveals the reasons why prevailing beliefs were impotent to satisfy him, and why he set himself to endeavour to get to the fountain-head of truth. The first is as follows:

'An ordinary unschooled man, though himself subject to old age, not escaped beyond its power, when he beholds another man old, is hurt, ashamed, disgusted, overlooking the while his own condition. Thinking that that would be unsuitable to me, the infatuation of a youth in his youth departed utterly from me' (*Ahuttara*, i. 146).

The other text says:

'Before the days of my enlightenment, when I was still only a Bodhisat, though myself subject to re-birth, old age, disease, and death, to sorrow and to evil, I sought after things subject also to them. Then methought: Why should I act thus? Let me, when subject to these things, seeing the danger therein, seek rather after that which is not subject thereto, even the supreme bliss and security of Nirvana' (*Majjhima*, i. 163).

After having followed, to no purpose, the paths of metaphysical speculation, of mental discipline, and of ascetic rigour, Gautama reaped on one memorable night the fruit of his prolonged spiritual effort, the truth of things being of a sudden so clearly revealed to him that thenceforth he never swerved for a moment from devotion to his creed and to the mission that it imposed upon him.

The enlightenment which Gautama received, and which was regarded by himself and his followers as a victory over all the powers of darkness, is uniformly described as

'a mental state of exaltation, bliss, insight, altruism. The different Suttas emphasize different phases, different facets, as it were, of this condition. But they regard it as one and the same upheaval of the whole mental and moral nature—will, emotion, and intellect being equally concerned. Thus one Sutta (the *Mahā-saccaka*) lays stress on the four Raptures, and the three forms of Knowledge; another (the *Dvedhā-vitakka*) on the certainty, the absence of doubt; another (the *Bhaya-bherava*) on the conquest over fear and agitation; another (the *Āriya-pariyesanā*) on the bliss and security of the Nirvana to which he then attained.'

In the first of these Suttas the recital ends:

'When this knowledge, this insight, had arisen within me, my heart was set free from the intoxication of lusts, set free from the intoxication of becoming, set free from the intoxication of ignorance. In me, thus emancipated, there arose the certainty of that emancipation. And I came to know: "Re-birth is at an end. The higher life has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been accomplished. After this present life there will be no beyond." This last insight did I attain to in the last watch of the night. Ignorance was beaten down, insight arose,

darkness was destroyed, the light came, inasmuch as I was there strenuous, aglow, master of myself' (Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 86 f.).

Having received enlightenment, Buddha proceeded to Benares. There he met some of his former disciples, the five ascetics, and explained to them the fundamental truths of his religion—an exposition preserved in the *Dhammachakka-ppavattana Sutta*, the Sutta of the Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness.

'This expression is usually translated "Turning the wheel of the Law," which, while retaining the Buddhist figure of speech, fails to represent the idea the figure was meant to convey; the rendering in the text gives up the figure in order to retain the underlying meaning. The "*cakra*" (Pāli *cakka*) is no ordinary wheel; it is the sign of dominion; and a "*cakravarti*" is "he who makes the wheels of his chariots roll unopposed over all the world"—a universal monarch. *Dharma* (Pāli *Dhamma*) is not law, but that which underlies and includes the law,—a word often most difficult to translate, and best rendered here by truth or righteousness; whereas the word "law" suggests ceremonial observances, outward rules, which it was precisely the object of Gautama's teaching to do away with. *Praavartana* (Pāli *ppavattana*) is "setting in motion onwards," the commencement of an action which is to continue. The whole phrase means, therefore, "To set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness"' (Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 46).

The full text of the Sutta is as follows:

'There are two extremes which he who has gone forth ought not to follow—habitual devotion, on the one hand, to the passions, to the pleasures of sensual things, a low and pagan way (of seeking satisfaction), ignoble, unprofitable, fit only for the worldly-minded; and habitual devotion, on the other hand, to self-mortification, which is painful, ignoble, unprofitable. There is a Middle Path discovered by the Tathāgata—a path which opens the eyes, and bestows understanding, which leads to peace, to insight, to the higher wisdom, to Nirvana. Verily! it is this Aryan Eight-fold Path: that is to say, Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Rapture.

Now this is the Noble Truth as to suffering. Birth is attended with pain, decay is painful, disease is painful, death is painful. Union with the unpleasant is painful, painful is separation from the pleasant; and any craving unsatisfied, that, too, is painful. In brief, the five aggregates of clinging (that is, the conditions of individuality) are painful.

Now this is the Noble Truth as to the origin of suffering. Verily! it is the craving thirst that causes the renewal of becoming, that is accompanied by sensual delights, and seeks satisfaction, now here, now there,—that is to say, the craving for the gratification of the senses, or the craving for a future life, or the craving for prosperity.

Now this is the Noble Truth as to the passing away of pain. Verily! it is the passing away so that no passion remains, the giving up, the getting rid of, the emancipation from, the harbouring no longer of, this craving thirst.

Now this is the Noble Truth as to the way that leads to the passing away of pain. Verily! it is this Aryan Eight-fold Path, that is to say, Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Conduct, and Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Rapture' (Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 61 f.).

This concise statement contains all the essential elements of the Buddhist creed. The great deliverance, of which Gautama himself was conscious, and the means whereby he had attained it, formed the basis of all his subsequent teaching. It was this gospel of deliverance which won his earliest disciples, and which they in turn were commissioned by the Buddha to preach to suffering men. Sixty monks were soon enrolled as converts of the new faith, and they were sent forth as its first apostles. In sending them forth, Gautama thus addressed them:

'I am delivered from all fetters, human and divine. You, too, O monks, are freed from the same fetters. Go forth and wander everywhere, out of compassion for the world, and for the welfare of gods and men. Go forth, one by one, in different directions. Preach the doctrine, salutary in its beginning, middle, and end, in its spirit, and in its letter. Proclaim a life of perfect restraint, chastity, and celibacy. . . . I will go also to preach this doctrine' (*Mahāvagga*, i. 11. 1).

When the band of believers was increased to a thousand, Gautama preached his 'burning' fire-sermon, on a hill Gayāsīsa, near Gayā:

'Everything, O monks, is burning. . . . The eye is burning; visible things are burning. The sensation produced by contact with visible things is burning—burning with the fire of lust (desire), enmity, and delusion, with birth, decay, death, grief, lamentation, pain, dejection, and despair. The ear is burning, sounds are burning; the nose is burning, odours are burning; the tongue is burning, tastes are burning; the body is burning,

objects of sense are burning. The mind is burning, thoughts are burning. All are burning with the fire of passions and lusts. Observing this, O monks, a wise and noble disciple becomes weary of (or disgusted with) the eye, weary of visible things, weary of the ear, weary of sounds, weary of odours, weary of tastes, weary of the body, weary of the mind. Becoming weary, he frees himself from passions and lusts. When free, he realizes that his object is accomplished, that he has lived a life of restraint and chastity, that re-birth is ended' (*Mahāvagga*, i, 21. 2ff.).

Shortly before his death the same teaching was again committed to the faithful Ananda:

'O Ananda, I am now grown old, and full of years, and my journey is drawing to its close; I have reached eighty years—my sun of days—and, just as a worn-out cart can only with much care be made to move along, so my body can only be kept going with difficulty. It is only when I become plunged in meditation that my body is at ease. In future be ye to yourselves your own light, your own refuge; seek no other refuge. Hold fast to the truth as your refuge; look not to any one but yourselves as a refuge' (*Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta*, ii, 32, 33).

Gautama afterwards delivered a summary of the duties of the monks who were to be the missionaries of his faith to the world:

'Which then, O monks, are the truths (the seven jewels) it behoves you to spread abroad, out of pity for the world, for the good of gods and men? They are: (1) the four earnest reflexions (*smṛiti*, *satipathāna*); on the impurities of the body, on the impermanence of the sensations, of the thoughts, of the conditions of existence; (2) the four right exertions (*sammappadhāna*); viz. to prevent demerit from arising, get rid of it when arisen, produce merit, increase it; (3) the four paths to supernatural power (*iḍḍhi-pāda*); viz. will, effort, thought, intense thought; (4) the five forces (*pañña-bala*); viz. faith, energy, recollection, self-concentration, reason; (5) the proper use of the five organs of sense; (6) the seven "limbs" of knowledge (*bodhy-āṅga*); viz. recollection, investigation, energy, joy, serenity, concentration of mind, equanimity; (7) the noble eight-fold path' (*Mahā-parinibbāna*, iii, 65).

In order to form an accurate judgment regarding the meaning of the teaching of Buddha as set forth in the *Dhammachakka-ppavattana Sutta*, it is necessary not only to explain the terms used in the Sutta, but also to understand the doctrines which it involves. In subsequent Suttas each word, each clause, and each idea in the Discourse is fully commented and enlarged upon. It is possible, in the light of these explanations, to arrive at a true conception of the meaning which the Discourses conveyed to early Buddhists. From the same sources a general idea of the underlying beliefs may be gained.

1. The Buddhist scheme of life.—In Buddhist thought man is not regarded as a soul residing in a physical body, or as possessing a soul which may be separated from the body and continue to exist. A belief in self or soul is regarded so distinctly as a heresy that two well-known words in Buddhist terminology have been coined on purpose to stigmatize it. The first of these is *sakkāya-dīṭṭhi*, 'the heresy of individuality,' the name given to this belief as one of the three primary delusions (the others being doubt, and belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies) which must be abandoned at the very first stage of the Buddhist path of holiness. The other is *attavāda*, 'the doctrine of soul or self,' which is a name given to it as a part of the chain of causes which lead to the origin of evil. It is there classed—with sensuality, heresy (as to eternity and annihilation), and belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies—as one of the four *upā-dānas*, which are the immediate cause of birth, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief, and despair.

What then is man? He is an aggregate of different properties or qualities—called *skandhas*, or aggregates. These *skandhas* are as follows: (1) the material properties or attributes (*rūpa*); (2) the sensations (*vedanā*); (3) the abstract ideas (*sannā*); (4) the tendencies or potentialities (lit. 'confections,' *sāṅkhārā*); and (5) thought, reason (*viññāna*).

It is distinctly laid down that none of these *skandhas* separately, nor the *skandhas* as a whole, is the soul.

'Therefore, O monks, whatever in the way of material form, sensations, perceptions, etc., respectively, has ever been, will be, or is, either in our case or in the outer world, or strong or weak, or low or high, or far or near, it is not self; this must be in truth perceive, who possesses real knowledge. Whosoever regards things in this light, O monks, being a wise and noble hearer of the word, turns himself from sensation and perception, from conformation and consciousness. When he turns therefrom, he becomes free from desire: by the cessation of desire he obtains deliverance; in the delivered there arises a consciousness of his deliverance: re-birth is extinct, holiness is completed, duty is accomplished; there is no more a return to this world, he knows' (*Mahāvagga*, i, 6. 44ff.).

Gautama refused not only to give a definite answer to questions concerning the relation of the body to the soul, but even to discuss the matter. The question 'whether the soul is the same as the body, or different from it,' was one of the Indeterminates, prohibited questions.

It is the union of the *skandhas* which makes the individual:

'Every person, or thing, or god is therefore a putting together, a compound. And in each individual, without any exception, the relation of its component parts is ever changing, is never the same for two consecutive moments. It follows that no sooner has separateness, individuality, begun, than dissolution, disintegration, also begins. There can be no individuality without a putting together: there can be no putting together without a becoming; there can be no becoming without a becoming different: and there can be no becoming different without a dissolution, a passing away, which sooner or later will inevitably be complete' (Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, p. 57).

The great fact of life is the 'Wheel of Life,' called *Paticca-Sammuppāda* (i.e. origination through dependence): (1) on account of Ignorance, the *saṅkhāras*; (2) on account of the *saṅkhāras*, Consciousness; (3) on account of Consciousness, Name and Form; (4) on account of Name and Form, the six Provinces (of the six senses); (5) on account of the six Provinces, Contact; (6) on account of Contact, Sensation; (7) on account of Sensation, Craving; (8) on account of Craving, Attachment; (9) on account of Attachment, Becoming; (10) on account of Becoming, Birth; (11) (12) on account of Birth, old age, and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, dejection, and despair.

Buddhism teaches that everything in life has a cause, and that the Wheel of Life must revolve, one cause leading to another, according to an irresistible law. But there is no attempt to explain the ultimate cause of all things. This Doctrine is embodied in the familiar stanza, which is engraved upon many an image of the Buddha, and impressed upon the moulded ashes of the dead:

'Of all the phenomena sprung from a cause

The Buddha the cause hath told,

And he tells, too, how each shall come to its end,

Such alone is the word of the Sage' (*Vinaya*, i, 40).

Death does not cause the Wheel of Life to cease to turn; it is only a link in the ceaseless chain of existence. At the moment of death a new life comes into being. The *skandhas* re-combine, under conditions determined by the amount of merit or demerit which their previous combination has accumulated. The man is the same as his predecessor in the chain of re-birth. And yet he is not the same; he is on a higher or a lower scale of existence, according as his previous life has been good or bad. This is *karma* (q.v.), the doctrine on which the whole of Buddhism turns.

Existence is conjoined with pain—pain to which there is no ending. The conditions which make an individual are the conditions that give rise to pain. Birth, death, disease, unions, separations, unsatisfied cravings, in fact all that goes to make individuality, are painful; existence, from beginning to end, is painful.

But why this pain of life, this life of pain? The second truth answers the question. Rhys Davids says that the last words in this Noble Truth might be rendered 'the lust of the flesh, the lust of life

and the love of this present world' (*Early Buddhism*, p. 55). The author of *The Creed of Buddha* says (p. 80), with reference to this craving, or thirst, which Gautama affirmed to be the origin of suffering:

'Desire for the pleasures, or rather for the joys, that minister to the real self is wholly good. It is desire for the pleasures that minister to the lower self; it is the desire to affirm the lower self, to live in it, to cling to it, to rest in it; it is the desire to identify oneself with the individual self and the impermanent world which centres in it, instead of with the Universal Self and the eternal world of which it is at once the centre and the circumference.—It is this desire, taking a thousand forms, which is evil, and which proves itself to be evil by causing ceaseless suffering to mankind. If the self is to be delivered from suffering, desire for what is impermanent, changeable, and unreal must be extinguished; and the gradual extinction of unworthy desire must therefore be the central purpose of one's life.'

The question that Gautama set himself to solve was the cessation of the pain consequent upon and inherent in existence itself, and the answer to his search was the attainment of Nirvāṇa, by way of the Noble Eight-fold Path.

2. The Eight-fold Path.—The divisions of the path are, as already stated: Right Views, Right Aspirations, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Mode of Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, Right Rapture. The four stages of the path are: (1) The 'entering upon the stream, *Conversion*; which follows on (a) companionship with the good, (b) hearing of the law, (c) enlightened reflexion, or (d) the practice of virtue. The unconverted man is unwise, under the influence of sin, enmity, and impurity; but if, by one or more of the means just mentioned, he has arrived at a perception of the 'four Noble Truths,' he has become converted, and has entered the first path. While in this path, he becomes free successively from the delusion of self, from doubt as to the Buddha and his doctrines, and from the belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies. 'Better than universal empire in this world, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds is (this three-fold) fruit of the first path' (*Dhammapāda*, verse 178). (2) The path of those who will only once return to this world. The converted man, free from doubt and the delusions of self and ritualism, succeeds in this path in reducing to a minimum lust, hatred, and delusion. (3) The path of those who will never return to this world; in which, the last remnants of sensuality and malevolence being destroyed, not the least low desire for oneself, or wrong feeling towards others, can arise in the heart. (4) The path of the holy ones; more exactly, worthy ones, *arahats*; in which the saint becomes free from desire for material, or immaterial, existence; from pride and self-righteousness, and ignorance (Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 108 f.).

Several words are used in this description of the Eight-fold Path which require explanation.

i. *Right Views*.—Right Views refer principally to the four truths, enunciated in the *Dhammacakka-ppavattana Sutta*, and the 'three signs,' which include (a) the first of the four truths, (b) impermanence, and (c) non-soul, i.e. the absence of a soul. Impermanence and non-soul are both declared to be the 'signs' of every individual, whether god, man, or animal.

ii. *Right Aspirations*.—The Buddhist faith does not teach the suppression of all desire, but the suppression of evil desires, low ideals, useless cravings, idle excitements, by the cultivation of the opposite—right desires and lofty aspirations. In the *Majjhima* (iii. 25) examples are given of right desire, e.g. the desire for emancipation from sensuality, aspirations after the attainment of love for others, the wish not to injure any living thing, the desire for the eradication of wrong, and for the promotion of right dispositions in the heart.

iii. *Right Speech*.—To shun the company of the witless; to hold communion with the wise; to give honour where honour is due: this is a great blessing (*Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta*, i. 31).

iv. *Right Conduct*.—The two most important features of this quality are love and joy. Love, in the Pāli, is *mettā*, and the *Mettā Sutta* (*Sutta Nipāta*, viii. 7-9) says:

'As a mother, even at the risk of her own life, protects her son, her only son, so let him cultivate love without measure towards all beings. Let him cultivate towards the whole world—above, below, around—a heart of love unstinted, unmixed with the sense of differing or opposing interests. Let a man maintain this mindfulness all the while he is awake, whether he be standing, walking, sitting, or lying down. This state of heart is the best in the world.'

Again, the *Majjhima* (i. 129):

'Our mind shall not waver. No evil speech will we utter. Tender and compassionate will we abide, loving in heart, void of malice within. And we will be ever suffusing such an one with the rays of our loving thought. And with that feeling as a basis we will ever be suffusing the whole world with the thought of love, far-reaching, grown great, beyond measure, void of anger or ill-will.'

And the *Itivuttaka* (xxvi.):

'All the means that can be used as bases for doing right are not worth the sixteenth part of the emancipation of heart through Love. That takes all those up into itself, outshining them in radiance and glory, just as whatsoever stars there be, their radiance avails not the sixteenth part of the radiance of the moon. That takes all those up into itself, outshining them in radiance and glory—just as in the last month of the rains, at harvest time, the sun, mounting up on high into the clear and cloudless sky, overwhelms all darkness in the realms of space, and shines forth in radiance and glory—just as in the night, when the dawn is breaking, the Morning Star shines out in radiance and glory—just so all the means that can be used as helps towards doing right avail not the sixteenth part of the emancipation of the heart through Love.'

The joy of the faith is referred to in the 'Dialogues of the Buddha':

'When these five Hindrances have been put away within him, he looks upon himself as freed from debt, rid of disease, out of jail, a free man, and secure. And gladness springs up within him on his realizing that, and joy arises to him thus gladdened, and so rejoicing all his frame becomes at ease, and being thus at ease he is pervaded with a sense of peace, and in that peace his heart is stayed' (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 84).

v. *Right Mode of Livelihood*.—'Whoso hurts and harms living creatures, destitute of sympathy for any living thing, let him be known as an out-caste' (*Vasala Sutta*, *Sutta Nipāta*, vii. 2).

vi. *Right Effort*.—This signifies 'a constant intellectual alertness.' The three cardinal sins of Buddhism are: sensuality (*dosa*), ill-will (*moha*), and stupidity or dullness (*rāga*); the last mentioned being regarded as the worst.

The 'Four Great Efforts' (*sammappadhānā*) are the effort or exertion (a) to prevent sinfulness arising, (b) to put away sinful states which have arisen, (c) to produce goodness not previously existing, and (d) to increase goodness where it does exist (*Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta*, *SBE* xi. 63 n.).

'The Four Roads to Saintship' (*iddhipādā*) are four means by which saintship is obtained, viz. (a) the will to acquire it, (b) the necessary exertion, (c) the necessary preparation of the heart, and (d) investigation (*SBE* xi. 63).

vii. *Right Mindfulness*.—This is closely connected with Right Effort. Dialogues in the *Digha* (ii. 290-315) and *Majjhima* (i. 55 f.) are devoted to the subject:

'The disciple, whatsoever he does, whether going forth or coming back, standing or walking, speaking or silent, eating or drinking, is to keep clearly in his mind all that it means, the temporary character of the act, its ethical significance, and that, above all, behind the act there is no actor (goer, seer, eater, speaker) that is an eternally persistent unity.'

viii. *Right Rapture*.—In the *Dhammapāda* (verses 197-200) this Right Rapture is thus described:

'It is in very bliss we dwell, we who hate not those who hate us;
Among men full of hate, we continue void of hate.
It is in very bliss we dwell, we in health among the ailing;
Among men weary and sick, we continue well.
It is in very bliss we dwell, free from care among the care worn;

Among men full of worries, we continue calm.
It is in very bliss we dwell, we who have no hindrances;
We will become feeders on joy, like the gods in their shining splendour!

In conformity with the Pāli text, all the divisions of the Eight-fold Path are described by a single word—'right.' This is, perhaps, the best translation of the original *sammā*. The word signifies 'going with'; used as an adjective, it is rendered 'general,' 'common,' or 'corresponding,' 'mutual'; as an adverb, 'commonly,' 'usually,' 'normally,' or 'fittingly,' 'properly,' 'correctly.' It is used, in a secondary sense, to mean round, fit and perfect, normal and complete. 'Right,' therefore, in the sense of 'correct' has to be understood, i.e. in agreement with the teaching of Gautama. The word is not used with a moral significance. The eight-fold description of the perfect life is of such vital importance for the correct understanding of the Buddhist creed that it may be convenient to summarize the meaning of each division of the path:

1. Right views; free from superstition or delusion.
2. Right aspirations; high and worthy of the intelligent man.
3. Right speech; kindly, open, truthful.
4. Right conduct; peaceful, honest, pure.
5. Right livelihood; bringing hurt or danger to no living thing.
6. Right effort; in self-training and self-control.
7. Right mindfulness; the active, watchful mind.
8. Right rapture; earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life.

Gogerly (*Journ. Ceylon As. Soc.*, 1865) gives a slightly different rendering:

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| 1. Correct views of truth). | Correct doctrines. |
| 2. Correct thoughts. | A clear perception (of their nature). |
| 3. Correct words. | Inflexible veracity. |
| 4. Correct conduct. | Purity of conduct. |
| 5. Correct (mode of obtaining a) livelihood. | A sinless occupation. |
| 6. Correct efforts. | Perseverance in duty. |
| 7. Correct meditation. | Holy meditation. |
| 8. Correct tranquillity. | Mental tranquillity. |

3. The hindrances in the way.—The hindrances in the way of treading the Eight-fold Path, and thus securing deliverance, are very clearly detailed. They are described under different headings—'the Five Hindrances,' 'the Ten Fetters,' and 'the Four Intoxications.'

(a) The Five Hindrances (*nivaranā*) are sensuality, ill-will, torpor of mind or body, worry, and wavering. These affect a man like debt, disease, imprisonment, slavery, and anxiety.—(b) The Ten Fetters (*sangyojanas*) are: (1) delusions about the soul (*sakkāya-ditthi*), (2) doubt (*vicikicchā*), (3) reliance on ceremonies (*silabbata-parāmāsa*), (4) sensuality (*kāma*), (5) ill-will (*paṭigha*), (6) desire for re-birth on earth (*rūpa-rāga*), (7) desire for re-birth in heaven (*arūpa-rāga*), (8) pride (*māno*), (9) self-righteousness (*uddhacca*), (10) ignorance (*avijjā*).—(c) The Four Intoxications consist in the mental infatuation arising from sensual pleasures, from the pride of life, from ignorance, and from speculation.

4. The ultimate aim—Nirvāṇa.—When the traveller has resolutely trodden the Eight-fold Path, overcome the Hindrances, broken the Fetters, and resisted the Intoxications, he has reached the goal of all Buddhist ambition and effort—Nirvāṇa.

To him who has finished the Path, and passed beyond sorrow, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown away every fetter, there is no more fever of grief. 'Him whose senses have become tranquil, like a horse well broken-in by the driver; who

is free from pride and the lust of the flesh, and the lust of existence, and the delilement of ignorance—him even the gods envy. Such a one whose conduct is right, remains like the broad earth, unweaved; like the pillar of the city gate, unmoved; like a pellucid lake, unruffled. For such there are no more births. Tranquil is the mind, tranquil the words and deeds of him who is thus tranquilized, and made free by wisdom' (*Dhammapāda*, verses 80, 94-96).

'They who, by steadfast mind, have become exempt from evil desire, and well-trained in the teachings of Gautama; they, having obtained the fruit of the Fourth Path, and immersed themselves in that ambrosia, have received without price, and are in the enjoyment of, Nirvāṇa... Their old *karma* is exhausted, no new *karma* is being produced; their hearts are free from the longing after future life; the cause of their existence being destroyed, and no new yearnings springing up within them, they, the wise, are extinguished like this lamp' (*Ratana Sutta*, 7, 14). 'That mendicant conducts himself well who has conquered (sin) by means of holiness, from whose eyes the veil of error has been removed, who is well-trained in religion, and who, free from yearning, and skilled in the knowledge, has attained unto Nirvāṇa' (*Sammāparibbāṇiya Sutta*, 14).

The word *Nibbāna* (Pāli for *Nirvāṇa*) occurs only infrequently in the Piṭakas. A few illustrations of its use in the *Dhammapāda* are given:

'These wise people [speaking of Arahats], meditative, persevering, ever full of strength, attain to Nirvāṇa, the highest bliss' (verse 23). 'The mendicant who delights in diligence, and looks with terror on sloth, cannot fall away,—he is in the very presence of Nirvāṇa' (verse 32). 'If thou keepest thyself as silent as a broken gong, thou hast attained Nirvāṇa; no angry clamour is found in thee' (verse 134). [The preceding verse condemns harsh speaking.] 'The Buddhas declare the best self-mortification to be patience, long-suffering; the best (thing of all) to be Nirvāṇa; for he is no (true) monk who strikes, no (true) mendicant who insults others' (verse 134). 'There is no fire like lust, there is no sin like hate, there is no misery like the *saṅkhas*, there is no happiness like peace. Hunger is the worst disease, the *saṅkhas* the worst suffering; knowing this as it really is, is Nirvāṇa, the highest bliss' (verse 202 f.). 'Those who are ever on the watch, who study day and night, whose heart is set on Nirvāṇa, their sinfulness dies away' [lit. 'their *Asavas* go to an end'] (verse 226).

In the light of these passages, what is Nirvāṇa? In the original it means 'going out,' 'extinction.' It cannot mean the extinction of the soul.

'It is the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart, which would otherwise, according to the great mystery of Karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence. That extinction is to be brought about by, and runs parallel with, the growth of the opposite condition of mind and heart; and it is complete when that opposite condition is reached. Nirvāṇa is therefore the same thing as a sinless, calm state of mind; and, if translated at all, may best, perhaps, be rendered "holiness"—holiness, that is, in the Buddhist sense, perfect peace, goodness, and wisdom' (Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 111 f.). See, further, art. NIRVANA.

Describing Nirvāṇa, Rhys Davids says (*Early Buddhism*, p. 72 f.):

'One might fill columns with the praises, many of them among the most beautiful passages in Pāli poetry and prose, lavished on this condition of mind, the state of the man made perfect according to the Buddhist faith. Many are the pet names, the poetic epithets, bestowed upon it, each of them—for they are not synonyms—emphasizing one or other phase of this many-sided conception—the harbour of refuge, the cool cave, the island amidst the floods, the place of bliss, emancipation, liberation, safety, the supreme, the transcendental, the uncreated, the tranquil, the home of ease, the calm, the end of suffering, the medicine for all evil, the unshaken, the ambrosia, the immaterial, the imperishable, the abiding, the further shore, the unending, the bliss of effort, the supreme joy, the ineffable, the detachment, the holy city, and many others. Perhaps the most frequent in the Buddhist texts is *Arahatsip*, "the state of him who is worthy"; and the one exclusively used in Europe is *Nirvana*, the "dying out," that is, the dying out in the heart of the fell fire of the three cardinal sins—sensuality, ill-will, and stupidity' (*Samyutta*, iv. 251, 261).

Such, then, according to the authoritative Buddhist scriptures, is the creed of Buddhism. But is it the whole of the creed which Gautama preached to the world? Was this the faith by which Buddha won the 'deepest heart of the East'? The new religion was *materialistic*, i.e. Buddha denied the soul, or ego; *atheistic*, i.e. there was no place for God in his system of thought; *pessimistic*, i.e. he regarded all existence as intrinsically evil; *egoistic*, i.e. in his scheme of life he taught men to think of themselves and their personal welfare; *nihilistic*, i.e. he regarded Nothing as the supreme reality. Oldenberg says of the philosophy of Buddha: 'We have a fragment of a circle, to complete which, and to find the centre of which, is forbidden, for

It would involve an inquiry after things which do not contribute to deliverance and happiness' (*op. cit.* p. 208). Some writers have accepted this view, and have sought to complete the circle from its segment, and to find its centre, arguing that a creed involving materialism, atheism, pessimism, egoism, and nihilism could never have achieved the triumph which attended the propaganda of Buddhism; and therefore only a part, and not the whole, of Buddha's teaching has been handed down. It is claimed, for instance, that the central truth of Buddhism was 'the conception that the Universal Self is the true self of each one of us, and that to realize the true self is the destiny and the duty of man.' The early triumph of the faith may be difficult to understand, but there is no ground for assuming that the Buddhist scriptures contain an incomplete statement of the great, central, and essential truths preached by Gautama. Details of the teaching may be lacking, but we are in possession of its essence.

There can be no doubt that Gautama's scheme of life and religious teaching lost its charm over the minds of men in the course of a few centuries—among other reasons, on account of its negations, and the absence of an effective dynamic. Hence the rise of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, and its new doctrine, namely, (1) help from God to save oneself and others from suffering; (2) communion with God, which gave the highest ecstatic rest to the soul; and (3) the possibility of participation in the nature of God, so that mortals might become Divine and immortal.¹ One result quickly followed. The old Buddhists of the Hinayāna school were unwilling that their teacher, Śākyamuni, should occupy a second place in the new creed, and so they deified him, and worshipped him exactly as the Mahāyāna school worshipped God. From the time of the deification of Buddha, Buddhism took a new lease of life, and became one of the world's greatest religions. Modern Buddhism presents to the world to-day a curious combination of the earliest teaching and its later developments.

Monier-Williams thus summarizes the achievements of the Buddhist faith in its earliest years in the land of its birth:

'What the Buddha then did was this: first he stretched out the hand of brotherhood to all mankind by inviting all, without exception, to join his fraternity of celibate monks, which he wished to be co-extensive with the world itself. Then he abolished the Brahminical "ways of salvation," i.e. *Yajna* "sacrifices," and *Bhakti* "devotion to personal gods," and substituted for these meditation and moral conduct as the only road to true knowledge and emancipation. And then, lastly, he threw open this highest way of true knowledge to all who wished to enter it, of whatever rank, or caste, or mental calibre they might be, not excepting the most degraded. Without doubt, the distinguishing feature in the Buddha's gospel was, that so living being, not even the lowest, was to be shut out from true enlightenment' (*Buddhism*, p. 96 f.).

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J. H. BATESON.

CREEDS (Ecumenical).—I. The Apostles' Creed.—Within two generations from the Apostles a catechist at Rome produced the famous form which lies at the root probably of all similar forms, certainly in the West, and reflects without question the recent teaching of the great Apostles Peter

¹ Hence, also, the evolution of the thought of a Divine Saviour in the person of Avalokiteśvara (q.v.), which was a purely metaphysical invention, and of Maṭreya, the future Buddha.

and Paul. Kattenbusch traces the Old Roman Creed back to the year ± 100 A.D., and finds in it the archetype of all other forms in both East and West. Other writers, notably Zahn and Sanday, conjecture an Eastern type, a sister form, which they trace back to Antioch, regarding the later legend of Apostolic authorship, taught, e.g., by Rufinus (c. A.D. 400), as enshrining this modicum of truth—that the Apostles had agreed on such a form, which in the East and West passed through many modifications. It will be convenient to quote this Old Roman Creed:

OLD ROMAN CREED.

- I. 1. I believe in God, (the)¹ Father Almighty;
- II. 2. And in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord,
3. Who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,
4. crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried,
5. the third day He rose from the dead,
6. He ascended into heaven,
7. sitteth at the right hand of the Father,
8. thence He shall come to judge living and dead.
- III. 9. And in the Holy Ghost,
10. (the) Holy Church,
11. (the) remission of sins,
12. (the) resurrection of the flesh.

At first we can trace only bare allusions, as in a passage of Marcion's revised New Testament where he speaks of the 'covenant which begets us in the Holy Church,' and implies that the words 'Holy Church' were contained in the Baptismal Creed which had been taught him in Rome before his breach with the Church in A.D. 145. So, again, in two passages of Tertullian:

de Virg. Vel. l.: 'The rule of faith, indeed, is one altogether . . . of believing in one God Almighty, Maker of the world, and in His Son Jesus Christ, born of Mary the Virgin, crucified under Pontius Pilate; the third day raised from the dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right hand of the Father, about to come to judge quick and dead, through the resurrection also of the flesh.'

de Præser. xiii.: 'What the (Roman) Church has made a common token with the African Churches: has recognized one God, Creator of the universe, and Christ Jesus, of the Virgin Mary, Son of God, the Creator, and the resurrection of the flesh.'

With scanty references in Dionysius and Novatian, we pass on to the 4th cent., when Creeds come out to the light of day, and, greatly to our advantage, Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, who had been kindly received as an exile by Bishop Julius of Rome (c. A.D. 337), left on record his acceptance of the faith of the Roman Church. The accuracy of his quotation, recorded by Epiphanius, is confirmed by the testimony of Rufinus, priest of Aquileia, who (c. A.D. 400) wrote a commentary on this form, and compared with it the slightly different form of Aquileia. It is quite possible that Kattenbusch has minimized the evidence for the existence of similar Eastern forms of the 3rd century. He thinks that the Creeds of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, recovered from the pages of Athanasius and Cyril, were derived from the Roman Creed after the date when Paul of Samosata was deposed (c. A.D. 272); and that the Roman Creed was altered to meet the needs of the East, and became the parent of Creeds in Asia Minor and Egypt as well as in Palestine.

At present the theory of Kattenbusch still holds the field, and is supported by Harnack; but his critics are closing him in on every side. Kunze, working on the same lines as Zahn, reconstructs an Antiochene Creed of the 3rd cent., which he claims as an independent sister form:

CREED OF ANTIOCH.

- I. 1. I believe in one and an only true God, Father Almighty, Maker of all things, visible and invisible.
- II. 2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, the only-begotten and firstborn of all creation, begotten of Him before all the ages, through whom also the ages were established, and all things came into existence.
3. Who, for our sakes, came down and was born of Mary the Virgin,
4. and crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried,
5. And the third day rose according to the Scriptures.

¹ The definite article is enclosed in brackets when it is not found in the Greek text of Marcellus.

6. And ascended into heaven.
7.
8. And is coming again to judge quick and dead.
III. 9. [The beginning of the third article has not been recorded.]

10.
11. Remission of sins.
12. Resurrection of the dead, life everlasting.¹
The Creed which Zahn has reconstructed from the *Didascalia*, a book written in the 3rd cent. not far from Antioch, affords an instructive contrast.

CREED OF THE DIDASCALIA.

- I. 1. I believe in God Almighty.
II. 2. And in our Lord Jesus Christ (His Son?), who for us came and
3. was born of (Mary the?) a virgin,
4. and was crucified under Pontius Pilate and died,
5. and the third day rose from (the?) dead,
6. and ascended into the heavens,
7. and sitteth on the right hand of God the Almighty,
8. and is coming with power and glory to judge dead and living.
III. 9. And in the Holy Ghost . . .
10. (a Holy Church?) . . .
12. resurrection of the dead.²

The uncertainties attending such reconstructions stand in marked contrast with the comparative certainty with which we can trace back the Cid Roman Creed, the only really doubtful point about which is the question whether originally it did not read: 'I believe in one God, the Father Almighty,' which is suggested by the testimony of Tertullian. Tertullian, in his criticism of Praxeas, the first modalist Monarchian (that is to say, a theologian who confused the distinctions between the Divine Persons), says (*adv. Praxeas*, i.): 'He routed the Paraclete, and crucified the Father.' Under these circumstances we can commend the prudence of the leaders of the Roman Church if they dropped the word 'one' as liable to misunderstanding. Zahn quotes a passage from Eusebius in which heretics are said to have accused the Roman Church of re-coining the truth like forgers, and makes the acute suggestion that the reference was to some change in the Baptismal Creed. We cannot suppose that the immutability of the Roman Creed praised by Rufinus would necessarily extend through all the past centuries.

Again, Loofs,³ comparing 4th cent. Eastern Creeds, endeavours to prove the existence of an Eastern type which would include the word 'one' in Article I. with a reference to the Creator: 'crucified under Pontius Pilate'; and in the third division the words 'catholic' and 'eternal life.' But the resultant form would be on the same plane of development as the Roman, as compared with the theological Creeds of the 4th century. There is always the possibility that such a Creed may have been brought to the East from Rome in the 2nd century. Justin Martyr has close coincidences of language, which, in Kattenbusch's⁴ opinion, prove his acquaintance with the Roman Creed, though Zahn⁵ thinks that he is quoting his own Creed of Ephesus. The same may be said of Irenæus, whose writings must be searched in the light of these opposing theories before we can decide whether he brought his creed from Rome:

c. *Her.* i. x. 1: 'The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith: [She believes] in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and the sea and all things that are in them; and in one Christ Jesus the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations of God and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven in the flesh of the beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord, and His [future] manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father "to gather all things in one," and to raise up anew all flesh of the whole human race, in order that to Christ Jesus our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the

will of the invisible Father, "every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess to Him," and that He should execute just judgment towards all.'

While Irenæus has some phrases which remind us of the Roman Creed, the lack of any mention of the Holy Ghost at the end of this rule of faith makes it doubtful whether his personal creed was any more than a short Christological confession, the longer form quoted above representing a summary of his ordinary teaching on the lines laid down by tradition. Here is a problem which demands further investigation, and we must say the same of the very interesting researches of Connolly in the writings of Aphraates, from which he deduces the existence of an early Syriac Creed.⁶ This includes mention of the Creation in Art. I.; confession of our Lord Jesus Christ as God, Son of God, Light from Light, who came and put on a body from Mary the Virgin of the seed of the house of David, from the Holy Spirit, and suffered (or was crucified), went down to the place of the dead, rose, ascended, sat on the right hand of the Father, is judge of the dead and of the living; confession of the Holy Spirit, followed by '[And I believe] in the coming to life of the dead; [and] in the mystery of Baptism (of the remission of sins).'

After all, it does not matter which way the question as to the form is answered ultimately, since the facts taught were the same in the East as in Rome.

The later history of the Creed is still at some points obscure. We know that it was used by the Abbot Pirminius, who founded monasteries at Reichenau and Hornbach. It is quoted in the *Codex Einsidensis* 199 of the 8th cent., and the *Dicta Abbatis Pirminii*, which was written about A.D. 730. Probably it was brought into its present shape at Luxeuil or Bobbio. All the later additions, such as 'descended into hell' and 'communion of saints,' were in use in the Gallican Creeds of the 5th cent., with the exception of 'maker of heaven and earth.' This latest addition may have come in some way through the travels of Columban, who in Burgundy and Rhætia came across relics of the Old Latin Church of the Danube, and the stream of influence which had flowed from the East in earlier times.⁷ Nicetas of Remesiana had both 'maker of heaven and earth' and 'communion of saints' in his Creed; and the *Faith of St. Jerome*, recently discovered by Morin, which is another connecting link between East and West, probably includes phrases which St. Jerome had learned in his native Pannonian Creed. Any way, we can make sure that it was from Rome that the Received Text was finally spread, since there are indications that Pirminius was quoting from a Roman source, and there would be every reason for the decision in favour of a revision of the Old Roman Creed in the light of experience which had found each of the added phrases useful. The desire of Charles the Great for uniformity, and his careful inquiries about the different uses in Gaul and in Rome, led to the triumph of this Revision throughout the Western Church, as the Creed of daily use, although the Baptismal Creed of the Church of England still retains certain Gallican peculiarities, 'only-begotten' (= *unigenitus*, not *unicus*), 'shall come again at the end of the world,' and 'everlasting life after death.'⁸

2. The Nicene Creed.—The history of the Nicene Creed begins with the Council of Nicæa, when the Creed presented by Eusebius of Cæsarea was deliberately revised to guard against the doctrines of Arianism. Whether he had composed it for the occasion, or had simply quoted verbatim

¹ *Theol. Literaturblatt*, xxxiii. [1911] 19, 221.

² *Neuere Beiträge zur Gesch. des apost. Symbolums*, in *N. Kirchl. Zeitschr.* vii. (1896) 23.

³ *Symbolik*, Tübingen, 1902, i. 19.

⁴ *Das apost. Symbol*, li. 282.

⁵ *Apost. Symb.* p. 27.

⁶ *ZNTW*, 1906, p. 202.

⁷ T. Barna, 'Some Creed Problems,' in *JTAS*, 1906, p. 501.

⁸ Cf. A. E. Burn, *The Apostles' Creed*, London, 1906, p. 81.

the Creed of his Church, is uncertain. So far as it goes, it no doubt follows the lines of the Creed of Cæsarea, as his opening words imply; but he adds a free warning against Sabellianism, and a Baptismal Creed is not likely to have ended abruptly with mention of the Holy Ghost. But the Council was not satisfied. Prompted by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, the Emperor Constantine himself proposed the insertion of the term *homoousios*, which guarded against all evasions of Scripture teaching. Other changes may be noted by comparing the two forms.

CREED OF EUSEBIUS.

We believe
I. 1. In one God, the Father Almighty, the maker of all things visible and invisible.
II. 2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, Son Only-begotten, first born of every creature, before all the ages, begotten from the Father, by whom also all things were made;

2. Who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived as a citizen among men,

4. And suffered
5. And rose again the third day,
6. And ascended to the Father.

7.
8. And will come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead.

III. 9. And we believe also in one Holy Ghost;

Believing each of these to be and to exist, the Father truly Father, and the Son truly Son, and the Holy Ghost truly Holy Ghost, as also our Lord, sending forth His disciples for the preaching, said, 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Concerning whom we confidently affirm that so we hold, and so we think, and so we have held aforesaid, and we maintain this faith unto the death, anathematizing every godless heresy.

As Gwatkin has shown so clearly, the victory of Nicæa was a surprise rather than a solid conquest—a revolution which a minority had forced through by sheer strength of clearer Christian thought.¹ Therefore a reaction was inevitable and a long controversy followed. It was not till A.D. 362 that all the scheming and creed-making on Arian lines came to an end, when the most influential of the semi-Arian leaders, who had consistently opposed the introduction of un-Scriptural words, such as *homoousios*, into Creeds, were won over to the orthodox side because they found that only thus could they guard the sense of Scripture.

About this time many local Creeds were revised by the insertion of Nicene terms. By far the most important was the revised Jerusalem Creed, which is found in a treatise of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, called *The Anchored One*, written about A.D. 374. A French scholar of the 17th cent., Denys Petau, pointed out that this was the Creed afterwards ascribed to the Council of Constantinople. But it was Hort² who first pointed

out the importance of the argument which may be built up on the fact, and his theory connecting it with Cyril of Jerusalem has been accepted by most critics. He compared it with the form which Cyril taught his catechumens in his Catechetical Lectures (c. 347).³

CREED OF JERUSALEM.

I. 1. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.
II. 2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father, very God, before all worlds, by whom all things were made,

3. and was incarnate and was made man,

4. was crucified and was buried,

5. and rose again the third day,

6. and ascended into heaven,

7. and sat at the right hand of the Father,

8. and is coming in glory to judge the quick and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end.

III. 9. And in one Holy Ghost, the Paraclete, who spake in the prophets,

11. and in one baptism of repentance for the remission of sins,

10. and in one Holy Catholic Church,

12. and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life eternal.

CREED OF EPIPHANIUS.

I. 1. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things both visible and invisible.

II. 2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds—that is of the substance of the Father,—Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made, both that are in heaven and that are in earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven,

3. and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and was made man,

4. and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried,

5. and rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures.

6. and ascended into heaven,

7. and sitteth at the right hand of the Father,

8. and is coming again with glory to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

III. 9. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets:

10. In one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

11. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.

12. We look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come.

Three important changes must be noted, which tend to prove that Cyril was the author of this revision, since they agree with the teaching in his lectures; (i.) Art. 7 from *sat* to *sitteth*;⁴ (ii.) Art. 8 from *in glory to with glory*;⁵ (iii.) Art. 12 from *resurrection of the flesh* to *resurrection of the dead*.⁶ To these we add the skilful insertion of some of the Conciliar language, including the term *homoousios*, which marked the return to full communion with Athanasius and his allies. What could be more natural than that Cyril, after his return from exile in A.D. 362-364, should so revise his Creed? Epiphanius had connexions with Jerusalem and had lived in Palestine, so his acquaintance with the Creed is easily explained. The theory has been questioned by Lebedeff, who maintains that Epiphanius wrote down the original Nicene Creed, and that the revised Creed has been interpolated

¹ Cat. vi.-xviii.

² Ib. xv. 2.

³ Ib. xi. 17, xiv. 17-20.

⁴ Ib. xviii. 1-21.

⁵ Studies of Arianism, Cambridge, 1882, p. 54.

⁶ Two Dissertations, Cambridge, 1876.

by a copyist. He also maintains that the Jerusalem Creed reconstructed from the pages of Cyril is the invention of scholars.¹ Gibson also calls attention to the new material in the second division of the Creed 'new both to the Creed of Nicaea and to the Creed of Jerusalem, so that even if the Creed of Jerusalem lies at the basis of the Enlarged Creed, it has been revised by the help of other Creeds, as those of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the Church of Antioch.'² This dependence had not escaped the notice of Hort, and the sources may be regarded as one, since the Seventh Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* comes from Antioch, and was put together c. A.D. 375. Cyril's friendship with Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, is quite enough to explain why he should also make use of the Creed of Antioch.

We may regard the case for the opposition as 'not proven,' but it is clear that Hort's theory must be tested again in the light of all new evidence. He supposed that the subsequent connexion of the revised Creed with the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381 could be explained by the suggestion that Cyril brought it to prove his orthodoxy. But, since Cyril's leader, Meletius, became first President of that Council, there could be no question about Cyril. A more probable theory has been suggested by Kunze. After the death of Meletius, and the resignation of Gregory of Nazianzus who succeeded him, the new Bishop of Constantinople was Nectarius, Prætor of the city, who at the time of his election was unbaptized. His name seems to have been suggested to the Emperor by Diodore of Tarsus. At the end of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) all the Bishops signed the decrees with little notes. One of them, Callinicus, Bishop of Apamea (= Myrlea) in Bithynia, referred to the Council of Constantinople as having been held at the ordination of the most pious Nectarius the Bishop, and Kunze suggests that there was some connexion in his mind between the Creed and the consecration of Nectarius. Probably the revised Creed was professed at his baptism, and became from that date the Baptismal Creed of the city. It would naturally be quoted in the Acts of the Council, now lost, from which it was cited at the Council of Chalcedon as the Creed of the 150 Fathers, the original Nicene Creed being accurately distinguished from it as the Creed of the 318 Fathers.

It is not easy to decide on the true form of the text cited at Constantinople, since the form quoted at the second Session varied from the form quoted at the sixth Session, and both from the form in Epiphanius. Copyists were continually at work assimilating the forms, and to them may be attributed the slight variations found in the pages of Epiphanius which are printed in italics. It is possible that the variations in the texts used at Chalcedon represent the already divergent texts used at Constantinople and Rome.³

The later history of the Creed is coming out into clear light. It is probable that the words 'and the Son' in the clause about the Procession of the Spirit were added not by the Council of Toledo in A.D. 589, when King Recaredo accepted the Nicene Creed and abjured Arianism, but by later copyists. The Creed thus interpolated spread into Gaul. In A.D. 802, Charles the Great sent a deputation to consult Pope Leo on the text, controversy having already arisen in Palestine between representatives of the Eastern and Western Churches on the point. Leo freely admitted that it was quite orthodox to teach that the Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son, but depre-

cated the insertion of the words in the Creed, the Roman Church agreeing with the Eastern theologians as to its form. He even advised the Emperor to give up singing it in his chapel, thus emphasizing the interpolation. But the use continued, and in A.D. 1014 the Emperor Henry II. prevailed on Benedict VIII. 'to chant the Symbol at the Holy Mysteries'; and thus came in the use of the interpolated Creed.

The Western theologians start from the point of view of the immanent Trinity, from meditation on the *coinherence* of the Divine Persons, while their Eastern brethren are willing to accept the phrase 'from the Father *through* the Son,' as guarding the truth that there is only one Fount of Deity. It is one of the saddest facts of history that a merely verbal difference should keep Churches apart, since frank explanation on both sides could clear up the theological as well as the historical question.⁴

3. The 'Athanasian' Creed.—The history of the so-called Athanasian Creed—more correctly designated, after the analogy of the *Te Deum*, by its first words, *Quicumque vult*—is still at some points obscure. But we are no longer in doubt as to the dates of the important MSS. With the help of photographs, palæographers are enabled to decide that some MSS belong to the 8th cent.; one, in the famous Ambrosian Library at Milan, may even be of the end of the 7th (*Cod. Ambrosianus*, O. 212 *sup.*).

The famous two-portion theory, put forward by Swainson and Lumby, has been shown to rest on precarious foundations, and may be dismissed without further notice. We have not yet reached ultimate certainty about small details in the text, the order of certain words, the use of the conjunction *et*, or the claim of the form *surrexit* against the reading *resurrexit*, but any polishing which the Creed had received in the course of its long history is of small account, now that we can say that it reaches us substantially as it was written. It belongs to the class of individual, private confessions of faith, and is, properly speaking, an instruction rather than a Creed, which may be offered as a substitute for the Apostles' Creed, or a canticle parallel to the *Te Deum*, with which it found its way into an appendix to the Psalter from the end of the 8th century.

There is little doubt that it can be identified with 'the Faith of the holy prelate Athanasius' commended by a Synod of Autun, which was presided over by Bishop Leodgar (c. A.D. 670), to be learnt by heart by all clergy.

Some forty years earlier, in A.D. 633, it had been quoted by the Fourth Council of Toledo together with the so-called Creed of Damasus. The clauses quoted were 4, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, (39), 40, so that it is evident that the Spanish theologians had the whole text before them.

We can also trace quotations with great probability in the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, the great preacher of the 6th cent. (+543), as has been proved beyond question by Morin.⁵

Any doubts which may be felt about the authorship of the pseudo-Augustinian sermon 244 do not affect the general argument. Morin pointed out that the Creed reproduces both the qualities and the literary defects of Caesarius. In his recent lectures at Oxford he was disposed to put the date later.⁶

The proof is not yet forthcoming that the *Quicumque* belongs to the time of Caesarius, if it is not from his pen. The argument of Waterland,

¹ Cf. A. E. Burn, *The Nicene Creed*, London, 1909, p. 40 ff.

² Cf. Le Symbole de S. Athanasie et son premier témoin: Saint Césaire d'Arles, in *Revue bénédictine*, xviii. (1900) 337 ff.

³ *JThSt*, Jan. 1911, p. 161. His criticism of all current theories, including his own, is too sweeping, but deserves most careful study.

⁴ *Theological Messenger*, 1902 (a summary of his argument was published in *JThSt*, Jan. 1903, p. 285 ff.).

⁵ *The Three Creeds*, p. 171.

⁶ Cf. A. E. Burn, *Facsimiles of Creed Texts*, Camb. 1906, p. 18.

that it belongs to Apollinarian times, still carries much weight. The fact remains that the illustration from the constitution of man's nature in clause 35, though it had been used freely by St. Augustine, as before him by St. Ambrose, was misused by the Eutychians, who pleaded for one nature in Christ, as soul and body make one nature in man. After the rise of their heresy, Catholic writers shrank from using it, but there is no hint that the author of the *Quicumque* feared such doctrine, since he could easily have inserted teaching that Christ is consubstantial with us in the one nature as He is consubstantial with the Father in the other. Such phrases had been used in Gaul by Cassian before the rise of Eutychianism, and so were ready to hand.

Waterland points out that the Unity of Christ's Person is taught, but not as if it were endangered by Nestorian error. 'There is not a word of the Mother of God, or of one Son only, in opposition to two Sons, or of God's being born, suffering, dying—the kind of expressions of which the Creeds are full after Nestorius's times, and after the Council of Ephesus.'¹ Indeed, the parallels to clauses 32-36 in Vincentius and Faustus are, as it were, sharpened by subtle turns of phrase, just as we find Alcuin and Paulinus of Aquileia sharpening by slight changes their quotations from the *Quicumque*, against the revived Nestorianism of the Adoptionists of the 8th century.

Moreover, there is a new line of argument which was not open to Waterland. In the recently discovered writings of Priscillian we have trustworthy evidence of a heresy which spread from Spain to Gaul in the beginning of the 5th cent., and which called for close vigilance and reasoned arguments from Church teachers to counteract it. The *de Fide* of Bacchiarus is the apology of a monk who came from Spain into Gaul at that time, and was closely examined by the Gallican bishops as to his faith, and it is a significant fact that it has been preserved only in the Ambrosian MS of the *Quicumque*. The heresy of Priscillian was both Sabellian and Apollinarian. He confused the Persons of the Trinity, and denied that the Lord had a human soul, as the following passages may suffice to prove. In his *Blessing over the Faithful* he writes:

'For thou art God who . . . art believed as one God, invisible in the Father, visible in the Son, and art found as Holy Spirit united in the work of both';² and 'Finally our God assuming flesh, assigning to Himself the form of God and Man, that is, of Divine soul and human flesh' . . .³

When language so inaccurate was vehemently put forward as Catholic teaching, there was need of a summary of Catholic belief on the Trinity and the Incarnation, which should lay due stress on the responsibility of the intellect in matters of faith, and at the same time do justice to the moral aspect of these problems, and prove that faith worketh by love, that only they that have done good shall go into life eternal. The *Quicumque* exactly meets these requirements. May it not have been written for the purpose?⁴

This suggestion of the present writer has been warmly accepted by Küntzle,⁵ who has made a special study of Spanish canons and treatises against Priscillianism, though he vitiates the argument by assuming that all such writings against Priscillian must have a Spanish origin—for which there is no proof.

From the time of Antelmi the parallels in the *Communitorium* of Vincentius of Lérins have been held to prove his acquaintance with the *Quicumque*, if not his authorship, which seemed probable to

Ommanney (1897) as to Antelmi (1693). Perhaps it is rash to attempt to discover the author. Certainly Waterland's quotation from the funeral sermon which Hilary of Arles preached after the death of Honoratus, his predecessor both in the See of Arles and in the Abbey of Lérins, if it suggests acquaintance with the *Quicumque*, suggests also that Honoratus, rather than Hilary, was the author:

'A daily witness wast thou, moreover, in thy most sincere discourses of the confession of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: nor surely has any one treated so emphatically, so clearly, of the Trinity of the Godhead, since thou didst distinguish the Persons therein and yet didst associate them in eternity and majesty of glory' (*Vita Honorati*, 38).

With this we may compare a quotation from a sermon on the same lines by Faustus, who, like Hilary, had been a loyal disciple of Honoratus:

'Therefore, beloved, that we may gain that which he has obtained, let us first follow that which he taught: and, first of all, let us hold the right faith: let us believe Father and Son and Holy Ghost (to be) one God. For, where there is unity, there cannot be inequality: and, since the Son, because He is God, is perfect, complete, and full, that fullness certainly cannot be described as "less"' (*in Depositione S. Honorati*).

Whatever may be thought about the praise here given to Honoratus as a teacher on the very lines of the *Quicumque*, there can be no question as to the ability and earnestness of the community which he had gathered round him during the years A.D. 420-430. In their happy island-home was focused all that the Gallican Church could show of learning and piety. Their age contrasts favourably with the following century, when Caesarius represents the last hope of the ancient culture, and when the rising tide of barbarism was about to sweep away all its landmarks—a century in which the composition of the *Quicumque* would seem to be incredible.

The arguments of Brewer, that the *Quicumque* is a work of St. Ambrose, have not received any measure of support, and do not seem to be based on any fresh evidence; but they certainly strengthen the argument for a 5th cent. date, by proving, far more conclusively than any one has hitherto discovered, that St. Ambrose, no less than St. Augustine, came close to the very language of the Creed.

The early history of the Creed is, however, of less importance than the history of its use. The revived interest in Church music, which was fostered in the schools of Charles the Great, led to its use as a Canticle. Abbot Angilbert of St. Riquier (c. 814) records that it was sung in procession on Rogation Days, and before long it was so sung in the Office of Prime. But such was not the only use made of it, or, indeed, the most primitive, since the extremely interesting preface to the (so-called) Oratorian Commentary, possibly from the pen of Theodulf of Orleans, speaks of its use by clergy as a manual of Christian teaching, which reminds us of the Canon of Autun as well as of the use made of it by Caesarius. Addressing a Synod, the writer says that he has carried out their instructions 'to provide an exposition of this work on the Faith, which is up and down recited in our churches and continually made the subject of meditation by our priests.' Similar use is directed in the 9th cent. by many prominent teachers—Hayto of Basel, Anskar of Bremen, and Hincmar of Rheims.

In the Middle Ages the use at Prime spread everywhere, and recent researches have proved that the whole service of Matins, including Lauds, Prime, and Terce, was most popular in England as a preparation for the Mass. William Langland, in 'Piers the Plowman,' at the end of the 14th cent., writes of the duty of all classes to cease from work on Sundays, 'God's service to hear, Both Matins and Mass.' But the fact remains that comparatively few of the people understood Latin, although the devout layman of the upper classes who could afford to possess a breviary would, of course, be able to read and follow it in

¹ *Critical History*, p. 149.

² Ed. Schepes, Vienna, 1889, p. 108.

³ *Ib.*, *Tract.* vi. § 99.

⁴ Cf. A. E. Burn, *Intro. to the Creeds*, p. 164.

⁵ *Antipriscillianiana*, p. 222.

the Office. There are several early translations into the vernacular, at one time Norman French, at another Old English; but there is no evidence of any wide-spread acquaintance with it in such translations. In the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. the English Reformers directed that the Athanasian Creed should be 'sung or said' after the Benedictus, at the greater Feasts. In the Second Prayer Book the number of Feasts was increased at which the use of it was obligatory, and only in 1662 was it substituted for the Apostles' Creed, which had hitherto followed it.

In the controversy of the present day no amended translation is likely to bring peace, such as the translation put forward by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee. The real crux lies in the difficulty which is felt about using the warning clauses in a mixed congregation on days when it is impossible to preach an explanatory sermon. A relaxation of the rule, such as permission to use it at the first evensong of the Festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday (when the clergy, and presumably the instructed faithful, could well make it, as the author of the Oratorian Commentary suggests, 'a subject of meditation'), would meet the difficulties of wounded consciences on both sides. The Roman Catholic Church uses it still in Prime, chiefly in Advent and Lent. The Eastern Church has only put it in an Appendix to the Hour Offices, without any directions for use.

Conclusion.—Looking back over the history of the three great Creeds, one is amazed at the comparative simplicity of the great truths thus singled out by the common sense of the Church, through the centuries, as of primary importance. We are not concerned with the credibility of miracles as such, only with the evidence that the first witnesses believed that Christ rose from the dead and sent down His Spirit. The earliest forms of Creed present an Historic Faith which summed up their gratitude for the mystery at last revealed through the Spirit to the Church, with the assurance of forgiveness of sins and resurrection to a better life. The theological terms of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds do not bring in metaphysics of set purpose, or condemn the Church to wander in a barren wilderness of controversy. Athanasius himself did not invent or suggest the use of the phrase 'of one substance.' He was moulded by it. He found in it a bulwark of the ancient belief that the Son was one with the Father (Jn 10³⁰) and to be worshipped with Him. He had no word for 'Person.' It was reserved for the genius of Augustine to make that term current coin, even though he shrank from the boldness of his thought. Let us note that it was on psychological rather than metaphysical lines that he approached the problem, led on by deep musing on the mystery of his own personality to speculation on the deeper mystery of Divine Personality. And in the first part of the *Quicumque*, whether the author owed little or much to Augustine, it is by the measure of such musings that it must be valued. The very bravery of the antitheses ranging through the great series of Divine attributes—uncreated, infinite, eternal, almighty—shadows forth the truth of the equal glory and co-eternal majesty, and excludes every rationalistic explanation—Sabellian, Arian, or Priscillianist. But this is definitely the Creed of the Church teacher, face to face with errors which are common to the human mind in every age and everywhere. In the hour of death the words of the ancient Baptismal Creed suffice as 'an anchor of the soul . . . entering into that which is within the veil' (He 6¹⁹).

See also CONFESSIONS.

LITERATURE.—H. Brewer, *Das sogenannte Athanas. Glaubensbekenntnis ein Werk des heiligen Ambrosius*, Paderborn,

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CREED (Egyptian).—In seeking to arrive at a conception of the Egyptian creed, we are met by the fact that, generally speaking, the Egyptian never attempted to formulate or define a body of doctrine with regard to the multitude of gods worshipped in his land. This absence of any systematic theology is due mainly to the prevalence of the idea of the local god. The Egyptian State rose out of a number of small independent tribes, and, even after the unification of the kingdom at the beginning of the Dynastic period, the original subdivisions still existed in the shape of the 'nemes' or provinces, roughly 42 in number, into which the land was divided. Each original tribe possessed its own local god, supreme in his own district; and these gods continued to be worshipped as separate divinities, though they were, in many cases, mere duplicates of those existing in other localities. The Egyptian never attempted to bring any unity out of this confused mass of deities, to reduce to order the conceptions held with regard to them, or to discard their inconsistencies and contradictions. If, as frequently happened, one local god came to be acknowledged in another locality, his new worshippers simply took over his old titles and myths, regardless of the fact that thus they sometimes duplicated the legends of their own local god, and sometimes introduced contradictions to them. The extraordinary confusion of ideas thus produced is apparent everywhere, and can perhaps be seen most clearly in the different strata of beliefs with regard to the life after death which lay side by side in the Egyptian mind, apparently without its ever being perceived that they were inconsistent with one another, or at least without any attempt being made to remove their contradictions and to arrive at a coherent system of belief.

This statement has to be qualified to some extent by the fact that, at certain periods of Egyptian history, particular gods did rise to much more than merely local supremacy, and attained a more or less general acknowledgment. Thus from the time of the Vth dynasty the solar god Ra, who was looked upon as the founder of the reigning house, rose into prominence, and from that time onwards secured fairly general acknowledgment, the local gods being frequently identified with him. In the XVIIIth dynasty, again, Amen, the local god of Thebes, rose, with the rise of the Theban princes, to a position of supremacy which was not lost till far on in the decline of the Empire. And the worship of Osiris, the god of the dead and of the resurrection—probably one of the very oldest of Egyptian cults—was always more or less general, though he, too, had his local supremacy. In spite, however, of these exceptions, the local gods still continued to be worshipped side by side with the deity whose cult was for the time prevalent, and their myths were still accepted, regardless of the fact that they might be either identical with, or contradictory to, those of their brother god. It is evident, therefore, that we cannot expect to find any single and definite summary of doctrine which can be called the Egyptian 'creed.' All that can be done is to summarize the beliefs most generally accepted on certain aspects of religion.

1. Beliefs with regard to the Creation and the cosmic gods.—Various attempts were made to arrive at something like a systematic idea of the

cosmic gods and their relationship to the Creation. The most complete and popular of these was due to the priestly college of An, or Heliopolis (the Biblical On). The priests of the sun-god at this town—from the most ancient times the most noted theological centre of Egypt—elaborated at a very early period a scheme of the relationship of the various members of the cycle of cosmic gods to one another and to the universe, and their doctrine of the great Heliopolitan *ennead* gives us what was perhaps the prevailing belief in the land, though it was held with various modifications in different localities. In their scheme there existed in the beginning a primordial liquid element, the *Nun* or *Nu*, from which there emerged the sun-god Ra-Tum. Ra-Tum begat of himself, and produced the male and female divinities Shu and Tefnut, who may be regarded as representing air (or the firmament) and moisture. From Shu and Tefnut, or perhaps by a fresh procession from Ra, came Seb and Nut, the earth and the starry heaven, and from Seb and Nut came the two further pairs of gods, Osiris and Isis (the Nile and the fruitful ground[?]), and Set and Nephthys (the barren desert land and its animal life[?]). The Creation reached its present form by the interposition of Shu, the air-god, who came between Seb and Nut, the earth and the heavens, as they were locked in embrace, and lifted up Nut, who since his interposition stands arched over Seb, her hands and feet touching the earth at the cardinal points, and her body adorned with the stars.

The Heliopolitan *ennead* must have been formulated at a very early period of Egyptian history, for in the Pyramid texts the list of the nine gods is given as above. The popularity of this scheme gave rise to various imitations of it, and other towns and districts formed *enneads* of their own, sometimes displacing one of the nine gods of Heliopolis to make room for their own local god, sometimes adding him to the nine, careless of the fact that thus their *ennead* contained ten divinities. Even as thus modified to suit local preferences, however, the Heliopolitan scheme did not meet with universal acceptance, and side by side with its doctrine of creation there existed other beliefs quite inconsistent with it. At Memphis the fabrication of the world was attributed to Ptah, who carved the earth like a statue; at Elephantine to Khnum, who fashioned the world-egg like a potter working with his wheel; and at Sais to Neith, who wove the universe as a weaver weaves a piece of cloth. In the Creation-story preserved in the famous legend of the destruction of mankind, the heavens are represented, not by the woman-goddess Nut, but by the celestial cow, across whose body the sun-god journeys in his barque. It is probable that this attempt at a scientific grouping of the gods and explanation of the Creation was not so much a popular doctrine as a cherished possession of the various priestly colleges, who elaborated it and modified it to suit their local tastes and rivalries. See COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Egyp.).

2. Beliefs with regard to immortality and the life after death.—In dealing with these, we come into touch with what probably makes the nearest approach to a universally accepted body of doctrine to which the Egyptians ever attained. The idea of immortality has been nowhere more tenaciously held than in ancient Egypt, and the documents relating to it have an overwhelming preponderance in the religious literature of the nation. The most accepted form of belief is that associated with the cycle of Osiris legends. Osiris appears in the Heliopolitan *ennead*, though in a comparatively subordinate position; but as early as the period of the Pyramid texts he figures in a much more important rôle as the god of the dead and the

source of immortal life to the blessed dead. The details of his myth do not concern us; but, briefly, the doctrine of the Egyptian religion taught that Osiris, a beneficent god and king, after being slain by the treachery of Set his malevolent antithesis, was restored to life again, justified before the gods against the accusations of Set, and made god and judge in the under world. Already by the time of the Vth dynasty the idea had been conceived that the story of Osiris was repeated in the case of each Pharaoh, and the conception gradually filtered down, until it was held that every man who was possessed of the necessary knowledge might after death become an Osiris, be restored to life, be justified before the gods, and enter into everlasting blessedness. Practically the Egyptian believed, from the earliest historical period, that, because Osiris died and rose again, and after being justified entered into everlasting life, therefore those who believed in him would share the same destiny. Ch. cliv. of the Book of the Dead makes the definite assertion of parallelism between the god and his worshipper:

'Homage to thee, O my divine father Osiris! Thou hast thy body with thy members. Thou didst not decay . . . thou didst not become corruption. I shall not decay . . . and I shall not see corruption . . . I shall have my being, I shall live, I shall germinate, I shall wake up in peace.'

It is impossible to say whether or not the Egyptian believed that Osiris suffered death on his behalf; certainly he believed that there was an essential connexion between the death and resurrection of Osiris and his own immortality. This belief is held, with no essential variations, throughout the whole historic period.

Definiteness ceases at once, however, when we pass from the fact of immortal life to the manner in which it is to be spent. Nowhere is the jumble of inconsistencies, which seemingly never worried the Egyptian mind, more hopeless than here. The prominent beliefs regarding the state and the abode of the blessed dead are at least four in number, each quite distinct from, and quite inconsistent with, all the others. The oldest and most wide-spread belief was that after death the deceased leads a second life under much the same conditions as those which ruled the first, dependent upon constant supplies of food and drink, and partaking in his new existence of joys similar to those of his former state. In this state the centre of the life after death is the tomb. Another very ancient idea places the abode of the dead in heaven, where they shine as stars in the firmament, and are privileged to take a place in the barque of the sun-god and to accompany him on his voyage through the heavens. A third conception assigns to the blessed dead a life of blissful labour and pleasure in the Egyptian Elysian Fields. The dead man flies up to heaven like a bird, or ascends a gigantic ladder, and, after passing through many difficulties, arrives at the *Sekhet Aaru*, or 'Field of Bulrushes,' where he spends his time in the same agricultural pursuits and field-sports which had occupied him on earth.

Finally, another belief was that the souls of the departed dwell in the under world through which the sun passes during the hours of the night—a land that in the daytime is one of darkness and desolation. Only at night, as the sun in his barque passes through the twelve domains of the darkness, do the deceased experience something of joy and activity in the hour when he traverses the particular domain in which their lot is cast. Later the belief arose that the illuminated soul, if instructed in the proper formulae, might share the voyage of the god through the *Duat*, or under world, instead of merely being gladdened by a passing glimpse of him. These various views co-existed with the Osirian doctrine, though they are essentially quite

independent of it, and, indeed, can be accommodated to it only with difficulty. The popularity of the last of them—the belief in the abode in the *Duat*, and the voyage of the sun-god there—was mainly confined to the period of the XIXth and XXth dynasties.

3. Beliefs with regard to the nature and attributes of the gods.—Discarding all that is of merely local significance in regard to the various divinities, it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear idea of what the Egyptian believed concerning the nature of the gods. The material is mainly to be found in the various hymns extant, and especially in those addressed to Ra, to Amen-Ra, to Osiris, and to the Aten, the god whom Amenhotep IV. (Akhenaten) attempted to make sole god of Egypt. In most of these hymns we are met by a great and almost meaningless accumulation of epithets which are applied indifferently to various gods in the most bewildering fashion. Setting these aside as mere formalities, we generally find a residuum of evidence as to the nature of the god who is being addressed. Thus, from a fine hymn to Amen at Cairo, we have the following:

'Sole form, producing all things, the one, the sole one, who creates all beings. All human beings have come from his eye, and the gods from the word of his mouth. He it is who makes pastures for the herds and fruit-trees for men; who creates that whereby fish live in the river and the birds under the heavens. . . . Amen is thus the creator and sustainer of being. Further, he is a god of mercy and justice, 'listening to the poor who is in distress, gentle of heart when one cries unto him; deliverer of the timid man from the violent, judging the poor and the oppressed. . . . Lord of mercy most loving, at whose coming men live. . . . Maker of beings, Creator of existences, Sovereign of life, health, and strength, chief of the gods. We worship thy spirit, who alone hast made us, . . . we give thee praise on account of thy mercy to us.'

Again, from a hymn to Ra in the papyrus of Hu-nefer, we have a remarkably clear statement of the unity, the eternity, and the inscrutable nature of the god:

'Thou art unknown, and no tongue is worthy to declare thy likeness; only thou thyself. Thou art One. . . . Millions of years have gone over the world; I cannot tell the number of those through which thou hast passed. Thou dost travel through unknown spaces requiring millions and hundreds of thousands of years. . . . This thou doest in one little moment of time.'

Strangely enough, it is in the hymns to Osiris, otherwise 'the most human of all the gods,' that we find, on the whole, the most endless multiplication of ceremonial epithets, and the greatest dearth of statement as to his nature and attributes. There are, of course, in the hymns and other portions of the Book of the Dead frequent references to his functions as the bestower of immortality, and prayers that the deceased might share in everlasting life; beyond that there is little that distinguishes him from such gods as Amen and Ra. One of the best known of his hymns has the following:

'The circle of the solar disk is under his orders; winds, rivers, inundation, fruit-trees, as well as all the annual plants. . . . Every being invokes him, every man adores his beauties. Delightful for us is his love; his grace environs the heart.'

There is nothing here which might not be said of Ra, Amen, or any other of the great gods.

By far the most remarkable statement of belief in Egyptian religious literature is to be found in the hymns addressed to the Aten, or vital power of the solar disk, the god of the heretic king Akhenaten (XVIIIth dynasty). These hymns, the composition of which has been ascribed to the king himself, express the elements of that belief in a sole god, invisible, spiritual, and universal, which Akhenaten endeavoured to make the national religion. The longer of the hymns has been frequently translated, and its teaching may be summarized as follows:

To Aten is ascribed rule over the times of the day and the activities of men and animals. The strength in which men go forth to their labours comes from him, and all the blessings with which the creatures, even to the fishes in the river and the depths of the sea, are endowed are his gifts. He is confessed as the source of life, alike in man and in the smallest of created existences. 'Thou createst conception in women, making the

issue of mankind. . . . the small bird in the egg, chirping within the shell, thou givest it its breath within the egg.' Aten is omnipresent, and is the universal god of all mankind, appointing to men their different abodes, and their diversity of appearance and speech. 'In the hills from Syria to Kush, and in the plain of Egypt, thou givest to every one his place, thou framest their lives, to every one his belongings, reckoning his length of days. . . . As a divider thou dividest the strange peoples' (cf. Ac 17:24-28). Further, Aten is the source of all fertility in the world, the maker of that Nile in heaven which brings rain for the outlandish folk, and of the Nile from the nether world which fertilizes Egypt. 'Thou placest a Nile in heaven, that it may rain upon them. . . . O, Lord of Eternity, the Nile in heaven is for the strange people. . . . the Nile that cometh from below the earth is for the land of Egypt, that it may nourish every field.' Finally, he is the creator of the seasons and the maker of the far-off heaven for his own abode. The hymn closes with a notable declaration of personal relationship to God: 'Thou art in my heart, there is none other that knoweth thee, save thy son Akhenaten. Thou hast made him wise in thy designs and thy might. . . . Thou hast raised them up for thy son, who came forth from thy limbs, the king living in Truth, the Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperu-ra-ua-en-ra.'

On the whole, while the hymn to Aten is immeasurably finer as a poetical composition than the hymns to the other gods, it can scarcely be said to present any very original thoughts, two points being excepted. All the statements about the creative and sustaining power of the Aten could be fairly matched in substance by phrases from hymns to Ra and Amen. The real distinctions of the poem are its acknowledgment of a god who is universal, whose providence and rule are not for Egypt alone, but for all lands; and its profession of a personal relationship of faith and inspiration between the royal psalmist and his divinity.

Summing up, we find that, in his best presentations of his faith, the Egyptian professed belief in a self-existent God who was the Creator and Preserver of all things, merciful and gentle, specially careful of the most helpless of His children, invisible and inscrutable, one alone, eternal, omniscient, and omnipresent; while the development of thought under Akhenaten gives the further conceptions of His spirituality, His universality, and His personal relationship to His adorer. All this was overlaid and confused by the chaos of merely local aspects of divinity which forms the surface of Egyptian religion; but still this was the nature of the God behind the gods of Egypt.

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CREED (Jewish).—Articles of creed in the modern sense were unknown in the earlier period of the post-Biblical Judaism. No necessity had been felt to express man's relation to God in other forms than those found in Dt 6:4-10¹² and similar passages of the OT. The belief in God being based on the Biblical report of revelation to the patriarchs, and assuming the character of a postulate, obedience to His law was considered a mere logical consequence. The simplicity of this system contrasts strangely with the elaborate array of articles of faith adopted in later centuries. It is therefore desirable to examine the factors that bridged the gulf.

It was inevitable that Judaism should absorb a certain amount of the metaphysical speculations of the various Greek schools. The first outcome of this was Philo's theology. In the concluding chapter of his treatise on the 'Creation of the

World' (*de Opificio Mundi*, ch. lxi.) he gives the result of his investigations in the form of the following five 'lessons' taught by Moses:

(1) God has real existence; (2) God is one; (3) the world is created; (4) the world is one; (5) God's providence embraces the world.

The early Jewish Rabbis, however, being concerned with the practice of the Law rather than with speculations, sought to check their propagation among the people.

'The work of creation,' the Mishnā teaches, 'should not be studied by a company of two, and the Chariot not even in solitude, unless the student be sagacious and capable of drawing the right conclusions' (*Hagigā*, ii. 1).

The terms 'work of creation' and 'Chariot' stand for metaphysics in general. In an additional note the Mishnā says explicitly that for him who inquires into

'what is above and below, what was heretofore and will be hereafter, or deals lightly with the glory of his Maker, it would be better for him never to have been born.'

Moreover, Ben Sira (Sir 32¹¹) utters a solemn warning against the study of metaphysics, and several authorities of the Talmud (of the 4th cent. A.D.), commenting on the words both of the Mishnā and of Ben Sira, make no other concession than that of allowing the communication of the 'headings of the chapters' to scholars of ripened wisdom (*Hagigā*, fol. 13). We find, however, in the Mishnā an attempt to formulate, in a negative way, something like a creed.

'The following,' we read (*Sanh.* x. 1), 'have no part in the future happiness: he who asserts that the resurrection of the dead is not intimated in the Tōrah; that the Tōrah is not of Divine origin; and the heretic.'

The passage thus enjoins, by way of climax, the belief in retribution after death, revelation, and the existence of God; and we shall see, later on, that the same passage was made the basis of real articles of creed. The authorities of the Talmud, however, proceeded in a different way. Instead of formally demanding theoretical belief, they selected from the moral code three of the most important prohibitions, viz. idolatry, incest, and murder, and laid down that death was to be chosen rather than transgression even under compulsion (*Sanh.* fol. 74). An enlarged list of laws was imposed upon mankind in general under the name of the 'Seven Noachian Laws,' forming the nucleus of a religious system. They comprised the command of jurisdiction, and the prohibitions of blasphemy, idolatry, murder, incest, robbery, and the eating of flesh from a living animal (*Sanh.* fol. 56). A kind of creed in epigrammatic form is Hillel's famous recommendation to the heathen who desired to learn the essence of Judaism in a moment: 'What is hateful to thee, do not do to thy neighbour' (*Shabb.* fol. 31).

The first steps in the changing of this attitude were indirectly prompted by Muslim theologians, who created a speculative theology known by the name of *Kalām*. The Muhammadan criticism of the anthropomorphisms of the OT interfered with the Jewish antipathies to metaphysical research, and the struggle was carried right into the Jewish camp by the sect of the Karaites who, rejecting all Rabbinic tradition and attaching no value to the authority of Mishnā and Talmud, took up the method of the Mu'tazilite (dissenting) *Kalām* for their own needs. The consequence was that Rabbanite Jews were compelled to follow suit and to employ philosophic arguments for the defence of revealed religion. This marks the beginning of the religious philosophy of the Jews, and its oldest expounder was Sa'adya of Fayyūm, who died in 942 at Sura, in Babylonia. In his work on 'Creeds and Beliefs' he set aside the warning of the Mishnā against metaphysical speculation, on the plea that the Sages did not forbid honest reflexion (*Amānūt*, ed. Landauer, p. 21). He was also the first to venture a defini-

tion of the idea of creed. 'Faith,' he says, 'is a notion arising in the soul with regard to a subject, the true nature of which has been recognized' (*ib.* 11). What he really means is conviction gained by one of the various processes of recognition, such as personal perception, truthful evidence, and logical conclusion. As none of these applies to the tenets of the Jewish religion, he adds, as a fourth source, 'reliable tradition based on revelation'—a phrase which marks the difference between the creed of Rabbanite Judaism on the one side, and Muhammadan as well as Karaite *Kalām* on the other. Beyond this first attempt, however, Sa'adya has specified no real articles of faith, employing for the remainder of his theories the usual methods of the Mu'tazilite *Kalām*, which held sway among Jewish philosophers for two centuries afterwards.

The heterodox colouring of the *Kalām* in the writings of the famous Arab philosopher Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā), in connexion with the criticism of Muslim theologians and the growing pretensions of the Karaites, gradually brought about a reaction in favour of a more decided accentuation of the tenets of Rabbanite Jewish religion. As its doctors, however, had little practice in formulating articles of creed, they again turned to the Arabs, who employed the term *aqida* (plur. *aqā'id*) for this purpose. The first Muslim who formulated articles of creed was the famous Abul-Laith Naṣr of Samarkand (†993), who laid down the tenets of his faith in a work entitled *Aqida* (Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 19413), written in the form of a catechism. Of greater popularity, in fact the standard work on the subject, is the *Aqā'id* of al-Nasafi (†1142), which, it is probable, served Jewish writers as a model for the formation of their articles of creeds. For it should be noted that the first Jewish work which contained something approaching axioms of faith did not see the light till that period. About 1140 the poet and philosopher Judah Hallēvi of Castile composed his famous work *al-Khazari* in defence of 'the despised faith.' The book (which is written in Arabic) is based on a narrative dealing with the search of the king of the Khazars for the right belief. Being dissatisfied with the doctrines offered to him by a philosopher of the Avicenna type, a Christian scholastic, and a Muslim doctor of the Mu'tazilite school, he finally asks a Jewish Rabbi for his creed. The last named, in contradistinction to his predecessors with their more or less speculative theories, answers:

'I believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, who led the children of Israel out of Egypt with signs and miracles . . . our belief is comprised in the Tōrah' (*al-Khazari*, p. 44). This formal confession is subsequently supplemented by the following sentence:

'To this [prayer] the believer attaches the following articles of creed [*aqā'id*] which complete the Jewish belief, viz. (1) the recognition of God's sovereignty, (2) His eternity, (3) the providential care which He bestowed upon our forefathers, (4) that the Tōrah emanated from Him, and (5) that the proof of all this is found in the delivery from Egypt' (*ib.* 154).

From these words we conclude that the notion of articles of creed was familiar to Judah Hallēvi, though he saw no necessity to formulate them for the benefit of his Jewish brethren. Sweeping away speculation of all kinds, he substitutes for it *a priori* belief, from which everything else follows as a necessary consequence (*ib.* 270). In order to show the contrast between his attitude and that of religious speculators, he reproduces in ten axioms the system of the Karaite *Kalām* (*ib.* 275-278). Judah Hallēvi's omission to condense the results of his investigations into a similar system is thus far quite consistent with his views. A more definite attempt to formulate axioms of belief on Arab-Aristotelian lines was made by Abraham b. David of Toledo (1161)—the author of a work (like

wise written in Arabic) which bears the name *al-'Aqida al-rafi'a* ('The Lofty Creed'). The first part is purely speculative, but the second consists of *six* somewhat crudely formed dogmas, viz.

(1) God's existence and incorporeality; (2) His unity or oneness; (3) His attributes; (4) His rule of the universe; (5) belief based on tradition and belief in prophecy; (6) metaphorical names of God, Divine Providence, and human free will.

This attempt was subsequently eclipsed by Abraham's contemporary Moses Maimonides, who supplied what he considered to be a want, being, no doubt, urged to take this step by the continued attacks of Muslim theologians, as well as by his inborn love of systematizing. It is to him that Judaism owes the famous 'Thirteen Articles of Creed,' which both in abridged Hebrew prose and in verse were introduced into the Jewish prayer-book, and which enjoy an unbounded popularity among Jews all over the world. It is doubtful, however, whether this was his aim. The Articles were originally composed in Arabic, and form part of his commentary on the *Mishnā Sanh. x.* I quoted above. A perusal of these Articles makes it clear that they were meant, in the first instance, as a protest against various Christian and Muhammadan statements: (1) that Biblical anthropomorphism was a departure from pure monotheism; (2) that Moses' prophethood was eclipsed by that of Muhammad; (3) that the Rabbis had altered the *Tōrah*; (4) that the law of Moses had been abrogated by that of Muhammad; and (5) that the Messiah was still expected. The Hebrew version of these Articles by Samuel b. Tibbōn (c. 1200) is attached to the ordinary editions of the Talmud. For the purposes of this sketch the following short abstract of the Articles must suffice:

- I. God exists, and is the cause of all existing beings.
- II. God's unity is absolute, and is not to be compared with other units which are subject to division.
- III. God is incorporeal and, therefore, exempt from any accidental attribute. The anthropomorphic passages in the Bible must be taken metaphorically.
- IV. God's unity is without beginning.
- V. No other being besides God must be worshipped. This also holds good for angels, spheres, and elements.
- VI. Prophecy is a distinction granted to human beings of superior degree, whose souls enter into intimate connexion with the Creative Intellect.
- VII. Moses is the father of all prophets both before and after him. He is distinguished from other prophets by four characteristics. (1) With no prophet did God hold direct intercourse as with Moses (*Nu 12⁸*). (2) God did not appear to Moses in dreams, as to other prophets (*v. 9*). (3) Other prophets experienced in the hour of vision a weakening of their vital power, and a great fear (*De 10⁸⁻¹⁹*), which was not the case with Moses. (4) Other prophets were obliged to wait for revelations (*2 K 19⁹*), whilst Moses was empowered to solicit them (*Nu 9⁸, Lv 16²*).
- VIII. The *Tōrah* is of Divine origin: 'It is incumbent to believe that the whole of this law, as it is in our hands this day, is the *Tōrah* which was revealed to Moses. It is all Divine, which means that it reached him by what is metaphorically termed speech.'
- IX. This law will not be abrogated, nor will there be any other law of Divine origin. Nothing will be added to, or taken away from, it.
- X. God knows the actions of all mankind.
- XI. God rewards those who obey the Law, and punishes its transgressors.
- XII. The Messiah will arrive without fail, no matter how long he tarry.
- XIII. Resurrection of the dead.

It can easily be seen that these thirteen Articles consist of three groups, viz. I.-V., VI.-IX., X.-XIII., reducing the whole system to the three fundamental principles of belief in God, Revelation, and Retribution after death. This reduction was, indeed, carried out and proved by Joseph Albo (first half of 15th cent.) in his work on 'Fundamental Principles' (Introduct. and pt. i. ch. 4). It is impossible that Maimonides should not have been aware of this, but the anti-Muhammadan as well as anti-Christian tendencies of several of the paragraphs cannot be mistaken. The anonymous redactor of the most popular recension of these

Articles for liturgical purposes prefaced each paragraph with the words 'I believe with perfect faith'—words which are absent from Maimonides' original. It was Samuel b. Tibbōn who placed the word אֲמַנָּה ('to believe') at the head of several articles. Of the diverse attempts to reproduce these articles in poetic form the most popular is the Yigdal hymn by an unknown (but probably Spanish) author.¹ Those who followed Maimonides, writing on the same subject, as Hisdai Crescas († 1410) and Isaac Abravanel (1437-1508), have added nothing new, and need not, therefore, be further considered.

There now remains a word to be said on the tenets of the creed of the Karaites. By rejecting the Rabbinic method of interpreting the Bible, they avoided the Muhammadan charge of having altered the *Tōrah*, and, being disciples of the Mu'tazilite school, they were under no suspicion regarding their conception of Biblical anthropomorphisms. They had, however, to defend their belief in (1) the prophethood of Moses and the other prophets; (2) the validity of the *Tōrah*, and their own interpretation of it; and (3) the arrival of the Messiah. Now the ten axioms reproduced by Judah Hallēvi (see above) touch only the metaphysical side of the question, and it was left to others to supply the religious element. Judah b. Elijah Hadassi (1149) was the first to attempt this by grouping the Karaite laws round the Decalogue. Kaleb Afendopulo, who (in 1497) wrote an introduction to Hadassi's work, extracted from it the following ten Articles:

- I. God is the creator of all creatures.
- II. He is one and eternal.
- III. Every [other] existing being is created.
- IV. God sent Moses and all other prophets mentioned in the Bible.
- V. The law of Moses is true.
- VI. Believers must have knowledge of the *Tōrah* and its interpretation.
- VII. The Sanctuary [at Jerusalem] is the place of the Most High King.
- VIII. The resurrection of the dead [will take place] at the time of the arrival of the Messiah.
- IX. There will be a final judgment.
- X. Just retribution.

In view of the close relationship between the paragraphs I.-III., IV.-VIII., IX.-X., the artificiality of the number ten is conspicuous. Israel Haddāyyān of Alexandria, who (in 1257) composed a digest of the Karaite laws, condensed the Articles into the following six: (1) God; (2) the messengership of Moses; (3) the other prophets; (4) the *Tōrah* revealed through Moses; (5) Jerusalem; and (6) the day of judgment.

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HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD.

CREED (Muhammadan).—The Muhammadan creed or profession of faith (*kalimat al-shahāda*, or, shortly, *kalima*) is the well-known formula, 'I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of God.' It is one of the articles ('*aqā'id*') of faith ('*imān*'), and also one of the 'five pillars' of practical religion (*dīn*):

¹ According to Luzzatto (*Mebo*, Leghorn, 1856, p. 18) and Zunz (*Literaturgesch. der synagog. Poesie*, Berlin, 1886, p. 607), this hymn was completed in 1404 by Daniel ben Judah Dayyan of Rome.

see ISLĀM). The creed as a whole is not formulated in the Qur'an; but the first article is enunciated in *Sūra* cxii.: 'Say, "He is One God; God the Eternal; He begetteth not, nor is begotten, nor is there one like unto Him."' The creed, however, occurs in a tradition of 'Omar, the second khalif, who related that the Prophet, on being asked to define Islām, said: 'Islām is that thou bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is His messenger; and be steadfast in prayer, and charitable; and fast during the month of Ramadān; and make the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba if it is in thy power' (*Mishkāt al-Masābih*, tr. Matthews, Calcutta, 1810, l. i. 1). According to the *Sharh al-Wiqāya* (ap. Hughes, *DI*, s.v. 'Creed'), the *kalima* is to be recited by every Muslim aloud and correctly, with full comprehension of its meaning and belief in his heart, at least once in his lifetime, and to be always professed without hesitation until his death.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

CREED (Parsi).—1. According to *Yas. xxi. 2*, man must make a choice between the two 'creeds' or 'confessions' (*āvarēnō*). In the beginning the Holy Spirit said of himself and of his spiritual antagonist that their 'confessions' (*varanā*) did not agree (*Yas. xiv. 2*). The word translated 'confessions' implies a choice, and the corresponding verb is used in the middle voice with *fra-* as a technical term to express the profession of a religion, especially of the Mazdayasnian faith: *fravaretar*, 'confessor,' *frāvarānē*, 'I make my profession of faith,' etc. Although from the very beginning Zarathushtrian Mazdaism thus meant a sharp contrast with surrounding worship and practice (cf. *Vend. xix. 6*; Zarathushtra's mother had invoked the *Aiura Mainyu*), neither proselytizing aims nor doctrinal discussions produced a creed in the same sense as in Christianity. The Zarathushtrian reform was of a moral, economic, and ritual kind, rather than intellectual. But the Avesta contains several formulae, used on different occasions, e.g. in putting on the sacred cord, on rising in the morning, in the *nyāyishes* and other prayers, etc. These formulae sum up the most peculiar tenets and practices of the Parsi religion. It may be that some of them originated during the Sasanian restoration, owing to the need of briefly distinguishing their own faith from Christianity and other rivals. We shall mention only the most important formulae. In the post-Avestan time the Parsis who settled in India were required to present a summary of their beliefs and sacred customs to Indian rulers.

2. In its shortest form the *Fravarānē* (*Yas. xi. 16*, *xii. 1*, *xxvii. 12*; *Yt. xiii. 89*, etc.) contains four points: *Fravarānē Mazdayasnō, Zarathushtrish, Vīdāēvō, Ahuraθkaēshō*; 'I profess myself a Mazda-worshipper, a Zarathushtrian, an anti-devil (enemy of the demons), a servant (or proclaimer) of the Lord.' That is, the believer declares himself (1) a monotheist; (2) a member of a historically founded religion; (3) a dualist. Or, to put it differently, (1) the revealed God is Ahura Mazda; (2) the revealer is Zarathushtra; (3) the peculiar higher form of life instituted by the revealer as the due service of God consists in the fight against the demons. Those points are co-ordinated in a way characteristic of revealed or founded religion (cf. *Transactions of the 3rd Int. Congr. for the Hist. of Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 403 ff.). (4) The last word seems to sum up comprehensively the whole faith, *yasnō* designating more particularly the Divine worship, and *θkaēshō* designating the doctrines and tenets of religion in general. Additions are sometimes made to the *Fravarānē*: homage to the genii of the *gāhs* (hours, watches), of the days, of the months, of the seasons, of the

years (Introd. to the *Yasna*; *Yas. xi. 16*, *xxiii. 5*; esp. in the five *gāhs* recited at the five hours of prayer of the day and contained in the *Khordah Avesta* [the book of prayer], etc.); or—a more authentic addition—homage to the Amesha-Spentas (*Yas. xii. 1*), or other amplifications. A still shorter form (*Yas. xii. 8*) runs thus: 'I profess myself a Mazda-worshipper, a Zarathushtrian, having made both my avowal and my profession (of faith).' Another short formula in Pahlavi runs: 'I declare my adherence to the Mazda-worshipping religion, and renouncement of all evil beings and things' (E. S. Dadabhai Bharucha, *Khorda-avestā-arthah*, Bombay, 1906, p. 2).

3. A more explicit creed is formed by the *Hās xii.* and *xiii.* of the *Yasna*, designated, according to Anquetil Duperron, by the Parsis as *Fraoretī*, 'confession,' 'creed,' and called after the opening words *Frastuyē*, 'I praise' (*Yas. xi. 17*–*xii. 7*), and *Astuyē*, 'I avow' (*Yas. xii. 8*–*xiii.*, as divided by Darmesteter). *Astuyē*, with the shortest *Fravarānē*, belongs, e.g., to the prayer of the investiture with the *kosti*. *Frastuyē* is placed at the head of each *Yasht* and of each *Patēt*, and it occurs in a shorter and in a longer—evidently more original—form, which contains elements of really ancient aspect. It begins with the usual Avestan triad: 'I avow good thoughts, good words, good actions.' In the course of the confession, cattle-stealing and destruction of the villages of the Mazdayasnians are abjured; folk and cattle ought to live in peace. All communion with demons and their crew, with sorcerers and their crew, and with all kinds of adversaries and devilish, treacherous persons, is abjured. As Zarathushtra abjured the devils in his colloquies with Ahura Mazda, so the Mazdayasnian and Zarathushtrian gives up communion with them. In addition to the predominating fight against the devils, and in particular against savage disturbance of the regular cattle-breeding village-life ('the Mazda-worshipping religion suppresses battles and lays down arms'), two other features of this creed deserve attention: (a) the importance of tradition; this creed has been professed by the waters, by the plants, by the cattle, by the Creator, by the first man, by Zarathushtra, by Vishtāspa, by Frashaostra and Jamāspa, by all the Saoshyants; (b) the excellence of intermarriage between the nearest relations, repudiated and interpreted in a different sense by later Parsism. The *zvaēvadatha*, or next-of-kin-marriage, is also exalted by the *Astuyē*.

4. Anquetil Duperron describes the ceremonies to be undertaken by an unbeliever desiring to join the Parsi faith. The Parsi creed belonging to that ritual and included by Spiegel in the *Khordah Avesta* is evidently much later than the Avestan formulae. It runs: 'The good, pious, right religion, which the Lord of the created beings has sent, is the one brought by Zartūst. The religion is the religion of Zartūst, the religion of Ormazd, given to Zartūst.' The reception of an outsider into the Parsi communion is, in fact, nowadays almost an unheard-of thing; such requests have been rejected lately.

5. The Mazdayasnian who confesses his sins and seeks absolution is, of course, in quite a different position from a proselyte not belonging to the sacred blood. The explicit formulae of penance, *Patēts*, give a good idea of what was considered by later Mazdaism to be essential to the Parsi practice and faith. In the so-called Iranian *Patēt*,¹ after having enumerated at length the sins and wickednesses repented of, and having referred to the fact

¹ Translated by Spiegel, *Av. überliefert*, Leipzig, 1852–68, iii. 219 ff., and Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–98, iii. 167 ff.; ed. de Harlez, *Manuel de Pehlvi*, Paris, 1880, p. 144 ff. The Pāzand *Patēt* (cf. West, *GrP* ii. 1091) are now accessible in Andia's *Pāzand Texts*, Bombay, 1909, pp. 118–122.

that the same faith had been professed by the men of the holy tradition, mentioned in the *Frastuyê*, and by Adarbâd Mahraspand (4th cent. A.D.), the believer proclaims that neither happiness nor a longer life, power nor wealth, nor even the penalty of death, can separate him from the right religion, because he dreads hell and hopes for paradise.

6. On the arrival of the emigrating Parsis at Sanjan in A.D. 716, they presented to the Indian prince of Gujarât a list of sixteen *ślokas*, composed by the most learned of their dasturs, and containing the principal rules and tenets of their religion, selected and stated in a way fitted to conciliate the ruler, without denying or concealing the real content of Mazdaism. The points were as follows: (1) the adoration of Ahura Mazda, of the Sun, and of the five elements; (2) silence during the bath, in reciting prayers, in presenting offerings to the fire, and in eating; (3) the use of incense, perfumes, and flowers in religious ceremonies; (4) the honour accorded to the cow; (5) the use of the sacred shirt, string, and cap; (6) singing and music at weddings; (7) the adornments and perfumes of ladies; (8) the precepts of generosity in

giving alms, and of digging tanks and wells; (9) the precept to extend one's sympathies to all male and female beings; (10) the ablutions with *gomūtra* (euphemistically called 'one of the products of the cow'); (11) the wearing of the sacred cord in praying and in eating; (12) the sacred fire fed with incense; (13) the five devotions every day; (14) conjugal fidelity and purity; (15) the annual ceremonies in honour of the forefathers; (16) the precautions to be observed by women after child-birth and during menstruation. There exist different versions in Gujarati and Sanskrit.

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CREEK INDIANS.—See MUSKHOGEANS.

CREMATION.—See DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

CRESCENT.—See SYMBOLS.

CRETE.—See ÆGEAN RELIGION.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

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CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Primitive and Savage).—I. Introduction.—While *revenge* is the action of an individual against one who has done him wrong, *punishment* is the action taken by society against one who has transgressed its laws. Revenge may, however, be followed up by a group of persons in sympathy with the injured person, in this case passing over to the blood-feud (*q.v.*); and individual or collective revenge may be recognized by the society as the specific form of punishment to which it lends its sanction or its aid. Men seek revenge because they feel that their rights or interests have been encroached upon. The act of revenge is one strictly of self-defence, and is primarily a reflex action. It seeks to destroy or render powerless what constitutes a menace, but it contains a rough notion of justice, of the idea that no one can intrude upon the rights of another without suffering the consequences. The exercise of justice by a community or its representatives against an individual who is obnoxious to it, or to any of its members, is based primarily on the feeling which underlies revenge. Punishment is to some extent vengeance—the vengeance of society for its own preservation. The criminal must suffer, must expiate his crime, whatever other notions may in time enter into the idea of punishment. Private vengeance and public justice are thus so far similar in their point of view and in their action, save that the latter tends to be more discriminating and impartial. Not the individual sufferer himself, but others judge and condemn the guilty person. Public justice at lower stages is extremely limited, and side by side with it exists private or collective vengeance (*e.g.* the blood-feud). This is to some extent justice, since society recognizes the right to its execution. It has become a specific form of punishment because society has sanctioned it. Or public justice may, again, recognize private revenge by handing over the evil-doer to the injured person or his relatives, or by making him or them the

executors of justice. Public justice, save in the case of a few crimes which more particularly menace the existence of society as a whole, has to content itself with regulating private revenge, or with suggesting a system of compensations. Finally, as it advances, often through the growing supremacy of chiefs, it eliminates private revenge more or less completely, though this can hardly be said to be true of any savage society.

The simplest form of regulated revenge is the duel—the right of the injured party to challenge the aggressor to single combat, or the case where the aggressor must stand up to the throwing of spears (as in some Australian instances), or must submit to the plundering of his house. Or, again, revenge is regulated by being limited to a certain period or to certain offences. The blood-feud is the best example of regulated revenge (see Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, II. 236 ff.; Westermarck, *Moral Ideas*, I. 498 ff.; see § 6, II. (1) below).

In the earliest times, if men, like some of the higher apes, lived in separate families, the family would, when necessary, assist any individual member of it in following up an act of revenge, because they were bound to be in sympathy with him for the wrong done. Thus individual revenge easily passed over into collective revenge. It is out of this feeling of sympathy that justice, strictly so called, arises. Actions by which any individual feels aggrieved are generally those by which all individuals feel aggrieved when they are done to themselves; and the condemnation of such actions tends to formulate itself as a custom or law which cannot be transgressed without risk of incurring the hostility of the society or of individuals composing it. Custom is, in fact, a strong expression of savage man's sense of right and wrong, and it is the test by which actions are judged, although, indeed, some of the actions, from a strictly ethical point of view, may be indifferent. Hence, both collective revenge and public justice are the expression of moral indignation, though the latter expresses it more strongly. For, the more men realize their solidarity, the more is any ill done to one regarded with indignation by all, as a result of

the working of sympathetic emotion. And, as the ill done has transgressed that customary law,—the expression of what is right and what is wrong,—the punishment inflicted is an expression of moral indignation at the wrongdoer. It may be out of all proportion to the offence committed, and in such a case is on a level with mere unthinking revenge, but, generally speaking, at lower levels of savage society, punishment has some proportion to the offence. It is at higher levels, in barbaric and despotic societies, that punishment is most cruel and disproportionate to the offence.

The tendency of punishment to supplant mere revenge (which is occasionally regarded as wrong) is aided by the fact that the latter often causes great inconvenience to the society, and tends to multiply the revengeful actions. The society, by itself or by its heads, steps in, therefore, between the avenger and the wrongdoer, and decides upon the punishment, or restrains the amount of revengeful action. Thus the judgments of a central tribunal are gradually preferred to revengeful acts. Casalis says of the Basutos that the chief has been given powers over all the community because of the fear of anarchy arising out of private revenge (*The Basutos*, 1861, p. 225). The injurious results of the blood-feud are well recognized by savages, among whom the head-men or the chief will often interfere to stop its excesses; or it sometimes gives place to an appeal to them, or to the payment of a compensation by the offender, as a matter of private arrangement, or one suggested by them. This compensation generally tends to pass into a regular practice, with a graduated scale of payments according to the magnitude of the offence (§ 5). With the growth of the power of the chief, he not only advises or suggests, but determines and orders the carrying out of justice over a wider field. Moreover, where the injured person or his representatives are too weak to take revenge against a powerful tribesman, or, on the other hand, where revenge is out of proportion to the offence, the sympathetic emotions of the society, being aroused in the one case for the victim and in the other for the aggressor, gradually contribute to the formation of a tribunal in some shape or form, and to the cessation of private revenge.

Yet private revenge often exists side by side with punishment by a tribunal or a chief. This is natural when we consider what savage character is. But, on the whole, there is a tendency to make such revenge the expression of judicial action. Thus it may be recognized as the right way of punishing certain wrongdoers, provided that it does not exceed certain limits. This is particularly true where the husband is allowed to avenge himself on the adulterer. Or it may be permitted that the criminal caught red-handed in certain crimes, e.g. theft, should be slain at once. Or, again, the blood-feud may be the approved method of punishing the murderer. Or the aggrieved person or his relatives may be chosen as executioners of the sentence passed by the tribunal. Thus, among many of the Bantu tribes, a murderer proved guilty is given over to the relatives of his victim to deal with him as they choose (Macdonald, *JAI* xxii. 108). Many other instances might be cited. Private revenge sometimes continues alongside or in spite of established judicial tribunals in the case of large societies scattered over wide areas, and in which there is little feeling of homogeneity, and hence little prospect of general sympathetic action in favour of an aggrieved person. Revenge may also be pursued in all societies in matters not usually taken cognizance of by the laws.

2. Crime, morality, and religion.—Even in the earliest stages of human history man may have dimly felt it ethically wrong to murder, commit

adultery, or steal, apart from the fact that the instinctive act of revenge brought it home to him that in committing such actions he was trespassing against the rights of another. These crimes are so universally condemned that there can have been no time when they were not regarded as deeds which it was wrong to commit. The sense of wrongness with regard to these and other acts was largely increased with the growth of society, of the group in which men lived, because such actions tended to destroy the unity of the group. Custom laid down that there were certain things which must not be done, and it was, therefore, highly immoral to do them. Nor is it improbable that, even at the very earliest stages of the growth of the ideas of right and wrong, man may have thought vaguely that in doing wrong to another he was incurring the anger of whatever worshipping being or beings he was aware of. This thought also would become more definite with the growth of society. Where a group of men living together worship a being whom they believe to be interested in the group, any transgression of custom will be regarded as transgression against him, because the customs would certainly be regarded as having been instituted by him. Whatever constituted a menace to the group or any of the individuals composing it was also an offence against the divinity, who naturally favoured the community and not him who menaced its existence. The god is apt to punish the group for the breach of custom, and hence the offender is made to suffer speedily for his evil-doing, in order to avert this. Some crimes are punished by the group as a whole. Others are not so punished, but the group approves of the act of revenge by which the offence is required. Revenge or punishment is thus supposed to satisfy the anger of the god. Some support for the view here taken is found in the fact that the divinities of very primitive tribes are also to some extent moral governors, who are thought to dislike particular crimes and to punish them. Among savages at a higher level there is a certain amount of evidence proving that their gods take account of crime and are guardians of morality. Whether or not it be true that all morality from the first is connected with religion, it is at least certain that religion soon strengthened and assisted morality by its insistence on the fact that the god or gods of the group desired its welfare, and that all offences against that welfare were thus more than offences against laws imposed by men.

3. The administration of justice.—A regular organization for enforcing justice or maintaining custom hardly exists at the lowest levels of society, though its beginnings may be seen. Justice is a matter of individual action; and yet, as among the Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego, where the feeling of the community gives support to the existing customs, some help in avenging wrongs may always be looked for from relatives or neighbours (Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, i. 46, citing Hyades and Deniker, *Miss. scient. du Cap Horn*, Paris, 1891). This is an approach to collective revenge, and, as a rule, the greater the wrong, the more likelihood is there of the avenger being supported. But, wherever crime is regarded as a serious breach of tribal custom, the breaker of a custom is the breaker of a law, and his action arouses strong disapproval. Hence, society approves the action of the avenger, e.g., in cases of murder or adultery; or it takes joint action against the wrongdoer. The latter course is most frequent in the case of crimes which are regarded as bringing the whole community into danger or subjecting it to Divine anger, e.g. sorcery and incest (breaches of exogamous custom). Or, again, a whole clan or tribe will put to death or banish a man who makes him-

self a nuisance to every one, as among the Eskimos, where a whole village has occasionally risen against and slain an atrocious murderer (Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, 1893, p. 163). Conjoint action by the community is found amongst the Mpongwe, who drown or burn the murderer (Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land*, 1876, i. 106), and is common among Australian tribes, where the whole camp joins in punishing the ill-doer (Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. 171). But, even when such joint action occurs, individual revenge or blood-feud is commonly found, nor is it condemned by society. Indeed, it is usually the case that any one disregarding the duty of revenge is held in contempt, and this tends to show the general disapproval of crime by the whole group or tribe.

Where public justice is administered by certain individuals, it seldom ousts the practice of private revenge, and in general takes cognizance only of public offences (sorcery, incest), or of various petty crimes. But this 'court' may be effective in enforcing or in regulating private revenge, or in arranging compensation. A council of elder men is frequently found among Australian tribes, who try various offences and decide upon the punishment (Fraser, *Abor. of N.S. Wales*, Sydney, 1892, p. 39 ff.; Woods, *Native Tribes of S. Aust.*, Adelaide, 1879, p. 34 ff.). But it is probable that, as among the Central Australian tribes, these offences are breaches of the strict marriage laws (incest), and murder by sorcery. In such cases the elders arrange for an avenging party to go out and punish the offenders (Spencer-Gillen*, pp. 15, 477; *25, 556 ff.). In some instances the council has nothing to do with cases of murder, adultery, etc.; and only those relating to property or to litigation are brought before it (Nagas [Stewart, *JRASB* xxiv., 1855, p. 609], Kandhs [Dalton, *Eth. of Bengal*, Calc., 1872, p. 294], and Formosans [Letourneau, *L'Evol. juridique*, p. 94]). Or, as among some N. American tribes (Ojibwas, Wyandots, etc.), the avenger appears before a council, and, having obtained judgment in his favour, demands compensation. If this is not given, he falls back on revenge (Kohler, *ZVRW* xii. [1897] 407). In many cases, too, the council (as in the case of the chief) delegates the execution of justice to the person who would otherwise be the avenger. Sometimes the leading men of a group will intervene to prevent disputes or to arrange composition. Less usual are the instances where the decision of a council is taken as final in all private cases (Todas and other aboriginal Indian tribes [Shortt, *TES*, new ser. vii., 1868, p. 241; Forsyth, *Highlands of Cent. India*, 1871, p. 361], Tagbuana [Worcester, *Philippine Islands*, New York, 1898, p. 107], and a few others). Thus, generally speaking, the savage council seldom constitutes a court in the strict sense of the word.

With the advancing power of the chief, the administration of public justice passes largely into his hands; yet even here private revenge—the blood-feud, or the right of the husband to punish in cases of adultery—is still used and permitted, and often the chief's prerogative is exercised only when appeal has been made to him. But there now comes into great prominence, especially among higher savage tribes, a regular system of compensation or fines for various crimes, payable to the aggrieved person or his representatives, or, in some cases, to the chief. We find also in many places regular codes of laws, with punishments appointed for different offences. Sometimes the chief merely intervenes to prevent excessive revenge and to suggest compensation, as among many American Indian and African tribes; sometimes his power of intervention is limited to certain crimes, generally those of a public kind; or, again, he merely acts as arbiter or adviser rather than as judge. But,

the more his power is established, and the more autocratic he is, so much the more do his functions as judge increase. This is especially true of many of the chiefs and petty monarchs of Africa, and in general of all tribes whose social organization is high. Frequently the chief may associate with himself a council of elders; or, again, as among the Kafirs, village chiefs judge lesser matters, while chiefs of clans hear appeals against their judgments and try all more serious crimes, aided by the advice of a council (Letourneau, p. 87). With few exceptions, where justice is administered by a chief he is careful to act in strict accordance with the established customs. There is, however, a tendency among chiefs to regard every real or imaginary offence against themselves as a serious crime, while, where their power is autocratic and fines are paid to themselves, or where they are naturally cruel, there is great danger of injustice and of atrocious punishments being meted out. But, with the decay of private revenge, the administration of justice becomes more definite and strict, especially as we advance from savage to barbarous societies. The court or chief maintains order, upholds the rights of every member of society, and punishes all crime. Generally speaking, wherever a tribunal exists, it is seen to be a guarantee, not found in the exercise of mere revenge, that all offenders shall suffer, and suffer proportionately to their offence.

Where cases are brought before a council or a chief, a palaver usually takes place, at which both parties are fully heard. Sometimes the method of the oath or ordeal is resorted to in order to discover the truth and to point out the guilty person. The oath is frequently in the form of a curse, and accompanies the drinking of a poison or of some liquid, which is supposed to act fatally upon the perjurer or the guilty. The oath is thus a species of ordeal. But the ordeal may occur by itself in various forms: the ordeal by fire, by red-hot metal, or by boiling oil or water, in which cases the innocent person is not burned, or his wound heals within a certain time; the ordeal by water—remaining under water for a certain time without drowning, or passing safely through water in which crocodiles lurk; the ordeal by poison (see OATH; ORDEAL; Post, ii. 459 ff.). The person who is proved to be guilty, if he has not already succumbed to the ordeal, is then punished according to the nature of his crime. Among savages, secret societies, such as the Duk-Duk of New Britain, supplement the action of private revenge or public justice where these are imperfect, and punish any one who commits crime.

4. Variety of crimes.—The idea of what constitutes crime in savage society is largely akin to that entertained in civilized societies. But there are important exceptions to this, bound up with the nature of savage society and belief, e.g. breach of tabu or religious custom, sorcery, and the like. Again—perhaps as a natural outcome of uncontrolled revenge operating in later times—there is the idea that accidental woundings or homicides are equally punishable with those committed intentionally, though in many cases there is an approach to the modern view of accident, and a distinction is made in the punishment inflicted, or no punishment follows (cf. Westermarck, i. 217; Post, ii. 214). Sometimes killing in self-defence is punishable, though not to the same extent as murder; and, frequently, there is a distinction between meditated crime and that committed in the heat of the moment. More serious is the view entertained by most savage tribes that, while to kill or to steal from a fellow-tribesman is wrong, these actions when committed against strangers or members of another tribe are not crimes, and are

even praiseworthy. They are apt to be considered wrong, however, if they are likely to bring the vengeance of the other tribe upon the tribe of the offender. With the dawn of a higher morality and a wider sense of responsibility this view tends to disappear. Again, we generally meet with the idea that the weight of the crime varies both according to the rank (and often the age and sex) of the offender and according to that of the victim. Chiefs or men of rank may commit crimes with impunity or with slight punishment, but crime committed against them is generally punished more severely than that against lesser men. This is especially seen where the system of composition for crime prevails, the blood-price or the fine varying strictly according to the rank of the victim, and often also according to the rank of the offender. These views continue to prevail in higher societies. Approximating to the custom of more advanced civilization, there is frequently a distinction made between a first crime and its repetition. A first offence may be punished comparatively lightly; a second or third will receive the utmost penalty—death or banishment.

Thus among the Bambara, for a first theft a hand is amputated; for a second the penalty is death (Letourneau, p. 78). The Aleuts punish a first theft with corporal punishment, a second with amputation of some fingers, a third with amputation of a hand and lips, a fourth with death (Petroff, 'Report on . . . Alaska, Tenth Census of the United States, Washington, 1884, p. 152). Among the Wakamba, a first murder is punished by a fine, but on a second conviction the murderer is killed at once (Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, 1898, p. 487).

In general, those crimes which may be considered public, inasmuch as they are committed against the customs, or to the danger, of the whole community, are sorcery (involving, according to current belief, all natural death), breaches of the customary marriage laws (incest), sacrilege (breaking of tabu), and treason. Private crimes—those committed against private persons—include murder, adultery, unchastity, theft, perjury, and the like. Some of the latter may be regarded as public crimes if they are committed against the chief, because of the relation in which he stands to the community. There are, of course, many lesser crimes, while, especially where chiefs have the power of making laws, there is a tendency to multiply offences. With the greater development of savage society, and with the gradual formation of a central administrative body taking the place of mere public opinion and custom, these private crimes are regarded less and less as offences against an individual, and more and more as breaches of law and transgressions against social order. But it is rather at the next higher stage, in barbaric and semi-civilized societies, that a real approximation to this view is found.

5. Punishments.—Punishment administered by public justice in savage society has generally the intention of making the offender suffer pain, and is thus analogous to punishment inflicted as an act of private revenge. The *lex talionis*, or principle of equivalence in punishment, is perhaps originally connected with the reflex and instinctive movements of the person who is hurt, and who attempts to make the aggressor suffer a similar hurt by a natural process of imitation. There must be blow for blow. At the same time this movement is one of self-preservation, and this also is an element of all punishment. Such instinctive resentment is, however, indiscriminate in the amount of vengeance which it employs, and this primitive instinct of blow for blow, whilst suggesting the *lex talionis*, is not sufficient as an explanation of it. We may, therefore, with Westermarck (l. 179), look for a further explanation of it in the feeling of self-regarding pride which desires to bring the aggressor to the same level as the sufferer, and in the social

feeling that members of the same society have equal rights, and hence, if one makes another suffer, he must suffer in a similar way and to the same extent.

The simplest form of the *lex talionis* is found in the idea of life for life, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth. But it also assumes some curious forms; for example, especially in the case of the blood-feud, there is often the desire that the vengeance should fall on one of the same rank, or the same sex, or the same age, as the victim—the real aggressor thus escaping. Again, the vengeance is exacted with the same kind of weapon, and in the same manner. Or, where a system of compensations and fines exists, these are in due proportion to the amount of pain caused. Or it is seen working in still another way: the thief is deprived of sight, of an arm or hand; the perjurer loses his tongue; the adulterer or ravisher is castrated; or, again, the thief must not only restore the goods stolen, but must submit to be pillaged to the same extent (see Post, ii. 238 ff.; Hobhouse, i. 84, 91).

But, while the *lex talionis* is found as an underlying principle both in savage and in more advanced systems (cf. e.g. the OT and the Bab. Code of Hammurabi), there is often a disposition to exceed it, so that methods of private revenge as well as public punishments are often out of all proportion to the crime committed, especially in places where the people are naturally cruel, where a despotic chief rules, or where it is held that a Divine as well as a human law is transgressed. In the last case, as well as in cases where the chief is regarded as Divine or as having Divine authority, any transgression of law is apt to involve the whole society in Divine vengeance. Hence the punishment is swift and proportionately severe (cf. Durkheim, 'Deux lois de l'évolution pénale,' *ASoc* iv. 64 ff.). Savage acts of revenge, unregulated or regulated, as well as methods of punishment, are also often excessive, since they involve the punishment of an innocent person in place of the real offender (in many instances of the blood-feud or of the *lex talionis*), or that of innocent persons in addition to the real offender (his wife and children, especially in cases of sorcery, and these as well as fellow-clansmen in some instances of the blood-feud), as a result of the idea of solidarity and collective responsibility—a principle lingering on in more advanced societies.

In a few cases capital punishment seldom or never occurs. But, as a rule, it is meted out in most tribes for one or other of such crimes as sorcery, murder, incest, treason, sacrilege, adultery, and theft. Some tribes punish capitally only for sorcery and murder, or for sorcery and adultery (especially with the wives of chiefs); but not uncommonly all these offences are liable to the punishment of death. Further, in such despotic kingdoms as Ashanti or other regions of Africa, as well as sporadically elsewhere, even small offences are punishable with death, at the capricious will of the chief (Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887, p. 166; Kollmann, *Victoria Nyanza*, Berlin, 1899, p. 170 f.).

The methods of death vary; they include decapitation, strangulation, hanging, stabbing or spearing, cudgelling or flagellation, empalement, crucifixion, drowning, burning, flaying alive, burying alive, throwing from a height, stoning, sending the criminal to sea in a leaky canoe, cutting in two, lopping off the limbs. In some cases, where the crime is believed to be particularly offensive to the gods, the criminal is offered in sacrifice, while this is not an unusual way of obtaining victims where human sacrifice prevails (Melanesia (Codrington, *Melanesians*, 1891, p. 136), Sandwich Islands (von Kotschube, *Voy. of Decoe*, into the *S. Sea*, 1891, iii. 248), Tahiti (Ellis, *Polynes. Res.*, 1829, l. 346); cf. Ouseley, vi. 16 (Gauls); Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, 1882, l. 45 [Teutons]). In certain regions where cannibalism prevails, criminals are killed and eaten, probably as an extreme form of gratifying revenge and showing contempt

(cf. CANNIBALISM, § II. 15; Codrington, p. 344; von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, 1824, I. 88).

Of all these methods the most cruel are found in Africa, where also mutilation before death, as well as other tortures, is practised (cf. Letourneau, pp. 71, 81, 82, 88; Post, II. 274; Westermarck, I. 195).

Other punishments consist of various bodily mutilations—cutting off legs or arms, hands or feet (or parts of these), nose, ears, lips; castration; and plucking out the eyes. All these are found commonly in Africa, among Amer. Indian tribes, in the South Sea Islands, and occasionally elsewhere. Flogging or beating with various instruments on various parts of the body—back, hips, shoulders, legs, stomach—is also used (in S. America, among the Mongols, in Africa). Enslavement is found as an occasional punishment for crime or for debt (commonly in Africa and in the Malay Archipelago, and sporadically elsewhere); or, where the criminal has failed to pay the due compensation, he is often enslaved, or the usual punishment is inflicted upon him. He becomes the slave of his victim or of the latter's family, or of the chief, or he may be sold. Confiscation of goods, in whole or in part, is a frequent punishment in cases of theft. Banishment occurs here and there (New Zealand, Mongols, some African tribes) as a punishment for certain crimes, but it is often the result of general bad or unruly behaviour threatening the peace of the tribe (see Westermarck, I. 172; Steinmetz, *Ethnol. Stud. zur ersten Entwick. der Strafe*, vol. II. ch. 5). Lack of filial duty among the Kafirs, and lying among the Bannavs of Cambodia, are punished with banishment (Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, 1812-15, I. 285; Mouhot, *Trav. in Central Parts of Indo-China*, 1864, II. 27). Other punishments are various forms of dishonour—cutting off the hair, insulting exhibition or parade of the culprit, dressing in women's clothes. Imprisonment as a punishment is rarely found among savages, but instances are noted in various parts of Africa (Krapf, *Travels . . . in E. Africa*, 1860, p. 58; Letourneau, pp. 80, 84; Post, *Afr. Jur.* II. 51).

There is also a wide-spread system of compensation or fine for certain offences. This method of indemnifying the victim or his relatives is itself a species of punishment, though, where the aggressor is wealthy, it is easy for him to pay for his crimes. The system probably originated in the custom of paying blood-money to the relatives of a murdered man. The aggressor, to avoid a blood-feud, would offer presents to the relatives to appease their anger, while at the same time appealing to their love of gain. This, defective as it may be from the point of view of justice, was soon seen to have the good effect of staying the excesses of the blood-feud, and would be encouraged by the community or the chief. Similarly, compensation for theft may also have been suggested by the custom of subjecting the thief to pillage of his goods. The system of compensation was largely adopted, and passed over into the administration of public justice as a method of assessing criminal actions. But it was far from being universally accepted either in systems of private revenge or in public punishment, and, even where it prevails, certain crimes cannot be compensated for, e.g. sorcery and deliberate murder. It has a wide-spread vogue, however, as a regular custom, or as an alternative to punishment in cases of murder, adultery, seduction, theft, etc. (cf. Post, II. 256 ff., for a list of peoples among whom it is found). Where it prevails, a regular system of payments is fixed according to the injury done, according to the rank or sex of the victim, and sometimes according to the rank of the aggressor.

In many instances—in such serious crimes as sorcery, murder, or crimes committed against a chief

or his household—the wife and children of the aggressor suffer with him, or are sold as slaves. Or, where compensation has not been paid, wife and children may be taken with the defaulting criminal and enslaved; or he himself may sell them in order to obtain the wherewithal to pay the compensation. In the first two instances the savage doctrine of human solidarity is seen at work—a principle emphasized in the blood-feud, where the murderer's family or clan is often held responsible for his act and the members are liable to be slain for it.

As a further form of indignity and punishment, the body of a criminal is often left unburied, or is thrown into the forest to be devoured by wild beasts (African tribes [Post, *Afr. Jur.* I. 46]; Eskimos [Rink, *Tales and Trad. of the Eskimo*, 1875, p. 54]; Cent. America [Preuss, *Die Begräb. der Amer.*, Königsberg, 1894, p. 301]).

6. As has already been said, a distinction is drawn even by the most backward peoples between public and private crimes. Some examples of both will now be discussed, showing the attitude of the savage with regard to them and the punishments meted out to the aggressors.

i. **PUBLIC CRIMES.**—As examples of public crimes may be taken sorcery, incest, and sacrilege.

(1) **Sorcery.**—As distinct from *magic*, which is authorized for the public good, sorcery, though its methods may often be similar, is almost universally punished by the common action of a tribe or by the central authority acting in its name. The sorcerer is employing unlawful means for anti-social ends, especially to bring about the sickness or death of his neighbours, or to cause sterility in field or fold. Further, inasmuch as the crime is an anti-social one, it is for that very reason a crime against the divinity of the social group, its guardian or tutelary spirit. As among the Eskimos, it is adverse to the interests of the community and to the supreme rule of things in which the people believe (Rink, *op. cit.* p. 41). Further, where spirits invoked in magic are evil and maleficent, they are such as are opposed to the rule of the benevolent spirit or divinity, according to the usual dualism which prevails in savage religion. Thus, sorcery is condemned on religious as well as on social or moral grounds, and those who are most active in pursuing it are generally the approved fetish-men or priests. Moreover, the divinities are sometimes said to abhor witchcraft and to punish it in the future life (Rink, p. 41; Parker, *Euahlayi Tribe*, 1905, p. 79; Codrington, p. 274). As it is a wide-spread belief that all sickness or death is due to unnatural causes, one of which is sorcery, there is a wide field for the exercise of public justice against the sorcerer, who is generally regarded as a murderer of a particularly offensive type. Hence, not only in the lower culture, but at higher levels, law, and custom condemn him. He is a danger to society; he offends against its gods; and, because of the solidarity of the society, it may be visited by them for his offence. Therefore he is almost invariably punished with death. Sorcery is sometimes the only crime which is so punished, while the method of death is often very cruel. In most cases the authorized magician, medicine-man, fetish-man, priest, or witch-doctor, takes steps to discover the sorcerer. When he is found, he is often subjected to an ordeal, e.g. by poison. If this does not kill him but proves him guilty, he is then publicly put to death. The ordeal is thus equivalent to the trial of the suspected person.

Among Australian tribes, with whom all natural death is attributed to sorcery, death is the invariable punishment. The medicine-man identifies the guilty person, an avenging party

is arranged by the council of old men, and the culprit is followed up and slain (Spencer-Gillens, pp. 461, 477; b 25, 556). With the Eskimos, the *angekuts* are hostile to sorcerers and cause them to be put to death (Rink, pp. 34, 41; Petroff, op. cit. p. 152). The punishment of death was generally meted out to sorcerers, who were much feared among the American Indian tribes of all degrees of culture, from the lowest tribes up to the Aztecs, the method of death being often cruel—e.g. burning (Wyandots, Guatemalans) and cudgelling (Vera Paz). With the Aztecs the victim was sacrificed to the gods (NR ii. 462; cf. Post, ii. 395; Kohler, ZVRW xii. [1897] 412-416; Waitz, *Anthropologie*, Leipzig, 1859-1872, iii. 128). Among the Nufors of New Guinea sorcerers are stabbed and thrown into the sea (ZE viii. [1888] 193), and the punishment of death is usual in N. Guinea and among the peoples of the Malay peninsula (Wilken, 'Het straf. bij de volken van het mal. ras,' in *Bydragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië*, The Hague, 1883, p. 21). In Fiji, where witchcraft exerted the strongest influence on the minds of the people, the person detected in using it was slain (Williams, *Fiji*, 1870, i. 248). In New Caledonia, old women are often put to death as sorceresses, and men who are suspected of causing death by sorcery are formally condemned and forced to jump over the rocks into the sea (Turner, *Samoa*, 1884, p. 342). In W. Africa, any one may kill the sorcerer; but generally after detection by the witch-doctor an ordeal is necessary, and the spirit of the ordeal sometimes kills the sorcerer. Otherwise he is put to death, and his private property is often confiscated (cf. Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Afr.*, 1904, p. 123; Kingsley, *W. Afr. Studies*, 1901, p. 159 ff.; Letourneau, p. 63; Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 66-67). Among the Lendu, a forest tribe of Uganda, the sorcerer is executed, and his body is thrown into the bush (Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, ii. 554 f.). In E. Cent. Africa, when the suspected sorcerer has been discovered before the assembled community by the witch-finder, he must drink a poisoned cup. If his stomach rejects it, he is acquitted; if it causes his death, this proves him guilty. In some cases he is burned alive (Macdonald, *Africana*, 1882, i. 43, 206 ff.; Letourneau, p. 69). In S. Africa, witch-doctors discover sorcerers, who are thought to be very numerous and powerful. When discovered, they are put to death (Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 229; Decle, op. cit. p. 75; Maclean, *Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1838, p. 35 ff.).

Where the punishment of death is not inflicted, the sorcerer may be sold as a slave (some African tribes (Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 66-67); and occasionally a fine is all that is demanded, but this is very rare (Bondel natives [JAI xxv. 227]). Not infrequently the punishment is visited on the relatives of the sorcerer and upon his goods. Sometimes all these are destroyed (Decle, p. 153 [Matabele]; Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 66-67, 149 [Zulus and other African tribes]). In Bali, the parents, children, and grandchildren are put to death, and the property is confiscated (Crawford, *Ind. Archip.*, Edinb. 1820, iii. 138). In the Babar Archipelago, the sorcerer and all his adult blood-relations are slain, and the children given to the relatives of his victim to sell as slaves (Riedel, *De sluik-en kroeshar. Rasen*, The Hague, 1886, p. 346). Among many W. African tribes, while the sorcerer is executed, his family are sold as slaves (Post, ii. 67, 154).

(2) *Incest*.—While the civilized man's horror of incest is usually confined to cases of marriage or sexual relations between parents and children or brothers and sisters, among primitive and savage peoples the bars to marriage, while generally including these, usually extend much further. Where the classificatory system prevails, the society is divided into classes, from certain of which a man must not choose a wife. Or, again, he may not marry within his totem, his clan, his village, or even his tribe. Again, marriage may be prohibited within the kindred absolutely, or within the kindred on the mother's side, where mother-right prevails (generally a totemic prohibition). In the last case a man might marry his wife's daughter, or his brother's daughter; or a brother might marry a sister by a different mother, since they would be of different totems. But, as a rule, these unions are also looked upon with abhorrence. Thus, while in savage life consanguineous unions are, with certain exceptions, regarded as incestuous, the prohibitions have usually a much wider range, and all breaches of exogamous law are equally regarded as incestuous. While adultery is mainly punished as a private offence, incest is an offence against the whole group, and is often considered to bring ill-luck and Divine punishment upon the group, who are collectively responsible. It is, therefore, punished as a public offence. Usually it is looked upon with so much horror that it is unheard of; but, where it does occur, death to both offenders is the usual punishment, though lighter punishments are occasionally

found. With rare exceptions, the prohibition extends also to all sexual relations outside marriage between persons belonging to exogamous groups. (For various theories of the prohibition of marriage, of exogamy, and of the horror of incest, see Westermarck, *Marriage*, 1894, p. 310 ff.; Lang, *Social Origins*, 1903; Durkheim, 'La Prohib. de l'inceste et ses origines,' *A Soc. i.* [1898] 64.)

Some examples of the belief that incest brings ill-luck or is obnoxious to the gods may be cited. Ruin to the crops, continuous drought, continuous rains, are the result of incest, according to the Dayaks, the Battas, the Galelarese (who also attribute earthquakes and eruptions to the same crime), and other tribes (Frazer, *GB*, 1900, ii. 212-213; Post, ii. 388). They must be atoned for usually by a sacrifice, and the criminals are punished. Or, as in Kafir and Aleut belief, the offspring of incestuous unions are monsters, the Kafirs believing this to be brought about by an ancestral spirit (Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, 1867, p. 45; Petroff, op. cit. p. 155). The Samoans regard it as a crime abhorred by the gods (Turner, p. 92), and the Pasemah believe that those committing it are annihilated by the gods (Post, i. 41). As in many cases both adultery and unchastity are supposed to bring general misfortune, or to be abhorrent to the gods, it is possible that with such peoples the marriage-laws are believed to have been ordained by the deities.

Among the Australian tribes, the usual punishment for breaches of the exogamous customs was death, occasionally cutting and burning. As among the Central Australian tribes, the punishment is determined by the head-men, who organize a party to carry out the sentence (Westermarck, *Marr.* p. 296 f.; Spencer-Gillens, pp. 16, 100, 495; b 136, 140). The Veddas, often wrongfully accused of practising brother-sister unions, abhor incest, and punish it with death (Nevill, in *The Tabrobanian*, Bombay, n.d., i. 178). The same punishment is usually inflicted throughout Melanesia (JAI xvii. 232; Macdonald, *Oceania*, 1889, p. 181). The Kandhs, Gonds, and other aboriginal tribes in India also punish incest (marriage within the same tribe, *gens*, etc.) with death (Percival, *Land of the Veda*, 1854, p. 345; Kohler, ZVRW viii. [1888] 145). Among the Bhils it is punished with banishment (Kohler, *ib. x.* [1892] 69). Throughout the Malay Archipelago the death punishment was often of a very cruel kind—committing to sea in a leaky vessel, drowning, or throwing into a volcano, burying alive, killing and eating (Wilken, *Globus*, lix. [1891] 22; Frazer, *GB*, ii. 213-214; Riedel, op. cit. pp. 195, 232, 400). Similarly, among the American Indians, death was the usual punishment (Kohler, ZVRW xii. [1897] 412-416; NR ii. 466, 659; Frazer, *Totemism*, 1887, p. 59).

Possibly in some of these cases the victims were regarded as expiatory sacrifices offered to the gods or spirits. In some instances of supposed incest, animal sacrifices are offered, or the blood is sprinkled on the ground to avert drought and sterility (Frazer, *GB*, ii. 212-213; Post, ii. 389). The death of the criminals or of the animal victims averts danger and a curse from the community.

As opposed to exogamy, most peoples have endogamous rules forbidding marriage outside a certain circle, narrower or wider as the case may be—the family, clan, caste, tribe, etc. Such a marriage is regarded as disgraceful, and in some cases as a crime which may be punished in various ways. But these rules have a different origin from those of exogamy, and result mainly from pride, antipathy, or prejudice (see Westermarck, *Marr.* p. 363 ff.; Post, i. 32 ff.).

(3) *Sacrilege*.—Of all forms of sacrilege in savage life, that which concerns breach of tabu is the most general. Tabu is an interdiction upon doing or saying some particular thing, an embargo placed on some thing or some person or persons, the infraction of which is frequently supposed to carry its own punishment automatically, preconceptions about tabu bringing about the fatal result through auto-suggestion. But, as the person who breaks the tabu is supposed to spread the danger by a species of contagion, and as breach of tabu frequently brings disaster to the tribe or its land, even where the automatic punishment may be looked for, he is often punished by society as a

whole, because he has sinned against the gods, or has committed a breach of social order involving supernatural results. He is put to death, for such a dangerous person is safer out of the way. Tabu need be considered here only in so far as it illustrates the savage view of public crime. Many irrational tabus have probably been imposed at one time by public opinion for some definite reason arising out of experience, real or imaginary. If something is conceived to be dangerous for any reason, e.g. on account of its connexion with spirits or gods, then it is wise to avoid it. The avoidance constitutes a tabu, and it becomes sacrilege to break it. Other tabus, those on food-stuffs or animals at certain seasons, have been imposed as a wise precaution, or in the interests of a class or sex. Many others are wilfully imposed by chiefs or priests. Generally all tabus have a supernatural sanction, and the automatic punishment is regarded as the working of the Divine anger. Tabus are sometimes of a private sort (tabus on property), but more often they have a public character—protective (as in the cases of food-supply, interdiction of places, etc.), political, sexual (as in the case of incest), or more purely religious. Tabu has to some extent subserved the growth of the idea that crime is wrong. Thus, where a tabu is placed on private property and the thief is believed to suffer automatically for his theft (cf. Turner, p. 185 f.), it is obvious that this belief would foster the idea that theft is wrong. On the other hand, many breaches of tabu, though crime in the eyes of the savage, have nothing inherently immoral in them.

Where society imposes a punishment for breach of tabu, that punishment is generally death. In Polynesia, where the institution was most fully developed, every infraction of tabu, or even the merest suspicion of it, was visited with death, the victim being usually sacrificed to appease the gods, since all diseases and calamities were public manifestations of their wrath at breach of tabu (Letourneau, p. 61). But in some other cases it is the violation of conspicuous tabus which is regarded as sacrilege meriting death.

Thus, with most savage tribes the fruits of the harvest cannot be partaken of until the firstfruits have been offered to a god or eaten sacramentally by selected individuals—chief or priest—or by all the people. In many cases to eat them before this solemn ceremony would be visited with Divine anger—madness (Fiji [JAI xiv. 27]), or death (Tahiti [Ellis, op. cit. i. 350]). But, even where death is thus held to follow automatically the act of sacrilege, detection carries with it a public punishment, as among the Zulus (death or confiscation of all the man's cattle [Frazer, *GP* ii. 326]) and Polynesians (Moerenhout, *Voy. aux Îles du Grand Océan*, Paris, 1837, i. 581). An analogous crime is that of boiling milk among the pastoral Masai. This is believed to cause cows to go dry, and is punished as an insult to the sacred cattle, with death or a very heavy fine (Johnston, *Kilima-njaro Expedition*, 1896, p. 425).

A more obvious form of sacrilege is the viewing of various *sacra* by those to whom they are interdicted, e.g. women and children; or the communication of initiated secrets to the uninitiated; or intrusion upon sacred mysteries—those of men by women, those of women by men. Among the Australians, no woman may look upon the sacred mysteries of the man on pain of death, and the *tundun*, or bull-roarer, must never be shown to a woman or child. If it is, the woman and the man who shows it (and sometimes his mother and sisters) are put to death. Death is also the punishment to women who look upon the sacred totemic drawings, or (among the Arunta) intrude upon the place where the sacred objects are kept. Generally the danger of revealing these things is told to boys at initiation (see JAI ii. 271, xiii. 448, xxv. 311; Howitt and Fison, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880, p. 268; Spencer-Gillen*, pp. 11, 132, b 500; also above, vol. ii. p. 889). The same is true of the natives of the Papuan Gulf [JAI xxxii. 425]. Among the Indians of Brazil, women are warned off the mysteries by the playing of the *jurupari* pipes, the mere chance sight of which is punished with death (Wallace, *Amazon*, 1895, p. 549). Death is also the penalty for infringing the initiation rules among the Torres Straits tribes (Haddon, JAI ix. 336). The initiation rites of girls are also tabu to men in most districts, generally under pain of death, inflicted by the women (Reade, *Savage Africa*, 1863, p. 248; Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 297). Intruders on the mysteries of the Porro fraternity in the Timu

district of W. Africa are put to death or sold as slaves, and this is generally true of all savage 'mysteries' practised by men; while, as in some African mysteries, any infraction of oaths and covenants by their members is believed to be punished by the god (Réville, *Rel. des peuples non civilisés*, Paris, 1883, i. 110; *OF*, p. 317). Similarly, as in the case of the female Njembe society in W. Africa, the mysteries of women must not be looked on by men under pain of death (Naassau, op. cit. p. 261; *OF*, p. 318). In some cases, religious rites as well as sacred places are tabu to women, as in the Marquesas Islands, where a woman is put to death if she touches the sacred ground where festivals are held (Melville, *Marquesas Islands*, 1846, p. 100).

Examples of the dangerous results of tabu-breaking by the automatic working of suggestion, even in cases where the breach has been unconscious, and has been made known to the breaker sometimes only after a long lapse of time, will be found in Dennett, *Folk-Lore of the Fjort*, 1893, pp. xxvi, xxix; *Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeha Maori, London, 1863, p. 96; JAI ix. 468. Suggestion also produces similar automatic results where magic, ghostly warnings, etc., are believed in, and where a man thinks that he is a victim of these (see Erskine, *W. Pacific*, 1883, p. 169; Howitt and Fison, op. cit. *passim*; Thomson, *Savage Island*, 1902, p. 98).

It should be observed that, where there are definite laws against the marriage of certain persons, the breach of which would be incest, these persons are generally tabu and must not speak to each other. Similarly, as a precaution against adultery, men's wives are tabu to other men, who must not even speak to or touch them (cf. Bastian, *Loango-Küste*, Jena 1874-76, i. 163, 244).

ii. **PRIVATE CRIMES.**—Among private crimes, those of murder, adultery, unchastity, and theft may be examined here in detail. Some of these, e.g. adultery and unchastity, tend to become public crimes, since they are sometimes believed to produce evil results upon the whole tribe or upon its land—a visitation by the offended spirits.

(1) **Murder.**—Tylor has pointed out that 'no known tribe, however low and ferocious, has ever admitted that men may kill one another indiscriminately' (*CR* xxi. 714). This statement is supported by the express ideas of the horror of murder entertained by many even of the lowest savages. In many tribes, murders are extremely rare, and are felt to be wrong. But generally the feeling of abhorrence is restricted, and it is considered a harmless or even praiseworthy action to kill outside the limits of the clan or tribe. But the limits of the restriction vary considerably among different peoples. Blood-revenge for murder is a duty or a custom insisted upon by public opinion in most savage societies, and often legally permitted, while it is probably a survival of the time when no supreme authority existed for the execution of justice. Though in many cases the relatives of the murderer or any members of his clan or tribe are slain in revenge, because of savage man's idea of human solidarity and of the collective guilt of the murderer's family, clan, tribe, or more specifically because of the working of the *lex talionis* (son for son, daughter for daughter, etc.), and, though the custom often gives rise to tribal wars, yet the evidence shows that the revenge is directed in the first place most frequently upon the murderer himself. Often his death satisfies the desire for vengeance, and it is only where it has been found impossible to lay hands on him that the vengeance falls on another. In the insistence upon blood-revenge as a sacred and moral duty, which it is disgraceful and irreligious to avoid (sometimes because the dead man's ghost finds no rest till the vengeance falls), and in its falling first upon the murderer, we see exemplified the general savage view of justice.¹ Where a local tribunal exists, it may arrange the blood-feud and set the machinery in motion, or it may go further and, after hearing the respective sides, give judgment in favour of the avenger, and appoint execution to be done, sometimes by him; or it may try to arrange a compensation. But only where it is strong enough will its decisions be enforced or its suggestions be heeded. This action of the local tribunal may be regarded in the light of a compromise, where the custom of

¹ Other occasional causes of a blood-feud are wounding, adultery, seduction, rape, and kidnapping (cf. Post, i. 239).

blood-feud continues after the rise of such tribunals. It is thus a step towards justice being done in the case of private wrongs. The progress to true justice is further seen where the central authority steps in to forbid revenge, to decide guilt, and to award punishment. Frequently the practice of compensation, the *wergeld*, takes the place of the blood-feud or is even obligatory, the relatives being satisfied with the payment of a heavy fine, fixed according to rank, sex, age, etc. (cf. Post, i. 249 ff.). Where the acceptance of compensation was seen to lessen the protracted hostilities in the case of the blood-feud, it would be fostered by custom and authority; and in many cases, though not all, its existence may be traced to the intervention of the central authority, the elders of the tribe, or the chief (see BLOOD-FEUD).

It should be noted that, though there are marked exceptions to the rule, infanticide is very widespread and meets with little or no disapproval, while the killing of the sick and aged, not out of wantonness but for certain definite reasons, is not uncommon in many parts of the world. Similarly, though by no means generally, it is often the case that a master has the right to kill his slave (Post, i. 373). In a few cases infanticide is punished with death or in some other way, or is regarded as wrong and liable to bring misfortune; and, where the killing of aged parents for the specific reasons referred to is not customary, parricide, when it does occur, is regarded with abhorrence, and is at once punished (cf. Westermarck, i. 402 ff., 386; Steinmetz, *op. cit.* ii. 153 ff.).

Where blood-revenge does not exist, as well as in many cases where it does, the murderer is punished by the community, or by some special authority, though it is not always easy to distinguish, from the statements made, between true blood-revenge and the administration of justice. In most cases the punishment is death.

Among the Fuegians, the murderer is placed under a ban, and perishes of hunger, or death is inflicted by his fellows (Hyades-Deniker, *Mission scient. du Cap Horn*, viii. 374, 243). Among some Australian tribes, as has been seen, the council of elders arranges the avenging party in cases of murder by sorcery. But, as among the tribes of N.W. Central Queensland, the camp or a council of the camp punishes the murderer (Both, *Abn. Studies among the N.W.C. Queensland Abor.*, 1897, pp. 180, 141). With some tribes a ceremony of spear-throwing at an offender appears to take the place of the blood-feud proper (Westermarck, i. 171). The Eskimos and Aleuts occasionally make common cause against a murderer and put him to death (Nansen, *op. cit.* p. 162; cf. Petroff, *op. cit.* p. 162). With many N. American Indian tribes the murderer had to appear before the chiefs for trial, but he was often handed over to the relatives of his victim for punishment (Cooper, *Mishmas Hills*, 1873, p. 238; Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, Rochester, 1881, p. 880; Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, Philadelphia, 1851-60, I. 277; Adair, *Hist. of Amer. Ind.*, 1776, p. 160). Many African tribes also inflict capital punishment on the murderer, the chief frequently deciding his guilt and enforcing the sentence (Westermarck, i. 189; Letourneau, pp. 80, 82-84; Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 832 [murderer executed by warriors among the Mufell], or, as among the Mpongwe, the community burn or drown him (Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land*, i. 106). Capital punishment for murder is also found in Polynesia and New Guinea (Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 178, 295, 334; Thomson, *JAI* xxxi. 143; Chalmers, *Pioneering in N.G.*, 1887, p. 170). In other cases, banishment, usually followed by death, is found, or, as among the Omahas, a species of boycotting and penitential expiation in the case of a murderer whose life has been spared (Dorsey, in *SBBW*, 1884, p. 369). Or, in some instances, as in the commutation of blood-revenge, a fine is all that is insisted on for murder (Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, p. 108; Camilla, *op. cit.* p. 223; Griffith, *JRASB* vi. [1897] 355 [Mishmis, offender out to pieces if fine is not paid]; Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 832 [Kamasias, confiscation of goods of murderer and his relatives]). This fine is not seldom a real commutation of blood-revenge, and the composition is often recommended or expressly insisted on by the central authority. If it is not paid, the murderer is generally put to death (cf. Letourneau, pp. 73, 80, 89, 95; Elphinstone, *Kingdom of Ceylon*, 1839, ii. 106; Von Martius, *Beit. zur Ethnogr. Amer.*, Leipzig, 1867, i. 180).

The vengeance of the society upon the murderer is in part due to the belief that he is a source of danger to the group. He is infected with the uncleanness of death, or is surrounded by spirits,

especially that of his victim, who will afflict not only him but others. Hence he is tabu, and, if he is not put to death, he must undergo ceremonies of purification, or be isolated from his fellows, as in the case of the Omahas (see above, and cf. Kohler, *ZVRW* xii. [1897] 408; Frazer, *GB* i. 331 ff.). These ceremonies, or the period of isolation, are then a species of punishment.

In some cases it is expressly said that murder is punished because it is hated by a Divine being, or is a breach of his law. This is the case among the Omahas (Dorsey, *loc. cit.*), while in other instances murderers are believed to be punished after death (Australians by Baiame [Parker, *op. cit.* p. 79], Andaman Islanders [Man, *JAI* xii. 161-2], Melanesians [Codrington, p. 273 ff.], New Hebrides [Turner, *Samoa*, p. 326], Awemba [Sheane, *JAI*, xxxvi. 150 ff.], American Ind. [above, vol. ii. p. 685]).

(2) *Adultery*.—Since in all savage societies the wife is regarded as the property of her husband, adultery is generally a serious crime. Before betrothal or marriage the woman may dispose of herself as she chooses, though here the father or guardian has sometimes the right of controlling her action, but after marriage her husband has entire right over her. Adultery is therefore regarded as an infringement of the husband's proprietary right, and is frequently a serious form of theft. Add to this the working of jealousy, and it is easy to understand why to the savage mind adultery is so serious an offence and often a capital crime. In many instances, even where there is a regular tribunal, the husband and those whose duty it is to help him have the right of dealing as he pleases with the culprits, especially if he catches them *in flagrante delicto*. The local tribunal and, in any case, custom and opinion justify his action, and often, indeed, expect him to avenge himself. He may, however, in such a case be liable to hostilities from the relatives of the wife or her paramour; and in a few cases, where the established tribunal is jealous of all such personal action, he may be punished by it, especially when he has put the woman to death instead of inflicting a lighter punishment. Or he may appeal to the tribunal, with confidence that due punishment will be visited upon the offenders, the execution of this punishment being occasionally allotted to him.

The punishment of death not only for adultery but, in some cases, for slight indiscretions or even for touching a wife, especially the wife of a chief (Bastian, *op. cit.* i. 244; Post, ii. 368; MacLennan, *Studies in Anc. Hist.*, 2nd ser., 1896, p. 412), is visited upon the offending wife or the paramour or both, either by the husband or by a legal tribunal, among a large number of peoples (see ADULTERY [Primitive and Savage]; Westermarck, I. 290; Post, ii. 362, 371); and in some cases adultery is the only crime which is capitally punished (Mishmis [*JRASB* vi. [1897] 352]). Occasionally the punishment is meted out to the wife only after repeated offences (Macdonald, *Africana*, i. 140). In other cases the seducer has to suffer slavery, mutilation, emasculation, beating, or some other bodily indignity; he must submit to his wife's being outraged; or he must pay compensation, usually equal to the value of the woman, to the injured husband (Post, ii. 366-9, 373; Letourneau, pp. 20, 43, 65-66, 78, 83, 95). Similarly, where the unfaithful wife is not put to death, she is mutilated, disfigured, beaten and ill-treated, enslaved, repudiated, divorced, or prostituted (Post, ii. 364-5; Letourneau, pp. 87, 65, 66). In a few exceptional cases the wife is not punished (Westermarck, *Marr.* p. 122; Post, ii. 370). These various punishments are usually inflicted by the husband, but occasionally by a tribunal or by the chief. Adultery is occasionally the cause of a blood-feud or of a species of blood-revenge (du Chailu, *Equat. Africa*, 1861, p. 61; Letourneau, p. 96).

The punishment of adultery is sometimes in proportion to the rank of the offenders or of the husband; or, where a system of fines is in use, the fine is similarly proportioned (Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 82-83; Letourneau, pp. 65-68; Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 590, 680; Ellis, *Europe-speaking Peoples*, 1890, p. 202). Generally, too, adultery with a chief wife is more severely punished than with a lesser wife or concubine (see CONCUBINAGE).

As a general rule, in savage societies the wife can obtain no redress for the husband's adultery; but there are occasionally exceptions to this even at low levels (e.g. with some Australian tribes), and the husband is punished more or less severely, or

his adultery (or even bringing a second wife or concubine to the house) is a ground for the wife's divorcing him (see **ADULTERY** [Primitive and Savage], § 6; Westermarck, ii. 432; Post, *Afr. Jur.* i. 465, ii. 72).

There is a certain amount of evidence that among savage tribes adultery is regarded as a grave moral offence, which may bring general calamity, or must be expiated, or which is offensive to the gods, or will be punished in the next world (see art. **ADULTERY**, § 8; Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 143 f.; Mason, *JRASBe* xxxvii. [1868] pt. 2, 147 ff. [Karens]; Westermarck, ii. 675; Perham, *JRAS* Straits branch, no. 8, p. 150 [Sea Dayaks]; Man, *JAI* xii. 157 [Andaman Islanders]; Sheane, *JAI* xxxvi. 150 ff. [Awemba]; Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 273 ff.; Jones, *Ojebway Ind.*, 1861, p. 104).

(3) *Unchastity*.—Unchastity before marriage is variously regarded among savage peoples. In some instances a girl is allowed the utmost licence, but in many quarters unchastity is reprobated more or less severely. The difference in attitude doubtless involves differing moral conceptions, but there can be little doubt that much is due to the question of the girl's position. If she has been betrothed in early years to a prospective husband, she is expected to remain chaste, or she may be repudiated. Or, again, unchastity is held to lower her value in her father's or guardian's opinion, because a smaller bride-price will be obtainable for her. But, as the severity of the punishments shows, unchastity is frequently regarded as a moral offence even among some very low tribes (see Westermarck, *Marr.* p. 61 ff.), and it is sometimes thought to be offensive to the higher powers, or to bring misfortune on the tribe or the crops. Hence it must be expiated in one way or another, as well as punished (St. John, *Forests of Far East*, 1863, i. 63, 69 [Dayaks]; Mason, *JASB* xxxvii. 2 [1868], 147 [Karens]; Frazier, *GB* ii. 212 [Battas]; Bastian, *Indonesien*, Berlin, 1884-90, i. 144 [Ceram]; Reclus, *Prim. Folk*, London, 1891, p. 52; Post, *Afr. Jur.* i. 460; Westermarck, *Marr.* p. 61 [Loango]; Casalis, *Basutos*, p. 267).

The punishments are various, and may be inflicted by the house-father, the tribunal, or the chief. Sometimes both seducer and seduced are put to death (Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 70 [Marea, Beni-Amer]; Cunningham, *Uganda*, 1906, p. 290 [Baziba]; Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 747 [Kavirondo]; Dawson, *Aust. Abor.*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 23 [W. Victoria]; Post, ii. 375 [Nias]). In other cases the girl is put to death (Post, ii. 375 [some Igorrote tribes]), or she is banished or enslaved (Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 66 ff.; Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 72; Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 102 [Bakoli]; Chaulier, *Through Jungle and Desert*, 1896, p. 317 [Rendile of E. Africa]; Post, ii. 380 [some Malay tribes]), or she is scourged (Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 71-72), or has to pay a fine to the chief (Post, ii. 390). In some of these cases the seducer shares the punishment, but generally he has to pay compensation or a fine, usually equivalent to the value of the girl (her bride-price or blood-price), and sometimes much heavier (Post, ii. 375-6; Westermarck, ii. 425-6, 436). In some instances he must also marry the girl, and often, if the fine is not forthcoming, he is enslaved. Seduction may at one time have been a common cause of a blood-feud, later compensated for by fine, but occasionally it still leads to a feud (Post, *Afr. Jur.* i. 81).

(4) *Theft*.—Proprietary rights are recognized by all savage tribes, most of whom condemn or abhor theft, while all of them punish it in one way or another. The thief is frequently punished by the owner of the stolen property (more especially when he is taken red-handed); and in such cases the latter may even have the right to kill him or enslave him. Or he may force him to restore the stolen goods or their value, and sometimes two, three, or more times their value, or may subject his belongings to pillage. Here, generally, custom has arranged a system of regulated composition. In other cases the thief is punished by the tribunal, or the chief, with death, enslavement, banishment, mutilation, or beating; or he is forced to pay a fine, or to restore the goods or their value. In general, the higher the value of the goods stolen,

the heavier the punishment. Stealing such things as any tribe sets much store by—cattle, products of the field, weapons, and the like—is usually severely punished. Sometimes the punishment depends upon the place from which the theft is made (field, garden, or house), the time at which it occurs (night or day), or whether the thief is taken in the act, and also upon the social position of the person robbed or of the thief. Usually, too, the punishment increases when acts of theft are repeated, a notorious thief being usually put to death. Where a system of fines exists, there is generally found a regular scale of values for different things. And, when a fine or composition is not paid, the thief is often killed, enslaved, or punished in some other way. But, before undergoing punishment, the prisoner's guilt or innocence may be attested by oath or ordeal. In many cases property is protected by tabus involving the thief in an automatic punishment or in the results of a curse. Or, again, when a thief cannot be found, resort is often had to cursing him, a god being invoked to punish him (see Westermarck, ii. 63 ff.). In some instances the gods are said to abhor and punish theft either in this world or the next (Andaman Islanders [Man, *JAI* xii. 161]; some Polynesian and Melanesian tribes [Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 301, 326; Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 274; Macdonald, *Oceania*, p. 208]; some American Indian tribes [above, vol. ii. p. 635*; Bossu, *Trav. through Louisiana*, 1771, i. 256]; Dayaks [Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, 1866, i. 55; Perham, *op. cit.* p. 149]).

The thief is killed when taken in the act, by the Fuegians (King and Fitzroy, *Voyages*, 1839, ii. 180), peoples of the Malay Archipelago (Westermarck, ii. 8; Maoris [Moerenhout, *op. cit.* ii. 181], some African tribes [Westermarck, i. 289, ii. 13; Johnston, ii. 591; Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 92-93]; or he is enslaved (Post, *ib.* ii. 93). Among peoples with whom capital punishment for various kinds of theft exists are some Australian tribes (Letourneau, p. 28); tribes of the Malay Archipelago (Javanese, Alfura, Batak, Achinese, etc. [Post, ii. 434; Westermarck, ii. 81]); the Shans (*JAI* xxvi. 21); American Indian tribes (Post, ii. 434; *NR* ii. 658; Petroff, *op. cit.* p. 152; Harmon, *Voyages*, Andover, 1820, p. 348; Von Martius, *op. cit.* i. 88); Polynesian and Melanesian tribes (Westermarck, ii. 9; Post, *Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, Oldenburg, 1878, p. 224; Letourneau, p. 541); African tribes (Letourneau, p. 64, 67; Westermarck, ii. 12; Post, ii. 83 f.). Enslaving or banishment (especially in cases of repeated theft) is the punishment among the Fantis, Yolofs, Diagars, and other African tribes (Post, ii. 87; Letourneau, p. 64), the Karens (habitual thieves [Mason, *JASB* xxxvii. 2, 146]), tribes of the Malay Archipelago (Westermarck, ii. 8; Maoris [Post, *Anfänge*, p. 224], some Amer. Ind. tribes [NR ii. 658; Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, Hartford, 1882, pp. 64, 79; Dall, *Alaska*, 1870, p. 382], Mongols [Post, *op. cit.* p. 224]. Mutilations of various kinds as an application of the *lex talionis* (cutting off fingers, hands, arms, feet, or legs, plucking out the eyes, or even cutting off nose or ears, and castration) are found among several African tribes (Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 81, 88, 90-92; Westermarck, ii. 12), peoples of the Malay Archipelago (Westermarck, ii. 8; Post, *Anfänge*, p. 223; Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 232), Ainus [Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folklore*, 1901, p. 235], various Mongol tribes (Post, *op. cit.* 223), Kamchadales, some Amer. Ind. tribes (Letourneau, p. 19; Post, *op. cit.* p. 223), and in Fiji (Williams, *Fiji*, p. 23). Beating or flogging occurs among the Brazilian Indians (Post, *op. cit.* p. 222), Kalmuks (*ib.* p. 223), and some African tribes (Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 88, 91 f.).

Probably the earliest form of revenge for theft, apart from death, was retaliation in kind. The victim of the theft would either pillage the thief or seek to recover his property. Acts of pillage are found sporadically sanctioned by public opinion (Maoris [Ellis, ii. 126]; in Malaysia [Letourneau, p. 75]); but, where these occur, they may be in default of restitution. Sometimes simple restitution of goods suffices, but more frequently this accompanies another punishment or the enforcing of a twofold or manifold restitution (Indians of Brazil [Von Martius, i. 88]; Amer. Ind. tribes—Wyandots twofold [1 *REBW*, 1881, p. 66]; Mayas [NR ii. 658]; Kirghiz ninefold [Georgi, *Russia*, 1780-83, iii. 337]; Malay Archipelago twofold or more, sometimes a fine [Westermarck, ii. 8; Post, *Anfänge*, p. 218]; African tribes, twice to ten times the value [Westermarck, ii. 12; Post, *Afr. Jur.* ii. 84, 86]). Sometimes confiscation of a thief's whole property occurs (Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 304; Johnston, ii. 882; Post, ii. 439). Such forms of compensation may be regarded in the light of a fine, greater or less, according to the magnitude of the theft, or the general feeling with regard to its wickedness. Sometimes also severe punishments—death, mutilation, etc.—may be expiated by a fine. Among Australian tribes a not uncommon method is that the thief is challenged to single combat by his victim.

An especially vile form of theft, always severely punished when it occurred, and perhaps to be regarded as a form of sacrilege, is that of stealing offerings, etc., from a grave (Westermarck, ii. 518-9).

7. At those festivals which mark the beginning of a new year or the offering of firstfruits among savages, and which are usually accompanied by ceremonial confession of wrongdoing and by ritual purifications and riddance of the contagion of wrong, very frequently there is considerable licence, and such crimes as may be then committed are not afterwards punished. At such festivals there is great excitement, with much drinking, dancing, etc. Crimes would then be readily committed, but had not to be accounted for, because they occurred during a sacred season, while their contagion had already prospectively been got rid of, or would shortly be got rid of, by the ceremonial purifications usual at such periods.

Among most savage tribes the right of asylum or sanctuary for the criminal is clearly recognized, the sanctuary being generally a place sacred to gods or spirits, or the abode of sacred persons (priest or chief), in which it would be dangerous for the avenger or the executioner of justice to shed the blood even of a criminal (see art. ASYLUM; Post, ii. 252 ff.).

SUMMARY.—The execution of justice among savage tribes is, on the whole, an extremely rough and ready process. Where the practice of private revenge is common, it militates against the independent and impartial weighing of the evidence by a disinterested tribunal. And, even where there exists a recognized tribunal, it generally lacks the most elementary requirements for the discovery of truth as found in a civilized court of justice. Impartiality is seldom found, the weighing of evidence and the reliance upon it alone being practically unknown; the common resort to ordeals is an extremely defective method of arriving at the truth; in many cases not only does the guilty escape, but, where he is punished, the innocent often share his punishment. Punishments, too, are often extremely severe. On the other hand, the evidence seems to show that there is a general hatred of crime among savages, and that it is probably of comparatively rare occurrence among many tribes.

LITERATURE.—E. Durkheim, 'Deux lois de l'évolution pénale,' *ASc.*, vol. iv., Paris, 1901, *De la Division du travail social*, do. 1893; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, London, 1906, vol. i. ch. 8; C. Letourneau, *L'Évolution juridique dans les diverses races humaines*, Paris, 1891; M. Mauss, 'La Religion et les origines du droit pénal,' *RHR.*, vol. xxiv., xxxv., Paris, 1896-7; A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnol. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1894-5; *Afrikan. Jurisprudenz*, do., 1887; S. R. Steinmetz, *Ethnol. Studien zur ersten Entwicklung der Strafe*, Leyden and Leipzig, 1894; E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London, 1900-8; *ZYRW*, Stuttgart, 1878 ff. See also the other authorities cited in the article. J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Assyro-Babylonian).—These are revealed to us mainly by the Bab. codes of laws, of which three have been found—the first and the last, fragments only; the second—that of Hammurabi—nearly complete.

1. The first (the earliest known) are the Sumerian laws, of which examples occur in the 7th tablet of the *Ulutinābi-su* ('punctually') series. This work contains specimen-phrases for students of Sumero-Akkadian, the laws being among the legal and other phrases which the student had to learn. Though the tablet dates from the time of Ashurbanipal (c. 650 B.C.), there is no doubt as to the period during which these laws and their penalties were in force; their reproduction in the contract-tablets of the time of the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged indicates that the code of which they formed part originated previous to c. 2000 B.C.

The language in which they are written (Sumerian) shows that they were drawn up during the Sumerian period, and they may, therefore, date from 3500 B.C., or even earlier. The crimes or misdemeanours referred to therein are not serious, and belong rather to the class of offences against morals than to really criminal acts. Nevertheless, they are exceedingly interesting, and are of considerable importance in that they contain the earliest ordinances in existence concerning punishment for wrongdoing:

'If a son say to his father, "Thou art not my father," they may shave him, put him in fetters, and sell him for silver.'

'If a son say to his mother, "Thou art not my mother," they may shave his forehead, lead him round the city, and drive him forth from the house.'

'If a wife hate her husband, and say to him, "Thou art not my husband," they may throw her into the river.'

'If a husband say to his wife, "Thou art not my wife," he shall pay her half a mana of silver.'

'If a man hire a slave, and he dies, is lost, runs away, gets locked up, falls ill, he shall pay as his hire every day half a measure of grain.'

Though the above laws refer only to adopted sons, the respect for foster-parents which the punishments for denial of them imply shows how strong the feeling of the Sumerians was in this matter. The adopted son might be sold as a slave, and it may be supposed that a real son would have been treated with even greater severity. The denial of a foster-mother brought upon the culprit all the disadvantages of slavery, as is implied by the shaving of his forehead. His being taken round in the city was probably for the purpose of making his misdemeanour known; and driving him forth from the house implied his being either left in utter destitution, or relegated to the position of a slave.

Inequality in the status of the husband and the wife is implied by the differing punishments for the same or similar offences. Divorcing a husband was punishable with death, but the divorcing of a wife only incurred the fine of half a mana of silver. There is no doubt that women had fewer rights than men in ancient Babylonia, but it must be admitted that they are not altogether their equals even now.

The last law of the five shows the respect paid to property. The penalties inflicted are rather hard upon the hirer, who is responsible for a slave whom he has hired, even if a misfortune befalling him is not due in any way to the fault of the hirer. Perhaps it was necessary—the Sumerians may have been (criminally) careless of other people's property delivered into their hands; in any case, if the hirer thought the conditions too severe, he could easily stipulate, on hiring, that he should not be visited with the full rigours of the law in the case of an accident happening.

2. The next laws in chronological order with which we come into contact are those drawn up by the great Babylonian legislator, Hammurabi, whose code is now preserved in the Louvre at Paris. Here we have a list of crimes and punishments far more complete than any which the ancient nations of the East preceding the Jews have ever handed down.

How far these laws were regarded as binding is doubtful—the conditions of life probably changed from time to time; and it is unlikely that the same ideas regarding penalties and punishments for breaches of the law prevailed in Assyria as in Babylonia, notwithstanding that the Assyrians studied those old Bab. laws. Perhaps the tablets of the *Ulutinābi-su* series, like many another ancient composition, and the laws of Hammurabi himself, were kept in the libraries at Nineveh, simply because they were ancient and venerable works, useful to the law-student. Upon this point, however, we shall be better able to judge later on.

In considering such a matter as that of crimes and punishments, it will probably be admitted that the Babylonian mind was not trained in so severe a school as that of the Roman or the modern legist. Moreover, the difference in the manners and customs of the East and the West, to say nothing of the question of period, must be taken into consideration. Thus, many offences against morality and decency were probably not thought worthy of punishment by the Babylonians, notwithstanding that they may have been regarded as most reprehensible. Bigamy was not a punishable offence, and the game-laws were probably merely rudimentary. Bribery was not punishable, except when it was intended thereby to pervert the ends of justice.

Nothing is said, moreover, concerning bestiality, blasphemy, breach of ritual, drunkenness (except, perhaps, in the case of priestesses and devotees), lying (though we know, from certain texts—see CONSCIENCE [Bab.], above, p. 33—that this was a thing displeasing to the deity), malice, prophesying falsely, the desecration of holy days, speaking evil of rulers (*lèse majesté*), uncleanness, usury, and many other things which are not only regarded as crimes or misdemeanours among the European nations, but also appear as such with the ancient Hebrews. Idolatry, magic, sorcery, intercourse with demons and spirits, and prostitution were naturally not counted as crimes; though blasphemy, sacrilege, and similar offences against the gods were probably severely punished—certainly the latter (sacrilege). Whether blasphemy was a crime or not probably depended upon the place and the deity, for none would speak slightly of a deity in the place where he was worshipped, except a fanatic.¹ It is to be noted, however, that nothing certain can be stated with regard to many acts which modern Europeans would consider as crimes in law, for the simple reason that we have only one code in any sense complete, namely, that of Hammurabi (c. 2000 B.C.), and even that has gaps.

The death penalty.—In the Code of Hammurabi, as is fitting, respect for what is just holds the first place, and the penalty for false accusation of killing is death (§ 1). In the case of a (false) accusation of sorcery, the accused person had to dive into the river, and, if the river refused to drown him, the accuser suffered the penalty of death, and the accused took the house of his dead defamer. Death, in fact, was the penalty of any false accusation in which a life was involved. In all other cases, a false witness bore the cost of the action (§§ 2-4).

Next to the safety and integrity of the person, that of the property of a man was held to be the most sacred. Theft was not generally punished with death, unless the property stolen belonged to a temple or to the palace (of the king), in which case the receiver suffered the same punishment (§ 6). In later times, the penalty for sacrilegious theft (with the damage inflicted upon the images of deities by stripping them) seems to have been death by fire (Pinches, *The OT in the Light*, etc.², p. 561).

Strange, however, is the severity of the law (§ 7) ordaining death for buying the property of a man, either from his own hands or from those of his slave, without witnesses or contracts; or for receiving such property on deposit. Probably possession of a man's property without justifying documents suggested receiving it on false pre-

¹ In all probability the word *sillatu*, when applied to something spoken against a deity, corresponded with 'blasphemy', as we understand it. The followers of Šamaš-šum-ukīn (Sassuchines), Ashurbanipal's brother, who uttered *sillatu* against the god Aššur, were put to death after their lips (*over* tongues) had been torn away (Aššur-bani-āpi, cyl. A, col. iv, 66 ff.). In another passage, referring to chiefs of Gambulu, the culprits were flayed after the tearing out of their tongues (G. Smith, *Ashurbanipal*, London, 1871, pp. 187, 74 f.).

tences, which the laws of the Babylonians evidently wished to discourage, the more especially as it presupposed the neglect of those legal forms to which the people seem to have paid special attention.

Though theft did not entail the death-penalty, the neglect or failure to pay fines and make restitution transformed it into a capital offence (§ 8). There were probably two reasons for this—the sacredness of property-rights, and respect for the law. Theft, with the sale of the stolen object, was even more severely punished, as the penalty was not only death, but the restitution of the property, in addition, to both parties (the owner, and the person to whom the property had been sold), the purchase-money being returned in full (§ 9). It seems not improbable that a purchaser of property sometimes found himself in serious difficulty, for, if he could not produce the seller or witnesses, he was regarded as a thief, and was executed accordingly (§ 10). This law naturally presupposes that he had no documentary evidence of the purchase. A claimant of lost property had likewise to be careful, as absence of witnesses was regarded as proving him to be a rogue; and the penalty in that case, again, was death, because he had falsely accused the person claimed from (§ 11).

Housebreaking, too, entailed the death-penalty, probably because theft was regarded as being in contemplation, though the damage to the house was naturally taken into consideration. The house-breaker was killed and buried in front of the breach (§ 21)—an undesirable position in any country where the dead were regarded as returning to visit the living. Brigandage was also punished with death (§ 22). Theft at a house where a fire had broken out, under the pretence of entering to extinguish it, entailed being thrown into the flames (§ 25). One is left to surmise that the thief got out if he could.

Offences against the person were likewise punished severely. Kidnapping a freeborn child was a capital offence (§ 14). Negligence which proved fatal to any person was punished with death; and such would be the penalty if a badly built house fell on the occupier and killed him; the builder had constructed a defective dwelling, possibly from motives of cupidity. In the case of the dependants of the owner, the *lex talionis* seems to have been applied, for the death of the owner's son was punished by the death of the builder's son (§§ 229, 230).

The position of slaves as a man's property probably had greater importance than any respect that may have been regarded as due to their persons, and the death-penalty was therefore applied in the following cases: allowing a palace slave or serf to escape, or sheltering him (§§ 15, 16); or detaining an escaped slave (§ 19). Evidently it was regarded as the duty of a citizen to restore a slave to his owner, especially if that slave belonged to the palace. Getting a barber to mark a slave wrongfully was, it seems, equivalent to stealing him (§ 227), and was punished with death and burial in his (the wrongdoer's) own gate. It was likewise a serious offence if a soldier (*redû*) hired a substitute; and, besides the death-penalty being enforced, the substitute might take the soldier's house (§ 26)—apparently the dwelling allotted to him by the State. In the same manner, a highly-placed official could neither himself hire a substitute, nor accept a mercenary as substitute (for another), and incorporate him, the penalty being death in both cases.

The duties of a 'wine-woman' (meaning, evidently, a woman keeping a public-house) included assisting the government by capturing criminals; and, if she failed in this, she also met with the penalty of death (§ 109).

The real nature of these wine-houses, which were kept by the wine-women, has yet to be discovered. That they were places of evil repute seems certain, and a devotee not dwelling in a cloister who opened a wine-house, or who entered a wine-house for drink, was burned to death¹ (§ 110). It seems to have been the duty of wine-women to accept payment for their drink in kind; and any such woman refusing to do this, or accepting a low tariff, might be thrown into the river (§ 108), she having thereby contravened the law.

Infidelity and incest were also under the pain of capital punishment. An adulterous woman and her paramour were to be tied together and thrown into the water, unless pardoned (apparently), the former by her husband, and the latter by the king (§ 129). Violation of a virgin-wife dwelling with her father entailed death to the man, but exile (?) to the woman (§ 130). A thriftless woman making her poverty an excuse for marrying again during her husband's absence, was condemned to be thrown into the water (§ 133)—the punishment meted out to a disreputable woman who repudiated her husband (§ 143). In the law reports (see Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, iii. nos. 1, 8; iv. 776), a rebellious or faithless wife was thrown down from the tower, or sold into slavery (no. 7); and slavery (as a milk-maid ?) in the palace was the punishment meted out in such a case, in a text from the Khabur (Johns, in *PSBA* xxix. 177; Ungnad, *op. cit.* no. 5). For incest with a son's bride the penalty was drowning (§ 156); and for incest with a mother,² death by fire for both (§ 157).

Mutilation.—This penalty was not uncommon, and in some cases roughly indicated the crime by destroying that which was regarded as the offending member. Thus, if the son of a chamberlain (palace-favourite) or of a public woman denied his foster-parents, his tongue, the organ with which the denial was made, was cut out (§ 192). In the case of an adopted son learning who his real father was, despising in consequence his foster-parents, who had brought him up, and returning to his father's house, the punishment was loss of an eye (§ 193).³ A nurse substituting, without the knowledge of the father and mother, another child for one who had died whilst in her care, was punished by the cutting off of her breasts, thus ensuring, as in most punishments of this nature, that the offence should not occur again (§ 194). A son striking his father was punished by the loss of a hand—the limb with which the offence had been committed (§ 195). A slave striking a freeman's son received the same punishment as a slave denying his master,⁴ namely, the loss of an ear—probably as a mark that he was a criminal, and a warning that he was untrustworthy (§§ 205, 282). As we have seen above (p. 258*), defamation, when it was a question of a life, was a capital offence, but in other cases a less severe punishment was decreed—thus, if a man 'raised the finger' against (accused of unchastity) a priestess or a married woman, the punishment was the shaving of the forehead—a proclamation to the world that a misdemeanour had been committed. Priests alone, in all probability, shaved the whole of the head, so that there was no danger of the obliteration of the distinguishing mark, whilst it lasted.

¹ The severity of the penalty would seem to imply that unchastity was presumed in such a case.

² 'After the father,' apparently = 'after the father's death.' But perhaps 'step-mother' is meant, in which case 'after the consummation of the marriage' may be intended.

³ According to the tablets (Ungnad, *op. cit.* iv. nos. 14, 19), an adopted child who was rebellious was sent away, or, as in the Sumerian laws (see p. 257*), sold into slavery. Ill-treatment of an adopted child entailed loss of property to his benefit (*ib.* nos. 14, 16).

⁴ A slave-wife denying her husband's mother was marked (by a tonsure) and sold.

Exceedingly interesting, and among the laws which have attracted the most attention, are those ordaining retaliation. Injury involving the loss of an eye entailed the loss of an eye to the person who had inflicted the injury, and it was the same for the other members of the body—bone for bone (i.e. broken limb for broken limb), teeth for teeth (§§ 196, 197, 200).

Fines, with alternatives (mutilations, etc.).—Whether these punishments could be compensated for by a money-payment, or in any other way, is not stated. In each case, however, they refer to a freeman injuring a person of his own rank; but a freeman committing the same offence against a man of inferior rank got off by paying a fine (1 mana for the limb or the eye of a serf; and $\frac{1}{2}$ mana for the teeth, with lesser indemnities in the case of a slave). For striking a man of equal rank on the head, also, the *lex talionis* did not apply, but a fine of 1 mana of silver was inflicted. If the man struck was of superior rank, the striker received 60 lashes 'in the assembly' with an ox-hide whip (§ 202). A serf striking a serf paid 10 shekels of silver (§ 204), but a slave striking the head of a freeman lost his ear (§ 205). Thus were intentional injuries atoned for.

For unintentional injury, even in a quarrel, things were different. In such a case, a freeman hurting another had only to swear that he had not struck him knowingly, and was then responsible only for the physician's fees (§ 206); and, if death ensued, he made amends by paying $\frac{1}{2}$ mana of silver, and for the son of a serf $\frac{1}{4}$ only (§§ 207, 208). Striking a freeman's daughter, so that she lost her expected offspring, entailed a fine of only 10 shekels of silver (§ 209), and, if the woman died, they killed the amiter's daughter. The punishment of the culprit was in such a case a sore affliction, calculated to sadden him for the rest of his days, but here, as in other cases, the innocent suffered for the guilty simply because the Babylonians would not admit that a woman was the equal of a man, and said that, whatever the sex, the penalty must be 'a life for a life.' Striking a slave-woman with the same serious result entailed a fine of 2 shekels of silver, and, if she died, $\frac{1}{2}$ mana (§§ 213, 214). In this case it was not 'slave for slave,' probably because the expected offspring had to be allowed for, the fine, it appears, being more than the value of a slave.

Among the worst examples of the mutilation-penalty, however, are those quoted by Ungnad (*op. cit.* iv. 63, no. 1049), where, if certain people bring action against each other, their noses are to be pierced and their hands dislocated, and in this condition they are to go to the market-place at Sippar. In another case (*ib.* no. 1051) the hair of the forehead was to be shaved on account of bringing an action, the alternative being a fine (no. 1050). An attempt to rescind, by legal action, the gift of the king, entailed a fine of 10 shekels of silver, and covering the claimant's head with hot (?) bitumen (*ib.* vol. iii. no. 458). This last text comes from the independent State of Hana (Thureau-Dangin, *RA* iv. 17). The punishment for false witness was a fine of 2 shekels of silver (Ungnad, iii. no. 699), and shaving of the forehead (*ib.* 707).

The *lex talionis* also existed for injuries inflicted unintentionally in the course of professional (surgical) attendance. For death or loss of sight after an operation for a grave injury or for a cataract (?), the penalty was loss of the hands—the same as for a son striking his father, the object in both cases being the same, namely, to prevent a repetition of the misfortune (§ 218). A serf's slave having been treated for a grave injury, and dying under the operation, the penalty was restitution ('slave like slave') (§ 219). If the slave lost an eye

after an operation, the physician had to pay the owner half his value in silver. A veterinary surgeon who had operated upon an ox or an ass, which had died thereafter, paid to the owner a quarter of its value (§ 225). The 'crime,' in these cases, was want of skill or judgment, and the penalties were probably as near as the framers of the Code could get to the 'just mean' in each case, for the slave or the animal might have been of greater or less value, taking the injury into consideration, but the penalty was the same.¹ In the case of a man hiring an ox, and causing its death by negligence or by blows, the penalty was ox for ox (§ 245), and the same penalty was imposed if he had broken its foot or cut its nape, thus rendering the animal useless (§ 246). Destroying the eye of a hired ox entailed an indemnity of half its value in silver (§ 247); and breaking off its horn, cutting off its tail, or piercing its nostril was made good only by paying a quarter of the animal's value (§ 248). 'Act of God' left the hirer free from obligation (§ 249).

Though not a crime, an accident which brought an owner within the purview of the law arose from injury by a mad bull. On the first occasion, in which the bull's viciousness could not be known, there was no penalty (§ 250); but the death of a man by a known vicious bull, horned and at large, entailed a penalty of $\frac{1}{2}$ mana of silver (§ 251), and $\frac{1}{2}$ mana if the person killed was a slave (§ 152).

In certain cases (see above, p. 258²) the punishment for theft or dishonest dealing was death, but the case of an employé differed. Thus, if a man hired to do the work of a farm stole the wheat and the vegetables, and these things were found in his hands, his hands were cut off (§ 253). Here again, we seem to have an instance of vengeance against the offending members; for he who, instead of working for the benefit of his employer, used his hands to rob him, was accounted worthy of this mutilation. In one case not very clear in the Code, the person who took away necessary things and weakened the oxen had to make up the damage he had caused (§ 254); and in another, if he lent out the oxen or stole the grain, so that he was unable to cultivate it, he had to pay 60 gur for every gan of ground left uncultivated (§ 255). It seems strange that a thief, in such a case as this, should be let off so easily, but it was the same for other things—a man stealing a watering-machine paid 5 shekels of silver, and the theft of a shadouf or a plough entailed an indemnity of 3 shekels (§§ 259, 260). The question naturally arises whether, in this inscription, the verb *sarāqu* has always the meaning of 'to steal.' A herdsman was under the same liability as the farmer—if a man, duly in receipt of a salary, reduced the oxen or the sheep, or their natural increase, he had to make up the amount (§ 264); and, if he changed their natural increase, or sold it, the penalty was that he made up the amount to the owner tenfold (§ 265).

Deprivation of office.—Apparently only one kind of misdeed entailing this is referred to in Hammurabi's Code, and, as is fitting, it bears upon the administration of justice. If a judge changed a sentence, thus making it to be of no effect, he was punished with twelvefold restitution of the sum involved in the lawsuit.³ In addition to this, he was dismissed from the justice-seat, never to return; nor was he to sit with other judges when trying a case (§ 5).

Imprisonment.—It is noteworthy that, in all the enactments of the Code of Hammurabi, there is no mention of imprisonment. The Babylonians, how-

ever, certainly had prisons, as the expressions *bit šibitti* and *bit kili*, and the fact that arrests were ordered by the king, show.¹ In all probability, however, they were not houses of detention as a punishment, but simply places where an accused person or a criminal could be confined until tried or punished. An interesting text referring to this is printed in *Cun. Texts*, vi. pl. 8 (Ungnad, *op cit.* iii. no. 743), in which a man speaks of being placed in *bit ārari* by his judges, whose names he gives. He states that he was not to be released until he had fulfilled a certain order—probably the delivery of a document, but the details are not clear.

Possibly imprisonment was more common in later times than at the early period of Hammurabi's dynasty. A letter published in *Recueil des Travaux*, xix. 107-108 (82-3-23, 845), asks: 'Why takest thou my child and placest him in the prison-house (*bit kili*)? None shall take him, and thou must bring him forth (again). Send my son quickly.' Confinement was also effected in a man's own house: 'Shut up Arad-Bau (who sits in the city-gate of Hadad) in his own house with the men' (Pinches, *Outline of Assyrian Gram.*, 1910, p. ii). The reason of this order is not stated, but something of the nature of a revolt or conspiracy may be suggested.

Resistance to Assyrian dominion entailed all kinds of horrors, and, though the Assyrian king may have regarded such resistance as among the worst of misdeeds, and worthy of all the pains and tortures which he inflicted, it hardly comes within the scope of the present article. Nevertheless, there is one noteworthy instance of punishment for what might be described as a crime, though those who suffered for it were only obeying their king's orders. Certain Elamite magnates had been sent by Te-umman, the king, to Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, asking for the delivery of certain fugitives. The message was an insolent² one (*šipir merihti*), and the Assyrian king had the ambassadors detained. It seems not improbable that Te-umman made preparations to invade Assyria before the return of his ambassadors on the occasion of their final visit to Assyria; so, after the defeat and decapitation of Te-umman, they were shown his cut-off head, the sight of which is said to have driven them mad. The success of the Assyrian arms had such an effect on Rusa, king of Ararat, that he sent ambassadors to Arbela to greet Ashurbanipal, who showed them the bodies of the Elamite ambassadors with the 'insolent message' which they had brought.

LITERATURE.—V. Scheil, 'Code des lois de Hammourabi, in *Mém. de la délégation en Perse*, iv., Paris, 1902; R. F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, Chicago, 1904; Pinches, *The OT in the Light*, etc. 8, London, 1908, pp. 174, 176-177, 185, 488-525, 561; and, esp. Peiser, Kohler, and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1904-1910.

T. G. PINCHES.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Buddhist).—Crimes are for the most part committed by irreligious people; and the punishments are determined upon and carried out (even under hierarchies like Rome and Tibet) from political

¹ The British Museum tablet D.T. 1, generally called 'Warnings to kings against injustice' (*W 1* iv. 2 pl. 43), which refers to certain penalties, is rather a tablet of rewards and punishments, mostly referring to the rulers of the land; but it is unfortunately not clear in every part. Among other maxims given it is stated that a king's ill-favour towards his princes or his burghers was likely to entail in the one case an untimely end, and in the other rebellion. It is interesting, however, on account of its references to imprisonment: 'The son of Nippur, Sippar, Babylon, committing wrong, is caused to enter the prison-house—where the wrong has been done, the town shall pour out (?) supply provisions) to the fortress (?). The sons of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon, giving their provisions to the stallions, ate the stallions for their provisions—they were delivered into the custody of the foe,' etc.

² 'Tre cherous' seems also to be a possible rendering.

¹ Such are the disadvantages of the cut-and-dried legislation of a code.

² Twelvefold restitution is frequently referred to in contracts of late date, but this is for changing the record, and is not confined to the judges.

or legal, rather than from religious, motives. It is, therefore, a complicated problem to decide how far a religion, dominant at any time in a country, is or is not an important factor either in deciding what acts shall be called crimes, or in determining the punishments for them. This is so even when the facts are known and classified; and no attempt has yet been made to write the history either of crime or of its punishment in any Buddhist country. The following remarks must, therefore, be tentative and imperfect. It will be convenient to discuss the subject (1) as regards the Order, and (2) as regards the laity.

1. **The Order.**—The standard text-book of Canon Law consists of the ancient Rules of the Order, as current in the time of the Buddha (see 'Pātimokkha,' in art. LITERATURE [Buddh.]), edited, about fifty years after his death, with notes and a commentary, and accompanied by twenty supplementary chapters. These additions by the editors show the development that had taken place, during that interval, in the interpretation of the Rules themselves as well as in the method of enforcing them. Of the 227 Rules, more than 200 relate to matters of deportment, to the common property of the Order and the proportion allowed to each member, to the time and manner of taking food, and so on. The penalty for any infraction of these minor regulations was repentance; that is, the offender had to confess his fault to a brother *bhikkhu*, and promise not to repeat it. This penalty involved forfeiture of any property held contrary to the regulations.

The major offences were divided into two classes—*pārājika* and *sanghādisesa*. The former class comprised four crimes—the sexual act, theft, murder, and putting forward a false claim to religious insight. The penalty was expulsion from the Order, or, to use the words of the Rules, 'he has fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.'¹ The notes and supplements discuss cases raising the point whether some act does or does not amount to an infringement of one or other of these four Rules. The cases put are ingenious, and the decisions harmonize in a remarkable way with the equitable views of modern writers on criminal law.

The second of the above two classes comprises five offences depending on or inciting to sensual impurity; two connected with building a residence without obtaining the approval of the Order; two with slander; two with stirring up discord in the Order; one with intractability; and one with general evil life (being a disorderly person). The penalty for these offences was suspension for as many days as had elapsed between the offence and its confession. A suspended member of the Order is under disability in regard to 94 privileges of an ordinary member—he is to take the worst seat or sleeping-place, cannot sit on a Chapter, cannot travel without restriction, and so on.² When the fixed number of days has passed, the suspended *bhikkhu* may be rehabilitated. Both suspension and rehabilitation can be carried out only at a formal Chapter, where not fewer than twenty regular *bhikkhus* must be present. There are somewhat complicated rules to ensure the regularity of the proceedings, the equity of the decision, and opportunity for the putting forward of the defence. These are too long even to summarize. We must be content to note that, for instance, the rules as to the constitution of the court are given in *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 263 ff., iii. 46; those as to the accusation being invalid, unless brought forward under the right heading, in ii. 276 ff.; those as to both parties being present, in iii. 47.

¹ *Vinaya Texts*, i. 4 f.

² The whole of the 94 are given in *Vinaya Texts*, ii. 286 ff.

Every member of the Order resident in the locality had the right to attend such a Chapter; and, if the matter were too complicated to be adequately considered in so large a meeting, it could be referred to a committee of arbitrators chosen by the Chapter (*ib. iii. 49 ff.*).

The above are rules and practices evolved by the early Buddhists, for use among themselves only; they do not give, or pretend to give, any adequate treatment of the question of crimes, or of that of punishments, but they show that the early Buddhists had a very fair grasp of the general principles underlying the equitable administration of criminal law, and that in the matter of punishment they took, as might be expected, a lenient view. They show also that, at the time when Buddhism arose, such crimes as murder and theft were no longer looked upon as offences against individuals only, but had already come to be considered as offences against the community, as moral offences in themselves—in other words, that this step forward in the treatment of crime was not in any way due to Buddhism, but was the outcome of Indian civilization.

2. **Laity.**—The Buddhist scriptures frequently refer to their ideal of a perfect king, a righteous king who rules in righteousness, without punishment, and without a sword (*adandaṇa asaṭṭhena*). In the *Kūṭadanta*,¹ King Wide-realm's country is harassed by dacoits, who pillage the villages and townships and make the roads unsafe. He thinks to suppress the evil by degradation, banishment, fines, bonds, and death, but his Buddhist adviser tells him that there is only one method of putting an end to the disorder, that is, by providing farmers with food and seed-corn, traders with capital, and government officials with good wages. If this method be adopted, 'the king's revenue will go up; the country will be quiet and at peace; and the people, pleased with one another and happy, dancing their children in their arms, will dwell with open doors.' In the legend the plan succeeds; and it represents, no doubt, fairly accurately, the Buddhist vague ideal of the right theory of crime and punishment. In the Buddhist historical chronicles we have no instance of its having been realized. Crime and its punishment have been dealt with according to the views current at each time and place, and it would be impossible, with our present evidences, to attempt any statement as to whether, and in what degree, those views have been modified by the Buddhist ideal.

LITERATURE.—*Vinaya*, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879-83; Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts* (SBE, vols. xii., xvii., xx.), Oxford, 1881-85; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Oxford, 1899. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Celtic).—

1. The treatment of crime and of criminals among the ancient Celts is wrapped in great obscurity. Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13) informs us that the Druids of Gaul were judges in both public and private disputes, and that they awarded damages and penalties; and we are told (*ib. vi. 16*) that, when human sacrifices were offered, criminals were sacrificed in the first instance, before recourse was had to innocent victims. It is not improbable, therefore, that among the Celts, as among the Greeks, Romans, and other races, the idea prevailed that certain forms of conduct were displeasing to the gods, and that, in consequence, communion with deity could not be re-established without the purification of society by the death or expulsion of the persons who were guilty of such conduct (see COMMUNION WITH DEITY [Celtic], vol. iii. p. 749). In this treatment of its un

¹ *Digha*, i. 135; tr. in the present writer's *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 175 f.

desirable members by the community it is probable that attention was paid to the general type of character no less than to specific acts of wrong conduct, just as, in the process of compurgation by oath in Welsh law (see below), the witnesses who were called to testify on oath gave evidence quite as much to the general character of the accused as to his non-performance of a particular act. The types of character which are always abhorred by communities where custom rules, as it did among the Celts, are those which are indifferent to the observance of customary prohibitions (in Homeric language those of men lacking in *αἰδώς*), such being conspicuous by their want of scruple and by the quality of *ῥῆσις*. One of the Celtic roots for 'good' (Ir. *dech*, Welsh *de* [now obsolete], cognate with Gr. *δέχομαι*), meant 'acceptable'; and the other Celtic terms relating to character show the prevalence among the Celts of the same moral conceptions as among other men of Indo-European speech. The idea of a defilement attaching to crime is found in a statement made in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (iii. 97), that body and soul are both defiled by committing crimes.

2. Side by side with the penalty of sacrifice, and probably connected with it, was that of exclusion from participation in religious rites. Cæsar (vi. 13) tells us that any contumacy with respect to the judgments of the Druids was punished by exclusion from the ritual of sacrifice; and this sentence, he says, was the severest among the Gauls, since the men so punished were treated as outlaws, and were cut off from all the rights and privileges of human society. In Gaul there appears to have been a measure of centralization in the administration of justice, since the assembly of the Druids, meeting, according to Cæsar, in the territory of the Carnutes, held a court for the trial of cases brought from every district around. In the case of the Druids it is clear that the decision was in the hands of the religious leaders of the community; and this suggests that among the Celts, as in other early communities, the ethical and the religious aspects of crimes and their punishments were not very clearly distinguished. The conception of outlawry, or the loss of civil status, was a marked feature of the Celtic treatment of wrongdoers in the historical period, but this form of punishment was resorted to only in extreme cases. In Irish law, and to a somewhat less extent in Welsh law, recourse appears to have been had with extreme reluctance to the punishments of death and outlawry.

3. In Irish law, also, it is remarkable that imprisonment and all forms of corporal punishment, whether by mutilation, beating, or torture, are conspicuous by their absence, and mutilation and imprisonment are rarely alluded to in the Welsh laws. It is not impossible that ordinary crime was almost as rare in Ireland and Wales in ancient times as it is to-day, and that the communities in question seldom found it necessary to have recourse to very extreme punishments.

4. Another feature of Celtic law, which links it to certain ancient forms of social organization, is the emphasis laid by it upon the responsibility of the family group for the conduct of its members, as is seen especially in the case of the crime of homicide (see, further, art. BLOOD-FEUD [Celtic]).¹ Both in Ireland and in Wales the family group of the slayer had to pay compensation to the family group of the slain for the loss of one of their number. This collective aspect of criminal jurisprudence is one of the chief differences between the older Celtic point of view and that of the more

individualistic jurisprudence of the present day; but even in Ireland (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii. 245) the penalties for all crimes except killing fell on the offender, provided he had the means of paying.

5. Sources of information.—In the case of Ireland there is a large body of knowledge relating to crimes and punishments, as well as to other branches of law, contained in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland* (Rolls Series, 1869-73). This work comprises various legal treatises, such as the *Senchus Mór*, the *Corus Bescna*, the *Book of Aicill*, etc. These treatises are the work of the Brehons (the hereditary lawyers of Ireland), who decided the cases that were brought to them. The body of law in question retained its authority among the Irish until the beginning of the 17th century. The law of England, which was introduced into Ireland by Henry II., was for a long time hardly followed except within the English pale, which consisted of Louth, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, Dublin, and Wicklow. A statute of Henry VIII. (Stat. 13, c. 3), promulgated in 1522, mentions that English law was not observed beyond the counties named. The main body of Irish law is called the *Cáin*; local modifications of general laws were called *urradhús*, and inter-territorial regulations *cairde*.

6. In the case of Wales there is abundant information concerning criminal procedure in the *Ancient Laws of Wales*, published under the editorship of Aneurin Owen in the Rolls Series (London, 1841). There is also a very convenient edition of the so-called *Gwentian Code*, published by A. W. Wade-Evans, under the title *Welsh Medieval Law*, from a Harleian MS (Brit. Mus. 4353) of the 13th cent. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909), to which references will be made in this article. The Welsh laws consist partly of a Code, issued under the royal sanction and authority of Hywel Dda, and partly of a collection of legal maxims arranged in groups of three, or triads. The Welsh laws are based on a recension of existing customs by the prince Hywel Dda ('Howel the Good') (c. 930), and vary somewhat for the different regions of the Principality. The oldest MS is the *Black Book of Chirk*, now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth (12th cent.), which appears to have been a form of the code of Gwynedd (N.W. Wales); hence its usual name, the *Venedotian Code*. Another form of the Code is known as the *Dimetian*, or the Code of Dyfed (S.W. Wales), perhaps better regarded as that of the larger area known as Deheubarth (the Southern region), while another form is usually known as the *Gwentian*, from its supposed association with the district of Gwent (S.E. Wales). It is probable, however, that this Code, as Wade-Evans has shown, was that of Powys (Mid-Wales). The Code of Hywel is found in a Latin as well as a Welsh form, but the precise relation of these two forms is uncertain.

7. Attitude of the community to crime.—Among the Celts the community recognized the right of vengeance (Ir. *digal*, Welsh *dial*), whereby the individual or his family might themselves obtain satisfaction or compensation for a wrong done to them. This right, however, was one that was greatly restricted in practice, and was not to be put into operation except when other remedies failed. Ancient Irish law, and probably at one time Welsh law, made no distinction between crimes and torts (though originally some offences may have been viewed as offences against religion), and dealt with them alike as cases for compensation through payment. Whereas in modern communities crime is regarded mainly as an offence against the State, though individuals may be

¹ In Ireland the family groups in question were known as the *geilfine*, *derbfine*, *iartfine*, and *indfine*.

wronged thereby, Irish legal practice, which was in the hands of a hereditary caste of arbitrators called Brehons, developed to an unusual degree the remedial aspect of compensation for wrong to the sufferers—an aspect which in the English law of crime has sunk largely into the background. In Welsh law there are abundant traces of an earlier state of things resembling that of Ireland, but there are also signs of the growth of a point of view resembling that of modern States.

3. In Ireland, if the guilty party did not pay the amount which the Brehons awarded, the party that was aggrieved was allowed to exercise his right of vengeance by means of reprisals or private war. In Wales, the latter process was called *myned ar herw* ('to go on a plundering expedition'), and the regular term in Welsh for plunder was *anrhaith* ('absence of law'). The aggressor, if his family cared to support him, might offer resistance, or might become an outlaw, and, in that case, the avengers, if they chose, might put him to death. There are indications, however, that this power was restricted in Irish law by making the right purely personal, to be exercised only by the person who had been specially wronged. The Welsh legal triads state (Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law*, p. 264) that there are three legal periods for avenging a dead body:

'Between two kindreds who do not originate from the same *galwad* ("a district under one rule") commencing a claim on the first day of the week following that wherein the dead was murdered; if there comes no answer by the end of a fortnight, the law makes vengeance free. The second is, if the two kindreds are in the same *cantref* ("hundred"), commencing a claim on the third day after the dead is slain; if there comes no answer by the end of the ninth day, the law makes vengeance free. The third is, if the two kindreds are in the same *cymmot* ("commot"), commencing a claim on the third day after the dead is murdered; if there comes no answer by the end of the sixth day, the law makes vengeance free.'

In three MSS of the Welsh laws (X211b, W99b, and U55a; see *Anc. Laws of Wales*, i. 778, and Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 306) there is found the following statement:

'There are three incitements to revenge; one of them, the shrieking of female relations. The second is, seeing the bier of the relative going to the graveyard. The third is, seeing the grave of their relative without enjoying satisfaction.'

The Welsh laws make the following exceptions as to the persons who could take part in a blood-fine (Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 187):

'And if there be any one of the kindred of the murderer or the murdered who is an ecclesiastic in holy orders or a religious or leprous or dumb or an idiot, he neither pays nor receives any of the *galanas* ("blood-fine"). They are not to take vengeance for a person murdered, nor is vengeance to be taken on them; and it is impossible to compel such by any law to pay anything, nor are they to receive.'

9. Family champion.—In Ireland (see *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii. 83, note) there existed the institution of family champion, whose place it was to avenge family quarrels. The championship in question formed one of the seven grades of a territory. The Welsh laws contain no reference to this institution.

10. Outlawry.—In the *Book of Aicill*—the most important treatise on Irish criminal law (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii. 381)—the question is asked, 'What is it that makes a stranger of a native freeman and a native freeman of a stranger? The answer is as follows:

'That is, an outlawed stranger: he is defined to be a person who frequently commits crimes, and his family cannot exonerate themselves from his crimes by suing him for them, until they pay a price for exonerating themselves from his crimes, i.e. seven *cunhals* (a *cunhal* = 3 cows) to the chief; and seven *cunhals* for his seven years of penance are paid to the Church, and his two *cunhals* for *cairde*-relations are paid to each of the four parties with whom he had mutual *cairde*-relations; and when they (the family) shall have given in this way, they shall be exempt from his crimes until one of them gives him the use of a knife, or a handful of grain; or until he unyokes his horses in the land of a kinsman out of family-friendship. And, if they give him these, they shall not be exempt from his crimes, until they pay the same amount again for exonerating themselves from his crimes' (*ib. p.* 386).

'The son whom he had begotten before he had been made an outlaw is to be like every other lawful man of the family. As to the son whom he may have begotten after he had been made an outlaw, his liabilities shall be on the family of his mother, i.e. they pay the full debt of a stranger out of their own rightful *seids* ("legal units of value") for his liabilities, and they obtain his body-fine. . . . The case in which a man may be killed with impunity—i.e. every man is exempt from liability for killing him—is when these things before mentioned were given for him, and the king has not neglected to restrain him, and he is not on the land of any particular person, and there is no particular person who feeds him. But, if the king has neglected to restrain him, and if he is not in the employment or hire of any particular person in the territory, he (the king) shall pay for his crime; and, if he be killed, the body-fine of a stranger who has a *besona* ("modus vivendi") compact shall be paid for him. Neglect of restraint on the part of the king means that he did not restrain him to the employment of a particular person, or did not have him living on a particular land, or fed by a particular person.'

This passage is of interest as being one of the few passages in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland* which refer to the royal power or responsibility. The reference is important, inasmuch as it shows that, even in Ireland, the king had a clear place in the legal system of the community, though the Brehons had little mention of it. In Wales the term *dreit*, though not used in the *Laws*, meant originally a person who was outside the social order.

11. In the *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (iii. 463) the text of the *Book of Aicill* says, 'The life of every law-breaker is fully forfeited,' but this is explained in the commentary as follows:

'That is, it is lawful to kill the thief without name, who is not known, when there is no power at the time of committing the trespass; and he (the slayer) is exempt on account of every person killed in his (the thief's) guise.'

The various cases that might arise under this head are then considered, and it is said (*op. cit.* p. 469):

'The person who is exempt from liability for killing the thief is he from whom he came to thief, or who is entitled to *erio*-fine for the theft. If he (the slayer) be the person to whom *erio*-fine is not due for the theft, full body-fine is due from him for killing him, whether there was or was not power to arrest him. Or, according to others, it may be lawful for any person to kill him, whether the person to whom he came to thief, or the person to whom he did not come to thief. 'It is then there is no exemption for killing a person in the guise of the thief, when he is seen stealing the *seid* ("chattel"), or when the track of any particular thing stolen was found after him. If he was not seen stealing the *seid*, or if the track of the particular thing stolen was not found after him, there shall be paid full body-fine for killing him, whether there was or was not power to arrest him. The person who came to inflict a wound upon the body may be safely killed when unknown and without a name, and when there was not power to arrest him at the time of committing the trespass, and there is exemption for every one killed in his guise.'

12. Administration of justice.—In Ireland the picture presented by the Brehon legal treatises is that of a community without an official magistracy or police, where the remedy in the case of any wrong done (whether a crime or a tort) was in the form of damages assessed by an arbitrator possessing hereditary expert knowledge of Irish custom, the main problem for the arbitrator being in each case the accurate assessment of damages, which varied with the status of the person wronged, with the act committed, and with other circumstances. Allusions to the king's power or laws are very rare in these legal treatises. In *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (iii. 409) we are told that the crimes of the man who violated the king's laws were adjudged on the seven houses in which he got beds, that the penalty for violating the king's laws varied according to the nature of the tenancy and local laws, and that there was a penalty for supplying lodging to the violators of the king's laws, and similarly for the violation of a king's inter-territorial law; but it is clear that the idea of a crime in its relation to the community as a whole was in Ireland more implicit than explicit. In Wales the Laws refer to *braddwyr* ('judges'), who had a recognized status in the community, but whose payment appears to have come mainly from the parties to the action.

13. Effect of intention.—The distinction between criminal and non-criminal injuries was recognized in Irish law, though without altering the type of compensation required. Whenever a wrong action was shown to be due to malice aforethought, the fines on account of it had to be doubled. Intention had always (see *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii. 469, 471) to be taken into account in the case of theft, wounding, and homicide. In *op. cit.* iii. 139 there is a minute discussion of the fine due for the intention to wound, when the attempt to wound was not successful. The Welsh process of *galanas* ('recovery of compensation for murder') was always combined with the recovery of the fine for *sarhad* ('insult')—a combination which shows that, in historic times at any rate, intention was clearly recognized. It is said, for example (Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 255), that an unintentional blow is not *sarhad*.

14. Responsibility.—In Irish law (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, ii. 45) it is recognized that certain persons could not be considered responsible for their actions, and the rule is laid down that

'a fool, a madman, a male idiot, a female idiot, and a dumb person shall not be distrained: their adult guardians who bear their crimes and get their wages shall be distrained.'

In *op. cit.* iii. 157, it is said:

'The man who incites a fool is he who pays for his crime, in which case the man who commits the crime, i.e. the fool, is exempt; for this is the instance in which fines of design are paid, another man who paid had no designs.'

In some cases (see *op. cit.* iii. 159) there was a difference of opinion, and we read:

'When a fool has committed a furious assault alone, of his own accord, without cause, without enmity, it is then lawful to give every fool up for his crime; or, according to others, compensation must be paid on his account by his family or the person with whom he is. If there be enmity, each of them pays compensation.'

In *op. cit.* iii. 501 it is stated that neglect on the part of the sane in not looking after the insane would have to be compensated for; and, according to *op. cit.* iii. 507, damages would have to be paid for leaving an epileptic lunatic unguarded. The same conception underlies *op. cit.* i. 157, 161, where it is stated that a person is liable to distress for the crimes of his messenger and of his hired woman, and a man is also liable to a fine for the crime of his jester.

In Welsh law (Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 255) it is stated that

'a free man is to answer for his *alltud* ("foreign servant") in every claim for which he is not to lose the tongue, and life, and limbs; for no one is to lose tongue and life and limbs by the tongue of another person.' It is further stated (*ib.* p. 259), that no one is to make answer or satisfaction for an act of his bondman, except for theft.

The extent to which children could be held responsible was carefully considered in Irish law, and the *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (ii. 66) discuss minutely the question of their responsibility at various ages, as well as that of their parents and foster-parents. In *op. cit.* v. 151, it is stated:

'Little boys are safe in all the rights of lawful sports, until they have come to the age of having to pay damage of *dre* ("restitution-fine") for violence.'

Women, in respect of their first and second crimes, were placed on the same footing as boys.

15. Advocacy.—The Irish treatises make no mention of advocacy, but the Welsh legal triads contain the following statement:

'Three persons who are entitled to an advocate for them in court: a woman, and one with a natural impediment in speech, and an alien of foreign speech.'

16. Crimes in Irish law.—The forms of what would now be called crimes, or serious wrongs, with which Irish law deals, are homicide, wounding and mutilation, criminal assault, theft, assault, perjury, insult, libel, slander, using charms, trespass, damage to property (both living and dead), gross negligence, absconding and harbouring a fugitive, abduction, stripping of the dead, and disturbance of the peace.

17. Crimes in Welsh law.—The above were crimes or serious wrongs also in Welsh law, with the omission of the using of charms, and the addition of arson, waylaying, indecent assault, and treason.

18. Penalties in Irish law.—The normal penalties of Irish law consisted in the payment of certain fines, which were assessed by the Brehons (see above). The principle underlying these fines was that they were viewed as the equivalents of the amount of vengeance which the person or persons aggrieved would be justified in exacting in a particular case. Hence an important consideration which entered into the assessment of every fine was the value and status of the person injured. Irish law (as well as that of Wales) was based upon the principle that each person and thing in the community had a definite legal worth. In the case of persons, various considerations entered into the calculation both of a person's *dire-fine* ('honour-price') and of his *eric-fine* ('body-price'). In the *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (v. 97) it is asked what it is that gives *dire* ('honour-price') to a person, and the reply is 'desert and worth and purity.' Of desert it is further explained that it refers to property, of worth that it refers to the person's word, and of purity that it refers to his deed. In the matter of rank as conferring status, there were in Ireland two chief grades: (1) the *saer-nemed*, and (2) the *daer-nemed*. In *op. cit.* v. 15, the former are said to consist of 'churches, chiefs, poets, and *féine*' (free tenants), while the latter consist of the practicers of every art in general. A passage from one of these grades into the other (with a consequent change in honour-price) was possible. A *saer* ('free')-man might become a *daer* ('unfree')-man by selling his land or his property or his body into servitude, while a *daer*-man might become a *saer*-man by purchasing land or law or freedom by his act or by his husbandry, or 'by his talent which God bestowed upon him.' A loss of 'honour-price' might result from a defect of character. In *op. cit.* i. 55 it is said:

'There are four dignitaries of a territory who may be degraded: a false-judging king, a stumbling bishop, a fraudulent poet, an unworthy chieftain who does not fulfil his duties.'

Again, in *op. cit.* p. 57:

'False judgment and false witness and false testimony and fraudulent security and fraudulent pledging and false proof and false information and false character-giving and bad word and bad story, and lying in general, whether in the case of the Church or the laity,—every one of these deprives the man who is guilty of such of half his honour-price up to the third time, but it does not deprive him with regard to every one of them until the third time.'

The Irish law-treatise referred to enters minutely into the question of the loss of full and half honour-price in the case of kings, bishops, chieftains, poets, and others; and it is of interest to note the importance attached in Irish law to character and right conduct.

It was not character alone, however, that determined honour-price, and Irish law reflects differences of opinion as to the extent to which it depended upon a man's profession, his separable property, or the rank of the chief under whom he served.

Apart from the cases already mentioned, where it is stated that under certain circumstances a wrongdoer might be put to death (see above), there is no reference to the death-penalty in Irish law, nor is there any reference to imprisonment. The king appears to have had power to assign a wrongdoer to the service of a particular person, but no mention is made of imprisonment as a form of punishment. The only reference to castigation as a form of punishment is in the case of a child under seven, who could be chastised only by its parent. In certain cases other fines called *aire* ('redemption') and *smacht* ('discipline') were ex-

acted, and there are occasional references to penance.

19. Penalties in Welsh law.—Welsh, like Irish, law was based upon a consideration of the status of the individual, and upon the determination of the legal worth of every person and object (living or dead). These ideas enter prominently into the questions of *sarhad* and *galanas*, the former being compensation for insult, and the latter compensation for homicide. Thus the same dominant conceptions govern Welsh and Irish law, and they clearly go back to a similar stratum of ideas. In Welsh law, however, the central power of the king in each territory had attained greater prominence than in Ireland, with the result that the fines called *dirwy* and *camlwro* for various offences were not paid to the individuals wronged, but usually to the king; and the same rule governed a third of each *galanas* ('body-fine'), while *sarhad* was paid to the person or persons wronged. In certain cases a part of the *camlwro* was payable to persons other than the king, and in the case of a religious community the whole of the *camlwro* appears to have been paid over to the abbot and the lay impropiators. The *dirwy* was a larger fine, paid directly to the king (according to a Latin text of the Laws written about 1250), for fighting, theft, and criminal assault. The penalty of emasculation was imposed upon a ravisher who could not pay the fine, and a bondman striking a freeman was liable to have his right hand cut off.

Though there is no allusion in the Welsh laws to imprisonment as a penalty for any specific offence, yet the fact of imprisonment is implied in more than one passage. For example, in Wade-Evans (*op. cit.* p. 177) we read that the smith of the court was to receive four pence from every prisoner of whom he should remove irons. Again, of the court-porter it is said that he is to get four pence from every prisoner who shall be lawfully imprisoned in the court. One MS (U45a) gives imprisonment as one of the lawful excuses for neglecting a summons. The Welsh word *carchar* ('prison') is derived from the Latin *carcer*, and is a term used in Welsh for the fetter placed on an animal to prevent it from straying. It is therefore probable that liberty was impeded, whenever necessary, more by the use of chains and fetters than by confinement in a building.

Though Irish law contains no reference to a death penalty, Welsh law has a few allusions to the penalty of hanging. This was in Wales the recognized punishment for theft (as is stated in the *Mabinogi* of Manawyddan fab Llŷr). In Wade-Evans (*op. cit.* p. 213) we read:

'One person escapes from an admitted theft with flesh and skin on his back [viz.] a necessitous *alltud* ("alien") who shall have been three nights and three days without alms, without relief, and who shall have traversed three *treos* ("townships") daily, with nine houses in every *treo*; and then, owing to hunger, shall commit theft, and then shall be caught with flesh and skin on his back. He is to be let free without gallows and without payment.'

Similarly, if a thief was found burning a house stealthily, and was caught, his life would be forfeited. In the case of a thief the Welsh laws recognize the penalty of sale.

Among the fines mentioned in the Welsh laws is that of *dilyddod* ('acquittance'), which was enforced as a payment to a woman by her ravisher. This was probably meant as a payment to guarantee her status as a virgin in the eyes of the law. There was also a similar payment called *gwaddol*, payable by a man who failed to rebut a charge of criminal assault upon a woman walking alone.

20. Medium of payment of fines.—In Irish law the terms used in estimating fines are *cumhal* and *sed*. By a *cumhal* was originally meant 'a female bond-slave,' but, in course of time, the word came

to mean the equivalent in value of three cows. The method of payment of fines was in a fixed proportion of certain goods. When half a *cumhal* had to be paid, it had to be in one species of goods when one *cumhal* was required, it had to be in two species; and, when three or upwards of three *cumhals* were required, they had to be in three species. In that case one-third would have to be in cows, one-third in horses, and one-third in silver. Of the cattle one-third had to be male, one-third of the horses had to be mares, and one-third of the silver by weight might be copper alloy. A *sed* was defined as follows (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii. 463):

'A common easily divisible *sed* means two live chattels or dead chattels, or one dead chattel the value of which is not lessened by its being divided.'

Of *sed*s the most prized was a milch cow. In Welsh law the fine called *camlwro* consisted of three kine, paid as a rule directly to the king, and sometimes doubled. The fine called *dirwy* consisted of twelve kine, paid directly to the king, and was also sometimes doubled. *Sarhad* and *galanas* were paid in various ways, as directed in the Laws. The coins mentioned in the Welsh laws are: (1) *keinhawc kyfreith*, 'a legal penny' (see Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 330); (2) *keinhawc cota*, 'a curt penny' (*ib.*); (3) *dime*, 'a half-penny'; and (4) *punt*, 'a pound.'

21. Initiation of legal process.—In Ireland the aggrieved party compelled the aggressor to submit the case to arbitrators, by levying distress (Ir. *athgabhair*) upon the latter. In its most solemn form the levying of distress required that the person aggrieved should 'fast against' the aggressor (see ASCETICISM [Celtic], vol. ii. p. 72), that is, call Heaven to witness that he would starve to death if his opponent did not submit the case to a Brehon. The consideration of questions connected with distress is one of the most elaborate sections of Irish law. In Wales, in keeping with the greater development of the central power, a man could be called to appear in answer to a *gwys* ('summons'). The legal method of accusing for theft is described in Wade-Evans (*op. cit.* p. 245). Even in Ireland certain people (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, i. 105, 107) might be arrested for their liabilities, instead of being distrained upon, and the circumstances under which this process might take place are fully considered.

In Irish law a pledge had to be given (*op. cit.* i. 277) to stop the process of fasting, especially in judgments of theft, robbery, and violation; and the contingencies arising from the giving of the pledge and its possible loss form an important section of the *Law of Distress*. In Wales, the term *mach* ('pledge') was used in the Laws only in connexion with civil matters. In criminal procedure the accused person had to obtain a *gorvodog*, i.e. a personal surety, for one who was charged with crime (see Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* pp. 253 f., 312). In the Irish legal treatises the question of evidence is not discussed to the same extent as it is in the Welsh laws, and it is noticeable that the latter assign considerable prominence to the oath, both of the accused and of his compurgators, as a means of clearing his character. The Welsh term for this process was to put a person upon his *rhaith* (a word cognate in formation with Lat. *rectus*), and, in this process, he had to bring forward a certain number of persons to swear on his behalf to the justice of his claim or defence as a whole.

22. Penalties for particular crimes.—(1) *Homicide*.—(a) In Ireland homicide was divided into intentional and unintentional. The fine for the former was double that of the latter. The account given in the *Senchus Mór* suggests that there was some difference of opinion as to whether homicide

should in all cases be treated as a matter for compensation through payment, but the customary law with its *éric* ('body-fine') appears to have prevailed. In the case of secret homicide the concealment was regarded as a separate act, and compensation had to be paid for it accordingly. When a freeman was slain by a freeman, the slayer had to pay the amount of his own honour-price, together with a fine of seven *cumhals*, as compensation for the death. For concealment the slayer paid honour-price, together with seven *cumhals*. If the body was found, the fine for concealment was remitted. Looking on at a murder was a wrong which was liable to a fine. Whenever a person found a dead body, he had to give information at once; otherwise, he was liable to the fine of a looker-on, or, according to others, of an accomplice. The *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (iii. 101, etc.) consider with great fullness the various cases that might arise in connexion with homicide.

As illustrating the growth of a different mental attitude from the preceding, it may be stated that the commentator to the *Corpus Beccanæ* treats homicide, and all other wrongs done with malice aforethought, as being in the nature of exceptions to the ordinary law, and holds that the slayer should be given up, with all his property, to the family of the slain man.

(b) In Wales the term for a 'murder-fine' was *galanas*, and, along with the murder-fine, in every case of homicide *sarhad* ('compensation for insult') had to be paid. The amount of the murder-fine varied with the status of the person murdered. The murderer was helped to pay by his kinsmen, to the fifth cousin, and the liabilities of these were fixed by law. According to the Welsh law (Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 193), a third of every *galanas* was paid to the king, and also whatever of the murderer's chattels was from time to time obtainable. The reason given is that it is for the king to enforce where it is not possible for a kindred to do so. The murder-fine of a king was three times the amount of his *sarhad* with three augmentations; the amount of his *sarhad* being as follows:

'a hundred kine for every *cantrev* ("hundred") in his kingdom, and a silver rod which shall reach from the ground to the king's pate, when he shall sit in his chair, as thick as his ring finger, with three knobs at the top and three at the bottom as thick as the rod; and a golden cup which shall hold the king's full draught, as thick as the nail of a ploughman who shall have ploughed for seven years, and a golden cover thereon as thick as the cup, as broad as the king's face.'

There was a similar murder-fine for the heir-apparent. The *galanas* of a chief of the household was a third of the king's, 'without privileged gold and silver.' A steward, a judge of a court, a falconer, a chief huntsman, a chief groom, and a page of the chamber all had the same *galanas*, consisting of 'nine kine and nine score kine with three augmentations.' For the *galanas* of the other officers, except the chief of the household and the priest of the household, six kine and six score kine 'with three augmentations' had to be paid. In the case of the priest of the household the murderer had to submit 'to the law of the Synod.' The laws fix the *galanas* of various other persons, but it is sufficient to mention that the *galanas* of a free Welshman of pure descent consisted of 'three kine and three score kine with three augmentations.' This was also the amount of the *galanas* of a king's serf, while the *galanas* of a nobleman's serf was half of this amount. For a thief there was no *galanas*. (For various questions connected with homicide, see Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* pp. 236, 248, 252 f., 264, 294, 299 f., 320.) In the case of a fratricide the kindred were not to pay *galanas* with the murderer.

(2) *Wounding and mutilating*.—(a) In the *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (iii. 349, etc.) there is a very full discussion of the penalties due for wounding and mutilating, and the various wounds and losses that might be inflicted are considered in great

detail. For a foot, a hand, an eye, or a tongue, half the *éric*-fine of every person was to be paid, and in the opinion of some the full *éric*-fine should be paid for the mouth, the nose, and the tongue. According to *op. cit.* iii. 472, the sick maintenance of a wounded person had to be compensated for, and a substitute had also to be provided. Among the wrongs requiring compensation was that of shaving bare the beard or the whiskers.

(b) In Welsh law there is an assessment of the worth of each part of a person's body (see Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 190 f.). The following quotation will suffice to illustrate the list of values:

'All a person's members when reckoned together are eight and four score pounds in value. A person's finger is a cow and a score of silver in value. The worth of the thumb is two kine and two score of silver. A person's nail is thirty pence in value.'

With reference to a serf's limbs there is a passage in MS U27a which reads as follows:

'The worth of the serf's limbs by law is as much as the worth of the king's limbs according to worth. The *galanas* and the *sarhad*, however, of every one are paid according to his status when a limb shall be broken.'

(3) *Arson*.—The Welsh laws alone deal with this offence, and refer to the necessity of compurgation to meet it:

'If an accusation of the crime of burning stealthily be brought against a person, the oaths of fifty men will be necessary for him. If he obtain his *rhaith* ("acquittance"), it will be sufficient for him; if he obtain it not, he becomes a saleable thief. A saleable thief is worth seven pounds.'

The case of attempted arson by a thief has been mentioned above.

(4) *Waylaying*.—This crime is also specifically mentioned only in Welsh law, as follows:

'Whoever shall waylay pays twofold, because it is a violence against a person to kill him, and a theft to conceal; and that is the one place in law where violence and theft become connected. And it is to be thus denied; the oaths of fifty men to deny wood and field, and three of them under vow to abstain from flesh and woman and horse-riding.'

This offence was punished by hanging and confiscation.

(5) *Criminal assault*.—(a) Irish law required the payment of a heavy fine for attempting to violate a person's wife, and a still heavier fine for actual violation (see *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, i. 163, 167, 177, 181). In *op. cit.* ii. 405, we read as follows:

'If the girl has been defiled within the age of seven years, full body-fine shall be paid for her, and honour-price in right of God; full body-fine also till she reaches the age of ten, and half the honour-price of her father; two-thirds of body-fine for her from the age of ten forth till she reaches fourteen, and half the honour-price of her father; and there is no division of the body-fine from that forth.'

(b) Welsh law punished criminal assault, according to one account, as follows:

'Whoever shall commit a rape on a woman, let him pay her *gobr* ("maiden fee") to her lord; and her *dirwy* ("fine") and her *disdydd* ("acquittance") and her *agueddi* ("dowry") and her *sarhad* ("fine for insult") he pays to the woman; and, if she be a maid, let him pay her *covvyl* (a gift payable by the husband to the wife on the morning after the marriage).'

Some texts add: 'and a silver rod to the king in the manner he is entitled; and, if the man cannot pay, his testicles shall be taken.' (For the oath of the woman and the oaths of fifty men required for compurgation, see Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 237 f.)

In Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 240, the case of assault by two men upon two women is considered as follows:

'If two women shall be journeying through any place and there be no one with them, and two men meet them and violate them, they are not to be compensated. If, however, there be one person with them, although ever so little, unless he be a carried child, they lose none of their right.'

In MS U42a the following is added:

'A woman who shall be violated, if she know not who has violated her, is not to pay *amobr* ("maiden fee"); since the king preserved her not from violation, he loses her *amobr*; and, if the woman be doubted in that respect, let her give her oath that she knows not who violated her, and that she was violated as aforesaid.'

One legal triad speaks of the violation of a woman as 'one of the three disgraces of a kindred.'

(6) *Indecent assault*.—In the Welsh laws (Wade-

Evans, *op. cit.* p. 270) the following statement occurs:

'Three *sarhads* of a woman there are, one of which is augmented, and one diminished, and one is a complete *sarhad*. When a kiss is given her against her will, a third of her *sarhad* is wanting to her then. The second is feeling her with the hand, and that is a full *sarhad* to her. The third is being connected with her against her will, and that is augmented by the third.'

(7) *Theft*.—(a) Irish law deals very fully with the various fines which have to be paid in the case of theft, the amount of compensation varying chiefly with the nature of the object stolen. Among such objects are land, cattle, grass, rushes, turf, fruit, fish, boards, firewood, wattles, etc.; and among the special cases considered are that of stealing from a house and from a hunter's cooking-tent, and that of stealing a smith's tools. According to the *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (iii. 463), it was lawful to kill the unknown or nameless thief, but this right was personal only (*op. cit.* iii. 469). There was a further rule that no one was to trade with a thief.

(b) Welsh law dealt severely with thieving, and punished it (probably when habitual) with execution by hanging. In Wade-Evans (*op. cit.* p. 188) there is a list of *naw affeith lledrat* ('the nine accessories of theft'), which are given as follows:

'The first of the nine accessories of theft is devising deceit and seeking an accomplice. The second is agreeing concerning the theft. The third is giving provision. The fourth is carrying the food while accompanying him (the thief). The fifth is tearing down the cattle-yard, or breaking the house. The sixth is moving what is stolen from its place, and walking day or night with it. The seventh is knowing and informing as to the theft. The eighth is sharing with the thieves. The ninth is seeing the theft and concealing it for reward, or buying it for worth. Whoever shall deny one of these accessories, let him give the oaths of fifty men without bondman and without alien.'

There is a reference to the death-penalty for stealing in the following statement, where it is said (*ib.* p. 189) that one of the nine persons who are to be believed in giving their testimony, each one of them separately on his oath, is

'a thief without hope of mercy concerning his fellow-thief, when brought to the gallows; because credible is his word concerning his companions and the chattels they thieved, without a relic; and his companion is not to be destroyed on his word, but is to be a thief for sale.'

In the case of the stealing of goods entrusted to a guardian, if the keys are safely in his custody and a breach has been made into the house, 'the *Book of Cynog* (a text of the Laws) says it is easier to believe him if there be chattels of his own taken together with the other chattels which were taken by stealth from him. He is, however, to swear conjointly with all the persons in the house as to his being clear as to those chattels. If the soil, however, be excavated under the house, after he has carried out the law that he is clear, the king owns the soil, and there is to be no guardian answerable for it. Every chattel which a guardian asserts to have been brought to him to be kept, let him make good, except the chattels conveyed through the soil.'

The case of theft by a necessitous alien has been already mentioned. The theft of a king's cat had to be made good as follows:

'Whoever shall kill a cat which guards a barn of a king, or shall take it stealthily, its head is to be held downwards on a clean level floor, and its tail is to be held upwards; and after that wheat is to be poured about it until the tip of the tail be hidden, and that is its worth. Another cat is four legal pence in value.'

A dog, on the other hand, might, according to some MSS, be stolen with impunity:

'There is no *dirwy* for a dog, although it be taken stealthily, nor *camburro*. The oath of one man is sufficient to disown a dog, for it is a back-burden of an unclean animal.'

The triads in the *Dimetian Code*, however, say that a dog-stealer should pay a *camburro*. Regulations as to the manner of bringing a charge of theft legally and of purgation in the face of a charge are given in Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 244 f.

A thief might be punished by being sold, and the value assigned to 'a saleable thief' is seven pounds. In Wade-Evans (*op. cit.* p. 259) are found the following further provisions as to theft:

'A thief who shall be placed upon sureties is not to be destroyed. No one is to make satisfaction or answer for an act of his bondman saving for theft.'

(8) *Assault*.—(a) Irish law dealt with assault under the same section as wounding and mutilating, and drew a distinction between a 'red wound' (with bloodshed) and a 'white wound' (without bloodshed). In the *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (iii. 352 n.) a 'lump-blow' is defined. For a clean lump-blow two cows were an adequate compensation, while for the foul lump-blow *airer-fine* (one of the lesser fines of Irish law) was exacted.

(b) Welsh law (Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 193) punishes assault as follows:

'Whoever shall strike a person, let him pay his *sarhad*, first because attack and onset constitute a *sarhad* to every person; and a penny for every hair pulled out from his head by the root; and a penny for every finger which shall touch the head; and twenty-four pence for the front hair.'

Again,

'If a person strike a bondman, let him pay him twelve pence; . . . if a bondman strike a free man, it is just to cut off his right hand, or let the bondman's lord pay the person's *sarhad*' (*ib.* p. 194).

It is clearly stated (*ib.* p. 259) that a blow received unintentionally is not *sarhad*, and the following three buffets did not need expiation:

'one by the lord on his man in ordering him in the day of battle and fighting; and one by a father on his son to punish him; and one by a chief of kindred on his relative in order to counsel him.'

(9) *Treason*.—Irish law, though severe upon lying, treachery, and all forms of deceit, does not deal specifically with treason, but in Welsh law the following passage occurs (*ib.* p. 202):

'Whoever shall commit treason against a lord or waylay, is to forfeit his father's *treu*; and, if he be caught, he is liable to be executed. If he be not caught and he will to be reconciled to his lord and kindred, a twofold payment of *dirwy* and *galanas* is to be levied on him; and, if he repair to the court of the Pope and return with the Pope's letter with him, and show that he is absolved by the Pope, he has his father's *treu* ("homestead").'

In Ireland, treachery deprived a person of his full honour-price.

(10) *Perjury*.—(a) Irish law dealt with false swearing, more especially in the case of contracts, and visited it with a fine (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii. 397). False witness also lowered a man's honour-price.

(b) Welsh law deals chiefly with perjury (*anudon*) in relation to suspected testimony (see Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 260 f.), but denial of suretyship and contract is also discussed (*ib.* p. 230).

(11) *Insult*.—(a) In Irish law the maintenance of a man's honour was a primary consideration, and certain fines in addition to the *dire-fine* ('honour-price') appear to have been specially instituted for the defence of personal honour. Among these are the *enech-gris* ('blush-fine'), the *enech-ruice* ('defamation'), and the *enech-lann* ('reparation of honour'). To ask a question with a view to exposing a blemish (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii. 347), and to give a person a nickname, rendered the offender liable to a fine (*op. cit.* iii. 93), while one form of insult specifically mentioned (*op. cit.* iii. 409) was that of opposing a bishop on a 'hill of meeting.'

(b) Welsh law attached the utmost importance to the maintenance of a person's dignity, and compensation for *sarhad* ('insult') plays a prominent part therein. The violation of a person's protection constituted one specified form of insult.

(12) *Libel*.—(a) In Ireland the fort of a man who tolerated satire or satires (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, v. 169) lost its *dire*, or honour-price, but in another passage (*op. cit.* i. 59) it is stated that satirizing, though done intentionally, did not cause loss of the full honour-price until a person evaded the law with respect to it. Satirizing a dead person was also liable to fine (*op. cit.* i. 185, 189).

(b) There is no specific mention of libel or satire

in Welsh law, and, in view of the practice of the Welsh poets, at any rate after 1300, it would appear that satirizing on their part was tolerated. At an earlier date, libel was probably counted under *sarhad*.

(13) *Slander*.—(a) In Ireland the *Ancient Laws* (i. 175, 177) specifically mention a fine for slander. A fine was also obtainable for circulating a calumnious story (*op. cit.* i. 195, 199), or for wrongfully questioning a person's legitimacy (i. 185, 193).

(b) The Welsh laws make no specific mention of slander (*enllib*) other than slander against women (Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 238), or against an innocent man for murder, and probably included other slander, along with libel, under *sarhad*.

(14) *Using charms*.—There is no reference to this offence in the Welsh laws, but in Ireland the person committing it was liable to a fine, whether it was committed against a human being or against a dog (see *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, i. 177, 181).

(15) *Trespass*.—(a) Irish law in several passages defines the compensation required for various forms of trespass, such as 'dirtying a road' (*op. cit.* iii. 76 n.), bringing a horse into the narrow part of a road (*ib.*), the digging of a churchyard, and the removal of bones from a churchyard. The type of fine called the *smacht*-fine was levied chiefly in the case of trespass by men or animals (see *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iv. 83, 87, 89, 93, 95, 107, 109, 111, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 141, 145, 153).

(b) The forms of trespass which are specifically mentioned in the Welsh laws are: excavating the land of another to hide anything therein, making a snare, digging a kiln-pit, or building a house on another person's land. The fine inflicted was four legal pence, with certain additions in particular cases.

(16) *Damage to property*.—(a) Irish law had much to say regarding offences arising under this head (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, i. 167, 169, 171, 175, 185, 189, 233, 235, 237). The *Book of Aicill* (*op. cit.* iii. 357, 358) deals very fully and humanely with the maiming, mutilation, and over-working of animals.

(b) In Wales all damage to property, whether living or dead, had to be compensated for in accordance with a scale of legal worth laid down in the laws.

(17) *Gross negligence*.—(a) In Irish law cases of the kind are, for the most part, dealt with under other heads, such as trespass and damage to property; but the expression 'trespass of viciousness with neglect' is used for the offence of bringing a horse into the narrow part of a street. A fine was also inflicted for neglect of fencing. Attendants, too, were punishable for not guarding the houses of persons of dignity (*op. cit.* iii. 511), and a similar penalty was inflicted for neglect in not guarding a captive (iii. 499 f.). A judge who was negligent was liable to a fine (iii. 305), and so were sane adults for not guarding the insane. The Irish believed that blotches arose on the cheeks of judges who pronounced false judgment.

(b) The two instances of punishable neglect mentioned in Welsh law are the following (Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* 258, 268):

(1) If two persons shall be walking through a wood, and the one in front let a bough strike the one in the rear so that he loses an eye, he is to pay the worth of an eye to the other.

(2) If a spear were not so placed as to prevent its point from accidentally killing a person, its owner, in case of such a death, had to pay a third of the slain person's *galanas*.

(18) *Abandoning and harbouring a fugitive*.—(a) It was an offence in Irish law to entertain a fugitive who was known, and there was also a penalty for supporting and advising the women and children of foreigners, as well as for feeding

or sheltering a stranger generally (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii. 385, 387, 389). In the same manner a person feeding a houseless person was liable to a fine, the intention in all these cases doubtless being to make it difficult for persons to escape from justice.

(b) In Wales the law (see above, p. 265*) appears to have been a little more sympathetic towards necessitous aliens, and Welsh law also provided that an alien of foreign speech should have an advocate.

(19) *Abduction*.—(a) Irish law (*op. cit.* iii. 403, 541, 543, 545) deals very fully with the question of abduction in its effects upon family life. The children of the abducted woman belonged to her mother's family, and might be sold by them, but the father was bound to buy them if they were sold, and if he got them gratis he was bound to educate them.

(b) Abduction was a punishable offence in Welsh law, and the various contingencies which arose in connexion therewith are fully dealt with in the Laws (see *Anc. Laws of Wales*, pp. 86, 88, 92, 204; and Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* pp. 237, 238, 239).

(20) *Stripping of the dead*.—In Ireland there was a fine for stripping the dead in general, and the slain in battle in particular (see *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, i. 175, 177); and a Welsh legal triad speaks of the 'three disgraces of a dead body'—when it is slain, when it is stripped, and when it is left lying.

(21) *Breach of the peace*.—The Welsh laws contain no explicit references to offences under this head; but Irish law (*op. cit.* i. 231, 235) required a fine for quarrelling in an ale-house, and also for disturbing a fair.

(22) *Adultery*.—It is probable that in Irish law adultery should be counted with the above offences, but the absence of a clear distinction in Irish law between crimes and torts makes it difficult to class adultery with crimes, as was done in some countries. In its effect upon the honour-price of a person, adultery, according to the *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (i. 57–61), was more disastrous for ecclesiastics than for laymen; but, in the case of all alike, adultery and cohabiting with a kinswoman had the same effect upon the honour-price as unfaithfulness in word (*op. cit.* i. 59). In the case of adultery by a married man the Welsh laws require (Wade-Evans, *op. cit.* p. 239) that he should pay six score pence to his lawful wife as her *wynebwerth* ('compensation for insult'). When a wife committed adultery, her husband was entitled to thrice the sum of his *sarhad* (*ib.* p. 242), and it is further stated (*ib.* p. 244) that she loses her *agweddi* ('dowry'), while her chattels are brought by her kindred to her husband. One of the three disgraces of a kindred, according to a Welsh legal triad, is to bring another woman to the house, supplanting the wife and driving her forth.

In the present article Celtic crimes and punishments have been considered chiefly with reference to Ireland and Wales, owing to the fact that it is only for these countries that legal treatises of the type here considered are obtainable. In Celtic Scotland the law was based upon a development of the same ideas as those which are embodied in the law of Ireland. The legal practice of Brittany and Cornwall, too, doubtless closely resembled that of Wales; but it would be highly interesting, if it were possible, to know what modifications of the Irish system were developed in Scotland, and, similarly, what local variations of the British system arose in Cornwall and Brittany. In the absence of legal treatises such an inquiry would have to be based mainly on historical and linguistic evidence.

LITERATURE.—*Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, ed. Aneurin Owen (Rolls Series, London, 1841); Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, 1909); *The Ancient Laws of Ireland* (Rolls Series, London, 1889-1873); W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*² (Edinburgh, 1890). E. ANWYL.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Chinese).

—The Chinese character for 'crime' is significant of the attitude of the nation towards the infraction of law, being composed of the radical for 'failure,' under that for 'net,' representing the net of the law descending upon the offender; in other words, 'crime' or 'sin' (for the terms are used interchangeably) is regarded as consisting not so much in the commission of a condemnable act as in the discovery of the fact and the infliction of penal consequences. For this reason the term is an unfortunate one when applied by Christian missionaries to a Chinese audience, for the majority of those thus addressed would strongly object to be denominated 'criminals,' although the intention in the mind of the speaker is merely to bring home to them a sense of sin.

1. **Early enactments.**—The Chinese penal code is based upon enactments for which a remote antiquity is claimed, and the earliest system of punishments is ascribed to the 'Emperor' Shun (2255 B.C.), who is said to have established the 'Five Punishments' which were in vogue to the end of the Chow dynasty (255 B.C.), viz. (1) branding on the forehead, (2) cutting off the nose, (3) maiming, (4) castration, and (5) death.

The founder of the Han dynasty (202 B.C.) enacted the 'Three Penal Sentences,' viz. (1) life shall be given for life, (2) compensation for wounds, and (3) imprisonment for robbery.

The first regular code of penal laws is represented as being brought into operation in the Ts'in dynasty (249 B.C.), comprehended under six heads, the 5th of which, represented by 11 vols., is occupied with criminal laws concerning treason, robbery, theft, homicide, criminal intercourse, disturbing graves, quarrelling and fighting, and incendiarism; and, though each succeeding dynasty has contributed some modification or addition to the original enactments, the ultimate source of inspiration may still be traced even in the existing legislation.

The laws of the present Manchu dynasty, which in China bears the name of the *Ta Ts'ing*, or 'Great Pure Dynasty,' may be grouped as follows:—(1) The *Ta Ts'ing Lu Li*, or 'Penal Code of the Ta Ts'ing dynasty,' which is subject to revision every 5 years. The sections included under the first term, *Lu*, may be described as the original laws or statutes; and those under the second head, *Li*, as the supplementary clauses, or common law, established by precedent or usage. (2) The *Ta Ts'ing Hui Tien*, or 'Regulations of the Ta Ts'ing dynasty.' (3) The edicts and decrees issued by Emperors and high provincial officials. (4) Customary law.

The first of these, the *Lu Li*, is comprehended in 2906 octavo pages, the criminal laws being enumerated in the 6th division, arranged under the following heads: (1) robbery and theft, (2) homicide, (3) quarrelling and fighting, (4) abusive language, (5) indictments and informations, (6) bribery and corruption, (7) forgeries and frauds, (8) incest and adultery, (9) miscellaneous offences, (10) arrests and escapes, and (11) imprisonment, judgment, and execution.

2. **Punishments.**—The modes of punishment which are recognized by the code are five:

(1) Flogging on the thighs with a light bamboo cane, about 3 ft. 6 in. long by $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick at the end. The punishment admits of 5 degrees of severity, nominally from 10 to 50 blows; but in actual practice only 4, 5, 10, 15, and 20 blows respectively are administered.

(2) Flogging with a heavier cane of bamboo, about 3 ft. 6 in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{1}{2}$ in., in cases of greater gravity, the number of blows ranging from 60 to 100 nominally, but reduced in universal practice to 20, 25, 30, 35, and 40 respectively. Manchu subjects, or 'Bannermen,' are punished with a whip instead of the bamboo.

In administering the punishment the lictors are so expert that they can apply 1000 sounding blows to the bare flesh without raising a blister, or draw blood if required with three strokes, and actually make the flesh fly if they set themselves seriously to work. (This is done by the 'dragging' stroke, which is different from the usual up-and-down method; the cane when it reaches the flesh is drawn back along the surface, and in a short time the skin is literally torn off in strips.) This skill in applying the bamboo is said to be attained by long practice on a block of bean-curd, a substance resembling a stiff custard, the beaters kneeling face to face, and striking alternately on the bean-curd which is placed on the ground between them. When they have learned to strike the substance a great many times, producing an appreciable 'note' each time, without breaking the delicate surface of the 'custard,' they are supposed to be proficient, and are allowed to exercise their art on the unfortunate human beings who may be surrendered to them. Another power which they must cultivate is that of counting alternate numbers at a great rate whilst administering the strokes; the man kneeling on one knee at one side of the victim calls out the odd numbers, whilst the other counts the even numbers, and this requires long and frequent rehearsal; it also presents an opportunity for 'sharp practice,' for the number called does not necessarily correspond with the blows struck; and it is very easy for skilful performers to run up a very large total of figures without applying an equal number of strokes. Thus a man condemned to receive 1000 strokes may be let off with 700 or so if he has a proper understanding with the lictors, though the full number is reported by them *viva voce* at the time of imposition. The rod is steeped for some months in a saline bath before it is considered fit for use, as this is said to ensure that mortification will not set in when the flesh is lacerated; it no doubt also increases the sufferings of the victim.

(3) Banishment, for a limited period, to a distance not exceeding 500 *li* (= 170 miles). Here again 5 degrees are admitted, viz. 1 year and 60 blows, $1\frac{1}{2}$ years and 70 blows, 2 years and 80 blows, $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and 90 blows, 3 years and 100 blows.

(4) Transportation, for life, to any distance varying from 2000 to 3000 *li* (= 1000 miles), with 100 blows; in extraordinary cases the distance is increased to 4000 *li*, or the criminals are condemned to reside in malarious or savage districts. The exiles are nominally required to render military service, but are usually permitted to engage in humble occupations, such as the managing of inferior pawn-shops, etc. The wives of criminals are expected to accompany their husbands into exile, and their children and other relatives may do so if willing. Bannermen are subjected to the 'cangue' (see below) in lieu of banishment.

(5) Death by strangulation, decapitation, or the so-called 'lingering-process.' The death sentence is usually confirmed by the Emperor; but in cases of murder, piracy or highway robbery, rebellion, uttering false coin, forging official seals, arson, robbery with violence, criminal assault on girls under 12 years of age, fraudulent methods at public examinations, or smuggling salt, the local authority is empowered to put the sentence into execution at once, unless extenuating circumstances can be urged for delay. In cases of piracy,

highway robbery, etc., the criminals are decapitated, and their heads exposed over the city gates as a warning to all.

(a) *Strangulation*.—The penalty of strangulation is inflicted in the cases of murder of a stepson by a stepmother, abuse of parents or paternal grandparents, abuse of husbands' parents or grandparents; also in certain cases of homicide where premeditation is not alleged, or where death is brought about by indirect means; also in cases of opening coffins and rifling the dead, refusing to pay tribute, or inciting to riot. In extreme cases the process is aggravated by the method known as 'three strangulations and three recoveries,' which means that the victim is throttled into unconsciousness three times, and restored to animation before the final garrotting takes place. In some instances high officials who have offended are presented by the Emperor with a silken scarf, with which they are expected to strangle themselves in lieu of the heavier and more disgraceful punishment of decollation.

(b) *Decapitation*.—Decapitation is the penalty inflicted in the case of a large number of offences, especially those of a treasonable nature—a classification which includes: (1) rebellion, (2) disloyalty (as, e.g., destroying or attacking the Imperial tombs, palaces, etc.), (3) desertion, (4) parricide, (5) massacre (i.e. where three or more persons are killed), (6) sacrilege, (7) impiety, (8) discord, and (9) insubordination. The treasonable character of these offences consists in their being hurtful to the Sovereign either in his person, his property, or his honour, or the persons and property of his subjects. The principal offenders are sometimes sentenced to the *ling chi*.

(c) *The ling chi*.—The third form of capital punishment, i.e. the *ling chi*, or 'lingering process,' which is popularly supposed to consist in an indefinite number of cuts inflicted on the victim's body, before the administration of the *coup de grâce*, does not amount, in ordinary cases, to more than a few slashes on the face and body before the final blow is struck. It is intended to make the death process more lingering and shameful, as the words *ling chi* mean; but the degree of aggravation of the penalty is left very much in the hands of the executioner. The lingering process is ordered in the case of treason against the Imperial person, palaces, or tombs, no distinction being made between principal and accessories; also in the case of parricide, murder of a husband, etc.

(d) *The death cage*.—Another form of capital punishment is the 'standing cage,' which consists of a tall frame or coop, in which the victim is placed, the floor being a foot or so from the ground. His neck is enclosed by the bars which form the top or lid of the cage. In this position he is unable to touch the floor with his feet, but a number of bricks are inserted upon which he is permitted to stand, and these are gradually removed until at last he is practically suspended by the neck, unless death intervenes, as generally happens, the process being hastened by the administration of an opiate supplied by a relative or friend. Victims of this form of punishment have been known to survive four days of torture, even when exposed to the burning rays of the summer sun.

(6) *The cangue*. A minor form of punishment which is recognized by the *Li*, or 'supplementary laws,' is that of the 'great collar,' or 'wooden neck-tie,' as it is nicknamed, generally known amongst Europeans as the 'cangue' (from the Portuguese *canga* = yoke). It consists of a heavy wooden framework in two parts, through which the head of the victim is introduced by means of a scallop on the inner edges of each; the two parts

are then brought together and fastened in position upon the wearer's shoulders, and an inscription is added stating the nature of the crime committed, etc. The weight of the cangue is generally from 20 to 30 lbs., but larger frames are sometimes used, in which as many as five men can be secured. In some cases the hands of the sufferer are also inserted in smaller holes as in a pillory. In either instance it is impossible to reach the mouth with the hands, and the prisoner has to be fed by others. The cangue is generally exhibited in the daytime at the spot where the offence was committed, and at night the bearer of it is removed to the prison, where, in the majority of cases, he is relieved of his burden until the next day. The imposition of the cangue may cover a period of a few days or may continue for three months, and is ordered in cases of stealing, gambling, damage, extortion, etc.

(7) *Branding* is also in vogue in cases of stealing, and the designation of the crime is indelibly stamped upon the forearm, e.g. 'Stealer of grain,' 'stores,' or 'silver,' as the case may be.

3. *Methods of Chinese thieves*.—Chinese thieves are divided into various classes, whose methods differ very considerably; for instance, in order to obtain entrance to a building, some elect to prise open the window or doors, or lift them off the hooks which do duty for hinges, while others prefer to throw a rope, with grapplers attached, to the balcony or roof, and climb up hand over hand; others drill holes in doors with the usual carpenters' instruments, or burn out a piece of the woodwork by means of a blow-pipe and a brazier of lighted charcoal, so as to insert the hand and withdraw bolts and fastenings; others, again, employ a bamboo pole for vaulting or scaling walls; anaesthetics are used by some thieves for rendering the occupants of a house unconscious; holes are also bored in walls, or subterranean tunnels are made by experts in these departments.

The 'swift-horse,' or constable (see below), being himself an ex-thief, is familiar with the methods of the several classes, and the individuals composing them; and can always diagnose with accuracy the cases which are submitted to him.

4. *Punishment of women*.—Special punishments are reserved for women, such as piercing the breast with a hot iron, in the case of attempts on the life of a husband, assaulting a mother-in-law, etc. When the bamboo is ordered, the blows are usually inflicted on the mouth or hands, in order to avoid exposure of the body.

5. *Martial law*.—Martial law is particularly severe, and summary punishment is meted out to offending soldiers by their officers. In ancient days the penalty of tearing asunder by five horses was exacted in certain cases; even now the death penalty is prescribed for such offences as circulating false rumours, attempted rape, etc.

6. *Character of enactments*.—The punishments above enumerated may seem to be exceedingly severe, but it must be remembered that, until quite recent years, there was no police force of any kind in China, the only substitute being the local beadle, or *tipao*, in each district or division, with his subordinates, including the 'swift-horse,' or thief-catcher; and the result of long experience was the conviction that severity, at all events in the promulgation of the law, was necessary, though its application might be tempered with mercy; and the Chinese penal code, though it may not satisfy the high ideals of 20th century Christianity on the score of justice and equity, 'for the repression of disorder, and the gentle coercion of a vast population, appears to be equally mild and efficacious' (G. T. Staunton, *The Ta Tsing Leu Lee*).

7. *The conduct of law*.—The almost total absence

of legal machinery is another feature which is worthy of notice. There is no such thing as the empanelling of a jury; no assistance of counsel for the prosecution or the defence; no association of judges on the bench; no demand for asseveration upon oath. The magistrate sits alone to try the case, unless he decides upon inviting another magistrate to assist him. The cases for and against are prepared by self-constituted lawyers, a somewhat degraded class of literary men, who do not appear in person before the court. The magistrate is furnished by his secretaries with whatever information he may require as to law or precedent, and decision is given, ordinarily, without long delay. The accused cannot be punished until he confesses his crime; and, should he hesitate to do so, the means are available by which such confession may be elicited. Some of these methods have the sanction of law, whilst others are enforced without such authority. The legal instruments of torture consist of wooden presses for squeezing the ankles or fingers, and the bastinado; in addition to these, however, there are many others which have been in force until quite recently, but which have now been nominally abolished—such as forcing the victim to kneel upon hot bricks, iron chains, powdered glass, sand, or salt; twisting the ears; suspending the body by the thumbs or fingers; tying the hands to a bar placed under the knees, so as to bend the body forward in a kneeling posture, etc.

8. Popular courts.—So great is the terror inspired by the law-courts and the 'pens' which do duty for prisons (the Chinese word for prison means originally a 'corral,' or stable for cattle), that many people prefer to settle their cases out of court, by resorting to the 'tea-houses,' which are the equivalents of our public-houses, and submitting the question to the arbitration of those present—the nearest approach to trial by jury; and the practice has become so well established that these tea-houses are often called 'Little Halls of Justice.'

9. Standard of guilt.—An interesting feature of the Chinese enactments is that the standard of punishment, in many cases, is not measured by the character of the offence, but by the amount of profit secured by the offender; the penalty, for instance, of stealing 120 oz. or more of silver is out of all proportion to that which is incurred by stealing 1 oz.; it is assessed on a scale indeed which would seem to place the act in an entirely different category of crime, for the latter is punished by 60 blows, the former by strangulation.

10. Treason.—The punishment of treason is particularly severe, and the list of crimes which are classified as treasonable is very comprehensive. The penalty of making even an attempt against the persons, palaces, or tombs of the Imperial house is execution by the lingering process, and no distinction is made between principals and accessories (though in ordinary cases of crime a careful discrimination is made, and accessories before the fact are punished one degree less severely than the principals). All male relatives of the condemned, in the first degree, i.e. father, grandfather, sons, grandsons, paternal uncles and their sons of the age of 15 or older, are sentenced to decapitation, together with all other male relatives, within the same limit of age, who may be living with the offender at the time. Male relatives of the first degree under the age of 15, and all females similarly related, are distributed as slaves amongst the great officials. The property of the condemned is confiscated by the State. All who renounce country and allegiance are liable to decapitation.

11. Homicide.—The definition of homicide is also very comprehensive, no fewer than 10 possible

cases being included under the term, viz. (1) killing with deliberate intent, the penalty of which is decapitation; (2) killing in an affray, where perhaps no special individual is singled out for slaughter (the punishment in these cases is strangulation); (3) killing by depriving of food or clothing, by the removal of the ladder by which the victim has reached an inaccessible position and is unable to return, by taking the bridle from a rider's horse so that he cannot continue his journey and is stranded in the wilds, by the administration of noxious substances to the mouth, eyes, ears, etc. (in such cases strangulation is decreed); (4) killing by means of dangerous weapons, such as fire-arms, etc., though used only in play; by luring a person into danger by false representations, e.g. leading a man to walk into deep water, assuring him that it is shallow and fordable (strangulation is the penalty in these cases also); (5) killing a person by mistake when intending to kill some one else (the penalty for this offence is beheading); (6) killing accidentally when using legitimate instruments or weapons (compensation is deemed sufficient in such cases); (7) killing through carelessness (punished by beheading); (8) killing by the administration of improper medicines (punishable by beheading, but, if inadvertence can be urged in defence, compensation and retirement from medical practice are ordered); (9) killing by means of traps and snares (punishable by blows and banishment); (10) killing by the utterance of threats which lead to suicide on the part of the threatened person (punished by strangulation).

The removal of a body from the spot where the murder has been committed is treated as a capital offence. In cases of injury produced in fighting and quarrelling, a careful assessment is made of the amount of damage done; e.g., the tearing away of one inch of the opponent's hair is punishable by 50 blows, the breaking of one tooth by 100 blows, of two teeth by 60 blows and a year's imprisonment. Causing a person to be incapable of becoming a parent is punished by 100 blows and banishment to a distance of 3000 li, and, in the case of male offenders, with forfeiture of estates.

12. Privileged classes.—There are no fewer than ten instances where privilege is claimed, as in the case of those enjoying hereditary rank, or high office, or relationship to the reigning dynasty. These classes are excepted from the ordinary processes of law, and the Imperial sanction must be obtained before the law can be put into operation against them. No privilege, however, of whatever kind can avail in a case of treason. The circumstances of the accused, in ordinary cases, are taken into account: as, e.g., extreme youth, i.e. under the age of 15 years; or extreme age, i.e. 70 years and upwards; infirmity, too, is recognized as an occasion for the exercise of lenity and the relaxation of the heavier penalties, with exemption from torture. The condition of the parents of the accused is also taken into account, and an erring son is mercifully dealt with if it be shown that his parents depend upon him for support; even the death penalty may be remitted in the case of an only son, lest his parents should be deprived of the worship which is expected from him after their decease.

13. Favourable treatment of women.—Women are seldom imprisoned, except on capital charges, or for adultery, but are placed in the custody of their nearest relatives; and, if they are arrested when in a pregnant condition, the full penalty of the law is not exacted until 100 days have passed after parturition. Injured husbands are permitted to kill, out of hand, the guilty wife and her paramour, if discovered *in flagrante delicto*; but, if the parties have already left the apartment where the

act was committed, or surrender themselves to the husband, or some little time has elapsed since the event, the husband is not justified by law in exacting the extreme penalty. A master who is accused of killing a slave is not regarded as guilty of a capital offence, but a slave who murders his master is sentenced to *ling ch'i* as guilty of petty treason.

14. *Patria potestas*.—The *patria potestas* is still in force in China, and the slaughter of one's offspring is dealt with as a minor offence, or indeed as no offence at all, if, for instance, a parent has been struck by a son or daughter. The law decrees that the penalty for striking or cursing a parent is death, as was the case with the Hebrews.

15. Professional bullies.—The killing of a professional pugilist, or 'strong man,' is not regarded as murder, on the ground that such persons voluntarily subject themselves to danger and death, and must be prepared to take the consequences of their rashness.

16. The law of debt.—In cases of debt a stated period is allowed by law for repayment, viz. three months after the expiry of the time stipulated in the original arrangement between the parties. In the event of this period of grace being allowed to elapse, the debtor is liable to the bastinado. In some cases the creditor will take up his quarters at the house of the debtor, and continue to live at his expense until the debt is discharged. The fear of being unable to meet one's obligations before the Chinese New Year causes many suicides to take place at that season.

17. Bad company.—Amongst miscellaneous enactments it is worthy of notice that the sons of families enjoying hereditary rank, and officers of government, are prohibited from associating with prostitutes and actors, under penalty of 60 blows.

18. Treatment of domestic animals.—Special laws are enacted with a view to the proper treatment of domestic animals; e.g., when draught animals are improperly harnessed, and sores are thus produced on the back or withers, the penalty of such carelessness is 20 to 50 blows. Similar penalties are imposed in cases of insufficient feeding, etc.

19. Care of the young.—Amongst the laws relating to the care of the young, it may be noted that the 'age of consent' in China is 12 years in the case of both boys and girls, and that a recent edict decreed that smoking on the part of boys under 18 was a punishable offence.

20. Improper conduct.—The comprehensiveness of the Chinese penal code is remarkable; there is hardly a circumstance connected with law and its infraction for which provision is not made; and a large liberty is extended to judges in the treatment of what is described as 'improper conduct'—an expression which is interpreted to mean offences against the spirit of the laws, though not necessarily involving an actual breach of the letter thereof.

21. Lynch law.—In addition to the ordinary legislation there are many unorthodox methods in practice amongst the people in country districts. Lynch law is very common, and the treatment of crime by the people themselves often induces cruelties which fully deserve the designation of 'savage.' Theft is severely punished, as are also fraudulent practices in connexion with marriage negotiations. A favourite method is the suspension of the culprit by his thumbs and great toes to a horizontal branch, so that the body is arched like a bow; sometimes a large stone is placed in the middle of his back to increase his sufferings. In extreme cases, where death is decreed by the village tribunal, a fiendish ingenuity is exhibited in the invention of new methods of torture. In the case of village feuds 'a life for a life' is the

universal standard of justice; annual outbreaks of a kind of vendetta are common in some districts, and continue until the blood-feud is settled by the slaughter of an equal number of persons on both sides.

22. Reform.—The revision of the penal code, so as to bring it into conformity with Western models, is at present under consideration; and a number of Chinese commissioners visited Europe last year [1910] for the purpose of studying Western prison methods, with a view to a reform of the Chinese houses of detention.

LITERATURE.—G. T. Staunton, *The Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, London, 1810; A. Lind, *A Chapter of the Chinese Penal Code*, Leyden, 1887; J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, Shanghai, 1903; Herbert A. Giles, *A Glossary of Reference*, Shanghai, 1900; W. Gilbert Walshe, *Ways that are Dark*, Shanghai, 1906.

W. GILBERT WALSH.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Egyptian).—There is no reliable record of the principles which guided the Egyptian judge in the punishment of crime. There may have been much that was arbitrary in the administration of justice, even in the best bureaucratic period of the New Empire, but that rules dating from a remote age, and attributed to the god Thoth, were appealed to is certain. A charge given by the king to his newly appointed vizier is preserved, but scarcely touches this question.

The Negative Confession in the Book of the Dead (see CONFESSION [Egyptian]) contains a long list of moral and religious obliquities, including adultery, falsification of measures and weights, and cursing the king. More to our purpose is a list of charges brought against a shipmaster at Elephantine, preserved in a papyrus at Turin; amongst his offences are breaking into stores and stealing the grain, embezzling corn put in his charge, extorting corn from the people, burning a boat and concealing the fact, also adultery, and apparently the misuse of cattle bred by the sacred Mnevis sire. There is no record whether the charges were proved, or of the punishment. A decree of King Horemheb to repress military exactions and oppression in Egypt imposes a severe penalty on the unauthorized commandeering of boats; the offender loses his nose and ears, and is transported to the frontier city of Zaru (agreeing with Diodorus' account of the city of Rhinocolura); and soldiers who stole hides were to be beaten with 100 lashes so as to open five wounds, and to restore the property to its owners. Other documents indicate Ethiopia as the place of banishment, where perhaps convicts were forced to toil in the gold mines. The condition of suspected persons after examination 'by beating on their hands and feet' must have been miserable in the extreme, but probably the law contrived to make it still worse for the convicted criminal in the end. Accounts of several criminal trials are preserved—of robbers of the royal tombs (in Breasted, *Anc. Records*, London, 1906–1907, iv. 499–556), and of a conspiracy in the harem against the life of the king (*ib. pp.* 416–456). The punishment of the men and women condemned for participation in, or guilty knowledge of, the conspiracy is not specified, but it was evidently death in some form, and many seem to have been permitted to commit suicide. Two of the judges and two custodians who had misconducted themselves with female criminals during the time of the trial were condemned to lose their noses and ears; one of these committed suicide, while a fifth was perhaps let off with a severe reprimand.

From the end of the Middle Kingdom there is a decree of a King Antef deposing a nomarch (?) and high official of the temple of Coptos, apparently for harbouring the king's enemies. He and all his descendants were deprived for ever of the power

to hold the office. The consequences of desertion to another country are hinted at in the story of the fugitive Sinuhe, who was plainly in peril of death (Maspero, *Contes populaires*³, Paris, 1906, p. 62). In the treaty between the Hittite king and Ramses II. restoration of deserters and free pardon for them are stipulated for on both sides.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Greek).—

1. A crime may be considered as an act of disobedience to a Divine command, and, as such, punishable, if at all, by Divine retribution; or else, in its stricter sense, as an offence against the ethical sense of the community, for which a definite punishment is prescribed by law. But it is only gradually that the latter notion has been evolved. In the Greek States, none of which succeeded in working out a scientific system of jurisprudence comparable with that of Rome, many crimes continued to be treated, as in primitive communities, as wrongful acts done to an individual, for which he was entitled to claim compensation in a court of law (see Maine, *Ancient Law*¹⁰, ed. Pollock, London, 1907, p. 379). Although the familiar distinction between a crime and a tort was increasingly recognized with the progress of time, acts definitely criminal in character (as being injurious to the community, such as homicide and theft under certain conditions) were technically made the subject of a civil action (*δίκη*) rather than of an indictment (*γραφή*). Even in the latter the State was only indirectly concerned; for a further distinction was made between a private and a public prosecution, and in private prosecutions, which formed by far the more numerous class, the prosecutor was regarded as acting for his own satisfaction rather than as fulfilling a public duty (see Demosthenes, xxi. 25).

It would be impossible, within the limits of an article like the present, even if the material existed, to describe in detail, or even satisfactorily to summarize, the progressive development in the establishment of legal penalties for crime by the various divisions of the Hellenic race, from the dawn of history down to the time when their independence was finally lost. All that we shall attempt is a short survey of the general ideas relating to the subject of crimes and punishments which prevailed from time to time according to the most important literary records, together with some account of the particular remedies provided by the Athenian law-courts, in the period for which our information is most abundant, namely, the 5th and 4th cents. B.C. For States other than Athens the necessary evidence is almost entirely wanting, and there is not much advantage in recording such scraps as have come down to us, when it is impossible to present them in their proper setting, or to make a trustworthy estimate of their value. There is the less inconvenience in taking this course, inasmuch as the pre-eminence of the Athenian judicial system is reflected in the remark that the Athenians invented the regular administration of justice (*Ælian, Var. Hist.* iii. 38). Still, it would be a mistake to suppose that the Athenian courts were a unique product of Hellenic civilization. Of the better-known Greek States it seems probable that Sparta was the most backward; and the existence of an elaborate judicial organization in remote and semi-barbarous communities such as Gortyn and Western Lycris leads to the conclusion that great commercial cities like Egina, Megara, and Corinth had a legal system as highly developed, if not so famous, as that of Athens herself (L. Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, London, 1896, p. 177).

2. With crime in the wider sense, as a breach of religious obligation, and the Divine punishment which it thereby merits, we do not propose here to deal, since they will be sufficiently discussed elsewhere (e.g. ERINYES, ESCHATOLOGY [Greek]). Nevertheless, the gradual growth of a system of jurisprudence was so largely conditioned by religious belief that we cannot entirely put out of view the religious as distinct from the legal aspect (see, generally, Maine, p. 381). Their connexion is most strongly marked in the case of the most important of all crimes, that of homicide. In the primitive age, for which our authority is to be found not only in the Homeric poems, but also in the writings of the Tragedians, so far as they reproduce the old legends, beliefs, and customs

prevalent in the Epics now lost, it was universally believed that the shedder of blood was pursued and punished by the avengers ('Erinyes) of the slain man (*Æsch. Cho.* 401; *Soph. El.* 113). These supernatural visitants may be regarded as the embodiment of the curse pronounced by the injured victim against the wrongdoer (*Æsch. Theb.* 70), or even as the punishment itself (*Ποινή*). In Homer, however, they never appear as punishing murder, but rather as protectors of parents against wrongs done to them by their children, and as guardians of the sanctities of family life. The mother of Meleager cursed her son for slaying her brother, and prayed for his death; her prayer was heard by the Erinyes that walk in darkness (*Il.* ix. 571). Similarly, we find Œdipus visited by the curse of Iocasta (*Od.* xi. 280); the Erinyes were summoned to avenge the dishonour done by Phœnix to his father Amyntor (*Il.* ix. 454); and, so far as can be seen, they were ready to visit every crime committed against the ties of family or society (Ameis-Hentze on *Od.* ii. 135). There is nothing in Homer to show that the Erinyes did not punish homicide in a proper case; and, inasmuch as they avenged wrongs done to kindred, they might well have been found harassing Orestes for the murder of his mother, if Homer had narrated this version of the story (T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, New York and London, 1907, p. 89). The subjects handled by the Tragic poets, being more nearly concerned with the ideas of crime and punishment, regularly present the Erinyes as the avengers of bloodshed, and more particularly of the murder of kinsfolk. Their victim, driven from place to place, in his vain effort to escape (*Æsch. Eum.* 210), was attacked by madness (*Eur. Iph. Taur.* 1481) or wasting sickness (*Or.* 398 ff.), until he either was released by death or effected a reconciliation with those whom he had wronged; such was the fate of the matrieides Orestes and Alcmæon.

3. Again, in primitive times punishment was believed to be exacted in this life (*Il.* iii. 278 is exceptional), and the vigilance of the retributory power to be as unvarying as it was relentless. And, when experience seemed to show that the offender often escaped with impunity, it was easy to reply that vengeance was certain, even if it was slow to come (*Æsch. Ag.* 58, *ὑστερόποινον ἔργον*; *Soph. Ant.* 1074; Jebb on *Æd. Col.* 1536); and that retribution would visit his descendants, even if the original offender was allowed to escape (*Il.* iv. 160; *Solon, frag.* 4. 27 ff.; Rohde, *Psyche*⁴, ii. 228). Until a comparatively late date this was one of the excuses alleged by the Stoics, who were hard put to it to reconcile the existence of moral evil with their doctrine of Providence (*Cic. Nat. Deor.* iii. 90). But these crude notions failed to satisfy the curious inquirer or the ardent champion of Divine justice. Æschylus, a profound religious thinker, attempted to justify the gods by the assertion that the sin of the ancestor begets a tendency to sin in his descendants (*Ag.* 755-766), so that the actual sufferer is punished, not directly for his ancestor's guilt, but because he himself has yielded to temptation. But popular superstition required a less subtle solution. Even if the innocent must suffer for the guilty, it could not be supposed that the guilty themselves escape altogether. Hence came the belief in punishment after death, which may properly be called post-Homeric, though it appears in an isolated passage of the *Nekyia* (*Od.* xi. 576-600; see Seymour, p. 468). It was a leading tenet in the creed of the devotees of Orphism (*Plat. Rep.* 364 E; Rohde, *Psyche*⁴, ii. 128). The same doctrine took firm root in the convictions of the initiated, who had availed themselves of the reward offered to the partici-

pators in the Eleusinian mysteries, that they, and they alone, could look forward to a blessed existence after death (Soph. frag. 753); though how far it is correct to speak of the 'symbolism' of the mysteries themselves is a difficult and doubtful question (Rohde, i. 294 ff.). From such sources the doctrine spread even to philosophic circles, where it provided the material for several of the myths in the writings of Plato (*Phædo*, 110 B, *Rep.* 614 B, *Gorg.* 523 A), as well as for those of his imitator Plutarch (*Sera Num. Vind.* p. 563 ff.; *Gen. Socr.* p. 590), and was countenanced by the Stoics in their efforts to make common cause with the upholders of the popular religion (A. C. Pearson, *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, Cambridge, 1891, p. 146).

4. The belief in the power of the spirit of the murdered man to exact vengeance persisted throughout the historical age, but the practical consequences to the murderer in the attitude of his fellows were widely different in Homeric society from those which prevailed at a later time. The homicide in Homer was under no disability, so long as he kept outside the range of the influence exercised by the clan among whom the murder was committed; but within those limits his life was forfeit to the kinsmen of the murdered man (*Od.* xv. 271 ff.). So long as the murderer remained at home, the kinsmen were bound to exact the blood-penalty, if they themselves wished to avoid the wrath of the dead man's ghost; only by permanent exile, by renouncing for ever the ties of home and country, could even one who had accidentally caused the death of another escape from the vengeance of the blood-feud. Such is the inference to be drawn from the fate of Patroclus (*Il.* xi. 769 ff., xxiii. 85 ff.). But once he reached a new country, no moral disgrace and no religious tabu attached to the person of the fugitive murderer, although his act was deliberate. Even assassination seems to excite no moral disapprobation (*Od.* xiii. 267). Exile, however, was not always inevitable. If the relatives were willing to accept a fine, the murderer might by a payment acceptable to them compound for his life, and remain at home (*Il.* ix. 628-632). There is nothing here of ceremonial uncleanness, or of the propitiation of an offended deity (Rohde, i. 271); a murder is a wrong done to the family which has lost a member, and it is for them to exact a suitable expiation. The only reference to judicial proceedings in connexion with homicide is in the description of the shield of Achilles (*Il.* xviii. 497-508). Unfortunately, however, critics are not agreed on the nature of the trial scene; and the question is still open whether the issue to be tried before the elders was one of fact—had the blood-price been paid or not?—or whether the community had undertaken to decide the question of right, when a blood-price had been offered and refused. (See, on the one hand, Seymour, p. 89, and Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, p. 4; and, on the other, Leaf, *in loc.*, and Maine, p. 406.)

5. When we pass to historical times, we find an entirely different state of affairs. The only adequate explanation of the change seems to be that in the interval a new religious influence had grown up, strong enough to modify completely the Greek conception of murder. This was the Delphic cult of Apollo, which at one and the same time emphasized the moral guilt of the shedder of blood, and by its ceremonies of purification opened the means of escape from the need for a blood-requital. But it is not easy to understand why the possibility of compounding by a money fine, which the Homeric poems attest, should have given way to a stricter estimate of guilt (Rohde, i. 267; Demosthenes, xxiii. 28, 33), which appears to be a reversion to the primitive rule that every

murder must be expiated by blood (*Æsch. Cho.* 311). It has usually been inferred that the practice of Homeric society was a temporary deviation due to special conditions, which suspended the normal development of Greek ethics (T. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., 1901, ii. 4).

6. The Athenian criminal code.—However this may be, when we at length reach the system administered by the Athenian courts, we find that the punishment no longer depends upon the choice of the individual avenger, but is prescribed by the State (Demosth. xxiii. 69), although the kinsman is still required to appear as the instrument which sets the law in motion, unless the murderer has been forgiven by his victim before his death (*ib.* xxxvii. 59). The circumstances and motive of the homicide are no longer regarded as indifferent, but the various grades of guilt are distinguished with precision. Thus (1) the supreme court of the Areopagus, instituted, according to the legend, on the occasion of the trial of Orestes, had jurisdiction in cases of wilful homicide (*φόνος ἐκούσιος*). The judges were the Council of the Areopagus, a body recruited from those who had served the office of *archon* and had passed a subsequent scrutiny, under the presidency of the 'king' *archon*, who, as exercising the priestly functions of the old kings, testified by his presence to the religious character of a trial for blood-guiltiness. The penalties of death and confiscation of goods followed a conviction (Demosth. xxi. 43). The Areopagus also had jurisdiction over cases of wounding with malicious intent (*πράγμα ἐκ προνοίας*), of arson (*πυρκαϊά*), and of poisoning (*φαρμάκων ἐάν τις ἀποκρίνητοίς*). The penalty for wounding and for poisoning, if death did not result, was banishment and confiscation of property; if the poisoning was followed by death, it was punished in the same manner as murder committed by violent methods.

(2) The second of the courts dealing with homicide sat at the Palladion, a sanctuary of Pallas, outside the walls, on the east side of Athens. Here were tried cases of involuntary homicide, and of conspiracy against the life of another (*βούλευσις*; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 57. 3), as well as those relating to the killing of a slave, a resident alien, or a foreigner. The sentence on a person found guilty of involuntary homicide required him to remain in exile until he had appeased the relatives of the deceased, or, if he failed to do so, for a definite (but not ascertained) period. The death of a non-citizen seems also to have been punishable with banishment.

(3) Not far from the Palladion was the Delphinion, or Temple of Apollo Delphinios, where all were tried who alleged that the homicide committed was justifiable or excusable. The examples given are the slaying of an adulterer taken in the act, death on the battle-field in consequence of mistaken identity, and the fatal result of an athletic contest.

(4) Of minor importance was the court in the precinct of the hero Phreatus (Lipsius, p. 130), on the Piræus peninsula, where any person was tried who, while in exile for involuntary homicide, was accused of murder or malicious wounding committed before he went into exile. In such circumstances the accused pleaded his case from a boat moored off the coast.

The judges in the three courts last-mentioned were a body known as the *ἐφέται*, 51 in number, about whose qualifications and mode of appointment there is no information except the vague statement that they were chosen from among the well-born citizens. Their number may be explained by the 'king' *archon* being counted as one of them, or may be due to the same principle as prevailed in the jury-courts—the necessity of an odd number in

order to secure the decision of a majority (Lipsius, n. 18; otherwise Gilbert, *Handbuch d. gr. Staatsalterthümer*², p. 136). This system seems to have lasted from the time of Draco until about the year 400 B.C., when, in place of the *ephetai*, a panel of ordinary jurymen (*ἡλιασταί*) was substituted (Lipsius, p. 41). The president in these courts was always the 'king' *archon*.

(5) Lastly, there is the court of the Prytaneum, composed of the four tribal 'kings' (*φύλοβασιλεις*) together with the 'king' *archon*, who, when the actual criminal could not be discovered, conducted a ceremonial trial of the weapon or of any other inanimate object, such as a stone or a piece of timber, by means of which a death had been caused. At the conclusion of the trial the inanimate instrument of death was cast beyond the boundaries of the State. A similar proceeding took place if the death was due to an animal (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 57. 4). Here we have obviously the survival of a custom which went back to a remote antiquity.

In regard to trials for homicide, the following points of interest may be noted. (a) The connexion of the trial with the primitive blood-feud is preserved in the requirement that the prosecution must be undertaken by the nearest relatives of the deceased. (b) The trial always took place in the open air, in order to avoid any possible pollution to those present from being under the same roof with the accused. (c) The fact that the place of trial was always a temple is derived from the time when the slayer was protected by the right of asylum, until he had agreed with his adversaries on the amount of the blood-price. (d) The accused could withdraw himself from the trial not later than the conclusion of his opening speech (Demosth. xxiii. 69), and, so long as he remained abroad, his life was protected; but, if he returned to Athens, he could be put to death with impunity. (e) Ceremonial purification was required before even an involuntary homicide could be restored to his full rights. (f) The court of the Areopagus was closely associated with the cult of the Erinyes, who appear as the accusers of Orestes not only in Æschylus, but in the account preserved in Demosth. xxiii. 66 (Rohde, p. 269).

At Sparta, cases of homicide were tried before the council of elders (*γερονσία*), where other public proceedings also took place (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 1, 1275b, 10). From a case in which permanent exile was the penalty for an act of involuntary homicide committed in childhood (Xen. *Anab.* iv. viii. 25), it has been inferred that the rule of primitive society had received hardly any modification. For offences punishable with death the Spartans adopted the curious rule that, if a man was once acquitted, he remained still liable to stand a second trial (Gilbert, p. 89). The death penalty was carried out by night; and the condemned man was either strangled in prison or thrown from a height into a hollow called *καάδας* (Plut. *Ages.* 19; Thuc. i. 134). We hear also of banishment, disfranchisement, and money fines being inflicted as punishments; but our information is so meagre that we can seldom distinguish the various crimes to which they were assigned; it appears, however, that cowardice in battle was punishable with exile (Thuc. v. 72), and *παίδεραστία* with permanent disfranchisement (Plut. *Mor.* p. 237 C). In Boeotia murder trials took place before the council (Xen. *Hell.* vii. iii. 5).

To return to Athens: it is desirable, before proceeding further, to mention certain salient characteristics of the administration of the Athenian criminal law which distinguish it from the system established in Great Britain. Every criminal proceeding was assigned to the office of a magistrate or board, who took charge of the necessary docu-

ments, heard all the preliminary applications, and presided at the actual trial. But these officials were very far from exercising the functions of a modern judge. They had no legal training or experience, but were simply laymen holding office for a year, a few being chosen by election, but the majority owing their position to the chance of the lot. Their duties were for the most part ministerial, and at the trial they exercised no control over the jury, who were supreme as representing the sovereign people. These latter—in criminal trials a panel, generally 501 in number and often far larger, chosen by an elaborate system from a body of 6000 dicasts annually enrolled—were little apt to stop an irrelevant argument, if it appealed to their fancy, or to require every statement of an advocate to be proved by strict evidence (Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*³, London, 1877, p. 387 ff.). Their freedom from responsibility tempted them to decide according to the caprice of the moment, and their ignorance enabled advocates to misrepresent the law without any check but the speech of the other side. Moreover, they were often swayed by political prejudice and passion, and even, as we are credibly informed, were prepared to swell the State revenues by confiscation of the goods of the accused in order to improve the security for the jurymen's pay (Aristoph. *Eg.* 1359 f.; Lysias, xxvii. 1). They voted by ballot, and a simple majority prevailed. In many cases the sentence was fixed by law (*ἀγών ἀρμητος*); but, where it was left to the discretion of the court (*ἀγών τυμητος*), the jurors had only a choice between two alternatives, as presented to them by the contending parties. It is obvious that any wider liberty would have been attended with serious practical difficulties.

If the crime of treason (*προδοσία*) was not precisely defined in their code, it was not because the Athenians cared little about the security of their constitutional liberty. On the contrary, the names of Harmodius and Aristogiton were always cherished, and special privileges granted to their descendants, in order that the Athenians might never forget the dangers from which their ancestors had been liberated. Charges against the oligarchical party of conspiring against the democracy (Aristoph. *Eg.* 236), or against some popular leader as aiming at a tyranny, were freely bandied to and fro during the troublous times of the Peloponnesian War: 'Aye "conspiracy" and "tyrant," these with you are all in all, | Whatso'er is brought before you, be the matter great or small' (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 488 f., tr. Rogers). The importance attached to the safety of the democracy is attested by the provision of a special process (*εισαγγελία*) for the impeachment of traitors. Historically, indeed, it may be regarded as a survival of the only form of criminal procedure known to the primitive State, in which there is no distinction between a criminal trial and an act of legislation (Maine, pp. 383, 393). But in practice this solemn proceeding was reserved for the trial and punishment of serious public offences which do not admit of delay (Harpoer, s.v. *εισαγγελία*). A law of Solon entrusted the Areopagus with the trial of those who conspired to overthrow the democracy (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 8. 4); but it was at a later date—which has been fixed as either about the middle of the 4th century (Lipsius, p. 192), or soon after the fall of the Four Hundred (Thalheim, in *Hermes*, xxxvii. [1902] 342 ff.)—that a comprehensive enactment enumerating and defining various treasonable acts (*νόμος εισαγγελτικῆς*) was passed into law. The offences comprised in it may be divided roughly into four classes: (1) attempts to overthrow the constitution, either actual or constructive; (2) the treacherous surrender of a fortified place or of a military or naval force; (3) desertion to the enemy, or assistance given to,

or bribes received from, them;¹ (4) corrupt advice given by a speech in the assembly (Hyperid. iii. 22). Either as included in the scope of this enactment or as authorized by earlier or separate legislation, we find provision made for proceeding by impeachment against those who made deceitful promises to the people, and against ambassadors who were false to their duty (Demosth. xix. 277, xx. 135). The procedure, as might have been expected, was entirely different from that of an ordinary criminal indictment. An impeachment might be either instituted before the Council of the Five Hundred or brought direct to the Assembly. In the former event, if the Council approved the prosecution, the accused was forthwith arrested (or held to bail in a case of lesser importance), and the *θεσμοθέται* were authorized to bring the matter before the Assembly. If the matter came in the first instance before the people, it was customary to direct a preliminary investigation by the Council; and from that point the procedure was the same as if it had been initiated before the Council. The trial was either held in the Assembly, or, according to the more usual practice, remitted to one of the ordinary law-courts. If the trial took place in a law-court, the number of dicasts was at least 1000, and we read of as many as 2500 being empanelled (Dinarch. i. 52). The penalty was usually death and confiscation of goods, and invariably so after about the middle of the 4th cent.; but there are grounds for thinking that before this time it was subject to assessment, or was sometimes fixed beforehand by the people, conditionally upon conviction. As an additional penalty, in order to mark the enormity of the crime, the body of a traitor was refused burial in Attica (Hyperid. ii. 20).² In early times, in order to encourage prosecutors to undertake proceedings, it was provided that any one who failed to obtain a fifth part of the votes should not be liable to the usual fine of 1000 drachmæ; but in the year 330, when the facilities thus given were abused, the privilege had been withdrawn (Demosth. xviii. 250).

The remedy of *ελασγηνία* was also prescribed for certain offences of a less serious character, such as official maladministration, particularly in the office of an arbitrator or in the dockyards; and also to rectify wrongs committed against those who were in a dependent position, or had special claims to protection, such as orphans or heiresses. In the latter case the process, though called by the same name, was altogether different, but was distinguished from the ordinary indictment in various respects, to the advantage of the prosecution. Thus the prosecutor (1) was not restricted in point of time, but was allowed to speak as long as he wished; (2) was subject to no penalty, if he failed to secure a fifth part of the votes; and (3) was not required to make use of a writ of summons (*πρόδικησις*) when laying his plaint (Wyse on Isæus, iii. 46). But, instead of going to the Council or to the Assembly, the prosecutor made his 'denunciation' to the chief *archon* (*ἐπὶ δύνως*), who exercised a criminal jurisdiction in this matter corresponding to his official superintendence of inheritance cases. The chief *archon* was, in fact, in a position similar to that of an English Lord Chancellor, who, as represented nowadays by the judges of the Chancery Division, has full jurisdiction over the persons and properties of his wards, and can punish for contempt of Court those who offend against his decrees (cf. Demosth. xliii. 75). But, whereas the

English judge exercises plenary powers, the Athenian *archon*, apart from a limited power of imposing a fine, only conducted the interlocutory proceedings and prepared the case for the decision of the dicasts. In this connexion we are informed that the analogous offence of injuring parents included, besides corporal injury, refusal of food and lodging, and neglect in performing the customary rites at the tomb. A son convicted of maltreatment of parents was punished with complete disfranchisement (*ἀτιμία*), but the procedure in his case was by way of an ordinary indictment before the *archon* (Lipsius, p. 351). Whether there was any other penalty is unknown; but, even apart from a prosecution, candidates for office were liable to be rejected on the scrutiny (*δοκιμασία*), and speakers in the Assembly ran a similar risk, if it could be shown that they were guilty of undutiful conduct. Proceedings for injury done to orphans and heiresses (*ἐπὶ κληροῖ*) might be taken against their guardians, and in the latter case also against their husbands, or their nearest male relatives, if these attempted to avoid the obligation imposed upon them either to marry the heiress or to furnish her with a suitable dowry. The penalty was assessable by the court; but, though Isæus (iii. 47) speaks of the extreme punishment as applicable to such cases, it is unlikely that the offence usually entailed more than a heavy fine together with disfranchisement. There was also the offence of injuring an orphan's estate (*ὀκνοῦ ἔρφανικοῦ κακώσεως*), which appears to include misappropriation or unlawful retention, as well as fraudulent or negligent mismanagement. As another parallel to the Lord Chancellor's powers, it may be mentioned that the chief *archon* had jurisdiction in lunacy; for to him was preferred an indictment by the relatives, when it was alleged that any one had become incapable of managing his private affairs (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 56. 6).¹ The chief *archon* had also jurisdiction in the indictment for idleness (*ἀργίας γραφή*), generally supposed to have been capable of enforcement against a man who had no property and refused to exert himself in order to obtain an honest living. Unfortunately, the information respecting it is scanty, but it has recently been suggested (Lipsius, p. 340) that its real purpose was not so much educational as to vindicate the concern of the State for the due preservation of family property, and to punish the dissipation or improper alienation of an inheritance. Draco is said to have made death the penalty (Plut. *Sol.* 17), but Solon (or Pisistratus) substituted a fine of 100 drachmæ on the first and second conviction, and complete disfranchisement on the third (Poll. viii. 89).

The 'king' *archon*, whom we have already met in connexion with murder trials, was the presiding magistrate in prosecutions for impiety (*ἀσέβεια*). This offence had a wide ambit, ranging from acts of sacrilege to the expression of speculative opinions on the origin and government of the universe. It corresponds, therefore, in part to blasphemy, which is still an indictable offence in England, although prosecutions are nowadays practically unknown. A prosecution for impiety was a convenient weapon in the hands of the obscurantists, if they desired to check the growth of revolutionary opinion, or to interfere with the teaching of a successful opponent. Thus it was used against Diagoras of Melos and Theodorus the Cyrenaic, for publishing atheistic doctrine (schol. on Aristoph. *Ran.* 323; Diog. Laert. ii. 101); against Anaxagoras for calling the sun a fiery mass (Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i.² [Berlin, 1906] 294); against Pro-

¹ A famous instance of a trial of this kind was the prosecution instituted by Lycourgos against Leocrates, who was alleged to have abandoned his country after the fatal battle of Chæronea.

² It is interesting to find that the last-named provision was a traditional usage of immemorial antiquity, since it is implied in the story of the burial of Polynece by his sister Antigone (see Eur. *Phæn.* 1630).

¹ The best-known instance is that of Sophocles, against whom proceedings of this kind are said to have been taken by his son Iophon (*Vit. Soph.*; Plut. *Mor.* p. 785 A)—although the story may well have arisen from the malicious gibe of a comic poet (Lipsius, p. 356).

tagoras for opening his treatise on the gods with a profession of inability to say whether they existed or not, or what they were (Diels, ii.² [1907] 525); and against Socrates, whose indictment charged him with corrupting the young men by introducing the worship of deities other than those recognized by the State (Plato, *Apol.* 24 B). On the other hand, Alcibiades was impeached (*εισαγγελέσθαι*) on the delation (*μίσθναι*) of an informer for holding a mock celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries in his own house (Plut. *Alcib.* 22); and an information (*ἐνδείξις*) was laid against Andocides for taking part in a sacrificial act, while under a disability previously imposed (*Andoc.* i. 71). The sacrilegious robbery of sacred property from a temple was treated as a distinct crime, and was punishable with death, deprivation of the right of burial, and confiscation of goods, on an indictment preferred before the *thesmothetæ* (*γραφὴ ἱεροσυλίας*). Thus various forms of procedure may have been open to the accuser, as Demosthenes (xxii. 27) takes occasion to remark; but, so far as our information goes, the trial always took place before a heliastic court. A single exception, known to us from the 7th speech of Lysias, relates to the charge of uprooting the stump (*σηκός*) of a sacred olive-tree. Here the cause was pleaded before the Council of the Areopagus, under whose supervision these olive-trees had been placed. In this case the punishment was fixed by law—death for destroying a tree, and banishment for removing a stump. For impiety in general, however, the penalty—death, banishment, confiscation of goods, or money fine—was left to the assessment of the jury, as is known from the celebrated trial of Socrates.

Adultery (*μοιχεία*) was treated at Athens as a criminal offence, and was punished with severity, as was natural in a society which tolerated concubinage. The adulterer might be prosecuted on an indictment laid before the *thesmothetæ* (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 59. 3), and the sentence was probably left to the decision of the court (Lipsius, p. 432). But the injured husband could also take the law into his own hands. He might either kill the adulterer, and plead justifiable homicide in answer to any proceedings taken against him; or he might detain or exact sureties from him, until he was satisfied by a money payment. In the latter case, however, the alleged adulterer could maintain an action for false imprisonment (*ἀδικος ἐλπίσθαι ὡς μοιχόν*) against the husband, and, if successful, was released from any undertaking he had given under duress. If the husband continued to live with a declared adulteress, he suffered disfranchisement; and the adulteress herself was forbidden to enter the temples or to wear the customary ornaments of free women. If she infringed these restrictions, she might be subjected with impunity to any injury short of death ([*Dem.*]lix. 87). Stringent penalties were in force against those who procured youths or girls for immoral purposes (*προαγωγίας*), and a total disability was imposed automatically upon those who had prostituted themselves, so that, if they exercised any civil right, they became liable to an indictment (*γραφὴ ἑταιρώσεως*), and, if convicted, to be sentenced to death. Cf. also art. ADULTERY (Greek).

In dealing with other crimes of violence against persons or property, we have to take into account a large variety of procedure. Thus Demosthenes (xxii. 25 ff.), having occasion to point out that Solon, in providing different remedies for single crimes, intended to ensure that no law-breaker should go free by reason of the poverty or incapacity of his accuser, illustrated his remarks by the example of theft, in which the injured party might proceed either by way of arrest (*ἀπαγωγὴ*), by leading the magistrates themselves to the spot

where the culprit was to be found and requiring them to seize him (*ἐφ' ἡγήναι*), by an ordinary indictment (*γραφὴ*), or, lastly, by a civil action (*δίκη*). Similarly, he thinks it difficult to imagine that any one who was proved to have committed assault and battery could escape punishment at Athens (liv. 17). For, in the first place, an action for slander (*κακηγορίας δίκη*) had been devised to prevent the commission of the offence at all, or at least to minimize its occurrence; and, if it was committed, in addition to the ordinary indictment for assault (*γραφὴ ὕβρεως*), there was an action for battery (*δίκη αἰκίας*), or, if the offence was so grave as to require it, a prosecution for unlawful wounding (*τραύματος*) before the Areopagus (see above). In certain circumstances there was still another remedy. When Demosthenes, acting as *choregos* at the Dionysia, was grossly assaulted by Midias, instead of contenting himself with a personal suit, he made a public complaint (*προβολή*) before the Assembly in order to obtain the authorization of the people for the institution of proceedings. The object, of course, was to make full use of the prejudice which would be excited against the defendant by a decree of the people; and perhaps, in the case of an aspiring politician, it might be more advantageous to obtain the advertisement of a public debate on his wrongs than to rest content with the satisfaction to be gained from a heliastic court alone. But the *προβολή* had only a limited range, being confined, according to our authorities, as now interpreted (Lipsius, p. 214 f.), to charges against sycophants, i.e. false accusers, or those who had made use of legal proceedings in order to extort money, or for some fraudulent purpose, but only when their false professions had misled the people; and against those who committed an outrage during the progress of certain religious festivals, such as the Dionysia or Eleusinia. If a vote was given against the accused (*καταχειροτονία*), the prosecutor proceeded to lay his complaint before the *thesmothetæ* (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 59. 2), and the trial proceeded in the ordinary way. There was, however, one peculiarity which, according to a recent view, attached to the trial of a *προβολή* as distinguished from all other prosecutions in which the punishment was assessable by the court. In ordinary cases, as we have already seen, the judges were compelled to select one of two alternatives; but, in the speech against Midias, Demosthenes invites the jury to assess any penalty which they think adequate, and implies that this may range from death or confiscation of goods to a paltry fine (§§ 21, 151, 152). (See Goodwin's *Demosthenes against Midias*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 161; otherwise, Lipsius, p. 218.)

Of the other processes mentioned above, the most important was the *arrest*, which was applicable to certain classes of offenders, when openly detected in crime. These were known comprehensively as malefactors (*κακοῦργοι*), and specifically as thieves (*κλέπται*, a term not including every offender of this kind, but only such as stole by night or in a gymnasium, or, if the theft took place by day and under other conditions, stole property of the value of more than fifty drachmæ, or, if the crime was committed in the harbours, of more than ten drachmæ [Demosth. xxiv. 113]), kidnappers (*ἀνδραποδιστὰι*), highwaymen (*λωποδύται*), burglars (*τοικωροίχοι*), and pickpockets (*βαλλαντιοῖχοι*). Such cases came under the jurisdiction of the police magistrates known as the Eleven, and the punishment was death. If the crime was admitted, punishment followed at once; but, if it was denied, the culprit was kept in durance until trial (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 52. 1), unless he was bailed out by three citizens (Antiph. v. 17). The process of arrest

seems gradually to have been extended, so that it was sometimes employed against murderers, as in the speech of Antiphon, *de cæde Herodis*, and in that of Lysias against Agoratus. An entirely distinct application of the process must be recognized when it was directed against those who, while under disability (*ἀρμότοι*), had usurped the privileges which they had forfeited, and against exiles who had returned home. In the last-mentioned cases the penalty was assessable, except for those who were already under ban of death. If the intending prosecutor had not sufficient strength or courage to arrest the felon himself, he could fetch a magistrate to the spot and get him to act (*ἐφήγηται*). It is probable that this proceeding was the complement of arrest, and applicable to the same crimes; but the evidence is scanty, and touches only the cases of theft (Demosth. xxii. 26), the harbouring of fugitives, and the secret retention of State property (Suid. s.v.).

There is often mentioned, in conjunction with arrest, the process of information (*ἐνδεύς*). This answers to the second kind of arrest mentioned above, and was employed against State-debtors, returned exiles, murderers, and generally all who, being under disability, frequented places or performed acts from which they were excluded by law. In the case of State-debtors the presiding officers were the *thesmothetæ* (Demosth. xxiv. 22); in other cases the Eleven (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 52. 1). The penalty naturally varied according to the gravity of the offence, and was often assessable, as in the case of a disqualified dicast assuming to act as such (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 63. 3); but, if a State-debtor usurped the functions of a public official, he was liable to the death-penalty (Demosth. xx. 156).

If a man whose goods had been stolen was either unable or unwilling to use the process of arrest, he might proceed by way of indictment for theft (*γραφὴ κλοπῆς*) before the *thesmothetæ*, as an alternative to the civil action for the same delict. Draco's code had made death the sole penalty for theft (Plut. *Sol.* 17), but later legislation allowed the court to fix the penalty. Imprisonment might be inflicted in addition to the main penalty, and disfranchisement followed a conviction.

For personal injury resulting from an assault, or for acts of shameful and indecent insult to the person of child, woman, freeborn man, or slave, the appropriate remedy was an indictment for wanton assault (*ὕβρεως γραφή*), before the *thesmothetæ*. The essence of the offence, as distinguished from the battery which might be made the foundation of a civil action (*αἰτίας δίκη*), lay in the motive which prompted the outward act. A mere blow, according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 13. 1374a, 13), is not necessarily a sign of wantonness, but only when the object to be attained is the disgrace of the sufferer or the pleasure of the striker. The penalty was assessable, and might amount to death in serious cases; but it was subject to the peculiar provision that the vote was taken immediately after the verdict on the main issue, without the usual opportunity being given to the parties to recommend their respective assessments (Lipsius, p. 428 f.).

We must next consider offences connected with the unlawful assumption or fraudulent exercise of civil privileges. Pericles had carried a law that an Athenian citizen must be the offspring of a father and mother who were both Athenians (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 26. 4); and it was re-enacted in the archonship of Euclides, with a saving clause to guard existing rights. Any one who exercised the rights of a citizen without being entitled to them was liable to indictment by a common informer as an alien (*ἐνέλις γραφή*), and, if convicted, was sentenced to be sold as a slave. Further, if such a

person procured his acquittal by bribery or collusion, he was amenable to the same penalty (*δωροφειρίας γραφή*). Similarly, a resident alien (*μέτοικος*), who neglected to enroll himself under a patron, could be indicted (*ἀπροστασίον γραφή*) before the third *archon*, known as the 'polemarch,' who exercised over *μέτοικοι* the same jurisdiction which belonged to the chief *archon* in regard to full citizens.

It is obvious that the existence of such proceedings opened a favourable field for the crime of malicious prosecution, and helped to swell the class of persons who made their living by preying on the fears of their fellow-citizens. The plays of Aristophanes are full of references to the contemptible class of sycophants which flourished during the latter part of the 5th cent., and, in order to protect society against their depredations, the fullest opportunity was given to proceed against them by indictment or otherwise (Isocr. xv. 813 ff.), and the assessment of the penalty was in the discretion of the court.

It is remarkable that the offence of perjury—the only crime which Homer (*II.* iii. 278) mentions as visited with punishment after death—was considered, if committed by a witness in the course of a trial, to demand nothing more than a civil remedy (*ψευδομαρτυρίον δίκη*); although disfranchisement was one of the consequences which might result if the defendant lost such an action (Isæus, v. 17); and it followed automatically if he was convicted three times. On the other hand, falsely to swear to the service of a summons rendered the perjurer liable to criminal proceedings (*ψευδοκλητείας γραφή*), in which he might even be punished with death (Demosth. liii. 18). A triple conviction led to the same result as the similar conviction of a perjured witness.

An indictment for bribery (*δάρων*) might be laid not only against officials, but against all others who received, or gave, or promised a bribe, with the object of conferring or procuring an advantage to the detriment of the State or of any individual citizen. Moreover, a magistrate who, at the expiration of his term of office, was convicted, at the scrutiny conducted by the *λογισταί*, of having embezzled or taken bribes, was fined ten times the amount in question (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 54. 2). The penalty of tenfold compensation also attached to a conviction on the general indictment, and was exacted from any official convicted of the embezzlement of public funds, on an indictment before the *thesmothetæ* (*κλοπὴ δημοσίων, or λεῶν, χρημάτων*). A separate indictment (*δεκαασμοῦ*) existed to meet the case of bribes given to, or received by, a member of the Assembly, the Council, or the jury-panel, or an advocate (*συνήγορος*), for the purpose of influencing a decision by any of the bodies concerned. The only penalty mentioned is that of death (Isocr. viii. 50).

The earliest recorded instance of the bribery of a jury is that of Anytus, afterwards notorious as the accuser of Socrates, who succeeded by this means in escaping an adverse verdict after the failure of the expedition to Eryas in 409 (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 27). Demosthenes is said to have been ordered to pay a fine of fifty talents in connexion with the affair of Harpalus (Plut. *Dem.* 26); but neither from this not entirely credible statement, nor from the mention by Dinarchus of the death-penalty (i. 60), can any inference be drawn as to the penalties incident to an ordinary prosecution for bribery.

Debasement of the coinage was a crime punishable with death (Demosth. xx. 167, xxiv. 212).

Military offences were tried before the generals, with a jury composed of the comrades of the offender. Our authorities distinguish refusal to join when summoned (*ἀσπαρείας*), cowardice in the ranks (*λιποταξίον*), loss of the shield in flight, and corresponding delinquencies in the naval service (*ἀναμυαχίον, λιποναυτίον*). Conviction was followed by loss of civic rights, but not by confiscation of property.

If a State-debtor procured the erasure of his name from the register without liquidating the debt, both he and the official by whose neglect or fraud the State had been prejudiced were liable to

indictment before the *thesmothes* (ἀρχαίου); and any one whose name was wrongly inserted could take similar proceedings against the wrongdoer (ψευδογράφης), or if the proper officer did not erase his name after he had paid (βουλευσεως).

The general formula defining grades of punishment distinguishes *bodily suffering* and *money payment* (δῖτι χρητὸν παθεῖν ἢ ἀποδοῦναι). Death, as we have seen, was not infrequently imposed by law; but, on the whole, the temper of the administration was lenient, and a death sentence was less frequent in practice than might have been expected from the place which it occupies in the code. A striking testimony to the humanity of the Athenians is the abhorrence excited by any punishment involving torture or mutilation; and penal acts of this kind are hardly ever mentioned in literature except as characterizing the excesses of tyrants or the savagery of barbarians (see esp. *Æsch. Eum.* 186 ff.). Imprisonment is rarely mentioned as a penalty (*Lys.* vi. 22; *Plat. Apol.* 37 C); and it might be said that, where we impute the criminal for the benefit of society, the Athenian code secured the same end by disfranchisement (ἀτιμία). This requires a few words of explanation. For the members of a modern State, who are more conscious of the burdens attaching to citizenship than of its privileges, an effort of imagination is needed in order to realize what complete disfranchisement meant to an Athenian. Athens was a comparatively small city, as measured by the standards of to-day, with a proletarian slave-class, and a considerable number of resident aliens; and yet at the same time an imperial city, proud of its past and with a world-wide reputation. An Athenian citizen valued his civic privileges as highly as his life. To be excluded from holding any office or exercising any public function in a community where all citizens aspired to share in the government, and to be forbidden to appear in the market-place or to take part in any public festival where every one lived in the open air, and where the frequently recurring festivals were the chief enjoyments of life, placed a ban upon the convicted man which made him an outcast from all his fellows. Thus we find disfranchisement, with or without confiscation of goods, as a normal punishment for all kinds of serious offences, such as sacrilege, treason, bribery, embezzlement, and injury to parents (*Andoc.* i. 74). In these cases the disability was permanent; but it was also adopted against State-debtors as a means of enforcing payment, and was removed as soon as the liability was discharged. There were also cases of partial disability, as when a man was forbidden to speak in the Assembly, or to become a member of the Council (*Andoc.* i. 75). So, if the prosecutor in a public indictment threw up his case, or failed to obtain a fifth part of the votes, he lost the right of again instituting another proceeding of the same kind (*Demosth.* xxi. 103). Cf. also art. *ATIMIA*.

Lastly, it remains to notice the *formalities attending the execution of the sentence*. If the sentence was one of death, or if imprisonment was involved in it, the convicted person passed under the charge of the Eleven, who had control over the State prisons. Common criminals, known as malefactors (κακοῦργοι), were fastened in a frame and cudgelled to death (ἀποτυμωγανεύς) by the executioner (θύμιος). The same official undertook the duty of 'throwing into the pit' (εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβαλεῖν)—a form of execution which was at one time employed for traitors (*Plut. Aristid.* 3; *Xen. Hell.* i. vii. 20). The more familiar penalty, however, which is mentioned for the first time during the domination of the Thirty (*Lipsius*, p. 77), was to give to the condemned criminal a cup

of hemlock-juice (κώμειον), which was administered by an official acting under the orders of the Eleven.¹ If the accused was condemned to be sold as a slave, he was handed over to the πωληταί, who sold him to the highest bidder. Confiscated goods were sold by the same board, and, in order to prevent concealment, a common informer was permitted to make a schedule (ἀπογραφή) of any property which he alleged to be liable to confiscation, and, if he succeeded on the trial of the issue, he was entitled to retain for himself three-quarters of the value (*Demosth.* liii. 2). Sometimes, in important cases, a special body of commissioners (ἐπηηταί) was appointed to make an investigation of the property liable to seizure. Fines imposed by the court were collected by the πράκτορες, who handed the money over to the treasury officials (ἀποδέκται). The enforcement of the negative penalty of disfranchisement was secured by the severe punishment provided for those who ventured to infringe the limitations imposed upon them by their sentence.

7. Such, in rough outline, was the criminal code which was administered in the Athenian law-courts at the height of their power. That a legal system so searching and comprehensive should have come into existence within so comparatively short a time is remarkable enough; but the spirit of humanity and enlightenment which it displays, the variety of procedure, the minuteness of subdivision designed to meet every possible manifestation of crime, and the securities taken against every form of personal violence, alike show that, in the province of law, Greek civilization did not fall far short of the eminence which it attained in art and literature. The defects of the system, as has already been indicated, were due to its faulty administration by the juries, to the absence of a trained legal profession, and to the non-existence of records to secure continuity of decision.

8. *Views of Plato and Aristotle.*—The laws of Athens were the expression of the best opinion of an unusually intelligent community, and even the most advanced thinkers, who were ready enough to criticize defects in the constitution, found but little to improve upon in the criminal code. When Plato set out, in the 9th book of the *Laws*, to provide the citizens of his pattern State with a revised series of statutes, the amendments which he advocated were made, not so much from dissatisfaction with the Athenian code, as from a desire to preserve intact the essential features of his reformed community. Thus, he objected to the punishment of disfranchisement, and to that of perpetual banishment, because they would interfere with the permanent occupation of the lots which were assigned to the citizens (855 B, C). For similar reasons, fines were to be inflicted more sparingly than was usual at Athens; and a more frequent resort to flogging and the pillory—forms of punishment odious to the Athenian mind, however familiar at Sparta (*Grote, Plato*, London, 1865, iii. 433)—was recommended. The motive which prompted these changes, and which informs the whole body of his legislation, is derived from his conception of the real nature of crime and the object which punishment should seek. It should, however, be remembered that, as his citizens were a carefully selected and highly educated body, he anticipated that crime would be a rare occurrence, and that legislation was needed only by way of precaution against the perversity of human nature (853 C-E). Now, Socrates had taught that virtue is fundamentally a matter of knowledge, and that

¹ There are occasional references in Greek literature to stoning as a traditional mode of execution for heinous offences; but it was rather a survival of the custom of human sacrifice than the enactment of a legal code. See J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, iii. 417; Verrall on *Æsch. Ag.* 1107.

wrongful action necessarily proceeds from ignorance. Hence the paradox that no one is willingly unjust; for, if a man knows the good, he will follow it. To this doctrine Plato consistently adhered in his latest work (860 D, E), and it is obvious that it cuts at the root of the common distinction of jurisprudence between voluntary and involuntary wrongs. But Plato did not deny the existence of injustice or of voluntary wrong (*ἐκούσια ἀδικήματα*); only he gave a new connotation to these terms, based upon the principles of his own psychology. Thus, injustice is due to the dominance in the soul of unreasoning emotion—either anger or desire, the stimulus of pain or of pleasure; but if, on the other hand, the emotions are controlled by the reason, it is no longer possible for a man to commit an unjust act, although his actions may be misguided and harmful to others. For, though the reason may be strong to master the lower impulses, yet its successful operation may be impeded by ignorance or prejudice; and in this manner voluntary error is possible (Grote, iii. 399). It follows that the chief aims of the law-giver will be at once by education to subdue the passions, by compensation to make amends to the sufferer, by prescribed penalties to deter, and by enforced penalties to chasten and reform.¹ Above all, the spirit of his laws must be such as to strengthen and guide the rational faculty by prescribing such beliefs as are agreeable to absolute reason. It is only when the evil is recognized as incurable that death is a suitable penalty, best for the criminal himself, and useful as an example to others.

Plato recognized two aspects of punishment, the corrective (Adam on *Rep.* 380 B) and the preventive, both of which are to be distinguished from a purely vindictive exercise of authority (*Gorg.* 525 A; *Prot.* 324 A; *Legg.* 854 B, 934 A). In the same way Aristotle distinguished vengeance, the object of which is the satisfaction of the inflicter, from chastisement directed to the good of the criminal (*Rhet.* i. 10, 1369b, 13; *Eth. Nic.* ii. 3, 1104b, 16); and, in entire agreement with Plato, he held that, whereas good men may be admonished, others, whose vice is incurable, must be cast out (*ib.* x. 9, 1180a, 9). Elsewhere he speaks of corrective justice (*διορθωτικὴ δικαιοσύνη*) as proceeding by arithmetical proportion, indemnifying the injured party by subtracting from the gain of the wrongdoer an amount equivalent to the loss of his victim (*ib.* v. 4, 1132a, 10), as distinguished from distributive justice, which seeks to establish a geometrical proportion according to the respective merits of the individuals concerned; but in the *Politics*, where we might have looked for a reasoned treatment of punishments, nothing of the kind is to be found.

It is unnecessary to detail the provisions which Plato recommended for the punishment of sacrilege, homicide, and wounding; but it deserves to be remarked, as showing that he was alive to the defects of the Athenian jury-courts, that he refrained from drawing up precise enactments to fit every possible contingency, because he trusted largely to the discretion of his select and well-trained court, which was established to take the place of the Council of the Areopagus (876 B-E). It should further be noticed that, while generally adopting, with slight alterations, the provisions of the Athenian code, in dealing with the offence of battery he left the beaten person to defend himself as best he might, unless he happened to be twenty years older than his assailant (879 C). In thus

training the young to endure blows, and in inculcating reverence for old age, Plato was showing his preference for the methods of Spartan discipline. But the most extraordinary of all Plato's legislative experiments was the intolerant enactment against religious heresy. He distinguished three classes of heretics: (1) those who do not believe in gods at all; (2) those who believe that gods exist, but do not concern themselves with human affairs; (3) those who believe that the gods may be propitiated by prayers or sacrifice (885 B). Of these classes the third is the most pernicious; but any one who was found guilty of impiety as falling under any of the three classes, even if his conduct was otherwise free from blame, was to be imprisoned for five years; and, if at the end of that time he was still unrepentant, he must be put to death (909 A). Further, if the offence of heresy was found aggravated by bad conduct, the offender must be kept in solitary confinement until he died, and, after death, refused the rites of burial.

LITERATURE.—The chief authority on Athenian jurisprudence is J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, pt. I, Leipzig, 1905, pt. II, 1908; but, as the work is not yet complete, it is still necessary to refer to the same writer's revised edition of Meier-Schömann, *Der attische Process*, Berlin, 1883-1887. See also C. F. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der griech. Rechtsalterthümer*, ed. Thalheim, Freiburg, 1884; G. F. Schömann, *Lehrbuch der griech. Alterthümer*, ed. Lipsius, Berlin, 1897, esp. vol. I, pp. 506-537; G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer*, Leipzig, 1893, esp. vol. I, pp. 431-467. There are also numerous articles bearing on the subject by T. Thalheim, in Pauly-Wissowa. For the primitive beliefs connected with the blood-feud, see E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Tübingen, 1907, I. 259-277. A. C. PEARSON.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Hebrew).

—Crime, strictly speaking, is an offence against the law of a State, which the State punishes, as distinguished from sin against God, and other wrongdoing of which the State takes no cognizance. This idea had not been formulated by the Israelites, and there is no Heb. word exactly equivalent to our 'crime.' A crime was a form of 'evil' (*עוֹנֵה*, *ra'*). In the same way there was no one general term for 'punishment'; it might be denoted by *מִסָּדָה* (*gm'dl*) and other words for 'recompense'; or by *עוֹנֵה* (*aw'n*) and other words for 'sin' or 'iniquity' (punishment being regarded as an effect of sin), or by forms of the root *פָּקַד* (*pqd*), 'visit.' The crimes and punishments recognized by the Israelites may be classified thus (only the more common Heb. words are given):

I. CRIMES: 1. Religious offences: *blasphemy* (derivatives of *בָּרַךְ* *brk*, *בָּרַךְ* *gdp*, *נִשְׁבַּח* *n's*, Lv 24¹⁰⁻¹⁶); *breaches of ritual*, as to food (Lv 7²⁰), uncleanness (7²⁰), sacrifice and offerings (19⁸ etc.); *idolatry*, or the worship of false gods (Dt 13); *illegitimate assumption of the priestly or prophetic office* (Nu 16, 17, Dt 18²⁰); *magic, divination, sorcery, and witchcraft* (Dt 18¹⁴); *Sabbath-breaking* (Nu 15^{32a}); *perjury* (Ex 20¹⁶); *war against Israel on the part of idolatrous nations*, which was regarded as an offence against Jahweh (cf. II. 1).—2. Offences against the State: *treason* (1 K 21¹⁸, 2 K 14⁴); *bribery and oppression* (Ex 23¹⁻⁶).—3. Sexual offences: *bestiality* (Ex 22¹⁹, Lv 18²³); *prostitution* (Lv 19²⁹); *incest* (Lv 18^{6a}); *sodomy* (Lv 18²²).—4. Offences against property: *adultery* (derivatives of *נָחַץ*, *n'p*, Ex 20¹⁴); *kidnapping* (Ex 21¹⁶); *leaving pit uncovered, or otherwise causing damage through carelessness* (Ex 21²⁸⁻³⁶ 22⁶⁻¹⁵); *theft* (Ex 22¹⁻⁹); *usury* (Ex 22²⁵); *seduction or rape of daughter* (Ex 22^{16a}, Dt 22²⁸⁻²⁹).—5. Offences against the person: *murder* (Ex 20¹³); *injuries* (Ex 21¹⁸⁻²⁷).—6. Offences against the family: *cursing parents* (Ex 21¹⁷).

II. PUNISHMENTS: 1. Religious penalties.—

Many ritual offences might be atoned for by sacrifices, seclusion, washings, and other rites: e.g. touching an unclean thing was atoned for by

¹ Similarly the Stoics, as reported by Seneca, *de Clem.* i. 22. 1. As practical reformers they were very far from carrying to its logical conclusion the doctrine that all crimes are equal, notwithstanding the banter of Horace (*Sat.* i. 3. 121) and Cicero (*pro Mur.* 61).

sacrifice (Lv 5¹⁻¹²); eating flesh of an animal not properly killed was atoned for by washing one's clothes and person, and remaining unclean until the evening (Lv 17¹⁶). Sacrifices seem to be required in connexion with all sins which could be forgiven. A person in a state of uncleanness could not be present at the Temple services, or partake of the Passover.

Excommunication was practised in later Judaism, but it is doubtful how far it had any equivalent in ancient Israel. The Priestly Code prescribes the penalty of 'cutting off from the people' for numerous offences, mostly against the ritual laws, but sometimes for gross forms of immorality. A comparison of parallel passages shows that in some cases offences punished in one chapter by 'cutting off' are punished in another by 'death' (cf. Lv 18, 20). On the other hand, some offences punished by 'cutting off' seem to us trivial, e.g. omitting, without valid excuse, to observe the Passover (Nu 9¹³), but such matters might not seem trivial to the Israelites. It is practically certain that death was never regularly inflicted for the various offences which were to be punished by 'cutting off'. The difficulty is explained by the history of the Priestly Code; it was compiled by Babylonian Jews; its authors had no experience in inflicting death penalties, and no immediate prospect of such experience. They indulged in a theoretical severity, untempered by practical necessities; they used the term 'cutting off,' because it would also serve to describe excommunication from social fellowship and religious privilege—a penalty within the power of the exiles to inflict.

Heathen nations stubbornly fighting against Israel were to be subjected to the *ban* (בַּן, *hērem*), i.e. to be massacred in honour of Jahweh, according to certain texts (e.g. Dt 7²). The leading instance is Jericho (Jos 6²¹). In later Judaism, excommunication of varying degrees of severity was inflicted for ecclesiastical and other offences; and the ancient name *hērem* was used for the severest form.

Some laws and historical precedents show that God Himself was held to inflict punishment on certain occasions by direct intervention—*Divine visitation*. Thus (Lv 10¹⁴) Nadab and Abihu are struck dead by Jahweh for offering the wrong sort of incense; and the adulteress who has denied her guilt and submitted herself to the *trial by ordeal* by drinking 'the bitter water which causeth a curse' is smitten by God with disease—'her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall rot' (Nu 5²⁷). No instance is recorded.

2. *Secular penalties.*—(a) *Death.*—This penalty is often prescribed without specifying how it is to be inflicted. In many instances the culprit was slain with sword, spear, or dagger, according to the convenience or choice of the executioner (e.g. Elijah and the prophets of Baal, 1 K 19¹). There is no clear case of beheading in the OT, though the head was often severed from a dead body (e.g. Goliath, 1 S 17²¹). In the NT, John the Baptist (Mk 6²⁷) was beheaded, and James (Ac 12²) 'slain with the sword.' 'Hanging' is referred to in Dt 21²², but what is in view is probably exposure after execution (cf. Gn 40²², Pharaoh's chief baker; Jos 8²⁹, the king of Ai). Stoning seems to have been the most usual mode of capital punishment, and burning to death was inflicted for some offences (see below).

The Bible and the Apocrypha refer to other forms of execution practised by heathen nations. Thus 2 Mac, in describing the Syrian persecution, mentions throwing down from the wall of a city (6³⁴), beating to death on a wheel or drum (*truncheon*, 6³⁵, 28), and torturing to death with fire (7⁶). Crucifixion, a common Roman punishment, was used in the case of our Lord; and He 11³⁷ speaks of martyrs being sawn asunder. Daniel and his accusers were thrown to the lions (Dn 6). The severity of the death penalty was sometimes enhanced by refusing to allow the relatives of the culprit to bury the corpse (2 S 21¹⁰).

The following is a list of the crimes for which death was inflicted; the mode of execution is given in square brackets; where nothing is stated on this point, we have no information:

Various forms of homicide: murder (Ex 21¹², Lv 24¹⁷); child-sacrifice (Lv 20² [stoning]); manslaughter, if the avenger of blood caught the slayer outside the city of refuge (Nu 35²⁷);

keeping an ox known to be dangerous, if the ox killed a human being (Ex 21²⁸).

Bearing false witness on a capital charge (Dt 19¹⁸⁻²¹).

Kidnapping (Ex 21¹⁶).

Insult or injury to parents (Lv 20⁹, Ex 21¹⁵, 17, Dt 21²⁴ [stoning]).

Various forms of sexual immorality: Incest (Lv 20¹⁴ [burning]); unchastity (Dt 22²¹, 24 [stoning]); adultery or unnatural vices (Lv 20¹⁰⁻¹⁶); fornication on the part of a priest's daughter (Lv 21⁹ [burning]); fornication on the part of a betrothed woman (Dt 22²² [stoning], Gn 38²⁴ [burning]).

Various religious and ritual offences: witchcraft, magic, etc. (Ex 22¹⁸, Lv 20²⁷ [stoning]); idolatry (Ex 22²⁰, Dt 13¹⁰ [stoning]); blasphemy (Lv 24¹⁰⁻²³ [stoning]); false claim to be a prophet (Dt 13⁵⁻¹⁰ [stoning]); intrusion of alien into sacred place or office (Nu 15¹ 310.38 187; Sabbath-breaking (Ex 31¹⁴).

According to Lv 27²⁸, human beings may be made *hērem* ('devoted') to Jahweh; and, if so devoted, must be put to death. Probably only criminals or heathen enemies (cf. above) were subject to such treatment.

(b) *Mutilation* is involved in the principle 'an eye for an eye,' etc. (Ex 21²⁴). No instance is mentioned of the application of this law, but we may compare the cutting off of the thumbs and great toes of Adonibezek (Jg 1⁶⁻⁷). Mutilation is mentioned in 2 Mac 7⁴, and blinding in the cases of Samson (Jg 16²¹) and Zedekiah (2 K 25⁷).

(c) *Flogging*, limited to a maximum of forty stripes (Dt 25³), was inflicted on a betrothed slave-girl guilty of fornication, and on her partner in the offence (Lv 19²⁰),¹ and for other minor offences. The references in Proverbs imply a large use of this punishment, especially for children; and in the NT it is spoken of as used in the synagogues for religious offences (2 Co 11²⁴). The actual practice in ancient Israel was much more severe than the prescription of the Deuteronomic and Priestly laws. Ex 21²⁰ deals with cases in which a master flogs a male or female slave to death, and decides that he is not to be punished unless the victim actually dies under his hand (cf. Jg 8⁷, 1 K 12¹⁴). The Roman scourging, the Egyptian bastinado, and the various forms of flogging amongst heathen peoples, were much more severe than the Jewish 'forty stripes save one.'

(d) *Exposure of the person.*—The figurative description of the punishment of Jerusalem in Ezk 16³⁹ may imply that this punishment was inflicted on adulteresses in Israel; but, as these chapters were written in Babylonia, the imagery may have been suggested by heathen practices.

(e) *Stocks* (e.g. Jer 20² מַחְפֶּקֶת, *mahpeketh*; Ac 16²⁴ τὸ ξύλον).

(f) *Slavery*, for theft (Ex 22³), or as a result of debt (2 K 4¹, Neh 5⁵).

(g) *Imprisonment* is not appointed in the Law as a punishment. It was used for the detention of offenders before trial, or pending execution, as well as in cases where it was desired to keep a dangerous or obnoxious person under restraint, or to secure the persons of slaves and captives. There is no evidence that terms of imprisonment were appointed expressly as a punishment, except in Ezr 7²⁶.

(h) *Exile* is not appointed in the Law; the fugitive from justice might exile himself (Absalom, 2 S 13³⁷). Exile is mentioned as a penalty inflicted by the Persians (Ezr 7²⁶).²

(i) *Childlessness* for immorality is probably a Divine visitation (Lv 20²⁰).

(j) *Penalties in money and goods.*—Compensation is required for theft, and in cases where person or property has been injured through carelessness or malice. In cases of mere carelessness an equivalent

¹ The Hebrew (מִקְדָּשׁ תִּיֵּהָ, *bigdoreth tiyeh*) means literally 'there shall be an examination' (RV 'they shall be punished'). The interpretation given in the text is commonly adopted, and is probably correct. Cf. the use of the term 'examine' for 'torture.'

² The Aram. שְׂמָרָה, *sherdehā* (Kethib), or שְׂמָרָה, *sherdehā* (Qrē; AVm and RVm 'rooting out'), is interpreted in this sense by RV, etc.

compensation was required (Ex 22⁵); but, where there was moral guilt, the compensation was heavier, e.g. for theft the thief must restore fourfold, fivefold (Ex 22¹), or sevenfold (Pr 6³¹). Compensation for the killing of a slave by an ox known to be dangerous is fixed at thirty shekels (Ex 21³²); for the seduction of a daughter at fifty shekels, the seducer to marry her (Dt 22²⁹); for a false accusation of unchastity against a newly married wife, one hundred shekels, to be paid to her father (Dt 22¹⁹). In some cases fines might be accepted in place of capital punishment (cf. below, III. 5). See also Ezr 7²⁶.

(k) *Unspecified penalties.*—Numerous acts are enjoined or forbidden without any penalty being attached to the breach of the law; e.g. hybrids must not be bred (Lv 19¹⁹).

III. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE.—

1. *Progress.*—We may distinguish, on the one hand, the practice of the Israelite monarchy, and, on the other, the system of law embodied in the Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes. The practice of the monarchy is shown in the Book of the Covenant (Ex 21¹–23¹⁹ [E]) and in the references in the narratives. This practice was a development from earlier times; changes must have come about as the Israelites passed from the nomad¹ period to that of the Judges, and again to the monarchy; but our information is not sufficiently full to enable us to trace this development. Even for the monarchy our data are meagre; our extant narratives were intended to edify later generations, and references to objectionable features in early practice have probably been largely omitted, especially when they were connected with David and others who were regarded as representatives of true piety. Moreover, the Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes never had a fair trial as the working laws of an independent State; they always remained more or less religious ideals. Such theoretical codes may be both higher in some respects and lower in others than the actual practice of their own time. For instance, provisions that call for large sacrifices on the part of the powerful and wealthy in the interests of the poor are easy to prescribe on parchment, but difficult to enforce in real life. On the other hand, the cruel penalties by which enthusiasts seek to promote and safeguard religion are mitigated in their practical application by considerations of humanity. A Deuteronomic scribe in the quiet seclusion of his study, or whatever corresponded to a study in those days, might enjoin wholesale massacres without compunction; but he might have shrunk from putting into force his own laws on real living men, women, and children.

At the same time, the available evidence makes it probable that, if Judah had continued an independent State, the development of its legal system would have been in the direction of humanity and righteousness, under the influence of the prophets of the school of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and of the priests who shared their views. For instance, according to ancient law, if a man were guilty of a heinous offence, his family might share his punishment (e.g. Achan, Jos 7^{24f.}, and the kinsfolk of Saul, 2 S 21^{1–9}). But Dt 24¹⁶ forbids the practice. Again, marriage with a half-sister was regarded as lawful for Abraham (Gn 20¹² [E]) and for Amnon (2 S 13¹³), but is forbidden by Lv 18⁸.

On the other hand, the later legislation shows a tendency to religious fanaticism, and towards the subordination of public welfare to the material interests of the priesthood; and probably this tendency would not have been altogether defeated if Judah had remained an independent State.

The final redactors of the Torah combined the various earlier and later codes, without attempting to reconcile or co-ordinate them; equal sanction

was given to inconsistent laws; crude, primitive customs were placed on the same level as the more humane enactments of later times. Obviously this happened because these Babylonian Jews were compiling a record, and not providing for practical needs.

2. *Classification.*—There is no formal classification, but certain principles are implied. The inclusion of secular laws in the Torah indicates that all crime was regarded as sin against God, and that the administration of justice rested on Divine authority. This is an axiom of all religions as to the ideal State; but it was more emphasized in ancient times than it is now, because religion and the State were more intimately associated. Hammurabi, for instance, receives his laws from the sun-god, Shamash. Ezk 20²³ is a striking illustration of the way in which the actual legal system of Israel was regarded as a Divine institution; even iniquitous laws are imposed by God as a punishment: 'Moreover also I gave them their statutes that were not good, and judgments wherein they should not live.' On the other hand, the protests of the pre-exilic prophets against the corruptions of their times involve a distinction between secular and Divine law; the two might clash.

The modern recognition of purely religious offences, with which the State does not deal, is not found in the OT. As in mediæval Christendom, such offences might incur secular as well as religious penalties; the idolater was to be put to death. Again, the Law does not clearly distinguish between human punishment and Divine visitation; the penalties of similar offences may include both; e.g. in Lv 20 some forms of sexual immorality are to be punished with death; in other cases it is said that the culprits will die childless. The prominence given to Divine visitation suggests a distinction between crimes which can be detected and punished by men and those hidden from men, but known to God, and dealt with directly by Him. The imposition of a fine for such offences as homicide and seduction (II. 2. (j)) shows that these were regarded partly as offences against property.

There is a distinction drawn between wrongs done to a free Israelite, to a slave, and to foreigners respectively; e.g. the slaying of a free man is severely punished, but a slave may be beaten to death provided he does not actually die under the rod (Ex 21^{20f.}); if an ox known to be dangerous kills a free man, the owner may be put to death (Ex 21³²); but, if the victim is a slave, thirty shekels are paid to his master (v. ³²). 'The stranger within thy gates' (the *gēr*, or 'resident alien') enjoyed the protection of the law, and alliances were maintained with some neighbouring States; otherwise history suggests that might was mostly right along the borders; cf. David's doings in the Negeb (1 S 27^{8f.}), the Danite conquest of Laish (Jg 18), and the exploits of Samson (Jg 14f.).

3. *Range of offences.*—The list of omissions and commissions recognized as crimes indicates a high moral standard. The wrongfulness of ritual irregularities is, indeed, exaggerated by treating them as sins and crimes. On the other hand, the Pentateuch strives to promote social righteousness in many matters which modern law does not venture to deal with; e.g. Dt 24¹⁵ enjoins the prompt payment of wages, and Lv 19¹¹ forbids lying. But the difference is only apparent; the Pentateuch combines moral admonition with legislation, and draws no hard and fast line between the two. Again, the comparatively low stage of social development reached by the Israelites excuses such blots as the toleration of polygamy and slavery, and the absence of any full recognition of international morality.

4. *Subjects of punishment.*—In some cases

animals were put to death; e.g. an ox that had gored a man or woman was to be stoned, and its flesh might not be eaten (Ex 21^{28, 29, 32}, cf. Lv 20^{15f.}). Animals and even goods which could be burnt might be destroyed in the *hêrem*, or ban (Jos 7²⁴). In earlier times the family might be put to death for a crime committed by its head (cf. III. 1), but the practice is forbidden, as already noted, in Dt 24¹⁶.

There is nothing to show at what age young persons became legally responsible for their actions. The census in Nu 1³ included all males from twenty years old; and the age at which Levites began their service is variously given as twenty-five (Nu 8²⁴), or thirty (4³⁵), although responsibility must have begun earlier. Nothing is said as to exemption from punishment on account of mental weakness.

Naturally the legal codes did not recognize the principle that the powerful and wealthy might commit crimes with impunity; but they often enjoyed much licence in practice, as is shown by the narratives of Micah and the Danites; of David and Uriah; Amnon, Tamar, and Absalom; and the frequent protests of the prophets.

5. *Humanity; adjustment of severity of punishment to heinousness of crime.*—The legal codes were evidently anxious that the punishment should be justly proportioned to the offence, hence the obvious principle of equal retaliation, found in the codes of many peoples, of an 'eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,' and the laws providing for compensation for injury to property or person.

The list of capital offences (II. 2. (a)) is a little long, and includes some which, according to modern ideas, do not permit so severe a punishment, e.g. insult to parents, Sabbath-breaking, etc. But, as we have said, it is doubtful whether death was ever regularly inflicted for ritual offences; and, at any rate, the laws are due to an exaggerated sense of the wickedness of such acts rather than to reckless severity. The use of barbarous punishments—burning alive, mutilation, and flogging—is strictly limited; and there is no trace, either in the Law or in the history, of the torturing of witnesses or accused persons in order to obtain evidence.

The principle of blood-money is recognized only to a very limited extent: Ex 21²⁸⁻³² provides that, if an ox known to be dangerous kill any one, the owner shall be put to death, but that 'if there be laid upon him a ransom, then he shall give for the redemption of his life whatsoever is laid upon him'—in the case of a slave thirty shekels to the slave's owner. Similarly, any one flogging his slave to death, without the slave actually dying under the rod, is sufficiently punished by the loss of his slave (Ex 21^{20f.}); and in the case of injury to slaves the *lex talionis* is not to be enforced, any mutilation of slaves being atoned for by emancipation (Ex 21^{20f.}). So, too, Ex 21^{18, 19} permits compensation for bodily injury to a free man. On the other hand, Nu 35^{31, 32} (P) prohibits the acceptance of blood-money for intentional murder, or even the release of a man who has committed unintentional homicide from the obligation of remaining in a city of refuge till the death of the high priest.

6. *Connexion with methods of administration of justice in other nations.*—Israel was always part of the international system which comprised Western Asia and Egypt; and there was a constant action and reaction between the various members of this system. At the outset, Israel was a group of nomad tribes, and the original basis of its Law was the tribal custom of the Bedawin. The position of the *gô'el*, the next-of-kin, the avenger of blood, goes back to this source. The settlement in Canaan must have led to the adoption of many Canaanite laws. Now, Canaan and all Western Asia were, from very early period, dominated by Babylonia;

the conquests of Sargon I. of Akkad (c. 2700 B.C.) extended to the Mediterranean, so that the institutions of Canaan were partly shaped by Babylonian influence. But, again, both the Canaanites and the Babylonians probably sprang originally from Arabia; so that Israel, Canaan, and Babylon all drew from an original common stock of tribal customs; and it is very difficult to determine whether a law is a purely Israelite survival from this common stock, or has been derived through Canaan or Babylon. Moreover, during long periods the Egyptian kings exercised a suzerainty over Syria; and Egypt had its share in moulding the life of Canaan (cf. the Amarna tablets, c. 1400 B.C.). Something, too, may perhaps be due to the 'bondage' in Egypt; but not much, for the Israelite tribes for the most part lived a nomad life in the border provinces.

The recently discovered Code of Hammurabi (king of Babylon, c. 2100 B.C.) shows how much the Israelite institutions had in common with those of Babylon. There are numerous parallels between this Code and the Pentateuch, especially the ancient Book of the Covenant, Ex 20²²⁻²³. Both, for instance, lay down the principle of an 'eye for an eye,' etc.; both prescribe the punishment of death for kidnapping; and both direct that if a man is in charge of some one else's cattle he may clear himself by an oath and need not make compensation. As the Code of Hammurabi was certainly known in Babylonia and Assyria as late as the Exile, Israelite legislation may have been influenced by it at any time; but the parallels may be largely due to common dependence on the primitive tradition of Arabia.

In comparing the ethical and religious value of Israelite justice with that of other nations, we have to distinguish the practice of the monarchy and earlier times, as depicted in the history and Ex 20²²⁻²³, from the ideal set forth in Deuteronomy and the Priestly laws. It will have been seen that our knowledge of the early practice is fragmentary. It is possible, too, that the redactors of the literature suppressed evidence that was discreditable to Israel, though it is not likely that this has been done to any great extent. But, as far as our information goes, it does not appear that the administration of justice in ancient Israel differed conspicuously from that of neighbouring Semitic nations in the same period, as illustrated, for instance, by the Code of Hammurabi. And in such matters Israel would compare favourably with Greece, or Rome, or China, or with most Christian nations before the close of the 18th cent. A.D.

The Deuteronomic and Priestly ideal aims at a level of social righteousness which has never been attained in practice, and ranks with the Utopias of modern social reformers. The Priestly legislation is, indeed, disfigured by an undue care for the material interests of the sacerdotal caste; but neither the practice nor the theory of the religious law of Israel includes anything like the Inquisition and similar systems instituted by the Christian Church.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Crimes and Punishments,' in *HDB*; artt. 'Law and Justice,' in *EBI*, and 'Gericht und Recht bei den Hebräern,' in *PRE³* (by Benzinger); the relevant sections of the *OT Archaeologies* of Ewald, Benzinger, and Nowack; and the standard commentaries on the Pentateuch and other Biblical passages. For the Code of Hammurabi, see the art. on that subject by C. H. W. Johns in *HDB*, vol. v. p. 584, and S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, London, 1908.

W. H. BENNETT.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Hindu).

—1. Most of the terms designating 'crime' or 'offence' in Sanskrit are essentially religious in their nature, and no strict line between sins and punishable offences has ever been drawn. The *Dharmaśāstras* (law-books) contain long lists of the

various degrees of crime or guilt—from mortal sins, such as sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter, or daughter-in-law, down to crimes merely rendering the perpetrator unworthy to receive alms, such as receiving gifts from a despicable person, subsisting by money-lending, telling lies, serving a Śūdra, or to crimes causing defilement, such as killing birds, amphibious and aquatic animals, worms or insects, and eating nutmegs and the like. Analogous lists of sins may be found in the ancient religious literature of the Buddhists of India. Many of these sins recur among the offences mentioned in the secular laws of the Brahmins. Thus the killing of a cow, the sacred animal of the Hindus, is a punishable offence as well as a crime. The commission of a heavy sexual offence is to be visited with punishment by the king, and at the same time the stain caused by such sin is to be removed by religious atonement. Killing a Brahman, or depriving him of his gold, is a crime deserving capital punishment of an aggravated form, no doubt because the religious law affords special protection to the sacred person of a Brahman. Many eccentricities of the criminal law are due to the religious element entering largely into it. Thus the sacredness ascribed to the Vedas comes out in the following rules: a Śūdra listening intentionally to a recitation of the Veda shall have his ears filled with molten tin or lac; if he recites Vedic texts, his tongue shall be cut out; if he remembers them, his body shall be split in twain. The sanctity with which Brahmins are invested has led to establishing the principle that no corporal punishment shall ever be resorted to in the case of a criminal of the Brahman caste. Nor could the banishment of a Brahman be connected with the confiscation of his property, the ordinary consequence of banishment. The Śūdras, on the other hand, were treated very badly, because they were considered to have no share in the re-birth caused for the higher castes by their initiation with a sacred prayer from the Vedas. Thus, e.g., a Brahman who abuses a Śūdra is condemned to pay no fine. A Śūdra, on the contrary, undergoes corporal punishment, if he only assumes a position equal to a member of a high caste, in sitting, in lying down, in conversation, or on a road. Money-lending is viewed as an unholy act; Brahmins are, therefore, forbidden to practise usury. Certain kinds of interest on loans are entirely prohibited. Among sexual crimes, intercourse with the wife of a spiritual teacher is looked upon as a very heavy offence, equal to incest, and so is intercourse with a Buddhist nun. Gambling is stigmatized as a sinful practice, though some legislators do not object to gambling in a public gaming-house, where the king may raise a certain percentage on the stakes. False witnesses are designated as thieves of words. Heaven is the reward of a witness who speaks truth; in the contrary case, hell will be his portion. Other crimes of the Brahmanical law savour of Oriental despotism, as, e.g., when the forgery of a royal document is visited with capital punishment. The caste system becomes visible in the gradation of crimes and punishments according to the caste of the offender, as will be shown below.

2. 'Punishment' (*danda*) in the Code of Manu (vii. 14 ff.) is personified as a god with a black hue and red eyes, created by the Lord of the World as his son, and as an incarnation of Law, formed of Brahman's glory. Punishment is declared to keep the whole world in order, since without it the stronger would oppress the weaker and roast them, like fish on a spit; the crow would eat the consecrated rice; the dog would lick the burnt oblation; ownership would not remain with any one; and all barriers would be broken through. Punishment

is declared to be in truth the king and ruler, although it has to be inflicted by the king on those who deserve it. The king in person should every day decide causes in the court when brought before him, or else he should send a Brahman acting as his deputy. A king when punishing the wicked is comparable to the god Varuṇa, who binds a sinner with ropes. If a king does not strike a thief who approaches him, holding a club in his hand and proclaiming his deed, the guilt falls on the king; the thief, whether he be slain or pardoned, is purified of his guilt. The king should first punish by admonition, afterwards by reproof, thirdly by a fine, after that by corporal chastisement (Manu, viii. 129). As a matter of fact, fines are by far the most common kind of punishment in the criminal code of the Sanskrit law-books, and they were equally common, shortly before the times of British rule, in the Hindu kingdoms of Rājputāna (Tod), Mysore (Dubois), and others. The fines might extend to confiscation of the entire property of a criminal; but in such cases, according to Nārada (xviii. 10 f.), the tools of workmen, the weapons of soldiers, and other necessary implements are to be exempt from confiscation. Capital punishment, in various aggravated forms, such as impaling on a stake, trampling to death by an elephant, burning, roasting, cutting to pieces, devouring by dogs, and mutilations, are also frequently inflicted, even for comparatively light offences. The *jus talionis*, which is so universally represented in archaic legislations, becomes especially conspicuous in these punishments. Thus a criminal is condemned to lose whatever limb he has used in insulting or attacking another. The thievish fingers of a cut-purse, and the evil tongue of a calumniator, are to be cut off. A Śūdra using insulting language is to have a red-hot iron thrust into his mouth, or boiling oil dropped into his mouth and ears. The breaker of a dike shall be drowned. The killer of a Brahman shall be branded with the figure of a headless corpse, a drunkard with the flag of a distillery shop. Banishment, public disgrace, imprisonment, fetters, forced labour, beating, and other forms of chastisement are also mentioned. Brahmins, however, are not to be subject to corporal punishment. Nor is this the only privilege enjoyed by Brahmins, who are allowed special indulgences in almost every case, the reduction of punishment in consideration of the rank of the person being one of the most salient features of the ancient legislation of India. Thus a Kṣatriya insulting a Brahman must be fined 100 paṇas; a Vaiśya doing the same, 150 or 200 paṇas; a Śūdra doing the same must receive corporal punishment. On the other hand, a Brahman shall pay only 50 paṇas for insulting a Kṣatriya, 25 paṇas for insulting a Vaiśya, and nothing at all for insulting a Śūdra. A similar gradation of fines may be observed in the punishment of adultery and many other crimes. If a man insults a Brahman by offering him forbidden food, he shall be amerced in a heavy fine; and, if he gives him spirituous liquor to drink, he shall be put to death. Another characteristic feature of the Indian criminal code is the infliction of worldly punishments for violations of the religious law, as, e.g., when an apostate from religious mendicacy is doomed to become the king's slave. King Aśoka, as early as the 3rd cent. B.C., appointed censors who were charged to enforce the regulations concerning the sanctity of animal life, and the observance of filial piety. King Harṣa, in the 7th cent. A.D., inflicted capital punishment on all who ventured to slay any living creature. King Kumārapāla of Gujaraṭ, in the 12th cent., is said to have confiscated the entire property of a merchant who had committed the atrocious crime of cracking a louse. A Hindu Rājā of Kolhapur, in

A.D. 1716, issued a rescript ordaining due punishment for all those who should be discovered to entertain heretical opinions in his kingdom. This union of Church and State was specially marked under the rule of the Marāthā kings; but even in 1875, when Dr. Bühler visited Kashmir, he found the Mahārājā eagerly intent on looking after the due performance of the *prāyāścittas*, or penances prescribed for breaches of the commandments of the *Smṛti*. The enforcement of these religious punishments otherwise rests with the caste, which levies fines for every breach of the caste rules, and, in serious cases, excludes the offender. (See EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT [Hindu].)

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J. JOLLY.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Japanese).—Long before the dawn of Japanese history, Chinese travellers to Japan brought back accounts of that country which contain our earliest information on this subject, dating from the later Han dynasty (A.D. 25-220). One of these notices says: 'There is no theft, and litigation is unfrequent. The wives and children of those who break the laws are confiscated [sold as slaves], and for grave crimes the offender's family is extirpated.' Another account says: 'The laws and customs are strict.' There is not much to be learned about crimes and punishments from the mixture of myth, legend, and chronicle which takes the place of history in Japan for a thousand years previous to the 7th cent. A.D., though we hear of a staff or gild of executioners, and of capital punishment by decapitation; and a punishment by fine had its origin at this time, but it was only for such offences—comparatively few in number—as involved ritual uncleanness according to Shinto. An ordinance, enacted in 801, regularized what was, no doubt, an old practice, by which neglect in connexion with the *ohonihe*, or coronation ceremony, the eating of flesh, visiting the sick, being concerned in any way with capital sentences, or touching anything impure during the month of special avoidance of impurity, subjected the culprit to an *ohoharahi* ('greater purification'), i.e. he was obliged to provide the materials for the ceremony of his own purgation. This eventually became simply a fine. Other ritual offences which required purgation were incest, wounds given or received, bestiality, and leprosy. Homicide had to be atoned for in the same way, but the ritual character of the offence appears from the circumstance that even justifiable homicide caused uncleanness.

Weipert thinks that in these fines for ceremonial purification we have 'the first source of Japanese criminal law' (quoted by Florenz in *TASS* xxvii. [1899] 57); but, in the opinion of the present writer, the evidence hardly bears out this conclusion. Weipert's theory does not account for the gravest of all punishments, that of death, nor does it apply to robbery, rebellion, adultery, arson, and other grave offences. Moreover, the absolution ceremony was seldom performed for individual offences. The Mikado twice a year celebrated a 'great purification' of the offences of the nation, and similar minor celebrations were usual before all the great ceremonies of Shinto. In such cases, of course, the idea of a fine was out of the question. There is abundant evidence that a criminal law existed from very ancient times which had nothing to do with the purgation of ritual offences.

Eventually the fines for ceremonial offences fell into abeyance, owing to a strong current of Chinese influence which set in during the 6th and 7th cents., and which led in 702 to the enactment of the code of civil and criminal law known as the *Taihōriō*.

It was based on the laws of the Tang dynasty of China, though modified somewhat in accordance with Japanese usages. The penalties prescribed were five, viz. capital punishment, exile, penal servitude, beating (with a stick), and scourging (with a whip). These are simply copied from the Chinese code. Of the older five punishments of China—branding on the forehead, cutting off the nose, maiming, castration, and death—only the first and last were ever practised in Japan. A *History of Japan*, published by order of the Japanese Government (1893), mentions 'treason, contumely (slander [?]), unfilial conduct, immorality, and so forth' [*etc.*], as the eight great crimes of the *Taihōriō*. Perhaps the excuse for this very unsatisfactory enumeration is the circumstance that a very substantial part of this code has not come down to us. It is the basis of all subsequent legislation. When the Taikō Hideyoshi came into power, in the latter part of the 16th cent., he contemplated its re-enactment for the whole country, but he died before giving any practical effect to his intention.

At first the Tokugawa Shoguns (1600-1868) followed the old method of making the laws known to those only who were required to enforce them. But this rule was subsequently modified. New laws were read to the people, and inscribed on notice-boards set up in conspicuous places. Towards the end of the Tokugawa period, a reaction to the former policy took place. The authorities considered it expedient to keep the people in ignorance of all but the most general principles of criminal law, thinking that the unknown would inspire greater terror. Such meagre information as they vouchsafed to the people was contained in a few brief edicts inscribed on notice-boards at the *Nihon-bashi* in Yedo and other conspicuous places throughout the Empire, prohibiting the evil sect called Christian, conspiracy, insurrection, plotting to leave the village to which one belonged, murder, arson, and robbery. That was all. This system left room for much that was arbitrary in the administration of the law, which varied considerably in different parts of the Empire. The judicial officials did very much as they pleased.

A Japanese servant of a member of H.M.'s Legation stole a few dollars, and was handed over to justice. Three months later, a visit was received from an official, who gave his master the option of having him released—there was no room for him, it was explained, in the prison—or decapitated. Needless to say, the former alternative was accepted.

One of the worst features of the early Tokugawa legislation was the implication of the offender's family in the crimes of his head.

'If a man or woman, sentenced to be crucified or burned, had male children above 15 years of age, they were similarly executed, and younger children were placed in charge of a relative until they reached that age, when they were banished. Even when a parent suffered the ordinary capital punishment of beheading or hanging, it was within the discretion of the judge to execute or exile the male children. Wives and daughters were exempted from the rule of implication, though they might be reduced to the ranks of slaves' (Brinkley, *Japan*, iv. 56).

Thunberg (*Travels in Europe, Africa, Asia*, Eng. tr. 1795-96) says that, in the towns, a whole street was often made to suffer for the malpractices of a single individual, the master of a house for the faults of his domestics, and parents for those of their children. These cruel provisions were greatly modified in 1721, but the more lenient rules were not applicable to the *samurai* class. Theft was severely punished, usually with death, which was the penalty also for swindling or attempted extortion by force. Pickpockets, however, were let off with branding, or rather tatuing, though a repetition of the offence involved death. Not before the close of the 18th cent. was the execution of a pregnant woman deferred until after her delivery.

The law up to the close of the Tokugawa period required that an accused person must be induced to confess before his guilt was finally determined.

The result was that, in many cases, torture was freely applied. The commonest device was to bind a man with ropes in some constrained position, or to make him kneel upon a grating of wooden bars placed edge upwards, and then to pile weights on his knees. On the whole, the tortures employed judiciously in Japan were not so cruel as those used in mediæval Europe. A *samurai* was not sent to prison. If his offence was not grave enough to call for immediate suicide, exile, or decapitation, he was ordered to go into confinement in his own house. There were different degrees of this kind of imprisonment, the most severe of which involved a complete cessation of egress and ingress for himself and his family.

Siebold, writing early in the 19th cent., gives a description of the penal code of Japan at that time, which was similar in all essential respects to the *Taihôri*, introduced from China 1100 years before. He draws a broad distinction between the punishments of the *samurai* and those of the common people. In the latter case, the culprit might be simply cut down by the man of higher rank whom he might have insulted or injured, or if he had been caught in the act of committing a grave offence. Decapitation was more usual. Crucifixion, burning, and sawing off the head with a bamboo saw were also practised. There were two kinds of crucifixion. In one the criminal was lashed—not nailed—upside down to a cross which had two bars, one at the head and one at the feet, between the two being a small seat upon which the weight of the victim rested. At a given command an expert spearsman stood on each side, and the two drove their spears simultaneously so that they passed crosswise through the vital organs. Death was instantaneous. Burning was a matter of form. The culprit was tied to a stake and strangled before the fire was lit. Sawing off the head was of rare occurrence, and was limited to such heinous crimes as chief- or parent-murder. The name and offence of the criminal were usually inscribed on a board which was set up close to the place of execution. Sometimes the offender was mounted on a sorry nag and led round the city, with a similar placard fastened to his breast. The head might be set on a post, and allowed to remain from five to ten days. Sometimes the body was hacked to pieces, or made a subject on which the *samurai* might test their skill and the temper of their swords. In later times it might be handed over for dissection. Among minor punishments at this period were branding, the pillory, and degradation to the *hinin*, or pariah caste. For political offences by men of the *samurai* class, banishment to an island was the usual form of punishment; and there is an ancient instance of a Mikado being so punished. The term was commonly for life, though there was a minimum limit of five years. A milder form was an injunction to live under supervision at a distance from the capital. Whilst his case was under trial, the accused was confined to his own house, with the same forms as if he were in mourning. When the offence was committed unintentionally, a partial or complete confiscation of his property might be the consequence. Deprivation of office or incapacity for holding office was not unusual. Occasionally the offender was allowed to become a monk of a certain order, known as *komusô*, who wore a basket-hat with a small grating in front, completely concealing his face. This was never removed, and practically he was a beggar who roamed the highways, playing on a flute in order to attract the attention of the charitably disposed.

Harakiri.—This well-known institution is of considerable antiquity. It is of purely Japanese origin, and consists in making a cruciform incision on the belly, whence its name, which means 'belly-

cut.' The 'happy dispatch' of some writers is only a joke. Sometimes a determined man succeeded in ending his life in this way, or he might complete the act of suicide by stabbing himself in the throat with the same instrument—a short sword or dagger with a blade nine inches in length. *Harakiri* might be simply a form of suicide, or it might be the duty of a man of the *samurai* class under various circumstances, such as hopeless family troubles or loyalty to a dead superior, or as a protest against the wrongful conduct of a superior. For example, when the Japanese Government yielded to the demands of France, Russia, and Germany for the retrocession of Liaotung, forty military men emphasized their protest by committing suicide in the time-honoured fashion. A common motive was to free from punishment the family and relatives of the person involved, who would otherwise, under the old law, have shared his guilt. Very frequently, however, *harakiri* was no more than an honourable form of execution. It was carried out with great ceremony, the incision being only for form's sake, and the real execution consisting in decapitation by a friend. In 1869, a motion was brought forward in the Japanese Parliament in favour of the abolition of *harakiri*, and 200 members out of a house of 209 voted against this proposal. *Harakiri* is no longer recognized by law, though it cannot be said to be extinct.

Vendetta.—A Japanese *samurai* was permitted by law to avenge the murder of a parent or chief; but, before exercising this right, he was bound to give notice to the authorities, and, when cutting down his enemy, to repeat some such formula as this: 'I am A. B. You are X. Y., who murdered my father at such a time in such a place. Therefore do I now slay you.' In justification of this law, an ancient Chinese saying is often quoted to the effect that 'a man must not allow the same heaven to cover himself and his father's enemy.' It is now abrogated, but was in vogue up to the Restoration of 1868. A teacher of the present writer was a victim. It is to be observed that fines have no place in the pre-Restoration legislation—a circumstance which is adverse to Weipert's view that Japanese criminal law had its origin in the imposition of fines on offenders against the ritual law of the older Shinto. Kaempfer (*History of Japan*, Glasgow, 1906, ii. 114) notices this feature of the former Japanese law.

Extra-territoriality.—When the treaties were negotiated which opened Japan to foreign trade in 1859, the criminal code was in a very unsatisfactory condition. It was scarcely known to the people, and was administered in a most irregular, arbitrary, and often cruel fashion. It was quite out of the question to ask foreign Powers to make their subjects amenable to it, and, indeed, the Japanese were probably not sorry to be relieved of such responsibilities. Hence arose the so-called 'extra-territorial jurisdiction,' by which the Japanese Government transferred to foreign Powers the jurisdiction over their subjects when the latter were defendants in a civil case, or the accused under a criminal charge. When in 1868 the Mikado resumed the reins of authority, it was felt that such an arrangement was contrary to the dignity of the Japanese nation, and in any case a radical reform was a palpable necessity of the situation in the interests of humanity and good government. A code was, therefore, drawn up and promulgated in 1871. It was simply a selection from the codes of the two Chinese dynasties—Ming and Ts'ing—modifications being introduced into the amount and nature of the punishments prescribed for different offences. Barbarous modes of execution were eliminated, the death-penalty was greatly circumscribed, merciless and excessive

whippings were abolished, and the punishment of imprisonment with corrective labour was introduced for the first time. A second code was notified in 1873, by which many new and more humane provisions were added. By these codes, an offender who has been sentenced to a term of penal servitude is placed in the penitentiary of the district in which he has been tried and sentenced, and work suited to his age, physical condition, and acquirements is allotted to him, so that 'by toil and labour he may be gradually brought to repent of his past misdeeds and be restored to virtue.' The punishment of death was by hanging or decapitation, the latter form being considered more severe owing to the prejudice entertained by most Japanese against any mutilation of the body. In certain cases, the pillory in iron stocks within the prison yard was substituted for imprisonment, and fines might be permitted in the case of offences by officials, persons inadvertently implicated, aged people, infants, maimed or deformed persons, or females.

But these codes still preserved an essentially Chinese character, and they contained many provisions which unduly favoured officials and the *samurai* class. A husband was permitted to kill the lover of his wife or concubine along with the woman herself, if caught in the act; but, if a certain time had elapsed, the punishment was penal servitude for one year, while under the older law the husband could, in this case, only recover a penalty of no great amount. If a woman who had been guilty of adultery or incest was, on the discovery of her guilt, driven by shame to commit suicide, the punishment of the male offender was increased one degree, even though he might have had no knowledge of the woman's intention to do so. Masters and parents were punished with much less severity for offences against their servants and children than in the contrary case. Abusive language to an official entailed penal servitude for one year if the person insulted was of the highest rank; for ninety or sixty days if of lower grades. In Jan. 1879, the practice of using torture to compel confession—rendered necessary by the old principle that confession must precede condemnation—was abolished, and it was enacted that the evidence of witnesses, documents, or circumstances, or the admissions of accused persons, should alone be taken as bases for determining guilt.

It will be seen that, although these codes marked a considerable advance on the Tokugawa system, they still left much to be desired, when viewed from the more enlightened standpoint of Europe. New legislation was therefore initiated, after a thorough study of the various systems of European law, with the assistance mainly of French jurists. Distinguished service was rendered by G. Boissonade in framing the new codes, which, after arduous labour and repeated revision, came into operation from 1st Jan. 1882. They have an essentially French character. A further revision of the Code of Criminal Procedure was effected in 1890. B. H. Chamberlain, in his *Things Japanese*², gives the following account of the present system:

'Crimes are of three kinds: (1) against the State or the Imperial Family, and in violation of the public credit, peace, and health, etc.; (2) crimes against person and property; and (3) police offences. There is a sub-division of (1) and (2) into major and minor crimes. The punishments for major crimes are: (1) death by hanging; (2) deportation, with or without hard labour, for life or for a term of years; (3) imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for life or for a term of years. The punishments for minor crimes include confinement, with or without hard labour, and fines. The punishments for police offences are detention for from one to ten days without hard labour, and fines varying from 5 *sen* to 100 *yen*. The court which tries persons accused of major crimes consists of three judges; that for minor crimes, of one judge or three, according to the gravity of the charge; and that for police offences, of one *juge de paix*. Contrary to Western usage, an appeal is allowed, in the case of major crimes, for a trial of facts. Criminals condemned to deportation are generally sent to the island of Yezo, where

they sometimes work in the mines. A person who has suffered injury by crime lodges his complaint at the police office, or with the procurator of any court having jurisdiction over the crime in question. Policemen can arrest an offender whose crime was committed in their presence, or which the complainant avers to have been actually committed. In all other cases they can arrest by warrant only. Bail is allowed at the discretion of the judge. Accused persons are often kept in prison for a considerable time before trial, and no lawyer is allowed to be present at the preliminary examination. The conducting of criminal cases, from the very beginning down to the execution of the criminal, if he be condemned to suffer death, rests with the procurator, who unites in his own person the functions of public prosecutor and grand jury.'

The reforms of 1882 extended to the judiciary, which was now separated from the executive. Judges, procurators, barristers, notaries, and a new system of police, as well as law-schools, were established. Under the new régime there are far fewer capital punishments. In Tokugawa times the number of persons consigned to jail in Yedo was about 7000 annually, and of these over 3000 were executed. At present the yearly number of capital punishments for the whole Empire averages above eighty.

It is claimed that, on the whole, the new legislation has resulted in a body of law in unison with the most advanced principles and the most approved procedure of Western jurisprudence—all punishments not recognized as consonant with modern civilization being abolished, due provision being made for adapting penalties to degrees of crime (the previous legislation left the judge too little discretion), the rights of suspects and criminals being guarded, and the privilege of appeal guaranteed. This contention is substantially correct, though traces of old usage remain. All men are not equal before the law, the military retaining some special privileges. Robbery with violence is still punishable with death, and a man does not render himself liable to any penalty for beating his servant, unless death ensues. The preliminary examination of prisoners is secret, the assistance of counsel not being allowed. This last feature will soon be modified. Trial by jury is unknown.

In 1899, after protracted negotiations, treaties were concluded with foreign Powers, by which the extra-territorial jurisdiction was abolished, and all foreigners became subject to Japanese law.

Prisons.—Under the old régime, imprisonment was not one of the recognized forms of punishment, though it was necessary to provide some places of detention for prisoners who were awaiting their trial, sometimes for long periods. The inmates suffered very great hardship. The cells were wooden cages open to the four winds, and the arrangements for sanitation, food, and clothing were of the most wretched kind. The internal discipline was entrusted to the elder prisoners—generally hardened criminals—with results which may be imagined. Soon after the restoration of the Mikado's authority in 1868, a commission was sent to visit a number of foreign prisons and make a report, and ultimately a complete change was effected. Sir Henry Norman, who recently visited the convict prison of Tokio, says (*Real Japan*, 1892):

'The dormitories are enormous cages formed of bars as thick as one's arm. There is not a particle of furniture. Thick quilts, or *futon* (the Japanese bed), are provided. Each dormitory holds 86 prisoners. The sanitary arrangements could not well be improved. No vermin could harbour anywhere. It was almost an ideal prison structure. The punishment cells were hardly ever occupied. There was no flogging. Two hundred prisoners were employed making machinery and steam boilers, working nine hours a day. Wood-carving, weaving, pottery-making, and paper- and cloisonné-making are also among their occupations. Only a few are so clumsy or stupid as to be employed in pounding rice or breaking stones.'

LITERATURE.—The present writer's acknowledgments are due to F. Brinkley, *Japan and China*, London, 1904, vol. iv.; P. F. von Siebold, *Nippon*³, Leipzig, 1897, vol. i.; and Longford, 'Summary of the Japanese Penal Codes,' in *TASSJ*, vol. v. (1877) pt. ii. Consult also B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*², London, 1891; G. Bousquet, *Le Japon*.

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W. G. ASTON.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Jewish).

—The transition from the Biblical to the Mishnic period is marked by external and internal limitations in the functions of the Jewish tribunals. Externally, the Jewish courts of justice lost the power of inflicting capital and other punishments, —a power exercised by the Roman procurators and officials, —and in the course of time the limits to the jurisdiction of the *Bêth Din* were still further narrowed. Internally, we note a growing tendency towards the restriction of certain forms of punishment, by making it a matter of difficulty to secure a conviction. In practice, capital punishment was obsolete long before the fall of the Jewish State, and, in all probability, long before the courts were deprived of the legal power of inflicting it. This is clearly shown by such NT passages as Jn 18³¹, and the Talmud. Thus, in Jerus. *Sanh.* 18a (p. 223 of M. Schwab's tr., Paris, 1888) it is stated that this right was suspended some forty years before the fall of the Temple, and that the right of giving decisions in questions involving financial matters had been already abolished in the time of R. Simon b. Shetah, that is to say, during the reign of Alexander Jannæus (d. 76 B.C.). Bab. *Sanh.* 41a brings out this fact even more emphatically. Nor may the trial and crucifixion of Jesus be cited as an instance to the contrary. It is now the generally accepted opinion, among both Jewish and Christian scholars, that the trial of Jesus was not carried out in accordance with Jewish law, and that His execution was an act in which Pharisaic Judaism had neither initiative nor share.

Thus Robertson Smith (*EB*⁹ xxi. 812, at end of art. 'Synhedrium') writes: 'The meeting in the palace of the high priest which condemned our Lord was exceptional. The proceedings also on this occasion were highly irregular, if measured by the rules of procedure which, according to Jewish tradition, were laid down to secure order and a fair trial for the accused.' So also Montefiore (*Synoptic Gospels*, i. (London, 1909) 345 f.): 'The trial of Jesus—if trial it can be called—... violates that [Rabbinic] law in almost every particular. . . . It does not follow because the trial of Jesus . . . violates Jewish law in many important points, that therefore the account given of it cannot be true. There have been illegal trials at all times, and even the flimsiest legal forms have sufficed to get rid of an enemy. . . . That there was any meeting of the full Sanhedrin is most doubtful; doubtful also is the part played by the "Scribes" and Pharisees; but that the Sadducean priesthood was at the bottom of the arrest and of the "trial" . . . cannot reasonably be doubted.'

In the passage from the Jerus. Talmud mentioned above, R. Simon b. Yohai, a *tanna* of the 2nd cent., expresses his gratitude for escaping the responsibility of condemning a human being to death. Other passages, of a similar character, in the Talmud and Rabbinic writings point to the same conclusion—that the Romans took away from the *Bêth Din* the right to inflict capital punishment.

In addition to these restrictions imposed from without, the sentences of Jewish tribunals were mitigated by various internal and voluntary limitations. It may perhaps be that, in proportion to the severity with which Rome exercised the power removed from the local courts, these felt themselves drawn to the side of leniency in other directions. But this tendency to leniency was originally spontaneous, however much it may have developed afterwards in consequence of external harshness; it began while the Sanhedrin still held the power of life and death. An exact date cannot be given; it is difficult to tell whether and when punishments enacted in the Pentateuchal legislation were

carried out in all literalness, and to what extent and with what frequency. Does that legislation represent primitive practice, or did the mitigating force of the Mishnic recensions of these laws at all times modify their execution? The orthodox Jewish belief, which regards the Oral Law as a contemporary concomitant of the Written Law and of equal force, would take the latter view, namely, that the traditions embodied in the Mishna accompanied the practice of all Mosaic enactments. It is, however, held by many that the Tannaitic law was new and original; that in early Mishnic times it was felt that the Pentateuch demanded the death sentence too readily, and that the Rabbis took steps to prevent such sentences from being carried out. This subject need not be discussed here; it is sufficient to show that the death penalty was almost abandoned, without entering into the question of whether this was brought about by new prescriptions or not.

The infliction of death was surrounded by many preliminaries and obstacles. The law demanded not only the presence of two satisfactory eye-witnesses, whose testimony must support vigorous scrutiny (see Mishn. *Sanh.* iv. v., ed. Strack, from which all quotations are taken), but also, before committing the crime, the accused must have received formal warning from the bystanders as to the consequences of his act (מִנְחָה, *ib.* v. 1; Bab. *Sanh.* 8b, 80b; Tos. *Sanh.* xi. 1, ed. Zuckerman; Pasewalk, 1880, p. 431). No circumstantial evidence whatever was admissible, nor could the accused be convicted on his own confession. The stringency in examining and in challenging witnesses, the necessity of proving *hathrā'ah*, the elaborate aids given to the accused—all tend to show that the infliction of capital punishment must have been practically impossible; and this seems to have been the precise aim which the Rabbis had in view. *Makkoth* 7a records the dictum that a Sanhedrin which condemned a prisoner to death once in seven years earned the reputation of 'destructive' (מְהַרְהֵר); according to R. Eliezer b. 'Azarya, once in seventy years sufficed; while R. Tryphon and R. 'Aqiba state that, had they been present, they would always have succeeded in advancing some plea to invalidate the proceedings in favour of the prisoner. Nor was this tendency limited to cases of capital punishment alone; it was extended to other branches of criminal law, e.g. to the *lex talionis*. The eighth chapter of *Baba Qamma* shows quite clearly that even in early days this command could not have been intended to receive literal interpretation, for a man who had lost his eye could receive no compensation through a similar injury being done to his assailant. Compensation could consist only in the worth of the eye being restored to the loser, and this was estimated by assessing the value of the injured party, if sold as a slave, before and after the accident, the difference representing the amount of the damages (incidentally, cf. Rashi on Ex 21²⁴).

Even when a capital sentence had been pronounced and was about to be carried into execution, every chance of proving his innocence at the eleventh hour was accorded to the accused. The court remained sitting all day in order to receive appeals, and an elaborate system of signals was devised to stay the execution in the event of any unexpected piece of evidence becoming known (Mishn. *Sanh.* vi.). Punishment was to be so arranged as to prevent the repetition of the offence by other parties, in other words, to act as a deterrent, and to secure the extinction of the crime itself and of its consequences: 'Thou shalt put away the wrong from thy midst'; 'and all Israel shall hear and shall sin no more.' Care had to be taken that no additional suffering or humiliation was incurred

by the guilty party. Any dishonour to the body resulting from the punishment was to be avoided, in so far as it was not expressly provided by the sentence. In executions and in flagellations, particular caution had to be exercised in this respect.

Capital punishment as ordered by the *Bêth Din* could be effected by lapidation (אֶבֶן), burning (אֵשׁ), decapitation (רֶגֶל), or strangling (חָנָה) (see Mishn. *Sanh.* vii. 1: אֶבֶן מֵתָה וְחָנָה מֵתָה וְרֶגֶל מֵתָה; and Singer's *Prayer Book*, London, 1900, p. 262). Crucifixion, as a means of death, was a Roman form. The last two methods are not mentioned in the Pentateuch, where, in fact, stoning is most usual. There seems no reason to doubt that *sqûla* and *srêphâ* in the Pentateuch mean what is commonly known as stoning and burning; but the provisions of the Mishna show a great alteration in the manner of the execution. In the case of burning (Mishn. *Sanh.* vii. 2), the criminal was firmly fixed in pitch, up to his knees. A strong cloth, covered with a soft wrapping, was twisted round his neck, and its two ends were pulled by officials. The soft cloth was added to avoid unnecessary pain and in order to prevent death by strangulation. The criminal was thus forced to open his mouth, into which there was poured a stream of molten lead which instantly consumed his vitals, death being speedy and merciful. The Parthians treated the body of the Roman general Crassus in a similar manner after Carrhæ (53 B.C.). R. Eliezer b. Šadoq, a *tanna* of the 1st cent., relates that once he saw the daughter of a priest who had committed unchastity (Lv 21⁹) bound in vine tendrils and burnt (*Sanh.* vii. 2; *Tos.* ix. 11, etc. Contrast the burning of R. 'Aqiba, in A.D. 135, after the Bar Cochba revolt, when 'sponges of wet wool' [אֶבֶן מֵתָה] were placed round his heart to prolong the agony). In Bab. *Sanh.* 52b, R. Hama b. Tobia ordered Imarta, a priest's daughter who had lived unchastely, to be wrapped in vine tendrils and burnt. Both these cases are distinctly reprobated. In the former, the Sanhedrin which could have permitted such a method is said not to have been competent (*bâgî*). In the latter instance it is suggested that the *Bêth Din* may have been Sadducean, or that the narrator was too young to remember details. Any departure from the procedure described above is stated to be illegal.

In the case of stoning also, modifications were adopted with a view to hastening death. Mishn. *Sanh.* vi. 4 states:

'The height of the place of stoning was twice a man's length. One of the witnesses pushed (אֶבֶן) the criminal on the loins so that he fell down (forward) on to his breast, and the witness immediately turned the body over on to its back. If the criminal was already dead, then the duty was accomplished, but, if he still lived, then the second witness took a stone and cast it on to his head.'

If necessary, all the bystanders followed suit until death intervened. According to the Pentateuch, the witnesses had to cast the first stone, since it was through their testimony that the execution took place (Dt 17⁷). With the hurling down of the criminal may be compared the procedure with the scape-goat in Mishn. *Yoma*, vi. 5. The official pushed (אֶבֶן) the goat backwards, so that it rolled down and immediately became dismembered. In some cases the body was hanged, or rather crucified, after execution, for a limited period (Mishn. *Sanh.* vi. 4).

Decapitation (Mishn. *Sanh.* vii. 3; Bab. *Sanh.* 52b) was practised with a sword, in the same way as with the Romans; but R. Judah b. Elai, a *tanna* of the 2nd cent., objected on the ground that it involved degradation. To strike off the head of a man who was standing caused the body to fall down, and for this additional humiliation there was no authorization, consequently R. Judah

describes a different method, viz. beheading with an axe (אֶבֶן, *ax*) on a block. The other Rabbis considered this method even more humiliating, and rejected it. It seems that the criminal was tied to a post, in order that the body should remain upright. Finally, strangulation (*ib.*) was carried out as in the preliminary process of burning, only that the two ends of the cloth were pulled so hard that they caused death.

The object of these modifications was, in the first place, to mitigate the horrors of death. On this account a cup of drugged wine and incense (אֶבֶן מֵתָה) was given to the criminal in order to produce insensibility (e.g. Bab. *Sanh.* 43a, Mk 15²³, and other references). The second motive was to avoid desecrating the body beyond the necessities of the death penalty. The pursuit of both these aims caused a great internal restriction of the functions of the Jewish tribunal.

The various crimes for which the penalty was death are enumerated in Mishn. *Sanh.* vii.-xi. Lapidation is the punishment for eighteen offences—including incest, sodomy, bestiality, blasphemy, idolatry, the giving of one's children to Molech, necromancy, sorcery, Sabbath-breaking, the cursing of parents, criminal intercourse with a betrothed virgin, the inviting of others to idolatry, the perverting of a whole city, the practice of magic, and for the stubborn and rebellious son. Burning was reserved for a priest's daughter who violated her chastity, and for nine forms of incest—only, however, when committed during the life of the legal wife. Murderers and the inhabitants of an apostate city (Dt 13⁹) were beheaded, and the following were strangled: one who beat a parent (cf. Vergil, *Æn.* vi. 609), one who kidnapped a Jew for slavery, a sage who opposed his superior authorities, a false prophet, one who prophesied in the name of false gods, the adulterer, and one who bore false witness against a priest's daughter.

The number of crimes for which stripes could be inflicted was very large (*Makkoth*, iii. etc.). This penalty could, with certain restrictions, be imposed by the judges at their discretion, unless the Scripture demanded a specified punishment for some particular sin. In no case could the stripes exceed thirty-nine, and, whenever possible, fewer were given. The presence of the judges was obligatory. (For full details, see Mishn. *Sanh.* xiv. = *Makkoth*, iii.; also Abrahams, *Jewish Life*.) The Mishna (*Makkoth*) enumerates fifty transgressions punishable by flagellation. Maimonides, in the *Yad ha-Hazaka*, gives a far longer and more comprehensive catalogue. A culprit who received stripes was *ipso facto* freed from excision (אֶבֶן), and recovered all those rights from which his crime might have debarred him (Mishn. *Sanh.* xiv. 16).

The principle of making the punishment as lenient as possible, *suaviter in re*, operated also in respect of those sins the punishment of which was reserved for the future life. The famous tenth chapter of *Sanhedrin* gives a list of those who have no share in the world to come, but every endeavour is made to make the list short. The principle is that all Israel are entitled to a share (אֶבֶן מֵתָה) unless they forfeit it.

'He who says that the doctrine of the resurrection is not contained in the Pentateuch (according to other readings, 'he who denies the doctrine of resurrection'); he who denies the inspiration of Scripture; the Epicurean; according to R. 'Aqiba, he who reads external (i.e. uncanonical) books; he who utters enchantment over a wound . . . ; Abba Saul says, whose pronounces the Tetragrammaton.' In all these cases reference should be made to the commentary of Maimonides (ed. Hölzer). Seven persons—three kings (Jeroboam, Ahab, and Manasseh) and four private individuals (Balaam, Doeg, Abithophel, and Gehazi)—are deprived of their future life, but in each case the Rabbis sought for extenuating circumstances in order to find a

loophole from perpetual doom. Similarly, excuses are made for the generation of the Flood, and for the generation of the Wilderness.

Excommunication could, according to Bab. *Berakh. 19a*, be imposed for a variety of offences, all of a less heinous nature than those punishable by stripes. It consisted of three grades of separation: (1) *nēzfā*, (2) *niddui*, and (3) *hērem*. The period of *nēzfā* was one day, of *niddui* seven days, while *hērem* could be indefinite. One who died impenitent under *niddui* was not buried with the usual ceremonies, and the force of *hērem* was very severe. In the Middle Ages the power of *hērem* was great owing to the institution of the Ghetto, but it was always felt to be a terrible weapon, e.g. in the cases of Uriel Acosta and Spinoza. The very gravity of *hērem* caused great reluctance to inflict it, and it was very sparingly employed (see Abrahams, *Jewish Life*, pp. 52, 292). Cf. art. BLASPHEMY (Jewish).

The penalty of excision (כַּרְע) prescribed by the Pentateuch was not carried out by human agency, except in so far as guilty parties were scourged; hence this mode of punishment scarcely calls for consideration in this article. But, just as in the case of exclusion from a share in the future life,—a fate which also could not be determined by human agency,—so, too, in the case of excision, the Rabbis attempted to find pleas for the wicked. In Mishn. *Sanh. xiv. 15* it is stated that all those condemned to excision find immediate pardon after receiving their scourging, if they are penitent. This conclusion is illustrated by a play on the words of the text (Dt 25¹²), 'Lest thy brother be brought to dishonour in thy sight' (לְפָנֶיךָ). R. Hananya b. Gamaliel says: 'as soon as he is scourged (לְפָנֶיךָ) he becomes thy brother in thy sight.' Fines were imposed by the Bible for breaches of moral conduct in sexual matters (Dt 22, Ex 22), and for allowing a dangerous ox so much freedom that it killed a slave. In other cases the Mishna knows nothing of this means of punishment. In the Middle Ages fines were sometimes paid to the general funds of the community by persons liable to be scourged for a breach of Pentateuchal legislation.

Imprisonment, though known in the Bible (e.g. Joseph and Jeremiah), was not frequently practised in Mishnic times. As a means of punishment, it was employed in what may be described as indirect crimes, that is to say, for the contumacious and for the suborner. It could be imposed if conclusive evidence was not forthcoming though there was a strong presumption of guilt, or if a person punished twice by flagellation had committed the offence a third time. These cases are dealt with in Mishn. *Sanh. ix. 5*, and Bab. *Sanh. 81b*.

'He who has been scourged, and has repeated the offence, is sent by the *Beth Din* to a dungeon, and fed with barley bread until his belly bursts. One who slays another without witnesses is sent to a dungeon and fed on scanty prison fare (לֶחֶם עֵצִים) *ṣ. 1*.'

The Gemara explains that the scourging refers to the stripes which always accompanied the penalty of excision; the difference in the two expressions for food is also explained. According to R. Shesheth, the method is the same, only in each instance different stages are quoted: the prisoner was in each case first given very scanty fare until his belly contracted, then barley was given to him so that it caused him to burst. The impractical nature of the treatment is clear proof that no Rabbi had ever heard of a case of its application. Such a rare situation as the Mishna presupposes makes it plain that the penalty of imprisonment could scarcely ever have been inflicted.

It must be remembered that, in the time of which the Mishna speaks, most of the decisions

were theoretical (see Strack's introduction to his edition of Mishn. *Sanhedrin-Makkoth*, p. 5¹); consequently we have there recorded the practice of an earlier period. In the Middle Ages there was a great revival of Jewish jurisdiction (see Abrahams, *Jewish Life*, p. 49, etc.). In Spain (*ib.*), up to 1379, Jewish courts could impose punishments and even pronounce a death sentence, which was carried out by the civil courts. Imprisonment was a form of punishment adopted by Jews, though it seems probable that they made use of the ordinary prison—or some separate portion of it—for their own offenders. The institution of the Jewish Quarter gave the *Beth Din* greater powers and fostered the growth of two principles: (1) that it was unpatriotic for a Jew to cite another Jew before the civil courts; and (2) that no mercy was to be shown to the informer. The activity of the Jewish tribunal in secular matters can scarcely be said to have survived the breakdown of the Ghetto, though in religious questions its authority remained unshaken. In many instances, plaintiff and defendant have, of their own accord, agreed voluntarily to submit their differences to the arbitration of the *Beth Din* rather than to the civil judge—a system at present in great vogue in the East End of London. By this means many disputes are settled without taking up the time of the magistrate. But this does not belong to the domain of criminal cases. Here the jurisdiction of Jewish courts has long ceased.

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HERBERT LOEWE.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Muhammadan).—I. Introduction.—In Ancient Arabia, crime was often regarded as impurity, and punishment as purification. In Muslim tradition also it is mentioned that a certain adulterer who desired to do penance for his sin said to the Prophet, *tahhirmi* ('purify me'), whereupon he was stoned to death.¹

In the heathen period, manslaughter and other crimes often gave rise to bloody feuds among the Arab tribes. The revenge of the injured party or of the members of his family or tribe extended not only to the guilty person who had killed or injured any one, but also to all who belonged to the same family or tribe. It is true that by this solidarity of family and tribe the public safety was in some respects benefited; but, on the other hand, there was the disadvantage that many innocent persons had to suffer for the sins of their relatives, and that long-continued blood-feuds often arose from insignificant beginnings. Usually on both sides an attempt was made to put to death as great a number as possible of enemies of high rank in return for each fallen tribesman; for many regarded as insufficient mere retaliation (*qisās*), by which no greater injury was done to the other party than had actually been suffered. Blood-guiltiness was sometimes bought off by means of a great number of camels, but the acceptance of such a price of

¹ See I. Goldziher, 'Das Strafrecht im Islam' (*loc. cit. infra*, pp. 101, 104 n. 2), and *Muhamm. Studien*, 1889–90, i. 27 n.

blood ('*aql* or '*diyya*') was often regarded as a humiliation. See, further, BLOOD-FEUD (Muslim).

The blood-feud was so deeply rooted in the customs of the Ancient Arabians that it was impossible for the Prophet completely to forbid it. In Islām, therefore, retaliation remained permissible, though with important restrictions. Not long after the Hijra, circumstances at Medina compelled the Prophet to issue regulations as to this matter, in order to prevent the old blood-feud from continuing even among the Muslims; he therefore strictly forbade a Muslim to revenge himself on a fellow-believer for blood-guiltiness dating from the heathen period. If, however, a Muslim were attacked unjustly by a fellow-believer, he retained the right of retaliation; and, if he were killed, his heirs had also this right, but the question must henceforth be properly investigated, and only the guilty person himself might be punished after his guilt had been proved. It was, moreover, established that for Muslims only the *qisās*, i.e. the *taliq* in the most restricted sense of the word, was permissible; the attacked party must not do any greater injury to the attacking than he had himself suffered. Redemption of the blood-feud was permitted for Muslims, but the acceptance of the price of blood instead of retaliation was not expressly made a religious duty.

See Qur'ān, ii. 173-174: 'If any one gains forgiveness from his neighbour, [the one party] must conduct his case [concerning the price of blood] with moderation, and [the other party] must pay the price of blood willingly. That is a mitigation from your Lord.'

If the guilty person had acted deliberately, he must in future pay the price of blood himself, as a personal punishment; only if he had killed or wounded some one accidentally did his relatives remain obliged to support him in the payment of the price of blood.

For other crimes not consisting of killing or wounding, the Prophet did not in general issue express regulations. Only in consequence of special circumstances he prescribed a *ḥadd* ('fixed penalty') for some misdemeanours. The best-known instance is described in art. ADULTERY (Muslim). When Muhammad's wife 'Ā'isha was accused of adultery, it was prescribed in Qur'ān, xxiv. 1-5, that a person who was guilty of fornication (*zinā*) should be henceforth punished with 100 stripes of the whip, but that they who accused an honourable woman of that crime unjustly must be punished with 80 stripes (see, further, art. ADULTERY (Muslim)). Other instances of fixed penalties are the *ḥadd* for theft, which is prescribed in Qur'ān, v. 42-43, and the *ḥadd* for highway-robbery (*ib. v. 37-38*). In other cases, when no special punishment is prescribed, the judge is entitled to inflict such punishment on the culprit as seems to be the most suitable in view of the circumstances. This form of punishment is called *ta'zīr* ('correction').

Muslim canon law thus distinguishes three categories of crimes and punishments: (1) the so-called *jinzāyat*, i.e. misdemeanours consisting of killing or wounding, which must be punished either with retaliation (*qisās*) or with payment of the *diyya* ('price of blood') or other damages; (2) adultery, robbery, and other crimes, which must be punished with a fixed penalty (*ḥadd*); and (3) all other kinds of transgressions, which must be punished with *ta'zīr* ('correction').

According to Muslim canon law, the punishment must be regarded in some cases as a *ḥaqq Allāh* ('right of Allāh'), in other cases as a *ḥaqq ādamī* ('human right'). When, for instance, a Muslim has the right to exact retaliation or the payment of the price of blood, such a case concerns *ḥaqq ādamī*, just as when he reclaims stolen or loaned property, or demands the payment of a sale price.

In these cases the injured person (or his heir) may also give up his right and forgive the injurer.

In cases in which the judge has to decide as to a 'right of Allāh,' certain special principles apply. In many traditions it is expressly put in the foreground that God will base His relation to man, above everything else, on compassion and forgiveness; that He is, therefore, always ready so far as is possible to cover the sins of His servants with the cloak of love, but only on condition that they also act in this way and cover both their own sins and those of their fellow-men.

On the ground of these traditions, the judge, the witnesses, and the culprit must all do their best to prevent the infliction of punishment, if it is a *ḥaqq Allāh*. The culprit is then not bound to acknowledge his guilt if he is accused; he may even revoke his confession before the judge; for the witnesses it is not regarded as meritorious to give evidence against the culprit; the judge must expressly point out to the accused the means by which he may escape punishment; and he may not condemn him before his guilt has been proved, according to the demands of the canon law, even though he personally knows with complete certainty that the crime has actually been committed.

In practice, the crimes which must be punished with *ḥadd* can hardly ever be proved except by the voluntary confession of the culprit, because the legal proof is too difficult. To prove fornication, for instance, it must be possible to call four witnesses who have all observed the act (see ADULTERY (Muslim)). If the guilty person does not desire to do penance for his crime, and in this way to purify himself from his sin, it is therefore usually impossible to punish him. If, however, his guilt is formally certain, the judge is obliged to inflict the *ḥadd* precisely according to the regulations of the canon law.

2. Retaliation (*qisās*).—According to the Muslim law-books, retaliation is still permitted in only two cases: (1) when any one has deliberately¹ and unjustly² killed another, the heirs of the latter have the right to kill the murderer; (2) if any one is deliberately and unjustly wounded or mutilated, he has the right to revenge himself on his injurer, if it is possible to make him suffer precisely the same wounding or mutilation. According to Muslim lawyers, this is in general possible only when a hand, foot, arm, leg, ear, finger, nose, toe, tongue, eye, or tooth, or other part of the body, has been cut off or destroyed. Moreover, retaliation is in both these cases permissible only (1) if the guilty person was of full age when his crime was committed, and in the full possession of his intellectual powers; (2) if the injured party is at the same time an equal of the guilty person. According to the majority of Muslim lawyers, a slave is not the equal of a free man; only the Hanafites hold that the rules of retaliation are applicable also to a free man who has killed or wounded the slave of another. If an unbeliever is killed by a Muslim, it is not, as a rule, permissible to take vengeance for blood on the latter unless the deceased unbeliever had been expressly promised protection of his life by a Muslim. Also the father may not be put to death when he has killed his son.

Those who have the right to demand revenge for blood are the heirs belonging to the first and second classes, the '*aqābāt*' and the '*dhaw'l farā'id*'

¹ According to Muslim canon law, the question whether the culprit acted deliberately or not depends on the sort of weapon with which his act was accomplished. The opinions of the various *fiqh*-schools differ as to the details.

² The *qisās* is not applicable to one who has killed or wounded another if he had a right to do so. He, for instance, who finds a thief in his house, or any one outraging his wife, may immediately kill him without incurring penalty—not only in self-defence, but also in vengeance on the offender.

(see art. LAW [Muhammadan]); according to the Mālikites, however, wives cannot exercise any *qisās*. If the heirs give up their right to *qisās*, the guilty person is obliged to pay the price of blood (*diya*); according to the Ḥanafites, however, the *diya* cannot be demanded in this case, if the guilty person does not himself agree to it. If the deceased has left various heirs, and some of them are willing to spare the guilty, no vengeance for blood may be exacted, but only the *diya*.

Vengeance for blood is carried out personally, under the supervision of the judge, by those who have instituted the proceedings against the guilty person. If there are several who demand it, one of them is appointed to carry out the punishment.

3. The price of blood for manslaughter (*diya*).—The price of blood for manslaughter may be demanded: (1) when any one has been killed deliberately and unjustly, and his heirs give up their right to exact the *qisās*; (2) when any one has been killed unintentionally.¹ In both cases the *diya* consists of 100 camels, or 1000 *dīnār* of gold, or 12,000 *dirhams* of silver (according to the Ḥanafites, however, 10,000 *dirhams* of silver). But in the first case the so-called 'heavy,' and in the second case the 'light,' price of blood is incurred. In the *fiqh* it is accurately decided what sorts of camels must be given in each of these cases. If gold or silver is paid in place of camels, according to some Muslim lawyers a greater sum may be demanded for the 'heavy' *diya* than for the 'light'; but according to others it is not so; and, according to the later opinion of Shāfi'ī, no fixed payment of gold or silver is due, but the worth of the 100 camels. The 'light' price of blood must be paid within a period of three years by the so-called '*āqila*, i.e. by those who pay the '*aqī* ('price of blood'). To these '*āqila* belong, according to the Ḥanafites and Mālikites, all '*asabāt* (i.e. the male relations on the paternal side) of the culprit, and according to them he must also himself pay part of the sum incurred; according to the Shāfi'ites, on the other hand, neither the culprit himself nor his blood-relations in the direct line belong to the '*āqila*.

When the Muslims after the great conquests established themselves in Egypt, Syria, Persia, and other lands, the Old Arabian family-organization partially lost its importance, and there arose a new grouping of persons who had the same interests to defend. According to the Ḥanafites, the same rules concerning the payment of the price of blood are applicable to these new groups as to the blood-relations of the guilty person; according to them, therefore, all persons belong to the '*āqila* who are bound to give their mutual support to each other (among others, neighbours, those who practise the same profession, those who belong to the same army-corps). The 'heavy' price of blood, on the other hand, may be demanded only from the culprit himself; and, according to most *faqīhs*, he has no right to postpone payment. According to the Ḥanafites, however, he also is only obliged to pay the sum within a period of three years.

(3) Besides the cases in which any one is killed either intentionally or accidentally, Muslim lawyers distinguish yet a third case in which the culprit did, indeed, attack the deceased intentionally, but without meaning to kill him. In that case the '*āqila* must pay the so-called 'heavy' *diya*. They are also obliged to do this, according to some Muslim lawyers, if he has killed another accidentally, either in the sacred territory of Mecca or during one of the four sacred months (Muharram, Rajab,

¹ It must be noticed that, according to Muslim lawyers, any one who has accidentally killed another is punishable even if no fault attached to him in so doing. The price of blood may even be demanded if, for instance, any one has fallen from the roof and in his fall has killed another.

Dhu'l-q'ada, Dhu'l-hijja); further, if the deceased was a *maḥram* (i.e. a relation whom it is forbidden to marry) of the culprit; according to others, however, they are in this case liable only to the 'light' *diya*.

For the death of a woman only half the price of blood can be demanded; for the death of a Christian or a Jew, according to the Mālikites, also only half the *diya*, according to the Shāfi'ites only one third, but, according to the Ḥanafites, the full price of blood. If any one kills the slave of another, according to most Muslim lawyers he must himself make good to the owner the full value, even though this cost more than the *diya* for a free man; according to the Ḥanafites, however, the owner has never a claim to more than the value of 100 camels decreased by one *dīnār*. If the culprit was under age or mad, the price of blood must be paid out of his property by the guardian or curator; if the culprit was a slave, his master is responsible, but he can free himself from all further obligation by giving up the slave.

In addition to the *qisās* or the *diya*, manslaughter demands a *kaffāra* ('atoning sacrifice'); and, according to Qur'ān, iv. 94, this must consist in the setting free of a Muslim slave, or, if this cannot be done, in fasting for two months. The feeding of 60 poor persons, which in some other cases of *kaffāra* may take the place of fasting, is in this case, according to most *faqīhs*, insufficient. According to the Ḥanafites and Mālikites, this *kaffāra* is incurred only when any one has been put to death accidentally (on the ground of the words of Qur'ān, iv. 94); but, according to the Shāfi'ites, also if the culprit has acted intentionally.

4. The *diya* and other damages for wounding.—The wounded person, as has already been noted, if he gives up his right to *qisās*, claims the *diya* in place of it (according to the Ḥanafites, only if the guilty person agrees). The full *diya* is incurred when, because of the wound, a part of the body is lost (e.g. the nose) of which a man has only one; he who loses a part of the body of which men have two (e.g. an eye, ear, hand, or foot) may claim the half of the *diya* as damages; in the same way $\frac{1}{2}$ of the full price of blood is incurred for an eyelid, $\frac{1}{4}$ for a finger, and for a joint of a finger $\frac{1}{8}$ of the *diya*. The rules and distinctions concerning the *diya* for manslaughter apply also to the *diya* for lost parts of the body.

Damages are incurred also for wounds for which no *qisās* can be demanded, as, for instance, those which are caused by stabbing or cutting the body. In the Muslim law-books, regulations concerning the various sorts of these wounds are worked out in detail. Ten of them (all wounds caused by cutting on the head or the face) are known as the *shijās*; the *mudīḥa* is a wound which has cut to the bone, etc. The damages which the culprit must pay depend in some cases on an express regulation of the law-books, and are then called *arṣh*; in other cases they must be fixed by a legal sentence (*ḥukūma*), according to the loss suffered by the injured. An expert has then to estimate what value the body of the wounded person would have had before and after the wound, if he was a slave. If it appears that the value of his body was diminished by, for instance, $\frac{1}{4}$, the judge sentences the culprit to pay $\frac{1}{4}$ of the full *diya*. If any one has been wounded simultaneously in several places, he may claim damages for each wound separately, and therefore in some cases may receive even more than the *diya* for manslaughter.

5. Misdeeds which must be punished with a *ḥadd*.—For the *ḥadd* in consequence of *zinā*, see art. ADULTERY (Muslim). The punishment for apostasy from Islām, which is regarded by some Muslim jurists as a *ḥadd*, is treated in art.

APOSTASY (Muhammadan). We have therefore here to treat only of the other fixed penalties, viz. those for *qadhif*, wine-drinking, theft, and highway robbery.

(1) *Qadhif*.—By this the Muslim canon law understands only such slander as is meant in Qur'an, xxiv. 4. Since only slander of 'honourable' women is mentioned there, the crime of *qadhif* consists, according to Muslim lawyers, of the accusation of fornication brought against a *muhṣan* (i.e. an 'honourable' person, who is, moreover, a free Muslim of full age, in the full possession of intellectual power) without its being possible to adduce proof by four male witnesses. He who is guilty of this crime must be punished with 80 stripes if he is a free man, and with 40 if he is a slave. This *ḥadd* is not enforced if he is under age, or insane, or if he is the husband of the slandered woman and swears that she is guilty, invoking Allāh by means of the so-called *li'ān* (see art. LAW [Muhammadan]). According to some Muslim lawyers, the slandered person has the right of excusing the punishment of the guilty, but not according to others; there is also a difference of opinion as to whether the heirs of the slandered person have the right of exacting this *ḥadd*.

(2) The *ḥadd* for the drinking of wine and other strong drinks consists of a certain number of stripes, on the ground of the tradition as to the way in which the Prophet punished drunkards in Medina. As to the number of stripes, there is a difference of opinion: according to the Shāfi'ites, the punishment consists of 40, according to the other *fiqh*-schools, of 80 stripes for a free man, and the half of that number for slaves. The guilt of him who is accused of this crime can, according to canon law, be proved only by two male witnesses, or by the confession of the guilty. Moreover, the punishment is not applicable to minors, insane persons, and unbelievers.

(3) The *ḥadd* for theft depends on the command given in Qur'an, v. 42, 43, 'From the man thief and woman thief cut off the hands, as a warning example from God.' According to the Shāfi'ite and the Mālikite doctrine, a thief after his first theft must lose the right hand, after the second the left foot, after the third the left hand, after the fourth the right foot, and after the fifth and following thefts he must be punished by *ta'zīr*. According to the Ḥanafites, however, the thief must never lose more than the right hand and the left foot; if he continues to steal after his second offence, he must be kept in prison until he is reformed.

Theft is, however, punished with this *ḥadd* only when the stolen article had been put away in a proper manner, and, moreover, had a certain value (the so-called *niṣāb*). According to the Shāfi'ites, the *ḥadd* is applicable only if the value of that which is stolen is at least $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *ḍīnār* (about 3 shillings); according to the Ḥanafites, only if the worth was at least one *ḍīnār*, or 10 *dirhams*; according to the Mālikites, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *ḍīnār*, or 3 *dirhams*.

The *ḥadd* for theft is also not applied if the thief was under age or insane, or if he could make good a certain claim to the stolen property. The last is the case if one of those who have taken part in a battle steals something from the booty before it has been divided among the troops, or if a Muslim steals from that which was intended for the general use of Muslims. If one of a married couple steals something to the injury of the other, according to some Muslim lawyers the culprit must be punished with *ḥadd*, but not according to the opinion of others.

The person whose property was stolen has the right to reclaim the stolen article; and, if this has

been lost, the thief must pay damages in its place. According to the Ḥanafite doctrine, however, the thief is not obliged to make such payment of damages if the *ḥadd* for theft has been applied to him.

(4) The *ḥadd* for highway-robbery is deduced from Qur'an, v. 37, 38:

'The punishment for those who fight against Allāh and his apostle, and pass through the land spreading disaster, shall be that they shall be slain or crucified, or have their hands and feet cut off cross-ways, or that they be banished from the land . . . unless they reform before they fall into your hands. God is forgiving and compassionate.'

Since, therefore, this *ḥadd* was not accurately defined, there arose much difference of opinion among Muslim lawyers as to the punishment of highway-robbers. The various opinions cannot all be mentioned here in detail. According to the Shāfi'ite doctrine, four cases must be distinguished: (1) if the culprit has only made the road unsafe, he must be banished; (2) if he has also practised robbery (namely, in the sense that he would incur the *ḥadd* for theft if he were not a highwayman), his right hand and left foot are cut off (in the case of a repetition of the offence, the left hand and right foot as well); (3) if he has deliberately murdered any one, he must be put to death, even though the heirs of the murdered person were willing to content themselves with the *diya*; (4) if he has as a highway-robber robbed and killed, not only is he punished with death, but his corpse is exhibited for a time on a cross. According to the other *madhabs*, regulations obtain which are partially different.

When the robber repents before he has been captured, the special *ḥadd* for highway-robbery is no longer applicable to him, but he remains, for instance, obliged to restore that which has been stolen; and, if he has killed any one, the heirs of the latter have, just as in other cases, the right of exacting the *qisās* or *diya*.

6. *Ta'zīr* ('correction').—When no special punishment is prescribed, the judge, as has already been noted, must condemn the culprit to the punishment which seems to him to be the most suitable in view of the circumstances. He may, for instance, send him to prison, exile him, or sentence him to be publicly put to shame or scourged, etc. According to the Mālikite doctrine, he is even entitled in this case to condemn him to as many stripes as are prescribed in the case of *ḥadd*, or even more; according to the other *fiqh*-schools, however, this is not permissible. According to them, the *ta'zīr* must always be less severe than a *ḥadd*. The *ta'zīr* is, among other things, applicable to a thief when the stolen property has not so much value that the culprit must be condemned to the *ḥadd*; furthermore, in general, to all kinds of transgressions for which no other kind of punishment or any special atoning sacrifice (*kaffāra*) is prescribed.

The judge is not always obliged to apply the *ta'zīr*; according to the Shāfi'ites, only when the injured person expressly requires him to punish the culprit; and, according to the Ḥanafites and Mālikites, also when he is convinced that the latter will not reform without punishment. A *ḥadd*, on the other hand, must always be inflicted when the guilt of the culprit has been proved, because this punishment is expressly prescribed in the canon law.

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CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Parsi).—

From the list of the contents of the original twenty-one *nasks* of the Zoroastrian canon, the bulk of which is irretrievably lost, we find that seven of them consisted of the *dātik*, or 'legal' literature (*Dinkart*, viii. 1, 11). Of these the *Vendidad*, 'the Leviticus of the Iranians,' is preserved in its entirety, and this work, with some other portions of the extant Avesta and Pahlavi books, forms the chief source of our information on the criminal law of the ancient Persians.

Offenders against law are punished, first, in this world, according to the penalties laid down for various crimes; and, secondly, in the next world. The usual form of corporal punishment is the prescription of a certain number of stripes (*upāzana*) with the two implements *aspa-astrā* ('horse-goad') and *sraoṣō-caranā* ('scourge'). The number of such stripes prescribed for different crimes ranges between five and ten thousand. The extravagant number of strokes and the physical impossibility of a human being enduring this torture have led scholars to think, with Spiegel, Geiger, and Darmesteter, that the stripes were not actually meant to be laid on the culprits, but that the number of strokes either meant that the sinner should kill so many noxious creatures, or that they were so many strokes inflicted upon the realm of darkness, or that they were only meant to impress on men the gravity of the crimes. For instance, it is prescribed that a woman who has been delivered of a still-born child shall refrain from drinking water for the good of her own health for some time (*Vend.* vii. 60-72). The violation of this precept is punishable with two hundred stripes. Now this would be brutal, and the later writer of the *Rivāyat* states that in such a case, if she should thus drink water to avert serious illness, it would be sufficient for her husband to atone for her fault before a Dastur by *patet*, or 'penitence' (*Old Rivāyat*, p. 98b, quoted by Darmesteter in *SBE* iv. 92, n. 5, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 112, n. 88). In the later Pahlavi period, these stripes are converted into money value, and certain fines are laid down for the various number of stripes. Very often the word *margarzān*, 'worthy of death,' is loosely employed to denote the hideousness of a crime. Some offences are termed *anāperethā*, 'unatonable.' The chief among them are the burying, burning, and eating of dead matter, and sodomy.

The characteristic feature of the Mazdayasnian law is that it prescribes very rigorous punishment for the violation of the rules of sanitation and hygiene; for it is said that the man who violates these rules imports or furthers epidemic, and endangers human life. The punishment for the ill-treatment of the various classes of dogs is exorbitant, and is calculated to ensure good treatment of this faithful animal, who as a sentinel guards the flocks of the faithful, and protects them from the attacks of wolves and other wild beasts, as also from the depredations of thieves and bandits. Any wilful harm done to so useful an animal is believed to deprive the community of his services, and to expose life and property to danger.

Capital punishment is prescribed for the man who carries a dead body alone, and for the man who falsely undertakes to cleanse one defiled with

dead matter. Strange as it may seem, only ninety stripes are prescribed for one who commits murder. Instances are found in Persian history in which capital punishment is meted out to manslayers. When the Sasanian king Ardashir discovers the plot of his queen to poison him, he consults the Dastur as to what should be done in the matter. The high priest thereupon replies that one who attempts to take the life of another deserves death (*Kārnāmāk-i Artakshshir-Pāpakān*, ix. 16-17). The cruel punishment of cutting off the hands, ears, and other parts of the body, is not unknown. Darius orders the nose, ears, and tongue of his rebel victim to be cut off, and his eyes to be put out (*Old Pers. Inscriptions on Mount Behistan*, ii. 74, 89; see F. H. Weissbach and W. Bang, *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften*, Leipzig, 1893, i. 21).

1. Assaults.—There are seven kinds of outrages, which are called in Pahlavi *pāyak vinān*, and in Sanskrit *padāni pāpāni*, meaning 'chief crimes' (*Shāyast lā-Shāyast*, i. 1; *Patet Pashimāni*, iii.). These are (1) *āgerepta*, 'stroke': when a man lifts his hand and wields a weapon with the intention to strike a blow, he becomes guilty of this crime (*Vendidad*, iv. 17). The punishment for the first offence is five stripes with the *aspa-astrā* and five with the *sraoṣō-caranā*. The penalty increases proportionately with the repetition of the crime, until, on the eighth committal of the same, the man is termed a *peṣotanru*, 'of sinful body,' and is to be punished with two hundred stripes (*ib.* 18-21). (2) *avaoiriṣta*, 'blow.' This is the name of the assault wherein a man brandishes a weapon (*Vend.* iv. 17). He receives ten stripes for the first crime, and the maximum penalty of two hundred stripes is prescribed in his case if, without atoning for his previous crimes, he repeats it seven times (*ib.* 22-25). (3) *aredus*, 'wound.' The penalty for this crime begins with fifteen stripes, and makes the culprit liable to two hundred stripes on the repetition of the same for the sixth time (*ib.* 26-29). (4) *avara*, 'sore wound.' This is punishable with thirty stripes for the first crime, and two hundred for the fifth repetition (*ib.* 30-33). (5) *tacaṭ-vohunī*, 'bloody wound.' The penalty is fifty stripes for the first offence, and the fourth committal of the same raises the punishment to two hundred stripes (*ib.* 34-36). (6) *astō-bīd*, 'bone-breaking,' begins with the punishment of seventy stripes for the first offence, and closes with that of two hundred stripes for its third repetition (*ib.* 37-39). (7) *frazā-baodhak*, 'rendering unconscious or causing death.' The punishment for this crime is ninety stripes for the first offence, and two hundred for the second (*ib.* 40-42).

The Pahlavi *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* variously speaks of eight or nine classes of crimes (i. 1, xi. 1). The *farman* and *sraoṣō-caranā* are the additional sins mentioned here. Certain degrees are assigned to the various crimes, and the bodily punishment is converted into fines. Thus the degree of the smallest crime, *farman*, is estimated at four *stars* (a *star* being equivalent to four *dirhams*). The degrees of the crimes rise in proportion to the gravity of the offences, until the *tanāfur* sin is estimated at three hundred *stars* (i. 2, xi. 2, xvi. 2-5).

2. Theft.—The *tāyu*, 'thief,' and *hazanha*, 'robber,' 'bandit,' who rob the faithful of their cattle and property, are severely punished. According to the Mazdayasnian declaration of faith, a true Zoroastrian undertakes to put down these crimes (*Yasna*, xii. 2). Haoma is invoked to warn the faithful of the cunning movements of the thieves (*ib.* ix. 21), and Rashnu, the angel presiding over truth, is spoken of as the best killer, smiter, and destroyer of the thieves and bandits (*Yasht*, xii. 7 f.). The sacrifices offered to Khurshēd, asking him to help the pious to withstand these evil

forces, is said to be equivalent to offering the same to Ormazd (*Yt.* vi. 4; *Nyāish*, i. 14), and Ardvīšūra is invoked to pour down her waters as a source of torment to the brigands (*Ys.* lxxv. 8). The routing of the thieves and robbers is eagerly prayed for (*Ys.* lxi. 3). The man who takes a loan from another, with the evil intention of not returning it, is a thief; and the commentator explains that, if he bluntly refuses to restore it, he becomes a robber (*Vend.* iv. 1).

The culprits had either to pay fines, or their ears and hands were cut off, or they were imprisoned. If a man stole a *dirham* (about 7d.), he had to pay two *dirhams*, one of his ears was cut off, ten blows with a stick were inflicted upon him, and he was imprisoned for some time (*Šad Dar*, lxiv. 2-3). If he stole another *dirham*, four *dirhams* formed his fine, he had to forfeit his other ear, to receive twenty blows, and to be imprisoned for a period twice the length of that inflicted at the time of his first crime (*ib.* lxiv. 4). The third repetition of the crime was punishable by cutting off his right hand (*ib.* 5), and if, persisting in his evil work, he finally stole five hundred *dirhams*, he was to be hanged (*ib.* 6). The bandit who had robbed a person of something by violence, had to restore to the owner four times as much as he had taken, or he was to be killed if public safety required it (*ib.* 11; cf., further, on theft, *Dinkart*, viii. 20, 123, 21. 1-14).

3. Breach of contract.—The man who lies to Mithra is guilty of *Mithrō-drug*, and brings death to the whole country (*Yt.* x. 2). The faithful are exhorted not to violate contracts entered into with any one. The six important forms of contract are: (1) word-contract, (2) hand-contract, (3) the contract to the value of a sheep, (4) the contract to the value of an ox, (5) the contract to the value of a man, and (6) the contract amounting to the value of a field (*Vend.* iv. 2). The penalty for breaking these contracts begins with three hundred stripes with *aspa-aštrā* and an equal number with *sraošō-caranā*, for the violation of the first class of contract, and rises to the maximum punishment of a thousand stripes each in case of the breach of the final contract, namely, the field-contract (*ib.* 11-16).

4. Crimes connected with the defilement caused by corpses and dead matter.—The earth, being one of the sacred elements of nature, is to be kept pure from defilement. Ahriman created the sin of interring corpses in the earth, for which there is no atonement (*Vend.* i. 13, iii. 39), and it is therefore the sacred duty of the faithful to disinter the dead bodies, wherever possible. If a man lets a corpse remain buried, and neglects his duty to dig it out within six months, his punishment is five hundred stripes with each of the two punishing rods. The penalty is doubled in the case of a corpse remaining buried for a period of one year, and if it is not disinterred within a period of two years, it makes the man guilty of *anāperetha*, for which there is no atonement (*ib.* iii. 36-39).

Under no circumstances is a corpse to be carried by a single person, lest he should be defiled. Capital punishment is meted out to him who violates this precept. The culprit is to be removed to a barren place, and to be kept there until he grows old, after which his head is to be cut off (*ib.* 15-21). The man who does not properly observe the rules of removing the corpse to the top of a mountain, and fastening the body with brass or stones by the feet or hair, to prevent the dogs and birds from carrying the dead matter to water and trees, is to be punished with two hundred stripes (*ib.* vi. 47f.). If a man, happening to touch a corpse in the wilderness, approaches water and trees without cleansing himself, he receives four hundred stripes with each of the two instruments (*ib.*

viii. 104-106). Wilful carrying of the dead matter to water or fire makes one worthy of death (*Šad Dar*, lxxii. 1). Unnecessary waste of anything is deprecated, and a man who throws more cloth on the corpse than is essential has to suffer the punishment of four hundred stripes, rising to one thousand stripes with both the whips, in proportion to the quantity thus wasted (*Vend.* viii. 23-25).

Among the worst crimes created by Ahriman is that of cooking corpses, for which there is no atonement, and of which the penalty is death (*Vend.* i. 17, viii. 73f.; Strabo, p. 732). The eating of the carcass of a dog or the corpse of a man makes one unclean for ever, and it is prescribed that the heart of the man guilty of this crime shall be torn out, and his eyes put out (*Vend.* vii. 23; *Šad Dar*, lxxi. 2; *Grand Rivāyat*, p. 123).

The ground on which a dog or man has died is not to be tilled for a period of one year. The man who does not observe this rule is punishable with two hundred stripes. The man who tills the ground without cleansing it of the bones, hair, urine, and blood lying on it becomes a *pešōtannu*, and receives two hundred stripes with the two instruments of punishment as a penalty (*Vend.* vi. 8f.). It is sinful to throw bones of a dead dog or a dead man on the ground, as the marrow flowing from them pollutes the ground. The penalty of throwing a bone of the size of the top-joint of the little finger is thirty stripes, and rises proportionately, to the maximum penalty of one thousand stripes when the body of a dead dog or a dead man is thrown on the ground (*ib.* vi. 10-25). Bringing back fire into a house in which a man has died, within nine nights in winter and a month in summer, is punishable with two hundred stripes with the *aspa-aštrā*, and two hundred with the *sraošō-caranā* (*ib.* v. 43f.).

5. The crime of ill-treating the dog.—The Iranians held the dog as the sacred animal created by Ormazd, and rigorous punishments are prescribed for his ill-treatment. The giving of bad food to various classes of dogs is punishable with fifty to two hundred stripes, in accordance with the importance of the class of dogs (*Vend.* xiii. 24-27). Seven hundred stripes with each of the two implements are prescribed for him who smites a bitch that is with young (*ib.* xv. 50). Five hundred to one thousand stripes are the lot of those who kill various kinds of dogs (*ib.* xiii. 4, 12-15). The murder of a water-dog is to be atoned for by ten thousand stripes, or by carrying ten thousand loads of sweet-scented wood to the fire, or an equal number of *barsom* twigs, or by carrying the same number of *zaōthra* libations to the waters, or by killing as many snakes and other noxious creatures, or by helping to contract marriage between the faithful, and by doing various similar redeeming works (*ib.* xiv. 1-18).

6. Crimes relating to women in menses.—Elaborate rules are laid down for the period of menstruation, during which a woman remains in seclusion, the violation of which is generally punishable in the next world. Intercourse with a woman during this period amounts to wilful murder, burning of the life-giving seed, and is punished with thirty stripes for the first offence, and rises to a penalty of ninety stripes in case of its repetition (*Vend.* xvi. 14-16). The penalty rises to one thousand stripes when the offending parties wilfully and knowingly indulge in the crime, and the man has to atone for his sin by an additional performance of meritorious deeds, as those of killing about nine thousand noxious creatures such as snakes, frogs, and ants (*ib.* xviii. 67-74). If the woman who has brought forth a still-born child drinks water for the good of her own health, she

becomes a *pešōtanu*—her offence is punishable with two hundred stripes (*ib.* vii. 70-72).

7. Crimes regarding the purificatory rites.—Capital punishment is meted out to him who officiates as a cleanser without himself being well versed in the rites of cleansing. His hands are to be bound, his head is to be cut off, and his body is to be thrown to the vultures (*Vend.* ix. 47-49). A later work prescribes that he shall be nailed with four nails, his skin taken off, and his head cut off (*Fraser Rivāyat*, p. 398, as quoted by Darmesteter in *SBE* iv. 135, n. 1, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 170, n. 55).

8. Unnatural crime.—Zoroaster denounces this deed as the worst crime against morality (*Ys.* ii. 12). Ahriman is its creator (*Vend.* i. 12). There is no sin greater than this, and the man practising it becomes worthy of death (*Sad Dar*, ix. 2). This is the only crime which entitles any one to take the law into his own hands, and to cut off the heads of the sodomites and to rip up their bellies (*ib.* ix. 3 f.). The *Dāistān-i Dēnik* (lxxvi. 3) modifies this, and states that, before taking the law into one's own hands, one should try to impress the heinousness of the crime on the minds of the wicked sinners, but, if that is of no avail, one may kill them on the spot. The sodomite is called a demon, a worshipper of demons, a male paramour of demons, a female paramour of demons, a wife of demons, as wicked as a demon; he is a demon in his whole being while he lives, and remains so after death (*Vend.* viii. 32). The faithful should not have any intercourse with such a man, except by way of attempting to reclaim him from this inexcusable crime (*Dāistān-i Dēnik*, lxxii. 10). The crime puts one on a par with Ahriman, Afrāsiyāb, Zohak, and other wicked ones (*Sad Dar*, ix. 5), and greatly increases the joy of the Evil Spirit (*ib.* 6). Eight hundred stripes with each of the two rods is the penalty for him who has been forced by violence to this crime, but there is no atonement for him who voluntarily submits to it (*Vend.* viii. 26 f.). The same crime committed with a woman is equally heinous (*Sad Dar*, ix. 7).

9. Adultery and abortion.—See ADULTERY (Parsi) in vol. I. p. 133 f., and FETICIDE.

LITERATURE.—J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892, ii. Introd. pp. xv-xxiv, *SBE* iv., Introd. lxxii-lxxvii; W. Geiger, *Ostirān. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 458-460 (Eng. tr. by Darab, *Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians* London, 1885-1886, ii. 35-43); M. Flügel, *The Zend-Avesta and Eastern Religions*, Baltimore, 1898, pp. 199-204; V. Henry, *Le Parsisme*, Paris, 1905, pp. 120-126; Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1907, pp. 68-74; P. K. Motiwala, 'The Criminal Law of Ancient Iran,' in *Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 183-199; A. K. Vesaveala, 'The Signification of the Words "Upāzanānām Upāzōt,"' in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 125-129. On punishments (often little else than barbarous caprice) in the Persian Empire, see especially E. Brissou, *De regio Persarum principatu*, ed. Lederlein, Strassburg, 1710, pp. 132 ff., 560 ff., 769; G. Rawlinson, *Fifth Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1867, ch. iii. *sub fin.*

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CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Roman).—Roman law never acquired on its criminal side the clearness and precision which characterized its civil applications, in an ever increasing degree, until the collapse of the Empire came. Among the many causes for the imperfect development of criminal law, the most important is the comparatively large influence which political conditions exercised upon the definition and punishment of crime. Under the democratic system, when the assembled citizens were in theory sovereign, evolution was slow; with the advent of autocratic rulers—Sulla, Julius Cæsar, and the Emperors—change proceeded apace, and criminal administration was made more systematic. For the purposes of our brief exposition, three sections of the subject may be distinguished. The first comprises the notions attached to crime, the gradual abridgment of the gulf between criminal law and morality,

and the widening jurisdiction of the State over offences. The second branch concerns the procedure leading up to punishment; the third, the nature of the punishments inflicted. Needless to say, the boundaries between these three divisions cannot be precisely drawn.

In the earliest days of the Roman community, most functions of the State were rudimentary, and there was little scope for the public punishment of actions committed by citizens, even when they shocked the moral sense. Much was left to the vengeance of heaven, and in some cases any citizen could make himself the champion of the offended gods. The close-knit organization of the family (*familia*) and the clan (*gens*) also greatly restricted the scope of criminal law; and, though the framework of the *gens* early fell to pieces, that of the *familia* retained many of its primitive elements until Roman civilization succumbed. Survivals in the historical period clearly show that the head of the family (*paterfamilias*) once possessed uncontrolled authority (*imperium*) over the lives of all who were in his power. The wife, the child (born in the family or brought into it by adoption from without), and the slave were in this respect all on the same level. Of course ancestral custom (*mos maiorum*), powerful in every age of Rome, restricted in practice the exercise of this authority, though in principle it was absolute, and required it to be used with a certain formality and reasonableness. The law stepped in later and protected to an increasing extent the freeborn members of the family. New forms of marriage enabled the wife to escape from the absolute *imperium* of her husband. Examples of the execution of women by family decree are found in the 2nd cent. B.C., and of men in the 1st; but the bare right of the head of the family to put to death those subjected to him was only removed by Constantine, and the cruel exposure of newly-born children was permitted long after his time. Even the slave was protected by the Imperial legislation. See art. CONSTANTINE, above, p. 80.

In so far as the State corrected crime, the supreme magistrate, whether known as *rex*, *dictator*, *consul*, or *prætor*, was, in the remoter age, in the same position as the *paterfamilias*, that is to say, his *imperium* was, within its own sphere, in principle unlimited, though he would often have to submit, in the case of citizens, to the *force majeure* of custom, and in the case of aliens to that of treaty obligations. The Republic introduced, as one of its few fundamental innovations, the right of appeal (*provocatio*), which entitled every citizen to a trial by his fellow-burgesses in all weightier matters. Only in special circumstances, which will be described later, was he subjected to arbitrary treatment during the Republican age. The protection afforded by the *provocatio* was at first valid only against magistrates who acted within the city and a thousand paces outside, but it was gradually extended to Italy and even to the provinces. The changes which were brought about by the Empire were profound. As in other departments of government, so in criminal administration, the Emperor became supreme. From the first his autocracy was practical, and in the end it was undisguised.

Apart from the traces of primitive practice preserved in later institutions, the first glimpse afforded to us of the criminal side of Roman law is given by the fragments of the Twelve Tables. Punishment of individuals by special enactment (*privilegium*), i.e. by an act of attainder, is forbidden. The State recognizes as offences against itself only a few acts—treason (*perduellio*), aggravated murder (*parricidium*), arson, theft of grain from the soil, lamprooning, and possibly false witness.

The definition of crimes was vague, especially (as was natural) in the case of treason, but later legislation gave more precision to the legal view of crime, and extended the range of criminal inquiry. Sulla carried out a great codification of criminal law, and grouped crimes under eight or nine heads. To each group a separate court (*questio*) was assigned, each with a fundamental law, dealing carefully with the substance and the forms of its jurisdiction, and Sulla's regulations were further elaborated by Julius Cæsar and Augustus. The courts set up by Sulla dealt with the following crimes: (1) extortion by officials in the provinces (*repetundæ*); (2) theft to the detriment of the gods (*sacrilegium*), or of the State (*peculatus*); (3) murder and offences akin to it—brigandage, misuse of criminal procedure in capital cases, poison, magic, arson, and wrecking; (4) public bribery (*ambitus*); (5) treason (now termed *maiestas*); (6) forgery (*falsum*); (7) the infliction of bodily damage (*iniuria*); (8) public violence (*vis*); and (9) kidnapping (*plagium*). The crimes mentioned are only the principal ones which came before these courts, for they also dealt with many other outrages (such as sexual offences) by direction of particular statutes, under conditions which are difficult to determine. Augustus established separate courts to deal with (1) adultery, which had not been previously treated as a public crime; and (2) usury, against which many Republican statutes had been directed (mostly in vain), and the offence of artificially raising the price of corn. Later on, many forms of wrongdoing, e.g. *delatio* (the trade of the informer), received special attention from the government. Thus, by the time of the early Empire, a multitude of deeds, not formerly punishable, or punishable only by fine, came to be included in the category of crimes, while others that had been vaguely classed together as criminal were separated and precisely defined. As will be explained later, many acts which did not come before criminal courts properly so called were subject to punishment in other ways. The repression and prevention of crime were much more rigorously carried out by the Empire than by the Republic. For instance, Augustus first effectively suppressed brigandage in Italy and piracy on the high seas. The range of private vengeance, which was wide in the early age, was now narrowed almost to vanishing point, and only violent attacks against which there was no defence but violence excused homicide. The Twelve Tables permitted the nocturnal thief to be killed unconditionally, but later the killer had to prove urgent need for his action.

One department of crime needs special comment—that of treason, the treatment of which is vital in Roman history at every period. The old name *perduellio* indicates by its derivation that treachery in connexion with war was solely or chiefly viewed as treason in the early days; but soon the name was made to cover any act which the assembly of citizens could be induced to regard as a deadly injury done to the community at large. In the later age of the Republic, the offence was called *maiestas*, which is an abbreviation for *crimen maiestatis imminute*, a charge of impairing the greatness of the country. The range of acts which might come under this description was wide, so that many breaches of a citizen's or a magistrate's duty, besides those closely connected with war, belonged to this category. With the establishment of the Empire, treasonable actions came to be viewed as directed against the Emperor alone. This was the natural ultimate development of the Republican idea that insults to the higher magistrates were treasonable. One of the most interesting Roman applications of the doctrine of treason, and one somewhat remote from modern

ideas, made it cover disrespect for, or attacks on, the recognized religion of the State. REGARD for religion was a matter of civic duty, though the State did not force religious observances on the citizen as such until the conflict between Christianity and the Empire became acute in the 3rd century. Till then, a Christian's religion would rarely bring him into antagonism with the government, unless some public function, such as that of magistrate or soldier, required him to join in heathen ceremonies. The deification of the Emperors provided for the first time a cult which was common to the whole Empire, and rendered the position of the Christians more difficult. But the persecutions which they suffered were due mainly to local fanaticism, and were seldom enjoined or favoured by the central administration. When Christianity became the Imperial religion, both heathenism and heresy were treated as public offences.

As has been stated, the absolute control of the chief magistrate over punishment was abolished on the foundation of the Republic. The right of appeal (*provocatio*) entitled the citizen to a trial by his fellow-burgesses, and the magistrate who set the right at naught was himself subject to penalty. But limits were imposed on the *provocatio*, sometimes by law, sometimes by custom. At first the dictator was not bound to grant an appeal, but he was placed in the same position as other magistrates by a *lex Valeria*, enacted in 301 B.C. Military rule naturally excluded the *provocatio*. The idea that a *lex Porcia*, passed before 108 B.C., withdrew from the commander in the field the right to impose the death penalty, rests on a wrong inference from a passage in Sallust (*Jug. 59*). The statutes which conferred power on Sulla, and on the Triumvirs in 43 B.C., established naked autocracies, and legalized the proscriptions. The Senate from time to time claimed the right to authorize the magistrates to inquire into offences and to punish them without regard to the assembly. The earliest recorded example of this usurpation is afforded by the suppression of the so-called Bacchanalian conspiracy in 186 B.C., when, in a time of panic, many citizens, as well as members of allied communities, were arbitrarily executed. This was done in the interest of religion, over which the Senate exercised an unquestioned supervision, but later the special criminal commission was used as a political engine. After the deaths of the Gracchi many of their supporters suffered in this way, though the younger brother was the author of laws which were designed to put an end to such proceedings. The decree of the Senate, commonly known as *senatus consultum ultimum*, which empowered magistrates to attack by force and slay men whom the senators chose to regard as rebels, was a device which belonged to the decadence of the Republic. It was first put into force against the younger Gracchus and his followers; the slaughter of the elder with his partisans was not even covered by this form. The decree was repeatedly passed and acted on afterwards, though its legality was fiercely contested by the democrats. Apart from the special criminal commissions issued by the Senate, and the *senatus consultum ultimum*, some cases existed in which custom sanctioned the summary punishment of a wrongdoer. Thus erring Vestals were sentenced to death by the Pontifex Maximus, though in the later Republican age they were sometimes arraigned before the assembly. A citizen who transgressed against the rights of a foreign people could be surrendered to that people. One who did not appear when summoned to military service could be sold into slavery, and so might the burgess who disregarded the call of the censors at the periodical registration of

citizens and their property. In these instances the citizens were deemed to have passed judgment on themselves by their absence (Cic. *pro Cœc.* § 99). It may be added that, in the last century of the Republic, the tribunes of the plebs sometimes asserted, though they were not allowed to exercise, the privilege of putting to death summarily any one who insulted them. This was assumed to be in accordance with the provisions of the ancient *leges sacratæ*, which rendered the persons of the tribunes inviolable. These laws, like others of an early date, merely decreed against the offender the vague condemnation contained in the words *sacer esto* ('let him be accursed'). The scholars of the later Republic, and the tribunes along with them, held that the clause deprived the guilty man of all legal protection, gave every citizen the right to decide upon his criminality, and allowed his blood to be shed without blame, though, from the earliest days of Roman civilization, some public control must have existed over such executions.

The establishment of the plebeian tribunate (494 B.C.), the enactment of the code of the Decemvirs known as the 'Twelve Tables' (450 B.C.), and the laws which were adopted when the Decemvirs were overthrown (449 B.C.) had a profound effect upon the course of criminal justice. The right of appeal was strongly confirmed. Arbitrary punishments of individuals by the assemblies, apart from the provisions of general statutes, were forbidden. Such resolutions of the assemblies were called *privilegia*. Cicero rightly contended that his banishment in 58 B.C., by an act of the *comitia centuriata*, was unconstitutional. The Twelve Tables also prescribed that no citizen's *caput*, that is to say, his life or his status as a burgess, should be placed in peril except before the 'greatest assembly' (*comitatu maximo*), by which we must understand the *comitia centuriata*. As the principal State crime in the earliest days was *perduellio*, or treason connected with war, it was natural that the assembly which comprised the warriors, past and present, of the nation should constitute the highest criminal court. On the other hand, a man's property could be assailed in either of the two other assemblies, the *comitia tributa*, which met under the presidency of a magistrate invested with the *imperium*, or the *concilium plebis*, which was summoned by the plebeian tribunes, and was organized, like the *comitia tributa*, on the basis of the local tribes. An old statute permitted all magistrates to impose fines without appeal, up to a definite amount; beyond the limit, one of the two assemblies had to decide. No motion in a criminal trial was constitutional which invited the citizens to combine a personal punishment (*pœna*) with a fine (*multa*).

The inconvenience of using as courts of justice the legislative assemblies, at which hundreds of thousands of citizens had the right to be present, was very great. The criminal trial, for the more important offences, required four meetings at stated intervals before the final verdict could be given; but it may be inferred from a line in Plautus, which describes the burgesses as making a pastime of their duties as judges (*Captivi*, 475), that there was little ceremony about cases of less consequence. All acts of assemblies were in theory subject to the elaborate rules of veto on which the whole Republican government was based; but custom seems to have restricted within narrow bounds their application to criminal affairs. The tribunes of the plebs acquired a prominent position as prosecutors for high crimes and misdemeanours, though at Rome no burgess was ever in theory debarred from entering on a criminal prosecution, unless he had forfeited the right by some misconduct of his own. The difficulties

attendant on the comitial system led to a new arrangement, and in 149 B.C. the epoch-making *lex Calpurnia repetundarum* established a special court (*quæstio*), with delegated authority to try governors who were charged with robbing the provincial subjects of Rome. As has been stated above, Sulla placed all recognized crimes under the sway of such standing courts, and, though recourse to the more cumbrous process before the *comitia* was still possible, it was rarely attempted. The *quæstiones* were exempted by law from the operation of the magistrates' veto (*intercessio*). Occasionally temporary courts were established to deal with particular offences. In this way the men who had trafficked with Jugurtha were punished, and Clodius was tried and acquitted by special judges. The jurors were originally drawn from the Senate, for which Gaius Gracchus substituted the equestrian order. Sulla reinstated the Senators, but after 70 B.C. the two bodies shared the privilege with men of a somewhat lower station. Both qualifications and procedure were varied from time to time by legislation. The *quæstiones* continued to exist till the 3rd cent. A.D., but the parallel jurisdictions which the Empire introduced continually impaired their authority until they were extinguished.

There were modes of punishment which did not depend on an arraignment before a criminal tribunal, properly so called. The censors in the time of the Republic could penalize the citizens in many ways, degrading their status, and even inflicting on them pecuniary loss. They were not bound by the criminal statutes, and took cognizance of moral and social offences which were outside the purview of the laws. But succeeding censors were not tied to the decisions of their predecessors. The forms of civil law were employed to vindicate some breaches of public order, and also to provide redress for certain forms of fraud which could not be adequately punished by exactions in money. Not only in Rome, but in every municipal community, there were fines which were recoverable by civil process, on the public behalf. In some private suits, the defendant, if condemned, incurred additional penalties which were not pecuniary. The judgment inflicted on him a stigma (*ignominia* or *infamia*) which impaired the value of his citizenship and left him under many disqualifications for public life. The circumstances were such that the losing litigant was held to have been specially bound to honourable action, as when one partner in business had cheated another, or a guardian defrauded his ward. Theft, when practised by one citizen against another, without violence, was technically not a crime, but condemnation in a suit for damages in pursuance of theft carried ignominy with it. The same stigma rested *ipso facto* upon men engaged in occupations regarded as degrading, that of an actor, for instance, or a public auctioneer (*præco*), or a gladiator.

Roman jurisdiction over offences was exercised at first only as far as the *Romanus ager* extended, that is to say, in the regions of Italy possessed of burgess rights. Outside this pale foreign law prevailed. After the Social War (90-89 B.C.), Italy was parcelled out among Roman municipalities, and there had to be a division between the local jurisdiction and the central courts in Rome. Little is known of the principles on which the discrimination was based, but we read with some surprise that the statute of Sulla relating to murder restricted the court at the capital to cases arising in Rome. Before the end of the Republican period, the rule was established that a Roman citizen outside Italy could claim to be tried in Italy for any serious offence, and in the provinces the authority of the provincial governor in matters

of jurisdiction tended perpetually to encroach upon the autonomy of the municipalities and peoples. As is well known, the Roman government granted special privileges to the Jewish communities.

The advent of the Empire brought about a great transformation in the criminal law of Rome, as in all other parts of Roman polity. The paramount authority of the Emperor, and, in particular, his power of pardoning, led ultimately to a complete recasting of criminal procedure both in Rome and outside it. At Rome new officials, especially the *praefectus urbi* and the *praefectus praetorio*, gradually acquired a large jurisdiction; and, in the end, practically all important charges came to be tried by officers who were Imperial nominees. As the world became Romanized, local diversities in privilege disappeared, until the celebrated decree of Caracalla was passed (A.D. 212), which conferred the franchise on the whole Empire, and led to uniform, or nearly uniform, legal practice all over the Roman dominions. In the early days of the Empire every citizen had a right of appeal to the Emperor, as is exemplified by the case of St. Paul (Ac 25¹²), but by the 3rd cent. each provincial governor received from the Emperor the 'right of the sword' (*ius gladii*), which enabled him to dispose of the lives of provincial citizens, except in the case of Roman senators and members of the municipal senates (*decuriones*). After the accession of Augustus to power, the Roman Senate became a high court of justice, trying for the most part senators who were charged with the more serious crimes. But, just as the *questiones* were ultimately destroyed by the dominance of the Emperor, so the jurisdiction of the Senate was reduced to municipal proportions under the monarchy established by Diocletian and Constantine.

As in Italy, so in the provinces, the extent of local autonomy possessed by the different cities and peoples who were subject to Rome varied greatly while the great process of assimilation was being carried out. The tendency, however, to increase the authority of the Roman governors was strong from the first, and in the end nothing but a limited control in matters of police, and in other minor affairs, was left to the municipal courts, Italy being placed in this respect on the same footing as the provinces. The history of police jurisdiction, at all periods of Roman history, is obscure. During the Republican period, citizens of the criminal class at Rome seem to have been dealt with severely, little regard being paid to their right of appeal. Indeed, the value of the *provocatio* greatly depended on the willingness of the magistrates—in the last resort, of the tribunes—to secure it to the burgess, while to the red-handed assassin or the thief taken in the act the *leges Valeriae* and *Porciae* were of little avail.

The nature of the punishments inflicted by the Roman State varied greatly in the course of its history. We can clearly discern a time when the community, if it interfered at all, inflicted the penalty of death and no other. Under the system of trial before the *comitia*, this was the only punishment which the chief assembly, the *comitia centuriata*, could assign. But the custom was early established whereby the culprit, before the final verdict was given, could shake the dust of his country from off his feet and go into exile. In this case, at the final hearing the plea was put in that 'he had changed his soil with a view to exile' (*solum vertisse exilii causa*), whereupon the assembly passed a resolution known as *interdictio aqua et igni* (in the full form *tecto* was added), refusing the offender (now no longer a Roman) the right to receive the chief necessities of life—shelter, water, and fire—within Roman territory, as technically defined by the phrase *Romanus ager*, which for

this purpose was never deemed to extend beyond Italy. The *questiones*, in the case of the more serious offences, followed the earlier practice of the centuries. Exile was such a common incident in the early civic community that many treaties made between Rome and other States included a clause binding the contracting parties to give harbourage to outlaws. Until the time of the Social War, which led to the enfranchisement of Italy, a Roman could find a refuge no further away than Tibur (Tivoli); but Milo, condemned for the murder of Clodius in 52 B.C., had to place himself beyond the bounds of the peninsula, at Massilia. Aliens within the *Romanus ager* could be warned to quit it by the magistrates, unless international agreement stood in the way. This form of removal was called *relegatio*. But after the Hannibalic War the government readily disregarded treaty obligation, and the repeated indiscriminate expulsion from Rome of Latins and other Italian allies did much to bring on the great Social War. This form of banishment was extended to Roman citizens in the Imperial period. The *relegatus* was merely ordered to live in a particular place during the Emperor's pleasure. This was the only restriction on the person's privileges as a citizen, and Ovid, banished to Tomi, was careful to insist that he was only *relegatus*, not *exul*.

Cicero laid it down in the year 66 B.C. (*pro Cæc.* § 101) that *exilium* was not a punishment known to Roman law, but a means of escape from punishment; yet he himself broke through this technical principle three years later, when, as consul, he passed a law to check public bribery. Thereafter *exilium* was freely used as a penalty, and new forms of it were devised in the Imperial age. The old *interdictio aqua et igni* tended to fall out of use, and for it was substituted the *deportatio in insulam*, rendered familiar to us by Tacitus and Juvenal, who describe the islets of the Aegean as crammed with exiles.

The death penalty, except in the military sphere, was, as we have seen, hardly ever exacted in the Republican age, but in the more important cases it could not be so escaped under the Empire. Probably nothing else so fostered the bitterness entertained by the nobles against the Imperial system on its first institution. Yet the infliction of death was exceptional in the first two centuries, and was confined chiefly to the more important crimes which came before the Senate and the Emperor. Both these authorities were, practically, law-making powers, and were not bound by statute, as were the regular courts. From the accession of the Severi (A.D. 193), capital punishment became more and more common, and the number of offences to which it was allotted was continually increased. In the end not only treason and murder, but arson, magic, coining, kidnapping, aggravated violence, and a number of other wrongful acts might be treated capitally. The forms of execution were also changed and extended. Originally, as a rule, the offender was tied to a stake and flogged, then released and beheaded. This was symbolized by the bundles of rods (*fascēs*), each containing an axe (*securis*), which were carried by lictors in front of a magistrate invested with the unimpaired *imperium*. In the city the axe was laid aside. Beheading by the axe was common in the earlier Imperial age (cf. Rev 20⁴), but was forbidden later, when the sword was substituted. The old formulae connected with the passing of a death sentence by the *comitia centuriata* show that, before the time when escape into exile was permitted, the condemned criminal was sometimes flogged and crucified. The practice was revived by the Empire, 'according to the custom of our ancestors' (*more maiorum*), as the saying

went. During the main part of the Republican period, crucifixion was restricted to slaves, except in rare instances, such as the case of men convicted of misconduct with Vestals. A quaint early method of disposing of one who had slain a near kinsman (*parricida*) was to sew him up in a sack with a cock, an ape, and a serpent, and then to drown him. The Vestal was walled up, and died of starvation. In both these cases the sentence had originally a domestic character, and we have in them strong evidence of the primitive objection to the shedding of blood within the domestic circle. The Vestals were the daughters of the great State family, and were condemned by the Pontifex Maximus, who stood to them in the relation of *paterfamilias*. Something of a religious character attached to the spilling of the criminal's blood by the community. But the gods of the family could receive no such offering. Later, when the *paterfamilias* executed a member of his family, he was regarded as the deputy of the magistrate. The cross was used against free men without scruple by the Imperial administrators, until its employment was abolished by Constantine on religious grounds. The equally cruel death by burning was also familiar to the Empire. It was applied, by a crude sort of homœopathic retaliation, in the age of the Twelve Tables, to the citizen guilty of arson, and, later, it was occasionally a form of vengeance for military crime. The killing by fire of the Christian martyrs was technically a consequence of treason. Before the establishment of the Empire, the exposure of offenders to death in the arena, by wild beasts, was rare, though we hear of it as inflicted on slaves, deserters, or prisoners of war. But later it became one of the commonest forms of execution, and it lasted into the Christian period, being still in use in the time of Justinian. Malefactors who were executed in prison, like the Catilinarian conspirators, were usually strangled by the *carnefex*, or public executioner, under orders from the city commissioners of police, the *tresviri capitales*. We hear also, in Republican Rome, of wrongdoers being hurled from the Tarpeian rock on the Capitoline hill; and the same thing happened occasionally later, by order of the Senate; while the Twelve Tables prescribed this form of punishment for bearing false witness. The application of it in the age of the Empire seems to have been restricted to no particular offences, and to have been irregular. Penal servitude was a novelty introduced by the Empire. Criminals were often condemned to work in the mines, which were mostly the property of the government, or to do other menial services, sometimes in chains, slaves and the lowest class of freemen chiefly being exposed to this kind of suffering. Another kind of penal slavery was enforced enlistment among the gladiators. While the Republic lasted, citizen rights were completely lost only as a secondary consequence of condemnation for serious wrongdoing, but such loss was later on bound up directly with *deportatio* and the more severe forms of penal servitude. In all ages, some particular privileges of the citizen might be taken away while others were left. Imprisonment was not regularly inflicted on criminals either by the early or by the later Roman law. Incarceration was temporary, for purposes of inquiry, or for safe custody, till a sentence was carried out, although, on the other hand, the condemned debtor could be held in bondage by his creditor. Bodily chastisements were seldom imposed in the Republican epoch, excepting in the camp, where mutilation and scourging occurred, until the latter was forbidden by a *lex Porcia*. In the 2nd cent. B.C. earlier *leges Porcie* had protected citizens in their civil capacity against stripes. Yet we know

that St. Paul suffered the punishment (2 Co 11²⁸) though he was 'born free' (Ac 22²⁸). The so-called *lex talionis*—'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'—seems to have been sanctioned, probably by an order of a court, by the Twelve Tables. Under the absolute monarchy, after Diocletian came to the throne, mutilation of various kinds was permitted for a number of offences, and we often hear that Christian martyrs were subjected to it, and so, a little later, were heretics and worshippers of the old gods. The subjection of free men to torture during judicial inquiry crept in soon after the foundation of the Empire, and in the end became regular in certain cases.

As has been mentioned above, public fines were in early days partly inflicted by the magistrates without appeal, partly ordered by the *comitia* or *questio* after appeal, and partly recoverable by civil process. Although the legislation which ensued on the fall of the Decemvirs rendered it illegal for a prosecutor to propose a personal penalty along with a pecuniary fine, yet in cases of *perduellio* the condemned man's property was forfeited to the exchequer. When the *questio* was substituted for the comitial trial, this penalty ceased. The confiscation of Cicero's property was by special legislative act, and was irregular, but Cæsar introduced forfeiture for aggravated murder (*parricidium*), and Augustus for treason (*maiestas*); and, later, it usually followed upon *relegatio* and *deportatio*. In the case of other offences there was, under the Empire, as a rule, partial confiscation. The oppressive regulations connected with the Imperial *fiscus*, and the *lex Papia Poppæa*, which penalized celibacy, led to frequent and extensive deprivations of property.

It only remains to note that, while the Republic, in theory at least, treated all citizens as equal before the criminal law, the later Empire frankly respected persons. Subjects were divided into two classes, the 'more honourable' (*honestiores*), and the 'more humble' (*humiliores*) or plebeians (*plebei*). The higher class consisted of national and provincial senators, knights (*equites*), veteran soldiers, and certain grades of Imperial officials. These were exempt from crucifixion, from death in the arena, from penal servitude, and from scourging and torture; and it was a privilege even of a local senator (*decurio*), after the 2nd cent., that the governor of the province could not put him to death without a confirmation of the sentence by the Emperor. The regular Imperial courts took a more extensive cognizance of crimes committed by slaves than was the case earlier.

LITERATURE.—The whole criminal law of Rome has been exhaustively treated by T. Mommsen in his *Röm. Strafrecht* (Leipzig, 1899), by which earlier works on the subject are, in the main, superseded. For the judicial system of the later Empire, with its complicated arrangements, the work of O. Karlowa, *Röm. Rechtsgesch.* (Leipzig, 1885) is most valuable. A brief summary will be found in the art. 'Judicium,' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*³, 1890-1891; more information in the art. 'Judicium' and 'Præfectus,' in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des antiquités*³, 1890 ff. J. S. REID.

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Teutonic and Slavic).—I. General conceptions of crime and punishment.—(1) *Teutonic*.—We learn from Tacitus that the practice of blood-revenge was an important element in the legislation of the Teutonic peoples of his time.¹ The word used to express the execution of such revenge appears in nearly all the Teutonic languages: thus, Goth. *wrikan*, *gawrikan*, A.S. *wrekan* (Eng. 'wreak'), O.H.G. *rehhan* (Germ. *rächen*), 'avenge,' 'persecute,' 'punish.' The possibility of commuting blood-revenge to wergeld and fine is also mentioned by

¹ Germ. 21: 'Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est.'

Tacitus,¹ and, as may be inferred from the affinity of A.S. *were*, M.H.G. *were*, 'wergeld,' with Skr. *vaira* (cf. BLOOD-FEUD [Aryan], vol. ii. p. 724), it goes back to the primitive history of the Teutonic race. From that remote age come also the terms O.H.G. *buoza*, O.Sax. *bōta*, O.Norse *bót*, 'fine,' which are cognate with Goth. *batiza*, *batists*, 'better,' 'best,' and originally signified 'repair of damage'; likewise Goth. *skuldō*, *skula*, 'debt,' 'debtor,' O.H.G. *sculd*, *sculda*, A.S. *scylð*, which are all derived from Goth. *skal*, *skulum*, 'to be owing,' and mean literally 'the obligation to pay' (wergeld or fine), and then, figuratively, guilt in general, whether before God or man (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 49^b). For the Goth. *dulgs*, 'guilt,' etc., see below.

Even by the time of Tacitus, however, blood-revenge and its remission by wergeld and fine were treated as something more than the private affairs of the families concerned. The injured group, instead of exacting blood-revenge, might, as is implied in Tacitus,² refer its 'cause' (*Sache*; Goth. *sakjō*, O.H.G. *sahha*, A.S. *sacu* [Eng. 'sake'], O.Norse, *sök*) to the public assembly. The compensation fixed by this tribunal was regarded as in some sense a penalty, and the amount was shared between the injured party (or his relations) on the one hand, and the chief (or in republican States) the community on the other.³

If we regard the intervention of the public assembly as involving no more than an attempt on the part of the tribe to bring about a peaceful settlement of such feuds as were especially dangerous to the common weal,⁴ then the germs of the procedure among the Teutons may be referred to a very remote age. In the main, however, the offences dealt with by the assembly (Goth. *majl*, A.S. *mæðel*, O.H.G. *mahal*, O.Norse, *mál*) in its judicial capacity would be, alike in antiquity and in the time of Tacitus, those which are included under a term common to Greek and Sanskrit, viz. *δῶς*=*āgas*, expressing an idea that must go back to the dawn of Aryan history (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 50^a).

Of the primitive Teutonic terms applied to crimes against the community or its tutelary deities, and punishable by the community, special account must be taken of the following three: (1) O.Sax. *sundea*, 'misdeed,' O.Fris. *sinne*, 'crime,' A.S. *synn*, 'transgression,' 'wrong,' 'enmity' (Eng. 'sin'), O.H.G. *suntea*, 'sin'; (2) Goth. *fravairhts*, A.S. *forwyrt*, O.Sax. *farwurt*, 'sin,' O.H.G. *farworaht*, 'sinful'; (3) Goth. *fastrina*, 'ground of accusation,' O.Norse *firn*, A.S. *firen*, O.H.G. *firina*, 'crime,' 'sin.' Of these the nearest equivalent to Gr. *δῶς*=Skr. *āgas* are the first series (O.Sax. *sundea*, etc., probably related to Lat. *sons*, 'guilty'), and the second (Goth. *fravairhts* originally signifying 'being liable'; cf. Germ. *eine Strafe verurteilen*, 'to incur a punishment'). In seeking to render the primitive connotation of these words, we must, of course, guard against introducing Christian ideas; yet the fact that the Church selected precisely these terms to express the conception of sin, i.e. transgression against God, shows that even in heathen antiquity they must have implied some notion of trespass against the gods. The third series (Goth. *fastrina*, etc.) has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Some connect it with Lat. *per* in *periuro*, *perperam*, Gr. *πέπαι*, and

interpret it as 'a deed that goes beyond,' i.e. beyond the crimes usually entailing blood-revenge; others connect it with Goth. *fērja*, 'snarer,' O.H.G. *fāra*, A.S. *fær*, 'snaring,' and regard it as signifying an offence involving the element of secrecy. It is in any case certain, as appears also from the language of Tacitus,¹ that the Teutons had at an early period drawn relatively fine distinctions within the general idea of wrongdoing. Among the various groups of words thus employed are the forms with the prefixes *mein-* (esp. O.Norse *mein-eiðr*, A.S. *mān-āp* [cf. O.Eng. 'manswear'], O.H.G. *mein-eit* [Germ. *Meineid*, 'perjury']) and *missa-* (Goth. *missaðs*, O.H.G. *missitāt*, 'misdeed'), implying respectively the attributes of *deceitfulness* and *perversity* in conduct. This deepened conception of wrongdoing is also indicated by the words Goth. *skanda*=O.H.G. *scanta*, 'disgrace'; O.H.G. *scama*, 'sense of shame,' and O.H.G. *lastar*, O.Norse *lastr*, 'error,' 'vice,' 'disgrace,' from *lahan*, 'to blame' (cf. also O.Irish *locht*, 'error').

The primitive Teutonic word for 'punishment' is found in the series: O.Norse *viti*, A.S. *vite* (M. Eng. and Scots *vite*), O.H.G. *missitāt*, 'misdeed,' it is related to Goth. *fravairtan*, 'avenge,' O.H.G. *wizan*, 'punish,' and *far-wizan*, 'punish,' 'banish,' and, as connected with the root *vid* (Lat. *video*), seems to be equivalent to the Lat. *animadvertere in aliquem*, 'to proceed against one.' A form peculiar to the Western Teutonic dialects is O.H.G. *haramscara*, A.S. *hearmseccare*, i.e. something imposed as a disgrace (O.H.G. *haram*, A.S. *hearm*=O.Slav. *sramŭ*, Russ. *soromŭ*, 'disgrace'). The O.H.G. *antōn*, *anadōn*, 'punish,' 'blame' (cf. O.H.G. *anto*, *anado*, 'indictable offence') is exclusively German, as are also the much later and still etymologically obscure words M.H.G. *strafe*, 'punishment,' and *veime*, 'vehme.'

(2) *Slavic*.—Turning next to the Slavs, we note that, apart from the treaties of Prince Oleg (A.D. 912; Jirecek, no. 1) and Prince Igor (A.D. 945; Jirecek, no. 2) with the Greeks, the earliest Russian document of a legal character is the collection of ancient prescriptive laws, decrees of princes, and Christian-Byzantine enactments, known as the *Russkaja Pravda*. This has been handed down in two forms, a shorter and a longer, and its original draft is attributed to Jaroslav (1019-54), by whose sons it was brought to completion (Jirecek, nos. 3 and 4). We have, accordingly, no direct information regarding the legislation of the earlier centuries, and must fall back upon *a posteriori* arguments and philological data. From the records of the ancient annalists we infer that in the period before the migration, i.e. in the early centuries of the Christian era, the social fabric of the Slavs was of a character which may be outlined as follows. The Slavic people were a congeries of clans and tribes, each group resting upon a basis of kinship.² At the head of each group stood the 'elders' (*starešina*), who are called *zupani* (from *župa*, 'domicile') by some foreign writers,³ and *phyes* by others.⁴ In the early centuries of our era the Slavs had borrowed their word *kŭnezh*, 'prince,' from the Teutons (O.H.G. *kuning*, 'king,' etc.). The form of government was purely democratic, and the decision of all questions rested with the public assembly.⁵

¹ Germ. 12: 'Distinctio poenarum ex delicto . . . Diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oportet, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi.'

² Nestor, *Chronicle*, xii.: 'They lived each with his kindred (*rodŭ*), and upon his own territory, every one ruling over his own kindred.'

³ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, cap. 29: 'Principes hi populi habent nullos praeter zupanos, senes, seniores, maiores natu.'

⁴ Maurikios, *Ars militaris*, xii. (ed. Scheffer, Upsala, 1664, p. 281): πολλοὶ φῆγες καὶ ἀσμφάβως ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

⁵ Procopius, de *Bello Gothico*, lii. 14: τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη ταῦτα, Σκλαβηνοὶ τε καὶ Ἀντα, οὐκ ἀρχοῦνται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν

¹ Germ. 21: 'nec implacabiles durant [inimicitiae]; huius enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero.'

² Germ. 12: 'Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et dis-crimen capitis intendere.'

³ *Ib.*: 'aequorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur: pars mulctae regi vel civitati, pars ipsi qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius, exsolvitur.'

⁴ Germ. 21: 'periculosiores sunt inimicitiae juxta libertatem'

As among the Germans, the legal relation of the various clans to one another was based upon the laws of blood-revenge, of which the primitive Slavic designations are found in O.Slav. *mstīti*, Russ. *mestī*, 'revenge,' and O.Russ. *vražda*, Pol. *wroźda*, etc., lit. 'enmity.' That the practice of blood-revenge persisted among the Slavic peoples until the dawn of historical tradition, and among the Southern Slavs, indeed, until recent times, has been shown in BLOOD-FEUD (Slavonic), vol. ii. p. 733 ff. There is no doubt, moreover, that in very ancient times the blood-revenge could be adjusted by means of the wergeld, and this holds good whether the Russ. term for wergeld, viz. *vira*, is of cognate origin with the above-mentioned Skr. *vaira* and A.S. *wēre*, or was borrowed from one of the Teutonic dialects. If the latter alternative is the right one, the original Slavic term must be looked for in such words as Czech *hlava* (Russ. *golova*, 'head'), Pol. *wroźda*, or Serv. *krv* (Russ. *krvī*, 'blood'), all of which mean both 'homicide' and the 'compensation' paid therefor.

In process of time blood-revenge was gradually abolished, and superseded by ransom (Russ. *vykupū*). The *Russkaja Pravda*, which in its older form sanctions blood-revenge only in cases of murder or serious bodily injury, and confines it within certain degrees of kinship, brings us to this stage, as in other cases it substitutes for blood-revenge the *prodaza*, 'compensation,' 'money-payment for an offence,' lit. 'sale' (of vengeance?). The *prodaza* either fell to the chief alone, or was shared between him and the injured party. That for which compensation was paid was usually called *za obidu*, but it should be noted that *obida* is the common term for *ādika*, and is not limited to its modern sense of 'insult.' The classical tongues were then drawn upon for words to express the idea of compensation; thus we find Gr. *epitimia*, originally 'penance imposed by the Church,' then 'compensation for any offence,' while from the sphere of Latin culture comes *penja* (Lat. *pena*).

The question arises, however, whether in the case of the Slavs, as in that of the Teutons, the conceptions of crime and punishment in general did not spring from the narrower ground of transgression against the community and its tutelary deities. Of Slavic terms for 'crime' there is only one which is represented in all the various dialects, viz. O.Slav. *grěchū*, 'sin,' a word etymologically obscure (cf. Berneker, *Slav. etym. Wörterb.*, Heidelberg, 1908 ff., p. 350 f.). It is certainly the case that this word, as used in a literary tradition under Christian influence from the first, is, in general, practically equivalent to 'sin against God,' precisely like the O.H.G. *suntea* and Goth. *fravaūhts* (see above); it always signifies a transgression in the ecclesiastical sense, while a civil offence is called *prestuplenie*. It should be borne in mind, however, that, as *grěchū* is found in all the Slavic dialects, it must go back to heathen times; and it is natural, therefore, to see in this word the Slavic (as in *suntea* or *fravaūhts* the Teutonic) equivalent of the Gr. *āgos*=Skr. *āgas*. And since, as we saw above, all matters were referred for decision to the public assembly, and as there is also evidence for a primitive Slavic word signifying 'tribunal' (O.Slav. *sadū*), it will hardly be counted rash, the present writer thinks, to assume that here too, as among the Teutons (for the *concilium*, see above), and also the Macedonians,¹ the tribal assembly was a

δημοκρατία ἐκ παλαιῶν βιοτεύονσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀεὶ τὰ τε εὐφύρορα καὶ τὰ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὴν (public assembly) ἄγονται.

¹ Curtius, vi. viii. 25: 'De capitalibus rebus vetusto Macedonum modo inquirebat exercitus, in pace erat vulgi.' Cf., further, O. Hoffmann, *Die Macedonen* (Göttingen, 1906), p. 21.

court which might deal *inter alia* with offences (*grěchū*) against the community and its gods. That such infringements of the public interest are not mentioned in the *Russkaja Pravda* is explained by the fact that the latter is not, and does not purport to be, a complete legislative code.

In the Slavic languages there are two distinct groups of words signifying 'punish,' 'punishment': (1) the derivatives of a root *kar-* (O.Slav. and O.Russ. *karati*, Czech *káratī*, Pol. *karac*, 'punish'); and (2) those of a root *kaz-* (cf. Russ. *nakazáti*, 'punish,' *kaznī*, 'heavy civil penalty,' *kázniti*, 'punish,' Czech *kázati*, *kázniti*, etc.). The fundamental meaning of the latter seems to be something like 'banish,' perhaps in the sense of Gr. *deknuai*, 'law,' 'punish' (cf. Russ. *pokazáti*). The first-named group goes back to a primitive form **kara*, which is found, with or without derivatives, in many Aryan languages, and means 'army' and 'war' (O.Pers. *kāra*, 'army,' Lith. *kāras*, *karė*, 'war' and 'army,' Goth. *harjis*, O.Pruss. *karjis*, Irish *cuire*, 'army'). If this series be correctly interpreted as originally denoting 'the national army drawn up for war' (O. Schrader, *Reallexicon*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 349 f.), one is tempted to take the further step of connecting *karati*, 'punish,' with the judicial functions which we have conjecturally ascribed to the Slavic 'assembly' (cf. also *καρνη=ἡνδα* in Hesychius).

2. Particular crimes and punishments.—As it cannot be expected that the present article should deal with the entire criminal law of the ancient Teutons and Slavs, the writer proposes simply to emphasize such aspects of the subject as may be judged of special importance for the readers of this work.

A. CRIMES.—Here it will be the writer's special object to determine which of these first developed a definite terminology. There is, unfortunately, a great lack of preparatory works in this field, particularly on the Slavic side,¹ so that only a few of the more important points can be referred to.

We saw above that the Teutonic and Slavic races from the very first drew a distinction between those offences which, as directed against the community, had to be punished by the community (i.e. the public assembly, and subsequently the State), and those which, bearing merely on the individual, were subject to the laws of blood-revenge or the private feud. Even at a very early period, however, we find that penal offences coming under the latter category, such as murder or flagrant theft, were really assigned to the former, so that it is impossible to make the distinction in question the principle of an exact classification of crimes. But we can hardly doubt that the species of crime referred to by Tacitus (*Germ.* 12), viz. cowardice in war and treason,² was always clearly discriminated from that which embraced personal assault, ordinary homicide, robbery, etc. The original Teutonic word for 'cowardice' would seem to be found in the O.Norse *argr*, A.S. *earh*, Lombard *arga* (a term of abuse), O.H.G. *arag*, 'cowardly'; while an old term for 'treason' appears in O.H.G. *herisiz*, 'desertion from the army.' An O.Russ. term for a related crime was *perevėti* (cf. Russ. *otvėti*, 'answer,' O.Russ. *vėce*, 'public assembly,' O.Eruss. *vasitiā*, 'speak'), 'secret treasonable communication of intelligence,' for which, of course, as for the crimes mentioned by Tacitus, the penalty was death (*Pskovskaja Gramota*, Jirecek, ix. 14).

We shall, therefore, treat of the various offences, apart from those against honour, under the follow-

¹ For the Teutons, Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, p. 623 ff., is still the best work available.

² Ignavi et imbelles, proditores et transfugas.

ing heads: (1) crimes against the person, (2) crimes against property, and (3) crimes against morality.

(1) *Crimes against the person.*—It is creditable to the Teutons that they discriminated between killing in general and murder, i.e. (according to the ancient point of view) the wilful and secret (or, at least, stealthy) taking of human life—a crime denoted by the following series of words: Goth. *mairþr*, O.Norse *morð*, O.H.G. *mord*, cognate with the Lat. *mors*, *mortis*, 'death,' though it should be observed that Ulfilas (Mk 15⁷) uses the term in connexion with Barabbas, who is said to have committed a *mairþr* (φόνος) in the insurrection (ἐν τῇ ἐράσει), and, therefore, not in secret. The idea of secrecy receives its first distinct expression in the exclusively German forms compounded with *mühh*, viz. *mühhilswert*, *mühhilari*, *meuchelmord*; cf. O.Irish *formúigthe*, 'absconditus.' A somewhat different shade of meaning appears in the Slav. *razboj*, which is the usual word for 'murder' in several of the Slavic languages, and which in Old Russian means both 'highway robbery' and 'ambuscade.' According to the *Russkaja Pravda* (Jirecek, iv. 4 and 5), one who kills another openly in a quarrel or at a feast may be absolved by money, but, 'if one sets out to commit *razboj* without any quarrel, the people shall not pay a fine for the *razbojnikú*, but shall surrender him absolutely, with wife and child, to the *potokú* and the *razgrablenie*' (for these punishments, see below). Of the numerous Teutonic terms for the infliction of bodily injury only the Frisian *dolch* need be referred to here. In the *Lex Frisionum* it is the most comprehensive term for wounding of all kinds. A familiar phrase is *dath und dolch*, 'killing and wounding'; cf. also the O.H.G. *noch tolk noch tót*. *Dolch* comes from Goth. *duþs*, 'debt,' related to O.Slav. *dŭgŭ*, 'debt,' and O.Irish *dliged*, 'duty,' 'law,' 'right.' There was thus a term signifying 'debt,' 'obligation,' common to all the languages of Northern Europe, and this acquired the special meaning of 'obligation to pay compensation for bodily injury,' and eventually that of the 'injury' itself. Beyond this, however, no rigid distinction was made between homicide and wounding, and O.Norse words like *víg*, *sár*, and *drep* may signify either. In the *Russkaja Pravda* the only difference is that the fine for homicide is termed *vira*, while that for wounding is termed *prodatz* (see above): 'Should any one strike with the sword, but not cause death, he shall pay [to the prince] three *grivennicks*, and to the person injured one *grivennick*, and money for the doctor; but, if he does cause death, the *vira* must be paid' (Jirecek, iv. 24).

(2) *Crimes against property.*—Of all crimes the first to acquire a precise terminology was theft; this takes us back to primitive Aryan times—cf. Skr. *stend-* and *táyú-*, 'thief,' O.Iran. *tāya-*, 'theft,' O.Slav. *tati*, O.Irish *táid*, 'thief,' and also Gr. *κλέπτω*, Lat. *clepere*, Goth. *hlifan*, and Gr. *φύβ*, Lat. *fur*. A form common to all the Teutonic dialects is represented by Goth. *stilan*, while all the Slavic languages have terms corresponding to O.Slav. *krada*, *krásti*, 'steal.' The fact that in all these languages the words connoting secrecy are related to the terms for 'thief,' 'theft,' 'steal' (e.g. Skr. *stáyát-*, 'secret,' to *stend-*; O.Slav. *taj* to *tati*; O.Pruss. *aukliptas*, 'concealed,' to Goth. *hlifan*, etc.) clearly shows that it was the element of concealment which distinguished theft from open robbery (Goth. *biraubôn*, A.S. *reafian*, O.H.G. *roubôn*; and O.Slav. *grabla*, Russ. *gráblju*, Pol. *grabić*, etc.). As robbery, however, was not in primitive times counted dishonourable (cf. Schrader, *Reallex. s.v.* 'Raub'), and as, even in historic times, theft was often punished more

severely than robbery, it is obvious that the ethical ideas of later ages must have undergone a complete transformation. The horse-thief was punished with signal severity by Teutons and Slavs alike. It is recorded, e.g., in the *Vita Ludgeri*, i. 26 (ed. Broner), that by order of Duke Wittekind of Saxony a horse-thief was put to death by stoning, while the above-cited passage of the *Pskovskaja Gramota* puts the horse-thief (*konevoy tati*) and the incendiary (*zazigalnikú*, cf. O.Fris. *monthbrond*) on a level with the *perevětnikú* (see above); they are all liable to the penalty of death. In the ancient Teutonic codes the general term 'theft' comprises a large number of subordinate species with distinct names, for which, so far as the present writer is aware, the Slavic codes furnish no equivalents. Thus we have O.H.G. *walaroupa*, A.S. *wælfred*, 'stripping of corpses,' and O.H.G. *herirreita*, etc., 'ravaging,' i.e. 'the perpetration of crime—especially robbery—in bands.' Closely allied to this is *Heimsuchung* (O.Fris. *hemseke*; in Scots Law, *hamesucken*), 'domus invasio in aliquam familiam,' which, however, may be committed by a single person, and in that case resembles the modern *Hausfriedensbruch* (Lombard 'curtis ruptura, quod est oeros facere').

(3) *Crimes against morality.*—In marked contrast to the class of crimes against property, the class embracing what would now be reckoned crimes against morality has a singularly meagre vocabulary. This is, of course, explained by the great change that has taken place in men's ideas regarding sexual morality (see also art. CHASTITY [Teut. and Balto-Slav.])—a change for which, alike in Teutonic and in Slavic countries, the way was prepared by the Christian Church. With reference, first of all, to *incest*, the Teutonic family of languages, so far as the present writer knows, has but one specific term applicable to this crime, viz. A.S. *sib-leger*, 'lying (i.e. cohabitation) within the family,' which points unmistakably to family exogamy. In Anglo-Saxon glosses the Lat. *incestum* is rendered *hemed*, which, however, means *coitus* simply—lawful or unlawful, or even adulterous. No O.Russ. term for 'incest' (modern Russ. *krovomešenie*, 'blood-mixing') is known to the writer. Any such term would, of course, bear the stamp of the Church. We find, for instance, that the metropolitan Johannes II. imposed penance upon marriages between persons as far apart as the fourth degree. In northern Europe, however, even in pre-Christian times, marriage within the family-group would doubtless be prohibited on economic grounds, although a moral repugnance to consanguineous unions would not then exist.

The crime of *adultery*, as was shown in art. CHASTITY (Teut. and Balto-Slav.), vol. iii. pp. 499-503, could be committed only by a wife, a married man being held culpable only in case of intercourse with the wife of another. The terms applied to this offence are of very general connotation; e.g. O.H.G. *huor*, O.Norse and A.S. *hór*, signify any kind of illicit intercourse; similarly O.H.G. *ubarligida*, 'adulterium.' A higher degree of precision belongs to A.S. *forliges*, 'adulteress,' lit. 'she who lies aniss.' The oldest Russian designations are *smilinoje*, *zastavanie*, *liobodžanie*, etc.—all, of course, of ecclesiastical origin. The vernacular name is *izmena*, 'treason,' 'unfaithfulness.' The punishment of this offence among the Russian peasantry—the primitive *vyvodŭ*—is described in art. CHASTITY (Teut. and Balto-Slav.), vol. iii. p. 501; it is identical with that inflicted by peasant criminal law upon the female thief.

Finally, *rape* was in all probability regarded originally as a species of robbery—of the abduction of women. In the glosses to the *Lex Saliica* the phrase *per virtutem moerari*, 'to violate by force,'

is rendered by *thiuwerōfen*, *theorōfa*, 'women-stealing'; cf. also O.H.G. *nōtzogōn*, 'to abduct forcibly', *nōtnumft*, *nōtnēman*, A.S. *nydnēme*, O.Norse *nothtekt* (*nōt* is lit. 'force'). In Old Russian the term *nasilie*, 'violence,' is also used for the crime of rape.

It would be interesting to know the Teutonic name for the *corpore infames*, who, according to Tac. (*Germ.* 12), were punished by being submerged in a marsh. It seems probable that the reference is to sodomy (O.Norse *soðinn*, *stroðinn*, 'muliebria passus'). There seems to be no recorded evidence regarding the Slavic practice in this respect.

B. PARTICULAR PUNISHMENTS.—Here we distinguish (1) capital punishment and outlawry, (2) corporal punishment, and (3) abridgment of personal freedom.

(1) *Capital punishment and outlawry* (banishment).—That the penalty of death, as decreed by the public assembly, was known to the Teutons is shown by Tac. (*Germ.* 12).¹ The commonest form of execution was hanging, and the root-word denoting this penalty is common to all the Teutonic languages: Goth. *galga*, O.Norse *galge*, A.S. *gealga* (Eng. 'gallows'), O.H.G. *galgo*. In ancient Russia likewise, according to the passage already cited from the *Pskovskaja Gramota*, the perpetrators of more atrocious crimes were executed by order of the public assembly (*věce*) or of the chief, and in this case also resort was usually had to the gallows (Sreznevskij, *s.v.* 'Povešeniye, Povesati se').

Among the Teutons, 'outlawry' (banishment, exile), i.e. expulsion from the tribe, was in its effects practically equivalent to capital punishment. The most ancient word applied to a person so proscribed is retained in the *Lex Salica* as *wargus*, 'hoc est expulsus de eodem pago' (cf. Goth. *gavargjan dāwari*, 'to condemn to death,' O.Norse *vargr*, 'wolf' and 'outlaw,' A.S. *wearg*, 'the malefactor sentenced to the gallows or to outlawry,' etc.). He was altogether outside the law (O.Norse *útlagr*, A.S. *útlagh*), and any one who met him might kill him, and was, indeed, bound to do so. This penalty was often combined with 'laying waste' (O.H.G. *wuostan*); i.e. the members of the judicial community assembled together in order to burn or demolish the criminal's house and property. The term 'outlawry,' supplemented thus by the idea of ravage, corresponds with the *potoku* or *potokū* and *razgrablenie* of the oldest Russian legal documents. The latter word means 'plundering'; the former should possibly be translated 'expulsion,' 'banishment' (Russ. *točiti*, lit. 'to cause to flow,' *tekū*, 'flow'). The penalty affected not only the criminal, but his wife and children also, and was inflicted for murder with robbery, horse-stealing, arson (see above, p. 303^b, and Sreznevskij, *s.v.* 'Potokū'), and similar grave crimes.

For the special objects of this article it is a question of great importance whether the execution of criminals among the Teutons was—as the foregoing observations regarding their conceptions of crime suggest—a religious ceremony, i.e. whether at bottom it was designed to operate like a sacrifice in appeasing the wrath of the gods. The affirmative has the support of such distinguished writers on the history of law as H. Brunner (*Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i.²) and R. Schröder (*Lehrb. d. deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*⁶), though E. Mogk (*ASG* xxvii. [Leipzig, 1909] 17) has recently called in question the practice of human sacrifice among the Teutons. In any case there is the

evidence of a passage in the *Vita Wulframi*¹ to show that among the Frisians executions were performed at the festivals of the gods (cf. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1870–1900, iv. 244). As regards the Slavic practice the present writer has no evidence to offer.

(2) *Corporal punishment.*—Punishments involving mutilation of the body—cutting off the nose or ears, severing the hands or feet, blinding the eyes, or even severe flogging—in so far as they were not simply preliminary to the death penalty, were in all likelihood introduced at a relatively late period. In primitive times, among Slavs and Teutons alike, even the infliction of bodily injuries was dealt with by private revenge, and the practice survived till the time of the *Russkaja Pravda* (cf. Jirecek, iii. 2: 'or if he has been beaten till blood comes or till he is blue, it is not necessary for him—this man—to seek an eye-witness. . . . If he cannot avenge himself [*mistiti*], he shall receive for the crime [*za obidu*; see above] three *grivennicks*, but the doctor [receives] the wages'). Such vengeance would, of course, be carried out according to the principles of the *lex talionis*, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as punishment in the technical sense. In course of time private revenge for wounding was superseded, both among the Teutons and among the Slavs, and partly in consequence of their mutual relations, by a regular system of fines.

A more difficult question to decide is when and how corporal punishment found its way into the ancient codes. On the one hand, such penalties were probably first of all inflicted upon slaves and serfs, who, of course, could not pay the regular fine. The *Lex Frisionum*,² for instance, recognizes corporal punishment only in two cases, viz. (a) as merely antecedent to the penalty of death, for those who had been taken in the act of robbing a temple (cutting off the ears and castration), and (b) as meted out to a delinquent serf whose master refused to pay the fine. Similarly the *Russkaja Pravda* (Jirecek, iii. 16): 'if a serf (*cholopū*) strikes a free man, but takes refuge in the house, and his master refuses to give him up, then let [another] serf be taken, and the master shall pay twelve *grivennicks* for him. But if afterwards the man who was struck finds him, he shall beat him' (*da bijuti ego*). So far as the present writer knows, this is the earliest record of beating as a legal penalty in Russia. On the other hand, the credit of introducing corporal punishment must be assigned to the clergy, as is proved with special clearness in regard to Russia. In point of fact, the clergy suffused the conception of punishment with new ideas, such as, e.g., that it amends the evil will, deters others, and the like. For the attainment of these ends they believed—after the example of the Byzantine legislation, which had elaborated this system with great fullness—that such bodily penalties as blinding, severance of hands, etc. (many of them on the Mosaic principle of 'an eye for an eye'), and flogging formed the appropriate means. According to Jaroslav's *Ustavū*,—the ecclesiastical counterpart to the *Russkaja Pravda*,—a sorceress, e.g., must be punished (*kazniti*) after conviction, and she must further pay a fine (*penja*) of six *grivennicks* to the metropolitan. The nature of the *kazniti* appears from a warrant of the Russian metropolitan Johannes II. (1080–89), according to which the officers shall 'smartly chastise' (*jaro kazniti*), i.e. flog her, 'but

¹ 'Proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames oeno ac palude, iniecta insuper erant, mergunt.'

¹ 'Mos erat . . . ut corpora hominum damnatorum in suorum solennium deorum . . . sacpissime diversis litaret modis: quosdam videlicet gladiatorum animadversionibus intermina, alios patibulis appendens, aliis laqueis acerbissime vitam extorrens, praeter et alios marinorum sive aquarum flagitios submergebat.'

² Cf. R. His, *Das Strafrecht d. Friesen im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 192.

not to death, nor cut off her limbs.' It is a well-known fact that under the power of the clergy, the Czars, and the serf-holders, flogging became the recognized mode of punishment in Russia, and it is curious to note how a punishment so degrading, and, originally, quite unknown, should in time come to be practically a public requirement.

Less than a generation ago a Russian village would furnish a scene like this: a sedate and well-to-do peasant, the head of a house and the father of a grown-up family, unshrinkingly lays himself on the ground in order to receive his tale of lashes, and when the business is over, he trudges homewards, conversing upon trifles with his companions in punishment (of whom there might be thirty on a court day) and smoking cigarettes (cf. Glebū Uspenskij, *Vlasti zemli*, 1882, p. 50 ff.). It is also recorded that a Russian peasant actually asked for twenty-five strokes of the rod, and that, when he had got them, he said: 'Thank you, that did me good. I was drunk yesterday, fooled away fourteen roubles—all I had—in the *kabak*, and ill-used my wife. I have now got my deserts' (V. Hehn, *De moribus Ruthenorum*, 1892, p. 214). Another, who had just been beaten and was asked why, answered: 'For a good reason, *būdruska*. A man is not punished for trifles in our place. No such thing occurs here—no, Heaven forbid! We have not a master of that kind. We have a *master*. Such another master is not to be found in all the district.' 'Old Russia' comments Turgeniev, who relates the incident (*Zapiski*, 1898, xiii.).

(3) *Punishment by abridgment of personal freedom*.—The law-breaker might have his liberty restricted either by enslavement or by confinement. The former method was resorted to at an early date, but for the most part only as the concomitant or sequel of other penalties, and need not, therefore, be further considered here. Imprisonment, on the other hand, alike in the Teutonic and in the Slavic area, is of relatively late origin, as is evident from the fact that Goth. *karkara*, O.H.G. *charchāri*, A.S. *carcern*, are derived from Lat. *carcer*, and the Russ. *tjurima*, 'prison,' from Germ. *Turm*. In Russia the introduction of penalties involving the abridgment of personal freedom was likewise due to the influence of the Church. The most ancient mode of restraint was 'putting in the stocks'; cf. the Russ. *kolodka*, denoting two boards with a hole for the foot; *kolodnikū*, 'convict,' and Pol., Russ., and Little Russ. *duby*, 'shackles for the feet,' from *dubū*, 'oak,' 'oak-log.'

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O. SCHRADER.

CRIMINOLOGY.—I. Penal codes.—The actual extent to which any penal code may be made to contribute to the repression of crime depends much more on the justice and equity of the principles on which it is founded, and the firmness with which it is administered, than on the severity of its provisions. Those who are familiar with the history of crime in Great Britain will remember that in the 18th cent., when capital punishment could be inflicted for a hundred offences other than murder, crime flourished exceedingly. Similarly, in the early part of the 19th cent. crime was rampant, and a further impetus was given to its growth by the uncertainty of the death penalty. Thousands of death sentences were passed, but only a small proportion of them were carried out, so that offenders came to regard the sentence with contemptuous indifference. Again, in the latter

half of the century the long and severe sentences of penal servitude, which seemed to prisoners themselves, as well as to many others, vindictive in aim and effect, had no repressive influence on crime, the numbers of those in penal servitude at that time being more than three times as great as in 1910. No real and steady fall in crime took place till in 1879 the Summary Jurisdiction Act put an end to these long sentences. Almost simultaneously a uniform system of prison administration and treatment was inaugurated, and all local prisons were handed over to the State. The coincident fall in crime which began then, and has steadily gone on since, may fairly be ascribed, to a large extent, to these two reforms, which may be said to combine mitigation of penalties with uniformity and certainty of application. From time to time the penal treatment of offenders oscillated between extreme severity and extreme laxity; but, when both these principles were in force at the same time—denoting instability of administration—the very worst results ensued. About the year 1830, when capital sentences were freely passed and not inflicted, the convict population of Great Britain, with its population of 15 millions, consisted of no fewer than 50,000 persons, some in hulks and prisons at home, others in penal settlements and Colonies. The cost of maintenance, which was enormous, was surpassed only by the futility of the system of punishment. Subsequently the Penal Servitude Act of 1853, and the refusal on the part of our Colonies to receive convicts, put an end in Great Britain to transportation. The number of convicts meanwhile declined, till in 1852 it was 17,000; and in 1878, when the local prisons were handed over to the State, it amounted only to 10,000. At present (1910) the number is about 3000.

Recrudescence of severity in punishment occurred now and then, as, for instance, when flogging was freely resorted to in order to put down garrotting; but on the whole the tendency of our criminal law, since the Prison Act of 1865 at all events, has been in the direction of leniency in prison treatment; and the results have been satisfactory. To a large extent this spirit of leniency may be regarded as in itself a reflexion of the improvement in the character and conduct of our people, which, again, depends largely on the general advance in civilization, together with the spread of education, intelligence, temperance, and other influences designed to elevate the people. Such influences have a much larger share in preventing crime than any punitive measures can have in repressing it; nevertheless, a penal code of some kind is an unhappy necessity for every civilized State. Imprisonment in some form, therefore, appears to be the only means at our disposal, short of capital punishment, for the punishment or restraint of those persons whose conduct renders them a danger to society.

2. Foreign penal systems.—A glance at the penal systems in other countries—that of our own being reserved for consideration later on—is of interest in connexion with the subject. England, to her shame, too long neglected the warnings of the far-seeing John Howard. The overcrowding of her gaols, the indiscriminate herding together of criminals of both sexes, and of all ages and varieties, and the total neglect of the authorities to bring any religious or moral influences to bear on the unhappy inmates, produced an inevitable crop of profligacy, moral and physical corruption, wide-spread disease, and death. When at last she woke up, and found that proper sanitary buildings and separation of prisoners were essential to reform, and when Pentonville Prison was built in 1842, an impetus was at once given to sane administration. Since then England has been amongst the foremost of

the nations in the search for some equitable, moral, and scientific scheme of prison treatment calculated to reconcile the rights of society with the rehabilitation of the criminal so as to enable him to return to a law-abiding life. It is, however, to the United States that the palm must be given for progressive experiments in this direction. No methods of reform and no social experiments appear too costly or troublesome to the indefatigable philanthropists of America who take up this subject, if only they are reasonably likely to reclaim criminals. Starting with the root-idea, which may be over-sanguine, that no one is absolutely irreclaimable, they have established at Elmira, and other prisons, or 'State Reformatories,' a system based on the *indeterminate sentence*, combined with conditional liberation on parole when the prisoner gives satisfactory evidence of reform. A somewhat strict discipline, with drill of a military character; instruction in skilled industries; moral, religious, and secular education, united with various kinds of amusement, are expected to alter character, and turn the subjects into good citizens. Further, every one is enabled to profit pecuniarily by his own work, and is expected to demonstrate his fitness for discharge; but he must first find employment. Probation officers supervise and help those on parole, and misconduct leads to forfeiture of licence.

From this sketch of the system, which is a type of others, it will be seen that Elmira is practically a reformatory for adults, who are received up to the age of thirty. All are known as 'inmates,' not prisoners, though they are under sentences of from one to a possible twenty years. Considerable success is claimed for the Elmira system, but statistics are not convincing as to the number of reclaimed cases, originally alleged to be 80 per cent. According to a report of the New York Prison Association, which recently analyzed the cases on parole from Elmira, 'probably not over 70 per cent of men paroled can be classed as reformed,' while some other authorities put the percentage at 50. 'Society is best protected,' they say, 'by the reform of the criminal.' One point emerges, however—the actuality of the *incorrigible*, of whose too frequent appearance at Elmira they make complaint. The tracing and following up of the reclaimed is difficult in so vast a country, with unlimited facility for travel.

But, if the United States has some of the best and most progressive prisons, it has also many of the worst in Christendom. Race prejudice against the negro, who is held to be either irreclaimable or not worth reclaiming; Labour Laws which, in many of the States, either prohibit altogether or restrict the sale of prison-made goods, and so keep prisoners idle, or employed in unproductive work; constant changes of the wardens or governors as political parties come and go; public apathy and parsimony in regard to prisoners; and a general desire to make prisons pay their way—these are the conditions which make the state of most of the county and city gaols fall very far short of modern ideals. The late Secretary of the Howard Association, Mr. Edward Grubb, made a tour of some of these prisons in 1904, and found them very unsatisfactory, and in startling contrast to the State Prisons and Reformatories. He says:

'These institutions (county and city gaols), designed for the most part for prisoners awaiting trial, and for the serving of short sentences by misdemeanants, are, with little exception, far from satisfactory, even in the Northern States. The best I saw was at Boston. At Indianapolis, and at Cleveland and Mansfield (Ohio), to say nothing of the South, the gaols were, for the most part, far from clean, and the prisoners were shut up together, with full opportunity to corrupt each other. Either they had no occupation (at Mansfield they were engaged in playing at cards), or, if employed (as at the House of Correction at Cleveland), they were working in a very half-hearted

manner.' He describes the state of the convict camps as teeming with abuses—indiscriminate association, negro women 'constantly having babies,' 'terrible cruelties and even murders,' and bad sanitary conditions (see the pamphlet published by the Howard Association).

Even in the better class prisons, many of the privileges extended to prisoners seem to breathe a freedom which would probably be unsuitable for our class of habitual. Buying and selling, the free use of tobacco for smoking and chewing, card-playing, cinematograph exhibitions of prize-fights, and so on, are too advanced expedients for moral improvement to appeal to British sentiment.

Like everything else in the United States, crime is on an immense scale. A country so huge in itself, containing such a varied population, black and white, and receiving every year hosts of immigrants from everywhere, is, in the nature of things, a hunting-ground for criminals. Further, it has almost as many penal systems as it has States, so that it is difficult to estimate the general effect on crime of any special penal measures. The Americans themselves, however, are drawing public attention to the appalling list of murders committed—not only to the large proportion that go unpunished, but also to the small percentage of cases in which the death penalty is inflicted after a conviction has been obtained. They are also holding an inquiry into their methods of administering the criminal law, which hitherto have been so slow and uncertain as to lead to the belief that crime is getting out of hand. They seem to be already on the way to find out that a firm administration of criminal law is essential to the repression of crime.

The penal systems in force in Continental countries differ very widely from one another. Several, like Russia, France, and Portugal, adhere to transportation as a punishment for the more serious kinds of crime, although Great Britain discarded this penalty as costly and ineffective more than half a century ago. The principle of cellular confinement on the separate system, which was established by law in England in 1865, finds favour with all European nations, as it does with all British Colonies, and with progressive Japan; but in practice it is by no means universally adopted. The magnificent modern prison built by France at Fresnes has been designed for *separation*, but there is considerable scope for association also, in order to prevent overcrowding. It may be said generally that all the European nations which have built prisons in recent years have designed them with a view to carrying out separation. In Belgium, where much public attention has been given to prison treatment and the repression of crime, cellular confinement has been carried to its utmost limits. Prisoners have been kept in solitude compulsorily for ten years, after which they have been offered a modified form of association, which many are said to have refused, so that instances are on record of over twenty years of this kind of seclusion. Of late there has been a revulsion of feeling on this question, and the new school of penologists are now working for drastic reform. Russia, too, carries out the Belgian system in several of her prisons. Austria-Hungary was said to have had only 15 per cent of her prisoners under the separate system a few years ago, although approving of that system in theory. Many of the new prisons are of a palatial character, but none of them surpasses our own in sanitation, and we possess an undoubted advantage in having the whole prison system of the country under the single control of the State—an advantage which has been found very difficult of attainment in the other countries of Europe, and practically impossible in America.

The results of the various systems are very difficult to disentangle from the official statistics

supplied by each country. For purposes of comparison with our own results it has been found impossible to arrive at any definite or valuable conclusions. If murders only were reckoned as a test of the amount of crime, Great Britain would certainly rank high; but this would give a false idea of the extent to which other serious crime prevails. Offences against the person are much more common in some countries than in others, while offences against property form the bulk (as in our own country) of the crime in others. There is, however, one conclusion which can be drawn from the general survey. Recidivism is rampant everywhere. In France it has been specially prevalent, and the recrudescence of crime, particularly amongst the Apaches, or hooligan class of youths, who commit murderous assaults on police and others, is of sinister omen, and has already led to a revival of capital punishment. Whether or not these phenomena are to be regarded as only temporary manifestations of a prevailing state of general social unrest, of which we have had recent examples in the strike-riots in France, Germany, and Wales, it is certain that a heavy responsibility rests on those who preach anarchy. It is well they should remember that crime is a much worse social evil than discontent, and that they are probably stimulating the one by encouraging the other.

3. No universal system of punishment practicable.—Although the study of crime has already attained to the doubtful dignity of an 'ology,' and learned experts of most of the civilized nations have been laying their heads together in congress for several years with a view to investigating its causes and devising remedies for an evil from which they all suffer alike, it cannot be said that criminology is yet by any means to be reckoned amongst the exact sciences. Human nature with its faults and foibles may be the same all the world over, but the different phases of criminality, the different moral standards, and the different national temperaments which characterize various races, all tend to modify our pre-conceived ideas as to the possibility of repressing crime, as a general evil affecting the world at large, by any remedy, or by any set of remedies, whether preventive, reformatory, or punitive in intention, which can be held to be of universal application. It is well to understand that there is no royal road to the solution of complicated problems of this kind. We are in the habit, from time to time, of instituting more or less disparaging comparisons between our own methods and those of our neighbours in matters of social reform. Introspection of this kind is undoubtedly a national characteristic that is highly advantageous, tending, as it does, to check complacency and stimulate progress; but we must not lose sight of the fact that many features of the judicial procedure and the penal systems in force amongst Continental nations are utterly foreign to our ideals, and ill-adapted to our use. The well-known practice, for instance, of 'interrogating' accused persons which, in our eyes, amounts to heckling of a particularly cruel and vindictive type, is so foreign to the basic principle of our criminal law, which holds every man innocent until his guilt is proved, that we could not, if we would, fit so incongruous a practice into our scheme of things. In the same way, the life-long periods of solitude and seclusion in vogue with some Continental nations, by the side of which our brief terms of mitigated separate confinement seem unheroic and contemptible, are so repugnant to our national sentiments of justice and humanity that we decline even to look at them.

It has been said that every country has the government it deserves. The dictum applies with equal

cogency to its laws, to its administrative machinery, and to the penal and disciplinary measures which it deems necessary for the guidance and control of its citizens. We may assume, in fact, that every country knows best the main lines on which its subjects can be kept in order; and it will be found that national habits and customs, national sentiment, and national temperament are factors which have much more to do with the shaping of penal systems and codes of moral discipline for peoples than the degree of civilization to which these peoples have attained. We find, accordingly, that the civilized countries generally differ very widely from one another in the matter of criminal law administration, that the range of variation is almost as great as that which distinguishes civilized from uncivilized methods, and that each country seemingly adopts the practice which to a large extent may be said to reflect the genius and character of its people, just as it selects the guillotine, the electrocution chair, or the rope for the infliction of the death penalty. It is probably for these reasons that International Prison Congresses do not waste their time and energies in the fruitless search for an ideal and universal penal system; but seek rather to improve existing systems, or to discover some general principles, or some details in working, that may be adapted to those which are already in force, and which are presumably suited, in their main outlines at all events, to the countries in which they have had their origin and development—all due weight being given, on the other hand, to the consideration that indigenous plants do not always thrive in foreign soil.

It would appear, then, that very little is to be gained by comparing or contrasting one penal system with another when they are not really parallel, and much less by trying to glorify one at the expense of another. We may feel convinced that our own system, which has been evolved from our experience by steps so deliberate that they never can be said to approach rashness, is fairly adapted to our present-day requirements; but it is very doubtful whether it would meet the wants of different states of society in other countries, or even in our own under the social conditions that prevailed half a century ago. The criminals of that period would undoubtedly have been attracted, rather than repelled, by the comparative amenities of life in a modern prison. Hosts of them would have taken a long-wished-for rest in so comfortable a retreat, seeking compensation, in a restoration of their health and energies, for any inconvenience or boredom they might have had to put up with while undergoing moral repairs. It must seem strange to those who are unfamiliar with our British moods of self-depreciation and pessimism that the very confident theorists who are never tired of reminding us that we are on an entirely wrong track, and that our system is a fiasco, should practically all be found in our own camp. Outsiders take by no means so disparaging a view. Recognizing, as they do, the enormous reduction that has taken place in recent years in our number of criminals, they look somewhat askance at the rhetorical explanation, which is frequently resorted to in similar cases, that improvement has come 'in spite of the system'; they regard the system, as a matter of fact, with a much more favouring eye. Further, it is a matter of some significance that, after due allowance has been made for the effects of family tradition, our progressive and up-to-date younger brothers in Australia, who are neither visionaries nor dreamers of dreams, follow very closely our procedure and practice. The fashionable outcry against modern penal treatment is really traceable to the fluent pens and forensic accomplishments of ex-criminals, who by their

ex parte allegations seem to have captured the greater part of the press and a considerable portion of the general public.

In *Crime and Criminals* (1910) the present writer made an effort to stem the tide of delusion and misrepresentation on the subject, but it still advances. The basis of this pessimistic outcry is a complete fallacy. Prison treatment, we are told, is a failure because 'it neither deters nor reforms the habitual criminal.' But all the authorities are agreed that the distinguishing characteristic of the habitual criminal is that he actually prefers his vocation to the humdrum alternative of a steady and active working life. The writer's own intimate and first-hand acquaintance with the living type enables him emphatically to confirm this discouraging conclusion. Whether the habitual criminal's vicious propensities are innate or acquired, it is certain that his habits, when he reaches maturity as we find him in prison, are practically ineradicable. The spirit of the road seems to be in him, and his predatory instincts have already developed into fixed habits, so that he is, to all intents and purposes, a hopeless incorrigible. Here lies the difficulty. No system yet invented can fairly be expected to alter a person of this type. To correct the incorrigible appears to be a feat analogous, both in sound and sense, to squaring the circle. We are not, however, without some means for dealing with him. If methods of cure are not feasible, prevention and restraint are still open to us. The *Borstal* system of treatment for the incipient habitual, and *preventive detention* for the veteran, typify these two modern prison expedients respectively. For the present, however, the writer is more concerned to point out the fallacious reasoning on which the theory of failure is based. No notice whatever is taken of the important fact that the number of habitual criminals at present *in business* has been brought within such manageable proportions that it may quite reasonably be said that we have them in a ring fence. The same set pass in and out of prison with apparently unvarying regularity, and, for the most part, for the same kinds of offences. Specialization in crime, indeed, has become so marked in our time that the police authorities of Scotland Yard claim that they can, in most instances, tell, from the manner in which a clever burglary or robbery has been planned, the name of the expert who committed it. One might fairly expect that the reduction of a standing convict population of 10,000 persons in 1880 to 3000 persons in 1910 would be considered a respectable achievement under any system, and would give rise to some doubt, if not disbelief, in the minds of thinking people, as to the truth of the failure theory. The current of general opinion, however, if we are to judge from the press, sets in quite the opposite direction; and we are led to believe that we are going from bad to worse because habituels and incorrigibles, although they decrease steadily enough in numbers, decline to amend their ways, or to vanish *en masse* into the obscurity of some honest calling. It is well we should cherish no illusions on this subject. Our repressive measures stand in constant need of tightening up for this intractable class of criminal, and our reformatory methods in like manner need constant widening in scope, if we are to arrive at *better* results; but no conceivable combination of them will ever succeed in totally eliminating those obnoxious persons from the community. In regard to the system itself, it is not claimed that the mere absence of failure denotes the presence of perfection. It is quite conceivable, and perhaps even probable, that more good might be accomplished in other countries by a different set of principles and machinery; but it

is claimed that our own system has produced fair practical results, and that it is better suited to our national requirements than any exotic system with which we are acquainted.

4. Theories of punishment.—But, if public opinion is unsound in regard to the treatment of the criminal, public sentiment is maudlin and unhealthy on the theory of punishment. A general tendency to minimize almost to vanishing point individual and personal responsibility, and to set up in its stead the fantastic substitute of a collective and huge unlimited liability company, comprising the whole body politic, is a pernicious feature of our time. Surely a more demoralizing doctrine, destitute alike of the sanction of religion, morality, law, and common sense, has never been promulgated for the edification and guidance of a free and self-respecting people. Those who aspire to regenerate society by this egregious piece of social philosophy are hugging a very vain delusion. It abolishes at a stroke the exercise of free will, without which society could not hold together, and it is quite outside the realm of logic. If any sane individual in the community be permitted, even in the name of philosophy, to divest himself of his social and moral responsibility by the simple process of becoming a criminal, it is obviously open to any, or all, of the other individuals of whom society is composed to claim a similar privilege. A premium is thereby placed on evil-doing, and every man is tempted to become a law unto himself. The practical result of such a relaxation of our moral code would undoubtedly be that the maintenance of social order would be rendered difficult, if not impossible; we should find ourselves retracing our steps in the direction of barbarism; and, incidentally, we should find the world a distinctly unpleasant place to live in.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the theory of personal responsibility is to be applied ruthlessly to those who are, from mental deficiency, actually incapable of fully appreciating the significance of their offences, and who are, to this extent, not answerable for unsocial conduct. It should be the aim of any humane system to apply disciplinary methods very sparingly, if at all, to this unhappy class, who at present amount to 3 or 4 per cent of our prison population. Hitherto these hapless offenders—'weak-minded, but not insane,' in the language of the Courts—have been a source of much anxiety to the magistrates who have had to deal with them, as well as to prison authorities who are constantly receiving them on short and useless sentences. In prison they have been treated under a very modified form of discipline, and efforts have been made to improve their conduct and condition. Medical protection has shielded them from actual physical detriment, but the atmosphere of a penal institution is by no means conducive to their moral improvement, nor is it one in which they should be compelled to live even for short periods. The Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded has fully recognized this weak spot, and legislation is now urgently needed to carry out their recommendations.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the principle of vicarious responsibility, if applied in practice, would not tend to the repression of crime. Nevertheless, it is vehemently insisted on at street corners, in the pulpit, and in the press, while the dramatic possibilities of impulsive criminality and temporary irresponsibility are exploited in sensational drama. Many good and benevolently-minded people seem to get periodically conscience-stricken on behalf of the criminal as a victim of circumstances. Not only are they willing to bear the burden of their own small vices, but also, in their emotional fervour, to take up his larger ones,

and condone his crimes, however heinous. They almost apologize to him for his existence as being a victim of heredity, and palliate his misdeeds on the grounds of his bringing up, so that every vulgar felon comes to think he is in reality a very ill-used person. Criminals are consequently quite ready to adopt the extenuations and excuses which are urged in their behalf, not only by their legal advocates, but also by theorists in criminology. In the writer's recollection, twenty or thirty years ago, 'poverty' and 'drink' were the two main causes given by prisoners for their downfall; but now these pleas have gone out of fashion, in favour of unemployment, parental neglect, slum-life, and financial embarrassment. That such social evils exist to a deplorable extent at present—although twenty years ago they were much worse and much more common—no candid inquirer can deny; but that they have had any material influence on the manufacture of the *professional* criminal who selects his own calling, or, as he himself might put it, 'chooses his own pitch,' is a very doubtful proposition. A prolonged study of the actual living specimen has led the writer to the conclusion that the professional criminal is possessed of qualities which would enable him to emerge with ease and credit from any, or all, of these alleged social disadvantages, if only he had the will to make the attempt. The inexperienced, occasional offender is much more handicapped by those conditions, and he is not generally gifted with the staying or enterprising characteristics of the old hand. It is much more probable that the genesis and development of the latter type are traceable to a gambling spirit which characterizes his class. In his spells of freedom the race-course is the special scene of his recreation. Familiarity with risks breeds contempt, and he gambles with liberty much more light-heartedly than others do with stocks and shares. But the cure of social evils which are so wide-spread is of necessity a very slow process. Their total extinction, if such a thing were possible, would unquestionably tend to the *prevention* of much crime and human suffering; but there would still be left a substantial residue of crime unconnected with these social evils, and society would be compelled to protect itself from this by the infliction of some kind of punishment. Even in the ideal Socialist community of the future, when it gets into working order, this problem is not unlikely to crop up, and compel attention; but *meantime* what are we to do with the persistent offender?

Another strange theory which is promulgated by the apologists of the criminal, and which bears on the ethics of punishment, has a somewhat captivating effect on short-sighted reformers. There is, we are told, something immoral, or unfair, or at least pusillanimous, in inflicting punishment on a guilty person in order to deter others from crime. Except on the grounds that the guilty person is punished with excessive severity, or beyond his deserts, this specious theory cannot be sustained. If we beg this part of the question, as is generally done for the purposes of the argument, the immoral and unjustifiable nature of the proceeding is clear enough. Otherwise the practice is both rational and equitable. The actual criminal suffers no *wrong*, the strictly non-criminal person is totally unaffected, while the person with dormant criminal proclivities, who is tottering on the verge of criminality, is provided with a strong and valuable incentive to virtue. 'Encouraging the others' cannot be considered an immoral expedient in dealing with crime. The deterrent principle, which has always been recognized by law, is in reality a double-edged weapon of the highest value. Its effect on the actual offender may be, and often is,

absolutely negative; but on others its force is incalculable, and invariably many times greater and more far-reaching than on the individual. This fact is too often ignored by those who criticize and under-rate the deterrent effects of penal measures and systems which do not absolutely disclose superficially the indirect effects which they really produce. Statistics show clearly enough that our penal system deters occasional and first offenders, though it has very little deterrent effect on habituals. Present-day conditions of imprisonment are not *real punishment* to this latter class at all, but merely a form of restraint which removes them from temptation for the time being. The most recent device, therefore, which has been adopted for dealing with them in the Prevention of Crime Act of 1908—that is to say, preventive detention for long periods—is really a measure of inhibition and restraint, adopted primarily in the interests of society, although the extension of time that will be at the disposal of the authorities for effecting moral improvement in the prisoners themselves is also expected to yield more encouraging results. In regard to the principle of determent, the only profitable use to which the habitual can be put, until he renders himself more amenable to reformatory influence, would appear to be to make him a warning to other people for whom prison has more terrors. This, after all, is a trifling reparation for him to make to a community on which he persistently preys for a living, whether he be in or out of prison.

But these various doctrines which tend to the extenuation, or, it might be said not unfairly, to the encouragement, of crime are quite overshadowed by the much wider and more comprehensive one that we have no right to punish, and no moral justification for punishing, our fellow-creatures at all. Count Tolstoi was the leading exponent in recent years of this impossible creed, and he gained many disciples, who have been attracted, apparently, by the magnetism of his genius. In his novel *Resurrection* he makes his hero Nehludof, who is really a replica of himself and his own theories, ask the question, 'By what right do some people punish others? Why, and by what right, do some people lock up, torment, exile, flog, and kill others, while they are themselves just like those whom they torment, flog, and kill?' It is obvious to plain people that the latter part of this question embodies the underlying fallacy of the whole theory. The greater part of society is law-abiding, or at all events non-criminal in conduct. If an individual member is permitted to torment, flog, or kill another individual member with impunity, why should society collectively be denied the same right? Every State or community has an inherent moral right to make laws and regulations for the maintenance of social order. If social laws are merely optional in character, and no penalties are attached to their violation, they cease to have any force outside Utopia, so that every man's hand is against his neighbour. The mind of this gifted philosopher in his latter years seems to reflect the state of chaos and anarchy to which his teaching led him, so that at the last he was utterly weary of the world and its problems. Theories denying the right of society to punish, which have no foundation whatever in the Moral Law (on which the regulations of all civilized States ultimately rest), have no more than an academic interest for practical rulers. However suitable they may be for the land of dreams in which Tolstoi's spirit seemed to dwell, they are quite unfit for a practical world, in which a mere touch of the actual suffices to shatter them to pieces.

It may be regarded, then, as axiomatic that punishment in some form is essential for the cor-

rection of persons who inflict wrong on society; that the right to punish is in no sense immoral; and that every system of correction should have in it a penal element. It is true that these principles are strenuously denied by theorists who hold that prison treatment should be purely reformatory; but no one pretends to have devised a working scheme for carrying out this beneficent intention with full-grown criminals. All prison treatment must be, in the nature of things, to some extent penal, since it deprives persons of their liberty. Even Elmira imposes this restraint. To a large number of criminals, moreover, deprivation of drink is penal, while others find regular work a kind of punishment. It cannot be contemplated that the ideal prison is to abolish these restrictions on liberty under any coming régime. It is already on record that a prison without work existed some years ago under a local authority, and the results were found to be neither reformatory nor deterrent. It came to be known as a 'Reading-Reading-Gaol,' and one prisoner explained his return to it by saying he had come back to finish his book. Many sanguine persons are too ready to assume in this connexion that a kind of 'Free-Library' treatment, combined with musical entertainments, will alter the nature and habits of even hardened criminals; but those who live outside doctrinaire circles know that much deeper moral and spiritual influences are needed for those who persistently covet and desire other men's goods. At the present time it is the fashion to decry, or to ignore, much of the silent work of prison chaplains. This work is very often carried on under the most disheartening of conditions, especially amongst the habitués. The writer knows, however, that prisoners themselves, who show any wish to do better, get an enormous amount of encouragement, guidance, and help from the chaplain; and that they appreciate the unadvertised work of his department much more highly than do the general public, or those who write on prison reform.

5. *Penalties a necessity.*—Although reformatory treatment is an essential element of every good prison system, it is nevertheless lacking in two important respects. It is inapplicable in practice to the prisoners with very short sentences, who constitute the bulk of the whole prison population; and it embodies none of that deterrent principle which is necessary not only for the repression, but also for the *prevention*, of crime. It is obvious, therefore, that pains and penalties of some kind must be resorted to in order to check or restrain habits of crime; and it is very important that these penalties should bear some proper and adequate relation to the nature of the offence, the character of the offender, and the general sense of public justice as between injurer and injured. No longer is it necessary to brand, or mutilate, or inflict permanent injury on those whom it is our interest to cure. Society has, however, the right to seek *redress* (not revenge) at the hands of wrongdoers, and it is compelled to take this course if it would prevent the substitution of private vengeance for public justice. Now, the only medium through which this redress can be exacted at present is the purse or the person of the offender, so that in the last resort we are driven either to the infliction of capital punishment or to some form of imprisonment. The offender, in fact, is confronted with the footpad's usual alternative, 'Your money or your life,' or at least a part of it. If any one could invent a less objectionable form of punishment which would restrain the criminal, and at the same time reform him, and deter him and others from the committing of crime, he would merit public gratitude, and lay our penal code less

open to even a suspicion of inhumanity. But, as this is merely a visionary possibility, we can only look meantime for such a mitigation of the conditions under which these two measures are ordered, or carried out, as will meet with the approval of a humane and just public. Much has already been done in this direction. Capital punishment is now practically reserved for the worst cases of wilful murder, though it is still on the code for a few other offences, such as treason, setting fire to public arsenals, etc.

6. *Capital punishment.*—Without entering into the merits or demerits of capital punishment, we shall note some facts in connexion with the subject which tend to justify us in the use of it. A return laid before the House of Commons in 1907 shows that most of the chief European States, and most of the States in America, retain the death penalty in their codes, though many of them use it sparingly. Baron Garofalo, the President of the Appeal Court at Naples, in his book on Criminology (see Lit. at end of art.) tells us that in Italy, where, since 1876, there have been no executions except under military law, homicides average 3814 a year, compared with about 300 in England. He notes similar results in Belgium and Prussia, where few executions take place. In Switzerland, when the death penalty was abolished, murders increased 75 per cent in five years, so that several Cantons re-introduced the penalty. In France, in 1824, juries were allowed by law to add 'extenuating circumstances' to their verdicts, with the result that the annual average of executions fell to 1·8 in 1901-1905. Homicide was meantime increasing, but in 1906 Government brought in a Bill for abolition. Soon after a brutal murder occurred—'l'affaire Soleiland'—and public feeling was so stirred that the Bill was dropped; so that, instead of the death penalty being abolished, it became much more common. In America, Mr. Hugh C. Weir tells us (in *The World To-Day*, in regard to a recent census of American crime) that 'in only 1·3 per cent of our homicides do we secure a conviction.' Further, he states that Chicago averages 118 murders a year. London, which has four times the population of Chicago, has only 20. It is notorious that the death penalty is seldom carried out in the United States by law, though lynching is often practised mercilessly. Since 1868, abolition has been discussed eight times in the House of Commons, and negatived on each occasion by large majorities. Several committees and commissions have decided in the same sense. The opinion of the Scottish Judges at one of the Inquiries was:

'It would not be for the interests of humanity that the well-conducted and useful members of the community should be more exposed to deprivation of life by murder in order that the lives of the murderers may be saved.'

A French Professor of Law put the same idea pithily, when he said that if abolition were sanctioned it should be announced that—'henceforth the law in France will guarantee the lives of none but murderers.'

An incidental justification of the death penalty would seem to be that, under it, the newspaper hero of a sensational crime passes quickly into oblivion; whereas, if he is left in prison, his career furnishes endless opportunities for the dissemination of unauthentic, unwholesome, and demoralizing gossip in the press, which makes a direct appeal to the perverse imitative faculty of other criminals. Lastly, it is the opinion of Lacassagne, and many other observers, that the English statistics of crime are probably the most satisfactory in Europe.

With a view to securing a fair trial, and to preventing mistakes in capital cases, both law and custom in England provide elaborate safeguards. An accused person, after having the charge against

him investigated successively by coroner, magistrate, and Grand Jury, is tried by Judge and Jury, when he has the option of giving evidence in his own behalf. After conviction he can take his case to the Court of Criminal Appeal. If unsuccessful there, he can lay before the Home Secretary, either in petition or through his legal advisers, any additional evidence that may not have been forthcoming at his trial. Every scrap of evidence in his favour is most carefully examined, and, if there is the slightest suspicion of any mental deficiency, medical experts in criminal lunacy examine him, and report to the Secretary of State before a final decision is made to carry out the sentence of the law.

7. Penal servitude.—Criminal offenders, other than those who pay the penalty of death, are sentenced in this country either to 'penal servitude,' which is mainly served in convict prisons, the sentences ranging from three years to life; or to 'imprisonment,' which is carried out in local prisons only, the sentences ranging from three days to two years. Death sentences are carried out at local prisons. Convicts—that is to say, those sentenced to penal servitude—generally undergo the first part of their sentences in local prisons in *separate* confinement; the remainder is served in a convict prison, where they work in *association*, for the most part out of doors, though some work in shops. The length of the period of separation varies at present from three months to one, according to the antecedents of the convict. This part of the sentence is most criticized by reformers, as being inhumane and likely to lead to mental troubles, morbid introspection, irritation, and misconduct. As a matter of fact, results do not bear out this *a priori* reasoning, nor is the treatment as severe as is commonly supposed. The State is responsible for a good deal of misconception on the subject. Although 'separate' confinement is, for controversial purposes, called 'solitary,' the two are quite different. Solitary, or, as it is called legally, 'close confinement,' is never resorted to except as a punishment for offences committed in prison, and it is ordered solely by the Governor or superior authority. Under separate confinement a man works in his cell for the greater part of the day, but he gets many reliefs. He is allowed at least one hour's exercise daily, attendance at one chapel service on week days, and generally two on Sundays; he is also unlocked for various sanitary services, and sometimes for school; and he is frequently visited during the day by officials—governor, chief warden, officers serving him with work, meals, etc. Further, he is under careful medical supervision with a view to preventing mental or physical injury. The period of separate confinement, nevertheless, is one of the vexed questions of prison treatment at present. Its effect is penal, in so far as the average convict dislikes it; on the other hand, it does not seem to be without advantages in the direction of reformation of character for those who wish to profit by them. Introspection is not necessarily all morbid, and a period of seclusion gives time for reflexion and for a kind of moral readjustment, while it affords many opportunities to the chaplain for influencing the mind of the prisoner, away from the distractions of association with fellow-prisoners who too often urge him in wrong directions.

When this part of his sentence is over, a convict is drafted to a convict prison, where he works on the land—at reclaiming, tilling, gardening, quarrying, etc.; or at building, with allied industries; or in shops—at tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering, printing, book-binding, moulding, fitting, or other useful employments. He sleeps and takes his meals in a separate cell, which is well warmed,

lighted, and ventilated. He is warmly clad, and has a very good and ample plain diet, without any canteen privileges. His working hours are much shorter than those of outside labourers, and the work, which is not laborious, is very carefully graduated to his physical capacity, while at the same time it is chosen, as far as possible, with a view to utilize any skill he may have, so as to fit him for honest employment on discharge. His education, both religious and secular, is carried on by the chaplains and schoolmasters, and he has an excellent supply of instructive and interesting books to read. By way of stimulating self-help, he is made to pass through successive grades or classes, by earning marks for industry and good conduct. Each step gained entitles him to additional prison privileges, as well as to a considerable money gratuity on discharge, and to a remission of sentence up to one fourth for men and one third for women. On release, he can avail himself of the help of a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society to get work. He is, of course, kept under close supervision and strict discipline; but no bullying is allowed. Conversation is prohibited except as a special privilege at stated times for exemplary conduct; but under the conditions of associated out-door labour a good deal of talking is carried on, which, though not recognized, is inevitable. Misconduct of any kind renders him liable to forfeiture of the privileges which he may have already gained.

From this necessarily brief sketch it will be seen that the scheme is undoubtedly punitive in effect, but it is also reformatory in intention. Strict discipline conduces to self-control, steady and regular employment to the work-habit, the system of progressive privileges to industry, good conduct, and self-help; while the moral and educational training tends to strengthen character; and the whole scheme is designed to fit the prisoner for earning an honest living on his release.

The latest device of our penal system for dealing with the habitual criminal is *preventive detention*. The Prevention of Crime Act (1908) gives power to declare a man who has been leading a persistently criminal life to be an 'habitual criminal.' Such a person is to be sent in the first instance to penal servitude for not less than three years, and he may be kept for a further period of not less than five, or more than ten, years in a state of preventive detention by order of the Court. A special place of detention is to be provided, in which more indulgences and privileges can be granted than in a convict prison, so as to make the general conditions of life less onerous, and to foster habits of industry and self-control in the inmates, and fit them for *conditional licence*. This new plan for dealing with recidivism is, in fact, a modification of the indeterminate sentence. So much attention has been given in vain to the reclamation of the professional criminal that the step is taken mainly for the protection of society, though hopes are entertained that he, too, may benefit under the new conditions, with more time available for effecting cures. Preventive detention does not come actually into force till 1911, but responsible authorities expect good results from it, since they have advocated for years some means of imposing a more permanent kind of restraint on this intractable class of offender. In the United States the indeterminate sentence and the release on parole are worked on such liberal lines that many thoughtful Americans say serious crime is trifled with, under the guise of reclamation; while our Legislature hesitates to entrust the liberty of the subject, even though he be a confirmed criminal, to the discretion of prison authorities, who might keep him for life. Mr. Grubb tells us that the average term of actual detention at Elmira is about one and a half years.

It certainly seems strange to us that a dangerous burglar, or a coiner, or even a murderer of 30 years of age should be set free, cured in so short a time, when we require a year, or two years, to cure Borstal youths of 16 to 21 years of age under a system very similar to that of Elmira. If such things can be done in America, we must either have much to learn from them, or their reputed success must be doubtful, or the subject must be a very different one from the British specimen. Unfortunately, the statistics on the question are not capable of verification, although undoubtedly good results are obtained in many cases. Meantime we adopt such parts of the American system as seem suited to our national requirements.

8. Imprisonment.—In regard to punishment by 'imprisonment,' as distinguished from penal servitude, local prisoners now enjoy many more advantages in the matter of associated labour than they did when the 'separate' system was established by law in 1865. Associated work in shops or working parties, under strict supervision, is now carried out at all local prisons, but out-door employment, except in the grounds, or at officers' quarters, is limited, as the situation of the prisons in or near large towns does not give much scope for actual labour on the land. The term of separate confinement for local prisoners, which had been fixed at three months by the Prison Act of 1865, was limited by the Act of 1877 to one month, and is now commonly reduced to a still shorter period. Very large numbers of local prisoners are unskilled workers, and are under such short sentences that cell employment of some kind is necessary, unless they are to be kept in idleness, which is utterly demoralizing. The last Report of the Prison Commissioners shows that 61 per cent of males and 62 per cent of females were sentenced to two weeks or less; 93 per cent of males and 97 per cent of females to three months or less; and only 5.62 per cent of males and 1.91 per cent of females to six months and over. For prisoners with short sentences the effect of imprisonment is probably penal and deterrent rather than reformatory, since little in the way of training can be accomplished in short periods. The low diet of the short sentence has a like effect, the object being to make the lesson for a petty or occasional offender short and sharp, so that he may not come back. A spell of brief seclusion for this class is surely a salutary provision. Local prisoners are housed in comfortable and sanitary cells of 700 to 900 cubic feet, kept at a proper temperature, and well lighted and ventilated. Daily exercise and chapel service relieve the monotony of the cells. Diet, which is not on so liberal a scale as that of convicts, is graduated according to length of sentence, and is carefully adjusted to the physical requirements of the prisoners, while medical officers have a free hand in ordering extra food in special cases. Like the convict, the local prisoner works his way through the stages of a progressive system, earning privileges for industry and good conduct, and forfeiting any he may have already obtained if he is idle or breaks the rules. He can also earn remission of a part of his sentence if it is more than a month; but this, too, is liable to forfeiture. Secular instruction is given him under the direction of the chaplains; and religious ministrations are provided for by them and by the clergy of the different denominations to which the prisoners belong. All these regulations are subject, in their working, to medical safeguards and restrictions; and they are carried out generally on liberal lines, so as not to cause individual hardship. There is a gradual relaxation of conditions for the well-conducted as their sentences proceed. Those convicts who reach the Long Sentence Division at the

end of ten years are allowed to purchase out of their gratuity some approved articles of extra diet, but not alcohol or tobacco.

9. Borstal treatment.—The tendency of recent legislation has been towards a lenient treatment, especially of the young and of first offenders. The Probation of Offenders Act gives power to the Courts to release the latter, and order them to come up for judgment if called upon. The Children Act prohibits *all* children under 14, and practically all young persons under 16, from being sent to prison at all; and the Prevention of Crime Act establishes a new form of sentence and a new type of Institution for offenders between the ages of 16 and 21. The sentence is detention under penal discipline in a Borstal Institution for not less than one and not more than three years. This is intended for those whom, by reason of criminal habit or tendency, it is expedient to detain for long periods under such instruction and discipline as appear most conducive to reformation and the repression of crime. The treatment adopted in these Borstal Institutions closely resembles that of Elmira, already described. It is based on a well-devised scheme of moral, mental, and physical training, combined with specific instruction in some trade or skilled industry designed to fit the inmates for honest living. Rewards are given for industry and good conduct; penalties are inflicted chiefly by forfeiture of privileges; conditional licence is extended to those who are deserving; and work is also found for them on discharge; while an After-Care Association of benevolent workers supervises them, and gives not only encouragement, but moral and material help, so as to enable them to lead useful lives. Over 500 youths are now under training; and the land, buildings, and training-ship of Feltham Industrial School have been purchased from the London County Council for their accommodation. A scheme on similar lines has also been established for girls; also a modified Borstal treatment for youths in prison whose sentences are too short to let them have a full course. Splendid results have already been obtained, and still better are expected when the Institutions become firmly established.

10. Habituals and vagrants.—From the outline given of our penal system, as bearing on the general subject of crime and its punishment, candid readers will see that it is not unjust or unmerciful, and that it does not sacrifice the interests of the criminal to those of the community. The general principles on which it is based would seem to be that it should be penal without being vindictive, reformatory without being demoralizing, and deterrent without being inhumane. Administrators who keep a watchful eye on statistics are quite alive to its weak points, in so far as it fails to reform or deter certain classes of prisoners. It is notorious that it does not reform *individual* professional criminals, who come back time after time to prison, though it reduces the numbers of this *class* very considerably by cutting off the recruits. It is idle to expect that they will ever be totally eliminated; but it is highly probable that the new remedy of preventive detention will considerably limit their depredations, and deter many from entering their ranks. The system, again, seems to be ineffective with vagrants, who have been increasing lately at the rate of 4000 a year. Prison life sits lightly on an idle class, and measures of indulgence in the nature of physical comfort, dictated by an exaggerated sentimentality, are not likely to check idle habits. Unfortunately, much of our social teaching at present tends to encourage this evil. 'To labour truly to get one's own living' has become for many persons a very disagreeable obligation; and State Aid, which is a popular panacea for social evils, is

too often invoked where energy and self-reliance would be the more manly remedy; while Society is too often called upon to saddle itself with the vices and follies of individuals. To a large extent these doctrines would seem to be responsible for an idle spirit in our lower ranks. According to the last official returns, no fewer than 33,766 persons found their way to prison in 1910 for offences against the Vagrancy Acts. When it is borne in mind that several more thousands of this idle class are in workhouses and at large, it will be obvious that the question of dealing with them is becoming very urgent. No economic remedy for mere unemployment will meet their case, since the work-habit in practically all of them has been lost. A Committee appointed in 1905 to investigate the subject made recommendations that such persons should be dealt with otherwise than under the Vagrancy Acts—that they should be treated, not as criminals, but as persons requiring detention on account of their mode of life. The object aimed at is to train and compel them to do some kind of work, so as to aid the solution of the problem which they themselves present. Legislation is now urgently wanted to carry these recommendations into effect.

11. General results of our penal system.—Recent enactments in reference to inebriates, first offenders, habituals, and youthful delinquents, together with the recommendations of committees for further legislation for weak-minded prisoners and vagrants, suffice to show that our penal system has by no means reached perfection or finality. But how far has it served its purpose in the repression of crime? Some general considerations have to be taken into account in deciding this question. We have no trustworthy data for estimating with any approach to accuracy the sum total of crime committed in the country. Undetected and unproved crime still flourishes, and we can judge the proportion it bears to detected crime only by general indications. We know, however, that our methods of detection and identification of criminals have improved, so that it is at least probable that less crime goes undetected now than in former years. Further, we know that life and property are as secure with us as elsewhere, and that respect for human life is certainly greater in this country than in most civilized countries. But, although we can base no conclusions on figures representing the total criminality of our population, we have, in the daily average population of our prisons, a statistical basis for estimating comparative progress or retrogression. The figures are simple; they have been arranged on the same lines since the local prisons were handed over to the State in 1878; and they include all the *proved* crime of the country, both minor and grave. If, then, we compare the daily average population of the prisons of England and Wales in 1880 with that in 1910, we get the following results:

[ENGLAND AND WALES.]

Year.	Daily Average Population.		Population of Country.
	Convicts.	Local Prisoners.	
1880 . .	10,299	19,835	25,708,666
1910 . .	8,189	18,521	25,756,615

The outstanding feature of these statistics is the very conspicuous decrease in *serious* crime indicated by the fall in the convict population, in the proportion of ten to three, during the last thirty years. The general shortening of sentences, which

followed on the passing of the Summary Jurisdiction Act in 1879, accounts for a certain proportion of this decrease, but cannot altogether explain it away, since the missing convicts are not found in the local prison population, which has also declined considerably, despite the addition of many minor offences to the statute book since 1880. If we take the two sets of figures—those of convicts and local prisoners—together, and place beside them the increase of ten millions in the general population, it will be seen that the criminality of the country must have declined very substantially to show these results; and, although we look for still better things in the future, it must be admitted that our penal system has, on the whole, served us well. It would, however, be very erroneous to infer that the decrease of crime is due solely to our methods of punishment, although it is also very doubtful whether such marked decrease could take place under an inefficient penal system. Social progress, of course, accounts for much of it. The training and discipline of the schools are conducive to moral improvement, self-control, and law-abiding habits; while the steady progress of temperance is probably one of the most important factors of all. Bank holidays have long ceased to be carnivals of drunkenness, and the statistics of crime show a steady decline in this offence.

12. Drink.—The latest returns show that in 1910 the total number of prisoners, male and female, received in the prisons for drunkenness had been less than the total of 1909 by 5852 cases. These figures are satisfactory as showing progress, but there is still room for much improvement in a list which reaches the enormous total of 57,418. Without any desire to minimize these figures, which represent an appalling amount of human misery and degradation, we would point out that much misconception prevails as to the actual connexion between drink and crime. Exaggerated statements that 80 or 90 per cent of crime is caused by drink depend to a large extent on the statistics of minor crime, which do not justify such sweeping conclusions. Many thousands of offences tried summarily have no connexion with drink. It should be remembered that the relation of cause and effect existing between drink and the major kind of crime, which entails a long sentence, is by no means so direct or clear as it is in the case of minor crime, since drunkenness is in itself one of the minor crimes, and one which figures most prominently in the statistics, and is also the exciting cause of several such offences. The commission of serious crime, on the other hand, is very often inconsistent with drunken habits, which are by no means so constantly found amongst professional criminals as amongst minor offenders. None the less, drink is, without doubt, both a direct and an indirect cause of all kinds of crime, and the spread of temperance is the most hopeful means we can employ for limiting its perils. Although the drink evil is pre-eminently one which is best dealt with at its source, and before it attains large dimensions, supplementary measures, both curative and penal, are also necessary at the later stages. Here our system has been somewhat weak and ineffective. Abuse of alcohol is certainly the most potent factor known to us in the production of crime, and yet the steps we have hitherto taken to suppress this predominant cause of criminality have been slow, unscientific, and uncertain. Up till 1898, when the Inebriates Act was passed, our measures for dealing with drunkenness were for the most part penal, and the penalties were much the same as they had been for fifty years previously. Fines and short imprisonments were the stock remedies, although they had long been known to be practically useless. Occasional drunkards were regarded too

much in the light of social 'sports,' instead of anti-social offenders and public nuisances. An attempt was made by the Inebriates Act to stem the evil by applying curative treatment to cases of inebriety, and placing them under control and medical care for prolonged periods. The intention of the Act was good, and it was based on scientific teaching, but, unfortunately, it did not work well in practice. No legal obligation had been placed on the local authorities, who were expected to co-operate in the scheme, to provide accommodation and maintenance for patients, and the Courts were reluctant to deprive of liberty, for the long periods necessary for cure, any persons except the most confirmed inebriates. These, as might have been expected, quickly relapsed into their former habits on discharge, and the Act was thereby discredited. For those who were less confirmed in drinking habits, and who might have gained benefit from the Act, it became a dead letter. The liberty of the subject in their case amounted to liberty to ruin themselves, and to inflict trouble, anxiety, and expense on their friends. Further, disputes arose between the local authorities and the Treasury as to the cost of maintaining the Homes, which led to further deadlock. A Committee of Inquiry has already recommended that, in order to meet these difficulties, the State should take over the control of the Homes. Whether or not this proposal be carried out, the Act requires stiffening in some way, if it is to fulfil its object. The occasional drunkard also needs more attention. If he is to be restrained from drifting into the habitual class before his will-power disappears under continued indulgence, cumulative penalties must be dealt out to him more freely, and the risk of becoming an inebriate under the Act must be constantly kept before his eyes.

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R. F. QUINTON.

CRIOBOLIUM.—Like the *taurobolium* (wh. see) the *criobolium* was a sacrifice performed in connexion with the worship of the Great Mother of the Gods and Attis, with the difference that the victim was a ram instead of a bull, and was slain in honour of Attis. When the *criobolium* was given in conjunction with the *taurobolium*, the altar was, with rare exceptions, inscribed to both deities; whereas, when the *taurobolium* alone was given, the inscription was usually to the Mother only, though symbolic decorations on the altar even then often indicated the participation of Attis.

Unlike the *taurobolium*, which, if not an original feature of the worship of the Great Mother in Asia, was borrowed by her priesthood at Rome from the Cappadocian religions which were brought there in the early 2nd cent. A.D., the *criobolium* seems to have been a special sacrifice instituted after the rise, and on the analogy, of the *taurobolium*, for the purpose of giving fuller recognition to the duality of the Great Mother and Attis, which had recently become more prominent through the rise of Attis to greater importance. There is nothing to indicate its existence either in Asia or in

Italy before its first celebration in honour of the Mother and Attis.

In the absence of direct evidence, we may suppose the *criobolium* to have been similar to the *taurobolium* both in details of ceremony and in spiritual effect. Its celebration was wide-spread, and its importance such that it could be an alternative to the *taurobolium* (CIL vi. 505, 506), though the latter was held in greater esteem. It was inevitable that the ancients should draw a comparison between the pagan doctrine of purification and regeneration through the *taurobolium* and *criobolium* and the Christian doctrine of redemption through the blood of the Lamb (Firmicus Maternus, *de Error.* 27-28).

LITERATURE.—See references under **TAUROBOLIUM**.

GRANT SHOWERMAN.

CRITICISM (Old Test.).—Criticism is the art of estimating the qualities of literary or artistic work. M. Arnold defined it as 'a disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world' (*Ess. Crit.* i. 38). It is not to be mistaken for censure or dispraise—the expression of hostile or unfavourable opinions. Realizing that the word verges on this adverse significance, Pater and others have preferred to speak of literary 'appreciations'; and certainly the true Bible critic desires chiefly to share his admiration with his reader. But 'criticism' and the allied terms should be used without prejudice, to signify the effort of the mind to see things as they are, to appraise literature at its true worth, to judge the records of men's thoughts and deeds impartially, without obtrusion of personal likes or dislikes. In distinction from 'lower' (a term seldom used), or textual, criticism, which aims at ascertaining the genuine text and meaning of an author, 'higher' (a term apparently first used by Eichhorn), or historical, criticism seeks to answer a series of questions affecting the composition, editing, and collection of the Sacred Books. The higher critic's task is to show how the ideas of any particular writing are related to the environment in which they grew, to the spirit of the age, to the life of the people, to the march of events, and to the kindred literary productions of other times or, it may be, of other lands. It is a scientific method of 'searching the Scriptures.' It substitutes the inductive for the *a priori* mode of inquiry, observation and experiment for tradition and dogma. It is a new application of the Socratic principle that an unexamined life—of man or book—is not worth living.

The critical movement, which has shed a flood of light on the OT, and given the Church a new and more human conception of the mode of revelation, did not begin till the middle of the 18th century. The traditional view of the composition of the Sacred Scriptures was a bequest from the Jewish to the Christian Church, which no one ever thought of closely examining. There were, indeed, a few sporadic attempts at literary criticism, which ran counter to the received opinion. Theodore of Mopsuestia relegated some of the 'Psalms of David'—such as the 51st, 65th, and 127th—to the period of the Exile. Ibn Ezra, the acutest Jewish scholar of the Middle Ages (1070-1138), detected a number of anachronisms in the Pentateuch, but advised the reader who understood these things to be discreet and hold his tongue. Luther was a fearless critic of both the OT and the NT. He asked what it would matter if Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch; he saw that the Book of Kings was more credible than that of Chronicles; he surmised that some of the Prophetic books received their final form from redactors; and he would have preferred if the First Book of Maccabees instead of Esther had been included in the Canon. Spinoza's

philosophical acumen anticipated not a few of the modern critical results. 'Ex his omnibus,' he says, 'luce meridiana clarius apparet, Pentateuchum non a Mose, sed ab alio et qui a Mose multis post saeculis vixit, scriptum fuisse' (*Tract. theol.-polit.* vii.). Richard Simon, the French Oratorian, observed some double accounts of events in the Pentateuch, and suggested a diversity of authorship. But the critical opinions of these and other individual writers were mere *obiter dicta*, which made little impression upon the mind of the Church, and never disturbed her dogmatic slumber. They inaugurated no critical movement.

It was reserved for one who was neither a scholar nor a theologian, but a man of science, the Frenchman and court-physician Jean Astruc, to discover the critical secret, and to forge the *novum organum* which was 'to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant.' His study of the Pentateuch was the *parergon* of a busy life chiefly devoted to the writing of books in his own special department, and his supreme merit was that he brought to the search of the Scriptures a mind thoroughly trained in the methods of science. In this pioneer work he left a perfect example for the imitation of all his followers. As a devout Catholic believer—he takes his readers into his confidence in a beautiful preface—he refrained for a while from publishing his book, fearing that he might, much against his will, put a weapon into the hands of the free-thinkers—*les esprits forts*—of his time. He could not doubt, however, that his discovery would serve to remove some serious difficulties from the pages of Scripture, and in his seventieth year he was constrained to give his book to the world (1753). The very title of the work at once gave expression to the characteristic modesty of a true seeker after truth. He merely offered *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*. He did not know whether they would be accepted or rejected, but in either case nothing could ever alter his 'love of Truth and of Religion.' It is worth while to state his argument in his own words—here slightly abridged.

'In the Hebrew text of Genesis, God is designated by two different names. The first is Elohim, for, while this name has other meanings in Hebrew, it is especially applied to the Supreme Being. The other is Jehovah, *יהוה*, the great name of God, expressing his essence. Now one might suppose that the two names were used indiscriminately as synonymous terms, merely to lend variety to the style. This, however, would be an error. The names are never intermixed; there are whole chapters, or large parts of chapters, in which God is always called Elohim, and others, at least as numerous, in which he is always named Jehovah. If Moses were the author of Genesis, we should have to ascribe this strange and harsh variation to himself. But can we conceive such negligence in the composition of so short a book as Genesis? Shall we impute to Moses a fault such as no other writer has committed? Is it not more natural to explain this variation by supposing that Genesis was composed of two or three memoirs, the authors of which gave different names to God, one using that of Elohim, another that of Jehovah or Jehovah Elohim?

That Astruc was conscious of leading the students of Scripture into untrodden paths is proved by the motto from Lucretius (i. 926 f.), which he put on his title-page:

'Aria Pierdum peragro loca, nullius ante
Trita solo.'

In the 500 pages of his book he carried his critical analysis through the whole of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus, as far as the point where the distinction of Divine names appears to cease (Ex 6). He discovered some passages which he could not attribute either to the Elohist or the Jahvist. He displayed his results by arranging the whole text in four parallel columns. His attempt had the inevitable defects of all pioneer work, and he was far from dogmatizing as to the details of his criticism. But, with a true scientist's confidence at once in the precision of his methods and in the

general accuracy of his conclusions, he wrote at the end of his prefatory exposition:

'So we must either renounce all pretence of ever proving anything in any critical question, or else agree that the proof which the combination of these facts affords amounts to a complete demonstration of the theory of the composition of Genesis which I have propounded.'

Astruc's *Conjectures* received but a cold welcome in his own Catholic communion. No single compatriot of his inherited the critical mantle, and it was destined to be the work of a long succession of patient German scientific theologians to continue and complete the process of literary analysis which the brilliant Frenchman had begun. The great Hebraist Eichhorn came to know Astruc's theory at second-hand, and deliberately refrained from reading the book till he had independently, and still more thoroughly, gone over the same ground, with the same general results. He had no difficulty in finding a good many criteria besides the Divine names to differentiate the original documents, and, instead of pausing at the beginning of Exodus, he carried his investigations to the end of the Pentateuch, expressing the opinion—long since antiquated—that the last four books were compiled from separate writings of Moses and some of his contemporaries. Eichhorn's results were published in an *Einleit. in das AT* (1783), and, as he had some of his friend Herder's gift of style and love of the Bible as literature, his book made almost as profound an impression on his age as Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* has made on ours.

The only contribution which Britain offered to the solution of the critical problem in its earliest phase was the work of Alexander Geddes, a Scottish priest, educated in Paris, where he had had the privilege of studying Hebrew at the Sorbonne. His *Holy Bible faithfully translated from corrected Texts of the Originals, with Various Readings, Explanatory Notes, and Critical Remarks* (1792), followed by a separate work entitled *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures* (1800), gives vigorous expression to his views. He was a remarkable man and no mean scholar, who certainly deserves to be remembered among the pioneers of criticism; but by excess of zeal—the *perfidium ingenium Scotorum*—he led criticism astray, and tended on the whole to discredit the movement. Scorning the timid theory of Astruc and Eichhorn,—that Moses used only two fundamental documents in the composition of Genesis,—he launched the hypothesis that the whole Pentateuch was nothing but a collection of loose scraps, of various age and worth, probably compiled in the time of Solomon. He had no difficulty in pointing out an immense number of these originally independent fragments, in the conjunction of which he saw no orderly plan or leading motive. He thus became the author of the 'Fragment Hypothesis,' which was introduced into Germany by Vater, who translated or paraphrased a large part of Geddes's *Critical Remarks*. Vater thought the Book of Genesis was composed of thirty-nine fragments. The theory made much noise for a time, but received its death-blow at the hands of the greatest OT scholar of last century, Heinrich Ewald of Göttingen, in his *Die Composition der Genesis kritisch untersucht*, which he wrote when he was a youth of nineteen (1823). Geddes's opinions cost him his priestly office. Aberdeen consoled him with a doctorate of laws.

Meanwhile a real and important advance, from which there have been *nulla vestigia retrorsum*, was made by Ilgen, Eichhorn's successor at Jena. This fine scholar—who afterwards acquired a scholastic fame similar to that of Arnold of Rugby—detected the presence of two writers in Genesis, each with an unmistakable style of his own, who habitually use the Divine name *Elohim*. This discovery did not receive much attention at the

time of its publication (1798), and it was not till it was independently made again by Hupfeld, more than half a century afterwards, that its significance was recognized by the foremost scholars of Germany. It is now accepted as one of the assured results of criticism. As the second Elohist is devoted to the ideas and institutions of the Levitical system, he is usually known as the 'Priestly Writer,' while the name 'Elohist' is reserved for the earlier author, who, like the Jahwist, is more akin to the prophets.

Still another step in advance was taken at Jena, this time by one of Ilgen's most brilliant pupils. As a candidate for the doctor's degree (in 1805), de Wette presented a *Dissertatio Critica* on the Book of Deuteronomy, which proved to be epoch-making. He argued, from the individual qualities of style and the definite circle of ideas which he observed in this book, that it stands by itself, distinct in origin and purpose from the rest of the Pentateuch; and he identified it with the law-book which was at once the manifesto and the programme of the reforming party in the reign of Josiah (621 B.C.). This brilliant theory brought the critical movement for the first time into direct contact with Israel's national history. It shed an intense light upon the record of a great spiritual crisis. Criticism thus ceased to be merely literary, and became the handmaid of the history of religion. De Wette's hypothesis has now been tested by the scholarship of a century, and Deuteronomy is universally regarded as the key to the interpretation of the spiritual evolution of Israel.

Attention was next directed to the Book of Joshua, which the Jewish canon sharply separates from the Pentateuch and places at the head of the 'Former Prophets.' Already, in 1792, Geddes had joined it to the Pentateuch, regarding it as 'compiled by the same author.' Careful and minute investigation convinced de Wette and Bleek that this procedure was correct. The real affinities of Joshua are with the writings which precede, not with those which follow, it. Of the 'Five Books of Moses' it forms the necessary continuation and completion, taking up the various threads of the narrative and recording how the promises were fulfilled and the laws enforced. Subsequent criticism has confirmed this view, by proving that each of the Pentateuchal documents, with its favourite phrases and formulæ, reappears in the Book of Joshua. Hence it is now the established practice to speak and write of the *Hexateuch*, or 'Six Books' (*ἑξῆς*, 'a weapon,' being post-Alexandrian Greek for a book), instead of the Pentateuch.

For the next half century there was one inspiring name which dominated the study of the OT. Wellhausen, who dedicated his *Prolegomena* 'to my unforgotten teacher, Heinrich Ewald, with gratitude and honour,' was one out of many who felt the spell of this scholar's genius. It must be admitted, however, that Ewald lent his authority to a hypothesis which for a considerable time retarded rather than furthered the progress of criticism. He began where Astruc and Eichhorn left off, and neglected Ilgen's discovery of the two Elohist. Regarding an undivided Elohist document, which he called the 'Book of Origins,' as the 'groundwork' of the Hexateuch, and finding its unmistakable ideals and formulæ giving order and unity to the whole structure, he maintained that the Jahwist sections were merely added to supplement the work of the Elohist. This was the famous 'Supplement Hypothesis.' Defended by Bleek, Schrader, and many other scholars, it was viewed for long as the citadel of criticism; but it could not permanently stand the cross-fire to which it was subjected, and it has now no more than a historical interest.

In 1834, Eduard Reuss was lecturing on OT theology at Strassburg, and applying his strong, keen intelligence to the critical problem, which he approached from the historical rather than from the literary side. He found it psychologically inconceivable that a nation should begin its history with a fully developed code of laws. He thought it inexplicable that a whole succession of prophets should ignore their country's laws, which they of all men ought to have revered. How was he to solve the enigma? The critical movement, at the point which it had then reached, did not help him much, for Deuteronomy was the only book of the OT, apart from the Prophets, which had yet been replaced in the historical environment out of which it grew. Reuss's problem was to determine the age and origin of the 'Law of Moses' and the 'Psalms of David.' The answer came to him, as he told long afterwards, rather as an intuition than as the result of a careful and exhaustive investigation. It was this—that in the true historical sequence the Prophets are earlier than the Law, and the Psalms later than both. In the following year (1835) practically the same theory was independently propounded by Vatke in his *Bibl. Theol. wissenschaftlich dargestellt*, and by George in his *Die älteren jüd. Feste*. If neither of these books commanded any great attention, the reason was that they were too theoretical. They did not present a thorough analysis of the language and ideas of the Books of Scripture. Vatke's work was, indeed, a very remarkable instance of the successful application of Hegelian principles to the study of a national and literary development. But it was intended only for the initiated, who were sealed of the tribe of Hegel. The author warned off the very threshold of his book all who did not understand the master's terminology. Reuss, who tried to read it and failed, deferred the publication of his own conclusions for nearly half a century. His *L'Histoire sainte et la loi* appeared only in 1879, and his *Geschichte der Schriften des AT* in 1881. One of his most brilliant pupils, K. H. Graf, professor at Leipzig, had forestalled him by a dozen years in his *Geschichtl. Bücher des AT* (1866), and consequently the theory is known to all the world as the 'Grafian Hypothesis.'

Hupfeld, one of the eminent Hebraists of Halle, where he was the successor of Gesenius, brought a fresh mind to the problem of the literary composition of Genesis, and was rewarded with more success than almost any previous scholar. Indeed, it was he who most nearly read the riddle of the sphinx, and it is a remarkable fact that his book, *Die Quellen der Genesis* (1853), was published exactly a century after the famous *Conjectures* of Astruc. Having shaken off the obsession of Ewald's 'Supplement Hypothesis,' he had the good fortune to repeat Ilgen's almost forgotten discovery of the two distinct Elohist writers in the Pentateuch. He laid bare the work of the Priestly Writer (the second Elohist). He demonstrated the close affinity of the first Elohist to the Jahwist, and the wide difference between both and the writer of the *Grundschrift*. Under his spell each of these ancient writers seemed to come forth a living personality, with a style which revealed the man. He showed that the additions by which J was alleged to have supplemented P were often entirely out of harmony with the latter's circle of ideas. His own theory was that the productions of three originally independent writers (now known as J, E, and P) were at length combined by an editor, who—fortunately for us—left his sources much as he found them, being content to establish a merely superficial unity.

The literary problem of the authorship of the Hexateuch was thus solved. But the vitally im-

portant *historical* question of the date of the several writers, and of their relations to the other authors of the OT, still left much work to do. Graf, as we have seen, was inspired by the teaching of Reuss, and developed his master's theory (*op. cit. supra*). Taking the date of the publication of Deuteronomy (621 B.C.) as his first starting-point, he worked backwards and forwards from it. By careful comparisons he proved that D is, on the one hand, much more fully developed than the law-book—small in size but great in value—known as the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20²²⁻²³), and, on the other hand, much less fully developed than the Priestly Code. The inference was inevitable that these three strata of legislation belong to three widely separated ages. The Priestly Code, however, is partly historical, partly legal, and Graf felt constrained to divorce these two elements, ascribing the historical to a pre-exilic, and the legal to a post-exilic date, with some centuries between them. But this part of his theory commended itself neither to the right nor to the left wing. As the Priestly Code is a compact and indivisible whole, and as the style of its narrative portions differs in no way from the style of its legal sections, it must as a whole be either pre-exilic or post-exilic. Now, this was one important question as to which the most eminent critics remained for a while divided among themselves. Nöldeke, Riehm, and Dillmann were on the one side; Reuss, Kayser, and ultimately Graf himself, on the other. Then came a new generation of scholars, with Duhm, Kuenen, and Wellhausen at their head, who vigorously attacked the problem once more, and almost unanimously declared in favour of the post-exilic theory, thereupon proceeding to adjust their conceptions of the whole OT literature and history to this revolutionary conclusion.

Duhm in his *Theol. der Propheten* (1875) chose a new point of view. The work of the prophets gave him the sure historical vantage-ground from which he could look both before and after, and a keen scrutiny of all the conditions of the problem convinced him that the phenomenon of prophecy is independent of every Mosaic law but the moral law written in the heart. To him the great prophets are not the children of the Law, but the inspired creators of the religion of Israel. Prophecy is the supreme initial fact which transcends explanation. The Levitical system, which gave the death-blow to prophecy in the post-exilic age, could never have been its nursing-mother in earlier times. The inner expansion of the prophetic spirit nowhere requires the Law for its explanation or illustration. The traditional succession—Mosaism, Prophecy, Judaism—cannot, therefore, be maintained. Judaism is not a mere revival of antiquity; it is a new fact. The post-exilic poems sung in fervent praise of the Law have a freshness of feeling which betokens something other than an artificial restoration. On the assumption that Ezra, working on the basis of Ezekiel, was the real creator of Judaism, everything becomes clear. While the whole previous history of Israel, internal and external, can be traced out independently of the Priestly legislation, the whole subsequent history is just the history of the Law. The study of the Prophets thus proves that the Grafian hypothesis is both psychologically and historically superior to the traditional one. For it is less likely, as Kuenen says, 'that the so-called "Grundschrift" dropped from the sky some few centuries before any one wanted it . . . than that it grew up in its own historical environment when its hour had come' (*Histor.-Crit. Inquiry*, etc., Eng. tr. 1886, p. xxxvii f.).

Wellhausen's *Gesch. Israels* appeared in 1878, and of its reception in Germany Pfeiderer says:

'The arguments for the new hypothesis, derived from the parallel development of law, ritual, and literature, were exhibited with such cogency that the impression produced on German theologians (especially of the younger generation) was almost irresistible. . . . It was a special merit in Wellhausen's book to have excited interest in these questions outside the narrow circle of specialists by its skilful handling of the materials and its almost perfect combination of wide historical considerations with the careful investigation of details, and to have thus removed OT criticism from the rank of a subordinate question to the centre of theological discussion' (*Development of Theology*, Eng. tr. 1890, p. 269).

Kuenen was perhaps justified in regarding the publication of Wellhausen's book 'as the "crowning fight" in the long campaign' (*op. cit.* p. xxxix). The work of criticism was not yet ended. But, at any rate, its methods were vindicated, and its main results assured. The subsequent history of the critical movement is, therefore, outward rather than inward, supplying matter for an interesting chapter of general Church History, a record of the spread of criticism to one country after another, of the opening of the doors of colleges and schools to critical teaching, and of the gradual leavening of the modern mind with a new conception of the Bible and of revelation. Of the direction of the current of educated opinion there cannot be any doubt.

'For, while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main' (A. H. Clough).

It would be strange if traditionalism did not make a brave fight for life, and the battle has often waxed hot. Critical freedom has sometimes been purchased at a great price. Those who are born free have a sacred heritage. The cause of the scientific study of the OT has been championed and won for England by Colenso and Stanley, Cheyne and Driver; for Scotland by Davidson, Robertson Smith, and G. A. Smith; for America by Briggs and Harper, Toy and Brown—to name in each instance but a few scholars out of many. Criticism is represented in modern Judaism by Montefiore, and the writers of the *JE*; in the Rom. Cath. Church by the Abbé Loisy, Baron von Hügel, Père Lagrange, and Salvatore Minocchi. It has become, as Sanday says, international and inter-confessional. And, since all light and truth are of God, Biblical science can bring to Churches and nations nothing but good. It is inevitable that the art of criticism should sometimes be practised by men of little faith, or of no faith, and that in their case the critical spirit should be capacious rather than sympathetic, the critical weapon destructive rather than constructive. The fault is not in the instrument but in the user. Of two scientists who study the open book of Nature, one sees only a strange adjustment of the atoms of dead matter, while the other has a vision of the living garment of God. And of two critics of the Bible, which is 'literature and not dogma,' the one is merely conscious of the pathetic upward strivings of the human spirit, while the other bows in reverence before a revelation of the immanent God of truth and love.

Appeal is often made from criticism to archaeology. Exploration is called to be the handmaid of revelation. The spade is taken to confirm the pen. Many confident statements have been circulated in the name of this romantic young science, which is bringing so many old things to light. 'Wherever archaeology has been able to test the negative conclusions of criticism, they have dissolved like a bubble into the air' (Sayce, *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies*, p. 26). Assyriology 'has for ever shattered the "critical" theory which would put the Prophets before the Law' (p. 87). From buried palaces, from monuments, from long-lost libraries, 'a voice has gone up rebuking the scooner' (J. Orr, *The Bible under Trial*, p. 121). But is criticism really opposed by the facts of the monuments, or only by illegitimate inferences deduced from these facts? On many points archaeology is certainly quite neutral, and on many others it is in perfect accord with the views of the critics. While it has to some extent confirmed the Bible statements regarding Shishak, Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Sargon, and Sennacherib; while it has proved that the art of writing was wide-spread in the East long before the Hebrew invasion of

Canaan; while it has found in Hammurabi a law-giver far older than Moses: it has not hitherto appreciably affected a single critical conclusion as to Israel's historical and literary development. 'Archæology has refuted only the argument which Prof. Sayce has imaginatively attributed to critics: the arguments which they really use, with, of course, the entire position which depends upon them, it has left absolutely untouched' (Driver, *LOT*, p. xx). Sayce, Hommel, and Winckler have rendered splendid service as archaeological specialists, and every discovery they have made has been welcomed; but science would prefer to receive their facts neat, instead of having them diluted with cheap anti-criticism. Prof. Orr is the ablest opponent of criticism in this country, but he has personally accepted a good many of its results; and, when he still contrasts the traditional with the modern position by saying that 'the one scheme is naturalistic; the other is positively Christian: there must in the long run be a more decisive choice between them' (*ExpT* xviii. [1907] 125), he is needlessly confusing the issue.

The progress of criticism has been slow. The labour has been spread over a century and a half. Every critical theory that had ever been advanced has been severely tested and strenuously contested. Criticism is bound to be self-critical, proving all things and holding fast that which is good. It is not to be imagined that finality has been reached on every minor detail of criticism. All along the line there are matters that still await adjustment. In the improvements which it is receiving at the hands of a new generation, the Grafian theory resembles the Darwinian.

Allusion can be made to only a very few points. (1) The Jahvist and Elohist have often been called 'prophetic' writers, as if they had come under the influence of Amos and Hosea; but Gunkel has made it appear very probable that the stories of J and E, which in his view represent the work of schools rather than of individuals, had taken shape in all essentials by 1200 B.C. While, on the one hand, 'we must assume their existence in order to account for the appearance of the Prophets,' they have, on the other hand, 'much that must needs have been exceedingly offensive to the Prophets' (H. Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis*, Eng. tr. 1901, p. 140 f.). (2) While scholars like Baudissin and Kittel hold that the Law of Holiness (Lv 17-26) precedes Deut., and Driver and Ryle that it is later than Deut., but prior to Ezekiel, Addis has argued very ably for placing it after both these writings (*Heb. Rel.* p. 241 f.). (3) The division of Isaiah into two parts at ch. 40 is indisputable, but in both parts there are sections that require to be removed into different historical settings, and in nearly all the Prophets some later additions and redactions have been discovered. (4) The Psalter as a whole is probably post-exilic, but it is in the nature of things scarcely possible to determine the precise environment into which each poem should be fitted, and the theory that many of the Psalms reflect Maccabæan and Ptolemaic conditions has not met with much acceptance. (5) The Wisdom literature and the relation of its later developments to Greek thought still need much attention. While Job is recognized as post-exilic, and Ecclesiastes may be little older than Daniel (which belongs to the great field of Apocalyptic literature), it still remains probable that the kernel of the Book of Proverbs represents the oral wisdom of Israel in the time of the monarchy.

Some gains obtained by the criticism of the Old Testament may be mentioned. It has established the broad principles that 'God never spoke a word to any soul that was not exactly fitted to the occasion and the man'; and that 'separate . . . from this context, . . . it is no longer the same perfect Word' (Robertson Smith, *OTJC*, 1892, p. 10 f.). It has reconstructed the history of Israel in the light of that other modern principle—'there is no history but critical history.' For the incredible dogmas of verbal inspiration and the equal divinity of all parts of Scripture, it has substituted a credible conception of the Bible as the sublime record of the Divine education of the human race. It has traced the development of the religious conceptions and institutions of Israel in a rational order. Moving the OT's centre of gravity from the Law to the Prophets, it has proved that the history of Israel is fundamentally and essentially the history of Prophecy. It has made a sharp and clear distinction between historical and imaginative writing in the OT, and so enhanced the real value of both. It has appreciated the simple idylls of Israel's folklore, pervaded and purified as they are by the spirit of the earliest prophets, and used by them to transfuse the devotion of a higher faith into the veins of the people. It has thrown light—as Astruc saw that it would—on the many duplicate, and even

contradictory, accounts of the same events that are found in close juxtaposition. It has explained the moral and theological crudities of the Bible as the early phases of a gradual religious evolution. It has denuded the desert pilgrimage of literary glory, only in order to enrich the Exile. For the 'Psalms of David' it has substituted the 'Hymn-book of the Second Temple,' into which are garnered the fruits of the religious thought and feeling of centuries. To the legendary wisdom of one crowned head it has preferred the popular philosophy of many generations. For a religious history which looked like an inverted pyramid, it has given us one which is comparable to an ever-broadening stream—the record of a winding but unwavering progress in the moral and religious consciousness of a people. Instead of crowding the most complex institutions and ideals into the infancy of the nation, it has followed the order of nature—'first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.'

Prof. B. D. Eerdmans, Kuenen's pupil and successor, is regarded as the leader of a reaction. He begins his *Allzeit. Studien* (Giessen, 3 parts, 1908-10) by announcing that he has quitted the Graf-Welhausen-Kuenen School. Criticism has been wrong from the outset. 'Astruc led her into false tracks' (p. iv). 'The theory which uses the Divine names as a guide through the labyrinth of the traditions is an error, and must be set aside' (p. 94). Instead of taking these names as literary criteria, let us have an historical-religious investigation of their meaning. In the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex 20²²⁻²³), 'Elohim' cannot refer to the God of Israel. It is a real plural. The 'judges' (Ex 21⁶ 22⁸⁻⁹) are gods. This is the key with which the new critical school opens the door. Polytheism is to be found not only in the 'Book of the Covenant,' but in the narratives of Genesis. 'For the knowledge of the history of Israel it is of great importance to see clearly that the legends which have been gradually collected in Genesis have received but a faint monotheistic coloring.' Round the figures of the patriarchs have gathered (1) stories in which the polytheism is undisturbed, (2) others which recognize Jahweh as one of the gods, and (3) others in which the polytheism has been adapted to monotheistic faith. Some parts of P—which to Eerdmans is 'a fiction'—are much older than the Exile, and round all the ancient legends there have gradually accumulated many additions and redactions, dating from the earliest to the latest times.

Eerdmans has failed to take account of the fact that for the recognition of J and E in the Hexateuch there are many other important criteria—language, style, point of view, religious tendency—besides the Divine names. It will be found that the difference between him and his master is after all not very great. His vigorous and suggestive criticism is a trumpet-call to all OT scholars to re-examine their position, and they are cheerfully responding; but it does not appear that the solid walls of P have been shaken.

LITERATURE (chiefly additional to books cited above).—J. W. Colenso, *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, 7 parts, London, 1862-79; Th. Nöldeke, *Die AT Literatur*, Leipzig, 1893, also *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des ATs*, Kiel, 1899; A. Kuenen, *Histor. Krit. Onderzoek*, Leyden, 1885-93 (Eng. tr. of pt. 1 under title *The Hexateuch*, London, 1889); Karl Budde, *Bibl. Urgeschichte untersucht*, Giessen, 1883, also *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, New York and London, 1899; Ed. Riehman, *Einleit. in das AT*, Halle, 1889; W. W. Graf Baudissin, *Gesch. des AT Priesterthums*, Leipzig, 1889; A. Westphal, *Les Sources du Pentateuque*, 2 vols., Paris, 1888-91; H. Holzinger, *Einleit. in den Hexateuch*, Freiburg, 1893; W. E. Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, 2 vols., London, 1892-8, also *Hebrew Religion*, do. 1906; C. A. Briggs, *The Bible, the Church, and the Reason*, Edinburgh, 1892, also *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, New York, 1893; S. R. Driver, *LOT*, Edinburgh, 1909; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*, London and Edinburgh, 1892; B. W. Bacon, *The Genesis of Genesis*, London, 1892; C. H. Cornill, *Einleit. in das AT*, Freiburg, 1896 (Eng. tr., 2 vols., N.Y. 1907); *OT Theologies*, of Schultz² (Frankfurt, 1896; Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1892), Smend² (Freiburg, 1899), Piepenbrink (Berlin, 1886; Eng. tr., New York, 1893), Riehman (ed. Fahnke, Halle, 1889), A. B. Davidson (Edinburgh, 1904), Duff (London, 1892), Bennett (London, 1896); *Histories of Israel*, of Ewald³ (Göttingen, 1864-8), Guthe (Freiburg, 1899), Kittel (Gotha, 1883-92; Eng. tr., London, 1896-6), Cornill (Leipzig, 1898; Eng. tr., Chicago, same year); T. K. Cheyne, *Founders of OT Criticism*, London, 1898, also *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, New York and London, 1898; G. A. Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the OT*, London, 1901; J. E. McFadyen, *OT Criticism and the Christian Church*, London and N.Y., 1903; W. Sanday, *Inspiration*, Oxford, 1893; F. Giesebrecht, *Die Grundzüge des israelit. Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1904; F. Hommel, *The Anc. Heb. Tradition*, London, 1897; A. H. Sayce, *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies*, London, 1904; J. Orr, *The Problem of the OT*, London, 1906, also *The Bible under Trial*, do. 1907, and *The Faith of a Modern Christian*, do. 1910.

J. STRACHAN.

CRITICISM (New Test.).—The criticism of the NT may be treated in two divisions—that of the Gospels and Acts, and that of the remaining books. In the Gospels and Acts we are dealing with narrative material, which may, therefore, be approached from the standpoints and methods of (a) literary, (b) historical, criticism. But in the Epistles and the Apocalypse we have to do with books where the historical element is subordinate and the literary predominant. Consequently, literary methods of criticism will find further scope than historical methods, and there is likely to be less divergence of opinion on the results obtained.

I. CRITICISM OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS.—To the dispassionate inquirer the present state of this department of investigation must be strangely bewildering. This is not due to variation of opinion in the region of literary criticism, for there it has long been seen that the possibility of obtaining sure results is very limited in scope, and agreement has been largely reached on all points where agreement is possible. But, in the region of historical inquiry, results are surprisingly contradictory, and there seems at present to be no likelihood of agreement being reached.

1. Literary criticism.—So far as the Synoptic Gospels are concerned, important results have been reached by the methods of literary criticism. These may be briefly summarized as follows. (a) It has been shown that the Second Gospel was used in the compilation of the First and Third Gospels.¹ (b) It has been further shown that behind the First and Third Gospels lies a compilation of the Lord's Sayings (= Q) which directly, or after passing through intermediate stages, was used by the editors of these later Gospels.² (c) It has also been made probable that the editor of the Third Gospel used, in addition to Mark and Q, at least a third written source; but no agreement has been reached as to its scope.³ (d) Some recent attempts to analyze the Second Gospel into two or more documents which were originally distinct rely more upon historical considerations than upon purely literary methods, and are too recent to have been fully considered.⁴

In the Fourth Gospel literary critical methods have recently found much play. Wellhausen⁵ has attempted to find traces of composite authorship, and he has been followed by Spitta,⁶ who endeavours to distinguish between a *Grundschrift*, to which he assigns a very high historical value, and a *Bearbeitung*. But it may be questioned whether the unity of the book is not too apparent to be lightly shaken.⁷

The attempt to analyze the Acts into its original sources finds ever new disciples. The latest is Harnack,⁸ who finds in Ac 2-15 a compilation of three documents. But the grounds alleged do not seem adequate to support the conclusions.⁹ On the other hand, the identity of the editor of the Acts with the writer of the 'We' sections and

with the editor of the Third Gospel has received the weighty support of Harnack himself, and on purely literary grounds is hardly deniable.¹ Those who dislike this conclusion have to fall back upon historical considerations.

So far we have been dealing with literary criticism in its efforts to determine or to detect underlying sources in the narrative literature of the NT. It will be seen that the most important and assured results have been reached in those cases where the data are the fullest. The use of Mark in Matthew and Luke has been rather observed than discovered; and, if Mark did not exist, literary analysis certainly could not reconstruct it out of the later Gospels. For that very reason, attempts to reconstruct Q can be at the best but tentative. The attempted analysis of these books into sources which are not now extant is a matter of great difficulty, arising from the fact that the writers have so re-cast any sources which they may have used that reconstruction of them is now almost impossible. It is for that reason that attempts on purely literary grounds to re-discover sources used in the Acts are little likely to succeed.

2. Historical criticism.—It is, however, in the region of historical criticism that the variety of opinion spoken of above chiefly exists. And the reason of it is not far to seek. Inquirers into the Gospels and Acts are divided, broadly speaking, into two classes, guided by different conceptions as to the right method of approaching the narratives, and consequently employing different standards or criteria in estimating their value as historical material.

(1) Investigators of the first class start from the assumption that the facts of history which lie behind the narratives are purely natural facts, similar in nature to other facts known to us. In particular, they take it for granted that Jesus was a man, whose personality underwent the normal process of gradual development, so that the growth of His intellectual conceptions can be traced on psychological lines. Inquirers who are guided by principles like these are, of course, bound to apply to the material before them such criteria as the following. (a) Does a writer state as fact an event which lies outside the range of the known laws of Nature? Then, not only did the alleged event not happen, but some account must be given of the nature of the process which enabled the writer to state as fact what is incredible. Under this head the whole of the so-called miraculous element in the Gospels and Acts is removed from the sphere of history, and translated into the realm of myth, legend, popular exaggeration, symbolism, allegory, or transference of the miraculous from other departments of tradition into the life of Jesus. In the early days of criticism this generally led to the transference of the Gospels into the 2nd cent.,¹ in order to allow time for the growth of legend round the few traditional facts of the life of Jesus. More recently it has been argued that such growth may have been very rapid, and is consistent with a 1st cent. date for the Gospels.² (b) The mental development of Jesus must be similar to our own, and it

¹ *Luke the Physician*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1907; see also J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, Lond. 1899.

² The Second Gospel is now most generally assigned to A.D. 60-70, the Third to A.D. 80, and the First to varying dates between the publication of Mark and the end of the century. The tendency nowadays is to push the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts backwards rather than forwards. This is illustrated by Harnack's admission that the Acts may have been written 'so early as the beginning of the seventh decade of the first century' (*Acts*, p. 297).

³ Harnack now (*Neue Untersuchung zur Apostelgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1913) places Acts before the death of St. Paul, St. Mark and St. Luke earlier, and St. Matthew shortly before or after A.D. 70. The present writer has argued for a date about A.D. 50 for St. Matthew (*Expt*, July 1910).

¹ *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ed. Sanday, 1911.

² For recent attempts to reconstruct Q, see A. Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1908; B. Weiss, 'Die Quellen der synopt. Überlieferung' (*TU* xxxii. 8 [1908]); and *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (*ut supra*).

³ Weiss, *op. cit.*

⁴ Wendling, *Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums*, Tübingen, 1908; Bacon, *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*, New Haven, 1909. See 'Survey of Recent Literature on Synoptic Gospels,' in *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, July 1909; and Williams, in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*.

⁵ *Das Evangelium Johannis*, Berlin, 1908.

⁶ *Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu*, Göttingen, 1910.

⁷ See in criticism of Wellhausen, Gregory, *Wellhausen und Johannes*, Leipzig, 1910; for earlier 'Partition Theories,' Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford, 1905; and, for recent literature, *Review of Theol. and Phil.*, Feb. 1911, and Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, New York, 1910.

⁸ *The Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1909.

⁹ See Clemen, in the *Hilbert Journal*, July 1910, p. 780 ff.

is not possible that He could have taught doctrines which appear to us to be logically inconsistent. This has been applied in particular, in recent times, to the problem of the eschatological teaching in the Gospels as compared with the moral teaching of Christ. Christ, it is argued, cannot have been both the same unclouded thinker of the moral sayings and the apocalyptic fanatic of the eschatological passages. We must, therefore, give up one of the two as historical, and the teaching generally chosen as most conveniently to be got rid of is the eschatological,¹ which is then regarded as an intrusion into Christ's teaching of elements derived from Jewish Apocalyptic writings, remoulded in Christian circles. Of course, on lines like these the task of criticism is very largely one of explaining away the evidence which, at first sight, the Gospels set before us as to the facts of Christ's life.

It would be impossible to give here an exhaustive list of all the ways in which criticism attempts to do this, but the following are some of them:—

Adaptation of Christ's life to the narrative and prophecies of the OT. (This would account in part for the narrative of the Virginal conception, the stories of the Magi, and of the flight into Egypt, etc.) Adaptation to His life of heathen mythology (the Virginal birth). Adaptation to His life of the current Jewish doctrine of the Messiah. The attribution to Him of sayings prophetic of later events, e.g., the manner of His death, or the fall of Jerusalem. The hardening into narratives of fact of words spoken by Him in allegory or metaphor.

The main difficulties which many will feel with criticism of this kind are these:—

(a) It starts from presuppositions with which the evidence of the narratives immediately conflicts. (b) Its methods of explaining the origin and genesis of much of the evidence are conjectural and fanciful—not the application of scientific principle, but an appeal to any or every supposed cause that might have given rise to the creation of the evidence. (c) Its results are hopelessly precarious. The Jesus who emerges from its labours is sometimes a simple-minded lover of God, who is crushed between the political and theological wheels of His day; sometimes an ethical teacher of high value; sometimes a dreamy enthusiast, who died because He deluded Himself into the belief that He was the Messianic King. The Gospels, as manipulated by the uncertain methods of this sort of criticism, seem capable of yielding a picture of any sort of Jesus that the critic desires.

(2) Investigators of the second class approach the subject from a very much wider and more liberal historical background. They argue that a cursory reading of the Gospels gives us at once a consistent picture of One whose personality, whilst truly human, yet transcends the limits of human personality as elsewhere known to us. They, further, argue that the same kind of evidence which is given to us in the Gospels is also given, without break of continuity, in the history of the Christian Church; so that the Gospels are only a first stage in a continuous stream of evidence to a Person, dead yet living, human yet more than human. In view of this deepest and most profound fact of human experience, we cannot, they urge, apply to the Gospel evidence those rough and ready tests of the historical which critics of the first class are so eager to use. Christ is reported to have worked a miracle. The critics of the first class say at once: (a) 'The miracle did not happen'; therefore (b) 'the narrative is very late,' or (c) 'it is to be explained as due to one of the causes summarized above,' and (d) 'it is worthless as evidence of historical fact.' Christ is reported to have worked a miracle. The critic of the second class will say at once, 'Why not?' 'What does this mean save that from the inexhaustible treasure-house of the Personality of Jesus flowed some influence or power which so dazzled the minds of the witnesses that they recorded their impression in the simple words that have come down to us?' Or, again: Christ is reported as having taught moral principles which presuppose

the continuance of human society, and as having spoken about the Kingdom of heaven as something which was to leaven human society. He is also reported as having announced the near approach of the Kingdom, and His own 'Coming' to inaugurate it, as the 'Son of Man' coming 'on the clouds of heaven.' Critics of the first class say at once: 'Christ cannot have spoken these two divergent lines of teaching. We must choose between them.' Critics of the second class will rather argue that we are dealing with two types of teaching which are ultimately harmonious; that difficulties arise if we unduly press, or too literally interpret, sayings of the one or the other type; and, in particular, that underlying the apocalyptic utterances are statements of profound truth as to the future of the world, and of the relation of Christ to humanity, which are essential for a right understanding of His being.

So long as NT critics start from different assumptions, and employ different methods, it is obvious that they will arrive at different conclusions. It is clear that sooner or later some agreement must be reached, if possible, as to the truly scientific method of approaching the Gospels and Acts, and as to the principles or criteria by which we are to test their historical value. In other words, are we or are we not to look upon them as isolated records which can be examined in and for themselves, regardless of the continual corroboration in history of the more than human Personality to which they bear witness? Or, is the representation of Jesus as given in the Gospels as a whole one which the experience of the Christian Church in later history has proved to be substantially true? If the latter be the truer alternative, we shall be bound to approach the Gospel with some such canons of criticism as these:—

(a) We are dealing with a record of One whose personality and force of character transcend, as is proved by the witness of history, all human knowledge. We cannot, therefore, rule out as evidence statements which ascribe to Him power and influence which are not found in normal experience of life. (b) There is, therefore, a general probability in favour of the credibility of the Gospel narratives. The area of uncertainty arises later in the attempt to reconstruct from them the original facts as they occurred. For instance, the narrative of the raising of Jairus' daughter will leave us with the certainty that an impression was made on the minds of the witnesses of that event that a dead person had been brought back again to life. What 'death' and 'life' here involve can never be known to us. The substantial fact is that the force and power of the Personality of Jesus effected this astonishing thing that the girl, who otherwise would have been numbered with the dead, took her place, through His influence, once more in the world of living men and women.

The question of the necessity of approaching the Gospels as historical witnesses, with some sort of presuppositions in favour of, or against, their testimony, has not yet been treated in a serious scientific manner. Yet nothing is more certain than the fact that historians approach all ancient documents with certain presuppositions. These are, in large part, inferences drawn from our experience of life treated as a whole. The question concerning the Gospels takes the form whether there is in our experience any element which should influence us in the case of these books which is absent when we are dealing with other ancient literature. The historian who answers No will necessarily approach the Gospels with a presupposition against their evidence. And this presupposition seems to be due to a denial on his part of an element in life which

¹ But see A. Schweitzer (*The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1910), who rightly refuses to eliminate the eschatological element from the life of Christ, but over-emphasizes it.

others affirm, and which causes them to say Yes. This element is the sustained witness of the Christian consciousness to a Personality now acting upon human life, of which they find the first account in the Gospel history. It has always claimed to be not merely witness to the powerful influence exerted by the life of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, but witness to the influence of Jesus Himself, exerted on individuals, not merely through the record of His life, as the memory of a dead friend may influence one living, but immediately as living Spirit upon living spirit. This sustained witness is a psychological fact which is deserving of more serious treatment than has hitherto been accorded to it. If it is in any sense true as a phenomenon of consciousness, then it necessarily becomes a presupposition with which the inquirer must approach the Gospel evidence. If the Personality of Jesus acts upon consciousness through the whole period of history since His death in a way in which no other personality known to us has ever acted, then it will be clearly unscientific to apply to the record of His life the same axiomatic rules, as to what is or is not probable, that we are tempted to apply to the evidence as to the personality of ordinary individuals. This does not make any investigation into the life of Jesus useless, or lead us to accept as literally true anything or everything that has been recorded about Him. The ordinary rules of historical investigation will apply in large part to the Gospels as to other ancient literature. But it will cause us to exercise caution in ruling out evidence which points to the presence in Him of resources of power over psychical and natural phenomena which we should reject in other cases.

What has been said above applies mainly to the Gospels, yet it also concerns the Acts. For there, too, the same question arises. When we read anything that is of a non-natural kind, are we on that ground to relegate it to a position of late date and historical valuelessness? This is what Harnack does, e.g., with Ac 1. He speaks of the narrative of the Ascension which it contains as probably the latest tradition in the book.¹ The only reason apparently for that judgment is the nature of the event recorded. But what if behind the narrative lies a historical fact, the precise nature of which can only be dimly surmised behind the strong colours in which it has been painted? Christ had left the disciples finally: that they knew. No more would He appear to them as at the Galilean Lake. He was henceforth to be with them in another sense. And He was to come again. What if some strange experience of fact lies behind this narrative? Need it then be so late in date? What prevents it from being one of the earliest traditions of the Christian Church? St. Paul is witness to such a tradition.

Criticism of the Gospels and Acts which is based on quite unscientific presuppositions—that is the point—introduces hopeless confusion into NT criticism. It condemns offhand certain narratives as fictitious, and then invents the most improbable causes to account for their genesis and growth. This is not criticism based on principle, but arbitrary and captious rejection of evidence. We want, if possible, some sort of scientific method or principle, and this can be reached only by a preliminary investigation of all the facts. Christ as presented in the Gospels, Christ as experienced in history, Christ as experienced in modern life,—is this all of a piece, one long consecutive witness to a supernatural Christ? If so, whatever other

¹ Harnack actually makes the presence in the Acts of the narrative of the Ascension an argument against ascribing the book to a date before A.D. 78, though on other grounds he inclines to an earlier date (p. 291). But see now his more recent treatment of the date of Acts (cf. p. 319^b, note 3, above).

method may be wrong, nothing can be more fundamentally unsound than the attempt to go to the Gospels and from the first to eliminate that element to which Gospels, history, modern consciousness, all alike bear testimony.

The above considerations apply also to the Fourth Gospel. But here the further question arises, Is the Christ here presented the same as the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels? Is there, in other words, behind the Fourth Gospel a substantial basis of historical fact, due allowance being made for the translation of this into the language and thought of the period of the writer or writers who composed the book half a century or more after Christ's life? To that question different answers will probably always be given by people who approach the Gospel with different presuppositions. Interest has recently been directed in particular to the narrative of the raising of Lazarus. On the one hand, it is contended that, in view of the importance which attaches to it in the Fourth Gospel, it could not have been omitted in the Synoptic Gospels if it was a fact of history with which the writers of those Gospels were acquainted.¹ On the other hand, it is urged that the narrative does not receive the emphasis which some modern critics assign to it,² and that the argument from the silence of St. Mark and the other Synoptic writers is hopelessly precarious.³ In the debate about the authorship of the Fourth Gospel interest has centred largely in the theory of Schwartz⁴ (based upon an alleged statement of Papias that James and John were killed by the Jews) that John died too early to admit of his being the author of the Gospel.⁵

Quite recently the whole Johannine question has been raised into a new atmosphere by a new discovery. The old axiom of critical writers who denied the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel was that the book is thoroughly Alexandrian in spirit and phraseology. Some writers have always urged that, in spite of apparent parallels with Alexandrian terminology, it is thoroughly Hebraic. This has recently received striking confirmation from an unexpected quarter. In 1909, Rendel Harris published from a Syriac MS a volume to which he gave the title *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*. He argued that these Odes were not Gnostic, but Christian, and that they date from the last quarter of the 1st century. Harnack⁶ believes them to be of Jewish origin, edited by a Christian. If he is right, it follows that a large part of the supposed Alexandrian element in the Fourth Gospel is really Jewish. And Harnack draws the conclusion that 'in the Johannine theology, apart from the Prologue, there is nothing essentially Hellenic' (p. 119). If this is true, and if the date assigned to the Odes is right, a great many arguments for a 2nd cent. date for the Fourth Gospel, and a large number of objections to the Johannine authorship, cease to have any validity. It is possible that the 'Odes of Solomon' will prove as epoch-making for the Johannine question as was the publication of the Book of Enoch for the Synoptic Gospels.⁷

¹ F. C. Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, Edin. 1906, p. 221 ff.

² J. Armitage Robinson, *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel*, Lond. 1908, p. 34 ff.

³ W. Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxf. 1905, p. 170 f.

⁴ 'Über den Tod der Söhne Zebedäi,' in *Abhandl. d. königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, new ser., vii. 5.

⁵ See against this Sanday, p. 103 ff.; Armitage Robinson, p. 64 ff. Cf. also Spitta's examination of Schwartz's theory in *ZNTW* xi. [1910] 39 ff., and Schwartz's reply, *ib.* p. 89 ff.

⁶ 'Ein jüd.-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert' (*TP* iii. v. [1910] 4, published separately, Leipzig, 1910).

⁷ See, on the Odes, Strachan, in *Expt*, Oct. 1910; Bernard, in *JThSt*, Oct. 1910 [holds the Odes to be Christian Baptismal

II. CRITICISM OF THE EPISTLES AND APOCALYPSE.—1. The Pauline Epistles.—The movement of criticism in recent years with regard to the Pauline Epistles has been in the direction of a return to tradition. With few exceptions, critical writers are disposed to admit as Pauline 1 and 2 Thess., Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Romans, Philippians, and Philemon. Of these, 2 Thess. is the most doubted. It is argued that, viewed as literature, it reads like an imitation of the First Epistle, whilst from a theological point of view the second chapter presents us with an eschatology different from that found elsewhere in St. Paul. Harnack¹ has recently attempted to meet this second objection, and to preserve the letter for St. Paul by the novel argument that the First Epistle was written to the Gentile converts at Thessalonica, whilst the Second was written for the Jewish converts there.

The Epistle to the Galatians has been the subject of much controversy with respect to the date of writing and the people addressed. The theory revived and advocated by Ramsay, that the Churches addressed are to be found in the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia, would make it possible to date the letter at any time after St. Paul's visit to these Churches on his second journey. Thus Zahn² dates it from Corinth on the second journey. Ramsay³ himself prefers a somewhat later date, from Antioch, between the second and third journeys. Against this it may be urged that St. Paul would probably have preferred to make a personal visit from a place so near to Southern Galatia as Antioch, instead of writing a letter. Others still prefer the older chronology, which placed the letter in close connexion with 1 and 2 Cor. and Romans. A comparison of Ac 16⁹ with 18²³ favours the view that the editor of the Acts believed that St. Paul visited the old kingdom of Galatia; but that does not, of course, settle the question of the locality of the churches to which the letter was written. The strongest argument in favour of the later date is the close resemblance in tone between Galatians and Romans.

The return to a traditional position spoken of above is illustrated by the present state of critical opinion with regard to the Epistle to the Colossians. A generation ago it was assigned to the 2nd cent. by a majority of critical writers, the arguments alleged being that the Epistle contained a Christology too developed for the age of St. Paul, and that the false teaching was a 2nd cent. form of Gnosticism. But, although some of the more advanced critical writers still believe it to be post-Pauline, the view is gaining ground⁴ that the Christology is not necessarily un-Pauline, and that the teaching, if in any sense Gnostic, is an early form of Gnosticism, which there is no reason to place outside the life of St. Paul.

Denial of the authenticity of Ephesians is more wide-spread. Its theology is said to be too advanced for St. Paul, especially in respect of the Person of Christ, and the doctrine of the Church; whilst the difficulty of reconciling the address to Ephesus with the entire lack of local colour has never been quite satisfactorily explained. But, if Colossians be admitted to be Pauline, these

arguments lose their force. In view of the fact that all the elements of the Christology of these letters can be found in St. Paul's undoubted Epistles, it is quite arbitrary to argue that he would not have written them, if the circumstances necessary to the development of his thought on these lines had arisen. And to argue that they could not have arisen is mere dogmatism about the unknown.⁵

The Pastoral Epistles are regarded as post-Pauline by a number of critical writers, on the following grounds:

(1) The style and language are not those of St. Paul. This is true if stated in the form that style and language differ from those of the other Epistles. But, if genuine at all, the letters clearly date from a later period of St. Paul's life than any other of his extant writings. And it is not at all clear why changed circumstances should not have caused a corresponding change in the Apostle's expression of his thought.

(2) The nature of the false teaching combated is said to be that of a period which lies outside the probable limits of St. Paul's life. This is pure conjecture. There can be no evidence that teaching of the kind presupposed, whether it be an early form of Gnosticism or a debased Judaism, had not begun to affect the Churches at a very early date.

(3) The Church, as described in these letters, has a developed organization. The main point here is the status of the *ἐπίσκοπος*. If, as seems probable, this term is here synonymous with *πρεσβύτερος*, the Epistle must not be brought down too late—not, that is to say, into the 2nd cent.—and would suit a date at the end of St. Paul's life.

(4) There is a lack of other testimony to support the evidence of these letters that St. Paul was released from his imprisonment at Rome. There are, however, hints elsewhere in the NT that the Apostle was so released. Cf. Ph 2²⁴, Philem 22, and Ac 23³⁰, which, as Harnack⁶ has recently urged, implies that St. Luke was acquainted with the fact that St. Paul was released. If the evidence of the Pastoral Epistles on that point be admitted as historical, the other objections to their authenticity lose much of their weight. For it is not difficult to suppose that the Apostle, feeling that his departure could not be long delayed, might well see the necessity of making provision for the future organization of the Churches, which were soon to be deprived of his guidance. In any case it is difficult to believe that any one but St. Paul could have written 2 Timothy.⁷

In the case of the last Epistle ascribed by tradition to St. Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, modern critics are almost unanimous in their verdict that the letter cannot be Pauline. But none of the ancient or modern conjectures as to the authorship is more than a shrewd guess. Tertullian thought of Barnabas;⁸ Luther, of Apollos;⁹ Harnack,⁶ followed by Rendel Harris⁷ and Peake,⁸ favours Priscilla and Aquila; Ramsay⁹ and Canon (now Bishop) Hicks¹⁰ prefer Philip the Evangelist.

2. The Catholic Epistles.—Here, too, opinion is divided into two main classes. On the one hand are the writers who defend the traditional authorship of most of these documents, on the ground that they can find no reason for rejecting it. On the other are the critics who seem to be possessed at the outset by the feeling that it would be treasonable to admit that tradition can ever be right in its ascription of these writings to Apostolic authors. And yet, how little probable it is that none of the earliest Apostles except St. Paul should have left behind them any written record! How very probable it is that others besides St. Paul should have written letters! How improbable it

Hymns dating from the time of Justin Martyr]; Menzies, *Interpreter*, Oct. 1910 (the Odes regarded as written by Gentiles impressed with the truth of the Jewish religion); Spitta, in *ZNTW* xi. (1910) 193 ff. and 259 ff. [holds strongly to Jewish character]; Gunkel, *ib.* p. 291 ff. [maintains Gnostic origin].

¹ *Das Problem des zweiten Thessalonicherbriefes*, 1910 (= *Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft.* xxxi. 1910).

² *Introduct. to the NT*, Eng. tr.³, Edin. 1909, i. 190.

³ *Historical Com. on Galatians*, Lond. 1899, p. 242.

⁴ The Epistle is regarded as Pauline by Harnack, Jülicher, Olemen, von Soden, von Wrede, Abbott, Peake, and Moffatt.

⁵ The authenticity of Ephesians is denied by the majority of German writers and by Moffatt, but is asserted by Abbott and Peake; Harnack and Jülicher think the question an open one.

⁶ *Acta*, p. 40.

⁷ An intermediate position is taken by those who believe that genuine Pauline fragments have been worked into these Epistles by a later writer. So Harnack, McGiffert, Moffatt, Knoke, Peake.

⁸ *de Pudicitia*, 20. So recently Weiss, Bartlett, Ayles, and Dibelius (*Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes*, Strassburg, 1910), who regards Hebrews as originally a Sermon, not an Epistle.

⁹ *Enarr. in Gen.* 43. 20.

¹⁰ *ZNTW* i. (1900) 16-41.

¹¹ *Side Lights on NT Research*, Lond. 1908.

¹² *Com. on Hebrews* (Century Bible), Edin. 1902.

¹³ *Luke the Physician*, Lond. 1903, p. 304. Philip is regarded as representing the Cassarean Church.

¹⁴ *Interpreter*, Apr. 1909.

is that the Church should have failed to preserve some such writings, and should rather have let them slip into oblivion, and preserved instead 2nd cent. writings which went by false names! There is an *a priori* probability in favour of the traditional authorship, and something approaching to overwhelming proof of its impossibility is required before it can be set aside. From the perusal of the objections repeated, with as much certainty as though they were axioms of Euclid, by successive critics of the advanced type, the candid reader rises with the feeling that they are forced conclusions from evidence which is capable of more than one interpretation. 'If there were no tradition as to authorship,' he will say, 'I could only conclude that these writings were composed within the first 150 years of the existence of the Christian Church. But within that period I find no reason why some of these writings should not have been written by the men to whom tradition assigns them. On the other hand, I do see reason to suppose that the early Church would have preferred to preserve Apostolic rather than later documents.'

Apart from 2 Peter, where the argument from literary dependence on Jude seems fatal to the Petrine authorship, the arguments against the authenticity of the other members of this group seem insufficient to outweigh the tradition in their favour. They are of the following nature:

(a) *Against James*.¹—The writer is arguing against St. Paul's teaching about Justification by Faith, or against a corrupt form of it; the Greek of the letter is too good for St. James; the writer does not refer to early controversies such as that about the admission of Gentiles into the Church; he makes no reference to, or use of, cardinal doctrines of the primitive Church, such as the Messiahship of Jesus, His death and resurrection; the reference to healing through the 'elders' is a mark of late date; the condition of the Christians addressed is that of a late and decayed Christianity.

(b) *Against Peter*.—The chief question here has turned on the nature of the persecution implied in the letter and the bearing of that upon the date of the authorship. Ramsay² has tried to show that the references to persecution imply a date about A.D. 80. Others prefer the reign of Trajan³ (on the ground that the references to persecution in the Epistle accord well with the account given by Pliny to Trajan) or of Domitian.⁴ But there is really no ground for so pressing the language of the letter as to make it impossible to suppose that it was written during the Neronian persecution.⁵ Then, as afterwards, there may have been reason to urge Christian converts to let it be known that they were suffering as Christians, and not for moral offences which would have been inconsistent with their profession. The other main ground for rejecting the Petrine authorship of the letter is its alleged Paulinism. But we may admit a certain amount of Pauline influence upon the writer without necessarily denying that St. Peter can have been the author. Arguments against the authenticity on this and other grounds seem to be captious and arbitrary, such as 'This is unlikely,' or 'That is improbable in the case of St. Peter.' After all, how very little we know of the Apostle's life after A.D. 44! And how are we to determine what he may or may not have written, or how much or how little he may have seen of St. Paul in the later years of his life?

(c) *Against 2 Peter*.—The dependence of the writer upon Jude is really fatal to the authenticity of the letter. The case is parallel with that of the First Gospel. The composer of that book has carefully worked over the Second Gospel in such a way that it is little likely that Matthew or any other Apostle can have written it. So in the case of 2 Peter; if it is dependent on Jude, it is improbable that Peter or any Apostle can have penned it. (Attempts have been made to save the rest of the letter by supposing ch. 2 to be an interpolation dependent on Jude.) Further arguments against the authenticity of the Epistle are found in its late attestation, and in its reference to St. Paul's Epistles (3:16).

(d) *Against Jude*.—The reference to the Apostles; the reference to 'the Faith'; the supposed similarity between the teaching combated and the teaching of the 2nd cent. Carpocratians.

(e) The question of the authorship of the *Johannine Epistles*

¹ The latest commentator, Oesterley (*Expositor's Gr. Test.* iv. [1910]), thinks that the arguments for and against an early date are equally balanced. He suggests that the Epistle may have been written by St. James, but that it was originally a great deal shorter than it now is.

² *Church in the Roman Empire* 5. Lond. 1897, p. 282.

³ So Pfeiderer, Jülicher, Goss, and others.

⁴ So von Soden, Harnack, and recently Gunkel (*Die Schriften des NT*, 1909).

⁵ So the most recent commentator, Hart, in *Expositor's Gr. Test.* v. [1910].

is so closely connected with the complicated question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel that it is best to pass them over in a cursory survey of NT criticism like the present. They are widely regarded as by the same writer as the Fourth Gospel, though some would separate the Second and Third Epistles from the First, and attribute them to a different author.

These arguments may be divided into two classes: (1) literary, and (2) those which rest upon the supposed background of ideas and of ecclesiastical development suggested by the writings in question. The arguments of the first class are the most likely to lead to positive conclusions, and in one case they do so, as is recognized by most critical writers, including some who in other respects come to conservative conclusions. It is generally admitted that the literary dependence of 2 Peter on Jude rules out the Apostolic authorship of the former. Here, then, we have one case where the Church has admitted into its Canon a writing of a later date, because it bore an Apostolic name. But how does it stand with the other writings? Here the literary argument leads to no such positive result. 1 Peter may depend on Romans and Ephesians, but St. Peter may have written it nevertheless. Jude shows acquaintance with St. Paul's Epistles, but why may not the Jude to whom the letter has generally been assigned have been so acquainted? When we turn to the arguments of the other class, they fail to carry conviction to minds which are not prepossessed with the conception that none of these writings can be Apostolic.

3. The Apocalypse.—Modern investigation has done much, and will do more, to rescue this book from the fetters of traditional lines of interpretation, and to reconstruct the atmosphere in which it was written, and in which therefore it ought to be read and interpreted. The following are the main points at issue:—

(1) *The authorship*. It is now very widely held that Apocalypse and Fourth Gospel cannot be by the same author. This is, of course, not a new, but an ancient critical inference (cf. Dionysius of Alexandria, *ap. Eus. HE* vii. 25. 15). (2) *The date*. Was the book written in the reign of Nero, or of Domitian? The majority of recent writers favour the later date.¹ (3) *Dependence upon earlier literature*. Attempts have been made to show that the book in its present form is a Jewish Apocalypse re-edited by a Christian, or a composite work into which fragments of Jewish Apocalypses have been loosely incorporated. These attempts at analysis of the structure of the book may be said to have failed. The unity of purpose and idea is too obvious. No doubt, the writer was deeply read in the OT, and very probably also in current Jewish Apocalyptic literature. But the book is no mere compilation of fragments of earlier writings.² In another form, however, attempts to prove dependence of the writer upon the past have met with success. Since the publication of Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) it has become increasingly clear that the writer has made very large use of ancient myth, and of language and symbol long current in Apocalyptic writings. Not, of course, that such borrowing is peculiar to him. The long stream of Prophetic and Apocalyptic speakers and writers from Isaiah downwards, not excluding our Lord Himself, have this in common, that they do not entirely create a new language as the vehicle of their teaching, but largely adopt and borrow the words and symbols of an earlier age. To take a simple example, the writer of the Apocalypse, like all the writers of the NT where they are dealing with the future, borrows very largely

¹ So Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* 2, Lond. 1907; and the latest commentator, Moffatt, in *Expositor's Gr. Test.* v. [1910].

² That the author may have employed and worked into the scheme of his book portions of earlier writings is, of course, quite probable, but difficult to prove.

from Daniel. That, of course, will be readily admitted. But modern investigation has penetrated behind this simple handing on of phrase and symbol from writer to writer, and has sought to show that much of the common symbolism so transmitted goes back to a primitive mythology, the origin of which is hidden in the speculation of peoples whose history lies on the border line where history fades into the obscurity of legend. This is, no doubt, largely true, and, if true, is of great importance for the right interpretation of the Apocalypse. If the author is making use of an ancient myth, which has passed through a long course of transmission, it is probable that much of the detail which forms part of it will be repeated by him because it is already there, and therefore it has no particular significance for him. We shall, therefore, look for the outstanding ideas behind his pictures, and not seek to press a historical allusion, or a forecast of some detail of future history, out of every phrase and symbol.

Summary.—If we turn now from this survey to a forecast of the future, there is reason to think that the NT criticism of the days to come will, if we may judge from the general tendency of the more recent writings, more and more emancipate itself from those prejudices which have made it a byword in the past. There is much that is hopeful. On the one hand, there is a readiness to admit that the larger part of the NT writings have quite correctly been assigned by tradition to the 1st century. On the other, there is not the same eagerness to maintain the correctness of tradition in all its details that once inspired writers of the conservative school. Such a popular *Introduction* as that of Peake (1909) may be taken as a good example of the newer spirit, which is anxious neither to affirm nor to deny traditional positions, but only to come to the conclusions to which the evidence points, and to keep an open mind where the evidence is inconclusive. Of course, prejudices die hard, and the determination to keep the Catholic Epistles out of the 1st cent. has still much life in it in Germany. But, speaking generally, there seems to be growing up a school of critical writers who are freeing themselves from the axiomatic dogmatism, whether theological or anti-traditional, of the past century. As this school increases, it may be hoped that, even with regard to the Gospels, something like a really scientific method of inquiry may be reached. At present it must sadly be confessed that the Prolegomena for such an inquiry have yet to be written.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes. J. Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1911), which appeared too late to be used in this article, should be specially referred to, as the most complete survey of the field of NT criticism. See also reviews of the book by the present writer in *Expt*, May and June, 1911.

W. C. ALLEN.

CROMLECH.—See DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (European).

CROSS.—The cross (Lat. *cruz*) is the figure produced by two lines intersecting one another, usually at right angles. This figure gives rise to numerous varieties according to the direction of the limbs and the form of their extremities. W. Berry in his *Encyclopædia Heraldica* mentions no fewer than 385 different crosses, but the greater number have scarcely any interest except for decorative art and the science of heraldry. From the point of view of religious symbolism the only important types are the following: the equilateral cross, called also the Greek cross (*a* in illustration); the so-called Latin cross (*cruz immissa* or *capitata*), in which the lower limb is longer than the three others (*b*); the Tau-shaped (*potencie* or *commissa*) cross

(*c*); the *cruz ansata* or handled cross (*d*); the *cruz decussata* or St. Andrew's cross (*e*); the gammate cross (*f*); the Maltese or rayed cross (*g*); the Lorraine cross, with double or triple traverse (*h*); the cross *perronnée*, that is to say, mounted on steps (*i*).

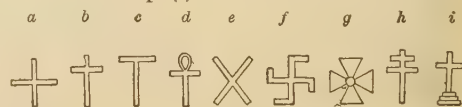


FIG. 1.

I. Non-Christian crosses.—1. *The equilateral cross.*—The equilateral cross, like the straight line, the curve, the circle, the crescent, the triangle, etc., forms so simple and natural a geometrical figure that in many instances it could not fail to present itself spontaneously to the imagination in quest of a sign to indicate anything that extends in the principal directions of space—the sky, the earth, rays of light, the wind-rose, etc.—and, by an extension of meaning, to stand for the abstract notion of space itself. It is easy to understand how, in the symbolism of some peoples, the cross may have served as a conventional representation of certain material objects whose contour it suggests—birds on the wing, men with outstretched arms, a double-headed hammer, the bow and drill apparatus for producing fire, etc. But, everywhere, it may be said to have been used, above all, to represent *radiation* or *space*.¹

Thus we find that the equilateral cross was



FIG. 2.

adopted by the Chaldeo-Assyrians as the symbol of the sky and of its god Anu (see fig. 2, *a*). The



FIG. 3.

same peoples represented the sun and its eight regions by a circle from which eight rays pro-



FIG. 4.

ceeded (2, *b*). By coupling these rays in pairs there was produced the radiated cross which the king of

¹ At the same time it must not be forgotten that the cross, like the triangle and other geometric figures, is sometimes merely ornamental in origin, with no symbolic significance whatever.

² See Rawlinson, *WAI*, vol. ii, pl. 48.

³ See Perrot-Chippiez, i. 308; cf. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1849-53, pl. iv.

⁴ See Schliemann, *Ilios*, Paris, 1885, No. 1969.

Assyria wore suspended round his neck, like the cross worn by a Commander in our orders of knighthood (see fig. 3).

Schliemann has noted the presence of the cross upon the pottery and the whorls of the Troad. The solar meaning of this symbol is attested by its alternating with the rayed disk. At times the two emblems appear in juxtaposition (see fig. 4, a).

Among the Greeks the sceptre of Apollo assumes at times the form of a cross (cf. coin of Gallienus reproduced in Victor Duruy's *Hist. des Romains*, Paris, 1885, vol. viii, p. 42), fig. 4, b. The cross is associated with the representation of Castor and Pollux, perhaps in order to emphasize their stellar character (so on coin of Caracalla).

In India likewise the equilateral cross alternates with the rayed disk. On an ancient coin reproduced by General Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, 1854, pl. xxxi.) the branches of the cross terminate in arrow-heads (see fig. 5).



FIG. 5.

Among the Gauls, as well as among the peoples belonging to the Bronze period, the cross appears frequently on pottery, jewels, and coins (see G. de Mortillet, *Le Signe de la croix avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1866, p. 44 ff.). Here again the emblem is clearly solar (see fig. 6). On the



FIG. 6.1

statuette of a Gaulish deity, discovered in France in the department of Côte d'Or, we see the tunic covered all over with crosses. The god, who is Sucellus (on whom cf. Renel, *Religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1906, pp. 252-257), holds in one hand the mallet which symbolizes the thunderbolt, and in the other a jar or *olla* (see fig. 7).



FIG. 7.2

The cross is found in like manner in Mexico, in Peru, and above all in Central America, where its

¹ See Flouest, *Deux stèles de laraire*, Paris, 1885, pl. xvii.

² See *Revue Celtique*, 1870, p. 2.

presence upon religious monuments did not fail to astonish the companions and the successors of Columbus, who saw in it a trace of a visit paid by St. Thomas, the apostle of the Indies (see *Congrès internat. des Americanistes*, vol. i., Brussels, 1879, p. 501 ff.). We know nowadays that these crosses are designed in allusion to the four quarters from which rain comes, and consequently to the winds that blow from the four cardinal points (see G. Mallery, in *10 RBEW*, 1893). The cross of pre-Columbian America is a veritable 'wind-rose,' and we can perceive how it thus became, among the Toltecs, the symbol of the god who dispenses the celestial waters, Tlaloc (see A. Réville, *Religions du Mexique*, Paris, 1885, p. 91 [also in Eng. tr.]). According to Réville, the Mexican cross was called the 'tree of fecundity' or the 'tree of life.' There has been found in the ruins of Palenqué a bas-relief representing persons in the act of adoration before a cross, on which rests a fantastic bird, more or less resembling a parrot. Perhaps this was the symbol of the god Quetzalcoatl (the feathered serpent), who himself also, according to Réville, stands for a god of the wind (*op. cit.* p. 82; see also Thomas Wilson, *The Swastika*, 1896, p. 933 ff.). For a cross, representing the four winds, as thought of by the Dakotas, see fig. 8.



FIG. 8.1

The arrow at the top of this cross marks the piercing blast of the north wind. Once the north wind is located at the head of the cross, the east wind will be symbolized by the heart, which in the human body is placed under the left arm. The south wind is pictured by the sun, as it shines from the region of light and warmth, and the west wind by a star, as it blows from the region of the night.

But the American cross may have assumed also a solar or stellar character, if one may judge from



FIG. 9.2

the above figure (9), which has been met with on shells found in the mounds of New Mexico; and

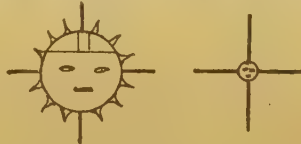


FIG. 10.3

from those, not less significant (10), which have been found among the Dakota pictographs. See, further, following article.

¹ See *10 RBEW*, fig. 1225.

² See Holmes, in *2 RBEW*, p. 282.

³ See Garrick Mallery, in *10 RBEW*, figs. 1118-1126.

Among the Chinese, the equilateral cross inscribed within a square, , stands for the earth.

According to Samuel Beal (*Indian Antiquary*, 1880, p. 67) there is found in China even the dictum 'God fashioned the earth in the form of a cross.' It is curious to meet with an analogous symbolism in a Church Father. 'The aspect of the cross,' writes Jerome (*Com. in Marcum*), 'what is it but the form of the world in its four directions? [*Ipsa species crucis, quid est nisi forma quadrata mundi?*]. The east is represented by the top, the north by the right limb (looking from the cross), the south by the left, the west by the lower portion.'

2. *The handled cross and the cross potentée*.—The *potentée* form , produced by suppressing the upper limb of the Latin cross, is called also the Tau cross, because it reproduces the form of the Greek letter *Tau*. The magical virtue which down to our own day has been attributed to this sign owes its origin unquestionably to the veneration paid by the Egyptians from their pre-historic days to the handled cross, or *key of life*, represented by a cross *potentée* surmounted by a handle (see fig. 11). This cross, which is met with on the



Fig. 11.

most ancient monuments of the Egyptian monarchy, is frequently to be seen in the hand of a god, a priest, or a king. Archæologists have maintained by turns that it represents a Nilometer (Plucke), the key of a canal-lock (Zoega), a jar upon an altar (Ungarelli), a degenerate form of the winged globe (Layard), a phallus (Jablonski), the loin-cloth worn by the Egyptians (Sayce). In the paintings on the tombs it appears to be employed by the divinities to awaken the dead to a new life. The following inscription may be read upon a bas-relief of the 12th dynasty, where the goddess Anukit is seen holding the extremity of the handled cross to the nostrils of the king Usertesen III.: 'I give thee life, stability, purity, like Ra, eternally.' Elsewhere the ideogram formed by the handled cross in the hieroglyphic script, , (pronounced *ankh*), signifies 'life,' 'living' (E. M. Coemans, *Manuel de langue égyptienne*, Ghent, 1887, pt. 1, p. 46). Whatever may be the material object of which the handled cross is the representation, its abstract sense is not doubtful: it is a symbol of life, of the vital germ, and it is not without reason that it has been called the *key of life*.¹



Fig. 12.

From Egypt the *key of life*, now become a magical and propitiatory sign, spread to the Phœnicians and then to the whole Semitic world.

¹ See, however, Wiedemann, *Religion der alten Ägypter*, Münster, 1890, p. 157 f., who maintains that the *ankh* connotes merely a band or fillet, and is only homonymous with *ankh*, 'life,' so that 'it has nothing to do with a cross.'

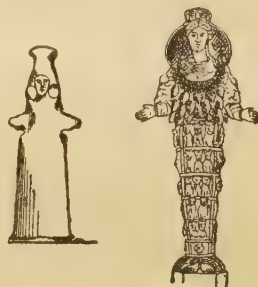
² From a coin of Paphos (*CIS*, vol. i. fasc. i. p. 6).

³ From a coin of Carthage (Barclay V. Head, *Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1881, pl. xxxv., No. 38).

⁴ From intaglios of Sardinia (J. Menant, *Pierres gravées de la Haute Asie*, Paris, 1888-85, vol. ii. pp. 256, 258).

Its presence has been noted on bas-reliefs, tombs, pottery, jewels, coins, from Sardinia to Susiana, along the shore of Africa, in Phrygia, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. Upon monuments of Phœnician or Hittite origin it is held in the hands of kings or priests, as with the Egyptians, and is associated with the tree of life and the lotus flower. Its extreme symbolical importance led the peoples who borrowed it from the Egyptians to combine it with such emblems of their own as presented an analogous form or suggested a cognate idea. Thus the Phœnicians derived from it a mixed emblem, in which the handled cross is grafted upon the cone representing the goddess Astarte or Tanit, 'she who gives life' (see fig. 12).

The Greeks anthropomorphosed it so as to reproduce the features of their goddesses of life—Aphrodite, Harmonia, Artemis of Ephesus, etc. (see fig. 13).



a1

b2

Fig. 13.

With the Gauls the  comes to stand for the hammer of Thor, which was regarded not only as an engine of destruction, but also, after the manner of the storm, as an instrument of life and fecundity. Even with the Egyptians the two-headed mallet,



, became in the hieroglyphs a Latin cross, , with the meaning of 'crusher,' 'avenger' (de Harlez, 'Le Culte de la croix avant le christianisme' in *La Science catholique*, 15th Feb. 1890, p. 163).

In Egypt there have been found a whole series of signs which mark the transition from a handled cross, or cross *ansata*, to the *chi-rho*, or monogram of Christ (see fig. 14).



Fig. 14.3

The handled cross or a similar sign is met with also in India (see fig. 15), and in America, where



Fig. 15.4

it is found engraved on monuments in the ruins of Palenqué, as well as on the pieces of pottery recovered from the mounds.

¹ Lenormant, in *GA*, 1876, p. 68.

² P. Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, 1879, fig. 145.

³ Chi-rhos of Philæ (Letronne, 'La Croix ansée a-t-elle été employée pour exprimer le monogramme du Christ?' in *MAIBL*, vol. xvi. pl. i. figs. 47, 48, 49).

⁴ On a silver ingot (Edw. B. Thomas, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iv., new series, pl. xi.).

In a Maya manuscript two persons appear to be in the act of adoration before a tree which affects the form **T**, and where a parrot-like bird has taken the place of the upper arm of the cross (see fig. 16).



Fig. 16.1

3. The *gammate cross*, or *gammadion*. — This cross derives its name from the fact that it can be resolved into four *gammmas* joined at right angles (see fig. 17). In spite of its apparently

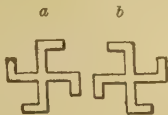


Fig. 17.

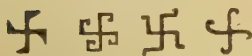


Fig. 18.

complicated structure, it is, next to the equilateral cross, the form most widely diffused throughout all antiquity. It has been met with on terra-cotta articles at Hissarlik, from the time of the second or burnt city. In Greece proper and the islands of the Archipelago it makes its appearance first upon articles of pottery with geometrical ornaments, which form the second period of Greek ceramics. It is frequent upon the ancient vases of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Athens. Upon an Athenian vase, in a burial scene, it appears thrice repeated before the funeral car. Upon a vase of Thera it accompanies the image of the Persian Artemis. Elsewhere it adorns the *vulva* of an Asiatic goddess. Upon a vase now at Vienna it appears as an ornament on the breast of an Apollo standing upon a *quadriga* (cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, London, 1894, pl. i.). It became a favourite symbol on coins, and passed along with the other monetary symbols of the Greeks into the numismatic art of all the Mediterranean peoples.

This cross is also found engraved upon those hut-shaped funeral urns which have been dug up in the *terramares* of N. Italy. It likewise appears on the jewels and the weapons, not only of Gallic, but also of German and Scandinavian peoples.² In company with the wheel and the thunderbolt, it adorns the votive altars of the Gallico-Roman period, from Aquitaine to Great Britain. In the Caucasus it has been noted upon weapons and jewels which go back to the Bronze period. In Lycaonia, on a Hittite monument, it is introduced as an ornament on the border of the robe of a person engaged in offering sacrifice.

In India, where it bears the name of *swastika* (from *su*, 'well,' and *asti*, 'it is') when the limbs

are bent towards the right (fig. 17, *a*), and *sauvas-tika* when they are turned to the left (fig. 17, *b*), it is already found upon the domino-shaped ingots of silver which preceded the use of coins, and then upon the coins themselves. The Buddhists employed it largely. A notable instance of its use, along with other symbols, is in the classical representation of the *Buddhapāda*, or footprint of Buddha (see fig. 19), among the bas-reliefs of the

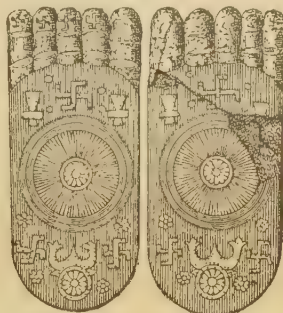


Fig. 19.

famous *stūpa* of Amarāvati. It passed, no doubt, along with Buddhism, into the iconography of China and Japan, where it occupies a pre-eminent place on the pedestal of Buddhist statues, and even at times adorns the breast of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas.¹ In China, moreover, the *swastika* found a place among the written characters, where it conveys the notion of 'plurality,' and, by extension, of 'abundance,' 'prosperity,' 'long life' (Thomas Wilson, *The Swastika*, p. 799). The same is the case in Japan, where, according to de Milloué, it represents the number 10,000, and consequently the idea of abundance and prosperity [*BSAL*, 1881, p. 191]. The Empress Wu (684-704) of the Tang dynasty decreed that it should be used as a sign for the sun (Yang y Yu, in Wilson's *Swastika*, pl. 2).

Even at the present day the Hindus make frequent use of this figure, which they may trace in their account books and, on certain occasions, on the threshold of their houses. According to Sir George Birdwood,² they distinguish clearly between the *swastika* and the *sauvas-tika*, the first representing the male principle and the god Ganeśa, the second the female principle and the goddess Kālī. In an extended sense, the first stands for the sun in his diurnal course, or for light and life; the second for night and destruction. The sect of the Jains in India has chosen the *swastika* as the emblem of the seventh of their twenty-four saints, or Tirthaṅkaras (Colebrooke, 'On the Jainas,' in *Asiatic Researches*, Calcutta, 1788-1836, p. 308).

The gammate cross has been met with sporadically also on bronze articles among the Ashantis of Africa; and also on native implements from Paraguay, Costa Rica, and Yucatan. In the ancient Maya city of Mayapan it adorned a stone slab which bore also the image of the solar disk, exactly as in Gaul, Italy, Asia Minor, East India. In N. America it is seen among the crosses engraved on shell and copper ornaments from the mounds, and the Pueblo Indians still use it to decorate their trinkets, bead necklaces, baskets, and rugs.³

From the circumstances in which the gammate cross has been traced or employed, it follows that, in every instance in which a symbolical meaning has been attributed to it, it is a sign of good omen,

¹ See *BSAL*, 1884, p. 32.

² In the north it has received the name *fyfot* ('many-footed'), but the assimilation implied in this name is very uncertain. See, further, Renel, *op. cit.* pp. 217-220.

³ The Buddha Amitābha (Musée Guimet); also in Wilson's *Swastika*, pl. 1.

² *Old Records of the India Office*, London, 1891, p. x f.

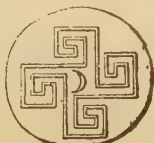
³ See d'Alviella, *A travers le Far West*, Brussels, 1906, p. 160.

of propitiation and benediction, an emblem of prosperity, of life, of safety [the *sauvastika* where a distinction is drawn between the two forms of the gammate cross, is an exception which proves the rule]. But whence comes this general function of luck-bringer and talisman? There is scarcely a symbol which has given rise to such diverse interpretations. Men have seen in it, *e.g.*, running water (Waring), the air or the god of the air (R. P. Greg), fire or the bow and drill apparatus for producing fire (Emile Burnouf), the lightning (W. Schwartz), the female sex (George Birdwood), the union of the two sexes (J. Hoffman), a Pāli monogram (General Cunningham), the reunion of the four castes of India (Fred. Pincott), the nautilus [Gr. *ποδύρος*, cf. the *fylfot*] (Frederick Houssay), cranes flying (Karl von den Steinen), the primitive god of the Indo-Europeans (de Zmigrodzki), the sun in his course round the heavens (Ludwig Müller, Percy Gardner, Edw. B. Thomas, Max Müller, Henri Gaidoz, Goblet d'Alviella).

It might even be maintained, on the strength of the monuments, that, after having served as a symbol of the sun in motion, the gammate cross came to symbolize astronomical motion in general, and thus to be applied to the moon, the stars, the sky itself, and to everything that appears to move of itself—water, wind, lightning, fire, etc. In this way it would readily become a symbol of prosperity, fertility, blessing, or the apportionance of such deities as secured the development of man and of Nature (see figs. 20, 21).



Solar gammadiadema.¹
Fig. 20.



Lunar gammadiadema.²
Fig. 21.

The question may be asked whether the gammate cross can be assigned to a single birthplace. Its two most ancient known *habitats* are: the one in the burnt city of the ruins at Hissarlik, the other among the *terramare* of N. Italy. It is possible that both of these districts borrowed it from the valley of the Danube during the Bronze age. From these two centres it may have spread—while retaining its double significance as a solar symbol and as a sign of life or of blessing—on the one hand, towards the west, to the extremities of the Celtic and German world; on the other, towards the east, by way of the Caucasus, India, China, and Japan.

Again, has the gammate cross of the New World an independent origin? The supposition is by no means inadmissible that it arose spontaneously. But the answer to this question depends in some measure upon whether infiltrations of Asiatic iconography did not make their way across the ocean during the era of pre-Columbian civilization. And this is a problem which appears to be yet far from being solved.

II. The Christian cross.—The cross in the Christian sense is the *crucis* or *lignum infelix*, a wooden post surmounted by a cross-beam, to which the Romans, following the example of the Greeks and the Easterns, nailed or attached certain classes of condemned criminals till they died. The fact that Jesus suffered death on the cross has converted this infamous figure into a symbol of

resurrection and salvation. 'I determined to know among you nothing save Jesus Christ and him crucified,' writes St. Paul (1 Co 2⁹). The early Christians saw the cross in all the intersecting lines which presented themselves to their view in ordinary life, in art, in Nature. The 'sign of the cross' was their favourite symbol. 'At every step, at every movement, at every coming in and going out,' wrote Tertullian at the beginning of the 3rd cent. (*de Corona*, 3), 'in putting on our clothes and our shoes, in the bath, at table in the evening, lying down or sitting, whatever attitude we assume, we mark our foreheads with a little sign of the cross.' Moreover, Christians had to defend themselves against the charge of pagans that they paid adoration to the cross like an idol. '*Crucis non colimus nec optamus*,' wrote Minucius Felix.¹ But it is plain that the great mass of Christians attached a magical value to this sign. At all events they used it as a form of exorcism, a means of warding off unclean spirits. One of the most ancient portable crosses, found in a Christian tomb at Rome, bears the inscription: '*Crux est vita mihi; mors, inimice, tibi*' ('The cross is life to me; death, O enemy [the devil], to thee'). Soon the cross came to work miracles of itself. People went the length of marking cattle with it to protect them from disease.²

The cross, according to a Roman Catholic archaeologist, P. Didron, is more than a figure of Christ; it is in iconography Christ Himself or His symbol. 'Thus a legend has been created around it as if it were a living being; thus it has been made the hero of an epopee germinating in the Apocrypha; growing in the Golden Legend; unfolding and completing itself in the works of sculpture and painting from the 14th to the 16th century.'³ This is an allusion to the celebrated mystical poem of Giacomo da Varaggio (13th century), where it is related how, after the death of Adam, Seth planted upon his tomb a branch taken from the tree of life. When the slip had grown into a tree, Moses obtained from it his magic rod. Solomon took from it the wood for his temple. Finally, the executioners of Jesus cut from it the materials for fashioning the cross. This cross, buried upon Golgotha, was disinterred in the time of the empress Helena; and the Church commemorated its discovery by appointing the 3rd of May (13th Sept. in the Eastern Church) as the annual festival of the *Inventio Crucis*. Carried off by Chosroës, it was miraculously recovered by Heraclius fourteen years later, in honour of which event the Church instituted another annual festival on the 14th of Sept., the *Exaltatio Crucis*. Lost once more after the Muslim invasion, it is to reappear finally in the sky at the end of the world.

The Holy Cross had its special churches as it had its festivals; not a few cities even were named in its honour. Thus Roman Catholic writers admit that the cross has become the object of a veritable cult. 'The cross,' writes Didron (*loc. cit.*), 'has received a worship similar, if not equal, to that of Christ; this sacred wood is adored almost equally with God Himself.' Many churches possess, amongst their miraculous relics, alleged fragments of the cross. A legend, intended to explain their abundance, relates that these fragments had the miraculous prerogative not only of healing diseases, but even of reproducing and multiplying themselves indefinitely.

Strangely enough, the early Christians, in spite of the importance they attached to the cross, refrained from reproducing it in their iconography.

¹ From a Gallo-Belgic coin (E. F. F. Hucher, *L'Art gaulois*, Paris, 1865, p. 169).

² From a Oretan coin (*Numerismatice Chronica*, vol. xx. [No. 8] pl. h. fig. 7).

³ Migne, *PL* iii. 346.

² de Rossi, *Bullettino di Arch. Cristiana*, 1873, p. 126; see, further, art. CHURCHES AND ALTARS (Chr.), vol. iii. p. 426.

³ P. Didron, *Histoire de Dieu*, 1843, p. 361.

During the first three centuries (with possibly a single exception, that of the equilateral cross cut on a sepulchral inscription, which de Rossi believes may be assigned to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd cent.) the cross of Christ is invariably dissimulated under the form of an object which recalls its image: a trident, an anchor (see figs. 22, 23), a ship with rigging; or under the forms of the cross already employed by other cults: the cross *potence* and the gammate



FIGS. 22, 23.1

cross. The cross *potence*, according to certain archaeologists, is, by the way, the form which most accurately recalls the instrument of crucifixion employed by the Romans.

At the close of the 3rd cent. the Christians designated Jesus Christ by a monogram composed of the first two letters of 'Ἰησοῦς Χριστός', ✠, or of ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ☩. The addition of a transverse bar, ✠ or ☩, exhibits the cross or, better still, Christ upon the cross, especially when, by an after process of simplification, the *chi-rho* becomes ☩ or ☩. Further, the Latin cross already appears upon certain coins of Constantine, although this emperor, true to his policy of religious eclecticism, shows no scruple about introducing on the same coins representations of Mars or Apollo as gods. Julian, of course, suppressed both cross and *chi-rho*. But, after his time, the cross finally takes its place upon coins and even upon the Imperial diadem. At the same time it asserts itself under its proper form in funeral inscriptions, upon altars, reliquaries, lamps, jewels, and even upon the façades of houses and the tops of *basilicas*, where it takes the place of the monogram; and before long it may be seen furnishing the ground plan of churches. In the 5th cent. the employment of the cross *potence* becomes rare except in Celtic countries, where it continues to show itself in inscriptions. In like manner the gammate cross now appears only sporadically, in the west and the north of Europe, upon tombstones and sacerdotal vestments.

The so-called Latin cross and the equilateral cross were at first employed without discrimination. Only gradually did the equilateral come to be the specialty of the East, and the form with unequal limbs that of the West.

As to the *crucifix*, i.e. a cross with the body of Jesus nailed to it, this representation does not make its appearance till the 7th century. The art of the Middle Ages was not slow to heighten its realism still more. But at the same time a distinction was drawn between the cross of the Passion, which is accompanied by all the implements of crucifixion, and the cross of the Resurrection, with which Jesus ascends to heaven. The first is painted sometimes green, because it was cut from a tree; sometimes red, because it was stained with the blood of Christ. The second is painted sometimes blue, the colour of the sky; sometimes white, as symbolizing the invisible Divinity. It is this last which is carried at the head of processions.

The cross became a hierarchical symbol in the

Church. Thus the Pope has the privilege of having carried before him a cross with three bars, while cardinals and archbishops have to be content with two, and bishops with one.

Finally, the cross served also in the prime of the Middle Ages as a symbol of certain popular rights. Such were the market crosses in Germany, which implied the municipal jurisdiction; the *perrons*, or crosses mounted upon a column, which in certain towns of Belgium and Germany were regarded as an emblem of jurisdiction, and even as the palladium of local liberties. When Charles the Bold wished to punish the inhabitants of Liège, he carried away their *perron* and set it up for six years at Bruges.

For a number of centuries the phrase 'to take the cross' meant to devote oneself to fight the infidels. Hence the orders of knighthood and the crosses of honour, the bestowal of which has now nothing to do with religion.

After all that we have said, it is needless to stop to examine theories, ancient or modern, which seek to claim a pagan origin for the Christian cross, on the ground that earlier cults had cruciform signs among their symbolism, while others would discover in pre-Christian crosses prefigurations of the Crucifixion. We must content ourselves with referring the reader to the respective supporters of these theories (e.g. Emile Burnouf, Gabriel de Mortillet, Mourant Brock, Abbé Ansaunt, etc.).

LITERATURE.—I. GENERAL.—J. A. Martigny, *Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes*, Paris, 1865, s.v. 'Croix'; Gabriel de Mortillet, *Le Signe de la croix avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1866; E. Bunsen, *Das Symbol des Kreuzes bei allen Nationen*, Berlin, 1876; E. Burnouf, *La Science des religions*, Paris, 1878; Mourant Brock, *The Cross, Heathen and Christian*, London, 1879; W. H. Holmes, 'The Cross used as a Symbol by the ancient Americans,' in *Trans. of the Anthropological Society of America*, Washington, 1883, vol. ii.; Hochart, 'Le Symbole de la croix,' in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, 1886, no. 1; W. Wilson Blake, *The Cross, Ancient and Modern*, New York, 1888; Ansaunt, 'Le Culte de la croix avant Jésus-Christ,' in the French review, *Le Correspondant*, 25th Oct. 1889, p. 163 f.; C. de Harlez, 'Le Culte de la croix avant le christianisme,' in the French review, *La Science catholique*, 15th Feb. 1890; F. Cabrol, art. 'Cross and Crucifix,' in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, vol. iv.; J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1887.

H. ON THE GAMMADION OR SWASTIKA.—L. Müller, *Det saakaldte Hagekors*, Copenhagen, 1877; E. Thomas, 'The Indian Swastika and its Western Counterpart,' in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1880; R. P. Greg, 'The Fylfot and Swastika,' in *Archæologia*, 1885, p. 293 f.; G. Dumoutier, 'Le Swastika et la roue solaire en Chine,' in *Revue d'éthnographie*, Paris, 1886, vol. iv. p. 327 f.; Goblet d'Alviella, 'De la croix gammée ou swastika,' in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 1889; D. G. Brinton, 'The Ka-ti, the Swastika, and the Cross in America,' in *Proceedings of the Amer. Philosophical Society*, vol. xxvi., 1889, p. 177 ff. M. de Zmigrodzki has collected, in various publications, all the known instances of the gammadion (see his *Geschichte der Swastika*, Brunswick, 1890, and his *Przegląd archeologiczny*, Krakow, 1902). As for the literature on the subject, Thomas Wilson mentions in the Appendix to his work *The Swastika* (Washington, 1896), 114 books and articles, besides his own, dealing with the gammate cross.

GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

CROSS (American).—The appearance of the cross symbol among the semi-civilized and savage peoples of America in all probability admits of a genuine two-fold interpretation. It amalgamates in all likelihood two cognate ideas: (1) that of the cross as a symbol of the four winds belonging to or emanating from the four cardinal points; (2) that of the 'world tree,' 'tree of life,' or 'tree of our flesh' (Mexican *Tonacaquahuilit*), analogous in some ways to the Scandinavian *Yggdrasil*, or cosmic tree, whose roots surrounded the universe. The first, in its pictorial and mural form, was probably evolved from the second as an art convention. There can be no question of the genuine aboriginal character of the cross symbol as found in America. Its origin appears to have been analogous to that of the symbol in use in the Old World—evolution from a symbol of the four cardinal points; but any hypothesis of its importation from Europe

¹ See T. Roller, *Les Catacombes de Rome*, Paris, 1881, vol. i. pl. xix. nos. 8 and 11.

or Asia would require much weightier proof of European or Asiatic colonization than has yet been advanced, and is easily discounted by the unquestionable signs of its wide-spread aboriginal use throughout the American continent.

On the discovery of Yucatan, where the lieutenants of Cortes found crosses at Cozumel and elsewhere, the wildest theories were propounded to account for their appearance in the New World. These crosses were about 3 ft. in height, and were usually found in an enclosure called *teopan*, or the buildings surrounding a temple. The Spanish missionaries believed that they had been introduced by the apostle St. Thomas, or that early Spanish colonists, driven out by the Moors, had sought refuge in America, and had brought with them the sacred symbol. The missionaries then proceeded to inquire after representations of the Crucifixion itself, and it was discovered that one had existed in pictorial form on a manuscript which had been buried to prevent its destruction by the invaders, but which had subsequently rotted underground. This figure undoubtedly represented a human sacrifice to the Sun, always intended in Mexico when the word 'God' (*Teotl*) was employed, as in the present instance, without any indication of the particular deity which the figure was meant to represent.

1. As a symbol of the four winds.—As a symbol of the four cardinal points from which the winds, and therefore the rains, came, the cross was well entitled to the designation of 'tree of our life' in the arid climate of Yucatan. To each quarter of the heavens a quarter of the ritual year belonged. The Aztec goddess of rains, Chalchiuhtlicue, bore a cross in her hand, as most of the principal deities of Egyptian mythology carry a cognate symbol, the *ankh*, or 'key of life'; and, in the feast celebrated in her honour in the early spring, victims were nailed to a cross and shot with arrows. Quetzalcoatl, as god of the winds, is represented as carrying a species of cross, and his robes were decorated with cruciform symbols. The form which we find, for example, in the famous bas-relief of Palenqué, and which was also discovered upon the temple walls of Cozumel, Popayan, Cundinamarca, and elsewhere, was undoubtedly a conventional form evolved from that of a tree, consisting of the lower part of the trunk and two cross-branches. The Mayan designation of the cross was indeed *Vahom che*, 'the tree erected or set up.' In the Palenqué cross, at the ends of the branches knobs appear, which are probably intended to indicate leaves or fruit. On the summit is perched a bird, probably a turkey, decked out in the brilliant plumage of more brightly-feathered fowl. The cross in question was probably regarded as in some measure the pedestal of the living turkey-fetish. The flesh of the turkey was a staple of Mexican diet, and in this way, it may be, the bird had become associated with the idea of subsistence and the 'tree of life' itself. In that case the cross of Palenqué was known as *Quetzalhuacoloquahuil*, or 'tree of the plumed turkey.' A priest stands on the proper right of the bas-relief, offering as a sacrifice a small human figure made from maize paste, and not a newly-born child, as some authorities state. On the proper left stands an acolyte, offering up a stalk of maize. At the roots of the cross a hideous head appears. It is that of *Cihuacohuatl* (female serpent), or *Tonantzin* (our Mother), to give her her Mexican designation—the earth-goddess, the most bloodthirsty of the Central American deities in her lust for human flesh, and the one from whom the 'tree of life' has its being and nourishment.

Many American peoples believe in the efficacy of the cross as a symbol whereby rain may be

obtained. The rain-makers of the Lenni Lenape draw the figure of a cross upon the ground, with its extremities towards the cardinal points, and on this they place a gourd, some tobacco, and a piece of red material, afterwards invoking the rain-spirit. The Creeks, at the ceremony of 'the Busk,' celebrated to the four winds, dispose four logs in the shape of a cross, the ends of which are set to the cardinal points, and in the centre of these they kindle the New Year's fire. The Blackfeet used to arrange large boulders in the form of a cross, on the prairies, in honour of Natose, 'the old man who sends the winds.' The Muyscas of Bogota, in order to sacrifice to the goddess of waters, extended ropes across a lake, thus forming a gigantic cross, at the point of intersection of which they cast in offerings of precious stones, gold, and odoriferous oils. In the State of Wisconsin many low cruciform mounds are found, exactly orientated. These were probably altars to the four winds. In the mythology of the Dakotas the winds were always conceived as birds; and the name of the cross in the Dakotan language signifies 'the mosquito-hawk spread out.'

2. As the 'world tree.'—In those Mexican and Mayan pictures which deal with cosmology the world tree is depicted as standing in the centre of the universe, its roots deep in the waste of waters, its branches among the clouds, as if in search of rain. The Mexicans worshipped the tree as *Tota* (our Father), whom they further described as 'god of the waters and of vegetation,' although he also appears to have some connexion with fire. Among the Kiche (or Quiché) of Guatemala, women desirous of children sought out a tree overhanging a pool, to which they prayed as the emblem of fertility; and this indicates the possible phallic origin of the tree of life. The *vax che*, or ceiba tree, is still an object of veneration in many hamlets of Central America. The sacred pole of the Omahas typifies the cosmic tree, the centre of the four winds, and the dwelling of the thunder-bird; and tree-burial among the western tribes of North America probably bore some mythical relation to placing the dead in the tree of life. The Mbocobis of Paraguay believe in a tree by which the dead once climbed to Paradise, and the Yurucares of Bolivia in one whence mankind originally emerged. The sacred tree also appears symbolically throughout America in the form of the poles and stakes which surround the prayer-houses and *kivas* of many American tribes.

LITERATURE.—Ixtilxochitl, *Historia Chichimeca* (ed. A. Chavero), Mexico, 1891-92; Las Casas, *Hist. Apologetica*, Seville, 1562; Sahagun, *Hist. gen. de . . . Nueva España*, lib. I. cap. II, Mexico, 1829-30; Garcia, *Origen de los Indios*, lib. III cap. VI, Madrid, 1729; Cogolludo, *Hist. de Yucathan*, lib. IV cap. IX, Madrid, 1688; de Charencey, *Le Mythe de Volan*, Alençon, 1871; W. H. Holmes, *3 RBEW*, 1883, p. 270 f.; art. 'Cross' in *Handbook of American Indians* (= 80 Bull. BE), I. 366 f., and the literature there cited.

LEWIS SPENCE.

CROSS-ROADS.—Cross-roads are very generally regarded as the dwelling-place or resort of evil spirits, ghosts, etc., and hence are considered unlucky or even dangerous, while various expedients are resorted to in order to ward off their dangers. On the other hand, they are sometimes associated with a divinity—probably, in the first instance, because images of the divinity were placed there to counteract the powers of evil, and a cult of the divinity was observed at the cross-ways. Or they may be regarded as sacred in themselves. Thus in the Avesta a formula runs: 'We sacrifice . . . to the forking of the highways and to the meeting of the roads' (*SBE* xxxi. [1887] 291). In ancient India they were not to be defiled or obstructed (*ib.* xxii. [1884] 182, xxxiii. [1889] 158). But the reverence for such a divinity of cross-roads was soon mingled with the fear of the demoniac in-

fluences, and we find the divinity often regarded as sharing in the characteristic evil and horrible traits of the very dæmonic beings which he or she was supposed to hold at bay. The association of evil beings or of a divinity with cross-roads is an extension of their association with roads in general, and is already found among some lower tribes in connexion with the rough paths leading through forest or jungle, and with their intersections.

1. Burial at cross-roads.—(a) There is evidence that the dead were sometimes buried at cross-roads, and this would be one reason for their being regarded as particularly ghost-haunted places—a belief which is certainly very remote and widespread. Among the ancient Hindus there was a practice of erecting a *dāgoba* or *stūpa* (a mound in which the bones and ashes were placed) at cross-roads. These were to be erected there in honour of a king of kings or a *Tathāgata* (*Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, v. 26, vi. 33 = *SBE* xi. [1881] 93, 125; cf. Oldenberg's remarks, *Rel. des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 562). In Slavic lands, cairns and tumuli are often found at cross-roads, and the older literature sometimes refers to a cult of the dead there (Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1865, ii. 288). Other instances are reported among the Greeks, Germans, etc. (Lippert, *Rel. der europ. Kulturvölker*, Berlin, 1881, p. 310; Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksabergl. der Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1900, § 108; Winternitz, *Denkschr. der kais. Akad. der Wissensch.*, Vienna, xi. [1892] 68). In Hungary, persons believed to have succumbed to the malice of a witch or demon were sometimes buried at cross-roads, to deliver them from this influence, as witches had no power there—an unusual belief (*FLJ* ii. [1884] 101). This is an instance of the riddance of evil at cross-roads (see § 5). It is not impossible that one reason for honourable burial at cross-roads was the desire for re-incarnation. Among the Mongols, among many N. American tribes, and in W. Africa, children are often buried by the side of a path or road, in order that the ghost may have an opportunity of entering some woman passing that way, and so being re-born of her (Letourneau, *Sociology*, 1893, p. 239; Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Ind.*, 1902, pp. 22–23, 86; Dorman, *Prim. Superstitions*, Philadelphia, 1881, p. 35; Kingsley, *Travels in W. Africa*, 1897, p. 478). As more women are likely to pass a cross-way than on any single path, the chances of re-incarnation would be greater there.

(b) But in the case of persons whose ghosts are regarded as dangerous, another reason for burial at cross-roads must be sought. Among such persons are those who have committed suicide, and occasionally murder. Custom and law in England prescribed that the suicide should be buried at a cross-road, with a stake driven through his body. A stone was also placed over the face (Stephen, *Hist. of Crim. Law*, 1883, iii. 105; *FL* viii. [1897] 199. The custom was abolished in 1823). Criminals also were executed at cross-roads, e.g. Tyburn, the meeting-place of the London, Oxford, and Edgeware roads. Stake and stone were intended to prevent the restless ghost from wandering and troubling the neighbourhood. It has also been suggested that the constant traffic over the grave would help to keep the ghost down, or that the number of roads would confuse it, and so prevent its finding its way home, or that the cross would act as a disperser of the evil energy concentrated in the body or the ghost, or that sacrificial victims (these being frequently criminals) were formerly slain on the altars at cross-roads, which were therefore regarded as fitting places for the execution and burial of criminals, after the introduction of Christianity (*FL* viii. 264; Westermarck, *MI*, 1908, ii. 256; *EBr*¹¹ vii. 510). To this it

should be added that suicides were generally buried in out-of-the-way places; and the cross-roads, being a place of evil repute, would naturally be selected for the grave. The underlying thought is that of riddance of the contagion of evil, and in no better place could this be effected than at the cross-roads (see § 5). A parallel custom of burying at the cross-roads the bodies of children still-born or born feet-foremost (a mode considered unlucky) is found in Uganda, where also the bodies of suicides, with the tree on which they hanged themselves or the hut in which they took their lives, were burned at cross-roads. And it is noticeable that women who pass that way throw a few blades of grass, or sticks, or stones, on the grave to prevent the spirits from entering them and being re-born (Roscoe, 'Manners and Customs of the Baganda,' *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 30, and Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, ii. 507, iii. 152). In Greece, persons who murdered father, mother, brother, or child were slain at a place outside the walls where three roads met, and their bodies were exposed naked (Plato, *Leg.* ix. 873).

2. Ghosts, spirits, and demons at cross-roads.—Cross-roads are universally believed to be the common resort of evil spirits. As places of burial, cross-roads would naturally be haunted by the ghosts of the dead; but also, as ghosts would be often passing along the roads from other places of burial to their former homes, they would be more numerous at cross-roads. The ghostly train is often seen on roads, but more particularly at their intersections; hence, to see them one would naturally go there, as in the Abruzzi, where, at the festival of the dead, the thronging ghosts can be seen at the cross-ways by any one standing there with his chin resting on a forked stick (Finamore, *Credenze, usi, e costumi abruzzesi*, Palermo, 1890, pp. 180–2). But, besides ghosts, all kinds of evil powers frequent the cross-ways. This is a wide-spread belief in India, one particular class of dæmonic beings—*bhuts*—being usually found at cross-roads, while other 'waylayers' lurk there also (Oldenberg, 267; Crooke, *PR* i. 290; *FL* viii. 330; *SBE* xxx. [1892] 49). Among the Muhammadan peoples, cross-roads are one of the numerous resorts of the *jinn* (Lane, *Arabian Society*, 1883, p. 37). In Russia, vampires are thought to lurk by night at cross-roads, ready to attack the belated traveller (Ralston, *Russ. Folk-Tales*, 1873, p. 311). In Europe generally, witches were associated with the cross-ways. There they gathered up money scattered by the devil; there, too, they met, and, in some cases, the Sabbat was held at the junction of roads, especially on Walpurgis night, when they might be seen by him who put on his clothes inside out and crept backwards to the place; while the ringing of consecrated bells on that night hindered their dancing with the devil at cross-roads (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* [Eng. tr. 1880–8], 1074, 1115, 1799, 1803, 1824; Stewart, *Superstitions of Witchcraft*, 1865, p. 128). On the other hand, witches are occasionally regarded as having no power at cross-roads. In Naples it is held that they must go round them on their way to a meeting, as they cannot pass them; and in Hungary cross-roads are believed to neutralize their evil powers (*FL* vii. 3; *FLJ* ii. 101). Here, probably, the form of the cross acts as a prophylactic. Sprites, kobolds, and fairies are also sporadically associated with cross-roads (Grimm, 838, 1115; Goethe, *Faust*, III. i. 40). In mediæval superstition there was no better place than a cross-road for the purpose of evoking evil spirits, especially the devil, and making a compact with them. The magical treatises then current explicitly set this forth; thus the *Clavicula Solomonis* says: 'For magical operations a secret, remote, deserted, and uninhabited place is necessary, but best of all are the cross-ways.'

This notion is found in the 6th cent. story of Theophilus, and in the old tradition it was at a cross-road near Wittenberg that Faust sold himself to the devil. The custom was to go to the cross-way by night, and there make a magic circle in which cabalistic signs were inscribed, and then to call up the devil. Similarly, witches made their compact with Satan at cross-ways. In the case of the Swedish witches in the 17th cent., they first put on a garment over their heads and danced near a cross-road. Then, going to the cross-road, they thrice called on the devil to come and carry them to the meeting-ground. When he appeared they promised to serve him body and soul, and he then conveyed them to the Sabbat (Grimm, 1074; Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, 1888, p. 680; *Hist. . . . de Jean Fauste*, Amsterdam, 1874; Görres, *Die christl. Mystik*, Regensburg, 1842, bk. vi. ch. 16; Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, 1851, i. 184, ii. 249 f.).

For these reasons, wayfarers took precautions at the cross-ways. In India, *mantras* must be said; e.g. at a bridal procession the bridegroom had to say, 'May no waylayers meet us!' They should not be stopped at, and the traveller should pass with his right hand turned to them (*SBE* ii. 228, vii. 200, xxv. 135, 150, xxx. 49). Similarly, in Sweden, no bridegroom will stand near a cross-road on his wedding-day—a precaution against 'envy and malice' (Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1863, i. 45). See also § 5.

The origin of the belief in the presence of evil agencies at cross-roads may be found in the simple fact that, as people were more numerous at cross-roads, so naturally would all evil powers be, such at least as were so often associated with roads or paths. Men always fear demons and spirits which they believe lurk on the edge of the forest path or rude roadway, ready to pounce upon the belated traveller, and in many cases roads are believed to be infested by them (Monier-Williams, *Rel. Thought and Life in India*, 1883, p. 216; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 1894, pp. 632, 636). Hence they would be regarded as lurking at the intersections of roads, especially by night, when wayfarers were uncertain of the direction in which they ought to go (cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 3). A further reason may be sought in the fact that paths and roads often form boundaries, as is shown by the fact that images and altars of boundary-gods often stood on roadways (MacPherson, *Khonds*, 1865, p. 67; cf. § 3). Rites of riddance and aversion intended to drive evil powers off the fields or tribal lands would, in common belief, have the tendency to force them on to the boundaries—a kind of neutral ground (for such rites, see Frazer, *GB*², 1900, iii. ch. 3, §§ 13, 14, 15, *passim*; Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, 1872, pp. 211, 396). And, as boundary so frequently signified road, or was marked by a pathway (as in Samoa [Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, 1910, p. 339]; see other examples in this art.), there would here be another reason for evil spirits haunting roads. Hence the cross-ways, where boundaries or paths met, for the reason given above, would again be more open to their presence and influence. Evil powers associated with cross-roads are, in fact, often stated to be also found on roads and boundaries, or a boundary-stone is found at cross-ways (cf. Grimm, 1051, 1113, 1804, 1821; Crooke, *PR* i. 290). Hence magical rites which are effective on roads are still more effective at cross-roads, as many instances of their use in both cases show.

3. Divinities at cross-roads.—Divinities are frequently associated with cross-roads. This is sometimes with the intention of repelling those evil powers which otherwise would throng them, though, as examples show, there is a tendency for the protective divinity to take on some of the aspects of those evil powers, as in the case of Hecate. Or again, since evil powers are connected with cross-roads, divinities whose character is evil rather than good are often worshipped or propitiated there.

In India, from early times, the cross-ways were the abode of sinister gods, especially of Rudra, lord of ghosts and of evil powers generally, who

was propitiated at the yearly festival of the dead by a sacrifice of cakes—the offering to Rudra Tryambaka, for the deliverance of descendants from his power, and for the securing of his beneficent action. This was offered at cross-roads, because Rudra roves on the roads, and 'the cross-road is known to be his favourite haunt' (*Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, *SBE* xii. [1882] 408, 438 f.). The cross-road is also the halting-place of the Agnis (*ib.* 439, n. 1). Travellers addressed both paths and cross-roads with *mantras*: 'Adoration to Rudra, who dwells on paths; adoration to R., who dwells at cross-roads' (*ib.* xxix. 366, xxx. 180). In the yearly ritual the connexion of ghosts with the cross-ways is also apparent. Lesser evil divinities also had their cult at cross-ways, but usually for specific purposes—the repelling of disease or demoniac influence, or the contagion of evil. To get rid of disease, one should go by night, naked, to a cross-way, and there make an offering of rice with a *mantra*, returning in silence without looking back. This must be repeated until the evil spirit (Pisācha) appears and says, 'I will end your ailment' (*Kāthā-sarīt-sāgara*, Tawney's ed., 1895, i. 256). The sacred writings also ordain that a student who has broken a vow of chastity must offer an ass to Nirriti, goddess of destruction, at a cross-way, then put on the skin and proclaim his sin (*SBE* ii. [1897] 289; cf. xxix. 361). Elsewhere he is directed to light a fire at the cross-ways, and to offer an ass to the Rākṣasas and an oblation of rice to Nirriti (*ib.* xiv. [1882] 117 ff.).

In Japan, phallic symbols, *chimata-no-kami*, or 'road-fork gods,' were set up on roads, and worshipped at cross-roads and waysides, as protectors of travellers. They were said to have been produced from the articles thrown down by Izanagi in his flight from Hades, or at his purification (see vol. ii. p. 700^b). Their festivals were held at cross-roads outside the capital, or at the frontier, at the end of the 6th and 12th months, or in time of pestilence, while offerings took place at other times. Other phallic symbols, *sahi-no-kami*, or 'preventive deities,' were also worshipped at roads and cross-roads, and hence came to be regarded as guides and friends of wayfarers. Their cult was popular, they were inquired of in divination, or prayed to before a journey; or an offering was made to them by travellers on their journey. Accidents on a journey were the result of neglecting them. But the primitive function of all these deities seems to have been that for which they are still addressed in the liturgies, viz. protection against the unfriendly beings and evil spirits of pestilence from Hades.

'Whenever from the Root-country, the Bottom-country [= Hades], there may come savage and unfriendly beings, consort not and parley not with them, but, if they go below, keep watch below; if they go above, keep watch above, protecting us against pollution with a night guarding and with a day guarding.'

Three of these are mentioned in one *norito*—Yachimata-hiko, the Eight-road-fork prince, Yachimata-hime, the Eight-road-fork princess, and Kunado, whose name, 'Come-not place,' is suggestive of his functions as a repeller of evil beings. The first two are represented as male and female figures with sexual organs, the last as a simple phallus. Another phallic god, Saruta-hiko, dwells at the eight cross-ways of Heaven, and is said to have acted as guide to Ninigi on his coming to earth. He is also called Dosojin, or 'Road-ancestor deity,' and is found at cross-ways in the form of a phallic boulder, over which is stretched a rope supported by bamboos. Jizo, the Buddhist children's god, now occupies his place at cross-ways (Aston, *Shinto*, 1905, pp. 306, 187, 189, 191, 197, 340).

The phallic origin of these gods, in accordance with the well-known property ascribed to the sexual organs as warders off of evil spirits, their protective powers against demoniac and pestilential influences, and their ultimate position as gods of travellers recall the position of the Greek Hermes and the Hermæ (cf. p. 333^b).

Among the Teutonic peoples occurred a yearly procession of the image of a god or goddess (Frey,

Nerthus, Holda, Berchta, etc.) round each district, for the purpose of promoting fertility (Tac. *German.* 40; Grimm, 213, 251, 268, 275). In later tradition the remembrance of this procession was mingled with the myth of the Furious Host or the witches' jaunt, headed by one of those divinities—a myth which in pagan times told of an aerial course of the god or goddess with their subordinates, corresponding to the course of their images followed by the jubilant crowd on earth. It was connected with the latter, and perhaps in part originated from it, as an ætiological myth (cf. Grimm, 1055–56). These processions, doubtless, went round the boundaries, and the divinity would then be associated with boundaries, and so with roads and cross-ways. In some of the later traditions, cross-roads appear to be unlucky to these wandering hosts, now become demoniac and associated with sorcery, with the devil and witches. Berchta's waggon breaks down at the cross-roads, so also does that of Frau Gauden, and the help of a mortal is necessary to repair it (see the traditional tales in Grimm, 275, 926). Perhaps there is here a distorted reminiscence of a halting of the procession of the image and waggon at cross-roads, either for a sacrifice to the divinity, or for the performance of some rite by which his or her protection would be secured against the evil powers of the cross-roads. Later, when the divinity became a more or less demoniac being, the folk-memory of the halting of the waggon produced the story that the waggon broke down. The divinity no longer repelled evil influences at cross-roads, but was now subject to these influences, cross-roads being unlucky to him or her, as in the case of witches (cf. § 2). On the other hand, it is not impossible that offerings were laid at cross-roads for the divinities to partake of in their aerial wanderings, as in the case of Hecate. As her images stood there, so probably images of some of these Teutonic divinities may have been set up at cross-roads. This is suggested by traces of a cult to gods or ghosts of the dead at cross-roads (the haunt of souls), anathematized by the Church. Prayers, offerings, and the consumption of such offerings, votive offerings (*vota; pædum similitudines quas per bivia ponunt*), and the ritual lighting of candles and torches at cross-ways (*bivia, triviva*) are all forbidden, and the prohibitions probably apply to Celtic as well as to Teutonic custom (S. Eligius and Burchard, in Grimm, 1738, 1744; de la Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, p. 290; Grimm, *Kleinere Schr.* ii. 288). Sitting on a bull's hide at cross-ways in order to consult the future is also forbidden. The hide was probably that of an animal sacrificed there (Grimm, 1744, and cf. his comment, 1115, and the common ritual use of the skins of sacrificial victims elsewhere). Divinities were also sometimes seen at cross-roads by their worshippers (Grimm, 1202). The cult of divinities, Teutonic and Celtic, at cross-roads is further borne witness to in the occasional references in witch-trials to ghastly offerings made to demoniac powers (their successors) at cross-roads, as in the trial of Alice Kyteler and her accomplices at Ossory in the 14th cent., in which there is reference to a sacrifice of living animals torn limb from limb and scattered at cross-roads, or of nine red cocks and nine peacocks' eyes (Wright, i. 28, 30).

Among the Greeks, Hecate, a goddess whose cult was probably introduced from the north, and who had several varying aspects, was associated with cross-roads as Hecate *τροδῖτις*. Her primitive connexion with these and also with roads and doorways was probably that of an avorter of ill. Her images or symbolic figures stood before doors and at cross-ways, to keep out ghosts and to counteract the gloomy influences prevailing at cross-ways. In both cases the chief evil influence to be averted was that

of the ghosts of the dead. These images were called *ἐκδραῖα*, and frequently represented her in triple form. Through her connexion with roads and cross-roads, she, as Hecate *ἐνοδία*, was the helper and guide of travellers who sought her aid (schol. ad Theocr. ii. 12). But she was also regarded in a more sinister light. As an infernal goddess, she was ruler of ghosts, phantoms, and demons, causing them to appear on earth to frighten travellers, associated with sorcery, and seen often on moonlight nights with her ghostly train and baying hounds, like the Teutonic Holda. In this character she was more particularly Hecate *τρίμορφος*, of a malicious and dangerous nature. Hence she had to be invoked and propitiated, lest she should send harm on men. The triple form of the goddess has been variously explained, but, in all probability, it arose from the fact that her images at cross-ways had faces looking down the converging roads, so as to watch over each. In her we see a goddess who, at first regarded as an avorter of ill, is later associated with those very ill which she averts. She can keep them at bay, or she can cause them to appear, and she herself is imaged in their sinister forms. Offerings were made to Hecate at cross-roads, and her images there were consulted for divination. Monthly offerings were made to her at cross-roads by rich people, in order to get rid of evil influences and to render her favourable. These were called *Ἐκάτης δειπνα*, or 'suppers of Hecate,' and included cakes set round with candles, fish, eggs, cheese, honey, etc. These dishes of food were often consumed by the poor. They were connected with the rites of riddance performed in her name. Houses were swept and fumigated, and the sweepings taken away in a potherd to a cross-road, and there thrown down, the bearer going away without looking back. It would be natural also to get rid of the food remaining in the house before the purification. Thus the evils, or the ghosts which had infested the house, were sent away, and the ceremony may only accidentally have been connected with the goddess of cross-roads. It resembles other rites of riddance at cross-roads, primitive in character, and usually unconnected with a divinity (see § 5). These purifications were called *δελτύματα* (see Harpocrat. and Suidas, s.v.; schol. on Æsch. *Choeph.* v. 96; Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* iii., *Quæst. Conv.* 708 F; schol. on Arist. *Plut.* 594; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* i. 1; Athenæus, vii. 125, 127, viii. 57, xiv. 53; Porph. *de Abstin.* ii. 28). Travellers also deposited offerings at cross-roads. An ætiological myth told how Hecate, as a newly born infant, was exposed at a cross-way, but rescued and brought up by shepherds (schol. on Lycophron, 1180). This probably points to an actual custom of exposure at cross-roads (found also in Chaldaea), made use of to explain Hecate's connexion with them.

Hermes, as god of roads and boundaries, and of travellers, was also associated with the cross-ways as an avorter of ill. On roads and boundaries, but especially at cross-roads, stood a heap of stones with a pillar, later rudely shaped in human form. The passer-by added a stone to the heap, as a rite of riddance and in order to avert the evil influences associated with the place. These became the more shapely Hermæ of later times, used as boundary and mile and direction posts, and placed at cross-roads as well as on streets, roads, and at doors. The phallus was a prominent object upon them (Herod. ii. 51), in accordance with the belief in phallic emblems as averters of ill. As in the case of the Hekataia, these Hermæ had often several heads, and for the same reason. Offerings were made to them, and were sometimes eaten by hungry wayfarers. Theophrastus in his *Characters* describes the pious man pouring oil on the sacred stones (Hermæ) at cross-roads, falling on

his knees and saying a prayer before passing on his way. Cf. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 36 f.

Christianity replaced the divine images at cross-ways by crucifixes or images and shrines of the Madonna. At the latter, especially, flowers and candles are offered and prayers said, exactly as in the case of the Hermæ and Hekataia (Trede, *Das Heidenthum in der röm. Kirche*, Gotha, 1891, iv. 205, 208).

An example of a cult of a divinity at cross-roads from a lower level of civilization is found among the Yaos of the Shire Highlands who, when on a journey, offer a little flour to the god Mulungu at a place where two ways meet, exactly as in the case of Greek and Roman travellers, to Hecate, Hermes, or the Lares (see vol. ii. p. 358*).

4. Omens at cross-roads.—The connexion of supernatural beings, divine or demoniac, with cross-roads caused these to be regarded as places where omens might be sought. In East Central Africa a traveller who comes to a cross-way lays two roots, carried for the purpose of divination, against the blade of a knife laid horizontally. He points to one road saying, 'Shall I take this one?' If the roots remain still, he takes it. If they fall, he takes the other (Macdonald, *Africana*, 1882, i. 215). This resembles the rite used by the king of Babylon, probably to discover whether he should proceed on the way to Jerusalem to attack it. He 'stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he shook the arrows to and fro, he consulted the teraphim, he looked in the liver' (Ezk 21st). In Germany it was a custom to listen at a cross-way on Christmas or New-Year at midnight. In this way the seeker heard or saw what would befall him during the year. Or, if he heard horses neigh or swords rattle, there would be war (Grimm, 1113, 1812, 1819). The listening was intended to catch what the spirits were saying as to coming events. In Japan a method of cross-road divination (*tsuji-ura*), used by women and lovers, is to place a stick representing the god Kunitada at a cross-way at dusk, and to interpret the words spoken by passers-by as an answer to the question put by the inquirer. Another method is to sound a comb three times at a cross-road by drawing the finger along it, then, worshipping the *sahi-no-kami*, to say thrice, 'O thou god of the cross-roads-divination, grant me a true response.' The answer is found in the words spoken by the next or the third passer-by (Aston, 340). With this may be compared a Persian custom of sitting at cross-ways by night and applying to oneself as an omen of good or evil all that is said by passers (J. Atkinson, *Women of Persia*, 1832, p. 11). In Germany a girl went to a cross-road to discover whether she would be married during the year, or she shook out a table-cloth there. Then a man appeared and saluted her. The future husband would be of the same height and appearance (Grimm, 1115, 1797). An old Hindu custom for a man to discover whether a girl will make a good wife is to let her choose one of several clods taken from lucky and unlucky places, one of the latter being a cross-road (Oldenberg, 510). In India the balance for ordeals was erected at a temple or in a cross-road—a favourite abode of Dharmarāja, the god of justice, when he appears on earth (*SBE* xxiii. [1889] 104).

5. Magical rites at cross-roads.—The sinister character of cross-roads made them particularly efficacious as places to perform charms and magical rites, especially of aversion or riddance of demoniac influences (cf. p. 331), bottom: 'best of all are the cross-ways'.¹ Evil powers, or perhaps the divini-

ties whose images stood there, lent their influence to the success of the rite. A few examples of general magical rites may be cited first. Sitting out or working spells at cross-ways was used among the Teutons as an evil kind of magic, for raising tempests, etc. The details are not known (Vigfusson-Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, Oxford, 1883, i. 413). In the Hindu *Gṛhya Sūtra*, visiting a cross-road at twilight, lighting a fire there, offering rice and repeating charms, together with other ritual observances, is recommended to those who desire gold, or companions, or a long life, or who wish to be rulers, etc. (*SBE* xxix. 431, xxx. 119, 124, 125). A charm for recovering lost property is addressed to Pūshan, the sun, who watches over the ways, and the rite includes placing 21 pebbles at a cross-way. They are symbolic of the lost property, and counteract its lost condition (Atharva-Veda [*SBE* xlii. 159, 542]). In Kumaon, to cause rain to cease, a harrow is fixed perpendicularly at a cross-way. The god of rain, seeing it in this unusual condition at such a place, learns that injustice is being done, and makes the rain cease. Or sugar, rice, and other objects used in ritual are placed at a cross-way and defiled, till the rain is ashamed to fall on them (*PR* i. 76-77). At Naples, to detach a husband from his mistress, a wife goes barefoot and with unbound hair to a cross-way. There she takes a pebble, places it under her left armpit, and repeats an incantation. This is done at a second cross-way, with the pebble under the right arm, and at a third, having it between the chin and breast. Returning home, she throws it into a cesspool (Andrews, *FL* viii. 7). This is an example of the belief that all things at cross-ways are charged with the magic or evil energy concentrated there, or are unlucky. Plants growing on boundaries or on cross-ways are believed to possess magical power (see Reiss, 'Aberglaube,' in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 47). In Bombay a charm against the evil eye is to carry seven pebbles picked up at the meeting of three ways (Campbell, *Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885, p. 208).

In the case of rites of riddance and aversion the underlying idea is that the evil powers lurking at the cross-ways are compelled to take over the evil (disease, ill-luck, etc.) which is of demoniac origin, or is impure and a source of danger. In some of these cases the powers of the cross-way are propitiated by an offering. Or the rite takes place there, because the place is one where the contagion of evil is more likely to be got rid of or transferred to another, while Oldenberg suggests (p. 287) that the cross-way was used because, after the rite, the performer would go one way, the evil or unlucky influence the other. A simple example of riddance of fatigue is found among the Guatemalan Indians, who, on passing the usual pile of stones at a cross-way, gather grass, rub their legs with it, spit on it, and then lay it with a stone on the pile, thus recovering their strength (Frazer, *GB*³ iii. 4). Rites for riddance of disease at cross-ways are wide-spread. To rid themselves of any disease of demoniac origin, hill-natives of N. India plant a stake in the ground at a cross-way and bury some rice below it. The rice (prob. the vehicle of transference) is disinterred and eaten by crows (*PR* i. 290). In Bihār, during sickness, certain articles are placed in a saucer and set at a cross-road (Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life*, Calcutta, 1885, p. 407). Similarly, in ancient India, such rites were commonly performed at cross-ways, as specific instances in the sacred books show. A patient possessed by demons was to be anointed with the

the cross-ways (*FLJ* ii. 101). It would thus be used as an act of imitative magic, producing the effect obtained by the cross-way itself.

¹ Kozma is of the opinion that the use of the sign of the cross in charms has no reference to Christianity, but to the form of

remains of a sacrifice of ghi and fragrant substances (probably because the latter are obnoxious to demons¹) and placed on a cross-road. A wicker basket with a coal-pan was set on his head, and some of the sacrifice was sprinkled on the coals (Ath.-Veda [*SBE* xlii. 32, 519]). In another charm for riddance from hereditary disease, the patient is set on a cross-road, and there washed and sprinkled. The charm includes the words, 'May the four quarters of heaven be auspicious to thee!' (*ib.* 292). In other cases not only riddance but the transference of disease to another person is effected. Thus an ancient Hindu charm to avert evil runs: 'If, O evil, thou dost not abandon us, then do we abandon thee at the fork of the road. May evil follow after another (man)!' The commentary explains this as a charm to remove all diseases, and the rite includes the throwing of three rice-puddings at the cross-road (*ib.* 163, 473). In modern India, to get rid of smallpox, some of the scales from the patient's body are placed in a pile of earth decked with flowers at a cross-way. The disease may then be transferred to some passer, the original patient recovering (*PR* i. 165). Or, at an outbreak of smallpox, a pot of wine, bangles, money, cakes, incense, and a cloth with the image of the goddess of smallpox, are offered to her, and then left outside the village at a cross-road. Any one touching these or meeting the priest who carries them out will take the disease and die at once. The goddess receiving the offering passes on to the next village. Here offering and vehicle of aversion are combined, and the articles are called *nikasi*, 'aversers.' Probably the poor, in eating 'Εκάρης δειπνῶν, — at once an offering and a vehicle of aversion, — ran the risk of transference of evil to themselves rather than starve. In Bohemia, to get rid of fever, an empty pot was carried by the patient to a cross-road, and thrown down. He then fled. The first passer who kicked it would get the fever, and the patient would be cured (*GB*² iii. 22). In Suffolk a cure for ague is to go by night to a cross-way, turn round thrice as the clock strikes twelve, drive a tenpenny nail up to the head in the ground, and then retire backwards before the clock is done striking. The next person passing over the nail will get the ague (*County Folk-lore of Suffolk*, 1895, p. 14). For other European instances, see Wuttke, *op. cit. passim*.

Lustral rites of riddance at cross-ways are also common. In India one who had committed a crime had, after other rites, to go to a cross-way and repeat the formula, *Sinhē me manyuh*. Then he was free from all crime (*SBE* xiv. 330). In E. Africa, when a child is able to speak, it is taken to a cross-way, washed and rubbed with oil, and given to the father, who may then, but not till then, cohabit with his wife, else the child will die (*FLR* [1882] v. 168). Riddance of the contagion of death is also effected at cross-roads, by carrying there the thing or things which have suffered impurity. In India, at a death, the fire became impure, and with the receptacle was carried out and placed on a cross-way with the words, 'I send far away the flesh-devouring Agni.' The bearer then walked round it three times, keeping his left side towards it, beating his left thigh with his left hand, and returning home without looking back (*SBE* xxix. 247). In the orthodox death-rites of modern Brahmans, lamps are set at cross-ways (Colebrooke, *Life and Essays*, 1873, iii. 180). All over E. Africa, at a death, the water used in washing the body, the ashes of the fire, the thatch of the hut, and the remains of the dead man's food, are buried at a cross-way (*malekano*), or deposited there with broken pots, egg-shells, etc. (Macdonald, *Africana*,

i. 109; *FLR* v. 168). Other rites of riddance or aversion also occur at cross-ways. In Nijegorod, the Siberian plague is kept off by stakes driven into the ground at a cross-way (Ralston, *Songs*, 395). In Bali, at the periodical expulsion of devils, offerings of food are placed at a cross-road for the demons, who are summoned to partake of them; and then go out of the houses to this feast (*GB*² iii. 80). In Bohemia, in order to get rid of witches youths meet on Walpurgis night at a cross-way and crack whips in unison. The witches are thus driven off (*ib.* iii. 92). With the monthly purifications in Greece (§ 3) may be compared a custom in Gujarāt of sweeping houses and laying the refuse at a cross-road as a rite of riddance of evil (Campbell, 329). For other rites at birth among the Chams, see vol. iii. 347, 350.

The custom of burying suicides at a cross-way has thus in all probability some connexion with rites of riddance at cross-roads. The danger brought about to the community was in this way got rid of. Images of diseased limbs hung at cross-ways were perhaps less votive offerings than magical means of ridding the limb of the disease by transferring it to the spirits of the cross-way or to a passer-by.

6. Cross-roads and the four quarters.—Not improbably the sacredness of cross-roads may be connected in some cases with that of the four winds, coming from the four quarters of the heavens or the four corners of the earth, which were worshipped as gods and creators, and gave a sanctity to the cross (*q.v.*) among pre-Christian races, especially in North America (see art. AIR). Hence ceremonies for scaring evil spirits were efficacious at cross-ways, because they looked approximately to the four sacred quarters. Thus, in the Gujarāt marriage-ritual of the Bhārvāda, balls of flour are flung to the four quarters as a charm to frighten off evil spirits (*BG* ix. [1901] 1. 280). In Peru a yearly rite of riddance in connexion with the four quarters took place at the square of each town, out of which ran four roads leading to the four cardinal points. Four Incas of the blood royal, with lance and girded mantle, stood in the great square, till another ran down from the temple of the Sun, carrying a message that the Sun bade them as his messengers drive all evils from the city. They separated and ran down the four roads to the four quarters of the world. Relays of runners received the lances from them, and finally set them up at a boundary, which the evils might not pass (Garc. de la Vega, *Royal Comment.*, 1869-71, ii. 228; *Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, Hakluyt Soc., 1873, p. 20ff.; cf. vol. iii. p. 308⁹). The Yorubas have a cult of the four winds, and a figure with four heads called Olori merin is usually found on a mound near the centre of the town, so that each head faces one of the four points. Thus he protects the town, and no pestilence brought by the four winds or hostile force arriving by the four roads can attack it. Formerly these roads passed out of the city by the four chief gates on each side (Dennett, *Nigerian Studies*, 1910, pp. 70, 85). This connexion of cross-ways with the four quarters does not universally hold good, more especially in the case of the meeting of three roads, and only forms one of many reasons for the superstitious connexion with cross-roads.

LITERATURE.—This is mentioned throughout the article. There is no special work on the subject.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

CROSS-ROADS (Roman).—It was a custom of the Roman peasant, in order to ensure the prosperity of his crops, to make a procession round the marches of his land, praying the while to Mars for protection against visible and invisible disease, ravage, and storm (Cato, *de Agricult.* 141). In ancient times these various evils were regarded as

¹ Cf. D. W. Brugsch, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, p. 301f.

demons who gloated over suffering, and this explains why Fever (*Febris*) was worshipped in Rome as a goddess (G. Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult. der Römer*, Munich, 1902, p. 197). But, if such noxious spirits were prevented by the invocation of Mars from intruding upon the tilled land, they would tend to haunt the boundaries; and, as the latter were often formed by roads, it came to be believed that the roads were traversed by demons as well as by human beings. Now, the place where several roads converged—whether by the bifurcation of one thoroughfare (*ambivium, bivium*), or by the intersection of two (*quadrivium or trivium*, according as the way by which the traveller approaches is counted or not; see H. Usener, 'Dreiheit,' in *Rhein. Mus.* lviii. [1903] 339)—was naturally a focus of human intercourse; as every one must pass the *trivium*, *trivialis* came to mean 'common,' 'known to all.' For corresponding reasons, cross-roads were regarded as the special resorts of demons. The Romans believed that things connected with the cross-ways had magical powers, and this superstition doubtless rests upon the idea that demons haunted the spot, and infected the surroundings with their supernatural influence. Thus, for instance, frogs boiled at the cross-way were a cure for fever (Pliny, *HN* xxxii. 113); a person who by night sets his foot upon filth at the cross-way is thereby bewitched (Petronius, 134); while the perplexity and anxiety which fall upon the traveller in a strange district as he comes to the cross-roads, and hesitates as to the way he should take (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 3; Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, xvi. 3), would be ascribed to the haunting demons, as would also the actual choice of the wrong way (Roscher, vol. i. p. 1890). Again, the cross-way was occasionally the site of the special object revered by the fetish-worshipper (Tibullus, i. i. 11 f.: 'habet . . . vetus in trivio florida sarta lapis'). The fetish was decorated with wreaths; and by such homage, as also by prayers and votive offerings, it was hoped that the demonic powers would be induced to refrain from injuring their devotees, and to act as the dispensers of grace and sure guidance.

Anthropomorphic deities of this character had likewise a place in the Roman religion, but the cult was not indigenous. Some of the deities were simply taken over from foreign religions; others, while of native origin, became the tutelary spirits of cross-roads only at a later period. To the former group belongs the goddess Trivia, who, from the time of Ennius (*Scen.* 121 [Vahlen]), is often mentioned in Latin poetry, and sometimes, though more rarely, in inscriptions (*CIL* x. 3795 [Capua]: 'Dianae Tifatinae Triviae sacrum'). She was in reality the Hecate Trioditis of Greek mythology, and, like the *trivium*, was of triple form (Usener, *loc. cit.* pp. 167 f., 338 f.). Hecate was a gloomy and malicious goddess, and, in order to propitiate her, recourse was had *Græco ritu* to every possible expedient, such as loud nocturnal invocations (Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 609: 'nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata') and offerings of food at the cross-roads. The latter fact explains why the *trivium* was a resort of dogs (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 140) and famished people (Tibullus, i. v. 56, with the comments of Dissen). In the Imperial period we find quite a system of goddesses of the cross-way, all of non-Roman origin, and for the most part linked together in groups as Biviæ, Triviæ, or Quadriiviæ, especially in Upper Germany. They were apparently indigenous to that region, and their cult forced its way thence into Lower Germany and the countries about the Danube (M. Ihm, in Roscher, iv. 1 ff.). In some districts we find also male deities of the cross-way (*CIL* xii. 5621 [Gaul]: '(de)is dea(bus) Bivis Trivis Quadrivis'; vii. 163 [Britain]: 'Deo Trivii Bellieus donavit aram').

Our knowledge of these deities is derived from votive offerings, principally small altars with inscriptions, which throw no light, however, upon the character of the associated cult. In many cases the dedication was made in fulfilment of a vow, and the donors were mostly soldiers. The vow would, no doubt, be made for the purpose of winning the protection of the deity during a journey or throughout a campaign, and so ensuring a safe return therefrom; for by this time such deities were regarded, not merely as local guardians of particular cross-ways, but as divine patrons of all roads.

Similar ideas were current regarding the genuinely Roman deities to whom was latterly assigned the tutelage of the cross-roads. These were known as the 'Lares compitales,' and were worshipped mainly at the place 'ubi viæ competunt' (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 25; G. Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 792 ff.), i.e. the cross-way. But the word *compitum* must have had a further meaning, for Cicero (*de Lege Agr.* i. 7) explicitly distinguishes between it and *trivium*; as is rightly observed by Wissowa (*Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer*, p. 148 f.), it also signified the point at which the boundaries of the fields converged. The worship offered to the Lares at the *compita* was an expression of the belief that they were the guardians of the soil (Tibullus, i. i. 19 f.: 'agri custodes'). Originally, therefore, the Lares were invoked as patrons of field-boundaries, while their association with cross-roads was a later development, due to the circumstance that boundary and path frequently coincided. In this acquired character they are known to us from such dedications as are found in *CIL* xi. 3079 (Falerii): 'Laribus compitalibus vialibus semitalibus,' and xiii. 6731 (Mainz): 'Laribus compitalibus sive quadri-vialibus sacrum.' The next stage was that the Lares became the gods of roads in general, as likewise of travellers, who therefore made to them the same kind of dedications as were offered *Deabus Quadriivis*. The dedicated objects were placed in shrines, and, as these shrines of the Lares were set up at the cross-roads, they too bore the name *Compita* (Persius, iv. 28).

We must not confound such erections at the cross-way with fabrics reared over the cross-way. The rectangular towers which we find surmounting two passages intersecting at right angles suggest the thought that they were originally built over cross-ways. Of such towers, nine in all are known (Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. klass. Altertums*, iii. [Munich, 1899] 1867). The most famous of them is the Janus Quadrifrons in the Forum Boarium, dating from the 4th cent. A.D. (H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, i. ii. [Berlin, 1885] 471); but its original purpose was that of a monument of honour, and it is impossible to say whether the ancient Roman ideas regarding cross-roads were present to the minds of its builders. In any case, these ideas were by no means extinct at that time, for, even as late as the Middle Ages, it was still frequently necessary for the preacher to castigate the practice of lighting candles and offering sacrifices at the cross-roads (see, e.g., C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhist. Anecdota*, Christiania, 1883, i. 172, 175, 199)—a practice which is undoubtedly a vestige of heathen, in some cases perhaps of Roman, ritual. Even at the present day, in Italy, the cross-way is the favourite site for the chapels of patron saints (Th. Trede, *Das Heidenthum in der römischen Kirche*, Gotha, 1891, iv. 205).

LITERATURE.—This has been given throughout the article.

R. WÜNSCH.

CROWN.—As a preliminary to this article it may be advisable to cite Selden's words distinguishing between 'diadem' and 'crown':

'However those names have been from ancient times confounded, yet the diadem strictly was a very different thing from

what a crown now is or was; and it was no other than only a fillet of silk, linen, or some such thing. Nor appears it that any other kind of crown was used as a royal ensign, except only in some kingdoms of Asia, but this kind of fillet, until the beginning of Christianity in the Roman Empire' (*Tiles of Honor*, 1672, c. 8, § 2).

The Gr. *διδύμια*, Lat. *diadema*, was a fillet of linen or silk, sometimes adorned with precious stones, or occasionally a flexible band of gold. This was the true emblem of royalty, the *βασιλικά γράμματα* (Lucian, *Pisc.* 35), or *insigne regium* (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 29). On the other hand, the Gr. *στέφανος*, Lat. *corona*, a wreath or garland of real or artificial (usually gold) leaves, was not a distinctive royal emblem, and was applied to the victor's, the bridal, the festal 'crown' (see also Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*, s.v. *στέφανος*, *διδύμια*). The same distinction occurs in other languages, e.g. German *Krone*, the royal crown, *Kranz*, a garland. The English word 'crown' comprehends all kinds of coronal head-dresses, royal and other.

1. Coronal head-dresses.—A distinctive head-dress of persons of high degree, but especially of kings and princes, originated from the custom of wearing various kinds of head-dresses, coronal, etc., on festal or other occasions, or by particular classes of people—men as contrasted with women, or, *vice versa*, rich as contrasted with poor, chiefs, medicine-men, members of a mystery society, and the like—or at festival dances such as are found among savages and European peasants (cf. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Camb. 1903, p. 31), or, again, from royal personages wearing a more ornate and valuable form of the customary head-dress. The crown, as a distinctive head-dress, may thus be traced back to very early times. Following upon elaborate methods of dressing the hair, such as are found among Polynesian and African tribes, the next step is to decorate the hair with bones, teeth, shells, feathers, leaves, flowers (see § 2), or other ornaments. Or a band or fillet of fibre, skin, leather, ivory, or metal serves to prevent the hair from falling over the face. This is found among the lowest tribes (Andamanese, Australians, Bushmen, Fuegians, etc.), but, from being merely useful, it soon becomes also ornamental or has ornaments of various kinds affixed to it—tufts of feathers, fur, or wood shavings, teeth, shells, etc.; or it may be worn only on special occasions, like the coils of wire bound round the forehead and nape of the neck by Mukamba youths at dances (*JAI* xxxiv. [1904] 139). The fillet, thus widely worn, would have a distinctive character, or would be more decorative or formed of more precious material, when worn by persons of higher rank; and it is a direct forerunner of the royal fillet or diadem worn by kings as an emblem of sovereignty, either with or without some other distinctive head-dress. The gold *lunula* with the characteristic chevron decoration of the Bronze Age, found in the Celtic area, may be classed with ornaments of this kind, and was perhaps worn by chiefs (Déchelette, *Man. d'arch. pré-hist. celt.*, Paris, 1910, p. 353; Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art*, Lond. 1904, p. 39 f.). More elaborate crowns are derived from the simple fillet or diadem by the addition of decorations around its circumference, as, e.g., by fixing upright feathers in it (Fuegians, American Indians). Other elaborate head-dresses, combining the fillet and crown, or evolved from the former, are often worn by special classes or at special times.

Thus a Tibetan female head-dress (chief's wife) consists of a crown of large amber disks, in each of which is a coral bead, with similar ornaments on satin bands, holding the hair plaits together (Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 1891, p. 184). Among the Kabyles rich women wear a coronal head-dress of highly ornamental open metal work, with numerous pendent ornaments and chains; and a female head-dress in Java consists of a richly adorned head-band with star-like ornaments stuck round the upper edge (Hutchinson, *Living Races of Mankind*,

n.d. I. 73, II. 393-4, 399). A circle of jewelled gold, the upper edge heightened to four or more points, surrounding a jewelled cap, was formerly worn by Arab ladies of high rank (Lane, *Arab. Socy.*, 1833, p. 218). A Samoan head-dress worn by chiefs, and by girls at certain dances, consists of a triple band of teeth or shells on the forehead surmounted by an imposing head-dress (*ib.* I. 12; Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, 1910, p. 68). Among the natives of Torres Straits are found head-dresses of feathers, of fish teeth, or dog's teeth coronets, or the *dr*, a fan-shaped arrangement of white feathers of the egret (*JAI* xix. [1890] 369). Among the tribes of Brazil the men at feasts wear a coronet of bright red and yellow toucan's feathers, disposed in regular rows and attached to a circlet of plaited straw. These feathers, being specially prepared, are very rare, and the coronets are never parted with (Wallace, *Amazon*, 1896, pp. 194, 202). Chiefs in Haiti wear a gold circlet similarly decorated (Stoll, *Geschichteleben in der Völkergesch.*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 457, and, for a similar head-dress worn by chiefs among the Lacandones, *NRL* 702).

As an emblem of royalty such a crown was worn by the Incas of Peru. It consisted of a turban with a tasselled fringe, in which were set upright two feathers of a very rare bird, the peculiar emblems of the Inca, which no one else might wear. This head-dress was buried with him, and two new feathers had to be procured for each coronation. The hair-apparent wore a similar fillet or fringe of a yellow colour as his insignia (Prescott, *Peru*, 1890, p. 111; Stoll, 457). Among the Mayas the king's crown was a golden diadem wider in front, surmounted by a plume of feathers which no one else might wear under pain of death (*NRL* ii. 636). Mexican kings were crowned by the kings of Tezcuco with a diadem higher in front and running up there to a point, and adorned with beautiful feathers. The diadem was made of thin gold plates or woven of gold thread, and it hung down behind over the neck. Noble Aztec warriors wore head-dresses of feathers set in gold fillets (*ib.* II. 143, 376-6, 405, 441). All such crowns have followed the line of development which has produced the European crown from the diadem (§ 8). For savage head-dresses, see Spencer-Gillen, 637; E. Grosse, *Anfänge der Kunst*, Freiburg, 1894, ch. 5; Stoll, 119; Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, pp. 729, 787, 843, 863, 880; Deniker, *Races of Man*, 1900, pp. 173, 371, 502, 522; Mary Kingsley, *Travels in W. Africa*, 1897, p. 224; and for the head-dresses peculiar to the higher classes in Bab., Assyria, and Persia, see Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarchies*, 1862, I. 133, II. 199, IV. 191, 333.

The huge or elaborate masks and head-dresses worn at the performance of totemic or tribal ceremonies or in mystery-dances by Australians, Melanesians, Africans, etc., sometimes assuming a form more or less coronal, need only be referred to here as decorations reserved for certain persons, and worn only on specific occasions and at no other time. They are insignia of office, or form part of the necessary costume, sometimes symbolic or representative (see Spencer-Gillen, *ib.* *passim*; Kingsley, 433; Deniker, 179; Brown, 60 ff.; *JAI* xix. [1890-90] 364).

2. Chaplets.—From the custom of decorating the hair with flowers on festal occasions as a method of betokening joy, arose the use of chaplets or wreaths (*στέφανος*, *coronae*), though these may be also connected with the simple fillet or hair-band into which flowers are sometimes stuck. Among savages, it is with the Polynesians and occasionally the Melanesians that the general wearing of flowers or regular chaplets is found most extensively. Among the former, women at dances wore wreaths interwoven with their hair, and garlands and wreaths on forehead and breast. This custom has been largely given up since the introduction of Christianity (Ellis, *Polynes. Researches*, 1831, I. 134, 216; cf. also Brown, 317; Hutchinson, I. 6, 9, 11, 17, 18; and, for a similar practice of wearing wreaths of grass and leaves among the Sakais, *ib.* I. 90). The custom was sporadic in America; thus the Nahuas wore garlands at banquets and dances (*NRL* ii. 284, 290). Among peoples of antiquity the wearing of wreaths on festive occasions was wide-spread. From an early time in Egypt chaplets (*meh*) of lotus, myrtle, etc., were worn by the guests at banquets (Wilkinson, II. 38, 330), and the custom was also in use among the Greeks and Romans. Perhaps under the influence of Greek usage it spread to the Hebrews, and is often referred to as a common practice at times of rejoicing, especially in the Apocryphal books (Wis 2^d 'Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds'; Ezk 23rd, Ca 3rd, Jth 15th; Sir 32^d, 2 Mac 6th, 3 Mac 4th 7th; cf. Acts of Thomas, crowns of myrtle and other flowers at a banquet, in W. Wright, *Apoc. Acts*, Lond. 1871, II. 149).

Wreaths and crowns were also worn ritually at festivals of the gods and at sacrifices (see next art.; cf. Ac 14th, 2 Mac 6th). Tertullian writes that, besides the wreaths offered to the gods or their

images, 'the very doors, victims, altars, servants, and priests are crowned' (*de Cor.* 10). The sacrificer wore them (cf. the wreaths worn by Persians over their tiaras at sacrifices [Herod. i. 132]), and they were placed on the heads of the victims (Teutons [de la Saussaye, *Rel. of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, pp. 368, 377], Hindus [Monier-Williams, *Rel. Thought and Life*, 1883, p. 247], Mexicans [NR iii. 359]; for other instances, see *Tert. de Cor.*, Pausan. ed. Frazer, v. 7, vii. 20, l. viii. 48, 2, x. 7, 8, and notes; Granger, *Worship of the Romans*, 1895, pp. 287, 306). Animals were adorned with them on festival occasions (Celts [Arrian, *Cyneg.* 34. 1], Persians [the crown royal on the horse's head, Est 6³]). Garlands and crowns are also worn at sacred dances (Mexico [NR iii. 392], Melanesia [Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, 1901, pp. 113, 187]; see also above). They were placed on city gates (Jos. *BJ* IV. iv. 4), on temples (crowns of gold on the Jewish temple, 1 Mac 4²⁷), or were worn by conquering armies (Jth 3⁷ 15¹⁵), or given as much coveted prizes at the games. In the last instance, from the myths associated with the origin of the custom and from the ritual used in the making of the wreaths, their religious aspect is evident. Crowns were also worn by the pilgrims to the temple of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis (Lucian, *de Dea Syria*). In the Taurobolium the candidate was crowned with gold and wreathed with fillets before undergoing the baptism of blood (Frazer, *Adonis*², 1907, p. 229); and in the Mithraic initiations one of the rites was the presenting of a crown on the point of a sword to the candidate, who put it on his head and then transferred it to his shoulder with the words, 'Mithras is my crown' (*Tert. de Cor.* 15, *de Præsc. Hæc.* 40). Wreaths were also worn by those initiated into the mysteries of Isis (Apul. *Metam.* xi. 24). In the baptismal ceremonies of the Mandæans a crown was used (W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 108, 113).

Wreaths are also worn at the end of harvest in European folk-custom. They are made of the last ears of corn, sometimes with the addition of flowers and tinsel, and are worn often by the person who has cut them. He or she represents the corn-divinity, and is drenched with water as a fertility charm. In this case the wreath is the direct link between the corn and the human representative of the divinity of the corn (Frazer, *Adonis*², 195 f.; Ralston, *Songs of the Russ. People*, 1872, p. 250). At the Jewish feast of Tabernacles—a festival of ingathering of fruits—it was customary for the Jews to sit in booths with wreaths on their heads (Jub. 14²⁰). Booths and wreaths suggest a former cult of vegetation. Hence also divinities associated with fertility or with the crops wore wreaths of corn: e.g. Isis, who was said to have discovered corn (*Tert. de Cor.* 7; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, viii. 27; cf. also the wreaths of corn worn by the children sacrificed to Artemis [Pausan. vii. 20. 1]). In European May-day customs, besides the hoops covered with garlands and carried in procession, girls wear chaplets, as do also the May or Whitsuntide queen, and the May king or Jack-in-the-Green, besides being dressed in or adorned with leaves. These chaplets are an important part of the symbolic dress of a former anthropomorphic representative of the vegetation spirit (*FL* xi. [1900] 210; Wilde, *Anc. Cures, Charms, etc.*, 1890, p. 101 f.; Frazer, *GB*³ i. 196 ff., 213 ff., *Early Hist. of the Kingship*, 1905, p. 166 f.).

3. Bridal chaplets and crowns.—These are already found in antiquity worn by the bride or bridegroom, or by both (*Tert. de Cor.* 13). They marked an occasion of joy, but may in some cases have had a magical purpose, in warding off evils from the head. Being used by pagans, they were

at first rejected by the Church, as it rejected generally all wearing of flowers on the head. But the custom was already found among the Jews, the bridegroom wearing a garland or crown (Is 61¹⁰, Ca 3²¹), the bride a 'beautiful crown' (Ezk 16¹²). The custom was in abeyance from the time of Vespasian, but was resumed later. Among Christians also it became usual, the bridegroom wearing a garland of myrtle, the bride of verberna (Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 2, 'ad Anthem.'); and it was regarded as improper for the unchaste to wear them (Chrysos. *Hom. 9 in 1 Tim.*). The wearing of bridal garlands and crowns is still customary over a great part of Europe—Switzerland, Germany, Rumania, and in the north.

In the Greek Church ritual of marriage the bridegroom crowns the bride in *Nomine*, and the bride the bridegroom, while the priest blesses them and says, 'O Lord, crown them with glory and honour.' The service is hence called *ἀκοσμία τοῦ σφραγισματος*. In Macedonia the bridal wreaths are made of real or artificial flowers, or are silver garlands belonging to the church (*ἡ στέφανη*). They are exchanged in church at the crowning ceremony *στέφανωσις*—applied to the whole wedding rite (Abbott, *op. cit.* p. 168, 175). Ralston (*op. cit.* p. 279) describes a local ceremony in Russia. In church, over the heads of the bridal pair the groomsmen hold crowns, and must press them on the heads, but not hurriedly, else ill-luck and misfortune would follow. The rite is called *vyenchante*, 'crowning.' In Servia, when a youth dies, a girl representing a bride comes to the grave carrying two crowns. One is thrown to the corpse, the other she keeps for some time. This is part of the old ritual of the 'death-wedding' (Ralston, 310; see O. Schrader, *Totenhochzeit*, Jena, 1904, and ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 22 f.). In Germany and Switzerland the bridal wreath of myrtle is made by the bridesmaids, but occasionally elsewhere more elaborate crowns are worn, formed, e.g., of a series of diminishing circlets, one above the other, to which are fixed flowers, beads, figures in metal, some of which are probably intended as amulets. They are not worn by girls known to be already *engaged* (see Stoll, 455 f., 459; Kossmann-Weiss, *Mann und Weib*, Stuttgart, 1890, ii. 184, 185). Among the Letts the bride wears a crown of gold paper and silk, on a framework of wire and pasteboard. She receives it from an honourable matron, who keeps it for the use of the brides of the district (*ib.* i. 190). The elaborate Norwegian bridal crown is handed down as an heirloom in well-to-do families, but in each village it, as well as a set of bridal ornaments, is kept for the poor bride's temporary use (Chambers, *Book of Days*, 1863, i. 720-721; Hutchinson, ii. 427).

Among the Hindus, from Vedic times, the custom of wearing garlands or crowns of precious metal or tinsel at marriage has been common, and they are believed to have a protective efficacy against evil spirits which might enter by the head. They are worn both by Hindus and Muhammadans (Crooke, *PR* i. 238; Kossmann-Weiss, ii. 184, 167; *ERE* iii. 443⁹). Among the Muhammadans of Egypt the bride wears a pasteboard cap or crown under the veil which covers the head and face, and to which ornaments of value are attached externally (Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, 1846, i. 220, *Arab. Soc.* 234). Among the Nahus, bride and bridegroom were crowned with garlands (NR ii. 257). For Chinese bridal crowns, see Hutchinson, i. 140; and for Polynesian and Fijian bridal wreaths, *ib.* i. 19, and Letourneau, *Book of Marr.*, 1907, p. 124.

4. Funeral chaplets and crowns.—Among the Greeks and Romans the dead were crowned with chaplets, or these were placed as offerings on tombs (Lucian, *de Luctu*, 11; *Tert. de Cor.* 10; see next art. § 2). In Egypt it was customary to place chaplets of flowers or leaves on the head of the mummy at the funeral ceremony, and these sometimes remained on the head in the coffin. They were called 'the crown of the true voice,' and assured to the deceased, through the power of Thoth, the right intonation, without which the magic formulæ were useless, or perhaps signified that he would be crowned triumphant and justified in the other world. Special gardens were set apart for the flowers used in making these wreaths. The statue which represented the mummy was also crowned with flowers, and the funeral ritual concluded with a prayer in which it was said of the deceased, 'Thou wearest the crown among the gods.' Part of the ritual also consisted of brandishing the *oirhikau* over the statue, and repeating a formula, part of which ran; 'Nut has raised thy head, Horus has taken his diadem and his powers, Set has taken his diadem and his powers, then the diadem has come out of thy head and has brought

the gods to thee.' This referred to the myth of Nut raising the head of Osiris, and the gods Horus and Set placing the crowns of the north and the south upon it. This would be done to the dead, and the magic virtue in these crowns, or in the *uræus* which adorned them, would bring the gods into his power. Garlands and wreaths decked the tombs, just as the tomb of Osiris was said to have been crowned with flowers; and wreaths were also worn by guests at feasts in honour of the dead before the final burial (Maspero, *Études de myth. et d'arch. ég.*, Paris, 1893, i. 218, 306; 316, 318, 358 f.; Pleyte, 'La Couronne de Justification,' *Actes du 6^{me} Cong. intern. des égyptologues*, Leyden, 1884, pt. vi. 1-30; Wilkinson, i. 403, iii. 396, 430, 432; Plut. *de Isid.* 21; see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Egypt.], vol. iii. p. 431), on models of diadems of Osiris buried with the dead, who, assimilated to the god, would wear those crowns in the other world). Flowers and garlands are also carried to the graves in modern Egypt.

In the Brāhmanic funeral ritual the bodies of the dead are decked with wreaths and flowers. Wreaths are also offered in the funeral rites and given to Brāhmans (Colebrooke, *Life and Essays*, 1873, ii. 173, 175, 178, 193; cf. *SBE* i. [1900] 137, xi. [1900] 93, 122-3). Among the Nahuas, a statue was placed beside the body of a dead king, with a garland of heron's feathers on its head (*NR* ii. 606). Wreaths and garlands were also used in Polynesia and Melanesia to decorate the dead, or the altars in the houses used as depositories of their bodies (Brown, 387; Ellis, i. 404). The early Christians refused to make any use of funeral chaplets (Tert. *de Cor.* 10; Min. Felix, 12, 37; Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 8), but it was not long before the prejudice against them was overcome. As a symbol of the martyr's death a crown is found among the emblems on tombs, and chaplets or wreaths became a common adjunct of Christian funerals. In modern Greece dead maidens and children even are crowned with flowers (Abbott, 193).

5. Crowns and chaplets as offerings.—Crowns and garlands being so intimately associated with cult, they are a common species of sacrificial offering, besides being placed on the heads of victims (see next art.; Pausan. ii. 17. 6, v. 12. 8; Lucian, *de Dea Syria*). At the feast of Ceres women presented corn-wreaths as an offering of firstfruits to her (Ovid, *Met.* x. 431 ff.). In India, wreaths, garlands, and flowers are frequent objects in most sacrifices. The Egyptians offered chaplets and wreaths to the gods and laid them on the altars, and presented golden diadems with the *uræus* at the shrine of the statue of a king (Wilkinson, iii. 356, 417). Of great interest are the votive crowns of early mediæval times. These were offered by monarchs to shrines or churches, and dedicated by them to God on some particular occasion. There is no doubt that, besides imitation crowns, the actual crowns were often dedicated in this way and occasionally used for coronations. They were suspended by chains over the altar, and from the inner side usually hung a richly-jewelled cross. Other ornaments were suspended from the lower edge, or the dedicatory inscription was sometimes formed of separate letters depending from it, e.g. in the crowns of Svinthilla and Reccevinthus the pensive letters form the inscriptions, 'Svinthilla Rex offert' and 'Reccevinthus Rex offert.' Besides the cross a lamp often depended from these crowns, and from them the pensive *coronæ lucis* of churches have originated.

Examples of such votive crowns are numerous. The iron crown of Lombardy is a band of iron (said to have been hammered out of a nail of the cross) enshrined in a circlet made of six gold plates, richly enamelled and jewelled, and hinged together. This crown is known to have been used at the coronation of Agilulfus in 591, and it was in all probability a votive crown (Fontanini, *de Cor. ferrea*, 1717; Labarte, *Arts*

indust. au moyen âge, Paris, 1872-5, ii. 561; Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 678). Eight magnificent votive crowns of Reccevinthus, king of the Spanish Visigoths, his queen, and family, dating from the 7th cent., were found in 1858 at La Fuente de Guarraz near Toledo (Labarte, i. 499; F. Lasteyrie, *Descr. du trésor de Guarrazar*, Paris, 1860; Chambers, ii. 559). Another beautiful specimen is that of Svinthilla, king of the Visigoths (621-631), now at Madrid. On the whole subject, see the works cited, and Way, *Arch. Journ.* xvi. 258 ff.; *DCA* i. 460, 506.

Crowns or wreaths of gold formed a species of tribute presented by subject peoples to kings, an example being found in the tribute of crowns commuted to a money payment, the crown-tax paid by the Jews to Demetrius and Antiochus (1 Mac 10²⁹ 11⁸⁵ 13³⁷⁻³⁹, 2 Mac 14⁴; Josephus, *Ant.* xii. iii. 3).

6. Priestly crowns.—The practice of special head-dresses being used to mark off certain classes led to the use of these by medicine-men or priests, and not infrequently they took a coronal form, or, as in Greek and Roman ritual, chaplets were worn by priests.

Among the Buriats the shaman formerly wore a crown consisting of an iron ring with two iron convex arches crossing it at right angles—an elaboration of the simple fillet or band (*ER* lii. 16b). In Mexico the chief priest of the great temple wore a crown of green and yellow feathers, his assistants merely having their hair plaited and bound with leathern thongs. The priest of Tlaloc at the festival of the god wore a crown of basket-work closely fitting below and spreading out above, with many plumes rising from the middle of it. The Toci priest, in offering sacrifice to the Mother-goddess, had a square crown, wide above, with banners at the corners and in the middle (*NR* ii. 307, iii. 841, 856). In Japan part of the distinctive dress of the Shinto priest is a black cap (*eboshi*) bound round the head with a broad white fillet (Aston, *Shinto*, 1905, p. 204). Among the Teutons the Gothic priests belonged to the nobility, the *priests*, those wearing a cap, as compared with the common people, the *capillati*, with flowing hair; garlands were also worn (de la Saussaye, 866; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, 1880-81, pp. 91, 909). Tibetan priests at their ceremonies wear a species of helmet mitre, fitting over the back and crown of the head, and of a red or yellow colour, according as the wearer belongs to the one or the other great Buddhist sect (Rockhill, *op. cit.* p. 851). Sculptures in Cappadocia show the ancient priest or priest-king of that region wearing a high round head-dress encircled with fillets and ornamented in front with a rosette or bunch of jewels; the god beside him wears a high pointed head-dress (Frazier, *Adonis*, 101 ff.). The priests of Sandan (Heracles) at Tarsus were called 'crown-wearers,' and elected to that office. One of them, Lysias, wore a golden laurel wreath (Athen. v. 64; Frazier, 111). The high-priest of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis wore a golden tiara, the lesser priests a hat (ῥῖαοι, Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 42). The ancient Parsi priests wore high conical head-dresses (Stoll, 463), and Assyrian priests a kind of high truncated cone or mitre of imposing appearance, or sometimes a richly ornamented fillet (Rawlinson, ii. 199, 276, 278). Babylonian priests wore an elaborate mitre, assigned also to the gods, or a second kind of mitre, or occasionally a horned cap. The head is usually represented covered in sacrifices and other rites (*ib.* iii. 484). Among the Hebrews the priests' mitre or head-dress, *קִטְנִיּוֹת* plur. (*kidapies*, AV 'bonnet', RV 'head-tire', Ex 28⁴⁰ 29⁹ 39²⁸, Lv 8¹³), was made of swathes of linen covered with a piece of fine linen hiding the seams of the swathes and reaching to the forehead. Possibly it resembled the Assyrian and Babylonian conical cap, truncated (cf. Jos. *Ant.* iii. vii. 8, 'not brought to a conical form'). Josephus says it resembled a crown. The high-priest's mitre or turban (Ex 28⁴⁰ 39⁹), *קִטְנִיּוֹת* (a word applied by Jos. *Ant.* iii. vii. 3 to the priests' mitre also), probably differed in shape from the former. In addition a plate of gold, *פָּז* (*néraor*), was fastened on blue lace and affixed to the front of the mitre or on the forehead. It bore the words 'Holy to Jahweh.' The plate is also called *קִיָּא*, 'diadem' or 'mark of separation' (Ex 29⁶, cf. 39³⁰⁻³¹ 'the plate of the holy crown of pure gold'), and is on the mitre. This suggests a fillet rather than a plate, worn round the mitre (cf. Sir 45¹² 'gold crowns', and 1 Mac 10²⁹, where Alexander sends to Jonathan 'a crown [*στέφανος*] of gold'). In Is 28¹ the *פָּז* is parallel to *קִטְנִיּוֹת*, 'diadem'. If the *פָּז* was a fillet of gold, there would then be a close correspondence to what Josephus (*BJ* v. 7) says of the golden crown or fillet (*στέφανος*) with the sacred characters, which surrounded the mitre of fine linen, encompassed by a blue ribbon. The descriptions suggest a head-dress like the royal Persian *kshatram*, a cap swelling out to the top, and surrounded by a fillet or diadem (see § 2). Josephus gives a different description of the high-priest's mitre in *Ant.* v. vii. 6, which is not reconcilable with the description in the other passage, and which is far from clear (see *HDB* and *EB*, s.v. 'Mitre').

Occasional references are made in early ecclesiastical writings to a head-dress worn by the clergy during service. The mitre of a bishop, a head-dress cloven above into two erect tongue-shaped parts,

was at first an Eastern head-dress, especially characteristic of Phrygia, and hence formerly called 'Phrygium.' It is rarely alluded to before A.D. 1000, but in 1049 Leo IX. placed a mitre on the head of Eberhard, Abp. of Trèves (*PL* cxliii. 595). From this time the references become much more common, showing that the use was spreading. The mitre is usually made of fine or rich material, embroidered, and often studded with gems. From the back depend two fringed bands hanging over the nape of the neck. It is unknown in the Eastern Church, but is worn by all Roman Catholic bishops and by abbots exempt from Episcopal jurisdiction and others privileged to wear it. Its use was discontinued after the Reformation in the Anglican Church, but it is now commonly worn by bishops, and has always been a symbol of their office (see W. H. Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, Lond. 1868, p. 220 ff.; Hefele, 'Inful, Mitra, und Tiara,' *Beitr. z. Kirchengesch.*, Tüb. 1864, ii. 223 f.; *DCA*, s.v. 'Mitre'). In the earlier centuries, virgins assuming the veil wore a head-dress called a mitre (Bingham, *Ant.* vii. iv. 6; Isidore, *de Eccl. offic.* ii. xviii. 11). The Papal tiara (a word of Persian origin, signifying a high head-dress) is a swelling pointed and closed head-dress, which has varied much in shape (in the 14th cent. it was dome-shaped and oval). To this was added, at some date unknown, a single crown (symbolizing the temporal sovereignty of the Popes) encircling the lower part, and, probably in the 12th cent., a second crown was set above this. The third crown was added by Urban V. (1362-70). At the top is fixed a small ball and cross of gold, and, as in the case of a mitre, two bands hang down behind (Hefele, *op. cit.*).

7. Divine crowns and chaplets.—As various plants were sacred to the gods, chaplets of such plants were often associated with them. Tertullian (*de Cor.* 7) cites a work on crowns by Claudius Saturninus, which described how every flower, branch, or shoot was dedicated to the head of some divinity. Hence the custom of offering chaplets to the gods, of crowning their images with them, or of representing them wearing chaplets. They also wear crowns (Pausan. ii. 17. 4, 6, v. 11. 1; Granger, 251, 305; see next art.). In many cases the crowns with which images are represented are replicas of the kingly crown, or, where a king was held to be divine, he often wore the head-dress peculiar to the god with whom he was identified. The god was naturally regarded as a heavenly king who wore the royal insignia; and, contrariwise, the divine king wore the insignia of the god.

In Mexico, at the festival of Huitzilopochtli his image was crowned with a paper crown, wide at the top and set with plumes. Many other Mexican images wore crowns, or were adorned with them at festivals, and crowns were also worn by their human representatives (*NR* ii. 322, 337, iii. 344, 352, 369, 385, etc.). The images of the snake-goddess found in the Aegæan area wear a high tiara, over which a snake rears its head (see fig. in vol. I. p. 149). On the head of the god sculptured on the rocks at Thebes is a high pointed cap adorned with a fillet and several pairs of horns, and the goddess of the Hittite sculptures at Boghaz-Keui wears a flat-topped head-dress with ribbed sides; this is also worn by her female worshippers (Frazer, *Adonis*, 100, 105). The goddess Cybele wore a turreted crown, and so also did the Syrian goddess, Atargatis (Lucr. ii. 606; Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* 31). Persian divinities wear a tiara like that of the kings or that worn by court officials (Rawlinson, iv. 335), and on the monuments of the Mithraic cult the god is frequently represented wearing an Oriental tiara (Toutain, 'La Légende de M.', *Études de la myth.*, 1909, p. 231 ff.). The crown of gold and precious stones which David captured and placed on his head belonged to an image of the Ammonites (2 S. 1230). Bab. and Assy. divinities are usually represented wearing the characteristic head-dress of the monarchs—a rounded cap with parallel horns encircling it from behind, and curving upward towards the front without meeting. This head-dress sometimes symbolizes the divinity on the astrological tablets (Rawlinson, ii. 244, iv. 534; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, 1894, p. 655). Bab. divinities are also said to have been crowned with golden crowns (*Ep. Jer.* 9). In the *Descent of Istar*, at the first gate of Hades the keeper

deprives Istar of 'the mighty crown of her head.' In Egypt the statues of the gods were often crowned with chaplets and wreaths, but, besides this, they are usually represented with some symbolic head-dress—the sun, and horns, or plumes, or the uræus and disk, etc. But they frequently wear the crowns characteristic of the kings—the high white crown of the south, or the red crown of the north, or both together, enclosed or side by side, just as the kings wore their emblems; e.g. the king as Ammon wore the tall hat, with long plumes, of the god. Osiris is frequently represented, e.g. in the small golden images of the god as a mummy used in the festival of the month Choiak, or in the judgment scenes, wearing the white crown flanked by two plumes, or with the uræus, worn also on the crown of the sun-god. The atef-crown is also worn by some gods (Wilkinson, iii. ch. 13; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, 1905, *passim*; *Book of the Dead*, cvii.-cxvii.). Images and pictures of Hindu divinities usually show them wearing simple or elaborate crowns or tiaras, sometimes with a nimbus. Or separate crowns form part of the decoration and dress of an image. These are often of great value, and are encrusted with precious gems—diamonds, pearls, rubies, etc. The myths and sacred books occasionally refer to the crowns of the gods (Wilkins, *Hindu Myth.*, Calcutta, 1882; Monier-Williams, 219, 449). In Buddhism the figures of Buddha, of Bodhisattvas, and (in Tibet) of the divinities of the Buddhist pantheon are frequently represented with crowns or coronal head-dresses or tiara-like structures (Wilkins, 225; Rockhill, 103, 131, 293; Grünwedel, *Buddh. Kunst*, Berlin, 1900, Stoll, 692).

In later Christian art, God the Father is represented with the current regal or imperial crowns, or with the Papal tiara encircled, according to the period, with one, two, or three crowns, but also sometimes, as if to show His superiority to the Pope, with five crowns. In earlier art, Christ is sometimes represented with the brow encircled by a diadem, and later with the regal or imperial crown or the Papal tiara; to this is sometimes added the crown of thorns, which, by itself, is figured in many other representations, especially of the Crucifixion. Where the Trinity is represented as one Person with three faces, the head is often adorned with a single crown or tiara (A. N. Didron, *Chr. Iconography*, Lond. 1886, *passim*). The Virgin is also represented with a crown, or is depicted in the act of being crowned by the Father or the Son or the Trinity with the crown of a queen or empress, reference being made to the texts Ps 21st 8th, as in the case of the crowning of the Son by the Father after the Ascension. This was in accordance with the legend of the Virgin's coronation in heaven after her Assumption. Angels and Christian virtues, and even the figure of Death, are often represented with a crown (Didron, *passim*). Some of the Gnostics crowned their sacred images (the Carpocratians [ren. *adv. Hær.* i. 25. 6]), and from this or from the similar pagan practice the custom passed into the Christian Church, and images or pictures were crowned with special ceremonies when they were dedicated (Trede, *Das Heidenthum in der röm. Kirche*, Gotha, 1891, i. 104, 283, ii. 343 ff., iv. 245-48, etc.; for the modern Roman usage, see *Cath. Encyc.* vii. 670). Images of the Madonna on waysides are also crowned with chaplets (Trede, iv. 208).

8. Royal crowns.—We have seen (§ 1) that the royal crown originated from the wearing of a special head-dress by special classes, or it is a specialized form of the ordinary head-dress. Among the higher savages, some such head-dress is worn by chiefs, like the band of cloth worn round the temples as a kind of crown by some chiefs in E. Africa, or the frontlet or crown with a wig of woman's hair worn by chiefs in Samoa (Macdonald, *Africana*, i. 16; Brown, 316; cf. also the other instances in § 1). We turn now to the higher nations of antiquity.

In Assyria the royal crown consisted of a head-dress of felt or cloth, shaped as a cone rising in a gracefully curved line, and truncated at the apex. The upper part receded into the lower, so that the top alone was visible and projected above the former. It was ornamented with red and white bands with embroidery or plates of gold. Round the lower edge was a band or diadem rising in front with a large rosette, with the ends hanging down behind the ears to the shoulders. Sometimes such

a fillet, higher in front or uniform in width, is worn alone, and in the earlier sculptures the tiara is lower than in the later. The queen wore a diadem with turrets like the crown of Cybele (Rawlinson, ii, 100, 108; Stoll, 210, 459, 463). In Babylon the kings wore the horned cap, the symbol of divinity—a kind of rounded cone with a double pair of horns surrounding the sides and front, or a tower-shaped head-dress with or without these horns, terminating in a coronet of feathers. The lower space was decorated with rosettes, etc. It was made of richly coloured felt or cloth. The higher classes, both in Assyria and in Babylonia, wore a distinctive head-dress (Rawlinson, i, 133, iii, 433; Maspero, 719; Stoll, 459). The royal crown of Persia, the *khshatram*, was a high cap of bright coloured felt or cloth, swelling out slightly towards the flat top, and terminating in a projecting ring. Round the bottom ran a fillet or 'band of blue' spotted with white—the diadem strictly so called. It was adopted by Alexander and his successors. In some cases the kings are represented wearing more or less ornamental diadems or radiated crowns, or a head-dress resembling that of the Medes—a high-crowned hat, with ribbed sides, called *tiara* or *kidaris* (= *khshatram*), the latter word being applied to the royal tiara (Rawlinson, iii, 86, iv, 155). In Egypt, diadems were worn by princely personages, but that peculiarly symbolic of royal authority was the *uraeus*-serpent, of metal or gilded wood, the coiled body forming the diadem, and the head poised above the forehead of the monarch. It was also affixed to other head-dresses worn by the king in common with the gods.

Of these the most important were the white crown of Upper Egypt, a tall conical head-dress swelling out slightly in front and terminating in a rounded knob; and the red crown of Lower Egypt, cylindrical in form but widening out upwards, and with the back part carried higher than the front. The combination of the two crowns, the white worn within the red, was called *pschent*. They were put on at the coronation; and on bas-reliefs, female figures symbolic of the two Egypts, each crowned with the respective crown of her district, stand on either side of a king wearing the *pschent*. In other cases, Nubti or Set and Horus crown the king, and goddesses invest the queen with her insignia—two long feathers and the globe and horns of Hathor. These crowns were also worn in battle and on other occasions, and they, with other forms, were common to gods and kings. Thus the king is described as 'son of the Sun, decked with the solar crowns' (Wilkinson, ii, 327, iii, 361; Maspero, 265; M. Brimmer, *Egypt*, Camb. U.S.A., 1892, p. 12; A. Moret, *Du Caractère rel. de la royauté pharaonique*, Paris, 1902, p. 310).

In religious ceremonies the king wore a striped linen head-dress, descending in front over the breast, and terminating in a queue fastened by a ribbon. Fillets of gold and, occasionally, radiated crowns were worn by the Ptolemys. Among the Hebrews a common word for crown is *קִרְיָא*, which signifies 'consecration' or 'mark of separation,' and is applied both to the gold plate or fillet of the high priest's mitre (Ex 29^d 39th), and to the royal diadem or fillet, which may have been of gold or of embroidered silk decorated with jewels (2 S 11^o, 2 K 11th—the only reference to coronation; cf. Zec 9th 'the stones of a crown'). Another word, *קִרְיָא*, is also used, both for the royal crown and for the crown in a symbolic sense (2 S 12^o, Ezk 21st, Is 28th, Job 19th, Pr 4th etc.). This word may signify a diadem, since in Ca 3^d it is applied to the bridegroom's garland, but in Job 31st the *קִרְיָא* can be bound to the head. This may refer to a head-dress of a turban form. Possibly the diadem proper surrounded another head-dress of a turban shape, or like the Persian or Assyrian examples.

The crown of a conquered monarch was sometimes set on the head along with the conqueror's own diadem. In 1 Mac 11th, Ptolemy set the crowns of Egypt and Asia on his head when entering Antioch in triumph (cf. Diod. Sic. i, 47; Rev 19th).

The early Christian emperors wore fillets or diadems of gold adorned with jewels, or of rich

silk (the latter finally disappearing in the time of Justinian [Labarte, ii, 39]). The diadem is sometimes worn alone, or it surrounds a cupola or jewelled cap, the combination of cap or tiara and diadem resembling that of the Persian kings. In antiquity the fillet or diadem easily passed over into a crown by the addition of a row of ornaments or symbols to the upper edge of the circumference of a metal diadem. This is already seen in the *corona muralis*, *navalis*, *vallaris*, etc., or in the radiate crowns of the Persian kings, the Ptolemys, and Nero and later Roman emperors. The form of these radiate crowns is also connected probably with the radiate nimbus with which kings were often represented, and which was the adornment of the sun-god as well as of other divinities in art. Such crowns were thus a symbol of the monarch's divinity (Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 419; Didron, i, 34 ff.). Crowns, as distinct from diadems, appear in early mediæval Europe. In England the diadem soon gave place to the crown. William the Conqueror and other Norman kings wore diadems ornamented on the upper edge with trefoil uprights, and the crown form soon became more elaborate. The first English example of an arched crown dates from the reign of Henry iv. The coronets of English peers are circlets of gold, variously ornamented according to rank (like the crowns of Continental nobles), and enclosing a crimson velvet cap edged with ermine. The earliest is the ducal coronet, 1362; the latest that of barons, 1660 (see Legge, *English Coronation Records*, 1901).

9. Sacred and magical aspects of the crown.—We find, sporadically, medical or magical virtues ascribed to wreaths and chaplets (Athen. xv, 16, and cf. the magical efficacy attributed to bridal and to funeral wreaths in Egypt, §§ 3, 4). This would be a natural result where garlands were made of the flowers or leaves of sacred plants or trees. Wherever the king is honoured as divine, the crown, as the peculiar symbol of royalty, will have a magical character, more particularly as it is so frequently worn also by the gods.

The golden wreaths and chaplets of oak leaves worn by early Greek and Italian kings, as well as by other persons in later times, are supposed to have originally marked the wearer as vicergerent of a god of whom the oak was the sacred tree, and in which as well as in the wearer of the wreath he was supposed to be incarnate (Cook, *FL* xvii, [1906] 315; Frazer, *Kingship*, 198 ff.). While this is not impossible, and while, generally speaking, wreaths of leaves or flowers may denote a connexion with divinities, it is probable that the diadem of a monarch did not necessarily denote his divinity, though, as representing the highest sovereignty, it was natural that gods should also be represented with it. The god was represented under the highest forms known to men, and these were generally royal.

The regalia of kings tend always to be regarded as peculiarly sacred. In some quarters possession of them 'carries with it the right to the throne,' and they have wonder-working properties, as among the Malays (Frazer, *Kingship*, 121, 124; Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, pp. 23, 59). Generally speaking, the word 'crown' comes to be used figuratively for all that the monarchy implies. In Egypt the *uraeus* diadem, emblem of sovereignty, had a magical power, and could execute the king's secret purposes or inflict vengeance. It is said to 'burn his enemies with its flames'; it threw itself upon those who approached it, and choked them in its coils. The supernatural virtues thus communicated to the crown gave it an irresistible force, and the royal crown was also regarded as having divine power (Erman, *Die ägyptische Rel.*, Berlin, 1905, p. 40; Maspero, 265, *Études*, i, 78-79; cf. also *Études*, ii, 134, for other magical crowns; and for the magical powers of the crowns of the dead, see § 4). Crowns may have been occasionally used as instruments of divination, e.g. in the choice of a king. In a Transylvanian folk-tale the crown is

laid before the assembly on a hillock. It rises, floats in the air, and lights on the head of the destined king (J. Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen*⁴, Vienna, 1885, p. 195). The Yorubas of W. Africa look upon the royal crown as possessing magical powers, and sheep are occasionally sacrificed to it by the king himself (MacGregor, *Jour. Afr. Soc.*, no. 12 [1904], p. 472). Crowns are sometimes mythically said to have descended from heaven upon the king's head (Bousset, *Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, p. 147). There may also have been current an idea that the life of a king depended on the safety of his crown. In the Mandæan myths of the conquest of the dark powers Ur and Rūhā by Mandā d'Hajjē and by Hibil Ziwa, Ur is deprived by both heroes of his crown 'of living fire,' in which his strength lies, and in this way he loses all his might (W. Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, pp. 131, 175, 178). These myths are certainly based on some current belief in the magical virtue of the crown.

10. The crown in early Christian thought.—In the NT the victor's crown at the games (στέφανος) is used symbolically of the reward of a faithful Christian course, the incorruptible στέφανος being contrasted with the corruptible (1 Co 9²⁵; cf. 2 Ti 2⁵). It is a 'crown of righteousness' (2 Ti 4⁸), the 'immortal crown of glory' (ὁ ἀμάρτανος τῆς δόξης στέφανος, 1 P 5⁴), the 'crown of life' (Ja 1¹², Rev 2¹⁰; cf. 3¹⁴). Hence in visions of heaven the crowns are prominent. The elders in Rev 4⁴ wear crowns (στέφανοι) of gold; in the *Ascension of Isaiah* the prophet sees crowns laid up in the highest heaven for the saints; in *Barlaam and Josaphat*, Josaphat sees the people of the heavenly city with crowns in their hands (J. F. Boissonade, *Anec. Græca*, Paris, 1829-31, iv. 360). Christ has on His head 'many diadems' (διαδήματα πολλά, Rev 19¹²), one fillet bound above the other, signifying different sovereignties (cf. 13², where the dragon has ten diadems). This conception is already found in later Judaism; the faithful receive crowns and palms (2 Es 24³⁴⁻⁴⁰). The wearing of garlands and crowns on earth being obnoxious to the early Christians on account of pagan associations, stress was therefore laid on the worth of the symbolic heavenly garland (στέφανος), and especially the immortal crown of martyrdom (*Mart. of S. Polycarp*, 17; Tert. *de Cor.* 15, 'Why do you condemn to a little chaplet, or a twined head-band, the brow destined for a diadem?'). Lactantius (*de Mort. Pers.* 16) describes the martyr's garland of victory as 'an unfading crown laid up in the kingdom of the Lord.' In *Hermas* (*Sim.* viii. 2) the angel commands garlands of palms to be brought out for those in whose rods he found branches with fruit (cf. also Euseb. *HE* v. 1 [Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons]). Such references to the crown of immortality or joy or to the martyr's crown are copious in early Christian literature, and the symbol of the crown also appears in Christian archaeology. Hands stretched from heaven present crowns to the martyrs, or angels descend and crown them (Didron, i. 95). The crown by itself, or with a palm branch or other symbols, is also symbolic of the eternal reward in heaven offered to the victor.

LITERATURE.—L. F. Day, 'The Crown, its Growth and Development,' *Magazine of Art*, vol. xi. (1888); W. Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*, 1883; J. Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge*, Paris, 1872-5; O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 452 ff., and other works cited throughout the article.

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CROWN (Greek and Roman).—The words στέφανος, *corona*, and their variants are used by Greeks and Romans of circular ornaments that could be placed on the head, carried in the hand, or hung on a support as offering or decoration, either made of, or artificially representing, or by their decoration more or less remotely suggesting,

flowers, leaves, or fruits of the field. The origin of the custom of wearing such ornaments lay probably in the mere instinct of decoration rather than in any notion of a symbolical significance in the plants used. Such decorations are a natural expression of a *joyful state of mind*, and, as the primitive worshipper attributes to his deity feelings like his own, they would be considered acceptable to the gods. As expressing joyfulness, they would in time become customary or *de rigueur* on all festal occasions, whether sacred or profane.

1. The use of crowns for religious purposes is not mentioned in Homer; nevertheless the use of sprays of foliage for *dedicatory purposes* seems to have prevailed very early in the Aegean; at Cnossus was found a spray of foliage made of thin gold plate and wire in a flat bowl (*BSA* viii. [1901-02] 25), and the employment of natural sprays probably preceded that of metal imitations by long ages. Now the most convenient and decorative way of carrying such sprays, or of attaching them to cultus-figures, was to twine them into wreaths, which could be worn on the head of the worshipper or placed on the figure of the deity.

As early as the 7th cent. such garlands were essential in practically all sacrifices (Sappho, quoted by Athen. xv. 674e). In Aristophanes (*Thesm.* 446 ff.) a widow who had supported her five children by making wreaths complains that more than half her business has gone since Euripides persuaded people that there are no gods.

Being part of the furniture of cultus, the wreath imparted sacredness to the wearer for the time being; the slave in Aristophanes considers that, while wearing a wreath, he cannot be beaten by his master (*Plut.* 20 f.).

2. The essentially joyful associations of the wreath are proved by the fact that *mourners did not wear them at funerals*. Xenophon, while sacrificing, heard of the death of his son; in sign of mourning he took off the crown that he was wearing. But when he heard that his son had died like a brave man, he resumed his crown and proceeded with the sacrifice (Val. Max. v. 10). At mournful ceremonies, such as the Spartan Hyacinthia (Athen. iv. 139), the crown was not worn; the Sicyonians used flowers only, instead of wreaths, in sacrificing to the Eumenides at Titane (Paus. ii. xi. 4). Where we see wreaths, fillets, etc., deposited at a tomb, these are brought as offerings to the spirit of the deceased, not as tokens of mourning. Such wreaths the Christians regarded as essentially offerings to a deity, and therefore to be condemned (cf. Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 24: 'The Christians do not worship the same gods as the heathen, or offer up libations or incense, or bring them crowns or sacrifices'; so, too, Minucius Felix, p. 43, ed. Ouzel, 1652, 'nec mortuos coronamus'). Typical of the Greek custom is the beautiful Attic *lekkythos* (*JHS* xix. [1899] pl. 2), showing a *tania* tied round the tombstone, oil-flasks and wine-jugs, some with wreaths laid over them, ranged on the steps, and a woman bringing a tray full of wreaths and *tania*. Sometimes tombstones were made with a receptacle suited for holding a crown of leaves (*Arch. Zeit.* 1871, pl. 42). The dead body itself was crowned (καταστέφειν τὸν νεκρόν, Eur. *Phoen.* 1632), as part of the last honours, in keeping with the washing and anointing of it, and dressing it for its last journey (Lucian, *de Luctu*, 11). Members of some associations, such as the Iobacchi, were entitled to a crown at their death, provided out of the common funds (E. S. Roberts, *Introd. to Gr. Epigr.* ii. Cambridge, 1905, pp. 91, 180). Inscriptions of the Phrygian Hierapolis often mention the στέφανοῦτικόν, a sum left by the deceased, the interest on which was devoted to the annual renewal of wreaths on his tomb (Humann, etc., *Altortümer v. Hierapolis*, Berlin, 1898, p. 129). At a Roman funeral there

were carried not merely crowns offered by the mourners, but such as the dead might have won by his own deeds. In later times, the idea of the propitiation of the dead gradually dying out, the wreath came to be laid on the tomb merely as a mark of honour; but it would be hard to say where the primitive significance of the usage merged into the modern. By far the greater number of the crowns actually preserved come from tombs; but this is only because the conditions in tombs are more favourable than elsewhere for the preservation of them, as of other antiquities.

3. In ritual the use of wreaths was manifold. They might be used, as *tamiae* were used, to decorate the image of the god (see Schreiber-Anderson, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, London, 1894, xiv. 3). They could be worn by those who performed the sacrifice. They could be offered up (Daremberg-Saglio, fig. 1984). They could be used to decorate the victims (Lucian, *de Sacr.* 12); thus was Iphigenia decorated (Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 1477). The garlands brought by the priest of Zeus at Lystra to Barnabas and Paul (Ac 14th) were either offerings to them or decorations for the oxen which he proposed to sacrifice. Garlands were used to decorate the shrine, the altar, sacred trees, and all sorts of instruments and vessels employed. The whole scene was thus made at once cheerful and solemn, the objects so adorned being brought into intimate relation with the god. Woollen fillets served the same purpose, whether made up into circular form, or merely hung on the victim or object, or used to attach it to the figure of the deity.

The lover's practice of hanging garlands on the door of the object of his affections is explained by Athenaeus (xv. 670d) as inspired by his desire either to honour the beloved one (just as the doors of temples were garlanded), or to honour Eros (the beloved being regarded as his image, and the house therefore as his temple), or, having been robbed of the ornament of his soul, to give to the robber his body's ornament in addition. In speculations such as these we see the idea that these garlands were, at any rate, a semi-religious kind of offering.

Probably the most important crowns from a ritual point of view were the 'priestly coronets' (cf. above, p. 339^b) worn by the officiating persons, whether professional priests or not. When the crowns were made of flowers or leaves, these were usually of the kind sacred to the deity served, although in a very great number of cases the plant used seems to have been laurel. This may have been owing to its purifying property, although in many monuments the appearance of laurel may be due to defective representation. The wreaths worn by priests were sometimes, especially in later days, decorated with medallions appropriate to the cult. A priest of Cybele (relief in Capitoline Museum [Baumeister, *Denkm.*, Munich, 1885-88, p. 801]) wears on a laurel wreath three medallions representing the Idaean Zeus, Attis, and another deity. Domitian, when presiding at the Capitoline Games, wore a crown decorated with images of the Capitoline triad—Juppiter, Juno, and Minerva; the *flamen dialis* and the high priest of the Flavian dynasty, who supported him, had crowns also containing the image of the Emperor himself (Sueton. *Domit.* 4). Recent discoveries have further illustrated this practice. The crowns worn by high priests of the Imperial cultus were not merely of bronze but of even more precious metal, elaborately decorated with busts of the Emperors. In Epictetus (i. 19) the prospective priest of the Augustan cult says, 'I shall wear a golden crown'; and Tertullian speaks of the golden crowns of the provincial priests (*de Idol.* 18, with Oehler's note). Busts of such priests, and an actual bronze crown from Ephesus, as well as representations of such crowns on coins of Tarsus, make this clear, and throw light on such a title as *ἀρχιερεὶς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ σφερανφόρος τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου* (*Jahres-*

hefte d. Oest. Arch. Inst. ii. 245 f.). Another peculiar form of ritual crown is the 'archieratic' crown shown on certain coins of Syrian Antioch (*Brit. Mus. Catal. Coins*, 'Galatia,' etc., p. 167).

So essential was the crown in the cult that *λαβεῖν* (*ἀναδέσασθαι*, etc.) *τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ στέφανον* is equivalent to assuming the priesthood (Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vol. ii., Leipzig, 1905, no. 787, note 14), and *σφερανφόροι* include all professional priests and all magistrates who in virtue of their office take part in public rites (*ib.* 332, note 24). The right to wear a crown at all public festivals is expressly included in the privileges of the priest of Poseidon Heliconius at Sinope (*στέφανος ἐν ἀπᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσι* [Michel, *Recueil*, Brussels, 1896-1900, p. 734]). Such official crowns are to be distinguished from those awarded to priestly officials by their grateful fellow-citizens on their retirement from office or even after their death (Dittenberger, *op. cit.* 470). These are analogous to the crowns awarded to other officials.

4. The wearing of crowns by deities is closely connected, as we have seen, with the custom of offering crowns to them at sacrifices. When special plants were associated with certain deities, a wreath of such a plant was a natural attribute and a convenient means of identification, although the latter feature would appeal less to the ancient worshipper than to the modern archaeologist. The associations of vegetable crowns are in many cases quite clear. Demeter and Persephone wear barley; the Dodonæan Zeus wears oak; Apollo has laurel; Athene, olive (which she wears as a rule round her helmet); Aphrodite, myrtle; Heracles, poplar or styrax; Dionysus and his train wear ivy (seldom, if ever, vine-leaves); Poseidon on coins struck by Antigonos Gonatas or Doson, and on a rare coin of Aradus of 174 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Catal. Coins*, 'Phoenicia,' pl. iii. 18), has a curious marine plant (*Fucus vesiculosus*?) ; a bust from Puteoli representing a local water-deity is crowned with grapes and vine-leaves (Roscher, *Lex.* i. 1686). But these appropriations are not exclusive; Zeus, for instance, is usually laureate; as we have already seen, the laurel seems to have been the plant most commonly used for wreaths. Various deities are represented in Greek art wearing crowns of a more elaborate kind. That of the Hera of Polycleitus at Argos was decorated with figures of the Graces and Seasons, probably in high relief; and on coins (of Argos, Elis, Croton, etc.) and other works of art Hera is usually shown wearing a somewhat elaborate crown with floral designs in relief. On coins of Mallus, Cronus wears a metal diadem; and Cybele is commonly represented as City-goddess wearing a walled crown (see CITY). The Cyprian Aphrodite, in statues, terra-cottas, and coins of Cyprus, wears a richly decorated crown, obviously meant to be of metal; on some coins of Salamis and on a stone head from Dali she has a peculiar crown made of semicircular plates (*Brit. Mus. Catal. Coins*, 'Cyprus,' p. cxi). Often she seems to be identified with the City (*ib.*). At Paphos she wears a combination of the Oriental *polos*, decorated with palmettes, and the walled crown (*ib.* pl. xxii. 10). On some Cypriot terra-cottas we also find a decoration of palmettes or sphinxes (*Brit. Mus. Catal.*, 'Terra-cottas,' A 275). These rich crowns are characteristic of the Oriental element in her cult; nevertheless the ordinary Greek Aphrodite often wears an elaborate metal crown, and sometimes, 'though descended from the early *polos* of the queen-goddesses, it is in form curiously like a modern royal crown' (*JHS* xxv. [1905] 78). A variety of the metal *στέφανος* worn by various goddesses is known as the *στέφανη*; it rises to a point in front, and narrows as it passes to the back of the head, which it does not completely

surround. One of the most widely distributed forms of crown in art is the crown of rays, which, like the nimbus, represents the divine light emanating from the persons of deities or heroes. But such a halo was probably not represented by a concrete crown until comparatively late times.

5. The giving of crowns as prizes probably had a religious origin. The material rewards offered in heroic times seem to have been replaced at a fairly early date—in the 6th cent. at latest—by crowns of leaves, etc. (Paus. X. vii. 3, of the Pythia; *Marm. Par.* 38=588 B.C.; note that the palm, being unsuitable for a crown, was carried as a branch). The festivals at which crowns were given were under the special patronage of the local deity, and the material for the crown would be gathered from the local sacred enclosure, although in the case of the Pythia the laurel was brought all the way from Tempe (Frazer on Paus. X. vii. 8). It was only in later days that the crown of foliage—olive, laurel, pine, etc.—was replaced by a metal crown, so that in the 2nd and 3rd cents. of our era the decoration carried by the victorious athlete was an elaborate structure more like an urn without a bottom than anything else (Dressel in *CIL* xv. 2, no. 7045). The crowns thus won were often dedicated in the temple; in the case of a tie, which was for this reason called *leptá*, the crown remained the property of the god (*JHS* xxv. 17f.). But the rewards might also be carried away by the winners, and the entry of such a winner into his native city was a solemn function, as when Pausimachus brought home to the Carian Antioch the crown of the Delphic Soteria (Dittenberger, *Or. Gr. Inscr.* 234. 31). At Elæa in Asia Minor, when Attalus III. (138–133 B.C.) was received in state by the citizens, he was met by all the state officials and by the winners in sacred festivals carrying their crowns with them (*ib.* 332. 34).

6. From the use of crowns as rewards in actual athletic and other contests, such as musical or literary (an ordinary term for being victorious with a tragedy is *ορεθαι*, cf. Bacchylides, frag. 33, Jebb), is probably derived their use as marks of honour generally. They could be given as rewards for good service to the community; and decrees of Greek communities rewarding their officials or private members are among the commonest of extant official documents.

Thus the Athenian council and people in 151 B.C. vote a laurel crown to Protagoras the priest of Asklepios for his services to the shrine (Michel, 689); at Lissa in Asia Minor in the 3rd cent. B.C. a similar crown is voted to Menekrates for his general good services to the community (Dittenberger, 57); at Ptolemais in Egypt the artists of the guild of Dionysus and the Brother Gods grant a crown of ivy, to be given at the *Dionysia*, to their life-president Dionysius, son of Musæus (*ib.* 50). At Delphi services to the shrine and State are rewarded with 'a crown of laurel from the god's grove, according to the traditional Delphic custom' (*ib.* 345; *Sylloge*², Leipzig 1898, p. 215). An Athenian decree of 100 A.C. records the crowns conferred on the *ephebi* and their *kometes* by the Council and Assembly, and by the Salaminian *demoi*, and on their *kometes* by the *ephebi* (Roberts, *Epigr.* ii. 65). A list of the eighteen crowns (of gold or laurel) conferred on Cassander, son of Menestheus, was inscribed on a marble slab in the temple of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad (Michel, *Rec.* 1312).

Such honorific crowns were presented not merely to individuals or associations, but to a whole people or their official representatives; thus the Athenian people received crowns from various States, such as Paros, Andros, Cnossus, etc. (*IG* ii. 700, 701). The mural, rostral, and civic crowns of the Romans were special developments of the crown as reward for services to the State.

7. From employing the crown as a reward, it was but a step to presenting it as tribute, often with a sense of favours to come.

Strato, son of Gerostratus, king of the Phœnician Arvad, went to meet Alexander the Great and crowned him with a golden crown, at the same time laying his father's dominions at the conqueror's feet (*Arr. Anab.* ii. 18. 8). Machares, son of Mithradates, offered a crown to Lucullus worth 1000 gold pieces,

begging for an alliance with Rome (*Plut. Lucull.* 24). Simon the Hasmonæan sent a golden crown and palm as tribute to Demetrius of Syria (1 Mac 13³⁷). Plutarch (*Æm. Paul.* 34) says that at the triumph of Æmilius Paullus were carried 400 golden crowns which the conquered States had sent to him as the prize of his victory.

Thus the crown became the symbol of victory, even more than the palm-branch. It is the most common attribute of Victory in art; and Christianity, in spite of certain protests (cf. Tert. *de Cor.*), adopted it whole-heartedly as a symbol of spiritual victory.

8. The crowns received as civic rewards or honours were, like athletic decorations, frequently dedicated at shrines (Rouse, *Gr. Vot. Offerings*, Camb. 1902, p. 266). At Athens those conferred by a foreign State had to be dedicated in the Parthenon, perhaps to prevent *ὄσπρις* (*Æschin. in Ctes.* 46). Crowns of less importance were usually kept by the recipients. When the semi-barbarian princes Spartocus and Parisades of Bosporus were voted golden crowns by the Athenians, the decree laid down the very form of words which was to be inscribed on the crown when dedicated (Hicks, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*², Oxf. 1901, p. 140). To judge by the lists in inscriptions, vast quantities of such crowns must have been in the temples. Sometimes the lists record the terms of the dedication; e.g. from the Delian treasure-list (Dittenberger, *Syll.*² 588. 102) a golden laurel-crown bearing the inscription 'Publius son of Publius Cornelius consul of the Romans' (i.e. Scipio Africanus, who probably made the dedication in 194 B.C.).

9. The crown, being part of the apparatus of religious service, was worn not only at sacrifices, but also at other ceremonies, such as musical or literary contests, which were under the patronage of a deity. Such were the sacred contests at which Pliny says it was originally the custom to wear crowns of natural leaves (*HN* xxi. 4), the use of crowns variegated with flowers being later, and the use of artificial crowns later still. Demosthenes (*in Mid.* 16) describes golden crowns among the 'sacred vestments' worn by the chorus which he provided at the *Dionysia*. Musicians are often represented wearing crowns (Schreiber-Anderson, *Atlas*, vii. 9, lxxviii. 7; Baumeister, *Denkm.*, fig. 591). The use of crowns at weddings was undoubtedly religious, and therefore condemned by Tertullian (*de Cor.* 13). It is the bridal crown that is carried or worn by Eros and Hymenæus. Religious also must have been the origin of the decoration hung outside the house-door at Athens after the birth of a child: an olive-wreath for a boy, a woollen fillet for a girl. On the other hand, we may well hesitate to see any direct religious significance in the use of crowns at banquets. They were connected especially with drinking, and were probably first used to promote cheerfulness. It may be doubted whether the theory that they mitigated headache (an ancient theory mentioned by Aristotle *ap. Athen.* xv. 874) was more than make-believe. Whatever may have been the original significance of the use of crowns on such occasions, it was doubtless included in the general condemnation of the custom of wearing crowns on the head which was uttered by more than one Christian apologist (Minucius Felix, Tertullian). The Christians used flowers both loose and in garlands, but not on their heads, doubtless because the wearing of them was so intimately associated with pagan cultus.

10. The diadem worn by monarchs, though possibly its resemblance to the *tania* with which the heads of deities were often adorned may have given it a suggestion of Divine significance, was probably not religious in origin. In any case it was adopted by Alexander the Great from the Persian king, so that its original significance must

be sought in the East. The plain round decoration seen, e.g., on the portrait-head in the Louvre called Antiochus the Great (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, Lond. 1902, frontisp.), or on heads of Seleucus and Philæterus on early Pergamene coins, is probably not a diadem, but a sacred fillet. The laurel crown is rarely, if ever, represented on the portraits of living Greek kings. It is worn by the dead and divinized Philæterus, sometimes intertwined with a diadem, on coins of Pergamum. It was worn by Julius Caesar and by practically all the Emperors from Augustus onwards, while, until the time of Constantine, they eschewed the royal diadem. It was a symbol, despite its origin, of honour, but not of divinity. Even the crown that is being placed on the head of Augustus by a female figure, herself wearing a walled crown and veil, on the famous Vienna cameo (A. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, 1900, pl. 56) representing the Emperor's apotheosis, is a sign of honour merely, not of divinization. This crown is of oak leaves. When the early Emperors wished to express divinity by a crown, it took the radiate form. The same thing could be expressed by placing a star over the Emperor's head. On coins struck after his death, Divus Augustus is frequently represented wearing a crown of rays. The use by a king of this radiate crown, properly the head-dress of the sun-god, is found on coins representing Ptolemy III. of Egypt (247-222 B.C.). In Syria it appears first on coins struck by Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.), who expressed his godhead thus, as well as by placing a star over his head. It may be doubted whether this radiation, so far, represents any concrete crown, and not merely an imaginary halo. Nero was the first living Roman Emperor to wear it, so far as the evidence of coins goes. But it was not until the time of Caracalla, who introduced a silver coin called the *antoninianus*, on which the Emperor's head is radiate, that the radiate crown became common in representations of monarchs. It was apparently not worn by the Emperors after Constantine the Great, obviously because of its religious significance.

LITERATURE.—Pliny, *HN* xxi. 1 ff.; Athenæus, xv. 671 ff.; Tertullian, *de Corona Militis*; Stephani, 'Nimbus u. Strahlenkranz,' in *Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 6th ser. vol. ix. (1859); Egger-Fournier, art. 'Corona,' in Daremberg-Saglio's *Dict. des antiquités*, Paris, 1888-90; Saglio, art. 'Diadema,' *ib.*; Mau, art. 'Diadema,' in Pauly-Wissowa's *RE* v. 303 f.; Stengel and Oehmichen, 'Die griech. Kultusaltertümer,'² in Iwan v. Müller's *Handbuch*, v. 3 (Munich, 1890), p. 98; Hill, 'Priesterdiademe,' in *Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Arch. Inst.* ii. (Vienna, 1900) 245 ff.

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CRUCIFIX.—See SYMBOLS.

CRUCIFIXION.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

CRUELTY.—See HUMANITARIANISM.

CRUSADES.—I. CAUSES OF THE CRUSADES.

—The Crusades may be defined as the technical name given to certain special events in the long struggle between the Muslim and the Christian. For the immediate or special causes of any particular Crusade, see below. Of general causes, whether political or religious and ethical, the following may be noted.

1. The decay of the Eastern Empire.—The reader even of liberal culture is often ignorant of the fortunes of the great Empire that continued at Constantinople the name and authority of Rome. He fails, therefore, to recognize the debt which the common civilization and Christianity of Europe owe to it (cf. F. Harrison, *Meaning of History*, 1894, chs. 11 and 12). Charles Martel saved the West at Tours (Oct. 732) from the Saracen invaders, but his efforts would have been fruitless

had not Constantinople for centuries presented a secure barrier against all attacks from the side of Asia. The first shock of Muslim conquest had found her unprepared (first Saracen siege of Constantinople, 674-6; 2nd siege, 716-8; deliverance chiefly through 'Greek fire'); but under the great Emperor Leo the Syrian (718, often mistakenly called the Isaurian) and his son Constantine V. (740), the Eastern Empire recovered her strength (J. B. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, London, 1889, vol. ii. bk. 6). As part of his general programme for driving back the Saracens, Leo endeavoured to abolish the 'eikons,' and tried to develop a strong yeomanry by reforming the land laws and emancipating the serfs. As a result, the Basilian dynasty (867-1057) regained much lost territory in both Asia and Europe, through the conquests especially of John Zimisces (963-75; Antioch recovered, 969).

But, with the close of the 11th cent., the powers of resistance of the Eastern Empire were becoming exhausted. The Iconoclastic controversy and, above all, centuries of pernicious land laws had sapped her vitality. The provinces of Asia Minor consisted of vast domains cultivated by serfs under absentee landlords at Constantinople, or belonging to ecclesiastical corporations exempt from military burdens. The result was inevitable. One by one the provinces which had hitherto stood out against the Muslim succumbed. The respite which Constantinople had provided had been invaluable. The Greek Empire had saved Europe in her hour of weakness. But now missionaries had subdued the barbarians, and under Charles the Great had welded Europe, in idea at least, into one great Christian commonwealth, under one leader of the faithful at Rome (Xmas Day, 800). Whatever its internal weakness, the idea of the Holy Roman Empire was of tremendous power for dealing with a non-Christian foe. The conflict between Crescent and Cross was bound to be renewed under a new form, with a new champion of Christendom, and in a wider arena, no longer as a frontier war, but one of inter-continental character. Thus the Crusades (upon the seven or nine divisions of which stress should not be laid) must be regarded as a new form of the old struggle. A clear recognition of this fact, and not the belief once fashionable that the Crusades were a sort of 12th cent. outbreak of madness or chivalry, lies at the root of a right understanding of history.

2. The rise of the Seljûk Turks.—In the 9th and 10th cents. the powers of resistance of Constantinople had been assisted by the disunion of the Muslim. There were rival Khalifates of East and West (Western Khalifate inaugurated by 'Abd al-Rahmân III. in 929); the struggles of Sunnites and Shi'ites (*qq.v.*), and of the dynasties and sub-dynasties of Umayyads, Abbasids, Fâtimids, Idrisids, etc. (see, for complete lists, S. Lane-Poole, *Mahomedan Dynasties*, 1894); and the revolt of the 'Carmatians' (*q.v.*) at Kûfa under Hamdân ibn Ashaṭ or Qarmat, and the pillage of Mecca by these Mahdists in 929. But, with the rapid rise of the Seljûk Turks, all this was changed, and Constantinople was separated from the Muslim merely by the Dardanelles, and threatened by a Turkish fleet constructed by Greek captives. So, in the spring of 1088, Alexius Comnenus in a letter (*Recueil*, iv. 131 ff.; or, better, Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, Innsbruck, 1901, p. 12) to Robert of Flanders besought the aid of the Latins.¹

In 1039 the Turkomans defeated Mas'ûd, the Ghaznavid, at Damghan, subdued Persia, and elected as their head Abû-Talib-Tughril Beg, the grandson of Seljûk b. Yakâk of Samarqand

¹ For the controversies over the genuineness of this letter, see Bury's *Gibbon*, vi. 251 n., or, more fully, Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.* pp. 10-44. The date is from Hagenmeyer, whose defence of its genuineness (against P. E. D. Riant, *Alex. Com. Ep. Spuria*, Geneva, 1879) may be accepted.

(a pervert, possibly, from Christianity to Islām). In 1055, through his deliverance of Baghdad from the Buysids, Tughril was constituted 'sultan' or captain of the bodyguard of the 'Abbāsid Khalīfa. His son Alp Arslān (1063-72) conquered and ruined the Nestorian kingdom of Armenia (1064) and Georgia, and after three campaigns defeated and captured the Greek Emperor Romanus Diogenes, at Manzikert near Lake Van (26th Aug. 1071);¹ and, as a result of the consequent weakness and dissensions, the Seljūq Sulaimān won Anatolia and Antioch, the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Rūm being established at Nicaea (1077-1300). Moreover, in 1070-1, Jerusalem had been taken by a lieutenant of Malik Shah, Atsız Ibn Auk the Khwārizmian, from the mild rule of the Fātimid Khalīfs of Egypt, and its Government handed over to the exactions of the Turkoman Örtük b. Aksab (see below).² The Örtükids were expelled 26th Aug. 1098 by the Fātimids, and retired to Edessa.³

3. The pilgrims and the Holy Places.—The influence of the Holy Places upon the Middle Ages was not due to historic—the historic sense was not yet born—but to religious and psychological sentiment. The Middle Ages were powerless to realize an idea without turning it into the concrete. Of Christ and His saints men must have visible images. By a sort of logical inversion they went one step further. Where the image was, there was the spirit. Thus the image, or material realization, became the vehicle of grace, possessing not only sanctity but life, while the spiritual was constantly assuming form and colour. Hence, to the mediæval mind the Holy Places were far more than religious or historical memorials. They were themselves sacramental—an essential part of the spiritual provision of the age. The early origin of pilgrimages to Jerusalem is seen in the journey of Helena in 326, the foundation by her son Constantine of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Socrates, *HE* i. 17; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 30, 34-40), and the record in 333 of the Bordeaux pilgrim (see *Itin. Anon. Burdigalense*, in *CSEL* xxxix. 1 ff.; Eng. tr., A. Stewart [London, 1887]). On the conquest of Jerusalem by Omar (638), the Christians had been assured of their religion; a quarter was assigned to the patriarch and his people; and the Holy Places were left in their hands. The 'Abbāsid Khalīf Harūn al-Rāshid even presented Charles the Great (23rd Dec. 800) with the keys of the Sepulchre (Eginhard, *de Vita Carol. Mag.* ch. 16). On Jerusalem lapsing to the Fātimid Khalīfs of Egypt (969-1076), special concessions were granted to the republic of Amalfi for the transport of pilgrims. But the era of tolerance was changed when the famous Hākim (al-Hākim Abū 'Alī al-Manṣūr), the Fātimid Khalīf (996-1020), burnt the Church of the Resurrection and destroyed the Holy Sepulchre (27th Sept. 1010; for date, see Röhricht, *op. cit.* 9 n.). On his assumption of divinity (1017), in his new hatred of the Muslim, al-Hākim once more granted toleration, and the pilgrimages recommenced, greatly stimulated by the new outburst of piety in Europe which marked the 11th cent., and by the re-opening (see Röhricht, in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, Leipzig, 1875, v. 5), through the conversion of Stephen of Hungary (997-1038), of the old land-route which was followed as early as 333 by the Bordeaux pilgrim. But under the rule of Örtük the cruelties inflicted upon, and the exactions from, pilgrims, hitherto fixed at two gold pieces a head, became excessive (William of Tyre, *Hist.* i. ch. 10; Urban II. at Clermont in Guibert, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 4 [*Recueil*, iv. 140]). Either a way of redress must be found, or the pilgrimages must cease.⁴

4. The new Europe.—The wrongs of previous

¹ For the battle, see Finlay, *Hist. Greece*, iii. 32-4; Oman, *Hist. of the Art of War*, 217-9.

² For date, see Röhricht, *Erst. Kreuz.*, 283 n., from Mujir-al-Din's *Hist. de Jérusalem*, tr. Suvaire, 1876, p. 69 f.

³ For date, see Röhricht, *l.c.*

⁴ There is a comprehensive study of the German pilgrims in R. Röhricht, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuz.* vol. II; cf. also P. E. D. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1865-9, and H. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, Paris, 1877.

ages, including the desecration by al-Hākim, had appealed to a distracted Europe in vain. But, by the close of the 11th cent., a new Europe had arisen, instinct with religious chivalry, conscious of its spiritual unity, no longer distracted by heathen Huns and Northmen. By the recital of the wrongs of the pilgrims 'a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe' (Gibbon, vi. 258). Politically Europe was ready. Gregory VII., as part of his immense plans, first conceived (Dec. 1074) the idea of arming Europe against Asia (*Epp.* ii. 31),¹ and the two expeditions of his Norman ally and protector, Robert Wiscard—who had already conquered Sicily from the Saracens—into Greece (1081-2, 1084) might have established as a preliminary step the Normans at Constantinople, and the Papal supremacy over the Eastern Church, but for the death of Robert at Bundicia in Epirus (17th July 1085), leaving his Eastern dreams to his son Bohemond. The diversion of these into the Crusade was easy and natural, while in the Fourth Crusade we see the reversion to Robert's original plan. Nor must we forget that, in addition to the religious motives—to the strength of which the utmost importance should be attached—the East was to the 11th and 12th cents. what the New World was to the Elizabethan sailors. Motives of commerce, wealth, adventure, and religion were united (cf. the six camel-loads of Tancred's spoils [*Alb. Aq.* vi. 23; *Recueil*, iv. 479], or the letter of Hugh de Reitaste [i.e. Rethel] boasting of the 1500 marks rental he had won [in Guibert, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vii. 38; *Recueil*, iv. 254]).

The drift of the times is clearly seen in the popularity of the romance *Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi* (ed. Ciampi, Florence, 1822), assigned to John Tiliplus or Turpinus, Archbishop of Rheims, 778. In this romance, which was accepted everywhere as history, Charles achieves the conquest of the Holy Land. Gaston Paris, *s.v.* 'De Pseudo-Turpin' (in *Hist. Poët. de Charl.*, Paris, 1865; or enlarged, 1905), shows that the first part was composed in the 11th cent. by a Spaniard; the second part c. 1110 by a monk of Vienne. There is an Eng. metrical tr. by T. Rodd, 2 vols., 1812.

5. The system of Penance.—A powerful motive both to the pilgrimages to the Holy Places and to the consequent Crusades may be traced in the current Penitential system of Europe. In the 11th and 12th cents. this system was in full operation. We see the effect when Urban II. at Clermont proclaimed a plenary indulgence to all who enlisted for the Crusade (Mansi, xx. 827; cf. Girald. Camb. *de Princip. Instruct.* 238 [ed. G. F. Warner, in *Rolls Series*, 1891]; see also Röhricht, *Erst. Kreuz.* 21, n. 5). To this should be added the temporal advantages. The *cruce signati* were freed from arrest for debt, and from usury; they were guaranteed justice; the Pope was the guardian of their wives, families, etc. In consequence the crusaders were a mixed company, debtors and criminals abounding.

II. HISTORY OF THE SEVEN CRUSADES.²—I. First Crusade.—To the general causes already detailed no special cause need be added save—though very doubtfully—the preaching of Peter the Hermit.

Peter (b. 1053) of Amiens (Guibert, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ii. 8), stirred by the wrongs he witnessed in 1090 and 1094 at Jerusalem (*Alb. Aq. Hist.* i. 2-4), on his return to Europe is said, according to the well-known story, to have addressed the Council of Bari and aroused Urban II. to a sense of the need of a Crusade. The last part of this story, to the doubtful character of which von Sybel first drew attention, appears in Albert of Aachen (*Hist.* i. 5; cf. Anna Comnena, *Alex.* x. 284), and is otherwise unknown (cf. Bernard's contemptuous reference, *Ep.* 363. 8). Thence it was copied into the *Chanson d'Antioche* of the pilgrim Richard (a romance without historical value, written c. 1145; first ed. by A. P. Paris, 2 vols., 1848, tr.

¹ Cf. the letter of Sylvester II., May 984 (*Epistolae Gerberti* [ed. J. Havet, Paris, 1889], p. 22), which is, however, of very doubtful value and authenticity.

² Divisions into seven or nine of what was in reality a continuous struggle are arbitrary but useful.

1862). Peter is not mentioned by Guibert or others as present at Clermont. Of Peter's preaching in Picardy and Berry after Clermont there is, however, little doubt (see Guibert, *op. cit.* ii. 8; Anna Comn. l.c.), but Urban II., a disciple of Gregory VII., would use rather than follow his preaching. For Peter, see the critical monograph of Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremita* (Leipzig, 1879), which traces the genesis of the myth.

At the Council of Placentia (7th March 1095) the ambassador of Alexius Comnenus pleaded the peril of Constantinople (Mansi, xx. 802; Guibert, *op. cit.* ii. 1), but Urban II. postponed the decision until after a second Council at Clermont (18th-27th Nov. 1095; Mansi, xx. 821 ff.). There, amid cries of 'Deus vult,' the undertaking was commenced, a red cross (hence the title 'Crusade') being sewn on the breast or shoulders.¹ So far as the Muslim world was concerned, the times were opportune, the great Seljûk Empire of Malik Shâh having broken up, at his death (1092), into four warring portions. Egypt had recovered its possessions, and in 1096 the Fatimid vizier Aphdal conquered Jerusalem from Ortuk. While the main expedition was preparing, a vast mob, chiefly from the Rhine districts, under Peter, Walter the Penniless, and Walter de Poissy, with a goose at their head (Alb. Aq. i. 30; Guibert, *op. cit.*; *Recueil*, iv. 251), after massacring (May 1096) the Jews in Spire and Worms (Salomo bar Simeon, in Neubauer and Stern's *Quellen zur Gesch. der Juden in Deutsch.*, Berlin, 1892), crossed Hungary, and, with thinned numbers, arrived at Constantinople (30th July 1096). On crossing into Asia, they were overwhelmed (21st Oct. 1096), near the river Dracon and at Civotit, by Kilij Arslân, the son and successor (1092-1106) of Sulaimân (Anna Comn. *Alex.* x. 274; there is an excellent account of this Crusade in Röhricht, *Erst. Kreuz.* chs. 2, 3, or in Hagenmeyer, *Peter d. Eremita*, chs. 4-6).

The main Crusade was under Godfrey of Bouillon, Hugh of Vermandois, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Raymond of St. Gilles and Toulouse, Bohemond, and his nephew Tancred (see lists in Alb. Aq. ii. 22, 3), with a vast host of barons, etc. Marching through Hungary, the various forces converged on Constantinople (Godfrey, 23rd Dec. 1097; Bohemond, c. 10th April 1097), and were carried over the Bosphorus by the anxious Greeks. After Alexius had secured their homage (Alb. Aq. ii. 16-18, 28) and reviewed the hosts (of whom Fulcher of Chartres enumerates nineteen nations, or about 60,000 armed horsemen [see Alb. Aq. ii. 41] plus a vast mob of pilgrims and camp followers), they captured Nicea, the capital of Rûm (19th June 1097), defeated the Turks at Dorylæum (Eski-Shehr, 1st July 1097), crossed the desert in a burning summer, captured Antioch after an exhausting siege of nine months (21st Oct. 1097-3rd June 1098), during the dire famine of which many deserted for home (Alb. Aq. iii. 50-52, iv. 34) until stopped by the discovery of a Holy Lance,² and defeated the vast relief forces of Kerbugha of Mosul (28th June). After ten months' delay, the remnant of the crusaders, reduced now to less than 40,000 all told (Röhricht, *op. cit.* 183 n.), disdaining the proffered terms of the Egyptians, marched on Jerusalem (13th May-6th June 1099), the capture of which (15th July 1099) was followed by the massacre of 70,000 Muslims and Jews, women and children included (Alb. Aq. vi. 20-23). Eight days later Godfrey was elected king (real title, 'advocate of the Holy Sepulchre') of Jerusalem (22nd July 1099; William of Tyre, *op. cit.* ix. chs. 1-12). His overthrow of the Egyptians at Ascalon (12th Aug. 1099) was followed by the disaster of his death (18th July 1100). The two

Baldwins, his brother and cousin, who succeeded him, slowly extended the limits of the kingdom (Tripoli, 1109; Tyre, 1124), which began to decline after 1143.

At its widest extent, the four *sefs* of the kingdom of Jerusalem were: (1) the principality of Jerusalem; (2) the county of Edessa, which fell to Baldwin the brother of Godfrey, who had detached himself from the main host for the purpose in 1097; (3) the principality of Antioch claimed by Bohemond, and always inclined to independence;³ (4) the county of Tripoli.⁴ The settlement of the kingdom on a feudal basis was marked by the gradual compilation (see Bury's Gibbon, vi. App. 16; Stubbs, *Itin. Reg. Ricard.*, Introd. p. xc) of that most interesting code of feudal customs, etc., the 'Assize of Jerusalem,'⁵ as also by the foundation, for its defence, of the various orders of military knights (see below, p. 351).

LITERATURE.—The original sources for the First Crusade are to be found for the most part in the ponderous though incomplete *Recueil des historiens des croisades* [*Hist. occident.*], 6 vols. (Paris, 1844-95)—a collection which supersedes that of J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611), used by Gibbon. In vol. I. (1) there is a good itinerary of the various Crusades, by S. Jacobs. Of the sources the following are the most important: (1) *Gesta Francorum*, by an unknown S. Italian knight who took part in the First Crusade. He deposited his book at Jerusalem, possibly in the Holy Sepulchre, where it was frequently consulted by other writers, of several of whom it forms the basis.⁶ (2) Guibert of Nogent (b. 1063), *Gesta Dei per Francos*; almost entirely dependent on (1). Guibert was present at Clermont, and writes down to 1104.⁷ (3) Raymund of Agiles, *Hist. Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem*; also dependent on (1): a narrative by a Provençal eyewitness.⁸ (4) Fulcher of Chartres, *Hist. Hierosolymitana*; the only eye-witness of the events in Edessa; continues down to 1127; also depends on (1).⁹ (5) Baldric, Archbishop of Dol, *Hist. Hierosolymitana*, written in 1108; entirely founded on (1).¹⁰ (6) Albert of Aachen, *Hist. Hierosolymitana*—a vivid narrative of the First Crusade, written after 1120; really copied from an unknown crusader from Lorraine, together with use of (1).¹¹ (7) Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*; a friend of Tancred, for whose exploits he is of great value.¹² (8) Ekkehard of Aura, near Kissingen (d. 1125), *Hierosolymita*. He went to Palestine in 1101, and was there about six weeks.¹³ (9) Cafaro di Caschifellone, *de Liberatione civitatum Orientis*. The writer (b. 1080) went out in Aug. 1100, returning in July 1101 (see *Recueil*, v., Introd. p. xvii). It is of special value for Genoese matters up to 1109.¹⁴ Other minor sources of no great historical value, including the poem of Gilo of Toucy and Foulk, *Vies Hierosolymitane* (written c. 1125 [see *Recueil*, v., Introd. cxlvi]) are ed. in *Recueil*, vol. v. (10) Of Greek writers, Anna Comnena (b. 1083), owing to her position as daughter of the Emperor Alexius, cannot be neglected, due account being paid to her bias.¹⁵

Of modern works dealing with the First Crusade (see also below) the first critical study was H. v. Sybel, *Gesch. des ersten Kreuzzugs*, Düsseldorf, 1881. Two German historians have since spent a lifetime in the preparation of a series of important monographs: H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremita*, Leipzig, 1879 (for First Crusade, see chs. 5 and 6), with a good 'Chronology' (1094-1100) in Appendix, and his *Die Kreuzzüge*

¹ For its history, see E. G. Rey, 'Résumé chron. de la hist. d'Antioche,' in *Revue de l'orient latin*, iv. 821 ff., 1896.

² On the limits of these *sefs*, see Jacobs, in *Recueil*, i. [1] Introd. ch. 2; or Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, New York, 1893, p. 261. For tables of kings, dynasties, rulers, etc., see Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*

³ Best ed. by de Beugnot, 2 vols., 1841 and 1843; for a critique, see Gaston Dodu, *Hist. des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1894.

⁴ Best ed. by H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1890, with introduction and notes; also in *Recueil*, iii. 121 ff.

⁵ In *Recueil*, iv. 119-263.

⁶ See C. Klein, *Raimund v. Aquilars* (Berlin, 1892), and v. Sybel, *Erst. Kreuz.* 15 ff. In *Recueil*, iii. 231-310; Migne, *PL* clv. 591-666.

⁷ See v. Sybel, *op. cit.* 46 ff.; Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Franc.* p. 58 ff.; *Recueil*, iii. 311 ff., or Migne, *PL* clv. 828-942.

⁸ See v. Sybel, *op. cit.* 35 ff.; *Recueil*, iv. 1-111.

⁹ See Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.* 62-68, or B. Kugler, *Albert v. Aachen*, Stuttgart, 1885, who maintains his value as against v. Sybel's doubts; *Recueil*, iv. 265-713.

¹⁰ *Recueil*, iii. 587-716; Migne, *PL* clv. 489-590, or Muratori, *Script. rer. Ital.* v. 286-335. On Ralph, see v. Sybel, *op. cit.* 64; Hagenmeyer, *op. cit.* 69.

¹¹ Best ed. by P. E. D. Kiant, in *Recueil*, v. (1895) 1-40, or, separately, by H. Hagenmeyer (Tübingen, 1877), with valuable introduction. The ed. in Martène (*Amplius. Cœt.*, 1729, vol. v. coll. 613-35) is very defective, and that in Pertz by Waltz (*MGH* vi. 265 ff.) is scarcely complete. For many events Ekkehard is our only source (see *Recueil*, v., Pref. p. vii).

¹² *Recueil*, v. 48-75; or Pertz, *MGH* xviii. 40-8; or, separately, ed. by L. T. Belgrano, Rome, 1890.

¹³ Of her *Alexias* (complete ed. in Migne, *PG* cxxxi., or 2 vols. in *Corpus script. hist. Byz.* [Bonn, 1828-97]; or ed. Reifferscheid [Teubner], 1884), the books dealing with the First Crusade (x.-xiv.) are in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* [*Historiens grecs*], i. 1-204 (2 vols., Paris, 1875, 1881, with Lat. paraphrase; the 2nd vol. contains annotations only).

¹ For critical examination of this Council, see Röhricht, *Erst. Kreuz.* 235-9. For Urban's other Councils after Clermont, at which also he preached the Crusade, see ib. 22.

² On this incident, see Raymund of Agiles, 'Hist. Francorum,' in *Recueil*, iii.

briefe (1088-1100), Innsbruck, 1901, with complete bibliography of all minor sources, magazines, etc.; R. Röhricht, *Gesch. des erst. Kreuz.*, Innsbruck, 1901 (perhaps the best single work), and *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuz.*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1874, 1875.

P. E. D. Riant must not be overlooked among those who have done good work (cf. *Recueil*, v.). His *Invent. crit. des lettres* (768-1100), Paris, 1880, is of value for advanced work.

2. Second Crusade.—For many years the Latin kingdom had been threatened by the growing power of the Atabeg amir of Mosul, 'Imād-al-Din Zengi, or Zanghis, twisted by the Latins into *Sanguineus* (1127-14th Sept. 1146),¹ to whom must be attributed the first stemming of the tide of Latin conquest. His capture and massacre of Edessa (25th Dec. 1144)² was followed by the successes of his great son, Nūr-al-Din Mahmūd. The fall of Edessa aroused the West, chiefly through the preaching of St. Bernard (see art. BERNARD, vol. ii. p. 530), first at Vézelay before Louis VII. (31st March 1146), then later in the Rhine valley,³ where the persecution of the Jews which usually attended a Crusade had broken out. As a result of his meeting with Bernard at Spire (27th Dec. 1146), the Emperor Conrad III., with reluctance, took the cross (E. Vacandard, *S. Bernard*, Paris, 1895, ii. 288 ff.). Conrad started from Bamberg (May 1147) by the overland route, with about 100,000 followers, including many women, and, after a disorderly journey, reached Constantinople, followed closely by Louis, who set out from Metz (11th June 1147). An attempt of Conrad to push on was followed by the loss of 30,000 Germans, and he was forced back upon Nicea to await Louis. From there the armies marched, though in two divisions, to Ephesus, whence the wounded Conrad returned, after Christmas, to winter at Constantinople. Louis, however, and a part of the Germans under Otto of Freising, continued their march. Otto's force was cut to pieces near Laodicea, and Louis was disastrously defeated in the defiles of Phrygia (Odo, *op. cit.* vi.: a remarkable story), but managed with diminished forces to reach Antioch (19th March 1148). Meanwhile Conrad set sail from Constantinople (10th March 1148), and reached Acre in April. The two armies mustered at Palma, near Acre (24th June 1148). But the attack on Damascus failed (Bernhardi, *op. cit.* 563-78), and Conrad sailed home (8th Sept. 1148), followed by Louis (Easter, 1149). Bernard and Suger thereupon planned a second expedition, and at a Council at Chartres (7th May 1150)⁴ Bernard was actually elected commander-in-chief—an office which he refused (Bernard, *Ep.* 256). The miserable termination of the crusade led to a reaction of anger against St. Bernard (*de Consid.* ii. 1). As an important episode in the Crusade we may note the undesigned conquest, by an English fleet, of Lisbon from the Moors (Bernhardi, *op. cit.* 579-90).

LITERATURE.—For the Second Crusade the chief sources, in addition to William of Tyre (see below), are Odo de Diogilo (Deuil), *de Protectione Lud. VII.* (in Migne, *PL* clxxxv. 1205 ff.), and two anonymous writers, *Gesta Lud. VII.* and the *Hist. gloriosus Lud.*⁵ For Conrad, see Otto of Freising, *de Gest. Frid. I.* 34-39, 43-46, 58-59 [in Pertz, *MGH* xx.]. Of Greek writers, Nicetas Accuminatus continues the work of Anna Comnena from 1118-1206 with more fairness (see *Recueil* [Hd. grecs], Paris, 1876). Of modern works, B. Kugler, *Analekten z. Gesch. des zweit. Kreuz.*, Tübingen, 1878, 1885, and *Neue Analekten*, Tübingen, 1885; W. Bernhardi, *Conrad III.*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1888 (esp. pp. 591-684).

3. Third Crusade.—In 1164 and 1167 the Turkish amir Shiracouah (Asad al-Din Abū-l-Ḥarith

Shīrkūh) attacked the Fātimids of Egypt and their Frank allies. But the treacherous designs of the advisers of Amalric of Jerusalem (1162-73) to seize Egypt led the Fātimids to turn to the Turks for help. After the burning of Cairo (i.e. Fustat, 12th Nov. 1168), Amalric was forced to return; but Saladin, at the command of Nūr-al-Din, destroyed the Fātimid dynasty (Sept. 1171), restoring Egypt to the allegiance of the Abbāsid Khalifs of Baghdad (William of Tyre, xix. 5-7, 12-31, xx. 5-12). On the death of Shiracouah (23rd March 1169), his nephew the Kurd Saladin (Salāh-al-Din; b. 1137) without delay (26th March) was recognized as his successor as vizier of Egypt. The disunion due to the death of the Sultan Nūr-al-Din (15th May 1174) was not taken advantage of by the Latins, who allowed Saladin to extend and consolidate his dominions (Syria, 1174-6). The inglorious expedition of Philip of Flanders (Aug. 1177-Easter 1178), and the great defeat of Saladin at Ramleh by 375 knights under Reginald of Châtillon (25th Nov. 1177), led in 1180 to a truce for two years. The violation of the truce by Reginald of Châtillon's seizure of Karak, and subsequent plunder of Arab caravans (1179, 1182, 1186), and the rapid decay of the kingdom of Jerusalem through dissensions, finally issued in a determined attack by Saladin, whose soldiers were now trained in Frank methods. His great victory at Tiberias or Hattin (4th July 1187) was followed by the siege (20th Sept.) and capitulation of Jerusalem on 2nd Oct. 1187.¹ Saladin's siege of Tyre (Nov. and Dec. 1187) was thwarted by Conrad of Montferrat, but the rest of the country was overrun, and a conditional promise was made of the surrender of Antioch if not relieved within seven months.

Meanwhile Europe once more armed, being terrified by the tidings which reached it (end of Oct. 1187 [Girald. Camb. *de Princ. Instr.* 239]) of the loss of Jerusalem. The first to move was the great Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, who as a young man had taken part in the Second Crusade. Starting from Regensburg (11th May 1189), Frederick crossed Hungary and Bulgaria, and wintered at Adrianople, sore harassed, as usual, by the treachery of the Greeks. Soon after Easter 1190 he crossed the Bosphorus, avoiding Constantinople, and struggled through the deserts of Cilicia. On the death, by drowning, of the great Emperor (10th June 1190) in the Saleph (Geuk Su or Calycadnus, *Itin. Ric.* 55), the Germans made their way, in part, to Antioch (June 21st), in part to Tripoli.

LITERATURE.—For this expedition we have the narrative of two spectators: Tageno of Passau, *Descript. Expediti. Frid. I.* (in M. Freher, *Germ. Rer. Script.* i. 406-16, ed. Struv, Strassburg, 1717), and the anonymous *Exped. Asiatice Frid. I.* (in Canisius, *Lect. Antig.* iii. (2) pp. 498-528, ed. J. Basnage [Amsterdam, 1725]). For modern works, see A. Chroust, *Tageno, Ansbert, und d. Hist. Peregrinorum*, Graz, 1892.

Richard of England (Nov. 1187) and Philip Augustus of France (Jan. 1188) had been the first to take the cross. But, owing to their quarrels, they did not start from Vézelay until June 1190. They journeyed together to Marseilles, and by separate fleets (Genoese and English) to Messina (23rd Sept.), where they wintered. Sailing in the spring, and on the way conquering Cyprus in a fortnight (*Itin. Ric.* 183 ff.), Richard arrived at Acre (8th June 1191), which Guy de Lusignan had sat down to besiege (28th Aug. 1189) and Saladin to defend, both sides passing through the extremes of pestilence and famine. Richard had been preceded by Philip (20th Apr.), and on 3rd July a united assault was made on the town, which surrendered on the 12th of the same month. The quarrels of Philip and Richard were, however,

¹ See Ernoul, in *L'Eistoire de Eracles*, xxiii. 55 ff. (*Recueil*, ii. 82 ff.), for interesting narration. For the events of the years 1187-9, see R. Röhricht, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuz* i. 115-208.

¹ For life, see Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, chs. 3 and 4, and J. F. Michaud, *Bib. des croisades* (Paris, 1829), iv. 78 ff.

² For date, see Bernhardi, *Conrad III.* 513 n.; William of Tyre, *op. cit.* xvi. 4.

³ Odo of Deuil, *op. cit.* i. 1; Bouquet, *Recueil*, xii. 91.

⁴ For this Council, which Mabillon, Baronius, and others put in 1146, thus leading to grave error, repeated in most writers, see E. Vacandard, *S. Bernard*, ii. 430 ff.

⁵ A. Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Script.*, Paris, 1641, iv. 390 ff.; or, better, ed. by A. Molinier, under the title *Vie de Louis le Gros*, Paris, 1887 (written 1163 and 1172).

disastrous, and, on 31st July, Philip set sail home. Richard with 100,000 men marched down the coast to Jaffa, protected by his fleet, and on 7th Sept. inflicted at Arsuf a great defeat upon Saladin (good narrative in *Itin. Ric.* p. 259). After six weeks' delay in re-fortifying Jaffa, Richard twice marched within sight of Jerusalem (Jan. and June 1192), but was forced to fall back on Ascalon. Dissensions, treason, luxury, and immorality (cf. *Itin. Ric.* pp. 284-5) among the crusaders, and trouble at home (*ib.* p. 334), led Richard to come to terms with Saladin (2nd Sept.). The Christians were to retain the coast from Tyre to Jaffa, and to have free access to the Holy Sepulchre. On 9th Oct. 1192, Richard left Palestine. Such small successes as this Crusade had accomplished were wholly due to his marvellous skill and daring (of the latter the most remarkable illustration is in Ralph Coggeshall, *Chron.*, Rolls Ser. 1875, pp. 41-51). On the death of Saladin at Damascus (4th March 1193) his dominions were divided, and the Christians obtained a respite, a great victory being won by German crusaders in 1197, which led to the recovery of the coast towns.

LITERATURE.—For Richard's Crusade the following are the chief sources. (1) The anonymous *Itin. Regis Ricardi* (ed. by W. Stubbs, with valuable introd. in Rolls Ser. 1864). The old ascription (due to Gale's ed. 1687) to Geoffrey Vinsauf is incorrect. Stubbs (introd. *op. cit.* xli ff.) advocates the authorship of Richard, a canon of the Holy Trinity in Aldgate, by whom it was published 1200-20 (*ib.* p. lxx). It is now generally agreed (in spite of Stubbs, *l.c.* p. lvi) that it is a free Latin translation of a French poem of a Norman knight called Ambroise, the minstrel of Richard (ed. by F. Liebermann and R. Pauli in Pertz, *MGH* xxvii, [1885] 532 ff., also ed. Gaston Paris, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, 1897; the poem was discovered in 1873). (2) Sundry references in the *Chronicles* of Roger Hoveden (ed. Stubbs, in Rolls Ser., 4 vols. 1868-71);¹ Matthew of Paris (ed. H. E. Luard in Rolls Ser., 7 vols. 1872-83); and Ralph de Diceto (ed. Stubbs in Rolls Ser., 2 vols. 1876).² (3) Two contemporary narratives: the anonymous *Libellus de expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ* (printed, with the *Chronicle* of Ralph Coggeshall, in Rolls Ser., ed. J. Stevenson, 1875, p. 209 ff.; also in Martène (*Ampliss. Coll.*, v. 544, 1729),¹ and the crusader's journal (Stubbs, *Itin. Ric.*, introd. p. xxxviii) in Benedict of Peterborough's *Gesta Henrici II. et Ric. I.* (ed. Stubbs, in Rolls Ser. 1867).² (4) The great Arabic work of Bohadin (Bahā al-Dīn, b. 1145, d. 1234), the friend of Saladin (ed. with French tr. under title 'La Vie du Sultan Youssef' (i.e. Saladin), in *Recueil des hist. des croisades* [*Hist. orient.*] iii. [Paris, 1884]; also ed. Schultens, Leyden, 1732). The tr. of C. W. Wilson, published by the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society (London, 1897), is said by Lane-Poole to be unscholarly.³ Of modern works, S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, New York, 1895, is of special value. Lane-Poole speaks in high terms of F. L. C. Marin's *Hist. de Saladin*, 2 vols., Paris, 1758. G. L. Schlumberger, *Renaud de Châtillon*, Paris, 1898, may also be consulted.

4. Fourth Crusade.—As the so-called Fourth Crusade, in spite of Innocent III.'s intention, never became a Crusade at all, but simply a successful attempt by the Latins to seize Constantinople and the Eastern Empire, for our present purpose it may be dismissed. Note should, however, be taken of the ancient hatred thus accentuated between Greek and Latin; of the evidence the Crusade affords of the fatal dissension between the Eastern and Western Churches, the existence of which was one great cause of the failure of the Crusades (cf. below, p. 350^b); of the indifference of the great trading towns of Italy, especially Venice, to all motives except gain; and of the terrible weakening in powers of defence of Constantinople which the Latin conquest and pillage (12th-13th Apr. 1204) and subsequent Latin rule (1204-61) produced.

From the first, the Crusade, which Innocent III. had preached immediately on his accession, was betrayed by Venice, which had agreed to provide

¹ For the Crusades these works can also be read in the convenient ed. by F. Liebermann and R. Pauli, in Pertz, *MGH* xxvii. (1885).

² The above have been extracted and translated by T. A. Archer, *Crusade of Richard I.* London, 1888 (in 'Eng. Hist. by Contemporary Writers' series).

³ Bohadin's paragon can be corrected by the works of Ibn al-Athir (1160-1233), *History of the Atabegs* (the enemies of Saladin) and *Al-Kāmil*, or the *Perfection of History* (both in *Recueil [Hist. orient.]*, vols. i. II., Paris, 1872-87).

sea-power (March 1201). The ostensible object was Egypt, the centre of Muslim power; but, while the crusaders were assembling at Venice, the Republic concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt (13th May 1202)¹ to divert the Crusade, in return for valuable commercial privileges in Alexandria and Jerusalem (see Bury's *Gibbon*, vi. 385 n., 528). The price the Republic wrung out of the crusaders was four marks a horse, two per man, or £180,000 (Pears, *Fall of Constantinople*, p. 234). As they had nothing wherewith to pay, the crusaders were then disgracefully used by the doge Henry Dandolo, and Boniface of Montferrat, for their own purposes. Until recent investigations, historians, including Gibbon, were successfully misled by the official narrative of Villehardouin, who seems himself to have been in the plot.

LITERATURE.—Of G. de Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, the best editions are by N. de Wailly, 3rd ed. (1882), who still maintains V.'s candour, and E. Bouchet, 2 vols., Paris, 1891. Other sources are (1) Gunther's *Historia* (ed. P. E. D. Riant, 1875; also in Canisius, *Antiq. Lect.* iv.); (2) the eye-witness Robert de Clary, *Li estories de chiaus qui conq. Const.* (MS privately possessed by P. E. D. Riant in 1868; ed. by Ch. Hopf, *Chron. græco-rom.*, Berlin, 1873, p. 1 ff.); (3) the anonymous *Devastatio Constantinopolitana* (another recent discovery; ed. in Pertz, *MGH* xvii., and, better, in Hopf, *op. cit.* p. 86 ff.). Of modern writers, E. Pears, *Fall of Constantinople*, London, 1886, should be specially studied for its clear survey; see also G. Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Crusaders*, etc., Edinburgh, 1851.

5. Fifth Crusade.—At the Lateran Council (Nov. 1215), Innocent III. unfolded his plans for a new Crusade. The cross was taken, among others, by Andrew II. of Hungary, who arrived at Acre (1217), but accomplished nothing. In May 1218 some Northern crusaders under John de Brienne sailed from Acre to Damietta. After a siege of seventeen months, Damietta was captured (5th Nov. 1219); but, owing to discord, was lost again (8th Sept. 1221).

At his coronation in Rome (Dec. 1220), and on his marriage with Yolande of Jerusalem (Nov. 1225), Frederick II., 'the wonder of the world,' had taken the crusaders' oath. Finally, after excommunication for delay by Gregory IX., Frederick landed at Acre with only 600 knights (7th Sept. 1228); but, owing to his excommunication, the Military Orders refused to serve under him. By treaty, however, with the Sultan al-Kāmil Muhammad (1218-38), but chiefly through the dissensions of the Turks, Frederick obtained (24th Feb. 1229) the cession of Jerusalem (save the Temple), Bethlehem, and Nazareth; and on 18th March 1229 crowned himself in Jerusalem. Hearing that in his absence Gregory IX. had instituted a Crusade against him, Frederick returned from Acre and landed at Brindisi (10th June 1229).

In August 1239, on the appeal of Gregory IX., an abortive French Crusade, under Theobald, king of Navarre, set sail from Marseilles; followed (June 1240) by Richard, earl of Cornwall, who had taken the cross at Winchester (June 1236), and Simon de Montfort. Richard reached Acre on 11th Oct. (Matt. Paris, iv. 71), and by purchase secured the release of many captives (*ib.* iv. 141-3). Nothing, however, was accomplished, and on 3rd May 1241 he returned home (*ib.* iv. 144). In 1243, by negotiation, Jerusalem was once more restored. But the calling in of the Charismians (an Eastern tribe driven from their homes by Genghis Khan) as allies by the Sultan of Egypt led to the annihilation of the Templars and Hospitalers at Gaza (14th Oct. 1244), the sack of Jerusalem, and the massacre of 30,000 of its inhabitants.

LITERATURE.—For the Fifth Crusade, in addition to Ernoul, we have as special sources: (1) James of Vitry, *Hist. Hierosolymitana* (in Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, i. 1047 ff.),² who was an eye-witness of the siege of Damietta (see his *Epistola de captivitate Damiatina* [ed. J. Greuter in his *Horius S. Cruces*, Ingolstadt

¹ The treaty is hinted at by Ernoul (*Recueil*, ii. 250).

² There is an Eng. tr. by A. Stewart, London, 1896.

1610, or in his *Op. Omn.*, vol. 8, Regensburg, 1734); and the continuation of William of Tyre by Bernard the Treasurer (see below, p. 351b). (2) *The Gesta obsidionis Damiatinæ* (Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.* viii. 1084 f.). (3) *De Quinto bello Sacro Testimonia Minora* (ed. R. Röhricht, Geneva, 1882, for Soc. de l'Orient lat.). This work contains a most useful collection of all the smaller Belgian, English, French (including Ernoul), German, Italian, Scandinavian, and Spanish sources; also *Quinti belli Sacri Script. Min.* (ed. R. Röhricht, Geneva, 1879-82, for the same Society). (4) For Frederick II. we have Richard de S. Germano, *Chron.* (1189-1248), in Muratori, *op. cit.* vii. 1002-13; Pertz, *MGH* xix. 323 ff. Of modern writers, for the Crusade of Andrew and the capture of Damietta, see R. Röhricht, *Studien zur Gesch. d. Fünften Kreuz.*, Innsbruck, 1891, ch. 2. For Frederick II., Röhricht, *Die Kreuzfahrt Fr. II.*, Berlin, 1872 (printed also in his *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuz.*, 1874).

6. **Sixth Crusade.**—The fall of Jerusalem before the Charismians led St. Louis IX. to take the cross. He sailed from Aigues-Mortes (25th Aug. 1248) with 1800 ships and at least 50,000 men, wintered in Cyprus, and reached (5th June) Damietta, which the Saracens abandoned. After six months' delay the French pushed on towards Cairo, but were almost annihilated (8th Feb. 1250) at Mansurah (see Oman, *op. cit.* 338-50). Compelled to retreat, Louis was captured (15th Apr.-6th May 1250), but secured his freedom from the Mamluks by a ransom of 400,000 livres and the surrender of Damietta. After four years in Palestine, spent in the fortification of the seaports, Louis departed without having reached Jerusalem, arriving home 11th July 1154.

LITERATURE.—For this Crusade, see the narrative of the eyewitness J. de Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis IX.* (most convenient ed. is that of Natalis de Wailly with Fr. tr. [1868, 1874], or the Paris ed. of 1761); E. J. Davis, *Invasion of Egypt in 1250* (1897), is a good modern account.

7. **Seventh Crusade.**—In 1263 the sultan Bibars (Baybars al-Bundukdārī) of Egypt began the systematic conquest of Palestine (Arsuf [1265], Safed [1266], Jaffa [1268], and Antioch [12th June 1268]). In July 1270, Louis IX., provoked by the loss of Antioch, set off from Aigues-Mortes with 36,000 troops, but was induced to turn aside to Tunis, in the siege of which he died (25th Aug. 1270). Edward of England (afterwards Edward I.) reached Tunis (9th Oct.), and, after wintering there, reached Acre (9th May 1271) just in time to save the city from the Muslims. Owing to his father's failing health, Edward was driven to patch up a ten years' truce, and return (14th Sept. 1272). Throughout his life he, however, cherished the hope of further Crusades. Meanwhile the growing quarrels of the Military Orders, and the rivalry of Genoese, Venetians, and Pisans, led to renewed disasters, in the strip of the Latin kingdom still left—by the capture of Tripoli (1289), and finally of Acre (18th May 1291), when the massacre of 60,000 Christians closed 'the World's Debate.'

In a sense the Crusades, as the struggle of Muslim and Christian, may be said to have been continued by the slow conquest of Spain from the Moors, by the war of Sigismund with the Turks (1396), by Muhammad II.'s capture of Constantinople (1453), by the great naval victory of Don John at Lepanto (1571), and that of John Sobieski at Vienna (Sept. 1683). But all motive of rescue of the Holy Sepulchre, etc., was now lost, and the sole idea was political—to roll back the invasion of the Turks from Europe.

LITERATURE.—For the Seventh Crusade, the expedition of St. Louis is in William de Nangis (ed. H. Géraud, 2 vols., Paris, 1843). For Edward we have T. Wykes in *Annales Monastici* (Rolls Ser.) ed. Luard, vol. iv., 1869; and the *Chronicon* of Walter Gysburn or Hemingburgh (ed. H. O. Hamilton, 1848, vol. i. pp. 329-37). For the final siege of Acre the anonymous *de Excidio urbis Aconis*, in Martène, *Ampliss. Collect.* v. 767-84; and Abū-l-Fidā's account in *Recueil* (Hist. or.) vol. i.

III. **CAUSES OF FAILURE OF THE CRUSADES.**
—I. **Lack of sea-power.**—This applied especially to the early Crusades. The long march overland from Germany or France through Hungary, the Eastern Empire, then across the deserts and mountains of Asia Minor, would have tried the ability of Alexander or Napoleon at the head of their seasoned legions. It was fatal to Godfrey of Bouillon and Louis VII. and, of course, to the

undisciplined thousands who followed Walter the Penniless.¹ With sea-power, Barbarossa might have won. On the field of battle the crusaders were irresistible. But entangled among mountains and deserts their numbers became their ruin. The lack of sea-power, the possession of which would have led to success, was the effect of a still deeper cause. Sea-power in the Mediterranean was in the hands of the Greeks, or of the cities of Italy—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Of these, Venice, once the subject, was now the ally of Constantinople (see Bury's note, Gibbon, vi. 381), and Genoa was chiefly intent on guarding its trade with the Crimea. The sea-power of England and North Europe was used advantageously at Jaffa in 1102 and 1107, but was not available for the transport of the Continental crusaders. After the First Crusade the West woke up to the advantage of a sea-power. But the Greek Empire had now become bitterly antagonistic to all Crusades (see below, § 2), and so sea-power was denied by the Greeks and Venetians, except on exorbitant terms (cf. above, 'Fourth Crusade').

2. **The division of Christendom.**—But the chief cause of failure was undoubtedly the disunion of the crusaders, and the deep hatred between the Greek and Latin Churches. A united Christendom would have been invincible: it recoiled broken and dispirited by its own divisions. The disunion was of a double nature—national and religious. Of the national dissensions the Third Crusade will serve as an example; or, better, the fact that at Acre, when it fell, there were no fewer than seventeen independent commands. From the first the Crusades were a French rather than a German movement; and the Germans—the Empire, in fact—in consequence did little. Of the religious dissensions—largely also national—the antagonism between the Greek and Latin Churches and Empires was even more fatal. The Greeks after the First Crusade rarely did anything to assist the Crusaders, and often secretly thwarted them.

3. **The bad organization of the Latin kingdom.**—The conquests achieved by the First Crusade were organized on a feudal basis. Latin in character, by over-taxation and intolerance it hopelessly estranged the natives (H. G. Prutz, *Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, p. 167), especially the native Churches (Nestorians, etc.). There is some evidence that Jerusalem was betrayed to Saladin by Christian Melchites (*Recueil*, ii. 85 n.). One result of the feudal system, when worked in connexion with a country of enervating climate and constant warfare, was the number of heiresses, and, in consequence, of disputed and changing successions.² The only sound element in the country in this matter was the organization of the Military Orders, with their constant succession of new blood from Europe.

IV. **RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES.**—I. **Political.**—The immediate political effects have been dealt with under the several Crusades. Other consequences were:

(1) *Increased importance of the Papacy*, as the embodiment of the unity of Christendom, and the leader in the call to war, in spite of the fact that Urban II. in his summons left out those great ideas of military method and politico-ecclesiastical conquest upon which Gregory had impressed the stamp of his character. But the crusaders were the soldiers of the Pope, who alone could remit their vows. By the 'Saladin tax' a tenth of the revenues of the clergy were poured into the Papal coffers. The increased importance attached to

¹ Oman (*op. cit.* 283) points out the geographical ignorance shown in these land routes.

² See Stubbs, *Itin. Reg. Ric.*, Introd. pp. lxxxix-cxi, for a brilliant analysis of the causes of the fall of the Latin kingdom, and consequent failure of the Crusades.

indulgences through the Crusades, and the effect on the Papacy, must not be overlooked. How completely the Papacy was identified with the conception of Crusades is seen in the disastrous extension of the idea to all the wars engineered or encouraged by the Papacy against its enemies, e.g. the Albigenses; against Frederick II. and Manfred; or against the Hussites. In the long run this power of inaugurating a Crusade told by its misuse against the Papacy, and was one cause of its fall.

(2) *Weakness of the Eastern Empire.*—Unfortunately, one result of the Crusades, especially of the Third Crusade, was the weakening of Constantinople,—this altogether apart from the fatal Fourth Crusade,—and thus of the barrier of Europe against the Muslim (see Pears, *op. cit.* ch. 5). This result—the exact opposite of the intention—was the direct outcome of the religious feud between the Greek and Roman Churches.

(3) *Rise of the Military Orders.*—An important consequence was the foundation of the various Orders of military monks, whose influence and history overleap the narrow limits of the Crusades (see also HOSPITALITY [Christian], MONASTICISM). (a) Of these the oldest, the *Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, was in existence as a hospital for pilgrims at an early but unknown date.¹ On the institution of the Templars the hospital was turned into a Military Order. (b) The famous *Order of the Temple* was instituted about 1118. But its real start was not until Bernard at the Synod of Troyes (Jan. 1128) lent it his advocacy. To Bernard was assigned the composition of its Rule, the greater part of which, however, is by a later hand.² (c) The *Teutonic Order of Knights* was founded in 1190 at the siege of Acre. Its vast importance for European history by its conquest of Prussia from the heathen must not be forgotten. (d) There was a fourth Order, *Knights of St. Thomas of Acre*, of interest as almost purely English.³

2. *Commercial and social.*—(1) *Growth of liberty.*—The expenses of the crusaders led to the sale of estates, advowsons, town-rights, manorial rights, etc., to merchants, burgesses, and others; and so, to the growth of liberty. The sales to the Jews led by reaction to an outbreak against them (W. Cunningham, *Growth of Eng. Industry and Commerce*, vol. i. [5th ed., Cambridge, 1910] p. 205). In commerce we see the opening up of the East to the West (H. G. Prutz, *Kulturgesch. d. Kreuz.*), especially to Venice and Genoa (Cunningham, *op. cit.* 147, 198). As the monks did not go on crusade, the sales of estates ministered much to their wealth, and to that of the Church generally.

(2) *Introduction of Aristotle to Europe.*—The contact of East and West led James of Venice to bring back and translate (1124) the books of Aristotle, including the *Physical Works*, previously known only in imperfect translations. The effect of this was one of the causes of the rise of Scholasticism (see H. B. Workman, *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, London, 1911, ch. 9).⁴

3. *Theological.*—Through the realization of the sufferings of the Saviour—powerfully aided by the Crusades (cf. the Crusaders' Hymn, 'Salve, caput cruentatum')—the idea of the historical but dying Jesus was formed side by side with the growing mediæval conception of the sacramental

and eternal Christ. 'The primitive Christian intuitions were restored. The sacred places stirred the imagination, and led it to the Christ of the Gospels' (Harnack, *Hist. Dogma*, Eng. tr. vi. [1899] 9).

LITERATURE.—*ORIGINAL SOURCES.*—The particular sources for the several Crusades have already been noted under each. It remains to add the more general works. The best work covering the whole period is William of Tyre (b. 1127), whose intimate acquaintance with Palestine was supplemented by a knowledge of Arabic. His *Hist. rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*Recueil* [Hist. occid.], i. [1844]) is one of the great works of mediæval history, and should be studied even by those who cannot afford time for research. Until recent years it was the basis of all histories dealing with the Crusades. Books i.-xv. (to 1144) are indebted to earlier writers, esp. Albert of Aachen; xvi.-xxiii. (to 1184) to his own observation. It was continued in French by Ernoul, who was present at the battle of Hattin and the capitulation of Jerusalem, down to 1229; by Bernard the Treasurer, down to 1231; and by anonymous writers, down to 1277 (see J. M. de Mas Latrie, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* [Paris, 1871]; or A. P. Paris, *G. de Tyre et ses continuateurs*, 2 vols. [Paris, 1879-80]). The whole was translated into French before the publication of the continuation (de Beugnot, *Recueil* [Hist. occid.], i. pref. p. xxv) under the absurd title of *L'Etoile de Bracles Empeleur* (i.e. Heraclius), the opening words of the *Historia*; in *Recueil*, vols. i. and ii. For the charters, etc., of the kingdom of Jerusalem, see R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, Innsbruck, 1898, 1904. Of the general Oriental sources, 'All-Ibn-al-Athir's (b. 1160) history from 1098-1190 will be found in *Recueil* [Hist. occid.], i. 189 ff.

MODERN AUTHORITIES.—Special monographs, including the valuable works of Hagenmeyer and Röhricht, have been indicated under the several Crusades. Of general Histories the following may be noted: E. Gibbon (ed. Bury [new ed. in prep. 1911], with appendices, corrections, and notes by S. Lane-Poole) is valuable for the First Crusade, poor for the others, and misleading for the Fourth, on which, however, when the main idea is corrected, he is full and good. The best summary for the general reader is T. A. Archer and C. L. Kingsford, *The Crusades*, London, 1894, but without notes. Complete surveys are found in Bernard Kugler, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1880, and L. Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au moyen âge*, Paris, 1907. The older F. Wilken, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, 7 vols., Leipzig, 1807-32, and J. F. Michand, *Hist. des croisades*, 5 or 6 vols. (Paris, 1812-17, 1825-8; also new ed. Brussels, 1857, Eng. tr. in 3 vols. by W. Robson [1852]), may be neglected without much loss. For the kingdom of Jerusalem the most accurate account is in R. Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königreichs Jerus.*, Innsbruck, 1898. The reader may also consult C. R. Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1897; E. G. Rey, *Les Colonies françaises de Syrie*, Paris, 1883 (social history, etc.). Military matters are dealt with in C. W. Oman, *Hist. of the Art of War*, London, 1898, bk. iv. and v.; the Greek view in G. Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, 7 vols., ed. H. F. Tozer, Oxford, 1877, vols. ii.-iv. Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890; S. Lane-Poole, *Moslems in Spain*, London, 1897; H. G. Prutz, *Kulturgesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883 (in many points exaggerated), deal with important side-matters. For the Children's Crusade of 1212, reference may be made to G. Z. Gray, *Children's Crusade*, New York, 1898.

H. B. WORKMAN.

CRYSTAL-GAZING.—'Crystal-gazing' is the current name for the attempt to provoke the appearance of visions by concentrating the gaze on any clear depth—a crystal, a glass ball, water in a vessel, water in a pond, a mirror, a piece of polished basalt, or anything of the kind. With certain subjects it suffices to stare into the darkness of a funnel; in fact, granting the faculty for being hallucinated in the course of gazing fixedly,—say at ink in the palm of the hand, or at ink in an ordinary inkstand—the details are unimportant. In practice the easiest method is to look steadily, for perhaps five minutes, at a glass or crystal ball laid on any dark surface, at the distance from the eyes of a book which the experimenter might be reading. If the gazer has the faculty, he usually sees a kind of mist or a milky obscurity cover the ball, which then seems to become clear and black; pictures then emerge. Sometimes the ball ceases to be present to the consciousness of the gazer, who feels as if he were beholding an actual scene. An Arabian author of the 14th cent., Ibn Khaldūn, describes the experience in similar terms.¹

Any one who is fortunate enough to have the command of leisure and solitude for ten minutes on four or five occasions can discover whether or

¹ *Notices et Extraits des MSS de la Bibl. Nat.* xix. 221 f.; cf. A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, Lond. 1898, p. 268 f.

¹ See Röhricht, *Erst. Kreuz.* 11 n. *Recueil*, v., Pref. cix., dates about 1080, from William of Tyre, xviii. 4 and 5. W. Heyd, *Gesch. d. Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1879, French tr. by F. M. Raynaud, Paris, 1886, i. 103-6), argues against the accepted view that it was founded by merchants of Amalfi (*Recueil*, v. 401).

² See Bouquet, *Recueil*, xiv. 232; Labbe, *Conc.* xxi. 380; *Op. Bernard.* ii. 543, in *PL* clxxxii. 919.

³ For its history, see Stubbs, *Itin. Ric.*, Introd. p. cxli n.

⁴ The influence of the Arab philosophers upon Western thought must not be put down to the Crusades, as it came through Spain.

not he or she has the faculty of seeing 'crystal visions.' The gaze should not be prolonged when the eyes begin to feel fatigued, or if a sense of somnolence appears to be approaching. Solitude is here recommended, because the mind, though it may follow any train of thought, is not the better, in the experiment, for the irresponsible chatter of the frivolous and talkative. In actual life, in the present writer's experience, it is very rare to find any person who has the leisure and the resolution to make *solitary* experiments of the duration of ten minutes on four or five occasions. None the less, in spite of the scarcity of time and the insistent demands of society, it is now admitted, even by a number of orthodox students of experimental psychology, that hallucinations of sight really are provoked in some sane and honourable and educated persons, by gazing into a clear depth. These people see 'crystal visions' representing persons, events, and places, known or unknown, familiar or unfamiliar, to the gazer, and not summoned up by any conscious attempt to 'visualize.'

This set of facts is quite as certainly authentic as the coloured visions of arithmetical figures, which, as Sir F. Galton has convinced science, arise before the 'mind's eye' of many persons on the mention of numbers. In both cases, so far, the 'visions' are attested only by the numbers and personal character of the 'seers.'

A third kind of visionary experience is perhaps less common than we might suppose. Many persons are unacquainted with *illusions hypnagogiques*—the bright and distinct views of faces, places, persons, and landscapes, usually unfamiliar, which flit before the closed eyes in moments between sleeping and waking. These pictures, like those of crystal vision, come unsummoned, and often represent persons or places which we do not remember ever to have seen. People who have no experience of those illusions are apt to disbelieve that other people have it. In short, all kinds of experiences—visions of numerals in the mind's eye, *illusions hypnagogiques*, and crystal visions—are 'automatisms,' and are not produced by the action of the conscious intelligence.

Before the experiments of the Society for Psychological Research, in the matter of crystal-gazing, were made (1890-1910), most persons of sense believed that the faculty for seeing such hallucinations was a mere fable of romance-writers, or a delusion of peasants. But, when many experiments had made it certain that the faculty is far from being very rare among members of both sexes, young or old, in all ranks and all degrees of education, attention was drawn to the use of crystal-gazing in many ages and lands as a form of divination. It was found that the pictures seen by the 'scryer,' or gazer, were supposed to be sent by spirits, and to indicate events distant in space or destined to occur in the future; or they revealed persons guilty of theft or other crimes. Thus crystal-gazing got a bad name, and was associated with invocation of evil spirits, and even now the average man or woman thinks crystal-gazing synonymous with divination. 'Tell me what horse will win the Derby,' says the average man, 'and if you succeed I'll believe that there is something in it.' Another criticism is, 'What is the use of it?' Savage peoples, almost everywhere, and the people of Greece, Rome, Egypt, the subjects of the Incas in South America, and the magicians of the Middle Ages and later thought they found 'the use of it' to be the gaining of knowledge not accessible by any normal means.

Thus, in Polynesia, when any object has been stolen, the priest, after praying, has a hole dug in the floor of the house and filled with water. Then he gazes into the water, over which the god is supposed to place the spirit of the thief. 'The image of the spirit . . . was, according to their account, reflected

in the water, and being perceived by the priest, he named the individual, or the parties, who had committed the theft.'¹ Père Lejeune, S.J., found that among the American Indians of his flock (about 1660), the medicine-men made their patients gaze into deep water, and, if they saw in it visions of anything edible or medicinal, it was 'exhibited' and was supposed to do them good. Captain Bourke of the U.S. cavalry discovered that among the Apache Indians the medicine-men used quartz crystals, by looking into which they could see everything they wanted to see.² Among the Iroquois the phantasm of the person who has bewitched another is looked for in a gourd full of water, in which a crystal is placed.³ The Huilleche of South America gaze 'into a smooth slab of black stone.'⁴ In the 17th cent. the people of Madagascar divined by gazing on crystals, and according to de Flacourt, divined successfully.⁵ The Zulus and the shamans of Siberia gaze into vessels full of water.⁶ The Inca king Yupanqui used a crystal.⁷ Australian savages use crystals or polished stones.⁸ The Romans used water in a vessel of glass.⁹ In Egypt and in India ink is used, whether in a black spot on a piece of paper or in a drop in the palm of the hand. Examples of mediæval and modern practice are collected by 'Miss X.' (Miss Goodrich Freer) in *Proc. of Soc. for Psychical Research*, v. 486.

It is manifest, then, that the production of visual hallucinations by various modes of crystal-gazing is of world-wide diffusion and unknown antiquity; and that the 'use' of the practice has been the discovery of knowledge not otherwise accessible, though knowledge of the future has not perhaps been much sought in this fashion, except in modern Europe, and in a well-known anecdote of the Régent d'Orléans told by Saint Simon.

Miss Goodrich Freer, in her essay already cited, was (after W. Gregory [*Animal Magnetism*, London, 1851], and H. Mayo [*Truths in Popular Superstitions*, Frankfurt, 1849]) the first author to examine seriously the question of crystal-gazing. She herself possesses the faculty, and she analyzed the phenomena in her own experience. She found that the visions represented (1) lost memories which thus arose into her upper consciousness; (2) ideas or images which might or might not be present to her normal consciousness; (3) visions, possibly telepathic or clairvoyant, implying acquisition of knowledge 'by supernatural means.' The examples of this last class which the author gave were not very striking; but the present writer has known her to be much more successful.

It has been the writer's fortune to meet a large number of very normal persons of both sexes, and often of high intelligence and education, who, on making experiments in a subject entirely new to them, exhibited the faculty in various degrees. In its lowest form figures of persons and objects were seen in black and white; not in the colours of nature. Letters in the printed Roman alphabet were also seen. A higher form of the faculty is the beholding of figures in the costumes of various nations, engaged in various ways, some of them romantic; in other cases they appear to represent some unknown incident in history. Personages known or unknown to the gazer very frequently occur. The figures, wearing the colours of nature, move about in a free natural way, and often remain long in view, even when the crystal, after being laid down, has been taken up again. In some well-attested cases two persons see the same crystal-vision simultaneously, or one after the other. But, in the second category, the writer has only once known the vision—novel to the gazer—to be fitted later with a real objective counterpart, discovered

¹ W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1830, li. 240.

² J. G. Bourke, 'Medicine-men of the Apaches,' *9 REEW* (1892), p. 461.

³ E. A. Smith, 'Myths of the Iroquois,' *9 REEW* (1888), p. 681.

⁴ R. Fitzroy, *Narrative of Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure*, London, 1839, li. 884.

⁵ E. de Flacourt, *Hist. de Madagascar*, Paris, 1661, ch. 76.

⁶ H. Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, London, 1868, p. 841; *JAF* xxiv. (1894) 155, citing Rybnok, *Zhurnal*, p. 86.

⁷ Cristoval de Molina, *Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, ed. and tr. Markham, Hakluyt Soc. 1873, p. 12.

⁸ A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 90; K. Langloh Parker, *The Ewathibi Tribe*, London, 1905.

⁹ Varro, in *Aug. de Civ. Dei*, vii. 85.

accidentally. What he saw actually existed in all its details, unknown to him and to the writer, who was looking on at the experiment, made in his smoking-room. In 1897, the writer met at St. Andrews a young lady who was visiting the place for the first time and who had never heard of crystal-gazing. Being presented with a glass ball, she made a number of experiments. The method was that any one who pleased (and all were but very recent acquaintances of the gazer) thought of anything or anybody that he or she chose. The lady then looked into the glass ball and described what she saw. A dozen cases of her success (which included seeing persons unheard of by her, in places unknown to her, persons dressed and occupied as inquiry proved that they had been clad and engaged at, or shortly before, the hour of the experiments) are published in the writer's *The Making of Religion*, pp. 90-112, from signed and attested records. Many other successful cases are known to the writer, and, during the course of the experiments already mentioned, it very rarely occurred that the gazer saw nothing, or something not consciously present either to the sitter's mind, or—what is more curious—to the mind of a sceptical looker-on, not the sitter. If telepathy be the cause of such occurrences, they illustrate the casual and incalculable quality of that agency. For example, in some experiments a lady in the south of England was to try to send impressions to a gazer, who had never heard of her, in the north of Scotland. The message, of a very simple kind, did not arrive; what arrived was a vivid picture of certain singular incidents of a private nature which had much impressed the distant communicator, but which she had no intention of transmitting. As fortuitous coincidence could not explain so many successes in the experiments of 1897—the crystal pictures being full of minute details—the writer was reduced to supposing that some unascertained cause, going sometimes beyond telepathy as usually defined, was at work. Many other curious examples of the possession of the faculty, apparently accompanied by telepathy, have occurred in experiments by friends and kinsfolk of the writer—healthy, normal men and women. The gazers have never shown any traces of drowsiness or dissociation, or even any tendency to form theories about their experiences, except in one instance, when experiment destroyed the theory.

In the writer's opinion experiments of the kind described are more trustworthy than investigations into the hallucinations of professional and trained female hysterical patients in French hospitals. Pierre Janet has published such experiments with professional neurotics at the Salpêtrière in his *Névroses et idées fixes* (Paris, 1898). His account of the experiences of Miss Goodrich Freer in her paper, already cited, is of the most fantastic character, as becomes manifest when her narrative is compared with the document which, in addition to his own imagination, is his source. In affairs of this sort few people who have not personal experience of unaccountable successes can be expected to believe in them; while few who have been present at such successes, and have had their own thoughts read (of course without physical contact—'muscle-reading'—between the sitter and the crystal-gazer), can persist in scepticism. It is plain that in most countries and ages crystal-gazing in one form or another has been practised, and successes would greatly increase the hold of priest, or witch, or medicine-man, over his patrons. Fraud would doubtless be used wherever it was possible; knowledge normally acquired would be presented as of supernatural origin. When fraud is excluded, successful crystal-gazing offers a problem even more difficult than success with other automatisms

such as the so-called 'divining-rod' and the tilting table. These automatisms appear to present to the normal consciousness knowledge within the range of the sub-conscious mind, though we cannot tell how the sub-conscious mind in many cases obtains its information.

LITERATURE.—As this subject has attracted attention only in recent years, the literature of it is very scanty, and most of it has been cited by Miss Goodrich Freer (as 'Miss X.') in *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, vol. v. pp. 488, 521, vol. viii. pp. 458-556, 259, 276; reference should also be made to A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, London, 1908, and later editions, pp. 90-113; N. W. Thomas, *Crystal Gazing, its History and Practice*, London, 1905; E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London, 1860; *Quarterly Review*, vol. lix.; L. de Laborde, *Commentaire*, Paris, 1841; F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, London, 1903.

ANDREW LANG.

CÚCHULAINN CYCLE.—1. Cúchulainn, the chief hero of the Ulster cycle of romance, is regarded as a re-incarnation, or *avatâr*, of Lug Lamhfhada, 'the long-handed,' the solar deity of the ancient Irish; he is considered in his birth-stories sometimes as son of Lug, sometimes as Lug himself re-born. His mother was Dechtire, sister of king Conor (Conchobhar) of Ulster; she and fifty young maidens, her companions, were transformed into a flock of birds who disappeared for three years from the king's court, and were found in the neighbourhood of Brugh on the Boyne, where are tumuli traditionally believed to be the burial-places of the Tuatha Dé Danann deities. Here Dechtire gave birth to a babe; in one version of the tale it is revealed to Dechtire by Lug that he himself is her little child (i.e. that the child is a re-incarnation of himself); in another, Lug is the noble young warrior whom she has espoused.

The idea of re-incarnation is not unfamiliar in Irish literature. In the tale called 'The Wooing of Emer' it is stated that the men of Ulster wished to provide a wife for Cúchulainn, 'knowing that his re-birth would be of himself,' i.e. that only from himself could another such as he have origin; and in the tale of 'The Generation of the Swineherds,' which explains the origin of the Bulls who take part in the great mythological warfare of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, we find that these prodigious kine have gone through a series of incarnations before their final appearance as bulls.

Throughout his career, Cúchulainn is watched over by his divine kinsman, Lug, and he points proudly to his connexion with Lug when questioned as to his origin. He has also a father, Sualtach or Sualtam (variously spelt Soaltainn, Soalta, etc.), to whom, according to one of the birth-stories, Dechtire is married by king Conor after her connexion with Lug. The stories are much confused, and there are suggestions in one of them of an incestuous connexion between Dechtire and her brother the king himself. The child is named Setanta by Lug's command. Little is known of Sualtach; though usually regarded as a human being, he is more than once called in Old Irish literature Sualtach *sidhe* or Sualtach *sidhech*, i.e. 'Sualtach of the fairy haunts'; and he is spoken of as possessing through his mother, who was an elf woman, 'the magical might of an elf' (cf. *Book of Leinster* [LL], 58a, 24; *Cóir Anmann, Ir. Teate*, iii. sect. 232). Like all the personages of the cycle, he is clearly regarded as a mythological being. His name has become curiously mixed up with the genealogies of Fionn mac Cumhall (cf. *Brit. Mus. MS. Egerton*, 1782, in which he appears as Fionn's grandfather). In the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* he comes to his son's aid when he is exhausted by the labours of the war, and arouses the hosts of Ulster to his assistance. He is there called 'Sualtach or Sualtam, son of Becaltach (Becfoltach) mac Moraltach, father of Cúchulainn mac Sualtach' (LL 93a). He was killed by falling accidentally upon the rim of his own shield.

Although Cúchulainn is the prime hero of Ulster, and his feats of heroism are performed and his wars undertaken in defence of that province, he is

nevertheless said (in MS Harl. 5280, fol. 53 B, Brit. Mus.) not to 'belong to Ulster'; and, when the whole of the male inhabitants of that province were overtaken by the physical weakness which recurred among them at intervals, and which seems to have been the result of some sort of *geis*, or 'tabu,' Cúchulainn and his father Sualtach were exempt and able to fight. Though usually and officially described as of splendid appearance and with ruddy and golden hair, Cúchulainn is sometimes spoken of as 'a dark sad man' ('Wooring of Emer' [*Arch. Rev.* i. 72]), or a 'little black-browed man' (*Messa Ulad*, p. 29), which would not suggest descent from the Ultonians; in connexion with Cúchulainn's original name, Setanta, Rhys points out that there was a district between the Mersey and Morecambe Bay once inhabited by a people called Setantii, and refers to Ptolemy's mention (II. iii. 2) of a harbour of the Setantii, the position of which corresponds with the mouth of the Ribble (*Celt. Heath.* 455 and note). An obscure Irish poem relating to Cúchulainn alludes to a Setantian stream (*curoch fri sruth Setintí*, 'a coracle against the stream of Setanta') (*Leabhar na hUidhre* [LU] 125b).

2. Cúchulainn's precocity is abnormal; already at the age of seven years he performs his first feats, and can fight with and destroy warriors of renown; his lengthened war of the Táin Bó Cúalnge, sustained single-handed in defence of Ulster against the combined forces of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, and continued during an entire winter, from before *Samhain*, or Hallowe'en (Oct. 31st), till after St. Bridget's Festival (Feb. 1), is represented as having taken place when the hero was only seventeen and still a beardless youth; and he is said to have died at the age of twenty-seven (*Ann. Tighernach*). Among his feats performed when he was a mere child is that from which he received his heroic title of Cúchulainn. *Cú* (gen. *Con*), 'hound,' was a title often bestowed to denote a hero of renown, in reference to the use of large hounds in battle and the bravery shown by them. Cúchulainn says of himself:

'I was a hound strong for combat,
I was a hound who visited the troops,
I was a hound to guard Emania.'

He received this name from his combat with a fierce dog, said to have been brought from Spain (gloss in *LU*), which guarded the fort of Culann, a smith of Ulster, and which was slain by the boy when he was scarcely six years old. The child himself took the office of the watch-dog until one of the dog's whelps was sufficiently grown to replace him. Henceforth the name *Cú Chulainn*, 'Hound of Culann,' clung to him.

It is said in *Messa Ulad* that a district extending from Umech in Meath northward along the coast to Dún Daigan (Dundalk), and called Conaille Muirtheinne and Cúalnge, belonged personally to Cúchulainn (Todd Lecture Series, 1889, i. 2). It embraced the present county of Louth and parts of Meath and Westmeath. At that time the province of Meath, with its over-kingdom of Tara, had not come into existence, and Ulster extended southward to the Boyne, touching the provinces of Leinster and Munster at the Hill of Umech in Westmeath. This district seems to have been bestowed on the hero by king Conor, and was not his by inheritance. Cúchulainn's own fort was Dún Daigan (now Dundalk).

His wife was Emer, daughter to Forgall the Wily, a landowner near Lusk, in the present county of Dublin. A special tale relates his wooing of Emer. Though she appears to have been his only real wife, she had numerous rivals, of whom the most formidable was Fand, wife of Manánan mac Ler, a goddess who enticed him away for a time into fairy-land.

3. The Red Branch.—Cúchulainn is the central figure of a group of champions commonly known as 'the Champions of the Red Branch,' so called from one of the three halls in the kingly palace of Emain Macha or Emania (now Navan Fort, S.W. of Armagh, where raths remain to the present day). The history and feats of these heroes are described in a series of over a hundred distinct tales. There

are, besides these longer tales, numerous detached episodes which fill up gaps, so that the career of each hero of importance can be traced from birth to death in a very complete manner. They form a connected whole in the mind of the story-teller and reader, much as the originally isolated tales referring to Arthurian knights ultimately came to be formed into a complete cycle of stories. The three most prominent champions, who are frequently exposed to tests of strength or prowess against each other, are Conall *cernach*, 'the Victorious,' *Læghaire biadach*, 'the Triumphant,' and Cúchulainn; but Cúchulainn invariably proves himself to be the greatest hero of the three.

These tales seem to have originated in, and deal largely with, that eastern portion of Ulster which lies between the R. Bann and Lough Neagh on the west and the sea on the east. The capital was Emain Macha, and within this area lay the forts and dwelling-places of most of the chief heroes of the Ulster cycle. The king, who appears in the tales as ruling from Emain Macha, is named Conor (Conchobhar), and his death is synchronized with that of our Lord in Jerusalem. The reign of Conor and the exploits of the heroes are thus traditionally laid in the first century. Though king Conor and all the champions are accepted by R. O'Flaherty (*Ogygia*, Dublin, 1793, pt. iii. c. xlvii.-xlviii.) as historical personages, there is no place found for them in the Annals, though Conor is said, in some versions, to be the son of Fachtna *fathach*, 'the Wise,' who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, ascended the throne of Ulster in the year of the world 5042 (152 B.C.).

The entry runs:—'A.M. 5042. The first year of Fachtna *fathach* in the sovereignty of Ireland'; and fifteen years later we have the entry of his death: 'A.M. 5057. Fachtna *fathach*, son of Rossa, son of Rudhraigh, after having been sixteen years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was slain by Eochaid *feidhleach* (i.e. the constant sighing).'

But this attempt to connect king Conor with a king of all Ireland was evidently a late one, and is the less to be taken into account as there is no sign in these tales that the central province of Meath, with its capital at Tara, had at this time been erected into a separate division, or that any over-king (called in Ireland *Ardr-Rí*, or 'High King') as yet reigned over Ireland. Ulster is represented as haughtily independent, and each of the other provinces had its own king, who acted with perfect freedom independently of any central authority. The provinces, or 'Four Great Fifths,' of Ireland were, at the time of which we speak, Ulster, Leinster, Connaught, and East and West Munster. Meath, the future central royal province, created for the support of the High Kings of Ireland who ruled from Tara, did not then exist. Nor, considering that Fachtna died 137 B.C., could he have been father to Conor, who reigned in the beginning of the 1st century. Another and probably older version makes king Conor son to the druid and poet Cathbad, by Nessa his wife, a woman warrior.

Though Conor's death is synchronized with the moment of our Lord's crucifixion, the Annals of Tighernach date his death at 48 B.C. O'Flaherty, probably observing some of these inconsistencies, says that 'the king came near committing suicide, but lived fifteen years after.'

We may regard these attempts to fit the career of king Conor and of the Champions of the Red Branch cycle into the actual history of Ireland in much the same light as the connexion of the heroes of the *Nibelungen* with the early history of the Teutonic peoples or of king Arthur's knights with the history of Britain. The tales sprang up at a time when the power of eastern Ulster was still a living tradition among the literary class in Ireland. The raths at many of the sites of the traditional forts, such as Emain Macha (Navan Fort), the king's dwelling in Ulster, and Rath Cruachan or Rathcrogan (Co. Roscommon), the fortress of Queen

Meave of Connaught, show that the legends were connected with known historical sites, but it is unnecessary on that account to consider the actual personages of the cycle or their careers as historical. They are plainly regarded as mythological, and the chief events and wars in which they were engaged bear a mythological interpretation.

The tales have a close relationship to the legends of the race of gods known as the Tuatha Dé Danann; a few of them, indeed, both in style and subject, belong equally to both cycles. Such are 'The Wooing of Etain' and 'The Dispute of the Swineherds.' The pedigrees of the heroes of the Red Branch are all traced up to the Tuatha Dé Danann, although, according to the Annals, there is a lapse of 1500 years between the two epochs. Rudraigh, or Rury, is the head of the house, and from him and from the goddess Maga, daughter of Angus na Brugh, by her marriages with Ross ruadh, 'the Red,' and Cathbad the druid, all the chief heroes are descended (see genealogies in E. Hull's *Cuchullin Saga*, Introd. p. lv). The extraordinary feats and prowess of the champions are supposed to be accounted for by their divine origin. According to this descent, Cúchulainn is grandson of Maga, who is mother to Dechtíre, which brings him within the kingly line of Ulster, and denies the statement that he 'was not of Ulster' (see above). Probably that statement was merely an effort of the story-tellers to explain what they could not otherwise understand, viz. why Cúchulainn and his mortal father Sualtach or Sualtam were exempt from the curse which prostrated the whole male population of Ulster in sickness at a critical moment in the history of their province.

4. *Cúchulainn as a sun-hero.*—Cúchulainn was therefore, on the one side, directly connected with Lug, the sun-god, and, on the maternal side, with Maga, a Tuatha Dé Danann goddess. King Conor also is called a *día talmaide*, or terrestrial god, in *LU* 101b; and Dechtíre, his sister, the mother of Cúchulainn, is called a goddess: Cúchulainn *mac dea Dechtíre*, 'the son of the goddess Dechtíre' (*LL* 123b).

The two marvellous Bulls for the possession of which the great war of the Táin Bó Cúalnge was undertaken were of supernatural origin, and had existed under many different forms before they were re-born as bulls; they had been first swineherds of the gods of the under world, then ravens, warriors, sea-monsters, and insects. Under each of these forms they had lived through vast periods of time; out of them they had come after a terrific struggle which shook the borders of Ireland, only to pass again through some new transformation (*Irish Texts*, III. i. 230-278). These struggles proved to be preludes to the war of the Táin, in which all Ireland was destined to engage, and to the gigantic struggle at its close between the two Bulls themselves, in which both were torn to pieces. The mythological warfare of these Bulls, the *Finn bennach*, or 'White horned,' and the *Donn*, or 'Dark' or 'Brown' Bull, belonging respectively to the East and West of Ireland (Cúalnge in Co. Down, and Rath Cruachan in Connaught), seems to symbolize the struggle between summer and winter or the struggle between day and night. The *Donn* is a terrific creature in strength and in size. On his back fifty little boys could play their games. He moves about accompanied by fifteen (or fifty) heifers. His ferocity and violence are so great that, when he is driven into a narrow pass, he revenges himself by trampling his keeper to death and treading his body thirty feet into the earth. His bellows strike terror into all who hear him, and those who meet him after his final conflict with the *Finn bennach* are trampled and

gored to death. This conflict, which lasted a day and a night, and during which the Bulls traversed the whole of Ireland, was ended by the *Donn* tearing his adversary to pieces and returning, head in air, to his native home in Cúalnge, where, in the madness of his frenzy, he placed his back to a hillock and 'vomited his heart up through his mouth with black mountains of dark-red gore,' and so expired. In like manner Cúchulainn is in every way abnormal. His rapid development and his prodigious strength and powers are everywhere insisted upon. When he is about to perform any special prodigy of valour, his whole person expands and undergoes an extraordinary change; he grows monstrous, terrific, so that his own friends cannot recognize him; he is known as 'The Distorted' (*riastartha*), or 'The Madman' from Emain Macha. When he puts forth his strength, his appearance is so terrific that none can stand before him; his very look destroys his foes, not by twos or threes but by hundreds; a stream like dusky blood, representing his energy, rises upward from his forehead, and over his head his 'bird of valour' hovers (cf. the light over the head of Achilles caused by Athene, *Il.* xviii. 205 [Butcher-Lang's tr. p. 372 f.]). His body gives off a heat which melts the snow around him, or raises to boiling-point three vats of water in which he is successively immersed. Yet this formidable personage is frequently derided by his enemies for the boyishness and insignificance of his usual appearance. Prime heroes, until they experience his hidden powers, refuse to fight with him; Queen Meave is visibly disappointed when she first comes face to face with the champion who has been holding her forces at bay through weeks of combat, and killing them by the hundred merely by his look; on one occasion he has to blacken a moustache with blackberry juice in order to present a more manly appearance.

If we regard Cúchulainn as the sun-hero, these indications of his unimposing appearance at ordinary times, succeeded on occasions by strange distortions and manifestations, seem aptly to represent the impression which might be produced on the savage mind by the contrast between the orb of the sun on ordinary occasions and its appearance in eclipse. Again, the fine poetic simile of the threefold hues of his hair, and the account of his splendour when he appears before the forces of Meave to display his person in its natural beauty, seem designed to illustrate the glory of the full sunshine of summer; so, too, do the heat generated in his person, the energy of his movements, his wandering habits, and the destructive power of his look. We may also note that 'blindness befell all women who loved him'—which may possibly have reference to the difficulty of gazing directly on the sun. It is possible that Cúchulainn's fight, from which he so hardly escaped, with the twenty-seven sons of Calatin, hideous and crooked beings, who formed armies out of puff-balls and out of the foliage of the oak, and came furiously riding on the 'wind's swift clouds,' may symbolize the hiding of the sun's face before the 'armies of the storm,' i.e. the massive clouds, formed, as it might seem, almost out of nothing. (Cf. a similar sort of incantation in 'The Death of Muirchertach mac Erca,' *ECel* xxiii. [1902]; the 'Battle of Kat Godeu,' Skene, *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i. 277 f., ii. 138; and 'The Mabinogion of Math, son of Mathonwy,' Lady C. Guest's *Matb.*, Lond. 1877, p. 416.) A remarkable 'tabu,' or *geis*, of Cúchulainn was to 'see the horses of Manánnan mac Ler' (i.e. the billows of the ocean-god), which might be a reference to the apparent extinction of the sun's rays when he sinks down at night beneath the ocean waves.

Cúchulainn possesses two magic steeds which rise out of the Grey Loch of Slieve Fuaid and Loch Dubh Sainglenn respectively, and which he tames by springing unawares upon their backs and wrestling with them. For a whole day they career around the circuit of Ireland, the horses endeavouring in vain to throw their rider. Henceforth they are his obedient chariot-horses, a grey and a black, possibly symbolizing day and night. After his death they return into their respective lakes again (G. Henderson, *Feast of Bricriu*, London, 1899, sec. 31, p. 39 f.).

5. The stories relating to Cúchulainn are of different ages, and often vary in different versions, the long tale of the Táin Bó Cúalnge, in particular, having come down to us in two (some critics would say three) main recensions, with considerable variations in arrangement, detail, and literary style. *Táins*, or 'cattle-raids,' form the subject of a number of romances, which arose naturally out of conditions of life in which wealth consisted in the possession, not of land or money, but of flocks and herds, the acquisition of which, by fair means or foul, formed one of the chief objects of every chief or person of position. The long central tale of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, or Cattle Spoil of Cúalnge (pron. Cooley), i.e. of Cúchulainn's country in Co. Louth and Down, is preceded by a number of lesser *táins* and short stories describing the efforts of Queen Meave of Connaught to collect cattle and other provisions for her army, or otherwise elucidating special points in the main epic. A brief outline of this composite tale is as follows:

The war was undertaken by the united provinces of Ireland, under the leadership of the Amazonian Queen Meave (Medb) of Connaught, and the guidance of Fergus mac Róy (or Roich), a former king of Ulster, who had been deposed in favour of king Conor, and had gone into exile into Connaught. He consented, out of revenge, to lead the foe against his own people.

The main object of the war was the capture of the *Donna*, or Brown Bull of Cúalnge, which Meave desired to possess, but which had been refused her. The romance takes the form of a number of separate episodes—usually combats undertaken by warriors from Meave's army contending with Cúchulainn, who, alone and single-handed, guards the borders of Ulster during the entire winter. The warriors and men of Ulster are all disabled from fight through a mysterious sickness brought upon them by the curse of Macha, one of the goddesses of war; and it is not until the close of the *Táin* that they arise from their lethargy and come down in force to fight the final battle. Meave is finally defeated and forced to fly in rout across the Shannon at Athlone; but the Bull, though captured by her and driven westward, ends its career by fighting with and killing Meave's own Bull, the *Finn bennach*, and finally returns to its own country, where it dies by its own ferocious energy.

The combat of Cúchulainn and Ferdia at the ford of Ath Ferdia (Ardee) forms a long episode in the story, and is probably in its expanded (*LU*) form a late introduction.

There are a large number of poems in this episode; others are found occasionally in the remaining portions of the *Táin*. Some of the Ulster prose romances contain poems; others do not.

6. Among the more important of the stories relating especially to the career and deeds of the hero Cúchulainn are the following:

(1) *Cúchulainn's Birth Stories*.—Two chief variants exist, contained in *LU* (1100 A.D.) and in Egerton, 1782 B.M. (15th cent.). Considerable differences appear not only in the details of these stories, but in their general meaning. In *LU* a wonderful troop of birds comes one day to devastate the plains of Emain Macha. King Conor (Conchobhar) mounts his chariot with his sister Dechtíre to hunt them. They pursue them till nightfall in a storm of snow, and arrive at an isolated house, inhabited by a man and woman. The woman gives birth to a son, who is carried by Dechtíre to Emain Macha. The child dies, and in a vision by night Lug mac Ethlenn appears to Dechtíre and tells her the child who had died was himself, that it was he who had arranged all that had happened to her, that she will bear a child by him, and that he will be himself her son. Conor bids her marry Sualtam; she becomes whole and well again, and obeys his behest. She then bears a child, Setanta, afterwards called Cúchulainn. In a discussion which follows, the babe is formally handed over to the charge of the chief bard and warriors of Ulster to rear, and to Finnchoem, Dechtíre's sister, to foster.

In the other chief version, Dechtíre has disappeared for three years with fifty maidens; they return as birds to devastate the plain of Emain Macha. Conor and his warriors follow them. They reach a hut, which expands into a noble house, inhabited by a princely young man and woman. They learn that it is the house of Dechtíre, whom they do not recognize. (The young man is evidently Lug.) In the night Dechtíre gives birth to a

boy resembling Conor. He is called Setanta. The house seems to represent one of the tumuli on the Boyne, thought of by the people as fairy haunts or dwellings of the gods. It is in this direction that the birds take flight (Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, i. 134-145, text only; Summary in Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, ii. 72-74).

(2) *The Courtship of Emer* describes Cúchulainn's wooing of his future wife, and his long apprenticeship to arms under Scathach, the Amazon of Alba or Britain (other versions say 'Scythia, east of the Alps'; Kuno Meyer, *Récol* xi. 442-453, and *Arch. Rev.* i. [1888], revised for E. Hull's *Cúchulainn Saga*, pp. 56-84). There exist separate versions of Cúchulainn's education with Scathach (cf. Whitley Stokes, *Récol* xix. 1908).

(3) *The Tragical Death of Conlaech* relates Cúchulainn's mortal combat with his own son Conlaech, or Conla, born of Aifé in Alba after Cúchulainn's return to Ireland. He had left a ring with Aifé for the boy, with a proviso that he was never to reveal his name to any stranger. He learns only when the youth is dying that it is his own son whom he has killed. The story has a strong resemblance to the Persian tale of Suhrah and Rustam (*Ériu*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 113; O. Brooke, *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, Dublin, 1816, p. 383, metrical version).

(4) *The Stiecked or Wasting Away of Cúchulainn*.—Cúchulainn deserts Emer for Fand, wife of Manannan, who in a series of beautiful poems describes the glories of Magh Mell, 'Plain of Happiness,' the invisible Irish Elysium, and woos him thither. A dramatic episode at the close of the tale describes Emer's attempted revenge and the contest between the two women for his affection. The tone is lofty (Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, i. 197-234 [text only]; O'Curry in *Atlantis*, vols. I. and II.; Leahy, *Old Irish Romances*, i. 61 [Eng. tr.]; Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, 81).

(5) *Bricriu's Feast*.—This is a long rambling tale founded on the motif of a contest for priority and for the carving of the 'Champion's Bit' (ed. George Henderson, for Irish Texts Soc., vol. ii., 1899; Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, i. 254-303).

Tales connected with the death of Cúchulainn and the events immediately preceding and succeeding it are: the Great Rout of Magh Muirtheimne (S. H. O'Grady in E. Hull's *Cúchulainn Saga*), Cúchulainn's Death (Whitley Stokes, *Récol* iii. 175-186), the Red Rout of Conall Cernach, the Lay of the Heads, and Emer's Death. The events leading to his death form the subject of the long tale entitled the 'Battle of Rosnaree' (Edmund Hogan, *Roy. Ir. Acad.*, Todd Lectures, vol. iv., 1892).

All accounts agree in making Cúchulainn die young. The *Ann. Tighe* place his age at 17,—the usual account,—but MS H. 3,17, in the Library of Trin. Coll. Dubl., says: 'The year of the Táin was the 59th of Cúchulainn's age from the night of his birth to the night of his death.' The actual beheading of Cúchulainn is variously ascribed to Lugaid, son of Cúroí, whose father Cúchulainn had slain by treachery, with the aid of Cúroí's adulterous wife Blathnait, and to Erc, son of Cairpre, or Cairbre niafer, who had been slain in the battle of Rosnaree. In a poem by Cinaeth O'Hartigan (ob. 975), in the Book of Ballymote, we read: 'Erc's mount, whence is its name?—Erc was son of Cairpre niafer, son of Ros ruadh, king of Laignen (Leinster). It was Erc who cut his head off Cúchulainn.' In revenge for this deed, Conall cernach killed Erc, and brought his head to Tara. It is said that his sister Acaill, who came out of Ulster to lament her brother, grieved so sorely for his death that her heart burst within her. A pathetic lament for her is cited by O'Curry (*MS Mat.*, Appendix, p. 514). The battle of Muirtheimne, in which Cúchulainn fell, was inspired by revenge for the deaths of Calatin, Cúroí mac Daire, king of Munster, and Cairpre. It was led by the sons of the slaughtered men.

The Phantom Chariot of Cúchulainn.—This is a curious piece, in which the old hero is summoned from the dead to testify to the truth of St. Patrick's teaching before Leary, king of Ireland. He appears before the king in his old form and splendour, performing his 'champion feats,' and beseeching the king to receive Christianity (O'Beirne Crowe, *Journ. of the Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, 4th series, 1870-71).

Among other tales relating directly to Cúchulainn are the following:

(1) *Táin Bó Regamna*, or appearance of the Morrigh, the Irish goddess of war, to the hero before the war of the Táin, to foretell her own intention to take part against him (ed. Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, ii. 241-254 [with tr.]).

(2) *Siege of Howth*, relating the extortions and cruelties practised by Aithairne, chief bard of Ulster, on the Leinster men, and the revenge taken by Leinster in shutting up the defeated remnant of the Ulster warriors on the hill of Howth (ed. Whitley Stokes, in *Récol* viii. 40-63).

(3) *The Intoxication of the Ultonians*, describing a night-raid made by the warriors of Ulster when in a state of intoxication, right across Ireland, into the territory of their enemy Cúroí mac Daire of Tara-Luchra in Kerry, and the efforts of Cúroí to

destroy them by persuading them to enter an Iron house encased in wood, which had beneath it a subterranean chamber fitted with inflammable materials (cf. Branwen, daughter of Llyr, in the *Mabinogion*, and 'the Destruction of Dind Righ' [ed. Whitley Stokes in *ZCP* iii.]). The warriors escape by Cúchulainn's immense strength; he breaks through the walls and lets them out (*Messa Ulad*, ed. W. M. Hennessy, *Roy. Ir. Acad.*, Todd Lecture Series, I, London, 1889).

See, further, artt. CELTS and ETHICS (Celtic).

LITERATURE.—A large number of the tales will be found with text and Eng. or Germ. tr. in Windisch-Stokes, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880 ff.; the numbers of the *Rcél*; *Atlantis* (ed. by O'Curry), and *Kilkenny Archaeol. Journ.* (which contains some tales edited by O'Beirne Crowe); *Proc. Royal Ir. Acad.*, Irish MSS Series, and Todd Lecture Series; the *ZCP*; *Ériu*, the Journal of the Irish School of Learning; Irish Texts Soc. vol. ii.; *Archæological Review*, vol. i.; Ossianic Soc. vol. v.; *Antec. Ozon.*, Mediaeval and Mod. Series, etc. The *Táin Bó Cúailnge* has been published from the Book of Leinster version by E. Windisch, with Germ. tr., Leipzig, 1905; text (only) of version from the *Fellows Bk. of Leam and Leabhar na hUidhre*, in *Ériu*, vol. i, pta. 2 and 3, ed. by Strachan and O'Keeffe, Dublin, 1904, etc.; tr. (only) from same MSS by L. Winifred Faraday, *The Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, London, 1904; Eng. trs. from Add. MS 18743, Brit. Mus., by S. H. O'Grady in Eleanor Hull's *The Cuchullin Saga*, London, 1898, pp. 110-227.

English trs. of a large number of complete romances will be found in E. Hull's *Cuchullin Saga*, with chart of the tales and references; also A. H. Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, 2 vols., 1905, and *The Courtship of Ferb*, London, 1902; German trs. in R. Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*, Berlin, 1901; French trs. in H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Épopée celtique en Irlande*, Paris, 1892. Portions of tales in E. O'Curry, *MS Mat. of anc. Irish History*, Dublin, 1861, and *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 3 vols., London, 1873; J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom* (Hib. Lect.), London, 1886; Nutt-Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, 2 vols., London, 1895-97. Lady Gregory gives a free rendering of the stories in her *Cuchullin of Muirthemne*; see also D. Hyde, *The Story of Early Gaelic Lit.*, London, 1895, and *Lit. Hist. of Ireland*, London, 1899; E. Hull, *Text-book of Irish Literature*, 2 vols., Dublin and London, 1906-1908. For manners and customs, see P. W. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, 2 vols., London, 1903, and O'Curry, *Manners and Customs* (see above).

ELEANOR HULL.

CULDEES.—The Culdees belong to the later history of the ancient British Church (see art. CHURCH [British], vol. iii. p. 631), more especially in Ireland and Scotland. The mystery in which they were enveloped has been to a great degree removed through the researches of Dr. William Reeves, published as an essay 'On the Céle dé, commonly called Culdees' (*Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xxiv. [1873]). The term 'Culdee' has grown out of the form *Culdeus*, first coined by Hector Boece in his *Scotorum Historia*, 1526 (for word 'Culdee,' see *OED*, s.v.). The Irish name *céle dé* (mod. Ir. *céile dé*) corresponds with the probably Irish origin of the Culdees. The primary meaning of the common word *céle* is 'companion,' from which secondary meanings are derived, such as 'husband,' 'servant.' *Céle Conchobair*, *céle Conculaind*, found in the texts of the old heroic tales of Ireland, mean 'faithful follower or personal attendant of Conchobhar, or Cúchulainn' (see H. Zimmer, *Celtic Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1902, p. 98 ff.). *Céle dé*, therefore, will mean 'companion or faithful servant of God.' The special difficulty is to account for the restriction of a term having this meaning, and obviously applicable to all monks and anchorites as servants of God, to the comparatively few cases in which it is found.¹

There is no mention of the *céle dé* in the historians Adamnan, Cumin, Eddi, or Bede; and the inference is that the use of the term was unknown to them. Reeves says we may safely regard *céle dé* as the Irish translation of *servus Dei*, which came to be an ordinary term in Church writers for monks, and became known to the Irish through the writings of Gregory the Great, who was a favourite author in Ireland. Skene (*Celtic Scotland*,² 1887, ii. 226 ff.) endeavours to prove that *Deicola* had the express meaning of 'anchorite,' that the *céle dé* were anchorites, and consequently

¹ A striking parallel in Welsh to *céle dé* is the common word for 'hermit'—*meudwy*. *Meu* is from the root *mag*, which appears in Cornish as *max*, 'boy'; *-dwy* is for the older *dau*, genitive of *diu*, modern Welsh *du*, 'God.'

that the Irish name was the direct derivation of *Deicola* or *Colidei*. The objection to both of these theories is the specialized use of the term *céle dé*; had it been applicable to monks and anchorites in general, why is it not found in the pages of the 8th cent. historians, whose concern was with a monastic Church?

There is no contemporary account preserved of the rise of the Culdees; our sources are incidental and of late date.¹ According to the Books of Leinster and Lismore, St. Moling, who founded the monastery of Tech Moling in County Carlow, entered a society of Culdees. He died c. A.D. 700; and, if he was a Culdee, he is, along with St. Mochuda, among the earliest whose names are on record. In the manner of the Iro-Scottish Church, the Culdee societies were often composed of thirteen members—the Prior, or Head (*Cenn*), or Abbot, with twelve others, on the analogy of Christ and His disciples. In very late times we find in Armagh a Prior and five² brethren (probably a diminution in number, due to hostile pressure).

The Culdees, throughout their history, are connected with a few definite localities, although in some cases the evidence is the mere mention of the name in the chartulary of a monastery. At first having the marks of anchorites, they gradually take on the appearance of secular canons. The Rule of Maelruan (died c. 791) bears the description 'Here begins the Rule of the Céle dé.' It is preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*. As it stands, its orthography and grammar prove it to be centuries later than the 8th cent., but its original may go back to Maelruan. During Maelruan's lifetime (in A.D. 747), Chrodegang composed at Metz the Rule which formed his clergy into canons; and this Rule may have been brought into Ireland from Irish establishments on the Continent, such as Honau in Elsass. The Culdees certainly develop the appearance of secular canons; we find them filling a subordinate 'Levitical' position in cathedral establishments, chiefly engaged in the choral parts of the worship; they became especially associated also with charitable care of the sick and poor, and the distribution of alms. The latter seems to have been one of their earliest and most characteristic traits.³ The endowments for these purposes may have proved a means of their later corruption. Their affinity with the regular canons enabled the latter, with the support of powerful patrons, to oust them from their positions. Finally, they disappeared; in St. Andrews, e.g., they are named for the last time in 1332.

The only mention of the Culdees in England is in connexion with Athelstan's visit to York in A.D. 936 (*Colidei*); there is also a possible reference in the *cultores clericis* of a Privilege by King Ethelred granted to Canterbury (Cotton MSS). In Wales they, presumably, appear once in a reference by Giraldus Cambrensis to the 'Coelibes vel Colideos' of the Isle of Bardsey in the 12th cent. (Gir. Camb. vol. vi. p. 124, Rolls Series).

Reeves sees in the Culdees the disappearing Celtic Church; the Culdees are the drooping remnant in which that ancient Church finally succumbs. The present writer prefers to see in them not an inert residue, but a recrudescence, a burst into flame of the old Celtic religion, stimulated.

¹ The earliest known instance of the combination *céle dé* (though not in its technical sense of 'Culdee') is in the gloss to the commentary on the Psalms ascribed to Columba of Bobbio, preserved in the Old Irish Cod. Mediolanensis (about 850 A.D.; ed. Ascoli, *Codices Irlandenses dell' Ambrosiana*, Rome, 1878, fol. 30 c. 5). Here the Vulg. *cuius (Dei) iste est* is first explained as equivalent to 'iste ad illum pertinet,' and is then glossed: *amul ambarar is céle dé in fer hístin*, 'as it is said, "This man is a servant of God."'

² Von Pfugk-Hartung ('Die Culdeer' in *Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.* xiv. [1894]) erroneously says fifteen.

³ As to this point, see especially Grant, 'The Culdees,' *Scottish Review*, 1888, p. 217 ff.

lated perhaps by conflict with the rival Roman institution. The honourable title *celle de* comes from the people, as its native form shows; and it must have been elicited at the sight of special devotion and piety. A revival of religion at some given period, and not decay, is implied.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated throughout the article.

T. JONES PARRY.

CULT, CULTUS.—See RELIGION, WORSHIP.

CULTURE.—To Bacon the world is indebted for the term, as well as for the philosophy of, culture (*Adv. of Learning*, 1605, II. xix. 2). While of itself the notion of culture may be broad enough to express all forms of spiritual life in man,—intellectual, religious, ethical,—it is best understood intensively as humanity's effort to assert its inner and independent being. This effort is observed in a series of contrasts, due to the division of man's functions into intellectual and activistic. The most general contrast is that between nature and spirit, with its dualism of animality and humanity. With the ideal of culture, man is led to live a life of contemplation rather than one of conquest, while his attention is directed towards the remote rather than towards the immediate. Viewed socially, culture is contrasted with industrial occupation, the two differing in their valuation of work. From the social standpoint, again, the culturist inclines towards egoism, as in a 'culte du moi' (Maurice Barrès), instead of towards altruism. In estimating the value of culture, the standard is usually the eudæmonistic one: it is asked whether the life of thinking or the life of doing is better calculated to give man happiness, or to satisfy the desires of the soul. The treatment of the culture-problem is to be conducted in connexion with the culture-consciousness of an individual or a nation, rather than by means of any objective memorial, like an order of architecture, a type of sculpture, or a school of poetry or painting. Such an introverting method is qualified to express the essence of Classicism and Romanticism,—the two types of Western culture-activity,—just as it is sufficient to discern the culture-motive in a man of genius, like Michelangelo or Goethe. That which culture seeks is an acquaintance with the strivings and ideals of a favoured nation and a gifted soul.

I. HISTORY OF CULTURE-CONSCIOUSNESS.—Not until the dawn of modern times was the supremacy of intellectualism called in question, or the problem of culture raised. Brāhmanism postulated enlightenment as the means of salvation; Paganism looked to the intellect to give man happiness; Scholasticism pledged its belief in conceptual doctrines. It is true that the Preacher of the Old Testament bewailed much study and the endless making of books, in the fear that the increase of knowledge was the increase of sorrow (Ec 1¹⁸), while Stoicism sought to turn from dialectics to ethics; nevertheless, humanity waited until the coming of modern times before it directly repudiated its intellectual life. Although the term *modernus* was introduced in the 6th cent. by Cassiodorus (*Variarum*, iv. 51), and used effectively by Roger Bacon (Eucken, *Gesch. der philosoph. Terminologie*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 169), modernness in the form of culture-consciousness was not expressed until Francis Bacon inquired concerning the nature and advantages of letters. His professed aim in the *Advancement of Learning* being to fashion a perfect 'globe of knowledge' (II. xxv.), he prepared the way for this by arguments drawn from sources sacred and secular.

Biblical tradition informs us that the day on which God rested and 'contempered his own works' was blessed above the six days of labour, while the primary work of man in the

Garden of Eden was intellectual, in that it consisted in viewing and naming God's creatures. Moses was praised for his Egyptian learning; Solomon for his wisdom; while the advent of the Saviour witnessed the subduing of ignorance among the doctors of the law; and the descent of the Spirit was expressed by the gift of tongues, 'which are but *vehicula scientiæ*.' With Apostles and Fathers the same intellectualism prevailed (ib. i. vi.). As to human proofs, mythology shows how founders of States were but demi-gods, while inventors of new arts were among the gods themselves; moreover, ancient history reveals the superiority of such thinkers as Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero, over their contemporaries Xenophon, Alexander, Cæsar (ib. vii.).

Bacon's own estimate of culture, while often expressed so as to show the greater 'dignity' of thought, seems to consist of eudæmonism, inasmuch as it extols learning for its power to please—to promote, indeed, the interests of the *suavissima vita* (ib. viii. 2, etc.). The *Novum Organum* (1620) asserts, not 'Knowledge is pleasure,' but '*Scientia est potentia*'; its aim was to indicate man's ability to rule by means of knowledge, so that, instead of emphasizing the æsthetic in culture, it tended to surrender the latter to industrialism. With such a presentation of the culture-problem, and the accompanying emphasis upon the 'work of contemplation,' Bacon, who was a Renaissance thinker, made possible the three-fold development of modern intellectual life in the ages of *Enlightenment* (1625–1789), of *Romanticism* (1781–1857), of *Realism* (1857–present day).

1. The Enlightenment.—On the æsthetic side, the Enlightenment fostered Classicism, although its own rationalistic spirit, political earnestness, and relentless criticism of religion removed it from the influences of the Graces. In its own way, the Enlightenment developed a static system of natural religion (Herbert), of natural rights (Grotius), as also a naturalistic system of ethics (Hobbes) and of knowledge (Locke). Spinoza expressed the spirit of the age when he declared the highest motive in man to be rational and disinterested love of God ('*amor Dei intellectualis*' [*Ethica*, 1677, v. xxxii.]).

This blind rationalism, however, was destined to undergo repudiation, and in the Counter-Enlightenment of Rousseau, Vico, Lessing, and Herder the culture-problem was rehabilitated. Where Bacon had had behind him the free æstheticism of the Renaissance, Rousseau was confronted by the formal culture of Classicism, whose *raffinements* he felt called upon to denounce. Taking a stand at once eudæmonistic and socialistic, he declared that unhappiness and injustice were attributable to man's departure from nature. This was the theme of his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750), where he discussed the question whether the establishment of culture had been for man's well-being—only to conclude negatively, on the ground that art and science weaken the original virtues of humanity. In his *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1753), his view is social rather than eudæmonistic, inasmuch as he attributes injustice to the intellectualistic programme, which, involving the more rapid advance of some beyond others, had brought about inequality even where it had furthered the progress of impersonal science and art. Hence the maxim, 'Retournons à la nature.' *La nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) breathes a yearning for the idyllic condition of man's nature-life, while *Émile* (1762) deduces a system of education which, recognizing that man cannot return to nature and abide there, advises a natural method of mental development, a restoration of nature to man rather than a return of man to nature.

Where Bacon and Rousseau had considered the practical worth of culture for individual happiness and social well-being, Vico and Herder sought to show how essential to humanity is an ever-enlarging mental life which, if based upon nature,

advances beyond it. Vico's *Scienza nuova* (1725)—a work at least half a century in advance of its age—postulated the ideal of a unified humanity, whose organic nature, as conceived by Vico, contrasted strikingly and pleasantly with the mechanical views of society peculiar to the Enlightenment. Vico, who discovered that primitive language and literature are poetical, describes the developing culture-consciousness of the race by distinguishing three periods—mythological, heroic, human—wherein are found three kinds of language, as also three ideals of social life.

Lessing, who barely escaped the rationalism of the Enlightenment, relaxed sufficiently to produce his booklet, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1780, tr. Robertson, 1896), wherein the religious consciousness is conceived of as a Divine revelation, unfolding its intellectual nature in such a way as to evince the ideas of God as a unity, and the soul as immortal. While Lessing carries on his discussion in a humanistic fashion, he does not fail to emphasize the rationalistic element embodied in the revelation of God and the soul as *ideas*. Herder's *Ideen zur Philos. der Gesch. der Menschheit* (1790-1792) involves Lessing's ideas of progress and Vico's ideal of humanity as one, while itself isolating the idea of *Humanitäts-Bildung*. The peculiarity of Herder's work is that in it the culture-concept operates in a naturalistic manner, involving the notion of a continuity of, rather than a conflict between, the natural below and the spiritual above, whereby the inner life of humanity is developed from the outer order of things. Herder introduces certain stages of development from nature-peoples to culture-peoples, and thus tends to make his plan more plausible.

The rationalism that had marked the early Enlightenment was reproduced in the ideals of Classicism, although the organization of æsthetical science by Burke and Baumgarten tended to soften its conceptualism. The significance of Classicism was apprehended by Winckelmann, who found in it the exaltation of reason and the idealization of beauty; and, in his mind, classic consciousness expressed the free rather than the characteristic, the static rather than the dynamic. In this spirit, he frames his memorable definition of beauty: 'According to this notion, beauty should be like the purest water, which, the less taste it has, is regarded as the most healthful because it is free from foreign elements' (*Werke*, Dresden, 1808-25, bk. iv. ch. ii. §23). Winckelmann thus seeks to express the classic ideal as a purely intellectual and formal one, which will appear in connexion with two other utterances almost as famous as the above appreciation of the classic. In the one he praises the simplicity of classic beauty as a rare wine drunk from a transparent glass (*ib.* §19); in the other he likens the antique ideal of beauty to a spirit drawn from the material order as by fire (*ib.* §22). Lessing's *Laokoon* (1766)—its very title pledging it to Classicism—exalts the ideal of Apollo by limiting art and culture to the beautiful. This æsthetic reason is given to explain why Laokoon does not scream, although Lessing, in styling his work 'an essay on the limits of poetry and painting,' was aware that in plastic the idea of the temporal and changing is out of place. With the appearance of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) and the French Revolution (1789), the Enlightenment was virtually ended, although its effect did not at once pass away.

2. Romanticism.—The age of culture began as Kant emerged from rationalism, and by means of philosophic criticism transcended the conceptual views of the Enlightenment. In the *Critique*, Kant used the term 'culture' when he said:

'Metaphysics is the completion of the whole culture of reason' (Müller's tr., New York, 1896, p. 730); yet it was the *Critique of Judgment* (1790) which, by means of its new æsthetic norms, was destined to take its place in the history of culture. Kant's theory of beauty and taste, as 'that which pleases universally without requiring a concept' (Bernard's tr. 1892, p. 67), expresses the nature of culture as the intellectual life of man apprehended intuitively. Kant's intellectualism, far more original and valuable than his moralism, is thus expressed in a system of transcendentalism; and it was this transcendental element that affected the romantic school of philosophy and poetry.

Schiller, alive to the intellectualistic in Kant, was not unaffected by his heroic and relentless moralism, which he glorified in his essay *Ueber Anmuth u. Würde* (1793), although here he seeks to transcend both Goethean grace of sense and Kantian dignity of ethics, by means of the ideal of humanity as the 'Zusammenstimung zwischen dem Sittlichen und Sinnlichen' (*Werke*, ed. Hempel, 1868-74, xv. 213). Schiller's use of the term 'Kultur' is confined almost exclusively to the *Briefe über die æsthet. Erziehung des Menschen* (1795), where he comments on the harmonious culture of the Greeks (Let. vi.), distinguishes theoretical, practical, and æsthetical forms (Let. ix.-x.), and discusses the practical value of culture (Let. xxi.). Believing that the end of human existence is to be conceived ethically, and yet realizing that man is by nature a creature of sense, Schiller seeks to account for the culture, or æsthetic education, of mankind by distinguishing three stages—physical, æsthetical, and moral (Let. xxiv.). Thus, in achieving his moral destiny, man uses the æsthetical as the mean and mediator between the extremes of the physical and the ethical, urges Schiller, just as Lessing had sought to account for the rational education of man by means of religion. Schiller's confidence in culture, as expressed in the *Æsthet. Bildung*, seems to abate somewhat in his Essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1796), where, like Rousseau, whom he mentions approvingly (*Werke*, xv. 506), he signals a return to nature, or the naive—a term of special significance with the French (*ib.* 487). 'Sentimental' is borrowed from the English of Sterne, whom also Schiller does not fail to mention (*ib.* 480). The evils, rather than the benefits, of culture are discussed in this study of culture-types (*ib.* 483), and the whole essay, praising antiquity for its objective *naïveté*, values the sentimental only as it sincerely seeks nature. The distinction between naive and sentimental forms of culture is based upon nature; hence Schiller says: 'The poet either is nature or he seeks her. One makes a naive poet, the other a sentimental one' (*ib.* 492). Genius consists in *naïveté*, and only as the genius is naive can he exist (*ib.* 479). Homer among the ancients and Shakespeare among moderns are esteemed naive poets, because they apprehended nature immediately (*ib.* 488). Upon the cultural basis of naive and sentimental, Schiller distinguishes three forms of poetry—idyllic, satirical, and elegiac. Idyllic poetry is of the naive order, because it expresses the immediate sense of nature in the feeling of joy. 'The poet is satirical when he takes as his subject the alienation of man from nature, and the contradiction between the real and ideal' (*ib.* 497). Where satire is sharp, elegiac poetry is sad, being the poet's lament over the loss of nature in an age of culture. While Schiller seems to condemn culture and modernness, while he appears to postulate paganism as the true life of humanity, he is careful to express the thought that above both naive and sentimental there is a third form of intellectual life to be viewed as ideal culture, which

shall have power to restore to humanity its lost unity (*ib.* 492 f.).

As prophet of the Romantic School, Friedrich Schlegel felt the force of Kant's transcendentalism, but was more inclined to base his culture upon the Ego of Fichte, and, while he appreciated Schiller's æsthetics of the naïve, he himself showed a disposition to adopt the sentimental, or romantic, culture of the infinite. In Schlegel's mind, Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, the French Revolution, and Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* were the three greatest tendencies of the age (*Jugendschriften*, ed. J. Minor, 1882; *Athenæum*, §216); from them may be traced a triple *Romantik*—poetical, political, philosophical, in form. Fichte himself was an ardent believer in culture; coming after the French Revolution and postulating constructive material culture, he contrasts strikingly with Rousseau. In his *Beiträge zur Berichtigung über die französ. Revolution*, 1793, the term 'Cultur' is of frequent occurrence; it is identified with the inner freedom and rationality of Kantianism. No human sensation or impulse, no action or passion, is esteemed of value unless it makes for culture, or the exercise of all man's powers towards complete freedom as a goal (*Werke*, Leipzig, 1846-47, vi. 86). In the State, the culture of freedom should be the aim, declares Fichte (*ib.* 101), while the true fatherland is that State which is the most highly cultured (*ib.* vii. 212). Such was Fichte's own culture-philosophy. Yet the Fichtean element that appealed to the Romanticist was the Ego, whose free activity was for Fichte the leading principle of all culture. Schlegel, however, develops romantic culture by emphasizing the æsthetical activity of the Ego, whence he derives his doctrine of *Ironie*, the watchword of Romanticism. In essence, *Ironie* consists in a work of self-creation and self-destruction, due to the Ego's striving after an impossible ideal (*Athenæum*, §51). In poetry, this subjectivism is called transcendental where it begins as satire with its contrast between ideal and real, changes to the sadness of elegy, and ends as an idyll which identifies the two (*ib.* §228). Where Schiller used 'sentimental,' Schlegel employs 'transcendental,' of which style he considers Dante the prophet, Shakespeare the centre, and Goethe the climax—'der grosse Dreiklang der modernen Poesie' (*ib.* §247). In thus styling Shakespeare transcendental, Schlegel invests Schiller's 'naïve' and 'sentimental' with the historical sense of ancient and modern—an idea carried out systematically in *Die Griechen und Römer* (1797). Grecian poetry, declares Schlegel, begins with nature and aims to reach beauty through culture (p. 10); modern poetry aims at subjective æsthetical power rather than objective beauty (p. 79), whence arises a striving after the poetical as something transcendental, a 'Sehnsucht' which is destined to remain unsatisfied (p. 103). This type of poetry contrasts strikingly with the compact culture-consciousness of Classicism, wherein 'Kunstpoesie' and 'Naturpoesie' are in complete harmony (*Athenæum*, §252). Thus, as the culture-consciousness of the Enlightenment had arisen in England, that of Romanticism has been seen to have originated in Germany. There was, of course, a French Classicism and a French Romanticism, but perhaps the most direct contribution to culture that France was to make is found in the third period—that of Realism.

3. Realism.—The inception of the Realistic, or Naturalistic, movement may be noted as early as 1831, when Henri Beyle (de Stendhal) produced his *Le Rouge et le noir*. This Naturalism, or 'Beylisme,' as its author styled it, involved a direct egoism and an indirect nihilism, destined to open the modern mind to new views and values in the intellectual world. Beyle was analyzed and

classified by the aid of Taine in 1857, Zola in 1880, and Paul Bourget in 1883 (Huneker, *Egoists*, 1909, p. 4 f.). Another root of this realism is found in Flaubert, whose *Madame Bovary* (1857) resulted in a culture-philosophy called 'Bovaryisme,' or Illusionism, hardly in keeping with the acknowledged realism of Flaubert. Another frank attempt to be realistic appeared with Baudelaire's *Fleurs du mal* (1857) under the head of 'Satanisme.' These three tendencies re-appear in the rhapsodies of the German 'superman,' Nietzsche, who was probably affected no less thoroughly by Max Stirner's *The Ego and his Own* (1845), which delivers its author from both pagan Classicism and Christian Romanticism, while it rivals the early Christians' 'contemptus mundi' by its contempt for spirit and truth (see pp. 464, 478, 484). This egoistic nihilism and activism, involving the transmutation of individualistic and social standards of value, was originally pursued by Nietzsche in the milder form of Romanticism, due to the influence of Wagner's music, which Nietzsche employs to explain the origin of Greek tragedy. Where both Classicism and Romanticism had agreed in regarding Grecian culture in the form of Apollonian calmness, Nietzsche, who was guided by the dynamic ideal of musical art, and who had profited by Schopenhauer's distinction between intellect and will, introduced the idea of a Dionysiac element, in accordance with which the intellectual realm of culture and refinement was set off against the voluntaristic one of barbarism and passion. Nietzsche had carefully noted Schiller's use of 'naïve,' and had also appreciated its significance in the psychology of Classicism; nevertheless, he was anxious to show that the Greeks had achieved the naïve of Apollo only by a mighty conquest over the barbaric and titanic of Dionysus (*Die Geburt der Tragödie*, 1886, § 3). To Schiller's naïve poets, Homer and Shakespeare, he adds the name of the artist Raphael, whose 'Transfiguration' reveals, in art-symbolism, the eternal sorrow and contradiction of the world, expressed as it is on the lower and darker half of the canvas, which portrays the struggles of the possessed, and the vision of peace and intelligence shining in the transfiguration above (*ib.* § 4). But, with his desire to conceive of culture in the activistic fashion peculiar to the art of music, he seems to have approved of the Dionysiac and to have welcomed its entrance into modern culture (*ib.* § 19). Following Nietzsche, Sudermann has elaborated a kind of culture-philosophy which, while attracted by the Grecian sense of harmony, agrees with Schiller in its Apollonian view (see, e.g., *The Joy of Living*, tr. Wharton, 1907, Act i.), but which is perhaps more ready to assert that, after all, the will is so superior to the intellect that the passions are destined to triumph over the spirit in man. This supremacy of the Dionysiac seems to explain the sensuality and irrationalism of man, who accounts for his viciousness by saying, 'Es ist das Heidenthum in uns' (cf. Axelrod, *H. Sudermann, eine Studie*, 1907, p. 63).

The realistic culture that signified a kind of Dionysiac revolt against conventionality was accompanied by the criticism of various nationalities by cultured patriots. In Russia, Turgenieff made ideal war upon society under the romantic banner of 'Nihilism' (*Fathers and Children*, 1861, tr. Hapgood, 1907, ch. v.), and repudiated his country for its lack of ideas:

'Our dear mother,' says he, 'Orthodox Russia, might sink down to the nethermost hell, and not a single tack, not a single pin would be disturbed, . . . because even the samovar, linden-bast slippers, shaft-arch, and the knout—these renowned products of ours—were not invented by us' (*Smoke*, tr. Hapgood, 1907, ch. xiv.).

In Norway, Ibsen used egoism and nihilism to

arouse his country to a sense of intellectual self-respect. In *Brand* (1865) he idealizes the Norwegian; in *Peer Gynt* (1867) he satirizes him; while in *Emperor and Galilean* (1873) he seeks to indicate the coming of a 'third empire' of selfhood, destined to supersede the 'Christian empire of the spirit,' as that had overcome the 'pagan empire of the flesh' (Pt. ii. Act iii. Sc. iv.). In America, where the national consciousness was absorbed by activity and weighed down by Puritanism and Philistinism, the call to culture was sounded long ago by the free spirit of Emerson. His address, *The American Scholar* (1837), contains an ideal programme for the promotion of national culture; and in a spirit at once Athenian and American, he discusses the influences of nature, literature, and activity, which promote the culture of 'Man Thinking,' while he also emphasizes the scholar's duty toward his age, which, in Emerson's mind, was no longer the classic or romantic, but the philosophical one. In far different manner from the Apollonian and Socratic serenity of Emerson, Poe emphasized the Dionysiac in the form of the morbid and mysterious with their inherent sense of contradiction. The significance of Poe was really that of the decadence that later was to repudiate Realism. This was to come about through Baudelaire, but was not to become effectual until the end of the 19th century, with Verlaine, Mallarmé, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Huysmans, and Maeterlinck, as well as Swinburne. The culture-consciousness of the decadence, dissatisfied with the limitations of Realism, made use of the morbid, the vicious, and the mysterious in order to sound anew the depths of the soul. By means of symbolism, it sought to find something objective to express the psychological profundity that it affected. In the north, this symbolism was developed systematically by Ibsen.

But by far the most systematic cultist critique of national life was carried on by Matthew Arnold, who was sufficiently nihilistic and egoistic in spirit to entitle his work *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), and who was sufficiently radical to direct it against Protestantism and 'Hebraism.' Arnold's method was that of a free Socratism, in the course of whose application he finds it expedient to praise Plato and St. Paul for their intellectualism (ch. iv.), and Lessing and Herder for their spirit of national culture. Calling himself a 'man without a philosophy,' Arnold was possessed of sufficient conceptualism to treat culture to an analysis of its four-fold root, whence he regards it: (1) as an internal condition of humanity rather than animality; (2) as a growing and becoming rather than a resting and a having; (3) while it was so general as to advance mankind rather than the mere individual, within whom (4) it consisted of an expansion of all his powers, instead of some one in particular, as the religious (ch. i.). This broad humanistic culture Arnold identifies with something suggestive of Schiller's 'grace and dignity,' by calling it 'sweetness and light'—an expression which he borrows from Swift, as Schiller had borrowed from Sterne. In contrast with his nation's 'faith in machinery,' Arnold exercises a faith in culture, by means of which he is led to say that the England of his own day was little in comparison with the England of Elizabeth (*ib.*). This æsthetic reflexion upon the industrial age of coal was accompanied by a critique of the moralistic, or Puritanical, carried on in connexion with the distinction between Hellenism, with its 'spontaneity of consciousness,' and Hebraism, with its 'strictness of conscience'—one the principle of thinking, the other of doing (ch. iv.). Arnold's philosophy of history, observing that Europe has been subjected to a double treatment of culture and civilization, places Hellenism

at the head of spiritual development in the West, while it accounts for its failure to rule by calling it 'premature,' whence Hebraism was enabled to govern the world. With the supremacy of Hebraism, which Arnold treats more kindly than Nietzsche treated Christianity when he saw its 'transvaluation of pagan values,' there comes a Renaissance revival of Hellenism, which, like original Hellenism, so suffered from lax morals that Hebraism, in the form of Puritanism, was again called upon to rule by means of strict obedience (*ib.*). Believing that Hellenic sweetness and light is the one thing needful, Arnold believes also that it may further the cause of Hebraism, which can only gain from an infusion of Socrates' 'disinterested play of consciousness' (ch. v.). Indeed, Hebraism seems never to have relinquished its hold upon Arnold, who, in *Literature and Dogma* (1875), esteemed 'conduct as three-fourths of human life'; hence we may speak of his Hellenizing culture as 'morality touched with sweetness and light.' Without appreciating the strength of Arnold's sentiments, popular culture is now busy with the more entertaining features of science, art, and philosophy, its devotees being organized into groups not without resemblance to the *Frécieuses Ridicules* and the *Femmes Savantes* of three hundred years ago.

II. *THE PROBLEM OF CULTURE*.—As the definition of culture has implied, the contrast between nature and spirit, animality and humanity, activity and contemplation, inner and outer, immediate and remote, contains a problem for the human species which belongs to nature, but which, nevertheless, contemplates a trans-natural or spiritual goal for humanity. The most essential element in the psychology of culture is that which relates to the intellect and the will, with the accompanying contrast between the life of culture and that of activity. With the question presented upon the intellectualistic-voluntaristic basis, the two remaining problems of humanity and happiness will follow in a natural order.

1. *Culture and activity*.—When contrasted with the outer life of activism, the interior and contemplative character of culture assumes the form of an intense problem of values, especially in an age where naturalism is exalted by science and where industrialism deafens the ear to the 'Know thyself' of intellectualism. Hence society has scruples against culture, which, it is urged, unfits man for life in the outer world among men and things. The antinomy between intellect and will has long afflicted the Indo-Germanic consciousness, and as far back as the days of Vedānta philosophy it had sought to reconcile the conflicting claims of the Sāṅkhya of thought and the Yoga of action by declaring that the pursuit of knowledge and the performance of work were both necessary to bring man to the highest spiritual state of workless contemplation (*Bhagavad-Gītā*, ch. v.). With the Greeks, who were both Apollonian and Dionysiac, the ascendant principle was the intellectualistic one; for, while Aristotle based life upon *ἐνέργεια*, he found *εὐδαιμονία* to consist in an energy tempered by moderation and perfected by contemplation (*Nic. Eth.* x. 7). It was in this spirit that Bacon exalted the 'work of contemplation.' Voltaire's attack upon culture was carried on in the same eudæmonistic manner; accordingly his pessimistic *Candide* (1758) urges man to work without thinking, as the only means of rendering life bearable, whence follows, at the conclusion, the familiar maxim, 'Il faut cultiver notre jardin.' In the history of French scepticism, the same advice had been given by Montaigne, who also counsels one to assume the consciousness of a dumb animal in order to find wisdom.—'Il nous faut abestir pour

nous assagir' ('Apologie de Raymond Sebond,' *Essais*, Lyons. 1595, bk. ii. ch. xii.).

But the classic example of the genius who sought peace by harmonizing inner with outer life is Goethe, with his *Torquato Tasso* (1789) and *Faust*. Developed in Italy, where Goethe came into living contact with Hellenism, *Tasso* was submitted to the classic form of treatment, which was hardly fitted for the strivings of the unhappy hero with his Werther temperament. The display of soul-stuff, with its conflict between intellectualism and activism, is carried on in the comparison between Tasso and Antonio, the man of affairs; for, even when crowned with the wreath taken from the bust of Virgil, as a sign of his success in completing his *Jerusalem Delivered*, the poet is envious of the practical man, who has just returned from an important mission. In the course of this drama of the inner culture-consciousness, Goethe takes the opportunity of introducing certain maxims which have become famous. Thus in his jealousy of Antonio, Tasso exclaims, 'I feel myself more than ever of double soul' (Act ii. Sc. i.), referring to the duality of soul embodied in *Faust* (i. 759). The poet's incompleteness is celebrated in the words, 'Talent is formed in solitude, character in the stream of the world' (Act i. Sc. ii.); while it is declared that self-knowledge comes not from within, but rather out in the world among men (Act ii. Sc. iii.). Where the Princess celebrates the poet's sorrow by calling it 'charming' (Act i. Sc. i.), Tasso at last confesses the profundity of his inner contemplative consciousness, in the memorable Goetheanism, 'Some god gave me power to tell how I suffer' (Act v. Sc. v.). This Goethean nostalgia for activity has recently received brilliant recognition in Paul Bourget's *Le Disciple* (1889). *Faust's* sense of two souls within expresses the conflict more profoundly, while it solves the problem more decisively as the victory of the active altruist over the thinking egoist, or the merging of the two in the unity of life, the consciousness of which leads Faust to bid the holy moment stay: 'Verweile doch, du bist so schön' (ii. 6953).

The culturist, however, will object to this activist treatment of the problem, and persist in his contemplation, however painful it may be for him. Moreover, intellectualism claims that action stands in need of the thought-principle, inasmuch as the will comes to consciousness only in ideation, as was confessed by the arch-voluntarist, Schopenhauer, when he made the will-to-live objectify itself as Platonic ideas (*World as Will and Idea*, tr. Haldane and Kemp, 1883-6, §25). Apart from thought, activity defeats its own humanistic aims, for, 'where there is no vision, the people perish' (Pr 29th). The recent egoistic movement in literature reacts favourably upon culture, which is so interior in its nature as to make most difficult any social interpretation of the contemplative. Thus Maurice Barrès stands for a 'culte du moi' in the 'tour d'ivoire' of selfhood (cf. Huneker, *Egoists*, in loc.). In the same spirit, Anatole France, although apparently a believer in collectivism, is not without egoistic and intellectualistic traits. These appear brilliantly in *The Red Lily*, where Paul Vence's opinion of Napoleon seems to express the author's view of activists in general:

'A poet, he knew no poetry but that of action. His great dream of life was earth-bound. . . . His youth, or rather his sublime adolescence, endured to the end, because all the days of his life were powerless to form in him a conscious maturity. Such is the abnormal condition of all men of action. They live entirely for the moment, and their genius is concentrated on one single point. They do not grow. The hours of their lives are not bound together by any chain of grave disinterested reflexion. They do not develop; one condition merely succeeds another in a series of deeds. Thus they have no inner life. The absence of any inner life is particularly noticeable in Napoleon. . . . He lived outside himself' (Stephen's tr., 1903, ch. iii. p. 461.).

Where the culturist grants the validity of activism, he yet sees its limits, if not its dangers; or, as Bergson, a pronounced activist, has expressed it: 'It is presumable that, without language, intelligence would have been riveted to material objects that its interests led it to consider. It would have lived in a state of somnambulism, exterior to itself, hypnotized by its work' (*L'Évolution créatrice*, 1910, p. 172). Such a condition of exteriority, observed by both France and Bergson, would seem to be the unhappy state of mankind, apart from the intellectual deliverance that comes through culture; the man of genius, raised above nature, is enabled to transform the energy of action into the work of contemplation, as Flaubert's principle of violence in art resulted in rhetoric.

2. Culture and humanity.—While it goes without saying that man was meant for humanity, or for the perfection that belongs to the species, it does not follow that this perfection must be intellectualistic. For Bacon it was easy to identify *veritas* with *bonitas* (*Adv. of Learn.* I. viii. 2); but the modern notion of humanity's realization of the good is often elaborated in defiance of the intellectually true. In ancient thought, Plato's *Republic* banished poetry and the drama from the State; but this drastic measure was in the interest of truth as man's chief good (bk. x. 595-605). In modern times, Tolstoi has opposed decadent culture, because, like Rousseau, he thinks that progress in intellectualism has brought about inequality, as also for Plato's reason that art does not yield truth. Tolstoi opposes the notion that art belongs to superior souls alone (*What is Art?* tr. Mande, 1889, ch. viii.). 'Art,' says Tolstoi, 'should unite men with God and with one another'; whence he arraigns, as inimical to this religion of humanity, all art that is superstitious, patriotic, and sensual (*ib.* ch. xvii.). With a condemnation of modern art almost universal, Tolstoi surrenders to the genre and sympathetic, as represented by Dickens, Hugo, Dostoevsky, Millet, Breton, etc. His attack upon Shakespeare was provoked by the perception that the poet slighted the labouring classes. Ernest Crosby having made such a socialistic criticism of Shakespeare, Tolstoi proceeded to criticize his dramas, upon æsthetic and philosophic grounds (*A Critical Essay on Shakespeare*, tr. Tchertkoff, 1906, pt. ii., Crosby's article). In addition to this social scruple against culture, there is also an ethical detent, based upon the thought that intellectual superiority in a nation seems to involve a pyramidal arrangement of the social order, where the enlightened few are supported by the mass of labouring people, whereby injustice arises. The failure of the æsthetic to redeem mankind urged Schopenhauer to put ethics in its place, with the idea that, since not all can be artists, they should all be moralists, and that even in the cultured person the æsthetic moment is so transitory that it necessitates the permanent moral treatment of life in the complete denial of the will-to-live (*World as Will and Idea*, tr. Haldane and Kemp, 1896, §§27, 52; also bks. iii. iv.); culture, however desirable, does not seem to be imperative like morality, activity, and the like; but the argument involved is not really one of physical necessity, but of spiritual value; for, inasmuch as 'the earth is the planet of hunger, or the planet where one eats' (A. France), it might be argued that through necessity food is as important as virtue, and the economic the equal of the ethical. The question is one of values, as also one of psychological fitness; whence the culturist concludes that morality and social life stand in need of the enlightenment and evaluation that can come only when truth and beauty are pursued for their own sake. The most perfect conception of social life seems to have found ex-

pression in ancient times, when it was said, 'Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased' (Dn 12^a). In the endeavour to promote the interests of an enlightened State, it is not out of place to commend culture and foster genius, for it must not be forgotten that humanity is in part to be conceived in humanistic fashion, which involves the exaltation of letters and arts, or the 'humanities.'

3. Culture and happiness.—Where culture is challenged by activism and socialism, it is finally criticized by endæmonism, on the ground that it fails to satisfy the soul. Here re-appears the contention of activist and socialist, who will assert that the disinterestedness demanded by culture can result only in diverting man's attention from immediate necessities, which, like eating, drinking, clothing, shelter, are imperative for the 'Sons of Martha' to consider. Both nature and natural society point to the place man is supposed to occupy in the actual world; hence the interior life of culture can only unfit him for his vocation as a living being, so great is the preoccupation which culture demands. Hence, with the physical and social struggle for existence, the contemplator is likely to be left stranded in the onward flux of events, so that all that makes for culture threatens the well-being of man. Modern educational systems have long been realizing this utilitarian principle, with the result that 'humanity' now, instead of connoting culture, stands for social efficiency; while 'culture courses' in the curriculum are included among the non-essentials. To this argument against disinterested enlightenment, the culturist may reply by noting that these practical interests will take care of themselves in connexion with man's instinctive life, just as they will ever assert themselves in human education as demands made by the inquiring interested mind. But the cultural interest in remote ideals may safely be furthered in the life and education of man, who is necessarily predisposed in favour of the immediately useful.

With regard to culture as a means of promoting happiness, the central question is one of the possession or pursuit of knowledge. Classicism, which had culture without the culture-problem, upheld the possession of knowledge as affording the highest enjoyment; hence Aristotle said: 'It is reasonable to suppose that the employment (of wisdom) is more pleasant to those who have mastered it than to those who are yet seeking' (*Nic. Eth. x. vi.*). Mediæval Romanticism relaxed somewhat from this identification of knower and knowledge, as when the Troubadour, or Trouvère (finder), suggested that the search after that which could be found constituted our true happiness. The culture of Modernism is not wanting in instances of representative individuals who have protested that the search after truth is more satisfying than the securing of knowledge itself. Thus it was that the Cartesian, Père Malebranche, said: 'If I held truth captive in the hand, I would open it in order to pursue it again' (Mazure, *Cours de la philosophie*, ii. 20); while Butler declared: 'Knowledge is not our proper happiness . . . it is the gaining, not the having, of it, which is the entertainment of the mind' (*Sermons*, xv.). More brilliantly and more forcefully Lessing said:

'If God were to hold in His right hand all truth, and in His left the single, ever-living impulse to seek for truth, though coupled with the condition of eternal error, and should say to me, "Choose!" I would humbly fall before His left hand, and say, "Father, give! Pure truth is, after all, for Thee alone!"' (Rollston, *Life of Lessing*, 1889, ch. xvii.).

While significant of the remoteness inherent in the culture-ideal, such utterances are not normal expressions of the culture-motive, which is more like the Troubadour, or finder, instinct in the human mind. Finally, our modern psychology, like

that of Wundt, by showing how similar are intellect and volition, tends to do away with the conflict between the idealistic and activistic methods of promoting human happiness, and to postulate a unity of thinking and doing, of inner life and outer existence.

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CHARLES GRAY SHAW.

CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—See CONFESSIONS, PRESBYTERIANISM.

CUP- AND RING-MARKINGS.—1. Description.—The name 'cup- and ring-markings' is given to certain signs—they cannot be called drawings or sculptures—which are found on rock-surfaces and articles of use in all parts of the world, from pre-historic times down to the primitive peoples of the present day. Wherever found, they are distinguished by the same characteristics with great variety in details. In all cases there is the central cup, hollow, or depression, surrounded by one or more concentric circles or rings. These rings take many varying forms. Sometimes they are complete circles; sometimes they are only semi-circles at the top or bottom of the cup; sometimes they take the form of spirals. At times—and this is very usual when they are found in any number—sets of cup- and ring-markings are united by lines or ducts making a variety of figures; and again, at times, the outermost circle has a number of rays issuing from it and converging towards the central depression or cup. Wherever they have been observed, they are the work of peoples in the Neolithic stage of culture, whether in the actual Neolithic Age of the pre-historic past, or among peoples who at the present time exist at that stage of culture.

The localities where archaic cup- and ring-markings are now known to exist are world-wide. Some of the finest examples are in the British Islands. It was in the year 1859 that Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson first called attention to them in a paper in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, in the course of which he refers to cup- and ring-markings on the rocks in Northumberland, and claims to have been the first to note such markings as far back as 1835. In 1867, Sir James Simpson published his book entitled *Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, etc., on Rocks*, in which he described all those that were then known in Scotland, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire, and in a series of beautiful plates he illustrated every variety of form which they exhibit.

It is now known that archaic cup- and ring-markings exist in all parts of our own country, not only on scarps of rock, but on the stones of so-called 'Druid' circles, from Inverness-shire to Lancashire, Cumberland, and the Isle of Man; on great stones forming avenues; on cromlechs; on the stones of chambered tumuli in Yorkshire; on stone cists or coffins in Scotland, Ireland, and Dorset; on pre-historic obelisks, or solitary 'standing-stones' in Argyll; on walls in subterranean 'Picts' houses' in the Orkneys and Forfarshire; in pre-historic Scottish forts; near old camps; and

on isolated rocks, scarps, and stones. They are found in the Cheviot Hills, on the moor near Chatton Park in Northumberland; there engraved on the boulders may be seen central cup-like depressions surrounded by incised concentric circles. Some of the finest examples in the British Islands are at or near Ilkley in Yorkshire. In Ireland precisely analogous markings, or 'rock-scribings,' as Wakeman calls them, are found at Mevagh, Co. Donegal, on the sides of Knockmore Cave, near Derrygonnelly, Co. Fermanagh, as well as the magnificent series of double spirals at Newgrange, Dowth, and Lough Crew, Co. Meath, which belong to a somewhat later stage of culture.

Outside the British Islands, other archaic examples, besides those in the Morbihan, may be noted at Malta, where, in the spring of 1910, the writer saw the very fine series—painted, not incised—in the hypogeum at Hal-Safieni. They also occur incised at Hagiar Kim and Mnaidra, in Malta, and in the Giganteja at Gozo; on the rock on which the great Cathedral of Seville is built; on the steps of the Forum at Rome; on the pedestal of a statue from Athens; in Scandinavia, in China, in India, and in North and South America.

Present-day instances in which a precisely similar scheme of ornamentation may be observed are found among the natives of Central Australia (which will be more particularly described when we come to discuss the meaning to be assigned to them), in Fiji, in Easter Island, and other parts of the Pacific Ocean, as well as in certain parts of Africa. Further, among races who tatu, particularly the Maoris of New Zealand, a very similar set of designs may be observed.

2. Theories as to significance.—It is an axiom of Anthropology that primitive man never gave, nor does he give, himself trouble merely for an æsthetic purpose, but always had some practical object in view. Hence the theories proposed in explanation of cup- and ring-markings fall into two groups. The first would explain them by (a) religion, or (b) magic; the second, as (a) primitive star-maps, or (b) rude maps of the neighbourhood, showing the position of hut-circles, or (c) a primitive method of writing, or at least of communicating ideas.

i. (a) Religion.—Sir James Simpson, after mentioning, only to reject, the Swedish archaeologist Nilsson's conjecture that these markings were Phœnician in their origin, came to the conclusion that 'they are archaeological enigmata,' but he went on to suggest that they were 'probably ornamental and possibly religious,' adding that, 'though in the first instance probably decorative,' they were also 'emblems or symbols, connected in some way with the religious thought and doctrines of those who carved them' (*op. cit.* pp. 92, 115, 117).

In 1872, Phené, in a paper read before the British Archaeological Association, argued that the purpose of cup- and ring-markings was a religious one, and that it was connected with sun-worship.

In 1878, Romilly Allen, an acknowledged authority in all that pertains to early Christian art, read before the British Archaeological Association an exhaustive paper on the remarkable series of 'Pre-historic Rock-sculptures at Ilkley.' After giving a list of all the localities in which pre-historic rock-sculptures were then known to exist, followed by a detailed account of those at Ilkley, he proceeded to notice various theories as to their origin and meaning. It may be observed that among the markings at Ilkley there is one set of cups and lines arranged in the form of the *swastika*, a pattern of universal prevalence from the Mycænæan age onwards, which is noted by Schliemann to have been found on a very large number of spindle-whorls discovered at Troy, and is found in India

as a religious symbol, and survives among ourselves as the arms of the Isle of Man. Its occurrence here would seem to carry back its use as a symbol of some sort to pre-historic times. Allen's own theory is that cup- and ring-markings were most probably used as religious symbols, and were connected, as Nilsson suggested, with sun- and Baal-worship. He also thinks, with Nilsson, that the pre-historic sculptures belong to the Bronze Age.

In the following year C. W. Dymond read an interesting paper before the same Association on some rock-markings in the same neighbourhood, with copious reference to Schliemann's discoveries at Troy and Mycænæ. In this he makes a special point of that discoverer's theory that the cups surrounded by complete circles represent the sun, and those surrounded by incomplete or semi-circles, with or without rays, i.e. ducts, represent the rising or setting sun. In this connexion it may be noted that among the rock-paintings of the native Australians described by R. H. Mathews (in *JAI* xxv. [1896] 145) is one which almost certainly represents, along with a figure of two hands joined at the wrist, the sun rising or setting. The significance of this will appear later (see below, p. 366*). Dymond also notes one stone containing a most remarkable arrangement of markings, which he says he at first took for a rude representation of the planetary system, but which he afterwards thought might be an allegorical or symbolical representation of a goose (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxvii. 86).

As recently as 1900, H. G. M. Murray-Aynsley, in her book on *Symbolism of the East and West*, describes the cup- and ring-markings which she had observed in the course of her travels in India, and compares them with those known in Europe; and as to their significance she assigns all alike to sun- and star-worship.

In his recent book *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* (London, 1907), Rice Holmes ranges himself with those who would see in these markings some religious significance, though he is hopelessly wrong in assigning them, as he does, to the Bronze Age.

Still keeping to the theory of their religious significance, it may be noted that Col. Rivett-Carnac, who has made a special study of the archaic rock-markings of India, particularly as they occur among the Kumaun Hills, suggested that they are connected with *lingam*-worship; the central mark or cup representing the *lingam*, the circle the *yoni*. The rich, he supposed, put up a monument, the poor merely carved a symbol.

In his *Pre-historic Times*⁸, 1900, Lord Avebury comes to the conclusion that 'we have as yet no satisfactory clue to the meaning of these engravings' (p. 158), and he assigns the ruder, and therefore evidently more primitive, engravings, i.e. the simple cup- and ring-marks in all their variety, to the Neolithic Age, or, as we prefer to say, at any rate to the Neolithic stage of culture. As regards the meaning to be attached to the symbols, R. Munro says:

'Although much has been written on the subject, none of the theories advanced to explain their meaning has met with general acceptance. That they had a symbolic meaning in the religious conceptions of the people is evident from the frequency with which they are found on sepulchral monuments, but any interpretation hitherto advanced on the subject, beyond the general religious idea, seems to be pure conjecture' (*Prehistoric Scotland*, p. 217*).

(b) Magic.—In 1892, and again in 1896, Miss Russell propounded, with a wealth of argument and illustration, before the same Association, the theory that simple cups and circles are intended to represent eyes, and that those having a line or duct through them represent eyes transfixed with a

javelin, and that accordingly the solution of the problem as to the meaning of these signs is to be found in regarding them as charms against the Evil Eye. The prevalence of this superstition among primitive races the world over is unquestionable, and it survives to-day, with more intensity than anywhere else among civilized peoples, in Italy, as Elworthy has conclusively shown in his books, *The Evil Eye* (London, 1895), and *Horns of Honour* (London, 1900), so that, had it not been for later discoveries, this might have stood as a good working hypothesis; and it may even be held to have some share in the meaning which we shall assign to them. Magic is not only the science, but it lies at the very root of the religion and social arrangements, of primitive folk, and it may well have its part in the explanation to be advanced for the universal prevalence of these mysterious signs.

ii. (a) It has been held that cup- and ring-markings were connected with astrology and intended for rude maps or plans of the stellar and planetary heavens. This theory need not detain us, as it could not by any possibility apply except to a very few cases, in which the designs may seem to be arranged in some sort of definite order having some resemblance to the position of the constellations in the sky, or some appearance of being intended to represent the sun, moon, and planets.

(b) There is the view that they were intended for maps of the locality, marking the position of the neighbouring raths, or *oppida*, for the benefit of wayfarers, whether the inhabitants themselves or strangers. This theory is associated with the names of Greenwell and Wilkinson in England, and of Graves in Ireland, and was definitely applied by the latter to the Irish examples.

(c) There is also the view that they were a primitive mode of writing, or at least of communicating ideas. This theory was propounded by Rivett-Carnac as an appendage or alternative to his theory that they were connected with *lingam*-worship. In 1903 he read a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society entitled 'Cup-marks as an archaic Form of Inscription,' in which he suggested that they were 'a very ancient form of writing.'

In discussing our own theory we shall see how these two ideas may be combined, by a reference not only to the evidence from Australia, but also to the 'painted pebbles,' with alphabetiform signs, which Piette discovered in the cave of Mas d'Azil in the Pyrenees, and which belong to the Palæolithic Age, and to the similar signs found on and in dolmens in Portugal in the same year, down to the signs which distinguish the work turned out by modern potteries in civilized lands. It may be noted here that Wood-Martin also had already suggested that cup- and ring-markings 'might be the first step made by primitive man towards writing' (*Pagan Ireland*, p. 571). E. Cartailhac had made the same suggestion in 1889 in his *La France préhistorique d'après les sépultures et les monuments* (p. 247).

3. Cup- and ring-markings, in the light thrown upon them by recent research and discoveries among the native races of Northern and Central Australia.—In the year 1899, Spencer-Gillen's epoch-making book on *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* was published. It was followed in 1904 by the same authors' *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, and in the same year A. W. Howitt's *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* was published. These, with K. Langloh Parker's *The Euahlayi Tribe* (London, 1905), and the researches of R. H. Mathews and other travellers and observers, are our authorities on the tribal and social arrangements and customs of the Australian aborigines.

The characteristic feature of all these tribes is

that society is organized on a basis of totemism (*q.v.*), in relation to which cup- and ring-markings are found to have a living and definite significance.

Some few years ago the theory now under consideration might have been included under those which would give a religious significance to cup- and ring-markings, but recent research has made that impossible.

J. G. Frazer, in his great work on *Totemism and Exogamy* (4 vols., London, 1910), has proved that totemism does not belong to the category of religion, but is altogether of social significance, and this was the opinion of many students before the publication of his book settled the matter for all time. Totemism is not religion, because religion implies reverence and worship, and the totem is never worshipped, though it is treated with respect. It is the brother, never the god, of its human relations.

Before we can exhibit the relationship between cup- and ring-marking and totemism, however, we must first deal, as briefly as possible, with totemism as it exists in Australia, especially among the Arunta.

The Arunta reckon by male descent, but their totemism is special and peculiar in that it is reckoned by locality and not by parentage at all, i.e. every child, no matter what the totem of its parents may be, belongs to the totem of the district in which it may happen to be born. The Arunta system is based on the following beliefs. They hold that each living Arunta is descended from, or rather is the re-incarnation of, an ancestor who lived in what are known as the 'Alcheringa' (*q.v.*) times. Each of these Alcheringa ancestors is represented as carrying about with him or her one of the sacred stones or sticks, which are called by the Arunta *churinga*. Each of these *churinga* is closely associated with the spirit part of some individual. In the place where they originated or stayed, as in the case of some of the Witchetty Grub people, or where they camped in their wanderings, there were found what the natives call *okaniskilla*, i.e. local totem centres. At each of these spots a certain number of the Alcheringa ancestors went into the ground, each carrying his *churinga* with him. His body died, but some natural feature, such as a tree or rock, rose to mark the spot, while his spirit part remained in the *churinga*. Thus the country is dotted over with these *okaniskilla*, each one connected with one totem. The rock or the tree marking the spirit's abode is known as the spirit's *nanya*, and it is this idea of spirit individuals associated with the *churinga*, and resident in certain definite spots, which is at the root of the totemic system of the Arunta tribe. These spirits are ever waiting to be re-born, and consequently they are ever on the look-out for likely women through whom they may receive re-incarnation. Hence arises the most curious feature of Arunta beliefs, and the most marked characteristic of their life. They are entirely ignorant of the meaning and effect of sexual intercourse. According to their belief, it has nothing to do with the actual production of offspring; at best it only prepares the woman for the entry of the spirit-child. Consequently a woman never knows when a spirit-child may enter her womb, and, as a result, whenever she may become aware that she has conceived a child, it belongs to the totem of that locality irrespective of the totem to which she or her husband may belong. Hence, among the Arunta the exogamous classes are totally distinct from the totemic clans. The child inherits the *churinga nanya* of his ancestral spirit, and consequently belongs to his own ancestral totem. In some localities the spirits are particularly active, in others they are more otiose, but the result is the same in all cases—when the spirit-child enters a woman, the *churinga* is dropped. When the child is born, the mother tells the father the position of the tree or rock near to which she supposes the child to have entered her, and he and his friends then search for the dropped *churinga*. This is usually, but not always, supposed to be a stone one marked with the device peculiar to the totem of the spot, and therefore of the new-born child. If it should not be found, as is sometimes the case, a wooden one is made from the tree nearest to the *nanya*, and the device peculiar to the totem is carved upon it.

In each *okaniskilla*, or local totem centre, there is a spot known as the *ernatutunga*. This is the sacred storehouse, usually some cave or crevice in some unfrequented spot among the hills carefully concealed. In it are numbers of the *churinga*, often carefully tied up in bundles. (With this custom and the ideas connected with it, Frazer ('Folklore in the Old Testament,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxf. 1907) compares the phrase used in 1 S 25²².) The name *churinga*, it should be noted, means a sacred and secret emblem. No woman, under pain of death, may ever say into the secrets of the *ernatutunga*; boys on initiation at puberty are allowed to see and handle their *churinga nanya*; it is part of the ceremony of admission to the mysteries of the tribe—but only a part. Another and very important part is the painting on face and body of the youth who has successfully passed through the ceremonies of initiation, and is considered worthy of the honour, with the device peculiar to his totem, and he is then taken to the *ernatutunga*. The old women know that he has been there, though they know nothing of the ceremonies. To the younger women it is a matter of the deepest mystery, for no woman dare approach the gap in which is the sacred rock-painting, and near to which lies the *ernatutunga*.

The above description of the beliefs and ceremonies of the Arunta was necessary to the full

understanding of our subject, and it has brought us at last to rock-paintings. These are not peculiar to the Arunta; they have been noted all over Australia. But those previously described are not of the special type which concerns our purpose, which are found among the Arunta. These rock-paintings fall into two groups: (a) ordinary rock-drawings similar to those already known, and corresponding with the drawings of the Palæolithic cave-people, the primitive Egyptians, Italians, and others, in many parts of the world, and the Bushmen among modern savages; and (b) certain other drawings which belong to a class of designs called *churinga ilkinia*, and regarded as sacred, or secret, mysteries, because they are associated with the totems. Each local totemic group has certain of these belonging to the group, and preserved on rock surfaces which are strictly tabu to the women, children, and uninitiated men. The designs on these *churinga ilkinia*, as on the *churinga nanja*, are each distinctive of some special totem, and are so understood by the initiated natives. Now these special totemic designs of the Arunta consist of precisely the same patterns as the rock-sculpturings or paintings which are the subject of this article. They may all be classed as cup- and ring-markings. There is the central dot corresponding to the cup, surrounded by concentric circles or semi-circles, and arranged in varying patterns, sometimes joined by lines which run through and connect them, exactly as the ducts do in the sculpturings,¹ and each varying pattern has its own distinctive meaning which the native at once recognizes. One pattern belongs to the Witchetty Grub totem, while others belong to the Emu, Kangaroo, Plum-tree, Snake, Sun, Moon, etc., totems, as the case may be.

Considering, then, that primitive man may be held to have everywhere, though with local modifications, passed through the same or similar stages in his evolution from the lower to the higher plane of social organization, we may hold that we are justified in assuming that in these Arunta drawings and designs, with their well-known and recognized significance, we have, as Wood-Martin suggested (*Pagan Ireland*, p. 47, note), the solution of our problem, and may with confidence assert that the *asal* meaning of cup- and ring-markings, wherever found, whether belonging to pre-historic primitive man in Europe or Asia, or to modern primitive man in Australia, is not religious, but social; that, when first found, they were totemic in their origin, and are connected with magic but not with religion.

Thus these mysterious signs may with justice be said to constitute the 'heraldry of primitive man,' and they would be known and understood by all to whom it might concern, even as the Arunta understand them to-day, just as the followers of a medieval knight, his squires and men-at-arms, recognized the blazon on the shield of their lord, or the crest on his helmet in battle or joust, or the pennon fluttering from his castle keep, and as the flag is recognized among civilized nations at the present day.

It would take us too far to trace the possible connexion between the now discovered totemic significance of cup- and ring-markings and the *lingam*-cult or Nature-worship of a later stage of culture, but we may note the primitive phase of this idea in the Arunta theory of the spirit-child conceived beside some sacred rock or tree. A similar notion meets us, as Rivett-Carnac points out, in Switzerland and Italy, and probably further research would find it elsewhere also. The

spirit-child belongs to the totem of the locality in which it is conceived, and the *churinga*—both the *nanja*, the portable stone or stick, and the *ilkinia*, the rock-drawing, each sacred and secret—is the totem-badge, bearing the special design peculiar to that totem. Here we have its living and present significance. Ancient rocks and stones inscribed with cup- and ring-markings are in many parts of Europe associated with ideas belonging to the worship of the generative powers. Menhirs and monoliths not only have those marks, but are themselves symbolic of the mystery of the reproduction of life. In Switzerland they are still known as 'the babies' stone,' and, bearing this primitive notion in mind, we may see a justification for describing simple cup-markings on standing stones as representing inverted female breasts, as is done in art. CANAANITES (vol. iii. p. 178*). With the same association of ideas in Brittany and other Celtic districts, childless women bring offerings to the menhir, and more than one standing-stone has been christianized by the placing of a cross upon its summit.

Finally, it is quite possible that in cup- and ring-markings we also behold one of the earliest efforts of mankind to convey ideas by means of signs, and that in this sense therefore they are a form of writing. The Arunta read their meaning both in the rock-paintings, the *churinga ilkinia*, and upon the sacred sticks or stones, the *churinga nanja*, and indeed have been known on occasion to employ the latter as 'message-sticks or stones,' although in their case the *churinga* is more in the nature of a safe-conduct, rendering the bearer tabu, than an actual means of conveying ideas. Other tribes, as the Itchimundi, employ real message-sticks, but they are merely a kind of tally to mark the heads of the message, and the markings have no special meaning as conventional signs to convey a definite announcement. Still these signs, and such as the Palæolithic folk inscribed on the pebbles at Mas d'Azil, or such as are found on Neolithic dolmens in Portugal and in certain parts of Scotland, may lie at the root of the alphabets of the Aægean, and form the germ of our European alphabets. But, if cup- and ring-markings are to be taken at all as a method of conveying ideas, i.e. as a method of writing, it can only be of the very rudest, compared with which oghams and runes are finished alphabets. It is better to take them simply as totemic signs, having regard to their Arunta affinity, and to relate them to heraldic tokens and modern potters' marks as being tribal and family badges and marks of ownership.

LITERATURE.—There is a succession of articles in *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.*, in the following order: vol. xvi. (1860), Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, 'On the Rock-basins of Dartmoor'; xxix. (1873), J. S. Phené, 'On the Uniformity of Design and Purpose in the Works and Customs of the earliest Settlers in Britain'; xxxv. (1879), R. Romilly Allen, 'Pre-historic Rock-sculptures at Ilkley'; xxxvi. (1879), C. W. Dymond, 'Cup-Markings on Burley Moor'; xviii. (1892), Helen J. M. Russell, 'A recent Discovery at Rome in Connection with Mythology and Symbolism in Britain', also iii. (1896), 'Some Rock-cuttings in Northumberland'; lvi. (1900), lvii. (1901), lix. (1903), and lx. (1904), a series of articles by the present writer leading up to the conclusions arrived at in this article. The classical book on the subject, for its date, is, of course, Sir J. Y. Simpson, *Archæol. Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, etc., upon Stones and Rocks*, Edinburgh, 1867. As regards the Arunta and other Australian natives, Spencer-Gillen^a (1899), ^b (1904), and Howitt (1904) are the authorities. See also E. S. Rivett-Carnac, 'Cup-marks as an archaic Form of Inscription', *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.* 1903; Andrew Lang, *Magic and Religion*, London, 1901, with a chapter on "Cup and Ring": 'An old Problem solved,' suggesting a very similar solution to that here put forward, and *The Secret of the Totem*, London, 1905, by the same author; Lord Avebury, *Pre-historic Times*⁶, London, 1900; R. Munro, *Prehistoric Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1899; W. Crooke, *PR2*, Westminster, 1896; M. Hoernes, *Ursprung, der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, Vienna, 1898, also *Der diluviale Mensch in Europa*, Brunswick, 1903; E. B. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* 4, London, 1903; J. Cooke, *Wakeman's Handbook of Ir. Ant.*, London, 1903; W. G. Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, London 1892; S. R.

¹ Munro (*op. cit.* p. 219) says, 'The cup-and-ring with gutter channels has not been found outside the British Isles,' but in Austria the line represents the 'gutter channel.'

Driver, *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (Schweich Lect.), London, 1909; R. A. S. Macalister, *Bible Side-lights from Gezer*, London, 1906; G. Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Leipzig, 1908. References to many additional sources of information are given in Lord Avebury's *Pre-historic Times*, and R. Munro's *Prehistoric Scotland*.

H. J. DUKINFELD ASTLEY.

CURSING AND BLESSING.—I. Introductory.—Cursing and blessing are perfect opposites, and are therefore appropriately taken together for analysis and description. The preponderance of evil-wishing over good-wishing is obvious, but deserves consideration. Like the preponderance of evil spirits over good spirits in early religions, it points to absence of harmony or failure of adaptation in the relations of man to Nature and of man to man. But this very defect may be a condition of progress, a mark of the struggle.

The habit, in its twofold or polar aspect, is universal both in ordinary social life and in religion, organized and unorganized. It transcends all distinctions of race, and is, in fact, a permanent outcome of the working together of language and thought; for by this double mechanism are expressed wish and will, desire and determination, in that form which is, as it were, midway between psychosis and action. This does not imply that verbal utterance is a stage preceding action; we describe it as intermediate, just because cursing and blessing in their earlier forms have the appearance of being based on an unconscious theory that the word is nearer the end than is the wish, and that the act alone reaches, or rather is, the end. It follows that, in the fluid state of categorical thought which we assume for early culture, it would be both easy and natural to assimilate the spoken wish to the realized fact, by any appropriate means. Such artificial actualizing of the blessing or the curse is typical of all except the higher stages of the evolution. It will be illustrated later on. In passing, we may note that to describe such assimilation as a 'material' or 'concrete' tendency, or to describe the primitive mind as being essentially 'materialistic,' is to draw a false distinction. In view of the very rudimentary analysis of natural laws and of mental categories arrived at by early man, it is better to describe his mental operations by some such term as *holopsychosis*, or 'whole-thinking,' just as his language has been described as *holophrastic*. All the components are there, but they have not yet been resolved. The examples cited below will illustrate this also, besides serving to indicate that some of the earliest cases of human 'expression' are actually less material and less concrete than the latest.

The curse and the blessing are an excellent example of a product of the two powers—thought and word (or *logos*)—and of the inhibition of such a product from becoming fact. The reasons for the inhibition need no description; they are, however, the defining conditions of the curse or blessing as such, though these conditions are always, as it were, about to be transcended. This result is most conspicuous at the highest point of the curve traced by the general habit, and corresponding to a stage when words, as such, possess more *moment* than they do either before or after. As distinguished from desire on the one hand and from actualization (in artificial embodiment) on the other, the curse or the blessing is the spoken word. We may well suppose that the ascription to words of such super-verbal potency as a typical curse involves coincides with a period of mental evolution, and of linguistic evolution, when man became at last completely conscious of the 'power of speech,' of the faculty which he had so laboriously acquired. Then the word was *res*, not *nomen*. The arrival at such a point of realization amounts to a crystallizing out of at least one important category from

the primal fluid of nervous life. It will be noticed that, if terms like 'concrete' and 'material' are employed, we must admit that the half-civilized and highly organized Moor is more 'primitive' than the lowest savage.

It also seems to the writer an unnecessary and illegitimate proceeding to draw a sharp division between the magical and the religious blessing or curse, or to assign priority to the former type. A savage Australian may curse his fellow mentally or verbally, in a form as far removed from magic as profane swearing among civilized men is from religion. Or, again, if he has a god, he may invoke him to execute his spoken wish. On the other hand, we find the higher religions frequently adopting a magical form; and we can sometimes trace the religious form passing into the magical. The distinction, in fact, between magic and religion, as the form of man's relation to his environment, seems to be a matter of temperament rather than of time. Two types certainly exist for cursing and blessing, and they will be fully discussed below; here it is premised that we have no right to assume the priority of the magical type, or even its exclusion, simultaneously, of the religious. There are, moreover, many neutral cases.

2. General character.—A curse or blessing is a wish, expressed in words, that evil or good may befall a certain person. The wish may be expressed by a god or spirit, in which case it is a *fiat*, and is wish, will, and fact in one. It may be expressed for the speaker's own good or ill. It may be, again, a mere wish or will; or an appeal to another (usually a supernatural) person to execute it; or accompanied by, or embodied in, a material object. This may be an image of the result desired; a vehicle of transmission; an object representing the curse or the blessing; or a physical action by the speaker to, or towards the intended person.

For the uttered wish without condition, reference, or assimilative action, we may compare the case vividly described by Turner. The Samoan has a system of organized cursing, but at times he resorts to the natural method, and curses on his own responsibility. Discovering a thief from his garden, he shouts in a loud voice, 'May fire blast the eyes of the person who has stolen my bananas!' The cry 'rang' throughout the adjacent plantations, and made the thief tremble. They dreaded such uttered imprecations.¹ In Luang-Serama, usual curses are: 'Evil shall devour you! Lightning shall strike you!' and so on.² Such is the type of the simple curse or blessing found in all races, and surviving belief in magic and in supernatural sanctions among the unthinking members of the highest civilization.

When accompanied by a material vehicle or embodiment or action, assimilative or assisting or symbolic, the adhesions of the wish become innumerable, for it links itself to the phenomena of every form of tabu, magic, and symbolism. At the back of all these there is the primary connexion with neuro-muscular discharge. Here the wish may be simultaneous with, or subsequent to, the impulsive action, just as will may be not prior to, but accompanying or following, an action of which it is the cerebral echo.

In Melanesia the act of blessing involves the bestowal of *mana* by physical contact. A man will give a boy a start in the world by placing his hand on the boy's head, thus imparting to him a portion of his own mysterious power.³ In the Solomon Islands, inland people are supposed to have more *mana* than coast people. When they go down to the coast, they considerately avoid spreading out their fingers, for to point the fingers at a man is to shoot him with a 'charm.'⁴ Blessing among the Masai consisted of spitting upon the recipient.⁵ Far more common is the use of this vehicle for the curse, or as a symbol of contempt or insult.⁶ So the Masai spit while cursing. 'If a man while cursing spits in his enemy's eye, blindness is supposed to follow.'⁷ The Sakai are believed to be able to do

¹ G. Turner, *Samoa*, Lond. 1884, p. 184.

² J. G. F. Riedel, *De etnik-en kroescharige rassen*, Hague, 1886, p. 817.

³ R. H. Codrington, *JAI* x. [1881] 285.

⁴ *Ib.* 303.

⁵ J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, Lond. 1887, p. 165 f.

⁶ Riedel, 259, 295, 406.

⁷ S. L. and H. Hinde, *Last of the Masai*, 1901, p. 48.

injury by 'sendings' and 'pointings'.¹ Among the Flort of West Africa, a sale of property becomes complete when the seller has 'blessed' the article sold. He raises his hands to his arm-pits, and throws them out towards the buyer. Then he breathes or blows over the article. This ceremony is called *ku vana mola*, 'giving the breath,' and is equivalent, says Dennett, to a 'God bless thee.'² It seems rather to be a personal imposition of the speaker's good-will upon both buyer and thing bought, without any supernatural reference. There is here as yet no symbolism; the intention is immediate. Examples of symbolism might be multiplied indefinitely. The shaking off of the dust of the feet is a familiar case. In Morocco a suppliant at the *syid* of a saint will call down misfortune upon an enemy by sweeping the floor with his cloak, praying that the enemy may be swept likewise.³ It is hardly necessary to point out that mere impulsive action, deliberate magic, and symbolism shade into each other continually.

Among the Hebrews, a blessing was imparted by the imposition of hands.⁴ In blessing a multitude, the hands were uplifted.⁵ Refinements are inevitable: thus, in the Greek Church the gesture of benediction is made with the right hand, the thumb touching the tip of the ring-finger, the other fingers being erected. In the Latin use, the thumb, fore, and middle fingers are erected, the others being doubled on the palm of the hand. In the Rabbinical blessing, the priest places the fingers of both hands in pairs—the forefinger with the middle, the ring with the little finger, the tips of the thumbs, and the tips of the forefingers, respectively touching one another: thus the ten fingers are in six divisions.

Other components of the wish, as it becomes a rite, may also undergo differentiation. Thus the Talmud holds that the mere power of the spoken word is efficacious.⁶ The priest pronounces the blessing in a loud voice. So, in Islam, an important detail is the audibleness of the benediction. The Talmud also speaks of cursing by an angry look. This needs to be fixed. Such a curse has been described as a 'mental curse.'⁷ The Yasts have a remarkable dualistic personification—the 'cursing Thought' of the Law of Mazda; the 'strong cursing thought of the wise man, opposing foes in the shape of a boar, a sharp-toothed he-boar, a sharp-jawed boar, that kills at one stroke, pursuing, wrathful, with a dripping face, strong and swift to run, and rushing all around.' On the other hand is the personification of 'the pious and good Blessing.' This Blessing (*dfriti*) is twofold—by thought and by words. It is notable that the blessing by words is the more powerful; but the curse (*upamana*) by 'thought is more powerful than that by words.'⁸

The indeterminate character of primitive thought makes interchange easy between thought, idea, word, and act, and also between mechanical, psychical, and verbal force. Thus a curse or blessing may be regarded now as a spirit, now as a thing, now as a word, but in each case it is charged with energy. Or, again, it may be regarded as travelling along a material or psychical conductor, or as embodied in a material object, its energy then being potential, ready to become kinetic when discharged. It is important to note that these early views are held in comparatively late culture, especially in religion, and there show every sign of being living beliefs, not survivals.

When we remember the emphasis laid in all but the latest culture on words and names, we can appreciate the confusion, or rather the shifting, between the material and the verbal notion of a curse or blessing. Thus, in whatever form it is expressed, the curse or blessing, like all expressions of an idea enforced by strong emotion, has a dynamical certainty. Irish folklore has it that a curse once uttered must alight on something; it will float in the air seven years, and may descend any moment on the party it was aimed at; if his guardian angel but forsake him, it takes forthwith the shape of some misfortune, sickness, or temptation, and strikes his devoted head.⁹

'Curses' in old Teutonic proverbs 'operate quickly'; they are 'not to be turned aside.'¹⁰ What Grimm describes as the 'savage heartiness' of the curses which he records is the emotional force which has so much to do with making an impression,

¹ Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Lond. 1906, ii. 199.

² R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, Lond. 1906, p. 48.

³ Westermarck, 'L'Ar, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco,' *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, p. 371.

⁴ Gn 48:17, Mt 19:13.

⁵ Ber. 19:9, 50a.

⁶ SDE xciii. 'Zand-Avesta,' ii. 12, 153.

⁷ Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, Lond. 1902, ii. 571.

⁸ Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* (Eng. ed., Lond. 1888) iv. 1600.

⁹ Lv 92:2, Lk 24:50.

¹⁰ O. Levas, in *JE*, s.v. 'Cursing.'

whether in the direction of 'suggestion' to the victim or, generally, of the ascription of 'power' to the word or act. Emotional force as a factor in the making both of magic and of religion deserves recognition. It is well illustrated by blessings and cursings in their growth; when their forms are fixed, naturally the form is everything, and a curse uttered casually and without heat may still be efficacious. To the priestly blessing in the synagogue magical powers were ascribed, and the OT states that the word once pronounced is irrevocable.¹ The Talmud warns against looking at the priest while he is pronouncing the blessing, for 'the glory of God is on him.' It is a natural process of suggestion working through strength of emotion, fear of ill-will and enmity, and reinforced by a complex of associated ideas relating to the essence of words and the energy of souls, that gives to the curse or blessing its independent 'power.' As it is put by Westermarck, this

'purely magical power, independent of any superhuman will . . . is rooted in the close association between the wish, more particularly the spoken wish, and the idea of its fulfilment. The wish is looked upon in the light of energy which may be transferred—by material contact, or by the eye, or by means of speech—to the person concerned, and then becomes a fact. This process, however, is not taken quite as a matter of course; there is always some mystery about it.'²

Just as sin 'is looked upon as a substance charged with injurious energy,' so the curse is 'a baneful substance,'³ like the materially conceived *badi* of the Malays, and the *l-bas* of the Moors. Good and evil in all but the higher stages of thought are constantly 'embodied,' either by analogy, personification, or the much more normal and prevalent mode of mere mental objectification. To illustrate this last we may compare the precisely identical method, used in science, of *conceiving* of a force as a graphic straight line.

This conception is characteristic of the curse and blessing in their social and religious history.

Arabs when being cursed will lie on the ground that the curse may fly over them.⁴ Among the Nandi, 'if a son refuses to obey his father in any serious matter, the father solemnly strikes the son with his fur mantle. This is equivalent to a most serious curse, and is supposed to be fatal to the son unless he obtains forgiveness, which he can only do by sacrificing a goat before his father.'⁵ Berbers strip before taking an oath, to prevent it from clinging to their clothes.⁶ Plato speaks of being 'tainted by a curse.'⁷ Arabs fear 'the magical nature' of an oath.⁸ The 'water of jealousy' was believed by the Hebrews, as causing a curse, to go into the bowels, to make the belly to swell, and the thigh to rot.⁹ The Kachinzes 'bless' their huts by sprinkling them with milk.¹⁰ The Nubians, before eating the tongue of an animal, cut off the tip, believing that 'here is the seat of all curses and evil wishes.'¹¹ Among the islanders of Leti, Mac, and Lakor, a man who has quarrelled with a woman is afraid to go to war lest her curses may bring death.¹²

Hence the recipient of a curse is anxious to neutralize or divert it. In the last case cited the man is at pains to secure forgiveness by making presents to the woman. In Melanesia the curse is an engine of authority. A chief will curse a man by way of a legal 'injunction'; the matter is put right by the method of *toto*, the offering of a gift. On receiving this, the chief sacrifices to the spirit, *lio'a*, on whose power his curse rested.¹³ In Samoa there is the same system, particularly for the enforcement of the rights of property. In a case of theft, the injured party gives the priest a fee of mats. The priest curses the thief; the latter, to avoid the otherwise inevitable result of sickness or death, deposits at the door of the priest an 'equivalent for the stolen property. Then the priest prays over 'the death bowl' that the curse may be reversed.¹⁴ The Maoris employed an elaborate ritual for cursing and its reversal. The latter was *whakakohiri*; the *fohanga* employed to counteract the curse chanted a *karakia* containing such words as these:

Great curse, long curse,
Great curse, binding curse,
Come hither, sacred spell!
Cause the curser to lie low
In gloomy night!¹⁵

¹ Gn 27:35. ² Westermarck, *MI*, 1906, i. 568. ³ *Id.* i. 56, 57.

⁴ I. Goldziher, *Arab. Philol.*, Leyden, 1896, i. 29.

⁵ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, Lond. 1902, ii. 879.

⁶ Westermarck, *MI*, i. 59. ⁷ *Laus*, ii. 881.

⁸ J. L. Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, Lond. 1880, p. 73.

⁹ Nu 5:11ff. ¹⁰ J. G. Georgi, *Russia*, ed. 1780-3, iii. 275.

¹¹ G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, Lond. 1875, ii. 526f.

¹² Riedel, 387.

¹³ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxt. 1891, p. 216. ¹⁴ Turner, 90.

¹⁵ E. Shortland, *Maori Religion*, Lond. 1882, p. 85.

The Todas have a curious ceremony for anticipating mischief to the sacred cattle. The point of the rite is that the assistant in the dairy, the *kaltmohk*, is cursed and then the curse is at once removed. The dairy-priest, the *patol*, pours milk and clarified butter into the outstretched hands of the *kaltmohk*, who rubs it over his head and whole body. The *patol* chants a curse: 'Die may he; tiger catch him; snake bite him; steep hill fall down on him; river fall on him; wild boar bite him' etc. Rivers infer that the *kaltmohk* is being made responsible for any offence which may have been committed against the dairies. . . . The *kaltmohk* having been cursed, and so made responsible, the curse is then removed in order to avoid the evil consequences which would befall the boy if this were not done.¹ Toda sorcerers impose diseases by cursing-spells, and remove them with some such formula as, 'May this be well; disease leave!'² Thus a blessing may neutralize a curse. Micah's mother cursed her son for his theft; when he confessed, she rendered the curse ineffective by a blessing.³

Blessings and curses are capable both of descent and of ascent, genealogically. Thus, we find it stated in Sir 23¹¹ that 'the scourge shall not depart from his house'; and in Pr 20⁷ 'a just man that walketh in his integrity, blessed are his children after him.'

The Basutos appear to have the belief in the descent of the curse; Casalis compares it with the case of Noah and Ham.⁴ The Greek conception of the Briaryes laid stress on this; a curse might work down to the grandchildren, and even utterly extirpate a race.⁵ Among the Maoris, 'to bid you go and cook your father would be a great curse, but to tell a person to go and cook his great-grandfather would be far worse, because it included every individual who has sprung from him.'⁶

The energy of a curse may spread. As Irish folklore puts it, it 'must alight on something.' Plato speaks of it tainting everything with which it comes in contact.

The Bedawin will not take an oath within or near the camp, 'because the magical nature of the oath might prove pernicious to the general body of Arabs, were it to take place in their vicinity.'⁷ The Moors hold that it is 'bad even to be present when an oath is taken.'⁸

A remarkable detail is very commonly found, namely, that a curse may return to the man who uttered it. 'Curses, like chickens, come home to roost'; 'they turn home as birds to their nest.'⁹ The Karens have a story to the following effect:

'There was a man who had ten children, and he cursed one of his brethren, who had done him no injury; but the curse did the man no harm, and he did not die. Then the curse returned to the man who sent it, and all his ten children died.'¹⁰

Here there is a moral valuation, but the earlier non-moral conception of the intrinsic energy of the curse constitutes the point of the story. With it may be compared the Roman notion that certain imprecations were so awful that even the utterer suffered as well as his victim.¹¹

As with the force of tabu and similar conceptions, physical contact is the most efficacious means of 'transmission.' If we regard the curse or blessing as being the mental idea of a desired material result, then, like all ideas in an impulsive brain, it produces motor energy in the form both of words and of action. Thus, besides the uttered form, we have, by association, paths of realization by means of sympathetic or symbolic action. Examples have been cited of such 'assisting' of the wish, by gestures, direct or indirect. We have also, by association, the more highly differentiated method of sympathetic or symbolic creation. A material model or symbol of the result is desiderated as a pre-embodiment of it; later this becomes a cause and a guarantee of the result. The simplest form of this method is the use of the 'wax image.' In this, model and symbol shade into one another. The image represents the recipient, and the utterer of the wish either utters it over the image, or works upon the image the material result wished for.

So far, we have cases in which the curse or blessing preserves its mental or verbal character, 'mental' being taken to include artistic materialization, as in sympathetic magic. For the curse or blessing, as such, is distinguished from physical injury or physical benefit precisely because it stops short of physical action by the subject upon the object. But the two were bound to be combined; the mixed type of curse and blessing is as common as the pure, and in certain stages of culture is considered to be the more efficacious. The bestowal of a blessing is more efficacious when the man who confers it touches the man who receives it. When dealing with 'vehicles' and 'media' of curses and blessings, we are not entitled to suppose that even in their highest development the mind is conscious of a process of 'conduction.' To us it appears obvious that, when a suppliant holds one end of a string to the other end of which is attached his protector, each should regard the string as a bridge or a wire for transmission. But it would be more logical to credit them with a correct, than an incorrect, application of a physical law, and to argue that they consider will to be conducted by any part of the ether rather than by the wire. It seems more consistent with the evidence to regard these 'conductors' as being merely the nearest thing to physical contact. The sense of touch is bound up with all direct physical action upon an object, well-doing and ill-doing, and colours all ideas of it. Similarly, when we read of curses acting at a distance—in the case of the Australian sorcerer at a hundred miles—we are not entitled to credit the belief with a reasoned or even unconscious substratum of a quasi-scientific theory of the velocity and displacement of an imprecatory particle. It is quite possible that in the case of 'conductors' of various magical 'forces,' such as food and drink, we have to deal as much with the associational idea of property as with that of kinship, or of contagion. With this proviso, such metaphors may be employed. Westermarck writes:

'The efficacy of a wish or a curse depends not only upon the potency which it possesses from the beginning, owing to certain qualities in the person from whom it originates, but also on the vehicle by which it is conducted—just as the strength of an electric shock depends both on the original intensity of the current and on the condition of the conductor. As particularly efficient conductors are regarded blood, bodily contact, food, and drink.'¹

As early types of the ideas, referred to above, which are connected with that of the fulfilment of a wish, we may cite the following:

A Maori would say to a stone: 'If this were your (his enemy's) brain, how very sweet would be my eating of it.' Or he might call any object by the name of his enemy, and then proceed to strike or insult it. This process was a 'curse,' *tapa tapa*, or *tuku tuku*.² Here is the material for the development of the image-method and the symbol-method. In the Toda curse the recipient apparently has it rubbed into his body with milk and butter. It is quite legitimate to regard this as a case where the sound and the breath 'touch' the food, and hence the recipient. The Moor transmits his 'conditional curse' to the man appealed to for protection by grasping him with his hands, or by touching him with his turban or a fold of his dress, even by grasping his child or his horse. 'In short, he establishes some kind of contact with the other person.'³ Psychologically it is a case of prolepsis rather than the conduction of a curse whose fulfilment is only contingent. Similarly the Moorish suppliant may slay an animal at the door of the man. If the latter steps over the blood, or merely sees it, he incurs a conditional curse. Such a curse may be involved in the food eaten at a meal to seal a compact. The phrase runs that 'the food will repay' him who breaks it. The eaten food 'embodies a conditional curse.'⁴ Conversely, for, as Westermarck puts it, 'the magic wire may conduct imprecations in either direction,' if a Moor gives food or drink to another, 'it is considered dangerous, not only for the recipient to receive it without saying "In the name of God," but also for the giver to give it without uttering the same formula by way of precaution.'⁵ In the case of a stranger receiving milk, it is held that, should he misbehave, 'the drink would cause his knees to swell.'⁶

¹ Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906, p. 138 ff.

² *Ib.* 290.

³ Basutos, 1861, p. 305.

⁴ *Jg* 172.

⁵ Eschylus, *Eumenides*, 934 ff.; Herod. vi. 95 (the case of Glaucus and family).

⁶ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, 2, 1870, p. 94.

⁷ Burckhardt, p. 73.

⁸ Grimm, iv. 1690.

⁹ Westermarck, *MI* 1. 50.

¹⁰ Mason, in *JAS Bengal*, xxxvii. [1883] 137.

¹¹ Plutarch, *Vita Crassii*, 16.

¹ *MI* 1. 586.

² Westermarck, 1. 590.

³ *Ib.* 1. 590.

⁴ Taylor, 94.

⁵ *Ib.* 587.

⁶ *Ib.*

On similar principles a curse may be applied to something that has belonged to the recipient, or to something that may come in his way.

The aborigines of Victoria 'believe that if an enemy gets possession of anything that has belonged to them, even such things as bones of animals which they have eaten, broken weapons, fashers, portions of dress, pieces of skin, or refuse of any kind, he can employ it as a charm to produce illness in the person to whom it belonged. They are, therefore, very careful to burn up all rubbish or uncleanness before leaving a camping-place. Should anything belonging to an unfriendly tribe be found at any time, it is given to the chief, who preserves it as a means of injuring the enemy. This *wuilon* is lent to any one of the tribe who wishes to vent his spite against any one belonging to the unfriendly tribe. When used as a charm, the *wuilon* is rubbed over with emu fat, mixed with red clay, and tied to the point of a spear-thrower, which is stuck upright in the ground before the camp-fire. The company sit round watching it, but at such a distance that their shadows cannot fall on it. They keep chanting imprecations on the enemy till the spear-thrower turns round and falls in his direction.'¹

This example contains in solution a good many of the principles connected with cursing. There is also the buried curse.

In Tenimber one can make a man ill by burying in his path such objects as sharp stones or thorns, uttering a curse during the burial. These articles are extracted later from the victim's body by the surgeon.² In the neighbouring islands of Leti, Moa, and Lakor, the buried articles are pieces of *sirih* from the victim's own box, or a scrap of his hair. The cursing accompanies the burial, but there is no need to place the 'embodied curse' in the man's path. Burial is enough, for here the object buried is a part of the man.³

Thus we come back to the symbolized result. Again, in connexion with *tabu* upon property, Codrington observes that in Melanesia

'a *tambu* approaches to a curse, when it is a prohibition resting on the invocation of an unseen power; that, namely, of the *tinidalo*.⁴ In Ceram a trespasser incurs the sickness wished or determined by the owner who embodied it in a *tabu*-mark.⁵ In Samoa the 'silent hieroglyphic *taboo*, or *tapui*, contains a curse; thus, the white shark *tabu*, a coco-palm leaf cut to represent a shark, contains the wish, 'May the thief be eaten by a white shark.'⁶

Even before the ethical stage of the curse or blessing is reached, their force varies, chiefly according to the character of the wisher. There is, of course, to begin with, the mere 'power of the word' or of the wish; and the curse of any one, 'however ignorant' he may be, is not to be disregarded.⁷ But, as a rule, superiority of personal power or position increases the power of the blessing or the curse.

Among the Tongans the curses of a superior possessed great efficacy; 'if the party whose curses is considerably lower in rank than the party cursed, the curse had no effect.'⁸ 'Without any dispute the less is blessed of the better.'⁹ The principle of the *whakakohitu* ceremony of the Maoris is that a curse will yield to the *mana* of a man who can summon a more powerful *atua* than that of the original curse.¹⁰

The importance and influence of parents, especially of the father, have an enormous effect.

The Nandi regard a father's curse as being 'most serious.'¹¹ Among the Mpongwe 'there is nothing which a young person so much deprecates as the curse of an aged person, and especially that of a revered father.'¹² The Moorish proverb has it that 'if the saints curse you the parents will cure you, but if the parents curse you the saints will not cure you.'¹³ The Hebrew belief in the inevitable efficacy of a father's blessing or curse was remarkable. The blessing was regarded as an invaluable heritage. 'In deed and word honour thy father, that a blessing may come upon thee from him. For the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of children; but the curse of the mother rooteth out the foundations.'¹⁴ From this passage it has been suggested that 'the reward which in the Fifth Commandment is held out to respectful children was originally a result of parental blessings.'¹⁵ The Scots proverb is similar:

'A fa' her's bleesin' bigs the toun';¹⁶

A mi her's curse can ding it doun'.¹⁶

In Greece such beliefs were no less strong. Plato puts it that 'the curses of parents are, as they ought to be, mighty against their children, as no others are.' And he instances the cursing of their sons by Oedipus, Amyntor, and Theseus. The man

who assaulted his parent was polluted by a curse.¹ According to the Koreans, 'curses and disgrace in this life and the hottest hell in the world hereafter are the penalties of the disobedient or neglectful child.'²

The last two cases show the automatic production of a curse by the sin itself—a notion distinctly tending towards the ethical development of these relations.

The Barea and Kunáma believe that the blessing of the old people is necessary for the success of any undertaking, and that their curse is inevitably efficacious.³ Even elder brothers and sisters among the Greeks had the preponderance in this respect over the younger; 'the Erinyes always follow the elder-born.'⁴

The curse or blessing of the dying is particularly strong.⁵

The Ova-Herero chief, when about to die, 'gives them his benediction,' a wish for 'an abundance of the good things of this world.'⁶ Similarly among the Hebrews and the Arabs.⁷ Among the Bogos the blessing of a father or a master is essential before taking up an employment or relinquishing it, engaging in a business, or contracting a marriage.⁸ The Moors say that 'the curse of a husband is as potent as that of a father.'⁹ Westermarck points out that 'where the father was invested with sacerdotal functions—as was the case among the ancient nations of culture—his blessings and curses would for that reason also be efficacious in an exceptional degree.'¹⁰

Obviously the wishes of one who is professionally in touch with the magical or the supernatural are more efficacious than those of ordinary men.

'The anathemas of a priest,' say the Maoris, is 'a thunderbolt that an enemy cannot escape.'¹¹ A Bráhmán 'may punish his foes by his own power alone,' viz. by his words.¹² A Rájput *rāja*, being cursed by Bráhmans, was 'under a ban of excommunication' even among his friends.¹³ There is a story that the curse of a Bráhmán girl brought a series of disasters on a *rāja* and his kindred.¹⁴ According to the Talmud, the curse of a scholar never fails.¹⁵ The Gallas dread the dying curse of a priest or wizard.¹⁶ In Muhammadan countries the curses of saints or sharifs are particularly feared.¹⁷

The belief in the power of curses and blessings has a striking and widely extended application in the relations of the well-to-do with the poor and needy, and of the host with the guest. In the former case the idea that the blessing of those who have nothing else to give, or the curse of those who have no other remedy, is therefore efficacious, may have some connexion with the belief and practice. In the latter case may perhaps be seen a naturally regardful attitude towards the unknown and therefore mysterious.

'He that giveth unto the poor shall not lack; but he that hideth his eyes shall have many a curse.'¹⁸ 'Turn not away thine eyes from one that asketh of thee, and give none occasion to a man to curse thee; for if he curse thee in the bitterness of his soul, he that made him will hear his supplication.'¹⁹ The Greek beggar had his Erinyes.²⁰ The Damaras 'would not think of eating in the presence of any of their tribe without sharing their meal with all comers, for fear of being visited by a curse from their *Omu-kuru* (or deity) and becoming impoverished.'²¹ In Morocco, itinerant scribes go from house to house, 'receiving presents and invoking blessings' upon the donors. For the latter it is 'a profitable bargain, since they would be tenfold repaid for their gifts through the blessings of the scribes.' A Moor starting on a journey gives a coin to a beggar at the gate 'so as to receive his blessings.'²² The Nayádis of Malabar invoke, in their prayers, blessings upon the higher castes who give them alms.²³ Among the Ova-Herero 'no curse is regarded as heavier than that which one who has been inhospitably treated would hurl at those who have driven him from the hearth.'²⁴ An offended guest 'might burn the house with the flames of his anger.'²⁵ Guests and suppliants had their Erinyes.²⁶ Te

¹ Laws, ix. 881.

² Griffiths, Corea, 1882, p. 236.

³ Munzinger, Ostaf. Studien, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 476.

⁴ Homer, *Il.* xv. 204.

⁵ Anderson, Lake Ngami, 1856, p. 228.

⁶ Cheyne, *EBI* i. 592; Wellhausen, *Reste*, 1897, pp. 139, 191.

⁷ Munzinger, *Sitten u. Recht der Bogos*, Winterthur, 1859, p. 60.

⁸ *MI* i. 626.

⁹ *Id.* i. 627.

¹⁰ Polack, *New Zealanders*, 1840, i. 248 f.

¹¹ Manu, xi. 32 f.

¹² Chevers, *Medical Jurisprudence for India*, Calcutta, 1870, p. 659.

¹³ Crooke, *PR*, 1896, i. 193.

¹⁴ Makkoth, 11a.

¹⁵ Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, 1844, iii. 60.

¹⁶ Westermarck, i. 563.

¹⁷ *Pr* 2837.

¹⁸ *Sir* 456.

¹⁹ Homer, *Od.* xvii. 475.

²⁰ Chapman, *South Africa*, 1868, i. 341.

²¹ Westermarck, i. 662.

²² Iyer, *Madras Mus. Bulletin*, iv. [1894] 73.

²³ Ratzel, *Hist. of Mankind*, 1890-98, ii. 480.

²⁴ Apastamba, ii. 8. 8 (*SBE* ii. 114).

²⁵ Plato, *Epp.* viii. 867.

¹ J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 54.

² Riedel, 304.

³ *The Melanesians*, 216.

⁴ Turner, 186.

⁵ Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, 1817, ii. 238.

⁶ *He* 77.

⁷ Jettison, ii. 879.

⁸ J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, 1866, p. 293.

⁹ Westermarck, i. 622.

¹⁰ Westermarck, i. 622.

¹¹ Westermarck, i. 622.

¹² Westermarck, i. 622.

¹³ Westermarck, i. 622.

¹⁴ *Id.* 377.

¹⁵ Riedel, 140.

¹⁶ *Megilla*, 15a.

¹⁷ Shortland, 75.

¹⁸ *Sir* 986.

¹⁹ Grimm, iv. 1000.

the case of hospitality Westermarck applies the principle of the 'conditional curse,'¹ which will be discussed below.

Parallel with the case of the poor and needy is that of the servant and the wife.

In West Africa 'the authority which a master exercises over a slave is very much modified by his constitutional dread of witchcraft.'² 'Slander not a servant unto his master, lest he curse thee.'³ 'Thou shalt not command [thy man-servant or thy maid-servant] with bitterness of spirit; lest they groan against thee, and wrath be upon thee from God.'⁴ 'In Morocco it is considered even a greater calamity to be cursed by a Shereefa, or female descendant of the Prophet, than to be cursed by a Shereef.'⁵ 'The houses,' says Mannu, 'on which female relations, not being duly honoured, pronounce a curse, perish completely, as if destroyed by magic.'⁶

3. Special applications.—The circumstances in which blessings or curses are uttered, and the persons upon whom they are directed, are obviously both numerous and varied. A few special cases may be cited, which have a bearing upon the nature of the uttered wish. Children, in particular, are the recipients of the blessings of parents.⁷

The blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh by Jacob became among the Jews the regular formula by which parents blessed their children. Among the Malagasy, at a circumcision, the guests present honey and water to the children, and pronounce blessings upon them, such as 'May they prosper!'⁸ Among the Maoris, when a child was a month old, the ceremony of *tua* was celebrated, in which the *tohunga* pronounced a *karakia* of blessing: 'Breathe quick, thy lung, etc.'⁹ Jewish teachers to-day bless their pupils. In Fiji all prayer was concluded with malignant requests against the enemy: 'Let us live, and let our enemies perish!'¹⁰

The curse is particularly the weapon of the wronged and oppressed against their more powerful enemies, and of zealots against their bigoted opponents. In the Bible it is especially forbidden to curse God, parents, authorities, and the helpless deaf.¹¹ To bless God is to praise Him. Yet Orientals have a tendency to curse God, even on the slightest provocation in daily life.¹² Blessing the king is implied or explicit in ceremonies of coronation, and on solemn occasions.

The gods of Egypt bestowed a blessing on the Pharaoh, when they presented him with the symbol of life.¹³ The *abhiyeke* of the rāja included a blessing, embodied in the consecrated water: 'O water, thou art naturally a giver of kingdoms, grant a kingdom to my Yajamāna'; 'O honeyed and divine ones, mix with each other for the strength and vigour of our Yajamāna.'¹⁴ The ceremonies of anointing and the like often involve a blessing.¹⁵ In the last example, the vehicle is personified. A Jewish author records a Roman custom of gagging prisoners, when condemned to death, to prevent them from cursing the king.¹⁶

The connexion of food with the practice is remarkable. The blessing of food came in later Judaism to be a giving of thanks, and the idea was that food received gratefully acts as a blessing.¹⁷ The *bismillah* of Islām has a similar principle behind its use in this connexion. At an earlier stage, no doubt, the blessing, if used, was either positive or negative, removing injurious properties, but in either case simply magical.¹⁸

In the Banks Islands an 'invocation of the dead,' the *tataro*, is celebrated. Food is thrown for the souls of the dead with such words as these: 'They who have charmed your food, have clubbed you . . . drag them away to hell, let them be dead.' In connexion with this is a practice of cursing a man's 'eating'; if an accident befalls the recipient of such a curse, the utterer says: 'My curse in eating has worked upon him, he is dead.'¹⁹ Among the Maoris, what was almost a sense of modesty and a principle of honour grew up about the ideas of food and its preparation. A typical formula for the counter-curse is:

'Let the head of the curse
Be baked in the oven,
Served up for food for me,
Dead, and gone to Night!'²⁰

To curse, *kanga*, was in effect to apply to another man any word which 'had reference to food.' It is recorded that a young man, seeing a chief in a copious perspiration, remarked that 'the vapour rose from his head like steam from an oven, and that this remark caused a tribal war.' The regular term for food, *kai*, was discontinued at Roturua, because it happened to be the name of a chief. To use the term *kai* would in that case have been equivalent to a serious curse against the chief.²¹

Down to a late period in the history of Christianity, marriage was a personal 'arrangement'; the Church only stepped in to pronounce its blessing upon the union. The Hebrews had a benediction both for betrothal and for marriage.²² The old Roman marriage by *confarreatio* included a *benedictio*, formulae for which are extant. When St. Ambrose says that 'marriage is sanctified by the benediction,' he refers to one case only of a general practice, lasting through the Middle Ages, of concluding all private arrangements with a blessing. Thus all sales of goods and property were blessed.

The application of the curse as a protection of property and as a method of punishing theft has been incidentally noted. The early Arabs cursed the thief in order to recover the stolen goods.²³ The method is conspicuous in Samoa. Tabu is 'a prohibition with a curse expressed or implied.'²⁴ The embodiment of the wish in leaf or wooden images is termed in Polynesia *rahui* or *ravi*, but we cannot always infer even the implied wish in prohibitory *tabu*.²⁵ Allied principles inevitably shade into each other. The ancient Babylonian landmarks appear to have been inscribed with curses, such as: 'Upon this man may the great gods Anu, Bēl, Ea, and Nuskū look wrathfully, uproot his foundation, and destroy his offspring.'²⁶ The same practice was followed by the Greeks.²⁷ Deuteronomy refers to the Semitic practice: 'Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark.'²⁸ Taken over by Christianity, the practice survived, for example, in the English custom of 'beating the bounds,' in which the priest invoked curses on him who transgressed, and blessings on him who regarded the landmarks.²⁹

Some details may be put together which illustrate adhesions and developments. In Melanesia cursing by way of asseveration is common: a man will deny an accusation 'by' his forbidden food, or 'by' a *tindalo*.³⁰ The self-invoked curse, which we shall discuss below, passes in civilization into a conditional blessing, as in the English oath, 'So help me, God.' In practical ethics 'profane swearing' is originally sinful, because of the irresponsible and unofficial use of the Divine name; later its sinfulness is limited to the spirit of resentment with which it is charged. In Melanesia, the practice of *vinag*, or 'sending off,' is instructive for comparison with that found in civilization. A man will say, with a gesture towards a tree, *vawo aru*!—which is equivalent to telling his enemy to be hanged thereon.³¹

The limits of the blessing are well preserved in the Catholic distinctions between *paris benedictus* and *paris consecratus*, and between *benedictio vocativa* and *benedictio constitutiva*. The earlier principle, as we have seen, was to connect blessing and consecration, cursing and execration. It is in accordance with the extension of this principle that the curse is embodied in the 'accursed thing,' and that the transgressor of the

¹ *Essays to H. B. Tylor*, 361 ff.; *M.I.* 586, II. 584 f.

² Wilson, 271, 179.

³ *Apost. Const.* vii. 12.

⁴ Mannu, II. 58.

⁵ Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, 1893, p. 183.

⁶ Shortland, 40.

⁷ Ex 22²⁸ 217, Lv 20⁹ 194 245, Ec 10²⁹.

⁸ C. Leviau, in *J.E.* s.v. 'Cursing.'

⁹ Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians* (1878 ed.), I. 276.

¹⁰ Rajendralala Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Calcutta, 1881, II. 2.

¹¹ Ex. 46 ff.

¹² See art. ANOINTING, vol. I. p. 549.

¹³ Cheney, in *HDB*, s.v. 'Blessing.'

¹⁴ Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 140.

¹⁵ Codrington, 147.

¹⁶ Westernarck, *M.I.* 668.

¹⁷ Gn 9²⁸ 2400 277-38.

¹⁸ L. Fison, in Codrington, 147.

¹⁹ Leviau, l.c. 390.

²⁰ Shortland, 38.

²¹ Tylor, 94.

²² Selden, *Uxor Hebraica*, 1726, I. 12; To *718k*.

²³ Wellhausen, *Reste*, 192.

²⁴ White, *Journ. Polym. Soc.* I. (1892) 275.

²⁵ Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, 1896, p. 166 ff. (quoting Hilprecht).

²⁶ Plato, *Laws*, viii. 848; Hermann, *De terminis apud Græcos*.

Göttingen, 1846, p. 11.

²⁷ Dt 27¹⁷.

²⁸ Dibbs, in *Chambers's Journal*, xii. (1858) 49 ff.

²⁹ Codrington, 217.

³⁰ Ib. 217.

prohibition himself becomes the 'accursed thing' or the curse. This was the case with Achan, and with enemies 'devoted' to destruction.¹ On the same principle a blessed man is a 'blessing.'²

In the OT 'accursed' (AV), *hêrem*, should be 'devoted' (RV)—devoted to God, not accursed from God.³ Similarly with the Greek translation *ἀνάθεμα*. Such a thing is withdrawn from common use, either as 'vowed' to God, or as put under a ban, in which case it has a species of 'holiness.'⁴ As a rule, a thing devoted to destruction is under a curse. In Canon Law the development of *anathema* into excommunication is complete.

Here we arrive at the cursings and blessings of the community. In early culture a headman or body of 'old men' may represent the community in this function.

The State officials of Athens prayed for 'the health and safety of the people.' Greek State-liturgies included a 'commination service,' in which curses were invoked upon offenders.⁵ Medieval and modern Christianity combine a service of commination with the Lenten penance. This has historical connexion with the early Hebrew rite, celebrated on Ebal and Gerizim. Six tribes stood on Mount Ebal to curse those who disobeyed the Law, and six stood on Mount Gerizim to pronounce the corresponding blessings upon those who kept it. The priests and Levites stood in the valley between, and on turning their faces to Gerizim pronounced a blessing, and on turning them to Ebal pronounced a curse.⁶ The Talmudic idea that a curse has special efficacy when pronounced three hours after sunrise is noteworthy in connexion with such formulated conditions as 'in the sight of God and of this congregation.'⁷

Throughout their history, private cursing and blessing preponderate over public, and unofficial over official. As the moralized stage in religion supersedes the magical, the 'mere power of the word' is confined to private practice, and perhaps becomes more sinister with secrecy. The enormous collections of private *diræ* and *imprecations* which have survived from Greek and Roman times, chiefly in the form of leaden tablets or symbolic nails, inscribed with curses consigning an enemy to the infernal powers, testify to the hold retained by the primitive theory of the curse, just as the prevalence of profane swearing in modern civilization shows the convenience of the mere form, emptied of all content except vague resentment, for the satisfaction of a particular emotion. The hold exerted by the simple mystery of magic upon the popular imagination is echoed in literature, and the motive of the efficacious curse is still employed in narrative fiction.

Nothing perhaps more strikingly illustrates the extent of Divine resentment than the cursing of the ground for the sins of man (Gn 3⁷), or the extent of human resentment than the action of a curse beyond the grave.

The Maoris took precautions to prevent enemies from getting possession of their dead relatives' bones, lest they should 'dreadfully desecrate and ill-use them, with many bitter jeers and curses.'⁸ The Banks Islanders watch the grave 'lest some man wronged by him [the dead man] should come at night and beat with a stone upon the grave, cursing him.' Also, 'when a great man died, his friends would not make it known, lest those whom he had oppressed should come and spit at him after his death, or *gogoy* him, stand bickering at him with crooked fingers and drawing in the lips, by way of curse.'⁹ The Greek Erinyes complete in the world beyond the grave the punishment which they began on earth.¹⁰ The Arabs of Southern Morocco 'maintain that there are three classes of persons who are infallibly doomed to hell, namely, those who have been cursed by their parents, those who have been guilty of unlawful homicide, and those who have burned corn. They say that every grain curses him who burns it.'¹¹

The connexion between curses and the belief in punishments after death has been drawn out by Westermarck.¹²

¹ Job 61⁸, Dt 7²⁶. ² Gn 12².

³ HDB, s.v. 'Curse'; cf. Driver on Dt 7².

⁴ Cf. Lv 27²⁸, Ac 23¹²; for the transition between the earlier idea and excommunication, see Ezr 10⁸.

⁵ See L. R. Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, 1905, pp. 196, 200.

⁶ Dt 11²⁹ 27¹³, Jos 8³³; *Sotha* 35a, 36a; Broydè, in JE, s.v. Gerizim.

⁷ Levias, *loc.*

⁸ Cordington, *op. cit.*

⁹ MT II. 716 a.

¹⁰ Colenso, *Maori Races*, 1865, p. 22.

¹¹ Esch. *Evanes.*, *passim*.

¹² *Ib.* chs. I. II.

In what may be called the lighter side of cursing, there is a curious set of customs connected with ideas of luck, and perhaps based on the notion that material injury may be discounted or diverted by a verbal or make-believe injury; in other cases, on a notion that the spirits may be stimulated by scolding and abuse; in others, again, it is perhaps evil and obstructive spirits that are being driven away.

Thus the Greek farmer, when sowing cummin, would curse and swear all the time, else the crop would not prosper.¹ Estonian fishermen believe that good luck will attend their fishing if beforehand they are cursed. A fisherman will accordingly play some practical joke on a friend in order to receive his resentment in words. The more he storms and curses, the better the other is pleased; every curse brings at least three fish into his net.² To obviate punishment for ritual sin, or to 'procure abolution,' a Behari man will throw stones into a neighbour's house. The result is the reception of abuse, or even of personal violence.³

4. Conditional cursing and blessing.—What Westermarck terms the 'conditional curse,' which he was the first student to remark, is an important development of the principle of cursing and blessing, and has had considerable influence in the making of morality, especially in the sphere of good faith, honesty, and truthfulness. Put in its lowest terms, the energy of a conditional curse is the supernatural energy of an ordinary curse or of its embodiment, in a latent state. This is discharged by the act, if or when it takes place, against which the curse is directed. The principle applies also to blessings, but this application is less frequent.⁴

The term *l'âr*, Westermarck writes, 'is applied by the Moors to a compulsory relation of a peculiar kind in which one person stands to another. The common expression, *Ana fâr allah u'ârak*, "I am in God's *âr* and your *âr*," implies that a man is bound to help me, or, generally, to grant my request, whatever it may be, as also that if he does not do so his own welfare is at stake. The phrase "In God's *âr*" only serves to give solemnity to the appeal: "I am under the protection of God, and for his sake you are obliged to help me." But the word *l'âr* is also used to denote the act by means of which a person places himself in the said relationship to another. *Hâd l'âr dik*, "This is *âr* on you," is the phrase in common use when an act of this kind is performed. If the person so appealed to is unwilling to grant the request, he answers, *Hâd l'âr yihraê fik*, "May this *âr* recoil upon you." The constraining character of *l'âr* is due to the fact that it implies the transference of a conditional curse:—If you do not do what I wish you to do, then may you die, or may your children die, or may some other evil happen to you. That *l'âr* implicitly contains a conditional curse is expressly stated by the people themselves, although in some cases this notion may be somewhat vague, or possibly have almost faded away.⁵

The various acts which establish *l'âr* all serve as 'outward conductors of conditional curses.' *Âr* may be made by taking the son and giving him to the father, saying, 'This is *âr* for you.' Another method is to present food. If the man accepts, he is bound to do what is asked of him. Refugees enter a tent or merely grasp the tent-pole, saying, 'I am in God's *âr* and your *âr*.'⁶ An injured husband may put *âr* upon the governor, to get redress, by going to him with a piece of his tent-cloth over his head; or he may leave seven tufts of hair on his head, and appeal to another tribe. 'The conditional curse is obviously supposed to be seated in' the tent-cloth or tufts of hair, and 'from there to be transferred to the person' invoked. *Âr* may be made by piling stones. Two men making an appointment, and one failing to appear, the other makes a cairn at the spot, and takes the breaker of faith to it. The latter is then obliged to 'give him a nice entertainment.' Similarly, with ordinary curses the cairn may be used. If a muleteer buys a new mule, his comrades ask him to treat them. If he refuses, they

¹ Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* viii. 3.

² Boecker-Kreutzwald, *Der Esten abergläubische Gebräuche*, 1854, p. 90 f., quoted by Frazer, *GB* 4. 97.

³ JASB II. [1892] 598; *JRAS* xxix. [1897] 482.

⁴ Westermarck, *'L'âr, passim*, also 'The Influence of Magic on Social Relationships,' in *Sociological Papers* (1906), *MT* I. 586 ff., II. 684 ff., and *passim*.

⁵ *'L'âr*, 361.

⁶ *Ib.* 362.

make a cairn, asking God to send misfortune on the mule. By way of revenge upon a niggardly man, scribes make a cairn, and each takes a stone therefrom, and, as he throws it away, says: 'As we dispersed this heap of stones, so may God disperse for him that which makes him happy.' The sacrifice of an animal on the threshold is the most powerful method of making 'dr. To see the blood is sufficient. Over such an animal the *bis-millāh*, 'In the name of God,' is not pronounced; and it cannot be eaten by the sacrificer or the person invoked, but only by the poor.¹ The practice

is resorted to for a variety of purposes: to obtain pardon from the government; or to induce the relatives of a person who has been killed to abstain from taking revenge; or to secure assistance against an enemy or mediation in the case of trouble.² It 'plays a very important part in the social life of the people.'³

It is also employed to put pressure upon *jinn* and dead saints—usually to restrain the former, and compel the assistance of the latter. Making cairns, or tying rags, near a *styid* is 'dr upon the saint. The rag is knotted, and the man says: 'I promised thee an offering, and I will not release thee until thou attendest to my business.'⁴ Here we approach the conditional 'blessing.' Again, a man, invoking revenge, strews burnt corn on the floor of the *styid*, saying: 'I threw, O saint, So-and-so as I threw this corn.' 'This is 'dr on the saint,' as Westermarck points out, 'but at the same time it is an act of symbolic magic.'⁴

Forms of ordeal, and the whole theory of the oath, as well as its practice up to the latest stages of civilization, depend on the principle of the conditional curse, often embodied in symbolic action.

The curse as an engine of law is well exemplified in Samoa. A theft has taken place; the injured party pays the 'priest' to curse the thief and make him sick. If the thief falls ill, he restores the stolen property, and the 'priest' prays for a reversal of the curse. Again, suspected parties are summoned by the chief. Grass is laid on the sacred stone, the village-god, and each person places his hand thereon, saying: 'I lay hand on the stone. If I stole the thing, may I speedily die!' The use of grass is said to refer to the implied curse: 'May grass grow over my house and family!' So, in ordinary disputes, a man will say: 'Touch your eyes if what you say is true.'⁵ In the same way, European boys 'touch wood' as a guarantee of truth.

An oath may be regarded as 'essentially a conditional self-imprecation, a curse by which a person calls down upon himself some evil in the event of what he says not being true.'⁶ All the resources of symbolic magic are drawn upon in the multitudinous examples of this principle.

In Tenimber the swearer prays for his own death if what he says is false, and then drinks his own blood, in which a sword has been dipped.⁷ The Malay drinks water in which daggers, spears, or bullets have been dipped, saying: 'If I turn traitor, may I be eaten up by this dagger or spear!'⁸ The Samaritan oath is still more explicit: 'If what I now declare is truly and really so, may I be freed and cleared from my oath; if what I assert is wittingly false, may my oath be the cause of my destruction!'⁹ The Greek *ἵκος* was, at an early period, the object sworn 'by.' The Ostyaks swear on the nose of a bear, which animal is held to have supernatural power.¹⁰ Hindus swear on the Sanskrit *Harivamsha*, or on water of the Ganges, or touch the legs of a Brahman; Muhammadans, on the Qur'an; Christians, on the Bible.¹¹

The accused person in Calabar drinks a *ju-ju* drink called *mōmān*, and repeats these words: 'If I have been guilty of this crime . . . then, Mbiam, Thou deal with me!'¹² 'Eating the fetish' and 'drinking the water of cursing' are prominent forms of the ordeal in Africa and elsewhere. The Hindu *kapatha* denotes both oath and ordeal. The mediæval 'trial by combat' was preceded by an oath, and thus defeat was tantamount to perjury.¹³ The formula of the ordeal of the Eucharist ran: 'Et si alter est quam dixi et juravi, tunc hoc Domini nostri Jesu Christi corpus non pertranseat guttur meum, sed haerent in

faucibus meis, strangulet me suffocet me ac interficiat me statim in momento.'¹

In the contract and covenant a mutual conditional curse is largely used.

Thus the 'ahd of the Moors is the mutual form of 'dr. Chiefs exchange cloaks or turbans; and 'it is believed that, if any of them should break the covenant, he would be punished with some grave misfortune.'² Reconciliation is effected, among the same people, by joining right hands; the holy man who superintends wraps the hands in his cloak, saying: 'This is 'ahd between you.'³ A common meal also ratifies a covenant. If one party breaks faith, it is said: 'God and the food will repay him.'⁴ In the *pela* rite of Ceram, celebrated to settle a quarrel or to make peace, both parties attend a feast, and eat food into which drops of their blood are let fall and swords dipped. This they alternately eat.⁵ Reconciliation of two men in the islands of Leti, Moa, and Lakor, one man having cursed the other, is effected by the men eating together.⁶ To ratify a bond of fraternity in Madagascar between two parties, a fowl has its head cut off, and is left bleeding during the rite. The parties pronounce a long mutual imprecation over the blood: 'O this miserable fowl! weltering in its blood! Thy liver do we eat. . . Should either of us retract from the terms of this oath, let him instantly become a fool, let him instantly become blind, let this covenant prove a curse to him.'⁷

The mutual conditional curse, it must be noticed, allows the curse proper to be more or less lost in the material symbolism of union. Since, moreover, all these analogous principles pass into one another so inevitably and gradually, we do not seem entitled to press the principle of the curse too far. In reconciliatory ceremonies, for instance, it is possible that the idea of union is sufficient; the idea of the curse may adhere to it, but not essentially.

The oath carries with it the punishment for perjury. According to Roman legal theory, the *sanctio* of a statute is the penalty attached for breaking it. But in ancient States all laws were accompanied by a curse upon the transgressor.⁸ True to its mission of serving where other methods fail, the curse receded as police efficiency increased. In the earliest culture, however, as that of the Australians, the personal efforts of the rulers work together with the impersonal energy of the supernatural engines they employ.

5. The blessing and the curse as invocations. —The distinction between the 'magical' and the 'religious' curse or blessing is not to be over-emphasized. The two forms merge into one another, and either is as 'magical' or 'religious' as the other, while neither is the more efficacious. A god draws together in his own person the various threads of supernatural force. Among these are cursings and blessings. Their inherent mystery of power still depends on the will of the utterer. His invocation of the god to execute for him his heart's expressed desire is rather a long circuiting than a guarantee of the result. The independent force of the wish, in fact, tends to remain even when the wish is merged in prayer. The personal quality of the utterer is still the characteristic of his wish. Psychologically, it is difficult to limit a desire by making it an invocation; to divide the attention between the object of the desire and the expression of the desire on the one hand, and an intervening divinity on the other, is a matter of training. Thus it is rarely the case that, when a man says 'God bless you!' he is conscious of the reference to God, any more than when he says 'Bless you!'

Further, there is the tendency for the principle of the curse, if not of the blessing, to become itself personified. This result is found as far back as the stage of culture represented by the Maoris. The 'cursing thought' is personified in the Avesta; so is the 'pious and good blessing.' The Greeks personified the curse as Erinyes. Behind this there may be the notion 'of a persecuting ghost, whose

¹ Westermarck, 'L.-Ar.' 363 ff.

² *Ib.* 369. ³ *Ib.* 371.

⁴ Westermarck, *MI* ii. 118.

⁵ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, p. 525.

⁶ W. Marsden, *Sumatra*, 1811, p. 238.

⁷ Castrén, quoted by Westermarck, *MI* ii. 119.

⁸ Westermarck, ii. 120 (quoting authorities).

⁹ M. H. Kingley, *West Africa*, 1897, p. 466.

¹⁰ Westermarck, i. 505, ii. 689 (with authorities).

¹¹ *Ib.* 366.

¹² Turner, 30, 184.

¹³ Riedel, 224.

¹ Dahn, *Bausteine*, Berlin, 1879, ii. 16.

² Westermarck, ii. 623.

³ *L.-Ar.*, 373.

⁴ *Ib.* 342. See, on the whole subject, Crawley, *Mystic Rose*,

chs. v. xi.

⁷ Ellis, i. 187 ff.

⁵ Riedel, 123 f.

⁸ Schrader, *KB* ii. III.

anger or curses in later times were personified as an independent spirit.¹ Allegorical figures of curses were included by painters in pictures of the wicked in hell.² Subsequently the Erinyes became the ministers of Zeus.³ The steps by which a curse or blessing becomes an appeal to a god, a prayer that he will injure or benefit the person intended, are not indistinct. The Melanesian curses in the name of a *lio'a*, a powerful spirit. His connexion with the *lio'a* gives or adds efficacy to his curse.⁴ The efficacy of the mere word naturally is increased, not by the will of the spirit invoked, but by the use of his power. The Talmud and the OT supply examples of 'the ancient idea that the name of the Lord might be used with advantage in any curse.'⁵ Among the Hebrews the 'Name' had peculiar importance. In the next place, the appeal may take the form of a conditional blessing upon the god. In the Yajur Veda we read the formula, addressed to Sūrya: 'Smite such a one, and I will give you an offering.'⁶ This method is clearly more efficacious. *Vagana* in the Banks Islands is the most serious of curses. It consists in procuring the *intervention* of a supernatural power.⁷ The story of Balaam (Nu 22-24) includes a belief that the Divine power can be moved to effect the injury desired. A further step is taken when the moving is in the form of compulsion. As curses may develop into prayers, so prayers may develop into spells or curses. *Brahma* is the energy of the gods, but it is also the prayer, and 'governs them.'⁸ *āpa* is both 'prayer' and 'curse'; so is the Manx word *guee*.⁹ Prayer is often possessed of magical power, just as a Toda spell is in the form of a prayer.¹⁰ Even in Greek religion the deity is constrained to effect a curse or a blessing;¹¹ even the personified curse, the Erinyes, works by a spell-song which binds the victim.¹² Thus the phrases, 'by,' 'for the sake of,' and the like, are but vague expressions of the actual relation between the invoker and the invoked.

In the Banks Islands, cursing by way of asseveration is described in English terms as swearing 'by' a forbidden food, or 'by' some powerful *tindalo*.¹³ The Toda *palol* prays with a gurgling utterance in the throat: 'May it be well' or 'May it be blessed . . . with the buffaloes and calves; may there be no disease; . . . may clouds rise, may grass flourish, may water spring . . . for the sake of' certain 'objects of reverence.' This term, *idāth*, is used in special connexion with the name of a god, and involves the idea of supplication; it is also employed in sorcery.¹⁴

A modern Christian prayer for a blessing 'for Christ's sake' is thus widely different, in the condition appended, from the Toda or Melanesian type. Magic, so to say, has given place to emotion, though itself originating in emotion, of another kind.

6. Connexion with morality.—Law gradually takes over the function of the curse, as a form of retribution; while prayer may still retain its use in cases where human intervention fails, or even as a spiritual replica of human intervention. The moralizing of the curse and the blessing within these limits follows the course of ethical evolution. In the OT the undeserved curse has no effect, or may be turned by God into a blessing.¹⁵ The justice of the wish is left to the decision of God; while it follows that an unjust curse or blessing is a sin against the All-Just. The Greeks modified their theory of the hereditary transmission of a curse by arguing that each generation

commits new sins.¹ At one end of the process we have an invocation to the gods, as in the *Surpu* of the Chaldeans, asking for relief from the effects of a curse, not for forgiveness;² or 'the thief invokes God while he breaks into the house,' the bandit the Virgin.³ At the other, the god rewards or punishes independently of human invocation, and with absolute justice. According to Aquinas,⁴ a *maledictio* is efficacious only when made by God. In the mouth of man, however uttered or however deserved, it is *per se* inefficacious. But, when this stage is reached, cursing or blessing has become a contradiction in terms.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given fully in the footnotes.

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CUSTOM.—In the course of his discussion on 'Custom and the Moral Life,' Wundt writes as follows (*Ethics*, Eng. tr., i. 131 f., 151: for an unfavourable criticism, see Ladd, *Philosophy of Conduct*, New York, 1902, p. 27 f.):

'A custom is any norm of *voluntary* action that has been developed in a national or tribal community. However rigorously individual conduct may be prescribed by custom, one is still left free to obey or disobey, as one chooses. . . . And it is custom, too, that transfers the principle of freedom, which in the animal consciousness does not extend beyond the realm of habit, to the general consciousness of society. . . . In custom the settled habits of the human race and of its subdivisions still retain the character of consciously operative motives. Instinct is habitual conduct that has become *mechanical*; custom, habitual conduct that has become *generic*. . . . It is true that custom finds its own means of compulsion. But these, like custom itself, are never of the *obligatory* kind. They consist neither in subjective commandments like the moral laws, nor in objective menaces like the laws of the state.'

Custom is closely connected both with habit and with usage, the distinction of each from the other being thus well set forth by Wundt (*op. cit.* p. 150 f.):

'Habit covers all and every form of voluntary action that, for whatever reason, we have made our own. . . . Habit is an individual rule of conduct.'¹ If the acts of the individual accord with the habitual action of the community to which he belongs, habit becomes *usage*. . . . Custom forms a smaller circle within this general field of usage. Custom is habit: it is marked by the regular recurrence of voluntary actions. Custom is usage: it is always the custom of some community. But it has, further, what usage lacks—a *normative* character. Conformity to custom is not, like conformity to usage, a matter of individual choice; custom has the sanction of a *moral* constraint, which the individual cannot disregard without personal disadvantage. . . . While, therefore, individual habit is left absolutely and entirely to choice, provided only that it does not conflict with the more comprehensive rules of social conduct, usage exercises a *practical* compulsion through the example that it sets, and custom raises this compulsion to the dignity of a constraining norm.'

On the other hand, custom, with its social basis, tends to become habit in the individual, producing, it may be, an impression of oddity when he moves in a circle where the custom is different, so that in countless cases custom and habit may stand in sharp antithesis. But if custom, in the main, produces habit, habit in its turn, if the individual possessing it, whether as a result of previous environment or in virtue of personal idiosyncrasy, be strong enough to impress his own particular habit on his fellows, may influence custom, or even give rise to a new custom of greater or less extent (for some interesting specific instances, see *JE* iv. 396; e.g. 'it was the custom of R. Judah b. Illai to bathe his face, hands, and feet in warm water before Sabbath began. This also was adopted by the Jewish community'). This, by the very nature of every social organism, is comparatively rare, and, if custom is thus to arise, it must meet a real, even though perhaps hitherto unfelt, need of society, either in whole or in part. Otherwise we have, not custom in its true sense, but the mere

¹ Westermarck, i. 370.

² Demosthenes, *Aristogiton*, i. 52.

³ Westermarck, *l.c.* (with authorities).

⁴ Codrington, 51.

⁵ Westermarck, i. 564 (with authorities).

⁶ *Taittiriya Samhita*, vi. 4 f.

⁷ Codrington, 217.

⁸ *Rig-Veda*, vi. 51. 2.

⁹ Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, i. 349.

¹⁰ Rivers, 450, 453.

¹¹ Farnell, 196.

¹² *Æsch. Eumen.* 332.

¹³ Codrington, 217.

¹⁴ Rivers, 214 f., 230.

¹⁵ Pr 22²³ 264, Dt 23⁵; *Apost. Const.* iv. 6; Cheyne, art. 'Blessings and Cursings,' in *EBI* i. 592.

¹ Farnell, *CGS* i. (1896) 77.

² Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Rel.*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 3, 7, 23.

³ Westermarck, ii. 738.

⁴ *Summa* ii. 2. xxvi.

⁵ If, then, 'custom' is used of individual habit, as in EV of Lk 4¹⁶ (where Gr. has *τὸ εἰσέρχαι αὐτῶν*), it is, strictly speaking, inaccurate.

evanescent 'fashion' or 'vogue.' For custom is concerned with the constant need of a society, and is

'subject to change only with change in conditions of life or theories of living; and, as this change is reflected in the forms of custom, custom is as truly a picture of the moral consciousness of the community as a man's habits are the expression of his individual character. Habits can constantly be formed anew, because new individuals, whose habits they are, are constantly coming into existence. But custom, national habit, endures while the nation endures' (Wundt, *op. cit.* p. 164).

We have seen that custom and habit are mutually interactive. Under conditions now prevailing, even amongst primitive peoples, custom is by far the more potent factor, and yet it would seem that this was not always the case. There must have been a time when no form of organized society existed, and when men were so widely scattered because of the fewness of their numbers that individualism must have prevailed far more than it now does. Then it was that habit, not custom, was the dominant factor; and it would seem that, as individual habit met individual habit, each modifying and being modified by the other, the composite resultant was crystallized as custom; while custom meeting with custom—perhaps even affected now and again by the individual habit of some specially strong individuality—was in its turn blended into an amalgam of custom of wider scope and influence, until at last there was evolved one of the great determinants of society as a whole.¹ At the same time it must be borne in mind that such a reconstruction is entirely hypothetical and incapable of historical proof. Custom is already existent at the earliest historical time and in the most primitive modern social conditions of which we have any knowledge, and, in view of the fact that all members of any primitive society are, and doubtless always were, on approximately the same mental scale, it would seem that, as Wundt says (*op. cit.* p. 161),

one man may contribute one thing to a custom, and another another; but the custom as a whole is a common creation, which cannot be analyzed into individual elements, for the simple reason that the various individual factors are all operative at one and the same time, and that it is consequently impossible for the individual to separate his own particular contribution from the contributions made by others' (cf. Wundt's criticism of this entire scheme of reconstruction, p. 159 ff., summarized thus [p. 164]: 'Custom has, so far as we know, but one course of development, and that is from preceding customs of kindred contents. Usage, fashion, and habits, on the other hand, constitute a mixed medley of new forms and relics of a long dead past. Transformation and new formation are here often enough difficult of discrimination; but there is no such thing as an entirely new custom').

To primitive man, however, the problem of the origin of custom seldom arises. For him it is enough that such and such a custom exists; and his sole explanation, if one be sought from him, is that, as the Kafirs say (Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*, Edin. 1875, p. 146), 'it was so done by my fathers,' or, as the Narrinyeri have it, that it was so commanded by Narundere, the 'All-father' (Taplin, in Woods, *Nat. Tribes of S. Australia*, Adelaide, 1879, p. 55). In this connexion it must not be forgotten that a custom may persist after its original cause has ceased to be operative, and that in such a case it may have an entirely different reason and motive assigned it (cf. Wundt, *op. cit.* p. 139 ff.). At the same time, for specially important or striking customs, or for particularly remarkable natural phenomena, ætiological myths may be invented with the most honest intentions imaginable, so that custom comes to be one of the factors, as Lang well points out in his *Custom and Myth*, in the genesis of the myth.

In view of the homogeneity and lack of sharp distinction which characterize the more primitive

stages of the human race, custom may be said there to permeate and to control well-nigh every phase of man's mental and moral activity; and, although impaired in part by the rise (or is it rather the recrudescence?) of individualism, it still exercises this potent power to a very great extent over the most highly civilized peoples. In the domain of religion it is custom which has largely influenced ritual and been in part responsible for the rise of myth; it is custom, in the last resort, that is the chief factor in the evolution of law, which, to primitive man, is inextricably interwoven with, and inseparable from, religion; custom conditions the entire existence of almost every individual, even in the most highly civilized communities, from the hour of his birth to that of his death. Indeed, the most daring radicalism and the most pronounced individualism have their own customs; for without custom there can be no type of human thought or of human activity.

Such being the case, it is but natural that in the earlier stages of civilization custom should be held to be Divinely sanctioned, and that any breach of it should of itself constitute a serious crime, so that the Khonds of India, the Kamchatkans, and the pagan Greenlanders hold the breaking of an old custom to be one of the greatest of sins (Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1895, p. 531; Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, Frankfurt, 1774, p. 274; Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, London, 1875, p. 201 f.); while violation of custom provokes the wrath of the deified ancestors amongst the Basuto (Casalis, *Basutos*, London, 1861, p. 254); disaster and harm follow such infringement amongst the Ewe and Aleuts (Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, London, 1890, p. 263; Elliot, *Religions of India and the Seal Islands*, New York, 1886, p. 170); and the Ainu, in such an event, fear the wrath of the gods (Batchelor, *Ainu of Japan*, London, 1892, p. 243 f.). Whether, however, Wundt is right in saying (*op. cit.* p. 134) that 'custom was at first an act of worship,' seems open to question.

With the evolution of a specific concept of law, a distinction may be drawn between law and custom, as when Plautus (*Trin.* 1033, 1037) makes Stasimus say:

'Ambitio iam more sanctaest, liberaest a legibus, . . .'

Mores leges perduxerunt iam in potestatem suam';

and a few lines further on he utters the profound truth, valid even when taken in the cynical spirit of its speaker:

'Leges mori serviunt!'

a phrase which, like the Talmudic maxim, 'Custom always precedes law' (*Soferim*, xiv. 18), might well serve as the motto for almost any treatise on the origin of law; while in like manner Justinian expressly says that 'long prevailing customs, being sanctioned by the consent of those who use them, assume the nature of laws' (*Instit.* i. ii. 9).

When it becomes possible to draw such a distinction between custom and law, infringement of the former, unless distinctly coincident with and protected by law, no longer constitutes an offence of which legal cognizance must be taken, although even so advanced a code as the Jerusalem Talmud (*Pesahim*, iv. 3) authorized the courts to punish transgressors of custom equally with transgressors of law—a survival of some such stage as that of the African Wanika, amongst whom, 'if a man dares to improve the style of his hut, to make a larger doorway than is customary; if he should wear a finer or different style of dress to that of his

¹ The strictly legal distinction between *lex*, *mos*, and *consuetudo* is thus summarized by Isidore of Seville (*Etymol.* v. iii. 21):

'Lex est constitutio scripta. Mos est vetustate probata consuetudo, sive lex non scripta. . . . Consuetudo autem est in quodam moribus institutum, quod pro lege suscipitur, cum deficit lex; nec differt scriptura an ratione consistat quando et legem ratio commendat.'

¹ The theory of Herbert Spencer (*Principles of Sociology* 3, 1893, §§ 529, 693), that custom originated in ancestor-worship, is too biased and one-sided to deserve serious consideration.

fellows, he is instantly fined' (C. New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in E. Africa*, London, 1873, p. 110). Yet this failure of modern law normally to give legal protection to custom does not mean that non-observance of custom, whether such infringement be careless, indifferent, unwitting, compulsory, or deliberately intentional, goes scot-free. Any such violation may, and often does, lead to social ostracism of greater or less extent, even when the infringed custom in question may be ethically indifferent.

And yet, the separation between custom and law is by no means complete, even from the legal point of view; for it is custom, as is well known, that forms the basis of the vast body of common law in England, whence it was adopted in N. America.¹ Into the details of the common law distinctions between general and particular customs—the latter category applying only to particular districts or to those engaged in particular occupations, and not recognized, except in a few States, by the common law of the United States—it is unnecessary to enter here. Suffice it to say that a custom, to be enforceable at common law, must be both definite and reasonable, and that it must have been used uninterruptedly and undisputedly 'so long that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary,' this latter phrase being understood to mean from the accession of Richard I. in 1189 (whence the rejection of particular customs in the United States, since none such could there possibly date from such 'time immemorial').

Law, being normally derived from custom, is for the most part in harmony with it; so that in practically every affair of everyday life one avoids all conflict with law if one simply follows custom. At the same time, just as custom may be in sharp contrast with habit, such may be its relation to law. In this case the law in question—whether as being due to the caprice of the ruler or to the more advanced ideas of the governing classes—is not, as is usually the state of affairs, derived from custom, but from the weaker source of individual, class, or other minority requirements. Under these conditions law usually succumbs to custom and remains a dead letter, so that, for instance, 'under the Hindu system of law, clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law' (Mayne, *Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, Madras, 1878, p. 41); while the Roman jurists (*Instit.* I. ii. 11; *Digesta*, I. iii. 32) laid down the maxim that a law may be abrogated by desuetude or by contrary usage. Nay, law being even more conservative than custom, the change of custom may be such that a law—even one which initially may have been far in advance of custom—may come to be so much behind and below the altered custom that it is resolved, for this very reason, into a mere dead letter, and must either fall into oblivion or be amended to meet the changed conditions of the social organism. In general it may be postulated that no law can be enforced against the prevailing custom; even chiefs and kings, with the apparently despotic powers that attach to them in primitive society, prove unequal to the task (cf. the examples quoted by Westermarck, *MI* i. 162); and the lamentable failure of many laws designed for the highest benefit to society and drafted by men of unimpeachable ethical character proves—were proof necessary—that custom is really supreme over law in the highest as well as in the lowest stages of civilization.

As has already been noted, custom is subject to the most complete transformations, both in motive and in manifestation. Before the average man has

¹ A similar system of common law formerly prevailed in France, as in the custom of Normandy, of Paris, etc., and the same was true of Germany almost until the close of the Middle Ages.

read many pages of a book dealing, say, with the peoples of Africa or of Polynesia, he will find mention of customs that seem to him ridiculous, disgusting, or immoral—all of which judgments, from the point of view of his own civilization, may be perfectly true. And yet, in the words of Wundt (*op. cit.* p. 264),

'the moral value of the personality is relative; it varies with the stage of development to which moral ideas have attained. . . . Judgment of the moral value, whether of the individual or of society, depends not upon the absolute value of their disposition and action, but upon the relation of these to the stage of moral evolution already achieved.'

It is doubtful whether any custom whatever, no matter how repugnant to our present æsthetic or moral sense it may be, can ever have arisen without some reason which—immoral or foolish though such reason may seem to us—commended itself to the people adopting it as subserving some highly desirable social end. Thus, the killing of an aged parent is rightly a crime of unmitigated turpitude to us, yet from the point of view of many primitive peoples (see artt. ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE and OLD AGE; cf. also Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 386 ff.) there is much to be said in its favour; and in many other cases what seems to us a most immoral act is really due to sentiments which we can only regard as praiseworthy and, in the best sense of the term, as moral. On the other hand, there are to be found amongst every people, side by side with customs regarded as moral (i.e. commending themselves to the best ethical judgment of the highest thinkers of the people in question), customs deemed immoral—in other words, detrimental to the best interests of the society under consideration. All this merely means that, as society develops to a higher and higher ethical stage, customs once justified by specific conditions then existing have no longer such justification, so that they survive only by force of inertia or as pandering to the baser side and the lower strata of a society which, as a whole, has taken a marked step in advance.

Midway between the moral and the immoral custom stands what we may call the *unmoral* or indifferent custom—one whose observance or non-observance is a matter of ethical unconcern and indifference; but it must be noted that the unmoral custom is likely, in course of time, to be regarded as immoral or wrong (although, of course, the reverse frequently happens, so that the custom once held to be unmoral and indifferent evolves into a custom deemed moral and ethically imperative). In point of fact, most unmoral customs have doubtless passed through the moral stage; but custom *qua* custom is, like law, neither moral, immoral, nor unmoral. Nor should it be forgotten that a custom once held to be moral may come to be viewed as unmoral or even immoral, and that still later, with further changes in the status of society, such a custom may again develop, usually through the unmoral stage, into a moral rule. But, though the ultimate basis of every custom is moral and religious, a custom once firmly established tends to become more and more divorced from true ethical and religious considerations and questions, until at last even those most strenuously adhering to a custom may be, as has already been noted, entirely unaware of its real provenance.

A custom almost universally regarded as moral by a given society may be held by some of its members to be immoral, or at best indifferent. Here, as in the case of law, there emerges a marked characteristic of all custom, when once it has gained sway. This characteristic is thus summarized by Westermarck (*op. cit.* p. 160):

'Custom regulates external conduct only. It tolerates all kinds of volitions and opinions if not openly expressed. It does not condemn the heretical mind, but the heretical act. It demands that under certain circumstances certain actions

shall be either performed or omitted, and provided that this demand is fulfilled, it takes no notice of the motive of the agent or ommitter. Again, in case the course of conduct prescribed by custom is not observed, the mental facts connected with the transgression, if regarded at all, are dealt with in a rough and ready manner, according to general rules which hardly admit of individualisation.

This brings up the difficult problem of how far one ought to conform to a custom which he deems not merely unmoral and indifferent, but immoral and wrong. To an indifferent custom no one, unless he be finically hyper-ethical or—as is here more usually the case—wantonly iconoclastic (*i.e.* delighting in flouting custom as custom), should object to accord obedience, at least externally, if for no other reason than merely to avoid disturbing social amenities or to avert unfavourable comment on the score of oddity and ‘crankiness.’ ‘If,’ writes the great Apostle of the Gentiles, ‘meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore, that I make not my brother to stumble’ (1 Co 8¹³; cf. St. Paul’s admirable discussion of the entire question of the unmoral custom in Ro 14). The case is far different, of course, with regard to customs that are felt to be positively immoral and wrong. This question is more fully discussed in art. CONFORMITY. Here it may be sufficient to point out that the presumption is always that any custom is felt to be moral by the community or social organism within which it prevails. The ‘burden of proof’ must rest on him who ignores or wilfully violates the custom in question. In any final judgment as to obedience or disobedience to a custom, account must be taken of the history and meaning of the particular custom under consideration, and there must be full appreciation of the ethical implications of compliance with or violation of the custom as regards the moral effect of such action both upon self and upon others. Above all, the individual, if he is to be sane in his judgment, must be constantly on his guard against personal idiosyncrasies and the excessive individualism of modern times—the ‘right of private judgment’ run mad.

LITERATURE.—Wundt, *Ethics*, Eng. tr., London, 1897 ff. (esp. vol. 1. ch. 3, ‘Custom and the Moral Life’); Westermarck, *MF*, London, 1906-8 (esp. vol. 1. ch. 7, ‘Customs and Laws as Expressions of Moral Ideas’); Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, London, 1889, p. 448 ff.; Lang, *Custom and Myth*², London, 1885; Greenstone, ‘Custom,’ in *EB* iv. 395-398; Holdsworth, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, ii. iii., London, 1900; Baudouin, *De consuetudine in iure canonico*, Louvain, 1888; Fanning, ‘Custom,’ in *Cath. Encyc.* iv. 576 f.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

CUSTOM (Hindu).—The Sanskrit word is *āchāra*, ‘religious custom,’ ‘established usage.’ The binding force of custom is fully recognized in the Sanskrit lawbooks. Thus it is stated in the Code of Manu (i. 108) that *āchāra* is transcendent law, and that, therefore, a twice-born (*i.e.* high-caste) man should always be careful to follow it. The whole body of the sacred law (*dharma*), according to a favourite scheme, is divided into the three parts—*āchāra* (rules of conduct), *vyavahāra* (rules of government and judicature), and *prāyascchitta* (penance and expiation). The well-known Code of Yājñavalkya comprises the following subjects under the head of *āchāra*: purificatory rites (*śaṃskāra*); rules of conduct for young students of the Veda; marriage and duties of women; the four principal classes and the mixed castes; duties of a Brāhman householder; miscellaneous rules for one who has completed his period of studentship; rules of lawful and forbidden diet; religious purification of things; *śrāddhas*, or oblations to the manes; worship of the deity Ganapati; propitiatory rites for planets; duties of a king. See DHARMA and LAW (Hindu).

J. JOLLY.

CUSTOM (Muslim).—See LAW (Muslim).

CUTTING.—See MUTILATION.

CYBELE (Κυβέλη).—The great Mother Deity of the Phrygians, known also, and especially in the cult language of the Romans, as the Great Mother of the Gods, or the Great Idaean Mother of the Gods (*Magna Deum Mater*, *Mater Deum Magna Idaea*). Her worship had its origin in Asia Minor in pre-historic times, possibly prior to the advent of the Phrygians, which is placed at about 900 B.C.; became prominent in early historic times in Galatia, Lydia, and Phrygia, where the various forms of the Cybele legend agree in localizing the origin of her cult; and was most strongly centralized in Phrygia. Its most sacred seat in the East was at Pessinus, a Galatian city near the borders of Phrygia, but once a part of the great Phrygian Empire, where the symbol of the goddess, a small meteoric stone, was preserved. From Asia Minor the cult spread to Thrace and the islands, and finally to Greece, though it never became popular there owing to its un-Hellenic nature. In 204 B.C., in response to an oracle to the effect that Hannibal could be driven from Italy if the Idaean Mother were brought from Pessinus, the sacred stone was transferred to Rome, and the cult was adopted by the State and located on the Palatine (Livy, xxix. 10-14). It first became of great importance in the Roman world under the Empire, when it spread from Rome as a centre to all the provinces. Like the cults of Mithra and Isis, it was one of the most obstinate antagonists of Christianity, and disappeared only after the long struggle between the two religions which culminated in the victory of Theodosius over Eugenius in A.D. 394.

As the cult of Cybele probably suffered little modification in Greece and Italy, the original character of the goddess may be inferred from what is known of her in Greek and Roman times. She was identified by the Greeks with Rhea, Ge, and Demeter, and by the Romans with Tellus, Ceres, Ops, and Maia. She was known as the universal mother—of gods and men, as well as of the lower creation—though her character as the mother of wild Nature was especially prominent, as was manifested by the orgiastic wildness of her worship, her sanctuaries on the wooded mountains, and her fondness for lions, which are frequently associated with her in art and literature. Her early attendants in legend, the *Korymbantes*, Idaean *Daktyloi*, and sometimes *Kuretes*, were wild demonic beings, probably ithyphallic (Georg Kaibel, *GGN*, 1901, p. 488 ff.).

The priests of Cybele in historic times were eunuchs called *Galloi*, who first appear in Alexandrian literature about the 3rd cent. B.C. Clad in female garb, they wore their hair long and fragrant with ointment, and celebrated rites to the accompaniment of flutes, cymbals, tambourines, and castanets, yelling and dancing themselves into a frenzy until their excitement culminated in self-scourging, self-laceration, and exhaustion. Their consecration to the service of the goddess sometimes consisted in self-emasculation. Priestesses also took part in the cult.

Like Venus and Adonis, Isis and Osiris, etc., Cybele and Attis were usually associated in worship, and formed a duality symbolizing the relations of Mother Earth to her fruitage. The birth, growth, self-castration, and death of Attis, the son and lover of Cybele, signified the springing, growth, and death of plant life (see ATTIS). A celebration corresponding to the annual spring festival at Rome, which extended over the period March 15-27, thus including the equinox, consisted in a kind of sacred drama of Cybele and Attis, and no doubt existed in Phrygia also.

Cybele usually appears in art seated on a throne, draped, with mural crown and veil, accompanied by lions. The tympanum, cymbals, patera, sceptre, garlands, and fruits, and Attis with his attributes, the Phrygian cap, pedom, syrinx, and the pine, also appear with her. The so-called Niobe on Mount Sipylus is a Cybele, and the Cybele of Formia, now in Copenhagen, is one of the best sculptural representations of her. She inspired no piece of art of the first class. In literature no important work except *Catullus* lxiii. is devoted to her, though she is frequently mentioned in the literature of the Empire. Her religious importance lay in her mysticism and in the closeness of her contact with the common people, and was very great in spite of the gross practices which grew up around her cult.

LITERATURE.—See references under artt. GREAT MOTHER and ATTIS. GRANT SHOWERMAN.

CYCLE.—See CALENDAR, ARTHUR, CUCHULAINN CYCLE, etc.

CYCLOPS.—See GIANTS.

CYNICS.—The name is derived from κύων, 'dog,' with which it was connected in several ways. (a) To the east of Athens, beyond the Diomean gate, on a spur of Lycabettus, was a gymnasium known as the *Cynosarges*. Unlike the Academy and Lyceum (schools for youth of free Athenian parentage), it was provided for children of mixed blood. Antisthenes, son of an Athenian of this name by a Thracian slave woman, taught his disciples here after the death of Socrates, his second master. *Κυνόσαργες* is compounded of κύων and ἀργός, lit. 'white dog.' The story ran that the gymnasium stood on or near the site of an ancient sanctuary of Hercules (the Cynic tutelary, cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Euripides' Herakles*², Berlin, 1885, i. 102 f., 130), and that, on the first occasion of sacrifice to the hero, a dog rushed in and seized a portion of the offering. The designation refers, possibly, not to the colour of the dog, but to the flash-like effect of its speed upon the spectator. (b) The epithet 'dog' was soon adopted by Cynic teachers—Antisthenes, the 'downright dog,' Diogenes, the 'royal dog'—doubtless as a symbol of their return to the 'simplicity' of animal nature and habits, or of endurance and hardihood (cf. Plato, *Rep.* ii. 375 f., v. 415 f.); it was also applied to them by their opponents for less flattering reasons, connected with displays of audacity, coarseness, and immodesty (cf. Winckelmann, *Antisth. Frag.*, 1842, p. 8 f.). (c) Eventually the epithet became so associated with the sect in the popular mind that the Corinthians placed a marble dog upon the pillar erected by them over the grave of Diogenes.

1. History.—(a) *Personal*.—The Cynics flourished prosperously for about a century after the death of Socrates (399–299 B.C.). As their teaching contemplated a way of life rather than a philosophical system, and as their works are lost, or known only in fragments and by late reports at second-hand, we are not informed in detail about the history of the sect. Indeed, Antisthenes, Diogenes, and Crates excepted, many representatives are little more than names to us.

Antisthenes of Athens (c. 444–374 B.C.), at first a pupil of Gorgias the Sophist, and a 'late learner' (cf. Plato, *Soph.* 251) with Socrates,—Plato implies one too old to learn,—founded the movement. Diogenes of Sinope (c. 412–323) was his most notable, notorious, and popular follower. He appears to have won many disciples, probably at Corinth principally, where he was sold as a slave to Xenades, whose sons he taught. Among them were Monimus, a slave from Syracuse, an admirer of Crates; Onesicritus of Ægina (fl. c. 327), an officer who went to Hindustan with Alexander the Great, and interested himself in a comparative study of the Indian Gymnosophists and the Cynics (cf. G. Grote, *Plato and the Other Companions of*

*Socrates*², 1885, i. 158 f.); his sons, Philiscus and Androsthenes, Menander Drymus, and Hegesæus Clocus of Sinope. More distinguished associates, eminent for other reasons than their mere connexion with Cynicism, were, possibly, Phocion the 'Good' (c. 402–317), the Athenian statesman whom Demosthenes feared, Anaximenes the rhetorician, and, certainly, Stilpo (fl. c. 310), the influential Megarian (see MEGARIANS), whose combination of Cynic moralism with genuine devotion to metaphysics paved the way for Stoicism (q.v.). Finally, we have Crates of Thebes (fl. c. 320), the third leader of the Cynics, who, unlike his predecessor, was a man of some position and wealth. Perhaps Bryson, the Achean, taught him (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 85). Crates counted among his followers his wife Hipparchia of Maronea, a woman of good family, whose incurable infatuation for the wandering philosopher overcame the opposition of her parents to the unpropitious union; her brother, Metrocles, whose social standing seems to have lent him weight; and his initiates, Theomentus, Cleomenes, Demetrius of Alexandria, Timarchus of Alexandria, Menippus of Sinope (fl. c. 273), a satirist who influenced Varro (82–37), the Roman poet (see NEO-CYNICS); and Meleager of Gadara (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 99), who may be classed with Menippus. The Ephesian Ecchelus was also of the Crates-Metrocles circle, and he taught Menedemus, a furious ranter, once the pupil of the Epicurean Colotes of Lampascus; Menedemus seems to have been the last of the regular Cynic succession. Thrasyllus (c. 306) is reported as a Cynic acquaintance of Antigonus Cyclops (cf. Plutarch, *de Vitio. Pud.* 631 [ed. Bernardakis, vol. iii. p. 576]; *Rep. et imp. apoph.*; *Ant.* 182 [15] [ed. Bernardakis, vol. ii. p. 23]). Diodorus of Aspendus (fl. c. 300), a belated Pythagorean, who adopted Cynic asceticism, may be placed on the fringes of the sect; he is said to have conventionalized the garb of the mendicant Cynic. Theodorus of Cyrene (fl. c. 300), called the 'atheist,' emphasized the 'theological' radicalism of the later Cynics, while Sodates may have represented the movement under one of the earlier Ptolemys (322–247). Later we find his pupil, the facile witty exhorter, Bion of Borysthenes in Pamphylia (fl. c. 250), who boxed the compass of the rival schools, and furnished ammunition to Horace (cf. R. Heinze, *de Horatio Bionis imitatore*, Bonn, 1889); and Teles (fl. c. 250), the Cynic-Stoic contemporary of Chrysippus, a spouter of hortatory harangues on *ἀδελφότητα* (cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Philol. Untersuch.* iv. [1882] 292 f.).

Running over the names, one is compelled to notice the large proportion of Cynics who came from the outskirts of Hellenic culture—Pontus, Thrace, Syria, Pamphylia, Egypt, for example; they were not nurtured in the pure Greek tradition. By the time of Menippus, the Syrian satirist (c. 280–65 B.C.), Cynicism had gone to seed in mere antinomianism and quixotry; not seldom, perhaps, in even less reputable manifestations. Its significant doctrines passed over into Stoicism through Zeno of Citium (336–264), the pupil of Crates; even the attempt of Aristo of Chios (fl. c. 260), Zeno's disciple, to revive the Cynic contempt for science and liberal culture within Stoicism failed, although he taught his famous pupil, Eratosthenes of Cyrene and Alexandria (276–196), the cosmopolitan humanitarianism of Diogenes. No doubt, Cynicism survived sporadically, almost as a 'mendicant order' in all likelihood,—often of sorry scoundrels,—till its re-appearance, in Roman Imperial times (cf. J. Bernays, *Lukian u. d. Kyniker*, Berlin, 1879), with Demetrius, the contemporary of Seneca, and others (see NEO-CYNICS). But its essential contribution had been absorbed into Stoicism, which always retained traces of Cynic tendencies, as may be noted even so late as Epictetus (cf. *Diss.* iii. 19–22; R. D. Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*, London, 1910, p. 95 f.).

(b) *Socio-philosophical origins*.—Greek reflexion originated in the desire to know for the sake of knowledge; and, in this sense, philosophy became a life. Thus, the problems of knowledge and of conduct never lay far apart. But, as aspects of one whole, they struggled for mastery, with varying fortune. The Cynics represent an extreme phase, in which science and culture had ceased to be held as of any value that was not pragmatic, and 'philosophy' had been reduced to the most beggarly elements of paradoxical utilitarian practice. This issue was one natural result of the historical antecedents of the Greek municipal societies, and of the reaction upon their conventions after the displacements due to the Persian war

(490-45 B.C.). The difficulty was to adjust the *πολιτεία* to empire, the particularism of the Greek citizen to the universalism of mankind; and it took shape in the lengthy controversy about νόμος and φύσις (see CASUSTRY), in which the Cynics played the most partisan rôle (cf. Dewey-Tufts, *Ethics*, 1908, pt. I. ch. vii.). Very briefly, the development of the Hellenic municipal societies had been as follows. The corporate family was an outgrowth of ancient religion, and appealed to religious sanctions (cf. Solon, frag. 12). Thus, domestic law and the rule of the family-group were integral parts of the 'Divine favouring fate' within a man (cf. Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 94, ix. 28, 100, 110, xiii. 13; *Nem.* vii. 30, viii. 35). The wider civic law and municipal government were evolved gradually on this basis (cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*¹⁴, Paris, 1895, bk. iii. ch. xviii.; bk. v. ch. i.). Local customs, conventions, and laws thus acquired great authority, and overflowed private life to such an extent that it hardly existed in the modern sense. The State claimed the citizen's time, intelligence, service,—his whole life even,—in return for the inestimable advantages bestowed, inestimable because only when endowed with them could a man enjoy a worthy human career (cf. S. H. Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*¹⁵, 1904, p. 47 f.). Accordingly, individual independence did not flourish—the man had not emerged from the citizen. So the opposition between old norms and new experiences remained latent, more or less, till the Sophists (*q.v.*) broached it with their pupils, and Aristophanes and Euripides, each in his characteristic way, ventilated it before the public at large. The theoretical side of the controversy most probably reached the Cynics through the influence of Gorgias upon Antisthenes; the practical or social deductions through Socrates, to whom, in his last years, Antisthenes resorted. But the Cynics were 'imperfect' Socratics, who interpreted the Athenian sage in a fashion of their own, and it must be confessed that Socratic 'irony' and contemporary socio-political changes gave colour to their anarchism.

The social conditions are perplexing, because they oscillated in a twofold movement. On the one hand, and *negatively*, the decay of age-old beliefs (cf. Aristophanes, *Nub.* 396 f., 1060 f., 1420 f.; Plato, *Rep.* ii. 358-65) sapped confidence in the adequacy of national institutions. Could the State justify its pervasive interference with the individual, by rendering sufficient return? This question—its terms becoming clearer gradually—provoked inquiry; the sequel was reflective ethics. And, as reflexion bodes search for a stable principle, the possibility that this had not been found was implied. Hence a critical movement in theory. The Peloponnesian War (431-405) forced similar issues upon the average man in daily life (cf. Thucyd. iii. 40-44, 82, v. 89). The generous assurance of high vocation that nurtured Pindar, Themistocles, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Pericles, and, as a glorious consummation, Plato, beat feebler and feebler. On the other hand, and *positively*, new men broke into the ancient State, bringing new associations. Traditional civic usages bore less meaning for them, because they did not share the compensation to the full. Necessarily, they felt other aspirations, and gravitated towards other standards. The straits of war drove the rural population upon Athens, just as, during prosperous peace, strangers had flocked to her gates. Inaction and demoralization bred a proletariat, neither citizen nor slave, which strained the ordinary resources of government. In addition, the many-rebellious instances of individual development, the glory of the Periclean epoch, set a potent example. And the energies and personalized

aims here manifested had to find fresh channels. Pericles could say: 'We [Athenians] alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless, member of society' (Thucyd. ii. 40). But, political autonomy shrunk or gone, this socialized unity lost its power to charm. Accordingly, what more natural than that 'social reform' should attract many? What more natural than that they should concentrate upon the personal ideal, *αὐτάρκεια* (cf. Gomperz, *Gr. Denker*, 1903 [Eng. tr. 1905], vol. ii. bk. iv. chs. i.-iii.)? 'The honest man is Nature's noble' (Eurip. frag. 336). But, what may 'honest' mean? The Cynics were to extract their answer from Socrates (*q.v.*).

Plato makes Socrates speak as follows, in his famous speech of defence:

'If you say to me, "Socrates, this time . . . we will let you off, but upon one condition, that you are not to inquire and speculate in this way any more." . . . I should reply: "Men of Athens, I honour and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you, and, while I have life and strength, I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy, exhorting any one whom I meet after my manner, and convincing him, saying: "O my friend, why do you, who are a citizen of the great and mighty and wise city of Athens, care so much about laying up the greatest amount of money and honour and reputation, and so little about wisdom and truth and the greatest improvement of the soul, which you never regard or heed at all? Are you not ashamed of this?"' (Apol. 29).

This represents the Socratic spirit admirably. But Socrates left no methodical system, nor did he prescribe specifics for social ills. Devotion to the Athenian State, and respect for the higher personal life, were the poles of his character and teaching. He could say of the State:

'Our country is . . . higher and holier far than mother or father. . . . When we are punished by her . . . the punishment is to be endured in silence. . . . Whether in battle or in a court of law, or in any other place, he [the citizen] must do what his city and his country order him. . . . This is the voice which I seem to hear murmuring in my ears, like the sound of the flute in the ears of the mystic' (Plato, *Crito*, 51, 54; cf. J. Adam, *Crito*, 1888, Introd. p. xiv f.).

That is, Socrates preserved intact the old Greek consecration to the *ἦθος* of the City-State, with its subordination of the individual to the community as the will of the gods, and as the most valuable (useful) relation for the citizen. In practice, he identified himself completely with Athens, whose vicinity he seldom left (cf. Plato, *Crito*, 52). But, at the same time, touched by the ampler experience of the new age, he strove to universalize the individual. 'Whether the individual is a part of a wider teleological system or no, becomes thus for Socrates a secondary question; and what he is mainly interested to maintain is that each man for himself should work out such a system in his own life' (E. Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Gr. Philosophers*, 1904, i. 70). Socrates could, therefore, declare to Antiphon: 'To have no wants at all is, to my mind, an attribute of godhead; to have as few wants as possible, the nearest approach to godhead' (Xenoph. *Mem.* i. 6). That is, his asceticism was no end in itself, but accessory to the desire to secure due scope for the higher activities of manhood. The positive purpose thus involved a negative element. Now Socrates lived all this, but left no authoritative exposition of it. Accordingly, his 'imperfect' followers seized upon one or other aspect of his personality, and pushed it, to the exclusion of the compensating factors. 'The Cynics so enforced this negative moment that they placed freedom in actual renunciation of so-called superfluities' (Hegel, *Werke*, 1842, xiv. 139, Eng. tr. *Hist. of Phil.*, 1892, i. 480-81). Historical circumstances occasioned their revolt from the communal ideas of the City-State. The 'wise man' will not govern himself according to enacted laws, but by the law of virtue (Antisthenes *ap. Diog. Laert.* vi. 11). The sole authentic citizenship is citizenship of the world (Diogenes, *ib.* vi.

63). In short, under stress of social exigency, the Cynics abstracted Socratic independence from the conditions whence it drew its strength and relevance, and identified virtue with unbridled protest against social relations. 'Bury me on my face,' said Diogenes to Xenaiades, 'for, ere long, everything will be turned upside down' (Diog. Laert. vi. 31-32). The Cynics lost recollection that the Socratic dialectic was an incidental means to disclosure of the fundamental principles of morality. They could 'think only of the barefooted old man, indefatigably disputing in the open streets, and setting himself against society' (Grant, *Ethics of Aristotle*², 1874, i. 171). Thus minded, they turned upon contemporary norms and, holding nothing holy, flouted human ties scornfully, violently, and coarsely.

2. Teaching.—(a) *Theoretical*.—Avowedly, the Cynics were bent upon a practical end. Indeed, it is often asserted that they repudiated scientific training and mental culture, with no little ostentation. This is probably an over-statement. It would be nearer the mark to say that they subordinated scientific inquiries to the attainment of virtue, regarding intellectual discipline as indifferent in itself. Thus, while they combated men of the Plato type, and held aloof from the constructive schools, they could not, and did not, escape the theoretical problems of their age. Logic and epistemology, it is true, had not reached clear definition; this had to await Aristotle. Nevertheless, with the Sophists, if not earlier, the question of the relation between language and thought had asserted itself, sometimes in logomachies that seem trifling to us. And, in this connexion, a distinct negative or critical movement became manifest. The contemporary Megarians, for example (cf. K. Prantl, *Gesch. d. Logik*, Leipzig, 1855, i. 33 f.; G. Grote, *op. cit.* i. 122 f.), with whom the Cynics had some affiliations, revelled in 'eristic' gymnastics. The Cynic leaders, Antisthenes and, probably, Diogenes, evinced kindred tendencies, as their fragmentary remains, scattered references in Plato and Aristotle, and the reports of later writers indicate. Possibly the same was true of Crates, Monimus, and their followers. In other words, ere the ethico-political doctrines of the sect had sunk to the level of a social mannerism,

'Whose dog-like carriage and effrontery,
Despising infamy, outca'd disgrace,'

the Cynics partook in theoretical discussions of the day, occupying a position akin, apparently, to that of the Megarians (*q.v.*), and one not far removed, in ultimate principle, at least, from the Cyrenaics (*q.v.*).

Thus, Epictetus (*Diss.* i. 17, 12) attributes to Antisthenes the saying, 'The examination of terms is the beginning of education.' Similarly, Plato (*Euthyd.* 277 E, cf. *Crat.* 384) records that, according to Prodicus, 'a right use of terms is the beginning of knowledge' (cf. *Protag.* 337). Unfortunately, owing to the loss of Antisthenes' treatise *On Words*, we are unaware how these statements should be interpreted. Conceivably, they imply no more than Plato (*Theat.* 201 E) and Aristotle (*Met.* viii. 3) assert. On the other hand, it is certain that, through the peculiar notions about evidence entertained in their law-courts, committees of the popular assembly (cf. R. J. Bonner, *Evidence in Athenian Courts*, Chicago, 1905), the Athenians had long been familiar with forensic dialectic, as Æschylus' *Orestes* (458 B.C.) suffices to show. Furthermore, at the time when the other Greek arts reached their zenith (c. 440 B.C.), rhetoric, the *τέχνη* of words, had flourished for a generation in Sicily, under Corax of Syracuse (c. 465 B.C.); and Gorgias, accompanied by one of his chief exponents, Tisias,

had impressed the Athenians with it, on the occasion of the Leontine embassy (427 B.C.), when Antisthenes was a lad of seventeen. The future Cynic leader became a pupil of Gorgias, and then taught rhetoric before joining the Socratic circle. And, while it is likely that the epideictic 'display,' entitled the *Controversy between Ajax and Odysseus for the Arms of Achilles*, belongs to a later period, the list of the writings of Antisthenes preserved by Diog. Laert. (vi. 15 f.) proves that he was a practitioner, not only of rhetoric, but also of dialectic, with its more or less subtle and verbal treatment of terms. In addition, one must recall that Greek oratory as a practical art, employing both rhetoric and dialectic, dates from Gorgias (cf. F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit v. Gorgias bis zu Lysias*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 1 f.), and that, as a result of the development of their polity, which made him who 'is master of the stone on the Pnyx' master of Athens (cf. E. A. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 2nd series, 1873, p. 128 f.), rhetoric and dialectic came to be of extreme utilitarian consequence to the Athenians (cf. Isocrates' review of his life-work, *Or.* xv. 295 f.). Language was now a potent weapon, and the study of terms indispensable. Accordingly, we are forced to conclude that, whatever slight Antisthenes and his fellows may have put upon 'science,' 'learning,' and 'culture' at a later time, when engaged upon their ethical 'mission,' the founder of the Cynic movement was educated in a 'scientific' atmosphere, and knew the necessity for technical discipline in the 'art of words.' No doubt, the studies of Protagoras, Prodicus, and Hippias, in etymology, synonymy, and the like, were little more than beginnings in the abstractions of grammar; and, obviously, the science of Logic was even less advanced, the nature of negative propositions especially offering insoluble problems, whence the vogue of the Sophistic *elenchus*. Yet the Sophistic influence upon the 'imperfect' Socratics is so pervasive that, before he repaired to Socrates at last, Antisthenes must have been carried away by it. The jibes of Plato (*Phædo*, 101 D f. (?); *Rep.* ii. 372 D, v. 454 A (?); *Theæt.* 155 E; *Soph.* 251 B, 230 D; *Phileb.* 14 D (?), Aristotle (*Met.* iii. 2 (?), iv. 29, vii. 3; *Top.* i. 11), and others (e.g. Cicero, *ad Attic.* xii. 38) would seem to indicate that Antisthenes and the rest either relapsed into 'sophistical' quibbling in theory, or failed to keep step with the contemporary advance of scientific inquiry. For, even if Xenophon's testimony to the acquirements of Antisthenes (*Symp.* iv. 41 f.) be suspect on account of his evident Cynic leanings, the references of Plato (*Cratyl.* 389 f. (?); *Phileb.* 44 C; cf. K. Barlen, *Antisthenes u. Platon*, 1881; K. Urban, *Ueber d. Erwähnungen d. Philos. d. Antisthenes in d. platon. Schriften*, 1882; F. Dümmeler, *Akademika*, Giessen, 1889, p. 148 f.), the partial admission of Aristotle (*Met.* v. 29), his serious refutations (*de Soph. El.* xx.; *Rhet.* ii. 24), and the remark of Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 13) warrant the probable inference that, while Antisthenes had once known better, and still posed as a disciple of Socrates (this would be Plato's view), he had reverted to the empiricism of Gorgias, and had fallen thence into theoretical scepticism, regarding 'science' as negligible except for purposes of direct utility, as with Hippias—had become, in short, a 'barbarian.' In a word, although they started from the Socratic insistence upon definition, the Cynics never reached theoretical solutions; in fact, they regarded them as impossible, perhaps even as worthless.

Remembering, then, that Logic had no independent existence, the little that we know of Cynic logic may be traced to Socrates for its primary impulse, and to the Sophists, especially Gorgias and Hippias, for its content. The effort of Socrates

to define the ideal Good, to replace a physical or cosmological by a logical *φύσις*, had not reached complete success (cf. Xenoph. *Mem.* iii. 9, 14, iii. 8, 3, i. 3, 2). It was an aspiration rather than a final achievement. The problems therefore were: (1) to formulate a definition carrying universal validity; (2) to state its content; (3) to explain how man might realize it in life. Such fragments of Cynic logic as we have are remnants of a theoretical effort connected with the first problem; Cynic ethics, a practical reply to the second and third. The former represents a reversion to the Sophists; the latter follows mainly from undue emphasis upon, and isolation of, one aspect of the person of Socrates, filled out probably, as regards its inconsistent universalism (cosmopolitanism), by elements drawn chiefly from the teaching of Hippias.

Turning to the logical side, then, we find that for Antisthenes a satisfactory definition must be the statement of the essence of a thing. But, seeing that things consist of parts, the only definition practicable would be a description of these parts as actual components of a whole (cf. Plato, *Soph.* 251 f.). Accordingly, the thing itself, being simple, is indefinable; it may be named, but the name tells nothing of the essential reality (cf. Aristotle, *Met.* i. 3). Diogenes is reported to have said, when Plato was talking to him about 'ideas' and using the terms 'tableness' and 'cupness,' 'I see a table and a cup, but I see no "tableness" or "cupness"' (Diog. Laert. vi. 55; cf. Plato, *Parmen.* 132 B). That is, according to Cynic epistemology, general ideas exist solely in the mind, individual things alone are real. This is the earliest distinct expression of Nominalism. Logically, it results in the conclusion that no judgments are permissible except judgments of identity. 'Man' and 'good' are different from one another. You cannot predicate 'good' of 'man'; you can say merely, 'man is man,' 'good is good' (cf. Plato [?], *Hyp. Maj.* 304 A; Grote, *op. cit.* ii. 47). This led immediately to the assertion, put into the mouth of Dionysodorus by Plato (*Euthyd.* 286 B), that contradiction (or error) cannot occur. If so, the paradox issues that false and contradictory propositions are impossible, which implies, in turn, that all propositions are equally true. As the question of logical 'form,' to which such reasoning might apply, in the sense that 'form' does not guarantee truth, had not yet been considered independently, the Cynics meant, probably, that predicates, because applicable to many subjects, could not be attached more exclusively to one than to another. But we are able only to conjecture as to this (cf. Plutarch, *adv. Colot.* 1119 Cf. [ed. Bernardakis, vol. v. p. 45 f.]; Plato, *Parmen.* 130 f.). In any event, however, it is evident that the conclusion of the matter is in the Sophistic vein. Objects, when 'composed' of single factors, may be defined. Simple objects ('ultimates'), being perceptible only to sense, are susceptible of nomenclature, but are unknowable as such. The distinction here raised—really between percepts and concepts—is valid enough. But the inference of Verbalism, instead of carrying out a logical and epistemological analysis, leads back to Sophistic scepticism which, once more, is hardly distinguishable from Sensationalism (cf. Aristotle, *Met.* iii. 5). The Cynics thus seize the negative element in the Socratic dialectic process towards definition, but omit the positive. As a consequence, they entangle themselves in a paradoxical inquiry such as that typified by Alfred de Musset's question—'Le cœur humain de qui, le cœur humain de quoi?' (cf. A. Ed. Chaignet, *Hist. de la psych. des Grecs*, i., Paris, 1887, p. 189 f., note 4; Grote, *op. cit.* i. 168 f., note 1).

(b) *Practical.*—The ethical doctrines of the

Cynics may be traced to the coalescence of several elements; and very probably this is more evident now than it was to the Cynics themselves in their period of transition. But the numerous stories related about their leaders (for the sake of the story), and the scantiness of the documentary evidence, render a dispassionate account very difficult. Still the following constituent factors, at least, can be traced with some certainty: (1) Socrates, the plain, 'common' man, sturdy and independent; (2) the Eleaticism of Antisthenes' teacher, Gorgias; (3) the 'return to nature' of Hippias and Euripides; and (4) the momentary exigencies of daily life in Athens and in Hellas.

(1) The Cynics descend from the Xenophontic, not the Platonic, Socrates (cf. S. Ribbing, *Ueber d. Verhältnis zwischen d. Xenoph. u. Platon. Berichten üb. d. Persönlichkeit u. d. Lehre d. Sokrates*, Upsala, 1870; F. Dümmler, *loc. cit.*, and *Antisthenica*, Halle, 1882). This is the Socrates who, as we saw above, made independence an attribute of godhead (cf. Xenoph. *Mem.* i. 6). Yet, for him, asceticism was a means to an end (cf. Xenoph. *Cyn.* xiii.), not an end in itself, as it became with the Cynics. The endurance which he praised was no unusual or new thing; it related to ordinary life, and, naturally, had been accentuated by the early 'proverbial' moralists (e.g. Hesiod, *Opp. Di.* 287 f., 411 f.). Quickened by moral sincerity, Socrates protested against the indignity put on labour; as a 'friend of the common folk' (Xenoph. *Mem.* i. 2), he held work to be more honourable than idleness (*ib.* iii. 8, 9, 10). It was this side of his character that attracted Antisthenes, and produced in the disciple a parody of the master's temperate protest against the enervating habits of the luxurious city.

(2) But, alongside of this moralized 'common sense,' a distinct theoretical element operated, of which the Cynics were, in a way, unconscious. Socrates had taught that virtue is a 'science' (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* iii. 8, 6), meaning thereby that virtue was communicable. Now, although Gorgias dismissed metaphysical speculations about Being, and thus showed that the 'science' could not be concerned with 'nature,' he hinted, by implication, at an internal (rational) One. That is, his *argumenta ad hominem* emphasized the *homo*. Accordingly, although he denied what he held to be an unconditional object out of relation to self, he still left self as the One, even the unexplored One. This survival of Eleatic doctrine reappeared in the Cynic interpretation of the positive side of Socratic teaching: courage, justice, wisdom are identical—they are knowledge; or, as Antisthenes put it theologically, the gods are many *κατὰ νόμον*, they are One *κατὰ φύσιν*. Reason, the organ of this knowledge, is the prerogative, not of men, but of mankind (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 105; Xenoph. *Mem.* i. 2, 19; Plato, *Meno*, 71; Aristotle, *Pol.* i. xiii. 10). Reason bestows the power *ἐαυτῷ διδάσκειν*. If incommunicable theoretically, at all events by means of the current education, it can be recognized and liberated in practical activity. In short, Will becomes the content of the 'science' of the sole Good—virtue. As against Platonic absolutism, with its aristocratic tendencies, which separate men from each other, the Cynics assert a democratic unity. They admit a pragmatic universal in the shape of a plan of life. Thus *αὐκείος λόγος* came by essential content, despite nominalistic logic (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 12, 103). No matter what the theory, essence could be exhibited—in overt conduct.

(3) The Cynics preached a 'return to nature' as an escape from social convention with its ills. Here they stood in line with Hippias and Euripides. Man ought to be self-sufficient. They meant by

this that there is a human 'nature,' beyond the accidents of citizenship, language, and even race (Eurip. frag. 1050), and that civil institutions are unjustifiable because they interfere with the cultivation of this common possession. As Hippias said: 'All of you who are here present I reckon to be kinsmen and friends and fellow-citizens by nature, and not by law; for by nature like is akin to like, whereas law is the tyrant of mankind, and often compels us to do many things which are against nature' (Plato, *Protag.* 337); or, as Isocrates put it: 'Athens . . . has brought it to pass that the name "Greek" should be thought no longer a matter of race but a matter of intelligence' (*Or.* iv. 50). Hence Cynic cosmopolitanism. The Cynics proposed to realize this unitary 'nature' by denuding themselves of wants, by eschewing obligation to the 'resources of civilization.' Simplicity, temperance, ability to fend for self, were to be the means to this end. Hence their anarchism.

(4) Even before the Peloponnesian War, the Hellenic world had grown conscious of new displacements, and the course of the struggle accentuated this condition. The *politeia* lacked the flexibility needed to meet the transition. Consequently, men became aware increasingly of a separation between the organized State and transient society (cf. G. A. and W. H. Simcox, *Demosthenes and Aeschines 'On the Crown,'* 1872, p. lxxvii.). As has been said above, the citizen no longer found absorbing vocation in his citizenship: loyalty was on the wane. Besides, the war produced special effects of its own. The unity of Hellas and the independence of the rival cities proved to be incompatible ideals; the gulf between rich and poor yawned wider; the itch for personal recognition brought disregard of social responsibility; and numerous men 'without a country' roamed over all Greece (cf. Isocrates, *Ep.* ix. 10). The system of education had forfeited the confidence of many (cf. Isocrates, *Or.* xiii. 292 f., xi. 230 f., x. 208 f., xv. 84 f., 259 f.), while, on the other hand, the people were untouched by the things of the spirit (cf. Isocrates, *Or.* xi. 230, ii. 23 f., viii. 161 f., xv. 168 f.), as, indeed, Aristotle asserted later (*Eth. Nic.* i. 5. 3). Every one was finding fault with his neighbour; the efficiency of democratic government was in doubt. These grave matters were at once the incentives to, and the immediate objects of, the Cynic 'mission.' Unfortunately, hindered doubtless by the temper of the time, the Cynics, who surpassed all in fearlessness, appear to have employed no weapon more potent than contentious abuse, and to have prescribed no remedy more practicable than an impossible renunciation. Better known to the masses than any other teachers, their extravagance and licence rendered them easy marks for ridicule and resentment, so that the seriousness of the evils which they attacked legitimately was overshadowed by the bizarre conduct of the critics. Few, if any, constructive results were accomplished in the 4th cent., as the state of affairs under Eubulus (354-338 B.C.) serves to show (cf. Isocrates [c. 353 B.C.], *Or.* xv. 270 f.; J. Beloch, *Die attische Politik seit Perikles*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 173 f.). These influences, then, probably along with others, now irrecoverable, moulded the Cynic ethics.

Although the Sophist was a *τεχνολόγος*, the teacher of a practical 'art'—and Gorgias belonged very distinctly to this type—a man of Antisthenes' quality, when deflected by Socrates, could easily pick holes in Sophistic practice (cf. Plato, *Soph.* 250 A); he and, more emphatically, his follower, Diogenes, might retain portions of the Gorgian method (cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 17. 7), the temper

never. Seeking reputation and gain, the Sophists could not be entirely disinterested (cf. Xenoph. *Cyn.* xiii.). Perforce they had to adapt themselves to popular tastes; and Gorgias, conspicuously, seems to have conformed himself to current prejudices; in like manner, Hippias' ideal of a union between the Greek States, just because it was not original with him, serves to illustrate a similar tendency. Such pliability, amounting often to hollowness, revolted Antisthenes, when contact with Socrates had converted him. The times appeared to call for sterner stuff. It was not enough to suggest moral notions by elegant discourses; proselytes must be secured. Independence was needed above all else; and this could be justified on condition that a man found his ideal purposes within himself (cf. Eurip. *Troad.* 988; Plato, *Rep.* ii. 366 E). Thus the Cynics came to regard virtue, not as good, but as the Good, and this as an implicit quality inherent in manhood, made explicit in the 'wise man' (i.e. Socrates universalized by Cynic pragmatism); for without a universal there could be no philosophy (cf. Plato, *Parmen.* 136). No matter at what cost, the 'sage' must develop and guard this possession (cf. Cicero, *de Off.* i. 41), for on it depended the one great issue of life—self-sufficiency. Everything must be sacrificed for it; indeed, this complete sacrifice was regarded as the essence of virtue. On the other hand, vice was the sole evil; and the intermediate values of life, high or low, positive or negative,—wealth, position, health, poverty, shame, sickness, even death,—were wholly indifferent. Thus self-control implied, not the moralizing of human relations, but their total eradication, because they are invitations to weakness or to submission (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 93). So the Cynics came to 'exceed' the nature at which they had arrived; the subjective tendency overpowered them. And there are signs that, like the Stoics afterwards, they wavered here (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 2, 6, 13, 30, 31, 63, 72); yet their professed ideal was to possess no home, no city, to be beggars and wanderers (cf. *ib.* vi. 38). For man comprehends by nature what is just and true (cf. *ib.* vii. 53), and this internal nature is to be set free as against the law or convention of society. The declaration of Hippias (Plato, *Protag.* 357 D), transmuted now into a *φύσις ἀνθρωπίνη*, is elevated into the single principle capable of moral authority. The insight of the 'wise man,' won by renunciation, becomes the supreme test; and, according to its judgment, all laws, institutions, and arrangements of society are found arbitrary and harmful. They hamper and enslave true manhood; for, morally viewed, men are free, and therefore equal, just because they possess a specific virtuous nature in their own individual right. Consequently, man is able to realize the Good only if he renounces them. Society is the great Sophist (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 492 A); it renders evil absolute; therefore it is infinitely better to be an uneducated beggar than an educated echo of 'civilization.' Thus the Cynics desert their theoretical Nominalism, and fall into the old paradoxes resultant upon the clash between personal ideal and social opportunity. Casuistry (their species of sophistry) marks them for its own, and antitheses displace reasoning. As always, their anarchism ends in communism, for, without fraternity, liberty and equality are but barren words. The socio-political indecision and helplessness of Hellas led to this extreme conclusion. An ulterior principle, the innate prerogative of simple manhood, came to be viewed as the only escape from contemporary evils. This indifference of the Cynics to political, social, and domestic obligations led

course, to antinomianism (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 12). Curiously enough, however, they did not advocate quietism (cf. F. W. Bussell, *Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics*, 1910, p. 51 f.) as a result of their nonconformity and repudiation. The Cynic 'missionary' became a familiar figure, and he lived in face of the public. Like Crates, he was a 'door-opener' (Diog. Laert. vi. 86), but he seems, as a rule, to have been taken more jocularly than seriously. Nor is this wonderful. Strange as it may appear, the besetting sins of Athenian character—vanity and self-sufficiency—found a new incarnation in the censoriousness and self-advertisement of some Cynics. As a matter of fact, they had not investigated morality with due care, and so they could not deliver themselves from paradox. For, after all, consistent Cynicism is tantamount to a confession of failure. Deny the existence of the problem, as the Cynics did in relation to Athenian economic conditions, for example, and—you have solved it! 'Vanity of vanities,' saith the preacher, 'all is vanity'; whereas the greatest of vanities is apt to be the preacher himself.

It is possible, and too easy perhaps, to judge Cynicism as the temporary exaggeration of a clique. But, after all, it dealt with the immortal things of life, and in later times left its mark upon ancient thought; Epictetus could idealize even Diogenes (*Diss.* iii. 24). An overwhelming personality like Socrates transmutes the fluid tendencies of his epoch, and outpaces the average man. Nevertheless, Socrates was of his age, and could not escape its limitations. Antisthenes and his followers started from this temporary factor, and, by confining the Socratic doctrine to it, impressed the ordinary mind. Rudely enough, perhaps, they proved that Greece still had a conscience. They exercised the magisterial and reproving function (cf. Epictetus, *Diss.* ii. 21), emphasizing the force and conviction, though not the dignity and sublimity, of the master; yet this very bias freed them from the sordid passions of self-interest which so afflicted their contemporaries (cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 85 f.; Xenoph. *Symp.* iv. 34 f.). As their denunciation of slavery showed, they had a glimpse of a sublime idea, and were enabled consequently to enter a splendid protest against the otiose compromises and superficial conformities of the day. And, if their zeal outran discretion, or even decency, it must be recalled that they were bred of a society which lived in *paris naturalibus* to a degree incomprehensible by us; that, by insistence upon the moral significance of much that had been deemed non-moral, they aired questions to which otherwise Aristotle's saving common sense might never have been applied (cf. e.g. *Eth. Nic.* x. 6). As a result, they paved the way for the conclusion that virtue is not a theory, but a spiritual state—it is dynamic over against the trivial. Their defence of a thesis doubtless blurred their vision of the seminal personality of the 'wise man.' Notwithstanding, they did make the 'sage' the moral norm, and thus gave the first hint that 'the "Return to nature,"' so far from implying reversion to animalism, and the reduction of man's needs to the level of the beasts, was found to involve fundamental differentiation of reasoning man from the unreason of the brute or the inertia of matter, to place man on a unique spiritual plane, and eventually to summon him from individual isolation to conscious brotherhood with kind' (G. H. Rendall, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself*, 1898, p. xlv). Driven by a theory which spelt failure, the Cynics could not perceive these great issues; but ideals, whose end is not yet, originated with them.

See also CASUISTRY, CYRENAICS, MEGARIANS, NEO-CYNICS, SOCRATES, SOPHISTS, STOICS.

LITERATURE (In addition to the works mentioned in the text).—Ueberweg-Heintze, *Grundriss d. Gesch. d. Philos.* 1.¹⁰ (1910), gives a complete summary of the technical literature: see § 7, for the primary and secondary sources for the history of Greek philosophy; § 8, for literature on the pre-philosophical period of Greek culture; § 37, for literature on the Cynics specifically. For the English reader the best work is still E. Zeller, *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*, Eng. tr., London, 1888, and successive reprints; W. Windelband, *Hist. of Ana. Philosophy*, Eng. tr., London, 1898, is also very valuable; the most brilliant and readable account of the Cynics is to be found in Th. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr. vol. II, London, 1906. With special reference, the following works may be added: T. C. Finlayson, *Sways, Addresses, and Lyrical Translations*, London, 1898, p. 194 f.; P. Girard, *L'École athén. au IV^e et au V^e siècle avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1891; O. Apelt, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. gr. Phil.*, Leipzig, 1891 (the essay on Cosmopolitanism in Antiquity); R. E. Hammond, *Polit. Institutions of the Ana. Greeks*, London, 1895; A. Croiset, *Hist. de la litt. grecque*, tom. IV. [Paris, 1900] pp. 861, 240 f.; P. Decharme, *La critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs*, etc., Paris, 1904, p. 217 f.; R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog: ein literarhist. Versuch*, I, Leipzig, 1895; M. Clerc, *Les Métèques athéniens: Étude sur la condition légale, la situation morale et le rôle social et économique des étrangers domiciliés à Athènes*, Paris, 1898; H. Francotte, *De la Condition des étrangers dans les villes grecques*, Louvain and Paris, 1908; H. Sidgwick, *Lectures on the Philos. of Kant*, etc., London, 1906 (the essay on the Sophists); Ed. Schwartz, *Charakterköpfe d. antiken Lit.* 2nd series, Leipzig, 1910, p. 14. R. M. WENLEY.

CYRENAICS.—The name given to a school of thinkers founded at Cyrene, a Greek colony on the northern coast of Africa, towards the beginning of the 4th century B.C. It is one of the earliest attempts—and perhaps the most thorough-going—to base the conduct of life on the pursuit of the individual's pleasure. The founder of the school was Aristippus. He came to Athens to hear Socrates, whom he revered to the end of his life (Diog. ii. 65, 76), and whose scholar, in spite of the differences between them, he always avowed himself to be (*ib.* 74). Socrates would never really have accepted the pursuit of mere personal pleasure as the end of life; indeed, in the *Memorabilia* (ii. 1), Xenophon gives us an account of a keen dispute between him and Aristippus on this very point. Yet the 'pupil' might fairly have claimed to teach nothing inconsistent with his master's fundamental principles. Socrates, in fact, while claiming that man's rational life lay in the search after what was truly good, had yet left undetermined what this true good might be (see Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*, pp. 24, 31). The Cyrenaics argued that it could be found in nothing but pleasure, which was the one thing manifestly desirable, and which all creatures, unless perverted, did desire and choose (Diog. ii. 87, 88, 89).

This ethical doctrine seems to have been closely connected with their general view—derived probably from Protagoras—that the individual was limited to a knowledge of his own sensations. A man could know only what appeared to him, not what things were in themselves, nor even what they appeared to others; and there was thus apparently no possibility of a rational assertion that anything was noble or not in itself. All we could know of 'goodness' was what was pleasurable to us (Diog. ii. 92, 93; Sext. *Empir. adv. Math.* vii. 191–200). There was thus no room for the Cyrenaics to admit fundamental differences of quality in pleasure; and this, it would seem, they fully realized. One pleasure was no whit better than another (Diog. ii. 87), nor could the source from which it sprang, however base that might be called, make any difference to its worth (*ib.* 88). In this they were profoundly at variance with Plato and Aristotle, who both argued for absolute standards of value and of truth, standards going beyond the mere opinions of individual men (e.g. Plato, *Repub.* bk. vi. *ad fin.*; Arist. *Metaph.* bk. iii. c. 5. 1009a, *Eth. Nic.* bk. i. c. 8. 1099a). The famous discussion in the *Philebus* (36 C f.) as to the possibility of a distinction between true and false

pleasures, parallel to that between true and false opinions, is in all probability written with an eye to the Cyrenaic position. It is of great interest also to note that this initial scepticism of theirs led the Cyrenaics to turn aside from scientific inquiry into Nature, as from useless speculation (Diog. ii. 92).

The anecdotes told of Aristippus and his biting wit give a vivid commentary on his theory. His seems to have been one of 'the great experiments in life' that the Greek philosophers were not afraid to make. Resolute, daring, and self-controlled, on one side it recalls the great Socratic tradition of unswerving obedience in practice 'to that argument which seemed the best,' and even the Socratic scorn for non-essentials; 'it was better to be a beggar than a dunce; if the first had no money, the second had no manhood' (ib. 70). But there is a sinister side as well. Aristippus will take anything he can get from Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse. 'I went to Socrates when I wanted knowledge, I come to you when I want money' (ib. 78). He does not demand constancy from his mistresses; what did it matter to him if others sailed in his ship (ib. 74)? Money and what money could get are not to be shunned, but used, and used freely. The evil lies in being bound by our pleasures, not in enjoying them (ib. 75; Stobæus, *Floril.* 17, 18). Let them be as vivid as possible—the 'calm' so near indifference, afterwards advocated by the Epicureans, is scorned as nothing better than sleep (Diog. ii. 89)—but let them not defeat their own object by fettering the mind (ib. 66, 67). The 'smooth motion' of the Cyrenaic pleasure was always motion, but the rippling motion of a great sea which should never be roused into storm. Though circumstances may prevent the wise man from obtaining this always, yet he will be able to attain more of it, and in a more intense form, than any one else (ib. 90, 91). Aristippus himself was always famous for his easy mastery over all circumstances, prosperous and adverse alike; and the line of Horace (*Ep.* i. xvii. 24) that pictures him 'at peace in the present, yet striving for greater things' ('*Tentantem maiora, fere presentibus æquum*'), gives us Cyrenaicism at its best.

The pressure of the practical problem, how to attain the maximum of individual pleasure, is shown in the divergencies of his successors. Hegesias felt the inevitable pain of life so keenly as to disbelieve in the possibility of anything deserving the name of happiness (Diog. ii. 94). The most that could be hoped for by the wise man, acting for his own interest alone, as a wise man should, was to escape from suffering, and this could be attained best by indifference to external things (ib. 95, 96). Here we reach a strange likeness to the Stoics and Cynics, and, stranger still, we find this leader of what purported to be the school of vivid per-

sonal life called by the name of 'Death's Advocate,' and accused of luring men to suicide (ib. 96 *Cic. Tusc.* i. 83).

Annikeris, at the cost of consistency, gave a gentler tone to the whole system. It is plain that the question between what might be called individualistic and altruistic hedonism, between the pleasure of oneself and the pleasure of others, was coming to the front and pressing for solution. According to Annikeris, there were such things of genuine worth as friendship and patriotism (which Hegesias had denied). The wise man would suffer for his country and still be equally happy, although he got little pleasure from it, and pleasure alone was the end. The happiness of another was not a reasonable object of choice, yet the wise man would endure for the sake of his friend (Diog. ii. 96, 97).

Theodorus, called 'the Atheist,' seems to have been the closest, both in keenness of intellect and in hardness of temper, to the original founder. Friendship he dispensed with; the foolish could not use friends, and the wise man had no need of them (ib. 98). There was nothing to be ashamed of in theft and adultery and sacrilege, provided one escaped the penalties (ib. 99). He seems to have differed slightly from Aristippus in that he felt the need of laying more stress on the attitude of the mind, and less on the external goods of chance as necessary for the well-being of man. Thus he was led to say that the vital matters were not 'pleasure' and 'pain,' these in themselves being indifferent, but 'joy' and 'grief,' which in their turn depended on prudence and folly. This at least is the interpretation suggested by Zeller for a somewhat obscure passage in Diog. ii. 98, and it is certainly probable.

About the time of the later Cyrenaics, Epicurus was developing a more subtle and elaborate form of the doctrine, and after the 3rd cent. B.C. we do not hear of Cyrenaics as distinguished from Epicureans. See also artt. HEDONISM and PHILOSOPHY (Greek).

LITERATURE.—No writings, other than fragmentary, of the Cyrenaics themselves are in existence. The chief ancient authorities are: Diogenes Laertius, *de Clarorum Philosophorum Vita*, bk. ii. 65-104, c. 8, 'Aristippus' [for the ethical doctrines of the school and the character of Aristippus], Paris, 1878; Sextus Empiricus, *adversus Mathematicos*, bk. vii. 190-200 [for the metaphysical position], Leipzig, 1840. See also F. W. A. Mullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, ii. 397 ff., Paris, 1867; H. Ritter and L. Preller, *Historia Philosophiae Graecae*, 'Cyrenaici,' 204-213 B, Gotha, 1888; F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Philos.*, Berlin, 1894-98, i. 95 ff.; E. Zeller, *Socrates and the Socratic Schools* (tr. Reichel), ch. xiv. [very clear and thorough, with copious quotations and references], London, 1868; J. E. Erdmann, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Philos.*, Berlin, 1895-96 (Eng. tr., London, 1890), i. 89 ff.; H. Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*, i. c. ii. §§ 2-4 (brief, but illuminating), London, 1896; G. W. F. Hegel, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, ii. 1. c. 2. C. 2 [the work of a master], Berlin, 1853. W. Pater, in *Marius the Epicurean*, London, 1885, gives incidentally a vivid though somewhat rose-coloured sketch of the system.

F. M. STAWELL.

D

DACOITY.—This term, which is derived from Hindi *dakait*, 'robbery belonging to an armed band,' probably from *dakna*, 'to shout,' is now usually employed as an equivalent for brigandage (or, technically, the conspiracy of five or more men to engage in an act of robbery, or the actual commission of such an offence) arising from, or at least existing in, an unsettled condition of some of the administrative districts in India. It is in this sense that it is used with regard to Burma.

Originally, however, it referred to a much more definite and curious condition of society, in which robbery with violence was not only an occupation but a religious and caste duty. Robbery was a hereditary profession, although the ranks of the Dacoits were continually augmented from the outside. The system reached its greatest development in the Native State of Oudh (shortly before its incorporation within the British Dominion in India), owing to the incapacity of its native rulers.

But it was also prevalent in nearly every Native State, and was encouraged by the rulers, who shared in the proceeds of the robberies as the price of their toleration. The Dacoits rarely committed their depredations near their native haunts, or even within the State which harboured them. As their victims were usually strangers, the Dacoits were not the objects of fear and hatred on the part of their neighbours, who were not, therefore, anxious to betray them to the authorities. Their raids were carefully planned, and the members of an expedition made their way to their rendezvous singly or in small bands, disguised as pilgrims or as holy water-carriers or as bullock-drivers. After carrying out their plans, they made their way back to their jungle fastnesses with almost incredible rapidity. As a rule, they preferred to avoid bloodshed, but on occasion they did not scruple to take life.

The Dacoits were usually of low caste, and their social and religious customs were of a totemistic character, exogamous marriage being the practice. Their raids were undertaken only when the omens were favourable, and after the exercises of religion. The deities of most of the Dacoit clans or septs were Kālī or Devī (an axe sacred to her being carried by Dacoit leaders in Central India) and Sorruj Deota (the sun-god).

The British authorities in India made great efforts in the decades preceding the middle of last century to stamp out the practice, but, as it was rooted in religion and social custom as well as encouraged by misrule in Native States, the task was very severe; and the evil came to life again when it had been apparently stamped out. But, with the final annexation of Oudh, its great stronghold no longer proved a shelter for the robber clans, and Dacoity since the Mutiny has been indistinguishable from local brigandage, to the suppression of which the police are adequate.

The attitude of the British authorities to Dacoity, as in the similar cases of Thuggee (see THAGS), affords an instance of interference with native religions and customs; but it brings out clearly the rationale of such action in that the custom must be recognizably of an anti-social and criminal character.

LITERATURE.—J. Hutton, *Popular Account of the Thugs and Dacoits*, London, 1867; E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*, London, 1886, I. 874. See also the literature under THAGS.

JOHN DAVIDSON.

DADU, DADUPANTHIS.—1. Dādū (A.D. 1544 to 1603) was born in Ahmadābād, of Brāhman parents. His father, Lodi Rām, had left his Shāstras and temple services for trade with foreign parts. About the time of the Reformation in Europe and a little before Dādū's birth, a Reformation of Hinduism had spread over all northern India, from Bengal to the Panjāb, and south towards Bombay. Kabir, the founder of the Kabirpanthis (q.v.), had very thoroughly done a reformer's work round Benares. Nānak, from whom, under his ninth successor, came the Sikhs, had fought idolatry and superstition in the Panjāb. The influence of these two spread far and wide, and hundreds of earnest souls were protesting against the grosser abuses in Hinduism.

Dādū was early affected, and his religious convictions led him to spend his life in preaching the Reformation doctrines over the midlands, between Ahmadābād and Delhi. He lived for a time in Sāmbar, where his monument is, and where his coat and sandals are kept as relics and worshipped. Amber, the old capital of Jaipur, was Dādū's home for a time, where a house of his followers still flourishes, and in the modern capital we have the headquarters of the Nāgās. Dādū visited Delhi, and had an interview with the famous Akbar.

Thereafter he turned his face towards the south, making new disciples and strengthening his old ones, among whom were some nobles. After a year in Amber he went to Naraīnā, a village about 40 miles S.W. from the capital and 8 from Sāmbar, and there died in A.D. 1603.

Dādū left 162 disciples to continue the work among his many followers. His teachings are embodied in the *Bānī*, a poetic work of 5000 verses. In its 37 chapters various religious subjects are treated, such as: The Divine Teacher, Remembrance, Separation, The Meeting, The Mind, Truth, The Good, Faith, Prayer. The Hymns appended are set to music, and are suitable for public and private worship.

2. From the *Bānī* it appears that Dādū condemned and rejected much that was new and false in Hinduism, and that he re-discovered and taught much truth about God, man, and salvation.

He rejected: (1) The *Vedas* and *Qur'ān* as ultimate truth; (2) the *Vedāntic* philosophy; (3) ritualism and formalism; (4) the corrupt priesthood; (5) caste and caste marks; (6) idolatry; (7) the use of the rosary; (8) pilgrimages and ceremonial ablutions. (9) He threw new light on the transmigration of the soul, holding that all possible re-births happen in man's one life on earth. The moods of mind and the quality of actions give the soul the birth of a fox, a goose, a pig, an ass, and such like. (10) He held that the gods Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Brāhmā were only men who had been canonized. Their pictures and statues had been made and preserved as object-lessons, to teach men their history. (11) *Māyā*, the world, matter, was not evil in itself. The bad man made it evil by allowing it to lead his mind away from God. Worldliness, and not the world, is evil. (12) He again and again says: 'I am not a Hindu, nor a Musalmān. I belong to none of the six schools of philosophy. I love the merciful God.'

His doctrines about God, man, and salvation included the following.

'Forsake not the One God. Forsake all evil.' 'I have found that God is the unchangeable, the immortal, the fearless, the joy-giving, the best, the self-existent, the almighty, the beautiful, the glory-of-all, the pure, the unimagined, the unseen, the incomprehensible, the infinite, the kingly One.' 'He is brightness, effulgence, light, illumination, perfection.' 'I have made all things teach me of God, and I know that He is immanent in the universe with all its properties and elements.'

God is the *Creator*.

'So powerful is the Lord, that by one word He created all.' 'His works are wonderful, and cannot be fully understood.' 'He alone does all and gives power to all. He blesses all His servants and is not proud.' 'He created us after a model He had formed: of His plans, His wisdom, His works, no man can see the limit.' 'Where nothing was, He made all; and when He wills it becomes nothing. Become as nothing before Him, and love Him alone.'

God is the *Preserver* of all.

'I meditate on Him, who preserves all.' 'I adore the *Para-brhma*, the unsurpassable. My God is the Holy One. I worship the pure and unimagined one.'

Man is a creature, and made to worship God.

'Who is so wretched as the man who persuades you to serve other gods?' 'Not for a moment even let God's name depart from your heart.' 'My soul, if now thou knowest not that God's name is the chief good, thou shalt repent and say, "What a fool I was!"' 'The world is an ocean of pain, God is an ocean of joy. Go to this ocean and forsake the useless world.'

Conscience spoke clearly in Dādū.

'I have done very wickedly; be not angry, O Lord. Thou art the God of patience. To Thy servant all the blame belongs.' 'I have forsaken Thy service. I am a sinful servant. There is no other like me so vile.' 'I sin in every action. I am unjust in everything. I sin against Thee every moment. O God, forgive my sin.' 'I am the only great sinner in the whole world. My sins are infinite and countless.' 'From the beginning to the end of my life I have done no good; ignorance, the love of the world, false pleasure, and forgetfulness have held me.' 'I have lived in lust, anger, suspicion, and have not called on Thy name. I have spent my life in hypocrisy and the sins of the senses.' 'I am bound by many fetters. My soul is helpless. I cannot deliver myself. My beloved alone can.' 'I am a prisoner. Thou art my deliverer. Save me, O God most merciful.' 'The evil is in my soul, my heart is full of passion; reveal Thyself and slay all

mine enemies.' 'My soul is sorely afflicted, because I have forgotten Thee, O God. I cannot endure the pain; deliver me.'

Dādū knows that it is sin which separates the soul from God. The longest poem in the *Bānī* is called 'Separation.' It is the wail of a woman sick of love and maddened by the pain of separation.

'I am full of love. I greatly desire Thee. O Lord, my beloved, come and meet me; now is my time.' 'The wife, separated from her husband, calls day and night, and is sad. I call my God, my God, vehemently thirsting.' 'My whole soul calls as the *Chātrag*.¹ My beloved, my beloved, I thirst for Thee, I long to see Thee. Fulfill my desire.' 'O *Chātrag*! Thy voice is sweet. Why is Thy body so black? I am consumed of love. I call day and night, O Thou, O Thou.' 'To whom shall the wife tell her pain? By whom send news to her absent one? Watching his return, her grief turns her hair white. As the opium-eater longs for his opium, the hero for war, the poor for wealth, so longs my soul for God.'

Dādū had cast aside the *Vedas*, the gods, and all that men hold to be the means of salvation. He found nothing in the past or in the present, and so he rushes into the future and says:

'When will He come? When will He come? My beloved, when will He reveal Himself? Sweet will He be to me. I will embrace Him. Without Him I must die. Body and soul will find joy when God reveals Himself.'

Dādū knows from his wants what 'the meeting' ought to be and what ought to be revealed to him, and so he calls on God to come as 'the Divine Teacher,' 'the Deliverer.'

3. Dādū's disciples are called *Dādūpanthis* ('they of the path of Dādū'). They exist in considerable numbers and in two divisions.

(a) The Laymen, 'the Faithful,' 'the Servants.' These may marry, and follow any respectable trade or profession. In theory they are supposed to have given up Hinduism. They ought to store their minds with the *Bānī*, and use their creed and prayers. Discipline is lax, however, and so in practice there are various stages of attainment. At times the connexion becomes very slender indeed, for a dole to a begging *sādhu* is sufficient to maintain it.

(b) The Priests, 'the Esoteric,' 'the Masters.' These are all monks, and keep up their ranks by adoption from the better castes. They devote themselves to a religious life and to teaching the *Bānī*; but this does not prevent them from bearing arms, practising medicine, lending money, or from agricultural pursuits. Only 52 of Dādū's original disciples opened, mainly in Rājputānā, 'doors of Dādū' (*Dādūvāras*) and adopted successors. Some of these 'seats' have prospered in wealth and learning, and some have almost passed away. They produced a good deal of what, in relation to Hinduism, may be called Protestant Literature, written in verse, and in the common tongue (*Bhāṣā*). Probably much of this has been lost, for it has never been collected, printed, or translated.

The present distinctions arise not from difference in belief, but from locality and modes of life of the *Dādūpanthis*.

(1) The *Khālsas* ('the pure, ruling').—The 'seat' of these is Narainā (Jaipur). Here Dādū died, and here lives his successor, the head of all the *Dādūpanthis*. They all contribute something to keep up the dignity of their head; and here, once a year, a great gathering (*Melā*) is held.

(2) The *Nāgās* (soldier monks).—Their name, from *nagna* ('naked'), refers to the simplicity of their dress when they go to war. Their founder was Sandra Dās, a Rājput of Bikanir, who, seeing the value of the sword, before the Pax Britannica filled the land, trained his followers to serve as mercenaries. There are at present about 20,000 of them, in 9 camps, near the Jaipur borders, which they defend. They have fallen far behind in the modern accomplishments of the soldier in drill and arms. They have only the sword, the shield, and the match-lock. They were faithful to England

¹ A bird supposed to drink only the rain from heaven.

in the Mutiny. They are a fine class of men, and their training to read the *Bānī* and to arms prevents them from falling into dissipation.

(3) The *Utrādis*.—These have come from a great and prosperous 'school' in the Panjāb. The founder was Bābā Banwāri Dās. These *Dādūpanthis* take to medicine and money-lending, and many of them are very rich.

(4) The *Virādis*.—These may not touch money, but have to live on the alms they get. They wear salmon-coloured clothes and devote themselves to study. They seldom stay long in any place, but are guided by 'grain and water' (i.e. food) in their movements. 'The Master' has with him from one; or two to many disciples—boys whom he has adopted and whom he trains. The present writer has seen them travel about in as large a 'school' as 150. They teach not only the *Bānī*, but also difficult Sanskrit books relating to Literature, Philosophy, and Religion.

(5) The *Khākis* ('ashes-covered').—These *Dādūpanthis* accentuate austerities, wear few clothes, have long coiled hair, and smear themselves with ashes. They usually go about in small companies, and believe that, like the stream, they keep pure by constant movement.

4. The present condition of the *Dādūpanthis*.—Hinduism, against which Dādū protested, has, in a modified form, found its way amongst them again. It has come in by way of the intellect, and many are Vedāntists. It has also come in by way of the heart, and many use the rosary, worship the *Bānī* as an idol, and prostrate themselves before the sandals and old clothes of Dādū.

LITERATURE.—W. W. Hunter, *IGI*, London, 1885-87, vi. 344, vii. 53, and art. 'Amber,' 'Naraina'; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Prov. and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, ii. 236-239; E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 513 f.; J. C. Oman, *Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, London, 1903, pp. 133, 139; A. D. Bannerman, *Rajputana Census Report*, Lucknow, 1902, p. 471.

JOHN TRAILL.

DAGAN, DAGON.—1. The Babylonian Dagan. —In Bab. and Assy. texts a god appears whose name is written with the syllabic signs *DA-GAN*. The objections of Jensen (*Kosmologie*, 449 ff.) to the phonetic reading of these signs have been set aside by the discovery of new texts in which *gan* receives a phonetic complement, e.g. *Da-gan-na* (*Vorderas. Bibl. I.* [1907] 231), and in the Tell el-Amarna letters (Winckler, 1896, nos. 215, 216), *Da-ga-an* (without the determinative for 'god'). We meet also *Da-gan-ni*, with a different sign for *gan* (Jensen, *op. cit.* 449; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* 137); and in one case *Da-gu-na* (Bezold, *Catalogue*, 1889-99, iv. 1482).

In Babylonia, Dagan first appears in personal names on the obelisk of Manishtusu (c. 2400 B.C., Meyer), namely, *Karib* (?) *Dagān* (A. v. 8), *Gimit-Dagān* (A. xi. 15), and *Iti-Dagān* (C. xvi. 7). The 37th year of Dungi, king of Ur, took its name from the building of the temple of Dagan (*Vorderas. Bibl. i.* 231). A king of Isin (2145 B.C., Meyer) bore the name of *Idin-Dagān*, and his son was *Ishmē-Dagān*. In the prologue to the Code of Hammurabi (iv. 27 f.) the king describes himself as 'warrior of Dagan, his begetter.' Dagan is mentioned in several other early Bab. inscriptions (Jensen, *op. cit.* 449). A seal-cylinder published by de Clercq (*Cylindres orientaux*, 1888, no. 245) bears the inscription 'Dagān-abī, son of *Ibt-Dagān*, servant of Dagan,' and in the Ira-myth he is mentioned along with Anu (*KTB* vi. [1900] 60, line 25).

In Assyria this god first appears in the name of the king *Ishmē-Dagān* (c. 1900 B.C.). Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, an Assyrian ruler whose date cannot be determined, calls himself 'the chosen of Anu and *Dagān*' (Winckler, *Unters.*, 1889, p. 139). Ashur-

naširpal (885-860 B.C.) calls himself 'darling of Anu and Dagan' (Layard, Pl. I, line 1; *WAI* xvii. 10-11). The eponym for the year 879 B.C. was named *Dagān-bēl-nāšir* (*KIB* i. [1889] 204). Shamshi-Adad (825-812 B.C.) and Sargon (722-705 B.C.) also mention Dagan in connexion with Anu (*KIB* i. 175, ii. [1890] 39, 41). Dagan is not found in personal names after the 9th cent., and his worship seems to have died out in the later days of the Assyrian empire. Sargon's reference to him is an archaism.

In tablets from the kingdom of Hana, on the upper Euphrates near Sāhiḫeh, Dagan is mentioned in oaths along with Shamash (*PSBA* xxix. [1907] 177 ff., xxxi. [1910] 292; Ungnad, *BASS* vi. [1909] 5, p. 28; *Vorderas. Schriftdenkmäler*, vii. [1909] 204), and in one of these the personal name *Yashshuh-Dagan* occurs. In a tablet from the capital of this kingdom, Shamshi-Adad, *patesi* of Assyria, styles himself 'worshipper of Dagan, builder of the temple of Dagan in the city of Tirqa' (*ZA* xxi. [1908] 247; *OLZ* xi. [1908] col. 193). In a tablet of Hana published by Thureau-Dangin (*JA* xiv. [1909] 149) several priests of Dagan are mentioned, and the name *Isra'-Dagan* occurs. In the Cappadocian tablets also the name *Iti-Dagan* is found (Sayce, *Babyloniaca*, i. [1907]). Finally, the Canaanite writer of two of the Tell el-Amarna letters bears the name *Da-ga-an-takala* (Winckler, nos. 215, 216). It appears, accordingly, that the cult of Dagan extended all the way from Babylonia to the shores of the Mediterranean.

On the basis of a derivation of Dagan from *dag*, 'fish,' many writers have assumed that he was a fish-god, and have appealed to the legend narrated by Berossus (Müller, *FHG* ii. [1885] 496 ff.; Lenormant, *Fragments cosmogoniques*, 1872, p. 6f.; Hrozný, *MVG* viii. [1903] 252 ff.), that seven beings, half-fish and half-man, came out of the Persian Gulf and taught the primitive inhabitants of Babylonia the arts of civilization. The first of these was called Oánnēs; the second, Annēdōtos; and the last, Odákōn. The last is supposed to be the same as Dagan; and, on the strength of this identification, the numerous fish-men depicted in Bab.-Assyr. art (Ward, *Seal-Cylinders*, 1910, pp. 217, 282, 355 f., 385, 410) have been supposed to be representations of Dagan (e.g. Layard, *Nineveh*, 1849, ii. 353 and pl. at end of book; Schrader, *KAT*², 1882, p. 182; and in Riehm, *HWB*¹, 1874, p. 250; Menant, *RHR* xi. [1885] 295 ff.; and most of the popular handbooks). Odákōn, however, has nothing to do with Dagan, but is the Sumerian fish-god *U-ki-di-a*, or *U-di-a-ki*, who is associated with the fish-god *Han-ni*, the prototype of Oánnēs (Reisner, *Hymn.*, 1896, pp. 91, 137; Hrozný, *MVG* viii. [1903] 258). The fish-men in Bab. art represent Ea, the god of the sea, and his attendants; but with these Dagan is never identified (Jensen, *op. cit.* 451; Zimmern, *KAT*², p. 358; Hrozný, *op. cit.* 261; A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte d. alt. Orients*², p. 470). On the contrary, Dagan is constantly equated with En-il, or Bēl, the god of the earth. In the passages cited above he is associated with Anu, the sky-god, in the manner in which Bēl is ordinarily associated, and in *WAI* (i. 4, no. 16, line 6 ff., iii. 68, 21 *cd*) the identity of the older Bēl of Nippur with Dagan is asserted (see *BAAL* in vol. ii. p. 286; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* 137, 142, 145, 219).

2. The Canaanite Dagon.—In the OT Dagon appears as a god of the Philistines who had a temple at Gaza, and a temple and image at Ashdod (Jg 16^{23st}, 1 S 5²⁻⁷, 1 Mac 10^{3st}, 11⁴). Jerome in his com. on Is 46¹ (where some Gr. texts read 'Dagon' instead of 'Nebo') says: 'Dagon est idolum Ascalonia, Gazae et reliquarum urbium Philistim.'

The Philistines were a non-Semitic people who

came from Caphtor (prob. Crete). They are first mentioned as invading Palestine in the 8th year of Ramses III. (1190 B.C.). They seem not to have brought Dagon with them, but to have adopted him from the Canaanites among whom they settled, since he is found in place-names that are older than the time of their conquest and that lie outside of their territory. *Bayti-Duquna* appears in a list of the Egyptian king Ramses III., which is copied from an earlier original of the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty (Müller, *Egypt. Researches*, 1906, p. 49). It seems to be identical with Bēth-Dagōn (Jos 15⁴¹)—which is either the modern *Beit-Dejan*, 6 miles S.E. from Jaffa, or *Dājān*, 1½ miles farther S.—and with *Bit-Daganna* of Sennacherib (*Prism-Insc.* ii. 65 = *KIB* ii. 92). There was another *Bēth-Dagōn* in Asher (Jos 19²⁷). Jerome knows a *Kepher-Dagōn* (*OS*, ed. Lagarde² [1887], 104¹⁸, 235¹⁴) between Diospolis and Jamnia. There is also a modern *Beit-Dejan*, S.E. of Nablus. All these are doubtless survivals of ancient place-names, and indicate a wide diffusion of the cult of Dagon in Canaan before the Philistine conquest. A borrowing of Dagon by the Philistines is not surprising, since they adopted the Canaanite 'Ashtart (1 S 31¹⁰) and the Syrian Atargatis (see ATARGATIS in vol. ii. p. 165). Whether Marnas (Aram. *Marnā*, 'our Lord'), a deity of the Philistines at the beginning of our era, is the same as Dagon is unknown (see Baethgen, *Beitr.*, 1888, p. 65 f.).

Dagon seems also to have been a god of the Phoenicians, either through survival from primitive Canaanite religion, or through adoption from the Philistines (cf. Philo Byblius in Müller, *FHG* iii. [1885] 567 f.). The *Etym. magn.* says that Bētāgōn (Bēth-Dagōn) is Kronos among the Phoenicians. Sayce (*Higher Criticism*, p. 327) reports a seal bearing in Phoenician letters the inscription 'Ba'al-Dagōn,' and the inscription of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon, contains the words 𐤁𐤏𐤋 𐤔𐤓𐤕, which may mean 'land of Dagon,' or merely 'corn-land.'

The theory that Dagon is derived from *dag*, 'fish,' and that the image of Dagon was half-man, half-fish, is not found in old Jewish sources such as the Targum and Talmud, or in Josephus; it first appears in Jerome, who interprets Dagon as compounded of 𐤔 and 𐤓𐤕, and renders it *piscis tristitiae* (*OS*, ed. Lagarde², 32; cf. 189¹⁴). This theory was adopted by Jewish commentators of the Middle Ages, from whom it has been inherited by modern scholars. It is still defended by Cumont (in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, iv. [1909]), Baethgen (*Beitr.* 65), Lagrange (*Rel. sem.* 131), A. Jeremias (*op. cit.* 470). In support of this view it is urged (1) that Dagon is derived from 𐤔, 'fish'; but it may come equally well from 𐤓𐤕, 'corn,' and may be a foreign word for which no Heb. etymology is to be sought. (2) In 1 S 5⁴, after the account of how Dagon's head and hands were broken off, the Heb. text reads 𐤔𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤓𐤕 𐤔𐤓𐤕, 'only Dagon was left upon him,' which David Kimḫi translates 'only the form of a fish was left.' Wellhausen (*Text Sam.*, 1871, p. 59) reads 𐤔𐤓𐤕 instead of 𐤔𐤓𐤕, and translates 'only his fishy part was left'; but Lagarde (*Proph. Chald.*, 1872, p. li), with more probability, reads 𐤔𐤓𐤕, 'his body,' or, with the LXX, we may suppose that 'his has fallen out of the text before 𐤔𐤓𐤕. In any case this does not prove, as Kimḫi says, that 'from his navel down Dagon had the form of a fish, and from his navel up the form of a man.' (3) Derketo, or Atargatis, at Askalon had a fish's tail (see ATARGATIS in vol. ii. p. 166), and she was possibly the consort of Dagon. But, even granting that the two were consorts, which is not known, there is no reason why Dagon should have had the same form as his spouse. The Sumerian fish-god Uduki has as wife the corn-goddess Nisaba (*MVG* viii. [1903]

263), and similarly the fish-goddess Atargatis may have had as consort the corn-god Dagon. (4) Coins of Arados and of Askalon dating from about 350 B.C. depict a triton-like figure holding a trident in his right hand and a fish in his left (Head, *Hist. Num.*, 1887, p. 666; Hoffmann, *ZA* xi. [1896] 279 f.; Lagrange, *Rel. sem.* 131). These are supposed to be Dagon, but there is no proof. They are in pure Greek style, and far more probably depict Neptune. Accordingly, there is no better evidence that Dagon was a fish-god than there is in the case of Dagān. From the seal referred to above we learn that he was one of the *bē'ālīm*, who in Canaan were predominating agricultural deities (Hos 27⁹), and on this seal an ear of corn is depicted. According to 1 S 6⁸, Dagon was discomfited by Jahweh's sending mice which destroyed the crops. This looks like an agricultural divinity. Dagon must also have been a warder-off of disease, since he was attacked by Jahweh's sending tumours upon the Philistines (1 S 56¹). He was also the leader of his people in war, who delivered their enemy into their hand (Jg 16²⁰), and in whose presence they set the ark as a trophy (1 S 5³). He was worshipped in joyous festivals with athletic sports (Jg 16²³). The one rite of his cult that is known to us is his priests' avoidance of treading upon the threshold of his sanctuary (1 S 5⁵, Zeph 1⁹).

3. The identity of Dagon and Dagān.—This is doubted by Jensen (*Kosmol.* 449 ff.) and by Moore (*EBi* i. 985), but is accepted by Schrader, Baethgen, Baudissin, Sayce, Bezold, Zimmern, Jastrow, Hrozný, and Lagrange. It is probable for the following reasons:—(1) The two names are precise etymological equivalents. Heb. *ō* is a modification of an original *d*, and is represented in Assy. either by *d* or by *ā*: e.g. *Ammōn*, Assy. *Ammānu*; *Ashkelōn*, Assy. *Iskalūna*. Hence Heb. *Dagōn* is rightly reproduced by Assy. *Dagān*, or *Dagūna* (Bezold, *Catalogue*, iv. 1482). The occurrence of the two forms shows that the resemblance is not accidental. (2) The Canaanite *Dagān-takala* in the Amarna letters (Winckler, 215 f.) must have been a worshipper of Dagon. (There can be no doubt that this is the name of a god, in spite of the lack of determinative.) (3) The Heb. name *Bēth-Dagōn* appears in the annals of Sennacherib as *Bēth-Daganna*. (4) The combination *Dagōn-Baal* on the seal referred to above is analogous to the combination *Bēth-Dagān* in Babylonia. (5) The statement of Philo Byblius (*FHG* iii. 567 f.) that Dagon was the son of Ouranos and Gē points to his identity with Bēth-Dagān, the earth-god of the Bab. triad. (6) The character of Dagon, so far as we know it, as a national god of agriculture and of war, corresponds to the character of the Bab. Dagān.

4. The origin of Dagān-Dagōn.—Schrader (*KAT*², p. 181 f.), Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?*, 1881, p. 139), Sayce (*Higher Crit.* i. p. 325), on the basis of the association with Anu, regard Dagān as a Sumerian deity whose cult was adopted by the Semitic Babylonians, and by them passed on to Mesopotamia and Palestine; but his name never occurs before 2500 B.C., and then only in the inscriptions of Semitic kings. All the personal names compounded with Dagān are Semitic, and many of them show the West Semitic type that is frequent in the period of the dynasty of Hammurabi. Now that it is known that Babylonia was invaded by the Amorites about 2500 B.C., and that the first dynasty of Babylon was Amorite (Meyer, *Gesch.*² i. [1909] 463 ff.), the theory has become exceedingly probable that Dagān was a god of the Amorites, whose worship was brought by them from their original home into both Babylonia and Palestine: so Bezold (*ZA* xxi. [1908] 254), Meyer (*op. cit.* 467), Jastrow (*Rel. Bab.* 220), Clay (*Amurru*,

p. 147), Cook (*Rel. Anc. Palestine*, 1908, p. 92). This theory is favoured by the fact that Hammurabi in the prologue to his *Code* (iv. 28) speaks as though Dagān were the ancestral god of his race.

If Dagān-Dagōn was originally the god of a people speaking a language similar to Hebrew, then the most probable etymology for his name is the one given by Philo Byblius (*FHG* iii. 567), and suggested as an alternate by Jerome, that it is the same as Can.-Heb. *ḥṣ*, 'corn.' This agrees with the facts noted above, that both in Babylonia and in Canaan he was a god of the earth and of agriculture, and that on a seal he is called *baal* and has the emblem of an ear of corn (so Movers, L. Müller, Schröder, Pietschmann, Wellhausen). Jensen in Baudissin (*PRE*² iv. 426) suggests a derivation from Arab. *dagn*, 'copious rain.'

LITERATURE.—See the bibliographies under BAAL, CANAANITES; and, for the older literature, Baudissin, art. 'Dagon,' in *PRE*² iv. (1898); also Menant, 'Le Mythe de Dagon,' in *RHR* xi. (1885) 295 ff.; Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, 1890, p. 449 ff.; Sayce, *Higher Crit. and Mon.*, 1894, p. 325 ff.; Moore, art. 'Dagon,' in *EBi* i. (1899); Theinus-Labar, *Comm. on Sam.*, 1598, p. 30; H. P. Smith, *Comm. on Sam.*, 1899, p. 33; Camont, art. 'Dagon,' in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, 1909; Jastrow, *Religion Bab. und Assy.* i. (1905) 210 f.; Hrozný, 'Oannes, Dagon, und Dagon,' in *MVG* viii. (1903) 94-106; Zimmern, *KAT*², 1903, p. 368; Lagrange, *Études sur les rel. sem.* 2, 1905, p. 181; A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*², 1906, p. 470; Clay, *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites*, 1909, p. 146. LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

DAIBUTSU ('Great Buddha').—The name given to several colossal images found in Japan. These vary in size, posture, material, etc.; some indeed are not much larger than the ordinary size of the human body, and scarcely deserve the title of *daibutsu* popularly assigned to them. Some of them are of wood, but the majority are of bronze; some are in a sitting posture, others in a standing one; recumbent figures, such as are seen in Ceylon or Burma, are never found in Japan. The Buddhas represented are Vairocana, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara (Kwannon), Kṣitigarbha (Jizō), and Śākyamuni, but there are also representations of other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. For the purposes of this article, three *daibutsu* only will be considered, viz. those at Nara, Kyoto, and Kamakura. These are the *daibutsu* that are properly so called.

1. Daibutsu at Nara.—This was erected under the auspices of the Emperor Shōmu Tennō (A.D. 724-748), the most zealous, perhaps, of all the Buddhist Emperors of the country. It is of especial interest to the student of the religious history of Japan, as being connected with Shōmu's audacious but successful plan of planting Buddhism firmly on the soil of Japan by proclaiming its essential identity with the Shintoism indigenous to the country. In this plan the Emperor was ably assisted by a Korean priest of the name of Gyōgi, who must be considered as the true parent of the *Ryōbu*, or amalgamated Buddho-Shintoism, which continued in force until the Meiji era. Gyōgi's plan was to impress the native mind with the dignity of Buddhism by the erection of a colossal statue of Buddha set up in a temple architecturally worthy to be the religious centre of the country, and then to absorb into the organized system thus established the whole of the native cults which were then, as now, bound up with the life and worship of the nation. This could not be done without the sanction of the Shinto priesthood, and the instruments chosen to

¹ Gyōgi, the descendant of a Korean king, was born in A.D. 698 in Japan, where his family had been domiciled for some time. Ordained to the priesthood at 18, he soon distinguished himself by his practical schemes for the improvement of the country—road-building, etc. He became spiritual adviser to the Emperor Shōmu and his consort Kōmyō, and inaugurated the movement for the amalgamation of the two religions then existing in Japan—undoubtedly with the best of intentions. He died in 740, just before the completion of the *daibutsu*.

secure their assent were Gyogi himself and the Udaijin Tachibana no Moroye. According to the *Daibutsu-engi*, Gyogi was sent to Ise, nominally for the purpose of prayer, but actually, it would seem, to confer with the authorities at the Ise shrines. A similar messenger was dispatched to the Hachiman shrine at Usa in Kyūshū. The results of these preliminary meetings having been found satisfactory, a formal embassy was sent, with Tachibana no Moroye at its head, to propitiate the Sun-goddess, and the result was a formal reply, conveyed first in a dream to Shōmu, and then in a definite message, that the Great Sun-goddess was pleased to identify herself with *Dainichi* ('great sun') *Nyorai*, whose true essence was the great Buddha Vairochana. Thus was laid the foundation of that great system which taught the Japanese to see in the gods of Shinto manifestations of the deities of Buddhism, and enabled them to become Buddhists without ceasing to be Shintoists. This was in 743. The colossal image was the perpetual memorial of the alliance thus cemented. The casting was completed in 749, the inauguration ceremony was held forthwith, and the whole work was finished in 751. The statue, which is in a sitting posture, is 53 ft. in height, 7 ft. higher than the similar image at Kamakura. It stands in the *Daibutsu den*, or 'Hall of the Daibutsu,' in the Todaiji Temple at Nara, the building in which it is enclosed serving to some extent to conceal the magnificence of its proportions.

It was the desire of the Emperor and Empress to have Gyogi perform the ceremony of inauguration. But he did not live to see the completion of the statue. At the New Year's festivities in A.D. 749, Shōmu and Kōnyō had received from Gyogi the vows of the Bodhisattva, and had retired from the world, abdicating in favour of their daughter Kōken. Gyogi, feeling the approach of death, then designated a fit person to take his place—an Indian monk of the name of Bodhisena, known in Japan as Baramon Sōjo, or the Brahman archbishop. (Japan was at the time feeling the effects of the Muhammadan upheaval. Refugees from India, Persia, and Central Europe, gathering at the court of the Tang in Singanfu, had continued their wanderings as far as Japan, and in the reigns of Shōmu and Kōken we find not only Buddhist monks from India, but Manichæans, and even a Nestorian Christian doctor, at the court of Nara.)

When the day for the inauguration of the statue came, Bodhisena mounted the platform and 'opened its eyes' with a brush dipped in water. The whole congregation had its part in the ceremony, for a long string, fastened to the brush, passed among them for those who would to take in their hands. The congregation comprised the ex-Emperor Shōmu and his Empress, the reigning Empress Kōken, and all the magnates of the court. It was an imposing congregation in another sense, for, in the parlance of the day, Shōmu was an incarnation of Kwannon; Ryōben, who was considered to be the founder of the temple, was looked upon as an incarnation of Maitreya; Gyogi, of Mañjuśrī; and Bodhisena, of Samantabhadra. The Buddhist doctrines that were at that time uppermost in the mind of Japan were those known as *Kegon*, contained in the mystic Scriptures of the *Avatamsaka*.

The Nara *daibutsu* has experienced many vicissitudes. In 855 its head fell off and was with difficulty restored to its position; in 1180, during the civil wars, the temple was burned, and the head melted. The image remained headless until 1195, when it was restored, through the efforts mainly of Jūgen, a disciple of Hōnen, who had been in

China, and who travelled through Japan on a wheelbarrow collecting money. In 1567, the temple was burnt, but the *daibutsu* remained uninjured. Time, however, has necessitated many repairs from generation to generation. Very little, probably, of the original material now remains, yet the *daibutsu* has retained its identity throughout all its changes.

2. *Daibutsu at Kyoto*.—We have seen that the temple enclosing the *daibutsu* at Nara was burnt during the civil troubles in 1567. The temple remained in a ruinous condition for many years, and this suggested to Hideyoshi, who became Kwampaku in 1585, the idea of reconstructing it on some other site, and of placing in it a colossal image which should be more magnificent even than the one at Nara, and which should also be a perpetual memorial of himself. In 1586 he selected a site on the Amida-zaka at Kyoto, and commenced the erection of his temple. It did not seem as though Heaven were propitious to his designs. The first temple, built of wood brought from the districts of Tosa, Kii, and Kiso, and containing a wooden *daibutsu* (of Lochana-Buddha), 160 ft. in height, was destroyed by an earthquake in 1596. Nothing daunted, Hideyoshi set to work again on a more substantial structure. On Jan. 15, 1603, the casting of the bronze *daibutsu* having been completed up to the neck, the building and scaffolding caught fire and were destroyed, and, Hideyoshi being by this time dead, no immediate attempt was made to repair the disaster.

A year or two later, however, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, being anxious to reduce the family of Hideyoshi to impotence, suggested to Hideyori that the completion of the *daibutsu* and temple would form a very fitting tribute to the memory of his great father. Hideyori and his mother fell into the trap, and ruined themselves financially with the carrying out of Hideyoshi's magnificent but extravagant design. Hideyoshi's structure was 150 ft. in height, 272 ft. in length, 167½ ft. in depth. The roof was supported by 92 pillars, with an average diameter of 5 ft., and the sitting figure of Lochana-Buddha was 58½ ft. in height. When the whole was finished, Iyeyasu picked a quarrel with Hideyori over an insult, real or pretended, supposed to be conveyed to him in the inscriptions on the bells. The dedication ceremonies were postponed, and it was not long before Iyeyasu took up arms against the family of Hideyoshi and crushed it for ever.

Hideyori's *daibutsu* was destroyed by earthquake in 1662, and the copper used for coinage. No interest attaches to its successors. The present Kyoto *daibutsu* dates from 1801.

3. *Daibutsu at Kamakura*.—This image, though smaller than the one at Nara, is much better known. It stands in the open, amidst beautiful surroundings, and is constantly being photographed. No illustrated description of Japan would be complete without it. It is an image of Amida, 49 ft. 7 in. in height, and may be taken as marking an era in Japanese Buddhism. The *daibutsu* at Kyoto had no real spiritual significance: it was erected by men devoid of religious faith, for purposes of self-glorification. That at Nara symbolizes that union of Buddhism and Shintoism which was made possible by an acceptance of the peculiar tenets of the Kegon school, with Vairochana as its chief Buddha. The Kamakura *daibutsu* is an image of Amida, and marks the period when Vairochana was going out of fashion, and Amitābha, with the sects devoted to his worship, was coming to the front.

It is said that the idea of having a *daibutsu* at Kamakura first occurred to Minamoto Yoritomo in A.D. 1195, when he was assisting at the cere-

monies of the re-dedication of the Nara image after its restoration. Yoritomo, dying in 1195, did not live to see the completion of his design. It was not, however, suffered to fall to the ground, Ita no Tsubone, one of the ladies of Yoritomo's court, undertaking to collect funds for the purpose. Ita no Tsubone's efforts were supplemented by a priest named Jōkō, who was also active in collecting contributions. A wooden image was erected in 1241, the bronze one in 1252. The first was dedicated to Amida, the second apparently to Śākyamuni. But the present image, representing Amida, is said to be the very image erected in 1252, in which case we have an image with a double dedication—to Śākyamuni and to Amida. This, however, presents no difficulty. *Ni son ichi* ('two blessed ones with one personality') is a common doctrine of the Jōdo sects, Śākyamuni and Amitābha being looked upon as identical in essence whilst distinct in personality and name. Like the *daibutsu* at Nara, this image was originally enclosed within a temple. But the temple was destroyed by tidal waves in the year 1369 and again in the year 1494, and no attempt has been made since the last catastrophe to rebuild it. Strange to say, the metal does not seem to have suffered at all from the inclemencies of the weather.

A. LLOYD.

DAITYA.—The word *daitya*, the formation of which is explained by Pāṇini (iv. 1, 85), etymologically means 'descendant of Diti,' just like *Daiteya* and *Ditiya*; it occurs in classical Sanskrit literature from the Epics downwards, and is there synonymous with *Asura* and *Dānava*, which are already found in Vedic literature. This article must, therefore, treat of all three—Asuras, Dānavas, and Daityas—as denoting one kind of demons or enemies of the gods.

The word *asura* originally had not an altogether evil meaning, and it is still used in the R̥gveda as an epithet of the higher gods, especially of Varuṇa;¹ but even there it has in other places the meaning 'inimical to the gods.' In the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads the latter meaning is exclusively given to the word *asura*, which is there the common name of demons as enemies of the gods. Both the Asuras and the gods are descendants of Prajāpati. According to the *Satopatha Brāhmaṇa*, the Asuras were created from the downward breathing of Prajāpati, and entered the earth;² they had darkness and magic (*māyā*) assigned to them by him,³ and held to untruth.⁴ Originally they had divided the world with the gods,⁵ and once built three strongholds, one in each world. But they continually contended against the gods, and, though they were more numerous or more powerful than the latter,⁶ they were in the end always defeated by them. Frequently they were put to flight by Indra, with or without the assistance of Bṛhaspati. Thus at last they were driven from the earth and the regions above.⁷

From these statements it appears that the authors of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads regarded the Asuras as the pre-eminently evil ones; once⁸ it is even said that their alleged battles with the gods are fictitious, and that they became degraded through their own wickedness. It is, however, to be noted that they are enemies only of gods, not of men; some peoples (the Easterns and others) are even said to be of Asura-nature, and it is added that they make their burial-places round and line

them with stones.¹ This seems to imply that some peoples were supposed to worship Asuras.²

As regards the second synonym of Daitya, mentioned above, viz. *Dānava*, we find this word, as well as *dānu*, from which it is derived, used in the R̥gveda very much in the same sense as the later *asura*. A female *dānu* is mentioned (i. xxxii. 9) as the mother of Vṛtra (*vṛtraputrā*). She came in later times to be regarded as the mother of the Dānavas; for *dānava* might be taken as a metonymic from *dānu*, and mythologists, of course, gladly availed themselves of this etymology in drawing up their legendary genealogies. The Daityas are derived from Diti, as the Dānavas from *Dānu*; but there is this difference, that *dānava* was an ancient name for demons which gave rise to a myth of their descent, while *daitya* is a name derived, after the Vedic period, from a somewhat ill-defined and evidently not popular deity, Diti. She is mentioned thrice in the R̥gveda³ and several times in the Atharvaveda, almost always in conjunction with the well-known great goddess Aditi, apparently as her sister, to whom she may be said to owe her existence, through a popular etymology which regarded *aditi* as formed by a privative and *diti*, just as *asura* was derived from *sura*. Diti, a product of priestly speculation, would scarcely have given rise to the popular name Daitya; but the latter was apparently formed as a 'pendant' of *Aditya*—a name which already in the R̥gveda denoted a class of deities including some of the highest gods, and at the same time had been regarded as a metonymic from Aditi. So, to match it, the foes of the Adityas—the Asuras—were named, by another metonymic, Daitya, after Diti, though this goddess had scarcely any hold on the imagination of the people.

The only myth related of Diti in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (i. 46) and the *Purāṇas*⁴ betrays a similar tendency. It is to the following effect:

In the battle between the gods and the Daityas, which ensued on the churning of the ocean, the latter were worsted and slain. Diti then performed austerities, and asked Kaśyapa for a boon, viz. that she might give birth to a son who should vanquish Indra. Kaśyapa granted the boon on condition that she should remain entirely pure for a thousand years. During her pregnancy Indra watched her closely, and at last found her in an impure position. Thereupon he entered her womb, and divided the embryo into seven parts, which became the seven lords of the Maruts, or winds.

The present writer is of opinion that this myth was invented in order to explain that the Daityas are the elder brothers of the gods. For *marut* is also used, at least in classical Sanskrit, as a synonym of *deva*, 'god.' The motive of the myth lies, obviously, in an etymology which derives *diti* from the root *dā*, 'to cut.'⁵ The myth itself is evidently not an old one, for it rests on the assumption that the Daityas are the children of Diti, and that they were killed in battle by the gods.

In epic and classical Sanskrit literature, where *Asura*, *Dānava*, and *Daitya* are interchangeable terms, these beings continue to be regarded as rivals, and, occasionally, as deadly foes, of the gods; but the attitude of the writers has decidedly changed since the composition of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus, the great epic contains several stories in which the Asuras—Vṛtra, Bali, Śambara, Namuchi, and others—are spoken of as virtuous and wise;

¹ *Satopatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii. 8. 1. 5, xiii. 8. 2. 1.

² It may be remarked, as illustrative of the godless character of the Asuras, that the secondary word *sura*, 'god,' was formed from *asura*, the latter being wrongly understood to be *a-sura*, 'non-god.'

³ According to Böttlingk-Roth (*Skr. Wörterb.*, St. Petersburg, 1875, s.v. 'Diti'), the Diti of the R̥gveda is different from the Diti of the Atharvaveda.

⁴ Cf. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ii. 79, note 1.

⁵ It may be mentioned that the *Mahābhārata* (ix. 38. 32 ff.) contains an entirely different account of the origin of the Maruts; they were formed from the vital seed of the god Mahakapaka falling into the river Sarasvatī.

¹ *Asurya* (adj. and subst.) in the R̥gveda refers to gods, and not to demons.

² xl. 1. 6, 8.

³ ix. 5. 1, 12 ff.

⁴ *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka*, i. 3. 1.

⁵ *Satopatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii. 8. 1. 5.

⁶ *Ib.* xl. 1. 6, 9.

⁷ ii. 4. 2, 5.

⁸ i. 2. 5, 1 ff.

and some Asurās are acknowledged by gods as their friends and protégés, e.g. Prahrāda by Viṣṇu, and Bāna by Śiva. Moreover, they were not believed to lead a life of wickedness, but to conform to the precepts of the Veda. They had a teacher and priest of their own, a *purohita*, in the person of Śukra, otherwise called Kaśyapa Ūśanas, a descendant of the great ṛṣi Bhr̥gu.¹

Finally, the abode of the Asuras, Pātāla, is described not as a dwelling-place of demons, but as equalling, and even surpassing, the heavenly regions in beauty and splendour. In popular literature, also, the Asuras seem to have been looked upon with a decided sympathy, for bk. viii. of the *Kathāsarisatsāgara* contains the story of Śūryaprabha, apparently the subject of a romantic epic, the hero of which is an Asura who is held up to our admiration. People seem to have cherished a similar feeling towards the Asuras as towards the Nāgas, who shared the Pātāla regions with them. On the other hand, whenever the contention of the Asuras with the gods becomes the subject of the writers, they are at one with the Vedic authors, and describe the Daityas as demons given to deeds of violence, skilled in sorcery and magic power, and able to make themselves invisible or to assume any shape at will.²

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* contain accounts of the origin and genealogy of the Asuras, which, however, differ considerably in details. Marichi, one of the six mental sons of Brah̥mā, produced by his will a son, Kaśyapa, a *prajāpati*, or secondary creator. He married thirteen daughters (*putrikās*) of Dakṣa, who was also a *prajāpati*. The first place in the list of these thirteen daughters of Dakṣa is always given to Aditi, and the second to Diti; but the latter was the eldest, as is expressly stated in *Mahāb.* xii. 207, 20. Diti had but one son, Hiranyakaśipu, the ruler of the Asuras. He had five sons, Prahrāda, etc.; Prahrāda had three sons, Virochana, etc.; Virochana's son was Bali, whose son was Bāna. These Asuras and their progeny³ are, properly speaking, the Daityas; but popular usage takes no account of this genealogy, and regards all enemies of the gods as sons of Diti. By Dānu, another daughter of Dakṣa, Kaśyapa had 33 or 40 sons, among whom are enumerated the most famous Asuras. The sons and grandsons of these are said to be countless; they are the Dānavas proper, but the above remark about the Daityas applies also to them. Kaśyapa's son by the fourth daughter of Dakṣa, Simhikā, is the famous Asura Rāhu, whose head was cut off by Viṣṇu, and who ever since persecutes sun and moon, and occasionally swallows them (mythological cause of eclipses). Danāyus, the fifth wife of Kaśyapa, became the mother of Bala and Vṛtra, the Asuras who were killed by Indra; and Kālā, the sixth wife of Kaśyapa, gave birth to the Kālakeyas, a class of Asuras. Accordingly, the *Mahābhārata* (I. 65) derives the whole race of Asuras from five daughters of Dakṣa.

According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,⁴ Simhikā was the sister of Hiranyakaśipu, and wife of Vipracitti, a son of Dānu, and, as the same source does not mention the above-named wives of Kaśyapa, or at least does not make them the ancestresses of separate Asura families, there are practically only two races of Asuras acknowledged by the *Purāṇas*, viz. Daityas and Dānavas. There are variations

in other *Purāṇas* which need not be detailed here.⁵

The *Purāṇas*, however, have another account of the origin of the Asuras at the first creation of the world:⁶

'Brah̥mā, being desirous of creating the four orders of beings termed gods, demons, progenitors, and men, collected his mind into itself. Whilst thus concentrated, the quality of darkness pervaded his body, and thence the Asuras were first born, issuing from his thigh. Brah̥mā then abandoned that form which was composed of the rudiment of darkness, and which, being deserted by him, became night.'

Wilson says in a note: 'These reiterated, and not always very congruous, accounts of the creation are explained by the *Purāṇas* as referring to different *kalpas*, or renovations of the world, and therefore involving no incompatibility. A better reason for their appearance is the probability that they have been borrowed from different original authorities.'

As regards the origin of the Asuras, it is probable that the myth quoted above has been developed from the statement in the *Brāhmaṇas* mentioned at the beginning of this article. The genealogy of the Asuras is of later growth, and introduces a new element of confusion into the accounts of them. How, for instance, could Hiranyakaśipu, the first-born of all Daityas and Dānavas, rule over the whole race of Daityas and Dānavas, who, according to the Pauranic theory, sprang from his children and grandchildren?

It has been said above that the Asuras reside in Pātāla, and the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* already states that they entered the earth. Yet they are not restricted to Pātāla, but may own towns and fortresses on earth, in air, and in heaven. Thus the three sons of Tāraka possessed three towns, which, united into one, became the famous Tripura, which Śiva reduced to ashes with his mystical arrow. The Panolamas and Kalakāñjas inhabited the flying town Hiranyapura, which was destroyed by Arjuna (*Mahāb.* viii. 33 f., iii. 173). Another tribe of the Dānavas, the Nivātakavachas, live on the shore of the ocean, where Arjuna vanquishes them (*ib.* iii. 168 ff.). In most stories about Asuras, the scene is laid in the upper regions, where they acquire power even over the three worlds, till some god slays them.

The belief that the Asuras dwell in the regions below has been common to all Indian sects. Thus, according to the Northern Buddhists, the world of the Asuras, who, besides the Daityas, comprise the Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, and similar demons, is the uppermost of the four *Apāyalokas*, or worlds of suffering; and it is situated exactly as far below the surface of the earth as the world of Indra is above it. Among the Asuras the foremost rank is held by Rāhu, the demon who causes eclipses of the sun and moon.⁷ The Jains reckon the Asuras, or, as they call them, the Asurakumāras, as the lowest class of the Bhavanavāsins or Bhaumeyaka gods, and assign them the uppermost part of *Ratnaprabhā*, the highest hell-region, as their residence.⁸

A great many names of Asuras are given in epic and classical Sanskrit literature, some of which have already been mentioned. We add the names of a few more who are frequently mentioned in connexion with the god who slew or overcame them: Bala, Vṛtra, Namuchi, Trisiras, Jambha, and Pāka were slain by Indra; Madhu, Kaitabha, Bali, Mura, and Naraka by Viṣṇu (who is thence called *Daityāri*, foe of the Daityas) or Kṛṣṇa; Pralamba by Balarāma; Sambara by Pradyumna; Andhaka by Śiva, who also destroyed Tripura; Sumbha, Nisumbha, and Mahiṣa by Devī; Tāraka and Bāna by Kārtikeya; and Ilvala and Vātāpi by Agastya.

¹ Wilson, *op. cit.*, in his notes to pp. 26, 69 ff. It may be mentioned that the *Vāyu Purāṇa* gives the progeny of Danāyusa (ii. 7, 30 ff.).

² Wilson, *op. cit.* I. 971.

³ Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (GIAP iii. 8), 1896; and the works quoted there, p. 57, n. 7.

⁴ *Taittirīyārthadigama Sūtra*, iv. 11, tr. in *ZDMG* lx. 819

⁵ It may be mentioned in this connexion that Indra, by killing Vṛtra, incurred the sin of *brahmahatya*, or murder of a Brahman, and in consequence lost his celestial kingdom (*Mahābhārata*, iii. 101, v. 10, xii. 281, 842). Still, Vṛtra is but an Asura and an enemy of the gods.

⁶ Cf. V. Fausbøll, *Indian Mythology, according to the Mahābhārata*, London, 1903, p. 3 ff.

⁷ Not enumerated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, but in some others, e.g. *Vāyu Purāṇa* (*Bibl. Ind.*, II. 74 f.).

⁸ See Wilson, *op. cit.* II. 69.

The Asuras (Daityas, Dānavas) constitute the highest class of demons; they are the enemies of the gods, and not of mankind; indeed, men seem, as a rule, excluded from their sphere of action. This is the principal point in which they differ from the remaining classes of demons, such as Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Nāgas, etc., who sustain hostile or friendly relations with men. See art. BRAHMANISM.

In conclusion, an opinion must be noticed which has been put forward by some writers—most recently by the Danish scholar V. Fausbøll¹—viz. that the wars of the Suras and Asuras are but a mythological account of what originally was a strife between the Aryans and the aboriginal inhabitants of India. Fausbøll includes among the Asuras other classes of demons, Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, Nāgas, etc.—a course which, as has just been pointed out, cannot be admitted. As regards the Asuras proper, with whom alone we are concerned in this article, his theory is without foundation, and is quite unnecessary. The Indians had at least two war-gods—Indra, and, in later times, Kārtikeya. Warlike gods presuppose, in India as elsewhere, enemies with whom to wage war, and those enemies were the Asuras, Dānavas, or Daityas.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the course of the article. HERMANN JACOBI.

DAKHMA.—See DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Parsi).

DANAIDS.—The Danaids (*Δαναίδες*) were the daughters of Danaus. Their number is variously given: Hecataeus (schol. on Eurip. *Orest.* 872) enumerates twenty, and Hesiod (*ap.* Hecataeus, *loc. cit.*) fifty; the latter figure has won general acceptance. Their fame is enshrined in two legends—the one telling how they murdered their bridegrooms during their wedding night; the other how, after death, they were condemned to pour water into vessels full of holes.

1. The standard form of the first legend is that given to it by Æschylus; it forms the basis of the story as found in the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus, ii. 12 ff. (cf. schol. on Homer, *Il.* i. 42), and Hyginus's *Fabula*, 168 (cf. schol. on Stat. *Theb.* ii. 222; schol. Stroz. on German. *Aratea*, p. 172, ed. Breysig). We find part of it in the extant *Triceries* of Æschylus—the first portion of his Danaid-tetralogy—and the entire myth in the prophecy of Prometheus in *Prom. Vinc.* 853 ff. The story is as follows. The fifty Danaids flee, under their father's direction, from Egypt to Argos, in order to escape from the unwelcome suit of their cousins, the fifty sons of Ægyptus. The youths, however, set out after them, and, by mere superiority of force, compel the maidens to marry them. Danaus, however, commands his daughters to kill their respective husbands, and all of them obey save one, Hypermnestra, who spares Lynkeus out of love. Hypermnestra, saved from her father's vengeance, and at length reconciled to him, continues the lineage of the family, and by inheritance secures for her acknowledged husband the over-lordship of Argos.

The scene of the myth is thus Argos, and, indeed, the mere name of the father and his daughters indicates this locality, as in Homer the Argives are most frequently referred to as *Δαναοί*. Since the publication of Preller's *Griechische Mythologie* (cf. ii.² [Berlin, 1861] 45 ff.) the myth has been commonly interpreted as relating to the scarcity of water in 'thirsty Argos'; the slaying of the bridegrooms is taken to mean the drying up of the springs. This hypothesis is still adhered to by Ed. Meyer (*Forschungen zur alten Gesch.* i. [Halle, 1892] 74) and Waser (*in* Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2039),

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 41 f.

but its lack of evidence is on a level with its failure in lucidity (cf. P. Friedländer, *Argolica*, Berlin, 1905, p. 24). It is certainly true that the full, though not identical, lists of the Danaids given by Apollodorus, ii. 16, and Hyginus, *Fab.* 170, contain at least one name, Amymone, which is also the name of a fountain in Argos; and, while there may be another here and there which could be appositely applied to a spring, this cannot be said of the majority. Amymone, moreover, is the subject of a special myth, which bears no resemblance to that of the others: she yields herself to Poseidon, who in return reveals to her the springs of Lerna; and she bears to him a son named Nauplius (Apollod. ii. 14 and 23; Hygin. *Fab.* 169). The purport of this story is, in fact, the direct opposite of the Danaid myth; the latter really implies that the maidens, in order to preserve their virginity, do not shrink from slaying even their bridegrooms. It is true that this aspect is not made explicit in the story as related by Æschylus, who lays stress on the Danaids' hatred of the Ægyptiads only, not of men in general, and speaks of their timidity of character. His reason for making this alteration is revealed in the only passage of any length that now remains of the third portion of his Danaid-tetralogy (fr. 44), in which Aphrodite extols the might of love, and so vindicates Hypermnestra and her disobedience to her father's cruel command. The Æschylean rendering, however, is really a transformation of the original myth, as appears from the following considerations. (1) The slaying of men by the Danaids has always formed the kernel of the myth. (2) Their fruitless labour of water-drawing after death, as will be shown below (§ 2), is an indication of the fact that they were never married. (3) The only extant fragment of the epic *Δαναίδες* represents them as beings of Amazon-like nature. From this epic, which, according to the Borgia tablet (Jahn-Michaelis, *Griech. Bilderchroniken*, Bonn, 1873, p. 76, K²), contained 6500 lines, or about half the number in the *Iliad*, Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 120-124), when giving examples of brave women, cites the cases not only of Leaina and Telesilla, but also of the Danaids, and in support thereof quotes from the epic as follows: 'And then the daughters of Danaus armed themselves quickly by the wide-flowing stream of the lord Nile.' We may, therefore, infer that the characterization of the Danaids in this epic was quite unlike that given by Æschylus. Amazons have no occasion for a father's care, or for an admonition to guard their virginity; and, in point of fact, Danaus himself, as has been long recognized (cf. Ed. Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 73), is a mere phantasm, having neither a cult nor a special myth of his own.

The story of the Danaids as slayers of men and adepts in the use of arms must, accordingly, be brought into line with the Amazonian myths. These have been admirably dealt with by J. Töpffer (Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1754; cf. also the same writer's *Attische Genealogie*, Berlin, 1889, p. 191 ff.; Kretschmer in *Glotta*, ii. [1908] 201 ff.; O. Braunstein, *Die politische Stellung der griech. Frau*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 69 ff.). In the myths of the Amazons, Töpffer sees fragmentary reminiscences of a pre-Hellenic 'gynaikocratic' race which survived for a considerable period in Asia Minor, but had at one time been spread over Greece proper and the Archipelago. The Danaid myth finds a parallel in the story of the women of Lemnos who slew their husbands, and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that Hypsipyle, one of these Lemnian women, should appear in Argos, associated with the legend regarding the institution of the Nemean Games by the seven Argive heroes who marched against Thebes. It is also worthy of note that Bellerophon,

the earliest traditional antagonist of the Amazons in Lycia, came originally from Argos (*Il.* vi. 186). Now, as we find Amazon-like women—the Danaids, namely—in Argos, it is natural to infer that they had made the same journey as Bellerophon—had come, that is, from Argos to Lycia. As a matter of fact, the Danaids bear the name of a pre-Hellenic tribe. For, since the Canaanite Philistines have been identified with the *Palisatu* mentioned in the documents of Ramses III. (1200–1175 B.C.)—one of the tribes which worshipped Minos and brought their civilization to its highest development in Crete during the 2nd cent. B.C. (cf. Bethe, in *Rhein. Mus.* lxx. [1910] 200 ff., with lit. and proofs)—we can no longer doubt that the Argive *Danaoi* and the *Danuna* mentioned in Egyptian documents as early as the 14th cent. B.C. were one and the same people (Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, i.² [Stuttgart, 1909] 226).

A word or two must be added regarding Hypermnestra, the only one of the Danaids who spared her bridegroom, and the mother of the royal race of Argos. Her story, even more than that of Amy-mone, runs directly counter to the specific bearing of the Danaid myth. Account must also be taken of two additional facts. (1) Of all the Danaids, Hypermnestra alone had a cult in Argos (cf. Hygin. *Fab.* 168=schol. Stroz. on German. *Aratea* [172, ed. Breysig], who speaks of a 'fanum,' while Pausan. ii. 21. 2, refers to the tomb of Hypermnestra and her husband in the city of Argos). (2) Lynkeus, again, is a standing figure in Peloponnesian legend, while the other sons of Ægyptus are but empty names. We may, therefore, assume that Hypermnestra, like Amy-mone, was a later addition to the group of the Danaids, designed to bring each of them into the imposing genealogical fabric of Argive mythology. This is confirmed by the legend that Lynkeus killed his sisters-in-law and their father (schol. on Eurip. *Hekuba*, 886). According to Archilochos (fr. 150, in Malalas, *Chronogr.* iv. 68), Lynkeus was depicted as a conqueror who robbed Danaus of both his dominion and his daughter.

The process of reducing the originally Amazon-like Danaids to human proportions, as we find it already consummated in Æschylus, led at length to the complete obliteration of their characteristic quality of hostility to men. After the murder of the Ægyptiads they all marry again. Their father gives them, without a price, as rewards to the victors in the games (Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 112 f.)—a story which had originally no connexion with the Danaids (P. Friedländer, *op. cit.* p. 17).

The scene of the man-slaying was laid among the streams of Lerna (Pausan. ii. 24. 2; *Paræmiographi*, i. 108), but also in Argos itself—on the acropolis, where, as noted by Pausanias (*loc. cit.*), there stood some memorial of the sons of Ægyptus.

2. The earliest literary record of the tradition that after death the Danaids were doomed to the endless and aimless labour of pouring water into vessels with holes is found in the pseudo-Platonic *Asiochus* (3rd cent. B.C.), 371 E. In the 5th cent. B.C., Polygnotus, in his pictures of the under world, had portrayed men and women—characterized as 'unconsecrated'—engaged in a like task (Pausan. x. 31. 9; cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 493 B, *Rep.* 363 D). Accordingly, Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (*Homer. Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1884, p. 202) and Rohde (*Psyche*, Tübingen, 1891–94, pp. 292–297) have advanced the hypothesis that this penalty of fruitless labour forms a later accretion of the Danaid myth. But Rohde's assertion that the Danaids were *ἀρεταί*, i.e. that they had not attained their *τελός* by marriage, suggests that the conception of the Danaids as aimless water-drawers in Hades may possibly be older than he believes.

This drudgery, in fact, was regarded among the Greeks, and is regarded even to-day, e.g., in the Tyrol, as the lot of the unmarried in the under world (Waser in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2087, 60 ff.; P. Friedländer, *op. cit.* p. 28).

The relative antiquity of this element in the story is likewise borne out by a further remark of Rohde, viz. that the Danaids could be associated with the task of drawing water only at a time when they were still thought of as unmarried. Even in Pindar's day (*Pyth.* ix. 112), however, this was no longer the case; while, according to Æschylus, at least two of them, Amy-mone and Hypermnestra, yield to the power of love. For that form of the myth which, as made known to us by the surviving verse of the epic *Danaides*, represented the Danaids as Amazon-like women hostile to men, we are thus brought to a date not later than the 6th cent. B.C. It must, therefore, have been about that time that the lot of the unmarried in Hades—the unending labour of drawing water—was first ascribed to the Danaids.

Once this feature had been added to their story, however, and had become effectually grafted upon it, the Danaids would come quite naturally to be regarded as drawers of water even in their lifetime. In this way they would then be brought into connexion with Lerna in Argos—perhaps originally the district haunted by their ghosts—and at length the water-nymph Amy-mone would be numbered with them. It accords with all this that Danaus was extolled as the hero who provided Argos with water: so Hesiod, fr. 24 [ed. Rzsch], a verse given by Strabo, viii. 370, and again (371) in a simpler rendering, which, however, is of special interest, as it states that it was not Danaus, but the Danaids, who 'made Argos, once waterless, a well-watered land.'

LITERATURE.—Manuals of Greek Mythology, Roscher, and Pauly-Wissowa; Ed. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Gesch.* i. (Halle, 1892) 74; W. Schwarz, *Jahrb. für klass. Philol.* cxlvii. [Leipzig, 1893] 93 ff.; P. Friedländer, *Argolica*, Berlin, 1906, p. 6 ff.; Waser, *ARW* ii. [1899] 47–63; Fourrière, *Résumé d'écclési myth.* vii. [1898] 39, 818.

E. BETHE.

DANCING.—See PROCESSIONS AND DANCES.

DANDĪS.—See YOGIS.

DĀNGĪ ('highlanders,' Hindi *dāng*, 'a hill').—A tribe of Dravidian origin, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 97,422, almost entirely confined to Central India, Rājputāna, and the Central Provinces, in which last they are described as originally robbers and freebooters, whose home was in the Vindhyan range. They are doubtless ethnologically connected with the Gond and Bhil tribes which occupy the adjoining hills; but they are rapidly becoming Hinduized, and have now gone so far as to call themselves Rājputs, and to claim descent from a mythical Rājā Dāng of the Raghubansi sept. In the Jhānsi District, from which we have the most complete account of the religion of the tribe, they rank as low-caste Hindus; they cremate their adult dead, and perform the *śrāddha*, or mind-rite, through Brāhmins. Like all castes on their promotion to a higher social rank, they are particularly careful to avoid ceremonial pollution. This results in its most serious form from the killing of a cow. In this case the offender, in order to procure restoration to caste rights, must make a pilgrimage to the Ganges, feed his tribesmen and Brāhmins, or perform the mock marriage of the *sālagrāma* ammonite, representing Viṣṇu, with the *tulsi*, or holy basil tree. This rite, of course, necessitates the payment of liberal fees to Brāhmins. If the offender prefers to do so, he may purchase restoration to caste by paying the marriage expenses of two poor children of the

tribe. They now worship the ordinary Hindu deities, Rāmachandra, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Durgā, and others. Special regard is paid to the minor gods of the village, especially to those who cause and remove disease, such as Sitalā, the goddess of smallpox, and Hardaul Lalā, the deified hero who controls cholera (Croke, *Popular Religion*², 1896, i. 138 f.). Bhūmīyā, the god of the soil, is represented by an old snake, which is worshipped in June-July. At marriages they perform a rite to propitiate the sainted dead, known as *deva pitra* ('ancestor gods'); but they have no definite idea of their nature or functions. Their sacred trees are the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and the chhonkar (*Prosopis spicigera*). The cows of the household, as emblems of Lakṣmī (goddess of good fortune), are worshipped at the Divālī, or feast of lamps; and horses at the Dasahra.

LITERATURE.—W. CROOKE, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, ii. 246 ff.; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 250; *Census Report Central Provinces*, 1901, I. 165. W. CROOKE.

DANTE.—

1. Life.—Dante Alighieri was born at Florence, some time between May 18 and June 17, 1265, of an old Florentine family of supposed Roman descent. His father, Alighiero di Bellincione Alighieri, was a notary who adhered to the Guelph faction, for which his ancestors had fought. Cacciaguیدا, Alighieri's great-grandfather, who appears in the *Paradiso* as the founder of the house, is mentioned in a recently discovered document of 1131 as 'Cacciaguیدا, filius Adami.' The poet was the only child of his father's first marriage, but had a step-brother and two step-sisters (one of whom appears in the *Vita Nuova*) younger than himself. Two episodes chiefly colour his early life: his romantic love for Beatrice (probably the daughter of Folco Portinari and wife of Simone de' Bardi), whom he first saw at the end of his ninth year, and who died on June 8, 1290; and his friendship (gained by his first sonnet, written in 1283) with the older poet, Guido Cavalcanti, who died in August 1300. At an early age he fell under the influence of the Florentine philosopher and statesman, Brunetto Latini. Recent research tends to confirm the statement of his early biographers concerning his studying at the university of Bologna; a sonnet, now generally accepted as his, shows that he was in that city shortly before 1287. Dante served in the Florentine cavalry at the battle of Campaldino on June 11, 1289. After the death of Beatrice, he lapsed into a mode of life which he afterwards recognized as morally unworthy, and seems to have had relations with several women, the exact nature of which is uncertain. To this epoch belongs a series of satirical sonnets interchanged between him and Forese Donati (cf. *Purg.* xxiii. 115-119). About 1296 he married Gemma di Manetto Donati, a lady of a noble Guelph house, by whom he had four children. He entered public life in 1295, with a speech in the General Council of the Commune in support of modifications in the 'Ordinances of Justice,' the enactments by which nobles were excluded from the administration of the Republic. In May 1300, he acted as Florentine ambassador to the Commune of San Gimignano, and in the same year, from June 15 to August 15 (two months being the statutory term of office), he sat by election in the Signoria, the chief magistracy of the Republic, as one of the six priors. In this year, the Guelph party, which then swayed Florentine politics, split into the rival factions of Bianchi and Neri, 'Whites' and 'Blacks.' The former (to which Dante himself and Guido Cavalcanti belonged) was, in the main, the constitutional party, supported by the burghers of the city; the latter, led by Corso Donati, the brother of Forese and kinsman of the poet's wife, was more aristocratic and turbulent, looking to the Pope, Boniface VIII., and relying upon the favour of the populace. As prior, Dante probably played a leading part in opposing the interference of the Pope and his legate, the Franciscan cardinal, Matteo d'Acquasparta, in the affairs of the Republic, and in confining the leaders of both factions (including Guido Cavalcanti and Corso Donati) within bounds: in the following year, 1301, we find him, though no longer in office, still supporting an anti-Papal policy by his votes and speeches in the various councils of the State. On November 1, 1301, Charles of Valois, with French troops, entered Florence as Papal 'peacemaker,' and, with every circumstance of treachery and licence, restored the Neri to power. It is uncertain whether Dante was in Florence when this occurred, or in Rome on an embassy from the Bianchi to the Pope (as asserted by Boccaccio and Leonardo Bruni, but disputed by later writers). In any case, a charge of malversation in office and hostility to the Church was trumped up against him: he was sentenced to confiscation of his goods, two years' exile, and perpetual exclusion from public office (January 27, 1302), and finally to be burned to death (March 10, 1302), if he should ever come into the power of the Commune.

The rest of Dante's life was passed in exile, in the latter part of which he was joined by his two sons and one of his daughters, though he seems never to have seen his wife again. In the *Convivio* (l. 3) he speaks of himself as having 'gone through well-nigh all the regions to which this (Italian) language extends; a pilgrim, almost a beggar, showing, against my will, the wound

of fortune, which is wont unjustly to be oftentimes reputed to the wounded.' Until the summer of 1308, he made common cause with his fellow-exiles at Siena, Arezzo, Forlì, and elsewhere, in attempting to return to Florence by force of arms and with Ghibelline aid, but ultimately broke with them, and found it 'for his fair fame to have made a party for himself' (*Par.* xvii. 69). Between the latter part of 1303 and the end of 1306 we find him at Verona at the court of Bartolommeo della Scala; at Bologna, where he may have made a more lengthy stay; possibly at Padua (though the document once regarded as attesting his presence there in August 1306 is now disputed); certainly in Lunigiana, with the Marquis Franceschino Malaspina (October 1306). We now lose sight of him for several years, during which he is said to have left Italy and gone to Paris.

In September 1310, the newly elected Emperor, Henry VII., entered Italy, with the avowed object of restoring the claims of the Holy Roman Empire, and healing the wounds of the country. Dante, recognizing in him the new 'Lamb of God' to take away the sins of the world, threw himself heart and soul into his enterprise. We find him, in the spring of 1311, paying homage to the Emperor in person at Milan, and writing terrible and eloquent letters to him and against the Florentines from the Casentino, whither he had, perhaps, been sent on an Imperial mission. By a decree of September 2, the Florentine government included the poet in the list of exiles to be excluded from amnesty. In April 1312, Dante was with the Emperor at Pisa, and there Petrarch, a little boy of seven, saw his great predecessor for the first and only time. Although he had urged Henry to lay Florence low, reverence for his fatherland (so Leonardo Bruni writes) kept Dante from accompanying the Imperial army which ineffectually besieged the city during the autumn of this year. Henry's death (August 24, 1313) annihilated the poet's hopes. His movements again become uncertain. It is possible that he retired for a while to the convent of Santa Croce di Fonte Avellana, in the Apennines, and afterwards sought the protection of Ugucolone della Faggiuola, the great Ghibelline, at Lucca. By a decree of November 6, 1316, Dante with his sons, Pietro and Jacopo, was placed under the ban of the Florentine Republic, and sentenced to be beheaded if taken. The poet was further and finally excluded from amnesty by a provision of June 2, 1316. His famous letter to a Florentine friend, preserved to us by Boccaccio, refusing to accept recall to Florence under dishonourable conditions, probably belongs to this year. It is most likely that, in 1315 or 1316, Dante went again to Verona, attracted by the fame of Can Grande della Scala, upon whom he based what remained of his hopes for the salvation of Italy. About 1317 he finally settled at Ravenna, at the invitation of its Guelph ruler, Guido Novello da Polenta. There with his children, surrounded by a little group of friends and disciples, he passed the last years of his life. A curious process for sorcery held at Avignon in 1320 against Matteo and Galeazzo Visconti, in which Dante's name is mentioned, suggests that the poet visited Piacenza in that or the preceding year, and, if the *Questio de Aqua et Terra* is authentic, he went to Mantua and again to Verona about the same time. In August 1321, he was sent on an embassy from Guido da Polenta to Venice, to avert an imminent war, and, returning to Ravenna sick with fever, he died there on September 14 of that year. He was buried with much pomp in the church of the Friars Minor, crowned with laurel, 'in the garb of a poet and of a great philosopher.'

2. Works.—Dante's works fall into three periods: (a) the period of his youthful love and enthusiasm, finding expression in the poetry and prose of the *Vita Nuova*; (b) the period of the *Rime*, his later lyrics, his linguistic and philosophical studies and researches, bearing fruit in the Italian prose of the *Convivio*, the Latin prose of the *de Vulgari Eloquentia*, and his passionately developing political creed and ideals, represented by the *de Monarchia* and certain of his Latin letters; (c) the period of turning, for the reformation of the present, to the contemplation of another world, 'to the divine from the human, to the eternal from time' (*Par.* xxxi. 37, 38), in the *Divina Commedia*, with which are associated the prose Latin epistle to Can Grande della Scala, and the revival of the pastoral muse of Vergil in the two Latin Eclogues.

(1) The *Vita Nuova*, Dante's first book, which is dedicated to Guido Cavalcanti, tells the story of his love for Beatrice in thirty-one lyrical poems, symmetrically arranged, and connected by a prose narrative. The lyrics (twenty-five sonnets, one *ballata*, three *canzoni*, and two shorter poems in the *canzone* mould), written from 1283 to 1292, cover a period of nine years, while the prose commentary, composed between 1292 and 1295, weaves the whole into unity. Its earlier chapters, in particular, show the influence of the Provençal troubadours, together with the philosophical re-handling of their theme of chivalrous love which we find in

the poetry of Guido Guinizelli of Bologna, whom Dante elsewhere claims as his father in the use of 'sweet and gracious rhymes of love' (*Purg.* xxvi. 99). The first of the three *canzoni*, 'Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore,' marks an epoch in Italian poetry. The later portions of the book are already strongly coloured with the Christian mysticism which inspires the *Divina Commedia*. There is much sheer allegory in the details and episodes, but the work as a whole is not to be taken in an allegorical sense. It is a mystical reconstruction of the poet's early life, in which earthly love becomes spiritual, but, being thus exalted above itself, falls to earth again when its sustenance and inspiration are removed, only to rise once more in repentance and humility to a clearer vision and a larger hope, with the resolution to turn to the daily work of life until such time as the soul may become less unworthy to attain the ideal which it has discerned.

(2) Besides the pieces inserted in the *Vita Nuova*, there exists a large body of lyrical poetry from Dante's hand, known collectively as the *Rime* (or, less correctly, the *Canzoniere*). It consists of (a) occasional poems in the *ballata* and sonnet form, composed at various times in Dante's life, which have not yet been satisfactorily collected or freed from spurious pieces; (b) a series of fifteen *canzoni*, which Boccaccio, probably following the poet's intention, arranged in a definite order to form a complete work. Two of these *canzoni* seem to belong to the period of the *Vita Nuova*; the rest represent the period in Dante's life between the death of Beatrice and the inception of the *Divina Commedia*. They give variety, dignity, and technical perfection to the metrical form which the early Italians had received and developed from the Provençals, and introduce, partly from the Provençal, two entirely new varieties to Italian poetry. Their subject-matter is partly philosophical love, in which the seeker after wisdom depicts his quest with all the imagery of an earthly lover's pursuit of an adored woman; partly, it would seem, more tangible human passion; partly, ethical and didactic themes. One of the noblest of the series is the *canzone* of the three ladies: 'Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute' (probably written c. 1304); in this the legend told by Thomas of Celano and St. Bonaventura, of the apparition of Poverty and her two companions to St. Francis, is transformed into an allegory of Dante's own impassioned worship of Justice, which contains the *Divina Commedia* in germ.

(3) The *Convivio*, Dante's chief work in Italian prose, is an attempt to put the general reader of the epoch into possession of an abstract of the entire field of human learning, as attainable at the beginning of the 14th cent., in the form of an allegorical commentary upon fourteen of the poet's own *canzoni*. Its basis is the saying attributed to Pythagoras, to the effect that the philosopher should not be called the wise man, but the lover of wisdom—a conception which Dante elaborates in the terms of the chivalrous love poetry of his age, personifying Philosophy as a noble lady whose soul is love and whose body is wisdom, and identifying love with the study which is 'the application of the enamoured mind to that thing of which it is enamoured.' The work shows the influence of the *de Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boethius (its professed starting-point), Isidore of Seville, the *Didascalion* of Hugh of St. Victor, the *Tresor* of Brunetto Latini, and the Aristotelian treatises and *Summa contra Gentiles* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Dante's aim is to make the mediæval encyclopædia a thing of artistic beauty, by wedding it to the highest poetry, and to show the world that the Italian vernacular was no less efficient than Latin

as a literary medium. At the same time, it was to be his *apologia pro vita sua*, justifying his own conduct as a man and as a citizen, and, incidentally, explaining certain of his poems of earthly love as inspired purely by philosophical devotion. Internal evidence shows that it was composed between 1306 and 1308. It was left unfinished, only the introductory treatise and the commentaries upon three *canzoni* having been written.

(4) The *de Vulgari Eloquentia*, the earliest of Dante's Latin works, seems to have been begun shortly before the *Convivio* (probably in 1304 or 1305). Like the *Convivio*, it was left unfinished, only two of the projected four books having been written. In the first book, starting from the origin of language, Dante considers the rival claims for pre-eminence of the three romance vernaculars—French, Provençal, and Italian—and proceeds to examine in detail all the various dialects of the last, none of which he finds identical with the ideal language of Italy:

'The illustrious, cardinal, courtly, and curial vulgar tongue in Italy is that which belongs to every Italian city, and yet seems to belong to none, and by which all the local dialects of the Italians are measured, weighed, and compared.'

As Mazzini well said, Dante's purpose here is 'to found a language common to all Italy, to create a form worthy of representing the national idea'—the purpose which he was ultimately to fulfil by writing the *Divina Commedia*. In the second book, he defines the highest form of Italian lyrical poetry, the *canzone*; distinguishes the three subjects alone worthy of treatment therein—Arms, Love, and Virtue; and elaborates the poetical art of its construction, from the practice of the Provençal troubadours (Bertran de Born, Arnaut Daniel, Giraut de Bornel, Folquet of Marseilles, Aimeric de Belenoi, Aimeric de Pegulhan, together with the French poet, king Thibaut of Navarre), the poets of the Sicilian school (Guido delle Colonne and Rinaldo d'Aquino), and the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo* (Guido Guinizelli, Guido Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoia, and himself). Dante refers to his own *canzoni* as those of 'the friend of Cino da Pistoia,' and it is possible that he intended to dedicate the work, when completed, to Cino, as he had done the *Vita Nuova* to Cavalcanti.

(5) The election of Henry of Luxemburg to the Empire, in November 1308, drew the poet back from these philosophical and linguistic studies to the political strife that was about to convulse Italy. Confronted with this new situation, of apparently unlimited possibilities for his native land, he felt that all that he had hitherto written was fruitless and insignificant. It was probably about 1309, in anticipation of Henry's coming to Italy, that Dante composed the *de Monarchia*, fearing lest he 'should one day be convicted of the charge of the buried talent.' For Dante, the purpose of temporal monarchy or empire, the single principedom over men in temporal things, is to establish liberty and universal peace, in order that the whole of the potentialities of the human race, for thought and for action, may be realized. In the first book he shows that this universal monarchy, thus conceived, is necessary for the well-being of the world; in the second he attempts to prove, first from arguments based on reason and then from arguments based on Christian faith, that the Roman people acquired the dignity of empire by Divine right. It is a cardinal point in Dante's reading of history that the history of the Jews and the history of the Romans reveal the Divine plan on parallel lines, the one race being entrusted with the preparation for the Gospel, the other with the promulgation of Roman law. For him, as for mediæval political theorists in general, the Emperor of his own day, when duly elected and

crowned, is the successor of Julius and Augustus no less than of Charlemagne and Otho. The third book proves that the authority of such an Emperor does not come to him from the Pope (the coronation of Charlemagne being an act of usurpation on the part of the latter), but depends immediately upon God, 'descending upon him without any mean, from the fountain of universal authority.' Divine Providence has ordained man for two ends: blessedness of this life, which consists in the exercise of his natural powers, and is figured in the Earthly Paradise; and blessedness of life eternal, which consists in the fruition of the Beatific Vision in the Celestial Paradise. To these two diverse ends, indicated by reason and revelation respectively, man must come by the diverse means of philosophy and spiritual teaching, and, because of human cupidity, he must be checked and directed:

'Wherefore man had need of a twofold directive power according to his twofold goal: the Sovereign Pontiff, to lead the human race to eternal life in accordance with things revealed; and the Emperor, to direct the human race to temporal felicity in accordance with philosophical teaching.'

This, then, is the purpose of Church and State, each independent in its own field, a certain superiority pertaining to the former in that mortal felicity is ordained for immortal felicity. We here find 'in its full maturity the general conception of the nature of man, of government, and of human destiny, which was afterwards transfigured, without being transformed, into the framework of the Sacred Poem' (Wicksteed).

(6) Dante's political letters are a pendant to the *de Monarchia*, but coloured by the realities, and finally embittered by the circumstances of the Emperor's expedition. From the Messianic fervour of his appeal on Henry's behalf to the princes and peoples of Italy (*Ep. v.* ['Oxford Dante'], written in 1310), we pass to the prophetic fury and *sava indignatio* of his address to 'the most wicked Florentines within' (*Ep. vi.*, March 31, 1311), and his rebuke to the Emperor himself (*Ep. vii.*, April 16, 1311), when the former were organizing the national resistance to the Imperial power, and the latter seemed to tarry. To the latter part of 1314 belongs the eloquent letter to the Italian cardinals in conclave at Carpentras after the death of Clement V. (*Ep. viii.*), urging the election of an Italian Pope to return to Rome and reform the Church. Of Dante's private and personal correspondence, the only specimen that can be unhesitatingly accepted as authentic is the famous letter to a Florentine friend refusing the amnesty in 1316 (*Ep. ix.*); but two others, apparently accompanying two of his lyrical poems, addressed to Cino da Pistoia (*Ep. iii.*, c. 1305) and Moroello Malaspina (*Ep. iv.*, c. 1306 or 1311), are probably genuine.

(7) The authenticity of the letter to Can Grande della Scala, though much disputed, is gradually becoming generally recognized. Written apparently between 1318 and 1320, it dedicates the *Paradiso* to Can Grande, interprets the opening lines of its first canto, and explains the allegory, subject, and purpose of the whole poem. It is the starting-point for the study of the mystical aspect of the *Divina Commedia*, alike in its appeal to the authority of St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and Richard of St. Victor for the power of the human intellect to be so exalted in this life as to transcend the measure of humanity, and in its unmistakable claim for the poet himself that he has been the personal recipient of a religious experience too sublime and overwhelming to be adequately expressed in words.

(8) Dante's first *Eclogue*, a pastoral poem in Latin hexameters, was written about 1319, in

answer to a Latin poem from Giovanni del Virgilio, a lecturer at Bologna, who had urged him to write a Latin poem and come to that city to receive the laurel crown. It is a beautiful and gracious poem, in which the Vergilian eclogue becomes a picture of the poet's own life at Ravenna in the comparative peace and calm of his latest years. A second *Eclogue* in the same spirit, sent to Giovanni del Virgilio by Dante's sons after the poet's death, is somewhat inferior, and was, perhaps, only in part actually composed by him.

(9) The *Questio de Aqua et Terra* professes to be a philosophical question concerning the relative position of water and earth on the surface of the globe, publicly discussed by Dante at Verona on January 20, 1320. Its authenticity has of late found several able defenders, but must still be regarded as highly problematical.

(10) It is impossible to decide at what date the *Divina Commedia* was actually begun. According to Boccaccio, the first seven cantos of the *Inferno* were composed before the poet's exile, and he was induced to take up the work again in consequence of his recovery of the manuscript in 1306 or 1307. Although this seems contradicted by internal evidence, there are some indications that these cantos were originally conceived on a different plan from that ultimately adopted in the poem. It is possible that the poem, as we now have it, was begun about 1308, interrupted by the Italian enterprise of Henry of Luxemburg, and resumed in the years after the latter's death. While there are no certain and definite allusions in the *Purgatorio* to events later than 1308, there are references in the *Inferno*, by way of prophecy, to occurrences of 1312, and possibly (though this is more open to question) of 1314, while the *Paradiso* (xii. 120) contains what appears to be an echo of a Papal bull of 1318. An allusion in the first *Eclogue* shows that, by 1319, the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* ('*infera regna*') were completed and, so to speak, published, but that Dante was still engaged upon the *Paradiso* ('*mundi circumflua corpora astricoleque*'); and we learn from Boccaccio that the last thirteen cantos had not yet been made known to the world at the time of the poet's death. In any case, it seems clear that the *Divina Commedia* as a whole, whenever it may have been begun, although the action is relegated by a poetic fiction to the assumed date of 1300, should be regarded as the work of the last period of the poet's career, when the failure of his earthly hopes with Henry of Luxemburg had transferred his gaze from time to eternity, and, himself purified in the fires of experience and adversity, he might lawfully come forward as *vir prædicans justitiam*, 'to remove those living in this life from their state of misery, and to lead them to the state of felicity.'

Dante's primary source of inspiration for the *Divina Commedia* is the actual life of his own times which he saw around him, interpreted by the story of his own inner life. His aim is to reform the world by a poem which should present man and Nature in the mirror of eternity. But he has, inevitably, his literary sources. While the sixth book of the *Æneid* may be called his starting-point, Dante was probably acquainted with some of the many mediæval accounts of visits of a living man, 'whether in the body or out of the body,' to the other world, the *immortale seculo*, which, beginning with the *Visio Sancti Pauli* and those recorded in the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory the Great, became especially abundant in the latter part of the 12th cent.; though the only one that has left notable traces in the *Divina Commedia* is the *Visio Tnugdali* of the Irish Benedictine Marcus (1149). Of the Latin poets, next to Vergil,

he was most influenced by Lucan, while Ovid and Statius are his main sources for classical mythology, and Livy and Orosius for classical history. Cicero was familiar to him from his early manhood; but he shows surprisingly little acquaintance with Terence and Horace. The Latin versions of Aristotle, the Vulgate, and the works of St. Augustine permeate the poem with their influence. He knew no Plato at first hand (he was almost completely ignorant of Greek), save, perhaps, the *Timæus* in the Latin version of Chalcidius, but there is a strong vein of Neo-Platonism in the poem, derived in part directly from the pseudo-Aristotelian *de Causis* and the Dionysian writings (either in the translation of Scotus Erigena or through the medium of Aquinas). Certain elements in his thought came from Boethius and St. Gregory the Great, while, of later mediæval writers, the influence of St. Peter Damian (esp. his *de Abdicatione Episcopatus*), of St. Bernard, and of Richard of St. Victor is especially marked. Indeed, the mystical psychology of the whole poem is largely based upon the *de Preparatione animi ad Contemplationem* and the *de Contemplatione* of the last-named writer. Of the poet's own contemporaries, Albertus Magnus and St. Bonaventura impressed him less than did St. Thomas Aquinas, the influence of whose Aristotelian treatises, his *Summa contra Gentiles*, and *Summa Theologiae*, is profound and all-pervading. Recent investigation points to Dante's acquaintance with the mystical treatises of Mechtild of Magdeburg and Mechtild of Hackeborn, though it is questionable whether either of them can be identified with the Matelda of the Earthly Paradise. There is a certain element of Joachimism in the *Divina Commedia*, but Dante was probably acquainted with the doctrines of the Abbot of Flora only at second hand, in the *Arbor Vitæ Crucifixæ* of Ubertino da Casale (1305), which is chronologically the last of the sources of the poem, and from which (together with the life of the Seraphic Father by St. Bonaventura, and, perhaps, the earlier legend by Thomas of Celano) he derived his conception of the life and work of St. Francis in the *Paradiso*.

The *Divina Commedia* is an allegory of human life and human destiny, in the form of a vision of the 'state of souls after death'; it is likewise, in the mystical sense, a figurative representation of the soul's ascent, while still in the flesh, by the three ways of purgation, illumination, and union, to the fruition of the Absolute in that 'half-hour during which there is silence in Heaven.'

Above and around the material universe is the celestial rose of Divine Beauty, flowering in the rays of the sun of Divine Love, still to be completed by man's correspondence with Divine Grace; while on earth—the threshing-floor of mortality—by use or abuse of free-will, character is formed, and human drama is played out. The dual scheme of the *de Monarchia* is transplanted from the sphere of Church and Empire to the field of the individual soul. Man, in the person of Dante, vainly attempts to escape from the dark wood of alienation from truth, and is barred by his own vices from the ascent of the delectable mountain (felicity, or, perhaps, knowledge of self); but Vergil, representing human philosophy inspired by reason, guides him through the nine circles of Hell (realization of the nature and effects of sin), and up the seven terraces of Purgatory (setting love, the soul's natural tendency to what is apprehended as good, in order, and purifying the soul from the stains still left after conversion) to the Earthly Paradise, which in one sense is the happy state of a good conscience, and in another the life of Eden regained by the purgatorial pains. This life is personified

in Matelda, the realization of Leah, who, in the mystical system of Richard of St. Victor, symbolizes 'affection inflamed by Divine inspiration, and composing herself to the norm of justice.' Then the soul can rightly comprehend the history of Church and State, as represented in the allegorical pageant, and is prepared for a further illumination. Beatrice, symbolizing the Divine Science as possessing Revelation, thence uplifts the poet through the nine moving heavens of successive preparation, corresponding to the nine angelic orders, into the true Paradise, the timeless and spaceless empyrean heaven of heavens, where her place is taken by St. Bernard, type of the loving contemplation in which the eternal life of the soul consists; and, after the impassioned hymn to the Blessed Virgin placed upon Bernard's lips, the poem closes in the momentary actualizing of the soul's entire capacity of knowing and loving, when desire and will move in harmony with 'the Love that moves the sun and the other stars,' in an anticipation of the Beatific Vision of the Divine Essence.

In describing the 'spiritual lives' of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, Dante has given a summary, illumined by imagination and kindled by passion, of all that is permanently significant in the life and thought of the Middle Ages. He is throughout harking back to a primitive ideal of Christianity, freed from the corruptions and accretions of the subsequent centuries. Under the tree of an Empire renovated by the power of the Cross, Revelation is seated on the bare ground as guardian of the chariot of the Church, with no attendants save the theological and moral virtues, who bear nought save the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. But the ideal is never realized, because, side by side with the conquest of the world by Christianity, had come the conquest of the Church by the world. The alleged donation by Constantine of wealth and territory to the Papacy is for Dante the turning-point in history, and the primal cause of the failure of Christianity, which was bearing such bitter fruit in the corruption of mankind. The supremely significant event of his own century is thus the rise of St. Francis, and his marriage with Lady Poverty, as the first attempted return to the ideal of Christianity that Christ had left. This, in its turn, having proved but a passing episode, the poet can only look forward to the coming of the deliverer, the mysterious *Veltro*, the 'Five Hundred Ten and Five,' to be sent from God to renovate the Empire and to reform the Church by other methods. For the rest, men at all times 'are masters of their fate,' through the supreme gift of free-will, to put violence upon which, as Richard of St. Victor had said, 'neither befits the Creator nor is in the power of the creature.' The soul of man works out its own salvation or damnation; and the tragic fact consists simply in the soul's deliberate choice of evil. The *Inferno* departs less than the other two canticles from mediæval tradition in its structure and machinery; but it is here that the dramatic side of Dante's genius is especially displayed. The tragic impression is intensified, on the one hand, by the wasted virtues of the lost (the patriotism of Farinata degli Uberti, the fidelity of Piero delle Vigne, the scientific devotion of Brunetto Latini, the high conception of man's origin and nature that impels Ulysses to his last voyage); and, on the other, by frequent and effective use of dramatic contrasts between the souls in Hell and those in Purgatory or Paradise (Francesca da Rimini and Piccarda Donati; St. Peter Celestine and King Manfred; Guido and Buonconte da Montefeltro). In the *Purgatorio*, with its sunsets and starshine, its angel ministers, its allegorical quest of liberty,

in which the souls find the very purgatorial pains a solace to be willingly undergone, Dante breaks almost completely from legend and theological tradition, and presents a conception of the second realm which is entirely his own. The *Purgatorio* depends less than the *Inferno* upon the splendour of certain episodes, though many of these are among the most beautiful in the poem. It is in its sustained harmony and all-pervading tenderness that it makes immediate and universal appeal to heart and mind. The noblest passages of the *Paradiso* are lyrical rather than dramatic, and there is naturally less action and less individualization of character. With the exception of St. Bernard, who is a singularly vivid character, the human aspect of the souls in bliss is somewhat lost in the glory of their state since they have become 'sempiternal flames'—the suggestion of humanity being held in abeyance after the third sphere (where the stretch of the earth's shadow is passed), until it reappears in celestial splendour in the tenth heaven. Notwithstanding this, we are sensible of no monotony in the passage through the higher spheres; for it is part of the poet's conception, worked out alike in the allegorical imagery and in the spoken narratives of each sphere, that, although each soul partakes supremely of the Beatific Vision, which is one and the same in all, yet there are not only grades, but subtle differences in the possession of it, in which the previous life has been a factor. As Wicksteed puts it, 'the tone and colour, so to speak, of the heavenly fruition of the blessed is affected by the nature of the moral warfare through which they rose to spiritual victory.' The human interest in the *Paradiso* seems concentrated in such episodes as the appearance of Piccarda Donati and Dante's colloquy with Cacciaguida, or the exquisite passage where Beatrice, her allegorical office completed, resumes her place, in the unveiled glory of her human personality, in the celestial rose. The mystical poetry of the *Paradiso* is unsurpassable: above all, in the closing canto it reaches a height of spiritual ecstasy for which it would be hard to find a parallel elsewhere in modern literature. Shelley wrote of the *Paradiso* that it is 'a perpetual hymn of everlasting love'; and Manning, 'Post Dantis paradisum nihil restat nisi visio Dei.'

The metre in which the *Divina Commedia* is written, the *terza rima*, seems to have been created by Dante from the *sirventese*, the Italian form of the Provençal *sirventes*, employed by the troubadours for political or satirical compositions in contrast to the stately *canço*, or *canzone*, of love. His style has the highest qualities of terseness, condensation, variety of intonation, passion, vividness. The closely packed imagery is hardly ever introduced for its own sake, but to exemplify and clarify his meaning. Even at the heights of the *Paradiso*, he does not shrink from uncompromising realism in his similes and images. The beauty and fidelity of his transcripts from Nature are likewise unapproachable. He can render a complete scene in a few lines, sometimes in a single line, whether it be the flight of birds, the trembling of the sea at dawn, or the first appearance of the stars at the approach of evening. 'Dante's eye was free and open to external nature in a degree new among poets. . . . But light in general is his special and chosen source of poetic beauty' (Church, *Dante*, 1901, pp. 149, 163). Dante's fidelity to Nature has been well compared with that of Wordsworth. And, when he turns from Nature to the mind of man, 'his haunt, and the main region of his song,' no such revealer of the hidden things of the spirit, save Shakespeare, has ever found utterance in poetry.

3. Position and character.—Dante is the last poet of the Middle Ages, and the first of the modern world. He has given perfect poetical utterance to what would otherwise have been artistically silent, and has proved the most influential interpreter of mediæval thought to the present day. If it can no longer be said, without considerable reservation, that he created the Italian language, or that he founded Italian literature, it is certain that he first showed that modern literature in general could produce a work to rival the masterpieces of antiquity, and he first gave to Italy a national consciousness. His character is reflected in his works: profoundly reverent to what he deemed Divinely ordained authority, but no less enkindled with prophetic fire against the abuse and corruption of that authority, whether in Church or State, and absolutely fearless in his reforming zeal; relentless in his hatred of baseness and wickedness, above all in high places, but with a capacity for boundless tenderness and compassion; liable to be carried to excess, both in speech and in action, by his impassioned hunger and thirst after righteousness; conscious of his own greatness, but ever struggling against pride, and exalting humility above all other virtues; listening for a while to the song of the *antica strega*, the siren of the flesh (*Purg.* xix. 58), but borne up 'even to the sphere of fire' by the eagle of the spirit (*Purg.* ix. 30). The visionary experience, upon which the whole *Divina Commedia* is based, was, it would seem, a sudden realization of the hideousness of vice and the beauty of virtue, the universality and omnipotence of love, so intense and overwhelming that it came upon him with the force of a personal and special revelation; but this was not all; we gather from the letter to Can Grande that the poet himself experienced one of those contacts with the Divine attributed to the great saints and mystics of all creeds—in which, as George Tyrrell puts it, the mind touches the smooth sphere of the infinite, but is unable to lay hold of it.

LITERATURE.—I. BIOGRAPHY.—Our earliest sources for the life of Dante, in addition to his own works and a few extant documents, are a chapter in the *Lettere Fiorentine* of Giovanni Villani (1348), the *Vita di Dante* of Boccaccio (1376), the insignificant sketch by Filippo Villani (c. 1405), the more authoritative and critical treatise of Leonardo Bruni (1444), and the first commentators. There are ten 14th cent. commentators upon part or the whole of the *Divina Commedia*, including both Dante's sons and the author of the so-called *Optimo Commento*, who professes to have known the poet personally. The most important is Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola (1379–1410), edited by Vernon and Lacaita (Florence, 1887). Among recent publications should be especially mentioned: G. Biagi-Perissinelli, *Codice diplomatico dantesco* (documents, in course of publication); C. Ricci, *L'ultimo rifugio di Dante Alighieri*, Milan, 1891; M. Scherillo, *Alcuni capitoli della biografia di Dante*, Turin, 1896; various volumes of Isidoro del Lungo; Paget Toynbee, *A Dante Dictionary*, Oxford, 1898, also *Dante Alighieri, his Life and Works*, London, 1910; N. Zingarelli, *Dante*, Milan, 1903 (a work on an exhaustive scale with full bibliographies). For the disputed story of the letter of Frate Ilario, cf. Wicksteed-Gardner, *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio*, London, 1902; Rajna, in *Dante e la Lunigiana*, Milan, 1909; V. Biagi, *Un episodio celebre nella Vita di Dante*, Modena, 1910.

II. MINOR WORKS.—A critical edition is gradually being produced by the Società Dantesca Italiana, of which the *de Vulgari Eloquentia* (ed. Rajna, Florence, 1896) and *Vita Nuova* (ed. Barbi, Florence, 1907) have appeared. The *Rime* are incomplete and unsatisfactory even in E. Moore's *Tutte le Opere di Dante*, 1894 (the 'Oxford Dante', which is of the highest authority for the text of all the other works). A more recent edition, *Vita Nuova and Canzoniere*, by Wicksteed-Okey, is in the Temple Classics. Michele Barbi's long-promised edition of the *Rime* is much needed. There are critical editions of the *Elegia* by Wicksteed (in *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio*) and Albini, Florence, 1903. The translations of the Latin Works (Howell and Wicksteed) and of the *Convivio* (Wicksteed) in the Temple Classics are provided with full critical commentaries; a more recent version of the *Convivio* is by W. W. Jackson (Oxford, 1909). For the problem of the *de Aqua et Terra*, see Moore, *Studies in Dante* (second series, Oxf. 1899), and V. Biagi's ed., Modena, 1907.

III. DIVINA COMMEDIA.—The best Italian editions with commentaries are those of Scartazzini (epoch-making, but now a little out of date), Casini, and Torraca; of the text with English translations and notes, by A. J. Butler, the Temple Classics

editors (Wicksteed, Oelsner, Okey), and W. W. Vernon (*Readings . . . chiefly based on the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, new ed. Lond. 1908-09*).

IV. *SUBSIDIARY LITERATURE*.—The reader must be referred to Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary* and the bibliographies included in Zingarelli. Dante literature has, especially of late years, assumed colossal proportions. Among English works stand out pre-eminently the three volumes of Moore's *Studies in Dante*, Toynbee's *Dante Studies and Researches*, Lond. 1902, and *Dante in English Literature*, Lond. 1909. Church's well-known essay still holds its place as the most suggestive of introductions to the divine poet. The Florentine quarterly publication, *Il Bullettino della Società Danteica Italiana*, is indispensable to students.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

DAPHLĀ (Dafflā, Daplā, Dophlā).¹—A tribe occupying a section of the Himālaya lying N. of the Darrang and Lakhimpur Districts, Eastern Bengal, and Assam. They numbered 954 at the Census of 1901; but the greater part of the tribe is found in independent territory beyond the British frontier, whence, driven by famine or the oppression of the Abors, they have recently shown a tendency to migrate into the Darrang and Lakhimpur Districts. They call themselves Niso, Nising, or Bangni, the last name meaning 'men.' According to Mackenzie (*Hist. of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes on the N.E. Frontier of Bengal*, 541), Miri, Daphlā, and Abor (see ABOR, vol. i. p. 33) are names given by the Assamese to three sections of the same tribe inhabiting the mountains between Assam and Tibet.

Their principal crops are summer rice and mustard, maize, and cotton, sown in clearances made by the axe or hoe in the forest or in the jungle of reeds. Their villages, usually placed on or near the banks of rivers, consist of a few houses built on platforms raised above the naked surface of the plain, presenting a strong contrast to the ordinary Assamese village. . . . Under the houses live the fowls and pigs which furnish out the village feasts, and the more prosperous villages keep herds of buffaloes also, though these people, like so many of the non-Aryan races of Assam, eschew milk as an unclean thing' (Mackenzie, *op. cit.* 541).

1. *Ethnology*.—The Daphlās are probably connected with the great Bodo (*q.v.*) or Barā race, which includes the Kāchāri, Rabhā, Mech, Garo, and Tipperā tribes, and they are by origin Tibeto-Burmans, who followed the Mon-Anam from N.W. China between the waters of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Ho-ang-ho (*Census Report Assam*, 1901, i. 120). Their language is closely related to that of the Aka, Abor-Miri, and Mishmi tribes.

'We know a good deal about Abor-Miri and Dafflā. Robinson [*JRASB*, 1861, p. 181] gave us grammars and vocabularies of both in the middle of the last century, and, to omit mention of less important notices, in later times Mr. Needham has given us a grammar of the former, and Mr. Hamilton one of the latter' (G. A. Grierson, *Census Report India*, 1901, i. 262 f.; and see E. A. Gait, *Assam Census Report*, 1891, i. 184).

2. *Relations with the British Government*.—The independent portion of the tribe has long been accustomed to make raids in British territory. Even in 1910 it was found necessary to send an expedition against them. This is due not so much to friction with the British authorities as to quarrels between the independent and the settled branches of the tribe. In 1872-3 one of these outbreaks occurred because the men of the hills claimed compensation for losses of life believed to have been caused by infection introduced from the plains. On this being refused, they raided British territory and captured several slaves (Mackenzie, 31).

3. *Religious beliefs*.—Much information regarding their religion has been collected since, in 1872, E. T. Dalton gave the first account of them (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 36):

'I never heard of Dophla priests, but Robinson says they have priests who pretend to a knowledge of divination, and by inspection of chickens' entrails and eggs declare the nature of the sacrifice to be offered by the sufferer and the spirit to whom it is to be offered. The office, however, is not hereditary, and it is taken up or laid aside at pleasure. So it resolves itself into this, that every man can, when occasion requires it, become a priest. Their religion consists of invocations to the spirits for protection of themselves, their cattle, and their crops, and sacrifices and thank-offerings of pigs and fowls. They acknow-

ledge, but do not worship, one Supreme Being, which, I conceive, means that they have been told of such a Being, but know nothing about him.'

During the Census of 1881 (*Report*, § 150 ff.; Mackenzie, 543 ff.) it was ascertained that the Mikirs and Daphlās worship Yāpum and Orom, the latter the malignant spirits of the dead, the former a sylvan deity or demon, who suffices for the needs of everyday life, though in critical conjunctures some great god has to be gained over by the sacrifice of a *mithan* or *gayāl* (*Bos frontalis*).

'A hill Miri told me how he had once, while a boy, actually seen a Yāpum. The character of this god is that he lives in trees, and all the beasts of the forest obey him. My informant was throwing stones in a thicket by the edge of a pool, and suddenly became aware that he had hit the Yāpum, who was sitting at the foot of a tree in the guise of an old grey-bearded man. A dangerous illness was the consequence, from which the boy was saved by an offering of a dog and four fowls made by his parents to the offended Yāpum, who has since visited him in dreams' (Mackenzie, 543).

They also count the Sun among their deities; but their great god, who must be propitiated by the sacrifice of a *mithan*, is Ui or Wī, of whom no Daphlā cares to speak much for fear of incurring his displeasure. His character may be guessed from the Assamese equivalent of his name, Yom or Yama, the Hindu god of death (*ib.* 544). E. A. Gait (*Census Report Assam*, 1891, i. 223) adds:

'The general name for God is Ui, but there are also special names for each particular deity. Most of their gods are inimical to men, and have to be propitiated by sacrifices. The chief gods are Sonolē, the god of heaven; Siki, who presides over the delivery of women; Voglē and Lungtē, who hurt men; and Yenpu, who injures children. Then there is Yāpum, the god of trees, who frightens to madness people who go into the forest; Chilli, the god of water; From, the god of diseases; Solu, the god of dumbness; and numerous others. There are a few beneficent deities, such as Pehkong, the god of breath, and Yechu, the goddess of wealth. To all these gods, sacrifices are offered. When a person is ill, a sorcerer (*deondio*) is called in, and chants an incantation in a loud singsong voice, which he sometimes keeps up till he works himself up into a frenzy of excitement. The Dafflās believe in a future life, but cannot say much about it, except that they expect to cultivate and hunt there. The dead are buried in a sitting position, and a small shed is put up over the grave; in it rice and drink are placed, and a fire is kept burning for five days. The mourners sacrifice fowls, pigs, and sometimes mithun, the blood of which is sprinkled over the grave; the flesh they eat themselves.'

B. C. Allen (*Census Report Assam*, 1901, i. 46 ff.) gives an account of similar beliefs among the allied tribes of this group—the creation legends of the Mikirs and Garos, and the conception of the other world held by the Miris, Mikirs, and Garos.

LITERATURE.—E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872; A. Mackenzie, *Hist. of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes on the N.E. Frontier of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1884; *Reports of the Census of Assam*, 1881, 1891, 1901; E. C. Allen, *Gazetteers of the Lakhimpur and Darrang Districts*, Calcutta, 1905.

W. CROOKE.

DARDS.—The Dards are an Aryan race inhabiting the country round Gilgit, between Kashmir and the Hindū Kush, and down the course of the Indus to near where it debouches on the plains. Colonies of the tribe are also found farther east in Baltistan, where they are known as *Brokpas*, or Highlanders. Along with the Khōs of Chitral and the Hindū Kush Kāfirs of Kāfiristan, Dards are classed by the present writer as descendants of the *Pisāchas*, or *Πισάχοι* of Sanskrit writers. This is not accepted by all scholars, but no alternative has hitherto been suggested. Although of Aryan origin, their language cannot be classed as either Indian or Iranian, having issued from the parent stock after the former branch had emigrated towards the Kābul Valley, but before the typical characteristics of Iranian speech had become fully developed. They are mentioned by Herodotus (iii. 102-105), though not referred to by their present name. On the other hand, Sanskrit writers knew them as *Daradas*, and they are the *Dardai* of Megasthenes and Strabo, the *Daradrai* of Ptolemy, and the *Dardae* of Pliny and Nonnus. Most of the Dards belong to the tribe of Shins, whose headquarters may be taken as Gilgit, and their

¹ The origin of the name, which, as pronounced in the Lakhimpur District, would be written *Domphlā*, is unknown.

language is either Shīnā or some closely allied form of speech. By religion, the Dards of the present day are nearly all Musalmāns, but the Brokpa colonies in Bāltistān profess the Buddhist faith of their neighbours. It is not known at what period the Muhammadan Dards were converted to Islām, but, down to the middle of last century, when a reformation was carried out by Nathū Shāh, the Governor of Gilgit, on behalf of the Sikhs, it held but a nominal sway. Even after Nathū Shāh's time remains of the old pre-Islāmic beliefs have survived, so that many Dard practices are very different from those enjoined on the followers of the Qur'ān. For instance, until about eighty years ago the dead were burnt and not buried, and this custom lingered on sporadically down to the last recorded instance in 1877. A memory of it still survives in the lighting of a fire by the grave after burial. Instead of considering the dog as unclean, they are as fond of the friend of man as any Englishman. The marriage of first cousins, which is frequent among true Musalmāns, is looked upon with horror by the purer tribes of Shīns as an incestuous union. Although the Muhammadan lunar calendar has been introduced, an ancient solar computation, based on the signs of the zodiac, still exists. According to Biddulph, 'Islām has not yet [1880] brought about the seclusion of women, who mix freely with the men on all occasions. Young men and maidens of different families eat and converse together without restraint.' The levirate custom has a strong hold, and this often leads to two sisters being the wives of the same man simultaneously, though such a practice is forbidden by Muhammadan law.

The Dards received Muhammadanism from three directions. From the south (i.e. Afghanistan) came the Sunnis, and that branch of Islām is now prevalent in Chilas. From the Pāmirs in the north came the Maulāī sect (famous for its wine-bibbers), and this doctrine is now commonly held north of Gilgit. On the other hand, the people round Gilgit and to the south are mostly Shī'ahs converted from Bāltistān.

On the Buddhist Dards, or Brokpas, of East Bāltistān their nominal religion sits even more lightly than on their Musalmān fellow-tribesmen to the west. The only essential Tibetan practices which they have adopted seem to be the dress of the men and the custom of polyandry. The religious ideas of the Brokpas were examined by Shaw in 1876, and of late years by A. H. Francke, whose researches into the ancient customs and religion of the neighbouring Ladakh are well known. The information gathered from these two sources agrees closely with the traces of the ancient Shīnā religion observable in other portions of the Dard area, and from the whole we get a fairly clear, if incomplete, idea of its general character.

According to Francke, the origin of the world is believed by the Brokpas to be as follows:¹ 'Out of the Ocean grew a meadow. On the meadow grew three mountains. One of them is called "the White-jewel Hill," the second "the Red-jewel Hill," and the third "the Blue-jewel Hill." On the three mountains three trees grew. The first is called "the White Sandal-tree," the second "the Red Sandal-tree," and the third "the Blue Sandal-tree." On each of the trees grew a bird,— "the Wild King of Birds," "the House-hen," and "the Black Bird," respectively.'

Francke adds: 'As regards the system of colours, we are decidedly reminded of the *g'ling chos*, or pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet (see *g'ling chos*). I am inclined to believe that the three mountains were thought to exist one on the top of the other; the lowest being the blue mountain and tree forming the Under-world, the red mountain and tree being in the middle and representing the Earth, and the uppermost being the white

mountain and tree forming the Land of the Gods. But in other respects the story of the origin of the world is at variance with the *g'ling chos*, according to which the world is framed out of the body of a giant, while here it grows out of the water, as in Indian legends.'

Nothing like this cosmogony has been noted in other Shīn tracts, and it may be that it has been partly borrowed from Tibet. At the same time it may be noted that the *Klumo* or *Nāginis*, who are prominent characters in the *g'ling chos*, are also met, under the form of snakes, in Gilgit tradition, and, according to Leitner, the earth is there known as the 'Serpent World.'²

From the hymn from which Francke has culled the preceding information he also extracts the following two names of deities, *Yandring* and *Mandēde Mandēschen*. These names are, at any rate, not Tibetan, and are therefore probably Dard. In another prayer, the name *Zhūni* occurs as that of a house-god. *Mūmmo*, which properly means 'uncle,' stands in the collection of hymns for the 'uncle of the past,' i.e. the 'forefather' or Adam of the race, who is also honoured almost like a god.

Francke mentions water, milk, butter, and flower offerings as sacrifices, and also burnt offerings of the pencil-cedar (see below). Sheep and goats are also offered to the gods, and in one song—that of the ibex hunter—the hunter carries all the necessities for the offerings along with him when following his quarry, and after the lucky shot they are at once offered to the gods.

Farther west, we also come across traces of Buddhism. A rock-cut figure of the Buddha is still to be seen in a defile near Gilgit, and throughout the Gilgit and Astor valleys, as well as elsewhere, there can be found ruined *chortens* (q.v.), whose forms can even now be distinctly traced. One of the Shīn festivals, the *Taleni*, which commemorates the destruction of an ancient king who devoured his subjects,³ seems to have a connexion with a similar festival among the Iranian fire-worshippers of the Pāmirs. In neither case, however, can we consider such remains as part of the true ancient Dard religion. They are just as exotic as Islām.

The practical side of Dard religion, as distinct from speculative theories regarding cosmogony and the like, is best described by Shaw in his account of the Brokpas (p. 29 ff.), which fully agrees with the information derived from other sources. The real worship is that of local spirits or demons, much like the cult of similar beings in the neighbouring Ladakh. Closely connected with this worship is a kind of cedar or juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*), called in Shīnā *chili*, and by the Brokpas *shukpa*. In every village in which Shīns are in a majority there is a sacred *chili* stone, dedicated to the tree, which is still more or less the object of reverence. Each village has its own name for the stone, and an oath taken or an engagement made over it is often more binding than when the Qur'ān is used. Shaw's account of the local Brokpa goddess of the village of Dah may be taken as a sample:

'Her name is *Shiring-mo*. A certain family in the village supplies the hereditary officiating priest. This person has to purify himself for the annual ceremony by washings and fastings for the space of seven days, during which he sits apart, not even members of his own family being allowed to approach him, although they are compelled during the same period to abstain from onions, salt, *chang* (a sort of beer), and other unholly food. At the end of this period he goes up alone to the rocky point above the village, and, after worshipping in the name of the community the deity who dwells there in a small cairn, he renews the branches of the "shukpa" (*Juniperus excelsa*) which were placed there the previous year, the old branches being carefully stowed away under a rock and covered up with stones.'

'... Formerly the priest used to be occasionally possessed

¹ Leitner, *Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1895*, p. 50.

² It is an interesting fact that all over the *Piśācha* region there are traditions pointing to ancient cannibal customs which were put a stop to by some hero or god. The Sanskrit word *Piśācha* means 'eater of raw flesh.'

³ Quoted from a private communication.

by the demon, and in that state to dance a devil-dance, giving forth inspired oracles at the same time; but these manifestations have ceased for the last twelve or fifteen years [written in 1876]. The worship is now simply one of propitiation inspired by fear, the demon seeming to be regarded as an impersonation of the forces of nature adverse to man in this wild mountainous country. Sacrifices of goats (not sheep) are occasionally offered at all seasons below the rock, by the priest only, on behalf of pious donors. They talk of the existence of the demon as a misfortune attaching to their tribe, and do not regard her with any loyalty as a protecting or tutelary deity. In each house the fireplace consists of three upright stones of which the one at the back of the hearth is the largest, 18 inches or 2 feet in height. On this stone they place an offering to the demon from every dish cooked there, before they eat of it. They also place there the firstfruits of the harvest. Such is their household worship.'

This belief in demons is universal over the Dard area. They are called *Yach*. They are of gigantic size, have each only one eye, in the centre of the forehead, and, when they assume human shape, may be recognized by the fact that their feet are turned backwards.¹ They can walk only by night, and used to rule over the mountains and oppose the cultivation of the soil by man. They often dragged people away into their recesses, but, since the adoption of the Muhammadan religion, they have relinquished their possessions, and only occasionally trouble the believers. Their oath is by the sun and moon, and they are not invariably malevolent. On the occasion of their weddings they borrow the property of mankind for their rejoicings, and restore it faithfully, without the lender being aware of the loan. On such occasions they have kindly feelings towards the human race. The shadow of a demon falling on a person causes madness.

Fairies, known as *Barai*, are also common. They are as handsome as the demons are hideous, and are stronger than they. They have a castle of crystal on the top of the mighty mountain of Nanga Parbat, which has a garden containing only one tree composed entirely of pearls and coral. Although they are capable of forming love-attachments with men, like Lohengrin they have a secret, and they never forgive the human being who discovers it. Death is the only possible recompense for the indiscreet curiosity. They sometimes take the form of serpents (*Nāgas* or, feminine, *Nāginis*).

While the shadow of a demon causes madness, that of a fairy confers the gift of prophecy. Divination is still practised, in spite of Muhammadanism. The diviner, or *Dainyal*, is one on whom the shadow of a fairy has fallen in sleep. When performing his or her office, the diviner is made to inhale the smoke of burning juniper wood till he is insensible. When he revives, the neck of a newly slaughtered goat is presented to him, and he sucks the blood till not a drop remains. He then rushes about in a state of ecstasy, uttering unintelligible sounds. The fairy appears and sings to him, he alone being able to hear. He then explains her words in a song to one of the attendant musicians, who translates its meaning to the crowd of spectators.

Amongst miscellaneous customs, we must first of all mention the remarkable abhorrence entertained for everything connected with a cow (we have already remarked the fondness for dogs). The touch of the animal contaminates, and, though they are obliged to employ bullocks in ploughing, the Dards scarcely handle them at all. They employ a forked stick to remove a calf from its mother. They will not drink milk or touch any of its products in any form, and believe that to do so causes madness. There is nothing of reverence in this. They look upon the cow as bad, not good, and base their abhorrence on the will of the local

gods. Marriages are celebrated with much ceremony, for an account of which the reader is referred to Biddulph (p. 78 ff.). We trace a survival of marriage by capture in the bridegroom setting out for the bride's house, surrounded by his friends and equipped with bow, arrow, and battle-axe. An essential part of the dress of a Shin bride is a fillet of cowrie shells bound round her head. When the bride and bridegroom take their first meal together, there is a scramble for the first morsel, as whichever eats this will have the mastery during the future wedded life. After the birth of a child the mother is unclean for seven days, and no one will eat from her hand during that period. Ordeal by fire is still practised. Seven paces are measured, and a red-hot axe-head is placed on the open palm of the accused, on which a green leaf has first been spread. He must then deposit the hot iron at the place appointed seven paces distant, and, should any mark of a burn remain on his hand, it is a proof of guilt. Magic has a prominent place in Dard ideas, and written charms are in great request. They are even attached to the mane and forelock of a horse. They confer courage and invulnerability. Certain springs are supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, is cast into them.

The principal festivals are as follows :—

(1) The *Nōs*, in celebration of the winter solstice. The word means 'fattening,' and refers to the slaughtering of the cattle, fat after the grazing on the pastures, which takes place. This is necessary because the pastures have become covered with snow, and only sufficient fodder is stored to keep a few animals alive through the winter. On the second day the *Tulmi*, already mentioned, is celebrated.

(2) The *Bazoni*, in celebration of the commencement of spring. The sacrifice is a sheep, which must be lean and miserable. The word means 'leanness.'

(3) The *Aibot*, which took place in the first week in March has now fallen into desuetude. It was said to mark the time for pruning vines and the first budding of the apricot trees. In some respects it resembled the Indian *Holi*. Prominent features were mock fighting amongst the men, and the licensed cudgelling of men by women. Its cessation is due to the Musalman reform movement of Nathū Shāh.

(4) The *Ganoni* celebrated the commencement of the wheat harvest, and is still kept up. At dusk on the evening before the festival, a member of each household gathers a handful of ears of corn. This is supposed to be done secretly. A few of the ears are hung over the door of the house, and the rest are roasted next morning and eaten steeped in milk. The Dards of the Indus Valley below Sazin do not observe this festival.

(5) The last festival of the year, and the most important, is the *Chili*, which formerly celebrated the worship of the juniper tree, and marked the commencement of wheat-sowing. Within the last eighty years the rites connected with the tree-worship have ceased, but the ceremonies connected with sowing are still maintained. Bonfires of *chili* wood are, however, still lit, and the quantity of wheat to be used in the next day's sowing is held over the smoke.

It will have been observed how frequently the sacred *chili*, or juniper tree, has been referred to in the foregoing pages. In former years the worship of this tree was performed with much ceremony, and hymns were sung in its honour. In prayers to it for the fulfilment of any desire, it was addressed as 'The Dreadful King, son of the fairies, who has come from far.' The *chili* stone, at the entrance of every Shin village, has already been mentioned. On its offerings to the *chili* were placed, and from it omens were deduced. A full account of the ceremonies connected with its worship will be found in Biddulph (p. 106 ff.).

To sum up. The present writer has met in none of the authorities on the Dard religion any reference to a Supreme Deity, corresponding to the *Kāfir Imrā*. In translations from Christian scriptures, the Musalman word *Ḥudā* has to be used for 'God.' The centre of the worship seems to be the *chili* tree, a mighty son of the fairies; and the whole mountain region in which the Dards dwell is peopled by spirits, some benevolent, and some malevolent, probably personifications of the powers of Nature, who exercise a constant influence on the lives of the human beings who dwindle under

¹ So also in India. Compare the hoots of the European devil and the *Diablo boiteux*. Whitley Stokes tells of an Irish legend, according to which the devil could not kneel to pray, as his knees were turned the wrong way.

their sway. Most of the worship is in the form of propitiation of the malevolent spirits, though we occasionally find prayers addressed to the benevolent *chili*. Over the whole is spread a complex mist. We see traces of the Magian religion of Irān; of Buddhism, left behind on its way to Central Asia; and, in modern times, Islām, in strong possession. The pure Dard religion has nothing in common with any of them. Attempts have been made, but in the opinion of the present writer entirely without any justification, to connect it with the religions of India, and (with better reason) with the ancient *gling chos* religion of Tibet. It is a pure Nature-religion of an agricultural and pastoral people, dwelling in a barren land, amidst the highest mountain ranges in the world. The languages of the *Pisācha* people, of which the Dard languages form an important group, are, as has been stated, something between Indian and Iranian, and one of their most characteristic marks is the wonderful way in which they have preserved ancient Aryan forms of speech almost unchanged down to the present day. The same may be said of the Dard religion. It retains many of the characteristics of the oldest form of Aryan religion with which we are acquainted. There is the same adoration of a special plant (in the Vēdas the *sōma*, and amongst the Dards the *chili*), and the same worship, mixed with terror, of the personified powers of Nature.

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GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

DARKNESS.—See LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

DARSANA.—The term *darsana*, the literal meaning of which is 'seeing,' 'sight,' is more usually employed in Sanskrit literature with a derivative or metaphorical significance, as 'insight,' 'perception,' i.e. mental or spiritual vision. It is thus at once expressive of one of the most characteristic and fundamental thoughts of Indian philosophy—the meditative and mystical attitude of mind which frames for itself an idealistic conception of the universe; e.g. Manu, vi. 74:

'He who is possessed of true insight (*darsanasampanna*) is not bound by deeds,

But the man destitute of insight (*darsanena vihina*) is involved in the cycle of existence.'

The word is also used of the vision of sleep, a dream or dreaming,¹ wherein the mind perceives and learns independently of the exercise of the bodily senses.

Thus *darsana* is thought, perception in general, the application of the mental faculties to abstract conditions and problems; and ultimately denotes thought as crystallized and formulated in doctrine or teaching—the formal and authoritative utterance of the results to which the mind has attained.² In this sense it is practically equivalent to *sāstra*.

As a technical term, *darsana* is applied to the six recognized systems of Indian philosophy, which give many-sided expression to Indian thought in its widest and most far-reaching developments. These form the six *darsanas*, systems of thought and doctrine properly so called, viz. the *Pūrva* and *Uttara-mīmāṃsā* (the latter more usually known as the *Vedānta*); the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga*; the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika*. Of these, the first consists mainly of explanation and comment on the ritual texts of the Veda, while the second expounds the widely known speculative and idealistic philo-

¹ e.g. Hariv. 1285.

² e.g. *Mahābhārata*, xii. 11045. *Sāstradarśin* is one who has insight into, intuitive perception of, the meaning of the *sāstras*.

sophy of India. The third and fourth are nearly related to one another; and of these the ancient *Sāṅkhya* formulates a materialistic theory of the universe, which the *Yoga*—in its essential elements equally ancient—then takes up and interprets in a theistic sense. The *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* are not systems of philosophy at all in the ordinary acceptation of the term; the former treats of logic and literary criticism, the latter of natural philosophy and the physical constitution of the universe. The precise date at which these systems originated or were first reduced to order and writing is unknown; they represent, however, the outcome and final residue of Indian thought and speculation, extending probably over many centuries.

There is no reason to believe that the six *darsanas* contain all that the mind of ancient India conceived, or to which these early thinkers endeavoured to give expression. It would seem probable, however, that, while much has been lost, and the extant treatises are often fragmentary, enigmatic, highly figurative, and difficult of interpretation, there has been preserved in the *darsanas*, and in the traditional and literary sources upon which they have drawn, the best that India had to give of speculation and thought upon the problems and conditions of life.¹

A somewhat similar word is *tarka*, 'investigation,' 'inquiry,' 'discussion,' which also in course of time was used to denote the science or system which was its outcome and fruit. It was then later employed in the same manner as *darsana*, specifically of the recognized philosophical systems. The former term, however, seems never to have obtained the same degree of acceptance or currency as the latter, which in the usage of writers of all periods was the ordinary and appropriate designation of the six systems to which alone orthodox rights and authority were secured.

A. S. GEDEN.

DARWINISM.—It has become customary to give the title of 'Darwinism' to that particular development of the doctrine of evolution which is associated with the name of Darwin (1809-1882), and which began, in 1859, with the publication in England of his *Origin of Species*. The central feature of this development of thought has been the conception of evolution as the result of Natural Selection in the struggle for existence. It has caused so great a change in the general tendencies of knowledge that Romanes probably did not exaggerate the effects when he described them to be without parallel in the past history of mankind. Nearly all the departments of thought related to the subject of religion and ethics have felt the effects of the revolution.

At first sight the *Origin of Species* accomplished nothing in itself very remarkable. The theory of evolution had long been in the air. While the conception of continuous development in the universe had come down to us from the Greeks, the modernized and scientific theory of it had become a commonplace of knowledge by the middle of the 19th century. Kant's nebular hypothesis, further developed by Laplace and Herschel, had familiarized the world with the idea of development as applied to the physical universe. In Geology, workers like Murchison and Lyell had brought home to men's minds the same conception in connexion with the history of the earth. Even in the biological sciences the idea of continuous development by the modification of existing types was strongly represented by Lamarck and many other distinguished scientists. But before Darwin all these separate developments lacked vitality. In the last resort they rested largely on theory.

¹ For the literature and detailed expositions of the six systems see the separate articles *VEDĀNTA*, etc.

In particular, the idea of the evolution of life by gradual modification was unsupported by any convincing argument drawn from facts and evidence furnished by the existing conditions of life. The most characteristic position was that which had been reached in Biology. Controversy turned upon the meaning of species. These were held to be permanent and immutable. While it was admitted that there might be a certain amount of small variation of forms, species were considered to represent special acts of creation at various times in the past history of the earth. Among the leading representatives of the biological sciences, permanence of species was the accepted view. Down to the publication of the *Origin of Species*, said Darwin,

'All the most eminent living naturalists and geologists disbelieved in the mutability of species. . . . I occasionally sounded not a few naturalists, and never happened to come across a single one who seemed to doubt about the permanence of species (*Life and Letters*, ch. ii. [vol. i. p. 87 in 1887 ed.]).

Lamarck's theory, by which he accounted for divergence of types by the accumulation of the inherited effects of use and disuse of organs, was ridiculed. Cuvier had become the representative of prevailing opinion, according to which the past history of life was one of constant cataclysms and of constantly recurring creations. Finally, this scientific view was powerfully reinforced by all the indefinite authority of general and popular opinion, which took its stand on a literal interpretation of the Hebrew account of creation in six days, contained in the first chapter of Genesis.

It was into these intellectual conditions that the doctrine of organic evolution by Natural Selection was launched by Darwin in 1859. The distinctive feature of the doctrine of development which it put forward was that it accounted for the evolution of life by the agency of causes of exactly the same kind as are still in progress. It exhibited modification and progress in life as the result of the process of discrimination always going on in the struggle for existence. It was by formulating the conception of this kind of 'Natural' Selection as the mechanism by which the transmutation of species is effected, and then by supplying in the *Origin of Species* an enormous and well-organized body of facts and evidence in support of it, that Darwin instantly converted scientific opinion and succeeded in carrying the doctrine of evolution towards a new horizon.

The theory of the mechanism of Natural Selection formulated by Darwin was extremely simple.

'There is,' he said, 'no exception to the rule that every organic being naturally increases at so high a rate, that, if not destroyed, the earth would soon be covered by the progeny of a single pair' (*Origin of Species*, ch. iii. [p. 79 in 1909 ed.]).

This tendency to increase beyond the conditions of existence is accompanied by an inherent tendency in every part, organ, and function of life to vary.

'As many more individuals of each species are born than can possibly survive, and as, consequently, there is a frequently recurring struggle for existence, it follows that any being, if it vary . . . in any manner profitable to itself, under the complex and sometimes varying conditions of life, will have a better chance of surviving, and thus be *naturally selected*. From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form' (*ib.*, Introd. [p. 6 in 1909 ed.]).

This is the Darwinian doctrine of the survival of the fittest. It presented the whole succession of life as a theory of descent from simpler forms, under the stress of the process of competition for the conditions of existence.

The far-reaching effect produced by the publication of the *Origin of Species* and by Darwin's theory of Natural Selection was undoubtedly due to two main causes. The first of these was the immediate illumination which it threw on some of the most difficult problems of the special sciences which were most closely concerned. This has been often discussed, and its character and tendencies are now well understood. The second cause was the

character of the impression which the doctrines produced on the general mind. The nature of this impression is much less clearly understood. It is, however, in this second relationship that the full and more lasting significance of Darwinism has to be appreciated.

The general mind almost from the beginning perceived with sure instinct, and far more distinctly than the representatives of the special sciences concerned, the reach of the theories to the establishment of which Darwin had brought such a convincing array of evidence. It appeared to many at first as if the whole scheme of order and progress in the world was now presented as the result of a purely mechanical process. The interposition of mind or of Divine agency appeared to be excluded. Man himself seemed to be deposed from the place he had occupied in all previous schemes of creation. It was true, indeed, as has been pointed out, that before Darwin the idea of a continuous development in the physical and biological worlds alike had inspired speculations in many quarters; but this conception, being rejected by current opinion, had left no permanent impression on the general mind. It was not until Darwin's work appeared, Sir William Huggins affirmed in his Presidential address to the Royal Society in 1905, that the new evidence was perceived by scientific opinion to be overwhelming in favour of the view that man is not an independent being, but is the outcome of a general and orderly evolution.

At the first presentation, therefore, of Darwin's theories popular attention became fixed, with an extraordinary degree of concentration, on the nature of the destructive changes which the doctrine seemed to involve in the ideas which had hitherto been closely associated with prevailing religious beliefs. The most familiar ideas of the system of religion which had for generations held the Western mind seemed to have had their foundation removed. Instead of a world created for man in six days of twenty-four hours each, men saw a history of development stretching away back for ages and æons into the past. Instead of a being standing, by special creation, independent and alone, as he had previously been conceived, man was presented now as but the last link in a process of evolution. With Lyell's extension of the conception of time in geology and Darwin's extension of the conception of evolution, the old order in thought seemed to have been swept away. Sir William Huggins (*loc. cit.*) graphically describes the revolution as it appeared to a contemporary from the standpoint of science:

'The accumulated tension of scientific progress burst upon the mind, not only of the nation, but of the whole intelligent world, with a suddenness and an overwhelming force for which the strongest material metaphors are poor and inadequate. Twice the bolt fell, and twice, in a way to which history furnishes no parallel, the opinions of mankind may be said to have been changed in a day. Changed, not on some minor points standing alone, but each time on a fundamental position which, like a keystone, brought down with it an arch of connected beliefs resting on long-cherished ideas and prejudices. What took place was not merely the acceptance by mankind of new opinions, but complete inversions of former beliefs, involving the rejection of views which had grown sacred by long inheritance.'

The new doctrine seemed, in short, to gather up into a focus the meaning of a number of developments long in progress and revolutionary in their nature, the recognition of which in their due place and importance had long been resisted in Western thought. It seemed to give cumulative expression to intellectual tendencies which, since the period of the Renaissance, had struggled against the overpowering weight of accepted and often intolerant religious beliefs. The first condition, therefore, was a kind of intellectual Saturnalia. The effects were felt far and wide, at almost every centre of learning, and in almost every department of thought.

philosophy, and religion. Huxley in England, Renan in France, Haeckel in Germany, were representatives of one aspect of a movement of which Darwin in biology, Tyndall in physics, and Grant Allen in popular science represented another. Most extravagant conceptions became current even in circles of sober and reasoned opinion. Religious beliefs were said to have been so far shaken that their future survival was assumed as the object of pious hope rather than of reasoned judgment. They were, according to Renan, destined to die slowly out, undermined by primary instruction and by the predominance of a scientific over a literary education, or, more certainly still, according to Grant Allen, to be entirely discredited as grotesque fungoid growths which had clustered round the thread of primitive ancestor-worship.

The deepest effects of the movement were felt in England and the United States, and this for reasons to which still other causes contributed. When Darwin published the *Origin of Species*, the resemblance which the doctrine of Natural Selection, making for progress through the struggle for existence, bore to the doctrines which had come to prevail in business and political life was recognized. Almost every argument of the *Origin of Species* appeared to present a generalized conception of the far-reaching effectiveness of competition. Darwin lifted the veil from life and disclosed to the gaze of his time, as prevailing throughout Nature, a picture of the self-centred struggle of the individual, ruthlessly pursuing his own interests to the exclusion in his own mind of all other interests; and yet unconsciously so pursuing them—as it was the teaching of the economies of the day that the individual pursued them in business—not only to his own well-being, but to the progress and order of the world.

It soon became apparent that the crudities of conception which prevailed in such inflamed and excited conditions of thought were carrying men altogether beyond the positions which the doctrine of evolution involved. It also became gradually evident, as these first impressions were lived through, that the acceptance of the evolutionary faith implied conclusions which were not only different in kind, but more significant, more striking, and even more revolutionary—although in quite a different sense—than those which the first Darwinians contemplated.

Those who had realized the depth and reality of the spiritual hold of religion on the human mind, perceived from the beginning how superficial were judgments like that quoted from Renan, to the effect that religious systems had no place in the future development of the race. But it was when the subject came to be approached in the light of the evolutionary doctrine itself that the true nature of the situation became apparent.

The Darwinian doctrine of biological evolution had centred in the principle of utility. Every part, organ, and function had its meaning in the stress out of which types and races had come. Nothing had come into existence by chance, or without correspondence with environment. The consistent labour of all the first Darwinians had been to give prominence to the necessity for the establishment and reinforcement of this—the central arch of the doctrine of evolution by Natural Selection. It was evident, therefore, that while, on the one hand, the sanctions of faith and experience must remain exactly what they had always been for the religious life, the concept of revolutionary nature was the explanation which the doctrine of evolution would be itself bound to give of the phenomenon of religion in the light of its own central principle. What was the meaning of these systems of religious belief which had filled

such a commanding place in the social evolution of man? To dismiss the phenomena as merely meaningless and functionless was, the present writer pointed out, impossible and futile, in the face of the teaching of the doctrine of evolution. They must have some significance to correspond with the magnitude and the universality of the scale on which they were represented.

As observation was carried from primitive man to the most advanced civilization, the importance of the subject was not diminished but increased. The history of social development in its highest phases was largely the history of a group of Western peoples who have been for many centuries the most active and progressive nations of the world. The civilization of these peoples was the most important manifestation of life known to us, first in effects on the nations included in it, and now, to an increasing degree, through its influence on the development of other peoples in the world. This group of Western peoples had been held for thousands of years in a system of belief giving rise to ideas which have profoundly modified their social consciousness, and the influence of which has saturated every detail of their lives. These ideas had affected the development of the Western nations at every point, and had filled their history with the intellectual and political conflicts to which they had given rise. They had deeply influenced standards of conduct, habits, ideas, social institutions, and laws. They had created the distinctive ethos of Western civilization, and they had given direction to most of the leading tendencies which are now recognized to be characteristic of it (cf. CIVILIZATION). How could it be possible to dismiss from consideration the enormous phase of human history of which this was an example, as if evolutionists had no concern with the causes which had produced it (cf. Kidd, *Social Evolution*, ch. i.)?

Further consideration, therefore, made it evident that, if the theory of organic evolution by Natural Selection was to be accepted in human society, it would have to be accepted, like any other principle in Nature, without any reservation whatever. It would be necessary, accordingly, to seek for the function of religious belief in the evolution of society on a scale proportionate to the magnitude of its manifestations.

Throughout the forms of life below human society, the stress through which Natural Selection operated was that of the struggle for existence between individuals. But in human history the fact upon which attention had to be concentrated was that we were watching the integration of a social type. It was the more organic social type which was always winning. The central feature of the process was that it rested ultimately upon mind, and implied the subordination of the individual, over long tracts of time, to ends which fell far beyond the limits of the individual's own consciousness. Correspondence with environment in the case of human evolution, therefore, involved projected efficiency. It was a process of mind. If we were to hold the process of evolution as a mechanical one with no spiritual meaning in it, there would be no rational sanction whatever for the individual to subordinate himself to it. The race was destined, therefore, under the process of Natural Selection, to grow more and more religious. The ethical, philosophical, religious, and spiritual conceptions which were subordinating man to the larger meaning of his own evolution constituted the principal feature of the world's history, to which all others stood in subordinate relationship.

As the early Darwinians have continued to struggle with the laws and principles of the stress

of existence between individuals enunciated in the *Origin of Species*, and as it has become increasingly evident that the application of the law of Natural Selection to human society involves a first-hand consideration of all the problems of mind and philosophy, a remarkable feature of the situation has presented itself. This has consisted in the extremely limited number of minds of sufficient scope of view and training to enable them to deal with the new and larger problems that have arisen. The exponents of philosophy, untrained in the methods of science and largely unacquainted with its details, have necessarily continued to be without a fully reasoned perception of the enormous importance of the Darwinian principles of evolution in their own subject. The biologists, on the other hand, continuing to be immersed in the facts of the struggle for existence between animals, have in consequence, on their part, remained largely unacquainted with the principles of social efficiency in the evolution of human society. The dualism which has been opened in the human mind in the evolution of this efficiency has, in the religious and ethical systems of the race, a phenomenology of its own, stupendous in extent, and absolutely characteristic of the social process. But it remains a closed book to the biologist, and the study of it he is often apt to consider as entirely meaningless. The position has, therefore, most unusual features.

Darwin made no systematic study of human society. But, where he approached the subject in the *Origin of Species*, it was to disclose the bewilderment produced on his mind in attempting to apply the principles of the individual struggle for existence to social evolution. He seemed to think that Natural Selection must be suspended in civilization:

'We civilized men,' he said, 'do our utmost to check the process of elimination [of the weak in body and mind]; we build asylums for the imbecile, the maimed, and the sick; we institute poor laws; and our medical men exert their utmost skill to save the life of every one to the last moment' (*Descent of Man*, ch. v. [p. 168 in 1871 ed.]).

Darwin thus exhibited no perception of the fact that this sense of responsibility to life, which is so characteristic of advanced civilization, is itself part of the phenomenology of a larger principle of Natural Selection. That the deepening of the social consciousness, of which this developing spiritual sense of responsibility to our fellow-creatures is one of the outward marks, is of immense significance as characteristic of the higher organic efficiency of the social type in the struggle for existence was a meaning which seemed to escape him.

Alfred Russel Wallace, in approaching the study of human society in his book *Darwinism* (1889), displayed the same inability to distinguish that it is in relation to the capital problems with which the human mind has struggled in philosophy, ethics, and religion that we have the phenomena of Natural Selection in social evolution. The qualities with which priests and philosophers are concerned, he asserted, were altogether removed from utility in the struggle for existence; and he even mistakenly used the suggestion as an argument in support of religion. Here also the fact in evidence was that the naturalist, with his mind fixed on the details of the individual struggle for existence as it takes place between plants and animals, has been altogether at a disadvantage, both by training and equipment, in attempting to deal with the laws and principles of social efficiency. Huxley reached an almost equally characteristic contradiction in the Romanes lecture delivered at Oxford in 1893, in which he attempted to make a distinction in principle and meaning between the social process and the cosmic process, the lesson of evolution, like the lesson of religion,

being, of course, that they are one and the same. Sir Francis Galton, one of the last and greatest of Darwin's contemporaries, recently also exhibited this characteristic standpoint of all the early Darwinians. He put forward claims for a new science, 'Eugenics,' which he has defined as a science which would deal with all the influences that improve the inborn qualities of the race, and would develop them to the utmost advantage by 'scientific breeding.' The list of qualities which Galton proposed to breed from included health, energy, ability, manliness, and the special aptitudes required by various professions and occupations. Morals he proposed to leave out of the question altogether 'as involving too many hopeless difficulties.' Here once more we see the difficulty with which the naturalist is confronted in attempting to apply to human society the merely stud-book principles of the individual struggle for existence as it is waged among plants and animals. The entire range of the problems of morality and mind are necessarily ignored. The higher qualities of our social evolution, with all the absolutely characteristic phenomena contributing to the highest organic social efficiency, remain outside his vision.

We are as yet only at the beginning of this phase of knowledge. The present remarkable situation, here of necessity only lightly referred to, in which the biologists and the philosophers remain organized in isolated camps, each with the most restricted conception of the nature and importance of the work done by the other and of the bearing on its own conclusions, cannot be expected to continue. One of the most urgent needs of the present time is a class of minds of sufficient scope and training to be able to cover the relations of the conclusions of each of these sets of workers to those of the other and to the larger science of society. See also art. EVOLUTION.

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DASNĀMIS.—See ŚAIVISM.

DAWŪD B. 'ALĪ B. KHALAF.—Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. Khalaf, called al-Zāhiri (with the *kunya* Abū Sulaimān), a jurist celebrated as the originator of the Zāhiriyya school in Muslim theology, was born in Kūfa, A.H. 200 [=A.D. 815] (or, according to other authorities, A.H. 202 [=A.D. 817]), of a family belonging to Iṣfahān. Among the many eminent teachers under whom he studied in his youthful travels were two of the leading theologians of Islām, viz. Iṣḥāq b. Rāhawaih (†A.H. 233 [=A.D. 847]) of Nisābūr, with whom he enjoyed personal relations of the most intimate character, and Abū Thaur (Ibrāhīm b. Khālid) of Baghdād (†A.H. 240 [=A.D. 854]). Having completed his career of study, he settled in Baghdād, where he soon established a great reputation, and began to attract pupils in large numbers. His audience, in fact, commonly numbered about 400, and included even scholars of established repute. At this time Baghdād possessed another teacher of renown, Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (†A.H. 241 [=A.D. 855]), the Nestor of ultra-conservative orthodoxy, whose name is borne by the Hanbalitic party. Dāwūd sought to come into friendly relations with Ahmad, but all his advances were repelled, as he lay under the suspicion of having affirmed, while at Nisābūr, that the Qur'ān was a created work—a doctrine which Ahmad had attacked with great vigour and at heavy personal cost. It was even said that Dāwūd had been punished for his error by Iṣḥāq b. Rāhawaih. Though Dāwūd met

these allegations with a distinct denial, Ahmad still refused to receive him; nor was the strain relieved by the fact that the system promulgated by Dawūd coincided in many respects with that of Ahmad, and was even fitted to lend it support.

Although Dawūd, in his travels as a student, had applied himself eagerly to the study of the *Ḥadīth*, 'prophetic tradition,' he has no outstanding reputation as an authority on that subject. In point of fact, he is said to have given currency to only one prophetic dictum of note, which came to be associated with his name through the instrumentality of his son, Abū Bakr Muḥammad, a well-known *bel esprit* of his day. The saying is as follows: 'He who loves and pines and hides (his torment), and dies thereof, is to be regarded as a martyr.' As a teacher of jurisprudence, on the other hand, Dawūd's influence was enormous, and here he ranks as the founder of a distinct school. He allied himself with the system of the Imām, al-Shāfi'i, for whom he manifested an extraordinary reverence, and to whose high qualities (*manāqib*) he devoted two of his books. But, while Dawūd found his starting-point in the system of Shāfi'i, he at length developed a new method in the deduction of sacred law—a method which, in its results, diverged from that of his master in the most pronounced way, and at the same time brought its author into collision with the universally received views of Muslim jurisprudence. According to the prevailing doctrine, the bases of juristic deduction were (1) the ordinances attested by the Qur'ān; (2) those which had the support of tradition; (3) the *consensus* ('*ijmā'*) of recognized authorities; and (4) the conclusions established by speculative reasoning from analogies (*qiyās*), and by deduction of the *ratio legis* ('*illat al-shar'*) from given ordinances. In cases where positive injunctions derived from the first three sources proved inadequate, the reflective insight (*ra'y*, *opinio prudentium*) involved in the fourth was regarded as valid ground for juristic reasoning. Dawūd, however, denied the legitimacy of this last-mentioned source, i.e. the *ra'y*, and all that it implied, as also of all inquiry into the reasons of the Divine laws and the analogical arguments founded thereon. The only sources of juristic deduction which he recognized were the positive, or, as he calls them, the 'evident' (*ẓāhir*), i.e. the Qur'ān and Tradition. As for the *consensus*, he restricted it to the demonstrable 'agreement of the companions of the prophet' ('*ijmā' al-ṣaḥāba*'), assigning no more precise limits to the scope of this factor. In thus running counter to the procedure of the dominant schools, Dawūd found himself in alliance with the extreme section of the party known as the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* ('traditionalists')—in contrast to the *aṣḥāb al-ra'y* ('speculative jurists'),—and became the founder of the Zāhiriyya school, which is accordingly also called the *madhhab Dawūd*. It is true that he brought himself to the point of conceding the admissibility of the 'obvious analogy' (*qiyās ḥalī*) plainly indicated by positive injunctions, but only as a last resource. As a preliminary of delivering judgment, moreover, he demanded an independent investigation of tradition, and deprecated a mechanical adherence to the established doctrine of a master or a school (*taqlīd*). 'The automatic repetition of the teachings of one who is not infallible is pernicious, and shows blindness of judgment.' 'Out upon him who, having a torch (i.e. tradition) wherewith he may light his own way, extinguishes his torch, and moves only by another's help.' Men should not blindly follow any human authority, but should examine the sources for themselves.

Of Dawūd's writings, a list of which is given in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, nothing is now extant, but

it would be possible to reconstruct his doctrines from quotations in later literature. Biographical writers are at one in extolling the piety and sincerity of his character, and his abstemious mode of life. His fame spread far beyond the confines of his domicile, and from the furthest limits of the Muhammadan world those who were perplexed with theological problems came to him for light. He died in Baghdad in A.H. 270 [= A.D. 883]. Vast as his influence was, however, his system, which, owing to its limited scope, did not adequately meet the requirements of juristic practice, failed to gain a firm footing in public life. Numerous Muslim scholars associated themselves with it, but their adherence was largely personal and theoretical, and, except in a single instance, the system never attained an authoritative position in the official administration of justice. Its solitary success in this respect was achieved in the empire of the Almohads in Spain and North-West Africa, the founders of which, repudiating all adherence (*taqlīd*) to particular schools, held that the appeal to the traditional sources was the only permissible procedure. The history of Muslim learning down to the 9th cent. A.H. contains the names of famous adherents of the Zāhiristic principle in many different countries. The most important, and, in a literary sense, the most eminent, of these was the valiant Andalusian, Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī b. Ahmad, who expounded the Zāhiristic method in his works, and applied it not only to the jurisprudence of Islām, but to its dogmatic theology as well.

LITERATURE.—*Tāj al-dīn al-Subḥī, Taḥqīq al-Shāfi'iyya* (Cairo, 1324), II. 42-48 (biography of Dawūd); 1. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten, ihre Lehrgestalt u. ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1884; for the Almohad movement, the same author's Introduction to *Le Livre de Mohammed ibn Tūmert, Mahdi des Almohades*, Algiers, 1903, pp. 39-54. I. GOLDZICHER.

DAY OF ATONEMENT.—See FESTIVALS (Hebrew).

DEACON, DEACONESS.—See MINISTRY.

DEAD.—See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD, STATE OF THE DEAD.

DEÆ MATRES.—The *Deæ Matres* are divinities of uncertain character and function, whose worship is found chiefly in the Celtic and German provinces of the Roman Empire (cf. art. CELTS, vol. III. pp. 280, 286, and *passim*). How far they are to be identified or associated with so-called 'Mother-goddesses' among other peoples is a matter of dispute and will be discussed later. But there is evidence on Celtic and Germanic territory, and to some extent outside these limits, of a fairly definite cult of goddesses called usually *Matres* or *Matronæ*, and depicted in accordance with well-established conventions. Knowledge of them is derived entirely from inscriptions and monuments, of which a large number (over four hundred inscriptions) have been preserved; apparent survivals of their worship have been detected in the beliefs and traditions of the Celts and Germans of later ages; but no certain reference to them has been found in ancient literature. There is no reason for applying to them, as is sometimes done, a passage cited from Varro in the *de Civ. Dei* of St. Augustine (vii. 3, 'Unde dicit etiam ipse Varro, quod diis quibusdam patribus et deabus matribus, sicut hominibus, ignobilitas accidisset'). Varro's reference is probably general, and certainly the context in St. Augustine does not suggest an application to the particular divinities in question.

The inscriptions discovered up to the year 1887 were published and classified by Ihm in his very important monograph on the *Matronenkultus* (cited here by this short title; for exact references, see the Literature at end of article). Additional material

was included in Ihm's art. in Roscher (s.v. 'Matres'), and later discoveries will be taken account of, together with the results of later discussion, in the course of this article.

The name of the divinities appears in three forms in the inscriptions: *Matres*, *Matronæ*, and **Matræ* (the last being the nominative case inferred from the datives *Matris* and *Matrabus*). A fourth form **Mairæ* is held by some scholars to be preserved in five inscriptions, but the evidence for it is in no case clear. Three of the inscriptions in question are lost, and in the other two—a stone altar at Dijon and a relief at Metz—the readings are very uncertain.¹ The form **Matræ* may be due to Celtic influence, an old Celtic nominative singular **Matar* having been latinized as **Matra* and a dative plural **Matrabus* developed from it, perhaps with the aid of Celtic datives in *b* (cf. *Matronenkultus*, p. 10). But, in view of such analogous Latin forms as *nymphabus*, *fatibus*, *filibus*, *natabus*, etc., the Celtic explanation cannot be deemed necessary.² In the case of the dative plural *Matris*, the parallel formation *heredis* (= *heredibus*) has been similarly used as evidence against the theory of Celtic influence.³ Whatever be the explanation of the Latin words in question, there is one inscription which is generally held to show a Celtic (Gaulish) form of the name. This is preserved in the Museum at Nîmes and reads, in Greek letters, *Ματρεβο Ναιμαυκαβο βαρπουε*. The epithet *Ναιμαυκαβο* is almost certainly local = 'to the Nemausan Mothers'; but the tr. of *βαρπουε* is more doubtful. If it contains the root of the Ir. *bráth*, 'judgment,' it may well mean *ex iudicio*, and be equivalent to the common formula *ex imperio*.⁴

Matres and *Matronæ* appear to be synonymous, though their geographical distribution, as will be seen later, is somewhat different. They even occur as equivalents on a single inscription: 'Matribus sive Matronis Aufaniabus domesticis' (*Matronenkultus*, no. 207); and the same epithet is sometimes found in combination with both terms (cf. 'Matribus [V]acall[ti]neis' [*ib.* no. 215] with 'Matronis Vacal[ti]neis' [*ib.* nos. 224, 225, 227]). But such close association of the two is exceptional, and certain distinctions have been pointed out in their use. Ihm (Roscher, p. 2466) shows that *Matres* is accompanied by epithets of greater veneration ('*augustae*', '*deae*'). Hild (Daremberg-Saglio, iii. 1636) tries to make out a difference in the fact that men pray oftener to *Matres*, and women to *Matronæ*; but his figures can hardly be regarded as significant. Roach-Smith (in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vii. [1878-80] 213) argues that the *Matronæ* were concerned primarily with the feminine principle in Nature, with maternity and offspring, while the *Matres* presided over the fruits of the earth and, in general, over public and private business. None of these distinctions, however, is really established as valid. It is perhaps a significant fact, which is pointed out by Haverfield (*Arch. Æl.* xv. 320), that *Matronæ* does not occur in any land where the cult is demonstrably imported; and the name may be really the Celtic *Matróna*, which survives in the French *Marne* and a few other names of places, rather than the Lat. *Matróna*. Since there is no evidence outside of

inscriptions, the quantity of the *o* must be regarded as uncertain; and, if it was pronounced long, as is likely enough, this might simply mean that the familiar Latin word had been substituted for the Celtic. The substitution would have been entirely natural, and the two words would have come to be regarded as identical. The fact that *Matróna* appears regularly in the singular, whereas the *Matronæ* are named in the plural and depicted in groups, might show a divergent development of the two cults, but would not preclude a common origin. Moreover, there is some doubt, as will be shown later, whether the *Matres* or *Matrónæ* were not sometimes conceived and represented singly. Even if the identification of *Matrónæ* with *Matróna* should be accepted, it would not become any easier to make a distinction between *Matres* and *Matrónæ*, for the Celtic (or possibly pre-Celtic) *Matrona*, like the Latin, appears to be a derivative of the simple word for 'mother.' The character of the divinities bearing the name *Matróna* is also quite uncertain.¹ On the whole, then, *Matres* and *Matronæ* seem to be equivalent in sense, and neither of them is probably Roman in origin. In the following discussion the two words will be used interchangeably, except where a distinction is explicitly made between them.

The dates of the monuments to the *Matres* or *Matronæ* range all the way from the time of Caligula (*Matronenkultus*, no. 35) to that of Gordianus (*ib.* no. 361). They are found chiefly in Cisalpine Gaul, Gallia Narbonensis, Gaul proper, and Lower Germany, and to a limited extent at Rome itself, in Britain, and in Spain.² Those at Rome and in Britain are apparently due to soldiers or tradesmen, and do not prove the local existence of the cult; and the same may be true of the few inscriptions preserved on the Spanish peninsula. The latter, however, are taken by d'Arbois de Jubainville as evidence that the Celtiberi had the worship in common with the Gauls; and the epithet 'Gallaicis' favours the supposition.³ Still more remote provinces are brought into relation with the cult by the inscriptions, 'Matres Pannoniorum et Delmatarum,' preserved at Lyons (*Matronenkultus*, no. 394), and 'Matres Afræ Italæ Gallæ,' preserved at York (*ib.* no. 348). But no inscription to *Matres* or *Matronæ* has yet been found in either Africa or the Illyrian provinces south of the Danube, and it seems probable that the names indicate simply military service in those regions on the part of the dedicants or of their soldiers.⁴ Monuments are commonest on the west bank of the Rhine and in the vicinity of Lyons; and the tribes among whom the worship chiefly flourished appear to have been the Vocontii, Arecomici, Allobroges, Sequani, Lingones, and Ubii. There are almost no traces of it in Aquitania or western Narbonensis, and few in the region east of the Rhine.⁵ The geographical distribution of the names is, in general, as follows: *Matronæ* seems to be the only form in Cisalpine Gaul, though some abbreviations are doubtful, and it is the prevailing form in Germany; **Matræ* occurs chiefly near Lyons

¹ The comparison between *Matrónæ* and *Matróna* is old. See, for example, Pictet in *Rcel* ii. 8. On the occurrences of *Matróna*, see Holder, *Altcelt. Sprachschatz*, s.v. For the view that it is Ligurian, not Celtic, compare H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Premiers habitants de l'Europe* 2, Paris, 1880, ii. 169, and G. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*, Paris, 1906, p. 240.

² For a map showing their distribution, see Haverfield's art. in *Arch. Æl.* xiv. [1893] 876; also J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Religiões de Lusitania*, ii. [1905] 176 ff.

³ See Ihm, *Bonner Jahrb.* xcii. [1892] 258, and *Matronenkultus*, p. 120 ff., for inscriptions to 'Campestres,' 'Triviae,' etc., in Africa and the Danube provinces.

⁴ On certain evidences recently pointed out for such worship in the Palatinate, see Grunewald, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1906, p. 239 ff.

¹ In support of **Mairæ*, see Hirschfeld, *CIL* xiii. no. 5473; against it, Ihm, *Matronenkultus*, p. 12 ff.

² See Haverfield, *Archæol. Æliana*, xv. [1892] 32. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- u. Formenlehre*, Heidelberg, 1902, p. 380, explains such forms by the analogy of *deabus*. *Matronabus* also occurs (see *Notizie degli schiavi*, 1897, p. 6).

³ See Siebourg, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1888, p. 115, and *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cv. [1901] 66.

⁴ See Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, Heidelberg, 1900, p. 190, and Rhys, 'Celt. Inscr. of France and Italy,' *Proc. Brit. Acad.* ii. [1905-6] 291. It should be said that some scholars do not hold the inscription to be Celtic. D'Arbois de Jubainville (*Rcel*, 1890, p. 250) explains it as Latin; and Bréal (*RA* xxxi. [1897] 104) as Italic. The latter scholar translates *βαρπουε* by *merito de*, comparing Oscan *brateis*.

and in Gallia Narbonensis; and *Matres* is common in Gaul proper and in Britain.

So far as we have direct evidence, then, concerning the worship, it belongs to the Celtic and Germanic provinces of the Roman Empire, the chief points of radiation being Gaul and Lower Germany. With regard to its origin and early history there is difference of opinion. The theory that it was a general Indo-Germanic institution (set forth most fully by Becker, Kuhn's *Beiträge*, iv. [1868] 146 ff.) is rejected by most recent investigators, though the relation of this to other cults of Mother-goddesses among various peoples presents obscure problems which are not by any means to be summarily dismissed. This subject will receive further mention, but in the meantime clearness will be undoubtedly served by confining the discussion, as Ihm has wisely done, to the narrower range of forms which are evidently related. These are common to Celts and Germans, and both peoples have been held to be the original possessors of the worship. The probabilities are rather in favour of the view that the Celts first developed it and that the Germans borrowed it from them. The oldest dated monument (*Matronenkultus*, no. 35, of the age of Caligula) has been found in northern Italy, and the cult was undoubtedly native also to southern Gaul. It is unlikely that the Celtic population of either of those regions derived it from the Germans, and all that is known of the relations of Germans and Celts down to the beginning of the Christian era favours the theory that the Germans, in such matters, were the borrowers or imitators.¹ It is possible, of course, that both peoples possessed the worship equally from the beginning (cf. Siebourg, *op. cit.* p. 97; also Much, *ZDA* xxxv. 315 ff.), or that they derived it independently from older populations which preceded them in the occupation of western Europe. Attention has already been called to the uncertainty concerning the history of the names *Matres* and *Matronæ* themselves.

The Mother-goddesses, in the restricted sense in which they are now being considered, were apparently conceived in triads. Only one inscription ('*Matribus tribus Campestribus*,' *CIL* vii. 510, preserved in Britain) designates the number; but the goddesses are often depicted in groups of three, and no monument representing a different number is definitely associated with them by an inscription. The position and arrangement of the *Matres* vary somewhat on different monuments, the prevailing type showing three draped figures, seated beneath a canopy or arch, wearing round head-dresses like a nimbus, and holding baskets of fruit on their knee. The middle goddess is usually distinguished from the others in some fashion, either by the size and position of her figure or by a difference in head-dress. On one monument she is seated while the others stand, and on another she stands while the others sit. It is hardly to be supposed, however, that there was any distinction of rank or function among the divinities. Such variations in the type were doubtless purely artistic in purpose.² On a very few monuments, notably the Metz relief (*Matronenkultus*, p. 43, fig. 7), the three goddesses are represented as standing.

¹ Cf. *Matronenkultus*, p. 57 ff.; and C. de la Saussaye, *Relig. of the Teutons*, 1902, p. 88 ff. See also, on the early relations of Celts and Germans, d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Premiers habitants*, ii. 323 ff.; Kluge, in Paul's *Grundriss*, i.² [1901] 324 ff.; Bremer, *ib. iii.*² [1904] 787 ff.; R. Much, *Deutsche Stammeskunde*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 41 ff. Kauffmann, in *Ztschr. des Ver. für Volksk.* ii. [1892] 24 ff., disputes the adoption of Mother-worship by the Germans, except when they had practically abandoned their nationality. But there is considerable evidence on the other side. See Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. [1900] 95 ff.

² Cf. *Matronenkultus*, pp. 47-48, and Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. 100. For an attempt to connect the type with Gr. representations of the Mother of the Gods, see Loeschke, *Bonner Jahrb.* xov. [1894] 261.

It is doubtful how far monuments representing groups larger or smaller than three are to be associated with the worship of the *Matres*. Five dancing women on a relief at Avigiana probably do not themselves represent the goddesses, though the monument is inscribed '*Matronis*' (see *Matronenkultus*, p. 48). A group of two figures on a relief at Poitiers, holding cornucopias and baskets of fruit, has also been taken to represent *Matres*. But the existence of other goddesses known to have been worshipped in pairs renders the identification extremely doubtful.¹ The single figures of a goddess riding a horse, often referred to in the past as an 'equestrian *Matrona*,'² are now held to be *Epona*, a divinity of distinct character, whose worship appears, however, in the same regions as that of the *Matres*.³ Occasionally, in fact, *Epona* and the Mother-goddesses are associated on the same monument.⁴ It is, of course, possible that *Epona* was originally, as Renel (*Les Religions de la Gaule avant le christianisme*, Paris, 1906, p. 281) suggests, only a *Matrona* with specialized function (*mère spécialisée*).

Of dubious connexion with the *Matres*, likewise, are numerous statuettes of single figures, without names, more or less resembling the inscribed representations of the goddesses. Some of these figures carry fruit or cornucopias, and have the same head-dress as appears on the larger monuments; others represent women with babes—a conception in itself suitable enough to *Matres* or *Matronæ*, though not in accordance with the usual convention. Ihm rejects all such figures, insisting upon the triadic group as characteristic of the cult (*Matronenkultus*, p. 53 ff.); and the existence of statuettes of the regular triad rather counts in his favour, making it more difficult, as Siebourg has argued, to identify single figures as *Matronæ*.⁵ It is even doubted whether the numerous statuettes of women with babes or fruits represent goddesses at all. They may be merely votive offerings or talismanic images; but in the case of many of them the symbolism appears to indicate local or personal divinities similar in function to the *Matres*. The most reasonable conclusion, perhaps, is to recognize the probable existence of many related forms of worship, and at the same time to restrict the names *Matres* and *Matronæ* to monuments actually so inscribed or exhibiting the customary figures of the three divinities. The geographical limits already laid down for the cult were made up on this basis, and it does not seem wise to extend them by the inclusion of doubtful monuments.⁶ The term 'Mother-goddesses,' which is applied, especially by French archaeologists, to a great number of these statuettes of various types, is sometimes used very

¹ Cf., for example, the inscription, '*Deabus Vercanae et Medunae*,' at Trèves; and see, for other references, *Matronenkultus*, p. 53 ff., and Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. 98 ff.

² Becker's '*reitende Matrona*,' *Bonner Jahrb.* xxvi. [1858] 91 ff.

³ See *Matronenkultus*, p. 55 ff.; S. Reinach, *RA*, 1895, p. 163 ff. Reinach gives a map of the distribution of *Epona* monuments, which may be compared with Haverfield's map for the Mother-goddesses. For some modification of Reinach's statements, cf. Dangebaud, *Revue des études anciennes*, vii. [1906] 236 ff.

⁴ See Domaszewski, *Rel. des rom. Héres*, Trèves, 1895, p. 50.

⁵ See the *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. 98; also Monceaux, *Revue historique*, xxxv. [1887] 256.

⁶ On the statuettes of the types under consideration there is an extensive literature. See esp. *Matronenkultus*, p. 53; Tudot, *Figurines de l'époque gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1860; Vallentin, in *RCel* iv. [1879] 28; Monceaux, *Revue historique* xxxv. [1887] 256 ff.; Ohauvet, *Hypothèse sur une statuette antique*, Angoulême, 1901; A. Blanchet, '*Figurines en terre-cuite de la Gaule romaine*,' *Mém. Soc. Ant.*, 6th series, i. [1890] 65 ff., x. [1901] 189 ff.; Baillet, *Mém. de la Soc. archéol. et historique de l'Orléanais*, xxix. [1905] 399 ff.; Gassies, *Revue des études anciennes*, viii. [1906] 55 ff.; and A. J. Reinach, *Pro Alisia*, iii. [1908-9] 426 ff. For a map of Gaul showing the distribution of Mother-worship in the more inclusive sense, see Renel, *Les Religions*, p. 286.

loosely. Thus Gassies, pleading against the restriction of the Mother-worship to Gaul and Germany, cites Venus, Juno, and Demeter as *déeses mères*; and other writers (see, for example, A. Wirth, *Danae*, Vienna and Prague, 1892, p. 95) have compared the *Matres* with the Semitic 'Ašdōrā. Statuettes, moreover, of the sort just referred to have been found in widely separate regions outside of Gaul: for example, in Greece, Italy, and Northern Africa.¹

The difficulty, if not the impossibility, of keeping the worship of *Matres* and *Matronæ* distinct from all other cults is hardly less apparent in the case of inscribed than in that of uninscribed monuments. For the ancients themselves associated, and doubtless to some extent identified, these divinities with others. Just as in the case of several of the more important individual gods of the Celts and Germans, so with regard to the *Matres*, the modern investigator is puzzled by the uncertain meaning of the *interpretatio Romana*. Roman conquerors and romanized provincials alike were eager to identify the gods of the northern barbarians with those of the old classical pantheon, and the resulting equations are neither consistent with themselves nor easy to understand.² The *Matres*, in this way, are sometimes associated with the *Parcae*, on the evidence of a few inscriptions 'Matribus Parcis.' But it is not clear that an identification of the two groups was intended by the dedicants in question. Moreover, the modes of representing the *Matres* and the *Parcae* are quite different, and their fundamental characters appear to have been dissimilar (see below, p. 410^a, and cf. *Matronenkultus*, p. 66 ff., and Haverfield, *Arch. Æl.* xv. 326). The association of the Fates with the *Matres* is also doubtful, and finds no positive support in the inscriptions.³ In the case of the *Nymphæ*, whom some investigators have brought into relation with the *Matres*, there is little reason for the comparison, beyond the fact that both kinds of divinities have numerous monuments inscribed with local epithets.⁴ Evidence is slightly better, as Ihm has shown, for connecting the *Matres* with the goddesses of the cross-roads (*q.v.*) named on various monuments as 'Bivivæ,' 'Trivivæ,' and 'Quadrivivæ,' though the matter is by no means certain.⁵ But the divinities who may with most probability be identified with the *Matres* are those who were called 'Campestres,' 'Junones,' and 'Suleviæ.' All these names appear both independently and in combination with *Matres* or *Matronæ*, and it is hard to say whether they stand for goddesses originally distinct and later identified with the *Matres*, or whether they were originally mere epithets of the *Matres* and afterwards came to be used independently. At all events the divinities concerned were closely associated in the end with the Mother-goddesses. The *Junones*, in the sense now under consideration, should probably be distinguished from the Roman *Junones*, conceived as the geniuses of women. They are very likely only *Matronæ* worshipped under another name, and the chief seat of their cult appears to have been Cisalpine Gaul.⁶ The

Campestres have sometimes been described as goddesses of the fields, but it is more probable that they were the special protectors of the military camp, or rather that their name was the epithet applied to the *Matronæ* when conceived as exercising this function.¹ In the case of the *Suleviæ* it is more probable that we have divinities originally distinct from the *Matres*, though of closely similar character and function. Inscriptions to them are far less numerous than those to the *Matres* or *Matronæ*, but their geographical distribution is similar. The origin and meaning of the name *Suleviæ* is unknown, though it is tempting to compare the British *Dea Sul*, worshipped at Bath (*Aquæ Sulis*), and to seek an etymology in the Celtic root *sul* (O. Ir. *síil*, 'eye'). If this theory is right, the meaning of the word would be similar to that of *Tutelæ*.²

In the absence of all ancient literary treatment of the Mother-goddesses, the only evidences of their divine functions are those furnished by the artistic representations of the divinities, and by the epithets applied to them. The customary figures of the *Matres* have been described already. The epithets, though numerous, contribute very little new information. Many of them are simply general terms of veneration, such as 'augustæ,' 'deæ,' 'divæ,' 'sanctæ,' perhaps also 'dominæ,' though the application of this to the *Matres* is not certain.³ 'Nemetiales' is possibly equivalent to 'sanctæ,' but seems rather to be connected with the tribal name of the *Nemetes* or with some locality (see Rhys, p. 102; *Matronenkultus*, p. 16). Other epithets denote the special protective relation of the goddesses to individual dedicants or their families; for example, 'mææ,' 'suæ,' 'paternæ,' 'maternæ,' 'domesticæ,' 'trivivæ,' 'conservatriciæ,' 'indulgentiæ.' By far the greater number contain the names of nations, tribes, or localities, such as 'Afriæ Italæ Gallæ,' 'Italæ Gallæ Germanæ Britannæ,' 'Omnium gentium,' 'Noriciæ,' 'Treveræ,' Ναρασιοναβιο, and the numerous non-Latin or half-latinized names which, though largely unexplained, are held to belong chiefly to this class. A few of the latter have been brought into relation with definite place-names like 'Julinehiæ,' 'Albiahenæ,' 'Nersihenæ,' 'Mahlinehæ,' connected respectively with Jülich, Elvenich, Neersen, and Mecheln; but the great majority seem to go back to pre-Roman names, since displaced and lost.⁴ The names *Afims*, *Saithamims*, and *Vatruims*—over against the latinized forms *Afiabus*, *Saithamiabus*, and *Vatruibus*—which are of special interest as exhibiting very archaic forms of the Germanic dative plural ending, are also presumably of local significance.⁵ The only native epithet which seems to have reference to function is 'Gabiæ,' with its compounds 'Ollogabiæ' (on two inscriptions at Mainz), and 'Alagabiæ' (on an inscription at Bürgel). Even this is not beyond dispute, and its meaning is not particularly individualizing at best. It is usually translated the 'Givers,' the 'All-Givers' (cf. *Pandora*)—a name which is quite consistent with the representations of the goddesses. The etymology is easy in Germanic (cf. *geben*, 'give,' etc.), where

¹ See Sieburg, *de Sulevis Campestribus Fatis*, Bonn, 1886; Ihm, *Matronenkultus*, p. 76 ff.; and Roscher, s.v. 'Matres,' p. 2475.

² See Sieburg, *de Sulevis*, etc., and *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. [1900] 89 ff.; and Ihm, *Matronenkultus*, p. 78 ff.

³ See *Matronenkultus*, p. 98, and Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, 1892, p. 102 ff., the latter comparing the Gaulish *Comedove*.

⁴ On this class of epithets, see particularly von Grienberger, in *Erano Vindobonensis*, Vienna, 1893, p. 253 ff., and Sieburg, *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. 79 ff. A wholly different theory, connecting epithets in *-nhus* with *Nha*, the name of a hot spring at Dex, and explaining them as Iberian or Ligurian, was proposed by O. Jullian, *Revue des études anc.* III. [1901] 212. See also his *Hist. de Gaulle*, II. 131.

⁵ See Kaufmann, *op. cit.* II. 44, and Sieburg, *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. 94-95.

¹ Cf. S. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés*, p. 15, and Blanchet, *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires*, vi. [1901] 10, p. 197 ff.).

² Cf., for example, the various views about Taranis and Teutates discussed by Reinach, *RCel* xviii. [1897] 137 ff.

³ See *Matronenkultus*, p. 98 ff., and Esplanadien, *Musée Calvet, inscriptions antiques*, Avignon, 1900, p. 59 f.

⁴ See *Matronenkultus*, p. 98 ff. The old comparison has been recently repeated by J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Religiões de Lusitania*, II. 198.

⁵ With *Matronenkultus*, p. 87 ff., cf. Ihm's later remarks in the *Bonner Jahrb.* xdv. [1898] 165, and Haverfield in the *Arch. Æl.* xv. 326.

⁶ See particularly Ihm's art. 'Junones II.' in Roscher. The *Procuæ*, sometimes identified with the *Matres*, seem to correspond rather to the regular Roman *Junones* (cf. *Matronenkultus*, p. 97).

several other divine names are perhaps to be derived from the same root; but in the Celtic languages, in which the root *gab* usually means 'take,' rather than 'give,' the explanation is more difficult. It is possible, therefore, that the epithet is Germanic in origin, and that the form 'Ollogabiae,' in which the prefix has a Celtic appearance, is simply a case of the Celtic adoption of the Germanic 'Alagabiae.'¹ The interpretation proposed for *Gabie* is supported by several divine names in Lithuanian ('Matergabia,' 'Polengabia') which have similar form and meaning.²

With regard to the nature and function of the goddesses, various theories have been held. According to older views, now generally abandoned, they were deified druidesses of the ancient Celts, or prophetesses of the Germans, or symbols of the three Gauls or of the three seasons.³ The occasional association of the *Matres* with the *Parcae* has led to their interpretation as divinities of destiny; but the evidence for this has already (p. 409*) been shown to be slight. And the representations of the goddesses, together with the few epithets that seem to bear on the question ('Indulgentes,' 'Gabie,' etc.), indicate that they were primarily friendly local divinities of wealth and fruitfulness. As such, their functions would resemble those of Fortuna or Pomona rather than those of the Fates, though the two conceptions would be naturally associated, and occasional equations between *Matres* and *Parcae* might be expected to appear. Ihm, in defining them as 'gütige Schicksalsgöttinnen,' combines the two characters, and his definition may be allowed to stand, if it is understood not to imply too large an element of Fate or too close an approximation to the classical conception of the *Parcae*. At the same time, the sphere of the goddesses should not, on the evidence of the reliefs, be too narrowly restricted to the care of lands and flocks. The conventional representation of them, which was doubtless of classical origin, may have been purely artistic in purpose and in no sense a complete expression of the cult. Even the number three, which is also characteristic of monuments of *Proxuma*, *Parca*, and *Nymphæ*, may be a formal device for representing the plural and have no literal significance. Certainly the distribution of the worship, the occasional association of the *Matres* with *Mars*, and such epithets as 'campestres' and 'victrices,' all connecting the goddesses with the military camp, suggest a considerable extension of their powers in one direction; and various dedications by women imply their influence over still other phases of life. Their functions were doubtless vaguely conceived by their worshippers, and ought not to be narrowly defined. As the tutelary genies of tribes or localities, they presided over all the interests of the people, and gave success to all kinds of undertakings. They belong, in short, to a stage of religion in which 'departmental' deities were scarcely conceived, and their cult doubtless survived, with slight alteration, even after the development of gods with specialized functions.⁴

Although the cult of the *Matres* was wide-spread and in a sense influential, as is shown by the numerous monuments and also by occasional

¹ Cf. Kern, *Verlagten en Mededeelingen der K. Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam, 1872, II. 304 ff.; Ihm, *Matronenkultus*, p. 48; Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. 98; and Much, *Festgabe für R. Heinzel*, p. 262. The possibility of Celtic *Gabie* in the sense of 'Givers,' is by no means to be denied. See Stokes, *Irish Celtic Language*, s.v. 'Gab,' in Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen*, 1894, II. 106.

² Cf. Schrader, *Reallexicon*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 680, and von Grienberger, *Archiv für slav. Philol.* xviii. [1896] 52-65.

³ For references to these explanations, see *Matronenkultus*, p. 65 f.

⁴ Cf. Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. 87; Anwyl, *Celtic Religion*, London, 1906, p. 42, and *CsR* III. [1906] 26 ff.

temples of the goddesses, yet in the Roman period, from which our evidence comes, it does not appear to have belonged to the higher social classes. All the dedicants, so far as can be determined, are persons of low rank, except perhaps the *tribunus militum* of a single inscription (*Matronenkultus*, no. 394), and it is possible that he is offering on behalf of his soldiers. The fact, too, that the worship is not mentioned in literature is further evidence that it belonged mainly to the humbler people.¹

So popular a worship can hardly have failed to leave traces of itself in later ages in the regions where it flourished, and apparent survivals of the ancient cult have been detected in the beliefs of both Celts and Germans in mediæval and modern times. There can be little doubt that the fairies of western European folk-lore, particularly in the Celtic countries, correspond in part to the *Matres*. It is hard to speak precisely of the history of the lower mythology, which is far from precise in its own distinctions; and one cannot expect to keep by themselves the descendants of a single group of minor divinities. The modern fairies undoubtedly derive some of their characteristics from the ancient Fates, as their name itself implies. But the *Matres* also, in their character of divinities of wealth and good fortune, have much in common with the benignant fairy; they were associated in antiquity, as has been seen, with the *Parcae*; and they must be allowed to share with the goddesses of destiny in the later development of fairy mythology.² The identification of *Matres* and fairies, moreover, is occasionally supported by definite evidence, such as the existence of an ancient inscribed monument in the neighbourhood of a fairy mound or dwelling.³ Possibly, too, one of the modern Welsh names of the fairies, *Y Mamau* ('The Mothers'), may point back to the old relation.⁴

In some peculiar instances the worship of the Mother-goddesses appears to have survived in a quasi-Christian form. The representations of the *Matres* at Metz are said to have been venerated until the 18th century as the 'three Marys' (*Matronenkultus*, no. 385, p. 162, also p. 74 ff.). Similarly, at Thumb, near Nideggen, the worship of three maidens representing Faith, Hope, and Charity has been brought into connexion with traces of the Mother-worship; and the same explanation has been proposed to account for the 'Drei Merjen,' Bellmarie, Schwellmarie, and Krieschmarie, who are worshipped at Dürboslar, near Jülich, as protectors of infants.⁵ It is possible that the images of the *Matres* may have started such cults even after the actual worship of the goddesses had been entirely forgotten. Thus various local dedications to the Madonna are probably due to the discovery of old statues which were conceived by the worshippers as being in some sense miraculous images; but these statues, in so far as they represent single figures, have been seen to be of doubtful connexion with the cult of the *Matres* in the restricted sense of the present discussion.⁶

One conspicuous modern literary reference to

¹ On temples of the *Matres*, see *Matronenkultus*, p. 51; Rauffmann, *op. cit.* II. [1892] 36; Grünwald, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, 1906, p. 239 ff. On the dedicants, *Matronenkultus*, p. 62 ff. and Index; Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, 103; Siebourg, *Bonner Jahrb.* cv. 91 ff.; and Lehner, *ib.* cxix. 301 ff.

² Cf. T. Wright, *The Celtic, the Roman, and the Saxon*, ed. 1876, p. 338 ff., and A. Maury, *Croyances et légendes du moyen âge*, ed. 1896, p. 1 ff., both of whom, perhaps, go too far in identifying *Matres* and the Fates.

³ On an instance at St. Romain-en-Gal, see Vallentin, *RCel* iv. [1879] 33.

⁴ Cf. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, 1901, p. 174.

⁵ See A. Schoop, *Bonner Jahrb.* cx. [1903] 384.

⁶ See Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, 102, and Baillet *Mém. de la Soc. archéol. et hist. de l'Orléanaise*, xxix. [1905] 403.

Mother-goddesses, the familiar passage on 'Die Mütter' in the second part of Goethe's *Faust*, has been sometimes associated with the Celtic and Germanic divinities in question. But Eckermann (*Gespräche mit Goethe*, Jan. 10, 1830) testifies that Goethe himself acknowledged no source except a passage in Plutarch which said that the ancient Greeks spoke of 'Mothers' as divinities. The reference seems to be to Plutarch's *Marcellus*, cap. 20, where the Sicilian *Μητρές*, worshipped at Engyion, are mentioned. Very little is known of their cult or nature, and that little does not indicate any close resemblance between them and the *Matres* of the Celts and Germans.¹

LITERATURE.—The most important treatise on the subject is Max Ihm's 'Der Mütter- oder Matronenkultus und seine Denkmäler' (*Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxiii. [1887] 1-200). An earlier work by J. de Wal, *De Moeder Goddinnen*, Leyden, 1846, is superseded by Ihm's investigations. The principal contributions since the *Matronenkultus* are: Ihm, art. 'Matres,' in *Roscher*, ii. 2, p. 2464 ff.; J. A. Hild, art. 'Matres,' in *Daremberg-Saglio*, iii. 1636 ff.; F. Haverfield, in *Ztsch. d. Ethnol.*, *Äthna*, xv. [1892] 314 ff.; R. Much, in *ZDA* xxiii. [1891] 315 ff.; F. Kanuffmann, in *Ztschr. des Ver. für Volkskunde*, ii. (1892) 24 ff.; Th. von Grienberger, in *Brav. Vindobonensis*, 1893, p. 253 ff.; M. Siebourg, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cv. (1900) 78 ff.; H. Lehner, ib. cxix. [1891] 301 ff. Valuable collections of references are given in Holder's *Altelt. Sprachschatz*, Leipzig, 1896, under 'Matres,' 'Matres,' 'Matronae,' and under the various epithets; and many illustrations of the monuments are to be found in the *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, in process of publication by E. Espérandieu (Paris, 1907 ff.). For references on statuettes, see p. 408^b above. F. N. ROBINSON.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

Intro. and Primitive (E. S. HARTLAND), p. 411.

Ægean.—See TOMBS.

Babylonian (S. H. LANGDON), p. 444.

Buddhist (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 446.

Celtic.—See CELTS, ARYAN RELIGION, and DEATH (Pre-historic Europe).

Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 450.

Coptic (P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF), p. 454.

Early Christian (E. K. MITCHELL), p. 456.

Egyptian (H. R. HALL), p. 458.

Europe, Pre-historic (R. MUNRO), p. 464.

Greek (G. SERGI), p. 472.

Hebrew.—See 'Jewish.'

Hindu (A. HILLEBRANDT), p. 475.

Indian, non-Aryan (W. CROOKE), p. 479.

Jain (H. JACOBI), p. 484.

Japanese (A. LLOYD), p. 485.

Jewish (W. H. BENNETT), p. 497.

Muhammadan (S. LANE-POOLE), p. 500.

Parsi (N. SÖDERBLOM), p. 502.

Phœnician.—See 'Babylonian.'

Roman (G. SHOWERMAN), p. 505.

Slavic (O. SCHRADER), p. 508.

Syriac.—See 'Babylonian.'

Teutonic.—See ARYAN RELIGION, and DEATH (Pre-historic Europe).

Tibetan (L. A. WADDELL), p. 509.

Vedic.—See VEDIC RELIGION.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.—

- I. Introductory.
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I. Introductory.—The horror of death is universal among mankind. It depends not so much on the pain that often accompanies dissolution as upon the mystery of it and the results to the subject and to the survivors—the cessation of the old familiar relations between them, and the decomposition of the body. This horror has given rise to an obstinate disbelief in the necessity of death, and to attempts, continually repeated in spite of invariably disastrous experience of failure, to escape it. Even the most natural and inevitable decrease is persistently ascribed to causes not beyond human control; and, on the other hand, legends of the origin of death are familiar and wide-spread. The picture thus presented of the desperate refusal of mankind to accept a cardinal condition of existence is one of the most pathetic in the history of the race.

II. Origin of death.—The best-known type of the story of the origin of death is that contained in Gn 3. There it is represented as the result of disobedience to the Divine command to abstain from the fruit of a certain tree. Disobedience is not a very uncommon cause of death in stories elsewhere.

Among various tribes of New South Wales it is said that the people were meant to live for ever. But they were forbidden to approach a certain hollow tree. The wild bees made a nest in the tree, and the women coveted the honey. In spite of warnings by the men, a woman attacked the tree with her tomahawk, and out flew a huge bat. The bat was Death, which was henceforth free to roam the world and claim all that it could touch with its wings (K. Langloh Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, London, 1905, p. 98; R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, London, 1878, i. 428). The story told by the Baganda of Central Africa is to the effect that Kintu, the first man, after undergoing various tests well known in folk-tales, is allowed to marry Nambi, one of the daughters of Mugulu (Heaven, or the Above). Her father sends them down to the earth with gifts, which include a hen, telling them to hurry lest they meet with Nambi's brother Warumbe (Death), at the moment absent, and forbidding them to return to fetch anything that they may have forgotten. On the way Nambi remembers that it is time to feed the hen, and consents to Kintu's immediate return for the millet she has forgotten. Mugulu is angry at the disobedience, and the result is that Warumbe claims to go with Kintu. It is vain to object. Warumbe accordingly goes and dwells with Kintu and Nambi on the earth. Nambi gives birth to three children. Warumbe asks for one, but Kintu puts him off. In course of time many more children are born; but, when Warumbe repeats his request, Kintu again temporizes. Out of patience, he threatens to carry them all off; and the children begin to die. On appeal to Mugulu, another of his sons, Kalkuzi (the Digger), is sent to bring back Warumbe. Warumbe, however, sinks into the earth. General silence is proclaimed, and Kalkuzi goes into the earth to pursue him. He forces Warumbe out, but there are some children feeding goats at the place, and on seeing him they cry out. The cries break the spell; Warumbe returns into the ground, and by Mugulu's command he is allowed to stay (Johnston, *Uganda Prot.*, Lond. 1902, ii. 700). According to the Masai of the Uganda Protectorate, a superior being or demigode directed a Masai, when a child died, to throw away the body, uttering a spell: 'Man, die and come back again; moon, die, and remain away.' But, when a child that was not his died, the Masai disobeyed and reversed the spell. Afterwards, when he tried the spell on one of his own children, he found it had lost its effect; and now, when the moon dies, it comes back, but man does not return (Hollis, *Masai*, Oxford, 1906, p. 271).

In the legends of some peoples, death is the result of a god's curse unconnected with an act of disobedience.

The Bataks of Palawan in the Philippine Islands relate that their god used to raise the dead to life again. But they deceived him once with a shark wrapped up like a corpse. When he discovered the trick, he cursed them to remain for ever subject to suffering and death (*Ethnol. Survey, Phil. Islands*, ii. [1905] 188). More poetical is the Japanese tale of Prince Ninighi, who fell in love with Princess Flourishing-like-the-Flowers. Her father, the god of the Great Mountain, consented to her marriage, and sent with her her elder sister, Long-as-the-Rocks. This

¹ Cf. *Matronenkultus*, p. 58 ff.

lady, however, was frightfully ugly, and the bridegroom sent her back. Thereupon the god cursed his son-in-law, declaring that his posterity should be frail as the flowers (*RHR* liv. [1906] 169). A Haida story accounts for death by the fact that men were formed of grass and salmon-berry bushes. But the Haida have another legend, according to which men were made by the Raven, who decreed that they should never die. The decision was changed at the instance of the Wren, that he might have a place of resort under their grave-scaffolds (*Esqu. Exped.* v. [1905] 210, 238). Among the Quinault Indians of British Columbia, where Eagle and Raven are the joint authors of things as they now are, Eagle proposes that when men die they shall come to life again. Raven, however, opposes this, and has his way. He regrets it when his own daughter dies and cannot be revived, but it is then too late (*op. cit.* li. 111).

The enmity or the slackness of one of the lower animals is regarded by many people as the cause of death.

A story very wide-spread in Africa among Negroes, Bantu, and Hottentots alike, is found in two forms. The Hottentot version is that the hare was charged by the moon with the message to men: 'Like as I die and rise to life again, so you also shall die and rise to life again.' But the hare conveyed the message thus: 'Like as I die and do not rise to life again, so you also shall die and not rise to life again.' The angry moon split the hare's lip with a blow; but the mischief was done and was irremediable. Hence the hare is a tabued animal to the Hottentots. Among the Bantu the chameleon is made the messenger. But he is a slow creature, and after his departure the Superior Being changed his mind and dispatched the lizard with the message of death. The lizard overtook the chameleon and arrived first. When afterwards the chameleon delivered his message, it was too late: the irrevocable decree had been conveyed (Bleek, *Reynard the Fox*, Lond. 1864, pp. 71, 74). In Calabar a dog and a sheep are the rival delegates; and it is through the fault of the dog that we die (*Journ. Afr. Soc.* x. [1906] 194). The ill-will of the antelope is alleged by a tribe on the Ivory Coast as the reason for death. A man was sent to the great fetish of Cavalla for a charm against death. He was given a stone to block the path by which it came. But the antelope, offering to assist, maliciously sang a spell which rooted the stone to the spot (*Journ. Afr. Soc.* vi. [1907] 77).

The Melanesians of New Pomerania tell the story of the message wrongly transmitted. The Wise Spirit ordained that snakes should die, but men should slough their skins and live for ever. His brother, the Churl, reversed the decree (*ARW* x. [1907] 308). In the Shortland Islands the people (also Melanesians) relate that the great foremother of the race sloughed her skin at intervals and remained eternally young. The catastrophe of her death occurred because she was once disturbed in the operation by the screaming of her child, who was unluckily allowed to witness it. This was the way death came into the world (*FL* xvi. [1905] 115). A similar story is told by the Baluba, on the borders of the Congo State; but there the operation is interrupted by the woman's fellow-wife (*Globus*, lxxxvii. [1905] 193). According to the Hupa of California, people used to renew their youth, when they grew old, by sleeping in the sweat-house. But this happy condition came to an end, we learn from a ceremonial formula, because a certain mythological personage was unfaithful to his two wives, who in revenge took the two children they had borne him and buried them alive. When the children came up again they put them back, declaring that thenceforward every one should do that way (Goddard, *Hupa Texts*, Univ. California Pub. i. [1903-4] 75, 366). The Eskimo of Greenland relate that the first woman brought death by saying: 'Let these die to make room for their posterity' (Crantz, *Greenland*, Lond. 1820, i. 204).

In these stories, death is the result of curse or spell. Another Eskimo tale accounts for it as the issue of a dispute between two men, one of whom desires men to be immortal, the other to be mortal: their words are probably also spells (Rink, *Tales*, Edin. 1875, p. 41, citing Egede). A tale widely known in North America relates that, when the first death occurred, an attempt was made to bring the soul back from the land of the dead. But some prohibition was broken, the returned soul was greeted too soon, and it vanished: wherefore there is no return for mankind from the spirit-land (the

Cherokee stories [*19 RBEW*, 1900, pp. 252, 436]) may be taken as typical).

Similar to the Eskimo stories just cited are some Australian stories. The Kaithish and Unmatjera say that formerly, when men were buried, they came to life again in three days; and the Kaithish declare that permanent death is due to an old man who was displeased with this arrangement and wanted men to die once for all. He secured this effect by kicking into the sea the body of one who had just died and been temporarily buried (Spencer-Gillens, 613). So also the Wotjobaluk story runs that, when people died, the moon used to say, 'You up-again'; but an old man said, 'Let them remain dead,' and since then none has ever come to life again except the moon (Howitt, 429).

The phases of the moon naturally suggest death and restoration to life. It is, therefore, not wonderful to find that among the Australians, as among the Hottentots, the moon plays a considerable part in the legends. We have space to mention only one more.

The Arunta relate that, before there was any moon in the sky, a man died and was buried. Shortly afterwards he rose from the grave in the form of a boy. When the people ran away for fear, he followed them, shouting that if they fled they would die altogether, while he would die but rise again in the sky. He failed to induce them to return. When he died, he re-appeared as the moon, periodically dying and coming to life again; but the people who ran away died altogether (Spencer-Gillens, 564). The Chams of Further India see a female figure in the moon. She was a goddess who raised all the dead to life, until the great sky-god, tired of this interference with the eternal laws, transported her to the moon (Chabaton, *Nouvelles Recherches sur les Chams*, Paris, 1901, p. 19). Many other nations connect the moon with death.

Once more. The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills say that at first no Todas died. After a time a man died, and the people, weeping bitterly, were taking the body to the funeral place when the goddess Teikirzi took pity on them and came to bring him back to life. But she found that, though some of the people wept, others seemed quite happy. She therefore changed her mind, and, instead of raising the dead man, ordained the funeral ceremonies (Rivers, *Todas*, Lond. 1906, p. 400). When in the Scandinavian mythology Baldr was slain, the goddess Hel promised to release him if all things wept for his death. This too, though not in its present form an etiological story, possibly arose to account for the permanence of death.

The foregoing are but specimens of the sagas told in the lower culture concerning the origin of death. They exhibit the universal incredulity of mankind as to its naturalness and necessity.

III. Death believed to be unnatural.—1. *The escape of the soul.*—In practice, among the races of the lower culture, death, if not caused by violence, is generally ascribed to the action of supernatural beings, as gods or spirits, or to witchcraft. In a few cases, as among the Wadjagga of Central Africa, the weakness of old age may be reckoned among its causes (*Globus*, lxxxix. [1906] 198). Sometimes sickness and death are ascribed to the escape of the soul from the body. Thus, among the Hareskins of Canada, sickness is believed to be due to this cause, and it is the task of the medicine-men to capture the errant soul and oblige Etsuine, a supernatural being who is perhaps a personification of death, to enter the patient for the purpose of replacing it (Petitot, *Trad. ind.*, Paris, 1886, p. 278, cf. p. 434). The details of the belief in the soul, its escape and restoration, cannot here be discussed. It will be sufficient to say that from Siberia to Australia, from Puget Sound to the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, means are taken to prevent the soul from wandering, and to bring it back if from any cause it departs; for the permanent loss of the soul means nothing less than death.

Some peoples have developed the theory that the soul is not single but multiple, and that some, or one only, of these souls reside in or about the body.

Thus, according to the Balong of the Cameroons, one soul is housed in the body of the man himself, a second may be embodied in an elephant, a third in a wild hog, a fourth in a

leopard, and so on. This seems to multiply a man's chances of personal misfortune. For every mishap suffered by one of the secondary souls—more strictly of the body in which it is immured—reacts on the person concerned, and is able to draw after it disease and death. If, for example, any one comes home from hunting, or from the field in the evening, and says: 'I shall soon die,' and if death really occurs, it is clear that one of his 'outside souls' has been killed by a hunter through the slaughter of a wild hog or a leopard or some other animal in which the soul was incarnate, and that the man's death is the natural consequence (*Globus*, lxi. [1896] 277).

2. *The act of a supernatural being.*—The act of a god or of the spirits of the dead is also a cause of death known widely in the lower culture. Death by lightning is an obvious instance of the former. But it is by no means the only one. Death by accident is due either to a supernatural being or to witchcraft.

On the island of Keisar, one of the Moluccas, sickness is sometimes ascribed to the malignant spirit *Limsirwali*, or to the god who dwells in the sky or the sun (the latter from anger at neglect of some old custom), or to the spirits of the dead who have not been duly honoured (*Riedel, De sluik-en kroesharige rassen*, Hague, 1886, p. 419). The aborigines of Kola and Koboor (also in the Moluccas) hold that the *nitu*, or spirits of ancestors, kill the living to feed on their souls (*ib.* p. 271). The Navahos attribute a death to the direct action of *Chinde*, described as the devil—probably a malignant spirit (*J. REEVE* [1881] 122). Among the causes assigned by various tribes of Negroes for a death, the act of a fetish and that of a deceased relative are enumerated (*Clozel and Villamur, Coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, Paris, 1902, p. 383; *Spieth, Ewe-Stämme*, Berlin, 1906, p. 255). The Andamanese attribute 'almost all deaths, sickness, and calamities' to the machination of spirits; and all sudden deaths are ascribed to the malign influence of the evil spirit of the woods, or to that of the evil spirit of the sea (*JAL* xi. [1882] 288, 289). In the north-west of Australia every illness is ascribed to the *djuno*, an evil spirit otherwise known as *warruga* or *warrunga* (*Internat. Archiv.*, xvi. [1904] 8).

3. *Witchcraft.*—But by far the most usual cause assigned for a death is witchcraft—the malicious act of some open or secret foe, performed not by the obvious means of violence, but by the subtle and mystical arts of magic. This does not exclude the action of angry or envious spirits, for they are frequently held to inspire the evil-doer; or his ill intentions may be accomplished by their aid. The Mission Indians of California, indeed, in their legend of the origin of death, attribute the first death in the world to witchcraft. No one had died before; but, with the success of the first practitioners of witchcraft, death came into the world (*JAFI* xix. [1906] 55). Witchcraft, in fact, is the ordinary reason given by savage and barbarous peoples for a death. On such an occasion, one of the foremost duties of the survivors is to discover the exact cause of death, and to ascertain and punish the author of the mischief. For this purpose the ancient Gauls used to put widows to the question like slaves; if detected, the unfortunate wretches were executed with fire and all sorts of torture (*Cæsar, de Bell. Gall.* vi. 19). Peoples as far apart as the Balong already mentioned and the Koryaks of Siberia make a *post-mortem* examination. In the Wimmera district of Victoria (Australia) the clever old men and relatives of the deceased watch the corpse through the night. They see the wraith of the slayer approaching with stealthy steps to view the result of its machinations. Having apparently satisfied itself, it disappears in the direction of the hunting grounds of its own people, and the relatives of the deceased know what tribe to retaliate on. In New South Wales the Tharumba repeatedly rub the body with a mixture of burnt bark and grease. Some of the old men scrape a portion of it off when dry, and throw a few pinches of it on the embers of a fire kindled for the purpose. By the way the smoke rises they judge the direction of the murderer's camp. A party is sent out to avenge the death. After identifying the murderer by a repetition of the process, this is accomplished, not by violence, but by incantations and by terrifying the victim, so that he really believes he must die (*Mathews, Ethnol. Notes*, 1905, pp. 145, 72).

Among the Warramunga the divination is accomplished differently. A little mound of earth is raised on the exact spot where a man has died. A ceremonial visit is paid to it within a day or two after the occurrence, and a search is made for tracks of any living creature. According to the tracks found, conclusions are drawn as to the totem of the guilty person. The Warramunga commit the body not to the earth but to a tree. Similar ceremonial visits are paid to the tree for the discovery of some indication of the person who has caused the death. If unable to identify the person or his tribe, the relatives may at least find a beetle of a kind supposed to resemble a man, and by killing it may ensure the death of the enemy, whoever he may be. When everything else fails, they pay a further visit and thrust a fire-stick into the body, with certain ceremonies. Then, returning hurriedly to the camp, they sit down quietly for two days, abstaining from all food and drink. After this period has passed, each of the persons who has taken part in the rite imbibes a mouthful of water and spits it out secretly in various directions. This is regarded as sufficient to cause retribution to fall on the author of the crime, and they expect to hear his death-cry (*Spencer-Gillen*), 526 ff.).

Sometimes the dead man takes a more active part in the indication of the cause of death. This is common among the Negroes. Various branches of the Ewe-stock go to the house of the *tró* (fetish, god) and there inquire through the priest, who answers, speaking from an inner room, in an assumed voice believed to be that of the ghost (*Spieth, Ewe-Stämme*, 258, 260, 286, 492, 636, 752). So in Europe it has been believed, up to quite recent times, that the ghost of a murdered man (though not through the medium of priest or religious rites) will communicate the fact of his murder and call for vengeance on the slayer.

Other Negroes draw the information from the corpse. The Agni of Indéné cause it to be carried through the village on the heads of two men, who are made by the priest to run and turn round in all directions, until by some movement or arrest of the bearers it points out the guilty person. The ceremony practised by the Ngoulango is not so laborious. Three stakes are fixed in the earth, one representing the fetish (god), another a deceased relative, and the third a living inhabitant of the village, presumably suspected beforehand. If the corpse touch the stake representing the fetish or the deceased relative, a sacrifice of a few fowls is offered, and there is an end of the matter. If, on the other hand, the suspected man is indicated, he is immediately seized and put to an ordeal; or, in case of avowal, he is led away into the bush to execution (*Clozel and Villamur, op. cit.* 157, 362).

In Africa the ordeal is usually by means of some sort of poison, and frequently, in the case of chiefs and important persons, all the relations are compelled to undergo the test. Among the Wadjagga, a Bantu people on the Eastern side of the continent, however, it takes the form of an oath upon the ashes of the fire at which the funeral feast is cooked (*Globus*, lxxxix. 198). Ordeals, it need hardly be said, were for ages applied to persons in Europe accused of causing death and other evils by means of witchcraft. A common method was that of the ordeal by water, reported, so early as the 3rd cent. B.C., by Phylarchus, of the Thebi or Thibii, a tribe occupying the country about Trebizond (see ORDEALS, WITCHCRAFT).

Elsewhere it is deemed enough to convey to a 'wise man' some relics of the deceased.

Among the Siusi of the north-west of Brazil on the occasion of a death not long ago, some articles of clothing, together with the alleged 'poison' conjured by the witch-doctor out of the body of the patient, were sent after his death to a distant tribe, which included practitioners of renown. They inquired into the matter, performed their conjurations over the relics, calling the murderer, and solemnly burnt the 'poison.' It was believed, according to a well-known principle of witchcraft, that at the instant the 'poison' fell into ashes the enemy, whoever he was, died (*Globus*, xc. [1906] 323).

In general, throughout South America, it would

seem that it is the duty of the medicine-man to put himself into communication with the spirit-world and discover the culprit, who, at all events among some tribes, is thereupon put to death, and burnt with all his family and goods. If this were omitted the deceased would himself avenge his death on his relatives (*Internat. Archiv*, xiii. [1900], Suppl. 70; *Anthropos*, i. [1906] 880).

In old Tahiti, people were held to be killed by the gods (*atua*), either of their own motion or because they had been bribed by an enemy. It was the business of the priest to ascertain to which of these alternatives the death was to be attributed. He took a canoe and paddled slowly near the house in which the corpse lay, watching for the flight of the soul, which it was believed he could see. From the shape assumed by the soul in departing he judged of the cause of death (*Ellis, Polyn. Res.*, Lond. 1832, i. 398).

IV. Abandonment and premature burial.—1. Abandonment of the dying.—Among many savage peoples it is customary to abandon the dying to their fate.

The Yerikla-mining of Australia, when death approaches, leave the dying person alone, as comfortably as possible, near a fire, and quit the neighbourhood, not returning for a considerable time (Howitt, 450). The Baumanas of the French Sudan with loud cries abandon a dying man, for fear that he may drag one of them into the grave with him (Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, Berlin, 1903, p. 161). The fear lest the eyes of the dying man will fasten on them, and his ghost then molest and even kill them, causes similar conduct among some of the Ho in German Togo (Spieth, 632). The Selung of the Mergui Archipelago, off the coast of Burma, take the patient across to a desert island, and there leave him (*L'Anthropologie*, xv. [1904] 434). The Dorachos of Central America led a dying person to the woods, and left him, with some cake or ears of corn and a gourd of water, to his fate (*RBEW* 116).

2. Burial before death.—As an alternative to leaving the sick or the aged to die, they may be buried while still living.

The Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, oppressed by the feeling of helplessness and by superstition, when hope of recovery is gone, neglect the patient and deny him food; and, lest he should die in the village during the night, he is removed to a distance, and there left to die in solitude, or death is hastened by premature burial (Grubb, *Among the Indians of the Par. Chaco*, 1904, pp. 41, 45). The tribes of Navitilevu, Fiji, place the dying man in the grave, with food and water. As long as he can make use of them, the grave remains open; when he ceases to do so, the earth is filled in and the grave closed (*JAI* x. [1881] 144). In the Gazelle Peninsula of New Pomerania, one who is too long in dying is wrapped in pandanus leaves and carried out to the dead-house (*JAKW* x. [1907] 309). Among the Northern Maldu, persons who were long sick were securely tied up, in a squatting position, in a bear-skin, with small objects of personal use (the usual way of preparing a body for the grave), and buried before death (*Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xvi. [1905] 245). The Hottentots used either to bury old and superannuated persons alive, or to carry them away to a cleft in the mountains, and leave them with provisions for a few days, to be starved to death or devoured by some wild beast (Thunberg, *Travels*, Lond. 1795-6, ii. 194). So the various Bantu tribes of South Africa either abandoned the dying or buried them before death (Campbell, *Trav.*, Lond. 1815, pp. 428, 515; Kidd, *Essential Kafir*, Lond. 1904, p. 247).

Practices like these may have had more than one origin. Economic causes doubtless played their part. The care of the living was more imperative than that of the dying; and, where conflict arose between these two duties (as it often must in savagery), customs would grow up out of sad necessity, which would be continued when the necessity had ceased. Such causes would be aided by the beliefs current in the lower stages of culture. In West Africa it is not uncommon that a protracted sickness wearies the attendants.

They decide that the body, though mumbling inarticulate words and aimlessly fingering with its arms, is no longer occupied by its personal soul; that has emerged. "He is dead"; and they proceed to bury him alive. Yet they deny that they have done so. They insist that he was not alive; only his body was "moving" (*Nassau, Fetichism in W. Africa*, Lond. 1904, p. 54).

More potent, perhaps, is the universal dread of death and horror of a corpse. This horror is very lively in the Yakuts. Among them old people burdened with years or disease often begged their children to put an end to their life. The funeral feast was held for three days; neighbours and friends were invited to it, and the dying person received the place of honour and the choicest

morsels. Then he was led out into the forest, thrust into a grave dug beforehand, and buried alive, with his arms, utensils, provisions, and horses (*RHR* xlv. [1902] 212).

3. Removal from house or bed.—Where it is not customary to go to the length of burial alive, horror of the corpse leads very generally to the removal of the dying from among the living.

It is a common practice, e.g., of the North American tribes to carry a dying person out of the house or camp (*RBEW* 123, 154, 167, 201; *RBEW* [1898] 487). The Sinhalese frequently take a person dangerously ill from the house and place him in an adjoining temporary building, in order that, if he dies, the house may escape pollution (Davy, *Ceylon*, Lond. 1821, p. 289). The Kamtchadales are reported to have had the custom of abandoning the cabin where death had taken place, because they believed that the judge of the subterranean world paid a visit to it, and caused all whom he found there to die. But, as the construction of a new cabin gave much trouble to people who had neither axes nor mattocks, they took care to transport the sick out of their cabins, for fear that death would surprise them there when it was too late (Georgi, *Description de . . . Russie*, St. Petersburg, 1777, iii. 91). In the island of Luzon, among the Serranos, when a sick person does not show signs of recovery, a family council is held and a fixed sum voted for his cure. When this is spent, the patient is removed from his bed and laid upon a hide on the ground outside the house. A child is posted to fan him and keep off the flies, and only water is given him until he dies (Sawyer, *Inhab. of the Philippines*, Lond. 1900, p. 277). Among the Basuto, when death is seen to be at hand, the patient is taken out of the hut to a screen, because it is said the *manes* (*melimo*) obtain easier access to the latter than to the interior of the hut. In fact, a hole is cut in the screen to enable them to enter, as they cannot do so through the doorway of mortals. There the patient dies, often not without the active assistance of the two old women who are set to watch him (*FL* xv. [1904] 256).

The motive of the procedure in all these cases would seem to be the same—the horror of the corpse and the fear of pollution of the dwelling by its presence. A description is given in the Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1902 of a Samaritan assembly to celebrate the Feast of the Passover in 1898, at which a woman became very ill and a cry was raised to remove her to a tent outside the camp, lest the camp should be defiled by a dead body—a ritual ban perhaps derived from some passages in the Hebrew law. In this case the defilement would extend to the whole congregation.

There are, however, some cases of removal the motive of which is different. In the Reef Islands there are certain houses called 'holy houses,' which, if we may trust the report, seem to be connected with the cult of, or at all events with the belief in, superior beings. These houses are empty. If a man is sick and does not die quickly, he is put into one of these 'that he may die quickly' (*JAI* xxxiv. [1904] 230). Among the Warundi of German East Africa the dying are carried out and placed on an *ikitabo* (a sacred circle, either public or belonging to the family). There the priests recite a sort of litany consisting entirely of conjectures as to the origin of the sick man's malady, which appears to be ascribed to the deceased father or other *manes* of the family (van der Burgt, *Warundi*, 1904, art. 'Temple'). With these we may compare a remedy prescribed by the Ottoman Jews for one in *extremis*. It is to carry him to the cemetery and lay him down there for twenty-four hours. 'He may die there; but, if he has the good luck to live, he will quickly make a complete recovery' (*Méluine*, viii. [1896-7] 278).

In Europe a very wide-spread custom is to take a dying man out of bed, and to lay him on the earth or on straw. This is practised from Ireland to the Caspian Sea. In the Malay Peninsula a dying man's mosquito-curtains are opened, 'and in some cases, at all events,' he is taken out of his bed and laid upon the floor (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900, p. 398 n.). A Nambütiri Brahman in Malabar is placed on a bed of *kusa*-grass in the verandah, or some convenient place outside the foundations of the house (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, Madras,

1909, v. 214). In Cochín a Nayar 'is removed to the bare ground floor, as it is considered sacrilegious to allow the last breath to escape while lying on a bed and in a room with a ceiling, which last is supposed to obstruct the free passage of the breath' (*Rep. Census of India*, xx. [1901] 162).

The reason alleged by those who practise this removal in Europe is that a man cannot die on feathers (sometimes game-feathers, sometimes those of domestic fowls), and consequently that to lie on them adds to his agonies and makes his death 'hard,' or 'unlucky.' The Cheremiss of Kozmodemjansk declare that, if he were allowed to die on a feather-bed or a felt coverlet, he would be forced in the other world to count the feathers, or the hairs of the felt (Smirnov, *Pop. finnoises*, Paris, 1898, i. 137). These reasons, however, seem to be invented to account for a practice of which the real origin has been forgotten. Alb. Dieterich (*Mutter Erde*, 1905, p. 27) has endeavoured to explain it as an attempt to bring the dying man into touch with the earth, so that the soul may pass without delay into the realm of the dead beneath. Monsieur (*RHR* liii. [1906] 204, 301), comparing it with other usages relative to the earth, attributes it simply to a survival of the custom of lying on the earth at a time when such luxuries as bedsteads and feathers were unknown. These reasons, however, do not account for the requirement, found in Germany, Sweden, and elsewhere, to place the moribund person on straw, and afterwards to burn the straw. So the Wends in the Spreewald lay him on fresh straw spread on the ground, 'else no one would be willing to lie in the bed afterwards.' The straw is subsequently burnt in the open field, and the water wherewith the corpse has been washed is thrown over the spot where the fire was made. Any one who passes across that spot before the birds have flown over it a few times becomes withered up (von Schulenburg, *Wendisches Volksthum*, 1882, p. 110). There can be little doubt that the real object of the custom is to avoid the death-pollution upon the bed. It is probably a survival of the practice of removing the patient from the house before death. It has naturally the effect sometimes of hastening death; and it is performed in Europe avowedly for that purpose, in the belief that it abridges the sufferings of the dying and is therefore an act of kindness. The same purpose is assigned for the removal of the pillow, which is an obvious attenuation of the practice of removing the patient from bed.

V. Separation of soul and body.—The usual theory of the process of death is the separation of the soul from the body. The soul may, however, separate from the body before death, as in dreams. Sickness is frequently held to be such a separation. The distinction between such a separation and that of death is that the latter is final. Occasionally it is requisite that the soul be caught as it escapes. The population of Nias believe that the chief of a village, especially if rich and possessed of descendants, has more souls than one, of which one is an hereditary essence called the *ehéha*. This must be received in his mouth by the son of the dying man, if there be a son; if not, it is received in a purse for the purpose of securing that the deceased will watch over the family money (Modigliani, *Viaggio a Nias*, Milan, 1890, p. 277). So among the Greeks the nearest relative received the last breath of the dying man in a kiss.

Efforts are often made to recall the soul, not merely as a remedy for sickness, but to restore one dead. They may consist in simple cries to the soul to come back, as among some Tongking tribes (Lunet de Lajonquière, *Ethnog. du Tonkin sept.*, Paris, 1906, pp. 263, 274); or they may

be the regular incantations of an expert, similar to those in use during sickness, as among the Dayaks of Borneo (Furness, *Home-Life of Borneo Head-hunters*, Philad. 1902, p. 50). A survival of some such custom may be found in Europe, on the death of a Pope or of a king of Spain. In these cases a high official of the court calls with a loud voice three times the name of the deceased, and, receiving no reply, he certifies the death.

VI. Before the funeral.—Death having occurred, a number of significant customs are observed, only some of which can be enumerated here. Others will be reserved for a subsequent section.

1. *Opening of doors and windows.*—In the British Islands and all over Europe it is usual to open all doors and windows. Nor is the practice confined entirely to the uneducated classes. It was reported about twenty years ago (30th Aug. 1890) to have been performed at the death of a dignitary of the Church of England (*NQ*, 7th ser., x. [1890] 170). In France, Germany, and Switzerland it is not uncommon to take a tile off the roof. This is sometimes done before death, with the object of easing the departure of the soul. For the soul cannot escape unless the way be made open to it. Often, however, the window is permitted to remain open only for an instant, the return of the soul being feared (*Ztschr. des Vereins für Volkskunde* [= *ZVV*] xi. [1901] 267). In China a hole is made in the roof (Tyler, *Prim. Culture*, 1871, i. 409; *JAI* xxxiii. [1903] 103); and this used to be the practice of the Basuto wherever a man died within the hut (*Journ. Afr. Soc.* iv. [1905] 204).

2. *Observances in the house.*—Throughout Europe it is a common practice to stop all clocks in the house, and to cover all mirrors, or to turn them with their faces to the wall, immediately after a death. It may be conjectured that the latter was done to avoid puzzling and misleading the ghost in its efforts to quit the house. All water-vessels are emptied. Various reasons are assigned for this custom, the most usual being perhaps a desire to prevent the ghost from drowning itself. The ghost is certainly conceived in many places as thirsty or needing a bath; and a special jar or bowl of water is provided for its use. In Greece, bread and water are placed in the death-chamber (*JAI* xxiii. [1894] 37). In some parts of France a jar of water is placed beside the corpse (*RTP* xiv [1899] 245). The Wends of the Spreewald place a dish filled with water under the bench on which the corpse is laid out, for which a sanitary reason is now given (von Schulenburg, *op. cit.* 112). The Mordvins put a cup of water on the window-sill of a dying man's house, for, on quitting its corporeal envelope, the spirit must wash (Smirnov, i. 357). Hindu rites require the heir (but apparently not until after cremation) to place in the habitation of the deceased a small vessel full of water, over which he ties a thread to the ceiling, and lets it hang down as a sort of ladder for the *prana* (life-breath, spirit) to descend and slake its thirst during the ten days following; and a handful of rice is placed as food every morning beside the vessel (Dubois-Beauchamp, *Hindu Manners*, Oxf. 1906, p. 488). It is probable, therefore, that the object of throwing away water standing in any vessels for household use is to prevent the death-pollution conceived as contamination by the touch of the ghost. This is confirmed by the practice in some districts of the Landes in the south-west of France where, after the death of the father or mother, for a whole year the cooking vessels are covered with a cloth and their previous order reversed, though 'the reason now alleged for the practice is to recall the memory of the deceased and renew the grief (Cuzacq, *Naissance, mariage*.

et *décès*, 1902, p. 162). See also §§ VI. 9 and XVII. 1 below.

3. *Telling the bees.*—Another custom is that of 'telling the bees.' When a Dayak dies, as soon as the body is removed the head of the household calls over the names of all the children and other members of the household, to prevent the soul of the dead from alluring their souls away, in which case they would die. This ceremony is repeated on the return from the funeral (*Int. Arch.* ii. [1889] 182). The catastrophe to be prevented here is exactly that which it is desired to prevent by the practice common in Europe of telling the bees of the death of their owner. Some one goes to the hive, knocks, and whispers the fact to the tenants, sometimes also informing them who their new owner is. A humming heard inside the hive is taken as an indication that they will remain. If the ceremony be not performed, they will all die or go away. Sometimes they are put into mourning by attaching a piece of crape to the hive, or the hive is turned round or removed, or a piece of turf laid on it. These are all expedients against the attempt of the ghost to lure the bees away, though other interpretations have been given by the people who practise them and who have lost the real reason. The precaution is by no means confined to bees. In Cornwall the bird-cages and indoor plants are put into black. In various parts of France all the domestic animals must be informed, crape must be attached to the pigsties and to the cat. Even the trees must be told, and sometimes put into mourning. Elsewhere similar customs obtain (*Choice Notes, FL*, 1859, pp. 65, 90, 180, 210; Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904-7, iii. 103, 375; Lloyd, *Peas. Life in Sweden*, Lond. 1870, p. 131). Among the Cheremiss the people even avoid watching a funeral procession from the window, for fear that the dead man may take them with him (Smirnov, i. 137). The prohibition against watching a funeral procession from a window is not uncommon.

4. *Wailing and dirges.*—The custom of wailing is universal. The wail frequently begins before death, as among the Hottentots, who are said to surround a dying person, and 'set up such a terrible howling as were enough, one would think, to fright the soul out of the body.' But this is nothing to what succeeds the death. 'The kraal shakes under the raging din; you hear them miles off' (P. Kolben, *Present State of the Cape*, Lond. 1731, p. 312). Where the funeral does not take place the same day, the wailing often breaks out with fresh force on that occasion; and it is kept up for periods of varying length among different peoples—from a few hours to months, or even years. Naturally, in the latter case it is only certain relatives (chiefly widows of the deceased) who indulge in it, and only at stated times of the day. Widows and other relatives, among many peoples, go to wail at the grave. The wailing is renewed at certain intervals of time—on the anniversary of death, or at certain feasts, or on the occasion of the exhumation of the bones. Elsewhere, among the Kafirs, a son away at a distance, when his father dies, must wail on his return every time he enters the kraal during the next six months (Kidd, 250 f.). In many cases the men join in the wailing, while in others, perhaps among related peoples, it is left chiefly or entirely to women. It may be accompanied (at first, at all events) by the wildest demonstrations of grief, amounting to temporary insanity.

At a stage less than that, Dr. Junker describes the conduct of the women and slaves of a ruler of the A-Sandé of the Sudan. Sixty or seventy women went round the *seriba* wailing, turning somersaults, rolling in the dust, pretending to search in every corner, crying out, 'O my lord! Where is Fadl! Allah? Lie! Lie!' They crawled about on hands and knees under the projecting roofs, constantly howling and lamenting. In the even-

ing, with music and dance, the men joined in the wailing, which lasted all night. The next day a *raïd* was made upon the wardrobe of the deceased, and every woman who could get hold of an article of his costume put it on, and went round in procession, until the ceremony appeared like a fancy-dress ball. All their heads were strewn with ashes, that covered with dirt their faces and bodies as they rolled and tumbled in the dust. The proceedings lasted for fifteen days, becoming gradually less and less an exhibition of sorrow, and more and more the subject of evident enjoyment, until they finally degenerated into a festival of music and dancing (Frobenius, *Heiden-Neger d. ägypt. Sudan*, Berlin, 1893, p. 408).

In the Aaru Archipelago, when a member of the family dies, all the women leave the house with hair hanging loose, to wail upon the shore, tumbling head over heels, and smearing their bodies with dirt and mud (Riedel, *Stuk-en kroesharige rassen*, 268). Even in a much higher civilization, the conduct of the mourners is characterized by excess. At the death of a Maltese, two or three women, called *neuviehe*, were hired. Dressed in long mourning cloaks, they entered the house singing a dirge. After damaging and destroying certain parts of the property of the deceased, they threw themselves on their knees before the coffin, singing the praises of the dead, and cutting off handfuls of their hair, which they spread over the coffin (Busuttil, *Holiday Cust. in Malta*, 1894, p. 128).

It is obvious that the wailing, though doubtless originating in emotions common to humanity, has everywhere taken on more or less of a ritual character. This is seen alike in the excesses, in the fact that it is emphasized almost everywhere for men, in the prescriptions of time and place when and where it is to be repeated, and in the more measured forms into which it tends to pass. Among the latter are the dirges equally familiar in all quarters of the globe. There is little difference in the substance of dirges.

'Ah, ah me! Why hast thou died? Was there lacking to thee food or drink? Why then hast thou died? Ah, ah me! Hadst thou not a beautiful wife? Why then hast thou died?' and so on, runs the lament in the Ruthenian tongue of the ancient pagan Prussians (*FL* xii. [1901] 300). The Hereros of German S.W. Africa cry: 'Now he is dead, he who always was so good; always he slaughtered cattle; always did he say, "Take only, take only"' (*S. Afr. FL Journ.* i. [1879] 53). For one killed in war the Mundurucús of South America chant: 'Thou art dead; we will avenge thee. For that we are in the world, to avenge our own who fall in fight. Our enemies are not braver or more men than we are. My brother, my son, we come to bury thee. Thou art dead; to this end wast thou born. Thou art dead in war because thou wast brave; to that end our fathers and mothers brought us into the world. We must not have fear of enemies. Who dies in war, dies with honour—not like one who dies of sickness.' And reply is made by women in the name of the dead: 'My mother, my wife, you will die in your hammock; I died in war because I was brave' (*Int. Arch.* xiii. Suppl. 114).

Probably these specimens fairly represent the general matter of the dirges: a gentle reproach to the deceased for dying, and thus leaving those who were dear to him; praise of him—sometimes, as in the Irish 'keens,' in great detail; and vows to avenge him. In the more rudimentary cultures, dirges have not developed; the wailing, so far as it is articulate, is confined to a few words or phrases.

The ritual character of the wailing is expressed very clearly, not only in the dirges, but also in the practice of hiring mourners to wail.

Among the Gros Ventres and Mandans of Dakota, 'those who mourn are always paid for it in some way by the other friends of the deceased, and those who mourn the longest are paid the most' (*IREW* 161). The Chiriguano of South America caused their dead to be bewailed thrice a day—morning, noon, and evening—for several months at the grave by women hired for the purpose (*Int. Arch.* xiii. Suppl. 106). In Malta, as we have seen, and throughout the Nearer East, hired wailers are universally employed. Among the Bedul of Abyssinia it is the prostitutes who act in this capacity (Munzinger, *Ostafri. Stud.* 3, Basel, 1883, p. 150). In Calabria, so necessary is wailing deemed that, if a stranger dies, women are hired to attend his funeral and wail over the dead (Ramage, *Wanderings*, 1868, p. 73).

The reasons for the rite have been a subject of much discussion. There may be more reasons than one. In the first place, there can be little doubt

that excessive demonstrations of grief may, in some cases, be traced to the desire to avoid suspicion of having been accessory to the death. Bentley expressly asserts that in the Congo basin, where the belief in witchcraft is so powerful and so cruel, an ostentatious exhibition of grief is to avoid the charge of witchcraft (*Pioneering on the Congo*, Lond. 1900, ii. 259). In Angola, however, the noise is supposed 'to drive away the spirits' (*JAFI* ix. [1896] 16). Similarly, it is believed by the Klamath Indians of the north-west coast of the United States that for three days during the funeral ceremonies the soul is in danger from the *O-mah-a*, or demon. 'To preserve it from this peril, a fire is kept up at the grave, and the friends of the deceased howl around it to scare away the demon' (*IRBEW* 107). The Basuto hold that the spirits (we may assume that the ancestral spirits, including perhaps the immediately deceased, are meant) become enraged with any one who is so heartless as not to cry at the funeral of friend or relation, and punish him with some terrible sickness (Martin, *Basutoland*, 1903, p. 92). In some of the Moluccas the wailing is intended to affect the departed, to bring the spirit to its senses, or to render it conscious of its new condition (Riedel, *op. cit.* 465).

That the wailing is meant to affect the departed in some way seems to follow from the contents of the dirges, and from the fact that they are in many cases (perhaps usually) addressed directly to him. The sorrow expressed, the praises, the appeals to return, cannot but be supposed to have an effect on the spirit, which is believed to be hovering near and to partake in the ceremonies performed. A wide and careful comparison of the customs of the South American Indians has led Theodor Koch to infer that the native is fully convinced that the dirges are understood by the deceased; and he suggests that the chief motive is conciliation—the placation of one whose natural disposition would be hostile (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 114, 117). That this motive does operate seems certain. A striking example is furnished by the Ja-Luo of East Africa. When a person dies, the whole village wails with great fervour for days, if not for months, and at stated intervals, according to the conventions laid down for the case. When a barren woman dies, the wailing is commenced in the usual way. The brothers and sisters of the deceased hasten to the place; and the first who arrives takes a sharp acacia-thorn, sticks it into the sole of the corpse's foot, and breaks it off. Immediately all wailing ceases, and it is never renewed (*JAI* xxxiii. 344). Hobley, who reports this ceremony, could obtain no account of its object. There cannot, however, be much doubt that the thorn is intended to prevent the deceased from walking after death and troubling the survivors. (A similar case is reported from the Moluccas by Riedel, *op. cit.* 81; see also § XI. 2 below.) A childless woman would naturally be envious and malicious, and would have no descendants over whose well-being she might be supposed to watch. Released, therefore, from the fear that she would leave the grave for hostile purposes, they would have no further motive for conciliating her.

But it cannot be admitted that fear is the only reason for wailing. There is abundant evidence that the dead are believed to regard their surviving relatives—in particular, their descendants—with a measure of affection (at least of friendly interest), not unmixed indeed with caprice, that they are often dependent on them for the sacrifices and other means of rendering comfortable their existence in the world of the departed, and that they grant them favours and good fortune if satisfied with their treatment and general conduct. In these circumstances, it seems inevitable to con-

clude that the wailing is, in part at all events, a genuine expression of affection, and is intended to call forth corresponding feelings in the deceased.

5. *Toilet of the corpse*.—Among the earliest cares after a death is the toilet of the corpse. The Yakuts perform this ceremony before death, in order doubtless to avoid embarrassment to the relatives by the defilement of death (*RHR* xlv. 208). The body is usually washed. In the lower stages of civilization it is often merely painted. Whether washed or not, it is in these stages painted. The colour varies, but in the vast majority of cases recorded it is red. The bones of Neolithic dead in Europe are frequently found painted with red. Some of the Australian tribes rub off the outside skin, leaving the white under-skin exposed—a practice not unconnected with the belief that the dead return white, as ghosts or white men (cf., e.g., Parker, *Euahyayi*, 91). The eyes are carefully closed, and the eyelids weighted to keep them shut. The uncanny look of a corpse with staring eyes accounts, partly, but not fully, for the universality of this practice. The ghost has not yet wholly deserted his mortal tenement, and the reason given by the Nicobar Islanders is probably not far wrong, namely, that it is to prevent the ghost from seeing (*Ind. Cens.* 1901, iii. 208). At least it prevents the eerie feeling of the survivors that they are being watched. The best clothes of the deceased are commonly put on the body. Very often, relatives and friends contribute new clothes for the purpose. Among many peoples, as among the Chinese, and, indeed, among European peoples, the deceased has in life prepared special clothes, for the dead must enter the spirit-world in their best array. Sometimes, as in various districts of Germany, they are buried in their wedding-clothes. Ornaments, jewels, and particularly amulets, are not omitted. By a parsimony easy to understand, some peoples remove the most valuable clothing and ornaments before cremation or burial, but they are more usually left. Where shoes are worn, the deceased is shod, for he has a long journey to take. Such, for example, is the custom in many parts of Europe; and it extends in Great Britain as far back at least as the Late Celtic period. The toilet is concluded by binding the corpse in the attitude in which it is to be buried or otherwise disposed of. This attitude in all the lower planes of culture is very generally squatting, as we find among the pre-historic dead of Europe. It is often explained as that of the infant in its mother's womb; more probably it is that of natural rest. If necessary, the sinews, as among the Basuto (*Journ. Afr. Soc.* v. 357), or even the backbone, as among the Bechuana (*JAI* xxxv. [1905] 308), may be cut to admit of the body being bound in the proper position. Among the Slavic populations of Germany, as well as among the Masurs, it is customary to throw out the water used for washing the corpse, together with the vessel containing it, after the coffin as the funeral leaves the house, by way of precaution against haunting. In Silesia the water and water-vessel are buried where no one will step over them, else they will cause a wasting disease. The Wends scatter millet upon the poured-out water, for this will prevent the birds from eating it when afterwards sown (Tetzner, *Slaven in Deutschland*, Brunswick, 1902, p. 375; Töppen, *Aberglauben aus Masuren*², Dantzig, 1867, p. 108; *ZVV* iii. [1893] 150; von Schulenburg, *op. cit.* p. 110). The Negroes in Jamaica throw out the water after the hearse or upon the grave (*FL* xv. 206, 88). On the other hand, it is said to be the custom in Oleai, one of the Caroline Islands, to drink the water in which dead children have been washed (*Globus*, lxxxviii.

[1905] 20). Possibly this is a means of securing that the children shall be born again.

6. *Mummification*.—The process of mummifying, or drying up the body, either with or without embalmment, is widely practised.

In Australia the Ughi occasionally dry the body in the smoke of a fire made with green boughs of a species of sandalwood, and then carry it about to visit the places frequented by the deceased during his life. The Kabiabara also dry the body of a man of note, and carry it about for six months (Howitt, 467, 469). The same rough-and-ready way of preparing a corpse is found more or less throughout the west of Africa. It is thus that a Nianniam chief in the Upper Nile basin, and a king of the Warundi in German East Africa, are prepared for burial (Frobenius, *op. cit.* 409; van der Burgt, 40). Some of the tribes of British Central Africa attain the result by repeatedly rubbing the corpse with boiled maize (Werner, *Brit. Cent. Afr.*, Lond. 1906, p. 163; *Journ. Afr. Soc.* v. 484). The body of the king of the Baganda was squeezed dry, the viscera being first removed, butter rubbed into it, and the viscera then replaced (*JAL* xxxii. [1902] 44). The Baoule of the Ivory Coast take out the intestines, wash them with palm-wine or European alcohol, introduce into the cavity alcohol and salt, afterwards replacing the intestines and sewing up the body. These and other preparations, however, do not entirely prevent corruption; but it comes to an end in about three weeks, giving way to desiccation, and the body ultimately presents the appearance of an Egyptian mummy (Clozel and Villamur, 115). Some Philippine tribes dry the corpse by fire, while among the Betsileo and Antankarana of Madagascar, as frequently in the South Seas, it is dried in the air, the fluids being assisted to escape. By this process, in Erub and the Murray Islands, it is described by Haddon as becoming almost as light as *papier mâché* (Sawyer, *Philippines*, 268, 277; *Madagascar au début du xix^e siècle*, 1902, pp. 282, 286; Haddon, *Torres Str. Exped.* vi. [1903] 136, *Head-Hunters*, Lond. 1901, p. 91). The bodies of chiefs in the Society Islands were dried in the sun, the more corruptible parts removed, the moisture extracted, and a species of embalmment practised with fragrant oils (Ellis, *Polyn. Res.* i. 400). A number of tribes in America, both North and South, practise desiccation, usually by fire. Some of the former inhabitants of Virginia and the more southerly Atlantic States used to perform a very elaborate process in the case of their kings and other important men, disembowelling them and filling the cavity with beads, celts, and so forth, or, in some cases, removing the flesh altogether and preserving it separately or not at all (*1 RBEW* 131, 132; *Int. Arch.* xiii. Suppl. 55, 56, 62, 79, 81, 88, 93, 103). The practice of desiccation is very ancient. Not only are buried mummified bodies constantly found in the seats of the older civilizations of South America; they have also been found in pre-historic graves in North America.

The object of mummifying is in many cases, as it was in ancient Egypt, to preserve the body as a permanent habitation, or at least as a place of resort, for the soul. It is not unconnected with the cult of the dead (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [*Egypt.*], vol. i. p. 440, and 'Egyptian' art. below, p. 458). Where other peoples set up images of the deceased, those who practised desiccation or embalmment were enabled to keep the bodies themselves without difficulty.

Thus, the ancient Macrobiot put the body, after drying it, covering it with plaster and painting it like the living man, into a hollow block of crystal, set it up in the house for a year, and offered sacrifices to it, afterwards removing it and setting it up, with similar blocks, round the city (Herod. iii. 24). The aborigines of Virginia and Carolina placed the bodies of their kings and rulers in a large hut under the care of priests or medicine-men, apparently for a similar purpose (*1 RBEW* 131).

Elsewhere, as among the Bangala of the Upper Congo (*JAL* xxxix. [1909] 451) and other African tribes, and in the South Sea Islands, mummification is a means of preserving the body until a convenient time for the funeral, which is frequently postponed, for one reason or another, over months or even years. But this object does not of necessity exclude the former.

7. *Feeding the dead*.—Many other observances take place, which we need not describe here. Two, however, may be referred to. The sitting in state of the dead, in the Aaru Archipelago of the Moluccas, has already been mentioned. While he so sits, food is offered him by the members of his family. Offerings of food and drink to the dead before burial are frequent in the lower culture; sometimes, as among the Thô of Northern Tongking, they are even placed in his mouth. These offerings are found in both hemispheres. Even in modern Europe they are not unknown.

In the Department of Loir-et-Cher, France, everything in the house that is eatable is thrown into the death-chamber (*RTP*

xv. [1900] 583). De la Martinière reports, in the 17th cent., that in Russia, after death, it was usual to bring a basin of holy water for the soul to bathe, and to place a piece of bread on the corpse's head, that he might not die of hunger on the long journey before him (*ZVV* xi. 435). On account of the possibility that the ghost will put his finger in it to taste it, the watchers of the corpse about Königsberg, in the east of Prussia, avoid drinking brandy (*Am Urquell*, ii. [1891] 80).

A different precaution was taken in the north-east of Scotland, where, 'immediately on death, a piece of iron, such as a knitting-wire or a nail, was stuck into whatever meat, butter, cheese, flesh, or whisky [was] in the house, to prevent death from entering them' (Gregor, *Folk-Lore of N.E. Scot.* 1881, p. 206). Although in recent times it was believed that corruption followed the omission of this precaution, it is probable that at an earlier period it was believed that the ghost partook of them. Iron is a well-known preservative against the attacks of supernatural beings.

8. *The wake*.—A formal announcement of the death, and an invitation to the kindred and others whom it may concern to come and perform the funeral rites, are given by messenger or by drum, or, at the present day in many communities in low civilization, by firing guns. During the interval between the toilet of the corpse and its final disposal it is watched—a ceremony known in this country as the *wake*, because it involves one or more all-night sittings.

The corpse of an Australian of the Wimmera district of Victoria is watched by the clever old men and relatives, for the purpose of gaining a hint where to look for the slayer by witchcraft (Mathews, *Ethnol. Notes*, 145). Elsewhere in Australia the object is to guard the corpse 'from the spirits' (Parker, *op. cit.* 85). In this they agree with the Sabobas of California, who hold that until burial the soul hovers near the corpse, and a certain demon is on the watch to seize it; and this is prevented only by the vigilance of the survivors (*JALF* xvi. [1903] 159). Among the Garos of Assam the watchers are kept awake by the young men of the village, who dress up as wild beasts and enter the house, 'to frighten the women with their howls and antics.' More probably, the real reason is to frighten away the ghost or other evil-disposed spirits (Playfair, *The Garos*, Lond. 1909, p. 107). The Koryaks, who practise cremation and burn the body on the day of the death, or a day or two after, allow no one to sleep while the corpse is in the house. The deceased is considered still a member of the family, and, to entertain him, they even play cards on his body (*Jesup Exped.* vi. [1908] 110). Cards are, of course, a modern introduction from the Russians; but they, no doubt, replace some other mode of amusement necessary to keep the watchers awake. So in some of the Moluccas, while children watch the dead in a separate apartment, smoking and drinking go on, and cards are played, the night before the corpse is prepared for burial. In others of the islands the corpse is watched until it is put into the coffin, and the watchers ask riddles and play games to keep awake. Two days and nights it sits in state, clothed and adorned with corals, gold, and silver. The soul remains in the house the first night; and, if any one in the house sleeps, he is liable to encounter the soul in dreams, and to sicken in consequence. In other islands, again, the soul is held to be confused and stunned immediately after death, like a man who has fallen from a tree; and the kinsmen watch through the night, until it may be supposed to have recovered its senses (Riedel, 80, 267, 210).

The wakes of Europe are founded upon similar beliefs to these, and follow much the same course. The Wends awaken every one, that none may fall into the sleep of death (the soul of the deceased may perhaps entice them away, as among the Dayaks [*Int. Arch.* ii. 182]), and even the cattle are roused and the seed-corn handled (Tetzner, 875; von Schulenburg, 110). Among the Bulgarians in Hungary, only the nearest relations actually watch beside the dead. They relieve the tedium by games, among others divining by card-playing whether the soul of the deceased is saved (*Globus*, xc. 140). In the Landes the neighbours watch the body, making copious libations to the memory of the departed (Ouzacq, 159). Irish wakes have long been a byword of extravagant merrymaking and debauchery; and English wakes used to be little, if any, better (cf. Croker, *Researches*, 1824, p. 170; Aubrey, *Remaines*, Lond. 1881, p. 30). It would seem as if they thought, as the Glyaks do, that silence in the house of the dead is sin. For that reason, among the latter, so long as the corpse remains in the house, custom requires amusements, laughing, and joking to be kept up (*ARW* viii. [1905] 472).

9. *Tabu at death*.—The horror of the dead has already been mentioned. Everywhere, contact with a corpse entails a condition for the adequate expression of which we must have recourse to the Polynesian word *tapu*, or the Gr. word *ἀσβεπία*. In English the word usually employed is 'pollution' or 'defilement.' Since, however, neither of these words, nor any other in the language, conveys the full force of the Polynesian or the Greek, we have in modern times been fain to borrow the word *tapu* or *tabu* from the former tongue, for the condition

of a person or thing set apart and shunned for a religious or quasi-religious reason, including not only objects to which we should attribute sanctity and invest with terror on that account (as the Ark among the ancient Hebrews), but also such as excite (at least in our minds) horror, disgust, and execration. A corpse is always tabu. And, as one of the most remarkable characteristics of tabu is its excessive contagiousness, the greatest care is needed in approaching or dealing with a corpse. It is not quite clear whether the corpse is feared in and for itself as a dead body, or as the vehicle of death, or whether it is feared owing to its connexion with the disembodied spirit. The rule observed among widely sundered peoples, that every one who kills another—even a warrior who has slain an enemy in battle—must undergo purification, perhaps points to the last alternative. In any case, from the contagious nature of tabu, the prohibitions consequent on a death reach far beyond the persons who have been compelled to perform the last offices about a corpse. They extend to the whole house, the whole family, the whole clan, the whole village, nay, to the very fields, and even sometimes to the heavens.

An unburied body fills the Yakuts with horror and fear. All Nature, indeed, feels uneasiness: violent winds arise, storms howl, fires break out, strange noises, mysterious cries, are heard; and, if it be a shaman who is dead, these manifestations acquire fabulous proportions (*RHR* xlv. 211). The result of this mysterious sympathy of the various elements is that no work can be done until the body is disposed of. All labour in the entire settlement used to be stopped when a Koryak died, until his cremation. No one went hunting or sealing, nobody went to fetch wood, and the women did no sewing (*Jesup Exped.* vi. 104). Among the Central Eskimo, singing and dancing are forbidden during the first days after a death. Moreover, for three days no one is allowed to work on iron, wood, bone, stone, ice, snow, leather, to empty the oil-drippings from lamps, or to clean lamps; women may not comb their hair or wash their faces; and all sexual intercourse is forbidden. It is believed that the soul stays with the body for three days after death. During that time any violation of the tabu affects it so much with pain that by way of retaliation it brings heavy snowfalls, sickness, and death (Boas, *Eskimo of Baffin Land*, 1901, pp. 131, 144). Among the Barea and Kunama of Abyssinia there is neither ploughing, nor sowing, nor grinding until the corpse is buried (Munzinger, *op. cit.* 528). In many of the Molucca Islands all work is forbidden in a village while the corpse is unburied (Riedel, 168, 197, 223, 341, 414).

At Athens, according to Cicero, after the burial the grave was sown or planted as a kind of expiation, that the fruits might be rendered to the living. The statement seems to imply that the earth was put under a ban or tabu, either by the death or by the burial (see the passage discussed in *A.W.H.* ii. 1; Farnell, *Cults Gr. States*, 1896-1907, iii. 28). Among the Bambala, a Bantu people of the Congo basin, the inhabitants of a village where a death has occurred forsake it during the period of mourning, and sleep in the open (*JAI* xxxv. 417). It is customary on the continent of Europe to put up on the house a cross of wood or straw, or in Holland and Flanders to pile trusses of straw before the house (*Bull. de Fl.* ii. [1893-95] 346). The ancient Romans hung up a branch of cypress or pine. This practice is probably to be traced to an intention to give notice of the state of tabu. The hatchments on houses in Great Britain seem to owe their existence to the same cause.

The prohibitions are naturally emphasized when the person dying is a king or a chief. When a Kafir headman or man of importance dies, all the people of the kraal shave their heads and are unclean. They may not drink milk or transact business with other kraals until the witch-doctor has cleansed them (Kidd, *Essential Kafir*, 1904, pp. 247, 249; *Cape Rep. Nat. Laws Com.*, App. 21). Among the Nilotic Kavirondo, the villagers do not cultivate the fields for three days after the death of any one of importance. But, if it is a chief who has died, no one cultivates the fields for ten days (Hobley, *op. cit.* 28). In Tibet, on the demise of the Dalai or the Tashi Lama, the work in all the public and private offices, all business and market gatherings, are suspended for seven days. For thirty days women are forbidden to put on their jewellery, and neither men nor women may wear new apparel. All classes refrain from amusements and festivities, and from going into groves for pleasure, sports, or love-making. Rich and respectable men, when their parents die, abstain for a year from taking part in marriage ceremonies and festivities, and undertake no journeys to a distance (Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa*, 1902, p. 256). We may suspect our own analogous customs on the death of any near relation, or important person in the neighbourhood or the State, to be due to the same origin as those on the death of a Kafir headman or the Dalai Lama. See also §§ VI. 2; XVII. 2.

VII. Disposal of the corpse.—1. *Object of rites.*—The chief objects of the proper disposal of the

corpse and the fulfilment of all the rites and customs in connexion therewith are to free the living from the defilement of death and to give rest to the deceased. Until they are all ended, the soul is not finally dismissed to its place in the other world, it is not united to the company of the fathers, it is not elevated to its due position in the household or tribal cult, and it continues to haunt the survivors unpleasantly. This belief is little short of universal in the lower culture, and might be illustrated from all quarters of the globe. The significance of the funeral ceremonies among the ancient Greeks and Egyptians is a commonplace of anthropology. In modern Europe the prejudice in favour of Christian burial in consecrated earth, with the full rites of the Church, may be traced to the same cause.

2. *Denial of rites.*—Yet for special reasons these rites are everywhere denied to certain classes of the dead.

(a) *Babes and children under the age of puberty, or uninitiated in the tribal rites.*—

In India, where the practice of burning the dead is prevalent, children are generally buried. In some cases at least, and possibly in all, this is done with a view to securing their rebirth, for the common practice is to bury in or quite close to the house, often under the threshold. Similar practices for the same reason prevail among many other peoples of the Old and New Worlds (Hartland, *Prim. Pat.*, 1906-10, i. 227). Funeral honours are denied by the Thô of Tongking to children under eighteen years of age and unmarried women. They are simply put into the bier and taken by the priest alone to the grave (Lunet, *op. cit.* 163). Among the Negroes of West Africa and some of the Bantu and Nilotic peoples, where burial is the ordinary practice, rites are denied to children, who are, indeed, often thrown out into the bush: the Wadjagga bury them in the ditch that serves as the village latrine, subsequently digging up their bones and throwing them away (Leonard, *Lower Niger*, 1906, p. 163; *Globus*, lxxii. [1897] 43, lxxix. [1906] 199; Cunningham, *Uganda*, 1906, p. 344). In civilized Europe unburied children are commonly buried without rites.

(b) *Slaves and common people.*—

Among the Haida in Masset, slaves are thrown into the sea (*Jesup Exped.* v. [1905-9] 54). In Oregon they were thrown out into the woods or left wherever convenient (*Mem. Am. Anthr. Assoc.* i. [1906] 170). Very widely in Africa ordinary and especially poor persons and slaves are simply flung out and left to the wild beasts. Common people in the Marshall Islands used to be sewed into a mat and put into the sea (Steinmetz, *op. cit.* 438). The Ahts of Vancouver Island wrap old women and men and boys of no rank in the tribe in old blankets and leave them on the ground (Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, London, 1883, p. 259). A worthless fellow is buried without rites in the New Hebrides (*Rep. Austr. Assoc.* iv. [1892] 730). The Wadjagga throw childless men and women into the forest (*Globus*, lxxix. 200).

The foregoing classes are probably regarded as impotent for good or ill after death, just as they have been during life, and therefore needing no consideration. In other cases, however, this reason will not apply.

(c) *Those who die a 'bad death.'*—The manner of death frequently determines the death rites to be performed, because it determines the fate of the deceased in the other world. The list of deaths regarded as 'bad' is not identical all over the world, but a wholesome horror of suicide generally prevails. Christian Europe agrees with pagan Africa in performing only maimed rites, or denying them altogether, in the case of such as have taken their own life.

Suicides are held by the Ewhe of Togoland to have been driven mad, either by rage or ill-treatment, or by some angry ghost, malignant spirit, or god. A suicide defiles the land and hinders the due rainfall. The relatives of the deceased must therefore be fined. A stake is driven through the body, which is dragged into the bush and there huddled into a hastily excavated hole. The subsequent solemnities are few and meagre. No drum is heard, no dances are executed, no fire is lighted in the street, no sacrifice is slain for him. A few bananas and pig-nuts and a little maize are laid beside the grave, two guns are fired, and the obsequies are over (Spieth, *op. cit.* 276, 274). The Choctaws of North America dispose of their dead on scaffolds, and afterwards collect the bones with great ceremony. But they bury at once without the usual obsequies any one who commits suicide (*I RBEW* 168).

Death by lightning is also widely attributed to the direct action of a god.

Among the Bechuana, if a thunderbolt kills a man, no one complains, none weeps; all unite in saying that the Lord has done right. They suppose the victim to have been guilty of some crime, probably stealing, for which the judgment of Heaven has fallen on him. The beliefs of their neighbours, the Basuto, Zulus, and Baronga, are similar (Arboussset, *Exploratory Tour*, Cape Town, 1846, p. 225; Cassalis, *Basutos*, Lond. 1861, p. 242; Callaway, *Rel. Syst.*, Lond. 1870, pp. 60, 118; Junod, *Les Baronga*, Neuchâtel, 1898, p. 422. As to the meaning of 'Lord' and 'Heaven,' see art. BANTU, vol. II, p. 364).

Divine anger may be manifested, indeed, in any accidental death: the attack by a wild beast, the bite of a snake, drowning, a fall from a tree.

The Dayaks of South-East Borneo do not bury such as die by accident; they are carried into the forest and laid on the ground (*Int. Arch.* ii. 181). The Malays of the Patani States inter in a waste place or cast out to the dogs and vultures 'those who die of being killed,' as they phrase it—that is to say, in any violent, sudden, or unusual way (*Pase. Mal. II.* [1904] 77).

Death by drowning is often regarded as the seizure by the water-spirit of a victim; hence no effort is made to save him.

Persons drowned, or shot, killed by wild beasts or by falling from a tree, are held in the Bahar Archipelago to be slain by the messengers of Rarawai, the war-spirit, in order that he may feed on their souls. Their bodies may not be laid out in the house or seen by children; they are left naked. They are put on scaffolds, with merely a piece of red linen thrown over them. Sacrifices of pigs are offered to Upulero, who is invoked on behalf of their souls. The pigs are not as a rule eaten, for fear of misfortune. Ultimately the body is laid on the ground in a spot set apart for such as have been slain by Rarawai (Riedel, 361). In the northern peninsula of Halmahera no funeral feast is solemnized for those who are unlucky enough to die away from the *kampung*, nor are their souls worshipped, unless they fall in battle (*Int. Arch.* ii. 209).

Everywhere those who die from the effects of the poison-ordeal, so commonly administered in Africa to discover a witch, are held to be slain by the 'fetish.' The body is usually denied sepulture, and is thrown into the bush. To die of certain diseases is to be struck by a god, or at all events tabued. Such diseases are cholera and smallpox commonly in India, smallpox or leprosy in the island of Nossi-Bé near Madagascar (Steinmetz, 378), consumption in Cochinchina (Aymonier, *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, xvi. [1883] 171). Among the Agni of the Ivory Coast, when by means of divination (§ III. 3) the corpse obstinately refuses to disclose whose witchcraft has caused the death, it is concluded that the deceased has offended some spirit, and he is denied burial as a punishment for the offence (Clozel and Villamur, *op. cit.* p. 120), or perhaps, we may conjecture, for fear of the enraged spirit. In ancient Greece executed criminals, though buried, were denied the customary rites; traitors and those guilty of sacrilege were refused burial at home (Rohde, *Psyche*², Freib. 1898, i. 217). On Nossi-Bé executed criminals and outcasts from the family are not buried in the family grave; wherefore in the other world they are condemned to find no rest (Steinmetz, *loc. cit.*); and the Ewhe bury them without rites (*Globus*, lxxii. 42). Down to quite modern times, in Europe it used to be the fate of certain classes of executed criminals to have their remains exposed on gateways and other places of public resort, until they rotted away. Repulsion, horror, dread, whether caused by the infringement of some tabu or by the *anathema* of supernatural beings, are doubtless the cause in all these cases of exceptional treatment and denial of the customary rites.

(d) Persons held in reverence are also under *anathema* or tabu. Their sacred qualities set them apart from mankind.

The Masai, whose reason for not burying ordinary persons is said to be that the bodies would poison the soil, bury their medicine-men and rich men (Hollis, 305). The inhabitants of Corisco Island, off the West Coast of Africa, lay their great men and twins (see art. TWINS) under a sacred tree (Nassau, 41). The Sea Dayaks expose their priests on a raised platform—a privilege, however, which others may share, if they desire. The rest are buried, except such as die in battle, who are left where they fall, surrounded with a paling to keep away the wild

hogs (*TES*, new ser., II. [1863] 236). By way of special honour the Paharias of the Santa Parganas do not bury their priests, but lay them under the shade of a banyan (Bradley-Birt, *Indian Upland*, 1906, p. 308). The Caddoes of North America leave unburied the warrior slain in battle (*RBEW* 103). Some African tribes, as the Latuka and the Wadjagga, also leave the slain warrior unburied. But among the Wadjagga the reason is said to be that to bury him would draw a similar fate on others (Frobenius, 461; Cunningham, 370; *Globus*, lxxix. 199).

(e) Women dying in childbed are buried in Africa, both East and West, apart, and deprived of ordinary rites. The belief that a woman thus dying is under a curse, and becomes a malignant ghost or vampire, is widely distributed. Special precautions are, therefore, taken against her depredations. A special rite in the shape of a sacrifice is sometimes performed to keep her quiet, as in Yunnan (Anderson, *Report on Exped. to W. Yunnan*, Calcutta, 1871, p. 131). A different expedient is mentioned below (§ XI. 2).

(f) Lastly, in the progress of civilization it has been held that burial cannot be accorded to the corpse of a man who has died in debt, until his creditors have been satisfied. This barbarous denial of rites necessary to future happiness seems to have been the law in mediæval Europe. A corpse was arrested for debt in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch as lately as 1811; and, though damages were recovered against the creditors by the representatives of the deceased, the fact witnesses to the late survival in England of the belief that the corpse of a debtor could legally be deprived of rites (*NQ*, 8th ser. ix. [1896] 241; cf. *ib.* 356 and x. 63). Even yet in many places—the island of Celebes and West Africa, for example (*L'Anthropologie*, iv. [1893] 626; *Globus*, lxxii. 42; Dennett, *Black Man's Mind*, 1906, p. 46)—the dead cannot be buried until his debts are paid; and among the Fantis, at all events, he who has the temerity to bury a man becomes liable for his debts (Cruikshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, Lond. 1853, ii. 221). The incident is the foundation of a number of folk-tales, from India to Ireland, and has repeatedly formed part of a literary plot.

3. *Mode of disposal.*—The modes of disposing of the corpse may be enumerated as (a) cannibalism, (b) sub-aerial deposit, (c) cave deposit, (d) water burial, (e) earth burial, (f) preservation in hut, (g) cremation.

(a) Cannibalism.—See art. CANNIBALISM, vol. iii. p. 194, and below, § XV.

(b) Sub-aerial deposit.—To leave the body on the ground was probably the earliest, as it is the simplest and most savage, form of disposal of the dead. Ordinary people are still by many tribes, as we have seen, simply flung aside. Among the Masai, burial is a special honour conferred only on a man of wealth or a medicine-man. All medicine-men are descendants of one family of supernatural origin. We may conjecture that the meaning of the tradition of supernatural origin is that their ancestor was a stranger belonging to a tribe on a somewhat higher level of civilization, where burial was customary (Hollis, 305, 325). Burial is, however, not necessarily a mark of advancing civilization. The Seri of the Californian Gulf, who are among the lowest of known savages, bury their dead (*RBEW* 288*). On the other hand, the religion of Zoroaster seems to have imposed the rite of exposure of the corpse, to be devoured by dogs and vultures, in comparatively civilized times on a reluctant people, who were previously in the habit of burying their dead. It appears, in contrast with the rite of the Masai medicine-men, to have been at first only the practice of the sacred caste, and to have been enforced by them on all believers under the most awful sanctions, both temporal and spiritual. A thousand stripes are denounced in the *Zend-Avesta* on him who shall bury in the earth the corpse of a dog or of a man, and not disinter

it before the end of the second year; but, if he delay beyond that time, there is no atonement for ever and ever. Death and damnation are his fate. Indeed, merely to omit the exposure of the corpse within a year, though other parts of the ritual may have been complied with, is to be liable to the same penalty as the murder of one of the faithful (*SB* IV. xlv. 8, 31, 52). We may perhaps measure the difficulty of securing uniformity by the violence of the language and the terror of the threatened penalties. It must have been almost as uncomfortable to be a heretic in Persia as in mediæval and post-mediæval Europe. Nor have the Parsis of India, in spite of their high civilization, abandoned this distinguishing characteristic of their faith. See 'Parsi' art. on present subject (p. 502).

The Veddas of Ceylon, like the ancient Chinese, simply lay the corpse in the jungle, covered with leaves and brushwood (Tennent, *Ceylon*, Lond. 1859, ii. 442; Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, Lond. 1821, p. 117; de Groot, *Rel. Syst. China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., ii. 368).

Among the Australian tribes and those of Tasmania the most varied methods of disposal are found—exposure, cannibalism, burial, cremation.

Where exposure was practised, it was usually on a rude platform of boughs, or in the branches of a tree. The latter is regarded by the Unmatjera as an honour denied to the very old and infirm, and to such as have violated tribal customs (Brough Smyth, I. 108-121; Howitt, 456-474; Spencer-Gillen^b, 506-545; *Int. Arch.* xvi. [1904] 8; Roth, *Abor. of Tasmania*, Lond. 1890, pp. 128-134). The same honour is also paid by the Andamanes to those esteemed worthy (*Ind. Chin. Rep.*, 1901, iii. 65). In fact the exposure of the dead on stages, or by suspension from the branches of a tree, or from cross-bars supported on poles, is very widely spread in the Eastern Archipelago, and is practised by some of the tribes of Assam.

On the American continent, deposit on scaffolds, or in the boughs of trees, was extensively practised. In the interior of North America it was the common mode of disposal, the object being to keep the body out of the way of carnivorous beasts and to facilitate desiccation.

The Hurons and some other tribes put the corpse into a coffin or box of bark or wood (often a hollowed log)—a custom also followed in British Columbia, where the 'grave-box' was frequently deposited on the ground and covered with leaves (*1 RBEW* 168-164, 166, 168, 169; *5 RBEW* [1887] 111. The various Reports on the N.-W. Tribes in the *Brit. Assoc. Reports* describe the customs of the Indians of Brit. Columbia. See also *Journ. Exped.* v. 54, x. [1903] 142). Buter than this was the custom of the Blackfeet. "They think it a horrible practice to expose the body to the worms and vermin that live in the ground." So they leave it in the wild beasts and birds, above ground, on a hill-top or in a tree (*B.A. Rep.*, 1887, p. 192; Pettit, *Trad. Ind. du Canada Nord-ouest*, Paris, 1886, p. 492). The Eskimo often leave the dead on the ground, though some of them have learnt to use 'grave-boxes' (*11 RBEW*, 175, 193; *18 RBEW* [1899] 312). The Kamchadals used to throw away their dead to be devoured by dogs. The Chukchi, Gilyaks, and other Siberian tribes followed the same practice, or else disposed of the corpse by cremation; the Yakuts, however, used to put them in boxes and suspend them from the trees or put them on rough scaffolds in the forest (*Journ. Exped.* vi. 104; *RBEW* xlv. 211; *Amer. Anthr.* viii. [1906] 286). In New Caledonia the dead are placed on the summit of a cliff, on a bed of leaves or dried grass (*L'Anthrop.* xiii. [1902] 547).

The necessity of sub-aerial deposit either on the ground or on scaffolds or in the branches of trees has been, in some at least of these cases, forced upon the survivors by the condition of the soil. In the higher latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere the ground is often frozen for months, and it is impossible during that period (especially with the rude tools available) to dig. Even with the appliances of an advanced civilization this is found impracticable in Canada. Canadian settlers often have to content themselves during the winter with placing their dead above ground in a mortuary, and leaving them there until the spring. They only follow the example of some of their aboriginal predecessors and neighbours.

The Naskopies still 'suspend their dead from the branches of trees, if the ground be frozen too hard to excavate, and endeavour to return in the following summer and inter the body' (*11 RBEW* 272).

(c) Cave burial.—An archaic and widely distributed mode of burial is in caves.

Human bones, remains of sepulture of the Neolithic people formerly inhabiting Liguria, have been found in caves at various points along the Riviera, notably under stalagmitic floors in the Bas-Moullins cave at Monaco (*L'Anthrop.* xii. [1901] 7). Among examples of a much more recent date, but still very ancient, is that of the Hebrews (e.g. the cave of Machpelah, Gn 23:19 25:9 35:27ff. 50:13), and the custom is not yet wholly extinct in Palestine. In the Moluccas, the Philippines, the Sandwich Islands, as well as in the coral islands of the South Seas (both Melanesian and Polynesian), where caves abound, the practice prevailed of depositing the bodies, or, after desiccation, the bones, in caves and clefts of the rock often all but inaccessible. In some of the islands the custom is now restricted to the remains of chiefs, and the motive is said to be to prevent desecration by enemies, though probably it was at one time more general (Ellis, *Polyn. Res.* i. 406; *JAI* x. 141). Similarly, among the Betsileo of Madagascar the chiefs are deposited in caverns (*Mad. au xix siècle*, 290, 291). In Africa it is found sporadically from north to south; it was the common practice of the Hottentots and the special privilege of the kings of Quissanga and Quiteve (Kolben, 318; *Rec. S.E. Africa*, vii. [1901] 378, 382). On the western side of the North American continent it has been recorded of many tribes from Alaska to Mexico, as well as in the Aleutian and West Indian Islands. Among some of the Pueblo peoples of Arizona and New Mexico the practice seems a relic of the former habitation of the caves. When they were occupied as dwellings, the dead were frequently buried in the furthest recesses; and the same caverns or other clefts and shelters of the rocks have been retained by a very natural conservatism as the appropriate dwelling-places of the dead (*15 RBEW* 348, 355; *Am. Anthr.* vi. new ser., 656).

This method of disposing of the corpse, rude as it seems, has been capable, as in ancient Egypt, of developing grandiose sepulchres, by artificial excavation and the provision of pompous doorways, and thus of influencing the development of a national architecture. Even where, as in Sicily, such a result was not attained, artificial excavation was frequently practised. Enormous numbers of such tombs, attributed to the Siculi, have been explored in the mountain of Pantalica near Syracuse (*L'Anthrop.* xii. 190). It is obvious that cave burial, whether in natural or in artificial hollows, can be adopted only in rocky or mountainous regions, and then only where the geological formation is suitable. A mode of burial widely extended in Africa and found in other parts of the globe is that of sinking a perpendicular shaft in the soil and excavating, at or near the bottom, a side-vault in which the body is placed. These graves have lent themselves to the suggestion that their form is derived from a previous practice of cave burial. They are actually found in some of the Fiji Islands concurrently with burial in caves (*JAI* x. 144). Ordinary chamber-tombs excavated in the rock are found in Crete, as on the mainland of Greece. Side by side with them at Knossos and belonging to the same period, classed by Evans as the Third Late-Minoan Period, have been found also excavated in the soft rotten limestone both simple pit-graves and graves consisting of a shaft and side-vault; as though all three types of grave had diverged from one common original, and that original a natural cave. The conclusion, so far as regards the last-named type, is perhaps rendered all the more probable by its recurrence elsewhere around the Mediterranean, where burial in natural or artificial caves was practised (*Archæologia*, lix. [1905] 391 ff.).

(d) Water burial.—To fling a body into the sea or a river is one of the easiest ways of getting rid of it. That doubtless is the reason for thus disposing of the corpses of slaves or common people (see above, VII. 2 (b)), in various places. But it does not account for every case of water burial. Where the object is not merely to get rid of the body, but to prevent the deceased from returning to plague survivors, probably few more effectual means are known to peoples in the lower culture than to throw the corpse into the water; for water is usually esteemed a barrier

to maleficent spirits, and particularly to the dead.

The corpses of pregnant and barren women (who are naturally evil-disposed), and of lepers, are regarded in Tibet as specially taboo. They are, accordingly, either thrown beyond nine hills and dales, or packed in horse- or ox-skins and thrown into the waters of the great Tsang-po River (Chandra Das, *op. cit.* 255). The Guayakis of Paraguay and the Cherokees commit their dead to the waters of the nearest river; the Gosh-Ute of Utah sink them in springs, possibly for fear of the departed spirit (*L'Anthrop.* xiii. 658; *1 RBEW* 180).

This may have been one of the reasons for the occasional practice of water burial found in various parts of the world, as among the sect of Bhagar Panthis in the Panjab (*Rep. Cens. Ind.*, 1901, xvii. 168), or some of the West African tribes (Nassau, 233). On the other hand, water burial is sometimes regarded as an honour.

One who is specially beloved or beautiful is, in the Bismarck Archipelago, not buried but laid in a boat pulled far out to sea, and there the boat and its contents are sunk (Thilenius, *Ethnogr. Ergéb. aus Melanesien*, ii. [1903] 230). To fling the dead into the sea was quite common in Polynesia. The Chibchas of New Granada were reported by Oviedo to lay their chiefs in golden coffins and sink them in the water (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 56). The corpse of the slain Baldr, with his wife and steed, and the gift of Odin's ring Draupnir, was laid in his ship upon a funeral pyre and launched forth blazing on the sea. Myth as it is, this tradition doubtless records the striking spectacle of many a Viking's funeral.

In various parts of the world earth burial or sub-aerial deposit in canoes is found—a relic perhaps of earlier exposure to the waves. Thus it was not infrequent for a Viking to be laid in his ship and the howe heaped over it.

(e) Inhumation.—The position of the grave is determined by various considerations. Among some peoples there is no fixed rule; and it seems that the dead may be buried anywhere, according to convenience or the caprice of the survivors. This is said to be the case with some of the Bantu tribes, as the Matabele and the Barotse. The latter, however, bury in secret, from which we may probably infer that the object is to leave no clue to the burial-place lest it be violated by wizards (*JAI* xxiii. 84; Béguin, *Ma-Rotse*, 1903, p. 115). In some of the Moluccas, graves are scattered everywhere outside the villages (Riedel, 81, 225). The Chilcotin are said to bury wherever the death occurs (*Jesup Exped.* ii. [1900-8] 788). Among the Chinese and other nations in the Extreme East the situation of the grave is determined by diviners, whose art is called in Chinese *fung-shui*, defined by de Groot (ii. 935) as 'a quasi-scientific system, supposed to teach men where and how to build graves, temples, and dwellings, in order that the dead, the gods, and the living may be located therein exclusively, or as far as possible, under the auspicious influences of Nature.' The practice is, therefore, founded on the conviction that the dead dwell in the grave exactly as the living dwell in a house. This conviction is by no means confined to China and the surrounding countries; it is explicit or implicit everywhere in the lower culture. The imagination clings to it; and mankind has found it extremely difficult to get rid of the notion, though it has continually come into collision with the teachings of the higher philosophies and religions. Accordingly, the dying man's own wishes are often consulted as to the place of his burial, or it is determined after his death, as in the Babar Archipelago (Riedel, 359), by supposed movements of the coffin in answer to questions put to the corpse. This is, of course, a species of divination. It is more commonly decided by the manner in which the dead are regarded, that is to say, whether fear, on the one hand, or affection and hope for future benefits, on the other hand, predominate in the minds of the survivors. But see § XIX.

(i.) Children.—As an illustration of the latter motive may be taken the wide-spread custom of

burying children in, or at the door of, their mother's hut. A comparison of the reasons alleged for so doing, and of other practices and beliefs, leads to the conclusion that the object is to obtain a re-birth of the child.

The custom is found in Africa East and West, in the Panjab, and among some of the Naga tribes of Assam, in Java, in the Andaman Islands, among the Karo-bataks, the Creeks, the Seminoles, the Chols of Southern Mexico, and in several of the Molucca Islands. On the island of Keisar it is suggestive that children are buried under their parents' sleeping-places, while in the Aaru Archipelago they are not buried, but hung up in the house above their parents' beds. In Tibet a new-born child who dies is kept in the house or on the roof. The ancient Italians buried their dead children under the eaves of the house; and to this day the Russian peasant buries a still-born child under the floor (Harland, *Prim. Paternity*, i. 227; *JAI* xxvi. [1897] 200; *1 RBEW* 116; Starr, *Notes Ethnogr. S. Mexico*, ii. [1902] 74; Riedel, 421, 267; Chandra Das, 220).

(ii.) Others than young children.—Burial or sub-aerial deposit at a distance prevails among the Australian tribes and among the Negroes and Bantu.

It is, however, far from being the universal practice among either the Negroes or the Bantu. Among both these races the head of the household is frequently buried within his own settlement or compound, or, as among the Kaffirs of South Africa, in the cattle kraal. Various tribes of Negroes bury in or near the village. On the Ivory Coast several bury under the hut (Ciozel and Villamur, i. 18, 157, 321, 336, 410, 467). With some of these, as well as the West African Bantu, burial under the floor of the house, or in the kitchen-garden adjoining, is a distinction reserved for a chief, or a specially beloved relative. In others the custom seems more general, and the head of the household at least is usually buried in his own house (Nassau, 61; Leonard, 159; Spieth, 250, 634, 702, 752; *JAFLE* ix. 17). The same rule applies to the Nilotic and Bantu tribes on the other side of the continent (Johnston, 554, 652, 693, 716, 748, 779, 793, 880; Cassidi, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, Lond. and N.Y., 1891, i. 303; Gessi, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, Lond. 1899, p. 32; *JAI* xxxii. 265; van der Burgt, *op. cit.*, art. 'Enterrement'; Werner, 157, 163, 165).

In Madagascar the practice differs with the tribe. The Betsimisarakas, Sakalava, and other tribes bury at a distance in solitary places, and their graves are greatly feared, while the Betsileo and Hovas bury on the roadside and even between the dwellings (*Mad. au x^e siècle*, 278).

A similar diversity is found among the forest and pampas tribes of South America, some of which bury under the hut. The Uananas bury on small islands in the river (water is notoriously difficult for the dead to cross) or else in the hut occupied by the deceased. But in the latter case the hut is deserted (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 85). The motive in both is obviously fear. In North America, tribes like the Huron, Wichita, Nez Percés, Shawap and Thompson Indians, to mention no more, laid their dead near the village or encampment. Some, like the Creeks and Seminoles, buried them under the house. Others, such as the Nomlaki of California, buried them at a distance. The Zuñis, who, like other Pueblo tribes, probably in former times buried their dead in their cave-dwellings, still pursue the practice in their modern houses on the mesas (*15 RBEW* 386, 345, 346, 365). Many of the islanders of the Eastern Archipelago and the Pacific Ocean bury in the dwelling of the deceased; but there is no uniform practice. In the interior of Viti Levu (Fiji), for instance, in the province of Ra, many persons were buried before the threshold of the house, or in case of men under the clan dormitory; elsewhere the dead are buried at a distance because they are feared (*Anthropos*, iv. [1909] 83, 96). In Assam the grave is dug in front of the house (*JAI* xxvi. [1906] 96). In ancient Assyria and Babylonia the ordinary dead were buried under the floor of the house (*JAFLE* ix. 105). What looks like a relic of the same custom is found among the Lolos of Western China: the day after the funeral a hole is dug in the death-chamber, and a formal prayer offered that the star of the deceased will descend and be buried in that hole. It is believed that if this were not done the star would fall and possibly hurt some one (*JAI* xxiii. 103).

The burial-place is frequently in a grove or thicket, afterwards shunned as sacred. Chiefs or medicine-men, like Bantu monarchs and Buriat shamans, are, in particular, recipients of this honour. Chiefs and priests on the island of Rotuma are buried on the hill-tops (*JAI* xxvii. [1898] 431, 432). On a hill or a headland a noble Norseman loved to have his howe or barrow. The Arapahos, the Wichita, and other North American tribes lay their dead commonly on hills or bluffs.

Among many peoples each family or each clan has its own place of burial, whether the mode of disposal of the dead be by cave burial, in-

humation, sub-aerial deposit, or cremation. This was the custom of the ancient Greeks (Rohde, I. 229) as well as of the ancient Hebrews; and it is continued to this day in the Holy Land (Wilson, *Peasant Life*, 168). Nor is it confined to a comparatively high stage of civilization. It is a natural and by no means uncommon outgrowth of the feeling of kinship; and, where ancestor-worship exists in a developed form, it adds strength to it by concentrating the cult about one spot.

The Chinese custom dates from barbarism; and the practice of *jung-shui* has never necessitated its abandonment (de Groot, II. 826). Every clan of the Baganda, and even of the Muhammadanized Swahili, has its burial-place (*JAI* xxxii. 51; Velten, *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 1903, p. 259). Every family of the Chechens in the Caucasus and of the Barea and Kunama in Abyssinia has its vault (*Anthropos*, III. 1908) 734; Munzinger, 528). On the Gold Coast, among the Tania of Madagascar, the Nicobarese, and some of the British Columbian tribes the families have common burial grounds (*JAI* xxvii. 138; *Globus*, lxxxix. 361; *Int. Arch.* vi. 24; *Jesup Exped.* I. 336, v. 64). The Uralis of Southern India have a common burial-ground at Nirgundi, in which all are finally laid to rest; but each sept has its own burial-ground close to its village, where the preliminary obsequies are celebrated (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vii. 256). The Chams of Further India and the Khasis of Assam practise cremation; their ashes are deposited in the family sepulchre (Cabaton, *Chams*, 48; Gordon, *Khasis*, 1907, pp. 132, 140). As society becomes more highly organized, the custom contributes materially to the family pride, and it becomes emphasized by kings and nobles. The kings of ancient Sycotians and modern Kaifirs, Tongan chiefs and English peers, agreed in displaying the same vanity.

Where, strictly speaking, there is no family sepulchre, sometimes, at least, the body is buried upon the property of the deceased or his family.

The ancient Norseman's howe was upon his own land. The Quiché of Central America buried in their maize fields (*Int. Arch.* I. [1889], Suppl. 71). The Buquidones of the Philippines and the Mossi of West Africa are laid in their own cultivated fields (Sawyer, 347; *L'Anthrop.* xv. [1904] 687); and the Chams have their family cemetery close to their richest corn-field (Cabaton, *l.c.*). In these cases probably the deceased is thought to guard the fields and enhance their fertility. Among the Igroets, however, where the dead man is buried in his own cleared land, unless he has selected some other spot, the place is abandoned (Sawyer, 313). The modern Corsicans lay their dead in the earth or in a little building called a chapel on their own property (*RTP* xii. [1897] 523).

Other distinctions, as has already been noted, are often made between the dead. On the island of Keisar, one of the Moluccas, a great nunu-tree stands in an open square in the centre of every village. Beneath that tree the forefathers sleep, and the dead of rank are still buried around them. It is thus a sacred place, and feasts are held there (Riedel, 422). The same character attaches to the Men's House, or Bachelors' House, necessary to a village in other islands of the East Indies; and often there, if not every man, at least every important man, is buried, and his bones are preserved after the final rites (cf. *Globus*, xciv. [1908] 166, 168).

(f) Preservation in house.—Many peoples preserve the body above ground in the house, either with or without previous desiccation or mummification. This practice originates in a rude and archaic condition of society, and is frequently abandoned, as civilization progresses, in favour of temporary or permanent burial.

Thus in Tahiti, a native tradition, which doubtless represents something like the real sequence of custom, speaks of a period when the dead were allowed to remain on a kind of stage in the house in which they had lived, and which continued to be occupied by the survivors. But by and by separate houses were built for the dead—small temporary buildings, where they were laid, and whence they were drawn out to be exposed to the rays of the sun. The corpse was visited from time to time by the relatives, and was rubbed every day with aromatic oils. The bones were ultimately deposited in the family *marae*, or temple, or else buried, except the skull, which was wrapped in native cloth and preserved, often suspended from the roof of the dwelling-house (Ellis, *op. cit.* I. 404).

Notwithstanding all reverence for the dead, and all precautions in the shape of desiccation and perfumes, the custom of keeping the body in the dwelling during the process of decay must have been found intolerable. Tribes to which immediate burial was repugnant therefore usually adopted one

of two courses: they abandoned the hut to the corpse, or they removed the corpse until dissolution had been carried far enough to render it no longer offensive.

So the Wagogo of East Africa keep the corpse of a man of rank in the hut until it putrefies, while they mourn and drink pombe. It is then placed on a scaffold in the open air until only the bones are left, when they at last are buried (Steinmetz, 211). The Atti-wandarons, or Neutral, of North America kept the body in the house 'until the stench became intolerable.' It was then placed on a scaffold in the open air, that the work of decay might be there completed. The remaining flesh being scraped from the bones, the latter were afterwards arranged on the sides of the cabins in full view of the inmates until the Feast of the Dead, the great day of general interment periodically held (Hale, *Book of Rites*, 1883, p. 72). The Muong or Mon of Tongking kept the corpse in a coffin for three years in the house, before the altar of ancestors; but they palliated the results of dissolution to some extent by fixing a bamboo tube in the lid of the coffin and carrying it up through the roof to permit the foul gases to escape (Lunet, 352). In West Africa the Baoulé embalm and preserve the corpse in the hut for months or years. In spite of embalment, the odour for three weeks is horrible. It then gradually diminishes, and by the end of two months the corpse presents the appearance of an Egyptian mummy. In this state it is kept until the convenient time for the final rites, with which it is laid in a grave under the hut (Clozel and Villamur, 115, 118). The Yumbos of South America also mummify their dead, and hang them up in the house under the thatch (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 79). In the Gilbert Islands the body of a king or warrior is often wrapt in mats and preserved on one of the cross-beams of the hut (*ib. l.c.* 43). On the other hand, the Saccha of South America lay out their dead in the house, pull down the house over him, and abandon it to him (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 85). The practice of abandoning the hut to the dead is followed in many other places. Its motive is fear—whether of the death-pollution or of the ghost is probably no more than a question of terminology. See §§ IV. 3, VI. 9, XVIII., XIX.

(g) Cremation is a mode of disposal of the dead that has been adopted from time to time by nations widely scattered over the earth. It is the ordinary mode in India among the aboriginal peoples, as well as among the Hindus; it extends through Further India to Tongking, and has obtained a footing by Hindu influence on some of the East Indian islands. It is practised by many tribes of Siberia and of the Pacific slope of North America. In ancient times it was also practised widely (though perhaps not exclusively) by the tribes of the North American plains and of the Mississippi basin and Atlantic shores. It is customary among some of the northern tribes of South America, and among the Melanesians of North New Mecklenburg and New Hanover, two of the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. The funeral mounds of Europe witness to its use in pre-historic times, from the south of Russia to the British Isles. The practice seems to have begun on the Continent in the Neolithic age. It became general during the Age of Bronze, and was continued right down to the Christian era, and among many tribes probably down to their conversion to Christianity. To the northern invaders who founded the dynasties and the polity predominant during the Homeric age of Greece we may with some confidence attribute the introduction into the Eastern Mediterranean of cremation, foreign as it was to the usages and beliefs of the Mycenaean age. From Greece, or directly across the Alps, it spread to Italy; and, though among the Romans it never succeeded in entirely ousting the prior practice of inhumation, it became throughout the Roman Empire the fashionable mode of disposing of the dead among the official and wealthier classes. It is sporadic or occasional in many other parts of the world.

More than one reason may have conduced to the practice of cremation:

(i.) Tribes without a settled abode may have found it convenient, if they desired to carry about the remains of their dead, or to remove such remains beyond the possibility of desecration by their enemies.

Some such motives perhaps operated in the case of the Cocopa Indians, who occupy the lower valley of the Colorado River. By the annual floods of the river they are driven from the bottom lands to the higher grounds. 'The annual irrigations are of

great regularity, and have affected the habits of the tribes in various ways.' On the death of an adult, his effects are collected for distribution among others than his relatives. The body is laid on a pyre beside his hut; and, after all the claimants have been satisfied, the corpse and the rest of his goods are burnt, together with the hut and any neighbouring huts belonging to the clan that may happen to catch fire. The survivors then abandon the site (*Amer. Anthropol.* iv., new ser. [1902], 480). The Man Océ are an immigrant people of Northern Tongking; and, though they have been settled as cultivators of the soil in the mountainous region of that country for many generations, their villages are still constantly removed from place to place, to suit their rudimentary method of agriculture. They formerly burnt their dead, and carried the ashes with them in their migrations. But the custom has been generally given up, because the accumulated ashes of generations became an intolerable burden. It continues, however, in the west of the Red River basin, where the bones, after incineration, are placed in earthen jars (Lunet, 246). The Northern Maidu cremated only those who died far from home; and in such cases the ashes were taken home and there buried (*Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xvii. 242). A similar practice was recorded among the Algonquins (Charlevoix, vi. [1744] 109), among the Haida of Masset (*Jesup Exped.* v. 54), and other tribes.

Many peoples hold that it is possible to work witchcraft by means of the bodies of the dead. It is probable that this may have been at least a contributory cause, inducing migratory tribes to burn their corpses.

(ii.) Another very powerful motive for cremation is the desire to be quit of the ghost. Various means are adopted for this purpose (see XI.). Cremation is only one of these, but it is not the least potent. This is best observed where cremation is exceptional, as on the continent of Africa.

Among the Yaos and Mang'anja a woman who was accused of witchcraft, and who refused the poison-ordal, was burnt (Macdonald, *Africana*, 1889, i. 104). In West Africa burning is especially the mode of disposing of bodies of criminals, by which are meant persons accused of witchcraft, some of whom are also burnt to death (Nassau, 234). The Wakulwe and other tribes in the neighbourhood of Lake Tanganyika believe that a month or two after death the process of decomposition brings back the bones to life. A mysterious being called Nkua animates them; and by means of the new body thus formed it sets about torturing, and even killing, some other member of the family of the deceased. In order to prevent this, the corpse is dug up and burnt to ashes. Not a bone must be left, for even the smallest would suffice to give shelter to the Nkua. A witch-doctor, or diviner, presides at the ceremony, while an assistant asperges the body with a sort of holy water, saying, 'Sleep in peace, sleep in peace' (*L'Athropol.* xvi. [1905] 375). The Nkua thus roughly corresponds with the Vampire of Europe, whose misdeeds were often stopped by a similar process of burning. But there is this difference that, whereas in Europe only some persons were credited with becoming vampires, among the African tribes in question all corpses are exhumed and cremated.

We have already seen that persons who die an evil death are denied the ordinary rites. Among such persons are usually reckoned those who die of smallpox, in childhood, by murder or suicide. In Siam the corpses of these persons are treated precisely like the corpses of the Wakulwe. It is alleged that if this were not done the spirits of the departed would return and torment their friends (*Globus*, xiv. [1868] 27). The Chingpaws of Burma bury; but burning is simulated in the case of those who die of smallpox or by violent deaths (Anderson, p. 181). Among the Kols of Chotā Nāgpur, where cremation is the ordinary mode of disposing of the corpse, the body is burnt, and the remains of the bones are picked out and put into an earthen pot. This is carefully closed, taken home, and hung on a post until the final ceremony, which does not take place until the *hārbār* feast. We are expressly told that this way the deceased is prevented from entering his former dwelling (Hahn, *Einführung in das Gebiet der Kolmission*, 1907, p. 85). The same fear of the ghost is visible in the ceremonies at the cremation of the former kings of Kandy. Some of the calcined bones were collected and put into an earthenware pot, which was closed and sealed. The remaining ashes were buried. The pot was placed on the head of a man, who was masked and covered all over with black, and was carried by him to the *mahavelle-ganga*. At the ferry the masked bearer was put in two canoes lashed together and covered with boughs in the form of a bower. These canoes were drawn to mid-stream by two men swimming, who when they reached that point pushed them forward and hastily swam back. The masked man then took a sword in one hand and the urn in the other, cut the urn in two, and at the same moment plunged into the stream. Diving under, he came up as far down stream as possible, swam to the opposite side, and disappeared. The canoes were allowed to float away (Davy, 162).

It has already been mentioned that the ancient Pueblo tribes of the south-west of the United States buried their dead in their cave-dwellings. Concurrent with this custom, however, there was another, by which the dead were cremated. The co-existence of these two customs was held by

Cushing, one of the most careful and acute of observers, to be due to the coalescence of two peoples—namely, of Yuman and Piman tribes of the lower Colorado region—who practised cremation, with the true Pueblo tribes, who practised cave burial. The Zuni have now abandoned cremation, if they ever practised it. 'They insist that, should they incinerate the bodies, there would be no rain, for their dead are the *wuannami* (rain-makers). Incineration, they believe, would annihilate the being' (13 *RBEW* 365; 22 *RBEW* [1904] 175; 23 *RBEW* [1904] 305).

(iii.) Thus cremation is an effectual protection of the survivors against haunting and injury by the dead. It is more than this: it thoroughly frees the ghost from the bonds of this life, and fits it for union with the society of the departed in the life beyond.

The Wayans of French Guiana burn their dead, 'that the soul may fly up to heaven on the smoke' (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 87). Among the Laotians of Further India the higher classes are cremated encased in a puppet representing a mythical bird called Hatsuiling. It is said that, in order to obtain Nirvana, the bird must be killed. Accordingly, a woman ceremonially shoots an arrow at it; and then the fire is lighted. There is, of course, a mythological tale of the slaughter of the bird in the first instance by a heroine who was an incarnation of a goddess; and the woman who shoots the ceremonial arrow pretends to be a descendant of the goddess. But there can be little doubt that Hubert's conjecture is correct, that the myth is of secondary formation, and that the bamboo bird really conveys to the other world the soul when released, together with it, by burning (*L'Année Soc. ix.* [1906] 238). In this case the shooting would be the ritual slaughter of the bird, in order to put it into the same condition as the deceased. Among the Haida of Masset, persons killed in battle or by any violent means, were believed to go, after death, to the abode of a supernatural being named *Tixet*, which was suspended in the air. To enable them to do this their bodies were burnt; otherwise they would be refused admission. The precaution, however, seems to have been neglected with regard to friends killed in war at a distance from home—contrary to their practice in other cases. The practical difficulties were probably too great, and the custom may have been in decay (*Jesup Exped.* v. 54). The king of the Batutsi in East Africa was never buried. His body was exposed in his hut until putrefaction had advanced so far as to show the first worm. The hut was then set on fire, and was burnt with all its contents. When the conflagration came to an end and nothing was left, it was believed that the king had returned to heaven, whence, according to the tribal legends, his ancestors had been exiled, and whither this was the prescribed method of returning (*Anthropos*, iii. 6).

But the ghost is often conceived of as inhering in the calcined bones, and not completely disposed of until some further ceremony has been performed. The rites at the cremation of the king of Kandy are an example of this. Indeed, it is common among the tribes of India which have been influenced by Brahmanism to throw the ashes into some sacred water, as a means of uniting the dead with the fathers. Elsewhere they are put into an urn or other receptacle, and buried, or kept in the house. This custom is familiar to us among the classic nations of antiquity. The covers of the urns were sometimes removable, in order to placate the spirit of the dead by periodically pouring libations upon his ashes.

VIII. The grave.—1. *Shape of the grave.*—On this subject something has been said above in dealing with cave burial. The grave is the residence of the departed; and efforts are not wanting in various parts of the world to render it as comfortable as circumstances permit. As already pointed out, the Chinese practice of *fung-shui* is traceable to this motive. It is possible also that the widespread practice of abandoning the hut to the dead, whether buried beneath it or exposed above ground, may have the same motive, in addition to that of escaping the infection of death. The destruction of the hut above the corpse, which frequently takes place, need not preclude it, since it is a common principle that things intended to be of service to the dead must themselves be killed by breakage, or even burning. Where burial does not take place in the hut, a hut or shelter is often erected over the grave.

This is the practice in lands as far apart as South America and the Philippines, or New Guinea (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 79; Sawyer, 203, 355; Chalmers, *Pioneer Life*, 1895, pp. 53, 110, 210); while, among the Baganda and other tribes of East Central Africa, kings and chiefs at least are thus honoured (*JAI* xxvii 44, 92; Cunningham, 81, 224; van der Burgt, art. 'Enterre

ment'); and this hut, as the abode of the deceased, becomes his shrine or temple, where his spirit is invoked. In this district of Africa miniature huts or shelters over the graves of lesser persons are not uncommon. By the Lendu the miniature hut is erected explicitly as a shelter for the spirit, which is supposed to remain seated on the grave for two months after burial (Cunningham, 387). Elsewhere, as in New Guinea, the shelter is as much for the convenience of the mourners, who go thither to weep, as of the departed (Chalmers, 110).

The underground resting-places of the dead are also provided with regard to their comfort, often to magnificence.

The Ewe of West Africa bury beneath their huts. Rich people are buried deeper than poor, and the cavity prepared for them is as large as a room (Spieth, 634). The pre-historic graves of Crete, circular chambers of stones covered with mounds or domes, are modelled on the huts of the living (*ARW* vii, [1904] 265, viii, 520). The same intention is apparent in Etruscan tombs. So far, indeed, was it carried that, when cremation was adopted, the urns in which the ashes were placed were miniature huts. But the most striking and splendid examples of tombs as the dwelling-places of the dead are found among the ancient Egyptians (see § VII. 3 (9)).

Externally the shape of the grave has varied as much as its internal arrangements. In Europe the pre-historic dead of rank and importance were buried beneath round or elliptical barrows, frequently of huge dimensions—a custom found in many other parts of the world. These barrows are raised of stones or earth, and enclose cists of large slabs, within which the bodies were deposited. And they are generally surrounded with a trench from which the earth for the barrow has been taken, sometimes also with circles of stones. Where an elaborate structure of this kind is not made, it is quite common to cover the grave with a heap of stones, or with a simple mound of earth. Where, as among many tribes, the grave is shallow, the stones, or often (according to the nature of the country) a pile of branches, may be intended chiefly to defend the body against wild carnivora. Against human beings they are more often defended by fences, or smoothed and levelled down so as to remove the traces of burial, as is the practice of various South American tribes (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 92, 97; *Globus*, xc. 305). Where mounds or huts are erected over graves, they become, with growing civilization, pyramids of wrought stone and mausolea.

2. *Position of the corpse.*—It is a very general custom in the lower culture to bury the dead in a crouching or squatting position. This is the natural position of rest during life for peoples who have not the civilized appliances of chairs, tables, and bedsteads. It is accentuated in the case of the dead by binding the body, sometimes even breaking the bones for that purpose. The body thus prepared is usually laid on one side in the grave, just as the skeletons in Neolithic and later graves in this country are found. Sometimes, however, it is placed seated or lying on the back.

Examples of both have been described among the West Australian natives (Calvert, 41, 42). Extended burials (lying at full length) are not so common. At Knossos, bodies have been found both flexed and extended. Extended burials were customary among the pagan Anglo-Saxons. The Wichita of North America (Dorsey, *Wichita*, 1904, p. 13), the Brignans of the Ivory Coast (Clozel and Villamur, 467), and the Yanadis of Southern India bury in the same attitude, but the last with the face downwards (Thurston, vii. 426).

The direction in which the body lies in the grave differs among different peoples, and even among the same people. In the pre-historic graves of this country, as well as of other countries, skeletons have been found quite differently orientated, though sometimes in the same barrow; and the explanation of the variations is still to seek. The Wotjobuluk of what is now the Wimmera district of Victoria, in the Commonwealth of Australia, had an elaborate system by which everything in the world was supposed to be divided among the totem-clans. Every totem had its own point of the compass; and a man was buried with his head towards the point of the compass appropriate to

his totem (Howitt, 453). This arrangement is extremely rare, if not unique. More usually the direction is determined by either the rising or the setting sun.

Thus the Ngumba of New South Wales bury with the head towards sunrise (Mathews, 72); the Awemba of Central Africa (*JAI* xxxvi. 157), the Maidu of California (*Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xvii. 243), and the Wichita bury with the head turned to the east. On the other hand, the Lilloet (*Jesup Exped.* ii. 269), the Mancagnas of Senegambia (*L'Anthrop.* xvi. 68), and the Brignans (Clozel and Villamur, l.c.), agree with the Christian populations of Europe in burying in the reverse direction. The Solomon Islanders bury with the feet turned inland (Codrington, *Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 254). Tribes which preserve a tradition of migration to their present habitat, frequently bury with reference to the direction from which they believe their ancestors to have come. For this reason some of the Bantu tribes of South Africa bury so as to face the North (Dannert, 3; Kidd, 248). This practice seems to be connected with a belief that after death the soul journeys back, as among the Miao of the Chinese province of Kwei-chow (*Anthropos*, iii. 409), to the ancestral seats of the race. Among the Wanyamwezi of East Africa a man who dies in a strange place is buried with his face to his mother's village (Burton, *Lake Regions of C. Afr.* Lond. 1860, ii. 25). Muhammadan peoples bury so that the dead may face Mecca.

3. *Coffins.*—The corpse is further defended against external influences by a case or coffin. In the early stages of culture a coffin is wanting; and, if it is deemed desirable to protect the body from the earth, this is done by means of the niche or recess at the bottom of the grave-shaft so common in Africa, or a covering of boughs is laid over it before the earth is thrown in. Even yet some peoples in a comparatively high stage of civilization reject a coffin. Wood is the usual material for a coffin. Originally, probably, a hollowed tree-trunk, as still among the Niamniam (Frobenius, 410), it has evolved into elaborate forms, painted, as among the Ibouzo on the Niger (*Anthropos*, ii. [1907] 102), or carved, as among the Eskimo and Indian tribes of the North-West of America, and the Dayaks of Borneo. These carved coffins or grave-boxes, however, are not intended to be put under ground. In this connexion the richly carved sarcophagi of late Roman and early mediæval times will be recalled.

A very general custom prevails in South America, where the art of pottery is developed, of putting the dead into large urns. In pre-historic Crete it was a well-known practice to enclose the body in a terra-cotta chest called a *larnax* (*Archæologia*, lix. 396-400). In Japan, bodies were often buried in sarcophagi of wood, stone, or terra-cotta (*Archæologia*, iv. [1897] 474). The Chinese, when, as often happens, especially among the rich, the dead are disinterred to be buried elsewhere in accordance with the demands of *fung-shui*, place the bones in large earthen jars (de Groot, iii. 1058; Lunet, 90). The Tagbanuas of the Philippines bury children in jars (Sawyer, 313). Under the floors of pre-historic temples in Palestine numerous remains of new-born children have been found buried in jars (Frazer, *Adonis*?, 1907, p. 82). The Balearic Islanders, according to Diodorus, cut up the corpse, put the pieces into an urn, and erected a cairn of stones over it (Diod. Sic. v. 18). The bones, after being denuded of their flesh, were buried in urns by many of the tribes inhabiting what is now the United States (*Amer. Anthr.* vi., new ser. [1904], 660). A similar practice is recorded by a Chinese traveller in Tibet (*ZVRW* xx. [1907] 115). And the Kukis of Assam, after the body has undergone preliminary decomposition, clean and preserve the bones in a vase, 'which they open on all important occasions, pretending that in thus consulting the bones they are following the wishes of their deceased relative' (*ARW* xii. [1909] 448).

The burial of cremated bones in urns has been common wherever cremation was practised by peoples acquainted with the art of pottery. Burial in ships or boats has already been referred to. Sometimes, as among the Siusi of north-western Brazil, a coffin is fashioned out of the canoe of the deceased by cutting it in two and placing the body between the two halves (*Globus*, xc. 327). Lighter materials are often employed for the coffin. On the Gold Coast it is made of wicker-work, reeds, or bark (*Journ. Afr. Soc.* vii. [1908] 202). On the other hand, more than one coffin is sometimes employed in the case of a wealthy or important personage. In this wasteful practice African barbarians agree with the cultured peoples of Europe.

Nor is the object of a coffin always, or entirely, to protect the body. Possibly its original intention was to protect the living from the visits of the dead.

This was expressly alleged to Nelson by one of the western Eskimo as the reason for the grave-boxes in which the dead are deposited on the shores of Bering Strait. 'It was better,' Le said, 'to keep the dead in grave-boxes, for it kept their shades from wandering about, as they used to do; besides, it was bad to have the dogs eat the bodies' (*IS REW* 312). The latter thus appears a mere subsidiary reason or after-thought.

Although, however, we may suspect the desire of imprisoning the deceased to have been a primary motive in the provision of a coffin, the desire to provide for his comfort in the grave was probably also—perhaps equally—present. That the intention of a coffin is not always to bottle up the soul with the body is clear in such cases as that of the Siusi just referred to, where a hole is left expressly to enable the ghost to go and come, and thus preserve its temporary connexion with the bones until the time for final severance arrives.

IX. Funeral ceremonies.—1. *Time of funeral.*—The length of time required to elapse between death and the funeral varies from a few hours to many months. Sometimes, as in the west of Africa and the Solomon Islands, it may extend for years, while the preparations for duly honouring the deceased slowly proceed. At length, however, the time comes when the solemn ceremony which is to sever the dead from the living is appointed to take place. The night is not infrequently reckoned the appropriate time.

The Hopi of North America conduct their funerals at night (*Aethn. Ethn.* xxxvii. [1905] 634), the Dayaks of Sarawak at early dawn (*Anthropos*, i. 169). The Manansa of South Africa and the Negroes of the Lower Niger bury in the evening (Holub, *Seven Years in S. Africa*, Lond. 1881, ii. 240; Leonard, 159); while the Basuto dig the grave after dark, but defer the actual burial until just before dawn. It must be performed before the children wake, for they must not see the body (Martin, 90; *Journ. Afr. Soc.* v. [1906] 357).

The reason for the selection of the darkness as the season for burial seems to be that the survivors then cast no shadow, which is often confused with the soul, and hence that the deceased, or any evil-disposed spirit, would have more difficulty in capturing and retaining souls. The souls of children are particularly liable to attack. In the Southern Nicobar Islands, burial takes place at sundown, before midnight or early dawn, expressly in order to prevent the shadows—that is, the souls—of the attendants from falling into the grave and being buried with the corpse (*Ind. Cens.* 1901, iii. 209).

2. *Touching the dead.*—Throughout the rites and observances attendant on death, two motives—two principles—are found struggling for the mastery. On the one hand, there is the fear of death and of the dead, which produces the horror of the corpse, the fear of defilement, and the overwhelming desire to ban the ghost. On the other hand, there is the affection, real or simulated, for the deceased, which bewails his departure and is unwilling to let him go. Thus, though the touch or even the neighbourhood of the corpse causes defilement, there are not wanting peoples with whom it is a ritual necessity for mourners to touch the corpse.

The islanders of Mabuig, Torres Straits, and the Negroes of Jamaica agree with the people of the British Isles and the neighbouring Continent in this requirement. In Europe the reason usually alleged is that it prevents being haunted by the deceased. The German-speaking population of Iglau in the hills between Bohemia and Moravia kiss the foot of the corpse that they may not be afraid, which we may interpret the same sense (*ZVV* vi. [1896] 403); while in Montenegro every one who attends a funeral must kiss the corpse (*JAI* xxxix. 94). Among the Bulgarians all relatives kiss the right hand of the corpse, saying, 'Forgive me.' In addition, each of them who was born in the same month bends over it breast to breast and touches its head with his own thrice (Strauss, *Die Bulgaren*, Leipzig. 1898, p. 460).

3. *Circumambulation.*—Another ceremony is that of walking round the corpse.

When the Argonauts in the poem of Apollonius Rhodius buried their dead comrade Mopsus, they marched round him thrice, in their warrior-gear. So among the populations of India which practise cremation, the son or other relative who lights the pyre first walks thrice round it. The custom of walking round the corpse, or the grave after burial, is recorded of peoples as far apart in space and in culture as the Central Eskimo, the Russian Lapps, the Buriats, the Shans, and the Arawaks of British Guiana. It has even been recorded as solemnly performed around the coffin of a clergyman's wife in Oxfordshire no longer ago than 1799 (*NQ* xi, 8th ser. [1897], 428). At Beauquesne in the Department of Somme (France), after placing the coffin in the grave the mourners go thrice round the grave backwards (*RTP* xv. 154).

The direction of the procession is probably sunwise, though it is rarely recorded; and it is usually performed thrice. There can be little doubt that the rite is magical, intended to keep the dead in the grave and prevent him from disturbing the survivors. Cf. art. CIRCUMAMBULATION.

4. *Carrying out the corpse.*—More widely spread still is the custom of taking the corpse out of the house by some other way than the ordinary door. Among peoples in the lower culture, from South Africa to Greenland, from Alaska to the farthest limits of Asia, the East Indian Archipelago and the isles of the Southern Ocean, where the huts are not provided with windows the dead are taken out by the smoke-hole, or a hole in the roof or side of the hut specially broken for the purpose, or, as among the Koryaks, by raising a corner of the tent. Where a window exists it is often utilized for the purpose. The hole is closed immediately after the passage of the corpse, the object being to prevent the deceased from finding his way back. As civilization progresses, the custom is gradually confined to the corpses of those that have died evil deaths.

A Norseman who, by his character or the circumstances of his death, was deemed, like Thorolf in the Eyrbyggja Saga, likely to give trouble after death was carried out in this fashion. On the Continent of Europe suicides are frequently thus carried out; and it would seem that the practice is not unknown in England (*NQ* iv., 8th ser. [1893], 189). Of the earlier and more general custom a relic has lately been discovered by H. F. Feilberg in Jutland, in a bricked-up doorway existing in some farmhouses and called the 'corpse-door' (*FL* xviii. [1907] 364). The Matse tribe of Ewe carry out the body of a priest through a hole in the roof (Spieth, 756). The Wadjagga remove the corpse of a childless woman through a hole in the side of the hut opposite to the door (*Globus*, lxxix. 200). On the island of Nias the same course is taken with a woman dying in childbirth; while the Toba-bataks break up the floor of the house (the houses being all built upon piles) and throw down the corpse of such a woman, with imprecations to men who are waiting beneath to tie it up fast. On the other hand, they take the corpse of an important man out through the wall (Kruijt, *Anisimise*, Hague, 1906, pp. 264, 252). All these deeds are formidable, either from the manner of death or from character and position.

Among the Masurs of East Prussia and in Bulgaria, when parents lose a succession of children, the last to die is taken out through the window (Töppen, *Abergl. aus Masuren*³, 112; *ZVV* xi. 268). Here, perhaps, the successive children dying are regarded as the same child returned and re-born (Hartland, *Prim. Pat.* i. 200). In that case the object is to prevent access by the dead infant to its mother, that she may not bear it again.

5. *Other precautions against return.*—To prevent the return of the dead, it is not enough to take out the corpse by an unusual way. The dead man must be prevented from seeing the way back. It is for this reason that the body is carried out feet foremost—a practice shared by the civilized nations of Europe with the savages of Mabuig in Torres Straits (*Torres Str. Exped.* v. 248). Or he must be confused and puzzled.

The Christian Indians of Tumupasa agree with the Basuto in changing the place of the door of the hut (*Int. Arch.* xiii, Suppl. 92; Martin, 91). The Atonga swing the corpse to and fro (Werner, 161). The Siamese not only break an opening through the house-wall, but having got the body out they hurry it at full speed thrice round the house (Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* ii. 23). The Chams turn the bier about from time to time, and by marching obliquely they cause the corpse to take the most diverse positions, in order to bewilder the soul and hinder it from returning home (*Cabaton*, 47). Analogous

practices are found in Europe. In Letrim the longest possible road is taken to the churchyard (*FL* vii. [1896] 181); and it is probably for the same reason that both in Ireland and in Germany the corpse is carried thrice round the church.

In various places in Europe a number of precautions are observed. The chairs or benches on which the coffin has rested are thrown down (East Prussia; Iglau). The coffin is lifted thrice over the threshold and thrice rested upon it—an indication to the deceased that this is a solemn and final farewell (Styria; Wends; Mordvins). An axe is laid on the threshold or hung over the door as soon as the corpse has passed (East Prussia; Sweden).

Water (in some places the water used in washing the corpse) is thrown out, with or without the vessel containing it, after the funeral procession (East Prussia; Poland; various parts of Germany). In Greece not only is water thus poured out and the vessel broken, but also all the water stored in houses along the route is thrown out after the procession has passed (*JAI* xxiii. 35, 41; Rodd, *Cust. Mod. Greece*, Lond. 1892, p. 124). More than one motive has probably gone to form this custom. Purification may be intended; but the object also is to prevent the return of the dead, for they, like other supernatural beings, have a difficulty in crossing water. In Greece, indeed, the custom of flinging out water is said to ease the burning pains of the dead—a later and probably Christian interpretation.

In Brittany the dead of the commune of Plouguél are carried across a small arm of the sea called the Passage d'Enfer, instead of being taken by land (a much shorter route) to the cemetery (*RTP* xv. 681). In the same way the Haida carry a shaman to his burial by water, even though the burial-place can be reached more easily by land. It is said that they do not fear a dead shaman like other dead people, but they want 'to handle his things,' and hence, we may conjecture, to pack him off so that he cannot return to interfere with them (*Jesup Exped.* v. 53). In Sweden, linseed is strewn outside the house to prevent the deceased from appearing as a 'wandering spirit.' It is a common belief that supernatural beings must in such a case count the seeds—a task that will occupy them until daylight. The practice of strewing seeds is, in fact, another attempt to puzzle and confuse the ghost. So the Swedes also strew hay-seed on the road and about the grave, believing 'that Satan is thereby deprived of his power over the deceased'—which may be a Christianized form of the superstition (Lloyd, 131, 134). Among the Iban of Sarawak, ashes are strewn over the footprints of the bearers to prevent the soul of the dead man from finding its way back to the house to haunt the living (*Anthropos*, i. 109). The practice would appear to be not unknown in some parts of Europe. A few years ago at Budapest a woman who was supposed to have died in hospital returned home. She was taken for a ghost. The doors were slammed against her, ashes were strewn on the ground, and her husband refused her access (*Daily Chron.*, 30 Aug. 1904). The barefooted dwellers on the Congo strew thorns along the path from the house to the grave (*ZVP* xi. 266). In the Solomon Islands 'the return from the funeral is by another road than that along which the corpse was carried, lest the ghost should follow' (Coddington, 254)—a practice likewise followed in Corfu (Rodd, 124). Many peoples erect barriers against the ghost in returning. Thus the Koryaks (who cremate the body) strew twigs around the pyre, representing a dense forest which is supposed to surround the burning-place. An attempt is made to obscure the tracks of the officiant, and a line is drawn across the road, over which the mourners jump and shake themselves. This line is supposed to represent a river. The Chukchi customs are similar. A small cup and a bunch of grass used in washing the corpse are hidden separately on the path: the one will transform itself into a sea and the other into a dense forest (*Jesup Exped.* vi. 112, vii. [1904-9] 528). It should be pointed out that it is by such means that the hero or heroine escapes in stories, including the incident of the Magical Flight from the pursuit of the Ogre, and that the Chukchis and Koryaks are only making use of means of defence familiar to them in their traditions.

These specimens of the various methods of preventing the return of the dead will suffice for the present. Reference will be made to others below.

6. *Reluctance of the corpse.*—The dead man is often supposed to be reluctant to quit his home. Among the Nawâr, or Eastern Gypsies, as well as among other Arab tribes, he goes the length of forcible resistance, compelling the bearers even to return and leave him for two or three days unburied—to the great detriment of the public health

(Jausen, *Costumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris, 1908, pp. 100, 105). The Negroes of Jamaica aver that, when a dead body wishes to go forward, it is easily carried; when it does not wish to go, it gives great trouble (*FL* xv. 453).

A ceremony is performed on Car Nicobar which is perhaps a dramatic representation of the unwillingness of the dead to be buried. The funeral procession is met by another band of men who drive the bearers back by force, struggling over the corpse, some dragging it towards the grave and others towards the village, until it often falls to the ground. An eye-witness on one occasion tells us that the women and children, who stood at a distance, began to cry out for fear lest the corpse should forcibly enter the village. In the end, however, it was picked up and thrown into the grave in a heap, and then the usual sacrifices were offered (*JAI* xxxii. 218, 221). 'The ceremony was said to be performed only in the case of men of the highest repute' (*ib.* 222).

7. *Farewell speeches.*—Men, however, have not been content with such broad hints to the dead and defences against their return as described in previous paragraphs. They have told them in plain terms that they are not to come back, that the separation is definitive; and a considerable part of the funeral ceremony is often devoted to this purpose, enforced both by speech and symbol.

Among the Bataks of Sumatra, prior to the burial the *begu* (soul or individuality of the deceased) is made to understand by a Shamanistic ceremony that it belongs no more to the living, and must not consort with them. Then, after a dance, a vessel filled with *djerango* (a specific against the *begu*) is carried round it. Some parts of the body are rubbed with a piece of it, and it is thrown on the corpse with the words: 'Thy younger brother (or mother, or other relative) will converse with thee no more' (*ARV* vii. 503). During cremation among the Chamé a man who bears the significant title of Master of Regrets, is left behind at the house. His business is to curse it and then to adjure the deceased not to come back to torment his family (Cabaton, 48). The Muong or Mon of Northern Tongking perform an elaborate series of rites with this object. They begin on the night following the death. The witch-doctor comes and recites invocations, accompanied by a bell to drive away evil spirits. He advises the soul of the departed to go to the other world and find relatives who have preceded him thither. In order to guide him in his journey he enumerates these relatives by name, pointing with his finger towards the spots where they have been buried. Then he casts lots to ascertain whether the dead man has understood him. If the lots be unfavourable, he begins again as many times as may be necessary. The second night a ceremony is performed in honour of the ancestors, and also of the tutelary spirit of witch-doctors. These are prayed to show the deceased the way to the dwelling of the superior genii, with whom he will find help; and the witch-doctor again casts lots to ascertain if he has been understood. The third night the ceremonies and offerings are specially in honour of the tutelary spirit or genius of witch-doctors, who is requested to conduct the soul to the grave where the body will lie, and which has been dug during the day. Before the procession starts for the grave, the witch-doctor again casts lots to satisfy himself that the soul knows the way to the tomb. At the grave two altars have been improvised, one in honour of the *manes* of the deceased, and the other dedicated to the genius of the earth. Amid the wailing, the witch-doctor prays the former not to torment the survivors, and the genius of the earth to keep him in peace (Lunet, 350).

The Lolos of Western China give the deceased specific instructions as to the route he is to take. On the way to the grave 'the priest recites the *Jo-mo*, or Road Ritual, and he accompanies the coffin a hundred paces from the house. This ritual begins by stating that, as in life the father teaches the son, and the husband the wife, it is only the priest who can teach the dead man the road that his soul must travel after death. The threshold of the house is first mentioned, then the various places on the road to the grave, and, beyond that, all the towns and rivers and mountains that must be traversed by the soul till it reaches the Taliang mountain, the home of the Lolo race. Here the priest says that he himself must return, and entreats the dead man to pursue his way beyond the grave alone. The dead man then enters Hades, and stands beside the Thought Tree and the Tree of Talk, and there he thinks of the dear ones left behind and weeps bitterly. After this ritual is read, the priest returns to the house, and the coffin goes on to the grave' (*JAI* xxxiii. 103). On the island of Serang, in the Moluccas, the priest prays the previously dead to do no harm to the soul, but cordially to receive it, winding up with a prayer to the Lord Heaven and the Lord Earth to let all sicknesses go away from the commune with the soul of the deceased (Riedel, 141). On the Western Continent similar intimations are given to the departed. Before the body of a Hupa was lowered into the grave, he was addressed: 'Don't be lonesome for what you have left. While you were living your time came. May it be well with the people where you used to live!' This, we are told, is to prevent the ghost's return and consequent misfortune to the family (Goddard, 70). More coarsely among the Greenlanders a woman waves a lighted

chip to and fro behind the corpse when it is taken out of the house or tent, crying: 'There is nothing more to be had here!' (Orantz, i. 237). In Central Africa, likewise, as among the Awemba, a speech is made over a man's grave, promising that the survivors will take care of his wife and children, and expressing the hope that he will become a good spirit in the next world (*JAI* xxvi. 157; cf. *Journ. Afr. Soc.* v. 436).

8. *Death at a distance from home.*—The desire to find one's last resting-place at home, among one's kindred and friends, is natural to man; and it has been translated into a number of ceremonial prescriptions which emphasize the necessity of such a burial.

Sometimes, as among the Ildlooct of British Columbia, the deceased is buried in a temporary manner where he dies, and the following year his bones are brought home to be buried with his kindred. If this is impossible, the body is burnt and the ashes carried home (*Jesup Exped.* ii. 270). Sometimes only a single bone is brought home, as in the case of Roman soldiers. Among the Ho of Togoland, when a man of importance is killed in war, he is buried on the spot; but later the grave is opened, his bones, hair, and nails are taken out, put into a coffin, and carried home, or at least his brothers on the maternal side must bring home his finger- and toe-nails and his hair (Spieth, 277). A large proportion of the modern Albanians (at least of the men) die away from home, owing to their migratory habits. Their bones are collected and sent home; or at any rate the skull or a single bone is brought back (Kodd, *op. cit.* 127). When a Spartan king was killed in war an image was buried in his place (Herod. vi. 58). In some of the villages around Cosenza an image is made of a member of the family dying away from home, and laid on his bed, and the rest of the family standing around bewail him (Dorsa, *Uti e nelle credenze pop.*, 1884, p. 93). At Ouessant in Brittany, when a sailor died at sea, a cross was taken to the house and made to represent the corpse. In the Isle of Sein his portrait was laid on it, or, in default, some object that had belonged to him. The clergy attended, and a funeral procession and service took place over this representative of the body (*RTP* vi. [1891] 156, xiv. 346). When a man belonging to the Man Tien of Northern Tongking dies at a distance from his home, the priest calls back his souls (for a Man Tien is endowed with a plurality of souls), and causes them to enter a doll made for the purpose, to which funeral honours are then accorded (Lunet, 258). In Montenegro a dummy body is made with the clothing of the deceased; walling and all other rites except actual burial are performed over it (*JAI* xxxix. 92). Among the Basoga a few of the relations go a little way from home, cut a twig, wrap it up in bark-cloth and treat it in all respects as the corpse, all the ceremonies being performed upon it, including burial (Cunningham, 118).

Proceedings like these are doubtless much more than mere make-believe to the people who indulge in them. Probably in the first instance a relief to the feelings of the survivors, they must be held to be of real value and importance to the deceased, who attains by their means his due place in the other world and the rest which can come only by means of the proper ceremonies. See, further, § XI.

X. *Grave furniture and food.*—The dead must be gratified with food, and with some or all of his most cherished worldly possessions. The practice of depositing these, either in the grave or upon it, is literally world-wide. Both fear of the dead and affection for him have occurred to carry it very often to extravagant lengths. Few examples will be required of a rite so well known.

1. *Food and drink.*—

In Tanenbar and Timorlaut, two of the Moluccas, when children under two years of age die, the mother milks her breast into their mouths before burial (Riedel, 906). So, when an Urali of the Dimbhum jungles is about to be buried, a cow buffalo is brought near the car on the burial-ground, and a little milk drawn and poured three times into the mouth of the corpse (Thurston, vii. 256). The practice of placing food and water on the grave is recorded of several of the Australian tribes; it is sometimes continued for many days (Howitt, pp. 448, 455, 467, 474). Among some of the Hill Tribes of Assam, these offerings to the dead are kept up for a year (*ARW* xii. 453). Some of the Papuan tribes plant taro beside the grave (*ZVRW* xix. 163). The Iroquois, who practise sub-aerial burial, deposit with their dead a sack of flour, flesh-meat, his spoon, and generally whatever may be necessary for one who has to take a long journey (*1 BBEW* 140, quoting de la Potherie). The Achomawi Indians of California placed with the body quantities of food consisting of dried fish, roots, herbs, etc. (*ib.* 151). In Guatemala, provisions of maize and flesh were given (Stoll, *Die Ethnologie der Indianerstämme von Guatemala*, Leyden, 1889, p. 71). The Warraos of Guiana laid round the body bread, fruits, and dried fish (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 55). And it may be said generally that similar practices are recorded of all the tribes on the American continent.

The Agni of West Africa provide the deceased with blood (reminding us of the incidents recorded by Homer, *Od.* xi.), food, and drink (Clotel and Villamur, 25). Of drink, brandy, pombe, or rum is commonly given among the Negroes. On the Lower Niger, two casks of rum or palm-wine are poured over the grave to supply the departed with spirit to entertain his friends in the next world (Leonard, 166). These customs are followed not only by the Negroes, but by most of the branches of the wide-spread Bantu race. The Kafir tribes in the south slaughter an ox and lay a portion of its entrails on the grave. The Baganda in the north bring food and pour beer over the grave.

But it is not only in the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, and among the ruder peoples of Asia, Africa, and America that the practice of providing the dead with food and drink obtains. The civilized Koreans agree with the Mannans, one of the Hill Tribes of Travancore, in putting into the mouth of the corpse a quantity of rice (*JAI* xxv. [1896] 347); *Ind. Cens. Rep.* 1901, xxvi. 349). The carcases of sheep and oxen, with jars of honey and oil, were among the gifts added by Achilles to the pyre of Patroclus (*Il.* xxiii. 166); and remains of the funeral banquet have been found carefully placed in graves of the prehistoric population of Greece. Nor has the custom of giving food to the dead ceased even yet in the south-east of Europe among populations of Greek tradition. In Bulgaria, for three days after a burial, women go every morning to the grave, kindle tapers, fumigate it with incense, and pour over it wine and water. On the fortieth day a woman goes with a priest carrying a cake, some *kolliva* (a funeral food made of boiled grain, sugar, almonds, sesame, parsley, and pomegranate seeds), and a bottle of wine, all of which she places on the grave, 'that the earth may be cleared from the eyes of the departed.' The priest repeats prayers, fumigates and levels the grave, digging a hole in it, into which he pours water and buries some of the food. Nor is this all. On every commemorative festival for the dead, the women go to the grave with their tapers and incense, and pour wine or water over it. Moreover, fruit (formerly also other food) is often laid on the grave. Widows whose deceased husbands were much addicted to coffee have been known to pour black coffee daily into an opening in the grave-mound (Strauss, *Die Bulgaren*, 1898, pp. 451-53). In Macedonia, an apple, a quince, or some other fruit is thrust between the feet of the corpse before the funeral (Abbott, *Macedonian FL*, 1903, p. 197). In Montenegro, apples are thrown into the grave; and, in some parts, oranges and bits of bread are among the objects hung on a young tree planted at the head of the grave (*JAI* xxxix. 93). Elsewhere, some of the *kolliva* cakes baked for the commemorative festivals are broken up over the grave, the rest being consumed by the mourners or given away (Kodd, 128). Amélineau, the distinguished Egyptian scholar, reports that at Chateaudun, in France, he has known a widow place a cup of chocolate on her husband's grave every day, for more than a year (*RHR* lii. [1905] 10 n.). The Wends and Kashubs, Slav populations of North Germany and Prussia, put a lemon into the hand of the corpse; and, among the Wends, children are said to be supplied with eggs and apples; while men addicted to drink are given pipe and brandy-flask, otherwise they will have no rest in the grave (Tetzner, *Die Slaven in Deutschland*, 1902, p. 462; von Schulenburg, *Wend. Volkst.*, pp. 113, 110). In Croatia there is a wide-spread custom of setting eggs, apples, and bread on the newly made grave for the hungry soul, and offerings of food are brought at every Halloween (*Globus*, lxxv. [1904] 39).

The Bulgarian priest, as we have seen, digs a hole in the grave, more conveniently to pour down the water and bury the food. At Itrous, in ancient Phocia, was the grave of the hero-founder, who was daily worshipped with sacrifices; and there was a permanent hole communicating with the interior of the tomb, through which the blood of the victims was poured, while the worshippers consumed the flesh on the spot (Paus. x. iv. 7). Frazer, commenting on the passage, has adduced a number of cases of Greek and Roman tombs in which a permanent passage for food and libations has been found, and parallels from various parts of Africa, Peru, the East and West Indies, and elsewhere.

These examples might without difficulty be added to; but a more or less permanent communication between the living world and the interior of the grave was sometimes, as we shall find hereafter, made for other purposes than the supply of food.

2. *Wives and dependents.*—Another custom, almost too well known to need illustration, is that of killing, or burying alive with the corpse, his wives, his slaves, and other dependents or friends. This custom attains its greatest extension, of course, at the funeral of a chief or king. Its object is to provide for his comfort and his dignity in the other world, by giving him suitable companions and retinue. The best-known example is that of *sati* (*q.v.*), by which the Hindu widow was burnt alive on her husband's pyre—a rite abolished in British India in 1829, but still surviving in the native State of Nepal. The rite was probably common to Aryan-speaking peoples while in a state of savagery, but abandoned as they progressed in

civilization, and re-introduced, after centuries of disuse, among the Aryan conquerors of Upper India, for reasons that can now only be the subject of conjecture, and perpetuated under the ecclesiastical influence of the Brahmins. Several of the non-Aryan tribes of India practised, until quite recent times, the analogous rite of burying alive slaves, or making a raid for heads to adorn the tomb (Crooke, *Things Indian*, Lond. 1906, p. 446, also *Anthropos*, iv. 473).

We need not follow the custom throughout the world. But, as showing that it prevailed among Aryan-speaking peoples, it may be of interest to recall that it is recorded by Caesar and Mela of the Gauls, who practised cremation (Ces. *Bell. Gall.* vi. 19; Mela, iii. 2), and the Thracians (Mela, ii. 2); that it is known in the Irish legends (O'Curry, *Manners and Cust.*, Dublin, 1873, i. cccxx.); and that the slaughter and cremation by Achilles of the twelve valiant Trojans on the pyre of Patroclus are only to be thus explained, though the fashion had changed before Homer's day. Among the Bulgarians of the Volga it was found by the Arab traveller, Ibn Fadhlān, in the year 921 or 922, when he witnessed the immolation, on a young chief's funeral pyre, of a girl, who seems to have been formally wedded to the dead youth before being thus sacrificed (*RHR* lii. [1905] 325). The old Slavs appear likewise to have put to death wives, companions, and slaves at the funeral of a person of importance; and, when they buried an unmarried man or woman, a wedding scene was enacted during the ceremonies—an obvious relic of such incidents as that recorded by Ibn Fadhlān.

Such relics are found elsewhere. Among the Bavenda in the Transvaal, if a virgin boy dies, a girl is sent after him into the other world to be his wife there. She is not now actually put to death; the witch-doctor knows of a ceremony which is quite as effectual for the benefit of the dead boy as her death (*JAI* xxxv. 381). Among the Wadjjaga, or Wachaga, a Bantu tribe of Central Africa, another series of ceremonies is appointed for each of the widows, whereby 'she frees herself from death'—possibly here the contagion (*Globus*, lxxxix. 198). The Toloktins of Oregon, with whom cremation is the rule, force the widow on the funeral pile; but, though they scorch her more or less severely, they do not burn her to death (*IREWE* 145).

It is, for obvious reasons, rarer to find a husband put to death with a wife than the converse. But probably the story told in the *Arabian Nights* of Sinbad, who was buried alive with his dead wife, was founded on a barbarous custom really practised by some tribe in the East.

The husband of a woman of the blood-royal of the Natchez was required to submit to this rule (*IREWE* 187). In Ashanti, with the king's permission, any of his sisters may marry a man who is pre-eminently handsome, no matter how low his rank and position may be. But a man of low rank who may have thus married one of the king's sisters is expected to commit suicide when his wife dies, or upon the death of an only male child; and any attempt to evade compliance is promptly defeated (Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, Lond. 1887, 287).

After the abandonment of the custom of putting to death relatives and dependents, its relics continue to exist often for ages. Centuries ago it was abolished in Japan, China, and Korea; but the living slaves once sacrificed were for long, and indeed still are in places, represented by figures in permanent or perishable material, according to the wealth or lavishness of the survivors. To the same origin are due the statues and statuettes of servants and family found in Egyptian tombs. The Man Quāng Trang, of the province of Hung-Hoa in Northern Tongking, build a small hut beside the barrow, and place near it a doll representing a man or a woman, to be the companion of the deceased. Striking the doll, they bid it look well after him (Lunet, *op. cit.* 275).

It is perhaps necessary to add that many of our accounts of the immolation of human victims on the occasion of a death represent some, at all events, of the victims as dying willingly, or even committing suicide. It is conceivable that voluntary deaths may, in a certain number of cases, be the result of intense grief. The vast number, however, of deaths apparently voluntary are, as in the case of the Hindu widow or the dependents of a Gaulish chief, constrained by custom and the knowledge that refusal, while it destroys the religious merit of the act, will entail compulsion, or at least that life will be speedily rendered intolerable.

3. *Property*.—It is probable that in the begin-

nings of human civilization, when a man died, his entire property was destroyed, or left with the body, whether buried or simply exposed. This, in fact, is still done by many tribes in various parts of the world (see § XIX.). Its primitive purpose may have been to escape the death-pollution which would attach to everything closely associated with the deceased. His meagre property would be in a sense identified with him, and must therefore be put away from among the living. Such a practice, it is obvious, if everywhere persisted in, must have prevented that accumulation of wealth which has rendered progress in the arts of life possible. Consequently, most peoples have learnt to cut it down to comparatively small dimensions, giving only a selection from the goods left behind by the deceased, or reducing their gifts to a mere symbol.

(a) *Domestic animals*.—In a comparatively early stage, domesticated animals are often the chief wealth. Such animals are slaughtered not merely as food, but to accompany their owner into the other world. When a Herero dies, certain of his favourite cattle are at once killed, expressly in order to prevent the ghost from returning and molesting the survivors. On the following day the rest of his favourite cattle are slain as a sacrifice to the dead, and the horns are arranged on a tree adjacent to the grave (Dannert, 46). The Abipones of South America, who bury with their dead their entire property, or burn it in a bonfire, when a chief or a notable warrior dies, ceremonially stab the horses that were dearest to him, and fix them on stakes around the grave (*Int. Arch.* xiii. Suppl. 61). The Tangkhuls of Manipur kill a buffalo, in order that the creature may go with the dead into the next world and butt open the gates of heaven, which are kept shut against him (*JAI* xxxi. 807). Here the buffalo officiates as psychopomp; in other countries it is the dog. Whether it was in this capacity that some of the Lillooet hunters' dogs were killed does not appear. Their bodies were suspended from the four poles usually erected over the grave to sustain the ornaments, weapons, tools, and other valuables of the deceased, or such of these objects as were not buried with him (*Jesup Exped.* ii. 269). In pre-historic barrows of England, animal bones are frequently found. Where they are not of accidental occurrence, however, they are usually the remains of food deposited with the dead. But in one Late Celtic interment, at least, the skeletons of horses have been found with the remains of a chariot (Greenwell, *Brit. Barrows*, Oxf. 1877, p. 456). In Prussia, in graves of the Neolithic age, the war-horse has been found buried with the warrior. In Russia, what are called Scythian barrows and *kurgans* (pre-historic grave-mounds) frequently yield the remains of horses; and similar relics are recorded of Frankish graves on the Rhine, as well as of Magyar and Polish graves dating from heathendom, and of the various heathen tribes of Siberia. Some, like the Poles, buried also the falcon and the dog with their master (*Int. Arch.* i. [1888] 53). In all these cases the animals appear to have been designed not by way of food, but in order to accompany the deceased for use or state in the life after death.

(b) *Goods*.—Only a few of the more interesting examples can here be enumerated of a custom practically universal from the remotest times of which either history or archaeology yields any record. The Negroes of Jamaica, when they think a man has been killed by witchcraft, bury him fully armed and equipped to take vengeance on his slayer (*FL* xv. 88). When a Tangkhul is killed by a tiger, a hunting-dog, a sharpened thorn, and a strong spear are put into the grave, that the deceased may have a helper and weapons to defend himself if he chance to meet a spirit-tiger on his way to heaven (*JAI* xxxi. 306). The Alsea Indians of Oregon placed goods of all kinds with the corpse, because the bodies were animated, and moved about at night if they so willed. Easy exit from the graves was afforded, and the things deposited were for use of the dead in such a manner (*Amer. Anthr.* iii. new ser. [1901, 241]. Pre-historic burials in the Aleutian Islands have been found, in which the corpse has been mummified in a lifelike posture, dressed, armed, and provided with implements, as if engaged in hunting, fishing, sewing, etc. With these burials have been found effigies of the animals that the deceased was supposed to be pursuing, also religious masks and paraphernalia, all the objects, however, being models in carved wood (*Contr. N. Amer. Ethn.* i. [1877] 90). Among the objects put into the grave by the Thompson Indians was the medicine-bag or guardian-spirit of the deceased (*Jesup Exped.* i. [1900] 328).

In Europe the corpse is often provided with corresponding gifts. In some districts of France, if the deceased could read, his Book of Hours was put between his hands; if he could not, it was enough to put the rosary over his arm. A twig of box blessed on Palm Sunday was often placed between his fingers; and, both in France and in Spain, it is believed that this branch will blossom every spring in the tomb if he be found worthy of entering heaven (Laisnel de la Salle, *Croyances et légendes du centre de la France*, Paris, 1875, ii. 72). Among the Wends of the Spree Valley and Lusatia, among the Masurs, and in Pomerania, a hymn-book is put into the coffin (von Schulenburg, 110; Töppen², 108; Knoop, *Volksagen*, . . . aus dem östl. Hinterpommern, Posen, 1885, p. 164). In the 17th cent. it seems to

have been not unusual, in various places, to put a knotted cord either into the hands of the corpse or upon the grave. The object of doing so, it may be conjectured, was to enable the dead to perform a penitential exercise neglected during life, or to deceive the powers of the other world into the belief that he was an assiduous penitent. However that may be, the practice was condemned as superstitious by the Synod of Ferrara in 1612, but with so little effect in France that Thiers, in his *Traité des superstitions*² (1697), thought it necessary to repeat the prohibition (Liebrecht, *Gero. Tüb.*, 1856, p. 226). In the same century a French physician and traveller found among the Russian Lapps the custom of putting into the corpse's hand a purse with money, to pay for entrance into Paradise, and a passport addressed to Saint Peter and signed by a priest. A variant custom was to put a number of kopecks, or other small coins, in the mouth of the corpse, and in its hand a testimonial to the character of the deceased, addressed to Saint Nicholas by the bishop of the locality (*ZVV* xi. 434, 435). The anxiety shown in Europe to provide the dead with every comfort sometimes goes beyond the verge of grotesqueness. The Prussian Lithuanians, when the coffin has been put into the grave, open it, put a few coins under the corpse's head, a piece of earth on either shoulder, adding some of the small treasures of the deceased, and, if he were a magistrate, his whip (Tetzner, 85). In Voigtland, where the objects which the departed most delighted in are assiduously laid in his grave, his umbrella and goloshes have been known to be included (Köhler, *Volksbrauch im Voigtlande*, 1867, p. 441). In some ancient graves in Württemberg, attributed to the Alamanni, is found on either side of a body a wooden foot in the form of a last. It is conjectured that these artificial limbs are intended as toll to the ferryman, or to the keeper of the bridge of the dead, or the porter of the under world, in redemption of the real limb (*ZVV* xi. 457). But they may be intended to supply the place of a limb lost by accident in the long journey from this world to the place of the dead.

Perhaps the most pathetic of all objects found in graves are the toys buried with children. They are found almost all over the world, not less in Europe than elsewhere. The sarcophagus of a child named Crepereia Tryphæna, of the time of the Antonines, found at Rome in 1889 and now in the museum of the Capitol, contains, besides her betrothal ring, her jewels and her doll. The Masurs lay nosegays and gilded apples in the hands of children, so that when they reach Paradise they may be able to play on the great meadow provided for that purpose (Töppen², *l.c.*). The Wends give eggs and apples to their dead children (von Schulenburg, *l.c.*). The sterner Bosnians consign them to the other world with their school copy-books and slates (*ZVV* x. [1900] 119).

To women, who frequently own no property except their toilet utensils and personal adornments, household implements and those of their daily occupations are given. But all the objects buried with the dead are by no means his property. It is a widely spread custom for the survivors to add contributions, sometimes of large amount—a custom practised in all stages of civilization, equally by some of the Australian tribes and by the Bulgarians of Europe, who throw money into the grave before it is filled up (Strausz, *Bulgaren*, 450).

The tendency to economy in these deposits begins with the accumulation of property, though its operation is sporadic and uncertain. It may be said in general terms that among most peoples the entire property of the deceased is not buried or destroyed at his death. The greatest sacrifices of property would, as a rule, be on the death of a king or great chief. And even in those cases a part would be given for the whole, or a symbol for the reality. In burials of the Late Bronze or Early Iron age at Hallstatt and in Schleswig, rude images of oxen have been found (*ARW* v. [1902] 5); and Capt. Lyon found a decayed model of a canoe under a cairn beside an old Eskimo grave on Southampton Island (Boas, *Eskimo of Baffin Land*, p. 61). The models of boats, granaries, houses, and so forth, recovered from Egyptian graves, were doubtless all intended to do service in the other world for the originals. Gaulish warriors were buried sometimes in their chariots with their horses; but often enough, both in England and in France, excavations reveal the fact that no more than the wheels had ever been placed in Late

Celtic graves (Greenwell, 455 ff.). The coin so frequently put into the mouth of the corpse, from the far east of Asia to the Atlantic Ocean, is usually interpreted as an obolus for the ghostly ferryman or the porter of the other world. This may be its use; but it is probably only an economic survival of the practice of giving a larger amount of property as an outfit for the other world and for the journey thither. Sometimes only old and worthless things are given; sometimes merely a pretence of giving is made. Both customs are illustrated in funerals of the natives of the Tami Islands, to the north-east of New Guinea. The ancient practice was to set the body afloat on the ocean in a canoe. Those of them who cling to the practice provide an old and miserable canoe, with mast, rudder, and sails equally bad, often merely indicated. The valuables of the deceased are laid on the platform of the canoe, with a couple of coconuts, but taken away again before the canoe is pushed into the sea (*ARW* iv. [1901] 344). In some parts of the Tyrol the convenient theory is held that the dead man cannot be happy if buried with any money or rings about his person. Careful search is therefore made, and these objects are removed to avoid any such misfortune (Zingler, *Sitten des Tir. Volkes*, Innsbruck, 1871, p. 49).

The objects buried or left on the grave are often broken and rendered useless. This is said to have been done in order to prevent stealing. Thus, among the natives of British Central Africa, ivory and beads are first ground to powder, in order, we are told, to make them useless to witches and robbers (Werner, *Natives of Brit. Cent. Afr.*, 159). The real reason for this widely diffused custom lies deeper. In the eyes of the people who practise it the breaking of the object is the equivalent of the death of the human being to whose service it is dedicated. It is thus killed in order that its ghost may follow the ghost of the dead into the spirit-world, there to serve the purposes which it served in this world when whole. Thus the Ho of Togoland lay broken cooking-pots on the grave, expressly to serve the deceased for cooking-pots in the other world (Spieth, 634). The Hupa of California lay in the grave, with the corpse, his clothing, weapons, and other property, shell-money and dance-regalia—all first destroyed by breaking. On the grave are placed dishes and utensils, four large burden-baskets, each with a hole burnt in the bottom and a stake driven through it. Clothes, torn into strips, are hung on the poles laid across the grave. The reason for destroying the articles buried is said to be to prevent grave-robbery. But the same people tell us that all the objects accompany the spirit to the under world (Goddard, 71). We are, doubtless, justified in believing that the prevention of grave-robbery is a secondary reason.

An interesting case is reported from Lincolnshire, in which a widow put her husband's mug and jug on his grave, having first broken them. She told the rector: 'I was that moidered with crying that I clean forgot to put 'em in t' coffin. . . . So I goes and does t' next best. I deads 'em both over his grave, and says I to myself, My old man, he set a vast of store, he did, by yon mug and jug, and when their ghoastes gets over on yon side I'll hoiler out, "Yon's mine, hand 'em over to me," and I'd like to see them as would stop him a-having of them an' all' (*FL* ix. [1898] 187). Thus the anxiety to provide the dead with an outfit for the other world, which is the real intention of the customs just passed in review, whatever secondary motives may have come to be mixed up with it, lingered in England down to the last quarter of the 19th cent., and perhaps lingers even yet in remote districts.

4. *Objects used in the funeral rites.*—We have now reached a class of objects put in, or upon, the grave for a different reason. They are not necessarily the property of the dead; but, having been used in the funeral rites, they are contaminated with death, and are no longer fit for the service of the living, lest they spread the infection further.

Hence the Yakuts break and throw on the grave-mound the shovels, the sledges, the stakes—in a word, everything used in the funeral (*RHR* xvi. 211). The Apache also leave the shovel on the grave (*Am. Anthr.*, new ser., vii, [1905] 493); the Melanesians of Efate throw it into the sea (*Rep. Austr. Ass.* iv. 727). The Warundi, in Central Africa, throw on the tomb the door of the hut, and the basket with which the earth has been taken out of the grave (van der Burgt, 39). Among the Baganda, all who have taken part in the burial must wash their hands with moist plantain fibre, and the fibre thus used is put on the grave (*JAI* xxxii. 47). The Negroes in Jamaica, as we have seen, often throw on the grave the water in which the corpse was washed (§ VI. 5). In Europe similar practices are found. In France the bowl which has contained the holy water used for aspersion during the ceremonies is thrown into the tomb; and formerly in Brittany the incense brazier was buried with the coffin (*Laisnel de la Salle*, il. 79). In Central Silesia everything used for the toilet of the corpse—the comb, sponge, rag, soap, and so forth—is put into the coffin. Even the needle and thread used for sewing the shroud must not be removed, but left hanging to it (*ZVFF* iii. 151). But economy sometimes prevails. In some parts of Brunswick the bier and tools remain only for a few days on the grave (*ib.* viii. [1898] 437). It is as if the infection were then at an end. Another motive may, however, be present: they may be placed there to keep the dead man down as long as there is any chance of his returning, and be removed when this is over. The author cited adduces in favour of this suggestion the fear of the dead betrayed in the haste with which the relatives left behind in the house, when the funeral procession has started, shut the door in order that the dead may not fetch any one else. But this is a wide-spread custom.

5. *Blood and hair.*—Among many peoples, the delirium of grief, or more often perhaps (in accordance with well-established custom) the desire to divert suspicion of having caused the death by witchcraft, and the fear of the deceased himself, lead the mourners frantically to cut and wound, and even to mutilate, themselves.

The practice was forbidden to the ancient Hebrews by the Deuteronomical legislation (14); hence we may conclude that it had been previously in use among them, as well as among their neighbours. It is universal among the Australian Black-fellows, and is reported from Polynesia, Melanesia, the East Indian islands, and from North and South America. In very many of these cases the custom is to let the blood drip over the corpse. Of Australian tribes, we are definitely informed that after the body was placed in the ground the mourners stood or knelt over it in turn, and were struck by a large boomerang on the head until the blood flowed over the corpse. In other cases the blood drips upon the grave after it has been filled in (*JAI* xiv. [1895] 137; *Curr. Austr. Race*, Melbourne and Lond. 1886-87, ii. 178; Spencer-Gillen^a, 507, 509; *FL* xiv. [1903] 336). Among the Orang Sakai of Sumatra the kindred, making a cross-cut with a knife on their foreheads, drop the blood on the face of the corpse (Wilken, *Haaropfer . . . bei den Völkern Indonesiens*, Amsterdam, 1886-1887, p. 19). Four North American Indians from Montana, who were executed for murder at Helena, on the head-waters of the Missouri, in December 1890, were mourned by two squaws. One of the squaws cut off two of her fingers and threw them into the grave. The other gashed her face. Both caused the blood to flow into the grave (Letourneau, *L'Es. rel.*, Paris, 1892, p. 137).

We may assume, without much risk of mistake, that the rite in its complete and undegraded form included the dropping of the blood upon the dead body, and where this is not done the rite is in decay. Probably also it is only persons standing in certain specific relations with the dead who are commonly expected to perform it. This is certainly the rule with some of the Australian tribes. We may suspect it of other peoples also. If it has not been recorded, that may be because the point would be likely to escape not merely the casual traveller, but any one whose attention has not been specially drawn to it. But it is by no means invariable (e.g. the Arawaks mentioned below, § XVII. 1). The meaning of the rite has been the subject of much discussion. It is not merely a propitiatory offering; it may be this, but it is much more. A comparison of the blood-covenant and other blood-rites renders it almost certain that one object, at least, is that of effecting a corporal union with the dead. But is that the only object? First of all, there can be no question that the intention is to cause suffering to the survivors. This will be better discussed when we come to the section on 'Mourning' (§ XVII.). Further, human blood is frequently given for medical purposes, or to strengthen the recipient (Strack, *Das Blut*, 1900,

27 ff.; Spencer-Gillen^a, 461). It is, therefore, not impossible that the object of letting the mourners' blood drip over the corpse may be to strengthen the dead man for his life in the next world. This would be quite consistent with the avowed intention of expressing sorrow or pity (*Torres Str. Exped.* vi. [1908] 154). But there is, so far as the present writer is aware, no evidence pointing decisively to this interpretation. Moreover, it is always necessary to remember that rites different in intention are often similar in expression—a fact which makes their interpretation a matter of peculiar difficulty.

Parallel with the rite of dropping blood on the corpse is another mourning rite—that of cutting or tearing the hair and burying it with the corpse, or dedicating it at the grave. It is even more widely diffused than the former.

At the cremation of Patroclus his comrades cut off their hair and heaped it on the body; and Achilles, cutting off the golden lock that his father had vowed to offer at his return home to the river Spercheios, put it into the dead hands to bear away (*Il.* xxiii. 135-141). So the mourners among the Sioux cut locks of their hair and fling them on the body; and these locks are bound up with it, and with the dead man's valuables, before it is put into the grave-box or coffin (*IREW* 169). Locks of human hair have been found with mummies in the ancient cemetery on the bay of Chacota, in southern Peru, and a large lock of soft human hair was found beneath the head of an infant (*Rep. Peabody Mus.* xi. [1878] 285 ff.). Arab women cut their hair on the death of a husband, or of a father, or other near relation, and spread the tresses on the tomb, or hang them on stakes or cords above it (Janssen, 94; Hartland, *LP* ii. 220); while among the Rājī of the United Provinces of India 'the children of the deceased and his younger brothers get their heads, beards, and moustaches shaved, and the hair is thrown on the grave' (Orooke, *TC* iv. 213). Among the Chechenes of the Caucasus the long queue of hair of the widow of the deceased is cut off and thrown into the grave; down to the middle of the 18th cent., it is said, her ear used to be thus sacrificed (*Anthropos*, iii. 735). The practice is not yet obsolete in modern Europe among the Montenegrin women. Not very long ago, indeed, when the men habitually shaved their heads and suffered only one long crown-lock to grow, that was cut off and thrown into the grave (*JAI* xxxix. 98).

But, as with the dropping of blood, it is by no means everywhere that the hair is dedicated in this way. It is often burnt.

The Bilqua of British Columbia, and some of the Central Tribes of Australia, e.g., dispose of it thus (*Brit. Assoc. Report*, 1891, p. 419; Spencer-Gillen^b, 507, 520). The latter, indeed, sometimes mix it with some of the hair of the deceased and make it up into a girdle, which is worn by the avenger of the dead during the punitive expedition (Spencer-Gillen^b, 543; cf. 514).

More usually, however, we are not told what is done with the hair. In some instances this may be due to omission to observe, or forgetfulness to record, on the part of the reporter, a portion of the rite that is of importance. In the majority of cases we are probably right in assuming that the disposal of the hair is not an integral portion of the rite—that, in fact, the rite has ended with the cutting of the hair. Whether the dedication of the locks at or in the grave, or by burning, has in such cases ceased by ritual decay, or whether the dedication never took place, it is difficult to say. One object, at all events, of the dedication of the hair is, like that of the blood, to form a bond of union with the dead. The converse rite of taking a lock of hair of the dead may be said to be world-wide. Nor is it confined to a lock of hair: it extends in some cases to the nails and pieces of the garments. In the West Indian island of St. Croix the persons who wash the corpse prior to burial always take a lock of hair, a garment, or at least a fragment of a garment, in order to prevent the spirit from molesting them (Hartland, *LP* ii. 319). It must be borne in mind that, according to the theory of sympathetic magic, any portion of a human being, such as hair, nails, skin, bones, and so forth, which has become detached, is still, in spite of separation, in effective sympathetic union with the body of which it once formed part; for the personality inheres in every part of the body. The doctrine extended to the effigy, the

clothes, the property, and even to the personal name; so that anything done to any of these objects affects the owner as if it were done directly to him. He is in a sense present in each of them. Not only, therefore, if I take a lock of a dead man's hair do I establish effective union with him so as to prevent him from inflicting any harm upon me; but, conversely, if I give him a lock of mine or a drop of my blood, we are bound together by a similar bond. It is sometimes suggested that, as in the case perhaps of the dripping of blood, the throwing of hair on, or giving it to, the corpse is an attempt to endow the dead with some of the vital strength of the survivors. This is, according to savage theory, not impossible; but there is no direct evidence in support of it. Another suggestion is that it is a relic of human sacrifice to the dead—the gift of a part for the whole, or a mere symbol. Human sacrifices, as we have seen, are common enough. Evidence, however, of the intention of a gift of hair, as a commutation of the practice of human sacrifice, does not, so far as we know, exist. It would seem more likely in the gift of blood or of severed members, such as those of the Montana squaws above cited; but even there proof is wanting. On the other hand, there is evidence that sometimes where the rite is not completed by giving the hair to the corpse the intention is merely purification, as where the hair is cut at the end of the mourning.

Before leaving the subject it may be added that, while among many savage peoples there is weeping as well as blood-letting over the corpse, in Europe it is believed that tears ought not to be allowed to fall on the body. Even to weep overmuch, apart from the corpse, is wrong, because it prevents the dead from resting in the grave. There are many stories in European folklore of the dead who have appeared to survivors to reproach them with their excessive grief, and have exhibited their shrouds wet with their tears. Further, it is most important not to allow anything worn by a survivor to be buried with the corpse, or put into the grave. To do so means decline and death to the person to whom the article belongs; hence it is sometimes done maliciously, and is reckoned witchcraft.

6. *Fire*.—In the lower culture it is not unusual to light a fire at or on the grave—a practice common in Australia, where the reason assigned is to warm the ghost. The tribes about Maryborough add a further reason: to keep away the spirits of dead blacks of other tribes, or of bad men of their own tribe (Howitt, 470).

These fires at or on the graves are maintained for varying periods, according to the tribe, or the amount of affection for the deceased; and sometimes several are lighted. The same custom is found on the Melanesian Islands and those of the East Indian Archipelago (*J. Anthropol.* xiii. 775; *JAI* xxxiii. 120; *Rep. Austr. Ass.* iv. 71; *Anthropos*, i. 23, iv. 465; Haddon, *Torres Str. Rep.* v. 249, 260; Riedel, 142, 143; Kruifit, 310), among various peoples of Further India and Assam (Lunet, 330; *JAI* xxxii. 135, xxvi. 200), among the insular Caribs and tribes of South America (*Int. Arch.* xii., Suppl. 57, 59, 81). In North America, the Tarahumares of Mexico, who bury in caves, light a fire the first night after burial. All their burial-caves are consequently blackened with smoke (Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, N.Y. 1903, i. 70, 888). The Seminoles of Florida make a fire at each end of the grave and keep it up for three days, while after nightfall torches are waved in the air, that the bad birds of the night may not get at the dead man (*5 REEW* 521). The practice of lighting fires at the grave is reported of the Hupa (Goddard, 70, 72) and the Yurok on the other side of the continent in California (Powers, *Contrib. N. Am. Ethnol.* iii. [1877] 53). The latter believe the fire is necessary to light the spirit of the departed on its perilous journey to the other world. The same belief and consequent practice were known to the Algonquins; and the Klamath of the North-West keep up a fire for the three days which are occupied with the funeral ceremonies, holding that, until they are finished, the soul of the dead is in danger from O-mah-ah, said to mean the devil. In addition to lighting the fire, the survivors howl around the grave in order to scare away the demon (*1 REEW* 107).

From the numerous remains of fires in the pre-historic burial-mounds of the United States there seems reason to conjecture

that at one time the practice of lighting fires at the grave extended over a wide area, of which the modern instances cited may be the survival (*5 REEW* 17, 25, 47, 71, 78).

More than one reason, as we have seen, is alleged for the custom. On the one hand, it is to warm the ghost, and to light and comfort it on its way to the other world; on the other hand, it is to drive away evil-disposed beings. The use of fire and lights for the latter purpose is widely extended. It is, beyond reasonable doubt, the origin of the European practice of the lights in the death chamber, of the candles sometimes put into the dying hands, of the consecrated tapers that surround the coffin at the funeral. Similarly, lights are kept burning in the chamber with a new-born child and its mother, as a protection against witches and fairies; and they are used for the like purpose on many other occasions. But there is another reason equally potent, namely, to keep away the dead man himself. This reason may not be operative in all cases, as in Australia where it is definitely believed that the ghost haunts the fire on the grave, or among the Yurok where it is required to light the ghost in its perilous passage of a greasy pole across the chasm to the other world. But in other cases it is clear that the fire is a defence against the dead man himself.

One Australian tribe is said to go the length of cutting off the corpse's head and roasting it in the fire made upon the grave. When the head is thoroughly charred, it is broken up into little bits, which are left among the hot coals of the dying fire. 'The theory is that the spirit, rising from the grave to follow the tribe, misses its head and goes groping about to find it; but, being bereft of its head, it is, of course, blind, and therefore, not being able to see the fire, gets burnt. This frightens it so terribly that it retires into the grave with all expedition, and never again presumes to attempt a renewal of social intercourse with the human denizens of this world' (*JAI* xiv. [1886] 88). We have already seen that among the Eskimo of Greenland a lighted chip is waved behind the corpse when it is taken out of the house, with a clear intimation to the dead to be gone (§ IX. 7). In the Southern Nicobars a fire is made, even before the burial, at the entrance of the hut, out of chips from the bier and coco-nut husks, on purpose to bar the ghost; while, before the grave is filled in, the spirits of those present are waved out of it by a torch, thus rendering unmistakable the intention to place a barrier of fire between the living and the dead (*Ind. Cens. Rep.* 1901, iii. 209). So, too, among the Ewhe of Togoland, who bury under the hut, a fire is maintained during the whole period of mourning, and strongly smelling herbs are burnt in it to keep the ghost at a distance (*Globus*, lxxxii. [1902] 190). The same motive may account for the practice in some districts of Europe of burning on the road from the house to the cemetery, after the funeral procession has passed, the straw on which the corpse has lain (*Am. Urquell*, vi. [1896] 21).

XI. *Precautions against haunting*.—1. *Burying the soul*.—Ceremonies of the kind referred to in § IX. 8 seem to be directed to securing the soul, in default of the body, and performing over it the funeral rites. This was expressly the case in China (de Groot, iii. 847). But it is not only where the body is not obtainable that the soul is buried.

Several of the tribes of Northern Tongking collect the souls of the deceased and bury them, either with the body or apart in a separate grave (*Lunet*, 163, 244, 274). The mixed Melanesian and Polynesian population of Savu Island stand in great fear of the *aitu*, the spirit of the departed. Their injunction to a dying man is: 'If you leave us, go altogether.' At the burial, heavy stones are thrown upon the grave to keep the *aitu* down. Prior to the burial they spread a piece of white bark-cloth beside the body, and the insect that first crawls upon it is carefully wrapped up and buried with the body; it is the *mo'ut*, the soul. Further, a dome of concrete is made over the grave to prevent the ghost from rising (Thompson, *Savage Island*, Lond. 1902, p. 52; *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 139). So the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands bury beneath the body a cloth carefully wrapped up, which is believed to contain the soul (*Int. Arch.* vi. [1893] 24). Among some of the Ewhe of Togoland, when one has been fatally bitten by a snake (one of the kinds of evil death), on the ninth day after burial the witch-doctor starts before dawn for the place in the bush where the deceased was bitten. His object is to fetch the soul. He takes only one man with him, so as not to frighten it. He performs incantations, summons the soul, and addresses soothing words to it. Presently he is joined by the young men of the village, who unite in endeavouring to console the ghost. They dig up the earth from the spot where the fatal wound was given, and put it in a jar, which is bound with some white fabric. The jar is put on the head of somebody who has previously met with the same accident, but has recovered; and with the firing of guns the procession returns to the house. Thence, accompanied by those

who have remained at home, they proceed to the place in the bush where the unfortunate man has been buried. They set the jar upside down on the grave and leave it there: it contains the soul (Spieth, 290; cf. 756, 760). Among the Brassmen of the Lower Niger a man who dies with unhealed sores (therefore 'a bad death') is buried apart from the ordinary burial-place. But his soul is afterwards evoked, and with an elaborate ceremony embodied in a wooden figure and buried in the proper place (Leonard, 168).

2. *Binding and mutilating the body.*—The intention of burying the soul is to prevent its wandering about, haunting the survivors, and perchance causing them misfortune or death. This is, of course, by no means the only precaution. We have already met with many, and there are some others which must be noticed here. The binding of the body in the attitude proper to burial (see § VIII. 2) has this at least for one of its objects. It is indeed often expressly reported as the object (e.g. *JAI* x. 145). It is said in Lincolnshire that 'when the corpse is placed in the coffin you must never forget to tie the feet, else the dead may return, or some other spirit may take possession of the body for his own purposes' (Gutch and Peacock, *Lincs. County FL*, 1908, p. 240). The practice of tying the feet, or at least the great toes together, is, in fact, not uncommon in Europe.

But binding is not enough. We saw that the sinews and the backbone were sometimes cut.

The Basuto and Bechuana are not alone in these practices; they are found in other African peoples. The customs of Australia are even more revolting. The Herbert River tribes beat the corpse with a club, often so violently as to break the bones; and incisions are made in the stomach, on the shoulders, and in the lungs, and are filled with stones (Howitt, p. 474). A tribe in Western Australia, as has been mentioned, burns the head and breaks up the charred bones, for the express purpose of preventing the deceased from haunting the survivors. It is said that certain of the Negroes of Bahia break all the long bones and twist the neck of the corpse (Rodrigues, *L'Annuaire fitchite des nègres de Bahia*, 1900, p. 119). When one has been killed by lightning, the Omaha of North America are accustomed to bury the body on the very spot where the death occurred, face downwards, and the soles of the feet previously slit (*AFL* ii. [1889] 190). The practice in Europe, though not literally identical, has been parallel down to within the lifetime of the present generation. It is not very long since suicides were buried at cross-roads with a stake through the body. Another way of dealing with them was to cut off the head and place it between the legs. A mediæval corpse which had suffered this mutilation was found a few years ago in a stone coffin in Royston Church, near Barnsey (*FL* xii. 101). Bodies have been found with the same mutilation in a cemetery in Albania, dating probably from the 4th or 5th cent. A.D. (*L'Anthrop.* xii. 668); it was well known throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, and was practised as lately as the year 1892 among the Lithuanian population of Somenishki in the Government of Kovno (*Am Urquell*, v. [1894] 87), in the latter case avowedly that the deceased might not be in a condition to 'walk' and injure the fields; for suicides are believed to 'walk' in the shape of Germans, or else as he-goats, to mislead wayfarers, or with the weapon or cord in their hands with which they have taken their lives. They injure the fields by causing hail and storms; and the touch of their bodies blights the earth: hence they are buried in waste places (*Am Urquell*, iii. [1892] 50, 52, 53).

The cremation of vampires has already been mentioned (§ VII. 3 (g)). A dead man who gave trouble among the ancient Norse by haunting was often taken up and burnt. Sometimes milder measures were successful, as in the case of Thorolf Halk-foot, who was removed to another grave with a wall so high that none but fowl flying could cross it (Morris, *Ere-dwellers*, 1892, p. 92). The fencing of graves is by no means always to protect the dead; probably it is quite as much for the protection of the living. Thus the Cheremiss fence the grave with stakes that the dead may not get out and walk the fields (Smirnov, *Pop. finnoises*, i. 138). Many of the South American tribes with the same object stamp down the earth upon the corpse; and the Achaos even cover the grave with mortar and carefully fill up every morning any cracks that may have taken place (*Int. Arch.* xii., Suppl. 93, 96). Cists, urns, coffins, and grave-boxes also serve the purpose of shutting in the dead, that they may not torment the survivors; and perhaps this was their original intention. Among the natives of South Australia it seems to have been the custom to stop and fasten up all the orifices of the body, doubtless to keep the ghost within (*JAI* viii. [1879] 893)—a practice adopted by the Malays (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 401). The inhabitants of Nias bind not only the fingers and toes, but also the jaws, and put stoppers in the nostrils to keep in the soul (Modigliani, *Nias*, 1890, p. 238). A more barbarous precaution is practised in Bulgaria, where sometimes a needle is stuck into the navel of the corpse (Strausz, *Bulgaren*, 454). On the islands of Ambon and Ulisse, in the Molucces, this form of protection is used only in the case of women dying in child-bed. In such a case thorns and pins are stuck between

the joints of the fingers and toes, in the knees, shoulders, and elbows, eggs of hens or ducks are laid under the chin and armpits, and a portion of the corpse's hair is brought outwards and nailed fast between the coffin and its lid. These elaborate precautions are intended to prevent the deceased from getting out of the coffin and flying away in the form of a bird, to plague men and pregnant women. Even if she succeeded in getting out, it is believed that she would not forsake the eggs (Riedel, 81).

It should, however, be said that the corpse is sometimes wounded with quite a different intention from that just mentioned. The Puri of South America open the breast to let out the soul (*Int. Arch.* xii., Suppl. 87). Another South American tribe, the Lengua of the Paraguayan Chaco, in accordance with a well-known principle of sympathetic magic, cut open the stomach of one whose death they attribute to witchcraft, and insert a stone and some charred bones. This is supposed to revenge the death by killing the wizard (*JAI* xxxi. 298; cf. Hartland, *LP* ii. 109). Some of the Naga tribes of Assam wound the corpse on the head, that the deceased may be received as a warrior with distinction in the other world (*JAI* xxvi. 198; *ARW* xii. 454).

XII. *Return from the funeral.*—The deceased being thus comfortably provided for and admonished by word and deed to stay where he has been put, or to go into the other world, and in any case not to meddle with the living, the mourners return from the grave. What they have to dread is that, in spite of these and other precautions, the ghost may attach himself to them and thus succeed in getting home again. For, as is obvious from what has already been said, the dead man is regarded as by no means willing to be deprived of the society to which he has been accustomed. Accordingly the burial is often conducted with the greatest haste.

Thus among the Bontoc Igorot of Luzon, when the corpse has been put into the coffin, it is hustled away with the help of many willing hands; no time is wasted at the graveside; the filling up of the grave is done in the shortest possible time—probably, in the case witnessed by Jenks, not over one minute and a half; and away the mourners hurry, most of them at a dog-trot, to wash themselves in the river (A. E. Jenks, *Bontoc Igorot*, 1905, p. 78). On the other hand, so deeply defiled are the members of the family considered by the Papuan tribes, and so impossible is it for them at once to get rid of the ghost, that they erect a hut on the grave and there camp for six weeks or more, the widows in particular huddled in one corner away from the rest, invisible and unwashed (*ARW* iv. 345). The Ojibwa widow springs over the grave and then runs zigzag behind the trees, as if she were fleeing from some one. She thus dodges the ghost of her husband, that it may not haunt her (Jones, *Ojebway Indians*, 1861, p. 99).

Specimens of the obstacles put in the way of the ghost have already been given. Without going over the same ground, a few examples may here be noted of the methods of preventing the ghost from attaching itself to those who have taken part in the last rites.

The Batak priest, as the grave is being closed, beats the air with a stick to drive away the souls of the living men (*ARW* vii. 504). In the Southern Nicobar Islands the family return to the hut, where they sleep. The next day it is purified by brushing and washing, the mourners bathe and are anointed on the head and shoulder by a priest, and a lighted torch is waved 'to drive away the spirits' (*Ind. Cens. Rep.*, 1901, iii. 200). In North-Eastern Rhodesia all spit on the grave when it is filled up, and return to the village without looking back. This is now said to be a precaution against giving a clue to some watchful hyæna to dig up the body; it is more likely that the custom originated in a precaution of a different sort (*Journ. Afr. Soc.* v. 436). The Masura of Eastern Prussia hold that the deceased accompanies the first bearer home, whereupon the latter asks him: 'Have I made thy bed properly? If not, I will make it better.' Only then is the ghost appeased and goes back to the grave (Töppenz, 110). The Mordvin mourners stop a little distance from the graveyard, and one of the gravediggers, with the same tool that he has used to dig the grave, draws a circle round them. This is repeated twice. When they reach the house, the oldest woman of the family throws in their way a log and a cutlass, over which they step. The intention of the cutlass is to frighten the deceased, who, according to popular belief, is at their heels (Smirnov, i. 864). In the Babar Archipelago four stakes with cross-beams are set up over the grave and a piece of coarse red cotton stuff stretched across them in the form of a canopy. A piece of rotan is fastened to one of the stakes, and one end of it is held by the villagers present. The rotan being held taut, the head of the household, counting from one to seven, cuts it in two with one blow of his parang. The end left in the hands of the survivors is brought back by one of the kin to the house of the departed, as a symbol that all intercourse with the departed is broken off, and that he now belongs to the kindred in the other world (Riedel, 859). The firing of guns and beating of drums, so usual at a funeral in various parts of Africa, is probably intended to drive away the ghost. Elsewhere, as in Melanesia, it is avowedly hunted away.

XIII. Lingering of the soul.—The unwillingness of the soul to sever its earthly ties is not easily overcome. So far from retiring into the other world when the last breath has left the body, it habitually lingers at the place of death, or with the corpse.

The Huron ghost walks in front of the funeral procession, and remains in the cemetery until the feast of the dead; by night, however, it stalks through the village and eats the leavings of the food of the living (Le Jeune, *Journal Rel.* x. [1636] 43). In a Negro funeral in Jamaica the ghost sits on the coffin (*FL* xv. [1904] 208). The Korean ghost, more luxurious, rides in a sedan chair (*JAI* xxv. 351). About Königsberg, if you look through the gravedigger's arm when the coffin is being let down into the grave, you can see the ghost (*Am Urquell*, ii. 80).

In the belief of peoples in every part of the world it haunts the grave for a period variously stated from a few days to many months, or even an indefinite period. Indeed, as already indicated, the grave is often conceived as the permanent residence not merely of the body, but of the soul. Where the belief in a world of the dead is developed, the ghost usually departs at latest after the performance of certain rites to be discussed hereafter (§ XXI.). Meanwhile it is necessary to attend to its wants by the placing of food and sometimes a shelter on the grave. The tribes of Central Nigeria considerably leave a small hole in the grave-mound, where it may go in and out (L. Desplagnes, *Le Plateau central nigérien*, Paris, 1907, pp. 249, 257, 262). It even sets at defiance the precautions taken to prevent it from returning to its earthly home.

A common superstition in Europe is that a mother who dies leaving a suckling returns for six weeks after the funeral to suckle her little one. According to the Bulgarians, the ghost lingers for forty days in the house, and returns again on the first Easter Day until the first Whit Sunday after the funeral (Strauss, 451, 468). The Minangkabau Malays of the Padang Highlands keep the seat and bed of the deceased clean and tidy for a hundred days, lest the ghost be offended; for it haunts the house during that period (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxix. [1890] 70). Among the Yakuts the ghost wanders round the body, visits the places the dead man frequented in his lifetime, and tries to complete any work he has left unfinished. In the silence of the night the ghosts of men attend to the cattle and meddle with the harness, while the ghosts of women may be heard washing up the dishes, sweeping the rooms, tidying the granary or the chests, sighing and whispering the while. The survivors may sometimes even see them sitting tranquilly in the firelight or walking about the fields (*RHR* xlv. [1902] 224).

XIV. Purification of the survivors.—When the funeral is ended, all who have taken part in it must commonly be purified. As the necessity for purification attaches also to all mourners, and is sometimes deferred until, or perhaps more frequently repeated after, the completion of the death rites, the examples following are, in order to avoid repetition, not confined to the immediate return from the funeral. The most usual methods of purification are by fumigation and bathing.

The Euahlayi of New South Wales fumigate themselves beside the grave at and after a burial. A widow covers herself with mud and sleeps beside a smouldering fire all night. Three days afterwards she and her sisters (who might have been her husband's wives) are chased down to the creek, where a fire has previously been lighted. She catches hold of the smoking bush; putting it under her arm she jumps into the creek with it and extinguishes it in the water. As it goes out, she drinks some of the smoky water. On emerging she is smoked at the fire and calls to her husband, who is supposed to answer her. Not until then is she allowed to speak; the only utterances permitted to her up to that time have been lamentations. On her return to the camp another fumigation, apparently of the entire population, is made, and she continues to wear mourning for many months (K. Langloh Parker, *Euahlayi Tribe*, pp. 86, 88, 93). Among the Northern Tribes of Central Australia the women are released from their ban of silence by a ceremony, of which the chief item consists in their brushing themselves all over with burning twigs taken from a fire they have lighted for the purpose (Spencer-Gillien, 564). Yakut gravediggers, on returning from the cemetery, purify themselves at a fire made of chips of the coffin, before they enter the *yurt* (*RHR* xlv. 211). When a Bechuana widower is married, both he and his new bride must undergo an elaborate fumigation (*JAI* xxxv. 307); among the Bangala one who touches a dead body is placed in a circle of fire for purification (*JAI* xxxix. 114). The Manganja mourners not only bathe, but rub themselves with 'medicine-water' (Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories*

and *Songs in Chinyanja*, 1907, p. 94). The ancient Hebrews accounted every one who touched a dead body or a grave, or who came into the tent where a corpse lay, unclean for seven days; and he was excluded from the community and from all religious rites. He was sprinkled on the third and again on the seventh day with the 'water of separation,' in which were mingled the ashes of the sin-offering. So contagious was his uncleanness or tabu that it attached to everything he touched, and even to the clean person who sprinkled him. Moreover, the unclean man after the sprinkling on the seventh day was required to bathe, and both he and the clean person who sprinkled him had to wash their clothes; nor was either of them reckoned clean until the evening (Nu 19:13-22, 51). Among the Bontoc Igorot of Luzon all who take part in the burial hurry to the river to wash (Jenks, 79). Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco they drink hot water and then bathe in hot water. The near relatives are considered unclean for a time and are excluded from the village. Before re-entering it they purify themselves by washing in hot water and putting aside the tokens of their mourning (Grubb, *Among the Indians*, p. 44). The Lilloets of British Columbia hold the funeral feast immediately on returning from the grave. The members of the household of the deceased pass the next four days in fasting, lamentations, and ceremonial ablutions. Their hair is then cut, they are painted and oiled, the hair is tied up, and they hold a second feast with more cheerful countenances. A young widower often goes into the forest alone for a year, builds himself a sweat-house, and drives the 'bad medicine' of his dead wife out of his body by repeated sweating or hot baths. A young widow during the whole period of mourning undergoes continuous ceremonial washings or cleansings, for the double purpose of lengthening her own life and rendering herself innocuous to her next husband, who would otherwise be short-lived (*JAI* xxxv. 137 ff.). Among the Thompson Indians the widow or widower, immediately after the death, goes out and passes through a patch of rose bushes four times. Among other ceremonies, a widow washes in the creek and cleans herself with fresh fir-twigs morning and evening for a year. It is significant that any grass or branches on which a widow or widower sits or lies down will wither up (*Jesup Exped.* i. 382, 383).

The meaning of these ceremonies is probably expressed in the belief of the Pima of California, who hold that ghosts are uncanny things to have about; they are liable to touch sleeping persons, which is a summons to accompany the ghost back to the shades (§6 *RBEW* [1908] 194). Hence the Lilloet widow must free herself from the ghost, both for her own sake and for that of her next husband. And the contagious character of the death-pollution is shown by the custom of the Hupa which requires every one who has touched a corpse to cover his head until purification, 'lest the world be spoiled' (Goddard, *Hupa Texts*, 1904, p. 224 n.).

In Europe similar beliefs and practices have prevailed throughout historic times.

The ancient Greeks put at the door of the death-chamber a vessel full of pure water obtained from another house, so that all who came out might purify themselves (Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 219). It is still a very wide-spread custom on the Continent to meet the funeral party, on returning to the house, with water and towel, that all who have taken part may wash their hands before entering. In Istria the water is poured over a firebrand (*Globe*, xcii. [1907] 88). In Central France, two generations ago, the members of the funeral party used to hasten to the nearest brook or pool. In some of the villages so contagious was the pollution held that, if the funeral procession passed any clothes hanging out to dry, the clothes were always washed again (Laisnel de la Salle, ii. 79, 80). In the Tyrol all inhabitants of the house are assembled and fumigated by the house-father before the corpse leaves the house; to be absent from this ceremony is to run the risk of a speedy death. In another district when a dead body is carried out, every one must forthwith wash his clothes, otherwise a second corpse will soon be borne out (von Zingler, pp. 49, 50).

XV. Funeral feasts.—A feast is usually (in the lower culture invariably) a part of the funeral rites. Frequently, indeed, a feast is partaken of in the presence of the corpse, another (sometimes kept up for days, or repeated at stated intervals) on the return from the funeral, and a third when the rites are closed by the second funeral, or re-burial of the bones (§ XXI.), and the mourning comes to an end.

1. Before the funeral.

Among the Gilbert Islanders, when the corpse's toilet is completed, the wailing begins. In the meantime a feast with dancing and songs is prepared outside the hut where the body lies; and every one in turn, after his wailing is over, goes and joins the feast, which lasts for three days before the interment takes place (*Int. Arch.* ii. [1889] 42). In the Cauca Valley, Colombia, the dried corpse was kept in the house for two months before burial, and during the whole of that period

drinking-bouts, dirges, and singing-contests took place in honour of the departed (*Globus*, xc. 805). The relatives and friends of a deceased Araucanian sit round the corpse on the bare ground and weep for a while. Others, weeping, bring food and drink, of which all partake (*Int. Arch.* xlii, Suppl. 105). At the death of an Ainu, a large cup of food or a cake of millet, and water or *sake*, are placed by the head of the corpse after it has been laid out. The corpse is addressed in a farewell speech, and invited to partake, before he quite leaves the survivors, of food and drink such as he loved, 'for this is our good-bye feast made specially for you.' After the food has remained by the corpse for some time, it is taken and reverently divided among the nearest relations. Millet cakes and *sake* are also brought into the hut and handed round to all present, every one, before drinking, offering two or three drops to the spirit of the dead. Part of the millet cake is eaten, and the remainder buried in the ashes of the hearth, a little piece by each person. After the burial these pieces are collected and carried out of the hut to the domestic shrine (Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folk*, Lond. 1901, p. 556). Among the ancient pagan Prussians the body was dressed and placed upright on a bench. The nearest relations then sat down beside it, carousing with beer and wailing (*EL* xli. 800; Tetzner, 28). The ceremony among the Masurs is more elaborate. A messenger is sent through the village to summon to the burial, and the company is usually numerous. On one side of the room where the corpse lies is a long table, the middle of which is occupied by the corpse, while all around it are seats for the men. The women sit at another long table on the other side of the room. After two tedious funeral songs have been sung, schnapps and curd-cakes are served. The schnapps for the men is served in bottles with one glass, out of which all drink in turn; for the women it is served in a bowl with a spoon, and every woman takes a spoonful or two as the spoon and bowl pass round the table. The curd-cakes are handed round in a white apron or a basket (Töppen², 103).

The custom of eating and drinking in the presence of the dead is wide-spread in Europe as elsewhere; further examples will be adduced hereafter.

2. After the funeral.—A feast follows the disposal of the body.

The Ainu mourners return to the hut; the men make sacred willow emblems, called *tnao*, pray, eat, drink, and get helplessly intoxicated (Batchelor, 559). Among the Uriya of Orissa the feast occupies several days (Rice, *Occasional Essays*, Lond. 1901, p. 56). So the pagan Norsemen feasted for three nights. The Masurs, whose ceremony prior to the burial has just been described, on returning find the tables and benches so arranged that men and women, who had previously sat apart, can sit together; and the schnapps is mixed with honey and served in bottles. Sometimes it is burnt before being mixed, and is then called by a special name. At noon a meal of flesh-meat, fish, and groats thickened with honey is served. All day the men remain in the house comforting the bereaved, and likewise comforting themselves with the remains of the food and with drink; nor do they separate until the evening (Töppen², 104). In some places the corpse, before removal, is covered with a table-cloth, and the same table-cloth is put on the table at the subsequent funeral meal (*ib.* 111). In *Ille-et-Vilaine* neither wine, nor cider, nor coffee, nor liqueur appears at the table; the conversation is carried on in a low tone; as the guests finish they retire (A. Orsain, *Ille-et-Vilaine*, ii. [1898] 294). A great contrast is afforded by the Frisian population of the marshes on the right bank of the lower Weser. They hurry from the church to the house, where piles of cakes, long rows of wine-bottles, clay pipes, plates of tobacco, matches, and cigars await the guests, and the feast begins. Hitherto stillness and whispering have reigned in the house. Now eating and drinking know no bounds; soon the tobacco-smoke fills the house, until it is impossible to see three paces ahead; all tongues are loosened; chattering and jesting, laughing and drinking, the clinking of glasses and the general good humour increase from hour to hour (*ZVV* ix. [1899] 65). In various parts of Europe it has been found necessary to put a limit by statute or local regulation to the expenditure on the funeral feast and the other abuses connected with it.

Among many peoples the feast is held at, or even upon, the grave.

The Gijbwaw, who deposit their dead on the ground and cover them with a light roofing of poles and mats, as soon as this is finished, sit in a circle at the head of the grave and present an offering to the dead of meat, soup, or 'fire-water.' This, except a certain quantity kept for a burnt-offering, is consumed by the mourners (P. Jones, *loc. cit.*). In the Nicobar Islands, the day after the funeral a feast is held at the grave 'in the presence of the dead,' at which the relatives and friends bind themselves, according to their degree of kindred with the departed, to abstain from certain food, drink, and enjoyment for a longer or shorter period, the longest terminating with the great feast of the dead, when all the ceremonies are concluded (*Int. Arch.* vi. 25). The Gilyaks burn their dead. When the cremation has been accomplished, they sit round and partake of the flesh of dogs, killed there and then at the burning-place to accompany the soul of the deceased. They eat a portion of it and throw the rest about in all directions, probably for the deceased, afterwards adjoining to the *yurt*, where further refreshments are provided (*ARW* viii. 473). The ancient

Romans used to offer to the *manes* on the ninth day after the funeral at the grave; and the meal was taken there. The funeral meal is still, or was quite lately, taken in the cemetery at Argentière in the Department of the Hautes Alpes, France; and the curé and the family of the deceased sat at a table placed upon the grave itself. As soon as the meal was over, every one, led by the next-of-kin, drank to the health of the departed (*Laisnel de la Salle*, ii. 81). The custom is not merely wide-spread; it descends demonstrably from a great antiquity. Neolithic graves are often found containing remnants of a feast, in the shape of broken bones of animals and traces of a fire.

As already mentioned, the feast following the funeral is by no means always concluded at one sitting.

The ancient Norse were, and the Uriyas are, however, quite abstemious in this respect compared with some other peoples. In the Moluccas, on the island of Keisar, the kinsmen ordinarily feast for twenty days in the house of the dead, and, after enjoying all sorts of delicacies, wind up the solemnity with dog's flesh. The Tanembar and Timorlaut Islanders enjoy from ten to a hundred days' festivities (Riedel, 421, 306). The Lepers Islanders go on 'eating the death' for a hundred days (Codrington, 287); while the Malagasy outdo them all. The length and brilliancy of their feasts are, of course, proportioned to the wealth of the deceased. Rum flows without stint from morning to night; and every one present is more or less plunged in drunkenness. So long as there is anything to eat and drink the feast goes on, and nobody thinks of going away. The funeral feasts of high and noble persons have been known to last for months (*Mad. au xix^e siècle*, 284). Or, on the other hand, the feast may be renewed at stated intervals. The ancient Prussians held their funeral meals on the third, sixth, ninth, and fortieth days (Töppen², 111 n.). The Muhammadan Malays feast on the day of the funeral, and on the third, seventh, and fourteenth days (Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 407). The Chinese of Northern Tongking feast every seven days for a month (Lunet, 89). On the death of a Buriat shaman the funeral feast is held at the burning-place, and repeated on the third day, when his created bones are collected and deposited in a hole hewn in the trunk of a big fir, and the rites are at an end for the time (*JAI* xxiv. 135). This simplicity may be contrasted with the Fijian custom, which requires that wailing proceed in the house for four days after the death. On the fourth day a feast is held, and it is followed by others on the tenth, thirtieth or fortieth (when the tomb is dressed), and the hundredth days (*Anthropos*, ii. 74). Among the Patagonians the wailing lasts for fifteen days after a death. It is accompanied with feasting on horseflesh and drinking-bouts, and is renewed every month under the same stimulating influences, and closed at the end of a year with a three days' celebration (*Int. Arch.* xlii, Suppl. 103).

A feast is often held at the completion of the funeral ceremonies or of the period of mourning (see § XXI.).

3. *Object of funeral feasts.*—The object of these feasts is not simply hospitality to the invited guests; they indeed very often contribute their full share in kind. Nor is the object merely the enjoyment of those who partake, or a natural reaction from sorrow, or ostentation on the part of those who provide them. Doubtless some or all of these impulses do enter into the motives for the frequently repeated and usually extravagant displays, and the gluttony and carousing inseparable from them. But there are deeper reasons for the observance. The above reasons would be insufficient of themselves to account for the practice, shared by civilized Europeans with savage Ainu, of holding the first formal meal in the presence of the corpse, or on the grave, if they would not indeed positively repel it. Moreover, the ceremonial of such a meal is not always that of abandonment to the pleasures of the table and of social intercourse; and, finally, the deceased is himself, even after cremation or burial, regarded as one of the convives. The belief that the dead man is present and joins in the feast is very wide-spread, and is evidenced in more ways than one.

In the German districts of Prussia a seat is left for the dead man, and food and drink are placed for him. The old Prussians used to throw the food and drink destined for him under the table (Töppen², 111 n.). The Thlinket of British Columbia are divided into two intermarrying classes, descendible exclusively through women. When a man dies, his body is carried out by members of his wife's class, and the members of his own class give them a feast. Before distributing the food the name of the dead is pronounced, and a little of the food is put into the fire. By this means he is believed to receive it (§§ RBEW 481; cf. 462). The utterance of the name is a call to its owner to come and receive his portion. In various Melanesian islands, when the name is pronounced, the chief mourner with some

of the food in his hand says expressly, 'This is for you,' and throws or puts it aside for the deceased (Codrington, 271, 282, 284). Among the Chinai or Chinyungwe, on the Zambezi, a portion of the drink and the blood of the slaughtered sheep are poured into the grave, through a hole made for the purpose (*JAI* xlii. 421). The Veddas make an offering to the newly dead, and afterwards consume it themselves (*Rep. Oxford Cong. Hist. Rel.* i. 62). On some of the Moluccas the soul after burial is believed to haunt the neighbourhood of the house. On the fifth day a wooden image of the deceased is prepared, the soul is enticed into it, and a meal of rice, pork, and chicken is presented. The mouth of the image is daubed with some of the food, and the deceased is addressed: 'Eat, drink, and watch over us, that no sickness arise.' After the deceased has finished, the feast of the survivors begins, and lasts all night (Riedel, 395). It is not quite clear from the report whether they partake of the identical food that has been placed before the image; but probably they do. The Cheremiss, on the fortieth day, go to the cemetery to invite the dead man to join the feast and to bring him back. In one district one of the convives impersonates him dressed in his best clothes. He is seated in the place of honour, and is treated as the master; the widow of the deceased addresses him as husband, the children as father. All night he eats, drinks, and dances with the rest. In the intervals of the dances he relates his life in the other world and his pleasure at meeting again those who have predeceased him; he begs them not to sorrow on his account—rather let them oftener repeat the feast of commemoration (Smirnov, i. 143). So, the Kols of Chota Nāgpur provide a meal in the dead man's house, to which they summon a man from the Mahali, a neighbouring mongrel tribe with whom they never otherwise eat. He comes to the banquet, and there represents the deceased. Until he has done this, no meal can be eaten in the house. When the meal is finished he departs, and the house is thenceforward pure, and no longer haunted by the dead man (Hahn, *Kolsmission*, 84). There is a similar practice among some of the North American tribes (*M. A. Owen, Folk. of Musquakie Indians*, Lond. 1904, p. 83).

The ritual character of the meal is rendered obvious also by the fact that very often it consists, wholly or in part, of a special kind of food. Pulse was partaken of by the Romans, and it figures prominently in the funeral feasts of many parts of modern Europe. Cakes and biscuits of various kinds are also used, from Wales to the Volga and the Greek islands. It is probable that this ritual food represents the flesh of the corpse, and is a long-descended relic of funeral cannibalism. The Abbé Dubois, describing the ceremonies attending the cremation of the king of Tanjore, who died in 1801, and two of his wives, informs us that some of the bones which had escaped complete destruction were ground to powder, mixed with boiled rice, and eaten by twelve Brahmans. The object of this rite was the expiation of the sins of the deceased; for these sins, according to popular opinion, were transmitted into the bodies of those who ate the ashes (Dubois-Beauchamp, 366). This is precisely parallel to the old Welsh custom of 'sin-eating,' whereby, when the corpse was brought out of the house and laid on the bier, a man was found whose profession it was to perform the ceremony. A loaf of bread was handed to him over the corpse before the funeral procession started, and a mazar-bowl full of beer with a piece of money (in John Aubrey's time sixpence), 'in consideration whereof he took upon him (*ipso facto*) all the Sins of the Defunct, and freed him (or her) from walking after they were dead' (Aubrey, *Remaines*, ed. 1881, p. 35). In the Bavarian Highlands a different interpretation was put upon a similar practice. Formerly, when the corpse had been laid on the bier and the room carefully washed and cleaned, the housewife prepared the *Leichen-nudeln*, or corpse-cakes. Having kneaded the dough, she placed it to rise on the dead body before baking. Cakes so prepared were believed to contain the virtues and advantages of the departed, and to transmit to the kinsmen who consumed them his living strength, which thus was retained within the kin (*Am Urquell*, ii. 101). Perhaps we may interpret in the same way an obscure rite at the funeral feast of the Man Cóc in Tongking. Before the meal begins, the priest presents to all the relatives in turn a piece of flesh to be smelt. At the meal each of the guests

receives a piece of flesh, and the priest is paid with a leg of pork (Lunet, 245).

Similarly, in a MS of the 18th cent., preserved in the British Museum, it is related of the tribes about Delagoa Bay that they 'generally kill some beast in proportion to the ability of the deceased, and, digging a round hole, they lay the deceased at his full length; when, opening the beast, they take out the paunch yet reeking, and lay it upon the face of the deceased, and, after dancing round the corpse, tear this paunch to pieces and tumultuously eat it. This done, they bend the corpse round while warm and lay him in the hole, casting in some part of the guts (of the slaughtered beast), and closing the hole up; ending this odd funeral with dancing' (*Res. S.E. Africa*, ii. [1898] 460).

Ritual food with another meaning is found among the Baganda, where fowls are, as a rule, tabu to women. The reason they assign for this tabu is that death came into the world by the disobedience of a woman, who insisted on returning to heaven for food for a fowl (see § II.). But at the death of a man a fowl is cooked, and each of his widows eats of it prior to the distribution of his widows and effects (*JAI* xxxii. 48).

The distribution of articles of food to persons, whether relatives, friends, or the poor, who do not share in a formal meal is an extension of the feast.

In Sardinia, on the seventh or ninth day after death savoury cakes are prepared and sent hot from the oven to all the relatives and neighbours, and to all who have joined in the funeral ceremonies; but the funeral supper is confined to the immediate family (*Rivista Trad. Pop. Ital.* i. [1893] 959). At Gainsborough, penny loaves used to be given away at funerals to all who asked for them (*Ant.* xxxi. 331). In Bulgaria the villagers bring fruit for the departed, or for the previously dead, and it is distributed among the children at the funeral (Strausz, 446). Among the Uriyas, on the death of a rich man, copper coins and fried rice are scattered as the funeral procession passes (*Idic.* 55). On the island of Mobila a heap of food is piled up close to the platform on which the body lies, and afterwards divided among those present. Again, a few days afterwards, when the skull has been removed and cleaned and is handed over to the relatives, another quantity of food is provided by the mourners, and distributed to those who have assisted at the funeral. In both cases it seems to be consumed at home (*Torres Str. Rep.* v. 250, 251).

The money doles given to the poor in our own country are probably a commutation of the distribution of food (see Brand and Ellis, ii. 192). The analogous customs in India and elsewhere may be set down to the same cause. Doubtless, however, all have been affected by ecclesiastical influences. The fact that the gifts frequently include lavish doles and entertainments to ecclesiastics, both in Europe and in Asia, is evidence very difficult to gainsay.

Often the feast is merely a farewell banquet—a send-off of one who is unwilling to go—at the termination of which the deceased is formally but firmly shown the door.

Thus about Königsberg, in Prussia, a place is set for the dead man at the feast, in order that he may share it; and, when it is over, the bearers open all doors, that the ghost may depart (*Am Urquell*, ii. 80). The ancient Prussians used to drive the ghost out, saying: 'Be off! you have eaten and drunk' (Tetzner, 23). Among some of the Brazilian tribes, at the end of the feast, the widow, accompanied by the other women, and weeping, used ceremoniously to thank the men for their presence and help, and in the name of the deceased to call for a parting drink, that he might forthwith enter on his journey; for he could not set out while his friends tarried with him (*Int. Arch.* xiii. Suppl. 112). The Tarahumares of Mexico hold three feasts for a man, and four for a woman (see § XVII.). These begin within a fortnight after the death and are increasingly elaborate, each lasting a day and a night. All the mourners talk to the departed. He is told to take away all they have given him, and not to come and disturb the survivors. The second feast is given half a year after the first, the third and largest later still. The sacred cactus, *hikuli*, is thought to be very powerful in chasing away the dead, driving them to the end of the world, where they join the other departed. Hence it is steeped in water and the water sprinkled over the people; and *hikuli*-dancing and singing always play a prominent part in all festivities. At these feasts for the dead other dances also take place; *tesvino*, the national stimulant, is drunk; and the survivors drink with the dead. At the third feast a large earthen bowl full of water is the subject of a ceremony by the shaman, at which he finally lifts it up and throws it in the air. It falls shattered to pieces, and the people dance and trample on the fragments. The function concludes with races by the young people. 'The men have their ball, and as they run they scatter ashes to the four cardinal points to

cover the tracks of the dead. They return rejoicing, manifesting their delight by throwing up their blankets, tunics, and hats, because now the dead is at last chased off.' Not until after the last function will a widower or a widow marry again, 'being more afraid of the dead than are other relatives' (Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, i. 384 ff.).

Elsewhere the motive is stated to be the rest or the happiness of the deceased—often, however, with somewhat more than a hint at the benefit of the survivors.

Thus, among the Bulgarians of Hungary, before the burial a meal takes place, at which every one receives a loaf of bread and a taper wound with a cloth. The tapers are kindled in the house, and then extinguished. The bread is then eaten, and it is believed that the soul is now saved. In a room adjoining that where the corpse is being waked another meal goes forward, 'for the well-being of those who are left behind and that he may slumber for ever' (*Globus*, xc. 140). The Igorot dead in Luzon is admonished not to come and make the survivors sick, but to protect them from other *anito* (*manes*); he is reminded that, when they make a feast and invite him, they want him to come, but that, if another *anito* kills off all his relatives, there will be no more houses for him to enter for feasts. The Igorot are very fond of feasts; it is assumed that death makes no difference in this respect; consequently this last argument is considered very weighty (Jenks, 79). Among the Yakuts the horses or cattle killed for the feast are ridden or driven by the dead to the other world, and so add to his comfort or his state (*JETH* xlv. 208). The Barotsse take the same view. They no longer kill slaves, but they kill and eat the oxen, which will secure to the dead a favourable reception at the hands of his ancestors (Béguin, *Les Ma-Rotse*, 116). So, again, the Melanesian population of Aurora think that, if they do not kill many pigs, 'the dead man has no proper existence, but hangs on tangled creepers, and to hang on creepers they think a miserable thing. That is the real reason why they kill pigs for a man who has died; there is no other reason for it but that.' The deceased and the ghosts of others who have previously died are believed to come back to earth to attend his funeral feast (Codrington, 282, quoting a native account). In Angola it is held that the condition of the dead in the other world will depend upon the amount of food and drink consumed in their *tanbo*, or mourning, which lasts from one to four weeks; and during that period wallings alternate with feasting and merrymaking (*JETH* ix. 16). The same idea may perhaps underlie the pathetic Silesian custom of adorning the house with garlands and green boughs at the funeral of an unmarried, especially of a betrothed, person, and of rendering the funeral meal a complete marriage-feast, to which others than the immediate relatives, mourners, and bearers are invited (*ZVV* iii. 152). Sometimes a more direct spiritual and unselfish motive is expressed. In Bulgaria at the meal taken before the funeral, every one, before drinking, pours a few drops of wine on the ground before the corpse and says: 'God forgive the sins of N.N.' After the burial the priest incenses the room, and then takes his place at the top of the table, saying: 'God forgive N.N.' During the meal, as the guests sit round the table, he from time to time says: 'Eat and drink and say "God forgive N.N."; and the guests accordingly respond in chorus (Strausz, 450, 451). So, in the Lebanon, among the Christian population, a ritual food of boiled wheat, flavoured with spices, almonds, hazel-nuts, walnuts, or pine-seed, is distributed among the relatives, and especially to priests, often at the exit-door of the church. As they take it in passing, they say: 'May God bless him for whom we eat this now.' The same formula is used when it is eaten in the house of mourning (*EL* ix. 8).

XVI. Funeral games and dances.—Funeral games, familiar to us in classic literature, are of very wide distribution. They cannot be separated from dances, for there is no hard and fast line between the two. Many dances are mimic contests, and the ceremonies are by some observers reported as dances and by others as games. Whether dances or games, however, it would appear that the object is the same, viz. to drive away either the dead or the evil spirits to whose influence death is due, and to free the living from the resulting fear—a purpose which in process of decay first becomes divination as to the state of the deceased, and then is explained more simply as for the mere amusement of the deceased or the survivors. Naturally this object is not clear in every reported instance. Insufficient attention on the part of the reporter is sometimes the reason for this; but perhaps quite as often the decay of the ceremonies themselves, and the loss by those who practise them of their real meaning, are as much to blame.

Among the Bongo of the Egyptian Sudan a large heap of stones is erected over a grave, and upon it a number of votive poles are erected, adorned with notches and incisions, with their

forked tops made to resemble horns. The meaning of these poles or stakes is said to have passed from the memory of the inhabitants; at all events Schweinfurth (*Heart of Africa*, Lond. 1874, i. 304), during his twelve months' stay in the country, failed to obtain any information on the subject. However, there is no doubt as to what is done. The entire village takes part in the digging of the grave, in covering it, and in planting the votive poles; and, when this is finished, they all equally shoot at the poles with arrows, which are left where they strike. The Yānādis of Southern India perform, on the sixteenth or some later day after death, a ceremony called *peddadinamu*. A handful of clay is squeezed into a conical mass representing the soul of the deceased, and stuck up on a platform, where the eldest son spreads cooked rice before it, lights a lamp, and burns incense. It is then taken with the rest of the cooked rice to a tank. There the recumbent effigy of a man is made close to the water with the feet to the north. This effigy is anointed with *shikai* (fruit of the *Acacia concinna*) and red powder. The conical image is set up at its head; the rice, made into four balls, is placed near its hands and feet, together with betel and money, and the son salutes it. The agnates then seat themselves in a row between the effigy and the water, with their hands behind their backs so as to reach it. In this way they slowly move it towards the water, into which it finally falls and becomes disintegrated (Thurston, vii. 428). These two customs of widely differing peoples are manifestly directed against the deceased.

A Sioux practice known as the 'ghost-gamble' presents the deceased as engaged in the contest. His effects are divided into many small piles. A man is selected to represent the ghost, and he plays for these piles of goods against all the other players. The playing is with wild plum-stones, which are marked like dice. When the deceased is a man, only men play; when a woman, only women play (*REBEW* 195). Of the real meaning of a contest of this kind we get a glimpse in the custom of the Bulgarians of Hungary, who while away the tedious hours of the wake with games, among others with card-playing to divine whether the soul of the departed is saved or not. At an earlier stage it probably did not merely divine, but determined, the fate of the soul, or its relations with the survivors (*Globus*, xc. 140). In the south of Ireland, formerly, on a similar occasion songs and stories, blind-man's buff, hunt the slipper, and dancing were among the amusements. We are told also that 'four or five young men will sometimes, for the diversion of the party, blacken their faces and go through a regular series of gestures with sticks, not unlike those of the English morris-dancers.' This disguise and these evolutions in the presence or immediate neighbourhood of the corpse, there can be little doubt, were more than mere diversion. Comparison with other customs suggests that the players represented supernatural personages—ghosts or devils (Croker, *Researches*, 170).

This is certainly the case with savage dances in which masked and disguised figures appear. The assumption of the disguise is, according to the almost universal view of savage peoples, enough to cause the performer not merely to represent, but actually to be for the time, the supernatural being represented; and the appearance of such figures is quite common at death-dances.

Thus in the western islands of Torres Straits the performers personify the ghosts of persons recently dead, and they mimic in the dance the characteristic gait and actions of the persons so personified. 'The idea,' writes Haddon, 'evidently was to convey to the mourners the assurance that the ghost was alive, and that in the person of the dancer he visited his friends; the assurance of his life after death comforted the bereaved ones.'

(*Torres Str. Rep.* v. 256). In conformity, probably, with this object, a buffoon is provided, also disguised, whose antics as he follows the other performers are provocative of mirth. But the object is not the same in all savage death-dances. Among the Batak the dance seems to be performed by the *guru* alone. The *guru* in such cases is a woman; it is her business to protect the living against ghosts. She dances both before and after the burial. As the grave is filled in, she lays about her with a stick, not, however, to drive away the ghost, but the souls of living persons—obviously to prevent their getting into the grave, or into the undesirable society of the dead (*ARW* vii. 508).

Among the Beni Amer of Abyssinia, in spite of Islām, women occupy a privileged and almost a sacred position. It is the women who perform the funeral-dance; and one of the sisters of the deceased, having dressed her hair in masculine fashion, parades with his sword and shield while his praise is sung (Munzinger, 327). The act of the performer renders it probable that the object of the dance is prophylactic, and the appearance of a personification of the deceased is intended to do more than give assurance to the relatives of his continued life: it is to mollify him by singing his praise, so that he may do no harm to the survivors. So to ward off evil influences (probably to drive away the ghost) is the object of the dance practised by the Damaras and performed backward and forward over the grave (Kidd, *Ess. Kafir*, 261). On the burial of a chief among the Ibouzo on the Niger the last ceremony is called *i'kwa ota*, 'bending the bow.' The young men, clad in short drawers and wearing caps of monkey-skin, scour the town, brandishing shields and cullasses, as if they were starting on a warlike expedition. With an urgent air and panting as they go they utter a ferocious chant. Advancing in serried ranks they brandish the cullasses over one another's heads, and the clash of the weapons is heard from afar. From time to time they strike their shields and leap to right and left as they chase the evil spirits before them (*Anthropos*, ii. 106).

But there is another kind of dance sometimes performed on these occasions, of which we have had a glimpse in some of the foregoing—the comic or burlesque.

Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco a woman who has lost a child joins in a procession in circuit round a fire made outside the house. Young men appear dressed up as dragonflies, and 'flit to and fro, provoking laughter by their antics and the capital imitation of the insect they present' (Grubb, 45). We are not told here the nature of the pranks played; but in many cases they are certainly of a priapic and what we should call obscene character. The description of the funeral of a king of Loango in the ninth decade of the 18th century reports performances of this kind carried out by players who were clad in feathers and masked with the heads of spoonbills. Similar dances are performed on the island of Yap on various (not necessarily funeral) occasions, especially on the death of a young girl (*Globus*, lxxxvi. [1904] 361); and in the Aaru Archipelago they are presented at the termination of the mourning, as an intimation to the widow that she is now at liberty to marry again, and as an incitement to her to do so (Riedel, 268).

It was such a dance as this that was imputed by legend to Baubo when Demeter was plunged in grief for the loss of Kore; and we may conjecture that it was an archaic Greek funeral rite. Its meaning probably was to drive away death, evil spirits, and mourning by the exhibition of the instruments of life, which are widely used as amulets, and of the process of reproduction. It was not that these called up pleasurable thoughts and memories, and thus operated to banish the unpleasant and sorrowful thoughts. They had a magical force of their own that conquered death and evil. But the burlesque nature of the dance, if not obvious from its inception, must have tended to grow, because it was meant to relieve sorrow as well as to expel death. Any burlesque, therefore, that produced laughter would be dragged in to assist, with the natural result that among many peoples the priapic ceremonies were gradually forgotten and entirely superseded by merely comic antics, or ceased at any rate to play more than a subordinate part in funeral ceremonies.

XVII. Mourning.—Reference has already been frequently made to the state of tabu induced by the occurrence of a death. It remains to consider a little more closely the effect upon survivors connected with the deceased by neighbourhood or kinship.

The whole village or settlement is in the lower culture often attainted by the occurrence of a death. The rule among the Kaffirs of South Africa has already (§ VI. 9) been mentioned, and

it may stand as a type of many others. But it is more particularly the near relatives and those who have been brought into contact with the corpse who are affected by the death-pollution, most of all the widow or widower. Moreover, the period of mourning, and therefore of tabu, varies among different peoples, and according to the relationship of the mourners to the deceased, or his rank, from a few days to many months and even years.

1. Practices.—

On Teste Island, off the coast of New Guinea, death lays the whole settlement under tabu. Dancing is forbidden, and no traveller may enter. A circuitous path must be taken through the surrounding bush in silence (Chalmers, 41). Among the Manganja, on the occurrence of a death, strict continence is required of the chief mourners and the elders of the village (Rattray, 95). On the island of Aurora the wives and parents of the deceased abstain from going out as usual for a hundred days. The restriction is particularly severe on female mourners, who are forbidden to go into the open; their faces may not be seen; they stay indoors and in the dark, and cover themselves with a large mat reaching to the ground. The widow, however, goes out thus covered morning and evening to weep at the grave. All who are in mourning refrain from certain food; the immediate relatives may not eat any cultivated food. They are restricted to gigantic caladium, bread-fruit, coconuts, mallow, and other things which must be sought in the bush where they grow wild. A cord is worn round the neck to indicate mourning and abstinence from 'good food' (Coddington, 231). In the Nicobar Islands the mourning begins from the feast at the grave 'in the presence of the dead.' Two degrees of mourning are distinguished: the lighter, in which all relations and friends abstain until the torch-feast, three months later, from singing, gambling, dancing, adornment of the person, and in the house of mourning from certain food; and the deeper, which concerns the immediate relations (especially the husband or wife), and extends over a longer period until the great feast of the dead, and in which, in addition to avoiding the enjoyments just mentioned, they must abstain from certain foods, from smoking and betel-chewing (*Int. Arch.* vi. 25). The ancient Hurons likewise observed two degrees of mourning: the greater lasted for ten days. During that time the mourners remained lying on their mats with their faces to the earth without speaking, and replying with no more than a simple exclamation to those who came to visit them. They went out only at night for necessary purposes; they did not warm themselves in the winter, or eat warm food. A lock was cut from the back of the head as a sign of the deepest sorrow. The lesser mourning lasted all the year. Visiting was permitted during this period, but no salutations, nor the greasing of the hair. But women, although they might neither do these things nor go to a feast, might order their daughters to do either. Neither wife nor husband married again during the year, 'else they would cause themselves to be talked about in the country' (*GREW* 111, translating *Jesuit Rel.*). Among the Arawaks of South America the nearest relations of the deceased cut his widows' hair short, and the widows laid aside their clothing. Some months later a drinking-feast was held, at which all the men of the village assembled and scourged one another with whips made of the fibres of a climbing plant, until the blood ran in streams, and strips of skin and muscle hung down. Those who participated often died of their wounds (*Int. Arch.* xiii, Suppl. 77, 78). Among the Charruns the widow and the married daughters and sisters of a man each cut a finger-joint off and inflict other wounds on themselves. They also remain shut up alone in their dwellings for two full months, fasting and lamenting. The husband, on the other hand, does not mourn for his wife, nor the father for his child. Grown-up sons, however, remain for two days entirely naked in their huts, and almost without food. Then, having suffered the infliction of certain painful wounds on the arm, the mourner goes forth quite naked into the wilderness, where he rests all night up to the breast in a hole previously dug in the earth, over which he builds himself a little hut, and stays there for two days without eating or drinking. On the third day his friends bring him food and lay it down, hastening away without speaking a word. It is only after the expiration of ten or twelve days that he may return to the village (*Int. Arch.* xiii, Suppl. 72).

In South America, as in many other places, the women especially were made to bear the weight of the mourning observances. In Guiana, mourners laid aside all clothing and adornments (among some tribes even the women went stark naked) and retired into solitude. The women in particular concealed themselves, and ventured out only early in the morning and late in the evening to weep at the grave. Among the Mbayas and Guaycurú the women and slaves were forbidden to speak for three or four months. Among the former they were allowed only a vegetable diet; among the latter general fasting and abstinence were the rule on the death of a chief (*ib.* 73, 75, 76). The Warramunga women in Central Australia fight with one another and cut one another's scalps; and all who stand in any near relation to the deceased, reckoned according to the classificatory system, cut their own scalps open with yam-sticks besides, the actual widows even searing the wound with a red-hot fire-stick. A strict ban of silence is also imposed on women who reckon as wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, or

mothers-in-law of the deceased. They are not released from this ban until the final mourning ceremonies have been completely enacted—a period which may cover one or even two years (Spencer-Gillen¹, 621, 625). Among the Ewhe of Togoland the mourning lasts for six months, that being the time taken by the deceased to reach the kingdom of the dead. He is buried beneath the hut; and for the first six weeks of mourning a widow must remain in the same hut concealed, only leaving it to bathe and for other absolutely necessary purposes. When she goes out she goes entirely naked, with bowed head, eyes bent down, and arms crossed over her breast, 'that no mischief may befall her from the dead man.' In fact, she has nothing so much to fear as the deceased. She carries a club to drive him away, for he may wish to renew marital relations with her, and that would be death. For greater security she sleeps upon the club. She must not answer any call. Beans, flesh, fish, palm-wine, and rum are forbidden to her; and the food and drink that she is allowed must be sprinkled with ashes, to prevent her deceased husband from sharing the meal, in which case she would die. By way of further protection, on the charcoal fire that burns by night in the hut she strews a powder consisting of peppermint-leaves dried and rubbed down, mingled with red pepper. This produces a smoke such as the dead man is naturally averse to encountering. A man undergoes similar seclusion on the death of his wife, but only for seven or eight days. In Agué the widows are not let out of the dead-hut until after six months; and even then they must submit to tedious purification ceremonies before they are quite free (*Globus*, lxxii, 22, lxxxi, 190).

Among the Matsé tribe of Ewhe the mourning for the oldest man or woman in the family lasts from five to seven months, for others one to two months. The entire period does not last beyond a year, unless in case of mourning by a spouse who lived happily with the deceased, and who may choose to mourn for another year. For a widow the restrictions are very severe. She must sleep on the mat on which the deceased lay until his burial; she must remain in a dark part of the hut; instead of on a stool she must sit on a stone; the clothing must be made of similar stuff to that in which the corpse was buried; she may not put on any other clothes at midday or evening; she may greet nobody; she may talk with nobody; she may not walk through the main street of the village; if she has occasion to go to see any one she must steal round by a path on the outskirts of the village; she must stay in the hut, and is not allowed to leave it often; when she goes out she must put a maize-cob (?) between her toes; lastly, if she has things to sell she must not haggle over the price, for if the wares she has for sale remain on her hands it will be unlucky, and, when her mourning comes to an end and she wants to sell anything, nobody will buy. It is said that if a widow omits to observe all these customs strictly the mourning will stick to her and eat her up, with the consequence that she will go crazy and never cease chattering. A prospect so terrifying causes the tabu to be strictly observed (Spieth, 754).

We have referred in an earlier section (§ VI. g) to the restrictions on cultivation, hunting, and other kinds of labour.

In Europe, death tabu has been and still are practised. Among the ancient Romans the touching of the corpse entailed pollution, and the near relatives and the house itself were deemed impure, requiring ceremonies of purification. In the south of Italy in modern times the impurity is not such as to prevent friends from paying visits of condolence, which indeed they are required by etiquette to do. But they must be received by the mourners seated on the bare floor. No fire can be lighted in the house for several days; hence the mourners are dependent on their friends for food. A lamp, however, is kept alight in the death-chamber, probably for reasons already considered. The men do not shave their beards for a month (*Ramagge, Nooks and By-ways of Italy, Liverpool, 1863, p. 72*). In Malta no fire used to be lighted for three days; when dinner was kindly sent by some relative or friend, the mourners ate it sitting cross-legged on the floor; they were debarred from the ordinary use of the furniture. Women were secluded in the house for forty days, but men went out on the seventh day with their faces unshaven (*Busuttil, Holiday Customs in Malta, 181*). In ancient Athens all relatives who were reckoned within the *oikos* were affected by the defilement of carrying out a corpse and assisting at a funeral; and after the funeral the house could not be entered again by the dead naturally thus polluted, at any rate not by women (*Seebohm, Gr. Tribal Soc., Lond. 1895, p. 79*). Although this particular prohibition does not seem to be observed in Greece now, there are others pointing to the same region of ideas. After a death the house is kept unswep for three days, and it is imperative that the broom then used be burnt immediately. The men allow the beard to grow; and during mourning the sweetmeats usually brought in before the coffee to entertain visitors are omitted. In Maina the men scratch their faces with their nails, and the women cut off locks of hair to fling into the grave. In Northern Greece the women dress in white and keep the head uncovered, with the hair hanging down (*Rodd, 126*). In Bulgaria, on returning from the funeral and before the funeral meal is set, the chips caused in making the coffin are collected and burnt, in order to burn the sickness remaining in the house—a ceremony of purification. For forty days the men neither shave nor cut their hair; the women neither oil their hair nor dance the *Boro* for a year. Before the burial and the day after it no one in the house works, on peril of having chapped hands (*Strausz, 451, 452*). In various parts of Germany nothing must be lent or given out of the house before the funeral, and only the most necessary work

must be done. For some time after the funeral there must be no washing in the house, and the mourning clothes must not be changed on a Sunday (*Wuttke², 461, 467*). In the North Riding of Yorkshire the fire was put out at the moment of death and not lighted again until the body was carried forth. In Cleveland, however, this seems to have been disregarded in favour of the requirement to keep a fire lighted for purposes referred to above (§ X. 6) (*Gutch, FL Yorkshire, 1901, p. 800*).

2. *Garb*.—Everywhere mourning garb is an essential part of the observances. Primarily it seems intended to distinguish those who are under the tabu. For this reason it is usually the reverse of the garb of ordinary life. Peoples who wear their hair long cut or shave it; those who habitually cut or shave it allow it to grow. Those who paint omit the painting. Those who braid their hair unbind it and wear it loose. Those who wear clothing go naked, or wear scanty, coarse, or old worn-out clothes. Ornaments are laid aside or covered up. Those who habitually dress in gay clothing put on colourless—black or white—garments. Ainu mourners at a funeral wear their coats inside out or upside down (*Batchelor, 106*). Among the Bangala a man sometimes wears a woman's dress in token of sorrow (*JAI xxxix, 453*). Peoples who ordinarily cover their heads uncover them, and *vice versa*. Women, especially widows, cover themselves with a veil, and hide in the house—a practice pointing probably to the contagiousness of the tabu. But mourning garb is more than merely distinctive: it is, like other mourning rites, intended to express sympathy for the deceased and grief at his loss; it is intended to call forth pity, to avert the suspicion of foul play on the part of the mourner, and to deprecate the anger or ill-humour of the deceased at his separation. It has sometimes been suggested that there is a further motive, namely, the desire to escape by means of disguise the persecution of the deceased. A careful examination fails, however, to disclose sufficient evidence in favour of this interpretation. Protection is often held to be needed; but it usually takes a different form. The Charrua mourner is armed with a stick, the Ewhe widow with a club. And various other means are taken—fires or lights, incense and foul smells, exorcism—to drive off the ghost or to hold it at arm's length. In short, open war rather than guile is the favourite defence. But so protean are human motives that it is impossible to aver that in no case is disguise the intention.

3. *Duration*.—The death of a member of the community inflicts a wound not merely on the individual relatives and friends, but on the community as a whole. His place knows him no more; and time is required to fill the void thus created and to heal the wound. As we have seen, he is regarded as still in a sense living, and even active, though his activities are uncanny. They are at first likely to cause injury to the survivors, from his bewilderment and resentment at being cut off from the relations he has hitherto sustained with the society of which he has been part. The efforts of the survivors are, therefore, directed to soothing him, to guiding his footsteps to the permanent home of the dead, and smoothing his reception there. There he will find those who have gone before, he will be admitted to their society, the counterpart in the unseen world of the earthly community he has left. But the home of the dead and his place in it are not reached all at once. Until he is admitted, he is not at peace, and the survivors are subject to the risk of visits from him. Rather, he hangs about them, the contagion of death is upon them more or less heavily, according as they were more or less nearly connected with him in his lifetime, or according to the length of time that has elapsed since the death. The length of the period of tabu thus set up varies among different peoples. Our records

are very imperfect, and accurate statistics are not available. All that can here be done is to note a few examples showing how it is reckoned in some typical cases.

In the Babar Archipelago mourning lasts to the next new moon, and is brought to an end by bathing in the sea (Riedel, 363). Among the Lengua of Paraguay the relatives cut their hair, and the mourning lasts until it has grown again (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 76). Among the Musquies it lasts for thirty days. At the end of that time the mourners wash and paint themselves, relinquishing the old torn garments they have been wearing for whole ones, and a feast is set. The deceased is summoned, and a representative appears, who joins in the festivity. He is called the 'ghost-carrier.' When sunset is near he departs toward the west with an escort of young men. It is believed that he carries the ghost to the Happy Hunting Ground, and on his return he is called by the name of the dead man whom he has represented (Owen, *FL of Musquies Indians*, 80). In the New Hebrides the mourning lasts for 100 days (Codrington, 281). A year is supposed to be the period of mourning among the Agni of Baoulé on the Ivory Coast; but very often it is reduced to 6 or even 3 months, except for the widows, who must always mourn the full year. Although funeral ceremonies are proceeding during this period, the actual burial may be postponed for years (Clozel and Villamur, 116). In Korea the length of mourning depends on the degree of kinship. For father, mother, husband, adoptive parents, or first-born son, it is 27 months, though nominally 3 years; for relatives under 19 years of age it may be as little as 3 months (*JAI* xxv. 342). Among the Ewhe the survivors mourn in the hut for eight months. A feast is then held, the remains of the food when it is finished are thrown away, and the mourning is over: 'they say they have to-day sent the dead to his brethren—those who have gone before' (Spieth, 258). Among the Dayaks all the kindred are 'unclean' for a short period, from 3 to 7 days; they can pay no visits, and are restricted in diet, and so forth. The house also is 'unclean.' Then fowls are slaughtered, the mourners and the entrances of the house are daubed with the blood, and so purified. But for the immediate relatives—husband, wife, and children—the tabu lasts much longer; nor are they released until they have held the *tiwah*, or final feast of the dead, which gives the soul of the deceased admittance into the city of the dead, and is a costly solemnity to be provided for out of his estate. During that period they must wear mourning garb, and neither widow nor widower can marry again; hence the *tiwah* is held as quickly as possible (*Int. Arch.* ii. 182). The Warramunga mourn until the body has decayed away, and left nothing but bones—a process extending over a year, or even two years. The bones are then taken down from their temporary resting-place in a tree and, with one exception, put into an ant-hill as a permanent burial-place. The one exception is the radius of one of the arms. It is brought to the camp, where wailing and gashing of the limbs are repeated. After certain ceremonies the bone is solemnly smashed and the fragments buried and covered with a stone. As soon as this has been done, the spirit of the dead goes back to the camp of ancestral spirits of its totem, and there awaits its turn for re-incarnation. The mourning is over (Spencer-Gillen^b, 530 ff.). Among the Dieri, who hold that the deceased haunts the grave, when his footsteps are no longer to be traced the surviving spouse washes away the ochre from his or her countenance, smears it with a fresh mixture of ochre and fat, and is free to marry again (*Globus*, xevii. [1910] 57).

4. *No mourning.*—Attention has been drawn to the common rule that the mourning tabus weigh more heavily on the women than on the men. The necessity of the labour and vigilance demanded from the latter for the provision of food, and for protection from wild animals and human foes, may probably form at least an excuse for their comparative exemption. Instances of total exemption are not quite unknown. In ancient Greece it is said the men of Keos wore no mourning garb (Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 257 n.); and the same statement is made of the inhabitants of some of the Moluccas (Riedel, 395). Where there are no outward signs there is probably (not certainly) no tabu. In the district of Kita (French Sudan), however, we are told, mourning is almost unknown for either sex. When a married woman dies, her sister is offered to the widower, even before the funeral is over; and the widower often marries again in eight days, though some wait longer—a month or two months; while others take a concubine at once. If a man dies, his widow may marry as soon as she likes, unless she is pregnant, when she must wait until the child is born (Steinmetz, 156). In Seguela, on the Ivory Coast, the burial and funeral dance take place the same day, and there is an end of the matter: mourn-

ing is quite unknown (Clozel and Villamur, 337). Among the Meo of Northern Tongking the funeral rites last for three days, during which the only sign of mourning is that the hair is untied and allowed to hang down upon the shoulders. There are no other mourning customs and apparently no tabus. For a day or two some food is laid on the grave for the deceased, and then he is forgotten (Lunet, 318).

XVIII. Purification of house and village.—In spite of the elaborate precautions to prevent the dead man from returning (§§ IX. 5; XI., XII.), he is often thought to be present in the dwelling after the actual disposal of the corpse (§ XIII.). Accordingly, either after the body has been removed or at the completion of the ceremonies (which may be long subsequent), measures must be taken to purify the place and remove the tabu. This is accomplished by driving away the ghost.

At the last of the funeral feasts of the Tarahumares the deceased, as we have seen, is driven away. Three feasts are required to get rid of a man, but four to get rid of a woman, because she cannot run so fast, and it is therefore harder to chase her off (Lumboltz, i. 387). Noise is a potent means of driving away ghosts, and indeed all inconvenient and hostile spirits. For, though often dangerous, they are all fortunately not only easily deceived, but possessed of very weak nerves. In these ceremonies there is often no clear distinction drawn between the different kinds of spirits, all alike being liable to be bluffed and tricked and frightened by the same means. It is impossible to say whether the guns universally fired in West Africa at Negro funerals are directed against the ghost or against other spirits. In South America the Macusi fire before the hut in which the corpse is lying, to scare off both the ghost and the evil spirit that has caused the death (*Int. Arch.* xiii., Suppl. 88). Drums, trumpets, musical instruments of all kinds, shouts, and yells are all very commonly employed. Among the ancient Greeks, brass was beaten to drive away spirits (Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 77). In the Tyrol an approved method to banish a ghost is for the householder to collect his keys and jingle them. He can thus drive the ghost to the boundary of his property. Over the boundary, however, he must not step on peril of being torn to pieces (Zingerle, 57). Many of the funeral dances, as already mentioned, have the same intent.

In various parts of Europe, especially among Slav populations, the house is solemnly swept out after the funeral. Among the Dayaks, after the *tiwah*, or final feast of the dead, the priests take a besom made of the leaves of certain plants, moisten it with blood and rice-water, and asperse all who have taken part in the feast and everything in the house, 'to sweep away the pollution.' The priests then start in procession for the river. As they set out, the others beat the walls and floor, and the priests invite all causes of ill-luck to mount on them; they pretend to totter beneath the weight; and arrived at the river they load little floats with the misfortunes thus cleared out, and send them to the great black ship in the middle of the sea, where the king of the small-pox dwells (*Int. Arch.* ii. 201). When a death among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia took place in a winter house, it was purified with water in which tobacco and juniper had been soaked, fresh fir-boughs were spread on the floor every morning, and tobacco and juniper placed in various parts of the house. But, if more than one death took place in the house, or if a death took place in a summer house, then the house was burnt (*Jeune Exped.* i. 331). The ancient Greeks employed black hellebore in the purification of their houses and flocks (Rohde, ii. 73). An 'evil death' requires special ceremonies of purification, as among the Ewhe, where the whole village is defiled by a suicide, and the kindred are called upon to pay special compensation for the defilement and the risk of drought (Spieth, 274, 276; see § VII. 2 (c)).

XIX. Destruction or abandonment of house and property.—The purification of house and village presupposes a settled life and a certain advance in civilization. At a lower stratum of culture, where the huts are of little value and easily erected, or where economic, defensive, or sentimental reasons have not as yet rooted the population to one spot,

the house is destroyed or abandoned, or the whole settlement may be quitted and a new site chosen. In many of such cases, it may be noted, the deceased is either buried beneath the hut, or left unburied within it.

The Australian natives commonly remove the camp when a death occurs. Among the Bantu it is usual only to burn or pull down the hut of an ordinary person; but if a chief dies the entire kraal is quitted, at all events for a time; among some tribes it is burnt down. The reason given by the Ngoni for abandoning the house is not that the ghost of the deceased always lives there, but that it may return to its former haunts (Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni*, Edinb. and Lond. 1899, p. 71). The coast is therefore left clear for it. Similar customs are reported of various tribes of Negroes, North and South American Indians, the Andaman Islanders, the Karens, the Yakuts, the Kamtchadales, of many of the peoples inhabiting the great Eastern Archipelago and the Melanesian Islands, the Central Eskimo, and others. The Ainu assert that it was customary when the oldest woman of a family died to burn down the hut, because they feared the ghost would return malignant and bring evil upon them. She is now given a tiny hut to herself, and when she dies it is burnt (Batchelor, 190). In earlier times at the death of a Japanese sovereign the capital was removed to a fresh site (Aston, *Shinto*, 1905, p. 252).

A relic of the custom of destroying the house is found in some of the Nicobar Islands, where the supporting post is cut through, or so severely notched that it requires renewal (*Ind. Cens. Rep.*, 1901, iii, 209). The Chereemis, more economical still, when the coffin is placed on the cart, pray the dead man not to take away his house, but to leave it to his heirs (Smirnov, I, 137). A relic of the abandonment of the house may perhaps be found in the modern Roman custom by which 'the family, if they can find refuge anywhere else, abandon the house and remain away a week' (Hare and Baddeley, *Walks in Rome*, 1909, p. 433, quoting Story).

At an early stage of culture all the property of the deceased was buried with him or destroyed at his death. Either the custom or relics of it are reported from every quarter of the globe. Its object seems to have been not merely to give the property over to the deceased, that he might enter the spirit-world with all his earthly possessions and state, but to prevent his haunting them to the discomfort of the survivors. Originally, no doubt, it was to get rid of the death-pollution, for the practice often extends beyond his property to all objects associated with him. On the Melanesian island of Bougainville a man's work and its produce are regarded as the supreme manifestations of his personality, inseparably linked with their author (*ZVRW* xxiii, [1910] 351). Doubtless the same view was taken elsewhere; and it accounts for the destruction of his crops and fruit-trees so constantly reported from the East Indies and Melanesia. Naturally his garments and bedding, where such things are in use, are impregnated with his personality, are indeed a part of himself. The superstitions connected with witchcraft afford abundant evidence of this.

In Europe the Votiks throw away in the forest or into a lake all the clothing of the deceased (*RTF* xiii, [1898] 254). In Worcestershire it is ominously said: 'The clothes of the dead will not wear long' (*FL* xx, [1909] 346). In Lincolnshire it is believed that, even though they be put away, they will rot as the body decays in the grave (*Antiquary*, xxxi, [1895] 332). In the French Department of Ille-et-Vilaine it is believed that everything belonging to the departed will soon disappear: his clothes, despite all that can be done to preserve them, will be promptly eaten by maggots; his cattle will die by accident or disease, if not sold to the butcher (Orain, i, 299). From the Hebrides to the Caucasus the bed on which death took place is burnt or thrown away (see § IV, 3).

A custom so hostile to the growth of civilization and to the individual greed of survivors could not maintain its ground. Hence all sorts of compromises to satisfy the consciences, the fears, the affection, and the avarice of the survivors.

Among the Hareskins of North America part of the clothing is distributed among the relations, part interred with the body, and the rest tabued and burnt, or thrown into the water or to the winds (Petitot, 272). In some of the villages of Serang a part of the sago-plantation of the deceased is destroyed; in others a tabu is merely laid upon it, redeemable by a third person on payment of a large gong, a sarong, and ten dishes. He thus appropriates it, and afterwards gives it back to the blood-relations (Riedel, 142, 143). In others of the Moluccas the dead man is allotted a share of the trees of various kinds in his plantation, and these are cut down; the rest remain to the survivors (*ib.* 380, 394). A similar practice prevails on the Tami

Islands. There the canoes are too valuable to be destroyed; accordingly a few chips are cut off them, and a figure-head detached (*ZVRW* xiv, [1900] 337). The same principle is applied in Malta, where the hair is cut off the tail of every horse in the stable. The hired mourners cut away branches of such vines as form arbours in the courts, disturb the furniture in the house, overturn the flower-pots in the windows, break some of the ornamental furniture, and, carrying the fragments to a retired spot, throw them into a cauldron of boiling water, in which they mix soot and ashes, afterwards staining all the doors in the house with the liquid (Busuttil, 130, 128). Among the Kirghiz no one will mount the steed of a dead man without first reversing the saddle, with the object, no doubt, of unhorsing his former owner (*ZVY* xii, [1902] 16). The Sioux used to gamble away the effects of the dead in a ceremony called the 'ghost-gamble,' in which the dead man himself was conceived to take part (*IRBEW* 195); or his effects were given away among those who took part in the funeral rites, even though the family might be left destitute; and one or more of his horses was shot and placed under the burial-scaffold (*ib.* 159, 164). The Nicobarese, before appropriating anything belonging to one who has died, require it to be purified by the conjurations of a *minloen* (priest or sorcerer) (Featherman, *Races of Mankind*, II, [1887] 250).

Many peoples, however, consider it sufficient to delay the appropriation and division of the goods for such a period as is requisite to elapse before the departed attains his final destination in the land of the dead—a period often coinciding with the completion of the mourning rites. During this time the property, like the widows, remains under tabu.

In New Georgia the final rites are performed and the bones disposed of at the end of 100 days. Not until then can the property be touched (*JAI* xxvi, 408). Among various Bantu tribes nothing is touched until the mourning is at an end. Among the Minangkabau Malays of the Padang Highlands in Sumatra, where the husband goes to reside with his wife in her village, his goods are divided the day after his burial, because his soul at once goes back to his own family village. When the wife dies, on the other hand, the husband has the right to remain in the house for 100 days. During that time the marriage-bond is deemed not to be entirely sundered, and he has common use with his wife of her property. On the 100th day she departs for good to the land of souls. The property can then be disposed of (*Bijdragen*, xxxix, [1890] 71). The Thompson Indians of British Columbia placed a portion of the property of the deceased in or near his grave. Such as was not so given up to him was divided among his relatives. But no one could with impunity take possession of his bow and arrows, leggings, or moccasins; nor was it safe for any one who had not a strong guardian-spirit to smoke his pipe. Clothing taken was washed or put for some time in running water, and afterwards hung out for several days; while the traps and snares of the deceased were hung up in a tree a considerable distance from human habitation or graveyard, for a long time before being used (*Jesup Exped.* I, 331). In Europe, among the Sorbs of the Spree Valley deep mourning lasts for four weeks. The inheritance remains untouched until it comes to an end; though the nearest relations are mourned for a year (Tetzner, 325).

XX. Tabu of name.—Many peoples avoid mentioning the dead by name, or even prohibit it. In some cases the intention seems to be to forget the deceased. This is expressly stated of the Arawak, Salivas, and other South American tribes. But the intention to forget probably arises from fear.

The Insular Caribs feared the souls of their forefathers as evil spirits, and never named them. The Guaycurús and Lenguas not only never mentioned the name of the deceased, but on the occasion of a death the survivors changed their own names so as to baffle the dead man (or death, or the evil spirit which had caused the death) when he came again to find them. Among the Guaycurús, if the name of the dead was mentioned in the family but the penalty was death, or at least a heavy fine (*Int. Arch.* xiii, Suppl. 99). The Yabim of New Guinea avoid mentioning the names of the dead, lest their ghosts may be disturbed at their occupation in the forest of eating otherwise uneatable fruits, and their anger be thus incurred (*ZVRW* xiv, 336). Among the Lilloet the name of a dead person must not be uttered for a year or more, 'not so much out of regard to the feelings of the surviving relatives, as on account of the mystic connection which is supposed to exist between names and their owners. To utter or use the name of a dead person is to affect and disturb his ghost or spirit, and draw it back to its earthly haunts. This is inimical both to the ghost itself and to the person using the name, and thus attracting the ghostly influence.' But time removes the danger (*JAI* xxxv, 138).

It should be observed, however, that this widely spread tabu is not inconsistent with the cult of the dead. On the islands of Nossi-Bé and Mayotte near Madagascar a king at his death becomes sacred; he is believed to have taken his place among the gods; yet no one in the district dares henceforth to utter his name (Steinmetz, 383). So

among many Bantu tribes, where ancestor-worship is the religion, the name of the dead and all similar sounds are tabued—a custom that frequently leads to considerable, though usually not permanent, changes in the vocabulary. This extension of the rule of avoidance is not confined to the Bantu: it is found in other parts of the world.

The tabu of the name of the dead is very well known, and need not be further illustrated here. If widely spread, it is not universal. Among the ancient Egyptians the opposite rule prevailed. The great desire of an Egyptian was to continue his ghostly existence. To be remembered by the living was one means to this. Accordingly the statue of a high official under Psammetichus I., in the Museum at Berlin, bears the following remarkable sentences in the course of its inscription: 'May the gods of this temple recompense you if you pronounce my name! He whose name is pronounced lives; and if another see that you act thus towards me, he will do the same for you' (*RHR* lix. [1909] 185). There is in the contemplation of many peoples more than a mystical connexion between the name and its owner; the name is part of its owner, and while it lives the owner too survives.

XXI. Second funeral. Ossuaries.—Among a very large number of peoples who practise earth-burial in one form or another, the ceremonies are not completed until the bones have been taken up, cleaned, and put into a place of final deposit. In many of the cases of sub-aerial deposit, also, the bones are collected at the end of a certain period and put into the tribal or local ossuary. Until this rite has been performed, the dead man is not at rest, and in many cases the mourning is not at an end.

1. Decay or destruction of the flesh.—Not merely is the journey of the soul often long and difficult: it is bound to the body until the process of decay is complete. Indeed, so refined a conception as that of the soul immaterial and independent of the body is beyond the imagination of the lower culture.

A Wonkatjerri man told a missionary in South Australia that in the grave the flesh separates from the bones; the bones that remain are the *kutchi*, the ghost; while the flesh goes as *mingara*, the soul, to heaven, where it reveals itself as still living, by thunder and lightning (*Globus*, xvii. 56). So at the other end of the world the Hurons called the bones of the dead *atsiken* (souls), believing 'that we have two souls, both divisible and material, and yet both rational; one leaves the body at death, but remains, however, in the cemetery until the feast of the dead [see below], after which either it is changed into a turtle-dove, or, according to the more general belief, it goes immediately to the village of souls. The other soul is attached to the body; it marks the corpse, as it were, and remains in the grave after the feast, never to leave it unless it be born again.' 'This is why they call the bones of the dead *atsiken*. "the souls"' (*S RBEW* 114, translating *Jesuit Rel.* 1636). The Toradjas of Celebes hold that the soul cannot enter the village of the dead so long as the body stinks, that is, until the soft parts have perished. 'So long as the soul [*sic*] stinks it is still a human being (*Mensch*), and the dwellers in the land of souls will not admit it into their territory' (Kruif, 328). The Caribs likewise were persuaded that the dead did not go to the land of souls so long as the flesh remained. Rites performed by the Betaleo of Madagascar are intended to facilitate putrefaction and the transformation or re-incarnation of the dead in a snake called the *fanany*, supposed to issue from the decaying corpse (van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, 1909, p. 213, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar*, 1904, p. 277). In the Aaru Archipelago all the possessions of the deceased are collected on his grave, and his relatives must lay food there every day, until all the flesh has rotted away from his bones and they can be ceremonially transferred to the family burial-place. The transfer is preceded by a feast, and the ceremony already referred to which gives formal authority to the widow to marry again (Riedel, 187, 288). It is obvious that, until the flesh has perished, the soul is still within reach; it has not yet entered its final home; it clings to its property and must be duly fed like a living man. So, too, the Greek Church in its burial service prays that the body may 'be dissolved into its component elements.' Three years after burial the body is disinterred, and, if found thoroughly decomposed so that the bones can be removed to the ossuary, it is looked upon by the people as a certain proof that the soul of the dead is at rest. Partial or total absence of decomposition indicates, on the other hand, the sinfulness and sad plight of

the departed. A common curse accordingly is 'May the earth not consume your body!' (Abbott, *Maced. Folk.*, 210; Rodd, 127). This is in curious contrast to the belief in the Western Church, as well as among the Chinese and other nations of the East, that total absence of decomposition is an infallible mark of saintship. Such contrasts are, however, by no means uncommon in all kinds of superstition.

The process of decomposition is, therefore, frequently assisted by artificial means. Some examples of this have already been incidentally given (§ VI. 6). Thus the deceased is the more speedily dismissed to his final destination, alike to his comfort and that of the survivors. A different motive, however, sometimes underlies the practice. In the Solomon Islands the souls of chiefs and others who are held to have *saka* (to be hot with spiritual power) become ghosts of power. At Saa, on the island of Malanta, common people are buried in a common burial-place, and their flesh is allowed to decay in a natural way. But it is believed that even a ghost of power is weak so long as the corpse continues to smell. Hence water used to be, and still is in some places, poured over it to hasten decay. Exposure, sinking in the sea, and cremation—all of them occasionally practised—probably owe their use to the same motive. For, by taking the skull, hair, or nails of the corpse, the wonder-working power—what elsewhere is called the *mana*—of the ghost is then secured for the benefit of the survivors (Coddington, 260 ff.).

Nor is it only by such indirect means that the final ceremony is accelerated. Some of the South American tribes wait no more than ten to fourteen days. After the lapse of that time they disinter the body, strip the flesh from the bones, and after an elaborate ceremony re-bury the latter (von den Steinen, 458, 505; *JALFL* xv. [1902] 290). The Choctaws were said to have 'a set of venerable old gentlemen, with very long nails, whose business it was to tear the flesh off the bones and burn it with the entrails preparatory to the final deposit of the bones in the bone-house' (*RBEW* 168, 169). So in South Teteon, on the island of Timor, a few days after the death of a king the bones are separated from the flesh and other soft parts of the body; and not until nothing but the skeleton remains does the wailing begin, 'for it is only then that the dead is dead indeed.' The skeleton is accorded a funeral suitable to the rank of the deceased; the flesh is simply thrust into a hole (Kruif, 580).

Where the decay of the flesh is left to natural means, the length of delay before the bones are finally disposed of differs very widely among different peoples in different climates.

The Kukis of Manipur are satisfied with the decomposition of 'a month or so': they wrap what remains in a new cloth and bury it (*JALFL* xxii. 305). 'Fifty or a hundred days' suffice in the Banks Islands (Coddington, 287). Few tribes elsewhere exhumate their friends in less than a year. Many wait two years or more. The Chinese of Tongking after three years take the bones from the coffin, enclose them in jars, and re-bury them in the grave, over which a small mausoleum is erected, or in columbaria on the hillsides (Lunet, 90). There is some evidence that a similar custom was formerly followed in China itself (de Groot, iii. 1070). Among the Bulgarians the parents of a dead child after three—in some districts, after as long as nine—years dig up the bones, wash them with wine, and let them lie for a whole year in the church before they are again buried (Strausz, 458). Throughout Europe it was customary during the Middle Ages and later to dig up the bones after a certain period and place them in a charnel-house. This custom is usually ascribed to want of room in the churchyard. The explanation is hardly sufficient: the origin of the custom is more likely due to causes considered here.

2. Feast of the Dead.—The tendency to postpone the final ceremony, where it involves exhumation or the collection of exposed bones or of ashes, is accentuated among small but closely organized communities by making a common ceremony, often called the Feast of the Dead, for a number of the departed. Even among the Bororo of Brazil, where the exhumation is so speedy, the relics of one person cannot be disposed of alone: one dead man must wait for a second, and the two leave the village in company (von den Steinen, 510). In these cases there is usually a common grave or place of deposit. The stock example is that of the Hurons, who every twelve years used to dig up the bones of those who had died since the last Feast of the Dead. The bones were first of all cleaned. If corruption had not finished its work, all the remaining flesh was stripped off and burned, unless the body was so newly buried as to be practically whole. The bones were then wrapped in sacks or blankets, covered with rich robes of beaver-skin, taken severally into the cabins, and mourned over. They were afterwards brought together, and a feast was held in their presence, with funeral games. On a subsequent day they were taken to a large pit, where they were all buried together, with much

ceremony and the distribution of gifts (5 *RBEW* 112). We need not determine whether these rites are more elaborate than those of other nations, or whether they are only more vividly described. It is certain that similar rites take place elsewhere. The Khasis, who burn their dead, deposit the ashes in small cairns. Thence they remove them to larger bone repositories, of which one belongs to every branch of a clan. The contents of these repositories are periodically, after the settlement of all outstanding disputes between the members of the clan, removed, with sacrifices, dancing, and other rites, to the common sepulchre of the clan, a massive stone building, where the remains of all the departed members of the clan eventually rest (Gurdon, 140). Corresponding ceremonies are observed elsewhere in India, and are common in the East Indian islands. They economize the energies of the survivors, and concentrate them on one occasion; but their chief value is to bring home to the members of the clan or community their common life, with its common sorrows and joys—in a word, their unity among themselves and with their dead.

3. *Destination of the remains.*—The final destination of the remains, like the preliminary disposal, is by no means the same everywhere. This will have been inferred from the examples just cited.

Various Australian tribes, after carrying the bodies or the bones about with them for a time, either bury or deposit them in the branches of trees (Howitt, 467, 470, 471). The Choctaws of Carolina had a common bone-house (1 *RBEW* 169), which doubtless was regarded as a sacred building. The name of temple is expressly given by older writers to the repositories of the dead Indians of Louisiana and Virginia, where religious rites were constantly performed, at all events to departed chiefs (1 *RBEW* 124). Of the natives of Sofala, in S.E. Africa, it was reported by the old Portuguese writer, João de Barros: 'After the flesh of the body is consumed they take the bones of their ancestors or descendants, or of the wife who bore many children, and keep them, with signs to denote whom they belonged to, and every seven days in the place where they keep these bones, as in a garden, they spread cloths and lay a table with bread and boiled meat, as if they were offering food to the dead, to whom they pray,' afterwards eating the food thus offered (*Rec. S.E. Afr.* vi. [1900] 113, 269). The Caribbuns hung the cleaned bones in a basket from the rafters of their dwellings (Boyle, *Archæol. Rep.*, 1903, 142); and in the Banks Islands, while the bones of a favourite son were hidden in the bush, some of them would be hung up in the house (Coddington, 267). Among the Andaman Islanders the relatives weep over the bones, each of them taking a bone, and the nearest relative taking the skull and lower jaw, and carrying them about for months suspended from the neck. Sometimes the bones are bound to posts of the hut (*Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, new ser., ii. [1898] 37).

4. *Object of the practices.*—The rite of exhuming or collecting the bones and making a permanent disposition of them is thus generally connected with, or has for its object, the definitive severance of the dead from the society of the living, and their union with the fathers in the life beyond. The ceremonies for this purpose, however, are not always concerned with the bodily remains.

On the Timorlaut and Tanembar Islands, ten days after the burial of a warrior who has fallen in battle, the people of the village assemble on the shore, the men armed and the women in festival array. An old woman calls back the soul with wailing. A bamboo with all its leaves is then erected in the ground, a loin-girdle on the top. This bamboo is regarded as a ladder, up which the soul climbs to its destination. The *sermitu* (a sort of priest or shaman) pronounces a eulogy on the deceased, punctuated by the applause of the audience. When from the movement of the bamboo it is judged that the soul has climbed to the top, the bamboo is severed in two and the loin-girdle burnt, to prevent the soul from subsequently wandering about or causing mischief. A dish containing rice and an egg, previously provided for the ceremony, is also broken to pieces. Appeased in this way, the soul betakes itself to the little island of Nusniti, off the north-west coast of Seelu, one of the islands of the group which is believed to be the dwelling-place of souls. The bones, it would seem, are disposed of at a later time (Riedel, 307). The Chechenes of the Caucasus hold what is called a Bed-memorial-feast a short time after the funeral. It is believed that the deceased has then reached the other world, but lies in bed there and cannot rise until this feast has been celebrated. It is therefore held as soon as possible and consists of funeral games—chiefly shooting and horse-racing—followed by eating and drinking. The honour done to the deceased is measured by the drunkenness. Before it is over the four best horses which have taken part are consecrated—the horse which has won the first

prize to the deceased in whose honour the feast is held, and the others to three of his ancestors by name. This consecration does not involve the entire loss of the animals by their owners, but only permission to the dead to whom they are consecrated 'to ride them whither they will.' The final or great memorial-feast is, however, not held for two years, when it is given by the widow. She then lays aside her mourning, and may marry the brother or some other relative of the deceased (*Anthropos*, iii. 786).

As to the races and other contests at the Bed-memorial-feast, see § XVI. They are expressly intended to affect the condition of the deceased in the other world. Pre-historic remains in various parts of both the Old World and the New point to the great antiquity of practices of exhumation and re-burial of the bones comparable with those discussed above.

5. *Disposal of the skull.*—Among the practices which we have just considered, special mention has several times been made of the skull of the deceased. The skull is sometimes worn or carried about for a time, most frequently that of a man by his widow. In such a case it is perhaps merely a dear memorial of the deceased, or at most an amulet. Thus in the Andaman Islands, where the bones are broken up and made into ornaments, and the skull is 'worn down the back tied round the neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower, or nearest relative,' not only is great importance attached to them as mementoes, but 'they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part' (*Ind. Cens. Rep.*, 1901, iii. 65). But amulets are on their way to become objects of cult. Accordingly, wherever we find bones, especially skulls, preserved in the house or in a special shrine, whether common or not to other similar relics of the family, or clan, or even of a larger community, we may suspect a more or less developed cult, though it may not be expressly recorded by our authorities. In many instances, however, this cult is recorded.

Folk-tales of the western islands of Torres Straits, in accord with the practices which obtain in those islands, describe the hero picking scented leaves, with some of which he rubs the skulls of his father and mother, and on others of which he beds them. They describe his telling the skulls his adventures, and inquiring as to the future. They tell the responses made to him by the skulls in his sleep, and the success which attended his following their directions and observing their warnings (*Torres Str. Rep.* v. 41 ff., 47; cf. 260, 261, 267, 268, 269, 282). In the Solomon Islands the skull is regarded as hot with spiritual power, and by its means the help of the ghost can be obtained. At Santa Cruz it is kept in the house in a chest, and food is set before it, for 'this is the man himself' (Coddington, 262, 264). Similarly, a Fan chief in West Africa keeps in a chest the heads of his ancestors, and invokes its contents on the eve of great events, such as war or the chase (Roche, *Au Pays des Pahouins*, 1904, p. 91).

It is this belief in the spiritual power associated with the head even of an enemy that forms the foundation of the practice, common in the East Indies, of head-hunting. The head is not a mere trophy; 'it is an object of heart-felt veneration, an earnest of blessing to the whole community.' 'Those who were once our enemies hereby become our guardians, our friends, our benefactors' (Furness, *op. cit.* 66, 59). They are addressed, soothed, and propitiated on all proper occasions; and it is to them that the happy owner ascribes his plentiful harvests, and his immunity from sickness and pain.

XXII. *Effigies of the deceased.*—Many peoples complete their funeral ceremonies by the erection of an effigy of the dead. Thus the Kāfirs of the Hindu Kush, one year after the death of an adult, set up a coarsely carved wooden statue, and inaugurate it with a feast (Robertson, p. 645). The Thompson Indians of British Columbia erect on the grave a wooden figure, carved and painted as nearly as possible in the likeness of the deceased—a practice of considerable antiquity, since posts carved with human faces are found on ancient graves, the ownership of which has passed out of memory (*Jesup Exped.* i. 329, 335, 405). In such cases the

effigies are, so far as our reports go, simple memorials. In other cases they seem to be something more than that.

'When a respected Ostiak dies, his nearest relations make a figure of him, which is kept in the tent of the deceased, and enjoys the same honour as himself when alive. At every meal the figure is brought in; every evening it is undressed and put to bed; every morning it is dressed and set in the usual seat of the deceased. The figure is honoured in this way for three or four years and then thrown into the grave' (Abercromby, *Finns*, Lond. 1898, I. 169). An Ojibwa widow ties up a bundle of clothes in the form of an infant; she lies with it and carries it about for twelve months, 'as a memorial of her departed husband.' Then she discards it with her mourning, and is free to marry again (Jones, *Ojeb. Ind.* p. 101). Among the Maidu in California a periodical burning of gifts in honour of the dead of the tribe or village takes place. On the first such occasion after the death of a person an image representing him is often made of skins, stuffed, and burnt, along with the gifts (*Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xvii. [1902] 36). In a certain Turkish tribe a wooden image of every dead man is laid in his grave (*ARW* v. 31). How far effigies like these may be identified with the departed may be questioned. In any case, they are only of temporary use, or entitled to respect for a very limited period. Elsewhere, however, images are expressly made as an embodiment for the spirit. Among the Bantu people of Bondel, on the east coast of Africa, when the head of a house dies he is washed and shaved by his maternal uncle. His hair, finger-nails, and toe-nails are taken and incorporated in an earthen image, which thereupon becomes a *minimu*, the object of religious rites paid to the dead (*JAI* xxv. 236). On the islands of Leti, Moa, and Lakor, in the Moluccas, there are men who carve statues of a special sort of wood for funeral purposes. On the fifth day after burial one of these statues is procured, and the soul of the deceased is, by means of an offering of food, enticed into it for a temporary sojourn. It is implored to eat and drink, and to watch over the survivors that no sickness may befall them. A general feast of the family follows (Riedel, 395). Among the Lolo of Northern Tongking, with a stalk of a kind of orchid and some wisps of paper a figure of the deceased, about 10 centimetres high, is made. It is placed in the house between the wall and the roof, or fastened to one of the partition-walls, and serves the purpose of an ancestral tablet, such as the Chinese dedicate (Lunet, 331). Examples might be multiplied, for the practice is wide-spread. But at this point funeral ceremonies merge into cult of the dead (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP).

LITERATURE.—On death and death rites in general, see E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1871 (41903), vol. i. ch. xi., vol. ii. ch. xii.; J. G. Frazer, 'On certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul,' in *JAI* xv. [1886] 64-104; R. Hertz, 'Contribution à une étude sur la représentation collective de la mort,' in *ASoc* x. [1905-6] 48-137; A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909, ch. viii.; E. S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. (London, 1895) ch. xiii. The death rites of a particular people and its ideas on the subject of death must ordinarily be studied in the ethnographical accounts of that people. Many have been cited in the foregoing article. Detailed studies relating to special areas have been made by Theodor Koch, 'Zur Animismus der südamerikanischen Indianer,' forming the Supplement to *Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie*, xii. [1900], and William Crooke, 'Death Rites among the Dravidian and other Non-Aryan Tribes of India,' in *Anthropos*, iv. [1909]. See also the following series of articles.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Babylonian).—In common with other Semitic races, the Babylonians regarded the present life as incomparably superior to that beyond the grave. It is not likely that the Sumerians, whose religion forms the principal element in the religious ideas of the Babylonians, differed from this pessimistic view of death so universal in antiquity. For the Sumerian period we have no direct statement concerning the life beyond the grave; but the evidence concerning their burial customs, their sacrifices to the dead, their communion meals with the souls of the dead, etc., is abundant. The word employed by them for the soul is *zid*, lit. 'the rush of wind,' and is translated into Bab. by *napištu*, 'breath,' which may also mean 'throat and organs of respiration.' The dread of death is revealed in the expressions for dying. In Sumerian the word is *dig*, lit. 'to seize away.' The early Bab. expression is, 'his god has gathered him' (*ilu-su itter-su*), as yet found only for women in the phrase, 'when her god gathers her' (see *Cuneiform Texts of the Br. Mus.*¹, ii. 24, 27; viii. 5a, 17; 12c, 18; 17c, 18; Meissner, *Assyr. Stud.* iii. [Berlin, 1905] 53; Schorr, *Altbab. Rechtsurkunden*, i. [Vienna, 1907]

¹ Hereafter cited as C.T.

85, who compares Gn 25⁶), or 'she has gone to her fate' (*ana šināti-sa illiku* [C.T. vi. 47b, 13 f.]; *ana šimtim ittalak* [Code of Hammurabi, viii. 5 f. and *passim*]), or 'fate has carried him away' (*šimtu ubbil-šu*). Ashurbanipal, describing the death of Tarḫū, says that 'the fate of his night came upon him.'

The life of man is fleeting and determined by the decrees of the gods of the lower world, says the poet:

'Build we an house for ever? seal we (our tablets) for ever?
Do brothers divide their inheritance for ever?
Shall hatred exist in the land for ever?
Doth the river rise bringing floods for ever?

He that sleepeth, he that dieth when together (they lie),
In death they preserve not their (solid) form.
When the *gallū*¹ and the guardsman have greeted them,
The Anunnaki, the great gods, assemble.
Mammit, fashioner of destiny, with them fixes destiny.
Death and life they arrange.

But of death the day they make not known.'²

Thus man, whose destiny at birth had already been fixed by Mammit, identical with Bau, goddess of childbirth, must pass a second ordeal before the same goddess and the judges of Arallū.³

After mortal dissolution the soul descended to Arallū, 'the desolate land,' to pass at best a dreary existence, in the dust and shadows of Hades. The body, in which the departed soul had still a lively interest, was either buried or burned, and the kinsmen supplied it with food, drink, clothing, and the implements which characterized the occupation of the person on earth. Cremation and body-burial existed side by side from the earliest times. In cases of cremation, the ashes were gathered carefully in an urn, in which jars of drink (beer in the early period, water in the later), bread, etc., were placed, to provide for the immediate needs of the soul. At Nippur funeral-urns of this kind were found in the court of the stage-tower in the earliest period (before 3000 B.C.). Two vast fire-necropolises have been partly excavated near Lagash, at modern Surghul and el-Hibba. Here the bodies were placed in narrow clay casings upon a brick platform, wrapped with inflammable material and covered with soft clay. The body was reduced to ashes by burning wood over the clay casing. After the fire was extinguished, a small hole was opened in the clay casing, which was now baked and quite imperishable, and the results of the cremation were examined. In cases where the heat reduced the body to ashes, these were removed, placed in an urn, and buried in the family plot. If, however, the heat did not reduce the body to ashes, the clay casing became the tomb and was left *in situ*. The more important families owned vaults, or rather narrow brick rooms, in which the urns of the family were placed, the pavement being drained by tile sewers descending to the water level. [These sewers were wrongly taken for wells by certain archaeologists.]

Cremation appears to have been the rule in certain parts of ancient Sumer and Akkad, as in the region south of Lagash; but in other parts interment in coffins and vaults is more frequent. In the case of those burials in which bodies were committed directly to the earth (as represented on the Vulture Stele, c. 3200 B.C., where soldiers are buried in a huge pile, being covered with earth simply), every vestige has long since disappeared. Preservation of the body seems to have been a sentimental rather than an essential matter; never-

¹ A conductor of the shades to the lower world (cf. Craig, *Assyr. and Bab. Religious Texts*, Leipzig, 1895, lxxix. 9, and Langdon, *Sumer. Bab. Poems*, Paris, 1909, pp. 314, 26).

² KB vi. 1, 228.

³ Nergal, god of Arallū, is called 'the god of investigation, and of judgment' (C.T. xxiv. 41, 67 f.); and as a star he appears as the *ḫakkab šipti mūtati*, 'star of the judgment of the dead' (ii. R. 49, no. 3, 40).

theless both Sumerian and Semite exercised much care in this respect. At Ur brick vaults of considerable size containing several skeletons were excavated by Taylor. Ordinarily each skeleton is accompanied by jars, platters for bread and food, the deceased's seal, combs, and, in case of women, even brushes (for colouring the eyes?). The cheaper method of interment consisted in placing the body upon a slightly raised platform of bricks, which was first covered with a reed mat. Over the body was fitted a large cover, made of one or two pieces of baked clay, and large enough to admit both the body and the articles of food and raiment. Taylor found round platforms, in which case the body lay with knees drawn towards the chest.¹ A still more economical method of burial consisted of a clay or porcelain coffin of capsule form, made by fitting together two huge bowls. Bodies were even mutilated and crushed into a huge vase, accompanied in all cases by food and drink. Common in later times is the bath-tub-shaped coffin, deep but not long, in which the body sits upright, with the back against one end, and the limbs stretched out along the bottom, the whole being, of course, protected with a clay covering. The flask-shaped coffin, bulging towards the base, is common in the late period. The excavators of Aššur found many elaborate stone family-vaults, probably of kings and priestly families. To each of these an opening at the west end, closed by a stone not too difficult to be moved, made access to the vault possible. Stone staircases led down to these openings. At the east end the vaults at Aššur generally contain a small niche for a lamp. The Assyrians employed such vaults both for body burials, the skeletons being found in orderly rows side by side on the pavement, and for cinerary urns. The latter are cone-shaped and made of baked clay.

Thus we see that cremation was practised at all periods—probably for sanitary reasons. The earliest graves are found in the temple courts, but these sacred spots must have proved altogether inadequate for the vast populations of Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria. The only practical method would be to set aside certain parts of the city (as at Ur), or whole districts (as at Surghul).

The Sumerian word for the departed soul is *gidim*, 'creation of darkness' (*gid-dim*), which, by apocopation of the initial letter, became *idim*, *edim*, and passed into Semitic as *edimmu*.² There is no doubt that the Babylonians regarded the souls of the dead as minor deities, capable of interfering for good and evil in the affairs of men. Whether, in fact, the entire conception of divinity rests ultimately upon the notion of ancestor-worship cannot be determined from our sources. We can no longer doubt that the Bab. conception of the devils, spirits of disease and misfortune, rests absolutely upon the notion of evil ghosts which rise from hell to torment humanity. See DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Assyr.-Bab.).

Although the souls of those whose bodies were improperly buried, or whose memories were not cherished at the *parentalia*, return to the earth and must be driven back to the nether world by incantation and ritual, yet the vast majority of souls lead a shadowy existence in the dreary land of the dead. See STATE OF THE DEAD (Assyr.-Bab.).

We come now to that significant part of Bab. religion—the communion with the souls of the dead. We have seen that the kinsmen of the dead provided the soul with food and raiment in the grave. These are remnants of an ancient belief that the

soul actually consumed the elements and wore the raiment left for his use. Although the Sumerians and the Babylonians continued to deposit these symbols of the material needs of man in the graves of the dead, they soon rose to a more spiritual interpretation, in which, behind the symbolic bread and drink, lay the mystery of communion with the deified souls and with Divine life itself. Each family seems to have made monthly offerings to the shades of its ancestors, which consisted in a communion meal at which images of the departed were present. In official accounts of the early period we find frequent reference to offerings made to the statues of deceased persons.³ A list of official sacrifices in the period of Sargon of Agade mentions a lamb offered to the statue of an ancient Sumerian king, Entemena;⁴ and Gudea, a later priest-king (c. 2400 B.C.), prays for his own statue that it may receive mortuary sacrifice.⁵ Entries in official documents occur, stating the items of the monthly sacrifice for the souls of deceased persons whose service to the State had been great. This is especially true of kings and priests. More frequently the documents mention the mortuary sacrifices for all the souls who have died, a Feast of All Souls, occurring monthly and performed by the priests in various temples. The word ordinarily employed in the ancient inscriptions is *kianag*, 'place where one gives to drink'; but the notion of 'place' is often lost, and the idea of drinking is made to cover sacrifices of animals, bread, cakes, etc., as well as of liquors. That these sacrifices really consisted in a communion meal is made evident from one inscription which states expressly that the *kianag* was eaten.

Another word—also Sumerian, and employed for the *parentalia* less frequently in the early period, but ordinarily by the Semites—is *kisig*, 'breaking of bread,' where the emphasis is laid upon the eating of bread at a common meal (*kispa kasāpu*). The word occurs in the most ancient name of the fourth month as *sig-ba*, and later as *kisig-ninazu*, or month of the breaking of bread to Ninazu, god of the lower world. This month was followed (in the calendar of Nippur) by the month of the feast of Ninazu. These two months correspond with our December and January, or the period of greatest darkness, when the gods of the under world, as deities of the shades, whither the sun-god and the god of vegetation had descended, were particularly honoured. We fortunately possess a letter from Ammiditana, a king of the first Semitic dynasty, concerning the feast of the breaking of bread for the fourth month (December):

'Unto Šumma-Il, son of Idin-Marduk, say, Thus saith Ammiditana: "Milk and butter for the *kisigga* of the month Neneš are withheld. As soon as thou receivest this tablet, may thy superintendent take 30 cows and 60 *ka* of butter and come to Babylon. Until the *kisigga* is finished, may he supply milk."

Here we have direct evidence for a communion meal, 'breaking of bread,' for the souls of the dead, permanently adopted by the Semites at an early period. At Eski Harran an inscription has recently been found containing the autobiography of the high priest of the temple of the moon-god of Harran. In col. iii. he refers to the monthly sacrifices which he performed for the souls of the departed. After a reference to the raiment which he wore for the service he says:

'Fat sheep, breads, date wine, cypress oil, fruit of the garden . . . I broke⁴ unto them. As incense offering, the choice incense as a regular offering I fixed for them and placed before them.'

The high priest here performs for the kinsmen

¹ Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, Paris, 1903, p. 247, obv. l. 12; de Genouillac, *Tablettes archaïques*, Paris, 1909, p. 85, obv. v. 9.

² Constantine, 1081, rev. 1.

³ Gudea Statue, B 7, 55.

⁴ *akassap-sunuti*.

¹ The coffins in which the body lay in a cramped position appear to have been called *napsišchu* (v. R. 16, 44).

² Possibly connected with *idim*, 'oppressed,' 'weak and miserable' (see Langdon, *Sumer. Gram.*, Paris, 1911, p. 221).

the sacred ceremony of breaking bread for the souls of the dead. The expression 'placing incense before them' refers to the statues of the departed, whose souls are thus represented at the communion meal, and whose portion is the incense. In an incantation service against evil souls, stools are brought for the souls that they may sit at the service of breaking of bread.¹ Ashurbanipal restored the memorial services for the souls of his royal predecessors, of which he says: 'The regulations for the breaking of bread and the pouring of water for the souls of the kings who preceded me I arranged for.'² The king himself was supposed to perform this ceremony, as appears from another passage: 'The regulations of the day of offerings the king gave not, but the high priest gave.'³ The practice of pouring water to the soul in connexion with the common meal gave rise to the title 'pouer of water,' applied to one's nearest kinsman. This appears in the terrible curse so common in the Semitic period, 'May God deprive him of an heir and a pouer of water!'⁴

The repose of the soul, we may say even its immortality, depends upon the communion sacrifice performed monthly for it by its kinsmen. Real immortality consists, therefore, in leaving male descendants; and the prayers of kings seldom fail to plead with the god for male lineage. In actual practice the family paid the priests for performing the ceremony of the breaking of bread, and consequently separate temples, called *é-kisigga*, or *bit kasap kispi*, were built for this purpose.⁵ It is highly probable that the State had a regular fund to provide for the Feast of All Souls, for we find official accounts containing entries for this fund at all periods.

Concerning the *wailing for the dead* our sources are meagre. In an ancient Sumerian inscription there is a probable reference to an official wailer, whose pay is mentioned along with the food placed in the tomb.⁶ Wailings at the death of a king are described in a letter of the period of Ashurbanipal. The chief great men clothe themselves in garments of mourning, and wear rings of gold, and the official singer sings.⁷ The burial of an official (?) is reported to the king in the following manner:

'The tomb we made; he and the woman of his palace rest in peace; the psalms (?) are ended; they have wept at the grave; a burnt-offering has been burnt; the anointings (?) are all performed; rites of loosing in the house of washing and the house of baptism, ceremonies of incantation, penitential psalms . . . they have finished.'⁸

Gilgamesh wailed for his departed comrade Eabani six days and nights.⁹ When the mother of Nabonidus, last king of Babylon, died, the king's son and all his troops put on mourning and wailed three days. The following month was entirely devoted to official mourning for the king's mother.¹⁰

Traces of embalming have not been found, but Herodotus says that the Babylonians embalmed in honey,¹¹ and a text has been cited which mentions embalming with cedar oil.¹² At any rate, embalming is not characteristic of Bab. burials, and the custom may be due to Egyptian influence.

LITERATURE.—(a) *BURIALS*.—Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1892-93, li. 247-378, based principally upon the reports of the explorers Layard at Nineveh, Taylor at Ur and Eridu, and Loftus at Warka; for the fire-necropolises at Surghul and el-Hibba, see Koldewey, *ZA* li. (1887) 408-30;

for the necropolises at Fara and Abu-Harab, see *Mittell d. deutschen orient. Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1896-1911; for tombs and coffins at Babylon, *ib.* xxxvi. 12, xxxviii. 18; at Assur, *ib.* xxi. 36, xxv. 48, 55, xxvii. 29, xxxd. 10, 18, xxxvi. 23, etc.; at Nippur, H. V. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Edinburgh, 1903, *passim* (also a discussion of the whole subject); at Sippar, V. Scheil, *Une Saison de fouilles à Sippar*, Paris, 1902, p. 65 ff.

(b) *BURIAL CUSTOMS, BELIEFS, ETC.*—Meissner, *Zeitschr. für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xii. (Vienna, 1898) 59-66; A. Jeremias, *Leben nach dem Tode: Hölle und Paradies* ('*Alt. Orient*' i. (1900) 8). M. Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, Boston, 1893, pp. 595-611; S. Langdon, 'Bab. Eschatology,' in *Theological Essays*, New York, 1911.

S. LANGDON.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

(Buddhist).—1. Death inevitable and painful.—There are certain questions that have no absolute and definite answer (*ekāmsavyākaranāt*). As a type of these the commentators cite: 'Will all beings (*sattva*) die? Buddha said: "Short, O monks, is the life of man . . . we must do good; it is impossible that what is born should not die."¹ In other words, 'Life, indeed, ends in death.'² 'All men fear death.'³ For death is accompanied by physical and moral suffering; the formulæ of dependent origination enumerate 'sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, despair' as the companions of death.⁴ For death is only the beginning of a new existence for the punishment of sins: death and punishment (*danda*) are almost synonymous. It is in order to avoid death, and the consequent second death—in order to gain immortality—that the Hindus practise the religious life, the holy behaviour (*brahmacharya*) which enables one to pass above the sun, which is death (*Brāhmaṇas*).

If death inspires fear, it also generates that salutary emotion (*samvega*) which ends in a distaste for pleasure and existence. Death must be thought of.⁵ Visits to the 'cemetery,' the place of cremation, or the place where dead bodies are left, and meditation upon the corpse and the various aspects of decomposition, play an important part in the spiritual hygiene of the Buddhist monk, be he a beginner (*navaka*), a more advanced disciple (*sāṅka*), or a perfect disciple. They even become absorbing for some, who are called 'cemetery monks' (see *TANTRAS*). We find a number of details regarding the treatment of the dead⁶ in the Buddhist texts.

To know that 'life ends in death,' and to be resigned to this law, is, as we learn from several conversion-stories, to know the essentials of Buddhist doctrine and to escape from the fear and the control of death. To detach oneself from the things of which death will deprive one, to detach oneself from the body itself, is to abolish pain: thus a man suffers when he sees a woman whom he loves in the possession of another man; he ceases to suffer

¹ *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, MS of the Société Asiatique, 856a, 7 (hereafter cited as A.K.V.).

² *Dhammapada*, 148; see Fausbøll's ed. 1900; Max Müller, *SBE* x. [1898] 41; and H. Oldenberg, *Buddha, sein Leben*, etc., Stuttgart, 1906, p. 278.

³ *Dhammapada*, 129; cf. *Bodhiśāryāvataṛa*, li. 168; *Milinda*, p. 145 f. (*SBE* xxxv. 206); *Sikṣasāmaucchaya*, p. 206; *Jātakamālā*, xxxi. 61, xxxii. (tr. Speyer, Garland of Birth Stories, London, 1895 [= *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. i.]).

⁴ See P. Oltmann, *Formulas bouddhiques des douze causes*, Geneva, 1909, p. 27; *Nettipiṭakaraṇa*, p. 29. But in *Digha*, li. 305, and *Vibhanga*, p. 37, sorrow, etc., are defined as the consequences of every cause of suffering.

⁵ See H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1890, p. 55, n. 5. Cf. and cf. *Suttantapiṭaka*, 574 f. (*SBE* x. 105).

⁶ On this subject, see the 'Chinese,' 'Japanese,' and 'Tibetan' artt. on *DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD*; and cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 78 ff., and sources cited, esp. *Digha*, li. 295; Caoma, tr. Feer, *Analyse du Kandjour*, AMG li. (Lyons, 1881) 194; A.K.V., fol. 239: 'When a man has fulfilled his time, when a man is dead, his friends burn his honoured body with fire, or submerge it in the sea, or bury it in the ground, or leave it to dry, wither, and disappear with wind and heat. But what is called thought, mind, intellect, being saturated (or 'informed,' *paribhāṇita*) with faith, morality, indifference, religious instruction (*śruti*), goes up above, attains to a privileged state (*stīśa*), goes into the heavens.'

¹ H. Zimmermann, *Beiträge*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 166, 162-14.

² C. F. Lehmann, *Shamashshumukin*, Leipzig, 1892, L³ rev. 1.

³ King, *Chronicles*, li. (London, 1907) 74, 5.

⁴ Memorial Deed of Melišupak, vii. 9-11; *KB* iv. 86, 10; *ib.* 72, iv. 20; Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar*, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 291.

⁵ *ZA* xxi. (Heidelberg, 1908) 248, 6; *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v. (Leipzig, 1908) 619, 17.

⁶ Urukagina, *Cone B* ix. 33.

⁷ Harper, *Letters*, Chicago, 1900, p. 478.

⁸ *aklūtu*, prob. same root as *kalū*, 'psalmist.'

⁹ Harper, 457.

¹⁰ *ib.* lii. 2, 130, 13-15.

¹¹ *ib.* lii. 2, 130, 13-15. ¹² Herod. i. 198.

¹³ K. 7866, col. i. 4, cited by Meissner, *WZKM* xii. [1898] 61.

whenever he ceases to love (*Majjhima*, ii. 223). Thus the saint (*arhat*) has no fear of death (*Angutara*, ii. 173); he awaits his time without desire and without fear (*Therīgāthā*, 196, 703; see art. SUICIDE [Bud.]), for he is freed from desire, he knows that this existence is the last existence for him (*Therīgāthā*, 705; *Dhammapada*, 39). For others death is only a passing; for the saint it is 'interruption' or 'annihilation' (*samucchheda*).¹

If death is hateful to men, it is not less so to the gods (*devas*), though certain texts say that the gods are perfectly happy (*Angutara*, v. 291). It is not that death for them is accompanied by the sufferings of human death, for they usually die without suffering (*A.K.V.*, fol. 264b). But, the greater the enjoyments of the gods, the more painful it is for them to give them up; death for them is not 'suffering consisting in suffering,' 'suffering of death' (*Mahāyāgapaṭṭi*, § 112, 4), but it causes 'suffering consisting in the change' to be accomplished at death (see H. O. Warren, *Buddhism*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896, p. 181).² The Brāhminic views are all alike, or very similar (see, e.g., *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, vi. 5, in Wilson, *Works*, London, 1870, x. 208).

2. Definition of death.—The Buddhist doctrine is opposed to that of the 'unbelievers' (deniers [of the other life]), according to whom the intellect (*viññāna*) scatters into the ether, while the material elements (*bhūta*) of the body return to the mass of the earth, sea, etc. (cf. *Dīgha*, i. 55; *Saṃyutta*, iii. 207); it is also opposed to the popular idea of the transmigration of the soul, well expressed by comparison with a bird flitting from tree to tree (*Sumāṅgala-vilāsinī*, p. 114; S. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, London, 1860, p. 390). Death is the end of life—the end of a life or of an existence (see below, § 3); or, more exactly, death is the dissociation of the organism constituted at birth to experience the fruits of a certain set of actions. This organism, both material and mental, does not contain a single stable principle; it continues to renew itself moment by moment; in other words, it undergoes an 'incessant death' (cf. Warren, *Buddhism*, p. 252; *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 174, n. 4); but death marks the end of this homogeneous renewing: it is the separation of the constituent elements of the pseudo-individual, the dissociation of the elements (*skandha*), i.e. of the gross elements (*mahābhūta*, *rūpakāya*) and of the *viññāna*, or intellect.³

We must consider for a little this idea of *viññāna*. There is nothing permanent or individual in the complex union of the *skandhas*, which lasts from birth to death. Men were led, however, to regard it as 'individualized,' like a town with the *viññāna* as master. The later works of Abhidhamma teach that, from the origin of an existence, the first thought, the thought which gives rise to the formation of the new being in the matrix (*pratisamdhivijñāna*, 'conception-intellect'), gives birth to certain thought, which is the master part of the existence, and is called *bhavāṅga*, or *bhavāṅga-santati*, 'existence-limb,' 'existence-limb-series,' because it is the limb of existence.⁴ This thought evolves into an uninterrupted and relatively homogeneous mental series, like the flow of a river. To look at it in a somewhat different way, this thought constitutes what we might call the foundation of the soul, the support and origin of particular thoughts, which interrupt it. At the end of life, at death, it disappears by being transformed into 'thought in a dying state,' 'dying thought,' 'falling or emigrating thought.' Existence, i.e. one existence in the series of existences, is ended

at the disappearance of the *bhavāṅga*; a new existence commences, in a new status, since the 'thought in a dying state' is reflected (we dare not say continued)⁵ in a 'thought in a state of being born.' Death, then, is the transformation of this 'fundamental thought' called *bhavāṅga*, 'limb of existence,' into 'emigrating thought' (*chryutichitta*).⁶

'When the dead man is laid out upon his bed of death, the sinful action for which he is responsible, or the motive (or sign) of this action, presents itself at the door of his spirit. Then there is inaugurated the series of rapid intellectual operations (*javana*—'swiftness') which ends in absorption with this object (action or motive) (*adārammaṇa*).⁷ and there is further produced the "emigrating thought" depending upon the *bhavāṅga* (*bhavāṅga-viṣayaṃ dhammanam katva*). When that disappears, the "thought in a state of being born" is produced; and this, because of that action (or that motive for action) which presents itself before the spirit, moved by uninterrupted passion, belongs to an evil destiny.'⁸

On the other hand, death is often regarded as the end of a particular organ or sense, the *jīvitendriya*, the vital sense. Life, the activity of the organs, 'the persistence, subsistence, going on . . . of the bodily and mental functions or states' presupposes a 'vital organ'⁹ supporting the living complex as the water supports the lotus, and playing a part analogous to that assigned by the Vedānta school to the 'principal breath' (or 'breath in the mouth,' *mukhya prāṇa*).¹⁰ Death, therefore, will be 'the interruption of the series [of evolution] of the vital organ corresponding to a given existence' (*Netippakkaraṇa*, p. 29).¹¹

Leaving out of consideration the schools which pay little attention to the 'vital sense,' some schools do not make it die at death. The theologians who admit an 'intermediate state' (*antarābhava*) between two existences properly so called assign a special rôle to the 'vital sense' in the mechanism of transmigration. 'Life' would then be prolonged from existence to existence, as long as these continue to be existences belonging to the same category (*nikāya-sabhāga*) (after *A.K.V.*, Burnouf MS. 68a).

The schools are not agreed as to the nature of the *jīvitendriya*, as may be seen from *Kāthāvatthū*, viii. 10. Pāli theology appears to regard it as the eighteenth term of the *rūpakhaṇḍa* (S. Hardy, *Manual*, p. 399). But the *Dhammasaṅgāsi* treats it successively as mental and as material (*ripa*). The *Abhidharma-kosa* makes it an *arūpa chittaviprayukta*, 'immaterial, having no connexion with thought' (see *Dhammasaṅgāsi*, p. 69), as do also the Yogichāras (see *Mūlāra*, vi. 1105f. 178 L).

It must not be forgotten that 'life' is attributed to the body (*A.K.V.* 312a: 'The body lives when it is endowed with sense (*sēndriya*), i.e. life is of the body endowed with sense, and not of a soul (*ātman*); and it is the body [and not a soul] which, when robbed of sense, is called "dead"'). By 'sense' or 'senses' must be understood either the organs of sense which depend upon the *jīvitendriya*, or the *jīvitendriya*, which is just the same as the *kāyendriya*, 'body-sense.' The working and persistence of the intellect (*viññāna*) depend upon the *kāyendriya*, which, at death, perishes in various parts of the body according to the state in which re-birth is to take place: in the feet for a future damned soul, in the navel for a future man, in the heart for a future god . . . (*A.K.V.* 254a; cf. and cf. Beal, *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, London, 1871, p. 41; see also Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 254; Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 265).

Instead of *jīvita*, *jīvitendriya*, we sometimes find the terms *āyus*, 'life,' and *usman*, 'heat'—a popular conception of life.¹² 'What is the ground of persistence or continuity of the five senses?'—'Life'—'And of life?'—'Heat'—'And of heat?'—'Life.' (Just so the radiance of a lamp depends on its flame, and vice versa [*Majjhima*, i. 295].) Similarly, death is defined as the disappearance

¹ We read, however, in *A.K.V.* 213a: 'the "conceptual" state (at conception), *upapattibhava*, forms a series with the "mortal" state (at death).'

² There is no death without 'emigrating thought,' therefore trance or rapture is an obstacle to death (cf. *Dhammapada*, ed. Fausbøll, Copenhagen, 1865, p. 299).

³ See Aug-Davids, *Compendium*, pp. 23, 74, 'registering, or identifying, of the object.'

⁴ *Visuddhimagga*, xvii. 1183-1130 (from proofs kindly lent by C. Lammann). See C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1900, pp. 132, 134; *Compendium*, p. 160f.

⁵ See C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psychology*, 19, 192; S. Hardy, *Manual*, 402.

⁶ *Jīvitendriyaṃ paṇḍita prāpa iti* (*A.K.V.* 318a; cf. *Bodhicaryāvatāra* pāṇikā, p. 457).

⁷ Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, xvi. ad fin. (*JPTS*, 1891, p. 187).

⁸ P. Oltramare, *op. cit.* p. 28; and C. A. Foley, in *JRAS* 1894, p. 328.

¹ See, e.g., the story of 'Gotami the Thin,' in J. H. Thiesens,

Die Legende von Kāśyapamā, Breslau, 1880; Rogers, Buddha-ghoṣa's Parables, London, 1870, p. 98; E. Hardy, *Buddhismus*, Münster, 1890, p. 124.

² See Wenzel's tr. of 'Nāgārjuna's Friendly Epistle,' 98f. *JPTS*, 1886, p. 27. On 'the five prognostics announcing death in heaven' (body becoming dry, decaying of flower-wreaths, etc.), Wenzel refers to *Hierulka*, § 83, and *Dīpavāḍāna*, p. 198.

³ See *Dīgha*, ii. 395 (= Warren, p. 368); *Visuddhimagga*, in Warren, pp. 241, 252; *Vibhaṅga*, p. 137.

⁴ *Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha*, in *JPTS*, 1884, p. 25; see S. Z. Augé and C. A. F. Rhys Davids' tr. and notes, *Compendium of Philosophy*, PTS, 1910 (Index, s.v. 'Bhavāṅga').

of heat (*Mahāvūtpatti*, § 245, 53). An ancient stanza associates the intellect (*viññāna*) with *āyus* and *uṣman*.¹ The Dignāga school defines death as the 'destruction of the *viññāna*, of the organ, and of life,' and claims authority from this definition to deny (in opposition to the Jains) that trees 'die.'

In the old version of the 'last days of the Buddha' (*Digha*, II. 106; *SBE* xi. 44), it is said: 'The Blessed One rejected the *āyusamkharā*' (according to Rhys Davids = 'the rest of his allotted sum of life'). In the Sanskrit sources (*Dīpāvadāna*, p. 203; *Mahāvūtpatti*, § 235, 52) we have: 'The Blessed One enters such concentration of thought as to control his "vitality-virtualities" (*jīvitasaṃskārān adhiṣṭhaya*), and he begins to reject his "life-virtualities" (*āyūṣaṃskārān*). The plural "virtualities," co-efficients of life" indicates, according to a commentator, that life is not one thing but a collectivity. The Sautrāntikas say that *āyus*, 'life,' means the multiple *saṃskārā* which co-exist (having for nature the four or five *skandhā*s) and is nothing beyond these *saṃskārā*s (A.K.V., fol. 74). The *Majjhima* (i. 296) enumerates the *āyusamkharā*s as follows: *āyus*, heat, and intact senses, which disappear at death, but persist in life even when plunged into the deepest ecstasies (see Warren, p. 389).

As to the vital breath (*prāṇa*), it is a wind (*vāyu*) which depends on both the body and the thought—for it disappears during the so-called 'cessation-stance' ecstasy (Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharmaśāstra*, quoted A.K.V. 312; see Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 71, London, 1899-1910 [= *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, vol. ii.]). Although the Buddhists deny the existence of a *prāṇin*, *anima*, 'being endowed with breath,' they use this expression; but, for them, to kill a *prāṇin* is only to stop the future production of the *prāṇa*.

3. Duration of life.—What is meant by an existence, *ātmabhāva*, and why is the eternal transmigration divided into this succession of fragments called lives or existences? Actions are by nature very variable, and very different actions are performed by the same person; in strict language—for Buddhism does not admit of the existence of a person, of an author of actions—actions very different from each other are 'caused' in one and the same series of states of consciousness, and must be rewarded in the same series. It is necessary, then, that the agent (to use a convenient expression) should pass through varying conditions,—god, man, animal, damned,—for it is not the nature of actions to get their reward in any state whatever. And, by a mechanism which will be explained in art. KARMA, a certain existence (*ātmabhāva*) falls to the lot of the agent, as the reward for a certain set of actions,² and this existence will be followed by another determined in the same way. Death marks the moment of the exhaustion of the actions called to 'ripen,' to fructify in some one existence, and of the maturity of actions called to ripen in the next existence.

In certain states of existence the length of life is fixed; the number of actions to be rewarded in the course of a divine existence of a certain class always corresponds exactly with the normal length of life of the gods of this class (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]); the god will die at the exhaustion of the meritorious actions to be rewarded and the exhaustion of life. But it may happen that a life ends by the exhaustion of the actions, before the normal time; if, e.g., a certain good action has caused a certain divine existence, and is not good enough to prolong this existence against the influence of evil actions striving to ripen. It is also possible to die by the exhaustion of life, without the merit being exhausted: in this case, re-birth takes place into a condition similar to that just left. Lastly, if one commits one of the sins demanding immediate retribution (*ānantarya*) and immediate dispatch into hell, one dies without the exhaustion of the vital forces: the retribution of

the set of actions, begun at birth, is interrupted by an 'action cutting off [the fruit of] action.'³

Death is called 'timely' (*kālamaraṇa*) when it occurs at the end of a life of normal duration (see AGES OF THE WORLD [Bud.], vol. i. p. 189). It may be caused by a trouble of the bile (the essential fire-element of the body), of the phlegm (water-element), or the wind, either singly or all together: there are, therefore, four illnesses; for every class of illness, there are 100 deaths 'before the time' (*akālamrtyu*)⁴ and one timely death: or else there are 404 illnesses causing death (*Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, ii. 55; A.K.V. 254b). A kindred expression to *akālamrtyu* is *antarāmṛtyu* or *antarēṇa kālakriyā*, 'death during the time, during the course of the normal duration of life': a death, which, according to certain sources, occurs even in the *āruppa*, and in all stages of existence, except among the Uttarakurus (*Abhidharma-kośa*). According to the Sautrāntikas (A.K.V., fol. 218), it is a mistake to explain the phrase *antarāparinirvāyin* with certain (Pāli) scholars as meaning 'a saint who attains to *nirvāṇa*, by *antarāmṛtyu*, during the course of a heavenly existence, and before the close of this existence.' The reference is to a saint who attains *nirvāṇa* in the intermediate period between two existences (*antarābhava*).

The Buddhists believed that, just as the saint can abandon the 'co-efficients of life' (see preceding column), so he can also stop them (*sthāpayaṭi*). According to the Vaibhāṣikas (A.K.V., Burnouf MS, fol. 74), the saint says: 'May [the action] that is to ripen for me in enjoyment ripen in life! By its nature, life (or the vital organ) is 'ripening' (*vipākā*), and it can replace any enjoyment which, normally, ought to ripen from a former merit, and which the saint no longer desires and has escaped by his sainthood. By this process, 'vanquishing death,' the Buddha prolonged his life three months for the salvation of men, and the disciples employ this to assure the duration of the law.

This term of three months seems to be given as a maximum, and as the mark of the victory of the Buddha over *Mṛtyumāra*, 'Māra' = death, Satan, who is death.' The 'dominion of death,' which is a 'dominion of life' (*Mahāvūtpatti*, § 27, 1), is much more powerful in the *Mahāparinibbāna* (*Digha*, ii. 103 = *SBE* xi. 42), and in *Śikṣasamuccaya*, p. 189, where the Bodhisattvas enjoy a life of almost infinite length by the protection of the Buddhas and 'deities' (*devatā*s).

4. The last thought and re-birth.—Most of the Hindu theologians teach that the last thought, the thought of the dying, is of prime importance with regard to the future lot.⁵ This doctrine is particularly dear to the devout sects: thinking of Kṛṣṇa on the death-bed assures salvation. The Brahmins everywhere believe as a rule that the Lord (*īśvara*) establishes the moral balance-sheet of the whole life, in order that the agent may be re-born into the world at the proper stage. In conformity with their psychology and their metaphysics, the Buddhists have to assign capital importance to the last thought. For not only do they refuse to admit a Lord, judge of all the

¹ See *Abhidhammasaṅgaha*, v. 12 (JPTS, 1884, p. 25); *Vissuddhimagga*, in Warren, p. 252; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 110.

² The Śālvite Buddhists have made a deity of 'premature death' (Wilson, *Works*, ii. 24).

³ See, e.g., *Bhagavad-Gītā*, viii. 5 f. (A. Barth, *Religions of India*, London, 1891, p. 227; R. Garbe, *Bhagavadgītā* übersetzt . . . Leipzig, 1905, p. 52): 'Remembering whatever form of being he in the end leaves this body, into that same form he ever passes, assimilated to its being' (Thibaut, *Vedāntasūtras*, iv. 1, 12 = *SBE* xxviii. 352); 'Whatsoever being a man at his end in leaving the body remembers, to that same he always goes, inspired to being therein' (L. D. Barnett, *The Lord's Song*, London, 1905). See also the sources cited in *Vedāntasūtras*, loc. cit., and Cowell, tr. of *Aphorisms of Śaṅḍilya*, Calcutta, 1878, § 81; for the Jain sect, see *Majjhima*, i. 376. Folk-lore is abundant on this subject; see, e.g., *Katha-saritsāgara*, tr. Tawney, 1880, i. 242 and passim. Thya Davids compares Plato, *Phaedo*, 69 (*Indian Buddhism*, London, 1881, App. viii., *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 298).

⁴ *Samyutta*, iii. 143; and A.K.V., Burnouf MS, 453b.

⁵ Cf. the *āyusakarmān* of the Jains (*SBE* xiv. 165, 192).

actions of a life, but they do not even admit of a permanent soul which would be responsible for all the actions. At the time of death, all that exists is the 'dying thought' (*chyutichitta*) and the 'skandhas' (dispositions, etc.), which come to an end at death.¹ The 're-birth thought' (*pratisamdhī*, *upapattichitta*)—and the *skandhas* associated with it—can be determined only by the 'dying thought', which it continues. Hence it follows that, if the mental state at death is good, a pleasant birth will take place; if it is bad, an unpleasant one. The agent will be re-born into the spheres of desire, matter, non-matter (see COSMOGONY, etc. [Bud.], according to the *fulcrum* (*ālambana*) of the last thought (*Abhidhamma-saṅgaha*, v. 12-13 [JPTS, 1884, p. 25]); and 'to die with the thought fixed on space [or the void]' is to obtain *nirvāṇa* (*Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 53).

But, if the last thought (or last action) is, according to the principle of the Buddhist system, the sole determining cause of the future life, good sense and equity require that the previous thoughts (or merit) should come into account in the retribution. Buddha was very categorical on this point. The conclusion arrived at will be that, if the last thought, in the quality of act 'close at hand' (*āsanna*), determines the future life, the latter may be conditioned by other acts, important from other points of view.

The difficulty or contradiction may be resolved by affirming that the last thought is the resultant of the life or of a former act which, by its importance or repetition, has to be rewarded in the next existence:

'It is at the moment of death (*chryuti*, 'fall of thought') and of re-birth that the thoughts are enabled to ripen' (*A.K.V.*, Burnouf MS, fol. 112b). 'The Karma remembered at death springs up in re-birth' and is therefore named 'close at hand.'

At death the mental working is weak and dull; therefore any passion which has been intense or habitual during life enters upon a state of activity (*A.K.V.* 249a). In short, the treatises of Abhidharma teach that the object of the last thought is either present (*pachchupanna*) or past (*atīta*), being determined both by the life that is completed, and by the state in which it is proper (by reason of this life or of even earlier merits) for the new life to be passed. It is, therefore, by the 'force of the merit' that there presents itself to the spirit of the dying either the action (accomplished previously by him) which is to determine the re-birth² (and above all others the 'heavy' action, *guru*, the reward of which comes before all others [*A.K.V.*, Burnouf MS, fol. 482]), or the object (sensation, etc.) experienced at the time of performing the action, or the motive or means of the action, or, lastly, the picture of the state about to be reached by the re-birth, the sign of the future lot.³

But this theory, that the last thought is the resultant of the life, is discouraging to piety. It is certainly the opinion of the Buddhist that we should not wait for death to become 'converted,' for the agonies and suffering of the last moment make thought very feeble (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*); the good thoughts of the last hour are by nature very weak: they may procure a little of paradise,

¹ See *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 228 f., and sources cited.

² See *Sūtrāṅgamavāṇī* quoted from the Chinese by Beal, *Catena*, p. 43: 'At the end of life, before losing animal heat, the good and the evil deeds are summoned up, as it were, in a moment.' Then the dying one thinks of his sin and of his good action, and, by a process well described by Nāgaseṇa (*Milinda*, p. 297, tr. Rhys Davids, *SBE* xxxvi. 156), becomes absorbed into the sin committed, even while regretting it.

³ Augst and C. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.* p. 149. See *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, quoted by Beal, *op. cit.* 44: 'If he possesses a bad karma, he beholds all the miseries attending a birth in hell . . . he sees the infernal horrors.' Of the 'death of the sinner' in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva, l. 41 (Poussin's tr., *Introd.* à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas, Paris, 1907, p. 41; L. D. Barnett's tr., *Path of Light*, London, 1906, p. 42).

but they cannot prevent a fall back into hell immediately after, if it is merited (Spence Hardy, *Manual*, p. 489). But numerous writings show that the last thought is not always determined beforehand, that it is possible to prepare oneself and others for death, and to make sure of a good re-birth by helping the 'production of good dispositions.'

We may quote some examples. *Milinda* says: 'Your people [Buddhists] say . . . that, though a man should have lived a hundred years an evil life, yet if, at the moment of death, thoughts of the Buddha should enter his mind, he will be re-born among the gods. . . . And thus do they also say: "By one case of destruction of life a man may be re-born in purgatory." When asked if this was not a contradiction, Nāgārjuna replies: "Would even a tiny stone float on the water without a boat? . . . Would not a hundred cart-loads of stone float on the water if they were loaded in a boat? . . . Well, good deeds are like the boat" (*Milinda*, p. 80, tr. Rhys Davids, *SBE* xxxv 123 f.).

Mahāmoggallāna sees a poor wretch, condemned to death, to whom the compassionate Sulasā has just given some cakes. He thinks: 'This man, with no merits, a sinner, will be re-born in hell; if he gives me these cakes, he will be re-born among the terrestrial deities.' He presents himself before the condemned man, who thinks, 'What is the good of eating these cakes? If I give them away, they will serve me as a viaticum for the other world.' But, as he thinks also with affection of Sulasā: 'It is through Sulasā's kindness that I was in possession of this alms,' his thought, purified by the gift to the saint and soiled by this affection, causes him to be re-born as a tree-deity (inferior deity) (*Petavathu, Commentary*, p. 6).

The deities of the gardens, the woods, the trees, and plants crowd around the master of the house, Chitta, who is very ill: 'Make your resolution, utter your prayer: "May I be a cakravartin king in a next existence!"' (*Saṃyutta*, iv. 302; cf. Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, London, 1906, p. 77).

A man is stained (*āṅgaṇa*); he acknowledges his stain and does his utmost by prayer, effort, and exertion to wipe it out: he will die free from attachment, from hate, from error, and from stain, with pure thought. A man is free from stain; he knows it; he then conceives complacency, and, through this, attachment enters into his thought; he will die re-clothed in attachment, hate, error, stain, with impure thought (*Majjhima*, i. 26).

The Buddhists began early to think of preparation for death. Aśoka grants three days for this purpose to the damned (*Pillar-Edict*, iv.; see V. A. Smith, *Aśoka*, Oxford, 1901, p. 165). The *Mahāvagga* commands the monks to attend, even during the rainy season, at the bed of a sick layman (iii. 5, 9 = *SBE* xiii. 304). The *Visuddhimagga* (xvii. line 1190) explains the ceremonies performed for the dying. The friends say to him: 'We are about to perform the *pūjā* (cult) of Buddha for you, quiet your spirit [in Buddha]. The *pūjā* includes flowers, etc. (*riipa*, 'form' or 'colour'). 'See this offering we are making for you,' they say to the sick man—the recitation of texts and music (*sadda*, 'sound') . . . perfumes (*gandha*, 'smell'), honey, etc. (*rasa*, 'taste'), and cloths (*potṭhabba*, 'tangible')—'Touch this offering.' Thus by the five senses the impressions penetrate which will be the object of the last thought.

Spence Hardy (*Manual*, 489) tells the story of a fisher who is made to recite the five precepts by a monk ('I renounce murder' . . .), and this wins a heavenly re-birth for him; and, when he recites them again in his last moments, he obtains re-birth among the higher gods.

Tantrism substitutes formulae in abracadabra for the 'thought of the Buddha' and the repetition of precepts: the *om namo padme hūṃ* plays a great part (see C. F. Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, pt. II. 'Die lamaische Hierarchie,' Berlin, 1889, p. 59); the cults of Amitābha substitute the repetition of ejaculatory invocations to Avalokiteśvara or Amita: 'Whosoever shall have heard the name of Buddha Bhaisajyaguru, to him will eight Bodhisattvas come at the moment of death to show him the way [to paradise]' (*Śikṣasāmuchoyana*, p. 176). In *Karavāṇayāna* (Calcutta, 1873), pp. 23, 95, twelve Buddhas surround the dying; in *Sukkhāvatīyika* (Oxford, 1883), p. 47 (= *SBE* xlii. 46), Amitābha himself appears surrounded by [magic] monks. Seeing Bhagavat, their thought is quieted, and, falling from this world, they are born in Paradise' (cf. *Samādhirāja*, iv., at the end). In *Saṃyutta*, iv. 302, it is the forest-deities who care for the dying man and suggest to him the wish for such and such a re-birth.¹

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

¹ We need not spend time over the acts and ceremonies for the benefit of the dead. Some bibliographical indications may be useful. Pali sources (gifts for the dead): *Anguttara*, v. 296, *Petavathu*, i. 5 (*Paramatthadipani*, pt. iii. pp. 22, 36),

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Chinese).—The Chinese discriminate between premature death and the inevitable ending of the term of natural life. The pictogram for untimely death is composed of the radical denoting 'evil' (originally depicting the cutting up of bones) and that for 'man,' the combination being interpreted by S. Wells Williams (*Syllabic Dict.*, Shanghai, 1889, p. 836) as 'the evil which parts men.' The character thus formed is explained as conveying the idea of 'the running out of the vital issues,' 'the emptying out of the breath'; whilst that for normal death, i.e. in old age, represents the end of a cocoon or ball of silk. The express mention of death is generally avoided, the Chinese preferring to employ some euphemistic phrase such as 'passed away,' 'returned to Heaven,' 'no more,' etc., or sometimes an expressive gesture—the hands tightly clenched, and the head thrown slightly back.

The customs which prevail in different parts of China in connexion with the treatment of the dying and the disposal of the dead are so dissimilar that a complete statement of them would be impossible; it will be sufficient to describe the observances which may be regarded as fairly characteristic. The details which follow do not apply in the case of children and unmarried persons. In these instances the dead are disposed of with as little ceremony as possible; in many cases the bodies of infants are simply rolled up in a coarse wrapper of matting, and deposited in a convenient spot of open ground, perhaps in a 'baby tower' specially intended for the purpose.

The conduct of funeral rites is described as early as the Chow dynasty (1122–255 B.C.), and it is evident that *burial*¹ has always been the mode adopted for the disposal of the dead. In the Chinese sense this does not consist in the lowering of the remains into a dug-out grave, but in the placing of them in a sarcophagus upon the surface of the ground, and the piling up of earth in the form of a mound, as a result of the annual visits to the place of interment. It was usual in early times to place in the coffin certain articles which the deceased valued during life; and specimens of jade, chess-men, etc., are frequently discovered in ancient tombs. In the case of kings it was often difficult to ascertain where the royal corpse was actually buried, as sometimes a number of separate coffins were interred in different places, each nominally containing the 'remains' of the late monarch, in order to render more remote the possibility of rifling the tomb.

The custom of immolating a number of slaves or relatives of the deceased was sometimes practised in China. Cases are quoted as early as the 10th cent. B.C., as, e.g., that of the Duke Muh, at whose funeral some 177 persons were buried alive. References to the practice are found in the time of Confucius (551–478 B.C.), and even as late as the present dynasty an instance is quoted in connexion with the Emperor Shun-che (A.D. 1644–1661). The burning of paper effigies of servants and attendants

at the present day may be a survival of this barbarous custom.

1. Importance of the subject.—The importance of the subject will at once be evident when we consider that there is, perhaps, no event in the 'pilgrimage' of the 'Chinaman' which demands so great attention, such scrupulous observance of immemorial custom, and such lavish expenditure of labour and capital, as the carrying out of a 'decent funeral.'

2. The dictum of Confucius.—Confucius lays down no rules with regard to the treatment of the dead, beyond the admonition that all things should be done 'decently and in order'; that the family circumstances should be taken into account, and that the various classes of society should be guided by the precedents which obtain in each class. The tradesman should not seek to emulate the official, and so forth; but Confucius enunciates one general principle which should govern the conduct of the entire affair: 'In mourning it is better to be sorrowful than punctilious.'

It is hardly necessary to say that the observance of the conventional funeral customs is inseparably connected with the extraordinary development of the idea of filial piety, and the ancestral worship of which it is the inspiration and the key.

3. Treatment of the dying.—When all remedies have failed to retain the departing spirit, the dying man is prepared for entering the presence chamber of the gods, before whom he must appear: the god of the local temple, the god of the city walls and moats, and the god of Hades. His head is shaved; his body and extremities are washed; the nails of his hands and feet are cut, the parings being carefully preserved; and his underclothing is changed. When *in articulo mortis* he is supported in a sitting posture, it being believed that the soul makes its escape from a recumbent figure by the lower part of the body, and, as a result, on re-incarnation will be gross and stupid; whilst from the upright body it flies aloft through the mouth, and re-appears eventually, by transmigration, in a highly developed condition. Tinsel money and charms are burnt before him, and the ashes are collected, wrapped in paper, and placed in his hand, whilst he is informed that the expenses of the journey have all been provided. Sometimes a small lantern, obtained from a Buddhist temple, and already used in the worship of Heaven, is placed in his hand, and he is advised to hold it fast, as the way before him will be dark. If the family can afford it, a sedan-chair with two bearers, all of paper and bamboo, is purchased. To die in the early morning is in some places considered felicitous, because there are three meals left for the dead man's posterity to enjoy; but to die after the consumption of the evening meal is considered to be ill-omened, for then, by implication, there is nothing left for his successors. It is important that the sons of the dying man and other relatives should be present to attend the death-bed; and, as they weep, they call upon him not to leave them but to awaken from his sleep. The cries of daughters are considered to have special virtue in opening Heaven's gate, and a man who does not possess a daughter or two is much to be pitied—contrary to a prevailing but very erroneous idea current among Europeans.

4. First duties of mourners.—As soon as death takes place, an elder conducts the proceedings, and orders the queues of the sons to be unravelled, and candles to be lighted before the ancestral shrine and the god of the hearth; because the warrant for the capture of the departed soul is supposed to have arrived from the god of Hades, and it must be countersigned by the ancestral spirits, or their representatives, and by the god of the hearth.

Milinda, p. 294 (*SBE*, xxxvi. 151); Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, tr. V. Henry, Paris, 1903, p. 479. Great Vehicle: J. J. M. de Groot, *Code du Mahâyâna en Chine*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 97 (tr. and comm. of the *Brahmajâlasûtra*, Nanjio, no. 1087), *Sectarianism and Rel. Persecution in China*, Amsterdam, 1903, i. 231; *Buddhist Monks for the Dead at Amoy* (Congress at Leyden, and *AMG* xi–xii. [1888]); S. Beal, *Catena of Bud. Scriptures*, p. 83; J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism* (London, 1880, and *AMG* iv.), p. 225; E. Chavannes, *Mélanges Harlez*, Leyden, 1896, p. 79. For Tibet: L. A. Waddell, *Lamaism*, London, 1896, p. 488.

¹ The practice of cremation is repugnant to the Chinese view of the necessity of preserving the body intact as far as possible, and is employed only in the case of Buddhist monks and nuns, though historical references may be cited in proof of its frequency in certain periods, probably as a result of foreign influences.

5. The dread messengers.—The messengers of the god of Hades are said to be two, viz. the living *Wu-ch'ang* and the dead *Wu-ch'ang*, the word *wu-ch'ang* meaning 'uncertain,' and being explained by the uncertainty of the summons of death. The living *Wu-ch'ang* is not a demon, but the soul of a living man who is employed by the *Wu-ch'ang* to guide him to the house of his victim. The true 'Uncertain,' as coming from the hidden world, is unable to find his way in the light of day, and requires a mortal spirit to guide him. Some say that these two characters represent, not individual agents of the god of Hades, but only the two souls (the animal and the spiritual, i.e. the *psyche* and the *pneuma*)—the *hun* and the *p'o*, as they are called in Chinese. The first of these is written in Chinese with a character which means 'black' attached to the word for 'spirit' or 'demon,' and hence represents 'black spirit,' and the other has the character which stands for 'white' prefixed to the same word meaning 'spirit,' and hence represents 'white spirit.' These have been personified, by the ignorant, as the lictors who come to carry off the soul; whereas they themselves are the essential parts of the soul which of its own accord is about to leave its tenement. The *hun*, in conformity with its nature, soars aloft and is dissipated; the *p'o* descends into the element of earth and haunts its old neighbourhood.

6. Post-mortem lustration.—The matting on which the deceased is lying is given a pull, with the idea that this will prevent a lingering illness in the next incarnation. The chief mourner, generally the eldest son, invests himself in the clothes which are eventually to be put upon the corpse, and, holding a bucket in one hand and a bundle of incense in the other, walks, or, in the case of an infant, is carried, to the waterside, an umbrella being held over his head all the time, as he is impersonating the dead and must be screened from the eye of heaven. In some cases he is escorted with music and fireworks. Paper money of different kinds is burnt; a coin, with a large nail fastened in the centre, is thrown into the water; and the water is thus supposed to be bought, and is drawn up and taken to the house. Here it is warmed, and a few rubs are given to the chest of the corpse by way of a bath. The hair of the dead man is next combed by the daughters and daughters-in-law, each taking a turn, kneeling and weeping at the same time; and then it is rolled up into a kind of knot on the top of the head, somewhat like the top-knot worn by the Chinese of the Ming dynasty, thus exemplifying the popular proverb, 'The living submit [to the Manchus], the dead do not.' After this perfunctory washing the dead man is removed from his bed and supported on a chair; and the matting and straw on which he has been lying are burned in the open street. It is of the utmost importance that the feet of the corpse should not touch the ground, and they are generally covered with a cotton cloth, and supported in the lap of the daughter-in-law. A small table is spread before the body, holding two bowls—one of rice, and the other containing vegetables with long stalks, to represent and bespeak a long life and firm root in the next stage of existence.

7. Announcement of the death.—The sons of the deceased, with the braid removed from their queues, wearing white gowns, aprons, and white fillets round their heads, and shod with straw sandals, take candles and paper money of two kinds, and proceed to the temple of the god of agriculture. On arrival at the temple, the eldest son, as chief mourner, lights the candles, makes his prostrations, and burns the paper money; this

money is supposed to act as a guerdon to the god of agriculture, who is represented as the agent of the god of Hades in the arrest of the soul, and hence requires remuneration. The whole process is described as *pu t'ang*, or 'strewing the hall'—a phrase applied in real life to 'squaring' the officials at a Yamen in order to be assured of 'justice'; and it is fairly inferred that the officials in the nether world are equally amenable to a 'consideration.'

8. Removal of the corpse.—On returning to the house, they make arrangements for removing the dead to the middle hall, which is reserved for special occasions, and which also contains the ancestral shrine. The position of the corpse is first reversed, indicating the hope that the dead man may return from the hidden world, and this is illustrated by the transposition of the fetus before birth. A meal is laid out on a large sieve and placed before the dead, with wine and candles, and is then carried in procession to the front of the house and laid outside the door; the members of the family, in white clothing, kneel on a piece of coir matting, weeping and prostrating themselves alternately. The body is next carefully secured to a chair by broad bands, and four strong men are selected to convey it to the state apartment; the head is supported by the eldest son, and the feet by the daughter-in-law. The burden must on no account be laid down until its destination is reached; a fall would be considered a frightful calamity. An umbrella is held over the chair as it moves, to hide one who is now a denizen of the shades from the light of heaven, and handfuls of rice are thrown upon it, with the idea of expelling all evil influences. The corpse is then placed on the bed and a coverlet spread over it. A sheet of white paper is laid upon the face, and the feet are placed close together and propped in position; to allow them to fall apart would involve the death of the nuptial partner shortly after.

9. The public announcement.—A messenger is then sent to a Taoist priest to inform him of the date of the deceased's first attack of illness, the time of his death, and the number of his years. The priest writes a large sheet of yellow paper mentioning these particulars, and the date on which the spirit may be expected to return, together with the classes of persons, born under certain auspices, whose presence at the coffin is contra-indicated. On obtaining this information, which is sometimes pasted up diagonally on the wall of the house, the family is able to prepare for the return of the departed spirit and his attendant.

A large sheet is hung to screen the body from the observation of people passing the door, and a rude lamp, consisting of a bowl of oil with a wick in it, contained in a basket of lime, is kept constantly alight, day and night, so that the deceased may have 'a lamp to his feet' wherever he journeys.

10. Ceremonies connected with death in old age.—If the deceased happens to be aged, say seventy years old or more, the curtain at the foot of the bed is red in colour, to show that death, in his case, should not be considered an occasion of sorrow; and no word of consolation is spoken or sign of grief shown by the visitors; on the contrary, nothing but compliments are heard that such a happy consummation has been reached, full of years and in the midst of a numerous posterity. Wine-drinking, the 'Morra,' etc., are all the rule, and any one would be laughed at who insinuated that there was any occasion for grief. It is to be noted that, until the actual coffin takes place, the candles used are of the usual red variety; white candles are not employed until all hope of revival has departed, and the body is about to be placed in the coffin. The head and feet of the corpse are

supported on specially-made pillows of yellow cotton, stuffed with paper waste, or, in country districts where cotton is manufactured, a reel on which cotton is wound is used instead.

11. Notifying the relatives.—A swift messenger is dispatched to inform the relatives, who are expected to send gifts to the bereaved family. The presents consist of small quilts, about three feet long and a little more than a foot wide, which are carefully marked and reserved for placing in the coffin in due course; they are thus marked to ensure that those furnished by important members of the family shall have a first place.

12. Visits to the house of mourning.—Notice of the arrival of visitors is given by the gateman, who beats three times on a drum; a trumpet is sounded and a hand-cannon discharged. The musicians then strike up, and the mourners are warned of the approach. The chief mourner kneels at the side of the spirit table; the stewards escort the visitor to the curtain, where he kneels four times and bows four times.

13. Coffins.—The style of the coffin varies throughout the empire. In some places it represents the trunk of a tree; in the north the lid projects considerably over the head. The quality is determined by the circumstances of the family. Wealthy people prefer to buy their own coffins beforehand and keep them stored either in an out-house or in a temple. Some buy the planks, keep them till seasoned, and then employ carpenters to make the coffin when required; whilst others buy theirs from a coffin-shop or from one of the Charitable Societies. At the end of the coffin a lotus flower is carved, expressing the hope that the deceased may become a Buddha and take his stand on a lotus, as Buddha is represented doing.

14. The process of coffining.—The time for coffining in some places is at full tide, and preferably after dinner, so that the deceased may not be put hungry to his 'narrow bed'; but in others it must be before daylight in the morning, or in the dark of evening, or on a day bearing an odd number, 3, 5, 7, etc., for fear of another death taking place if an even day should be selected. The floor of the coffin is covered with a layer of fine sifted lime or charcoal; then five large squares of coarse paper; upon these a narrow strip of matting, sometimes manufactured of special material like lamp-wick, is placed, and upon the top of all a cotton mattress. The garments for the dead are specially made for the occasion, if the family can afford it, and are fashioned after the pattern of the old Chinese costume, like that of the present Koreans; no buttons or knots are permitted—the Chinese word for 'knot' being pronounced like that meaning 'difficulty' or 'trouble,' and all such difficulties must be prevented from accompanying the traveller. The son now divests himself of the clothes he has assumed, taking them all off in one movement, without separating the several garments; and they are suspended over the backs of two chairs and perfumed or aired, by means of a brazier, containing fragrant herbs, placed underneath. Furs and leather of any kind whatever are carefully excluded, lest the dead should be turned into an animal in his next re-incarnation. The clothes are laid out on the inverted lid of the coffin, and the dead man is carefully placed in position for convenience of dressing; his arms are drawn through the sleeves; a long cord, which runs through the sleeves, is then fastened in a 'lucky' knot, and the clothes are carefully smoothed into position. The hands are placed crosswise over the lower part of the body, the left hand uppermost in the case of males, and the right in the case of females. A pair of cheap shoes are placed on his feet; and an official hat with a red tassel is put on his head. In upper-

class families a winding sheet of deep red is used, sometimes of satin and elaborately embroidered, forming a sort of large bag like a sleeping-bag, in which all but the head is enclosed, and it is fastened at one side with tapes. A satchel containing paper money, a piece of silver, and the Taoist placard is put on his shoulder; and a piece of silver is placed under his tongue. A small pearl, called 'tranquillizing the heart pearl,' is placed on his breast; and, in the case of a woman, a small pearl is inserted in the toe of each shoe.

The corpse is now lifted and placed carefully in the coffin, the son supporting the head and the daughter-in-law the feet, with others assisting at the sides. It is important that it should rest exactly in the centre. Small bags of lime are then inserted to keep the head and feet in position; the pipe, fan, and handkerchief of the deceased are also inserted, and five small bags of different colours, containing nail-parings, old teeth which have fallen out from time to time, tea, and rice; a small casket containing a rosary, and the undress cap and 'riding-jacket' are also added; for the garments which the dead is at present wearing are his ceremonial clothes, required for his audience with the gods; these others he will wear on his journey. Then each person present takes from his breast a small piece of cotton wool, called 'warm the heart cotton,' and, rolling it up into a small ball, throws it into the coffin; the relatives are invited to take a last look, and care must be taken that no tears are allowed to drop in, lest the corpse should be found in another existence with marks or stripes on his face. Then the various coverlets are laid on in regular order, those presented by near relatives being given first place, and so on in order of precedence, until the coffin is quite full; whatever quilts are unable to find a place inside the coffin are burned. Before the lid is put on, all who are regarded as representing astral influences inimical to the deceased are requested to withdraw, and are allowed to return only when the lid has been put in place. The lid is smeared with crude varnish, to make it air-tight, or sometimes a cement made of rice, vinegar, and flour is used. Usually four large nails are employed to fasten the lid; but sometimes a sort of double wedge, fitting into a socket in the lid above and another in the side of the coffin, is used instead. The nails are driven in by a senior, the sons and, in some cases, the daughters meanwhile crouching under the trestles on which the coffin rests, lest the eyes of the departed should start out at the hammering.

15. Preparation for removal.—When the lid is fixed in position, the mourners are allowed to plait their queues with hemp-cord, and wear coarse shoes instead of the straw sandals they have been wearing, and they are permitted to eat. Food is now placed at the side of the coffin, and the dead and his gaoler are invited to partake; the friends and relatives kneel to pay their last respects, and the chief mourner returns the compliment on behalf of the departed. Two piles of paper money are then burned, one for the dead and the other for his guardian.

16. Meals served before the coffin.—The 'filial curtain,' made of white cotton, is next hung up before the coffin, drawn partially back at both sides, with a table and chair placed at the opening, a white cover like an altar-cloth draping the table. Regular meals are served to the deceased on this table every day, and, each time a meal is served, the server is expected to wail and cry. This continues until the funeral.

17. The fairy guides.—On each side of the chair are placed tall paper structures representing hills, one called the 'golden,' and one the 'silver' hill intended to indicate the vast sums which the for-

relatives have provided for the voyager, and behind these are tall figures of the 'Golden Youth' and the 'Jade Maiden,' bearing streamers to guide him across the 'Fairy Bridge.' The portrait of the deceased is hung up, behind the chair, supported on each side by scrolls bearing doleful inscriptions, and with white candles placed in front. The chair is occupied by the ancestral tablet, mounted on an inverted tub, and crowned by a piece of red silk fastened with red cord. The wording of the tablet reads: 'Ch'ing (dynasty) of the Rank of such-and-such, Master so-and-so's Spirit Chief.'

18. **Untying the knots.**—The day before the funeral, Bonzes and Taoists are invited to conduct 'masses,' called 'the Water Mass,' the object of which is to cleanse the departed of all sins and transgressions committed during his life. In the afternoon a bowl containing rice, and a thread rope consisting of seven strands, on which are threaded and tied twenty-four copper coins, is presented to a Bonze, who places it on a table in front of the table already referred to, and, as he recites the virtues of Buddha in releasing souls from pain and trouble, unties the knots in succession, putting the coins one by one into his vest. This untying of knots is meant to illustrate the release from all tightness and difficulties in the next world.

19. **The journey through the 'shades.'**—A Taoist takes his stand at the corner of the table, holding a bell in his hands, and, as he rings it, he chants a sort of sermon whose text is 'All is vanity,' and whose language has a remarkable similarity to the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes. He then describes the different stages of the journey to Hades. The journey is divided into seven periods of seven days, or 'weeks,' which correspond with the various stages of the spirit's wandering in the infernal regions. These stages are described in detail, with a wealth of impromptu illustration and elaboration; and the moral of all is the importance of repentance for not having spent one's days in vegetarianism and the repetition of Buddha's all-potent name, in order to avoid such horrors as have been related. When this long discourse is finished, a space is cleared in front of the 'spirit table,' and a large square with ornamental borders is mapped out on the floor with chaff; twelve oil lamps, provided by the Taoist priests, are disposed round the sides of the square, and are supposed to illumine the darkness of the gate of Hades.

20. **Funeral frivolities.**—A table is placed at which a Bonze and six Taoists sit, each performing on a different instrument. In the intervals they sing ribald or humorous songs, with the intention of exciting laughter. They also sing the 'Flower Song of the 12 Moons,' describing the different flowers which bloom in the different months, and other compositions which have apparently very little funeral reference.

21. **Offerings to the spirits.**—After supper the ceremony known as 'Fang Yen-kow' takes place. The spirit table and chair are removed; another chair is substituted, on which a priest takes his seat. Two tables, supporting two large candles and twenty-four bowls of vegetable food, are placed at a little distance in front, intended for the delectation of the various gods. Four other tables are disposed at the sides of the hall, two on each side, intended for the sacrifice to the family ancestors; a small table a little lower down contains the offerings intended for the dead person; and the spirit tablet sits at this table in the chair as before, attended on each side by relatives in light mourning garments. When the priests have finished their reciting, a quantity of paper garments and money is burned outside the house.

22. **Sacrifice to the dead.**—The apartment is now re-arranged, and preparations for the sacrifice

to the dead are made; musicians are requisitioned; large quantities of flesh and fowls are laid out; lamps are hung all over the room, and the chief mourner appears from behind the curtain, leaning upon the 'filial staff,' and supported by attendants. He kneels before the tablet and makes humble offering of the meats, etc. As he prostrates himself, a person standing at the side reads a long panegyric on the dead in a melancholy voice, and the chief mourner weeps as he lies upon his face. He is then escorted to the rear of the screen, and repeats the process three times; all the relatives and friends present follow him in his genuflections. When all is finished, the offerings and all the temporary fittings are removed, and preparations are made for the funeral.

23. **The funeral procession.**—In some places the funeral takes place in the fifth watch, i.e. between 4 and 5 in the morning, perhaps in the fifth week, or as late as one hundred days after death, sometimes even later, and in cases of poverty the coffin is left in the house, or put in a mortuary chamber for the time being.

Every one is awake and stirring at daylight when the day arrives, and arrangements are made for the start. An immense paper figure, representing the 'Clear-the-way god,' leads the van; next come two large bamboos bearing streamers, and four 'wagheads'—paper figures of men, whose heads bob continually as they are carried along. The son-in-law or nephew carries a dish containing rice, in which is placed the ancestral tablet. In wealthy families the tablet is placed in a sedan-chair, which is supported on each side by a son-in-law or nephew. The bearer of the tablet is robed entirely in white, and the friends of the family walk on either side of him. Then follows the coffin, borne by four men or a larger number, according to the rank of the deceased, and covered with a red pall or with a satin embroidered cover. After the coffin comes the chief mourner, wearing a head-dress of coarse hemp gauze, shaped somewhat like a biretta, with 'pom-poms' of cotton-wool placed at the intersections of the frame, and worn over a small white cap. He hangs his head as he walks, and is followed by the relatives, male and female. The daughter-in-law wears a cowl or hood of coarse gauze over her head, and a jacket and skirt of the same material; she also carries a staff or wand like that borne by the chief mourner; she sometimes sits in a sedan-chair, and the heavy head-dress is then placed on the top of the chair instead of on her head. She weeps and cries aloud as she goes, like the 'keener' at an Irish wake. Rice is thrown over the coffin and chief mourners as soon as they move towards the outside door. The figure of a crane, with outstretched wing and uplifted foot, is placed upon the centre of the coffin, and is supposed to convey the soul to the 'Western Heaven.'

24. **The entombment.**—When the place of burial is reached, the coffin is temporarily supported by a couple of blocks, whilst the exact location is being considered, with special reference to orientation. In wealthy families, a stone receptacle is prepared beforehand, and the coffin laid very carefully in the exact centre. A meal is laid out, to which the deceased and also the denizens of the neighbouring tombs are invited. The mourners' head-dresses and cinctures are burnt, with a quantity of paper money, and the streamers and staves are left at the grave. All present now set up a cry; the stone door of the tomb is placed in position, and the tomb sealed. The head-stone is set up, bearing the names of the deceased, with the date of erection. The mourners then join hands and perform a sort of 'merry-go-round' about the tomb, which is repeated three days later.

25. Return of the ancestral tablet.—The procession returns in the same order as before, escorting the ancestral tablet to the home, with crying and burnings. On arrival at the house a great bonfire is made outside the door, and all who have attended the funeral are expected to step across it before gaining the threshold; no one is exempted. In some places a little water is sprinkled over each person by the Taoist priests. The son, in (lighter) mourning garments of blue, kneels and offers the viands prepared, and burns a quantity of paper money. He next climbs by a ladder to the ancestral shrine over the central partition, lights candles before each shrine, and then carries up the new tablet and places it in position. All present are invited to partake of the feast which follows. On the third day a visit is paid to the tomb, and offerings of food, etc., are presented. Those who are present join hands, forming a ring round the grave, and circle round in one direction three times and then reverse three times; this is with the idea of confining the spirit in his proper habitat.

26. The seven 'weeks.'—On the seventh day a number of Taoists are hired, seven in all, to 'open the road,' and a great variety of ceremonies take place on this day—morning, afternoon, and evening. In the evening the hall is again arranged, with a table and chair, and a portrait of the deceased hanging behind the chair. Two cups of tea are put on the table, and two bowls of light food, together with candles and incense. The daughter-in-law weeps before the picture, as she 'invites' the spirit to partake of refreshment, and a quantity of paper money is also burned. At daylight, tea, etc., is laid as before. At breakfast-time, food of different kinds is offered and candles are lighted. The performance is repeated at noon, with this difference, that the viands are more elaborate. This takes place every 'week' until the seventh, the only exception being that in the fifth week a further meal is laid in the death chamber. In the fifth 'week,' Taoists are called to 'force the city,' or 'force the gate of hell.' A paper city with men, horses, etc., is set up, and, when night comes, a Taoist priest in full robes breaks through the city with the sword he carries, and liberates the imprisoned soul; afterwards a great bonfire is made in the open air, and three or four priests take their stand around it, holding long bamboos, to which are attached elaborate 'fireworks.' In the sixth 'week' the daughters are expected to provide a feast for the dead, and they are given a share in the division of the clothing which he has left. At the end of the seventh 'week' the chief mourner is allowed to shave his hair for the first time, but, if the coffin has not yet been removed, he is not permitted to do so until one hundred days have expired. The next year the mourners, wearing white garments, pay their first annual visit to the grave on the day known as 'clear bright,' and on this day the sounds of wailing may be heard in all directions. A further visit is sometimes paid in the ninth moon; and at the winter solstice paper garments, representing warm winter clothes, are presented and burnt.

27. The spirit's homecoming.—On the night appointed for the return of the spirit, a table of eatables is laid in the death chamber, which is then evacuated by the relatives. In the kitchen a quantity of lime is placed beneath and around the fireplace. When the hour arrives, as announced by the Taoist priest, a procession is formed, the priest leading, and all enter the chamber. The kitchen is then visited and the lime examined, the traces of the spirit's presence being discovered by the marks, as of the feet of a goose, upon it. A white cock is caught and carried in one hand in

front of a basket-lid, and, as the lid is struck by a measure held in the other hand, the cock crows; he is then escorted outside, and paper money burnt. This represents the sending off the spirit's escort. A white cock is said to be a protection against baneful astral influences, and to be the only capable guide of transient spirits.

LITERATURE.—S. Wells Williams, *Middle Kingdom*,⁵ New York, 1888; R. K. Douglas, *China*,⁴ London, 1887; J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*,⁴ Shanghai, 1903; J. J. M. de Groot, *Rel. System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff.; W. G. Walshe, *Ways that are Dark*, Shanghai, 1905. W. GILBERT WALSH.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Coptic).—When the decaying religion of ancient Egypt gradually gave place before the advance of Christianity, many of the beliefs, and much of the symbolism that had been so dear to the Egyptians for over three thousand years, survived the change of religion for some considerable time, and, as was to be expected from a people by whom burial rites had been magnified into a great and complicated magical system, the old customs were given up only gradually and reluctantly. To the Egyptians, Christianity presented itself in a somewhat different light from that in which it appeared to the other civilizations of the ancient world. From the dawn of history they had believed in a continuation of life after death, in a future existence that was well defined; and in order to secure this existence for the soul of man they had elaborated countless magical rites which were performed at the burial of the dead. They had also a god of the dead—a god who had once lived an earthly life, who had been slain by the power of Evil, and who by certain magical ceremonies had come to life again, and ruled as King of the under world. It was thus that in Osiris lay their hope of living again, and with him they considered the dead identified. The Christian belief in a resurrection was therefore not, in certain aspects, a new one to them, and the doctrine that the dead in Christ shall live in Christ was strangely familiar to all who had been reared in the Osirian creed. Thus it is not strange that, when Christianity began to be accepted in Egypt, the early believers continued to practise the ancient funeral rites, only slightly modified to meet the requirements of the new religion.

The chief concern of the pagan Egyptians had been the preservation of the bodies of the dead by embalming, so that the spirit of the deceased might pass to and fro between the kingdom of Osiris and the earthly shell which lay in the tomb; and the early Christians of Egypt saw no reason to alter the custom of their forefathers, more especially since the Christian and pagan doctrines of the resurrection had so much in common. Mummification of the dead, therefore, continued to be practised by the Christians until the beginning of the 5th cent., and only died out after that owing to the general opposition of the Church.¹ Mummies of anchorites and holy men and women have been found in various parts of Egypt, one of the most notable cemeteries containing Christian dead being the recently excavated burying-ground at Antinoë. The bodies are usually well preserved, the head being sometimes adorned with a garland. In the case of the men, the beard was allowed to grow, contrary to the ancient usage, and when the face is thin or emaciated it represents very much the type of the Good Shepherd as depicted in later iconography, but unlike the criphoric figures in the catacombs.² The body was carefully wrapped in bandages, usually intercrossed, and sometimes

¹ Anthony, the founder of Christian asceticism, had so great a dislike to it that he desired to be buried secretly, in order that his body might not be subjected to the general custom. It was probably his opposition that led to the suppression of the practice.

² Gayet, *AMG* xxx.

the face was covered with a painted plaster mask, as was the pagan custom of the time. In the case of a supposed Christian priest found at Deir el-Bahari, the outer wrapping was painted to represent the deceased holding the Eucharistic cup in his hand. On his left shoulder was the *swastika* ornament, which was much adopted in early Christian symbolism, while the lower part of his robe bore a representation of the boat of Isis.¹

But it was not only the belief in the efficacy of embalming that survived the change brought about by Christianity, for many of the other old funeral customs lingered on, although it is difficult to decide how far their import was understood by the Christians. There is some evidence to show that offerings of food continued to be made to the dead. In the Christian cemetery in the oasis of el-Khargeh the tombs follow the ancient design, the body being laid at the end of a long shaft, at the opening of which is a chamber containing niches for offerings.² Wine-jars and baskets for food were sometimes buried with the dead, and in a will made by a Christian at Antinoë the deceased requests that the holy offerings may be made for the repose of his soul. This, however, may refer to an *agape*, or a kind of mass said for the dead.³ It is interesting that at the Synod held at Hippo in A.D. 393, at which Augustine was present, the habit of placing the host in the mouth of the dead, which had become general amongst Oriental Christians, was strongly condemned. It was apparently also the custom to enclose some of the holy elements in the coffin. Some other pagan usages seem to have continued. As the dead were formerly buried with amulets and little figures of protecting gods, so the pious Christian was buried with figures of St. George and the Evangelists. In one case, at least, at Antinoë a sort of ivory praying-machine, a kind of primitive rosary, appears to take the place of the papyrus inscribed with prayers and magical formulae. There was also found, held in the hands of this body, a flower of Jericho similar to the mystic rose which was supposed to be the emblem of immortality, and to flourish every year on the day Christ was born. Hitherto this symbol was not considered to have been employed before the Crusades, but its presence in the cemetery of Antinoë points to its use in very early times. It is interesting also to note that the body of a monk named Serapion, from the same burial, was encircled by an iron band from which hung a cross.⁴ In cases where portraits of the deceased were painted on the outer coverings of the body, the ancient sign for life, the *ankh*, , is sometimes represented grasped in the hand.⁵ This symbol is very frequent in Egyptian iconography, and was often employed where the cross would have been expected. Its use was so persistent that it afterwards became identified with the cross, and was known as the *cruz ansata*. See art. CROSS.

As the influence of the Bishop of Alexandria increased over the remoter parts of Egypt, many customs which appeared semi-pagan died out, and the funeral rites were performed more in accordance with orthodoxy. After the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), when the Coptic Church was definitely separated from the orthodox body, there could be but few remaining. From descriptions in the Coptic writings, it would appear that the dead, wrapped in a winding sheet, were immediately carried out into the desert and buried. Persons of peculiar sanctity it was the custom to bury in a reliquary. The Coptic *Life of Shnoute* states that he was buried in a reliquary pierced with holes, probably in order that pilgrims

might have the benefit of gazing on the holy remains.¹ As these relics are usually described as bones, it is evident that embalming had by then been abandoned. A Mass, or offering of the Eucharist, was sometimes performed before the funeral, but Masses for the repose of the dead in the Roman sense seem to have been unknown in the Coptic Church. The use of tombstones at this period was almost universal. They usually contain the words: 'One God who helpeth,' and the date on which the deceased 'fell asleep' or 'entered into rest.' Occasionally they contain pious ejaculations and quotations from Scripture. Rarely they are conceived in a more pagan spirit, with such phrases as 'Grieve not, no one is immortal,' an especially good instance of this being a tombstone in the British Museum [no. 400] which runs: 'O how dreadful is this separation! O departure to the strange land which removes one for all time! O condition of Hades, how do we come to thy gate! O Death, name bitter in the mouth! . . . Let all who love to weep for their dead come to this place and mourn greatly.'² This recalls the ancient Egyptian funeral prayer to the passer-by: 'O ye who love life and hate death . . . pray for the deceased.'

The Copts have undergone centuries of oppression under Muslim rule, which has driven many to embrace Islām. The Khalif al-Mutawakkil (850) even went so far as to interfere with their burial customs, and ordered that all the graves of the Copts should be level with the ground. Possibly owing to the influence of Islām, which has surrounded them on all sides for so long a period, the funeral rites of the Copts to-day have become very similar to those of their Muhammadan fellow-countrymen. The corpse is borne to the cemetery on a bier, followed by the female relatives and women of the house wailing and mourning. At the burial-ground a sheep is often killed by the more well-to-do, and its flesh given to the poor; the poorer give bread alone. Professional mourning women are hired to wail in the house for three days after death—a survival, perhaps, of the ancient Egyptian custom, or possibly only a ceremony borrowed from the Muslims. The lamentations are renewed on the seventh and fourteenth days after death, and sometimes for longer still. On the eve of the festivals of *al-Milad*, *al-Ghitas*, and *al-Kiyamah* (i.e. the Nativity, the Baptism of Christ, and Easter), it is the custom of the Copts to visit the cemeteries and spend the night there, many of the richer having houses built specially for these occasions. The women spend the night in the upper rooms, the men below. Next day an ox or sheep is killed, and the flesh distributed among the poor. Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, p. 296) states that the Copts say that these visits to the tombs are merely for the sake of religious reflexion. This custom, however, together with the practice of slaughtering animals for food, possibly goes back to pre-Christian times in Egypt, when the relatives of the dead made periodical visits to the tombs, and brought food-offerings for the *ka* of the deceased to refresh him in the under world. The funeral services of the Copts are according to the liturgy of St. Mark. One is in use for ordinary periods of the year, and a special one is employed during Easter (Tuki, *Rit. Copt. Arab.* p. 525).

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¹ Amélineau, *Mission archéol. au Caire*, vol. iv. (1899).

² Hall, *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period*, p. 4.

³ Gayet, *AMG* xxx.

⁴ Myers, *Man*, 1901, no. 91.

⁵ *AMG* xxx.

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Ib.*

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Early Christian).—1. During the earlier years the Christians followed in general the burial customs of the Jews. But a livelier hope in the resurrection robbed death and the grave of many of their terrors. This gradually modified inherited funeral rites. To the followers of Jesus death was a sleep, and the grave a resting-place (κοιμητήριον) for those who had died in the faith (Jn 11³, Ac 7⁶⁰, 1 Th 4¹³, 1 Co 15¹⁸⁻²⁰). Not less but more respect was accordingly paid to the mortal remains of the departed, for their bodies had been 'temples of the Holy Ghost,' and were to rise and be glorified (1 Co 3¹⁶, 6¹⁹, 15⁴², Rev 7¹³). When death ensued, the eyes were closed, the body washed, the limbs swathed, the whole body wrapped in a linen sheet with myrrh and aloes, and laid upon a couch in an upper room (Ac 9³⁷; cf. Mk 15⁴⁶ 16¹, Jn 11⁴⁴ 19³⁹, 20⁵⁵). These acts were performed by the elder women—kindred and friends of the family. Relatives and intimates were admitted to view the face of the deceased, and an interval of eight or more hours was required before burial. The younger men carried the bier to the place of interment, followed by the relatives and friends (Ac 5⁶; cf. Lk 7¹⁴). Flute-players, hired mourners, and noisy demonstrations of grief were doubtless dispensed with (Mt 9²³, Lk 8³², Ac 8⁷, 1 Co 15⁵⁴). The place of burial was outside the city or village, in a natural cave, or in a tomb cut out of the rocky hill-side, or in a subterranean chamber, or simple grave. Local conditions were determinative. The description in the Gospel of John of the tomb of Lazarus and of that of Jesus will hold for the early Christian Palestinian place and form of burial (Jn 11³⁸ 19⁴¹; *Gosp. of Peter*, chs. 6 and 10). In fact, the form and character of Jesus' entombment influenced all subsequent Christian practice (1 Co 15³⁰). Tombs were, as a rule, private family possessions (Mt 27⁶⁷), and were large enough to receive several bodies, which were laid upon the ledges or in the niches cut in the sides. The brotherhood, however, from the beginning undoubtedly provided for the burial of its own poor (Ac 2⁴⁴; Aristides, *Apolog.* (Syr.) xv. 18). A large stone, rolling in a rabbit, closed the door of the hill-side sepulchre against prowling beasts and robbers (Mk 16³). It is altogether probable that the Jewish Christians whitewashed their tombs, as did their compatriots (Mt 23²⁷). In Rome and in general throughout the West, as well as in Egypt and North Africa, the Jews had already adapted the Palestinian form of interment to local conditions, and the early Christians modified this still further to meet their own peculiar requirements. Of course they borrowed this and that local practice from the current pagan usage. The wide-spread development of 'catacombs' (*q.v.*) as places of Christian burial was but a re-adaptation of Jewish and pagan burial customs. Simplicity and even plainness must have characterized the earlier forms of Christian entombment in all lands, partly on account of the poverty of the brotherhood, and also because of the hope of a speedy resurrection. A brief inscription expressing the hope of immortality (*ἐλπίη σοι, κοίμησις ἐν ἐλπίη, in pace*, etc.), sometimes accompanied by a consecrated symbol (a palm-branch or anchor, fish or dove), was the final tribute to those who had died 'in the Lord' (Bingham, *Antiq. of Chr. Church*, ed. 1870, bk. xliii.; *Am. Cath. Quart. Rev.*, 1891, xvi. 501 f.; Kaufmann, *Handb. d. chr. Arch.*, 1905, pp. 74 f., 111 f., 205 f., 277 f.; art. 'Köimeteria,' in *PRE³ x.*).

2. But changing conditions produced manifold developments. The wide-spread and increasing alienation between Jews and Christians in the early decades must often have suggested, if it did not compel, separate burial arrangements. And

the rapid increase of the Gentile element in the various churches throughout the Empire naturally tended strongly in the same direction. The Jewish cemeteries, indeed, would hardly have been open for the interment of deceased Christians with pronounced pagan antecedents. Our sources, it is true, are practically silent regarding the progress of this development, but it is safe to say that separation between Jews and Christians as regards cemeterial requirements had taken place before the close of the first century, especially in prevailingly Gentile Christian communities. And a similar separation must have been going on as between pagans and Christians. Hostility between them became marked towards the close of the 1st century (Ac 8¹⁴⁻¹⁵, 1 Co 7¹², 2 Co 6¹⁴, Col 2⁸, 1 Jn 2¹², 3¹³, Rev 2¹⁰, 20¹⁰, 3⁹, 6¹², and chs. 8-20), and martyrdom was not uncommon (Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 5-7; *Tac. Ann.* xv. 44; Suetonius, *Nero*, 16; Melito *ap. Euseb. HE* iv. 26, iii. 17-20; Pliny, *Ep. ad Traj.* x. 96, 97; Ign. *Ep. ad Rom.* 5, *ad Phil.* x. 2; Polyc. *ad Phil.* 1). The Christians would naturally wish to ensure the sanctity of the graves of their martyred dead, but in order to do so they had to provide separate cemeteries. That this began to be done in Rome by the opening of the 2nd cent. is generally admitted (de Rossi, *Roma Sott.* 1864-77, i. 343 f., iii. 386 f.; *Bull.* 1865, p. 36 f., 1886, p. 136; *Nuov. Bull.* 1901, p. 71 f., 1902, p. 217 f.; Bosio, *Roma Sott.* 1850, p. 141 f.; Armellini, *Gli Antiche Cimit.*, 1893; V. Schultze, *Katakomben*, 1882, p. 307; Kaufmann, *l.c.* 111 f.). But that it did not come to pass throughout the Empire is abundantly proved (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1897, i. 500 f. and 717 f.). Influences other than hostility would often operate to hasten or prevent the institution of separate Christian cemeteries. In some lands, such as Syria and Asia Minor, it took even centuries to accomplish the separation of Christians on the one hand, and Jews and pagans on the other, as regards burial accommodation (Ramsay, *l.c.*).

3. The earliest distinctly Christian cemeteries of which we have any knowledge are to be found in the neighbourhood of Rome. The Neronian persecution, followed by that of Domitian, doubtless constrained the Christian brotherhood to provide separate resting-places for their honoured heroes who had 'fallen asleep.' And, as martyrs to the faith multiplied, such cemeteries became consecrated ground, and the tombs of the martyrs were ere long places of pious meditation and devotion. In certain communities this often necessitated chapels, where the brethren could gather without imminent danger of molestation. Then funeral rites and ceremonies soon shared in the general development, and these in turn reacted powerfully upon the whole manner and mode of burial. The entire catacomb development at Rome, Naples, Syracuse, Alexandria, Trèves, and elsewhere, for example, is adequately explained only on such presuppositions. Instead of family tombs and brief temporary resting-places for the dead, the Church, especially in the West, gradually made provision for the burial of all its deceased members (by A.D. 250). There accordingly arose, in the suburbs of every considerable Occidental city, Christian burying-grounds. And, where the remains of noted martyrs were laid, chapels were erected, and the brethren gathered to observe the Holy Eucharist and to hold fellowship with the 'saints who had gone before.' The chapel was named after the martyr; often the title was given to the whole cemetery; more frequently the cemetery bore the name of the patron who had provided the ground; occasionally of the bishop who enlarged and elaborated it. Instances of each are the cemetery of the martyr Prætextatus, of the patron Priscilla, and

of the bishop Calixtus—all in the neighbourhood of Rome. In the Orient, developments were different. Palestine is rich in rock-tombs, and so is the whole of Syria. Asia Minor has few ancient church-cemeteries; it has mostly family burial-places. And this is largely true of the whole Orient. Stone sarcophagi with Christian inscriptions are frequently found. These were placed in simple graves beneath the surface, or in tombs erected on the hill-side, with more or less elaborate façades. In all this there is little that was distinctively Christian (Ramsay, *op. cit.* i. 500 f., 717 f.). But in the West the pre-Constantine developments were quite unique. Beginning with the Jewish or pagan type of family tomb, the Christian churches soon provided cemeteries for all their dead (Aristides, xv. 8, 11; Tert. *Apol.* xxxix.). The most common form of these was that which was later known as 'catacombs' (*q.v.*). These underground cemeteries are enormously extensive in the neighbourhood of Rome, and were used as burial-places by the Christians down into the 5th century. They give us the larger part of our information on the theme in hand. The transition, for example, from the private family-tomb to the common church-cemetery is illustrated by the St. Lucina crypt and the Calixtus catacomb, by the so-called *speleunca magna* and the Prætextatus catacomb, the Flavian vestibule and the Domatilla catacomb, and the 'Acilii Glabrones' chamber and the Priscilla catacomb. The growing use of obituary inscriptions can also be seen in the catacombs, from the simple *επιφνη σοι* to the most elaborate personal tribute on the tomb of Sixtus II. (A.D. 258). The development of Christian symbolism can likewise be traced therein, from the rude but suggestive 'anchor' to the portrayal in fresco of the Last Supper or of the story of Jonah. Christian art in general had its beginnings and early elaborations in the catacombs, and every phase of it was closely related to the burial of the dead. This is especially true of painting, sculpture, and church architecture. The same is also true of the development of the liturgical and sacerdotal rites in the early Church, and the worship of the dead. The ante-Nicene development of burial customs is, however, quite amply reflected also in the current literature. The *Martyrium S. Polycarpi* speaks of celebrating 'the anniversary of his martyrdom,' or birthday, at his tomb (xvii.). Tertullian says: 'As often as the anniversary comes round, we make offerings for the dead (martyrs) as birthday honours' (*de Cor.* iii.; see also *de Monog.* x., and Cyprian, *Epp.* xii., xxiii., xxxvi. 2; cf., further, art. COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD).

The Christians did not fear cremation, though they preferred 'the ancient and better custom of burying in the earth' (Min. Felix, *Oct.* xxxiv.; cf. *Mart. Polyc.* xviii.; Tert. *de Anima*, li., *de Res. Car.* lxxiii., *Apol.* xlii.; Origen, *c. Cels.* v. 23, viii. 30; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* vi. 12; Euseb. *HE* v. 2, vii. 22; August. *de Civ. Dei*, i. 12, 13). Simplicity prevailed throughout the 2nd cent. (Min. Felix, *Oct.* xii. and xviii.), but by the opening of the 4th cent. everything had become elaborated. Associations had been formed in the West to hold the property; space was sold in the cemeteries; gravediggers (*fossores=κομιδαι*) had become a separate class, and there were artists, stonecutters, painters, sculptors, and architects. The anniversary festival had been extended so that the third, seventh, and perhaps the thirtieth and fortieth days after burial were celebrated (*Apost. Const.* viii. 41 and 42). Prayers were made at the tomb, psalms sung, and the Eucharist celebrated as fellowship with the dead; lighted tapers were placed at the grave; personal ornaments,

toilet articles, bottles, vases, etc., were interred with the corpse (Synod of Elvira, can. 34; of Laodicea, can. 9; of Gangra, can. 20; Euseb. *HE* vii. 16, *Vita Const.* iv. 66, 67, 70, and 71; Epiph. *Hær.* lxxv. 3; Socrat. *HE* i. 40, iii. 18; Jerome, *Ep.* xxvii. [cviii.] ad Marcellam).

4. With the recognition of Christianity by Constantine a new era opened. Recent martyrdoms had multiplied the number of saints and holy places, furnishing fresh sites for sacred buildings as well as holy relics for altars. Imperial favour and funds now facilitated the erection of churches throughout the Empire, and the graves of apostles, martyrs, and honoured saints were soon covered by imposing basilicas or mausoleums. In the suburbs of Rome, for example, the basilica of St. Peter arose on the Vatican Hill, that of St. Paul on the Via Ostiensis, that of St. Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina, that of St. Agnes on the Via Nomentana, and that of SS. Marcellinus and Peter on the Via Prænestina. These all were, or became, cemeterial churches, with which Imperial mausoleums were frequently connected, as in the case of the mausoleum of St. Helena, near the last-named church, and that of Constantina, near St. Agnes. All around this latter basilica were placed minor monuments in a large open-air cemetery. The 'churchyard' now soon becomes the prevailing type of cemetery throughout the West, including North Africa. Persecution having ceased, the Christians were free to bury *sub divo*, yet the martyr graves beneath the altars usually drew the cemeteries near the churches. Of course, local conditions were determinative. Churches within the walls of the cities could not have extensive cemeteries, though their crypts were used for burial purposes. Western Europe followed in general the lead of Italy and Rome as regards cemeterial churches and churchyards. North Africa seems to have early developed the open-air cemetery, independent of particular churches. Egypt continued for the most part the ancient practices of the native Egyptians and naturalized Jews. Syria also persisted in its old burial customs, though the elaborate mausoleums of antiquity were not erected as Christian tombs; and the same was true of Asia Minor.

5. The elaborate funeral ceremonies and the interment of the Emperor Constantine in Constantinople (Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iv. 60 and 66-72) indicate the stage which the development had reached and also lines of future progress:

The body 'was placed in the principal chamber of the palace, and surrounded by candles,' and 'encircled by a numerous retinue of attendants, who watched around it incessantly night and day'; the second son, Constantius, himself headed the procession, 'which was preceded by detachments of soldiers in military array, and followed by vast multitudes, the body itself being surrounded by companies of spearmen and heavy armed infantry. On the arrival of the procession at the church dedicated to the apostles of our Saviour, the coffin was there entombed. . . . As soon as Constantius had withdrawn himself with the military train, the ministers of God came forward, with the multitude and the whole congregation of the faithful, and performed the rites of Divine worship with . . . prayers for his soul. . . . His statue was erected . . . in every province.'

The funeral and entombment of Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, as described by Gregory of Nazianzus, is likewise instructive (*Paneg. on Basil*, 80):

'The saint was being carried out, lifted high by the hands of holy men, and every one was eager to seize the hem of his garment, or to touch his shadow or the bier which bore his holy remains. . . . The psalmody was overpowered by the lamentations. . . . the body was consigned to the tomb of his fathers. . . . and now he is in heaven, where, if I mistake not, he is offering sacrifices for us and praying for the people.'

Panegyrics on deceased distinguished personages, and over the remains of relatives and friends, became common (Euseb. *Vita Const.*; Ambrose on Valentinian and on Theodosius; Greg. Naz. on his brother, sister, and father [*Orat.* vii. viii. and xviii.], and on Athanasius; Greg. Nys. on Meletius;

August. *Conf.* ix. 12; Jerome, *Epp.* lxi. etc.). The anniversaries of famous martyrs were also occasions for elaborate discourses on their virtues. And their tombs now became the resort of pilgrims from far and near. The relics of martyrs and saints were frequently disinterred and sent to important churches for re-burial in the crypts, where shrines were erected and services held. The Synod of Gangra (c. 358 A.D.) declares: 'If any one shall, from a presumptuous disposition, condemn and abhor the assemblies (in honour) of martyrs, or the services performed there, and the commemoration of them, let him be anathema' (can. 20). Yet the Synod of Laodicea (before A.D. 381) announced that 'members of the Church shall not be allowed to frequent cemeteries or so-called martyries of heretics for prayer or worship' (can. ix.). Many councils in Spain, France, and Germany during the 6th cent. tried to stop burials in martyries and churches. Pelagius II. (A.D. 578) protested against the growing custom, but with slight effect. Burial around churches, or in porches, vestibules, and cloisters, soon became universal. Gregory the Great (c. 600 A.D.) complains about exactions of cemetery officials as a price of burial, but says: 'If parents or others wish to offer anything for lights, we do not forbid, but you must not ask it' (bk. ix. *Ep.* iii.). Jerome and Chrysostom had spoken approvingly of giving alms at funerals, for the relief of the souls of the dead.

6. A summary of the theme in hand may be given under the following heads. (1) The simple funeral rites and burial customs of the early days gradually gave way to more and more elaborate ceremonies and practices. (2) These developments were different in different lands, but they all tended in the same general direction. (3) Two universal influences were at work to produce these manifold changes: one arising out of the persistent faith and life of the Church, the other pressing in from the universal pagan environment. (4) Funeral rites were extended so as to include the elaborate ceremonials which have been described above, most of which were drawn more or less unconsciously from the surrounding pagan practices, although the Christians never lost the primitive faith and feeling which distinguished their early funeral customs. (5) The manner and forms of entombment were also steadily influenced by the various pagan practices, and yet to the Christians the grave remained the 'sleeping-place' for those who were to arise to 'newness of life.'

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EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).—Of no other country in the world have the burial customs always attracted so much attention as have those of ancient Egypt. The artificial preservation of the body, the elaborate care with which it was provided with covering and ornament, the monumental nature of the tombs which were built or excavated to contain it, struck the earliest foreign observers with astonishment, and are still the theme of wonder and admiration in our own day. Moreover, the dry and microbe-free climate of Egypt, in which nothing is destroyed by the disintegrating action of the atmosphere or the attacks of bacilli, has helped the artificial aids of mummification and carefully-sealed burial to preserve the human body and its appurtenances intact just as they were placed in the tomb. Even if

removed from its wrappings, it is but rarely that a mummy is affected by any agency except damp; while the textile fabrics, the mats and baskets, and even the loaves of bread sometimes placed with it, are, if delicate and brittle and without elasticity, to all outward appearance the same now as when they were buried with the mummy. It is chiefly to their preservative methods of burial that we owe our present remarkable knowledge of the ancient Egyptians and their manners and customs, whereas in the case of Greece and Rome we have become acquainted with the course of daily life, and the objects of daily use, mainly through the medium of literary descriptions or the representations on painted vases. In Egypt we have the actual objects themselves, from the precious ornaments of gods and kings to the humblest bead-necklaces or rude idols of the *fella-hin*; we have chariots perfectly preserved, splendid furniture and marvels of cabinet-making which once adorned palaces, simple wooden benches, and the shoes, mallets, and baskets of the common peasants. The majority have been preserved in the tombs. Naturally we possess actual objects of daily use from Greece and Rome also, but they are rare, and tell us little compared with the vast corpus of knowledge which we have derived from the sepulchres of Egypt. And one thing we have from Egypt which is the most wonderful of all, and this we can never have from Greece and Rome. No man has seen the actual face and form of Themistocles, Pericles, or Cimon, of Solon, or of Socrates, of Alexander, Hannibal, or Augustus; yet every man now who wishes may gaze upon the actual bodies of kings whose ancient names were told by the priests to the Father of History, whose deeds as they were written on temple-walls were recounted to the nephew of Augustus, and whose statues were venerated as those of deities by the Emperor Hadrian. Sesostris, Ramses, and Osymandyas, who were ancient names to Hellenes and Romans, and were actually contemporaries of Greek kings who were the heroes and demi-gods of the classical period, lie now in the glass cases of the Cairo Museum. Mycerinus, of whom Herodotus (ii. 129-134) tells a merry tale, is No. 6006 of our national collection in the British Museum. Their preservation to the present day is due to the peculiar burial customs of their nation, and was intended.

The chief peculiarity of the Egyptian burial customs is the artificial preservation of the body. No doubt in later times a theory of resurrection was adopted, according to which, after a space of three thousand years, the several parts of a man—his *ikhu*, or spark of intelligence which had rejoined the gods, his *ba*, or bird-like soul which fluttered around the tomb, his *khaibit*, or shadow, and the *ka*, or double of him, which was born with him and accompanied him on earth during life and in the tomb during death—rejoined his *sahu*, or noble and venerable mummy, which had lain so long in solitary majesty in the tomb, and then the whole man rose again from the dead. But it is not clear that this actual man was to live again on earth as he had lived before. He was to live with the gods rather. According to another theory, the *sahu* was not the actual mummy, but a sort of spiritual body which germinated in the *khat*, or corruptible body, and sprang up out of it just as the wheat springs up out of the seed: so the dead Osiris gave birth to a new living Osiris. It was in this *sahu* that the concomitant parts of the man were re-united. A symbol of this belief is found in many tombs; it is a figure of Osiris on his bier, made of earth, in which seed was sown just

before the burial; as we find it now, we see the wheat which grew up and withered in the darkness. The two different ways of regarding the *sahu* probably arose from two different ideas of the actual dead body. In one aspect it was a mere dead thing, not different from a dead fish—the *khat* of a man like the *khat* of a fish—and was expressed in the hieroglyphic writing by the figure of a dead fish. But in another it was a fearful and wonderful thing—the *sahu*, dwelling in majestic loneliness and silence in the tomb, and endued with marvellous magical powers, which naturally included the power of summoning back to it at will the departed principles of life and intelligence, the shadow, the heart, and the name, ever regarded with awe by primitive races. So the *sahu* is represented as the human mummy lying on its bier. The two ideas were combined in later times by regarding the *sahu* as a spiritual body (which originally it was not) which sprang from the *khat*. The *khat* was simply the profane name for a dead body of any kind. In the oldest religion, when the actual human mummy was alluded to, it was called the *sahu*, and one prayed to the gods to allow the *ba* to re-enter the *sahu* and re-vivify it, so that it could feed upon the offerings which its descendants brought to it. It was probably out of this idea that the conception of a resurrection, whether of a spiritual *sahu* or of the actual man, grew. The real origin of mummification is to be found in a simple desire to preserve the dead man to his family. In the dry soil of Egypt bodies were found by experience not to decay utterly when they were buried in shallow graves, and the simple expedient of smoking or scorching was no doubt resorted to in order to stave off putrefaction even more. How far smoking is responsible for the crouched and drawn-up position of the oldest Egyptian bodies is doubtful. Real mummification was not known to the oldest Egyptians, but that it was introduced before the close of the Neolithic period is shown by the hieratic use, even in the very latest time, of a flint knife only, in order to make the incision through which the entrails were removed. Herodotus records for us this use of 'an Ethiopian stone' (see below). The ancient and holy stone-knife alone could be used for this act; the new-fangled metals were profane. Of this desire to preserve the dead as long as possible to 'those on earth who love life and hate death,' in the words of the Egyptian funeral-prayer, we may find a proof in the custom of keeping the mummy above ground for a specified period, in its own home, before it was finally committed to the tomb (see below, p. 462).

Wiedemann regards this custom, which we shall discuss further later on, as a survival of what he calls 'secondary' interment. In the most ancient days he considers that the primitive Egyptians buried the body first in ground near or under the house till it had partially decayed, and then transferred it to its final resting-place in the desert necropolis. In this way he explains, too, the fact of the disturbed condition of the bones in most of the Neolithic graves, which Flinders Petrie explains as due to a ceremonial cannibalism. Wiedemann thinks that the body was intentionally cut up after putrefaction had set in during the first burial in order to clean the bones before the second and final burial. He finds confirmation of this view in many texts of the 'Book of the Dead,' in which the cutting off of the limbs of the dead is referred to, while the deceased prays that his limbs may be restored to him, and that he may be whole. There is also the legend of the cutting up of the body of Osiris. That these passages are rightly interpreted as referring to a primitive custom of cutting up the body is possible. At Deshasha, Flinders Petrie found definite proof of dismemberment in some cases. But there is little proof that the reason for the practice is that advanced by Wiedemann. And, as a matter of fact, dismemberment was not so usual as has been thought, for much of the disturbance of the remains in pre-historic graves is no doubt due merely to predatory beasts and to wady-torrents (*sêls*).

The primitive custom of burial in a crouched-up posture gradually gave place, during the early

dynastic period, to that of burial at full length, with which real mummification is associated. At Médûm, Flinders Petrie found both customs existing side by side in the graves of the age of the IIIrd-IVth Dynasty. It was probably not till the time of the Vth Dynasty, when Egyptian customs became crystallized in the form which they more or less retained ever afterwards, that the old custom of the Neolithic people finally died out and the burial customs of the Egyptians took the final shape which we know so well. At least from the time of the IIIrd Dynasty, prayers were made for the dead in the ancient form: 'May Anubis [the protector of the tomb at Abydos] or Osiris [the Busirite god of the dead] grant a royal offering: may he give thousands of flesh, fowl, and everything good and pure on which the god there liveth, to the *ka* of N., justified and venerated' (see below). And the piety of those 'on earth' erected a gravestone 'in order to make his name to live on earth.' This was as far as the Egyptians ever went in the direction of ancestor-worship. As has been shown in the art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Egyptian), the belief that the dead man was absorbed in the personality of the great god of the dead, Osiris—a belief universal throughout Egypt by the end of the 'Old Kingdom'—prevented any worship of him under his own name: he was venerated as being himself Osiris, not as an ancestor. Otherwise a developed ancestor-worship would, no doubt, soon have grown up; for family life was close and affectionate in Egypt, far more so than among the surrounding nations; and the names and figures of parents, children, and other relatives were constantly commemorated on the gravestones of the dead. 'Those living on earth who loved life and hated death' (*ankhu tep ta mer ankhu mestjetj mut*) were always full of sympathy with and affection for those who had gone down before them into the mysterious tomb-world, and to this is due the whole elaborate paraphernalia of Egyptian burial. The smoked body of the earliest period was provided with a mat on which to lie peacefully, with jars of food to live upon, and with flint weapons to use if it could. For how did one know what happened to the venerated *sahu* in his tomb? Would not *ka* and *ba* return to it, bringing back beloved life? That he who had been alive was now absolutely and irrevocably dead was as inconceivable to the childlike mind of the oldest Egyptian as it was to that of any other primitive man. And among this most conservative of all races, the primitive idea merely became more elaborate and overgrown with ritual as civilization progressed.

A better means was devised of preserving the body in order that *ka*, *ba*, and *ikhu* might come back to it and give it life and intelligence to live upon the offerings of its pious friends on earth, to go whithersoever it would, to take any form it pleased, to exercise its undoubtedly magical powers (was not death itself magic?) for good. The easily putrefying entrails and brain were removed, and the body, reduced to skin, flesh, and bone only, was salted in natron, filled with spices, and carefully bound up, in order that decay might never come to it. The removed portions were not cast aside, but were also mummified, and stored in four special jars, which we call 'canopic jars,' each under the protection of a certain demon, so that the dead man could have them at his need. And the shallow grave on the sand became for the well-to-do Egyptian a great sealed tomb in the rock, in which he could rest with his body, safe from the prowling jackal or hyæna, and with his protective amulets and funerary furniture, often made of precious materials, guarded from the impious hands of human robbers. For in Egypt,

as elsewhere, lust of gold drove men to theft; and even in Egypt, the most pious of lands, many could at all times be found who would brave the anger of gods, priests, and the outraged dead themselves to obtain riches. Many tombs were violated within a century of the burial of their owners, in spite of all the precautions taken in order to hide them. That of Thothmes IV. was already violated during the troubles of the reign of the heretic Ikhnaten, and the royal burial was 'restored' in the reign of Horemheb. The knowledge shown of the precise position of the carefully-hidden tombs makes it evident that the thieves, no doubt, came from among the ranks of the priests and guardians of the necropolises themselves; and in the reign of Ramses IX. the scandal had become so great that a royal inquisition into the robberies of tombs was held, which resulted in the conviction and punishment of many offenders. But tomb-robbery went on gaily; the prizes were worth having; and fifty years later all the royal mummies at Thebes had to be taken out of their original tombs and hidden in remote hiding-places, where they remained till discovered in our own time, and placed in the Museum of Cairo. The primitive Egyptian, however, had no fear of tomb-robbers, or of any disturbance beyond that of a storm-flood which might descend from the hills and lay his bones bare to the winds, or of the prowling jackal. This last was a very real danger, and a naive way of forestalling it was devised by regarding the magic-working beast who lived among the tombs as their protector as well as their ravager, and praying to him to take care of the resting-places of the dead and to allow the offerings of the living to remain in peace, and himself to give funerary offerings of the very best ('a kingly offering'), of thousands of flesh, fowl, and everything good and pure on which the god there (the dead man) lives, to the *ka* of the dead man. This is the origin of the well-known *di-hetep-suten Anup* formula, which we have already quoted (p. 459).—May Anubis (the jackal) give a royal offering, etc., which was inscribed on every Egyptian gravestone, till Osiris or another god took the place of Anubis, in which case, however, the formula remained the same. Another theory has explained the occurrence of the word *suten*, 'king,' in this formula as referring to an actual intervention of the earthly reigning king on behalf of the dead man. It is known that the kings often provided magnificent burials for favourite courtiers or nobles; but whether in the early period the monarch was always expected at least to make offerings vicariously at the grave of every subject is very doubtful.

The process by which Anubis lapsed into the position of a mere satellite of Osiris, whose worship as god of the dead spread from Busiris in the Delta over the whole of Egypt, has already been traced (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Egyptian], B). The inscriptions and decorations of the tombs, especially those of the royal tombs at Thebes, exhibit to us a temporary degeneration of Osiris himself, at any rate at Thebes. During the Theban period Theban ideas naturally coloured the beliefs of the majority of Egyptians, and Osiris had become largely identified with Amen-Rā. The ideas of Busiris, Sakḥāra, and Abydos as to Osiris-Sekri-Khentamenti had all become blended with the Heliopolitan idea of the dead sun-god who, after his midday glory as Rā, set as Tum, and during the night sailed through the tomb-world beneath the earth in his barge, attended by the souls of the blessed; and to this was added the identification of the ram-headed Amen of Thebes with Rā. So that we find the dead Amen-Rā-Osiris, blue in colour like the dead Osiris but ram-headed like Amen and called by the mystic name

of Auf, 'his limbs,' passing, attended by Isis and Nephthys, the companions of Osiris at Busiris, through the lower world. The Theban priests developed a set of the ancient systems of spells and incantations designed to protect the dead man in the under world and describing his proceedings there (which the Egyptians called 'The Book of Coming Forth from the Day,' and we have named 'The Book of the Dead') into two 'books,' entirely separate from the ordinary 'Heliopolitan' and other recensions of the Book of the Dead. These they called 'The Book of the Gates,' and 'The Book of That-which-is-in-the-Underworld,' which are written and pictured on the walls of the royal tombs at Thebes. There is no doubt that the Egyptians pictured the *Duat*, or Underworld, as actually beneath the earth. This arose from the fact of the tomb being excavated in the earth. The houses of the dead in the necropolis, the *Kherti-neter*, or 'divine under-place,' as the Egyptians called it, formed in their ideas a subterranean world of their own, in which the *sahus* resided in awful majesty each in his tomb, while the ghosts could pass from tomb to tomb through the mazes of the under world. Later, the boat of the sun, in which the god of light crossed the heavens by day, was thought to pass through this dead world between his setting and his rising, accompanied by the souls of the righteous. In this under-Egypt, over which Osiris presided as the mortal king presided over the living Egypt above, and to which a dead sun gave illumination as the living sun gave light to living Egypt, the soul was supposed by some to live very much as the man had lived on earth: there were rivers and lakes to be navigated and fields to be tilled there, and the dead might be called upon to do work as he had worked on earth. But surely rest was the guerdon of a man who had lived a laborious life, so that with the dead were buried boxes full of little Osiris figures called *ushabtiu*, or 'answerers,' because, as the sixth chapter of the 'Book of the Dead' inscribed upon many of them said, 'If one calleth Osiris at any time to do any labours which are to be done there in the under world, to plough the fields, to fill the canals with water, to carry sand from east to west, behold! say, "Here am I when ye call!"' They answered for the dead man. There is little doubt that these *ushabtiu* were the descendants of very real 'answerers' in the shape of dead slaves, who in very ancient times were strangled and buried with their lords in order to serve them in the other world as they had done in this. Growing humanity and culture substituted wooden and stone slaves for real ones; but it may be that the custom of giving real 'answerers' was continued in the case of the kings till quite a late date. It may be even that the dead bodies found lying by the wooden boat in the tomb of Amenhetep II. (1450 B.C.) were murdered slaves. In the earlier days of Mentu-hetep II. (2200 B.C.?) priestesses of Hathor who were members of his harem seem to have been killed and buried in the precincts of his tomb-temple at Deir el-Baharî in order to accompany him to the next world. And naturally enough we find the bodies of slaves in the tombs of the 1st Dynasty kings at Abydos.

Although in later times the Egyptians were certainly more humane than either the Greeks or the Assyrians, it would be a mistake to suppose that they had always been so. In earlier days they had been, like all semi-civilized races, more or less children, and a child has no idea of the sanctity of life. Certainly the Egyptians had originally no conception of the sanctity of human life as distinct from other life. The slaves followed their masters

1 Some have merely the inscription 'Illuminate the Osiris N!'

to the tombs as the food did, or the caskets, or the jewellery.

In the tombs, if they are tombs, of the kings of the 1st Dynasty at Abydos, we find an immense *bandobast* for the journey to the next world. There were stacks of great vases of wine, corn, and other food, covered up with masses of fat to preserve the contents, and corked with a pottery stopper, which was protected by a conical clay sealing, stamped with the impress of the royal cylinder-seal. There were bins of corn, joints of oxen, pottery dishes, copper pans, and other things which might be useful for the ghostly cuisine of the tomb. There were numberless small objects, used, no doubt, by the dead monarch during life, which he would be pleased to see again in the next world—carved ivory boxes, little slabs for grinding eye-paint, golden buttons, model tools, model vases with gold tops, ivory and pottery figurines, and other *objets d'art*, the golden royal seal of judgment of king Den in its ivory casket, and so forth. There were memorials of the royal victories in peace and war, little ivory plaques with inscriptions commemorating the founding of new buildings, the institution of new religious festivals in honour of the gods, the bringing of the captives of the royal bow and spear to the palace, and the discomfiture of the peoples of the North-land. All these things, which have done so much to re-constitute for us the history of the earliest period of the Egyptian monarchy, were placed under the care of the dead slaves whose bodies were buried round the tomb-chamber of their royal master at Abydos.

Passing over a space of two thousand years, we see the burial of Iuaa and Tuyu, father and mother of Queen Tii, the consort of Amenhetep III., at Thebes. Here we have the same *bandobast* for the next world: beautifully carved chairs and beds, boxes for wigs and garments, even a chariot, besides all the regular appurtenances of the dead as now prescribed by religion. But the place of the dead slaves is taken by the stone and wooden *ushabtiu*. All this funerary pomp and circumstance grew up from the simple burial of the Neolithic Egyptian with his mat, his pots, and his flints. What kind of religious services were celebrated at the grave in the earliest period we do not know, but it is certain that they contained the germs of the later ritual as it was carried out in Pharaonic times. The descriptions given by Herodotus and Diodorus of the different processes of mummification and the funeral ceremonies are well known. They were eye-witnesses of what they describe; and their descriptions, with exceptions in the case of Diodorus, tally entirely with what we know from the monuments and inscriptions. The account of Herodotus (ii. 85 ff.) is as follows:

'When in a house a man of any importance dies, all the women in that house besmear their heads and faces with mud, and then, leaving the body in the house, they wander about the city, and beat themselves, with their clothes girt up and their breasts exposed; and all their relations accompany them. And on their part the men beat themselves, being girt up in like manner. After they have done this, they carry out the body to be embalmed. There are those who are appointed for this purpose and practise this art: these, when the body has been brought to them, show to the bearers wooden models of dead men made exactly like by painting. And (they show) the finest style (of embalming), which they say is His (i.e. Osiris') whose name I do not think it right to mention in connexion with this matter. And they show the second style, which is inferior and cheaper; and the third, which is cheapest. Having explained them all, they learn from them in what way they wish the body to be prepared; then the relations, when they have agreed upon the price, depart; and the embalmers remaining in the workshops thus proceed to embalm in the finest manner. First they draw out the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, taking part of it out in this manner, the rest by pouring in medicaments. Then with a sharp Ethiopian stone they make an incision in the flank, through which they take out all the bowels; and, having cleansed the interior and rinsed it with palm-wine, they next sprinkle it with pounded incense. Then, having filled the belly with

pure myrrh pounded, and cassia, and other perfumes, with the exception of frankincense, they sew it up again; and, when they have done this, they pickle it in natron, entirely covering it for seventy days: longer than this it is not allowable to pickle it. When the seventy days are expired, they wash the corpse, and wrap the whole body in bandages of flax cloth, smearing it with gum, which the Egyptians ordinarily use instead of glue. Then the relations, having taken the body back again, make a wooden case in the shape of a man, and, when it is made, they enclose the body in it; and thus, having fastened it up, they store it in a sepulchral chamber, setting it upright against the wall. Thus they embalm bodies in the finest manner.

Those who desire the second method, in order to avoid great expense, they prepare in the following way: when they have charged their syringes with oil made from cedar, they fill the abdomen of the corpse with it without making any incision or taking out the bowels, injecting it at the fundament; and, having prevented the injection from escaping, they pickle the body in natron for the prescribed number of days, and on the last day they let out from the abdomen the oil of cedar which they had before injected; and it has such power that it brings away the intestines and vitals in a state of dissolution, while the natron dissolves the flesh, and nothing of the body is left but the skin and bones. When they have done this, they return the body without any further operation.

The third method of mummification is this, which is used only for the poorer people: having thoroughly rinsed the abdomen with a purge (*grippiata*), they pickle it in natron for seventy days, and then deliver it to be carried away.'

Diodorus gives much the same account; he adds that the first method cost one talent of silver (about £150), the second twenty minæ (about £60), the third much less. He gives additional details about the mourning, saying that during the interval between the death and the burial the relatives abstained from the baths and from wine, ate the simplest food, and wore no fine clothes; and also with regard to the embalmers themselves, adding the picturesque detail of the stoning and flight of the *paraschistes*, which is of considerable religious interest.

He says (l. 91) that, after the 'scribe' had made the mark on the body indicating the place where the incision was to be made by the *paraschistes*, or 'ripper', the latter performed his duty with the 'Ethiopian stone' (as Herodotus says), and then immediately fled away, pursued by a volley of stones and imprecations from the other embalmers, for the Egyptians held in abomination any person who wounded or committed any act of violence on the human body. We can see that this reason was not quite the correct one. The ceremonial stoning and fleeing away of the *paraschistes* was, like his ceremonial use of the 'Ethiopian stone' for the performance of his duty, an act of religious significance: the necessary cutting of the holy body of the Osiris had from the first been regarded as an impious act though one necessary for the preservation of that body; therefore a religious act of disapprobation and punishment had to be performed, though doubtless no one had a sacred body really deserving to hurt the agent of necessary impiety. That the *paraschistes* was universally regarded as unclean, however, is certain; whether the actual embalmers, or *choachytes*, shared this reputation to any extent or not is uncertain. Diodorus says that they consorted freely with the priests, to whose lower orders they in fact belonged, and were allowed to enter the sanctuaries. Diodorus also mentions the practice, to which we have already referred, of keeping the mummy in the house after death, with considerable detail, even going so far as to say that the richer Egyptians kept their dead in magnificent chambers, and enjoyed the sight of those who had been dead for several generations. There is little doubt that this is rather a misunderstanding than an exaggeration: the magnificent chambers can hardly be other than the real tombs, in which the Egyptian could always, if he were so disposed, see the sarcophagi which contained the bodies of his ancestors. In all probability the tombs of private persons were not entirely covered up and hidden away, as those of the kings were, for many years after their deaths.

We have one instance in the tomb of Aahmes, son of Abana, the admiral of king Aahmes in the war against the Hyksos, at el-Kab. In it we see a portrait of his grandson, the well-known Pahari, and an inscription which says: 'Lo! here is the son of his daughter, the director of the works of this tomb as making to live the name of the father of his mother, the scribe of the reckonings of Amen, Pahari, deceased.' From this we know that he embellished his grandfather's tomb as well as constructed his own, and we see that an inscription about him could be inserted on the walls of the earlier tomb after his death even, which shows that at least the hall of offerings in a tomb usually remained accessible to the relatives of the deceased for generations after his death. Thus, indeed,

may the Egyptians well have felt satisfaction in seeing the coffins which contained their dead, and have regarded the dead, to a certain extent, as contemporaries, as Diodorus says they did, though we know that they never looked upon the actual bodies themselves, as he seems to think. Yet that the dead were actually kept in the houses for some time before their burial seems certain, and Lucian gives his personal testimony to the fact: *ταριχεύει δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος οὗτος μέντοι—λέγω δ' ἰδὼν—ξηράνας τὸν νεκρὸν ξύνδειπνον καὶ ξυμπότην ἐτοιμάσας (de Luctu, § 21).* This may have been a very ancient custom,—we may compare the way in which barbarian tribes still preserve the bodies of their dead chiefs or the dried heads of their enemies, e.g. the Dayaks of Borneo,—but we have no illustration of it on the Egyptian monuments, and we cannot doubt that Diodorus' account is due to a misunderstanding. The 'storehouse' in which Herodotus says the body was kept (*θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκίᾳ θηκαίᾳ, ἰσθάντες ὁρῶν πρὸς τοίχον* [see above]) may either be a place for the temporary storage of the mummy, or the actual tomb. The detail as to the position of the coffin might seem to point to the former alternative, as the proper thing for the coffin was to be placed horizontally on the ground; but in later times it would seem that the coffin was often actually placed on end in the tomb, probably to economize space. Diodorus gives the same detail about placing the coffin on end, but says that this was done in a chamber which those who had not private tombs built on to their houses, in order to contain the mummy. Now it seems very probable that something of this sort was done by poorer Egyptians. Children are often found buried under the floors of the ancient houses, and during his recent examinations among the brick ruins of the ancient Thebes burnt by the generals of Esarhaddon in 668 B.C., Legrain found a burial chamber containing a mummy with *ushabtiu* of the 7th century B.C. This was undoubtedly a chamber built on to a house. Perhaps this may be the explanation of Herodotus' *οἰκίᾳ θηκαίᾳ*, and of Diodorus' apparent statement as to the retention of the body for a long period above ground. Ordinarily, however, the body of a well-to-do person would be buried in a tomb when the period of mourning was over and the tomb ready, till which time it was, no doubt, kept in a special chamber in the house. The time between the death and the actual burial is given differently by different authorities as from three to ten months. According to Gn 50⁸, the embalming occupied forty days, and the period of mourning seventy days.

With regard to the actual funeral ceremonies Diodorus (i. 93) gives some details which are not borne out by the monuments, and are evidently due to misunderstanding. His description of the exaggerated mourning at the death of a king is probably correct, but the details about the funeral oration pronounced over the body by the priests, and the liberty allowed to the people to express their disapproval of a bad king and so prevent his proper burial, have no actual authority to back them up, and seem highly improbable. Yet we have a curious sentence in the inscription describing the battle of Momemphis, in which Amasis says that he gave Apries proper burial, 'in order to establish him as a king possessing virtue, for His Majesty decreed that the hatred of the gods should be removed from him'—which seems to tally somewhat with Diodorus' statement. Evidently a king not considered to be *neb menkh*, 'possessing virtue,' could be debarred proper burial as an Osirian. But the judge would doubtless be a successful rival or usurper, not the common people. No doubt all usurpers had not always been so politic as Amasis was, and we know that

the bodies of rival kings were often torn from their tombs and cast to the winds by their enemies, whether usurpers or 'usurpees': Amenemeses, of the XIXth Dynasty, is an instance in point.

A funeral ceremony of very peculiar character which was actually carried out in the case of the kings is not mentioned by Diodorus. This is the remarkable 'Festival of the End' (literally, 'of the Tail'), or *heb-sed*. It would seem that in primitive times, as has been the case among many semi-savage peoples, the Egyptian king was not allowed to live beyond a certain term. He was then killed, and another took his place upon the throne, only to be killed himself eventually unless he died or was killed before his term had expired. The term was one of thirty years; at the end of his thirty years' reign the monarch was solemnly murdered and buried with all pomp and ceremony. But, as in the case of the human *ushabtiu* mentioned above, the growing humanity of later days, and doubtless the growing reluctance of the kings to let themselves be slaughtered, brought about a compromise. The king was no longer killed, but all the paraphernalia of the ceremony of his 'end' were preserved: he himself celebrated his own funeral ceremony, and performed mystic ceremonies before his own image as Osiris beneath the standard of the funerary wolf-god of Siut, Upuaut (sometimes called *Sed*, the god 'with the tail'). At the same time his eldest son or other heir-apparent was usually associated with him on the throne, so that a new king appeared in fact as well as in theory. We have illustrations of the 'Festival of the End' from the time of King Den, or Udimu, of the 1st Dynasty; well-known later representations of it are taken from the temple of Amenhetep III. at Sulb in Nubia and the 'Festival Hall' of Osorkon II. at Bubastis. In later times the festival lost all significance, and Ramses II. and other kings celebrated it at far shorter intervals than thirty years. In the old days, even so late as the time of the Middle Kingdom, so far did the pretence of killing and burying the old king go, that very probably an actual *heb-sed* tomb was made for his supposed dead body, a statue which was ferried over the river and carried in procession to the *sed*-temple and tomb. It may well be that the funerary temple of King Mentuhotep Nebhetep-Ra, of the XIII Dynasty, discovered by Naville and the present writer at Deir el-Bahari in 1903, is in reality a *heb-sed* temple: the great hypogeum beneath its western hall, which they called a 'ka-sanctuary' or a 'cenotaph,' may then, if it is not the actual tomb, be the *heb-sed* tomb of the king, and the neighbouring tomb called the *Bab-el-Hoan* may be the *heb-sed* tomb of another king of the dynasty.

Connected with Diodorus' statement as to the popular judgment of the virtue of a deceased king is his remarkable description of the carrying of the body of every man to a certain lake, where it was judged by forty judges, before whom any one could make accusations against the dead man: if these were substantiated, he was adjudged unworthy of proper burial; if not, his traducers were heavily mulcted, and his body was placed in a *baris*, or boat, and ferried across the lake to the place of burial. There is no doubt whatever that nothing of this kind actually took place, and that Diodorus or his informants were misled into thinking that the judgment of the dead man by Osiris and his forty-two assessors happened upon earth instead of in the next world: the lake and the boat are equally taken from the pictures of the 'Book of the Dead.' A full description of what is known to us from Egyptian sources as to the real proceedings at the funeral of an Egyptian of high rank will be found in Wallis Budge's book *The Mummy*, p. 153 ff. This account is based largely upon the evidence of the well-known 'Papyrus of Ani,' in the British Museum.

In accordance with Egyptian conservatism in religious matters, the bier and the various chests containing canopic jars, etc., which were borne to the tomb, were not till a comparatively late period placed upon wheels. The ancient sledge-runners of the days before the invention of the wheel were still used when the funerary rites were elaborated, and, when, at a later period, wheeled carriages were introduced for the funerary procession, the old sledge-runners were still preserved, and the wheels were placed beneath them. Oxen were used to drag the carriages to the tomb. The chief priestly participants in the procession and in the rites performed at the tomb were the *kher-heb*, or 'cantor,' as the word is sometimes translated, the *sem* or *setem*, and the *an-mut-f*. The *kher-heb* seems to have acted as a sort of general director of the funeral; he was often a relative of the deceased

He read the appointed prayers and spells. The function of the *an-mut-f* is not clear. He seems to have represented the god Osiris, and walked in the procession, bearing the crook and flail, the emblems of the god. The *sem* had very peculiar duties. On the night before final burial, after the procession, he proceeded to the tomb, and there laid himself down to sleep, covered with the mystic cow-skin, before the upright coffin containing the mummy. During his sleep he was supposed to 'see all the transformations of the god,' i.e. the dead man, in the next world. In the morning three persons preceded the procession and solemnly aroused the *sem*, who then took part with the *kher-heb* in a sort of antiphonal service, in which the two took the parts of Horus and Isis, that of Osiris probably being taken by the *an-mut-f*. Finally the *sem* donned the skin of a leopard, and performed the very important ceremony of the 'Opening of the Mouth and Eyes,' in order that the dead man might be able to see and eat the offerings brought to him. The 'opening' was performed by touching the mouth and eyes of the mummy with a model adze or chisel of antique form. The ordinary ceremonies of offering at the grave were performed by the *hen-ka*, or 'servant of the ghost,' in the case of a private person a near relative, in that of the king a regularly appointed priest. The funerary chapels of the kings had broad lands assigned to them for their maintenance, and in the time of the XIXth Dynasty developed into huge temples, of which the Ramesseum and Medinet Habu at Thebes are examples. These, like the royal tombs, were decorated with funerary subjects taken from the Theban 'Books of the Under World,' already mentioned; but in the royal temples scenes of the ordinary life of the monarch were also introduced. The private tombs are almost exclusively decorated with such scenes, as they had been in earlier days.

An interesting circumstance in connexion with the funerary chapels and tombs may be mentioned here. Since Osiris had become, in succession to Anubis, pre-eminently the god of Abydos, the necropolis of that place became, so to speak, the metropolis of the under world, to which all ghosts who were not its rightful citizens would come from afar to pay their court to their ruler. So the man of substance would have a monumental tablet put up to himself at Abydos as a sort of *piéd-à-terre*, even if he could not actually be buried there; while for the king, who, for reasons chiefly connected with local patriotism, was buried near the city of his earthly abode, a second tomb would be erected, a stately mansion in the city of Osiris, in which his ghost could reside when it came to Abydos. We know that both Senusret III. and Aahmes I. had second tombs, which they never occupied, made for them at Abydos; queen Teta-she-ra, grandmother of Aahmes, had an imitation pyramid made for her there by her grandson (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Egyptian], B); and it is by no means improbable that the so-called royal 'tombs' of the kings of the Ist Dynasty, the contents of which have already been described, were in reality cenotaphs also, the monarchs being buried elsewhere. And Seti I. and Ramses II. had funerary chapels at Abydos, which, as at Thebes, are large temples.

From this sketch it will be seen that, in spite of the conservatism of the Egyptians, especially in such matters as these, considerable development and alteration took place in their burial customs and cult of the dead during the course of centuries. A difference is noticeable between the appointments of the mummy under the Old and Middle Kingdoms and under the New Kingdom. In the earlier period *ushabtiu* of the conventional type were rare, but wooden models of boats and boat-

men, butchers and bakers at work, field-labourers, soldiers, women carrying baskets, and other figures of the same kind, which were all *ushabtiu*, were *de rigueur*. Under the New Kingdom these all disappear, with the exception of an occasional boat, and their place is taken by the boxes of conventional *ushabtiu* in the form of a mummy holding two hoes for agricultural work in the next world, and by a much greater number of amulets than had been usual before. Chief among these were the 'pectoral' and the 'heart-scarab,' often combined in one, and inscribed with a certain chapter of the 'Book of the Dead.' The ordinary small scarab is, of course, constantly found, but was quite as much an amulet of the living as of the dead. As a matter of fact it is commoner as an amulet of the dead under the Middle Kingdom than under the New Kingdom. The names of dead persons are constantly commemorated on scarabs of the Middle Kingdom, very rarely on those of the later period, except during the Saïte archaistic revival. It must be remembered that, although the idea of the design or inscription on the base of a scarab was originally derived from the inscription of a seal, and although actual scarabs were often used as seals, yet the scarab itself was always an amulet, typifying 'coming into being' or 're-birth,' expressing the hope that the 'members' of a man would ultimately re-unite in a new life.

From the time of the Theban domination onwards, papyri containing chapters of the 'Book of the Dead' were always buried with the mummy, so that he could have with him his guide to the next world and its dangers. In earlier times this was not done; only in the case of kings were the older series of spells, out of which 'The Book of Coming Forth from the Day' developed, inscribed upon the walls of their tombs. These are known to us as the 'Pyramid Texts,' and they are a most interesting monument of the archaic stage of the Egyptian language. Later such kings, as we have seen, had the spells of 'The Book of the Gates' and 'The Book of That-which-is-in-the-Underworld' similarly painted on the walls of their tombs. The style of mummification and of the coffin varied at different periods: the great rectangular coffins and sarcophagi of the early period are very different from the gaily painted cartonnage coverings and coffins in the human shape which were usual in later days. Later still a casket-like form was again preferred, and in the Roman period painted portraits of the dead, either on flat panels or modelled in plaster in the round, were inserted in the coffins. The *ushabtiu*, which from the XIXth to the XXIIInd Dynasty often represented the deceased in his habit as he lived, not as a mummy, in later days reverted to the mummy-form, till in early Ptolemaic days their use was practically abandoned. One of the latest known (now in the British Museum) is of the Roman period: it is of faience, but very rude in style, and bears in Greek letters the simple inscription *Σωτηρ ναύτης*—'Soter, a sailor.' By this time the Egyptian mummies and funerary ceremonies had become the theme of the half-derisive wonder of the rest of the world, and indeed we need hardly be surprised at the derision, for the whole spirit and practice of the ancient rites had degenerated utterly and they became mere ridiculous exhibitions, while the ideas which they were supposed to express became the sources of religious charlatanism and more or less humbugging 'philosophies.' So Egypt 'expired, a driveller and a show.'

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H. R. HALL.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

(Europe, Pre-historic).—I. Palæolithic period.—Owing to the negative evidence of archaeological researches, there are no data with which to combat the supposition that during the earlier stages of the evolution of humanity little or no attention was paid to the disposal of the dead, the deceased members of a family or community being simply abandoned by the way, like those of the lower animals. Nor is it known in what precise phase of social culture the custom of burial became recognized as a sacred duty of the survivors, for it is still a debatable problem among archaeologists whether the reindeer hunters of the Palæolithic period, who frequented the caves and rock-shelters of the Dordogne and other parts of Western Europe, were in the habit of systematically burying their dead. The few human remains hitherto encountered in the débris of these inhabited sites, which are accepted without cavil as belonging to the people of that period, are held by some archaeologists to be those of persons who had been accidentally killed by the fall of materials from overhanging rocks, and their skeletons are now occasionally met with under circumstances which clearly establish the above sequence of events. On the other hand, those which show from inherent evidence that they had been intentionally deposited in the Palæolithic débris and attended with sepulchral rites are still regarded by some anthropologists as interments of later times. The three well-known skeletons found in the rock-shelter of Cro-Magnon have long been regarded as representing the people of the later Palæolithic period; but, as they were lying on the surface of the culture strata of the shelter, in a small open space between it and the roof which only became covered up by a subsequent talus, they are now often regarded as belonging to the Neolithic period.

That Neolithic people were in the habit of burying their dead in caves formerly inhabited by Palæolithic races has been frequently noticed and recorded by explorers. Thus, in the upper strata of the débris in the Schweizersbild rock-shelter, a Neolithic civilization was attested, not only by a characteristic assortment of relics, but also by the fact that the shelter had been latterly made use of as a cemetery which contained no fewer than 22 interments. The graves were dug into the underlying Palæolithic deposits, and ten of them contained the remains of children, as well as those of adults. Fourteen adult skeletons reported on by Kollmann belonged to two very different races, one or a fair size (5 ft. 3 in.), and the other so small as to be characterized as a race of pygmies. Dr. Nüesch, the explorer of this rock-shelter, thought that man in the Neolithic time visited it only for the purpose of burying, or perhaps cremating, the dead—an idea suggested to him by the large quantity of ashes in the upper strata. It would appear, from the facts disclosed during the exploration of this early inhabited site, that there had been no discontinuity in the human habitation of this part of Switzerland since the reindeer hunters made

this rock-shelter their rendezvous up to the Bronze Age; but no evidence of systematic burial had been detected till the true forest fauna of the Neolithic period had taken possession of the land (*Neue Denkschriften der allgem. schweizerischen Gesellschaft für die gesammten Naturwissenschaften*, vol. xxxv.).

The celebrated station of Solutré (Saône-et-Loire), which has given its name to one of the intermediate phases of Palæolithic civilization in de Mortillet's classification, had also been subsequently utilized as a cemetery up to, if not beyond, Roman times; but, although some of the graves were clearly shown by their contents to be of greater antiquity than others, it was impossible to assign any of them with certainty to the Solutréen period. Moreover, the cephalic indices of 18 crania submitted to Broca varied from 68·34 to 88·26—an extent of variability which could be better accounted for by a post- than by a pre-Neolithic population.

Palæolithic burials.—Formerly it was commonly held among anthropologists that the Palæolithic people had no religion. But a fresh examination of old materials and some more recent discoveries supply data which modify this deduction, if, indeed, they do not prove the contrary. It is difficult to epitomize the facts and arguments thus raised, but the effort must be made, as otherwise our evidence would resolve itself into a series of bare assertions.

The sepulchral phenomena associated with some of the human skeletons disinterred in the Mentone caves (Balzi-Rossi), notably those known under the names of *Barna Grande* and *La Grotte des Enfants*, leave no doubt that the bodies had been intentionally buried with their personal ornaments, coiffures, necklets, pendants, etc., made of perforated shells, teeth, fish vertebrae, pieces of ivory, etc. Among the grave-goods discovered along with some of these skeletons, were one or two well-formed implements of flint, which differed from those met with in the surrounding matrix in being made of large flakes of foreign material, and showing a style of workmanship more akin to the Neolithic period. The discovery of two skeletons, of a negroid type, in the *Grotte des Enfants*, which Verneau describes as belonging to a new race, intermediate between those of Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon, marks an important addition to human palæontology.

The *Chancelade* skeleton, found in the small rock-shelter of Raymondon (Dordogne) and described as that of a man of about 60 years of age, lay at a depth of 5 ft. from the surface, in Magdalénien débris, on the left side, with the hands and knees strongly bent towards the face.

L'Homme écrasé de Laugerie Basse (Dordogne) is here noted, because the evidence is conclusive that during life this individual had been crushed, probably while asleep, by a fall of rock from the roof, and that consequently the victim must have been contemporary with the Magdalénien débris in which he reposed. He lay on his side, with the knees bent upwards in front of the breast, and appeared to have been adorned with a series of shells distributed symmetrically on different parts of his person. The corner of a great stone, part of a fallen mass, lay across his spine, and doubtless had caused his death, as the underlying bones were crushed.

A remarkable contrast to the skeletons of Chancelade and Laugerie Basse is that recently found in a small grotto at La Chapelle-aux-Saints (Corrèze).

It is described as that of an aged man, about 5 ft. 3 in. in height, who had been buried in a prepared grave beneath a bed of undisturbed Moustérien débris, 12 to 16 in. thick. The grave measured 4 ft. 8 in. in length, 3 ft. 3 in. in breadth, and 1 foot in depth. The body lay on the back, with the legs bent upwards, the right hand flexed under the head, and the

left extended. Around the body were bones of various animals broken for their marrow, together with a few flint scrapers and bone pointers—supposed to have been the remains of a funeral feast (*L'Anthropologie*, xix, 519).

Another skeleton, which has a striking resemblance to that just described, was recently found in the under strata of the rock-shelter of Le Moustier, in the upper valley of the Vézère.

It is described as having been buried intentionally in the attitude of sleep, beneath undisturbed strata of Moustérien age. The right arm was folded under the head, and the left extended. Near the left hand lay a pointed flint implement of the *coup-de-poing* type (6½ in. long), and a little further on a flint scraper. The cranium is described as having the osteological characters of the Neanderthal and Spy skulls. The face was strongly prognathic, and there was no chin. The skeleton was that of a young man, about 4 ft. 10 in. in height, whose wisdom teeth had not yet been fully developed. Bones of various animals, some of them being described as partially calcined, were close to the body. Both the discoverers and Dr. Klaatsch, who examined this skeleton, formed the opinion that it had been intentionally buried with sepulchral rites (*ZE*, 1909, p. 637).

A further discovery of a portion of a human skull has been announced, at a place called Combe-Capelle, near the town of Montferand-du-Périgord (Dordogne). From its osseous characters and associated relics this individual is regarded as occupying a chronological horizon intermediate between the Moustérien and Magdalénien periods.

It is a fact of some significance that all the races hitherto recognized as coming within the Palæolithic range of Western Europe are dolichocephalic, and that brachycephalic skulls are rarely found outside Neolithic burials, and then only in deposits of the transition period, to which reference will now be made.

2. *Transition period.*—Outside the haunts of these highly skilled hunters, artists, and workers in stone and bone, there existed, in certain parts of Europe, other communities, probably emanating from the same stock, who, owing to the exigencies of a changing climate and the gradual disappearance of wild animals from the plains, began to exploit new sources of food, which, in the course of time, caused a considerable divergence in their domestic economy. Thus, while the Chelléen and Moustérien culture relics can be more or less paralleled throughout the whole of Southern Europe, the artistic phases of the later civilization of the reindeer hunters are not forthcoming beyond a limited area, mostly in Southern France. Implements of Moustérien types have been found in the Mentone caves, but not a trace of the relics characteristic of the Magdalénien stations of France; and yet both sets of cave-dwellers may have been contemporary.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the investigation of the 'kitchen middens' of Mugem, in the valley of the Tagus, was the discovery of upwards of a hundred interments at various depths in the shell-mounds; but it does not appear that any special grave-goods had been associated with them.

From the data at our disposal the point of most importance to the present inquiry is that the recently discovered skeletons at Moustier and Chapelle-aux-Saints, which undoubtedly were survivals of the earlier types of humanity, appear to have been interred with sepulchral rites, so circumstantially carried out as to suggest that they were founded on an already established cult of the dead. But, however this may be, it cannot be gainsaid that, during the Neolithic civilization, there is unmistakable evidence to show that the disposal of the dead had become a sacred obligation on the surviving relatives and friends. By this time the sepulchral materials are overwhelmingly conclusive in support of the doctrine that religiosity and a belief in a future life were

the dominating factors in the social organizations of the period.

3. *Neolithic period.*—During the Neolithic period the cult of the dead prevalent among the peoples of Western Europe was the outcome of psychological ideas which linked human affairs with the souls of men, animals, and things in the spirit world. The writer agrees with the animistic theory of Tylor, which represents man as first attaining to the idea of spirit by reflexion on various physical, psychological, and psychical experiences, such as sleep, dreams, trances, shadows, hallucinations, breath, and death, and so gradually extending the conception of soul or ghost till all Nature is peopled with spirits. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the religion of these pre-historic peoples, as disclosed by their sepulchral remains, involved a belief in intercommunications between mankind and the supernatural world. When a prominent man died, his weapons, ornaments, and other cherished objects were placed in the tomb along with suitable viands for his supposed journey to the Unseen World; and, indeed, there is evidence to show that in some instances his favourite wives, slaves, and pet animals were sacrificed, and buried in different parts of the mound. The selected grave-goods were appropriate to the standing and tastes of the individual, so much so that on this ground alone the graves of distinguished men, women, and children are readily recognizable. Such facts undoubtedly suggest that the people of those times did not regard life beyond the grave as differing widely from that on earth. To them death was the portal to the community of departed heroes and friends, to which they looked forward, across the span of human life, with hopeful anticipation of a more perfect state of existence. Hence the abodes of the dead were considered of greater importance than those of the living. Constructed of the most durable materials, and generally placed on a commanding eminence so as to be seen from afar, the tomb became an enduring memorial for many generations, till eventually its actual purpose and meaning became lost amidst the changing vistas of succeeding ages. One of the most common and effective methods of perpetuating the memory of the dead was by rearing a mound of stones or earth over the grave. To this custom we owe some of the grandest monuments in the world's history—the Pyramids of Egypt, the *topes* and *dagobas* of India, the mighty mounds of Silbury and New Grange, the megalithic circles of Stonehenge and Avebury, together with the numberless rude stone monuments known as dolmens, cromlechs, menhirs, etc., scattered along the western coasts of Europe and extending into Africa. To comprehend fully the motives which underlay the construction of ancient sepulchral monuments, it would be necessary to examine not only their structural peculiarities and contents, but also their surface accessories, such as stone circles, cairns, mounds, menhirs, earthen ditches, etc. Although a strong family likeness permeates the whole series in Western Europe, they differ so widely in certain districts that to deal with their local peculiarities and distribution alone would entail at least as many chapters as the number of countries within that area. Then the attentions paid to the dead before, at, and subsequent to, the burial disclose a wide field of speculative research, involving the foundations of religion, ancestor-worship, and general cult of the dead.

(1) *Inhumation and cremation.*—Pre-historic sepulchres vary so much in form, structure, position, and contents that to make a systematic classification of them on the lines of their chrono-

logical development is almost an impossibility. One special element which complicates such an inquiry was the custom of cremating the dead, which appears to have originated in Eastern lands, and to have spread westwards, reaching the British Isles towards the close of the Stone Age. This practice, of course, introduced various innovations on the sepulchral customs previously in vogue. Burial by inhumation, which, according to Greenwell, was much more common in the Yorkshire Wolds, is thus described by that veteran explorer:

'[It [the unburnt body] is almost always found to have been laid upon the side, in a contracted position, that is, with the knees drawn up towards the head, which is generally more or less bent forward: the back, however, is sometimes quite straight. So invariable is this rule, that out of 301 burials of unburnt bodies, which I have examined in the barrows of the Wolds, I have only met with four instances where the body had been laid at full length' (*British Barrows*, p. 22). 'In most cases there is nothing to protect the body against the pressure of the overlying soil, but now and then a few large blocks of flint or thin slabs of chalk have been placed round it, thus forming a kind of rude covering; and from the appearance of the earth immediately in contact with the bones, it would seem that turfs had sometimes been laid over the corpse' (ib. p. 13).

On the other hand, when the body was cremated, the incinerated remains were carefully collected and usually placed in an urn, and then buried. When no urn was used, the remains were laid in a little heap, either in the grave, over which a mound was subsequently raised, or in a hole in earth already consecrated to the dead, such as a former barrow. The corpse, thus reduced to a few handfuls of ashes and burnt bones, required no great space for its preservation either in a public cemetery or in a family burying-ground. Hence sprang up a tendency to diminish the size of the grave, and thus megalithic chambers gave place to short stone cists containing the body placed in a contracted position.

Simple inhumation, i.e. placing the body in a hole in the earth and re-covering it with the excavated earth, was probably the earliest method of disposing of the dead; and to mark the site the survivors naturally raised over the spot a mound of earth or stones. Among a sedentary population the next step in advance would be to protect the body from the pressure of the surrounding earth. This was usually done by lining the grave with flagstones set on edge, over which a larger one was placed as a cover, thus forming the well-known cist; sometimes, instead of flagstones, wooden planks were used in the shape of a rude coffin. The material used was not always a matter of choice, but rather depended on what was most readily procurable in the neighbourhood. Greenwell tells us that in the Yorkshire Wolds the stone cist, so common in other parts, was almost entirely wanting, because in chalk districts the requisite slabs were unprocurable. On the other hand, wood is so liable to decay that it is rare to find evidence of its having been used.

On one occasion the writer of this article was present at the excavation of a barrow, near Bridlington, under the guidance of Greenwell, and on reaching the primary interment there was only a large empty cavity, with nothing but the enamel of a few teeth lying on the floor to show that a burial had taken place. Greenwell, however, soon cleared up the mystery by pointing out the unmistakable impression of wooden beams on the clay walls of the empty space, which, doubtless, had formed some kind of coffin. A few instances of tree coffins have been discovered both in this country and on the Continent. One well-known specimen from a barrow at Gristhorpe is now preserved in the Scarborough Museum. It consisted of the trunk of a large oak, 7½ ft. long and 3 ft. 3 in. wide, roughly hewn and split into two portions; one of the portions was hollowed out to make room for the corpse, and the other formed the lid of this improvised coffin. Among the grave-goods were a small bronze dagger, 3½ in. long, containing 2 rivet holes for the handle, fragments of a ring and of an oval disk both of horn, together with a few flint objects (*Jewitt, Grave Mounds*, p. 48). Another remarkable discovery of a grave was made at Treenhöl, in Jutland, which contained a wooden garment, leg bandages, a horn comb, a small bronze

knife, and a bronze sword in its wooden sheath. The whole of the deposit in the grave was wrapped up in a large deer-skin, which probably had served as the warrior's outer cloak (*Worsaae, Danish Arts*, London, 1882, p. 53).

The stone-lined cist is perhaps the most widely distributed type of early grave known. From this to the megalithic chamber, with its sepulchral compartments, entrance passage, and superincumbent cairn, was an easy transition. But the chronological sequence thus suggested is of little value in dating these monuments throughout the British Isles, as there is evidence to show that some of the chambered cairns and long barrows were constructed before the introduction of cremation. Thus, in the counties of Gloucester, Wilts, Somerset, and some neighbouring localities, there are chambered cairns in which the primary burials were by inhumation, and the human skulls found in them belonged to a dolichocephalic race. Similar chambered cairns, containing remains of a dolichocephalic race, have been found in the Island of Arran; but as regards the analogous groups of sepulchral monuments further north, such as those in the counties of Argyll, Inverness, Sutherland, Caithness, and the Orkneys, it is conclusively proved that cremation and inhumation were contemporary from the very beginning; and the same remarks apply to the dolmens of Ireland. It would thus appear that, subsequent to the erection of the early chambered cairns of the Stone Age in Britain, there was a period of degradation in this kind of sepulchral architecture, during which the well-known barrows of the Bronze Age became the prevailing mode of burial.

In Scandinavia the Giant graves belonged to the Stone Age, but gave place during the Bronze Age to large stone-lined cists, suitable for more than one corpse. Finally, in the early Iron Age, both these monuments were discarded for simple burial, either by inhumation or after cremation; and there were then raised huge earthen tumuli, such as the mounds of Thor, Odin, and Freya at Gamla Upsala, and the ship barrow at Gokstad. The dolmens of the Iberian Peninsula, known as *antas* in Portugal, belonged to the Stone Age, and their interments, which were almost exclusively of unburnt bodies, showed that the people who constructed them were a dolichocephalic race—a remark which also applies to the cave burials of that country, some of which were older than the dolmens. Cremation appeared at a comparatively late period in the Bronze Age, probably owing to the distance of the Iberian Peninsula from the seat of its supposed origin.

The primary object of inhumation might have been nothing more than protection of the corpse from enemies and wild beasts; but, in the evolution of the grave from a mere hole in the earth up to the elaborately constructed chambered cairn, we must seek for a higher motive than a pious act of respect to the memory of a departed friend. The general idea entertained by archaeologists on the subject is that the grave was looked upon as also the temporary abode of the ghost, who was supposed to hover around the corpse till the natural decay of the latter had been completed—a process which took some time, and entailed on the ghost the irksome ordeal of passing through a sort of purgatory, or intermediate stage, between this life and that of the spirit-world. It is now surmised that the effect of fire had long been known as a means of purifying not only the body, but also the soul, from the pollution which death brings with it—an opinion which may account for the finding of so large a number of partially burnt bodies in graves, even before cremation was generally adopted. As soon as it became fully realized that burning was merely a speedy method of accomplishing the dissolution of the

body,—now regarded as nothing more than a mass of corrupt matter,—cremation became the culminating point of a religious cult, which taught that it was a most desirable object to set free the soul from its association with the corpse as speedily as possible.

But, whatever were the motives which led to the adoption of cremation, whether religious or sanitary, there can be little doubt that burial by inhumation was associated with religious rites and ceremonies long before its introduction into Western Europe. Subsequently both methods were practised concurrently during the whole of the Bronze Age, and down to the time when Christianity superseded paganism. According to classical writers, the Greeks and Romans practised both methods, but in fluctuating proportions, probably due to the influence of fashion or current religious opinions. That cremation was more prevalent among the richer classes was partly due to its being an expensive process, and, therefore, beyond the means of the common people. But one has to be cautious in drawing deductions founded on motives, as the predominance of one or other of these burial customs varied in separate districts, even within such a limited area as the Wolds of Yorkshire. On this point Greenwell writes (*op. cit.*, p. 21):

'In some localities on the Wolds it has been seen that cremation prevailed, though inhumation was the general custom throughout the whole district. In other parts of Yorkshire, however, cremation was all but universal; as, for instance, in Cleveland, where Mr. Atkinson's very extensive investigations did not produce a single instance of an unburnt body; and near Castle Howard, where a large series of barrows contained nothing but burnt bodies.'

Burial mounds are called 'cairns' when their constructive material consists of small stones, and 'barrows' when that material is ordinary soil; but not infrequently both substances were used in the same mound—a small cairn being often inside an earthen barrow. Their great diversity in external form gave rise to a number of qualifying epithets, such as 'long,' 'round,' 'oval,' 'bell-shaped,' etc. Sometimes the mound was surrounded by a ditch, or a stone circle, or both; and instances are on record in which one or both of these features were found within the area covered by the mound. Also, an interment, whether by inhumation or after cremation, may be found beneath the natural surface without any superincumbent mound, or any surface indications whatever. At other times, when the mound or cairn is absent, a standing stone, or a circle of stones or of earth, or a ditch may indicate the site of a burial. Sometimes the mound may be raised over an interment, whether burnt or unburnt, which had been simply laid on the surface of the ground. At other times a mound, seemingly of earth, and covered with vegetation, may contain a megalithic chamber with an entrance passage, and sometimes divided into sepulchral compartments. Structures of the latter kind were evidently family vaults, and often contained the osseous remains of several generations. As the abodes of the dead, specially adapted for the burial of unburnt bones, were continued after cremation began to be practised, it often happens that both burnt and unburnt remains are found in the same barrow. We have already seen that the earliest interments in the chambered cairns in the North of Scotland were burnt bodies.

(2) *Dolmens*.—Among the sepulchral monuments still extant in Europe, the megalithic graves, known as 'dolmens,' take the first place, not only for the wealth of evidential materials which they have supplied, but also on account of their great number, imposing appearance, and wide geographical distribution. A dolmen, in its

simplest form, may be defined as a rude stone monument, consisting of at least 3 or 4 stones, standing a few feet apart, and so placed as to be covered over by one megalith, called a capstone or table.

A well-known example of this kind in England is Kite Coity House, near Maidstone, which in its present condition consists of three large free-standing stones supporting a capstone measuring 11 ft. by 8 ft. Originally the spaces between the supports had been filled up by smaller stones, so as to enclose a small sepulchral chamber, and after interment the whole was then covered over by a mound of earth, but without an entrance passage.

Between this simplest form and the so-called *Giants' Graves*, *Grottes des Fées*, *Allées couvertes*, *Hünnebedden*, etc., there is an endless but regular gradation of structures in proportion to the number of supports and capstones used.

The well-known *Allée couverte* of Bagneux, near the town of Saumur, measures 18 metres in length, 6·50 in breadth, and 8 in height. It is constructed of huge flagstones, standing on edge, 4 on each side, with 4 capstones—the largest of which measures 7·50 metres in length, 7 in breadth, and 1 in thickness. Another, near Eze (Ille-et-Vilaine), called *La Roche aux Fées*, and about the same length, is constructed of thirty supports and eight capstones, including the vestibule.

Although many of these free-standing dolmens show no signs of having been at any time embedded in a cairn or mound, some archaeologists maintain that that was the original condition of all of them—a theory which derives some support from their present dilapidated condition, for many of them may be seen throughout the whole area of their distribution in all stages of denudation. Were the materials which compose the tumulus of New Grange, in Ireland, removed, leaving only the large stones of which its entrance passage and central chambers are constructed, there would be exposed to view a rude stone monument similar in all essentials to that at Callernish in the Island of Lewis.

The covered dolmens greatly vary in shape and appearance, owing to vegetation and other natural surface changes; and, as to size, they range from that of an ordinary barrow—a few yards in diameter—up to that of New Grange, which rises, in the form of a truncated cone, to a height of 70 ft., with a diameter at the base of 315 ft. and of 120 ft. at the top. Silbury Hill is 170 ft. in height, and over 500 ft. in diameter at the base.

There is no rule as to the position of the entrance gallery, it being attached, sometimes to the side, as in the Giant's Grave at Oem, near Roskilde, in Denmark, and sometimes to the end, as in the tumulus of Gavrinis (Morbihan). The Drenthe *Hünnebedden*, which in the present day are all uncovered, had both ends closed and the entrance passage on the side facing the sun, as was the case in all the dolmens.

Ruined dolmens are abundantly met with in the provinces of Hanover, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg. According to Bonstetten, no fewer than 200 are distributed over the three provinces of Lüneburg, Osnabrück, and Stade; but the most gigantic specimens are in the Duchy of Oldenburg. In Holland they are confined, with one or two exceptions, to the province of the Drenthe, where between 50 and 60 still exist. The Borgen *Hünnebed*, the largest of the group, is 70 ft. long, 14 ft. wide, and in its primitive condition contained 46 stones, ten of which were capstones.

In Scandinavia the dolmens are confined to Danish lands and a few provinces in the south of Sweden. In the former country, in addition to the great chambered tumuli, free-standing dolmens may be seen situated on the tops of artificial mounds, and surrounded by enclosures of standing stones either in the form of a circle (*Runddysser*) or oval (*Langdysser*).

Only one dolmen has been recorded in Belgium, but in France their number amounts to close on 4000, irregularly distributed over 78 Departments, of which no fewer than 618 are in Brittany. From the Pyrenees they are sparsely traced along the north and west coast of Spain, through Portugal and on to Andalusia, where they occur in considerable numbers. The most remarkable monument of the kind in Spain is that near the village of Antequera, situated a little to the north of Malaga. The chamber is slightly oval in shape, and measures 24 metres long, 6·15 metres broad, and from 2·7 metres to 3 metres high. The entire structure comprises 81 monoliths—ten on each side, one at the end and five on the roof. The huge stones are made of the Jurassic limestone of the district, and, like those of Stonehenge, appear to have been more or less dressed. The

entire structure, now partially exposed, was originally covered with earth, forming a mound 100 ft. in diameter. In Africa, dolmens are met with in large groups throughout Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. According to General Faidherbe, who has examined five or six thousand specimens, they are quite analogous to those on the European Continent, with the exception that, in his opinion, none of them had been covered with a mound (*Congrès Internat.*, 1872, p. 408). In Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands every type of the sepulchral monument is met with, especially chambered cairns, stone circles, and barrows.

The manner in which these sepulchral monuments are distributed along the Western shores of Europe, to the exclusion of central parts of the Continent, in which no dolmens are found, has given rise to the theory that they were erected by a migratory race called 'the people of the dolmens,' moving, according to some, from Scandinavia to Africa, and, according to others, in the opposite direction. But this theory has fallen into disrepute. Their magnitude and local differences in structure, even in districts bordering on each other, show that their builders were a sedentary population. Besides, the skeletons found in their interior belonged to different races. Against the theory advanced by Aubrey and Stukeley, that these rude stone monuments had been used as Druidical altars, there is *prima facie* evidence in the care taken by their constructors to have the smoothest and flattest surface of the stones composing the chamber turned inwards. Also, cup-marks and other primitive markings when found on capstones are invariably on their under side, as may be seen on the dolmens of Keriaval, Kercado, and Dol au Marchant (Morbihan).

(3) *Cromlechs*.—The word 'cromlech,' as used by some English archaeologists, is almost synonymous with 'dolmen'; but, as defined by Continental authorities and adopted by the present writer in this article, it is exclusively applied to enclosures (*enceintes*), constructed of rude standing stones placed at intervals of a few feet or yards, and arranged roughly on a circular plan—circle, oval, horse-shoe, or rectangle. In this sense it comprehends the class of monuments known in this country under the name of 'Stone Circles' or 'Circles of Standing Stones.' Stone circles are, or were formerly, more numerous in the British Isles than elsewhere in Europe. They generally consist of one line of stones, but not infrequently two or more circles are arranged concentrically, as may be seen in those at Kenmore near Aberfeldy, and Callernish in the Island of Lewis. At Avebury one large circle, 1200 ft. in diameter, surrounds two other circles placed eccentrically to the former, and each containing a second circle arranged concentrically.

Cromlechs may also be associated with alignments, menhirs, and other megalithic monuments, as at Carnac, Callernish, etc. In the British Isles, Scandinavia, some Departments of France, and elsewhere, they surround dolmens, tumuli, and cairns. Outside the ordinary stone circle there is often a ditch, as at Avebury, Stonehenge, Arbor Low, Ring of Brogar, etc. The most remarkable monument under this category now extant is Stonehenge, which differs from all others of its kind in having the monoliths of the outer circle partially hewn and connected at the top by transverse lintels. That most of the smaller circles have been used as sepulchres has been repeatedly proved by the finding of urns, burnt bones, and skeletons, sometimes deposited in the centre and sometimes at the base of the standing stones, or indeed anywhere within the circular area. It is difficult to believe that burial was the sole purpose of the large cromlechs such as Avebury, Stonehenge, the Giant's Ring near Belfast, Mayborough near Penrith, etc. This last consists of a circular mound composed of an immense aggregation of

small stones in the form of a gigantic ring, enclosing a flat space 300 ft. in diameter, to which there is access by a wide break in the ring. Near the centre of the area there is a fine monolith, one of several known to have formerly stood there. It is more probable that such enclosures were, like our modern churches, used not only as cemeteries, but for the performance of religious ceremonies in connexion with the cult of the dead.

(4) *Sepulchral caves*.—The custom of burying the dead in natural caves, to which we have already referred as having been met with in the Palæolithic period, was continued throughout the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. Discoveries of this character have been recorded in numerous localities throughout Europe, and especially in France. Professor Boyd Dawkins informs us that the most remarkable examples of caves used as sepulchres in Britain are to be found in a group clustering round a refuse-heap at Perthli-chwaren, a farm high up in the Welsh hills, in Denbighshire:

'The human remains belong for the most part to very young or adolescent individuals, from the small infant to youths of 21. Some, however, belong to men in the prime of life. All the teeth that had been used were ground perfectly flat. The skulls belong to that type which Professor Huxley terms the "river-bed skull." All the human remains had undoubtedly been buried in the cave, since the bones were in the main perfect, or only broken by the large stones which had subsequently fallen from the roof. From the juxtaposition of one skull to a pelvis, and the vertical position of one of the femora, as well as the fact that the bones lay in confused heaps, it is clear that the corpses had been buried in the contracted posture, as is usually the case in Neolithic interments. And, since the area was insufficient for the accommodation of so many bodies at one time, it is certain that the cave had been used as a cemetery at different times. The stones blocking up the entrance were probably placed as a barrier against the inroads of wild beasts. . . . The Neolithic age of these interments is proved, not merely by the presence of the stone axe or of the flint flakes, but by the burial in a contracted posture, and the fact that the skulls are identical with those obtained from chambered tombs in the South of England proved to be Neolithic by Dr. Thurnam' (*Cave-Hunting*, pp. 155-158).

The same writer describes similar remains from caves in the limestone cliffs of the beautiful valleys of the Clwyd and the Elwy, near St Asaph. He has also shown that the people who buried their dead in these caverns were of the same race as the builders of the neighbouring chambered tomb of Cefn, just then explored. The crania and limb bones were identical, and in both the tomb and caves the dead were buried in a contracted position.

In Scotland, human remains regarded as sepulchral have been found in some caves at Oban, which had been exposed by quarrying operations at the foot of the cliff overhanging the ancient raised beach on which part of the town is built. In one of these caves (M'Arthur Cave), along with some fragmentary skeletons, were two skulls sufficiently preserved to enable Sir William Turner to take correct measurements of their special character, from which it appears that their owners belonged to a dolichocephalic race, their cephalic indices being 70.2 and 75.4. Although no grave-goods are known to have been associated with these bodies, there is sufficient evidence from collateral phenomena to show that the chronological horizon to which they must be assigned is the Neolithic period.

Of all the countries of Western Europe, France has yielded by far the largest number of burials under this category. De Mortillet, writing in 1883 (*Le Préhistorique*, p. 598), states that he could count 117 in France distributed over 36 Departments, 24 in Belgium, 8 in Italy, and only 1 or 2 specimens in each of the other countries.

The following epitomized notices of one or two examples will give the reader some general idea of the importance attached to this class of sepulchral remains:

In the course of exploring the natural cave of Casa da Moura, near Lisbon, a large quantity of human bones, representing some 150 individuals, was disinterred. It appears that the Neolithic inhabitants had converted the grotto into a cemetery—which would account for the large number of bodies it contained. The bones were much decayed, only three or four entire skulls being amongst them, which so far indicated a dolichocephalic race. The upper portion of one of these skulls is of exceptional interest, inasmuch as it furnishes positive evidence of having been partially trepanned, thus disclosing the initiatory stage of the method of performing that operation (Cartailhac, *Les Âges préhistoriques de l'Espagne*, p. 84).

Of the French caverns which contained only long skulls, the two most remarkable are those of L'Homme Mort and Baumes-Chaudes, both in the Department of Lozère. In the former were nineteen skulls sufficiently well preserved to furnish the necessary measurements. Of these the cephalic indices of seventeen varied from 68·2 up to 78·7, and the other two were 78·5 and 78·8. There were, therefore, no brachycephalic skulls in this sepulchre, so that the race appears to have been comparatively pure. It may also be mentioned that some of the crania had been trepanned—a feature which, though at first overlooked, subsequently became the subject of much interest to anthropologists. The animal remains were those of the Neolithic epoch, but among them were none of the reindeer, horse, ox, or stag. Among the relics were a lance-head, and a portion of a polished stone axe. Drs. Broca and Prunières were of opinion that the individuals whose remains had been consigned to this ossuary belonged to an intermediate race, who flourished in the transition period between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic civilizations, and thus became connecting links between the people of the reindeer caves and the dolmens.

The crania recorded from the station known as Baumes-Chaudes were found in two natural caverns distinct from each other, but opening on a common terrace. They contained a vast collection of human bones, representing some 300 individuals; but both were regarded by the investigators as the continuation of the same family burying-place, which, indeed, had not been altogether abandoned till the beginning of the Bronze Age, as one of the skeletons in the upper deposits had beside it a bronze dagger. In one of these caverns only chipped flints, rude implements of horn, etc., were discovered; but in the other there were a few arrow-points, a bead, some roundlets of deer-horn, etc., which suggested some progress in culture. The crania measured and classified in M. Salmon's list from the Baumes-Chaudes ossuary amount to thirty-five, and they are all dolichocephalic, the indices varying from 64·3 to 78·1. The average height of this race was calculated to be about 5 ft. 8½ in.

As examples of sepulchral caverns in which brachycephalic crania formed the majority, a series of caverns at Hastières and Furfooz in Belgium may be cited. Of 33 skulls from the former measured by Professor Houzé, six are dolichocephalic, eleven mesocephalic, and sixteen brachycephalic. The well-known cave at Furfooz (*Trou du Frontal*) was merely a rock-shelter with a projecting cavity extending inwards for some 2 metres, and about one metre in height and one metre in breadth, and closed in front by a large slab. This cavity was filled with human bones mixed with earth and stones, but none of the bones retained their relative positions as regards the rest of the skeleton, so that dismemberment must have taken place before their final deposition in the cave. From the number of lower jaws, whole or broken, it was calculated that this sepulchre contained 16 individuals, of whom 5 were children. The cephalic index of some of the skulls was over 80. A disturbing element in the conclusions suggested by this discovery was the presence of fragments of pottery among the contents of the cave; while outside the alabaster there was an accumulation of debris and food refuse, which, judging from the fauna represented by its osseous remains, belonged to the Palaeolithic period. Hence, at the time, the human remains of Furfooz were regarded as belonging to that period—an opinion which is no longer held, as the sepulchre is now admitted to be of the Neolithic age (*Rev. de l'école d'anthr.*, 1896, p. 155 f.).

Artificial caves used for sepulchral purposes have also been discovered in certain Departments of France, more especially those with chalky formations, like the Marne district. Here upwards of a dozen stations, each containing a number of artificial caves excavated in the flanks of low hillocks, have been most successfully explored by Baron de Baye (see his *Archéologie préhistorique*, 1880). Among some hundreds of interments, over 120 crania, including various trepanned specimens and cranial amulets, have been collected and are now preserved in the Château de Baye. Associated with them were a number of implements, weapons, and ornaments of Neolithic types, such as stone axes and their handles, arrow points, flint knives, bone pointers, polishers, beads and pendants of amber, bone, stone (one of callais, like those of the tumuli of Brittany), fossil shells, teeth, and so on. Of the crania, 44 were submitted to Dr. Broca for examination, and are thus

classified:—dolichocephalic (71·6 to 76·7), 15; mesocephalic, 17; and brachycephalic (80 to 85·7), 12.

Dr. Broca recognized in these human remains the union of two races analogous to those of Furfooz and Cro-Magnon—the latter having already been identified by him as of the same type as the dolichocephalic people of L'Homme Mort and Baumes-Chaudes.

Some of these caves, especially those of Petit-Morin, are supposed to have been constructed in imitation of the dolmens, as they were preceded by an entrance passage and occasionally a vestibule, from which a low door, closed with a stone slab, led to the sepulchral chamber. Baron de Baye thinks that some of them had been used as habitations for the living before being appropriated to the dead, as they had sometimes niches and shelves cut out of the solid chalk walls, on which various industrial relics had been deposited. A rudely executed human figure with a bird-like nose, two eyes, a necklet, and breasts, together with the form of a stone axe in its handle, was sculptured in relief on the wall of the vestibule of one of the larger caves. This cave appeared to have been much frequented, as the threshold was greatly trodden down by the feet of visitors. M. Cartailhac explains this peculiarity by supposing that it was a place for temporarily depositing the dead before transferring them to their final resting-place. All these caves contained abundance of relics characteristic of an advanced Neolithic civilization, but without any trace of metals, and the surrounding neighbourhood is rich in flint objects of that period.

Finally, it may be observed that sepulchral phenomena and grave-goods associated with the artificial caves of France are precisely of the same character as those of the neighbouring dolmens and natural caves, thus conclusively showing that all these monuments belonged to the same epoch and the same civilization. Their relationship to the rock-cut tombs of Egypt, Etruria, Palestine, and other countries, we must leave to readers to work out for themselves.

(5) *Grave-goods*.—The gifts to the dead, as already mentioned, bear some relationship to the social position among the community in which the deceased lived. They include all manner of things—ornaments, weapons, tools, utensils, pet animals, and even the wives and slaves of great heroes. When a departed friend appeared in a dream dressed in his usual garments and armed with his favourite weapons, it was natural to suppose that these objects, as well as their owner, had shadowy existences in the spirit world. From this it is supposed that the pre-historic people believed that not only men, but animals and inanimate objects, had souls—a belief which may account for the frequency with which weapons and other grave-goods were broken.

The quality of grave-goods varied according to the culture and civilization prevalent at the time of the interment. During the Stone Age they consisted of perforated shells, teeth, pendants of ivory and coloured pebbles, stone axes, spear-heads, arrow points, bone pins, buttons, and other objects of the toilet. During the Bronze and early Iron Ages, to the above objects were added necklets made of beads of jet, amber, and coloured glass, rings, armlets, and fibulae of bronze, and sometimes gold rings. The stone weapons gave place to others made of metal. In the absence of written records, the objects thus collected and collated form the principal materials on which archaeologists base a more or less positive system of chronology. Among the calcined bones of cremated subjects, small articles such as pins, beads, buttons, etc., are occasionally found, showing that the corpse had been clothed when subjected to the fire. When de

posited in the earth without an urn, it has been argued that such objects had been used for binding the cloth or skin in which the calcined bones were wrapped up. From the quantity of objects sometimes deposited in the grave, it has been surmised that, when a person was possessed of property of rare and exceptional value, it was customary to bury it along with him, evidently with the intention of its being utilized in the world of spirits. As an illustration of this the following notice of a remarkable discovery of axes made of jade and other materials will be of interest:

The tumulus of Mont-Saint-Michel, which occupies a conspicuous position among the Carnac group of antiquities, rises to the height of 10 metres, on an elongated base measuring 115 metres in length by 58 metres in breadth. In recent times the top of the mound was flattened, and the eastern third is now occupied by a chapel, while at the other extremity there are the ruins of a modern observatory. In 1862 a small megalithic chamber, some two metres square and rather less than one metre in height, was discovered, and on the floor of the chamber, amidst a thick deposit of dust, the following objects were found: (1) Eleven beautifully polished axes of jade, varying in length from 9½ to 40 centimetres. Two of these celts were pierced near the point for suspension. One was broken into three portions, two of which were lying at one end of the crypt and the other at the opposite end. (2) Two large celts of a coarser material, both broken. (3) Twenty-six very small celts of fibrolite. (4) Nine pendants of jasper and 101 beads of jasper and turquoise, supposed to have formed a necklace; also a number of very small beads made of some kind of ivory. After the entire débris had been removed from the floor of the chamber, there were found, under a flagstone, remains of an interment occupying a shallow space between the floor and the natural rock (René Galles, *Bull. de la soc. polym. du Morbihan*, 1862).

(6) *Pottery*.—The pottery found with pre-historic burials consists of a variety of vessels collectively called 'urns'; but, as they are found in graves containing either burnt or unburnt bodies, they could not all have been intended for cinerary purposes, so that they have to be classified according to their ascertained special functions. Vessels associated with inhumed bodies are supposed to have contained food and drink—hence they are called 'food-vessels,' and 'drinking-cups' or 'beakers.' The cinerary urns, used exclusively for the purpose of preserving the cremated remains of the corpse, vary considerably in size, form, and ornamentation, being generally 10 to 18½ in. in height. They are narrow-based and wide-mouthed, with a broad overhanging rim to which the ornamentation is commonly confined; or they may be flower-pot-shaped, and ornamented by one or two transverse ridges. The food-vessel, which is considerably smaller, more globular, and more highly ornamented than the cinerary urn, is also wide-mouthed and narrow-based. As a rule it was placed with an unburnt burial in the vicinity of the head of the corpse.

Drinking-cups, or beakers, are tall, highly ornamented vessels, narrowing from the mouth to near the middle, then bulging out and again narrowing at the base. A few specimens have been found with a handle like a jug. Beakers are almost invariably associated with unburnt burials—only two out of 24 having been found by Greenwell in the Wold barrows, with cremated burials. Very small cup-shaped urns, often pierced with two or more holes in the side, and generally found inside a large cinerary vessel, are known under the name of 'incense cups'; but there is no evidence to support this suggested use of them, and they are now regarded as cinerary urns for infants.

The Hon. John Abercromby holds that the beaker is not only the oldest Bronze Age ceramic in the British Isles, but also an imported type from Central Europe by way of the Rhine Valley (*JAI* xxxii, 273 ff.). As an interesting corollary to Mr. Abercromby's views, it has been observed that, in almost all the instances in which the beaker has been found associated with human remains, the skull was brachycephalic.

That sepulchral ceramics of the beaker type have rarely, if at all, been found in Ireland may be accounted for on the supposition that the Continental brachycephali were later in penetrating

as far as Ireland; or, perhaps, that the few who did find their way to that country did so by a different route from those who entered Britain by way of the Rhine Valley. Anyhow, the rarity of both beakers and brachycephalic skulls in the pre-historic burials of Ireland is a suggestive fact to the student of Irish ethnology.

(7) *Cemeteries*.—As population increased and the influence of religion became more powerful as a governing factor in social organizations, the isolated and sporadic graves of the earlier people gave place to their aggregation in the form of cemeteries in certain selected localities, which were thus, as it were, consecrated as common burying-grounds for the disposal of the dead. The remains of such cemeteries may be found dispersed throughout the whole of Europe. There is documentary evidence that in pagan times the Irish had regal cemeteries in various parts of the Island, appropriated to the interment of chiefs of the different races who then ruled the country, either as sole monarchs or as provincial kings.

This authority consists of a tract called *Senchus-na-Relec* ('History of the Cemeteries'), being a fragment of one of the oldest Irish MSS, and in it reference is made to the cemetery of *Taillten*, which Mr. Eugene Conwell of Trim has identified as a group of chambered cairns on the Loughcrew Hills, near the town of Oldcastle, Co. Meath. Mr. Conwell also quotes the following stanza, among others, from a poem in the same old MS, viz. *Leabhar na hUidhre*:

'The three cemeteries of Idolaters are
The cemetery of *Taillten*, the select,
The ever-clean cemetery of *Oruschan*,
And the cemetery of *Brugh*.'

On the ridge of this range of hills, which extends for a distance of about two miles, are situated from 25 to 30 chambered cairns, some measuring as much as 180 ft. in diameter, while others are much smaller and nearly obliterated. They were examined in 1867-8 by E. A. Conwell, and an account of his discoveries was published in 1873 under the title of *Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamh Fodhla*.

An analogous group of dilapidated chambered cairns, with settings of stone circles, may be seen at Clava near Inverness, and other localities in Scotland. Stonehenge is in the centre of a vast burying-ground consisting of barrows in groups over the downs.

Urn cemeteries, without any external markings to indicate the site of the burials, are frequently met with in the British Isles, being exposed by agricultural operations, and especially by the removal of clay beds for the making of bricks. As the underlying clay slides from under the covering of soil to a lower level, urns are frequently seen sticking in the broken margin of the surface soil. A small urn cemetery was recently discovered at the digging of the foundation of a villa in the town of Largs. The site was a low gravelly mound, and the cemetery disclosed a unique feature in the finding of a stone-lined cist covered over with a large flagstone and containing seven flower-pot-shaped urns, all having more or less calcined bones in them (*Archæologia*, lxii, 239-250).

In 1886, in the course of removing the surface-earth above a gravel- and sand-pit at Aylesford in Kent, the following relics were discovered: a wooden pail or *situla*, with a bronze band ornamented with late Celtic designs; a bronze jug (*oenochos*); a long-handled pan and two *fibulae*, also of bronze, together with calcined bones and fragments of pottery. 'These objects were discovered in what had been a round burial-pit, about 3½ ft. deep, the sides and bottom of which had been coated with a kind of chalky compound. The bronze *situla* contained burnt bones and the *fibulae*,

the bronze vase and pan lying outside it, while around were the remains of several earthenware urns, some of which had been used as cineraries.' The discovery, fortunately, came under the notice of Dr. A. J. Evans, who lost no time in making a full inquiry into the circumstances. The result of his researches was a paper, 'On a Late Celtic Urn-Field at Aylesford,' which appeared in 1890 (*ib.* lii.). The conclusion to which Dr. Evans comes, after a wide comparison of Continental ceramics, is that the Aylesford urns are 'the derivatives of North Italian, and in a marked degree old Venetian prototypes.'

Perhaps the most instructive cemetery in Europe is that of Hallstatt, of which the present writer has elsewhere given the following brief account:

'The ancient necropolis, known as Hallstatt, lies in a narrow glen in the Noric Alps, about an hour's walk from the town of Hallstatt, situated on the lake of the same name. Discovered in 1846, and systematically explored for several years under the superintendence of Bergmeister G. Ramsauer, the results were published by Baron von Sacken in 1868, in a quarto volume with twenty-six plates of illustrations. One of the peculiarities of this cemetery was that it contained burials by inhumation and incineration indiscriminately dispersed over the entire sepulchral area, both, however, belonging to the same period, as was clearly proved from the perfect similarity of their respective grave-goods. The graves were thickly placed over an irregular area, some 900 yards in length and about that in breadth, but there were no indications above ground to mark their position. They were not arranged in any order, and their depth varied within the limits of 1½ to 5 ft.—a disproportion partly accounted for by the sloping nature of the surface, which caused a considerable rain-wash of the soil to the lower levels.

Out of 993 tombs described in v. Sacken's work, 525 contained simple interments; 455 had incinerated human remains; and in 13 the bodies had only been partially burnt before being interred. The inhumed bodies lay, generally, from east to west, having the face towards sunrise with the head occasionally resting on a stone. At other times the body lay on a prepared bed, or coarse casing, of hardened clay. In two instances traces of a wooden coffin were observed. Sometimes two or more skeletons were found in the same grave, while, at other times, some portion of the skeleton was wanting. The skeletons were not so scientifically examined as could be desired, but, according to Dr. Hoernes, they belonged to a well-developed dolichocephalic race, of medium height (5 ft. 6 to 8 in.), with a prominent occiput, long and slightly prognathic face, and a straight or gently receding forehead. The ashes and charred bones were carefully collected and deposited in the natural soil, sometimes laid over a flat stone, and sometimes in a roughly burnt trough of clay. Only twice were burnt bones found in a bronze vase, and once in a clay urn. When the cremated remains had been deposited the grave-goods were placed near them, after which the coarser pieces of charcoal were heaped over the whole.

An analysis of the contents of the graves gave the following results:—The 538 tombs, after inhumation, contained: bronze—18 objects of armour, 1543 articles of toilet, 57 utensils, and 81 vases; iron—165 objects of armour, and 42 utensils; 6 articles of gold, 171 of amber, and 41 of glass; 342 clay vessels; and 61 diverse objects (spindle-whorls, sharpening stones, etc.). Similarly classified, the relics in the 455 tombs after incineration were as follows: bronze—91 objects of armour, 1735 of toilet, 55 utensils, and 179 vases; iron—348 objects of armour, and 43 utensils; 59 articles of gold, 106 of amber, and 85 of glass; 902 clay vessels; and 102 diverse objects.

From these statistics it would appear that the burials after cremation were richer in articles of luxury—such as bronze vases and fibulae, beads of glass, gold cloth stuffs, etc., with the exception of objects of amber, which were more abundant with inhumed bodies' (*Rambles and Studies in Bosnia*², p. 899 ff.).

It may be noted as a point of some significance, that neither silver nor lead has been found in Hallstatt. Their absence, together with that of money, has been used to support the opinion that the cemetery was discontinued before these metals came into general use about the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C.

Baron von Sacken assigned the Hallstatt cemetery to the second half of the millennium immediately preceding the Christian era, and thought that it might be in continuous use till the advent of the Romans into that part of Europe. But, according to other writers, this range ought to be extended further back by several centuries, even to 1000 B.C. Owing to commercial currents from Eastern lands, especially by way of the Adriatic, and also, no doubt, to changes initiated by native skill, we might expect a considerable variation in the technique of the Hallstatt relics, even on v. Sacken's hypothesis of the more limited duration of the cemetery. The collection as a whole is thus a mere jumbling together of an assortment of objects, influenced not only by a rapidly progressing civiliza-

tion, but also by a continuous importation of new materials; hence the difficulty of classifying them into a more precise division than earlier and later.

In the cemetery of S. Lucia, near Tolmino, above the head of the Adriatic, in which incineration was almost exclusively the mode of sepulture—there being only three interments by inhumation out of 3000 tombs examined by Dr. Marchesetti—the warlike element was represented by only one sword, two spears, and seven lances (all of iron). The sword is distinctly the La Tène type—thus suggesting that the peaceful ways of the people had been disturbed only in later times, probably during one of the marauding excursions of the Gauls into Italy. On the other hand, the *fibula* numbered 1629 of bronze and 108 of iron; of which 248 were of the 'Certosa' type—i.e. not much earlier than 400 B.C.—and 3 of the La Tène type. Of metallic vases there were eighty of bronze and one of iron, among the former being six *ciste a cordoni*. A few of these bronze vessels were decorated with dots, circles, and perpendicular flutings, but rarely with animal figures, and all in the same style of art as the analogous objects from Hallstatt.

(8) *The proto-historic people of Western Europe.*—

As a general result of the preceding remarks on the sepulchral phenomena of Western Europe, the following propositions may be accepted as a fair summary of the ethnic elements, so far as these have been determined by modern research, which have helped to mould the physical characters of the highly mixed population now inhabiting the British Isles, but, of course, altogether apart from the influence of the environment.

(a) Anthropological researches have shown that during the Neolithic Age a long-headed race, of short stature but strong physique (average height 5 ft. 5 in.), who buried their dead in rudely constructed stone chambers, had spread over the whole of Western Europe, from the Mediterranean to the south of Scandinavia. Tacitus informs us that he identified the Silures, a people then occupying South Wales, as Iberians, on account of their swarthy complexion and curled hair (*Agricola*, xl.). The inference that these Silures were the direct descendants of the primitive long-headed people was not unreasonable, more especially as by that time the eastern parts of Britain had been taken possession of by successive waves of Gaulish and Belgic immigrants from the Continent—thus causing the earlier inhabitants to recede more and more westwards. And, if this is so, it follows that the long-headed men of the chambered cairns of Britain, Ireland, and France, as well as many other parts of the Continent, had a swarthy complexion, with dark hair and eyes, like so many people still inhabiting the more secluded parts of these localities.

(b) The incoming brachycephali were taller than the dolichocephali already in possession of the country—a statement which is proved by actual measurements of skeletons (average height 5 ft. 8 in.). Although they have been described by many modern writers as 'light in hair and complexion' (Greenwell, *op. cit.* p. 636), there does not appear to be any archaeological evidence to support this assertion. The mistake seems to have arisen from inadvertently applying to the Bronze Age brachycephali qualities which were undoubtedly applicable at a later period to the Celts of history. The former buried their dead in short cists and round barrows, and carried with them a knowledge of bronze. While these two early races (the dolichocephali and brachycephali) were living together, apparently in harmony, the custom of disposing of the dead by cremation spread over the land—a custom which was introduced from the Continent, and had its origin probably in the strong religious

elements of the time, as it was practised by both races.

(c) At a considerably later period, but not many centuries prior to the occupation of Britain by the Romans, there was another Continental wave of immigrants, generally regarded as an offshoot of the *Galli* of classical authors, and probably the *Belgæ* of Cæsar, who introduced the industrial elements of the civilization known in this country as 'Late Celtic.' These newcomers differed radically from the former so-called Celtic invaders in having dolichocephalic heads—a statement which is supported by archaeological evidence; for example, a skull found in a characteristic Late Celtic tumulus at Arras, Yorkshire, was described by Dr. Thurnam as having a cephalic index of 73·7. They were a branch of the Celts of history, whose very name at one time was a terror in Europe; and by classical writers they are described as very tall and fierce-looking, with fair hair, blond complexion, and blue eyes.

(d) The next and last of the great racial elements which entered into the ethnic composition of the British people of to-day were the successive Teutonic invasions from Germany, Denmark, and Scandinavia, all belonging to a tall blond dolichocephalic people who existed in Central Europe from time immemorial—possibly the descendants of the Neanderthaloid races of Palæolithic times.

There is no reference made here to the Roman occupation as a factor in British ethnology, because the Romans were a mere ruling caste, who, although they introduced new arts, industries, and customs into the country, kept themselves aloof from the natives, and did not, as a rule, intermarry with them. Hence, when they finally abandoned Britain they left its inhabitants racially unaffected, much as would be the case with India if the British were now to retire from it. To-day we hunt for remains of military roads, camps, accoutrements of war, and other relics of their civilization, but of their skeletons we know very little, and of their British offspring nothing at all.

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R. MUNRO.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Greek).—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead followed by all the Mediterranean peoples during the Neolithic epoch, and the same custom obtained in Greece, and was continued without interruption at least until the Homeric period. That the Greeks of the pre-Mycenæan and Mycenæan civilization buried their dead is evident from the tombs discovered in Crete, in the Cyclades, at Mycenæ, Orchomenus, and Vaphio. It has also been proved that Schliemann was mistaken in believing that he found in the Mycenæan tombs indications of a partial cremation of the dead. In the island of Crete, Evans and Halbherr, who discovered many tombs of the Mycenæan epoch and others of different periods, found burial to be

the invariable custom without any sign of cremation, either partial or total.

Apparently, then, the first notice of cremation occurs in Homer; it is described with grim vividness, especially in the account of the obsequies of Patroclus (*Il.* xxiii. 110 ff.). Homer also offers an explanation of this new funerary custom, which appears to be contrary to the beliefs of the Greek people. He makes Nestor say that it is necessary to burn the bodies of those who died in battle, in order that the bones might be carried back to their native land to the sons of the dead (*Il.* vii. 331 f.). But this reason is inadequate to account for so profound a change of custom. The change from burial to cremation must already have taken place in the Homeric age, just as it had previously been made in Central and, in part, in Southern Europe. It was then introduced into Greece as it had been into Italy, and very probably by the same races who were afterwards known under the name of Aryan, and who originated many other changes in the customs of the peoples subdued by them.

While in some regions of Europe there was a period during which cremation prevailed (and among these regions must be included Northern and also, in part, Southern Italy), in Greece the ancient and the new practices flourished for a long time side by side, just as was the case in Rome; but in Rome, from the discoveries in the Forum and from those made in other parts of the city and in Latium, we can plainly recognize the substitution of cremation for burial. This does not appear so clearly in Greece; but it cannot have happened otherwise. At the time of the Homeric rhapsodies, cremation must have been in use quite as much as burial. In succeeding epochs both methods were employed, as may be gathered from Greek authors, who attest the existence now of the one custom and now of the other.

We have at the present day full information regarding the forms of the tombs used by the Greeks previous to the classic epoch, and especially in those characteristic periods which are to be referred to pre-Mycenæan and Mycenæan civilization both on the continent and in the various islands. The funerary architecture of these periods may be classified under four chief forms: (1) dome-tombs, (2) chamber-tombs, (3) shaft-tombs, and (4) pit-tombs.

The finest example of a dome-tomb is that of the tomb called the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, discovered by Schliemann. Then come those of Orchomenus, of Vaphio, of Heraion, of Eleusis, and of other places, which are magnificently and splendidly decorated, not indeed like that at Mycenæ, although they have the same architectural form.

The chamber-tombs are distinguished from the dome-tombs by the rectangular form of their plan, the dome-tombs being circular; by their more or less flat roof; and also by the diminished height of the mortuary chamber. But, like the others, they have a corridor (*δῶρος*) for entrance, with a door of ingress, and they may also have a varying number of lateral chambers. These tombs were excavated in the rock, and are found throughout the whole of Greece and in the islands, especially in Crete, where they were discovered by Evans and Halbherr. Sarcophagi are found in them—sometimes one, two, or even four—made of terracotta and painted on the outside; or else there is a trench in them in which the corpse has been placed; or sometimes the corpse was laid upon the floor of the sepulchral chamber (Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, p. 5; Orsi, *Urne funebri cretesi*, p. 2 ff.).

The shaft-tombs were dug in the ground and

covered with either rough or squared slabs of stone. In these graves the body was usually placed on its back; sometimes it was curled up.

The pit-tombs consist of a kind of well which was almost always excavated in the rock, with steps to descend into it; at the bottom an arched aperture is found which gives access to the sepulchral cell. The cell is generally supported by a double wall of rude blocks, and is sufficiently long to contain a skeleton stretched out at full length. But Evans remarks that this type of tomb, although it has different characteristics, resembles in its cell the shaft-tombs.

In the island of Crete no dome-tombs have been discovered like those of Mycenæ or of Orchomenus; but the royal tomb of Isopates described by Evans and re-constructed by Fyfe (Evans, *op. cit.*) fills up the lacuna.

It appears to have been the primitive custom of the Greeks to bury their dead in the village where they dwelt, and sometimes in the houses themselves. It is certain that at Mycenæ tombs have been found in the houses, here and there in groups of five, or even of twenty, among the remains of habitations. At Athens, also, houses with tombs have been discovered. Plato makes mention of this custom, and calls it barbarous (*Min.* 315). It seems to have been abolished by the laws of Solon. The *agora* also appears to have been used for burying; Mycenæ supplies an example of this. Further, it is well known that in the classic epoch many Greek cities had, or believed that they had, in the *agora* the burial-place of their more renowned heroes.

It appears, further, that the Greeks in primitive times offered human sacrifices at funerals. This seems certain not only from the Homeric account of the obsequies of Patroclus, but also from some indications in the tombs of Mycenæ. In the *dromos* of the rock-tombs, human bones have often been found, and in front of one sepulchre there were discovered six human skeletons placed cross-wise and mingled with the bones of animals and broken pieces of common utensils. From this it has been suspected that the bodies were those of victims sacrificed to the dead (Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, vi. 564). Further, Plato says (*ib.*) that human sacrifices were offered in Lykaia (Λυκαία), and also by the descendants of Athamas, although they were Greeks and not barbarians.

From the most remote antiquity, as we gather from the pre-historic tombs, the Greeks had a religious cult for their dead. They considered the right of sepulture as sacred, and consequently as a law. This sentiment was handed down to the historic Greeks, the true Έλληνες. It was also a duty and a kind of Pan-Hellenic law (Πανελληνιον νόμος, Eurip. *Suppl.* 524) to give sepulture to enemies who died in battle. The law of Solon, which exempted a son from the obligation to support a father who had rendered himself unworthy, imposed upon him the duty of burying him with all due honours (Æsch. in *Timarch.* 13; the very words δίκαια, νόμιμα, affirm the right of the dead to sepulture). In the classic epoch, religious belief was permeated with the notion that the spirit of the dead could not enter into the subterranean realm if the body had not received burial—the soul (ψυχή) would wander about without a resting-place, and would not be able to pass over the fatal river in order to enter Hades.

We do not know how the primitive Greeks conducted themselves between the death and the burial of the deceased; but from what we know of the historical epoch we may infer without any doubt what were their customs in primitive times.

In the pre-historic tombs of Knossos the corpse was buried in a grave, or else was laid on the

pavement of the sepulchral chamber, or in a sarcophagus in a *larnax* of clay. It was usually placed stretched out at length, or sometimes curled up, either in the grave or in the sarcophagus. There was no fixed direction or orientation of the position of the dead. In tombs of every type, objects belonging to the deceased are found, according to sex and condition: weapons, swords, knives, arrows, razors, ornaments of gold and of bronze, rings, seals, lamps, and so on. Tombs like those of Mycenæ and Vaphio have furnished objects of great value both as to their material—principally gold—and as to their artistic make. Objects which were most dear to the deceased, and which he had possessed when living, were placed with him in the tomb. This usage continued without interruption into the historic epoch, together with other usages which were gradually abolished by various successive laws, because they were held to be barbarous. We have proof of this in the Homeric period, which may be regarded as an intermediate one between the pre-historic and the historic periods, primitive funeral customs being still found which were no longer practised in the period which followed, as well as others which were retained.

In order to give an idea of this, it will be sufficient to relate in full what was done at the funeral of Patroclus, so admirably described by Homer (*Il.* xviii., xxiii.). We shall follow the poet's order:—

The corpse of Patroclus was washed with hot water (*Il.* xviii. 345 ff.), then anointed with unguents and oil, and covered from head to foot with a thin linen cloth. It was laid in state on a bed (ἐν λέκτρῳ, 352), and was wept over with great lamentation by Achilles and the Myrmidons (315 ff.). On the return from the fight in which Hector was slain, Achilles and the Myrmidons again wept over the bier of Patroclus, since weeping is an honouring of the dead (ὁ γὰρ γέρας ἔστι θανόντων, xxiii. 9). A funeral meal follows the weeping. The corpse is to be cremated, and accordingly an immense pyre is prepared which is to receive the body of Patroclus. When the pyre is ready, the transportation of the body takes place in the midst of a great cortège of armed men; Achilles supports the head of his deceased friend, while the Myrmidons cut off their locks and cast them upon the corpse, thus covering it. Achilles also sacrifices his hair, which he puts into the hand of his dead friend. During the night those who attend to the preparation of the funeral (ἐπιτάφιοι, xxiii. 163) remain with Achilles. On the following day the body of the deceased is placed in the midst of the pyre, and is covered from head to foot with fat taken from the oxen and sheep which have been sacrificed; alongside are placed the dead animals, and amphoræ of honey and of oil. Four horses are sacrificed, and two of the nine dogs which the deceased possessed, together with twelve young Trojans who are to be burnt on the same immense pyre. The pyre burns all the night. In the morning the order is given to extinguish it with libations of wine, to pick out the calcined bones of the dead from among the other bones of men and animals—an easy task, since the body of Patroclus had been placed in the centre separate from the rest—and to enclose them in a cinerary urn between two pieces of fat. Finally, a tumulus of earth receives the urn, and is the sepulchre of Patroclus. But the funeral rites do not end here: Achilles orders funeral games, and distributes rewards to the victors (258 ff.).

In the classic period the dead body was washed, anointed with unguents and oil, and wrapped in a white garment. It appears, however, that the garment was not always white; it might be black. The eyes were closed, and the jaw was bound to the head in order that the mouth might remain shut when rigidity came on. The care of the dead was the business of the people of the house, especially the relatives, and among these the women. Further, a garland was placed on the head of the deceased. Afterwards the corpse was laid on an ordinary bed (κλίνη), and was exposed to view. This exposing (πρόθεσις) took place in the house, the feet of the dead being turned towards the door; a law of Solon prohibited an exposing before the door, as seems to have been done at first. This exposing took place the day after death. An earlier time was prohibited in order, naturally, that there might be assurance that

actual death had taken place; and, on the other hand, a too prolonged exposing was not allowed. According to Greek beliefs, the dead must be buried relatively soon in order that the soul might be able to enter the realm of the dead and might not wander about. Patroclus, whose body, on account of the solemn funeral rites, was exposed for twelve days after his death, says to Achilles, to whom he appears in a dream, *θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα, πόδας ἄϊδαο πέρῃσω* (Il. xxiii. 71).

At what seems to be a late period, a piece of money was placed in the mouth of the deceased as a *ναῦλον* to pay the ferryman who transported him to the further side of the river into the realm of the dead. A honey cake (*μελιτούρτα*) was buried with him, as an appropriate offering to the guardian of the doors of the infernal regions (Aristoph. *Lys.* 599). The scholiast on Aristophanes adds that the cake serves for Cerberus (*q.v.*), the piece of money for the ferryman, and the dead man's garland is for the struggle which he has undergone in issuing from life.

Upon the bier was placed a vessel of earth, usually a *λίκυθος*, which contained an unguent. On this vessel, which was of a characteristic form, were depicted appropriate funeral scenes; and, in fact, it represented the deceased. At the door of ingress was placed an earthen vessel (*δοτρακον*) containing spring water (Aristoph. *Ecc.* 1033), which was to serve for purifying those who had been in contact with the dead, and in general all those who were in the house.

The exposing of the body was followed by its being carried (*ἐκφορὰ*) from the house to the place of sepulture, and this could be done only by day; criminals alone were buried by night (Eurip. *Troad.* 446), when sepulture was granted them at all. The dead person was carried on the bed upon which he had been exposed to view; but it is not easy to say exactly who were the bearers, although there are expressions like *νεκροφόροι*, *νεκροθάπται*, *νεκροτάφοι*, which imply persons specially employed in this duty of carrying and of burial. However, we gather from Plato, Plutarch, Lucian, and others that these bearers were young men who lent themselves to this pious duty. Plato speaks of young men of the gymnasium (*Legg.* xii. 947). When the conveyance of the body took place, it was attended by a cortège which accompanied the bier as it made its way to the sepulchre. According to the laws of Solon, the men must go first, the women must follow; the latter, moreover, must not be less than sixteen years of age (Demosth. *Arist.* i.). Plato describes at length (*Legg.* xii. 947) how the funeral cortège was to be formed, and he also notes that the women who took part in it must not be younger than the child-bearing age. The sepulchre (*θήκη*) must be excavated underground, of elongated shape, and must be constructed of stone. But the dead were not always laid in a tomb of stone without a coffin (*σφόνδς*, *λάρναξ*). When the latter was used, it was made of cypress or other wood.

The different stages of the funeral were usually accompanied by weeping and lamentation on the part of the relatives and friends, and of other persons who visited the dead when exposed to view and attended him to the sepulchre. These manifestations of grief must originally have been excessive, and not different from those we have met with in Homer. They were prohibited by legislators like Solon and Charondas, who desired to restrain what appeared to many Greek writers to be clamorous and barbaric forms of grief. Plato describes as indecorous the weeping for the dead, and would have liked to prohibit lamentations (*θρηνεῖν*) outside the house (*Legg.* xii. 960). It is true that Æschylus (*Choeph.* 20f.), and Euripides (*Hec.* 642 f.)

describe displays of grief such as striking the breast, tearing and lacerating the face and garments, and pulling out the hair; but probably these two authors wished to reproduce primitive customs which were no longer permitted in their day. In spite of legislative prohibitions, however, there was no cessation at funerals of more or less exaggerated manifestations of grief; the bier was certainly accompanied by funeral-singers (*θρηνῳδοί*). Plato himself speaks of them (*Legg.* vii. 800) in the masculine only. This duty, however, was carried out also by women called *Καρίναι*, *θρηνῳδοί*, *μουσικαί*, probably, as is supposed, from their Carian origin, whence came the employment of the term for those women who sang over the dead, just as a kind of flute was called Phrygian as having been invented by the Phrygians, *e.g.* *αὐλὸς θρηνηγητικός* (Poll. iv. 75).

While in pre-historic times the places of sepulture were either the houses or the streets of the city or village, or even the *agora*, in the classical period the Greeks had fixed places outside the city, cemeteries in the common and broad signification of the term; or else they made use of the roads outside of the city, as may still be seen in Italy, *e.g.* at Pompeii. Moreover, distinguishing signs or inscriptions were placed upon the sepulchres. The sepulchres themselves had different names, as *θήκαι*, *τάφοι*, *μνήματα*, and they might have different forms, among which was that of the tumulus (*χῶμα*, barrow). There were placed upon them *stelæ* (*στήλαι*), a kind of posts, or actual columns (*κίονες*), or little temples (*ναῖδια*, *ἡρώα*), or else horizontal slabs of stone (*τάφειαι*), with inscriptions (*γραφαί*).

In the sepulchres in Greece, from the most ancient and primitive onwards, have been found objects and vessels frequently of great value, such as those of Mycenæ, of Vaphio, and of Crete. These were deposited in the tomb with the dead, and were objects which had belonged to him. Thus there have been found objects for the toilet, weapons, little figures of earth or of bronze, and, especially, bronze or earthen vessels. The sepulchres themselves contain the bones of domestic animals, among which are those of the horse. In the ideas and beliefs of the Greeks there was the conviction that the dead person must have for his journey to the subterranean world the same objects of use and of ornament which he had possessed when living, and also utensils and vessels which were proper for eating and drinking from, and containing food and drink. This usage did not cease in classic Greece, as has been proved by the vessels and other objects which have been found in the sepulchres of this epoch.

The burial was followed by the funeral meal (*πενδιπνον*), already met with in the Homeric period, though not by the games, which had been abolished; and also by the purification (*καταλούεσθαι*). But solicitude for the deceased did not end here: on the third day after the burial, sacrifices (called *ῥιπτα*) were offered upon the tomb, especially on the stele or other object placed on it; these sacrifices were repeated on the ninth day (*ἐνάτη*); and in the meanwhile the mourning began. This, in the majority of cases, lasted thirty days; the shortest period was twelve (Plut. *Lyc.* 27). As to external signs, mourning was shown by abstinence from everything which might cause joy and pleasure, and also by putting on a black garment, or clothing which was only in part black. According to Plutarch (*Quest. Rom.* xiv.), it was a custom with the Greeks that during the mourning the women should shave off their hair, and the men should let theirs grow, if the regular usage was for the men to shave off the hair, and the women to let theirs grow. Euripides makes mention (*Iphig. Aul.* 1437 f.) of the cutting off of the hair

and the putting on of a black *peplum* for mourning. The Argive custom of wearing a white garment for mourning instead of a black one (Plut. *op. cit.* xxvi.) seems to have been an exception.

In Athens there was also an anniversary of the death called by Herodotus (iv. 26) *γενέσια*, a funeral feast, during which sacrifices were offered to the earth (*τῇ γῇ*)—a commemoration called by others *νεκυσία* or *ἀπαλία*. It is to be supposed that such a commemoration was chiefly found in the case of men well known and highly thought of, notwithstanding that no distinction of persons or classes is made by Greek writers. But a general feeling of respect for tombs, and especially for ancestors, may be inferred from what one reads in Æschylus (*Pers.* 401 ff.) concerning the tombs of forefathers (*θίγκας τε προγόνων*). Just as in the commemoration on the third and ninth days after burial, so at the annual commemorations, there were sacrifices, offerings and libations (*ἐνάγισμα*) to the dead, who was supposed to be already in the subterranean world; whence such libations took also the name of *χαῖα*, and of *χθονία λουτρά*.

The unhappy criminal alone was denied sepulture and a funeral. In Athens the bodies of criminals were thrown behind the tower Melita and along by the northern walls of the city (Plut. *Them.* xxii.; Plato, *Repub.* iv. 439). The suicide's right hand was cut off; but he was granted burial. Plato would have the suicide buried in silence and without any sign of sepulture (*Legg.* ix. 873). Finally, to those whose bodies could not be obtained, cenotaphs or empty monuments were erected. Euripides (*Hel.* 1241) says that it was a law of the Greeks that he who died by drowning in the sea should be 'buried in a tissue of empty robes' (*κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν πέπλῳ ὑδάμαστιν*).

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G. SERGI.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Hindu).—Life and death stand in perpetual contrast. To give expression to this fact is the aim of Hindu ritual in all its processes, down to the minutest details. In the case of offerings to the gods the participants circumambulate the fire with their right side turned towards it, and in a direction from left to right; in offerings to the *manes* the left side is turned, and the direction is from right to left—the opposite of the sun's course (see CIRCUMAMBULATION); in the former case the right knee is bowed, in the latter the left; in the one the sacrificial cord is put on from left to right (under the right arm), in the other from right to left (under the left arm); ropes are twisted from right to left; even numbers are assigned to the gods, odd ones to the *manes*; to the former belongs everything that is young, healthy, and strong, to

the latter what is old, weak, or deformed. Everything that is bright-coloured—the forenoon, the ascending half of the month or the year—is assigned to the gods; whereas the *manes* have their portion in all that is dark—the afternoon, the descending half of the month or the year. Even in the course of a human life the 50th year marks a boundary, those who have not reached it belonging to the gods, those who have passed it to the *manes*.

Dread of the evil influence of the dead, their impurity, their return, and their interference with the living is another characteristic of the ritual. Fire-brands and jets of water serve to ward off this influence; stones are laid down between the village and the place of cremation; on the way home from the latter, care is taken to obliterate footprints in order to prevent the dead from finding the way, or perhaps to save the footprint, which is a possible subject of magic, from being exposed to the influence of hostile spirits; at the funeral ceremonies plants are selected whose names—such as *apāmārga*, *avakā*, *yava*—have a protective sense.

The living are bound to prepare the way for the dead in the other world, to provide them with food for their great journey into Yama's realm, and to supply them with means for crossing the rivers. These ends are served by the *utkrānti* or *vaitarāṇi* cow, which in some cases has been presented to the Brāhmins before his death by the deceased himself or his son. The same was originally, no doubt, the purpose also of the *amustarāṇi* cow, which is led along in the funeral train, and whose members are finally laid upon those of the dead, its kidneys being deposited in his hands as food for Yama's dogs. The streams which have to be crossed are probably indicated by the piece of reed which is introduced into the wall of the tomb, and which is meant to serve as a boat (cf. CERBERUS, BRIDGE).

The realm of the dead is variously located in the west or the south—occasionally in the east, no doubt in conformity with the conception of Rigv. x. 15. 7, which speaks of the fathers as *arunām upasthe*, 'in the bosom of the dawn.' The dead are sought for in earth and air and heaven, in sun and moon and stars—in the last-named very rarely. In fact, we encounter a number of frequently contradictory views, which originated at different times and among different races, and which, after undergoing artificial amalgamation, now emerge in the Vedic ritual and its hymns (Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, Breslau, 1891-1902, iii. 414 ff.).

The usual method of disposing of the dead is cremation. But the well-known distinction drawn in Rigv. x. 15. 14 between *agnidagdhas* and *anagnidagdhas* (cremated and un-cremated *manes*) shows that other forms were known and practised. It is not at all impossible that Rigv. x. 18. 10 ff. originally referred to the rite of burial (Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Litt.*, i. [Leipzig, 1905] 85). But our present ritual is not acquainted with burial except as applied to young children and ascetics, in whose case, from a motive half-philosophic, half-superstitious, and after a fashion known even at the present day, the skull was split with a coco-nut (Caland, *Altind. Bestatt.* § 50, p. 95). The only other trace which appears to point with any certainty to burial is found in the *śmaśānachiti*, which follows the placing of the remains in the urn. The Brāhmins were reluctant to abandon old customs; they modified them when necessary, and linked them on to other existing usages. Just as the *pravargya* ceremony—once an independent milk-offering—was combined with the soma-offering, so the non-obligatory *śmaśānachiti* may have been originally an independent custom. In the measures of this *chiti* Caland (*l.c.* 181 f.) has rightly seen the 'survival' of original burial; and the circumstance

that there the urn is not interred, but cast away, also appears to point to the independence of the *śmaśānachiti*, for which urn-burial is not a necessity.

The data as to burial are found in the Vedic hymns, and especially in the Sūtras—the *Gṛhya* and *Pitṛmedha* and kindred texts—and in the records of modern usages. It is not without interest that many of the regulations of the Sūtras find parallels at the present day among Indian tribes. As we find the injunction that those returning from the place of cremation are to deposit stones or other objects between the dead man and his village, so 'the Mangars of Nepal obstruct the road leading from the grave with a barricade of thorns, through which the soul, conceived of as a miniature man, very tender and fragile, is unable to force its way' (*Census of India*, 1901, i. 355). On the other hand, our Sūtras do not contain an account of all the customs that existed or may have existed, and do not coincide with the ritual known to the Rīgveda. An interesting illustration of this is supplied by Dr. Bloch (*Annual Report of the Archaeol. Survey*, Bengal circle, for the year ending April 1905, Calcutta, 1905 [ZDMG lx. 227 ff.]), who opened some burial-mounds at Lauriya, and found in the midst of them remains of a wooden post (*sthūmā*), which recalls the post mentioned in Rīg. x. 18. 13, and of whose meaning the Sūtra ritual gives us no idea.

It would be quite out of place here to treat even superficially of the huge mass of prescriptions to be found in published and unpublished texts, or of the variations presented by the usages of different schools and families. Caland divides the whole ceremonial into 114 acts, not to speak of the variations found in each of these. It is equally impossible to discuss the numerous verses which accompany the particular acts, and whose real relation to these is not always clear; or, more especially, the circumstantial casuistry with which the highly ingenious spirit of Brāhmanism has sought, in a manner that is far from uninteresting, to provide for all possibilities. Like the ceremonies connected with birth, those attending on death are a *samskāra*. 'It is well known,' says the *Baudhāyana Pitṛmedha*, iii. 1. 4, 'that through the *samskāra* after birth one conquers earth; through the *samskāra* after death, heaven.' Ritualists are therefore eager to have this *samskāra* performed with care and with regard to all circumstances. It may happen, for instance, that the Hindu dies in a foreign land and must be brought home, or that he dies there and remains forgotten. In the latter case cremation is performed in effigy upon a human figure composed of *palāsa* stems. Should it chance, however, that after all the man returns alive, the ritual provides even for this, and ordains that he must be born anew—i.e. undergo all the rites of *jātakarman*, in which he sits speechless and with clenched fists, like an embryo in the womb (Caland, § 44). When a prostitute dies, she must not be cremated, according to some teachers, with ordinary fire, but with that of the forest, wild and unchecked. Other regulations apply to the death of a widow or a woman in childbirth. If a man longs for death, he presents an offering, the various acts in which symbolize this longing (cf. *Kāt. Śr. S.* xxii. 6. 1). If one dies in the act of presenting an ordinary offering, certain rules are to be followed. But it is impossible to go into all this; only when the *Srauta* Sūtras have been translated, will the historian of religion and the ethnographer obtain full insight into this circle of ideas. Here we must content ourselves with a brief account of the most important features of the ritual.¹

¹ For fuller details, see the present writer's sketch in *GIAP* III. 2; and Caland (*op. cit. infra*), whose work is thorough, and yet does not exhaust the enormous quantity of material.

1. Death.—When the Hindu feels the approach of death, he must summon his relatives, hold friendly converse with them, and, if the dying-hour is very near, have himself placed on a cleansed spot on sandy soil. It promotes his future weal to make presents before his death to Brāhmins; among these gifts a special value attaches to the *vaitaraṇī* cow as his conductor over the stream of the under world. His dying-couch is prepared in proximity to the three fires, or, if he keeps up only one, near to it, viz. the domestic fire, and here he is laid down with his head turned towards the south. In his ear are repeated passages from the Veda of his school, or, if he is a Brahavid, from an *Aranyaka*. When death has taken place, they bring the corpse to a covered place, and then (or, with many, at a later stage) cut his hair and nails, which, according to Gautama (ii. 24), should be deposited in a hole in the ground. Many follow the practice (prohibited by others) of opening the body, removing the excrements, and replacing the entrails after they have been washed in water and filled with butter—a procedure intended, in the opinion of the present writer, simply to facilitate cremation, which would be hampered by the heavy *faces*. Then the corpse, with its head turned towards the south, is laid upon a bier covered with a black skin; on the dead man's head is placed a wreath of *nard*; he is clothed down to the feet in a new robe, the old one being given to the son, to a pupil, or to the wife of the deceased, to be worn for life or till it becomes too old for use. Others have a piece of the death-robe cut off, and hand it over to be kept by the sons. Noteworthy is the practice of some, who bind together the thumbs (or the toes) of the deceased—a custom which, as Caland (*l.c.* 176) and Steinmetz (*ap. Caland*) remark, is found also among other than Indian peoples (see above, p. 433^a).

If the deceased has in his lifetime presented animal-offerings, three he-goats are provided; if he has offered *sānnāyya* (sweet and sour milk libations) at new and full moon, a milk-offering (*āmikṣā*) is to be presented [evidently slight differences of cult going back to primeval times]. If goats are not used, many take 'black rice-grains,' of which from one to three rice-paps are made. A remarkable figure is that of an old, un-horned, vicious cow (*anustaraṇī*). When the cow is brought, the servants of the deceased have each to throw three handfuls of dust over their shoulders. At the head of the procession (according to the teaching of many) walks a man with a firebrand which he has kindled at the domestic fire; he is followed by the sacrificial fires of the deceased and the apparatus for the cremation ceremony, including the above-mentioned *anustaraṇī* cow; next in order is the dead man on his couch, which is placed on a mat or on the before-mentioned bier, carried by servants, old people, sons, or relatives near and remote, according as the custom may be. In many circles it is the practice—still followed in certain instances in India—to employ for the transport of the corpse a waggon drawn by black oxen, and to place upon it also the fires and sacrificial utensils of the deceased. Behind the corpse come the relatives, the older ones first, men and women, the latter with loose dishevelled hair and their shoulders besprinkled with dust. [In points of detail we meet with many variations.] When the corpse is lifted, the invocation, 'May Pūṣan bring thee from here!' is addressed to Pūṣan, who in the whole ceremonial appears as *ψυχοπομπός*—a rôle already assigned him in the Rīgveda. When a third or a fourth of the way has been covered, one of the goats is killed, or one of the paps of rice (or, if there be only one, a third of it) is poured upon a clod of earth thrown to the south. Thereupon the

company, with the younger ones in front, thrice circumambulate the corpse and the clod from right to left, with their hair loose on the left side and bound up on the right, at the same time striking their right thigh with the hand and fanning the corpse with the extremity of their garments. Then comes a thrice-repeated circumambulation from left to right, with the hair loose on the right side and bound up on the left, with a striking of the left thigh, but, according to the view of certain scholars, without another fanning of the corpse. The same procedure is repeated at the second third of the journey and at its termination. The rice-vessel is finally dashed on the ground, and its fragments so shattered that water will not remain upon them. [The variations encountered here in the practice of the different schools are numerous. Some walk along strewing small pieces of iron or roasted grains of rice upon the ground, while they recite or sing Yama-hymns. The Mādhyandinas deposit a rice-clod at the place of death, one near the door as they leave the house, one for the *bhūtas* half-way between the dwelling and the place of cremation, and one for the wind as soon as the place of cremation is reached, while one is deposited in the hand of the deceased.]

2. **Cremation.**—Special regulations, particularly as to its orientation, are offered for the choice of the place of cremation, which in some respects resembles the place of offering for the gods, while in others it is quite different. The duly selected spot is purified, and a formula is employed to scare away demons or ghosts. The kind of wood used, the size and orientation of the pyre, and everything of a like kind are regulated by rigid prescription, scarcely anything being left to caprice. The corpse is now (or later) laid on the pyre, the threads which bind the thumbs are loosed, the cords which hold the bier together are severed, and the bier itself is flung into the water or laid on the pyre, upon which the fires of the deceased also find a place. When all is done according to rule, the *amṣṭaraṇī* cow is brought forward, and so held by the relatives of the deceased that the youngest of them touches her hind-quarters, while the others are so arranged that an older person always touches a younger. The cow may either be slaughtered or—manifestly in connexion with a later custom—let go. The latter course must be followed in the case of one who has presented no animal-offerings. The animal is in that case led round the fires, the pyre, and the corpse, and with certain formulæ set free. To the north of the pyre the widow of the deceased crouches down, but (with formulæ which originally belonged to an entirely different ritual) is called on to rise and return to the world of life. There, too, is placed the bow of the deceased, which is afterwards cast upon the pyre. Upon the openings of the face are laid small pieces of gold, or at least melted butter is allowed to trickle down upon them. The sacrificial utensils of the dead, which he has had in his possession since the kindling of the fires, are distributed over his limbs, those of them that have a cavity being filled with butter—plainly for the purpose of feeding the fire; the two millstones (according to one version) are appropriated by the son, and so is everything made of copper, brass, or clay. In like manner the parts of the cow are distributed over the members of the deceased: the caul, for instance, being laid on his head and face, the kidneys (for Yama's dogs) being placed in his hands, along with a lump of curds (for Mitra-Varuṇa) if he has presented *sāmnāyā*-offerings. Before or during the process of cremation [here, as almost everywhere, different opinions prevail in the schools] the pyre is asperged after a fashion that may still be observed: the person performing this office walks round the pyre carrying

on his left shoulder a pitcher, in the back of which there has been made, by an axe or a stone, a hole through which the water runs out. After a triple circumambulation he casts the pitcher behind him.

Now begins the *cremation*, which is regarded as an offering into the fire, conducting the corpse to heaven as a sacrificial gift. In the *Dakṣiṇa*-fire are offered libations for Agni, Kāma, Loka, etc., and finally a libation on the breast of the deceased to Agni, 'who is now to be born of him as he once was of Agni.' If the man was an *Anāhitāgni*, the firebrand is taken from the domestic fire; if he was an *Āhitāgni*, the cremation is performed by the flames of the three or five fires kept up by him. Note is taken of which fire reaches him first, and it is augured therefrom whether the deceased has gone into the world of the gods or of the *manes*, or into some other world. To the north-east of the *āhavanīyā* a knee-deep trench is dug, in which a certain water-plant is placed—clearly an ancient superstition—in order to cool the heat of the fire. The traditional explanation of the custom is that 'the dead man rises from the trench and ascends along with the smoke to heaven.' Behind the pyre a goat is fastened, but in such a manner that it is possible for it to break away, and, if it does so, nothing is done to prevent it. The cremation is accompanied by a number of verses or songs selected according to the school to which the deceased belonged. While the pyre continues to blaze, the relatives move off without looking round. The officiant gives them seven pebbles, which on their way home they scatter with the left hand turned downwards. [According to the prescription of another school, three trenches are dug behind the pyre; they are then filled with water from an uneven number of pitchers, and gravel is thrown in. The relatives enter the trenches, touch the water, and then creep through branches set in the ground behind, and bound together by a rope made of *darbhā*-straw. The last to creep through tears the branches apart. Gautama directs a thorny branch, *Vaikhāṇasa* a grass snare, to be held in front of them, under which they must creep.] The company, as they leave the place of cremation, must restrain themselves from any exhibition of mourning, and go forward with heads bent down, entertaining one another with well-omened speeches and virtuous tales. Many tears, it is said, burn the dead (cf. *Raghuvamśa*, viii. 86). Yudhiṣṭhira is rebuked by Vyāsa for bewailing the death of his nephew. Story-tellers (*paūrāṇikas*, etc.) are therefore engaged in order to drive away by their skill the sorrows of the relatives (Lüders, *ZDMG* lviii. 706 ff.).

3. **Udakakarman.**—The offering of water to the deceased which follows is carried out in a variety of ways. According to one view, all the relatives—down to the seventh or tenth generation—must enter the water. They wear only a single garment, and the sacrificial cord hangs over the right shoulder; many also direct that the hair must be dishevelled and dust thrown upon the body. They turn their face towards the south, plunge under the water, call upon the dead by name, and offer him a handful of water. Then they emerge, bow the left knee, and wring their dripping garment.

An interesting usage prevails at the present day. Immediately after the bath a quantity of boiled rice and peas is set out for the crows (Caland, p. 78). This recalls the primitive notion that the dead appear as birds, and the comparison of the *Maruts* with birds, for the *Maruts* are an offshoot from the cult of the dead. Scarcely anything connected with the history of cults can be seen more interesting or more strongly reminiscent of the earlier times than an enormous Pipal tree—not the one sacred to the Buddhist community on the western side of the *stūpa*—growing to the north of the Buddhist sanctuary at Bodhi-Gaṇḍī, beneath which offerings to the *manes* are continuously presented, while blackbirds fly to and fro amongst its branches.

After the bath the relatives seat themselves

upon a clean grassy spot, where they are regaled with stories or Yama-songs. They do not return to the village till the first star shows itself, or the sun is partly set, or the herds come home. At the door of the house they chew leaves of the *pichumanda* (*Azadirachta indica*), rinse their mouth, touch water, fire, cow-dung, etc., or inhale the smoke of a certain species of wood, tread upon a stone, and then enter.

4. *Āśauca* (uncleanness).—The occurrence of death renders those associated with it unclean—a condition which lasts from 1 to 10 days, and is variously regulated according to circumstances and the usages of particular schools. 'After ten days' the mourning ceremonies for Indumatī are ended (*Raghuvamśa*, viii. 73). The prescriptions to be attended to during the *āśauca* are partly negative—in so far as they forbid certain things, such as the cutting of the hair and beard, study of the Vedas, *Grhya*-offerings; and partly positive—e.g. the enjoining of certain offerings. The first night a rice-ball is offered to the dead, before and after which water for washing is poured out for him, and he is called on by name. Milk and water are set out for him in the open air. Many set out perfumes and drinks for him, as well as a lamp to facilitate his progress through the terrible darkness that enshrouds the road to the city of Yama. Others cause a trench to be dug, into which perfumes and flowers are cast, while a pot suspended by a noose is hung over it. Even to-day the notion is to be met with that a thread serves the spirit of the deceased as a ladder to reach the drink suspended by it (Caland, p. 88).

5. *Samchayana*.—The collecting of the bones after cremation is usually carried out on an uneven day; according to some, during the dark half of the month, and under certain constellations. For the bones of a man a plain urn is employed; for those of a woman, a 'female' one, i.e. one adorned with breasts. The bones are picked up one by one, with the thumb and ring-finger, and are laid without noise in the urn. Among the *Taittiriya*s this duty is performed by women, regarding the selection of whom the prescriptions vary. According to the rules of *Baudhāyana* they must attach a fruit of the *brhati*-plant to their left hand with a dark-blue and a red thread, mount upon a stone, wipe their hands once with an *apāmārga*-plant, and with closed eyes collect the bones with the left hand. The urn, which is closed with a lid, is placed in a trench prepared in the same manner as the place of cremation, and having no flow to it except rain-water; or it may be laid under the root of a tree. Others place grass and a yellow cloth in a trench, and then throw in the bones. From the latest period we have an account of how one 'puts [the remains] into a little new barrel, and throws them into the water, if there be any at hand, or, if not, into some desert and lonely place.' The *Kapala-Banias* tie up the bones in a piece 'of silken cloth, and the bundle so made is suspended to the bough of a tree in the burning-ground' (*JASB* iii. 8, p. 489; Caland, 105²⁸⁴). Many schools enjoin a second cremation, in which the bones that have survived the first process are pulverized, mixed with butter, and then offered in the fire.

6. *Sāntikarma*.—This is another important department of the death-ritual. [In many ceremonies it comes at the point we have now reached, in many not till after the *śmaśānakaṛaṇa*. The reason for this appears to be that the *saṁchayana* and the *śmaśānakaṛaṇa* were originally parallel usages, which were only afterwards brought into connexion, and the *sāntikarma* continued in several schools to hold the place which belonged to it at first.] According to *Āśvalāyana*, the

ceremony is to be held on the day of new moon. The same authority directs that a fire, with ashes and fireplace, is to be carried southwards and set down at a cross-road or elsewhere; then the participants are to circumambulate it thrice, striking the left thigh with the left hand. [Others kindle an ordinary fire at a spot between the village and the *śmaśāna* ground.] Then they return without looking round, touch water, and furnish themselves with a number of new articles—jugs, jars, fire-sticks of *samī*-wood, etc. The fire is kindled afresh, and they sit till nightfall around it, entertaining one another with auspicious stories. When the stillness of night reigns, an uninterrupted stream of water is poured around the house from the south to the north side of the door, and then the participants take their places on an ox-skin that is spread for them. The formulae uttered during this and other parts of the ceremony have regard to life and the averting of death. A stone is laid down to the north of the fire, 'to keep off death.' The young women anoint their eyes with fresh butter. Many texts speak also of the leading around of an ox, of which the company take hold and walk behind it: the one who closes the procession has to obliterate the footmarks. A strange notion entertained by certain Indian tribes is cited by Caland (*l.c.*) from the *Bombay Gazetteer* (xiii. 1, *passim*), to the effect that, at an assembly held on the 12th day, the dead man takes possession of one of the company and intimates what his friends are to do for him, or takes leave of his relatives.

The fundamental aim of the *sāntikarma* is to take effective measures to ward off evil and to return to ordinary life. Hence even the fire that served the deceased is removed—not, however, by the door—and extinguished outside. Its ashes are placed on a mat or in an old basket, and carried to the south or the south-west, where they are set down on a saliferous, and therefore unfruitful, piece of ground (Caland, 114). The new fire is kindled by the eldest son, after (or, sometimes, before) the removal of the old. The *Rigveda* is acquainted with a similar ceremonial, but the details of the ritual are considerably different (Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* ii. 108 ff.).

Many of the ceremonies prescribed by the ritual literature for the *sāntikarma* are connected by some authorities with the *śmaśāna*: e.g. the digging of seven trenches to represent the seven rivers is met with sometimes in the one ceremony, sometimes in the other; but for the general interest of the subject it is a matter of no great importance to what part of the death-ritual we assign particular actions.

7. *Pitṛmedha* or *śmaśāna*.—The questions for whom and at what time the *śmaśāna* is to be performed have given rise to ritual discussion, and have been variously answered by the different schools. The season of the year and the reigning constellations are also of significance; on the whole, a preference seems to have been given to the day of the new moon. On the preceding day certain plants are rooted up at the spot destined for the *śmaśāna*, to the north of which earth is dug up, and from this are made the 600-2400 bricks which serve for the structure, besides the number (not precisely defined) employed for packing. The urn with the ashes is brought and laid between three *palāśa*-stakes driven into the ground inside a hut which must be between the village and the *śmaśāna* spot. If the bones are not to be found in the trench mentioned above, dust is taken from this spot, or the dead man is called upon from the bank of a river, and then any small animal (this being taken to represent him) that happens to spring upon an outspread cloth is treated as if it were the bones. Upon the three stakes is placed a perforated vessel containing sour milk and whey, which trickles through the numerous holes upon the urn below. To trumpet blast and the sound

of the lute the company circumambulate the spot after the fashion already described (striking the left thigh with the hand, etc.), and fan the urn with the extremities of their garments. [Many ritual authorities speak also of song and dance and female dancers: some do not mention the hut; others have additions to, or modifications of, the above. The variations are great, indeed: e.g. some place an empty kettle in the hut, and beat it with an old shoe.]

The ceremonies take place during the first, middle, and last parts of the night. The company repairs quite early to the *śmaśāna* spot, regarding whose extent there are widely deviating prescriptions. It must be out of sight of the village, in a hidden situation, yet visited by the rays of the midday sun. The spot must be staked off and surrounded with a rope, and—as in the case of the *agnichayana*, with whose ritual the *śmaśāna* has many points of contact—its surface must be covered with small stones. Furrows must be opened with a plough drawn by six or more oxen, and various seeds cast into them. In the middle of the ground a hole is made, into which gravel, saliferous earth, etc., are cast. Milk from a cow whose calf died is poured into the half of a bowl and stirred up with groats into a kind of drink; and this, or something else, is set out as food for the dead. [Towards the south (according to some) two crooked trenches are to be opened, and filled with milk and water. It may be mentioned, as one of the numerous and frequently characteristic details, that in the *śmaśāna* a piece of reed is immured, apparently to serve the purpose of a boat to the deceased (cf. above, p. 475^b).] The bones are laid down upon a bed of *darbha*-grass, arranged in the figure of a man, covered with an old cloth, and asperged. The urn is destroyed. Over the remains is erected the monument, which conforms to a definitely prescribed plan, and in which the present writer sees the precursor of the *stūpa* of later days. When the structure has reached a certain height, food for the dead is walled in. After its completion, the *śmaśāna* is covered with earth, and water is poured over it from pitchers which it is the custom to destroy, or it is bestrewn with *avakā*-plants and *kusa*-grass. Much is done also to separate the world of the living from that of the dead; the boundary betwixt them is marked by lumps of earth, stones, and branches; and the same purpose is served by the uttering of certain formulae.

The soul of the deceased does not pass at once into the world of the *Pitara*s; it remains separate from them for a time as a *preta*, or 'spirit,' and has special offerings presented to it. But, after the lapse of a certain period, or when some fortunate circumstance occurs, the dead man reaches the circle of the *manes* through the instrumentality of the *sapindikarana*. The grandfather now drops out, since, as a rule, only three rice-balls are presented; but, as one of the *manes*, he receives his place in the ancestor-cult. This cult has struck its roots deep in Indian life. To feed the ancestors, to propitiate or keep them away, and to summon their aid, are the purposes served by the *śrāddhas* described in ritual- and law-books. The *śrāddhas* are offered either on special occasions, when fortunate occurrences take place, or regularly at certain periods of time. To the first category belong the birth of a son, the *nīmakarana*, and other festivals, when the *manes* are spoken of as 'cheerful,' and are honoured in the same way as the gods: to the second belong the daily worship of the *manes*, that on the day of the new moon, the monthly worship, the great offering to the *manes* at the four months' sacrifices, at the soma-sacrifices, and the *āṣṭakā* cele-

bration with the *anvaṣṭakya*, which coincide with the close of the year (see, for details, the present writer's sketch in *GIAP* iii. 2).

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A. HILLEBRANDT.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Indian, non-Aryan).—I. Conception of death: not due to natural causes.—The conception of death among the non-Aryan tribes of India does not materially differ from that entertained by other savage and semi-savage races. Death is not regarded as the result of natural causes, but is supposed to be due to the interference of devils, demons, or other evil spirits. This is particularly the case with diseases like dementia, the delirium of fever, and the like, which seem to indicate action by some indwelling spirit. This belief is naturally extended to accidents caused by wild animals, and deaths due to epidemic diseases, each of which is attributed to the working of a special disease-spirit. Hence many of these tribes use special means to identify the spirit, and the methods usually partake of the nature of Shamanism. The soul, again, is regarded as a little man or animal occupying the individual, which causes him to move. It leaves the body through the skull-sutures or other pure orifices of the body, in the case of persons who have lived virtuous lives; in the case of the wicked, by one or other of the impure exits. The soul may at times live apart from the body—a theory which explains to those who hold it the nature of dreams and the danger of waking a sleeper. There may be more souls than one, and these may have separate abodes—a belief accounting for the performance among some tribes of funeral rites at the place of death, at the grave, or at some other spot, where offerings are made to appease the spirit, and explaining much of the vagueness which characterizes their funeral ceremonies. The soul, again, is believed to be mortal; and with their lack of interest in their national history, and their imperfect recollection of past events, these people, after a time, regard their deceased ancestors as no longer objects of reverence or fear, and the attention of the survivors is concentrated on the more recently dead. The soul, when it leaves the body, is figured as a

naked, feeble mannikin, exposed to all kinds of injury until, by the pious care of its friends, a new body is provided for it. This often takes the form of a temporary refuge—a hut, a stone, a tree, or a piece of sacred grass. Or the soul may abide in an animal or insect; and this temporary refuge, or, among tribes who accept the theory of metempsychosis, this form of re-birth, may be identified by laying out ashes or flour at the scene of death. These, when carefully examined, often show the footmarks of the creature by which the soul has been occupied. Among the jungle tribes the soul is commonly supposed to abide in a tree—a belief which may in some instances have been suggested by the habit of tree-burial (see § 4 (h)). In W. India a common refuge of the soul is the *jivkhāda*, or 'life-stone,' which is selected at the time of the funeral rites, and to which offerings and libations are made. This naturally leads to a further development, when a rude image of the deceased is made, placed among the household gods, and honoured with gifts of food and drink. In some cases, as among the Kachins of Upper Burma, an attempt is made to enclose the soul within a barrier of bamboos, from which it is solemnly released at the termination of the funeral rites (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. i. 409). Sometimes, again, during this intermediate period, the soul is believed to haunt the scene of death, and at a later period it abides in the grave or at the cremation-ground. When beliefs such as these are current among the people, it is obviously of supreme importance that the funeral rites should be duly performed. No infective tabu is more dangerous than that which proceeds from a corpse unpurified by the customary rites; and perhaps no people in the world devote more anxious care than the Hindus to placating the friendly, and repressing or scaring away the malignant, spirits of the dead.

2. **Spirits friendly and malignant.**—The line between these two classes of spirits is clearly drawn, and it is based on the close family- and clan-organization of the non-Aryan tribes. The souls of the family dead, unless they are irritated by neglect, are generally benevolent; the souls of strangers are, as a rule, malevolent and hostile. In the case of the former no means of placation are neglected. Some tribes, after the soul has left the body, endeavour to recall it, and invite it to abide with them as a house-guardian; others make a miniature bridge to enable it, as it returns, to cross a stream, and thus evade the water-spirit (cf. art. BRIDGE, ii. 2, e); others, again, make a pretence of capturing the soul and bringing it back to its home. The provision of fire and light for the soul, either in the house itself or at the grave, is more general. Sometimes rites are performed to guide the soul to its longed-for place of rest; or it is solemnly invited to leave the grave and ascend to the other world, where it is welcomed by the friends who have gone before—a conception of the realm of the sainted dead which may have been independently arrived at by the non-Aryan tribes, though the details may be due to Hindu influence. To secure the peaceful departure of the soul, it is essential that the due egress should be provided for it by removing the dying person into the open air or into an upper chamber—a precaution which possesses the additional advantage of relieving the house from the death-tabu. With the same object, the skull is often broken at the time of cremation. When death occurs, the soul is placated by the wailing of its relatives; or, as among the Kāndhs, it is exhorted to keep quiet, to employ its time in working in the other world, and not to transform itself into a tiger and plague its friends (Risley, *TC* i. 408). More remarkable is the procedure of the Nāgas of Assam,

who curse the evil spirit which has removed their friend, and threaten to attack it with their spears (*JAI* xxvi. 195, xxvii. 34; Dalton, 40). This custom apparently does not prevail among the Manipur branch of the tribe (T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911, p. 146 ff.).

After death, the wants of the dead are provided for by gifts of food and drink (see art. FOOD FOR THE DEAD). Among some tribes the feeling prevails that the goods of the dead man should be appropriated to his use, and not taken by his friends, lest the envious spirit may return and claim them (Dalton, 21, 205; cf. Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, Lond. 1902, p. 98). In some cases a viaticum, in the shape of a coin or some article of value, is placed with the corpse to support it on its way to the other world, as among the Pahāria (Hosten, 'Paharia Burial-Customs,' *Anthropos*, iv. 670, 672). But people in this grade of culture, while strictly governed by a regard for precedents, contrive to evade the duty by placing worthless representations of the dead man's effects in the grave, or by merely waving them over his pyre (Rivers, *The Todas*, 362 f.). The arms and implements which are often buried with the corpse, or placed upon the grave, are obviously intended for the protection or use of the dead; and these are sometimes intentionally broken, either in the belief that, if left uninjured, they are useless to the dead, or to render them unavailable, and thus prevent the rifling of the tomb. Special clothing is also sometimes provided for the soul, and, as the garments of the dead man are supposed to be infected by the death-tabu, they are generally presented to some menial priest, whose sanctity guards him from danger in using them. Ornaments are sometimes placed in the grave: a set of diadems, for instance, like those of Mycenæ, having been found in a S. Indian interment at Tinnevely, where they were probably deposited as amulets to protect the soul from evil spirits (Thurston, *Notes*, 149 f.). Some deposit with the dead a prayer written by the tribal priest; others, like the Gāros of Assam, slay a dog at the grave to guide the soul to Chik-mang, the tribal paradise; or, as among the Gonds, clay images of horses, on which the soul may ride to heaven, are placed on the tomb (A. Playfair, *The Gāros*, 1909, p. 109; Oppert, 84 f.). Closely connected with this is the custom of slaying human victims at the funeral, in order that they may accompany and serve the soul. Some of the wilder Assam and Burma tribes, down to quite recent times, killed slaves with this object (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. i. 553; F. Mason, *Burmah*, 1860, p. 92 f.). Blood being the favourite form of refreshment for the dead, it is provided by animal sacrifices. The victim is often slain at the grave, and its blood is poured upon it. The Andamanese mother places a shell full of her milk on the grave of her child, and the Dosādh of the United Provinces pours blood into a pit, so that it may reach the soul (*JAI* xii. 142; Crooke, *TC* ii. 354). With the same intention water is poured on the grave, or dropped into the mouth of the dead or dying man. Many articles of food placed with the dead serve the additional purpose of scaring evil spirits. Rites such as these, performed at the grave, naturally develop into a periodical feast held in the house or in some holy place; food, again, is offered to a rude image representing the dead. The final stage is reached when it comes to be believed that, by feeding the tribal priest or a Brāhman, the food passes on for the use of the soul.

3. **Rites performed to repel evil spirits.**—The rites performed in the case of the malignant dead assume another form. Such spirits are the souls of those who have been removed from this world by an untimely or tragical death—those of the

murdered, the unmarried, the childless women, robbers, men of evil life, and strangers. These are included under the general title of *bhūt* (Skr. *bhūta*, 'formed,' 'produced')—a term which does not necessarily connote malignancy, but is now generally accepted in this sense. They all cherish feelings of envy and malignancy towards the living, and it is necessary to placate or, more generally, to repress and coerce them. The souls of the unmarried dead are often propitiated by a mock posthumous marriage, in which a boy or girl represents the dead youth or maiden. For the unburied dead a mock funeral is performed over such relics of the dead as may have been recovered, or over an image representing the deceased. The soul of a dead bandit, as among some of the robber tribes of N. India, is sometimes deified and worshipped. The most common example of the discontented spirit is the *chūrel* of N. India, or, as she is called in the S., the *alvanti*, the spirit of a childless woman, or of one who has died within the period of sexual impurity. Like demons in other countries, she has her feet turned backwards, and is much dreaded. She is repelled by scattering grain on the road from her grave. When she rises, she halts to collect this, until the morning call of the cock forces her to return—a practice extended even to the benignant dead by the Pahāriās of British Sikkim, who drive a nail through each finger and toe of a prospective *chūrel*, to prevent her from harassing the living (Hosten, 673, 679). The ghost of a mutilated person is also an object of fear; but, except among the Chakmas of the E. frontier (Lewin, *Hill Tracts*, 74), there seems to be no Indian example of the custom of mutilating the corpses of enemies to prevent them from 'walking' (though Hosten, 679, records, without having been able to obtain any explanation for it, the custom of the Yakhās of British Sikkim, who, 'when a man has died, split open his hands from the middle knuckles to the wrist'). Spirits of this description of the malignant dead are repelled in various ways. Some tribes have an annual ghost-hunt, by which the evil spirits are scared from the house and village. Guns are fired, gongs and drums are beaten, and rockets are exploded. Dances and other revels, in which the rules of morality are disregarded—indecentry being a mode of scaring evil spirits—are performed. Sometimes the rite takes the form of a mock combat—one band of performers representing the evil, and another the friendly, spirits; and it is always arranged that the latter shall be victorious (Lewin, *Wild Races*, 185). Some tribes measure the corpse, or watch it until it is buried, lest it may be occupied by an evil spirit.

The devices intended to prevent the return of malignant spirits are manifold. In some cases a cairn is raised over the grave (§ 4 (d)), or, as an additional precaution, the excavation is filled up with stones or thorns; or, as among many of the wilder tribes, the body is buried face downwards—a practice adopted by the Thugs. In Upper India the ghosts of menial tribes, such as sweepers, are so much dreaded that riots have followed an attempt to bury their dead in the usual way with the face turned to the sky. Sometimes the grave is enclosed by a fence too high for the ghost to 'take it,' particularly without a 'run.' Such an enclosure has the additional advantage of marking the place as tabu, and was the origin of the stone circles, erected round cairns, which subsequently developed into the artistic railings of Buddhist *stūpas*. Another common method is to deceive the spirit by carrying out the corpse feet foremost or by a special door, so that it may be unable to find its way back, by removing the house-ladder, or by forcing the bearers to carry their burden at

a trot and to change places on the road. Special precautions are taken not to name the dead, at least for some time after death, lest the soul may consider it an invitation to return.

4. Methods of disposal of the dead.—(a) *Cannibalism*.—Of that most archaic method of disposal of the dead, the funeral feast, 'when the meat is nothing less than the corpse of the departed kinsman' (Hartland, *LP* ii. 278), India has so far supplied no clear examples. There are, however, cases of eating the aged with a view to reproducing the virtues or powers of the departed, as among the Lushais of Assam, and the Chingpaws and Was of Upper Burma (Lewin, *Hill Tracts*, 107; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. i. 436, 496). But this custom is confined to the most isolated and savage tribes, and the similar tradition recorded by Dalton (220 f.) of the Birhors of Chotā Nāgpur is probably quite baseless—possibly an echo of a story told of tribes much further east.

(b) *Dolmens and other stone monuments*.—The earliest form of corpse-disposal of which physical evidence exists is that in dolmens, kistvaens, and other forms of stone monuments, of which India furnishes numerous examples. Though sporadic remains of such structures have been found in many parts of N. India, the assertion of Fergusson (*Rude Stone Monuments*, 475 f.) may be accepted as generally correct, that they are peculiar to the country south of the Vindhyan Hills, and are numerous in the country drained by the Godāvari and its affluents, and in particular in the valley of the Kistna and its tributaries, on both sides of the Ghāts, through Coimbatore down to Cape Comorin, and especially in the neighbourhood of Conjeeveram. The most complete account of these stone monuments is that of Breeks, who describes them under three heads—cairns, or rather mounds enclosed by a stone circle; barrows; and kistvaens. In the cairns have been discovered earthen jars containing fragments of burnt bones, and some beautiful bronze vessels, probably imported from Babylonia or some other foreign country. Questions connected with the origin, purpose, and date of this series of monuments have given rise to much controversy. The fact that stone circles, of a form analogous to that of the ancient monuments, are used by the modern Todas has led to the inference that the members of this tribe are the successors of, or closely allied to, the old circle-builders. The character of the remains discovered does not, as a rule, suggest a date earlier than the Iron Age, which, if the analogy of Europe be accepted (though there are no materials for such a comparison), need not imply a date earlier than 850–600 B.C. But V. A. Smith (*IGI*, new ed., 1908, ii. 98) supposes that the Iron Age in N. India may go back to 1500 or even 2000 B.C. The difficulty of fixing an approximate date for these structures largely depends upon the fact that modern tribes, like the Kols and their kinsfolk in Chotā Nāgpur, as well as the Nāgas and Khāsīs of Assam, still erect stone monuments of a type closely resembling the pre-historic examples. The modern funeral monuments of the Khāsīs have been fully described by Gurdon (*The Khāsīs*, 144 ff.), who divides them into three classes—those intended as seats for the souls of the dead while their bones are being conveyed to the tribal ossuary; memorial stones erected in honour of deceased ancestors; and stones which mark tanks used for purifying the mourners from the death tabu. Many monuments in Madras and among the tribes of the E. frontier take the form of ossuaries, into which the bones are removed after disinterment.

(c) *Exposure to beasts and birds of prey*.—Among other modes of disposal of the dead the most crude is that of exposure of the remains to beasts and

birds of prey. This custom still prevails among the Tibetans and certain tribes of the N. frontier, where it probably originated from the difficulty of providing wood for cremation, or excavating graves during the severe winter of these regions. At a later period it was re-introduced from Persia by the Parsis. Among the non-Aryan tribes of the Peninsula this method is occasionally employed for those dying in a state of tabu, as is the case with the Pahāriās of Bengal, the Nāgas of Assam, and some menial tribes in the northern plains (Dalton, 274; *JAI* xi. 203; Rice, *Essays*, 60; Crooke, *TC* ii. 92, i. 7, iii. 144).

(d) *Cairn-burial*.—The idea of protecting the corpse from violation, and the desire to prevent the ghost from 'walking,' account for cairn-interment, which was used by the early tribes of S. India, and is found at the present time among the Bhils of Bombay (*BG* xii. 87), the Kachins of Upper Burma (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. i. 393, 409), and some of the Assam tribes (Dalton, 9; Risley, *TC* ii. 112). From such cairns the *stūpas* of the Buddhists have been developed.

(e) *Cave-burial*.—Cave-burial, common in other regions of E. and S. Asia, does not seem to have prevailed widely in India. But it must be remembered that many caves have been occupied continuously even to the present day, and thus the evidence may have become obliterated, and numbers of them may still remain unexplored. In Malabar, however, sepulchral chambers excavated in the laterite and containing clay vessels and iron implements have been discovered; and in the same class are the *pāṇḍū-kulī*, the name of which is based on the absurd belief that they were the abodes of the Pāṇḍava heroes of the *Mahābhārata* (*JAI* xxv. 371 f.; Thurston, *Notes*, 148). See also the account of cave-burials in 'anterior India,' a region not capable of identification, by Nicolo Conti (*India in the xvth Cent.*, ed. R. H. Major, Hakluyt Soc., 1857).

(f) *House-burial*.—Cave-burial naturally leads to house-burial, and the examples of this practice are abundant. More than one reason probably led to the adoption of the custom—the desire to retain the corpse in the house in the hope of its revival; the dread lest the relics might be used for purposes of black magic; or the hope that the soul of the ancestor thus buried might be re-incarnated in the person of some female member of the family. This last belief seems to be most general, and the custom, sometimes with this explanation, has been recorded among the Andamanese (*JAI* xii. 141, 144; Temple, *Census Report*, 1901, p. 65), the Nāgas of Assam (*JAI* xxvi. 200), the Was and allied Burman tribes (Scott, *Burma*, 408), and some Madras and Panjāb tribes (Thurston, *Notes*, 155; *PNQ* i. 123).

(g) *Disposal in water*.—The custom of consigning the dead to water is more common. Among orthodox Hindus, the bones and ashes after cremation are deposited in a river or tank at some sacred place. Among the lower tribes, in most parts of the country, the corpse is often flung into the nearest river, sometimes after a perfunctory attempt at cremation by singeing the face and beard. It has been suggested that this method of disposal is in some cases based upon the desire to free the bones rapidly from the products of decomposition, and thus to placate the spirit; but more usually the intention is simply to get rid as quickly as possible of the corpse and the tabu which emanates from it. Hence it is frequently adopted in the case of those dying in a state of special tabu, as, for instance, those perishing from epidemic disease; and the bodies of *sannyāsīs* and other holy men are frequently consigned to running water. Sometimes, again, the rite is in the nature

of sympathetic magic, as when in Bengal those dying of leprosy, on the principle of water to water, are flung into the Ganges (*Asiat. Res.* iv. 69; Buchanan, *E. India*, i. 114).

(h) *Tree-burial*.—The practice of tree-burial in India seems to depend partly on the desire to placate the spirit by saving the remains from the attacks of wild animals, and partly on the fact that the tree is the haunt of spirits. It is found among the Andamanese, Nāgas, and Māriyā Gonds (*JAI* xii. 144 f., xi. 205, xxvi. 199; Dalton, 43; *Census Report Assam*, 1891, i. 246; Hislop, *App.* xiii.). Among the Khāsīs of Assam the corpse is placed in a hollow tree, and the next development is the use of a tree-trunk as a coffin, as among the Nāgas and Karenis of Burma (Dalton, 56; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. i. 528; *JAI* xxvi. 199).

(i) *Platform-burial*.—This rite further develops into the custom of platform-burial, which prevails among the Andamanese and some tribes on the E. frontier (*JAI* xii. 144; *Census Report Andamans*, 1901, 65; Lewin, *Hill Tracts*, 109). Among the E. tribes the custom of smoking the corpse is frequently combined with this.

(j) *Jar-burial*.—Jar-burial, in the sense that the corpse is deposited in an earthenware vessel, does not appear to prevail at present among the non-Aryan tribes; but instances of corpses placed in large mortuary jars have been discovered in prehistoric S. Indian interments (*JAI* xxv. 374); and some of these terra-cotta coffins closely resemble those found in Babylonia. At present, among most tribes which practise cremation, the ashes and bones are deposited in an earthen jar before burial or consignment to water.

(k) *Contracted burials*.—Besides the ordinary mode of burial in a recumbent posture, there are other methods which deserve special mention. First comes what is known as contracted burial, when the corpse is interred with the knees closely pressed against the breast. The tribal distribution of this practice does not throw much light upon its origin or significance. It is found among some of the more savage tribes, such as the Andamanese and the Pen tribe in Car Nicobar (*JAI* xii. 141, 144; *PNQ* iv. 66); and among the Lushais and Kūkis of the E. frontier (Lewin, *Hill Tracts*, 109, *Wild Races*, 246). Among such people it has been suggested that it represents an attempt to prevent the ghost from 'walking'; and in some cases, among various races, the thumbs and toes of the dead are bound, apparently with this intention. Another theory is that it symbolizes the prenatal position of the child in its mother's womb. In some instances it may be due to the practical difficulty of digging a grave of the shape and size in which the body may rest in a recumbent posture; in others it may represent the position of a savage sleeping beside a camp fire. It has been adopted by some of the religious orders, like the *sannyāsīs* of N. India and the Shenvi Brāhmins and Līṅgāyats of the south. Here it probably represents the posture of the *guru* engaged in meditation, or lecturing to his pupils, because some of these sects place the bodies of their *gurus* in this posture after death, and worship them (*BG* xv. i. 149).

(l) *Shelf- or niche-burial*.—Shelf- or niche-burial, in which the corpse is deposited in a chamber or cavity excavated in the side of the perpendicular entrance to the grave, seems to be based on the intention of preventing the incumbent earth from resting upon the corpse and thus incommode the spirit—a feeling which prevails among some wild tribes, like the Miris of Assam (Dalton, 34). It is found among some of the E. and S. tribes, like the Kaupūis of Manipur and the Paniyans of Malabar (*JAI* xvi. 355 f.; Thurston, *Notes*, 144); it has been adopted by some religious or semi-religious orders.

like the Jugs of Bengal, and the Rāvals or Lingāyats (Risley, *TC* i. 359; Crooke, *TC* iii. 19; *BG* xviii. i. 361); and it is the orthodox method among Muhammadans, who place the corpse in a niche (*lahad*) high enough to allow the spirit to rise when the dread angels, Munkar and Nakir, come to interrogate it regarding its belief in the Prophet and his religion.

(m) *Concealed burial*.—Concealed burial and the obliteration of all marks of the grave appear generally to be due to a desire to get rid of the spirit. It is found among the wilder tribes in Madras and Burma (Oppert, 199; Scott, *Burma*, 408).

5. *Disinterment of the remains*.—The practice of disinterment of the remains after decomposition has ceased probably rests upon the belief that the soul is immanent in the bones. The Andamanese and the Nicobarese disinter their dead, wash the bones, and, after wrapping them in cloth or leaves, re-bury them, or fling them into the jungle, or sink them in the sea (*JAI* xxxii. 209, 219 f., xii. 143, iv. 465, xi. 295 f.). Among the Khāsīs of Assam those who die from infectious disease are buried, the remains being dug up and cremated when danger from infection is over (Gurdon, 137). This custom leads, among some tribes, to the provision of ossuaries in which the dry bones are stored. Such structures are found in E. and S. India (*JAI* v. 40, vii. 21 ff.). The same belief in the continued, though mysterious, oneness of the body with its severed parts leads to the formation of tribal cemeteries, to which, often from long distances, as among the Chinbons of Upper Burma and some tribes in the central hills, the bones of tribesmen are removed (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. i. 467; Dalton, 34, 262).

6. *Immediate and deferred burial*.—In most cases climatic conditions necessitate the immediate disposal of the remains by cremation or burial. The custom of deferred burial, in which the remains are retained in the house to enable friends from a distance to pay their last tribute of respect to the dead, is less common, and is found chiefly among the E. tribes like the Khāsīs, Nāgas, or Lushais (Gurdon, 138; *JAI* xxvi. 195; Lewin, *Hill Tracts*, 109).

7. *Embalming the dead*.—Customs of this kind naturally develop into the practice of embalming the dead, which is not common in India. In the form of preservation of the remains in honey or by smoking them over a slow fire, it is found only among some of the E. and Burmese tribes (Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, ed. London, 1891, 486 f.; Shway Yoe [Scott], *The Burman*, ii. 330 f.).

8. *Inhumation and cremation*.—The methods of disposal of the dead which have been considered hitherto are all more or less abnormal. The modes now generally adopted are either simple burial in a recumbent position or cremation. We may, perhaps, in consideration of the Indian evidence, assume that the most primitive form was exposure of the corpse, followed by inhumation, and then by cremation. It has often been asserted that cremation was specially an Aryan practice; but the evidence from S. India monuments indicates that possibly it was only in the case of persons of rank that cremation prevailed (cf. art. *ARYAN RELIGION* in vol. ii. p. 16). At the same time, the facts at our disposal do not enable us definitely to decide why cremation displaced inhumation. Among the Aryans, as Ridgeway argues (*Early Age of Greece*, Cambridge, 1901, i. ch. vii.), the idea that fire was the only medium by which sacrifice could reach the gods may have led to the introduction of the process of cremation after the belief in an abode in the sky where the soul joined the *pitri*, or sainted dead, had become finally established; and, if it arose, as he argues

(*ib.* i. 539 f.), in a forest country, where the hut was consumed with the corpse to avoid tabu, there seems no reason why it may not have been independently discovered by the non-Aryan tribes.

At present it is only the most primitive non-Aryan tribes and some ascetic orders who still maintain the practice of earth-burial. On the other hand, many tribes in a low state of culture who now cremate their dead may have adopted the practice under Hindu influence. No literary evidence exists by which the historical development of these customs can be traced. The transition, however, between the two forms of disposal is in many instances clearly indicated. For example, among some tribes the ordinary dead are buried, while those under tabu are cremated; or the rich are cremated, while the poor are buried; or the question which mode is to be adopted depends upon the season of the year in which the death occurs. Among some tribes we find more than one method in use. One clan of the Nāgas combines platform-burial with cremation, placing the dead in open coffins raised several feet above ground, whence the remains are subsequently removed and burned close by (*JAI* xi. 213). The Kāmīs of Bengal burn, bury, or fling the corpse into water, as may be convenient at the time (Risley, i. 395). The Hābūras of the United Provinces either cremate or expose their dead in the jungle, as best suits their nomadic habits (Crooke, *TC* ii. 476). The widest variety of practice appears among the Nāgas, who bury, expose on a platform or in a tree, and sometimes cremate the corpse after placing it on a platform (*JAI* xi. 203, 213; Hodson, 146 ff.). After cremation the bones and ashes are usually deposited in a river or tank, the vessel while in process of removal to the sacred place being hung in a tree so that the spirit, when so disposed, may revisit the bones.

9. *The death-tabu*.—As among all races in the same grade of culture, the infective tabu arising from the corpse is specially dreaded. All who come in contact with the dead are considered to be infected. The corpse-bearers, for instance, as among the tribes of the central hill tract, have their shoulders rubbed with oil, milk, and cowdung by the women of the mourning family, while they are sprinkled with cow's urine from twigs of the sacred Nim tree (*Melia azadirachta*). The dread of the death-tabu appears throughout the rites of mourning. Thus, among some tribes a special dress is provided for the chief mourners, the intention possibly being in some cases to disguise the mourner from the ghost. With the same object the Andamanese smear their heads with clay (Temple, *Census Report*, 1901, p. 65). As the tabu infects the house, no cooking can be done there, and the mourners either fast or receive supplies of food from relatives or friends. Persons, again, when exposed to the death-tabu, are not allowed to leave the house or village, lest they may infect the neighbourhood. This form of tabu is specially observed by the E. tribes, like the Nāgas of Assam and the hill races of Arakan (*JAI* xi. 71, xxvi. 191, ii. 240; Hodson, 173 f.). Tabu is also marked by the rule that mourners sleep on the ground: partly because, if beds are used during this period, they too become infected; partly because spirits cannot touch Mother Earth. The continence enforced upon mourners is probably, as in the case of the sacred dairyman of the Todas (Rivers, 100 f.), a precaution against the dissipation of physical energy, all of which is needed during this critical period. By an extension of the principles of tabu, if the death-rites have been, by a misconception, performed for a person who subsequently returns, he is tabu, because the powers of the other world seem to have

rejected him as unworthy. The period of tabu varies among the different tribes, and seems usually to depend on the time during which, before the completion of the funeral rites, the spirit is supposed to haunt the neighbourhood of the place of death or the grave.

10. Purification from the death-tabu.—Purification from tabu is effected in various ways. One method is that adopted by the Andamanese and Gonds, who quit the house of death or burn it, along with some or all of the effects of the dead man (*JAI* xii. 142; Hislop, 19). But generally there is a special rite of purification. This usually consists in ablution, by which the clinging spirit or tabu is washed from the body of the mourner. Sometimes special substances, usually the products of the sacred cow, are used for this purpose. With the same object many touch fire on their return from the funeral, or pass their feet, which naturally are supposed to be specially liable to infection, through the smoke of burning oil. In other cases the tabu is removed by transferring it, and, by a later conception, the sins of the dead man, to a scape-animal. In its clearest form the rite appears among the Badagas of Madras (Gover, *Folk-Songs of S. India*, London, 1872, p. 71; Thurston, *Notes*, 195 f.). Traces are also found of the remarkable custom of 'sin-eating,' by which the sins of the dead are transferred to a Brāhman who eats food in the house of death, or even, as used to be the habit at Tanjore, eats the bones of the dead Raja ground up and mixed with rice (Dubois, *Manners and Customs*², 1906, p. 366).

Lastly, the custom of shaving the mourner may be mentioned. The idea seems to be to get rid of the death-infection clinging to the hair, which, possibly with the same intention, is often let loose in mourning, as is the case with other persons under tabu, like the ascetic classes (*Madras Museum Bulletin*, iii. 251 f.). The hair is sometimes dedicated to the dead, as in the Deccan and along the lower Himalaya (*BG* xviii. i. 364, 149; *NINQ* iii. 117), the intention being to strengthen the feeble spirit of the deceased by dedicating that portion of the human organism which, by its growth, furnishes the strongest proof of vitality (Frazer, *GB*, pt. i. [1911], 'The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings', i. 31, 102). More usually the hair is shaven after the mourning period begins, or at its close. The shaving is usually confined to the immediate relatives or kinsmen; but in some cases the whole population shave their heads and beards on the death of a Raja, e.g. in Kashmir and other parts of the Himalaya (*NINQ* iv. 18, 98; Drew, *Jummoo*, 54).

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W. CROOKE.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jain).—The Jains agree, on the whole, with the Brāhmins in their notions on death. The soul of every living being—the highest gods included—must be re-born as long as it possesses *karma*, i.e. merit or demerit; but, when the *karma* has been annihilated, then the soul, on death, will enter on its innate state of purity, and will be released for ever from the cycle of births. But on some points the Jains have developed peculiar notions.

1. Re-incarnation and liberation of the soul.—According to the Jains, *karma*, the effect produced on the soul by its deeds during life, consists of extremely subtle matter, which pours or infiltrates into the soul when worldly actions make, as it were, an opening into it (*āsrava*). This *karma*-matter, as we may call it, fills the soul as sand fills a bag, and acts on it like a weight. The soul by itself has an upward gravity (*ūrdhvagurutva*), and is kept down, during its worldly state, by the *karma*-matter, which, like all matter, has a downward gravity (*adhogurutva*). Therefore, if cleansed of all *karma*, the soul, on leaving the body, will rise in a straight line to the top of the universe, where the liberated souls reside for ever (see above, p. 160³, 'Jain cosmography')—just as a pump-kin coated with clay sinks to the bottom of a tank, but rises to the surface of the water when the clay has fallen off. But, if the soul is burdened with *karma*, it will, on leaving the body, move in any direction—upwards, sideways, or downwards. It does not travel in a straight line, but in a broken line, with one, two, or three angles or turns, and thus gets, in two, three, or four movements, to the place where it is to be re-incarnated. There it attracts gross matter, in order to build up a new body according to its *karma*.¹

2. Voluntary death or euthanasia.—It is a well-known fact that religious suicide is occasionally committed by the Hindus: under a vow to some deity they starve themselves to death, eat poison, drown themselves, enter fire, throw themselves down a precipice, etc. The Jains condemn such practices as an 'unwise death' (*bālamaraṇa*), and recommend, instead, a 'wise death' (*pañḍita-maraṇa*), as provided in their sacred books.

Two cases must be distinguished: religious suicide may be resorted to in case of an emergency, or it forms the end of a regular religious career; both cases apply to laymen as well as to monks.

(1) If a Jain contracts a mortal disease, or is otherwise in danger of certain death, he may have recourse to self-starvation. This practice is frequently mentioned in Jain narratives, and prevails, no doubt, even at the present day. If a monk is unable to follow the rules of his order, or cannot any longer sustain the prescribed austerities, he should rather commit suicide than break the rules. A particular case seems to be the following. When a monk falls sick, and foresees that he will not be able to go through the 'ultimate self-mortification' to be noticed hereafter, he may keep a long fast. If he gets well in the meantime, he is to return to his former life. But, if he should not recover, but die, it is all for the best. This conditional self-starvation is called *itvara*.²

(2) A pious layman may go through a regular course of religious life, the phases of which are the eleven 'standards' (*pratimā*); the first is to be observed for one month, the second for two months,

¹ Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra*, II. 26-36 (tr. *ZDMG* ix. [1908] 304 ff.)

² *SBE* xxii. 72, note 3.

and so on.¹ In the last standard, which he must observe for eleven months, he becomes practically a monk. At the end of this period he abstains from all food and devotes himself to 'self-mortification' by the last emaciation,² patiently awaiting his death, which will occur within a month.

In the case of a monk, the 'self-mortification' lasts twelve years, instead of twelve months. If a monk believes himself purified to such a degree that he may enter upon this last mortification of the flesh, then he should apply to his *guru*, or spiritual master, who will test him in various ways before he gives him his permission. Then, for a period of twelve years, the monk has to exert himself by every means to overcome all passions, worldly feelings, desires, etc., and to annihilate his *karma* by austerities—trying, however, to ward off a premature death. At the end of this period he should abstain from all food till his soul parts from the body. There are three different methods by which this end is brought about; they are called *bhaktapratyākhyānamarāṇa*, *īṅgītamārāṇa*, and *pādapopagamāṇa*³—of which the last two are distinguished by the restriction of the movement of the person, and the motion of his limbs.

The rules for religious suicide form the subject of three canonical books—*Chausarāṇa*, *Aurapachchakkhāṇa*, and *Bhāttaparīṇa*.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

H. JACOBI.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Japanese).—I. *GENERAL*.⁴—The oldest traditions respecting burial speak of a *moya* ('hut'), in which the body of the deceased was kept, often for a very long time (e.g. that of Jimmu Tennō is said to have been kept for 19 months in the *moya*); of religious dances and music; of an eulogy or elegy (*shinubi-kotoba*) pronounced by the head of the family; and of a funeral feast or wake. They also tell of the practice of the self-immolation of wives, retainers, and servants at the grave of a husband or master. The advent of Buddhism in the 6th cent. A.D. brought in certain limitations and modifications. Cremation was introduced in A.D. 703; from that date to 1644 all the Emperors were cremated. Funeral regulations concerning, e.g., periods of mourning, etc., have existed since the 10th cent.; the self-immolation of retainers began to lose favour in the 14th cent., and was prohibited by Iyeyasu, though it still continued sporadically for some time. During the whole of the Tokugawa period only members of the Imperial House were buried with Shinto rites, and even the present forms of Shinto funerals date from the same period.

We will suppose the patient to have been given up by his medical attendant. Relatives and friends stand around his bed, watching his last struggles. Some of them moisten his lips with drops of water conveyed on a feather (*matsugo no mizu*, 'water of the last moment'), others gently rub his eyelids and lips with their hands, so that mouth and eyes may keep shut the more readily after death has taken place. In the province of Iyo, in Shikoku (a district in which there are many quaint survivals), efforts are sometimes made to retain the dying soul, especially when there still remains some communication to be made by or to the man at the point of death. Three men climb

to the roof of the house, sit astride on the roof-ridge, and cry aloud: 'Come back, So and So, come back once more.' Nobody inside the house is supposed to have heard the cry, but the dying man will revive for a little, and his spirit will linger for an hour or two before taking its final departure.

After death, the corpse, which is washed by all Buddhist sects, but not universally by the Shinto (some sects apparently being contented with rubbing with a wet cloth), is laid out, with its face covered with a piece of white cotton or silk, and placed on a mat in some suitable place, very often in front of the *toko-no-ma* ('alcove'), in the best sitting-room. The corpse lies with its head to the north (as did that of Buddha), either on its back (Buddhist) or facing the west. At its head is placed a mirror, and a sword for protection (the latter especially in the case of a *samurai*). Round the corpse is a screen. Outside the screen is an eight-legged table (Shinto) with offerings of washed rice, fresh water, salt, fish, and a *tamashiro*,¹ etc. In Buddhist houses there is no necessity for the table to have exactly eight legs, but the offerings are so placed that the deceased may be able to see them. On the Buddhist table stands an *ihai*, or tablet, inscribed with the posthumous name of the deceased, offerings of vegetable foods (*kumotsu*), and, in a vase, a single branch of *shikimi* (Chinese anise). The single branch or stem is so specially associated with funerals that on other occasions a Japanese housewife will not use a single branch for room-decoration.

Both in Shinto and in Buddhism a kind of fiction is kept up, during the days intervening between death and burial, that the spirit is still present with the body. Meals are brought at stated intervals, the corpse is sometimes rolled from side to side, under pretence of giving it ease in lying, and conversation is kept up with it as though it were still alive.

The corpse is dressed, in Shinto, in (1) a *tafusagi*, a kind of apron tied round the waist; (2) a *hadagi*, or shirt, reaching down to the knees; (3 and 4) a *shitagi* and an *uwagi*, a lower and an upper garment, corresponding to the *kami-shimo* (lit. 'upper and lower') of ancient Japanese dress; (5) an *obi*, or belt; and (6) *shitagutsu*, or shoes. A corpse is never dressed in ceremonial clothes or uniform. These are placed in the coffin later. In Buddhist houses the garments are very much the same, only that a distinction is made between winter and summer garments, which may be either of white cotton or of silk (a further development of the fiction of the continued presence of the spirit in the body). But the garments are put on inside out, with the seams showing, and they are worn *hidarima*, folded to the left, instead of to the right, as in life. At different parts of the garments are stitched the formulæ *Namu Amida Butsu* ('Glory to Amida the Buddha'), or *Namu myō hō rengekyō* ('Glory to the Mystic Scripture of the Lotus of the True Law'), which are said to be

¹ The *tamashiro* is a wooden tablet, just like the Buddhist *ihai*, except that it contains the actual name of the deceased, and not the *kaimyō* ('posthumous name'). When the sick person is about to draw his last breath, the head of the family, or the person whose duty it will be to perform the funeral ceremonies (*moshu*), washes his hands, changes his clothes, places the tablet on a low table by the bedside, and then, taking it up again, carries it to the sickbed, and there respectfully writes on it the sick man's name. Then, addressing the dying man, he announces to him that the *tamashiro* has been prepared as a place of residence for his spirit: 'With all respect I address thee. Suffer thy excellent spirit to remain in this tablet, and accept the worship which will henceforth be perpetually offered before it by thy posterity in future ages.' Then, gently clapping his hands, he bows once and retires. The *tamashiro* is then put in a wooden box, or covered with a cloth, and placed, facing the south, on a low table in another room, where offerings are made before it. The Buddhist *ihai* (which is made in duplicate) cannot be prepared until after the priests have been called in to select a posthumous name for the deceased.

¹ Hoernle, *Udaśaga Dasdo* (Bibl. Ind.), 1890, tr. p. 44 f., 'Vivaraṇa'.

² Hoernle, *op. cit.* p. 47.

³ Prakrit *pāṇagāmana*, for which the correct Sanskrit is *prāyopagāmana* (see SBE xxii. 74 ff.).

⁴ The present writer is under great obligation to Dr. Ohrt, of the German Embassy in Tokyo, for permission to consult the MS of two lectures delivered before the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokyo, during the winter of 1900-10.

potent protectors of the soul. In addition to the other garments, the Buddhists dress their corpses in straw sandals (*waraji*) and socks (*tabi*), the sandals being put on behind before. The corpse is also provided with a *dzudabukuro*, or bag, containing the *rokumonsen*, or six pieces of money required for the ferry across the Sandzuno-gawa, or Japanese Styx. Originally these were six pieces of actual money; at a later period six pieces of paper, cut and stamped in imitation of actual coins, were used; the present *rokumonsen* is simply a piece of paper with the representations of six coins stamped on it. The number of coins is not always the same—6, 12, 18, 49, according to circumstances; and the *dzudabukuro*, which is really an ascetic pilgrim's bag, contains all manner of things necessary for the long journey now commencing—the first lock of hair cut from the head of the deceased in infancy, bits of his beard, nail-parings, teeth, a rosary, 'letters of orders' (*kechi-myaku*), a tobacco-pouch, a comb, pins, needles, threads, a single change of garments, and a towel; but there must not be more than one of each of these things. When a husband dies, a wife cuts off her hair and puts it into the bag; when a father dies, the children cut their nails and put the parings into the bag.

In some houses, when a death occurs, a notice—*kichū* ('period of mourning')—is posted at the entrance as a notification to visitors. In one of the busiest thoroughfares of Tokyo the present writer recently observed an expansion of this idea. In addition to the *kichū* notification, there was a little white table standing in the street, with a white cloth over it, a bowl, and a flower-vase containing a single branch of *shikimi*.

One of the first things to be done after a death is the notification to the authorities. This is made, first of all, to the headman or mayor of the village or urban district, while in the case of the Shinto it is also made to the priest of the *ujigami* shrine (i.e. the shrine of the tutelary god of the village or family). Should that shrine be at an inconvenient distance from the deceased's residence, some other temple near by is selected. The Shinto clergy do not, however, have much to do with the arrangements for the funeral, although, as a matter of course, they have a voice in the selection of the day for the funeral obsequies.

In Buddhist funerals the priests play a larger part, and in former days their rôle was more important even than it is now. This may be seen in the fact that in some very ancient temples there may still be found a *yukamba* ('bath-room'), in which the ceremony of washing the dead (*yukan*) was carried on under their directions. (The washing ceremony takes place after midnight; a new wash-tub, pail, dipper, and towel are used, and, after the washing is over, all these utensils, together with any hair, nails, etc., taken from the body, are buried in some secluded spot.) The intervention of the priesthood is also necessary for the ceremonial shaving of the corpse, since shaving is the sign of ordination, and it is the theory of all Buddhist sects that the Buddhist layman passes at his death into the Order of Monks. When the shaving ceremony is over, the priests prepare a *kechi-myaku*, (lit. 'letters of orders,' i.e. 'certificate of ordination'), which, as we saw above, is placed in the *dzudabukuro* for use during the soul's pilgrimage in the realms of the dead.

The priests are also consulted about the selection of a day suitable for the funeral, and about the posthumous name to be given to the deceased. Government regulations and sanitary requirements interfere somewhat (not much) with the absolute freedom of choice of a propitious day, and attempts are made to get the funeral fixed for some time

within 24 hours after death. But these regulations are more frequently honoured in the breach than in the observance, and an interval of many days sometimes occurs. (The difficulty is occasionally got over by postponing the formal announcement of the death until all the necessary arrangements for the funeral have been made.) In addition to the ordinary cycle of the seven days of the week, there is another cycle of six days (generally to be found in the almanacs), according to which the propitious and unpropitious days are selected. The names of these six days are *senshō*, *tomobiki*, *sempu*, *butsumetsu*, *daian*, and *shakkō*;¹ a *tomobiki* day is never selected for a funeral. The posthumous name is always one with a religious meaning, and it is also so formed as to mark the sect to which the deceased belonged. Thus *yo* always appears in the posthumous name of a Jōdo believer, and *nichi* and *zen* in those of Nichiren and Zen believers respectively, but it is not always the case with the latter. Appended to the posthumous name is a designation of the deceased's status: *koji* ('landlord') and *daishi* ('landlady') for a gentleman and lady of high rank; *shinji* ('layman') and *shinnyo* ('laywoman') for ordinary men and women; *dōji* ('lad') for a boy; *dōnyo* ('lass') for a girl. The posthumous name is inscribed on the *ihai*, which is executed in duplicate, one being retained in the house, while the other goes to the funeral and is deposited in the temple. At the end of 100 days after death, lacquered *ihai* take the place of the plain wooden ones first used. In the same way, in Shinto rites, the *tamashiro* is at first placed in a 'temporary soul-receptacle' (*karimitamaya*); at the end of 50 days it is placed in a 'permanent soul-receptacle' (*mitamaya*). In some Buddhist families there is a large family *ihai*, on which the names of all the deceased members are inscribed, 100 days after death. It should be noticed that some Buddhist sects, e.g. the Shinshu, speak of two kinds of posthumous names: the *kaimyō*, given by the priests; and the *hōmyō*, given to the soul in Paradise by Amida himself—a kind of 'new name which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it.'

Notice is now sent, by post-card or otherwise, to friends and relatives, announcing the decease. It is customary to pay visits of condolence, and to send presents to the house of the deceased. The nature and manner of presenting these gifts are fixed by custom, but it is very common at the present day to offer money in lieu of other gifts—a kindly tribute which is always very acceptable in view of the heavy expenses which a Japanese funeral entails.²

¹ The cycle of six days (see the talismanic tables in books on magic, e.g. Barrett's *Magus*, 1801) depends on the six elements common to Kabbala, Gnosticism, and Shingonism, which are symbolized by the term *Abarakakia*, to which reference is made in this article. It is one of the many links connecting the Mahāyāna with the Judæo-Gnostic thought of the New Testament times.

The days are (i.) *Senshō*, 'first half good.' A *senshō* day is good for pressing and urgent business during the forenoon, but not after midday. By urgent business, lawsuits, petitions, etc., are meant. (ii.) *Tomobiki*, 'drawing friendship.' These days are good in the forenoon or evening, but not in the afternoon. There is no contest about anything. The day brings its own luck, and no amount of human striving will alter it. (iii.) *Sempu*, 'first half bad.' No urgent business should be undertaken on such a day. The afternoon is, however, lucky. (iv.) *Butsumetsu*, 'destruction of Buddha.' A sort of unlucky Friday. Nothing done on such a day will prosper. (v.) *Daian*, 'great peace.' Very lucky for anything, especially removals or journeys; cf. the old seaman's superstition about starting on a journey on Sunday. (vi.) *Sekko*, 'red mouth.' With the exception of the noontide hour, the whole of this day is unlucky. In the cheap Japanese calendars (*koyomi*) each day is marked according to this sixfold cycle.

² E. Schiller, 'Japan. Geschenksitten,' in vol. viii. of the *Mitteil. der deutschen Gesellschaft. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*; cf. also A. H. Lay, 'Funeral Customs of the Japanese,' in *TASS*, vol. xix. pt. iii. The subject is a very large one, and beyond the limits of this article.

In due course the body is placed in the coffin. Coffins (*hitsugi* or *kwan*, the former distinctively Shintoist) are of two kinds—*nekwān* ('sleeping coffin') and *sakwān* ('sitting coffin'). In the latter the corpse is placed in a praying posture; in the former, in a recumbent one. At the bottom of the coffin is placed a piece of white cotton cloth, 4 hand-breadths wide, and 8 *shaku* (Jap. feet) in length; over this, a white *futon* and *fusuma* ('quilt' and 'coverlet'), and a pillow. Then the corpse is put in, together with any objects, e.g. an inkstand or photographs, prized by the deceased during life; and the whole is filled up with buckwheat husks to keep the body from moving. No metal object may be put into the coffin.¹ The interval between the encoffinement and the funeral is the most important period of the watching by the dead. It was a period of festivity in the old Shinto, but is now generally passed in silence: in the Buddhist *tsūya* ('wake') the silence is broken by the voices of the priests who are summoned on the last night to read Sūtras by the side of the deceased and for his benefit. This is known as *makuragyō*,² or 'pillow-Scripture,' and is accompanied by much burning of incense. Entertainments are provided for the guests. The lawfulness of the officiating priests partaking in these festivities is frequently discussed in Buddhist magazines. Very often the priest is provided with his meal apart from the laity, who do not begin until the clergy have finished; and an attempt is sometimes made to save appearances by drinking the *saké* out of tea-cups.

There are several strange old customs with regard to the choice of a location for the grave. Thus, in some of the remote mountain-villages in Tosa, while the corpse is still lying outstretched on the rush-mat, one of the near relatives kicks the pillow from under its head and carries it off to the cemetery. When he has selected the proper place for the grave, he puts down the pillow there, and, taking out four small coins, throws them east, north, west, and south. 'With these coins,' he says, 'I buy seven square feet of ground from the god of the earth.' Another old custom, still surviving in remote districts, is for a person not connected with the deceased by blood, and therefore free from death pollution, to sweep the ground selected for the grave, to spread a rush-mat on it, and on a table placed on the mat to erect a *himorogi* ('temporary tabernacle') for the earth-god. This is done by setting up *sakaki* branches with little paper pendants (*nusa*), etc., and by making offerings of rice, fish, vegetables, seaweed, and fruit. Then he offers the following prayer:

'I address the great god who is the lord of this locality. A new grave is here to be made for N. (name, office, rank). With an offering of wine, boiled rice, and *nusa*, I pray thee to grant that he may lie in this grave for ever, free from affliction and in peace. I speak with all respect and humility.'

Then he clasps his hands and bows twice.

When the preparations for the funeral are all complete, the coffin is carried into a front chamber, and incense, lights, and a single flower are again offered before it. A set of *zen* is also provided. In this case, the *zen* consists of a bowl of unhusked boiled rice (*kurogome no meshi*), soup, raw *miso* ('bean-paste'), unrefined salt, and a pair of chopsticks, one of which is made of wood and the other of bamboo. Everything is now in readiness for the funeral ceremony. From this point sectarian differences become more marked, and it will be well to treat of Japanese funerals in detail according to the various sects.

¹ In certain Buddhist sects a pilgrim's staff and a doll are also put into the coffin (Ohrt).

² The Sūtra varies with the sect. In the Zen sect it is *Yuikyō* (Eka-Sūtra); in the Shingon, *Rishukyō* (Buddhi-Sūtra). These Sūtras, which do not exist in Sanskrit or Pāli, are said to have been preached by Śākyamuni shortly before his entry into Nirvāṇa. They are classified under the Nehangyō or Nirvāṇa Sūtras.

II. *SHINTO*.—A purely Shinto funeral is divided into five distinct portions: (a) *mitamatsushi*, or introduction of the spirit into the *tamashiro*; (b) *shukkwan*, or taking the coffin out of the house; (c) *sōsō*, or funeral procession; (d) *maiso*, or committal to earth; and (e) the subsequent purification. The actual ceremonies are conducted by the *moshu* ('chief mourner'), who is generally the heir, eldest son, or other near relative. Relatives in the ascending line are generally excluded. Recently, when H.L.H. Prince Arisugawa lost his son, the *moshu* was Prince Itō. The *moshu* is dressed in a dress of some dark colour, over which is worn a white *hitatare* ('surplice') and an *eboshi* ('mitre'). In the middle classes, however, the ordinary *haori* ('upper garment') and *hakama* ('nether garment') are frequently worn.

(a) The *mitamatsushi* takes place apparently as soon as the *tamashiro* is provided. The *moshu* (sometimes a *kannushi*, 'priest') sits down before the *tamashiro*, bows twice, claps his hands, and announces that the spirit (*tama*) of the deceased has taken up its abode in the *tamashiro*. This is known as the *zokuji*, and the following *norito* ('prayer' [Shinto]) is used (tr. by Ohrt):

'Alas! my (father), thou hast been taken away from us. I, N. N., and the rest of us that remain behind, will still continue to do thee faithful service in our hearts. Thy life has come to its close upon earth. Hear us in thy place of rest, as we celebrate thy obsequies. Deign, exalted spirit, to take up thy abode in this *tamashiro*, and remain at rest for ever in this thy house. I address thee with the deepest reverence.'

This *norito* is frequently repeated, as well as the invitation to the soul to participate in the feast. The *tamashiro* is then placed on the *kamidana*, or 'god-shelf,' used in Shinto houses.

(b) *Shukkwan*.—Before the bier is taken out of the house, offerings of boiled rice, *saké*, etc., are again made. Then the celebrant seats himself before the bier, bows, claps his hands, and, presenting a *tamagushi*,¹ addresses the spirit with the following *norito*:

'This day, as the sun sets, we shall reverently celebrate thy obsequies. We pray thee to behold us in peace and without anxiety, as we start on our journey and pursue our way (to the cemetery). I speak with deep reverence and humility.'

Then he bows twice, claps his hands, and retires. All relatives present do the same. After this, four men, dressed in white, carry the coffin into the court-yard, where a fire is burning (on the theory of a midnight funeral), and the procession is formed in the following order: (1) coolies (or outriders); (2) coolies carrying torches or lanterns (still on the theory of the midnight funeral); (3) servant with a broom (relic of the old custom mentioned above); (4) white banner, 15 in. in width by 8 or 9 ft. in length, carried on a pole, and inscribed with the name and title of the deceased; (5) bearers with consecrated branches of the *sakaki* tree; (6) chest with offerings; (7) bearers with torches and lanterns; (8) the coffin (if a *sakwān*, it is carried in a *kago* ['litter']; if a *nekwān*, on a bier of white wood; it is carried on the shoulders of bearers in white surplices); (9) *bohyō*, a post, inscribed with the name, to be set up as a temporary mark for the grave; and (10) the chief and other mourners, on foot, as a general rule. Trestles (*koshidai*), a table for offerings, hangings, and a wooden pail and dipper also form part of the paraphernalia, but are now more generally found at the place of internment.

(c) The *sōsō no shiki* is generally celebrated within a curtained enclosure, though in Tokyo and other large places there are mortuary chapels to serve the purpose. The enclosure, or chapel, is invariably arranged in accordance with the annexed plan, the ritual observed in the chapel differing very slightly from that in the enclosure.

As the funeral procession arrives, the musicians take their seats and begin to play. During this

¹ i.e. a consecrated branch adorned with numerous pendants and streamers of paper.

time the bier is placed in its proper place, the flower-standards are arranged, and a high stand is erected, from which a pendant will later be suspended. When every one is seated, the celebrant, with his assistant, advances before the bier and bows. During this ceremony the music has ceased, but it begins again as soon as the priests return to their places.

The assistant now takes his place before the bier, but a little to the right of it. Acolytes bring a banner for the stand, and offerings to be placed on the table—*saké*, boiled rice, fresh fish, vegetables, seaweed, cakes, fruit, etc. Again the music ceases, while the chief celebrant advances once more, and, with his mace on his left hip, commences the repetition of certain prayers, which contain a recital of the dead man's birth, lineage, school-life, and career, official or otherwise, and conclude with words much to this effect:

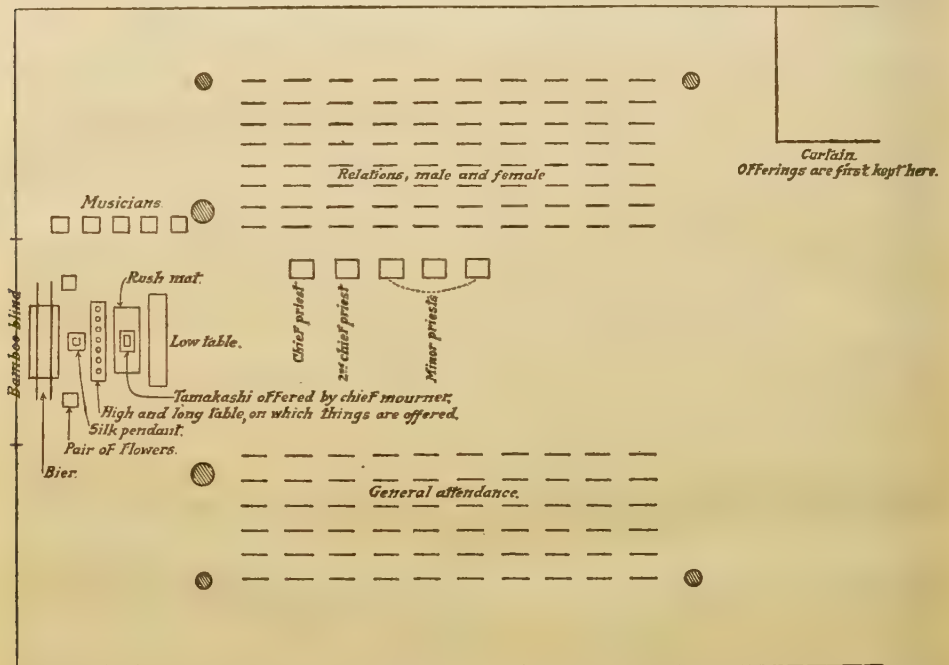
'Our honoured N. has passed away to our great regret; to our sorrow he has given up the ghost. The prayer of our inmost

lid. Then the grave is filled up, and on the new-made mound is planted the *bohyō*, a few lanterns, and banners. An open shed resting on four pillars is sometimes built over it, and generally it is surrounded with a *magaki* ('bamboo fence'), and a *shime* ('cordon') of rice-straw string.

The Shinto ritual does not contemplate cremation, but it is sometimes adopted. In that case the *maisō-no-kotoba* and the ritual that follows are used at the time of the interment of the ashes.

(e) The purificatory rites are of two kinds—of the house and of the mourners. The house is purified, immediately after the corpse has been taken out, by a Shinto priest, who comes in and waves a *tamagushi* in every direction, though sometimes the purification is accomplished by the priest's rinsing his mouth with water and throwing salt over his head.

The mourners are purified on their return from the funeral. (The return journey is always by a different road from that taken when going to



heart was that he might live to very great age, but it is the way of the fleeting world that he should come to this. Our prayer is that he will regard with tranquil eyes the obsequies we are now performing, and lie down to rest in his grave, leaving his spirit behind him to guard the house. Reverently and with humility I make this prayer.'

This prayer is known as the *maisō-no-kotoba* ('words of committal'). Everybody stands while it is being offered. When the music begins again, the chief mourner, habited in black with a white surplice, and wearing a black *eboshi* ('mitre') and straw sandals, comes forward and offers a branch of *sakaki* as a *tamagushi*. All the relatives and friends follow this example, the attendant priests having a large number in readiness for the needs of the visitors. Funeral orations are delivered, sometimes before and sometimes after the offering of the *tamagushi*.

(d) *Maisō*.—The coffin is now carried to the grave, and lowered into it, with few or no ceremonies. A few handfuls of earth are thrown upon it, and a *boshi*, 'plate,' inscribed with the name, age, rank, etc., of the deceased, is put on the coffin-

the funeral.) There are apparently three methods of purifying persons, viz. (1 and 2) the methods observed in purifying a house, and (3) a slightly more elaborate one. Offerings are placed before the *tamashiro*, and in front of them a branch of *sakaki*. The priest (or the *moshu*) recites the following *norito*:

'I thus address the spirit of (my father) who has now become a god. I prayed day and night that thou mightest live to be a hundred years old, and now I can but weep and lament that thou hast left this beautiful world, and gone to the dark land beyond. I beseech thee, listen in peace to us thy relatives assembled here, as we celebrate the worship of the dead with all manner of food.'

Then the offerings are removed.

The first fifty days after death are observed according to the Shinto rituals with daily offerings before the *tamashiro*. Special emphasis is laid on the 10th, 20th, 30th, etc. On the fiftieth day, the *tamashiro* is removed from its temporary shrine to the *mitamaya* or *kabyō* ('spirit-house'), and henceforth the worship of the spirit is performed along with that of the other ancestors. On this occasion,

the *saishi-no-kotoba* are used—prayers asking the spirit of the deceased to take up his abode in the *kabyō*, and beseeching the whole body of the ancestors to receive him into their company. Similar prayers are offered on the 100th day after death. On that day the temporary post should be removed from the grave, and a stone monument set up. The first anniversary is observed; after that, the anniversaries of the 3rd, 5th, 10th, 20th, 30th, 40th, 50th, and 100th years. After that, there is a commemoration every 100 years. The reader will understand that it is only in very exalted families that such minutiae can be attended to, but the Shinto funeral is in any case almost entirely confined to the highest classes.

III. **BUDDHIST.**—Something has already been said about customs observed in Buddhist houses in the care of the dead. The general procession is somewhat as follows (it is more striking to the eye by reason of the greater splendour of vestments, etc.): (1) bearers with natural flowers (*seikwa*); (2) bearers with artificial flowers (*tsukuri-bana*); (3) four (sometimes two) paper dragons on poles (*jatō*), these being evidently connected with the friendly Nāgas of Indian Buddhism; (4) banner (*meiki*), with the personal name of the deceased; (5) the officiant priest (*dōshi*), with his assistant (*mukaisō*); (6) white paper lanterns; (7) one *ihai* (the other is left at home); (8) incense (*kōro*); (9) the coffin on a bier, borne on men's shoulders, and with a few friends of the deceased walking beside it; and (10) the mourners (generally in *jinrikisha*). A bird-cage full of birds to be released at the grave-side, and a *sotoba* or *stūpa*, actually a post, notched near the top, and inscribed with Sanskrit characters, often form portions of the procession.¹

1. **Ceremonies of the Zen.**²—(1) *The service in the house.*—In this sect, the officiating priest is generally called the *indōshi*, because a large part of his duty is supposed to be to guide (*indō suru*) the soul of the deceased on its voyage through the realms of the dead. The *indōshi* begins by laying his *hossu* ('chowry,' a brush made of long white hair) on the lid of the coffin, as a sign of authority. Then he takes up the razor that has been used to shave the deceased. This is followed by the words:

Teijo shuhatsu Tōyōan shujō Yōri bonnō Xuyō jakumetsu:
'The hair and beard have been shaved. I pray that all creatures may forsake evil passions for ever, and reach the goal of annihilation.'

This verse is sung three times, sometimes by the officiant alone, sometimes by the officiant and chorus. Next follows, sung or said in the same manner:

Ruten sangaiichū Onnai funōdan Kion nyūpusi Shinjitsu hōon sha: 'Whilst transmigrating through the Three Worlds, ties of kindness and affection cannot be cut off. He who has cut off this tie, and entered the realm of the unconditioned, is truly a grateful man.'

Now follows an exhortation to the deceased to confess his sins:

'Young man of good birth' [it will be remembered that the deceased is supposed to have received the tonsure], 'If thou wilt to stand fast in the Refuges and to observe the commandments, thou shouldst first confess all thy sins. [There are two formulae of penitence; there is also the form of confession which has come from the former Buddhas and been handed down by successive patriarchs.] All thy sins will be pardoned. Recite these words after me.'

Then the priest recites the confession, with the sound of clappers (*kaishaku*) once at the end of

¹ The Sanskrit characters are *Kha la ka va a*, representing the five *skandhas* ('forms of mundane consciousness'), and, as an alternative, the five elements which compose the universe. In Shingon, we have the pair of formulae *A-ba-ra-ka-kia* and *Kha-la-ka-va-a*: in Irenaeus, the Gnostic terms *Abrazas* and *Caulacau* (Irenaeus says that *Caulacau* = 'mundus' [cf. vol. ii, p. 428, note]). See the present writer's *The Faith of Haif Japan*, London, 1911.

² We take the Zen first, not as being the oldest of the now existing sects, but as representing most specially the purely Indian side of Japanese Buddhism.

each line, and twice at the end of the stanza. The spirit of the deceased is supposed to join him in his recitation:

'All the evil *karma*, which I have accumulated in the past, has had its origin in desire, hatred, or ignorance, in a series of previous existences which has had no beginning. It is due to the body, the tongue, and the mind. All this I confess.'

The priest continues:

'Thou hast confessed thy evil deeds of body, tongue, and mind, and hast obtained the perfect purification. Now, therefore, thou must stand fast in the Three Refuges, in Buddha, the Law, and the Order. The Three Treasures have a threefold virtue, the threefold absolute virtue, the threefold virtue as it was in Buddha's time, the threefold virtue as it is in a time when there is no Buddha (*ittai sambō*, *genzen sambō*, *jūji sambō*). When thou hast taken refuge in them, thy virtues shall be completed.'

Recitation of the ninefold Creed follows:

Namukie Butsu, 'Glory to Buddha in whom I take refuge.'

Namukie Hō, 'Glory to the Law in which I take refuge.'

Namukie Sō, 'Order'

Kie-butsu-mudo-son, 'I take refuge in Buddha, the super-

eminent.'

Kie-hō-ri-jin-son, 'I take refuge in the Law, the undefiled.'

Kie-sō-wagō-son, ' " " the Order, the harmoni-

ous.'

Kie-buk-kyō, 'I have finished taking refuge in Buddha.'

Kie-hō-kyō, ' " " the Law.'

Kie-sō-kyō, ' " " the Order.'

[After each sentence the clapper sounds once; at the end it is sounded twice.]

The officiant goes on:

'After this wise have I now conferred on thee the Refuges. Henceforth, the Tathāgata [the Buddha], the Truest, the Perfectly-Enlightened is thy Teacher. Put no faith in the Tempter, nor in any heretical teachers, but have respect to the great Benevolence, Deliverance, and Compassion that have been vouchsafed thee. Now will I recite for thee the ten grave commandments. They are these:

1. *fusesshō*, "thou shalt not destroy life."
2. *fuchūtō*, " " steal."
3. *fujainā*, " " commit fornication or adultery."
4. *fumigō*, " " lie."
5. *fukoshu*, " " sell intoxicating liquors."
6. *fusekkwa*, " " backbite."
7. *fujisankita*, " " praise self at the expense of others."
8. *fukenshōzai*, " " be grudging of the gifts of the Law."
9. *fushin-i*, " " be angry."
10. *fuhōsambō*, " " speak evil of the Three Treasures."

These ten grave commandments have been formulated by previous Buddhas and handed down by successive Patriarchs. I have now entrusted them to thee. Keep them well in all thy existences until thou attain to the Buddhahood. [This formula may be repeated at the discretion of the celebrant.] Sentient beings that fulfil the Commandments of Buddha are placed in the same rank with Him. He that is in the same rank as the Perfectly Enlightened One is truly a Son of Buddha.] [Wooden clappers twice, handbell thrice.]

The priests present now chant a stanza known as the *daihisshu*. When it is finished, a priest (not the one who led the service before) takes up his word:

'After this wise has been sung the *daihisshu*. The merits arising therefrom are to be transferred to N. [here insert the *kaimyō*], newly returned to the elements. We pray that when we place his body in the coffin the Sambhoga land may receive him.'

Then all together:

'All the Buddhas in the Ten Directions and in the Three Worlds, all the Honourable Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas, and Mahāprajñāpāramitā, the land of the Sambhoga Kāya.'

The same priest continues:

'If we meditate deeply on these things, lo! birth and death succeed each other as heat follows cold. They come like the lightning flashing over the deep sky, their going is like the cessation of waves on the great sea. The newly deceased N. has this day suddenly come to the end of his life, by reason of the exhaustion of all seeds of existence. He understands that all composite objects must be dissolved, and is convinced that the extinction (of the seeds of existence) is bliss. The holy congregation here assembled will respectfully recite the names of the saints. May the blessings resulting from that recitation serve to adorn the road leading to Nirvāṇa.'

Vairocana, the Buddha of the Holy Dharmakāya.

Rochana, the Buddha of the Perfect Sambhogakāya.

Sākyaṃuni, the Buddha, whose Nirmāṇakāya incarnations are hundreds upon hundreds of millions.

Honourable Maitreya Buddha, for whose coming we wait.

All Buddhas in the Ten Quarters and the Three Worlds.

Mahāyāna-Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra (personified).

Mahārya Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva.

Mahāvāna Samantabhadra Bodhisattva.
Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva.
Honourable Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas.
Mahāprajāpāramitā.

[Here follows the *shariraśmon*, or stanza for worshipping the relics of Buddha.]

One priest alone:

'After this wise the Names of the Holy Ones have been recited, and the Sūtra has been chanted. The merits arising therefrom will be transferred to the newly-deceased N. to adorn the Sambhoga land, with the prayer that the soul may travel beyond the consecrated border (of personified existence), that its *karma* may be exhausted, that a superior lotus flower may open for it, and that the Buddha may give it a prediction for life. Once more the Holy Assemblage is invited to chant.'

All present:

'All the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters and the Three Worlds, all the Bodhisattvas, Mahāsattvas, and Mahāprajāpāramitā.'

Then the *indōshi*:

'We are now about to lift the sacred coffin, and to celebrate imposing obsequies. The assembly is implored to recite the great names of saints, and to assist the soul of the deceased along the road to Nirvāṇa.'

This ends the *makuragyō*, or service in the house. The procession is now formed outside, and, when the coffin has been put on the bier, a start is made for the temple or graveyard.

(2) *The services in the temple.*—Whilst the procession, professedly modelled on the funeral of Suddhodana (the father of the Buddha), is making its way to the temple, certain preparations have been made for its reception. The temple-bell has been set tolling, and goes on until the cortège reaches the front gates. In the court-yard four small *torii* ('gates') of wood have been erected facing E., S., W., and N. On each is suspended a tablet with an inscription: (1) *Hosshimmon*, the gate of religious awakening; (2) *Shugyōmon*, the gate of religious practices; (3) *Bodaimon*, the gate of Bodhi; and (4) *Nehammon*, the gate of Nirvāṇa. They are symbolical of the various ways that lead to Eternal Life, and the coffin is carried three times round to them all to show that, in the opinion of the Zen, all four are necessary. The ceremony may be held either in the main hall of the temple or in an open court-yard.

While the procession is making its round of the four *torii*, some of the priests slip into the temple or hall, and begin the recital of certain *dharāni* ('secret formulæ'). These are supposed to be very efficacious, even by the Zen sect, which originated in a protest against the magic formulæ that were so rife in the China of the 6th cent. A.D. Gradually the assembly take their seats; when all are seated and the music and chanting have come to an end, the *indōshi* recites the *indō*, or 'guiding words,' for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. Then another priest says:

'This day the newly-deceased N., having exhausted all the causes of life (Skr. *pratyaya*), has entered Nirvāṇa, and is now to be buried according to the Law. His phenomenal body, the body that endures for a hundred years, will be buried; the real Self will be sent to tread the lone path that leads to Nirvāṇa. The holy assembly (of monks) is therefore prayed to assist the soul that is being enlightened, and to recite.'

Here all the priests present take up their cue and recite:

'Vairocana, the Buddha of the Holy Dharmakāya,' etc., as above.

The priest resumes:

'After this wise have the holy Names been praised, and the soul that is being enlightened has been helped. Let us pray that the mirror of Wisdom may shed its brightness on him, that the wind of Truth may waft on him its splendours. In the garden of Bodhi ('infinite knowledge') may the flowers of Enlightenment and Wisdom bloom, and on the sea of reality may the waves roll free from every stain. We offer three cups of tea, we offer incense to accompany him along the solitary, clouded path, and we worship the assemblage of the saints.' Here the congregation recites the *Ryōgonshu*; then the priest alone:

'After this wise have the names of the Holy Ones been chanted and the Sūtra been recited. The merits accruing from this act of worship are to be transferred (*ekō*) to the newly-deceased N., at the time of his interment, to adorn the Sambhoga land.

Chorus of attendant priests:

'All the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters,' etc., as above.

Small bells, drums, and cymbals are beaten in chorus three times, and the coffin is taken away for cremation or [and] interment.

No special ceremonies are observed in cremation. When the body (or the ashes, as the case may be) comes to the place of interment, it is lowered into its grave by the nearest kinsman. All the banners are placed on the coffin-lid, and the relatives each take a handful or spadeful of earth, which they throw into the grave. The grave is then filled up.

2. *Ceremonies of the Shingon.*—We now come to a sect whose ceremonies it is most difficult to describe, for the reason that a great deal is done by dumb show, the so-called *mudrā*, 'signs of the hand,' being matters of prime importance in these ceremonies. Great stress also is laid on the recital of mystic formulæ in debased Sanskrit, which it is not always easy to understand. Some of these formulæ are secret, and may not be revealed to the general public. [For all these the student is referred to vol. viii. of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*.] The Shingon sect is in many ways the most interesting of all the Buddhist sects in Japan; for not only has it been the great inspirer of Japanese art, but it has certain most striking resemblances both to Alexandrian Gnosticism and to the Jewish Kabbala. These will be duly pointed out as they occur.

(1) *Ceremonies in the house.*¹—A temporary place of worship having been arranged, when the service is about to commence, the officiant, also called *indōshi*, goes before the coffin with the long-handled incense-burner in his hand, and makes a bow. Then he takes his seat on the *raiban* ('exalted seat of worship'), rubs his hands with *dzukō* ('liquid incense'), and spends some moments in meditation, the subjects of which are supposed to be the 'three secrets' (i.e. the secret *dharāni*, the secret *manual acts*, and the secret *teachings* which have been committed to him); the 'way of purifying the three deeds,' i.e. of body, mouth, and heart; the 'three sections,' i.e. the world of Buddhas, the world of the Lotus, and the Diamond World; and the 'putting on of spiritual armour.' All these meditations are exhibited by the corresponding formulæ and manual acts. This section is closed by a meditation on the scented water, which is called the *kajikōsui*,² 'scented water signifying the acceptance by the believer of the great mercy of the Tathāgata projected over the hearts of his creatures' (so explained in *Sokushinjōbutsugi*). This produces an effectual union of the worshipper's heart with that of the Buddha.

The celebrant now proceeds to the invocation of the Buddhas. Commencing with a manual act ('diamond-joining-hands'), which signifies the raising of the thoughts towards *bodhi*, accompanied by a *dharāni* of the same import, he proceeds by a series of gestures and formulæ, which it is not necessary to give here, to invoke the Universe³ and the Atoms.⁴ From the invocation of

¹ The Shingon house-ceremonies are performed before a small temporary altar, on which stand the images of the thirteen Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, supposed to take charge of the soul of the dead for several years after death. These thirteen Buddhas, who are clearly not particularly connected with primitive Buddhism, appear to correspond with the *Æons* of the thirteen realms of the dead, through which, e.g., in the book *Piats Sophia*, the Gnostics supposed the souls of the dead to pass in Hades. The thirteen Buddhas are not peculiar to the Shingon, though this sect lays more stress on them than does any of the others. See note on the subject in the present writer's *Shinran and his Work* (Tokyo, 1910), Appendix iii. and also *The Faith of Half Japan*.

² The *kajikōsui* is also used in the *abhiṣeka*, or baptismal rites (Jap. *kwanjō*), of both Shingon and Tendai. It corresponds to the *opobalsanum* mentioned by Irenæus as used in the baptisms of the Marcionian heretics.

³ The *dharāni* is *Om-samaya satoban*, a debased Sanskrit which we have not been able to understand. The manual act is called a meditation on Samantabhadra.

⁴ Here the *dharāni* refers to the five exterior elements; it is *Om Abiraunkan*, 'earth, water, fire, wind, void.' This name

the Universe impersonal he passes to that of the Universe personal, to the Five Buddhas,¹ to Amitābha, the giver of immortality,² and to Amitābha with his attendants Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, that they will come to the funeral ceremony and invite the deceased to enter the bliss of Paradise. After each of these invocations, the *kōmyōshingon*,³ or invocation of the Five Dhyanibuddhas, is chanted three times. Then, coming lower in the scale of dignity, we have the invocation of Kṣitigarbha, the sixfold protecting angel of the dead (*Roku Jizō*), and that of *Fudō-myō-ō* (*Achāravidyārāja*) and the other great *vidyārājas*—Mahātejas, Vajrayakṣa, Kundali, and Tribhava-vijaya. The mantra of Kṣitigarbha is *Kakakabi samaye abiraunken sowaku*; that of *Fudō-myō-ō*, which is chanted three times, is *Nōmaku sāmānda bāsarada sendam mākora shātei sowataya untarātā kamman*. (The meaning of these Sanskrit formulæ is now wholly lost.)

We now get three *mudrās*, representing the 'preaching' of Vairochana of the three *kāyas*—the Dharmakāya (*Namu A*), the Sambhogakāya (*Namu Vam*), and the Nirmāṇakāya (*Namu Ūn*). The three syllables *A-vam-ūn* (possibly Skr. *om = a + u + m*) represent the 'Trinity' of Vairochana. Then the *stūpa* is figuratively opened and shut—an evident allusion to the *Saddharmapundarika Sūtra*; next, a *mudrā* (or manual gesture) figuring the *abhiśeka* of *Fudō-myō-ō* (see above), with *Namu bam* repeated thrice; next, three representing respectively the Dharmakāya, Sambhogakāya, and Nirmāṇakāya (possibly of *Fudō-myō-ō*), with *mantras* respectively—*An ban ran kan ken, A biraunken, and Arahashanō*. But *Fudō*, like Kṣitigarbha, is sixfold in his operations in the six spheres of sentient existence, and we consequently have a suitable gesture, imparted to Kōbō Daishi by his Chinese tutor Keikwa, for which the *mantra* is *Abiraunken*, together with a secret formula which may not be written down, but which may be attained by means of a proper 'meditation on the Fire.'

Thus, the whole celestial hierarchy of the Shingon having been invoked, it remains only to procure for the deceased, on whose behalf all these celestials have been summoned, a suitable understanding of what it all means. This is effected by means of four more sets of manual acts and *mantras*, signifying respectively the attainment of the perfect knowledge of *rūpadharma* ('objects having form'), of *chittadharmā* ('objects conceivable, but without form'), of *rūpadharma* and *chittadharmā* together, which are not two, but one; and, finally, a meditation on the *dharma-dhātu* ('universe'), for which the *dhāraṇī* is *Om Maitreya Svāhā*. [The Shingon are firm believers in Maitreya, more so than any other of the Buddhist sects. It is their conviction that the body of Kōbō Daishi, which never decays, is awaiting the advent of Maitreya in his tomb at Kōya San, and Shingonists often send the bones of their dead, after cremation, to Kōya San, so as to be near to Kōbō at the resurrection, which will take place when Maitreya makes his appearance.]

The officiant now prostrates himself three times appears often as *Ambarammakaku* and as *A-ba-ra-ka-kia*. It is almost certainly the Gnostic *Abrahas*—a conclusion in which we are strengthened by the fact that the Gnostic *Caulacau* also seems to appear in the *mudrā*. See above, p. 489n, n. 1.

¹ In this place the five Dhyanibuddhas are Amogha, Vairochana, Mahānūdra, Mañipadma, and Jālapravarta—a very unusual enumeration. The more usual one is given below. We believe these to represent the five Dhyanibuddhas of the *Vajradhātu* ('Diamond World', i.e. world of ideas), the others the corresponding set of the *Garbhadhātu* ('Womb World', i.e. world of birth, death, concrete existence).

² The Shingon form of Amitābha is Amritābha.

³ In *Shinron* and his *Work* the present writer has shown that the word *kōmyō* seems always to have Manichean associations and connexions. It is quite possible that this *mantra* may have them too.

before the assembled deities, offers incense, strikes the bell three times, and recites a sort of creed:

'With deep respect for all the Buddhas here assembled, I take my refuge in Buddha. May all creatures follow my example! I take my refuge in Dharma. May all creatures follow my example! I take my refuge in the Saṅgha. May all creatures follow my example! The excellent physical body of the Tathāgata is without a parallel. The form of the Tathāgata is inexhaustible, and all the *dharma*s (Jap. *issaiō* = 'all matter') are permanent. With deepest reverence I address the great Vairochana, the Tathāgata, the Master of Shingon Buddhism, and all the venerable ones and saints of the two assemblies (i.e. the *Vajradhātu* and *Garbhadhātu*); and especially Amitābha, the master and teacher of the Land of Bliss, the Merciful Maitreya, for whose coming we wait; the holy Henjō Kongō (i.e. Kōbō Daishi), who sits cross-legged in deep meditation; all the great Achāryas, the transmitters of religious light in the three countries (India, China, Japan), and also in all the lands illuminated by the eye of Buddha, and pitied by the Three Gems.

If we meditate deeply thereon, the moonlight of "Opportunity—which is born when the desire thereof ariseth" (*Kikwai ki okoreba sunawachi shōzu*) shines in the sky of the tranquil spiritual Nature. The colour of the flower of "The Cause that being exhausted presently disappeareth" blooms in the Garden of unbounded Adornment.

Appearance is as non-appearance.

Disappearance is as non-disappearance.

Both appearance and disappearance are unattainable.

They cannot be named.

The deceased N., his causes of life having been exhausted, has gone to another world. He has left his body in Jambudvīpa, and has entered the intermediate state (Skr. *antarābhava*, Jap. *chū-ī*). Therefore now, in accordance with the testament of the Śākya king, who was endowed with the ten merits (*jūzen*), we will with tears celebrate the ceremonies of funeral-rites and cremation. Having adorned the Sacred Altar upon which the Tathāgata will descend in answer to our prayers, we will pray for the favourable acceptance of his soul by the Venerable Ones, and for its deliverance. We will kindle the pure fire, which passes through all the six elements (*rokudai mu-e*), and so cremate the body which from the beginning has had no true phenomenal appearance (*honrai fushō*). We pray that all the Buddhas may certify for him, that all the Saints may pray for him, and that they may receive him to a lotus-stand of superior dignity. May the living and lawful king of reason and wisdom (Vairochana [?] Amitābha [?]) endow him with the highest Buddhahood! . . . And may all sentient beings in the *Dharmadhātu* be equally benefited! . . . I speak this with all respect.

This ends that portion of the service which is known as *kyōhaku*, 'the expression of belief.' Next follows the singing or chanting of the *Jimben shingyō*, i.e. the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāhrdaya Sūtra*, for the purpose of giving pleasure to the assembled spirits, in order that they may make their appearance upon the altar. After this a priest says:

'In the yard where funeral services are being conducted (for a deceased person), it is generally the case that his sins all perish, and that his merits rise heavenwards. This is the time of his ascension to the land of Bliss, and we may consequently expect that Yama the lawful king, and the five infernal officers of the other realms of existence, will make their appearance. We pray, therefore, to the thirteen great Buddhas, to the infernal officers, and to all their retainers and followers, that they may aid this man to lay aside his *karma*, and attain Supreme Enlightenment.'

Chorus. 'Hail, Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra!' (one bell).

'That the departed soul may ascend to the secretly adorned sphere of flowers (*mitsugonkezo*), we invoke'—

Ch. 'The Name of the great Buddha Vairochana' (one bell).

'That he may ascend to the world whose inhabitants hunger not, neither thirst (*anyō jōdo*), we invoke'—

Ch. 'The Name of Amitābha (one bell);

The Sacred Name of Avalokiteśvara' (one bell).

'That he may be re-born in the inner palace of Tuṣṭhaloka, we invoke'—

Ch. 'The Name of the Buddha Maitreya (one bell);

The Names of all the Saints in its inner and outer palaces' (one bell).

'That the Buddha-field may be accessible at all times to all who desire it, we invoke'—

Ch. 'The Three Holy Treasures' (one bell).

'That all sentient beings in the *Dharmadhātu* may be benefited equally (with him whose obsequies we celebrate), we invoke'—

Ch. 'The Name of Avalokiteśvara (one bell);

The Name of Vajrapāṇi' (one bell).

[Here the officiant lays down his censer and takes up his *nyō-ō*, or mace.]

Namo ('homage').

Kimyo chorai Mujōshugwan.

Shōrei indo Jōgokuraku,

It is a common action amongst Japanese Buddhists that Jambudvīpa, which is, of course, Hindustan, comprises China and Japan as well. It is in Japanese pronounced *Nan-embudai*. In Nichiren Sect books it is *fuchi-embudai*, which comes nearer to the sound of Jambudvīpa.

Hail! Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, whom I worship with bowed head and potent invocations! May this holy soul be led to, and be re-born in, the land of Bliss!

It is by the adornment and honouring of the Altar of the Teaching of Supernatural Power that Supreme Buddhahood may be obtained as in a moment. It is by the proclamation of the teaching that the material body is identical with Buddha,¹ that the Buddhas will themselves develop enlightenment in the doctrine that phenomenon is itself reality.²

Next follows an *ekô* ('prayer of transference'). The officiant lays down his *nyo-i*, and resumes his censer. (One bell.)

¹ I respectfully pay homage to the Three Eternal Treasures, and extol the teachings of Buddha, the Tathāgata who has realized Nirvāṇa and passed beyond birth and death. If any man will listen to Him with all his heart, that man's soul shall be filled with unbounded joy. All composite things are impermanent; they are possessed of the necessity of growth and decay. They spring into existence; again they perish; their extinction is bliss.³

Then the *Rishukyô* (Buddhi Sūtra) is read, and the ceremonies in the house are closed. On the road from the house to the temple, the priests meditate upon Fudô, and chant his *mantra* (see above).

(2) *Ceremonies in the temple.*—Near the entrance to every Shingon graveyard or temple will be found the six images of Kṣitigarbha (*Roku-Jizô*), the friend and protector of the dead. These must first be worshipped, as also the corresponding set of six Avalokiteśvaras (*Roku-Kvannon*). Then the officiant, entering, walks three times round the sacred fireplace which is found in every Shingon temple, with manual gestures and formulae representing the five elementary colours, the putting on of spiritual armour, the breaking of hell, the raising of the mind to the contemplation of *bodhi*, and the meditation on Samantabhadra (*Fugen*), the special patron of truth. The last of these *dharani* is *Om-sammaya satoban*, which we have mentioned above (p. 490⁴).

All this leads up to what appears to be the central portion of this temple-service, the ceremony of *abhiṣeka* (Jap. *kuanjô*, 'besprinkling'), a kind of baptism mystically performed, and transferred by a subsequent *ekô* to the credit of the deceased.⁵ The *abhiṣeka* is threefold, and is followed by an *indô*, 'guiding words,' very much the same as that used in the Zen ceremonies. But the Shingon *indô*, which is traditionally attributed to Kôbô Daishi, is not in writing, neither are the *dharani* used in this, the most sacred part of the service. They are all handed down orally from teacher to disciple, and it is not every Shingon priest that knows them. Next follows a passage from the *Dainichikyô* (Mahāvairocana-bhisambodhi Sūtra), also with a secret accompanying *mantra*:

⁶ Without leaving this physical body, man may attain to the supernatural power of *jinkyôtsû* (Skr. *radhipāda*, 'means of attaining magic power'), and, walking freely about in great space, may comprehend the secret of the body.⁷

Then come: *abiraunken* (five times); the *mantra* and gesture of the eye of Buddha (not committed to writing); a list of the succession of teachers, with the *kaimyô* of the deceased inserted at the end; separate *mantras* and gestures for all the six elements composing the 'enlarged Abraxas'⁸—earth, water, fire, wind, emptiness, consciousness; the

¹ It is an essential feature in Shingon teaching that all material objects—stones, trees, the human body, etc.—partake of the Buddha nature.

² If in the present writer is right in his conjecture that *Abarakia* or *Abiraunken* connects Jap. Shingon with Alexandrian Gnosticism, we may also be justified in supposing that the *abhiṣeka* thus administered in the Shingon funeral rites throws much light on the 'baptizing for the dead' mentioned by St. Paul (1 Co 15²⁹).

³ The fivefold scale of elements is represented by *Abarakia*. When a sixth element, *alaya* ('consciousness'), is added, the word becomes *Abarakia*. The addition of this sixth element is sometimes, though without good authority, attributed to a priest named Ryugyô Hôshi, about A.D. 1140. We believe this to rest on a misinterpretation of the *Hôjôki*, 'History of the Hôjô Regents.' See *Romaji* for 20th Nov. 1909.

fujumon, 'address,' describing the deeds, character, etc., of the deceased; the repetition of several *mantras* and hymns; another formula of *ekô*, transferring all the merit thus accumulated to the credit of the deceased; the dedication (figuratively) of the staff that is to accompany the deceased on his journey through the valley of the shadow of death; a number of prayers never committed to writing; and a similar manual gesture on the 'most secret Nature.' This brings the service to a close.

3. *Ceremonies of the Tendai.*—The Tendai has always been a sect with strongly developed Erastian tendencies. In the days of its initiation in China, it was the ally of the Sui and Tang Governments in their efforts to control the heterogeneous mass of teaching calling itself Buddhist, which was flooding China in the 6th cent. A.D. Introduced into Japan about A.D. 800, it served the same ends. And, when Iyeyasu had brought peace to Japan in the 16th cent., the Tendai played a considerable part in the spiritual policing of the country which was carried on during the whole of the Tokugawa period. The Tendai rites which we are about to describe were those observed at the obsequies of Viscount Takamatsu (August 1904).

(1) *Ceremonies in the house: the otogi, or 'wake.'*—The ceremonies begin with the adoration of the Three Precious Things. The celebrant (*indôshi*) thus begins:

'I take my refuge in Buddha. May all sentient beings comprehend the great Path, and raise their thoughts towards the Supreme Object!'

'I take my refuge in the Law. May all sentient beings (follow my example, and), plunging deep into the Treasure House of the Scriptures,¹ acquire knowledge as vast as the sea!'

'I take my refuge in the Order. May all sentient beings (following my example) attain to positions of rule in the great assembly!'

Then follows what is called the instructive stanza, as taught by the previous Buddhas, the predecessors of Sâkyamuni:

'It is our prayer that all sentient beings may refrain from the commission of sin, that they may do good, and purify their own minds. This is the teaching of all the Buddhas. We worship the assemblage of the Saints.'

The Stanza of Evening:

'Hearken to the Stanza of Impermanency under the similitude of evening. When this little day is over, our lives will end and we shall disappear. We are here like fish in a shallow (basin of) water. O ye Bhiksus, is there anything in the world that is pleasurable? Exert yourselves with diligence, and lose no time in saving yourselves from the fire. Meditate on the impermanency of material objects which are empty as the void, be diligent, be not slothful.'

The Stanza of Impermanency:

'All composite things are impermanent, for they are liable to growth and decay. They spring up into existence, and perish. Their extinction is bliss. The Lord Buddha has realized Nirvāṇa and banished for ever birth and death. He that wills to listen to this teaching with his whole heart shall gain immeasurable happiness.'

The Six 'Fors':

'For all believers² in the Ten Quarters, let us meditate on the Tathāgata Sâkyamuni. (One bell.)'

'For His Majesty our Emperor, let us meditate on Yakushi Rurikô Nyorai.³ (One bell.)'

'For the four "benefactions"⁴ in the Three Worlds, let us meditate on Amitâbha Nyorai. (One bell.)'

'For our Great Teacher, Dengyô Daishi,⁵ and all the Venerable

¹ The Tendai is one of those sects which profess to base their tenets on the whole vast Canon of the Mahāyāna.

² The Jap. word is *danna* (Skr. *dānam*, 'generosity'). Giving is the first duty of a layman. The word has come to mean 'householder,' 'layman,' and is commonly used by servants, etc., in addressing their master.

³ See above, for the connexion of Tendai with the State. Yakushi (Bhaiṣajyaguru) is the master of medicine, who went about healing sickness and had twelve disciples. He was a very favourite god during the Nara period.

⁴ The *shi-on* represent the gratitude we owe for the benefactions we receive from (1) our parents, (2) our rulers and the State, (3) sentient creatures in general, and (4) the Three Precious Things of religion.

⁵ Dengyô Daishi, founder of the Japanese Tendai, A.D. 767-822.

Ones, let us meditate on the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra. (One bell.)

For all the gods,¹ let us meditate on the Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra. (One bell.)

For all Sentient Beings in the Dharmadhātu, let us meditate on the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. (One bell.)

The Four Reverential Invitations :²

'There is delight in the scattering of flowers (*bite*). We reverentially invite all the Tathāgatas in the Ten Quarters to alight on this sacred altar. There is delight, etc.

We reverentially invite Śākyamuni the Tathāgata to alight on the sacred altar. There is, etc.

We reverentially invite Amitābha the Tathāgata, etc. There is, etc.

We reverentially invite Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Kwannon and Seishi) and all other Bodhisattvas, etc. There is delight in the scattering of flowers.'

Namu Amida Butsu, Amida butsu, Amida butsu.

The reading of the *Sukhāvativyūha* (Amida Kyō).

Namu Amida Butsu, Amida butsu, Amida butsu.

Prayer of Transference (*ekō*) :

'All the benefits arising from the invocations we have just made, we transfer to the Lord Amitābha in the Land of Bliss. May we be graciously accepted in the great sea of His Vow, may our karma be destroyed, and may we realize *samādhi* ('supernatural tranquillity'). May the Devas and deities of the sky and the earth experience an increase of their dignities, and may the gods (Shinto) assembled in this place take pleasure in what we do! May the Great Teachers who have passed away accomplish Perfect Enlightenment, and may all souls, noble and mean,³ attain to Buddhahood! May Jikaku, our great Teacher,⁴ experience ever-increasing happiness, and may our benefactors during the last seven generations be re-born in the Land of Bliss! May the venerable soul that has now passed away be re-born in the Land of Bliss and attain to Buddhahood, seated on a lotus-seat of high degree! May the Court of our Wise Emperor be preserved from harm, and may the reign of His Majesty be long drawn out. May the country be peaceful, and may religion prosper! May the laymen in the Ten Quarters be free from evil and sorrow, and may the fraternity of monks who invoke the names of the Buddhas accomplish perfection! When they come to the end of their lives, may they not miss the ascent to the Land of Bliss, and may they meet Amitābha and his attendant hosts face to face! May their desire for *bodhi* ("supreme knowledge") never fail them, and may they be the leaders of all sentient beings in the Three Worlds and in Dharmadhātu! And may they all, partaking, as they do, of the same spiritual nature, alike attain to *bodhi*!'

The post-*ekō* hymn :

'May we, living in this world, be as though we lived in the heavens, like the lotus untarnished by the water! Prostrate on the ground, we worship the Pre-eminent One, with hearts purer than the lotus.'

Adoration of the Three Precious Things.

The Instructive Stanzas preached by the Seven Previous Buddhas.

The Confession of Sins :

'May the three obstacles (passion, *karma*, and the secondary results of *karma*, Jap. *hōshō*) be removed absolutely and universally for the benefit of the four benefactors (note 4 above), and for beings in all spheres of existence and throughout the *dharmadhātu*. For their sakes, we repent of all our sins, from the bottom of our hearts, in the presence of all the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters.'

Gonenmon, or meditation on the Five Gates of praising Amida, by which men enter into the Pure Land. These are all taken from Vasubandhu's treatise on the Pure Land (*Jōdoron*). They are: (1) *Raihaimon* ('the Gate of Worship'); (2) *Santammon* ('the Gate of Praise'); (3) *Sagwanmon* ('the Gate of Prayer'); (4) *Kwansatsumon* ('the Gate of Observance'); and (5) *Ekōmon* ('the Gate of Transference'). The following is an abbreviated form of the *Gonenmon*, as recited at a Tendai funeral :

'With my head touching the ground I adore Amitābha the Sage, the noblest of two-footed beings, whom gods and men

¹ i.e. the Shinto deities of Japan, adopted into the Buddhist pantheon.

² Similar forms will be found in the sects of Jōdo and Shinshū, which, originating in the Tendai, developed the doctrine of Amida. In the Nichiren, which rejects Amida, they are not found. The Zen derived neither doctrines nor ritual from Tendai, nor did the Shingon.

³ It was from this that Genshin (A.D. 942-1017), the first Japanese Patriarch of the Shinshū, derived his teaching about the twofold Paradise, *Kwedo*, in which the sins of the 'mean' souls are purged, and *Hōdō*, in which noble and mean alike attain to Perfection. This is brought out in Shinran's poem *Shōshinge*.

⁴ Jikaku, the second Patriarch of the Tendai (A.D. 794-864).

delight to honour, who dwells in the choice Paradise of ease and bliss, surrounded by an innumerable host of the Sons of Buddha. The pure golden body of the Buddha is like the king of Mountains, and his footsteps, when he walketh in tranquillity, are like those of the still-treading elephant. His eyes are as pure as the lotus. I, therefore, with my head touching the ground, adore the venerable Amitābha. His face, good, round, and pure, is as that of the moon at her full. His majestic brilliancy is as that of thousands of suns and moons. His voice is as mighty as that of the celestial drum (thunder) and as soft as the voice of the Kariobings bird. Therefore I, placing my head on the ground, adore the venerable Amitābha. . . .

Thus I worship the Buddha and praise his merits. May the *dharmadhātu* be adorned (with many virtues)! May sentient beings, arriving at the term of their lives, go to the Western Land, and, meeting with Amitābha, may they accomplish Buddhahood! May sentient beings go and be re-born in the Paradise of Bliss! May they go and meet with Amitābha, the Venerable One!'

Next follow the burning of incense and the presentation of oblations (cakes, tea, hot water sweetened with sugar, boiled rice). The chief mourner, the family, and relatives offer incense. Then are read passages from the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra, illustrating the various 'gates' of the *Gonenmon*, and thus the *otogi* ceremony (which is supposed to take place on the day of death) is brought to a close.

(2) *Ceremonies in the house : the first part of the actual funeral*.—This is conducted by the *fukudōshi* ('second celebrant'), with a choir of six assistants, the first celebrant (*dōshi*) awaiting the cortège at the temple.

The Four Invitations (as in the *otogi*).

Stanza of Repentance :

'All the evil *karma*, etc. (see above, 'Ceremonies of the Zen,' p. 489b).

The three Refuges :

'Hail be to, and I take refuge in, Buddha.

" " " Dharma.

" " " Saṅgha.

I take refuge in Śākyamuni, chief of two-footed beings.¹

" " " Dharma, chief of lustless things.

" " " Saṅgha, noblest of congregations.

I have finished taking refuge in Buddha.

" " " Dharma.

" " " Saṅgha.'

The General Vows (*sōgwan*) :

'Sentient beings are numberless. May I make them all traverse the sea of *samsāra* ('metempsychosis')!

Evil passions are endless. May I help sentient beings to destroy them!

The gates of the Law (Scriptures) are infinite. May I cause sentient beings to understand them!

Supreme Buddhahood is ineffable. May I make sentient beings attain to it!'

Hyōhaku (see under 'Shingon,' above, p. 491').

Chanting of a Sūtra ; either the *Sukhāvativyūha* or the *Saddharmapundarika*.

Post-*ekō* hymn (as in the *otogi* above).

Burning of incense and offering of oblations (as above).

Chief mourner, family, and relatives burn incense.

The Invocation of the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters.

'Hail to the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters.

" " " Dharma " " "

" " " Saṅgha " " "

Hail to Śākyamuni Buddha.

Hail to the Buddha Prabhūtaratna (mentioned in *Saddh.*).

Hail to Śākyamuni, whose body is divided into the Ten

Directions.

Hail to the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra.

" Mañjuśrī the Bodhisattva (Monju).

" Samantabhadra the Bodhisattva (Fugen).

This ends the ceremonies in the house.

(3) *The ceremonies in the temple*.—On arrival at the temple, the bell is tolled, and the choir of clergy take their seats, followed by the celebrant

¹ The Tendai very generally identify Śākyamuni with Amitābha. Hence the application of the same epithet to both. In the *Shinshū*, which derives much of its terminology from Tendai, this identification is known as *ni-san-tachi* ('the identity of the two Blessed Ones').

and his assistant. The choir recite, in debased Sanskrit, the fourfold hymn of Wisdom:

'Om basarasataba shigyaraka.
basararatnamadotaran.
basaradarumagaganai.
basarakarumakaro bava.'¹

The celebrant now goes up to the High Altar, and there makes a *mudrā* ('manual gesture') known as *kōmyōgu*.²

An introit is sung, the 'Hymn of taking the seat.'

Indō, 'guiding words,' spoken by the celebrant.

The praise of the *shakujō*, 'pilgrim's staff':

'I take a staff in my hand (does so). May all sentient beings follow my example!'

The whole choir say with the celebrant:

'I give a feast of charity, and, showing the true Way, make offerings to the Three Precious Things (*bia*). With a pure mind I make offerings to the Three Precious Things (*bia*). Striving to raise a pure mind, I make offerings to the three gems (shakes the *shakujō* twice); may all sentient beings follow my example! May I become the Teacher of Devas and men; may I fill the Heavens with my vows; may I cause suffering beings to traverse the sea of *samsāra*, and, guarded by spiritual beings, to make offerings to the Three Precious Things! May they meet with Buddhas and obtain the Buddhahood! (Shakes the *shakujō* twice.) May all sentient beings learn the sacerdotal Truth³ (*shintai*); may they treat their fellow-beings with respect and sympathy; may they learn worldly truth and treat their fellow-beings with respect and sympathy; may they learn the doctrine of the One Vehicle,⁴ and treat their fellow-beings with respect and sympathy; may they respectfully make offerings to the Three Precious Things—to Buddha, to Dharma, to Saṅgha—to each individually, to all three conjointly (*itai sambō*). [The *shakujō* is shaken twice.] May all sentient beings practise Śīlapāramitā (the perfection of character), . . . Dānapāramitā (the perfection of generosity), . . . Kṣāntipāramitā (the perfection of long-suffering), . . . Viryapāramitā (the perfection of fortitude), . . . Dhyānapāramitā (the perfection of meditation), . . . Prajñāpāramitā (the perfection of wisdom), . . . and may they treat their fellow-beings with benevolence and sympathy! [The *shakujō* is shaken twice.] Buddhas in the past have taken up the pilgrim's staff and have been enlightened. Buddhas in the present have taken up the staff and have been enlightened. Buddhas in the future will take up the staff and be enlightened. I therefore take up the staff and make offerings to the Three Precious Things (*bia*).'

The celebrant comes down from the High Altar and burns incense.

Offerings of tea and hot water with sugar.

Lifting the coffin off the bier and closing it.

The assistant (*fukudōshi*) reads the Funeral Oration.

Chanting of a Sūtra.

Chief mourner, family, and relatives burn incense.

General congregation follow their example.

When all who wish have burned incense, the celebrant and choir leave the temple.

So end the funeral ceremonies of the Tendai.

4. Ceremonies of the Jōdo.—The Jōdo sect, founded by Hōnen Shōnin in A.D. 1174, is an

¹ This in Sanskrit would be somewhat as follows:

'Oḥ vajra sattva saṅgraha!
vajraratnamanuttaram!
vajradharma gaganai!
vajrakarmakaro bhava!'

'Hail! Store of Diamond-Essence! Diamond-Jewel that hath none higher! Heaven of the Diamond-Law! Be thou working the Diamond-Karma!'

² *Kōmyōgu* is very possibly a Manichaean word. It was used in the designation of the Manichaean temples (cf. Lloyd, *Shinran and his Work*, Appendix i and ii).

³ There is a distinction made in Tendai (also in Shinshu) between the 'noble' and the 'mean,' just as Manichaeans were divided into 'hearers' and 'perfect.' For the hearers only a very simple creed was required (Jap. *zokutaimon* [cf. Lloyd, *op. cit.* p. 109]). A more elaborate form of faith and life was required from the perfect (*shintaimon*), which included assent to theological truths.

⁴ The Jōdo sects maintain that the One Vehicle is the one by Faith in Amida, also that the Tendai, if true to their own doctrinal standards, are committed to this position. It is perhaps worth our while to note as an interesting point that Amida is, to Tendai, Jōdo, and Shinshu, pre-eminently the Buddha, that the character for Buddha was introduced into China A.D. 64, that it signifies 'the man with the arrows and bow' (Emp. Ming-ti's Vision: cf. Rev. G.), that in the legend it is connected with a 'white horse,' and that, divided into its constituent elements (man, arrows, bow), it represents the first three letters of the name of Jesus.

offshoot of the Tendai, or rather an attempt to call back the Tendai to that sole Faith in Amitābha which the Jōdo sects maintain to be the essential feature of primitive Mahāyānism.

(1) *The service in the house (Gongyōshiki).*—Opening verse of the regular service:

'May our minds be purified as the incense-burner! May our minds be bright and clear as the fire of Wisdom!

Burning the incense of morality and tranquillity, thought by thought, make offerings to the Buddhas in the Ten Quarters, in the Three Worlds.'

Sambōrai, or worship of the Three Precious Things:

'With all our hearts we pay supreme honours to the Supreme Buddhas in the Ten Quarters. . . .

With all our hearts we pay supreme honours to the Supreme Dharmas in the Ten Quarters. . . .

With all our hearts we pay supreme honours to the Supreme Saṅghas in the Ten Quarters. . . .

Shubujō, or fourfold Invitation, as in the ceremonies of the Tendai: (1) all the Buddhas, (2) Śākya-muni, (3) Amitābha, (4) Kwannon, Seishi, and the other Mahābodhisattvas.

Tambutsu no ge, or hymn of praise for all the Buddhas:

'The handsome physical bodies of the Tathāgatas are unparalleled in the Universe. They are incomparable beyond conception. Therefore, behold, I worship them. The physical bodies of the Tathāgatas are inexhaustible and everlasting, and their Wisdom is as their bodies. Dharmas are infinite. Therefore I take refuge in them.'

Ryakusange, or abridged form of confession:

'All the evil *karmas*, etc., as in the Zen and Tendai.

Sankikai, or the threefold Taking of Refuge:

'I take refuge in Buddha . . . Dharma . . . Saṅgha.'

The ceremony of tonsure. While the head of the corpse is being shaved, the name of Amitābha is being repeated ten times. This is known as *Jūnen*. The number of repetitions shows that the shaving occupies only a short time. It is merely symbolical. In the Shinshu sect there is a ceremony called *Kamisori*, 'head-shaving,' roughly corresponding to Christian confirmation, which implies a formal acceptance of and admission into the sect. It is administered by the head of the sect only, and consists in passing a golden razor lightly over the hair of the candidates as they kneel before him. The ceremonial shaving of the dead is very often nothing more than this.

Kaikyōge, or hymn introductory to the reading of the Scriptures:

'The Law, which is pre-eminent, profound, and sought out,¹ can rarely be met with, scarcely once in a thousand *kalpas* ["ages of the world"]. But we have seen and heard, and do accept it. May we understand the true meaning of the Tathāgata's teaching!'

Reading of a Sūtra—generally a chapter from the Amitayurdhyāna Sūtra, or the Aparimitāyus Sūtra. Sometimes also the Amitābhatathāgata-muladhāraṇi is read:

'In accordance with the Original Vow of the Buddha we pray that we may hear His Name, and be re-born in the Land of Bliss. On being re-born in that land, may we all obtain the safe position from which there is no falling back! The 84,000 doors,² each different from the others, were opened as means of escape from ignorance, *karma*, and the results of *karma*. A sharp sword verily is the name of Amitābha Buddha. He that shall invoke it but once and meditate thereon,—his sins shall be destroyed for ever.'

Hotsugwanmon, or the raising of vows:

'Humbly we pray that our minds, at the hour of death, may be undistracted, unconfused, and in possession of all their faculties. With mind and body free from pain and filled with joy, in the state of contemplation, and in the presence of the Holy Ones (Amitābha and his 25 Bodhisattvas), by the merits of the Buddha's Vow, may we have a favourable re-birth in the Land of Amitābha.

On being re-born in that land, may we obtain the Sixfold Supernatural Power (*roku-jin-dō*), which shall enable us to assume visible forms at will and to manifest ourselves in the Worlds of the Ten Quarters for the Salvation of mankind. The Sky and the Law are infinite in extent; our vows are co-

¹ Not in the Biblical sense of 'sought out of them that have pleasure therein.' The allusion is to the Vow of Amitābha, which was framed after a careful survey and examination of all the Buddha-fields.

² i.e. the doctrines of Buddhism.

extensive with them. With these vows we take refuge in Amitābha Buddha with our whole hearts.

Kōmyō henjō
Jippō sekai
Nembutsu shuyō
Sesshufusha,

Shining upon all the worlds in the Ten Quarters with the bright rays issuing from his halo, the Buddha accepts the beings who call upon him. He will never abandon them.'

Invocation of Amida's name.

Ekō, 'transference':

(1) Special: 'May the soul of the newly-deceased N. (*kaīmō*) migrate to the pure fields, and may his *karma* give up dust-like trouble! May he see Buddha, hear the Law, and rapidly reach the pre-eminent way!'

(2) General: 'May the merits resulting from this service be transferred to all sentient beings alive! May they all lift up their hearts to Enlightenment, and all be re-born in the land of ease and comfort!'

Shinseigwan, or Four Holy Vows (see Tendai rites).

Sanrai, or Worship of the Three Precious Things: *Namu Amida butsu* is repeated nine times, three times for each.

This concludes the service in the house. The procession is now formed and starts for the temple.

(2) *The service in the temple* is almost a replica of that in the house. It begins with *gongyōshiki*, *sambōrai*, *shibujō*, *ryakusange*, and *tambutsu no ge* (see above). Then follow the beating of cymbals (*nyōhachi*), the *indō*, or 'guiding words,' *kaikyōge*, the reading of Scriptures, *kōmyō henjō*, etc., the invocation of Buddha's name, and another *ekō*:

'May the merits arising from this chanting of the Sūtra and the invocation of Buddha's name be transferred to the newly-deceased N. May his soul migrate,' etc.
(The rest as in the *ekō* above.)

Then follow invocations of Amida's name, the Four Holy Vows (as in Tendai), and the adoration of the *honzon*, or image of Amitābha. This brings the service to a close.

5. Ceremonies of the Shinshu.—The Shinshu sect, founded by Shinran Shōnin in A.D. 1224, carries still further than the Jōdo the doctrine of salvation by Faith only. The account of the ceremonies described in this section is taken from the *Fuzokugwahō* for Feb. 1894, and gives a summary view of the obsequies of Kōshō, the 21st Abbot of the Eastern Hongwanji, who died at Kyoto on 15th Jan. 1894.

(1) *The worship of the corpse*.—This ceremony is not peculiar to the Shinshu sect, but is observed in the case of all monks and priests [the Shinshu clergy are not monks; they marry and live with their families]; but naturally, in the case of the head of a great organization, such as the Hongwanji, the ceremonies connected with this worship were more carefully carried out than usual.

Three days after death, the corpse was dressed in silk crêpe robes of a grey colour, with a small *kesa* ('stole') over the shoulders, and was placed in a sitting posture on a *kyōkuroku* ('camp-chair') in one of the rooms of the Abbot's official residence. The face was covered with a white cloth, so that only the eyes were visible. Screens were set up behind the chair and on either side of it, and in front there was a slight curtain of split bamboo, which could easily be drawn up and down. Six laymen, in *kanishimo* (upper and nether ceremonial garments) of a grey colour, were constantly in attendance, to draw up the curtain whenever a group of worshippers presented themselves. Many thousands of Shinshu believers thus offered their last respects to the deceased prelate, the worship consisting of a silent prostration before the corpse.

On the following day the corpse was put into a coffin and removed to another apartment, where similar worship was offered before it. In this case, however, a scroll-picture of Amitābha was suspended on the wall behind the coffin, to represent the idea that the deceased had now passed

definitely under Amitābha's protection. Immense crowds of worshippers from every part of Japan came to worship.

(2) *The farewell to the corpse*.—This took place on the following day. Three short ceremonies were observed, the first in the apartment where the coffin had been lying in state since the previous day. It was then removed to the *daishidō*, or hall set apart for the worship of Shinran Shōnin, the founder of the sect, and from there to the *Amidadō*, or Hall of Amida. In each of these places a service was held, consisting very largely of repetitions of the *Namu Amida butsu*¹ and the burning of incense. Not unnaturally the third service was esteemed the most dignified. Not only blood relations, but proxies representing the princes of the blood, and the heads of other subdivisions of the Shinshu, came forward to burn incense, and, immediately after this last ceremony was over, the procession was formed and the funeral cortège started for Uchino, where the main obsequies were to take place.

(3) *The procession* need not delay us. It was on the same general lines as the procession mentioned at the beginning of this section (above, p. 489*). Only, as befitting a personage who, in addition to being the hereditary head of one of the largest of the Buddhist sects in Japan, was a peer of the realm, and a collateral descendant of the great Fujiwara family, it was, of course, a very imposing procession, more than a mile in length.

(4) *The service at Uchino*.—Uchino was in former days the cremation-place connected with the Eastern Hongwanji temple. But the growth of the city has rendered it unsuitable for the purpose. In the case, however, of the funeral of an Abbot, there are historical reasons why a part of the service should still be held there. An open space had therefore been curtained off, large enough to seat the great number of invited guests, and it was here that that part of the service took place which in ordinary cases would be held in the temple. (The farewell to the corpse, thrice repeated, corresponded to the service in the house at ordinary funerals. It followed, then, almost exactly the same order as is observed in Jōdo funerals.) A temporary crematorium had been erected for the symbolic cremation to be held here. The chief mourners were the new Abbot and his wife (the *urakata*). The actual cremation took place later at Kwazan, where the regular crematorium is situated.

The service, which was of the regular type,² followed the usual order:

The Four Invitations.

The *Shōshinge*.³

Nembutsu wasan,⁴ or hymn in praise of Buddha, followed by invocations of Amida's name.

Ekō, as in Jōdo sect, with the following addition:

Gwanmishi Kudoku,
Byōdōse issai,
Dōhatsu bodaiśhin,
Ōjō anrakukoku,

We pray that the merit of this service may be given equally to all sentient beings, that they may lift up their minds to the attainment of enlightenment, and ascend for re-birth in the Land of Ease and Comfort.'

¹ It is to be noted that the common interpretation given to these words is 'Believe in (trust) me; for I will save you.' This meaning, which has been read into, not out of, the Sanskrit words, is interesting.

² In the memorial service held by the Shinshu in Tokyo in honour of King Edward vii., the form approximated much more closely to the Tendai ritual. The explanation of this will be found in the Tendai origin of the Shinshu, and also in the fact that it was not a funeral service proper.

³ This is a poem by Shinran Shōnin giving an account of the transmission of the Amida doctrines. For text and tr. see Lloyd, *Shinran and his Work*, p. 35.

⁴ *Wasan* are hymns of praise composed in Japanese. The Shinshu sect, which, to its credit, has always used the vernacular whenever possible, is particularly rich in these hymns, some of which are of very great interest.

Symbolical cremation. The Abbot entered the temporary crematorium and lighted some straw, and, as the smoke issued from the building, it was accepted as an actual cremation. This was, of course, a special feature of this particular funeral. *Shōshinge* again.

Burning of incense by mourners, etc.

The coffin was now removed for the actual cremation.

(5) *The cremation.*¹—This was carried out semi-privately at Kwazan, only the new abbot, near relatives, old body-servants, and the superintendent of the crematorium being admitted into the curtained-off space around the furnace. The pyre was made of pine logs skilfully arranged on a hearthstone, and was attended to by four master-carpenters in white robes, overlooked by two priests in black. The Abbot, as chief mourner, having already, as we have seen, symbolically lighted the fire, it was apparently not necessary for him to do it actually on this occasion; though in ordinary funerals this is a duty which always falls upon the chief mourner. It must be a 'pure' fire (no sulphur or brimstone to be used in the kindling), and, when once kindled, is kept alive not only with additional fuel, but also by constant libations of *natane abura* ('rape-seed oil'). It is desirable that the coffin, as in this case, should be so thick that the body inside may be completely consumed before the sides of the coffin fall in; but this is, of course, merely a counsel of perfection not applicable in all cases.

When the cremation was over, the remains were reverently collected, with a short service (not used in ordinary cases), put into a small box, covered with a white silk cloth, and carried back to the late Abbot's residence, where they were privately disposed of in a suitable manner. A certain amount of secrecy was observed on this occasion. There existed for many centuries a bitter feud between the parent sect of the Tendai and her more prosperous but rebellious daughter, the Shinshu. When Rennyo Shōnin, the greatest of all the successors of Shinran, died in A.D. 1499, the jealous Tendai monks made an assault on the procession that was carrying home the sacred relics, and tried to seize and dishonour them. Since that time it has been customary, at the cremation of a Hongwanji Abbot, to bring the ashes home in secret, by some circuitous route, and under guard.

In collecting the bones, etc., after a cremation, it is customary to pick them up with chop-sticks, one of wood, and one of bamboo. Hence, in ordinary life it is deemed most unlucky to use chop-sticks of different materials, e.g. one of wood and one of bone. Shingon believers send the bones to Kōyasan; amongst the Shinshuists in Echigo and Shinshu they are often preserved in the house. In most cases, however, they are interred. Great efficacy is sometimes attributed to these relics (*shari*).

6. Ceremonies of the Nichiren sect.—The Nichiren sect, founded in A.D. 1253, differs from all other sects of Buddhism in that it concentrates the whole of its attention on the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra, which it almost personifies. This Sūtra consists of two parts, known as *Shakumon* (chs. i.-xiv.) and *Hommon* (chs. xv.-end); and the peculiar position of the Nichiren School is that for it the latter is the most important portion of the Sūtra, while all other Japanese sects lay special stress on the former. Nichiren himself claimed to be the first of the Four Great Bodhisattvas mentioned in the latter part of that Sūtra as rising out of the earth at the head of a large company

of believers. The services are very long; but they admit of condensed statement, because they consist almost entirely of readings from the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra.

(1) *The house ceremonies.*—(a) *Makuragyō*, entrusted to a minor priest (*shokesō*).

Kwanjōmon, or words of Invitation:

'We humbly invite Jiryō,¹ the *honzon* (principal idol) of the True Teaching,² to be present.

Glory to the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra, in which are contained the Three Mysteries of the True Teaching.³

Glory to Śākyamuni-Buddha, who is the great benefactor of sentient beings, who accomplished enlightenment before innumerable ages, and who alone is the Master of the Teachings.⁴

Glory to the Buddha Tahō,⁵ who certified to the teachings of the Saddharmapundarika Sūtra.

Glory to the Buddhas mentioned in the *Hommon* ('Real Teaching'—see above), as also to those spoken of in the *Shakumon* ('Temporary Teaching'), in this and in other worlds.

Glory to the Great Bodhisattvas in the thousand worlds, who were taught by the Buddhas of the *Hommon*, and who issued forth in troops out of the earth, when the *Kenhōtōhon* was being preached.

Glory to the Three Everlasting Precious Things mentioned in the Saddh. Sūtra, in which the Temporal Buddhas are secreted (swallowed up) and the True Buddha revealed.

Glory to Nichiren,⁶ the Great One, the founder of the sect, our mighty leader, who has been entrusted by Śākyamuni with the Secrets of the True Doctrine.

Glory to the successive Patriarchs (of Nichirenism). May all the Devas and good gods, the protectors of the True Faith, descend upon the altar and watch our worship.⁷

Reading of *Hōbenhon*, sect. 2 of Saddh. Sūtra.

Juryōhon, sect. 16

Much repetition of the *Daimoku*,⁸ or the true standard of faith and worship (*Namumyōhōrenge-kyō*, 'Glory to the Lotus-Scripture of the Wonderful Law').

Ekō, 'prayer of transference.' The gist of the prayer is that, by the virtue of the Sūtra, sentient beings may attain to Buddha-ship in their bodies.

Bestowal of a *Kaimyō*. This service may be performed before or after death, or may be entirely omitted. It is of great importance to the student, as giving the doctrinal position of the Nichiren body.

(b) *The wake (otogi)*. This is also entrusted to a minor priest. The whole of the Saddharmapundarika is chanted once, or sect. 16 thirty-six times. Sermons are delivered at intervals—the edification both of the living and of the dead.

The tonsure. A leaf of *shikimi* is cut with a razor over the head of the deceased.

(c) The home funeral service, by one or more minor priests. Five banners are prepared and set up, inscribed as follows:

(1) 'Glory to Prabhūtaratna, to the Saddh. Sūtra, to Śākyamuni, to Nichiren, the Great Superior Teacher of the Latter Days.'

(2) 'Glory to Jōgyōbosatsu,' i.e. to the Nichiren, first of the Four Great Bodhisattvas.

(3) 'Glory to Muhengyōbosatsu,' second of the Four Great Bodhisattvas.

(4) 'Glory to Jōgyōbosatsu,' third of the Four Great Bodhisattvas.

(5) 'Glory to Anryūgyōbosatsu,' fourth of the Four Great Bodhisattvas.

Four smaller banners are also prepared and set up, and inscribed as follows:

1 *Juryō* is a portion of the Saddh. Sūtra personified (sect. 26), and treated as the embodiment of the Deity.

2 Nichirenists maintain that there are three stages of Buddhist Teaching—the Smaller Vehicle, the Larger, and the True (*Jitsuryō*).

3 The Three Mysteries are: (1) The revelation of the true object of human worship made in the Sūtra, (2) the establishment of the true standard of faith and worship, (3) the true teachings of morality.

4 Observe that the Śākyamuni of Nichirenism is only incidentally the historical Gautama.

5 *Tahō* (Skrt. *Prabhūtaratna*) is a Buddha, previous to Śākyamuni, who, in the Saddh., is seen descending upon the latter as he teaches, in a *stūpa*; who is dead, then revives, and, after commending the teachings which Śākyamuni is giving in the Sūtra, becomes in some mysterious way identified with him. This account appears in *Kenhōtōhon* ('opening of the stūpa'), the 12th section of the Saddh. Sūtra (Chinese). It is to be noticed that Tahō's Paradise is represented as in the East.

6 Nichiren is supposed to have had the power of teaching committed to him by virtue of his being a re-incarnation of the first of the Four Great Bodhisattvas.

¹ The Japanese word for 'cremation' is *dabi*. It comes from the Pāli *jāpe* (causal of *jāpya*, 'to burn'), and is one of the few instances of the survival of a Pāli word in Japanese.

- (1) *Kaibutchiken*, i.e. 'May the deceased attain to the opening of a supernatural insight like that of Buddha!'
 (2) *Jibutchiken* . . . 'May he show forth a . . . etc. . . . !'
 (3) *Gobutchiken* . . . 'May he understand, more and more . . . etc. !'
 (4) *Nyibutchiken* . . . 'May he enter into . . . etc. . . . !'

Whilst the banners are being set up, the priests read—

Hōbenhon, sect. 2 of the *Saddh. Sūtra*.

Juryōhon, sect. 16 " " (or only its *gāthās*).

Ekō, as before.

(2) *Ceremonies at the temple*.—

Kwanjōmon (see above).

Juryōhon (prose sections only).

Beating of drums and cymbals.

After this a minor priest says in a distinct voice :

'*Nyokyakukenyaku*
Kaidajōmon,

Lo! the Gate of the Great Castle has been opened, and the bolt has been taken away' (from the *Kenhōtōhon*, sect. 12).

Offerings.

Indō, pronounced by the leader (*dōshi*).

Chanting the *gāthā* portions of sect. 16 of the *Saddh. Sūtra*.

Incense.

The *Daimoku*, oft repeated.

Ekō.

The ceremonies come to a close. There seem to be no ceremonies specially connected with cremation or interment.

See, further, **art. FESTIVALS** (Japanese).

LITERATURE.—The greater part of this article is based on information collected for the writer by his friend Mr. S. Tachibana, a Buddhist priest of the Zen sect. The other authorities have been cited in the text. A. LLOYD.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jewish).—1. **Conception of death**.—Although there is uniformity, in a sense, in the physical phenomena of death, its character and circumstances and the impression which it makes vary in different times and places. In ancient Israel, death, like life, was more a matter of the family than it is now; it was not so much an occasion when an external professional element, represented by priests, lawyers, doctors, nurses, and hospitals, broke in upon or set aside the family. Again, violent deaths were more common; and the last illness of a dying man was not prolonged, as it is now, by the resources of medical science. In all probability the death-rate was much higher than it is with us, so that death was more common and familiar.

The impression made by death depends partly on belief as to its cause and as to the future of the individual after death. The modern mind is occupied with the physical cause of death, the particular disease, and the failure of remedial treatment. The Israelite and the Jew thought of death as an act of God; more especially a death in early years, or in the prime of life, or under exceptionally distressing circumstances, was often regarded as a judgment upon sin.

Death¹ was not the annihilation of the individual—at any rate, according to the ordinary Hebrew view. A feeble ghost of the dead man maintained a dim, shadowy existence in Sheol, the under world or Hades. But probably in early times other beliefs supplemented or replaced this view. There are traces of ancestor-worship and necromancy in ancient Israel, and these imply that the spirits of the dead could manifest themselves to the living, and could exercise some influence upon their fortunes. Samuel, for instance, appeared at the call of the witch of Endor and foretold the death of Saul (1 S 28). Although there is little positive evidence, it is probable that the popular

¹ Cf. W. H. Bennett, *Religion of the Post-exilic Prophets*, Edinburgh, 1907, p. 361 ff.

belief in ghosts prevailed in earlier as in later times. In Lk 24^{37a} the Apostles take the risen Lord for a ghost.

In a sense the Israelite looked forward to reunion after death, so far as this may be implied in such phrases as 'buried with his fathers' (2 K 12²¹), 'slept with his fathers' (1 K 2¹⁰); but there is nothing to suggest that he looked forward to any satisfying fellowship with his deceased brethren in a future life. Thus, for all practical purposes, death was a final parting.

As regards what happened to the individual when he breathed his last, death was thought of as the departure of the *nephesh* (נֶפֶשׁ), or vital principle;¹ though, curiously enough, *nephesh* is sometimes used in the sense of 'corpse' (Lv 19³⁰ 21¹ 22⁴ [all H], Nu 5² 6¹¹ 9¹⁰ [all P], Hag 2¹³).

Probably various primitive views prevailed in ancient Israel as to death and the individual after death, and these views were connected with general Semitic mythology; but the editors of the OT eliminated accounts of such crude superstitions, in the interests of orthodoxy and edification, so that only a few traces remain. A familiar myth is the death and resurrection of a god. Traces of this are found in the women weeping for Tammuz (Ezk 8¹⁴). According to Gressmann,² the account of the death and resurrection of the Servant of Jahweh in Is 53 is based on some such myth; of this possibly other traces are found in the references to מָוֶת לְבָנִים, 'mourning for an only son.'

The later books of the OT contain hints of a resurrection, which develop in the later literature, especially in the Wisdom of Solomon and the Apocalypses, into an express doctrine, so that for later Judaism and for Christianity—following Judaism—death became the portal to a future life. When Judaism evolved a hierarchy of angels, with proper names and special functions, there appeared among the rest, Samael, the Angel of Death. See **DEMONS AND SPIRITS** (Heb.) and (Jewish).

Later Judaism inherited or developed many curious fancies as to the hour of death; as, for instance, that the dying soul has a vision of the Shekinah just before its departure. Ben Kaphra, a Rabbi of the early Christian centuries, is quoted as saying :

'For three days the spirit hovers about the tomb, if perchance it may return to the body. But, when it sees the fashion of the countenance changed, it retires and abandons the body' (cf. *Expos. Gr. Test.* [1897] on Jn 11¹⁴).

2. **Disposal of the dead**.—The regular and legitimate mode of dealing with a corpse in ancient Israel was *burial*, and this has always remained the general custom of the Jews. *Embalming* was not an Israelite practice; when we read that Jacob and Joseph were embalmed (Gn 50^{2, 26}), we must clearly understand that they were treated as Egyptians, amongst whom embalming was the regular custom. In later times we are told that the body of Aristobulus was embalmed in honey (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 4). Embalming in the strict sense must be distinguished from the Jewish custom referred to in 2 Ch 16¹⁴ and in NT (Jn 19^{39a}, etc.) of anointing the dead body and placing it in or wrapping it up in spices. *Cremation*, amongst the Israelites, was exceptional. According to 1 S 31¹³, the men of Jabesh-Gilead burned the bodies of Saul and his sons, probably to prevent their falling into the hands of the Philistines. The fact that 1 Ch 10¹³ omits the burning, and that Josephus (VI. xiv. 8) states that the bodies were buried, is probably evidence of the repug-

¹ W. H. Bennett, *op. cit.* 228 ff.

² *Der Ursprung der jüd. Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905, p. 323 ff.

³ Am 8¹⁰, Jer 6³⁰, Zec 12¹⁰; cf. Cheyne, *The Two Religions of Israel*, London, 1911, p. 211.

nance of the Jews, at any rate in later times, to the cremation of the dead. The EV of Am 6¹⁰ speaks of 'he that burneth' a corpse; but the reference to burning the corpse is due to corruption or misunderstanding of the text. In some cases, however, criminals were burnt alive (Gn 38²⁴, Lv 20¹⁴ 21⁹), or their corpses were burnt (Jos 7^{15.23}). The picture in Is 66²⁴ of the corpses of sinners consumed by fire may have been suggested by the actual treatment of dead criminals. According to Kimchi¹ there were perpetual fires in the Valley of Hinnom for consuming dead bodies of criminals and animals. In Am 2¹ the burning of the bones of the king of Edom is an outrage which calls down inexorable doom on Moab.

Exposure without burial was a disgrace and a misfortune. Criminals or their representatives might be so treated (2 S 21^{10c}), but, according to Dt 21^{22c}, even their corpses were to be buried. Such a misfortune might befall sinners as the judgment of God (1 K 14¹¹, Jer 7³³, Ezk 26⁸, Ps 79³). To bury relatives, and even strangers, was a supreme duty; it is specially insisted on in To 1. 2, and is illustrated by the story of Rizpah (2 S 21^{10c}). Job complains that God allows the wicked man to have an honourable burial (Job 21^{22c}). The desecration of a grave was a kind of posthumous punishment (2 K 23¹⁶, Jer 8¹⁴).

There is not much evidence in the OT of graves dug in the earth in the modern fashion, though doubtless such were often used. The labours of the various Palestine Exploration Societies show that rock-hewn tombs were exceedingly common; they usually occur in groups. A space for a single corpse is hewn in the face of a rock and closed with a stone slab; this space was called a *kūk*, קוק (Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targumim*, 1886-1903, s.v.), by the Jews in later times. These are found grouped in one or more chambers in natural or artificial caves. One of the most interesting examples of such a burying-place is the cave of Machpelah, where Sarah, Abraham, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah, and Jacob are said to have been buried (Gn 23¹⁹ 25⁹ 49³¹ 50¹³). Masonry tombs with groups of *kūk*im are also found; and sometimes monuments were erected over tombs; for instance, Simon the Maccabee built an elaborate mausoleum at Modin for his father and brother (1 Mac 13²⁷⁻²⁹), no trace of which has yet been discovered.

In ancient times each family, like that of the patriarchs, had its own burying-place. Such burying-places would naturally be on the family estate. We read of Manasseh being buried in the garden of his own house, and Amon in the garden of Uzza (2 K 21^{18.26}). But usually the kings of Judah were buried in a royal burying-place in the city of David: e.g. Joash (2 K 12²¹), apparently near the Temple (Ezk 43⁷⁻⁹), the Temple being in ancient times an adjunct of the royal palace. Obviously dwellers in towns, who had not extensive gardens, would be required, as in later times, to bury their dead outside the walls. Poorer people would have no family burying-place, and we read of a public cemetery, 'the graves of the *bene hā'ām*' (2 K 23⁶, Jer 26²³). Apparently a measure of disgrace attached to burial there, 'in a pauper's grave,' so to speak.

The family desired to be together in death as in life, and men were anxious to 'sleep with their fathers,' i.e. to be buried in the family tomb. It is part of the punishment of Pashhur that he is to be buried in Chaldea (Jer 20⁶); and the Chronicler, in contradiction to the Book of Kings, states that certain wicked kings of Judah—Jehoram and Joash—were not buried in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Ch 21²⁰ 24²⁵). In post-Biblical times the Jews have had their own cemeteries. They still

retain their anxiety to be buried with their own people. Jews who are lax in many religious matters will keep the Day of Atonement in order that they may be buried in a Jewish cemetery.

A certain sanctity attached to the graves of ancient saints and heroes, and probably, as amongst the Muhammadans, such tombs became shrines; e.g. the tomb of Joseph at Shechem (Jos 24³²), and the tomb of the patriarchs at Machpelah. Necromancy and similar superstitions were often connected with graves (Is 65⁴).

On the other hand, the grave is unclean (Lk 11⁴⁴). In later times, at least, cemeteries were supposed to be special haunts of evil spirits; and the spirits of the dead lingered there, at any rate till the corpse had been assimilated to the soil. This belief, that the spirits of the dead inhabit the tombs, is found in most primitive religions, and was probably prevalent amongst the Israelites in early times.

3. Mourning and other observances.—Numerous passages illustrate the distress caused to the Jews by bereavement: the mourning of Jacob over the supposed death of Joseph (Gn 37³⁵); of David over Absalom (2 S 18³³); Rachel refusing to be comforted (Jer 31¹⁵). The behaviour of David, who fasted and wept when his child was dying, but arose and ate when it was dead, was a puzzle to his courtiers; his explanation, that lamentation was useless, hardly seems adequate (2 S 12^{16c}).

The feelings, sentiments, and ideas called forth by death gave rise to various burial and mourning customs. Decence was and is followed by the necessary arrangements for the seemingly 'laying out' of the corpse. The eyes and mouth are closed (Gn 46⁴, Jn 11⁴⁴), and the body is washed (Ac 9³⁷). It has been supposed that the dead were, sometimes at any rate, buried in their usual dress, with their arms and ornaments; Samuel appears to the witch of Endor in his mantle (1 S 28⁴), and the dead go down to Sheol with their weapons and their 'pomp' (תִּפְאָה). The practice certainly prevailed in later times. Thus Herod buried ornaments with the body of Aristobulus (Jos. *Ant.* xv. iii. 4); treasures were said to have been buried with David (XVI. vii. 1); Herod was buried covered with purple, with his diadem, crown, and sceptre (XVII. viii. 3; BJ I. xxxiii. 9). We are told that in later times such practices led to great extravagance, so that Rabbi Gamaliel II. ordained that corpses should be buried in a simple white dress. We read of Ananias, that they 'wrapped him round,' apparently in the clothes he was wearing, and carried him out, and buried him (Ac 5⁴).

Later on, the use of a shroud or special grave-clothes or wrappings for the dead became universal; but it is not clear when this custom was first introduced amongst the Jews. In Jn 11⁴⁴ Lazarus' hands and feet were bound with linen bandages (κεῖρα), and his face with a napkin (σινδύριον). The body of our Lord was wrapped in strips of linen (σθόλοι). We have already referred to the use of spices.

Coffins were not used by the Jews in ancient times, except in the case of Joseph (Gn 50²⁶), whose remains were placed in an 'āron, or chest; but this, like his embalming, was an Egyptian custom. The Jews laid their dead on a bier (OT *mitā*, מֵטָה, 'couch' [2 S 3²¹]; NT *σάβη* [Lk 7¹⁴]), as is the custom amongst Eastern Jews now. They use this bier to carry the corpse to the grave, and do not bury it.

The exigencies of the climate of Palestine called for burial soon after death, on the same day, or within 24 hours. As often, a natural necessity hardened into a sacred custom, which was long maintained amongst Jews in Western countries, where the same necessity did not exist; but after

¹ Cf. Sir C. Warren, in *HDB* II. 885.

a while it fell into disuse, and a longer interval is allowed in the West.

The carrying of the corpse to the burying-place was the work of friends of the deceased, and was the occasion of public lamentation, which, at any rate in the early centuries of our era, was partly performed by hired mourners and musicians. There does not seem to have been any formal burial service of a religious character in Biblical times,¹ but then and later funeral orations were sometimes delivered. According to *JE* (s.v. 'Funeral Rites,' v. 529), the mourners recited Ps 91 on their way to the cemetery; in the cemetery, other formulae, concluding with the *Kaddish*, or doxology; and on their return, passages from Lamentations. Women attended funerals in ancient times, and still do so amongst the foreign Ashkenazim, but not amongst the Sephardim or the English Ashkenazim.

The funeral of Herod the Great is thus described by Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. viii. 3; cf. *BJ* I. xxxiii. 9):

'The body was carried upon a golden bier, embroidered with very precious stones of great variety, and it was covered over with purple, as was the body itself: he had a diadem upon his head, and above it a crown of gold; he had also a sceptre in his right hand. About the bier were his sons and his numerous relations; next to these were the soldiery, distinguished according to their several countries and denominations; and they were put into the following order: first of all went his guards, then the band of Thracians, after them the Germans, next the band of Galatians, every one in their habiliments of war; and behind these marched the whole army, in the same manner as they used to go out to war, and as they used to be put in array by their muster-masters and centurions; these were followed by five hundred of his domestics, carrying spices.'

We may also quote the following description of modern Samaritan rites, which probably preserves many of the customs of Palestinian Jews in early times:

'Upon death the corpse is carefully and ceremoniously washed; it is not forbidden to the Samaritans, as has been frequently stated, to handle their dead, except in the case of the high-priest. Candles are burnt at the head and foot of the corpse before burial. Coffins are used—an exception in modern Palestinian custom. The mourning ceremonies last until the following Sabbath, the community going each day to the tomb, where they read and pray. On the Sabbath the community again visit the tomb, where they partake of a meal, while further appropriate services are held in the synagogue.'

The duration of mourning has always varied, according to the rank of the deceased and his relation to the mourner. Seven days was a very common period. The men of Jabesh-Gilead fasted seven days for Saul and Jonathan (1 S 31¹⁸); Joseph mourned seven days for Jacob (Gn 50¹⁰); Judith was mourned seven days (Jth 16²⁴); Sir 22¹² mentions seven days as the period of mourning. In later Judaism the period of strict mourning, the *Shi'ba*, lasts seven days; mourning of a less severe character lasts till the end of thirty days, and in the case of children to the end of the year.²

As to mourning-dress, the rendering of garments and the wearing of sackcloth are mentioned in Gn 37³⁴ etc. We also read of garments of widowhood (Gn 38¹⁴, Jth 10⁹), which apparently were worn by the widow throughout her life, and consisted of, or included, sackcloth. Modern Jews usually wear black as mourning, except in Russia, Poland, and Galicia, where white is worn.³ Mourners rend their garments at the time of death, and wear the outer garment cut and unbound during the thirty days of mourning.⁴

The presence of numerous guests at a funeral necessitated a special meal, 'funeral baked meats,' which, in spite of the character of the occasion, was apt to become a feast. This meal is perhaps spoken of in the OT as *lehem 'ontm*, 'bread of mourners' (Hos 9⁴), and was provided for the mourners by their friends at the close of the last

which occupied the day of the funeral (2 S 38⁵, Jer 16⁷)—a custom which seems to have prevailed ever since.¹

Other acts of mourning were fasting (1 S 31¹⁸), beating the breast (Is 32¹², cf. Lk 18⁴⁸), sitting in ashes (Jon 3⁶), sprinkling ashes on the head (Est 4¹). Ezk 24¹⁷ implies that mourners were wont to cover the lip and to go barefoot and bareheaded. According to Jer 16⁵, mourners mutilated themselves, and plucked out or shaved off the hair; but such practices are forbidden in Lv 19²⁸, Dt 14¹.

Traces remain in the OT of the worship of the dead, of sacrifices offered to or for them, and of furnishing them with food. Probably the later funeral feast was partly a survival of such practices. The worship of the dead was closely connected with necromancy, which was prevalent in Israel (e.g. Is 8¹⁹). The graves of ancient worthies seem often to have been shrines, as in Islam. Thus there was a *masgebā*, or sacred pillar, at the grave of Rachel (Gn 35²⁰), and the important sanctuary at Shechem may have been connected with the grave of Joseph (Jos 24^{26, 32}). The interpretation of Dt 26¹⁴ is a little doubtful. The EV renders '[I have not given food] for the dead,' but the reference probably is to offering food to the dead or providing food for them. The practice was condemned by official Judaism, but persisted nevertheless. Tobit 4¹⁷ bids the Jew place food on the tomb of the righteous;² and Sir 30¹⁸ also refers to the custom.³ In some quarters necromancy and its allied customs survived among the Jews in later periods.

In Rabbinical times and among the stricter modern Jews, during the *Shi'ba*, or seven days of strict mourning, the relatives abstain from work and remain at home, sitting on the floor or on a low bench, reading the Book of Job, and receiving visits of condolence. Bereaved children should abstain for a year from music and recreation.

A special feature of Jewish mourning is the repetition of the *Kaddish* by a bereaved son. According to the Jewish Prayer-book, this is to be repeated by sons for eleven months after the death of a parent, and also on the *Jahrzeit*, or anniversary of the death. It is a special form of *Kaddish* which runs thus:

'May His great Name be magnified and hallowed in the world which He created according to His will! May He establish His kingdom speedily and in the near future in your lifetime and in your days and in the lifetime of all Israel! Say ye Amen.

May His great Name be blessed for ever; may it be blessed for ever and ever!

May the Name of the Holy One (Blessed be He) be blessed and praised and glorified and exalted and set on high and honoured and uplifted and sung above all blessings and hymns and praises and consolations that are repeated in the world!

May the Name of the Lord be blessed from now even for evermore! May there be great peace from heaven and life upon us and upon all Israel, and say ye Amen. My help is from the Lord that made heaven and earth. May He that maketh peace in His high places make peace for us and for all Israel! And say ye Amen.'

This is publicly recited in the synagogue, but according to Oesterley and Box⁴ it 'is in no sense in itself a prayer for the dead, but the public recitation of it in this fashion by a son is regarded as a proof of the piety of the dead, as represented by a pious survivor.' This no doubt is the view of enlightened Jews; but others believe that the repetition of the *Kaddish* by the son shortens the purgatorial period which the father must spend in Gehenna or exalts him to a higher sphere in Paradise.⁵ The repetition terminates on the anniversary of the death, because it would be unfilial to suppose that a father's sins would require more than a

¹ Stapfer, *Palestine in the Time of Christ*, Eng. tr., Lond. 1887, p. 168.

² J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, Philad., 1907, p. 43 f.

³ Oesterley and Box, 307.

⁴ *JE*, s.v. 'Mourning,' ix. 101.

⁵ Oesterley and Box, 304 ff.

¹ Oesterley and Box, 304 ff.

² Sometimes interpreted, improbably, of the funeral feast given to mourners.

³ See Smend, 112 f.; Benzinger, 165 ff.; Nowack, II. 800; and Dillmann and Driver on Dt 24¹⁸.

⁴ P. 340.

⁵ *JE*, s.v. 'Kaddish' vii. 401 f.

year's purgatory. In the Ashkenazic synagogues prayers are said four times a year by the bereaved for the souls of the deceased.¹

Priests were forbidden to mourn except in the case of the nearest relationships (Lv 21¹⁻⁵, Ezk 44²⁰).

4. Significance of death and of funeral customs.

—Some scholars² see in many of the funeral rites, notably cutting of the hair, self-mutilation, etc., which were forbidden by the more advanced Judaism, traces of an animistic stage of the religion of Israel, of the worship of ancestors, and of the allied ideas of the continued life of the dead, of the possibility of communion with them, of the necessity of providing for their needs and protecting them from evil spirits; or, on the other hand, of the need of protecting the living from injury by the spirits of the dead. No doubt the Semitic peoples passed through a stage of religious development when such ideas were current; and these ideas persisted and do persist when they have been outgrown by the purer forms of religion; but they do not belong to Jahwism or to Judaism so far as either was or is dominated by revelation. Nevertheless, the great importance attached to burial in the last centuries of the pre-Christian era suggests that the condition of the spirit of the deceased was supposed to be influenced by the treatment of the corpse. Later on, in some districts the habit prevailed of visiting cemeteries in order to obtain the help or intercession of the dead.

Another quasi-animistic explanation of mourning rites which involve disfigurement, unattractive dress, covering the head, etc., is that they were intended to prevent the spirit of the dead man from recognizing the mourner, and so to protect the latter from any injury the spirit might wish to inflict upon him. Similarly, the mourners' shrieks were intended to drive the spirit away; and satisfactory burial was necessary in order that the dead might find their way to Sheol and stay there. The suggestion that many mourning rites were due to the anxiety of the mourner to humble himself before God³ hardly seems probable. The most obvious explanation is that mourning arose out of a natural desire to express the emotions caused by bereavement. Such distress gives rise to wailing, frantic gestures, neglect of the dress and person, an aversion to the pleasures of life. Acts which were originally spontaneous would soon harden into a fixed etiquette or ritual. Many customs might easily be thus explained; and it is possible that this may be the true explanation, even in cases where a mourning custom does not seem to us a natural expression of grief. A man distraught by sorrow may seek relief in any unexpected, strange, unusual act; such an act may appeal to the imagination of spectators by its very strangeness, and be imitated till it becomes a custom.

The contagious uncleanness of a corpse (Nu 5², Lv 21¹) might be suggested in many ways; by the fear of the spirit of the dead man mentioned above, by the natural shrinking from an object so changed from the living friend or kinsman, and even by sanitary reasons. The uncleanness of the corpse would naturally be extended to the tomb. In the same way an unburied corpse defiled the land and brought down a curse upon it (Dt 21²³). It would be a mistake to try to explain all the mourning customs, even of one people, by the consistent application of a single principle. Bereavement affects men in many ways, so that natural affection, practical considerations, superstition,

and religion all contribute to give rise to the ritual connected with death. Moreover, a rite changes its significance and value from time to time, so that the meaning attached to it in later times may be quite different from that which it had originally, and the popular explanation of it may throw no light on its origin.

According to Gn 3, death was a consequence of the sin of Adam and Eve (cf. Ro 5¹²); it would be natural to draw the conclusion arrived at in the latter passage, that henceforth each man died because of his own sin (a view perhaps implied by Nu 27³).¹ But the narrative in Genesis stands apart from the general course of OT thought, which regards death as the natural end of life. The righteous man, according to a widely prevalent view, enjoys a long and happy life, and is gathered to his fathers in a good old age. Some passages of the Wisdom Literature, even apart from any belief in a real future life, regard life as a burden and death as a boon (Job 7¹⁵, 16, Ec 1² 4², 8).

In some passages of OT, death is personified (e.g. Job 28²², Is 28¹⁸, Hab 2⁹). In others the term is extended to mean spiritual death; it doubtless includes physical death, but only as a part of a wider judgment which also involves separation from God and exclusion from the Kingdom. In such passages, as Schultz said, 'death includes everything which is a result of sin.'² This usage of the term is extended and developed in the later literature. Thus Philo: 'The death of the soul is the decay of virtue, the taking up of evil.'³

In later Judaism, death is regarded as atoning for the sin of the deceased. According to a popular superstition, the dead man suffers pain while his body is decaying in the grave, and this pain has an atoning value. But, apart from such ideas, we find the doctrine taught by Rabbinical and other authorities. Thus the Sephardic ritual for a dying man includes the following:

'Let my death be an atonement for all my sins, iniquities, and transgressions, wherein I have sinned, offended, and transgressed against Thee, from the day of my first existence; and let my portion be in the Garden of Eden.'⁴ Again we read: 'The Day of Atonement and death make atonement when accompanied with sincere repentance.'⁵

LITERATURE (in addition to works referred to in the body of the article; this list also gives the full titles of works referred to merely under authors' names).—H. Ewald, *The Antiquities of Israel*, Eng. tr., London, 1876, pp. 149, 163 ff.; J. Beninger, *Heb. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, p. 163 ff.; W. Nowack, *Lehrb. der heb. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, I. 193 ff., II. 273-280, 300 f.; H. Schultz, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr., Edin. 1892, II. 254, 313 ff.; A. Dillmann, *Handb. der AT Theol.*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 366-400; W. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 1894, pp. 235, 369, 373 f., 414 f.; R. Smend, *Lehrb. der AT Religionsgesch.*, Freiburg, 1896, pp. 112 ff., 327, 504 f.; J. Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade*, Munich, 1905, pp. 64, 116, 334, 568 ff.; A. P. Bender, 'Beliefs, Rites, and Customs of the Jews, connected with Death, Burial, and Mourning,' in *JQR*, 1894 ff.; W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, Lond. 1907, p. 303 ff.; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jewish Doctrine of Mediation*, do. 1910, p. 110; together with the articles on 'Burial,' 'Funeral Rites,' 'Kaddish,' 'Mourning,' 'Sepulchre,' 'Tomb,' etc., in *HDB*, *EBi*, *JE*, and the art. 'Trauergebräuche,' in *PRE*³.

W. H. BENNETT.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Muhammadan).—According to the Qur'ān, 'every soul must taste of death' (iii. 182); the difficulty as to those who may be alive at the Last Day is got over by the explanation that on the blast of the trumpet all 'shall expire, except those whom God pleases' (xxxix. 68), the exempted being possibly some of the greater angels (Baidāwī, etc., *in loc.*). Further, it is laid down that the exact hour of each person's death is foreordained (xvi.

¹ Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade*, 334; but probably the passage regards Zolophehad as involved in the sin of Israel in refusing to enter Canaan from Kadesh.

² *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr., II. 310, 316 ff.; cf. Bennett, 283; and see Ezk 20^{11, 28}.

³ *Legg. Allegor.* i. 33, quoted by Hughes, *Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Lit.*, Lond. 1909, p. 280.

⁴ Oesterley, p. 110.

⁵ Mish. Yoma, viii. 8, quoted by Bender, *JQR* vi. [1894] 66f

¹ Oesterley and Box, *loc. cit.*

² R. G. F. Schwalli, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, Giessen, 1892.

³ *PRE*³ xx. 86 f.

63). In the traditions, men are forbidden by the Prophet to wish for death, though to a believer it will be desirable. Whoso's last words are the *Kalima* (profession of faith, 'There is no god but God') will enter into paradise; and it is directed that this shall be recited in the presence of the dying, and the *Sūra Yā Sin* (Qur. xxxvi.) should be said over the dead. A fantastic tradition, given on the authority of Abū-Huraira, relates what Muhammad is supposed to have said about the passing of the soul. In the case of a believer, angels of mercy clad in white come and invite the soul to the rest which is with God, and the soul comes out with a delicious smell of musk, which the angels sniff with satisfaction; the soul is handed on from angel to angel, till it reaches the souls of the faithful, who rejoice and question it about those left behind on earth. But angels of wrath come to the dying infidel, and his soul departs with a bad smell, which disgusts them, and they bring it to the souls of the infidels. This idea is elaborated in other traditions, in which the soul of the righteous is said to issue forth like water from a skin, and the angel of death seizes it; but the angels in white snatch it from him and wrap it in a shroud with an odour of musk, and convey it on and on to the seventh heaven, where the believer's name is registered, after which it is returned to its body on the earth, to undergo the questioning of the grave. But the dying infidel is visited by black-faced angels, and the soul is drawn out like a hot spit out of wet wool which sticks to it, and is wrapped in sackcloth, smelling fetidly; and its name is written in hell (*sijjin*); and it is violently thrown down upon the earth, to be examined by the angels of the grave, as will be described later.

Meanwhile the body is treated with a ceremonial which varies little in different parts of the Muslim world, and is nearly the same for men and women. Precedents for most of the ritual are traced to traditions of the Prophet; but two customs—the wailing of women and the recital of praises of the dead—are observed in direct defiance of his commands. The dying man is turned to face the *qibla*, or direction of Mecca, and, as soon as his eyes are closed in death, the surrounding men ejaculate pious formulae and the women raise cries of lamentation (*wahwala*), the family calling upon the dead in such terms as 'O my master!' 'O my resource!' 'O my camel!' 'O my misfortune!' The clothes of the deceased are instantly changed, his jaw bound, and his legs tied; and he is covered with a sheet. Women friends, and sometimes professional 'keeners' (*naddāba*), with tambourines, join the mourners and cry, 'Alas for him!' If he was one of the *ʿulamā* of Cairo or some man of mark, his death would be announced from the minarets in the call known as the *Abrār* (from Qur. lxxvi. 5-9). The lamentations go on all night, if the death occurred in the evening, and a recitation of the Qur'an by hired *fiqis* takes place; but, if the death occurred in the morning, the burial follows on the same day, as, in addition to the rapid decomposition in a hot climate, there is often a superstitious dread of keeping a corpse all night in the house. The washing of the dead is done by a professional washer (*mughassil* or *ghassāl*), male or female according to the case, who brings a bench and bier, and does the work, often in a courtyard, with much reverence and decency, and with care in the disposal of the water, which people fear to touch; while the *fiqis* continue chanting in the next room. After a very elaborate washing, the nostrils and other orifices are stuffed with cotton, and the corpse is sprinkled with camphor, rosewater, and lote leaves (*nabq*), the feet tied together and hands laid on breast, and the grave clothes (*kafan*) put

on according to precise rules. Those vary from two or three pieces of cotton (or five for a woman), or a mere sack, in the case of the poor, to a series of layers of muslin, cotton, silk, and a Kashmir shawl, among the rich; and the fashions vary in different lands. Women usually have a long shift (*yalak*) added, and in India a coil (*damni*). White and green are the favourite colours for the *kafan*, or any colour but blue, but white alone is allowed in India. A shawl is thrown over the body when placed on the bier (*janāza* or *qandūq*). There is no coffin, and, of course, no priest.

The funeral or procession varies in different countries. In India, women do not attend as a rule, but they do in Bukhārā. In Egypt the cortège is often preceded by half a dozen poor men (*yamaniya*), blind by preference, walking in pairs and chanting the *Kalima*. After them come the male friends and relations, and perhaps some darwishes, especially if the deceased belonged to a darwish order. A few schoolboys follow, carrying a Qur'an on a desk, and chanting lively verses on the Day of Judgment and similar topics. Then comes the bier (which for women and children has a post [*shāhid*] at the head, covered with a shawl, and often adorned with gold ornaments, or, in the case of a boy, surmounted by a turban), carried head foremost at a brisk pace by friends, who relieve each other in turn. It is an act of merit for any passer-by to lend a hand or to follow the bier; and the Prophet made a point of always standing up when a bier was passing, and saying a prayer. The women walk behind the bier, with dishevelled hair, keening and shrieking, and the hired mourners swell the chorus and sound the praises of the dead, contrary to the Prophet's will. Blue headbands and handkerchiefs distinguish the women relations, who slap their faces and sometimes smear them with mud. There are some variations in the procession when the deceased is a woman. Rich people add camels to the procession, and hire *fiqis* to chant chapters of the Qur'an on the march, or members of religious orders carrying flags; and also sacrifice (*al-kaffāra*) a buffalo at the tomb for the benefit of the poor; whilst ladies riding the high ass often follow their female relations. If it be a saint (*walī*) who is being buried, the women raise joy-cries (*zaghārit*) instead of *wilwāl*, or keening; and, if these cries cease, the bier stops too; for saints are believed to be wilful and able to stop their bearers, and even to direct them to where they prefer to be buried. It is said to be useless to try to rush a saint's bier in a direction he does not like, but the somewhat bizarre device of turning the bier round rapidly several times has been found successful in confusing the corpse's sense of orientation (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* p. 518).

The ceremony at the mosque consists in laying the bier on the floor, right side towards Mecca, when a service of prayer is recited by an *imām* and his attendant *muballigh*, in the presence of the congregation of mourners and all who choose to attend, ranged in a prescribed order, ending with an appeal to the audience: 'Give your testimony concerning him,' and their reply: 'He was of the righteous.' The *fiqis* may then recite the *Fātiha*, etc., and the funeral goes on to the graveyard.

There a tomb has been prepared, of ample size, with an arched roof, so that the corpse may sit up at ease to answer the interrogatory of the examining angels, Munkar and Nakir, who will enter the tomb to question him as to his orthodoxy. If the replies are satisfactory, the grave will be enlarged to him, and a man with a beautiful countenance will appear to tell him: 'I am thy good deeds'; otherwise, a hideous face comes to represent

his evil deeds, and painful experiences ensue. The fear of 'the torment of the grave' is very real among Muslims.

The construction of tombs varies in different places, and no one pattern can be indicated. In Egypt, the entrance is at the foot, the side furthest from Mecca, and the tomb is often made to hold several bodies; but, if they are of opposite sexes, a partition is set up. Over the tomb is an oblong stone slab or brick monument (*tarkiya*), with an upright stone (*shāhid*) at head and foot. The inscription is on that at the head, which is often carved with a turban. A small chapel covered with a cupola is frequently built over the tombs of saints and other distinguished people, while the tomb-mosques of sultans and amirs are often beautiful examples of Saracenic art.

The body is lifted out of the bier and laid in the tomb, on its right side, with the face towards Mecca, propped in that position by bricks. Its bandages are untied, its Kashmir shawl rent, lest it should tempt grave-robbers, a little earth is sprinkled, ch. cxii. of the Qur'an, or xx. 57, is recited (but this was forbidden by the Wahhābīs and others), and the entrance is closed. There is no service at the grave; but, before leaving (unless the funeral be of a Mālikī), a *fiqi*, in the character of *mulaggin*, or tutor of the dead, sits before the tomb and tells the defunct the five correct answers to be given to the examining angels that night (the 'Night of Desolation,' *Lailat al-waqsha*) when they come and ask him his catechism: he must reply that his God is Allāh, his prophet Muḥammad, his religion Islām, his Bible the Qur'an, and his *qibla* the Ka'ba. The grave is left in solitude and the mourners depart, saying a *Fātiha* for the defunct and another for all the dead in the cemetery. Some *fiqis* take a repast in the room where the deceased died and recite ch. lxxvii. of the Qur'an, or perform the more elaborate ritual called the *Sabha*,

'Rosary,' in which a rosary of a thousand beads is used to count the thousands of repetitions of the *Kalima* and the hundreds of other formulæ repeated. This performance ends with one of the *fiqis* asking the others: 'Have ye transferred [the merit of] what ye have recited to the deceased?' and their answer: 'We have transferred it.'

Wailing is resumed by the women on the Thursdays of the first three weeks after the burial, and the men receive friends of the deceased in the house and hire *fiqis* to perform a *ḥatma* of the Qur'an; and on the Fridays following these three Thursdays the women visit the tomb and go through various rites, including the placing of a broken palm branch on the tomb and giving food to the poor; and the same is done on the Thursday and Friday completing or following the forty days after the funeral. Men do not display mourning in their dress, but women dye their veils and other gear dark blue, and sometimes smear the walls of their rooms, and even stain their hands and arms with the same indigo dye. They also disarrange their hair, and the furniture and carpets are upset in mourning for the head of the house.

LITERATURE.—The most minute account of all the ceremonies and processes used in regard to the disposal of the corpse is to be read in G. A. Herklots and Ja'far Sharif's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, London, 1832, ch. xxxviii.; the ceremonies after the funeral are described in ch. xxxix.; but a good deal of this account consists of details peculiar to the Muslims of Hindustān. The corresponding ceremonies observed in Egypt are described in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*², London, 1860, ch. xxviii., where also is a notice of a curious dance performed on the occasion of a death by the peasants of Upper Egypt. The Egyptian customs are similar to those observed in Syria and Turkey, though local differences of usage are to be noticed, a fairly detailed account of which for Turkey may be read in *The People of Turkey*, ed. S. Lane-Poole, London, 1878, li, 136-143. See also Hughes' *DI*, London, 1885, s.v. 'Burial' and 'Death,' where Herklots is conveniently abridged. The traditions of Muḥam-

mad on the subject are accessible to English readers in *Mishkāt al-Masābīh*, tr. Matthews, Calcutta, 1809, vol. i. pp. 355-403.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Parsi).—1. Before death.—When death approaches, one or two priests are summoned to make the dying person confess his sins. The *Patel*, or confession of sins, is recited for his benefit, and it is a meritorious act if he is able to join the priest in repeating the confession. According to the *Šād Dār* (xlv.), the man who 'accomplishes repentance' does not go to hell, but, having received his punishment at the end of the Chinvat bridge, is led to his place in heaven. In a case of urgency the short *Ashem-Vohū* (Ys. xxvii. 14) formula may suffice, and the Hātōkht Nask fragment (Yt. xxi. 14 f.) attributes a special value to the recital of *Ashem-Vohū* in the last moments of life. The *Šād Dār* adds (lxxx. 11) that it brings one who has deserved hell to the *Hamistakān* (the 'ever stationary' region between heaven and hell); one who has deserved the *Hamistakā* to heaven; and one who has deserved heaven to the highest paradise. The *tanu-peretha*, after whose death the *upaman*, 'waiting,' 'mourning,' of the relatives must be prolonged beyond the usual period (*Vend.* xii.), is explained by tradition as one who has died without *Patel* and without *Ashem-Vohū*. Sometimes a few drops of the consecrated *haoma* juice mingled with water are poured, if possible, into the mouth of the dying person, *haoma* being believed to produce immortality. Formerly this custom was more common; and it was also usual to drop into the mouth of the dying person a few grains of pomegranate, belonging to the holy ceremonies of the Parsi sacrifice.

2. Death.—According to *Vend.* v. 10, the ancient Zarathushtrians had special chambers or buildings (*kata*) for the dead—one for men, one for women, and one for children—in every house or in every village, and the common mortuary still exists amongst the Zarathushtrians of Persia and in the Mofussil towns of Gujārāt. In Bombay and other parts of India a special place in the house is prepared beforehand and washed clean in order to receive the dead body. The body is bathed all over and covered with a clean, but worn-out, white suit of cotton clothes, which must be destroyed and never used again after having served for this purpose (cf. *Vend.* v. 61, viii. 23-25). A relative girds the sacred cord round the body, reciting the *Ahura Mazda Khudān*, a short prayer in Pazand. The corpse is placed on the ground on a clean white sheet. Two relatives sit by his side keeping themselves in contact with him—a custom probably derived, like the *paivand* (see below) held by the watchers and the bearers of the corpse, from the idea of forming a bridge or a way for the soul. An *Ashem-Vohū* is recited close to the dead man's ear.

3. Impurity of the corpse.—The corpse is now supposed to be assailed by the corpse-demon, the *Druj Nasu*. According to *Vend.* vii. 1-5, the *druj* of the corpse rushes on the body from the north, in the shape of a fly, immediately after death in a case of natural death. But in a case of violent death (by dogs, or by the wolf, by the sorcerer, by an enemy, or by the hand of man, by falling from a mountain, by strangling oneself, or by treachery) the demon comes only in the *gāh* (one of the five divisions of the day) that follows after death. Only special despised officials, set apart for that purpose, are allowed actually to touch the body, and they must scrupulously observe certain fixed rules. If any one else happens to touch it, the contagion spreads to him, and he must undergo the great purification, *bar-*

ashnūm, for nine days (being washed with the urine of the cow, etc. [*Vend.* ix.]). The glance of a dog (see below) or other animal is considered to be particularly effective for driving away the corpse-demon.

In theory the old tabu ideas concerning the dead have been modified in a characteristic manner by the Avestan dualism. Thus, since the death of a Mazdayasnian implies a victory of the Evil Power, his body is unclean, but the corpse of an unbeliever is clean, because his death favours the cause of Ahura Mazda, and a wicked man defiles only during his life, not after his death (*Vend.* v. 36-38).

4. Isolation of the corpse.—The place of the two relatives waiting beside the body is next taken by the *nasu-kashas* of the Avesta, now called *khāndhya* ('shoulder-men') by the Parsis of India. Two of those funeral-servants prepare themselves by washing and by putting on clean suits of clothes and the sacred cord, and by reciting the *Srōsh-bāj* (on which see Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 686-688) up to the word *ashahē*. They then enter the room where the dead body is placed, keeping between them a piece of cloth or cotton tape—the *paivand*. They cover the body with cloth except the face—which, however, in some parts of Gujarāt is also covered—with a *padān* (the *paṭidāna* of the Avesta, a piece of white cotton stuff which the Parsi priest holds before his nose and mouth in order not to defile the sacred fire and the other pure things). Then the two *khāndhyas* lift the corpse on to slabs of stone placed in a corner of the room, its arms being folded across the chest. The face must not be turned towards the north, whence the demons proceed. In some districts of Gujarāt the old Avestan rule (*Vend.* viii. 8) is still observed of laying the body on a thin layer of sand in a cavity dug in the ground five inches deep, while in Yezd the corpse, after being lifted from the bier in the common mortuary, is placed 'on a raised platform of mud paved with stone, about nine feet long and four feet wide' (Jackson, *Persia*, p. 391). The place in which the body reposes is ritually separated from connexion with the living by three deep circles, *kasha*, drawn with a metallic bar or nail by one of the two *khāndhyas*, who afterwards leave the house, still making *paivand*, and finish their *Srōsh-bāj*.

5. The *sag-did*.—If possible, 'a four-eyed' (*cathecashma*) dog, i.e. a dog with two eye-like spots above the eyes, is now brought near the corpse in order to frighten the *druj* by his look, i.e. the *sag-did* ('dog-gaze') is arranged. According to *Vend.* viii. 16, a white dog with yellow ears has also a particular power against the demons, but any dog may suffice. The *sag-did* is repeated at the beginning of every *gāh*, until the body is carried from the house. The prescription of *Vend.* viii. 14-18 seems not to be observed nowadays, namely, that a yellow four-eyed dog or a white dog with yellow ears must be led three times if he walks willingly, six or nine times if he is unwilling, along the road where a corpse of a man or of a dog is carried, in order to scare away the corpse-demon. In Yezd the ordinary street-dog is used, and 'morsels of bread are strewn around the corpse, or, according to the older usage, laid on the bosom of the dead, and the dog eats these' (Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 389). Immediately before entering the *dakhma* ('tower of silence'), the dead body is once more exposed to the *sag-did*. The demon-expelling glance is attributed by *Vend.* vii. 3. 29 f., viii. 36, not only to the dog, but to 'the flesh-eating birds' as well as to 'the flesh-eating dogs.'

Those passages evidently refer to the moment when the animals, to which the body is exposed, rush on it to devour

it; but the eminent Parsi scholar J. J. Modi, to whom we principally owe our knowledge of the actual funeral ceremonies of the Parsis, interprets *Vend.* vii. 3 in the following way: 'It is enjoined that in case a dog is not procurable, the "Sagdeed" of flesh-devouring birds like the crows and vultures should be allowed, that is to say, it will do if a flesh-eating bird happens to pass and sees the corpse from above or if the flesh-eating birds fly in that direction' (*JASS* ii. 414).

6. Demon-frightening fire.—We return to the mortuary room, where, after the first *sag-did*, the demon-killing fire (*Vend.* viii. 80) is brought and fed with fragrant sandal-wood and frankincense, and where, until the body is removed, a priest recites the Avesta, keeping himself, as well as every other person, at least three paces from the dead body (*Vend.* viii. 7).

7. Time of removal.—The removal of the body must take place in the daytime, in order to expose it to the sun (*Vend.* v. 13). In ancient times the corpse might lie in the special mortuaries as long as one month or even until the next spring (*Vend.* v. 12). Now, in India, the body is removed the next morning, if death takes place early in the night; if a person dies late at night or early in the morning, the body is removed in the evening. In case of death by accident the body may wait longer.

8. Removal.—Two 'corpse-bearers' (*nasā-sālārs*), clothed in white, with 'hand-cover' (*dastānā*) on their hands, and making *paivand*, enter the house about one hour before their departure to the *dakhma*, carrying an iron bier (*gāhān*). They must be at least two in number (*Vend.* iii. 14), for a single man is not allowed to carry even the body of a child. Wood being more liable to infection, the bier must be of iron. It is placed beside the body. The corpse-bearers read the *Srōsh-bāj* up to the word *ashahē* (the remaining portion of that prayer is recited only when their operations relating to the corpse are finished), and add in a low voice: 'According to the dictates of Ahura Mazda, the dictates of the Amshaspands, the dictates of the holy Sraosh, the dictates of Aderbād-Mahrespand, the dictates of the Dastur of this time.' Then they sit silent, while two priests, having performed the *kosti* (cf. Darmesteter, *op. cit.* 685 f.) and repeated the special prayers of the *gāh*, enter the chamber, making *paivand*, put on their face-veils, 'take the *Srōsh-bāj*' (i.e. repeat it as far as *ashahē*), and commence the Ahunavaiti *Gāthā* (*Ys.* xxviii.-xxxiv.), keeping themselves near to the door or at least at a distance of three paces from the corpse. At the words of *Yasna* xxxi. 4: 'Seek thou for me, O Vohu Manah, the mighty Kingdom, through whose increase we may overcome the Druj,' they stop; the corpse-bearers lift the dead body on the bier, when the priests turn to the dead and finish the *Gāthā*, after which a new *sag-did* is performed. The moment is now come for relatives and friends, who have gathered in the house (or, in Yezd, in the common mortuary, the *zād-ō-marg*, 'birth and death,' or *purish-khānah*, 'inquiry house'), to have a last look at the deceased. They bow before the body, i.e. make the *sejdo*, before its face is covered up.

9. Funeral procession.—Having carried the body outside the house (according to *Vend.* viii. 10, the corpse should be removed through a breach specially made in the wall of the house, and in this connexion it is worthy of note that the Persian *zād-ō-marg* has two doors, the corpse being brought in by the one and carried out by the other), the *nasā-sālārs* entrust the bier to two or more *khāndyas* (who are also sometimes called *nasā-sālārs*) to bear it to the 'tower of silence.' Two priests walk in the front of the procession, at a distance of thirty paces after the bier, accompanied by relatives and friends, two abreast, clothed in white and making *paivand*. In Persia, however, the order

is different. There the procession is led by a man bearing a vase containing fire (and formerly also by a musician playing a doleful air), followed by the relatives and friends, the corpse, the priests, and additional members of the family of the deceased. Here, too, if the *dakhma* is far distant, the body may be conveyed on a cow or donkey (cf. the Pahlavi commentary on *Vend.* iii. 14), and the mourners may ride, though the priests are required to walk.

10. In the tower.—At the gate of the tower the bier is set down, the face is uncovered to let the accompanying procession pay their last respects to the dead from a distance of at least three paces, and once more the *sag-did* is performed. Now the two real *nasā-sālārs*, who had arranged the body on the bier in the house, and who alone are allowed to enter the tower (not wearing their usual clothes [*Vend.* viii. 10], but the so-called 'clothes of *dakhma*'), open its gate, which is closed with an iron lock, lift the bier, carry it into the tower, place the body, with the head toward the south (the auspicious quarter), on one of the beds of stone (*kesh*) arranged in concentric circles, rising like an amphitheatre, which are intended for receiving the bodies. These circles are separated by canals (*pavis*), a word which seems also to be used of the sections divided by the canals. They remove the clothes from the corpse, leaving it naked (*Vend.* vi. 51), and cast them into the central well, forming the middle of the tower, and surrounded by the amphitheatre-like circles of stone beds. The naked corpse may be left 'on the earth, on clay, bricks, and stone and mortar.' The vultures, Nature's scavengers, are already waiting, and in one or two hours they devour all that is corruptible of the body. Twice a year the *nasā-sālārs* throw the skeletons into the well, where sun, rain, and air soon reduce the whole to dust. The *Dinkart* to *Vend.* v. 14 considers the falling of the rain on the corpses in the *dakhmas* and on the impure liquids as a great advantage. Formerly the bones were preserved in an ossuary.

'Whither shall we carry the bones of the dead, Ahura Mazda? Where shall we place them?' Ahura Mazda answered: 'You may make a structure (*uz-dānem*) for them beyond the reach of the dog, of the fox, of the wolf, inaccessible to the rain from above. If the Mazdayasians are rich, they may construct it of stones, of plaster, or of earth. If they are not rich, they may place the dead on the ground in the light of heaven and looking towards the sun' (*Vend.* 49-51).

If, in Persia, a Zoroastrian community is too small to support a *dakhma*, the body 'is carried to some remote place in the hills or mountains, is then piled around with stones and covered with a slab, but not interred' (Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 394).

The *Dādistan* (xviii.), in the 9th cent. A.D., recommended collecting the bones and putting them in an *astōdān*, elevated above the ground and covered with a roof to preserve them from rain and from animals. These receptacles to protect the bones from the sun were made of two excavated stones, one forming the coffin, the other the cover. They might also be real monuments, perhaps corresponding to the caves of the Achæmenians at Naksh-i Rostam (Modi, 'An old Persian Coffin,' *JASB*, 1888; cf. Darmesteter, *op. cit.* p. 93, note 34). At the present day the bones of the dead are no longer preserved.

Vend. vi. 45, in directing the dead to be carried 'to the most elevated spots, where flesh-eating dogs and flesh-eating birds may most surely perceive it,' gave sanction to a primitive method of disposing of the dead, still practised, e.g., by the Kāfirs, who expose their dead in wooden coffins on the tops of the mountains (Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, i. 2, Leipzig, 1867, p. 520), by some wild tribes of India (Crooke, *JAI* xviii. [1899] 245 f.), and by the Massai, where a person dying without children is abandoned, some hundred yards outside the kraal, to the hyenas, whose speedy devouring of the corpse is considered a favourable sign (Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, p. 193). The Hawaiians threw their dead to the sharks, etc. (Segerstedt, *Le Monde oriental*, Upsala, 1910, iv. 2, p. 64). According to Strabo (p. 517; cf. Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*,

Riga, 1788, ii. iii. 71 f.), the Bactrians threw their sick and aged people to dogs, trained to devour them; the Caspians considered it more auspicious if birds devoured their dead exposed in the desert than if they were eaten by dogs or wild animals (cf. Marquart, *Philologus*, Supplem. x. [1907] i. 141).

11. *Dakhmas*.—Special constructions or towers (*dakhmas*), for exposing the corpses, are well known to the Avesta. They constitute the most awful and impure spots on the earth, and it is one of the greatest merits to demolish them when they have served their purpose, and thus restore the ground to cultivation (*Vend.* iii. 13, vii. 49-58). The construction of the actual 'towers of silence' used by the Parsis of India is accompanied by a series of religious ceremonies, the consecration lasting three days (Menant, *Les Parsis*, Paris, 1898, pp. 206-235, with plans and illustrations).

12. Dispersion of procession.—At every *dakhma* a kind of chapel (*sāgrī*) is built, to which the funeral procession retires while the *nasā-sālārs* do their work with the dead inside the tower. When the *nasā-sālārs* are ready, the assistants, gathered in the *sāgrī* or seated at some distance from the *dakhma*, get up and finish the *Srōsh-bāj*, which they had commenced before starting in the funeral procession. In concluding the *pāvand* they recite this prayer: 'We repent of all our sins. Our respects to the souls of the departed! We remember here the fravashis of the pious (departed).' They then take urine of the cow, wash the naked parts of their bodies, make the *kosti*, and repeat the *Patet*, mentioning the name of the departed at the end of the prayer, after which they return home and take a bath.

13. Ceremonies at home.—At home, immediately after the removal of the body, urine of the cow (*nirang*) is sprinkled over the slabs of stone on which the corpse was placed, and upon the road by which it was carried out of the house. All clothes, utensils, and other articles of furniture must be cleansed, principally by the same means—*gōmēz* (urine of the cow) and water—or rejected altogether, if they have come into any contact with the dead body. After the removal of the body, all the members of the family are required to take a bath.

In an ancient Iranian province, Harōiva (Harāt), the custom recorded from later times (Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, Amst. 1735, iii. 109), of abandoning the house to the dead, seems to have prevailed according to the *vish-hareznāna* of *Vend.* i. 9 (cf. N. Söderblom, *RHR* xxix. [1899] 256 ff.). The *Great Bundahishn* gives the following explanation of this custom: 'We keep the prescriptions (of removing the fire, the *barashnūm*, the cups, the *haoma*, and the mortar) during nine days (in the winter) or a month (in summer)' (cf. *Vend.* v. 39 ff.). 'They abandon the house and go away during nine days or a month' (Darmesteter, *op. cit.* p. 9, note 20). It may be that *upaman*, 'waiting' (*Vend.* v.) originally meant a temporary abandoning of the house. At present, in Bombay, all the members of the family have to take a bath after the removal of the body, and fragrant fire is burnt on the spot where the corpse was laid. During nine days in winter and one month in summer a lamp is kept burning on the same spot, and no one is allowed to go near it during that period. After its expiry the whole room is washed. The members of the family and also near friends abstain from meat during three days after the death.

We do not deal here with the festivals and gifts intended for the priest and for the poor after the death of a wealthy Parsi, or with the recital of several offices for his soul (see IMMORTALITY [Parsi]). The funeral expenses of an eminent Parsi gentleman who died in 1763 amounted to more than 738 ruzpes, which would mean more than double this sum at present (Bomanji Byramji Patel, *JASB* iii. 144 ff.).

14. Recent opposition.—In some circles of Parsi society the question of introducing a more hygienic

and less savage manner of disposing of the dead has of late been very eagerly agitated. Both burning and burying being prohibited because of the purity of fire and earth, it has been proposed to consume the corpse by electricity, and the exegetical question has been discussed whether such a method can be considered as burning or not. No change has been officially permitted as yet in the disposal of the dead, which shows the tenacity of custom, and maintains continuity with an immemorial antiquity.

LITERATURE.—J. J. Modi, 'On the Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation,' in *JASB* ii. (1892); J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 146 ff., Paris, 1892; D. Menant, *Les Parsis*, Paris, 1898; D. F. Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, i. 192 ff., London, 1884; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 887-894, London, 1906; Khudayar Sheheryar, 'A Zoroastrian Death in Persia' (in Gujarati), in *Zartosti*, i. 169-181.

NATHAN SÖDERBLOM.

15. Ancient Persian rites.—In ancient Persia, before the spread of Zoroastrianism, the means of disposal of the dead were quite different from those observed by the adherents of the great Iranian religious leader. Attention has already been called, in § 10, to the Bactrian custom of leaving the sick and the aged to be devoured by dogs—a practice recorded not only by Strabo (p. 517), but by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* i. 45) and by Eusebius (*Præp. evang.* i. iv. 7). Both Herodotus (i. 140) and Strabo (p. 735) expressly state that, while the Magi exposed their dead to dogs or birds (as the Avesta enjoins), the Persians interred the dead body after coating it with wax (*κατακρῶσαντες δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν Πέρσαι γῇ κρῶνται*). It was, therefore, rank blasphemy (*ὄλεθ' ὄσια*) when Cambyzes ordered the corpse of Amasis to be cremated (Herodotus, iii. 16); and it is very doubtful whether any credence can be given to Xenophon's account (*Cyropæd.* viii. vii. 25) of the request of the dying Cyrus—'Put my body, my children, when I die, neither in gold nor in silver nor in anything else, but commit it to the earth as soon as may be (*τῇ γῇ ὡς τάχιστα ἀπδοτε*). For what is more blessed than this, to be mingled with the earth (*γῇ μυχθῆναι*)?'—since this last phrase would seem to exclude any coating of the body with wax. Equal suspicion seems to attach to Xenophon's story (*ib.* vii. 3) of the death of Abades, for whom a grave was prepared, and whose dead head was held on her lap by his wife, whose corpse, after her suicide, and his were both covered over by her nurse before burial. Ctesias, however, who is much more reliable than his ancient contemporaries would allow, may be right when he states (*Pers.* 59) that Parysatis buried the head and right hand of Cyrus the Younger, for here the wax coating may perhaps have been employed.

Unfortunately, our sole information on this subject must thus far be gleaned from the meagre statements of the classics. If we may judge from the tombs of the Achæmenians, their bodies were not exposed as Zoroastrianism dictated; but it is by no means impossible that they were coated with wax, or even, as Jackson also suggests (*Persia Past and Present*, p. 285), 'perhaps embalmed after the manner of the Egyptians.' According to Arrian (*Anab.* vi. xxix. 4-11), the body (*σῶμα*) of Cyrus was laid in a coffin of gold (*πύλον χρυσοῦν*; cf. Jackson, *loc. cit.* and p. 304 f., for further references).

All this was, of course, changed when Persia definitely became Zoroastrian. In his account of the obsequies of Mermeroes († A.D. 554), Agathias (*Hist.* ii. xix. 22) recognizes only the usage of the Avesta (with the addition of the exposure of the sick while still living), and he expressly says that the Persians could not place the dead in a coffin (*θήκη*) or urn (*ἀρνάκι*), or bury in the earth (*τῇ γῇ καταχωρῶνται*); and the 5th cent. Sasanian monarch

Kobad demanded, though without success, that the Christian Iberian ruler Gurgenes should adopt the Persian custom of exposing the dead to birds and dogs, instead of burying them (Procopius, *de Bell. Pers.* i. 12).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the previous section, reference may also be made to Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, n. iii. 9 f., 571, 144, Riga, 1783; Brisson, *de Regio Persarum principatu*, ed. Lederlein, p. 619 ff., Strassburg, 1710; Rapp, *ZDMG* xx. [1866] 53-56.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Roman).—As in other lands and in other times, so also among the ancient Romans the customs attendant upon death and burial varied so considerably according to wealth, rank, occupation, nationality, religion, place, and period that no single succession of circumstances may be taken as typical, and great caution must be exercised in dealing with the scattered and fragmentary evidence on the subject, in order to avoid confusing the particular with the universal, or attributing to one period the customs peculiar to another.

The greater part of our evidence having to do with the upper classes during the late Republic and early Empire, it will be best to re-construct, as a nucleus around which to build up an account of burial customs in general, a typical instance of the death and burial of a Roman grandee of the 1st cent. of the Empire.

As the man breathes his last, the assembled relatives loudly and repeatedly call out his name in the *conclamatio*—a more or less formalized expression of grief which is probably reminiscent of primitive attempts to wake the dead back to life; and perhaps the nearest of kin kisses him, as if to catch and preserve in the family line the last breath. After the formal announcement '*conclamatum est*,' the eyes are closed, and the usual bathing and anointing, perhaps embalming, take place, performed by one of the household, or by the professional *libitinarius* or *pollinctor*. The body is composed, arrayed in the toga—the full dress of antiquity—ornamented with all the insignia won during the dead man's career, and placed in state on the *lectus funebris* in the *atrium*, or main chamber of the house, with the feet towards the street-door. There are also flowers, *coronæ* of honour, and burning censers supported on candelabra. Near by are attendants, among them being sometimes included paid mourners who chant the funeral wail. [These details may be seen in the Lateran Museum on the tomb relief of the Haterii, a family of considerable importance during the latter part of the 1st century.] Possibly a coin is placed in the mouth as passage-money across the Styx—a custom always in vogue to some extent. A wax impression of the face is then taken, afterwards to occupy its niche in the *ala*, a state room off the *atrium*, along with the masks (*imagines*) of the ancestral line, and to be supplied with the appropriate inscription, or *titulus*, recording the name, years, offices, and deeds of the dead. Outside, the fact of death is made known, and the proper safeguard taken against chance religious or social impropriety, by the hanging of a cypress- or pine-branch at the entrance of the house.

In due time, which in ordinary cases is as soon as arrangements can be made, and in funerals of state from three to seven days, the last ceremonies take place. Criers go through the streets announcing its coming occurrence in the ancient formula: '*Ollus Quirīs leto datus. Esequias, quibus est commodum, ire iam tempus est. Ollus ex aedibus effertur*' ('This citizen has been given over to death. His obsequies those who find it convenient may now attend. He is being carried forth from his dwelling'). Under the supervision of the *designator* and his attendant lictors, the stately

funeral-train takes form and moves: musicians, and perhaps paid singers; dancers and pantomimists, who jest freely, sometimes impersonating in humorous wise even the deceased; a succession of cars, at times amounting to hundreds (six hundred at the funeral of Marcellus), on which sit actors dressed to impersonate the long line of the dead man's ancestors, wearing their death-masks, now taken from the niches in the *alae*, and accompanied by lictors, as in life—symbolically conducting the most recent of the family line to take his place with his forefathers in the lower world; a display of the dead man's memorials—trophies, horses, dogs, insignia, painted representations of his exploits—after the manner of a triumph; more lictors, with down-pointed *fascēs*, reminiscent of olden-time burial by night; and then, high on a funeral car, the dead himself, with face exposed to the sky, or enclosed in a casket and represented by a realistic figure clad in his clothes and death-mask; the immediate mourners—sons with veiled heads, daughters bareheaded with flowing hair; and finally the general public, not without demonstration. On both sides, as the procession passes, is the Roman populace, pressing to the line, and climbing up

‘To towers and windows, yea, to chimney tops,’

to witness what must have been one of the greatest spectacles of all time.

Arrived at the Forum, the great centre of civic life, the dead is carried to the Rostra, on which, surrounded by his ghostly ancestry, he lies while his nearest relative delivers over him the *laudatio*, a formal and often extravagant glorification of the deceased and his forefathers which is preserved among the family archives, and whose uncritical use will do so much to falsify or distort Roman history. The procession then forms again, resumes its way, and passes through the city-gate to the destined place of cremation or inhumation at one of the great *mausolea*, such as that of Augustus, at the north end of the Campus Martius, or in one of the long lines of lots which border the high road. Here the dead, with ornaments, weapons, and other possessions dear in life, together with many memorials brought by friends and relatives, is placed upon an elaborate pyre, to which, with averted face, the nearest relative or friend, or some civic dignitary, applies the torch. As the flames rise to the summit of the pyre, perhaps they liberate from his lightly fastened cage an eagle, which soars aloft—the symbol of the spirit of the dead setting out for its home among the immortals. The embers are quenched with water or wine, the final farewell (another *conclamatio*) is uttered, and all return to the city except the immediate relatives, who collect the ashes of the departed in a napkin, bury the *os resectum* (see below) to preserve the form of earth-burial, perform a purificatory sacrifice, and partake of the funeral-meal in the family tomb-chapel.

There follow nine days of mourning, on one of which the now dry ashes are enclosed in an urn of marble or metal, and carried by a member of the family, barefooted and ungirdled, to their final resting-place in the tomb-chamber. At the end of this period, the *sacrum novendiale*, a feast to the dead, is celebrated at the tomb, and a funeral-banquet is held at the home. Mourning continues ten months for husbands, wives, parents, adult sons and daughters, eight months for other adult relatives, and in the case of children for as many months as they have years. Memorial festivals, which partake of the nature of a communion, are celebrated on Feb. 13-21, the *Parentalia*, or pagan All-Souls' Day; again on the birth or burial anniversary; and again at the end of March and May, the *Violaria* and *Rosaria*, when violets and roses are profusely distributed, lamps lighted in the tomb-

chambers, funeral-banquets held, and offerings made to the gods and to the *manes*, or spirits of the dead.

Such a funeral, though not unfamiliar to the Roman people, was the exception rather than the rule. The imposing nature of the whole—the splendour of its appointments, the dignity of the participants, the impressiveness of the stately train, with its hundreds of impersonated prætorians and consulars, traversing the principal thoroughfares between thronging spectators—may best be compared with the funerals of Italian royalty in modern times, though the latter probably fall far short of the magnificence of the ancient ceremony.

The funerals of middle and lower class people, and of most of the upper class, were less ostentatious, and unaccompanied by the *laudatio*, the display of death-masks, and the paraphernalia of wealth. Children, citizens of the lowest class, and slaves were carried to their last rest without public procession, and with few formalities.

Unlike modern burial-places, the Roman cemeteries were not public communal enclosures set apart by themselves, but were situated along the great highways that led from the city-gates, and took the form of a very long and narrow series of private holdings, whose front, occupied by imposing monuments, bordered immediately on the road. All streets leading from Rome had their tombs, and the location of sepulchres along them in the country also, on landed estates, was frequent. Most prominent among the highway cemeteries at Rome were the Via Flaminia and the Via Salaria on the north, the Tiburtina and the Prænestina on the east, the Latina and the Appia on the south, and the Aurelia on the west. Most magnificent of all was the Appian Way, *Regina Viarum*, which still displays almost unbroken lines of tomb-ruins from its issue at the old Servian Porta Capena to the Alban Mount, fourteen miles away. Among its two hundred or more larger monuments, displaying great variety of architecture and ornamentation, are to be seen most of the types of the Roman tomb: the *mausoleum*, round, and probably once with conical summit, copied and named after the tomb of Mausolus, the king of Icaria, who died about 351 B.C.; the *tumulus*, a conical mound heaped over the body or ashes of the dead, also reminiscent of Asia; the tomb above ground; the tomb excavated in the tufa bed of the Campagna; the combination of both, with tomb below and chamber above; the *columbarium*, for the reception of the cremated dead of burial-associations; the chambers in series called ‘catacombs’ (*q.v.*). Burial lots were marked by boundary stones, inscribed with measurements: e.g. ‘*in fronte p. xvi. in agro p. xxii.*’ (‘frontage, 16 ft., depth, 22 ft.’). Threats and curses were frequently added to safeguard the area and monuments against violation or profanation. The more pretentious areas were great family burial-places, where were laid to rest all the members of a gens, or branch of a gens, including its freedmen and slaves, and sometimes even clients and friends. Such a burial-place might include a generous plot of ground, with an area before the tomb, a garden behind, an *ustrina*, or crematory, *edicula*, or shrines with statues of the dead, banquet-room for anniversary use, pavilion, well, and custodian's quarters. The epitaphs, incised upon slabs let into the front of the monument, or on tombstones at the graves of individuals, or near the remains inside the vault, are characterized by great variety of content and expression. Name, parentage, public offices, and an accurate statement of the length of life are found in most of them, without dates of death and birth. A type may be seen in that of Minucia, the daughter of Fundanus, whose death is the subject of Pliny's *Ep.* v. 16:

'D. M. Minuciae Marcellae Fundani F. Vix. A. XII., M. XI., D. VII.' ('To the Departed Spirit [*Dis Manibus*] of Minucia Marcella, the Daughter of Fundanus, who lived 12 years, 11 months, and 7 days') (*CIL* vi. 16631).

A portrait-bust sometimes accompanied the epitaph, and it was not infrequent for the inscription to be in the form of an address to the passer-by from the mouth of the departed, as the quaint archaistic one of Marcus Cæcilius, which lies by the Appian Way (*CIL* i. 1006):

'Hoc est factum monumentum Maarco Caicillio.
Hospes, gratum est quom apud meas restititæ seedes.
Bene remi geras et valeas; dormias sine cura.'

('This monument is erected to Marcus Cæcilius. Stranger, it gives me pleasure that you have stopped at my resting-place. Good fortune attend you, and fare you well; may you sleep without care.')

Such appeals as this upon stones, the use of portrait-sculpture, and the custom of roadside burial illustrate the Roman yearning for continued participation in the affairs of the living, and an instinctive conviction as to future existence.

Among the lower classes, especially freedmen and the labouring part of the population, a most popular form of tomb was the *columbarium*, so named because of its resemblance to a dove-cot. Long narrow vaults were either built above ground or excavated in the tufa, and in their walls were formed numerous compact rows of niches, each of a size barely large enough to receive an urn containing the ashes of one person, whose identity was made known by a *titulus* upon a slab below the urn, or on the urn itself, sometimes accompanied by a small portrait-bust. One of these *columbaria* on the Via Appia, from which three hundred *tituli* have been preserved, was for the use of the freedmen of Augustus and Livia. Such tombs were sometimes given as benevolences, and sometimes erected by speculators, but it was more usual for them to be constructed, or at least managed, by *collegia funeraticia*, co-operative funeral associations, which sold stock, assessed regular dues, and paid benefits, thus ensuring their members proper disposition after death. They were administered by *curatores*, who divided and assigned the space by lot to the shareholders, who might in turn sell their holdings.

The lot of the ordinary slave and the very poorest class of citizens was less fortunate. Outside the line of the Servian Wall, where it crossed the plateau of the Esquiline, there existed, down to the time of Horace (when it was covered with earth and transformed into the Gardens of Mæcenas), a great burial-ground which might be called 'the potter's field' of Rome. Here, as shown by excavations made from 1872 onwards, was an area of irregular dimensions extending a mile or more along the wall, from near the present railway-station on the north-east to the Lateran on the south-east, which had served as a necropolis from time immemorial, and was the burial-ground to which Horace made reference in *Sat.* i. viii. 8-16:

'Huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis
Conservus villi portanda locabat in arca;
Hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulchrum,
Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti.
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet Esquilis habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatium, quo modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum'

('Hither, of yore, their fellow-slave contracted to carry in their cheap coffins the dead sent forth from their narrow dwellings; here lay the common sepulchre of the wretched *plebs*, for Pantolabus the knave, and Nomentanus the ne'er-do-weel. A thousand feet front, three hundred feet deep were the limits; the monument not to follow the heirs. To-day you may dwell on a healthful Esquiline, and take walks on the sunny *agger*, where but now your sad gaze rested upon a field ugly with whitening bones').

The reference in the above lines to the cheap coffins, the slave hiring, the contrast between the gloomy bone-strewn Esquiline of former days and

the healthful gardens of the present, and the sardonic allusion to the *cippus* as the one monument of a whole city of wretched poor constitute an eloquent comment on the mortuary destiny of the lowest class, though to interpret literally the poet's mention of whitening bones seems unnecessary. Excavation has revealed pit-graves 13 to 16 ft. square and of great depth, in which the bodies of the criminal and otherwise unfortunate were deposited one above the other, unburned, and with little ceremony.

Cremation and inhumation existed side by side throughout the pagan period. The earliest cemeteries—the lowest stratum of that on the Esquiline, and the necropolis recently (1902) excavated on the Sacred Way near the Forum—contain both cinerary urns and sarcophagi, the latter being sometimes made of hollowed tree-trunks. The later strata on the Esquiline also contain both. The Cornelian gens held to earth-burial until Sulla chose cremation as a measure of safety. The tomb-chambers of the Scipios, a branch of the Cornelian gens, on the Appian Way inside the Wall of Aurelian, were filled with sarcophagi containing unburned dead; and in many large tombs the heads of families were laid away in sarcophagi, while the cremated remains of their freedmen and the humbler members of the household were deposited about them in the same chamber. Inhumation, as the cheaper and more natural method, seems to have been the earlier, basic, and popular custom; even in Augustan times, when cremation was as nearly universal as it ever became, it was the custom to perform at least a symbolical burial of the body by the interment of a small part of it, the *os resectum*, usually a joint of the little finger.

The foregoing account of death and burial has to do principally with the 1st cent. A.D. and with the city of Rome. Naturally, there were variations in detail before and after this period; e.g. burial by night was the practice of earlier times, and was prescribed again by Julian, on the ground of inconvenience to urban business caused by diurnal rites; the cemeteries of the earliest times were less distant from the heart of the city, by reason of the lesser circumference of the primitive walls, each successive fortification carrying the line of tombs farther out because of the law forbidding burial within the city limit; there was less of both display and poverty before the rise of the Empire; sumptuary laws governing funerals were known from the first centuries of the city; the employment of chambers and galleries excavated in the bed of the Campagna, long known on a small scale, grew much more general and extensive after the rise of Christian Rome, developing into the great communal burying-places called 'catacombs'; cremation died out because of its expensiveness and the influence of belief in the resurrection. As to other cities, practice there was essentially the same as at Rome; and in small towns in the country a great deal of conservatism no doubt obtained, manifest in the retention of customs long after they had gone out in the capital.

All periods of the history of Roman burial, however, are unified by the belief in the continued existence of the dead, and in his ghostly participation in the life of the family and community, and by the consequent scrupulous care about proper burial, and the maintenance of right relations with the spirits of dead ancestors. The quick and the dead of ancient Rome were in a more than usually intimate communion.

LITERATURE.—The appropriate chapters in S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, Boston, 1911; J. H. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, London, 1892; J. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, Leipzig, 1886; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des ant. gr. et rom.*, Paris, 1878 ff. s.v. 'Funus.'

GRANT SHOWERMAN

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Slavic).—The subject of death and the disposal of the dead, so far as the Slavic peoples are concerned, was discussed with considerable fullness in the art. *ARYAN RELIGION*, vol. ii. p. 11^b ff. It cannot be doubted that the primitive conditions in this particular phase of human life, though to some extent overlaid with a dressing of Christian thought and practice, have been maintained most faithfully among the peoples in question, and it was therefore quite natural that the writer of that article should begin with Slavic ideas and customs, so that, by comparing these with the corresponding phenomena among the linguistically allied races, viz. the Indian, Iranian, Greek, Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, and Lithuanian, he might carry his investigation back to the so-called Aryan period. There is consequently no need to cover the same ground again, but it may not be out of place to record here such facts as have emerged, or have come to the writer's knowledge, since the appearance of the article referred to. We shall arrange these fresh data under five heads.

1. Burial and burning of the corpse (cf. *ARYAN RELIGION*, vol. ii. p. 16 f.).—In the early historical period, as was shown in the passage cited, both of these methods were in operation—probably simultaneously—among the Slavs, and, as recent archaeological investigation shows, they prevailed also in the pre-historic age. With reference to *burial*, there has recently come to light a most remarkable correspondence between Middle Germany and Southern Russia in regard to the practice of constructing the tomb in the form of a hut.

At Leubingen, a station on the railway from Erfurt (Thuringia) to Sangerhausen, and not far from Sömmerda, there is a now celebrated sepulchral mound, which has been excavated by Prof. Klopffleisch, a long misunderstood pioneer in the study of primitive history. Near Helmsdorf, again, a village at no great distance from Leubingen, in the so-called Mannsfeld Seekreis, another mound, similar in many respects to that at Leubingen, was recently opened (cf. P. Höfer, in *Jahresschr. f. d. Vorgesch. d. sächs.-thüring. Länder*, v. [Halle, 1906]; and H. Grössler, *ib.* vi. [1907]). In each case the remains (which in the mound at Leubingen lay upon a flooring of wood, and in that near Helmsdorf in a bed-shaped chest of hewn timber) had been arched over by an actual wooden hut of excellent workmanship, with a steep roofing, the planks of which in the Leubingen example were thatched with reeds. The remains found at Leubingen were those of an elderly man, across whose breast had been laid the body of a girl some ten years old, while the Helmsdorf mound, to all appearance, contained but a single body, in a doubled-up position. The objects found beside the dead in both cases—bronze axes, dagger-rods and daggers, small chisels, a diorite hammer, and also numerous ornaments in gold, such as armlets, pins, spiral rings and bracelets—point to the Bronze Age (c. 1500 B.C. ?), and also show that the dead had been persons of rank. In a dense layer of ashes under the chest in the Helmsdorf mound were found the skeletons of two men, who had doubtless been given to the dead as his servants. But the most interesting feature of either barrow is unquestionably the wooden hut, designed unmistakably to provide a house for the dead.

Now, although students of pre-historic times are as yet unaware of the fact, similar, and, indeed, almost identical erections are found in great profusion in the Russian *kurgans*, i.e. the sepulchral mounds which lend a picturesque variety to the monotony of the Steppes in the districts to the north of the Black Sea. These erections are met with, moreover, not only in the *kurgans* con-

structed by the Scythian tribes who once dominated that region, but also in those dating from the earlier epochs, which in so many respects still require investigation. It will be to the purpose, therefore, to give a relatively full description of a single specimen of the South-Russian burial-huts—that, namely, discovered in 1903 by V. A. Gorodtsov in a *kurgan* situated in the Government of Ekaterinoslav, and dating, according to its discoverer, from the close of the second millennium B.C. (cf. *Results of the Archaeological Excavations in the District of Bachmut in the Government of Ekaterinoslav in 1903* ([Russ.], Moscow, 1907, p. 152 ff.). In the heart of the *kurgan* was a spacious square cavity, on the floor of which rested a framework box of thick oak boards—some kind of coffin. Between the walls of the cavity and the box, on the east side, lay a red-coloured jar and a cow's head, while each of the four corners of the cavity contained a cow's foot. Inside the box was the doubled-up skeleton of a woman, lying on its left side, with the head turned towards the north-east, and the wrists under the face. At the neck of the skeleton were found small fragments of bronze beads or other ornaments of the kind. In front of the face stood an earthen vessel; and before the breast were a number of rattles, which had been cut from the backbone of an animal. The skeleton lay on chalky earth, but the skull had a pillow of rushes. The most striking feature of this burial vault, however, is the hut erected over the chest. This hut was supported by two posts fixed in roundish holes at the head and feet of the skeleton, but outside the box in which it lay. The post supported a beam, which had branches leaning against it on either side, so forming the sloping framework of the roof; the branches, again, were covered with reeds. Upon the roof-beam stood a number of pots upside down, and also a badly-weathered quern of sandstone. Above these was a layer of ashes, containing a cow's head, four cow's legs, a large pot with a dimpled ornamentation at its neck and a perforated bottom, incinerated bones, and a whetstone.

As bearing upon the primitive history of Russia, and even of Europe, however, these discoveries are surpassed in importance by the places for the cremation of corpses—perhaps the oldest in Europe—which have been discovered in the valleys of the Dniester and the Dnieper, to the east of the Carpathians, and at no remote distance from the localities above referred to. These places for cremation date, for the most part, from a late Neolithic civilization, which yields little of importance, but in their pottery they furnish a new factor in the cultural development of Europe, extending, as it does, towards the west, across Southern Russia and Bessarabia, and to the north of the Balkan Peninsula. Among its characteristic products are magnificently painted vessels, with plastic decorations of bulls' heads and the like, and numerous idols, mainly representing women and cattle.

The last-mentioned discoveries are due in the main to the researches of Chvojko, of Kiev (*Papers of the XIth Archaeol. Congress at Kiev* [Russ.], i.; also *Antiquités de la région du Dnieper* [Collection B. Khanenko, première livraison, Kiev, 1899], and [for Bessarabia] v. Stern ('The "pre-Mycenaean" Civilization in Southern Russia,' in *Papers of the XIIth Archaeol. Congress in Ekaterinoslav* [Russ.], i.), and they have been critically examined by E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, i.² (Stuttgart, 1909) 741 ff. But we are not yet in a position to identify with certainty the peoples from whom emanated the civilizations thus traced at Tripolje, to the south of Kiev, and at Petreny, in Bessarabia.

2. The funeral procession (cf. art. *ARYAN*

RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 20).—In the passage cited we were able to indicate that the practice of bearing the dead to the grave on sledges, even in summer, once prevailed in certain parts of Russia. In an exhaustive work shortly referred to in that passage (viz. 'Sledge, Boat, and Horse as Accessories of Burial Ritual' [Russ.], vol. xvi. of the Moscow *Drevnosti*), Anučin has conclusively proved that in ancient Russia the dead were often, even in summer, conveyed to the grave on sledges, which, however, might be either *driven* or *carried*. The former method is illustrated by a picture in the Sylvester MS ('Conveyance of the Remains of St. Glebu by Sledge to the new Church'); the latter by a picture in the Sylvester MS of SS. Boris and Glebu ('Conveyance of the Corpse of Prince St. Boris by Sledge'). But, as the use of the sledge in funeral obsequies is also found, according to Anučin, among many Finnish tribes, and as to this day the funeral-sledge often supersedes the waggon—even in the finest season of the year—in the north-east of Europe, it is safe to conjecture that the Russians had adopted the practice from the East European peoples with whom they mingled as they spread towards the north-east. Traces of funeral-sledges are likewise found in Egypt, while Lycian grave-stones sometimes exhibit houses resting upon sledge-runners (cf. R. Meringer [*Indogerm. Forschungen*, xix. [1905] 409).

3. The gifts to the dead (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 20 ff.).—Just as we read in the *Iliad* (xxiii. 17 ff.) that the four-horse team of Patroclus was burned upon his funeral-pyre, in Herodotus (iv. 71 f.) that large numbers of horses were buried with the Scythian kings, and in Tacitus (*Germ.* 27) 'quorundam [the Germans] igni et equis adicitur'; so from the Russian *byliny*, or histories, we learn that men were interred with their horses, and sometimes even upon horseback. The burial of Bogatyri Potok Mikhail Ivanovič, for example, is thus described:

'Then they began to dig a grave there;
They hollowed out a grave deep and large:
A deep one, some twenty fathoms wide.
And then was Potok Mikhail Ivanovič,
With his steed and harness of war,
Lowered into the deep grave.
And they covered it with a roofing of oak,
And strewed it with yellow sand.

(Anučin, *loc. cit.*)

4. The funeral feast (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 20^b): attentions paid to the dead after the funeral rites (Ancestor-worship) (*ib.* 23 ff.).—The various facts—and especially those referring to the White Russians—set forth in the paragraphs cited have meanwhile been largely supplemented from various quarters of the Slavic world. This fresh information is supplied by Matthias Murko in an art. entitled 'Das Grab als Tisch,' in *Wörter und Sachen: Kulturhist. Ztschr. f. Sprach- u. Sachforschung*, ed. R. Meringer, etc., ii. 1, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 79 ff. The first three chapters of this most instructive essay deal respectively with the following subjects: (1) funeral repasts of the Slavs at the burial-place after the interment; (2) sepulchral meals of the Slavs at the graves of individuals; and (3) sepulchral meals on the all-souls'-days and at the ancestral feasts of the Slavs, and meals for the dead among aliens in Russia. That Murko is in this field of inquiry essentially at one with the present writer appears, e.g., from his remarks on p. 110:

'For experts in this study, it will not be necessary that I should emphasize the fact that so many customs and festivals still in vogue recall those of the Greeks and the Romans, and even surpass the latter in remoteness of origin, so that we must look for their parallels among primitive peoples. I shall merely state that the original purport of the practice of eating and drinking at the grave can still be clearly recognized: the deceased still takes part in the meal; the mourners leave a place vacant for him at the grave-table; they expressly invite

him; they eat with delight of his favourite dishes; they give him wine and honey to drink; they pour wine and water upon the head of his grave; and beside or upon the grave they set food for the dead,' etc.

5. In the article referred to, however, Murko carries his investigation considerably further, as in subsequent chapters he sketches the process by which the relics of ancient ancestor-worship have in the Eastern Church become intermingled with the primitive worship of the dead among the Slavs ('worship of heroes and its transference to the Christian martyrs'). The details of the process are given in the following chapters: (4) the early Christian Agapæ and the meals connected therewith; (5) the survival in the Slav languages of Gr. *ἑρπαιστα* and other foreign words connected with the cult of the dead (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 27^a, regarding Russ. *kannunū* = Gr. *κάνων*); (6) Romano-Greek influence upon the spring festivals for the dead among the Slavs (O. Slav. *rusalija*, Serv. (*dyruzičalo*, Russ. *radunica*; cf. vol. ii. p. 25^b and 25^c); Murko's derivation of Russ. *radunica*, from Gr. *ῥόδωνια*: *οἱ τῶν ῥόδων λειμών* of Suidas, is original and convincing, so that its meaning is the same as that of *Rosalia*, the spring festival for the dead); (7) Lat. *silicernium*, *silicernus* (cf. vol. ii. p. 28^a; Murko thinks that this word denotes the feast held upon the *silices*, i.e. the rubble of the grave).

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the art. and in ARYAN RELIGION. O. SCHRADER.

DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

(Tibetan).—In Tibet, death is regarded as the work of the death-demon, who has accordingly to be exorcized from the house and locality. The ceremonies at death and the methods of disposal of the body are almost entirely of a pre-Buddhistic or Bon character, although now conducted for the most part by orthodox Buddhist priests.

The Tibetans believe that the soul lives after the death of the body, but the future life desired by the people is not the Buddhistic one of a higher earthly re-birth or the arhat-ship of *Nirvāṇa* or Buddhahood. They desire the new life to be in an everlasting paradise, which is now identified with the Western Paradise of Buddha Amitābha of the later Indian Buddhists. The object of the death-ritual, therefore, is, firstly, to secure the due passage of the soul of the deceased to this paradise, and, secondly, to safeguard the earthly survivors against harm from the death-demon, as well as from the spirit of the deceased in the event of its failing to reach paradise and so becoming a malignant ghost.

Formerly, so late as the 8th cent. A.D., human sacrifices were made on the death of kings and nobles. Five or six chosen friends from amongst their officers were styled 'comrades,' and killed themselves on the death of their master, so as to accompany him to paradise, and their bodies were buried alongside of his. The crests of the hills were crowned by such sepulchral mounds, as in China and amongst the Turkic tribes. Beside the body were buried the clothes and valuables of the deceased, his bow, sword, and other weapons, and his favourite horse; and a tumulus of earth was thrown up over all. Animal-sacrifice seems also to have been practised, as is evidenced by the dough effigies of animals which are offered as part of the sacrificial rite by the hands of Buddhist monks, who now perform the popular death-rites, and by their religion are prohibited from taking life (L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 518 f.).

1. Extraction of the soul.—On the physical death of a person, Tibetans believe that the spirit does not depart forthwith, but continues to linger within the corpse for a varying period, which may extend to four days, after the cessation of the heart and

breath. In order to secure the release of the spirit in that direction in which it has the greatest chance of reaching paradise, the services of an expert priest are necessary.

After a death occurs, no layman is allowed to touch the body. A white cloth is thrown over the face of the corpse, and a priest is sent for to extract the soul in the orthodox manner. This priest is one of the higher monks, and bears the title of 'The Mover or Shifter' (*'p'o-bo*). On his arrival in the death-chamber, all relatives and others are excluded, and the priest, closing the doors and windows, sits near the head of the corpse and chants the directions for the soul to find its way to the Western Paradise. After exhorting the soul to quit the body and give up its attachment to earthly property, the priest seizes with his forefinger and thumb a few hairs on the crown of the corpse, and, jerking these forcibly, is supposed thereby to make way for the soul of the deceased through the pores of the roots of these hairs, as though actual perforation of the skull had been effected. If, in the process, blood oozes from the nostrils, it is an auspicious sign. The soul is then directed to avoid the dangers which beset the road to paradise, and is bidden God-speed. This ceremony lasts about an hour. When, through accident or otherwise, the body is not forthcoming and the fourth day is expiring, this rite is performed *in absentia* by the priest conjuring it up in spirit whilst seated in deep meditation.

2. **Handling the corpse.**—All persons are tabooed from touching a corpse (*ro*) except those who belong to the father's family or those indicated by the astrologer-priest, who casts a horoscope for the purpose. This document also prescribes the most auspicious date for the funeral and the mode and place of disposal of the body, as well as the worship to be performed for the soul of the deceased and for the welfare of the surviving relatives.

The persons who may ordinarily handle a corpse must be children by the same father as deceased (*p'as-spun*), though in Lhasa and large towns with many strangers the professional scavengers may do this work. In rural communities, when a man has no paternal relatives of his own, he procures admission into the family of a friend for such funeral purposes as official mourner by giving a dinner to announce the fact. The persons so authorized then approach the body with ropes, and, doubling it up into a crouching attitude, tie it in this posture, with the face between the knees and the hands under the legs. If *rigor mortis* be present, bones may be broken during the process. The attitude of the body resembles that found in some of the early sepulchres, and is probably a survival of the pre-historic period. It ensures portability of the corpse.

When tied up in the proper attitude, the body is covered with some of the clothes of the deceased, put inside a sack made of hide, tent-cloth, or blanket, and removed from the room to the chapel of the house (where there is one) as a mortuary, and placed in a corner there. A sheet or curtain is stretched in front of the sack as a screen, and all laymen retire. Where the body has to be kept a long time for climatic or other reasons, it may be slung up to the rafters.

3. **Pre-funeral rites.**—Priests remain in relays day and night chanting services near the corpse until it is removed. The head priest sits near the screen, with his back to the corpse; the other priests face him, and all read extracts from the Buddhist scriptures, often from different books at the same time; and they keep alight lamps (from 5 to 108, according to the means of the deceased). The relatives sit in another room, and offer food and drink to the deceased. His bowl is kept filled

with tea or beer, and he is offered a share of whatever food is going; and such drink and food as are offered are afterwards thrown away, as it is believed that their essence has been abstracted by the soul of the departed. Feeding the *manes* is also found in the Indian Buddhist practice of *avalambana*, based upon the Brāhmanical rite of *śrāddha*.

Before the funeral the guests, after libations, partake in solemn silence of cake and wine within the house in which the corpse is lying; but, after the latter is removed, no one will eat or drink in that house for a month.

4. **Funeral procession.**—This occurs on the auspicious day and hour fixed for it by the astrologer. The relatives and guests bow to the corpse, which is then lifted by the official mourners, put on the chief mourner's back, and carried to the door, where it is placed in a square box or coffin (*ro-rg'am*) provided by the monastery which is conducting the funeral, and the box is carried thence by the official mourners to the cemetery or cremation ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not accompany the funeral, but, after walking thrice round the coffin and prostrating herself thrice, is conducted back to the house.

In front of the procession go the priests, chanting Sanskrit spells or *mantras* extracted from the later Indian Buddhist scriptures, and blowing horns, or beating drums, or ringing handbells; then follow the relatives and friends, and last of all comes the coffin. This is led by the chief priest by means of a long scarf, one end of which is attached to the coffin; the other end he holds in his left hand, whilst with his right he beats a skull drum as he walks. This scarf probably represents the 'soul's banner' (*hurin-fan*), which is carried before the coffin by the Chinese.

The spot or cemetery to which the body is carried is usually a solitary rock on a wild hilltop, and is believed to be haunted by evil spirits. In Lhasa the ordinary cemetery (*dur-k'rod*) is within the city. The corpse must not be set down anywhere *en route*, otherwise the final ceremony would have to be performed at that place.

5. **Disposal of the body.**—The particular mode in which the body is to be disposed of is prescribed by the astrologer-lama. Of the various modes, one only, namely cremation, presents Buddhist features. The methods may be said to be five in number:

1. **Consumption of flesh by animals and burial of bones.**—This, the so-called 'terrestrial method,' is the commonest and obviously the most ancient. It was a custom of the ancient Scythians known to Herodotus; and its practice by the Parsis at the present day may also be derived from such a source or from the Turkic tribes. There seems no reason to ascribe it, as has been conjectured, to the influence of those Jātaka tales which relate that Śākyamuni in former births offered his body to feed famished tigers and other animals. Such a practice of disposal of the dead is not recorded in Indian Buddhism, and its present-day practice in Siam and Korea, as well as in Tibet, is obviously a survival of the ancient Scythic and Mongolian custom.

At the cemetery the body is placed face downwards on the rock or slab of stone, divested of its clothes, and tied to a stake. The priest, chanting *mantras*, scores it with a large knife, and the corpse-cutters slice off the flesh and throw it to the vultures and other animals of prey which frequent these cemeteries. In Lhasa dogs and even pigs assist in devouring the corpses. As, however, vultures are esteemed more auspicious, the attendants for a small sum engage to keep off the other less desirable beasts of prey. The rapidity with which the body is devoured is considered of good

omen, and the skull of such a corpse is prized as an auspicious libation-bowl.

The bones of the stripped and dismembered body are then buried, and, if the person be wealthy, a mound or tower is erected over them.

2. *Total consumption of flesh and bones by animals.*—This, the so-called 'celestial method,' is much less common, though not infrequent with the richer classes. The bones, stripped of their flesh as above, are not buried, but pounded and mixed with meal, and given to dogs and vultures to consume.

3. *Throwing into rivers or at waste places.*—This, the most ignoble method, is the fate of the poorest, as burying entails considerable expense. The body is dragged by a rope like a dead beast. In this way are also disposed the bodies of criminals, those killed by accident, lepers, and sometimes barren women. The skulls of enemies slain in battle are deemed auspicious for drinking-goblets.

4. *Cremation.*—This mode of disposal of a quasi-Buddhistic kind is reserved in Tibet for the bodies of the higher lamas, though, in those districts where wood fuel is more available, it is also used for the laity.

The body is placed on the pyre, seated erect in a devotional attitude, cross-legged like Buddha's image. The soles of the feet are turned upwards, the right hand with palm upwards resting on the flexed thigh, and the left hand is raised in front of the shoulder in the 'blessing' attitude. In the case of the laity, the face seems usually to be placed downwards. When the wood is lighted, melted butter is poured over the body, and, when the first limb or bone drops from the body after a few hours, the funeral ends, though some of the relatives remain till the cremation is over. The body is seldom completely reduced to ashes. The ashes and unconsumed relics are removed by the priests to the house of the deceased, and there pounded and mixed with clay to form in a mould miniature votive *chaitya* medallions called *ts'a-t's'a*, the *dharma sarira* relics of Indian Buddhists. These are placed in the niches of the funeral towers known as *chortens*, or, if the deceased be rich, a special tower may be erected over them (see art. CHORTEN).

5. *Preserving the entire body by embalming.*—This mode seems to be restricted to the sovereign Grand Lamas of Lhāsa and Tashilhunpo. The body is embalmed by salting, and, clad in the robes of the deceased and surrounded by his personal implements of worship, is placed, in the attitude of a seated Buddha, within a gilded copper sarcophagus in one of the rooms of the palace; it is then worshipped as a divinity. Before it, on an altar, food and water are offered, and lights are kept burning. Eventually it is enclosed in a great gilded *chorten*, surmounted by a gilt dome, and becomes one of the recognized objects of worship to pilgrims.

With the disposal of the body, the relatives and guests disperse, after a feast given in the open air.

6. *Post-funeral obsequies.*—The funeral does not end the ceremonies. The soul of the deceased is not effectively disposed of until forty-nine days after the death, and the death-demon is also to be expelled from the locality. This latter exorcism is an indigenous Bon rite, and must be performed within two days after the funeral. It is termed the 'Turning away of the face of the Devouring Devil (*Za-dre*). The demon is represented as of human form, riding upon a tiger; and, in laying the evil spirits, figures of animals moulded in dough are used in the sacrifice. For the final disposal of the soul of the deceased, further priestly services are required weekly until forty-nine days after death. During this period (i.e. 7 × 7 days)

the soul is believed to remain in a purgatory or intermediate stage (*bar-do*) between death and regeneration, and is assisted onwards by the prayers of the priests. For this a lay effigy of the deceased is made in the house, on the day on which the corpse was removed, by dressing up a bench or box with the clothes of the deceased, and for a face a paper mask is inserted bearing a print of a dead Tibetan. On the forty-ninth day this service is completed, the paper mask burned, and the clothes given away. The priests receive as presents some valuable articles from the property of the deceased, and a feast concludes the ceremony.

Mourning is practised chiefly for young people; the old are less lamented. The full term of mourning is about a year, but three or four months is more usual. During this time no coloured clothes are worn, nor is the face washed or the hair combed; men may shave their heads, and women leave off their jewellery and rosaries. For Grand Lamas the general mourning of the people lasts from a week to a month.

All the places where bodies are buried or otherwise disposed of are esteemed sacred.

LITERATURE.—S. W. Bushell, *JRAS*, 1880, pp. 443, 521, 527; C. F. Köppen, *Lamaische Hierarchie*, Berlin, 1859, p. 322; H. Ramsay, *Western Tibet*, Lahore, 1890, p. 49 f.; W. W. Rockhill, *Ethnology of Tibet*, Washington, 1895, pp. 727, etc., *JRAS*, 1891, pp. 233, etc., *Land of the Lamas*, London, 1891, pp. 287, etc.; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, do. 1895, pp. 488, etc., *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, do. 1905, pp. 233, 392 f., 422.

L. A. WADDELL

DEATH OF THE GODS.—See DECIDE.

DEBAUCHERY (French *debaucher* [*de*, 'from,' and old Fr. *bauche*, 'a course,' 'a row'], 'to lead from the straight course'; hence 'seduction from duty,' 'excessive intemperance,' 'habitual lewdness').—Although individuals who habitually indulge in reckless dissipation are justly regarded as defective in ordinary self-control, and although it might be shown on incontestable evidence that no inconsiderable proportion of such persons are insane or mentally defective, it would still be preferable to approach this subject from the standpoint of normal psychology in order to trace the nature of the impulse which impels men in the direction of excessive intemperance and lewdness. To do this successfully we must take into consideration the habits and proclivities of primitive men. Uncivilized peoples manifest an intense love of excitement, particularly in connexion with their social and religious gatherings. All the writings of travellers referring to the domestic and social life of savages are unanimous as to the fact that every event out of the daily routine which causes people to assemble together is likely to become an occasion for intoxication. Birth alone is perhaps less associated with this form of enjoyment; marriages and deaths are certainly a very common excuse for it, and it is remarkable that we still retain survivals of these customs even in Western Europe. A culmination in intense excitement without the aid of intoxicants is frequent in their social gatherings. Featherman (*Social Hist. of Races of Mankind*, 1881–91, iii. 341) gives many examples, from which the following may be selected:

'They arranged themselves in groups, and at a given signal each group began to sing at first in a low tone of voice, which became louder and terminated in dreadful yells and hideous howls. The jumping was so violent and their efforts were so furious that some of them fell senseless to the ground. Three or four players or sorcerers stood in the centre, shook their tamarak, and blew tobacco smoke from a cane pipe upon the dancers.'

Mrs. French-Sheldon (*JAI* xxi. [1891] 367), speaking of the natives of East Africa, says:

'At some of their festivals this dancing is carried to such an extent that I have seen a young fellow's muscles quiver from head to foot, and his jaws tremble without any apparent ability on his part to control them, until, foaming at the mouth and with his eyes rolling, he falls in a paroxysm upon the ground.'

to be carried off by his companions. This method of seeking artificial physical excitement bears a singular resemblance to the dances of other nations outside of Africa.

Not only are the reunions of savage peoples characterized by intoxication and induced physical and mental excitement, but their religious ceremonies owe attraction largely to the induced mental fervour of the ministrants and audience. Partridge (*AJPs*, Apr. 1900, p. 363) goes so far as to hold that intoxication is one of the most important parts of the religious and social life of primitive man. He says:

"The use of alcoholic beverages arose in connexion with the religious social life in the effort to heighten the religious self-consciousness. Its use for these purposes among primitive people is widespread and almost universal."

Among some tribes in the Philippine Islands the shaman (usually a woman) works herself up into frenzies of nervous excitement by means of contortions and copious draughts of fermented liquor. Feasting and revelling follow, until oftentimes at her ceremonies all present become intoxicated, and fall into an unconscious state (cf. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* ii. 134 ff.). Similar practices are universally prevalent at the present day among the Persian dervishes, who produce in themselves states of exaltation and hallucination by means of opium and hashish. A similar condition is induced by the Peruvian priests by means of a drug known as 'tonca' (*ib.* 416 ff.). The reunions of savage and barbarous peoples are characterized not only by intoxication, but also, frequently, by sexual orgies of a revolting character. Bancroft (*Native Races*, i. 551) says (quoting Kendall):

"Once a year the Keres have a great feast, prepared for three successive days, which time is spent in eating, drinking, and dancing. . . . To this care, after dark, repair grown persons of every age and sex, who pass the night in indulgences of the most gross and sensual description."

Writing of the Mosquitos, the same author (p. 735) states:

"Occasionally surrounding villagers are invited, and a drinking-bout is held, first in one house and then in another, until the climax is reached in a debauch by both sexes of the most revolting character."

The ravenous appetite of certain savages justifies the accusation of gluttony which has been ascribed to them by various authors. The enormous development of the jaw muscles, as well as the protuberance of the alimentary system, is a sufficient indication of their propensity for swallowing enormous quantities of food when opportunity offers. A Yakut child, according to Cochrane, devoured at a sitting three candles, several pounds of sour frozen butter, and a large piece of yellow soap, while an adult of the same tribe devoured forty pounds of meat in a day. Wrangle says each of the Yakuts ate in a day six times as many fish as he could. The Comanches, according to Schoolcraft, eat voraciously after long abstinence, and without any apparent inconvenience (quoted from Spencer's *Sociology*, i. 45). That debauches are restricted solely through the want of opportunities for prolonging and repeating them is only too apparent from the histories of those savage or barbarous tribes which have been brought into close and constant contact with the more unscrupulous representatives of civilization. So long as alcohol and pleasurable excitement were obtainable, no price was grudged for them until, as a consequence of reckless self-abandonment, the wretched hedonists stood stripped of their possessions, and incapable of resuming their previous methods of life. The unfitness of savages, in the majority of instances, for regular or sustained employment of any kind is one of their most marked characteristics. It might be objected that such a generalization is too sweeping, and, moreover, that war and the chase are the only careers open to primitive man. It may be admitted that many members of the so-called inferior races have shown exceptional

aptitude for commerce, agriculture, and industry of various kinds; but the history of the emancipated Negroes and of the native Indians in the Reserve Territories of the United States is conclusive proof of the inadaptability of these races, as a whole, for the rôle of civilization in which sustained and regular labour is the active and most important element. In these races labour is fitful and distasteful, and alternates with long spells of inactivity and unproductiveness.

From the foregoing statements it is evident that among the members of uncivilized communities certain anti-social defects which are hostile to the progress of civilization are extremely prevalent. These defects may be summed up as: (1) a craving for intense mental states, which is most easily gratified by induced excitement, by alcohol or other drugs, by sexual excitement, or by the appetite for food; (2) an inability or, at any rate, a strong disinclination for sustained mental or physical exertion. The representative anti-social elements in a modern civilized community may be regarded as the legitimate survivals of uncivilized ancestors. They all manifest the same strong craving for intense mental states, which can be fully gratified only by the grosser forms of dissipation, while they also exhibit the natural disinclination for sustained and productive labour. The prostitute, the gambler, the drunkard, the criminal, and the loafer have this in common, that they desire the grosser forms of excitement, that they are prodigal of their means, and unproductive in their methods of supplying their wants.

The view which regards the pronounced anti-social members of a community as the survivals of a period when the race as a whole was comparatively primitive in its social development is the only scientific one, and displaces to a large extent the older views of deliberate sinning and moral responsibility; for a little consideration will enable us to see that a person who is constitutionally *a-moral* cannot be also at the same time *im-moral*. Such a statement must not be taken to imply a disbelief in individual moral responsibility, for it must be recognized that persistent immoral conduct may depend upon opportunity and the absence, for any reason, of public opinion. It follows that a person who is able to control his conduct under the influence of any ordinary deterrent must be, more or less, responsible for his conduct in the absence of these deterrents. In the development of society, as of the individual, there are two factors—environment and evolution. The environment is never constant but is always changing, while the development of a society depends upon the development of its units, subject to the influence of the environment. Physically as well as mentally, the individual must be in harmony with his surroundings or he cannot exist. In every established race of living beings the majority of the individuals present an average mean of certain qualities the possession of which entitles them to be regarded as normal representatives of their race; but there is in every such race a large minority of individuals who vary to a greater or less extent from this mean of any given quality. Some of them possess the quality in excess of the mean, others in defect. The majority of the members of a civilized community subordinate their desires for the grosser pleasures to the duty of sustained effort and the dictates of morality. Through a long process of natural selection this standard has been attained; but, just as a race of men present marked divergencies in stature or mental ability, so do they manifest throughout their composing units the greatest differences in respect to social qualities, varying from the highest manifestations of altruism to an absence of the

sense of responsibility and a reckless craving for gross self-indulgence. 'A community,' says Giddings (*Princ. of Sociol.*, 1898, p. 414), 'that delights in many harmonious pleasures has, on the whole, more chances in life than one which is satisfied with a few intense pleasures.' It is scarcely necessary to insist upon the instability of a community the majority of whose members are constitutionally indolent or immoral. We see, therefore, that the debauchee and the loafer are variations from the mean type of their society; we also see the sense in which they may be described as representatives or survivals of more primitive social states. In relation to their social environment they are anti-social and irretrievably doomed to elimination. The rapidity of this process of elimination is apt to be obscured by the fact that each new generation produces its fresh quota of individuals who are socially abnormal; but it must be borne in mind that the rapidly changing environment advances the moral standard of each generation, and that therefore a relatively higher and more stringent natural selection is gradually being brought to act upon those unfortunate units whose mental or physical organization is out of harmony with its requirements. With the advance in the standard of morals of a community there emerges gradually an expression of the ethical attitude of the public towards disease and infirmity, of which sufficient proof is to be seen in the improved condition of the insane, in the founding of 'homes' for epileptics and inebriates, and in the increased interest in the study of criminology. All these movements exhibit the tendency of modern societies to regard the actions of its anti-social members as irresponsible. It therefore seems highly probable that at no distant date civilization will enable us to dispense with retaliative punishment as a deterrent in certain moral delinquencies, and that the State will take upon itself the regulation of the lives of those who are incapable of living up to the standard of decency and order required by the existing social environment.

LITERATURE.—Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, London, 1881-91; *JAI* xxi. [1891] 367; *AJP*, April 1906, p. 393; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1891; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, London, 1875-6; Schoolcraft, *Hist. etc. of Indians of U.S.*, Philad. 1853; Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1898. Cf. also the art. on ETHICS AND MORALITY. JOHN MACPHERSON.

DECALOGUE.—*Introductory.*—There is probably no human document which has exercised a greater influence upon religious and moral life than the Decalogue. On account of its brevity, its comprehensiveness, its forcefulness, and its limitations, it has stood out from other teaching, and has been embedded in Christian liturgies and catechisms, so that it is difficult for any one brought up with any degree of Christian culture to escape knowledge of its contents. The exalted idea of its superior value goes back certainly to the Book of Deuteronomy; for we are told repeatedly there that the Ten Words were written upon two tables of stone by God Himself, and even with His finger¹ (4¹³ 5²² 9¹⁰ 10¹⁻⁴; cf. Ex 31¹⁸ 32¹⁶ 34¹⁻²⁸). However freely the statements may be interpreted, however figuratively the author may have written, it was certainly his intention to show that he placed this code above all other legal codes, these words above all other revealed words. In other cases it sufficed to say that Jahweh spoke to Moses, and Moses' memory was depended upon to convey accurately to the people all the vast amount of revelations given in the course of many days. But the Ten Words were so precious that no risk of forgetfulness could be run, and they were at once engraven on the solid stone. And

there is more to show their high station. When Moses brought the stones down from the mountain, and saw Israel's apostasy, he dashed the stones to the ground and broke them. The precious record could not be lost, however; nor could Moses, who may be presumed to have known them by heart, be trusted to reproduce them. He was directed to prepare two new tablets of stone, and take them up to the mountain again, that the original text might be restored by the same finger which engraved the first copy. Finally, that there might be no further chance of breakage, Moses by command made an ark of acacia wood for their safe keeping (Dt 9. 10). It is now advisable to see what this document is, and to test the statements accounting for its origin.

1. **The two forms of the Decalogue.**—The Decalogue has come down to us in two versions which differ to a considerable extent, one (in common use) being in Ex 20²⁻¹⁷, the other (unfortunately almost ignored) in Dt 5²⁻²¹.¹ Some of the variations in the Decalogue may be due to accidents in the transmission of the text, but the most of them are certainly deliberate. Moreover, the process of development did not stop with our present Heb. text, as the LXX shows still further modifications, few if any of which can be fairly attributed to the translators.

In the case of the *Fourth Commandment*, the important differences are indicated in the following parallel renderings, italics showing variations:

Ex 20 ²⁻¹¹ .	Dt 5 ¹²⁻¹⁵ .
Remember the sabbath day to sanctify it. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all thy work; but ² the seventh day is a sabbath to Jahweh thy God. Thou shalt not do ³ any work: thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy man-servant and thy maid-servant, and thy cattle, ⁴ and thy guest who is within thy gates. ⁵ For in six days Jahweh made the heavens and the earth, the sea ⁶ and all that is in them, and he rested on the seventh day. Therefore Jahweh blessed the sabbath ⁸ day and sanctified it.	Guard the sabbath day to sanctify it, as Jahweh thy God commanded thee. Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work; but the seventh day is a sabbath to Jahweh thy God. Thou shalt not do any work: thou and thy son and thy daughter, and thy man-servant and thy maid-servant, and thy ox and thy ass and all thy cattle, and thy guest who is within thy gates; ⁷ in order that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt and that Jahweh thy God brought thee out from there by a strong hand and by an outstretched arm. Therefore Jahweh thy God commanded thee ⁹ to make the sabbath day.

¹ There are many other instances of duplicates in Holy Scripture: Ps 18 has been incorporated in the history of David (2 S 22), on the supposition that it is an account of an episode in his life; but a more striking parallel for our purpose, because of the importance of the material, is the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6⁹⁻¹³, Lk 11²⁻⁴).

² LXX has *ἢ δὲ ἡμέρα*; so in Dt 5¹⁴ = Dt¹³, 'but on the seventh day there is a sabbath (or rest).'

³ LXX adds *ἐν αὐτῇ*; so in Dt 5¹⁴ = 13, a necessary correction, followed by Lat. and Eng. versions. This reading is found in the Papyrus Nash (see Peters, *op. cit. infra*).

⁴ LXX reads: 'thy ox and thy ass and all thy cattle,' in agreement with Dt 5¹⁴. The translator would scarcely have inserted this phrase for the sake of harmony when he leaves so much else divergent; therefore the early Heb. texts must have differed from each other in the same code.

⁵ LXX reads: 'the guest who dwells with thee'; so in Dt 5¹⁴. In spite of its more primitive appearance (cf. below), this reading can hardly be original, for the Heb. phrase would not have been changed after the Greek version was made. The LXX expression is more comprehensive, and may be a free rendering, though all else is intensely literal.

⁶ LXX B lacks 'the sea'; perhaps it is a later addition.

⁷ LXX B adds here: 'for in six days the Lord made the heaven and the earth and the sea and all that is in them.' The words are a manifest harmonizing gloss, as is shown by the impossible connexion with the following clause, 'in order that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou.' The gloss may have been found in a Heb. text.

⁸ LXX has *ἡβόησεν*, 'seventh'—a better reading, for it was Jahweh's blessing of the seventh day which made it the sabbath.

⁹ LXX reads: 'that thou shouldst guard the sabbath day and

¹ Compare our Lord's casting out devils by the 'finger [i.e. the power] of God' (Lk 11²⁰).

The peculiar phrases in the Deuteronomic edition are characteristic of the author; they are unmistakable, for there is no other OT writer whose style is so readily detected (see Driver's *Deut.*, in *loc.*). It will be noted that we have here a commandment, and the reasons for its observance. The two versions have no important divergence in the commandment, but separate absolutely on the reasons. Beyond question Deut. is the older. The sanction on humane grounds is original with him, for it accords with his spirit through and through. There came a time when grounds of humanity were not strong enough. Another editor, perhaps the one who constructed the Creation story in Gn 1-2⁴ for this purpose, put it on a basis which is to him distinctly higher—that man should follow the example of God. That story of the Creation is much later than Deut., and this addition to Ex. is perhaps the latest touch to the Decalogue. It is unfortunate that this version, with its sanction on a ground which nobody believes now, is the one in general Christian use.

In the *Fifth Commandment*, Dt 5¹⁶ has two clauses which do not appear in Ex 20¹². The former version runs: 'Honour thy father and thy mother, as Jahweh thy God commanded thee, that thy days may be long, and that it may be well with thee, upon the land which Jahweh thy God is giving thee.' These are common Deuteronomic phrases, and are plainly editorial additions. The first obviously overlooks the fact that Jahweh Himself is supposed to give the words from His own mouth. The second is found in the best Greek texts of Exodus, but preceding the clause about long days. The words may have got into some of the Heb. editions, but not into those which have come down to us. In earlier times, length of days would be a sufficient reward, but later the craving for good days would naturally find expression.

In the *Ninth Commandment*, Dt 5²⁰ differs from Ex 20¹⁶ by a single word: instead of *אשר*, 'false', we find *אין*, the word used in the Third Commandment for 'vain' (cf. below). The Greek text renders freely: 'Thou shalt not falsely testify against thy neighbour false testimony,' and the renderings of Deut. and Ex. agree *verbatim et literatim*, showing a careful comparison, which ignores the difference in our present Heb. text. The proper rendering of the Hebrew is: 'Thou shalt not answer against thy neighbour a false witness.' By a slight change of the text (from *אין* to *אשר*) we get 'testimony,' as LXX. But the Heb. seems to mean that a man shall not bring a false witness to testify against his neighbour, as Jezebel did against Naboth. This view makes the mandate more ethically refined, laying the stress of the wrong on the procurer of false testimony rather than on the witness.

In the *Tenth Commandment* we have a considerable variation:

Ex 20¹⁷.

Thou shalt not covet the house¹ of thy neighbour; thou shalt not covet the wife of thy neighbour,² nor his man-servant nor his maid-servant, nor his ox nor his ass,⁴ nor anything which is thy neighbour's.

Dt 5²¹.

Thou shalt not covet the wife of thy neighbour. Thou shalt not desire² the house of thy neighbour, nor his field, nor his man-servant nor his maid-servant, his ox nor his ass, nor anything which is thy neighbour's.

The use of 'desire' instead of repeating 'covet' sanctify it.³ This could scarcely be a rendering of the present text. In the text above, instead of 'make' we might render 'inspire.'

¹ The LXX order is 'wife,' 'house,' as in Deuteronomy.

² LXX uses the same verb in both clauses, as in Exodus.

³ LXX adds: 'nor his field,' as in Deuteronomy.

⁴ LXX adds in both versions: 'nor any cattle of his,' to agree with v.¹⁰. Codex L has 'nor any vessel of his,' reading *כלי* as *כלי*. The two texts of LXX in that verse, as in the preceding, agree *verbatim et literatim*.

is presumably for rhetorical elegance. The transposition of 'wife' and 'house' is not so easily explained. It may be due to the greater importance of the wife in the time of Deut., taking the wife out of the property class (so *EBi* i. 1049, *s.v.* 'Decalogue'); it may be a copyist's error; it may be an effort to secure a more logical sequence, the wife not belonging so strictly to the category of property as the other objects enumerated; or it may be due to the influence of such facts as David's marriage with Bathsheba. The interpolation of 'field' seems surely to reflect the impression made upon the people by the story of Naboth's vineyard, and of other instances which gave occasion to Is 5⁴ 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land.' Cf. Mic 2². There are a few other variations, but they practically consist of the addition of conjunctions in Deut. to connect the clauses for greater rhetorical effect.

A few of the more important readings of the Greek text may be noted beyond those already cited. In Ex 20¹ A reads: 'And the Lord spoke to Moses all these words, saying.' Here we have an explanation of the singular which is used throughout the Decalogue. The words are in the first instance commands to Moses. This introduction is scarcely consistent with the statement of Deut., that they were first inscribed upon stone tablets by the finger of God. Deut. reconciles the two ideas by saying that Jahweh first spoke the words unto all the assembly with a great voice, and then wrote them upon the stone (52²). In v.², instead of 'house of slaves,' LXX has 'house of bondage' (so in Deut.)—a reading which is followed by our versions. The Heb. is better, for the term 'house of slaves' is used to designate the land of Egypt. In v.³, LXX renders *ἐξέτι*, 'except me' (*ἐλπί* μου) in Ex.; but in Dt 5⁷ B has 'before my face' (*πρὸ προσώπου μου*, Lat. in *conspetu meo*). The Eng. versions have 'before me' in the text, but RVM 'beside me.' The latter is a doubtful rendering, like the Prayer-Book form 'but me.' The words literally are 'upon my face,' and would most naturally mean 'in preference to me.' If that is the true sense, then this command represents a more primitive religious conception than the absolute monotheism of the prophetic age. Weiss holds that the words forbid the worship of all other gods (*Das Buch Exodus*, Graz, 1911).

In v.⁴ (8) 'any likeness which is in the heavens' (an exactly literal tr.) gives no sense. LXX has *πᾶν εἶδος ἀγάλματος* (so in Deut.), and this is followed by Eng. versions. Kittel (*Bib. Heb.*, 1905) suggests *כל נדמה*, on the basis of LXX (cf. Dt 4²⁵). The reason for this prohibition is given at length in Dt 4¹⁶⁻¹⁸.

In v.⁵ *אֶתְּנוּ*, LXX B has *ἐως τριῶν*, implying a reading *τῶν* instead of *τῷ*. The Heb. is right. The absence of the conj. (though Deut. has it erroneously) shows that we have a case of apposition, i.e. 'upon the sons, upon the third and fourth generations.'

In v.¹² LXX has 'upon the good land' (*ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἀγαθῆς*). The addition of 'good' sounds like Deut., and yet the reading is found only in Exodus.

In vv.¹³⁻¹⁵ LXX A transposes here and in Deut., having the order: adultery, stealing, killing. The change may be accidental, or due to an idea that the Seventh Commandment is more closely related to the Fifth. The relation is not very obvious, and the LXX was not wont to take such liberties. There is much variation in the order of these three commandments. In MT, Jos., Syr., the order is murder, adultery, stealing; in Codex Alex. and Ambros., murder, stealing, adultery; in Codex Vat., adultery, stealing, murder. Peters holds that the original order was adultery, murder, stealing, which he says, 'commends itself on internal grounds' (*op. cit.* p. 33). If conjecture could govern, the present writer would prefer the order—murder, stealing, adultery—after some Gr. texts, on the ground that we have then a true sequence in the development of the moral standard. Murder was recognized as wrong long before adultery.

2. Real meaning of some of the commandments. —We turn now to the interpretation of some of the more difficult passages.

In the *Second Commandment* the meaning of the word 'thousands' is not altogether clear. In Dt 7¹ we have apparently a commentary on this commandment: 'the faithful God, keeping the covenant and mercy to those who love him and keep his commands, to a thousand generations.' This interpretation was followed in the Targums, and has been generally accepted. Weiss, the latest writer on Exodus, takes this view. The contrast with 'third' and 'fourth' seems to support it. But the antithesis between the two clauses is not so clear

as appears at first sight. In the first part we have 'visiting the sins of the fathers'; in the second, 'showing the mercy of God.' In the one case God brings the consequences of paternal sins upon the sons, in the other He displays His own mercy to thousands. It appears, therefore, that 'thousands' is contrasted with 'sons,' not with 'third and fourth generation.' Further, *אֶלְפִּי* never means 'a thousand generations'; it has two distinct meanings: a 'thousand' as a numeral, and a body of a thousand people, such as a regiment. In the latter connexion the word is used to indicate a subdivision of a tribe, and means a clan (cf. Jg 6¹⁸, 1 S 10¹⁹). The word here must either be a numeral, 'thousand,' or it must = 'clans.' The extension of mercy is therefore outward not downward. The sin goes down to the sons, the mercy goes outward to the whole family or clan.

'There's a wideness in God's mercy
Like the wideness of the sea.'

The meaning is illustrated in Abraham's plea for Sodom and Gomorrah (Gn 18²²⁻²⁷); if there had been ten righteous men in the city, the whole population might have been saved.

The *Third Commandment* is the vaguest of all: 'Thou shalt not take the name of Jahweh thy God in vain.' The moment we reflect upon the words, the vagueness appears. The usual interpretation is that it is an injunction against profanity. Weiss (*in loc.*) says that 'not only false swearing, but every sinful use of the name of Jahweh, in imprecation, blasphemy, charm, divination, and every frivolous use is included.' And yet it is a little difficult to discover that sense in the original. We should expect the Ten Words to deal with vital matters. There is no evidence that profanity was specially common among the Hebrews, or that they regarded it as a serious offence. From the concluding clause, 'Jahweh will not hold innocent' the one who commits this wrong, it is clear that we are dealing with a serious evil; in fact, with the unpardonable sin of the OT. Indeed, we might well render 'Jahweh will not forgive,' etc. It is at least a step in clearing up the matter to note that *אָמַר* means 'speak.' First there was the full expression, 'he lifted up his voice and spake,' then he 'lifted his voice,' finally 'he lifted,' but with the meaning 'spoke.'¹ *אֶלְפִּי* means 'in vain,' i.e. without result (cf. Jer 2⁸⁰). We therefore have: 'Thou shalt not speak the name of Jahweh thy God without result,' i.e. without doing what was vowed in His name. Thus we can grasp the force of what is otherwise a pure redundancy, 'for Jahweh will not deem innocent him who speaks his name without result.' Now, if there was a principle cherished by the Hebrews above any other, it was the obligation to carry out a vow made in the name of Jahweh. We may note the case of Jephthah, who felt bound by his vow to sacrifice his daughter (Jg 11). Other cases will occur to the reader; and we find the principle strongly urged in Ec 5¹⁻⁶. It may be remarked that, so far as internal indications go, this command may be early. At all events the obligation was recognized in the primitive ages. It was the misuse of the command as above interpreted that our Lord sought to correct (cf. Mt 5³³⁻³⁷, 23¹⁶⁻²²). The Jews held that only a vow in Jahweh's name was binding; Jesus teaches that a man's personal word should be as strong an obligation as any oath.

3. *Original form of the Decalogue.*—It is apparent from a comparison of the texts that the Decalogue has not come down to us in its original

¹ Morgenstern holds that *אָמַר* in Bab. is a technical name for an oath, and that speaking the name of the gods was a sin for any but priests. He regards *אָמַר* as an equivalent term, and the Third Commandment as having that meaning ('The Doctrine of Sin in the Bab. Religion,' *MVG*, iii. [1905] 351.). There is no evidence in the OT to support this view.

form.¹ Many attempts have been made to determine what that original form was. For the most part it is a matter of pure conjecture. But it has been noted that there is a persistent tradition that there were 'Ten Words,' and that they were inscribed on two tables of stone. It has been assumed that there would be practically an even division—five on each table.² The Decalogue divides into two parts, but Commandments 1-4 deal with man's relation to God, and 5-10 with his relations to men—not therefore an even division. In the Heb. text of Exodus, Comm. 1-5 contain 146 words, 6-10 contain 26 words. Taking the division by subject, 1-4 have 131 words, 6-10 have 41 words. Comm. 1-3 contain 76 words, 4-10 contain 96 words. This is the nearest approach to an even spatial division. Hence it is assumed that the commandments must originally have been all short, as 6-9 still are. Com. 2 then would have been simply: 'Thou shalt not make thee a graven image'; Com. 4: 'Remember the sabbath day to sanctify it'; and Com. 10: 'Thou shalt not covet.' This would make commands of sufficiently even length. The growth is easily explained. The images were hard to get rid of, as all religious usages are hard to change. To reinforce the law and to prevent evasions, amplification was necessary and dire consequences of disobedience must be added. Down to the time of Nehemiah the rule for cessation of labour on the sabbath day was disregarded (cf. Neh 13¹⁵⁻²²). Reasons were appended to the law to secure a stricter conformity.

While all this is very probable, the reason urged on the ground of an even division on the two tables is not convincing; for we have many ancient inscriptions on stone and clay, and there is no evidence of an attempt to conform the contents to the size of the material used for the inscription. The size of the characters and of the tablet is determined by the amount to be written. The commandments must have taken shape originally according to their substance, and could hardly have been framed with reference to two tables of stone. The only reason for using two stones was that there was not room enough on one, just as a correspondent takes up a second sheet when one does not suffice for his letter.

4. *How far Mosaic.*—A still more baffling problem is found in the origin of the Decalogue. In both codes it is attributed to Moses, i.e. Moses is the mouthpiece of Jahweh. In Dt 9. 10 there is an unusual wealth of detail about the matter, describing the first writing, the breaking of the stones, the second writing, and the care for the preservation of the final record. The Covenant and the Decalogue are certainly identified in the story, but that is, of course, due to the author of Deut., who lived long after Moses' day. His identification may be correct, but is not necessarily so.

We are obliged to face the question as to the value of this evidence. Now, we know that in the OT all Hebrew law is attributed to Moses, as practically all Hebrew psalmody was ascribed to David, and all wisdom to Solomon. There is, therefore, a presumption against this testimony; for it would be extraordinary if the whole body of a nation's laws were enacted by a single individual,

¹ The Rabbis were puzzled by the variants, but, as usual, were equal to the occasion, holding that both versions alike were of Divine origin, and were spoken miraculously at the same time. Saadya alleges that the Exodus version was on the first set of tables that were broken, and the Deut. text on the second (cited in *JE* iv. 494, s.v. 'Decalogue').

² The Rabbis indulged in their usual fanciful guesses about this distribution. Some held that all ten were on each stone; others that all ten were on each side of each stone; while Simai goes further and alleges that all ten were engraved four times on each stone (*JE*, *loc. cit.*). The idea was that the more times the words were inscribed the more important they were.

and that before there was any nation at all. The evidence, therefore, that Moses produced the Decalogue is no greater than that he produced the law governing the fringe on the priest's cloak. The persistent tradition proves, in the opinion of the present writer, that Moses was a truly great lawgiver; but, by ascribing all laws to him, it puts upon us the necessity of determining as best we can his connexion with any particular law. We are compelled, therefore, to consider whether the Decalogue could have come from so early a date as that of Moses.

Some of the prohibitions are of such a general character that they might belong to any period; such is the case with Comm. 3, 5-9. Others seem to have a closer relation to the development of religion, and a place for them ought to be found accordingly. Com. 1 is monotheistic, though perhaps not so sharply so as has generally been assumed; for the meaning may certainly be that no other god is to be set above Jahweh, and this possibility must have full weight (see above). So far as we know, the victory of monotheism was won by the prophets, one of the great battles being fought by Elijah. But it is certainly true that there were monotheists from the earliest days, such as Deborah, Gideon, and even the freebooter Jephthah. This law may have been as early as Moses for anything we know to the contrary.

The law against images does not belong to the same category. Image-worship was certainly practised down to the Exile, and as late as Hezekiah's time (2 K 18⁴), without rebuke. The war against it appears to have had as its main-spring the effort to centralize the worship at the temple in Jerusalem.¹ As a means of destroying the cult at the local shrines, where images abounded, they were forbidden, for there appear to have been no sacred images in Solomon's temple. It is true that disobedience to a law does not prove its non-existence. The teaching of Jesus about the perils of wealth has not made a very profound impression on the world even yet. But there was no strong motive for images, and it is difficult to think that David would have defied so fundamental a law (1 S 19¹³), or that Isaiah would have countenanced images (19¹⁹). This command, therefore, appears not to have been formulated long before the time of Deuteronomy.

In its present form, Com. 4 cannot be Mosaic. The nomad is never a very hard worker, and a day of rest is not of urgent necessity for him. Moreover, such work as he does is necessary on every day of the week. Further, in the time of Moses there were no guests (*gêrim*, 'protected strangers') within the gates. Sufficient emphasis does not appear to have been laid upon the term 'gates,' disclosing as it does urban life, and therefore belonging at the earliest to the period after the conquest. It is true that so acute a scholar as Weiss holds that *ꠔꠔ* may mean the gate of the camp as well as of the city, and he thinks, therefore, that this term does not presuppose the settlement in Palestine. But the only instance of this meaning that occurs to the present writer is Ex 32²⁶, where the word is a natural figure for 'entrance,' easily used by a writer familiar with gates. Moreover, the expression 'within thy gates' is a characteristic Deuteronomic expression, occurring some twenty times in Deut., and not found elsewhere in the Pent. save in Ex 20¹⁰. The solicitude for the stranger or guest is also Deuteronomic.

The silence about the sabbath day in the records

of the early days is truly remarkable from any point of view. In Jos 6^{4, 14, 15} we read of the army's marching around Jericho on seven successive days, one of which must have been the sabbath. That looks very like 'any kind of work,' and was certainly unnecessary. There are, however, two references to the sabbath which throw welcome light on the situation. In 2 K 4²³ the Shunammite asks his wife why she is going to the prophet Elisha, and gives as the reason for his question 'it is not new moon and it is not sabbath.' It would be easy to draw too large a conclusion from this statement, but one thing is certain, viz. that there is no objection to a journey from Shunem to Carmel (30-40 kilometres, 20-30 miles; see Kittel, *Bücher der Könige*, 1900, in loc.) on the sabbath day; further, it is a reasonable inference that the sabbath was a day for religious rites, but that cessation of labour was not a part of its observance. Something like half a century later Amos makes the people say: 'When will the new moon be over that we may sell grain, and the sabbath that we may open up corn' (8⁵). It is clear that we have an advance from Elisha's time, in that trade is not permitted on the sabbath—precisely the conditions which Nehemiah enforced (Neh 13¹⁵). The new moon is not mentioned in the Decalogue, but it is here, as in Elisha's time, on the same plane as the sabbath. There is hardly evidence, therefore, to support the existence of the Fourth Commandment. The passage may seem to imply that the sabbath had already come to be a mere form (Marti, *Dodekapheton*, 1903, in loc.). But it is more likely that the prevention of trade was a new feature, not approved by the merchants; hence their impatience at the loss of trading days. It appears that under the prophetic influence a movement was making for a stricter regulation of both these festivals. The effort finally centred on the sabbath, and by Josiah's time all labour as well as trade was forbidden. The older idea always persisted, for Nehemiah did not attempt to check sabbath labour in the fields, but restrained trade even by threats of violence. Even to-day Sunday trading is objected to much more than Sunday labour.

Finally, Com. 10 cannot be Mosaic in its present form. In the Exodus version the first object whose coveting is forbidden is the house; in Deut. this is followed by the field. Nomads have neither houses nor fields. It is true that *ꠔꠔ* is often interpreted as meaning 'household' in Exodus. This use is very common, especially in the Hexateuch.¹ But it would be strange to say, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's family,' and then to continue, 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, and servants and cattle.' It is plain that in the time of Deut. *ꠔꠔ* was interpreted as meaning 'dwelling,' for it is not difficult to see why 'field' was added. As we have noted above, there was much taking of others' land even by violence. The oppressors might easily reconcile their aggressions and the law by saying they had not taken the house but only the field. The law is, therefore, amended to carry out its original intent. Doubtless the sweeping final clause, 'nor anything which is thy neighbour's,' was added to meet casuistical juggling. If the command was Mosaic, therefore, it could only have been in the form quoted by St. Paul, 'Thou shalt not covet' (Ro 7⁷). But here we meet a new difficulty. It is often urged that this law shows an ethical refinement too great for the period of Moses. Quite true. But it is not so sure that the refinement was too great for Moses, the man of God. The Decalogue does not profess to be a production showing the moral sentiment of the age, but is the work of the most enlightened man

¹ Wellhausen holds that the early Hebrews would object to a *ꠔꠔ*, 'image' (the word used in the Decalogue), but not to a *ꠔꠔꠔꠔ*, 'pillar' (*Revue Arab. Hebd.* pp. 101, 141). It is difficult to see sufficient ground for this distinction.

¹ See the Hebrew lexicons.

of the time. Among a rude people it is always possible for one to rise head and shoulders above the rest, not only in stature, like Saul, but in moral insight, as Moses certainly did.

In a word, if we strip the Decalogue of the known later accretions, and the probable additions to meet new conditions, the Commandments may all be Mosaic except possibly the First, and almost certainly the Second. This is confessedly very far from affirming that they did come from the hand of the great lawgiver. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the Decalogue itself may be a growth covering a period of some centuries before the last addition was made. Various men may have tried their hand at putting the great principles of the Law into a terse and comprehensive form. All that we can say positively is that the Decalogue was complete some time before 621 B.C. (the date of Deut.), and that it has not survived in a standard and authoritative form. If it was originally issued on stone tablets, such a version is lost beyond present power of recovery.

There has never been agreement even as to the proper division of the material we have. In Deut. the command against coveting falls into parts, and Com. 1 may be regarded either as a part of the introduction, or less probably as part of the First Commandment, which here deals with images. This arrangement is followed by the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches to this day, while most Protestant bodies and the Greek Church adhere to the division in Exodus.¹

5. Theology and ethics of the Decalogue.—In its theology the first striking feature of the Decalogue is its monotheism. It is true that there is some doubt as to the meaning of the First Commandment, but, whatever its original meaning, it was ultimately interpreted as an uncompromising prohibition of the worship of any deity other than Jahweh. That is a necessary step in the development of any religion. Even some that are formally monotheistic are not really so. A prophet may be exalted to the place of a subordinate deity, as in Muhammadanism; or a saint may be made to stand so close to God that the distinction is unreal to the ordinary worshipper. In the lower forms of religion there is a tendency to divide the supposed Divine functions, and assume a deity to preside over each. In the Decalogue, even in its most primitive form, there is but one God, and all Divine offices are performed by Him. In the Deuteronomic form there is nothing which goes beyond nationalism. Jahweh is the only God in Israel. He brought them out of Egypt, and He ordained laws for them. In the later form, the thought of Jahweh as the God of the whole world is brought out in reference to creation.

The prohibition of image-worship puts the religion on a high plane. Though it was supposed that Jahweh could engrave stones, His image could not be made in stone. Jahweh was truly a spiritual being, too sublime to be represented in an image, and too great to be portrayed in the likeness of animal life. In the present form of Com. 2, idolatry is deemed the worst form of sin. It is this that arouses the jealousy of Jahweh, and calls down enduring punishment upon the offenders, and wide-spreading mercy to the innocent. Hating Jahweh is synonymous with idolatry, and loving Him is equivalent to spiritual devotion. This conception could hardly have come from the pre-prophetic period.

The ethical tone of the Decalogue is very high, especially if we assign it to the early period of national life. We note first the demand for truthfulness. Really this appears in both Comm. 3 and 9. No one was to swear to his neighbour and then disappoint him, no matter what the consequences might be—a command correctly interpreted in Ps

154;¹ and no one was permitted to bolster up a bad case against his neighbour by the introduction of false witnesses. Killing and stealing are fairly common vices among undeveloped races, and are far too prevalent even among the most advanced peoples. But the clear terse laws on the two tables, without any qualifications whatever, doubtless saved many a life in Israel, and helped to maintain personal property inviolate. The forbidding of coveting reaches the evangelical note (cf. Mt 5²⁸). It is hardly necessary to assume that coveting is as great a vice as stealing, or that a lustful desire is as degrading as a lustful act. But even in the early ages it must have been apparent that coveting leads to vicious action. Abimelech coveted the throne, and the murder of his seventy brothers resulted (Jg 9). Ahab coveted the land of Naboth, and the murder of Naboth and the confiscation of his land was the consequence (1 K 21). David's passions were aroused by the sight of a beautiful woman, and there followed the criminal death of Uriah and the unholy marriage with his widow (2 S 11).

The ethical standards of the world are still far too low, but it is certain that they would be even lower but for the great influence of the Ten Commandments. It is very desirable that they be stripped of later accretions, and in a simpler and more original form continue to be read to the people in the churches and taught to the children in the Sunday schools.

LITERATURE.—The student will naturally consult the various commentaries on Exodus and Deut., the Bible dictionaries and encyclopædias, and works on Hebrew religion. The following may also be consulted: G. L. Robinson, *The Decalogue and Criticism*, Chicago, 1899; R. Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im AT*, Marburg, 1896; Meisner, *Der Dekalog*, Halle, 1893; B. Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*, Halle, 1892; N. Peters, *Die älteste Abschrift der zehn Gebote*, Freiburg i. B. 1905; F. W. Farrar, *The Voice from Sinai*, London 1892; J. Oswald Dykes, *The Law of the Ten Words*, do., 1884; E. Kautzsch, art. 'Religion of Israel,' in *HDB*, vol. v. p. 612.

L. W. BATTEN.

DECISION.—The term 'decision' may be used (1) concretely, of the judgment which is affirmed at the conclusion of a period of deliberation (*q.v.*); or (2) abstractly, of the ability to 'come to a decision,' *i.e.* to bring deliberation to a conclusion.

Decisions are as various in kind as the subjects about which we deliberate. Thus the judge issues his decision—that a charge is proved or not proved; a connoisseur decides that he prefers one wine to another. Decisions which consist in the resolve that a certain kind of action is to be performed by oneself seem to form a class apart. It is in connexion with these that the strife between necessitarians and libertarians has been waged. This, however, is a controversy affecting the determination of content of the judgment which is a decision, *i.e.* the quality of the conduct decided on. Though extreme necessitarians declare that every decision is mechanically determined, no one denies the reality of decision as a psychological crisis. This crisis consists in a concentration of the attention on the idea of one of the possible courses of action before us, with a consequent inhibition of the ideas of the other possibilities. Recent advocates of the doctrine of free will (*q.v.*) base their argument upon the feeling of effort which accompanies a typical class of decisions. See, further, **DESIRE, WILL.**

LITERATURE.—W. James, *Text-book of Psychology*, London, 1892, pp. 415-460; W. M. Wundt, *Human and Animal Psychology*, Eng. tr., 1901, p. 233. G. R. T. ROSS.

¹ There are really three uses, the Jews taking the preface as Com. 1. For the details, see art. 'Decalogue,' in *HDB* i. 580.

¹ This is finely brought out in the Prayer-Book version: 'He that sweareth unto his neighbour, and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance.' This is a confate reading. The Heb. has: 'He that sweareth to his own hurt'; the Greek: 'He that sweareth to his neighbour.' The liturgical version contains both readings. See Perowse (*Psalm*⁸, London, 1898) on the passage.

DECOLLATI.—The full expression is *le anime dei corpi decollati*, 'the souls of executed criminals.' These souls are the object of a popular cult in Sicily. It is spread throughout the island; but its most famous shrine is the Church of the Decollati, near the river Oreto at Palermo. It seems to have arisen out of the sympathy naturally felt in an oppressed community for sufferers at the hands of a ruling caste. For many centuries Sicily was subject to rulers who were either foreigners, or at any rate divided by a sharp and impassable line from the mass of the people. The latter were ignorant, and more or less passively hostile to the governing class. They regarded all who were put to death under the forms of law as heroes; nor did they distinguish between moral and merely legal crimes,—between acts directed against the rulers and acts directed against society at large,—if, indeed, these two categories were always distinguishable. The priests were for the most part drawn from the 'folk,' and probably shared to a great extent their ignorance, their superstitions, and their feeling towards the government. The executions were public. The condemned man (called *l'affitto*, 'the afflicted'), having been reconciled to the Church and having received its consolations, was regarded as a martyr; and his death-scene was a species of triumph. He passed, it was true, into purgatory; but his prayers on behalf of others, even from purgatory, were deemed to have great intercessional value by virtue of his sufferings.

Formerly at Palermo several of the churches witnessed the cult of the Decollati. During recent centuries, however, it became the custom to bury in the graveyard adjoining the little church beside the Oreto such bodies of criminals as were not given to their friends, or reserved to adorn the gallows in chains. Accordingly, the cult has concentrated there. Its particular shrine is a side-chapel filled with votive offerings of wax, testifying to the various benefits for which the intercession of the Decollati is sought. The souls of the Decollati are believed to congregate under a large stone just inside the door of the chapel. Pilgrimages are frequent; and the pilgrim, having performed his devotions at the altar of St. John the Baptist, adjourns to the chapel and prays to the Decollati, listening for an answer to the prayer. The slightest sound is taken for a favourable reply. Invocations, however, may be addressed to them elsewhere by suppliants who cannot undertake the pilgrimage.

The objects for which intercession is sought are primarily protection from violence or accident, and the cure of sufferers from either. For the Decollati, however much they may in their lifetime have been guilty of violence, now having suffered and been reconciled to the Church, hate violence and punish it, or at least protect and heal its victims. By an extension of the idea, they are invoked against diseases, especially hæmoptysis, of which bleeding is the manifestation. Two long cases of rude water-colour drawings on the churchyard walls record with ghastly detail many examples of vows made and benefits received, where violence, accident, or disease of the kinds indicated was concerned. But, in fact, the good offices of the Decollati are not limited to these. They are implored for aid by the poorer classes throughout Sicily on all sorts of occasions, and for all sorts of purposes. They have their prayer-formule, which are extensively used; and many stories of miracles performed by them in person are current. The ordinary vehicles of the country are light carts, painted with scenes from the history and traditions of the island. Many of these carts are adorned with paintings of the Decollati.

LITERATURE.—The cult has been described and illustrated with many details by Giuseppe Pitre, the venerable recorder of the insular traditions and customs. See particularly his *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane*, i. (Palermo, 1871) 77, ii. (1871) 88, xvi. (1889) 4 ff., *La Vita in Palermo*, ii. (Palermo, 1906) ch. xviii., *Mostra etnografica siciliana* (Palermo, 1892), 61, 80. See also a paper by the present writer, with plates from photographs, in *FL* xxi. (London, 1910) 163.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

DECRETALS.—See **BULS AND BRIEFS.**

DEDICATION.—See **CONSECRATION.**

DEGENERATION.—I. Application of the term.—'Mental degeneracy' is a term which is applied to a group of characteristics inferred from the speech, behaviour, or productive activity of individuals, and generally held to be symptomatic of defect in the central nervous system. The nervous defect in question may be either congenital or acquired through accident or disease; in either case, it may be organic or 'functional.' Savill (*Neurasthenia*, 17) defines a functional nervous disease negatively, as one in which 'no anatomical changes can be found after death, either with the naked eye or with the microscope, which can account for the symptoms during life.' It may really be due to some structural change, which available means cannot determine, to the presence of toxic materials in the blood (of endogenous or exogenous origin), to deficient quantity or quality of blood, or to exhaustion of the nerve tissues from excessive use, etc.

The term also implies that the individual falls markedly below the mental level attained by the average or normal member of the race, sex, age, and period of civilization; but, since the number of degrees of defect is potentially infinite, and the defect may be either general or special (in the former case touching all the mental capacities, in the latter such special functions as sensation, memory, emotion, etc.), the actual usage of the term is extremely indefinite. Thus it is employed to denote (1) actual insanity, including amentia, imbecility, dementia, mania, and melancholia; (2) persistent criminality; (3) mental instability, excitability, excessive irritability, or mere eccentricity; and (4) the neuroses of hysteria, psychasthenia, and others: to the last two groups belong those whom Dr. Balfour has named the 'denizens of the borderland' (*Edin. Med. Journ.* 1901). It would seem that strictly the word should apply only to those who have some congenital defect in mental capacity, excluding those in whom the defect has been due either to accidental injury, or to lesions of the brain arising from toxic influences, subsequent to the birth of the individual (for example, alcoholic insanity, or insanity sequent upon typhus fever). It is impossible, however, to draw a hard and fast line between the congenital and the acquired, as many cases of insanity would not have occurred had not the individual been already predisposed to the disease by physiological or mental weakness. On the other hand, the term is also frequently applied to an acquired defect, especially when it is of the progressive type.

In popular usage the word 'degenerate' means one whose tastes are lower than those of the society in which he has been educated, e.g. a clergyman's son who associates with racing touts or public house loafers; or one whose intelligence and tastes show a marked deterioration from his own earlier standard, as in alcoholism, etc. It is applied æsthetically to those whose interests, whether as readers or as authors, as artists or as critics, lie in disease, physical or moral; to realists or naturalists in the narrow sense of these words; and also to pessimists. The assumption is that the healthy

mind will avoid these things as topics of thought or imagination, except with the object of removing them or lessening their evil effects; that only the diseased mind will seek to dwell upon disease, or take a pleasure in its contemplation.

To the biologist, the degenerate appears as a reversion to an older type of the race, as one who has been born with a physical nature in which some primitive human or even pre-human stage of cerebral development is reproduced. He is a primitive being set in a civilized environment, unable to adapt himself to it, and hence coming into conflict with its conditions.

The only common feature underlying these diverse applications of the term is a marked 'deviation from type' either in quantity (energy, rate, etc.), or in quality, of thought and action.

2. Physical and mental conditions of degeneracy.

—The causes of such mental deviations may be grouped in three classes: (1) an originally defective physical and mental capacity, or defective development; (2) physical accident or injury, disease, privation, etc., by which the central nervous system is weakened locally or generally; and (3) social conditions, such as family life, educational disadvantages, poverty, occupation, etc. (Ferri, *Criminal Sociology*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, ch. 2). Thus, alcoholism may occur in a given individual because he is by nature unstable, excitable, pleasure-loving; because his brain has been weakened by an exhausting disease; through mere imitation of heavy-drinking companions; from lack of employment, unbearable home life, or other social conditions; or from any combination of such factors—the result in each case being a gradual deterioration of the nervous system, by which the original tendency is strengthened, until the control of the will is destroyed.

The relation between mental and physical defect is by no means so clear or so simple as is commonly assumed. It is argued that, with the exception of those relatively few cases in which the disorder can be traced to some definite accident, such as a fall or blow upon the head, or to some virulent fever which has been caught by infection, it invariably arises from a congenitally defective disposition of the nervous system; this defect or weakness predisposes to insanity, so that any physical or mental shock which might leave a healthy individual uninjured overthrows the balance of such subjects and renders them insane. They suffer from what Maudsley (*Body and Mind*, 43) has called 'the worst of all tyrannies, the tyranny of a bad organization.' The result of this organization may be that the normal development cannot be completed, that the subject remains at a lower level, mentally and physically, than his more fortunate brethren; hence either definite idiocy, insanity, or some of the minor forms of defect already referred to. In cases of idiocy there is almost invariably some malformation of the brain, whether in its size, in its shape, or in the complexity of the convolutions (the brains of many idiots remaining as smooth as those of the higher apes); the result is an arrested development, and a disproportionate growth of the different parts of the system, which, under the principle of 'recapitulation,' suggest a reversion to, or a stopping short at, some stage in the animal ancestry of the human individual. Popular superstition has always recognized a close relationship between mental defect and congenital physical deformity; Shakespeare's 'stigmatic' contains both the modern name and the modern idea (the 'stigmata' of the insane, of the criminal, of the hysterical temperament). From Hippocrates onwards many have insisted that in a great number of persons the predisposition to insanity is inherited,

and hence that slighter causes are sufficient to produce its onset than in other persons; moreover, that this predisposition may be inherited from parents not necessarily insane, but only nervously diseased; the contrary is also true—mere nervous disease in the child corresponding to and connected with insanity in the parents or near ancestors. In 'degenerate' families there is a tendency for this degeneracy to be progressively worse from generation to generation, until ultimately sterility appears, leading to the extinction of the degenerate race (Talbot, ch. 1). Moreau-de-Tours renewed the old thesis that genius is twin brother to madness, both being in many cases derived from the same parentage, and argued that degenerate types often represent throw-backs or reversions to more primitive types of evolution. The principal application given to this doctrine has been in the theory of criminality, of which Lombroso was the chief exponent, viz. that the criminal is born, not made, that (passion and accident apart) crimes spring from natures in which both the physical and the mental characteristics are those of primitive man, or, it may be, of the ape. The physical stigmata of the 'congenital criminal'—deformity of skull, sloping forehead, prominent cheekbones and projecting jaw, large ears, small deep-set and 'shifty' eyes, irregular dentition, cleft palate, stammering, etc.—are not now so seriously taken, and, according to Lugaro (p. 17), the anthropological theory, whether applied to insanity or to crime, is 'a thing of the past.' It is true that both the criminal and the idiot or imbecile are more liable to diseases, such as phthisis, etc., than the normal individual, and have many other physiological deficiencies; while statistics have been frequently compiled to show the apparent transmission from parent to child of the 'criminal temperament,' and its hereditary relationship with imbecility and insanity. From such data, however, even if we exclude the immeasurable influence of environment, physical and social, it can be argued only that some nervous deficiency is transmitted, which disposes, under 'favourable' conditions, to insanity, crime, or mental instability.

Against the physical theory of degeneracy (as an all-sufficient account), there may be pointed out the frequency with which mental causes produce, or at least initiate, a change of intellectual or moral character, e.g. emotional shock, disappointment, loss of occupation or of means, death of husband, wife, or child, social degradation, religious emotion, school strain, privation, prolonged worry, etc. It is by no means necessary that a hereditary or congenital physical predisposition should exist in all cases; thus, a shock coming closely upon or during an illness or exhaustion, or a period of insomnia, may give all the conditions necessary for the outbreak of insanity. The influence of the mind upon the production of insanity was fully recognized by Pinel in 1801, and by others after him. The evolution theory gave, however, a stronger hold to the organic theory of mental disease, and its connexion with heredity, so that this view is now practically universal. It is clear that such disease is always a product of two factors—a predisposition on the one hand, physical or mental; and, on the other, a shock or a stress leading to the actual appearance of the insanity or mental defect. Thus the physiologically critical periods of life are those at which outbreaks of insanity are most frequent—first and second dentition, puberty, adolescence, the climacteric, etc. Of course, if we assume from the first that mind is never an agent of bodily changes, but always their mere concomitant or their effect, then mental degeneracy cannot but be the sign or symptom of physical degeneracy, which is the

reality underlying all the phenomena. On the other hand, it may with equal plausibility be argued that the real factor is the *mental disposition*, the fundamental mode of *feeling* and of *reacting* upon impressions, which has a characteristic form and degree in every individual, but is variously modified by the *temporary disposition* which arises in connexion with bodily states—fatigue, exhaustion, illness, etc. A shock or stress will disturb the mind more or less, according to its fundamental and temporary disposition at the period when the strain comes. Without prejudice to any theory of the relation of body to mind, it may be admitted that actions are the outcome of the dominant feeling or emotion, which in its turn is mainly a product of perceptions and reproductions or memories; hence in human conduct the mental life predominates over the physiological: and this is especially the case after the child has become able to appreciate moral ideas. It is not denied that the physical nature has an immense influence in the causation of insanity.¹ But it is claimed (1) that this physical nature may be largely modified by education and by suggestion; (2) that it may itself be of a mental origin either in the ancestors or in the individual; (3) that the outbreak of insanity is almost invariably caused by mental factors, including, for example, emotional shock or mental contagion (as in imitative insanity); and (4) that the insanity may be cured by suggestion and other mental measures, in addition to physical hygiene (Dubois, in *Archives de psychologie*, x. [1910] 1: 'Psychological Conception of the Origin of Psychopathies').

3. Symptoms of mental degeneracy.—The manifold forms in which mental degeneracy expresses itself may be illustrated from the two most important 'functional' diseases—hysteria and psychasthenia.

(i.) *Hysteria* has been defined as a 'morbid mental condition in which ideas control the body and produce morbid changes in its functions' (Dana, *Journ. of Abnormal Psychol.*, Feb. 1907). Its most prominent features are anaesthesia, amnesia, loss of control over the attention, paralysis of certain muscles. (1) The anaesthesia may be the loss of sensibility in the whole of a special sense (e.g. blindness) without any injury either to the sense-organ or to the conducting nerve-fibres; or it may be partial (monocular blindness; narrowing of the field of vision in both eyes; colour-blindness), or systematic (loss of power to perceive certain persons or classes of objects, while the sensibility is otherwise intact). A historical illustration is the 'devil's marks' on the skin, by the insensibility of which a woman's guilt in trials for witchcraft was often determined. The insensibility differs from that which is due to nerve-injury, in that it is not permanent, but varies; it is, for example, sometimes removed during sleep, or under the influence of chloroform, or in the hypnotic trance, while emotional excitement of any kind is said to intensify it. Also the insensibility does not correspond to the distribution of a particular nerve or group of nerves; many of the reflexes are preserved in connexion with the sense-organ, while the insensible limb is not liable to accident or to injury, as is the case with insensibility arising from a severed nerve. It has been

proved also that, while the subject is unaware of the existence of such anaesthesias, and therefore does not, of course, notice the impressions which are made on the insensitive organs, these are nevertheless recorded, and may be later brought to consciousness, e.g. when the patient is hypnotized; these and many similar facts show that the seat of the anaesthesia is not in the sense-organ but in the central organ, the cerebrum. *Physiologically* the impression is made on the nervous system, but it is, under the special conditions, unable to effect consciousness, as in other conditions it would (Janet, *L'Etat mental des hystériques*, p. 20 ff.).

(2) A further group of symptoms is found in the *amnesias*, which also almost always accompany hysteria. The memory may be defective in one or more of many different ways; it may simply show weakness, the subject being unable to remember events of recent occurrence, or material which has been learned, with the same vividness, accuracy, and completeness as a normal individual; or the defect may be specialized so that particular qualities or classes of experiences can no longer be recalled at all; for example, visual memories, or auditory memories, or the memory of actions; and within any one of these groups there may be specialization: in the visual group the patient may be unable to recall the colours of objects, while remembering their forms and their light and shade; in the auditory group, he may remember spoken words, but not melodies or tones, etc. Or the lapse of memory may be systematized, and this also in two ways: (a) with reference to the time-series; a period of life may be wholly forgotten—sometimes a recent period, sometimes a more distant one, while events before and after this period are remembered with distinctness; (b) with reference to systems of knowledge, as, for example, when the power of reading lapses, or the memory for a particular language, or a particular science, etc.; still more completely systematized are the cases in which a particular object or person, formerly familiar, is no longer remembered.

(3) The will and power of attention may be affected. There may be excessive concentration on one impression or idea, or there may be incapacity to concentrate the attention upon *any* impression or idea; in the former case we have an approximation to the state of melancholia, in the latter case to the state of mania or the insane flight of ideas. Whether the span of attention is narrow or wide, a subject may be distracted from a task by the slightest stimuli, and hence be unable to learn new material or to complete any task attempted by him; on the other hand, even though the attention be unconcentrated, it may still be excessively persistent, just as in ordinary experience a weak-willed individual may on occasions reveal the utmost obstinacy of character. Education and development are mainly a function of the power to direct the attention, at will, to objects uninteresting in themselves, or for the moment uninteresting to the individual: this power the hysteric patient possesses to a minimum degree. His attention is easily caught by sensory impressions which fall within his field of morbid interest, by ideas which enter the mind through purely casual associations (associations of contiguity, of similarity of sound, or the like), but is not caught or held by ideas of deeper logical value. As the attention decides which of the many ideas that are clamouring on the margin of consciousness shall enter its focus and become determinative of the course of our actions and of the course of our thoughts, so in hysteria the level of thought and action falls. Words suggest thoughts through their sound (punning, rhyming words) rather than through their meaning; actions are decided by

¹ Cf. Lugaro, p. 22: 'The functional insufficiency of a shrunken gland in the neck causes the syndrome of cretinism. Slight but chronic lesions of the kidneys can determine conditions of stupidity, temporary loss of speech, and violent attacks of confusion and agitation. A febrile malady occurring in infancy, though transient, attracting little notice, and passing away almost unobserved, can ruin the brain beyond repair. The effects of this may either manifest themselves as moral and intellectual defects of every degree, or as epileptic convulsions which may appear after many years, and by their repetition progressively destroy the mind.'

sensations or simple associative images rather than by systematized tendencies built upon experience; originality and spontaneity are replaced by banality or by automatism.

(4) On the motor side, there is frequently paralysis, or *paresis*, inability or weakness in the use of the limbs on one side of the body, or of a particular limb or organ, or a particular muscle; and (5) usually also disturbances, of 'nervous' origin, in the circulatory and other functions of the body—asthma, vertigo, palpitation, fainting, congestion, etc. Sometimes a power is exercised over these functions, which to the normal individual appears impossible: e.g. control of the heart, or of the digestive processes, ability to hasten or retard them at will. Both the muscular and the organic defects or abnormalities are, like the anæsthesias, of purely central origin; i.e. they spring directly from some temporary and local change in the cerebral system—a change which, however, has probably a mental origin.

The different phenomena in a particular case may usually be traced to a single system of ideas, which has obtained an undue control over the personality—for example, the memory, conscious or suppressed, of some emotionally exciting event or experience. Cure is sometimes effected by suggestion, which strengthens the power of the personality over the ideas, sometimes by a shock or accident calling up the dormant energies of the individual: thus in one case (Donaldson, *Growth of Brain*, London, 1895, p. 304, from Taylor, *Journ. of Nerv. and Ment. Dis.*, 1888) a lady recovered from a hysteric paralysis on the sudden death of her husband; in another, a cure resulted from the elopement of a daughter. For the most part, however, almost any stimulus is enough to re-excite the dominant idea, and to determine thought and action according to it. Thus a man who had been lost in the Australian Bush, and in the agony of thirst had frequently plunged into imaginary pools of water, used, long after his rescue, under the slightest dose of alcohol, to go automatically through the actions of diving, regardless of the surroundings or of the position in which he was. There is, for the most part, some such absorption by, or fixation of the mind upon, the compelling thought, with entire failure to correlate it with the immediately given sensations and impressions, or to criticize it by them. Epidemics of hysteria or insanity are common among peoples or races at a low level of development, or who suffer from insufficient nutrition (J. M. Clarke, 'On Hysteria,' *Brain*, xv. [1892] 526).

A well-known case is that of Haute-Savoie, 1857, in which a young girl saw a companion taken out of a stream half-drowned; the girl fell down in unconsciousness, and a few days later a friend who was with her became similarly affected. Other hysterical phenomena followed. Within four years there were 120 persons in the same neighbourhood affected in the same way, and this in spite of the fact that public exorcisms were held by the priest. 'The epidemic was stopped' by the Government sending a force of *gens d'armes* to the district, removing the parish priest, isolating the patients, and sending the worst cases to distant hospitals' (Clarke, *loc. cit.*). Here it is the force of suggestion acting on an unstable nervous organism, and securing an influence over the internal organs of the body such as is not possessed, or is possessed only to a very slight degree, by the normal individual. See also art. HYSTERIA.

(ii.) A different complex of symptoms is presented by what is now called *psychasthenia*, or 'obsessional insanity' (Janet), although at some points it is closely related to hysteria. Whereas in the latter the morbid ideas are specific or particular, in obsessional insanity they are general or governing ideas, entering into relation with every possible action or thought of the subject, for example, the idea that one is a criminal, or has committed some unpardonable sin. The idea is involuntarily, continuously, and painfully present to the mind, if not in the centre, at least on the verge, of con-

sciousness, so that to escape from it is impossible. The general ideas most commonly present are those of (a) *crime*, including homicide, suicide, dipsomania, sacrilege, etc., and there are two forms—the obsession of committing the crime, and the obsession of remorse for a crime already committed, the actual crime being in such cases enormously exaggerated in the mind (what was really a mere thought or passing idea being transformed into an actual deed); (b) *physical or mental defect*, again in two forms—obsession of being, and obsession of becoming. Thus, a lady who is distressed at her actual stoutness may refuse food, or take insufficient rest in consequence, while a lady at present of moderate dimensions may adopt the same tactics from fear of becoming unduly stout. Other instances are the fear of approaching old age, of approaching madness, of approaching death.

The common qualities, as regards the content of the obsessional ideas, are: (1) they regard acts or states of the subject himself, not primarily of any external object; (2) the acts or states are socially disreputable, wicked, or ridiculous, or in general undesirable; (3) (and in this is the fundamental difference from hysteria) they are endogenous, self-suggested, whereas in hysteria the morbid idea is usually exogenous, or suggested from without. Accordingly, we find that at the early stages there is full consciousness of the absurdity or folly of the obsession; and also that, except in rare cases, the morbid action is not completely realized. Thus, a kleptomaniac used to take a servant with him when he went shopping, to watch and afterwards return the stolen articles; in another case, a youth, after taking poison, telephoned to his mother to inform her of the fact, with the (expected) result of a doctor's arrival. Again, the hallucinations have not the same definiteness or 'body' as those of hysteria; they lack details, and hence the slightest effort of the attention destroys them, as is the case in dreams; they are seldom completely externalized, or definitely located; they are really symbolic or type-ideas, standing for a system of thought rather than for a definite object.

On the volitional side, there are almost invariably automatisms, that is, actions which occur independently of and even in opposition to the will of the subject. These Janet classifies into three groups, in each of which the disturbance is either systematic or diffuse. (1) Mental agitations, including the systematic forms—manias of interrogation, of doubt, of precision, of explanation; and the diffuse form—the mania of rumination or reverie. The essential character of all is a movement of the mind which is incapable of arresting itself upon any one fact or thought, but is compelled to pass beyond it, to add something to it, and then something more, and something more, without end—'ideas either revolving in a circle, or branching out endlessly, but in any case never reaching an end, a definite conclusion' (*Les Obsessions*, i. 150). Familiar cases are those in which a patient deliberates for hours about carrying out some simple, and, normally, habitual action: e.g. that of putting on a sock, choosing a necktie, stepping over an object in the roadway. (2) On the motor side, what are called 'tics,' that is, automatic actions, twitchings, movements of the lips, etc., these being in nearly all cases symbols or traces of complete actions as suggested by the ideas—'psychic short-cuts.' (3) On the emotional side there are systematic dreads, or 'phobias,' or a generalized anguish or terror. Among the 'phobias' are the fear of crossing an open space (*agoraphobia*), fear of remaining in a shut or closed place (*claustrophobia*), fear of infectious disease (*nosophobia*), fear of insanity, of snakes, of vermin, etc. The diffuse form has sometimes been called *panophobia*,

a generalized expectation or dread of some untoward event happening.

4. **Explanation of the symptoms.**—The explanation of these phenomena is found first in a weakening of the mind, by which the control over the finer mechanism, alike of association and of voluntary movement, is relaxed and ultimately destroyed. The contrast with the normal individual is the same as that which occurs, within an individual life, between bodily health and sickness or fatigue—in the former case the greater activity, co-ordinative power, effectiveness of movement, ability to recollect at will, and to direct the thoughts; in the latter state the weakening or failure of these powers. Obsessional insanity is an exaggeration of this relatively healthy state, having its centre or point of support in some actual psychological experience of the subject. In hysteria, the general symptoms may most simply be referred to a disaggregation of the personality: some group or groups of memories, or of habits, or of other acquired activities, separate off from the controlling consciousness with which the normal individual identifies his self or ego. Thus, in the automatic writing and other expressive movements of hysteric or neurasthenic patients (Binet, Janet, etc.), the subject is entirely unaware of the actions done, although they would normally imply consciousness both to initiate and to carry out. So, the hypnotized subject may carry out many actions which apparently involve deliberate consciousness, and, on awakening, show complete ignorance of them; and there are familiar cases in which a patient leads, for a shorter or longer period of time, a different life from that of his normal condition, during which he is unconscious, or at least has no memory, of his previous state, while afterwards, on recovery, he has forgotten the temporary abnormal state (Ansel Bourne, etc.). Morton Prince gives a remarkable instance of such a case of double or multiple personality in his *Dissociation of a Personality*. Normally all our experiences, or at least those which are important to us, are synthesized, unified in the single dominant consciousness or personality; abnormally, some bundles of experience, more or less large, are detached from this unifying consciousness, and form secondary personalities, which may make use of the general fund of memories, habits, etc., organized in our experience, and represented in the intimate structure and fabric of the brain. It is not necessary here to discuss how far these self-realizing ideas deserve the name of 'separate consciousnesses' or 'separate personalities.' There are all degrees of disaggregation—from the simple hearing and answering of a question by an absorbed reader, without subsequent awareness on his part of the action, and the extreme form found in Ansel Bourne, Janet's 'Léonie,' or Prince's 'Miss Beauchamp.' There is a close parallelism between such cases and insanity—for example, the insanity of fixed ideas, or of delusions, etc. Freud argues that many of these secondary personalities, as is the case in insanity, represent attempted realizations of certain wishes, desires, ambitions, which the subject has been prevented from successfully carrying out, or which he has voluntarily repressed (*Neurosenlehre*, ed. E. Hirschmann, Leipzig, 1911, p. 54). On the one hand, there is a loss (or a defect), in Janet's view, of tension or *tonus* in the central nervous system, or some part of it, and on the other a 'psychic misery,' a disorganization of the mental life, in which images and ideas tend to realize themselves apart from the control usually exercised by the self on the basis of past experience and according to the claims of the social environment. (On mental dissociation, see also J. Macpherson, *Mental Affections*, London, 1899.)

Corresponding to this disorganization of the mind is the existence of what may be called a floating mass of emotion, dread, or anxiety, ready to attach itself to any idea that may arise, and leading to actions that may be out of all proportion to the motive-idea, taken by itself. This emotion is really the mass of feeling that springs from the altered bodily constitution, and the altered organic and other sensations which form the basis of the 'feeling of self.' Since the alterations consist largely in an increase of bodily and especially of painful sensations, the emotion as a whole is of the depressive type. Such an emotion necessarily alters the whole mental character, and especially the moral character: the subject becomes timid, secretive, cunning, superstitious, selfish, and cruel. In originally higher types there is a tendency to pessimism: the patient is unable to carry out the ideals, frequently extravagant, which he sets before himself; hence doubt and distrust of himself and others; his life is suffused with pain; slight motives cause him distress and anxiety; this 'psychosis' he projects into others, and believes life to be predominantly painful.

Obsessions and fixed ideas are for the most part the result of a logical attempt to account for the emotion of which—although not of its cause—the subject is conscious. In other cases the system of ideas may be derived first from the environment—consciously or unconsciously—and the dread or anxiety is built upon it or attached to it afterwards (see Williams, in *Journ. Abn. Psychol.* v. [1910] 2).

The same features—disaggregation, depressive emotional-tone, or both—may occur in mental degeneration at all its levels. Thus in the *imbecile*, there is failure to co-ordinate experiences, to take more than the first few steps in the synthesis of personality: the result is impulsiveness of character, inability to concentrate the attention, motivation only by the simplest ideas, and these only in isolation from one another, no coherent or sustained activity either of thought or of action. Where depression is also present, the imbecile may become the criminal, with homicidal or other socially dangerous tendencies. In the *paranoiac*, there is failure to form, or the lapse of, the highest mental synthesis—the recognition of the 'social self'—on which the possibility of morality and of religion depends: hence the primary self-consciousness has the field to itself; there is an unrestrained assertion of individual wishes and desires, and a total disregard for the convenience, wishes, or claims of others. The enormous self-esteem easily leads to delusions of unlimited power, wealth, or high rank (*megalomania*), or, where depression is present, to mania of persecution, etc. The nearest parallel that we have in normal life is to be found in dreams (*q.v.*), the analogy of which with insanity has been frequently pointed out (Moreau-de-Tours, Maury, Sir Arthur Mitchell, etc.). The higher systems are out of function, for the time being; the will is at rest; each idea, suggested by present sensory impressions, or by recent experiences, has the field of consciousness to itself: hence it takes on an illusory objectivity, and appears as a real experience or perception, while it tends to call up associate ideas which, however, are bound to it only by the lowest, purely mechanical, bonds (habit-associations, associations of sensory similarity). Thus, Maury (*Le Sommeil et les rêves*, Paris, 1865, ch. vi.) describes a dream in which the main incidents were connected together through the words 'Kilomètre,' 'Kilogram,' 'Gilolo,' 'Lobelia,' 'Lopez,' 'Loto.' Simultaneous dissociation of personality is also a common feature of the dream; we appear to be debating with another person, who questions us and answers us; both dis-

putants, however, are ourselves. Maury (*loc. cit.*) mentions that the apparent revelations of dreams may sometimes be traced to forgotten memories of our own, which we recall to ourselves and put in the mouth of another person, in our dream. In general, however, the thoughts of the dream are trivial, absurd, meaningless, as any one may prove for himself by writing down, immediately on waking, the words he has just been uttering in his dream. The same defect, and the same lack of power to criticize what passes through the subject's own mind, we have found to be common in mental degeneracy. The hallucinations of the insane, and the vague emotional depression, dread, or anxiety, have also their analogy in dream-life. All these phenomena of degeneracy appear also in normal life during fatigue, exhaustion, illness, senility, and in the temporary insanity of intoxication by alcohol or other drugs (nicotine, opium, hashish, etc.; see, for example, R. Meunier, *Le Hachich*, Paris, 1909).

5. **Progressive mental degeneration.**—When degeneration attacks a well-developed mind, the symptoms frequently show a regular sequence, according to Ribot's Law of Regression or Involution (see his *Diseases of the Memory*); the more unstable forms of experience or acquirement are the first to lapse, *i.e.* (1) the most recently acquired, (2) the most complex, (3) the least frequently repeated, the least habitual or automatic powers. Thus, in senile insanity, or in the beginnings of alcoholic insanity, it is the power to meet new situations, to face difficulties, to create, invent, or discover, that fails earliest: habitual situations are met, adequately perhaps, in habitual ways, but the bloom of individuality is gone. There follows the delicate appreciation of moral values—there is an increase of selfishness, and of obstinacy, along with a failure of higher ambitions; then the more complex intellectual acquisitions, professional skill, scientific interests; then the memory for recent events, the recollection of the less familiar complexes of experience. With the narrowing of intellectual interest, the emotional life occupies a larger space; the patient becomes irritable, and irritating, discontented, malicious, neglectful of the ordinary conventions of life; his thoughts and his speech become less coherent, more vulgar and petty, until, finally, dementia leaves no powers in function except the primitive instincts and reflexes, with at the most a few of the more ingrained habits of mind and body. In a general way also, although by no means in detail, these stages have their parallels in the different concrete forms of degeneracy found in different individuals—from the morally deficient 'intellectual' down to the congenital imbecile or idiot.

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DEGRADATION.—See DISCIPLINE.

DEHRĀ.—A town, the capital of Dehrā Dūn, a valley projecting from the Plains of Northern

India like a triangle towards the source of the Jumna river and the main range of the Himalaya, lat. 30° 19' 59" N.; long. 78° 2' 57" E. From a religious point of view, the place is remarkable as the seat of a strong body of Udāsīs, a Sikh order of Hindu ascetics, who are said to owe their establishment to the son of Gurū Nānak, the founder of Sikhism. Their *gurudwārā*, or temple, the work of their leader Rām Rāy, was erected in A.D. 1699. The central block, in which the bed of the *gurū* is preserved, was built on the model of the Emperor Jahāngir's tomb at Lahore. At the corners are smaller monuments in honour of the *gurū*'s four wives. The temple is supported by a large endowment, and the *gurū*, who has the revenues at his disposal, is the richest man in the Dūn valley. Formerly the appointment of each new *gurū*, who was selected from among the disciples of the deceased *gurū*, was in the hands of the Sikh chiefs of the Panjāb, who, at each new installation, made a gift to the British Government and received in return the complimentary present of a pair of shawls. This practice is now discontinued. The special dress of the members of the sect is a cap of red cloth shaped like a sugar loaf, worked over with coloured thread, and adorned with a black silk fringe round the edge. The *mahant*, or *gurū*, enjoys high consideration in the country round; and large numbers of devotees, drawn from all classes of Hindus, attend the shrine. But the most enthusiastic worshippers naturally come from the Cis-Sutlej Sikh States. The annual ceremonies, which last ten days, are performed at the Hindu feast of the Holt in spring.

LITERATURE.—Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, iii. [1886] 1971. W. CROOKE.

DEICIDE.—This term, though not new, has been used in the past with such restricted meaning, and so seldom, that there is an imperative need to enlarge its definition before it can be of service in that branch of scientific research in which it is increasingly used. The following definition, taken from Ogilvie's *Imperial Dict. of the Eng. Lang.*, will show this:

'*Deicide*.—(1) The act of putting to death Jesus Christ our Saviour. "Earth, profaned, yet blessed with *deicide*" (Prior). (2) One concerned in putting Christ to death (Craig). [Rare in both senses.]'

Another quite recent dictionary defines the word thus: 'The killing of God; especially the crucifixion of Christ.' Though there is here a definition more in accord with modern requirements, the student of religions, acquainted with facts which seem to show that there has been a wide-spread custom of putting to death both men and animals thought to be gods incarnate, must set aside everything that so narrows the word as to make it unfit for his purpose. Doing this, one is left with what is, after all, a mere translation of the Latin term, *viz.* 'the killing of a god,' or, more briefly, 'god-slaughter.' It is in this largest sense that the word is to be here used. For obvious reasons, there will be few, if any, references to what was at one time looked upon as the sole instance of *deicide*—the Crucifixion.

None of the phenomena which the scientific study of religions has made known has aroused more interest than those obscure rites and ceremonies, those strange customs, which seem best explained by the theory that *deicide*, once supposed to find its only example in the Crucifixion, has been, in fact, a wide-spread custom, which has left a deep impress on the religious thought of the race. Before giving the few instances of this custom which space limits allow, it will be well to make some kind of classification, which will enable the student to understand more fully their nature and extent. It is suggested that instances of god-slaughter may be placed in one or other of two

main classes, as being (1) *real*, (2) *mimetic* or *symbolic*. A noticeable variety of the former is, on one theory at least, traceable in certain solemn expiatory sacrifices, and may therefore be termed 'expiatory' or 'piacular.' Again, in many of these instances for which the name 'mimetic' or 'symbolic' has been suggested, the effort 'to keep in remembrance' seems so prominent that they may well be termed 'commemorative.' The following is therefore suggested as a working classification for those instances of god-slaughter which seem to have been enacted.

1. *Real* (with sub-class 'piacular' or 'expiatory').—Cases of real god-slaughter may be seen in the strange custom, at one time wide-spread though now well-nigh extinct, of putting to death kings and chieftains at set times, or when they showed some sign of approaching decay and death. There is evidence to show that originally these high-placed victims were looked upon as Divine in a very real sense—gods incarnate. Such Divine honours are still ascribed by savage people to their king or ruler. The existence of these Divine beings in full vigour was deemed necessary to the welfare of all their people. It was a proof that their god could still safeguard their interests. The reason for putting these gods incarnate to death is believed to have been the dread lest, through disease or decay of strength, they might be unable any longer to help and keep in safety those who looked to them for these blessings. It was necessary, therefore, that a fresh and more vigorous incarnation should be sought for, to take the place of that which was ready to vanish away.

Africa and India furnish the best attested instances of such deicide, though traces of it are supposed to have been discovered in the accounts of old-world rites handed down by classical writers. Three centuries ago it was the practice to put to death the king of Sofala, an African State, when even a slight bodily blemish became manifest; whilst the king of Eyo, also in Africa, was expected to commit suicide should his headmen think it demanded by the needs of the State. Again, in one of the kingdoms of Southern India the king was put to death or compelled to self-immolation, after a reign of twelve years. Similar customs seem to have obtained in others of the Indian States. It is not surprising to find that, in course of time, means of evading this disagreeable necessity were discovered; one method, that of providing a substitute, human or animal, having a special interest as being the possible beginning of vicarious sacrifice.

An interesting variety of these customs may be seen in cases where an original totem has developed into a deity worshipped by the members of the totem clan. It has been observed that at certain times, when the deity seems to be estranged from his worshippers, or for some other reason the clan-bond needs renewing or cementing, recourse has been had to sacrifices of special solemnity and efficacy. In these the victim has been an animal of the same species as the original totem. In other words, the very deity constitutes the sacrifice which is to heal the breach between himself and his worshippers. It is not difficult to see in these solemn renewals of covenants the beginning of expiatory or piacular sacrifice. There seems to be a sufficient reason for thinking them to be cases of piacular deicide. On the other hand, the solemn putting to death, by his own priests, of the divine Apis bull of Egypt, after the lapse of a certain number of years, seems rather to be an instance of the endeavour to secure a renewal of the Divine life in an incarnation of unbroken vigour.

2. *Mimetic* or *symbolic* (with sub-class 'commemorative').—This has its roots in those myths

which constitute so large a part of the *quasi*-theology of the great ancient Nature-religions. In these myths the phenomena of Nature are personified and deified, and her processes become incidents in the lives of the gods thus originated. The myths which most readily furnish illustrations of the matter now in hand are those connected with the changes of the season which are so closely related to the growth of vegetation, the quickening of the seed, and the maturing of the kindly fruits of the earth. Such are the myths of Adonis, the Syrian deity, slain by the hunted boar on Mount Lebanon, so that his blood reddened the waters of the river which carried it down to the sea; of Osiris, slain by the malice of his brother Set or Typhon; of Dionysus, god of the vine, who, according to the Greek myth, was put to death by jealous Juno. Many quaint superstitions and ceremonies still surviving, among the peasantry of Europe as well as among the farmers and cultivators of well-nigh all other lands, find their best explanation in the wide-spread belief in similar stories. In them, and in the rituals based upon them, were set forth the death by violence and, in some cases, the subsequent resurrection of a god—a god of vegetation, and especially of corn.

J. G. Frazer writes thus of the Adonis rite: 'His death was annually lamented with a bitter wailing, chiefly by women; images of him, dressed to resemble corpses, were carried out as to burial and then thrown into the sea or into springs; and in some places his revival was celebrated on the following day' (*CP* 224, 116).

Concerning the Egyptian deity Osiris he says: 'Of the annual rites with which his death and burial were celebrated in the month Athyr we unfortunately know very little. The mourning lasted five days, from the eighth to the twelfth of the month Athyr. The ceremonies began with the "earth-ploughing," that is, with the opening of the field labours, when the waters of the Nile are sinking. The other rites included the search for the mangled body of Osiris, the rejoicings at its discovery, and its solemn burial. The burial took place on the 11th of November, and was accompanied by the recitation of laments from the liturgical books' (*ib.* 140).

Again, of Dionysus he writes: 'The Cretans celebrated a biennial festival at which the sufferings and death of Dionysus were represented in every detail' (*ib.* 163).

Other evidence obtainable warrants the belief that mimetic or symbolic deicide occupied no small place in the ritual of long-vanished religions. Such god-slaughter was not a mere amusement, or even a gratification of the dramatic instinct so deeply implanted in human nature. It had a far more serious purpose. Most probably these annual rites were performed in the firm conviction that they would further and assist those great and all-important natural processes on which the very life of the world depended. No doubt, in course of time, many of these customs, at least before they became mere superstitions, would be retained as a means of keeping in remembrance that which ought not to be forgotten. In other words, they would be more distinctly 'commemorative.' Such seems to have been the case with some very striking ceremonies observed by the ancient Mexicans, in which it was the custom to make paste or dough images of certain of their gods. These images were then 'killed' and broken in pieces to furnish material for a sacrificial meal. It is a curious circumstance that portions of this consecrated food were reserved for the sick, and carried to them 'with great reverence and veneration.'

Concerning such customs as these, many questions arise which it is not easy as yet to answer. Even the conclusions already arrived at are by no means so established as to be accepted without reserve. The evidence, after all, is so scanty and elusive that one is compelled to a resolute distrust of one's own judgment, and to reliance rather on the sagacity of those skilled in such investigations, reserving to oneself the right of giving a casting vote in cases where the evidence for and against a certain view seems evenly balanced. Yet, not-

withstanding all this, no part of the great study of religions is fuller of suggestion than this, more especially in the strange parallels noticeable between pagan and Christian thought and ritual. It is only necessary to name such themes as 'Incarnation,' 'Crucifixion,' 'Sacrifice,' 'Eucharist,' etc., to show this. What influence the recognition of such analogies may have, in the future, on Christian speculation it is impossible to say.

LITERATURE.—F. B. Jevons, *Intro. to the Hist. of Religion*⁴, London, 1908; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*² (passim), Edinburgh, 1894; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*² (passim), London, 1900; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*⁴ (closing chapter), London, 1903. T. STENNER MACEY.

DEIFICATION (Greek and Roman).—I. The Greeks.—The deification of actual men and women among the Greeks is a natural development of that view of the gods which their early literary documents show already prevalent. The Greek was not satisfied to leave the superhuman beings whose presence he divined in the operations of Nature, and whose legends he learnt as a child, in a mystical haze, as vast powers of shadowy and uncertain outlines; his mind loved the light of day; he early wanted to know exactly what these beings looked like, what definite things they had done, in what relations of kinship they stood to each other and himself. Hence it was that the gods of the Greek came to be anthropomorphic in a peculiar sense. He conceived them as really like men; they had actually trodden the hills and fields familiar to himself: the Athenian could look at the very mark which the trident of Poseidon had left upon the rocks of the Acropolis; the Spartan knew from a child the grave of Hyacinthus, whom Apollo had slain with the discus.

'From one origin are begotten gods and mortal men,' says a line attributed to Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 108), and Pindar echoes it in the opening of *Nem.* vi. 1: 'There is one self-same race of men and gods; and from one single Mother have we both the breath of life; only faculties altogether diverse distinguish us; since man is a thing of nought, and those have brazen heaven for a sure abiding home. And yet we have some likeness, either by greatness of soul or by fashion of body, to the Deathless Ones.'

Yet more, the gods had begotten human children in intercourse with men; the families of the legendary chieftains, and such families of a later day as could make out a descent from the heroes of legend, were literally and physically their issue. The ancient heroes, as Homer tells us by a number of recurring epithets, were very much like gods to look at. And not only could the Divine thus come to earth, but the legends knew of men becoming gods (*Eur. Andr.* 1255, etc.).

Especially is the boundary-line between the worship of the dead and that of the gods hard to draw, for the rites offered generally to the dead implied the belief that the deceased had some power of action in the living world; only the scope of such power was greater in the case of those worshipped as heroes, whilst the distinction, again, between the rites proper to heroes and to gods respectively tended in practice to become blurred (*Deneken*, col. 2526, note). A difference was, indeed, recognized in common parlance between the ordinary attention to the dead, 'heroic' honours, and divine honours (see *Arr. iv.* 11. 3); but, when we try to draw a hard-and-fast line, the difference appears rather one of degree.

The mass of the heroes worshipped by the Greeks were mythical figures imagined in a remote past, especially the legendary founders of cities, the eponymous ancestors of clans, or the patrons of particular professions. How some cases occurred in which actual men were assimilated after their death to these heroes of the fabulous past we cannot say, but it seems to have happened early in certain parts of the Greek world (esp. Thrace and Sicily) that the founders of new cities received the same honours which the older cities gave to their legendary heroes (Timesius in the 7th cent. B.C. (*Hdt.* i. 168); Miltiades in the 6th cent. (*Hdt.* vi. 38); Gelon, Theron, and Hiero in the 5th cent. [*Diod.* xi. 58, 66]; Hagnon and Brasidas in the same century [*Thuc.* v. 11]); or that the spirits of those

who had been violently slain under circumstances which made some community dread their vengeance were placated with 'heroic' honours (Philip of Ocroton in the 6th cent. (*Hdt.* v. 47); Onesilus, king of Salamis, in the 5th cent. (*Hdt.* v. 114)).

It was thus natural that, when the emotions of reverence or gratitude entertained with regard to some actual man were raised to a high degree, they should be felt as almost identical with those which had the gods for their object (*ἴσον γὰρ σε θεῷ τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί* [*Hom. Il.* ix. 603]; *θεός δ' ὡς τιετο δῆμῳ* [*ib.* v. 78, etc.]). In a moment of exaltation it might even seem proper to express such feelings in the same ritual performances as those used for the gods. 'Ὁ παῖδες, Ἀργεῖοισιν εὐχεσθαι χρεῶν, θύειν τε λείβεσθαι θ' ὡς θεοῖς Ὀλύμπιους σπονδάς, exclaims the Danaos of Æschylus (*Supp.* 980 ff.). Such language was, of course, a rhetorical exaggeration; but, when the notion, even as an extravagance, was present to the mind, it was a short step, in days when the old awe of the gods had declined and novel dramatic expression was craved for, to translate it into action. According to Duris, the first instance of the formalities of religious worship being addressed to a living man was when Lysander, at the end of the 5th cent., became the object of a cult in Samos; altars, sacrifices, pæans, and games are specified as its constituents (*Plut. Lys.* 18). The case did not remain isolated. In Thasos, soon after, it was taken for granted that the State might confer divine honours on whom it pleased; but the fact that this new development was reprobated in quarters where old-fashioned piety still existed is shown by the answer of Agesilaus when the Thasians informed him that they were building him temples (*Plut. Apophth. Lac. Ages.* 25). When Dion entered Syracuse in 357, he was received as a god, with sacrifices, libations, and prayers (*Plut. Dion.* 29). Clearchus, the tyrant of Heraclea, adopted the insignia of the Olympian gods, and compelled his subjects to approach him with prostrations (*Suid.* s.v. Κλέαρχος).

To understand the state of mind which led to such practices, we must remember the movement of Greek thought which had taken place since the days of Æschylus. The religious scepticism which was abroad had, no doubt, for many minds emptied the traditional forms of worship of their content of awe and devotion, and in proportion as they had become mere formalities there was less restraint from offering them to men. So far as the old gods remained as figures for the imagination, anthropomorphism had gone a step further, as may be seen in the contrast of Praxiteles with Phidias. Scepticism had in fact brought anthropomorphism to its ultimate conclusion by asserting roundly that the gods were men, as was done by the popular Euhemerism. The gods, according to this theory, were kings and great men of old, who had come to be worshipped after their death in gratitude for the benefits they had conferred (see EUHEMERISM). On this view, there was nothing monstrous in using the same forms to express gratitude to a living benefactor. In so far as the worship of living men arose from these conditions, it was a product, not of superstition, but of rationalism. It shows, not how exalted an idea was held of the object of worship, but how depreciated in meaning the forms of worship had become. If this is so, Frazer (*Early Hist. of Kingship*, 1905, p. 137) errs in confusing it with primitive superstition, of which it is really the antithesis. At the same time, the development of religious feeling, which revolted against the traditional anthropomorphism, was not altogether unfavourable to such cults. The tendency to merge the separate divinities in the conception of One pervading Divine power (*Schmidt, Ethik d. alt. Griechen*, 1882, i. 52) would make it easier to see manifestations of this power in human personalities which asserted themselves

strongly. A special kind of deification was that which we find in connexion with the mystic sects dispersed through the Greek communities and the philosophies which borrowed from them. If deathlessness had been all along the distinguishing characteristic of the gods, those who laid stress upon the deathlessness of the individual soul thereby came near to making it divine. And so we get the idea that the human soul is a divine being imprisoned for some pre-natal offence in the mortal body. The notion, current among the Orphics, passed from them to the Pythagoreans (Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 121 f., 161 f.). So, too, Empedocles declared that, if a divine being sinned, he was incarnate for punishment till he had worked out his salvation in a number of successive lives, and was restored to fellowship with the gods (frag. 146, 147 [Diels]). Empedocles himself was already reaching that consummation, and claimed divine honours: ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἀμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός, | πωλεῖμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικα, | ταῖναις τε περισσεύουσιν στέφουσιν τε θαλεροῖς (frag. 112 [Diels]; cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 171 f.). So, again, on the funeral tablets discovered at Thurii, the dead man declares to the gods that he is of their kindred, and is saluted as one who has passed from mortality to deity: 'Ὀλβιε καὶ μακαριστὲ, θεὸς δ' ἔσθ' ἀντὶ βροτοῖο. Θεὸς ἐγένον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων (Michel, *Recueil*, 1896-1900, nos. 1330, 1331; Harrison, *Prolegomena to Gr. Relig.*, 2, 1908, p. 660 ff.).

If any one had the right to divine honours, Alexander, after feats of conquest to which Greek story knew no parallel except the mythological triumphs of Dionysus and Herakles, obviously had a pre-eminent claim. Already his father, Philip, had in his own kingdom caused his own statue to be carried in procession, together with those of the twelve gods (Diod. xvi. 92. 5). It is absurd to call in the influence of 'the East' to account for what followed so inevitably from the prevalent disposition of the Greek world. As a matter of fact, the Achaemenian kings were apparently not worshipped as gods (*Aesch. Pers.* 157 is cited by Beurlier and others to prove that they were, but the evidence of the native monuments is against it, and the Greek notion represented by *Aeschylus* seems to rest upon a misapprehension of the formality of prostration). In Egypt, indeed, since the New Empire, the reigning king had been so worshipped, and it was natural that Alexander should here be saluted as the son of Amen (Ammon). But we may safely say that, even without this, the Greeks would have worshipped him. The oracle of Didyma had already in 331 (unless Strabo is right in his scepticism) declared Alexander to have been begotten by Zeus (Strabo, xvii. 814). In 323, on Alexander's return from India, embassies arrived at Babylon from Greece, wearing and bringing crowns such as indicated that they were *θεωποι*, approaching a god (*Arr. vii.* 23. 2). There was still, indeed, in Greece a party of old-fashioned piety who opposed the extravagant flattery as profane. The question provoked stormy debates in the Athenian assembly. The divine honours were defended on the other side with dippant sarcasm as a form too empty to matter. 'By all means,' exclaimed Demosthenes, 'let Alexander, if he wish it, be the son of Zeus and Poseidon both together' (*Hyper. [Blass]* i. 31. 17; cf. ps.-Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.* vii. 22; Valer. Max. vii. 2, 13; Dinarch. in *Demosth.* i. 94). The expression shows that Alexander was understood himself to demand such honours. According to an account preserved by Arrian, it was the philosopher Anaxarchus who was employed to propose divine honours to Alexander in the circle which surrounded the king's person. The prostration which Alexander demanded was regarded by the Greeks as an acknowledgment of deity, and Anaxarchus is represented as defending Alexander's deity on purely rational-

istic euhemeristic grounds (*Arr. iv.* 10). For Hephaestion, at any rate, Alexander demanded worship after his favourite's death. The worship was 'heroic' in kind; Arrian gives under reserve the story that Alexander had wished to make it properly divine, but had been forbidden by the oracle of Ammon (*Arr. vii.* 14. 7; but cf. *Diod. xvii.* 115).

If worship offered to the living Alexander had offended the more conservative Greek feeling, worship offered to the dead Alexander as a hero was in accordance with Greek tradition. The forms of worship chosen would show numberless local variations which we cannot now trace. The Ionian Confederacy maintained a cult of Alexander centred in a sanctuary near Teos (Strabo, xiv. 644) till the days of the Roman Empire. Under the Roman Empire itself the cult of Alexander flourished (Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 5. 1; Herodian, iv. 8; Dio Cass. lxxvii. 7).

Naturally, the Macedonian chiefs who entered upon Alexander's inheritance saw their interest in publicly recognizing his divinity. In what forms they severally did so is not recorded. Eumenes had a 'tent of Alexander' in his camp, with a throne before which the officers offered a sacrifice as to a present god (*Diod. xviii.* 60, 61; *Plut. Eum.* 13; *Polyan.* iv. 8. 2). The appearance of Alexander's head, with the horns of Ammon, upon the royal coinages is an assertion of his assimilation to the gods.

Antipater was an exception; in him the old feeling which condemned these practices as impious (*ἀσεβές* [Suidas]) still found a representative. The official worship of Alexander at Alexandria as god of the city cannot be traced further back than Ptolemy II., who transferred the conqueror's body from Memphis to the new temple called the *Sēma* in Alexandria. [It is curious that *Diod.* speaks of the honours offered to Alexander in Alexandria as *ἡρωϊκά* (xviii. 28. 4). Probably the expression is used loosely, because the honours were offered to a dead man.] Henceforward the annual priest of Alexander, chosen from a limited number of privileged families, was eponym for the year till Roman times. A golden crown and a crimson robe were his insignia. The cult continued in Alexandria till the institution of Christianity (Otto, *Priester und Tempel in hellenist. Aegypten*, i. 138 f., 253).

The Greeks, who had worshipped Alexander in his lifetime, were ready enough to give the same sort of worship to his successors. Craterus, who died in 321, was honoured at Delphi with a pean (*Athen. xv.* 696e). Scsepsis in 310 voted the living Antigonus a *τέμενος*, altar, and image; they had already some time previously instituted sacrifice, games, and *stephanephoria* in his honour (Dittenberger, *Inscr. Orient.* i. 6). In 307 Athens exhausted all forms of adoration in regard to the same two princes. They were addressed as *θεοὶ σωτῆρες*; a regular priesthood was established for them; and changes, ostensibly permanent, were made in the calendar and religious organization of the people. In 290, a hymn, which has been preserved, was composed for the reception of Demetrius. In it Demetrius is hailed as the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite; he and Demeter are the 'greatest and friendliest of the gods,' and so on (*Diod. xx.* 46; *Plut. Dem.* 10 f.; *Athen. vi.* 253, xv. 697a). It is important to observe that the really religious people still protested against these perversions, and saw in the failure of the vintage a judgment of the true gods (Philippides, *ap. Plut. Dem.* 12). The first Greek State to offer divine honours to Ptolemy was apparently the Confederation of the Cyclades (*περὶ ἡμετέρας πρῶτοις τὸν σωτῆρα Πτολεμαῖον ἰσοθέους τιμαῖς* [Ditt. *Syll.* i. 202]); Rhodes in 304, or soon after, conferred upon him the divine surname of

'Saviour,' and dedicated to him a *rémevos* and festival (Diod. xx. 100. 3 f.; Paus. i. 8. 6; cf. *Προδευαλον τοῦ Σωτήρος καὶ θεοῦ* [Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* i. 16]); and Lysimachus was worshipped with altar and sacrifice at Priene (*Inscr. of the Brit. Mus. cecci.*) and in Samothrace (Ditt. *Syll.*² i. 190). Seleucus, after his conquest of Asia Minor (281), had an altar built to him by Ilion, and games were instituted to him like those held in honour of Apollo (Hirschfeld in *Archäol. Zeitschr.* xxxii. [1875] 155; Haussoullier in *Rev. de Philol.* xxiv. [1900] 319). Both Seleucus and his son Antiochus were worshipped by the Athenian colonists in Lemnos (Phylarch. *ap. Athen.* vi. 254). Especially where a chief had founded or re-founded a city, he had the founder's prerogative of worship: so Cassander at Cassandrea (Ditt. *Syll.*² i. 178), Demetrius at Sicyon (Diod. xx. 102 f.), and Ptolemy at Ptolemais (Otto, *Priester u. Tempel*, i. 160).

It is probable that all through the epoch when the dynasties of Seleucus and Ptolemy ruled in Asia and Egypt respectively, the Greek cities which were subject to them, and some which were merely allied, expressed their loyalty in a cult. Our evidence is, of course, fragmentary.

We find at Ilion a priest of Antiochus I. soon after his accession (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* i. 219); and cults of the same king celebrated by Barygia after his death, and by the Ionian Confederacy during his lifetime (*rémevos*, altar, image, sacrifice, games, *stephanephoria* [Michel, 486]). At Erythrae, games called *Σελευαία* are mentioned, and *Σωτήρια* at Mylasa (Michel, 252, 502). At Didyma, Antiochus I. and his wife Stratonike seem to have been worshipped after their death as *θεοὶ σωτήρες* (CIG 2852; cf. Haussoullier, *Hist. de Milet*, 1902, p. 51). Smyrna instituted a special worship of Stratonike as Aphrodite Stratonikeis, in which her son Antiochus II. was associated with her (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* i. 229; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 62). Similarly, in the case of the Ptolemies, we find *Πτολεμαῖα* celebrated at Athens, where Ptolemy I. was chosen as the eponymous hero of a tribe (Paus. i. 5. 5; CIG ii. 444. 32, etc.), in Lesbos (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* i. 360), and by the Confederation of the Cyclades (Delamare, *Rev. de Philol.* xx. [1896] 103 f.). Halicarnassus dedicated a stoa to Apollo and king Ptolemy (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* i. 46). The Antigonid dynasty which inherited Macedonia was honoured by *Ἀντιγονεία*, which are found at Delos (BCH vi. 143), in Euboea (*ib.* x. 102 f.), and, after 228, among the Achaeans (Plut. *Arat.* 45, etc.; cf. Niese, ii. 338). Attalus of Pergamum became in 200 B.C. the eponym of an Athenian tribe, and his wife Apollonis the eponym of a deme; a special priest was attached to his service (Polyb. xvi. 25; CIG ii. 1670, 446, 469). Sicyon in 198-7 instituted a festival in honour of Attalus I. (Polyb. xviii. 16); Cos a *πρωτήριον* to Eumenes II. (Ditt. *Syll.*² i. 619). As a matter of course, the cities actually subject to the Attalids maintained some such worship (Gyzicus [temple of Apollonis], *Anth. Pal.* bk. iii.; Sestos [priest, birthday festival], Ditt. *Inscr. Or.* 339; Elea [Attalos σύνναος with Asklepios, priest, daily sacrifice], Ditt. *Inscr. Or.* 332; Ilion [tribe Ἀτταλῆς], CIG 3616; Sardis [Eumeneia], Ditt. *Inscr. Or.* 305; Ionian Confederation, *Arch. Anzeig.*, 1904, p. 9; Nacrassa [Βασιλεία], Ditt. *Inscr. Or.* 268; Eumeneia [φιλᾶδελφεία], coins; Aphrodisias [Ἀτταλῆα], coins; Teos [priest of Eumenes and deceased Apollonis, priestess of Stratonike and Apollonis, temple of Apollonis Ἀροβαργία], Ditt. *Inscr. Or.* 309; Hierapolis [deification of Apollonis], Ditt. *Inscr. Or.* 308; Magnesia-on-Meander [tribe Ἀτταλῆς], Ditt. *Syll.*² i. 558; and Aegina [Ἀτταλῆα, Εὐμηνεία], Ditt. *Inscr. Or.* 329).

All these cults are instituted by cities, ostensibly by their own act, as separate communities; the cult of one city differs in its forms from that of another. They are to be distinguished therefore from cults instituted by the kings themselves for the realm. The first cult of the latter sort we know of is that instituted for the first Ptolemy, as *θεὸς σωτήρ*, after his death (282-3), by his son Ptolemy II. (Ditt. *Syll.*² i. 202). With his father Ptolemy II. associated his mother Berenice on her death (soon after 279), the two being worshipped together as *θεοὶ σωτήρες*. 'First of all men, dead or living,' says Theocritus, 'this man established temples fragrant with incense to his mother and his sire' (xvii. 121). When the sister-wife of Ptolemy II., Arsinoë Philadelphus, died in 270-1, she too was deified. And now a further step was taken. Ptolemy II. had himself put on a level with his sister; the living king and the dead queen were worshipped together as *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί*. This cult was combined with that of Alexander, a single priest

serving the group of divinities; the cult of the *θεοὶ σωτήρες* remained for the time distinct. When Ptolemy II. was succeeded by Ptolemy III. Euergetes, the *θεοὶ εὐεργεταί* (i.e. Euergetes and his wife Berenice II.) were added to Alexander and the *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί*, and so on with the other kings till the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Under Ptolemy IV. Philopator (between 220 and 215) the cult of the *θεοὶ σωτήρες* ceased to be distinct; their name now appears in the official registers after that of Alexander. The seat of this official cult seems to have been the *Sēma* of Alexander, to which a *Πτολεμαῖον* (a mausoleum of the Ptolemies) was joined (Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, i. 139). Some of the Ptolemaic queens had priestesses of their own—Arsinoë Philadelphus a *κατηφόρος*, Berenice II. an *ἀδοσφόρος*, Arsinoë, sister-wife of Ptolemy IV., a *λέρεια*, and Cleopatra III. (daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, wife of Ptolemy Euergetes II.) a variety of ministers, a *στεφανηφόρος*, a *πυροφόρος*, a *λέρεια*, and a male priest styled *λεπὸς πῦλος* (Otto, p. 158, cf. p. 411). The priestesses of the queens may have performed their rites at separate shrines in Alexandria. Distinct, of course, from this system of Greek worship was the worship given by the Egyptians, on the lines of their national tradition, to their foreign kings and queens; though the influence of the Egyptian forms of worship upon the Greek may be seen, e.g. in the king himself becoming, on occasion, priest of his own deity in Alexandria (Otto, p. 182, note 6). Cyprus, a Ptolemaic dependency, had a high priest (*ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς νήσου* or *τῶν κατὰ τὴν νήσον λεπῶν*) of its own, in whom we may see the president of the provincial cult of the kings (Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, no. 76, etc.).

In the Seleucid realm, when Seleucus was murdered in 281, his son Antiochus I. was forward to do as much for his father as Ptolemy II. had just done for his. The tomb of the old king at Seleucia was constituted a temple, a *Νικατορείον*, and a cult was officially instituted for him as a god (App. *Syr.* 63). With him each of the following kings was in his turn associated; one priest served the founder and his deified successors, and one the reigning king (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* 245). How soon it came about in the Seleucid realm that the living sovereign was the object of worship instituted by the court we do not know. The important inscription which gives us a rescript of Antiochus II. (261-246 B.C.) (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* 224) shows us such already existing. It is a worship of the king organized by provinces, each province having a high priest. The rescript is issued in order to associate the queen Laodike in the cult, instituting provincial high priests for her, side by side with those of the king. Incidental mention of provincial high priests in later reigns shows us the system still in continuance (Michel, 1229), and they present an obvious parallel to the high priests of Cyprus in the Ptolemaic realm.

Although a difference is rightly insisted upon between the cults instituted by the central government and those offered by the Greek communities as independent agents, the dividing line between the two is not easy to draw. This is due to the ambiguous position of the Hellenistic kings, who wished, while retaining Greek cities under their control, to leave them the semblance of autonomy. Cults offered ostensibly by a city spontaneously might be framed at a suggestion from the court which it was impossible to disobey. In what class, for instance, are we to put the cults offered to the Ptolemaic kings at Ptolemais, to the Seleucid kings at Seleucia, to the Attalids at Pergamum? All these cities had the forms of municipal autonomy, but were entirely subject to royal dictation. The nucleus of the cult at

Ptolemais is that of the founder Ptolemy I. Soter, and to him the later kings (at any rate after the *θεοὶ φιλοπάτορες*) become attached. The cult of Seleucia founded under Antiochus I. we have already mentioned. At Pergamum a sheep was sacrificed by the civic authorities to Eumenes I., that is to say, even before the rulers of Pergamum had acquired the title of kings (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* 267). An inscription of the time of the last king of Pergamum, Attalus III., shows us sacrifices offered to the founder Attalus II., his brother Philetærus, and the reigning king (*Mitt. Ath.*, 1904, p. 152).

In connexion with the assumption of deity by the kings themselves, we must reckon the appearance of their effigy on coinages struck by royal authority. The official surnames, again, which they bear have been thought to have religious significance. This is difficult to prove, because the king would naturally be addressed in worship by his full titles, and if, therefore, we find the surname used in the cult, it would not necessarily show a religious origin. In favour of the hypothesis are: (1) the fact that some of the surnames, e.g. *σωτήρ*, *ἐπιφανής*, have undoubted religious associations; and (2) the practice of the Greeks of attaching surnames to the names of deities—Athenē Promachos, Zeus Meilichios, etc.; cf. also the title of *εὐεργέτης* conferred on Diogenes (see below).

The title of *θεός* does not seem usually to have been assumed by kings during their lifetime. For the Greeks of Egypt, as we have seen, their living king was a god from the time when Ptolemy II. associated himself with his dead and deified sister. But, whilst the living king and queen were, after Ptolemy II., regularly worshipped together as *θεοὶ εὐεργέται*, *θεοὶ φιλοπάτορες*, etc., the kings do not seem to have had themselves called *θεοὶ* in the protocol of State documents till the time of Euergetes II. (Strack, *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, p. 120). In the Seleucid dynasty also it is to be noted that Antiochus IV. Epiphanes is the first king under whom *θεός* is attached to the royal name upon the coinage, and Antiochus is exactly the king who seems to have put his deity prominently forward (cf. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, 1902, ii. 154). The usage of the Pergamene kingdom appears also to have confined the title of *θεός* to deceased sovereigns. A king or queen at death seems to have been officially declared to have joined the number of the gods (Cardinali, 'Regno di Pergamo,' p. 153, note 4). This did not exclude the offering of rites of sacrifice, etc., to the living sovereign. Whether, in the case of acts which were understood to be ceremonial flattery, any attempt was made to reconcile the inconsistency of worshipping some one whose apotheosis was still future we do not know.

It remains to consider the relations to the older gods in which these cults in theory placed the men worshipped. These were of three kinds.

(1) *Descent*.—Those Greek families which professed to trace back their family tree to heroic times had, of course, no difficulty in making out their descent from some god. It can hardly, therefore, have been the peculiar prerogative of the royal dynasties in Hellenistic times to possess this sort of link with divinity. They seem, nevertheless, to have thought it worth while to emphasize the divine origin of their families. So we find that the family of Ptolemy at the Egyptian court was traced back to Herakles and Dionysos, the latter deity after the reign of Philopator being given prominence over the former. Possibly the family of the Seleucids claimed descent in the same way from Apollo. The Attalids, like the Ptolemies, apparently took Herakles and Dionysos

for the founders of their race (Cardinali, *op. cit.* 147).

(2) *Immediate sonship*.—Dignity of family was not enough. If possible, the person worshipped had to be himself the offspring of a god. Already, in the times before Alexander, this was asserted at the Syracusan court of Dionysius (Plut. *de Alex. virt.* ii. 5). Alexander claimed that his mother had conceived him of Zeus Ammon. The real father of Seleucus, it was asserted at the Seleucid court, was Apollo (Just. xv. 4). Apollo was ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ γένους (*CIG* 3595).¹ So, too, we saw that the Athenians in 308 hailed Demetrius as the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite.

(3) *Identification*.—For this, again, we have a precedent before Alexander in Clearchus of Heraclea (*FHG* iii. 526). The first instance we can trace after Alexander is that of Seleucus, who was worshipped at Seleucia as *Zeus Nicator*. His son at the same place was Antiochus *Apollo* Soter (Ditt. *Inscr. Or.* i. 245). In Egypt, Arsinoë at her apotheosis was identified with Aphrodite (Strabo, xvii. 800; Athen. vii. 318d, xi. 497d), and so was Stratonike I. at Smyrna. Antiochus Epiphanes probably identified himself with Zeus (*JHS* xx. [1900] 26 ff.). The surname *νέος Διόνυσος* was borne by Antiochus VI. (145–143 B.C.) and Antiochus XII. (86–85 B.C.) in Syria; and by Ptolemy Anuletes (81–52 B.C.) in Egypt. Cleopatra VII. was styled *νέα Ίου* (Strack), and the last Cleopatra also bore the same title, and appeared in public arrayed as the goddess (Plut. *Ant.* 54).

The Greeks had no idea of any divinity in kingship *per se*. The proffer of divine honours in the 4th cent. B.C. was the recognition simply of a personality mighty to impress and modify the world. The Greeks, as a matter of fact, who approached Alexander with worship did not regard him as *their* king (he was king of the Macedonians and Persians). Naturally the Macedonian chiefs who made themselves kings after Alexander attained thereby a position which gave them pre-eminent power upon the world, and the proffer of divine honours expressed a desire to secure their good-will and protection. We have here further evidence that it is a mistaken track to assimilate the Greek worship of kings with a worship of the king as such, like that which had existed recently in Egypt and, centuries before, in Babylonia. Naturally, too, when the new kingdoms had developed settled institutions, the courts found in the cult of the sovereigns a useful means of imposing upon the popular imagination and securing an expression of loyalty. And, as Kaerst has pointed out, it was not easy to find a formal expression for dominion over a number of Greek States which were, by Greek political theory, independent sovereign communities. Over the authorities of the city had been, in olden days, only the gods, and the assumption of deity gave a sort of legality to the relation of the king with the subject Greek States. Antiochus IV. turned his deity to further account by representing himself as the divine husband of the goddess of a rich temple like that of Hierapolis, and claiming the temple treasure in that capacity (Gran. Licin. 28).

The Greek practice passed to the new dynasties which arose in the East. The Greek kings of Bactria, Agathocles and Antimachus (c. 190–160), are styled 'god' upon the coins. The Arsacid kings of Parthia, if, as adherents of some form of Zoroastrianism, they recognized only One Supreme God, found no difficulty in giving the name of 'god' to subordinate powers, and in classing them-

¹ Something of the same sort seems to be implied when the Pergamene king is called *Ταύροιο διοργέσιος φίλον νόον* (Paus. x. 15. 2; cf. Suidas, s.v. Ἀττάκος), i.e. son of the divine Bull, DIONVOS.

selves among the number. Here, too, on some of the coins the name of the king is accompanied by the epithet θεός or θεοτάτος (Wroth, *Coins of Parthia*, 1903, p. xxix). So, too, the Sasanian kings (after A.D. 224) continued to bear the title of θεός (Pers. *bag*); but, whilst the Greek was ambiguous, in the native language the distinction between the lower divinity of the human deity and that of the gods proper was made plain by another word (*yazdān*) being reserved for these last (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* i. 432, 433). So far, then, from its being the case that the deity of the human ruler was an idea borrowed by the Greeks from the East, the borrowing was the other way; the Orientals took it from the Greeks.

Even the minor dynasties of the East came to bear divine titles. So Antiochus I. of Commagene describes himself as θεός in the same breath with which he professes piety to be the rule of his life, on the monument where his body rests after his soul has gone to the 'heavenly seats of Zeus Oromasdes.' The honours to be paid to himself and the other kings are distinguished, as 'heroic' (lines 48, 118, 125), from the cult of the greater gods. His own image is σύνθετος with that of Zeus-Oromasdes, Mithra, Artagnes, and Commagene (line 60) (Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* i. 383). The Jewish Herod Agrippa I. received from heathens the now banal ascription of deity (Ac 12²²; Jos. *Ant.* xix. 8. 2).

Even in the age of the Hellenistic kings, deification was not their peculiar prerogative. It was open to other men, in their degree, to become objects of religious worship. Sometimes they might secure this by the authority of the kings themselves. Antiochus II. had his favourite Pytherrnus worshipped as Herakles (Athen. vii. 289 f.), and Ptolemy II. consecrated his mistress Bilistiche as Aphrodite (Plut. *Anat.* 9). Consecration sometimes took place by the authority of a Greek State.

So Athens conferred *herois* honours after his death upon Digenes, who had commanded the Macedonian garrison in the Piræus (title of *εὐπρύμνος*, priest, *τέλειος*, games [*IG* 4 ii. 467, 24; 481, 67; 1669]). Aratus after his death was worshipped with *herois* honours at Sicyon; and, as in the case of the deified kings, it was asserted that his mother had really conceived him of a god (Polyb. viii. 14. 7; Plut. *Arat.* 53; Paus. ii. 8. 2, 9. 4). Philopœmen after his death was worshipped with *divine* honours at Megalopolis (altar, *τέλειος*, games [Plut. *Philop.* 21; Paus. viii. 51. 2; Diod. xxix. 18; Liv. xxxix. 50; Ditt. *Syll.* 210]).

Probably to this age, and not an earlier, belongs the consecration of the athletes of former generations who had brought glory to their cities, like Theagenes, who was worshipped as a god at Thasos (Paus. vi. 11. 2), Oebotas of Dyme (Paus. vi. 3, vii. 17. 3 and 6), and Diognetus the Cretan (Ptol. *Heph. ap. Phot. Bibl.* p. 151a, 20). Other consecrations were the act of guilds or associations, who worshipped their founders or distinguished members. So we find a guild of Dionysiastæ (2nd cent. B.C.) in the Piræus 'heroizing' a certain Dionysius (ὅπως ἀπορωθεὶ Διονύσιος) (*Mithr. Ath.* ix. [1884] 279 f., 283 f.), and something like a heroic cult of their founder was maintained in the philosophical schools created in the form of religious guilds by Plato and Epicurus. In the case of Plato, the story of a miraculous birth was again circulated; he was the son of Apollo (Diog. Laert. iii. 1. 2; Olympiod. *Vit. Plat.*). So, too, Hippocrates seems to have been worshipped in schools of medicine, not in Cos only, but in the Greek world generally (Luc. *Philops.* 21). Sometimes the consecration took place according to testamentary dispositions, which founded an association for the cult of the testator, as in the case of a family of Thera, whose *herōon* is the subject of the will of Epicteta (*CIG* 2448), and in the case of Epicurus.

When the power began to pass from the hands of kings to that of Rome, the Greeks, in transferring their homage, continued the forms of religious worship. The cult which replaced that of the Hellenistic kings was that of the goddess Rome. Smyrna was the first Greek city to erect a temple to Rome in 195 B.C. (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56), and the cult later became general. The Roman general Titus Flamininus a few years later was receiving divine honours in Greece (Plut. *Flamininus*, 16). In the last cent. B.C. it seems to have become the usual thing for Roman governors to be worshipped by the provincials under their rule (Cic. *ad Q. frat.* i. 1, 26, cf. *ad Att.* v. 21; Suet. *Aug.* 52); the notorious Verres in Sicily had games (*Verria*) celebrated in honour of his divinity (Cic. *Verr.*, Orat. ii. 2. 21). Of the numerous temples erected to Pompey (τῷ ναοῖς πόλιντι πόντῳ σπένδῳ ἔπλετο τὸν πόλιν, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 402) no material trace has been recovered; but two inscriptions, one from Ephesus and one from the island of Carthæa, show the sort of worship offered to Julius Cæsar by the Greeks in his day of power. The first (*CIG* 2957) describes him as 'God manifest and universal saviour of humanity'; and the second (*CIG* 2369), as 'God and Emperor and Saviour of the world.' But now the ruling race itself was prepared to follow the Greek fashion.

2. Deification under the Roman Empire.—For the old Romans the gap between gods and men was not bridged as it was for the Greeks. They had indeed, like other primitive peoples, rites for placating the spirits of the dead (*di manes*), but such spirits did not pass into gods proper; there was no intermediate class of heroes. The offering of divine honours to living men would have seemed to them highly shocking. As, however, the Greek element grew in Rome, new ideas found entrance. Scipio Africanus was not worshipped, but there was believed to be something supernatural about him, and stories were told of his divine birth (Liv. xxvi. 19). In the last century of the Republic, rites proper to divine worship were offered to Metellus Pius (Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 13. 7) and Marius Gratidianus (Cic. *Off.* iii. § 80; Seneca, *de Ira*, iii. 18); but in the former case by private friends, members of a Hellenized aristocracy; in the latter, by a semi-Hellenic populace; in neither case, with official authorization.

The note of that Empire which Julius Cæsar conceived was an assimilation in which the old Roman tradition lost its prerogative. Under his rule the Roman people were allowed (Suet.) or encouraged (Dio) to adopt the Greek forms of homage. The image of Cæsar now figured along with those of the gods. A month of the year was called by his name. In 45 B.C. a temple was even founded to Juppiter Julius and his Clementia, in which M. Antony was to serve as flamen (Dio Cass. xlv. 6; Suet. *Cæs.* 76; App. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 106). On Cæsar's murder in 44 the scheme collapsed (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 43); but in the comet which appeared the following year the Roman populace saw Cæsar's spirit raised to heaven (Plin. *HN* ii. 94; Virg. *Ec.* ix. 47; Ov. *Metam.* xv. 843 ff. etc.). When the Cæsarian party triumphed, the worship of the dead Cæsar was put upon a regular footing; public policy was now shaped by the cautious spirit of his nephew. A law passed by senate and people set *Divus* Julius among the gods, and a temple was erected (42 B.C.) to him on the spot where his mangled body had been displayed to the people (Dio Cass. xlvii. 18; App. ii. 148; *CIL* i. 626, ix. 2628). There is no reason to suppose that *divus* had at this time acquired a meaning different from *deus*; it was the precedent of the Cæsars which limited it to those divinities who had once been men (Mommsen, *Staatsr.* ii.³ 756, note 1; Wissowa,

p. 285). In *CIL* x. 3903, we find *dei Caesaris* alongside of *divi Augusti* (cf. *ib.* 1271). So, too, we find *Καῖσαρ ὁ θεός* as the proper designation of Julius Caesar in Greek (Strabo, viii. 381, etc.).¹ From Rome the worship soon spread to other places. An altar of Divus Julius is mentioned at Perugia in 41 (Dio Cass. xlviii. 14; cf. *CIL* i. 697, 698). In the Western provinces the cult seems to have been maintained only in the colonies founded by Julius Caesar. Antony and Sextus Pompeius, who disputed with the adoptive son of the *divus* the empire of the world, each advanced his own claims to divinity. Antony masqueraded in the character of Dionysos, and at Athens followed the precedent of Antiochus Epiphanes by demanding a dowry as the husband of the city-goddess (Plut. *Ant.* 24; Dio Cass. xlviii. 39; Athen. iv. 148; M. Seneca, *Suas.* i. 6; Vell. Patere ii. 82; Plin. *HN* viii. 55). Sext. Pompeius claimed to be the son of Neptune (Dio Cass. xlviii. 19; App. v. 100; Plin. *HN* ix. 55). When the young Caesar stood forth supreme and brought to the vexed world an era of peace, the tide of worship could not be stayed. But the temper and policy of the new ruler inclined him rather to reduce such honours to their minimum, and among the Romans to bring them into connexion with the national tradition rather than with foreign usage. In 27 B.C. he accepted from the Senate the name of *Augustus*, which connoted sanctity without asserting absolute divinity (Dio Cass. liii. 16; Suet. *Aug.* 7; Ovid. *Fasti*, i. 609; Censorinus, *de Die Nat.* 21. 8). He showed the same moderation in the provinces.

But first three sorts of cults offered to the Emperor must be distinguished: (1) the *provincial* cult, maintained by each province as a whole at one of the provincial centres; (2) the *municipal* cults, maintained by the separate cities; (3) the *private* cults, maintained by individuals or voluntary associations. The first were far more completely controlled (if not instituted) by the Imperial Government; and to them alone strictly applies the rule laid down by Augustus, that he was not to be worshipped save in association with the goddess Rome. Asia and Bithynia were the first provinces to be authorized to establish a provincial cult of this sort; and temples to Rome and Augustus were reared at Pergamum and Nicomedia. This permission did not extend to resident Roman citizens; they were to worship, not Augustus, but Rome and Divus Julius in temples of their own at Ephesus and Nicaea (Dio Cass. li. 20; cf. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 37). In the West the first provincial cult seems to have been instituted in 10 B.C., when an altar was consecrated to Rome and Augustus at Lugdunum (Lyons) for the province of the Three Gauls. A few years later a similar altar was consecrated for Germania at Oppidum Ubiorum (Cologne). To the municipal and private cults much greater liberty was allowed. In ordinary practice, however, the cities seem under the early Empire to have combined the name of Augustus with that of Rome. The cult instituted in A.D. 11 by the colony of Narbo is addressed to the *numen* of Augustus alone (*CIL* xii. 4333). Or, again, the municipal and private cults might emphasize the Emperor's deity by giving him the name and attributes of some traditional god. In Egypt and Caria, Augustus is Zeus Eleutherios (Καῖσαρ, ποντομέδοντι καὶ ἀνέλων κρατέρου | Ζεὺς τῷ ἐκ Ζηνὸς πατρὸς Ἐλευθερίῳ, *CIG* 4923; cf. 4715; *BCH* xi. [1887] 306; and the expression 'god of god', i.e. son of Divus Julius, in Ditt.

¹ That the Daphnis who is deified in Virgil, *Ee.* v., represents Julius Caesar was suggested by the scholars of antiquity and is commonly repeated to-day. Daphnis has, however, nothing but his deification in common with Caesar; and, since the deification was a part of the old Sicilian story it forms a very slender ground for the identification.

Inscr. Orient. 655); at Alabanda in Caria, Apollo Eleutherios (*CIG* 2903f=Ditt. *Inscr. Orient.* ii. 457). At Athens the temple begun by Pisistratus to Zeus Olympios was consecrated to the *genius* of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 60). Not only Augustus himself, but other members of the Imperial family become objects of worship. Athens honours his grandson Gaius as *εὐός Ἀπῆς* (*CIA* iii. 444); Mitylene, his son-in-law Agrippa as *θεός αὐρίπ* (*CIG* 2176); Nyssa has a special priest for his stepson Tiberius (*CIG* 2943). A temple was consecrated to Octavia after her death by Corinth (Paus. ii. 3. 1). The first day of each month in Egypt and Asia was called Σεβαστή (Kaibel, *Inscr. Græc. Sic.* 1890, p. 701). Games, among the Greeks a form of religious festivity, were everywhere instituted in honour of Augustus or members of the Imperial house (Ρωμαῖα Σεβαστά, Καὶσάρη Ἀγριππῆα, Ditt. *Syll.*² 677; Suet. *Aug.* 98, etc.). Even king Herod built temples and instituted games to Augustus and Rome (Jos. *BJ* i. 21, §§ 403 f.). In Italy the cult of Augustus seems to have spread largely before his death; temples and priests (*sacerdotes* in some places, *flamines* in others) are found in existence, at any rate, in colonies which Augustus had founded, and in cities of which he was in some way the patron (Beneventum, Cumæ, Fanum, Fortunæ, Pise; see Beurlier, *Culte impérial*, p. 17; Hirschfeld, p. 838). It was at Rome that the worship was most severely restrained. The Emperor refused to be saluted by his fellow-citizens as god, or to allow a temple to him to be erected in the capital. But he permitted his name to be inserted in the ancient hymns of the Salii (Mommsen, *Res gestæ divi Aug.*, 1883, p. 44), and the *Genius* Augusti to be worshipped along with the *Lares* of the city—i.e. so far as the worship of a living man was admitted, it must put off its alien complexion and be screened by the formulæ of the national religion, though here again the restraint could not extend to the action of individuals or the exuberant language of literature.

The poets, inspired as they were by Greek ideals, and using the old mythological conceptions without any belief in their literal truth, let their fancy run free in expressing the Emperor's deity (Virg. *Georg.* i. 24 f.; Hor. *Ode.* iii. 3. 11; 5. 1 f., 25. 4 f., etc.).

In Rome, too, men found pleasure in identifying the Emperor with some particular one of the old gods; sometimes it was Apollo (Suet. *Aug.* 70; Serv. ad *Ecl.* iv. 10); sometimes it was Mercury (Hor. *Odes*, i. 2. 41 f.); cf. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 1904, p. 176 f.); sometimes it was Juppiter (Hor. *Epist.* i. 19. 43; Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Myth.* ii. 445).

When Augustus died (A.D. 14), the Roman people might at last worship him without restraint. After the precedent set in the case of Julius Caesar, he was declared a *divus* by a decree of the Senate. As the timely appearance of a comet was not to be counted upon, an eagle was liberated at the funeral, to represent visibly the soul of the Emperor flying to heaven; and a senator was found to bear witness to having seen the actual Emperor ascend (Suet. *Aug.* 100). Tiberius followed his predecessor in restraining the divine honours offered to himself. It is only due to his resolution that we do not to-day say 'Tibery' for September or October, as we say 'July' and 'August' in memory of the first two *divi*. The Greeks, indeed, were permitted as before to worship the living Emperor, and to consecrate temples to himself and his mother Livia, while the merely figurative character of the worship was emphasized even more than before by the 'God-Senate' (θεός σύγκλητος) taking the place of the goddess Rome in the cults maintained with Imperial sanction by the provincial centres (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 15). Municipal priests of Tiberius are found in one or two Italian towns (Venusia, Surrentum)

(Hirschfeld, p. 842), but in Rome itself no such cult was tolerated, nor would Tiberius entertain the request of the province *Betica* to be allowed to build a temple to him and his mother (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 37, 38). The worship of *Divus Augustus*, on the other hand, Tiberius piously furthered. A temple was begun to him in Rome; and, whereas old altars had hitherto been erected to him in the Western provinces, Tarraco was allowed in A.D. 15 to build him a temple (Tac. *Ann.* i. 78). In the East, Cyzius was even punished for slackness in this cult (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 36). The severity with which the transgressions of individuals were visited increased as the reign of Tiberius went on. It became punishable even to change one's garments before an image of Augustus, or carry a ring with his effigy engraved upon it into an unclean place (Suet. *Tib.* 58). At the death of Tiberius it was seen that the formality of consecration, if religiously empty, had some political value as a verdict passed upon a deceased ruler by his subjects. The Senate refused to raise Tiberius to divinity. It had, indeed, not improbably been the intention of Tiberius that consecration should by no means become a rule, but should be confined to the founders of the dynasty, Julius and Augustus. But Caligula, who succeeded him (A.D. 37), was so far his opposite that he claimed the honours which Tiberius had repelled. No mummery was too extravagant for this wretched maniac. A temple was built for him on the Palatine; he made himself the equal of Juppiter, and the Roman aristocracy were compelled on pain of death to offer him all the forms of religious homage. On his assassination in 41, the Senate refused him also divinity; his reign was a mad episode; but under Claudius we register further developments of a lasting kind in the worship of the Emperors. Caligula had already caused his sister Drusilla to be consecrated by the Senate as the first *diva*. Claudius had his grandmother Livia associated as *diva* with her husband *Divus Augustus* (Suet. *Claud.* 11; Dio Cass. ix. 5); and he permitted (between A.D. 50 and 54) a temple (not an altar) to be erected to himself in Britain at Camulodunum (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 31; Sen. *Apokol.* 8; cf. Kornemann, p. 102, note 2; Toutain, *Cultes païens*, p. 86). Claudius after his death (54) became the third *divus* by decree of the Senate; his elevation provoked the lampoon called *Apokolokyntosis*, which has come down to us among the works of Seneca.

After the precedent set by the elevation of Claudius, consecration became a normal formality at the decease of every Emperor, unless it was desired to affix a stigma to his reign. The outlines of the worship of the Emperors remained very much as they had come to shape themselves under Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius, i.e. in the Greek East various local cults of the reigning Emperor, whilst at the provincial headquarters the cult of Rome and Augustus became, after the apotheosis of Claudius, a cult of the *θεοὶ Σεβαστοί*, among whom the reigning Emperor was included; in the Western provinces, the cult of Rome and (the first) Augustus became a cult of Rome and (the reigning) Augustus or 'Rome et Augustorum.' Beside the original altars, temples would seem to have generally arisen after the precedent of Tarraco; at Lyons, in the latter part of the second century, the altar was consecrated to the cult of the reigning Emperor ('*Cesaris nostri*'), the temple to the deceased Augusti (Kornemann, p. 109). It also remained common for other members of the Imperial family to be consecrated on their decease (Poppæa and her daughter under Nero, Domitilla, the wife of Vespasian, the infant son of Domitian, the father of Trajan, etc.), although after Hadrian the privilege seems generally to have been restricted to

Emperesses¹ (see list of *divi* in Beurlier, p. 325 f.). And, although the worship of the living Emperor was not usually countenanced in Rome, the worship of his *numen* or *genius* was part of the official religious system. The oath generally recognized in the business of the Empire was by the *genius* of the Emperor (ὁ Σεβαστοῦ ὅρκος, cf. Apul. *Metam.* ix. 41). In the laws of Salpensa and Malaga the formula for swearing inserts, between Juppiter and the *penates*, first the list of consecrated *divi*, and then the *genius* of the reigning Emperor.

None but the worst Emperors followed Caligula in demanding for themselves divine honours during their lifetime. Nero did so, and a temple to him as *divus* would have been erected in Rome but for its ill omen, 'for the honour of the gods is not conferred upon the ruler before he has ceased to act among mankind' (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 74). Domitian established a worship of himself, and was addressed at court as '*dominus et deus*' (Dio Cass. lxxvii. 13; Suet. *Dom.* 13; Martial, v. 8). Commodus had himself worshipped as Hercules, and was fond of masquerading with club and lion-skin (Lamprid. *Commod.* 8, 9; Herodian, i. 14. 9, 15. 2-5).² Aurelian (A.D. 270-275) was the first Emperor of sound understanding who took to himself the titles of divinity ('*dominus et deus*'), but he already had conceived the idea of giving the Roman autocracy an expression no less ceremonious than that of Oriental monarchy. What Aurelian conceived Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) carried out. Among his measures was one to introduce the custom of prostration, and to take for himself and his colleague the names of Jovius and Herculius. When Christianity became dominant with Constantine, worship of the earthly sovereign had, of course, to cease. To the forms, however, of the old worship a political or social value had come to attach which made it difficult to abolish them absolutely. The Christian Emperors as late as Valerian I. (A.D. 364-375) were officially consecrated after their death (Ausonius, *Gratiar. act.* 7), and the use of the term *divus*, in common parlance, of a deceased Emperor continued for centuries (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 8; *Cod. Just.* v. 27. 5, etc.). The provincial temples of the Emperor had become so much a centre for public festivities, etc., that Constantine allowed them to continue, stipulating, however, that no rites of pagan sacrifice should be performed in them (Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscr. Latin.* [1873] 2843, l. 45 f.). Such temples were no longer dedicated to any Emperor personally, but to the Imperial Family (*gens Flavia*) in the abstract. The priests of the Imperial cult and the *sacerdotes* (ex-priests) had come to form an important element in the cities of the Empire, discharging secular as well as religious functions. These, therefore, the Christian Empire allowed to subsist. Since, however, they still bore the insignia of old pagan *coronati* or *sacerdotes*, there was a feeling against them among the religious (Synod of Elvira, Canon 55). Christians did, indeed, accept the office (*CIL* viii. 8348), but Pope Innocent I. (Mansi, iii. 1069) pronounced that all who had done so after baptism were disqualified for the Christian priesthood. The municipal *flamines* continued locally as secular officials with the old name as late as Justinian (*CIL* viii. 10516; cf. Synod of Elvira, canons 2 and 3).

We have seen that the offering of divine honours to men arose among the Greeks as a formality

¹ Such consecration did not, however, imply necessarily the persistence of the cult when the Imperial power had passed to other families.

² It was always, of course, possible for private persons to use forms of flattery, and the Imperial portraits which have come down to us often represent them in the conventional guise of some old divinity, the Emperesses especially as Demeter; this need not signify more than the fancy of some individual.

whose religious significance was mainly that it showed how empty religion generally had become. Can we say the same of the mass of organized cults we have just surveyed—cults which endured throughout the Græco-Roman world for more than three centuries? It is obvious that to some extent we can. Among the Roman aristocracy, among the better educated people everywhere, the ascription of deity to the living Emperor, if not mere flattery, as in the case of the Augustan poets, was no doubt understood in a metaphorical sense which emptied it of value properly religious. The better Emperors, as we saw, repelled such homage, and Vespasian jested on his death-bed at the court fiction ('Vae, puto, deus fio,' Suet. *Vesp.* 23).

But how, if these practices had so little meaning, could they go on so widely and so long. The answer to this might perhaps be as follows. (1) The practices were not meaningless in so far as they reposed upon a genuine sentiment, if not, strictly speaking, a religious one. Octavianus Caesar brought the world relief from long anarchy, and for the following centuries order and peace around the Mediterranean were felt to be bound up with the Imperial government. Real feelings of loyalty to the head of the world-State may, therefore, have sought symbolical expression, and the symbol, according to the conditions of the ancient world, could be nothing but a religious formality.¹ The Christians appeared rebels to the civil power when they refused to throw incense upon the altar consecrated to the genius of Augustus. (2) Among the masses of the people, among those to whom the Emperor was a distant and unseen power, some real belief in his deity may have existed. The formalities of worship impressed the mind insensibly, and in the sphere of belief there are notoriously many half-shades that cannot give a clear logical account of themselves. The common oath by the genius of the Emperor must have acted continually to suggest his actual presence. The exclamation 'Ω Καίσαρ' seems to have been the one which naturally sprang to the lips of an over-driven menial (Luc. *Lucius*, 16). Especially where the personality of an Emperor had impressed itself upon the popular mind might it be believed that he had at death actually become an operative supernatural power. Images of Marcus Aurelius were to be seen among the *penates* of Roman houses as late as the time of Diocletian, and he was believed to reveal the future to men in dreams (Capitolinus, *Marcus*, 18. 6f.). (3) The cults of the Emperor once established served various interests incidentally. The prestige and profit brought to its locality by an illustrious temple, the festivities and holidays connected with a provincial or municipal cult, would tend to perpetuate it apart from religious motives; the motives to-day which maintain the observance of Christmas or Easter are by no means all religious. So, too, the natural instinct of men to form societies of a friendly or convivial kind could be gratified under cover of Caesar-worship, just as they had been gratified by quasi-religious associations under the Ptolemies (cf. the clubs of *Cultores Augusti*, *φιλοβασιλῆς*, etc., in Beurlier, p. 258 f.). The cosmopolitan guild of dramatic artists thought it politic to set the name of Hadrian as *πῶς Διόνυσος* alongside of the old Dionysos who was their patron deity. So, too, the social ambitions of the freed-man class found an opportunity of gratification in the institution of the *Augustales* in the Latin cities of the Empire (Boissier, *Religion romaine*, i. 162 f.).

Deification, we have seen, had not been among

the Greeks and Romans a recognition of the divine right of kings *per se*, but of the material or moral power of individuals. And under the Roman Empire, if the Emperors alone were divine for the whole realm by the theory of the State, other men might attain deity for a particular locality or a particular sect. The deification of widest range after that of members of the Imperial family was that of Antinoos, the youth loved by Hadrian. The Emperor on his death (A.D. 130) encouraged the worship of him as a god; temples and innumerable statues were erected to him, and a star was discovered which was clearly his soul in heaven (Dio Cass. lxi. 11; Paus. ix. 7; Spart. *Had.* 14. 7; *CIL* xiv. 2112, etc.). Theophanes of Mitylene, the friend of Pompey, was worshipped as a god by his native city after his death (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 18; coins of Mitylene), and, similarly, Cnidus voted his contemporary Artemidoros *τυπὴν ἰσθῆδος* (*Inscr. in Brit. Mus.*, no. 787). The vote recorded in the inscription was passed in his lifetime; but the divine honours were probably not to be offered till after his decease. Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus, though he disclaimed deity, was saluted as a god by large numbers of people (iv. 31; cf. iii. 50); Caracalla built a temple to him (Dio Cass. lxxvii. 18), and he continued for long to be an object of popular worship (Vopisc. *Aurelianus*, 24).

The practice of offering heroic honours to the dead became much more general in the later times of pagan antiquity. Such honours were sometimes conferred publicly by a city or association as a special distinction, as, e.g., by Tarsus upon the philosopher Athenodorus (pseudo-Lac. *Macrobius*, 21; cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*, 1887, p. 488); Athens (*CIA* iii. 889); Cyzicus (*Mitt. Athen.* ix. [1884] 28 f.).² But the private consecration of the dead by their relatives and friends became increasingly common in Roman times. Cicero resolved on the 'apotheosis' of his daughter and designed a temple for her (*ad Att.* xii. 36; cf. the temple of Pomptilla, *Inscr. græc. Sic. et It.* 607).³ The salutation of the dead as 'hero' or 'heroine' becomes an ordinary formula on grave-stones; *ἥρως* becomes an ordinary name for a tomb. That many a bereaved person who had such an epitaph engraved meant to imply that his or her dead had actually passed into a life of higher power or beatitude, is shown by such phrases as 'Thou livest as a hero, Thou art not become a dead thing' (*ἥρως ὡς ἥρως, καὶ νέμεις οὐκ ἐνέρον*, Kaibel, *Epig. græc.*, 1878, p. 433). But the custom of coupling the title 'hero' in common speech with the name of a dead man became so general that it survived in Christian times, 'hero' being now simply an equivalent of *μακάριος*, 'sainted,' just as in the West *divus* survived as the title of deceased Emperors (Deneken, in Roscher, col. 2547 f.; Rohde, *Psyche*, 646 f.).

LITERATURE.—Deneken, art. 'Heros,' in Roscher; Rohde, *Psyche* 4, 1907, p. 146 f. etc.; Beurlier, *De divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores eius* (Paris, 1890); Kaerst, 'Die Begründung des Alexander- und Ptolemäer-kultes in Aegypten,' *Rhein. Mus.* vol. lli. (1897) p. 421; H. von Prott, 'Das ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἡπτολεμαῖον und die Zeitgeschichte,' *ib.* vol. liii. (1898) p. 460 f.; Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte* (Leipzig, 1901); E. R. Bevan, 'Worship of the Kings in the Greek Cities,' in the *English Historical Review*, vol. xvi. (1901); Breccia, 'Il diritto dinastico nelle monarchie dei successori d'Alessandro Magno' (1903), p. 80 f., in Beloch's *Studi di storia antica*; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, vol. iii. (1904) p. 369 f.; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur* (1907). For the Ptolemies: Strack, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer* (1897), p. 121; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten*, vol. i. (1905) p. 188 f. For Pergamum: Cardinali, 'Il regno di Pergamo' (1906), p. 189 f., in Beloch's *Studi di storia antica*. For Roman Empire: Preller, *Röm. Mythologie*

¹ If the Empire was one, some universal religion was needed to extend over its confused variety of national, tribal, and civic gods. Cf. art. *CÆSARISM*.

² There seem even cases where the title 'hero' is applied in public inscriptions to persons still living (Paton, *Inscr. of Cos*, 1891, p. 76; cf. *CIG*, 2583).

³ Sometimes the dead was represented in the guise of some god, especially Dionysos or Hermes.

(3rd ed. by Jordan, 1888), vol. II. p. 425 f.; Jean Réville, *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères* (1886), p. 30 f.; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* (1887), vol. II. p. 756 f., 809; Hirschfeld, 'Zur Gesch. des röm. Kaisercultus,' in *SBAW* for 1888, p. 833 f.; Beurlier, *Le Culte impérial* (1891); Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte* (1901); Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1902), in L. von Müller's *Handbuch*, p. 280 f.; Boissier, *La Religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins* (1906); Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'empire romain* (1907).

E. R. BEVAN.

DEISM.—I. HISTORICAL.—The movement of religious thought known as 'Deism' was of comparatively brief duration. Its rapid rise into notoriety, its short-lived prevalence, and its gradual subsidence all fall within the limits of a single century. Roughly speaking, the beginning of the movement was contemporaneous with the Revolution of 1688. Its epitaph was pronounced in 1790, when Burke could speak of the Deistic writers as already forgotten. Nor is the speedy exhaustion of interest difficult to explain. The conditions which combined to direct men's attention to the Deistic problem were transient; and the whole dispute was too frigid and too little in contact with real life to affect the deeper currents of religious thought. Superficially, much excitement was stimulated, until the air was thick with controversial writings. But, with a few exceptions, neither was any conspicuous literary merit displayed by the controversialists, nor did their arguments penetrate far into the secrets of the spiritual life. This serves to explain why the religious debates of the 18th cent. have faded from the common memory more completely than those of earlier periods. On the other hand, to the student Deism presents special points of interest. English religion would never have reached its present condition if it had not passed through the stage with which we are about to deal.

If the movement is to be understood in relation to the general development of theological thought, it will be necessary to seek for an explanation of its origin in a period when the name 'Deism' had not yet come into vogue, and in speculations the true issue of which was not anticipated by their own authors. Halyburton, in his book entitled *Natural Religion Insufficient* (1714), was the first to name Lord Herbert of Cherbury as the parent of Deism. The charge was endorsed by Leland, whose *View of the Deistical Writers* (1754) contains much carefully amassed material, very useful to later students. Since then Lord Herbert's responsibility, whether to his credit or discredit, has been commonly recognized, and this in spite of the fact that his famous book *de Veritate* was composed with a purpose quite different from that to which its arguments subsequently contributed. The book deserves an epithet often applied in cases where there is little justification for so strong a term. It was, without exaggeration, 'epoch-making.' It initiated a line of thought and a method of religious speculation pregnant with results, the full measure of which has not even to-day been exhausted. No better introduction to the study of Deism can be provided than a brief analysis of the main theses which Lord Herbert sets out to establish. The title of the book, given in full, clearly indicates the writer's purpose: *de Veritate, prout distinguitur a Revelatione, Verisimili, Probabili, et a Falso* (Paris, 1624). At the basis of the author's theory is his belief in the existence of *notiæ communes*, or innate principles. These he explains in his chapter 'de Instinctu Naturali,' to be distinguished by six marks, viz. Priority, Independence, Universality, Certainty, Practical Necessity, and Immediate Cogency. Ideas to which these marks belong are imprinted on the mind by the hand of God. They are axioms, neither requiring nor admitting proof. When dealing with

the subject of religion, he distinguishes five principles as exhibiting this primary character, and consequently independent of all tradition, whether written or oral. They come direct from a heavenly source and are common to all religions. These five fundamental truths are the following: (1) that God exists, (2) that it is a duty to worship Him, (3) that the practice of virtue is the true mode of doing Him honour, (4) that man is under the obligation to repent of his sins, and (5) that there will be rewards and punishments after death. The axiomatic character claimed on behalf of principles such as these is open to debate, and Lord Herbert's theories were afterwards subjected to damaging criticism by Locke. But, whatever opinion be held as to the validity of Lord Herbert's assumptions, it remains true that in his works we are brought face to face with the principles which lie at the root of Deism. Here we find assertion of the competence of human reason to attain certainty with regard to fundamental religious truths, and insistence upon the indissoluble connexion between religion and the practical duties of life. This is precisely the theme on which the Deistic writers enlarged. The pivot of the whole controversy is the disputed question of the sufficiency of natural reason to establish religion and enforce morality—a sufficiency as vehemently asserted by the Deists as it was denied by their opponents.

Much misunderstanding will be avoided if it be remembered from the outset that the Deistic controversy was in the main philosophical rather than religious. Had it not been so, it would have been incorrect to indicate a metaphysician like Lord Herbert of Cherbury as the forerunner of Deism. Disappointment awaits those who expect to find in the writings of this period any searching analysis of a living spiritual experience. The controversy arose not from the attempt of the soul to explain to itself its joys and fears in the presence of God, but from the desire of the thinker to remove from his theory of the world inconsistencies of which he was continually becoming more uncomfortably conscious. The details of the controversy will show that the chief impulse came from the wish to find a way of reconciliation between the then commonly accepted philosophic view of the Divine nature and the facts of observation. And new facts were the order of the day. It was a period of discovery and of the rapid acquisition of all kinds of knowledge. Information was pouring in with regard to the religious systems of other parts of the earth. It was no longer possible to live in a religious world limited by the horizon of Western Europe. Travellers were bringing home from recently discovered, or re-discovered, countries reports of imposing civilizations, in which the sanctions of civil order were provided by religions of the utmost diversity in origin and character. In this way materials for the study of comparative religion began to be collected, and it became possible to form some conception of the bewildering multiplicity of religious customs, ceremonies, and doctrines throughout the world. No philosophic explanation of man and man's religious faculties could claim to be adequate which left all this mass of new material out of account.

At the same time, other more subtle influences were at work stimulating man's natural desire to unify his knowledge. In the domain of physical science the process of unification was advancing with unparalleled rapidity. The so-called 'natural philosophers,' among whom were numbered the greatest intellects of the day, were engaged in establishing those wide generalizations which have formed the basis of modern science. The visible success thus achieved, deserving and receiving the applause of the world, prompted the philosophic student of religion to search for some wide formula that would cover his facts as satisfactorily as the formula of Newton covered the phenomena of the physical world.

1. Forerunners of Deism.—It is far from easy to form any estimate of the phase of intellectual development through which the nation was passing at the time when it was disposed to accept, or at all events to discuss, the novel theory of religion which the Deists proposed. English philosophy has never flowed in a very wide or deep stream. It is a common reproach that as a nation England has been in the past, and remains to the present day, strangely insusceptible to the influence of abstract ideas. It is difficult to deny the truth of the criticism. Even the controversies of the Reformation were in England decided to a great extent upon practical considerations. Little atten-

tion was for the most part paid to the examination of first principles. An exception to the general rule, however, is afforded by Hobbes († 1679). Together with other writers of the time, he exhibits a strong prejudice against the scholastic philosophy. In certain respects he represents, with some characteristic English peculiarities, the sceptical tendency of the Renaissance. It was, indeed, chiefly as an exponent of political philosophy that he made his mark and arrested the attention of his contemporaries. With the political theories which he defended, and with the controversies which ensued, we are not concerned. His importance in relation to the course of religious speculation lies rather in the temper which he contributed to produce than in the acceptance of his principles by any body of disciples. His self-sufficiency, his obvious one-sidedness, his disregard of necessary qualifications, and his rigorous insistence on the most paradoxical conclusions from his premisses aroused an angry opposition. Hence it is not surprising to come across the statement that, while he had innumerable opponents, his supporters numbered but one. It was a true instinct which made the men of his time feel that the tendency of the *Leviathan* was in the direction of a thoroughgoing infidelity. The literature of the Restoration bears witness to the existence of a general opinion that danger was to be apprehended from the spread of his influence. Though Hobbes himself was utterly opposed to that kind of natural religion which afterwards formulated itself as Deism, yet he was, in fact, one of the pioneers of the movement. As much as any other single writer he gave the impulse to religious speculation, and, by helping to shake the old confidence in tradition, contributed to the removal of one of the main obstacles to the introduction of Deism.

Another and a very different element at work in the intellectual life of the nation was derived from the influence of the Cambridge Platonists (*q.v.*). They were a small body standing much aloof from the general life of the country, who from the vantage ground of academic seclusion surveyed the troubled course of the political struggle and the contentions of the warring sects. For themselves, they desired to establish on rational grounds a Christian philosophy, leaving to others the barren victories in the field of popular controversy. In them the genuine philosophic instinct to pursue the search for ultimate truth was unmistakably present. It was their dominant motive. Influenced by the wide-spread reaction against the Aristotelianism of the Middle Ages, they discovered, in a modified form of Platonism, a theory which afforded satisfaction alike to their religious and to their intellectual requirements. In the forefront of their system they placed the conception of the human reason as receptive of illumination from the Divine source. From the elevation of the standpoint thus attained—so it seemed to them—the questions at issue between the sects were reduced to their true dimensions, and lost the exaggerated importance which had been conventionally attached to them. In the speculations of these students the ethical motive is markedly prominent. They insisted on the immutability of the moral law and on its independence of any positive commands, human or Divine. For the most part they were inclined to abstain from controversy. But some of them found it expedient to meet the theories of Hobbes with an explicit refutation. Against his materialism, and his speciously simple reduction of all human motives to various manifestations of self-love, they opposed their Platonic idealism and their belief in the existence of moral principles to which an inviolable obligation essentially belonged.

At first sight it might appear paradoxical to maintain that two systems so consciously and directly opposed to one another as those of Hobbes and the Cambridge Platonists both helped to prepare the ground for the growth of Deism. But it will be remembered that the effect of the writings of Hobbes has been described as in the main negative. He helped to sap the defences of authority, whereas the Cambridge School contributed something more positive, accustoming the minds of men to the hope of finding in their own reason a judge capable of bringing to an end the weary series of doubtful disputations over matters of faith.

In a still more marked degree is it true that the writings of Locke († 1704) produced an effect upon the current of religious thought which he neither intended nor approved. Locke was not a Deist, though the reproach was naturally enough cast in the teeth of the man apart from whose influence Deism would never have enjoyed the vogue to which it eventually attained. While his relation to the movement was unquestionably close and intimate, it was at the same time far from simple. For not only did the Deists profess to draw their inferences from his principles, but many, perhaps most, of the opponents of the movement likewise were convinced adherents of his philosophy. Locke may therefore be said to have laid down the lines along which the controversy was destined to move. This he did, above all, by his short but very significant work on the *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695; see art. LOCKE). In the pages of the writers who followed along the path where he led the way we shall find the same ostensible attempt to simplify the ancient faith, at first with an apologetic purpose, then with a gradually increasing and more overt hostility; the same principle of discrimination between the supposed valuable and worthless elements of the Creed; the same pre-eminence assigned to the ethical teaching of Christianity; the same conception of religion as a moral philosophy and a code of precepts rather than a power enabling the enfeebled will; the same treatment of miracles and prophecy as external evidences of the truth of the claims of Christianity; the same anxiety to discover a reconciliation between belief in the absolute impartiality of the Divine goodness and the position of privilege assigned to revealed religion. It would not, of course, be true to say that all these ideas were novel when they were propounded by Locke. Many of them had already a long history behind them, and had provided the subject-matter of mediæval disputations. But what is worthy of remark is that here, for the first time, we meet them in systematic combination with one another. They are made to converge upon a certain point, and to conduct to a conclusion which involves certainly the modification, and possibly the repudiation, of important elements in the hitherto accepted creed.

2. Deism in progress.—Those who wish to be supplied with a chronological list of the Deistic writers may be referred to the work of Leland (see Literature at end). It will be more profitable for our present purpose to select certain writers, not necessarily those of the greatest reputation, but those most typical because representative of some critical moment in the development of the movement. Of these the first to deserve mention is John Toland, who in 1696 published his *Christianity not mysterious, showing that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason nor above it, and that no Christian Doctrine can properly be called a Mystery*. The author claimed to be drawing the natural inferences from the premisses of Locke's philosophy; and the title of the book indicates clearly enough in which direction

he pushed forward the argument. Where Locke had urged the 'reasonableness of Christianity,' Toland would interpret the word 'reasonable' as equivalent to 'not mysterious.' This is not in the least what Locke meant. It is a long step further forward along the road which led to the rejection of Christian belief.

The book was of no particular merit, but, owing to the highly charged condition of the intellectual atmosphere, its publication caused a considerable explosion of indignation. It was condemned by the Irish Parliament and ordered to be burnt. The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury took cognizance of it, and would have proceeded further, had not the Bishops decided, on a point of law, to take no action in the matter. Though the ecclesiastical authorities did not move, there was a general feeling that it was an abuse of the recently accorded freedom of the press when a young author put forward such crude and revolutionary views as that 'neither God Himself nor any of His attributes are mysteries to us for want of adequate ideas,' and that so far as any Church allows of mysteries it is anti-Christian (cf. Wilkins, *Concilia*, 1787, iv. 631). Toland desired so to enlarge the jurisdiction of reason as to make it co-extensive with the contents of revelation. In deliberate opposition to the principle of earlier writers,¹ he refused to acknowledge the validity of the distinction between apprehension and comprehension. What man could not comprehend was on that account to be rejected as false. Not content with merely stating this general principle, he attempted to give a historical account of the process by which mystery had intruded itself into a Christianity originally devoid of this baser element. He pointed out, correctly enough, that in the language of the NT the word 'mystery' signified not something incomprehensible, but a secret revealed to the initiated. Hence he inferred that the conception of mystery in the sense of that which is beyond the reach of human understanding was alien from the spirit of original Christianity, and he endeavoured to show that a gradual assimilation of the new faith to the lower type of Jewish and heathen religions, the intrusion of Platonic philosophy, and the ambitious projects of an unscrupulous priesthood were responsible for the deterioration.

Although Toland cannot be credited with any large measure of originality, yet his book marks a critical point in the gradual change of men's views with regard to the comparative authority of reason and revelation. A certain arrogant assertion of superiority on behalf of reason was now substituted for that deference which had hitherto been considered the fitting attitude of the human mind in the presence of knowledge communicated from above. Another and more easily recognizable result of his rash speculations was connected with his theories as to the course of early Church history. The discussion of the views which he set forth stimulated a lively inquiry into the nature and value of the documents on which the historian of that period must depend. In a book entitled *Amyntor*, which was published in 1699, Toland himself, taking part in the discussion, endeavoured—or so it was supposed—to undermine the credit of Scripture by calling attention to the large mass of early Christian literature, and by suggesting covertly that canonical and uncanonical writings alike were the offspring of superstition and credulity.

Another new departure was taken when Anthony Collins, in 1713, published the *Discourse of Free-thinking occasioned by the Rise and Growth of a Sect called Freethinkers*. Collins reiterated and emphasized the claim of reason to pronounce upon the contents of revelation. He advanced beyond the point where Toland had left the matter, by attempting to provide a theoretic justification of the claim to unlimited freedom of inquiry, in all directions, over the whole field of moral and religious speculation. Toland had himself exercised this freedom, but without prefixing any thorough examination of the positive and negative arguments in favour of extending this privilege to all classes. Collins had the acuteness to perceive that the whole of the Deistic argument, involving, as it did, an appeal to the reason of the ordinary man, rested ultimately upon a decision in favour of unconditional individual liberty to pursue in-

vestigation, and upon a conviction of individual capacity to discover the truth. Accordingly he set out systematically to prove that the progress of civilization has been furthered where men have claimed this right for themselves and extended it to others, while, on the other hand, deplorable consequences have ensued wherever the privilege of free thought has been withheld.

In some directions his task was easy. History provided an ample supply of examples of the evils which attend a policy of obscurantism, coupled with a blind and unintelligent deference to external authority. But he adopted a much more questionable position when he maintained that the cause of morality would be benefited by its complete dissociation from all mysterious sanctions whatever. He supported his case by the assertion that the great moral teachers of mankind had appealed, not to the fears, but to the reason, of their hearers. It was the method of the Prophets, of the Apostles, of Christ Himself. On the other hand, the endeavour to enforce belief by any other means than the plain straightforward appeal to the individual reason had been the bane of both Church and State, the source of moral corruption, the cause of every kind of discord, disturbance, and disaster. Bitter attacks are made upon all professional ministers of religion. Invective of this kind was a favourite theme with the Deistic writers, and for various reasons, chiefly political, was not distasteful to the public. The supposed machinations of the clergy served as a convenient explanation of certain facts in the history of religion, which did not easily square with the Deists' theory of contented reliance on the natural reason and instinct of man. From their point of view the prevalence of patently false religions and the persistence of superstitions were anomalies that had to be accounted for. So they sought to save the credit of the natural human reason by fixing the responsibility for these evils upon an intriguing, selfish, and idle priesthood.

Another point to be observed is the markedly utilitarian character of the reasoning employed by Collins. In defending the principle of freedom of thought he calls attention primarily to the desirable consequences which will follow upon its adoption. Like many others of his school, he made expediency a criterion of ethical values. The spirit of the age, devoted to the supposed interests of practical common sense, resented the application of any rule except one calculated on the basis of consequent pleasures and pains.

A later work by the same writer is significant of the transition to yet another phase of the controversy. In the *Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of Christian Religion* (1724), Collins forsakes the question of the relative reasonableness or unreasonableness of the contents of the Christian Revelation, and turns to an inquiry into the credibility of prophecy and miracle. It had been a recognized mode of traditional Christian apology to rest the case for Christianity on two main supports—the correspondence of NT facts with OT prophecies, and the miraculous powers displayed by Christ and the Apostles. So long as the Biblical record remained unquestioned and uncriticized, this position was strong enough to withstand assault. But, now that the spirit of criticism had begun to throw suspicion upon the authenticity and the good faith of the Biblical documents, serious weaknesses in this line of defence revealed themselves, of which the innovators were quick to take logical advantage. If the facts were doubtful, what became of the argument from correspondence with prophecy and from miracle? So began the long debate over the 'external' evidences of Christianity. It was a descent from the comparatively higher level of an inquiry into the fundamental truths of religion to undignified and often vituperative disputes over the veracity of the Apostles and the other NT writers. But, although the tendency to substitute this less important issue showed itself as early as the third decade of the century, it was not till some years later that the change became general.

Christianity as old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature, was published in the year 1730. Its author, Matthew Tindal, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, had passed through various changes of religious belief, and did not bring out this, his best-known work, till near the end of a long life. It was at once recognized as a noteworthy contribution to the controversy. It was sober and restrained in tone, and

¹ e.g. Bacon, 'Concludamus theologiam sacram ex verbo et oraculis Dei, non ex lumine naturae aut rationis dictamine hauriri debere' (*de Augm. Scient.* ix. 1).

but an old priest or functionary, as was the case until a few years ago with the Musulmán schools of modern Egypt) lasted from morning to mid-day (Sallier Papyrus, ii. 10. 6); then the children 'went out shouting with joy.' The rest of the day was probably occupied in preparing tasks or learning lessons for the next day. Reading, writing, penmanship, and spelling were the chief subjects.

They began with the exercise of copying in hieroglyphics or hieratic. Then, judging from the papyri that have come down to us, dictation was the customary method of the teacher. The passage was usually taken from a religious, magical, or poetical text. Erman (*op. cit.* p. 332) makes mention of the fact that the task for the day was on an average three pages of this kind of exercise. We still have this before our eyes in the papyri of our museums, with the notes, sketches, annotations, or corrections, of the teacher. There was also the reading of edifying information; and the master's favourite method, in order to train the future administrator for his profession, was to imagine a series of fictitious letters, a pretended correspondence between the pupil and an imaginary manager of State affairs. This is the subject of half the papyri of this kind that have survived. There were added to the above course, according to individual needs, a little arithmetic, geometry, formulae, protocols, etc. The materials for these exercises, as throughout the whole of the East, were white boards which could be cleaned afterwards like our slates, chips of stone, pieces of broken earthenware, or old papyrus rolls. They wrote on them all with a reed (cf. on this point Budge, *Guide*, p. 79).

Corporal punishment was approved of. The phrase 'the child has his understanding on his back' elliptically but forcibly expresses how floggings contributed to make him listen quietly (Anastasi Papyrus, v. 8. 6). 'The youth has a back; he attends when it is beaten,' says the same papyrus, and the pupil harboured no bad remembrance of it. 'You beat me on the back and the instruction entered my ear,' the pupil afterwards reminds his old master (*ib.* iv. 8. 7). The teacher's salary was probably moderate, like that of the schoolmasters of the Musalmán *qubbas* under the ancient Egyptian régime: three rolls of bread and two jugs of beer per day from each pupil, if we may believe the Bulaq Papyrus (correctly interpreted by Budge, *Guide*, p. 78; Erman, *Life*, p. 330, thinks it refers to the daily rations of the pupil).

We know that this phase of life lasted until the boy had completed his twelfth or thirteenth year. But, as in the case of the remainder of the life of the infant, there are no certain traces of rites or ceremonies marking the end of childhood and the entrance on puberty (real or social), and the access to public functions or to the life of a man (on this whole subject see art. CIRCUMCISION [Egypt.]).

During the whole of this period, and consequently until the age when the young Egyptian became adolescent and a man from the social point of view, the rôle and power of the mother remained as important as in infancy. Egyptologists agree in drawing attention to the greatness of the maternal influence on the education of the child (cf. Budge, *Guide*, p. 77; Erman, *Life*, p. 155), and her care during the time when he is attending the 'house of books,' etc.

This fact has been compared with others, such as the presence of the mother beside her son in the groups of statues at tombs, and in the scenes of funeral feasts represented on the stela, in order to draw far too general and hasty conclusions as to the existence of a primitive mother-right in early Egypt. More complete knowledge of feudal law and of wills must be acquired before we can state such facts with the necessary authority.

With regard to young nobles or princes of a feudal family, the above applies as a general rule both to the family life and to their education or instruction. The scenes portrayed show them clothed like grown-up persons (cf. Wilkinson, ii. 334), and wearing the amulets or talismans customary for all children, but of richer material, and frequently having round their neck the pearl necklace, the protective figures of Ririt, the *ab* in the shape of a heart, which confers wisdom and wards off diseases, or a papyrus covered with cloth. Many were sent (and often by order, somewhat

like hostages) to the court of Pharaoh, where they received instruction for the military or administrative service of the crown. Just as ordinary girls were associated with royal princesses, these young men shared in the life, games, and exercises of the royal princes (cf., on this whole subject, the inscriptions of Beni Hasan, Syut, and Abydos). The nobleman Tefabi recalls with pride that he learned to swim with the royal children (cf. Mariette, *Mon. divers*, Paris, 1872-77, pl. 68d). Ptahshopsisu (cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i. 256) shows, by his example, that this custom of bringing up some children of common people along with princes was current under the Memphites.

The supposed participation of the children of noblemen in the great sports of fishing and hunting has arisen from a probably incorrect interpretation of the heraldic scenes on the tombs. It is, in fact, the regular custom to represent the children of the feudal lord or the high noble functionary helping their fathers to hunt the birds of the marsh in boats, or striking the crocodile or hippopotamus, or throwing the harpoon at large fish. The scene has passed from there to the tombs of functionaries in general, and has become a conventional theme *de rigueur*. As a matter of fact, the present writer thinks that in the painting of these scenes the aim is to associate children with their fathers, to show that they enjoyed along with them the noble prerogative of directing these sports, and that one day they would succeed their fathers in their responsibilities and dignities. It is probable that this is also the explanation of the presence of little girls in the hunting and fishing boats with their mothers. It is a way of showing the association of the feudal rights of the women and of their transmission to the daughters, but not the representation of a real participation in these sports, at least during the historical period.

5. Games, toys, and amusements.—Certainly no other dead civilization has bequeathed such a large number of materials connected with the amusements of children. We have not only the representation of a long series of games and sports for children, but the actual evidence of these amusements in the shape of hundreds of toys, found in the houses or the tombs; and some museums, like those of London and Berlin (the latter valuable for the comparison between the objects in the cases and the corresponding methodical series of the bas-reliefs of games), in a few minutes' examination of their cases teach an excellent and substantial lesson on this point. Moreover, the pictures of games do not contain the same kind of evidence as the playthings which really were in existence in ancient Egypt; so that the two combined form a very complete repertoire. We cannot give the entire inventory here. We shall mention only the chief types of playthings and then of games.

As the most noteworthy toys we naturally find dolls in the majority—made of all kinds of material (wood, earth, limestone, ivory), and from the coarsest, for poor children, to carefully made dolls with clothing (Berlin, no. 10,024). Some of them are jointed (Cairo, no. 869; London, no. 37,162), and were moved by means of strings. A large number, for very small babies, are, like ours, simply bodies without legs, but with a head and rudimentary arms. Others, on the contrary, are carefully painted, and wear amulets or prophylactic magic figures, Thueris, etc. (London), or even have artificial wigs (London, Room iv. Standard Case C, Shelf i.). Some of them are nursing a baby doll (London, no. 23,424) or carrying it (*ib.* 30,725). A picturesque and local touch is given by the presence of negress dolls, and by the curious details of head-dress (London, no. 32,120—a doll with a wig of long tresses made of clay). Animal-figures bear witness to the tastes of the young Egyptians: wooden birds (London), pigeons on two castors (London, Berlin, Oxford [Ashmolean], Cairo), a cat with inlaid eyes and a movable jaw (London), a calf of painted wood (London), a jointed frog (Cairo, no. 871), and—the Egyptian *toy par excellence*—the crocodiles with movable jaws (in the museums of Berlin, the Louvre, and Leyden). Some of these animals give evidence of a veritable art of amusing very small children; for example, the monkey driving a chariot, the dwarf with a cat's head, and the negro pursued by a panther (London, nos. 21,984, 22,883; cf. Budge, *Guide to the 3rd and 4th Rooms*, pl. v.). The linen-washer of the Leyden museum is a toy almost similar to those of our own time; and the cavalier (Berlin, no. 12,654), and the elephant with the driver (London, no. 29,712), if they do not belong to an early period, are no less curious.¹ Whips, marbles

¹ It should be remarked, however, that in Egypt the archaeologist must be careful not to confound with children's playthings certain figures of dolls and boats which in reality were very rough representations of slaves and funerary barques

(Cairo), rattles (Berlin), boats (Cairo), and, above all, a huge collection of balls (made of leather filled with straw, or of plaited papyrus covered with leather), show that the taste of the young Egyptians in their first games was practically similar to that of modern children. Like the Arab children of the present day, they went to play among the ruins that existed in their time. 'And then the children played among the ruins of the temple,' says the inscription of the restoration of the temple of Cusæ (Speos Arthemidos, line 16).

The series of games and sports represented in the frescoes and bas-reliefs of the tombs show that games of ball, running, and jumping were much in favour. Vaulting, the throwing of pointed sticks, and wrestling were indulged in by older children. Swimming was certainly a regular sport, for the texts mention those who 'learned to swim with the royal princes.' Certain scenes show us more especially Egyptian games, e.g. the scene in which one of the players has his hands tied behind his back (cf. Erman, *Verzeichnis*, p. 281), but, on account of the absence of texts, it cannot be explained; or, again, there is the scene showing, but with rather indistinct details (cf. Wilkinson, ii. 69), the throwing of a dagger into a circle drawn on a plank of wood; and, lastly, the Memphite *mastabas* and the paintings of Beni Hasan reveal to us an infinite series of feats of strength and dexterity. Several writers, e.g. Wilkinson, have made extensive use of these in their re-constructions of the amusements of the ancient Egyptians.

But there is a reservation to be made here. It should be noted that those curious scenes (the tombs of Ptahetep, Merruka, etc., for the Memphites; the tombs of the lords of Beni Hasan for the proto-Theban Empire, etc.) represent not ordinary but professional children (buffoons, acrobats, young dancers, etc.), and often even professional adults. The present writer, however, thinks that these documents may be regarded scientifically, in most cases, as giving *indirect* information on the games of children, except where the scenes clearly represent the feats of acrobats. As a matter of fact, it is probable that certain feats of professionals are simply the improved form of the ordinary games of children (wrestling, jumping, etc.); or, as in our own time, children in their games imitated the actions which they saw professionals perform. We must not, therefore, make the very strict distinction that is sometimes made; and the system of Wilkinson's ancient manuals of including all in the same rubric is a good one to retain, though with the reservation which we have just stated.

6. Death.—In spite of all the medical knowledge attested by the papyri, infantile diseases exacted a heavy tribute from the population (see art. DISEASE [Egyptian]). They occurred continuously from birth to puberty. If there were a great many children in Egyptian houses of any rank, infant mortality reached a very high rate there, as throughout the whole of the ancient East. If there were no other evidence, we should find conclusive proof (1) in the number of royal heirs who died (e.g. in the XVIIIth dynasty the reigning king is often the third or fourth son); and (2) in the surprising proportion of children's coffins in the series of sarcophagi of the priestly families of the god Amon. The children of the lower and middle classes were often buried in the houses, being summarily placed in an old tool- or linen-box with some toys or amulets (cf. Budge, *Guide*, p. 78, for the toys from the tombs in the British Museum). Often two or three babies were buried together (cf., for details, Petrie, *Illahun*, p. 24, and Maspero, *Hist.* i. 318, with the bibliography on the subject). Children of the upper classes received the same funerary pomp in the family tomb as adults (good examples at Thebes; Petrie's recent work, *Gurneh*, London, 1909, p. 10, gives an excellent specimen of the burials of the infants of the middle class; see pl. xxiii.-xxv.): sarcophagi, statuettes, funerary furniture, etc. Theban examples are mentioned placed in the tombs for the use of the souls of the dead. A certain number of these have been wrongly classed among the toys in the museums. Thus the toys imitating fruits, cited in Wilkinson, ii. 66, seem rather to be funerary offerings, and it is more than doubtful if we must reckon the small ivory image of a woman carrying an infant, cited among the toys in Budge, *Guide*, etc., p. 47, and (Room iii.), p. 178, as a *pre-historic* doll.

of a family having gone to really extraordinary expense for the funerary cult of a child prematurely removed by death. Lastly, the series of sarcophagi of the great priests (finds of Maspero and Grébault at Deir el-Bahari) show that children's coffins of this class were similar to those of the adult members of the family, and that their funerary destinies were conceived as the same in the life of the other world—an important fact to note in connexion with the beliefs regarding dead children.

7. Royal princes.—If we except the scenes in the harem and in the public life of the princesses of Amarna, and a few details of funerary archaeology, information concerning royal childhood has made little progress since the time of the collections of the earliest Egyptology (e.g. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*). Neither the temples nor the tombs have furnished any fresh instructive scenes on the matter, and papyri and inscriptions are practically dumb. Especially with regard to education or instruction, we are almost entirely ignorant of the early years of the royal children (the so-called moral teaching of Amenemhait I. to his son is merely a literary process); in a word, it is practically only the material aspect of this childhood that can be re-constructed.

Little is known about the early years of the royal princes. Most of the scenes and texts concerning them represent them chiefly as adults, beside the Pharaohs, in ceremonies or military operations. It is from some temple bas-reliefs, specially engraved to establish their claims to Divine origin, and to emphasize the fact that they were legitimate heirs to the kingdom, that we know the rites of their birth, in which the gods and goddesses played the part which was in reality played at court by the courtiers and the famous midwives of Egypt mentioned in Scripture (Ex 1¹⁵); e.g. at Deir el-Bahari for Hathepsitu, at Luxor for Amenhotep III., at Erment for Cæsarian. These details (cf. art. BIRTH [Egyptian], vol. ii. p. 646) find a valuable commentary in the popular tale of *Khufu and the Magicians*, in which, at the moment of birth, 'Isis placed herself before the pregnant woman, and Nephthys behind, while Hikit received the child' (cf., for the real commentary, a good detailed account in Maspero, *Contes populaires*, p. 38), and the massage performed by Knum ensured the strength of the little one.

The early infancy was passed in the harem (*khoniti*), as represented on the frescoes in the palace of Amarna, and it was probably when they were about four or five years old that the young princes went to live with their teachers in the special part of the palace called the *shapi*. From popular stories we know that the newly-born prince had nurses (*monait*), cradle-rockers, and coaxers (*khomu*), to bring him up. Paintings and statues of the Theban period show that these titles were afterwards court dignities, which were given to men also, and most frequently to very high officials. The stelæ of Abydos and the Qurneh frescoes have given us the picture of several dignitaries, men and women, fulfilling these functions, but without very exact details about their occupations. The usual theme—apart from the texts, or the enumeration of duties in the texts—includes care and education, representing the young prince on the knee of his governess or tutor. This is the conventional attitude by which the statues in the temples express the fact that the goddesses have brought up (in the mystic sense of the word) on their knees the young heir to the Egyptian crown (e.g. the bas-reliefs of Seti I. at Abydos). In a more real and also more poetic way the three statues of the royal tutor Sonmout (Berlin and Cairo museums) represent him tenderly lulling the little princess Nofriurê, at the age of two or three years, on his knee, or

in contending for the probability of progress from crude to refined types of religion, but, in the face of the evidence which it was easy for him to produce with regard to the condition of religion in earlier times and among the uncivilized nations of the world, it was impossible for the fiction of a religion as old as the Creation to maintain itself.

In passing it should be noticed that the strength and the weakness of Hume's essay on 'Miracles' can be properly appreciated only when it is remembered that, throughout the Deistic controversy, miracle was treated as the chief evidence of the Divine authorship of a revelation. From this point of view, the more startling the event the greater will be the stupor which it produces, and the higher its value as a credential. Unconscious of the dangers to faith involved in their procedure, the apologists degraded miracle to the level of portent. It was a blunder of which Hume was quick to take advantage. If Deist and apologist alike were willing to treat miracle as a naked sign of arbitrary power, it was not for the common enemy of Deism and Christianity to set them right. He was only taking as up the ordinary position of the time when he defined miracle as a violation of nature; and, when it is so regarded, with every adequate cause for its occurrence eliminated from consideration, it is undeniably plausible to contend that no amount of external evidence can outweigh the inherent improbability.

3. Writers with relations to Deism, but not properly Deists.—Some writers, commonly reckoned among the Deists, have been intentionally passed over in silence. It will be well, therefore, to add a few words of explanation why this course has been adopted. During the period under review, while the Deists were the most forward and active antagonists of orthodoxy, it was not unnatural that any writer who maintained unorthodox opinions should be reckoned as belonging to their camp. Yet obviously the classification is likely in some places to be inexact. It was so, for example, in the case of Lord Shaftesbury, the author of *Characteristics* (1711). It is no doubt true that there are certain points which he and the Deists have in common, but the superficial resemblances are more than counterbalanced by fundamental differences. He displays the same antipathy to priests, and employs the same kind of invective against the poisonous influence of superstition; but, while he thus directs his attack upon the same objective, the principles on which he bases his criticisms are very far from being those of the Deists. Their characteristic conception of a law of nature imposed upon His creatures by the Creator, and enforced by means of rewards and punishments, is absolutely alien from his system of thought. For him the ethical standard was determined by the dictates of an intuitive moral faculty, forming part of the essential endowment of human nature. Of this moral faculty the effectiveness would indeed be reinforced by theistic belief, but is not dependent on it, whereas in the Deistic system the sense of moral obligation is derived from the recognition by man of his relation to his Maker.

Since the existence of God was of comparatively little moment in Lord Shaftesbury's system, he cannot properly be styled a Deist; and in some ways he exhibited a positive antagonism to their mode of thought. For example, he raised a much needed protest against the undue prominence given to hedonistic considerations by both parties in the controversy. He found an appropriate object for his wit in exposing the shallowness of the conception by which ethics was degraded into an elaborate calculation of pains and pleasures. The pointed weapon of ridicule is effectively used in his hands. Unfortunately, in his references to religion his satire frequently degenerates into a sneer. The defenders of religion winced under his sarcasms, and retaliated by calling him a Deist. But there was little justification for the charge. The word 'Deism' would cease to have any definite connotation if it were made to cover systems so radically divergent as those of Shaftesbury and Tindal.

If there is little justification for ranking Shaftesbury among the Deists, there is even less for assigning a writer like Mandeville to their company. The Deist may not have been remarkable for any particular moral excellence, but at least he was eminently respectable. There is no reason to question the sincerity of his desire to further the cause of morality, and to lend his aid in raising a barrier against the encroaching tide of moral laxity. Such was not the purpose of Mandeville. He is cynical enough to set out on the title-page

of the *Fable of the Bees* (1714) the thesis that private vices are public benefits, and in his opening inquiry into the nature of moral virtue adopts the conclusion that it is the political offspring which Flattery has begot upon Pride. Intrinsically the book is as worthless as it is paradoxical, but it raised a laugh, and its sophistical arguments in favour of self-indulgence ensured its popularity in circles where every moral restraint was regarded with contemptuous indifference.

Leland, the contemporary historian and critic of Deism, devotes as much as a third of his work on the Deistical writers to a consideration of the works of Lord Bolingbroke. It is a clear indication of the high importance which was at the time attached to this attack on the claims of revelation. When Leland wrote, Bolingbroke's collected writings (with Life by D. Mallet), of which the one here most relevant is his *Letters on the Study and Use of History* (written in 1738), were newly published, having been issued posthumously in the year 1754. The effect of the book, however, was almost *nil*, and Dr. Johnson's sentence, in which he contemptuously described it as a blunderbuss which the author had not resolution enough to fire off in his lifetime, is a more accurate appraisal of it than Leland's elaborate criticism. The old sneers at priestcraft, the old arguments in favour of a purely rational religion, re-appear. But there was no new point to make; and Deism was too far gone in decay to be revived even by Lord Bolingbroke's name and his 'five pompous volumes.' In England, Deism was to all intents and purposes defunct, though about this time a kindred movement on the other side of the Channel was exhibiting fresh vitality under new forms.

4. The foreign movement.—Deism such as we have been describing was so native a product of English thought, with a form so markedly determined alike by the strength and the weakness of the English mind, that its transplantation to a foreign soil could not be accomplished without the most profound modification of its character. When the ideas to which the English Deists had first given expression were taken up by French exponents, new elements were introduced which gave to the resultant product a very different quality. Thus, what had been Deism in England became in France another movement, with a character and history of its own, which cannot properly be handled in this article. At the same time the history of Deism is not complete unless account be taken of the fact that it is the parent stock from which sprang the French movement of reaction against traditional belief.

It is significant that both Voltaire (†1778) and Rousseau were largely indebted to English sources for their inspiration. During the years which the former passed in England (1726–1729), he gathered impressions which he afterwards systematized and elaborated into a philosophy of religion. As a friend of Lord Bolingbroke he naturally came into close contact with men who, whether secretly or openly, sympathized with the Deists. The ideas which he derived from this intercourse were in keeping with the bent of his mind. Moreover, his peculiar abilities enabled him to give them a keener edge and a wider range than they had possessed in the hands of the English writers. In France the conceptions characteristic of Deism found a soil more favourable to their rapid development than England had ever afforded them. The logical French mind, impatient of compromise and qualification, insisted rigidly on the necessary consequences of abstract principles, where English conclusions had been influenced by numberless practical considerations. And, further, the con-

ditions of social, political, and ecclesiastical life in France were such as to accentuate the criticisms of those who were opposed in spirit to the prevailing order. Resentment against repression manifested itself in a sharper opposition to the unbending attitude of authority. In proportion as an external submission to rule was enforced, so was an internal passion for revolt stimulated, especially in the domain of religious thought. So marked was the opposition between the old and the new points of view, that Deism became almost at once identified with an anti-ecclesiastical movement. Instead of aiming at a transformation of the old theology into another pattern, as had been the object of the earlier English Deists, the French representatives of the movement advocated a general repudiation of theology and the substitution of an undogmatic religion in place of Roman Catholicism. To this end Voltaire applied the weapons of his caustic satire, and the Encyclopedists added the weight of their accumulated knowledge. Indeed, Diderot († 1784) and his school represent a further stage in the downward transition from Deism towards Materialism. With him even that residue of natural religion which Voltaire would have retained became a mere superfluity, resting on no secure foundation of reason, and therefore destined to disappear before the advance of intellectual enlightenment. See art. ENCYCLOPÆDISTS.

This tendency to a bare Materialism was to some extent checked by the influence of Rousseau († 1778), who was at once the product and the champion of a reaction against the stiffness and coldness of a cramped Rationalism. In the fact that he thus represented the protest of common sense against the bare negations of Materialism is to be found the explanation of his wide popularity. But the effect which he produced must not be overestimated. Whatever may have been the result of his political speculations in hastening the crisis of the Revolution, his influence upon religious thought was not more than evanescent. Though his genius galvanized for a time into fresh activity some of those ideas which had been the stock-in-trade of the Deistic writers, he could not restore to them the real vigour of life. Deism had had its day. The intellectual opposition to the supernatural element in Christianity was about to assume another form. A new criticism and a new apologetic were destined to arise, constructed upon lines determined by the new metaphysical theories of Kant.

5. Permanent results.—Controversies upon which the attention of thinking men has been focused can neither pass away without leaving some definite mark on subsequent theology, nor be appraised at their proper value unless the character and extent of their permanent results be taken into account. It will therefore be necessary to ask what lasting contribution was made by Deism to English theological thought. It is almost a matter of surprise to find on examination how comparatively scanty is the residuum which has stood the test of time. But something no doubt has survived. To some extent the Deists were successful in establishing their principle of the appeal to human reason, even while in their own application of it they showed little skill or power of discrimination. It is noteworthy that they called in, as arbiter of the dispute, the common sense of the ordinary man, and, as witness, the trained skill of the expert. Obviously, the critical questions which were raised could not be settled without thorough investigation by men who had devoted years of study to the data of these problems. A new class of Bible students arose who professed to approach their tasks with minds entirely unbiased by any dogmatic considerations. Whether

they were as free from prejudice as they themselves supposed, is open to question. At any rate the Deists gave an impulse to Biblical criticism, the benefit of which still makes itself felt. It has not been forgotten that the same methods of scientific inquiry must be applied to sacred as to profane history. What has now become a commonplace of theology was first insisted upon by the Deists. That they should have led the way in this direction is so much to their credit.

Again, the appeal to the common sense of those who make no claim to any professional knowledge of theology has remained markedly characteristic of English religion. The religious public, as it is called, is disinclined to divest itself of responsibility by seeking shelter behind the pronouncements of authority. Conscious of inability itself to undertake in detail the processes of criticism, it insists on seeing the results openly displayed. The debate between the champions of tradition and of innovation is not carried on behind closed doors, but in open court. The public desire to follow the argument and form for themselves an intelligent estimate of the issue. This feature also of our religious life is in great measure the outcome of the Deistic movement.

The Deistic controversy left no more important legacy behind it than the apologetic method of Bp. Butler († 1752). The *Analogy* (1736) may always be read with profit, but its true greatness cannot be rightly appreciated unless the argument be viewed in its proper setting as an answer to the Deistic attack on Christianity. What calls for remark is Butler's careful and guarded exposition of the principles of religious evidence in opposition to the exaggerated insistence by the Deists on certain aspects of the truth and their corresponding neglect of other equally important considerations. It is most interesting to observe how free he is from any undue bias against his opponents' point of view, how far he is ready to go with them, and how sincerely, unhesitatingly, and fearlessly he recognizes the validity of their appeal to reason, while brushing aside their pretentious claim to be the only 'Free-thinkers.' It is just because he is thus frank in his acknowledgment of the ultimate authority of human reason that he is able to insist with effect on the limitations imposed by ignorance, inseparable from our finite condition. He did an inestimable service to religion when he exposed with relentless logic the absurdity of the claim that all things in revelation should be made transparently intelligible to the human mind. It was another service of scarcely less value when he made men realize that revelation consisted *ex hypothesi* of a scheme composed of a large number of inter-related parts, not one of which can be legitimately criticized except in its full context. These were precisely the considerations which the Deists overlooked. If they have now become the truisms of theology, it is because Butler first expounded them as the necessary corrective to the crude speculations of Deism. See, further, art. BUTLER.

An allied but distinguishable reaction against the temper of Deism reveals itself in the idealistic philosophy of Bp. Berkeley († 1753), who, like his contemporary Butler, was moved to indignation at the unintelligent superficiality of the prevalent unbelief. To him it appeared that the decay of faith was in the main due to the general acceptance of a faulty metaphysic, inherited from Locke. The Christian verities were rejected on the plea that they did not approve themselves to the philosophic intellect. But the philosophers were themselves responsible for creating unnecessary intellectual difficulties. It was they who had raised the dust, through which, as they complained, they could not see. Berkeley directed his

criticism against the half-developed Materialism which was the orthodox metaphysic of the day. His rejection of Locke's conception of the real existence of extended matter was accounted paradoxical, and on that account chiefly attracted attention both favourable and unfavourable. But it is sometimes forgotten that this Immaterialism of Berkeley was only part of his system. It was the foundation on which he built. It led on to his conception of the world as the perpetual manifestation of the spiritual presence of God. Thus he delivered a powerful protest against the view that the evidence for the existence of God can be disclosed only through a long and intricate process of inference. In opposition to the commonly accepted cold mechanical outlook on the universe, he preached the doctrine of a continuous communication between the Divine and the human spirit through the medium of sensible experience. To him the material world was the language of God addressed to the spiritual ear, and charged with an infinite significance for those who would address themselves to the task of its interpretation. It was too high a conception to commend itself to the temper of the 18th century. Nevertheless, the impulse towards a religious idealism which Berkeley initiated has not been altogether without effect. His teaching, which originated in opposition to Deism, has remained to this day part of our theological heritage. See, further, art. BERKELEY.

The religious protest against Deism which found expression in the writings of Butler and Berkeley was carried further by Law and Wesley, but with a characteristic difference. The two bishops had met the Deists on the field of intellectual reasoning. This was not the method which commended itself to the judgment of the mystic and of the revivalist. They appealed from the intellect to the verdict of the religious consciousness. Perhaps the statement should be made with some qualification with respect to Law, since in the treatise which he composed against Tindal his mysticism does not yet appear.

In the *Case of Reason* (1731), Law appealed without scruple to the logic of intellect; moreover, he possessed the power of marshalling his arguments with skill and clothing them in apt language. Before the inscrutable mystery of the Infinite he prostrated himself in silent submission, and with a feeling of profound reverence yielded a willing obedience to the message of revelation. It is strange to find Law at this time referring to miracles as the proof of revelation. A little later he discovered a method of statement more congenial to his natural temperament. In the place of controversial argument he substituted the positive affirmations of the mystic's experience. In opposition to Tindal he had taken a low view of the range of human reason, and this position he consistently maintained, but in the writings of the mystics he found it stated that man possessed a faculty of spiritual intuition incomparably more efficacious than reason in the attainment of Divine wisdom. In Christian mysticism, Law discovered a system which afforded satisfaction to his religious instincts; and he strove to influence others in the same direction, by means of writings which are a strange compound of deep spiritual insight and fanciful imaginations. But in the 18th cent. the message of the mystic was *vox clamantis in deserto*. The seed fell on barren ground, where it had no opportunity of germinating.

Law founded no school of English mysticism. Though there were many who, like himself, recoiled from the irreligiosity of Deism, there were few ready to follow whither he led the way. He was before his time, and has perhaps more disciples at the present day than he had in his own lifetime.

The same recoil from Deism, but under yet another aspect, is illustrated by the life and work of John Wesley († 1791). Profoundly influenced by Law's example and ethical teaching, he differed widely from him in temperament, and was alike ignorant and impatient of the mystical tendencies to which the older man resigned himself. Emphatically a man of action, he gave expression to the protest of the practical religious consciousness against the religious impotence of Rationalism. It mattered little whether the Rationalism was of

the type preached by Tillotson or of that preached by Tindal. In either case it had proved miserably ineffective in stemming the tide of infidelity and immorality. Wesley came forward at the precise moment when there was a wide-spread and despairing consciousness of the utter sterility of mere argument about religion. Boldly discarding the discredited appeal to the intellect, he addressed himself to the ineradicable religious instincts of mankind, their sense of sin, their longing for forgiveness, the hopeless unrest of the soul to which no vision of God has come. In pressing home his appeal he touched the hearts of multitudes by means of those very Christian doctrines which the Deists had found too irrational for acceptance, and had made the butt of their shallow satire. The fall of man, the fact and the malignant influence of original sin, the offer of redemption, the mystery of the Atonement—these were the topics handled by the preacher round whom the crowds gathered in their thousands. There could not have been a more complete repudiation of the whole temper of which Deism was the expression. The stale arguments were allowed to drop into oblivion. There was a return to older methods of less intellectual pretensions. The proof of religion was sought no longer in the appeal to natural reason, but in the letter of Scripture and in the experience of daily life.

Thus the rise of Wesleyanism coincided with the extinction of Deism. Not that Deism disappeared because the problems which it had raised had received final and conclusive answers. On the contrary, many of these problems involve mysteries which, it is probable, will always remain inscrutable to the finite mind. It is no discredit to the apologists of the 18th cent. that in such cases they had no solution to offer. They had done all that could be expected of them. They had shown the alternative creed of the Deist to be weighted with difficulties as great as those which he hoped to escape by his rejection of Christianity. They had pointed to a way of reconciliation between the rights of reason and the claims of faith. It was not until this work had been accomplished that the Evangelical Revival could exhibit the undiminished spiritual energy latent in authoritative and traditional religion. Then began another stage of religious history, a period even more distracted with controversy than that which we have been passing in review. But the struggle was over new issues. Deism was forgotten.

II. PHILOSOPHICAL.—1. View of God's relation to the material and the moral world.—The word 'Deism,' besides serving as the designation of an historical religious movement, has been commonly used to describe a particular view of God's nature and of the dependence of the world upon Him. Between the two uses of the word a connexion exists, of which some notice will presently be taken, but it would be a mistake to suppose that philosophic Deism was necessarily the accepted creed of the Deists of the 18th century. Indeed, some who bore the name would at the present day be called Theists. But the distinction now made between Deism and Theism did not then exist. The two expressions were used indiscriminately. It is only in later times, since the study of the philosophy of religion has been prosecuted with greater attention, that to the word 'Deism' has been attached a more defined and exact connotation. We proceed to ask, What is the meaning conveyed by the word in this later and more abstract sense?

The great question concerning the relation of God to the world has received a vast number of different answers. To classify into distinct groups the various solutions proposed is no easy matter. It is difficult to draw lines of division, when the

gradations are almost imperceptible, though at the two extremities members of the same series may stand in conspicuous opposition to one another. But, since some form of classification is necessary, it has been found convenient to separate views as to the being of God into two divisions, according as they approximate to Pantheism on the one hand or to Deism on the other. With the second only are we here concerned. Let it be borne in mind that our subject of study is not a definite school of thought sharply outlined and admitting historical treatment. It is rather a vague inclination or bent of mind, which in varying degrees is continuously present in human thought, and occasionally, coming prominently to the front, becomes the dominant factor in religious and philosophic systems.

Deism approaches the ultimate problem of the universe with a self-satisfied confidence painfully out of proportion to the difficulty of the task of finding a solution. With little sense of reverence for the mystery that lies behind all outward appearances, it accepts an answer suggested by anthropomorphic analogies, and framed in accordance with uncritical prepossessions. Common sense admits no obstinate questionings as to the independent existence of the external world, nor does it care to inquire too curiously what may be the real character of human freedom. It rests content with the common assumptions of daily life. The Deist, adopting these assumptions as his starting-point, finds comparatively little difficulty in constructing his theory of God and the world. He is ready to acknowledge a Creator. In order to account for the existence of the material world, it is necessary to assume the existence of a First Cause, at whose command creation took effect and the cosmos entered on its life. But the Deist's conception of creation is essentially restricted. The fabric of the universe is supposed to stand to God in the relation which the instrument bears to its maker. The heavens are the work of His hands, just as the watch is the work of the watch-maker. As the craftsman determines the characteristic properties of his machine, the correlation of its parts, their positions and their functions, so is God conceived to have dealt with the world. He brought it into being and ordained its laws. He imparted to it once for all the energy which serves as the driving power of the stupendous mechanism. The Deist recognizes in God the ultimate source of matter and motion, and, consistently with this conception, admits the possibility of occasional interferences on the part of the Deity. But, though the possibility of such interference is granted, the probability is called in question. It seems more in accordance with the principles of Deism that Nature should be left to work itself out in obedience to laws originally given. Any suggestion of a deviation from the established order is resented, as though to admit it were to be wanting in due respect for the inviolable majesty of God's unchangeableness and the original perfection of His work. A perfect machine, it is supposed, would not require from time to time to be adjusted by its maker; nor would the Unchangeable introduce any later corrections into a creation which from the first reflected His omniscience and omnipotence.

Similarly based on anthropomorphic analogies, and subject in consequence to similar defects, is the Deistic conception of the relation of God to the moral world. He is the supreme Governor, the author of moral as of physical law, but as remote in the one region as in the other from the particular cases exhibiting the working of His laws. He is thought of as filling the part of legislator and judge to the universe of moral beings; and these analogies, derived from the organization of

human society, are treated as though they were entirely adequate not only to illustrate, but even to explain, His supreme authority. The moral law is assumed to be sufficiently well known by all for the practical purposes of life. Pains and pleasures, present and future, are attached respectively to its infringement and its observance. Men are automatically punished and rewarded, in strict accordance with their deserts. In the moral as in the physical world there is neither need nor room for the special interposition of the supreme Governor.

Whatever shortcomings such a view of the nature of God may have,—and they are both obvious and important,—yet in some respects it tallies with the promptings of the religious instincts of men. It is opposed to Materialism, avoiding the desperate necessity of ascribing to matter an independent eternal existence of its own. Nor is God reduced, as in Pantheism, to a mere abstraction, an impersonal substratum of the universe. He is a real person, standing over against the world and man. Human personality also is preserved. Man retains his freedom, and justice is done to his responsibility. As he sows so shall he reap, according to laws that admit of no exception. Obviously in these ideas there is much that is true, and the truth is of that positive kind to which appeal must be made in practical exhortation and the enforcement of ethical teaching. But with the truth is mingled much error. The consequent weaknesses of Deism are both theoretical and practical.

2. Defects in conceptions of Creation and Finite Existence.—Deism labours under the disadvantage of being a dualistic explanation of the world. Not indeed that it is explicitly so. The charge would be repudiated. But the repudiation means no more than that the Deist is unconscious of the fact, having been content to leave unexamined many of the conceptions with which he deals. Notably is this the case with the idea of Creation. The God of the Deist is, in fact, a demiurge who has shaped into a cosmos a matter essentially alien from Himself. And, though the Deist replies that, according to his teaching, matter is not shaped by God but called into being by His creative word, the answer is unsatisfactory. For this creation of an alien matter out of nothing presents, on examination, insuperable difficulties. There is nothing to bridge the gap between the Creator and His creation. Nor is any attempt made to find in the nature of God any motive towards the act of creation. Recourse is had to the conception of an entirely arbitrary and inexplicable act of power.

Equally lacking in depth is the Deist's view of the problem of finite existence. From his standpoint the words 'in God we live, and move, and have our being' are destitute of any real significance. For to all intents and purposes he conceives of the world as existing independently of the Deity. The essential dualism of the conception is disguised, not removed, by laying stress on the origination of one form of existence from the other. Whatever may have been the relation of the two at the moment of creation, the finite, as it now is, possesses a substantial independence of the Infinite. The apparent simplicity of the view is gained by the abandonment of any attempt to reach the conception of an underlying unity.

A further weakness of Deism is disclosed as soon as the relation of the moral law to the will of God becomes the subject of discussion. For it is precisely here that those analogies with earthly rulers on which the Deist relies break down and fail the inquirer at the most critical point of his investigation. For, if the analogy of legislation be pressed, then it will appear as though the moral law were determined arbitrarily according to the Divine

will and pleasure. Its necessity or inevitableness seemingly disappears. On the other hand, if the judicial function of the Supreme Governor be put in the forefront, and the moral law be regarded as existing in the reason of things, and requiring only to be enforced by the Divine power, then it would seem as though the freedom of God's action were limited by a rule superior to Himself. From this dilemma the principles of Deism offer no way of escape. If the externality of God in relation to the world, physical or moral, be assumed, then in some way or other limitations and restrictions are placed upon the Divine nature. In the one case, God is left confronted by an independent material world; in the other case, by an independent law of right and wrong. And the very essence of Deism lies in its assumption of God's externality.

Theoretic unsoundness is attended with practical deficiencies. Deism has not been without injurious effect on those who have adopted it as their creed. If it be admitted that man's highest spiritual life is attained in proportion as he rises to communion with God, then it must be confessed that Deism can never carry the soul up into this region. The appearances of the world, however intricate in design and prodigal of beauty, convey to the heart no message significant of the indwelling presence of God. The most that the Deist may legitimately do is to follow back a many-linked chain of inference to a point in the far past when God, at the moment of creation, was in contact with His world. In a universe so conceived, man feels himself left to his own resources. A cold tribute of perfunctory worship is all that he is likely to offer to a God whose arm is never stretched out in answer to prayer, whose ear is never open to the supplication of the penitent. Man learns to think that his welfare depends entirely upon the accuracy of his knowledge of those general laws by which the course of the world is determined, and upon his skill in adapting himself to them. There is stimulated in him a spirit of self-sufficiency and self-assertion as towards God, and a certain hardness and lack of sympathy towards his fellow-men.

Deistic premisses do not positively exclude the possibility of revelation, but create a strong prejudice against it. For revelation is a species of miracle, and open to all the objections which, in the mind of the Deist, bear against the miraculous. It is an interference with the regular course of the world. In some forms of Deism the idea of a Divine interposition is accepted without hesitation or sense of incongruity. But further consideration is likely to suggest the thought that the need for interference with the world is due to some original weakness of construction; and the Deist, in his anxiety to uphold the credit of the First Cause, is led to deny first the need for, and then the fact of, revelation.

Deism is a curiously unstable system of belief. It could hardly be otherwise, considering that the premisses from which it sets out are wanting in consistency and in definiteness. Beginning by assuming the unqualified correctness of a few of the truths which appeal to the religious instinct, it reaches at length a position in flagrant contradiction to fundamental religious beliefs. The utility of prayer and the possibility of communication between God and man are ideas which have always found a home in the unsophisticated religious consciousness; yet these are the ideas which Deism finally discovers to be incompatible with its teaching about the Divine nature. And, when these ideas have been repudiated, there follows the gradual encroachment of an irreligious temper, and the elimination from life of the effective power of religion. Though nominally belief in God be retained, it becomes wholly in-

operative—the furniture of the mind rather than the inspiration of the heart.

3. **Examples of Deistic systems.**—Deism in the sense which we are now investigating we have defined to be a tendency of thought. It is a tendency which for the most part has been counteracted by stronger forces. But occasional examples in the history of religion and philosophy prove that it is capable of gaining the ascendancy. Apart from the influence of revelation, the drift of ethnic religions has been in the direction of Polytheism and Pantheism rather than towards the opposite extreme of Deism. For men are swayed more easily by their emotions than by their reason, and to the feelings the colder system of Deism is less attractive than these other forms of error. The most conspicuous example of a religion in which Deistic forms of thought are paramount is Confucianism, which exhibits a characteristic combination of qualities and defects. In particular, there is a decorous recognition of heaven as the source from which man derives his nature, although, for the attainment of virtue, little importance is attached to the communication between God and man. Its ideal includes the observance of an exacting moral code, but does not rise above this level. Sin as an offence against God, and virtue as trustful dependence on His help, are conceptions that find no place in a system which is almost pure Deism.

Stoicism is another, but less complete, illustration of the working of the same tendency. The insistence on the law of nature, and on the universal order extending through the world, is a thoroughly 'Deistic' idea. So also, in several respects, are the ethical notions of the Stoics, their emphasis on the power of the will, and their doctrine of man's self-sufficiency. These indeed are points on which they set precedents followed in later times. For the 18th cent. Deists, familiarized through a classical education with the writings of the ancient Stoics, drew much of their inspiration from this source. On the other hand, Stoicism contained ideas irreconcilable with pure Deism. Its Pantheism, though far from being consistently developed to its logical issues, is sufficient to differentiate it from any system in which God is assumed to be personally distinct from the world. In ethics, its rejection of all utilitarian considerations is opposed to the characteristic temper of Deism. Thus, though there is a genetic relationship between Stoicism and English Deism, the offspring differed in some essential features from the parent.

Its marked preference for the Deistic explanation of the universe accounts in large measure alike for the strength and the weakness of Muhammadanism. No one will deny that the effect of the teaching of Islām is to produce in its adherents a very real and deep reverence for God, the all-powerful Creator and Ruler of the world. At the same time the oppressive sense of a great and unbridged gulf between God and man checks and thwarts the natural action of man's religious instincts. Great as is the regularity with which the prescribed forms of devotion are observed, the worshipper adores an infinitely distant God. The specifically Christian conception of freedom of access to the Divine throne is conspicuously absent. When petitions for particular benefits are offered up, they are addressed (at any rate in many parts of the Muhammadan world) to inferior powers rather than to God. This degradation of prayer is remarkable evidence of the obstacle which Deism opposes to the exercise of man's highest spiritual function, communion with his Maker.

After all, the classical example of the Deistic tendency is to be found in the 18th cent. Deists; and herein lies the justification for attaching to the same word an historical and an abstract sense.

In the writings of Toland, Collins, Tindal, and other historical Deists is contained the exposition of precisely those ideas which combine to make up Deism in the abstract. Not, indeed, that in any single one of these writers is Deism logically rounded off and cleared from all inconsistencies. Men seldom press their principles to the uttermost; nor were the Deists, with their lack of philosophical acumen, likely to be exceptions to the rule. Side by side with arguments which in effect exclude God's direct action on the world, they placed statements of belief which the most exacting Theist would find irreproachable. Gradually the logic of events disclosed the true implications of their principles, with the result that Deism was either repudiated in favour of a return to historic Christianity, or exchanged for avowed infidelity. See, further, art. THEISM.

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DELHI.—The name applied specially to the modern city of Shāhjahānābād on the right bank of the Jumna (lat. 28° 38' 58" N.; long. 77° 16' 30" E.), and generally to a collection of ruined cities, covering an area of about 45 sq. miles, in the neighbourhood. Classifying these cities from N. to S., we have (1) Firozābād of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq (c. A.D. 1360), adjoining modern Delhi on the south; (2) Indrapat or Indraprastha, associated with the earliest legends of the Aryan occupation of the Jumna valley, the foundation of which by Yudhishthira and his brothers, the five Pāndavas, is recorded in the Mahābhārata; the site was reoccupied by Humāyūn and Sher Shāh (c. 1540); (3) Sirī, fortified by Alā-ud-dīn (c. 1300); (4) Jahanpanāh, the space between old Delhi and Sirī, which was gradually occupied and ultimately connected with the cities N. and S. of it (c. 1330); (5) Old Delhi, or the Fort of Rāe Pithorā, the original Delhi of the Pathān invaders in the 12th century; (6) Tughlaqābād, built by Muhammad bin Tughlaq (c. 1320). Modern Delhi, or Shāhjahānābād, named after the Emperor Shāhjahān (1628-58), may be said to date from about 1650, the famous palace being first erected (1638-48), and forming the nucleus of the new city. The cities thus enumerated contain a vast variety of architectural remains, some of the greatest interest and beauty. Here it is possible to name only a few of those most closely connected with the religious beliefs of the successive occupants of this historic site.

In the first place, Delhi contains two of the famous inscribed pillars of the Emperor Asoka (q.v.), erected about 250 B.C. The inscriptions contain the code of moral and religious precepts promulgated by this great ruler. These pillars, one of which stands on the historic ridge, the other in the ruined city of Firozābād, were removed to Delhi in A.D. 1356 by Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, the former from Meerut in the United Provinces,

the other from Toprā in the Umballā district of the Panjāb. The pillar on the ridge was much injured by an explosion early in the 18th cent.; that at Firozābād is in an excellent state of preservation, and is the most interesting of all the Asoka pillars, inasmuch as it is the only one on which the invaluable Seventh Edict is inscribed. Another interesting Hindu relic is the iron pillar which stands near the Kutab Minār in Old Delhi. It was erected by a certain Rājā Chandra, and may be dated approximately A.D. 400. It is a marvellous example of the skill attained by the Hindu metallurgists of the time. Close by, the mosque of Qutb-ud-dīn was rebuilt out of the materials of one or more Jain temples. One cloister, with rows of finely carved pillars, remains in good preservation. The innermost court of this mosque, with its corridors and west end, was built in A.D. 1191, and the screen of arches, the glory of the building, was erected six years later. The splendid tower, the Qutb or Kutab Minār, named after its founder, was completed by Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh (1211-36), who also extended the great mosque. Much controversy has arisen regarding the purpose for which this tower was erected. Fergusson (p. 506) denies that it has any connexion with the great mosque at the south-east corner of which it stands. According to him, 'it was not designed as a place from which the muezzin should call the prayers, though its lower gallery may have been used for that purpose also, but as a tower of victory,—a Jaya Stambha, in fact,—an emblem of conquest, which the Hindus could only too easily understand and appreciate.' This view appears to be mistaken.

Cunningham (*Archæological Reports*, iv, p. ix) shows that it is distinctly called a *mazanāh*, or *muazzin's* tower, by the Syrian geographer Abulfida (A.D. 1273-1345), and he cites several examples of early mosques which have but one *minār* each. The inscriptions also prove that this was the purpose of its erection.

The lovely Alāi Darwāza, or gate of Alā, was built by Alā-ud-dīn Khilji (1295-1315). Close by is the beautiful tomb of Shams-ud-dīn.

'Though small,' writes Fergusson, 'it is one of the richest examples of Hindu art applied to Mahomedan purposes that Old Delhi affords, and is extremely beautiful, though the builders still display a certain inaptness in fitting the details to their new purposes. . . . In addition to the beauty of its details, it is interesting as being the oldest tomb known to exist in India. He [Shams-ud-dīn] died A.D. 1236.'

Among the other interesting and beautiful mosques, of which Delhi possesses such a large number, the following may be mentioned: the Kālā or Kālān Masjid, built in Firozābād about A.D. 1380, is interesting as an example of the early so-called Pathān style. The façade of the mosque of Sher Shāh in the Purāna Qila is, says Fanshawe (p. 228), 'quite the most striking bit of coloured decoration at Delhi, and has been satisfactorily restored. . . . The interior is extremely fine, the pattern in the pendentives below the dome being very effective.' 'The Jamī Masjid, or cathedral mosque of Shāhjahān, built in 1648-50, is,' says Fergusson (p. 600), 'not unlike, in plan, the Moti Masjid of Agra (q.v.), though built on a much larger scale, and adorned with two noble minarets, which are wanting in the Agra example; while, from the somewhat capricious admixture of red sandstone with white marble, it is far from possessing the same elegance and purity of effect. It is, however, one of the few mosques, either in India or elsewhere, that are designed to produce a pleasing effect externally.' This great mosque, built close to the palace, seems to have rendered it unnecessary to erect a private court chapel within its walls. When a Moti Masjid was added by Aurangzib, the building was small, and, though pretty, quite unworthy of the place, and illustrates the rapid decadence of Muhammadan ecclesiastical architecture after the time of Shāhjahān.

Delhi is equally rich in the number and variety of its sepulchres. Humāyūn, the second Mughal Emperor, lies in a stately tomb. 'In mere beauty,' says Fanshawe (p. 230), 'it cannot, of course, compare with the Taj at Agra, but there is an effect of strength about it which becomes the last resting-place of a Moghul warrior whose life was marked by many struggles and vicissitudes; and most people will probably prefer its greater simplicity to either the son's [Akbar's] tomb at Sikandra, near Agra, or the grandson's [Jahāngir's] tomb at Shadara, near Lahore.' The *dargāh*, or shrine, of Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya and the other Chishtī shrines at Ajmir, the Kutab and Pakpattan, are the places most revered in all India by Muhammadans. His story is fully given by Fanshawe (p. 236), who believes that there is no ground for the popular legend which attributes the origin of Thuggee to him. He died at Delhi in A.D. 1324, and the buildings—the gate of which bears the date 1378—are mostly due to the Emperor Firoz Shāh Tughlaq. Round the resting-place of the saint are many beautiful and interesting monuments. That of Jahānārā Begam, the faithful daughter of the Emperor Shāhjahān, bears the touching epitaph: 'Let green grass only conceal my grave; grass is the best covering of the grave of the meek.' Close by is the tomb of the unfortunate Emperor Muhammad Shāh, who died in 1748, in whose time Delhi was captured and sacked by the ruthless Persian, Nādir Shāh. If not a triumph of design, its beautiful pierced marble screens are admirable. Near these are the earlier tombs of the poet Amīr Khusrū, who died in 1324, and of the historian Khondamīr—the latter not being now identifiable.

LITERATURE.—For the history and antiquities of Delhi, see H. C. Fanshawe, *Delhi, Past and Present*, London, 1902; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. J. Burgess, London, 1910, p. 600 ff.; A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. ii, p. 132 ff.; W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, ed. V. A. Smith, London, 1893, ii, 139 ff.; R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, London, 1828, ch. xix.; Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, 1876; A. Harcourt, *New Guide to Delhi*, 1878.

W. CROOKE.

DELIBERATION.—Deliberation is a complex mental state, preceding, and issuing in, choice or decision. It is a fundamental characteristic of personal consciousness, due to the fact that a mind furnished with experience is generally confronted with alternative possibilities. 'There is in the child a long and interesting genetic period before full-blown deliberation is born. This early dawning stage, before self-consciousness has arrived, and while the processes of decision are below the ideational level, has been called 'deliberative suggestion.' While life is still on the organic and impulsive level, co-ordinate sense-stimuli confront one another, and there is a corresponding conflict of motor-reactions.

Baldwin, in his *Mental Development* (p. 127), gives a good example of this primitive type of deliberation. A child of eight months, under his observation, formed the habit of scratching the face of its mother or nurse with its finger-nails, until, as a result, the close proximity of any face was a sufficient suggestion for it to give a violent scratch. To break the habit, the child's father slapped its fingers each time it scratched, and after a few experiences the habitual reaction was checked. When a face approached the child, it would grow solemn and quiet, and gaze at the face, hardly moving a muscle; then, after a trying period of balance, it would either suddenly scratch or turn away to something which its father provided as a counter-attraction.

Out of this organic and neural stage the higher, full-grown type of deliberation evolves. These instinctive and impulsive motor processes, with their corresponding emotional tones, are gradually registered in consciousness and furnish the basic memory-material for *real* deliberation. The alternatives now in conflict are more or less clearly envisaged, and in turn occupy the centre of the

mental stage, until one alternative dominates attention and is selected, though throughout life conscious deliberation is only rarely necessary. Organized, i.e. habitual, reactions determine a very large part of our choices, and, though we often delay action because of inhibitory tendencies, such delay is not necessarily deliberation. Much of our deliberation, again, does not rise to a clear cognition of alternative ends. Blurred images, fitful feelings, disconnected words, or a system of mental 'labels,' often stand for the act of deliberation, and we oscillate from one alternative to the other without a clear forecast of the grounds at issue, or the ends in view. Moreover, we are often relieved of the necessity to deliberate by the dynamic character of ideas. Many of the acts of a normal person are *ideo-motor*, that is to say, the idea itself is propulsive enough to sweep directly and unhindered into action. All ideas would thus produce action (1) if they were sufficiently propulsive, and (2) if they did not meet conflicting situations in the mind. It is this complex conflict of ideas, of reasons, of motives, of practical means, that forces deliberation upon us.

The inhibitory situation which blocks impulsive tendencies or *ideo-motor* action, and which involves indecision and deliberation, may be, and often is, the marginal, or fringe, consciousness that forms the background to the idea in full focus. We cannot tell why we do not act upon the idea which points us towards any end. We feel an indescribable restraint that checks our impulses and holds us from action. As W. James puts it:

'No matter how sharp the foreground-reasons may be, or how imminently close to bursting through the dam and carrying the motor consequences their own way, the background, however dimly felt, is always there; and its presence . . . serves as an effective check upon the irrevocable discharge' (*Princ. of Psychology*, ii, 529).

The period of hesitation, balance, or deliberation may be indefinitely prolonged; but usually, by processes which are largely sub-conscious, the 'reasons' for one alternative over the other, or for one possibility over the others, come into clearer focus, stay fixed in attention, and plainly dominate; and the mind settles into a decision.

The moral significance of this inward balance, this weighing of alternatives, is obvious. All higher ethical behaviour has its rise here. The person who *deliberates* is no longer at the mercy of the solicitation of instinct, impulse, or a sudden thought; for all these motor tendencies are now forced to run the gauntlet of well-organized inhibitions. Each idea must dominate, if it is to dominate at all, by finding its place in the complex whole of a formed consciousness by adjusting itself to the ground-swell of a fashioned character.

A genuine moral decision, a self-determined action, is arrived at only when the permanent core of the self has found expression; and that is ordinarily reached through serious reflexion and exhausting inner struggle, which is *deliberation* in its deepest significance.

LITERATURE.—J. M. Baldwin, *Mental Development*, New York, 1895, also *Feeling and Will*, do. 1895; H. Höfding, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr., London, 1892; G. Spiller, *The Mind of Man*, do. 1902; A. Bain, *Emotions and Will*, do. 1859 (1880); J. Sully, *Human Mind*, do. 1892; W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, New York, 2 vols., 1891 (1905), also *Psychology* (a briefer course), do. 1892.

RUFUS M. JONES.

DELICT.—Considerable difficulty exists in regard to the definition of the term 'delict' in Roman law and in systems of modern law founded on the Roman. The difficulties are not so great, however, as those which attach to the definition of 'tort,' the term which, on the whole, corresponds to it in English law. English lawyers have failed to produce a perfectly satisfactory definition of the latter term, and it is probable that it really represents, as Markby (*Elements of Law*, p. 347) says, a false

classification. Usage, due to historical accident and variety of jurisdiction, has excluded from the English term cases which in principle fall under it. The definition of 'delict' in General Jurisprudence ought to give the essential principle underlying the technicalities of particular legal systems.

Moyle (*Justinian's Institutiones*, lib. iv. pt. 1, note) says: 'A delict is usually defined as a violation of a *jus in rem* which generates an obligation remissible by the private individual who is wronged.' He finds fault with this definition, as admitting cases where the party injured is only entitled to recover damages. According to Moyle (*ib.*), true delicts possess three peculiarities: they give rise to independent obligations; they always involve *dolus* or *culpa*; and the remedies by which they are redressed are penal. Sohm (*Institutes*, Eng. tr.², 1901, p. 432), on the other hand, includes such non-penal actions under actions arising from delicts.

The above definition seeks to distinguish 'delict,' as generating an obligation remissible by the private individual, from 'crime.' This is to adopt Austin's distinction between civil and criminal injuries; for he holds that the distinction consists in a mere difference of procedure, viz. whether the offence is pursued at the discretion of the injured party or at that of the State (*Lectures on Jurisprudence*⁶, p. 405). Blackstone (iv. 5), followed by Holland (*Elements of Jurisprudence*¹⁰, p. 320), regards the distinction as turning on whether the wrong is one against individuals as individuals, or affects the whole community as a community. Again, some have regarded the very circumstance whether mere redress is given for loss suffered, or whether, on the other hand, a penalty is inflicted for wrong done, as the distinguishing feature between civil and criminal injuries. If the latter line of distinction be adopted, what Moyle considers an essential of all delicts would become the distinguishing characteristic of crimes as contrasted with delicts.

In English law, wrongs to property to which no ethical censure attaches are included among 'torts.' Pollock (*Law of Torts*⁸, p. 18), in order to maintain intact the features of *dolus* ('wrongful intention') or *culpa* ('negligence'), and consequent penal culpability, as essential ingredients in those torts that are delicts, regards the torts from which these features are absent as obligations arising, not *ex delicto*, but *quasi ex delicto*. This leads to the distinction between delicts and *quasi*-delicts. By some there is said to be no distinction in principle, delicts being those wrongs which were made actionable by the old civil law of Rome, *quasi*-delicts those which were made actionable by the legislation of the prætor. If, however, we take the instances given in the *Institutes of Justinian*,—a judge who, corruptly or through ignorance of law, has made a suit his own, and an innkeeper who is responsible for the loss of property of his guests,—we see a distinction perfectly analogous to that between contracts and *quasi*-contracts. As in some cases the law establishes a tie or obligation between the parties, the same as would have existed had there been a contract between them, so, in other cases, it establishes an obligation similar to that which would have arisen, had a delict been committed. The point of difference between a contract and a *quasi*-contract is that one is formed voluntarily by the person bound, the other is formed involuntarily. In like manner, in the case of a delict, there is voluntary action—action from which it is possible to abstain; in the case of a *quasi*-delict, the obligation arises from an act or position in regard to which the person bound has had no option. The judge must decide the suit. The innkeeper is bound by the act of the thief. There may or may not be *dolus* or *culpa*. It is true that, in the case of the corruptly decided suit, a voli-

tional element is present. The involuntary element arises from the law which forces on the judge the position of having to decide the suit. Yet this very case shows that *dolus* or *culpa* may be present in *quasi*-delicts. If this is the true point of distinction between delict and *quasi*-delict, it justifies the profound comment of Austin (styled by Pollock [*op. cit.* p. 18] 'perverse and unintelligent criticism'), which implies that there is no essential distinction from the point of view of legal classification between *quasi*-contract and *quasi*-delict (Austin, *op. cit.* p. 914). The only possible distinction must be that stated by Austin; that, in the one, the obligation arises from services rendered; in the other, from wrong done or services omitted.

LITERATURE.—*Institutes of Justinian*, Sanders' or Moyle's ed.; J. Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*⁶, London, 1883; T. B. Holland, *Elements of Jurisprudence*¹⁰, Oxford, 1906; W. Markby, *Elements of Law*³, do. 1885; F. Pollock, *Law of Torts*⁸, London, 1907; A. Underhill, *Law of Torts*⁸, do. 1905.

GEORGE J. STOKES.

DELOS.—See AMPHICTYONY.

DELPHI.—See AMPHICTYONY, ORACLES (Gr.).

DELUGE.—I. Meaning of the term.—The word 'Deluge' (Lat. *diluvium*, Fr. *déluge*, 'a great flood') has been very generally used to denote the Bible Flood (Heb. *מַבּוּל*) recorded in Gn 6-9¹⁷. It is commonly understood to imply that the Noachian Flood, as the narrative naturally suggests, covered the surface of the whole world, and that all men and all terrestrial animals perished, excepting those provisionally saved in the Ark (see esp. 6⁷, 12 721-22 915).

II. Supposed confirmation of the Bible Deluge.—So considered, the Deluge formed, it was once believed, a very important epoch in the world's history.

1. Attention was called to the marked difference between the extinct species of animals which lived before the Deluge, and whose fossil remains are found in various geological strata, and those in existence at the present day; nor does it seem always to have been realized that this distinction is in itself an argument against the literal truth of the Bible narrative, according to which all species of animals should have survived, or God's purpose must have failed.

2. A more cogent proof of the general truth of the Bible story seemed to lie in the fact that Deluge stories, or stories in which a great Flood forms a more or less prominent part, are remarkably frequent in the folklore of the ancient literature of peoples scattered over the greater part of the world. It has been confidently argued that these all originated in the great universal Deluge, of which they were more or less obscure traditions handed down from their ancestors—Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Moreover, special stress was laid on the extraordinary accuracy with which the memory of certain details had in some cases been preserved (see below, IV. A. v.).

III. Reasons for not accepting a universal Deluge.—The belief in a universal Deluge has long been abandoned by well-informed writers.

1. It was found impossible thus to account satisfactorily for the various races of mankind and their distribution. Ethnological research suggested the existence of races altogether independent of the Bible system, who survived the Flood and were themselves descended from a pre-Adamite stock (see ANTEDILUVIANS).

2. But the most fatal objections are those that arise from a study of the natural sciences.

(a) Geology, as now understood, gives a very simple and credible account of the history of the world by natural agencies—shrinkage, gradual sinkings and upheavals, deposits by action of animalculæ and otherwise, the action of heat, water, and ice, etc., in which a Deluge finds no place. It is, in fact, absolutely

impossible, unless we may postulate a period in which the surface of the earth was so even that all the water possible at any given time could have covered it as one vast ocean. But even if this ever were so, such a Deluge would find its analogue, not in the Bible Flood, but in the 'deep' (*Abhôm*) of Gn 1².

(b) The study of comparative Zoology has abundantly proved that there is no definitely marked division between extinct species of animals and those of the present day which could be accounted for by such a break in the history of the animal world. In fact, the extinct species, as, e.g., the trilobite, ammonite, and ichthyosaurus, had died out countless ages before man appeared on the earth, and by the operation of natural laws which still prevail.

(c) The same also is true of plant life and its history. And in this connexion it may be observed that the Bible story, in contradistinction to the Akkadian (see below, IV. A. vi. (m)), says nothing of the preservation of vegetation, the greater part of which must have perished had the Flood lasted a year.

3. To the unscientific mind, however, the most striking difficulties are those which arise from the obvious improbabilities, or rather impossibilities, of the story of Genesis itself.

Most of us have from childhood, through the influence of pictures and toy-arks, been accustomed to imagine Noah's Ark as a great vessel with a huge raised hold in the middle. But there is nothing in the Hebrew *תֵּבָה* or in the Bible narrative to suggest anything of the kind. The Ark was rather a huge box with a closed door and dark windows, which had to be opened for its inmates to look out. There were no sails or oars, no sailors to navigate this strange structure or tell Noah what he wished to know. The box, nevertheless, floated safely across what one would naturally have supposed a stormy sea (see Gn 7¹¹, and cf. Akkadian story [V. A. 1.]), and that for presumably some hundreds of miles to the mountains of Armenia (Ararat). Large as this box was, it was infinitely too small to contain sevens of all clean animals, and pairs of unclean animals, as we now know them. But this is what the story requires, unless we are to suppose—a thing highly improbable in itself, and opposed to geological records—that there has been a very large evolution of species since that, geologically speaking, recent period. These animals, thus huddled up together, are tended and preserved for apparently a whole year with necessarily huge supplies of food of various kinds—animal and vegetable. In a word, four men and four women were able to do, under such conditions, without, it would seem, the slightest difficulty, what taxes the utmost skill and ingenuity of zoologists with such space and under such conditions as are possible in our Zoological Gardens. Imagine, for example, the hippopotamus or the seal a whole year without water, or the polar bear cooped up for a single year in the vitiated atmosphere of a 'room' in the Ark! But even these difficulties are hardly so bewildering to the imagination as those connected with collecting the animals and getting them into the Ark. If we attempt to realize the journeys necessary to the Tropics and the Arctic regions, to islands and continents, to marshes and mountains and seas, the difficulty of capturing all these animals alive, bringing them back and getting them into the Ark, we are forced to the conclusion that it was absolutely impossible, except by a series of miracles, of which the story in the Bible gives no hint. The whole is narrated in a simple childlike way by those who evidently did not see the difficulties, and obviously could not have seen them then as we see them now.

4. A further ground for not accepting as literally true the Bible Deluge story will be found by comparing it with parallel stories of similar origin which will presently be discussed. It will be sufficient to observe here that diverging accounts of any supposed event tend of themselves to cast suspicion on any one of them, unless that is obviously the source of the rest, which certainly cannot be proved of the Bible story.

5. To these difficulties may be added, in conclusion, the general difficulties in accepting as historically and literally true the early chapters of Genesis, of which the Deluge story forms a part. One who on scientific grounds rejects the literal truth of Gn 1, or on mythological grounds that of Gn 2, 3, would very naturally feel some hesitation in accepting the Deluge story, even if it presented no serious difficulties of its own.

IV. Explanations of Deluge stories discussed.—But, if such a Deluge as that described in the Bible is impossible, at least without a series of improbable miracles, how else explain the prevalence of that belief among so many and so far-separated peoples? An attempt to answer this question will form the chief subject of this article. It involves a complicated inquiry. The Deluge, or Flood, stories in question vary so greatly that a really adequate discussion would carry us beyond our necessary limits. The reader will grasp the full force of the

arguments given only if he studies for himself the stories as given by Andree and in other sources here referred to. The course now proposed is first to give the answers which have already been suggested, with such illustrations and comments as may help the student towards a satisfactory solution, and then to discuss separately some of the more important stories or groups of stories on mainly ethnological or geographical lines.

Speaking generally, then, the following five explanations have been given of the prevalence of Deluge, or Flood, stories among different races of mankind: that they are (A) traditions of the Bible Deluge; (B) traditions of independent, generally local, floods of greater or less extent; (C) pseudo-scientific explanations of natural phenomena or the like; (D) parts of cosmological systems; (E) Nature myths. In point of fact, comparatively few writers have adopted any one of these theories exclusively. Cheyne, for example, in his article 'Deluge,' in *EBR*², made a marked distinction between a Deluge proper—a supposed submersion of the whole world—and partial floods, which may have given rise to Deluge stories. Certainly few, whatever general theory of Deluge stories they may hold, would fail to recognize that the Chinese story, at any rate, is based on the tradition of a local flood.

A. *The traditional origin of Deluge stories.*—Is the belief that the many and various Deluge stories of different parts of the world had their common origin in the Flood described in the Bible, borne out by the stories themselves in detail and by what we may reasonably infer as to their history?

i. Andree lays special stress on the fact that there are many parts of the world where no Deluge story has yet been discovered, such as Egypt and Japan. There are others, such as Africa, where they are very rare. It is therefore, so far as our present knowledge goes, an exaggeration to say, with some writers, that the tradition of a Deluge of some sort is practically universal, or even, as Lenormant maintained (*Orig.* i. 489), among all except black races. On the other hand, it must frankly be recognized that Flood stories are very numerous, and that they are found among nations scattered far and wide over the world.

ii. Exceptions must be made of a large number of stories which have evidently a local origin.

iii. Account must be taken of the influence of missionaries in unconsciously, or even consciously, changing and developing folklore, and of the difficulty which the savage mind has in distinguishing clearly between old and new, and its frequent tendency to paint the old in new colours. It was the avowed policy of many missionaries to make Bible stories more acceptable by combining them with ideas with which their converts were already familiar. Moreover, the missionary, through whom the Deluge stories were in many cases originally communicated, was a prejudiced witness. He had a very natural wish to find confirmation of an event which he believed to be undeniably true, and which it seemed impiety to deny. No wonder if, without the least wish to deceive, he encouraged his heathen convert to give him the kind of information he desired, and, in reporting it, unconsciously assimilated it still more to the familiar Bible story. Andree (p. 111) has given an interesting example of the way in which natives were sometimes asked leading questions.

iv. That many of the Deluge stories current among uncivilized tribes were actually coloured by Christian influence becomes evident on examination of the stories themselves. For it will be found that—

(a) Those Biblical details on which so much stress is sometimes laid are often attached to a

story entirely unlike the Bible Deluge narrative, both in character and in purpose.

Thus the sending out of the raven and the dove by the old man who had found refuge from the Deluge in a boat on one of the Rocky Mountains (Déné Indians) is altogether meaningless, and yet, according to Petitot, it is almost exactly similar to the Bible incident, except that a fir-branch is substituted for the there unknown olive-branch. A still more interesting variation is found in a story as told by the South-American Macusi tribe, in which a rat sent out to investigate matters came back with an ear of maize in its mouth. Here the Biblical motive is combined with the common feature among Indian Deluge stories of sending out animals to *procure* land (see below, IV. *c*. (a)).

(b) The Deluge stories which thus resemble the Bible narrative in some of its details often betray their Biblical colouring by mixing up other familiar Bible stories, such as the creation of woman and the Tower of Babel.

When we read in the story of the Macusi just referred to that, when the Good Spirit created the first man, the latter fell into a deep sleep, and on waking up found a woman standing by his side, we are not surprised to hear the incident of the rat and the ear of maize. In a story of the Papagos, in Arizona, it is the hero of the Deluge, Montezuma, who, disregarding the warning of the Great Spirit, builds a house that should reach to heaven, which is destroyed before its completion by lightning from heaven. In the story of the Wasio, a Californian tribe, the slaves are compelled by their masters to build a temple as a place of refuge from any future Flood. When a great earthquake with a terrible rain of fire occurs, and the temple sinks up to its dome in the Tahoe Lake, the masters clamber in vain on to its top, from whence they are hurled by the angry god. Andree remarks here that the building of the temple is evidently a modern feature alien to the customs of the tribe, and certainly a domed temple is not a very ancient feature. That the purpose of the temple is not worship, but escape from the Flood, would seem to suggest an early adaptation of the Tower of Babel story. It would thus be a parallel to the story of the neighbouring Papagos, and to that of the Mandans (see IV. *A*. vi. (e)).

(c) Speaking generally, what have the appearance of traits due to Christian influence are found most frequently in those countries where Christian influence has been longest at work, especially on the American continent.

v. The argument from Biblical details in Flood stories is in any case hazardous, as it proves too much. We find details not given in the Bible narrative also repeating themselves in a most remarkable way in the legends of localities far removed from each other.

(1) The boat or raft of safety is frequently described as moored by a rope. A new element is sometimes introduced by some of the ropes not being long enough and the occupants of the boats being drowned (Finns [Lenormant, *Origines*, i. 455]). In one form of a legend of the Pelew Islanders, such was the fate even of the one surviving old woman, until the oldest of the gods in pity revived her. (2) Again, the Greek story of Deukalion and Pyrrha and the stones has an exact analogy in the story of the Maipuri, in which the coco-nuts thrown by the man over his head become men, those thrown by the woman, women. In the legend of other tribes on the Orinoco, as also of the Macusi, stones were thrown by the surviving man. In a Lithuanian story a rainbow was sent to the old couple to comfort them, and to advise them, if they would have offspring, to leap over 'the bones of the earth.' (3) The miraculous growth of the fish, a conspicuous feature of the Indian legend (see V. *D*. i.), has its counterpart in the cuttle-fish of the Thlinidite, which grew so large as to fill the whole house.

It is by no means easy to say how far features of this kind are actually borrowed from other stories, and how far they are the result of imagination and reason acting in similar fashion on different peoples. There is certainly no difficulty in supposing that the tying of the boat was introduced as the most natural thing for the survivors to do. On the other hand, the enigmatical phrase 'bones of the earth' combined with the consolation of the rainbow (Lithuanians), and a similar combination of the stones story with the rat and the maize-ear (Macusi, see above, IV. *A*. iv. (a)), suggest that both elements in either case were due originally to the influence of Christian teachers. We can readily understand how well-educated missionaries might, in drawing attention to the prevalence of Deluge stories, have instanced that of Deukalion, and how such a picturesque incident might have found its way into a popular folk-tale.

vi. The extraordinary variety in every detail in the different Deluge stories makes it improbable that all originated from one traditional story, as will best be realized by taking what might be regarded as the normal type and pointing out some of the variations which we find. Thus: (a) some god or gods, angry with the Antediluvians (b) usually on some specific ground, (c) determine to send a Deluge, but (d) give warning of it to some

one or more beings. (e) The latter, usually following Divine directions, construct some kind of boat or box, or adopt some other means of escape. (f) In this structure they preserve also the necessities of life, including domestic animals, more rarely pairs of animals generally. (g) Shortly after, (h) by rain or other means, (i) comes a Deluge. (j) When the Deluge subsides, (k) they land on some mountain or island, and (l) sometimes offer a sacrifice. (m) Future descendants of men (and sometimes of animals also) are reproduced, often in a miraculous way. (n) The survivors (or the chief of them) are translated to heaven.

This imaginary norm, from which, or from something like it, all the stories might naturally be supposed to have come, is obtained by putting together the features which are most frequently found. No story, in fact, gives them all. Even the Bible story has no translation of Noah (but see ANTEDILUVIANS). The Greek legends have no post-diluvian sacrifice, and the Indian story in its earliest forms gives no reason at all for the Deluge. But, apart from such omissions, we find variations, under each head, of almost every conceivable kind.

(a) The Deluge, though almost always the work of some god, is occasionally, among the North American Indians, ascribed to a malignant being, as the Black Serpent (Algonquins), an eagle (Pimas), or a raven (Hare Indians).

(b) (1) The Deluge is a punishment for sin, not only in the Bible, but among the Pelew and Fiji and Society Islanders, the Algonquins, and some others. (2) More frequently it results from the resentment of a god for some act of violence or personal injury, such as, rather frequently, the refusal of hospitality (Greek Deukalion story) or the slaying of a favourite. Thus, according to a Greek Flood story preserved by Nonnus, it was sent to put out a conflagration caused by Zeus for the murder of Dionysos by the Titans (Usener, p. 42). In a story of the Fiji Islanders it is the anger of the god for the slaughter of his favourite bird. The Dayaks of Borneo attribute a great Flood to the destruction and cooking of a boa constrictor. With the Hare Indians (N. America) it is the raven who brings about the Deluge to punish the Wise Man for having thrown him into the fire, though, curiously enough, the raven escapes with him on the raft. Even more original is the cause of the Deluge as reported from the Leeward Islands. A fisherman who had been fishing in sacred waters caught the hair of the sea-god as the latter was having a nap (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, ii. 58). (3) In the Transylvanian Gipsy story it is the punishment for the disobedience of a woman in eating a forbidden fish—a motive which may have originated from the Bible story of the Fall. In both these last stories the Deluge appears singularly unreasonable. In the latter the woman herself, who is alone responsible for the crime, is slain by the first flash of lightning; in the former, more unfairly still, the fisherman, his wife, and, according to some versions of the story, a few friends, are alone allowed to escape.

(c) The warning of the Deluge is generally made by revelation, sometimes directly (Genesis), sometimes by another god than the author of the Deluge (Akkadian), often through the medium of some animal, as the fish, which a later form of the story regards as an incarnation of Vishnu (Indian), by a wounded dog (Cherokees), or by llamas to a shepherd (Peru). The last two cases seem to have arisen out of the observed faculty that some domestic animals have of foretelling rain. The motive of the Indian story seems connected with an ancient mythological conception, which attached a peculiar sanctity to the fish. In a story of the

Pimas a warning is given three times in vain by an eagle (himself the cause of the Flood) to a prophet (Bancroft, *NR* iii. 78).

(d) Those who are permitted to escape vary very largely. Frequently it is one person only, as the old man in the Gipsy story referred to above, the god's son Szeuka (Pimas, see Bancroft, iii. 78), one woman (Borneo), or frequently a man and his wife (Darjiling, Himālayas), a brother and sister (Kolarians, East India), or two pairs (Andamanese). Less frequently a few friends or relatives are also saved, as in the Bible and in the Leeward Islands stories, where, however, accounts differ. Rarely we find a considerable number, including slaves (Akkadian). In a highly original story of Kabadi, in New Guinea, all the men escape by getting up into the peak of a mountain and waiting till the Deluge has subsided. In other stories they are all destroyed, and the Deluge is followed by a new creation (Kashmir). Especially was this the case where the purpose of the Deluge was the destruction of monsters (see *ANTEDILUVIANS*). In some American Indian stories it is an animal only that survives, such as the coyote (Wappo, etc., California); in a legend of the neighbouring Papagos, it is the coyote and the demi-god Montezuma, while the Thlinkits make the raven and his mother the sole survivors.

(e) While by far the most usual means of escape is by one or more boats or rafts, there are a few legends outside the Bible story in which a larger or smaller box or ark serves the purpose, as with the Banar of Cambodia and in some forms of the Greek Deukalion legend. Possibly this is the origin of the so-called 'Big Canoe,' a sort of sacred tub, which forms the centre of extremely curious ceremonies among the N. American Mandans, which are certainly connected with some old Deluge story (see G. Catlin, *O-Kee-pa*, London, 1866). Very frequently the refugees escape to a mountain, either by means of a boat or directly, and some very curious and graphic accounts are given of the straits to which the survivors were reduced, as the water came higher and higher.

Thus in a legend of the Ojibwas, Manabozho, when the waters have reached the mountain peak, gets up into the topmost branch of a fir-tree, where the waters gradually rise to his mouth, in which position he has to wait five days before he discovers a means of safety. In another story the survivors escape from the mountain peak in a coco-nut shell thrown down casually by a god as he was feasting (Lithuanians); and in yet another it is by a canoe which the survivor makes out of a piece of the sky (Sac and Fox Indians). In not a few stories the survivors escape by simply climbing up into a fruit-tree (Karens in Burma, Tupi in Brazil, Acawaies in British Guiana), or, more curiously still, by sheltering under a tree (Mundari of East India). In some Peruvian stories the mountain of refuge itself floats on the Deluge like a boat. Caves are, singularly enough, the place of refuge in a legend of the Mexican Chohula and of the Arawaks of British Guiana, and the hole of a monster land-crab serves the purpose in the story of the Uraus, a tribe of the Kolarian Indians. From a translation of a very remarkable bark pictograph of a tribe of the Algonquins, it would appear that the place of refuge was a turtle's back, which became identified with an island. But quaintest of all is the story of the Crees, in which the one surviving girl saves herself by catching hold of the foot of an eagle, which carries her to the top of a lofty mountain. In the Thlinkit story the raven and his mother escape in the skins of cranes; in that of the Papagos the coyote saves himself in a bamboo sealed with resin.

(f) Speaking generally, food for the future is provided in one of two ways, either by the survivors taking it with them, as in the Bible story, or by its being produced in some marvellous way afterwards. The preservation of animals, apart from their use for food and sacrifice, is very rare, not being found even in the Akkadian version, and is probably derived from the Bible story. Food is miraculously brought to the surviving brothers by two primeval parrots in a Peruvian story (cf. Elijah and the ravens); in another the survivors feed on fish, which they warm under their arm-pits (Tolowa in California).

(g) The Deluge in many stories comes without warning, as, it would appear, the necessary consequence of crime, e.g. the cooking of the fish and the serpent respectively in the Gipsy and Dayak stories already referred to. More frequently it is after a short interval of a day or so, not foretold beforehand. The 7th day of the Bible (Gn 7⁴⁻¹⁰), and probably of the Akkadian story also, has its parallel in a late version of the Indian story (see below, V. D. i. (3)).

(h) The physical causes to which the Deluge is assigned in different legends are numerous. Naturally enough it is generally rain, often with thunder and lightning. In a Sac and Fox Indian story the rain is said to have fallen in drops as large as a wigwam. Less frequently it is the incursion of a wave (Washo, California), or the pouring in of the water of the sea on to the land (Makah Indians of Cape Flattery). Sometimes it is the sudden melting of the winter snow, as when a mouse gnawed through the bag containing the heat and let it out (Chippewas). Sometimes the cause ascribed is very fantastic. A man accidentally lets fall and breaks the jar containing the water of the ocean which he had picked up out of curiosity (Haiti), and it is the same motive, with the same fatal consequences, that tempts the ape to remove the mat which covered the waters in a hollow tree through which they communicated with the ocean (Acawaies).

(i) In a Finnish story the Deluge is of hot water. According to a legend of the Quiché Indians, a deluge of resin followed one of water, and in some cases fire may be said to take the place of water, the conflagration story being in many respects analogous to the more usual deluge of water (Yuracares of Bolivia, Mundari of East India; cf. *artt. AGES OF THE WORLD*).

In extent the Deluge varies from an obviously local flood to a universal deluge. Very frequently everything is covered except a few lofty ranges such as the Rocky Mountains (Déné Indians). In one Australian legend the low island of refuge alone remained uncovered, when the lofty mountain on the mainland, on which the people had taken refuge, was submerged, this idea probably arising from a not uncommon notion that islands float.

(j) The duration of the Deluge is very seldom given, and, as the two Bible narratives differ both from one another and from the Akkadian (see below, V. A. i.), little importance need be attached to the fact that 40 days, in agreement with the Bible (J), is the duration of the Deluge according to some of the legends of the Polynesian Islands (see Max Müller in Preface to Gill's *Myths*). It is hardly likely that in all these centuries a single isolated detail should have been accurately preserved which had become obliterated in what were, *ex hypothesi*, comparatively early recollections of the fact.

(k) See under (e).

(l) This is an uncommon feature almost confined to the Semitic legends and some forms of the Deukalion story. In the most important Indian story the Deluge leads up to a very complicated and scarcely intelligible religious ceremony; but this belongs rather to the next head.

(m) The most striking example of this is the story of Deukalion and Pyrrha; but, as already pointed out (IV. A. v. (2)), it has its analogies and possibly its derivatives in a Lithuanian and in certain S. American Indian stories. A more remarkable proceeding is that of the surviving coyote, who, according to the Wappo Indians, planted feathers wherever the wigwams used to stand and they grew into men and women. A similar story is told by Bancroft (iii. 87) of some Californian tribes who relate that men were created

by the coyote and a feather which became an eagle. The Déné Indians sometimes asserted that the gods changed animals into men, but it is not explained where the animals came from. In a story of the Pimas Szeuka, the surviving son of a god, having slain the eagle which had caused the Deluge, restored to life those whom it had killed (Bancroft, iii. 78). The Indian post-diluvian rite was a complicated sacrificial ceremony by which Manu was apparently directed to produce both men and animals by an offering of clarified butter. But it is impossible here to distinguish primitive legend from later ritual and mystic accretions.

Where there is a single survivor, or only survivors of one sex, the re-peopling of the earth is frequently effected by union with some god or animal.

We have an example of the former in a story of the Pelew Islanders. In the story of the Orees the surviving maiden forms an alliance with the great eagle, through whom she has effected her escape. In a Peruvian story one of the surviving brothers seizes the parrot who has brought him food and she becomes his wife. In the Akkadian story the preservation of seed is almost a unique feature. The necessity of re-planting the earth, or at any rate of re-stocking it with cereals and vegetables, does not generally seem to have suggested itself.

(n) The apotheosis of the chief survivors is an important feature of the Babylonian story. There may possibly be a trace of it also in Gn 6⁹ (P; cf. Gn 5²⁴; see ANTEDILUVIANS).

If, then, the argument from the many existing Deluge stories were pressed, the most that it could with any reason be supposed to prove would be a purely colourless tradition of a Deluge or great Flood of some sort; but any such argument would have to be largely discounted, if not altogether neutralized, by facts to be considered under the next head.

B. Local inundations.—That this supposition will account for a very large number of Flood stories is obvious.

i. The Chinese Deluge story is merely an early tradition, though highly coloured, of such an inundation as has frequently taken place in the valley of the Hwang Ho (see V. E. ii., iii.).

ii. Such stories are especially frequent in volcanic districts subject to earthquakes and seismic waves, as in the Prince of Wales Peninsula (Bering Strait), Cape Flattery (Washington), or the Tahoe Lake in California. In a legend connected with the last-named place the inundation is expressly ascribed to a monster wave which burst over the land. In the story of Cape Flattery, the prairie which was flooded was certainly once submarine, and has an alluvial deposit of about a foot, as Swan argues, who gave the story in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvi. (quoted by Eells in *Amer. Antiquarian*, i. 70-72). In northern districts the Deluge is sometimes assigned to the melting of the snow (e.g. Chippewas), and very probably originated in a reminiscence of an exceptional inundation from such a cause. The same may be said of the Deluge stories of island peoples. The experience of high tides occasioned by storms would naturally make an impression upon the active imagination of a savage race, and occasion, or at any rate give a certain colour to, stories of this kind. Such tides are the common nightmare of a child living by the sea; and the normal savage is like a clever child only half awake. A more potent cause might be found in the submergence or appearance of islands through volcanic action.

iii. That so many Deluge stories obviously originated in purely local events makes it highly probable that this is the true explanation of many others, where the local cause has been obscured as a tradition, has then become a legend, and has finally passed into a myth, the tendency of the imagination being towards making the story more and more wonderful. Thus, what was originally

a local flood may become a universal Deluge, the surviving ancestors being a few single individuals out of the human race. What was quite natural is ascribed to the direct, and often quite miraculous, action of Divine Beings. How far any particular story can be thus explained must be considered on its own merits.

C. Explanations of natural phenomena.—How far did Deluge and Flood stories arise as a hypothetical explanation of observed facts or racial conditions?

(a) They often appear as a pseudo-scientific explanation of natural phenomena. The savage mind would naturally ask, How came the sea and land, mountains and valleys, and lakes and islands to be where they are and what they are? Whence differences of colour, language, and character? How came the fossils which are found upon the hills? To these questions they found an answer in the hypothesis of a great Deluge which left the fish turned into stone on the land (Eskimo [see Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux*, London, 1864, ii. 318], Leeward Islanders, Samoan Islanders); or formed a large lake (such as the Tahoe in California, or Dilolo Lake on the southern border of the Congo State); or caused men to seek refuge in distant lands, to divide and learn different languages (Twanas [Washington], Makah Indians of Cape Flattery, Thlinkits, Bella-Coolas); or left the red colouring on the Indians' skin (Crees). Sometimes the Deluge plays quite a subordinate part in a story which itself serves a different purpose.

A Deluge story of the Pelew Islanders is connected with a picturesque account of the origin of the red stripe on the head of the bird called the tarit (*Rallus pectoratus*). A Persian Deluge myth, among other motives, explains the saltness of the sea. In an interesting myth connected with Mangaisa (Cook Islands), the general purpose of which is to explain the origin of the coco-nut, the Flood is merely required to bring up the eel, out of whom the coco-nut grew, to the door of the maiden Ina's hut, whose pious duty it was to slay him. In fact, there is another version of the same myth in which there is no Flood at all (Gill, *Myths*, v. 77-81). Gill, who was for 22 years a missionary in the Hervey Group, had specially favourable opportunities of collecting stories uninfluenced by Christian teaching, as he obtained them direct from Tereaval, the last priest of the god Tiao, who took the double form of a shark and an eel. Incidentally also the Flood story given above accounts for the passage by which the water drains into the sea. In another legend, told by Gill, the chief object of the Flood was to put out the furnace in which Miru, the hag of the nether world, had designed to cook Ngaru. The Flood puts out the furnace and permits Ngaru to effect his escape.

It is very probable that to the same intelligent curiosity we must refer those many stories which seem to lead up to the origin of land, or at least of islands.

There is an old Indian legend according to which Vispu in his *avatara* as a boar brings up land from the bottom of the ocean (Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I² [Lond. 1873], chs. I. and vi.). With this we may compare the legend that Rangi pulled up the island of Mangaisa out of the nether world. But there are several apparently analogous stories among the American Indians connected with a Deluge which occurs as an event, not as a primordial condition. In such stories some animal, a duck or beaver or fish, more often a musk-rat, dives down for earth and brings it up between its feet or in its mouth (Sas and Fox Indians, Chippewas, Ojibwas). Some have compared the curious sequel to the sending out of birds by Xisuthros in the later Babylonian story. But there the clay on the feet of the birds is a proof of the re-appearance of ground, on which, though still wet, the birds could walk, and it is a far less poetical variant of the dove and the olive branch. It is very unlikely that, as Andree thinks, the sending out of animals in the American Indian stories has any connexion with that Bible incident. More probably it is an ancient myth accounting for the origin of land among an originally seafaring people, which has become mixed up with later inundation traditions of a more local character.

(b) It seems probable that in some cases, among island and coast-land peoples, the Deluge story originated in the tradition of the early migration of the people. In such cases the ocean is itself the Deluge, and the island or coast-land the home to which they escaped. In some such way the Binnas account for their settlement in the Malay Peninsula. How easily traditions of such a kind could

pass into myths may be seen in many of these Deluge stories, in which comparatively recent events have become interwoven with them.

Thus a Deluge myth of Western Australia is connected with a quarrel between 'black' and 'white' races, and can have originated or taken its present shape only after the first English settlements in the country. In a Deluge myth of the Papagos, the Great Spirit, unable otherwise to tame Montezuma's rebellious temper, sent an insect into the unknown land of the East to fetch the Spaniards, who destroyed Montezuma, and people no longer worshipped him as god. Here Montezuma, an Aztec ruler, who was actually killed by the Spaniards in 1520, has become the demi-god hero of an ancient Flood myth.

D. Deluge stories explained as part of a definite cosmological system.—This has been incidentally touched upon under the last head. Some of the Deluge myths might certainly be so explained, e.g. that of Viṣṇu in his *avatāra* as a boar bringing up land from the bottom of the ocean. But in such stories the ocean is not so much a Deluge as the primeval Deep (cf. *ṣaṃ*, Gn 1²). As a rule, however, such conceptions are hardly of a kind to account for the general prevalence of Deluge stories. Moreover, the savage mind, at any rate, was essentially local and limited in its range, and comprised within its view very little beyond the horizon of its ordinary experience.

E. Deluge stories explained as Nature myths.—In this view some forms of the Deluge story, especially those of Palestine, Babylon, Greece, and India, are a mythical representation of some ordinary natural phenomenon of constant recurrence. Noah in his Ark is generally regarded by its exponents as a sun myth, but as regards the interpretation of the story there is a wide divergence of opinion.

1. Cheyne, for example (see art. 'Deluge,' in *EB*⁹), following Schirren and Gerland, suggests that the Deluge has been transferred from the sky to the earth. So understood, the progress of Noah in the Ark, like that of Zeus in his chariot, is a mythical interpretation of the course of the sun. But this would imply an incredible twist of the primitive imagination.

2. Uesener, on the other hand, who has written on the subject at very great length, makes the whole point of the myth lie in the *landing* of the Deluge hero, which represents the *rising* sun. He derives his argument partly from philology, but chiefly from comparative mythology. He explains Deukalion as 'the little Zeus'—a suitable name for the newborn sun, and he compares the many stories, such as those of Perseus and Oedipus, in which a child is thrown into the sea in a chest or otherwise, and whose landing gives rise to some cult, which he connects sometimes, rather curiously, with that of the sun. In fact, almost every legend which has for its theme any one traversing the sea in a marvellous manner, from Arion on his dolphin to the legend of Lucian's corpse, is made to serve his purpose. Uesener finds developments of the same idea in fairy tales, Christian legends, and many myths and religious customs, coins, etc., representing the sun-god, be it Dionysus or Saturn, in a ship. Strangest of all are the illustrations drawn from the legend of St. Christopher bearing the Infant Christ, and even an ancient picture of Christ's baptism. He lays great stress on the fact that the season of Baptism was called *Epiphaneia*, an emblem of rising light, and even directs attention to the fact that the water is depicted as stormy, seeing in this the idea that the water was conceived as lifting up the Christ. Similarly the Deluge might be regarded as lifting up the sun-god in the Ark, preparatory to his landing, i.e. rising. Such arguments as these hardly need serious discussion.

F. General conclusion.—Speaking generally, the comparative study of Deluge legends tends to make it more and more evident that, while a very large proportion of them certainly arose originally out of local events, these have always been highly coloured, and not infrequently quite transformed, by the imagination, which among more uncivilized races saw all Nature teeming with conscious life in manifold forms. Either in conjunction with such traditions, or sometimes independently of them, Deluge stories arose out of an inquisitive creative imagination, which first sought to explain the natural wonders of the present by even greater wonders in the past, and by a process of repetition changed the guesses of an earlier into the traditions of a later age. Like all folklore, such stories have a living interest to the student of psychology, but are of far less importance in the comparative study

of religion. It should be added that, though the common derivation of Deluge stories from the Bible Deluge can no longer be maintained, the Bible story and those related to it have had in various ways a wide and important influence upon a large number of them.

V. Groups of Deluge stories.—*A. SEMITIC.*—The Semitic Deluge story is found in three forms: (i.) that of the Akkadian tablets, (ii.) the Bible Deluge, and (iii.) the story as narrated by later Babylonian historians, esp. Berossus. It is now generally recognized by scholars of different schools that (i.) represents the most ancient form of the story, of which (iii.) is merely a variant, while (ii.) is a very different version of the old story adapted to an altogether different conception. The grounds on which this opinion is based are: (1) the belief that, though the date of the inscription upon the Akkadian tablets is probably about 660 B.C., it is a copy of a poem dating from at least 2000 B.C., as is confirmed by the mutilated fragment of another Babylonian Deluge story, discovered by Scheil at Abū Habbah (Sippara), the colophon of which points to a date for the inscription of 2250–2150 B.C. (see Ball, p. 43); (2) that the tablets belonged, roughly speaking, to the country from which the Israelitish people migrated; (3) that the story itself, in both its Biblical and Akkadian forms, is connected more nearly with the same region of the world than with Palestine (note the mountains of Nizir [Akkadian], Ararat [Bible]); (4) that the Akkadian story is based on the religious ideas of that country and the worship of the ancient gods of Babylonia, while that of Genesis is conceived in the spirit of the high morality and monotheism of the Jews.

1. THE AKKADIAN DELUGE STORY.—The Akkadian Deluge story, discovered by George Smith in 1872 among some monuments in the British Museum, was inscribed on the eleventh of twelve tablets, each containing one canto of an ancient epic poem. Each tablet is connected with a sign of the zodiac, and, as the eleventh is that corresponding to Aquarius, the Deluge story is particularly suitable.

The epic relates the adventures of a certain Gilgames, who is frequently identified by scholars with the Nimrod of Genesis. In order to seek a remedy for sickness, he pays a visit to his ancestor Sitnapīsti (Nuhnapishtim [Ball]) at the mouth of the river Euphrates, and Sitnapīsti gives him an account of the Deluge and of his own translation, of which the following is an abstract:

The gods in Šurīpakk, even then an old city, determine to send a Deluge. Ea, the lord of wisdom, reveals their purpose to Sitnapīsti, and bids him build a ship of certain dimensions, there bring the seed of life, and launch it. Sitnapīsti carries out these instructions, building it 120 cubits (?) high, of six storeys, and divided into seven parts, pouring over it several measures of 'pitch' both inside and out, and providing it with oars. Having celebrated a great sacrificial feast with oxen and sheep, beer, wine, oil, and grapes, he brings into the Ark stores of gold and silver, beasts of the field, man-servants and maid-servants, and the sons of his people ('all the craftsmen' [Ball]). Having done so, Sitnapīsti is bidden to enter and shut the door, and to await the Deluge that night. He appoints Buzur-sadi-rabi (Smith and Sayce ('Buzur bel,' Haupt and Ball)) his pilot, and waits in dread for the storm, which bursts forth next morning. The description of the storm and the consternation of the gods are thus graphically and forcibly described (87–111):

When the first light of dawn appeared,
There arose from the fountain of heaven a black cloud:
Rimmon in the heart of it thunders, and
Nebo and Merodach march behind;
The Thron-bearers march o'er mountain and plain.
The mighty Dibbarra (or Girra) wrenches away the beam;
Ninib goes on pouring out ruin.
The Anunaki (earth-spirits) lifted torches;
With their sheen they lighten the world.
Rimmon's violence reacheth to heaven;
Whatever is bright he turneth to darkness.

One day the Southern blast . . .
Hard it blew, and . . .

Like a battle-charge upon mankind rush (the waters).
One no longer sees another;
No more are men discerned in (described from) heaven.
The gods were dismayed at the flood, and
Sought refuge in ascending to highest heaven (*lit.* the heaven
of Anu);

The gods cowered like dogs; on the battlements [of heaven]
they crouched.

Ishtar seems like a woman in travail,
The loud-voiced Lady of the gods exclaims:
"Yon generation is turned again to clay!"

As I in the assembly of the gods foretold the evil.
A tempest for the destruction of my people I foretold.
But I will give birth to my people [again], though
Like fry of fishes they fill the sea."

The gods, because of the Anunnaki wept with her;
The gods were downcast, they sate a-weeping;
Closed were their lips' (Ball, p. 38 f.).

For 6 days and nights the storm rages, and abates on the
7th, when the waters begin to subside. Sînapišti weeps at the
sight of the corpses; he opens the window, however, and dis-
covers distant land. Thither the ship steers, and grounds
on Mt. Nizir. Here, after another 7 days' interval, Sînapišti
sends forth a dove, which finds no resting-place, and returns.
He then sends forth a swallow, which finds no resting-place, and
returns; then a raven, which, when it sees that the waters have
subsided, returns not. He then sends forth the animals to the
four winds of heaven, builds an altar, and offers sacrifices with
libations of wine, at which the gods collect like flies (?), while
the great goddess Ištar lights up the mighty bow (?).¹ The
account goes on to describe how, when Bel sees the ship, he is
filled with anger, and commands the gods that no one shall
come forth alive. Ea expostulates with him for having caused
a Deluge, and suggests in future other punishments, such as
wild beasts, famine, or plague. He declares that he did not
reveal the counsel of the gods, but only sent a dream to Atrahasis.
His pleas are so successful that Bel takes Sînapišti's
hands, and blesses him *and his wife*, and bids them be as gods,
and dwell at the mouth of the rivers.

Unfortunately, there are a large number of
lacunæ, and in many other passages the language
is very obscure; but the above may be taken as
fairly representing the general drift.

There can be little doubt that the text as we
have it is composite (see Sayce, *Higher Crit. and*
Mon. ch. iii.). The Deluge is ascribed first to the
gods of Šurippak collectively, then to the sun-god
(Šamaš), and, lastly, exclusively to Bel. The hero
of the Deluge is twice called Atrahasis instead of
Sînapišti. Moreover, a double version of Ea's
warning speech is given, and, lastly, Bel's counsel
to stop Sînapišti, etc., from leaving the ship is
clearly out of place after the sacrifice just recorded.
However precarious it may be, and indeed unneces-
sary, to attempt an exact analysis of the whole, it
is of some importance to realize that the Deluge
story was a popular one, and even in Babylon was
told in various ways. We have at least evidence
of one story in which Sînapišti is presumably
the hero, ending in the sacrificial thank-offering,
and another in which, after a quarrel among the
gods, the hero Atrahasis is translated. In addition
to the Akkadian Epic here given, a few other frag-
ments have been found containing more or less
divergent versions of the same story. The most
important of these—that discovered by Scheil, al-
ready referred to—consists of 37 lines. It repre-
sents some god as calling upon Rammān to bring a
flood on the earth, and Ea as interposing to save
Atrahasis (see Driver, *Genesis, in loco*; Ball, p. 43).

Before passing on to consider the Bible Deluge,
we must call attention to a few points in the Ak-
kadian story. (1) The recurrence of periods of
seven days' duration. The preparations appear
to have taken 7 days (cf. Gn 7¹ [J]), the ship being
completed on the 5th, and 2 days more being re-
quired for the sacrifice and embarkation. The
storm itself lasted 7 days, and there was another
interval of 7 days, while the Deluge was abating,
before sending out the birds, which were sent out
consequently, apparently on the 7th day, or, at
any rate, at no great interval (cf. the story of
Berossus, 'after some days').—(2) The dimensions

of the ship are uncertain. There are *lacunæ* in the
inscription where the directions are first given, but,
at any rate, the height and breadth are the same.
In describing the actual building of the ship, the
height (and, therefore, the breadth also) is 10 *sars*
(120 cubits [Sayce, Hommel]), but the length is not
given. It was, therefore, enormously larger than
the Bible Ark—4 times the height and over twice
the breadth (cf. Gn 6¹⁵ [P]).—(3) Those saved in the
ship included Sînapišti, his wife and slaves (male
and female), and the pilot and all his people; but
the mention of other relatives is at least doubtful.
—(4) Most important of all: Atrahasis and his wife
(but no others) are translated.

ii. THE BIBLE DELUGE STORY.—1. *Analysis*.—
The Bible Deluge story, like the Akkadian, is cer-
tainly composite, parts belonging to the compara-
tively late Priestly Code (P), and parts, speaking
generally, to the ancient Jahwist source (J).

The parts usually assigned to J* are: 6⁵⁻⁸ 7¹⁻⁵ 7-10
(in part [see below])¹² 16¹⁶. 17-4 22-23 32b-3a. 6-12. 18b. 20-22.
The parts usually assigned to P are: 6⁹⁻²² 7⁶. 11.
13-16a. 18-21. 24. 31. 2a. 35-5. 12a. 13-19 91-17.

2. *The J Deluge story*.—(a) *Its date*.—Though
the composition of J as a whole can hardly be
earlier than the 9th cent. B.C., it seems probable
that the Deluge story in its Hebrew form, though
not necessarily reduced to writing, is far older. It
preserves, at any rate, what appears to be a very
ancient custom, not otherwise known, by which
all clean animals were regarded as suitable for
sacrifice (Gn 8²⁰), whereas, according to Dt 12¹⁵. 22
15²², there is clearly a distinction intended between
certain domestic animals that were sacrificed and
wild game (*i.e.* clean animals) which it had been
the custom to eat, but which could not be sacrificed
—a distinction which is also implied in the story of
the deception of Isaac (Gn 27 [J.E]).

On the other hand, the Deluge was not a uni-
versal tradition among the Israelites, or, at any rate,
did not form part of a generally recognized his-
torical system: The tradition concerning Lamech's
sons (Gn 4¹⁹⁻²²) implies an unbroken history of civi-
lization; and, if the writer of this last section was
aware of the Flood tradition, he certainly did not
regard it as a universal Deluge. Many critics,
therefore, regard the Deluge story as a compara-
tively late insertion into the original cycle of J
traditions (see *Oxf. Hex., in loco*).

(b) A relation of some kind between J and the
Akkadian story is evident. The chief points of
similarity are the Divine decision to bring about a
Flood (Gn 6³⁻⁷) in consequence of man's sin (this
is implied in Ea's expostulation with Bel in the
Akkadian story); the warning by Divine agency
that the Flood was coming (7¹); the command to
build an Ark, implied in 6¹⁵ 7¹⁶; the periods of 7
days, though not so connectedly as in the Akkadian
story (7⁴. 10 8¹⁰. 12); the sending out of birds at
intervals; the sacrifice after the Deluge, and the
delight shown in it by Jahweh (8²⁰. 21). On the
other hand, it differs in the monotheistic character
of the whole story, and the necessary omission
of the petty quarrels of the gods; and in its infinitely
higher religious and moral tone (the occasion of the
Flood, Jahweh's wrath against man's sin, receives
an emphasis which we do not find in the Akkadian
story); the means of preservation, an ark or chest,
instead of a ship; † the Flood's duration of 40 days
instead of 7; the birds sent out—raven, dove, dove,
dove, instead of dove, swallow, raven; the incident
of the olive branch (but cf. Berossus); and the
omission of the apotheosis of Noah.

* For full analysis, see *Oxford Hex.*; Kautsch and Socin (quoted
in Usener, pp. 17-22); Driver, *Genesis*, 1904.

† Some assign v. 17a (afterwards corrected by redactor) to P.

‡ Ball argues from the dimensions that the Akkadian ship
was really a chest; but it had oars and a steersman, and was
launched and navigated.

¹ 'She lifted up the Great Gems' (Ball, p. 40, who explains:
'The Babylonian myth evidently regards the rainbow as the
great jewelled collar of Ishtar, held up arch-wise in heaven'
(see also p. 201)).

(c) At this point two important questions arise. (1) Is the Bible story derived from the Akkadian, *as we find it in the tablets?* Probably not. That there were several versions of the story current in Babylon is clear from the evidence of two stories combined in the Akkadian tablets, and by the evidence of the other mutilated fragments, as well as by the account of Berossus, which differs in some important particulars. The olive branch in the dove's mouth is the kind of picturesque detail which looks very ancient, and may have been original, and is to some extent confirmed by Berossus (see below, V. A. iii. 1, *b*, c). It has been suggested that the sending out of birds may have originated in the well-attested ancient custom of letting birds loose to ascertain the direction of land; but, while this is not altogether improbable, it must be admitted that such a purpose is not very evident in the Akkadian story, and is quite inadmissible in that of the Bible. On the whole, it would appear that the Bible story is derived from one that did not differ essentially from the Akkadian as we know it.

(2) Is the story of J a deliberate paraphrase of whatever form it was derived from, or was it the result of a gradual process of development? The subject is hardly capable of positive proof, but the probability seems in favour of the latter alternative. (a) If the story was, as seems likely, derived from Babylonia at an early date (note its anthropomorphic conception of Jahweh, Gn 7⁸ 82), it would, in all probability, have been handed on by oral tradition many centuries before it was written down, and, if so, would naturally have become gradually changed in the telling, as religious ideas developed from time to time. (b) We can thus best account for one of the most characteristic differences—the chest of the Bible left to drift by chance or at the Divine will, in the place of the purposely navigated boat of the Akkadian story. No doubt Lenormant was right in saying that the latter is a feature suitable to the story as told by a maritime people, such as the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf, whereas the Bible Ark points to a people wholly ignorant of navigation (*Orig.* i. 408, quoted by Andree, p. 8); but it seems unlikely that a writer in comparatively late times would have deliberately altered the ship into an ark, whereas such a change might naturally have come by degrees. Some writers have urged this difference as a proof of the priority of the Bible narrative; and even Cheyne, while very far from admitting such a view, suggested that possibly this particular feature may be more primitive—the conversion of the chest into a ship being due, if this be the case, to a rationalizing tendency (art. 'Deluge,' in *EB* 9). But such an argument cannot be considered as to any extent outweighing the strong grounds for the priority of the Akkadian story; and, after all, that the Bible Deluge should be in this, as it is in other respects, more marvellous than an early form of the story, is what we might naturally expect in a later stage of tradition.

(d) *Conclusion.*—We probably have in the J story a very early Israelitish tradition, either brought with the people from Babylonia at their first immigration, or obtained from that country through the frequent intercourse which we know to have existed from early times between the two peoples, but so modified as to have become, in the gradual course of transmission, a suitable vehicle for enforcing those great moral and religious truths which became the distinguishing features of the Israelites.

3. *The P version of the Deluge.*—(a) Compared with that of J, P has in addition the description and the dimensions of the Ark, the description of the Deluge as due to the breaking up of all the

fountains of the great deep, as well as the opening of the windows of heaven (7¹¹ 83), the stranding of the Ark on Mt. Ararat (84), and the rainbow (9¹²⁻¹⁶), together with statistical references to Noah's age, etc. P omits the sending out of animals and the post-diluvian sacrifice, substitutes one pair of all animals for 7 pairs of clean and one of unclean, makes the Deluge last 365 days instead of 61, and substitutes the elaborate covenant connected with the rainbow (9¹⁻¹⁷) and laws of blood for the simple promise of J based on the sacrifice (8³⁰⁻³²).

(b) The comparison with J and with the Akkadian Deluge raises a somewhat difficult question. Was P's story derived independently from Babylon during or shortly after the Exile, or was it, on the other hand, merely a revision of J's Deluge story; or, again, was it in some respects an independent version of the ancient story, belonging, like J's account, to ancient religious traditions?

Those who adopt either the first or third of these alternatives lay stress on the fact that so much of what is peculiar to P has its parallels in the Akkadian story, in which we find certain dimensions of the ship, its being tarred with pitch, the Deluge ascribed apparently to the sea as well as the rain-storm, and the rainbow (Sayce, Ball). But, on the other hand, it may be observed (a) that, as already pointed out, the actual dimensions of the Akkadian ship are enormously greater than those of P's ark, and, moreover, that the insertion of exact dimensions is exactly in accordance with the custom of P, as, e.g., in the dimensions of the Tabernacle and all its furniture; the resemblance, therefore, on this point, such as it is, may be merely accidental; (b) that the reference to the rainbow in the Akkadian story is at least doubtful, and is not admitted by several translators (e.g. Haupt); (c) that almost all the differences between the accounts of P and J may be explained by the general character of P; e.g., the picturesque story of the birds would have no interest for P, who omits all the most picturesque stories of Genesis. In any case, such an incident would be unsuitable in a Deluge which covered the highest mountains (7¹⁸) and lasted 365 days, though not in one of 61, in which the mountains were not necessarily covered at all. Again, the omission of the sacrifice of Noah accords with the omission of all the Patriarchal sacrifices—an omission which certainly suggests the inference either that P disbelieved in or held of no account sacrifices which preceded the law of Sinai. The omission of 7 pairs of every kind of clean animal is very possibly an example of the same spirit, as these animals were, according to J, intended for sacrifice (8³⁰). Lastly, the omission of such an anthropomorphism as 'Jahweh shut him in' in 7^{16b} is quite in character with P's usual practice. (d) As the present combined account of the Deluge is based on P's story, which appears to have been preserved almost intact, whereas some parts of J are obviously omitted (those, for instance, giving the warning of the Deluge and directions for building the Ark), it is quite possible that some general statement of the Ark's dimensions, a description of the pitch, rooms, etc., like the Akkadian story, and the incident of the rainbow, may originally have had a place in J's story. If this be so, P must have retained the latter, not because of its picturesque quality, but as the basis for a favourite theme, a Divine covenant (cf. 6¹⁸); on the other hand, the change of 61 to 365 days, the number of days in the solar year, though it does not agree with the three weeks of the Akkadian story, appears to be based upon some astronomical theory, and may be due to Babylonian influence of some kind. It may also be reasonably urged that the reference to 'the fountains of the great deep' really corresponds with P's ideas and nomenclature (cf. Gn 1⁹), and finds a

parallel in the post-exilic Is 24¹⁶. It is not likely, therefore, that it was originally derived from J.

It may, then, be considered not improbable that, in addition to J, P may have had access to some other version of the Akkadian story, but, if so, when and how it was derived is quite uncertain.

iii. THE DELUGE ACCORDING TO LATER BABYLONIAN ACCOUNTS.—1. *The story as given by Berossus.*—Berossus was a priest of Bel in Babylon about 300 B.C., who wrote a history of Babylonia (see art. BEROSUS). He claims to have copied out MSS of several authors which had been carefully preserved in Babylon for 15 myriads of years. Unfortunately, only a few fragments of his work have been preserved, which were copied by later authors. His Deluge story is given or referred to in three sources.

(a) It was copied by Alexander Polyhistor (a Milesian writer of the 1st cent. B.C.), whose work is also lost. Thence it was copied by Eusebius in his *Chronicon*; and, though the original of the *Chronicon* is also lost, it still exists in an Armenian tr., and it was also reproduced, probably *verbatim*, by Syncellus in his *Chronographia*.

(b) A Latin translation, based partly on the Armenian version, with the various readings of the Greek text of Syncellus, is given in Migne, *Chron. Eus.* I. ch. iii. (see also Müller, *FHG* ii. 501). It runs as follows:

'After the death of Ardates, his son Xisuthros reigned 18 *sars* (18 x 3600 years). During his reign occurred a great flood, of which the following account has been given. Kronos appeared to him in a dream and revealed to him that on the 15th of the month Daisios men would be destroyed by a flood, and he therefore ordered him to bury all existing MSS, beginning, middle, and end, in the sun-city of Sippara, to build a boat, to embark with his relatives and friends, to load it with food and drink, to put therein animals, birds, and quadrupeds, and to make all ready for a journey. He then asked whither the boat should go, and was told, "To the gods to pray [*v.l.* having prayed] for good to mankind." He was not disobedient, but built a boat of 5 stadia long and 2 stadia broad, and carried out all that had been commanded him, and embarked with wife, children, and relatives. When the flood came, and very soon had begun to subside, he let go some of his birds; but, when they found neither food nor place to settle, they came back to the ship. Xisuthros, after some days, let the birds go away again, and they returned to the ship with mud upon their feet. When they were let go for the third time, they returned no more to the ship. Then Xisuthros perceived that the land had appeared, and he broke open some of the joints of the ship, and ascertained that the ship had grounded on a certain mountain. He stepped out with his wife and daughter and the pilot, kissed the ground, erected an altar, offered sacrifice to the gods, and vanished together with those who had come out of the ship.' The narrative goes on to relate how a voice from the sky informed the comrades of Xisuthros that he and those with him had gone, on account of his piety, to dwell with the gods, and bade them recover the MSS, and adds in conclusion:

'Of this ship that stranded in Armenia a part still remained in the Kordyean mountains of Armenia, and some people scraped off the pitch from the ship and used it as amulets. They came to Babylon, dug up the MSS, and took them from Sippara; and they rebuilt Babylon, building many cities and re-founding temples.'

(c) This story appears to be an epitome of the Akkadian or one much like it:

(a) The name of Xisuthros (=Hasis-atra transposed from Atra-hasis) agrees with that of one of the versions of the Akkadian story. (b) The means of refuge, as in the Akkadian story, is a ship and not an ark. (c) As in the Akkadian, Xisuthros and others are immortalized. It differs, however, in (a) the prediction of the exact date of the Deluge, (b) the specific mention of relatives and friends as saved (a smaller number seems implied than in the Akkadian story), (c) the mud on the feet of the birds, (d) the stranding of the ship in Armenia, and (e) the apotheosis not only of Xisuthros and his wife, but also of his daughters and even of the pilot. Of these (c) and (d) are of special importance. The latter would seem to prove an ancient Babylonian tradition independent of the Akkadian story, and followed by P. Ararat being the regular name of Armenia in Assyrian monuments. Of the former it may be said at least that the story of the clay on the feet of the birds looks like the earlier analogue of the olive branch.

It should be added that the points of contact with the Bible story are not sufficiently striking to make it likely that the later Babylonian traditions were influenced by it. On the whole, then, the story of Berossus tends to confirm the view of

some variety in the Babylonian traditions of the Deluge.

2. *The Deluge story of Abydenus.*—An epitomized version of the same account, derived originally either from Berossus or from the source from which he derived it, comes to us through Abydenus, a later Babylonian historian, whose work, like that of Berossus, has also been copied both in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius (I. vii., also in *Præp. Evang.* ix. 12, p. 414) and in the *Chronographia* of Syncellus (p. 70).

It differs, however, (a) in making a double interval of three days before and between the sending of the birds, and (b) in the birds being sent only twice. Migne's attempt to get out of the text of Syncellus a third sending is hardly successful. At best it would require that it took place after they had returned with the clay.

3. *Reference to Berossus's Deluge story in Josephus.*—Josephus's account of the Deluge (*Ant.* I. iii. 5, 6) differs slightly from that of the Bible. He mentions that Noah, when the Ark rested on the top of a certain mountain of Armenia, opened it and saw a small piece of land. The dove was sent out 7 days after the raven, and only once returned, covered with mud and bringing an olive-branch. After waiting 7 days more, he sent forth the living creatures. These differences may be partly due to carelessness and to narration from memory, but the reference to the clay, at any rate, is taken from the account of Berossus, which he had seen, and probably other accounts also, for he goes on to say: 'All writers of barbarian histories make mention of this Flood and this Ark, among whom is Berossus the Chaldaean,' and he quotes from him the statement about the remains of the ship on the Kordyean mountains, and the use made of the pitch, in the same words as those used by Eusebius and Syncellus, who themselves refer to Polyhistor as their authority. This proves beyond a doubt that Polyhistor's story was derived from Berossus. Josephus's statement about the universality of the Deluge story may be taken as showing at least that the Deluge story was a common theme among ancient historians.

iv. ORIGIN OF THE SEMITIC DELUGE STORY.—

(a) There is nothing to suggest in this case that it formed part of a consistent mythological system.

(b) Being concerned with rain and water, the subject was clearly suitable for treatment in the Akkadian Epic in connexion with the rainy month; nor need we suppose it, therefore, connected with any special astronomical theories. (c) Its more or less mythological form, in which gods and goddesses play their part, finds its analogies in many Deluge and other stories throughout the world, in which natural events form the basis of, or become mixed up with, mythological details (see above, IV. C. (b)). (d) The frequency of Deluge stories arising out of natural inundations gives a *prima facie* probability that such an event was the origin of the tradition in this instance. (e) In both the Bible story and the Akkadian the Deluge is ascribed to natural causes: (1) an excessive rainfall; (2) somewhat more indefinitely, the rising of the sea. The first is obvious in both accounts. The second is definitely stated in P in the words 'all the fountains of the great deep were broken up' (Gn 7¹¹). The deep being regarded as being under the earth, such language would very naturally suggest an earthquake breaking up the ground and letting the deep burst forth. It seems implied also in the Akkadian story, which, if it does not, as some scholars maintain, expressly speak of the earth trembling, and the floods breaking out below the earth, at least describes such a terrific storm and tempest and invasion of waters as to imply a cyclonic wave rather than a mere overflowing of rivers. (f) The traditional resting-places of the ark, Ararat=Armenia (Bible

and Berossus), and Nizir = Rowandiz in the North-East of Babylonia (Akkadian), point to a definite region of the world. (g) Süs has pointed out with great force that the necessary conditions are fulfilled by supposing that the shores of the Persian Gulf were struck by an enormous volcanic wave, accompanied by a tremendous cyclone. The very great distance which such waves travel, and the fearful destruction of life and property which is often involved, have frequently been pointed out.

Thus the wave associated with the Backergunge cyclone in the delta of the Ganges reached a height of 45 ft. and destroyed more than 100,000 persons (*EB*⁹ xvi. 155). A wave caused by the eruption of Krakatoa (28th-28th Aug. 1883) reached 50 ft. (cf. the 15 cubits of P. Gn 7²⁰) and destroyed more than 36,000 lives. One wave reached as far as Cape Horn, 7818 geographical miles distant (*EB*⁹ xxviii. 639).

It can hardly be deemed improbable that a phenomenon of such a kind occurred on the coast of the Persian Gulf, then probably lying much further north than now, and that but few survivors escaped in boats to the more hilly regions, with what effects they could secure. We have, in an event like this, all that is needed for the growth of such stories as are preserved in the Akkadian Epic and the Bible Deluge.

It need hardly be added that the religious value of the Bible story does not lie in its improbabilities, which sometimes amount, as has been shown, to absurdities, but rather in the religious and moral lessons, of which the ancient tradition was made the vehicle, viz. that Jahweh hated and would punish sin, but would save those who were faithful and obedient, while the further thought is suggested in P, at least, that His mercy is a more abiding motive than His wrath.

B. THE GREEK DELUGE STORIES.—i. *Story of Deukalion and Pyrrha.*—This is by far the most important of the Greek Deluge, or Flood, stories. (a) Its most typical form is that given by Apollodorus (140 B.C.) in his *Bibliotheca*, I. vii. 2:

When Zeus determined to destroy the men of the age of copper, Deukalion, at the suggestion of Prometheus his father, constructed a chest (ἀρκαία), into which, having placed therein the necessities of life, he entered with his wife Pyrrha. Zeus sent a great rain, which flooded most parts of Greece, and destroyed all except those who escaped to the neighbouring hill-tops. The pair, after drifting in the chest for 9 days and nights, reached Parnassus, and, the Flood having somewhat abated, disembarked, whereupon Deukalion sacrificed to Zeus his protector. The latter sent Hermes to ask what he wished. He replied 'Children.' At the direction of Zeus they threw stones over their heads, and those which Deukalion threw became men, and those which Pyrrha threw, women. Then follows a derivation of the word λαός ('people') from λαός or λᾶς ('stone').

(b) This story evidently originated in a confusion of a myth with what may have been an ancient tradition. If Pandora, as Apollodorus had just asserted, was the first woman, and Prometheus first made men of earth and water, how could Deukalion be, as Apollodorus likewise states, king of Phthia, and who were the men who were nearly all destroyed? How, again, is the survival of any consistent with the story of the stones?

(c) (1) There seems to be an allusion to the story of the stones in Hesiod ('*Ἡσίοδος*, fr. 141, ed. Rzsch; see Usener, p. 32). (2) The earliest complete reference, however, to Deukalion's Flood is in Pindar, *Ol.* ix. 64-67, where he mentions how Pyrrha and Deukalion descended from Parnassus and founded of stones a race like themselves, and how the mighty waters which had overflowed the earth had been suddenly stopped by Zeus. Pindar evidently refers to it as a well-known story; otherwise, much of what he says would have been quite unintelligible to his readers. (3) The best-known form of the story, however, is that given by Ovid, *Met.* i. 155-415, the most curious feature of which is the fact that no mention is made of Deukalion and Pyrrha having been warned of the Deluge and commanded to build a ship. They appeared on the heights of Parnassus, where they had landed, and

invoked the gods of the mountain and Themis. Zeus, seeing this, and satisfied that they were good and pious people, stopped the Deluge. A full description is given of their trouble, and the story about 'the bones of the great mother' is given in detail. It should be noticed that here the means of refuge is a ship, not, as with Apollodorus, a chest. There are also several other more or less different versions of the Deukalion story. (4) According to Nonnus (see Usener, p. 38), a conflagration sent by Zeus (in anger at the Titans for murdering Dionysus Zagreus) was put out by a Deluge. This is very abruptly connected with the story of Deukalion and Pyrrha, who suddenly appear floating about in a chest (ἀρκαί); but we are not told how or where they got in, or where they landed. The Deluge ends by Poseidon splitting the rock with his trident, and making an escape for the water through the Vale of Tempe, thus connecting the Deluge with the north of Thessaly, whereas the older legends connect it with Photis in the south-east. (5) According to Hellanikos, Mt. Othrys was the place of landing. Aristotle, curiously enough, maintained that the waters of the Deluge flowed into Achelous. Others, such as Thrasybulus and Akestodorus, maintained that Deukalion and Pyrrha founded the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, and dwelt in the territory of the Molossi. Possibly here we have a local Flood tradition combined with the better known traditional story. Very late legends connect the landing of Deukalion with Mt. Athos, and even with Ætna.

ii. *Other Deluge stories current in Greece.*—1. According to a legend connected with Megaris, Megaros, its founder, was rescued from the Deluge, being guided in swimming through the water by the cry of cranes; hence was derived the name of Gerania.

2. The Oxygian Flood story, found only in quite late writers, such as Julius Africanus, is confined to Boeotia and Attica. Oxygus, its hero, was described as king, sometimes of Athens and sometimes of Thebes.

3. Dardanus was said to have escaped in a Flood from Samothrace or Arcadia (Dionysius of Halicarnassus), in a boat of skins made by himself (Lykophron), or with his sons, and to have founded the kingdom of Ida. This story was often brought into connexion with that of Deukalion.

4. An altogether different Flood story is referred to by Istros (see Usener, p. 46), who connects a great flood with the severing of Asia and Europe by the Hellespont.

iii. *Origin of the Greek stories.*—Speaking generally, the Greek Deluge stories form good illustrations of what appear to be the common causes of such legends (see above, IV. C). Several of them grew up as explanations of the founding of a city or temple, ascribed to a waif miraculously guided across the waters, and to this extent Usener is probably right in finding analogies to the Deukalion myth in such stories as those of Perseus and Oedipus. Other Greek Deluge stories are connected with special geographical features, such as the opening of the Vale of Tempe. All are local in character, and that one of them, from its antiquity and picturesqueness, should have found a permanent place, though often mixed with others, in Greek mythology is natural enough. And there is no reason why it too may not have originated from a local inundation, the story receiving such accretions of the picturesque and marvellous as are common in similar cases.

The occurrence of the chest instead of a boat is interesting in view of the same variation in the Semitic story, and might suggest the possibility that the Greek legend, as we find it in Apollodorus, was influenced in some indirect way by the Bible narrative. But there is a great difference between a chest,

holding only a couple of persons and such food as they required for 9 days, and the monster Bible 'Ark' with all its arrangements and contents. Moreover, the chest was not an uncommon feature in the wild stories of Greek legend.

iv. *The mixed Deluge story of the pseudo-Lucian.*—We have a real mixture of the Greek and Semitic Deluge stories in the story given in the *de Dea Syria* (Lucian, ed. Jacobitz, Leipzig, 1881, iii. 344f.). This version was connected with a hole in the ground over which the temple was built and into which the Deluge was said to have subsided.

According to this account, Deukalion, and his wife and children, were saved in a great chest (*ἀράραξ*). As he entered it, there came all kinds of animals, wild and tame, sows, horses, serpents, lions, etc., in pairs. He received them all, and there was great friendship between them, and they all sailed in one chest as long as the water prevailed. When the water had disappeared through the hole, Deukalion built an altar and the temple over it.

Usener certainly goes too far in saying that this is the Babylonian Deluge story with only the name Deukalion inserted from Greek legend. It contains several features from both, and, except that to Deukalion it gives a second name *Σκυῖα* (which, according to Buttman, is a corruption of *Σωῖα*, and is intended for Sisuthros, the Noah of Berossus), it bears a far closer resemblance to the Biblical than to the other forms of the Babylonian Deluge legend. *E.g.*, wild animals are preserved as well as tame; all in pairs; only Deukalion and his family escape; in a chest, not a boat (the last perhaps from the Greek story). That traditions of the Deluge ultimately derived from the Bible should have been current in Syria is likely enough, and there seems also evidence, in another tradition that the people was founded by Semiramis, of early intercourse with Babylon.

C. *PERSIAN DELUGE STORIES.*—i. A curious legend is contained in two fragments of the Yima songs preserved in *Vendidad* (*SBE* iv. 10 ff.). It is given in full by Usener, pp. 208–212, from the critical tr. of Geldner.¹

A council was held by the gods, in which Ahura Mazda decreed that a terribly severe winter would be followed by a great Deluge from the melting of the snow. Yima was directed to build an enormous fort foursquare, and to stock it with men and animals of all kinds. Yima carried out these instructions, but it is not actually said that the Deluge came.

Usener regards the whole story as an ideal picture of the future, the eternal city where men are to live in harmony and righteousness a life free from moral and physical evil, when the world is destroyed by the Deluge; but the passages which seem most ideal are among the prose portions, which Geldner regards as later insertions. It seems more probable that we have here also an example of the tendency to idealize what was originally a natural event.

ii. A second story is found in *Bundahishn*, vii. (tr. by E. W. West in *SBE* v. 25–28). Tištar, in the three forms of a man, a horse, and a bull, sends successive Deluges each of ten days' duration, and destroys all the noxious creatures on the earth. This is part of what is clearly an astrological myth describing the contest between good and evil, and accounting for lightning and thunder, the salt sea, and the origin of lakes and seas.

D. *INDIAN DELUGE STORIES.*—i. *The Fish Legend.*—(1) The oldest form of this typical Deluge story of India is preserved in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, i. 8. 1 (*SBE* xii. 216, tr. by J. Eggeeling; for other translations see A. Weber, *Ind. Streif.*, 1868, i. 9, *Ind. Stud.*, 1868, i. 161; Max Müller, *Hist. Skr. Lit.*, 1859, p. 425; J. Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, i.² [1873] 181 ff.).

In the morning, Manu, when water was brought to him for washing, found a fish in his hands. The fish foretold the coming Deluge, and promised to save him if he would preserve it, first in a jar, then in a pit, and, when it had outgrown this, would take it to the sea. Manu was to build a ship, and enter it, and look out for his preserver. Manu did

as directed, and finally took the fish, which had then grown to an enormous size, to the sea. Then Manu entered the ship, and the Deluge came, which destroyed all living creatures. Meanwhile the fish approached Manu, who fastened the ship to its horn, and was so conveyed up to [or 'over'] the Northern Mountains. Manu was directed to tie the ship to a tree, and gradually to descend as the waters abate.

The rest of the story is concerned with a complicated and very unintelligible rite with clarified butter, by which a woman was first produced, and, by her means, offspring of men and cattle.

According to Weber, the final redaction of the *Satapatha* is only a little before the Christian era; but, as Eggeeling shows, it is a compilation of earlier treatises, and this particular story gives the impression, in its main features, of being ancient.

One special interest in the story lies in its curious points of resemblance and contrast to other Deluge stories. The warning of the Deluge by an animal, the fastening of the ship by a rope, the post-diluvian sacrifice, and the miraculous reproduction of men, have all their analogies; but they are not found, as here, in combination, and the towing of the ship by a fish is quite unique. The probability is, therefore, that this legend is of native growth.

Weber and, to a less extent, Muir see in the story a tradition of an original immigration of the race from across the Himalayas. They base their opinion on a rendering of the words given above in italics, 'over the Northern Mountains.' Eggeeling, however, renders 'up to,' and some writers suppose the story to have originated in an exceptional overflowing of the Ganges. The question is primarily one of textual criticism, the choice lying between the reading *abhi-dudrāva* (Eggeeling) and *ati-dudrāva* (Weber, etc.). The chief argument against an originally mythical origin of the story is that here also the tendency is to become more and more mythical, and if we reverse this tendency we can easily explain the story as having grown out of a natural inundation.

(2) A second version of the Indian story is that given in the *Mahābhārata* (quoted from tr. by H. Jacobi in Usener, p. 29; see also Muir, *op. cit.* i.² 196 ff.). The story has here assumed a more elaborate and marvellous form.

Manu is a prince among monks, renowned for his asceticism. Standing on one leg with his arms raised on high, and with head bent down and never blinking an eye, he practised terrible austerities, etc. The fish appeared to him as he was practising austerities by the shore. Of such virtue were they that the fish became many miles long, and yet Manu could carry it quite easily. The storm is very graphically described. In the end the fish reveals himself as Brahmā, and appoints Manu as creator of all things.

In this version there appears to be a confusion, not uncommon in similar myths, in the character of Manu as himself a descendant of former ancestors, and as the founder and creator of men and all things. In the older form of the story he is the first man, and never more than a man.

(3) A third version is found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, viii. 24. 7 ff. (for Eng. tr. see Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, new ed., Lond. 1863, vol. i. pt. ii. ch. iii. pp. 312–315; Muir, *op. cit.* i.² 208 ff.). According to Cheyne, this book cannot be earlier than the 12th cent. A.D. The story itself is mainly a development of that of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, with a mixture of the mythical and quasi-philosophical elements characteristic of the *Purāṇas*.

The Deluge took place during a sleep of Brahmā, when the strong demon Hayagrīva stole the Vedas. Hari took the form of a minute fish, and so finally revealed himself to Satyavratā, a devout king who lived only on water. The gradual growth of the fish is like that in the earlier legends, except that he outdid them by becoming, in his final form, a million of leagues long. The ark in this case was miraculously brought to Satyavratā, who, accompanied by the chiefs of the Brahmans, spent his time therein in singing hymns of praise and receiving Divine revelations. Finally, Hari slew Hayagrīva and recovered the Vedas. Satyavratā, instructed in all Divine and human knowledge, was appointed the 7th Manu. But, after all, the

¹ For a divergent interpretation of this Iranian material, see art. BLEST, ABOVE OF THE (Persian).

appearance of the horned fish was *māya*, or delusion, and 'he who shall devoutly hear this important allegorical narrative will be delivered from the bondage of sin.'

It is interesting to note that this version has several points of contact with the Bible story. (1) The Deluge is caused by rain as well as by the sea. (2) Seven days' warning is given of the Deluge. (3) It is sent because of the depravity of man. (4) Animals are preserved in the ark, (5) and these in pairs. Of these (3) is inconsistent with the beginning of the story, and is evidently an interpolation. The most probable explanation of them all is that they were due to Christian influence. Their appearance only in the latest version of the myth makes it impossible to use them as arguments to prove that the story itself is derived from the Bible story, or originated in the event which that story describes.

ii. *The Boar Legend*.—Another Deluge myth is given in Muir, *op. cit.* i.² 50f. It is one of the creation stories of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*.

It tells how the Divine Brahmā, awaking from his night slumber, and perceiving that the earth lay within the waters of the universal ocean, assumed the form of a boar, plunged into the ocean, and raised up the earth and placed it on the surface.

This is a creation myth, and has a curious analogy with some of the American Indian stories (see IV. C (a)).

E. CHINESE FLOOD STORY.—Accounts of this are found in the *Shu King* (especially ii. 4. 1; cf. also pref. 5, ii. 1. 17, 2. 1, 14, iii. 1. 1, v. 27. 8), the *Shih King* (iv. 3. 4. 1), and the writings of Meng-tsze (iii. 1. 4. 7, 2. 9. 3f.).

i. According to the *Canon of Yao* (*Shu King*, i. 3. 11, tr. Legge, *SBE* ii. 34f.).

'the Ti said, "Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overtop the great heights, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the lower people groan and murmur! Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction (of this calamity)?"' Kihwān was appointed, and laboured unsuccessfully for nine years. The Ti afterwards resigned his throne to Yü, who had coped successfully with the inundation.

ii. The *Shu King* (ii. 4. 1) gives the account of Yü's work as follows (in Legge's translation):

'The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the mountains and overtopped the hills, so that people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I [Yü] mounted my four conveyances [carts, boats, sledges, and spiked shoes] and all along the hills hewed down the woods, at the same time, along with Yi, showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I opened passages for the streams throughout the nine provinces, and conducted them to the sea. I deepened the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, at the same time, along with Chi, sowing grain, and showing the multitude how to procure the food of toil in addition to flesh meat. I urged them further to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. In this way all the people got grain to eat, and all the States began to come under good rule.'

Elsewhere in the *Shu King*, Yü is repeatedly described as having determined the relations of land and water, and the *Shih King* declares that, 'when the waters of the Flood had become widespread, Yü caused the various regions of the earth world to appear: the great outlying realms received their limitations.'

According to these accounts, all these works were accomplished during a single journey. In fact, the accounts probably describe work gradually carried out through many ages, though possibly commenced by Yü. They were evidently intended to avert a constantly repeated and wide-spread disaster.

iii. *Origin of the story*.—Legge believed that the occasion of Yü's special work was an actual inundation of an alarming kind of the Hwang-Ho ('the sorrow of China'), which he puts in the 24th cent. B.C., whereas he ascribes this treatise to the 12th.

According to Meng-tsze (b. 372 B.C.), however, the tasks of Yü were carried out under far more difficult conditions.

'In the time of Yao, when the earth was not yet in ordered state, the masses of water flowed unchecked and flooded the earth. Flora was excessively luxuriant, and birds and other living creatures went about in enormous quantities. Grain could not grow. Animals pressed hard on man. . . . Yao alone concerned himself about this. He appointed Shün, who developed an ordering activity and gave Yi control of fire. Yi caused devastating conflagrations on the mountains and in the marshes, so that the animals fled and sought shelter. Yü divided the nine rivers. . . . Then it became possible for the folk of the Middle Kingdom to support themselves' (iii. 1. 4. 7). At this same period, moreover, serpents and dragons infested these deluging waters; but Yü, while appointing the rivers their courses, banished these monsters, the animals that had oppressed man vanished, and the plains of China became habitable for the human race (iii. 2. 9. 3f.).

It is by no means impossible that, as Legge held, these accounts all had their rise in a tradition of an extraordinary inundation by the Hwang-Ho; and in this connexion it is worthy of note that the great flood of 1851-53 is said to have cost some millions of lives, while it took 15 years to repair the damage and to confine the river within embankments. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that Grill, in his '*Zur chinesischen Flut Sage*' (*Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 9-14), maintains that the story is based on a cosmogonic myth, devoid of connexion, even in its basal ideas, with the Bible account, and associated in form with experience of the frequent inundations of the Hwang-Ho; and, like von Gutschmid (*ZDMG* xxxiv. 192f.), he holds that Yü, to whom he denies any actual existence in history, was essentially a sort of demiurge, who helped to establish civilization on earth. It is open to question, therefore, at least on the basis of Meng-tsze's statements, whether this whole story is not to be regarded as a cosmogonic rather than as a Deluge story.

F. FOLKLORE DELUGE STORIES.—Under this general heading are included the numerous stories of peoples, mostly in a savage or semi-savage state, not included under previous headings. It is not necessary for the present purpose to make any general classification of them on either geographical or ethnological lines. It will be sufficient to point out a few facts bearing on the subject of this article.

i. One of the essential characters of these stories arises out of the fact that they are folklore. In the Deluge stories of Babylon, Greece, and India we have well-defined legends capable of being traced out more or less distinctly in their developments and ramifications. Though a few of the stories now under consideration have come to us in a written form more or less ancient, they are not literature in the same sense, but only stereotyped folk-tales. By far the greater number of these stories, however, are still, or were till recent years, in a fluid and formative condition. The imagination which has produced them is, or was till recently, still at work, and has been continually modifying them. It has already been noticed how both historical events and fancy-striking anecdotes, such as Bible stories, have in many cases become mixed with the early tale, nor is it possible to separate them with scientific accuracy. Not infrequently what is essentially the same story is differently told on different occasions, or at any rate is differently reported (Leeward Islands; see IV. A. vi. (d)).

ii. There are many difficulties in the way of getting trustworthy evidence. As already pointed out, the missionaries, by whom most of these stories have been reported, were frequently prejudiced witnesses (see IV. A. iii.), and, moreover, the stories in several cases were collected some time after the conversion of the people with whom they originated. These missionaries had to depend on their own memory or that of their converts, and it was only in quite exceptional cases that the

opportunity afforded to Gill was offered (see above, IV. C. (a)), of reporting from the evidence of one whose knowledge of heathen lore was both fresh and complete.

iii. Another striking fact is the irregularity in the distribution of these stories. For example, there are very few independent Deluge stories reported from Africa, a considerable number from the islands of the Pacific, and an extraordinarily large number from the continent of America. This is accounted for negatively by Andree on the ground that Deluge stories do not readily arise where, as in Africa, the inundation of the great rivers is an annual occurrence, which does not therefore impress the imagination. It may be noticed in this connexion that one of the most important exceptions is connected with a special local feature—the formation of the Dilolo Lake on the southern border of the Congo State (see Andree, p. 49). Again, the Deluge legend of the Masai in Uganda, to which attention has been lately called by Merker (see *Guardian*, 1906, p. 945), is so obviously parallel with the Bible Deluge that it cannot be regarded as independent. We find here the Ark, pairs of animals, birds sent out (a pigeon and a vulture [cf. the crow of the Lummi Indians and the humming-bird of a Mexican story]), and four (1) rainbows.

iv. It would appear that there must be some positive reason for the frequency of Deluge stories among the American Indians. George Catlin, in his *O-Kee-pa* (p. 2), stated that among 120 tribes there was not one which did not relate some distinct or vague tradition of a Flood, and, in fact, a very considerable number of these stories have been preserved. It certainly must be admitted that the idea of a Deluge impressed itself very readily on the Indian tribes, but how far this was due to their past experience as an island people, and how far to the psychological character of the race, is a question for the ethnologist or anthropologist rather than the student of comparative religion. This much at least can be said, that there is some reason for believing that several of these stories are of comparatively ancient origin.

(1) In the first place, there is abundant evidence to show that Deluge stories were current in Central and Southern America at the time of the Spanish occupation. (2) The common elements in the stories of neighbouring and related tribes in some cases point to an ancient tradition in which a characteristic feature has become rooted in the imagination. (a) Several of the tribes about Peru, though their Deluge stories differ widely in other respects, have the common feature of a floating mountain—a combination, it would seem, of the ark and the mountain of refuge. (b) In more than one Mexican legend men were turned by the Deluge into fish. (c) We have noticed that several tribes about the Orinoco and its neighbourhood have the common features of stones (or coco-nuts) thrown to produce men (see IV. A. v. (2)). (d) Of still greater interest is the curious feature already mentioned (IV. C. (a)) that land was produced after the Deluge, not by the water subsiding, but out of scattered grains of sand or earth springing up and growing like seeds. Thus in the story of the Ojibwas, after the loon has dived several times in vain, it is the musk-rat restored to life by the surviving Manabozho (who was standing up to his neck in water on the summit of a high tree) that dives and brings up the grains of sand between its toes. These Manabozho throws into the waters, and they grow into islands, which unite into mainland. In a story of the Sac and Fox Indians, another branch of the Algonquins, the survivor, seeing

that the Deluge would soon overwhelm the mountain on which he had sought refuge, built a canoe out of a piece of the blue sky. After sailing about some days, he sent out one of the largest fishes, which returned with its monster mouth full of earth, out of which he formed the dry land. In the story of the Chippewas (Montagnais), a related group, it is the northern diver that eventually returns to the canoe with clay on his webbed feet, after the beaver, otter, and musk-rat have failed. This the old man breathed upon, and it became a great island. (e) We find, again, in certain groups of tribes that a particular animal plays a prominent part, as the coyote among the Californians (Wappos, Papagos, etc.), the raven among those on the north-west seaboard of N. America (Thlinkits and Bella Coolas).

v. This prominence of animals is a very characteristic feature of the American Indian stories, and is by some believed to be connected ultimately with totem-worship, whereas in the stories of some other groups, such as those of the South Sea Islanders, a greater prominence is given relatively to what we should call the wonders or powers of Nature. Thus, according to Bancroft (iii. 87), the Californians describe themselves as having originated from the coyote.

Among the Algonquin tribes the black serpent is the enemy of man and of created beings, and sends the Deluge. Manabozho, in more than one story of this group, takes refuge on the turtle's back. In the stories of the Ojibwas his helper is usually the diver or the musk-rat. With the Hare Indians it is the raven who causes the Deluge in vengeance for being thrown into the fire; and it is the white owl who befriends the wise man by letting out the cattle which the raven had imprisoned. With the Cherokees it is a dog which foretells the Deluge; with the Peruvians the llamas reveal it to a shepherd. The Crees have it that an eagle rescued the one surviving maiden, and became by her the father of the new race. In a very original story of the Pimas (California), the god's son Zeuka, being angry with the eagle for having caused the Deluge, climbs up to its eyrie, slays it, and restores to life those whom it had killed (Bancroft, iii. 78).

vi. The general inference from a study of these folklore Deluge stories is that we have not to deal with mythological or cosmological systems, in which a Deluge occupied a part, but rather that these stories were the result of experience, tradition, imagination, and natural curiosity, acting sometimes separately, but more often in combination in different ways and different degrees.

LITERATURE.—The best general book, esp. for Deluge folklore, is R. Andree, *Die Flutsagen*, Brunswick, 1891, which contains a large and interesting collection of Deluge stories. Among the most important books referred to by Andree are H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, 5 vols., London, 1876-76; A. Humboldt, *Sittes des Cordilleras et monuments des peuples indigènes*, Paris, 1868; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 2 vols., London, 1829; W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific*, London, 1876; E. Süss, *Das Antlitz der Erde*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1883-85; F. Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible*, Paris, 1880. For a careful tabulation of Deluge stories, see M. Winternitz, 'Die Flutsagen des Altertums und der Naturvölker,' in *Mitteil. der anthrop. Gesell.* in Wien, xxxi. [1901] 305-338. Translations and comments upon the Akkadian Deluge story are given in *KIB* vi. 299 ff.; P. Haupt, *Der keilschriftliche Sinfthubricht*, Leipzig, 1881; A. H. Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, London 1894, ch. iii.; C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, London, 1899, pp. 34-43. The most important Indian, Chinese, and Persian Deluge legends are given in *SBE*, ed. by Max Müller (see also references in this article). For Greek Deluge stories, apart from theories about them, the best work is H. Usener, *Die Sinfthubagen*, Bonn, 1899.

F. H. WOODS.

DELUSION.—Delusion in the popular sense simply means a mistaken belief. In the technical sense, however, it means a wrong belief which is maintained because of a defect in thinking. And that is the meaning which the word should always have; for there is manifestly an important difference, for example, between a mistaken opinion which may be held because of wrong information supplied or facts withheld, and one which is maintained owing to an error in reasoning. A delusion is a belief falsely believed—that is, believed be-

cause of a faulty mind. To stretch the point, an opinion, even if it is a good opinion, is delusional if it is not supported by facts. And that brings us to a distinction which is of some value—that there are beliefs which are demonstrably untrue and which are delusions; and there are beliefs which we cannot prove to be untrue, which may even be correct, yet are arrived at by a delusional process.

The delusional state of mind—the kind of thinking which is prone to delusion—very often results from some disease, of greater or less degree, acquired in adolescent or adult life, which warps the judgment by tampering with the brain's mechanism, upon which correct thinking depends. In the development of a mind to the level of a mature judgment, an enormous mass of experience contributes, and a very great part of our thinking rests upon obvious opinions which we never take the trouble to test. It is part of the misfortune of a delusional mind that it may begin to question such standard opinions—opinions which ought to be regarded as axioms, and upon which the whole fabric of our thought is based. For example, a man may have a doubt (and it has occurred, and much writing has been wasted in the exposition of it) as to whether two and two really do make four. Scepticism of this sort, when it goes far, is an exhausting mental process, and the mind that indulges in it is apt to suffer further trouble. It is a form of illness which may be called a wasting disease of the mind, as if a man were to consume his own skeleton and have neither backbone nor leg by which to stand erect. On the other hand, a great deal of delusion can be traced to a vice at the opposite extreme—a kind of mental indolence. A large number of people who have wits enough to think if they had energy to use them, believe things which they have no right to believe, and entertain opinions which do not harmonize with those which they have earned a right to entertain. In these cases, again, there is what we may call a sore spot in the mind—a place where friction occurs when the rational process is checked by superstition. It is always a source of mental weakness in a thoughtful man to reserve certain subjects and to neglect or refuse to discuss them. That, however, is not to say that there is no place in good thinking for reverence, or that a good mind will not continue in mystery. On the contrary, the essence of delusion is the being too certain, too quick to seize and hold a definite opinion. This is illustrated by a very constant quality of delusion—that it refuses to be guided by facts or modified by argument. There are some people whose minds are very hard to move; once they have formed an opinion—and such people form opinions about many things—they will not give up or even be shaken in their belief; and the reason is that it is one of their mental characteristics, due in part to brain conditions, to find changes irksome. We must also observe that there are certain beliefs which are essentially pleasure-giving; it is tempting to hold an opinion which seems fitting and good, and it is easy to retain, as convictions, some comfortable beliefs which have never been subjected to criticism; perhaps the majority of the delusions commonly entertained concern things which people like to believe and refuse to disturb, not on grounds of reason, but on grounds of feeling.

In insane delusions—by which we mean delusions which occur in insanity, and which are due to actual brain disease—the quality of unreasonableness is very marked. If an insane person insists that he is made of glass, he will not be disillusioned by a demonstration of the fragile nature of glass and of his own resistance to fracture; he will only report

that the kind of glass of which he is made is not the ordinary breaking kind; hence the common practice with such people on the part of those who have the care of them. And it is the best method for all delusional people, whether sane or insane; there is no use trying to argue with them; therefore change the subject, encourage reasonableness in general, and trust that in time, after a development of other parts of the mind, the 'patient' on coming back to the vexed question again will see it in a new light.

It need hardly be said that the subjects concerning which people are prone to express delusions are often mystifying even to the most expert thinker—electrical phenomena, facts connected with mesmerism or hypnotism, insanity, occult religious facts, and all sorts of novelties and new inventions.

From what has been said concerning the nature of delusion, it becomes clear that the subject is an important one, both in a theory of mind and in practical affairs; and it is instructive to try to determine the extent and the province of delusion in normal thought. To do so exhaustively is impossible; but it is easy to cite a few examples which will suggest, to any one who cares to pursue the subject, a great many more. There is, for instance, a very large group of what we may call natural illusions, which are inevitably and inextricably woven into the fabric of experience, and which, assumed as true, become delusions. In the strict sense, an illusion (*q.v.*) differs from a delusion in that it is an error in *sense-perception* rather than an error in thinking. And it is permissible to hold that delusion includes illusion; that all illusions, when accepted as true, are delusions, though only a few delusions are illusions. By natural illusion, then, is meant all that margin of error—and it is a large one—by which the senses, in their natural and normal activities, convey wrong information to the brain. For it is strictly true that things are not what they seem. It is usual, in this connexion, to enlarge upon visual errors, partly because these are obvious and admit of being proved. It is certain that the picture which the brain receives from the eyes does not correspond to the object looked at. Some of the delusions thereby suggested have been corrected. Every educated man, for example, refuses to accept the testimony of his eyes that the world is flat. Yet a great mass of visual error goes uncorrected; men and women take the picture suggested by the eyes to be true; and, as the error and its acceptance are natural and all but universal, the delusion passes muster in common thought. But, to appreciate the amount of error thus imported, we must not forget that all the other senses are similarly faulty. It is certain, and again capable of scientific proof, that errors of hearing are considerable. Not only do ears differ widely in individuals in their acuteness, but it is certain that no one hears correctly, that the sound-image accepted by the brain never corresponds to the 'pattern' of the sound-waves in the atmosphere. Yet the great majority of people hear enough for practical purposes with approximately the same error in the hearing of it, and, by tacit consent, the error is not regarded. A great fallacy similarly besets the sense of touch and the muscular sense, which gives us information concerning resistances—the hardness and density, weight and strength of things. And, if this is true of senses which supply to the mind data which can be to a large extent scientifically tested, it may be assumed to be equally true of the senses of taste and smell. We may even conjecture that, subtle and complex as these senses are, they are also occasionally illusional.

Before leaving this aspect of delusion, it is well

to advert to hallucination (*q.v.*). A hallucination, like an illusion, is a wrong sense-perception, but differs from it in that there is no outward object for the hallucination. A hallucination is a perception—most commonly of the eye or ear—which is purely and wholly subjective. If the mind accepts this fiction of the senses, there is obviously delusion. Hallucinations do not bulk largely in normal thinking; but they are frequent and important in mental disease.

In conclusion, we may refer briefly to common forms of delusion more in the sphere of thought. Perhaps the best example of all but universal delusion is the common belief in an absolutely free will. It would be entirely out of place here to regard the subject philosophically. Suffice it to say that it is obvious that sometimes one's will is not wholly free in the ordinary sense. Yet people invariably think and speak as if choices were always of their own making. This delusion is clearly necessary and salutary; without it both thinking and doing would come to a standstill. Another delusion, equally inevitable and necessary, is one which besets every thinking man, that is, that he believes he possesses a thinking organ which works correctly. Give two men exactly the same data and let them think out a conclusion: each believes, is bound to believe, that he is thinking correctly; yet in many cases the conclusions will differ; so there must be error somewhere. Finally, we may cite the very prevalent delusion that any thought can reach a final conclusion. Nearly every one feels, and a great many people believe, that a subject can be finished, that thought can reach and hold all there is to be known about it, and usually a statement of the conclusion is forthcoming. And, while it is obvious that no subject can be exhausted and no statement final, this delusion is also inevitable. These examples will suffice to illustrate the subject, and it only remains to add that a wise mind will take note of the inevitable margin of error in its own operations and perhaps discount it, yet not be daunted by it.

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DEMOCRACY.—See GOVERNMENT.

DEMOCRITUS.—A Greek philosopher (c. 460–c. 356 B.C.) whose importance lies in his being the pioneer of Materialism and the mechanical explanation of the universe.

1. Life and writings.—The birthplace of Democritus was Abdera in Thrace, a flourishing colony founded by the Ionian city of Teos. He must have been a fellow-citizen, and, if the received dates are approximately correct, a younger contemporary, of Protagoras. The accounts of his life which have come down to us are open to suspicion on various grounds. They dwell on his insatiable scientific curiosity, which impelled him to spend years in foreign travel. He is said to have visited Egypt in order to learn geometry from the priests, and to have held personal intercourse with Magi and Chaldeans in Persia and Babylonia. What amount of truth there is in these tales it is hard to say. Like Pythagoras, Democritus became to later ages a legendary figure, whose real attainments in mathematics, physics, and astronomy appeared less remarkable than his supposed skill in alchemy and magic. The list of his writings that survives shows him to have been a prolific author. The grammarian

Thrasyllus, in the time of Tiberius, arranged the collection in tetralogies, or sets of four—the same arrangement which he had adopted for the *Dialogues* of Plato. The lucidity and simplicity of Democritus' style are praised in antiquity by competent critics like Timon, Cicero, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He wrote in the Ionic dialect, hitherto almost exclusively employed by prose writers, although in his own lifetime it was being gradually superseded by Attic. The subjects treated were, to judge by their titles, chiefly Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Anthropology, and Ethics. We have fragments definitely stated to come from the *Kavón* and the *Kpatuvrḗria*, both dealing with the method of science, and from the *περί Εὐθυμίας*, an ethical treatise.

To his mathematical achievements there is unimpeachable testimony. Three of the thirteen tetralogies consisted of treatises on Geometry and kindred subjects, including Optics and Astronomy. From the title of one of them, 'On irrational straight lines and solids' (*περί ἀλόγων γραμμῶν καὶ στερεῶν*), it may be inferred that Democritus preceded Euclid in the investigation of irrationals—a problem which, as we know from Plato's *Theætetus*, was occupying the foremost geometers in the 4th cent. B.C. Similarly, Archimedes in his *περί τῶν μηχανικῶν θεωρημάτων πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην ἐφόδος* (lately discovered at Constantinople, and published by Heiberg in 1907) assigns to Democritus no small part of the credit for two important theorems, namely, that the cone is one-third part of the cylinder, and the pyramid one-third part of the prism, having the same base and equal height. Democritus made the discoveries by means of mechanical methods; Archimedes afterwards supplied a rigorous geometrical proof. The investigation by means of mechanics involved a partial anticipation of the infinitesimal calculus (see Heath's *The Thirteen Books of Euclid's Elements*, Cambridge, 1908, iii. 366–368, 4, ii. 40).

It is not, however, from the meagre fragments remaining that we derive our best information as to the doctrines Democritus taught, but rather from the criticism of opponents, especially Aristotle and Theophrastus, who gave to his works the attention they deserved. Aristotle in his scientific treatises is evidently much indebted to Democritus, and, though he often dissents from his conclusions, invariably speaks of him with respect and admiration. Plato, it is true, never mentions him by name, yet from various passages in the *Dialogues* it is obvious that not only was he acquainted with the system of the Atomists, but even regarded Democritus as the type and representative of all those tendencies which he himself most actively combated.

2. Leucippus.—Democritus can hardly claim to have originated the system which he taught. There seems no valid ground for doubting the statement that Leucippus preceded him in laying the foundations of Atomism, which they both afterwards developed in common.

The metaphysical basis of Leucippus' doctrine, as stated by Aristotle, presumed the Eleatic paradox that reality or real being is One, not Many, immutable and eternal, not transient and diverse: whence the Eleatics deduced that our world of manifold and fleeting appearances is not that which truly exists. As all the earlier Greeks, from Thales downwards, in their search for a primary substance were unconsciously endeavouring to frame a conception of matter, the permanent substratum of the outer world, the Eleatic paradox is only another way of stating that matter alone is, where by 'matter' is meant the Full, not the Empty, or, in modern parlance, that which has mass. Empty space, then, if it is not matter, is

non-existent; the world is a continuous indivisible *plenum*. Leucippus, if he is to be credited with originating the Atomistic doctrine, altered this conception by opposing extension to mass as the fundamental postulate. The extended as full and the extended as empty, the *plenum* and the *vacuum*, or matter occupying space and space unoccupied by matter, were in his view equally real. The Eleatics were right in asserting the one, but wrong in denying the other. By introducing real space and the geometrical forms of bodies as spatially determined, Leucippus destroyed the Eleatic One and reverted to pluralism. But he had still to meet the subtle arguments from infinite divisibility, by which Zeno of Elea had disproved the possibility of motion and of multiplicity. Since these arguments could not be refuted, nothing remained but to postulate indivisibles (*άτομοι, άτομα*) as the ultimate constituents of corporeal reality—things in space (*Ar. Phys.* i. 3. 187a, 1-3). The sum of existence, then, includes empty space as well as the atoms or indivisible particles of matter in space. Both matter and space are eternal, infinite, and homogeneous throughout. The only differences which single atoms present are differences of shape, from which must follow differences of magnitude. But fresh differences are introduced when single atoms come to be grouped and arranged in what we call individual things. There then arise differences of order and position of the atoms in space; for, to use a familiar illustration, A differs from N in shape; AN is not the same as NA, the order is different; nor is Ξ the same as H, the position is different. Aristotle (*Metaph.* i. 4. 985b, 13 ff.) in giving this account admits that he is substituting, for the precise Ionic terms *ἰσχυρὸς* (fashion), *διαθιγῆ* (inter-contact), *τροπή* (turning), his own equivalents *σχήμα* (figure, shape), *τάξις* (arrangement, order), *θέσις* (position). It will be obvious, upon reflection, that these three kinds of difference are merely spatial relations posited and presupposed by the very conception of space as extended in three dimensions.

Here seems the proper place to deal with a controversial question of great difficulty: of the three differences between atoms (shape, order, position), only one (shape) relates to single atoms. That size must go with shape as a property of the single atom seems certain: e.g. atoms of fire are described as the smallest as well as the most mobile. But no good authority attributes to Leucippus or Democritus any utterance implying that weight was a fundamental property of the atom, although Epicurus, when he revised the original doctrine of the Atomists, expressly derived weight as well as magnitude from shape, and, as is well known, deduced from their weight the tendency of free atoms to fall. Later authorities not unnaturally confused the Atomic doctrine of Leucippus and the revised version of Epicurus. But the opinion has now gained ground that Leucippus and Democritus put forward no positive views as to weight being a fundamental property of a free or isolated atom, or as to the direction and force of the motion originally inherent in a free atom.

3. Developments of Atomism.—(a) *Relativity of sensible qualities.*—We have given in outline the theory which Democritus adopted and developed. When compared with the rival systems of Empedocles and Anaxagoras, it is seen to be decidedly superior in simplicity and logical coherence. These other systems also resolve the universe into matter in motion; but, in the resolution proposed by the Atomists, qualitative changes in things result from quantitative changes in their constituent elements, and all proceeds uniformly by a law of

natural necessity. Each of these two positions calls for further elucidation. The conception of a permanent substratum, or primary matter, to the early Greek thinkers, involved two attributes. It was, they thought, at once indestructible and immutable; in other words, the sum of matter in the universe remains quantitatively and qualitatively constant amid all the change and variety of Nature. How this result was secured by the Eleatics has already been shown. Empedocles and Anaxagoras took another way, maintaining a plurality of elements qualitatively constant. The four elements of Empedocles—earth, water, air, fire—and the infinity of seeds assumed by Anaxagoras are alike in this, that they possess as fundamental and inalienable the qualities perceptible to sense. But these attempts to shape the conception of matter were attended by insuperable difficulties, so long as the sensible qualities of derivative bodies were ascribed to the original elements (whether four or an infinite number) out of which these bodies were compounded. In fact, on the theory of Anaxagoras, the distinction between original and derivative forms of matter vanishes, for there must be as many primary substances as there are varieties of sensible qualities.

This difficulty the Atomists solved by distinguishing the fundamental properties of matter as such from all other sensible qualities. In principle the distinction is the same as that made by Locke between primary and secondary qualities. The changing qualities of sensible things, such as colour, flavour, odour, temperature, cease then to be attributes of matter as such; and Democritus expressed this by saying: 'By custom there is bitter and sweet, hot and cold, and colour; in reality nothing but atoms and void' (*Sext. adv. Math.* vii. 135; Diels, 55 B, 9 [i.² 388]). It would, however, be misleading to characterize these secondary qualities as subjective: they lose nothing of objective validity because the mode in which they produce their effects has become explicable. To take the first pair of qualities in the citation from Democritus—sweet and bitter. It is an acknowledged fact that wine, which normally tastes sweet, is bitter to the jaundiced patient, and we may infer from Plato's *Theætetus* that Protagoras had called attention to this and similar facts. Now the Atomistic doctrine declares wine, like all other sensible bodies, to be merely a complex of atoms of such and such a shape, size, and position, and containing such and such a proportion of *vacuum*. As such, each body produces a certain effect upon all other similar bodies, including the human organs of taste. That effect, again, must partly depend upon the constitution of those organs, and on their permanent or temporary, common or individual, qualities. But, whereas Protagoras emphasized the divergence of the effects under different conditions, and left out of sight its possible causes, the Atomistic theory took account of both. It allowed a relative value to the divergent perceptions, while at the same time it maintained the objective validity of that which produced them—in other words, the structure of perceptible material bodies and the essential properties of the matter out of which they were constituted. Viewed in this light, an enigmatical utterance attributed to Democritus by the Epicurean Colotes becomes perfectly intelligible. If Democritus said that an object does not possess one kind of quality more than another (*τῶν πραγμάτων ἕκαστον εἰδὼν οὐ μᾶλλον τοῖον ἢ τοῖον εἶναι*—*Plut. adv. Col.* 4, p. 1108 F; Diels, 55 B, 156 [i.² 413]), we may be sure that he was speaking of the secondary qualities, and not of the properties of matter as such. The atoms have no secondary qualities. Thus colours, flavours, odours, tem-

perature, have no objective existence *per se*; they, at all events when perceived, are relative to the percipient. To one who held this view the task of science was immensely enlarged, at the same time that it became more definite. The problem was to advance from the known to the unknown, to determine precisely how the motion of atoms in the void produced the totality of changes, and the variety of changing qualities perceived by sense. No wonder that, unaided by the apparatus of modern science, the explorer from time to time regretted the futility of results attained, and confessed with a sigh:

'Truth lies in the deep' (Diog. Laert. ix. 72. 6; Diels, 55 B, 117 [i.² 407]). 'We perceive, in fact, nothing certain, but such things only as change with the state of our body, and of that which enters it, and which resists it' (Sext. *adv. Math.* vii. 136; Diels, 55 B, 9 [i.² 388]).

No less important is the part played in the system by the conception of causation. A fragment of Leucippus lays down the axiom that 'nothing comes by accident, but everything from a cause and under stress of necessity' (Aet. i. 25. 4; Diels, 54 B, 2 [i.² 350]). In such unequivocal terms did he state the universal law of causation, and to this principle his successor consistently adhered. For all that happens in Nature a sufficient explanation was furnished by kinematics and mechanics; there was then no need of any supplementary hypothesis, whether of design on the one hand or of arbitrary spontaneity on the other. It was enough to assume motion as an inherent attribute of matter—an ultimate fact for which no derivation was required. The motions of the atoms were as eternal as the atoms themselves, and were necessary; that is, in the unending series of movements each followed upon and was determined by definite antecedents. Granted that atoms moving in space come into collision, the whole history of the universe becomes an application of mechanical laws. Colliding atoms suffer pressure and impact, unite in groups, and break away from such unions; and thus arises all change, the succession of all events: the birth and destruction alike of particular things and of the infinite worlds are but moments in this succession.

(b) *Cosmogony*.—The direct outcome of Atomic motion must be the production of our world and of all the individual things in it, for these are given in experience. As to the process by which this goal is reached, our information is sadly defective. Of one thing we are certain—that Leucippus and Democritus had no recourse to external forces, such as the attraction and repulsion which Empedocles personified as Love and Strife, or the *voûs* of Anaxagoras. A late epitomator writes of Leucippus:

'The worlds arise when many atoms are collected together into the mighty void from the surrounding space and rush together. They come into collision, and those which are of similar shape and like form become entangled, and from their entanglement the heavenly bodies arise' (Hippol. *Ref.* i. 12; Diels, 54 A, 10 [i.² 345]). Another account gives fuller details: 'Many atoms of manifold shapes cut off from the infinite are borne into a vast void, and there collecting set up a single vortex movement, in which they collide and are whirled in all directions, so that separation is effected and the like atoms come together. And, as they become too numerous to revolve with equal velocity, those which are light are, so to speak, sifted out, and fly off towards the outer void; and the rest remain together, and, becoming entangled, join their orbits with one another, and form in the first place a spherical mass. This becomes a sort of shell, including in itself atoms of all kinds; and, as these through repulsion from the centre are made to revolve, the enclosing shell becomes thinner and thinner, the adjacent atoms being attracted as soon as the vortex overtakes them. In this way the earth was formed as the portions brought to the centre coalesced. And, again, even the outer shell grows larger by the influx of atoms from outside, and incorporates with itself whatever it touches. And of this some portions are locked together and form a mass which was at first damp and miry, then dried as it revolved with the universal vortex, and afterwards took fire and formed the substance of the stars' (Diog. Laert. ix. 82; Diels, 54 A, 1 [i.² 343]).

In this effort of the scientific imagination several

points deserve notice. The doctrine of innumerable worlds or cosmical systems becomes clearer when we consider that matter and space are supposed to be infinite, and any place where atoms meet may become the kernel or nucleus of a world, provided that a vortex motion is thus set up, and in consequence a sufficient aggregation of matter crystallizes, so to speak, around a centre. As, moreover, the atoms are infinitely various in shape, the worlds formed from them will display the greatest diversity; though it may also happen that some of them are absolutely alike. Again, the principle of 'like to like,' common to most of the Greek physicists, receives some sort of explanation from the assumption of a vortex. As, on the beach, pebbles of like size and shape are collected by the tide, as the winning-fan sifts and separates grain (Sext. *adv. Math.* vii. 117; Diels, 55 B, 164 [i.² 415]), so the cosmical vortex plays the same mechanical part in bringing together homogeneous particles, that is, atoms approximately alike in size and shape. Thus Democritus is able to bring his notion of our world into tolerable harmony with popular opinion. It floats in the void, surrounded by its revolving shell of tightly compressed atoms—the vault of heaven; the space between this outer envelope at the circumference and the solid earth at the centre is filled with air in which the stars move. The earth presents a flat surface above and below, round horizontally like a quoit or tambourine, and so broad as to support itself on the air.

We may note the influence of Anaximander, with whom probably originated the old Ionian theory of infinite worlds, and of Anaxagoras (*q.v.*), who postulated a rotatory movement to effect separation of unlike and aggregation of like. Democritus can hardly be credited with original contributions to astronomy; but he welcomed the novel doctrines of Anaxagoras which had so startled his contemporaries. He held the sun to be a red-hot mass, but regarded it and also the moon as originally the nucleus of a separate system, which had been entangled in the vortex-motion of our world and subsequently ignited. The oceans were formed when, under the influence of wind and solar heat, the smaller particles were forced out of the earth, and ran together as water into the hollows. In relative size the central earth exceeds the sun, moon, and stars; yet the latter must have been accorded considerable dimensions if Democritus accepted the Anaxagorean assumption of plains, mountains, and ravines upon the moon's face (Aet. ii. 25. 9; Diels, 55 A, 90 [i.² 367]).

This cosmology is vitiated through and through by the undue importance it gives to our planet. The geocentric hypothesis still retained its sway over the philosopher, who tells us:

'There are infinite worlds, differing in size; and in some of them there is no sun and moon, in others the sun and moon are larger than in our world, or there are several suns and moons. The worlds are unequally distributed in space; here there are more, there fewer; some are waxing, some are in their prime, some waning; coming into being in one part of the universe, ceasing in another part. The cause of their perishing is collision with one another. And there are some worlds destitute of moisture and of living creatures. In our world the earth was born before the stars; the moon is nearest to the earth, the sun comes next, fixed stars are furthest off. The planets themselves are at unequal distances from us. A world is in its prime so long as it is able to absorb fresh matter from without' (Hippol. *Ref.* i. 18; Diels, 55 A, 40 [i.² 360]).

In the words of an enthusiastic admirer (Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*, i.² 295), we seem to be listening to a modern astronomer who has seen the moons of Jupiter, has recognized the lack of moisture on the moon, and has even caught a glimpse of nebulae.

(c) *Psychology*.—All particular things, and amongst them the four so-called elements—earth, water, air, fire—are aggregates or atom-complexes:

and their character is determined by the shape, order, and position of their component atoms. Atmospheric air plays its part, but the most important is fire, because the most mobile, being composed of atoms exceedingly fine, smooth, and round. Fire-atoms are the moving principle of organic bodies, the soul being a sort of fire or heat, while mental activity is identical with the motion of these fiery particles. Upon this foundation is constructed a materialistic psychology, which in turn determines the epistemology and ethics of Democritus. Such a doctrine invites comparison with the speculations of Heraclitus and Anaxagoras, the former of whom regarded soul as an exhalation fed by vapours from the warm blood. The *pois* of Anaxagoras, whether by this he meant simply intelligence, or some sort of mind-stuff, was supposed to be diffused throughout the universe; and similarly the theory of Democritus tends to destroy any fixed line of demarcation between organic and inorganic in Nature. For, according to him, fiery soul-atoms are taken in from outside. Owing to their great mobility, they are constantly liable to escape from the animate body, and this tendency is counteracted by the process of respiration, which checks the escape of imprisoned soul-atoms by a current of air, and continually renews them. In sleep or in a swoon there is less resistance: more of the fiery atoms escape, and mental activity is proportionately diminished; while death itself is the result of their entire dispersion in the surrounding air. Since all qualitative change in things is reduced to, and explained by, quantitative changes of atoms and atomic motions, no exception can be made in dealing with psychical activities and the phenomena of mental life. Sensation, thought, and all other functions of the soul are in reality movements of the soul-atoms, produced in accordance with the mechanical laws of pressure and impact. This principle is rigorously carried out, and its consistent application is a characteristic feature of Atomistic psychology. It is most obvious in the theory of sensation, which Democritus in part inherited from Empedocles. Contact between object perceived and perceiver is the indispensable condition of all perception, so that all the various senses are in the last resort modes of one—*viz.* touch (*Ar. de Sensu*, iv. 442a, 29).

When, as in the case of sight, hearing, and smell, the perceptible object is at a distance, Democritus, like Empedocles, supposed that particles of external things found their way into the pores of the sensory organs. It is true that, according to Empedocles, the pores or passages through which the particles travelled were never absolutely empty, for, on his view, the universe was a *plenum*; whereas Democritus supposed the particles thrown off to move, like all atoms, through empty space; but this hardly affects the general likeness between the two theories. The introduction of atoms in certain ways, through the organs, to the soul answers to the introduction of effluxes (*dropoal*) through the pores, which Empedocles maintained. The atom-complexes thus given off resemble the external objects themselves. Democritus called them *dekeia*—an Ionic term for which Aristotle substituted *εἰδωλα*. What we perceive, then, is in a manner in the soul; but the soul itself must consist of matter capable of being affected mechanically by it, that is, capable of the impact, reaction, movement, *ἀλλοίωσις*, which is the essence of perception.

The sensory organs thus become passages for instreaming atoms. Take vision. The eye is a moist porous organ—seeing results when the image of an object is mirrored in the pupil. So much we are told on excellent authority; but how

it comes about that the pupil receives, or, if it is a mirror, reflects, this image, is a point on which neither the criticisms of Aristotle and Theophrastus nor the later accounts of Aetius and Alexander Aphrodisiensis throw much light. In fact, it remains doubtful whether the efficient cause is the emanation from the visible object or the air which has received a certain impression, comparable to that of a seal upon wax, from this emanation. The suggestion that in seeing nearer objects the former, in seeing distant objects the latter, is the proximate agent, although ingenious, lacks all authority. Colour, the proper object of vision, as explained above, is not a primary quality of bodies, but is relative to the perceiver. The visible thing is composed of colourless atoms of given shape arranged in a certain order and position, and, when it is said to have colour in virtue of its atomic structure and the movements of its atoms, this really means that it is capable of exciting a particular effect in the sensory organ—the eye. Democritus assumed four primary colours—white, black, red, and green (*χλωρόν*)—and derived all other shades of colour from the mixture of the primary four in definite proportions. From this it follows that the numerous bodies which cannot be classed as having one or other of the primary colours must be of a composite nature; they must, that is, include in their composition other than merely homogeneous atoms. Thus, referring white to smooth and red to round atoms, he must have assumed, in the structure of gold and bronze, the presence both of smooth and of round atoms, since he declared the colour of these metals to be a mixture of white and red. This theory of colour seems to have been carefully elaborated, to judge by the summary and criticisms of Theophrastus (*de Sensu*, 49 ff.). The crudeness of his assumptions is obvious: whiteness is supposed to be due to smooth, blackness to rough atoms, redness is caused by heat, and the atoms of fire are supposed to be spherical.

In the treatment of hearing and its correlative object, sound, of which speech or vocal sound is the leading type, Democritus agreed in the main with his contemporaries. As emanations (*δεκελα*) from visible bodies are the stimulus of vision, so the sounds (*φωναί*) which stimulate the organ of hearing are particles or atom-complexes thrown off by the sonant body, and conveyed by the medium of the air to the ear, and through it to the soul. The stream of atoms given off by a sonant body sets the atoms of the air in motion, and, joining itself with these according to similarity of shapes and sizes, makes its way into the body. The orifice of the ear is the chief, but not the sole, entrance for such a current. In making the current affect not the ear alone, but other organs of the body, Democritus showed decided originality. He may have meant no more than that the whole body is sympathetic to the operation of hearing. Probably the purity of sounds was made to depend on the similarity, the pitch and volume on the magnitude, of their constituent atoms. The process by which the sound-atoms themselves and the air broken up by them are, as it were, sorted so that similar shapes and sizes come together must be understood as purely mechanical.

If a theory of emanations from bodies at a distance be employed to explain seeing and hearing, no difficulty will be encountered in applying it to the sense of smelling. The rapid diffusion of perfume is a familiar fact, and it is easily inferred that a finer matter is given off by odorous bodies in the form of an attenuated stream of atoms, which reaches the nostrils. Theophrastus complains of the omission to connect a distinctive quality of the various odours with the atomic

configuration of their particles; but Democritus probably regarded this connexion as easily deducible from the similar connexion between atomic configuration and distinctive quality in the kindred region of tastes, with which he dealt very fully. Thus, he referred an acid taste to atomic shapes which are angular, winding, small, and thin; the sweet to shapes which are spherical and not too small; the astringent to shapes large and with many angles. The bitter is composed of shapes, small, smooth, and spherical, with hooks attached to the spherical surface; the saline of large shapes, in many cases not spherical, but in some cases also not scalene, and therefore without many flexures; the pungent is small, spherical, and angular, but not scalene.

With this the theory of sensation is complete.

All senses have been resolved into modes of touch, which must, therefore, have been for Democritus the primary sense, as it was for Aristotle. But of touch itself as a physiological function he could give no detailed investigation. Pressure, impact, and motion—purely physical conceptions—are employed by the Atomists without misgiving, as if they had not realized the true nature of the physiological process. The relations between realities of every kind were reducible to the purely mechanical form. The interaction involved in sense-perception could not differ from the action of any atomic bodies whatsoever upon one another, for this contact is the necessary and universal condition, and contact between *perceptiens* and *perceptendum* only a special case. Sensation itself is the movement set up when spherical soul-atoms have thus been brought into contact with the atoms of an external object, or the atom-complexes (*δεκτα*) emanating from them. On this theory, then, sensory facts have nothing to distinguish them from the larger total of physical facts; nor can there be a fundamental difference between sensation and intellect. Aristotle expressly testifies that Democritus made no such distinction (*ταὐτὸ λέγει ψυχὴν καὶ νοῦν* [*de Anima*, i. 2. 404a, 28, 31; cf. 405a, 9]). There is no evidence that he put to himself Aristotle's question, What is the faculty by which the data of sense are combined and distinguished, by which we are conscious of our mental acts, by which we imagine and remember? All our information is that, while the soul-atoms were divided or distributed over the entire body, he located certain mental functions in certain parts of the frame; e.g. the separate sensations in the sensory organs, and, further, according to some doubtful authorities, intelligence in the brain, anger in the heart, appetite in the liver. Such statements are not in themselves incredible, on the assumption that, in different parts of the body, soul-atoms of distinctive size and mobility are apt to be associated and massed together; but the partial anticipation of Plato's tripartite division of soul is open to suspicion, and on such points Aetius and pseudo-Hippocratican writers of the 2nd cent. are not to be trusted.

What, then, is thought, and how does thinking come about? It must be analogous to sensation in so far as it is a movement of soul-atoms stimulated by an external cause; the latter is not far to seek, when we reflect on the familiar fact of the similarity between a sensation and the corresponding idea. Emanations from external objects (*εἰδωλὰ ἐξωθεν προσπίοντα*) must then be postulated for the latter as for the former. The same causes acting upon soul-atoms in the same mechanical fashion accounted for dreams, visions, and hallucinations. So far from rejecting these mental processes as illusory, Democritus seems to have based upon them some sort of divination or mantic. The emanations which excite these abnormal processes must be

supposed to be of a finer texture than those of ordinary sensation or thought.

(d) *Epistemology*.—What, then, is the relation between sensation and thought—in other words, what contributions does Democritus make to the theory of knowledge? The *locus classicus* is a passage preserved by Sextus (*adv. Math.* vii. 138; Diels, 55 B, 11 [i. 2 389]). It was taken from a work entitled 'The Canon,' which presumably discussed the process of inference from the known to the unknown, and laid down rules for induction. The passage runs as follows:

'There are two forms of knowledge, the genuine and the obscure. To the obscure belong all these: sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch; the other form, genuine knowledge, is altogether distinct from this. . . . 'In what follows,' says Sextus, 'Democritus ranks the genuine form above the obscure, and adds [to follow the restoration of the text by Diels]: "When the object becomes too minute for the obscure form of knowledge to see, or hear, or taste, or smell, or touch it, when greater precision is required, then the genuine knowledge comes into play, as the possessor of a more precise organ of discrimination."'

This means that thought can reach that which is inaccessible to sense. The Atomic theory, as it shaped itself in the mind of the philosopher, is a proof, for neither the atom nor space is sensibly perceived. Moreover, the geometrical forms and the whole of geometrical science, to which Democritus gave as loyal a support as Plato himself, being inseparable from space, have the same rational origin. It is true that he made no fruitful application of geometry to physical research, but the same may be said of the Pythagoreans, of Plato, and of all who preceded Galileo. Further, it is easy to see why the Atomists preferred thought to sense, though both have essentially the same object—corporeal things and material processes, atoms and atomic movements. Thought was to them mental intuition, an affection which registers, so to speak, more delicate movements due to complexes of minuter atoms. The senses do not extend far enough; the mental vision describes the atom, but the bodily eye cannot. The senses, being unaffected by the finer atomic movements, desert us at the point where the minutest bodies and the most delicate processes require investigation.

(e) *Ethics and religion*.—The scanty fragments which have come down to us under the name of Democritus include a mass of moral reflexions. Much of it is undoubtedly spurious, and the task of sifting the grain from the chaff has not yet been accomplished with success. Though little of scientific value has been preserved, the outlines of a definite view of life stand out clearly. In form these utterances bear the stamp of the scattered moral reflexions attributed to Heraclitus and the Pythagoreans, the single exception known to us being the treatise *περί Εὐθυμίας*, which made some advance to a definition of the ethical end. The treatise apparently opened with a description of the miserable condition of the majority of mankind, distracted by inordinate desire and superstitious terror, vainly striving for a multitude of objects without finding in any of them permanent satisfaction. As the goal of moral endeavour, Democritus proposed what he himself called tranquillity or cheerfulness (*εὐθυμία*) and well-being (*εὐεστώ*). Such composure or peace of mind he compared to an unruffled calm at sea (*γαλήνη*). Other terms for this ethical end occur in the fragments, such as *ἀσταβία*, *ἀταραξία*, *ἀδαντασία*, *ἀρμονία*, *εὐμμερία*; but it is not certain whether they were ever used by Democritus himself. His main tenet, repeatedly enforced in a variety of ways, is that true happiness, this inestimable tranquillity, does not depend on anything external, on wealth or goods of the body, but on uprightness and intelligence. Moderation and contentment, purity of deed and thought, are its distinctive marks; education is the best means to it.

The question arises whether this ethical teaching (of which, after all, we know so little) is intimately connected with the physical doctrines of the Atomists, so as to form part of one system. On this opinions are divided. Some deny all connexion, and are inclined to regard Democritus, not as the systematizer, but as the eager inquirer, who disperses his energy over a multitude of subjects, and lays the foundation of separate unrelated sciences. Again, it has been suggested that the contemplation of an infinite universe impressed Democritus with a just sense of the pettiness of man and the futility of the ends which ordinary men pursue. But this conjecture is just as improbable as the popular conception of him as the 'laughing philosopher,' provoked to merriment by the incongruity of all around him. Others, taking the distinction between genuine and obscure knowledge as their text, draw a parallel between the preference of thought over sensation, and the similar preference of tranquillity over violent and exciting pleasure. As sensations are atomic movements, so also are feelings, whether pleasurable or painful, and desires. Aristippus had called pleasure a smooth, and pain a rough or violent motion. To Democritus the distinction is not so much qualitative as quantitative; it is in minute and delicate movements of the finest matter, which are imperceptible to sense, that thought and the joys of thought consist.

The views of Democritus about religion are very imperfectly known. A fortunate accident has preserved in the pages of Sextus Empiricus (*adv. Math.* ix. 19; Diels, 55 B, 166 [i.² 415]) his curious belief in superhuman beings, and from other sources he is known to have maintained the possibility of divination from dreams and from the inspection of the liver and other organs of the sacrificial victim. There is nothing in these beliefs which is not in harmony with the principles of atomistic physics, although development in this direction is at first sight somewhat startling. To take divination by victims first. According to Cicero (*de Divin.* i. 57 [131]), the changes to be foretold by an inspection of the entrails were such as affected public health or the prospect of the harvest. The limitation to such cases proves that the symptoms examined and reported upon were such as were due, in the belief of Democritus, to natural causes. Dreams, whether of the ordinary or of the prophetic kind, were, on the atomistic hypothesis, due to images or εἰδῶλα presented in sleep. Emanations from all possible objects flit about continually; amongst them there may be some which reflect the mental condition or even the opinions and designs of other men. Information then obtained in dreams of this sort is a matter of inference, just as when in waking hours the condition and intentions of others are inferred from their looks. The data, however, are less trustworthy, and hence the interpretation of dreams is often erroneous. Emanations, it will be seen, can thus be satisfactorily employed to explain what is unusual and abnormal.

As to the popular theology, it could not be accepted by any of the early Greek thinkers, least of all by Democritus. The interference of Homer's deities in the course of natural events was utterly at variance with speculations which, if they agreed in nothing else, all tended to establish the reign of law and the inevitable sequence of phenomena. If nothing exists but atoms moving in void, if every event is inexorably determined by natural necessity, Divine agency and design in Nature are alike excluded. Democritus was true to this principle, and incurred the censure of Aristotle because he refused to see in the beauty and order of the universe, and more especially in the adaptation of means to ends in the structure of animals and plants, any evidence of design. It remains, however, for the philosopher to explain how the belief in gods arose. Democritus in part ascribed it to man's terror at the awe-inspiring phenomena of Nature—thunder and lightning, eclipses of the sun and moon, comets, earthquakes, and the like. In the popular belief the gods were certainly regarded as the causes of natural phenomena, and, so far, as personifying natural forces. But this was not all; in part the faith of the multitude rested on actual evidence of sense, observations which there was no

reason to doubt, even if they had been misunderstood. To meet this case, Democritus introduced as a *vera causa* beings differently constituted and in some respects superior to man. He may have been prompted by the common Greek notion of dæmons (δαίμονες), found, e.g., in Hesiod, as something intermediate between men and gods; or it might even be said that he degraded the gods to the rank of dæmons. He assumed, at all events, that there are in the surrounding atmosphere beings who are similar to man in form, but surpass him in size, strength, and longevity. Streams of atoms would emanate from them as from all other external objects, and, coming in contact with the sensory organs, might render these beings visible and audible to men. The popular belief in their divinity and immortality was a gratuitous assumption; in truth, they are not indestructible, but merely slower to perish than man. Of these beings and their images there were two species—one kindly and beneficent, the other destructive and harmful. Hence Democritus is said to have prayed that he might meet with such images as were kindly and beneficent.

The atomistic doctrine which, as mentioned above, supposed an entire dispersion of soul-atoms to take place at death, left no ground for inferring the survival of individual existence. The instinctive fear of death is once or twice referred to in the fragments, and generally as something unreasonable. With the interest of a modern man of science, Democritus appears to have investigated cases of resuscitation of persons apparently dead, and to have decided that, however violent the injury received, life during the swoon or trance cannot have been altogether extinct (*Procl. in Kemp.* ii. 113, 6 [Kroll]; Diels, 55 B, 1 [i.² 384]). We have no evidence that he or any of his school were active in denouncing and opposing superstition. One of his works bears the title *Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀΐδου*, but the sole reference extant to belief in a future life is the passing allusion:

'Some men do not understand that a mortal nature is subject to dissolution, and, being conscious of the evil in life, painfully spend all their days in troubles and fears, inventing lies about the time after death.'

4. Historical importance.—The doctrine here presented in outline was never popular in antiquity, or rather it may be said to have fallen into disrepute. This was due in part to the fact that Democritus avoided dialectical discussions, so dear to the Greeks from the time of the Sophists. Yet Aristotle, his keenest critic, praised him for his empirical method of research, and agreed that it was better to deal with things in the concrete (φυσικῶς ζητεῖν) than to reason from vague abstract premises to conclusions which did not exactly fit the facts of the case (λογικῶς ζητεῖν). The great prominence given after the time of Socrates to ethics and the practical side of life was another reason why Atomism failed to attract public attention. Few names of adherents have come down to us, hardly enough to be called a school. Epicurus (q.v.) absorbed in his own system what he thought fit, leaving one fundamental doctrine—that of natural necessity—to his rivals, the Stoics. Here the genuine doctrine of Democritus vanishes, or re-appears only in those criticisms of Aristotle's which, as Lasswitz has shown, formed, to some of the keener intellects among the schoolmen, a rallying-point from which to question or even ultimately to undermine the authority of the Stagirite. The loss of Democritus' writings was, in Bacon's opinion, the greatest which antiquity had sustained; and, after Galileo's experiments had opened a new era in physical research, this appreciation of empirical methods was triumphantly vindicated.

The chief service which Democritus rendered to

philosophy lay in the rigid consistency with which he worked out his crude Materialism. His merits in this respect are best seen by comparison with the Ionian hylozoists who preceded, and the Stoic pantheists who followed, him. So long as material reality is endowed with sentience or reason, the problem of Materialism is not adequately conceived, nor are its difficulties properly faced. The Atomists saw clearly what they had to do, namely, to show how out of matter, which is neither sentient nor intelligent, but merely obeys mechanical laws, it is possible to derive organic bodies which both feel and think. The difficulty of the task was not removed by this clear conception of its nature. There is a gap in the deduction, which no ingenuity can bridge over. The formation of an image on the pupil and the visual sensation contemporaneous with it remain wholly distinct: the physics of Democritus may explain the first, but not the second. Ever so correct a theory of the mechanism of local movements in the animal still leaves the phenomena of purpose and volition as mysterious as ever, as Aristotle pointed out. The resolution of secondary qualities, as they are called—colour, sound, temperature, odour, etc.—into effects of atomic movements on the percipient was a great step in advance; but Democritus did not realize all its consequences. Modern psychology has shown that the same analysis can be applied to primary

qualities, and the seeming solid bodies of the Atomists' external world replaced by groups of tactile sensations; while, further, it asserts that these states of consciousness are our primary data of immediate reality. Thus Materialism, if worked out consistently, is apt to lead out of itself to Phenomenalism or Subjective Idealism, or in some other direction.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Introductory; African and Oceanian).—Although a rough distinction may be drawn between demons and spirits by considering the former as malevolent and the latter as benevolent, actual study of the subject soon shows that there is, to the primitive mind, no clear line of demarcation between the two allied classes. Their modes of operation are identical, and the same being may often be either beneficent or maleficent, as circumstances may dictate, though some are normally kindly disposed towards man, while others are almost or quite invariably hostile to him. The very terms 'spirit' and 'demon' are colourless. The former word signifies simply 'breathing,' 'breath' (see artt. BREATH, SPIRIT), while the latter (*dæmon*) originally denoted either 'apportioner' or, less probably, 'apportionment,' 'destiny,' being connected with Gr. *dalaon*, 'divide,' 'apportion,' and Eng. *time* (Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg, 1907 ff., p. 162; cf. also ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 54*). The term 'demon' has, moreover, suffered a complete transformation of meaning in *malum partem*, for originally, as will be clear from the 'Greek' section of this art., it had a good connotation, which was changed into an evil one when Christianity condemned the deities and spirits of paganism (see, further, 'Christian' section below)—a change quite analogous to that by which the Avesta *dæva*, 'demon,' is the precise etymological equivalent of the Skr. *deva*, 'god.'

Again, both demons and spirits—to retain for the nonce their somewhat artificial contrast—must be carefully distinguished from souls or ghosts (cf. artt.

SOUL, ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, and the 'Egyptian' section below). This comes out very clearly among the Melanesians,¹ with whom 'it is most important to distinguish between spirits who are beings of an order higher than mankind, and the disembodied spirits of men, which have become in the vulgar sense of the word ghosts. . . . They [the Melanesians] themselves make a clear distinction between the existing, conscious, powerful, disembodied spirits of the dead, and other spiritual beings that have never been men at all' (Codrington, *Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 120 f.).

The *vui*, or spirit, thus contrasted with the *tindalo*, or ghost, was defined as follows to Codrington by a native of the Banks Islands:

'It lives, thinks, has more intelligence than a man; knows things which are secret without seeing; is supernaturally powerful with *mana*; has no form to be seen; has no soul, because itself is like a soul';

and in Omba, Lepers Island, the definition of *vui* is as follows:

'Spirits are immortal; have bodies, but invisible; are like men, but do not eat and drink, and can be seen only by the dead' (Codrington, 123, 170).

That, despite this assignment of a purely spiritual nature to the *vui*, they should often be regarded practically as in human form, and even as sometimes dimly visible (*ib.* 151 f.), is by no means surprising when we remember that it is well-nigh impossible for man at any stage of civilization to escape entirely from anthropomorphism (*q.v.*).

This distinction between spirits and ghosts is, however, much easier to make in theory than in practice, and Taylor's words regarding the New Zealanders (*Te Ika a Maui*², London, 1870, p. 108)

¹ A very similar distinction may be found in Greek between *θεοί*, *δαίμονες*, and *ψυχές*, the two latter classes corresponding respectively to the Melanesian *vui* and *tindalo* (cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 248 f.).

—'Maori gods are so mixed up with the spirits of ancestors, whose worship entered largely into their religion, that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other'—may be applied to more than one people (cf. also, for Africa, Schneider, *Relig. der afrikan. Naturvölker*, Münster, 1891, p. 113).

But, if demons and spirits must be distinguished from ghosts or souls, an equally clear line must be drawn between them and gods—although it is true that confusion of demons and spirits with gods is frequent, exactly as demons and spirits are often confounded with souls or ghosts. There is, nevertheless, this difference between the two kinds of confusion, that, whereas demons and spirits are, strictly speaking, distinct from souls and ghosts in that the *vui* 'were never men, and have not the bodily nature of a man' (Codrington, 124), the difference between demons and spirits as contrasted with gods appears to be one of degree rather than of kind, so that demons and spirits may be, and very often are, elevated to the rank of gods. On this point Jevons writes as follows (*Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*, London, 1904, pp. 173, 175):

'For the savage, supernatural beings are divided into three classes—the gods of his own tribe, those of other tribes, and spirits which, unlike the first two classes, have never obtained a definite circle of worshippers to offer sacrifice to them and in return receive protection from them. This last class, never having been taken into alliance by any clan, have never been elevated into gods. . . . On the one hand, the community originally drew its god from the ranks of the innumerable spiritual beings by which primitive man was surrounded; and, on the other hand, the outlying, unattached spirits, who were not at first taken into alliance, and so raised to the status of gods, may ultimately be domesticated, so to speak, and made regular members of a pantheon.'

The relations of demons and spirits to that phase of primitive religion properly known as Animism (*q.v.*) are peculiarly close, so that Tylor (*i.*³ 426) declares:

'It is habitually found that the theory of Animism divides into two great dogmas, forming parts of one consistent doctrine; first, concerning souls of individual creatures, capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; second, concerning other spirits, upward to the rank of powerful deities.'

Whether, however, Animism actually furnishes, as was once fondly supposed, a complete explanation of the origin of religion, or whether it was even the earliest form of religion, seems open to grave doubts (cf. the views of various scholars recorded by Schmidt, 'L'Origine de l'idée de Dieu,' in *Anthropos*, iii. [1908]); and the theory is scarcely supported in Melanesia, where so accurate an observer as Codrington can say (p. 123):

'There does not appear to be anywhere in Melanesia a belief in a spirit which animates any natural object, a tree, waterfall, storm, or rock, so as to be to it what the soul is believed to be to the body of a man. Europeans, it is true, speak of the spirits of the sea or of the storm or of the forest; but the native idea which they represent is that ghosts haunt the sea and the forest, having power to raise storms and to strike a traveller with disease, or that supernatural beings, never men, do the same.'

It must also be borne in mind that, while spirits are very frequently believed to inhabit trees, rivers, rocks, and the like, there are many spirits to which no such specific habitat is assigned. In other cases the abode, even in a tree, river, or rock, may be but temporary—a phenomenon which is especially characteristic of dream-demons, disease-demons, and the like.

There is, furthermore, a close connexion of demons and spirits with the great type of religion known as Fetichism (*q.v.*), which may roughly be defined, with Tylor (*ii.* 144), as 'the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects,' the fetich itself being a material, or even animal (cock, serpent, bear, etc.), or natural (river, tree, etc.), object in which a spirit is believed to take up its abode, either temporarily or permanently. To quote Tylor (*ii.* 145) again:

'To class an object as a fetich, demands explicit statement that a spirit is considered as embodied in it or acting through it or communicating by it, or at least that the people it belongs to do habitually think this of such objects; or it must be shown that the object is treated as having personal consciousness and power, is talked with, worshipped, prayed to, sacrificed to, petted or ill-treated with reference to its past or future behaviour to its votaries.' Cf., however, the well-founded objection of Jevons, pp. 166-169, to the scientific use of the word 'fetich' at all, since it 'may mean one thing to one person and another to another, because it has no generally accepted scientific definition.'

Nevertheless, however vague the term 'fetich' may be, it is at least clear that the idea of spirit-habitation which it conveys is closely connected, in its development, with the forms of religion associated with amulets (see CHARMS AND AMULETS, vol. iii. p. 398^a) and idols (see IMAGES AND IDOLS).

Generally speaking, a spirit is regarded, unless properly propitiated, as malevolent and maleficent more often than as benevolent and beneficent; in other words, to revert to the common, though lax, phraseology, demons are more numerous than spirits. At first sight this state of belief is analogous to that which gives more prominence to malignant than to benignant deities, because the benevolent gods are already good and need no propitiation, while every effort must be made to appease and to propitiate the malevolent ones. Such, however, does not seem to be the real psychology in the case of demons and spirits. The true ground for the predominance in number and in importance of malevolent over benevolent spirits appears to be well outlined by Jevons (p. 177), who finds the explanation in the fact, already noted, that the spirit is unattached to any clan or community, whereas a god is connected with one or another clan. The spirit is, therefore, much in the position of an unattached ghost; and, as to the primitive mind, with its intense concept of kinship—whether real or artificial—all that is not akin is hostile, a spirit thus unattached, and consequently unakin, would naturally tend to be regarded as hostile and malevolent. It must be remembered, too, that the qualities ascribed to the spirits reflect in great measure the qualities of their worshippers (cf. Schneider, 106); for instance, the Kioko of Portuguese West Africa hold that each spirit has his own district, which he jealously guards, being deeply angered by the intrusion of any neighbouring spirit (*ib.* 150). Spirits also possess other traits still more human, so that, among the African Bambara, the spirits 'have sex, males and females are found among them, they have children, and some, if not all, even believe them to be clothed' (Henry, in *Anthropos*, iii. 702); while in Loango we find a specific 'mother of spirits' named Bunsu, who has peopled the whole land with spirits, who in their turn have begotten others (Schneider, 132 f.); and the Australian Urabunna and Warramunga believe that the black-snake totem ancestor begot spirit children who now live in water-holes and in gum-trees along the bank of the creek (Spencer-Gillen^b, p. 162, cf. also p. 301).

It is comparatively seldom that the primitive mind makes a clear discrimination between good and evil spirits so far as to distinguish them by special epithets, as do the Africans of Benguela (Schneider, 135); and the very fact that the names applied by the Malays of Passumah Lebar to good spirits (*deva*) and to evil spirits (*jinn*) are of Skr. and Arab. origin respectively (Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1860-72, v. i. 166) betrays the late date of this nomenclature (cf. also Tylor, *ii.* 319).

In the regions under consideration, belief in demons and spirits is especially characteristic of Africa (as is shown at once by the fact that 'fetichism' is *par excellence* the type of African

religion¹), where it maintains itself side by side with ghost-worship. In Oceania, on the other hand, the two types of religion are mutually exclusive. In Polynesia, Australia, and Micronesia, spirits are practically unworshipped as compared with ghosts, while in the Ellice Islands and the Union Group (Tokelan) the reverse is the case (Waitz-Gerland, v. ii. 139-142, 194-199); and in Melanesia.

'religion divides the people into two groups; one, where, with an accompanying belief in spirits, never men, worship is directed to the ghosts of the dead, as in the Solomon Islands; the other, where both ghosts and spirits have an important place, but the spirits have more worship than the ghosts, as is the case in the New Hebrides and in the Banks Islands' (Codrington, 123).

Naturally, the same effect may be ascribed by primitive man to different causes. Thus, among the Orang Kubu of Sumatra and the Mintira of the Malay Peninsula, disease is caused by spirits (Waitz-Gerland, v. i. 181; *Journ. Ind. Archipel.* i. 307), whereas in Africa generally and in Melanesia (Schneider, 116, 125, 152; Codrington, 194) disease is more commonly due to malignant ghosts—although here, too, the vague distinction between ghosts and spirits, already noted, often renders uncertain any precise determination of the cause of disease (cf. Tylor, ii. 125 ff., where further examples will be found; and see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE). The same statement holds true of possession (or obsession) by spirits and ghosts. Sometimes, as normally in Melanesia, it is the shades of the departed, rather than the *vui*, that cause the phenomena comprised under the category of possession (Codrington, 218-220); while, along the shores of Blanche Bay, New Britain, all this is caused by the *inal*, a being which is evidently a spirit, not a ghost (Meier, 'Der Glaube an den *inal* und den *tutana vurakit*,' in *Anthropos*, v. [1910] 95 ff.; see, further, both for ghost- and for spirit-possession, Tylor, i. 98, ii. 123 ff.); and in the vast domain of magic (*q.v.*) it will be found that both ghosts and spirits are among the powers controlled by magicians.

As regards the places of abode of demons and spirits, the words of Brun (in *Anthropos*, ii. [1907] 728) with reference to the African Malinke, a Mandingo stock, may serve as applicable to almost any people among whom this type of religion prevails:

'Dans la pensée des Malinkés, notre planète est peuplée d'une multitude d'esprits. Les uns résident dans des lieux déterminés, fleuves, rivières, montagnes, blocs de rochers; d'autres dans certains arbres. Le grand vent et le tonnerre sont produits par les esprits. Dans presque tous les villages, il y a un grand arbre dans lequel réside l'esprit protecteur du village.' Among the Polynesians, in like manner, Ellis (*Polyn. Researches*, London, 1832, i. 827-830) records deities (who may, however, originally have been ghosts) of the sea, air, valleys, mountains, precipices, and ravines.

It is, indeed, this very type of Nature-spirit which has in great part given rise to the theory of Animism (cf. Tylor, ii. 205 ff., and, for Polynesia especially, Waitz-Gerland, vi. 295-298). To give a complete list of such spirits would be to catalogue almost every object both in inanimate and in animate Nature—a task that would be not merely enormous, but, for the present purpose, useless, since the underlying principles are everywhere the same, and the varying details do not materially affect the cardinal doctrine involved. It will be quite sufficient, therefore, to note a few of the more prominent classes of Nature-spirits in Africa and Oceania by way of examples of the whole type.

(a) *Animals*.—Along the Slave Coast, Danhgbi, the python spirit, receives divine homage, as do crocodiles and, in Togo, leopards (the latter may, however, be the abodes of ghosts rather than of

¹ It must, however, be noted that Nassau regards all the spirits worshipped in W. Africa as originally ghosts ('Spiritual Beings in West Africa,' in *Journ. Amer. Geograph. Soc.* xxxii. [1901] 889-400, xxxv. [1903] 115-124).

spirits; see ANIMALS, vol. i. pp. 509 ff., 520 f.), and among the Mandingo reverence is paid to serpents as divine (cf. *ib.* vol. i. p. 525 f., and art. SERPENT-WORSHIP). Yet here, too, as just noted, the difficulty of accurate distinction between spirits and ghosts confronts us, and the animal is more usually the home of the latter than of the former (cf. Tylor, ii. 7 f., 229, 378 f.; see also above, vol. i. p. 493 f.); and we must also remember that animals are often held to be god-homes, and that there are still other factors which go to make up the complex system of animal-worship (see art. ANIMALS, TOTEMISM).

(b) *Water-spirits*.—Attention has been called in art. BRIDGE to the wide-spread belief in deities and spirits believed to be resident in rivers, and the same thing is, of course, true of larger bodies of water, such as lakes, as in the Banks Islands (Codrington, 186). To this category belongs the African Fugamu, at once the deity of the Rembo Ngoyai (a tributary of the Ogove) and the teacher of the smith's art, while dreaded demons dwell in the falls of the Congo, and the Kafirs fear the water-demons Ikanti and Uhili (Schneider, 131, 133, 137, 151 f.; Kidd, *Essential Kafir*, London, 1904, p. 10, inclines to regard the Kafir demons as ghosts rather than as spirits); thus, as Tylor sums up the matter for Africa (ii. 211; cf. also i. 108-110, ii. 209 ff.),

'In the East, among the Wanika, every spring has its spirit, to which oblations are made; in the West, in the Akra district, lakes, ponds, and rivers received worship as local deities. In the South, among the Kafirs, streams are venerated as personal beings, or the abodes of personal deities, as when a man crossing a river will ask leave of its spirit, or having crossed will throw a stone; or when the dwellers by a stream will sacrifice a beast to it in time of drought, or, warned by illness in the tribe that their river is angry, will cast into it a few handfuls of millet or the entrails of a slaughtered ox.'

(c) *Forests and trees*.—Forests and trees likewise are the abodes of spirits. The New Britain belief in the *inal*, which, in the form of an owl, has its usual home in a tree, has already been noted, and a similar belief prevails in Melanesia (Codrington, 186 f.). For a like reason the Wanika reverence the coco-nut palm (Schneider, 159), while the Bambara also are among the many African peoples that believe trees to be tenanted by spirits (Henry, in *Anthropos*, iii. 703; for further examples, where ghosts, totems, etc., are also factors, see Jevons, ch. xvi.; Tylor, i. 475, ii. 215 ff.; and art. TREES).

(d) *Mountains*.—The African Malinke believe that the mountain at Kita is the home of malevolent spirits (Brun, *loc. cit.*), and throughout Oceania there was an abundance of mountain- and rock-spirits, some of which must, however, be reckoned as ghosts (see Waitz-Gerland, vi. 295-297, where may be found a general survey of Nature-spirits in the Pacific islands). The extent to which mountain-spirits may be specialized is well illustrated in the list of the dread deities of the volcano Kilanea, in Hawaii, thus recorded by Ellis (iv. 248 f.):

Kamoho-aril ('king Moho,' or 'king vapour'), Ta-poha-i-tahiora ('explosion in the place of life'), Te-au-a-te-po ('rain of night'), Tane-hetiri ('husband of thunder'), Te-ahi-ta-ta-ta ('fire-breathing child of war')—all these being brothers; Makore-wawahi-was ('fiery-eyed canoe-breaker'), Hiata-wawahi-lani ('thunder-rendering cloud-holder'), Hiata-nohu-lani ('heaven-dwelling cloud-holder'), Hiata-taarava-mata ('quick-glancing-eyed cloud-holder'), Hiata-hoi-te-pori-a-Pele ('cloud-holder embracing [or, kissing] the bosom of Pele'), Hiata-bu-enaena ('red-hot mountain-holding [or lifting] clouds'), Hiata-tarelia ('wreath-encircled cloud-holder'), and Hiata-opio ('young cloud-holder')—all these being sisters of the great goddess Pele.

Prominent among the distinctly good spirits are those whose special function it is to act as guardians. From this class we must, of course, exclude the 'separable soul,' such as the *okra*, or *kra*, of the Tshi and the *luwo* of the Ewe, which is a second soul, created together with the individual whom it is to guard throughout his life (see art. SOUL); and we must also once more essay the fair

less easy task of distinguishing guardian spirits from guardian ghosts. To the latter class seem to belong such supernatural guardians as the Zulu *ama-tongo*, the Bantu *mizimi* and *ombwiri* (Schneider, 139 ff., 152; Hartland, art. BANTU, vol. ii. p. 360*), and the Tahitian *oramatua* (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 316); yet there are also cases where the guardian is believed to be a spirit in the strict sense of the term. Such appears to be the case in the Gold and Slave Coasts (Jevons, 165 f.; see also his whole ch. xiv.), and in Samoa and other Polynesian islands the guardian spirit was expressly declared to be a god (*aitu*), not a ghost (*varua*; see the examples collected by Waitz-Gerland, vi. 317 ff.). For further details, see artt. TOTEMISM, TUTELARY GODS.

Another important class of spirits is formed by those of prophecy, their functions being to a large extent shared, as is perfectly obvious, by ghosts. As examples of this kind of beings we may refer to a spirit dwelling in an enormous stone near Kita (Brun, *loc. cit.*), the Matabele Makalaka (Schneider, 144), and the *inal* of Blanche Bay (Meier, in *Anthropos*, v. 96 f.; cf. also Tylor, ii. 131 f.). These spirits may simply be consulted, as at Kita, or they may enter into an individual, producing a state of ecstasy, as at Blanche Bay (see artt. ORACLE, POSSESSION). Again, it is to the agency of spirits that primitive man attributes a large proportion of his dreams (Tylor, ii. 189-191, 411; see also art. DREAMS), especially those of an erotic or nightmare character, while ordinary dreams of persons, animals, and things would normally be ascribed rather to the action of souls, whether of the living or of the dead. That demons and spirits are important factors in causing disease has already been noted (above, p. 567*).

The presence of demons and spirits is normally revealed solely by intangible manifestations which the primitive mode of thought can explain only through the agency of such supernatural beings, as in the case of disease, dreams, many natural phenomena, and the like; but a demon or spirit is also often regarded as sufficiently tangible to leave footprints in ashes or similar substances strewn where it may be thought likely that he will come; and animals are frequently believed to be able to perceive spirits which the duller vision of men cannot discern (Tylor, ii. 196-198). Beneficent spirits, when present, are, of course, gladly entertained, and are even constrained to remain; but there is, naturally enough, a determined effort to get rid of maleficent demons. All these operations of invitation or of expulsion are part of magic (*q.v.*), and come to the front especially in case of disease (see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE), or, from the more ethical and ritual side, in the ceremonies associated, for example, with the scapegoat in ethnic religions (see AZAZEL and SCAPE ANIMALS).

There is one class of beings that may perhaps be regarded as on the border-line between spirits and ghosts, though inclining rather to the latter category. One or two peoples preserve a tradition that they have conquered their present territory by invasion and subjugation of a former tribe of entirely different nature, and are convinced that this vanquished tribe still survives in spirit form. It is generally held that we have here one of the sources of the folk-belief in fairies, brownies, kobolds, dwarfs, giants, and the like (cf. Tylor, i. 385 ff.; *CF.* pp. 21 f., 429). To this class belong the Maori *patu-paerehe*, who lived chiefly on the tops of lofty hills, while the *taniwha* had their homes in river-holes or under cliffs, etc., where they caused such calamities as land-slips and the like (Tylor, pp. 153-157). Similar beings, explicitly called *vai*, or spirits, are believed to dwell in the New Hebrides and Banks Islands, where 'they have been seen

of late in human form, smaller than the native people, darker, and with long straight hair' (Codrington, 152 f.).

The cult rendered to demons and spirits may be discussed very briefly, for it differs in no matter of principle from that of the gods themselves. As Jevons (p. 175 f.) says,

'The method by which the negro of Western Africa obtains a *suhman* [a tutelary deity of an individual] is an exact copy of the legitimate ritual by which a family obtains a family god. . . . All over the world these private cults are modelled on, derived from, and later than, the established worship of the gods of the community. The difference between the private cult of one of these outlying, unattached spirits and the public worship of the community's gods does not lie in the external acts and rites, for these are the same in both cases, or as nearly the same as the imitator can make them. . . . The difference lies first in the division which this species of private enterprise implies and encourages between the interests of the individual and of the community, at a time when identity of interest is essential to the existence of society, and when the unstable equilibrium of the small community requires the devotion of every member to prevent it from falling.' (For a detailed study of the spirit-cult of a specific African tribe, see Henry, 'Le Culte des esprits chez les Bambara,' in *Anthropos*, iii. 702-717.)

LITERATURE.—There seems to be no special treatise on this subject, so that the material must be gleaned from the writings of missionaries and travellers in Africa and Oceania (in the older works much care is needful in distinguishing, where such distinction is possible, between spirits and ghosts or gods), from works on the regions under consideration (such as those of Waitz-Gerland and Schneider, quoted in the art.), and from general studies on Comparative Religion. Particular interest still attaches to the chapters (xi.-xvii.) on 'Animism' in Tylor, although the animistic theory is subjected to sharp criticism by many scholars of eminence.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Assyr.-Bab.).—Among the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians, as among the modern Arabs of Mesopotamia, superstition was rife, and a firm belief in all kinds of demons and *jinn* was current in every class of society. The Semitic element, when it entered Babylon, took over from the Sumerians much of their folk-lore, and it is for this reason that so many of the Assyr. words for ghouls, hobgoblins, and vampires bear their Sumerian origin patently; and out of this amalgamation sprang the elaborately developed system of magic in vogue during the later Assyr. and Bab. empires. This art provides the magician with all possible means for combating hostile devils and spirits.

The unseen enemies of mankind fall naturally into three classes. The simplest form—that of the disembodied spirit or ghost—is probably universal. The second—always supernatural—differs from gods by reason of its low order, and, as Robertson Smith says of the *jinn*,¹ is mentioned by the name of its class and not by a personal name, save in such cases as Namtar and the like, who are properly gods. Lastly, there is the half-human, half-supernatural creature, born of human and ghostly parentage—some awful monstrosity sprung from a *succuba* or *incubus*. These, too, are known by a class-name and have no individual title, whereas the higher order of this element in religion, the demi-god, is always a personality.

1. Ghosts.—We may examine, then, first in order the disembodied spirit, the ghost of a man or woman, which for some reason or other returns to this world. The Assyr. word in use is *edimmu*.² This *edimmu* was supposed to come back to earth for many reasons; it became hungry and restless, if its descendants ceased to pay it due rites or offer sacrifices on which it might feed; or it obtained no resting-place in the world of shades underground, if its earthly body remained unburied. The Assyr. ideas of Sheol were probably much the same as those of the ancient Hebrews. When a man died, his body was duly buried in the earth, and the spirit then inhabited the under world, 'the House of Darkness, the seat of the

¹ *Rel. of Sem.* 2, 1894, p. 126.

² See Hunger, *Becherwahrungung bei den Babyloniern*, Leipzig, 1903.

god Irkalla . . . the house from which none who enter come forth again.¹ Here its food was dust and mud, doubtless eked out by the libations and offerings which percolated through the earth from the mourners' sacrifices. The blood of animals slaughtered at the grave-side trickled through to reach the hungry spirit in the under world, and hence the belief in such sacrifices. But, if the attentions of descendants towards an ancestor should cease on earth, and the spirit thus was deprived of its food, it was then driven by stress of hunger to come back to earth to demand its due. How it succeeded in breaking loose from that bourn whence no traveller returns is difficult to understand, unless we suppose that there was a dual conception of ideas arising from a confusion between the grave as the actual habitation of the dead man, and Sheol as the place of shades; probably the primitive beliefs of savages in regard to ghosts were never very definite in details, and ideas of such incorporate and invisible beings must necessarily have been indeterminate. For example, Ishtar, when she descends to the under world, threatens to break down the door of Hades:

'I will smite the door, I will shatter the bolt,
I will smite the threshold and tear down the doors,
I will raise up the dead, that they may devour the living,
And the dead shall outnumber those that live.'²

Yet in another Assyr. tablet the return of spirits from the grave is thus described:

'The gods which seize (upon man) have come forth from the grave,
The evil vapours have come forth from the grave,
To demand the payment of rites and the pouring of libations
They have come forth from the grave.'³

The word 'vapours' or 'winds' here requires some explanation. The reference is probably to the transparency of the spirits: when the spirit of Ea-bani is raised from Hades at the instance of his friend, the Bab. hero Gilgamesh, his shade rises 'like the wind' through an opening in the earth made by the god Nergal.⁴

Similarly, another incantation, although it confuses ghosts with demons, refers to the return of hostile spirits:

'The evil spirit, the evil demon, the evil ghost, the evil devil, from the earth have come forth; from the pure abode unto the earth they have come forth; in heaven they are unknown, on earth they are not understood.'⁵

In the instance of the *utukku*-wraith of Ea-bani being raised, like Samuel at En-dor, the text continues with a speech of the ghost, describing the under world to Gilgamesh:

'The man whose corpse lieth in the desert (thou and I have often seen such an one), his spirit resteth not in the earth; the man whose spirit hath none to care for it (thou and I have often seen such an one), the dregs of the vessel, the leavings of the feast, and that which is cast out into the street are his food.'

The name of the necromancer in Assyrian—*mušellu edimnu*, 'raiser of the ghost'—is pertinent here, to show that the belief in such wizardry was accepted.⁶

Besides the unfed ghost, however, there was also the spirit of the unburied body to haunt mankind. According to Assyr. ideas, which tally in great measure with those of modern savages, if the bones of the dead were removed from the tomb, the spirit at once became restless, and was compelled to roam about the world. Ashurbanipal, giving full credence to this belief, in his invasion of Elam carries away the bones of the kings of Elam from the tombs, and causes the rites paid to them to cease, that their spirits may have no rest.⁷ Furthermore, unless the body was buried, the spirit of the dead man never reached its resting-

place in the under world; and there are long catalogues of all possible classes of ghosts to be exorcized, identified by the reason of their return to earth:

'Whether thou art a ghost that hath come from the earth . . . or one that lieth dead in the desert, or one that lieth dead in the desert uncovered with earth . . . or a ghost unburied, or a ghost that none careth for, or a ghost with none to make offerings (to it), or a ghost with none to pour libations (to it), or a ghost that hath no posterity' (or, 'that hath no name').¹ Or, if through some accident the man had died an untimely death and had not been given due burial, the same thing would happen:

'He that lieth in a ditch . . . he that no grave covereth . . . he that lieth uncovered, whose head is uncovered with dust, the king's son that lieth in the desert or in the ruins (or waste places), the hero whom they have slain with the sword.'² Those who died prematurely became ghosts also, those who perished of hunger or thirst in prison, or had not 'smelt the smell of food,' dying of want, or had fallen into a river and been drowned, or had been overcome by storm in the plains,³ those who died as virgins or bachelors of marriageable age,⁴ and women who died in travail, or while their babes were yet at the breast.⁵

This last ghost, the wraith of the woman dying in childbirth, is universal. Doughty relates that the Arab women explained the hoot of an owl as the cry of a woman seeking her lost child, she having been turned into this bird.⁶ Among the Malays a woman who dies thus becomes a *langwayar*, or flying demon, which the rest of the tribe prevent from wandering by putting glass beads in the mouth of the corpse, a hen's egg under the armpits, and needles in the palms of the hands.⁷ The original *langwayar* was supposed to be a kind of night-owl like the Lilith of Rabbinic tradition, and is therefore similar to the ghost of which Doughty speaks.⁸

Now, if any one of these disembodied spirits returned to earth, it was likely to attack any mortal who had been in some way connected with it on earth. To have shared food, water, unguents, or clothes with any one in this world rendered a patron or friend liable to a visitation from the ghost of his dead beneficiary, demanding similar attentions after death; nay, even to have eaten, drunk, anointed oneself, or dressed in company with another was reason enough for such a ghostly obsession. The living man exorcizes, through his priest, all these forms of ghost in the Assyr. incantations, threatening them that no rites shall be paid them until they depart:

'(Whatever spirit thou may be), until thou art removed,
Until thou departest from the man, the son of his god,
Thou shalt have no food to eat,
Thou shalt have no water to drink.'⁹

Many of the medical tablets give elaborate prescriptions of drugs and ceremonies to be employed 'when a ghost seizes on a man.' Others give the ritual for laying a ghost which has appeared; and in this case the magician repeats long formulæ of all possible ghosts, thereby showing, as is necessary in this magic, that he knows the description of the spirit with which he is dealing:

'A brother's ghost, or a twin, or one unnamed, or with none to pay it rites, or one slain by the sword, or one that hath died by fault of god or sin of king.'¹⁰

The fear of the obsessed man is apparently that the ghost will draw him from this world to the other, for he states in his incantation:

'O ye dead folk, whose cities are heaps of earth, whose . . . are sorrowful, why have you appeared unto me?
I will not come to Kutha [the under world]! Ye are a crowd of ghosts: why do ye cast your enchantments upon me?'¹¹

1 Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet IV. col. iv. l. 41 ff.
2 *WAT* ii. 17, col. iv. l. 6 ff.; Haupt, *Akkad. u. sumer. Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881-82, ii. ii. l. 6 ff.
3 *Ib.* ii. 17, l. 22; Haupt, *op. cit.* ii. ii. l. 22 ff.
4 This is a probable rendering of the cuneiform; see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 19.
5 Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet IV. col. v. l. 23 ff.; Tablet V. col. i. l. 62 ff.
6 *Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, l. 305.
7 Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 825.
8 For other comparative instances, see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 21 ff.
9 Thompson, *Devils*, vol. i., Tablet IV. col. v. l. 54 ff.; Tablet V. col. ii. l. 55 ff.
10 See *PSBA*, Nov. 1906, p. 219 ff. col. i. ll. 6-8.
11 *Ib.* col. i. l. 13.

1 King, *Bab. Rel.* p. 179. 2 *Ib.* p. 180.
3 Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. ii., Tablet 'Y'.
4 King, *op. cit.* p. 175.
5 Thompson, *Devils*, ii., Tablet 'CO'.
6 *WAT* ii. 51, 2, r. ll. 20, 21.
7 *Ib.* v. 6, l. 70 ff.; for other and parallel instances, see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 10 ff.

Even looking upon a corpse rendered a man liable to attacks from the ghost, and such an act demanded a long ritual to free him.¹

Were any further evidence required that the ancient Assyrians firmly believed in the possibility of visible ghosts, we have only to turn to an omen-tablet in the British Museum (K. 8693) which gives a list of the events to be expected if a ghost appears in the house of a man. But enough has been said on the disembodied spirits to show that the Assyrians were convinced of their existence, and had even reduced them to exact classes and species.

2. Unhuman spirits.—The second kind of demons, those entirely unhuman, for whose creation mortals are not directly responsible, existed among the Assyrians, as among other Semites, in innumerable hordes. The first of them is the *utukku*. This word is used, once at least, for the wraith of the dead man returning to earth (in the incident of Ea-bani quoted above from the Gilgamesh Epic), but elsewhere it appears to have a far wider meaning than a simple ghost, and we shall probably not be far wrong in considering it for the most part as the equivalent for a devil. It lurked in the desert, the common home of many Semitic devils, lying in wait for man; or it might have its home in the mountains, sea, or graveyard; and evil would befall him on whom it merely cast its eye.² Another, less well known, is the *gallû*, apparently sexless,³ and this is used as a term of abuse in classical Assyrian, Sennacherib calling the hostile Babylonians by such a name.⁴ The *rabîsu* is a lurking demon, which sets the hair of the body on end.⁵ The *labartu*, *labazu*, and *ahhazu* are a triad frequently found together, the first-named having a whole series of incantations written against her. She was a female demon, the daughter of Anu,⁶ making her home in the mountains or cane-brakes of the marshes; and children were particularly exposed to her attacks. To guard them from her, the tablets inscribed with incantations against her include an amulet to be written on a stone and hung round their necks, and the inscription runs:

"'Labartu, [daughter] of Anu,' is her first name;
The second, 'Sister of the [gods] of the streets';
The third, 'Sword that splitteth the head';
The fourth, 'Wood-kinder';
The fifth, 'Goddess of awful mien';
The sixth, 'The trusted and accepted of Irnina,'
The seventh, 'By the great gods mayest thou be exorcized;
with the bird of heaven mayest thou fly away.'"⁷

Of the other two of this triad the *ahhazu* is apparently combated in the medical texts.⁸ Of the *labazu* practically nothing is known.

Two others are mentioned in the cuneiform tablets—the *šedu* and the *lamassu*, the former being the name for either a guardian deity or an evil spirit. As evil, it is found in an exorcism which begins, 'Spirit (*šedu*) that minisheth heaven and earth, that minisheth the land, spirit that minisheth the land, of giant strength, of giant strength and giant tread.'⁹ In this quality of evil the surrounding Semitic nations borrowed the word from Assyria—the Hebrews under the form *shedim*, the Arameans as *shēda*; but it had also its beneficent side, thus approximating to the idea of a guardian angel. With the *lamassu*, which appears always as a kindly spirit, it is appealed to

¹ Zimmern, 'Eituaftafeln,' in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis*, etc. p. 164.

² See Thompson, *Devils*, I., Tablet III. l. 28, Tablet 'O', l. 179; *WAI* II. 17, l. 1. 8; and Haupt, *loc. cit.* n. l. 1. 8.

³ Thompson, *Devils*, I., Tablet V. col. iv. l. 17.

⁴ G. Smith, *Hist. of Sennacherib*, 1878, p. 114, l. 6.

⁵ *WAI* v. 50, l. 1. 51; cf. Job 41st 'Then a spirit passed before my face: the hair of my flesh stood up.'

⁶ Haupt, *loc. cit.* n. iii. l. 59.

⁷ Myhrman, *ZA* xvi. [1902] 155; *WAI* iv. 56, l. 1.

⁸ Kuchler, *Assyr.-Bab. Medizin*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 60, II. 22, 30, 51, etc.

⁹ Thompson, *Devils*, I., Tablet V. col. iv. l. 8 ff.

at the end of invocations, both being frequently called upon to be present after the evil spirit has been cast out.¹

In addition to the Assyrian demons specified by separate class-names, there are the 'Seven Spirits,' now well known from the following incantation:

'Seven are they! Seven are they!
In the Ocean Deep, seven are they!
Battering in heaven, seven are they!
Bred in the depths of the Ocean;
Nor male nor female are they,
But are as the roaming wind-blast,
No wife have they, no son can they beget;
Knowing neither mercy nor pity,
They hearken not to prayer or supplication.
They are as horses reared amid the hills,
The Evil Ones of Ea;
Guzatû to the gods are they,
They stand in the highway to befoul the path.

Evil are they, evil are they!
Seven are they, seven are they,
Twice seven are they!²

'From land to land they roam,
Driving the maid from her chamber,
Sending the man forth from his home,
Expelling the son from the house of his father,
Hunting the pigeons from their cotes,
Driving the bird from its nest,
Making the swallow fly forth from its hole,
Snatching both oxen and sheep.
They are the evil spirits that chase the great storms
Bringing a blight on the land.'³

'They creep like a snake on their bellies,
They make the chamber to stink like mice,
They give tongue like a pack of hounds.'⁴

These seven spirits are undoubtedly the same as those mentioned in Lk 11⁴⁴, and in a Syriac charm.⁵ They are exorcized under the name of 'seven accursed brothers.' They are described in this charm as saying: 'We go on our hands, so that we may eat flesh, and we crawl along upon our hands, so that we may drink blood.' Their predilection for blood is shown in the Assyrian incantation:

'Knowing no mercy, they rage against mankind,
They spill their blood like rain,
Devouring their flesh (and) sucking their veins.'⁶

To them eclipses were due; just as the modern Semite believes that he must frighten away the evil spirits from the darkening sun or moon,⁷ so did the ancient Assyrian ascribe such a phenomenon to spirit influence. These seven spirits are said to have attacked the moon-god; and Bel, hearing what they had done, sent his servant Nuzku to take counsel with Ea against them:

'O my minister, Nuzku!
Bear my message unto the Ocean Deep,
Tell unto Ea in the Ocean Deep
The tidings of my son Sin, the Moon-god,
Who in heaven hath been grievously bedimmed.'⁸

Ea heard the message which Nuzku brought, and bit his lip in grief; he summoned his son Marduk and conveyed to him the tidings of the moon-god. [After this the tablet becomes mutilated.] When an eclipse did occur, it was held that man might be susceptible to its concomitant evils; many, indeed, are the prayers made to avert the baneful influence:

'In the evil of an eclipse of the moon which in such and such a month on such and such a day has taken place, in the evil of the powers, of the portents, evil and not good, which are in my palace and my land.'⁹

3. Semi-human demons.—The third class of spirit—a goblin of semi-human parentage—must be reckoned the most interesting of the three; and the evidence for belief in such a monster is well-

¹ Thompson, *Devils*, I., Tablet III. ll. 88 ff., 153, 286; Tablet 'K', ll. 205, 224, etc.

² *Id.* Tablet V. col. v. l. 28 ff.

³ *Id.* Tablet IV. col. i. l. 24 ff.

⁴ *Id.* Tablet 'O', l. 213 ff.

⁵ H. Gollancz, *Selection of Charms*, 1898, p. 87.

⁶ Thompson, *Devils*, I., Tablet V. col. iv. l. 22 ff.

⁷ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 289; on noise driving evil spirits away among other races, see Frazer, *GB* 2, 1900, iii. 66, 91.

⁸ Thompson, *Devils*, I., Tablet XVI. l. 114 ff.

⁹ King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, London, 1896, p. xxv; see also Scheil, *Une Saison de fouilles*, Paris, 1896, p. 96.

attested among the Semites. We must first discuss the triad called *lilû*, *liltu*, and *ardat lilû*. The second is obviously the feminine counterpart of the first, but it is not so easy to discern what is the difference between the two last. These two—the *liltu* and *ardat lilû*—are both female demons, the femininity of the latter being especially emphasized by the word *ardatu*, which always has reference to the woman of marriageable age. The *ardat lilû* seems to have assumed the traditional functions of the Heb. Lilith (obviously the same word as *liltu*), who was Adam's second wife during the period of Eve's separation; and ever since that time the class of *succubæ* known by the same name have been reckoned as the ghostly wives of unmarried men. The Assy. *succuba*, the *ardat lilû*, was forced by her desire to roam abroad by night until she found a mate. In a tablet giving a list of demons and spirits we read of the '*ardat lilû* that hath no husband, the *liltu* that hath no wife'¹ (the second being the male equivalent of the first); and in another we find mentioned 'the man whom an *ardat lilû* hath looked upon, the man with whom an *ardat lilû* hath had union.'²

The Arabs believe in the same possibility. Sayce quotes as an instance that 'about fifteen years ago there was a man in Cairo who was unmarried, but had an invisible *ginn* as wife. One day, however, he saw a woman and loved her, and two days later he died.'³ The present writer met with the same form of belief at Mosul, and, while discussing *jinn* and spirits with some of the Arabs on the mound of Nineveh, was told by one of them that he knew a man who was visited by night by a beautiful woman-spirit, who had already borne him three children.⁴ The Babbis attest the same belief in their stories of Lilith having borne to Adam devils, spirits, and *lilûn*⁵ and they held that men might have children through a *mešalliance* with a demon, and, although these might not be visible, yet they would crowd round their father's death-bed, waiting for his demise to hallow him as their parent.⁶

Besides these demons, various diseases were personified in the same way. We find exorcisms against sickness beginning thus:

'Fever unto the man, against his head, hath drawn nigh,
Disease (*namtaru*) unto the man, against his life, hath drawn nigh,

An evil spirit against his neck hath drawn nigh.'⁷

Or another:

'The evil fever hath come like a deluge, and
Girt with dread brilliance; it fliteth the broad earth.'⁸

The Ninth Tablet of the series 'Headache' is similar:

'Headache roameth over the desert, blowing like the wind.'⁹

The Plague-god, *Namtar*, is best known from the story of the Descent of Ishtar into Hades. He is the 'messenger of Allat, the queen of Hades,' and, when Ishtar reaches the under world, he is sent by his mistress to smite the goddess with disease.¹⁰

Another spirit of Pestilence is *Ura*, and with this demon are connected the little amulets of inscribed clay,¹¹ written to avert evil from the house, just as the modern inhabitant of the Near East affixes Arabic charms to his walls¹² (see also CHARMS AND AMULETS [Assyr.-Bab.]).

LITERATURE.—F. Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, Paris, 1874, 1876 (Eng. tr. 1877); A. H. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, London, 1887 (3rd ed. 1891), also *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Edinburgh, 1902; M. Bastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, also *Rel. Bab. and Assyria*, 2 vols., Gießen, 1905 ff.; L. W. King, *Bab. Religion*, London, 1899; H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion*, Leipzig, 1896-1901; C. Fossey, *La Magie assyrienne*, Paris, 1902; R. Campbell Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London, 1904, 1906, also *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908; T. G. Pinches, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, London, 1906.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Buddhist).—Demon-worship enters largely into the daily life of Eastern peoples. In India, where Buddhism arose, the popular religion, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, in common with that of Easterns generally, has concerned itself less with the prospects of happiness in a future life and the 'higher truths' of the religion than with the troubles in the present life supposed to arise from evil spirits, who everywhere infest the atmosphere and dwellings, and are regarded as the cause of all sickness and misfortune. The higher dogmatic religion and the arrangements for the future life are handed over largely to the priests; but the people themselves take an active and anxious part in counteracting the machinations of the evil spirits, of whom they live in perpetual dread.

Buddhism from its very commencement appears to have accepted the Hindu mythology, with its evil and good spirits, as part of its theory of the universe. Śākyamuni himself seems to have taken over from the Brahmanical teachers of his time, amongst other tenets, the current belief in the gods and demons of the Indian pantheon, and he is represented in the more authentic early texts as referring to these beings as objects of fixed belief. He also accepted the current Brahmanical view that, like all other living things, they were impermanent and ultimately subject to death and endless re-birth, many of them having in previous existences been men. Thus, the gods and demons, being incapable of saving themselves from death and the misery of re-birth, could not be expected to save man; and so Buddha declared that their worship was one of the things which are not profitable and therefore unnecessary, and that he himself as 'the Perfectly Enlightened One,' or the Buddha, was superior to all divinities. Nevertheless, as these gods and demons were still believed to be capable of doing harm as well as good to man, though they could not effect his spiritual salvation, they continued more or less to be objects of popular worship even in early Buddhism, as is seen in the most ancient monuments.

Whether Buddha himself seriously believed in these divinities may be doubted. Yet the earliest texts agree in ascribing to him the statement that he descended from 'the heavens of the 33 gods,' in order to save mankind. Moreover, in the early Jātaka tales of his imaginary previous existences, he claimed to have been one or other of the gods in former times, mentioning himself 4 times as Brahmā (the most exalted of all at the epoch of Buddha), 20 times as Śakra or Indra, 43 times as a tree-god, and once as a fairy. In his *sūtras*, or sermons, the god Brahmā is referred to as one of the most frequent of his auditors. And the culminating episode of Śākyamuni's career—the attainment of Buddhahood at Gaya—is universally represented as a personal struggle with Māra, the Satan of the Buddhist world, and his daughters, Desire, Unrest, and Pleasure. This event is regarded by Buddhists generally not as an allegory, but as an actual bodily temptation and a conflict with manifested evil spirits.

The Buddhist pantheon thus had for its nucleus the polytheistic Brahmanical one, which embodied a physiocracy, or worship of the personified forces of Nature. It soon, however, became much more extensive: (1) by the creation of new deities and spirits of a special Buddhist type, personifying abstract conceptions of that religion; and (2) by the wholesale incorporation of much of the contents of the aboriginal pantheons of those peoples outside India over which Buddhism extended its conquests as a 'world-religion.' In this way the Buddhist pantheon has become the largest in the world, especially in its array of demons and spirits.

¹ Haupt, *loc. cit.* n. II. 1. 80.

² *WAI* v. 50, l. 1. 41.

³ *FL* xi. [1900] 388.

⁴ See *PSBA*, Feb. 1906, p. 83.

⁵ Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, Frankfurt, 1700, II. 413.

⁶ *Id.* pp. 421, 425.

⁷ Thompson, *Devils*, II., Tablet XI. l. 1 ff.

⁸ *Id.* Tablet 'M', l. 1 ff.

⁹ *Id.* p. 65, l. 1.

¹⁰ King, *Bab. Rel.* p. 181.

¹¹ King, *ZA* xi. 50.

¹² The present writer saw two such at Chokuriki in Asia Minor, written in Arabic against face-ache (see his art. in *PSBA*, Nov. 1910, p. 235).

The distinctively Buddhist demons and spirits of Indian Buddhism, while generally modelled on the type of the Brahmanical, are specifically different from these in their functions, in their appearance as pictured and sculptured, and in their outward symbols. They range from the modes of their prototype Rudra (Śiva) in his destructive mood, through the *asuras*, or Titanic demons, to the *rākṣasas* and *piśāchas*, the most malignant fiends. To these classes may be relegated most of the non-Brahmanical spirits mentioned in the early Buddhist texts or figured in the early sculptures. Some of these supernatural beings, although unknown to Brahmanical texts, may have been local Indian spirits, not necessarily Buddhistic, e.g. the famous she-devil Hārītī. Māra, the personified Evil Principle and tempter of man, presents a close analogy to the Satan of the Bible, although he was not a fallen angel in the literal sense; nor was he, like Ahri-man of the Persians, an antagonist of equal power. Though unknown by that name to the Brahmans, he is manifestly a form of the Indian god of death, Yama (Skr. *mar*, 'to die'), and in other aspects he resembles the god of sensuous desire (*kāma*).

As Buddhism extended its range outside its monastic order and became a religion of the people, it gave greater prominence to these supernatural beings, in which the people implicitly believed, and began to create special divinities of its own. These new divinities and demons it figured in special conventional attitudes, with characteristic symbols, which at once distinguished them from the Brahmanical; and the laity were made familiar with the conventional appearance of the leading ones by means of the frequent sacred plays and masked dances. These various spirits are not classed in any definite systematic order in the Indian Buddhist texts, but they are often enumerated as follows:

(a) *Celestial Bodhisattvas*, of a divine or demoniacal Śaivite type, e.g. Avalokita, and Vajrapāṇi. (b) *Nāgas* and *Mahoragas*, snake-like or dragon beings, resembling clouds, living in the sky or under water, their maidens assuming siren-like shapes, often evil spirits: e.g. Muchilinda, who shielded Śākyamuni under the Bodhi tree at Gaya. (c) *Yakṣas*, genii often friendly to man; e.g. the *yakṣa* Vardhana (= 'Increase'), who was the guardian of Buddha's family and tribe at Kapilavastu. (d) *Aśuras* (lit. 'ungodly' spirits), giant demons, headed by Rāhu, the personified eclipse. (e) *Rākṣasas*, ogre-fiends capable of assuming siren-like forms; *daityas*, *kumbhāṇḍas*, *piśāchas*, and *pretas*, or starveling ghosts, spectres, vampire-ghouls: e.g. Piṅgala. (f) Malignant fiends of hell and the soil.

Many of these evil spirits, like the *daemones* of the Greeks, might become friendly and good genii to their human votaries. The exorcizing or coercing of the actively harmful amongst these evil spirits, by means of certain *sūtras* spoken by Buddha or stereotyped sentences culled therefrom, seems to have been practised from very early times, possibly even from Buddha's own day. The right-hand disciple of Buddha, Maudgalyayana, is generally credited in the early scriptures with having exorcized evil spirits in this way; and the recital of such *sūtras*—the so-called *Paritta*, or '*Pirit*' service—is the most favoured and popular way of combating sickness and misfortune at the present day amongst the 'Southern' Buddhists; whilst in 'Northern' Buddhism such procedure is still more widely developed.

In later times the Indian Buddhist pantheon—itsself an offshoot of the Brahmanical, and living side by side with it—continued to develop along lines similar to those taken by its parent. Thus, in the extreme pantheistic phase it evolved a supreme primordial Buddha-god existing from everlasting to everlasting, the Adibuddha (q.v.). The rise of the devotional spirit, with its craving for personal deities to whom intimate prayer could be addressed—the *Bhakti* phase, resulting in the introduction into Brahmanism of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, and others, with their female

energies (*śaktis*)—was echoed in Buddhism by the creation of a host of celestial Bodhisattvas, male and female, e.g. Mañjuśrī and Tārā. These were able and willing to assist those who invoked them as personal gods (*vidam*); and some of them (e.g. Mañjuśrī) were fiendish in type. Similarly, with the innovations of *Yoga* and the degraded Tantra developments, certain sections of the Buddhists kept pace with these by parallel movements which added to the Buddhist pantheon.

The extreme Tantrik phase termed *Kālachakra*, or 'Wheel of Death,' about the 10th cent. A.D., introduced a rampant demonolatry, with exacting priestly rites, into a religion which in its origin was largely a protest against worship and ritual of every kind. The majority of these demons were monstrous 'king-devils' of the most hideous Śaivite type, with their equally repulsive spouses. The chief were Vajra-bhairava, Saṃvara, Hayagrīva, and Guhya-kāla. Their function was to be tutelaries (*vidam*) to guard their human votary against the attack of the swarms of minor demons, whilst they themselves were to be gained over to perform these friendly offices by the coercing power of Buddhist spells. Certain of them were also specially selected as 'defenders of the faith' (*dharma-pāla*), and also as guardians of particular monasteries and particular sects.

At the present day, such extravagant demonolatry prevails to a greater or less extent throughout the Mahāyāna (or 'Great Vehicle') form of Buddhism in China, Korea, and Japan; but most of all in Tibet (see 'Tibetan' art. below) and Mongolia. The demonolatry of the 'Southern' Buddhists in Burma, Ceylon, and Siam is of the earlier and less rampant type.

LITERATURE.—A. Foucher, *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900-1905; A. Grünwedel, *Mythol. des Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1900; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896; Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, London, 1890; W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, London, 1884; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895; 'Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita, Tārā, etc.', *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 51-59.

L. A. WADDELL.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Celtic).¹—*Introductory*.—In the case of Celtic countries it is not always easy to draw a clear line of distinction between the beneficent and the maleficent types of those supernatural beings that cannot be counted in the ranks of definite individual gods and goddesses. There are, indeed, imaginary beings in Celtic folk-lore that are predominantly of a maleficent disposition; but the majority of these beings are, like human beings themselves, of mixed character. The term 'demon' in English has acquired a precision of meaning, as applied to maleficent supernatural beings, which makes it a difficult term to employ in describing the conditions reflected in the religion and folk-lore of the Celts. Again, the term 'spirits,' so far as the facts of Celtic folk-lore are concerned, must be used in a somewhat wide sense, and, in some measure, its use is bound to overlap that of 'demon,' since it is difficult, in the folk-lore of Celtic countries, to draw very clear lines of distinction between the different types of beings which the Celtic imagination has created. The clearest and broadest line of demarcation, perhaps, that would meet the case would be that separating the actual living beings, both animal and human, which people the visible tangible world of everyday life on the one hand, and, on the other, those unreal beings which are imagined as living normally a life hidden from view in those localities and recesses of the earth which easily lend themselves to concealment (such as caves or hollows, or some supposed subterranean, sub-lacustrine, or sub-marine region), or in islands of the sea (actual or

¹ Cf. throughout, art. CELTS and COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Celtic).

imaginary), or in some wild and inaccessible tract of land, or in the depths of a great forest. Further, the lives and actions of these imaginary beings are pictured as being governed by conditions that may be summarily described as magical—conditions entirely at variance with the facts of human experience, but which have, none the less, occasional points of resemblance to those of ordinary existence. Moreover, the beings which are imagined as living under these abnormal conditions are thought of as endowed with abnormal powers; hence, in the Celtic world, they are viewed as equipped with various forms of magic skill, and are thereby specially associated with those human beings who are thought to have similar endowments. Nor is it always easy to distinguish, among these beings of the Celtic Other-world, (a) those which may be regarded as survivals from primitive Animism, such as the animate 'spirits' of inanimate things; (b) those which are ancient spirits of vegetation; (c) those which are beings imaginatively considered necessary as dwellers in a hypothetical Other-world; and (d) those which are exclusively regarded as the souls of departed human beings. In all parts of the Celtic world, as in other countries, there are ghost-stories, wherein the ghost is viewed as that of a particular human being; but very often the relationship of a ghost to an individual man or woman, whose soul it was, sinks into the background of the story, and the ghost is made to act like some other type of imaginary supernatural being. The various types, both in form and character, often merge into one another.

Again, one of the characteristics of the Other-world of the Celts, which may be said to follow as a corollary from its contrast with the normal world, is that the beings supposed to people it do not, like those of the actual world, keep their own forms, but undergo various transformations. Hence it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between those of animal and those of human form, inasmuch as those of one form may pass into a form that is usually characteristic of the other, and, along with the change of form, there may also be a change of character or disposition. Consequently a being which might appear as a demon, in the English sense of the term, at one time, might at another conceivably be represented in some other form as a benign spirit. In some degree, perhaps, the absence of definiteness of character¹ in question may be the reflexion in Celtic folk-lore of certain human types, which are not unknown in Celtic experience, where qualities that are in the highest degree laudable are combined with others that are glaringly out of harmony with them, as, for example, the combination of a highly temperate and devout life with constant unpunctuality or frequent remissness in the keeping of promises and engagements. The inhabitants of Celtic countries have not, as a rule, been sorted out, during a process of severe and relentless moral drilling, into distinct and fixed ethical classes to the same extent as the inhabitants of some Teutonic lands; and the prevalent ethical conditions in Celtic society are naturally in some degree reflected even in Celtic folk-lore.

Another point, again, which deserves consideration is that, in Celtic folk-lore, the beings whose normal home is the Other-world are far from being rigidly confined to that region, but are represented as coming to view in the actual world either by day or by night—in current folk-lore preferably by night. They are regarded as appearing either

singly or in groups; and those to whom they appear may see them either as solitary spectators or in company with others. They are also represented as entering into various dealings with normal human beings, and among the relations included in folk-lore narrative is that of inter-marriage. Further, just as the beings of the Other-world may enter this world, the men of this world may enter the Other-world, whether by invitation, accident, or invasion. Many Celtic legends, such as *Tochmarc Étaíne* ('The Betrothal of Étaíne') in Irish, and the story of *Pwyll, Pendefig Dyfed* ('Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed'), in Welsh, are largely based upon belief in inter-relations between the two worlds of the type in question. Christian teaching and the spread of education have done much to assimilate the Celtic consciousness, in the matter of belief in imaginary beings, to that of advanced civilization; yet enough of the ancient psychological attitude of the native Celtic mind still exists to enable one to form a fair estimate of the extraordinary hold which this belief must have had upon the mind in ages further back.

1. Celtic demons and spirits in antiquity.—A large number of the names of Celtic deities that have survived (for the most part on inscriptions) are names which occur but once, and consequently they may be regarded as probably the names of local deities or local tutelary spirits. Sometimes the name is clearly identical with that of some town, river, or mountain (see the present writer's list of 'Ancient Celtic Deities,' in *Trans. Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, 1906); in other cases, the origin of the name is unknown. About two hundred and sixty names, which occur only once on inscriptions, have come down to us, and there were at one time, doubtless, many more. Along with these individual names there existed others of grouped supernatural beings, such as (a) the *Bacucei*, of whom Cassian (*Conlat.* vii. 32. 2) says:

'Alios ita eorum corda quos ceperant inani quodam tumore videmus inficisse, quos etiam Bacuceos vulgus appellat, ut semetipsos ultra proceritatem sui corporis erigentes nunc quidem se in quodam fastus gestusque sustollerent, nunc vero velut adclines ad quendam se tranquillitatis et adfabilitas statum communes blandosque submitterent, seseque velut inlustres et circumspicabiles omnibus aestimantes nunc quidem adorare se potestates sublimiores corporis inflexione monstrarent, nunc vero ab aliis se credenter adorari et omnes motus quibus vera officia aut superbe aut humiliter peraguntur experient.

(b) The *Castæci* or *Casteci* are known to us only from an inscription from Caldas de Vizella (*CIL* ii. 2404: 'Reburrius lapidarius Castæcis v.l. [s] m.'). and similarly (c) the *Icotii* or *Icotias* are mentioned on an inscription at Cruvières, Dép. Gard (*CIL* xii. 2902: 'Icotiis'), while (d) the *Dusii* are mentioned by three writers, who all appear to view them as maleficent. The word *dusios* in Celtic probably meant an unclean demon or *incubus*, but the root of the word is not improbably cognate with that of the Greek *δῆς* (where *θ* stands for an original *dh* which would become in Celtic *d*), and suggests that, at one time, the character of these beings was regarded as beneficent or neutral.

The passages relating to the *Dusii* are the following: Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23): 'Quosdam daemones, quos Dusios Galli nuncupant, assidue hanc immunditiam et temptare et efficere, plures talesque adseverant, ut hoc negare impudentiae videatur.' Similarly, Isidore (*Or.* viii. 11, 103): 'Piosi, qui Graece Panitae, Latine Incubi appellantur. . . . Saepe improbi existunt, etiam mulieribus, et earum peragunt concubitus, quos daemones Galli Dusios vocant, quia assidue hanc peragunt immunditiam'; *ib.* 104: 'Quem autem vulgo Incubum vocant, hunc Romano Faunum Ficarium dicunt.' Further, Hincmar (*de Divortio Lotharii*, l. 664, ed. Sirm.) says: 'Quaedam etiam feminae a Dusis in specie virorum, quorum amore ardeant, concubitus pertulisse inventae sunt.'

(e) The *Ifes* are a group of male gods, whose name occurs on an inscription at Dormagen, in the region of Düsseldorf (*Corp. Inscr. Rhenanarum* [*CIR*] 292: 'Ifibus Marcus et Atius v.s.l.l.m.'). that were clearly regarded as beneficent. (f) The *Nervini* or *Nervinae* were probably a tribal group

¹ In the case of the Welsh fairies, for example, the elements of beneficence and maleficence, as the folk-lore stories about them show, are curiously blended in their characters. They are represented as being at times helpful to man, at other times as mischievous and vindictive (see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, vol. I. *passim*).

of beneficent deities or spirits that were connected with the tribe of the Nervii. In one case we have, as the name of a group of deities that were regarded as beneficent, the plural of one of the most widely diffused of Divine names in the Celtic world, namely (g) *Lugoves*, the plural of *Lugus*.

This plural form occurs on the following inscriptions: (1) at Osma, in the territory of the Celtiberi (CIL ii. 2818): 'Lugovibus sacrum I(ucius) L(ucius) Urcio collegio auctorum d(onom) d(edit)' ; (2) at Avenches, in the territory of the Helvetii (CIL xii. 5078): 'Lugoves' ; (3) at Bonn (CIL 466): 'Domesticiis [Lugovibus] . . .

Other beneficent spirits are (h) the *Di Cascae*, who are mentioned on inscriptions as follows:

(1) At Lorsch (CIL 1386): 'Cas[s]ibus pro sa[ute] dd[omi]norum duorum nn[ost]rorum' ; (2) at Ober-Klingen, in Hesse-Darmstadt (CIL 1398): 'Cassibus vota fecerunt) Macellu[s] Faustinu[s] n[er]it[o] p[ro]suerunt' ; (3) at Landstuhl, Pfalz (CIL 1779): 'Diss[ic]ie Cassibus Matuinus v.s.l.m.' ; (4) at Neustadt, on the Hardt: 'Dis Cassibus Castus Taluppe v.s.l.m.'

Another group of beings that corresponded to the type in question was that of (i) the *Di Silvani*, to whom, along with their female counterparts the *Silvane*, there is a reference on an inscription at Barcelona (CIL ii. 4499: 'D[is] d[e]abus) Silvanis M. Antonius Cr[isp]iens v.s.l.m.'). This is the only certain instance of a group of male gods of this name. By far the most common groups of supernatural beings mentioned on inscriptions in connexion with Celtic districts are (j) the *Matres* and (k) the *Matronae*, while there are smaller groups of (l) *Proxinae* and (m) *Iunones*. These 'Mothers' and 'Kinswomen' seem to have been regarded as the protecting deities of various localities; and their worship appears to have been prevalent, not only among the Celts, but also in certain Teutonic tribes (see an article by the present writer on 'Celtic Goddesses' in *CeR* for July 1906, and art. CELTS, vol. iii. p. 280). These goddesses probably represent a very early phase of Celtic religion, and are to be regarded as more akin to groups of spirits (possibly corn-spirits) than to the individualized deities of a later stage. There is a remarkable parallel to them in one of the current Welsh names for a type of beneficent fairy, namely, *Y Mamau*, 'the Mothers,' used in some parts of S. Wales as a name for the fairies in the expression *Bendith y Mamau*, 'the blessing of the Mothers,' and also found in the name of a well-known hill of the Clwydian range, *Y Foel Famau*, 'The hill of the Mothers.' Cf. art. DEM MATRES. To the foregoing may be added (n) the *Niskai* ('water-nymphs') mentioned on the Amélie-les-Bains tablets (COMMUNION WITH DEITY [Celtic], vol. iii. p. 748*).

2. Demons and spirits in mediæval times.—From the foregoing account it will be seen that, in the Celtic countries of antiquity, a belief was held, not only in certain individual gods and goddesses, both local and non-local, bearing names of their own, but also in groups of supernatural beings, who, by the very fact that they were nameless, may be regarded as beings in a sense on a lower plane than the named deities, and so may be fitly included, for the most part, in the category of demons and spirits. How far they may have been considered as the indwelling spirits of inanimate things, or as the spirits of vegetation, or as the souls of dead ancestors, animal or human, it is impossible to say. The Celts, like other nations of antiquity, doubtless believed in the existence of spirits of human beings, which were, in some mysterious way, connected with the breath, the name, and the shadow. Like the Greek *eidô* and the Latin *umbra*, the Welsh term *ysgawd* ('shadow'), for instance, was used for the soul. The more usual Welsh word, however, for the soul is *enaid*, a derivative of the root *an-*, 'to breathe.' In mediæval Welsh this term is constantly used in the sense of 'life,' but the meaning 'soul' is also frequent. There are traces, too (Rhys, *Celt. Folk-*

lore, iii. 601-604), of a belief that the soul might take on the bodily form of some animal, such as a lizard. In the Middle Ages, Christianity had introduced, both into Goidelic and into Brythonic speech, certain terms of Greek and Latin origin, such as *Ir. diabol*, Welsh *diafl* (in a later form *diafol*), from *diabolus*; together with such forms as *Ir. demun*, 'demon,' and Welsh *cythraul*, the latter being derived from Lat. *contrarius* through **contralius* (where *l* has been substituted for *r* by dissimilation). The *Ir. spiorad* (older *spírut*), 'spirit,' and the Welsh *ysbyrd* of the same meaning, both come from Lat. *spiritus*. At the same time other terms of native origin for the supernatural beings of folk-lore survived, such as *Ir. síde* and *aes síde*, 'the fairies,' whence the term *ban síde* ('banshee'), which means literally 'woman-fairy.' The oldest Welsh term used in mediæval Welsh for a fairy is *hud*, together with its derivative *hudol*, in the same sense, for a male fairy and *hudoles* for a female fairy. *Hud* also means 'magic,' and this use of the same term for both fairy-land and magic well illustrates the inseparable connexion, for the Celtic mind, of magic with the Other-world.

In Irish legend there are many allusions to the *síde* (as, for instance, in *Sérlighe Conculaind* ('The Sick-bed of Cúchulainn' [Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, Leipzig, 1880-1905, i. 214 f., 227]); and in *Tochmarc Étaíne* ('The Betrothal of Étaíne' [ib. pp. 120, 131]). In one passage of the latter a fairy domicile (*síd*) is definitely associated with *Brig Léith*, 'the hill of Liath(mac Celtchair)', the Irish counterpart of the Welsh Llwyd, son of Kiloeed, a famous magician, twice mentioned in the *Mabinogion*, and once by the Welsh 14th cent. poet, Dafydd ab Gwilym. In the *Book of Armagh*, the *síde* are called 'dei terreni,' and they appear to have been regarded as dwelling either in hills or on islands such as *Mag Mell*. In the latter case, one of the means of journeying to them was in a ship of glass. Some of the fairies were regarded as male (*fer-síde*), but they were more often regarded as female (*ban-síde*). The legendary characters, *Irish* (*Tochmarc Étaíne*, in Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, p. 121 f.) and Manannán mac Lir (*Sérlighe Conculaind*, 225), were associated with them, and, in the latter story, two of their kings bear the names Fáilbe Find and Labraid. When pictured as women, they were represented as being clothed in white raiment. In the story of Condlia Caem (given in Windisch, *Ir. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 118-120) they are described as wishing to carry off mortal men into their land of perpetual youth, or to marry mortals; thus Étaíne, a fairy princess, married Eochaid Airem, and was carried back later on to fairy-land by Mider, a prince of the fairies. The connexion between the *síde* and the Tuatha Dé Danann of Irish legend is very obscure.

In Irish legend there was one native term for a supernatural being which was apparently always of maleficent import, namely, *siabrae* (*Leabhar na hUídhre*, 113^b 41, 114^a 12, 115^a 32). This word is undoubtedly the phonetic equivalent of the Welsh *hwyfar*—a term no longer used except in the Welsh original of Guinevere, namely, *Gwenhwyfar*, a name which must originally have meant 'the white phantom.' This appellation would suggest that *hwyfar* had not originally in Welsh the connotation of malignity, which *siabrae* seems to have acquired in Irish.

In mediæval Welsh the name *hud* in the sense of 'fairy' is applied in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (Poem xxxiii. l. 17) to Gwyn, son of Nudd (*Gwyn*=*Ir. Find*; *Nudd*=*Ir. Nuada*); and his mistress is said to be Creudriliad, the daughter of Lludd (the Welsh original of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Cordelia, daughter of King Lear). In the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, Gwyn is represented as fighting every first of May until the Day of Judgment with Gwythyr for the hand of Creudriliad. In the poetry of Dafydd ab Gwilym, which reflects the current Welsh folk-lore of the 14th cent., Gwyn is regarded as in some sense the leader of the 'fairies,' since they are called by the poet *Tylwyth Gwyn* ('the family of Gwyn') in two passages. The Welsh picture of fairy-land given by the poet by no means represents it as a 'land of eternal youth,' since among its dwellers are mentioned *guraichod* ('hags'), nor can it be said that the picture given of its inhabitants suggests their beneficent character.

The expression *Y Tylwyth Teg* ('the fair family') for the fairies is found in the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym (middle of 14th cent.), and the term itself would seem to imply that, in the main, their disposition was originally viewed as beneficent and their appearance pleasing, though the poet describes the colour of one of them as brown (*gwynau*). At the same time the allusions to them in Dafydd ab Gwilym well illustrate the statement made at the beginning of the article, that it is difficult to assign a hard and fast type of character to several of the beings of the Celtic Other-world. For example, the

term *pegor*, used for 'a pygmy,' and for the fabulous dwellers in submarine regions (*Bl. Book of Carmarthen*, Poem v. l. 4)—a term found also in Dafydd ab Gwilym (Poem lxx.)—is one of a neutral type; and so is *corr*, 'a dwarf'—a word which occurs several times in the *Mabinogion*. In some cases a *corr* is represented as acting in a brutal and churlish manner (as in the story of *Geraint and Enid*), but in the story of *Peredur* the narrator appears to view the dwarf and his wife sympathetically. The name of the mythical tribe called the *Coraniaid*, in the story of *Lludd and Llewelys*, probably means 'the pygmies,' and they are certainly represented as intellectually acute but morally malicious.

Side by side with these beings of neutral or variable disposition, Welsh folk-lore in the Middle Ages, like that of Ireland, deals with certain types of beings that can only be regarded as 'demons' in the ordinary English sense. The term *ellyll*, for example, appears to be nowhere used in Welsh literature in a good sense.¹ In the Welsh triads (*Oxf. Mab.*, 1887, pp. 305, 306) there are references to *ellyllon* (pl. of *ellyll*), called 'the three forest-demons of the Isle of Britain' and 'the three stag-demons of the Isle of Britain,' but the precise significance of these names is not explained. In some of the instances given, the word *ellyll* is followed by a personal name, as in the phrase *ellyll Gwidawl* ('the demon of Gwidawl'). It is possible that, originally, the term *ellyll*, in expressions such as these, may have denoted a person's 'familiar spirit.' In Dafydd ab Gwilym, *ellyllon* are represented as 'wry-mouthed' (*mingeimion*), as haunting dingles, and as being foul and ill-grown. This picture of them is implied in the description of the owl as *ellylls adar* ('the female demon of birds'). The same writer has another term for a certain kind of goblin or ghost, namely *bubach*—a term which clearly implied an object of terror. He calls his shadow, for instance, 'a goblin (*bubach*) in the form of a bald monk,' while, further, he uses the verb *bubachu* in the sense of 'to frighten as a ghost.' A term used for a kind of female demon by Dafydd ab Gwilym and others is *Y Ddera* (probably meaning originally 'the red one,' *dera* being phonetically equivalent to *Ir. derg*, 'red'). For ghosts, too, the term *gwyllt* appears to be used by this poet (e.g. in Poem clix.), but the more usual mediæval term is *gwyllon*. This term appears to have been used for 'the ghosts of the dead' (*Bl. Book of Carmarthen*, Poem i. l. 35). The departed spirits of warriors seem to have been proverbially associated, even in mediæval Wales, with the Caledonian forest (*ib. l. 36*; also, *ib. Poem xvii. l. 57*). In a Welsh mediæval poet, Llywarch ab Llywelyn (*Mycerion Archaeology*, Denbigh, 1870, p. 212a), there is an allusion to *gwyllt Kaldan* ('the ghost of Caledonia'), as if this were a proverbial expression, and, when Arthur is represented as making an expedition (in the story of *Kuhvach and Olwen*) to the 'wild land of hell,' he is described as going to the North.

The abodes of the supernatural beings here described are, in the main, located in *Annwfn* or *Annwn*—a term most probably derived from *an*, 'not,' and *dwfn* (cognate with *Ir. domun*), 'the world.' The dominant conception of *Annwfn*, therefore, was as a kind of magical counterpart of this world, and the Welsh mind in the Middle Ages associated with it the idea of illusion and want of substantiality. Dafydd ab Gwilym, speaking of a mirror as fragile and perishable, says of it that it was constructed by fairies (*hwdolion*), and other references by him of the same type point in a similar direction. Hence, *Annwfn* appears to have meant 'a world which is no world.' *Annwfn* was usually regarded as being located beneath the earth, but certain poems of the *Book of Taliesin* (14th cent.) appear to regard it as consisting of a cluster of islands, to which Arthur journeys in his ship *Prydwen*. One poem in the same MS calls it 'Annwfn beneath the world' (*is chyd*), and in keeping with this is the description of it by Dafydd ab Gwilym as 'the deep land of Annwfn,' to which the Summer is said to have gone during the months of Winter. According to the story of *Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed*, *Annwfn* was divided into kingdoms, whose boundaries were sometimes streams, as in the upper world. Interrelations and inter-marriage were conceived as possible between the beings of the two worlds, and the boons of human civilization, at any rate in the form of swine, were thought to have come into the actual world from *Annwfn*. The relations, however, between the two worlds were not always necessarily amicable, and, just as heroes from the actual world might make expeditions into *Annwfn*,

¹ In the current folk-lore of some Welsh districts it appears that even an *ellyll* can be conciliated and made to bestow prosperity, if the candle is left burning on going to bed (Wirt Hikes, *British Goblins*, p. 16).

so beings from *Annwfn* might make raids upon this world. Such a raid appears in mediæval Welsh to have been called *gormes* (lit. 'an overflow,' then 'oppression'). Certain raids of this kind are suggested in various parts of the *Mabinogion*; for example, in the carrying away of the infant Pryderi, in the raid upon Teyrnon's foals, in the narrative of Manawyddan and the mice, and in the story of *Lludd and Llewelys*, as well as in the stealing of Mabon, son of Modron, from his mother. In these raids certain fabulous packs of hounds took part, which are sometimes called *Cwn Annwfn* ('the dogs of Annwfn'), and, by Dafydd ab Gwilym, *Cwn gormes* (Poem xlii.). There appear to be no beings of the vampire type among the supernatural beings of Irish and Welsh mediæval legend, but in Breton stories the werewolf (*bisclavaret*) seems to have played a part even in mediæval times.

3. Demons and spirits in Celtic lands to-day.—In the remoter parts of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany there is still a considerable survival of the older psychological attitude, especially in the sphere of the emotions, towards the supernatural beings of which Celtic folk-lore treats. The teaching of Christianity, whether by Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, or other religious denominations, for example, as to the lot of the dead, runs entirely counter to the belief in ghosts that are free to wander at random among the living; nevertheless, the fear of ghosts is a very real terror to many people, after nightfall, in Celtic as in other countries. So far as the period of daylight is concerned, the older frame of mind may, with the exception, perhaps, of the inhabitants of the least progressive Celtic regions, be said to have been completely modified through education and experience. With the advent of darkness, however, this older frame of mind tends to assert itself in consciousness—not, perhaps, so as to produce beliefs which their holder would regard as justifiable, but to a sufficient extent to perturb the emotions, especially in the presence of some uncanny or weird-looking object. In Ireland and the more secluded parts of the Highlands and Islands, there has been, on the whole, less of a breach of continuity with mediæval times than in Wales; and the same may be said of Brittany. Hence the beliefs of the Middle Ages form substantially the ground-work of the present-day attitude towards demons and spirits as it prevails in those regions. The Isle of Man, too, may be regarded as belonging, in the main, to the same psychological zone as Ireland. In the latter it is the 'Fairies' still, as in the Middle Ages, that are the chief supernatural beings of the type here considered; but, side by side with them, there subsists, in Ireland as elsewhere, the belief in the re-appearance of the ghosts of the departed, and also in the appearance of fabulous creatures, such as the *Puca*, the *Leprechaun*, the Water-bull, the Water-horse, and the like (see T. Crofton Croker, *Fairy Legends*). As to Gaelic Scotland, there is abundant material for the student of the modern Celtic mind in Campbell's *Tales of the W. Highlands*.

These tales describe such beings as the *glashan* (the *Manx glashyn*), which was a hirsute sprite that rebelled against clothing, and, in this respect, resembled the *grinnach*, a similar sprite from Skippiness. One of the tales (no. 100) describes an underground world of giants, and an earlier tale (no. 98) similarly points to a belief in gigantic beings. Another tale (no. 38) speaks of a monstrous being called *Rithidh MacCallain*, 'who had one hand growing out of his chest, one leg out of his haunch, and one eye out of the front of his face.' Other tales describe fairies, sleeping giants, flying ladies, mermaids, brownies, and the like, while not a few of the stories speak of such beings as the Water-horse or Water-kelpie (sometimes transformed into a man), the Water-bull, the Water-bird called the *Boobrie* (said to inhabit the fresh-water and sea lochs of Argyllshire), dragons (thought to haunt Highland lochs), and the Water-spirit called the *Vougha*. The Water-bull is generally

represented as the foe of the Water-horse and the friend of man. There are also stories of demons appearing as goats and dogs. It will readily be seen how this mass of Gaelic folk-lore has been coloured by the geographical conditions of the Western Highlands, and what is here true of the folk-lore of the Highlands is true of the folk-lore of all Celtic countries. In the Isle of Man the same essential beliefs are found as in the Western Highlands. The island had her fairies and her giants, her mermen, her brownies, her Water-bulls, and her Water-kelpies or Water-colts. The Water-bull (*tarroo ushtey*) haunts pools and swamps, and is the parent of strangely formed beasts and monsters. The Water-kelpie has the form of a grey colt, and wanders over the banks of the streams at night. The Manx name for a giant is *foavor* (from the same root as the Ir. *fomhor*). For a brownie the Manx name is *fenodyree*, and this being appears to resemble the Welsh *ellyll* in being a hairy and clumsy creature. There are also in Manx folk-lore beings called *glaishtig* and *glaisrig* respectively, the former being a she-goblin, which takes the form of a goat, while the latter is described as a female fairy or a goblin, half-human, half-beast. The nearest approach to a vampire in Celtic folk-lore is the Water-colt, which is thoroughly vicious, and sucks the blood of maidens. Possibly to the Water-colt should be added certain Welsh fairies said to eat infants (Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, ii, 673).

In Wales, the firm stand made against all forms of superstition by the strong Protestantism of the country, especially since Nonconformity has penetrated into every corner of the Principality, has, to a very great extent, shattered to pieces the mental attitude towards the Other-world which we find so clearly represented in the *Mabinogion* and in *Dafydd ab Gwilym*; but in remote districts, such as the Lleyn district of Carnarvonshire and the Welsh parts of Pembrokeshire, as well as in the more secluded portions of other counties, the old spirit still prevails among the unlettered, and not a few people retain a kind of working belief in the beings that may be roughly classified as demons and spirits. The spirits of the dead (called *bwganod* and *ysbrydion*) are still feared in such districts,¹ and tales concerning them abound. Every uncanny-looking portion of a lane has its ghost, and from caves they are rarely absent. Fairies are still known in most regions of Wales as *Y tylwyth teg*, but the term *Annwn* has gone out of use, except in the expression *Cwm Annwn*, 'the dogs of Annwn.' In Pembrokeshire, fairies were even in the 19th cent. supposed to attend the markets at Milford Haven and Laugharne. For ghosts the term used in some districts is *bwgan*, while in others the terms in use are *bwci* and *bwbach*. It is not improbable that one old term was *buga*, which is found in the Welsh name of the town of Usk in Monmouthshire—*Brynbuga*; while, in Glamorganshire, the name seems to take the form *bica*, found in the farm name *Ty Fica* ('the house of Bica'). The Welsh word *coblyn*, used especially of the sprites that are thought to haunt mines, is merely a modification of the English 'goblin'; while *pucca* is simply the English *Puck*—a name found as that of the glen of *Cwm Pucca*, a part of the vale of the Clydach in Breconshire. *Ellyllion* are still thought to haunt groves and valleys, and *bwyd ellyllion* ('demons' food') is the Welsh name for the poisonous toad-stool, just as *menyg ellyllion* ('demons' gloves') is a name for the foxglove. The term *ellylltan* ('demons' fire') is also used for 'the will-o'-the-wisp.' In the Lleyn district of Carnarvonshire a certain fiery apparition is said to take the form of 'a wheel within a wheel of fire.' The relation of fairies, sprites, and goblins with human beings are described in various folk-lore tales, for which the reader may consult the works of Sir John Rhŷs and Wirt Sikes (see Literature at end of art.).

Among the names used for certain of the supernatural beings here under consideration are *Bendith y Mamau*, 'the mothers' blessing'; *Gwagedd Annwn*, 'elfin dames'; *Plant Annwn*, 'elfin children'; *Plant Rhys Ddafn*, 'the children of deep Rhys'; *Gwraeth y Rhibyn*, a kind of Welsh banshee; *Cyhyraeth*, a kind of dreadful and doleful moan in the night, proceeding from an invisible source; *Tolaeth*, the imitation of some earthly

sound, such as sawing, singing, or the tramping of feet; *Cwm y Wybr* (also known as *Cwm Annwn*), dogs that haunt the air; *Aderyn y Corph*, a bird which appears as a foreteller of death; *Toeth*, a phantom funeral; *Y Fad Felen*, the yellow plague; and *Nallt y nos*, a night-fiend.¹ Among the forms which the Welsh imagination has assigned to spectres have been a fiery ball, a black calf, an ass, a dog, a round ball, a roaring flame, a bull, a goose, a mastiff, a gosling. One type of female demon is described as being 'a hideous creature with dishevelled hair, long black teeth, long, lank, withered arms, leathern wings, and a cadaverous appearance.' The appearance of this being was always regarded as an omen of death. In Welsh folk-lore, as in that of the Gaelic world, there are stories of water-monsters, more especially of the *afanc*, which is usually regarded in Wales as a kind of crocodile, but which was originally, in the opinion of Sir John Rhŷs, a kind of monster in human form, as is suggested by the Irish cognate *abhae*.

In Wales, as elsewhere where a belief in demons and spirits is found, certain effective barriers could, it was thought, be placed to their malevolence and capacity for mischief. One check to them was piety, others were the possession of a black-handled knife (iron being a source of great terror to fairies), the turning of one's coat inside out, the pronunciation of the Divine name, the crowing of a cock, change in one's place of residence, and—last but not least—a barrier of furze, through which, on account of its prickly nature, it was thought that fairies and similar beings could not penetrate. In Brittany substantially the same conceptions of demons and spirits prevailed as in Wales; but, while Welshmen have to a great extent abandoned the attitude of intellectual assent to the legends in question, the more conservative Breton, with his closer attachment to mediæval conditions, is still often haunted by them, and probably will be for a long time to come. In Wales, it is not impossible that, before very long, these ancient relics of primitive belief will be things of the past; but in the remoter parts of Ireland and Scotland they will probably linger on for many generations.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Chinese).—The two words *kwei shen* (variously translated 'demons and spirits,' or 'demons and gods'—the variation indicating a vexed question in the tr. of Chinese religious terms) together make up a binomial phrase such as does duty in Chinese for a general term, and may be taken as denoting all the inhabitants of the spiritual world, the various objects of religious worship and superstitious fear.

The spiritual world lies very near to the average Chinaman. Signs of his belief in its influence on his daily life are frequent; and it gives one at times a shock of surprise to find, as may happen in a casual conversation, that one's interlocutor—a well-read scholar or shrewd merchant—holds firmly by conceptions of it which are to oneself grotesque. Its nomenclature is fairly extensive, but not precise. Nor is it easy to describe the spiritual world in any very orderly or consistent fashion. Allowance must be made not only for differences in local superstitions, but also for the intermingling of diverse strains of thought in the more generally

¹ There is no trace in the Welsh literature or folk-lore of any belief that the dead bodies themselves rise from their graves and haunt the living.

¹ In Carnarvonshire one particularly malevolent type of demon is called *Y Bodach Glas*, 'the blue goblin.'

diffused religious conceptions. While it is possible that Chinese religion started from a pure monotheism, we have no record of any such time. In the most ancient books the worship of Shang-ti is accompanied by the worship of natural objects, of the spirits of ancestors, and of the worthies of former times. All these elements have been continued and developed.

In the popular religion of to-day, the worship of spirits immanent in, or in some vaguely conceived way connected with, natural objects, takes a much larger place than can possibly be taken by the worship of Shang-ti, confined as this is to the Emperor. The number of such spirits is, strictly speaking, indefinite. In virtue of the spiritual efficacy connected with it, anything—rock, tree, living creature—may become an object of worship. No extraordinary feature in the object is necessary to call forth this religious observance—a whole town has been known to go after a common viper found in a bundle of firewood. Among the commonest signs of the recognition of such spiritual powers bound up with natural objects are the votive tablets frequently seen suspended from the branches of trees, and the small pillars which are erected alongside graves and inscribed to the spirit of the soil, in acknowledgment of his property in the site of the grave. Some such acknowledgment is due to the local genius, on any interference with what is supposed to be under his control. It is a moot question whether the spirit of the soil is one only, identified with Hou-t'u, one of the ministers of Huang Ti (2698 B.C.), or whether there are not, rather, at least in the popular mind, many local geni.

Alongside of such spirits, and at the lower end of the scale of spirits hardly to be distinguished from them, are the supernatural beings called *hsien*, *yao*, *kuei*, *ching* ('fairies,' 'elves,' 'goblins,' 'sprites'), of various kinds, harmless, or, more usually, mischievous and malevolent. Every locality has its own traditions with regard to such beings. In Swatow the morning watch is not sounded because of a 'kelpie' (*yao-ching*) in the harbour, which on hearing the watch-drum was wont to carry off any early-stirring inhabitant. Of living creatures it is said that in the south of China the serpent, and in the north the fox, are those round which belief in supernatural powers has mostly gathered. In general it is said that birds and animals when they grow old become sprites (*ching*). The fox, for instance, increases in supernatural qualities with increase of years, and possesses different powers at fifty years of age or a hundred or a thousand. Even of trees it is said that by long absorption of the subtle essences of heaven and earth they become possessed of supernatural qualities.

Besides these supernatural beings, and wholly impersonal, are the maleficent influences called *sha*. They move, like physical forces, in straight lines, and can be warded off in various ways, as by earthenware figures of lions set on the roof of a house or in other positions of vantage, or by a stone or tile placed at a road-end and inscribed with the 'Eight Diagrams' (see COSMOGONY, etc. [Chin.]), or with words intimating that, as a stone from the Thai mountain, it will resist the evil influences.

According to Chinese etymology, the word *kuei*, 'demons,' is connected with a word of similar sound meaning 'to return,' and a *kuei* is accordingly defined as the spirit of a man which has returned from this visible world to the world invisible. 'Alive a man, dead a *kuei*' is a proverbial saying. In such use of the word *kuei* we must remember that nothing derogatory is implied, and that 'departed spirit' rather than 'demon' is the proper translation. There seems to be no possibility of making consistent with themselves the various popular Chinese views

of the spiritual nature of man and his state after death: to determine, e.g., the relation of the *kuei* to the three souls which each man possesses, according to Taoist teaching, or, according to another theory, to the twofold soul which dissolves at death into its component parts. In any case, existence in some fashion after death is assumed. Whether such existence is necessarily or in all cases immortal, it is not easy to determine. Taoism may teach an eternity of punishment; but, on the other hand, there is a word *chi*, which means the death of a *kuei*.

Kuei (manes) are to be honoured in the appropriate way; and, as otherwise evil may be expected from them, fear has a large place in present-day ancestral worship. Each family worships the *manes* of its own ancestors. *Manes* otherwise unprovided for are placated by public rites, particularly by 'the feast of desolate ghosts,' the '*kuei* feast,' on the 15th of the 7th moon. All *kuei* are more or less objects of dread; but in particular the *kuei* of a wronged person may be expected to seek revenge ('the wronged ghost impedes the murderer's steps'), and the *kuei* of evil men are evil *kuei*. According to one popular representation, the other world is for the Chinaman at least a replica of the Chinese Empire with similar social gradations, however, allotted otherwise than in this upper world; and mourning relatives may be comforted by a soothsayer's assurance that the meritorious deceased has been appointed by Yü Ti a mandarin of such and such a grade in the shadowy double of this or that Chinese city. Moreover, however difficult to work in consistently with other views, the doctrine of transmigration holds a large place in a Chinaman's theory of the relation between the unseen world and this.

While a *kuei* is, strictly speaking, a departed spirit, it is hardly to be supposed that all the innumerable *kuei* imagined to be active in this world or as retributive executioners in the infernal regions are of this origin. Perhaps what we might distinguish as ghosts and demons are alike called *kuei*. The Chinese generally are obsessed by the fear of *kuei*. These are supposed to abound everywhere, and to be specially active at night. Any untoward happening or uncanny sound—particularly any sound that is thin and shrill—is ascribed to them. Many houses are reported to be haunted by *kuei* because of misfortunes befalling their inmates. There are appropriate ceremonies for the placating of offended *kuei*, who in such cases are addressed euphemistically (e.g. *Shêng jên*, 'Sagely person'); and they can also be controlled by charms of Taoist origin.

The spiritual world is peopled from the human race not only by 'departed spirits' but by inhabitants of another grade called *hsien*. This name is applied not only to the fairy-like beings mentioned above, but also to those of mankind who 'by a process of physical or mental refinement' have raised themselves to the rank of immortals.

Finally, as in ancient times sages and worthies were worshipped as tutelary spirits (e.g. Hou-t'u), so has it been in later times. 'The gods (*shên*) of to-day are the men of ancient times' is a common proverb. Thus the Chinese pantheon has been filled with canonized worthies (such as Kuan Yü [A.D. 219], canonized as Kuan Ti, god of war; and the magician Chang, canonized as Yü Ti, who is practically the chief god of the Taoist religion); and not only with such, but also with an ever-increasing number of gods of all kinds and grades. 'The pope does not canonize on so large a scale as the Emperor of China' (Legge, *Rel. of China*, p. 184). These are the idols of China whose temples and images are everywhere to be seen.

While the multiplication of deities and the pervasive dread of demons are mainly connected with

the Taoist strain in Chinese religion, the influence of Buddhism has been potent in its development. 'The religion of Taoism was begotten by Buddhism out of the old Chinese superstitions' (Legge, *op. cit.* p. 201). Directly Buddhist elements are also of course present. *Shen, kuei, hsien, fo* ('gods,' 'demons,' 'genii,' 'Buddhas') are the four orders of beings superior to man; and, to instance from both the upper and the nether regions, Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, and Yen Wang, the King of Hades, are both of Buddhist extraction.

One extraordinary feature of the Chinese view of the spiritual world is the power believed to be exercised over its inhabitants by the Taoist priesthood, and specially by the Taoist pope, the spiritual successor (by the soul's transmigration) of Chang Tao-ling (A.D. 34). Demons and spirits unobedient to ordinary Taoist spells are subject to him; and from him protection against them may be purchased. In a case reported to the present writer, a merchant in Chao-Chow-fao, whose house was haunted by a spectre, went several days' journey to see the pope, and for \$200 purchased relief from the spectre's presence; for \$300 he might have had it recalled altogether from the world of men.

Mention should be made of demon possession, where the subject is possessed by a demon causing disease or madness, and of spirit-mediums inspired by an idol-spirit and who utter oracles in his name.

As an illustration of the incoherence of the whole spiritual system of the Chinese, it may be noted that, while the Emperor is the source of canonization, the exposition of the seventh maxim of the Sacred Edict not only brands Buddhism and Taoism as heretical, but pours scorn on their pretensions and superstitions, and casts doubt on the existence of Yü Ti himself.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Christian).—I. IN THE EARLY CHURCH TO COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (A.D. 451).—It is stated by Origen (*de Princip., proem.*) that the Primitive Church did not lay down any definite doctrine with regard to the nature of the angels. The Church, however, he tells us, asserts their existence and defines the nature of their service as ministers of God for the purpose of promoting the salvation of men (*ib.*). Other early writers are not equally reticent. Some information concerning good and evil spirits may be gained even from the earliest Christian writers.

1. Apostolic Fathers.—(a) *Clement of Rome*, exhorting those to whom he writes to zeal and well-doing, points his readers to the example of the whole host of God's angels who stand by, ministering to His will (*Ep. i. ad Cor. xxiv. 5*).—(b) In *Ignatius* we find the statement that the heavenly beings (*επουράνια*), including the *δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων*, will receive judgment if they believe not in Christ (*Smyrn. 6*). There is a further reference in *Trall. 5*, where Ignatius claims to be able to understand the heavenly things, and the dispositions of the angels.—(c) In the *Letter of the Smyrnaeans on the Martyrdom of Polycarp*, it is stated that the martyrs 'gazed with the eyes of their heart on the good things reserved for those that endure, but already shown to them by the Lord; for they were no longer men, but already angels' (*Mart. Polyc. ii.*). It is also said in the same chapter

1 It should be noted that in the longer recension the latter passage is amplified in a manner consistent with the more developed doctrine of pseudo-Ignatius (cf. *Ap. Const. viii. 12*), while the former passage is omitted as possibly inconsistent with his doctrine.

that they were condemned to their torture that the devil might, if possible, bring them to a denial, for he had tried many wives against them (cf. also the Prayer of Polycarp, *ib. xiv.*).—(d) Passing to *Hermas*, we find that, in answer to his inquiry as to the nature of the six young men who are building, he is informed that they are the holy angels of God who were created first, and to whom the Lord delivered all His creation, to increase and to build it and to be masters of all creation (*Vis. iii. 4*). The doctrine of guardian angels is also taught by *Hermas*. Each man has two angels, one of righteousness and one of wickedness. He deals with this question at some length, and states that good works are inspired by the angel of righteousness, evil works by the angel of wickedness (*Mand. vi. 2*).—(e) In a quotation from *Papias*, preserved by Andreas Cæsariensis (c. A.D. 520), we find an obscure reference to the work of the angels:

'To some of them (*ἐπαθὺ τῶν ἀγγέλων*) He gave also to rule over the ordering of the earth, and He charged them (*ἐπαγγέλλεν*) to rule well.' The words in the first brackets are, in Routh's opinion, the insertion of Andreas (cf. *Reliq. Sacr.*, 1814-18, i. 14, and the notes, where a further passage is quoted from Cramer).

2. The Apologists.—We find a number of passages in the writings of Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Irenæus bearing on the subject.

(a) *Justin*.—The most important of these is the well-known passage in 1 *Apol. § 6*, where, in refuting the charge of atheism, Justin says:

'But both Him (sc. the Father) and the Son who came forth from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels, who follow and are made like unto Him, and the prophetic Spirit we worship and adore.'

The insertion of the angels among the Persons of the Trinity is unique, and is possibly to be explained by the fact that we frequently find 'angel' as a title of the Son (Tixeront, *Hist. des dogmes*, i. 243). With this passage should be compared the *Dial. c. Tryph. § 128*, in which the existence of angels is asserted and their relation to the Logos discussed. In 2 *Apol. § 5*, Justin defines the functions of the angels, stating that 'God committed the care of men and all things under heaven to angels whom He set over these' (*ἐταξεν*). He then accounts for the existence of evil in the world as the result of the transgression of angels, who had 'transgressed the Divine appointment (*τάξιν*), and by sinful intercourse with women produced offspring who are demons.' These demons 'subdued the human race to themselves' and 'sowed among men all manner of wickedness.' He proceeds to identify the demons who were the offspring of the fallen angels with the heathen gods. Justin is the earliest authority for the cultus of angels (cf. the first passage quoted above, *σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν*). To the passages already quoted may be added *Dial. c. Tryph. § 88*, in which the free will of the angels is asserted, and § 57, where it is said that, of the three men who appeared to Abraham, one was the Logos and the other two angels.

(b) *Tatian* denies the material nature of demons, asserting that their constitution (*σύνθεσις*) is spiritual, as that of fire or air. He also states that their nature is incapable of repentance (*Orat. 15*, cf. 12, 20). The ministry of angels in the government of the universe is also alluded to by the writer of the *Ep. to Diognetus*, vii.

(c) *Athenagoras* defines the office of the angels as being that of exercising the providence of God over things ordered and created by Him. God has the general providence of the whole; particular parts are assigned to angels (*Apol. 24*). In the same chapter he writes at some length of the fall of certain of the angels, and identifies the giants mentioned by the Greek poets with their illicit offspring. He speaks of one angel in particular (Satan) who is hostile to God, and discusses the difficulty of this belief. He states that Satan is

a created being like other angels, and is opposed to the good that is in God. In another passage he asserts that it is the demons who incite men to worship images, being eager for the blood of sacrifice, these images having no particular relation to the persons they represent (*ib.* 26; see further reference to the work of the angels at the end of ch. 10).

(d) The writings of *Irenæus* contain a large number of passages dealing with the angelology of the Gnostics, which he refutes. He is himself of opinion that the angels are incorporeal beings (*adv. Hæc.* iii. 22), and, in opposition to the Gnostics, states that the Christian does (*facit*) nothing by their invocation (ii. 49. 3). He alludes to the fall of the angels, and refers to the domination of Satan and the deliverance of man from his power (iii. 8. 2; cf. also v. 21, § 3, and 24, §§ 3, 4).

3. **Greek Fathers.**—The doctrine of good and evil spirits was greatly developed by the Alexandrian writers *Clement* and *Origen*. In the writings of the latter, especially his commentaries on Scripture, numerous references are to be found to the functions of angels and demons. The notion of the guardian angel, already noted in *Hermas*, is here especially developed. He assigns to each nation its guardian spirit, basing this view upon his exegesis of Dt 32^{6c}, where he follows the text of the LXX (ἐκτίσεν θεὸς ἑθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεῶν). But God reserved Israel to Himself for His own inheritance, appointing the angels as guardians of the nations. The power of these angels was broken by Christ at His coming, and hence they were moved to anger, and in turn stirred up persecution against the preachers of the gospel (*Orig. in Joh.* xiii. 49). Origen understands literally the 'angels of the churches' of the Apocalypse; he boldly (*audacter*) refers to the angels of churches as their invisible bishops ('per singulas ecclesias bini sunt episcopi, alius visibilis, alius invisibilis; ille visui carnis, hic sensui patens' [*hom.* xiii. in *Luc.*, ed. Lommatsch, v. 131]). Each individual has also his guardian angel, to whom is entrusted the soul of the believer when received into the Church by baptism. By him it is protected from the power of the devil; but, if it falls, it loses the protection of its guardian and comes under the power of an evil angel. The angels present the prayers of the faithful to God, rejoice at their progress, correct their failings, and intercede for them before the throne of God. He states, however, that they should not be worshipped or invoked (*c. Cels.* v. 5). *Clement* appears to have some doubt as to whether individuals possess guardian angels in the same sense as nations and cities possess them (*Strom.* vi. 17). But in other passages he lays stress on their work of intercession for men (*cf. Strom.* v. 14, vii. 12, and iv. 18, vii. 13). Under the influence of Neo-Platonic ideas, the Alexandrian Fathers assert that there is a double activity—a higher dealing with spiritual things, a lower with the material order; and that in both of these the angels of God are employed. Origen clearly expresses the view that the world has need of angels, who are placed over animals, plants, and elements (*hom.* xiv. 2 in *Num.*).

The following passages in Origen may also be consulted: *de Princip.* i. 5, § 1, *c. Cels.* iv. 29, v. 4, 5, 48, 58, viii. 31, 32, 34, *de Orat.* 6, 23, 81, in *Levit.* hom. ix. 8, in *Num.* hom. xi. 4, xx. 3, in *Exek.* hom. xiii. 1, in *Ps.* xxxvii. hom. i. 1, in *Luc.* hom. xii. xxiii.

4. **Later Greek writers.**—There are a number of references in the Cappadocian Fathers to the nature and functions of angels. Concerning their nature there appears to have been some difference of opinion. (a) *Basil* held that their substance (*οὐσία*) was ethereal spirit or immaterial fire (*de Spir. Sanct.* § 38).—(b) *Gregory Nazianzen* is doubtful (*Orat.* xxxiv. 16).—(c) *Gregory of Nyssa*

declares them to be entirely spiritual (*in Orat. Dem.* hom. iv.).—(d) Many references are contained in the writings of *Chrysostom*. He asserts that their nature is superior to ours, but cannot be accurately comprehended by us (*de incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, v. 3). They are possessed of an incorporeal nature (*ἀσώματος φύσις*), and he rejects on this account the earlier interpretation of Gn 6² (*in Gen.* hom. xxii. 2). According to Basil, the sanctity of the angels is due to the activity of the Holy Spirit (*op. cit.* § 38). They are less liable to sin than we are (*δυσκλῆτοι*), but not incapable of it (*ἀκλῆτοι*). This is proved by the fall of Lucifer, whose sin was envy and pride. These Fathers assign guardian angels to individuals, churches, and nations. Basil is, however, of opinion that the guardian angel is driven away by sin 'as smoke drives away bees and a bad odour doves' (*hom. in Ps.* xxxiii. 5). *Gregory of Nyssa* is the only Greek Father who follows *Hermas* in the view that every man has both a good and a bad angel as his constant companion (*de Vita Moysis*). Angels are described as overseers (*ἐπόροι*) of churches. *Gregory Nazianzen* addresses a special farewell to these *ἐπόροι* on his departure (*Orat.* 32, *sub fin.*; cf. Basil, *Ep.* ii. 238). They are the guides (*παίδευτοί*) of the just, and lead them to eternal blessedness (*Bas. de Spir. Sanct.* xiii.; *Chrys. in Ep. ad Coloss.* hom. i. 3, 4). It would appear that *Cyril of Jerusalem* was of opinion that certain of the fallen angels had obtained their pardon (*Cat.* ii. 10; cf. also Basil, in *Ps.* xxxii. 4; *Gregor. Nyss. contra Eunom.* hom. x.; *Greg. Naz. Orat.* xxxiv. 81; *Joh. Chrys. in ascens. Dom.* 1, *de laud. S. Paul.* *Ap.* hom. ii. sermo 43, in *Gen.* hom. iv.).

5. **Latin Fathers.**—(a) We find in *Tertullian* a number of references to spirits, good and evil. Like Origen, he connects the ministry of angels with the sacrament of baptism. According to this writer, the baptismal water receives its healing properties from an angel (*de Bapt.* 4). Furthermore, the actual purification effected in baptism is due to a spirit who is described as 'angelus baptismi arbitrer', who prepares the way for the Holy Spirit ('non quod in aquis spiritum sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati sub angelo, spiritui sancto praeparamur' (*ib.* 5, 6)). Marriage which has received the blessing of the Church is announced by the angels and ratified by the Father (*ad Uxor.* ii. 9). The angels, looking down from heaven, record the sins of Christians; for example, when they are present in the theatre, where the devil is working against the Church (*de Spectac.* 27). A more detailed account of the work of the angels and demons will be found in *Apol.* 22, where they are stated to be spiritual substances. *Tertullian* alludes to the fall of the angels, corrupted of their own free will, from whom sprang the race of the demons. Of the former, Satan is the chief. They are the source of diseases and all disasters. They delude men into idolatry in order to obtain for themselves their proper food of fumes and blood. Both angels and demons are ubiquitous; both are also winged. These spiritual agencies are invisible and not to be perceived by the senses. On the question of the bodily forms of the angels, see *de carne Christi*, 6.—(b) The concern of the angels in human affairs is referred to by *Firmilian* in a letter to *Cyprian* (*Ep. lxxv. inter Cyprian.* 1; cf. *Euseb. HE* v. 23).—(c) The doctrine of *Lactantius* is peculiar. Before the creation of the world, God produced a spirit like to Himself (the Logos); then He made another being in whom the disposition of the Divine origin did not remain. This being, of his own will, was infected with evil, and acquired for himself another name. 'He is called by the Greeks *δαίμονος*, but we call him *criminator*, because he reports to God the faults to which he

entices us' (cf. the Jewish appellation, *Satan*, שָׂטָן, 'the accuser'; Lactant. *Divin. Institut.* ii. 9).

At this point some MSS of Lactantius insert a passage which is regarded by the best authorities as spurious, and in which the origin of the devil and the ministry of angels are treated in a Manichean fashion. Here it is stated that, before the creation of the world, God made two spirits, themselves the sources of creation—the one, as it were, the right hand of God, the other, as it were, His left hand, and eternally opposed to each other. These two spirits are the *Logos* and *Satan*. The fall of the angels and the origin of the demons, who are divided into two classes, are described in ii. 15, and in the same passage the latter are identified with pagan deities (cf. also *Epitome*, 28; *Instit.* iv. 8; and, on the devil, iii. 29, vii. 24–26).

(d) Later Latin Fathers, such as Ambrose and Jerome, were of opinion that the angels were created before the material world (cf. Ambrose, *de Incarnat. Dom. Sacr.* 16; Jerome, in *Ep. ad Tit.* 12). Some difference of opinion exists among them about the interpretation of Gn 6², Jerome appearing to regard the spirits as possessed of bodies (cf. in *Ezech.* 28¹⁶); Ambrose, on the other hand, agrees with Hilary in the statement that they are 'spirituales et incorporeales' (cf. Ambros. in *Luc.* vii. 126; Hilary in *Ps.* cxxxvii.). The sin of Satan, according to Jerome and Ambrose, was pride (cf. Ambros. *de Virgin.* i. 53, in *Ps.* 118, serm. 4. 8, 7. 8, 16. 15). The views of the Latin Fathers with regard to guardian angels are similar to those which we have already encountered in the writings of the Greek Fathers. Numerous references to this subject will be found in their commentaries and homilies, where it is stated of nations, churches, and communities that each possesses its guardian angel.

See esp. Jerome in his com. on Ec. 5⁹, where he says that 'the things which are said pass not into the wind, but are straightway carried to the Lord, a praesenti angelo qui unicuique adhaeret comes.' Other references will be found in Jerome, in *Dan.* 7⁸, Mic. 6¹⁻², the last-named passage being of special interest. See also Ambros. in *Ps.* 118, serm. 3. 6, and Hilary, in *Ps.* lxxv. 13, cxxxii. 6, cxxxiv. 17.

Jerome is among the earliest of Latin writers to call attention to the diversity in the orders of spirits, comparing the angelic hierarchy with the organization of the officials of the Empire (cf. esp. *adv. Iovin.* ii. 28, *adv. Ruf.* i. 23). Ambrose has a passage which bears upon the cultus of the angels, whom he appears to place on a level with the martyrs, and whose invocation he warmly recommends (*de Viduis*, ix. § 55).—(e) Already in Eusebius a distinction is found between the worship (σέβειρες) due to God alone and the honour (τιμῶντες) paid to the angels (*Præp. Ev.* vii. 15; cf. also *Dem. Ev.* iii. 3, *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 13).—(f) Finally, for this period the writings of Augustine may be consulted, especially the *de Civ. Dei*, in which the angels play no small part. They form the heavenly City of God, and this part of the Holy City assists that other part here below: 'hanc [sc. Civitatem Dei] angeli sancti annuntiaverunt qui nos ad eius societatem invitaverunt civesque suos in illa esse voluerunt' (x. 25). The angels minister alike to Christ, the Divine Head of the mystical Body, who is in heaven, and to the members of the Body who are on earth. Thus it is in the Church that the angels ascend and descend according to the words of Scripture.

'This is what happens in the Church: the angels of God ascend and descend upon the Son of Man, because the Son of Man to whom they ascend in heart is above, namely the Head, and below is the Son of Man, namely the Body. His members are here; the Head is above. They ascend to the Head, they descend to the members' (*Enarr. in Ps.* xlv. 20).

Augustine states that the angels are spirits of an incorporeal substance, 'invisibilibus, sensibilis, rationalis, intellectualis, immortalis' (cf. *ps.-August. de Cognit. veræ vitæ*, 6). The designation 'angel' refers to the office, not to the nature, of these spirits (*Enarr. in Ps.* ciii. serm. 1. § 15). Angels received at their creation, from the Holy Spirit, the gift of grace, and it is possible that, in the case of those who did not fall, they received also the assurance of perseverance (*de Civ. Dei*, xii. 9. 2, xi. 13). Augustine refuses to identify the 'sons of

God' (Gn 6) with the angels (*ib.* xv. 23). The sin of the fallen angels was pride. The fall of Satan occurred at the very beginning of his existence, and the good angels have enjoyed the vision of the Word from the first moment of their creation (*de Gen. ad Lit.* ii. 17, xi. 21, 26, 30). The office of the evil angels is to deceive men and to bring them to perdition (in *Ioan.* tract. cx. 7). They occupy themselves with the practice of divination and magic (c. *Academ.* i. 19, 20). But the power of these evil spirits is limited; God employs them for the chastisement of the wicked, for the punishment of the good for their faults, or even for the purpose of testing men (*de Trin.* iii. 21, *de Civ. Dei*, xi. 23. 2). Augustine asserts that the good angels announce to us the will of God, offer to Him our prayers, watch over us, love us, and help us (*de Civ. Dei*, vii. 30, x. 25; *Ep.* cxl. 69). They are even entrusted with the care of unbelieving nations (*Enarr. in Ps.* lxxxviii., serm. i. 3). He also, like Origen, affirms that to them is committed the charge of the material world, 'iubente illo cui subiecta sunt omnia' (*de Gen. ad Lit.* viii. 45 ff.). It should, however, be noted that Augustine does not assign a guardian angel to each individual.

It has been suggested that this is due 'to his doctrine of predestination, which precludes the constant ministration of a particular guardian angel, though it leaves room for the ministry of angels as mediators between God and the faithful' (Turmel, quoted by Kirsch, *Communism of Saints in the Ancient Church*, Eng. tr., p. 246 f.). It may be mentioned in support of this view, that Cassian, the great opponent of the doctrine of predestination, following Hermas, attributes the choice between the good and evil angelic counsellors to man's free will (Cassian, *Collat.* vii. 17; cf. also vii. 12, 18).

Augustine does not favour any cultus of the angels: 'honoramus eos caritate non servitute' (*de Vera Relig.* iv. [110]). They do not desire our worship, but rather that with them we should worship their God and ours (*de Civ. Dei*, x. 25). With regard to the order of the angelic hierarchy and the signification of the titles attributed to the angels, Augustine declares himself to be entirely ignorant, and appears to discourage speculation on this subject (*Enchir.* 15; *ad Orosium*, 14). (See Tixeront, *Hist. des dogmes*, ii. 372–376; Kirsch, *op. cit.* pt. iii. ch. 5.)

Conclusion.—The evidence of the passages cited above may be summarized as follows. The earliest Fathers of the Church, acquainted with the angelology and demonology of Scripture and of Jewish apocalyptic literature, all affirm or imply the existence of spirits good and evil. At a very early period, as we can see from the writings of Hermas, the doctrine of good and evil angels appointed to watch over individuals and institutions had already been adopted, and we may trace a steady development of this doctrine in the writings of both the Greek and the Latin Fathers, while it is probable that later speculations on this subject were greatly influenced by the writings of Origen. Opposition to Gnostic speculation led earlier writers to insist on the fact that angels and demons were created beings, while some writers refuse to allow to the former any part in the work of creation. Difference of opinion seems to have existed as to the nature and constitution of angels and demons, though the majority of writers appear to have regarded them as incorporeal spirits. A further difference is seen in the exegesis of Gn 6¹⁻². The earlier writers more usually identify the 'sons of God' with angels; later writers frequently reject this interpretation. The legend of the fall of the angels, and the person of Satan especially, led later writers to indulge in speculation as to the problem of evil and the relation of evil spirits to God. It would appear that the majority at least of later writers held the view that angels were capable of sinning, being possessed, like men, of free will. There are some traces of the beginnings

of a cultus of the angels which, according to some authorities, may be traced back as far as Justin Martyr, and which appears to be clearly taught in the writings of Ambrose. It is probable, as may be gathered from Irenæus, that the dangers of the cultus became apparent during the Church's struggles with Gnosticism. During this period we find very little about orders or numbers of angels. This subject, as well as the dedication of a church by Constantine to the archangel Michael, will be best discussed in the next section.

II. FROM THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON TO A.D. 800.—During this period we have especially to observe two points: (1) the development of the cultus and invocation of the angels, and (2) the elaborated and systematic doctrine regarding the orders of spirits.

1. Cultus of angels.—We have already noted a passage in the writings of Justin Martyr which possibly implies a cultus of the angels, and another in Ambrose where their invocation is directly recommended. On the other hand, Irenæus appears definitely to oppose both invocation and worship, and a writer so late as Augustine explicitly teaches that they should find no part in Christian worship. The statements of Origen have led some authorities to regard him as favourable, though there are passages in his writings where the cultus is explicitly condemned. To the authorities cited we may add canon 35 of the 4th cent. Council of Laodicea, in which Christians are forbidden 'to forsake the Church of God, and go away and name (ὀνομάζειν) angels, and to form assemblies, which is unlawful' (Hefele, *Hist. Conc.*, Eng. tr. ii. 317). But the passage is of doubtful meaning, and it should be observed that Dionysius Exiguus renders ἀγγέλους by *angulos*. The canon goes on: ἐλ τις οὖν εὐρεθῇ ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα. This canon was known to Theodoret, who refers to it twice (*Ep. ad Col.* 2^o 3rd). In the former of these passages he states that this disease (πάθος) is still to be found in Phrygia and Pisidia.

This view is supported by certain inscriptions discovered in that neighbourhood, among which may be included the following: Ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαὴλ ἐλέησον τὴν πόλιν σου καὶ τὴν ἀσπὶν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ †: 'Archangel Michael, have mercy on thy city and deliver it from evil' (for these inscriptions, see Dom Leclercq's art. in *DACL*, s.v. 'Anges,' col. 2086).

In the latter passage, Theodoret again quotes the canon of Laodicea, as forbidding prayer (εὐχέσθαι) to angels. One other passage in this writer may be referred to, viz. *Græc. Affect. Cur.* 3, where, in answer to the pagan objection that Christians also worship other spiritual beings besides God, he answers that Christians do indeed believe in invisible powers, but do not render to them worship (σέβας, προσκύνησις). He states that these beings are incorporeal and, unlike the pagan deities, sexless, and that they are employed in worshipping God and furthering the salvation of man. The evidence of Theodoret with regard to the cultus of angels and churches dedicated to them is supported by Didymus (*de Trin.* ii. 7-8), who says that churches are to be found in both towns and villages, under the patronage of angels, and that men are willing to make long pilgrimages to gain their intercessions. The earliest historic reference to the dedication of a church to an angel is to be found in Sozomen (*HE* ii. 3), where it is stated that Constantine erected a church, called the Μιχαήλιον, not far from Constantinople. The reason of the dedication was that the archangel Michael was believed to have appeared there. In the West we find instances of the dedication of churches to the archangel Michael at least as early as the 5th cent. (see *DACL*, vol. i. col. 2147). St. Michael is the only angel of whom we find a commemoration in the calendar before the 9th century. Various festivals of this angel are to be found in different

calendars, but they appear in all cases to be the anniversaries of dedications of churches. This was the case with the festival of the 29th of September, still observed in the West, which commemorated a church, long since destroyed, in the suburbs of Rome on the Via Salaria (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 276). Five masses for this festival (then kept on the 30th, not the 29th) are found in the earliest Roman service-book, the Leonine Sacramentary (ed. Feltoe, pp. 106-108). In the prayers contained herein are found clear references to the invocation and cult (*veneratio*) of angels.

In the Second Council of Nicea (A.D. 787), which dealt with the iconoclastic controversy, the question of the nature of the angels was discussed. At this Council a book, written by John, bishop of Thessalonica, was read, in which the opinion was advanced that angels were not altogether incorporeal and invisible, but endowed with a thin and ethereal or fiery body. In support of this view John quotes Basil, Athanasius, and other Greek Fathers. He expresses the same view with regard to demons, and states that Christians both depict and venerate angels. These views appear to have met, on the whole, with the approval of the Council, which sanctioned the custom of depicting angels and venerating their images (Conc. Nic. ii. act. v.). By the action of this Council it would appear that the cultus of the angels, which had originated before the beginning of the period under consideration as a private devotion, and had met with considerable opposition from various ecclesiastical writers, formally received the sanction of the Church, and may henceforward be regarded as part of the *doctrina publica*.

2. Orders of spirits.—We must now turn to the consideration of the angelic hierarchy. We have seen, in the earlier period, that occasional references were made to this subject by some Fathers, but that a writer so late as Augustine had not only declared his ignorance of the subject, but had apparently discouraged speculation thereon.—(a) The first writer who definitely elaborated the subject was *pseudo-Dionysius* (c. A.D. 500), and his detailed classification and description of the spiritual hierarchy may probably be regarded as the basis of all subsequent speculation both in the East and in the West. The outline of his scheme is as follows. He divides the celestial hierarchy into three orders (τάγματα), and further subdivides each of these into three. Thus the first order comprises: (1) θρόνοι, (2) χερουβίμ, (3) σεραφίμ; the second: (4) κυριότητες, (5) ἐξουσίαι, (6) δυνάμεις; and the third: (7) ἀρχαί, (8) ἀρχάγγελοι, (9) ἄγγελοι. It is impossible here to enter into any detailed description of the theory of the Areopagite concerning the functions of the angelic hierarchy. It may suffice to state that it is a hierarchy of illumination, the highest rank being nearest to God, the lowest nearest to man. Cf. esp. *de Celest. Hier.* 10, § 2: 'Now all angels are interpreters of those above them. . . the most reverend, indeed, of God who moves them, and the rest in due degree of those who are moved by God.' It would appear that the members of each triad are on an equality with each other, being distributed into a first, middle, and last power. In this manner Is 6th is interpreted, where it is stated that the seraphim cry one to another, 'indicating distinctly, as I think, by this, that the first impart their knowledge of divine things to the second' (*ib.*).

(b) In the West the classification of the Areopagite is closely followed by *Gregory the Great*, who affirms the existence of nine orders of angels, viz. Angeli, Archangeli, Virtutes, Potestates, Principatus, Dominationes, Throni, Cherubim, Seraphim (*in Evang.* lib. ii. hom. xxiv.). In the same work a number of other passages occur dealing with the ministry of angels, the explanation of

the names and the offices of the different orders of angels, and the manner in which we may profit by the imitation of the angels, together with certain other points of lesser interest. References to evil spirits will be found in the same author (cf. *Moral. iii. passim*).

(c) Finally, *John of Damascus*, who in his writings so frequently shows traces of the teaching of the Areopagite, follows the latter in his classification of the celestial hierarchy (*de Fid. Orth.* ii. 3). In the same passage he gives a description of the angels, in which he defines a number of points which, as we have seen, had been matters of controversy, both before and during the period under discussion. The definition is as follows:

'An angel, then, is an intellectual substance, always mobile, endowed with free will, incorporeal, serving God, having received, according to grace, immortality in its nature, the form and character of whose substance God alone, who created it, knows.'

It may be said that at the close of this period something like a general agreement had been reached about the nature and functions of spirits, good and evil, and it remains only to discuss some further elaborations which we encounter in the mediæval period.

III. FROM A.D. 800 TO THE REFORMATION.—During the mediæval period, speculations concerning the nature of good and evil spirits are constantly to be found in the writings of the schoolmen. These, for the most part, consisted in the application of mediæval dialectic to the statements of Scripture, the opinions of Augustine, and the schematization of the Areopagite, whose works had been translated by John Scotus Erigena, and obtained great popularity throughout the West (Bardenheuer, *Patrology*, Eng. tr. 1908, p. 538). It is impossible here to enter into details about the nature of these speculations, and it seems most convenient to illustrate their general trend from the writings of certain representative theologians. In spite of the diversity of opinion, it should be observed that the first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215) made certain clear and definite statements with regard to spiritual beings, and their relation to God, without apparently, however, terminating the disputes of later theologians on this matter. It is stated that

'God is the Creator of all things, visible and invisible, spiritual and corporeal, who of His own omnipotent power *simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spiritualement et corpoream, angelicam videlicet et mundanam, ac deinde humanam quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam*. The devil and other demons were created, indeed, good by God, and became bad of their own accord (*per se*). Man sinned by suggestion of the devil.'

As we have said, this decree appears to have failed to produce unanimity of opinion among the schoolmen, and the subject remained, as Harnack remarks, 'the fencing and wrestling ground of the theologians, who had here more freedom than elsewhere' (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., vi. 186). But on many points we discern a general agreement. Thus, with regard to guardian angels, all held that each man from his birth possessed a guardian spirit, and that this applied also to sinners, while some asserted this even of Antichrist himself. Evil spirits, on the other hand, tempt and incite men to sin, though it should be observed that even the power of the devil was held to be subject to the limitation that he cannot affect the free will or spiritual knowledge of man, but can approach him only through his lower nature (so Albertus Magnus, *Summæ Theol.* pt. ii. tract. 6; see also Bonaventura, in *Sent.* 2, dist. 11, quest. 1, and Alb. Mag. *ib.* tract. 9). But the question of the substance, essence, endowments of grace, peccability, modes of cognition, and individuation of the angels, as well as certain other problems, still remained in dispute.

(a) *Peter Lombard* († 1164), the first systematic

theologian of the West, devotes ten sections of the second book of the *Sententiæ* (dist. ii.-xi.) to the subject of good and evil spirits. In his teaching he follows the Areopagite, and deals, among other things, with the questions of the nature, creation, free will, fall, and peccability of angels, and the relation of demons to magical arts; he also discusses the question whether Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel are the names of orders or of individual spirits, and whether each man has a good and bad angel assigned to him; and concludes with a discussion as to the possibility of progress of the angels in virtue.

(b) In the numerous references to good and evil spirits contained in the writings of *Bernard*, two passages are especially worthy of notice. The first is contained in the *de Consideratione* (v. 4), where the angels are described as

'cives [Jerusalem matris nostrae] . . . distinctos in personas, dispositos in dignitates, ab initio stantes in ordine suo, perfectos in genere suo, corpore aetherios, immortalitate perpetuos, impossibiles, non creatos sed factos, id est gratia non natura, mente puros, affecta benignis religionis pios, castimoniam integros unanimitate individuos, pace securos, a Deo conditos, divinis laudibus et obsequiis deditos, hæc omnia legendo comperimus, fide tenemus.'

In the long passage which follows we find a disquisition on the angelic hierarchy, which closely follows that of the Areopagite. In the second passage (serm. v. in *Cant.* § 7), Bernard enumerates some points which he feels unable to resolve:

'The Fathers appear to have held various opinions on such matters, nor is it clear to me on what ground I should teach either opinion, and I admit my ignorance; neither do I consider a knowledge of these things to conduce to your progress.'

The points in dispute refer to the nature of the bodies of the angels: it is asked whether their bodies are part of themselves, as is the case with men, or assumed for purposes of revelation. On guardian angels, see in *Ps.* 'qui habitat,' serm. xii. 2; serm. vii. in *Cant.* § 4; on the devil and evil angels, see in *Ps.* 'qui habitat,' serm. xiii.; *de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, cap. vi. § 18.

(c) *Anselm*, who may justly be regarded as the pioneer of speculative theology in the Middle Ages, is probably the first Western writer to apply with any fullness the processes of the Aristotelian dialectic to the traditional teaching of the Church about good and evil spirits. These play a somewhat important part in his remarkable system, especially in the elaborate arguments of the *Cur Deus Homo*, where it is suggested that man was created for the purpose of completing the number of the angels, which had been diminished by the fall of the devil and his companions. This opinion Anselm rejects, saying that the human race is made for itself and not merely to replace individuals of another nature (*Cur Deus Homo*, i. 18). In the long discussion which follows concerning the number of the angels, and whether the number of the elect will exactly correspond with the number of those that fell, Anselm admits a diversity of opinion, and concludes that it is permissible to hold any view that is not disproved by Scripture. Cf. also *de Casu Diaboli*, cap. 4, where the cause and manner of the Fall are discussed. On the angels, cf. *de Fide Trin.* 3.

(d) In order to present a clearer view of the Scholastic doctrine of good and evil spirits, it will be best to give here a brief summary of the teaching of *Thomas Aquinas* on this subject, where we probably find it in its most developed form. This is contained in the 'Tractatus de Angelis' which is comprised in *Questiones* l. to lxi. of *Pars prima* of the *Summa* :—

Angels are altogether incorporeal, not composed of matter and form; exceed corporeal beings in number just as they exceed them in perfection; differ in species since they differ in rank; and are incorruptible because they are immaterial. Angels can assume an aerial body but do not exercise

the functions of life. Thus they do not eat *proprie*, as Christ did after His resurrection. Angels can be localized, but cannot be in more than one place at the same time. The substance of angels is not pure thought, because, in a created being, activity and substance are never identical. Similarly the *esse* of angels is not pure thought. They have no sensory cognition. Their cognition is objective—not, however, through determinations in the object, but through innate categories. The cognition of the higher angels is effected by simpler and fewer categories than is that of the lower. Angels by their natural powers have knowledge of God far greater than men can have, but imperfect in itself. They have a limited knowledge of future events. The angels are possessed of will, which differs from the intellect in that, while they have knowledge of good and evil, their will is only in the direction of the good. Their will is free, and they are devoid of passion. The angels are not co-eternal with God, but were created by Him *ex nihilo* at a point in time (this is strictly *de fide*); their creation was not prior to that of the material world (the contrary opinion is here permitted). The angels were created in a state of natural, not supernatural, beatitude. Although they could love God as their Creator, they were incapable of the beatific vision except by Divine grace. They are capable of acquiring merit, whereby perfect beatitude is attained; subsequently to its attainment they are incapable of sin. Their beatitude being perfected, they are incapable of progress.

Concerning evil spirits, Aquinas' teaching is briefly as follows. Their sin is only pride and envy. The devil desired to be as God. No demons are naturally evil, but all fell by the exercise of their free will. The fall of the devil was not simultaneous with his creation, otherwise God would be the cause of evil. Hence there was some kind of interval between the creation and the fall of the demons. The devil was originally the greatest of all the angels; his sin was the cause of that of the other fallen angels, by incitement but not by compulsion. The number of the fallen angels is smaller than that of those who have persevered. The minds of demons are obscured by the deprivation of the knowledge of ultimate truth; they possess, however, natural knowledge. Just as the good angels, after their beatification, are determined in their goodness, so the will of the evil angels is fixed in the direction of evil. The demons suffer pain, which, however, is not of a sensory character. They have a double abode—hell, where they torture the damned, and the air, where they incite men to evil.

(e) The foregoing will give some idea of the teaching of the scholastics on the nature of spirits in its developed form. Many other questions were raised which it is impossible to discuss here; but one further instance may be given, *viz.* the speculation as to the manner in which angels hold communication with each other. This matter is treated by Albertus Magnus and Alexander of Hales. This communication is effected immediately, and the speech of the angels is described by Albertus Magnus as 'innuitio,' by Alexander of Hales as 'nutus' (cf. Alb. Magn. *Sum. Theol.* 2, tr. 9, quest. 35, m. 2; Alex. Hal. *Summa*, pt. ii. quest. 27, m. 6).

(f) Finally, we may quote one 14th century authority, namely, Tauler († 1361), who, though, like his contemporaries, he follows the Dionysian classification of spirits, yet expresses himself with much reserve about the nature and character of angels. The following passage is contained in his sermon on Michaelmas Day:

'With what words we may and ought to speak of these pure spirits I do not know, for they have neither hands nor feet,

neither shape nor form nor matter; and what shall we say of a being which has none of these things, and which cannot be apprehended by our senses? What they are is unknown to us, nor should this surprise us, for we do not know ourselves, viz. our spirit, by which we are made men, and from which we receive all the good we possess. How then could we know this exceeding great spirit, whose dignity far surpasses all the dignity which the world can possess? Therefore we speak of the works which they perform towards us, but not of their nature.'

With regard to the development of the cultus of the angels during this period, the following observations may suffice. Dedication of churches to angels and especially to St. Michael became far more common, both in the East and in the West. With regard to festivals of angels we find special offices in the mediæval breviaries by which the unofficial cultus of the angels obtained formal recognition. The names of individual angels are encountered in many litanies, and, finally, the cultus of the guardian angels received official sanction when a feast in their honour was instituted (October 2nd) after the Reformation. No doubt the introduction into the formal liturgy of the Church lingered behind the practice of popular devotion, in this as in other matters.

In conclusion, we may remark that, at the Reformation, Protestant theologians retained their belief in good and evil spirits; even maintaining that the former intercede for mankind, but forbidding any invocation. This belief, based on Scripture, underwent considerable modification in the 18th cent., which witnessed many and various attempts at rationalization in different directions. The beginning of the 19th cent. was marked by a revival among Protestants of the belief in angels expressed 'in a philosophic and idealizing sense' (Hagenbach, *Hist. of Doctrines*, iii. 193, 334 f.). It may be said that among modern writers of this school the whole subject has ceased to excite any interest either speculative or practical. In the Roman Church we cannot detect any change in belief or practice concerning the existence of good and evil spirits, though we may point to certain indications of a tendency to discount the subtleties of mediæval speculation on the subject (Liebermann, *Instit. Theol.* lib. iii. cap. 2, art. 1, in vol. iii. p. 280). In the Anglican Church the belief in angels has the fullest liturgical recognition, though the subject is hardly dealt with in her formularies. The invocation of angels was defended by some of the Caroline divines: the practice of dedicating churches to angels has remained unbroken. In the Book of Common Prayer the 29th of Sept., still known in the Roman calendar as the 'Dedicatio Sancti Michaelis Archangeli,' has become the feast of St. Michael and All Angels.

The comparative lack of interest felt in the whole question of the existence and nature of good and evil spirits may be explained by reference to the fact that, while belief in the existence of such spirits is generally accepted by Catholic theologians, there is still to be found a strong reaction from the excessive speculation of scholasticism.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Coptic).—The beliefs of the Coptic Christians on the subject of demons and spirits were derived from those of their pagan predecessors in the Græco-Roman period (see 'Egyptian' art. below), and show interesting traces of Gnostic influence. In spells to ward off the attacks of devils the designations of the sons are given, and the mysterious magical names of the spirits are recited, confused in true Gnostic fashion with the Hebrew appellations of the Deity. Here is a typical invocation :

'Pantokrator Iaō Sabaōth Mōneous Soneous Arkēous (?) Adonai Iaō Elōi, who is in the Seventh Heaven and judgeth the evil and the good : I conjure thee to-day, thou that providest for me the twenty thousand demons which stand at the river Euphrates, beseeching the Father twelve times, hour by hour, that He give rest unto all the dead.'

Here we have the Gnostic spirit Iaō confused (naturally enough) with the Deity (Jahweh), but he is not the Deity who is appealed to later on as 'the Father.' However, Iaō Sabaōth in Coptic spells is hardly to be distinguished from the Deity. Good spirits are invoked as

'ye who are upon the northern and eastern sides of Antioch. There is a myrtle-tree, whose name is the Achelousian (*sic*) lake which floweth from beneath the throne of Iaō Sabaōth.'

This is a very curious confusion of classical Hades-allusions with the Gnostic-Christian throne of Iaō-Jahweh. For the rest, it is the usual gibberish of the medicine-man. The names of the Deity and those of the angels are often confused : Emmanuel appears as the name of an angel, with Tremouel and Abraxiel ; the last has a very Gnostic sound.

Chief among the good spirits were, of course, the archangels—sometimes four, sometimes seven : 'those who are within the veil' (*καρὰ τὴν αἴθρα*). Each man had a guardian angel, who specially protected him against evil. With the angels are invoked also the cherubim and seraphim, and the four-and-twenty elders, and even the four beasts that uphold the throne of the Father. These were all conceived as objective spiritual beings, to be invoked in prayer against evil. The names or descriptions of the spirits had to be known, or they could not be invoked : some appear named after the letters of the alphabet, others are merely 'those who come up with the great stars that light the earth.' This is a very old Egyptian touch, and reminds us of the ancient dead who were thought to walk among the stars, the *akhmu-sek*.

Among the evil spirits we find, of course, Satan, whose name in one case is Zēt—an interesting survival of the name of the old Egyptian Typhonic god Set. Fate (*Μοῖρα*) seems to occur as an evil demon. Disease was thought to be largely due to the attacks of devils, and especially so in the case of epilepsy. It has been conjectured, with probability, by Crum (*Catalogue of the Coptic MSS in the British Museum*, 1905, p. 253, n. 9) that the name *ἐπιληψία* has been corrupted into the name of a female demon, Aberselia, Berselia, or Berzelia, who appears in an Ethiopic transcription as Werzelyā. Berselia was apparently regarded as a flying vampire, and classed in Coptic vocabularies as a kind of bird. A demon of the mid-day heat appears in the Ethiopic versions of the 'Prayer of S. Sisinnius,' with the 'Werzelyā' mentioned above (references in Crum, *loc. cit.*).

Magical charms (*φουλακτῆρια*) against the attack of demons were common enough. They were usually written on slips of parchment and enclosed in a little leather box, generally tied to the arm or, no doubt, hung about the body just as the modern charm of the Egyptian *fellāh* is worn. The contents are usually vague invocations, as has been seen. One of the finest is the MS Or. 5987 of the British Museum (published by Crum,

op. cit. 1008), from which excerpts have been given above. Cf. art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).

The usual Coptic word for a demon or spirit, good or evil, is *īḥ*, which is the Old Egypt. for a good spirit. The term *hik*, for an evil spirit, which is the same as Old Egypt. *hekau*, 'magic' or 'enchantment,' occurs occasionally. The appellation *refšaar*, 'sunderer,' 'divider,' is a tr. of the Gr. *διάβολος*, which is itself often used in Coptic. For 'angel' the Gr. *ἄγγελος* is used.

LITERATURE.—In addition to that cited in the text, see list of authorities appended to art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).

H. R. HALL.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Egyptian).—1. Scope of the article.—The delimitation of an investigation on the subject of demons and spirits presents no little difficulty in religions which are of so distinctly animistic a character as those of Egypt. In the first place, we cannot divide the subject and study angelology and demonology separately, because spirits are never good or bad by constitution or in their origin ; this aspect is of relatively secondary formation or date (see DUALISM [Egypt.]). In the second place, the various kinds of demons or spirits of the dead, although in very many cases their characteristics, powers, attributes, and dwelling-places are identical with those of the other spirits, really belong to a different category from the latter (see below, § 9 ; and cf. art. STATE OF THE DEAD [Egypt.]). Lastly, with such a vast array of demons, properly so-called, as we have in Egypt, a short account like the present can give only the general characteristics, while, as to particular personifications, it can mention only the principal ones whose active and definite rôle is witnessed to by texts or representations. In a world in which all beings and objects possess a 'demon' or 'demons,' we must confine our attention to those which are of special importance in the life of the gods or of men.

2. Pre-historic demons and spirits.—Our information on the earliest period is preserved in the earliest texts (numerous chapters of the Book of the Dead), some of them going back even to pre-historic times (as the funerary chapters of the proto-Theban coffins, certain parts of the celebrated ritual of 'the opening of the month,' and especially the Pyramid Texts). The chief demons and spirits in these are called sometimes *biu*, sometimes *khui* (see below). The meaning of the special terms by which they are designated is very difficult to state accurately. Of the significance of such terms as *afau*, *utenu*, and *ashmu*, we must admit that as yet we have no precise knowledge. The passing allusions in a very few texts seem to indicate that they were conceived under the form of 'devouring spirits,' troops of monkeys, lizards, and hawks. These are, in any case, survivals of the most ancient periods. The same is true of the jackal-demons (Pyramid of Pepy II., line 849). The higher and lower 'Beings of Sit' lead us to suppose a classification of spirits into heavenly and earthly. The *rokhitu* are, according to the texts, both spirits full of wisdom and personifications of the powers opposed to (and vanquished by) Egypt or the gods of Egypt. There is much discussion as to the best translation of this word. The present writer thinks that the French word *malin*, 'mischievous,' might be taken as an exact equivalent of the Egyptian term with its double meaning. The *urshu* play a somewhat more definite part of 'watchers.' They are bands of demons who watch, lie in wait for, keep their eyes upon. This function has followed naturally from the ordinary evolution of meaning : from having simply designated an individual characteristic, neither good nor bad,

it has become a protective function of a specially determined group of men or a locality, heavenly or earthly. The *hunmamit* are often mentioned; they even figure in a number of representations that have not yet been noticed—if, as the present writer suggests, it is indeed figures of these spirits that are carved on several parts of the sacred furniture (tabernacles, shrines of the sacred barque, supports for vases or utensils of worship), represented in a number of temple bas-reliefs and in frescoes of Theban tombs. They have hardly ever been studied, except by Budge (*Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 159), who quotes, without approving, the view that they are the great flock of souls of future generations. This view does not seem sufficiently borne out by the texts. The *hunmamit* of the primitive cults seem rather to have been swarms of spirits of a beneficent character, in the sense that they watched over the safety of the sun, at the time when the religious world consisted of innumerable bodies of spirits and an impersonal sky-god with no precise attributes, and when the various heavenly bodies (even the most important ones, like the sun) were entrusted to the care of spirits, who directed their movements, defended them, repulsed their enemies, etc. In the historical period, the power and individuality of the gods proper were detached from the mass of spirits, and left a more and more vague rôle to all the demons of this category. The *hunmamit* are also often confused, in the Theban texts, with the sun's energy, and are, it would appear, its effluences or rays. Some also become angel-choirs, traditional accessories, and practically a simple *motif* of ornamental symbolism attached to certain objects of ritual and worship. They may be compared, from this point of view, with various angels and spirits of Oriental angelology, such as, e.g., the cherubim (*q.v.*).

An important class of demons is made up of the 'spirits' (*biu*) (1) of Pu and Dapu, (2) of the East and the West, (3) of Khimunu, (4) of Nekhen, and (5) of Heliopolis. The polytheism of the historic period reduced these spirits also to the rôle of simple attendants, who hailed the sun when it rose (or the king on his coronation, etc.), carried the litters of the Divine *bâri*, and performed other humble or vague functions (see below). Theology has made several attempts to assimilate them to secondary gods of the pantheon with proper names (e.g. Book of the Dead, 'Chapters on knowing the *biu* of . . .'). These explanations at least enable us to reconstruct several of the phases of their original function, of which the geographical symmetries (earthly or heavenly) are a survival. These demons were once the guardian genii of the geometrical divisions (two or four) of the universe; they supported the mass of the firmament at its extremities, and welcomed or destroyed the souls of the dead as they arrived at the borders of the earth. Their stellar rôle also seems to have been considerable; they inhabit certain constellations, or the sanctuaries on earth that are the magical counterparts of those regions of the heavenly sphere. Sometimes they inhabit a special region of the firmament (e.g. the *biu* who inhabit, in the territory of Heliopolis, the 'Abode of the Combatant,' the magical representation of this celestial abode); sometimes they escort certain heavenly bodies (stars or planets), whose guardians they are, across the vault of heaven. Polytheism makes these bodies divine persons, and reduces them to the position of devotees of the sun. Finally, theology confuses them more and more with the various 'souls' of the gods, employing the evolution in meaning of the word *biu* itself. A great number of these spirits are classed together under the vague title of 'followers of

Hor,' whence the priesthood deduced more and more lofty funerary meanings in relation to the lot of the dead.

The historic period, however, preserves a fugitive rôle for them on certain occasions of immemorial tradition, just as the material part of the cult continues to reproduce their images. The 'spirits' of the North and South become a sort of heraldic representation of the forces of the world considered as composed of two halves, or they are transformed into genii guarding the frontiers of Egypt, the sum of the whole earth. They play a part also in several incidents in the coronation of the king. Other spirits, as the 'demons' of one of the Anubis, regarded as a constellation of the Northern world (cf. Brugsch, *Rel. und Myth.*, Leipzig, 1884-1888, p. 671), perhaps the Great Bear (cf. the jackal-demons mentioned above), or as the genii of other parts of the astral world, reappear as figures in the mysterious ceremonies of the royal coronation or the jubilee (see Naville, *Festival Hall*, London, 1892, pl. ix.-xi., for specimens of these figures, whose mystical value has been very much exaggerated by modern writers). As a general rule, however, their rôle is a purely traditional one, and their exact nature does not seem to have been early understood.

Besides the innumerable representations of *biu* and *rokhitu* in statues, statuettes, bas-reliefs, frescoes, etc., several other spirits have left material traces of their former rôle in parts of sacred furniture, on which they are seen as traditional figures, symbolic or even purely ornamental. The most characteristic are certain animal figures on sacred vessels and on some of the statuettes traditionally placed on board the sacred barques used in processions to convey the Egyptian gods, in representations of their journeys in the other world. Thus the 'griffin,' which is found on the bow of all the barques of solar gods, seems to have been one of these spirits before it became confused with the 'warlike soul' of the god; and the same may be said of the birds that are placed in rows on the bow of the boat of Râ (cf. the boats of el-Bersheh), or those on the strange boat of Sokharis (a good example in the temple of Deir el-Medineh). The interpretations of these figures as the 'followers' or as the 'souls' of the god are of later date, and represent two attempts to adapt them to developed beliefs. They seem really to be a survival of the time when these groups of 'demons' had an active share in the general direction of elementary forces. The predominance of 'functional epithets' serving as collective names for the majority of these demons is perhaps one of the most significant facts in this connexion.

The whole question of these groups of spirits calls for an exhaustive study, which would yield the most ancient form of Egyptian religious thought that could be attained, and would also explain the development of forms of this kind (similar to those of certain religions of modern savage Africa) into polytheisms proper. Such a study should be joined logically with an account of primitive Egyptian religion, comprising both the animistic manifestations of all kinds of 'spirits' and the existence of a sky-god similar to the god postulated in so many parts of the continent of Africa. This vague, primordial god—who, however, has no demurgical functions whatsoever—is found in Egypt in two parallel forms, proceeding from two great local systems of mythology: (1) the sky-god Hor, and (2) the sky-goddess Nuit (subdivided even earlier into the day-sky, Nuit, and the night-sky, Naut). A foundation might be found in the data supplied for one part in the very remarkable work of Budge in his *Gods of the Egyptians* (see *Lit.*).

3. Historic period: number, aspects, forms.—The Egyptian terrestrial and ultra-terrestrial worlds are naturally peopled with an infinite number of demons and spirits. But, if we look closely, we find that this body of spirits is not so great as that of many other religions. It shows neither the abundance of the Chaldaeo-Assyrian religions or of Mycenaean demonology (see Pottier, *BCH*, 1907, p. 259), nor even the crowd of devils and spirits of Vedic religion. The number of 4,601,200 demons, given in ch. lxiv. of the Book of the Dead, is a *ἄραξ λεγόμενος* which does not correspond with any teaching or fact of any importance. As a matter of fact, ancient Egypt has not, to our present knowledge, left any of those terrible lists of demons and spirits which we find in so many other countries.

These legions of beings, generally invisible, but always provided with material bodies, are per

ceptible to men at certain times, or to those who can fortify themselves with the necessary charms and formulæ. Their size does not seem ever to have been a question of interest to the Egyptians. No text mentions giants, though one passage in the Book of the Dead speaks of demons 'twelve feet high' (ch. xliv.), this modest figure being evidently the *summun*. None of the numerous paintings of demons of the under world makes them any larger than the men or beasts of the terrestrial world, except in the case of a certain number of serpents (where, however, as a rule, we are dealing with allegorical or symbolical serpents). Nor do any of the ancient texts make allusion to extraordinary dimensions. The difference between Egyptian and Oriental religions in this respect is noteworthy.¹ Another difference also is the absence in Egypt generally of the monstrous or hideous forms which are very characteristic of the majority of demonologies known to us. Most of the demons of the 'hours of hell' are wild beasts, reptiles, lizards, human forms with black bodies (*shades* [?]); these forms are more especially the 'enemies of Râ'), or somewhat colourless combinations of animal and human forms. The demons who frequent the way to the other world in the Book of the Dead are especially serpents, crocodiles, and monkeys. (The gigantic insect *abshait* [cockroach?] is chiefly an artifice of the artist to show up the traits of this enemy of the dead.) There is only one monster—with a lion's tail, the body of a monkey (?), and the face of a bearded man—which has some claim to a terrifying appearance (Book of the Dead, ch. xxiii.). The demons of the 'seven-headed serpent' type of the Pyramids are a very unimportant exception. Finally, the fantastic animals of the desert—winged lions with hawks' heads, wild beasts with serpents' heads, with winged heads placed on their backs, etc.—are not, as we have said, *afrit*, or demons. It was actually believed that such beings existed in distant parts, as well as the lion with human head, the prototype of the Sphinx. The spirits, good and bad, attached to the celestial world, have usually the form of birds. The *rokhitu* are represented as a kind of hoopoe still existing in Upper Egypt; the *biu* have hawks' or jackals' heads—a relic of the time when they moved under the complete forms of these very animals; other *biu* are entirely birds; the *hunnamit* are either birds or men with birds' heads; and the evil demons proper, the enemies of Râ (see below) are simply serpents, antelopes, gazelles, crocodiles, or anthropoids.

4. Classes, localities, and attributes.—In the absence of demonologies composed by the Egyptians themselves, we may form a material estimate of the principal kinds of 'spirits' and their functions in *historical* Egypt from the following very condensed account, adopting the somewhat rough, but clear, classification of spirits according to the region they inhabit—the sky, the earth, the other world. This classification has the further merit of being that used in the earliest epochs by the incantation formulæ of the magicians, and there is, therefore, a possibility that it corresponds, to a certain extent, with the divisions imagined by the Egyptians themselves.

(a) *The celestial world*.—Several of the pre-historic groups already mentioned persist, but with a much less important position, and more and more confused with souls or manifestations of the gods. A certain number of spirits not mentioned above appear in the representations, but are absorbed in a subordinate or momentary

¹ The Giant Monkey, Gigantic Crocodile, and Great Hippopotamus of the Theban texts (cf. Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, Manuel de Hiérarchie, Paris, 1883) are terms designating at this time constellations, and not stellar spirits, as, indeed, shown by their representations in the astronomical ceilings.

function, e.g. the bands of dog-headed monkeys who attend the sun at its rising and setting—a theme popularized in thousands of papyrus-vignettes, in temple bas-reliefs, and in the magnificent obelisk statues of Luxor, the temple of Maut, and the great temple of Ipsambul of the Theban period; the rowers of Râ's barque in the 9th hour of his voyage round the world; and the jackals that draw this barque at the 11th hour. In the rôle of all these anonymous troops of demons we have a clear survival of the time when they played a prominent part in the direction and protection of the heavenly bodies, each controlling a definite part of the firmament, and to this point also a study of primitive Egyptian religion ought to devote special attention.

The material fact that these spirits and others of the same type were carried to the under worlds in the sun's journey is a simple artifice of Theban theology, and Maspero (*Myth. archéol.* ii, 34 ff.) has shown that these different under worlds, compiled in actual geographical order, are a product of local mythologies which really describe the world of night and the celestial world.

The groups of very feeble demons and spirits which are devoured by the stronger ones (Pyramid Texts) are not mentioned in the texts or drawings of the historic period. No doubt the whole conception was thought barbarous (see below).

(b) *The earth*.—As in all the religions, classical and unclassical, of the ancient world, the universe of Egyptian religion is full of all kinds of demons, closely resembling those found in the religions mentioned above or among the savages of to-day. But in Egypt there is no proper classification of spirits belonging to water, to rocks, woods, marshes, etc. Furthermore, their multiple rôles in dreams, or in illnesses of man or beast, seem to belong rather to the popular domain than to official beliefs. It would appear, from a study of the texts of both kinds, that historic Egypt had already, to a great extent, got rid of that *naïveté* which is the characteristic of polydemonism in primitive Animism, and which persists so strikingly in Chaldæo-Assyria in the organized cults. The distinction between official and popular religion, however, is still a delicate question of the appreciation of facts, and especially of the period. It is, nevertheless, certain that phenomena such as storms, floods, and epidemics are attributed to the gods in historic Egypt, and not to the demons, as in Chaldæo-Assyrian belief. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the temple of Abydos prove that the priesthood frankly admitted that demons were continually prowling about in the air, ready to do harm, and that it was necessary to purify the king's retinue with charms, as it proceeded to the temple. The fumigations and incantations that took place at funerals bear witness to the same practice, while the famous inscription of the Princess possessed of Bakhtan proves the official belief in demoniacal possession. The literature shows us that the demons, as in all other countries, inhabited by preference desert places, the borders of marshes, and cemeteries (where they become confused with ghosts properly so called); and it is a certain fact that their power was greatest at night. They were also most powerful on certain days of ill omen, on which the influence of the good gods was diminished, as is proved by the horoscopic papyri of Leyden and London. The light of the sun put them to flight. They were combated, according to varying circumstances, by means of talismans, amulets, incantations, etc., and in all these innumerable details Egyptian differs from other religions in a material way only, and not in doctrine. It is also very difficult to see a specially Egyptian characteristic in the almost complete confusion that exists, in all these attributes of the earthly demons, between demons proper and the ghosts of the dead; and, as the latter have the same name of *khui* in a number of cases, it is sometimes almost impossible

to distinguish whether such and such a case of illness, dreams, possession, torment, etc., is the work of a demon or of the dead. Sometimes the Egyptian text is quite clear, e.g. in the formulæ relating to 'the imprisoning of the shades of the dead that can do harm' (Book of the Dead, ch. xcii. line 10); and we can proceed gradually to certain classifications by variants.

When well considered, Egyptian ordinary life does not seem to have been so much overshadowed and tormented by the constant fear of demons as in the case of many other religions of civilized and non-civilized peoples. While the official cult admits the hidden presence of numerous demons, we do not find it going the length of constantly trying to dispel them, e.g. during the performance of duties, at the opening of the tabernacle, or, again, at the time of sacrificing. (Porphyry, however, says that the priests beat the air with whips to put the demons to flight [*de Philos. ex oraculis haurienda*, ed. Wolf, 1856, p. 148].) The Egyptians do not, like the Indians, trace trenches round their offering. (Notice, however, in the foundation-rites of a temple, the purification of the ground by means of a mockchase of evil spirits, performed by the king and figures dressed as gods.) Nor does any Egyptian text ever say that demons are specially dangerous at the time of death, as is taught, e.g., in the *Avesta*. The dead, it is true, are protected against demons during the preparations for the funeral; they are surrounded, on their way to the grave, by every kind of magical precaution; at the grave itself, talismans and phylacteries of every description protect the coffin and mummy (note that these precautions are meant both to ward off the demons of this earth as they prowl around the grave, and to accompany the dead, by magic, on his journey to the other world); mystic eyes are painted on the proto-Theban sarcophagus, and other precautions of the same kind are the finishing touches. But all these precautions do not amount to so much as we find, in this connexion, in civilized religions of the highest organization; and we may say that the dying Egyptian was not tormented by terrors of the demoniacal order so much as most races with systems of organized beliefs. We must not be misled by the constant presence and importance of demons in the literature. No one would think of maintaining that the thought of Satan and his demons was a continual weight on the ordinary life of a man of our European Middle Ages; and yet the popular tales, processes of justice, legends, and even theology itself, gave the demons of this time a power, a multiplicity, and a constant aggressiveness which are greatly in excess of anything that we learn of ancient Egypt in this respect.

(c) *The other world* (this term including the various classes of regions separating Egypt from the abodes of the dead, under whatever form they may be conceived, and these abodes themselves: paradise, Elysian fields, caverns, 'passages,' *rositiu*, etc.).—An account of all the demons of the other world cannot be attempted here. A good idea of them may be obtained from the indexes in the various editions of Budge's *Book of the Dead*, or from Maspero's *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptienne*, ii. 1-180 (for the royal tombs). These demoniacal spirits are as numerous as the devils of the under world in all other religions. They are the inhabitants of night. It is worthy of remark that none of them has any symbolical value; the majority are simple repetitions of beings like the mischievous or terrifying beings of the earth. In the group of books of the Book of the Dead type we have tree-spirits, monkeys, crocodiles, a considerable variety of serpents, lions, etc., and the vignettes of the Theban epoch employ all the precision that could be desired on the subject. In the series of the type 'Book of Hours,' 'Book of Hell,' 'Book of the Gates,' etc., we have a more sombre view of the demons, yet still of the same specific character: the serpents vomit flames; a great number of these demons, in the shape of men, of animals, or of mixed form, are armed with weapons of various kinds, but are not fantastic. Their names are far oftener functional epithets than true proper names, and this fact is of importance for the historian of religions. The onomastic list, however, is quite short, and shows the poverty of Egyptian thought on this point: 'the Archer,' 'the Pikeman,' 'the Lancer,' 'the Cutter,' 'the Ripper,' 'the Bounder,' etc. The female demons have the same names, or are called 'the Lady of Terror,' 'the Lady of the Sword-thrusts,' 'the Brave,' 'the Violent.' The serpent demons are called 'Life of the Earth,' 'He who lives on gods'

(= eater of gods[?]). The guardian serpents Akaba, Jetba, and Tokahiru, and the viper Naga are deities by this time rather than demons (see below).

Generally speaking (without distinguishing the various classes of under-world literature), the original Animism of Egypt is reflected in the number of demons that are simply the 'spirits' of material objects: a thread and its different parts (ch. cliii.); a boat, each part of which has its genius (ch. xcvi.); posts, doors, parts of a building, boxes, etc. This process is all the more logical from the fact that Egyptian beliefs naturally admitted that every object, natural or manufactured, on this earth possessed a spirit or a demon—rocks and trees as well as houses, pillars, sceptres, clubs, etc.; and iconography sometimes shows these spirits with their heads appearing out of the objects they inhabit. The evolution of belief consisted mainly, here as elsewhere, in gradually 'detaching' the 'spirits' from their objects; and the demons of our present discussion were transformed step by step into *guardians*, and, in the case of some of them, into *masters*, of these objects. The latter privileged members have contributed to the number of the gods.

5. *Nature*.—By means of a large number of accurate texts, we can form an estimate of the constitutional character of the demons and spirits of Egypt, and by the aid of the ancient texts we can get back to the very beginning of their formation. All our information is in absolute conformity with the general animistic character of the primitive religions of the Nile Valley. The universality of 'spirits' in Egypt is well known, and we have just seen that there is not a single being or object, natural or manufactured, but has its demon or demons. Their different names of *bin* and *khru* did not imply any difference of nature originally, and the ancient texts show, by variants, that the two terms are frequently interchanged. They merely signify the different degrees of carnal materiality of these souls or spirits—which are always material (see BODY [Egyp.]). The word *bin* seems later to have tended to belong to demons and spirits of a beneficent character, while the name *khru* was given by preference to maleficent spirits; but this indefinite classification has arisen purely from later dualistic thought (see DUALISM [Egyp.]).

Now, these texts clearly prove that the demons are absolutely the same in the essentials of their nature and attributes as the most ancient Egyptian gods. The formulæ confuse them constantly. Demons and gods have the same 'determinative' in hieroglyphic script (the three signs of the 'axe' [really a mast with two pennants], or the archaic sign of three hawks perched on a sort of gibbet). At first, the strongest devoured the weakest impartially; and later, the dead, assimilated by magic to these strongest members (cf. Pyramid of Unas, line 506 ff.), are shown devouring the *notiru* (gods) as well as the *khru* (demons).

A single characteristic will serve to distinguish them, and to indicate the process by which the gods gradually emerged from the dense crowd of demons. The demons, or genii, or spirits, are *anonymous* groups, with only a collective name, and confined to a special activity or settled function. As they did not all have the same activity or the same importance, certain groups of them rose by a slow process of elaboration to higher dignity. The others remained for ever a few millions of obscure spirits, whose mode of life was of no importance; or else they formed the troops of spirits of which examples are given in § 2. In the groups with important functions, the characteristics led to fusion with a more individual being provided with a proper name. Difficult as it is to

draw the line of demarcation between a god and a demon in such a conception, a careful examination of the texts leads to the conclusion that the mark of a god is possession of a name. A demon possessing a name is already a god, a *notir*. The case is incontestable for well-established gods like Sorku (the crocodile) and Ririt (the hippopotamus); it is equally incontestable for demons like Apôpi and the twenty-three great serpents of the Pyramid formulæ, or the other reptiles named in the rest of the sacred literature; it can be demonstrated for demons like the cat of the sacred tree *ashdu* in the famous ch. xvii. of the Book of the Dead, and for all the principal demons in the descriptions of the other world. Each one is in every way a true god from the time that it has a name, both for its life and for its aspect. Power, the amount of reverence inspired, and the importance of functions are only questions of degree, insufficient to separate, in this religion, a number of humble gods from demons. Even specialization in a unique or momentary action is not a criterion. Naprit, demon of harvests, Ranninit, Maskhonit, the 'Seven Hathors,' and many others of this type are deities rather than demons, from the very fact that they have names; and, if the cult they receive is humbler than that of other gods, it is identical in conception and form. (Here there is a noteworthy difference from what is said of Semitic spirits by Lagrange, *Rel. sem.*², Paris, 1905, p. 16.)

We may now class the innumerable personalities mentioned in the Egyptian texts not among the demons and spirits, but, more rationally, as gods. The following are the chief: the spirits of the seasons, months, days, hours, *decani* (see CALENDAR [Egyp.]), the winds, planets, stars, etc. The astrological nature of nearly all these entities will be noticed by all, and confirms what we have seen of the stellar character of numbers of these groups of spirits before polytheism. The texts show, further, that a number of those spirits, escaping the secondary character of the mass, were treated exactly as true gods by the Egyptians, with a tendency to be assimilated to the principal great gods. It will be observed also that the demons remaining in anonymous groups still retain some worship on certain occasions in the historic epoch. Under the Memphites, for example, there are priests of the 'spirits' of Heliopolis, Buto, and Nekhen (= el-Kab).

The fact that demons become gods by a process of 'emergence' goes a long way to explain why there are not in Egyptian religion, as in other religions, lists and hierarchies of demons and angels. Not only is there nothing resembling the sort of fixed castes of angelologies or demonologies of other races, but there are not even chiefs of groups or protagonists, like, *e.g.*, the Chaldean demon of the south-west wind. The fact is that, as soon as a primitive group attained to importance in the gradual comprehension of the world-forces, it detached a god from itself, who absorbed his group entirely or became a chief; so that the demons, good and bad, always arise directly from a god, and naturally share his character and attributes.

6. *Rôle and character.*—Just as the demons have at first no hierarchy, so they have no general characteristic rôle, no functions of general cosmogony, directed for or against the harmony of the *kôsmos*. The distribution of their activities into functions that are always very limited and highly specialized is a strong proof of the antiquity of their formation. Their power does not go the length of raising a scourge like a tempest (see above), or, like the Indian demons, of preventing rain. This paucity of attributes, in a character otherwise always material, and this distribution of groups of spirits without classification, make it quite comprehensible how their final rôle and their good or bad aspect depended, in the era of polytheistic formations, upon the relative character of the gods round whom they were grouped, since such a god was simply the synthesis of the activities of which the demons were the analysis. The god himself was at first of vague significance as regards his general rôle in the

progress of the world; it was only when he had acquired a more precise energy that he brought along with him his troop of demons—good or bad for man. It would thus be precarious to attempt much precision regarding Egyptian religions. The necessarily *un-moral* character of the spirits does not allow of any classification which would arrange them by 'angelology' and 'demonology'—these terms being used with a moral signification. Even in the historic period their original character remained ineffaceable: the demons were, first of all, the inhabitants of a place or an object, the guardians of a locality, of a door, a passage; they ended, more or less, by having a god as sovereign; while they modelled themselves on his nature and tendencies. But one point is clear, that they are subject to their god, and consequently favourable and subject to his relatives and friends, and hostile to others. They are, then, good spirits for the living or dead man who is assimilated by worship or magic to the congregation of their master, bad spirits to all others; and the whole Book of the Dead, which has not the least moral character (even the famous ch. cxv. of Confession), is essentially neither more nor less than a series of proofs that magic alone is capable of winning over the demons of the other world, and making them defenders of the dead, or at least submissive spirits. Nothing shows the persistence of these conceptions so well as certain passages, preserved down to the historic period, in which, *e.g.*, the demon, 'the serpent who devours souls,' is considered dangerous to the sun itself, which has to take great care when passing over its back (Tomb of Seti I., third hour of hell; theology has invented symbolic explanations, but the primitive fact is clear).

7. *Final organization.*—The organization of all these incoherent spirits, united by chance facts (and by nothing but facts) around multiple gods of early polytheism, was the result of great labour. It must have taken local theologians a long tale of centuries; nevertheless it always presented great gaps. It can be partly reconstructed by the help of the texts of the Memphite and proto-Theban coffins. The unifying of provincial eschatologies under the form of the Theban 'Book of the Dead' or of the various 'Books of the Under World' ('Hours,' 'Doors,' etc., of the royal hypogæes, etc.) has been one of the greatest aids to this work of harmonization, which adjusted the demons more or less successfully to the gradual conception of the *kôsmos*.

This formation of armies of good and evil, being the final characteristic of unified Egyptian religion, is too important to be studied in connexion with demons alone. It will be treated in the art. DUALISM (Egyp.). For the understanding of the present article we may note here only the following facts: the grouping around the sun and his companions of former adjutant demons of the Stars, or vassals of Thoth, Horus, Hathor, etc.; the inverse grouping, around the Great Serpent Apôpi and his officers, of the chief demons opposed to the sun. Finally, a god of order and light, Osiris-Râ, is opposed, with all his allies, to a Sit-Apôpi, the prince of evil and darkness, and the enemy of order. The struggle continues without truce and with its fixed dates (see CALENDAR [Egyp.]), until, in the last period, Sit-Apôpi becomes confused in Coptic religion with Satan. This dualism, already developed in the Theban era, throws light upon the representations of the under world of this period, in which armies of demons, under command of Râ, tear, stab, decapitate, slaughter, and burn legions of the damned.

The damned are not sinners in the moral sense, but adversaries of Râ, conquered enemies. This task was reserved for the last centuries—to transform hostility to the sun, Râ, into hostility to the moral law of Râ-Osiris; but the task was accomplished (see DUALISM [Egyp.]). Even the forty-two judges of the Negative Confession are only silent demons with no moral rôle, and quite artificial; and Shait, the demon who devours the souls rejected by Osiris, is only an entity with no moral character.

The absence of a part in the good or evil of the moral world appears still more clearly in the conception of the rôle of demons in connexion with the living. There is no single Egyptian text in which they have any part in the sins of men, or in suggesting evil thoughts, or even, as in Assyria, in sowing seeds of envy, misunderstanding, and family quarrels. They are restricted exclusively to physiological evil.

Petrie's remarkable book, *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity* (London, 1910), shows, however, a class of demons in the hermetic literature who play a perverse part (see pp. 42, 49, 54, 88, 115, 166). But, in spite of the author's efforts to assign the first compositions to a very ancient period, the earliest date he can reach (5th cent.) merely succeeds in showing the coincidence of these new ideas with the Persian dominion; this emphasizes the resemblance between these non-Egyptian characters and the teaching of the Persian religion. We may add that at no time in Egyptian religion is the army of demons ever seen increasing its ranks by the soul of a single sinner.

8. Popular demonography.—The phase of demons which has attracted the keenest attention of Egyptologists is their rôle in popular life and literature and in current magic. The causes of this are the abundance of information furnished by papyrology, the picturesqueness and precision which such documents give to the knowledge of Egyptian life, and the data they supply for the study of magic. From a comparative point of view, however, such a study does not exhibit many of the characteristic traits. An account—even highly condensed—of the activity of demons in Egyptian life or superstition would require considerable space (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Egyp.], MAGIC [Egyp.]). As everywhere, here the demons are at the command of the magician, to bring about dreams and illnesses, human or animal; or else they themselves cause these phenomena, just as they cause madness and epilepsy (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Egyp.]).

The horoscopic or simply superstitious influence of days, the force of the voice, the sensitiveness of demons to song, to the *carmen*, the chant, are facts that apply to all popular religions. The purely Egyptian traits are not many: the demons have sex (see Hierarchic Papyrus); there are none of the sexless demons of Assyria. The popular literature (see the Story of Satni-Khamois) seems to indicate the possibility of belief in *incubi* or *succubæ*, but the passages, which are very numerous, require to be discussed carefully. The threatening aspect of demons in connexion with infants (see CHILDREN [Egyp.]; also Berlin Papyrus, 3027) is also the same as appears elsewhere. On the other hand, we must remember the restrictions made above—the abundance of demons in the magic and literary papyri is not to be taken as a faithful picture of the actual life of the Egyptians. It will be noticed, further, that the Egyptians never mention demons who are wantonly cruel, or thirsting for blood, death, and carnage, as in Chaldeo-Assyria, or demons who dare to attack the gods (the combats between Rā and the demons of Apōpi are *antagonism*, which is a different thing). The purely animistic character of these demons, struggling to live on their own account, but never doing evil for evil's sake, is worth noting. Finally, the sum of all the innumerable details supplied from Egyptian evidences shows us a state of affairs (1) differing only by attenuation from that of the ancient civilizations of the classic East or the societies of the savages of modern Africa, and (2) somewhat similar to the classical Mediterranean civilizations of the Europe of the Middle Ages or of the Renaissance.

As in all religions during decline, we observe at later epochs the growth of demoniacal beliefs in connexion with black magic, and in opposition to the official cults. The combination of Egyptian

with other Asiatic or Mediterranean demonologies shows itself in the demotic papyri, and particularly in the *tabellæ devotionis* (see MAGIC [Egyp.], and, provisionally, Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, or Erman, *Die ägypt. Rel.*, ch. vii.).

9. Ghosts.—The complexity of the Egyptian notion of personality is an initial difficulty in the way of classifying the phenomena relating to ghosts. The eight or nine elements which, in the historic period, constitute a person (see BODY [Egyp.]) have each their fate, form, and habitation in the second existence. The only one of these that concerns our present purpose is the *khu*.

The etymology of the word *khu* is still very doubtful, and we cannot deduce any indication whatever of the primitive rôle from the radical meaning of the word. The sense of 'luminous,' 'brilliant,' has suggested to several authorities the explanation based on the phosphorescence of putrefying flesh, or on the will-o'-the-wisps playing in certain parts of Egypt on the skirts of the desert, supposed to be the favourite haunts of ghosts. A loftier interpretation has been proposed, taking the word *khu* as a brilliant spark, a part of the solar substance. But this seems to involve the theological speculations which played upon the amphibological meaning of the word when solar theories held the first rank in eschatological doctrine. The signification '*honoris* or *timoris causa*,' which would attach a complimentary meaning of 'resplendent' or 'glorious' to the epithet *khu* given to the ghosts of the dead, seems more probable, but has never yet been definitely proposed by the Egyptological School. The present writer would suggest, finally, a connexion between this name of 'luminous,' which is the intrinsic meaning of *khu*, and the special soul 'which shines in the eyes,' and to which a great many peoples accord a particular personality. The observation of the difference between the lustre of the living eye and the dullness of the dead eye suggested, in Egypt as among those peoples, the idea of a special 'soul-force' having magic virtues of its own (which would justify, besides, all the magic relating to the power of the look), and continuing to live after death with the various attributes which we accord to ghosts. There is, however, no formal proof by texts of this explanation.

The *khu* is generally a wretched being. It has never been credited with a lofty rôle. It is a *priori* a wandering, unhappy, hungry being, a sort of outcast from the great crowd of the dead and other 'spirits'—such as a dead man, *e.g.*, whose grave has been destroyed, and whose soul, double, etc., have perished by privation or by the attacks of monsters. Accordingly, we never find the *khu* of a king or a nobleman appearing in the texts in the rôle of 'ghost,' as this rôle is always a humble and maleficent one. The attributes of the Egyptian ghost, then, reduce themselves finally to those of harmful demons, and agree very largely with what is believed on the subject in all religions. Ghosts afflict people with 'demonic possession' in all its varieties; they torment in dreams (*q.v.*); they find their way into the interior of the body of living people, and cause innumerable ills (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Egyp.]); they appear suddenly to terrify the living, especially at certain hours of the night, and preferably in the neighbourhood of cemeteries, or in places reputed to be their favourite haunts (cf. Maspero, *Contes populaires, passim*); they attempt to violate any woman they can take by surprise in a lonely place (*e.g.* one of the chapters of the Book of the Two Ways, in which a magic power is accorded the *khu* 'of taking by force any woman he wants'); or, in order to devour living substance, they throw themselves into the body of beasts, excite them to frenzy, and cause them to die; the *khuu* of women dying in child-birth aim especially at causing infants to die (cf. the curious formulæ of the papyrus *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, published by Erman, 1901; see also Erman, *Religion*, p. 158, etc., for other good examples of the part played by ghosts; this belief is analogous to numerous beliefs throughout all Africa). The *khuu* of suicides, executed criminals, unburied dead, and shipwrecked sailors are particularly tormented and miserable. It was to them that the magician of the later centuries applied by preference—conjuring, invoking, and putting them at his service for his thousand and one evil purposes:

tormenting in sleep, causing death by enchantment or by fever, assisting lovers to exact vengeance, or helping those who wished to attract or recall an unfaithful mistress (cf. the series of *tabellae devotionis*, the dominating Egyptian element in which is nevertheless tinged with magic of Asiatic or North African origin). The baleful activity of all these ghosts is naturally specially excited at certain unfavourable times in the calendar (see CALENDAR [Egyp.]), and they come in their hordes at these times to join the troops of evil 'spirits' struggling against order (see DUALISM [Egyp.]), just like a band of plunderers accompanying the real combatants. Very seldom do we find mention of a *khu* playing the simple inoffensive part of a ghost (Budge cites one example, in *Egyp. Magic*, Lond. 1899, p. 219, of a *khu* which points out to a mortal a suitable place for building a tomb), this form of activity being reserved especially for the 'doubles' and the 'souls' (see STATE OF THE DEAD [Egyp.]).

10. Conclusions.—The original complete confusion of troops of demons (or spirits) with the earliest gods has been affirmed repeatedly in this article. On the other hand, it has been said that the spirits of the dead were confused with the demons as to habitat, needs, functions, character, and powers. This double assertion would require a more detailed demonstration than is here possible. Presented thus in a condensed form, it seems to lead, by syllogism, to an equating of the spirits of the dead with the first gods, in whole or in part. But, as a matter of fact, no theory of Egyptian religion could be more contrary to truth or more capable of vitiating all knowledge of that religion. Never at any time or under any form did the Egyptian dead become gods. The case of the sons or heirs of gods (chiefs and kings) belongs to an entirely different category, and the confusion of the dead with Osiris, or some other of the gods of the dead, by magic or by religious process is either an eunymous assimilation or an absorption of the dead man's personality by an already existing god. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to insist on the fact that the demons and spirits, the original forms of the Egyptian gods, have nothing to do with the spirits of the dead in their essential nature, but merely resemble them in the aspects of their activity (see STATE OF THE DEAD [Egyp.]). Between the nature of 'spirits' and 'demons'—all those myriads of beings, this 'dust of gods' from which the gods sprang—and the nature of the spirits of the dead there is an impassable limit set which Lang has called 'the abyss of death.' The spirits, or *khuu*, of the Egyptian dead come from beings who did not exst before their birth on earth, who have known physical death, and are liable to suffer the 'second death,' or final destruction. None of these three characteristics can be applied to the demons or genii any more than to the first of the actual gods, who became detached from their various innumerable troops of spirits. Later theologies credited the gods of the historic period with having been born, and even attributed to Osiris or his mythological 'doublets' a physical death. They never touched on the third characteristic. And, on the other hand, Egypt never knew of an ordinary mortal who became a god, or for whom there was such a possibility even under the humble form of a demon.

LITERATURE.—The provisional state of the sources and evidence regarding demonology has been noted in the course of the article. The whole theory of spirits has never been gathered together in one work; views on the spirits, however, are scattered through all the works that discuss Egyptian religion. We may only mention, among those in which the information is more specially grouped, the following: E. Amélineau, *Prolegomenes*, Paris, 1908 (where an exactly opposite euhemeristic theory is supported at length); E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1901, *Gods of the Egyptians*, do. 1904, *Liturgies of Funerary Offerings*, do. 1909, *Opening of*

the Mouth, do. 1909, and *Book of the Dead*, do. 1909; A. Erman, *Die ägypt. Relig.*, Berlin, 1906; G. Maspero, *Études de mythol. et d'archéol.*, vol. II, Paris, 1893, and *Contes populaires*, do. 1908; W. M. F. Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1898. A certain number of details are given in the manuals of Egyp. religion of Ermon (Paris, 1910), Petrie (London, 1906), Virey (Paris, 1910), and A. Wiedemann (Münster, 1890). The documentation proper naturally fills the whole series of Egyptological monumental bibliography. See especially, besides the works already mentioned, E. Lefébure, *Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, Paris, 1883; and P. Lacan, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, Indexes, Cairo, 1903-1906. GEORGE FOUCART.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Greek).—Students of Greek literature cannot fail to be impressed by the complex system of the Olympian theocracy, and by the richness of legendary fable which envelops it. In variety of detail and precision of outline it seems to be separated by long periods of development from the vague beliefs and rude ceremonies which characterize the religions of primitive man. But, while it is certain that the Greek gods, as they appear in literature, are the product of a long course of evolution, beliefs in the existence of various supernatural beings, which belong to an earlier stratum of religious thought, and can be paralleled from the records now available of savage superstitions, continued to maintain themselves during historical times. Of these intermediate beings the most important are those known as demons.

1. In early times.—In early religion the most powerful forces are those which are comprehensively attributed to Animism. To these belong the notions that all natural objects are informed with a living principle akin to the human soul, and that the souls of the dead continue to visit the haunts with which they were familiar in life. To the operation of these spiritual powers are ascribed such of the vicissitudes of life as cannot be explained by visible agencies. Similarly, it is inferred that the soul of a living man may be temporarily detached from its normal habitation in the body, as in sleep or trance; and that the bodies of the living may be possessed by alien spirits, as in epilepsy, lunacy, or hysteria. There is plenty of evidence that beliefs of this kind flourished in ancient Greece as vigorously as they have survived in mediæval and modern times; and the general name of 'demons,' which the Greeks gave to certain of these invisible but potent spirits, has been adopted by modern writers, who employ the term 'demonology' to describe the science relating to supernatural beings with a nature intermediate between that of gods and men.

But, in the exposition of these beliefs, we are met with difficulties arising from the nature of the evidence. We cannot reach the crude fancies of the vulgar in their original form, but are obliged to view them through the transfiguring medium of literature. The rationalizing genius of the race stands in our way. The notices relating to demons are drawn, for the most part, either from the writings of philosophers, who endeavoured to harmonize current superstitions with their own interpretation of the universe; or from poetry, where the creative imagination insensibly tones the simple outlines of the popular conception.

The earliest text requiring notice is the passage of Hesiod (*Op.* 122 ff., 251 ff.) in which he identifies the demons with the souls of those who lived in the Golden Age. They are described as continuing in the upper world, kindly guardians of men, distributors of prosperity and wealth, but wrapped in darkness so as to be invisible while they wander over every region of the earth. Here we meet the statement that the demons are the souls of the dead, overlaid with the legend of the Four Ages and the deterioration of mankind. For the popular belief on which it rests we must refer to passages

where the Greek *δαίμονες* is employed, like the Latin *manes*, to denote the spirits of the departed (Lucian, *de Luctu*, 24; for the evidence of inscriptions, where *θεοὶ δαίμονες* = *dis manibus*, see Roscher, i. 929; Frazer, *Pausan.*, 1900, iv. 24). The literary evidence is hardly less conclusive, when we find Darius and Alcæstis described as demons in reference to their condition after death (*Æsch. Pers.* 623; Eur. *Alc.* 1003), and when the Muse prophesies that Rhesus, though dead, shall rest hidden in a Thracian cave as a man-demon (*ἀνθρωποδαίμων*, Eur. *Rhes.* 971). See, further, Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 248 ff.; a somewhat different view is taken by Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 95, 153. As the shades of ancestors, so long as they are treated with due respect, are expected to show favour, a reference to the 'good demon' sometimes implies nothing more than this (Waser, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2012). But the good demon also appears in circumstances which cannot be associated with ancestor-worship. In Boeotia a sacrifice to the good demon was made the occasion for first tasting the new must (Plut. *Qu. Conv.* iii. 7. 1, p. 655 E); and at Athens it was the custom after dinner to pour out a small libation of unmixed wine in his honour (Aristoph. *Eq.* 85, etc.). At other times he is the personification of good fortune, as the protecting spirit of a community, a family, or an individual; in this sense, Nero arrogated to himself the title of 'good demon of the world' (*CIG* iii. 4699). See Rohde, i. 254 f.

With the various manifestations of the good demon we may contrast cases where the influence of the spirit was pernicious. An evil spirit was often conceived as a ghost.

A good illustration is afforded by the story of Euthymus the boxer, who fought with a 'hero' enshrined at Temesa in S. Italy. This was the ghost of one of Odysseus' crew, Polites or Alybas, who had been stoned to death by the people of Temesa for ravishing a girl. Every year the ghost required the dedication to him of the fairest maiden in Temesa as his wife, which was yielded by the townsfolk in order to save themselves from his wrath. The practice was of immemorial antiquity at the time when Euthymus chanced to come to Temesa, and, having entered the temple, saw the maiden, and fell in love with her. So Euthymus put on his armour, and, when the ghost appeared, withstood his assault and vanquished him; and the hero, driven from the land, plunged into the sea, and was never seen again. Pausanias, who tells the story (vi. 6. 7-11), as well as other authorities (Strabo, p. 255; Suid. s.v. *Εὐθύμος*), had seen a picture illustrating the event which he records, and, in the course of describing it, he quaintly remarks: 'The ghost was of a horrid black colour, and his whole appearance was most dreadful, and he wore a wolfskin.' The ghost-idea is less prominent in the story of the demon of Anagyrus, one of the Athenian demes, who destroyed the family of a neighbouring peasant for a trespass committed on his sanctuary (Suid. s.v. *Ἀναγυράριος δαίμων*).

Hesiod (*Op.* 159, 172) distinguished between 'heroes' and 'demons,' and later philosophical speculation treated demons as belonging to a higher grade of dignity (Plut. *de Def. Or.* 10, p. 415 B). But in stories like the above the two terms are used without distinction; and heroes as ghostly beings were considered so dangerous that persons passing by their shrines were warned to keep silence, lest they should suffer injury (Hesych. s.v. *κηλητροί*). The belief that a hero is incapable of conferring blessings, and is only powerful to work ill, is enforced by Babrius, *Fab.* 63.

Other evil demons are represented as specially attached to an individual. Thus, the dread and strange vision of monstrous and fearful shape which appeared to M. Brutus in his last campaign announced itself to him as his evil demon (Plut. *Brut.* 36). Or an avenging demon may be the instrument appointed to punish the crimes of a particular family, as when, in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus (1477), after the murder of her husband, Clytemnestra boasts that she herself is the incarnate demon of the Pelopids, 'so gross with overgrown flesh.' In such capacity the evil demon

often bore the special title of 'Alastor'; and in the *Persæ* (357) the slave Scænnus, who entrapped Xerxes into a fatal manœuvre, so that he lost the battle of Salamis, is described by the Persian messenger to Atossa as having been inspired by an *alastor*. Sophocles, in referring to an action impossible for any one but a madman, does not hesitate to say: 'Who would choose this, unless maddened by avenging fiends?' (*δοῖς μὴ 'ἔ' ἀλαστροφῶν νοοῖς* [*Trach.* 1235]). It would be easy to multiply instances where demonic agencies are made responsible for good or evil fortune; and it is not surprising that the prevalence of such opinions opened the door to chicanery and imposture. Among the crowds of oracle-mongers, diviners, and interpreters of dreams, who swarmed at Athens during the latter part of the 5th cent. B.C., were some who professed to foretell the future by the agency of familiar spirits obedient to their summons. A notorious instance was Eurycles the ventriloquist (*ἐγγαστριμύθος, στερρημύτης*), who, by giving utterance to his oracles in a feigned voice, persuaded his hearers that they were the pronouncements of a demon lodged within his own breast (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1019; Plut. *Soph.* 252 C and the scholl.). This proceeding corresponds exactly with the methods of savage magicians, as reported by E. B. Tylor in his article on 'Demonology' (*EBR* vii. 63).

The notion of a guardian spirit, which watches over a man from his birth, directs his actions, and may be either friendly or hostile, was widely entertained among the Greeks. It is best expressed in the famous fragment of Menander (550 K.): 'By every man at birth a good demon takes his stand, to initiate him in the mysteries of life.' This is not a literary fancy, but a popular opinion: 'There are many who have a craven soul, but a good demon,' says Theognis (161). Or we may appeal to Pindar, a witness of a very different type (*Pyth.* v. 122): 'The mighty purpose of Zeus directs the demon of those whom he loves' (see W. Headlam, in *JPh* xxx. [1906] 304; Rohde, ii. 316; Usener, 296). But, in regard to the force of particular passages, there is room for disagreement. The word *δαίμων* is used in such a way that it is often difficult to seize its exact significance in a particular context. Thus, besides bearing the special meaning with which we are now concerned, it may be employed either (1) as a synonym of *θεός*, distinguishable, if at all, as expressing the Divine power manifested in action rather than the Divine personality as an object of worship; or (2) in the abstract sense of *destiny*. Yet, although we may sometimes hesitate (as, e.g., in Eur. *Ion*, 1374, *Supp.* 592) between the abstract and the concrete meaning, with a view to the selection of an English equivalent, it is unlikely that to a Greek the word ever became so colourless as the tr. 'fate' or 'destiny' suggests. That this was the original sense, as has been suggested in recent times (Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol.* 991, n. 4; see, however, Usener, 292), is hardly credible.

We have seen that the belief in the separate existence of the soul after death leads to the assumptions that the souls of the dead are powerful over the living, and that other potencies of a similar character, spirit-like but not souls, exist independently and visit the earth. A further step is taken when these demons are regarded as capable of entering into and possessing human bodies (Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers* [Eng. tr. 1901], ch. i. §§ 5, 6). This may be illustrated by the various instances in which the human representative is permanently or temporarily identified with the Divine being whose power he assumes. Hermes became incarnate in the ministrants at the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea (Pausan. ix. 39. 7), Bacchus in the *mystes* (schol.

on Aristoph. *Eg.* 408). Similar is the inspiration drawn from the chewing or eating of magic substances, such as the laurel leaves sacred to Apollo (Soph. frag. 811, etc.), or the honey which inspired the Thriæ on Parnassus (Hom. *h. Herm.* 560). These are special applications of the general belief in demonic possession, which is implicit in the use of the adjectives *εὐδαίμων*, *κακοδαίμων*, etc., and is expressed by that of the verbs *κακοδαίμονᾶν*, *δαίμονι-ζεσθαι* (Soph. frag. 173), and *δαίμονᾶν* (Eur. *Phæn.* 888, with the present writer's note). The demon which took possession of a man's body was sometimes conceived as a fiery spirit, which raised the blood to a condition of fever. Hence the fiery emblems of love (Gruppe, 849, n. 7), which permeates the frames of its victims with a feverish ecstasy. Hippocrates found it necessary to combat the superstition that epilepsy is due to some god—Poseidon, Apollo, Ares, or Hecate—having taken possession of the sick man (*Morb. sacr.* 592 K). Phædra's wasting sickness is attributed by the chorus in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides to possession by Pan, Hecate, the Corybantes, Cybele, or Dictynna (141–147); and the sudden illness of Glaucus, described in the *Medea*, was thought by those present to have been caused by the anger of Pan (1172). See also Usener, 294.

2. In the classical age.—The Olympian religion, if we may call by this name the impression which we receive from Greek literature about the ordinary beliefs of the classical age, is a composite structure, largely built up by the transference from past generations of elements on which time has worked an essential change. The demons passed into gods; the shadowy gods became definitely conceived personalities. A good illustration of this process may be taken from the development which can be traced in the notions entertained of the Nymphs (Gomperz, i. 26). The Oreads, Dryads, and Naiads owe their origin to the fetishism which believes that every natural object is endowed with a living spirit. In course of time the spirit is separated from its environment: the Dryad, for example, inhabits the oak, but the oak itself is no longer animate. But the indwelling spirit has not yet become immortal; the Dryad cannot outlive the oak (Hom. *h. Aphrod.* 257; Apoll. Rhod. ii. 481). A later stage has been reached when Homer describes how the Rivers and Nymphs were summoned by Zeus to join the conclave of the immortals (*Il.* xx. 7 ff.). We need not pause to illustrate the process by which a tribal deity has been elevated to national dignity, or a god with limited powers has merged his identity in the attributes of an Olympian. Other demons have taken subaltern rank in the celestial hierarchy, as when the Corybantes are classed as the attendants (*πρόδρομοι*) of Rhea (Strabo, 472), and the Satyri attach themselves to Dionysus. *Eurynomus*, a grisly demon who ate the flesh of corpses, was painted by Polygnotus among the inhabitants of the lower world; he was blue-black in colour like a carrion-fly, his teeth were bared, and he was sitting on the skin of a vulture (Pausan. x. 28. 7). Dionysus was sometimes attended by *Akratos*, the potent spirit of the unmixt wine (Pausan. i. 2. 5); and *Aphrodite* by *Tychon*, perhaps the spirit of good luck, not unlike our Puck or Robin Goodfellow (Gruppe, 853, n. 2). Even the hell-hounds of Hecate are recognized as evil demons (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* iv. 23. 7, 8).

It has recently been contended (Farnell, *CJS* v. [1909] 444) that the personification of abstract ideas as Divine beings claiming our veneration and worship is to be explained as due to the demonic power which was attributed by a primitive habit of mind to any outbreak of excessive emotion. Typical cases are quoted from the ceremonial observances paid in various parts of Greece to Shame, Pity, Laughter, Fear (Pausan. i. 17. 1; Plut. *Cleomen.* 9). If the suggestion is correct, it throws a remarkable light upon the development of Greek psychology. It is

easier to recognize primitive ideas in the delification of *Madness* (Pausan. viii. 34. 1) and *Hunger* (Plut. *Qu. Conv.* vi. 8. 1, p. 604 A). The *Manias* are supposed by Pausanias to be the *Erinyes* under another title, as producing frenzy in their victims. But *Hunger* is hardly to be explained as the concrete embodiment given to the sufferings of starvation. Rather we should infer that the failure of the crops through drought, and the wasting of the flocks and herds through disease, were taken as irrefragable testimony to the operation of a malignant and supernatural power. In order to avert such a calamity, an annual expulsion of a disease-laden scapegoat in the character of a slave, who was beaten with rods of willow to the words of the refrain, 'Out of doors with famine, and in-doors with plenty and health!' took place at the town of Chæroneia in Boeotia. Plutarch, in the passage quoted above, tells us that he had himself performed the ceremony when holding the office of chief magistrate. For its significance, see Frazer, *GE*², 1900, iii. 124f.

Again, as the crude fancies of primitive superstition ceased to correspond with advancing enlightenment, they tended to gather round them the details of legendary adventures, and to become associated, in the record of a mythical past, with particular localities or heroic names. The Sphinx, a ravening monster, compact of indigenous stories of a destructive dragon fused with Oriental or Egyptian elements, was localized in Boeotia and connected with the story of *Œdipus*. The *Harpies* or 'Snatchers' (Hom. *Od.* xiv. 371), another composite notion in the evolution of which wind-demons and death-angels had taken part, survived ultimately for their share in the punishment of *Phineus*, which was related as an incident in the voyage of the Argonauts. They are nearly related to the *Erinyes* and the *Sirens*—both chthonic agencies; but, whereas the belief in an avenging spirit punishing homicide survived longer, and has preserved the *Erinyes* in literature as a potent spiritual force, the *Sirens* soon passed into the region of fairy-land, and were remembered chiefly from Homer's description of them in the *Odyssey*. The *Gorgons*—also under-world powers and storm-spirits—are hardly known to tradition except through the adventures of *Perseus*.

Besides these, there was a whole host of *sprites*, *bogeyes*, and *hobgoblins* which remained nearer to their primitive associations. Their names are generic rather than personal, and they were rarely dignified by a connexion with some heroic tale. Such was *Empusa*, a demonic apparition that appeared sometimes at mid-day and sometimes by night. She had the power of continually changing her shape, but could be detected, it would seem, by the donkey's leg which was her constant attribute (see Dem. xviii. 130; Aristoph. *Ran.* 289 ff.). *Gello*—a name which has been compared with the Arabic *ghoul*—was a spectre which kidnapped children. Almost unknown to literature, the name lasted through the Middle Ages, and survives in some localities down to the present day (Maas, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 1005). Somewhat more familiar to us is *Mormo*, a bogey of the nursery, invoked to frighten children (Theocr. xv. 40; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 17)—perhaps a hypocoristic form of *Mormolyke*—a werewolf (*μορμολύκεα*, Plat. *Phædo*, 77 E, etc.). Another bogey-name is that of *Lamia*, who was said to have the remarkable power of taking out her eyes and putting them back at pleasure. She also was a kidnapper and murderess of children, and is sometimes identified with *Mormo* and *Gello*, as if these were different names of the same monster. But in *Lamia* there are more traces of a definite personality; and she has almost become a mythical heroine, as a Libyan queen beloved by Zeus, whose children were killed by Hera, and who in consequence revenged herself by killing other children (see Didymus *ap. schol.* Aristoph. *Pax*, 758). To the same class belonged *Acco* and *Alphito*—words of doubtful meaning which perhaps signify 'booby' and 'grey-head'. (Chrysipp. *ap. Plut. de Stoic. rep.* 15, p. 1040 B). *Ephialtes* was the name given to the spectre in-

vented by the ignorant to account for the nightmare which results from indigestion; and he is not always distinguished from *Epiales*, the cold shivering-fit which preceded an attack of fever (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1037). *Ephialtes* was sometimes figured as the long-eared owl (*ōros*). Owls (*ōrnyx*) were regarded as birds of evil omen (*Poeta Lyrici Græci*⁴, ed. Bergk, Leipzig, 1878-82, iii. 664), and as embodiments of the spirits of the dead which appear by night to suck the blood of the living—a superstition which survives in modern Greece.

For the conception denoted by *Keres*, which is closely allied to, and largely co-extensive with, the present subject, see the article under that title.

3. In the hands of the philosophers.—We have now to examine how the popular belief in demons was treated by the philosophical schools. Thales is credibly reported to have said (Arist. *de Anima*, i. 5. 411a 8) that all things are full of gods, and it is hardly to be doubted that in so maintaining he sought to explain Animistic beliefs by the application of rational principles. By the Pythagoreans a belief in demons was always fostered, especially in their character as representing the souls of the dead. They entertained no doubt that such demons were visible as if in actual bodily presence, and were surprised that any one should deny that he had ever seen a demon (Arist. frag. 193 [Rose]). All the air, they said, is full of souls, and these are called demons and heroes. It is they who send dreams and signs of disease and good health not only to men, but also to sheep and cattle. With them relations are established by purification and expiation, by divination and by omens (Diog. Laert. viii. 22). Hence Aristoxenus (Stob. *Flor.* 79. 45) is following Pythagoras when he recommends the worship of gods and demons, and the Golden Poem places the heroes and subterranean demons, i.e. the souls of the dead, after the gods, but as worthy of honour corresponding to their degree. Later doxographers (Aët. *Plac.* i. 8. 2) join Pythagoras with Thales, Plato, and the Stoics in holding that demons and heroes are spiritual substances, or souls separated from bodies, and that there are good and bad demons corresponding to the same varieties of soul. There is also attributed to Pythagoras the fantastic notion that the sound emitted from a brass gong when struck is the voice of a demon shut up within the metal (Porphy. *Vit. Pyth.* 41). The popular idea of an indwelling demon, by which a man is possessed or controlled, was refined and interpreted by several philosophers. To Heraclitus (frag. 119 [Diels]) is ascribed the pregnant saying that 'character is each man's demon,' his inner self is his true divinity, and his fate is moulded by his own individuality. The same thought is expressed by Epicharmus in a simpler form: 'His disposition is to each man a good or bad demon' (frag. 258 [Kaibel]). Similar but less striking is the saying of Democritus that 'blessedness dwells not in herds or gold, but the soul is the dwelling-place of the blessed being' (frag. 171 [Diels]). Democritus (Sext. *adv. Math.* ix. 19) explained the belief in gods by degrading them to the level of demons, which he held to be material images perceptible to our senses, long-lived but not immortal. Empedocles speaks of the wanderings of wicked demons, which have been cast out of the abodes of the blest but return there after a banishment of 30,000 years, during which they pass through various stages of incarnation (frag. 115, 2). These *daimones*, as Hippolytus explains, are human souls; but they are not necessarily separable entities, since the figurative language of the poem requires to be controlled by the materialism of the philosophical system which it expounds (see Burnet,

Early Greek Philosophy, 1892, p. 271; Rohde, ii. 178 ff.).

Socrates was in the habit of asserting that he was frequently impeded by a Divine sign from taking a particular course of action. This customary sign was imparted through the medium of a warning voice, and was manifested on trifling as well as on important occasions (Plat. *Apol.* 31 D, 40 A). The deduction that Socrates intended to imply that he was guided throughout his life by a familiar spirit, though at one time generally held, has in recent years fallen into disfavour (see Zeller, *Socrates* [Eng. tr. 1868], p. 82 ff.; H. Jackson, in *JPh* v. [1873] 232 ff.). But, whatever may have been the real intention of Socrates, it can hardly be denied that, in a society where the belief in the existence of demons was widely prevalent, to many of his hearers the Divine sign must have suggested such an agency.

Plato, in this sphere as elsewhere, has gathered up the threads of previous speculations and woven them into new combinations by the play of his philosophic fancy. In accordance with popular tradition, he says that the demons are the bastard sons of gods by nymphs or some other mothers (*Apol.* 27 D). The demons are of an airy substance, inferior to the heavenly ether, and serve as interpreters between gods and men (*Epinom.* 984 E). Love is a great demon; like all spirits, he is intermediate between the Divine and the mortal; he conveys to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men, and to men the commands and replies of the gods (*Symp.* 202 E). This recalls the Pythagorean doctrine previously quoted, and Proclus says it is also Orphic; modern critics have seen in it a mode of reconciliation between the old theology and the new conception of an inaccessible god (Gruppe, 1054). Plato accepts the popular view of demons, as identical with the souls of the dead: when a good man dies, he is honoured by being enrolled as a demon, which is only another form of *daimon*, 'the wise one' (*Cratyl.* 398 B). Every man has a distinct demon which attends him during life and after death (*Phædo*, 107 D, *Rep.* 617 D). Each demon has his own allotted sphere of operation, and watches over his appointed charge like a shepherd over his flock (*Polit.* 271 D, 272 E). The last-quoted passages are drawn from the narratives of the myths with which Plato diversified his more formal arguments, and his true mind is to be sought rather in a passage of the *Timæus* (90 A) in which, with a reminiscence of Heraclitus, he declares that God has given to each man, as a guiding genius, the supreme form of soul within us, the rational faculty which dwells in the summit of our body and lifts us towards our celestial kindred.

Aristotle is reported to have assented to the belief that all men have demons which accompany them during the whole period of their mortal existence (frag. 193 [Rose]); but it is impossible to say whether he attached to it any philosophical importance. Xenocrates agreed with the statement in the *Timæus*, that the soul of man is his guardian spirit (Arist. *Top.* ii. 6. 112a, 37); and he also maintained the existence of a number of good and bad demons (Zeller, *Plato*, etc. [Eng. tr. 1876], p. 593). But the school which did most to establish a belief in demons as a part of the mental equipment of its students was unquestionably the Stoic. The Stoics sought with unwearied industry to bring every conception of popular religion into connexion with their own theology; and their doctrine of pantheism enabled them without difficulty to find a place for the demons within their system. They were firmly convinced of the existence of demons, which, having like passions with men, and responding to their desires and fears,

their pains and pleasures, superintended and directed their fortunes (Diog. Laert. vii. 151). These demons are composed of soul-substance, which is not scattered and lost, as Epicurus maintained (frags. 336, 337 [Usener]), at the dissolution of the body, but, having in itself the principle of permanence, is located in the region beneath the moon, and sustained, like the other stars, by the exhalations rising from the earth (Sext. adv. Math. ix. 71). Posidonius, who gave particular attention to the matter, explained that human souls after death are not sufficiently pure to reach the upper ether, and are restricted to the lower level, where they congregate among the demons. Hence it is that, with the strictest accuracy, the soul dwelling within the body may be described as the 'demon born with us' (Schmekel, *Philos. d. mittl. Stoa*, Berlin, 1892, p. 256). On the other hand, the Epicureans controverted these fairy-tales: there are no such beings as demons; and, even if there were, it is inconceivable that they would assume human shape, or that it would be possible for them to communicate with us by speech or otherwise (Plut. *Brut.* 37; see, further, Epicur. frags. 393, 394 [Usener]).

In writers of a later period, such as Maximus Tyrius, Apuleius, and Philostratus, the maxims of demonology have come to be commonplaces, partly owing to the influence of the sources which we have enumerated, and partly by the contact with Oriental civilizations, which had become continually more intimate since the beginning of the Hellenistic epoch (Rohde, ii. 364; Gruppe, 1468). Since the demons were regarded as unceasingly active in the service of the gods, they were assigned a definite place in the celestial hierarchy of the Neo-Platonists, as subordinate to angels and archangels (Porphyry, *Ep. ad Arnob.* 10; demons were first associated with ἀγγελοι by Philo, according to Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 61). Hence, as part of the machinery by which the apologists of paganism sought to shore up their tottering edifice against the assaults of the Christians, they appear with considerable frequency in the controversial writings of the early Fathers of the Church.

It is not within the scope of this article to examine the various methods employed by Greek magic for the purpose of averting, deceiving, or conciliating evil spirits. The details will be found elsewhere under the titles CHARMS AND AMULETS, MAGIC, etc. It is only within recent years that the comparative study of anthropology has shown the way by which the future investigation of Greek religion must travel. But the evidence of ritual drawn from literary sources is difficult to appraise; partly because the development of theology tended to obscure the primitive elements, and partly because the ritual facts, even when separated from later accretions, are capable of various interpretations. It is well established that the beating of drums and cymbals, and particularly of various kinds of bronze vessels (schol. ad Theocrit. ii. 36), was intended to frighten away any demons which might be at hand on important or ceremonial occasions; similarly, the use of iron was effective against demonic influence (Riess, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 50). When, however, the desire to be on good terms with evil demons is held to be the leading motive in such various rites as sword-dances, the ploughing with magic animals, the smearing of the face with chalk or meal, or the dressing of a boy in girl's clothes (cf. *CLR* vii. [1893] 243), it must be remembered that such hypotheses are far removed from certainty. The debatable evidence will be found collected in Gruppe, 894 ff.

For demons in relation to the Orphic cults, see ORPHISM.

LITERATURE.—The main facts are summarized in the articles, s.v. 'Daimon,' by von Sybel, in Roscher, i. 938, and by Waser, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2010, where references are given to the less accessible of the special treatises. See also R. Heinze, *Xenocrates*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 78-123; J. Tamburino, *de Antiquorum Dæmonismo*, Giessen, 1909. Much useful information will be found in O. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906; J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Gr. Religion*, Cambridge, 1909; A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Leipzig, 1895, esp. pp. 46-62; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, esp. p. 292 ff.; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Tübingen, 1907.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Hebrew).—It will be most convenient to divide the material into three periods: pre-exilic, exilic and post-exilic, and Apocryphal.

I. THE PRE-EXILIC PERIOD.—1. In the early Heb. poems there is but one allusion to an angel, and none to spirits or demons. The 'holy ones' in Dt 33², later supposed to be angels (cf. Ac 7⁵⁵, Gal 3¹⁹, He 2²), were probably not a part of the original text (cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 392 ff.). In Jg 5²⁸ we read: 'Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of Jahweh.' Probably the angel was a manifestation of Jahweh, as in the J document.

2. Our next earliest evidence is in the J document. In Gn 3²⁴ cherubim are said to have been the guardians of Eden's entrance. There is reason to believe that these beings were personified winds. They find a counterpart in the winged figures of the Assyrian sculptures, which are often pictured in the act of fertilizing the sacred palm tree; hence Tylor suggested that they were winds—a view now accepted by many others.¹ The association of such figures with the tree of life would lead to the view that they were denizens of Paradise, and hence guardians of the tree of life. Apart from the cherubim, no other spirits appear in the early chapters of Genesis, but Jahweh Himself deals directly with men. This is the case in the Eden narrative (Gn 3), the Flood story (chs. 6-9), the confusion of tongues (ch. 11), and the story of Abraham (ch. 15). In the last-mentioned passage Jahweh appears as a flame of fire.

In Gn 16⁷ we first come upon the 'angel of Jahweh,' who found Hagar in the wilderness and aided her, but whom, as v. 13 shows, Hagar regarded as Jahweh Himself. The word here and elsewhere in the OT translated 'angel,' *mal'ak*, is from a root which appears in Arabic as *laka*, and in Ethiopic as *la'aka*, 'to go' or 'send as a messenger.' In this case *mal'ak Jahweh* means a special mission or coming of Jahweh to accomplish a special purpose. The 'angel' is not, accordingly, an angel in the later acceptance of the term.² The same is true of the following instances, which all appear in J, or in literature closely akin to it.

In Gn 18 the word 'angel' is not used, but Jahweh is said to have visited Abraham. The 'two angels' of ch. 19 are a later addition to the narrative, and, in the language of a later epoch, describe Jahweh's companions. In Gn 32²⁴ a 'man' comes and wrestles with Jacob; he is in reality Jahweh, though not formally declared by the text to be so. This 'man' represents a 'mission' or 'coming' of Jahweh, as did the 'angel of Jahweh' in ch. 16. It is probably this 'man' who is referred to in Gn 48¹⁶ as 'the angel which hath redeemed me [Jacob].' In Ex 3² the 'angel of Jahweh' appeared to Moses in the burning bush, but it was Jahweh Himself who saw that Moses turned aside to see the bush (v. 4), and Jahweh who spoke to Moses (v. 7). Similarly, the 'angel of Jahweh' appeared in the way to stop Balaam (Nu 22²²⁻³⁵). In Jos 5¹³⁻¹⁵ a 'man' appeared to Joshua as the captain of the host of Jahweh; he was the same manifestation elsewhere called the 'angel of Jahweh.' In Jg 2¹ the 'angel' or 'manifestation' of Jahweh moved up from Gilgal to Bethel. The 'angel of Jahweh' appeared to Gideon (Jg 6¹¹), and it is clear from vv. 21-23 that He was Jahweh Himself. The same is true of the 'angel of Jahweh' who appeared to the wife of Manoah in Jg 13². In 2 S 24¹⁷ David falls into the hand of Jahweh, who turns out (v. 19) to be His angel.

In all these passages the 'angel of Jahweh' is

¹ Cf. Barton, *Sem. Or.*, London, 1902, p. 91, and the references there given; also Skinner, *Genesis*, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 89 ff.; for a divergent view, see art. CHERUB, vol. iii. p. 508 ff.

² Cf. W. E. Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, London, 1892, i. 24, n. 1.

Jahweh Himself, who has come upon some special mission. Perhaps it was regarded as a kind of partial manifestation of Jahweh, but at all events there was no clear line of distinction between Jahweh and His angel. These manifestations of Jahweh were regarded as blessed or beautiful things, so that, when it was desired especially to praise a man, one said to him: 'Thou art good in my sight as an angel of God' (cf. 1 S 29⁹, 2 S 14^{17, 20} 19²⁷). At the same time, the term *mal'ak* was often used to designate the messenger of a king (see 1 S 11³ 16¹⁹ 19^{11, 14, 20}, and cf. 1 K 20⁸, Jer 27⁸).

In the J document other beings of the Divine order besides Jahweh are represented as real. These are called 'sons of God' (*bene hā-'elohim*) in Gn 6^{2, 4}, where they are said to have taken human wives and to have begotten the heroes who lived in olden days. These beings are not called angels, and do not appear again in pre-exilic literature.

3. In the E document the same conditions of thought prevail, though here angels appear at times in numbers.

In Gn 22¹ an angel called to Abraham out of heaven to prevent the sacrifice of Isaac. The present text calls him the 'angel of Jahweh,' but it is thought that in the original form of the text he was called the 'angel of God.' In Gn 28¹² Jacob saw the angels of God ascending and descending upon the ladder of his dream, but they were so closely associated with God that he said: 'This is none other than the house of God.' In Gn 31¹¹ the 'angel of God' appeared to Jacob in Aram, but v. 13 tells us that he said: 'I am the God of Bethel.' The angel was, then, only a manifestation of God. In Gn 32¹² the 'angels of God' met Jacob, and he said: 'This is God's host.' Here apparently the angels were a manifestation of God and of His attendant company of spirits. In Ex 34⁹ it was God Himself who called to Moses out of the burning bush. In Ex 14¹⁹ the 'angel of God' who had gone before the camp of Israel removed and went behind. This angel performed the same function as the pillar of cloud in the J document (cf. Nu 20¹⁶). That the 'angel of God' was practically identical with God is shown in Ex 23^{20, 22}, where God declared that His 'name' was in the angel that should go before Israel.

There is, then, no radical difference of conception between J and E. In both of them the angel of the Deity is usually a manifestation of Deity Himself, though in one instance (Gn 32¹²) the angels are apparently the spirits who accompany God. In Jg 9²³ (a passage which G. F. Moore [*SBOT*, New York, 1898] attributes to E), God is said to have sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and similarly in 1 S 16^{14-16, 22} 18¹⁰ (a passage which Budde attributes to J) an evil spirit from God is said to have come upon Saul.

4. This last conception is similar to that in 1 K 22¹⁹⁻²³, where Jahweh is thought of as surrounded by a host of spirits. These spirits were as yet undifferentiated. They had no moral character; they were neither angels nor demons, but took on their character from the nature of the tasks which they were given to perform. Jahweh Himself was responsible for whatever was done; He lured Ahab to his death; it was at His bidding that one of the spirits became a lying spirit in the mouths of Ahab's prophets to accomplish this end. The spirits of Jahweh's court were not the only spirits in which the Hebrews of the period believed. In 2 K 2¹² and 6¹⁷ reference is made to a kind of horsemen of the air, who seem to have been regarded as spirit defenders of Israel, for one passage relates that, when the chariot of fire took Elijah away, Elisha exclaimed: 'The chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof!' and the other represents these horsemen as the defenders of Elisha from a foreign army.

5. There are few other references to angels or spirits before the Exile. An early Ephraimite narrative (1 K 19⁹) tells us that an angel touched Elijah and awakened him. One late prophetic narrative tells us twice that an angel of Jahweh spoke to Elijah (2 K 1^{8, 15}), while another, also late (1 K 13¹⁶), tells that an angel spoke to another prophet. In 2 K 19³⁵ = Is 37³⁶ we are told

that an angel of Jahweh smote the Assyrians of Sennacherib's army. Pre-exilic prophets make almost no reference to angels, although Hosea (12⁴) declares that Jacob 'had power over the angel.' This is a reference to the 'man' of Gn 32²⁴, and is the only occurrence of 'angel' in a pre-exilic prophet. The Deuteronomist makes no mention of angels. One Deut. editor refers to the 'angel of Jahweh' (Ex 33²), but he was influenced by E.

6. One other class of supernatural beings of the time before the Exile remains to be considered, viz. the seraphim. Our knowledge of them is gained from one passage only, Is 6¹⁻⁷. In his vision, Isaiah saw Jahweh, above whom the seraphim were standing. Each one had six wings, and they constantly uttered the trisagion. At the sound of their voices 'the foundations of the threshold were moved.' Finally, it was one of these who took from the altar a live coal and touched the prophet's lips. It is clear that, like the cherubim, the seraphim were not angels (i.e. messengers), but were attendants of Jahweh. Like the cherubim, they are composite figures, and later Jewish thought placed them with the cherubim in Paradise (cf. En. 61¹⁰ 71⁷, Slav. En. 20⁴ 21¹).

Various explanations of the name and nature of the seraphim have been offered. (1) An old explanation, now generally abandoned, derived *serāph* from the Arab. *ṣarṣa*, 'to be eminent in glory,' and held the seraphim to be a kind of archangels. (2) Delitzsch and Hommel have connected it with the Assyrian *ṣarrāpu*, the 'burner,' an epithet applied to the Bab. god Nergal, a sun-deity; but, although an old syllabary says that this was the epithet of Nergal in the 'Westland,' no such deity has appeared in any real Canaanite source, and is consequently improbable. (3) Cheyne (*EBJ*, art. 'Demons') has, under the influence of the previous suggestion, attempted to connect the name of the god *Resef*, whose name occurs in a Phoen. inscription (*CIS* 1. 38). This he equates with *serāph*, supposing that a transposition of letters occurred—a solution which seems even more improbable. (4) Less satisfactory still was Hitzig's suggestion that *serāph* is to be connected with the Egyptian *Serapis*. (5) More recently Marti and others have connected the seraphim with the Egyptian griffins found, for example, in a XIIth dynasty tomb at Beni Hassan. These griffins were winged, were guardians of the grave, and in demotic were called *serēf* (cf. R. Pietschmann, *Geogr. der Phönizier*, Berlin, 1889, p. 177 ff.). (6) Probably the true explanation connects the seraphim with the fiery (*serāphim*) serpents of Nu 21⁶, and supposes that the seraphim were primarily serpents. This view is supported by the fact that Heb. tradition gave the serpent a prominent rôle in Paradise (cf. Gn 3), that they worshipped serpent-god down to the time of Heseekiah (2 K 18⁴⁵), that there was at Jerusalem a well called the 'Dragon's fountain' (Neh 2¹⁸; probably the modern Bir Eyyub), that a brazen serpent was found at Gezer in the pre-exilic Hebrew stratum (R. A. S. Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*, London, 1906, p. 76), and that in En. 20⁷ serpents (Gr. *δράκοντες*) are associated with the cherubim in Paradise, as in the Enoch passages cited above seraphim are associated with the cherubim. In course of time these serpents of Paradise were regarded as the attendants or guards of Jahweh, and were given wings, etc. to make them composite.

In pre-exilic Hebrew thought, then, Jahweh had three classes of attendants—cherubim, spirits, and seraphim. The cherubim and seraphim were guardians of Paradise and attendants of Jahweh. The spirits were His courtiers, and might be sent on missions by Him. They played, however, a very small part. Jahweh Himself was thought to appear in special manifestations to accomplish His purposes. Such manifestations were called the 'angel of Jahweh,' or the 'angel of God.'

7. Of demons in this period there are but slight traces. In the old poem which now forms Dt 33 it is said in v. 13 that the 'deep' (*t'hôm*) 'coucheth' (*rôbezeeth*) beneath. Driver has noted (*Deut.* p. 406) that *rôbezeeth* is ordinarily used of an animal; and, when one recalls that under the kindred name *Tiamât* the deep was personified in Babylonia as a dragon, and that this dragon appears in post-exilic Heb. literature as Rahab and Leviathan (see below), it becomes probable that Dt 33¹³ personified the subterranean abyss as a great dragon or demon. In Dt 32¹⁷ Hebrews are said to have sacrificed to *shedim*, not to 'Eloah' (God). *Shedim* was understood by the translators of the Septuagint as

demons, but, as it is made parallel with 'foreign gods' (cf. v. 16), and is the equivalent of the Assy. *šēdu*, or bull-deity, it is probable that it is used here as the name of a foreign deity. The fact that the root *šēd* became in later Judaism the general term for 'demon' (cf. Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targ., Talmud, and Mid.*, New York, 1903, p. 1558a) does not prove this inference wrong. If this view is correct, it makes no difference to our subject whether we date Dt 32, with Ewald and Dillmann, in the reign of Jeroboam II; with Kuenen and Driver, about 630 B.C.; or, with Steuernagel, in the Exile.

There are no clear references in pre-exilic literature to other demons, but it is probable that the Hebrews of the period believed that demons inhabited waste places, and that they endeavoured to propitiate them. The sacrifice to the wilderness demon Azazel (*q.v.*) (Lv 16) is clearly a survival from pre-exilic days, and it is probable that Lilith (Is 34¹⁴) was an old wilderness demon.

II. EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC CANONICAL MATERIAL.—1. In Ezekiel the term 'angel' does not occur, though in 2²⁸ and in 40³ a supernatural man appears who performs the functions of an angel. In the former passage he directs the marking of idolaters for destruction; in the latter he measures off the dimensions of the new sanctuary. The older belief in spirits survives to some extent in Ezekiel. In 2² 312. 14 8¹ a 'spirit' is said to have come upon Ezekiel and filled him with ecstatic inspiration. This spirit was one of the members of Jahweh's court, of which 1 K 22 gives such a vivid description (cf. Toy, *SBOT*, New York, 1899). This usage of 'spirit' is found only in the earlier chapters of Ezekiel, and in 8¹ is made synonymous with 'the hand of Jahweh.' In 11⁵ the term 'spirit' occurs, but it here approaches more nearly the spirit of Jahweh, and does not seem to denote a separate entity of a lower order. It inspires the prophet to reflexion rather than ecstasy. In other parts of Ezekiel 'spirits' do not occur.

2. In *Deutero-Isaiah* angels are not mentioned, and in *Trito-Isaiah* only one reference to an angel or spirit is found, viz. 'the angel of his [Jahweh's] presence' [Heb. 'face'], Is 63⁹. The expression occurs in a poetic reference to the angel mentioned in Ex 23²¹, of whom it was said, 'My name is in him.' The term 'presence' or 'face' seems to be borrowed from Ex 33²⁹, where Jahweh says to Moses: 'My presence shall go with thee.' The reference in Isaiah really betokens a post-exilic literary survival of a pre-exilic idea.

3. In *Zechariah* the 'angel' in the function of messenger appears as a fixed idea. The angel talked with the prophet, and in this way Zechariah received all his prophetic messages (cf. Zec 1² 11. 12. 13. 14. 19 5⁵ 10 6⁴ 8). The angel is here clearly an intermediary between God and man. Zechariah never is said to have seen God. In Zechariah, too, we meet for the first time with the division of angels into ranks. In 2³ 4 one angel is clearly the commander of another, and sends him on a mission. The 'angel of Jahweh' appears here also as a kind of guardian of Israel, since he protects the priest, the representative of the nation. In 1¹³ and 4¹³ the angel of Jahweh appears as a kind of Grand Vizier among the other angels. Possibly this early differentiation of angels into ranks was due to Persian influence, though this seems improbable, for, when this prophecy was written, only twenty years had elapsed since Cyrus's conquest of Babylonia and Palestine.

4. In the Book of *Job* we have different strata. The prologue is older than the poem, and may have been composed before the Exile. In it Jahweh is represented as surrounded by a court of

supernatural beings. These are called *bene hā-'elohim*, or beings of the Divine order—the old name employed in Gn 6²⁻⁴. These beings are pictured as free to walk through the earth wherever they will, but upon appointed days they gather to pay their court to Jahweh. Satan is still a member of this group, though he has become offended and has lost his faith in the existence of disinterested virtue. He is permitted to go forth upon a mission of experimentation—a mission which proves most painful to his victim. The whole conception is quite akin to that of 1 K 22. In the poem, which is later than the prologue, little is said of angels, though that little is of interest. In 5¹ the possibility of angelic intercessors is referred to. The angelic beings are here called 'holy ones.' In 4¹⁸ and 15¹ these 'holy ones' are said to be less pure than God, but much holier than men. The 'angel' of 33³⁸ (RV) is better rendered, with the margin, 'messenger,' since Elihu is referring to himself and not to a heavenly messenger (cf. Barton, *Com. on Job*, N.Y., 1911). In 38⁷ the 'sons of God' of the prologue are referred to, and are identified with the morning stars.

5. In the *Psalter*, angels are messengers of either good or evil. Ps 34⁷ declares: 'The angel of Jahweh encampeth round about them that fear him,' i.e. he is their protection. Ps 35⁶ declares that God lets His angel chase and persecute the wicked. Similarly, Ps 78⁴⁰ declares that God cast upon the Egyptians 'the fierceness of his anger, wrath, indignation, and trouble, a band of evil angels.' Here the angels are personifications of the wrath and indignation of Jahweh. Ps 104¹ reverses in a way the process, declaring: 'He makes his angels winds.' The angels as guardians are again referred to in Ps 91¹¹: 'He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee. They shall bear thee up in their hands.' Ps 103²⁰ and 148² call upon angels as well as men to praise God. Ps 89⁶ 7 implies that God is surrounded in heaven by a council of angels. This is also implied in Ps 103²⁰ 21 and 148², where the angels are spoken of as the 'ministers who do God's pleasure,' and as 'his host.' In Ps 8², where the present text, in speaking of man, reads: 'Thou hast made him little less than God' ('*elohim*'), the reference is probably to angels, and the original text was, perhaps, 'sons of God' ('*bene hā-'elohim*').

6. The *Priestly document* contains no reference to angels. It conceives of God as far away, but also as so powerful that He can simply speak and His word is obeyed. It represents Him in Leviticus as speaking to Moses, but how He spoke it never tells. It gives no hint that it was through angels.

7. The same is true of the Books of *Chronicles*, which are closely dependent upon P for their point of view. The Chronicler mentions angels in two passages only, 1 Ch 21 and 2 Ch 32²¹. The former passage is dependent on 2 S 24, and has taken over the angel who inflicted the punishment for David's census (see vv. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15); the latter is dependent upon 2 K 19³⁵, and has taken over the story of the angel who destroyed Sennacherib's army.

8. Angels do not really appear in the Book of *Ecclesiastes*. The word 'angel' is found, it is true, in 5⁸ (Heb. 5⁵), but it is probably a reverent way of referring to God Himself (cf. Barton, *Ecclesiastes*, in *JCC*, 1908). The Chronicler had set the example for this procedure by making the angel who afflicted Israel stand for God (cf. 1 Ch 21¹⁶ 20).

9. In the Book of *Daniel* the belief in angels re-appears, and they are thought to be exalted far above man (see 3¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 10¹⁶). In 3²⁵ an angel comes in human form to deliver the three children from the fiery furnace (cf. v. 28), and in 6²² God's angel

is said to have stopped the mouths of the lions. The conception of the division of angels into ranks, which was found in Zechariah, re-appears in an accentuated form in Daniel. Each nation apparently has a 'prince' or archangel detailed to look after its interests, so that there is a 'prince of the kingdom of Persia' (10¹²⁻²⁰), a 'prince of Greece' (10²⁰), and a 'prince of Israel' (10²¹). The last mentioned is Michael, who was 'one of the chief princes' (10¹³ 12¹). Possibly this conception is also found in Is 33^{21a}, which dates from about 335-333 B.C. In Daniel, too, we come upon a new feature found in no other canonical book of the period: the angels, or at least the archangels, begin to have names. In addition to Michael, already mentioned, 'the man Gabriel' (Gabriel means 'hero or man of God') appeared to impart wisdom to Daniel (8^{16a} 9^{21a}). The giving of definite proper names to angels—a feature very common in some of the apocryphal books—marks another step forward in the evolution of the conception.

10. Taking the post-exilic time as a whole, some interesting general facts with reference to angels may be gathered. They are called by a variety of names: 'sons of God,' i.e. of 'elohim' (Job 1² 2¹, Dn 3²⁵); 'elohim,' i.e. 'gods' (Ps 8² and perhaps 97²), 'sons of the mighty,' i.e. of 'elim,' lit. 'gods' (Ps 29¹ 89⁶); 'elim,' or 'gods' (Ex 15¹¹); 'gibborim,' or 'heroes' (Jl 3 [4]¹¹); 'shomerim,' or 'keepers' (Is 62²); 'host of the height' (Is 24²¹); 'morning stars' (Job 38⁷); 'vrim,' i.e. 'watchers' (Dn 4¹⁷ 14¹); 'holy ones' Zec 14⁵, Ps 89⁷), and 'princes' (Dn 10^{13. 20. 21}). Although angels are once identified with stars (Job 38⁷), there is no attempt in the canonical books, such as appears in some of the apocryphal books, to define the nature of angels or to tell the substance of which they are composed. The term 'host of the height' applied to them in Is 24²¹ is, no doubt, a modification of the pre-exilic phrase 'host of heaven,' which was applied to the stars. During the last years of the Judean monarchy those had been worshipped (see Jer 8², Zeph 1⁵, Dt 4¹⁹); they were then considered as gods, and the prophets opposed their worship. As the close of the Exile drew near, Jahweh was declared to be supreme over them (Is 45¹; cf. 40²⁶), and in Neh 9⁶ they are said to worship Jahweh. Apparently it was believed that this host was not subdued to the position of subordinates and worshippers without a struggle (see Job 25², Is 24²¹ 27¹ 34²), and the reference in 27¹ to Leviathan, which, as shown below, is a name for the Bab. dragon Tiamat, suggests that the idea of a struggle was borrowed from the Babylonian Creation Epic.

It has been held by some that the division of angels into ranks and the belief in archangels point to the fact that the angels originated in the subjugation of other gods to Jahweh. The argument in favour of this view is strong. It would seem improbable that the development of archangels was due in the first place to Persian influence, for they appear already in Zechariah, when Persian influence was too new. The fact that in Daniel the different archangels are each the prince or guardian of a special nation is in favour of the origin suggested, for it assigns to them just the rôle that the national gods of the heathen world had performed.

The functions of angels were various. They acted as Jahweh's court (Job 1. 2) and as His council (Ps 89⁷); they might be intercessors for men (Job 5¹), or guardians of the righteous (Ps 34⁷), whom they bear up in their hands (Ps 91^{11a}, Nu 20¹⁶ [P]); they are the guides and channels of Divine revelation to prophets (Zec 1^{9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 19} etc., Dn 8^{16a} 10^{13-16a}); they inflict punishment on the wicked (Ps 78⁴⁹); some of them guard the nations (Dn 10^{20. 21}); and in general they do whatever Jahweh wishes to have done.

Angels during this period were for the most part without names. There are only three exceptions

to this: the 'angel of his presence' (Is 63⁹), which, as pointed out above, is a poetic way of referring to a pre-exilic idea; and the individual angels Michael and Gabriel. These last appear in Daniel only, the latest book of the canon to contain any reference to angels. They are canonical examples of a tendency which is abundantly illustrated in the apocryphal literature to individualize angels and to attribute permanent characteristics to them. The name *Michael*, meaning 'Who is like God?', was a natural one to apply to an angel, though it had previously been borne by a number of men (see Nu 13¹³, 1 Ch 5^{13. 14} 6⁴⁰ 7³ 8¹⁶ 12²⁰ 27¹⁸, 2 Ch 21², and Ezr 8⁸). *Gabriel*, as already noted, signifies 'man of God,' and was also a natural name to give an angel.

11. The Hebrew belief in demons belongs especially to the time after the Exile. There were several causes which led to this belief. In pre-exilic times, it had been thought that Jahweh did everything, both good and bad. Amos says (3⁹): 'Shall evil befall a city and Jahweh hath not done it?' This evil might be accomplished through the agency of non-ethical spirits, as in 1 K 22¹⁹⁻²³, but Jahweh was in reality responsible for it. As in the case of the spirit that visited Saul, it might be called an 'evil spirit' (1 S 16^{14a}); but this only signified that its effects were undesirable, not that the spirit was morally bad. The spirit in this case came from Jahweh, and He was really responsible. This view was entertained by one writer until near the close of the Exile, for Deutero-Isaiah represents Jahweh as saying: 'I make peace, and create evil' (Is 45⁷). In the time after the Exile, men began to feel that to attribute evil to God was to think unworthily of Him; hence the occurrence of evil was ascribed to the agency of demons. This was, however, only one of the forces at work. With the triumph of monotheism the belief in the reality of the heathen deities did not altogether disappear, and those gods whose worshippers had been hostile to Israel, or had opposed the prophets so as to be denounced in the sacred books, were reduced to the rank of demons. From time immemorial, too, the belief had existed that dark and deserted localities were inhabited by unfriendly spirits. From the earliest times, pains had been taken to propitiate some of these by sacrifices, and such unfriendly spirits now became demons in the commonly accepted view. Then, too, the old mythology had preserved the memory of a heavenly court of spirits, or *bene hä-elohim*. It kept alive the memory of how some of these spirits had been commissioned in the olden time to bring men to destruction, and from this circle of ideas there was born a belief in an arch-enemy of good—Satan—who has since held a large place in the world's thought. Some of these demons were believed to inhabit the deserts and to roam about at night (cf. Is 13²¹ 34¹⁴). Like the *jinn* of the Arabs, they were supposed to take on the forms of wild animals. Some of them still maintained the quasi-Divine character which they had possessed before the Exile, and sacrifices were still offered to them. Once it is implied that the home of the arch-demon is in Sheol (cf. Job 18¹⁴).

Of individual demons, the one that played the largest part in later thought is Satan, though he appears in but three passages of the OT. (a) The earliest of these is the prologue of Job, which may be pre-exilic. Here Satan is one of the 'sons of God,' or 'spirits,' who compose the court of Jahweh. Much of the character of the un-ethical spirit which was sent on a mission of evil to men still attaches to him, but he has developed beyond this, for he has become permanently sceptical of disinterested virtue. He can do nothing without

Jahweh's permission, but his state of mind is thought to be a cause of regret to Jahweh. In consequence of Jahweh's concern for Satan and His desire to win him once more to a proper attitude, He permits him to make investigations in disinterested virtue by bringing evil upon Job. In this narrative Jahweh is represented as ultimately responsible for the evil, but it is permitted for a good end—the scattering of the doubts which had invaded the angelic circle and embittered one of the courtiers of heaven.

(b) In Zec 3¹ Satan appears to oppose the high priest Joshua before the 'angel of Jahweh.' The 'Adversary' (for such is the meaning of the name *Satan*) stands in the court of Jahweh as a public prosecutor, and, as Joshua is the representative of the nation, so Satan is the adversary or prosecutor of the nation. The fact that the angel of Jahweh rebukes him shows that Satan has undertaken his evil opposition to the people of God on his own initiative and not by Divine permission, as was the case in the Book of Job. His malignity is accordingly somewhat more developed, and in the circle of ideas represented by this passage Satan really relieves Jahweh of the responsibility for evil.

(c) The only other OT passage where Satan is mentioned is 1 Ch 21¹, which is a further witness to the fact that Satan was now held to be responsible for the existence of evil. The chapter gives an account of David's census and of the punishment for it, and is dependent on 2 S 24; but, whereas it is said in Samuel that Jahweh said to David, 'Go, number Israel,' because He was angry with the people, it is said in Chronicles that Satan 'moved David to number Israel.' Satan is clearly a development out of the group of spirits which were in earlier days thought to form Jahweh's court, members of which were sent upon errands of disaster to men.

Another demon who appears in one post-exilic canonical passage (Lv 16) is *Azazel* (g.v.). In the ritual of the Day of Atonement it is prescribed that a goat shall be chosen 'for Azazel,' that the sins of the people shall be confessed over him, and that then he shall be sent into the wilderness by a special messenger and turned loose (cf. Lv 16^{8, 10, 20}). The goat is in reality a sacrifice to Azazel. The ritual of this chapter is clearly a survival from pre-exilic days. It is also clear that Azazel was a wilderness demon, and probably the sacrifice was originally offered to him to propitiate him. It is, accordingly, a survival from a kind of worship of fear. The name *Azā'zēl* signifies 'entire removal.'

Another class of demons were *se'irim*, lit. 'hairy ones' (RV 'satyrs'; marg. 'he-goats'), who, like Azazel, were thought to inhabit wastes and ruins. Is 34¹⁴, in a picture of the future desolation of Edom, says that 'satyr shall call to his fellow there'; and Is 13²¹, an exilic passage, in portraying the desolation of Babylon, declares that 'satyrs shall dance there.' Just as the Arabs degraded the gods of the heathen to *jinn* and attributed to them some of the hairy characteristics of animals, so these satyrs appear to have been originally heathen deities (cf. W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.* 120 ff.). It is for this reason that Lv 17⁷ prohibits, for the future, sacrifice to satyrs, implying in the statement that they had been the recipients of sacrifices in the past. Similarly 2 Ch 11¹⁶, in reproducing 1 K 12³¹—the statement concerning Jeroboam's arrangements of priests for the high places—amplifies it by saying that he appointed 'priests for the satyrs and calves which he had made.'

The *shedim* which are mentioned in Dt 32¹⁷ are once referred to in a post exilic canonical writing, Ps 106³⁷, where *shedim* is a synonym for demons.

The word really, as the parallelism shows, refers to the heathen deities of the Canaanites, whom some of the post-exilic writers made satyrs, as just noted. That it was the intention of the Psalmist to call them demons here is confirmed by the fact that in the Mishna and Talmud *shed* is the root used to designate demons in general (cf. Jastrow, *Dict.* p. 1558a).

Is 34¹⁴ mentions *Lilith* (RV 'night-monster') in connexion with satyrs. It is probable that the name is connected with the Heb. root for 'night,' and that *Lilith* was a night-monster or demon which was thought to lurk in desolate places.

The 'horse-leech' (*'alūqā*) of Pr 30¹⁵ was perhaps a demon. While there was a large leech to which the name was applied, it was also regarded by the Jews of later time as the name of a demon. This seems to be the case in the Targ. to Ps 12⁹, which says: 'The wicked go round in circles like *'alūqā*, who suck the blood of men.'

In Ca 27³⁰ the Shunammite adjoins the daughters of Jerusalem 'by the roes and hinds of the field.' These are here probably not simple animals, but faun-like spirits by whom, as by other supernatural beings, adjurations could be made.

In four passages (all exilic or post-exilic) a great demon or dragon called Rahab appears. She was surrounded by a host of helpers, but after a severe struggle she and her helpers were overcome by Jahweh. The passages are: Is 51⁹ 'Art not thou he who hewed Rahab in pieces, who pierced through the dragon?'; Job 9¹³ 'The helpers of Rahab do stoop under him; how much less shall I answer him?'; Job 26^{13, 15} 'He quelleth the sea with his power, by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab; by his breath the heavens are bright,' etc.; Ps 89¹⁰ 'Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces as one that is slain; thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of thy strength.' It has long been recognized (see the writer's art. 'Tiamat' in *JAOS* xv. [1890]) that Rahab in those passages is simply another name for the Bab. primeval sea-monster *Tiamāt*. She is, accordingly, here not a native Heb. demon. For the original picture of her and her helpers, see L. W. King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, London, 1902, Tablets ii. and iv. Although Rahab is not native to Heb. soil, she plays a considerable part in post-exilic thought. Jahweh was naturally substituted for Marduk in the story circulated among the Hebrews, and His worshippers magnified His power as they thought of the might of this terrible dragon of a demon.

In at least two passages this primitive Bab. monster was known among the Hebrews as *Leviathan*. In Job 3⁸ *Leviathan* is evidently a mythical dragon capable of darkening the day, while in Ps 74¹⁴ we read, 'Thou brakest the heads of *Leviathan* in pieces,' and vv. 16, 17 go on to speak of the creation of the sun, the fixing of earth's bounds, and the making of summer and winter. In the psalm, therefore, we clearly have a reference to the Bab. Creation Epic, and it is probable that the passage from Job refers to the same monster. In Job 41 the crocodile is described under the name *Leviathan*, but in vv. 19-21 the description of the natural animal is mingled with elements drawn from a mythical fire-breathing dragon. It is probable, therefore, that *Leviathan*, like Rahab, was the Bab. *Tiamāt* under another name.

III. IN APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE.—While but few individual demons can be traced in the canonical literature, the apocryphal writings bear witness to the fact that the popular thought abounded with them. In the Apocalyptic writings of the Jews, composed prior to A.D. 100, all the main features of belief in spirits, angels, and

demons which appear in the canonical literature were continued and heightened. There is, however, a great difference between them in this respect. Some of them, like Sirach and Maccabees, make almost no reference to angels. Sirach mentions only the angel that destroyed the Assyrian army (48²¹), the writer of 1 Mac mentions angels only in referring to this event (7⁴¹), while the author of 2 Mac refers to them only in saying that the Jews of the Maccabean time prayed that an angel might be sent to smite the Greeks, as one was sent to smite the Assyrians (cf. 11⁶ 15^{22*}). Similarly, the Wisdom of Solomon makes no reference to angels except that in describing the Exodus it declares that the word of God was an active angel of vengeance (cf. Wis 18¹⁵). In some of the Enoch apocalypses, on the other hand, belief in angelic and demoniacal agency is carried to great length. This is especially true of the oldest Enoch apocalypse (Eth. En. 1-36), of the Parables (Eth. En. 37-71), and of the Slavonic Enoch. Other works make a more moderate use of this belief, although it clearly underlies all their thinking. This is true of Tobit, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Greek additions to Daniel, 2 Esdras, and the Book of Jubilees. The beliefs continued and were in some respects intensified, but, in proportion as the writers came under the sway of Greek rationalistic thought, they ceased to feel the need for such supernatural agencies. The author of Jubilees, in re-telling the story of Genesis, employs angels only where they appear in that book.

1. In certain writers the old tendency to attribute a spirit to everything still manifests itself. The author of the Enoch Parables speaks of a spirit of the sea, of hoar-frost, of hail, of snow, of fog, of dew, and of rain (Eth. En. 60¹⁷⁻²¹), while his favourite title for God is 'Lord of spirits' (38², 4 39¹² and *passim*). The author of Jubilees speaks of the spirits of fire, wind, darkness, hail, snow, frost, thunder, cold and heat, winter and summer (Jub 2¹), but he calls them angels at the same time, and he also terms the 'watchers' (an older name for angels) the 'fathers of spirits' (10⁶). These two agree in making spirits of the phenomena of Nature. In a different vein from those, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs make spirits of man's immoral tendencies. Those spirits are in reality demons, and are under the direction of Belial, the prince of demons (see art. BELIAL). Thus, we are told that there are seven spirits of deceit (Reuben 2¹). These seven are said to be the spirit of fornication, of insatiableness (resident in the belly), of fighting (resident in the liver and gall), of obsequiousness and chicanery, of pride, of lying and fraud, and of injustice with which are thefts and acts of rapacity (cf. Reuben 3²⁻⁶, Simeon 6⁷, Judah 20³, Dan 5⁴, Gad 4⁷). Later additions make the senses and sleep spirits of wickedness (Reuben 2³ 3¹). The function of these spirits was to lead men into various sins, and, after having done so, to take vengeance on them (Levi 3²). The evil spirit which a man had served was said to await his soul as it left his body at death in order to torment it (Asher 6⁹). In most of the Apocryphal books the spirits have passed over either into angels or into demons.

2. Through literary influence there is a slight survival of the Cherubim and Seraphim of an earlier time. They, together with the Ophanim (serpent-beings developed out of the original Seraphim), are said to be holy angels who praise God (Eth. En. 61¹⁰ 71⁷, Slav. En. 20¹ 21¹); but these beings play no important part in the thought of the period.

3. It is far otherwise with the angels, who are

declared to be innumerable (Apoc. Bar. 59¹¹). This clearly represents the view of several of these writers. Thus the author of the Enoch Parables declares that the Most High is accompanied by 1000 × 1000 and 10000 × 10000 angels (Eth. En. 60¹ 71¹²). Angels were thought to be the agency by which everything was performed. Thus, it is said that myriads of angels accompany the sun on his course (Slav. En. 11⁴ 24), and that 400 take the sun's crown to God at sunset, and return it to the sun in the morning (14² 3). How vast must have been, then, the number of all the angels!

These numerous angelic hosts were believed to be divided into ranks. Distinguished from the common mass, the archangels commanded and directed others. This division appears most clearly in the evil angels or demons, a long list of whose leaders is given in the earliest Enoch apocalypse and in the Enoch parables (cf. Eth. En. 6⁷ and 69²). This list will be further considered in discussing demons below. The good angels had similar chiefs, of whom Gabriel was one (Slav. En. 21⁶). But, apart from the archangels, the angelic hosts were thought to be divided into several ranks. It is said in Slav. En. 20⁸ that, as the Lord sat on His throne, the heavenly hosts stood on the ten steps of it according to their rank. This implies that there were numerous gradations of rank. Four angels were called 'angels of the throne.' They were Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael (Eth. En. 9¹ 40² and *Sib. Or.* ii. 215), though two passages (40⁹ 71⁹) substitute Phanuel (*i.e.* Penuel) for Uriel. Just as human hosts had human commanders, so the archangels were the commanders of the others. Thus in the Testament of Levi 3^{30*} the angel of the Presence is counted an archangel, to whom angels below make an announcement of what is transpiring. This development of the angelic hosts into ranks was to some extent reflected in the canonical literature, and its later development may have been influenced by contact with Persian thought.

As to the nature of angels, the conception was not uniform. At first they were considered a kind of supernatural men: thus, in all the books that speak of them, they are frequently called 'men' (see, *e.g.*, Slav. En. 1-7). They are, like men, said to possess bodies and spirits (Eth. En. 67⁸). They intermarried at one time with human women (Eth. En. 7¹, Slav. En. 18⁴). Enoch after translation became an angel (Slav. En. 22), showing that they were considered in many ways kindred to men. This view is a survival of the old conception reflected in Gn 6²⁻⁴. Gradually another view developed, according to which the constitution of angels was quite different from that of men. They are, accordingly, said to have a nature like that of fire (Slav. En. 29¹ 2), and to have been made at the beginning of flame and fire (Apoc. Bar. 21⁶); their splendour is said to be equal to that of the stars (51³). This view was, in some cases where tradition perpetuated the crasser view, blended with the other. Thus Enoch was thought to have been put through a process of purification and glorification before he became an angel (Slav. En. 22); and later, when he was permitted to return to the earth for thirty days, an angel chilled his face, apparently to dim the lustre of its angelic glory, before he descended to mingle with men (cf. Slav. En. 36² 37¹ 38¹). The forces of Nature were at times regarded as angels. Thus frost, hail, and fog are so designated in Eth. En. 60¹⁷⁻¹⁹, and the author of Jubilees calls these and similar forces of Nature indifferently 'spirits' and 'angels' (Jub. 2¹). At the same time angels were thought to have definite limitations. They were not able to hinder the work of God (Eth. En. 41⁹); they were ignorant of their own origin (Slav. En. 24⁸); fallen angels could not see the glory of God

(Eth. En. 14²¹, Slav. En. 24²), and Enoch, a man, interceded for them (Eth. En. 15³).

The whole course of Nature was thought to be carried on by angelic agency. Myriads of angels attend the sun (Slav. En. 14), they regulate the courses of the stars (ch. 19), they guard the habitations of snow (ch. 5), and keep the treasures of oil (ch. 6). Spirits or angels control the lightning, causing a pause before the thunder comes (Eth. En. 60¹³⁻¹⁵). They control the workings of frost, hail, mist, dew, and rain; they preside over the treasures of these (vv. 16-22). Activities of many other kinds were attributed to angels. They kept the garden of Eden (Slav. En. 8); fiery angels now surround Paradise (30¹); and angels built the ark (Eth. En. 67²).

One of the important functions of angels was to guide and instruct the great apocalyptic seers. The angel of peace went with Enoch (Eth. En. 40⁴ 43³), and conducted him to the first heaven (Slav. En. 3), while Gabriel later took Enoch to God (20²). An angel talked to Ezra (2 Es 24⁴, 46, 48 51⁵ 71); and Uriel was sent to Ezra (4¹, 36 51⁵, 20 71 10²⁸, 29). An angel revealed to Jacob Reuben's sin with Bilhah (Test. of Reuben 3¹⁸); an angel invited Levi to heaven, and showed him the secret of heaven to prepare him for the priesthood (Test. of Levi 2⁶ 5¹); an angel informed the patriarch Judah that he should be king of Jacob (Test. of Judah 21⁵), and announced to Jacob the birth of Rachel's children (Test. of Issachar 2¹). The angel of peace guides the soul of a good man at death (Test. of Benj. 6¹). Angels, called 'watchers,' came to earth in the days of Jared to teach men (Jub. 4¹⁶); an angel, spoken of as a 'holy one,' called to Hagar (17¹⁴); angels went up and down the ladder of Jacob's dream (27²¹); angels smote the flames of fire for the three children (v. 36). An angel told Habakkuk to carry his dinner to Daniel who was in the lion's den at Babylon, and took Habakkuk by the hair and transported him from Judæa to Babylon for this purpose and back again (Bel vv. 34-39). The angel Raphael came to heal Tobit's blindness (To 3¹⁷), accompanied the young Tobias (54-6, 21), instructed him how to drive an evil spirit away (6. 8²²), was sent by Tobias to Media after money (9¹⁰), opened Tobit's eyes (11²², 25), and was offered half the money (12⁶). Angels are portrayed as pitiful; they were in anguish when Zion was delivered to destruction (Apoc. Bar. 67²); and they are also represented as intercessors (Test. of Levi 3⁴ 5⁷, Test. of Dan 6²). It thus appears that all possible helpful agencies were attributed to them.

As angels were God's agents for blessing, so they were His instruments of chastisement. In the time of the Maccabees, prayer was offered that an angel might destroy the Greeks, as an angel destroyed the Assyrians (2 Mac 11⁵ 15²²). Enoch in the place of punishment saw angels administering torture (Slav. En. 10²²). It was believed that on the Day of Judgment an angel would be appointed avenger (Assump. Mos. 10²). An angel of God is said to have received orders to cut a sinner in twain (Sus vv. 28, 29). The word of God was said to have been an active angel of vengeance on the night of the Exodus (Wis 18¹⁰), and two angels were believed to have once descended from heaven to bind a hostile king (3 Mac 6¹⁸). When Jerusalem was destroyed, four angels stood at its four corners with lamps and accomplished its ruin (Apoc. Bar 7⁸ 8¹). There was also an angel whose chief function was to bring death (21²). Whatever, therefore, needed to be accomplished, whether good or bad, there was an angel to do it.

The tendency observable in a slight degree in the canonical literature to give the angels individual names appears in a greatly heightened form in the Apocryphal literature.

4. The conceptions of demons which appear in the Apocryphal literature are of four distinct types. Two of these regard the arch-demons as fallen angels, but in one type this angelic genesis of demons is much more prominent than in the other. (a) In the canonical literature discussed above, Satan was regarded as one of the number of the Divine beings who formed Jahweh's court (Job 1. 2). The steps by which in the canonical literature he became the great opposer of good have already been sketched. In one type of Apocryphal thought he became the arch-demon, who tempted man and led him astray (see Wis 24⁴ and Slav. En. 3²¹). These writers simply took Satan over from the canonical literature, and his semi-Divine or angelic origin apparently was forgotten. The author of Wisdom moved in an atmosphere of philosophic thought in which neither angels nor demons played any considerable part. The author of Slavonic Enoch, though he makes much of angels, has almost nothing to say of demons. He probably believed in them, but the interest of his narrative led him to place the emphasis elsewhere. These writers call Satan by the Gr. tr. of his name, *diabolos*, or 'devil.' They identify him with the serpent of Eden, and account for the origin of sin by his agency in leading man astray.

(b) The authors of Eth. En. 1-36 and of the Enoch Parables (En. 37-71) represent a different type, being much more keenly interested in tracing the origin of demons and of evil. Instead of taking one arch-demon from the canonical literature, they go back to the narrative of Gn 6²⁻⁴, and account for the origin of demons and of sin by elaborating the hint there given. Persian dualism had sufficiently influenced their thought, so that matter was to them corrupt. That angels should come to earth and have connexion with human wives implied, they thought, a previous rebellion and sin on the part of the angels. The hint which supplied the point of departure for this view was probably given by the story of Satan in the prologue of the Book of Job. Those angelic hosts who sinned were numerous, but they were led by certain archangels, whose names are given somewhat differently by the two writers. These with their followers landed on Mount Hermon, and, after satisfying themselves with human wives, taught men various sins, some teaching one and some another. One taught enchantments, another astrology, another the making of swords, another the art of abortion, and another that of writing. The one who taught the use of coats of mail and of swords also seduced Eve (cf. Eth. En. 6-9 and 69). These writers, like the author of the J document of the Hexateuch, regarded the arts of civilization as having had a common origin with sin. Among the names of these arch-demons the canonical names of Satan and Azazel are found, but they play a comparatively small part. The rôle of Azazel is more prominent than that of Satan. The larger number of these angels (and to them are attributed the most hurtful influences) are called by names not found in the canonical literature. It appears from these names that many of them were called by names appropriate to angels. The degradation of the names to demons was in accord with the theory that they were fallen angels. In one passage (Eth. En. 21⁶) they are identified with the stars. Having introduced sin into the world, those fallen angels were regarded as the presiding geniuses of various forms of transgression and corruption. They were themselves, however, thought to be already undergoing punishment. They were bound and were being tormented by a great fire (Eth. En. 21⁵⁻¹⁰ 54¹⁻³).

(c) The Book of Tobit represents a third type of thought. In it but one demon appears,—*Asmodeus*,—and he is clearly, as his name implies, of Persian

origin (but see Ginzberg, *JE* ii. 217-219). The author of this book had so come under Persian influence, probably by living in the East, that its demonology or demonological vocabulary influenced him more than did that of the canonical, or even the apocryphal, writings of his people.

(d) A fourth type of thought is represented by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah. In these works the demonology, while very real and all-pervasive, is made up in a rational way, and such contact as it has with canonical thought is at quite a different point of that thought. As mentioned above, the world is thought to be pervaded by evil spirits, but these are simply the personification of the evil propensities of man—jealousy, lust, pride, chicanery, injustice, rapacity, etc. Writers who thus made evil spirits of the sinful tendencies of men about them moved in a somewhat different realm of thought from those who connected these evil spirits with the story of Gn 6³⁻⁴ and gave to them orthodox Hebrew names. Over this mass of evil spirits the two writers under consideration believed that Beliar presided. Beliar to them takes the place of the devil in Wisdom and the Secrets of Enoch, of Semyaza in the other Enoch books, and of Asmodeus in Tobit. Beliar is a form of *Belial* (see vol. ii. p. 458^b f.). Belial had been used by Nahum (1¹⁰) as the name of a great evil power. Possibly Belial was an old name for Sheol, though that is uncertain. It it were so, it is easy to see why these writers took it as the name of the prince and leader of all evil and destructive spirits.

To most Jews of the period, as indeed to most men of that time, the world was full of supernatural agencies. As there were angels to accomplish every good act, so there were demons or evil spirits to perpetrate every evil deed or to prompt every sinful impulse. Some of the writers, however, manifest no trace of this demonology; such are Ben Sira and the authors of the Books of Maccabees. The subject-matter of Sirach as well as the philosophical point of view of its author excluded any reference to them, while the author of 1 Mac had probably come so far under the influence of incipient Sadduceism that demons had little or no place in his thought. To most men, however, demons in one form or another were very real, and played an important part in life.

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GEORGE A. BARTON.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Indian).—1. Prevalence of the belief in spirit influence.—The people of India, particularly the forest tribes and the lower castes, from the cradle to the grave or burning-ground, are oppressed with a feeling best described as demonophobia—the belief that they are haunted by evil spirits of all kinds, some malignant fiends, some mischievous elves, to whose agency are attributed all kinds of sickness and misfortune. Their worship is a worship of fear, the higher gods, particularly in the opinion of the less intelligent classes, being regarded as otiose and indifferent to the evils which attack the human race, while demons are habitually active and malignant.

Among the Thāris of the Himālayān Tarāi, 'the bhūts, or demons lurking in the forest trees, especially the weird cotton

tree (*Bombax heptaphyllum*), and the *prets*, or spirits of the dead, lead them a very miserable life. When the last ray of light leaves the forest, and the darkness settles down upon their villages, all the Thāris, men, women, and children, huddle together inside their fast-closed huts, in mortal dread of those ghostly beings, more savage and cruel than the leopards, tigers, and bears that now prowls about for their prey. Only the terrible cry of "Fire" will bring these poor fear-stricken creatures to open the doors and remove the heavy barriers from their huts at night. And even in the daytime, amid the hum of human life, the songs of the birds, and the lowing of the cattle, no Thāri, man, woman, or child, would ever venture along a forest-line, without casting a leaf, a branch, or a piece of old rag, upon the *bansati* (Skr. *vanaspati*, "king of the woods"), formed at the entrance of deep woods, to save them from the many diseases and accidents the goblins and malignant spirits of the forests can bring upon and cause them" (S. Knowles, *The Gospel in Gonda*, 1889, p. 214).

In S. India, where this belief is even more widely spread than in the N., 'every village is believed by the people to be surrounded by evil spirits, who are always on the watch to inflict disease and misfortunes of all kinds on the unhappy villagers. They lurk everywhere, on the tops of palmyra trees, in caves and rocks, in ravines and chasms. They fly about in the air, like birds of prey, ready to pounce down on any unprotected victim, and the Indian villagers pass through life in constant dread of these invisible enemies. So they turn for protection to the guardian deities of their village, whose function it is to ward off these evil spirits and protect the village from epidemics of cholera, smallpox, or fever, from cattle disease, failure of crops, childlessness, fires, and all the manifold ills that flesh is heir to in an Indian village' (Bishop H. Whitehead, *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 126 f.). Traill, who took over charge of Kumaun in 1820, reported that the population was divided into two classes, human beings and ghosts (E. S. Oakley, *Holy Himalaya*, 1905, p. 217 f.). For other testimony to the same effect, see S. Mather, *The Land of Clouds*, 207 ff.; Sir W. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, 1833, p. 288 ff.; Bishop R. Caldwell, 'The Tinnevely Shanars', in B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the S. Indian Gods*, 1869, p. 156 ff. This feeling of pessimism, due partly to racial idiosyncrasy, partly to the rigour of their environment, has prevailed among the races of India from the very earliest times (see H. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, 1894, p. 39 f.; Atharvaveda, *SBE* xlii. *passim*).

2. Origin and character of the cult of demons and evil spirits.—Demonolatry, the worship of devils or demons, is a form of belief in its origin independent of Brāhmanism or the orthodox form of Hinduism, though the latter has in many cases annexed and absorbed it (see § 12). The cultus is a true form of worship, and here the distinction between 'deity' and 'demon' is unmeaning, the latter being, as in the case of the orthodox gods, controlled by true worship or propitiation. But, like similar forms of popular belief in other parts of the world, it is amorphous and ill-organized, possessing little or no sacred literature and no established priesthood. The most obvious distinction is between non-human and human spirits.

(a) *Non-human spirits or fiends* are 'endowed with superhuman powers, and possess material bodies of various kinds, which they can change as they list, and which are subject to destruction. As free agents, they can choose between good and evil, but a disposition towards evil preponderates in their character' (G. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa or India*, 515 f.). The so-called Asuras, Dānavas, Daityas, and Rākṣasas belong to this group, 'all personations of the hostile powers of Nature, or of mighty human foes, both which have been eventually converted into superhuman beings.' This group as a whole seems to be derived from pre-Animistic beliefs, the worship or dread of 'powers' (*numina*, not *nomina*), the vague impersonations of the terror of night, hill, cave, or forest. They appear in the Vedas as malevolent beings hostile to the orthodox gods (A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 156 ff.). Max Müller and J. Muir agree in denying that all these Vedic evil spirits were borrowed by the Aryans from the aborigines of India (*Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, 1897, i. 212; *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 1860, pt. ii. 380 ff.). It is safer to believe that among both Aryans and non-Aryans they were the result of pre-Animistic beliefs common to both races. At the same time, it is probable that the Aryan view of the demon world was coloured by their association with the indigenous races.

'The black complexion, ferocious aspect, barbarous habits, rude speech, and savage yells of the Dasyus, and the sudden and furtive attacks which, under cover of the impenetrable woods, and the obscurity of night, they would make on the encampment of the Aryas, might naturally lead the latter to speak of them, in the highly figurative language of an imaginative people in the first stage of civilisation, as ghosts or demons; or even to conceive of their hidden assailants as possessed of magical and superhuman powers, or as headed by devils. . . . At length the further advance of the Aryas would either drive the Dasyus into the remotest corners of the country, or lead to their partial incorporation with the conquerors as the lowest grade in their community. When this stage was reached, the Aryas would no longer have any occasion to compose prayers to the gods for protection against the aboriginal tribes; but their superstitious dread of the evil spirits, with which the popular mind in all ages has been prone to people the night, would still continue' (*Orig. Skr. Texts*, pt. ii, p. 409 f.). Hence it was the habit in ancient, as well as in modern times, to personify Nisi or Night as a demon; she comes at midnight, calls the house-master, and forces him to follow her whither she will; she drags him into the forest, drops him among thorns, or on the top of some high tree; and it is very dangerous to answer her call (*JASB* i. [1886] 49 f.; *Kāthā-sarīt-sāgara* of Somadeva, tr. C. H. Tawney, 1880, li. 604; Lal Behari Day, *Govinda Samanta*, 1874, i. 9; *NINQ* iii. [1894] 199).

As representing the vague terrors felt by early man in the desert and forest, these Indian spirits resemble in many ways the Arabian *jinn* (W. R. Smith, 119 f.); or, as Westermarck (*MI*, 1903, ii. 589) designates them, 'beings invented to explain what seems to fall outside the ordinary pale of Nature, the wonderful and unexpected, the superstitious imaginations of men who fear'. Hence many of the Indian races represent their deities or demons as inhabiting wild hills or lonely forests. The Meithei believe that their demons occupy hills (T. C. Hodson, *The Meithei*, 1903, p. 120). The Konga Malaysians of Cochin worship two demoniacal deities named after the rocks in which they reside; Sasthi, a sylvan deity, is adored by the Vallans, and is said to live in a hill; the Eravallans believe that their forests and hills are full of dangerous demons, who live in trees, and rule the wild beasts, some of them afflicting particular families or villages, and are propitiated to relieve their hunger, not in the hope of gaining any benefit for their worshippers; the Nayadis worship a group of forest demons, one of which brings them game, and is abused for his ingratitude if the hunt proves unsuccessful (L. K. Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, i. 41, 239, 47, 63). Trees are also a favourite demon-haunt (Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, 1873, ii. 221). The Izhuvans believe that trees are occupied by demons; and, when it is proposed to cut a tree, a notice to the demons is written on the bark informing them that it is intended to eject them (Iyer, i. 281; cf. Crooke, *PR*, 1896, ii. 90 f.; E. V. Russell, *Census Rep. Central Provinces*, 1901, i. 92). Many of the non-Aryan tribes in Bengal worship deities who reside in hills. Such are the Juangs, Santāls, Oraṇs, Cheros, Kandhs, and Bauris (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1891, i. 353, ii. 233, 145, i. 202, 403, 80). The Todas believe that, before they were created, their gods occupied the Nilgiri Hills; they now reside in heights close to the Toda hamlets (Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906, p. 182 f.). In the same class are the water spirits or deities found all over the country, which are malevolent, and drag down unwary travellers—an idea which appears in the classical tale of Narcissus (Crooke, i. 42 f.; Frazer, *GP*, 1900, i. 293). These Rākṣasas, Dānavas, or Daityas still maintain their position in popular belief, the tradition surviving through the study of the Epic literature and the older collections of folklore, like the Jātakas or the tales of Somadeva.

(b) *Human spirits*.—The second and much more important class of evil spirits is that of the ghosts of human beings, known collectively as *Bhūta* (Skr. rt. *bhū*, 'to become, be'). In contradistinction to the fiends or non-human spirits, these are the malignant spirits of men, which for various reasons cherish feelings of hostility to the human race, and, if not expelled or propitiated, do endless mischief. Among the more primitive or debased tribes the belief that disease and death are the result of the normal or abnormal processes of Nature is only imperfectly realized; and these and other calamities are regarded as the work of evil spirits, sometimes acting on their own initiative, sometimes incited by a sorcerer or witch.

3. The *Bhūta*: their characteristics.—In 8. India three terms are used to designate these spirits—*Bhūta*, *Preta*, *Pisācha*, the first name being ordinarily applied to all three classes.

'These beings, always evil, originate from the souls of those who have died untimely or violent deaths, or been deformed, idiotic, or insane; afflicted with fits or unusual ailments; or drunken, dissolute, or wicked during life. The precise distinction between the three classes is that the *Preta* (Skr. rt. *pre*, 'to depart from life') is a ghost of a child dying in infancy, or of one born deformed, imperfect, or monstrous—events attributed to neglect in performing certain ceremonies prescribed during the ten days when, according to popular notions, the limbs of the

embryo are forming in the womb; such a ghost becomes a misshapen, distorted goblin. The *Pisācha* ['*fish-eater*'], on the other hand, is derived rather from mental characteristics, and is the ghost of madmen, habitual drunkards, the treacherous and violent-tempered. . . . *Bhūtas* emanate from those who die in any unusual way, by violence, accident, suicide, or sentence of law; or who have been robbers, notorious evil-doers, or dreaded for cruelty and violence. The death of any well-known bad character is a source of terror to all his neighbourhood, as he is sure to become a *Bhūta* or demon, as powerful and malignant as he was in life' (M. J. Walhouse, *JAI* v. 408 f.). They are represented with small thick bodies, of a red colour, with pigtales round their heads, horrible faces, the teeth of a lion in their mouths, and their bodies covered with ornaments (Caldwell, in Ziegenbalg, 155). In the Deccan they live in large trees, empty houses, or old walls; they often appear as a deer, a tall figure, a strange ox or goat; if a person sleeps under a haunted tree, cuts a branch of it, defiles the abode of the *Bhūta*, or jostles one on the road, he falls sick or some ill-luck befalls him (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 292). In Gujarat the *Bhūta* and *Preta*, like the European Vampire, are believed to take possession of a corpse, and speak through its mouth; they appear in the form which they possessed when living; enter a living man, and cause him to speak as they please; afflict him with fever or other disease; appear as animals, and frighten people by vanishing in a flame of fire; remain sometimes invisible, and speak only in whispers; a *Bhūta* has been known to come to fistcuffs with a man, or to carry him off and set him down in a strange place; cases have been reported in which women have been found with child by them; when a *Bhūta* appears in a tree, a pile of stones is raised at its root, to which every passer-by adds one; if stones be not procurable, a rag is stuck to the tree, which is hence known as the 'Rag-uncle' (cf. Harland, *LP*, 1896, ii. 175 f.; Crooke, *PR* i. 161 f.; *Dalpatrām Dāyā*, 'Ehoot, Nibundh', in A. K. Forbes, *Rās Māla*, 644 f.). The *Bhūta* eat filth, and drink any water, however impure; they cannot rest on the ground, and for this reason a peg, or brick, or bamboo pole is placed at their shrines on which they may sit or perch; they speak a sort of gibberish in a nasal tone, and hence 'goblin speech' (*pisācha bhāṣa*) is the term applied to the jargon in the mediæval drama and in modern English (*PR* i. 238); those who come from dead Brāhmins are wheat-coloured, while others, like the ghost of a negro, are black and specially dreaded (ib. i. 236 f.). As a rule they are helpless by day, and move abroad at night; but mid-day, when they cook, and evening are especially dangerous times, and women should not move about, especially at midday, unprotected (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, vi. 230; A. K. Iyer, i. 150; *BG* xviii. pt. i. 292; *PNQ* iv. 182; cf. the similar classical belief (Theocrit. *Idyll* i. 15; Lucan, *Pharsal* iii. 428; R. Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, 1892, p. 181; J. T. Bent, *The Cyclopes*, 1885, p. 86); cf. also art. CALENDAR (Celtic), vol. iii. p. 82).

4. Spirits of the murdered, the unsatisfied, the foreigner.—Of these classes of *Bhūta* the most dangerous are the spirits of the murdered, the unsatisfied, and the dreaded foreigner.

(a) *Spirits of the murdered*.—All over the world the ghost of a murdered person is believed to cherish an angry passion for revenge (Westermarck, i. 418 f.). Some of the most dangerous *Bhūta* are of this class.

In Coorg the demon most widely feared is that of a magician who was shot. Elmakital, mother of seven sons, who was buried as a sacrifice under the walls of the Kolhapur fort (cf. Crooke, ii. 173 f.), causes food supplies to dwindle, the milk to give no butter, and the cattle to sicken; the Oraṇs distinguish three classes of such demons, who are known as the *Bhūta*, 'wanderers who have lost their way,' including those who have been murdered, hanged, or killed by a tiger (G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, 1870, p. 165; *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, i. 1906, i. 1401). Several of the most widely revered local deities of N. India are the spirits of persons, particularly Brāhmins, who have lost their lives in some tragical way, and the ghosts of dead bandits, or of those who were slain by tigers or other wild animals (E. A. Gait, *Census Rep. Bengal*, 1901, i. 196 f.; Crooke, i. 191 f., ii. 218 f.).

Hence comes the conception of a special Brāhman demon, known as Brāhma-rākṣasa, Brāhma-daitya, Brāhma-purusa, or popularly as Brahman, the spirit of a murdered Brāhman. The Brāhman being himself spirit-laden, his ghost is invested with special potency for good or evil. In Bengal

'such spirits are specially powerful and malicious. Sometimes they are represented as a headless trunk, with the eyes looking from the breast. They are believed to inhabit large trees by the side of a river or in some lonely place, whence they throw stones at travellers and lead them astray on dark nights, and we betide the unfortunate who should give one of them cause for offence (e.g. by unwittingly felling the tree in which they have taken up their abode), or who was in any way responsible for his death. He can only escape the evil consequences by making the Brāhman his family deity and worshipping him regularly' (Gait, i. 198; Crooke, ii. 78). In W. India the rulers of the

¹ Hereafter cited as *MASB*.

State of Śaṅkavāḍī are afflicted by the demon-spirit of a Brāhman killed in the 17th century. He is particularly excited if any one uses his seal of office, and down to the present day a Brāhman is always employed to seal the State papers (BG x. 440). In the Deccan the Brāhma-samandhi, the spirit of a married Brāhman, haunts empty houses, burning grounds, river-banks, seldom attacks people, but when he does attack them it is difficult to shake him off (ib. xiv. 415). In the same region the Brāhma-purusa is the spirit of a miser Brāhman, who died in grief, intent on adding to his hoard; when he lives in his own house, he attacks any member of the family who spends his money, wears his clothes, or does anything to which in life he would have objected (ib. xviii. pt. i. 553 f.).

(b) *Those who have left this world with unsatisfied desires.*—The spirits of the unhappy or unsatisfied fall into several groups:—

(a) *Unhappy widows and widowers, childless women.*—Among these the most dreaded is the Churel, Churail, Chudel, Chudail, or the Alwantin, as she is called in the Deccan—the spirit of a pregnant woman, one dying on the day of childbirth, or within the period of puerperal pollution.

In the Panjāb she appears as a pretty woman, with her feet turned backwards, and is specially dangerous to members of her own family (PNQ ii. 168 f.). Among the Orāons, when the exorcist forces her to appear in the flame of his lamp, she looks like the Dākini, the common type of ogress; but her feet are distorted, she is hunch-backed, and has a large hole in her belly like the hollow in a tree (MASB, 1906, i. 140). In Madras a woman who dies prematurely, especially as the result of suicide or accident, becomes a she-devil, known by the euphemistical title of Mohāni, 'the charmer,' and she so continues until her normal term of life is over (NINQ, 104). In the Deccan the Jakhin (Skr. *yakṣiṇī*, rt. *yakṣ*, 'to move') is the spirit of an uneasy married woman, who haunts bathing and cooking rooms, attacks her husband's second wife and children, takes her own children from their stepmother, or, like the British fairies, steals babies and returns them after a time (BG xxiv. 416). The spirit of a deceased husband or wife, particularly the latter, is most dangerous to his or her successor. This is, in part, an explanation of the objection felt among the higher castes to widow-marriage, of the custom of performing the rite at night in order to avoid the observation of the angry spirit, and of the use of sundry ceremonies which repel evil spirits (R. E. Enthoven, *Bombay Census Rep.*, 1901, i. 208). Among the Kolis of Ahmadnagar a widow bride is held to be unlucky for three days after her marriage, and must take care that no married woman sees her until that period is over; if after such a marriage the widow bride or her husband should fall sick, the medium, when consulted, usually reports that it is caused by the spirit of her first husband, who is annoyed because his wife has married again; the bride has to give a feast, spend money in charity, and wear in a copper case round her neck a tiny image of her late husband, or set it among the household gods (BG xvii. 206). Such amulets are known in the Panjāb as 'the crown of the rival wife' (*saukan mawā*), and to them all gifts made to her are presented as a measure of precaution (H. A. Rose, *Census Rep.*, 1901, i. 121). Sometimes the widow wears a gold-wire bracelet on her right wrist, and every year, in the name of her deceased husband, feeds a Brāhman woman whose husband is alive, and gives her clothes (BG xxii. 814). When a widow of the Let tribe in Bengal marries again, her second husband is usually a widower, and he places the iron bangle of his first wife on the arm of her successor (E. A. Gait, i. 421). In the Deccan the Ārā is the spirit of a young woman who committed suicide after bearing one or more children; she attacks young women, and must be propitiated by offerings of cooked rice, turmeric, red powder, and a bodice (BG xviii. pt. i. 553). The Hadal or Hedali, the spectre of a woman dying in pregnancy or childbirth, is plump in front and a skeleton behind, lives in wells, trees, or dark corners of the house, attacks women, and, sometimes appearing as a beautiful woman, lives with men until her fiend nature or spectre form is discovered (ib. xviii. pt. i. 554). The corpses of women dying under such circumstances are often burnt in order to prevent sorcerers from digging them up and using the unborn fetuses or the bones of the mother for purposes of Black Magic (ib. xxiii. 201; A. K. Iyer, i. 771 f.).

(β) *Unhappy children and the unmarried.*—Under the influence of the same belief that the spirits of those dying with unsatisfied desires become malignant, children and unmarried persons are included in the army of evil spectres.

In the Himālaya, the Tōlā or Māsā (the latter a term ordinarily used to designate cemetery spectres) are the spirits of children or bachelors, sometimes appearing in the form of a 'vill-o'-the-wisp, banished from the society of other spirits, living in wild and solitary places, sometimes prowling about in the form of bears or other wild animals. They are, as a rule, harmless, and their present estate is only temporary, because after a time they undergo transformation, and assume other shapes (Crocket, i. 281; Oakley, 218).

The spirits of the unmarried dead form a large group.

In S. India such spirits are called Virika (Skr. *vīra*, 'heroic,' eminent'), 'and to their memory have small temples and

images erected, where offerings of cloth, rice, and the like are made to their *manes*. If this be neglected, they appear in dreams, and threaten those who are forgetful of their duty' (F. Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, i. 359; cf. ii. 120, 152, where the name is extended to the spirits of bad men, who afflict the living). In Kanara, if neglected, such spirits send pestilence among men and sheep, and disturb people by dreams and nightmares (BG xv. pt. i. 300). In the Deccan the Jhoting is the spirit of a youth dying unmarried and leaving no relatives; it lives in trees, ruins, or burial-grounds, is most faithless and can be bound by no oath, personifies absent husbands, leads wayfarers into pools and drowns them, waylays postmen, who are safe so long as they do not lay down their bags (BG xviii. pt. i. 554). Elsewhere the Jhoting is the ghost of a low-caste Hindu who died with unsatisfied desires, wears no clothes, and lets his hair flow loose; he lives in a house of his own, but, if this be burnt or pulled down, he removes to a river or well; he fears to enter sacred places, or to attack persons learned in the Vedas and strict in the performance of their religious duties (ib. xxiv. 417). In the Deccan those who die after the rite of thread-girding and before marriage become evil spirits, known as Muñjā (Skr. *mūñja*, 'the fibre girdle of the Brāhman') or Ākhavā (Skr. *akṣavāga*, 'eight years old') (ib. xviii. pt. i. 539 f.). Such spirits are greatly feared in the Panjāb, where they are known by the euphemistical title of 'father' (*pitā*); shrines are erected to them near tanks, and offerings are made (NINQ v. 179). A typical case of the defilement of the unmarried is found in the cult of Dūhā Deo, 'the defiled bridegroom,' which seems to have originated in the Central Provinces, where a bridegroom on his wedding journey was killed by a tiger or in some other tragical way; at marriages a miniature coat, shoes, and bridal crown, with a little swing to amuse the child, are offered to him (R. V. Russell, i. 80; Crooke, i. 119 f.). In the Panjāb, under the influence of Vaisnava beliefs, he is said to represent the relationship of God to the human soul, exhibited as that of a lover to his mistress (H. A. Rose, i. 130). For similar legends of a bride and bridegroom turned into stone, see J. Grimm, *Faust, Mythol.*, Eng. tr., 1888, iv. 1446; W. C. Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, 1897, ii. 549.

(c) *Spirits of foreigners.*—The same feelings of awe or fear naturally attach to the spirits of dead foreigners, whose valour, cruelty, or other qualities have impressed the minds of a subject people.

At Sahāranpur a Musalmān named Allāh Baksh, who died in a state of impurity, has become a dangerous demon, worshipped by the lower castes of Hindus (NINQ v. 193). Such a spirit is known by the euphemistical title of Mamdūh 'praised,' 'famous,' or as Najia, 'the impure one.' He wears a Musalmān dress, with his hair on end, and carries branches in his hands; even the Pir, or saint, sometimes becomes hostile to people who unguardedly sit upon his tomb, spit at it, or in other ways annoy him (ib. v. 106; BG xxiv. 416 f., xviii. pt. i. 554). People resort to the shrine of a Muhammadan saint Alam Pir, at Muzaffargarh in the Panjāb, to procure release from such spirits. In fact, the Indian Muhammadans have appropriated much of the demonology of their Hindu neighbours, and exorcism and the modes of securing control of evil spirits have become important branches of science (G. A. Herklotz, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, 1893, p. 201 ff.; BG ix. pt. ii. 147 f.). In the same way the dread spirits of Europeans are propitiated. That of a certain Captain Fole, killed at Travancore in 1809, is appeased with gifts of spirits and cigars (CASE i. 104; E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, 1906, p. 294 f.). Similar cases of the propitiation of the spirits of European men and women are common in various parts of the country (Crooke, ii. 199; BG xviii. pt. i. 413, pt. iii. 447; NINQ ii. 93; PNQ ii. 123). In some places, however, such spirits are regarded as kindly, as in the cases of General Raymond, who died at Haldarābād in 1798, and Colonel Wallace, who died in the Deccan in 1809 (S. H. Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Hist. and Deser. Sketch of H. H. the Nizām's Dominions*, 1883, ii. 600 ff.; BG xviii. pt. iii. 447 f.).

5. *Modes of repelling or conciliating evil spirits.*

—Various methods are employed to repel or conciliate evil spirits. If the spirit after death is to pass to the home of the Pitrī, or sainted dead, or to undergo the necessary stages of transmigration, it is necessary that the funeral rites (*śrāddha*) shall have been duly performed (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Indian], vol. i. p. 450 ff.). Hence the family spirit is usually benevolent, if care be taken to provide for its wants. Thus arises the very common classification of spirits into the 'inside' and the 'outside'—the former usually friendly; the latter, being foreigners, usually hostile. The Orāons divide their spirits into those of the house, the sept, the village, and the Bhūla, or dangerous wanderers (MASB, 1906, i. 138). In the Deccan there are 'home' and 'outside' spirits, the latter not being greatly feared, because, though every field has its evil spirit, they are restrained by the Guardians (see § 9), who are more powerful and able to control them. The friendly house spirit generally merges

into the protecting family deity, like Gumo Gosāin, the Mālē god who dwells in the house pillar, or Dharma Pennū, the Kandh god of the family or tribe (Risley, ii. 58, i. 403).

In any case, after a time, usually represented by the period of human memory, the spirit automatically passes to its rest, and ceases to be a source of danger to the survivors.

In the Deccan the life and influence of a Bhūta last for four, and the evil conditions of haunted places for two, generations (BG xviii. pt. i. 555); the Hpon of Upper Burma worship only their fathers and mothers (Gazetteer Upper Burma, i. pt. i. 568, 600; cf. Crooke, i. 178).

When the inability to perform the funeral rites and the consequent restlessness or maliciousness of the spirit are due to the absence of the corpse, as in the case of death occurring in a strange land or the failure to recover the body, the relatives perform the funeral in effigy.

Among the Garos, when a man dies away from his village and cannot be cremated at home, the relatives buy a number of cowrie-shells and put them in a pot to represent the bones of the dead man, or erect a mortuary hut in which they are deposited (A. Playfair, *The Garos*, 1909, p. 111). In some cases, among orthodox Hindus, the corpse is represented by branches of the sacred *Butea frondosa* tree—the head by a coco-nut; pearls, or, failing them, cowrie-shells, for the eyes; the whole being covered with paste made of ground pulse to simulate the flesh, and a deer-skin representing the cuticle; the officiating priest, by the use of magical formula (*mantra*), infuses life into the image, the animating principle being represented by a lamp placed close by; when the lamp goes out, the usual funeral rites are performed (NINQ iii. 201; cf. BG xviii. pt. i. 564). When the death of a relative occurs under an unlucky constellation in a Brāhman family, a special quieting rite (*śānti*) is performed to appease the uneasy spirit.

Even in the case of those dying in a natural way, precautions are taken to prevent the spirit from returning to its original home from the burial- or cremation-ground.

Among the Madras tribes, when a Bāvuri is being buried, the friends say: 'You were living with us; now you have left us. Do not trouble the people'; the spirit of a dead Savara is solemnly adjured not to worry his widow: 'Do not send sickness on her children. Her second husband has done no harm to you. She chose him for her husband, and he consented; O man, be appeased! O unseen ones! O ancestors! be you witnesses' (Thurston, i. 179, vi. 321). When the corpse of a Taungtha is carried outside the house, the chief mourner pours water on it, saying: 'A stream divides countries, so may the water now poured divide us!' (Gazetteer Upper Burma, i. pt. i. 557).

Another plan is to endeavour to deceive the spirit, so that it may not find its way back, by taking it out of the house feet foremost, or through a door not usually opened for ingress and egress.

The Meithei never carry the corpse over the threshold of the main door; sometimes a hole is cut in the wall, or the tiny side entrance is used (Hodson, 117). Among the Maghs of Bengal, when the master of the house has died, the mourners on their return cut away the house ladder, and creep in through a hole cut in the back wall, in order to baffle the ghost (Risley, ii. 34). A similar device is that of making the corpse-bearers change places on the road to the grave, and turn the corpse in the opposite direction (BG xviii. pt. i. 424; ix. pt. i. 48). With the same intention, the mourners are forbidden to look back when leaving the cemetery (Crooke, ii. 56 f.), the evil influence being communicated through the sight (E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 115; *FL* xviii. [1907] 845).

Sometimes the repression of the evil spirit is secured in a physical way.

The thumbs and great toes of the corpse are tied together to prevent the ghost from 'walking,' or it is tied up in a cotton bag, as among the Bhotiyas (Playfair, 106; Thurston, iii. 104, iv. 371, 494, v. 483, vii. 83; Gazetteer Upper Burma, i. pt. i. 557; *MASE*, 1905, i. 109). Among the Koyis of Madras, when a girl dies of syphilis, a fish-trap is erected to catch the spirit, and prevent it from entering the village (Thurston, iv. 55). Some people, when returning from the funeral, fling pebbles towards the pyre to scare the spirit, or make a barricade of thorny bushes between the grave and the house (Crooke, ii. 57; Risley, ii. 76). With the same intention, the names of deceased relatives are tabu for a generation, to avoid recalling their spirits; or, when parents die, men assume the names of their deceased grandfather; women, of their grandmother (Sir R. Temple, *Census Rep. Andaman Islands*, 1901, i. 253). One reason given for the wide-spread custom of shaving after a death is that it changes the appearance of the mourners so as to deceive the pursuing spirit, or removes the shelter in which it may hide and cling to the mourner (Frazer, *JAF* xv. [1886] 99). To prevent the spirit rising from the grave and 'walking,' it is a common practice, particularly among menial castes, to bury the corpse

face downwards, and to pile stones and thorns on the grave (Thurston, iv. 322, 374, vii. 426; Gait, i. 419; Crooke, ii. 60; BG xxii. 196; cf. R. S. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 1850, p. 522).

Precautions in the case of more dangerous spirits.

—Precautions of this kind are more urgent in the case of spirits specially malignant.

In the case of the Churel, sometimes the corpse of a woman dying pregnant is cut open and the child removed; or the spirit is scared by fire, earth, and water; or iron nails are driven into her fingers, and the thumbs fastened together with iron rings (Crooke, i. 272 f.). The Orāns carry the corpse of such a woman to a distance, break the feet above the ankles, and twist them round, bringing the heels in front, into which they drive long thorns; they bury her deep in the earth face downwards, and place with her corpse the bones of an ass, reciting the anathema. 'If you come home, may you turn into an ass!'; the roots of a palm-tree are also buried with her, with the curse: 'May you come home when the leaves of the palm wither!'; when they leave the burial-ground, they spread mustard seeds along the road, saying: 'When you try to come home, pick up all these!' (*MASE*, 1906, i. 140). This last charm is very common, and is one of the usual impossible tasks found in the folk-tales (Crooke, i. 273 f.; BG xix. 134, xxiv. 417; Steel-Temple, *Wide-awake Stories*, 1884, p. 430). These precautions, under Brāhman guidance, have been elaborated into a special funeral ritual for women dying during the menstrual period, after the sixth month of pregnancy, and within ten days after childbirth (BG xviii. pt. i. 561 f.).

The misery of the unmarried dead is relieved by the curious rite of marriage with the dead (cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. [1898] 389 ff.)—a custom which in India seems to prevail only in Madras and among some Burmese tribes.

When a Toda boy dies unmarried, a girl is selected; her head is covered by her father with a mantle, and she puts food into the pocket of the mantle of the dead; the Nambūthiri Brāhmins perform the rite of tying the marriage necklace on a dead unmarried girl (Rivers, 367, 701; *Bull. Madras Mus.* ii. 61). The disgusting custom of enforced sexual connexion by a male with such a dead girl, ascribed by Abbé Dubois to the Nāyars, seems to be based on a misunderstanding of this rite of mock marriage (J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, 1906, p. 16 f.). Besides the Todas and Nambūthiris, several S. Indian tribes perform this mock marriage, such as the Badagas, Billavas, and Komatis, while among the Pallis and Vaniyans the dead bachelor is solemnly married to the *arka* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) (V. N. Aiyar, *Travancore State Manual*, 1906, ii. 259; Thurston, i. 117, 250 f., iii. 334, v. 197, vi. 22, vii. 315). Among the Chins of Upper Burma, if, before the great contracting ceremony is completed, either party dies, the rites are continued with the corpse, which is kept unburied until the rite is finished; in this they probably follow the custom well established among the Chinese (Gazetteer Upper Burma, ii. pt. ii. 303; J. M. de Groot, *Rel. Syst. of China*, 1894, ii. 800 ff.; J. H. Gray, *China*, 1878, i. 216 f.).

6. Possession by spirits.—Possession by evil spirits or demons is of two kinds:

'The theory of embodiment serves several highly important purposes in savage and barbarian philosophy. On the one hand, it provides an explanation of the phenomena of morbid exaltation and derangement, especially as connected with abnormal utterance, and this view is so far extended as to produce an almost general doctrine of disease. On the other hand, it enables the savage either to "lay" a hurtful spirit in some foreign body, and so get rid of it, or to carry about a useful spirit for his service in a material object, to set it up as a deity for worship in the body of an animal, or in a block or stone or image or other thing, which contains the spirit as a vessel contains a fluid: this is the key to strict fetishism, and in no small measure to idolatry' (Tyler, i. 123).

These two varieties of spirit possession can be traced in Indian beliefs.

(a) *Abnormal or disease possession.*—In the first place, we have cases of abnormal possession. Certain persons are supposed to be specially liable to spirit possession, thus defined by a native writer:

'The men most liable to spirit attacks are the impotent, the lustful, the lately widowed, bankrupts, sons and brothers of whores, convicts, the idle, brooders on the unknowable, gluttons, and starvers. The women most liable to spirit attacks are girls, young women who have lately come of age, young widows, idlers, whores, brooders on the unknowable, irregular or gluttonous eaters, and all sickly women. Women are especially liable to spirit attacks during their monthly sickness, during pregnancy, and in childhood; and men, women, and children are all apt to suffer when, dressed in their best, they go to gardens or near wells. Intelligent and educated men and healthy intelligent women are freer than others from spirit attacks' (BG xxii. 813).

Demon possession thus accounts for various abnormal states of mind and for the phenomena classed as hysteria. Hence patients, particularly women, suffering in this way require special pro-

tection, or it is necessary to expel the demons by whom they are possessed.

In Cochín, among the Eravallars, if a pregnant woman dreams of dogs, cats, or wild animals coming to attack her, she is believed to be possessed by demons. An exorcist, or 'devil-driver,' is called in, who makes a hideous figure on the ground representing the demon, sings, beats a drum, mutters spells, burns frankincense, and waves round the head of the patient an offering of food for the demon, on receiving which he leaves her (A. K. Iyer, i. 461, 107; Thurston, ii. 73, 214). In the Panjab, a woman after *chūdhī* is specially liable to the attacks of demons, and has to wear an iron ring, made, if possible, out of an old horse-shoe, and to keep a fire burning near her (PNQ iii. 81). For the same reason, at the puberty rites of a girl, offerings are made to demons (A. K. Iyer, i. 146). The same is the case with people at various crises of their lives, such as the bride and bridegroom, the mourners, and the corpse-bearers at funeral rites. Such persons are protected by various charms and amulets (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Indian], vol. iii. p. 441 ff.).

(b) *Conciliation by gifts of food, etc.*—Attempts are often made to conciliate demons on such occasions by throwing food for them by the roadside or in the house.

In the Himalāya, food is waved round the head of a possessed person and left out on the road by night, any one touching it being liable to spirit attack (PNQ iii. 75). When a birth occurs in the family of a Chitpāvan Brāhman, cooked rice, on which a dough lamp is placed, is laid in a corner of the street (BG xviii. pt. 1. 1181). When the Reddis of Bijapur disturb the field spirits at the first ploughing, pieces of coco-nut are thrown on each side of the plough track; and at a Brāhman funeral in the Deccan a man carries a winnowing-fan full of coco-kernel which he scatters abroad (G. xxiii. 147, xviii. pt. 1. 149). The Kūki priest, in cases of sickness, prescribes the appropriate victim, and eats its flesh, throwing what he cannot eat as an offering into the jungle (R. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, p. 46).

(c) *Expulsion of spirits by flagellation.*—Especially in the case of attacks of the hysterical kind, the patient is soundly beaten, until the demon speaks through him or her, and promises to depart.

'If the devil should prove an obstinate one and refuse to leave, charm they never so wisely, his retreat may generally be hastened by the vigorous application of a slipper or broom to the shoulders of the possessed person, the operator taking care to use at the same time the most scurrilous language he can think of' (Bishop R. Caldwell, writing of the Tinnevely Shanars, in Ziegenbalg, 164). In the Deccan one plan of scaring a demon is for the exorcist to take the possessed person before an idol, seize him by the top-knot, and scourge and abuse him until the Bhūta says what offering or penance will satisfy him (BG xviii. pt. 1. 292). The tortures inflicted on supposed witches and other possessed persons have resulted in death or serious injury (NINQ iii. 202 f.; N. Chevers, *Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India*, 1870, p. 548 ff.; for further accounts of exorcism by flagellation, see Crooke, i. 99, 155 f., ii. 34; cf. Frazer, *GB*² iii. 127 f., 215 f.). In Car Nicobar true ceremonial murders of men, women, and even children have been performed for the public benefit by organized bodies, because the victims are considered dangerous or obnoxious to the community; the murdered persons are charged with possession by an evil spirit as illustrated by their propensity to witchcraft, incendiarism, homicide, failure to cure diseases, or theft; but the root cause is that the victim is believed to be possessed by a demon, and hence dangerous; his limbs are broken, he is strangled, and his corpse is flung into the sea (Sir R. Temple, 210).

(d) *Expulsion of disease spirits.*—The evil spirits most generally feared are those which bring disease. To their agency are attributed epidemics in general, especially cholera, plague, or smallpox, and maladies which are unforeseen or those which indicate spirit possession, such as fits, fever, rheumatism, colic, and the like. Such spirits are often got rid of by transference, the spirit being compelled or induced to remove to another village or to some distant place.

In the Panjab, if the fever spirit be detected, the officiant goes at night to a graveyard, brings home some earth, lays it near the patient, and next day suspends a string from an acacia tree, on which it is believed that the spirit hangs itself; or a string is wound in seven strands from toe to head of the patient, and then it is tied round the tree, in the hope of conciliating the tree spirit which causes the fever spirit to depart (PNQ i. 40). In Upper Burma, when children fall ill, an egg, some of the child's hair, and some sweetmeats are placed on a little boat and consigned to the river, which carries away the spirit; by a later conception this is supposed to be an offering to the water Nāt or spirit (*Gazetteer*, ii. pt. 1. 291 f.; cf. Frazer, *GB*² iii. 97 ff., 105 f.). A very common method is to convey the disease by means of a scape-animal from the infected area. In Berār the cholera spirit is expelled by yoking a plough, and driving it round the village to form a sacred circle, which foreign and hostile spirits cannot pass; a fowl and a goat are sacrificed and buried in the ground, and near them the beam and

plough-yoke are fixed, daubed with red lead, and worshipped; a cart is then dragged containing the image of Mari, the disease goddess, from her shrine, to the village boundary, where the image is worshipped, and a buffalo calf is sacrificed and buried (NINQ iv. 206 f.). In the Telugu country the scape-animal is a buffalo, and, as the image of the goddess is carried in procession, people flourish sticks, swords, or spears, and cut up lines and throw them into the air in order to induce the hungry spirits to seize them and thus be diverted from attacking the man who bears the image (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 130).

7. Possession by spirits of the exorcist.—The exorcism of evil spirits by a professional exorcist has been reduced to a system, and prevails widely in all parts of the country, particularly in S. India. In N. India the medium is known as Bhagat (Skr. *bhakti*, 'fervent faith'), Syānā, 'the wise one,' Ojhā (Skr. *upādhyāya*, 'teacher'); among the hill tribes of Central India as Baigā, Bhomkā, Parihār, or Demano; in the Deccan as Jantā, 'the knowing one,' or Devrishī, 'holy saint.' He is distinguished from the Mantri, who learns by orthodox methods the charm formulae (*mantra*) from a teacher (*guru*), by the fact that he does not undergo special training, but works through the inspiration of a familiar spirit or guardian, which enters him when he works himself up into the proper state of ecstasy. This ecstatic state occurs on various occasions and for various purposes. His special province is the expulsion of various kinds of disease; but he also becomes possessed at death rites, when he identifies and announces the pleasure of the spirit, at name-fixing, when he decides the proper name of the child, and at other domestic and religious rites. The medium in his ecstatic state is seized with revolting cramp-like contortions and muscular quivering, head-wagging, and frantic dancing, which usually end in complete or partial insensibility. When Sir C. A. Elliott witnessed a séance, 'the man did not literally revolve; he covered his head well up in his cloth, leaving space over the head for the god to come to; and in this state he twisted and turned himself about rapidly, and soon sank exhausted. Then, from the pit of his stomach, he uttered words which the bystanders interpreted to direct a certain line of conduct for the sick man to pursue. But perhaps the occasion was not a fair test, as the Parihār strongly objected to the presence of an unbeliever, on the pretence that the god was afraid to come before so great a *hākīm* [official]' (*Settlement Rep. Hoshangabad*, 1867, p. 120). Compare the account by Capt. W. L. Samuels, in Dalton, 232 f., quoted above, vol. ii. p. 488 f.

(a) *Tabus imposed upon the medium.*—The medium is subject to numerous tabus.

The god 'would leave his head' if either a cow or a Brāhman attended the rites, thus proving their non-Aryan origin. The Kotā medium must not speak directly to his wife or to any other woman for three months before the rite; he may not sleep on a mat or blanket; at the feast he must have no congress with his wife (Thurston, iv. 10 f.). In the Deccan he loses his power if his lamp goes out while he is eating, and thus leaves him exposed to demon assault; if he happens to hear a menstruous woman speak; if any one sweeps his room; if the name of any spirit is mentioned. Should any such events occur, he must stop eating and fast during the remainder of the day. He must avoid certain vegetables and fruits, and must never eat stale or twice-cooked food. If he be a Musalman, he must not eat a special kind of millet, or food cooked by a menstruous woman (BG xxiv. 418).

(b) *Methods of identifying spirits by the medium.*—The medium uses varied methods of identifying the spirit which has seized his patient.

In the Panjab he waves corn over the sick person, and, making a heap for each suspected demon, keeps on dropping grains that on which the last falls indicating the offender (NINQ i. 128). The Berār medium hangs a string over a wood fire and repeats spells; when the smoke touches the string, the appropriate formula is indicated (PNQ ii. 170). The Kāchārī medium lays out thirteen leaves, each assigned to a special god, and, hanging a pendulum from his thumb, lets it move; when it touches a particular leaf, that deity must be propitiated (Dalton, 85). In the Gujarāt an officiant tied charmed threads round the house, drove a charmed iron nail into the ground at each corner and two at the door; the house was purified; a Dev, or orthodox god, was installed, and before his image was placed a drawn sword, a lamp lit with butter, and a second lit with oil, while the medium continued to mutter charms for forty-one days, and occasionally visited the cremation ground to make propitiatory offerings to the offended spirit. In another case the spirit was actually expelled, and buried under lime, salt, mustard, lead, and stones, to prevent him from 'walking'; and, as an additional precaution, a charmed iron nail was driven into the

ground. Fumigation of the patient with the smoke of pepper and dogs' dung, as a means of inconveniencing the demon, was also recommended (A. K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 657 f.).

8. **Shamanism.**—Such methods naturally develop into the practices which have been roughly classified under the head of Shamanism (*q.v.*), though this term is often applied to demonology in general. Bishop Caldwell recognizes various points of contact between the systematized methods of exorcism known as 'devil dancing' and 'devil driving' in S. India and the Shamanism of High Asia; the absence in both of a recognized priesthood; the recognition of a Supreme God to whom, as he is too kindly to do them harm, little worship is offered by the people; the absence of belief in metempsychosis; the objects of Shamanistic worship being not gods, but demons, which are regarded as cruel, revengeful, capricious, and are appeased by blood sacrifices and wild dances; the medium exciting himself to frenzy, and pretending, or supposing himself, to be possessed by the demon to whom worship is being offered, and whilst in this state communicating to those who consult him the information he has received (*Dravid. Gram.*, 1875, p. 580 f.).

Performances of this kind are uncommon in N. India, except in the Himalāya and among other hill and forest tribes. In Kumaun, when a person believes himself to be possessed by a demon, he calls his friends to dance it away; the dance goes on daily for as long as six months in some cases, and, as an additional precaution, large fires are kept alight (Oakley, 207 f.). When the Garos do devil-driving, it is in the name of their god Kalkamā, who holds in his hands the spirits of men; sacrificial stones are erected to him, and are smeared with the blood of the animal victim (Playfair, 82). The methods in use in S. India, where the system has been more fully elaborated, are of the same kind, and need not be more fully described. The basis of the performance is that the officiant, in dress, weapon, and ornaments, impersonate the demon whom they desire to propitiate and cause to depart. (See illustrations of such performers among the Parjāyans and Panans of Cochín, in A. K. Iyer, i. 83, 178. Full details will be found in the writings of Bishops Caldwell and Whitehouse already quoted, and in A. C. Burnell, 'The Devil Worship of the Tulavās', *IA*, 1894.)

Blood-drinking.—The most loathsome incident in these rites is when the medium, in order to bring himself into communion with the deity or demon, and thus gain inspiration, drinks the blood of the sacrificed victim.

The low-caste Mādiga who impersonates the demon Viraveśin or Poturājā, 'buffalo king', kills the sacrificial goat by strangling it with his teeth and tearing the throat open (Oppert, 461, 476). The same rite is performed by other mediums of the same class (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 165 f.; Thurston, iv. 187; A. K. Iyer, i. 311). In N. India similar rites are found among the Tantrik mediums, as when, at the Bhairava festival in Nepal, a band of masked, yelling devils beset and torture the buffalo victim, drink the blood, and eat pieces of the raw, bleeding flesh (*PNQ* iii. 105; cf. the account in H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*, 1880, li. 345 f.). In some cases in S. India the victim is slightly wounded, and forced to eat rice soaked in its own blood; if it eats, the omen is good, but in any case the victim is slain (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 178). The blood is used as a charm, as at Trichinopoly, where clothes soaked in it are hung on the eaves of the houses to protect the cattle from disease; or it is smeared on the doorposts of the shrine, or collected in a vessel and laid before the goddess for her refreshment (*ib.* v. 173, 141, 164).

9. **Worship of Guardians.**—Particularly in S. India, the chief reliance for protection against demons is placed in the Guardians. These are, first, the Grāmadevatā, or local village-deities; secondly, the leaders of the hosts of evil spirits, who, by appropriate conciliation, can be induced to keep their demon bands under control, and prevent them from doing injury to mankind.

(a) *The Grāmadevatā.*—The Grāmadevatā, 'gods of the village,' or, as they are called in N. India, the Dihvār (with the same meaning), are generally non-human spirits, though their ranks are sometimes recruited from those of human origin. They are often identified with the Earth Mother or with the wider host of Mothers (Mātā), the worship of whom prevails widely in W. India. (For Mother-worship, see A. Barth, *Religions of India*, 1882, p. 202 n.; Bishop Whitehouse, in *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 116 f.; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 1891, p. 225 f.). The connexion of this worship of the female powers with the matriarchate is not clearly established in India. But women are generally supposed to be more susceptible than men to spirit influence, and are mysterious beings charged with supernatural energy (Westermarck, i. 620, 695 f.). Hence we find women participating in demon propitia-

tion. The Orīs believe that women, known as Bisahī, control the terrible Bhūta known as Dāyan. The woman who desires to acquire this power strips off her clothes (see above, vol. iii. p. 447), wears a girdle of broken twigs taken from a broom, and goes to a cave, the resort of the Dāyan. There she learns spells (*mantra*), and at each séance puts a stone into a hole. If at the end of a year the hole is full, she has become an expert, and can take away life and restore it. If the hole be only partially full, she has the power only of taking away life. Every year she is obliged to sacrifice a black cat and pour its blood into the hole. She and the Dāyan alone can set the Bhūta in action, and to these all diseases are attributed. When a child dies, any Bisahī in the village is charged with causing the death (*MASB* i. 144).

As examples of these village guardians we have Chhapki or Chhapkai, the low-caste Hindu guardian in the Deccan, who lives in marshes and attacks children. To appease her an image is made of earth taken from the banks of a river; offerings are made to it, and it is finally thrown into water (*BG* xxiv. 416). The field guardian of the Reddis of Bijapur lives in a stone under a sacred tree, which is smeared with red lead, and offerings are made before beginning ploughing (*ib.* xxiii. 147). Darhā is the guardian of the Birhors of Bengal, and is represented by a piece of bamboo stuck slantwise into the ground (Risley, i. 188). Naturally such village guardians are often embodied in the boundary stone. The chief object of worship of the Dāngs of Khāndesh is Simariā Dev, the boundary god, the Sewapriyā of the Bhuiyars (*BG* xii. 801; Crooke, *TC* ii. 98). The worship of boundaries (*simanta-pūjā*) is part of the orthodox marriage rite (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 129). In Tanjore the Ellai-kai, or boundary stone, is the subject of remarkable worship (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 117 f., 161 f.).

(b) *The demon Guardians.*—In S. India the chief of these is Aiyānar, 'honourable father,' or, as he is also called, Sāstra or Sāstra, 'ruler' (Oppert, 505). Mounted on a horse or elephant, he rides sword in hand over hill and dale to clear the land from evil spirits; any one who meets him and his demon troop dies at once; when he is not riding, he appears as a red-coloured man, wearing a crown, with lines of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*) on his forehead, and richly dressed; he has two wives, Pūranāl and Pudukkal, who are worshipped with him (Oppert, 505; *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 118; A. K. Iyer, i. 312 f.). In the Himalāya the demons go about on horses, in litters, or on foot, led by Bho-lanāth; death seizes any one meeting them; Airi patrols the land with his dogs (*JASB*, 1848, p. 609; Crooke, i. 282 f., 280; cf. the European legend of the Wild Huntsman, the Orion of Greek legend, Wuotan of Germany [Frazer, *Pausan.* v. 82; Grimm, iii. 918 f., 941 f.]).

The Deccan guardian is Vetālā, who also appears as a goblin tenating dead bodies (see the *Vetāla-pañchavṃśatikā* included in Somadeva, *Kathā-sarīr-sāgara*, tr. C. H. Tawney; and Sir E. Burton, *Vikram and the Vampire*, 1870). He is represented in human form, but his hands and feet are turned backwards, his eyes tawny green, his hair standing on end; he holds a cane in his right hand and a conch-shell in his left; when he goes his rounds, he is dressed in green, and sits in a litter or rides a horse, while his attendants follow, holding lighted torches and shouting (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 291, xxiv. 415). In the villages, as a guardian, he occupies a stone smeared with red paint, the top roughly carved into a man's face; but more usually he resides in the pre-historic stone circles scattered over the hills, the centre stone representing the demon, and the surrounding pillars his attendants (*ib.* xviii. pt. i. 291, 553, pt. iii. 347, 388, xxiv. 415).

Like him is Bhairava or Bhairon, who seems to be in origin an old earth-god, the consort of the Mother. In his form as Kāl Bhairava he cures diseases caused by demons (*ib.* xi. 461, xiv. 73, xviii. pt. i. 289). As Bahiroba he is widely revered, and the Dhāngars of Sātra bury his image with the rich men of the tribe to protect them from evil spirits (*ib.* xi. 461, xiv. 73, xix. 105).

In N. India, where the belief in demons is less intense, the local village-deities, and, in particular, Hanumān, the monkey-god, are installed as guardians at the foundation of every settlement.

10. **Periodical or occasional expulsion of evil spirits.**—The periodical or occasional expulsion of evil spirits is as common among many Indian tribes as it is among other primitive races (Frazer, *GB* iii. 39 f.).

This is often done at the close of the harvest season, which is regarded as a period of licence. About harvest time the Karenis of Upper Burma take a piece of smouldering wood from the house fire, place it on a bamboo, and carry it ceremonially outside the village; they are unable or unwilling to explain the object of the rite, but they say that it keeps off fever and other sickness from the house (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 580). Among the Taungthas of the E. frontier there is a general cleaning up of the village after an epidemic, the place being surrounded with a cordon of fresh-spun white threads, and the blood of sacrificed animals scattered (T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, 1870, p. 196 f.). The people of Lower Burma expel the cholera demon by scrambling on the house roofs, laying about them with bamboos and billets of wood, drum-beating, trumpet-blowing, yells, and screams (C. J. F. Forbes, *British Burma*, 1878, p. 233; Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1882, ii. 105 f.). Similar harvest-rites are found among the Ho and Mundārī tribes in Bengal and those of the N.W. frontier (Dalton, 190 f.; J. Bid-dulph, *Tribe of the Hindoo Koshi*, 1880, p. 108). At the annual

Maier feast the priest scatters rice; all persons supposed to be possessed with devils scramble for it, and are finally cured by drinking the blood of a sacrificed buffalo (Daiton, 270). The Kandhis practise a similar rite at seed-time (W. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service*, 1865, p. 357.). In Bengal, during the Holi spring festival, people light torches and fling them over the boundary of the next village, the custom often giving rise to riots (PNQ iv. 201). Even among many of the higher castes, like the Prabhus of Bombay, in order to expel evil spirits at a marriage, a servant rises early and sweeps the house, gathers the sweepings into a basket, lays on it an old broom, a light, some betel, and four copper coins, and waving the basket before each room says: 'May evil go, and Ball's kingdom come!' She then drives the master of the house to the door, and, warning him not to look back, places the sweepings on the roadside and brings back the coins (BG xviii. pt. i. 252.). In Upper India the Divili, or feast of lights, is the occasion for observances of the same kind, the lamps scaring demons, and a regular rite of scaring poverty or ill-luck from the house being performed (JA xxviii. [1903] 237 ff.; NINQ v. 125; Crooke, ii. 158 f., 296 f.). Often these rites take the form of a mock combat or a tug of war, in which one party represents the good, and the other the evil, spirits, arrangements being made that the former shall be victorious. The Burmese Nāts are propitiated by a tug of war, the victorious side being supposed to get better crops; and if, after the contest, rain happens to fall, the efficacy of the appeal is placed beyond question; this is also done in seasons of drought (Gazetteer Upper Burma, ii. pt. ii. 95, 279, iii. pt. ii. 64). Among the Aos of Assam, at a festival held in August, there are tugs of war lasting for three days between the young men and unmarried girls of each clan (khet) (E. A. Gait, *Census Rep. Assam*, 1891, i. 244). In Ahmadnagar, in April-May, the boys of one village fight with slings and stones against those of another; it is believed that the non-observance of the rite causes failure of rain, or, if rain falls, a plague of field rats; a fight duly waged is followed by plentiful rainfall (BG xvii. 722 f.; cf. the Greek *Aphobakia* and *airopokrovia* [Farnell, *OGS* iii. 98, 99; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 1903, p. 155; Crooke, ii. 820 f.).

11. Gaining control of a demon.—In the rites of Black Magic, a demon, if he can be brought under the control of a medium or magician, plays an important part; he may be used as a protector by his master, or his owner may let him loose to work mischief on those whom he desires to injure. The magician, by the use of spells (*mantra*), can often induce him to enter some receptacle, and he thus becomes a marketable commodity.

When the sale of a Bhūt has been arranged, the Ojhā hands over a corked bamboo cylinder which is supposed to contain him. This is taken to the place, usually a tree, where it is intended that he should in future reside; a small ceremony is performed, liquor being poured on the ground, or small mounds (*pinḍā*) erected in his honour, and the cork is then taken out, whereupon the Bhūt is supposed to take up his abode in the place chosen for him. His function is to watch the crops and guard them from thieves, and, if any one should be hardy enough to steal from a field thus guarded, he is certain to be stricken by the Bhūt, and in a few days will sicken and die' (E. A. Gait, *Census Rep. Bengal*, 1901, i. 196). Among the Puliavans of Madras, 'a man who wishes to bring a demon under his control must bathe in the morning for forty-one days, and cook his own meals. He should have no association with his wife, and be free from all pollution. Every night, after 10 o'clock, he should bathe in a tank or river, and stand naked up to the loins in water, while praying to the god whom he wishes to propitiate, in the words: "I offer thee my prayers, so that thou mayst bless me with what I want." These, with his thoughts concentrated on the deity, he should utter 101, 1001, and 100,001 times during the period. Should he do this, in spite of all obstacles, and intimidation by the demons, the god will grant his desires' (Thurston, vi. 231). In Mysore, among the Hasulās and Maleyās, jungle tribes, when a man dies, his spirit is supposed to be stolen by some one else's devil, who is pointed out by the astrologer, who divines by throwing cowrie-shells or rice. The heir, then, as a measure of precaution, redeems the spirit by offering a pig, fowl, or other gift; and he promptly shuts it up in a pot, where it is periodically supplied with drink and food to prevent it from 'walking' and doing mischief (S. L. Eber, *Mysore*, 1897, i. 214; cf. 'The Fisherman and the Jinni', Sir R. Burton, *Arabian Nights*, 1898, i. 84 ff.; PNQ ii. 170). The power of a demon is believed to rest in his hair, and, if a man can succeed in cutting off the topknot of a Bhūt, the latter will be his slave for life (NINQ iii. 180). In Travancore, Kutichāttan, the boy imp, if fed, watches the property of his owner; the master of such a demon possesses infinite powers of evil; but these, if wrongly exercised, recoil upon him, and cause him to die childless and after terrible physical and mental agony (N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Census Rep.*, 1901, i. 303). Siddharāja, the great Chālukya king of W. India, is said to have performed his acts of heroism by aid of a demon which he subdued by riding a corpse in a cemetery (BG i. pt. i. 174).

12. Relation of demonology to orthodox religion.—From Vedic times the gods ever war against the demons (A. Macdonell, 156 ff.). Kṛṣṇa slays the demoness Pūtānā; Trīvārtā, the whirlwind demon; Aṣṭa, the bull demon; Keśin,

the horse demon (F. S. Growse, *Mathura*², 1883, pp. 55, 62). Many gods and goddesses take their cult-titles from their conquest of demons; Devī as Mahiṣa-mardini, Indra as Vṛtrahan, Viṣṇu as Kaiṭabhajit and Madhusūdana. The scenes of these ghostly combats are still shown, like the gloomy cave at Yān in Kanara, whence Śiva dislodged the demon occupant; the water which flows from hot springs is the blood of the Rākṣasas slain by some deity, or such wells are the haunts of demons which, if not conciliated, bring disease (BG xv. pt. ii. 355, xiv. 373; L. A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, 1899, p. 203). This opposition between the worker by magical arts and the priest who works by the aid of the gods is one of the primary facts of Hinduism (Sir A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*², 1907, i. 101 ff.). Even among some of the forest tribes the supremacy of the god over the demon is admitted; but, as already stated, no clear distinction can be drawn between god and demon. The Oṛāons believe that their tutelary deity, Pāt, controls all the Bhūts, except the Dayāṇ; and the Kannikans of Madras will not worship the demon Chāthān at Cranganore because he is a rival of the local orthodox god (MASE, 1906, i. 142; A. K. Iyer, i. 143).

But, as a matter of fact, this opposition between demonolatry and the orthodox religion is little more than nominal, and popular Hinduism consists of a veneer of the higher beliefs overlying demon-worship, the latter being so closely combined with the former that it is now impossible to discriminate the rival elements. This combination is especially apparent in S. India, where Brāhmanism appeared at a comparatively recent period and was forced to come to terms with the local Dravidian beliefs. In particular, in the Tamil districts, the demon cultus has been elaborated under Brāhman guidance, as is shown by the ceremonial washing of demon images, elaborate processions in their honour, and other forms of an advanced species of worship. While the original Grāmadevatī are, as a rule, female, here their male consorts tend to acquire a more prominent position. Aiyānār, for instance, has become entirely independent, occupies a shrine of his own, and has a special festival, and sacrifices are made to his attendants, Maduravīran and Mūnadian. As a concession to Brāhman feeling, blood sacrifices are falling into abeyance, and, when these are offered to a goddess, she is often veiled, and a curtain is drawn during the blood-sacrifice to Aiyānār, or the offering is made not to him but to one of his attendants (Bishop Whitehead, *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 160). In some places Brāhmins are beginning to act as priests to the village goddesses; but the slaying of victims is left in charge of the low-caste priests; and Brāhmins who serve in village shrines are regarded, among their own body, as holding a distinctly lower position than those who are engaged in secular pursuits (ib. 127 f.). The fusion of the two faiths usually manifests itself in the acceptance by the orthodox gods of the demons as their followers or assistants. This is particularly noticeable in the Śakta and Śaiva cultus, Vaiṣṇavism having little sympathy with the cruder rites of demonism. The village goddesses tend to become Śaktis, or manifestations of the female energy of Nature; Śiva himself has, as one of his cult-titles, Bhūteśvara or Bhūteśa, 'lord of demons'; his son Gaṇeśa or Gaṇpati takes his name as lord of his father's attendant demons (*gana*); in the Karnatak, Aiyānār is identified with Harihara, a duplex figure embodying Śiva and Viṣṇu.

The corrupt Mahāyāna form of Buddhism current in Tibet and the Hīmalāya has largely adopted Shamanistic beliefs, drawn from the Animistic devil-dancing cults of the Bön, resembling in many

ways the Taoism of China, and reinforced from Indian Tāntrik beliefs (L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 1895, pp. 19, 34, 477; Sir H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1871, ii. 61f.).

This process of the absorption of demonolatry by orthodox Hinduism naturally results in the decrease of the former, as intelligence, education, and the active missionary efforts of the orthodox priesthood extend. This is admitted by several native writers. One, speaking of Bengal, states that the numbers of the Bhūts have largely been reduced; fifty years ago there were as many millions of demons as there are men at the present time; characteristically, he seems to attribute this reduction in numbers to the facilities now offered by railways of visiting Gaya and other places for the purpose of performing the obsequial rites which appease the angry spirits of the dead (*NINQ* iii. 199). From Bombay we learn that in Kolhapur some of the most dreaded evil spirits have recently disappeared—the Brahman ghosts having left the country because they dislike the cow-killing permitted by the British Government; the Muhammadan demons because pork is now freely eaten; only the low-caste spirits are left, and their influence has become much reduced (*BG* xxiv. 421). Even in Cochin and Travancore, the homes of demon-worship, it is said to be gradually giving way to Hinduism, as represented by the cults of Śiva, Subrahmanya, and Gaṇpati or Gaṇeśa (A. K. Iyer, i. 311).

LITERATURE.—The cults of the demons and evil spirits of India have been as yet imperfectly studied, because many of these rites are repulsive, and performed in secret, and thus do not readily come under the observation of Europeans, while they are offensive to many students of Hinduism belonging to the higher and learned classes. The material, which is of great extent and complexity, is scattered through the anthropological literature of India, some of which has been quoted in the course of this article. It is most abundant in S. India. Much information will be found in the *Census Reports*; the *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, 1885-93; the *Bulletins of the Madras Museum*; the *District Manuals*, esp. that by W. Logan on Malabar, 1887; general treatises, such as E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, 1909; V. N. Aiyar, *Travancore State Manual*, 1906; B. L. Rice, *Mysore*, 1897; F. Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, 1807; L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, vol. i. (all published), 1909; P. Percival, *The Land of the Veda*, 1854; S. Mather, *The Land of Charity*, 1871; R. Caldwell, *Compar. Gram. of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*², 1875, in which and in B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods*, 1869, the work of the former writer on the Śhānakas of Tinnevely is reproduced; G. Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of Elanur, vārṇa or India*, 1908; Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*⁴, 1891; in A. K. Forbes, *Rās Malā*, 1878, is reproduced the *Bhoot Nibandh or the Destroyer of Superstitions regarding Daimons*, by Trivedi Dāpatrām Dāyā, issued in an Eng. tr. in 1850. To these may be added special monographs, such as P. Dehon, S.J., 'Religion and Customs of the Ūraṇas,' in *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, i. (1906); A. C. Burnell, *The Devil Worship of the Tulavās*, reprinted from *IA*, 1894; H. Whitehead, 'The Village Deities of Southern India,' in *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. (1907); M. J. Walhouse, 'On the Belief in Bhūtas—Devil and Ghost Worship in Western India,' in *JAI* v. (1876) 408.

W. CROOKE.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Jain).—Superhuman beings, according to the Jains, fall into two categories—the denizens of hell (*nārakas*), and the gods (*devas*). A sub-division of the latter distinguishes good and bad gods (*dāvi*, and *āsuri gati*); the bad gods are also spoken of as *kudevas* or *kadamaras*. Demons would come under the two heads *nārakas* and *kudevas*, and ghosts under that of *kudevas*. It must, however, be kept in mind that, according to the Jains, neither the state of a god nor that of a demon is permanent, but both have their individually fixed duration, which may extend to many 'oceans of years.' The state which a soul may attain in the scale of beings and the duration of this state—his individual lot—depend on the merits and demerits (*karma*) of the soul; when the allotted time is over, the soul will be re-born in some other state according to his *karma*.

A god may be re-born as a hell-being, but the latter will be re-born as an animal or a man only.

The *nārakas*, or hell-beings, have a demoniacal nature, but they cannot leave the place where they are condemned to live, nor can they do harm to any other beings than their fellow *nārakas*. The souls of those who have committed heinous sins are on death removed in a few moments (see **DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jain)**) to one of the seven nether worlds which contain the different hells (see **COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian)**, § 4). There the soul of the condemned is fitted out with an enormous body of a loathsome shape comparable to that of a plucked fowl. The hell-beings possess superhuman mental powers (*avadhi*); they avail them, however, only to find out their enemies and to fight each other. In addition to the pains produced by the wounds they inflict on one another and by the tortures they have to undergo in some hells, the hell-beings continually suffer from extreme heat or cold, the intolerable stink, and the horrid sounds which prevail in the hells, and they can never appease their hunger and thirst. The *nārakas* do not die, however much they are mangled; but their wounds close at once like a furrow in water. They die at their allotted time after a miserable life, which may extend, in the lowest hell, to 33 oceans of years.

The remaining demons and the ghosts are contained in the two lowest sub-divisions of the gods: the *bhavanavāsins* or *bhaumeyakas*, and the *vyantaras*. The lowest class of the *bhavanavāsins* (i.e. gods who live in palaces) are the *asurakumāras* or simply *asuras*. They reside in mansions of their own below the surface of the earth, in the upper half of *Ratnaprabhā*, the highest of the seven nether worlds. As in Hindu mythology, the *asuras* may be good or bad; but there are fifteen extremely wicked *asuras*—Ambariṣa, etc.—who administer tortures in the three uppermost hells; in a former life they had delighted in wanton cruelty. The remaining classes of *bhavanavāsins*, *nāgas*, etc., seem to be demi-gods rather than demons.

The *vyantaras* include demons, goblins, ghosts, and spirits, who live on, above, or below the earth. They are divided into eight classes, viz. *kinmaras*, *kimpuruṣas*, *māhoragas*, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *bhūtas*, and *piśāchas*, all of which occur almost identically in Hindu mythology. The last four classes contain demons and ghosts, but they are not demoniacal as a whole. There are even among the *rākṣasas* good ones, adorers of the *tirthakaras*, who may take *dikṣā*, etc. In narratives the demoniacal character is usually indicated by an epithet, e.g. *duṣṭa-vyantara*. Generally speaking, the notions of the Jains on demons, ghosts, etc., are very much the same as those of the other Hindus; but the position of the superhuman beings has been, in many regards, altered by the efforts of the Jains to introduce systematical order into the mythological conceptions current at the time when their religious teachings were reduced to a definite form.

LITERATURE.—Umāśvāti's *Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra*, chs. 3 and 4 (tr. ZDMG ix. [1906] 309 ff.); Vinayaviṣaya's *Lokaparakāśa*, 1906, 9th and 10th sargas.

H. JACOBI.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Japanese).—**I. Ghosts.**—'The difficulty,' says a Japanese writer, 'of collecting materials for an article about ghosts is that there are so many of them.' Ghosts and ghost-stories are too numerous to admit of tabulation or classification. There are certain traditional forms which they are supposed to assume. They are mostly of the female sex, are clad in white flowing robes which conceal the

absence of legs, and dishevelled hair hangs loosely over their shoulders. As a rule they are supposed to bear some resemblance to the living original, but this is not invariably the case. The ghosts of the wicked bear on themselves the marks of the punishments they are enduring in the invisible world: they appear with one eye, or three eyes, with a long tongue protruding beyond their lips, or with a long flexible neck like that of a serpent. These corporeal peculiarities are supposed to be the results of the *karma* of a previous existence. The Japanese ghost is not generally malicious: there are times, however, when he can exhibit an amazing amount of perverse and wicked ingenuity.

Dr. T. Inouye, who has devoted much thought to the question of ghosts, summarizes their appearances as follows. (1) They are commonly seen in the twilight or at dead of night when everything is black and indistinct. They appear, (2) as a rule, in lonely or solitary places; or (3) in houses recently visited by death, or that have long been deserted, in shrines, temples, graveyards, or among the shadows of willow-trees. It is very rarely that a ghost appears to a group of persons; apparitions are mostly vouchsafed to single individuals, and especially to persons out of health, feeble in body and mind, deficient in knowledge, and impressionable. There is nothing specially new in Inouye's conclusions: they are given here to show that the Japanese ghost is very much what the ghost is supposed to be elsewhere.

2. Warnings of approaching death.—It is common among temple folk in Japan to say that at the moment of death the soul will often go to the temple to give notice of its death. On such occasions, a jingling or rattling sound is heard by the temple-gate or in the main hall of worship, and it is held that whenever these sounds are heard they are invariably followed by the announcement that a parishioner, male or female, has died. The man from whom the present writer obtained his information warned him that these stories must not be looked upon as mere idle tales. The thing is of constant occurrence, now as in the past. Two stories from *Tôno Monogatari* will illustrate this point.

A certain rich parishioner of a temple in the township of Tôno, in the province of Rikuchû, had long been confined to his bed with a disease which was known to be incurable. One day, however, the incumbent of the temple was surprised to receive a visit from the sick man, who was welcomed with the greatest cordiality, and regaled with tea and cakes. After a long and pleasant conversation, the visitor rose to take his leave. A novice followed him to the front gate. The old man, passing through it, turned suddenly to the right and disappeared mysteriously from sight. The servants in the temple were in the meantime making the discovery that the cakes had been left untouched and the tea spilled on the mats. Several persons afterwards asserted that they had seen the old gentleman walking mysteriously down the street. The man died that evening, and the family maintained that he had been lying unconscious on his bed all day. The spilling of the tea is characteristic of many of these stories: it seems to be the proper thing for the Japanese ghosts to do.

Another very pretty story comes from the lonely mountain village of Shimo Niigawa, on the banks of the Karobe in Echû. The wife of a carrier, living with her husband and son, near to a mineral spring, fell into the river, as she was returning after dark on a moonless night from the spring, and was drowned. Husband and son were awaiting her return at home, very anxious because of the lateness of the hour. Finally, they concluded that, owing to the darkness, she had decided to stay the night somewhere, and would return the next morning. As the boy lay dozing on his bed he was awakened by something tugging at his hand. Seeing nothing, he went to sleep again. But the tug at his hand came again, and the touch was like that of his mother's hand. Then he called his father, and, striking a light, found that the place upon which the strange fingers had closed was covered with blood. The next morning his mother's dead body was found among the rocks in the river bed. The palm of her hand was all torn and bleeding. Evidently, in her fall, she had made a wild grab at some stone or tree, and injured it.

3. The limbs of a ghost.—While the common ghost, and especially the stage-ghost, is generally

conceived as a head and shoulders ending off in vague draperies, the following story of the Haunted House of Yotsuya will show that underneath the vague draperies a real man is supposed to exist.

The house in this story was haunted by a troublesome and noisy ghost who allowed the inmates no rest at night. The landlord could find no tenant though the rent was ridiculously low. At last a man, tempted by the cheap rent asked for the otherwise desirable residence, determined to face the ghost and lay him if possible. He shut himself into the house at night and awaited the ghost's arrival. At the wretched hour he came. He was not, however, a terrible ghost at all. When he found that the man showed no disposition to run away he became quite gentle and opened his grief. In the days of his flesh he had been a fighting man, and had had the misfortune to lose his leg as the result of one of his battles. The severed limb lay buried beneath the house, and a one-legged ghost in the realm of the spirits was an object of ridicule. He had long haunted the house for the purpose of recovering his lost limb, but unfortunately he had never yet succeeded in persuading any mortal to listen to his plaint. The man promised to give him assistance, and, instructed by the ghost, proceeded to dig at a certain spot beneath the house. Presently, there arose from the hole a misty shape, a fleecy cloud, in appearance like the leg of a man which drifted off, and joined itself to the body of the ghost. 'Thank you,' said the happy ghost, 'I am satisfied now.' And he ceased to haunt the house. The story shows that the Japanese ghost is thought of as being the exact spiritual counterpart of the material man.

4. Ghostly counterparts of material objects.—The Japanese ghost rarely (if ever) appears naked. He appears sometimes in his grave-clothes, but very frequently in the ghostly counterparts of the clothes which he habitually wore in his material life. He often has a spiritual sword, and has been known in stories to commit murder, e.g. strangling, with the ghostly counterparts of material objects, such as a rope or a piece of tough paper.

A Kyôto story, dating from the Kyôhô era (A.D. 1716-1785), tells of a murdered woman who was buried along with her newborn infant, the latter not being truly dead at the time of interment. Prompted by maternal instinct, the ghost of the woman escaped from the tomb and went into the city to buy food for her infant. Two or three times she appeared at a certain shop and purchased some rice-jelly. On each occasion she was served by a different member of the family—by an apprentice, by the mistress, and finally by the master. The sadness of her face impressed itself on the memory of each, and each had a distinct recollection of having seen the woman take out of her purse the proper sum of money and lay it down on the mat before her. In each case, when, after the departure of the woman, they went to take up the money, it had disappeared and could nowhere be found.

It is evident that the Japanese ghost is thought of as surrounded by ghostly counterparts of all the objects that surround him in this world—in other words, there is, in the Japanese mind, a spiritual world which is the exact counterpart of the material world in which we live.

5. Close connexion between the two worlds.—These two worlds are looked upon as being very closely connected. The spiritual world lies as near to the material, and is as closely interwoven with it, as the spirit of man is with his body. The link of connexion is never broken, and the Japanese ghost feels the same keen interest in the welfare of his family, province, or country that he felt when alive.

There are many stories to illustrate this: for example, one recently published by Viscount Tani in the *Kokumin Shimbun*, of a certain Hamada Rokunôjô, a *samurai* of the Tosa clan, who, having been beheaded (A.D. 1674) with his whole family on account of embezzlement of provincial funds, appeared to his judge on the day following the execution, to relieve himself of an important message which oppressed his mind. In many stories, the constant persecutions of a stepmother worry her hated stepson into a monastery, where he can have no further influence over the family finances. A pious priest of Heizan, who had spent many years in the continuous recitation of the Hoke Kyô, edifies (or annoys?) the community by continuing the same practice in the darkness of the tomb. The ghost of a murdered man gives no rest to judges, councillors, or kinfolk, until he has secured the acquittal of a wrongfully accused person and the arrest of his own guilty brother.

These are but a few instances out of the many ghost stories with which Japanese literature and folk-lore abound. Whether the tales are true or not does not matter. The important thing is that they all illustrate the constant belief of the

Japanese in the reality of the spirit world, and in the constant and close interest which its denizens take in the concerns of men.

6. Effects of this belief on conduct.—‘Are you not ashamed,’ says a kind-hearted husband, in one of Tokutomi’s novels, to his spiteful wife,—‘are you not ashamed to stand before the family *ihai* (tablets of the dead), when you have been treating your own brother’s child with such cruelty?’ There can be no doubt that the belief in the continued interest taken by the dead in the concerns of the world they have left behind them has exerted in the past, and still exerts, a great influence on the moral conduct of the individual Japanese. The influence is fostered by the presence on the domestic shrine of the tablets of the dead, by the observances on death-days and other anniversaries of the dead, by the ceremonies, joyous and otherwise, of the Urabon Festival, by the many lustrations of the Shinto rites, and by the practice, observed in private households as in the great affairs of State, of announcing to the spirits of the deceased, as matters that must touch them closely, any events of importance that have taken place in the family circle or the country. When the second Tokugawa Shōgun, Hidetada, wished to change the succession in his family, he was only dissuaded from his designs by the consideration of the fact that he would have to notify the change by some messenger sent expressly to the realms of the dead. Imperial messengers are constantly being sent to announce some event to the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors, and the Shōkonsha shrines which, during the present reign, have been erected in Tokyo and elsewhere, to the memory of the patriot dead who have died for sovereign or country during the Meiji period, represent the enlargement by design of an old belief that has always been present in Japan under one form or another. The spiritual world of the Japanese is no longer bounded by the narrow limits of the province. Like their patriotism, it has become Imperial: for what lies outside the bounds of the Empire the Japanese have but little concern.

7. The spirits of material objects.—The Japanese ghost differs from ours in conception. It is not, as with us, just the spiritual *portion* of a man, separated at death from the body. It is the *whole man* spiritualized, the exact, immaterial counterpart of the material man. Every material object (*e.g.* money, as we saw above) has this spiritual counterpart, and there has from the earliest times been a tendency to personify the spiritual counterparts of material objects, especially things remarkable for beauty, majesty, age, and the like. We hear occasionally of the ghost of a teapot, a badger, or the like; the poetic imagination of the Japanese has peopled her wilds with gods or spirits of the mountain, the cascade, the tree, the well, the river, the moon, and above all, the sun. The indigenous Japanese cult is threefold. It is nature-worship, ancestor-worship, and, as a corollary to the latter, ruler-worship.

8. The spirits of animals.—If man has a spiritual counterpart to his material self capable of leaving the latter and of continuing its existence apart, and if the same can be said of plants, mountains, and other inanimate bodies, it stands to reason that the same qualities ought, logically, to be attributed to the animals. All animals are, in Japanese popular thought, thus endowed with spiritual counterparts, and some more conspicuously than others. Foxes, badgers, bears, and the like are able not only to appear before the eye in the spiritual counterpart of their own material shape, but even to enter into the bodies of men and other animals, and to speak and act through them.

The fox.—The fox is the hero of a thousand stories. He has, *e.g.*, been known to change himself into a tree. In a legend from Nara we read of a Shinto priest from the Kasuga shrine who, having lost his horse, went into the forest to search for it. He was astonished to see a giant cryptomeria in a place where none had stood only a few days before, and, in order to make sure that he was not being bewitched, discharged his arrow against the tree. The next day the tree had disappeared, but on the place where it had stood there was a poor little dead fox with an arrow through its heart. Again, the fox has been known to turn into a woman, not only as a temporary disguise, but permanently; and there is a popular play known as the *Shinoda no mori*, or ‘Forest of Shinoda,’ which turns entirely on the supposed marriage of a man with a vixen who had assumed the form of a young woman. The plot has an extremely sad and tragic dénouement. The story of the midwife who was tricked by a fox into assisting at the accouchement of his wife is also a favourite one which may be found in many districts.

The cult of the fox, whilst probably indigenous to Japan, is also found in China, and many of the fox-legends are probably importations. When the fox can find a human skull, and put it on its head, and then worship Myōken, the polar star, it obtains its power of assuming the human form. It is very fond of assuming the shape of a beautiful maiden, and chooses the twilight for the exercise of its witchery. The witchery of a fox is rarely of a malicious kind. It has indeed been known to deal swift and sharp retribution to men for acts of injustice and cruelty, but it is, as a rule, mischievous rather than spiteful, and there are not a few instances in which the fox has shown great gratitude. There are no stories which tell of the fox requiring good with evil; but it never omits to requite evil with evil.

A story from Kai tells of a *samurai* who shot at a fox with intent to kill. He missed his aim, but the fox did not forget the hostile intention, and when the *samurai* got home he found his house on fire. On the other hand, a story from Ōmi tells of the gratitude of the fox to whom the priests had shown kindness; and the great Nichiren, who had a very tender heart for animals, was said to have two familiar and attendant foxes who accompanied him everywhere, predicting the future, and warning him of coming dangers. A story is also told of a certain Yasumichi, who held the office of Dainagon and resided at Takakura, near Kyōto. The grounds surrounding his mansion were so full of foxes that they became a nuisance to the neighbourhood, and Yasumichi was minded to get rid of them. He appointed a day for a great fox-hunt; but, on the evening before, a fox appeared to him in the shape of a handsome boy, and in the name of the whole tribe, promised the best of behaviour if only Yasumichi would spare them. Yasumichi did so, and never repented of the bargain.

For further stories relating to the power of metamorphosis ascribed to the fox, as well as for similar stories relating to other animals, the reader is referred to M. W. de Visser’s excellent treatises on the ‘Tengu,’ the ‘Fox and Badger,’ and the ‘Cat and Dog,’ in Japanese folk-lore, appearing in vols. xxxvi. and xxxvii. of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*.

9. Possession by foxes and other animals.—What we have hitherto said has related to the supposed power of the fox and certain other animals of bewitching men by assuming phantom bodies. In fox-possession, the spirit of the animal intrudes itself into the body of a man or woman, in such a way that the intruding spirit exercises a control, more or less absolute, over the person in whose body it resides. This power is ascribed not only to the fox, but to the dog, the monkey, the badger, and the serpent. Strange to say, these beliefs are more prevalent in Kyūshū and S.W. Japan than in the North and North-eastern districts, and it seems not unnatural to ascribe them to Malay rather than to Chinese or Mongolian influences. The following is a list of the names commonly given to these forms of possession, together with the localities in which they are said to be especially found:

Name.	Locality.
<i>Kitsune-tsuki</i> , ‘fox-possession’	No definite locality.
<i>Nekogami</i> , ‘cat-god’	“
<i>Tanuki-gami</i> , ‘badger-god’	“
<i>Inugami</i> , ‘dog-god’	Itchū, Awa, Tosa, and parts of Kyūshū.

Name.	Locality.
<i>Sarugami</i> , 'monkey-god' . . .	Shikoku.
<i>Hebi-gami</i> , 'serpent-god' . . .	Iyo.
<i>Tôbyô</i> (meaning unknown) . . .	Bitchû, Bingo.
<i>Hinomataki</i> . . .	

(These two are forms of *Kitsune-tsuki*.)

<i>Ninkô</i> , 'human fox' . . .	Izumo.
<i>Izuna</i> , . . .	Shinano.

[*Oni-tsuki*, or 'demon-possession,' in the strictest sense of the term, and possession by *Tengu*, are omitted here, as they will be discussed later on. The reader is again recommended to study de Visser's illuminating pages.]

10. *Oni*.—This is the name given to a certain class of supposed beings of hideous aspect and Herculean strength. They often assume the human form, with the addition of a pair of bull's horns, and a tiger's skin thrown around their loins. These two special symbols denote, so it is said, that they came into the world of men through the *kimono*, or 'spirit-gate,' which, following the arrangement of the Japanese zodiac, is situated in the *ushi-tora* ('bull-tiger') direction (see below).

The word *oni* is said to be of Chinese origin, and to denote 'hidden' or 'secret.' It is therefore connected in idea with the Japanese *kakureru*, 'to go into concealment,' used of the death of eminent persons, and it is thus plain that the primary conception of the *oni* is that they are the spirits of the dead. The oldest purely Japanese term seems to have been *mono* ('the beings,' an euphemism based on the idea of *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*); *arakami*¹ or *araburukami* ('wild spirits'), and *shikome* ('ugly women'), appear to have been used later, and later again we get the word *mononoke* ('spiritual beings'). Many Japanese will say that *mono* or *mononoke* are essentially evil beings, but there seems to be no inherent reason for such a supposition. A still more modern word is *bake-mono* ('beings possessed of magical powers'). These words show the beliefs of the Japanese regarding the dead. Death is liberation from the trammels of fleshly existence. The dead, therefore, possessing greater freedom, have larger powers than the living, though their existence is hidden from our eyes. They are the *kishin* or the *kami*, dwelling in the dark regions of *yomi*. But there are many different types of *oni*, and some of them, unable to rest in the dull peace of Elysium, turn to more active employments. In the *Kojiki*, the *yomotsu shikome* drive Izanagi out of Hades; and the *araburukami*, changing himself into a bear, is slain by a celestial thunderbolt discharged by Takemikadzuchi.

11. *The oni as modified by Confucianism and Buddhism*.—The introduction into Japan of Chinese and Indian influences brought with it certain modifications of the *oni*. The *Kojiki* itself is a book largely influenced by China; it is, therefore, possible that the idea of the *yomotsu shikome* may not be a purely Japanese one. To Buddhism is certainly due the idea which makes of the *oni* the attendants of the god of Hell, Yama. In a story in the *Ujijûi Monogatari* they appear as fairies, amidst surroundings which are almost German.

An old woodcutter, who has a large wen upon his right cheek, is overtaken by a storm and compelled to pass the night in a hollow tree. Unintentionally, he becomes a spectator of the revels of the *oni*, who dance around his tree. The old man, who is a good dancer himself, joins in the dance, and, after a very delightful night, promises to come again to his new-made friends. The *oni* are a little doubtful as to his sincerity, and take the wen off his right cheek as a pledge. When he returns, he becomes an object of envy to his neighbour, who is also a woodcutter, and who has also a wen, but on his left cheek. The neighbour determines that he will also try his luck, and takes his place in the hollow tree to wait for the *oni* dance to commence. But he is not a good dancer, and the *oni* lose their temper. They drive

him out of the dance ring, and, as he flees, one of them takes the wen which they had taken from his predecessor and throws it at his right cheek, where it sticks. Thus the man returns home with a wen on either cheek.

Some of the tricks ascribed to the *oni*, such as the stealing of a lute belonging to the Emperor Murakami (A.D. 947-968), which is afterwards mysteriously lowered by invisible hands from a high tower, and so restored, seem to suggest a credulity that was easily imposed upon. When a woman disappeared from a public park in Kyôto, being last seen walking hand in hand with a man, and when a search made for her resulted only in the discovery of a pair of arms and a leg, the police of the period (A.D. 885-889) were probably very glad to be able to plead that it was the work of the *oni*. An oil-pot, rolling of its own accord along the streets, and entering a house, where it kills a young girl, ought to satisfy the most exacting of spiritualistic seances.

12. *The word oni as applied to living persons*.—Whilst *oni* corresponds roughly to the *ki* of Confucianism, or to the *gaki*, or inhabitants of the Buddhist *Prêtaloka*, it is also sometimes metaphorically applied to living people. Thus we get *oni-musha*, 'a fierce warrior'; *oni-shôgun*, 'a daring general'; *oni-kage*, 'a spirited horse.' A beautiful but hard-hearted woman is an *oni*, an ugly, evil face is *oni-zura*, and there is a phrase, *oni no jûhachi*, which suggests that the devil was a handsome enough fellow in his youth.

13. *Adaptations of Indian stories*.—The Japanese *oni* is sometimes conceived of as playing the part of Mâra, the Tempter, who so constantly comes between Buddha and his disciples, and who is the enemy of truth. More frequently he is the *Yaksha* or *Rakshasa* of Indian demonology. It has been conjectured that the *Onigashima* of the popular Japanese story is the *Yaksadvipa* of the *Jâtakas*. In the same story, the *onitaiji*, or attack on the demons, is said to be an adaptation of Râma's invasion of Ceylon, as given in the *Mahâbhârata*.

14. *Tengu*.—We now come to the consideration of the mysterious beings known as *tengu*. The popular explanation of this term is 'heavenly dog'; but the word also appears as *tenko*, 'heavenly fox,' and *tenkô*, 'heavenly light.' The Buddhist explanation of the word *tengu* is 'light and darkness,' 'freedom and non-freedom,' 'enlightenment and error.' Thus considered, the *tengu* is a being in whom are united both sides of these antitheses. A similar interpretation makes *ten* to be the heavenly *mantra* which dominates the *Vajradhātu*, or Diamond World, and *gu* to be the earthly *mantra* which rules in the *Garbhadhātu*, or Womb World. The *tengu* participates in the nature of both worlds.

Shintoist and Confucianist writers, Baron Tsuda, for example, do not hesitate to denounce the *tengu* as nothing but figments invented by a crafty priesthood for the purpose of deceiving an ignorant people. It is, nevertheless, interesting to speculate on the sources from which the conception of these fabled creatures came. The *tengu* is frequently found in Chinese literature, and it may perhaps be said that the idea of these beings came from a close observation of animals in their native haunts. The Buddhist monks of old generally built their temples in the recesses of solitary mountains, and one of the commonest of the titles bestowed on the founder of a temple or seat is that of *kaisan-shônin*, 'the venerable opener of the mountain.' Japanese legend connects all the great *kaisan*, e.g. Saichô, Kôbô, Nichiren, etc., with stories of the *tengu*, and the favourite haunts of these creatures are famous temples, such as Hiyei, Kurama, Atago, Kompira, Omine, Ontake, Oyama, Miyôgi, Akiha, and Nikkô. The frolicsome antics of animals who believe themselves to be absolutely unobserved by human eyes might easily give birth to legends of

¹ In the days of the anti-Christian persecutions, Christian emblems and books were occasionally saved from desecration or destruction by being shut up in shrines dedicated to supposed *arakami*, where they were safe, owing to the superstitious fears of the people. The present writer has been told of a crucifix which was thus treated; also of a copy of the Christian Scriptures.

tengu and other weird beings. There would also be ground for imagining that some of the staidier of the brute creation were re-incarnations of *yamabushi* and other pious recluses.

15. *Garuda*.—Undoubtedly the *tengu* are connected with the *Garuda* of Buddhist mythology. *Tengu* will appear as priests, riding on foxes, carrying feather fans, or even swords like *samurai*; but their commonest form is that of a bird of prey not unlike an eagle or a vulture.¹ It is a safe generalization to make, that, whenever a *tengu* is represented with the beak and claws of a bird, or with wings to fly with, the prototype is the *Garuda*. When the *tengu* takes some other form, e.g. a shooting star, a white badger, and so forth, the original conception is to be looked for, not in India, but in China. But, whether Indian or Chinese, the *tengu* are always subject to the sacerdotal power of the Buddhist priesthood. Some have been Buddhist priests before their present incarnation; some become converted as *tengu*, and so procure re-birth as members of the order. They can hypnotize men into seeing many things that have no existence, but their power does not last for more than a week. When the Sabbath Day comes, their power comes to an end.

16. *Tengu-possession*.—*Tengu*-possession differs in kind from that by *oni*, or any of the bewitching animals. There is no mischief in it, and no devilry. When a man is obsessed by a *tengu*, he merely becomes preternaturally learned or solemn, reading, writing, or fencing with a skill that would not be expected from him.

17. *Exorcism*.—When a man is possessed by a *tengu*, exorcism is of little importance. For possession by evil spirits, foxes, badgers, and the like, there are many forms of exorcism in vogue, the sect of Nichiren being especially noted for its labours in this kind of healing. The most famous place near Tokyo is at the village of Nakayama, where, at a certain temple belonging to the Nichiren sect, periodical retreats are held for the purpose of driving out evil spirits of all kinds (see an art. on 'Buddhistische Gnadensmittel,' in the *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* [vol. v., Tokyo, 1907]).

18. *Spirits of the house, etc.*—Spirits have much to do with the Japanese conception of the house. No building can take place without a reference of some sort to them. But this is a large subject, and will be more conveniently treated in connexion with the house.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities quoted in the text of this article, the present writer has drawn mainly upon three sources, all Japanese:

- (i.) The *Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society*.
- (ii.) *Tenizoku Bukkyō Shimbun*, a weekly journal published under the auspices of the reforming school of Buddhists, also in Tokyo.
- (iii.) *Tō-a no Hikari* ('The Light of the Far East'), the organ of the Tokyo Philosophical Society.

A. LLOYD.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Jewish).—There can be no hesitation in saying that the existence of spirits was, during most periods of Jewish history and in most places, regarded as incontestable. Yet this statement is capable of being modified in no small degree. It has been stated, on the one hand, that demonology obtained so strong a grasp of the popular mind as completely to fetter it with superstition and to stifle all higher aspirations; that religious teachers and thinkers were themselves not free from these ideas; and that this belief obscured and in many ways detracted from the value of their ethical teachings. On the other hand, this has been too categorically denied by

¹ It is to be noticed that there are *otengu*, 'big *tengu*,' with red faces and long human noses; there are also *kotengu*, 'small *tengu*,' with beaks. These are also known as *karakuri*, 'crow *tengu*.'

writers who hold diametrically opposite views. As might be expected, the truth lies in the golden mean. The human mind and soul are capable of accommodating simultaneously opinions which are not only inconsistent, but even mutually exclusive. It is just because man does not always trouble to disentangle his thoughts and to harmonize them that he is willing to retain the incongruent. Consequently a whole-hearted belief in the supremacy of the Godhead need not necessarily exclude an acknowledgment of the working of other powers. To arrive at the conclusion that one or the other of these beliefs must be rejected requires considerable progress along the path of mental reasoning.

The belief in spirits during post-Biblical times was a legacy from earlier periods (see esp. the 'Assyr.-Bab.' and 'Hebrew' artt. on the present subject). What Chaldaea, Arabia, and Egypt gave to Canaan underwent substantial change, and received additions from internal and external sources. In Palestine itself, Galilee¹ may be singled out as being the centre where demonology was strongest, but this must not by any means be taken to exclude other parts. Many causes contributed to the diffusion of these ideas. The ever-growing intercourse with the Greek and Roman world, produced by commercial and political circumstances, can scarcely have failed to make the Jews acquainted with many new forms of spirits. The Jews from the Diaspora who re-visited their native land cannot have returned entirely empty-handed, and foreign ideas must have found a fruitful soil in those parts where religious influences were weakest to counteract them. By a people naturally given to syncretism, dryads and satyrs would easily be associated with *shedim* and *se'irim*. Moreover, the intercourse between the coastland of Palestine and the Aegean and Cypriot ports must have led to an interchange of ideas as well as of commodities. But, without going so far afield as Greece, there were enough territorial influences at hand to account for many foreign elements in Jewish demonological beliefs and practices.

A complete list of the various forms of demons may be seen in *J.E.* art. 'Demonology.' The scope of the present article is to furnish suggestions which may in some cases account for their existence. While frankly admitting the origin of a large number to be purely superstitious, there are yet many for which other explanations must be sought. The area to be considered is immense, and references of great importance occur in all branches of literature—Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, New Testament and Patristic writings, and Talmudic and Rabbinic works of all ages, including Halakha, Haggada, and Qabbala. On account of this wide area, great care must be exercised in drawing conclusions. Demons occurring in late books must be traced to their earliest sources. An isolated reference in the *Shulhan 'Arakh* (1555) requires investigation as to whether it be a mediaeval invention or a lingering survival of a primitive superstition. Secondly, references must be examined to see whether they are the utterances of individuals or genuine examples of popular belief; and distinctions must be drawn between local and general beliefs, between Semitic and non-Semitic, and between Jewish beliefs and those borrowed by Jews from their neighbours in European countries. A requirement, more vital than any of the foregoing, is the exercise of careful analysis in selecting Talmudic material. It is absolutely necessary to assign each authority to its proper local and chronological category; that is to say, evidence which applies to Babylon is inadmissible for Palestine; that which is found to occur in Galilee cannot be used to prove argu-

¹ Cf. H. Grätz, *Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1888, iii. 282.

ments for Judæa; and the same care must be exercised in respect of chronology.

In investigating Talmudic evidence as to spirits, the reader will notice, at the outset, different attitudes adopted by the Rabbis in dealing with this question. In some cases the reality of demons seems to be taken for granted absolutely; in others it seems, with no less certainty, to be denied. Stories occur in which both these attitudes may be traced simultaneously. The reason for this may be found if the nationality of the respective teachers be sought. It has already been stated that Galilee was the centre of Palestinian demonology, and it will almost invariably be found that *Galilean* teachers *accepted*, while *Judean* teachers *rejected*, the existence of spirits. The numerous instances which the NT furnishes would have been impossible save in Galilee; there is a strong similarity between these and those adduced by Galilean Rabbis. The same must be said of those Rabbis who came from Mesopotamia. As they were brought up in surroundings in which superstition was rife, their teaching was tinged by a belief in spirits, and in comparison with them the clarity of Palestinian teaching stands out in bold relief.

Justin Martyr (*Dial.* i. 85) accuses the Jews of employing amulets and conjurations to no less an extent than the heathen. The evidence of R. Simon b. Yohai, a Galilean Tanna of the 2nd cent., is equally conclusive for Galilee. Thus Bab. *Erubbin*, 64b, states:

"The Master says: 'We do not pass by food (which is lying in the street, and which may have been used for protection against spirits).' R. Yohanan in the name of R. Simon b. Yohai says: 'This decision applies only to the earlier generations, when the daughters of Israel were not practised in all arts of magic (מכישפא); but nowadays, when the daughters of Israel are indeed practised in all magical arts, this does not apply. It has been taught that one should pass by loaves, but not small pieces.' R. Asi said to R. Ashi: 'Do they, then, not use small pieces also for this purpose?' [Note that none of these Rabbis is a Judean. Simon b. Yohai was a Galilean, and R. Asi and R. Ashi were Babylonians.]

The difference between Judæa, on the one hand, and Galilee and Babylon, on the other, may be demonstrated by the story related about Zonin and the Palestinian Aqiba in Bab. *Aboda Zarā*, 55a: 1

"Zonin said to R. Aqiba: 'Both of us know that there is no reality in idols, but how is it that we see men going to them lame and returning sound?' He replied: 'I will relate to thee a parable. There was once in the city an honest man, with whom all the inhabitants would deposit their money without witnesses. One man, however, would always do so before witnesses. On one occasion he forgot and omitted the witnesses. Then said the wife of the honest man to him, Now we can deny him; but he replied, And indeed since he is foolish, shall we lose our faithfulness?' So also is it with chastisements (i.e. diseases). When they are sent upon man, the precise limits of their duration are specified; they are adjured and warned at what moment, by what physician, and by what drug they are to leave the patient. When the time arrives for the diseases to depart, and it happens that the sufferer is at the (heathen) temple, the diseases say: 'By rights we should not go, but shall we prove unfaithful to our oath for the sake of a fool?'"

These and similar anecdotes, which are to be found in the same place, show that the Pal. Rabbis placed no reliance in spirits and conjurations. It should be noted that R. Aqiba (A.D. 50-135) says of himself elsewhere (*Sem.* viii.; *M. K.* 21b): 'The people of the south know Aqiba, but whence should the people of Galilee know him?' It was in Galilee that the people believed in possession by evil spirits and in the actuality of demons (e.g. NT references), whereas in Palestine the views of Aqiba prevailed.

One of the favourite forms of procuring intercourse with spirits was by spending the night in a cemetery. In connexion with this practice, reference should be made to Jer. *Terumoth*, i. fol. 40a, outer column, line 29; *Gittin*, vii. beginning, fol. 48b, outer column (ed. Krotoschin, 1866), and Bab. *Hagiga*, 3b, near end. In all these cases invocation

1 The Gemara is attempting to account for God's tolerating idols and superstitions, and for the fact that spirits do sometimes accomplish cures.

of spirits is mentioned: e.g. *למחרת*, he who burns incense to the *shedm*, and he who passes the night by the graves in order to enter into communion with an unclean spirit. These customs are strongly condemned, and are viewed as an indication of insanity (i.e. one who participates is a *mad*). With these passages may be compared the story in *Levit. Rabba*, xxvi. 5:

R. Berekhya in the name of R. Levi relates that a *kohen* and an Israelite were possessed by a demon and went to a skilled physician, who prescribed for the Israelite, but left the *kohen* neglected. The latter asked the reason, and the physician replied: 'He is an Israelite, and is of those who spend the night at the graves; but thou, who art a *kohen*, dost not act thus, therefore I left thee and prescribed for him.'

This story illustrates the difference between the ignorant and the learned classes; it should be contrasted with the statements of Athenagoras (*Legatio pro Christianis*, chs. xxiv., xxvi., xxvii.), to whom demons were a vivid reality.¹

Probably the earliest demons are those originating from the movements of celestial bodies and from natural phenomena. To the former, of course, belong Bab. and, later on, Persian examples. Similarly the sand-storm in the desert may be safely held to account for some of the aspects of the Arabic *jinn*. So, too, Ps 91⁶ 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday' may not improbably refer to the burning heat of midday. The development of this idea may be found in Bab. *Pesahim*, 111b ff., where the same word *qetebh* occurs.

Inasmuch as the functions of religion were, among the Jews, very wide, the scope of the teacher's activity extended to many branches which would not to-day be considered as belonging to the true sphere of religion. He legislated for social as well as for religious matters; the daily intercourse between man and his neighbour was the object of his attention. Consequently, when there are found quasi-religious references to spirits, in connexions which seem very remote from religion in its modern signification, it must be remembered that the word has been greatly restricted in the process of time. In turning back to those spirits which may perhaps have their origin in natural phenomena, the foregoing must be borne in mind. Thus in *Pesahim*, 111b, to which reference has been made, the following statement occurs:

"From the first of Tammuz to the sixteenth there can be no doubt as to their actuality; after that date it is doubtful. They may be found in the shadow of ivy which is stunted (not a yard high), and in the morning and evening shadows which are not a yard high, but chiefly they may be found in the shadows of a privy."

The Gemara does not particularize the spirits mentioned in the passage cited, which follows references to many varieties of spirits. There cannot, however, be much doubt that the *qetebh meriri*, or spirit of poisonous pestilence, is meant, although the passage might refer generally to *shedm*, for this spirit is described a few lines earlier in the Gemara:

"The *qetebh meriri* is of two kinds; one comes in the morning, the other in the afternoon. The former is called *qetebh meriri*, and causes mealy porridge to ferment (lit. it appears in a vessel of mealy porridge and stirs the spoon). The latter is the pestilence which destroyeth at noonday; it appears like a sieve on the horns of a goat, and it turns like a sieve" (*ib. supra*).

It would not seem a very rash assumption to regard this spirit as the development and personification of midsummer heat. Tammuz is elsewhere stated to be the height of summer, e.g. *Shab.* 53a, where a popular proverb is quoted to the effect that even in Tammuz the donkey feels the cold. The fact that attention is drawn to those shadows which afford insufficient protection from the rays of the sun, and the stress laid on the evil effects of proximity to a privy, render this view more prob-

1 It may be mentioned, incidentally, that the term for possession by a demon is *npz*, *npz*. The spirits are said to have been created on Friday afternoon before Sabbath; see *Gen. Rabba*, vii. 7; *Pirke Aboth*, v. 9, where they are included in the category of mythical phenomena.

able; so also does the mention of the action of heat on food and on animals (cf. the danger of sleeping under the rays of the moon [Pes. 111a, near foot]).

Closely allied to spirits which are embodiments of natural phenomena are those which affect man in his daily life. In the Gemara on the tenth Mishna of *Pesahim* many are mentioned. Under the guise of demons, they teach lessons in cleanliness, sobriety, care, and economy. For instance, 'Rei Laqis says: "Whosoever does one of the following four things risks his life, and his blood is on his own head, namely: he who performs his natural functions between a palm tree and a wall; he who passes between two palm trees; he who drinks borrowed water; he who passes over spilt water, even if his own wife has spilled it in his presence."

It is unnecessary to show what points underlie these warnings, which are, moreover, still further discussed in the Gemara; but it is well to note that the form of the warning has changed somewhat. The demon is implied, but not actually expressed. Similar instances are the following:

'The Genius (גנין = Pers. *zad*; so Goldschmidt, in his tr. of Jer., p. 711) of sustenance is called Cleanliness; the Genius of poverty is called Dirt.' R. Papa says: 'A man should not enter a house in which there is a cat, barefooted. Why? Because a cat kills and devours serpents, and serpents have small bones; should one of these bones enter his foot, it could not be dislodged and would become dangerous. Others say that a man should not enter a house in which there is no cat, by night. Why? Because a serpent could, unknown to him, become attached to him.'¹

One of the peculiarities of the Hebrew language, as compared with Greek, is its paucity of abstract nouns. Although Aramaic, especially that dialect in which the Talmud is composed, has a far larger vocabulary than Mishnic Hebrew, yet it cannot be denied that the mind of the Jew preferred nouns of a concrete meaning. This fact deserves recognition when considering demonology. The vocabulary contained no word which could adequately render such terms as 'dirt,' 'infection,' 'hygiene,' etc., and in dealing with scientific terms it was, and is still, a matter of extreme difficulty to find suitable translations. This fact will be evident to any one who attempts to render into classical or even Mishnic Hebrew a piece of philosophical prose which could be turned into classical Greek with facility. Consequently the personification of a quality is sometimes to be disregarded, and the underlying principle must be extracted. It might be urged that the Greek no less than the Hebrew people had its demons; but other circumstances, which will readily suggest themselves, have to be taken into account. Instances of this kind are the following:

In *Yoma*, 77b, reference is made to the demon אשכנז, whose name also occurs in *Ta'anith*, 20b, where the kind actions of R. Huna are enumerated. *Shibda* clings to the finger-tips and afflicts people, especially young children, who eat with unwashed hands. R. Huna was acquainted with this demon, and used to place a jar of water ready, saying, 'Whosoever wishes, let him come and wash his hands so as to avoid the danger from the *Shibda*.' Kohler (*JE*, art. 'Demonology', p. 517, foot) associates *Shibda* with croup. In the same way the *Shulhan 'Arukh* preserves an early reference to the evil spirit which clings to a man's unwashed finger-tips, and urges the necessity of washing them. It is scarcely conceivable that the evil spirit in this case can have any other meaning than dirt—a word for which the Heb. language does not contain an appropriate equivalent.

It is possible that the demon *Lilith* (see Is 34¹⁴; *Erubhin*, 18b, 100b; *Gen.* R. xx.) belongs to this category. Adam is said to have married *Lilith* in addition to Eve, and filled the world with *shedim* and demons of every description, which she bore him. Then, seized with jealousy of Eve's children, she attacks and attempts to slay newly-born infants. The story recalls the myth of Latona's anger against the children of Niobe, but perhaps the *Lilith* idea is a personification of the perils which beset women in child-birth.

Kohler (*loc. cit.*) enumerates many instances of demons of disease; e.g. *ruah serada*, cataplexy; *ruah palga*, headache; *ben n'f'lim*, epilepsy; *ruah qardevayach* (καρδαχός), melancholy;

¹ In this case, although the demon has become completely rationalized, the warning is addressed to a man's common sense, and not to his fear of the supernatural. Yet it must be borne in mind that Papa, a Bab. Amora (A.D. 300-376), was noted for his belief in demons. Cf. especially the *Shema* recited at the end of a *massékhta*.

for all of which suitable Heb. equivalents are lacking; it cannot be from pure choice that demonology was called upon to furnish descriptive titles.

There are cases in which demons and spirits are cited as playing pranks of a harmless or even amusing character, comparable to those of fairies and kelpies in folk-lore. The fact that such stories are found in most abstruse portions of the Gemara supports the idea above suggested. Children accompanied the Rabbis and listened to their discussions, and a story of the marvellous and supernatural may have been purposely introduced in order to stimulate wandering wits or as a reward for diligent attention.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in many cases the demon is of a purely superstitious nature, e.g. *Berakhoth*, 6a:

'It is taught: Abba Benjamin says, "Were mortal eye capable of seeing everything, it would be impossible for any human being to exist on account of the Mazzikim ('Harmers')." Abaye says, "They are more numerous than we, and surround us as the mounds of earth (thrown up by the plough) surround the furrow." R. Huna says, "Each of us has a thousand on his left, and a myriad on his right." Rabba says, "The jostling at lectures is due to them, weariness of the knees is due to their rubbing, the wearing out of the clothes of the Rabbis is due to their rubbing, tottering feet are due to them. Whosoever wishes to know them, let him take sifted ashes and strew them round his bed, and in the morning their traces will be seen as of the footprints of a cock. He who wishes to see them must take the after-birth of a first-born; let him burn it with fire, pound it up, and smear his eyes therewith; then he will see them. Let him cast them into an iron tube and seal them with an iron seal-ring, lest they steal away. Let him keep his mouth (perhaps the mouth of the tube) closed, lest he be injured. R. Bibi b. Abaye did this, but he suffered injury; so the Rabbis prayed for him, and he was cured."

This extract contains both the playful and the superstitious elements, but it is very hard to observe the distinction. It is also a matter of no small difficulty to determine how far the belief in demons was actual or superficial, or, if actual, whether good, innocuous, or definitely harmful. It is to be regarded as an evil thing for a man to regulate his conduct by his belief in spirits, but great objection cannot be raised to a bare acknowledgment of their existence. A child's life would be empty without fairy stories; even to-day the personification of the spirit of Christmas festivity receives good-natured toleration. Religious thinkers belonging to most heterogeneous schools of thought accept angelology and demonology as a necessary concomitant of religion. The presence of both is essential to that mystic element from which no religion is or should be entirely divorced. But the force of the imaginative faculty becomes baneful when it invades the sphere of reason and subverts reason itself. It is almost impossible to establish a hard and fast rule in these cases.

The demonology of the Qabbala, and also of the later Rabbinic writings, is extremely interesting. Many beautiful *Minhagim* of Jewish ceremonial are derived from Qabbala, which assumes a mystic connexion between things terrestrial and celestial, and symbolically identifies the form with the matter.

The prayer at the blowing of the ram's horn on New Year's day makes the notes of the *shofar* into angels ascending to the Divine Throne, while inability to blow the *shofar* is due to the *yeger ha-ra'* ('evil inclination, lust') which intercepts man's holy thoughts and robs him of *kavvanah* ('devotion') and ability to produce a note. So, too, on Friday night, when a man returns from the synagogue to his home, which is prepared to receive the Sabbath bride in peace and love, two good angels accompany him and bless him, while the evil angel is constrained to say Amen. But, if the man's thoughts are not properly attuned, and if the reception of the bride is neglected, the good angels sorrowfully depart and the evil angel prevails.

In such cases the spirits are to be explained as graphic representations of the frame of mind of the man, poetically expressed, and with these the *daimon* of Socrates may be compared; it is in such circumstances undoubtedly that the prophylactics suggested by the Rabbis were meant to apply. The recital of verses of Scripture, especially of the

Psalms, and the observance of *tephillin*, *m'zūzā*, and *shēth*, were intended to prove a balm to a troubled mind, and to divert distraught fancies, but not to have a therapeutic effect on the body.¹

Nevertheless, the belief among mediæval Rabbis as to the actuality of spirits seems to have been real. Maimonides and Ibn Ezra form very striking exceptions (cf. Ibn Ezra on Lv 17, and contrast Nahmanides quoted by Kohler, *loc. cit.*; cf. also Rashi on Dt 32²⁴ and Job 5¹⁷).

Summary.—(1) Belief in the existence of spirits cannot be denied, but (2) it was largely limited to Galilee and Babylonia. Palestine, on the whole, was free from it, and (3) in some cases other explanations must be sought: (a) natural phenomena, (b) absence of terms for abstract nouns, (c) the occasional root of social and other precepts in man's fondness for the supernatural, (d) playful spirits and fairy stories, and (e) the action of mysticism on the pious mind. (4) It is difficult to estimate the extent to which credence was given to the actuality of spirits and to which this belief influenced personal conduct.

LITERATURE.—M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leyden, 1893; L. Blau, *Altjüd. Zaubervereen*, Strassburg, 1898; K. Kohler, art. 'Demonology,' in JE iv. 514. A. Kohut, *Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Paraismus* (1896), is the chief work. Talmudic references may be consulted in Rodkinson's tr. (New York, 1901), or preferably in L. Goldschmidt (text and tr., Berlin, 1897).

HERBERT LOEWE.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Muslim).—Besides the gods to whom they devoted a regular cult, the ancient Arabs recognized a series of inferior spirits, whom they conciliated or conjured by magical practices. In this matter, as in others, Muhammad preserved the ancient beliefs by adapting them to the new religion, in such a way that it is impossible to distinguish which elements in his teaching are sprung from his inward conviction and which are simply a concession to the doctrine of his compatriots. To these notions—Muhammad's inheritance, so to speak—are added outside elements, Jewish and Christian, themselves derived from Chaldaea and Parsism. It seems impossible to give a precise account of the doctrine of the Qur'an on the subject of spirits, for even the very earliest commentators are hedged around with innumerable traditions, which it is anything but easy to criticize. It may be said, however, that the Qur'an traces out all the main divisions of the system: angels, servants of Allah; Satan and his horde who animate the images of false gods; lastly, the *jinn*, some of whom are believers, some unbelievers. If it indicates the existence of several categories of angels, it nevertheless names only two, viz. Jibril and Mikail; for Hārūt and Mārūt are fallen angels with a Satanic rôle.

However, just as Judaism, under the influence of the Qabbala, multiplied its list of spirits, and Christianity set up in battle array its armies of angels and demons, Islām also found in this belief and in the magic struggle for the favour, or against the attacks, of spirits an element of reaction against the cold, aloof unity of Allah. From Judaism and Christianity Islām learned the names of spirits not known before, and it gave them definite forms, in descriptions which grew in bulk during the favourable stages of anthropomorphism and the *haushiya*, and then gained in coherence under the influence of Mu'tazilism. This doctrine we shall discuss in a few lines.

Islām recognizes three classes of living beings higher than man: angels (*malak*, plur. *malā'ika*); demons (*shayātīn*, plur. *shayāṭīn*); and *jinn*. The essential and common characteristic of these beings is that they are formed from one single substance,

instead of from a combination of substances like the human body.

Among these spirits, the front rank is occupied by the angels; they are Allah's bodyguard, and do his will and obey his word. According to Kazwini (i. 55), 'the angels are beings formed from a single substance, endowed with life, speech, and reason.' Authorities are not agreed as to the characteristics that distinguish them from demons and *jinn*; according to some, they differ in their very nature, just as one species of terrestrial animal differs from another; others are of opinion that the difference is only in contingencies, or relativities, such as are contained in the notions of complete and incomplete, good and bad, etc. The angels are essentially sacred, untouched by the guilt of passion or the stains of anger. They are in constant attendance upon the commands of Allah. Their food is *tasbīh* (the recitation of the formula 'Glory to Allah!'), and their drink is *tagdīs* ('Allah is holy!'). Their occupation is to repeat the name of Allah, and all their joy is in his worship. Allah created them and gave them diverse forms, that they might fulfil his commands and people the heavens. The prophet said: 'The heavens crack, and cannot but crack, for there is not a hand's-breadth of space to be found in them without an angel bending or prostrating himself before Allah.'

The Arabic word *malak*, the general word for angel, means 'sent,' and is a Jewish loan-word. It has lost its true form *mal'ak*, which survives, however, in the characteristic form of the plural *malā'ika*. The exact pronunciation was as in pre-Islamic Arabia, as we know from a verse of Abu Wajra, quoted in the *Lisān al-'Arab* (xii. 386), where it is necessary to the metre. But a certain number of angels had special names, which will be mentioned later on, partly derived from the Qur'an. It seems useless to quote all the verses of the Book where angels are mentioned; we shall therefore notice only the most interesting.

The greatest of the angels—those honoured by all the others as dearest to their Lord—are the four throne-bearers of Allah (*hamalat al-'arsh*), whose number will be doubled on the resurrection day. Their duty is, besides, to praise Allah and implore him on behalf of true believers. Muslim legend gives them the form of the four beings who passed into Christianity with the Apocalypse to symbolize the evangelists: man, bull, eagle, and lion. This legend defines further the relations established by their form between each of them and a class of living beings on earth: the first angel is humanity's intercessor before Allah; the second pleads for domestic animals; the third for birds; and the fourth for savage beasts.

The cherubim (*karūbiyūn*) are angels who are absolutely absorbed in the holiness of Allah; their function is to repeat the *tasbīh* ('Glory to Allah!') unflatteringly all day and all night. They seem to inhabit a secluded part of the sky, where they live in peace, far removed from the attacks of the devil, Iblis.

There are four angels who have a distinct personality and are each known by a separate name: Jibril (Gabriel), Mikail (Michael), 'Azrā'il, and 'Isrāfil. Authorities class these in a special group: these four archangels will be the last to die at the end of the world. Jibril (or Jabrā'il, Jibril, and sometimes Jibrin) is, above all, the angel of revelation (*'amin al-wahī*): he was the messenger sent by Allah to the prophets and particularly to Muhammad. His formidable appearance would overawe men, and so he has to appear in disguise to the prophets. Muhammad entreated him to reveal himself to him as he really was, and Jibril consented; but, when he appeared,

¹ Compare *Sanh.* x. 1, where incantations over wounds are forbidden. He who practises these has no share in the world to come, for he has doubted God's omnipotence.

immense, and covering the whole horizon with his wings, the Prophet fainted away. Even the inhabitants of the sky were alarmed by him. When Allah sent him to deliver the Word to a prophet, they heard a noise like the dragging of chains over rocks, and so terrible that they swooned. When Jibril approached them, they recovered their senses, and asked what the Lord had said to him: 'The Truth' (*al-Haqq*), replied the angel, and all repeated: '*Al-Haqq, al-Haqq!*' This function of Jibril is explained in Arabic by terms analogous to those mentioned above: he is the 'guardian of holiness' (*ḥāzin al-quds*), the 'faithful spirit' (*ar-rūḥ al-amin*), the 'holy spirit' (*ar-rūḥ al-quds*); in which terms we see a borrowing from Christianity. He is also the 'supreme confidant' (*an-nāmūs al-akbar*), and the 'peacock of the angels' (*ṭā'ūs al-malā'ika*). His rôle, however, is not restricted to the carrying of revelation.

A tradition says that, when the Prophet asked him to reveal all his power, Jibril answered: 'On my two wings I bore the country of the people of Loth, and carried it up into the air so high that its inhabitants could no longer hear their cocks crow; then I turned it upside down.'

It is also said that he has assistants who watch over the welfare of the world. Schwab (*Angelol. heb.*, 1897, p. 91) notices some characteristics of his various functions. The most simple descriptions give him six huge wings, each composed of a hundred little ones; he has also two other wings which he uses to destroy rebel cities. But later texts show Jibril provided with sixteen hundred wings, and covered with saffron hairs; a sun shines between his eyes, a moon and stars between every two hairs. He enters the Sea of Light (*Baḥr an-Nūr*) three hundred and sixty times every day; and every time he comes out of it a million drops fall from his wings, and form the angels called 'Spiritual' (*Rūḥāniya*), 'because they spread abroad spirit, peace, and perfumes' (*ar-rūḥ w'ar-raḥa w'ar-riḥān*). Jibril was created five hundred years after Mikā'il. He is named three times in the Qur'an (ii. 91, 92, lvi. 4); but he also appears under other names (ii. 81, 254, v. 109, where he is the annunciator to Mary; xvi. 104, xxvi. 193, liv. 5, etc.). In ii. 92, Mikā'il (in the form Mikāl) is mentioned after Jibril, to reply, the commentaries say, to the Jews, who regarded the former as their ally and the latter as their enemy, and gave this as a pretext for rejecting the revelation brought to Muhammad by Jibril (Ṭabari, *Tafsir*, i. 330).

Mikā'il (Michael) is the angel charged with providing food for the body, and knowledge and prudence for the mind. He is the supreme controller of all the forces of Nature. From each of his eyes there fall a thousand tears, from each of which Allah creates an angel with the same form as Michael. Singing praises to Allah until the day of judgment, they watch over the life of the world; these are the *karūbiyūn* (cherubim). Being Michael's assistants, they control the rain, plants, and fruits; every plant on the earth, every tree, every drop of water, is under the care of one of them. The earliest traditions locate Michael in the seventh heaven, on the borders of the Full Sea (*al-Baḥr al-Masjūr*), which is crowded with an innumerable array of angels; Allah alone knows his form and the number of his wings. Later on, however, the descriptions become more precise: his wings are of the colour of green emerald; he is covered with saffron hairs, and each of them contains a million faces and mouths, and as many tongues which, in a million dialects, implore the pardon of Allah; from a million eyes that weep over the sins of the faithful fall the tears from which Allah formed the cherubim. Michael was created five hundred years after 'Isrāfīl. The con-

ception that arises from the representation of the forces of Nature in the form of angels distributed throughout the world is decidedly pantheistic; it was developed in a most curious manner by late Arabic traditions which have been summarized by Kazwīnī (i. 62 f.). As we might have expected, a *ḥadīth* was the origin of this idea:

'Around each man appeared a hundred and sixty angels 'fitting round him, like flies around a pot of honey on a summer day'; these are the Agents of Beings (*Maukūlat al-Kā'inat*). They are the forces of nutrition, and endow the inert food introduced into the body of man with the power of becoming flesh, bone, and blood. They have to watch that the organism preserves what is necessary to it and gets rid of superfluous matter; that each organ plays its part and not the part of any other. The whole mysterious development of life is thus put into the light fingers of heavenly workmen.

To these we must add still another angel called the Spirit, or the Breath (*ar-Rūḥ*), which may well be only a new form of Jibril. To him and to his incarnations Allah entrusted the duty of bringing motion to the heavenly spheres and the stars, and of animating the sublunary bodies and living beings. Just as he can make the heavenly bodies perform their revolutions, he can also stop them in their course—with Allah's permission.

The third of the angels of definite personality is mentioned in the Qur'an (xxxii. 11) under the name of *malaku 'l-maut*; but tradition calls him 'Azrā'il.

After Allah created the angel of death, 'Azrā'il, he kept him hidden for a time from the other angels. When he showed him to them, they all fell into a faint which lasted a thousand years. This terrible being, who plays so important a part in the existence of the world, and who is everywhere at once, is only a passive agent of Allah's will; Allah holds death in his hands. Muslim writers insist on this fact; for it was possible to believe, on the other hand, that the terrible angel of death himself executed the decrees which Allah had inscribed upon the 'Well-guarded Tablet of Destiny' (*al-lah al-mahfūz*); but this is not the case. 'Azrā'il does nothing without the express command of Allah. He knows nothing but what Allah tells him. He receives from Allah the leaves upon which the names of those who are about to die are written. It is only in details that the traditions differ. According to some, the guardian angel comes and warns 'Azrā'il that the man under his care is approaching his last moments. The angel of death notes the name of the dying man in his register, with a white mark in the case of a believer, with a black mark in the case of others. But he waits until a leaf falls from the tree that is by the throne of Allah (*'arsh*) with the dying man's name inscribed on it. According to others, this leaf falls from the tree forty days before the death of the man, who is living upon the earth during this interval but dead in the sky. Still another account is that an angel sent by Allah brings to 'Azrā'il the list of men who are to die during the year: this message no doubt comes to him on the 'night of destiny' (*laylat al-qadar*), which is at the middle of the month Sha'bān, and during which the pious man, rapt in prayer, may see, across a hollow of the sky, the leaf on which his name is written falling from the tree.

All our authorities agree in believing that the angel of death is present wherever a man is ceasing from life, and this presence is anthropomorphized in stories the wide diffusion of which proves its popularity: the story, e.g., of the proud king and the beggar is world-wide (Ṭabari, Ghazālī, Mūstafef, etc.). Some explain this multiple presence by saying that the angel of death has assistants (*'awān*) who make the man's soul rise up to his throat, whence 'Azrā'il comes and takes it. Others represent the terrible angel in the form of a vague, formidable being, whose feet rest upon

the borders of the world; his head reaches the highest heaven, and his face looks towards the Tablet of Destiny. But this description did not seem satisfying, and writers accordingly gave him seventy thousand feet and four thousand wings, while his body is provided with as many eyes and tongues as there are men in the world. Every time a being dies, one of these eyes closes, and at the end of the world only eight eyes will be open, since there will be only eight beings alive—the four archangels and the four throne-bearers. Azrā'il has four faces, each of which is reserved for a special class of beings: the face on his head is for prophets and angels, that on his chest is for believers, that on his back for unbelievers, and that on his feet for the *jinn*.

The angel of death consigns the souls he has seized to the angels of compassion (*malā'ikat ar-rahma*) or to the angels of punishment (*malā'ikat al-adhāb*), according as they are believers or unbelievers; but certain authors say that it is the angels assisting 'Azrā'il who themselves carry off the soul with gentleness or roughly. It is also said that 'Azrā'il, with Allah's permission, calls the souls, and they come and place themselves between the two first fingers of his hand. Lastly, according to still others, 'Azrā'il gathers the believing souls together, with his right hand, in a white silk cloth perfumed with musk, and sends them to the farthest summits of heaven (*al-'alvyīn*), while the souls of unbelievers are crowded into a rag coated with tar-water and launched into the depths of hell (*as-sijīn*).

No man can escape 'Azrā'il; it is impossible to cheat him even by being instantly transported by magical means to the very ends of the earth: 'Azrā'il is there in an instant. This is seen in the story of Solomon and the young man who was carried to China by his *jinn*; this popular story is found everywhere (Tabari, Ghazālī, Wolff, *The 1001 Nights*, Mūstafef, etc.). The Qur'an commentators, however, insist on the amicable relations which Solomon vowed with 'Azrā'il, though he had started by fainting at the sight of the angel in his true shape.

'Isrā'īl is, according to the formula given by Kazwini, the angel who brings the orders of Allah to their proper destination, and who puts the soul into the body. He is the angel of whom the Qur'an speaks without naming him (vi. 73, lxxx. 33, etc.), and who is to sound the trumpet of the last judgment (*qūr*). 'The master of the trumpet (*gāhib al-garn*),' says a *ḥadīth*, 'puts the trumpet to his lips, and, with gaze fixed upon the throne, waits for the command to blow.' At the first blast, the blast of terror (*nafḥat al-faṣ'*), everything will perish in the heavens and on the earth, except what Allah wills, i.e., according to different opinions, except the eight angels mentioned above, or only the four archangels, who will perish in the following order: Jibrīl, Mikā'il, 'Isrā'īl, and, last of all, the angel of death. After forty years passed in *Barzakh*, 'Isrā'īl will be re-born and will sound the second blast, the blast of resurrection (*nafḥat al-bāth*): all the souls, gathered together in the bell of his trumpet, which is as vast as the heavens and the earth, will fly like a swarm of bees to the bodies they are about to animate. While this is the essential function of 'Isrā'īl, it is not his only function. When Allah wishes to give a command to men, he orders the Pen (*qalam*) to write upon the Tablet of Destiny (*lūh*). This he gives to 'Isrā'īl, who places it between his eyes, and transmits it to Mikā'il. Mikā'il gets the command performed by his assistants, who represent, as mentioned above, the forces of Nature. Authors describe 'Isrā'īl under a form borrowed from a *ḥadīth* of 'A'isha, repeating the words of Ka'b al-Aḥbar, i.e.

the Jewish tradition. 'Isrā'īl has four wings: with the first he closes up the East; with the second the West; with the third he covers the earth; and with the fourth he veils his face before the Almighty Power of Allah. His feet are under the seventh world, while his head reaches up to the foot of the throne. A late and strange story (Wolff, p. 14) shows him weeping so copiously at the sight of hell that Allah has to stop his tears because they threaten to renew the Flood of Noah.

After a dead man has been placed in the tomb, and his friends have left him, and he has heard the sound of their retreating steps, two formidable angels, Munkar and Nakir, come and sit by his side, and ask him: 'What say you of this man (i.e. Muhammad)?' The believer (*mu'min*) replies: 'I bear witness that he is the prophet of Allah and his servant.' Then the two angels show him the place which he might have occupied in hell, and, on the other hand, the place which he will gain in paradise. The false believer (*munāfiq*) and the unbeliever (*kāfir*) will reply to the same question: 'I do not know; I said what the others said.' Then the two angels will beat him with iron rods so that he will utter a cry which will be heard by men and *jinn*. According to other traditions, the questions will be asked by a special angel, called Rūmān, who, if necessary, will deliver the dead person over to the punishment of the two angels of the tomb. Others, again, say that the angel placed in charge of the departed will question him, and at the sound of his voice the tomb will contract, almost crushing the man dwelling within it, until the first Friday of Rajab. The believer who dies on a Friday is exempt from the questioning at the tomb. The name of these two angels is derived from a root *nakar*, 'to deny'; we here find the parallelism dear to Hebrew traditions, and the presence of the initial M in one of the names—two souvenirs of Parsiism and Ancient Persia.

Man is guarded night and day by the *hafaza* angels, 'who protect him from *jinn*, men, and Satans,' and who register all his actions. These angels are four in number, two during the day, and two during the night. Some writers admit the existence of a fifth angel, who remains beside men constantly. The two angels stand by the side of the man, one at his right hand and the other at his left, or one in front of him and the other behind; by night they take up their position one at his head and the other at his feet. The day-guardians change places with the night-guardians at the rising and the setting of the sun. These hours are dangerous in themselves, being the times when the *jinn* roam about, but they become much more dangerous to man because it is then that the change of the guard of the *hafaza* takes place. If the believer makes haste to begin the morning prayer (*ṣubḥ*), and the evening prayer (*maghrib*) at the very earliest opportunity, the angels who have to depart from him leave him safe from the *jinn*, against whom the sacred ceremonies protect him, and ascend to heaven, bearing witness to Allah of the faith of his worshipper. Before he has finished his prayer, the other two guardians come and stand by his sides. But it is not only to the machinations of the *jinn* that man is exposed: 'Iblis is on the watch for him by day, and his son during the night. This very simple arrangement has also been complicated by the traditionalists of later times. To the four guardians already known they added six others: one of them holds the man by the tuft of hair which Muslims wear on the top of their heads, and drags him one way or the other according as the man shows humility or pride. Another stays in front of his mouth to prevent the serpent from entering it. Two others protect his eyes; and the last two, placed on his lips,

listen only to the words which he pronounces in prayer.

On the *hafaza* devolves the duty of writing down the actions of men; the one on the right hand keeps an account of the good deeds, and the one on the left of the bad. These registers will be a witness on the judgment day. When the man performs a good deed, the angel on the right hand immediately writes it down; when he commits a sin, the same angel begs his companion not to write it down, but to give the sinner respite—six or seven hours, according to the writers—during which he has time to repent. Some commentators even allow that a compensation may be arranged, and that every good action effaces a bad one. Unbelievers also are said to have guardians (Qur'an, lxxxvi. 4).

When the *hafaza* see that the man over whom they had charge has died, they do not know what to do, and they pray to Allah, who tells them to go to the grave of the deceased and repeat the formulæ of adoration (*tasbiḥ*, *takbir*, *taqdīs*), which, on the judgment day, will be counted among the merits of the deceased.

These angels are mentioned several times in the Qur'an, into which they have been introduced by Christian tradition. In lxxvii. 11, they are called *kirām kâtibîn*, 'noble writers,' indicating their rôle as overseers of human actions; in vi. 61 they are called *hafaza*; but in xlii. 12 they are at the same time called *mu'aghibât*, 'those who relieve each other.' This last expression is puzzling in its form, and the commentators, trying to explain it, say that it is a perfectly logical double plural, and that the second verbal form *'aghaba* here stands for the third form *'agaba*. The Qur'an (i. 12) uses the word *raḡīb* to denote the guardian angel of men, and Tabari (*Tafsir*, xlii. 68, line 10) shows that Qur'an xlii. 12 was read by 'Ali ben-Ka'b with the following variants: 'he has in front of him *mu'aghibât*, and behind him a *raḡīb*.' There may be some connexion between these terms and those referring to the two stars which, during the course of the year, appear, one in the East and one in the West, at twilight and at dawn, and the observation of which serves as a foundation for a division of the year into twenty-eight *manāzil* or *'anwâ*—a division which is very fruitful in popular practices. The belief in guardian angels, then, over and above Christian traditions, might become connected with an astral cult.

In the crowd of angels who have no special character, certain authors distinguish the 'pious travellers' (*as-sayyāḥūn*) who scour the country with the intention of frequenting only the gatherings where the name of Allah is being repeated. They then ascend to Allah, who questions them, and, on their evidence, pardons his fervent worshippers the faults they may have committed. According to a passage in Ibn al-Athīr (*Lisān al-'Arab*, xii. 386), none of these angels could enter any place in which there was an image or a dog.

We cannot explain the circumstance that has drawn the names of Hārūt and Mārūt from the anonymous crowd of spirits into the broad daylight of the Holy Book (Qur'an, ii. 97). Traditions have developed rapidly to explain their history, and since the 9th cent. they have been copiously explained by commentators (Tabari, *Tafsir*, i. 3402).

Two angels having incurred the wrath of Allah have been thrown into a well in the town of Babylon, where, loaded with chains, they will teach mortals the art of magic until the end of the world. In order to punish them, Allah has commanded them to teach this accursed science; but they have to warn those who consult them that they are rebels, and to advise them not to imitate them. According to a *ḥadīth* of A'isha, a woman came to her when the prophet was away, and told her that, being uneasy about the absence of her husband, she had consulted a sorceress; carried away at a gallop by two black dogs (one of the ordinary disguises of 'Iblis), the two women had arrived at the edge of the Babylonian well, where the two fallen angels had put the inquirer in possession of magical powers, from which she was coming to ask the prophet to deliver her.

Who are these two angels, and what was their crime? This is not the place to study in detail the different versions which are prevalent in Arabic literature, or to show how, among the late writers, Kazwini, for example, the legend has, under Mu'tazilite influence, been contracted into an account of a more serious kind, but deprived of characteristic

details. We shall give here the chief traits of the most fully developed legend, which seems to be the most ancient.

The first men in the world soon gave themselves up to all kinds of debauchery and crime. The angels who looked on at these horrors from the heights of heaven were surprised at the gentleness of Allah. 'Be more tolerant,' he said to them; 'if you were exposed to the passions which agitate men, you would soon commit all their crimes.' The angels protested, and begged Allah to put them to the test; and he consented. They chose two of the most noble and pure among them, Hārūt and Mārūt, who descended to earth. Allah allowed them to live there in their own way, and prohibited them only from polytheism, theft, adultery, wine, and murder. All went well until one day, when a woman came before them; whether by chance or chosen as judges, they had to decide in a quarrel which had arisen between her and her husband. This woman was beautiful; she excited the desire of the two angels. Tradition gives us her name; 'she was called Zahāra in Arabic, Baidūp in Aramaic, and 'Anāhid in Persian' (i.e. Venus). She set conditions on her favours: according to some, she asked her lovers the word which enabled them to ascend to heaven every day, obtained it, made use of it, and remained attached to the firmament in the form of the planet Venus (Zahāra), while the two angels remained prisoners on earth for having misused the sacred word. According to other traditions, she commanded them to worship an idol, or she made them drink wine, the intoxication of which led them to murder a beggar who was passing. In any case, Allah called or recalled Venus to the sky, and punished the culprits. On the intercession of Solomon, Idris, or some other good personage, he let them choose between a terrestrial punishment and an everlasting chastisement. They chose the former, and were chained in the well of Babel, which, according to some, is Babylon of Chaldaea; according to others, a place in Demāvend, famous for its magical traditions. We may mention, as a strange variant of this story, the tradition that the two angels who brought magic to men were Mik'āl and Jābrīl.

This legend may have reached Muhammad through Rabbinic traditions, especially according to the version which shows the woman tempter ascending to heaven with the password of the two angels, and remaining there in the form of the planet Venus. Geiger (*Was hat Mohammed a. d. Judenthume aufgenommen?*² Leipz. 1902, p. 107 f.) mentions a tradition in which the two angels are called Shamhazī and Aza'el (Schwab, p. 209); the daughter of the earth who seduces them is referred to under the name of Aster (= 'star'; see Schwab on the word 'Biduk'). But we must seek the origin elsewhere; it is in connexion with the cult of Mithra and Anahita that we again come across the names of the two spirits, Haurvatāt and Ameretāt—not to mention the tradition on the Chaldaean origin of magic (cf. vol. i, p. 796*).

Paradise and hell are peopled with spirits whose exact description has not been given by any writer. At the entrance to paradise there is sometimes placed an angel called Ridwān, whose name is probably a rough interpretation of a passage in the Qur'an (iii. 13). We do not know in what class to place the *houris* (*ḥūr al-'ain*), who are said to share with other women the society of the blessed, and who, shining and pure, are exempt from physical suffering, like all the inhabitants of paradise (Qur'an, xlv. 54, lii. 20, lv. 56 f., lvi. 22, etc.).

The teaching is much clearer in regard to hell. It is guarded by a terrible angel Mālik, assisted by *shires* (*zabaniya*), who in their turn have guardians (*hafaza* or *ḥazanat jahannam*) at their command. These *shires* are nineteen in number, i.e. equal to the number of letters in *bismillāh* (*bismillāhi-r-raḥmāni-r-raḥimī*) = 'in the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful'. People escape from them by reciting this formula. Mālik stirs up the fire which burns the reprobates, and replies to their complaints with jokes; but he is milder in the case of believers guilty of mortal sins, who, according to the prevailing theory, will one day get free from hell by the intercession of Muhammad. He is mentioned in the Qur'an (xliii. 77).

We have already seen that 'Iblis was the wicked angel, who, assisted by his son, tempts mortals.

He was cursed for refusing to prostrate himself before Adam, created from clay, when he had been created from fire (Qur'ān, xxxviii. 77 f.). Allah cursed him, calling him 'stoned' (*rajin*). He has command of the unbelieving *jinn*, who are his agents with men.

The orthodox doctrine, as we have just seen, is very chary of hints as to the names of the spirits. But, in imitation of the Jewish Qabbala and under the influence of conjuration formule, the Muslim practice has developed this nomenclature in a peculiar way, as it had commented on the supreme name of Allah in his ninety-nine secondary names. Thus there is formed an interminable list of names of angels in 'Al, and of names of *jinn* in -ūs, which fill all the works on magic. Without entering into details, it may be useful to recount here a *hadith* which Kazwini mentions (i. 59), following 'Ibn 'Abbās:

Each of the seven heavens is inhabited by a group of angels, who are engaged in praising and worshipping Allah. 'Those who inhabit the lower heaven which encircles the earth have the form of owls, and are under the command of an angel called 'Isma'il; in the second heaven dwell eagles under the angel Miḥā'il; in the third, vultures under Sa'ādiyā'il; in the fourth, hawks under Šaḥā'il; in the fifth, *houre*s under Kalkā'il; in the sixth, young boys under Samā'hā'il; in the seventh, men under Rūḥā'il.' Lastly, beyond the veil which closes the heaven, angels, so numerous that they do not know each other, praise Allah in different languages which resound like crashing thunder.

In a word, the ancient beliefs of the pagan Arabs have been preserved by peopling the Muslim world with *jinn*, who, for the most part, are the servants of 'Iblis. See more fully under art. ARABS (ANCIENT), vol. i. p. 669 f. But, under the influence of Judaism and Christianity, the new religion has also acquired an army of angels and demons, whose history cannot be clearly given without touching on the critical study of the *hadiths*.

LITERATURE.—F. A. Klein, *The Religion of Islām*, London, 1903, pp. 64-67, 87; T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, London, 1896, *passim*; M. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig, 1872; Kazwini, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeldt, 1849, i. 56-68. GAUDEROY-DEMOBYNES.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Persian).—Demonology plays a prominent part in the religion of Persia because of the pronounced dualistic tenets of Zoroastrianism. The opposing forces of evil and good are believed to be in constant warfare until the last millennial cycles of the world preceding the day of judgment, when perfected man shall, by the aid of the heavenly hosts, overcome the power of evil (*drug*) for ever, and righteousness (Av. *asa*) shall reign supreme.

The general designation for 'demon' in the Avesta is *daēva*, the same word as the later Persian *div*, 'devil,' and it is etymologically identical with Skr. *dēva*, 'deity,' Lat. *divus*, 'divine,' although diametrically opposed in meaning. This direct opposition between the Indian and the Persian terms is generally ascribed to a presumed religious schism in pre-historic times between the two branches of the Indo-Iranian community; but there is considerable uncertainty about the interpretation, and the solution of the problem has not been rendered easier by the fact mentioned below—that the names of two Hindu deities who appear as demons in the Zoroastrian system have recently been found in ancient inscriptions discovered in Asia Minor.

As the Avestan word *daēva* is masculine in gender, the demons in Zoroastrianism are commonly conceived to be of the male sex; but there is a large class of she-devils or female fiends, *drugēs*, derived in name from the feminine abstract *drug*, lit. 'deceit,' the essence of evil in the Avesta, a word comparable with the neuter *drauga*, 'falsehood,' 'lie,' in the Old Persian inscriptions. Besides these she-demons there are numerous other

feminine personifications that embody the elements of sin as much as do their masculine counterparts.

In numbers, according to the Avesta, the hosts of evil are legion (Yt. iv. 2). The Gāthās speak of the demons as 'the seed sprung from evil thought, deceit, and presumption' (Ys. xxxii. 3), and for that reason they are elsewhere described as being 'the seed of darkness' (Vend. viii. 80). Their creator was Ahriman, who brought them forth to wage war against heaven and earth, as is told in the Pahlavi *Bundahišn* (i. 10, xxviii. 1-46); and Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* xlvii.) rightly interpreted the spirit of Zoroastrian demonology when he described Ahriman as having caused a number of demons equal in activity to the Divine forces created by Ormazd to bore through (*diarphrares*) the world-egg in which Ormazd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (*θεοί*). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should picture the entire body of fiends as taking flight in dismay before him (Ys. ix. 15).

The demons are naturally thought of as spirits or bodiless agents (Av. *mainyava daēva*, 'spiritual demons' [Yt. x. 69, 97; Vend. viii. 81, 80]), though sometimes they are conceived of as having human shape (Ys. ix. 15) in order to accomplish better their fiendish ends. Their purposes are best achieved under the cover of darkness, but their heinous deeds are checked by the rising of the sun (Yt. vi. 3 f.). Their favourite haunt is in proximity to whatever is vile or foul, and they lurk, especially as spooks or goblins, in the vicinity of *dakhmas*, or towers of silence. In certain regions they were believed to be more numerous than in others, the whole province of Mazandaran, south of the Caspian Sea, being supposed to be especially infected by their presence. This legendary association with that territory is as old as the Avesta, and it appears throughout the Pahlavi writings, as well as in the *Shāh Nāmah* of Firdausi (Av. *daēva Māzainya*, Pahl. *Māzantiān dēvān*, Pers. *divān-i Māzandarān*). The same tradition was perpetuated in Manichæism, as is proved by allusions to Mazanian demons in the Manichæan texts lately discovered in Eastern Turkestan (see F. W. K. Müller, 'Handschriftenreste aus Turfan,' ii. 18, 19, *ABAW*, Anhang, 1904). The baneful influence of all these ministers of evil could be averted in various ways, and one of the books of the Avesta, the *Vendidad* (*Vidaē-vadāta*, 'Law against Demons'), is devoted almost entirely to providing man with the means of ridding himself of their power.

As might be imagined, the multitudinous host of evil spirits lacks order and organization. It is, therefore, somewhat difficult to divide them into sharply defined bands, but a rough distinction between the masses may be recognized. At the head of the host stands Anra Mainyu, or Ahriman, 'the Enemy Spirit,' the prince of darkness personified. The chief characteristics of Anra Mainyu, or Angra Mainyu, as he is termed in the Gāthās, have been discussed in a separate article (see AHRIMAN), and need only to be designated here as maleficent in the extreme. Next in power to Ahriman stand six arch-fiends as eminent commanders of the legions of sin. Then follows a confused horde of wicked spirits framed to bring misery and distress into the world. These two bands in their broad grouping will be considered in turn.

The sixfold group of arch-fiends that are gathered as aides about the standard of Ahriman and form the council of hell (cf. Yt. xix. 96; *Dink.* ix. 21. 4; *Bd.* xxviii. 7 ff. and xxx. 29) are portrayed in Zoroastrian literature as endowed with various evil

qualities and as discharging multifarious diabolical functions. Their names are Aka Manah (Evil Thought), Indra, Sauru, Nāōhaithya (parallel with three Indian deities), Taurvi and Zairicha (personifications respectively of overpowering hunger and deadly thirst), and, lastly, Aēśma, the demon of fury, rapine, lust, and outrage. The fact that three of these demoniacal names are identical with gods in the Indian pantheon has been alluded to above, but their figures on the whole are not really sharply defined, though their malign characters are several times alluded to in the passages which enumerate them (*Vend.* x. 9 f., xix. 43; *Bund.* i. 27, xxviii. 7-12, xxx. 29; *Ep. Mān.* i. x. 9; cf. also *Dāt.* xciv. 2; *Dink.* ix. 34). Reference has likewise been made to the fact that in the inscriptions of the Hittite kings of the 14th cent. B.C., recently discovered by Winckler at Boghaz-keui in Asia Minor, the names Indra and Nāsātya—the latter noteworthy by its Indian form (with *s*) in contrast to the Iranian form Nāōhaithya (with *h*)—appear as divinities and not as demons. Until the full connexion of the passages in these inscriptions is made known by the discoverer, it appears premature to theorize in regard to the possible bearing of the allusions upon the mooted question of the presumed Indo-Iranian religious schism. The mention may be merely a direct reference to Indian deities without having any immediate connexion with Iran.

Of all the sixfold group of arch-fiends, the most clearly defined is the assaulting and outrageous demon *Aēśma*, whose name has been thought to be reflected as *Asmodeus* in the Book of Tobit (see F. Windischmann, *Zoroastr. Studien*, Berlin, 1863, p. 138; A. Kohut, *Jüd. Angelologie und Dämonologie*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 75; F. Spiegel, *Brān. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1877, ii. 132; E. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, Haarlem, 1898, p. 263; J. H. Moulton, 'The Iranian Background of Tobit,' in *Expt* xi. [1900] 258; for the opposing view, see Ginzberg, in *JE* ii. 217-220).

By the side of these six arch-demons there are named in the Avesta and supplementary Zoroastrian texts more than fifty other demons, personifications of evil forces in the world (for the complete list, see Jackson, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 659-662). It will suffice to mention a few of these, such as *Tarōmaiti*, 'Arrogance'; *Mithaoxta*, 'False Speech'; *Azi*, 'Greed' (a demon that is preserved likewise in Manichæism [cf. Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22, 23, 53]); *Vizaresa*, or the fiend that drags the souls of the wicked to hell; *Būšyāstā*, a typification of inordinate sleep and sloth; *Astō-vidātu*, who divides the bones at death; *Apaōša*, 'drought'; *Zemaka*, 'winter'; and a score or more of personified malignant forces.

The special cohort of fiends (*drujes*), as already noted, is headed by the *Druj* paramount, or the feminine embodiment of deceit and falsehood, who draws in her train a ribald crew of followers, corporeal and incorporeal, entitled in the Avesta *dregvants*, or *drcvants*, 'the wicked.' Foremost among these agents in exercising pernicious activity is the *Druj Nasu* (cf. Gr. *nekus*), 'corpse-fiend,' the veritable incarnation of pollution and contagion arising from the decomposition of a dead body. Of a similar character in the Avesta is *Ithyēja Maršaona* (*Vend.* xix. 1, 43, xviii. 8; *Yt.* vi. 4, xiii. 130), the same as *Sēj* in the Pahlavi texts (*Bund.* xxviii. 26; *Dink.* ix. 21. 4, vii. 4. 37), a form of wasting decay and decrepitude that creeps on unseen. Peculiarly malign in her influence is another fiend, *Jahi*, 'harlot' (cf. *Yt.* iii. 9, 12, 16), who embodies the spirit of whoredom destructive to mankind; while little better are the seductive

Pairikās, 'enchantresses' (the late Persian *Periē*) and their male partners, *Yātus*, 'sorcerers.'

Among demoniacal monsters is *Azhi Dahāka*, 'the Serpent Dahāka,' a tyrant out of whose shoulders grew two snakes from a kiss imprinted between them by Ahriman. Throughout Zoroastrianism this hideous being is represented as the personification of the thousand years of oppressive rule over Iran by the Babylonian Empire in early days; and he appears equally in the derived demonology of Manichæism (cf. Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 19, 37), as well as in Armenia (above, vol. i. p. 800), while his name, with the signification of 'dragon,' is even found in Slavic (Berneker, *Slav. etymolog. Wörterb.*, Heidelberg, 1908 ff., p. 36). A dozen other execrable creatures in the diabolical list might be mentioned as agents of Ahriman in his warfare against the kingdom of Ormazd, but the list is already long enough to prove the important part which demonology played in Zoroastrianism.

It should, however, be noted that there were yet other demons in Zoroastrianism whose names are not found in the extant Iranian literature. Here belong Khrūra, the son of Ahriman (al-Birūnī, *Chron. of Ancient Nations*, tr. Sachau, London, 1879, pp. 108, 398), and Mahmi, whom Eznik (*Against the Sects*, tr. J. M. Schmid, Vienna, 1900, p. 109) describes as revealing to Ormazd the secret plans of Ahriman (for the place occupied by Iranian demons in pre-Christian Armenia see above, vol. i. p. 779 f.).

LITERATURE.—For fuller details and more extensive bibliographical material, see A. V. Williams Jackson, 'Die iran. Religion,' in Geiger-Kuhn's *GrP* ii. [Strassburg, 1901] 646-688. For material relating to the discovery in Asia Minor of inscriptions with the names of the Indian deities Indra and Nāsātya, who appear as demons in Zoroastrianism, see H. Winckler, in *Mitteilungen der deut. Orientalgesellschaft*, 1907, no. 35; and cf. the discussions by Ed. Meyer, in *Seetzenberger-Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Sprachwissenschaft*, xlii. [1908] 1-27; Jacoby, in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 721-728, 1910, pp. 456-464; and Oldenberg, *ib.* 1910, pp. 846-854. The most recent material in regard to the occurrence of Zoroastrian demons in Manichean writings will be found in the discoveries made by the German Imperial Expedition at Turfan in Eastern Turkestan (see F. W. K. Müller, 'Handschriftenreste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan,' in *ABAW*, Anhang, 1904, and other later publications now being issued in the same series).

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Roman).—The Romans and Latins, and the races of Italy who were nearest of kin to them, appear to have possessed but little in the nature of mythology or folklore before they passed under the spell of the Hellenic culture. The early Italic conception of the supernatural power had not much about it that was definite or personal. There was a vague consciousness of a Divine influence (*numen*) which worked in different spheres and with different manifestations; but the allotment of distinct departments to clearly conceived personages, more or less superhuman, and the gradation of these personages to form a hierarchy, were alien to primitive Italic thought and feeling. In the earliest form of belief, only two classes of beings were intermediate between the human and the Divine. These were the souls of the dead, and certain spirits who attended on the lives of individual human beings.

We shall first deal with these attendant spirits, who, when attached to men, bore the name *genius*, and, when they guarded women, had the title of *juno*. These creations are racy of the soil of Italy, and the faith in them was less affected by contact with the Greeks than any other article of indigenous Italic religion. It hardly needs to be said that the history of culture affords innumerable parallels to this notion of an invisible personality, separable from, yet closely attached to, the life of the visible man. The *fravashi* of the Persians and

the *ka* of the Egyptians were not unlike, and the Greeks viewed the *psyche* in a somewhat similar fashion. Even barbarous peoples often abstract from the individual some striking characteristic or characteristics which they contemplate as belonging to a more or less spiritual person distinct from the man himself. Such a concept is the *genius*, and the power which was at first isolated from the man himself by the Italic tribes, and treated by them as mysterious and in some sense supernatural, was the power of propagating the race. This appears clearly in the expression *lectus genialis*, applied to the marriage bed, which was originally always placed in the *atrium* of the old Roman house. The corresponding power in the case of the matron is her *juno*, and the later goddess Juno is merely a generalization and a glorification of the separate *junones*. That no parallel god emerged on the male side is an anomaly of a common kind. In the *genius* were also embodied all faculties of delight, so that phrases such as *indulgere genio*, 'to do one's *genius* a pleasure,' and *defraudare genium*, 'to cheat the *genius* of an enjoyment,' were common. But the intellectual qualities which we denote by the borrowed word '*genius*' never specially pertained to this ancient spirit, though *ingenium* lies very close to *genius* by its structure. The *genius* and the *juno* were at first imagined not only to come into existence along with the human beings to whom they were linked, but also to go out of existence with them. Yet they could exercise strong control not only over the fortunes, but over the temperaments of their companions. There was undoubtedly a sort of fatalism connected with the belief in spirits. The Greeks often conceived that a particular *tyche*, or 'fortune,' accompanied the lives of men in a similar manner, and therefore they usually represented *genius* by *τύχη*. But occasionally *δαίμων* is viewed exactly in the light of the Roman *genius*. In a well-known passage (*Ep.* II. ii. 188), Horace does not hesitate to call the *genius* a god, though he at the same time declares him to be subject to death. The snake was the common symbol of the *genius* and the *juno*; hence the pairs of snakes which are painted on the walls of many houses at Pompeii. It was not uncommon to keep a tame snake in the dwelling, and the superstitious believed that the *genius* was incorporated in it. Simple altars were erected to the spirit, and offerings were made to him.

In course of time the ideas attached to the *genius* were in many respects changed and expanded. By a sort of logical absurdity, *genii* of the great gods were invented, and shrines were erected to the *genius* of Juppiter and others, while any collection of human beings gathered together, in a city, for instance, or a gild (*collegium*), or a camp, might have its attendant spirit. Thus a *genius publicus* was worshipped at Rome. But the imagination that things or places not connected with men were thus companioned—an imagination involved in such phrases as *genius sacre annonæ* or *genius loci*—sprang up only in a late age. In the Imperial time, the severance between the Emperor's *genius* and his tangible personality had many notable consequences, and subserved some political purposes. Augustus was able to allow the veneration of his *genius* to become part of the public worship of Rome without flouting Roman prejudice, though he was compelled (officially) to confine the deification of his person to the provinces. When it became customary for oaths to be taken by the Emperor's *genius*, it was possible to introduce a secular punishment for perjury, which had previously been left to the Divine vengeance.

When Eastern religious influences spread over the Western part of the Roman Empire, and new

developments in philosophy aided these influences in transforming culture, old ideas concerning the *genius* underwent contamination. The *genius*, which had been supposed to die with the man, was now held to be identical with the soul which survived the body. Hence on the later tombstones this name sometimes describes the spirit of the deceased. Servius, the commentator on Virgil, tells us that the vulgar did not clearly distinguish between *genii*, *lares*, and *manes*. This confusion had been helped by learned speculation from the time of Varro onwards. We must, therefore, now consider Roman and Italic beliefs concerning the state of the dead.

That a cult of the departed existed from primitive times is clear from many indications. The earliest form of the Roman calendar notes several purificatory ceremonies for the appeasement of the ghostly world. The vanished spirits were not without an influence over the living which was to be dreaded. The month of February took its name from one of the deprecatory observances (*Februa*). Each family in the community had its special concern with the ritual. The ghosts were supposed to approach some openings in the earth, to which the name *mundus* was given. Such was the spot called *Terentum* or *Tarentum* in the Campus Martius, and another place in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. The ceremony called *lustratio* ('purification'), which was performed for the newly-born child, for the army in the field in times of superstition and panic, and for the whole assemblage of past and present warriors every five years (when the censors were said *condere lustrum*), seems to have had its origin more in fear of the unregarded dead than in any sense of sin in face of the offended gods; and the ornament called *bullæ* worn by the Roman child appears to have contained charms originally intended to ward off ghostly anger, to which the young were specially exposed. Ancient scholars believed that the worship of the *lares*, or household spirits, was one form of the cult of the dead, and, till recently, they were followed by the moderns. There is, however, much evidence to show that the veneration of the *lares* began outside the house. The earliest mention of them is in the ancient hymn of the Arval Brothers, where they appear amongst the protecting divinities of the fields. Originally each house possessed only one *lar familiaris*, and the use of *lares* to mean 'a household' is not earlier than the late Republic. It is possible that the *lar familiaris* was at first the mythical founder of the separate family, just as each *gens* had its mythical ancestor. But the existence from early times of *lares* in every *comitum*, or quarter of the city, and of *lares permarini* and other *lares* connected with localities, points the other way. And the worship connected with them was joyous in character, not funereal. The scholars who identified the *lares* with the departed souls were influenced, perhaps, by a supposed but improbable connexion between *lar* and *larva* (which is the name for an unsatisfied and, therefore, dangerous ghost), and by the primitive custom of burying the dead within the house of the living. The phrase *di manes*, which is familiar to us on Roman tombstones, appears to have been the earliest applied to the general divinities who ruled the world of shades. Their appearance in Roman religion must have been comparatively late. The term *manes*, properly 'good' or 'kindly,' is euphemistic, like the name *Eumenides*, given to the Greek Furies. The application of *manes* to disembodied men is secondary, especially when the word indicates a single ghost. Yet, from an early time, the ancestors in the other world were deemed to be in a sense Divine, and were called

divi parentes. The *lemures* are the same as the *larvæ*, the spirits with whom, for whatever reason, the living find it hard to maintain a permanent peace. The name is connected with *Lemuria*, a purificatory ceremony held at Rome in the month of May.

When the West was invaded by the religions of the East, including the Christian, and when philosophy, especially in the hands of the Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic schools, developed much mystical doctrine about things Divine, the belief in beings who were more than men and less than gods became universal. The whole world now abounded in demons of limited power for good or evil. The testimony to this persuasion is scattered broadcast over later literature, from Apuleius onwards, and over the remains of Imperial art. The deified emperors were like the Greek *Apwes*, and to them the name *divi*, which had in earlier days not been distinguished from *dei*, was appropriated. Magic and astrology blended with the faith in demons, which, when Christianity prevailed, were regarded as wholly bad, and were identified with heathen divinities. The minds of men were laden with a burden of which they were not relieved till rationalism sprang out of the Reformation movement.

LITERATURE.—Information on the subject may be obtained from the articles on 'Inferni,' 'Genius,' 'Lares,' and 'Manes,' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, London, 1890-1; in the *Dict. des Antiquités* of Daremberg-Saglio, Paris, 1886 ff.; and in Roscher's *Lex. der Mythologie*, 1884 ff. The work of Wissowa on Roman Religion in Ivan Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, Munich, 1892 ff., is important. For the cults of the dead, Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, and his Gifford Lectures, entitled *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, may be consulted; and for the later belief in demons, Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904. Many illustrations are to be found in Frazer's *GB*², 1900. J. S. REID.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavic).—There is abundant evidence of the persistence of the belief in demons and spirits among the Slavic peoples even to the present day, especially in districts where primitive ideas and customs have not yielded to the advance of civilization. Popular imagination traces the agency of supernatural beings in every part of the surrounding world—house and home, field and forest—and sees in every nook and corner the possible hiding-place of an invisible spirit, which, however, may on occasion assume a visible form. In seeking to classify these beings under leading categories, it is often difficult to determine which of them are to be regarded as products of the animistic stage of thought, and which, on the other hand, should be described rather as demons, demanding the prayers, offerings, and worship of human beings. As to the various classes of demons themselves, such as dream-spirits and spirits of disease, domestic spirits and Nature-spirits, it is likewise no easy task to draw distinct lines of demarcation between them.

The origin of demonic beings is explained in a cosmogonic legend of dualistic character, which, it is true, belongs to a relatively late period, and is derived from a foreign source.

According to this story, which is widely known among the Slavs, the Evil principle existed from the first, and quite independently of the Good. As a result of the combined work of both—God and Satan—the world itself came into being. Satan, in the form of a water-fowl, made his way to the bottom of the primal ocean, and in his beak brought up rock and sand, with which materials God then framed the world. Satan, however, secretly retained in his mouth a portion of the sand, and made therewith all the rugged and inaccessible places—mountains, crags, morasses, straits, and barren lands. Satan then tried to drown God, who, fatigued with the effort of creation, was now asleep, and to this end he dug holes in the surface of the earth, and caused floods to gush forth therefrom: thus arose great waters and abysses, into which, however, Satan himself was at length thrust by the power of God. Moved by envy of the Deity, Satan also essayed the work of creation, and noxious plants and animals are the result of his efforts. Desiring to

form a retinue for his own service such as would correspond to the angelic hosts of God, he was advised by the latter to wash his hands, and to allow the water to drop from his fingers behind him. From these drops sprang an innumerable multitude of evil spirits, who own him as their head. It is believed in Russia that the same thing takes place whenever a person engaged in washing himself lets the water drip around him.

According to another form of the legend, good angels and demons were produced from a stone upon which blows were dealt by God and Satan respectively. Satan's arrogance and the growth of his retinue induced him at last to make an open revolt, with the result, however, that the archangel Michael hurled the wicked host from the celestial battlements. The ejected demons fell between heaven and earth; one remained in the air, another in the forest, a third in water, etc., while the rest sank down into the under world. This explains why demons have their secret habitations in all places—in the air, in woods, waters, and the like. It is a popular belief that the conflict between the Good and the Evil principle still endures, and manifests itself in thunder and lightning. The thunderstorm is brought about by the thunder-god—Elijah or Michael—who pursues the evil host with a bolt of fire. Every object injured, every person or animal killed, by the lightning-flash affords unmistakable evidence of the fact that some evil demon was feeling before his heavenly pursuer, and had sought shelter in the neighbourhood of the person or animal or object struck, and that, while the Divine missile destroyed the cowering demon, it did not spare the innocent object that chanced to be near. Thus arose the belief that a human being killed in a thunderstorm wins salvation, as also the notion that the wood of a tree shattered by lightning contains a powerful counter-active to the work of evil spirits.

The people of Little Russia explain the genesis of demons by another myth, which, however, is not nearly so widely known as that which we have just sketched. According to them, evil spirits are the children of Adam. Our first parents, it is related, had twelve pairs of children, but on one occasion, when God came to visit them, Adam tried to conceal half of his offspring from the Divine eye. The children who were thus hidden were transformed into demons.

Although many demons are destroyed in their warfare against God and good men, yet their numbers are not diminished. On the contrary, their ranks are always being reinforced, either by marriages amongst themselves, from which issue new generations, or by sexual intercourse with human beings. Further, their numbers may be recruited by the human children who become demons—a transformation which takes place when a child is cursed by its parents, or dies unbaptized, or when it is taken away by the demons and a changeling (*q.v.*) left in its place. The powers of evil also gain possession of all who die a violent death, such as suicides and children overlain in sleep; hence the idea that it is dangerous to try to save a person in the act of committing suicide, or one who is drowning, etc., as the devil will feel himself wronged in being balked of his expected victim, and may take vengeance upon the rescuer.

The demons are believed to come into touch with human life in various ways. They injure man by causing accident and disease, or they give him help and protection. A common idea is that a demon sits upon the left shoulder of every human being, ready to take possession of him at any moment of weakness, and it is therefore advisable that when a person yawns he should guard his mouth by making the sign of the cross, and so prevent the fiend from gaining an entrance into his body. But, if an individual makes a compact with the devil, signing over his soul in a document subscribed in his own blood, the devil undertakes on his part to serve the man in every possible way, and especially to make him rich. In the course of ages Satan has taught mankind many crafts. It was from him that people learned the arts of iron-working, brewing, and distilling, as also the use of tobacco. He was the discoverer of fire; he built the first mill and the first waggon. The arts of reading and writing were acquired from him. Moreover, when Satan is in a good humour, he finds amusement in plaguing human beings; he likes to beguile the belated traveller from the right way, to worry the driver by causing a breakdown in the middle of the road, or to play tricks upon a drunk man. He may appear under the disguise of a

friend or a lover, and it is even believed that he can serve his minions by taking their place in the ranks of the army. It is also said that, when he wishes to gratify his lust, he visits witches in the form of a flying fiery serpent; such, for example, are the *Letavitsa* of the Huzules and the Polish *Lataviec*, which sometimes assume the form of a man, sometimes that of a fascinating maiden.

It is with witches that the evil spirits and demons have their most active intercourse. At certain seasons, and especially on the principal feast days of the Church, the witches fly away to the meeting-places of the demons, where they drink, dance, and wallow in debauchery. The demons on their part are ready to abet the witches in carrying out those magical operations which, according to popular notions, require the support of supernatural agency. Such, for instance, are the machinations by which the sorcerer causes untimely births, incites love, sows dissension among friends—anything, in a word, which does mischief to mankind. The transactions are performed in the name of the evil spirit, and, when they are followed by an adjuration, this usually takes the form of an appeal 'to the host of unclean spirits conjointly with Satan,' praying that they will work harm to the person the sorcerer has in view. Such an adjuration of the infernal spirits implies, of course, that the sorcerer has by word and action taken the final step in his abandonment of the Christian faith and of all that the Church counts virtuous and laudable. He takes the cross from his neck and tramples upon it; he avoids the use of sacred words, and declares himself an apostate from Christ and His saints. A person who has thus given himself to Satan has something forbidding in his very appearance; it is believed that he no longer washes himself or combs his hair. In Little Russia, a woman who desires to become a witch goes at midnight to some river, whence the evil spirit comes forth to meet her. But she must previously have trodden a saint's image under foot, and removed the cross from her neck.

According to the popular superstition,—reflected also in the language of incantations,—the evil spirits dwell somewhere in the North or West, in a 'nocturnal' land, while the good angels are in possession of the realm lying to the East. The region peopled by demons is dark, shrouded in mist and cloud, and lies deep down in an abyss. Another belief, and one which is widely diffused, is that the hosts of Satan live in a subterranean region, whence they issue forth upon the world at the bidding of their prince; or in deep waters, unclean places, dense forests, and marshes, where the sun never shines. Bushes of elder and willow by the water-side are in some localities believed to be the favourite haunts of demons. They leave their lurking-place in the vicinity of water on the 6th of January, i.e. Epiphany, when the priest blesses the water; they then migrate to an abode in the meadows. In Passion-week, again, when the meadows are consecrated, they pass into trees and cornfields, and then, at the festival on the 1st of August, they leave the apple-tree—which is consecrated on that day—and return to their own element. Another favourite resort of demons is the cross-roads (q.v.), where evil spirits come together from all quarters of the world. The mill and the uninhabited house are also well adapted to supply a lodging for demons. They like to tarry in the neighbourhood of a spot where treasure is concealed. On Easter Eve and the Eve of St. John, when the bracken is supposed to flourish, the demons endeavour to prevent the blossoms, which possess extraordinary magical virtues, from falling into the hands of human beings. At the hour of noon they muster at their

favourite spots on the banks of lakes and rivers, and it is therefore dangerous to linger in the open at that time. There is, indeed, a special midday-demon, the *Bés poludennyj*. It is believed that the spirits retire from the earth and return to Hell in the middle of November, only, however, to resume their expeditions in spring, when Nature re-awakes from her winter sleep.

Hell, the nether lake of fire and smoke, is, in a special sense, the home of these evil spirits. Here *Lutsiper*, with his wife and attendants, swims and sails about, torturing the souls of the dead. The place of eternal fire is depicted as a bathroom or stove, in the heat of which the souls are tormented. The belief in hell-fire and the discovery of iron have conspired to foster another notion, viz. that the demons are smiths. In Russian incantations we find mention of three such demonic smiths, the three being brothers. The idea of a triad of fiends is also current in the folk-lore of other Slavic countries. The oldest demon of all, *Lutsiper*, is very frequently referred to as *Herod*—a name which probably denotes both the murderer of the innocents and the slayer of John the Baptist. Other names applied to the devil are 'the hetman' (of his hosts), Judas, Velzevul (i.e. Beelzebub), and Satan. According to the legends, the chief of the infernal forces is bound with a chain, which, however, in consequence of the sins of men, wears thin, and would long ere this have given way altogether, but for the fact that, in virtue of Christ's resurrection, 'it is restored at every Easter-tide to its original strength.'

In addition to the demons named above, we find here and there a large and powerful female being, whose figure, embellished with many a fantastic feature, plays a great part in Slavic legendary lore. This is the *Baba-jaga* (Russ.), *Jedza* (Pol.), or *Ježibaba* (Slovak), a hideous old beldam, whose children are the evil spirits, or who, as the 'devil's dam,' sends forth her subject spirits into the world. She is said to steal children for the purpose of gratifying her craving for human flesh; to fly in company with the spirit of death, who gives her the souls of the dead for food; and to stir up storm and tempest in her flight. The legends also tell that she has teeth and breasts of iron, with which she rends her victims, and that her home is in a far-distant forest.

Among other Slavic names applied to evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *čert* (Bohem.), *čort* (Russ.), *czart* (Pol.); *djavor* (Russ.), *djabel* (Bohem.); *bés*, *vrag* ('adversary'), *lukavij* ('the crafty'), *kutvoj* ('short-tail'), *nečistyj* ('the unclean'), *dedjo* ('grandfather'). The last-mentioned (Little Russian) epithet is applied to both the domestic spirit and the devil, and in this it resembles the Bohem. *děblik*, i.e. 'house-goblin' (cf. *děblik*=*diabolus*, as also the Bohem. *spiritus* [= Lat. *spiritus*], Slovak *pikúlik*, which corresponds to the O. Pruss. *pikúle*). This is one of the numerous facts which indicate that heathen demonology and the Christian conception of the devil coalesced in the idea of a single 'unclean power.' In order to avoid giving offence to the demon by uttering his name, the people refer to him simply in the third person, as 'he' or 'himself.'

The demons are represented also as capable of assuming human form, and as having the qualities and propensities of human nature. It is to be noted, however, that such anthropomorphic demons show in every case some peculiar feature which distinguishes them from mankind. Thus, the demon's body may be black, or covered with hair; or he may have a horn, or a tail. In many instances he is remarkably small. Occasionally he can be recognized by his red and fiery eyes, or by the absence of some prominent organ of the body, such as an eye or an ear; or, again, by the resemblance of his feet and ears to those of a domestic animal. A lame person, or one without eyelashes, is suspected of being a demon. The water-spirit often appears in human form, and his real nature is then recognizable only by the water that oozes

from his hair and clothes. The devil, again, has a special liking for music, and dances to it. He is likewise fond of drinking and card-playing. Demonic beings have strong erotic tendencies; one of their common manoeuvres is to waylay women and girls, or, again, to appear before a young man in the guise of a beautiful and alluring maiden. It may also be mentioned that some demons even demand food, but, as immaterial beings, may be put off with mere odours and fumes.

Demonic beings stand in awe of things connected with the Church, and consecrated objects generally; and these accordingly are the most potent amulets against their evil practices. Of such prophylactic articles the most important is the cross; and everything that bears that symbol shares its power. Other effective expedients are found in sacred tapers, incense, holy water, and the consecrated palm. A person who wishes to clear his house of evil spirits resorts with all confidence to prickly plants, as well as to the fern and garlic. In Servia, rubbing the breast with garlic is practised as a means of protection against a spirit that flies about by night. It is also believed that the demons have an aversion to wheat and flax, as the consecrated wafer is prepared from the former, and holy oil from the latter. The glowing firebrand is in all cases a powerful specific against demonic agency.

Those demons and demonic spirits which make their abode in human beings—the witch, the vampire, the demoniac—have also the power of assuming an almost endless variety of form. When pressed hard by a thunderstorm, they may change into a cat or a goat. Innumerable stories are told of their having been seen in the shape of a horse, a pig, a dog, a sheep, a mouse, a hare, a bird, a peacock, a hen, a magpie, a butterfly, a fiery serpent, or even a ball of yarn. The Servian sorceress, the *Vještitsa*, harbours a demonic spirit, which leaves her during sleep, and, flying among the houses in the shape of a bird or a butterfly, feeds upon the people—especially children—whom she finds asleep, tearing out and devouring their hearts. The *Jedogonja* of the Serbs, again, may remain invisible. The *Jedogonja*-spirits are said to fight with one another among the mountains, their missiles being huge boulders and uprooted trees. Upon their influence depends the state of the weather, and thus also the fruitfulness of the soil.

A special instance of demonic metamorphosis is found in the Slav *werewolf*—the *Vlkodlak* (Bohem.), *Vukodlak* (Lit. Russ.), *Vukodlak* (Serbo-Croat.), *Vlúkolak* (Bulg.). The werewolf is a man who can change himself into a wolf, or who has really become a wolf by the enchantment of a witch. The belief in such transformations has been widely current for centuries; as far back as the 13th cent., eclipses of the sun and moon were attributed to the werewolf. The werewolf figures largely in legend. A person who has the power of changing at will into a wolf always shows some point of difference—e.g. in his birth or in his appearance—from other people. It is believed that his father was a wolf, and that he himself was born into the world feet first. In the upper part of his body he resembles a human being, while the lower part suggests the wolf. He has also a wolf's teeth and heart. To become a werewolf is a matter of no great difficulty. One need only drink a little water taken from the footprints of a wolf, or turn over a fallen tree, and then put on a wolf's skin; on the night thereafter the werewolf appears, bringing terror to man and beast. In some districts of Bulgaria it is believed that the *Vlúkolak* is a spirit which has been formed from the blood of a murdered man, and that he haunts the scene of the murder, and causes the place to become arid.

Among all the Slavic peoples, and especially

among the Serbs, the werewolf is often confounded with the vampire or *upir* (Serv. *vampir*, Lit. Russ. *upyr*). The vampire is the soul of a dead man, which comes forth out of the grave for the purpose of working injury upon the living. The Serbs believe that impious people, and especially witches, become *Vukodlaks* after death, and drink the blood of sleeping persons. When an unusually large number of deaths take place in a village community, the calamity is attributed to the *Vukodlak*. Word passes from mouth to mouth that the ghostly evil-doer has been seen as he moved around with the mortcloth upon his shoulders. The people then go to the churchyard for the purpose of identifying his grave. They take with them a foal, and the grave upon which the foal stands still is opened, and the body taken out and impaled with a stake of blackthorn or hawthorn. In other districts similar measures are resorted to when the people seek to deliver their homes from the nocturnal visits of the vampire. In Russia, for instance, a stake of aspen or maple is thrust into the corpse, or else the grave, of the person upon whom suspicion has fallen. In some districts the corpse is burned, or the blood-vessels severed below the knees. Besides the vampire of the dead, however, who finds pleasure in tormenting sleeping persons by night, we hear also of a living vampire, viz. the witch, a being endowed with demonic power, who is able to kill people, to bring disease and misfortune, and to cause stormy weather. Moreover, all ungodly persons, and all who have been cursed by their fellow-men, or have died by violence, become vampires. We hear also of vampires who were originally children begotten of mankind by the devil, or children who died unbaptized. In point of fact, any ordinary individual is liable to the repulsive transformation after death; if an unclean animal or bird—dog, cat, magpie, cock—springs casually over his dead body, or if he is not buried according to the ordinary ritual of the Church, he thereby becomes a vampire. The vampire can be recognized in the grave by the fact that his corpse does not decay, but retains a ruddy colour in the face, and has the mouth smeared with blood. His limbs bear marks which show the gnawing of his own teeth. When at length he begins to drink human blood, he assumes the form of an animal, or, indeed, of an object of any kind. We may also note here that, according to a popular superstition in Little Russia, every witch is subject to an *upyr*, who was born with her and with whom she co-habits.

To the same class of tormenting spirits belong the *mora*, *mura*, or *mara* (Russ. and Pol.), *marucha* (Russ.), *kikimora* (Russ.), *morava* (Wend. and Bulg.); cf. the Germ. *Mahr* or *Mahre*, Eng. 'mare,' 'nightmare.' They might be described in almost the same terms as the vampire. They, too, are the souls of living men, which leave their bodies by night, and visit sleepers for the purpose of tormenting them. In Russia and Bulgaria, however, the *mora* is thought to be the soul of a child that has died unbaptized, or has been cursed by its parents; or it is a spirit which dwells in the cemetery and makes itself visible to people as a ghastly black spectre. Popular superstition invests it with certain features which distinguish it from ordinary human beings. The soles of its feet are flat, and its eyebrows meet. A child who at birth has visible teeth, or one who, having been taken from his mother, commences to suck again, eventually becomes a *mora*. A similar development is expected in the case of a child whose mother during pregnancy happens to go out of her room just as the clock strikes the hour of noon. Further, should anything that conflicts with the tradition of the Church take place during baptism, the child being

baptized is thereby doomed to become a *mora*. It is also believed that a witch can voluntarily make herself a *mora*. The characteristic pursuit of a *mora* is to plague her sleeping victims with bad dreams and oppression of the chest, while she is sucking blood from their breasts. During the visitation the sleeper is incapable of speech and motion. But the *mora* does not confine her evil practices to human beings; she likewise torments domestic animals, draining them of milk and blood. Nevertheless, it is not a difficult matter to rid oneself of the cruel attentions of the *mora*. All that is necessary is to offer her a gift of some eatable substance, such as bread, salt, or butter. An effective means of keeping her at bay is to place beside the sleeper some such object as a double triangle (the so-called '*mora's* foot'), a mirror, a broom, a steel article, etc.

The further we trace the *mora* or *kikimora* towards the East, the more does she shed her distinctive characteristics and become identified with the household spirit and the Nature-demon, to which are ascribed the traits which belonged originally to her. She has now become an inmate of the house, revealing her presence by her nocturnal movements; she converses with people, puts them into a state of terror and causes disquiet, raves the work of the sewer or spinner, sits spinning upon the stove, or busies herself with tasks that belong to the housewife. She is a little old woman, and lives behind the stove. When the inmates of the house wish to rid themselves of her presence, they sweep the stove and the corners of the room with a besom, and speak the words: 'Thou must go away from this place, else thou shalt be burned.' In some parts of Russia the *moras* are believed to be repulsive-looking dwarfs, who may be found as crying children among the fields. In Siberia the *kikimora* has become a forest-spirit.

Analogous to the *mora* is the nocturnal demon which is known among the Slovaks, Poles, Serbs, and Russians as the *nočnitsa* ('night-hag'). When a child suffers during the night from some unknown ailment, tossing about and crying, the trouble is set down to the *nočnitsa*, who torments the child by tickling it or sucking its blood, or disturbs its sleep by her mere touch. The liability to such disturbance is attributed to the mother's having neglected to bless her child the evening before. In external appearance the night-hag remains very indistinct; she is simply a female demon who wanders around in the darkness of night. In some localities the *nočnitsas* are supposed to form a group of twelve sisters. It should be noted, moreover, that a similar name, *polunočnitsa*, i.e. 'the midnight-woman,' is sometimes applied to the Virgin Mary. In the Government of Archangel people safeguard themselves from the *nočnitsa* by drawing a circle round the cradle with a knife, or placing the knife within the cradle, or by putting an axe, a doll, and a spindle beneath the floor, or by driving a piece of wood into the wall. The incantations accompanying these actions always contain an expression of the wish that the 'nocturnal *nočnitsa*' will no longer play pranks with the child, but seek to find amusement in the things thus offered her. Sometimes an oblation of bread and salt is made to her, part of it being rubbed upon the head of the fretful child, and the rest placed under the stove. The hag who torments children by night is also known in Russia by the names *krikey* (cf. *kerik*, 'scream') and *plaksy* (cf. *plakat*, 'cry'). In Bulgaria a corresponding part is played by a frightful wood-hag called *gorska malkva*, whose head somewhat resembles that of an ox. Among the White Russians the belief has been traced that the nocturnal spirit produces illness in

children from within, having first found his way into their bodies.

This superstition introduces us to the *demons of disease* strictly so called. Certain diseases are commonly believed to emanate from demonic beings who have found an entrance into the body of their victim, and thence proceed to torment him. This holds good in particular of fevers, epilepsy, insanity, and plague. Among the White Russians, when the nature of the malady cannot be determined, it is supposed that the patient is tormented by an 'unclean power.' In such cases the body of the afflicted person is rubbed with a piece of bread, which is then carried to a cross-way by night; here the *Dobrochot* (a pet-name for the demon, especially the domestic spirit) is entreated to accept the offering thus made, and to absolve the sick man. Those engaged on an errand of this kind must not cross themselves. Here we have a vestige of the cult of the dead; sometimes, indeed, it is said in so many words that the offering is intended for the dead. There are occasions upon which an individual may very easily fall into the power of the demon of disease. Such an occasion is birth, together with a certain period thereafter, lasting usually until the child is baptized. It is imagined that the unclean spirits swarm round the house of the mother, and resort to every possible means of working injury both to her and to her child.

The demon of fever is believed to be one of the three, seven, twelve, or seventy-seven so-called *Lichoradka*-sisters (*lichoradka*= 'fever'). In order to secure her good graces the people speak of her by such endearing epithets as 'god-mother' and 'aunt.' She wanders over the whole world, causing illness wherever she goes, and is represented either as an ugly, lean, naked, and hairy beldam, or as a young and beautiful nymph. Offerings are presented to her with a view to warding off her attacks. If the infection has come by way of the earth, an oblation of corn is made at the particular spot. But the gift is more frequently cast into the water. The fever-patient himself cuts an egg into seventy-seven pieces, which he then throws into a river as he utters the words: 'Ye are seventy-seven; here is a portion for each of you; eat, and meddle not with me.' When the festival commemorating the dead is celebrated in White Russia, the *Lichoradka* gets a share of the feast. Among other measures adopted in battling with the disease, the following is of special interest. An attempt is made to deceive the demon in such a way as will prevent her recognizing the sick person when she returns to attack him again. The patient's name is changed; his face is covered with a mask, and words are written on the door to say that he is not at home. Another expedient for scaring the demon is to fire a gun. The diseased person is made to eat bitter and fetid things, or he is fumigated with some evil-smelling substance, in order to render the demon's sojourn within the body as uncomfortable for herself as possible. The most reliable prophylactic of all, however, is a certain incantation in which occurs an interesting story about the origin of the *Lichoradka*-demons. According to this incantation, they are the daughters of Herod, and the oldest and most ferocious of all is the one on whose account John the Baptist was put to death. At the command of their father they issue forth from their subterranean home to plague the inhabitants of the earth.

A frequent disguise of the demon of pestilence is the figure of a woman—the 'black woman' of the Bulgarians (in Russia, the *Morovaja panna*, *čuma*, or *cholera*; in Servia, the *kuga*), but it may also take shape as a bird or an animal—a cat, horse, or cow. The *Morovaja panna*, clothed in white and

with dishevelled hair, travels by night from place to place, making her journeys either by waggon or upon the back of some one whom she compels to carry her. Her breath and her touch are fatal to human beings, and she feeds upon the bodies of those whom she slays. The most effective means of warding off her attacks is a furrow traced secretly and by night round the village, with a plough guided by women who are naked or clothed only in a shirt, as the pest-hag dare not cross such a furrow. In many districts the demons of pestilence are believed to be three sisters. A widely current notion is that the afflicted person has in some way given offence to the demon of disease, whose resentment finds vent in the disorder. In such a case it is incumbent upon the invalid to ask forgiveness of the demon. In Russia, for instance, one who is ill with smallpox is taken to another in like case, and makes obeisance to the latter, saying: 'I ask forgiveness, spirit of smallpox; absolve me, daughter of Athanasius, if I have behaved rudely towards thee.' The same purpose is served by speaking of the demon under endearing names, and thus regaining her favour.

Mental derangement, 'possession,' affords one of the clearest instances of the sojourn of a demon in a person's body. Such, for example, is the *škota* or *klikusestvo* malady prevalent in Russia—a state of supposed demoniacal frenzy which can be induced by the machinations of a witch. At her command the evil spirit takes up his abode within the body of his victim, and makes his presence known by giving vent to abnormal sounds, such as neighing, barking, and the like. The sufferer may be relieved by the use of consecrated objects or the adjurations sanctioned by the Church, or, again, by putting on harness, or by dipping in holy water at the feast of Epiphany. There is, however, another theory of the origin of lunacy: the disease is sometimes attributed to an evil spirit (forest demon, etc.), which of no set design simply flies past a person.

The truculent spirit of pestilence resembles in outward appearance the personified figure of Death—the Bohemian *Smrtná žena* or *Smrtnice*. The latter also is a woman, haggard and dressed in white, who walks beneath the windows of a house in which some one is dying. If she sits down at the head of the bed, the last hope of recovery is gone, but, if she places herself at the foot, the invalid may get well again. The people believe that they can drive away the demon by putting crosses or saints' images upon the bed; but they are ready, on the other hand, to admit that Death is deaf to prayer. In Little Russia and Moravia it is thought that Death lives under the earth, in a room lit by innumerable candles, some of which are just being lit, and others upon the point of going out. The candles stand for human lives, over which Death holds sway. This attribute of power over human life belongs both to the spirit of Death and to the goddess of Fate.

The whole course of a man's life, from its first hour to its last, is pre-ordained at his birth by the goddesses of Fate. This belief, inherited from Greek and Roman mythology, seems to have been prevalent among the Southern and Western Slavs. In the written documents of these peoples, as far back as the 12th cent. A.D., we find mention of these goddesses and of the sacrificial festivals instituted in their honour. Among the Eastern Slavs, on the other hand, the belief in three Fates who control the lives of all human beings does not appear ever to have had any outstanding vogue. Here, in fact, their function was taken over by the *Dolja* (the *Sreda* or 'Fortune' of the Serbs)—a personification of the good or evil fortune of the individual.

When a birth occurs, the newly-born child is visited in the night-time by the three Fates (Serb and Sloven. *Rodjenice*, *Sudnice*, *Sudjenice*; Bohem. *Sudičky*; Bulg. *Roždenici*, *Orisnici*)—beautiful, richly-attired, diaphanous maidens. They ordain the destiny of the child, and determine the manner of its death. It is generally believed that the decisive forecast is that pronounced by the one who speaks last. In order to induce the Fates to assign a favourable destiny to the child, gifts and offerings are presented to them. Among the Southern Slavs and Bohemians these presents are in the form of food—bread, salt, or wine—placed on the table, or, it may be, in hollows among the rocks, as it is believed by the Slovenians that the *Rodjenice* live in rocks and mountains. In Bulgaria, on the evening upon which the visit of the *Orisnici* is expected, it is customary to partake of a special supper, after which three pieces of bread are placed at the head of the newly-born infant, in the hope that they may prove an acceptable offering to the august visitors. It may be incidentally mentioned that the Virgin Mary is sometimes confounded with the goddess of destiny.

The *Dolja* is, so to speak, a family heirloom which descends to a person from his parents. It accompanies him throughout his whole life; it sleeps with him in the cradle, nor does it desert him when he moves to another locality. It resembles the domestic spirit in so far as it works on behalf of its protégé from morning till night; it takes care of his children, does its best to make his land fruitful, brings him corn from other people's fields, promotes his success in fishing, guards his cattle, and, in a word, secures his good fortune and prosperity in every way. On the other hand, the *Dolja* of an unfortunate man, which in Russia is also called *Béda*, 'distress,' *Gore*, 'misery,' or *Zlydni*, 'ill luck,' is a good-for-nothing creature, which dozes idly amongst moss, or tries in every possible way to mar whatever prosperity the man enjoys. In most cases a person's subjugation to the *Zlydni* is an indication that his present employment does not accord with his true vocation. It is sometimes stated that the attendant spirit advises its protégé to choose another pursuit, promising that, if he does so, good fortune will never desert him. The *Dolja* is generally supposed to have the form of a human being, but it should be noted that it need not be of the same sex as the person to whom it belongs. Occasionally, however, its figure is that of an animal—a dog or a cat. It lives under or behind the stove, as is usually the case also with the household spirit. A good *Dolja* may be persuaded by prayers and sacrificial gifts to attend faithfully upon a person. Thus a bride who is setting out for the marriage ceremony prays that the good *Dolja* will sit beside her in the carriage, and that the unfavourable *Dolja* may perish in water. In White Russia the bride says: 'Come out of the stove in the form of a flame and go with me, leaving the room by the chimney.' Young women who wish to be married make pottage, and ask the *Dolja* to take supper with them. A rarer form of the superstition is that there is but one all-embracing *Dolja*, on whom depends the prosperity of every human being. This universal *Dolja* is depicted as an old woman, and as living sometimes in a miserable hovel, and sometimes in a splendid palace. The lot of the newly-born child is determined by the character of the place in which the *Dolja* happens to be residing at the hour of birth.

We proceed next to treat the belief in domestic spirits, the *Domovojs* or *Domoviki*. Many elements in this form of superstition suggest that the being who is worshipped as a household god is really the spirit of the ancestor, or founder of the family, who.

though long dead, still attends to the interests of his descendants. Here and there we find a survival of the belief that all who die in any particular house become its domestic spirits. At the festivals held in commemoration of ancestors, honours are paid to the household spirit as well. In point of fact, the latter is often called *Ded*, or (in Galicia) *Dulko*, 'grandfather,' and those who have seen him describe him as a little old man with grey hair and a long beard, clad in old-fashioned garments and resembling in outward appearance the existing head of the family. With the last-mentioned characteristic is connected the designation of 'landlord,' Bohem. *hospodářek*, sometimes given him; cf. the idiomatic use of 'himself.' In certain localities he is referred to as 'the one who lives on the stove,' as the stove is his favourite resort. Although he is not a Christian, he does not like to be spoken of as a 'devil'—an appellation which may enrage him, and incite him to take revenge by visiting with a disease the person applying the term to him. Consequently people are careful not to offend him in this way, even avoiding the use of his right name. It is sufficient to refer to him as 'he' or 'himself.' When any one has fallen ill in consequence of having insulted the household spirit, prayer is made for him thus: 'Perhaps the invalid has uttered foolish words and slighted you, or kept the cattle-shed unclean: forgive him.'

Every house has its *Domovoj*, who has also a wife and even a family. He engages in such tasks as devolve upon the painstaking head of a house. He bestirs himself by night, and people have even seen him as he moves about the yard with a light in his hand, seeming always to have something to do. Strange noises, movements of doors, mysterious voices, etc., heard during the night, are all attributed to him. He is of a merry and facetious disposition, and many of his actions are but manifestations of his good humour. The cleanliness and good order of the establishment are his great aims. A strange *Domovoj*, on the other hand, causes nothing but mischief and inconvenience, and every effort is made to dislodge the intruder. People believe that, in guarding the house, the true *Domovoj* often comes into conflict with some alien household spirit; and it may also be mentioned that he protects the household against the violence of forest-spirits and witches.

When the domestic spirit finds anything about the house not to his liking, he manifests his displeasure in various ways. He indulges in all kinds of violence; throws utensils upon the floor, annoys people and animals in their sleep, and may even destroy the whole place by fire. Like the *mora*, he leaps upon the sleeper, pressing upon him and causing difficulty in breathing. A person with hairy hands who touches the *Domovoj* in the darkness may expect something good to befall him, but to touch him with a smooth or cold hand is a presage of ill-luck. It is believed generally that when something unusual is about to take place in the household, the *Domovoj* gives warning thereof by letting himself be seen, by his movements, or by his faint utterances. We may observe in passing that the Wends believe in a spirit whose special function it is to convey the message of death. This is the *Božaloshtsh*, 'God's plaint,' a little woman with long hair, who cries like a child beneath the window.

When a person moves into another house, or migrates to another district, he prays the household spirit to accompany him. An offering of bread and salt is placed somewhere for the spirit's acceptance, and the head of the house appeals to him with the petition: 'I bow before thee, my host and father, and beseech thee to enter our new dwelling; there shalt thou find a warm place, and

a morsel of provender which has been prepared for thee.' In some localities the housewife heats up the stove of the old house, then draws out the glowing brands, which are to be carried to the new residence, and finally, turning towards the recess at the back, utters the words 'Welcome, grandfather, to the new home!' Occasionally we come upon the belief that, if the old house falls into ruins, or is destroyed by fire, it is a sign that the domestic spirit has never left it. On other occasions likewise, the goodwill of the household spirit is usually secured by means of sacrificial gifts. A dyed egg or other portion of food is placed in the yard for his use, prayer being made at the same time for his friendship. Part of the evening meal is left upon the table in the belief that the *Domovoj* will come in the night and eat it. In the evening, again, broth is placed on the stove, and a meal of eggs on the roof, for the purpose of inducing him to take more interest in the fortunes of the house. Before Lent the head of the house invites the *Domovoj* to supper by going into the yard and bowing towards the four cardinal points, while the meal is allowed to remain on the table during the succeeding night.

In Russia the household spirit is known also by other names, which vary according to the place in which his activity seems to focus. When he lives in the cattle shed, he is called *Chlevnik*; in the yard, *Dvorovoj*; in the drying-kiln, *Ovinnik*; in the bathroom, *Bannik*. A vital condition of successful cattle-rearing is that the *Chlevnik* should have a liking for the cattle, so that he will not molest them by night. The breeder must accordingly try to discover, or else guess, the particular colour of cattle which his *Chlevnik* favours, or the particular place where he wishes the cattle-shed to stand. When an animal is purchased and brought home, it is thought advisable to present an offering of food to the spirit, with the prayer that he will give the new-comer a good reception, guard it from mishap, and provide it with abundant food. In many districts we find the *Domovoj* and the *Chlevnik* included in the group of ill-disposed spirits, and every effort is made to expel them from the homestead, either by striking the walls and corners and sprinkling them with holy water, or by placing upon the roof an overturned harrow or a magpie that has been killed. In the province of Archangel, when the women enter the cattle-shed in the morning, they entreat the *Chlevnik* to go out by the window. The *Bannik* lives in the bathroom, behind the stove or under the seat. It is dangerous for any one to go there alone in the evening or by night, as the spirit who presides there may work him harm. When the inmates of the house bathe, they leave a little water in the bath, and a little soap upon the bench, as it is believed that the *Bannik* and other domestic spirits will wish to bathe a little later. To ensure the prosperity of the bath-room, a black hen is buried under the threshold as a sacrifice. As regards the *Ovinnik*, again, the people beseech him to grant them a successful threshing. He is solicitous that the drying-kiln should not be heated on the great festival-days. Should this be done he may take revenge by destroying the building with fire. When the workers have completed some task in the drying-house, they thank him for his faithful service. Those who desire to be on amicable terms with him drop the blood of a cock round about the kiln.

What has been said above regarding the household spirit applies more particularly to Russia. Among the Western and Southern Slavs, however, a less important place is assigned to him. Here, in fact, he has acquired the attributes of a protective and ministrant spirit. The Galician *dičko*.

the Bohemian *šetek* ('old one'), *hospodářček*, and *skřítek*, the Wendic *kobud* ('goblin'), the Polish *skrzat*, and the Slovakian *skrat* are each of them ready to give their services on condition that the person requiring help will make a compact with them, or summon them by incantations, or present oblations of food to them. But there are other ways of securing the good offices of such demons. Thus, a man may give a written undertaking assigning to the demon his own soul, or one of his relatives, or some part of his body. The spirit is invoked either under the stove-pipe or at cross-roads. He may also be brought forth from an egg; the egg of a black hen is carried about in the left breast for seven days, after which period the demon comes visibly out of the egg. The spirit, who has the appearance either of a boy or of a little old man, bestows money and corn upon his protégé, protects his property, and foddors his cattle. The Polish *skrzatek* is a winged creature which supplies corn, and, when flying about in the vicinity of houses, steals children. Its Wendic counterpart is the *plon*, a dragon in the form of a fiery sphere; a common saying about a rich man is: 'He has a *plon*.' The *plon* may assume various shapes, and the proper place to confer with him is the cross-roads. The flying dragon *smok* appears in the folklore of all the Slavic peoples. Another widely prevalent idea is that every house has its own 'lucky serpent,' which has its habitat under the floor or the stove, and brings wealth to the house. Among the Bohemians and the Wends it is believed that the house has both a male and a female serpent, the former representing the head of the house, the latter his wife. The death of either of the serpents presages the death of the corresponding human individual. Similarly the Bulgarians have their *stihja* or *tolosom*, a household spirit in the form of a serpent. The *skrat* of Slovenian folklore dwells in woods and mountains—a belief which indicates that this demon was originally a forest-spirit: cf. the *Skrat*, or *Schrat*, of the Germans.

This brings us to the domain of *Nature-demons*, and here we have, first of all, the large group of *forest- and field-spirits*. In Russia the forest-spirit is named *Ljesyj*, or *Ljesovik*, 'wood-king,' in Bohemia, *Hejkal*, or 'the wild man.' In outward appearance he resembles a human being, but his skin and hairy body betray his real nature. The hair of his head is long and his beard is green. Other points that differentiate him from mankind are his solitary eye and his lack of eyebrows. He has the power of changing his size at will, showing himself sometimes as large as a tree and sometimes no taller than grass. He can also transform himself into an animal, his favourite disguise being the shape of a wolf. He is said to retire under the earth during winter. The beasts and birds of the forest are subject to him, and he frequently drives them in huge flocks from one wood to another. In guarding his own particular forest, he sometimes comes into conflict with the demons of other forests and with the water-demon, and the battles that ensue become manifest to man in the falling of trees and the shriek of the storm. The forest-spirit likes to lead people out of their way, enticing them to follow him, and taking them to some dangerous spot. He also kidnaps children, leaving changelings of his own family in their place. Should he happen merely to pass a person, the latter may sicken with disease; nay, one has only to tread upon his footprint and a like unfortunate result follows. The forest-spirit makes his presence known by all kinds of sounds: he laughs, claps his hands, and imitates the cries of various animals. When a person calls and an echo follows, the demon is supposed to be answering him.

One of his favourite amusements is swinging on trees.

The hunter and the herdsman depend for their success upon the good-will of the forest-spirit, and accordingly they offer sacrifices to him and beseech him to make them prosperous. For his acceptance the hunter sets bread and salt upon the trunk of a tree; the herdsman, in order to induce the spirit to keep the wild beasts from his cattle, promises him a cow. If a huntsman will pledge his soul to the demon, the latter will give in exchange success in the chase. The man who desires to make such a bargain turns towards the north, and prays the demon to enter into a covenant of friendship with him; the demon may then show himself favourable to the man's prayer. The White Russians speak of their forest-spirit as *Onufrius*, and in fact they frequently give saints' names to the spirits of the fields and the meadows. It should be noted here that the patron saint of the woods is St. George, and that all wild animals are subject to him.

Besides the male forest-spirit, there are also numerous female spirits of the woods—the Bohem. *Dívě ženy*, the Polish *Dziwożony* and *Mamony*, 'wild women.' They, too, resemble human beings in appearance, as also in their manner of life. They are represented as women of enormous stature, with long hair and large breasts. They have their abode in mountain caverns. They are very fond of taking human children in exchange for their own ugly, large-headed offspring, or they simply steal the children. The forest-nymphs, on the other hand, are fair and fascinating creatures, lightly garbed and covered with leaves. They like to dance, and will continue dancing with a man till he dies, unless he happen to know how to free himself from their toils, as, e.g., by turning his pocket inside out. It is believed that a person who accidentally intrudes upon their invisible dancing parties is doomed to die. It sometimes happens that a man marries a wood-nymph, but such a union is very easily dissolved, and, unless the man is all the more circumspect, his spirit-wife may vanish without leaving a trace behind. In certain localities it is supposed that these forest-maidens are human children whom some one has cursed, and that they can deliver themselves from the curse only by marriage with a human being.

The characteristics of the forest-spirits are almost without exception ascribed likewise to the Servian and Bulgarian *Vila* and the Russian *Rusalka*. With regard to the *Vilas* (Bulg. *Samovila*, *Juda-Samovila*, *Samodiva*) the belief still survives that they are the souls of deceased children or virgins. They are beautiful, white-robed, light-footed damsels, who dwell in woods, mountains, and lakes, and fly in the clouds. They too are noted for their dancing and exquisite singing. They have been observed washing their garments and drying them in the sun. They have a considerable amount of intercourse with mankind, and in popular legend they sometimes even intermarry with men. They are represented in folk-songs as the adopted sisters of popular heroes. Should a person excite their resentment, especially by intruding upon their *kolo*-dance, they take revenge by shooting the unfortunate man with their deadly arrows. It is believed among the Bulgarians that blindness, deafness, and apoplexy are the work of the *Samovilas*. The state of the weather depends to some extent on them, as they have the power of causing tempest and rain. In many districts the people offer sacrifices to the *Vilas* in the form of flowers, fruits, or garments, placed upon trees or stones.

What has been said of the *Vilas* holds good, for the most part, also of the Russian *Rusalkas*—deli-

cate female beings who live in forests, fields, and waters. These likewise are souls of the dead, mainly of unbaptized children, and women who have died by drowning. Among the Little Russians and the Slovenians they are sometimes called *Mavki*, *Mavje*, 'the dead.' They are said to solicit human beings for crosses, in the hope that these sacred objects may deliver them from the curse under which they lie. With their ravishing songs in the night they draw people irresistibly into their power, and then tickle them till they die. Another of their means of allurements is the *ignis fatuus*. The Wends, we may note in passing, think that the *Blud*, 'will-o'-the-wisp,' is itself the soul of an unbaptized child. When the crops begin to ripen, the *Rusalkas* find their favourite abode in the cornfields. They have it in their power to bless the earth with fruitfulness. It is also said that they take pleasure in spinning, and that they hang their clothes on trees. During Whitsun-week—a period which in many districts is dedicated to them and to the souls of the departed in general—they come to women in visible form, requesting gifts of shirts and clothes, and such garments are accordingly presented to them by being placed upon trees. The week after Pentecost was in ancient times called 'the week of the *Rusalkas*.' At that season is held 'the escort of the *Rusalkas*,' a procession in which a straw doll representing the *Rusalka* is carried out of the village, then torn to pieces and thrown into the water. This ceremony has been explained as symbolizing the expulsion of the *Rusalkas* from the place, in view of their propensity to inflict damage on the ripening grain. But in all probability the practice was originally connected with the Spring festival. The name *Rusalka*, and the conception of the *Rusalka* festival, had their origin in the Græco-Roman solemnity called 'Rosalia,' 'dies rosae,' observed in spring in memory of the dead. The design of commemorating the dead may still be traced in certain ideas associated with the *Rusalka* festival, as, e.g., in the belief that a person who does not take part in the memorial function for the dead, and does not offer sacrifice to them, thereby becomes liable to the vengeance of the *Rusalkas*. It should also be mentioned that, just as the name *Rusalka* is derived from 'Rosalia,' so the word *Vila* has been explained as a survival from another memorial festival for the dead observed among the Romans, viz. the 'dies violae.'

In some districts a distinction is drawn between forest *Rusalkas* and water *Rusalkas*. The latter have their abode in rivers and cascades; they disport themselves upon the surface of the water, and comb their long hair upon the banks. They also prowling after bathers, and bathing is therefore avoided during the *Rusalka* festival. Similar traits are popularly ascribed to the 'water-man' (Russ. *Vodjanoj*, *Morskoj tsar*; Sloven. *Povodnji*; Wend. *Vodny muž*, *Nyks*; Bohem. *Vodník*, *Hástrman*; Pol. *Topielec*, *Topnik*), and also to the 'water-people,' as it is believed that the water-man has a family—a wife, 'the water-woman,' and children—and even cattle. Every body of water has its presiding demon, who dwells in a magnificent palace far below. A water-spirit can make a new lake for himself, passing out of his old resort in the form of a brook. His favourite haunt is in the vicinity of mills, but, as mills and weirs block his way, he often destroys them in his rage. When any one is drowned, the water-man is the cause, and it is dangerous to rescue a drowning person, as one thereby provokes the animosity of the demon. The souls of those who have died by drowning are immured in his house. He is said to marry women who have been drowned and girls

who have been expatriated. He has, in fact, a special liking for inveigling women into his toils. He plays all sorts of pranks with people; he chases the traveller, or seats himself upon the cart of the belated waggoner; and the victims of his jocularly, fearing his resentment, generally submit without resistance. His power is at its height in the middle of the day, and it is at that time that the female water-wraith of the Wends comes forth from the water. In Bohemia people tell how he dances on clear moonlit nights. He sometimes indulges in strong drink, and, when drunk, makes an uproar and jumps about, thus disturbing the ordinary flow of the stream. It not seldom happens that the water-spirit and the forest-spirit have fierce encounters with each other. When the wife of the water-spirit requires the midwife, he applies for human help. He gives timely warning of coming floods to those with whom he is on friendly terms. Millers and fishermen seek to win his goodwill by sacrifices. For his use the miller casts fat, swine's flesh, or a horse into the water. In former times, when a mill was built, it was the custom to present a live offering—sometimes even a human being—to the water-man. The fisher tenders him salt, bread, tobacco, and the first fish of his catch. The bee-keeper tries to win his good graces by oblations of bees and honey. As the water-man is lord over all aquatic birds, the goose-herd undertakes to make him the offering of a goose in the autumn. We may here draw attention to the curious fact that among the White Russians those who desire success in fishing invoke the aid of Neptune. This classical name was no doubt introduced among the people from literary sources, such as chap-books. The water-man is thought to resemble a human being. Sometimes he is represented as an old man, with a green beard and with green clothing, sometimes as a mere stripling. But he may always be recognized by the water that flows from the border of his garments. He has other forms of disguise at command, however, and may assume the appearance of some known person, or of an animal, such as a dog, a horse, a fish, or a frog. We hear also of a peculiar class of water-spirits which in one half of their body are human, while in the other they resemble a fish or aquatic animal. Such are the Little Russian *Faraony* (the warriors of Pharaoh who were drowned in the Red Sea), *Boginky*, *Memoziny*, *Meljuziny*; the Slovenian *Morske dekleke*; and the Bulgarian *Stija*. The last-named are remarkable for their long hair, which they sometimes employ to choke those who fall into their power.

We have already mentioned that the middle of the day ranks in popular superstition as the most congenial time for the demons. In point of fact, imagination has fabricated a special figure to represent midday—the white-robed 'noon-wife,' who walks abroad among the cornfields, usually during the midday interval in which the people snatch a little repose. The *Pshesponitsa* of the Wends and the *Poludnitsa* of the Poles take care that no one shall be in the fields at that hour. They try to puzzle any one they meet with difficult questions and riddles; and, if he cannot answer them satisfactorily, they kill him, or infect him with disease. The 'noon-wife' keeps watch over the fields, protects the crops, especially the flax, against thieves, and threatens with her sickle children who pull up the corn. The sickle is also the symbol of another noon-tide fiend among the Wends, the *Serp* or *Serpyšyja*, who kills children when it when they steal the peas. At midday the Bohemian *Polednice* fly about in field and wood, and come into the neighbourhood of human dwellings. Their flights are accompanied by wind and

storm. Their practice is to steal little children whose mothers have negligently left them by themselves. The Russians likewise have a *Poludnitsa*, or *Zitna matka*, the protectress of the cornfield, who, especially at the season when the corn begins to shoot, perambulates the balks. She also molests children whom she finds idly strolling among the fields, and in Northern Russia parents warn their children against going amongst the rye lest the *Poludnitsa* burn them. In Bohemia the *Polednice* is supposed to be the spirit of the midday bell, and to live in the belfry. Of a somewhat similar character is the Moravian *Klekanitsa*, who stalks around after the evening chimes, and entraps the children whom she finds still out of doors.

In many parts of the Slavic world we find, besides the 'noon-wife,' a male 'midday spirit,' who in Bohemia is called *Poledníček*, and among the Wends *Serp*, while there is also a special field-spirit, the Russian *Polevoj*. The *Poledníček* is a little boy in a white shirt, who at midday passes from the forest into the fields, and punishes those whom he finds doing damage there. He calls to people by their names, and those who follow his call he leads to the far-off hills. The *Polevoj* or *Polevik*, on the other hand, is a personification of the tilled land, and his body is therefore black, like earth, while his hair is the colour of grass. The people think that the spirit of harvest, who is also known as *Ded*, resides in the last gathered sheaf, which is accordingly dressed to look like a doll, and is borne in festive procession to the landlord.

We come, finally, to the Nature-demons whose sphere of action is the air. In Bohemia there is a special spirit of the wind, *Větrnice* or *Meluzina*, 'the wind-mother,' a white, barefooted being. When the wind roars, the people say that the *Větrnice* is sobbing, and to comfort her they throw bread and salt into the air for her food. Her voice is believed to bear prophetic import. In Russia likewise we find the 'wind-mother,' and also the 'wind-father,' while the Wends speak of a 'wind-king.' The wind is thought to proceed from the demon's breathing or his movements. Then there is a group of 'wind-brethren'—sometimes four, sometimes twelve—who dwell at the ends of the earth, and who are constantly blowing against one another. With these wind-brethren have been confounded the four angels or evangelists borrowed from the sphere of Christian ideas, and supposed to live in the four quarters of the globe. In Russia we still find sporadically the belief that the wind, and especially the whirlwind, emanates from evil spirits, and that the devil is the chief commander. In the tempest and whirlwind it is believed that Satan himself or the soul of a witch is speeding along, and, if a knife be thrown into the gust, it will inflict a wound upon the hurrying spirit. When the demon is pursued by the thunderstorm, he may transform himself into an animal or a human being. An idea current among the Wends is that the whirlwind is really an invisible spirit, who may be seen, however, by pulling off one's shirt and looking through the sleeves. In certain Russian incantations the whirlwind is spoken of as the captain of the winds, who are personified as evil spirits, and he is styled 'Whirlwind, the son of Whirlwind.' His aid is implored by such as seek by magical means to arouse a responsive affection in the breasts of those they love. In Russia even frost is represented by a spirit. He is depicted as a grey-haired, white-bearded old man, wearing a snow-covered fur and shoes of ice. At Christmas he receives offerings of pottage, and is invited to partake of the Christmas fare, in the hope that he will not expose the grain to damage by frost.

Our discussion would remain incomplete without some reference, finally, to the fact that in the popular mind, more particularly in Russia, certain days of the week are personified. We have already had under consideration an analogous phenomenon, viz. the development of the 'Rosalia,' the memorial festival for the dead, into the personified *Rusalka*. In popular poetry, moreover, we find that the naive imagination has invested with human attributes certain important dates in the year, such as Christmas (*Rizdvo* or *Koljada*, from Lat. *calendæ*) and Christmas Eve (*Karatshun*, *Kratshun*; cf. Lat. *colatio*); in Russia, indeed, the latter term has for some reason or other come to signify the evil spirit. The days of the week similarly personified are Friday (*Pjät'nitsa*, which is also known by the Greek name *Paraskeva*) and Sunday (*St. Nedelja*). With dishevelled hair, and bodies covered with sores, these two spirits are said to travel from village to village—a fancy which implies that women who perform such work as sewing or spinning on Friday or Sunday really wound the day with the articles they use. The spirits punish those who thus injure them, while, on the other hand, to those who observe these days, they show favour by helping them in their household duties, promoting the growth of their flax, enhancing the fertility of their land, and, as the protectresses of women, rendering assistance to married people. It was a custom among Bulgarian women not so very long ago to make offerings of bread and eggs to Friday. It only remains to be said that the ideas relating to those female personifications of days have been greatly influenced by the worship of the Virgin Mary and other patron saints, and therefore really belong to a sphere of thought which lies outside the belief in spirits and demons in the stricter sense.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Teutonic).—The ancient Teutons, like almost all other primitive peoples, believed that the whole surrounding world of Nature was alive with demons and spirits. This belief has survived from one of the primitive stages of religious thought till the present time, or has in the course of ages given rise to new phantoms of the human mind. The operations and occurrences observed in the natural world were all attributed to these imaginary beings. The primitive mind did not represent such existences as having any definite shape; it was only in a later phase of reflexion that they were invested now with animal, now with human, forms. Even such forms, however, were not the purely natural ones; the spirits were figured sometimes as very small, sometimes as enormously large. The next step was to endow the imaginary beings with a new class of activities, borrowed from the human sphere, and in this way was at length evolved the myth. The spirits of wind, water, and air were supposed to hold sway in Nature, while the spirits of vegetation, disease, and fate interfered in human life. They were thought of at first as existing in multitudes, but in course of time single spirits were disengaged from the mass. With the rise of the belief in the soul, the demons were sometimes invested with a soul-like nature; the souls of the dead were believed to survive in them. This explains why it is difficult—often, indeed, impossible—to distinguish between spirits and beings of soul-like, or rather ghost-like, nature. Nowhere has the action of religious syncretism been more powerful than in the fusion of the belief in spirits and the belief in

souls. Thus, *e.g.*, the demons of the wind coalesced with the moving host of souls, and the worship once accorded to the latter was transferred to the former. Hence arises our uncertainty as to whether Wodan-Öðin was originally a wind-demon or a leader of the soul-host.

While demons or spirits had their origin in the surrounding world and the phenomena of Nature, the belief in the soul was suggested by occurrences in the sphere of human life. Animism, the belief in the soul as a separate entity, arose out of the world of dreams, while Manism, the belief in the continued existence of the soul and the worship of the dead based thereon, originated in the phenomena of death. Ideas regarding the dream-soul are found in endless variety among all the Teutonic tribes. Thus, the soul, equally with the body, was an independent entity, and might leave the body and wander about in the interval of sleep. It was supposed to have its seat in various parts of the body—the blood, the heart, the kidneys, the liver, or the head; but it might also reside in the breath or the shadow; a man without a shadow had sold his soul. The soul could readily assume various forms; it sometimes appeared as an animal (serpent, weasel, toad, etc.), sometimes as an *incubus* (goblin, mare, troll) or other noxious being. In this way arose the ideas of the werewolf, the *fylgja* (see below), or attendant spirit, and the witch. Among the Northern Teutons a person who allowed his soul to wander was called a *hamrammr*, 'one who can change his shape.' This vagrant soul sees what is hidden from the bodily eye; it can look into both the past and the future. It was this belief which in great measure gave rise to the Teutonic conception of prophecy. When the soul was out of the body, moreover, it was endowed with active powers of abnormal character; it could work injury or bring benefit to other men, and accordingly the powers of magic were transferred to it. Persons who could at will thus cause their souls to leave their bodies, whether in sleep or in a trance, were regarded as magicians.

The powers of the dream-soul, however, were as nothing compared with those ascribed to the soul of the dead. The Teutons thought of the latter as a grasping, maleficent being, which returns to its place, claims its former possessions, and takes vengeance upon any one who withholds them. It was the abject fear of the returning soul and its evil powers that prompted the numerous duties which, according to primitive Teutonic ideas, the survivors owed to the dead (see artt. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Teut.] and ARYAN RELIGION). These various duties arise out of the belief that, unless the dead are treated with due honour and respect, they will return and do harm to the living. This superstition was once universal, and is not yet finally eradicated from the mind of any of the Teutonic peoples. There is probably no district in the whole Teutonic area where the people are entirely free from the belief in ghosts and haunted places. Persons who in their lifetime were regarded as wizards, or who had died an unnatural death, would, it was believed, come back for the express purpose of injuring the living. When such injury showed itself, the bodies of the malevolent beings were exhumed and burned, or transfigured through breast and heart with a stake, so that they might be held fast in their graves. Throughout the Middle Ages impalement was still practised as an apotropaic penalty for such crimes as rape or the murder of a relative (cf. Brunner, *Ztschr. d. Savigny-stiftung für Rechtsgesch.* xxvi. [1905] 258 ff.).

The souls of the dead had their times of moving abroad, and courses by which they fared. It was a universal belief among the Teutons that wind and storm were the hurrying host of the dead.

What leaves the body at death is the breath, and the breath was therefore the soul or spirit. But wind—agitated air—is also breath. When the breath leaves the body, it unites with other souls, and joins the soul-host. It was a widely diffused idea that a wind arose when any one was hanged; the spirits were coming for their new associate. The departing soul goes to the 'wöden her, da die bösen geister ir wonung hân.' As early as the time of Tacitus (*Germ.* 43), the Harii, with their painted bodies and black shields, used to imitate by night the 'raging host.' Belief in this raging host—or, as it was variously called, the wild hunt, Holla's troop, Perchta's host, the Norse *gand Reid*, 'the spirits' ride,' *Aasgaardsreia*, 'Asgard's chase,' or *Hulderfolk*—is not even yet extinct. In certain places, and above all at cross-roads (*q.v.*), the spirit-host rouses itself to special activity, and at certain seasons it manifests itself. The principal time for this manifestation was the long winter night in the season of Epiphany, as, among the Teutons, the festival of Christmas had taken the place of the ancient heathen festival of the dead. It was believed that at such times the souls of the dead took part in the celebration and feasting. Special dishes and special cakes were dedicated to the souls of those who had died in the foregoing year. At no other season of the year were superstition and popular divination so rife. All manner of figures and masquerades were resorted to in personating the spirits. This was the feast of Yule (Goth. *jiuleis*, A.S. *giuli*, O.N. *jól*). The more vehement the rush of the spirit-host in the wind, the more bountiful would be the ensuing year, and accordingly offerings were made *til dærs*, 'for a good, fruitful year.' As regards locality, the spirit-host manifested itself most frequently over battlefields. The slain were believed to continue their strife in the air. This belief finds expression in the Hildensage, according to which she summons the fallen Vikings every morning to renewed warfare on the island of Høy in the Orkneys (Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, i. 434). Popular belief also gave the spirit-host a leader—Wode or Wodan, a word which is a collective form for the 'raging host' (cf. Eng. *wood*, Scot. *wud*, 'mad'). In process of time Wodan was deified, and in some Teutonic countries came to be regarded as the supreme god.

Among the Teutons the belief in the soul gave rise to a great variety of demonic and legendary beings. From the superstition that the soul could leave the body in sleep or in the trance arose in particular the conception of *incubi*—souls that went forth to afflict and torment others in their sleep. The natural phenomenon at the root of this idea is the nightmare, which the physiologist traces to a congestion of the blood during sleep. The imaginary being to which this distressing condition was attributed is known by a great many different names, the most widely diffused of which is of the form *mare* (O.H.G., A.S., and Scand. *mara*; Germ. *Mahr* or *Mahre*; English 'nightmare'). In Central Germany the term *Alp* has come into use; in Upper Germany we find *Trude*, *Schrat*, *Ratz*, *Rätzle*, *Doggele*; in Western Germany, *Letzel*, *Trempe*; and in Oldenburg, *Walriderske*—all applied to the nightmare, and frequently used also to designate the witch. The *incubi* 'ride upon human beings,' and may actually torture them to death. In the Middle Ages persons who were suspected of injuring their fellow-men in this way were frequently prosecuted at law. Not only human beings, however, but also animals, and even trees, might be the victims of the *mare*. She afflicted people by squatting on the breast; she sucked the milk of women and cows; she wreaked such malice upon horses that

in the morning they were found bathed in sweat and with their hair all awry. She found her way into the sleeper's room by the keyhole, or through a crack, and these were also her only possible means of exit. If the sleeper awoke and held her in his grasp, all that he found was a straw, but, if he spoke the name of the person who had been thus tormenting him, he discovered a naked woman.

Among those who could cause their souls to pass out of their bodies and injure others was the *Hexe* of the Western Teutons (A.S. *hægtisse*, O.H.G. *hagazussa* = *strio*, *furia*), the Scandinavian *trolld*, the English 'witch.' These terms, however, had a wider application, and denoted also those who dealt in any way with magic, especially of a maleficent kind. It was really in virtue of their magical powers that the *Hexen* could disengage their souls from their bodies, and they were therefore also called *ecánriten* (M.H.G.), *túnriður*, 'hedge-riders,' or *kveldmyrkriður* (O.N.), 'night-riders.' In these excursions they could assume an endless variety of form: they might take shape as a whale, a bear, a raven, or a toad. Bad weather, thunder, and hail were generally attributed to them. According to the Old Icelandic sources, they used to bring themselves into the ecstatic condition by means of incantations, and then launch forth the storm. In later mediæval times they were frequently brought to trial for causing bad weather. But their power of working injury extended to many other things; they induced diseases, and especially lunacy, they killed people, they filled the land with vermin, and caused the cows to give red milk, or none at all. The belief in witchcraft found among all the Teutonic peoples was reinforced during the Middle Ages by the Oriental belief in the devil. The witch was now supposed to be in league with the Evil One; she was one who had sold her soul to him and received the gift of magic in exchange. Thus arose the belief in the witches' meetings on the so-called Brockelsbergs, where the hags abandoned themselves to love-making with the devil. From this again sprang the discreditable trials for witchcraft, which lasted till the 18th century. It was also commonly believed that witches continued their nefarious practices even after death, and, when indications of such activity appeared, their bodies were exhumed and either burned or impaled.

Closely related to the trolls and witches were the Norse *Völves* (O.N. *völur*). These likewise were sorceresses, but they used their magical powers as a means of intercourse with the dead, and in order to acquire knowledge regarding secret things and the future. To their peculiar trade belonged the magic wand, the magic chair, and other accessories; while they had a retinue of boys and girls to chant their magic songs and so induce the trance in which the souls of the *Völves* left their bodies. These human *Völves*—the 'wise women' of other Teutonic peoples—were held in great veneration; in the winter nights of the season, when the spirit-host swarms around, they travelled from steading to steading, and were everywhere received with ceremony. Women thus endowed with prophetic vision were supposed to exercise their powers even after death. The Eddas often tell of men and gods who visited the grave of a *Völva* for the purpose of obtaining knowledge of the future. Thus Óðin, for instance, rides to such a grave, awakes the *Völva* from the sleep of death, and receives from her the interpretation of Balder's dreams (*Baldersdraumar*).

A male counterpart to the witch is the *werewolf*, i.e. man-wolf. This was a superstition current among all the Teutonic peoples (O.H.G. *werewolf*, A.S. *werewolf*, O.N. *vargulfr* or *ulfhamn*), and is found far beyond the limits of Teutonic lands.

The werewolf was a human soul which roamed about in the shape of a wolf, and wreaked horrible cruelties upon other human beings. A person who chooses, or is forced, to wander about in wolf's form has the power of falling asleep at will. Then he passes into a wolf's skin, which he fastens with thick coils of gold, and in this disguise he kills every person and animal he meets. According to popular belief, in which the werewolf still plays a part, the creature was bullet-proof, but, when wounded by a shot or a severe blow, it reverted to human form. The enchantment could be dissolved also by pronouncing the name of the person who had assumed the disguise, or by throwing a piece of steel or iron over the creature. A supernatural being of similar maleficent powers—a second counterpart to the witch—was the *Bilwis*, whose season of special activity was Walpurgis Night. This was a creature of soul-like character, which flitted through the fields, and wrought havoc to the crops with the sickle upon its great toe. When the people found their corn laid, or the ears stripped, they blamed the *Bilwis*; such work was the 'Bilwis-reaping.' It had its abode in trees—the 'Bilwis-trees'—at which gifts of children's clothing were offered by way of disposing the *Bilwis* to protect the children against disease.

Besides the souls which wander forth in dreams and trances, however, the souls of the dead played a great part in Teutonic folklore, presenting an endless variety of form and action. Among the various Teutonic peoples these spirits bear different names, and the fear of the returning dead is often reflected in the very nomenclature. Thus the O.H.G. *gîrôc*, A.S. *gîdrôg*, O.N. *draugr* are connected with the root **dreugh*, 'to hurt'; other terms for such haunting spirits are Germ. *Gespens* (O.H.G. *spanan*, 'entice', 'deceive'), Dan. *gen-ganger* (Icel. *apturgaungur*, 'one who walks again'), Eng. 'ghost' (A.S. *ghæstan*, 'terrify'). This belief in the haunting presence of the dead survives to-day with a scarcely abated power of legend-making, and in modern spiritualism it would seem to have entered on a new lease of life. The ideas popularly held regarding the returning spirits are certainly somewhat vague. The ghost is sometimes thought of as invisible, and able to make its presence known only by voice or action; sometimes it is supposed to appear as a human being or an animal (e.g. the fiery dog, cat, horse, serpent, toad, and the like). In some districts it was considered wrong to kill certain animals, such as toads and snakes, since they were the living homes of hapless souls. But, on the other hand, animals thus possessed by souls might work injury to human beings, and this belief gave occasion to the common mediæval practice of subjecting animals to trial and punishment (cf. von Amira, *Tierstrafen u. Tierprozesse*, Innsbruck, 1891). The belief that the departed soul might survive in the body of an animal gave rise to the supposition that certain animals had the gift of prophecy, and, as it was assumed that they had also the faculty of speech, it was possible to converse with them—above all with birds—as with human beings. Souls might also survive in plants: thus the oak which sprang from the mouth of a king slain in battle, and the rose and lily which grew on the grave of lovers, were really the abodes of the departed souls. The belief that the dead pass into trees was very common; the guardian tree and the tree of life associated with individuals or families were the abodes of tutelary or ancestral spirits, and were thus often made the recipients of gifts and offerings, while the act of damaging trees was a crime demanding the severest penalties.

The belief in the soul gave birth to a large number of fabulous beings. One of these was the Norse

fylgja ('following spirit'), which attended a person either as his soul or as his guardian spirit. As a soul, it took the form of an animal; while, as a tutelary spirit, it was a female being who appeared, especially in dreams, to its protégé, and warned him of danger or urged him to action. The *fylgjas* sometimes come singly, sometimes in troops. After a person's death his attendant spirit passes to his heirs, and in this way occasionally becomes a family-*fylgja*. The Norse *valkyrs* differ so far from the *fylgjas* in that they are almost always found in groups, and especially in groups of nine. The battle-maidens of the ancient folklore, frequently mentioned both in the southern and in the northern sources (cf. Dio Cass. lxi. 3; Flav. Vopiscus, *Vita Aurelii*, 37; Paulus Diaconus, i. 15; Saxo Gram. i. 333 ff., 361, etc.) become *valkyrs* (A.S. *valcyrsa*, O.N. *valkyrja*) after their death. They are armed with helmet, shield, and lance; they ride through air and sea; the manes of their horses shed dew and hail upon the earth. Their appearance presages war and bloodshed. In Norse poetry they are closely associated with Óðin; they are his maids, his 'wish-maidens' who carry out his commands, who strike down in battle the heroes destined for Valhöll, and bear them thither, where at the banquets they foretaste the mead for the *einherjar*. The group of wish-maidens also included *Brynhildr-Sigrdrífa*, who disobeyed the commands of her lord by giving the victory to another king, and was in consequence pierced with the 'thorn of sleep' and surrounded by a flame until such time as Sigurðr should awake her and set her free. It is a moot point whether the *Norns*, the 'Fates' of Norse mythology, who have many features in common with the *valkyrs*, should be regarded as souls or as demons. A similar ambiguity attaches to the *elves*, who are sometimes represented as souls, sometimes as purely demonic beings. Both the name and the idea of these products of religious phantasy are common to all the Teutonic race; O.H.G. *der alp* (pl. *elbe*), or *das alp*, also *diu elbe*, A.S. *elf* (pl. *ylfe*), O.N. *álfr* (pl. *álfar*) are applied to both male and female beings living in the earth, the air, the sea, the hills, etc. They are often associated with the *Asir* (*asir ok álfar* is a favourite Norse expression, and Anglo-Saxon has a cognate phrase), and, like the latter, embrace the entire multitude of soul-like powers at work in Nature. In later, and especially English, forms of superstition, the elves possess a Proteus-like character, and show a preference for animal shapes. They are sometimes regarded as helpful to man, but sometimes also as capable of injuring him, and accordingly both good and bad elves are recognized among the Northern Teutons. Snorri Sturluson (*Edda*, i. 18) classifies them according to their domiciles as 'elves of light,' who are whiter than the sunbeam and live in the air, and 'elves of darkness,' who dwell in the earth, and are blacker than pitch. From the elves of light the sun takes his name of *álfröðull*, 'elf-ray.' Their head is the sun-god Freyr, whose abode is Alfheim, 'the realm of the elves.' The 'elves of darkness' are sometimes all but identified with the dwarfs, and this explains why the deit-handed smith Völundr (Wieland) is called 'lord of the elves.' In M.H.G. poetry the king of the elves is Alberich, who found his way to the West Franks as Oberon. In England, owing to the influence of the Irish belief in fairies, superstition dwelt mainly on the bright and beautiful elves, who thus became objects of popular favour. A similar development took place in Scandinavia, where, especially in Sweden, the elves were thought of as comely maidens, who live in hills and mountains, hold their dances on the green sward, and by their ravishing songs draw the traveller to

destruction. Further, the elves are sometimes *incubi*; and thus the Germ. word *Alp* has been used only in this sense from the 16th century. The *Elfen* of German poetry are really of English origin, having been introduced into Germany towards the end of the 18th century by the translation of Shakespeare.

The elves of ancient times are often identical with the *wights* (Goth. *vaihts*, fem., O.N. *vættir*, fem., O.H.G. *wiht*, neut.). The conception of the wight likewise developed on various lines according to locality. In Old Norse superstition *wights* were tutelary spirits who had their abode in groves, hills, and waterfalls, and were able to dispense fortune or misfortune to human beings. In German folklore they were vivacious spirit-like creatures who assisted men in their work, and demanded gifts in return. To the same class of soul-like, or demonic, beings must be assigned the *dwarfs* (O.H.G. *twerg*, A.S. *dveorh*, O.N. *dvergr*). Their abode, however, was confined to a particular place, and their field of activity was similarly circumscribed. Popular imagination depicted them as diminutive old men—sometimes deformed—with large heads and long white beards. They lived in mountains or under the earth, and were thus known as the 'Unterirdische,' 'hill-folk,' 'earth-dwellers.' They shunned the light of day, for the sun's rays would transform them to stone. Among their possessions is the tarn-cap or magic hood which enables them to become invisible at will, and endows them with supernatural powers. Their principal occupation is smith's work; their forge is situated within the hills, and accordingly dwarf-legend flourishes most profusely where there are ore-bearing mountains, and where mining is carried on. In the Norse poetical literature all weapons of a superior kind, especially swords, are the handiwork of dwarfs. But Thor's hammer, Frey's ship *Skíðbleðnir*, Óðin's ring *Draupnir*, Sif's golden hair, Freyja's necklace *Brisingamen*, and other articles of ornament are also products of their skill. Such arts, however, are not their only characteristic; they are distinguished also for craft and cunning. They are often thought of as united in a realm of their own, with a dwarf-king (Laurin, Heiling, Alberich) at their head. As lords of the mountains they are possessed of immense treasures, from which they draw to reward such persons as pledge themselves to their service. See, further, art. FAIRIES.

An elfish origin is to be assigned to the *household spirits*, who protect the home, and bring it good fortune and wealth. They were frequently regarded as having an animal form, especially that of a serpent or a toad, and they lived under the threshold, in the roof-beams, or on the hearth, at which places it was usual to present offerings of milk or other food in a dish. The household spirit is also met with as a mannikin with the figure of a dwarf, and in this form is known under many different names: thus the A.S. *cofgodarr*, 'house-gods,' survive as *Kobolds*, or goblins; the Germans have also the *Butze*, the *Hütchen*, while in England we have Puck (Scot. 'brownie'), and in Scandinavia the *Gardvör* ('house-guardian'), *Tomte* ('house-spirit'), and *Nisse*. In many places it is still believed that these household spirits are the souls of deceased ancestors or other relatives.

Superstition assigned a guardian spirit not only to the house, but to the *ship*, in which he was known as the *Klabautermann* (Germ.). He dwelt in the mast, and the sailors believed that he was a child's spirit which had come into the vessel in the felled tree of which the mast was made. The *Klabautermann* warned the sailors by certain noises of any imminent danger, assisted them in their work, and, like the domestic spirit, received

payment for his services in the form of gifts. If the ship went down, he flew away, but first bade farewell to the steersman. Miners likewise had their guardian spirit, the *Schachtmännli* ('shaft-mannie'), who assisted them in the workings, and showed them where the good ore was to be found.

Another form of superstition current among all the Teutonic peoples was the belief in the demonic beings which live in rivers, brooks, and wells, in forests, in the waving cornfields, in the moving air, and within and upon the mountains, and which in many cases are hardly distinguishable from the ghostly creatures already dealt with. Imagination represented them as of human or superhuman dimensions, and as of human or animal form, according to the magnitude of the natural facts associated with them. At an early period, however, popular imagination had detached these spirits from their original habitat, and, as in the case of the dwarfs, had invested them with all manner of fabulous features and incidents, so that the natural facts which suggested them cannot always be identified in detail, and only the general form remains. This is specially true of the *giants*, who, like the dwarfs, were favourite subjects of popular poetry. But, while the dwarfs were personifications of the bountiful powers of Nature, and are therefore thought of as well-disposed towards mankind, the giants represent Nature in her hostile aspects, and thus came to be regarded as the destroyers and devourers of men. That nearly all the more impressive phenomena of Nature were personified as colossal beings of this kind, is shown by the Norse genealogy of the giants (*Fornaldarsögur* ii. 3 ff.). To the family of *Fornjótr* ('the old giant') belong the following, as his children or children's children: *Hler*, the boisterous sea; *Logi*, the wild-fire; *Kari*, the tempest; *Jökull*, the glacier; *Frosti*, cold; *Snær*, snow; *Drífa*, the snow-drift, and other effects of a severe winter. Similar gigantic beings were with special frequency suggested by mountains. Almost every mountain peak and range was a petrified giant or a seat of giants: e.g. *Pilatus* in Switzerland; *Watzmann* in the Bavarian highlands; *Hütt*, the queen of the giants, in the Tyrol, etc. The Norwegian *Jötenfjeld*, 'giant-range,' was the home of the giants. Hence the giant was called *bergbúi* ('mountain-dweller'), or *bergjart* ('lord of the mountain'), and, in fact, the Germ. *Riese* had originally the same meaning (O.H.G. *riso*, A.S. *wrissil*, O.N. *risi*, all cognate with Gr. *ῥίος*, 'peak'). The strength of these mountain-giants is expressed in the O.H.G. *duris*, A.S. *ðyr*, O.N. *purs* (Skr. *turas*, 'strong', 'powerful'); their size in the O.H.G. *Hüne* (Celt. *kunos*, 'high'); their rapacity in the O.H.G. *etan*, A.S. *eotan*, O.N. *jötnunn*, 'the devourer.' See, further, art. GIANTS.

Certain other classes of demons, however, differ from those just referred to in that they are never dissociated from their original haunts. Among these are the *forest-spirits*, who are connected with the yearly renewal and decay of Nature, and thus, like the field-spirits (see below), become spirits of vegetation. These demons remain quiescent in the woods during winter, but awake to activity with the re-birth of Nature. In the spring the people used to carry home young trees and green shoots, in which the demons were supposed to live, and plant them near their houses, as it was believed that persons who came into contact with the branches absorbed the fresh energies of the re-awakened spirits. But the forest was likewise the abode of supernatural beings of a more independent type, and principally female in form—the 'feminae agrestes, quas silvaticas vocant' (Burchard of Worms, *Decreta*, Cologne, 1548, p. 198^b), who appear suddenly, yield themselves to their lovers, and then as suddenly vanish. These

are the 'wild maidens,' the German *Moos-, Hols-, and Buschweiber*, the *Fangen* and *Saligen*, the Swedish *skogsfråur* (wood-nymphs), and the Danish *askefruer* (ash-nymphs) of present-day superstition. Their bodies are usually covered with hair, their faces wrinkled; they have hanging breasts and dishevelled hair, and are often clad with moss. It is a common notion that they are chased by the storm-giant, the Wild Hunter, Wode, or the giant *Fasolt*, and that they seek refuge among men, liberally rewarding those who succour them. These wood-nymphs are also endowed with occult powers, especially the power of curing disease—a belief originally suggested by the medicinal properties of plants found in the woods. The forest-spirits, however, are sometimes males, mostly of gigantic size, and always of the same hideous appearance as the females.

There are many points of resemblance between the forest-spirits and the *field-spirits*. The latter likewise were originally spirits of vegetation, which popular imagination first of all detached from their native sphere, and then elaborated in detail. Field-spirits grow with the stalks of grain, and become visible when the wind blows across the cornfields. The long ridges or 'backs' of the tilled land suggested the animal shape ascribed to these spirits. They are known by many different names, as e.g. in Germany, *Kornwolf*, *Roggenhund* ('rye-dog'), *Haferbock* ('oat-goat'), *Rockensau* ('rye-sow'), *Bullkater* ('tom-cat'), in Sweden, *Gloso* ('glow-sow'), in Norway, *Herregudsbuk* ('the Lord's goat'), etc. Sometimes, again, the field-spirits were of a human type; hence the *Kornmutter* ('corn-mother'), the *Rockenmuhne* ('rye-aunt'), the *Roggenalte* (especially in Denmark), and, in male form, the *Alte* ('old one'), or the *Gerstenalte* ('barley-gaffer'). The 'grass-demon' lived in meadows, the 'clover-mannikin' in clover-fields. When the corn was cut, the spirit flitted from one swathe to another. The person who cut or bound the last sheaf caught the 'old one,' the 'corn-mother,' etc. That sheaf was formed into some kind of figure, and presented with due ceremony to the landlord; then a dance was held around it. The ears of the last sheaf were carefully stored in the barn until the next seed-time, and then used for the purpose of stimulating the spirit of vegetation to renewed activity. But that could be secured only by killing the old spirit, and this was done by binding up a cock with the last sheaf, and then letting it loose and chasing it through the fields, till at last it was overtaken and killed. As the spirit of vegetation was believed to be in the people who happened to pass by while this ceremony was being performed, they were seized and bound by the reapers, and had to buy themselves off with a gift.

A still greater fertility of invention is exhibited by the Teutonic belief in *water-spirits*. Almost every body of water—spring and river, pond and lake, marsh and cascade—was imagined to be the abode of a spirit. These spirits varied in size as dwarfs, men, or giants, according to the extent of the masses of water with which they were associated, while fancy lent them sometimes human, and sometimes animal, shapes. Here and there they were supposed to be the souls of the dead. Departed souls were associated very specially with fountains and wells, which accordingly were regarded as resorts of the leaders of the soul-hosts, such as Frau Holle and the Wild Hunter; hence, too, the widely prevalent belief 'that the souls of the newly-born came from such places. On similar grounds arose in primitive times the custom of treating fountains and wells as places of divination. The spirits who haunted such places were marked out from others by their prophetic gift and their

supernatural wisdom. One of the water-spirits thus endowed was the Norse *Mimir*, into whose waters Óðin had put his eye in pledge in order to gain wisdom, and to whose knowledge he resorted when he desired light upon the future. The demons who resided in rivers, streams, and seas were in the main hostile to mankind; they tried to seize men and drag them down into the watery kingdom, and were therefore propitiated with offerings, frequently, indeed, with human sacrifices. Such hostile spirits are known to the various Teutonic peoples by variants of the name *nix* (Germ. *Nix* [masc.] or *Nixe* [fem.], Eng. *nick*, also *nixie*, Norw. *nökk*, Swed. *näkk*). The *nix* was fish-like in the lower half; the upper part, or sometimes the head only, was of human shape. He wore a green garb, and his teeth were also green. He lived with his family at the bottom of rivers and lakes. The female *nixies* were noted for the beautiful singing by which they allured human beings into their toils. They sometimes intermarried with mankind. The male *nix* was occasionally armed with a hook, with which he dragged people under the water; he was accordingly also called *Hakenmann* ('hook-man'). In Denmark the water-spirit is known as *Havmand* ('sea-man,' cf. 'merman,' 'mermaid'); in Sweden as *Strömkarl* ('river-man'), in Norway, the land of waterfalls, we find the *Grim* or *Fossegrim*, as the spirit of waterfalls; in Iceland, the *Skrímsl* ('monster'), *Vatnskrafti* ('water-wraith'), and *Margýgr* ('sea-monster').

The Old Norse mythology gave great prominence to the water-demons *Ægir* and his wife *Rán*. *Ægir*, whose name is connected with Goth. *ahva*, 'water' and Gr. *ἄεας*, was the spirit of the calm still sea—one with whom the gods were on hospitable terms. His consort *Rán*—or *Sjóran*, as she is still designated in Swedish folklore—was of an entirely different nature. She was the man-stealing demon of the sea, a hag who had no heart in her body, and who lay in wait for sailors with her net, or tried to grasp the ship with her arms, and drag it down to the depths. Of similar character were her nine daughters—personifications of the surging billows—who during the storm offered their embraces to the seamen, and, like their mother, pursued the ship. The *Mílgårð-serpent*—the snake-shaped monster which coils itself round the earth—and the Fenris-wolf, which contends with Óðin at the annihilation of the world, as also Grendel and his mother, who lived in swamps by the sea, and at night stole men from the palace of the Danish king, *Hróðgar*, are also frequently included among the sea-demons.

Throughout the entire Teutonic race, as we have seen, there prevailed the belief that all the natural elements were ruled by spirits, and that the good and evil fortunes of human life proceeded from soul-like, or spirit-like, beings, friendly or hostile to man. Demons and spirits caused rain, tempest, and thunderstorm. Demons pursued the sun and the moon, and brought about solar and lunar eclipses. They promoted or hindered the growth of vegetation. Disease and pestilence were their evil work. They hovered around human beings on all the important occasions of life: at birth, when they sought to gain possession of the child; at marriage, when they were specially active in mischief-making; and at death, when they endeavoured to draw the living after the dead. Savage man sought to guard himself against their machinations by all manner of ritual devices, which have left their traces in the manners and customs of the present day. He shot at them, he lit fires, he hung up glittering objects, he uncovered certain parts of the body, he avoided stepping on the threshold under which they lived, and performed endless other actions for the purpose of protecting himself or driving them away. The ideas underlying such practices, thus brought down by the Teutons from the earliest ages, are found to correspond with ideas which prevail among the primitive races of the present day.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Tibetan).—The Tibetan lives in an atmosphere charged with malignant demons and spirits; and the great practical attraction of Buddhism for him is that it can protect him, so he is led to believe, against most of these supernatural enemies. Yet it should be remembered that in the higher Hindu civilization of India the ostensible object of the Brahmanical sacrifice was also to chain the demons.

The great majority of the Tibetan demons are of a non-Buddhist character. A considerable proportion of the aboriginal evil spirits have been adjusted by the Lamas to the type of somewhat analogous bloodthirsty demons in the later Tantrik Buddhism of India, and these are to be coerced or propitiated on the lines of the Indian ritual. But the larger number demand the rites of the pre-Buddhist religion to which they belong, namely, the Bon (see TIBET). These spirits are mainly personified natural forces and malignant ghosts, but several are animistic and fetishes, and all are saturated with sacrificial ideas.

The word for 'spirit,' namely *lha*, is that which is adopted for the gods of the Brahmanical and Indian Buddhist pantheon. It is applied generally to those aboriginal gods who are supposed to live in the sky, even though they be unfriendly to man. The demons, or *rDud* (pronounced *düt*), are always evil genii or fiends of an actively malignant type; *Māra* is considered one of them. These indigenous spirits may be broadly divided into the following eight classes:—

(1) Good spirits (*Lha*), mostly male, white in colour, and generally genial, though the war-god (*sGra-lha*) is as fierce and powerful as the greatest fiend. The countryside gods (*Yul-lha*) and the fairy guardians (*Srung-ma*) have been made defenders of Lamaism. (2) Ghosts and goblins (*Tsan*), all male, red in colour. These are usually the vindictive ghosts of discontented disembodied priests. They especially haunt the vicinity of temples. (3) Devils (*bDud*), mostly male, black in colour, and very malignant. The most malignant of all are *Dre* (or *Lha-dre*), male and female, or literally 'father' and 'mother'. They are persecutors of Lamaism, and cannot be properly appeased without the sacrifice of a pig. (4) Planet fiends (*gDon*), piebald in colour; producing diseases. Fifteen great ones are recognized. (5) Bloated fiends (*dMu*), dark purple in colour. (6) Ghouls and vampires (*Srin-po*), raw-flesh-coloured and bloodthirsty. (7) King-fiends (*rGyal-po*), the 'treasure-masters' (*dkor-bdag*), usually white in colour, the spirits of apotheosized heroes. (8) 'Mother' furies (*Ma-mo*), black-coloured she-devils. They are the disease-mistresses (*nad-bdag*), and are sometimes the spouses of certain of the above demons. The twelve *bStan-ma* (pronounced *Tanna*) especially inhabit the snowy ranges.

Many of the above are local genii, fixed to particular localities. Of these the most numerous are the 'earth-owners' (*Sa-bdag*), truly local spirits inhabiting the soil, springs, and lakes, like the *nāgas* of the Hindus. Others more malignant, called *gNan*, and believed to cause pestilential disease, infest certain trees, rocks, and springs, which are avoided in consequence or made into shrines for propitiatory offerings. They are believed by the present writer to represent the spirit of the gigantic wild sheep, the *gNan* or *Ovis ammon*, which, according to early Chinese accounts, was worshipped by the Tibetans, and the horns of which are offered on the cairns at the tops of the passes. At every temple or monastery the local spirit is represented as an idol or fresco within the outer gateway, usually to the right of the door, and worshipped with wine and occasionally with bloody sacrifice; and it is given a more or less honorific name. One of the fiercest of the country fiends is *Pe-kar* (not *Pe-har*, as spelt by some writers), who has been adopted as a special protector of monasteries by the Yellow-hat sect of Lamas. There are also the 'house-god', the ancestral gods, and the personal spirits or familiars, good and bad, of the individual.

The representations of these spirits at their shrines, or on altars, or in their masks at the sacred plays portray them in human form, though some of them may have the head of a beast or bird, and they are pictured by the Tibetan artists as clad in the costume of the country. The local spirits sometimes may be represented by mere sticks and stones.

Living sacrifice is not offered to these spirits nowadays, but the dough effigies of animals which are offered indicate, in the opinion of the present writer, the prevalence of animal sacrifice in pre-Buddhist days. The animals most commonly represented in this way are the dog, sheep, and yak. Actual blood and the brains and flesh of animals slain by butchers in the ordinary way are frequently offered in bowls made out of human skulls, as in Indian Śaivite rites.

Of the special implements used in Tibetan demon-worship an important one is the three-cornered dagger called *pür-pa* or *pür-bu*. This is used by the priests to stab and drive off the demons, or to impale them when it is stuck into the ground. What appears probably to be a Buddhistic variation of this worship is the feast offered in charity to the devils from time to time. The spirits are summoned by the blowing of human thigh-bone trumpets and the beating of skull drums and gongs, and are afterwards dismissed in an imperative way.

The evil spirits of Indian Buddhism bear the following names in Tibetan, the latter being usually the literal etymological translation of the Sanskrit names:

SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.	SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.
Preta	Yi-dvag.	Ummāda	sMyo-byed.
Kumbhāṇḍa	sGrul'-bum.	Skanda	sKyen-byed.
Piśācha	Sa-za.	Chhāyā	Grib-gnon.
Bhūta	'Byung-po.	Rākṣa	Srin-po.
Pūtana and	Srul-po (=	Revati-graha	Nam-grui
Katāpūtana	'rotten') and	and Sakuni-graha	gdon and
	Lus Srul-po.		Byai gdon

These, as well as the other deities of Indian Buddhism, are usually represented by Tibetan artists in conventional Indian dress, in contradistinction to the indigenous deities.

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L. A. WADDELL.

DÉNÉS.—A most important aboriginal group of tribes north of Mexico. Owing to the great temperamental disparity of its component parts, it affords an excellent field for the study of psychic peculiarities and the gradual development in opposite directions of the mental faculties. Within the bosom of that great American family are to be found extremes in more ways than one. We have the fierce Apaches in the south, and the timid Hares in the north, while the industrious Navahos of Arizona are in as strong contrast to the indolent, unæsthetic Dog-Ribs and Slaves of the Canadian sub-arctic forests. All its tribes, however, are more or less remarkable for their pronounced sense of dependence on the powers of the invisible world. Religious feeling and its outward manifestations pervade their whole lives, though by some careless travellers they have been regarded as destitute of any religion.

The Dénés, also improperly called *Athapascans*, from Lake Athabasca, the habitat of one of their tribes, are divided into Northern, Southern, and Pacific Dénés. The Northern Dénés, whose ranks are now reduced to about 19,390 souls, people the wilds of Canada from the Churchill River, and almost from the Northern Saskatchewan, up to the territory of the Eskimos. In British Columbia, the immense coniferous forests and snow-capped mountains, extending from 51° 30' N. lat. to the northern confines of the Province, and beyond as far as the wastes claimed by the above-mentioned hyperborean aborigines, are also their patrimonial domain. Their best known tribes within that area are the Loucheux (5500 souls) in Alaska, the Yukon Territory, and the lower Mackenzie; the Hares (600), their neighbours in the east; the Slaves (1100), west of Great Slave Lake, from Fort Simpson to Fort Norman; the Dog-Ribs (same population), east of the latter, as far as Back River; the Yellow-Knives (500), a somewhat licentious tribe, to the north-east of Great Slave Lake; the Chipewas (4000) and Caribou-Eaters (1700), the first representatives of the stock in the north who ever came into contact with the whites; the Nahanaïs (1000), on the Stikine and, in the same latitude, east of the Rocky Mountains; and the Carriers (970), who, with the Babines (530) and the Chilcotins (450), constitute the South-western Dénés. The well-known Apaches (6068) and the numerous Navahos (27,365) form the Southern branch of the family (cf. APACHES and NAVAHOES). As to the Pacific Dénés, they consist of unimportant tribes, or remnants of tribes, scattered throughout N. California, Oregon, and Washington. Their present aggregate does not come to more than 900 souls.

When in their original state, the Dénés are eminently a nomadic race of hunters and fishermen. Nowhere, except in British Columbia, have they anything like villages or any elaborate social system. Father-right was primitively, and has remained to a great extent, the fundamental law of their society. The father of a family is con-

sidered its fountain-head, its natural chief, and the controller of the children, who, after marrying, stay with him, unless the mental superiority and better circumstances of another paternal relative claim them for his own followers. They soon form groups of kindred families, over which he presides as patriarch or head of the band. These aggregates are then the social unit, the family not being recognized as such. His power, however, is very limited: directing the movements of the band, giving orders for camping, and, occasionally, very gentle reproof are about the sum-total of his prerogatives. His influence, of course, depends greatly on the number of his suite, and their efficiency as hunters. Hence it is the Dénés' ambition to have as many children as possible, especially of the male sex. Polygamy was in honour among all the tribes. While some unimportant men had but one wife, the majority had two, and the lodges of the chiefs might contain from two to eight. D. W. Harmon ('A General Account of the Indians on the East Side of the Rocky Mountain,' in *Journal of Voyages*, N.Y. ed. 1903, p. 294) cites one who had eleven, with more than forty children, and W. H. Dall (*Travels on the Yukon and in the Yukon Territory*, p. 111) speaks of one who had 'at least eighteen wives.' A few cases of polyandry were also found among the Sékanais, a Rocky Mountain tribe.

Five methods of contracting marriage may be said to have obtained among the Northern Dénés. Marriage by mutual consent was exceedingly rare before the advent of the missionaries. Some such arrangement can, however, be placed to the credit of a few mountain tribes. 'Will you pack my beaver-snare?' the dusky youth would ask of the object of his choice. A hesitating 'Perhaps' would seal her fate, and, without further ado, the couple would thenceforth become man and wife. Wooing the bride's parents, that is, working for them and endeavouring by every possible good office to become acceptable to them, was proper to the South-western Dénés (cf. CARRIER-INDIANS). The most common gateway to sexual intercourse east of the Rockies was wrestling. Two young men would publicly wrestle for the possession of a maiden, and the same took place in connexion with any married woman as well. No husband could ever consider himself secure in the company of his wife, as he was liable to see her any day snatched away from him by a stronger man. So much so, indeed, that S. Hearne, the first author to give us any satisfactory account of the eastern tribes, asserts (*A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, p. 104) that 'a weak man . . . is seldom permitted to keep a wife that a stronger man thinks worth his notice.' He adds that some professional wrestlers 'make almost a livelihood by taking what they please from the weaker parties, without making them any return' (ib. 105). A fourth way of contracting marriage was even more suggestive of savagery. A man would simply seize by the hair and drag to his tent the object of his passion. Finally, occasions were not wanting when women were bought as so many chattels, and cases are also on record when the same object of traffic was later ravished by wrestling from her quondam purchaser, the unfortunate creature being thus a passive party to transactions whereby she was 'married' according to the two different methods obtaining in her tribe.

From this it will be inferred how exceedingly low was the position that the woman occupied in primitive society. She was merely a drudge, the factotum of the household, a slave to her husband, buffeted even by her own male children, fond of them though she invariably was. Her fate was more satisfactory among the Navahos; and, by reason of the rank to which she might occasion-

ally succeed, among the South-western Dénés, life was also accidentally made bearable for her, though in private life most of the menial work of the family still fell to her lot. It goes without saying that, with such loose systems governing the relations of the sexes, divorce followed in many cases as a matter of course, especially when the union had not been cemented by the birth of any children.

Indiscriminate as these matrimonial affairs apparently were, blood-relationship was always a bar thereto. But among the tribes who had adopted mother-right as their law controlling succession to rank and property, agnates were not recognized as relatives. A child hardly cared for his father, and took no notice whatever of his kindred through the male line. Hence first cousins on the father's side were considered strangers to one another, and as such very generally intermarried. On the other hand, even very distant relatives on the maternal side still call themselves brothers and sisters, as the case may be. This applies also to the members of the same clan, wherever this social organization prevails. Primatively, all marriages were strictly exogamous, the gentile tie being considered even more binding than blood-relationship. In the case of widows, the prescriptions of the levirate were scrupulously obeyed by all the tribes, and they had to marry the surviving brother of their late husband.

The dread which a woman in her catamenial periods, or immediately after parturition, inspired in a man can hardly be exaggerated. Such a creature was—indeed, continues to be—regarded as the very incarnation of evil. As soon as the first symptoms of that momentous change in the female organism appeared, the maiden was until a late date, and is still in many tribes, sequestered from the company of her fellow-Dénés. A little hut was built for her on the outskirts of the village, or some distance from the tepees of the migrating party, where she dwelt until her menses were well over, away from the gaze of the public, and visited only by some female relative, who brought her, in small birch bark vessels which nobody else could touch, the meagre fare of dried fish and water which custom prescribed for her, to the exclusion of any nourishing food, especially that derived from any large animal freshly killed. So portentous of evil was her condition deemed, that all contact, however indirect, with the living creation was denied her. Hence eating, while in her impure state, of the flesh of any game was reputed to entail a deliberate insult to all the representatives of the same species, which would infallibly take their revenge by keeping away from the traps or arrows of her relatives. She could not follow in the trail of her male companions for fear of incapacitating them for the chase; she must abstain from bathing or washing her feet in lakes or rivers, lest she should cause the death of the fish they contained. Hearne goes even so far as to say that in his time (1782) 'women in this situation are never permitted to walk on the ice of rivers or lakes, or near the part where the men are hunting beaver, or where a fish-net is set, for fear of averting their success' (*op. cit.* 315).

On her return from the hut of her first menstruation, the maiden wore, during the following three or four years, a kind of veil made of the strands of a long fringe ornamented with beads, passing over her face and resting on her breast. This Hearne supposed to be 'a mark of modesty' (p. 314). It served the same purposes as the *prætexta* of the Romans and the long outer garment of the Jewish virgins mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* vii. viii. 1), being a badge of puberty and a sort of public notice that the wearer was marriageable. To this was added a bone tube to drink with and a two-

pronged comb to scratch her head, thereby avoiding immediate contact between her head and her fingers.

So deleterious were believed to be the emanations from the menstruating woman, that the tabu of which she was the object extended even to the contact with any weapon, or implement, designed for the capture of animals. Captain G. Back records the 'consternation' and hasty flight of a poor woman who had unwittingly trodden on her husband's gun—an offence which the explorer declares (*Narr. of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River*, p. 124) did not usually meet with any lighter punishment than 'a slit nose or a bit cut off the ears.' The same legal uncleanness attached to a new mother, and a like sequestration followed, which was then protracted to a month or five weeks after child-birth. During that period the father would not, as a rule, see his child.

Speaking of legal uncleanness, we must not forget to mention that some such state was also supposed to be consequent on the shedding of human blood. Hearne relates that, after his Déné companions had massacred over twenty inoffensive Eskimos, all those immediately concerned in the affair considered themselves debarred from cooking either for themselves or for others. Before every meal they painted their upper lips and the greater part of the cheeks with red ochre. They would not drink out of any other dish or use any other pipe than their own, nor would those who had had no hand in the massacre touch the murderer's dish or pipe. This, as well as the abstaining from many parts of the game they ate, was regularly followed for an entire season, after which 'the men, without a female being present, made a fire at some distance from the tents, into which they threw all their ornaments, pipe-stems, and dishes, which were soon consumed to ashes; after which a feast was prepared, consisting of such articles as they had long been prohibited from eating; and, when all was over, each man was at liberty to eat, drink, and smoke as they pleased; and also to kiss their wives and children at discretion,' which they had previously been forbidden to do (*op. cit.* 206).

Much married as the Dénés usually were, they regarded continence as essential for success in certain undertakings. No hunter would ever dream of leaving for any important trapping expedition who had not first separated a *toro* from his wives for quite an extended period. Did he succeed in capturing a beaver or a bear, he would carefully see to it that no dog—an unclean animal—should be permitted to touch any of its bones. The skull and molars, especially, were reputed sacred, and were invariably stuck up on the branches of a tree or, more commonly, on the forked end of a tent-pole. The fear lest an unclean animal—dog, fox, or wolf—might profane the same by contact therewith was the reason prompting those precautions. Should such a dreadful contingency occur, the hunter immediately desisted from exerting himself in any way, being firmly persuaded that all his efforts towards trapping any game of the same species would prove futile.

To understand these superstitions and most of those relating to menstruating women, we must remember that, in the Déné cosmogony, all the present entities of Nature were originally endowed with human-like faculties. Even trees spoke and fought, and the fowls of the air and the animals of the earth were men like ourselves, though distinguished by potent faculties which we do not possess. These wonderful powers, though now somewhat attenuated, are supposed still to exist in the brute creation. A share of them possessed by a few privileged individuals constitutes what we call

magic. This is the connecting link between man and beast, and also the means whereby one may commune with the world of spirits, and by whose aid a person is enabled to succeed in his quest after happiness and the necessities of life. Hence the sympathy or antipathy which may exist between hunter and hunted, according to the way in which the former treats the latter. The language of the best Christianized Déné has retained to this day unequivocal traces of these zootheistic ideas. If unsuccessful in his hunt after game, the modern Déné will not say: 'I had bad luck with this or that animal,' but: 'Bears or beavers,' as the case may be, 'did not want me.' The spirits, which have their seats in the various parts of the universe and are co-existent with them, are good or bad, or rather noxious or friendly to man. The evil spirits, on the occasion of breaches of the moral law, or the neglect of the traditional observances, attack man and dwell in him, causing thereby madness, fits, and other nervous disorders, disease, and death. The kindly spirits manifest themselves to him during his sleep, or suddenly in the woods or elsewhere, under the shape of the particular entity—animal, sun, celestial phenomenon, etc.—with which they are so intimately connected that to the Indian mind mundane being and indwelling power are almost one and the same. This manifestation is a token of their wish to act towards him as protecting genii, in return for some consideration shown to their present concretized forms or symbols. These are the personal totems (*manitous*), the only ones known to the unadulterated Dénés (cf. TOTEMISM). The adopted party will thenceforth show his regard for his protector by not suffering the particular being in which it resides to be lightly treated or abused in any way; by exposing in his lodge its spoils (if an animal, or its symbol, if a heavenly orb, etc.), or carrying on his person a reminder of it in the shape of its tail, a feather flowing from his head-dress, etc. In times of need the Déné will secretly invoke the aid of his *manitou*, saying: 'May you do this or that to me!' Before an assault on his enemies, or previous to his hunt, he will daub its symbol in red ochre on his bow and arrows, or sing out in its honour a rude chant consisting of a single phrase repeated *ad infinitum*. Magic and song, in the mind of the American native, have a most intimate correlation, and few important attempts to influence the spirits one way or another are unaccompanied by loud chanting and the noisy beating of drums. Should his appeal for help be heard, he will give expression to his gratitude by burning, or throwing into the water, any piece of property on hand, goods or clothing, or in later times tobacco.

In the North this was the only kind of sacrifice known to the Dénés. At times it took a propitiatory or rogatory character, being intended to obtain favours or avert calamities. The personified elements, especially wind with the tribes dwelling on the banks of the large Northern lakes, were the most common beneficiaries of such offerings, unless we add thereto another class of spirits, which have some resemblance to the *genii locorum* of the Romans. These were believed to haunt places prominent for some natural peculiarity—the steepness of a hill, the magnitude or striking appearance of a rock, etc. It was usual for any wayfarer passing by such spots to offer a stone to the spirit or its materialized form. A custom similar to this can be traced to the wastes of Tartary (cf. *Huc Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie*, Paris, 1850, i. 25 f.), and the Déné practice may even be compared with the prayer-machines set up on some mountain-tops in far-away Tibet.

Instead of quietly revealing itself in a dream or a vision, the *manitou* occasionally prostrated the

Déné to the extent of depriving him of his senses. In such accidents the bystanders would never recognize a mere cataleptic fit. They would insist that the mind of the smitten individual had been attracted by some powerful spirit, with which it was communing. To them any kind of fainting malady was much the same as epilepsy to the Romans. It was a *morbus sacer*, denoting mysterious influences. Swooning is still called by the Carriers *ne-kha-uthézet*, or the attack of a spirit. When loud chanting, enhanced by louder beating of drums, had succeeded in breaking the spell, the soul of the patient was supposed to return from the spirit world, and he was looked upon with a veneration bordering on awe. Henceforth he was regarded as possessed of the mysterious powers over Nature, and the spirits controlling it, which we call magic, and his ministrations were resorted to whenever it was a question of counteracting the influence of the evil spirits which cause disease and public calamities. In a word, he was a regular shaman, and the religious system of which he had become the chief representative was the shamanism of the north-eastern Asiatic races in almost all its purity (cf. SHAMANISM). Among the Navahos of the South this is still at the base of the religious edifice; but commiscegenation with alien stocks and the influence of environment have notably modified it by the addition of rites and elaborate ceremonies based on the remembrance of the many adventures of their culture heroes (cf. NAVAHO).

The functions of the shaman will be found fully explained in the article SHAMANISM. Suffice it to say here that they were seven-fold among the Northern Dénés. Shamanistic conjuring with that particular American race was curative, preventive, inquisitive, malefic, operative, prestidigitative, or prophetic. A rôle which was perhaps proper to the profession in the North was that of father-confessor. Auricular confession of personal delinquencies to him who might be represented as the nearest aboriginal equivalent of a priest—though he could not strictly be called by such a name for the lack of any regular sacrifice or cult—was one of the religious institutions of the primeval forests of northern Canada. Of the shaman among the Western Dénés, Harmon wrote as early as 1820:

'When the Carriers are very sick, they often think that they shall not recover unless they divulge to a priest or magician every crime which they may have committed, which has hitherto been kept secret. In such a case, they will make a full confession, and then they expect that their lives will be spared for a time longer. But should they keep back a single crime, they as fully believe that they shall suffer instant death' ('An Account of the Indians living West of the Rocky Mountain,' in *Journal of Voyages*, N.Y. ed. 1903, p. 256f.).

The present writer had recorded the same custom long before he saw the old trader's volume. On the other hand, in the course of his *Trad. ind. du Canada nord-ouest*, p. 418f., E. Petitot gives a Chippewa (Eastern) text furnished him in 1863 by an old shaman of Great Slave Lake, of which the following is a partial translation:

'The man who is sick as a consequence of his sins . . . sits by the shaman, to whom he confesses his misdeeds. The shaman asks him many a question, reprimands him in order to draw out the sins he conceals. . . . Finally, the patient having confessed everything, the shaman brings down on him the Far-off Spirit, his own familiar, which, entering into the sick man, takes away his sins, whereupon disease immediately leaves him.'

The greatest importance was attached to dreams. It was through the medium of dreams that most of their communications with the invisible world took place, and to this day the Dénés consider dreaming as a token of occult powers over Nature and man. For this reason they are loth to wake up any sleeping person, as he or she may just be enjoying a dream, that is, communing with the spirits. Anybody talking in his sleep is *solens volens* regarded as a great sorcerer or shaman.

Though the spirits are much more in evidence than any other hidden power in the Déné theogony, they were not without the notion of a Supreme Being governing the world and punishing the wicked. In the West, the nature of this ruling principle was not very clear, though it was generally recognized as the great controller of the celestial forces—wind, rain, and snow. Thunder they still firmly believe to be a gigantic bird of the eagle genus, the winking of whose eyelids produces lightning, while the detonations are due to the flapping of its wings. That this Deity was, indeed, paramount and personal in the estimation of those Indians is made evident by the usual formula of their oaths. *Yuttare setit' sá*: 'That-which-is-on-high hearth me,' and *Yuttare nakh adosni*: 'I say it in presence of That-which-is-on-high' (the Celestial Power), are forms used by the old Carriers to this day. The new generation has another name for the Supreme Being, based on more adequate knowledge due to the missionaries.

The majority of the North American Indians attribute the work of creation to a prodigious hero, of a human nature, but exceedingly powerful, generally more or less tricky and not too scrupulous, whose many deeds and miraculous adventures furnish the subject-matter of endless tales. This is the culture hero of the Americanists, the *Estas* of the Western Dénés, who borrowed his personality from the N. Pacific coast tribes, and the *Yimantüwñiyai*, 'the One who is lost across the ocean,' of the Hupas, the principal tribe of the Pacific group of Dénés. But the Eastern Dénés know of a God who is Creator as well as Ruler of the universe. He is, however, less spiritualized with them than the chief Deity of their Western kin, since they lend him human attributes. *Inkfuim-wetay*, 'He that sits on the zenith,' is the name by which the Hare Indians know him, and, according to Petitot, that tribe makes him trine: father, mother, and son. The father is in the zenith, the mother in the nadir, and the son travels incessantly from the one to the other. The father by his mere volition made the earth and all it contains, after which he lit the celestial orbs, the sun and the moon—most of the stars and constellations were originally inhabitants of our own globe—at the prayer of his son, who, having perceived the earth during one of his voyages, sang out: 'O my Father who sitest on high, do light the heavenly fire, for on that small island (the earth) my brothers-in-law (men) have been wretched for a long time' (Petitot, *Monographie des Déné-Dindjé*, p. xxiii).

Most of the tribes have also a tradition pointing to the extinction of mankind by water, with the exception of the Wise One, among the Eastern Dénés, or *Estas*, the chief legendary hero of the Western tribes. In the legends relating these events the musk-rat and the beaver, two animals famous for their nimbleness and skill, are said to have been instrumental in reconstructing the earth, after it had been destroyed through the submersion of its highest mountains.

The sacredness of the number seven among the Jews is a matter of common knowledge. That number is among the majority of the American aborigines replaced by four; but both seven and four yield in sacredness to the number two in the legends and traditions of the Western Déné tribes.

By the side of, and in opposition to, the Supreme Being of the nation is, according to Petitot, a counterpart of our devil in the theogony of the North-eastern tribes. If we are to believe that author, the knowledge of such an entity preceded the advent of the missionaries, and it was called 'the Bad One,' 'the Forsaken One,' 'He that passed through heaven,' etc., according to the

various localities. The older Carriers call him to-day by the first-mentioned name; but the present writer is inclined to believe that they owe this notion to intercourse with the whites.

No tribe worshipped the Deity in any way; no cult of any kind, sacred dances or public prayers, obtained in the North. The only dance whose object was not mere recreation took place in connexion with an eclipse (cf. *PRODIGES AND PORTENTS* [Amer.]). But in the South the Navahos have elaborate rites and know of public praying, though their requests are addressed more to the personified elements and their culture-heroes, or semi-deified ancestors, than to any Supreme Deity.

As to man, he is believed to be made up of a perishable body and a transformable, and therefore surviving, soul—if this be the proper word for an element which is perhaps as much the effect as the cause of life. The name given it by most tribes literally means in the West 'warmth.' Yet it is to-day used to designate the principle of life, while the Eastern Dénés have for the soul animating the body words varying according to the dialects, though almost all of them are the counterparts of the Lat. *spiritus*. Analogous terms serve in the West to express not the vital principle, but the outward sign of life, breath, and, by extension, life itself.

Besides this principle, or physical condition, there is *na-teen*, man's shadow, usually called 'second self.' This is a reflexion of the individual personality, invisible in time of good health, because then confined within its normal seat, the body, but which on the approach of sickness and death wanders out of its home, and roams about, seldom seen but often heard. Its absence from its proper corporeal seat, if too prolonged, infallibly results in death.

Finally, *na-sul* in the Déné psychology may be said to represent the soul or surviving principle after death. Strictly speaking, the word refers to the impalpable, dematerialized remnants of one's individuality, or a transformed self adapted to the conditions of the next world. That world is very generally believed to be situated underground, and watered by a large river, in which the shades catch small fry for their subsistence, visiting their nets in double canoes—a craft otherwise unknown in N. America. Their condition there seems to be unequal, inasmuch as those who have not received the last funeral rites according to the customs of their tribes are constantly wandering, fed on mice, toads, festuses, and squirrels, or even cast into the waters of the big river instead of being ferried across, while others are reported to be playing on the grass, or dancing to the tune of a song, the main burden of which is the words *thé'ga t'sethine*, 'we sleep separated from one another,' i.e. 'there is no more any matrimonial union between us.'

Metempsychosis was strongly believed in by the Eastern Dénés. Petitot writes in his *Monographie des Dénés-Dendjé*, p. xxx:

'I have been unable to eradicate from the mind of a certain girl the persuasion that, before her birth, she had lived under a name and with features unknown to me, nor could I prevent an old woman from claiming the child of her neighbour, under the pretext that she recognized in him the migrated soul of her own late son. I am personally acquainted with several such cases.'

The art. CARRIER INDIANS makes it clear that such notions were not confined to the East. Yet, we must add that the Western Dénés now seem to have entirely discarded them, while the beliefs connected with menstruating women, the spirits, and shamanism still lurk in the minds of many, and are openly professed by a few. With others they are at best obsolescent. This re-incarnation of the soul did not always result in a mere exchange of bodies of a similar kind. The author just quoted further says that he has known a poor mother who was lamenting because an old shaman had assured

her that she had seen her dead son walking by the shore of the lake under the form of a bear. He adds: 'It is seldom that we see any man of influence die without hearing soon after his former companions claim that they have seen him metamorphosed into a bipedal caribou, a bear, or an elk.'

The original mode of disposing of dead bodies in the North seems to have been by enclosing them within rough cratings made of small logs crossed at the ends, which were raised from 3 ft. to 7 ft. above ground on stout poles or posts. Any object which might have belonged to the deceased either accompanied him in his final retreat or was cast into the water, burnt, or hidden in the branches of trees. Sometimes the remains were concealed within trees hollowed out for the purpose, or naturally hollow through age and decay; but in the East it was much more usual simply to abandon them where they fell. They were never buried, except among the Chilcotins, a South-western tribe, while their neighbours, the Carriers and the Babines, cremated them, after the custom of the coast Indians.

Such were the Dénés when first met by the whites. The Apaches were the first representatives of the nation to make the acquaintance of the pale-faced strangers, in the persons of the Spaniards of Mexico. In the North, their first contact with our civilization occurred in the vicinity of Hudson Bay, where the Fur Trading Company named after that inland sea established posts, from one of which Arthur Dobbs wrote in 1744 the earliest printed reference to the race which has come to the present writer's knowledge. In 1771-72, Samuel Hearne, one of the traders, reached the Arctic Ocean in the company of a large band of Eastern Dénés, who then perpetrated the unprovoked massacre of Eskimos already mentioned. Then came Alex. Mackenzie, who, in 1789, descended the noble stream now known under his name, and in 1793 penetrated as far west as the Pacific Ocean, always accompanied by a few Northern Dénés, who did not succeed in securing him a peaceful reception at the hands of all the new Déné tribes. About 1811, the Yellow-Knives repeated on the poor Eskimos the exploit of Hearne's companions, killing some thirty of them near the mouth of the Coppermine River, and two years later a party of Rocky Mountains Dénés, acting under provocation, destroyed Fort Nelson, on the Liard River, and murdered its inmates. Ten years thereafter (1823), the Dog-Ribs and Hares, long oppressed by the Yellow-Knives, fell upon them unawares and cut off a large number of them. Then came the visits of the Arctic explorers, Sir John Franklin, Captain G. Back, and Dr. King, Thomas Simpson, Sir John Richardson, etc. The dates attached to their respective works in the following bibliography are safe indications of the epochs of their travels among the Dénés.

Finally, we have the missionaries. The Catholics reached Isle-à-la-Crosse in 1846, Lake Athabasca in 1847, Great Slave Lake in 1852, Peace River in 1858, and the Lower Mackenzie in 1859. Father Petitot, a prolific ethnographer, was the first minister of the gospel to visit Great Bear Lake, which he did for the first time in the course of 1866. The missionaries were almost everywhere well received, and readily made numerous proselytes: 1859 saw the establishment of the first Protestant mission at Fort Simpson, on the Mackenzie, after which outposts were started among the Loucheux Indians west of the Rocky Mountains. To-day, practically the entire nation in the North is Christian, about nine-tenths having adopted the Catholic faith, and the remainder the Protestant.

See HUPAS and NAVAHOES for Central and Southern Athapascans.

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DEOGARH.—(Skr. *deva-gaḍa*, 'fort of the gods').—A town in the Santāl Parganas of Bengal, lat. 24° 30' N., long. 86° 42' E., containing the famous temple of Baidyanāth (Skr. *vaiḍya-nātha*, 'lord of physicians,' an epithet of Śiva). By a folk etymology the place is connected with one Baijū, a member of a Dravidian tribe, who by one account was a Gwālā, or cowherd, by caste. It is said that he was so disgusted with the laziness and indifference of the Brahman priests of the shrine, that he vowed that he would daily, as evidence of his contempt for them, strike the image of the god with his club. One day, as he perpetrated this insult, the idol spoke and blessed him because he, though not a worshipper, had resented the carelessness of his priests. When asked to claim a boon from the god, Baijū prayed that he might be known as Nātha, 'lord,' and that the temple should be called after his name. The request was granted, and the shrine has since been known as that of Baijānāth.

It has been suggested without any valid reason that the legend implies some connexion between the present cultus and the rites of the Dravidian tribes. According to the Hindu legend, the selection of the site was due to the demon Rāvapa, king of Laṅkā or Ceylon, who in the epic of the Rāmāyana is the ravisher of Sītā, wife of Rāma. It is said that he got possession of a famous *lingam* of Śiva to aid him in his fight with Rāma, and on his way south halted to purify himself at the site of Deogarh. Finding no water, he dashed his fist into the ground and formed the existing Śiva-gaṅgā lake. But, when the *lingam* was set down, seeing the place to be fair, it refused to move further with Rāvapa, and has been there ever since, known by the name of Mahādeva Rāvapa-devāra, 'lord Rāvapa.' The same story is told to account for the position of many other sacred images in India (Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, viii. 143 ff.; Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 1893, pp. 137, 375).

The early history of the shrine is obscure. When the British occupied the country, they tried, but with ill-success, to manage the endowments and collect the offerings of pilgrims. Finally it was made over to the present priests, who are known as *ojhā* (Skr. *upādhyāya*, 'teacher'). In front of the temple is a remarkable structure, consisting of two massive monoliths supporting a third stone of similar shape and size. It is known as the Swinging Platform (*ḍolā-māncā*), and was possibly originally used in the rite of swinging the idol. The chief temple is that of Śiva, and close by is a later shrine of his spouse, Gaurī, 'the yellow or brilliant one,' which is joined to that of her consort by festoons of gaudy-coloured cloth, thus typifying the union of the god and the goddess. At the back of the god's temple is a verandah in which supplicants for his favours—recovery from

disease, the blessing of children, and so on—make their vigils. With the usual catholicity of modern Hinduism, the chief shrines are surrounded by those of the lesser gods—Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa representing Viṣṇu in this Śaiva atmosphere; Śūraj Nārāyaṇ, the sun-god; Sarasvatī, goddess of learning; Manasā, the snake-goddess; Hanumān, the monkey-god; Kālā Bhairava, god of destruction; and Annapūrnā, 'she who gives wealth in grain.' But all these shrines bear marks of neglect. To illustrate the fusion of Islām with Hinduism, Gait (*Census Report Bengal*, 1901, i. 176) remarks that 'Muhammadans are often seen to carry sacred water to the shrine of Baidyanāth, and, as they may not enter the shrine, pour it as a libation on the outside verandah.'

LITERATURE.—Sir W. Hunter, *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, 1871, p. 191 ff.; Bradley-Birt, *The Story of an Indian Upland*, 1906, p. 311 f.; *JASBE* lii. pt. i. 164. W. CROOKE.

DEONTOLOGY.—*Deontology* is the science of ethics. The term seems to have been used first by Jeremy Bentham. Apparently he wished to distinguish by it between duty and the principles of morals and legislation—which is the subject of an earlier work, dealing with the principles that men had to assume in their relations to each other. In deontology he evidently had in mind the principles of duty as distinct from those of prudence and interest. The work by this name, however, was posthumous, and was incomplete before his death. The term has not come into general usage. It serves, however, the purpose of distinguishing clearly between the science of mere custom and the science of obligation. The one studies actual practices; the other tries to ascertain the actions which ought to be performed as distinguished from those that may actually be done.

JAMES H. HYSLOP.

DEOPRAYĀG (Skr. *deva-prayāga*, 'the divine place of sacrifice').—A village in the Garhwāl District of the United Provinces of India, situated in lat. 30° 10' N., long. 78° 37' E., at the confluence of the rivers Alaknandā (q.v.) and Bhāgirathī. Below the village the streams now united take the name of Ganges (q.v.), and this is regarded as one of the five sacred places of pilgrimage on the way to the higher Himalāyan peaks. The principal temple is dedicated to Rāmāchandra. It is built of large blocks of cut stone piled on each other, bulging in the middle and decreasing rapidly towards the summit, which is surmounted by a white cupola. Over all is a square sloping roof, composed of plates of copper, crowned above with a golden ball and spire. The image of the god, about six feet high, carved in black stone, but painted red except the face, is seated opposite the door, and under the eastern portion of the cupola. Before the idol is a brazen image of Gaṇa, the mythical vulture, half man, half bird, on which Viṣṇu rides. The chief rite at this holy place is ablution, which takes place at the sacred confluence of the two rivers, in basins excavated in the rock at a level a little lower than the surface of the current, which is here so rapid as to sweep away any person daring to bathe in it.

LITERATURE.—Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, iii. [1886] 190 ff. W. CROOKE.

DEPRAVITY.—See HOLINESS AND SIN.

DERVISH (*darwish*).—A Pers. word signifying 'mendicant' (corresponding with *bhikṣu*, the name borne by the Brahman in the fourth stage of his existence), applied, in Persian and Turkish and thence in European languages, to the ascetics of Islām, whose Arab. name is *zāhid*, which appears to mean originally 'satisfied with a little,' in ac-

sordance with the usage of this phrase in the Qur'ān (xii. 20). Its connotation does not appear to differ from that of *ṣūfī* (q.v.), 'wearer of wool,' a term applied by the early Islamic writer Jāhiz († A.H. 255 [= A.D. 868], *Ḥayawān*, i. 103) both to those Muslim ascetics and to Christian monks, who, in order to indulge their laziness, pretend to disapprove of labour and wage-earning, and make their mendicancy a means of obtaining the reverence of their fellows. Most Muslims, indeed, take a less cynical view of the ascetic, who is supposed to abandon his possessions before taking to the mendicant life, in the belief that they stand between him and the attainment of the higher life. And, though many dervishes are mendicants, this is by no means the case with all; the bulk of the members of Orders belong to the labouring and trading classes. In Arab. literature the name first occurs (in the form *daryūsh*) as the epithet of one Khālīd, who in the year A.H. 201 (= A.D. 816) endeavoured to organize the citizens of Baghdad for the suppression of anarchy. In Pers. literature of the 5th and 6th cents., and even later, the dervish is a holy man who has overcome the world; and in S. Arabia it is said to be used in the sense of *shaikh* as a term of dignity. In general, we may distinguish between *ṣūfī* and dervish as between theory and practice; the former holds a certain philosophical doctrine, the latter practises a particular form of life. The latter is called in some countries by the Arab. name *faḡīr*, 'poor man' (plur. *fuḡarā*); to those who are members of associations the name *khwān*, for *ikhwān* ('brethren'), is sometimes applied.

The practice of asceticism, and the wearing of wool in indication of it, are, of course, as early as the time of Muhammad, and far earlier; according to the most authentic accounts, the Prophet himself gave little encouragement to asceticism, which rarely suits the plans of statesmen and warriors. But the notion of religious exercises in addition to those prescribed by the ordinary ritual, culminating in ecstasy, meets us early in the history of Islam; and with this went theories of states and stages in the religious life which belong to the subject of Sūfism.

It is not till the 6th cent. of Islam that we hear of actual Orders of ascetics; attempts which are made to trace them further back are mythological. In the 6th cent., however, they commenced, and in the 7th they are familiar. The unity of an Order is constituted by a special form of devotion, whereby its members endeavour to induce what spiritualists call 'the superior condition'; it usually consists in the repetition of religious formulae, especially the first article of the Muslim creed, and each Order has its *dhikr*, as this process is called; other religious exercises of the same sort bear the titles *wird* and *hizb*.

The first founder of an Order is supposed to have been 'Abd al-Qādir (q.v.) of Jīlān, who died A.H. 561 (= A.D. 1166); but that founded by Aḥmad al-Rifā'i, who died A.H. 578 (= A.D. 1182), was nearly contemporaneous. Of both these persons we possess biographies, and, indeed, in the case of the former a series of works, chiefly homiletic in character. In general, the founders of Orders are historical personages; some have left works, and in other cases there are authoritative treatises, revealing the mysteries of the Order, though, perhaps, in most cases these can only be acquired through oral instruction, and by persons who have undergone probation.

The founding of Orders has gone on steadily since the 6th cent. of Islam; and their enumeration is no easy matter, since it is difficult to distinguish between independent and branch Orders. Von Hammer enumerated 36, of which 12 were

supposed to have existed before the rise of the Ottoman empire, and 24 to have sprung up after that event; the former number includes some that are mythical, whereas the latter is too small. The most interesting, in some ways, is the Bektashi Order, which appears to be a syncretism of Islam with Christianity, and which (according to G. Jacob, who has made a special study of it) retains many vestiges of Christian doctrines and rites. Next after this comes the Nakshabandi, which is wide-spread; the Maulawiyah, Rifā'iyyah, and 'Isawiyah also play important rôles, while some political importance is ascribed to the Malāmiyyah. In certain provinces of the Ottoman empire there is a shaikh *al-turuq*, or head of the Orders, who is responsible to the Government for their conduct.

The acts which enter into the life of the member of an Order are in part disciplinary, in part devotional. The devotional acts take the form of a service, called *ḥadrah*, which with certain communities is daily, with others weekly; probably the form which it most commonly takes is that of the repetition of formulae, especially *la ilāha illa 'llahu*, a vast number of times with various differences of intonation, occasionally to the sound of music; elaborate rules are given in some of the books belonging to the Orders, regulating the bodily motions which should accompany the production of each syllable. *Ḥadrahs* familiar to visitors to the Nearer East are those of the Maulawī dervishes in Pera, who move in circles to the accompaniment of music; of the Rifā'i dervishes in Scutari, who, first sitting, and then standing on their right and left feet alternately, and bending sideways, repeat the formula of the Unity. The same may be seen in Cairo. At the service of the Jahriyyah dervishes in Tashkent, visited by Schuyler (*Turkistan*, New York, 1876, i. 158-161), the repetition of the formulae was accompanied by a violent movement of the head over the left shoulder towards the heart, then back, then to the right shoulder, then down, as if directing all movements to the heart. Indeed, the directions in the books of the sects imply the use of the heart in pronouncing the formula of the Unity, though the process seems scarcely intelligible. In most of the performances the motions gradually accelerate as they proceed, and different forms of ecstasy have a tendency to be produced.

Besides these services, various forms of discipline are prescribed to neophytes in many of the Orders. One of these is 'solitude,' *khalwah*, a discipline of the Khalwatīs, who are called thereafter, and who are ordered to recite long prayers in complete solitude, for which cells are provided in the monasteries (called *takiyyah*, or *zāwiyah*). With the Maulawīs the aspirant has, it is said, to serve 1001 days in the kitchen of the Order. With some other Orders the discipline consists, like the devotion, in trials of the power to recite the formula of the Unity a vast number of times with the least expenditure of breath, and promotion is made dependent on the attainment of a certain standard in this matter.

The members of the Orders are also distinguished by certain peculiarities in their attire, whether in shape, substance, or colour. Great importance is attached to the head-gear, and the number of *tark*, or gores, of which it is composed. This word in Arabic signifies 'abandoning,' and the number is said to symbolize the number of worldly vanities abandoned by the dervish. Some Orders wear gaiters; some carry stones in their belts, said to signify hunger; the Maulawīs are distinguished by a wide skirt (worn at their services) called *tannūr*, 'oven,' indicative of the oven of misfortune whence the head has been withdrawn.

'The sheikhs of the Orders wear robes of green or white cloth; and any of those who in winter line them with fur use that kind

called *petit gris* and *zibeline marten*. Few dervishes use cloth for their dress. Black or white felt called *abâ*, such as is made in some of the cities of Anatolia, is most usual. . . . Generally all the dervishes allow their beards and mustachios to grow. Some of the Orders still wear long hair' (J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 214).

On the tombs of some of them are mystic signs.

In general, the dervishes are credited with mystic powers, and as early as the 7th cent. of Islam we are informed of various wonders which the Rifâ'is could perform: they could eat living serpents and go into burning furnaces, of which they extinguished the fire. Some of their wonders seem to have puzzled Lane, the author of *Modern Egyptians* (London, 1846). Oman, in his work on the Muslims of India (*Brahmans, Theists, and Muslims of India*, London, 1907, p. 323 ff.), describes a fire-bath undergone by a Sayyid, trusting to the power of Husain; he had apparently taken care to drench his feet with water before walking over the coals, but those who attempted to do it, not knowing how, were severely burned. Other travellers who have witnessed these miracles can often give an explanation: the serpents with which the Isawis play have their venom removed; similarly, in the ceremony of the *Doseh*, practised by the Egyptian Sa'dis, whose shaikh rode over the backs of the devotees, it appears that the horse had been carefully trained, and it was arranged that he should step nowhere where serious injury could result. It is, of course, possible that in some of these cases there is no conscious imposture, and hypnotism accounts for anything that is wonderful; but in many places the holy man appears to be a low form of conjurer. The biographies of the founders of the Orders have a tendency to embody many manifestations of supernatural power; but it is probable that, like those admitted into the lives of Christian saints, they are thought to be edifying rather than historical.

The Orders of dervishes seem at an early period to have acquired a definite form of organization, of which the nucleus is the *zâwiyah*, or 'retreat'; such a place is usually built by or for the founder of the Order, and is inherited by his successors, who in most cases are his actual heirs. As the Order spreads, other *zâwiyahs* are erected, which, however, maintain a filial relation to the parent institution; i.e. the presidents of the former are appointed from the latter. The name *shaikh* is properly applied exclusively to the founder of the Order; his successors are *khalîfs*, i.e. 'substitutes'; it was on this principle that the successor of the Sudanese Mahdi was known in Europe as the Khalif. The non-official members of the Order are called 'disciples' (*ṭalabâh* or *murîdîn*). The head of a dependent *zâwiyah* is called *mûqaddam*; the revenues are in charge of a trustee, or *wakîl*.

Membership of an Order does not necessarily interfere with the normal duties of life; the dervishes of Egypt are said to belong mainly to the class of small shopkeepers. The performances are thought, however, by some observers to have a tendency to produce insanity, or, at any rate, nervous affections. Begging is in theory forbidden by some Orders, but is usually permitted, and certain dervishes carry a bowl or wallet for the purpose.

French writers hold that the underlying idea of most of the Orders is the reclamation of the Islamic world, and the eventual expulsion of Europeans at least from Asia and Africa; whereas another suggestion, which is perhaps nearer the truth, is that they are all in origin revivalist, not so much with the object of injuring Europeans as with that of increasing the faith of Muslims. Some systematic classifications of the Orders we owe to a number of French writers, partly employed by the French Government to investigate this important element in their African possessions.

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1887; L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers, 1884; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers, 1897; G. Jacob, *Die Bektaschijje*, Manich, 1900 (*ABAW*, 1 Kl. xxiv. iii.); Taûfiq al-Bakrî, *Bait al-Siddiq* (Arabic), Cairo, 1928 A.H. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DESCARTES.—1. Life and writings.—René Descartes was born on 31st March 1596. It seems to be well established, in spite of rival claims, that the place of his birth was La Haye, in Touraine, not far from Poitiers. At eight years of age he was sent to the famous College of La Flèche, recently established by the Jesuit fathers and endowed by King Henry IV. The eight years passed at La Flèche had a profound influence on Descartes' future life, and he always spoke of his instructors with the deepest gratitude. After leaving school, young Descartes, who was provided with a moderate competency from his father, proceeded to travel, though he first of all spent some time in Paris, where he found his lifelong friend Père Mersenne, who had been seven years his senior at La Flèche. On the commencement of the Thirty Years' War, Descartes volunteered for service with Prince Maurice of Nassau, then in Holland. But, while serving as an unpaid soldier, he did not lay aside his studies, and, indeed, at this time wrote certain fragmentary works, most of which are lost, such as *Reflexions* entitled *Cogitationes Private*—discovered comparatively lately in the Library at Hanover. Amongst these early works may also be mentioned the *Compendium Musicae*, which was not intended for publication, but was brought to light after its author's death. Of those enumerated in an inventory found after Descartes' death are: (1) *Some Considerations on the Sciences*; (2) a paper on *Algebra*; (3) reflexions called *Democritica*; (4) observations entitled *Experimenta*; (5) a treatise begun under the name of *Præambula: Initium sapientiæ timor Domini*; and (6) another called *Olympica*. Descartes' biographer, Baillet, who wrote very soon after his death, mentions yet another work entitled *Studium Bonæ Mentis*, which was addressed to a friend,—very probably Mersenne,—and which was largely biographical. In the *Cogitationes* he tells of his 'conversion' in the year 1619, when with the army in its winter quarters at Neuberg, on the Danube. Smitten with remorse for sins committed, he resolved to follow after the ways of Truth, and also to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Loretto.

Descartes, on quitting Maurice's army, volunteered to serve with Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, and chief of the great Catholic League, in his warfare with Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who had been crowned at Prague in 1619. But, as far as we can judge, the young soldier was much more occupied with his speculations than with the profession which he had taken up. Indeed, it seems very doubtful whether he actually fought at the battle of Prague, which decided the Elector Frederick's fortunes. With the Elector his children fled, and, curiously enough, one of them was Elizabeth, just four years old, Descartes' future correspondent and friend. During these exciting years the events took place which are so well described in the biographical portion of the *Method*, where Descartes tells of the mental struggle through which he passed in making up his mind as to the course he was to pursue in his future life. It was at this time that he decided to sweep away the opinions which up to that time he had embraced, so that he

'might afterwards be in a position to admit either others more correct, or even perhaps the same when they had undergone the scrutiny of Reason.' 'I firmly believed,' he said, 'that in this way I should much better succeed in the conduct of my life, than if I built only upon old foundations, and leant upon principles which in my youth I had taken on trust.'

After the battle of Prague, Descartes joined the Bavarian army once more; but it was not long before he gave up military service and started upon his travels. After nine years' absence he returned to Paris, where he was accused of favouring the secret society known as the Rosicrucians. Descartes' father put him in possession of the property to which he was entitled, and he found himself in consequence in easy circumstances. He started off on further travels almost at once, and made his way to Switzerland and then to Italy, where he redeemed his promise of making a pilgrimage to Loretto. On his return journey he made scientific investigations in regard to the height of Mont Cenis. Once more he returned to Paris; and he is said to have set aside a former inclination for the gaming table, and applied himself to serious reflection. Finally, he decided to settle in Holland, where he believed peace and quiet as well as liberty of conscience were to be had.

In 1636, Descartes determined at last to publish, and the book known as *The Method of rightly conducting the Reason and seeking Truth in the Sciences* appeared, along with the *Dioptric, Meteors, and Geometry*, termed 'Essays in this Method.' It was written in French, unlike many others of his recent treatises, in order that it might be read by any of his countrymen who chose to do so. Its conclusions had long been cogitated, and they express the mature result arrived at by one who desired to know not only *what*, but also *why*, he believed. It is a simple and sincere record of personal experience, a 'Pilgrim's Progress' of the human soul. It was not the first important book written by Descartes. Of extant treatises we have the *Regulæ ad directionem ingenii*, written almost certainly during his earlier life, but left incomplete, and also a treatise called *Le Monde*, which was never published; but the *Method* has a place possessed by no other of Descartes' works in the estimation of posterity.

Descartes' next work was almost equally famous, *Meditations on the First Philosophy*. The *Meditations* is a study of Truth in its highest aspect. It is not, like the *Method*, a charming biography and philosophy of life: it is a more profound study of the facts of existence, and an exposition of Descartes' system in all its fullness. In this book he deals with the great question of Philosophic Doubt that was always in his mind, and discusses its relationship to true Knowledge. He asked for criticism, and found plenty of opposition to his views. There were in all seven formal 'Objections' collected from men distinguished in their several lines, and these 'Objections' were dealt with *seriatim* by the author.

The first 'Objection' was by Caterus, a Dutch theologian and an appreciative reader, who represented the standpoint of the Church; the second and sixth were collected from various sources, and represent the point of view of 'common sense'; the third is by Hobbes. By him, as by Gassendi, the fifth objector, we have the materialistic or 'sensational' standpoint clearly set forth, and in his reply Descartes gives an interesting exposition of the Cartesian idealism, which he opposes to that doctrine. Arnold, the fourth author of 'Objections,' on the other hand, is by no means so hostile as Hobbes and Gassendi, and to him Descartes replies with snavity and consideration. He is simply concerned about the application of Cartesian principles to the doctrines of theology and morality. His sympathies are with St. Augustine, and he holds that we must believe what we cannot know. The last 'Objections,' by the Jesuit father Bourdin, are too elaborate for us in these days to follow with interest. The 'Objections and Replies' are, however, deserving of perusal, since they present very clearly the difficulties that occur in accepting Descartes' doctrine, and the arguments that may be used in their defence.

The next treatise written by Descartes was the *Principles of Philosophy*, published in Latin in the year 1644. In this book its author enunciates the same doctrines that he set forth in the *Method* and the *Meditations*. He praises his mistress Philosophy in no stinted terms. 'Philosophy is like a

tree of which Metaphysics is the root, Physics the trunk, and all the other sciences the branches that grow out of the trunk.' But, having once more established his ground-work, he goes on to deal with the general principles of Physics, with the nature of body, the laws of motion, the phenomena of the heavens, and all pertaining thereto. He sets forth his theory of vortices, discusses the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems, and that other which he more or less favoured, the system of Tycho Brahe. He also discusses the nature of springs, tides, etc., and believes that the principles of geometry and mechanics are shown to be capable of supplying a satisfactory key to all the phenomena of Nature, and that no other principles can take their place. Descartes' theory of vortices is especially interesting. He represents the whole of the planetary system as being carried round the sun in a sort of vortex, while the various satellites of other planets move in lesser vortices within this vortex; the earth is in a sense at rest, as a man might be at rest who is in a boat. But, while expounding this possible doctrine, the writer shows the extremest caution, and guards himself against the suspicion of unorthodoxy by pointing out that he is merely describing what might be termed a 'working theory' of the world.

It must not, however, be thought that Descartes was merely a theorizer, to the neglect of practical experiments. In Amsterdam he frequently visited the butchers' shops to find material for his investigations in anatomy, and physical experiments were constantly being made by him. One notable example of the latter is to be found in the famous experiments made upon the barometric principle, on the mountain Puy-de-Dôme in Auvergne, which were carried out by Pascal and his brother-in-law Perier, but which, it seems clear, had been suggested by Descartes.

Descartes had many controversies during his residence in Holland, most of them with Protestant divines. In Utrecht, Voetius, Rector of the University, was a keen antagonist, and Regius, or Le Roy, was first of all a supporter and then an opponent. Descartes was ever ready to enter upon these controversies, but his quarrels sometimes ended happily. 'There is nothing in life sweeter than peace,' he is reported to have said; 'hatred can be useful to none; I should not refuse the friendship even of Voetius if I believed it to be offered in good faith.' A dispute with Fermat, the mathematician, was a famous one, and it was carried on by his followers after Descartes' death.

There was little romance in the philosopher's life. He was never married, though he had a child to whom he was devoted, and who died young. He had, however, a great friendship, which lasted from the year 1640, with the Princess Elizabeth, known as the 'Queen of Hearts,' daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth, daughter of James II. of England. Princess Elizabeth was then living at The Hague, where her parents held a miniature exile court with their lively family of boys and girls. Descartes' letters to the young Princess are serious in tone, and nearly all are on philosophic questions, to which Elizabeth applied her mind with the greatest strenuousness, and to good effect, for her questions are put and her criticisms are made with great discrimination and understanding. The correspondence is very interesting to students of Cartesianism.

Another friendship formed by Descartes in later life was with Queen Christina of Sweden, the daughter of the great Gustavus; and it was she who caused him to travel to Sweden, where he met his death. In 1648, Descartes had visited his native land for the last time. He was pressed to go, but when he arrived he found Paris wholly occupied with the political agitation of the Fronde; and all he could say of those who invited him was that he 'would regard them as friends who had bidden him to dine with them, and when he arrived he found their kitchen in disorder and their saucapans upset.' When Queen Christina's invitation to Sweden arrived through the French Ambassador Chanut, Descartes' inclination was to refuse it, lest misfortune should befall him in this expedition also. However, Queen Christina was very pressing, and Descartes' admiration for her was unbounded, so that at length he consented to take the long journey. First of all, however, he had to see that his latest book, the *Passions of the Soul*, which was written to prove that all the

various psychological manifestations may be rationally explained by purely mechanical causes, was safely placed for publication in Elzevir's hands. Then he left the 'dear solitude of Egmont' for his new home. But his days in Stockholm were destined to be short. The exigent young Queen was not only occupied in endeavouring to establish an Academy of which she intended to make Descartes director, but she also desired to be instructed in philosophy at five o'clock in the morning, and Descartes was in the habit of meditating in bed until late in the day. The result was what might have been anticipated in a bitterly cold climate. He fell ill of an inflammation of the lungs after nursing his friend Chanut through the same illness, and he died on 11th February 1650, at the age of fifty-four. He was buried at Stockholm, but later on, in 1666, his body was removed with considerable difficulty to Paris and laid in the church of Ste. Geneviève du Mont. In 1819 the remains were removed to the church of St. Germain-des-Près, where they now are. Descartes died in the faith of his forefathers, but it was not long before serious suspicion fell upon his teaching, and his works were placed upon the Index. Cler-seller, his friend and one of the translators of his works, who after Descartes' death wrote a panegyric on his virtues, records that amongst his last words were these: 'My soul, thou hast long been held captive; the hour has now come for thee to quit thy prison, to leave the trammels of this body; suffer then this separation with joy and courage.'

In addition to the works mentioned above, there was published after his death an unfinished work entitled *La Recherche de la vérité par la lumière de la nature*, an interesting dialogue upon Cartesian principles between three friends in a country house. Another very short work is his *Notæ in Programma*, which was written in refutation of his opponent Regius (Le Roy).

2. *System of philosophy.*—It is true in more than a traditional sense that Descartes is the father of Modern Philosophy, for in him the modern spirit came into existence. His was an age when men were confronted with the new conception of Nature and of man, and were led to new methods of investigation. The great upheaval which we call the Reformation brought about a form of individualism which ended in a reaction against the new standards—judged to be as arbitrary as the old. But the real work of the Reformation had already been brought about in Protestant and in Roman Catholic alike. Man learned to be himself, and was no longer restrained by artificial bonds. The spirit of investigation was everywhere, all phenomena of Nature were of interest, and all men tried to obtain exact knowledge, and thereby to strengthen their powers of originality and self-reliance. The 17th century—the century in which Descartes lived—was the period in which science became a reality, and in which the scientific spirit became the spirit of the land. Historically, too, it was a time of turmoil and change. A career of bloodshed on the part of the House of Valois had been ended by the assassination of Henry III., and on the accession of Henry IV. religious warfare was brought to a conclusion: his death was an inexpressible loss to the French nation.

Descartes' work in the midst of this time of unrest and ferment was that of a great systematizer. He took all those new ideas that had come into being and endeavoured to bring them into a definite, concrete, and comprehensible system. In rejecting the old dogmas of the Schools, the New Learning came to provide something better able to satisfy the inquiring mind; it brought with it certainty of its own results. The world had become of infinite importance and interest, and it was necessary that the knowledge of it, and also the knowledge of man, should be certain and definite. The problem, then, that Descartes had to deal with was how to work out a system which should reconcile two sides, now come into prominence—the spiritual and the physical, the soul and the body, the point of view of orthodoxy and the point of view of science; and it is because this is a modern question which is before us even in the present day that the Cartesian philosophy is a modern philosophy. Descartes' attempt to bring about this reconciliation was the first of many on

similar lines. His object was to arrive at certainty—a certainty which he believed could be reached only by following definite rules laid down by his *Method*, and by beginning with the Doubt which is the absolute essential before any successful quest after Truth is made—'de omnibus dubitandum est,' as he expresses it. This doubt must be applied to all those inherited traditions and beliefs which form, to his mind, a mass of incongruous opinions; we must ruthlessly reject what cannot be justified to ourselves as truth; we must free ourselves from all prejudice and uncertainty. And yet this philosophic doubt is in nowise scepticism, but the doubt that precedes true knowledge.

Descartes' system of philosophy was thus, above all, a method, and the interesting thing about this method is that it presented itself to him as his life-history might. The order of his experiences was simply the order of his method writ large. This is what makes the immortal little book called by the name of the *Method* a masterpiece of spiritual biography, as an account of moral and mental development, as it is also a masterpiece of direct and simple style. It was in his quiet room, in that cold winter with the army on the Danube, that Descartes first awoke to the fact that man is not to seek happiness here or there, for it is only to be found within him. The world and he, the spirit and the body, mind and matter, are really one. Traditions, hypotheses, assumptions of all kinds should go, and we must build again from the foundation. This may sound easy, but nothing is more difficult, and in Descartes' opinion there are only a few who should undertake the task, and those who do so must be modest and ready to accept with humility what is given them. He then states certain rules to be followed—rules which simply make for accuracy and thoroughness of thought: 'Do not accept what is not clearly known, divide your difficulties into parts so far as possible, work your way up from the easy to the more complicated—above all, omit nothing.' Such rules would seem to be rules of common sense, but they mean an accuracy of method such as no immediately preceding philosophic thinkers had dreamed of as necessary.

Knowing at last what his method of science must be, Descartes boldly attacks the great question of the foundation on which thought is based. On what does all this reasoning rest? It rests on the knowledge of self. One proposition alone cannot be doubted by man, and that is that he exists, inferred from the fact that he possesses consciousness—*Cogito ergo sum*, as he puts it in his immortal phrase. Descartes saw clearly that in order to think he must exist. His philosophy turned on the fact of his personal existence. The senses may indeed mislead us, and we cannot place absolute confidence in what has even sometimes deceived us; but, however much I may have been deceived, the fact remains that I am—I as a thinking being.

'I had the persuasion that there was absolutely nothing in the world, that there was no sky, no earth, neither minds, nor bodies; was I not, therefore, at the same time persuaded that I did not exist? Far from it; I assuredly existed, since I was persuaded. But there is I know not what being, who is possessed at once of the highest power and the deepest cunning, who is constantly employing all his ingenuity in deceiving me. Doubtless, then, I exist, since I am deceived, and let him deceive me as he may, he can never bring it about that I am nothing, so long as I shall be conscious that I am something.'

This is clearly a great step forward; it signifies that a new phase in philosophy has been entered on, a change of front as great as the Kantian transformation of a later date, which in a measure it foreshadows. 'I think' is present in all our ideas and even in doubt itself. We are brought back from the external and unrelated facts of consciousness to the basis of Truth on which all

other truth is founded. We have arrived at the conception of thought as the groundwork of all knowledge. Further on in the *Meditations* he says that in thought is found that which properly belongs to the self.

'This is alone inseparable from me. I am—I exist; this is certain; but how often? As often as I think; for perhaps it would even happen, if I should wholly cease to think, that I should at the same time cease to be. I now admit nothing that is not necessarily true; I am, therefore, precisely speaking, only a thinking being, that is, a mind understanding a reason—terms whose signification was before unknown to me.'

In this we have a firm foundation on which we can build, setting aside the old disputations of the Schools as to 'substances' and 'qualities.' Understanding or reason is for the first time made the basis in a philosophic comprehension of the world as it presents itself to us. Descartes says that the outside world is not perceived in its true signification by the senses or imagination, but by the mind alone.

'They [outside things] are not perceived,' he says, 'because they are seen and touched, but only because they are understood,' that is, rightly comprehended by thought. 'I readily discover,' he goes on, 'that there is nothing more clearly apprehended than my own mind.'

Having got so far, he goes on to apply his method; he shows how, when the mind is cleared of all preconceived notions and prejudices, what is known must be known clearly and distinctly. This signifies that we must now apply ourselves to making our knowledge absolutely certain, so that we may be sure that we are ascertaining what is truth.

'I am certain that I am a thinking thing, but do I not therefore know what is required to render me certain of a truth? In the first knowledge there is nothing that gives me assurance of its truth except the clear and distinct perception of what I affirm, which would not indeed be sufficient to give me assurance that what I say is true, if it could ever happen that anything I thus clearly and distinctly perceived should prove false, and, accordingly, it seems to me that I may now take as a general rule, that all that is very clearly and distinctly apprehended is true.'

With the attitude of doubt the so-called secondary qualities, dependent as they are on the relations of one object to another and to the sentient subject, are naturally first brought under the ban of criticism. These qualities do not appear to be fixed in any object. What remains secure is, however, what possesses the two attributes of extension and capacity of motion; and hence Descartes appeals to the truths of the mathematical sciences. Even they, however, might be false; some malevolent being may be all the while deceiving us in what we accept as truth. Hence we must reject even these apparent truths and fall back upon our own minds. Here again we find modes of consciousness in feeling, willing, imagining, etc., 'so that I must also abstract from these and concentrate upon myself as I am, without borrowing in any way from elsewhere.' In this way we reach Descartes' thinking substance, which, as he points out, is present and is affirmed, even as it denies or doubts; and on the other hand we have the external object as extension.

Descartes maintains that amongst the ideas that are clear and distinct we must recognize that of God as a Perfect Being of whom we have a clear and distinct conception. The idea of God cannot, he says, be derived from our limited existence; its origin must be in one who contains all in Himself. From the idea of perfection he infers the existence of it in God as its originator. The idea of perfection involves existence; and this is the so-called ontological argument which is so frequently brought forward by later philosophers. But, if such a God exists, we have a guarantee that we cannot be deceived, for such a perfect Being could not deceive us, and therefore we may accept the teaching of our consciousness. The errors of the atheists—no small class at the time, if Mersenne is to be believed—are by Descartes said to be due to their

anthropological ways of looking at God, and to their forgetting the fact that, while men's minds are finite, God is infinite.

It is thus evident that Descartes considered that in his essence man is a thinking and unextended being who has a clear and distinct idea of body as an extended and unthinking thing, and thus that man as mind is absolutely distinct from body, and may exist without it. It is this dualistic conception of mind and body that constitutes the difficulty in forming any adequate conception of the universe according to Cartesian principles. The question arises as to how we can possibly reconcile the two sides—the outside world, or extension, as Descartes called it, on the one hand, and intelligence, or Thought, on the other—for the qualities of the object are reduced to bare extension, and those of the subject to bare thought. As a matter of fact, Descartes introduced this new view of the outside world as extended, that is, as that which occupies space and has length, breadth, and depth; and it was to this extension that he applied the mathematical reasoning for which his name is famous. And confronting it we have the Intelligence, Thought, or Reason which apprehends this external matter. This is also a profound philosophic conception. But the difficulty comes when we try to explain how the one side acts upon the other. We have before us two entities, one of which is passive and inert, and yet is acted on by a unifying intelligence endowing it with those relationships which make it comprehensible by us; while, on the other hand, we have the mind, which is wholly immaterial and spiritual. How is the transference effected from the natural to the spiritual? How does the physical action convey anything to the perceiving mind? Doubtless there was in Descartes' mind a solution of the difficulty. He would have considered that there is a unity to be found in thought; but, if this is so, the idea is by no means clearly worked out. Indeed we have but intimations of it which are only comprehended in the light of later developments in thought. The mind is conscious of the infinite as having in it more reality than the finite substance.

'Our consciousness of God is prior to our consciousness of self. For how could we doubt or desire, how could we be conscious that anything is wanting to us, and that we are not altogether perfect, if we had not in ourselves the idea of a Perfect Being in comparison with whom we recognize the defects of our nature?'

Though there is no doubt that Descartes' system was a dualistic one, the progress made by him in his search after truth was immense. He took knowledge as the one great and important fact, and sought out its elements as best he could. He played a notable part in the great discovery which meant so much in his age, that the world is governed by law. It has been said of him that 'he established liberty of mind and sovereignty of reason.' In his writings he brought the whole of Nature within the reign of law, and showed how both the starry heavens and the earth beneath are governed by the same inevitable physical law. He showed also how such views are consistent with a philosophic outlook. Perhaps one of his greatest claims to our gratitude rests on his work in Mathematics (see below), that is to say, not in his well-known discoveries in Geometry and in the development of the application of Algebra to the solution of Geometrical problems, important as these might be, but, in the large sense of the term, in his scientific work; for Mathematics in those days included all the immense amount of work done in the direction of Physics, Astronomy, Optics, Physiology, and the other branches of science. Descartes was not an investigator of the type of the present day—a patient observer of a mass of phenomena from whose careful examination

some results might be deduced. He had his theories well defined before he began his work, and laid them down in what we should consider a dogmatic fashion. But, this granted, he applied himself to examine man in all his aspects. In Physiology, for instance, he forms his theory, and then enunciates it, explaining how the human body might be and might act. A great deal—indeed most—of what he tells us about the physiology of the body, though very interesting and in a degree enlightening, is not correct in the view of later investigation. But then Descartes has the credit of maintaining the theory of the body as a machine, a very complicated machine of course, but one which acts as a machine. He narrated what he knew to be true about the machine, and also what he considered was probably true, and formed the whole into a system which was perfectly clear and intelligible to those who had only the facts presented before them. In our view, many of these 'facts,' both physical and physiological, are to the last degree absurd, but still it was better to have a comprehensible theory such as he gives than nothing at all. That is to say, it was better to have a principle capable of verification or subsequent alteration than to remain in the confusion of the theories of the day. He pictured a physical world in which everything was explained—springs, rivers, mines, metals, seas—sometimes explaining facts that were not facts at all. He also pictured, in his works *de Homine* and *La Formation du fœtus*, a wonderful machine-man carrying on all the processes of digestion, circulation, growth, sleep, etc., and endowed with sense-perception and ideas, memories and passions, just as though it were a complicated clock. To him to know the beginning of things, and the laws that govern action, was to know the whole, for the operation of physical law, once set in motion, can clearly explain the rest. This same principle is to be found in the most advanced theories of the day, as Huxley, in writing on the automatism of animals, tells us. Huxley declares that Descartes' physiology, like the modern physiology of which it anticipates the spirit, leads straight to materialism. On the other hand, by the fact that it is based on conscious thought, it is as true to say that it leads us directly to the idealism of Berkeley and Kant. As a matter of fact, we see, by the way in which the Cartesian philosophy developed, that, if in the one direction it made for a materialistic system, in the other it brought about the conclusion that all the knowledge we can have is a knowledge of our states of consciousness. But the first step taken was that represented by the pantheism of Spinoza. The Infinite alone is affirmative, the finite only is in so far as it is not; and so we are led on to the denial of the finite, and then the absolute unity swallows up all difference in itself.

In his last published treatise, the *Passions de l'âme*, Descartes shows how the various psychological manifestations may be explained by purely mechanical means. He sets forth there the differences between soul and body; thought pertains to soul, and heat to body. The soul cannot give heat to the body, or we should not have death: a dead man, in Descartes' view, is just a broken watch. After explaining how this wonderful machine, when wound up, acts, he considers the thought pertaining to the soul, i.e. the actions of our will which directly proceed from and depend on it, and the passions which are the various kinds of perception found in us. 'The soul from its seat in the gland in the middle of the brain spreads abroad throughout the body by means of the spirits, nerves, and even blood, which, fast, participating in the impressions of the spirits, can carry them by the arteries into all the members.'

If the image which is unified in the gland inspires fear, and has relation to what has formerly been hurtful to the body, the passion of fear is aroused, and then the passions of courage and the reverse, according to the temperament of the body, or strength of the soul. Passions are thus caused by the movement of the 'spirits,' and bring with them certain movements of the body. The will, however, unlike the passions, is always free; the action or will of the soul can only be indirectly affected by the body, while the passions depend absolutely on the actions which bring them about, and are only indirectly affected by the soul, excepting when it is itself their cause. The soul, however feeble, may indeed obtain absolute power over the passions, although with difficulty. The reason may give us a just appreciation of the value of good and evil, and our good judgment regarding them enables us to resist the influence of our passions. 'If we clearly saw that what we are doing is wrong,' he says in the same book, 'it would be impossible for us to sin, so long as we saw it in that light.' Will and intellect must be united in the perfect man, as they are united in God. Here also we are met with the unexplained difficulty as to the action of mind on matter. How the movement of the passions can be altered by reason is a question which is not answered.

[3. Services to Mathematics.—From the time of the Greeks until that of Descartes, practically no new results had been obtained in Geometry, though Algebra had been greatly advanced, notably by Cardan and Vieta. Descartes made great progress in Algebra, and gave new life to Geometry by the introduction of the powerful analytical method.

Descartes was not the first to realize that a curve might be defined as the locus of a point whose distances from two given straight lines are connected by some known law, but he was the first to see that the points in a plane are completely determined by their co-ordinates and conversely. This was largely due to the introduction of negative co-ordinates. As a necessary consequence, he saw that several curves might be drawn with the same axes, and their intersection found algebraically. After this, their tangents were easily determined, though Descartes' own method was indirect, and applicable only to curves with an axis of symmetry. On this axis he found the centre of a circle touching the curve at any given point, and then found the tangent to the circle at the point of contact. He defines the tangent as the limiting position of the secant.

Descartes classifies curves according to the relation of the velocities of the lines moving parallel to the axes, by whose intersection he conceives the curves as generated. If these velocities are 'commensurable' (i.e. if y is an algebraical function of x as in conics), the curve is 'geometrical'; if not (as in the cycloid), it is 'mechanical.' This is roughly equivalent to the Newtonian division into algebraic and transcendental curves. In order further to classify the 'geometrical' curves he discusses a problem, due to Pappus, which may roughly be enunciated as follows: 'To find the locus of a point the product of whose perpendiculars on m straight lines is proportional to that on n others.' Where $m=n-1$ we have a straight line, where $m=3$, $n=1$, a parabola. This was known to the ancients, who had also conjectured that $m=n-2$ gave a conic. Descartes classed curves where neither m nor n exceeds 2 as of the first genre; where neither exceeds 4, as of the second genre, and so on. Thus one genre corresponds to two of our degrees. He also discussed curves which are the loci of a point whose distances from the fixed points are interdependent, in particular the Cartesian ovals, where the product of the distances is constant.

The foregoing work is found in the first two books of the *Geométrie*; the third book is algebraic. It is important as introducing our modern index-notation, and the use of the last letters of the alphabet for variables (Vieta had used the vowels), and the first for constants. Descartes also used negative quantities and indeterminate co-efficients freely, and was the first to realize the advantage of taking all the terms of an equation to one side. The book is mainly occupied with the theory of equations. It shows how to construct an equation with given roots, to determine from the signs of the co-efficient a limit to the number of positive and negative roots, to increase or multiply the roots of a given equation by a given quantity, to eliminate its second term, and so on. It is proved that the number of roots of an equation is equal to its degree. Solutions of cubic and quartic equations are given, and Descartes believed that his method could be extended to those of higher degrees.

Descartes' Mechanics is largely inaccurate, but very suggestive, being the first systematic account of the universe on mathematical principles. Of his ten Laws of Motion the first

two correspond to Newton's first Law, while the other eight are incorrect. But, by his recognition of the mutual independence of the resolved velocities of a moving particle, he rendered invaluable service to Dynamics.

His work is throughout characterized by great originality and boldness of thought. It is generally in a condensed form, and meant rather to be suggestive than rigidly logical, but it is none the less important as the foundation of all modern Mathematics.—J. B. S. HALDANE.]

LITERATURE.—The tercentenary of Descartes' birth was celebrated at the Sorbonne on 31st March 1896, and in the beginning of the following year arrangements were made for issuing a new edition of his works under the direction of Charles Adam and Paul Tannery (Léopold Cerf). This admirable work is now completed, though not in the lifetime of Tannery. In it we have, as far as possible, a complete edition of Descartes' works in the form in which they were written, and with his invaluable correspondence carefully edited and arranged. The final volume is a biography by M. Adam, *Descartes, sa vie et ses œuvres*, 1910. The early editions of the collected works were two Latin texts—one by Elzevir in 9 vols., Amsterdam, 1713, another published in 7 vols. at Frankfurt, 1697. Then there is Cousin's Fr. ed. in 11 vols., Paris, 1824-26. This includes the correspondence. The main source of our information about Descartes' life comes from the *Vie de Descartes*, written by Baillet in 1691 in two large vols.; of this a short abridgment was made, and issued in English in 1692. A modern life of Descartes (*Descartes, his Life and Times*) was published, London, 1905, by Elizabeth S. Haldane. Foucher de Careil published various manuscripts which he discovered in the Library at Hanover. The *Method, Meditations*, and part of the *Principles* were translated into English by J. Veitch, London, 1879, and an Eng. ed. of Descartes' Philosophical Works by E. S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross has been issued (1911) by the Cambridge University Press.

The literature on Descartes and Cartesianism is enormous; the following works may be mentioned: J. Millet, *Hist. de Descartes avant 1637*, and *depuis 1637*, Paris, 1867-1870; F. Bouillier, *Hist. de la philos. cartés.*, Paris, 1864; A. Foucher de Careil, *Descartes et la princesse Palatine*, Paris, 1862; also *Descartes, la princesse Elisabeth et la reine Christine*, Paris, 1879; J. P. Mahaffy, *Descartes*, in Blackwood's Philosophical Classics, 1880; N. Smith, *Studies in Cartesian Philosophy*, London, 1903; Alfred Fouillée, *Descartes*, Paris, 1903; Louis Liard, *Descartes*, Paris, 1882; see also the various *Histories of Philosophy*, such as that of Kuno Fischer (Eng. tr., London, 1887); E. Caird, art. 'Cartesianism,' in *EBR*; J. Iverach, *Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy*, Edin. 1904; Huxley deals with Descartes' teaching in his *Lay Sermons*, London, 1877, and elsewhere. E. S. HALDANE.

DESCENT TO HADES (Ethnic).—1. Introductory.—Myths or legends of visits paid by mortals or immortals to the under world for some definite purpose are of common occurrence, and some are of remote origin. They are intimately connected with primitive and savage man's ideas of death and of the dead, joined to his affection for those who have been severed from him by death.

Before a separate abode of the dead was imagined, and while yet they were believed to exist in the grave or to hover round their old haunts, a living man saw—in dreams, in trances, or in hallucinations—the dead, and believed that they had come to him, or that his spirit had gone forth to join them for a time. So, when a separate land of the dead became an article of primitive belief, men believed that they visited that land in dreams or trances, or those who had been given up for dead but had revived told how they had been to the Other-world and had been permitted to return and resume their earthly life. Preconceived notions of the nature and scenery of that world coloured such dreams, but these in turn gave support or added to current ideas regarding it. There was nothing improbable in such dream or trance visits, since the nature of death is never really comprehended by savages, and the division between life and death is slight, universal folk-belief telling of the restoration to life of the dead or dismembered (see *CF*, chs. iii. iv.).¹

But, in considering the origin of mythic descents to Hades, primitive and savage affection for the dead must also be taken into account. Generally the savage fears the dead or their spirits, but in individual cases affection often overcomes fear,

¹ Cf. also the myths of Attis, Zagreus, Osiris, etc.

and gives rise to the wish to see and commune with them. Hence it also influences the dreams of the living. And, the division between life and death being slight to the primitive mind, while it was also believed that the soul of the dying or recently dead could be recalled, affection would easily suggest that, if men could go in dreams to the Other-world, they might go there in their waking state to rescue the dead. From possibility to fact, from the 'might be' to the 'had been,' was an easy step to the primitive mind. Thus accounts of visions of the Other-world easily passed into tales of visits there, because in dreams the savage believes not merely that he is a passive witness, but that his soul is projected from his body and actually goes to the place of which he has a vision. Stories of actual journeys to Hades to bring back a dead wife, lover, or friend were perfectly credible, because generally the entrance to it was well known or had a local situation, though the road was often difficult and dangerous.

Examples of such ways or entrances are copious in Polynesian and Melanesian belief, and there are also W. African, Eskimo, and Ainu instances. In Italy and Greece there were many local entrances to Hades—some of them the scene of mythical descents. Medieval Christianity also knew several entrances to purgatory or hell, e.g. volcanoes like Etna (cf. *Tert. de Penit.* 12); the cave in an island of Lough Dearg in Ireland, known as St. Patrick's Purgatory; the 'vale perilous' in the kingdom of Prester John, etc.; and the belief is found in Brittany, where it is thought that hell can be reached by a journey (Le Braz, *Légende de la mort*, Paris, 1902, i. pp. xxx, xxxix). Cf. also local entrances to a subterranean fairy-land.

Dream or trance visits were probably the first subjects of story or myth,¹ but they must soon have been succeeded by tales of actual descent. Other motives besides the rescuing of, or speaking to, the dead (doubtless suggested by these) are found—to seek a boon, or to satisfy curiosity—while in some of the higher religions the object occasionally is to enlighten the dead or to free them from torment. In early times, as in actual savage life, there must have been many stories of visits to Hades by named, but more frequently by unnamed, heroes or heroines. But, with the advance of religious ideas, the stories were usually told of semi-divine heroes or divinities, as many examples show (see below). All such stories and myths of descent are paralleled by similar tales of ascent to a heavenly region (see BLEST, *ABODE OF THE [Primitive and Savage]*, § 8; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, 1891, p. 224 f.; Scott, *Demon. and Witchcraft*, ed. 1898, p. 29; Görres, *Die christl. Mystik*, 1842, bk. v. ch. 5).

Tylor (li. 43) maintains that descent to Hades was suggested to 'the ancient myth-maker, who watched the sun descend to the dark under world, and return at dawn to the land of living men.' But, though this natural phenomenon may have coloured later myths, it was rather man's dream experiences which suggested the tales. Some writers connect the myths of *Lilith* and *Tammuz*, of *Dionysos* and *Semele*, of *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*, with the myth and ritual of the death and revival of a divinity of vegetation, fertility, etc., and find their origin in these. J. E. Harrison (*Prolegomena to Study of Greek Religion*, Camb. 1903, p. 603) says: 'Anyone who realizes Orpheus [whom she regards as a historical personage] at all would feel that the intrusion of desperate emotion puts him out of key. Semele, the green earth, comes up from below, year by year; with her comes her son Dionysos, and by a certain instinct of chivalry men said he had gone to fetch her. The mantle of Dionysos descends on Orpheus' (cf. also *CGS* li. 861; Tiele, *Actes du VIII^e Congrès intern. des Orient.* li. 1. 495). This is to reverse the order of things. Precisely similar tales are told elsewhere of personages in no way connected with vegetation, while *Eurydice*, unlike *Semele*, does not rise again. Such tales doubtless existed in Babylonia and Greece, and they would easily become part of, and give precise form to, the myths of vegetation-divinities who were thought to die and come to life again. But it is certain that the latter belief did not originate the tales themselves. For another theory connecting them with supposed death and renewal in rites of initiation, see Van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909, p. 131.

2. Dream or trance visits.—Cataplexy and trance are hardly distinguishable by the savage from death. Hence those who revive from them are

¹ In Jewish and Christian legend both Hades and Heaven are often visited or seen in vision.

thought to have died and come to life again; and, in many cases, their minds being haunted by the current ideas of Hades, they relate as actual visits of the soul there what has been experienced in dream (Tylor, ii. 43). Such trance visits of the apparently dead are also known at higher levels, where detailed stories of the visit—all greatly alike—are told (Plato, *Rep.* x.; Pliny, *HN* vii. 52; Aston, *Shinto*, 1905, p. 181; Scherman, *Gesch. der ind. Visionslitt.*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 91 ff.; Aug. de *Cura pro mortuis*, 12; Greg. the Great, *Dial.* iv. 36). Or the dream experiences may occur in ordinary sleep, or accompany the hallucinations of illness. In some cases they have assumed the stereotyped form of a folk-tale. A Maori woman told, on returning to consciousness, how her spirit descended to *Reinga*, the place of the dead, exactly like this world. Her father's spirit commanded her to return and look after her child, and to beware of eating the food of *Reinga*. She was pursued, on leaving, by two spirits, but escaped them by throwing down a root which they stayed to eat. Then her spirit rejoined her body (Shortland, *Trad. and Sup. of the N. Zealanders*, 1856, p. 150; for another tale see his *Maori Rel. and Myth.*, 1882, p. 45). In a story from the Hervey Islands the spirit of a man apparently dead descends to Hades, but by a stratagem he escapes being eaten by the hag Miru, its ruler, who bids him return to earth (Gill, *Myths and Songs of the S. Pacific*, 1876, p. 172). In a Japanese story Ono-no-Kimi died and went to Hades, but was sent back by its ruler because his allotted time was not exhausted (Hearn, *Unfamiliar Japan*, 1894, i. 68). Many stories of dream visits to the land of the dead are found among the American Indians, with elaborate descriptions of that land, based on current beliefs, and telling of the dangers of the way, the narrow bridge spanning the river of death, and the life of the spirits (Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tribes*, Philad. 1853-6, iii. 233; Tanner, *Captivity and Adventures*, N.Y. 1830, p. 290, etc.).

Savage medicine-men very commonly claim the power of sending their spirits during a trance into the under world. Thus the Eskimo *angekok* is securely bound and, during a dark séance, visits the *torngak*, or spirit, in Hades. He then appears unbound and gives an account of his visit (Crantz, *Hist. of Greenland*, 1820, p. 269). In Melanesia a wizard sent his soul during a trance to *Panoi* (Hades), where it spoke with the dead about whom their friends were anxious, and professed to be able to bring them back to earth. This is a common belief in all the islands of the group. Burlesque parodies of these and other tales of descent exist (Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 277). Sorcerers in Borneo who have visited the under world will show a piece of wood or stone given them by the spirits there (*L'Anthrop.*, Paris, x. [1899] 728; cf. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, vol. i. p. 429*). Among the Karens, necromancers claim the power of going into the unseen world to bring back the *la*, or soul, of a sick man when it has wandered away (Mason, *JASBe* xxxiv. 201). In Siberia the shaman is supposed to conduct the souls of the dead to the lower world and there secure for them a favourable welcome by gifts of brandy (Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig, 1884, ii. 52 f.). For a Chinook instance of the souls of shamans visiting Hades to recover the soul of a sick man, see CHINOOKS, vol. iii. p. 562.

Visions of Hades were doubtless known to the ancient world, and they may have suggested an artificial introduction of them for religious or other ends. Thus, at the sanctuary and cave of Trophonius in Lebadeia, the inquirer, after a due ritual, descended to an underground region, where he was perhaps shown scenic representations of

Hades, or, under the influence of mephitic vapours or narcotics, fell into a trance and experienced in dream what he deemed to be realities. These experiences, to judge from the vision of Timarchos, were visions of the Other-world, of Tartarus and Elysium (Plutarch, *de Gen. Socr.* 21 ff.; Paus. ix. 39. 5 ff.). But a literary use was also made of tales of such dream experiences, and there are many accounts of descents to Hades or visions of the Other-world, e.g. the visit of Odysseus, Plutarch's stories of Thespesius and Antyllus (*de Tard. Just. Div.*; Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* xi. 36), the visit of Aeneas, Lucian's story of Cleodemus (*Philops.* 25), as well as burlesque accounts of descents to Hades—that of Dionysos in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, and that of Menippus told by Lucian (see also Rohde, *Peyche*, Freiburg, 1894, p. 289). The scenes of Hades, as described in Homer, were reproduced by Polygnotus on the walls of the Lesche at Delphi (Paus. x. 28. 4).

A late Egyptian demotic papyrus of the 1st cent. A.D., but probably representing a story of far earlier date, tells how the high priest of Memphis, Setne Khamas (c. 1250 B.C.), descended, under the guidance of his son, Si-Osiri, to the *Tl* or *Duat*, where he saw the judgment of souls and the various halls of Amenti, or Hades, and the state of the dead there (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, p. 45 ff.). In Hinduism and Buddhism there are many stories of visions of hell or of visits paid there, perhaps based on actual visions induced by meditation and asceticism, and shaped in accordance with the current dogmatic beliefs. They served to buttress the latter, and were perhaps regarded as reminiscences of actual experiences in a previous existence. In other instances they are told of people who fell into a trance, or whose souls were summoned too soon to the Other-world and were then permitted to return to the body (Scherman, 91 ff.). In later Parsiism the *Book of Ardā Wirāf* (ed. Haug and West, Bombay, 1872) relates how this pious Parsi priest was selected by lot to take a narcotic, so that his soul might go, while he was still alive, from this world to the next and bring back a report of the fate of souls. The bliss of the righteous and the tortures of the wicked are described in detail, and the book is still read and firmly believed in by all classes of the Zoroastrian community. Several editions of it exist in both prose and verse. In later Judaism the authors of such works as the *Book of Enoch* (ed. Charles, Oxford, 1893) and the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (do. 1896) describe visits to Sheol and to the various heavens, with their different divisions for the righteous and the wicked. There can be no doubt that most of these narratives, especially where they describe the punishments of sinners and the bliss of the righteous, served the purpose of teaching a dogmatic eschatology and of urging men to live righteously.

The same phenomena are met with in the history of Christianity. There are records of genuine visions of the Other-world such as have been experienced by the devout or imaginative in all ages, and based on recollection of what had been heard or read, as Tertullian shows of a female visionary known to him (*de Anima*, 9). Of such a class are the visions of SS. Perpetua and Saturus, with their reminiscences of passages in canonical or apocryphal Scriptures (Robinson, *Passion of S. Perp.* [TS, Cambridge, 1892, i. pt. 2]). But there are also innumerable literary versions of visionary or actual visits to hell, purgatory, and paradise, perhaps based on these, but in many cases borrowing from pagan or Jewish sources. This is most marked in the description of the various divisions of Hades (found in Egyptian, Oriental, and Jewish instances), and in the frequent mention

of the narrow and dangerous bridge of the under world, an early instance of which occurs in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (iv. 36; see also art. BRIDGE). The prototype of all these visions, to which Dante gave immortal form, is found in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (c. A.D. 100-150), on which many later visions are based. These stories (which, with wearisome iteration, tell how the seer or visitor or, in some cases, the soul of the dead person raised to life by an apostle or saint¹ was led through the regions of torment, of purgatory, or of paradise) were highly popular in the Middle Ages, when there existed a passionate desire for exact details of the Other-world, and they were used to enforce dogmatic teaching. But they were burlesqued as early as the 11th cent., and also in later times in the *fabliaux*, by the troubadours, and by Rabelais, who helped to discredit them (Wright, *S. Patrick's Purgatory*, 1844, p. 47; Lecky, *Hist. of Europ. Morals*, 1890, ii. 232; Rabelais, bk. ii. ch. 30). Their scenes were also reproduced by art, e.g. on the walls of ancient Greek churches, just as Dante's poem affected Italian painting from the time of Oragna onwards (see Heuzey, 'Les Supplices de l'Enfer d'après les peintures byzantines', *Ann. de l'assoc. pour l'encourag. des études grecques*, Paris, 1871, p. 114 ff.). The cave of Trophonius had also its double in the Irish St. Patrick's purgatory, exploited from at least the 12th or 13th century. After ritual preparation, the pilgrim was allowed to enter, and, in the windings of the cavern, under the influence of its hot vapours, he fell asleep. In most cases his dreams took the form of preconceived notions of purgatory, but this was not always the case, and sometimes the pilgrim perished in the cavern (Wright, 139, 153, 135). Possibly some scenic representations may have been used, and there seems to have been actual bodily experience of pains and torments which remitted some of the future penalties. Several literary accounts of visits and visions at this famous spot, beginning with that of the descent of Owain in 1153 by Henry of Sawtre (of which English and French versions exist [D. Laing, *Owain Miles*, Edin. 1837; Marie de France, *Poésies*, ed. Roquefort, Paris, 1820, vol. ii.]), had a great vogue in Europe.

In the Norse Elder Edda the 11th or 12th cent. *Sólarlódh*, ascribed to Sæmundr, describes a son's vision of his dead father, who tells him of his death, and how he at last reached the place of torment, and saw the tortures inflicted there on various classes of sinners. Then he describes the joys of heaven. Pagan and Christian ideas are curiously intermingled, as if the poet had held the two faiths at once, or was a heathen with glimpses of Christianity (Vigfusson-Powell, *Corp. Poet. Boreale*, Oxford, 1883, i. 202 ff.).

3. Descent to rescue a dead relative.—This series of stories is one of the most pathetic in all mythology, showing man's instinctive belief that love is stronger than death, while the savage examples are quite as touching as those from higher levels. Of the savage legends, the most numerous versions occur among the Amer. Indians, Polynesians, and Melanesians.

A Wyandot story tells of a brother who went to the land of souls to recover his sister. He met an old man, who gave him a calabash in which to put her spirit. After some failures he captured her, and hastened back to earth. There he summoned his friends to witness the revival of the dead body, but a woman opened the calabash, and the spirit flew back to the land of souls (Schoolcraft, i. 236). There are numerous variants of this tale, and generally, through curiosity or the breaking of a tabu, the soul escapes (see Dorman, *Prim. Superst.*, Philad. 1881, p. 43; Laftau, *Mœurs des Sauv. amér.*, 1724, i. 402; Charencey, *Le Folklore dans les deux mondes*, Paris, 1894, p. 286 ff.; *N.R.* iii. 580 t.; Buxton, *ABODE OF THE (Prim. and Savage)*, vol. ii. p. 685^b). In

some cases a woman's spirit is allowed to return to her husband without his visiting the land of souls, but again he loses her, or he himself dies through breaking a tabu (*REBEW* [1883] 103; *N.R.* iii. 531).² Tales of the latter class are analogous to those of the Dead Mother or Wife cycle (*CE*, p. 42 f.; Sandys' tr. of Ovid's *Metam.*, Oxford, 1632, p. 364; cf. the Maori tale, § 2 above). In a Polynesian tale a woman fell into *Avaiki*, or Hades, and her husband descended to release her from the captivity of the spirits. He heard her crying in the hut where she was imprisoned, and, going to her, bade her escape. He remained, imitating her voice, and then died. The spirits pursued, but he, catching his wife in his arms at the chasm which led up to earth, escaped with her just in time (Gill, 221 ff.). A beautiful Maori story tells of Pané, who died of love for Hutu. Hutu prayed to the gods, who showed him the way to *Reinga*, telling him not to touch the food offered him there. He amused the spirits by making them sit on the top of a tree fastened by a rope to the ground. When the rope was let go, they were shot up into the air. Finally, Pané appeared, and took her place by Hutu's side on the tree. When the rope was freed, it caught in the creepers far above, up which Hutu escaped with her to earth (Clarke, *Maori Tales*, 1896, p. 1 ff.; cf. p. 126 for a story of a chief who went to *Reinga* to recover his dead wife). In Melanesia such stories are common. A woman descended to *Pamotu* to her dead brother, dragging a basket of 'death-like-smell'. She was supposed to be a ghost, and conversed with her brother, who bade her touch be no food there lest she should be permanently detained. Again, a wizard, descending in the spirit, took with him a man who wished to recover his wife. He begged her to return, but she said it was impossible, and gave him an amulet for remembrance. He seized her hand, and tried to drag her away, but it came off and her body fell asunder, for in *Pamotu* ghosts have a substantial form (Codrington, pp. 227 f., 286). For other S. Pacific tales, see Bastian, *Alteit aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, i. 8, 111 ff.

At higher levels these tales are told of gods, and have become myths. In early Japanese mythology the goddess called 'the Female-who-invites' died and went to *Yomi*, or Hades. Her brother-husband, the Male-who-invites, followed her there and invited her to come back. She told him he had come too late, as she had eaten of the food of Hades, but that she would consult its deities. Meanwhile he was not to look at her. Impatient at her absence, he lit one of the teeth of his comb and found her rotting. He thus put her to shame, and she sent the Ugly Female of Hades to pursue him; but he stayed her by casting articles behind him which changed to food, which she stopped to eat.² She then sent the Thunder Deities and warriors in pursuit, but he smote them. Finally, she pursued him herself, but he blocked the way with a great rock. The goddess is now the Great Deity of Hades (*Kojiki*, tr. Chamberlain, Suppl. to *TASJ* x. [1883] 34 ff.).

In Babylonia, the poem describing the Descent of Istar into *Aralû*, or Hades, contains elements of ancient origin, and presents several problems for solution. Istar demands entrance to 'the land whence there is no return.' She has come to weep over heroes who have left wives, over wives taken from husbands, and over the only son (Tammuz) taken away before his time. By order of Allatu, she is stripped of her dress and ornaments at each of the seven gates, and then struck with disease. There is now desolation on earth, life dies away, and the gods lament her disappearance. Ea creates *Ud-dushu-namir*, and sends him to *Aralû* to demand the Water of Life as a preliminary to the release of Istar. Allatu is compelled to cause Istar to be sprinkled with it. She is led back, and at each gate her clothing and ornaments are restored to her. The story, as connected with Tammuz, must have described his restoration by means of the life-giving water at the instance of Istar, come in quest of him—an incident enacted in the Tammuz ritual. But this is not set forth in the poem, though there is an obscure reference to Tammuz at the end, in the form of ritual directions to mourners, to whom the poem appears to have been addressed. Pure water is to be poured out for Tammuz. The poem as it stands may have been derived from two myths, one telling how Istar rescued Tammuz from the dead (since his restoration was annually

¹ See 'Acts of Thomas,' 'Hist. of John,' in Wright, *Apoc. Acts*, 1871, i. 23, 149; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, 1904, i. 268; 'Preaching of Andrew,' 'Story of John,' in Lewis, *Myth. Acts of Apostles*, 1904, pp. 7, 163.

² Cf. the Greek myth of Protesilaus and Laomædia.

³ This is the *Märchen* formula of the Transformation Flight, already met with in a Maori instance, § 2.

celebrated), the other telling of the rescue of Ištar from Hades at the intervention of the gods. The present poem bears more abundant traces of the latter myth than of the former, though it also hints at a descent for purposes of rescue; Ištar descends violently, and threatens to break down the gates (see Talbot, *TSBA* iii. 118 ff.; Sayce, *Rel. of the Ancient Bab.*, 1887, p. 221 ff.; Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 563 ff., 583 f.; see *ERE* ii. 315^b). The recovery of Tammuz by Ištar is also suggested by the fact that there was a Greek myth telling how Aphrodite (Ištar) went down to Hades to redeem Adonis (Tammuz) from Persephone (*Apol. of Aristides*, § 11). At the sanctuary of the Syrian Aphrodite sexual relations with the priestesses representing her were believed to ransom one from Hades, as Adonis had been freed from it (Euseb. *Vita Const.* iii. 55; Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, p. 72).

The so-called prayer of a Navaho shaman has a certain likeness to the Ištar myth. It is a kind of prayer-spell, describing the action of the gods as the shaman desires them to act. He fears his soul may be detained by sorcery in the under world. The war-gods are therefore to descend and rescue it from the 'underground witch.' They pass gate after gate, sentinel after sentinel, of the lower world, by magical means, and there find the suppliant's soul. Returning through chamber after chamber, they bring it back to him, so that 'the world before me is restored in beauty' (Matthews, *Amer. Anthrop.*, 1888, i.).

The Greeks had several descent-myths, that of Orpheus being the best known, thanks to Vergil's version. After the death of Eurydice her image haunted him, until he determined to seek her in Hades. He descended there, and the sweet notes of his lyre enchanted its denizens. Pluto and Persephone were moved to pity. Eurydice would be restored on one condition—that Orpheus should precede her and not look back till they arrived on earth. Just before reaching the fatal limit, his love overcame him. He looked round and lost her for ever (Verg. *Georg.* iv.; Paus. ix. 30. 4-6; Apollodorus, i. 3. 2).

The Orphic poem *Karðbaais eis 'Aidov* has not survived, but it may have had for subject the descent of Orpheus. Foucart thinks it was a ritual poem containing instructions for the dead in Hades, like the Orphic tablets engraved on sheets of gold, and the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* (*Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des mystères d'Eleusis*, Paris, 1896, p. 7; cf. also Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 123 ff.).

Dionysos, as certain myths taught, was also said to have descended to Hades to bring back Semele, and, according to local Argive tradition, he descended through the Alcyonian lake, Polymnus having shown him the way. His return from Hades was annually celebrated there, and in all probability the myth had become fused with that of his resurrection (Paus. ii. 31. 2, 37. 5; Apollod. iii. 5. 3). Another myth told how Alcestis, the wife of Admetus, having willingly died in his stead, was delivered by Herakles, who, seeing the grief of her husband and people, descended to Hades to rescue her from death. In a variant of the myth, Persephone was her rescuer (Apollod. i. 9. 15; Hyginus, *Fab.* 50; Eurip. *Alkestis*). Another myth—the subject of a lost poem of Hesiod—related that Theseus agreed to assist Pirithoos in carrying off Persephone from Hades. They descended there, but, according to one version, were outwitted; for, expecting to receive gifts, they sat down on the chair of Forgetfulness, to which they were held fast by coils of serpents. Herakles caused the release of one or both when he descended to fetch Cerberus (Paus. ix. 31. 5, x. 29. 2; and for a euhemerized version, see i. 17. 4, and Plut. *Thes.* 31, 35; *Epit. Vat. ex Apollod. Bibl.*, ed. Wagner, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 58, 155 ff.). Cf. also the myth of Castor and Pollux. For the Pythagorean descent, see Rohde, 456; Dieterich, 129.

In Scandinavian mythology descent-myths are connected with Balder's death. Hermodr offered to

descend to Hel to recover Balder. Taking Odin's horse, he travelled for nine days through dark valleys till he reached the river Gjöll, crossed by a bridge covered with gold and guarded by Modgudr. After some delay she permitted him to cross, and at last he reached the place of the dead and saw Balder. He begged Hela to permit Balder's return, but she made his release conditional upon all things mourning his loss. Hermodr obtained Balder's ring as a token of remembrance, and returned to the gods. All things were begged to mourn, and all did so save the witch Thok (= Loke), who said she would weep with dry eyes and Hela would keep her prey (Dasent, *Prose or Younger Edda*, Stockholm, 1842; see also § 4).

In Hindu mythology a descent-myth is told of Kṛṣṇa, who went to the kingdom of Yama and demanded the dead son of his pupil Sāndipani. After having conquered Yama in fight, he accomplished his purpose (*Harivamśa*, v. 4913 ff., in Scherman, p. 64). Not quite parallel, but showing the possibility of rescuing a dead person from Hades, is the story of Yama's marriage to Vijaya. He cautioned her not to go near the southern part of his domain; but curiosity tempted her, and there she saw the wicked, including her mother, in torments. She told Yama she would leave him unless he consented to release her mother, but this took place only after the due performance of certain ceremonies (Wilkins, *Hindu Myth.*,² Calcutta, 1900, p. 83 f.). In a Tibetan Buddhist legend, Maudgalyāyana learns from his father that his mother is in hell. At once he sets out, and descends deeper and deeper. The doors open before him, and none of the demons opposes him. When he finally discovers her, he offers to take her place; but this is refused. Finally, Buddha is appealed to, and he visits hell, with the result that all the sorrowing beings are re-born in heaven. The mother is still subjected, for her sins, to certain torments; but, at the exhortation of her son, she feels shame, and advances by re-birth till she reaches the god-region where her husband is (Scherman, 80 ff.; and for a Chinese parallel, Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, 1880, p. 225 ff.). In a Chinese tale the Buddhist Lo Pah, on passing into paradise at death, realized that his mother was in hell. He at once descended there, and by his virtues and intercessions succeeded in rescuing her (*Asiat. Journal*, xxxi. [1840] 211).

4. Descent to obtain a boon, etc.—Some examples from the lower culture may be cited first. In an Eskimo tale a man, to obtain luck, is advised by his mother to raise a stone and descend through the opening to the under world, where he will receive a piece of sealskin which will ensure good luck (Rink, *Tales and Trad. of the Eskimo*, 1875, p. 461). In an Ainu story a youth defrauded of his heritage went to Hades to get his father's help. He arrived at a village and saw his father, but (in accordance with Ainu belief) could not make himself heard by the spirit until he entered another spirit and spoke through him. His father told him he had left him a share, and with this information he returned to earth, and his brother assigned a portion to him (Bathelot, *Ainu of Japan*, 1892, p. 228). The Estonian epic relates how its hero found, in the cave leading to Hades, three girls who enabled him by magic to overcome Sarvik, its lord. Later he penetrated farther and reached the gates of Porgu (Hades), where its hosts advanced to meet him at a river of pitch crossed by a bridge. He defeated them, conquered Sarvik once more, and returned to earth with his treasures (Kirby, *Hero of Esthonia*, 1895, i. 100, 124). In the Finnish *Kalevala* its hero Väinämöinen, after long travel through a forest, induced the maiden who acts the part of Charon to ferry him over to *Tuonela* (Hades), where he desired to

learn certain magic words from its wise lord. By avoiding the beer of *Tuonela* he was able to return and describe on earth the horrors he had seen (Schiefner, *Kalevala*, Helsingfors, 1852, rune 16). A Japanese myth tells how the deity Oho-na-mochi went to Hades to seek counsel of its lord, whose daughter he married. The lord of Hades tried to compass his death by setting him tasks, but, after help from his wife and a friendly mouse, he finally escaped with the treasures of the god, and forced him to give the advice he sought (Aston, 106; *Ko-ji-ki*, 71 ff.). This myth of descent includes some common Märchen formulæ. Herodotus (ii. 122) relates an Egyptian story of Rhampsinitus (Ramses III.) to the effect that he descended to Hades and played at dice with Demeter (Isis), sometimes winning, sometimes losing, and that he ascended, bringing with him as a gift from her a napkin of gold.

This tale is not corroborated from the monuments or texts. Possibly it is a distorted form of the myth of Thoth's winning the five days of the epoch from the moon at a game of dice (Plut. *de Isid.* 15). Sayce suggests that the myth may have been affixed to the name of Ramses in consequence of a representation on his temple of him playing at dice with a woman (*Ancient Emp. of the East*, 1883, p. 92). The dead played at a game with counters, and the story of Setne tells how, having descended into the tomb of Neneferkaptah in order to obtain his magical book, he played a game at draughts with him and was beaten, but eventually escaped with it by magical means (Griffith, 13 ff.).

A Hindu myth in the Katha-Upanishad tells how Nachiketas, delivered by his father to death, remained without food in the kingdom of Yama, who granted him fulfilment of three wishes. Nachiketas then desired his restoration to life and reconciliation to his father, the knowledge of the sacrificial fire, and the knowledge of the nature of death. Yama offered him gifts if he would forego the last wish, but he was insistent and it was granted to him (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, London, 1882, p. 55). The visit of Odysseus to the shades to inquire of the ghost of Tiresias (*Od.* xi.), and the descent of Æneas to speak with his father Anchises (*Æn.* vi.), are well-known poetic examples of seeking a boon from the world of the dead. The myth of Psyche, related by Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses*, tells how, among the tasks exacted of her before she recovered Eros, was that of going down to Hades to bring back from Persephone a box of beauty. Through innumerable perils, and sustained by the love of Eros, she succeeded and returned to earth, where she opened the box, to find, not beauty, but a deadly sleep. The myth of the descent of Herakles to bring the dog Cerberus from Hades (one of the labours exacted by Eurystheus) is mentioned by Homer, who says that Hermes and Athene escorted him (*Od.* xi. 628, *Il.* viii. 367). But the myth was later amplified, and we learn how he descended by the entrance near Cape Tenarum. After many exploits, including the liberation of Theseus, he demanded permission from Pluto to carry off the hound. This was granted provided he did it without weapons. On the shore of Acheron he met Cerberus, and, seizing him by the throat, ascended with him to earth, showed him to Eurystheus, and then returned with him to Hades (Apollod. ii. 5. 12).

Those who have seen a parallel between the labours of Herakles and the adventures of the Bab. Gilgamesh, and a possible derivation of the former from the latter, point to the likeness between the journey of Herakles to Hades and that of Gilgamesh beyond the limits of the world, through dangers and darkness, across the ocean and the Waters of Death (probably connected with the River of Death in *Aratta*, or Hades), to the paradise of Utnapistim, that he might learn from him the secret of immortality (Sayce, *Rel. of Anc. Egypt and Bab.*, 1902, pp. 436 ff., 446; *ERE* ii. 316*;

Jastrow, 516). In another Bab. myth, the purpose of which may have been to show how a god superseded the ancient goddess of Hades, a conflict having arisen between the gods and Eresh-kigal, goddess of Hades, Nergal was chosen to descend to the under world. He arrived there, passed through gate after gate (fourteen in all), dragged the goddess from her throne, and would have slain her. But she begged for mercy, and offered to become his wife and to give him dominion in Hades, which he accepted (Winckler-Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von El-Amarna*, Berlin, 1891, iii. 164; Sayce, 238, 428).¹

In Scandinavian myth, Odin, in order to discover the cause of Balder's evil dreams, rode down to Nifhel, till he reached the hall where mead was standing brewed for Balder. He roused the Sibyl from her barrow by spells, and learned from her the tidings of Balder's fate (Vigfusson-Powell, i. 181 ff.). For Celtic myths of visits to the under world (or to Elysium) to obtain the gifts of civilization, see BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Celtic), § 7. Mandeian mythology presents an interesting myth of the descent of Hibil Ziwa, before the creation of the world, to the lower realms, in order to forestall the revolt of their rulers against the powers of light. He descends in the night of the great Raza (an embodiment of the mysterious Name) to the seven worlds of darkness (not, of course, the regions of the dead).

In each world to which he descends he remains for many thousands of years, unknown to and unseen by its lord. Finally he reaches the seventh and lowest world, and speaks to its lord, the giant Krin. Krin partially swallows him, but Hibil cuts his inwards to pieces and is disgorged, and obtains from him a pass and seal-ring by which the might of the opposing demon will be brought to nought. Then he ascends, sealing the doors of each world so that none can pass through. In the fourth world he takes the form of its ruler and obtains by craft the Memra and Gemra, the strength of the world of darkness. By a similar change of form he learns the secrets of the third world, and obtains its magic mirror. Then he leaves it, taking with him Ruhā, daughter of its lord, pregnant with Ur, the demon who is to oppose the worlds of light. Finally, after sealing all the doors of the worlds, he returns to the light kingdom, and is hailed with joy. The remainder of the myth describes his repeated unseen visits to the imprisoned Ruhā and Ur, his robbing Ur of his magical talismans, and his final overpowering of him (Brandt, *Mand. Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, p. 138 ff.). The story is full of well-known folk-tale formulæ, and, while the descent through seven worlds recalls that of Istar, the main incident is based on that of Marduk's strife with the dragon of chaos, Tiamat (cf. Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 132). Another myth relates how Māndā d'Hayyē descends to the lower worlds and conquers Ruhā and Ur. Afterwards Ruhā and her sons assemble on Mt. Carmel and plan a revolution against the powers of light. Māndā appears among them in their own form, whereupon they desire to make him their ruler. He agrees on condition that they reveal to him the secrets of their mysteries. When they have done this, he manifests himself in his true form and overpowers them (Brandt, *Mand. Rel.* 34, 88; Norberg, *Codex Nasareus*, 1815-6, i. 223).

For a Buriat instance of descent to seek a boon, see *ERE* iii. 9*, and for a Quiché myth of two heroes descending and overcoming the lords of the under world, *ib.* 308*.

5. Descent out of curiosity.—This motive is occasionally met with. In an Ainu example a youth, learning that a certain cave led to Hades, entered it, and, after passing through darkness, found himself in a beautiful land where he saw many of his friends and relatives. On his return he met a spirit descending, which proved to be that of a dear friend who had just died (Batchelor, 226; cf. a variant in Chamberlain, *Ainu Folk-tales*, 1888, p. 42, where the visitor is ignominiously treated and never wishes to see Hades again). Several Norse tales, reminiscent of earlier pagan beliefs, describe the adventures of mortals who set out to seek the Land of Living Men, part of the older under world (for these see BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Teutonic], § 4; and for Amer. Ind. instance, *ERE* iii. 230*).

¹ Jastrow (586) thinks that it may originally have been told of Nergal that, like Tammuz, he was carried off into Hades.

6. Descent to free the damned.—The freeing of a soul in pain in Hades has already been found in Hindu instances. This idea, as well as that of the general release of the damned or the amelioration of their tortures, is a natural outgrowth of existing legends of rescue from Hades, but it occurs mainly in Eastern instances. Several myths of this kind are found in Hindu and Buddhist mythology.

In the *Rāmāyana* (vii. 21.), Ravana enters hell, and, as he enters, the darkness flies away, and the damned, whom he desires to free, experience an unexpected happiness. He encounters Yama in fight, and would have been worsted but for the help of Brahmā, to whose will Yama bows and leaves Ravana victor. In the *Mahābhārata* (xvii. 8-xviii. 4.) Yudhishthira is subjected to a last test by the gods. When he reaches heaven, he learns that his relations are in hell, and beseeches the gods to let him share their dwelling. 'What is heaven without them? Only where they are is my heaven.' He is conducted thither, and, on his coming, a cool wind arises and the torments cease. He refuses to leave hell, since his presence makes its denizens happy. Now the gods appear, and he learns that all he has undergone is but a trial of his faith. For a descent of Vignu with similar results to the damned, see Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, Oxford, 1897, p. 706. In other cases, those who have transgressed slightly and are sent to hell suffer only formally because of their virtues, and are given an opportunity to free the damned, e.g. Janaka in the *Padmā Purāṇa* (Wilson, *JHAS* v. 286).

In the *Lotita Viṭāra*, at several moments of Buddha's existence—when he descends from heaven, on his journey to Bodhimapṇa, and at Benares—a marvellous light is said to have been projected from his body which lit up by its splendour the 3000 worlds, caused all evil, suffering, and fear to cease, and filled all beings with joy. This extended even to the hell Avichi, the region of the *pretas*, and the kingdom of Yama. Darkness was dissipated, and all beings there suffering from thirst and hunger, or other torment, found themselves free from pain and were filled with great joy. At Buddha's birth he prophesies that, in order to destroy the fires of hell, he will cause the rain from the great cloud of the law to fall, and all beings there will be glad. At that moment the sufferings of all in Avichi and the kingdom of Yama were appeased (*Lot. Viṭ.* 51, 240, 257, 341, 79, 80, in *AMG*, vol. vi., Paris, 1884). The North Buddhist legend of Avalokiteśvara, 'he who shows the damned the way to Nirvāṇa,' furnishes a striking instance of this group of descent-stories. It was said in the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* (c. 24) that he would bring all misery to an end, including the torments of Yama's kingdom. To effect this, he visits the hell Avichi as a glorious prince clad in light, and frees the victims from their pains. Mild air takes the place of flames, the cauldron of boiling water in which men suffer bursts, and the sea of fire becomes a pool with lotus flowers. Hell becomes a place of joy, and Yama shows him reverence. The saving work is pursued in the city of the *pretas*, where Avalokiteśvara frees its denizens from torments and, granting the gift of right knowledge to the damned, leads them as Bodhisattvas to the Sukhavāsi world (Cowell, *JPA* vi. [1873] 222 ff.; for a Tibetan legend of a similar kind, see Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 1891, p. 331 ff.). In a Chinese Buddhist myth, the soul of the goddess Kwan-yin visits hell in trance, and by her invocation of Amitābha a rain of flowers falls, the implements of torments break, hell is changed to Paradise, and the damned return to earth. The lords of hell desire to hear this mighty prayer, and their wish is granted on the stipulation that all souls attain to redemption. At this point she awakes from her trance (Eitel, *Three Lect. on Bud.*, 1871, p. 31; de Groot, *AMG* xi. [1888] 188 ff.). In a Tibetan myth, as soon as a new Tathāgata descends to the under world and sounds the muffled trumpet (= proclamation of the sacred doctrine), all who hear its sound are saved and go to the heaven Tuṣita (Scherman, 66, note 2).

In other instances the belief in metempsychosis is utilized to show the experiences of the narrator in a former state. While in hell, a Brahman experiences a sudden cessation of torture and a joy as of paradise. This is caused by the arrival of a king, Vipashch, who has committed a small fault. Having expiated it, he is bidden to go to heaven; but the damned beg him to remain as his presence relieves their miseries. Yama and Indra beg him to go, but he demands that his virtues may ransom sinners from hell. He is raised to a higher state, and the narrator and others in hell attain a new existence free from torture (*Jārkandeya Purāṇa*, xiii ff., in Scherman, 38 ff.).

In later Judaism similar ideas were current, sometimes in connexion with the Messiah. Thus in *Bereshith Rabba*, regarding the appearance of Messiah at the gates of Gehinnom, it is said:

'But, when they that are bound, they that are in Gehinnom, saw the light of the Messiah, they rejoiced to receive him, saying, He will lead us forth from this darkness, as it is said (Hos 13:4), "I will redeem them from hell, from death I will set them free," and so says Isaiah (35:10) "The ransomed of the Lord will return and come to Zion." By "Zion" is to be understood Paradise; and in another passage, "This is that which stands written, We shall rejoice and exult in Thee. When? When the captives climb up out of hell, with the Shechinah at their head"' (Weber², 358; Bertholdt, *Christologia Judaearum*, Erlangen, 1811, p. 170 ff.).

In *Yalkut Shim'on* the goddesses are rescued from

hell by the righteous dead and pass to eternal life, while in the *Zohar* the righteous or the patriarchs are said to descend to hell to rescue sinners from the place of torment (Gröner, *Jahrhundert des Heils*, Stuttgart, 1838, ii. 77, 184; Weber², 343).

Later Muhammadan theology describes how the righteous souls intercede for their brethren detained on the bridge which passes through hell to Paradise. They are sent to hell to see if any there have faith, and finding such they bring them out. These are then washed in the Water of Life and admitted to Paradise (*JThSt* vi. [1904] 35).

In Gnosticism (save in the case of Marcion [*Iren. adv. Haer.* i. 27. 3]) the descent of Christ to Hades (see next art.) is transfigured, and shows the influence of pagan myths of a deliverer. The Divine Eon descends not to Hades, but to the dark earthly world to conquer the world rulers and to spoil them of spiritual souls imprisoned in bodies. As He passes through the spheres of the heavens He is invisible, or takes the form of these rulers, and so deceives them or robs them of their might (*Iren.* i. 23. 3, i. 30. 12; Hippolyt, viii. 10; cf. *Ascension of Isaiah*, 10²-11⁹). Through Gnosticism the later form of the orthodox descent idea, especially in the tradition of the binding of Satan, may have received a pagan colouring. Gnosticism knew also of a descent of the Divine Eon out of the Pleroma to rescue the fallen Sophia (*Iren.* i. 4. 11.), and, in the teaching of the Valentinian Theodotus, He, on his return from earth, transfers the souls of the righteous in the 'place of rest' to a higher region, the place of Sophia (Clem. Alex. *Excerpt. c. Theod.* c. 18).

In various Christian documents the idea of the transference of souls from the place of punishment to a place of bliss, at the prayer of saints on earth, is found, e.g. *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, § 23; *Passio Perpetuae*, § 7; and *Test. of Abraham*, § 14. In the *Apocalypses of Paul* and of the *Virgin*, in which they visit hell, they and the angels and saints pray for remission of tortures to the lost. Christ descends and announces that on the Lord's day or on the day of Pentecost this will be granted.

7. In many European folk-tales a visit is paid by a mortal (1) to a subterranean fairy-land to rescue a stolen person, to capture a treasure, etc., or (2) to a land below the earth or the sea ruled by a mysterious personage. The subterranean land is doubtless a reminiscence of the old pagan under world, and the submarine region the old mythic world of sea-divinities (*CF* 44; Scott, *Minstrelsy*, 1839, p. 195 ff.; Wright, 85, 87). Folk-tales also recount visits to the Christian hell, where the visitor usually outwits the devil (Le Braz, ii. 337; Dottin, *Contes et légendes d'Irlande*, 1901, p. 164; Larmine, *W. Irish Folk Tales*, 1893, p. 188).

8. The tabu regarding not eating the food of Hades has been found in several of the tales and myths cited, and it also occurs in stories of visits to fairy-land, as well as in many other myths and eschatological beliefs.

Pluto secretly makes Persephone eat seven seeds of a pomegranate, and she is then bound to him in Hades (*Hom. Hymn to Dem.* 399). In Egyptian belief the dead who ate and drank the food and water offered them by a goddess could not return without special permission (Maspero, *Études de myth. ég.*, Paris, 1893, ii. 226). On the Orphic tablets buried with the dead, they are bidden to avoid a certain well in Hades (Dieterich, 86). Those who visit Yama's kingdom as guests are bidden not to eat his food (Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, 1858-72, v. 320). For Teutonic instances, see *ERE* ii. 709; and for a Chinook example, iii. 662^b. The same tabu applies to the visitor to Fairy-land, the classic example being found in the ballad of *Thomas of Ercildoune*. See also Tylor, ii. 47 ff. Scott, in 'Wandering Willie's Tale,' *Redgauntlet*, ch. 12, speaks of the visitor to hell refusing 'the devil's aries, for such was the offer of meat and drink.'

The result of breaking the tabu—detention in Hades, etc.—is derived from primitive and savage notions regarding food. To eat the food of a strange tribe establishes kinship with them (see COVENANT). Hence to eat the food of gods, ghosts, or fairies makes the eater one with them, and he must remain with them (cf. the Bab. myth. of Adapa [Jastrow, 550]; the 'Navajo Mountain Chant' [Mathews, 5 *REBW*, 1887, in which the hero is forbidden to eat animals' food lest he become an animal]; Parker, *More Austr. Legendary Tales*, 1898, p. xi, where the native belief is noted that for a child to touch fungus growing on trees is to make him liable to be spirited away by ghosts).

The tabu imposed on Orpheus—not to look back

—is frequently found both in ritual and magic, especially in under-world rites (see CROSS-ROADS), and may be explained by the idea that man may not gaze with impunity on what pertains to a supernatural plane, lest it harm him or force him to join the under-world ghosts.

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DESCENT TO HADES (Christ's).—I. Summary.—The *Descensus Christi ad inferos* is an article in the doctrinal tradition of the entire Christian Church, but the several main divisions of the Church, viz. the Eastern or 'Orthodox' (§ 2), the Roman Catholic (§ 3), the Lutheran (§ 4), and the Reformed Churches (§ 5), differ greatly from one another in their Confessional interpretations of the doctrine. Moreover, while in Protestantism generally the older views have in modern times been abandoned, yet not a few theologians have essayed to interpret the doctrine on fresh lines (§ 6). These attempts at reconstruction, it is true, fail to find justification either in Scripture (§ 7) or in early Church tradition (§ 8). Nevertheless, the idea of the *Descensus* is well worthy of our interest, as its original meaning, which is not identical with any of the Confessional views (§ 9), is bound up with certain fundamental conceptions in the primitive Christian interpretation of Christianity, and probably asserts itself here and there in the NT as a presupposition in the minds of the writers (§ 10). The endeavour to trace the idea to influences from non-Christian religions is thus quite unwarranted (§ 11). The *Descensus* belongs in fact to a group of primitive Christian conceptions which are inseparable from views then current but now abandoned, and which accordingly can now be appraised only in a historical sense, i.e. as expressions of Christian beliefs which, while adequate enough for their time, have at length become obsolete (§ 12).

2. The doctrine in the Greek Church.—In the Greek, or rather the Eastern or 'Orthodox' Churches the two wrongly so-called Ecumenical Creeds which contain the clause 'descendit ad inferos', viz. the *Symbolum Apostolicum* and the *Symbolum Athanasianum*, are not recognized, while their own Creed, the so-called *Niceno-Constantinopolitanum*—the third of the 'Ecumenical' Symbols—makes no mention of the *Descensus*. This explains why even the more elaborate catechetical manuals emanating from these Churches sometimes ignore the doctrine altogether (e.g. Konstantinos, *Katechizos*, Athens, 1868, p. 46f.). None the less, however, is the *Descensus* an element in the Eastern tradition. Even discounting the testimony of the *Confessio orthodoxa* of Petrus Mogilas (i. 49 [Kimmel, *Libri symbolici ecclesiae orientalis*, Jena, 1843, p. 118f.]), and the wholly unauthorized *Confessio Metrophanis Critopuli* (Kimmel, *Appendix libror. symbol. etc.*, Jena, 1850, pp. 73-76), which both show a leavening of Western thought, and whose statements regarding the *Descensus*, therefore, may have been framed under that influence, we have the less questionable evidence of genuinely Eastern Church catechisms of the present day, as also of recent expositions of the Eastern theology.¹

¹ Cf. Philaret, *Longer Catechism*, quest. 213-216, in *Bibliotheca symbolica*, ed. P. Schaft, II. (New York, 1890) 477f.; Bernardakis, *Ἡρά κατήχησις*, Constantinople, 1872, p. 122; Kalliphron, *Ὁπδόθεος ἡρά κατήχησις*, Constantinople, 1880, p. 68; Macaire (Makarios), *Théologie dogmatique orthodoxe*;

In the 'Orthodox' tradition the *Descensus*, ἡ εἰς Ἀδὸν κάθοδος (Androutsos, p. 211), is universally regarded as an act of the soul of Jesus, occurring during the interval in which His body rested in the tomb, and belonging to the *munus regium*—His soul, however, still maintaining its unity with the Godhead or Logos. Other elements universally recognized are the triumph of Christ 'over Hades,' or 'over death,' which ensued as a result of His *Descensus*, His preaching of salvation in Hades, and His deliverance of certain spirits held captive there. Moreover, it is only in appearance that there is some dubiety as to the persons to whom Christ preached and brought deliverance (cf. Androutsos); for such dubiety arises purely from consideration of the difficult passage in 1 Peter, which, together with Ac 2²⁷, Eph 4², and other texts, is usually cited as the Scripture authority for the doctrine; and it is agreed by all—even by Metrophanes Critopulos (cf. p. 75: εἰς αὐτὸν ᾗδην πιστεύουσιν)—that the tradition limits the deliverance effected by Christ to the OT saints who believed in the Messiah. Nay, Makarios duly rejects as unwarranted every attempt to widen this limit, and Androutsos, in whose judgment the 'most probable' hypothesis is that the deliverance was restricted to the OT saints, states explicitly: καθόλου δὲ ἡ δόξα, ἐπὶ ὑπάρχει καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπιστροφῆς καὶ σωτηρίας, προσκρούει πρὸς τὰς θεμελιώδεις τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ ἀληθείας (p. 211).

It must, nevertheless, be admitted that the 'Orthodox' tradition shows here some ambiguity and inconsistency. This arises from the prevailing views regarding the destiny of the soul after death. As regards the state of the soul in the period between the particular judgment which follows immediately upon death and the universal judgment at the Last Day, the theology of the Eastern Church, when not dealing with the *Descensus*, recognizes two alternatives: the souls of the dead either enter a provisional state of salvation, viz. Paradise (Lk 23⁴³), Abraham's bosom (Lk 16²²), or the Kingdom of Heaven (Mt 25²³, Lk 13³⁰, 2 Ti 4¹⁸, 2 P 1¹¹); or they go to the provisional place of punishment, i.e. Hades (Lk 16²³), Gehenna (Mt 5^{22, 29c}), or 'the furnace of fire' (Mt 13^{42, 50}), from which there is a possible transition to Paradise before the Last Day. But, when the *Descensus* is expressly in question, Hades is manifestly regarded as the habitation of all departed spirits (cf. Kalliphron, p. 68: εἰς τὸν Ἀδὸν ἡτοι τὸ κατωκλήθειον ἀνάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος τελευτήτων). Now, if Paradise be simply one of the sections of Hades, existing as such before Christ's descent into the lower world, one fails to see what advantage or deliverance His action wrought for the OT saints. But, if it was the deliverance from Hades which first secured the entrance of the saints of old into Paradise, then the 'Abraham's bosom' of Lk 16²² cannot be identical with the 'Paradise' of Lk 23⁴³, and we ask in vain what it really is. Finally, the union in Paradise mentioned in Lk 23⁴³ is assuredly not to be thought of as transient merely, for it is impossible to think of the glorified Christ as remaining permanently in the provisional state of salvation.

3. Roman Catholic doctrine.—These obscurities are avoided by the Roman Catholic doctrine (cf. Wetzter-Welte, *Kirchenlex.*, Freiburg, 1882-1903, vi. 124-139, and the literature given there). The *dogma declaratum*, it is true, is simply that Christ—as is affirmed by the *Apostolicum* and the *Athanasianum*—'descendit ad inferos' in the interval between His burial and His resurrection, and that in this *Descensus* His soul 'per se, non per potentiam tantum descendit' (*Conc. Senon., trad. par un Russe*, Paris, 1859-60, II. 196 ff.; Androutsos, *Δογματική*, Athens, 1907, pp. 211-214).

anni 1140; Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*¹⁰, Freiburg, 1908, no. 385). The Symbol of the fourth Synod of Toledo (633) certainly supplements the stereotyped Article with a clause expressing the purpose of the Descent, viz. 'ut sanctos, qui ibidem tenebantur, erueret' (Hahn, *Bibliothek d. Symbole*¹¹, Breslau, 1897, p. 236), but that Symbol cannot be regarded as doctrinally binding upon the Catholic Church as a whole, while the *Catechismus Romanus*, which deals very fully with the *Descensus* (i. 6, quæst. 1-6), has only a 'high dogmatic, but no primary symbolic authority' (*Kirchenlex.*¹², xi. 1055). There is, nevertheless, no manner of doubt that every Article in which the modern catechisms agree with the *Catechismus Romanus* is to be claimed as Catholic doctrine in the sense of *dogma formale* (ib. iii. 1884). Hence the official Catholic doctrine of the *Descensus* is as follows.¹

The scene of the Descent is laid in the place 'in quo animæ sanctorum ante Christi domini adventum exsistebant' (*Cat. Rom.* i. 6. 3), i.e. the forecourt of Hell (Deharbe, qu. 231, etc.), the *limbus patrum* (Simar, i. 538; *Compendio*, p. 79), or the *sinus Abrahamæ* (Lk 16²², *Cat. Rom.*, loc. cit.). For 'antequam Christus moreretur et resurgeret, coeli portæ nemini unquam patuerunt' (cf. He 9⁸⁻⁹; *Cat. Rom.*, loc. cit. qu. 6). It was into this *limbus patrum*, accordingly, that Christ in His Spirit—not 'per potentiam tantum,' but 're et præsentia' (*Cat. Rom.*, loc. cit. qu. 4)—descended, in order to manifest His power and glory even in the under world (Deharbe, qu. 233. 2; *Cat. Rom.*, loc. cit. qu. 6: 'ereptis daemonum spoliis') and to comfort and deliver the souls of the just held captive there, i.e. to take them to Heaven (*Cat. Rom.*, loc. cit. qu. 3 and 6; Deharbe, qu. 233. 1, and 241). All this is probably clear enough to the laity; but the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church encounter difficulties in regard to Christ's repose in the sepulchre, and the passages Lk 23⁴³, Ac 1⁹, and 1 P 3^{10c}. All Catholic theologians solve the first difficulty in the same way as the *Cat. Rom.* with the help of Scholastic logic solves it:

'Christo jam mortuo, ejus anima ad Inferos descendit ibique tamdiu mansit, quamdiu ejus corpus in sepulchro fuit; eadem Christi persona eo tempore et apud inferos fuit et in sepulchro jacuit, propterea quod, quamvis anima a corpore discesserit, nunquam tamen divinitas vel ab anima vel a corpore separata est' (qu. 1).

A second difficulty arises from the fact that in Lk 23⁴³ the place in which Christ tarried after His death and on the day of His burial is given as 'Paradise.' Now, clear as is the distinction drawn by many theologians, in harmony with the *Cat. Rom.*, between *Limbus* (which involves no 'poena damni' but only the 'carentia visionis Dei' [cf. Loofs, *Symbolik*, Tüb. 1902, i. 270] and in which, according to the *Cat. Rom.* [loc. cit. qu. 3], the fathers 'sine ullo doloris sensu, beata redemptionis spe sustentati, quieta habitatione fruebantur') and the *Gehenna damnatorum*, the former is nevertheless a part of the *inferi*, of Hell. Is it permissible then to locate 'Paradise' in Hell (cf. *Kirchenlex.*¹², vi. 130)? Many theologians have done so without misgiving (cf. Martin, ii. 93: 'forecourt of Hell,' *sinus Abrahamæ* or *limbus patrum*, also simply called 'Paradise'); but sometimes a distinction is made

¹ Besides the *Cat. Rom.*, cf. G. Barelle, *Le Catechisme romain, ou l'enseignement de la doctrine chrétienne*, Montréal, 1907 ff., II. 386-403; J. Deharbe, *Grosser Katechismus*, Regensburg, New York, and Cincinnati, 1896; *Grosser Kat. für sämtliche Bischöfe Bayerns*, Regensburg, 1904; *Kath. Kat. f. d. Diocese Triest*, Trèves, 1888; *Kath. Kat. f. d. Bistum Mainz*, Mainz, 1886; *Kath. Kat. f. d. Bistum Paderborn*, Paderborn, 1892; *Kat. d. kath. Religion, herausg. auf Befehl d. hochwürdigsten Herrn Dr. K. J. v. Hefele, Bischofs v. Rottenburg*, Freiburg, 1889; *Cat. du diocèse de Paris*, Paris, 1897; *Compendio della dottrina cristiana ad uso dell' arcidiocesi di Torino*, Turin, 1893; cf. Th. Hub. Simar († as archbp. of Cologne, 1902), *Lehrb. der Dogmatik*¹⁴, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1899, I. 538-541; K. Martin († as bishop of Paderborn), *Lehrb. d. kath. Religion*¹⁵, 2 pts., Mainz, 1873, II. 92 f.

between *paradisus inferior* and *paradisus superior* (= Heaven). The *Cat. Rom.*, whose interpretation is adopted by *Kirchenlex.*¹² vi. 135 and Simar (*Dogmatik*, i. 538), expounds the matter more felicitously thus:

'Christi aspectus clarissimam lucem captivis attulit, eorumque animas immensa lætitia gaudique implevit; quibus etiam optatissimam beatitudinem, quam in Dei visione consistit, impertivit. Quod factum id comprobatur est, quod latroni promiserat illis verbis Luc. 23. 43.'

Here, accordingly, the *limbus patrum*, which after the liberation of the fathers is left absolutely empty, has, in virtue of Christ's presence, become Paradise even before their departure—has been 'transformed, so to speak, into a heaven' (*Kirchenlex.*¹² vi. 135).

With this particular point, however, is connected a third difficulty. Christ did not ascend to Heaven till forty days after His departure from *Limbus*, and only then 'did He take with Him to Heaven' the souls of the just whom He 'had liberated' from that place (Deharbe, qu. 241). Where, then, were the souls of the fathers during these forty days? For attempts to answer this question the curious may be referred to *Kirchenlex.*¹² (vi. 136).

The greatest difficulty of all is presented by 1 P 3^{10c} (cf. 4⁹). This is not one of the passages traditionally cited in support of the *Descensus*; the usual *facta probantia* are Ac 2²⁴, 27, 31, Eph 4⁹, Ro 10⁷, Mt 12⁴⁰, Hos 13¹⁴ (cf. 1 Co 15⁵⁴), Sir 24⁴⁵ ('Penetrabo omnes inferiores partes terræ, et inspiciam omnes dormientes, et illuminabo omnes sperantes in Domino'), Zec 9¹¹ ('Tu quoque in sanguine testamenti tui emisisti vinctos tuos de lacu, in quo non est aqua'). Augustine, indeed, in a celebrated letter (*ad Evodum*, Ep. clxiv., al. xcix.; Migne, PL xxxiii. 709-718), which in many passages reads like a modern treatise on the *Descensus*, emphatically denies that the two Petrine passages bear upon the subject at all (op. cit. 5. 15, p. 715, and 7. 21, p. 717). He explains 1 P 3^{10c} as referring to a preaching of the pre-existent Christ to the contemporaries of Noah who were overwhelmed in their sins (loc. cit. 6. 17, p. 716), and applies 4⁹ to a preaching of the gospel in this life to the spiritually dead (7. 21, p. 717 f.). And this, or a similar, explanation is adopted, with approval, by many mediæval theologians, including Thomas Aquinas, who writes (*Summa*, 3. 52, 2 ad 3):

'His qui in carcere conclusi erant viventes, scilicet in corpore mortali, quod est quasi quidam carcer anime, spiritu sue divinitatis venens prædicavit per internas inspirationes et etiam externas admonitiones per ora justorum' (cf. ib.: 'Qui increduli fuerunt Noe prædicanti').

At present, however, the exegesis which—largely under the influence of Hundhausen (*Das erste Pontificalschreiben des Apostelfürsten Petrus*, Mainz, 1873)—finds most favour is that which makes the earlier passage (3^{10a}) refer to the *Descensus*. The unbelieving contemporaries of Noah, accordingly, are supposed to be mentioned only by way of example, and the statement that Christ's preaching in the under world was vouchsafed even to such *unrepentant* souls in the place of *perdition* is narrowed down to mean that His preaching was made known to the condemned without a special *Descensus* to them at all, or, in other words, that the effects of the *Descensus* extended also to the lost (Simar, i. 539 ff., following Hundhausen, p. 350). Now this modification of the sense of 1 P 3^{10c} brings it into harmony with a view which Aquinas (*Summa*, 3. 52, 2c) had advanced without reference to that passage:

'per suum effectum (not: per suam essentiam) Christus in quolibet inferorum descendit; in infernum damnatorum habuit hunc effectum, quod descendens ad inferos eos de sua incredulitate et malitia confutavit.'

Certain catechisms, again, come to terms with 1 P 3^{10c} in a very simple fashion, by amending

the language of Scripture to make it suit Catholic dogma. Thus, after expounding the doctrine of the Descent to the *limbus patrum*, they cite the passage in question in the following form: 'He was put to death according to the flesh, but in soul He went to the spirits who were in prison, and preached, i.e. proclaimed redemption to them' (*Grosser Katechismus f. d. Bistümer Bayerns*, p. 75; *Paderborner Kat.* p. 93; similarly, though not quite so crudely, Deharbe, qu. 231, and *Trierer Kat.*, p. 26). It is a singular fact that Aquinas (*Summa*, 3. 52, 2c) speaks also of an 'effectus' of the *Descensus* upon the souls in Purgatory: 'illis qui detinebantur in purgatorio spem glorie consequendae dedit'; and in a special *questio* (3. 52, 8) he even discusses the problem whether Christ, in virtue of His *Descensus*, delivered souls also from Purgatory, and solves it as follows:

'Si qui inventi sunt tales, quales etiam nunc virtute passionis Christi a purgatorio liberantur, tales nihil prohibet per descensum Christi ad inferos a purgatorio esse liberatos.'

The strange thing is that Aquinas should think of souls as being in Purgatory at the time of the *Descensus*; for the Catholic doctrine is that all who have died in original sin (which could not be absolved before the death of Christ) are in *Hell*. Even the *sancti patres* who believed in the Messiah, and who, according to Aquinas (3. 49, 5 *ad* 1), had cancelled their actual sins by their faith and works, must be regarded as having been in *Hell*, or, at least, in the 'fore-court' thereof, by reason of their original sin; and it is believed even to-day that, when the children of Christian parents die unbaptized, and thus have not been cleansed of original sin, they go to *Hell*—to a region, it is true, resembling that in which the *patres* dwelt, viz. the *limbus infantium* (Loofs, *Symbolik*, i. 269). Unless, therefore, there have been exceptions to this rule of doctrine (the Innocents whose festival occurs on the 28th of December need not be regarded as forming an exception, since their baptism of blood would avail instead of baptism by water, and they could accordingly go to the *limbus patrum*), or unless a great migration from *Hell* to Purgatory took place at the instant of Christ's death—a theory likewise not easy to accept—we must believe that Purgatory was as empty before the death of Christ as the *limbus patrum* was after His Descent.

4. Lutheran doctrine.—The doctrine of the *Descensus* set forth in the Formula of Concord, and thus regarded by orthodox Lutherans as bearing the seal of their Church, is of a peculiar character. It cannot be understood without a retrospective glance at Luther himself. We must, however, distinguish between his real theological view and his presentation of the subject in his popular discourses. As a theologian Luther of course (a) adhered at first to the Catholic tradition (*Psalmenvorlesung* of 1513–15, Weimar ed. iii. 103, 20; 317, 37). But (b) he could not continue to hold this view after asserting that the faith of the 'fathers' is identical with our own (cf. *Predigten über 1 Mosis*, 1527, Weimar ed., 100, 4: 'vides Adamum Christianum fuisse ut nos'; Erlangen ed. [German], 33, 99). He had come to believe (cf. J. Köstlin, *Luthers Theologie*², Stuttgart, 1901, ii. 341)—even (see below) before 1522 (at Amsdorf, 13 Jan. 1522; Enders, *Briefwechsel Luthers*, Calw and Stuttgart, 1903, iii. 269–271)—that the 'fathers,' like departed believers in Christ, continue until the resurrection in a perfectly happy sleep of the soul, since they are, so to speak, enclosed and safeguarded in the belief in God's word as in a bosom ('Abraham's bosom,' Lk 16²²; *Kirchenpostille*, Erl. ed.², 12f.). Similarly, he thought that the souls of the wicked in the state

of death are tormented by their unbelieving evil conscience until they are cast into *Hell* at the Last Day; and with reference to the 'Hell' of Lk 16²³ he writes:

'The hell mentioned here cannot be the true Hell, which will come into being at the Last Day. . . . But it must be a place where the soul can live, and where it has no rest: therefore it cannot be a real locality. We judge, therefore, that this hell is the evil conscience—without faith and the word of God—in which the soul is buried and confined until the Last Day, when the person, body and soul together, will be cast into the real bodily Hell.'

A view of the *Descensus* corresponding to these ideas regarding the sleep of the soul had already been set forth by Luther in the *Operationes in Psalmos* of 1519–21:

'Anima Christi secundum substantiam descendit ad inferos . . . dolores mortis et inferni pro eodem ego habeo. Infernus enim est pavor mortis, id est sensus mortis, quo horrent mortem et tamen non effugiunt damnati, nam mors contempta non sentitur estque velut somnus. . . . Christus sicut uno summo dolore mortuus est, ita videtur et dolores post mortem in inferno sustinuisse, . . . ita . . . ut caro quidem ejus requieverit in spe, sed anima ejus infernum gustaverit' (Weim. ed. v. 463, 18ff.; Erl. ed. *Opp. exeg.* xv. 15, 378f.).

Luther still adhered to this theory in 1530 (*Enarr. in ps. 10*, Erl. ed. *Opp. exeg.* xvii. 125 f., cf. 124; [Germ.] xxxviii. 145 f., cf. 144); and, in fact, if we would set forth his own distinctive view of the subject, we must keep these thoughts before our minds. There is nothing to suggest that he ever abandoned the belief that the true *Hell* has no existence until the Last Day; he seems to have remained constant to the opinion to which he gave utterance in 1526:

'That there exists a special place in which the souls of the condemned now reside—as artists paint and belly-gods preach it—I regard as mere delusion, for even the devils are not yet in *Hell*' (*Expos. of Jonah*, Weim. ed. xix. 225; Erl. ed. [Germ.] xii. 378).

But he was not quite certain that the conception of the *Descensus* corresponding to this idea was final and exhaustive, and, accordingly, (c) while he had in 1523 sought to expound the Petrine passages on impossible lines, and in a sense which ignored the *Descensus* (*Auslegung d. 1 Petrusbriefes*, Weim. ed. xii. 367 f., 375 f., Erl. ed. [Germ.] li. 453 ff. 467; in a second form, Erl. ed. lii. 152 f. 162), we find that subsequently, in his lectures on *Genesis* (c. 1537)—which, it is true, do not survive in a verbally authentic form—he takes account of the hypothesis that the verses may throw light on the Article 'descendit ad inferos' (Erl. ed. *Opp. exeg.* ii. 222). He deems it possible that Peter was thinking of a preaching of the *mortuus Christus* to *mortui* of the time of the Deluge, but believes that this was restricted entirely to 'infantes et alios quos simplicitas sua impedit, ne possent credere' (*loc. cit.*). (d) A little later Luther seems to have made a further advance. In 1543, according to Melancthon's statement (*Corp. Ref.* v. 58), he was disposed to think—with Melancthon himself—that Christ's preaching in Hades, as referred to in 1 Peter, might have effected the salvation of the nobler heathen; while in an edition of his lecture on *Hosea*, issued with his own consent by Veit Dietrich in 1545 (Letter of 16th Oct. 1545 [de Wette, *Luthers Briefe*, Berlin, 1825–56, v. 761]), he gives—if, that is to say, he ever read this edition of his lecture—his sanction to a similar exegesis (Erl. ed. *Opp. exeg.* xxiv. 330), which, however, is not found in the transcriptions of the lecture of 1524 (Weim. ed. xiii. 27) revised by Dietrich in his edition. In any case, Luther was far from certain that the views of the *Descensus* which went beyond the position stated above (in b) were correct. Hence, in 1544—and here we have his last utterance on the subject, though again not authentic in its verbal transmission—(e) he pronounced a 'non liquet' upon all conjectures that would add to the simple fact of the sojourn of Christ's spirit in *inferno*:

'Quid anima fecerit in inferno, multi multa disputant, an spoliaverit interos et liberaverit euos qui ante ipsum in sinum Abrahamae congregati fuerant, nihil attinet querere et rimari curiosius' (in *Gen.* [Erl. ed., *Opp. exep.* x. 218]).

In his popular discourses Luther joins hands with the artists, whose pictures of the *Descensus* portray Christ—in the only way in which He can be portrayed, *i.e.* in the body—as going down 'with a banner in His hand, appearing before Hell, dislodging Satan, taking Hell by storm, and carrying away those who are His (cf. Erl. ed. [Germ.] xix.² 41). Thus, in order that 'children and simple folk' might attain to a clear idea of Christ's triumph over Hell and Satan—a fact which must become part of their receptive faith—Luther did not hesitate repeatedly (cf. even the short form of the Ten Commandments, 1520 [Weim. ed. vii. 217 = Erl. ed. [Germ.] xxii. 8], and elsewhere, *e.g.* in the *Hauspostille* [Erl. ed. [Germ.] v.² 1-17]), and notably in an Easter sermon preached at Torgau on the 13th of April 1533 (Erl. ed. [Germ.] xix.³ 40-54), to speak of the *Descensus* as if 'the Lord Christ—the entire person, God and man, with body and soul, undivided—had journeyed to Hell, and had in person demolished Hell and bound the Devil' (cf. Erl. ed. [Germ.] xix.² 44 f.). But these expositions are obviously clothed in the language of popular metaphor, and there is not the slightest doubt that Luther was aware of their exoteric character. He makes this quite clear in the exordium of his Torgau discourse:

'And it pleases me well that, for the simple, it [the Descent] should be painted, played, sung, or spoken in this manner (*i.e.* as represented by the artists), and I shall be quite content if people do not vex themselves greatly with high and subtle thoughts as to how it was carried out; for it did not take place in the body at all, as He remained in the grave for three days' (Erl. ed. [Germ.] xix.² 41).

It is instructive to note, as bearing in the same direction, what Luther adds to the words quoted above regarding the Descent of the whole person: 'Please God, the banner, doors, gate, and chains were of wood, or of iron, or did not exist at all' (*op. cit.* p. 45). Yet these utterances in the Torgau discourse, notwithstanding their unmistakably exoteric and metaphorical cast, came at length to be formulated as dogma. Owing, in some unexplained way, to local controversies regarding the Descent (F. H. R. Frank, *Theol. der Concordienformel*, iii., Erlangen, 1863, p. 418 ff.), the framers of the Formula of Concord (and even of its forerunner, the so-called Book of Torgau) deemed it necessary to insert a special Article (ix.) 'de Descensu Christi.' Their ostensible purpose in so doing was merely 'simplicitatem fidei in symbolo apostolico comprehensam retinere' (J. T. Müller, *Die symbol. Bücher d. evang.-luth. Kirche*, stereotype ed., Gütersloh, 1882, p. 696. 1). But when, in Art. ix., with a reference to Luther's Torgau discourse, they declare: 'Simpliciter ergo credimus quod *tota persona*, Deus et homo, post sepulcrum ad inferos descenderit, Satanam devicerit, potestatem inferorum everterit, et diabolo omnem vim et potentiam eripuerit' (*ib.* 696. 2), it is clear that the statement has behind it the whole argumentation of Art. viii. on the 'Communicatio idiomatum' (*ib.* 697. 3).

Lutheran orthodoxy, in maintaining (in opposition to the Reformed theology: see § 5 below), as an element of the true doctrine, that the *Descensus* was an act which, occurring after the *ἡγούμενη* and immediately before the Resurrection, involved the *entire* person of Christ, and belonged to the *status exaltationis*, was simply proceeding upon the lines laid down by the Formula of Concord. But, in seeking to establish these positions, it appealed to the Petrine passage (1 P 3¹⁹) which was not cited by that Formula, asserting that the preaching of Christ was a 'praedicatio (verbalis!) elenctica,' and therefore a 'triumphum agere'

(Hollaz, in H. Schmid, *Die Dogmatik d. evang. luth. Kirche*, Frankfort, 1858, § 38, note 21). In so doing, however, it also makes a complete surrender of the '*simplicitas fidei*,' as its Christology compelled it to qualify the 'descendit' by the phrase '*secundum humanam naturam*,' for '*secundum divinam naturam* jam ante in inferno per dominium omnia replens erat' (Quenstedt, in Schmid, *op. cit.* § 38, note 23). On a closer view, in fact, the 'descendit' becomes more attenuated still, since, according to the doctrine of Christ's omnipresence, His humanity is—after His exaltation, at all events—wherever His Divinity is. The '*supernaturalis motus non localis*' (Hollaz, in *loc. cit.* note 22) is thus merely the first phase of the non-local *ubiquitas corporis*. According to the Tübingen school, indeed, the humanity of Christ was not to be separated from His non-local omnipresent Divinity, even at the beginning of His rest in the grave, or at any time, in fact, after His *conceptio* (Dorner, *Gesch. d. prot. Theol.*, Munich, 1867, ii. 788 ff.).

5. Reformed doctrine.—If the Lutheran doctrine may be regarded as a modification of the Catholic—and it can be explained only by reference to the latter—the view of the Reformed Churches, so far as a single generic view of the question may be attributed to them, is characterized by a complete abandonment of the Roman dogma. It is true that Zwingli, in his first discourse at Berne (*Werke*, ed. Schuler und Schulthess, Zürich, 1828-1842, ii. 1. p. 211), kept close to the Catholic interpretation, asserting that the pious who lived before Christ and believed in the coming Messiah were delivered from Hades; and that later (*Fidei expositio* 7 [Werke, iv. 49]), while of opinion that the 'descendit' of the *Apostolicum* signifies only that Christ really died ('inferis enim connumerari ex humanis abisisse est'), he still clung to that view, which rests upon a peculiar exegesis of 1 P 3¹⁹. Leo Jud, again, in his Catechism of 1534, finds no more in the 'descendit' than '*vere mortuus est*': 'He died and was buried—went to Hell indeed, *i.e.* He really died' (A. Schweizer, *Die Glaubenslehre der evang.-ref. Kirche*, ii., Zürich, 1847, p. 349). Then Calvin, while deeming it an error to take the 'descendit' as equivalent to '*sepultus est*' (*Inst.* 1536 [Opp. i. 70: '*haec particula de descensu . . . minime superflua*']; emphatic repudiation in *Inst.* 1539-54 [Opp. i. 529] and 1559 [Opp. ii. 375]), nevertheless characterizes the Roman view as a '*fabula*' not only in *Inst.* 1536 (i. 69 f.) but also later (*Inst.* 1539-54, 7. 27 [i. 529 f.]; 1559, 2. 16, 9 [ii. 375 f.]); the idea that the souls of the dead are confined in a prison he regards as simply 'childish' (1559, 2. 16, 9 [ii. 376]). From 1536 to 1559 the only meaning which he drew from the Petrine passages—without applying them to the *Descensus* at all—was as follows:

'virtutem redemptionis per Christum partae exhibitam et plane manifestatam esse eorum spiritibus qui ante id tempus defuncti fuerant.' 'Fideles,' he believes, 'tunc plane et praesenti aspectu perspexerunt ejus visitationem; contra reprobi . . . nullam sibi spem residuam tunc planius agnoverunt' (*Inst.* 1539-54, 7. 27, p. 580; cf. 1538, p. 70, and 1559, 2. 16, 9, p. 376).

To Calvin's mind the true sense of the article 'descendit ad inferos' was this:

'Christum afflictum a Deo fuisse ac divini iudicii horrorem et severitatem sensisse, ut irae Dei intercederet ac ejus iustitiae nostro nomine satisfaceret' (*Inst.* 1536, p. 60; cf. 1559, 2. 16, 10, ii. 376: 'Nihil actum erat, si corpora tantum morte defunctis fuisset Christus, sed operae simul pretium erat, ut divinae ultionis severitatem sentiret, quo et irae ipsius intercederet et satisfaceret justo iudicio; unde etiam sum oportuit cum inferorum coplis aeternaeque mortis horrore quasi consensit manibus luctari').

Calvin is thinking here, not of the experiences through which Jesus passed after His death, but of the agonies of soul which preceded it. To challenge this interpretation on the ground that

if conflicts with the sequence of the Symbolical causes, he regards as frivolous:

'Ubi enim quae in hominum conspectu passus est Christus posita fuerunt, oportune subicitur invisibile illud et incomprehensibile iudicium quod coram Deo sustinuit' (*Inst.* 869, 2. 16, 10, p. 376 f.).

In the Reformed Churches of the succeeding period, as is shown by F. Wendelin (*Systema*, 1656, p. 719, in Schweizer, ii. 350), the views of Leo Jud and Calvin took precedence of all others, though in varying measure:

'Per descensum nihil aliud significari nisi sepulturam, pl^u loci viri nonnulli approbant; plerique orthodoxorum intelligunt dolores infernales quos in anima sua Christus sensit' (F. Wendelin, *oc. cit.*).

With regard to the latter point the Reformed theologians often differ from Calvin in not restricting Christ's endurance of the *dolores infernales* to His earthly life. In both statements it is of course implied—in opposition to the Lutheran theory—that the *Descensus* belongs to the *status exinanitionis* or *humiliationis* (*Westminster Larger Catechism*, qu. 46, 49, 50). Among the formularies which adopt the distinctively Calvinistic view are the Geneva Catechism (E. F. K. Müller, *Bekennnisschriften d. ref. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 122 f.: 'horribiles angustias intelligo quibus Christi anima constricta fuit') and the Heidelberg Catechism (qu. 44 [Müller, p. 694: 'unspeakable distress, agony, and horror, which He suffered in His soul, and previously']). The *Westminster Larger Catechism* sets forth the Calvinistic view—without mention of the 'Descent' however—in qu. 49, while in qu. 50 it supplements this by speaking of Christ 'as after His death . . . continuing in the state of the dead, and under the power of death,' and expressly adds that this 'hath been otherwise expressed in these words,—He descended into hell.' But most of the Reformed Confessions give no explanation of the *Descensus* at all. The Anglican XXXIX Articles of 1563 likewise discard that portion of Art. iii. (Müller, p. 506: 'nam corpus usque ad resurrectionem in sepulchro jacuit; spiritus, ab illo emissus, cum spiritibus qui in carcere sive in inferno detinebantur fuit, illisque praedicavit, quemadmodum testatur Petri locus') which in the XLII Articles of 1552 followed the statement 'Christus est credendus ad inferos descendisse.'

6. Modern interpretation and re-statement.—In the Greek and Roman Churches the formulated doctrines of the *Descensus* dealt with above (§§ 2 and 3) have maintained an all but absolute predominance since mediæval times; of the few divergent tendencies the more important are mentioned by Dietelmaier (*Hist. dogmatis de Descensu*², Altorf, 1762, pp. 128–139, 144–153, 179). Within the pale of Lutheranism, again, a great variety of views gained a footing at the very outset. Luther himself advocated more than one interpretation (cf. § 4); Johannes Agricola, in his *Christliche Kinderleut*, propounded views similar to those afterwards maintained by Calvin (cf. G. Kawerau, *Joh. Agricola*, Berlin, 1881, p. 72), and with these views, again, Joh. Aepinus of Hamburg († 1553) incorporated the theory that the *Descensus* was really a vicarious descent of the Spirit of Jesus into that *infernum* in which sinners deserve to suffer until the Final Judgment and the inception of Gehenna fire (F. H. R. Frank, *Die Theologie der Concordienformel*, 4 vols., Erlangen, 1858–65, iii. 397–415); many others have approximated to the position of Aepinus (Frank, p. 415 f.), while Joh. Brenz († 1570), in the interests of the *ubiquitas corporis Christi* and the non-local character of 'Heaven' and the *infernum*, was inclined to favour a spiritual theory of the *Descensus*—an interpretation which amounted to little more than the notion that the crucified Christ is *supposed by human*

beings to have gone down to Hell and to have utterly perished (Frank, pp. 418–420; for other theologians, cf. Frank, pp. 416 f., 420–424, and for Urbanus Rhegius and Matthesius, Dietelmaier, p. 179 f.). From the issue of the Formula of Concord till after the middle of the 18th cent., however, the view formulated in that document prevailed generally within the Lutheran communion (cf. Dietelmaier, pp. 170, 180, 204–209). In the Reformed Churches neither of the Confessional views referred to in § 5 ever gained a position of absolute supremacy. As a matter of fact, it was in this section of the Church—in which the serious study of historical questions was entered upon earlier than among the Lutherans—that the certitude of the Confessional interpretations was first shattered. Besides the great theologian G. J. Vossius († 1649), two renowned English scholars, John Lightfoot († 1675) and John Pearson († 1686), succeeded in undermining the confidence hitherto placed in the formulated views, and for these thinkers the *Descensus* meant no more than the sojourn of the Spirit of Jesus in the realm of death. Then in the period of the Illumination the dogma largely lost its earlier signification, nor did the theology of post-Illumination times restore it.

But a fresh theory of the *Descensus* was advanced, and found favour in many quarters. The distinctive feature of the new interpretation was that it associated the preaching of Christ in Hades with a possible offer of salvation after death to all who had been denied the opportunity in this life. The *κρησσεύω* of 1 P 3¹⁰ was regarded as a preaching of the gospel; the contemporaries of Noah (v.²⁰) were supposed to be referred to only as examples, or as abnormally depraved, and it was thus inferred, *a maiore ad minus*, that, if salvation was proffered to such as these, a similar invitation must be granted to all who have not been called, or called effectually, in this life. To a certain extent recourse was had also to a hypothesis with which Augustine was acquainted (*Ep.* clxiv. 4. 13; Migne, *PL* xxxiii. 714), viz. that a knowledge of the salvation wrought by Christ must have remained in the realm of death ever since His preaching there. The present writer is unable, so far as regards the countries outside Germany, to trace the rise of this now widely diffused idea; considerable information on the subject is given by C. Clemen, '*Niedergefahren zu den Toten*,' Giessen, 1900, p. 215 ff. In Germany certain theologians—above all, J. L. König (*Die Lehre von Christi Höllenfahrt*, Frankfurt a.M., 1842), E. Güder (*Die Lehre von der Erscheinung Jesu Christi unter d. Toten*, Berne, 1853), and Clemen (*op. cit.*)—have given their support to this re-statement of the *Descensus* doctrine, or at least (thus Clemen) of what is supposed to be its religious bearing. These new ideas have found their way even into the precincts of Lutheran orthodoxy, and have become incorporated in a peculiar manner with other modifications of orthodox (=Lutheran) tradition (cf. e.g. Alex. von Ottingen, *Lutherische Dogmatik*, ii. 2, Munich, 1902, pp. 140–148). The theory which would affirm the possibility of an offer of salvation after death must, in our judgment, be conceded, and indeed many modern writers of the most diverse theological tendencies give it their approval (cf. König, p. 204 ff., Clemen, p. 212 ff.); but whether the theory can be legitimately combined with the *Descensus* as presented in Scripture (see below, § 7) or in the tradition of the Church (§ 8) is another question.

7. Re-statement compared with Scripture.—Of the various passages of Scripture which have at one time or another been appealed to in support of the *Descensus* those drawn from the OT need not be discussed here, as it is only by an obsolete

exegesis that references to Jesus Christ could be found in them. Nor do the NT passages—Mt 12⁴⁰, Ac 2²⁷, Ro 10⁷ and Eph 4⁸⁻¹⁰—speak of a *Descensus* of the nature implied by the 'Orthodox,' Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinistic, or 'modern' interpretations; these passages, or some of them, point at most to a sojourn of Jesus, or of His soul (Ac 2²⁷), in 'Hades.' We shall have an opportunity below (see § 10) of gauging the significance of this datum. The only passages which need be considered here are 1 P 3¹⁸ and 4⁶, which are very generally regarded as the *loci classici* for the *Descensus*, though, as we have already seen, Augustine and Aquinas (cf. § 3), Calvin (§ 5) and—for many years at least—Luther as well (§ 4), denied that the verses in question refer to the subject at all.

1 P 4⁶ must certainly be surrendered. For, while Augustine's idea that the *νεκροί* is equivalent to *infideles* (Ep. clxiv. 7. 21 [PL xxxiii. 718])—an exegesis adopted by Luther (Epist. *S. Petr. ausgelegt*, 1523 [Erl. ed. [Germ.] li. 468])—is undoubtedly wrong, Luther is as certainly right in saying (*loc. cit.* p. 467): 'He (St. Peter) adds further that they (the *νεκροί*) are judged according to man in the flesh. But they are not in the flesh; hence it can be understood only as applied to living persons.' If this reasoning be conclusive, and the application of the passage to the *Descensus* thus shown to be wrong, other points of difference among expositors may be left out of consideration here. The only correct explanation, in the present writer's opinion, is that which takes the *νεκροί* to signify those who were dead when the Epistle was written, but who in their lifetime had—as the *εὐαγγελιστὴς* shows—a knowledge of the gospel: just because they have died, and have not remained alive until the Parousia, they are 'judged in the flesh,' *ipsa morte carnis* (Augustine, Ep. clxiv. 7. 21 [PL xxxiii. 718]), but they live to God *πνεύματι*. This agrees with the whole train of thought which sets out from 3¹⁷ and reaches its middle point in 4⁶; for the emphasis is laid upon the idea that the dead, though it has been their lot *κρῖναι σαρκί*, nevertheless *ζῶσι κατὰ θεὸν πνεύματι*.

The case of 1 P 3¹⁸ cannot be so easily disposed of. Of the various interpretations applied to this passage, not a few find no reference to the *Descensus* in it either.

We have one example of this when the clause *ἐν ᾧ* (*sc. πνεύματι*) *προφθεῖν ἐκίρυσεν* is assumed to refer to the pre-existent Christ (I.). Such is the interpretation of Augustine (cf. § 3), J. C. K. v. Hofmann (*Die heilige Schrift d. N. T.* vii., Nordlingen, 1876, p. 134-134), and A. Schweizer (*Hinabgefahren zur Hölle*, etc., Zürich, 1868), who thinks that (1.a) the *πνεύματα* to whom Christ preached were the people of Noah's time, and that these are spoken of as *πνεύματα ἐν φυλακῇ* because they 'in ignorantia tenebris clauderantur' (Aug. Ep. clxiv. 5, 16 [PL xxxiii. 716]), or because they were *ἐν φυλακῇ* when the Epistle was written (v. Hofmann, *et al.*). Another form of this interpretation is that of F. Spitta (*Christi Predigt an die Geister*, Göttingen, 1890), that (1.b) the *ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύματα* are the angels whose fall (Gn 6²) was a theme of such profound interest in the Jewish apocalyptic literature and in certain Christian circles of the early centuries (cf. 2 P 2⁴). Similarly, the idea of the *Descensus* is surrendered by the interpretation which refers the clause *προφθεῖν ἐκίρυσεν* to the period after the Resurrection (II.). This exegesis is certainly untenable in the form represented by Luther, viz. that (II.a) Christ after His Ascension comes in the Spirit (i.e. in preaching) to the spirits (i.e. spirits or hearts of men), who are as disobedient as the contemporaries of Noah (Erl. ed. [Germ.] li. 458-460); but in the form given to it by F. O. Baur (*Vorlesungen u. d. neutest. Theologie*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 291)—that (II.b) those to whom Christ preached were the fallen angels (cf. 1 Ti 2¹⁸: *ὁὐδὲν ἀγγέλους*)—it still finds adherents (M. Lauterburg, *PRE3* viii. 201, l. 21 ff.). But a new interest gathers around the passage when the *προφθεῖν ἐκίρυσεν* is understood to indicate an event which occurred in the interval between Christ's death and His resurrection (III.). The theories based on this exegesis fall into two main classes, corresponding to a twofold explanation of *ἐκίρυσεν*. If the word be taken to mean a preaching of salvation (III.a), then the verse asserts that during the interval in question Christ proclaimed salvation to the generation destroyed by the Deluge. But, if *ἐκίρυσεν* be interpreted as implying only an 'elencthic proclamation' (III.b), we have a view which seems to approximate to the position of Lutheran Orthodoxy (cf. § 4).

Which of the above five exegetical theories still advocated to-day (I.a, b, II.b, III.a, b) is the most probable is a question which each must decide for himself; to seek to prove that any single one is exclusively correct were a hopeless task. The present writer has a considerable preference for the first form of explanation (I.), and especially for that of Spitta (I.b), though he hardly shares the confidence with which the latter scholar refers the *ἐκίρυσεν* to the commination uttered, according to the Book of Enoch (xii. 4, ed. Fleming and Radermacher, Leipzig, 1901, p. 34 ff.), over the fallen angels by Enoch: so many ideas of like nature must have been current in Apostolic times. But, even if either of the interpretations specified in III. is the right one, i.e. if we are to postulate a preaching of Christ in the interval between His death and His resurrection, yet 1 P 3¹⁸ gives as little warrant for the 'modern' conception of the *Descensus* as for that of the Lutheran Orthodoxy. Both theories, in fact, alike the Orthodox Lutheran, which does not harmonize with the *ἐν ᾧ* (= *ἐν πνεύματι*), and the modern, are in conflict with the indisputable fact that the only people mentioned in v.²⁰ as those to whom Christ preached are the contemporaries of Noah. To assume that the latter are mentioned only by way of example, and that the preaching of salvation, or of judgment, was heard by all *ἀπεσθίσαντες ποτε*, is certainly unwarranted. As regards the whole passage, in fact, only one thing is certain, viz. that, if it speaks of the *Descensus* at all, whether in the sense of interpretation III.a or in that of III.b, it presents an altogether unique conception of the event—unique not only with respect to the Confessional interpretations (§§ 2-5) and the 'modern' theories, but also with respect to the traditions of the early Church. The conception of the *Descensus* current in the early Church proceeded on entirely different lines (see § 8) and arose independently of 1 P 3¹⁸. Prior to the time of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 6. 45, ed. O. Stählin, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454, 14 ff.) and Origen (*in Joann.* vi. 35, ed. E. Preuschen, Leipzig, 1903, p. 144, 15 ff.), this passage, so far as we know, was never referred to in connexion with the *Descensus*; while Irenæus, who often speaks of the *Descensus*, and brings many Biblical passages to bear upon it (cf. *adv. Hær.* v. 31. 1, Massuet [ed. Harvey, Cambridge, 1877, ii. 411]), and who, moreover, was acquainted with 1 Peter and regarded it as authentic (*op. cit.* iv. 9. 2 [ii. 170]), never quotes the passage at all, nor, in dealing specially with the *Descensus*, does he even allude to it.

8. Re-statement compared with early Church tradition.—It is absolutely certain that the early Church tradition regarding the *Descensus* moves in an orbit quite apart from the 'modern' treatment of the conception. As regards the Western Baptistical Confession, it is well known that the 'descendit ad inferos,' which does not occur in the early Roman Symbol (Hahn, *Bibliothek d. Symbole*, Breslau, 1897, p. 22 ff.), makes its first appearance in the Symbol of Aquileia by Rufinus (Hahn, p. 42, cf. note 63; Caspari, *Quellen*, ii. [Christiania, 1869] 46, note 133; also F. Kattenbusch, *Das apostol. Symbol*, ii. [Leipzig, 1900] 895 ff.). In the Eastern Confessions (not, however, in the Baptistical formulæ) the clause appears somewhat earlier, viz. in the Fourth Sirmian formula of 359 (Hahn, § 163: *καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια κατέλθοντα*), the kindred formula of Nice of the same year (Hahn, § 164), and the Constantinopolitan formula of 380 (Hahn, § 167). But, long before these Confessions saw the light, the *Descensus* was already part of the Church tradition, alike in the East and in the West. This appears, to begin with, from the circumstance that among the things 'quæ testatissima veritate de Christo conscripta sunt' Augustine places the fact

'quod apud inferos fuit' (*Ep.* clxiv. 5. 14; cf. *ib.* 4. 12; 'Christo ad inferos descendente,' and 2. 3 '[Christum] . . . venisse in infernum satis constat, . . . quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum?'); but in point of fact the idea of the *Descensus* can be clearly traced through Clement of Alexandria (cf. § 7), Tertullian (*de Anima*, 7 and 55, ed. Reifferscheid, Vienna, 1890, p. 308, 14 and 387 ff.), and Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* iii. 20. 4, Massuet [ed. Harvey, ii. 108]; iv. 22. 1 [ii. 228]; iv. 33. 1 [ii. 256]; iv. 33. 12 [ii. 267]; v. 31. 1 [ii. 411], and *Ἀποδείξεις*, *TU* xxx. 1. p. 42), to Justin (*Dial.* 72, ed. Otto, 1876-81, ii. 260) and one of the 'presbyters' of Irenæus (cf. *adv. Hær.* iv. 27. 2 [ii. 241]). Now, what significance did these Fathers attach to the idea? In answering this question it will be well to begin with the popular account of the *Descensus* given in the second part (i.e. the so-called *Descensus*) of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which probably belongs to the 4th cent. A.D. (*Evangelia apocrypha*³, ed. Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 322 ff. and 389 ff.). Here it is told in most dramatic style how Christ after His death came to Hades, set free the OT saints, and took them to Heaven, while He cast Satan, who desired to detain Him in Hades, into Tartarus (Gr. text, cap. vi. p. 329; Lat. text B, cap. viii. p. 429; but somewhat differently Lat. text A, cap. vi. p. 400: 'tradidit eum inferi potestati'). According to this account, therefore, there are two elements in the *Descensus*, viz. Christ's deliverance of the OT fathers from Hades, and His victory over Satan. The latter is not found in the earlier sources, being a mythological expansion—traceable as far back as Origen (*in Gen.* hom. 17. 5, ed. Lommatzsch, Berlin, 1831-48, viii. 290)—of the NT conception of Christ's victory over Satan combined with Ac 2⁷; the former—the deliverance of the saints—corresponds to the tradition which can be traced back to Justin's time. And that this conception of the *Descensus* may be regarded as distinctively that of the early Church is corroborated by the following facts. (1) Irenæus (in all the passages quoted above) and Justin (*loc. cit.*) give Scripture proofs of the view in question, and they also cite an OT (apocryphal) passage as follows: 'Commemoratus est Dominus, sanctus Israel, mortuorum suorum qui dormiant in terra sepulchris, et descendit ad eos evangelizare salutem, quae est ab eo, ut salvaret eos' (*Iren.* iii. 20. 4 [ii. 108]; cf. A. Resch, 'Ausserkanon. Paralleltexte zu d. Evangelien,' *TU* x. 1 and 2, p. 372 ff.). (2) It is evident that Celsus, the pagan adversary of Christianity, was acquainted with this view; according to Origen (*c. Celsum*, H. 43 [ed. Koetschau, Leipzig, 1899, i. 166]), he speaks of Christ thus: *μη πείσας τοὺς ὄντες ὅντας ἐστέλλετο εἰς ἄδου πείσων τοὺς ἐκεί.* (3) Marcion's conception of the *Descensus* is obviously a characteristic travesty of that recognized by the Church; thus, according to Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 27. 3 [i. 218 f.]), Marcion taught:

³ Cain et eos qui similes sunt ei, et Sodomitis et Aegyptiis et similes eis et omnes omnino gentes quae in omni permixtione malignitatis ambulaverunt, salvatas esse a Domino, cum descendisset ad inferos, . . . Abel autem et Enoch et Noe et reliquos justos et eos qui sunt erga Abraham patriarchas, cum omnibus prophetis et his qui placerunt Deo, non participasse salutem. . . . Quoniam enim sciebant, inquit, Deum suum semper tentantem eos, et tunc tentare eum suspicati, non accurrerunt Jesu neque crediderunt annuntiationi ejus; et propterea remansisse animas ipsorum apud inferos dixit.

Moreover, we cannot appeal to Rufinus as a witness against the theory that the conception of the *Descensus* thus travestied by Marcion was the accredited doctrine of the Church. It may well be that Rufinus did not know what to make of the 'descendit ad inferos' in his own Symbol. His first remark regarding it is: 'vis verbi eadem videtur esse in eo, quod sepultus dicitur,' while, further on, along with other passages of Scripture, he incidentally refers to 1 P 3⁴, which, as he thinks,

tells us 'quid operis [Christus] in inferno egerit' (*Comm. in Symbol.* cap. 18 and 28 [Migne, *PL* xxi. 356 and 364]). After all, it is quite true that the Article 'descendit ad inferos' bears essentially the same meaning as the people of that day found in the Article 'sepultus est.' Christ went to Hades, according to the beliefs of the age, precisely because He died and was buried: 'Christus Deus,' says Tertullian, 'quia et homo, mortuus secundum scripturas, et sepultus secundum eandem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanae mortis apud inferos functus' (*de Anima*, 55 [ed. Reifferscheid, i. 388, 1-3]). We must not forget that Jews as well as Greeks regarded the grave and Hades as identical; the *Didaskalia Apostolorum* contains a passage—one, moreover, of quasi-Symbolical character—which brings Christ's liberation of the OT saints into immediate connexion with His death:

'qui crucifixus est sub Pontio Pilato et dormivit, ut evangelizaret Abraham et Isaac et Jakob et sanctis suis universis tam finem saeculi quam resurrectionem quae erit mortuorum' (vi. 6, 23. 8; ed. Funk, *Didaskalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905, i. 382).

9. Original signification of the doctrine.—We proceed to ask whether the conception of the *Descensus* thus recognized by the early Church—the conception which has been preserved most faithfully in the Orthodox Eastern Church, and still looms through the Roman Catholic doctrine, but which differs radically from the formulated views of the Protestant Churches, as also from the 'modern' interpretation of the *Descensus* as a preaching to unbelievers—was the original. But this really leads to the antecedent question whether the view shown to have been held by Tertullian, Irenæus, and Justin can be traced still further back. In Hermas (*Simil.* ix. 16. 5) we find the theologoumenon: *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι οἱ κηρύξαντες τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ κοιμηθέντες . . . ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοὺς προκεκοιμημένους.* Clearly, therefore, Hermas knew nothing of a 'Descensus Christi ad inferos' in the sense ascribed to it by Tertullian, Irenæus, and Justin. The present writer is, nevertheless, convinced—with J. B. Lightfoot and other scholars—that an idea of the *Descensus* very similar to that held by these Fathers can be traced even in Ignatius. Speaking of the prophets, the latter says that they had hoped and waited for Jesus Christ, *ἐν ᾧ (sc. Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ) καὶ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν . . . ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . συννηθημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος* (*Philad.* v. 2, ed. Lightfoot, Lond. 1889, ii. 262 f.), while the same thought is found in *Magn.* ix. 2 (ii. 131), which speaks of Christ and the prophets thus: *ὅν δικαίως ἀνέμενον, παρὼν ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν.* Nor does the present writer doubt that these ideas of the *Descensus* likewise underlie the thought of Ignatius when he speaks of Jesus Christ as the *θῦρα τοῦ πατρὸς, δι' ἧς εἰσέρχονται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία* (*Philad.* ix. 1; Lightfoot, ii. 274). Are we to assume, then, that the ideas of Ignatius regarding the deliverance of the OT saints from Hades were identical with those of Tertullian and Irenæus? The present writer is of opinion that they were not quite identical. In order to become convinced of this we must first examine the eschatological beliefs of Irenæus and Tertullian. Here Tertullian is the clearer of the two. He says, quite unmistakably, that 'no one enters Heaven before the end of the world': 'nulli patet coelum, terra adhuc salva, ne dixerim clausa, cum transactione enim mundi reserabuntur regna coelorum' (*de Anima*, 55 [ed. Reifferscheid, i. 388, 17 ff.]). Until the Last Day, therefore, the dead are in an intermediate state; the universal law is that all the dead, Christians included, pass after death into Hades: 'omnis ergo anima penes inferos,

inquis? Velis ac nolis, et supplicia jam illic et refrigeria. Habes pauperem et divitem' (*ib.* 58; i. 394. 9-11). The allusion to Lk 16¹⁰⁷ shows that Tertullian located 'Abraham's bosom' (v. 22¹), likewise 'apud inferos.' But he was also aware that the souls of martyrs pass immediately into 'Paradise': 'nemo enim peregrinatus a corpore statim immoratur penes Dominum nisi ex martyrii prerogativa, paradiso scilicet, non inferis diversurus' (*de Res. Carn.* 43, ed. Oehler, Leipzig, 1851-53, p. 973; cf. *de Anima*, 55 [Reifferscheid, i. 389. 3]: 'tota paradisi clavis tuus sanguis'). Nor does Tertullian appear to deny that even the patriarchs saved by Christ—the 'appendices dominicae resurrectionis'—tarry in Paradise till the 'transactio mundi' (*de Anima*, 55 [Reifferscheid, i. 388. 21 ff.]). What then is Paradise? A 'locus divinae amenitatis recipiendis sanctorum spiritibus destinatus' (*Apol.* 47 [Oehler, p. 145]), to be distinguished from that Hades which contains the souls of most of the dead, as an 'aliud et privatum hospitium' (*de Anima*, 55 [Reifferscheid, i. 388. 29]), yet in the last resort clearly a section of the 'inferi,' identical with the 'sinus Abrahae,' where 'expectandae resurrectionis solacium capitur' (*ib.*). Irenæus, who, it must be confessed, appears not to have fully mastered the heterogeneous mass of traditions before him, held a view essentially the same (cf. L. Atzberger, *Gesch. d. christl. Eschatol. innerhalb d. voricdn. Zeit*, Freiburg in B., 1896, p. 238 ff.). But he seems to think of the *πνευμαφόροι* (i.e. truly spiritual Christians, martyrs, and other specially mature believers) who enjoy in Paradise a foretaste of *ἀθάνατος* (*adv. Hær.* v. 5. 1 [ii. 331]) not merely—with Tertullian—as 'spiritus,' but also, perhaps on the authority of 1 Co 5⁴ (a passage which he often cites [cf. Harvey, ii. 521])—as endowed with what we may call provisional bodies (cf. what is said, *op. cit.* p. 330, about Enoch and Elijah). Now, we see at once that, with respect to the views of Irenæus and Tertullian, the same questions urge themselves upon us as arose in connexion with the recognized doctrine of the Eastern Church (see above, end of § 2). According to the beliefs of the two Fathers regarding Paradise, all that Christ could accomplish on the occasion of His *Descensus* was—to put it somewhat crudely—to place the OT saints in a better region of Hades. Did Ignatius too share this view? And is this the original idea of the *Descensus*? The former question—little as Ignatius says of the matter—may, as we think, be answered in the negative. What Christ did for the prophets, according to Ignatius (*Magn.* ix. 2), was: *ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν*. Was Ignatius thinking here of a bodily resurrection, and of what is narrated in Mt 27⁵²? T. Zahn (*Ign. v. Antiochien*, Gotha, 1873, p. 598 f.) believes that he was. But the hypothesis is belied by the first of the Ignatian passages already quoted (*Philad.* v. 2), according to which the prophets are *συντηρημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐκπαίδας*, i.e. they look forward, exactly like the Christians, to the *ἀνδραγαθία σωτῆρος*. It is certainly possible that Ignatius agreed with Irenæus in believing that prophets and patriarchs had acquired provisional bodies. But the true sense of the Ignatian references, as the present writer thinks, leaves us free either to accept this theory or to assume that, like Tertullian, he was thinking only of the 'spiritus' of the prophets. Perhaps his cogitations had never brought him face to face with the alternative; for it is obvious that in his eyes the essence of the matter was that Christ had vouchsafed to the OT saints the same salvation as Christians had obtained. What then, according to Ignatius, is the position of Christians with respect to death? So far as he himself was concerned, he does not look forward to a sojourn in Hades; he hopes, at his approaching decease, to

win God (*Θεὸν ἐκρυχαίν*, *Rom.* i. 2, fi. 1, etc.), to go to the Father (*ib.* vii. 2), to be united to Christ (*ib.* vii. 3; cf. E. von der Goltz, *Ign. als Theologe*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 38). Do these words imply that Ignatius, as one about to become a martyr, longed for the 'prerogative' (cf. Tertullian's phrase quoted in *preced. col.*) of 'statim penes dominum esse'? Such an interpretation seems quite at variance with the manner in which he speaks of himself elsewhere. He must have supposed, accordingly, that, although Christians will not attain the resurrection of the body until the Last Day, yet they do not fall under the bondage of death, i.e. Hades, but pass through the gate of death to eternal life. It is clear that, according to Ignatius, that which Christians experience immediately after death was imparted, in virtue of Christ's descent, also to the OT saints. That these reflexions of Ignatius are of a more primitive character than those of Irenæus and Tertullian appears probable from the fact that they exhibit a higher degree of self-consistency, and are in perfect accord with ideas suggested by Jn 8⁵¹ and 11²⁵⁷ (cf. 11²⁴). But this priority is also capable of proof. First of all, it is worthy of note that the phrase *ἤγειρεν αὐτοὺς ἐκ νεκρῶν* used by Ignatius is found in later statements regarding the *Descensus* which are unquestionably independent of him. In the *Acta Thaddaei*, written c. A.D. 250, Christ is referred to in these terms: *ἐστραυρώθη, καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾗδην, καὶ διέσχισε φραγμὸν τὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος μὴ σχισθέντα, καὶ ἀνῆγειρεν νεκρούς* καὶ κατέβη μόνος, ἀνέβη δὲ μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ (*Euseb. HE* i. 13. 20, ed. E. Schwartz, Leipzig, 1907, i. 96). The *ἤγειρεν*, indeed, is still found in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (viii., p. 330). Another important point is that Tertullian and Irenæus expressly oppose the theory that Christians do not go to Hades (cf. Kattenbusch, *op. cit.* ii. 902 ff.). Of his opponents on this point Tertullian says: 'qui satis superbe non putant animas fidelium inferis dignas' (*de Anima*, 55 [Reiff. i. 388. 7]); 'In hoc, inquit, Christus inferos adit, ne nos adiremus; ceterum quod discrimen ethnicorum et christianorum, si carcer mortuis idem?' (*ib.* 55 [Reiff. i. 388. 10 ff.]). Irenæus, again, censures those within the Church (cf. *adv. Hær.* v. 31. 1: 'qui putantur recte credidisse') who believe 'interiorem hominem ipsorum derelinquentem hic corpus, in supercoelestem ascendere locum' (*adv. Hær.* v. 31. 2 [ii. 412]). Now, the real innovators here are not those who were thus assailed by Irenæus and Tertullian, and whose views, it may be added, were still at work in the time of Pelagius (cf. Loofs, *Dogmengesch.*, Halle, 1907, p. 421), but these Fathers themselves. Finally, the older view still asserts itself in the thought of Irenæus: 'Ecclesia . . . multitudinem martyrum . . . praemittit ad patrem' (*adv. Hær.* iv. 33. 9 [ii. 263]), and, in fact, the belief that the martyrs and saints are even now with Christ long survived throughout the Western Church, as also—though with manifold inconsistencies—in the East.

Thus the most primitive, or, at least, the earliest traceable, element in the conception of the *Descensus* would seem to be the belief that Christ, having descended into the under world after His death, delivered the OT saints from that necessity of being confined in Hades which was thenceforward abrogated in the case of believers, and conveyed them to the Heaven which all believers have hereafter the right to enter.

10. Relation of doctrine to primitive Christian ideas.—That in this most primitive, i.e. earliest traceable, view we have reached the primordial element of the doctrine is rendered probable by the fact that the view in question is closely connected with certain important and, indeed, central ideas in primitive Christianity. Reference can be

made here only to a few points. (1) This earliest phase of the conception shows not the slightest influence of that high esteem accorded, from the days of the Apologists, to the pious heathen who lived before Christ; it numbers with the Church of God only the *saints of the Old Covenant*. (2) It does justice to the primitive Christian conviction that Christ was the *πρωτόκοκς ἐκ νεκρῶν* (Col 1¹⁸, 1 Co 15²⁰), the One who brought life (Paul, John, 1 P 1³, Heb., Ac 4² 13^{32a}, 17³¹). (3) It ignores the distinction between the Resurrection and the Ascension of Christ, and, indeed, with not a few primitive Christian documents (cf. *Barnab.* xv. 9, ed. Harnack², Leipzig, 1878, p. 66, and Harnack's note), treats the two as one. We may well wonder, indeed, that the opponents of the bodily resurrection of Jesus have never appealed to this conception of the *Descensus*, i.e. the *ἐγερθῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν* of the patriarchs and their entrance into Heaven with Christ—though there are, of course, arguments which would tell against such a procedure. Even the relatively late *Gospel of Nicodemus* allows no time at all for the bodily resurrection of Christ, and that event is made known to the world, not by His appearance, but by the preaching of those who have come with Him from Hades (xi. 332; Lat. text A, 406 f.; B, 431).

Another link of evidence for the antiquity of the conception set forth in § 9 is that traces of it are found in the NT. Not certainly in 1 Peter; for, as will be seen from all that has been said, if the much-canvassed passages in that work refer to the *Descensus* at all, they would indicate a view which is quite unique and finds no support in the tradition of the early Church. The Pauline Epistles, again, in spite of Ro 10⁷ and Eph 4⁹, have in our opinion as little to say of the *Descensus* as Ac 2^{27, 31}; all that these passages imply is the sojourn of Christ in Hades which, in the minds of the writers, was necessarily involved in His death. It is possible, however, that the belief in the *Descensus* is presupposed in Rev 1¹⁸ (*ἔγω τὰς κλείς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾄδου*); while Jn 8⁵⁶ (*Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατήρ ὡν ἡγαλλίασας ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ εἰδὲ καὶ χάραγ*)—a passage which, as we think, still awaits a satisfactory exegesis—becomes intelligible when it is taken to refer to Christ's presence in Hades. It is true that the saying, as put into the mouth of Jesus, would thus involve a violent anachronism. But is an adequate exposition of, e.g., Jn 6 possible except on the hypothesis of similar anachronisms?

We are on surer ground in saying that the idea of the *Descensus* was known to the author of Hebrews. Thus, of the OT saints whom he cites in ch. 11 as witnesses of faith he says expressly: οἱτοὶ πάντες . . . οὐκ ἐκομίσαντο τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τοῦ Θεοῦ περὶ ἧν κρείττον τι προβλεψάμενον, ἵνα μὴ χωρὶς ἡμῶν τελειωθῶσιν (11^{39a}); then in ch. 12 he assumes that even now the heavenly Jerusalem contains not only the *ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων* (Apostles and other believers of the first generation), but also the *πνεύματα δικαίων τετελειωμένων* (12^{21a}). Now these *δικαίω τετελειωμένοι* must also include the heroes of faith mentioned in ch. 11. Until Christ came, however, the way into the holy place was not open to them (cf. 9⁸: τοῦτο δηλοῦντος τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου, μήπως πεφανερῶσθαι τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ πρώτης σκηνῆς χεούσης στάσις). Christ alone, who τελειωθείς ἐγένετο πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ αἰτίος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου (5⁹), can have opened to them the holy place; through His death οὗ προδρόμος (6²⁰) entered the holy place, εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν (9²⁴); ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν, διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ (10²⁰). In all these passages, no doubt, the writer is thinking primarily of Christ's *sacificial* death, but do his words not gain in clearness when we assume that he had also the *Descensus* in his mind?

Finally, it seems to the writer to be beyond question that the idea of the *Descensus* underlies Mt 27⁵¹⁻⁵³. It has been aptly observed by Resch ('*Ausserkanon Paralleltexzte z. d. Evangelien*,' *TU* x. 1 and 2, 1893-94, p. 362) that the *Gospel of Nicodemus* indicates the sense in which the opening of the graves and the resurrection of saints narrated in these verses was understood, since it is hardly possible to doubt that the writer of the First Gospel favoured a similar view. We might even ask, indeed, whether the rending of the *καταπέτασμα* in Mt 27⁵¹ is not simply a mythical representation of the thought expressed in He 10²⁰, viz. that Christ set open the way into the holy place διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος.

11. Hybrid origin of doctrine excluded.—The Johannine writings, the Ep. to the Hebrews, and Mt 27⁵¹⁻⁵³ belong, however, to the latest stratum of the NT. That the conception of the *Descensus*, as set forth in § 9, was current in the earlier Apostolic period must, in view of the fact that the Pauline Epp. are silent regarding it, and that there is no trace of it in Hermas (cf. p. 660^b), be regarded as improbable. But from what was said in the foregoing paragraph we must recognize the presence of the idea in the later Apostolic period. This fact, and, still more, the fact that the idea of the *Descensus* is connected with primitive Christian-Jewish views of Hades and eternal life (cf. also § 10), are sufficient, as we think, to negative the theory that the belief was in part generated by non-Jewish and non-Christian influences—ideas from alien religions. Such a mixed origin has been ascribed to it by not a few modern scholars (cf. Clemen, *Religionsgesch. Erklärung d. NT.*, Giessen, 1909, pp. 153-156; H. Zimmern, *KAT*³, pp. 388, 563; H. Gunkel, *Zum religionsgesch. Verständnis d. NT.*, Göttingen, 1903, p. 72; O. Pfeiderer, *Das Urchristentum*³, Berlin, 1902, ii. 288, also *Das Christusbild des urchristl. Glaubens in religionsgesch. Beleuchtung*, Berlin, 1903, pp. 65-71; A. Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, Tübingen, 1905, pp. 10 and 80; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme d. Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, pp. 255-260; Percy Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*³, London, 1907, pp. 263-74; and others). But the many and various parallels that have been pointed out are—as parallels—anything but convincing; the similarities are nothing like so many as the differences, and the hypothesis that these exotic ideas exerted an influence upon the genesis of the *Descensus*-idea not only remains unproved, but is in the highest degree improbable.

12. Specifically early Christian character of doctrine.—The conception of the *Descensus*, as defined above (§ 9), must accordingly be recognized as a specifically Christian idea which goes back to the later decades of the primitive Church, and as such it has a strong claim upon our interest. The conception, in fact, holds a quite peculiar position, for it is the sole vestige of primitive Christian thought which, independently of the Bible—with marked modifications and variations, indeed,—still retains a place in the tradition of all the main divisions of the Christian Church. Even so, however, the modern mind cannot bring to it more than interest; we cannot now accept it as part of our faith. The Jewish-Christian beliefs regarding Hades and the sojourn of the soul therein, as also those regarding Heaven, which underlie the idea of the *Descensus*, belong to a cosmology which even the most determined *laudator temporis acti* cannot now accept. The conception, moreover, is really inseparable from these underlying beliefs, and, when the latter crumble away, nothing of the former remains. We can appraise the doctrine of the *Descensus* only in a historical sense, i.e. as a conception which brings into strong relief the primitive Christian conviction

that the resurrection of Jesus Christ was something altogether *new*, and which with its naive imagery graphically expresses not only the connexion between the Old and New Testaments, but also the original element in the new covenant. In fact, the *Descensus*-idea embodies in its own manner the very same thought as is expressed in the words of Ignatius, *Philad.* ix. 2: *ἐξέρχοντι ἐκεῖ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος, κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν*—οἱ γὰρ ἀγαπῶντες προφήτῃ κατήγγελλον εἰς αὐτὸν, τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπάρτισμα ἐστὶν ἀφάρσιος. But precisely this manner of expression is one of the most antiquated and assailable elements with which the tradition of the Christian Churches is still encumbered. It were fitting, therefore, that the Churches distinguished as Evangelical should omit the Article 'descendit ad inferos' from their programmes of instruction in Christian doctrine and worship.

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FRIEDRICH LOOFS.

DESCENT OF MAN.—See EVOLUTION.

DESIGN.—See TELEOLOGY.

DESIRE.—The inner nature and outer scope of human desire are such as to raise important questions concerning man's relation to the world and his estimate of his own life therein. In both a theoretical and a practical manner, desire proposes certain questions for philosophy: on the one side, it is asked whether man can desire aught but the pleasurable; on the other, it is questioned whether his attitude toward desire should be one of acceptance or rejection. Just as perception establishes a theoretical connexion between the mind and the world, so desire elaborates a volitional relation between the soul and Nature, so that man is led to wonder whether, like the animal, he could silently take his life for granted or, self-conscious and self-propelled as he is, should question the authority of natural desire over him. Owing to the problematic nature of desire, it becomes necessary to inquire concerning the exact psychological type and ethical worth of this human function; to this constructive work must be added critical considerations drawn from æsthetics and religion. Thus we must investigate what desire really is, and in what way, and to what extent, it is supposed to exercise sway over the human soul.

I. Psychology of desire.—The nature of desire is such as to place it between instinct and volition; it is superior to instinct inasmuch as it is a definite and conscious form of activity, while it is inferior to volition because it is not propelled by a disinterested, impersonal idea. Belonging to the emotional process, desire has the nature of active

feeling; all feeling tends to arouse activity in either mind or body, so that desire may be regarded as feeling plus activity—a process according to which a painful want is satisfied or a pleasurable experience retained. Nevertheless, desire is related to both cognition and volition; but, where pure intellection and pure conation work directly in relating the ego to its object as idea or act, desire follows an indirect path, which involves instinctive and personal considerations. In a certain sense, the position of desire in consciousness is exceptional, for the reason that acts are usually performed directly, while ideas are entertained in a purely mental manner not coloured by desire; in contrast to these more staid forms of cognitive and conative activity, desire expresses a condition of intensified human interest.

(a) The volitional factor in desire occasions a problem whose nature is expressed by the question, Does one always desire pleasure? If desire were purely affectional, it could easily be pointed out that desire is ever related to the pleasurable, aversion to the painful; but the presence of conation spoils the simplicity of this hedonic arrangement, and makes necessary one that is more extensive and complicated. Perceiving the influence of the will's activity, Aristotle was led to say: 'There are many things, so to speak, which we should choose on account of something else than pleasure' (*πάντα γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐτέρον ἕνεκα αἰσθηθέντα πλὴν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας* [*Éth. Nic.* x. 6]). In contrast to Aristotle's eudæmonism, J. S. Mill urged a hedonism on the basis of which he insisted upon identifying desire with a sense of pleasure:

'I believe that desiring a thing and finding it pleasant, aversion to it and thinking of it as painful, are phenomena entirely inseparable, or rather two parts of the same phenomenon; in strictness of language, two different modes of naming the same psychological fact: that to think of an object as desirable (unless for the sake of its consequences), and to think of it as pleasant, are one and the same thing; and that to desire anything, except in proportion as the idea of it is pleasant, is a physical and metaphysical absurdity' (*Utilitarianism*¹⁰, 1888, p. 56).

This dogmatism on Mill's part may be explained by observing that, where desire is viewed in independence of pleasure, the invalidity of the hedonic argument is at once demonstrated; for the ability of the ego to transcend pleasure and pain as determinants of action is a preliminary proof of idealism. On the psychological side, it is apparent that, where desiring an object indicates a volitional decision in favour of it, as worth while, still this does not mean emotional delight in it as something pleasurable. The later hedonism of Sidgwick admits this, and its author, in his anxiety to escape the egoistic implications of the older hedonism, declares:

'What I am concerned to maintain is that men do not *now* normally desire pleasure alone, but to an important extent other things also' (*Methods of Ethics*⁹, London, 1901, I. ch. iv. § 4). In identifying the pleasurable and desirable, the hedonist has confused desire in its active condition with the passive experience of delight, but the human mind is so constituted that it can choose other than delightful experiences. From the evolutionary standpoint, desire is related to pleasure, aversion to pain, upon the basis of the hedonic law which declares that the pleasurable is indicative of the beneficial in the organism, the painful of the harmful.

'Every pleasure,' says Herbert Spencer, 'increases vitality; every pain decreases vitality. Every pleasure raises the tide of life; every pain lowers the tide of life' (*Data of Ethics*, New York, 1893, § 36).

But the claim that the pleasure-giving is equivalent to the life-increasing, the pain-giving to the life-decreasing, is based upon purely biological considerations, and is discussed by Spencer in the chapter entitled 'The Biological View'; when he advances to 'The Psychological View,' as this is involved in the evolutionary plan, he repudiates the original hedonic scheme, by claiming that

man submits to guidance, not by simple, but by representative, feelings, whose ends are far removed from the sense of bodily benefit or injury (*ib.* § 42). The evolutionary conception of conduct is thus called upon to admit the presence of something like a disinterested play of consciousness, whereby man, emancipated from purely biological principles, chooses either pain or pleasure according to his idea of what has worth for the will.

(b) The cognitive factor in desire appears first of all in the presence of a presentative element which involves the idea of an object or end, so that cognition as well as conation tends to separate desire from the realm of purely instinctive feeling. As Sully says, 'where there is no knowledge, there can be no desire' (*The Human Mind*, ii. 196). Such knowledge consists in the memory of former pleasurable experiences which we would have repeated, or the idea of similar feelings which we could realize. The perceptible appreciable result to be obtained by activity in the direction of the desired object distinguishes desire from instinct, which functions immediately without the idea of an end. As Bergson has expressed it, 'there are things instinct alone finds, but it never seeks them' (*L'Evolution créatrice*, 1910, p. 164). On the cognitive side, desire consists in knowledge of an object rather than merely some pleasurable experience with its qualities, where one reads a book or listens to an opera, not merely for the attendant pleasure of the perusal or the performance, but for the sake of having read such a book or having heard such an opera. Desire is satisfied, not merely by pleasure, but by means of a conscious experience with an object, such as a foreign country which one visits. With its broad interests, the intellect transcends immediate pleasures, and advances to the idea of thrill which is afforded by contact with reality. In this way, art, which necessarily demands the disinterested, may mean more to the mind than actual life, just as tragic art, with its constant suggestion of pain and defeat, may be more entertaining than the comic, with its ideas of happiness and success. Through his desire for intellectual excitement, man has demonstrated his ability to rise above pleasure, just as he has shown that to perform acts peculiar to his will is of more value to him than to entertain pleasurable emotions. Desire thus involves an ideal as well as a purely cognitive element, for by its very nature it contrasts the actual condition of the ego with an ideal state of mind; the present as given, with the future as the not yet attained. This reference to the future is indicative of the difference between desire and pleasure; for, where pleasure is necessarily contemporaneous, desire is ever anticipatory, so that, as pleasure enters, desire departs. One desires pleasure when he does not possess it, but, when pleasure comes, the delight in it dispels the mere desire for it. In this way arises the larger question concerning happiness, which is sometimes conceived of as the possession of the good, sometimes as the pursuit of it.

(c) In addition to the conative and cognitive in desire, there is a third element, without recognition of which the problem of desire cannot be sufficiently presented; this is the *egoistic*. Desire indicates a form of activity streaming forth from the ego, while it is aimed at a form of experience calculated to affect the ego's condition. In themselves, both action and thought possess an impersonal character, since they relate to causal and substantial forms of reality found in the outer world; desire, however, makes use of these fundamental forms of mental reality only so far as they are of personal interest to the ego which desires to direct its faculties of conation and cognition in some particular channel. Desire is so identified with

personal interest that æsthetical and religious systems which counsel man to avoid desire do not fail to advise him to neglect self. As to the relation of man to the world about him, desire makes use of an egoistic form of expression whereby instinct becomes conscious and voluntary. The fatality that may attach to such a personal exhibition of instinctive traits was portrayed by Balzac in his philosophic story, 'The Magic Skin,' which, as a token, had power to confer any desire, but which itself dwindled with the gratification of the wish until at last it destroyed the possessor—a suggestion that one must desire even though the desiderative life will eventually destroy itself.

2. Ethics of desire.—Where the psychology of desire ends, the ethics of desire begins—in the idea of value. With its egoistic and emotional limitations, desire cannot serve as an ethical norm, for it has already been shown to be incapable of accounting for impersonal volition and ideation. Nevertheless, desire may become a determinant of value, because, where one does not necessarily desire the pleasurable, he does desire what he deems valuable. 'Man,' said Nietzsche, 'is the valuing animal as such' (*Genealogy of Morals*, tr. Hausemann, 1897, ii. § 8), and the valuational in him may be attributed to the desiderative element in his nature. In this way, value becomes subjective; instead of adhering to a thing as one of its properties, instead of belonging to the moral principle as one of its attributes, value is relative to human desire. From this subjective point, Chr. v. Ehrenfels has declared:

'We do not desire things because we recognize a mystical, unintelligible essence of value in them; but we attribute value to them because we desire them' (*Syst. der Wertheorie*, vol. I § 1).

Basing value upon desire, Ehrenfels follows Brentano in asserting that 'one can feel pleasure and pain without desiring; and, second, one can desire without feeling pleasure or pain' (*ib.* § 5). Having made value to consist of something subjective, he seeks to show how, in valuing a thing because of its desirability, we are not exchanging absolutism for egoism, for we are able to erect the idea of an absolute concept of value upon a psychic and subjective basis (*ib.* § 16). Value thus stands for a relation between an object and a subject, according to which the subject actually desires the object, or would desire it were it not convinced that the object existed for it (*ib.* § 21). The empiricism and eudæmonism of this view have been criticized by F. Krueger, who substitutes for the idea of actual desire that of a relatively constant desire (*Der Begriff des absolut Wertvollen*, ch. iii. 1). As Ehrenfels had clung to realism in desire, Krueger seeks to advance towards idealism. It is possible, however, to advance a stage beyond the point of view which regards value as the relatively constant desire of the subject. Desire contains not only the egoistic element, but the impersonal factors of cognition and conation whereby the moralist may secure a conception of the supreme good conceived neither eudæmonistically nor rigoristically, but in a valuational manner.

The attempt to idealize desire, that it may be elevated to the plane of the valuable, is quite in keeping with the inner nature of desire, with its perpetual contrast between the real and the ideal, the present and the future. At the same time, the mingling of pain and pleasure in desire—pain as to the given condition, pleasure with regard to a conceivable one—is only another phase of the idealizing tendency in all desire. At first view, desire seems to be but a natural principle, at one with the will to live and the struggle for existence, its inner nature consisting apparently in the conscious voluntary choice of the fundamental striving of all life. Thus viewed, human values are only human

desires directed towards an end. But in the moral consciousness of man the actual desire cannot be accepted as an ethical norm, whence arose idealism in conduct; and yet it is suggested that, were man truly man, the intelligible rather than the empirical ego, then the spontaneous desires of the human heart would represent genuine values of spiritual life. Man as a *valeur* lives according to idealized desires, so that, where Nature originates through organic striving and instinctive activity, reason continues this preliminary work by creating subjective values, whose essence consists in that which would be desired by man in his moral perfection. Inasmuch as ethics must begin with man as he is, it finds it necessary to express this idea of value by means of rectitude and duty. As a result, ethics, like psychology, cannot advance beyond the limits of mediocrity in man, who through desire is put in a condition of sufficiency, wherein interests take the place of ideals, and man transcends Nature only to the degree of elaborating the idea of the human species, and not that of internal spiritual life. This defect in the psychologico-ethical view of man is made up by the aesthetico-religious one, according to which desire is reeducated.

3. *Aesthetics of desire.*—In the artistic world, human desire is not accepted in its immediacy, but is subjected to spiritual scrutiny. Where the constructive mood of aesthetics prevails, desire is increased by the perception of beauty, which Stendhal (1783-1842) defined as 'a promise of happiness' (Nietzsche, *op. cit.* iii. § 6); where the critical mood is uppermost, beauty is regarded as the dwindling of desire in the form of disinterested contemplation. One is aphrodisiac, the other anti-aphrodisiac, in its effect upon desire. Even among the Greeks there was no lack of antipathy towards the desiderative in aesthetics, and it was in this spirit that Plato condemned the poet, not only because his imitative art yielded an inferior degree of truth, but because the excitement he aroused expressed an inferior part of the soul—the passionate rather than the reflective. This criticism he applied to the drama especially (*Rep.* 604-5). Aristotle conceived of art as having the function of cleansing the soul from such desires as cause distress by virtue of their occupancy in and sway over the soul; accordingly, he defines tragedy as the imitation of an action where the effect is produced by men acting and through pity and fear effecting a purification of such passions (*δὲ ἐλεῶν καὶ φόβου περαινόντα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν* [*Poet.* ch. vi. 2]). Modern aesthetics has met the problem of desire upon a basis more psychological, while it has been less rigorous than was Hellenism in its judgment of the desirable in beauty. The general effect has been to place the disinterested in the position of the desiderative, which idea was first formulated by Kant, although Burke's *The Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756) and Baumgarten's *Aesthetics* (1750-58) showed him where beauty might be found. Kant seeks to indicate the possibility of a feeling-judgment, or taste; the latter he describes by saying:

'Taste is the faculty of judging of an object by an entirely disinterested satisfaction or dissatisfaction' (*Critique of Judgment*, tr. Bernard, 1892, § 5).

In Kant's mind, desire is fatal to beauty, as to virtue also; hence his insistence upon the disinterested in aesthetic feeling.

Schopenhauer was more voluntaristic, more pessimistic; hence, his doctrine of desire is more severe.

'All willing springs from want, hence from need, hence from suffering. The satisfaction of a wish may end it, but for every one that is satisfied there remain at least ten which are denied; further, desire lasts long, while its demands are infinite; the satisfaction is short and scantily meted out. . . . Therefore, so long as our consciousness is filled with will, so long as we are

thronged by desires, with their perpetual hopes and fears, so long as we are the subject of willing, there can be no lasting happiness or peace for us. . . . Thus the subject of willing is ever stretched upon the revolving wheel of Ixion, pours water into the sieve of the Danaids, is the ever fruitlessly pining Tantalus' (*Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, § 38).

This constant condition due to human desire is relieved from time to time by aesthetic contemplation, in whose ecstatic moments the subject, raised above the desiderative, enjoys the stillness of the will to live:

'It is the painless condition which Epicturus prized as the highest good, as also the condition of the gods; for we are for the moment delivered from the shameful striving of the will, we celebrate the Sabbath of the forced servitude of willing, while the wheel of Ixion stands still' (*ib.*).

Wagner follows Schopenhauer in postulating renunciation of desire as the most perfect aesthetic condition, although he finds it hard to explain how the particular art of music, which involves the highest excitation of the will, can consist with the state of stillness demanded by the aesthetic ideal (cf. Beethoven, *Schriften u. Dichtungen*, Leipzig, 1898, v. 9, p. 72). In the *Ring des Nibelungen*, Wagner indicates a double doctrine of desirelessness: first, in Siegfried, whose superabundance of power raises him above want; secondly, in Wotan, who learns to relinquish the gold of baneful desiring (cf. *Siegfried*, Act ii.; *Rheingold*, Sc. iv.). In contrast to these aesthetic attacks upon desire, based upon a dread of the will to live, other Schopenhauerians consider beauty as consisting in an excess of the natural function of willing. Nietzsche thus criticizes Schopenhauer and Wagner, and returns to the views set forth by Stendhal, as also by Flaubert.

'Stendhal,' says he, 'a not less sensual but more happily constituted nature than Schopenhauer, lays stress on a different effect of beauty: beauty promises happiness. With him the very stimulation of will (interest) by beauty seems to be the fact' (*op. cit.* iii. § 6).

In this positive treatment of desire, Nietzsche is followed by Sudermann, whose literary art constantly repudiates all restraint. With Sudermann, this affirmation of desire is carried out consciously and with apparent sincerity, and, instead of following the animal instinctiveness of Maupassant, he uses the sensual with the aim of inculcating an egoistic ethical doctrine. Much the same may be said of George Moore in distinction from Oscar Wilde, because Moore employs the sensual for the purpose of developing a trans-traditional morality (*J. Huneker, Overtones*, New York, 1906, iv. 2). This contradiction between the two views of desire is due to a difference in interpretation of the ego and its position in the world-whole. Those who believe in the reality of spiritual life are inclined to eliminate desire by removing the ego from the field of activity, while those who are aware of no beyond know no reason why man should do aught but further the native tendencies towards self-realization. But, even where the ego's desires appear to be the most obvious things in experience, the artistic consciousness distrusts desire as something tending to delude the mind which appeals to the stillness of the inner life. This occasional elevation in art is the rule in religion.

4. *Desire and religion.*—Since spiritual religion consists in a detachment from the world of impressions and a repudiation of immediate impulses, it is necessary to consider its relation to desire. With various religions, the attitude towards desire is determined in accordance with their general attitude towards the world. Thus Taoism, which regards reality as something empty of content and wanting in attributes, upholds the repression of desire; Buddhism, with its cosmic tendency, urges its complete extirpation; Christianity, while not wanting in this critical attitude towards the natural in both man and the world, advises one to train the desires.

The leading principle in Taoism is that of emptiness and inactivity, wherein the dialectical superiority of the Tao consists (*Tao Teh King*, tr. Legge, 1891, chs. 11, 37). Accordingly the man of Tao seeks by the repression of desire to reduce himself to this kenotic condition; hence the sage seeks to withdraw the mind from external impressions like colours, tones, flavours, and the like (*ib.* ch. 12). This course of repression is further called 'returning to the root'—a teaching which calls attention to the tendency on the part of all forms of vegetable life to return from their full-flowering to their original condition. 'This returning to their root is what we call the state of stillness,' says Lao-tze, who counsels the disciple to produce this state to the utmost degree (*ib.* ch. 16). The man of Tao is considered 'different from ordinary men, in that he has so repressed his desires as to have become infant-like and primeval. "I am like an infant, which has not yet smiled," says he. The mind is that of a stupid man; I am in a state of chaos' (*ib.* ch. 20, cf. chs. 23, 28). Inasmuch as 'the Tao does nothing for the sake of doing it,' the Taoist is without desire, inactive, and simple (*ib.* ch. 37).

Buddhism treats desire in its major rather than its minor premiss, by discussing it in 'The Noble Truth Concerning Suffering' (in the *Mahāvagga*, tr. Davids and Oldenberg, Oxford, 1881, i. 1). This truth is fourfold. It is based upon the individual's attachment to life, to his desire for continued existence and happiness; the resulting suffering is removed by detachment from desire, the way of which lies along the eightfold path wherein is found the destruction of sorrow (cf. 'Dhamma Kakka,' tr. Davids, *SBE* xi. [1900], §§ 5-8). With Buddhism, desire is repudiated because it leads to delusion, and he who would find reality must detach himself from objects of sense. See, further, the next article.

Where Hellenism indulged the idea of desire in the enjoyment of life and the elaboration of the beautiful, it did not fail to express some sense of regret for life in the world of sense. Like the Cynics before them, the Stoics set themselves against desire and extolled a rigorous course of conduct, the spirit of which was *ἀράθεια*, or cultivated indifference. Such in general was the attitude of the opposite school of Epicurus, who praised *ἀπάθεια*, or passive pleasure, as the highest moral condition (Diog. Laert. i. 136). Where Erdmann (*Hist. Philos.* tr. Hough, 1898, § 97, 4) seeks to identify these ideals, Windelband (*Hist. Philos.* tr. Cushman, New York, 1906, § 47) believes the likeness to be but superficial. The former is the virtue of ethical indifference to all passions; the latter is passionlessness which is based upon the perfect satisfaction of all desire. On this account, it was looked upon, by both Epicureans and Cynics, as acquired only through a limitation of desire (*ib.*). It was in this spirit that Horace wrote his famous epistle beginning 'Nil admirari prope res est una' (*Ep.* i. vi.), while Seneca expressed the same apathetic sentiment in his 'sine admiratione' (*de Vita Beata*, iii. 3). In dealing with desire and aversion, Epictetus adopts the same attitude, counselling man to cease desiring things beyond his power (iii. 24). Marcus Aurelius rehabilitates Horace's 'nil admirari' with his own *δῶταμαστρον*, whereby, like Maximus his master, he ceased to wonder at anything (i. 15). See also the 'Greek' article, below.

While Christianity does not attack desire upon the same cosmological grounds as Taoism, Buddhism, and Stoicism, it does not fail to relate the function of desire, which it condemns, to the world, which it repudiates. In the great value-judgment of the Gospels, 'What doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life?' (Mk 8³⁶), the

principle at work is that of detachment from the world. On the psychological side, this is expressed in terms of will, where it is declared, 'Whosoever would save his life shall lose it' (*ὁς γὰρ ἐὰν θέλῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν σῶσαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν* [Mk 8³⁶]). But, with more direct reference to desire, *ἐπιθυμία*, it may be said that, when the NT writers assume an attitude towards it, this is always a deprecating one, for it is looked upon as equivalent to lust. This was the view of Christ in His comment upon the Seventh Commandment—*πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι* (Mt 5²⁸). St. Paul connects desire with passion, and likens the desiring mood to the habits of the Gentiles, *πάθος ἐπιθυμίας* (1 Th 4⁵); St. Peter speaks of the believer as one who has escaped the corruption in the world through desire—*ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ* (2 P 1⁴); and St. James speaks of the tempted man as one who is drawn away by his own desire—*ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας* (Ja 1¹⁴). St. John relates these forms of the mind to the world, and thus tends to give a dialectic of desire. In this way, the content of the world is likened to desire in both a sensuous and an intellectual form: *πάν τὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν* (1 Jn 2¹⁶); the lust of the flesh and the eyes is thus repudiated by Christianity, which aims at detaching the ego from the immediate world, that it may find its true place in the world of spiritual life. This doctrine of detachment from life is now under discussion in religious circles where Mysticism prevails.

While current thought accepts desire as a fact of experience and develops it according to ethics, religion, like art, refuses to take it for granted and tends to repudiate it altogether. Such a tendency appears in Wagner's view of religion (cf. above); in Tolstoi's conception of Christianity, as developed in *My Religion* (tr. H. Smith, New York, 1885), where asceticism mingles with sympathism; in Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, whose *Àxel* (Paris, 1890) involves 'the rejection of life at the moment when life becomes ideal' (J. Huneker, *Iconoclasts*, New York, 1908, p. 357); and in Ernest Hello, who attacks desire under its armour of the pride of life (cf. *L'Homme*³, Paris, 1894, *Le Siècle*, do. 1896). More after the Russian manner, J. K. Huysmans, who passed from the sensual to the spiritual, has revealed an august world-withdrawal whose path is indicated in *En Route* (Paris, 1896), while its result is elaborated in *La Cathédrale* (Paris, 1898), where Durtal, the hero, cloistered at Chartres, glorifies the inner life, 'la vie contemplative,' which he contrasts with 'la vie active' (*op. cit.* 28, ch. v. p. 125, ch. xi. p. 330). Huysmans, who mentions Hello (*ib.* ch. vi. p. 138), reveals the same combination of Catholicism and Mysticism that guided the former to his striking attitude towards human desire. The economic interest, which to-day predominates, tends to forbid the artistic disinterestedness and religious renunciation which seek to neutralize desire, so that the present age might well be called the age of desire.

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DESIRE (Buddhist).—There is no more intimate, more radical self-expression of the conscious individual than that which is conveyed by the term 'desire.' It is the one genuine subjective register of character. A man is known by his works, but he knows himself by his desires. When these emerge, if they do emerge, in action, external limitations

of environment and opportunity permit only a distorted output of the ideal act, which had taken shape in the creative flame of desire. Religion and ethics are therefore deeply concerned with desire. *A fortiori*, whether Buddhism is considered to be religion, or ethics, or both, desire should bulk very largely in its doctrines, and the attitude of those doctrines towards it should be held crucial in our judgments respecting them. Buddhism faces the phenomenon of desire as frankly and as critically as other systems, and perhaps even more so; and this is because it is essentially psychological, and does not start from the external universe and its first or final cause, but with the heart of man.

Discounting the remoter and immaterial planes of existence (*rūpa-loka* and *arūpa-loka*), the world of earth, with its purgatories and its nearer heavens, is, by Buddhism, conceived and named in terms of desire. It is *kāma-vachara*, the sphere of *kāma*, i.e. desire understood simply as wishing for what is pleasant; and *kāma-loka*, 'world of desire'—*kāma*, according to the commentators, includes both desiring (*kāmetitī kāmo*) and that which is desired (*kāmyatitī kāmo*). Now, as might be expected, in Buddhist philosophical treatises the universality of desire is dealt with as a natural phenomenon, and is neither praised nor condemned, while, with respect to the life of laymen, *kāma*, that is, natural desires and the enjoyment thereof, is not, as such, condemned. In the oldest narrative of the birth of the Buddha (*Digha-Nikāya*, ii. 13; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, iii. 121), it is written that his mother, a lady of pure and virtuous life, was living before his birth in the enjoyment of the five modes of sense-desire (*pañcha kāmagaṇā*, i.e. of sights, sounds, odours, tastes, and contacts). Again, in the *Singālovāda-suttanta* (*Digha*, iii. 180ff., called by R. Childers 'The Whole Duty of the Buddhist Layman'), the Buddha does not warn the young layman off a single form of natural desire or enjoyment, but only against vicious or wanton desires. For those who had left the world and devoted their lives to holiness and missionary work, the case was different. The *kāmas* were for them constant sources of danger, and were likened to burning coals, knives, snakes, dry bones, dreams, and other perils and disappointing objects ('Psalms of the Sisters' [*Therīgāthā*], London, 1909, p. 144 f.). They belonged to the pursuit of sensuous pleasures and the life of the world. An abdicating king might say: 'I have enjoyed human *kāmas*; it is time to seek after celestial *kāmas*' (*Digha*, iii. 60). But, for one who was aiming at the highest goal, there was really nothing to choose between either human or celestial desires and objects of desire. The word *kāma* was dropped from his vocabulary. But he did not therefore cease to desire, for, though his *quo vadis* was different, he aspired to a goal none the less, and, if he obeyed the injunctions of his Order preserved in its scriptures, he pursued this end with greater ardour and singleness of purpose than he had ever felt over worldly objects.

If, in the earliest version of those scriptures surviving, viz. the Pāli *Pitakas*, natural desire and its objects—in a word, the *kāmas*—are usually mentioned in terms of depreciation, it must be remembered (1) that the *Pitakas* were compiled by *religieux*, and that the greater part of the *Suttas* are discourses addressed to *religieux*; and (2) that Buddhism started as an evangel of protest, reform, and regeneration against worldliness and superstition, and evangelos do not compromise. But it is characteristic of this gospel that it does not seek to quench earthly desires (*manussaka kāmā*) by heavenly desires (*dibba kāmā*).

In the first place, the *summum bonum* of arhat-

ship, of complete emancipation of heart and mind, could be won only in this earthly region of the *kāma-loka*, with the single exception of the remotest sphere of the *arūpa-loka*, where it was believed that some mortals attained *parinibbāna*, i.e. completion of perfected life and final death, who here, on their way to perfection, had not lived to touch the highest 'Path and Fruit' (e.g. *Digha*, ii. 200; *Samyutta*, v. 346, etc.); yet this *parinibbāna* is never recorded as a climax and glorious consummation, but rather as an epilogue to the life here below of those who, in a 'world of desire,' and in virtue of unworldly desire, had attained to the assurance of victory in spiritual evolution (*nibbāna*).

Secondly, whereas the Buddhist *Dhamma* is essentially a method for diverting and transforming the natural phenomenon of desire, it held up, before those whose quest was for the highest, no supramundane place as the proper object of desire, nor before any one did it hold up a superhuman being or person in that light. It is true that re-birth in 'heaven' is frequently proclaimed as the natural inevitable result of virtue in this life—this to laymen and to those of the Order who were spiritually babes. But it is virtue and goodness that are shown as desirable, rather than promotion hereafter, in the reconstituted life. Those who were judged as ripening to perfect emancipation aimed only at an impersonal goal, having no relation to time or space (*Milinda*, ii. 105, 186), but regarded, positively, as a blissful consciousness of salvation, liberty, mastery, insight, and peace (C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, vol. i. p. xxxvii).

At the opposite extreme of these aspirations, which might be called the *vis a fronte*, Buddhism places, as the driving power *a tergo*, the world's great burden of ill, as fed by the constant working of unregenerate and uncontrolled desire, called 'thirst' or 'craving' (*taṇhā*, Skr. *trṣṇā*). This religio-philosophical term is another illustration of the immense significance of the vital phenomenon of desire in the Buddhist consciousness; and its scope embraces the whole of human desires, in so far as these are attracted by life itself, or by the idea of its extinction. There are three modes or channels of *taṇhā*: *kāma-taṇhā*, desire for what is sensuously pleasant; *bhava-taṇhā*, desire for becoming or life hereafter; and *vibhava-taṇhā*, desire for the extinction of becoming. *Taṇhā* in general is defined as 'concerned with repeated becoming' (lit. 're-birth-ic, *punobbhavikā*'), 'associated with pleasure and passion' (*nandi-rāga-sahagatā*), and 'delighting in various objects' (*tatra-tatrābhinandini* [*Vibh.* 101, 365; *Samyutta*, iii. 26]). It was only when set on 'the Paths, the Fruits, *Nibbāna*,' that the desire, which had been called *taṇhā*, became the aspiration and the purpose called *samma-saṅkappa* and *dhamma-chanda*. 'For, as there is no inducement,' writes the commentator (*Attha-sālinī*, 347), 'to a mosquito to alight on a ball of iron heated in the sun, so these [goals] by their radiant glory do not attract *taṇhā*.'

The person of the Buddha, however, as an object of desire, lent warmth and colour to aspirations after impersonal goals. Not once only in the world's history, but from time to time through cycles of involution and evolution, do Buddhists hold that mankind may hope for a day when 'the desire of all nations shall come,' who will in love and wisdom satisfy their yearnings. The conditions and order of his advent are considered by the canonical books in the light of a natural law. Buddha-epochs were not equidistant in time, but they happened when, amid an ignorant and erring majority, there were some who would understand the message of salvation.

'As on a crag, on crest of mountain standing,
A man might watch the people far below,
E'en so do Thou, O Wisdom fair, ascending,
O Seer of all, the terraced heights of truth,
Look down, from grief released, upon the nations
Sunken in grief, oppressed with birth and age.
Arise, thou hero! Conqueror in the battle!
Thou freed from debt! Lord of the pilgrim-band,
Walk the world o'er, sublime and blessed Teacher!
Teach us the Truth—there are who'll understand.'
(*Dialogues*, II. 82; *Vin. Texts*, I. 86 f.)

The faith and devotion evoked by the person of the Buddha and by the nature of his doctrine are also usually described in terms of satisfied desire, namely, *pasāda*, *pasanna*, the passages being too numerous to quote (but cf. *Samyutta*, v. 381, with *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, 174 n.). Nevertheless, the desire itself for a Buddha, and for the salvation he should bring, is expressed in terms of altruistic desire for the good and happiness of all men. It is 'out of compassion for all creatures, for the advantage and the welfare and the happiness of gods and men,' that a Buddha arises,

'Who from all ill and sorrow has released
Me and so many many stricken folk'

(*Therīgāthā*, 157; cf. *Dialogues*, II. 111; *JRAS*, 1906, p. 241). Mediately therefore, in the desire for the Buddha, the impersonal desire for universal good, as well as the desire for personal salvation, finds expression.

For those who, as converts, were sufficiently won by the *Dhamma* to devote their lives to it, a career of mental and moral training was prescribed, which, judging by the terms employed, called into exercise the emotional and volitional, no less than the intellectual, faculties. The exercises might be in the expansion of a concept or sentiment—effusion, irradiation (*pharaṇā*), they called it—or in concentration of attention and will (*samādhi*, *jhāna*, etc.), or in control of consciousness, recollection, self-collectedness (*sati-sampajañña*), and so on. In no case, however, was the training to be carried on with cool impassivity, except in certain advanced stages. The sincere student is constantly described as being aglow or ardent (*ātāpi*), strenuous or earnest (*appamatta*), full of energy and endeavour (*virīya*, *vāyāma*, *ussolhi*), and filled with eager active desire (*tibbakhanda*); but the emotional side of consciousness is not encouraged, except in intimate connexion with the conative or volitional. The term *chhanda*, for instance, which is as unmoral as our own 'desire,' but which, like 'desire,' is sometimes used with a sensual or passionall import, is more allied to will than *kāma* is, and is explained by commentaries as meaning *kattu-kamyatā*, 'desire-to-do.' Few subjects, indeed, are of greater interest in Buddhist culture than this evolution of *chhanda*. For instance, *dukkha*, the generic term for 'ill,' 'misery,' or 'pain,' is said to be 'rooted' in *chhanda* (*Samyutta*, iv. 328), as, indeed, are 'all states of consciousness' (*Ānguttara*, iv. 339). On one occasion the end of the Buddha's system of holy living is called the removal of desire (*chhanda-pahāna* [*Samyutta*, v. 272]). Yet this is stated to be accomplished by certain exercises in which *chhanda* is called into play. 'What then,' is an inquirer's comment, 'would you put away desire by desire?' And the Thera replies to the Brahman: 'Was there not desire, effort, thought, deliberation in your mind, when you set out to find me in this garden? And now that you have found me, is not all that abated?' Again, a homely simile of the ass who does not make himself into a valued cow by walking after the herd saying 'I, too, can bellow,' serves to show that the criterion of a genuine student is his displaying eager active desire (*tibbakhanda*) for the highest virtues and the most advanced mental development (*Ānguttara*, i. 229). Finally, the Buddha is represented in the *Akaṅkheyya-Sutta* as showing how seventeen pious ways in which a *bhikkhu* 'might desire' (*ākāṅkheyya*)

may severally be satisfied ('Buddhist Suttas,' *SBE* xi. 210 ff.).

Hence in Buddhist ethics, desire is, as such, not only not immoral, but an indispensable instrument for attaining higher (no less than meaner) ends; it becomes a source of danger only when the object of desire is such as to give no lasting satisfaction to desire when it is attained.

And hence it is strictly in accordance with the spirit of the older writings, if with an added tinge of intense emotion, when the author of the *Milinda Questions* declares that *Nibbāna* is to be realized, not by quiescent meditation, or in hypnotic trance, much less by mortification of desire, but by rational discontent, strong anguish, and longing, followed by a forward leap of the mind into peace and calm, then again by a vibrating zeal, in which the aspirant 'strives with might and main along the path,' and so on.

It had been the fate of Buddhism, before the authorities quoted above became accessible, to become for the general English reader synonymous not only with pessimism but with the 'extinction of desire.' And the error still persists. This is largely due to the fact that the earliest translators of the canonical works of Buddhism were not English, or, if English, were lacking in psychological training. The anthologies of the *Dhamma* and *Sutta-Nipāta* were rendered into English prose by those veteran Indologists, Max Müller and Fausbøll, and between them they render no fewer than sixteen Pāli words, which really mean sensuous, or vicious, or unregulated desire, by the one unqualified word 'desire.' St. Hilaire, Burnouf, and Foucaux do much the same disservice with the one over-worked word *desir*. Warren (*Buddhism in Translations*, Camb. Mass., 1896) is no better; yet see his Index, s.v. 'Desire' ('desire = lust'). This slovenly usage partly justifies writers of more general and comparative treatises in arriving at sweeping but erroneous conclusions (e.g. Crozier in *Hist. of Intellectual Development*, London, 1897-1901). But it was undesirable to impoverish our ethical and religious concepts by making over to such terms as *tanhā* all the moral as well as the immoral implications in desire. After all, it was in response to a desire, a yearning, an impulse, a resolution, that the founder of Buddhism is represented as having renounced the world and dedicated his life to the service of his fellow-men. See also art. LOVE (Buddhist).

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C. A. F. RHYDS DAVIDS.

DESIRE (Greek).—I. Socrates and the pre-Socratics.—The beginning of ethical investigation in ancient Greece is usually assigned to Socrates. And, no doubt, Socrates did in a special manner direct men's attention to ethical principles and concepts, and give the impulse to the further study and elaboration of the philosophy of morals. He it was also who, by his rigorous insistence on self-control (*ἐγκράτεια*) as the supreme virtue, gave special prominence to the twofold nature of man—a higher and a lower nature, with the tendency on the part of the lower (the desires) to usurp the mastery; thereby initiating a point of view that was to dominate Greek philosophy henceforth, definitely formulated for all time by Plato. Moreover, he himself could 'scorn delights and live

laborious days' better than any man of his time, so that he could not only teach robust ethical doctrine by precept, but show it also by example. But, long before the time of Socrates, the subject of desire had thrust itself upon men's notice, and from of old precepts had been enunciated for the practical regulation of life, even though it were only from the prudential standpoint of Hesiod (see his *Works and Days*), the Gnostic poets, and the Seven Wise Men. This explains the existence of Orphism and Pythagoreanism, which—religious more than philosophical—had the highest welfare of the individual at heart, and organized a system, distinctly mystical, for the purification of the soul and the cultivation of the higher life. This was avowedly ethical in its character, and, being cathartic, had the subjugation of the desires and the development of the spiritual nature as the basal principle. But, apart altogether from the poets and the moralists and the mystics, the pre-Socratic philosophers, who are usually represented simply as devotees of physics and physical speculation, were, many of them, also ethicists; and the ethical teaching of Heraclitus of Ephesus, in particular, and of Democritus of Abdera, forms an interesting side of their philosophy. Sir Alexander Grant does them less than justice when he says:

'The moral doctrines of these early philosophers . . . seem to belong rather to the personal character of the men than to the result of their systems' (*Ethics of Aristotle*, i. 108).

Nevertheless, the great impulse to ethical analysis and ethical thinking came from Socrates: an epoch in Greek philosophy was marked when, under the sanction of the god at Delphi, he insisted in the way that he did on the principle 'Know thyself' (*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*); and the question of desire found its first impressive handling in his greatest disciple Plato, in the true Socratic spirit.

2. Plato.—(1) In his psychological analysis of human nature, Plato regarded the soul of man as consisting of three parts—the rational (*τὸ λογιστικόν*), the fiery or spirited (*τὸ θυμοειδές*), and the appetitive (*τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν*).

There is a great temptation to interpret this as an anticipation or foreshadowing of the modern psychological threefold division of mental processes into intellection, feeling, and conation or volition. But, when we remember that each soul, according to Plato, had its own distinct habitation in the body—the rational soul being situated in the head or cranium, the spirited soul in the breast or thorax, and the appetitive soul in the belly, below the diaphragm—and when we remember, further, that the three souls are represented as having their counterparts in the Ideal Republic—the first being embodied in the philosophical guardians of the State, the second in the soldiers, and the third in the artisans and husbandmen—we see that the Platonic psychology is a good way removed from anything to be found in the psychologies of the present day.

Between the three souls, or three parts of the soul, there is a distinction of native authority or value. The rational soul, being immortal, is naturally supreme, placed where it is in the body (*viz.* in the commanding position of the head) in order to guide and control the others. The spirited or courageous soul is the seat of ambition, honour, and the like, and is indispensable for high achievement in any sphere, and is by nature ancillary to reason, though, on occasion, it may require restraint. But the third soul is that which needs careful watching and curbing—*viz.* the appetitive or lustful soul, the seat of desire, of inordinate passion, and, therefore, pre-eminently of lawlessness and insubordination. This is the 'black' horse of the allegory of the Charioteer in the *Phaedrus*, which requires to be kept in by bit and bridle, and to which the whip has to be unsparingly applied until it is subdued and tamed. It is also the 'many-headed monster' of *Republic*, 588 C. From the place that the appetitive soul occupies in the body (below the diaphragm), it is in close proximity to the liver, which (according to Plato) is the organ of imagination, issuing oracles in dreams and acting

as a mirror registering the wishes, commands, and reprobations of the rational soul, thereby encouraging, warning, and, if need be, terrifying the recalcitrant transgressor, with the design of checking him in his wayward course.

This doctrine of desire is clearly of an ethical character, and is specially suited to ethical purpose. It is not so much a complete logical analysis of the notion, or even a systematic psychological exposition of the subject, as a suggestive statement of the hierarchy of principles in human nature (for the different souls, though separated locally by Plato, may be interpreted in that way), with an appreciation of their various functions and a grading of them according to worth. It is, above all, an enforcement of the truth that, for the highest health and welfare of the individual, the desires must be strictly and rationally controlled; it is of their very nature to tend to transgress limits, to usurp authority; and this, if unchecked, means moral shipwreck and disaster (see APPETITE).

In *Philebus*, however, a psychological analysis of desire in one of its aspects is essayed—*viz.* when it is declared to presuppose a bodily want that has been gratified and the memory of the gratification comes in to arouse expectation of future gratification. In this, two salient points in the phenomenon are clearly noted: (a) that, until a want is gratified, we experience only uneasiness, not desire; and (b) that desire depends upon memory or recollection.

(2) But Plato's doctrine of desire goes deeper than this: it penetrates to the very centre of man's being, to what may be specifically designated his natural spiritual wants. The highest form of desire is represented as philosophical Love or Eros, which is inseparably connected with the Platonic theory of Ideas and the doctrine of Reminiscence (*ἀνάμνησις*). The object of this kind of desire is set forth in the *Phaedrus* as the Beautiful, as Beauty Absolute, the super-celestial Divine essence, which is reached by the individual here through the mediation of the perception of beauty in objects of sense, especially in the beauty of bodily form, as seen in beautiful youths; and, in the *Symposium* (211 C), the mode of ascent is declared by Diotima to be as follows:

'To begin from the beauties of earth and mount upwards for the sake of that other beauty, using these as steps only, and from one going on to two, and from two to all fair forms, and from fair forms to fair practices, and from fair practices to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is. This, my dear Socrates, said the stranger of Mantinea, is that life above all others which man should live, in the contemplation of beauty absolute.'

In the *Republic* it is set forth as the Good, which is the supreme transcendent Idea, permeating being, and giving meaning to intelligibles and opinables alike in the realm of Knowledge. In the *Timæus*, the Good is identified with God; and, as 'likeness to God' (*ὁμοιωσις θεῷ*) is the chief end of man, according to *Theætetus*, the ultimate object of man's highest desire is the Deity. Nor is 'the Deity' a mere abstract term to Plato; it expresses the ideal of holiness, as well as of knowledge or contemplation; so that, in the assimilation of the Divine by man, character no less than intellect is involved. But, in order to become conformed to the great Ideal, the soul needs to be purified, and purification is a thing of degrees, so that *kátharsis* becomes the leading note, and *kátharsis* effected by personal effort in a Cosmos governed by God—a doctrine which is, as J. A. Stewart expresses it (*The Myths of Plato*, p. 352), 'the great contribution made by Plato to the religious thought and practice of Europe.' Hence, in *Protagoras* (349, 359 A), 'holiness' (*δεδότῃς*) is added to the four cardinal virtues; Socrates in Xenophon called it 'piety' (*εὐσέβεια*). With this is specially to be

associated the Platonic eschatology (for purification does not cease at a man's death), where the soul is represented as finally purified through a series of metempsychoses—as seen, for instance, in the *Republic*, in the myth of Er, the son of Armenius, and in the doctrine of Eros, with its essentially elevating and purificatory character, as described in the *Phaedrus* myth.

(3) In line with this is Plato's proof of the immortality of the soul (see *Phædo* and *Symposium*), drawn from men's universal longing or desire for continued existence and for the everlasting possession of the Good—a proof that became popular in Western Christendom through St. Augustine's acceptance of it, and which finds its poetical expression in English in Addison's 'Cato' and in Tennyson's 'The Two Voices.' The argument here is that the soul continues to live hereafter because men everywhere cling to life 'together with good' and shrink from death; the presupposition being that whatever crops up as a general craving among mankind indicates a natural want of man and has its truth thereby established. With this may be joined an attractive Platonic thought regarding the future life and men's desire of knowledge and of virtue. In *Cratylus* (403, 404) the dead are represented as continuing in willing subjection to Hades, the god of Death, because of their thirst for knowledge and their desire of being made better. They find that with Hades is true Wisdom—he has experience and is the great Philosopher; and, as his wisdom charms them, and as association with himself betters them, they cling to him as disciples to a master. Thus desire is seen to be a stronger bond than necessity: necessity coerces, desire constrains.

3. Aristotle.—(1) In the analysis of desire as given in *de Anima*, Aristotle uses the term 'desire' (*δρεψις*) generically, including in it, as species, spiritedness or passion (*θυμός*), appetitive desire (*ἐπιθυμία*), and wish (*βούλησις*). Of these three, wish (*βούλησις*) attaches to the rational part of man, and the other two to the irrational (iii. 9. 432b, 5). When, again, he enumerates and arranges in due order the functions or faculties of the soul (vegetative, sentient, conative, noetic—passive and active), there is one function that he specifies as the orectic or conative faculty (*ὁ δρεκτικόν*), which sometimes he brackets along with the sensitive faculty (*ὁ αἰσθητικόν*), and sometimes gives an independent position subsequent to it (ii. 3. 414a, 31); but, either way, he bases desire on sensation. With regard to all the faculties or functions, however, it is to be remembered that the independence ascribed to any one of them is only relative: each has its place in a graded system arranged in the order of implication, the higher presupposing the lower (though not reversely)—the earlier form always exists potentially in the later' (*de An.* ii. 3. 414b, 29). Aristotle is very insistent on the unity of the soul; so that the faculties are not absolutely separate, as if each were self-contained.

But it is in the *Ethics*, in connexion with will, that we have Aristotle's fullest handling of desire; and, putting the two accounts together, we obtain the following summary.

Will is the desire (*δρεψις*) of something regarded as a good, i.e. as bringing satisfaction or pleasure to the person desiring it—which is what Aristotle designates *βούλησις*. But, obviously, if there is an object towards which desire is directed and upon which it is set, this implies an ideal or conceptual element in the process—some notion of what the object desirable and desired is: in other words, it involves imagination or representation (*φαντασία*). Further, inasmuch as between desire as a psychical state and the attainment of its object there is an

interval of time interposed, this indicates that there is need of means for the realization of the desired object, and, consequently, need of deliberation with a view to choice—especially when more than one set of means appear competent to effect the end. This process of deliberation in connexion with means, and having reference to 'things that are within our own power' (*τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν*), Aristotle calls *βούλησις*. When deliberation is completed, choice or determination ensues. This is *προαίρεσις*, which is regarded by Aristotle as distinctive of man, marking him off from the lower animals. In choice after deliberation *δρεψις* again appears; for the individual identifies himself not only with the end, but with the means necessary to effect the end. Hence, deliberate choice is inseparably conjoined with desire, and is termed *βουλευτική δρεψις*.

From this brief analysis it is evident that Aristotle connects desire very intimately with will; maintaining, indeed, practically, that there can be no will without desire. Desire is the moving power in the whole conative process, indispensable alike to its origination and to the keeping up or the interest in the end until it is realized. This active or movent character of desire marks it off from emotion, which is a species of feeling and is subjective, although emotion may very readily ally itself with desire, and thereby give an added intensity or vigour to it.

(2) It is evident, further, that, according to Aristotle, in the determination of right conduct (and here comes in the ethical bearing of the psychological doctrine) desire and reason act together—neither is sufficient by itself. Hence, *προαίρεσις*, or choice, may equally well be described as reason moved by desire (*νοῦς δρεκτικός*), or as desire guided by understanding (*δρεψις διανοητική*, *Eth. Nic.* vi. 2). The doctrine of 'the practical syllogism' brings this out distinctly.

This syllogism is denominated 'practical' for two reasons: first, because it deals with men's actions (*πράξεις*), not with their mere thinking or reasoning as logically correct; and, secondly, because it attaches to the practical or moral, not to the theoretical, reason. Being a 'syllogism,' however, it has a specific formal character—it is expressible as conclusion, and necessary conclusion, from premisses, although it is not maintained that moral actions, in the case of 'the plain man,' are always consciously thus formulated by him. If there is an unconscious spontaneous logical reasoning of the plain man, there is equally an unconscious spontaneous moral reasoning; but, when analyzed by the philosopher, both reasonings may be found to be only the unsophisticated form of what may be philosophically generalized and expressed in scholastic phraseology and assimilated each to the other.

In the 'practical syllogism,' we are dealing with end and motive—with the generalized expression of the object of desire and of the means by which it may be attained. The procedure whereby we accept an end and work towards it through desire and intellection is clearly of the nature of syllogistic reasoning, though the conclusion of the procedure is not a definite theoretical consequence satisfactory to the logical reason, but an action, or series of actions, necessitated by the principle that we adopt. It is a matter of 'principles,' of living moral principles, not of abstract propositions; and hence the conclusion is not abstract but practical, and embodied in human conduct.

And so, in the practical syllogism, Aristotle aims at giving syllogistic form to action—at analyzing the process that underlies moral conduct, so as to bring out its rational character. In making choice with a view to action, one proceeds upon a general principle—the principle, namely, that a man ought to do or not to do a certain kind of thing. That is the major premiss of the resultant action. The minor premiss is the perception that such and such a particular action is or is not of the kind in question. Then follows, as natural consequence, the doing or not doing of that particular action. The great implication in the practical syllogism is that, if one accepts a principle as a guide of life, one is bound to accept whatever action or course of action that principle dictates. For example, if I allow that I ought to pursue my own highest good, then I commit myself to accepting whatever conduces to the furtherance of that end, and to behaving accordingly. On what ground, however, the principles that I accept as competent to guide me in life rest, Aristotle does not always determine in the same way. Sometimes he says that they are intuitive—I perceive them to be self-evident and, therefore, beyond the need of proof. At other times he bases them on experience; and, still again, on moral character. The last of these is clearly not fundamental. Moreover, intuition and experience are not contradictory.

Whether or not the 'practical syllogism' is fully expressive of what exactly takes place in moral action (action of a voluntary agent, responsible for his choice, and, therefore, for his conduct), it serves admirably to emphasize the fact that intellection and desire enter into deliberative volition and choice, and that we cannot explain the phenomenon without taking account of both, and of both acting in unison, 'like the ball and the socket in the organic union of the joint' (*ὡς τὸ γὰρ γλῦκος* [*de An.* iii. 10. 433b, 22]).

(3) Over and above this psychology of desire, with its application in ethics, Aristotle also recognizes desire as a movent power in the higher reaches of ontology and cosmology. For God to him is, first and chiefly, the Prime Mover of the universe, the Source of all motion in the world, 'Himself unmoved the while.' He is the object of desire (*ἡμετέριον*) as well as of intellection (*νοητόν*) to the universe. As otherwise expressed, God, as the unmoved eternal active principle, moves the heavens as the beloved one moves the lover: He is the attractive force, the final end, of all existence — 'the final cause, then, produces motion by being loved, and, by that which it moves, it moves all other things' (*Met.* xii. 7. 1072b, 4).

This, though metaphorically expressed, is no myth, as Stewart (*Myths of Plato*, p. 855) would make it out to be: it is the measured and subdued enunciation of the grand ontological conception that God necessarily is and is good, and that the cosmos, which, in Aristotle's view, exists from all eternity as a cosmos (and not as mere 'matter'), is not self-centred and absolutely independent, but is eternally dependent on and derived from the Deity; it exists because it is turned over towards the Divine; it has no being apart from Him. It is thus emphatically asserted that the world is not fully explicable on merely mechanical principles: Mind is the ruling factor, and so the explanation of existence, to be satisfactory, must be teleological.

4. **Stoics and Epicureans.**—(1) We get back to a purely ethical and practical consideration of desire when we turn to the Stoics. Desire was a topic of supreme consideration with them; indeed, their doctrine of desire may almost be said to have constituted their philosophy. According to them, it is man's great characteristic that he was made to be virtuous. He is a being endowed with rational insight into the true values of things, and with power over his own inclinations and impulses. He can despise pleasure, he can scorn wealth, he can sit absolutely loose to everything that is not under control of his own will,—to fortune and to fame, even to death itself,—and can find his freedom only in his love of virtue and his abnegation of the desires. A man should have only one great desire, and that is the desire of virtue, of a noble life, of pure and upright character; all else is 'indifferent,' and, if surrendered to, would sap his moral vigour and degrade his nature. 'In the world, but not of it,' should be his motto; and to be master of his own soul, supreme in the realm of his motives and intentions, is the only end that is worth pursuing. The principle underlying this was precisely that which Kant reproduced in modern times when he said: 'There is nothing in the world which can be termed absolutely and altogether good, a good will alone excepted' (opening of the *Grundleg. zur Metaph. d. Sitten*). To submit to any other desire but that of virtue seemed to the Stoics to be elevating what is contingent and beyond one's power—extraneous, therefore, to one's will (which alone is in one's power)—to a place which it has no right to occupy, and which, if allowed to it, can only spell ruin. Consequently, everything that is not love of virtue is, to the Stoic, to be resisted. The desires are, one and all of them, perturbing; and it is characteristic of the wise man that he is calm, unperturbed, emotionless—he is self-sufficient (*αὐτάρκης*), independent of and above every non-rational spring of action: 'The view taken is everything; and

that rests with yourself. Disown the view, at will; and, behold, the headland rounded, there are calm, still waters, and a waveless bay' (Marc. Aurel. *Med.* xii. 22). The desires are not simply weaknesses, they are 'contrary to nature'; they should be not merely controlled, but eradicated.

The ideal man, then, to the Stoics was a very impassive being—the embodiment of stern virtue, shorn of emotion and desire. The same might be said of the ideal man of the Cynics (*g.w.*), from which the Stoic conception was originally drawn: only, in Cynicism the mastery of the desires was accompanied with a contempt for social conventions and for mental culture that was abhorrent to the Stoic.

(2) It was different with the ideal man of the Epicureans, whose *summum bonum* was pleasure. And yet the Epicureans were keenly alive to the ethical danger that lurked in the desires. For, although pleasure was to them the ultimate end of action, and so the object of desire, they quite clearly recognized the tendency of the desires to outrun discretion and, if uncontrolled, to deprive a man of that calm and peaceful state of mind (*ἀταραξία*) which was his goal. Consequently, they could counsel, and Epicurus himself did counsel: 'If you wish to make Pythocles happy, add not to his riches, but diminish his desires.' But in this they differed from the Stoics, that, whereas the Stoics counselled the impossible task of eradicating the desires, the Epicureans, like Plato and Aristotle, counselled moderating and directing them. The desires, they saw, are a part of human nature, and, therefore, legitimate springs of action, but only if they are kept under rational control. Some of them, they said, are natural and necessary; others are natural, but not necessary; and others still are neither natural nor necessary. And they recognized a distinction of worth amongst them, the goods of the mind being to them of greater value than those of the body. Hence, their Hedonism could assume a robust character.

'Says Epicurus: "When I was sick, I did not converse about my bodily ailments, or discuss such matters with my visitors; but continued to dwell upon the principles of natural philosophy, and more particularly how the understanding, while participating in such disturbances of the flesh, yet remains in unperturbed possession of its proper good. And I would not," he adds, "give the doctors a chance of blustering and making ado, but let life go on cheerily and well"' (Marc. Aurel. *Med.* ix. 41).

5. **The Neo-Platonists.**—'Back to Plato' was the cry of the Neo-Platonists; but not back to Plato through disowning Aristotle or refusing to be influenced by him. On the contrary, Plotinus himself owed much to Aristotle, and some of the greatest of the Neo-Platonic teachers (*e.g.* Porphyry) were among the most eminent of the expositors of Aristotle. The Neo-Platonists were essentially religious philosophers and mystics, and the purification of the soul and its gradual deliverance from sense and matter was their supreme aim. Hence, they laid special stress on that part of the teaching of Plato which dealt with *κάθαρσις*, and, taking into their system Orphism and Pythagoreanism also, in so far as they served their purpose, they advocated a mode of living which, if consistently pursued, would lead to the abnegation of the world and the absorption of the individual in the Divine. The great end of all was to get away from the trammels of the body, which was regarded as by nature vile, as both a clog and a prison-house to the soul, and the source of sin and ugliness. 'True waking,' said Plotinus (*Enneads*, iii. 6. 6), 'is a true rising up from the body, not with a body.' There was a dualism here which was never fully overcome in the Plotinian or Neo-Platonic monism. To be united to a body at all was regarded as a descent for the soul, a degradation, a fall—it is a separation, though not

absolutely complete, from its original source, the Universal Soul or *Anima Mundi*, and has to be made good by an ascent or return. The steps by which this is done are the various virtues, which, according to Porphyry and the later Platonists, form four degrees in the path of perfection and self-accomplishment.

And first there is the career of honesty and worldly prudence, which makes the duty of the citizen [Civic or Political virtue]. Secondly, there is the progress in purity which casts earthly things behind, and reaches the angelic height of passionless serenity [Cathartic virtue]. And the third step is the Divine life, which by intellectual energy is turned to behold the truth of things [Theoretic virtue]. Lastly, in the fourth grade, the mind, free and sublime in self-sustaining wisdom, makes itself an "exemplar" of virtue, and is even a "father of gods" [Paradigmatic virtue] (W. Wallace, *Hegel's Philosophy of Mind*, Oxford, 1894, p. xx).

Not yet, however, has the soul, in its efforts to get free from matter and the thrall of the desires, reached its highest aim. That aim is union with the Absolute, undisturbed contemplation of the One, the Ineffable Being, when subject and object are identical. This is obtained, not through practical virtue or through intellectual cognition (though these prepare for it), but by non-rational ecstasy, or spiritual trance,

'by the suspension,' says Porphyry (*Sententia*, 26), 'of all the intellectual faculties, by repose and the annihilation of thought. As the soul learns to know sleep when alighting, so it is in ecstasy, or the annihilation of all the faculties of her being, that she knows that which is above existence and above truth.'

Thus are the desires effectually vanquished by mysticism: in absolute union with God (*θεωσις*), desire is not.

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DESTINY.—See FATE.

DETERMINISM.—See NECESSITARIANISM.

DEUTSCH-KATHOLICISMUS.—I. Character of the movement.—*Deutsch-Katholici-*

mus is the name given to a movement of reform that sprang up within the Catholic Church in Germany about the middle of the 19th century. The object of the movement was to establish a type of Catholicism which should be in harmony with modern thought, leaving the individual in perfect freedom in matters of doctrine and in the expression of his religious views, and so far take account of the patriotic sentiments of the Roman Catholics of Germany as to permit the use of their mother tongue in the services of the Church. These aims were in some respects similar to those of Febronianism in the 18th cent., which strove to make the Catholic Church in Germany independent of the Roman curia by putting an end to the sponsorship exercised over it by the latter. The 'German-Catholic' movement, however, took a course different from that of the Febronians, inasmuch as it neglected the politico-ecclesiastical factor, which had eventually proved the decisive factor in the conflicts regarding the resolutions of the Ems Congress (1786); and this difference between the two reforming enterprises finds outward expression in the circumstance that, whereas the movement which disturbed the closing years of the 18th cent. found its leaders in the German archbishops, the schism of the so-called 'German Catholics' had not a single active supporter in the higher ranks of the clergy.

One of the vital elements in the situation which gave rise to 'German Catholicism' was contributed by the rise of Ultramontanism, i.e. of that movement in the Roman Catholic Church which, after the frightful disasters experienced by that Church during the French Revolution, looked to the Jesuits for its rehabilitation, made common cause with that Order, and sought to disseminate the type of religion characteristic thereof. In the period following upon the restoration of the Jesuit Order in 1814, Ultramontanism had made headway in Germany as in other countries, but it had also aroused opposition in a corresponding degree. Although the immediate occasion of the rise of 'German Catholicism' was given by the protest made against the proceedings of an individual bishop, yet this protest really sprang from the broader grounds of a fundamental contrast with the Ultramontane form of religion; and it was to this difference that the schismatic movement owed all the vigour which—for no long time indeed—it was capable of putting forth.

Another potent influence in the rise and development of 'German Catholicism' was contributed by the progressive tendencies of the day. The reactionary policy pursued by the various governments of Europe after the Napoleonic wars was incompetent to quell the wide-spread liberal movement instigated by the great Revolution. On the contrary, the disposition to break away from the bonds of authority and the leading-strings of patronage, and the striving after liberty to mould life and conduct on lines independent of hoary convention, asserted themselves and gained ground in every department of human experience—in politics, in social relationships, and even in the province of scientific research. As the Roman Catholic Church, however, is inherently conservative, and was not merely antipathetic to such longings, but was inclined rather, under the influence of the recently revived Jesuit Order, to seek the path of deliverance from the prevailing welter of things in a return to the principles of the Middle Ages, it could not fail to come into conflict with the liberal spirit that was making itself felt even within its own pale.

'German Catholicism' appeared first of all as simply the criticism of an incident in practical religious policy, viz. the exhibition of a relic as

an object of devotion. Very soon, however, it drew the whole course of ecclesiastical procedure and religious doctrine within the range of its strictures. Eventually it took the decisive step of organizing its adherents in communities, thus placing them in the position of schismatics. That the whole course of this development was traversed within the term of a few weeks was due to the fact that those who identified themselves with the movement were already alienated from the Church of Rome, and that the bishops who had to deal with the rising lost no time in lengthy deliberations, but proceeded at once to administer penalties of such severity as to drive the refractory elements into open rupture.

2. Origin and development.—The immediate occasion of the schism was the exhibition of the seamless robe of Christ which belonged to the Cathedral Church of Trèves. The 'Holy Coat' was regarded by that Church as its supreme treasure, and had been exhibited previously at special seasons as an object of reverence. When Bishop Arnoldi of Trèves, ignoring the doubts cast upon the genuineness of the relic, repeated the solemnity in 1844, a most extraordinary sensation was aroused. He certainly scored a great triumph in bringing vast multitudes of pilgrims to the city, and so far the affair formed an effective demonstration of the power of Catholicism. But, on the other hand, such a method of strengthening Christian belief gave great umbrage to many. Those within the Roman fold who took objection to the bishop's action found a champion in a priest named Ronge, who, in an open letter to Arnoldi, first published in the *Sächsische Vaterlandsblätter*, urged a vigorous protest against what he called a *Götzenfest*, an idolatrous celebration.

Johannes Ronge was born on the 16th of October 1813, at Bischofswerda in Silesia, and was trained and eventually ordained as a priest at Breslau. He served for a time as chaplain at Grottkau, but had been suspended on account of certain publications, and was now a teacher at Laurahütte in Upper Silesia. Having neither inclination nor aptitude for the clerical office, he had become utterly alienated in spirit from the Catholic Church, and, as he refused to retract his letter when called upon to do so, he was sentenced to degradation and excommunication by his superior, the bishop of Breslau, on the 4th of December 1844. This act of censure, however, failed to reduce him to submission; its actual effect, indeed, was to stimulate his refractory disposition to its full manifestation. He challenged the claims of the Roman hierarchy in numerous pamphlets and articles, and what was at first a criticism of the proceedings at Trèves became at length an all-round attack upon the authority of the Catholic Church and its leading institutions.

About the same time a Catholic priest named Czerski had arrived at conclusions similar to those of Ronge, though quite independently. Johann Czerski was born on the 12th of May 1813, in Western Prussia. While attending the Seminary at Posen, he passed through severe mental conflicts, but at length took office in the Cathedral Church of that town. While in this position he made a profound study of the Scriptures, with the result that he became quite unsettled regarding the fundamental institutions of the Roman Catholic Church—the primacy of the Pope, the hierarchy, auricular confession, the sacrifice of the Mass, etc. With such doubts in his heart he was transferred to the position of vicar at Schneidemühl, where, as a matter of fact, the congregation was no less critically disposed towards Catholicism than he was. It was, however, a purely personal matter which at length brought him into direct conflict with ecclesiastical authority; he was suspended from office in consequence of his relations with a young woman. But his congregation remained loyal to him, and when, renouncing his office, he abandoned the Roman Catholic Church altogether, they followed his example (16th October 1844). A few months later, sentence of degradation and excommunication was passed upon him.

Ronge's challenge found considerable support throughout large sections of Catholicism in Germany. He travelled widely as an agitator, exerting himself to maintain the movement and organize his followers. The first congregation of the new sect was constituted at Breslau. But even in the operations preliminary to this step the seceders felt themselves faced by the difficulty of finding a common basis for the heterogeneous elements in the 'Universal Christian Church,' as its adherents

called it at first. Nor was this embarrassment one of a merely incidental and transitory character; on the contrary, it indicated a real and inherent weakness of the whole movement, asserting itself whenever an attempt was made to unite the communities which sprang up in large numbers throughout the country. For the purpose of effecting such a union, a Conference, attended by 31 delegates from 15 congregations, was held at Leipzig, from the 23rd to the 26th of March 1845. The proceedings of this Conference are given in the official report, *Die erste allgemeine Kirchenversammlung der deutsch-katholischen Kirche* (Leipzig, 1845), edited by R. Blum and F. Wigard. It was here decided that the name of the new cause should be *Deutsch-Katholicismus*, with the Bible as its doctrinal basis; a short Confession was also adopted. It was made a proviso, however, that neither Scripture nor this Confession was to rank as an external authority, but that they were to be regarded as standards only in so far as they harmonized with rational thought. The verification of Christianity in a life of Christian love was set forth as the prime duty of the members. It was resolved to retain the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper (under both kinds), but to have done with the Papacy, the hierarchy, auricular confession, the celibacy of priests, the adoration of saints, relics, and images, indulgences, pilgrimages, etc.—in a word, to effect a thoroughgoing separation from the Roman Church and its distinctive institutions. In the order for public worship, the liturgy of the Mass and the use of the Latin language were discarded. The constitution of the new church was to be Presbyterian, and General Assemblies were to be regularly called.

Such was the ground-plan for a new religious body, but the plan presently met with opposition within the community itself. The abandonment of the Apostolic Confession gave umbrage to the 'German Catholics' at Berlin, and led to a separation there. Czerski himself was dissatisfied with the resolutions of the Conference, as he had been thwarted in his endeavour to obtain Confessional recognition of the Divinity of Christ, Ronge's influence on the other side proving too strong. This difference, however, did not lead to a breach, as Czerski gave way and simply claimed the right to adhere to his own position. But, while imminent disintegration was thus avoided, no genuine inward harmony was attained, and the movement became even more revolutionary. The adherents of Ronge, in fact, drawn together as they were by the most diverse motives and interests, formed an aggregate so heterogeneous that every attempt to secure a basis of union came to nought. It was maintained that even the Leipzig Confession was not to be held as binding, and there was a general desire to discard everything of the nature of dogma; but, of course, no real progress towards unity could be made on such negative lines, and it still remained impossible to define the scope and aim of the new church, as the visible embodiment of that religion of liberty which had lain so long under the tyranny of dogma. The outcome of this vagueness and indecision was that many Roman Catholics, who, while favourably disposed to a broader conception of Christianity, were by no means ready to relinquish Christianity itself turned away from 'German Catholicism,' and that some who desired to have no further dealings with Christianity allied themselves with the new movement. Ronge's incapacity to grapple with this critical state of affairs soon became evident to all, and, as there was no leading spirit to step into his place, the cause soon lost all its attractive power. After 1847, indeed, Ronge was a spent force in public life. He died at Vienna in 1887; Czerski, in 1893.

3. The 'Friends of Light' (*Lichtfreunde*).—The subsequent development of 'German Catholicism' reached its final stages in close connexion with the history of the 'Friends of Light'—a parallel movement among Protestants which had sprung up in 1841. In that year certain Evangelical clergy in the Prussian province of Saxony instituted a society which claimed for its members the right of unrestricted scientific investigation and of complete freedom in personal development. They called themselves *Protestant Friends*, but were popularly known as *Lichtfreunde*, which became their accepted designation. Their meetings were thronged; the number of divines resorting to them constantly increased; teachers also began to attend, and soon the laity followed. As the leaders of the movement were clergymen of the National Church, collision with the ecclesiastical authorities was inevitable. In 1840 the consistorium of Magdeburg reprimanded a minister named Sintenis for having spoken of prayer to Christ as a superstition. Sentence of deposition was passed upon G. A. Wislicenus of Halle and J. Rupp of Königsberg, while others, such as W. E. Baltzer and A. T. Wislicenus, anticipated formal dismissal by voluntarily abandoning their office. In all these cases the point at issue was essentially the same, viz. whether and how far an incumbent might be permitted to take an independent attitude towards the doctrine and the order of public worship recognized as statutory in the National Church. The claim of liberty was obviously against the law as commonly interpreted. These conflicts, however, were a matter of profound significance for the whole Evangelical Church of Germany, as the clergymen in question did not stand alone, but were supported by larger or smaller groups of members. The process of subjecting the clerical offenders to ecclesiastical discipline was followed by secessions from the Established Church, and dissident congregations were formed in Königsberg, Halle, Magdeburg, Nordhausen, Halberstadt, Hamburg, and other places.

4. Relations between the 'Friends of Light' and the 'German Catholics' down to 1858.—These two bodies soon developed intimate mutual relations. The fact that the one originated within Protestantism and the other within Catholicism did not constitute a ground of difference, as it lay in the very nature of both movements to attenuate all the peculiar elements of the creed, and to deprive them of the value generally assigned to them. Both were at one in their demand for freedom and progress, and in both the more radical section, which aimed at disengaging religion from the prevailing ecclesiastical conditions, gained the upper hand. Between the two, accordingly, there existed an essential affinity, and it was due to something more than tactical considerations that they showed a tendency to come together. The growth of this tendency was greatly hastened by the circumstance that both bodies suffered alike from the coercive measures of the public authorities; it was, in fact, persecution from the side of the various governments which brought about their union.

The governments of the different States regarded 'Free Protestants' and 'German Catholics' alike with suspicion, seeing in both an embodiment of the revolutionary spirit which made itself felt throughout Germany in the early forties of the 19th century. The practical expression of this antipathy took many forms, and every method of repression permitted by the legal systems of the several States was resorted to. In some cases the new sects were treated as illicit religious associations, while in others the designation 'religious associations' was denied them; in many districts they were simply

let alone; in others they were proceeded against with all the rigours of the law. The Revolution of 1848 put an end to this state of affairs, and gave complete liberty of action to the 'Friends of Light' and the 'German Catholics' alike. The immediate effect of the change, in the case of the former at least, was a notable increase in the number of their congregations. This was more particularly the case in Middle and North Germany, and here it became evident that the dissident cause found its most fruitful soil in urban populations. Another characteristic phenomenon was that the membership of the various congregations was subject to frequent and sudden fluctuations, while the lines of demarcation between 'Free Protestants' and 'German Catholics' became more and more unsettled. These facts render it difficult to obtain accurate statistics regarding the numerical strength of the movements. We must restrict ourselves to the statement that, according to the most reliable authorities, the combined membership of the two bodies during the period of their greatest vogue, i.e. about the middle of the 19th cent., may be reckoned approximately at 150,000. The closeness of the relations between the two may be gauged by the fact that the third 'German Catholic' Council and the third 'Free Protestant' Conference met in the same house in Leipzig on the same day of May, 1850. It was at this session also that the governments began to revert to their policy of persecution. When the agitation aroused by the Revolution of 1848 had died down, the legislatures of the various German States made it their express aim to suppress all liberal tendencies in State and Church, thus inaugurating the 'period of reaction.' As both the 'Friends of Light' and the 'German Catholics' lay under suspicion, and were regarded as illegal societies and as sources of danger to the State, the governments resorted to every available means to render impossible the continued existence of these bodies. The first blow in the revived policy of repression was struck on the occasion of the double Convention at Leipzig in 1850. Just as the proceedings were about to begin, the police appeared upon the scene and broke up the meetings, and within the next few years all the States of Germany adopted measures for which this incident provided an example. The ruthless procedure of the Prussian government in particular provoked the indignation of its victims. Even the religious services of the Free Congregations were interrupted by soldiers. Such of the official acts of their ministers as had an important bearing upon civil life were not recognized by the legislature, so that, for instance, marriages performed by them were treated as mere illicit unions. They were forbidden to celebrate the Lord's Supper, to prepare candidates for confirmation, or to officiate at funerals. This policy of persecution, however, was finally abandoned when Prince Wilhelm of Prussia (afterwards Emperor Wilhelm I.), in consequence of the illness of his brother, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., assumed the regency in 1858. Thereafter the 'Friends of Light' and the 'German Catholics' were able to maintain and develop their position without let or hindrance from the authorities.

5. 'German Catholics' and Free Congregations after 1858.—In 1859 the majority of the two bodies brought the friendly relations long subsisting between them to a focus in a corporate union, thus forming the 'Association of Free Religious Communities' (*Bund freier religiöser Gemeinden*). A biennial Conference of representatives from the various congregations was instituted; but the resolutions of this Conference have the validity of 'counsels' merely, and apply only to questions of organization. The individual congregation accordingly has absolute freedom in the management of

its own affairs, as is meanwhile guaranteed by the constitution of the society, which provides that 'freedom to act in all religious matters according to one's own increasing knowledge' shall be one of its own accepted principles. The object of the society is set forth as 'the promotion of a practical religion independent of dogma.' In 1899 the Union embraced 24 congregations with an aggregate of 17,000 members. Twenty-four congregations with some 5000 members remained outside the Union. The majority of the original 'German Catholic' communities joined the *Bund*, and many of these keep alive the memory of their origin by continuing to use the old name, either by itself or in conjunction with the designation *frei-religiös*. Amongst other appellations still in use are 'Christian Catholic,' 'Free Christian,' and even 'Free Evangelical-Catholic Church.' It is no longer possible, therefore, to draw a sharp distinction between 'German Catholicism' and the Free Religious Communities. It is only in the kingdom of Saxony that the former has chosen to maintain its independence in an organized form. 'The German Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Saxony' has a membership of about 2000, and is represented in Dresden, Leipzig, and Chemnitz by fairly large congregations.

We learn from these figures that the movement which originated in the early forties of the 19th cent. embraces at the present day a very insignificant portion of German Protestantism. The new society soon lost its better educated adherents, and it now appears to find its main support amongst working people who have left the State Churches. The Free Religious Communities form the residual elements of an initially powerful movement, and now to their cost find themselves upon the horns of a practical dilemma. On the one hand, they must renounce all definite formulation of doctrine, in order to avoid falling back into the dogmatic Christianity which they condemn in other Churches; while, on the other hand, for the work of instruction, of preaching, and of gaining new members, they cannot well do without distinct principles expressive of their actual religious beliefs. In consequence of this embarrassment, the Free Religious Communities show great diversity in practice. Some still make use of the Scriptures in religious instruction; some still maintain their adherence at least to Christian ethics; but there are others who have abandoned all connexion with Christianity whatever, and take their stand upon a basis of naturalism and atheism. The one point of uniformity amongst these communities is that they all alike repudiate the existing Christian Churches, whether Evangelical or Roman Catholic. Great diversity likewise prevails in their ceremonial. They still to some extent celebrate the Christian festivals, but always with a change from their original significance. The Lord's Supper continues to be observed in many congregations, but Baptism has been set aside. The course of religious instruction is brought to a close by a sort of confirmation, or 'initiation of the young' (*Jugendweihe*), which forms the gateway to full membership in the community. In this ordinance the candidates for confirmation give a pledge that they will seek truth, do right, and strive after perfection. Thus the Christian element still persisting in these communities is no longer the vital factor for them, and their past history goes to show that in course of time they will eliminate it altogether.

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C. MIRBT.

DEVADATTA.—A Śākya noble, probably a cousin of the Buddha, who joined the Order in the 20th year of the movement, but held opinions of his own, both in doctrine and in discipline, at variance with those inculcated by the Master. He received a certain amount of support, both within the Order and from laymen, but seems to have remained quiet till about ten years before the death of the Buddha. At that date he asked the latter to retire in his favour, and, being refused, started a new Order of his own. It is curious that these dissensions, and this final rupture, which must have had so important an influence on the early history of the Buddhist community (we find traces of them a thousand years afterwards), should receive so slight a notice in the earliest documents relating to Buddhist doctrine. Devadatta is not even mentioned in the *Sutta Nipāta*, or in the collection of longer Dialogues (the *Digha Nikāya*). In the other three collections of Suttas he is a few times barely referred to, in the discussion of some ethical proposition, as an example. In the minds of the editors of these collections the doctrine itself loomed so much more largely than any personal or historical matter, that Devadatta and his schism are all but ignored; but in the oldest collection of the rules of the Order (in the Pāli *Vinaya*), under the head of 'Schism,' a chapter is devoted to the final episode in Devadatta's life. Our discussion of the matter will therefore be most conveniently divided into: (1) the *Vinaya* account, (2) the isolated passages in the early books of doctrine, and (3) the later notices.

I. The *Vinaya* account.—This is in the 18th *khandhaka* (chapter) of the *Sutta Vibhāṅga*, relating to dissensions in the Order.¹ It commences with an account of the circumstances under which six young men of the Śākya clan, one of whom was Devadatta, entered the Order together.

This must have been in the 20th year of the Buddha's ministry, as is shown by a comparison of *Theragāthā*, 1039, with *Vin.* ii. 286. The latter passage tells us that Ananda (one of the six) attained *arhat*-ship in the year of the Buddha's death; the former states that he had been 25 years in the Order before he did so. Twenty-five years before the Buddha's death brings us to the 20th year of his ministry.

Throughout the passage in question the details given concern the others. At the end it is stated that, whereas each of the other five soon attained to some particular stage of the religious life, Devadatta attained to that magic power and charm which a worldly man may have.² There follows another episode having no relation to Devadatta, and then a third.

As usual, no intimation is given as to whether we are to suppose any interval of time between these episodes, but the very absence of continuity in the narrative would seem to imply that the editors supposed that there was.

The third episode introduces Devadatta considering whom he could win over so as to acquire gain and honour. He decides on Ajātasattu, the Crown Prince of Magadha, and accordingly goes there and practises his magic arts upon the Prince. These are quite successful; and Devadatta, dazed with prosperity, aspires to lead the Order. This is revealed by a spirit to Moggallāna, who informs the Buddha; but the latter, in reply, merely discusses the character of an ideal teacher. He then proceeds to Rājagaha, where the brethren inform him of Devadatta's prosperity. In reply, the Buddha discourses on the text that pride goeth before a fall, and concludes with a verse on honour ruining the mean man.³

In the next episode Devadatta asks the Buddha in the presence of the king, to give up to him the

¹ *Vin.* ii. 180 ff., tr. T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 224 ff. (*SBH* ix. [1885]).

² *Pothujjanika* i. 224 ff. On the exact meaning of this technical phrase, see the passages collected and discussed by the present writer in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 88, 273; ii. 6.

³ *Vin.* ii. 188; recurs at *Anguttara*, ii. 78; *Samyutta*, i. 164, ii. 241; *Mūlinda*, 166; *Netti*, 181.

leadership of the Order, on the ground that the Buddha is now an old man. He is refused, and a formal act of the Chapter of the Order decrees that in future, whatever he may do, Devadatta shall be considered by the people as acting or speaking, not as a member of the Order, but for himself alone. Then Devadatta incites the Crown Prince to kill his father, and to help him (Devadatta) to kill the Buddha. The various attempts, all of which are unsuccessful, are described in detail.

There follows an episode in which Devadatta, with four adherents, whose names are given, lays before the Buddha five points to be incorporated in the rules of the Order. They are: (1) that the *bhikkhus* should dwell in the woods, (2) that they should live entirely by begging, (3) that their clothing should be exclusively made of cast-off rags, (4) that they should sleep under trees, and (5) that they should not eat fish or meat.

The existing rules were more elastic. It will be sufficient here to state roughly that: (1) *bhikkhus* were not to dwell in the woods during the rainy season—it was considered unhealthy; at other seasons they might wander about, or dwell in hermitages in hills or forests, or in huts put up for them in parks, or the like; the only restriction was that they should not dwell in the houses of the laity; (2) they might beg, or accept invitations, or live on food provided at the residences for *bhikkhus*; (3) they might receive presents of clothing, made either personally to one *bhikkhu* or generally to the Order; (4) they might sleep anywhere except in houses of the laity, and even there they might stay for a limited period, if on a journey; (5) they might accept any food given, but not fish or flesh if specially caught or killed for the purpose of the meal. The five points recur at *Vin.* iii. 171, and are therefore probably correct.

The five points were rejected. Devadatta rejoiced, and told the people that, whereas Gautama and his *bhikkhus* were luxurious and lived in the enjoyment of abundance, he and his would abide by the strict rules of the five points. Five hundred of the younger *bhikkhus* accepted tickets that he issued, and joined his party. The success of the schism seemed assured.

The following and final episode introduces Devadatta, surrounded by a great number of adherents, discoursing on his doctrine. Śāriputta and Moggallāna, the principal disciples of Gautama, are seen approaching. On seeing them, Devadatta exults, and, in spite of a warning from Kōkālīka, he bids them welcome, and they take their seats. Devadatta continues his conversational discourse till far on into the night. Then, feeling tired, he asks Śāriputta to lead the assembly while he rests. Devadatta falls asleep. Śāriputta leads the talk on the subject of preaching, and then Moggallāna leads it on the subject of *idhhi*. Next Śāriputta suggests that those who approve should return to the Buddha, and most of the assembly do so. Kōkālīka awakes Devadatta, points out what has happened, and says, 'I warned you.' Then hot blood comes forth from Devadatta's mouth. Śāriputta, on his return, proposes that the renegades who had come back should be readmitted to the Order. This Gautama declares unnecessary, and the chapter closes with edifying discourse. First, we have a parable of elephants who ate dirt and lost their beauty and died. Just so will Devadatta die. Then the eight qualifications of one worthy to be an emissary are pointed out. Next, the eight qualifications of Devadatta, which doom him to remain for an aeon (*kappa*) in states of suffering and woe, are given. Finally, another paragraph gives three reasons for the same result.

It is probable, from the details, that the eight have been elaborated out of the three, no doubt to make Devadatta's qualifications parallel in number with those of Śāriputta, the ideal emissary.

2. Isolated passages.—In *Majjhima*, i. 192 a Suttanta is dated as having been delivered shortly after Devadatta went away. Not a word is said about him; but the discourse discusses the object of religion, which, it is said, should be cultivated, not for the sake of gain or honour, not for the sake

of virtue, not for the sake of mystic concentration, not for the sake of knowledge, 'but has its meaning, its essence, its ideal in emancipation of mind.' The objects here rejected are precisely those for which, in the *Vinaya* passages, Devadatta is said to have striven. At *Majjhima*, i. 392, a Jain is urged to put Gautama on the following two-horned dilemma (*ubhato-kotikam pañham*): 'Do you say that one ought to speak words pleasant to others? If so, did you make the statement about the inevitable fate about to befall Devadatta?' The puzzle is easily solved, and on general grounds (without any reference at all to Devadatta). This passage is important, because it shows that, before the time when the Dialogues were composed, and *a fortiori* before the time when the *Vinaya* account arose, the episode about the future fate of Devadatta was already in existence, and was widely known in the community, and even outside of it.

The *Mūlinda* (p. 107 ff.) has a greatly altered and expanded version of this 'double-horned dilemma'; and it is probable that the whole of the dilemma portion of that interesting work is based on the scheme of the dilemma in this Suttanta.

The *Samyutta* (at ii. 240-242) has the episode of honour bringing ruin to the mean man, in the same words as *Vin.* ii. 188, but divided into two stories; and at i. 153 it puts the concluding verse of that episode into the mouth of the god Brahmā. At ii. 156 Devadatta and his followers are called 'men of evil desire.' In four passages¹ the *Anguttara* has, word for word, episodes occurring in the *Vinaya* account. Besides those, it discusses at iii. 402 the statement about the fate that will inevitably befall Devadatta; and at iv. 402 ff. it discloses a view held by Devadatta that it was concentration of mind (and not the ethical training of the 'Aryan Path') that made a man an *arhat*. This is the only one of these isolated passages in the oldest books which really adds anything to our knowledge of Devadatta. In the later books of the Canon there are two or three more references to him. Thus the episode at *Vin.* ii. 198 recurs at *Udāna*, v. 8, and that at *Vin.* ii. 203 at *Iti-vuttaka*, no. 89, and at *Udāna*, i. 5, Devadatta's name is included in a list of eleven leaders in the Order who are called *buddha*, 'awakened.' This is the only passage in the Canon which speaks of Devadatta with approval; and it doubtless refers to a period before the schism. Lastly, in *Vin.* i. 115 it is said that Devadatta, before the rule to the contrary had been promulgated, allowed the local chapter of the Order, when the *Pātimokkha* was being recited, to be attended by laymen.

H. Oldenberg has shown, in the Introduction to his edition of the *Vinaya*, that the work, as we now have it, is composed of material belonging to three periods, the oldest of which goes back nearly, if not quite, to the time of the Buddha. The chapter analyzed above belongs to the latest of those periods. The episodes found also in other parts of the Canon belong to the earliest period. The summary at the beginning of this article is based exclusively on such episodes.

3. The later notices.—In books later than the Canon, the above story of Devadatta is often told or referred to, and with embellishments which purport to add details not found in the earlier version. Such additional details must be regarded with suspicion; many are insignificant, some are evidently added merely to heighten the edification of the narrative, all are some centuries later than the alleged facts they, for the first time, record. It will be sufficient to mention a few of the most striking.

The *Mahāvastu*, iii. 178, and the *Mahāvamsa*, ii. 21, give contradictory accounts of Devadatta's parentage. Had these two traditions (the one handed down in the Ganges valley, the other in Ceylon) agreed, the evidence might have been accepted. The *Mūlinda* (at p. 101) states that Devadatta was swallowed up by the earth; and

¹ *Ad.* ii. 75 = *Sam.* ii. 241 = *Vin.* ii. 188; *Ad.* iii. 128 = *Vin.* ii. 185; *Ad.* iv. 160; and again 164 = *Vin.* ii. 202.

(at p. 111) that, at the moment of his death, he took refuge in the Buddha. Both traditions were accepted in Ceylon in the 5th cent. A.D. (see the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, i. 147). A statement of Fa Hien (Legge's tr., p. 60) shows that the first of these traditions was still current in India at the end of the 4th cent. A.D. The same authority (p. 62) tells us that there were still, at that time, followers of Devadatta who paid honour to the three previous Buddhas, but not to Gautama. This is possibly confirmed by Yuan Chwāng, more than two centuries later, and in another locality; but Watters (ii. 191) thinks that the pilgrim himself may have supplied the name Devadatta. Yuan Chwāng elsewhere (Watters, i. 339) credits Devadatta with the murder of the nun Uppala-vannā; but we have no confirmation of this unlikely story, and it depends probably on a Chinese misunderstanding of some Indian text. We have two 5th cent. biographies of Uppala-vannā, and it occurs in neither.

LITERATURE.—*Vinaya*, ed. Oldenberg, London, 1879; Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, Oxford, 1881-85 (*SBE* xiii., xvii., xx.); *Theragāthā*, ed. Oldenberg and Pischel (*PTS*, 1888); *Aṅguttara*, ed. Morris and Hardy (*PTS*, 1885-1900); *Saṃyutta*, ed. Léon Feer (*PTS*, 1884-1898); *Mūlinda-paṇḥo*, ed. Trenckner, London, 1880; *Netti*, ed. E. Hardy (*PTS*, 1902); Rhys Davids, *Questions of King Mūlinda*, Oxford, 1890-94 (*SBE* xxxv., xxxvi.), *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Oxford, 1899, 1909; *Majjhima Nikāya*, ed. Trenckner and Chalmers (*PTS*, 1887-1902); *Iti-vuttaka*, ed. Windisch (*PTS*, 1890), and tr. J. H. Moore, New York, 1908; *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, Paris, 1897; *Mahāvastu*, ed. Geiger (*PTS*, 1908); *Travels of Fa Hien*, tr. J. Legge, Oxford, 1886; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwāng's Travels in India*, ed. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell, London, 1904; *Com. on the Dhammapada*, ed. H. C. Norman (*PTS*, 1906). See also H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896 (= *GLAP* iii. 8), pp. 15, 28, 38 ff., where other references to later notices may be found. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

DEVAYĀNA.—This term in ancient Vedic thought and speculation denoted the path or paths leading to the gods, elsewhere the road which the gods themselves were wont to traverse in their descent or ascent between heaven and earth. In the earliest literature of India it formed part of the recognized terminology of the priests and poets; and it passed through a long course of development and refinement, during which it gained clearness of definition, and was brought into relation with other movements of religious thought. In a lower, more literal, and mechanical sense, *devayāna* was also the car or vehicle (*yāna*) of a god; but no special significance or importance seems to have attached to this use of the word. The correlative to *devayāna*, 'the way of the gods,' was *pitṛyāna*, 'the way of the fathers'—a term which assumed importance only in the later speculation, and perhaps was consciously invented on the analogy of the former word, to express an inferior path or progress, at a time when *devayāna* became specialized and appropriated to the conception of a higher or the highest degree of bliss.

Hence in origin at least both terms belong to a lower stratum or form of religious belief, and are conceived in a material or semi-material sense. The term *pitṛyāna* especially answered to the primitive and wide-spread conception of the life after death, which pictures it as a meagre continuation of the present, reproducing the conditions and occupations of a worldly existence, where the ancestors dwell in weal or woe according to their deserts, but where all is more or less unreal and speculative, and the prospect exerts no determining influence on the actions or conduct of the present. In India, however, almost from the very beginning, the term *devayāna*, so soon as it was interpreted in the human sphere of the fortunes and destinies of men, was conceived apparently in a higher and more ethical sense, and for the most part connoted Divine escort, companionship, or guardian care, on a road which had its termination

in a paradise of blessedness and good; the elements and conditions of which conception were necessarily contributed by earthly experiences, and the pleasures enjoyed were those of earth, renewed, however, in a more or less etherealized and exalted form in fellowship with beneficent and righteous gods. The travellers by the *pitṛyāna* attained only a lower goal, where the superhuman associates were at the best the gods of the lower world, but where the company was for the most part those mortal men who had preceded them on the path. These all shared the same colourless and temporary existence, from which they eventually returned to tread the same cycle of renewed birth, life, and death, in this world. Thus finally, with the growth of speculation with regard to the future, and of the consciousness of merit and demerit attaching to conduct and involving reward or penalty, the ways of the gods and of the fathers were brought into association with the great Indian doctrines of *samsāra*, 'transmigration,' and inevitable *karma*; and were incorporated into the rich store of Indian beliefs that had reference to the life beyond the grave.

The earliest conception of a 'path of the gods' is to be found in the hymns of the *Rigveda*. There apparently it is always associated with Agni, the divine priest and intermediary between gods and men. Agni—both the sacrificer and the sacrificial flame—bears the offerings to the gods, and conducts the gods to receive the offerings which are prepared for them. He knows the path that leads to the gods, and is the messenger and guide thereon:

'Knowing the ways by which the gods go, thou (Agni) hast become the unwearied messenger, the bearer of oblations.'¹

The path trodden by the gods, and on which the sacrifices were borne to the heavenly world, became later the road by which the sacrificer himself ascended to the company of the gods. This extension or development of the thought of the *devayāna* was early made, probably in connexion with the practice of burning the dead. The soul, released from the body, which was consumed by the fire and returned to its earthly elements, was carried on high in the smoke and flame, on a fiery path whereon was consummated that purification from earthly taint which the fires of the funeral pyre had begun.

Sat. Brāhm. i. 9. 3. 2: 'That same path² leads either to the gods or to the fathers. On both sides two flames are ever burning: they scorch him who deserves to be scorched, and allow him to pass who deserves to pass.'

The way was thus prepared for the philosophical development which the doctrine received in the *Upaniṣads* and later systems of Indian thought and teaching. The purification which the soul underwent to fit it for the communion and company of the gods was conceived as a process not completed in one act or at one time, but carried on through a series of graduated stages or degrees; and it was only at its close that the emancipated soul was admitted to the fullness of bliss.

The earliest enumeration of the 'stations' on the two paths is found in the *Chhândogya Upaniṣad* (v. 10. 1):

'Those who know this (i.e. the so-called doctrine of the five fires, and the fate of men after death, with regard to which Śvetaketu Āruṇeya has been obliged to confess ignorance [v. 3. 1-5]), and those who in the forest follow faith and austerities (*vānaprastha*) enter into the flame, from the flame to the day, from the day to the bright half of the month, from the bright half of the month to the six months of the sun's northward movement, from the six months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning.'

Thence they are led to Brahman; and it is further

¹ *Rigv.* i. 72. 7, cf. ii. 2. 4 f., *at.* Atharv. iii. 15. 2, etc.; and, for the paths between heaven and earth, which Agni knows (*Rigv.* vi. 16. 3, x. 98. 11, etc.), see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 88 ff.

² i.e. the funeral fire; see *SBE* xii. 267 and note; and cf. *Sat. Brāhm.* xiii. 8. 4.

explained that this is the way of the gods, from which there is no return (cf. iv. 15. 5):

'But they who living in a village (*grhastha*) practise sacrifices and almsgiving, enter into the smoke, from the smoke to the night, from the night to the dark half of the month, from the dark half of the month to the six months of the sun's southward movement. But they do not reach the year. From the months they go to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the ether, from the ether to the moon. . . . Having dwelt there as long as a remnant (of good works) yet exists (*yadāt sampādam*, 'till their good works are consumed' (Müller)), they return again, by that way by which they came, to the ether, from the ether to the wind. Having become wind, the sacrificer becomes smoke; having become smoke, he becomes mist; having become mist, he becomes cloud; having become cloud, he rains down. Then is he born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans. Thence the escape is beset with most difficulties. . . . Those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brāhman, or a Ksatriya, or a Vaiśya; but those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a *Chauḡāla*' (v. 10. 3-7).

The same description, with minor variations and in a somewhat briefer form, recurs in *Bṛhad. Up.* vi. 2. 15 f. For the year, however, on the *devayāna* is substituted the Devaloka, 'the world of the gods.' In the stations of the *pitṛyāna* the ether is omitted, and progress is made direct from the world of the fathers to the moon. The omission, however, is apparently merely accidental; for, when the merit of their good works is exhausted, they are said to return again to the ether, from the ether to the air, from the air to the rain, from the rain to the earth.

'And when they have reached the earth they become food, they are offered again in the fire of man, and thence are born in the fire of woman. Thus they rise up towards the worlds, and go the same round as before.'

It is not easy to determine which of these two versions is the earlier. They are probably to be traced back to a common original, which has been slightly modified in the course of transmission in different schools of Vedic learning. The form of the *Bṛhadāranyaka* most closely and formally identifies itself with the doctrine of transmigration and the theory of a satisfaction rendered upon earth for all past deeds, after which a new career is entered upon. There underlies both, however, the ancient Vedic conception of retribution or felicity after death, in another world, from which there was no necessary return to an existence upon earth—a conception which was more or less definitely combined with and accommodated to the teaching with regard to a new life upon earth. The latter, in its origin at least, was probably derived from external sources, but was adopted into the Brāhmanical system and elaborated in the philosophical schools (see artt. TRANSMIGRATION, UPANISHADS).

In the later literature also reference is frequently made to the two paths, and the essential difference between them is emphasized, viz. that of a permanent or a merely temporary deliverance from the conditions of an earthly life, e.g. *Bhāg.-Gītā*, viii. 23-26:

'I will declare the time, O descendant of Bharata, at which devotees (*yogin*) departing from this world go never to return or to return. The fire, the flame, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the sun's northern movement, departing in these, those who know the Brahman go to the Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the sun's southern movement, departing in these, the devotee attains the lunar light and returns. These two paths, the bright and the dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world. By the one a man goes never to return, by the other he returns again.' Cf. *Praśna Up.* i. 9, 10, where the paths are termed southern and northern; *Mund. Up.* i. 2. 10, 11, iii. 1. 6; *Anug.* 20 (*SBE* viii. 314, 316), etc.

It is evident that the stations themselves are artificial, and are made artificially to correspond, those of the *devayāna* indicating regions of progressive knowledge and light, those of the *pitṛyāna* successive regions of darkness and decay. Occasionally, in passages which are probably later and prompted by individual speculation or fancy, other stations are added or substituted for those of the *Bṛhad.* or *Chhând.*; e.g. in *Kaus. Up.* i. 3, from the fire, the world of Agni, the path of the gods leads through

the world of Vāyu (wind, air) to the world of Varuṇa, and thence through the worlds of Indra and Prajāpati to the world of Brahman.

The same Upaniṣad essays an explanation of the fact that the moon appears as a station on both paths. On the *devayāna* it occupies a place beyond the sun, intermediary between that and the lighting, but is in no way distinguished from the other stations. On the *pitṛyāna*, however, it is the final resting-place, or place of sojourn, from which the return to earth begins. The author of the *Kaus. Up.* appears to regard the moon as a testing-place or opportunity of trial, the future being determined by the degree of knowledge which the disembodied soul is proved to possess. The wise find a permanent home; the ignorant are dismissed to a new earthly existence which is graduated according to their deserts.¹ That all souls after death are received into the moon is an ancient and widely accepted view, and probably accounts for the position which the moon occupies as a station common to the two paths.

Provision is also made for those who are ignorant of the ways, i.e. for out-castes who have no knowledge of the gods and no capacity or right to study the scriptures. Elsewhere, however, this 'third place' appears to be conceived as a lot of punishment or degradation reserved for the wicked. To the philosophical thought of India the two conceptions are not incompatible, and the latter, indeed, is almost necessarily an accompaniment of the former.

'Those who know neither of these paths become worms, birds, and biting things.'²

A further question much discussed had reference to the qualifications necessary for those who on the higher path attain to light and immortality. The primary qualification was universally admitted to be knowledge, i.e. knowledge of the supreme or Brahman. Difference of opinion, however, appears to have existed on the one question as to the degree of knowledge the possession of which would admit to the *devayāna*. With regard to those who have lived in the two last *āśramas* as *vānaprasthas* or *sannyāsins*, there is no doubt: they tread the path of the gods. In the case of *grhasthas* the *Chhând. Up.* appears to draw a distinction between those who know the secret doctrine of the five fires, and those whose life proceeds in the routine of ordinary sacrifices. The former after death go to the flame, etc., and finally reach Brahman. The latter are destined for the *pitṛyāna* and a return to earth. The *brahmachārin*, in a state of pupilage, to whom the knowledge of the Brahman had not yet been communicated, was naturally excluded from the highest path. A later representation, perhaps more liberally inspired, or to which the conception of the sphere of the *brahmachārin's* life had become definitely widened, conceded this also, and, entirely in harmony with later developments of thought, laid the emphasis not on status, but on behaviour and a life of meditation and devotion.³

¹ *Kaus. I. 2.* The passage is difficult, and perhaps corrupt. Max Müller renders: 'All who depart from this world go to the moon. In the former (the bright) half, the moon delights in their spirits; in the other (the dark) half, the moon sends them on to be born again. Verily, the moon is the door of the Svarga (heavenly) world. Now, if a man objects to the moon (if not satisfied with life there), the moon sets him free. But, if a man does not object, then the moon sends him down as rain upon this earth,' etc. (*SBE* i. 278 f.; cf. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 24).

² *Bṛhad. Up.* vi. 2. 16, cf. *Chând.* v. 10. 7 f., Śaṅkara on *Ved. Sūt.* iii. 1. 13, who explains that, in the case of those who are destined for the 'third place,' the appropriate sacrifices have not been offered, and therefore they return to life in new bodies which are constituted from inferior ingredients (*SBE* xxviii. 123-25, cf. 121 f.).

³ *Anug.* 31. 7 f.: 'a Brahmachārin . . . who is thus devoted, who is concentrated in mind and continent, conquers heaven, and reaching the highest seat does not return to birth'; cf. Rāmānuja on *Ved. Sūt.* iii. 8. 32, who declares that all those who practise meditation proceed on the path of the gods, without

The same question of qualifications for the higher path, the path that led to Brahman without return, was considered in relation to the doctrine of the *yoga* (q.v.). *Bhāg.-Gītā*, viii. 24 f. appears to suggest that the immediate destiny of the *yogin*, or ascetic, depends upon the time of death, whether in the light or dark half of the year, the northern or southern progress of the sun (*SBE* viii. 80 f.). Rāmānuja, however, rejects this inference, and asserts that the text enjoins on all *yogins* the duty of daily meditation on the two paths, quoting in proof of his contention the words that follow: 'no *yogin* who knows these two paths is deluded' (*ib.* viii. 27). The text, therefore, has no reference to the time or season of the year at which death takes place (*SBE* xlviii. 472 f.).

A further and final development of doctrine took place in harmony with the teaching of the Vedānta, and the importance attached to knowledge of the highest Brahman, the supreme knowledge (*parā vidyā*), as the one avenue of escape from attachment to the world and the possibilities of re-birth. Those, on the other hand, who were possessed only of the lower degree of knowledge (*aparā vidyā*), the knowledge of the Brahman *saṁyā* ('endowed with qualities'), were still entangled in the snares of delusion, and liable after death to a return to earth. It became, then, necessary to find a link of connexion between the new metaphysics which exalted the secret esoteric wisdom, and the older authoritative teaching of the two ways. It was not possible, however, to deny that those who possessed a knowledge of Brahman even in an inferior degree departed on the *devayāna*, the path of the gods, or to consign them to a lower destiny; for all such the scripture declared that there was no return. A solution of the difficulty was found in the doctrine of the *kramamukti*, 'emancipation by steps or stages.' The question is discussed by Śaṅkara on *Ved. Sū.* iii. 3. 29 (*SBE* xxxviii. 231-235; cf. *ib.* 124 f.), where he explains that a twofold meaning underlies the phrase 'going on the path of the gods.' In the case of those possessed of the highest knowledge, the knowledge of the unqualified Brahman (*nirguṇa*), it is a mere phrase; for they are already in union with Brahman, and have no need to move on any path to reach that end. But all who have only the knowledge of the qualified Brahman (*saṁyā*) advance on that road. And, since it is said that they attain to Brahman and do not return, it must be that in union with the (*saṁyā*) Brahman they eventually win perfect enlightenment and gain the highest knowledge. During this period of probation and imperfect knowledge the soul is in possession of complete bliss and unrestrained capacities of will power, etc. (*aiśvarya*). As it approaches the highest light, it finds itself, assumes a 'new form,' and is truly and finally set free. This is the doctrine of the *kramamukti*. And it is further explained that all thus enter into absolute and final emancipation at the end of the world-cycle.¹

A variety of the teaching concerning the paths, which is merely an elaboration of the doctrine of the two roads, and remained without further significance or development, postulated four paths from earth to the gods, which were explained as corresponding to four forms of sacrifice. Both the

reference and the interpretation are given by Baudhāyana:

'Some teach a fourfold division of these sacred duties. The text, however, "Four paths," etc. (*Taitt. Saṁh.* v. 7. 2. 5) refers to sacrificial rites, *istis*, animal and Soma sacrifices, and *darśiṇomas* (offerings made with a *darśi*, or sacred ladle). The following declares that "Four paths, leading to the world of the gods, go severally from the earth to heaven" (*Baudhāy.* ii. 6. 9 f., cf. 20; *Āpast.* ii. 9. 23. 5).

The context suggests that the conception of the four paths is not unconnected with the doctrine of the four *āśramas*.

An isolated passage in the *Brhad. Up.* (iv. 4. 9) describes the path to the Svargaloka as marked out in varied colours:

'On that path (to the Svargaloka) they say that there is white or blue or yellow or green or red; that path was found by Brahman, and on it goes whoever knows Brahman, and who has done good, and obtained splendour.'

The colours are the same as those of the veins (*hitā*; *ib.* iv. 3. 20), and the conception has therefore in all probability a physiological basis. Neither in this instance, however, nor in that of the four paths of the *Taitt. Saṁh.* and Baudhāyana was any inference drawn or further development sought. And it remains doubtful how far any connexion is to be traced between the ideas underlying these texts and the formal doctrine of the *devayāna*.

Parallels to the latter doctrine of roads traced out between earth and heaven by which the dead souls pass and repass are to be found in many of the religions of the nearer and further East. They are present in the eschatological teaching especially of Babylon and Egypt.¹ Similar conceptions are presupposed in the dream of Jacob (*Gn* 23¹² ff.).²

LITERATURE.—This is indicated in the article.

A. S. GEDEN.

DEVELOPMENT (Biological).—Development is the 'becoming' of the individual organism, the attainment of a specific form and structure, and of the not less characteristic associated faculties. The starting-point is usually a fertilized egg-cell—a new unity formed from the intimate and orderly combination of paternal and maternal inheritances. The fertilized ovum divides and re-divides, the daughter-cells or blastomeres are arranged in germinal layers, differentiation sets in, and an embryo is built up. This is embryonic development. At a certain stage, differing greatly in the different types, the egg is 'hatched,' and the embryo emerges from the egg-envelope—sometimes like a miniature of the adult, as in the case of a chicken; sometimes very unlike the adult and adapted to a different kind of life, as in the case of caterpillar and tadpole. Thus there may be a larval development. The embryo is the quiescent stage within the egg-membrane; the larva is free-living and able to feed for itself. As long as the realization or expression of the inheritance goes on, as long as differentiation and integration continue, we may speak of development, but mere increase in size is not development, and it is very difficult to decide where to put in the stop. Thus some would say that development includes all the normal changes of form and structure that occur throughout life, and that the breaking-down in old age is as much part of development as the building-up in youth. Others put in the stop when the limit of growth is reached, but the brain may go on developing long after that, though in mammals there seems to be no increase in the number of brain-cells after birth. Moreover, there are many fishes and reptiles that show no limit of growth. Others, again, put in the stop when the specific characters begin to be well defined, but that would exclude much that can be fairly called development, e.g. the changes associ-

restriction (*SBE* xlviii. 650-652); also on *HL* i. 17 f., iv. 3. 1 ff., where the two paths are discussed, and are said to be dependent respectively on knowledge and works (*SBE* xlviii. 694 f., 744 ff.); see also Śaṅkara, *loc. cit.*

¹ Cf. also Rāmānuja on *Ved. Sū.* iv. 4. 1. 1 (*SBE* xlviii. 755 ff.); Deussen, *Alg. Gesch. d. Phil.*, Leipzig, 1908, i. 3. p. 608 ff. The *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad* contains a suggestion or pre-imitation of the same theory: 'When that god is known, all fetters fall off, sufferings are destroyed, and birth and death cease. From meditating on him there arises, on the dissolution of the body, the third state, that of universal lordship (*aiśvarya*); but he only who is alone is satisfied' (*Svet. Up.* i. 11).

² See, e.g., F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales*, 1906, p. 152 f., and the references there given; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, London, 1905, *passim*, etc.

³ Cf. A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 372 ff.

ated with sexual maturity. The fact is that, in studying development, we are considering the living creature in its time-relations, and definition is a matter of convenience. In the present article we propose to restrict ourselves for the most part to the problems of embryonic development.

Let us state very briefly some of the outstanding facts of development. We know that the germ-cells, and their nuclei in particular, form the physical basis of inheritance—the means, at least, of development; that a genetic continuity is kept up from generation to generation by a lineage of unspecialized germ-cells, which do not share in body-making; that this accounts for like tending to beget like; that fertilization implies an intimate and orderly union of two individualities, condensed and integrated for the time being in the ovum and the spermatozoon; that the spermatozoon, besides being the bearer of the paternal half of the inheritance, acts as a liberating stimulus to the ovum, and introduces into the ovum a peculiar little body, the centrosome, which plays an important part in the subsequent division of the fertilized egg-cell. We know that the mode of all development is by the division of nuclei and the segregation of the living matter into unit-areas or cells, each presided over by a nucleus; that differentiation comes about very gradually, the obviously complex slowly arising out of the apparently simple; that paternal and maternal characteristics—so far as the nuclei of the germ-cells bear these—are distributed in exact equality by the nuclear or cellular divisions, and that the paternal and maternal contributions thus form the warp and woof of the web which we call the organism, though the expression or realization of the bi-parental heritage varies greatly in individual cases. In many cases the parental contributions seem to include ancestral items which may find expression in development or may lie latent. We know that development is a regular sequence of events which requires, stage by stage, an appropriate external environment; that there are continual interactions between the developing organism and its environment; and that there are continual mutual adjustments of the different constituents of the developing organism. In certain aspects the development appears like the building-up of a mosaic out of many independently heritable and independently developable parts; in other aspects it appears as the expression of an integrated unity, with subtle correlations between the parts, and with remarkable regulative processes working towards an unconsciously predetermined end. We know also that in a general way the individual development of organs often progresses from stage to stage in a manner which suggests a recapitulation of the steps in the presumed racial evolution.

It may be said that the data for the study of development are threefold, viz. (a) embryologists have worked out the sequence of stages in the development of a large number of types; (b) experimentalists have shown in a variety of instances that particular changes in the external conditions are followed by particular changes in the developing organism; and (c) students of heredity have distinguished various modes of inheritance which obtain, such as 'blended' and 'Mendelian.' The facts known in regard to development are many and various, as we have briefly indicated, and they are continuously increasing in precision and penetration; yet it seems doubtful whether we have got much nearer an understanding of development since the days of Aristotle, to whom facts were so few. It seems as if his *de Generatione* remained the most important contribution to the subject. How little light we

have that he had not in regard to the deep problems of development, such as those suggested by the following questions; How are the heritable characteristics of the race summed up potentially within the minute germ-cells? How do they gradually find expression in the individual development, so that what we call differentiation results? What is the nature of the compelling necessity that mints and coins the chick out of a drop of living matter? What is the regulative principle of the ordered progress which, by intricate and often strangely circuitous paths, leads to the fully-formed organism?

From reflexion on these general questions the scientific mind always turns, sometimes too quickly, to concrete investigation, it may be of the humblest sort, with the results of which the theory of development must be consistent. Thus there are numerous inquiries into the external factors of development, such as light, temperature, oxygen, osmotic pressure, and the chemical composition of the medium. Experiments are devised which alter or remove one factor at a time, and the significance of the factor is inferred from the resulting changes, transient or permanent, in the developing organism. It appears that each germ is adapted to develop in an appropriate environment, that changes in this environment may occur without permanent prejudicial effects on the organism, but that the latitude of endurable change varies greatly for different types, some being much less plastic than others. It appears that some of the environmental factors, like oxygen and water, are analogous to nutrition; that others, like the osmotic pressure or the presence of calcium salts in the water, are conditions of embryonic coherence; that others, like light and heat, are accelerants and inhibitors; and that particular combinations of factors are required as the 'liberating stimuli' of particular characters in the developing organism. It does not appear, however, that we can speak of the environmental factors as being in any other sense directive.

A second kind of inquiry asks, What in point of fact goes on in the development of the fertilized egg-cell? We know that there is an expression of the inheritance: that is just another spelling of the word development; but what processes are known to occur? This is an inquiry into the physiology of development, which is still a very young department of science, too young for safe generalization. It is also difficult to disentangle the physiology of growth from that of development, yet every one is agreed that mere growth is not development. What processes are known to occur? (a) We know of various sets of chemical changes significant in different ways. Thus, to cite three different cases, the fermentative changes in seeds make the legacy of nutritive reserves available; the anabolic formation of nucleic-substances seems to bring about cell-division; the diffusion of the products of internal secretion certainly affords the liberating stimulus to certain previously unexpressed parts of the inheritance, for instance in adolescence. (b) We know also of a continuous succession of cell-divisions. That, indeed, is how all development goes on. The original idea of Roux, that there is qualitative nuclear division, shuffling the pack of inherited qualities, has been given up in favour of a more plausible view suggested below. (c) We also know a little of even subtler processes—of protoplasmic movements within the developing germ, and of apparent attractions towards specific parts. (d) There are also phenomena of surface-tension and capillarity, etc., which seem to be rather parts of the vital machinery of growing than implicated in the essential secret of progressive differentiation.

A third line of investigation concerns the initial structure of the germ, and one result stands out—that in many cases the egg-cell contains pre-formed, sometimes pre-localized, organ-forming substances, whose removal involves the absence of a corresponding structure, should development proceed. Thus, the old view of the ovum as homogeneous and isotropic has given way before experimental proof of heterogeneity. It may be that, in the heterogeneous, anisotropic cytoplasm of the egg, there is the foundation of the progressive differentiation that follows, and it may be, as Driesch and Boveri suggest, that the dividing nuclei—each a microcosm—are differently stimulated to expression in different areas of the cytoplasm, and that they thus call forth new differentiations in these, in ever-increasing complexity of action and reaction.

Another line of investigation inquires into the mutual influences of the parts of the developing organism. An egg divides into a ball of cells (or blastomeres), and it seems reasonable to suppose—what experiment confirms—that the prospective value of a particular blastomere depends on its position in the whole. In the development of a colony of polymorphic Hydroids, such as *Hydractinia*, it is probable that the prospective value of any young polyp—whether it is to become nutritive, reproductive, or sensory—depends, in part at least, on its position in the whole. Similarly, in the development of an embryo, it is probable that there are subtler than spatial correlations between the developing cells or groups of cells. Driesch has especially emphasized this idea of the mutual stimulation of developing parts, but further research is necessary before we can securely estimate the action of parts upon one another. This, indeed, brings us right up against one of the distinctive riddles of development—that there is, on the one hand, so much inter-dependence of parts, and yet, on the other hand, so much power of self-differentiation.

In regard to the question so often asked, whether we can understand development in terms of chemistry and physics, the scientific answer must be that we cannot at present in the very least describe embryonic development—that wonderful individual unpacking of a racial treasure-box—in terms of chemistry and physics. There are chemical and physical processes going on, of course, which reward study, but a knowledge of them does not help us greatly to understand the result. There is nothing known in regard to development that is at variance with the conclusions of chemistry and physics, but we cannot give a physico-chemical rendering of the observed facts. Nowhere is the autonomy of Biology clearer than here. Driesch in particular has done great service in showing that mechanistic formulæ will not suffice when we come to deal with organic development, notably when we consider the localization of the various successive steps of differentiation. But many who are at one with him on that point are unable to follow him in his constructive hypothesis of an entelechy which exerts a directive influence on the transformations of energy that go on in development.

LITERATURE.—Hans Driesch, *The Science and Philosophy of the Organism* (Gifford Lectures at Aberdeen), 2 vols., London, 1908; J. W. Jenkinson, *Experimental Embryology*, Oxford, 1909 [a very able treatise, with a philosophical discussion]; W. Roux, *Vorlesse und Aufsätze über Entwicklungsmechanik der Organismen*, 1, Leipzig, 1906; E. B. Wilson, *The Cell in Development and Inheritance*, London and New York, 1900; Aristotle's *de Generatione*, tr. Pratt, Oxford, 1911. See also literature at end of art. BIOLOGY.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

DEVELOPMENT (Mental).—I. Introduction. —During and after the period of bodily growth and development, from infancy to adult life, the

individual gradually acquires and completes his mental powers. The study of mental development has as its aim to determine the conditions which govern this gradual process, and its successive stages both for the mind in general and for the special functions or capacities. It has been remarked that, while some of the lowest animals are born 'grown up,' being able from the first to secure food for themselves and otherwise to live a life similar to that of their parents, the higher we ascend the scale of animal life the longer is the period of immaturity, infancy, or development which the individual undergoes. This is not a mere accident: the length of infancy has a direct relation to the height achieved by the animal's species in the evolutionary scale, in other words, to the complexity of its structure and functions, the variety of its adaptation to environment, and especially the degree of plasticity, or power of modifying behaviour, which it possesses. The argument applies equally to the physical and the mental aspects of evolution.

Comparative tables show that the ratio of the period of immaturity to that of length of life, which in man is 25:75, or 1:3, is an increasingly small fraction as we descend the scale: thus elephant, 1:4; horse, lion, 1:6; dog, 1:8; cattle, 1:9; cat, 1:10; rabbit, 1:11; guinea-pig, 1:12 (A. F. Chamberlain [after Hollis and Bell], *The Child*, ch. 4). The same differences may be observed within the human race itself: the young savage, or barbarian, Papuan, Fuegian, Bushman, Eskimo, is adult, and begins to take a man's or woman's part in the tribal work, at from 10 to 12 or 13 years; while, within civilization, the date of perfect maturity has been progressively advancing to 21, 25, and even to 30 years for complete mental development. It must be supposed that the ordinary forces making for evolution have determined this increasing length of infancy and immaturity; it has the following advantages: (1) Completed growth means rigidity; the more firmly a structure is organized, the more completely a habit is fixed by the organic mechanism, the more difficult is it for either structure or habit to be modified to suit new conditions; hence longer infancy means more gradual and therefore more effective adaptation to the general environment. (2) Completed development means completed adaptation to a number of special forces in the environment; the period of development is that during which selection occurs among the forces to which adaptation is to be made; thus longer infancy means ultimately more specialized adaptation to, and greater control over, the environment. (3) The main value of mental as contrasted with physical development is to give the individual a mastery of the means of economizing behaviour—by selective attention, by language, by technical skill, by thinking, abstraction, and reason—the mastery of those varied means of summarizing experience which the race has in its evolution perfected: such powers cannot be transmitted by physical heredity, but must be re-acquired by each individual by imitation or education: the longer development corresponds, therefore, to the greater refinement of the race in these products of experience. (4) In regard to physical structures as well as to mental achievements, the individual must by exercise and activity acquire even those functions for which it has a congenital disposition: the simple structure does not become the complex organization, without effort on the individual's part. This is true whether or not the individual is supposed to pass through the same stages of growth as those by which its ancestral line has come down from simpler life-forms (recapitulation theory). Hence, the higher the evolution of the race, the longer must be the period occupied by the individual in reaching its race-type (K. Groos, *Play of Animals*, ch. 2, Eng. tr., London, 1898; Chamberlain, *op. cit.*; E. Claparède, *Psychol. de l'enfant*, chs. 2 and 4).

2. Relation of development to evolution.—The recapitulation theory, once accepted as almost a truism, has recently met with much criticism. It has been applied to mental development most frankly and fully by Stanley Hall and his school. According to these writers, there are three ways in which the individual reveals the story of his race. (1) There is the actually observed correspondence between the stages and order of development and those of race-evolution ('recapitulation'). (2) There is the occasional appearance, even in adult normal life, of mental forms which are echoes of primitive mental stages; these occur more especially in states of mental weakness, fatigue, exhaustion, illness, the drug-psychoses, sleep, hypnosis ('reverberations'; 'reminiscences'). Our souls, like our bodies, represent the organized experiences of past ancestors: fears,

affections, thoughts, which appear even in quite healthy states, may be 'rudimentary spectres' (Stanley Hall) due to survivals from distant ages of man. (3) A given individual may show arrest of mental (as well as of physical) development, stopping short at a stage which the race in general has long since passed; in such a case we have a 'reversion,' or an atavism (*q.v.*), in which the characteristics of remote ancestors dominate, in the child's development, those derived from his parents or near ancestors. The mind, like the body, thus consists of segmentary divisions or strata derived from different periods of evolution: the older strata are naturally those which are most fixed and uniform throughout a race (*e.g.* the primitive instincts); the more recent strata are more variable in the different individuals (*e.g.* the forms of intellectual development); again, the older strata represent the foundation from which the more recent have been derived, and on which, therefore, the latter must be built up by the individual: hence not only does the individual, as a matter of fact, tend to develop along racial lines, but also parents and teachers *ought* to encourage and strengthen this tendency, in order to secure adequate and proportional development of all the different powers ('culture-epoch theory').¹

The recapitulation theory has been defended (1) in the stages at which the different senses mature; (2) in the stages at which accurate discrimination of the different qualities within the same sensory group appears; (3) in the appearance of the different instinctive activities; (4) in the play activities of children; (5) in the successive objects of imitation which children select for themselves; (6) in the stages of intelligent behaviour, and in the development of abstract thought; (7) in the development of emotion; (8) in language. The principle has been greatly over-driven by its supporters, and probably the correspondence in question is limited to the broad general lines of development and evolution respectively. Special objections apply to the culture-epoch theory both as an interpretation of the facts of observation and as a basis of educational reform, but in the course of its discussion many valuable suggestions have been made. The child is not mentally, any more than physically, a mere miniature adult; its powers do not differ merely in quantity from those of the adult; they differ also in proportion and in kind.

Nature and nurture.—The question is still very far from settled as to the respective influence in development of factors which are present in the individual at birth, and of factors which come from the environment and operate from without. The arguments for the former, in the case of mental development, are: the tendency of the individual to reach the type or standard of his race, mentally as physically; the remarkably close resemblances which the adult individual shows to his parents and nearer ancestors, in character as in body—a resemblance which is still greater, it is said, between parent and child when both are considered at the stage of infancy or childhood; and the phenomena of atavism, so far as they are certified. Such facts suggest that, as the bodily germ-cell contains elements, or at least conditions, by which the future growth of the individual bodily organism is determined along definite lines, with definite limits, and definite proportions between the parts, so the mind, or perhaps we should say the brain as the basis of mind, also has its development pre-determined

from the first. In support of this the statistical observations of Galton, Pearson, Heymans, and others have been adduced on the resemblances and correlations between the mental capacities of individuals and those of their parents or other members of their family.

The result of Galton's observations on the prevalence of eminence and genius in different families may be placed in this form: that the chances of an eminent man having an eminent relative are as 1 to 4, while the chances that an ordinary man, or a man chosen at random without reference to eminence, will have an eminent relative are as 1 to 250. That this is not due to opportunity or to social influences he argues by a comparison between the adopted sons of Popes and the real sons of gifted men. Again, if both parents are artistic, the probability of a child being artistic is 2 to 1; while, if neither parent is artistic, the probability of the child being so is 1 to 4. Another and later statement shows that, while 85 families, of a certain relatively high degree of eminence or capacity in the fathers, will contain at least 6 sons of the same capacity, as many as 5000 families of average or mediocre ability in the fathers will be required to furnish the same number of sons of that higher degree of eminence (F. Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, London, 1869, *Natural Inheritance*, London, 1889. For further references, see J. Arthur Thomson, *Heredity*, London, 1908).

Again, Karl Pearson dealt with families statistically in regard to such characteristics as intelligence, vivacity, conscientiousness, popularity, temper; he had previously compared them in regard to such physical characters as the colour of hair, size and capacity of skull, stature, etc. The application of the correlation-formula may be simply explained in this way, that if every two brothers had always the same stature, or the same colour of hair, then the correlation-index would be 1.00; if there were no law whatever, so that in one case the two brothers might be equally tall, in another the one tall and the other moderate, in a third the one tall and the other short, then the index would be 0.00; while, conversely, if there were such a law that in every case of two brothers one was tall and the other short (of course in exact proportion), then the index would be -1.00. The index Karl Pearson found for the colour of the hair was 0.54, for the skull 0.49, for the stature 0.61; while for the mental characters the average correlation was 0.52, in other words, practically the same as the physical index. These are comparatively high degrees of correlation, and suggest that the same cause has been operative in both classes of cases considered in the statistical measurement. Now, it is quite obvious that post-natal conditions have nothing to do with the colour of the hair or with the size of the skull; hence it is equally unlikely, he argues, that the environment has anything to do with the intelligence, or vivacity, or temper of the individual. Later, more particular and accurate tests gave similar results, although the correlations were not quite so high; in any case, the brother of a bright child is much more likely to be bright than the brother of a dull child; brightness or dullness of intelligence is derived from the parents and is not due to education or environment, and not only is it the general mental character that is inherited in this way, but even quite special characteristics (K. Pearson, *Nature*, lxx. [1901] 118, also Huxley Lect. for 1903 in the *Trans. Anthr. Inst.* p. 179 ff., and *Biometrika*, ii. [1903] 357, and iii. [1904] 181; Heymans, *Zschr. f. angew. Psych.* i. [1907]. On the whole question, see E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology* New York, 1903, ch. 6).

On the other side, Loeb and his school are able to produce an increasing mass of evidence showing that the development of the bodily organism, since it can be enormously modified by changes in the environment, is to a large extent directly due to the action of external forces. Hence the mental development may be a product of environment and opportunity rather than of innate factors. Thus, the conclusions of Galton and Pearson, for example, are insecure so long as we do not and cannot exclude the environmental influence: just as children of healthy parents tend to have healthy bodies because of the sufficient and proper food which their parents (*because of their healthiness*) are able to provide them, so the children of mentally gifted parents tend also to be mentally gifted, because of the immensely greater stimulation which they receive from the conversation, the life, the surroundings of their parents, and their parents' friends; it is a question not of innate, but of external, conditioning. See, further, art. HEREDITY.

3. Relation of mental to physical development: periods of development.—It has been shown (see BODY AND MIND, BRAIN AND MIND) that the development of the mental powers is in intimate

¹ See the Herbartian Ziller's *Allg. Pädag.*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 215 ff., and *Grundlegung zur Lehre vom erziehl. Unter.*, do. 1884, and the criticisms of K. Lange, *Apperzeption*, do. 1906, p. 142 f.

relation with that of the bodily organs, and especially the brain.

The term 'development' is here used in a wide sense to cover both growth and development proper; strictly it is preferable to confine the term 'growth' to the increase in size or amount, while 'development' is reserved for increase in organization and connexion of parts; but these processes occur simultaneously in physical development, and it is extremely difficult to draw any line between them in mental expansion.

The stages of physical growth and maturity have been used to delimit the periods of childhood generally; broadly, we may take four periods of seven years each: (1) *childhood*, from birth to 7 years (about the time of the completion of the second dentition); (2) *the period of girlhood or boyhood*, from the 7th to the 14th year; (3) *the period of adolescence or youth*, from the 14th to the 21st year; and (4) from the 21st to the 28th year, by which time the mental development, as well as the skeletal growth, is approximately completed. The first period is also divided into *infancy* (the first two years, to completion of first dentition) and *childhood proper* (to the 7th year).

(1) Characteristic of the first period are the development of the senses, which at first are extremely imperfect; rapid body and brain growth; the acquirement of the fundamental motor co-ordinations—walking, grasping, climbing, etc.—and the acquirement of speech; emotions are readily excited, but are of short duration; the prominent instincts are the self-preservative ones, 'experimentation play,' and imitation. (2) The second period is marked by a slower bodily growth; the brain is relatively fixed in its size and weight before the middle of this period, but undergoes rapid development or organization during the latter part of it; the important physiological changes that occur towards the middle of the period are accompanied by susceptibility to emotional excitement; the individual is easily fatigued; bodily and mental habits are being formed and fixed; the beginnings of abstract thought and of self-consciousness present themselves: action is co-ordinated with reflective intelligence and thought. (3) In the third stage there is, again, at the beginning, a rapid advance in bodily growth followed by another period of slow growth to its completion at about 21; there is a strengthening of the social consciousness; greater interest is shown in adults and their work; it is also the period of idealism, of romance, and generally of great emotional and social development—'storm and stress'; the mental powers begin to be definitely fixed and proportioned; even play takes a more serious form—in tests of endurance, self-control, skill, and ability. (On this important period, see Stanley Hall's *Adolescence*, and art. ADOLESCENCE, vol. i. p. 101). (4) The last period referred to is that in which the general mental character is finally hardened or set. (On the periods of childhood, see the historical summary in Chamberlain, ch. 4, and Claparède, ch. 4, par. 1). The development of the brain is peculiar in this respect, that at birth it bears a higher proportion relatively to the rest of the body, and to its adult value, than any other organ. While the weight of body of the newly born infant is to that of the adult as 1 to 20, the corresponding ratio in the case of the brain alone is 1 to 3·8 (see the tables given in H. H. Donaldson, *Growth of the Brain*, London, 1895, chs. 2 and 5). Nearly the full weight of the brain, however, and therefore its completed 'growth,' is reached between the 7th and the 10th year, whereas the full stature is not attained until about the 21st year, and the body may go on increasing in weight till the 50th year or later. On the other hand, the brain after the 7th year undergoes changes of great importance in its organization; growth is

replaced by development, in the proper sense of the word, although there has also been some degree of development during the earlier stages.

According to Flechsig's discoveries, the *sensory areas of the brain* are the first to show functional maturity, that is, they are the first whose connecting fibres acquire the medullary sheath (*Localisation der geistigen Vorgänge*, Leipzig, 1896). The earliest fibres to be functionally perfect are those which lead from and to the large region of the brain, which he calls the area for 'body sensation,' including under this broad term both the internal sensations, conveyed from the viscera, muscles, etc., and the external, conveyed from the skin (organic, kinesthetic, pain, touch, and temperature sensations, sensations of position); these connexions begin before birth, and are completed in the first few months after birth. Within this region it is the fibres connected with the internal organs, and with the extremities, that are first completed; then follow those connected with the trunk, and with the special muscles that are afterwards used for speech. They convey the great masses of sensation with which the feelings and emotions, and also the sense of self, are directly correlated (H. Beaunis, *Les Sensations internes*, Paris, 1889). It may be concluded that these impressions are the earliest which the child is capable of receiving, and the first to be connected into systematic perceptions. Next in order of development are the fibres connected with the smell-centre, and probably those of the taste-centre; third are those which lead to and from the sight area, which do not begin to show the medullary sheath until after birth; while those of hearing come last. Outside the more or less sharply defined areas of the brain, from which these fibres derive, are those which Flechsig, after Meynert, names the *association areas*, the two chief areas being the large occipital zone, and the pre-frontal zone. It is noticeable that these are all much later in completing their connexions than the sensory zones, and that their connexions are almost entirely of the intra-cerebral type; that is to say, they pass between the different parts of the cortex within a hemisphere or from one hemisphere to the other; these are hardly present at all in the third month of life, but continue to form for several years afterwards.

Flechsig holds, from a comparison between his anatomical researches and the results of clinical and pathological observation, that the sensory zones 'mediate' not only sensations proper, but also those mental forms which are based upon groups or combinations of similar sensations; for example, factual space-perceptions, and perceptions of auditive series such as those involved in the appreciation of spoken words. With the large association-area in the hind part of the brain are correlated such perceptions as involve combinations of heterogeneous sensations, associations, and memories; in other words, ideas of external objects, of the *meaning* of words, and all forms of higher knowledge. Injury to, or destruction of, these regions leads to an entire loss both of visual and of auditory memory, and the state which has sometimes been called *apraxia*, or *agnosis*, that is, an apparent inability not only to name familiar objects or to recognize them when seen, but even to use them when placed in the hand; yet at the same time power of sensation appears to be intact. The general term 'intelligence' might fitly be used to cover the mental faculties which are lost in such a case. On the other hand, the pre-frontal region, standing in the closest relation with the area for the factual, kinesthetic, and organic sensations, is that which runs parallel with the development of the will, character, and self-consciousness; the one certain fact about injury to it is that there is a loss of interest, spontaneity, power of concentrating the attention, in short, a general depreciation of the character.

The close relation between normal development of the brain and normal mental capacity, between abnormal development or one-sided development and genius, between defective development and imbecility, etc., have been referred to elsewhere (BRAIN AND MIND); modern appeals for improved hygiene in schools, medical inspection of children, feeding of necessitous children, special classes for defective children, and the avoidance of over-strain, have their ground or justification in the intimate correlation between the development of the body and that of the mind; and, needless to say, in the case of the child, even more than in that of the adult, the health of the mind is mainly dependent upon that of the body.

4. The conditions of development.—It has already been pointed out that it is difficult to say how far development proceeds from internal, and how far from external factors. It may be urged that, just as a child will reach a certain pre-determined height, provided that it obtains adequate food and exercise and is protected from injury, and as no amount of extra feeding or exercise will enable it to go beyond this height, while under-feeding, under-exercise, and injury will make it fall below

it, so it is in the case of the mind. The child is born with the possibility of so much mental capacity, so much 'intelligence,' or retentive memory, so acute a sense of sight or hearing, etc.; care and practice will enable it to reach these fixed limits, but not to pass beyond them, while neglect and want of exercise may keep it far short of them. The conclusion is that the function of the teacher or parent is limited to the providing of the necessary material for development, that the amount and the direction of the development are, however, determined already by the nature which the child has received at birth. It is probable that the two most important factors in the question are, on the one hand, the *activity* of the child, which is partly a matter of congenital faculty, and partly a matter of healthy nutrition; and, on the other hand, *opportunity* of exercise and practice. The child who is constantly moving about not only improves his health in general, but also puts himself within reach of varied stimuli by which his mental powers are evoked, and in the course of time developed; while the sluggish child does not come so much within reach of stimulation, and therefore has a relatively slower development. Opportunity includes both the ordinary social and educational advantages or disadvantages, and especially those factors which depend on the health, culture, and economic position of the parents. Nature determines that the fundamental instincts shall appear in a certain order, and each contribute its share to the complete development; but, if stimulation and exercise are not provided, any instinct, when it appears, will remain undeveloped, and therefore the whole mental growth will suffer a certain amount of distortion.

Play and imitation.—The principal internal conditions of development are the two 'instincts,' if they may be so called—play and imitation. Play in the wide sense includes all activities or tendencies which do not contribute to the immediate needs of the organism, which are spontaneously carried out, and which give pleasure in their operation apart from any result derived from them. The natural view of play is such as is expressed in Spencer's surplus energy theory, viz. that play is the outcome of the excessive amount of stored nervous energy in the young, the exercise of which is not required for the organic needs, or of the tendency or faculty of imitation, according to which the child in its play imitates adult activities (*Principles of Psychology*, 1872, vol. ii. pt. 8, ch. 9). The theory with which Groos (*Play of Animals and Play of Man* [Eng. tr., London, 1910]), Baldwin (Pref. to Groos' *Play of Animals*), and others seek to replace this is that play has a biological function, viz. that of preparing the immature individual for the activities of adult life, without exposing it to danger such as would be implied if it had to acquire the same experience apart from the parent's protection. There is in each of the mental powers (or in each of the relative centres of the brain) a tendency to expression or exercise, and, long before there is real need for such powers, this exercise is obtained through play; thus the plays of children follow roughly the stages of the race evolution, as Hugh Miller suggested (*My Schools and Schoolmasters*). The corresponding instincts and interests develop successively in the child's mind; as they develop in their order, each in turn seeks, as it were, for self-expansion or expression, and this takes the form of play. A specially important feature of play is that it prepares the way for intelligence, or, rather, it is the means by which intelligence gradually comes to replace instinct, both in the race and in the individual; the more fixed and limited the environment of an organism is, the more rigid are its instincts,

the less developed is its nervous system, and the less is its power to adapt itself to changes in the environment; on the other hand, the more varied the environment, the less rigid, although perhaps more numerous, the instinctive tendencies are, and the greater the ultimate development of the intelligence; play enables the instincts to be sufficiently exercised without dominating the development as a whole. In general, then, play is a preparation for the adult life; hence, the higher the physical and also the mental development ultimately achieved, the longer, as a rule, is the period of play; this, according to Groos, is the object, the biological function, of youth; animals do not play because they are young, but they have a period of youth in order to play. This play includes the *simple experimentation* of the child, as that of the infant when exercising its muscles and its senses upon the objects around it; thus it obtains experience of the qualities of objects, and at the same time strengthens and develops its own active powers. Nature has provided ample means for this experimentation-play in the pleasure which the child manifestly obtains from it, and which is, here as elsewhere, the correlative and index of action which is for the benefit of the organism. Next follow those plays by which the organism as a whole is strengthened physically, and by which the memory is organized and experience consolidated; finally, plays in which the higher mental powers, as well as the wider social instincts, are brought out and exercised. The following is Groos' classification of the plays of the child (*Play of Man*) :—

Examples.

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|---|--|
| I. Playful experimentation : | |
| (a) With the sensory apparatus. | Experimentation with noises, tones, tastes, colours, forms, etc. |
| (b) With the motor apparatus. | Movement of its own body, moving plays, destructive and constructive plays, throwing plays. |
| (c) Playful use of the higher mental powers. | |
| 1. Experimentation with the mental powers, memory, imagination. | Illusion and recognition plays; imaginary tales, etc. |
| 2. Experimentation with the feelings (physical pain, mental suffering, surprise, fear). | Games involving tests of endurance, pain; tales involving surprises and perils, dangerous situations, etc. |
| 3. Experimentation with the will. | Experimentation or play involving control of reflex actions or of habits. |
| II. Playful exercise of impulses of the second or sociogenic order ; | |
| (a) fighting plays (physical and mental tests, rivalry, teasing, hunting plays, etc.); (b) love plays; (c) imitative play (imitation of movements, dramatic imitation, constructive imitation, and inner or artistic imitation); (d) social play. | |

As to *imitation*, it also, like play, is a universal tendency in normal childhood,¹ and indeed in all young animal life; both imitation and play differ, as Groos points out (*op. cit.* p. 2), from ordinary instincts, in the fact that they have not a specific stimulus, or a specific reaction, but are called out by any kind of stimulus, and involve a reaction which varies with the stimulus calling them out. The essential conditions of imitation are (1) some sort of interest (*rapprochement*), by which the attention of the young animal is caught and held by an older animal; (2) the perception of some movement in the older animal; (3) the experience of some reflex or inborn tendency towards the same movement in the young. Thus imitation is always based partly on innate powers, partly on the social conditions, and partly also on the development of the senses and powers of perception. There is a gradual change in childhood (a) in the type of objects or persons whom the child seeks to imitate, in the interest which it feels for different personalities,

¹ Idiot children, as a rule, neither play nor imitate (Sollier *Psychol. de l'idiot et de l'imbecile* 2, Paris, 1901, ch. 6).

and the attraction of its attention by them; (b) in the complexity of the actions imitated; (c) in the fidelity of the imitation, the earlier actions being more limited and more faithful copies, the later being more spontaneous, original, and dramatic in their form (cf. the development of children's ideals with age in Earl Barnes, *Studies in Education*, ii. [1902], and a recent study by Varendonck, in *Arch. de psych.*, no. xxviii., July 1908). The biological function of imitation is, like that of play, to prepare the individual for adult life, while he is being protected from the dangers that might otherwise lie in acquiring such experience. The child, imitating its parents, its teachers, or its friends, acquires the habits of expression and of action which they already have, and also—a more important matter—acquires their habits of emotion, their mental attitudes. Imitation thus becomes a form of heredity, replacing physical heredity, bringing the same advantages more rapidly, and at less cost. The child tends through it to resemble its parents, not only physically but also mentally (Baldwin, *Mental Development*, p. 332 ff.).

5. *The original activities.*—The child is born with a complex nervous structure, by which adequate response is provided to a large number of stimuli from the environment, in the form of reflex, automatic, and instinctive actions. Some of these actions are carried out before consciousness, and therefore, presumably, before mind is present, or at least active; and even in later development we still find that a large part of the work of the body is carried on reflexly or automatically, and without the intervention of consciousness. The question arises as to the relation between consciousness on the one hand, and reflex activity on the other, in development. It is still sometimes argued that consciousness has no biological function, and that the whole mental development is simply a result of, and therefore sequent to, the bodily and cerebral development itself, which in its turn is determined by purely physiological and physical forces. H. Ziegler, A. Bethe, J. Loeb, J. P. Nuel, and other 'modernists' in Comparative Psychology would entirely exclude the use of consciousness (not merely the word, but the thing) from biology. On the other side, it is held that consciousness is, or exercises, a controlling power by which the reflexes present, or provided for, at birth are organized into higher combinations, and modified on the ground of experience (Lloyd Morgan, *Introd. to Comp. Psychol.*, ch. 11, London, 1894; *Animal Behaviour*, London, 1900); and, again, that the reflex actions themselves are a product of conscious effort in the ancestors of the individual (Wundt, *Physiol. Psychol.*, Leipzig, 1903, iii. 278 ff.). Thus consciousness or mind is now and has been in the past the main force making not merely for mental, but also for physical development and evolution. There is a law of economy by which every action, as it is repeated, becomes less and less of a conscious action, until in the end it may be purely automatic; the value of this is that the energy of consciousness, or the physical energy underlying consciousness, is thereby set free for other activities; wherever an action is resisted, or is prevented by any cause from issuing in its ordinary way, there consciousness is immediately present; wherever a new circumstance arises which requires a different reaction from any provided by the reflex or automatic systems, there again consciousness arises; on the other hand, the less resistance there is the smoother the action, the more familiar the situation the less is consciousness directed towards it. Consciousness thus represents the 'growing point' of the organism; correlated with it are changes in the central nervous system, and in the body as a whole, which

ultimately become the basis of organized intelligence and will (cf. J. Jastrow, *The Subconscious*, London, 1906, pt. 2).

The special activities and powers involved in the process of mental development may be classified as follows: (1) the physiological reflex actions; (2) the sense-organs, sensations, and sensory reflexes; (3) perception, in relation to the primary attention-reflexes; (4) instinctive behaviour; (5) feelings and emotions; (6) will; (7) memory, its conditions and varieties; (8) imagery and imagery types; (9) language and abstract thought.

(1) *Physiological reflexes* are those connected with the circulation of the blood, the respiration, the digestion, and other processes of bodily metabolism; of these it is not necessary to treat in this connexion, since they are entirely removed from the control of the child's consciousness, except so far as they are liable to modification by emotion, to which reference will be made later. These processes take place at a much more rapid rate in the infant than in the adult.

'The metabolic activities of the infant are more pronounced than those of the adult, for the sake, not so much of energies which are spent on the world without, as of energies which are for a while buried in the rapidly increasing mass of flesh.' It is 'a metabolism directed largely to constructive ends' (M. Foster, *Text-book of Physiology*, 1891, p. 1544).

(2) *Sensations.*—The normal child is provided at birth with the external apparatus for all classes of sensation, and these are connected, through nerve fibres, with the central organs in the brain; but, as has been remarked above, this connexion is not functionally complete for a considerable time after birth. The child at first is deaf, is 'light-shy,' is insensitive to odours, and to a large extent to taste, so that the sense of touch and perhaps the muscular sense are the only ones which at birth show certain indications of activity. According to the tests which have been made, the sensitiveness in general increases very rapidly in the first few years, reaching its maximum development probably about the 10th year, after which there is a decline in sensitiveness proper, although the power of discrimination remains capable of great improvement thereafter (J. A. Gilbert, *Studies from Yale Psychol. Lab.*, 1893, 1894; E. Meumann, i. 102 ff.). The sensorial reaction-time also improves in rate during the first 10 or 12 years of life, after which there is, apart from special training, a gradual dulling. The different qualities of each sense become capable of discrimination in a regular succession, which, according to some observers, follows that of their supposed evolution in the race.

The development of visual sensation may be taken as an illustration of the problem and of the obstacles to its solution. There is very great difficulty in determining whether a child has or has not a power to perceive and distinguish different colours. Even where speech is appealed to, the results are by no means conclusive. The earliest attempt to determine the order in which the different visual sensations are arrived at was that of Preyer in 1882 (*op. cit. infra*, ch. 1). The tests were begun in the third quarter of the second year of life, and continued to the fourth year. He found that the colours yellow and red were those which were most constantly and accurately named, or picked out when the names were given, while green and blue came last; by the beginning of the 4th year the child could name all but the very dark or light shades correctly. With a similar method Miss Shinn (*op. cit. infra*) found that her subject (a little girl) was successfully trained to name all the colours correctly, before the end of the second year. By a special method, appealing to the preference of the child, as shown by its selection of one from a pair of colours, Baldwin (*Mental Development*, pp. 50, 50) concluded that a child of 9 months can distinguish all the colours, and has a distinct preference for blue. The above were individual studies. From a thorough collective test on children, boys and girls, from birth to 7 years, by a 'matching' method, Garbini (*Arch. per l'antrop.* xxiv., Florence, 1894) concluded that a child begins to develop the power of discrimination between light and dark during the first month of life; and to distinguish different objects by their shade or brightness in the second month; it is not till the middle of the second year that he has any perception of colour, and then it is red which is first marked out; green begins to be added about the end of the second year, and yellow in the

course of the third year, while it is not till the fourth that he can distinguish such colours as orange, blue, violet, etc. In the fifth year the different shades of the same colour become easily distinguished, but the colour vision is still relatively imperfect until the end of the sixth year. Thus the order of development is red, green, yellow; then orange, blue, and violet. With regard to the power of naming, he found that 2 per cent of the children in their sixth year cannot name any colour, and that only 35 per cent can name the six main colours given above; the power to name a colour accurately seems to follow, in about a year's space, the power to distinguish the colour in question. Ziegler, in 1905 (*Inaugural Dissertation*, Zürich, n.d., but c. 1905), tried, with more accurate methods, to determine the degree of colour sensibility in 200 children, one half boys and one half girls, at the age of beginning school life in the Munich schools. The 'matching' method gave a distinct preference in accuracy of matching to orange, violet, blue, and yellow in that order, red, grey, and green being relatively less accurately matched. Black and white were invariably correctly placed. It does not, of course, follow that the order of correctness in matching corresponds to the order of development; on the contrary, it may be concluded that the colours were preferred on account of their aesthetic value, their novelty, etc. In the naming method (the child giving the name) the order of correctness was black, white, red, blue, green, yellow, with violet and orange last; the darker shades of colour on the whole were better named than the lighter, presumably because they were more familiar to the children; none of the boys could name orange, and only 6 per cent of the girls. Every one of the tests employed brought out the fact, already suggested by other observers, that girls have a much more accurate sense of colour than boys. Neither Garbini nor Ziegler found that any one of the children they examined was colour-blind (in a total of 750); in adults, as is well known, colour-blindness occurs much more frequently among men than among women; in the former case the frequency is variously given as from 1 to 5 per cent. It is probable that by properly devised means of training, the colour sense of children might be greatly developed, and thereby their general mental capacity greatly improved.

(3) The development of perception from sensation takes place through the exercise of the sensory reflexes, which play a large part in the process of attention. Thus a child does not at first see objects either as clearly, as distinctly, or as proportionately as the adult. In the earlier months it sees no colours, but only light and shade; it has no means of determining the distance at which any seen object is; it is unable to fix an object so as to obtain a clear image of its outlines and details; it is unable to determine, and indeed has no conception of, the third dimension; objects are probably seen as blotches of light and shade merely; it has no power of distinguishing a real from a reflected or imaged object; in short, it can hardly be said to have any perceptual or object-consciousness at all, through sight (Preyer, *op. cit.* ch. 1). All these powers are gradually acquired through exercise and the resulting co-ordination of the movements of the eyes with the visual sensations. The three sets of muscles in question are those of accommodation, by which the object is clearly focused; of fixation, by which the object is brought into the centre of the retina—the part of the eye which is most sensitive to form as well as to colour; and of convergence, by which binocular vision is determined, and the two eyes are guided so as to obtain single vision of solid objects. These co-ordinations are only acquired, as has been said, through exercise; and it is therefore extremely important that a child should be given all possible opportunities of exercising its ocular muscles from the very first. It is interest—*instinctive* interest in the first place—that calls forth movements; and, where objects of interest are not presented, the exercise fails to take place. This is an illustration of the importance of environment in deciding development.

The following gives some idea of the dates at which these powers are finally achieved, according to Preyer and others (cf. Kirkpatrick, *op. cit. infra*, ch. 4). The protective reflex closing of the eyes when bright light falls upon them is present almost immediately after birth; also the pupillary reflex (adaptation to increase or decrease of light); the blinking reflex, when an object is brought close to the eye, is not immediately present, but occurs after a few weeks; atypic or independent movements of the two eyes and the eyelids (e.g. one eye remaining fixed while the other moves, or the eyes being turned downwards while the eyelids remain fixed) occur occasionally until the beginning of the second month; voluntary fixation is

not complete until about the end of the first quarter year; voluntary and accurate convergence according to the distance of objects is not perfect even before the end of the second year; the interpretation of visual impressions and their co-ordination with bodily movements are not established till much later.

This history really describes the origin of the visual perceptions of space in the child; the question whether the idea of space is innate or acquired is impossible to answer, because it is wrongly put. The child is not born with a ready-made idea of space which it merely applies to experiences derived from the senses (Kant), but neither is its idea of space a product of sensations and of associations formed between the images derived from the sensations: it is a result of inter-action between sensations, feelings and desires, impulses and movements, to which in each case the 'disposition' is congenital, but which are only realized and combined through the acquired experience of the child (cf. Wundt's 'psycho synthesis', and Stumpf's 'synergy'). The evidence from the born-blind, who have been enabled, by an operation, to see in later life, is conflicting. It does not prove that they at first see only colours and brightness, not things or objects, as Preyer argues. It is true, however, that they are entirely unable to appreciate distance (see B. Bourdon, *La Perception visuelle de l'espace*, Paris, 1902, ch. 13, for a complete account of these observations, up to that date). A similar 'synergy' of sensations, feelings, and attention-reflexes goes to form the tactual perceptions (extent, hardness and softness, sharpness and bluntness, etc.) and the auditory perceptions (rhythm, tone-interval, melody, speech, etc.).

(4) An *instinctive action* is a response evoked in direct relation to a perception of some kind, while a reflex action is called out by a simple sensation or by a purely physiological stimulus. The difference is mainly one of degree, although there is undoubtedly a much greater power of control, and liability to modification on the ground of experience, in the instinctive than in the reflex action (see discussion on 'Instinct and Intelligence' in *Brit. Journ. of Psychol.* iii. pt. 3 [1910] by Myers, Lloyd Morgan, Carr, Stout, and Macdonough). The following is a classification of the instincts shown by the child, modified from that given by E. A. Kirkpatrick (ch. 4): (1) individual instincts; (2) social, including (a) the gregarious instinct, the instinct to be with others, (b) the co-operative instinct, to act with others, (c) play, (d) imitation, (e) expression and communication, and (f) more complex instincts such as the collective, destructive, and creative instincts. Such an instinct implies three things: a need on the part of the child (organic sensation, feeling, impulse), an object capable of satisfying this need, and some consciousness on the part of the child of the meaning of the object in relation to the want or need. It is the want or the interest which determines the direction of the attention towards the object. Thus the child's whole interest is absorbed at first by the needs of food and of rest; its grasping and food-taking instincts are the first to express themselves; the giver of food, and articles used in connexion with its food, are the first objects which it learns to distinguish and recognize; later the needs of its sense-development cause interest in objects for the mere sensations they give, bright lights and colours, loud noises and musical tones, etc. At this stage the instinct of play appears, especially of experimentation play and of movement play. In its early years the child is naturally self-centred; it is biologically of advantage to the race that the individualist instincts should be strong at this time. Accordingly, its wants are strongly expressed and vigorously insisted upon. Yet there is no conscious idea of the self, as opposed to interest to other persons, until from the fourth or fifth year, when selfishness in the strict sense of the word begins to appear, controlled, however, by the equally instinctive desire for social approval. The constant desire of the normal child to be with others, especially other children, his shyness towards strange elders, but ready acceptance as playmates of other children, about his own age, seen for the first time; his eagerness to accompany the adults of his family in all their goings and in all their activities; his constant repetition of the

actions of adults in his play; his treatment of animal pets, younger children, dolls, etc.—are illustrations of the force of the social instincts and of their part in the development of the social consciousness. Later, the individualist and social instincts combine in (i.) the impulse of self-display, adornment, etc.; (ii.) the impulse to co-operate with others for common ends, in games, or in school and household or farm work; (iii.) the impulse of competition and rivalry, which tends to the rapid development of the physical and mental powers; (iv.) with expanding imagination, the sympathetic feelings arise, and the impulse to help, to defend, to support others, which reaches its height in the unselfish idealism of adolescence. The progressive appearance of these instincts, as also those of play, imitation, emotional expression and speech, determines a gradual change in the interests of the child, and this in its turn reacts upon its intelligence and character. (On the development of *instinct*, and its relation to *interest*, etc., see Kirkpatrick and E. Claparède, *opp. cit.*)

(5) *Feelings and emotions*.—It has been recognized that the affective life of the child is proportionally much more extensive than that of the adult; as judged at any rate by his expressions, the child's feelings are both more vivid and less enduring than those of the adult; impressions when they reach consciousness at all are felt more keenly and are responded to more actively and strongly. This is true both of pleasures and of pains. On the other hand, the feelings are not so permanent; the child passes rapidly from one mood of feeling to its opposite—from laughter to tears, from anger to pity. It may be questioned, however, whether the actual feelings are as strong as they appear.

Preyer has argued that the child's life is one of intense feeling, and that in it pain predominates over pleasure, being in fact the necessary stimulus to development; against this it may be urged: (a) that the feelings are not in general intense, but that their apparent expression is really an instinctive or reflex act, which is not accompanied by so many internal changes as occur in adult life, and hence is not reflected in the conscious life to the same extent as in the adult; (b) that, owing to the short duration of the feelings and other factors, pleasure predominates largely over pain even in the youngest child, with normal health; and (c) that pleasure is a stronger driving force than pain in development, as in evolution. The general happiness of healthy children, their constant play and activity, their capacity for deep and prolonged sleep, are all indications that this is the truer view of the case. Many signs also—their easy recovery from wounds, rapid forgetfulness of injury, etc.—prove that the young child has a much lower degree of sensibility to physical pain than the adult.

A full description of the expressions of the different feelings and emotions, as observed in the child from birth onwards, is to be found in Preyer, *ch. 6*. The classical account, for animals and man alike, is Darwin's *Expression of the Emotions* (London, 1872). That even so complex expressions as laughter and blushing are congenital, and not acquired by imitation, is shown in Sir A. Mitchell's *About Dreaming, Laughing, and Blushing* (Edin. and London, 1906). Such facts do not, however, solve the question whether the 'expression' is called out by an actual feeling, or whether the feeling is the reverberation in consciousness of the expression, which it thus succeeds in time, and which is directly evoked by the perception of the situation (Lange-James theory). The latter, at least, is probably true poetically.

An interesting question is as to whether the child has *innate* fears or dislikes of particular objects; for example, fear of the dark, of wind and storms, of animals, etc.; or whether these fears can be reduced to the simpler ones, viz. those of intense stimuli, of novel stimuli, or the like; or whether they are due to adult suggestion. Stanley Hall attributes such fears to reminiscences, emerging in the child, of the experience of its ancestors at far distant dates, by whom, for example, dark was feared because of the animals and enemies attacking in it; so, wind and storms were feared during the tree-life of man's ancestry, while wild animals in the same way must have been to primitive man, as to the still more remote ancestors, objects of terror. It must be said, however, that the evidence for such instinctive fears of definite objects or classes of objects is by no means convincing (cf. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, vol. ii. *ch. 10*, which contains a general statement of the author's position; the detailed evidence in regard to child-emotions is collected in numerous reports, by himself and his collaborators, published in the *Pedagogical Seminary* and in *AJPe*).

(6) *Development of the will*.—The outward life of

the child begins, as we have seen, in reflex, instinctive, and automatic activity undetermined by conscious motives, although in many of the more complex forms an accompanying or controlling consciousness must be supposed to exist. The term 'impulse' may be used for those phases of the mind by which such actions are preceded, or which they accompany; such an impulse does not involve any idea of the nature of the action to be done, or of more than the immediate means by which it is to be brought about. Thus the impulse to expel an unpleasant food, or any food when the child is satiated, does not involve any idea of the advantage to the organism which the expulsion brings, or of the muscular actions by which it is carried out; but there probably is some consciousness of the position of the food in the mouth, and the parts of the tongue touched by it, etc., and it is by this sensation that the action is definitely initiated; it is probably only at a later stage that the muscular sensations themselves become conscious. The impulse, then, is simply the motor aspect of a sensation which is toned with feeling, positive or negative, the action itself lying as a whole outside consciousness. Such impulses may be supposed to accompany all those actions by which the organism is in early life protected from dangerous stimulation, and by which objects of advantage to it are brought towards the body, into the mouth, etc.; thus these impulses are always in connexion with some need of the organism, either prolonged as in the case of hunger, or momentary as in the case of physical pain. A second stage of development is arrived at when (a) the individual begins to select stimuli or sensations on the basis of personal interest, built up by experiences; (b) when memory occurs of the movements by which these sensations have been automatically or reflexly responded to; and (c) when, under the influence of the subjective combination and synthesis of sensations in perception, the movements also begin to be co-ordinated and controlled. This is the stage at which impulse begins to be replaced by motivated action, that is to say, by *will* in some at least of its lower forms.

(a) The selection of sensations is at first provided for by the needs of the organism, as has been indicated above, and in this sense *will*, as Höfding suggests (e.g. *Problems of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., N. Y. 1905, p. 55, *Outlines of Psychol.*, Eng. tr., London, 1891, sect. 4), is the fundamental fact in mental life, and is present from the very beginning; later, however, and very early in life, the selection begins to be determined on the ground of previous experience; that is to say, the child begins to seek out those impressions which have previously given it pleasure, and not merely to react upon impressions that have arrived of themselves. Correlatively with this, it begins to avoid consciously those impressions which have been already experienced as painful, and also to neglect or inhibit impressions which have proved indifferent to it, not being accompanied by any positive or negative feeling tone. In this development *perception* gradually arises through the combination of sensations of the same or different classes with each other, or with sub-conscious memory images; in this way one impression gradually becomes a sign or symbol of a number of others, and especially the visual impressions come to represent or stand for the tactual impressions to which they had ordinarily led, and which may be reproduced to some slight extent in memory, on the arrival of the visual impressions themselves.¹ The pleasure or pain originally attached to the *direct* impression is now

¹ On this, see W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, 1891, vol. ii. chs. 17 on 'Sensation,' 19 on 'The Perception of Things,' and esp. 20 on 'The Perception of Space.'

transferred to the *indirect*, as when the child shows pleasure at the sight of a rattle, after experience of the agreeable noise which the rattle gives in its hands, or shows pleasure at the sight of its food, before the actual tasting of it. It is unnecessary that conscious memory of the former experience should arise, and in the vast majority of cases such memory probably does not arise; there is simply a transfer of feeling, and in consequence a transfer of action from a direct impression to a more indirect one uniformly connected with the former. It is in the case of these indirect impressions that interest gradually develops, and that conscious and individual selection begins to take place.

(b) The movements themselves enter consciousness partly as muscular and tactual experiences,¹ partly also as visual experiences—in the case of those movements which the child can see itself carrying out. As soon as the memory begins to be able to 'fixate' such consciousness, the child learns to modify its actions, or to choose between various possible actions, in response to sensations, through remembering the success or failure of the previous reactions.

(c) In the co-ordination of movements there are two steps—the inhibition of unessential movements, and the reinforcement and connecting together of series of necessary movements. Reflex action is excessive, uneconomical, and generally contains a large number of movements not required for the removal of the particular stimulus (H. Ebbinghaus, *Grundzüge der Psychol.*, pt. I., Leipzig, 1897, p. 124); for example, the movements of a young child when irritated by a pin in its clothing. With the development of perception, the movements become more limited, are brought more under the control of consciousness, until in a particular case the necessary act is carried out in the shortest time, and with the minimum of effort. It must be supposed that in this case the *impulse* has come to be associated with the special action, which has been constantly repeated in every experience of the kind; while those actions which were unessential, and therefore were not repeated, or not always repeated, are less firmly connected with the impulse, and become finally detached from it. Corresponding with this limitation in simpler cases, there is the forming of chain actions, or series of actions, in more complex cases—for example, in learning to walk; the several movements necessary have come, through exercise and through conscious effort, to be gradually cemented to each other, so that later, without conscious effort, the one tends to follow the other in the same order as that in which they were acquired (see Preyer, ch. 11). Consciousness still retains a grasp, as it were, of the whole group of movements, as is shown when any resistance is met, or any error occurs; but it does so only in a general way, covering a larger and larger span in its grasp, as skill and practice increase (J. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, chs. 3 and 4).

The terms 'habit' and 'practice' refer to the forming and cementing of such co-ordinations. When out of several possible ways of doing a thing, or of acting, one has actually been adopted, then, if the situation is repeated, the former action *tends* to be adopted again, merely from the fact of its earlier occurrence. The same is true of a connexion or series of actions. The greater the number of times the action has been done, the stronger the tendency to repeat it. This is *habit*, the primary and universal condition of all mental development. Since will consists, as we have seen, in selective activity, it is formally opposed to

habit; but, in reality, neither it nor any other higher mental power is possible except on the basis of habit. Walking, running, listening, looking, smelling, tasting, dressing, speaking, and hundreds of other skilled actions, which form elementary parts of more complex, voluntary, and deliberate actions, are in us habitual acts become unconscious and mechanical through repetition. Adults and children differ widely in the rapidity with which a habit is formed, in the tenacity with which it is retained, and in the promptness with which it is exercised. With age the power to form new habits slowly declines, and also the power to resist or overcome habits when formed. To some extent this is due to the decreasing vitality of the nervous system, but mainly to the fact that habit corresponds to the organizing of connexions between different parts of the cerebral system: the greater the number of these, and the greater their strength or firmness through repetition, the less the likelihood of a new associative connexion being formed or old ones broken up (see James, *op. cit.*, ch. 4; Ebbinghaus, *Grundzüge der Psychol.*, pt. ii., Leipzig, 1902, p. 672). The development of the will is also conditioned by the general changes both in the intensity of feelings and in the objects to which they attach. At first, as we have seen, the child's feelings are entirely determined by its organic needs; later, repetition and instinctive experimentation and play bring new experiences of pleasure and of pain, not so directly connected with the requirements of the organism; the objects of such feelings are retained in memory, and the thought of them, or the perception of them, forms new motives of action; the actions are governed by ideal rather than by direct sensory motives. (On the development and influence of feeling, see T. Ziegler, *Das Gefühl*, Stuttgart, 1893.)

The most direct indication of the nature of an individual's will is to be found in the characteristics of his *attention* (*q.v.*). Neither will nor attention, however, is to be regarded as a *general* power, which can be directed indifferently upon this or that impression or action, or can be moved from one to the other. They are simply general names for a class of particular phenomena, which possess certain features in common. The characteristic of acts of attention is that a part of the field of consciousness is selected from the rest, becoming clear and distinct, persisting longer than it otherwise would, and thereby becoming more adequately known, and tending to realize itself more effectively in action. The means by which this change is effected are either *external*, as when the senses are focused upon the impression, irrelevant movements inhibited, and the like; or *internal*, as when convergent associate ideas are called up from past experience. The underlying conditions are the intensity of the impression or idea itself, the strength of the interest to which it corresponds, the feeling aroused, and the development of the muscular system by which the focusing or 'fixating' and controlling of impressions is effected. In all these respects the child undergoes a gradual development. A distinction is familiarly drawn between *spontaneous* or *natural*, and *voluntary* or *acquired*, attention; the former is supposed to be characteristic of the child, the latter a product of education.¹ These are not, however, differences in attention itself; they are differences only in the interests which lie behind the act of attention.

Thus interests are either *primary*—those provided by the innate instincts of the child—or *secondary*—those due to the acquired experience and reflexion which life and education call out.

¹ On the whole question of the nature of our consciousness of movement, and its function in mental development, see Wundt, *op. cit.* ii. 474 f., 686 f., iii. 807 f.

¹ Th. Bibot, *Psychol. of Attention*, Eng. tr., N.Y. 1899 (Chicago. 1896).

It is, therefore, natural that voluntary attention to objects which are primarily without interest in themselves should succeed the more elementary expressions of attention in child life. It is clear that, where an individual is incapable of prolonged primary attention, he will be incapable of the education which voluntary attention presupposes. This occurs, for example, both in idiot and in imbecile children, and to a certain extent causes typical differences between normal individuals also. Wherever, owing to the weakness or disease of the brain or nervous system, sensation is less vivid, or movement less rapid and less vigorous, or instincts and feelings less strong, there the attention will be correspondingly difficult to catch or to hold, with resulting defect in mental development. Ability to work for continuous spells, and ability to profit by discipline, to appreciate rewards and punishments, depend mainly upon the power to focus and retain impressions long enough to associate them with one another, and to compare them with similar experiences in the past.¹

A second typical difference in attention is that between *concentration* and *distribution*; the term 'concentration' refers to the effect which attention usually has of narrowing or limiting consciousness, or at least effective consciousness, to some small portion of a real or ideal situation; the mind is absorbed by some particular interest, and impressions or ideas that would otherwise have stimulated feeling and action are kept on the verge of consciousness, or entirely repressed. The familiar illustrations of absence of mind on the part of men of genius will readily occur as an instance. Concentration or specialization is thus a condition of effective mental progress. 'Distribution' of attention, on the other hand, refers to the power to appreciate and attend to a number of *diverse* impressions or ideas simultaneously; it is in many respects a valuable power, as, for example, in the teacher, who must, while his main attention is given to his subject, also have regard to the positions and actions of the different children in the class; the conductor of a choir, the director of an orchestra, and the organizer generally, are other instances of the same ability. It is immaterial, for our present purpose, whether there is any real division of attention in a given moment, or whether distribution depends rather on rapid alternations of the attention from one fact to another. In the normal individual, concentration and distribution are inverse to one another; the greater the one, the less the other. But concentration does not necessarily mean intensity, nor does distribution necessarily mean that the different impressions attended to at the moment are ineffectively appreciated. It obviously depends upon education and training to what extent distribution can be carried. Children, and animals also, show great concentration where the primary instincts are involved, but defective concentration in the case of secondary interests; one of the chief problems of the teacher is to increase the concentration-value of the latter. Some children are never able to acquire this power to the normal extent, and in consequence remain all their lives an easy prey to distraction.

A third typical difference is in the *steadiness* or *fluctuation* of the attention. Meumann uses the term 'fixating attention' for the former of these types; it is that which is able to keep away side impressions and ideas, and to take in only the impressions that are directly before it; in this way it represents an *objective*, observing, recording type of mind: thus a picture, a sentence, any group of materials, when attended to, is appreciated as *it is*.

¹ Sollier, *loc. cit.*

The 'fluctuating' type, on the other hand, is liable to be caught both by sensory impressions and by memories or ideas which are not directly connected with the object presented; hence it tends to transform the material given to it, taking a superficial outline view, passing rapidly from the object to its meaning or associations: it is a *subjective* or *imaginative* type. In childhood the latter is much more frequent, and, in fact, may be regarded as a characteristic child form of attention; the power to see or hear things as they are is one which has to be acquired by education (Meumann, i. 499 ff.).

(7) *Memory*.—In memory, three phases or functions must be distinguished—immediate memory (as illustrated by 'learning by heart'), retention, and reproduction or recognition; these three phases are subject to different conditions, and vary independently of each other in different individuals, and at different stages of mental development. *Immediate memory* has been shown to improve steadily with age (as tested, for example, by the number of syllables or words which can be reproduced after a single exposure, or by the length of time required to learn a given number of syllables or words by heart), and Meumann has found that even into late adult life this capacity is capable of great improvement through practice.¹ The method of memorizing also changes with age, the young child depending entirely on mechanical association between the different members of the series tested, the adult depending more and more upon associations of meaning, upon rhythm and other forms of grouping. On the other hand, *retentiveness*, as measured by the rate of forgetting, or the amount forgotten after a given interval, reaches its maximum about the 10th or 12th year of life, and decreases slowly but steadily from that time onwards (E. Meumann, *Exper. Pädagogik*, i. 170f., and esp. p. 192). That is to say, young children have greater difficulty in *learning* than older children; with practice an individual may improve in this faculty almost, if not quite, up to middle age; at the same time, children *retain* what they have learned for a longer time and more accurately than the adult under the same conditions. The fact that memories which go back to early childhood (earlier than the 5th year) are relatively rare, the fact that children who have become deaf before the 5th year tend to lose the power of speech they may already have acquired (from the lapse of the auditory memories, and inability to acquire new auditory impressions), that children who have become blind before the 5th year, and even to some extent up to the 7th year, rapidly lose their visual memories, and rarely, if ever, in after life have visual dreams, and the corresponding phenomena in the case of amputated limbs (J. Jastrow, W. James [see M. de Manacéine, *Sleep*, London, 1897, ch. 4])—all these facts correspond accurately with the incomplete development of the cerebral connexions before the end of the 5th year. Finally, *reproduction*, that is, the rate, accuracy, and fertility of association and of voluntary memory, in which there are strong individual differences, tends to improve with age and with practice continuously up to about the 50th year.

A much-debated question is how far training or practice in one field of memory is transferable to another—a question closely connected with that as to whether memory is a general power or faculty, or simply a combination of particular experiences which are somehow stored in the brain of the individual. In the latter case it is obvious that memorizing any particular material, while it in-

¹ In the general improvement there are occasional retardations, e.g. at the age of 10 to 12 (girls) and 12 to 14 (boys). Girls are in advance of boys till about 16, when the latter overtake and pass them. It is said that the young profit less than adults from practice, but that any gain is more permanent.

creases the amount we are able to recall, and through association of ideas makes it easier to learn *similar* material, still does not add to our stock in any other field, or help us to acquire such more easily. Exercising the visual memory improves that memory itself, but does not improve the auditive memory, without special practice in it also. The greater number of observers decide against such transfer of improvement, or the possibility or value of 'formal training'; on the other hand, some recent studies (Meumann, Winch, etc.) seem to show that a very substantial gain can actually be transferred, whatever the interpretation of it may be. The interpretation to which most of the facts point is a training of the *attention*, that is, of the nerve-centres and muscles which are involved in the accurate and ready uptake of an impression, and its retention in the field of observation; and those muscles also by which the control or suppression of distracting impressions, and the reinforcement of associative impressions, are carried out. Such capacities can undoubtedly be transferred—for example, from one kind of *visual* material to any other—and, as the experiments show that the transfer is greatest with a material similar to that in which the improvement has been actually acquired, this entirely harmonizes with the above suggestion. The practical conclusions are: (a) that much of what a child learns at school and afterwards forgets is not necessarily pure loss—the exercise in learning is to a great extent at least transferable to later occupations; (b) the use of purely mechanical and meaningless materials, for the formal exercise of the senses, and especially of the memory, seems to be 'indicated' as a pedagogical method by the experimental results.

(8) *Imagery and imagery types*.—Fechner, Galton, Charcot, and other more recent observers have given ample evidence that individuals in adult life differ widely, and in certain typical forms, as regards the sensorial material in which their 'thinking' is carried on; the *visualist* dealing mainly in images derived from optical experiences; the *auditive* in images of sound derived from acoustic experiences; and the *kinesthetic* or *motor* type in images, memories, or even 'nascent sensations' repeating the tactual and muscular experiences of the past. 'Thinking,' however, has two broadly different senses, according as it means *picture-thinking*, as in reverie, or *word-thinking*, as in abstract reasoning or scientific work. Much of our important thinking is done by means of words as signs or representatives of experiences, without employing the actual memory pictures of the experiences themselves. The majority of individuals are probably of a mixed type, both for picture and even perhaps for verbal thinking; but the enormous predominance of visual experiences in our lives compels all of us to use visual memories to a large extent, while the methods of school teaching, and the necessary use of the ears and vocal muscles in speech, render most of us of an acoustic-motile type in word-thinking. Again, the majority of individuals are probably unable to give to their favourite field of imagination such an exclusive exercise or training as is necessary to develop purity of type; a boy who is artied to an architect, and who is by nature an auditive, must cultivate visualizing or fail in his profession. It seems to be proved that in children, perhaps owing to the method of education, auditive imagery predominates in the early years, but is more and more displaced in importance by visual imagery as age increases; again, that even in the case of visual imagery the vividness and 'warmth' of imagery decrease with age; thus, according to one report (Miss Calkins) at least 9 per cent of

students have very little or no colour imagery; while in the average scientist, according to Galton, the power of visualizing appears to have been entirely lost; abstract thought tends to weaken imagery—in other words, verbal tends to replace picture- or object-thinking. The following are some of the indications by which the type of a given individual can be determined with some degree of accuracy; at the same time they illustrate the functioning of the different characteristics.

(1) The object-type can be determined by observing to what extent the descriptions of visual scenes in literature are realized by the individual, or dialogues and conversations in plays and novels (auditive), or the extent to which deeds and feats of skill reverberate, so to speak, in the individual's organism in reading accounts of them; and how far organic sensations and memories accompany the reading or the hearing of affecting or emotional passages in literature, etc.; also by the trade or occupation which is preferred by an individual, his hobbies, the kind of games, physical and mental, in which he indulges, his tastes in art or in literature, and especially his creative powers in these fields.

(2) The verbal type is indicated: (a) by the way in which an individual sets about learning by heart a poem or passage in a book; whether he does so by frequently repeating the passage over, loud or half aloud (*kinesthetic*), or whether he translates the printed words into inner speech (*auditive*), or learns it by steadily fixing the eyes upon it and reading it over (*visualist*); in the last case the subject is usually able accurately to refer to the page in the book, when recalling the passage, seeing it printed up before his mental vision; he can readily find the passage in a book where he has left off reading, and can refer for any desired passage to the page on which it occurs. (b) The various slips that are made in speaking or writing are good indications of whether the subject is thinking in auditive or in visual words, the former confusing words with a similar sound, the latter confusing words with a similar appearance. (c) In syllables or meaningless material, the *visualist* retains the consonants more accurately, the *auditive* the vowels; and again the *visualist's* errors tend to be those of omission, while the *auditive's* tend to be errors of order or of position. (d) The *visualist* can with great ease read backwards a series of impressions laid to heart, since they are, as it were, printed up before his mind, while the *auditive* or *kinesthetic* has great, or at least greater, difficulty in doing the same; the one takes a short, the other a long time to accomplish the feat, if it is possible at all. (e) Segal (*Arch. f. d. gesamte Psychol.* xii, [1908]) adds the following signs: the *visualist* frequently shuts his eyes and covers them when recalling a memory; his recall is slower than that of the *auditive*; usually the latter remembers the material in groups, while the *visualist* remembers parts singly and separately. But *visualists* retain poetry or prose more accurately than others, and do not repeat parts already given, while *auditives* and *kinesthetics* reproduce more rapidly, but in less quantity, and often with unconscious repetitions. When he does not repeat the material in its proper order, it is with the last few words or syllables that the *auditive* begins; and when the task is accomplished, the material as a rule disappears at once out of his memory, unless he re-learns it frequently.

In regard to the importance of these differences for mental development, it should be remembered that the question is never one of an exclusive use of a single class of imagery; it is merely a question of the predominance of one over others; but occasionally there occur cases in which one or other form of imagery is completely lacking. Normally, however, every one is both an object-thinker and a word-thinker, at different times, and uses in the former case alike visual, auditive, and motor imagery. Nevertheless, it is true that in children object-thinking predominates greatly over verbal thinking until about the age of 14, when, in civilized life, word-thinking begins to occupy a larger space; thus, when a child under 14 is reading or listening to speech, it tends to fill out the meaning of the words, to 'body' them out concretely in its mind, to a much greater extent than the adult does. It has been pointed out that, while the majority of adults are *visualists* in object-thinking, the majority are also acoustic-motile in word-thinking. Children probably use a greater variety of kinds of imagery than adults. Nevertheless, it will be found that in mental work one of the classes or forms predominates over the others. Since education appeals increasingly to visual perception, it follows that a child whose natural type is the auditive one has little opportunity of perfecting this type till after school-life is over; hence in general the type is uncertain until the age of 16

or so. There is throughout a higher prevalence of pure visualists among girls than among boys. It is of course clear that a child will learn more easily, more quickly, and retain for a longer time material learned through his special and dominating form of imagery; and conversely, that the teacher will naturally teach, and will best teach, by the use of his special form. Hence a certain amount of consideration is necessary in school work, both to the type of the child and to the type of the teacher. On the other hand, as has been remarked, the average child is of a mixed type, and the average teacher also; while under modern conditions familiarity with different media is essential for all. The conclusion is that the teachers should try to convey knowledge of any subject by as many senses as possible, and that care should always be taken to determine whether apparent incapacity in a child to learn a particular subject (e.g. geography) is not due rather to a deficiency in the imagery to which appeal is made than to dullness or inattention. (A full account of recent work on this subject is to be found in E. Meumann, *Exper. Pädagogik*, I., esp. p. 435 f.)

It is a matter of dispute how the power of abstraction, and thinking in general, are related to imagery; there can be no doubt that, genetically, the concrete image precedes the abstract, or symbolic, thought, and that in general a training of the imagination is of great value in preparation for scientific thought and practical reasoning (see A. Binet, *L'Intelligence*, Paris, 1903; E. Meumann, *Intelligenz und Wille*, Leipzig, 1908). On the general subject of the psychological nature of thought and its relation to imagery, see the discussion by Titchener of the work of Ach, Binet, Bühler, Messer, and Watt, in his *Experimental Psychology of the Thought Process*, N.Y. 1909.

(9) *Language and abstract thought.*—Many lines of evidence both from race psychology and from individual psychology go to prove that the language of its parents is in no sense whatever innate in the child, and that none even of the conditions which have led to the differentiation of its parents' language from other languages is innate. (On this question, see L. W. Stern, *Helen Keller*, Berlin, 1905.) What is really innate is the instinct of expression, and the various special forms which this instinct takes—facial, vocal, gesture, etc. As it is certainly on these that language has, racially, been built up, so in the child they precede all knowledge of language. As illustration of the former point, experience shows that any child can learn any language whatsoever, provided it is brought up among a people speaking that language; and that no child has any special difficulty even in learning the language which is most remote in its sounds, signs, or grammar from the language of its parents. Again, it is known that the most complex thoughts and emotions are equally well expressible in any mode of language whatsoever, including under this not merely speech and ordinary gesture languages, but even such highly artificial languages as those taught to deaf-mutes, etc. The stages at which a child acquires the language of its environment may be stated as follows:¹ (1) the reflex and instinctive expressions of emotion on the child's own part; (2) the imitation of the sounds made by its parents and others in their speech; (3) the frequent repetition of signs and sounds—complexes found pleasant to itself; on the receptive side: (4) the gradual discrimination of the sounds heard in the speech of its parents; (5) the association between a particular sound and the object to

which it is referred by the parents; (6) the formation of an idea of the meaning or connotation of the words, derived from these associations (apperception); and (7) the gradual correction of such ideas by experience. The conditions of development are keen auditive perception on the part of the child, opportunity of hearing varied speech in its environment, and freedom to exercise its linguistic powers, in play or otherwise, as it seems inclined.¹

The relation of writing to speech may be touched upon here. Evidence shows that the child is ear-minded before it is eye-minded, and that it is able to learn by ear much more rapidly and more tenaciously than by sight; people among whom there is a large percentage of illiterates are frequently, as Borrow noticed among the Portuguese (*Bible in Spain*, ch. i.), brilliant and correct speakers; the probability is that the child would profit if in this respect its development were assimilated to the evolution of the race, so that (for example) writing and reading were not taught until it had reached about its 10th year. By this time it might have acquired two or more languages by the ear alone, and would probably for the future have a much more easy command of its speech than children ordinarily acquire under our present system (Chamberlain, ch. 5).

6. *Abnormalities of development.*—*Defective children.*—Where there is an actual loss of one or more of the senses, whether through injury or defect of the sense-organ, or from lesion of the central organ in the brain, the resulting defects are due rather to lack of material (e.g. deaf-mutism) than to any defect in the mental powers themselves, and can be compensated by adequate training, as the celebrated cases of Laura Bridgman and Helen Keller show. Apart from these cases, defective children may be grouped in the following classes: backward children, the feeble-minded, imbeciles, idiots, and the demented. The last are those who, through injury in childhood to the central nervous system, or through a disease of that system both congenital and progressive, gradually lose any acquired mental faculty they may possess, and therefore not only fail to develop further, but actually regress, perhaps to a purely instinctive or even reflex and automatic or vegetative level. *Idiocy*, on the other hand, springs from a lesion or defect of the cerebrum, either congenital or occurring in early childhood, carrying as its consequence a lowered general vitality, and especially a lowered sensitiveness and power of movement, as a consequence of which the individual is almost or entirely unable to acquire the education which is regarded as the standard in his country and position. In this there may be all degrees, depending upon the extent of the injury, and the period of life at which it occurs. In *imbecility*, there is not, as a rule, any marked physical or

¹ The following is Stern's classification of the stages in the development of language from the point of view of the forms and structure of speech: (1) the beginning of the development of speech by means of *articulate sounds* (end of the 1st year); (2) 2nd year (1st quarter), *substantive stage*: the child uses substantives only as names for concrete persons and things; (3) *stage of action*: verbs appear for the designation of concrete activity in the present and in the immediate future (2nd quarter of this year); (4) *first questioning stage*: questions about the names of objects (3rd quarter); (5) *first sentences* (synthetic): conjunctives; negative sentences (end of the 3rd quarter of year); (6) *relation and quality stage*: adjectives and adverbs (4th quarter of the year); (7) sentences with an object (end of the 4th quarter year); (8) use of numbers, inflexions, past tense (4th to the 5th quarter year); (9) *second questioning stage*: questions as to the where, how, and whither (3rd year); (10) pronouns become numerous (2nd quarter of 3rd year); and (11) *questions as to why* (in the 3rd year). Stern points to a very remarkable parallelism between the stages by which the normal child acquires its language, and the stages by which Helen Keller, beginning at the end of her 7th year, acquired precisely the same form of development through the finger-alphabet which Miss Sullivan began to teach her at that age (*op. cit.* p. 34 ff.).

¹ On the development of language in the child, see Sully, ch. 5; Preyer, ch. 16 ff.; W. Ament, *Die Entwicklung von Sprechen und Denken beim Kinde*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 218; Chamberlain, ch. 5; and Ament, 'Fortschritte in Kinderseelenkunde,' in *Arch. f. d. gesamte Psychol.* II. (1904).

even cerebral defect; on the contrary, imbeciles are frequently of great vitality, and of full physical development; nevertheless the existence of some functional defect of the brain is proved by the peculiar instability of their mental character, and, as a result, the difficulty which there is in extending their education, mental and moral, up to the standard of the time. These classes may be grouped together as abnormal; their differences from their fellows are so great, and in their outcome unfit them to so great an extent for participation in social life, that no one would seek to rank them with either normal children or normal adults. On the other hand, the *feeble-minded* and the *backward* represent a class which is, as it were, on the lower edge of the normal group; they are simple variations, on the negative side, from the average, corresponding to the specially talented and gifted on the positive side. The backward child is one who is much slower in development than his neighbours, and in consequence falls below the standard of his years; at school he is placed along with children three or four years younger than himself. The feeble-minded, or simple defective, again, is not only slow, but unable at any time, or under any conditions, to overtake the average child in education; he can, however, be taught a simple trade, and by special methods can be brought to a level of intelligence and of morality by which he is enabled to take a place among his fellows.

Various suggestions have been made as to the most prominent symptom by which the degree of defectiveness can be estimated: ability to acquire the power of speech (Esquirol, who divided idiots and imbeciles into five classes, according to degree of facility which they were able to acquire in this respect); the presence or absence of primary and secondary instincts (Dubois, etc.). Almost certainly the most valuable of these is that on which Sollier lays chief stress—the power of attention. The inability of the idiot or imbecile child to learn (whether language, industrial work, or moral habits) depends primarily on the two characteristics of his attention—its low intensity, or strength, or degree of concentration, and its instability, or liability to distraction and dissipation. The spontaneous attention (still less the voluntary attention) of the idiot cannot be caught, except for a few objects associated with its most fundamental physical needs: (1) because, owing to the disease of the brain, its sensations are excessively blunted or dulled, and (2) because for the same reason its organs of movement, on which the possibility of attending depends, are also imperfect in the highest degree. In the lowest degree of idiocy there is no possibility of attention; in the second degree (simple idiocy), the attention is with difficulty and occasionally held by a few objects; in the latter case, by efforts which strengthen the sensitiveness, or which build up associations between the few objects that are apprehended and the corresponding actions, some degree of education may be accomplished; in the former none is possible. On the other hand, in the case of the imbecile, it is not so much the intensity of the attention as its stability that is at fault; it is flighty, intermittent, unable to be retained for any length of time by a single object; hence memory is weak, impressions do not remain long enough before the mind to be retained; associations are not formed between separate sense-qualities or between perceptions and actions; sustained action and serial thought are alike impossible. The lower instincts, however, are usually sufficiently strong to give the sensations and perceptions which appeal to the imbecile considerable attention-value; hence education is possible to a relatively

high degree, through the direction and control of this attention by the teacher. Imbeciles may learn to speak, although they rarely learn to write or read; and the ability to speak does not with them carry the power of concentrated and deliberate thought or reflexion. On the moral side, Sollier divides these defectives by the terms *extra-social*, which he applies to the idiots, and *anti-social* which he applies to the imbeciles. The former, as the term implies, is essentially a solitary, unable to come into relation with, or to understand any of the purposes of, his fellows; he neither imitates nor plays with others, and, while entirely incapable of appreciating moral standards, nevertheless remains for the most part passive, inert, and therefore harmless. The imbecile, on the other hand, having the lower instincts strongly, and the higher weakly (or not at all), developed, is governed almost entirely by selfish motives, without being able to appreciate either the feelings of others, their duties, or their rights; he has intelligence enough to pick up and appreciate the evil, but not the good, around him, and for the most part is on that account a constant danger both to his fellows and to himself. In the case of the backward and simple or weak-minded child, the attention is also defective; the reaction time is slower, the span or width of a single act of attention is narrower, the stability is for the most part less than in the average child. In the case of the idiot, the defect is primarily due to an organic lesion of the brain, and in the imbecile to a functional defect (see art. DEGENERATION), but in the backward child the defect may ordinarily be found in some somatic physical weakness, in the digestive or other internal system, by which the brain is relatively poorly nourished, and in consequence both functions more feebly and develops more slowly than in the average child. The evil can to some extent be remedied by physical regimen, and the great danger in such cases is that of intensifying the disease by over-pressure in school work. There can be no doubt that, where it is possible, such children ought to be treated separately from others—in separate classes, or still better in separate institutions. Binet, Decroly and Degand, and de Sanctis have worked out series of standard mental tests by which the degree of defectiveness in a child of a given age can be diagnosed in a simple and rapid, but adequate, way. It is natural that some difficulty should be experienced at first in arriving at such a series, appealing to the different mental powers in the order of their development, which shall be agreed upon by a sufficiently representative number of observers; but, when it is successfully accomplished, it will form a most useful basis of reference, both in the initial determination of the grade of a child and in estimating the degree of progress which may be attained under any particular system of training and education (see A. Binet and T. Simon, *Année psychologique*, xi. [1905], xiv. [1908], xv. [1909]; O. Decroly and J. Degand, *Arch. de psychol.* ix. [1910]; de Sanctis, *Année psychologique*, xii. [1906]). These tests are also discussed in Meumann, i. 387 ff., and are illustrated in G. M. Whipple, *Manual of Mental and Physical Tests*, 1910).

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DEVIL, DEVIL-WORSHIP.—See DEMONS AND SPIRITS.

DEVIL'S ADVOCATE.—See ADVOCATE.

DEVĪ PĀTAN (*Devī-pattana*, 'city of the goddess Devī').—An ancient village in the Gondā District of Oudh, supposed to be one of the oldest seats of the Śaiva cultus in Northern India. Legend connects the establishment of the cult in this place with Karpā, the hero of the *Mahābhārata* epic; but it is more probable that the existing remains belong to the time of Chandragupta II., of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, who restored the old sacred places at Ayodhya, and perhaps did the same service for the petty shrine of the goddess of the pre-Aryan races, who had been adopted into Hinduism. A temple is said to have been erected in the beginning of the 15th cent. by Ratannāth, the third in descent from the famous Gorakhnāth, the deified saint, whose worship has spread all over the Nepāl valley and many other parts of India. Its importance was sufficient to attract the attention of the iconoclast Aurangzib, who partially destroyed it. This temple seems to have been dedicated to Śiva, and when repaired was converted into the present building, where the service of the Mother-goddess in the form of Pārvatī or Durgā is conducted. The religious fair in connexion with the shrine takes place early in the spring, and is largely attended by pilgrims from the Plains and the lower slopes of the Himalaya. Bennett, describing the fair in 1871, writes: 'Some 20 buffaloes, 250 goats, and 250 pigs were sacrificed daily at the temple. Under the altar a large hole was dug and filled with sand, which was changed twice a day, and the old sand buried; all the blood was thus absorbed. There was no filth lying about, and no stench.'

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W. CROOKE.

DEVOTION AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE.—*Introductory.*—In a general sense, devotion has frequently been regarded as co-extensive with, or at least as embracing, the entire field of facts relevant to religion. Sometimes the attitude of the human will towards the Divine (howsoever conceived), which is a common feature of all religions, and the dominant characteristic in every religion of the spirit, has been illegitimately isolated and its true function distorted; consequently 'devotion' and 'religion' have often been used as synonymous terms. Aquinas writes: 'Devotio nihil aliud esse videtur quam voluntas quaedam prompte tradendi se ad ea quae pertinent ad Dei famulatum' (*Summa*, II.² lxxiii. 1). But surely this definition is too wide in scope. Even where devotion has not been confused with religion, it has commonly been cited as a synonym for worship—'whatsoever men worship for religion's sake' (Tomson's marg. note [*NT*, 1576]). But, while

devotion suffuses all genuine religion, and will find expression normally in a form of worship directed towards an object or objects conceived as spiritual, unseen, or Divine, it certainly ought not to be defined as 'an object of religious worship.'

The idea of devotion is expressed in a concrete manner by the devotee—one set apart for a unique purpose, dedicated by a vow to the service of a deity; and perhaps we may best define devotion as the inner, intimate, essential side of worship. It is the attitude of the worshipping soul towards God; or, more widely viewed, the self-dedication 'to a deity, or to any one invested in thought for a time with some of the qualities or claims of a deity.' In its higher reaches it calls into play the entire forces and resources of man's personality.

Devotion, then, involves the deliberate movement of the will towards the object of worship.

'Devotion signifies a life given, or devoted, to God. He therefore is the devout man who lives no longer to his own will, or the way and spirit of the world, but to the sole will of God, who considers God in everything, who serves God in everything, who makes all the parts of his common life parts of piety, by doing everything in the name of God, and under such rules as are conformable to His glory' (Law, *Serious Call*, Lond. 1898, ch. i.).

In the theistic religions, especially in Christianity, where the bloom and fragrance of devotion are incomparably rich, the definite and full determination of the will towards Deity is the first step in the direction of a devout life. The higher experiences of the consecrated life are unattainable apart from the initial and insistent self-dedictory act. The will of the individual is wholly determined towards the being or beings conceived as Divine, and, apart from this ardent attachment, devotion, strictly speaking, cannot exist. It is thus marked off from religion narrowly defined as 'a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man' (J. G. Frazer, *GB*², 1900, i. 63) by this spontaneous self-committal.

'True devotion springs from the will; it is the choice and the love of the highest good manifested to the soul, and, wherever the will of man is found choosing, and adhering to, the highest known ideal of good, there you have the true child of God' (C. Bodington, *Books of Devotion*, London, 1903, ch. ii.). Or, as Thomas à Kempis expresses it, great devotion consists 'in giving up thyself with all thy heart to the Divine Will, not seeking the things which are thine own, either in small or in great, either in time or in eternity' (*Imitation of Christ*, bk. iii. ch. xxv.).

In this self-determination of the soul both intellectual and emotional appetites are present in varying degree; no movement would be possible apart from desire; the intellect by itself, as Aristotle pointed out, moves nothing. Some conception of the end of devotion is necessary before the heart and the affections are yielded in free spontaneity to their Divine objective. Thus, in all religions which create and foster the devotional spirit—notably in the Christian religion—the soul intensely, sincerely, and lovingly desires, and moves in faith, reverence, and purity of intention towards, communion with God. Even the pagan Mysteries and the most ancient sacrificial feasts bear witness to this fact.

I. This approach of the soul towards the Divine, with its definite, conscious experience of the Divine presence, is seen in the distinctive exercises and practices of devotion. These are infinite in variety, but primacy must be given to prayer.

'Devotion,' writes William Law, 'is neither private nor public prayer, but prayers, whether private or public, are particular parts or instances of devotion' (*Serious Call*, ch. 1.).

Without attempting any survey of the various forms prayer has assumed in the history of religions, we may mark its unfailing and universal characteristics throughout the devotional life of the varied races and generations of mankind. Remembering the true saying of Kierkegaard—that a heathen who heartily and ardently prays to an idol prays in reality to the true God, but he who outwardly and impersonally prays to the true God

in reality prays to an idol—we see that the value of the external observance depends on the internal disposition of the suppliant. Prayer must be pure and ingenuous, for the devout life must be free from any element of sophistication. Where prayer is viewed so largely and so generally, sometimes so exclusively, under the aspect of petition or request, it is obvious that its possible perils are very great. Material wants and mundane considerations obtrude themselves, while the spiritual needs are crowded out, forgotten, ignored—sometimes even unrecognized. But, though not without its dangers, the act of asking a boon of the Unseen, if it be the sincere expression of the spiritually enlightened, is an act which not only describes the fervent longing of the human soul, but also suggests the intimacy of a genuine spiritual communion. It is an aspect of the great passion to establish communication with the Divine or with God, which expresses itself in an outgoing of the human spirit towards the object worshipped and adored. As such, it is an infallible mark of the devout soul wheresoever placed, in crude and elementary religious environment as truly, though not as fruitfully, as in realms of high spiritual culture and attainment. In its more advanced phases, it becomes not merely a spiritual intercession, but passes in a sublime elevation of soul from soliloquy to silence, from spiritual striving to contemplative calm. The higher reaches of the devotional life are sacred to the prayer of 'quiet' and the prayer of 'union' which Madame Guyon describes in her *Autobiography* (Eng. tr., London, 1897) as 'emptied of all form, species, and images.'

2. Allied to and often commingled with prayer is the act or exercise of praise—the tribute of homage which the human renders to the Divine. The relation between prayer and praise is so intimate that, in experience, it is found that instinctively and imperceptibly the one is constantly passing over into the other. This is as notable in the hymns of the Veda, which embody 'some of the earliest religious conceptions of the Hindus' (M. Williams, *Hinduism*, London, 1901, ch. ii.), as it is in the Jewish Psalms or in the spiritual songs of the Christian Church; and, although perhaps these are all primarily adapted to worship in an institutional ceremonial sense, they yet express with true poetical passion the personal devotional life of their particular age. The outward dissimilarities are undoubtedly great; the Vedic hymns were 'addressed to certain deifications of the forces of Nature' (M. Williams, *op. cit.* p. 23); a post-exilic theology is implicit in the Psalter; but under all the outward forms of 'temple festivities, processions, and ceremonial' there is present and discernible the thrill of the individual soul, as, in reverence and thanksgiving, homage and gratitude, it prostrates itself before the Divine.

We may certainly affirm that beneath all external expressions, which, of course, reflect the particular sentiments (sometimes, it may be said, immature, and even repugnant, to a developed moral sense) of a people, age, or religion, the elements we have noted are all present in the act of praise. They differ, it is true, in emphasis and in the degree of intensity by which they are sustained; but it may be doubted if any one of them is ever entirely absent. From the manner in which they are present and the mode in which they are combined, the exercise of praise as a personal outburst in East and West does appear ultimately to result in a qualitative distinction, *i.e.* to be different in kind. It may, indeed, be regarded as an established fact that the place of praise in the devotional life is seen most clearly and recorded most completely in religions where the subduing and overwhelming sense of Divine holiness, love, and beneficent energy pre-

vails, and in which the soul's searching sense of guilt is finally submerged—not merely in mercy, but in victorious grace.

In illustration of this, we may note the contrast presented between the attitude of the devout Buddhist, who embalms his lord Gautama 'in the richest and sweetest mythology known to man' (A. M. Fairbairn, *Philos. of Chr. Rel.*, London, 1902, p. 243 f.), and the attitude of the devout Jew towards God, as expressed in the superb and richly varied praise of the Synagogue liturgy (cf. T. K. Cheyne, *Book of Psalms*, London, 1888, p. 118). This contrast is further heightened by a consideration of Christian hymnody, in which, from the *ψαλμοί, ὕμνοι, ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαὶ* (Eph 5¹⁸) of the early Christians to the sacred lyric or hymn of the Church to-day, the holiness and grace of God are conspicuously honoured and celebrated as much in private devotion as in public worship.

3. The act of adoration, the prostration of the soul in profound reverence, utmost affection, highest love, is usually associated with the outburst of gratitude or thanksgiving addressed to a deity. As one ascends in the scale of religions, the ethical and spiritual meaning of the adoring soul becomes more significant, and gleams and glows like sunshine. Where worship was addressed directly to elemental forces of Nature (as in the hymns of the Veda), or where the objects of worship were characterized by a dull, dry formalism (as in Roman religion to a considerable extent), or where a 'brilliant gaiety,' passing often into hilarity and levity (as among the Greeks), was subtly united with sacred offices and exercises (cf. F. Granger, *The Worship of the Romans*, London, 1895, p. 271), it is clear that the outward semblance of adoration could not conceivably denote the rich and profound spiritual significance which is so manifest a content of the reverent honour given by the devout Christian to the sacred and adorable Trinity.

The sentiment of adoration is seen at its highest only where the idea of God is marked by supreme moral and ethical excellence. Thus, in China, even where there prevails a persistent worship of ancestors which aims at the maintenance of friendly relations with the spirits of the dead, or a devotion to Shang-ti and popular divinities, adoration occupies no high place in the desire of the worshippers. In Christianity, on the other hand, devotion seems impossible apart from adoration, and manifests itself as markedly, and perhaps more truly, in the awe and austerity of the Puritan conception of the relation of the soul to God as in the Roman Catholic devotion to saints and images, the Eucharistic elements, the Cross, and the Sacred Heart—the latter cult, indeed, possibly taking its rise from *The Heart of Christ in Heaven towards Sinners upon Earth* (1645), a writing of the great Puritan theologian, Dr. Thomas Goodwin.

4. All the classics of devotion announce the cultivation of the meditative mood as indispensable to the devout life. And, although there is a great gulf between the *Meditations* of the saintly Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, or the Indian mystic for whom contemplation (*dhyanā*) takes the place of prayer, and the devout Christian for whom meditation is the 'eye of the soul' which enables him to see 'the light that never changes' (Aug. *Confess.* bk. vii. ch. x.), in all alike there is the recognition that 'the most sublime object of thought' demands the deliberate and definite concentration of man's whole soul in a 'current of contemplative feeling.'

Recollection is the act which is the precursor of pure spiritual contemplation; and this drawing together of the forces of the inner life, 'each man's conversation with himself,' to use the expression of Lacordaire (*Lettres à des jeunes gens*, Paris, 1862,

p. 204 ff.), is the prelude to meditation proper, which Ruysbroeck defines as 'a concentration of all the interior and exterior forces in the unity of the spirit and in the bonds of love' (*L'Ornement des noces spirituelles*, tr. M. Maeterlinck, Brussels, 1900, bk. ii. ch. iv.).

Meditation or active contemplation is then 'a long process of internal quietude, of abstraction from sense, and of absorption in reason,' by which the human soul is attuned to the Divine; and the soul exercised thereby has, among other spiritual possessions, 'the power of seeing into eternity' (*Theologia Germanica*, 14th cent.). By this interior process of meditation the whole personality is raised to a higher level, for the act of contemplation sounds 'the abysmal deeps of personality,' and releases mysterious spiritual forces otherwise hidden and unknown. Of this, William Law writes in 'The Spirit of Prayer':

'There is a root or depth in these from whence all these faculties come forth as lines from a centre, or as branches from the body of a tree. This depth is called the centre, the fund, or bottom, of the soul, for it is so infinite that nothing can satisfy it or give it any rest, but the infinity of God' (*The Liberal and Mystical Writings of W. Law*, ed. W. Scott Palmer, London, 1908, p. 14).

Only the spiritually strenuous and purposeful can accomplish this, for it is not merely 'the yielding to an instinct, the indulgence of a natural taste for reverie.'

'All the scattered interests of the self have here to be collected; there must be a deliberate and unnatural act of attention, a deliberate expelling of all discordant images from the consciousness—a hard and ungrateful task' (E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, London, 1911, p. 374).

Spiritual meditation is, indeed, a difficult thing. St. Teresa, who finally achieved so much in this respect, confessed that, when she first made the attempt, she felt the impossibility of collecting her thoughts and fixing her attention; and it was not until more than fourteen years had passed that she was able to practise meditation without the aid of a book.

Boehme, in his *Dialogues on the Super-sensual Life* (ed. Bernard Holland, London, 1901, p. 56), describes the process of meditation as the cessation of individual activity, and urges the direct and steadfast fixing of the eye upon one point:

'For this end, gather in all thy thoughts, and by faith press into the Centre, laying hold upon the Word of God, which is infallible, and which hath called thee. Be thou obedient to this call, and be silent before the Lord, sitting alone with Him in thy inmost and most hidden cell, thy mind being centrally united in itself, and attending His will in the patience of hope.'

This is a blessed foretaste of the supernal satisfaction—of the *vita contemplativa*.

5. Again, devotion is expressed, not only in the loving fulfilment of all those duties commonly named 'religious,' but more particularly and appropriately in definite spiritual exercises. In that great devotional classic, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius* (Eng. tr., London, 1880), the spiritual development of the individual is shown to be dependent upon the rigorous training to which the powers of the mind, heart, and will are subjected. After retirement into solitude and a season of quiet contemplation, in which the soul listens only to the 'whispering silence,' the exercised spirit passes on, in absorbed intensity, to the various methods and rules by which the desired goal is to be attained. The value of the rules and exercises lies in the fact that, when followed in docility and fidelity with whole-hearted abandonment, the soul is led to the end for which it was ordained by God. They are rules which become 'more and more authoritative by constant obedience.'

'The number, length, and nature of the exercises are to be adapted to the age, capacity, and inclination of the person in retreat, so that no one may be overburdened, and all may find what is suitable to their wants' (Bodington, *op. cit.* 130).

All forms of spiritual exercise, whether such as are involved in the 'ladder' of mystic states and

perfections of Neo-Platonic mysticism, the method of Persian Sufism, or the way of Christian mysticism, are aspects of self-discipline—of the *vita purgativa*. Self-discipline, strenuous and prolonged, has always been deemed an essential factor in devotion; and the devout of all ages have insisted upon the renunciation of self. Whether it is the Christian mystic who speaks of self-surrender, or the Indian mystic who teaches that the illusion of the finite can be overcome only by entering into the universal life, or the Sufi who practises detachment from all that is not God that the heart may give itself for its only work—meditation upon the Divine Being—a deliberate self-abandonment is demanded by each alike, though the nature of that abandonment is variously interpreted and differently enforced. Perhaps the asceticism of our Lord (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6) supplies us with the key to a true understanding of the place and power of self-discipline. It does not appear that poverty, as such, is a necessary inevitable mark of self-renunciation (Jerome, c. *Vigilant*, 14), though it is true that the life of Jesus was lived under conditions of poverty. But poverty may, in specific instances, be the *sine qua non* of a genuine self-oblation; and assuredly *almsgiving* has very generally been regarded as an indispensable exercise of the devout. In this connexion it should be noted, however, that by modern thought greater possibilities of a positive character, tending towards an energetic social devotion, are being disclosed to the devout soul who sees, with vision preternaturally sharpened, the passionate and heroic service of man in wider ways than formerly, as no mean expression or exemplification alike of self-sacrifice and of the worship and service of God.

Supremely essential is a sincere and utter detachment from earthly things, apart from which there can be no true self-abnegation, and no high spirit of devotion. This ideal has perennially cast its spell over the minds of devoted men; many attempts have been made to realize it, not the least significant—despite the inevitable limitations of their conception—being that of the 'Brethren of the Common Life' (*q.v.*), under the inspiration of Gerard Groot and Florentinus. The importance of the ideal has never been questioned by the devout. According to St. Francis of Assisi, poverty is

'a treasure so high exelling and so divine that we be not wrothe to lay it up in our vile vessels; since this is that celestial virtue whereby all earthly things and fleeting are trodden underfoot, and whereby all hindrances are lifted from the soul so that freely she may join herself to God Eternal' (Fioretti, ch. xiii.).

The essence of self-discipline has been said to be 'self-simplification'; this can be attained only by the soul viewing with sacred indifference the superfluous, deceptive, or vain things of earth. Thus, it comes to be seen that inward not outward poverty is the indispensable thing; the goal of the devout soul is, like the Kingdom of Heaven, attainable only by 'the poor in spirit.' It is in such essential vital detachment, according to St. John of the Cross, that

'the spirit finds quiet and repose, for, coveting nothing, nothing wears it by elation; and nothing oppresses it by dejection, because it stands in the centre of its own humility: for, as soon as it covets anything, it is immediately fatigued thereby' (*Ascent of Mount Carmel*, tr. David Lewis, London, 1906, bk. I. ch. xiii.).

Fasting, 'a piece of devotion whereby the primitive believers effected very great things' (Anthony Horneck, *The Crucified Jesus*, London, 1835, ch. iv.), has been persistently taught, encouraged, and practised as a form of self-renunciation and a method of self-discipline. Fasting may be partial or complete. As practised among the Oriental peoples, it usually took the form of total abstinence from both food and drink; and, according

to Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*, London, 1894, p. 434), it is almost certain that such fasting was designed especially with a view to the partaking sacramentally of holy flesh. We may well believe this to be the fact, inasmuch as the sacrificial rites of all nations express in their devotional aspect the surrendered self of the creature to the Creator. It does not seem open to doubt that all ancient sacrifices were related to the basal belief in the possibility of communion with the Deity; and the discipline of fasting as a preparation to the partaking of a sacrifice which involved some kind of Divine fellowship was the prescribed method of the Oriental peoples. If it is true, as has been affirmed, that 'both the idea of sacramental worship and the forms under which it is performed by the Christian Church are the almost universal heritage of mankind' (W. R. Inge's *Essay in Contentio Veritatis*, London, 1902, p. 279), it will not be regarded as a singular thing or strange survival that the concurrent act of fasting should appear with perennial persistence. And further, if a vital communion with the Unseen is conditioned by a transparent sincerity of will and intention, fasting may well have approved itself as a sign of, as well as a means towards, such self-discipline of the soul. Especially might this be expected in the Christian Church, where the avowed aim of the faithful is to be 'one with the Lord and He with us,' and the devout person seeks to present himself a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice to God (Ro 12). The custom of fasting before communion certainly finds its explanation, if not its justification, not so much in 'the practice of the universal Church' as in the acknowledged need of self-disciplinary exercise for those who would worthily and reverently prepare themselves for the receiving of the Lord's Supper.

'Let us,' says Jeremy Taylor, 'receive the consecrated elements with all devotion and humility of body and spirit; and do this honour to it, that it be the first food we eat and the first beverage we drink that day, unless it be in case of sickness or other great necessity; and that your body and soul both be prepared to its reception with abstinence from secular pleasures' (*Holy Living*, London, 1649, ch. iv. sect. x.).

It is admitted that such fasting 'is not a duty commanded by God,' but it is undeniably a custom which has commended itself to many of the most devout. In the more general sense, fasting has been endured by the devout almost universally; and by many saints it has been ardently embraced as a valuable means towards the discipline and conquest of self—urged often by an inner necessity of the spirit. It cannot be denied that, as a spiritual exercise, evoking, training, and shaping the mysterious potentialities of the soul, fasting under its various forms does effect in many instances most fruitful spiritual developments, and justifies itself as a 'gymnastic of eternity.'

6. In this connexion we note that spiritual raptures and ecstatic experiences of peculiar significance follow, though not invariably, the self-disciplinary exercises of the devout. Catherine of Siena and Catherine of Genoa may be cited as types of devout souls who constantly resorted to the discipline of fasting, and experienced the enrichment of life which ecstatic states confer. The saints, however, do not adopt fasting or any other spiritual exercise as a means of artificially producing or inducing 'ecstasy.' This spiritual state and 'dazzling obscurity,' while it has affinities with the 'ecstasy' of philosophic communion and exaltation,—the crown of the mystical teaching of the Neo-Platonists,—must be carefully distinguished from all those extraordinary forms of ecstasy which at different periods have been sought for successfully by barbarous orgiastic worship or by rude and crude rites of initiation. Jacob Boehme, describing the hard battle he

waged against the desires that belong to the flesh and blood, and his attempt to enter wholly into the Love of God, says:

'Now, while I was wrestling and battling, being aided by God, a wonderful light arose within my soul. It was a light entirely foreign to my unruly nature, but in it I recognized the true nature of God and man, and the relation existing between them, a thing which heretofore I had never understood, and for which I would never have sought' (F. Hartmann, *The Life and Doctrines of Jacob Boehme*, London, 1891, p. 50).

Here, obviously, the 'ecstasy' was of an illuminative character; this constituted its inner grace and spiritual value. But 'ecstasy,' according to Richard Rolle, may take the form of 'being ravished out of fleshly feeling,' 'and on this manner saints sometimes are ravished to their profit and other men's learning; as Paul ravished to the third heaven' (*The Fire of Love*, ed. Lond. 1896, bk. ii. ch. vii.). The essential mark, however, of this spiritual ecstasy would seem to be a supreme and overwhelming joy in the possession of a new knowledge gained not as the prize of toiling thought, but 'in the upper school of the Holy Ghost.' Certainly such 'ecstasy' is no more the product of human sagacity than it is the fruit of an assumed or pretended sanctity.

7. This leads to a consideration of the fact previously stated, that, as devotion springs primarily from the movement of the individual will towards the Divine, such movement being expressed in the various activities already noted, the supreme phase of devotion passes from the service of God, expressed in manifold ways, into those solemn elements of religious feeling which distinguish by their intensity and seriousness communion with God. 'I sought,' says Jacob Boehme, 'only for the heart of God, therein to hide myself' ('Aurora,' *Works of Jacob Boehme*, Eng. tr., London, 1764, p. 237). This is no mere 'morbid condition of mental emotion,' but the end desired with an incorruptible sincerity by all devout persons at all times. Among the Greeks, for example, one secret of the attractiveness of the Eleusinian Mysteries lay in the fact that the esoteric symbolism employed therein ministered, not to a sickly dreaming, but to a magnificent desire for an intimate spiritual communion with Deity. Similarly the Christian mystics, in their spiritual exercises and disciplined employments, sought, with all their fiery strength, the path which afforded close, indeed immediate, access to God—through Christ to God. This 'subjective intensity' of the mystic, though not without its dangers, witnesses to the zeal with which they pursued their quest. Thus, if the communion of man with God is to be attained, the devout soul, whether inside or outside the Christian Church, has always seen that the Divine life, potential or actual, within him must be tended with 'an intense solemnity and energy.' To the Christian, devotion is based on the certainty of communion between God and man through Christ. It springs from a faith in Christ (or, to use Luther's word, a 'right trust') which involves ultimately, if it does not embody presently, a moral union with Christ; and there is no devotion comparable for a moment with the devotion of utter penitential humility which is offered up by the soul that has found the new life in Christ and is entrenched in that reality of regeneration which is the certainty of its so great salvation. As Christ is the perfect means whereby the soul of man may realize itself in full and unclouded communion with its Creator, so the practice of devotion has gathered and drawn from the human life of the Lord—that consummate achievement of stainless communion—not only its supreme ideal and heroic standard, but its rarest and most precious power. 'Non comprehenditur Deus per investigationem sed per imitationem.'

We must, in our devotion, as Thomas à Kempis urges, copy the life and conduct of our Lord, 'if we wish to be truly enlightened, and to be delivered from all blindness of heart' (*Imitation of Christ*, bk. i. ch. i.). Neither must the call to fellowship with the Saviour's sufferings be evaded or disobeyed, nor the eyes closed to the imperative demand for 'mediatorial ministries.' The passivity of Quietism can never be the ideal of the devotional life.

'With Him the corner-stone,
The living stones conjoin;
Christ and His Church are one,
One Body and one Vine'
(Wesley, *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, no. 129).

In sacrificial service, not less than in sacramental worship, the devout soul shares in the joyous travail of the spiritual Kingdom, sustained by the effectual irresistible energies of the Holy Spirit of God.

8. Devotional literature is the outcome, the record, or the expression of a vital devotion. Devotion may exist and manifest its presence without any attempt to express itself in literary form; but every true book of devotion involves the pre-existence of a true devotion. Spurious devotional works and morbid or maudlin books on devotion, whether marked by grandiloquent language or spiritual insipidity, may generally be detected by their atmosphere of moral enervation, or an accompanying suggestion of mental paralysis. The genuinely devout man is unconscious of his devotion; and all the great devotional classics, even those most intimately personal, are marked by the absence of anything approaching, in sinister guise, either a baleful self-consciousness or the hesitating sentiment of the feeble or the dull. They are in the highest degree self-revealing, often introspective, but they show no traces of self-posturing. The Bible is undoubtedly the greatest and most influential book of devotion in the world; it not only bears all the infallible marks of a deep and developing devotion, but it possesses, in a pre-eminent degree, the power of awakening and sustaining the devotional life of all who read and use it aright. But, outside the Holy Scriptures, all the great spiritual books of devotion owe their position and power to their possession of the characteristic marks already mentioned. The incomparable *Imitatio Christi*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Augustine's *Confessions*, with their power to 'stimulate the heart and mind of man to approach unto God,' Anselm's *Meditations*, Andrewes' *Private Prayers*, breathing indeed a 'pure and primitive devotion,' Francis de Sales' *Spiritual Letters*, and Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, are among the most spiritually moving books in the world. The great books of devotion elude our attempts to classify them, though we may trace affinities and mark divergencies. They all owe their existence to the spirit of conspicuous devotion which marked the lives of their authors; and, although respectively they exhibit the fashions of a particular age and reflect pre-eminently the spiritual needs and satisfactions of their own special time, they owe their persistent power to the presence in them of an unconscious self-revelation of spiritual insight, and the faculty of inducing and begetting a deeper devotional life in those who wisely read them. They unlock the door to the rich inheritance of the saints; they unveil inconceivable spiritual mysteries, as they lead the wondering soul to the Christ in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. Where may the growth, development, and perfection of the life that is hid with Christ in God be found more surely or sweetly expounded than in Jeremy Taylor's *Golden Grove*, his *Holy Living and Holy Dying*; Law's *Serious Call*, *Spirit of Prayer*, and *Christian Perfection*; Samuel Ruther-

ford's *Letters*; *The Spiritual Guide* of Miguel de Molinos; or Walter Marshall's *Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*—a book too little known and read? The devotional life of thousands has been established and enriched by books so widely divergent in many respects as the *Sermons* of Bernard of Clairvaux, where the 'illuminative way' is described with searching insight as the rising to the love of God with heart, mind, and soul; Tauler's *Sermons*; the *Theologia Germanica*; A. Baker's *Holy Wisdom*; Louis of Granada's *Sinners' Guide*; Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat*, in which, despite obscurities and perversities, there burns steadily 'the lamp of fire within the earthen pitcher'; Pascal's *Thoughts*; the *Journal* of George Fox; and the mystical *Devotional Works* of John Norris. Perreyve's *Journée du malade*, Gratry's *Meditations*, with their striking and suggestive sincerities of thought, Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, and Milman's *Love of the Atonement* all unite to disclose to the expectant soul some of the august possibilities of faith, prayer, and sacrifice. The work of Alphonsus Rodriguez, *On Spiritual and Religious Perfection*, in which 'our greatest, or rather, our only business,' the union of our souls with God by love, is set forth with arresting ardour and spiritual knowledge; the *Poems* of George Herbert and his *Priest to the Temple*, burning with the sacred passion for holiness; *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* by John and Charles Wesley, in which, assuming discretion and discrimination on the part of the reader, the fervour of an intense rapture fills the soul with unalloyed joy; and the *Christian Year* of John Keble—must be named as occupying distinct and honoured places in the impressive library of devotional literature, although, of course, they do not 'unite all great attributes in an equal degree.'

In the realm of devotion, doubtless, new heights wait to be scaled, untrodden territories allure the intrepid spiritual explorer, and vast spiritual tracts are yet to be surveyed; thus, while we hold steadfastly to the precious devotional gains of the past, we believe that greater works than these may be achieved by the soul following the Supreme Spiritual Director who guides into all truth.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authors and works referred to, the various writings of the great mystics—especially their supreme spiritual classics—should be consulted. Also the following: J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, Edin. 1908, p. 92; J. P. Arthur, *The Founders of the New Devotion*, Eng. tr., London, 1906; F. Atterbury, *Sermons*, London, 1766, iv. 213; T. K. Cheyne, *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, London, 1892, pt. ii.; R. W. Dale, *Fellowship with Christ*, London, 1896, ch. i.; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, i. (PTS), 1909; E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Prim. Church*, Eng. tr. 1904; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr., London, 1903-4, ch. xli.; J. O. Dykes, *Manifesto of the King*, London, 1887, pp. 127-144; Dora Greenwell, *Essays*, London, 1876, and *Poems*, London, 1848; W. Hermann, *Communion with God*, Eng. tr. 1895, pp. 49-133; E. E. Holmes, *Prayer and Action*, London, 1911; R. F. Horton, *The Open Secret*, London, 1904; F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, 2 vols., London, 1908; J. R. Illingworth, *Christian Character*, London, 1904; W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899; W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902; F. B. Jevons, *Introd. Hist. Rel.*, London, 1896, pp. 54, 106; Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1909; J. Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology*, London, 1892; A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, London, 1901; J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1891-72, vol. iii.; E. Lehmann, *Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom*, Eng. tr., London, 1910; H. S. Lunn, *The Love of Jesus*, London, 1911; K. Marti, *Rel. of the OT*, Eng. tr., London, 1907; W. R. Nicoll, *The Garden of Nuts*, London, 1906; F. Paget, *Spirit of Discipline*, London, 1894; and *Studies in the Christian Character*, London, 1902; E. H. Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1897; E. H. Parker, *China and Religion*, London, 1905; W. M. F. Petrie, *Personal Rel. in Egypt before Christianity*, London, 1909, p. 102; S. F. Poulain, *Grâces d'oraïson*, Paris, 1906; W. Major Scott, *Aspects of Christian Mysticism*, London, 1907; J. Smetnam, *Letters*, London, 1892; J. Stalker, *Imago Christi*, London, 1890, pp. 127-144; A. E. Waite, *Azoth: or the Star in the East*, London, 1893; C. Weissäcker, *The Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr., London, 1894-95. See also artt. BLAKET-MARGA and SÖRMAN.

W. MAJOR SCOTT.

DEW.—The cooling of the ground causes, during clear nights, a deposit of some of the atmospheric moisture held in suspension during the day. It was not till 1814 that the main facts of the process of the formation of dew were established. Mention of Wells' famous theory—a perfect example of the inductive method—is in point, since primitive speculation upon the origin of dew has joined with observation of its value to plant-life in attaching to it various ideas of spiritual mystery and various uses in ritual.

In the OT the origin of dew is one of the mysteries of creation;¹ the deposition of dew is gentle, sudden, and invisible;² its evaporation in the sun is a metaphor for speedy departure or disappearance.³ Early observation, of course, distinguished dew from rain, but noted their connexion.⁴ Both drop from the clouds 'by the knowledge' of Jahweh.⁵ The closer connexion of dew with mist and fog naturally involved some confusion in both language and observation. This is of some importance in the Biblical and post-Biblical literatures.

'The spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer; and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are connected, and the one passes over into the other.'⁶

The old Jewish literature is enthusiastic on the subject of dew. It is a constant symbol for invigoration and vivification, fertility, blessing, prosperity, richness, and resurrection.⁷ Jahweh promises that He will be 'as the dew unto Israel.'⁸ The youthful warriors of the royal Messiah are compared, for numbers and freshness, and perhaps brilliance (see also below), to the dewdrops from 'the womb of the morning.'⁹ The simile was borrowed by Milton (*Par. Lost*, v. 746 f.) for his description of the angelic hosts. The withholding of dew is a dire calamity, and one of the most terrible of curses.¹⁰ We have here, in fact, the best illustration extant in folklore or literature of the pastoral and agricultural importance of the dew-fall. That importance is greatest in Eastern countries which have no irrigation to supplement an insufficient water-supply, and where every drop of moisture counts. But in Palestine the genuine dew of spring and winter is of far less importance than the night-mist of summer. This is not dew, but moisture condensed in the air before it reaches the ground. It is brought from the sea by the west winds, and for abundance and consistency may be compared to a Scotch mist. Cheyne, following Neil,¹¹ who analyzed the phenomenon, is of opinion that the *ṭal* ('sprinkled moisture' of the OT; EV 'dew') signifies in the majority of cases not dew proper, but this characteristic night-mist.¹² Such misters from the sea have an extraordinary influence on vegetation,¹³ more in accordance with the OT descriptions than that of dew.¹⁴ But the same term is employed, and the two phenomena were hardly differentiated.

From the two facts that it is ground-moisture, and that it bears upon life and growth, early thought developed various ideas. In connexion with the belief that growth in plants is dependent on the influence of the moon, Frazer notes that, since dew falls most thickly on cloudless nights,

¹ Job 38²⁸. ² 2 S 17¹², Dt 32². ³ Hos 6⁴ 13⁸.

⁴ Mic 6⁷. ⁵ Pr 3³⁰.

⁶ Enoch (ed. Charles, Oxf. 1893) 60³⁰.

⁷ Dt 32², Is 18⁴, Ps 110³, Dt 33¹³, Gn 27²⁸, Ps 133³, Is 26¹⁰.

⁸ Hos 14⁵. ⁹ Ps 110³. ¹⁰ 2 S 12¹, 1 K 17¹, Hag 1¹⁰.

¹¹ *Palestine Explored*, pp. 129-151. ¹² *EBI*, s.v. 'Dew.'

¹³ Cf. the *ḥōrōs* *noir* of Greece (*ἑρῶς* = 'shower' as well as 'dew'). For Syrian countries, see E. W. Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, s.v. 'Ṭallā'; *Qur'an*, li. 267. J. G. Frazer (*Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, i. 168 f.) describes their importance for the coast lands of Australia.

¹⁴ 'The drops of dew,' Job 38²⁸; the saturation of Gideon's fleece, Jg 6³⁷; the traveller's head soaked with 'dew,' Ca 5³; 'showers on the grass,' Mic 6⁷.

the inference that such deposit in particular and all moisture in general were caused by the moon was a clear result of primitive observation. Aleman says that Dew is a daughter of Zeus and the Moon. Greek and Latin folklore regarded the moon as the great source of moisture, and the sun as the great source of heat.

'As the humid power of the moon was assumed to be greater when the planet was waxing than when it was waning, they thought that timber cut during the increase of the luminary would be saturated with moisture, whereas timber cut in the wane would be comparatively dry. Hence we are told that in antiquity carpenters would reject timber felled when the moon was growing or full, because they believed that such timber teemed with sap; and in the Vosges at the present day people allege that wood cut at the new moon does not dry. In the Hebrides, peasants give the same reason for cutting their peats when the moon is on the wane; "for they observe that if they are cut in the increase, they continue still moist and never burn clear, nor are they without smoke, but the contrary is daily observed of peats cut in the decrease."¹

It is possible that the fact of plants growing more during the night than during the day was known at an early date. The contrast between the light of the moon and the torrid force of the sun is obvious. Plutarch observes that 'the moon, with her humid and generative light, is favourable to the propagation of animals and the growth of plants; while the sun, with his fierce fire, scorches and burns up all growing things.'²

Equally natural is the inference that things grow with the waxing, and decrease with the waning, of the moon. The deposition of dew on plants corroborates such observations, and introduces another line of thought. The connexion of moisture with life and growth is most strikingly proved by vegetable phenomena. Hydrostatic turgor is the essential condition of growth. Pliny's remark shows the extension of the principle to animal processes:

'Even the blood of men grows and diminishes with the light of the moon.'³

Thus, primitive philosophy views the moon

'as the great cause of vegetable growth, first, because the planet seems itself to grow, and second, because it is supposed to be the source of dew and moisture.'⁴

A contributory inference is the connexion of the changes of the moon with the monthly periodicity of women.⁵ The Ahts and Greenlanders, like the majority of primitive peoples, regard the moon as male. The latter people believe that the moon is able to impregnate women. Girls are afraid to look long at it; no woman will sleep on her back, without first spitting on her fingers and rubbing the spittle on her stomach.⁶

The symbolism of the last-cited practice may be compared with several scattered facts. The cosmology of the Hindus, in its theory of the marriage of heaven and earth, employed the very obvious symbolism of rain as the impregnating fluid; and the soul, as the male and life-giving principle, *puruṣa*, descends in the form of rain and re-issues from men as the germ.⁷ This notion of the philosophers of the Upaniṣads is but a crystallization of the general connexion of moisture with life.⁸ Such ideas are in flux, and constantly passing into each other; but a tendency is clearly observable to regard dew as a sort of heavenly seed, fertilizing earth and its products, and stimulating growth.

The union of sky and earth, which results in the propagation of plant-life, is a world-wide theory; and sympathetic ritual is extensively employed to

¹ Frazer, *GB*, 1900, ii. 158 f., who quotes Plut. *Qu. conv.* iii. 10. 8; Macrobius, *Saturn.* vii. 16; Roscher, *Ueber Selene u. Verwandtes*, 1890, p. 49 ff.; Pliny, *HN* ii. 223, xx. 1; Aristotle, *Probl.* xxiv. 14; Sauvée, *Folklore des Hautes Vosges*, 1889, p. 5; Martin, in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, 1808-14, xvi. 680.

² *de Is. et Osir.* 41. ³ *HN* ii. 221. ⁴ *GB* ii. 159.

⁵ Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 197.

⁶ G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, 1868, p. 206; H. Egged, *Descrip. of Greenland*, 1813, p. 209.

⁷ Max Müller, *Psychological Religion*, 1893, p. 154.

⁸ Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, 1909, pp. 223, 229.

ensure and expedite it. It is, however, probable that some of the agricultural customs included in the general practice by which individuals or couples 'roll' over the fields¹ are not survivals of a ritual of sympathetic intercourse, but simply express the intention of rubbing the fertilizing dew into the ground. In Russia, for instance, the spiritual person of the priest is rolled over the sprouting crop.² In Holland there is still practised a custom of 'fertilizing' the crops by actual sexual intercourse. It takes place at Whitsuntide and is significantly called *dauwtropfen*, 'dew-treading'.³ Here there is perhaps a combination, natural enough, of the two methods. Rolling in the dew may be practised for various reasons.

In Spain the custom still exists among country folk of rolling naked in the dew of the meadows on Midsummer Day. It is regarded as being preventive of skin-diseases. The same custom, with the same reason, is found in Normandy, Périgord, and the Abruzzo.⁴ The vivifying power of a liquid generated under conditions of mystery is a sufficient reason for its use in medicinal and other magic. Attached to this use is a natural ascription of purifying power. It is worth noting that a good deal of the dew referred to in folklore and by poets is not dew, but water evaporated from leaves, and that this water is peculiarly pure. The people of Java are fond of washing the hair in dew to prevent greyness.⁵ The custom of washing the face with dew on May morning for the promoting of beauty is still common in Europe. In Nias, dew is employed medicinally, especially by the 'priests.' A 'spiritual' power is ascribed to it.⁶ In the Moluccas, various medicines are prescribed to be taken not in water but in dew.⁷ Among the Thompson Indians, part of the course of training undergone by boys at puberty, by way of acquiring a guardian spirit, is rolling naked in the dew, or washing the body with branches covered with dew.⁸

Kruijt is of opinion that in East Indian belief dew is regarded as the sweat of the earth, and that its magical powers may be thus explained. Certainly the Peco word for 'dew' also connotes 'sweat'; but the general considerations referred to above and the special connexion of impregnatory power are more probable reasons, though sweat in folk-belief and custom possesses magical properties of invigoration.

In connexion with vegetation, the idea of dew is crossed with ideas of magical bloom, and even of magical food, no less than of seed. The very ethereal quality of the liquid state of dew seems to invite such focusing of analogies. Thus, in the old English custom of gathering 'May,' the blossom of the hawthorn, and the dew from the grass, and bringing them home with music,⁹ the dew may be regarded as the spiritual analogue of the blossom. In the German May Day processions of the peasant youth, the dew is swept off the grass with a 'May-bush.'¹⁰ The miraculous bloom or seed of the fern which appears on Midsummer Eve, according to European folklore, is liable, when being gathered, to vanish 'like dew on sand' or mist in the air.¹¹ This is not a merely descriptive, but an effective, analogy.

¹ GB² II. 208 f.

² W. Mannhardt, *Mythol. Forschungen*, 1884, p. 341.

³ Van Hœvell, in *Internat. Archiv f. Ethnographie*, VII. (1895) 134.

⁴ GB² III. 297, quoting O. Acsavado (letter in *Le Temps*, Sept. 1893) and Lecour (*Épaves du bocage normand*, 1883-87, II. 8); de Nore (Chesnel de la Charboullais), *Costumes, etc., des provinces de France*, 1846, p. 160; Finamore, *Credenze, usi e costumi abruzzesi*, 1890, p. 157.

⁵ A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, 1906, p. 47.

⁶ Kruijt, *loc. cit.* 7 f.

⁷ J. Teit, 'The Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.*, 1900, p. 317.

⁸ Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, 1876, p. 257.

⁹ GB² I. 217, quoting Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, 1848.

¹¹ f. III. 341 ff.

The dew, in other words, is the concrete concomitant of the spiritual substance. It may be conjectured that the miraculous power, conferred by fern-seed, of discovering hidden treasure is derived from the jewel-like scintillations of dew-drops.

A good illustration of such homologies between the concrete and the spiritual is to be seen in the OT account of manna and its deposition. Like fern-seed, it came with mystery, and, like fern-seed, it was to be gathered according to rule. Its invariable antecedent was the dew, and, in the same way as it apparently crystallized out of the dew in the wilderness, so we may imagine the idea and the story of it to have crystallized out of the fluid notions concerning dew.

'At even,' says Jahweh, 'ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread. . . . And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground. And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, 'It is manna (What is this?); for they wist not what it was.' When the sun waxed hot, it melted. It was 'like coriander seed, white,'¹ or the colour of bdellium.² The connexion with dew is more precisely noted in the second account: 'And when the dew fell upon the camp in the night, the manna fell upon it.'³ After eating the corn of the promised land, the Israelites found that the manna automatically ceased.⁴ It was 'the corn of heaven'; 'angels' food' (RV 'the bread of the mighty'), and from heaven it was 'rained down.'⁵ As was the case with the quails, and the water, and with the preservation of clothes, manna was a magical detail of a magically supported existence in the wilderness. The writer of Deuteronomy actually rationalizes it into moral instruction—'manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every thing that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.'⁶ Significantly enough, the people found it unsatisfying, and they murmured: 'We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt for nought; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick; but now our soul is dried away; there is nothing at all: we have nought save this manna to look to: 'there is no bread, and there is no water; and our soul loatheth this light bread.'⁷

The whole account, with its significant analogies, is important as illustrating the psychological process by which a concrete idea may take shape from visual perception aided by imagination. Fern-seed, which sparkles like fire, and vanishes like dew, is, we suggest, an imaginative product of dew, as elusive as its source; manna, we suggest also, is equally an imaginative product of dew, developed along another line—that of the ideas of food stimulated by starvation. Coming after or upon the dew, an ethereal light food from heaven, the food of angels, easily passing into intellectual pabulum, it is as elusive as dew in its behaviour and as unsatisfying in its results. But it supports life miraculously for those who are in a state of supernaturalism. Most certainly it is erroneous to base the story of manna upon such actual phenomena as the secretions of the *Tamarix mannifera* or other plants.⁸ The comparison with coriander seed amounts merely to its standing for the essence of bread.⁹

These ideas may be more closely illustrated. The people of Halmahera hold that dew is the food of spirits.¹⁰ In Minahassa it is said that the first man fed on dew.¹¹ Further, an essentially spiritual connexion is claimed for dew. The people last cited believe that the final end of the soul a man is to be merged in dew. The Balinese hold that the soul returns to earth, after being dissipated into the air by the cremation of the body, in the form of dew.¹² The Toradja belief is that the soul dies eight or nine deaths before it finally changes into water and disappears in mist.¹³ The

¹ Ex 16:13-16.

² Ex 16:31.

³ Nu 11:7.

⁴ Nu 11:9.

⁵ Jos 5:12.

⁶ Ps 78:24-26.

⁷ Dt 8:8.

⁸ Nu 11:5-6, 21b.

⁹ Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, 223 f.

¹⁰ Wilkinson, *Ann. Egyptians*, 1878, I. 177.

¹¹ Kruijt, *op. cit.* 47.

¹² f. 1b.

¹³ f. 67.

¹⁴ f. 168.

following beliefs are particularly significant. The Sea Dayaks report that souls die seven times after the death of the body.

'After having become degenerated by these successive dyings, they become practically annihilated by absorption into air and fog, or by a final dissolution into various jungle plants not recognized by any name.'¹

The Olo-Ngadju and other peoples of the East Indian Islands speak of the souls of the dead as passing into plants. The Mualang Daraks say that the soul after a time dies, and then descends upon the rice in the form of dew. The more souls there are to descend upon it, the richer is the rice-harvest.² In reference to manna, it may be noted that the East Indians believe that, if the soul of the rice be absent, the grain has no nutritive property; a man may eat it but will never be satisfied.³ The soul of the Lushai turns into water, and evaporates as dew. If dew falls on a man, his child will be a re-incarnation of the dead.⁴

Here the ideas of moisture in relation to life, and of unindividualized haze or mist, out of which individual forms are precipitated, meet again in dew. Thus, while the Hill Toradjas believe the soul to pass into a cloud, the Samoans believe it to be 'the daughter' of 'vapour of the land' which forms clouds; and the Tracey Islanders say that the first man was created out of vapour.⁵ Thus the descent of the soul to earth and its ascent, after the death of the body, to heaven have been, in the evolution of religious thought, not only compared to, but identified with, the rise and fall of the dew. The identification has served the complex purpose of explaining the process of dew-formation and that of the nutritive physiology of plants, and incidentally the origin and end of the soul of man. The Gorontalese of Celebes apply an instructive analogy to the relations of the four souls of man. The greatest of these resides in the brain, and is 'like the sea.' Part of it is separated in the form of moisture and produces dew. The ascending dew is *rahmani*; this is the second soul, *njawa rahmani*, residing above the heart. The dew which ascends to the sky is *rohani*, the third soul, 'lustre of breath,' residing in the heart; the dew which descends as rain is *djasmani*, the fourth soul, 'soul of the body,' residing in the whole body.⁶ This account illustrates the spiritual potentiality of the idea of dew.

There was a special development of the ideas of dew in both the Athenian and the Hebrew religions.

(1) In Athenian mythology, Herse (Dew) and Pandrosos (All-dewy) are daughters of Cecrops and Agraulos. A rite, termed Ἀρρηφορία or Ἐρσηφορία, was performed in honour of Athene. Little is known either of Herse or the rite which seems to bear her name, or of Pandrosos.⁷ The statement of Moeris, that the ἀρρηφόροι 'carried dew to Herse' in the *Arrhephoria* is uncorroborated.⁸ But the *arrhephoroi*, or *hersephoroi*, are verified as 'maidens trained in the service of Athene, and living near the temple of Athena Polias.'⁹ In the *Arrhephoria* they 'brought a mysterious offering by an underground passage from the temple of Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις,' not to Herse, or to Pandrosos, but to Athene. Farnell concludes that

'the fruits of the earth appear to have been in some way consecrated' to Athene. 'It is also evident that at Athens she

came into some contact with the earth-goddess. . . . To reconcile her cult with Athena's, it may well have happened that the latter goddess was given two of her titles,' namely, Pandrosos and Herse.

Pandrosos is thus no individual spirit, nor originally an epithet of Athene, but an epithet of the Earth Goddess, in reference to her dewy covering and its connexion with the growth of the crops. The ceremony embodying this connexion was transferred to the centralized deity of Attica—Athene. The dew-carriers are mentioned in inscriptions,¹ but there is no such verification of the existence of Herse. She is apparently a mere name, developed from the terms Ἐρσηφόροι and Ἐρσηφορία.² But it is a question what these terms themselves imply.

The story of Erichthonios being given to the three sisters, Herse, Pandrosos, and Agraulos, to nurse, Pandrosos alone being faithful to her trust, is explained by Miss Harrison as an aetiological myth, invented to account for the rite of Ἀρρηφορία or Hersephoria. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Lysistrata*, 64, observes: 'Some say, on account of the α, it is ἄρρηφορία, because maidens carry "nameless things" (ἀρρητα); others, on account of the ε, ἔρσηφορία, because maidens walk in procession in honour of Herse, daughter of Cecrops.' The terms δρόσος and ἔρση are also used for the young of animals, such as lambs and sucking pigs.³ A remarkable feature of the *Thesmophoria*, another ritual performed by women alone, and also in connexion with the fertility of the crops, was the casting of pigs into μέγαλα or δώματα, underground chasms, and the bringing out of the rotten flesh, presumably the following year. These services were performed by the *thesmophoroi*, and the flesh was used, as in many agricultural customs, as a magical fertilizer of the fields. Miss Harrison suggests that the ἔρσαι or δρόσαι 'carried' by the *hersephoroi* were young animals, and that they were used in a manner and for a purpose similar to those of the *Thesmophoria*.⁴ The *Arrhephoria* is certainly associated with the *Thesmophoria* and *Skirphoria*, and it is in accordance with the principles of myth-formation that, as she suggests, both the name Herse and the story of Erichthonios should have been invented to explain a rite that had become mysterious.

Frøller, on the other hand, had regarded Herse as a Dew Goddess, a personification of the Dew.⁵ Later German scholars regard her as a nymph of the same class as Auxo and Thallo—personifications of the 'growth' of the crops.⁶ No reliance is to be placed on the scholiast's reference to ἄρρητα. Any 'mysterious,' that is, ritual, object—even a branch laden with dew—might be styled ἄρρητον, just as much as a young animal or its flesh. And the word ἔρση has the forms ἔρση and ἔρση, hence ἄρρηφορία and ἔρρηφορία. ἔρση as a 'young thing' is a metaphor, *a priori* later in origin than a primitive agricultural ritual, and therefore unlikely to be the original meaning of the name of the ceremony. The scholiast on Aristophanes says: 'Maidens walk in procession in honour of Herse'; there is here no mention of dew, but he may have known that the maidens carried branches laden with dew, and omitted to mention the fact, branch-carrying being a regular detail of processions.

Ottfried Müller suggested that the *arrhephoroi* carried simply leafy branches wet with dew, symbolical of a petition for a supply of dew during the heat of summer.⁷

Thus we have a ceremony similar to the wide-spread European custom of carrying May boughs dipped in dew.⁸ In these and in the Athenian custom there may have been a magical demand for dew rather than a prayer for it, but the branch is the important object, the focus of the demand for growth and fruitfulness of the crops; and the dew may be merely an accessory. This explanation, on the whole, seems the most probable. Herse may be unreal as a deity, but the fact remains that the Athenian mythologists, if not the Athenian priests, actually personified the Dew, while the *hersephoroi* certainly carried something in procession. Though unverified, Moeris' statement may have hit the truth, and what they carried may have been dew. Here it is possibly significant that the *arrhephoroi* carried their offering from the temple of Aphrodite ἐν Κήποις. The dew-laden branches may have grown in the gardens of the goddess of procreation, and possibly the generative symbolism

¹ Perham, in H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak*, 1896, I. 213.

² Kruijt, *op. cit.* 333 f.

³ *Census of India*, 1903, I. 225.

⁴ *Ib.* 333; G. Turner, *Samoa*, 1884, p. 282 f. See also Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, 228 f.

⁵ Kruijt, *op. cit.* 13.

⁶ Frazer, *Pausan.* II. 344 f., gives the known facts.

⁷ *s.v.* Ἐρσηφόροι (ed. Koch, 1903).

⁸ Farnell, *CGS* I. 289.

⁸ *Ib.* 146.

¹ *CIA* II. 319: Ἐρσηφόροι.

² J. E. Harrison, *Mythol. and Monuments of Anc. Athens*, 1890, p. xxx.

³ *Of. Aesch. Agam.* 141; Artemis is kind to the δρόσοι of fierce creatures.

⁴ *Op. cit.* xxx ff.

⁵ *Gr. Mythol.* I. 173.

⁶ Roscher, *s.v.* 'Herse.'

⁷ Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Arrhephoria.'

⁸ *GS* I. 196 f.

of dew was a factor in the ritual (see above). The dew would thus serve to impregnate the fields.

In the case of Apollo *Hersos* at Vari, the epithet seems to be of the same character as *Pandrosos*.

(2) The post-Biblical literature and ritual of the Hebrews show an interesting development of the ideas of the OT concerning dew. The Book of Enoch, after describing the dwelling of the spirit of the dew, and the connexion between its clouds and the clouds of the mist,¹ speaks of 'winds coming from the middle of the twelve portals'; these bring 'beneficial dew of prosperity'; from other portals, 'hurtful dew' emerges, accompanied by locusts and other calamities.² So the Rabbinical writings state that 'in the sixth heaven, Makon, there are treasures of hurtful dews and of beneficial dewdrops.'³ A prayer is offered between *Pesah* and *Shābū'ōth* that God may preserve the people from the hurtful dews.⁴ The two loaves of bread 'waved' on *Shābū'ōth* are a symbolic petition to the Ruler of heaven and earth and the four winds, to withhold the unpropitious winds and dews.⁵ As for the dew of blessing, thus fluctuating between the material and the moral, it is said that, since the destruction of the Temple, no dew of unmixed blessing falls⁶—apparently on account of the cessation of the tithes and the heave-offering.⁷ Dew falls as a heavenly gift, and by the merit of no man.⁸ Yet only on account of Israel does dew come as a blessing upon the world; on account of Jacob or of Job.⁹ God promised Abraham under an oath never to let dew cease to bless his descendants, and therefore the words of Elijah could not stop its fall.¹⁰

The Dew of the Resurrection is a remarkable concentration of these ideas, originating chiefly from a passage of Isaiah: 'Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead.'¹¹ The passage, 'Thou, O God, didst send a plentiful rain, thou didst confirm thine inheritance, when it was weary,'¹² was interpreted to refer to an incident at the giving of the Law:

'When God appeared amidst the trembling of the earth on Sinai, life fled from the people of Israel and from all the living people in the land of Israel; and the angels said: "Dost Thou desire to give Thy Law unto the dead or unto the living?" Then God dropped the dew of Resurrection upon all, and they revived.'¹³

This Dew of the Resurrection is stored up in 'Arabot, the highest heaven;¹⁴ and by it the dead are revived.¹⁵

In the modern Hebrew liturgies *Geshem*, 'rain,' and *Tal*, 'dew,' have an important place, though the prayers for them are 'regarded rather as an affirmation of the Divine control of the seasons.'¹⁶ On the first day of Passover, *Tal* is substituted for *Geshem*. On this and other occasions for *Tal*, the reader of *Musaf* puts on the white shroud and cap, as on the Day of Atonement. The Talmudists decided that the actual prayer for rain—'Give dew and rain for a blessing upon the face of the earth'—should be introduced only at the inception of the rainy season. The melodies accompanying *Geshem* and *Tal* are various throughout Europe, and are distinguished by a quaint charm.¹⁷

LITERATURE.—K. Kohler, L. N. Dembitz, F. L. Cohen, in *JE*, s.v. 'Dew,' 'Geshem'; T. K. Cheyne, art. 'Dew,' in *EB*; J. Neil, *Palestine Explored*, 1882; E. Hull, art. 'Dew,' in *EDB*; J. G. Frazer, *GB*², 1900, *Pausanias*, 1900; L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*³, 1872-75; Roscher, s.v. 'Tau';

¹ En. 60²⁰.

² 78²⁸.

³ Hag. 12b.

⁴ Lev. R. 28.

⁵ Ib.: Suk. 37b.

⁶ Sota ix. 12.

⁷ Shab. 32b.

⁸ Jerus. Ta'an. i. 68d; Ber. v. 9b.

⁹ Gen. R. 6d.

¹⁰ Jerus. Ta'an. l.c.; Bab. Ta'an. 3a, b.

¹¹ Ps 63⁹.

¹² Is 26¹⁸.

¹³ Hag. 12b.

¹⁴ K. Kohler, in *JE*, s.v. 'Dew.'

¹⁵ Jerus. Ber. v. 9b, Ta'an. i. 68d.

¹⁶ L. N. Dembitz and F. L. Cohen, in *JE*, s.v. 'Geshem.'

¹⁷ *JE*, loc. cit.

L. R. Farnell, *CGS*, vol. i. [1896]; J. E. Harrison, *Mythol. and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, 1890; A. C. Kruij, *Het Animisme in den Ind. Archipel*, 1900.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

DHAMMAPĀLA.—This epithet means 'Defender of the Faith'; it has been chosen as an honorary title by Buddhist kings, and as their name in religion by members of the Buddhist Order, but laymen do not use it. As a royal title it has been traced only in N. India and Burma (*Buddhaghosuppatti*, 11, 21); as a name for *bhikkhus* it has been fairly prevalent in India and Ceylon from the 6th cent. B.C. down to the present day. A Dhammapāla is included among the *theras* ('elders') contemporary with the Buddha, to whom are ascribed the poems preserved in the *Therīgāthā*; and several others are mentioned as the authors of minor works of later date. The only one who played an important part in the history of the religion is distinguished from the others by the special title of *Āchariya*, 'the Teacher.'

In the colophons to those of his works that have so far been edited we find two statements: (1) that he claimed to have followed the traditional interpretation of his texts as handed down in the Great Minster at Anurādhapura in Ceylon; and (2) that his life was spent at the Badara Titha-Vihāra. And from the *Sāsana-vamsa* (p. 33) we learn that this place was in the Tamil country, not far from Ceylon. It would seem, therefore, that Dhammapāla was educated at the same university as Buddhaghosa, and that he was a Tamil by birth and lived and wrote in South India.

The first of these conclusions is confirmed by the published works of the two writers. They have very similar views, they appeal to the same authorities, they have the same method of exegesis, they have reached the same stage in philological and etymological science (a stage far beyond that reached at that time in Europe), they have the same lack of any knowledge of the simplest rules of the higher criticism. So far as we can at present judge, they must have been trained in the same school.

As to the second point—the birth and life of Dhammapāla in South India—we have a curious confirmation from outside. Yüan Chwāng visited Kāñchīpura, the capital of the Tamil country, in A.D. 640. The brethren there told him that Dhammapāla had been born there.

'He was a boy of good natural parts which received great development as he grew up. When he came of age, a daughter of the king was assigned to him as wife. But on the night before the ceremony of marriage was to be performed, being greatly distressed in mind, he prayed earnestly before an image of the Buddha. In answer to his prayer a god bore him away to a mountain monastery some hundreds of li from the capital. When the brethren there heard his story, they complied with his request and gave him ordination.'¹

It is true that the English translators of Yüan Chwāng use the Sanskritized form of the name (Dharmapāla). This would not necessarily show that the Chinese pilgrim applied the story to a person different from our Dhammapāla; for both he and his translators frequently give the Sanskritized form (which they imagine to be more correct) for Pāli names of persons and places. But Yüan Chwāng adds the title *Phusa* (that is, *Bodhisattva*). This shows that he applied the story to the teacher of his own teacher, a Dharmapāla who had been a famous dignitary of the university of Nālandā in North India, and who must have flourished at the end of the 6th century. To him he would naturally and properly apply this title, which was used among the Mahāyāna Buddhists in a sense about equivalent to our honorary degree of D.D.

But it is much more probable that the Kāñchīpura *bhikkhus* told the story of their own distinguished

¹ Watters, *Yüan Chwāng*, II. 226.

colleague, and that the pilgrim, who knew nothing of him, misapplied it.¹ In any case the two scholars are quite distinct. Their views differed as widely as those of a Calvinist and a Catholic; one wrote in Pāli, the other in Sanskrit; one was trained at Anurādhapura, the other at Nālandā; and the Pāli scholar was about a century older than the Sanskrit one, the one having flourished in the last quarter of the 5th cent., the other in the last quarter of the 6th.

The *Gandha-vamsa*, a very late librarian's catalogue, enumerates (p. 60) 14 works ascribed to Dhammapāla. Even the bare names are full of interest. Whereas Buddhaghosa commented on the five principal prose works in the Canon, seven of Dhammapāla's works are commentaries on the principal books of poetry preserved in the Canon, two others are sub-commentaries on Buddhaghosa's works, and two more are sub-commentaries on commentaries not written by Buddhaghosa. This shows the importance attached, at that period in the history of the orthodox Buddhists, to the work of re-writing in Pāli the commentaries hitherto handed down in the local dialects, such as Sinhalese and Tamil.

In his own commentaries, Dhammapāla follows a regular scheme. First comes an Introduction to the whole collection of poems, giving the traditional account of how it came to be put together. Then each poem is taken separately. After explaining how, when, and by whom it was composed, each clause in the poem is quoted and explained philologically and exegetically. These explanations are indispensable for a right understanding of the difficult texts with which he deals. The remaining three works are two commentaries on the *Netti*, the oldest Pāli work not included in the Canon, and a psychological treatise.

Of these 14 works by Dhammapāla, three (the commentaries on the *Therīgāthā* and on the *Peta*- and *Vimāna-vatthu*) have been published in full by the Pāli Text Society; and an edition of a fourth, his comment on the *Therīgāthā*, is being prepared. Hardy and Windisch, in their editions of the texts, have also given extracts from his comments on the *Netti* and the *Iti-vuttaka*.

It is evident, from Yüan Chwāng's account of his stay in the Tamil country, that in Dhammapāla's time it was preponderantly Buddhist, and that of the non-Buddhists the majority were Jains. It is now all but exclusively Hindu. We have only the vaguest hints as to when and how this remarkable change was brought about.

LITERATURE.—*Gandha-vamsa*, ed. Minayeff, PTS, 1886; *Buddhaghoṣappatti*, ed. J. Gray, London, 1892; *Sāsana-vamsa*, ed. M. Bode, 1897; T. Watters, *On Fān Chwāng*, ed. Rhye Davids and S. W. Bushell, London, 1905; *Therīgāthā Commentary*, ed. G. Muller, 1892; *Peta-vatthu Commentary*, ed. E. Hardy, do. 1894; *Vimāna-vatthu Commentary*, ed. E. Hardy, do. 1901.

T. W. RHYE DAVIDS.

DHARMA.—Sacred law and duty, justice, religious merit. This is one of the most comprehensive and important terms in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Indian commentators have explained it as denoting an act which produces the quality of the soul called *apūrvā*, the cause of heavenly bliss and of final liberation. In ordinary usage, however, it has a far wider meaning than this, and may denote established practice or custom of any caste or community. One of the six systems of philosophy, the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā*, expressly professes to teach *dharma*. The special manuals of the sacred law, of which the Code of Manu is the most familiar example, are called *dharmaśāstra*, 'lawbooks,' or *smṛti*, 'records of tradition.' *Dharma* personified is the god of justice and judge of the dead. *Adharma*, the god of injustice, is his adversary. The ordeal of *Dharma* and *Adharma* consists in drawing lots from an earthen vessel.

This question is discussed at length by E. Hardy in *EDMG* II. (1895) 100-127.

One lot contains a white figure of *Dharma*, and the other a black figure of *Adharma*. In Buddhism, *Dharma* is one of the three members of the trinity (*triratna*, 'the three jewels'): Buddha, the law, and the priesthood. The worship of *Dharma*, which is largely prevalent in Western Bengal at the present day, appears to be a remnant of Buddhism. See *Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi. p. 204; cf. LAW AND LAWBOOKS (Hindu). J. JOLLY.

DHINODHAR.—A sacred hill in Western India situated in the State of Cutch. A ridiculous legend explains the name to mean 'the patiently bearing,' because the saint Dharmnāth, weighed down by the load of his sins, determined to mortify the flesh by standing on his head upon some sacred hill. Two hills burst asunder under the weight of his iniquities; but Dhinodhar stood the test, and thus gained its name. The saint founded a monastery here and established the order of the Kanphatā, or 'ear-pierced' Jogis. The stone on which the saint is reported to have done penance is smeared with vermilion and venerated, and the head of the community when he comes to worship is received with adoration by the people of the neighbourhood and by pilgrims who flock to the holy place.

LITERATURE.—*Bombay Gazetteer*, v. (1880) 220.

W. CROOKE.

DHYĀNA (Pāli *jhāna*).—1. Meditation, or *dhyāna*, in Sanskrit.—This is a religious practice which presupposes a life in retirement, and concentration of mind upon a single thought. In the Rīgvedic period we find penance (*tapas*) or bodily mortification,¹ but in the Upaniṣad or post-Upaniṣad religious schools the idea was transferred from body to mind, until it took the form of *dhyāna*, which began with a meditation on the sacred syllable *Om*. The object, method, and other details of meditation vary in different schools, but we may safely say that it has been and is the universal method of the mental culture of all Indian religious schools. The use of the word *dhyāna*, too, is not very definite even in the Upaniṣads themselves. Sometimes it is different from *yoga* (concentration), which is a general term for such practices, or synonymous with it, or sometimes it is a part of the *yoga* practice. See art. YOGA. We shall here limit ourselves to the idea of *dhyāna* in Buddhism.

2. *Dhyāna* and *śamādhi*.—In Buddhism *dhyāna* forms an important factor in religious practice. First of all, we must clearly distinguish *dhyāna* (meditation) from *śamādhi* (absorption), for a confusion of the two terms often leads to hopeless misunderstanding. Generally speaking, meditation on an object becomes absorption when subject and object, the meditator and the meditated, are so completely blended into one that the consciousness of the separate subject altogether disappears. To attain Arhat-ship is to reach the tranquil state of *śamādhi* without being affected at all by outward environment and inward sinful thought. An Arhat is accordingly called the *Samāhīta* ('tranquil'). *Samādhi* forms the fourth factor of the Five Forces (*bala*) and the Five Faculties (*indriya*); the sixth of the Seven Constituents of Bodhi (*bo-dhyaṅga*); and the eighth of the Noble Eightfold Path (*mārga*).² To attain *śamādhi* is therefore the sole object of Buddhists, and *dhyāna* is one of the most important means leading to that end. The common classification of *dhyāna* into four degrees (see below) probably prevailed already in the pre-Buddhist period. At any rate the mention of the fourfold *dhyāna* in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. cxv. 1), the counting among heretics of

¹ e.g. Rīg. x. 109. 4, 154. 2, etc.

² See *Mahāvīyapatti*, §§ 41-44; and Childers, *Pāli Dict.* 1875, s.v. 'Bala,' 'Indriya,' 'Bojjhaṅga,' and 'Maggā,' and of art. SAMĀDHI.

those who regard each of the four *dhyānas* as the state of Nirvāṇa in the *Brahma-jāla-sutta*, and the reference to a Rṣi, senior to the Buddha, practising the eight *śamāpattis* (four *dhyānas* and four *arūpyas*) in the *Jātaka*, seem to point to the fact that the practice of the four *dhyānas* was common to both Brahmins and Buddhists. It was the Buddha's part to adapt it by adding some further steps to the four *dhyānas*.¹

3. Religious practices preliminary to *dhyāna*.—*Dhyāna*, as stated above, is divided into four degrees in Buddhism. Even the first and lowest of the four *dhyānas* corresponds in its quality to a state higher than the sixth of the eight constituents of *yoga* (*yoga-aṅga*). To reach the first *dhyāna* several preliminary practices are needed. These correspond to the first five constituents of *yoga*. First of all one has to keep precepts and rules (*śīla*) laid down by the Buddha (*yama* of the *yoga-aṅgas*); secondly, to keep one's body and mind pure and serene, living in solitary retirement away from the people, in a forest or a cave (*niyama*), and sitting cross-legged, always thinking on a religious subject (*āśana*). There are several methods of preparatory meditation, according to the ability of the meditator. We shall give a few examples. A quick-tempered novice should practise the meditation on love (Pāli *mettā-karūṇā-bhāvanā*), in which he is to regard all sentient beings as his parents or brothers, desiring their happiness and welfare, as all the good he would seek for himself. A novice who needs concentration of attention should practise at first the method of counting the number of his inspirations and expirations (Pāli *ānāpāna-sati*, corresponding to the *prāṇāyāma* of the *yoga-aṅga*). Another novice whose impure desire is hard to suppress should meditate on the impurity and impermanence of the human body (Pāli *asubhā-bhāvanā*). Another novice whose mind is stupid should practise self-culture by meditating on the Twelve Chains of Causation. In this way a Buddhist should give himself to some kind of meditation at the outset. Ten *kaṣīnas*,² ten *anusati*,³ four or six *anussati-ttānas*,⁴ in fact, the processes of the so-called *kamma-ttānas* (analytic meditation), are all preparatory to the practice of the right *dhyānas*.

4. Details of the four meditations.—When one gets accustomed to a concentration of mind amounting to a suppressing of the senses, one gradually attains the state of ecstasy, which is often compared with the feelings of a debt being paid off or of a prisoner being released (e.g. *Sāmañña-sutta*). Roughly speaking, this state of ecstasy is *dhyāna*, yet in it we have still four successive states. (a) The first *dhyāna* is a state of joy and gladness born of seclusion, full of reflexion and investigation, the meditator having separated himself from all sensuality and sin. (b) The second *dhyāna* is a state of joy and gladness born of deep tranquillity, without reflexion and investigation, these being suppressed; it is the tranquillizing of thought, the predominance of intuition. (c) In the third *dhyāna* the meditator is patient through gladness and the destruction of passion, joyful and conscious, aware in his body of that delight which the Arhats announce, patient, recollecting, glad. (d) The fourth *dhyāna* is purity of equanimity and recollection, without sorrow and without joy, by the destruction of previous glad-

ness and grief, by the rejection of joy and the rejection of sorrow.¹

Childers (p. 160) explains the four states with reference to the process of meditation:—'He concentrates his mind upon a single thought. Gradually his soul becomes filled with a supernatural ecstasy and serenity, while his mind still reasons upon and investigates the subject chosen for contemplation; this is the first *jhāna*. Still fixing his thoughts upon the same subject, he then frees his mind from reasoning and investigation, while the ecstasy and serenity remain, and this is the second *jhāna*. Next, his thoughts still fixed as before, he divests himself of ecstasy, and attains the third *jhāna*, which is a state of tranquil serenity. Lastly, he passes to the fourth *jhāna*, in which the mind, exalted and purified, is indifferent to all emotion, alike of pleasure and of pain.'

This has been very conveniently summed up by Pāli commentators as follows:—'The first *jhāna* is accompanied by reflexion (*vitakka*), investigation (*vicāra*), joy (*pīṭi*), gladness (*sukha*), and attention (*chittakaggatā*); the second *jhāna* is accompanied by joy, gladness, and attention; the third *jhāna* is accompanied by gladness and attention; the fourth *jhāna* is accompanied by indifference (*upekha*).'

The four thus form progressive steps of meditation in which we can go up step by step. Each of the first three is further divided into three orders—initial (*paritta*), medial (*majjhima*), and final (*pariṇā*); the fourth *dhyāna* alone is the immovable state, free from all the eight troubles—inspiration, respiration, reflexion, investigation, sorrow, pleasure, pain, and joy.

The Buddhist cosmological arrangement of *Rūpa-loka* (world with form), divided into sixteen heavens, is made to suit those who have attained the four *dhyānas*, and who can freely enjoy the heavenly life either before or after death. The state of *saṃācchi* resulting from each of the four *dhyānas* determines one's position in the heavens, which are generally assigned as follows:—

Rūpa-loka-heavens.²

1. Brahma-pārisajjā devā	First Dhyāna heavens.
2. Brahma-purohitā	
3. Mahābrahmā	
4. Paritābhā	Second Dhyāna heavens.
5. Appamānābhā	
6. Ābhassarā	
7. Paritta-subhā	Third Dhyāna heavens.
8. Appamāna-subhā	
9. Subha-kinnā	
10. Vehapphalā	Fourth Dhyāna heavens.
11. Asañña-sattā	
12. Avihā	
13. Atappā	
14. Sudassā	
15. Sudassī	
16. Akanitthā	

5. The effect of meditation.—The aim of meditation is the attainment of Arhat-ship, perfect enlightenment, which possesses the following merits.

(a) Extinction of desire (*tanhā*). The fickle thought and indulgence of physical power produce sin and illusion, which are the chief obstacles to the acquisition of Arhat-ship. The complete annihilation of sinful thought, i.e. the state of the fourth meditation, will lead to perfect enlightenment, the highest aim of the Buddhist. The first three *dhyānas* therefore belong to *sekho* (the first seven grades of the Holy Paths), while the fourth belongs only to an *asekho*, i.e. an Arhat.

(b) Consolidation of knowledge (*ñāna-dassana*). The practice of *dhyāna* will naturally lead to the easy concentration of the mental faculties on a certain thought, and strengthen special functions proper to the consciousness. The right understanding of the Four Noble Truths (*ariya-sacca*), the cultivation of the four *appamāññā*,³ etc., can

¹ *Digha-nikāya*, I. 20-28, 45-46; *Zaḷita-viṭṭara*, ed. Mitrā, p. 147.

² Childers, s.v. It is a mystic meditation in which one reduces the universe to any of the ten predominant ideas, viz. earth, water, fire, air, ether, blue, yellow, red, white, black.

³ Childers, s.v. 'Kammaṃphāna.' It is a remembrance of Buddha, *dharma*, *saṅgha*, precepts, gifts, gods, breaths, body, death, and nirvāṇa.

⁴ Childers, s.v. It embraces recollections of Buddha, *saṅgha*, *dharma*, precepts, gifts, and gods.

¹ Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, London, 1899, pp. 175-176.

² Buddhist cosmology assumes the existence of three heavenly worlds: (1) *Kāma-loka* (world of love), consisting of six grades; (2) *Rūpa-loka* (world of form), in sixteen grades; and (3) *Arūpa-loka* (world without form), in four grades. The last can be enjoyed only by one who has reached Arhat-ship. See, further, art. COSMOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY (Buddhist).

³ *Appamāññā* is the unlimited exercise of the qualities of friendliness (*mettā*), compassion (*karuṇā*), goodwill (*moditā*), equanimity (*upekha*).

be attained only by the practice of *dhyaṇa*. Especially the all-important *appamaññā*, which is common to Buddhism and the *yoga* philosophy, can be exercised only by the medium of *dhyaṇas*. In short, the attainment of knowledge cannot be perfectly accomplished, according to the Buddhist theory, without practice of meditation.

(c) Acquisition of superhuman faculties (*iddhi*). There are six supernatural powers (*abhiññā*), viz. various magical powers (*iddhividhā*), divine ear (*dibbasota*), divine eye (*dibbachakhu*), knowledge of the thought of others (*paracittaviññāna*), knowledge of the former existences (*pubbenivāsānussatiññāna*), and knowledge which causes the destruction of human passion (*āsavakkhaya-kara-ññāna*). These may be perfected by meditation. The *Yogins*, too, expect *vibhūti* (superhuman faculties) by means of meditation.

(d) Enjoyment of the peace of *dhyaṇa*. Meditation gives the tranquillity of rest. The dying Buddha is said to have sunk in meditation and passed all its steps forward and backward, till at last he reposed at the fourth meditation, and then went into the Great Decease (*Parinibbāna*).¹ *Dhyaṇa* is practised by one with the purpose of cultivating oneself, but at the same time with the aim of reposing oneself in peace, utilizing the result of it. Therefore it is sometimes called the 'practice of great enjoyment' (cf. *Brahmavihāra*).

6. Development of the idea of meditation.—*Dhyaṇa* in primitive Buddhism is a means of attaining *samādhi*. In the Mahāyāna school its scope has been very much widened. The *dhyaṇa-pāramitā*, the fifth of the six *pāramitās* (perfections) is only the way for the Bodhisattvas or Mahāyānists, but not for an Arhat or Hinayānist. One of Nāgārjuna's works² enumerates sixteen kinds of *dhyaṇa* confined to Bodhisattvas. Asaṅga's *Yogācārabhūmi* mentions nine *dhyaṇas*, and again subdivides them into thirty-nine.³ Further, in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* (ch. 2), *dhyaṇa* is divided into four: (1) *bālāpichārika*, 'practised by ordinary persons'; (2) *arthapra-vichaya*, 'contemplating of objects'; (3) *tathatālambana*, 'meditating on Truth'; (4) *tathāgata*, 'meditation of Buddha.' The four *dhyaṇas* of primitive Buddhism as well as those of the *Yogins* are all included in the first category, the remaining three being a development in the Mahāyāna schools.

The ideal of early Buddhism is the equilibrium of morals (*śīla*), meditation (*dhyaṇa*), and knowledge (*prajñā*); but in later Buddhism the balance was not supposed to be an important feature for a Buddhist, and meditation came to have more weight than the other two factors, until in China and Japan there arose a sect, the Zen (Japanese for *dhyaṇa*), in which it is the most essential part of the entire teaching. This sect has been gaining ground more and more, especially among the upper classes. See art. ZEN.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been indicated throughout the article.

M. ANESAKI and J. TAKAKUSU.

DIGAMBARAS.—The Digambaras, also called Digvasanas, form one of the two branches of the Jains. The name, lit. = 'clothed in the quarters of the sky,' designates them as naked monks, in contradistinction to the monks of the other branch of the Jains, the Śvetāmbaras, who wear white clothes. There is very little difference between these two branches as regards the creed; indeed, one of the most authoritative books of the Digambaras, the *Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra* by Umāsvāti, is also one of the standard books of the Śvetāmbaras, and its author most probably was a Śvetāmbara.

The peculiar tenets of the Digambaras are the following. (1) Perfect saints (*kevalins*), such as the Tirthakaras, live without food. (2) The embryo of Mahāvira, the last Tirthakara, was not removed from the womb of Devānandā to that of Trisālā, as the Śvetāmbaras contend. (3) A monk who owns any property, e.g. wears clothes, cannot reach Nirvāṇa. (4) No woman can reach Nirvāṇa. Though, therefore, the difference in matters of belief between the two sects is, from our point of view, rather trifling, still the division between them is very marked. The following points deserve to be specially noticed. The Digambaras disown the canonical books of the Śvetāmbaras, and contend that they have gradually been lost during the first centuries after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira; accordingly they have no canonical books of their own. In consequence of their having, in early times, separated from the other sect and developed independently of it, the Digambaras have an ecclesiastical as well as a literary history of their own, and have religious ceremonies, especially with regard to the laity, which differ from those of their rivals.

As regards the origin of the Digambara sect, it is ascribed by the Śvetāmbaras to Sivabhūti, who started the heretical sect of the 'Botikas' in 609 after the Nirvāṇa, or A.D. 83. This report is denied by the Digambaras; they maintain that they have preserved the original practices, but that, under the eighth successor of Mahāvira, Bhadrabāhu, a sect with laxer principles arose; and that this sect, which was called that of the Ardhaphālakas, developed 136 years after Vikrama, or A.D. 80, into the present sect of Śvetāmbaras (*ZDMG* xxxviii. [1884] 7 ff.).

The Digambaras are most numerous in Southern India, where they must have held an important position in the early centuries of our era; for in the literature of the Dravidian people the influence of Jainism is admitted by the specialists. It may be mentioned that the Digambaras have an extensive literature of their own, chiefly in Sanskrit, which goes back to a greater antiquity than that of the Śvetāmbaras, if we except the canonical books of the latter. For further details, the reader is referred to the art. JAINISM.

H. JACOBI.

DINKA.—I. Geographical distribution and organization.—The Dinka are a congeries of independent tribes spread over a vast area, stretching from Renk in the north (scarcely 300 miles south of Khartum) to within 100 miles of Gondokoro, and reaching many miles to the west in the Bahr el-Ghazal Province. All these tribes call themselves *Jieng* or *Jenge*, corrupted by the Arabs into *Dinka*; but no Dinka nation has arisen, for the tribes have never recognized a supreme chief, as do their neighbours the Shilluk, nor have they ever been united under a military despot, as the Zulus were united under Chaka. They differ in manners and customs and even in physique, and are often at war with one another. One of the most obvious distinctions in habits is between the relatively powerful cattle-owning Dinka and the small and comparatively poor tribes who have no cattle and scarcely cultivate the ground, but live in the marshes in the neighbourhood of the Sudd, and depend largely for their sustenance on fishing and hippopotamus-hunting. Their villages, generally dirty and evil-smelling, are built on ground which rises but little above the reed-covered surface of the country. The members of these poor tribes call themselves Moin Tain, i.e. 'Tain people,' *tain* meaning a piece of dry ground in the midst of the marshes; and, although many quite distinct tribes live in the marshes and lead the life this habitat entails, their cattle-owning neighbours

¹ Cf. Warren, *Buddhism*, Camb., Mass., 1896, p. 109 f.

² Nanjio, no. 1181.

³ *Ib.*, no. 1170, ch. 42.

speak of them all as Moin Tain, just as they speak of themselves by their tribal names, e.g. Agar, Bor, Aliab, and Shish.¹

As there has been room for considerable modification in the development of those common ideas which lie at the root of the social organization and religious beliefs of all Dinka, the writer of the present article indicates the source from which his information was obtained, whenever there is any probability that a custom is not universal among them. The information is derived principally from members of the following tribes: (1) the Shish, living near Shambe in the region of the Sudd; and (2) the Bor Dinka and the Chiro and Ngong Nyang tribes of the Moin Tain, living some 20 to 30 miles to the south of the Sudd. He has also had the opportunity of discussing various matters with some very intelligent Niel Dinka from the neighbourhood of the Khor Adar, near Melut, north of Kodok; with the Nok Dinka of the neighbourhood of Lake No; and with some Agar Dinka from the Bahr el-Ghazal Province serving in the 5th Sudanese Battalion.

Each community is largely autonomous, under the leadership of a chief or headman (*bain*), who, though primarily a spiritual ruler, controls the village with the help of the elders. The actual authority exerted by the *bain* varies enormously; in many communities he is little more than the local magician, but in one community in each tribe he is the hereditary rain-maker, the most important man in the tribe, who is consulted and deferred to on every occasion, and whose wish is law. Except among the Tain tribes, cattle form the economic basis of Dinka society; they are the currency in which bride-price and blood-fines are paid; and the desire to acquire a neighbour's herds is the common cause of those inter-tribal raids which constitute Dinka warfare.

2. Totemism.—The Dinka tribes are divided into a number of exogamous clans which the Bor Dinka call *ut*, the Tain and Aliab *gol*, and the Shish *deb*. The meanings of these words cannot be discussed here, though it is significant that among the cattle-owning tribes these same terms are also used for the cattle kraals of their clans. The Dinka are totemistic, and the large majority of their clans speak of certain animals as their 'ancestors', *kwar* being the word used by the Tain tribes. Usually the *kwar* has nothing to do with a man's personal name (one man whose name signified hyena had a crocodile as his *kwar*), but, in the words of one of the writer's Tain informants, it is the 'animal who is the spirit (*jok*) of the clan (*gol*).² Further, *ruai*, the ordinary word meaning 'related', is used when speaking of the bond between a man and his *kwar*, i.e. they are *ruai*, 'relatives.' No man injures his *kwar* animal, but all respect it in various ways. Sometimes the *kwar* is a plant, as among some Agar and Shish clans, who treat the totem plant with much the same reverence as is commonly shown to the totem animal. Besides these fairly typical totem ancestors, there are clans whose totems (*kwar*) do not belong to the animal kingdom; thus the Mai clan of the Bor Dinka have fire as their totem, and in this case there is no story of direct descent from fire. Certain clans have as *kwar* heroes to whom more than human wisdom is attributed, or who came among them under circumstances that betoken that they are superhuman. The clans are usually designated by the name of their (reputed) first human ancestor; comparatively few are spoken of by the name of their animal, though there is a Niel (snake) clan, and even a Niel tribe, in the neighbourhood of the Khor Adar Dinka.

¹ The writer takes this opportunity of expressing his thanks to the Rev. Archibald Shaw, in charge of the C.M.S. station at Malek, for his invaluable help among the Tain and Bor Dinka, whose language he speaks fluently; to him he is indebted for the translation of the majority of the Dinka words and phrases in this article. No attempt has been made to do more than to reproduce very roughly the sound of the Dinka words. In pronouncing *c* and *j* a Dinka presses the tip of his tongue into the gap left by the removal of his lower incisor teeth, and it seems doubtful whether there is a true *s* sound in Dinka, so that 'Shish' might be written (probably with a nearer approach to accuracy) 'Chich' or 'Twich.'

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Most of the Dinka clans whose *kwar* is an animal derive their origin from a man born as one of twins, his fellow-twin being an animal of the species which is the totem of the clan. Sometimes the association is not quite so close, in which case the totem animal usually lays certain commands upon one of the members of the clan, offering in return certain privileges. Commands and privileges alike show the close relationship existing between the animal and the man to whom he speaks, who is traditionally looked upon as the ancestor of the clan. Although children take their father's totem, they respect their mother's totem animal or plant, and an animal may be avoided for several generations for this reason. Thus, a man whose paternal grandmother had the poisonous snake *among* as totem said that, if he saw any one kill a snake of this species, he would bury it, because it was the *jok* of his father's mother. Further, it is customary for men and women to avoid eating their spouses' totem animal.

The following information concerning the origin of their totems was obtained from men of the Ngong Nyang tribe. It will be noted that the clans are not called by the name of their totem animal, but by that of their legendary human founder.

Gol s Mariak.—This clan has as totem the snake (*niel*). Long ago a snake came into the hut of a man named Mariak, and there gave birth to its young. The snake spoke to Mariak, telling him not to hurt it or its children: 'If you see a man hurt one of my children, tie the mourning band of palm-leaf round your head.' Another informant who belongs to this clan said that his snake would come into his hut at night and talk to him. He declared that this did not occur in a dream, but that the snake really entered his hut, and he offered it boiled fish or hippopotamus meat, turning this out on the floor of the hut for the snake to eat. He said that he occasionally sacrificed a goat to his snake and made offerings of goats' milk. Another Ngong Nyang man gave the following account of his conduct towards snakes of the *aro* species, his mother's totem animal. If he saw one of these snakes in the forest, he would sprinkle dust on its back, for otherwise the snake might upbraid him for lack of friendliness. If the snake were angry and tried to bite him, dust sprinkled on its back would propitiate it; but, if he could not appease it and it bit him, he and the snake would both die. If the snake bit a man of a strange clan, the man would die, but not the snake, for the snake and the folk of foreign clans are not related (*ruai*). His children show the same reverence for this snake as he does, and so also do all descendants of one Nyal, with whom the snake first met. Nyal was sleeping in his hut when a snake (*aro*) crept in, and, seeing him sleeping, slipped in between his body and the ground for warmth. Nyal woke up, but the snake did him no harm. Then Nyal took some fat and put it upon the snake's tongue, which so pleased it that it stayed in the hut many days. Nyal fetched a *tiet* (on whom see below, § 4), and the snake went into the throat of the *tiet*, and said: 'I do not desire any evil; do you give me fat like this, and I shall be well pleased.'

Gol Akon Chang Jurkwai.—Akon Chang Jurkwai was the name of the boy born to one Nyana-jok Alérjok as one of twins, his fellow-twin being an elephant. The boy was brought up in the village in the usual way, but the elephant was turned loose in the jungle.

Gol s Luel has the crocodile for totem. Long ago Luel found the eggs of a crocodile; he put them in his canoe, and, when he reached home, buried them under the floor of his hut. One night, as the eggs were on the point of hatching, the old crocodile came and scratched them up, and then led the young to the river. Before leaving the hut, the crocodile said to Luel: 'Do not hurt us, and we will not hurt you. Wear mourning on your head and stomach for the crocodile, if any of you see another man kill one.' A man of this clan will not hesitate to swim in the river even at night, for the crocodiles will not hurt him.

Gol s Yukwai s Lukab s Lerkwé has the hippopotamus as totem.

Gol s Fichol has the lion as totem, the founder of this clan having been the twin-brother of a lion. One Choh, a man who lives in Yekakori village, belongs to this clan. When others have to barricade themselves in their houses, he can sleep out in the open. When a lion kills game, it calls to Choh at night, who goes out next morning and finds the meat; and, when he kills a hippopotamus, he leaves some of the meat in the forest for the lions. If Choh were not of the party, no one would touch a lion's kill, for to do this would offend the lion, who would then attack them; but, if Choh were with them, no one would hesitate to take the meat. If a lion suffered from a splinter of bone or portion of gristle becoming wedged between its teeth, it would roar round the hut in which Choh lay, until he came out and removed the source of its discomfort.

Similar beliefs occur among other Dinka tribes. The Rama clan of the Niel tribe derives its name from that of an ancestor

who was born as one of twins, his fellow being a snake called *Gor*. *Gor* was placed in a large pot of water, but he soon died; so a bullock was killed, and the body of *Gor* was prepared for burial by being smeared with dung and wrapped in the skin of the sacrifice. This was at Anako, where there is still a shrine to which sick people go in order to sacrifice. A Shish man having as totem the poisonous snake among said that, though this snake might bite him, the wound would give him little trouble, and he would certainly not die, as would men of other clans.

The Niel Dinka have a number of stories concerning animal ancestors which refer to a time when animals and men who had long been associated together in groups began to separate. When each class began to go its own way, it was thought well that men should know which animals had been their particular friends.

One of these stories relates that once, long ago, a woman lay sleeping, when a hyena ran up and leapt over her. Some of her people wanted to kill the animal, but others restrained them, saying that it was there for some wise purpose. When her child—a boy—was born, he jumped like a hyena, so he was named *Den*, which is one of the names of the hyena, and his descendants have the hyena as their totem animal.

According to the Niel, all Dinka recognize two kinds of lions, viz. man-eaters, which are not considered relations even by men of the lion totem; and a cattle-eating variety, which the lion men believe to be of one blood with themselves. The lion people occasionally feed the cattle-killing lions. They kill a sheep and cut it into joints, which are placed upon an old bullock skin, taken a little distance from the village, and left there. The clansmen pray that the lions may come and eat; but, if the food has not been taken after a few hours, it is eaten by the men themselves. Man-eaters are killed without scruple, when opportunity occurs. Fox men feed their totem animal, throwing down fragments of meat on the outskirts of the village; and hyena men treat hyenas in the same way. It is said that formerly it was a common practice to expose pieces of meat where the totem animals could find them, and that sacrifices were offered to them; these customs, however, seem to be observed no longer, though it is alleged that they might still be performed in times of great difficulty and danger.

The writer has no record of plant totems among the Tain Dinka, but there is a tree called *ruat*, bearing fruit supposed to resemble a woman's breast (the Sudanese Arabs call it *Abu shutūr* for this reason). Among the Agar and Shish Dinka this tree is considered an ancestor, and is treated with the respect shown to other totems. Two Agar men, whose mothers had *ruat* as their totem, would neither come into any contact with the tree nor use its fruit as a ball, as other clans would do. If they disregarded this prohibition, their eyes would become inflamed. Among the Shish Dinka there is a clan, or perhaps a family, which claims descent from a girl who was twin to a gourd plant. Its members do not care to drink from a newly made gourd-vessel, and apparently do not grow gourds, or, if they grow them at all, do so sparingly.

The account given above, of the reciprocal favours conferred by lions and by Chol of the lion clan, raises the question whether all folk of this clan possess the powers exercised by Chol and enjoy the same privileges. The writer was not able to investigate this matter among the Tain Dinka, but some Niel Dinka gave the fullest details of how they would leave flesh in the jungle for their carnivorous totem animals, without receiving any corresponding favours from the latter. This suggests that Chol was regarded as possessing certain powers not shared by all his clansmen, an idea which is strengthened by information given by some Agar Dinka from the Bahr el-Ghazal, one of whom said that his totem (which he called an ancestor) was a small bird, *amur*, which damages the corn crop. No doubt *amur* is one of the small birds called *dura*-birds in the Sudan, thousands of which infest the corn fields, where they do much damage. When these birds become dangerous to the unripe crop, the informant's grandfather would take a head of *dura*, some porridge made from the old crop, and two sheep, one black, the other white. The white sheep was killed and the meat given to the men of other clans; the black sheep was thrown into the river with the porridge and the unripe head of *dura*. Although the sheep was not tied up, it was said to sink

immediately, for the 'river people'¹ took it. The man who makes the porridge does not taste it, nor does he eat of the flesh of the sheep given to the other clans. This ceremony prevents the birds from injuring the crop. It is performed by one man only, who is head of the clan, and who would teach the procedure to one of his sons, or perhaps to a brother.

Among the Dinka living in the neighbourhood of the Khor Adar there are certain clans which do not trace their descent to an animal, but to a human being possessed of super-human or non-human qualities.

Long ago, men and women of the 'river people' would sometimes come out of the river, marry, and settle down in the neighbouring villages. The description of the coming to land of one of the 'river people' is curiously like the birth of a child; the river becomes agitated, and the waters rise up around a human being whose umbilicus is joined by a cord to a flat object beneath the water. The cord is cut, and bullocks are killed and thrown whole into the river; then the river man or woman is brought, with more sacrifices, to the village. Their descendants should sacrifice on the bank, throwing a live cow into the river after giving it a pot of milk to drink, into which the old and important men of the clan have spat. At the present day the men of the Faiyer clan of the Denjol tribe, who trace their descent from a river man, do no more than throw the head and bowels of a bullock into the river, cooking the meat and eating it themselves.

The Boweng clan of the Niel Dinka appear to have the river for their totem.

Long ago a party coming to the river saw a beautiful girl called Alek borne up by the water and carried on to the bank. She accompanied them to the village, but, when they tried to touch her, she became liquid as water, so, taking bullocks and cows, the villagers escorted her back to the river, where they sacrificed the cattle. As they did this, the girl disappeared into the river, taking a calf with her. At the end of the rains, the Boweng clan still take a cow and her calf and a bullock, and kill the latter on the river bank, while the cow and calf are thrown alive into the river, which takes them away, so that they are never seen again.

There is some evidence that, when a clan is particularly strong in a given locality, its members tend to forget that their totem is but one among many, so that they may show annoyance if other folk do not treat it with respect.

The Shish in the neighbourhood of Shambe said that the first people to settle there were snake men, and that for some time they formed the majority. After a time the crocodile clan became powerful, and, because its members killed and ate snakes, the men of the now weakened snake clan left the country and went to live among a group of Aliab Dinka, where they were free from the horrible odour of cooked snake's flesh. More recently a Shish family, belonging to a clan that does not eat the fish *shur*, left their own tribe and went to live at a place called Dot, among a group of Bor Dinka who also respect this fish.

Besides these clans with more or less typical animal ancestors (totems), certain groups of people, often larger than a clan, revere particular objects which they also speak of as their 'ancestor.' A stone called Madwich, which the Tain say fell from the sky within the past twenty years, is an example of this. The group that reveres Madwich is smaller than a clan, for its cult appears to be limited to members of a part of the Pariak clan (of one of the Tain tribes), whose totem is the snake (*niel*).

A youth of about twenty, who was named Madwich after the meteorite, said that his father sacrificed many oxen when the stone fell, though the rest of the village did not concern themselves so deeply, and that at the present time his family alone pay constant attention to Madwich. The stone, which is now at Pariak village, fell before his birth, but after that of his elder brother. When it fell, 'every one,' including his parents and even the dogs, except his elder brother, became *muol*. This word is applied to the possession of a *tiet* by a spirit; perhaps it has a slightly different meaning in this instance; at any rate, the fact that the informant's elder brother did not become *muol* was taken to show that he was 'a child of the stone.' When the stone fell, a few men and many cattle died of a disease called *abul pao* (lit. 'swelling of the heart'), which was considered to be due to the *jok*, and sacrifices were offered in the usual way. The coming of the meteorite Madwich is said to have been prophesied by a *tiet* called Jalang, who was killed during an Arab raid; and the stone itself was thought to have the powers and attributes of an animal ancestor. Thus it might make men ill in order that a sacrifice might be offered, and it would communicate its wishes through a *tiet* in the usual way, asking that a bullock should be killed.

Another meteorite, said to have been found near the Tain village of Agno, is called Dek, and is regarded as the 'ancestor' of the two clans Jakchir and Chulhi living in the village, whence have sprung settlements which in turn have given rise to other

¹ On the river people, see, further, pp. 719^b, 711^a.

villages, the inhabitants of which together constitute the Chiro tribe. All the Chiro clan revere Dek, though their members have animal totems of the usual Dinka type.

Some of the Bor Dinka speak of Lerpiu as their *kwar*; but this is an example which is very far from typical, for Lerpiu is both a spear which fell from the sky six generations ago, and a spirit immanent in every rain-maker of the Bor tribe, and is one of the most powerful of their *jok* (see below, § 4). It is clear that Lerpiu is not homologous with the ordinary Dinka totems; in his spear form he corresponds with the meteorite Madwich. His adherents, the family in whose succeeding generations he is immanent, have the elephant as their totem.

Finally, there is evidence that, apart from meteorites and other unusual *kwar*, some of the clans of the Tain Dinka have, or had, more than one totem.

The members of the Chiro, Ngong Nyang, and Pariak tribes consider the fish *rechol* an ancestor, telling the usual story that their ancestor was born as a twin of the fish, the latter being taken to the river, where he instructed mankind that, in spite of the relationship existing between them, they might catch and eat his descendants. There can be no doubt that the relationship still acknowledged as existing between the fish and the members of these tribes is but the shadow of the normal totemic relationship that formerly existed; nevertheless the rings that Apot threw into the river (see below) indicate that, shadowy as the relationship is, it is not utterly ignored in practice.

It will be noted that all these examples of unusual 'ancestors' are said to have fallen from the skies. The absence of stone in the Dinka country (perhaps this applies only to those tribes living near the Nile) would easily lead the Dinka to seek a supernatural origin for any fragments they might find, while the importance of rain and the reverence they pay to Dengdit who is above, as well as the striking appearance of a falling star, could scarcely fail to suggest to them that so strange an object had come from the skies. Once this view is entertained, it is but natural that the marvellous objects should be spoken of by the most holy term known, namely that applied to the revered animal ancestors of the tribe.

3. The worship of Dengdit.—The Dinka are a deeply religious people. They worship a high god, Dengdit, lit. 'Great Rain,' sometimes called Nyalich, and a host of ancestral spirits called *jok*. The name Nyalich is the locative of a word meaning 'above,' and, literally translated, signifies 'in the above.' It is not used, however, except as a synonym for Dengdit, and the common beginning of the prayers of the Tain and Bor Dinka is *Nyalich ko kwar*, 'God and our ancestors.' This phrase indicates the two main elements of their religious faith and their relative importance, for there is no doubt that Dengdit (Nyalich) is greater than the *jok*. It was he who created the world, and established the order of things, and it is he who sends the rain from the 'rain-place' above, which is especially his home. Nevertheless, in the ordinary affairs of life the *jok* are appealed to far more than Dengdit, and in some cases in which the appeal is nominally made to Dengdit, its form seems to imply that he has been confused with the *jok*. Among the Tain tribes there is a word *ram* or *aram* which is called out to the new moon, and seems to be an expression of greeting or praise, or perhaps is used to deprecate anger.

It will be convenient to consider the worship of Dengdit and the cult of the *jok* separately, though it must be realized that they constantly touch, and even overlap, each other. The Southern Dinka (to whom the following specially refers) do not appear to use set forms of prayer, but seem to ask in ordinary simple sentences that their immediate want may be granted. They also have a number of hymns which are sung when an ox is slaughtered to avert drought or sickness; but, as Mr. Shaw informed the writer, men sing them when doing light work, and

lately during a severe thunderstorm every one joined in lustily to appease the elements. They also burst into one of these songs when bidding farewell to the Sirdar who visited them recently. The following songs collected and translated by Mr. Shaw were composed by the *tiet* Wal of Bang village, who asserts that his spirit is Deng, i.e. Dengdit (see below, § 4). It must be noted that in Dinka hymns Dengdit habitually speaks of men as ants (*aichuk*).

Deng Wa ka loin te lar ror
Deng Wa ka loin te lar ror
Bainh achi a talech
Muka Wa apuoth a muk we tienkwa
Muka Deng apuoth a muk we tienkwa.
'Father Rain falls into a solitary place.
Father Rain falls into a solitary place.
The Lord was in untrodden ground.
Hold the Father well, He holds our few souls.
Hold the Rain well, He holds our few souls.'

In a variant of this hymn 'Creator' is substituted for 'Rain' in the second and fourth lines. In the next two hymns it is clearly the Creator who speaks.

Aichungdia gau gut ko thain ye thar
Aichungdia gau gut ko thain ye thar
Cha guobdia ye ran
Cha guobdia yen e nhyor e gau-o.
'My ant hoes the marsh grass and rests hand on hip
My ant hoes the marsh grass and rests hand on hip
Have I not given of my substance to man?
Have I not given of my substance to the spikes of the
marsh grass, alas!'

Ye yenga bi dol!
Y'aichung e wang K'aichung e rie
Yenga bi nong bai!
Man aichung nhom
Ye yenga bi dol!
Y'aichung e wang K'aichung e rie
Aichuk a lo ne Deng nhom
Ko bainh e rec aken tuol
Chamku yai
Bainhkan e rab aken tuol
Chamku yai.
'Who will laugh?
The cattle-ant and the ant of the boat (i.e. the Cattie
Dinka and the Tain Dinka).
Who will possess a homestead?
Unite the ants to a head.
Who will laugh?
The cattle-ant and the ant of the boat.
The ants have gone to Rain (as their head)
And the Fish-lord has not appeared.
Let us worship.
Our Dura-lord has not appeared.
Let us worship.'

The majority of Dinka have no legends of the origin of Dengdit, but they say that long ago he became angry with his wife Abuk, and in his wrath sent the bird *atoich* to sever the path between heaven and earth which had existed till then. In this account, as well as in one obtained by Major S. Lyle Cummins from the Nok Dinka of the Bahr el-Ghazal Province (*JAI* xxiv. [1904] 157-158), Dengdit figures as a god, without beginning and with no expected end; but among the Niel Dinka he appears as a less remote being who at one time ruled his tribe in human guise, and so approximates to the superhuman ancestors described in the section on totemism (above, § 2). The Adero clan of the Niel Dinka have the rain (*deng*) as their totem, the reason being given as follows:

The first ancestor of the clan appeared from the sky as a young woman pregnant with her first child. The people reverentially formed a circle round her, killed bullocks, and then rubbed her from head to foot with the belly fat. Next they built a hut for her, but were so frightened that it was not like other *tuk*, for the door was omitted, or in some other way it was made difficult for her to leave it. In about a month her child was born, yet no one came to help her. Then she called to the people, who brought one white cow, one spotted cow, and one bullock: she told them to sacrifice these and then to come back to her. They found her nursing a marvellous babe with teeth like an adult, and whose tears were blood. Then the mother said to them: 'This is your *bain*, look after him well, for I can stay with you no longer.' As she spoke, the rain came down in torrents, and therefore the boy was called Deng (Rain) or Dengdit (Great Rain). He ruled them for a long time, and, when he was very old, disappeared in a great storm.

Offerings are made to Dengdit at certain shrines—perhaps they might be called temples—which seem to be scattered all over the Dinka territory. Most Dinka tribes have one shrine in their territory, and this is certainly the case among the Shish and Agar. Probably these differ little in appearance from the shrine of Lerpin served by Biyordit (see below, § 5). It is true that neither Shish nor Agar made any mention of the existence of an *akoi* bush near the shrine, but perhaps too much stress should not be laid on this negative evidence, and a photograph of the great shrine at Luang Deng shows that this consists of three ordinary looking *tukl*. According to the Agar informants, one *bain* at Luong Ajok near Rumbek is in charge of a hut bigger than an ordinary *tukl* which is surrounded by a fence. This is called *luak* (not to be confused with a cattle *luak*); it is not a tomb, nor has any one been buried near it. The door is always shut, and may not be opened even by the *bain* (the high priest of the shrine and the rain-maker of the tribe) unless a sacrifice is made and milk is spilt in front of the door. In the shrine at Luong Ajok there are stools of copper and brass, shields, spears, sticks of rhinoceros horn, and a number of clay pots. All these things belong to Dengdit, who long ago came to earth bringing them with him. One morning the people found the *luak* built, and the stools and other things inside it, and decided that Dengdit alone could have done this, and that it was his place. Dengdit still lives in this shrine. The Shish say that there is a hut called *luak* sacred to Dengdit at Lau, within which are certain sacred spears and an iron rod, and a pot full of oil hangs from the roof; Dengdit is always there. The great ancestral rain-making ceremony of each tribe takes place at one of these shrines, as does the harvest ceremony held after the cutting of the *dura*; here, too, the Agar install their new rain-maker.

The shrine at Luang Deng¹ is one of the holiest existing among the Dinka, who visit it in large numbers. One of the three *tukl* is the house of Dengdit. The door is always kept shut, its guardians being certain men (and women?) who are regarded as being especially the servants of Dengdit. Only they may enter the shrine, but a man desirous of offspring may take cattle and offer them to Dengdit, asking that the desire of his heart may be granted. The door of the shrine is opened when one of the animals brought for Dengdit is slaughtered, and, looking in through the doorway, the worshipper sees in the darkness of the shrine, in spirit form, shifting shapes of men and animals and even of abstract qualities—happiness, hunger, satisfaction, cattle-sickness—and among them he may see the eyes and umbilicus of a man. No sacrifice is made until Dengdit has sent a dream to the keeper of the shrine instructing him to accept the offering, so that worshippers are nearly always kept waiting for a few days. It is very rare for a sacrifice to be refused; but, if a man be dismissed without being allowed to sacrifice, he will soon die, or disease will attack his people. As the worshipper approaches, he is accompanied by two servants of the shrine, one on either side. A spear specially kept for the purpose is used for killing the victim, and the spirit of the animal goes to join the other spirits in the shrine.² Before the worshipper leaves the shrine, one of the servants of Dengdit takes dust from the holy precincts, and, mixing it with oil, rubs it over the body of the worshipper. Sometimes a material object such as a spear may be given to the man as a sign of favour and a guarantee that he will obtain his wish. Offerings such as pieces of tobacco may be thrown upon a low mound of ashes which has arisen in front of the shrine from the cooking of many sacrifices. The contents of the large intestine of the victim are scattered about and over this mound, and near it the worshippers thrust the branch of a tree called *akoch* into the ground. It did not appear that any attention was paid to the fate of this branch, though it was said that it might take root and grow.

Among the Shish, certain men who lived long ago were spoken of as 'the sons of Dengdit,' though this expression must not be considered to imply any physical relationship; it seems that the

Shish considered these 'sons' as spirits who came from above to possess certain men who became known by their names—Walkerijok, Majush, Mabor, and Malan. Each of them is regarded as the ancestor of one of the Shish clans and has become a powerful *jok* of the usual type (for worship at their graves, see § 4).

4. The worship of the dead.—Every human being has within him two souls. The *atiep*, which leaves the body in sleep and whose wanderings are the common source of dreams, resembles, or perhaps may take the form of, the shadow. The second 'soul' is by no means so well defined as the *atiep*; it is sometimes called *rol*, and sometimes *wa*. The writer could not learn anything definite about the *rol* during life; it may be connected with the vegetative functions of the body, but after death it remains with the body in the grave. In this article it is the *atiep* that is meant whenever the word 'spirit' is used to refer to the spirit of a dead man. The *atiep* of a father, mother, or ancestor may at any time ask for food in a dream. A man will then take *dura* flour and mix it with fat in a little pot which he places in a corner of his hut, where it is left until the evening, when he may eat it or even share it with any one belonging to his clan, but with no one else (Tain). If food were not provided, the *atiep* might, and probably would, make the dreamer or his wife and children ill. It was stated everywhere that the customs observed after a death, especially the death feasts, were held to propitiate the *atiep* of the deceased and to prevent it from sending sickness or misfortune on the survivors. Sometimes the spirit of a person recently dead is spoken of as *jok*, but this term is generally reserved for the spirits of long dead and powerful ancestors. Thus the spirit of the founder of any clan is a *jok*, and the spirit of the animal ancestor is a specially powerful *jok*. The matter was summed up by a Tain man as follows: 'The *atiep* of my animal [ancestor] is a *jok*, the *atiep* of my mother is a human spirit (*atiep*); [the spirit of] my mother is also a *jok*, but [the spirit of] my animal [ancestor] is a *jomdit* (a very great *jok*), and would be angry if food for it and my mother's *jok* were put together.' Although the *jok* may send sickness, death, and misfortune, when annoyed or neglected, they are the guardian spirits of the house and the clan, taking constant interest in the doings of their descendants, and being ever ready to help them. From this point of view there is a certain amount of confusion between the *atiep* of the recent dead and the *jok* of long dead and powerful ancestors. It seems that, although the former are not specially invoked for aid in difficulties, they are considered to take an active interest in their descendants, and probably all that is said concerning the lovingkindness and power of the *jok* applies in a lesser degree to the *atiep*.

The *jok* know when a child is born, and protect it from the very beginning, though a man does not tell his child about the *jok* until it is well grown, perhaps not till about the age of ten. The *jok* on both sides of the family protect the child, coming to its assistance in any sudden danger. In adult life, when invoking the *jok* at a time of stress, a man calls upon the *jok* of his ancestors, regardless whether the appeal be to the spirits of his own or his mother's clan. Thus, when harpooning a hippopotamus, the word usually spoken is *jongawa*, 'O *jok* of my ancestors!' The *jok* hear the invocation and come to their descendant's assistance, entering his body and giving strength to his arms, and leaving him only when the spear has been flung and danger is over, for a man's *jok* are ever near him in enterprise or peril. Sometimes the appeal is made specially to the *jok* in *anima* form. Thus Bol, a man of the Mariak clan of the Ngong Nyang

¹ According to prevailing views, this shrine is situated in Nuer territory, though it was formerly held by Dinka, and there are Dinka priests at the shrine. The writer believes the distinction drawn between Dinka and Nuer to be erroneous, and that the Nuer are simply a tribe of Dinka differing no more from other admittedly Dinka tribes than these do among themselves.

² In answer to a question it was said that, if a man died near a shrine, his spirit would go there, but not if he died far off.

tribe, when about to cast his harpoon at a hippopotamus, would say: *Ayub lil ajong ē gol Mariak ē jongdiena niel abworde*, 'Strike, O spirit of my clan, my spirit the snake!'

Men and women who are able to see and to communicate with the spirits (*atiep* and *jok*) are called *tiet*. Their power is attributed to a spirit, always, we believe, an ancestral spirit, that is immanent in the *tiet*; and, as the spirit on the death of the *tiet* will generally take up its residence in the body of a near relative, the office tends to become hereditary. Often a *tiet* will explain to a relative that, after his or her death, the spirit will come to him; and a change of manner, trembling fits, and periods of unconsciousness are regarded as signs that the spirit has taken up its new abode. The powers of the *tiet* are most commonly directed to discover what should be done in cases of sickness, i.e. he indicates what *jok* is responsible for the illness, and what must be done in order that the patient may get well; but he also gives advice concerning lost cattle and other accidents of daily life. The amount of influence exerted by the *tiet* varies enormously.

The *tiet* of a Malek village was an old woman of whom it was openly said that she was little good. On the other hand, Wal, an Aliab Dinka living in the village of Bang, exercises enormous influence not limited to his fellow-tribesmen; for, although his spirit only came to him in 1907, Bari and Nuer alike come to consult him and pay the strictest attention to his commands. Wal is a man of about fifty, differing in no obvious external character from his fellows, though deference is shown him in that, however dense the crowd round him, he is never jostled. Wal says that his spirit is Deng, which appears in one aspect at least to be identical with Dengdit, and at the present time he is certainly the most important factor in the spiritual life of the Aliab and neighbouring tribes. Some men of the Ohro tribe said that, if another some like Madwich (see above, § 2) were to fall from the sky, it would be called Deng, because the spirit Deng had come to the *tiet* Wal in Bang village. Wal is most anxious to make clear his adhesion to the Government, and even goes so far as to state that his spirit is 'red' (as Europeans are) and came from Khartoum, which all the black tribes regard as the home of the white man. He is certainly opposed to bloodshed, and has lately condemned the participants in a quite insignificant brawl, in which but little blood flowed, to an elaborate ceremony of atonement, the essential part of which is that two goats are killed, the flesh of one being eaten, while the other is cast into the bush. Wal asserts that this is not a revival of an old custom, but a new form of sacrifice dictated by his spirit; and this was certainly the opinion of those with whom the writer discussed the subject.

Although Mitternützer (*Die Dinka-Sprache in Central-Africa*, Brixen, 1886) accepts the view adopted by the early missionaries, that the word *jok* can be adequately rendered by 'Satan' or '*der Teufel*' (op. cit. esp. p. 57), this is incorrect, and the relation of the *jok* to sickness and death is in outline somewhat as follows. The spirits of the old and mighty dead (*jok*) and of the recent dead (*atiep*) exist in and around the villages in which their descendants live. *Jok* are more powerful and energetic than *atiep*, and sometimes have special shrines built for them. They are also thought to have their habitat in the earth in the immediate neighbourhood of these shrines. *Atiep* are at their strongest immediately after death, and, although funeral feasts are held for no other reason than to propitiate them lest they should cause sickness and death, they become gradually weaker, and in a very few generations may safely be forgotten. *Jok*, on the other hand, retain their strength and energy, and require to be freely propitiated by sacrifices. Nor are the sacrifices offered to them on stated occasions sufficient. They accept these, but also make known their wants by appearing to their descendants in dreams, and demanding that a bullock or other animal shall be killed; or they may appear to a *tiet* and command him to deliver their message. If their demands are disregarded, they send sickness or bad luck, and matters can be remedied only by sacrifice. There may be no preliminary dream or vision before the *jok* sends sickness; in fact, the routine treatment of all sickness is to make offerings to the *jok*

(or Dengdit, when he and the *jok* are confused) in the hope that they will remove the sickness for which they are held responsible. So, when the illness runs a fatal course, it is the *jok* who are considered responsible for the death. The following account given by the Shish shows how the sacrifice to the *jok* is conducted:—

When a man is ill, a bullock or one or more sheep or goats are killed as a sacrifice to the *jok*. The animal or animals should be provided by a near relative, and should be killed by a married man with children, preferably the father of a large family. Some of the meat is left over night in the house of the sick man, for the *jok*. In the morning it is brought out and eaten by the clansfolk, but the fat is collected in a pot, and again left in the house, for one night, for the *jok*. Next day this is cooked by the old women, who eat it with the old men. The blood of the sacrifice is left to dry on the ground, and is afterwards buried in front of the house near the place where the animal was killed.

Even childlessness may be attributed to the displeasure of the *jok*, and in those cases in which the husband does not attribute this to his own impotence a *tiet* may be consulted. The *tiet* often says: 'Give more cows to your father-in-law,' the idea being that this will appease the *jok* of the wife's family, who, the *tiet* can see, are angry. Or the *tiet* may prescribe an offering to the *jok* to be made by the other side of the family, for the *jok* of the husband's family may be angry if the woman's brothers have been sneering at her husband for not begetting children. Incest angers the *jok* and thus causes barrenness; and a girl guilty of this offence will have no children, even should she marry, until she has owned her sin, when her lover will be forced to provide a bullock to be sacrificed in atonement. The youth's father kills the bullock, and the girl's father takes some of the contents of the large intestine and smears it on his daughter's abdomen and that of her partner, thus removing the taint of sin and rendering her capable of bearing children.

Shrines raised to ancestral spirits fall into two classes: (1) grave shrines, and (2) shrines erected by order of a spirit (*jok* or *atiep*), or on account of the appearance of a spirit in a dream, or built to provide a new home for a spirit. Grave shrines do not appear to be common, though the writer has records of the graves of the founders of four of the Shish clans that have become shrines. These are the graves of the so-called 'sons of Dengdit' already referred to. These four men are to some extent regarded as culture heroes, for they taught men how to grow *dura* and to fish. It is said that formerly huts were built over their graves; these have decayed, but even now a ceremony is held at each grave after the *dura* is cut. In every case, only the people descended from the founder take part in this, though their wives, who of necessity belong to other clans, accompany them. There is no resident guardian at any of the shrines, but at the yearly sacrifice one man, in whom the ancestral spirit is immanent, kills a sheep or a bull, and smears its blood and the contents of the large intestine upon the grave, before the assembled descendants of the hero. The flesh is boiled, all eat thereof, and great care is taken not to break the bones, which are thrown into the river. Shrines of the second class appear to be found in all Dinka villages. The worship at one of them in the Shilluk village of Tonga near the Shilluk-Dinka boundary is especially interesting, because it clearly indicates the hereditary nature of the priesthood that these shrines call into existence, and also because it shows that the *jok* on the maternal side are regarded with the same awe and affection as those of a man's own clan. The shrine is within the yard of an ordinary Shilluk homestead. It consists of a few long, roughly trimmed sticks thrust into the ground, from which are hung a number of beads, small gourds, snuff-boxes, and fragments of sheep bones. On the ground is a heap of ashes, the remains of the fires at which sacrifices have been cooked, and frag-

ments of the skulls of sheep killed at the shrine. By the side of the ashes there is a faggot of sticks placed upright, supporting a gourd in which food had once been placed.

The shrine is served by one Agwer, whose grandmother, a Dinka, was made ill by an ancestral spirit, Deng,¹ in order that offerings should be made to him. As the offerings accumulated, a shrine came into existence; in fact, a *tiet* seems to have ascertained that Deng wished his descendants to make repeated sacrifices to him at Tonga. At the present day offerings are made frequently by sick folk, descendants of Deng, and a ceremony is said to be held at the beginning of every rainy season.

Another shrine, existing at the Chiro village of Malek, consists of the trunk of a small tree thrust into the ground; the main branches have been broken off short, and part of the vertebral column and horns of a goat have been attached to them. There are also several pieces of rope, of the kind attached to hippopotamus harpoons, and several small gourds, while a number of fragments of hippopotamus bones lie at the foot of the post. The origin of this shrine is as follows.

About three years ago the children of Apnot, the *bain* of the village, sickened, but it was not until they had been ill for about four months that the *jok* of Balit, the ancestor who sent the sickness, appeared to the *tiet* in a dream and demanded that a goat should be given him. The *tiet* told Apnot to raise up a post and to kill a fat he-goat. The post was prepared, a hole was dug, the goat's throat was cut, and the blood and contents of the gut were collected and buried in the hole. Then the post was thrust into the centre of the hole, and earth was thrown in and pressed down. The meat was cut into pieces, boiled, and eaten. The bones were not broken, but were placed on the ground round the post and left there for a month, after which all were thrown into the river, except the skull and backbone, which were put upon the post. The *tiet* was given the skin. At the time of the sacrifice Apnot threw four small pieces of meat in four directions, apparently towards the cardinal points, and then placed them on the ground round the stick, saying: 'O my grandfather, I have made a sacrifice for you, do not let my children be sick any more.' Apnot himself carried the bones to the river, and at the same time threw into the water a small iron bracelet which he took from the arm of one of the sick children. These things were cast into the river because Ran, the father of Balit, was twin with the fish *rechol*, for whom the things were intended. The hippopotamus bones at the foot of the post were placed there by a brother of Apnot, after he had spared one of these animals. He did this in order that the spirit of his ancestor might help him to kill other hippopotami. The ground round and under this post is in a special sense the habitation of the *jok*, and, even if the sickness had not occurred, it would still have been necessary to prepare a habitation for the *jok*, where men might come to invoke their assistance before going fishing or hippopotamus-hunting, or before starting on a journey. In the last event the traveller puts his right hand flat on the ground near the post, and says: 'Grandfather, I am going away, take care of me, do not let me be sick.' Before going fishing or hippopotamus-hunting, a man takes his harpoons to the wife of the *bain*, who rubs them with oil made from hippopotamus fat, and pours some of the oil on the ground at the foot of the post.

Another form of shrine, called *bûor*, is found in the Tain villages near Bor. The construction of the *bûor* is very simple. No chamber is made; a hole about a foot deep is dug and filled up with mud, in which the horns are fixed, for only the horns, and not the skull, are used.

One of these shrines was raised by Der in his new village of Arek for the *atiep* of his father Anet, to live in 'just as a house,' for the spirit knows of the wanderings of its people and moves with them. This was done at the instance of a *tiet*, who said that, if these were neglected, Der and his children would sicken, and perhaps die. The shrine itself consists of a mound of mud, at one end of which are fixed the horns of a bullock, while in front of this there is one of the pickets to which cattle are commonly tethered.² The bullock providing the horns was sacrificed by Der, who explained aloud that he was making a place for the *atiep* of his father Anet. The bullock was killed by having a spear plunged into its heart, and small pieces of all the organs and parts of the animal were scattered on the ground for the spirits of the dead. At each new moon some *dura*, a

few drops of new milk, and a little butter, are placed upon the shrine at sunset. The shrine is repaired whenever necessary, without sacrifice or any ceremony.

Bûor are found in all the Tain and in some, at least, of the Bor villages, but usually they do not resemble the back of a bullock, the mud being built into a more or less circular mound flattened above. A stick or young sapling, 6 or 8 ft. tall, is thrust into the ground near the horns, and a cattle-rope is hung from this. Among the Tain Dinka the sons of a dead man will procure a bullock and build a *bûor* whenever possible, the widow making the mud mound, in which the sons plant the horns of the bullock. This is done not only to propitiate the spirit of the dead, but as a resting-place for his spirit (*atiep*). There is often the greatest confusion as to whether these *bûor* are built for Dengdit or for the *jok*; in fact, the two are often spoken of and treated as if they were identical. As an example of this confusion, reference may be made to a *bûor* at Arek village meant to secure the help of the *jok* in fishing and in harpooning hippopotami. When a fishing or hunting party is about to start, they take some *dura*, dip the grains in a bowl of water, roast them, and, when cold, scatter them upon and around the *bûor*. In spite of this, the *bûor* is often said to belong to Dengdit, and the usual explanation is given of the cattle rope, namely, that Dengdit will see the empty halter and know that an animal has been sacrificed.

Besides the numerous offerings to the *jok* already mentioned, certain annual sacrifices are made to them, of which the following are examples.

The Bor Dinka sacrifice one or more young goats at the beginning of each wet season, in order that the *jok* may not injure the cattle in the *tuak*, the horns and legs with the dried skin adhering to them being hung up within the entrance to the *tuak*. The Shish make an annual sacrifice to the *jok* and also to the 'river people,' who, as already indicated, must be considered as a special form of *jok*. This sacrifice is made by every householder, for, if any omitted to perform it, his *dura* crop would be poor, and his cattle would sicken or die. Each householder kills a sheep and allows the blood to soak into the ground; the flesh, which is boiled in front of the house, is eaten, care being taken not to break the bones, which are collected and thrown into the river. As he kills the animal, the householder says: 'Jok! this is your right.' Pieces from different parts of the sacrifice are boiled in a pot and left outside the hut during the night; in the morning the contents are scattered round the house, when the dogs and birds soon dispose of them.

The sacrifice to the 'river people' takes place after the rains, when the people leave their inland settlements to come down to their dry-season abodes on the river bank, and before they build any houses or cattle kraals. The members of each clan kill a sheep soon after they reach the river, cutting its throat before sunrise, on the bank, so that the blood flows into the river, into which the sheep is thrown as soon as it is dead. This sacrifice is held in order that the 'river people' may not send sickness to men or cattle, and it is also said to please Dengdit.

Belief in the guiding and protecting influence of the *jok* is perhaps the only part of their eschatology which is common to all Dinka, and is so well defined that it can be definitely formulated; the examples already given of the action of the *jok* and the sacrifices offered to them make their action and power reasonably plain as far as they relate to humanity. In other words, while the relation of the *atiep* to the living is tolerably well known, the very opposite is the case in regard to the *rol* or *we*, for its condition excites none of the interest which is felt in the *atiep*. The generally accepted view with regard to the *atiep* of the old and mighty dead (*jok*) has been indicated already. The *atiep* of the recently dead are usually thought to frequent the villages and houses of their descendants, taking an interest in their doings and moving about with them. Certain of the burial customs, which provide for the welfare of the dead, are modified in the case of old influential men, increasingly lavish funeral feasts being provided for important men such as *bain*, the avowed purpose of all funeral ceremonies being to propitiate the dead man, lest he should send sickness and misfortune on the

¹ Deng is a common Dinka name, and must not be confused with Deng, the spirit of the *tiet* Wal (above, p. 709a), or with Dengdit.

² The whole structure presents a certain resemblance to a bullock sunk in the earth, so that only the back projects; but the writer could not learn that this resemblance was intentional, though a Dinka whom he met at Omdurman, where he had lived for a long time, said that in his country mud representations of cattle were erected over the graves of powerful men.

living. Apart from the funeral and mourning feasts, *atiep* are not given sacrifices unless they appear to their descendants or to the *tiet* in dreams and ask for them.

Side by side with this doctrine of the *atiep* and its corollary that the spirits of the dead everywhere surround and mix with the living, there is another, which, if it were accepted and applied logically, would be incompatible with the first. According to this belief, the *atiep* leaves the neighbourhood of the body at the time of its burial, and passes above to the place of Dengdit. The spirits that reach Dengdit do not lose their power of returning to the earth, for it is a common belief that *jok* may pass to and from this earth to Dengdit, while one of the commonest Dinka beliefs is that the *jok* come to the dying to take their *atiep*. Among the Niel Dinka the *jok* come in the (spiritual) form of the animal ancestors (totem animals) of each man at his death and take his spirit to Kok, the place of Dengdit between earth and sky, whence comes the rain. The men who gave this information were perfectly convinced that every Dinka had some animal relative which would come to him at death, and they stated that some men had seen them as they lay dying.

It is possible to obtain a hint of another phase of Dinka eschatology by considering their habit of pouring a little water or *merissa* (native beer) on the ground before drinking. According to some Nok Dinka who did this after a long and thirsty march, the water poured out was for the dead. The Shish denied that *merissa*, purposely spilt on the ground, was for the benefit of the dead, but said that, when a man died, he would find in his grave all the *merissa* he had poured out and the food he had thrown on the ground. It is, however, possible that this belief may be due to Arab influence.

According to the Shish, the 'river-people' are also *jok*, and they can be seen by *tiet*, for 'land and river *jok* have the same origin,' and 'some *jok* are in the river, some on land.' It must, however, be admitted that many Dinka seem to look upon the 'river people' as distinctly mysterious beings, whom they do not regard as *jok* in the ordinary sense of the word.

5. Rain-makers and rain-making.—The rain-makers of the Dinka tribe are called *bain*, but it seems that not every *bain* is a practising rain-maker, though, in theory at least, all are potential rain-makers. The men commonly spoken of as the 'chiefs' or 'shaihs' of the Dinka tribes are actual or potential *bain*, but there does not appear to be any tendency for village chiefs to attempt to emulate the rain-maker, or for quack practitioners to appear, for the successful rain-maker has within him the spirit of the great rain-makers of the past, and all recognize the futility of competing with him. Further, the existence of a powerful and successful rain-maker naturally leads those who live within his sphere of influence to leave all such matters to him. Thus a successful rain-maker attains to very great power, and would be consulted about all important affairs, for the spirit of a great ancestor that has come down to him through a succession of rain-makers ensures that he is far-seeing, and wiser than common men. A *bain* should not drink *merissa*, lest he get angry and quarrel with the men of his village. Although the authority of a *bain* is great, it is not absolute, for one *bain* foretold the defeat of his people at the hands of the Government, and entreated them not to fight; yet his people fought and were defeated.

The Shish said that the name of the spirit immanent in their rain-maker (who lived at Lau) was Mabor. This, as has been stated in § 3, is the name of one of the four 'sons of Dengdit.' It was

obvious that to the Shish of Shambe (some miles from Lau) the personality of the rain-maker was entirely submerged in that of the spirit immanent in him, so that, when they spoke of Mabor, the dominant idea in their mind was that of the ancestral spirit of this name working through the body of the man in whom it was immanent.

The Shish do not specially protect their rain-maker from a violent death, and he may even take part in warfare; for no doubt is felt that, if he be killed, the ancestral spirit will pass to a suitable successor. But an important rain-maker is not allowed to die of old age or as the result of chronic lingering illness; for, if this occurred, sickness would attack the tribe; there would be famine, and the herds would not yield their increase. When a rain-maker feels that he is getting old and infirm, he tells his children that he wishes to die.

Among the Agar Dinka a large grave is dug, and an *angareb* is placed in it, upon which the rain-maker lies on his right side, with a skin under his head. He is surrounded by his friends and relatives, including his younger children, but his elder children are not allowed near the grave, at any rate towards the end, lest in their despair they should injure themselves. The *bain* lies upon the *angareb* without food or drink for many hours, generally for more than a day. From time to time he speaks to his people, recalling the past history of the tribe, how he has ruled and advised them, and instructing them how to act in the future. During this time he takes no food. At last he tells them he has finished, and bids them cover him up; earth is thrown into the grave, and he is soon suffocated. Although the above information was obtained from a number of Agar Dinka, there is little doubt that with minor variations it applies to all the Dinka tribes.

The Niel Dinka said that they strangled their *bain* in his own house, having first prepared his grave. They would then wash the corpse and kill a bullock in front of the house, skinning it immediately and making an *angareb* of the skin. This is placed in the grave, and the body is laid upon it, a cell being built over the *angareb* so that the earth does not come into contact with the body. Even if the *bain* were quite young, he would be killed if it was thought that he was dangerously ill. The Niel take every care to guard the *bain* from accidental death, for, even if he should die suddenly as the result of accident, some sickness would surely occur, though his son or a near blood relation would immediately succeed him. It would be a far more serious matter if the *bain* were to die of illness, but this had never happened; indeed, the writer's informant (whose father and paternal uncle had both been killed in the appropriate manner) pointed out that this would prevent any of his sons (i.e. presumably any relative) from becoming *bain* in his turn. The writer believes that all tribes sprinkle milk on the grave, while some bury a bullock, or even a cow, with their *bain*, and it is probable that all place some property in the grave.

The following information was given by Biyordit, an old but still active man, the rain-maker of the Bor tribe, who [1911] has the greatest influence over all the Bor and Tain Dinka:

In each of the eight rain-makers who preceded Biyordit there was immanent a great and powerful spirit called Lerpiu, now immanent in Biyordit, who says quite simply that at his death Lerpiu will pass into his son. Near a hut belonging to Biyordit there is another hut, constituting a shrine, in which the *jok* of Lerpiu is thought to reside more or less constantly. Within this hut is kept a very sacred spear, also called Lerpiu, and before it stands a post called *rit*, to which are attached the horns of many bullocks sacrificed to Lerpiu. Behind the hut there is a bush of the kind called *akoi*, which must not be cut or damaged in any way, but which strangers are allowed to

approach without the least ceremony. The *akoi* bush is clearly the least sacred part of the shrine, yet its presence is essential, for the *jok* leaves the hut to come to the *akoi* during the great rain-making ceremony, and the slight sanctity of the *akoi* at other times is well explained by the absence of the *jok*.

The rain ceremony consists of a sacrifice to Lerpiu, to induce him to move Dengdit to send rain. It is held in the spring (about April), when the new moon is a few days old. In the morning two bullocks are led twice round the shrine, and are tied to the *rit* by Biyordit; then the people beat drums; and men and women, boys and girls, all dance round the shrine. Nothing further is done until the bullocks urinate, when every one who can get near the beasts rubs his body with the urine. After this all except the old people go away. Presently the bullocks are killed by Biyordit, who spears them and cuts their throats. While the sacrifice is being prepared, the people chant: 'Lerpiu, our ancestor, we have brought you a sacrifice: be pleased to cause rain to fall.' The blood is collected in a gourd, transferred to a pot, put on the fire, and eaten by the old and important people of the clan. Some of the flesh of one bullock is put into two pots and cooked with much fat; this is left near the *akoi* for many (perhaps ten) months, yet it is said not to smell unpleasantly, and is ultimately eaten by people who have no cattle of their own. The food in the pots near the *akoi* is said to be for the *jok*, but the meat from the other bullock is eaten on the same day. The bones of the sacrifice are thrown away, but the horns are added to those already attached to the *rit*.

Besides the great rain-making ceremony performed at a central shrine, some tribes offer a sacrifice for rain in each settlement. Among the Shish this takes place before, or at the beginning of, the rainy season.

The old men of the settlement (*bai*) kill a sheep, thanking and praising Dengdit; the animal is bisected longitudinally, and that half which is away from the ground is cut into fragments and cast into the air as an offering to Dengdit. As they fall upon the ground, so they are left, and are soon eaten by dogs and birds. The blood of the sacrifice is allowed to soak into the ground, but the remainder of the meat is boiled and eaten, the bones, which must not be broken, being buried in the skin for seven days, and afterwards thrown into the river. Some *dura* is boiled, and this is thrown into the air and left lying upon the ground in the same way as the flesh of the sacrifice was left.

6. Sacred spears.—Mention has already been made of certain spears kept in the shrines of Dengdit. One of the spears in the Shish shrine at Lau is of the form named *bit yat* by the Dinka, and is called *bit yat*. Another spear with the usual leaf-shaped blade is called *ton yat*, and the iron rod is named *len yat*. These spears and the iron rod are described as playing an important part in the great rain-making ceremony held in the *luak* at Lau, and when the time comes to replace them an elaborate ceremony is performed. Long ago Dengdit ordered the *bain* Mabor to get the finest spear he could, and to put it in his shrine at Lau. This command was said to apply not only to the *ton yat*, but also to the *bit yat* and *len yat*, and all these are renewed periodically, by order of Dengdit, who, in a dream, indicates that the spears are getting old and that new ones must be provided. It seems that a new *ton yat* is brought to the *luak* about every tenth year, a white sheep being killed with the new spear by the *bain* as an act of consecration. Some of the blood is left on the blade for three days, after which it is washed and oiled. Certain old men and women, near relatives of the *bain*, boil and eat the flesh of this sacrifice in the courtyard of the *luak*, after which they wash their hands and throw the bones, none of which has been broken, into the river. The sacredness of the old spear appears to be transmitted to the new by thrusting the former into the earth by the side of the sacrifice, after which it is given to a son or other near relative of the *bain*.

7. Oaths.—In small matters the Shish affirm 'by Nyalich.' To swear a binding oath a man goes to the blacksmith and licks his hammer; then, putting it on the ground, he says: 'If I have done this thing, may I die!' Any one swearing falsely would certainly die within a couple of days. An Agar Dinka will swear by licking his iron bracelet and saying what he has done or not done, and that he is prepared to die if he is not speaking the truth. Another oath is to

place a spear or stick on the ground and jump over it, saying: 'By Dengdit, I have not done this thing; if I have, may my spear be speedily put on my grave!' This refers to the Agar custom of putting a man's spear, bracelets, and shield upon his grave for seven days. The most terrific oath of all is to go to the shrine (*luak*) of Dengdit and swear by it.

8. Blessings and curses: the evil eye.—The Dinka firmly believe in the efficacy of both blessings and curses, and that people and cattle can be 'overlooked.' The following information was obtained from Tain Dinka living south of the Sudd, but it probably holds good over a much wider area. The blessings and curses of strangers are of little effect (it must be assumed that this does not apply to great and powerful men), but the words of kinsfolk are powerful for good or evil. There is a special word *lou* meaning 'to speak bad words about a man's body'; and a father, by saying his son shall be ill, can cause him to sicken. So, too, a man's relatives may curse him if he does not give them the bullock which is their due when he builds a cattle-shed soon after his marriage. A parent's blessing is held to be so efficacious that it may cure illness, the power for good being the will (*atiep*) of the loving father or mother. When a boy is to be blessed, he squats on the ground; and his father, standing by him, carries first his right thigh and then his left over his son's head. Then he spits on his scalp and blows into his ears and nose; next he spits on his own hands and rubs them over the boy's scalp, and, again spitting on them, smears spittle on the boy's chest and the nape of his neck. Finally, he picks up dust, and rubs some on the boy's chest and back, throwing away the remainder into the air. When a man is about to bless an ailing daughter, her mother brings a gourd of water, into which the man, his wife, and the girl's brothers and sisters and paternal aunts all spit, and her father sprinkles the water over the girl's body. Nothing further is done for eight days, but on the ninth day a male goat or sheep is tied up; when it urinates, the girl's breasts and back are anointed with the urine, while the relatives who spat into the bowl pray that she may be cured. Her brothers take the goat, throw it on the ground, cut its throat, and leave the body lying for people of other clans to eat. Any one can 'overlook' (Tain *kwan*) another who is not a very close blood relation, at any time when his victim is not looking him straight in the face. To *kwan* any one is always a voluntary action, and, though a thin or poor man may *kwan* a well-conditioned or rich man, this is not necessarily due to covetousness. A great man can make people ill without seeing them, by desiring it in his heart, and for sickness produced in this way there is no cure.

9. Magic.—Magic appears to play a comparatively small part in the spiritual life of the Dinka; probably this is to be attributed to the dominating influence of the cult of the *jok*, which constitutes the working belief of the people. In spite of this, auxiliary magical processes may be used in order to increase the efficacy of a sacrifice. Thus, it is not uncommon for a goat to be killed as a direct appeal to the *jok* before hippopotamus-hunting. The Tain Dinka of Malek village select a 'red' he-goat or sheep because the hippopotamus is 'red,' and take it to the Sudd in a canoe, where they cut its throat with a spear, because the animal they are hunting can be killed only with a spear. (The usual method of killing a sheep or goat is by a blow on the head.) Its blood is allowed to run into the river, while some is smeared on the blades of the harpoons. As soon as it is dead, it is thrust under the Sudd where the hippopotami are, its mouth being tied up so that it

may not do any damage with its teeth. The man with the harpoon prays to his *jok* as he approaches the animal, and the ceremony after its death is simply an offering of part of the flesh to the *jok*. Any one may provide the goat, but only three men—Aput the *bain*, and two others—may cut its throat; if any other were to officiate, his action would be absolutely without effect.

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C. G. SELIGMANN.

DIOGENES.—See CYNICS.

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.—A religious body located chiefly in the central and western portions of the United States. The originator of the movement was Thomas Campbell, a minister of the Seceder Presbyterian Church in the north of Ireland, who came to America in 1807, and was assigned to ministerial work in the Presbytery of Chartiers, in Western Pennsylvania. Keenly sensitive to the evil results of sectarian divisions, he used his efforts to unite the scattered groups of Presbyterians in such common work and worship as should allay in some measure the strife of rival factions. But so little were the churches of the period prepared for the practice of comity that he was censured by the Presbytery for his conduct, and, although upon appeal the Synod declined to affirm the judgment of the Presbytery, he found it desirable to sever his connexion with the Church of his fathers. But his earnest labours in behalf of unity led to the formation of a group called the 'Christian Association of Washington' (Pa.), and, soon after, he published a document called the 'Declaration and Address,' in which he pleaded with his brethren of all Christian bodies to abandon whatever religious doctrines and practices were unscriptural and divisive, and to seek the peace of the Church by the realization of the Lord's prayer (Jn 17^{11, 21ff.}) for the oneness of His people. He was afterwards joined by his son Alexander, who had been trained for the ministry in Ireland and at Glasgow.

In studying the problem of Christian unity these men determined that they would propose to their religious neighbours the elimination of human additions to the primitive and simple gospel. This seemed to them a sufficient platform for a united Church. Their purpose was the restoration of the early Christian society as the means of realizing Christian oneness. They included in their programme all the essential elements of the Apostolic faith, spirit, and service. They held strongly to the great evangelical beliefs of the historic Church. They sought to make the teachings of the NT authoritative in their procedure. In compliance with this ideal they decided that the practice of infant baptism and of affusion must be abandoned. The movement grew, and soon the first congregation was established at Brush Run, Pa. (4th May 1811).

The Reformers, as they called themselves, were active in the dissemination of their views. Such leaders as the Campbells, Barton W. Stone, and Walter Scott were effective advocates of the new message. The adoption of immersion in the interest, as they believed, of Christian unity brought them into sympathetic relations with the Baptists, and in 1823 Alexander Campbell began the publication of a monthly called *The Christian Baptist*. For a time it seemed probable that the union of the two bodies would be effected. The Reformers were actually received into the fellowship of the Redstone Baptist Association, and later into that of the Mahoning Association, official organizations of the Baptists in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio. But the union was never complete. Each of the groups suspected the other and

at times made counter-charges of unsoundness of views. Separation took place, and gradually the Reformers, or Disciples, as they usually called themselves, went their way as a separate body. At Bethany, W. Va., in 1840 Campbell founded Bethany College, the first of many schools organized by the Disciples. The movement grew rapidly in the States of West Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. Campbell travelled widely, preaching and holding debates on such themes as related to the Primitive Church and the necessity of its restoration. The formative influences of his early training, the Lockian philosophy, the Covenant theology of Holland, the reformatory preaching of the Haldanes in Scotland and Ireland, and a profound sense of the scandal and disaster of divisions in the Church, were made evident in all his utterances. His power was widely felt, both among his own brethren and in other communions, and outside the Church. As a result, a large company of vigorous and aggressive preachers and teachers became identified with the enterprise, and its progress was rapid.

With the growth of churches the first interest in the idea of Christian unity gave way somewhat to the seemingly more definite and practical effort towards the restoration of early Christian usages. The weekly observance of the Lord's Supper, the immersion of adults as the only method of baptism, the organization of churches after the congregational order, with elders or bishops, and deacons, the rejection of all speculative discussion of the work of the Holy Spirit, and the emphasis upon the importance of the Scriptures in conversion were outstanding features of the new message. Close communion was never practised, but it was understood that only the immersed should be admitted to the churches.

In the development of so vigorous a body it was inevitable that controversy should have a pronounced part. Both with their religious neighbours and among themselves the Disciples have held earnest and prolonged controversy. Tendencies to literalism and legalism have not been wanting, but they have yielded slowly to the spirit of inquiry and progress. The creation of new educational foundations, the maintenance of an aggressive journalism, the organization of missionary and philanthropic agencies, and the encouragement of an effective evangelism in the churches have increased the numbers, intelligence, and consecration of the Disciples, until at the present time they are fifth among the great evangelical bodies of America; have a considerable constituency in England and Australia; have important missionary interests in China, India, Japan, Africa, the Philippines, Mexico, and the West Indies; and maintain efficient State and District organizations in nearly all sections of the United States and Canada.

The Disciples have desired from the first to be known only by NT names. They speak of their churches as 'Christian Churches,' or 'Churches of Christ.' These names they hold in common with all believers, and claim no exclusive title to them. Their worship has always been marked by simplicity, though there is an increasing effort to impart dignity to the services.

On the themes of advancing Christian thought,—the value and results of the historical method of Bible study, the contributions of modern scientific and philosophical labours to the religious life, the awakening of the social and civic conscience, the extension of missionary effort, and the adoption of higher educational standards—the Disciples have passed through the usual throes and differences of opinion incident to the development of most sections of the modern Church. But the progress has been

steady, and the future is promising. Particularly are the Disciples awakening to the realization of their historic task—the earnest effort to promote both by testimony and practical labours the unity of the people of God.

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DISCIPLINE.

Buddhist (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 714.
Christian (D. S. SCHAFF), p. 715.

Jewish (M. JOSEPH), p. 720.

Muslim.—See MUHAMMADANISM.

DISCIPLINE (Buddhist).—This subject may best be discussed under four different heads: (1) discipline of the laity by the clergy; (2) discipline of the novices by members of the Order; (3) discipline as carried out by the Order, in Chapter assembled, against individual members of it; and (4) self-discipline.

1. **Discipline of the laity.**—The Buddhist doctrine did not recognize either a deity who can punish or a soul to be punished, and denied to the members of the Order (the *bhikkhus*) any priestly powers by which penalties in the next life could be mitigated or increased. Any disciplinary proceedings against the laity, therefore, were necessarily of a simple character. There are words in Pali for 'instruction,' 'discussion,' 'training,' and 'self-restraint'; but there is no word covering the same ground as 'discipline.' The ideas of confessional or father-confessor, of absolution, inquisition, and church-membership are wanting. The word 'Buddhist' was not invented till many centuries after the rise of what we call Buddhism. By approving wholly or in part the doctrines of the new movement, a layman did not join any new organization or sever himself from any other. When Siha, the Licchavi general, an adherent of the Jains, became converted by the Buddha, he was expressly enjoined by the Buddha himself to continue his support of the Jain community (*Vinaya Texts*, ii. 115). The only action of a disciplinary kind adopted by the early Buddhists towards laymen is described in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 118 ff. It is called 'the turning down of the bowl' (*pattassa nikkujjana*). In case a layman, in any one of five ways,¹ endeavours to do harm to the Order, or speaks in disparagement of the Buddha, the Doctrine, or the Order, then it is permitted to the *bhikkhus* 'to turn down the bowl' in respect of that layman—that is, to refuse to accept a gift of food from him. If in any of the same five ways a *bhikkhu* should endeavour to do harm to a layman, a Chapter should compel him to beg pardon of that layman (*ib.* ii. 355 f.). The layman could have the ban removed by a Chapter by confessing his error and asking for forgiveness (*ib.* iii. 124). No mention of this ceremony of turning down the bowl has been found except in the earliest period, and it is now quite obsolete. Of any formal discipline of laymen in knowledge of the faith we hear nothing; and there was no custom corresponding to the *Arcani Disciplina* (q.v.) of the early Catholics. The *bhikkhus* are described as willing to talk over with laymen in an informal way any points of doctrine they wished to discuss. A large number of cases of this informal teaching are given in the books.

2. **Discipline of novices.**—One of the main objects of the founders of the various Orders that existed in India in the Buddha's time was to provide, by the establishment of the Order, for the preservation and propagation of the founder's teaching. There were then no books and no pub-

lishers. The novices and the younger members of the Order learnt the statements of the doctrine (the *Suttas*) by heart, and the older members expounded and discussed them, and cross-questioned the novices on their knowledge. It was necessary for such an Order to have rules. These the novices learnt, and the elders discussed. Among the early Buddhist literature, thus handed down to us, there are manuals used for the discipline of the novices in the Doctrine, in the Poetry, in the psychological Ethics, and in the Canon Law. The majority of the Abhidhamma books are of this nature. The *Parivāra* ('Supplement') to the *Vinaya*, which occupies the fifth volume of Oldenberg's edition of the text, consists entirely of a number of questions on the Canon Law, and was evidently used in the teaching of novices. The *Khudda- and Mula-sikkhā* ('Short and Advanced Manuals') are somewhat later examples of the same thing. These studies and the personal attendance on his teacher occupied most of the time of the novice. If a novice tried to prevent the elder *bhikkhus* from receiving alms, if he devised mischief against them, if he prevented their finding a lodging-place, if he abused them, or if he caused division among them, then his teacher might interdict him from entering certain parts of the common residence, explained as meaning the bedroom or the sitting-room he has frequented [*Vinaya*, i. 84]. In ten cases of grievous misconduct, a novice may be expelled by his teacher (*ib.* i. 85). No other disciplinary proceedings are mentioned.

3. **Discipline in the Order.**—The Buddhist Order was a democracy. There was no vow of obedience and no hierarchy. The administration of the business of the Order was carried out locally by a Chapter on which each member of the Order (each *bhikkhu*) resident in the locality had a seat. The senior member presided as *primus inter pares*, and decisions were made by vote of the majority of those present. Should any member of the Order have committed, in the opinion of any other member, any breach of one of the regulations, the latter could bring forward, at the next meeting of the Chapter, a resolution on the subject. If the resolution was carried, the offending member remained for a fixed period under suspension. The suspension could be removed by a similar resolution when the offender had acknowledged his offence. In four cases of grave moral delinquency—murder, theft, impurity, and a false claim to extraordinary spiritual pre-eminence—the penalty was expulsion from the Order. The lawbooks give numerous cases which throw light on the question whether some particular act does or does not amount to a breach of any one of the 227 main rules of the Order, or of any one of the explanatory by-laws subsidiary to those rules. But they afford no evidence as to how frequently recourse was actually had, in the early years of the movement, to such disciplinary proceedings by a Chapter. Meetings of the Chapter are still held in Siam, Burma, and Ceylon for business purposes, for the recitation of the Rules,

¹ The details of these five ways are given below in the section on 'Discipline of novices.'

for admission of new members, etc. Whether disciplinary proceedings are still used, and, if so, how frequently, is not known. In other countries the ancient rules have fallen altogether out of use, and we have no information as to any disciplinary proceedings that may have been substituted for the formal acts of the Chapter (see, further, art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Buddhist]).

4. **Self-discipline.**—There were three codes of ethics in early Buddhism—one for the lay adherent, another for a member of the Order, and a third for those, whether laymen or mendicants, who had entered upon the Path to *arahat*-ship. People joined the Order for a variety of reasons—to earn a livelihood, for a life of literary peace, to escape the troubles of the world, from dislike of authority, or even (as Nāgasena says to King Milinda) out of fear of kings.¹ Some were converted men before they joined the Order; the majority were not. They were expected, in addition to their literary studies, to devote themselves to an elaborate system of self-discipline in ethics and psychology, leading up to what were regarded as the highest truths—those constituting the *samādhi*, the insight of the higher stages of the Path.² The existence of this system is the most characteristic feature of Buddhist discipline (see art. HINAYĀNA).

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DISCIPLINE (Christian).—I. **Definition and aim.**—Church discipline is that body of measures which have been employed in the Christian Church to secure its own purity and the spiritual well-being of its members by the punishment of offenders against its constitution and teachings. The authority for such procedure is based (1) upon the very nature of the Church as a select body with a code of its own; (2) upon express commands of Christ; (3) upon Apostolic precepts and examples afforded in the history of the Apostolic Church. The Church, as an institution endowed with the quality of holiness and entrusted with the deposit of revealed truth, is bound to keep itself free from corrupting elements which might taint its purity and thwart its activity in training its members and in bearing witness to the world. As it concerns the offender, discipline is intended (1) to reclaim him from error of doctrine or impurity of life, so that, if possible, his soul may be saved; or (2) to cut him off, as a withered branch, from the body of Christ and all participation in its benefits. In the development of the Canon Law, such punishments were termed either medicinal (*pœnæ medicinales*) or strictly penal (*pœnæ vindicativæ*). The former are corrective and reformatory; the latter, while, according to canonists, they do not wholly exclude this idea, are mainly concerned with the vindication of the majesty of the law and the removal of all danger to the Church from contagion.

After the Apostolic age and from the close of the 2nd cent., Church discipline found expression in the unformulated system of Penance. To this were added, from the 4th cent., the Canons of Councils, local and ecumenical; from the 7th the Penitential Books; and later the collections of Canon Law culminating in the Decretals of Gratian, about 1150. Beginning with Constantine's reign, severe civil penalties were executed upon dissenters from the Church's formulated standard of doctrine. The Arians, who refused obedience to the Nicene

statement, were banished, and their books burnt. Although such penalties were inflicted by the civil ruler, they received the approbation of the Church. The legislation concerning the discipline and punishment of dissenters reached its culmination, so far as the Church was concerned, in the tribunals of the Papal and Spanish Inquisitions (1215, 1478). This body of legislation was extended to include witchcraft and all kinds of *maleficium*, especially after the bull of Innocent VIII., *Summis desiderantes* (1484).

The Reformers continued to insist upon ecclesiastical discipline, and, in their hands, it found its most strenuous application in the codes of Geneva and the disciplinary books of the Elizabethan Puritans of Scotland and the Westminster Assembly. As to the seat of authority for the exercise of Church discipline, the theory has been, and is, that the Church exercises discipline over her own members and within her own sphere. To use the expression current in the Middle Ages, she wields the spiritual sword (*gladium spirituale*), or, to quote a Protestant symbol (the Scottish *First Book of Discipline*, ch. ix.), she 'draws the sword which of God she hath received.' But, in fact, not only has the distinction between the Church and the State as agents to punish ecclesiastical offences (*delicta*) not always been clearly defined, but the Church has not restricted herself to her sphere, and, indeed, has expected the State to aid her in the maintenance of her discipline. From 325 onwards the Universal Church gradually came to approve civil penalties for ecclesiastical offences. The Latin Church, through the Inquisition, the culminating procedure in her disciplinary activity, not only pronounced suspects guilty of heresy, but imprisoned them, ordered their houses to be burnt and their goods confiscated, and turned them over to the civil authorities, knowing that their punishment would be death. In the Protestant Churches of Zürich and Geneva, among the Protestants of England and Scotland, and during the Colonial period in the United States, the same confusion prevailed, although in its application the legislation was much less destructive than during the Middle Ages. It has remained for more recent times to make the line separating the ecclesiastical and civil realms more distinct, even to the complete separation of Church and State, in some Protestant lands.

2. **Discipline in the Apostolic Church.**—Pure as is the operation of the Holy Spirit, and spotless as is the ideal Church, the bride of Christ, it was predicted by Christ that offences would arise (Mt 18⁷). Such offences were manifested in the earliest days of the Church's history. The Apostles themselves remained conscious of weaknesses and faults. Peter denied Christ (Mt 26^{69a}), and was condemned by Paul at Antioch (Gal 2^{12a}). Paul says, 'I buffet my body' (1 Co 9²⁷), calls upon the Christians to whom he wrote 'to mortify their members' (Col 3⁵), and in Ro 7 indicates that a constant war goes on in the Christian between the appetencies of the flesh and the will of the Spirit. 'In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some unto honour, and some unto dishonour' (2 Ti 2²⁰). Here the Apostle has in mind persons 'reprobate concerning the faith,' whom he compares to Jannes and Jambres (3⁸).

The Church's right to exercise discipline was definitely conferred when Christ empowered His Apostles to bind and loose (Mt 18¹⁸). He also indicated the measures to be resorted to when an offence became known. If a brother was found guilty of a fault, he was to be privately admonished by a single person; then, if necessary, by several in company; and finally, if reproof was still

¹ *Milinda*, i. 50.

² Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 190–192.

ineffectual, the offender was to be publicly rebuked before the congregation. In case he was still obdurate, he was to be treated 'as the Gentile and the publican' (vv. 16-17).

After the Resurrection, the Apostles exercised the function of discipline, and warranted it by precepts. The duty of feeding the flock and ruling in the Church (Ac 20²⁸, He 13⁷ etc.) implied this function. Special rules of practice were issued by the council of Jerusalem (Ac 15). The offences condemned were both errors of doctrine and faults of conduct against the pure laws of Christian living.

The first cases of discipline—the appalling deaths of Ananias and Sapphira (Ac 5)—are so extraordinary that no one but an extreme advocate of Church prerogative would find in them a precedent for the Church to follow, although they are referred to as examples of just punishment, not only in the Middle Ages, but by Calvin. It is true that, in the case of Sapphira, Peter announced her death; but the punishments must be looked upon as the unusual act of God, designed to make a lasting impression upon the Church. To another category belong the cases which occur in the writings of Paul and John. John (2 Jn 10¹⁰) took the position that heresy was a sufficient ground for refusing companionship with the offenders. Paul combined the two categories when he called upon the Thessalonian Christians to withdraw themselves 'from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which they received of us' (2 Th 3⁶). Heresy he pronounced a gangrene (2 Ti 2¹⁷, cf. Tit 3¹⁰), and he admonished the Corinthians to exclude from their companionship brethren who were extortioners, fornicators, revilers, idolaters, drunkards, and covetous (1 Co 5¹³). He excommunicated the member of the Corinthian congregation who had committed incest with his mother-in-law (1 Co 5, 2 Co 7), and 'delivered unto Satan' Alexander and Hymeneus (1 Ti 1²⁰). He also invoked the anathema against 'any man that loveth not the Lord,' and against the Judaizing teachers who might preach another gospel than that he preached (1 Co 16²², Gal 1⁸). In the case of the Corinthian offender, Paul states that his purpose was that his 'spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus,' and, in the case of Alexander and Hymeneus, that they 'might be taught not to blaspheme.'

It is evident that it is possible, from these statements of the NT, for a Church hierarchy, if it be so disposed, to justify the resort to the most rigorous methods of disciplinary constraint, and to reduce Church government to a mere contrivance to exact implicit mechanical obedience to a system of ecclesiastical enactments, forgetting that the Church is a training school to exercise discipline in the spirit of love and for the education and correction of the weak and offending.

3. The ante-Nicene practice (A.D. 100-313, the date of Constantine's edict of toleration).—In this period a strict system of discipline was practised, but the punishments were prescribed and executed by the spiritual authorities, and had nothing to do with civil constraints. There was no precise code, and the practice differed in different parts of the Church, for example, as between N. Africa and Rome. The two marked features are the development of the system of penance and the issue of disciplinary canons by councils. The distinction which came to be made between venial and mortal sins also had an important bearing upon the exercise of discipline.

In his *de Pudic.* ch. 19 ('Ante-Nic. Fathers,' Amer. ed., iv. 97), Tertullian enumerates seven mortal offences for which, if committed after baptism, there can be no restoration in this world or hope in the world to come—murder, idolatry, theft, apostasy, blasphemy, fornication, adultery. For these Christ will not act as pleader (*horum ultra exorator non erit Christus*). Those who commit such offences cease to be sons of God. For other sins committed after baptism, certain penances or compensations were prescribed, such as fasting, prayer, and almsgiving. Origen (as quoted by Friedberg, p. 208) states that only for manifest sins (*peccata evidenter*) were offenders cast out from the Church—giving as the reason, lest the wheat be plucked up with the tares. Towards the end of the period, the penitential system came to recognize four classes of penitents—weepers, hearers, kneelers, and standers (*flentes, audientes, genuflectentes, consistentes*). These were within the pale of the Church (*intra ecclesiam*) as opposed to the excommunicate. They were forbidden certain forms of pleasure, ornaments of dress, conjugal intercourse, etc., and they were especially required to devote themselves to prayer, almsgiving, fasting, etc. The usual duration of this period of penance was three or four years, though it might be abbreviated at the will of the Church authorities.

The schisms which broke out in the Church, such as those of

Novatian, Miletus, and the Donatists, were a revolt against a tendency to relax the rigours of discipline, and arose for the most part over the question of the restoration of the lapsed. The N. African Church, led by Tertullian, refused restoration to those who had denied the faith in times of persecution; Cyprian at first took the same ground, but later receded from it in view of the great number who had given way in the Decian-Valerian persecution, and granted to the penitent the communion in the hour of death. The Roman Church was lenient with this class of offenders.

The Synods which were held at the close of this period—Elvira, Arles, and Ancyra—passed severe disciplinary canons. The Spanish Synod of Elvira (see A. W. W. Dale, *The Syn. of Elvira*, Lond. 1882) in 81 canons punished with anathematization the denial of the communion, and lesser penalties. Murder, idolatry, and especially unchastity have a large place given to them. For example, a wife guilty of adultery, without precedent provocation given by the husband, is denied communion even in the hour of death. Those guilty of extravagance in dress may after three years be restored to the communion, and gamblers after one year. The worship of idols by a baptized adult is pronounced a *crimen capitale*, and the offender is excluded permanently from the communion.

4. From 313 to 1215 (from Constantine's edict of toleration to the establishment of the Inquisition).—With the alliance of the Church with the State, a new practice was developed in regard to the treatment of ecclesiastical offences. The State itself passed disciplinary regulations for certain of them, and executed punishments. Worldly penalties, such as confiscation of goods, banishment, mulcts of money, death, and later the loss of individual freedom, came to be approved by the Church as penalties for offences within the realm of religion (see Hinschius, iv. 803-814; Friedberg, 210; Hergenröther, 546 ff.). Carrying over to the new order the ideas which the office of Pontifex Maximus implied, Constantine claimed authority, as universal bishop, over the external affairs of the Church. He and his Imperial successors exercised the right not only of proceeding against heretics, but, as in the case of Theodosius, of designating who they were. The Theodosian code counted as a public crime every offence against religion, on the ground that such offences brought injury to all (*in omnium fertur injuria* [quoted by Friedberg, 209]). The following are the chief steps in the history of Church discipline in this period of 1000 years:

(1) As worldliness crept into the Church after Constantine's identification with it, offences of moral conduct were given less prominence, and offences were emphasized which were committed against the Church as a corporation and against its doctrinal code as formulated by the Councils, and held by the common opinion of the Church.

(2) Constantine punished departures from the Nicene statement by burning the books of the Arians and banishing Arius himself. His sons at one time punished Athanasius and his followers, at another favoured them.

(3) The Ecumenical Councils, beginning with the Nicene (325), passed, in addition to their doctrinal decrees, canons providing rules of administration and discipline. The Athanasian Creed pronounced anathema upon those refusing its precise definitions of the doctrine of the Trinity, and excluded them from the possibility of salvation.

(4) While the Emperors, from Gratian and Theodosius to Justinian, were proscribing paganism by penalties increasing to the penalty of death, Imperial rescripts were placing Christian heretics under the civil ban. Theodosius the Great, at the close of the 4th cent., pronounced those who held to the Nicene statement Catholic Christians, and all others heretics. In 15 different enactments he deprived the latter of all right to the exercise of religious usages, excluded them from civil office, and threatened them with fines, banishment, confiscation of goods, and—as in the case of the Manichæans, Audians, and Quartodecimans—with death.

(5) The code of Justinian not only regulated all

kinds of ecclesiastical affairs, but in certain cases gave even criminal jurisdiction to the bishops (see Pfannmüller, *Die kirchliche Gesetzgebung Justinians*, Berlin, 1902, p. 82 ff.).

(6) The penalty of death was executed for the first time for ecclesiastical offences at Trèves in 385, when the Spanish bishop Priscillian and six others, including a noble matron of Bordeaux, were put to death. All the bishops present except Theognistes approved the sentence. Ambrose and Martin of Tours disapproved of it, the former, however, being opposed to the death sentence altogether. Leo I. (440-461) definitely advocated the death penalty for heretics. Henceforth the only parties to oppose it were the dissenting sects, such as the Donatists.

(7) Notable cases of discipline are not wanting in the administration of high ecclesiastics. Chrysostom was deposed for rebuking the extravagance and vices of the Imperial court of Constantinople (404). Ambrose excluded Theodosius from the church of Milan till he had made expiation for the wholesale execution in Thessalonica (390). Synesius excommunicated the governor of Pentapolis for his merciless oppressions (409).

(8) The most important influence on the discipline of dissenters exercised by any churchman was that of Augustine. At first inclined to restrict discipline to spiritual measures, he changed front during the controversy with the Donatists. Quoting our Lord's words in the parable, 'Compel them to come in,' he expounded them to include physical measures. He did not go as far as distinctly to advocate the penalty of death, but his exposition became the chief authority for the Schoolmen, including Thomas Aquinas, in favour of the death penalty for heretics.

(9) During the 7th and 8th centuries, penitential codes came into use, prescribing penalties for all sorts of offences against religion and the Church, beginning with those of Columban († 615), and Theodore of Tarsus († 690). A forerunner of these writers was John Scholasticus († 578), whose *Synagma* with its 68 canons was confirmed by the Trullan Synod of 692. An idea of the penances prescribed by Theodore of Tarsus may be formed from one example. A priest who drank to excess and vomiting had to do penance for 30 days, a layman for 15 days. False canonical codes were referred to by the Paris Synod (829).

(10) The Isidorian Decretals, dating from the middle of the 9th cent., authorized the Church to take cognizance in her discipline not only of specifically ecclesiastical offences (*delicta mere ecclesiastica*), but also of offences of a mixed character (*delicta mixta*). For certain Church dignitaries the decisions of the Church tribunal were final.

(11) Special legislation was enacted for clerical offences. Among the more notable acts was the so-called Canonical Rule (see Hatch, *Growth of Ch. Institutions*, London, 1887, ch. ix.). The ministry had become not only a profession, but a lucrative profession. The clergy hawked and hunted, were extravagant in their retinues, drank, and committed other excesses. One of Charlemagne's capitularies (802) called upon the clergy to live 'according to the canon.' Later a semi-cloistral mode of life was introduced among them, one reason given being that the clergy thereby 'might avoid the company of women,' as at the Roman Council of 853.

(12) The Canon Law was definitely incorporated in the collections of Regino († 915), Burchard of Worms († 1025), Anselm of Lucca († 1086), Cardinal Deusdedit (c. 1087), and Ivo of Chartres († 1116). These imperfect works gave way to the monumental production of the Camaldulensian monk, Gratian,

who taught canon law in the convent of St. Felix, Bologna, in the middle of the 12th century. His work, whose original title was *Concordantia canonum discordantium*, became the manual in its department, as the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard became the manual in the department of theology. It was greatly augmented with the supplements added by the Orders of Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., Clement V., and John XXII. Although full of forgeries and errors, as has been shown by Döllinger-Friedrich (*Das Papstthum*, Munich, 1892), it remained the undisputed code in Western Christendom till the Reformation, regulating life from the cradle to the grave. Its decrees have in part been superseded by the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent.

(13) As vicar of Christ and undisputed head of Latin Christendom, the Pope became, as the Middle Ages advanced, the supreme disciplinarian, and his decisions kept Christendom, especially England, in a constant ferment.

(14) The greater punishments which came into general use in the Church were the anathema and the interdict, to which is to be added suspension from the priesthood. Two forms of anathema, the minor and the major, are distinguished by Wetzeler-Welte, quoting Gregory IX., but they differ only in the degrees of solemnity with which they are pronounced. The anathema excludes from the communion and all public services of the Church except preaching, and from all the public suffrages of the Church, but not necessarily from private intercessions. If the sentence still rests upon the offender at death, it excludes from burial in consecrated ground. Martin V. in his *Ad evitanda* (1418) made a distinction between *excommunicati tolerati* and *excommunicati vitandi*. From the latter all religious intercourse whatever is to be withheld, and, as far as feasible, all commercial dealing (see Hergenröther, 568 ff.). Perhaps no excommunications surpass in execration that pronounced by Clement VI. (1346) against Louis the Bavarian:

'Let him be damned in his going out and his coming in! The Lord strike him with madness and blindness and mental insanity! May the heavens empty upon him their thunderbolts, and the wrath of the Omnipotent burn itself into him in the present and the future world! May the universe fight against him, and the earth open to swallow him up alive!' (Mibt, *Quellen d. Papstthums*, Tübingen, 1901, p. 153).

The interdict was extended to a community of persons or territory. There are different degrees of punishment involved in the sentence, but in general it involves the denial of the sacraments of the Eucharist, Ordination, and Extreme Unction, public services of the Church, and the rite of burial in sacred ground. Among the notable cases were the interdicts fulminated over Scotland (1180), England (1208), the sacred cities of Rome by Adrian IV. (1155), and Jerusalem (1229) on the occasion of the crusade of the excommunicated Emperor, Frederick II.

5. From 1215 (the Fourth Lateran Council) to the Council of Trent.—There are three important points which stand out in the further history of discipline before the Reformation. (1) The doctrine of Penance underwent a radical change (see K. Müller, *Der Umschwung in der Lehre von der Busse während d. 12ten Jahrh.*, Freib. 1892; Schaaf, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. v. pt. i. p. 729 ff.). Confession to the priest and satisfaction by doing the penances prescribed by him were made necessary for absolution. The acts of satisfaction are penal acts which serve like medicines for spiritual wounds, and also as a compensation to God for offences. So Alexander of Hales and Thomas Aquinas taught. The priest is the judge of what the act of satisfaction shall be. Among the more notable cases of public penance were those of Henry II. after Becket's death, and Raymund of Toulouse. This

system of discipline under the direction of the priest became obligatory for every Christian in the world. The crusades offered a vast opportunity for the exercise of Church discipline and penance.

(2) The tribunal of the Inquisition, established by Innocent III. at the 12th Ecumenical Council (1215), was intended to meet the peril of heresy and to extirpate it. With Gregory the Great (+ 604) heresy ceased to be known in Western Europe for four centuries. At the end of the 11th cent. slight traces of it appear at Goslar, Mainz, Cologne, Strassburg, and other places. They as quickly disappeared, but suddenly in the 12th cent. heresy sprang up in different parts of Europe, from Milan to Antwerp, and from the Pyrenees to Bremen. In his Laws of 1238, Frederick II. gives a list of 19 different heretical sects. The chief of these were the Cathari and the Waldenses. In 1163 a Synod of Toulouse compared heretics to serpents concealing themselves in the grass. Innocent III.'s predecessor, Lucius III., at the Council of Verona (1184) joined with Frederick Barbarossa in a public demonstration in the Cathedral, that they would make it their common cause to extirpate heretical depravity. Princes were ordered to take an oath to support the Church in punishing offenders, upon pain of forfeiting their dignities. The Synod of Toulouse (1163) had called upon princes to imprison heretics and confiscate their goods. The Third Lateran (1179) extended the punishments to defenders of heretics. By the third canon of the Fourth Lateran (1215) all princes were again enjoined to swear to protect the orthodox faith, on pain of losing their lands; and to all taking part 'in the extermination of heretics' was offered the indulgence extended to the Crusaders in the Holy Land. All who in any way supported heretics were to be excommunicated and excluded from receiving their natural inheritance. This portentous organization was further perfected at the Council of Toulouse (1229), and by Innocent IV. in his bull *Ad extirpanda* (1252), which prescribed torture as a means of extorting confession of crime. No heretic was to be punished till convicted by the ecclesiastical tribunal, but, once convicted, the secular arm was under obligation to punish the offender by destroying his domicile and refuge, even though it were underground, by confiscating his goods, and by putting him to death. Innocent III. declared that, as treason was punished, so much more should punishments be meted out to those who committed the greater crime of blasphemy against God and His Son. Secular princes were to draw the sword against them (see quotation in Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. v. pt. ii. p. 518, together with Hurter's exposition of Innocent's views). Innocent summoned Christendom to a crusade against the heretics in Southern France, promising 'those who fought for the soul and for God' the same rewards as he promised to those who ventured their lives to rescue the Holy Sepulchre.

In vain is the plea made that the Church did not execute heretics or immediately pronounce the decree of execution. It immured them for life, and it threatened with exclusion from the sacrament and from heaven princes and magistrates who refused to execute the death penalty upon them. The Catholic apologist, Vacandard, is compelled to say that at times the sacred tribunal actually passed sentence of death. It is strange, in view of the words of Popes and councils, that Catholic writers, like Ph. Hergenröther (*Kathol. Kirchenrecht*, 64), should assert not only that it is not within the Church's province to execute the death penalty, but that it cannot call upon the State to execute it. An inquisitor like Bernard Guy represented the temper of his time when he said in his famous manual that heresy could be exterminated only as heretics were burnt.

To this extreme form of Church discipline the Schoolmen gave full theological justification. Thomas Aquinas, resting upon the authority of Augustine, asserted that 'heretics were not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication,

but from the world by death' (*Summa*, ii. pt. 2. 11 [ed. Migne, iii. 109]). 'As falsifiers of coin are to be put to death, much more should they be put to death who are guilty of the more wicked act of corrupting the faith. The heretic the Church delivers over to the secular tribunal to be put out of the world.'

The Spanish Inquisition, formally sanctioned by Sixtus IV. (1478) and accepted by his successors in its essential features, is even more noted in history for its ingenious devices and severity in disciplining heretics than the papal tribunal established in 1215. Pastor and Funk both agree, as against Hefele, that it was primarily not a State institution, but the creation of the Pope (Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. v. pt. ii. p. 539 ff.).

(3) The third important chapter in the history of Church discipline in this period was the famous assertion of Boniface VIII., in the bull *Unam sanctam* (1302), that both swords are in the hands of the Pope, and that it is altogether necessary to salvation to be obedient to the Roman pontiff. This assertion, confirmed by Leo X. on the very eve of the Protestant Reformation, sufficiently justifies the Church in the use of any means whatsoever that it may select to carry on its work and maintain its authority. Down to the 14th cent., the theory had been that the Church's jurisdiction stops with those who are baptized by its ritual. But papal pamphleteers, after the death of Boniface VIII., like Augustinus Triumphus (+ 1328), extended it to the whole heathen world. A voice as if proclaiming a new era, Marsilius of Padua, in his *Defensor pacis* (1324), argued that the disciplinary prerogative of the Church was only suasive, not penal. But the Church did not listen to him, and the Council of Constance (1415) re-affirmed the doctrine that heretics should be burnt ('puniendi usque ad ignem'), and carried out the affirmation in the sentences against Hus and Jerome of Prague and the bones of Wyclif. The papal crusades against the Cathari were repeated against the Hussites, and Savonarola was burnt with the approbation of Pope Alexander VI. One of the charges made by Leo X. against Luther was that he asserted that it was against the will of the Holy Spirit that heretics should be burnt.

The Council of Trent nowhere mentions the penalty of death for heretics, but neither it nor any Pope since has expressly rejected the severe disciplinary policy exercised by the Church for centuries. The disciplinary element in penance was re-affirmed by the Council of Trent, even to the use of indulgences.

6. The Reformers and the Protestant Churches. —Three things, made prominent by the Reformers, were adapted to reduce the value of Church discipline and to limit the application of a disciplinary code: (1) the principle emphasizing the immediate responsibility of the Christian to God; (2) the authority of Scripture as the supreme rule of life; (3) the insistence upon preaching as the chief element in the power of the keys—a view which passed into the Augsburg (Schaff, *Creeds*, iii. 59) and other Protestant Confessions. Instruction and persuasion through the sermon were destined, to a considerable extent, to take the place of punitive discipline. Another consideration adapted to limit the application of discipline was the abolition of the confessional, and the substitution of repentance of heart for penance with its system of outward satisfactions imposed by the priest. There was a wide divergence between the Lutheran and the Calvinistic Reformations in the prominence given to discipline, growing out of the attitude of Luther and Calvin respectively. Luther had no genius for administration, and felt little confidence in discipline. Calvin was a born administrator, and in theory advanced discipline to almost as high a place as it had held in the

medieval Church, but with a wide difference in practice.

(1) *The Lutheran Church*.—Luther was inclined to be satisfied with preaching, Christian instruction, and the dispensation of the two sacraments as the means for preserving the purity of the Church and extending her influence. He had little to say about discipline as a system, and never set forth a clear theory of the relation of Church and State. He was violent enough in his judgments against the Anabaptists, Münster, and the Protestant anarchists, and against the Swiss, but he never worked out a system of discipline. The *Augsburg Confession* (pt. II. art. vii.) condemns the 'violent excommunications' of pontiffs, and their attempt to take from Emperors their prerogatives and transfer them to themselves. It insists that the two powers are not to be confounded, and at the same time that the Church in her own sphere is sovereign. The exercise of her rightful power no more interferes with civil government than the art of singing does. The *Schmalckald Articles* (iii. 9) reject the major excommunication, but retain the minor, which is to be used against manifest sinners, excluding them from the Lord's Table till they give proof of amendment. This power of excommunication inheres in the body of the Church. Later in the 16th cent. it was left to the Lutheran consistories, the pastor having only the prerogative of announcing the sentence. In the 17th cent. there was a movement to establish or re-establish a system of discipline by J. V. Andreae, who had been in Geneva, the younger Quistorp of Rostock, and others, by the appointment of a body of elders for each congregation. Spener also wrote of discipline as a possible means of reviving piety. These suggestions came to nothing. At the present time the State exercises so large an authority in appointing ministers and enforcing baptism that discipline is almost a lost art in the German Lutheran Churches.

(2) *The Reformed Churches*.—(a) Zwingli and Ecclampadius left the right of excommunication to the State. In Zürich the Reformation was carried out by the magistrates; and heretics and Anabaptists were executed. Zwingli, so far as we know, did not protest against this punishment. The *First Helvetic Confession* provides for excommunication and for reinstatement in case of repentance; but, without making a clear distinction between the two realms, puts the authority to pass sentence in the hands of those 'who are appointed thereto by the servants of the Word and the Christian magistracy.' The State is to take positive measures to root out blasphemy and punish blasphemers, and to promote the spread of the principles preached in the pulpit. The *Second Helvetic Confession* (xxx. [Schaff, *Credo*s, iii. 305 f.]) makes it the duty of the civil magistrate 'to defend the Church of God and the preaching of the truth, to cut out all impiety, superstition, and idolatry, to draw the sword against all malefices and blasphemers, and to coerce all heretics who are heretics indeed.'

(b) The practice of the large body of the Reformed Churches was determined by Calvin's treatment in his *Institutes* (bk. iv. ch. 12) and by the Genevan code, the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, which were largely the work of Calvin's hand. It must not be overlooked that in minor particulars the execution of the Genevan legislation differs from Calvin's theory as laid down in his *Institutes*. Calvin's carefully arranged form of Church government involved a rigid discipline. He proceeded on the principle that 'no house can be preserved in proper condition without discipline.' Otherwise Christians would live like rats in the straw.

Discipline is the only remedy against a dreadful desolation in the Church. Its purpose is threefold—to keep the Church in a sound condition, to protect its members against taint, and to bring the offender, if possible, to repentance. Following closely on Mt 18¹⁸, admonition precedes excommunication, which is the last resort of the ecclesiastical power. Calvin declared that, as sound teaching is the soul of the Church, so discipline is its sinews (*disciplina pro nervis est*). The elders, twelve in number, appointed from the Little Council, were expected to live in different parts of Geneva, in order that they might the better perform their functions as overseers. It was their duty to watch over the moral and religious fidelity of the people, and to make at least once a year a visitation of every household. With the pastors they constituted the consistory, which met once a week and sat upon complaints made against high and low. They fixed penalties for offenders, such as payments of money for non-attendance at Church. Greater offenders were turned over to the civil power for punishment. Watchmen were appointed to report persons who failed to go to Church. This system has been likened by Catholic historians (e.g. Funk, *Kirchen-gesch.*, 1902, p. 438) to the tribunal of the Inquisition. Calvin's theory of the relation of State and Church cannot be discussed here. It is evident, however, that, in abandoning the medieval mistake whereby the Church arrogated to itself authority over the State, he went too far in the other direction to suit our modern ideas. He was right in declaring that ministers must confine themselves to the spiritual sword, which is the word of God (*Inst.* iv. ii. 4). The State he treated as a Christian institution established to defend the Church, and to punish religious as well as political and moral offences. Thus not only sedition and adultery were punished by death in Geneva, but also blasphemy, heresy, and idolatry, the justification for such punishments being derived from the Old and New Testaments. The most notable of the many condemnations was the burning of Servetus upon the two charges of blasphemy against the doctrine of the Trinity, and insulting reprobation of infant baptism. Calvin himself acted as prosecutor. The Reformer, however, seems to have had some idea of the co-ordinate relation of the two realms, and insisted, at the risk of his life, upon excommunication as the sole prerogative of the Church. In the famous case of the excommunicated Berthelier (1553), who had been reinstated by the civil authority in the church, Calvin declared that he would die rather than acknowledge the principle of State interference.

(c) The Protestant Church of France, adapting itself to its position in the State, adopted Calvin's discipline in a modified form, but also declared that the magistrates are appointed of God to suppress crimes against the first as well as against the second table of the Decalogue (*Gallican Conf.* xxxix.).

(d) The Anglican *Thirty-Nine Articles* commanded excommunication (xxxiii.), but are not clear in defining the tribunal before which a person should come before being received back into the communion of the Church, the words running 'received into the Church by a judge that hath authority thereunto.' By virtue of the supreme headship of the Church in England inhering in the sovereign, discipline for Church offences was exercised by the civil authority. This principle was not combated by the Puritan party in Elizabeth's reign, but only the application of it whereby they suffered for disobedience to the Act of Uniformity.

(e) In Scotland and among the Puritan churches

the rigorous discipline of Geneva found its most genial soil, so that Puritanism and Presbyterianism are synonymous in the popular mind not only with severity of Christian living, but with severity of censure upon those who depart in faith or ethical practice from the accepted standard. The Scottish symbols, and the Westminster standards which took their place after 1648, alike enunciate the close relation between Church and State whereby the State punishes a certain class of religious offences, and also lay great stress upon strict supervision over the lives of Church members and a rigorous system of censure. The *Book of Common Order* and the *First Book of Discipline*, as well as the *Form of Government and Directory of Worship* of the Westminster Assembly, state at length the rules of judicature and of trial. To these is to be added the *Order of Excommunication and of Public Repentance*, commanded to be printed by the Scottish Assembly in 1569 (see Dunlop, ii. 701-745). Knox, the faithful disciple of Calvin, laid down in the *Scottish Confession* of 1560 the principle of the relation of Church and State, when he declared that to civil rulers 'chiefly and most principally the conservation and purgation of religion appertains,' and that they are appointed for the maintenance of the true religion and for suppressing idolatry. This principle was fully embodied in the *Westminster Confession* (xxiii.), which declares it to be the duty of the civil magistrate to 'take order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church.' He 'hath power to call synods and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the Word of God.' This principle was carried out in the relation which the Assembly sustained to Parliament. One of the main complaints of the Millenary Petition in 1603 concerned Church discipline. The petitioners begged 'that men be not excommunicated for trifles and twelve-penny matters' (see Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, London, 1896, p. 509 ff.).

To the subject of the Church's exercise of discipline by its own tribunal, the *Westminster Confession* devotes a whole chapter (xxx.), and prescribes three forms of punishment—admonition, suspension from the Lord's Supper for a time, and excommunication from the Church. The reasons for the exercise of discipline are given in a more quaint and attractive form by Knox in the *Book of Common Order* (ch. vii.), and in the *Order of Excommunication* (ch. iii.). In the latter it is stated 'that, as it would be a work both uncharitable and cruel to join together in one bed persons infected with pestilent and other contagious and infective sores, with tender children or such as were sound, so it is no less cruelty to suffer amongst the flock of Christ such obstinate rebels . . . , for a little leaven corrupteth the whole mass.'

Offences coming before the Church court for censure are enumerated in the *Scottish Book of Discipline* (ch. ix.), and include 'accursed papistrie,' which exposed those who were infected with it to excommunication. This is reasserted in the *Order of Excommunication* (Dunlop, 709). The Kirk-session, consisting of the minister and elders, meeting once a week, had as one of its functions to determine and judge causes and administer admonition to licentious livers, for 'by the gravity of the seniors, the light and unbridled life of the licentious must be corrected and bridled' (*First Bk. of Disc.* x.). The sentence of excommunication was to be announced by the minister in the public audience of the people in the words:

'We having place in the ministry . . . draw the sword granted by God to His Church, that is, to excommunicate from the society of Christ Jesus, from His body the Church, from participation of sacraments and prayer with the same, the said N.'

(f) In America, during the Colonial period, the discipline within the Churches of Puritan and Presbyterian lineage was strict, and throughout the colonies, even in New Amsterdam under Peter Stuyvesant, the magistrate joined in exercising oversight over strictly ecclesiastical affairs. The notable exception was Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams, who before his banishment denied the right of the civil authority to punish offences against the first table, and who in his exile gave memorable expression to the principle of religious liberty. In the New England colonies, especially Massachusetts, the close alliance of Church and State involved not only such acts as the calling of synods by the legislature and the collecting of taxes for the support of the Established Church, but acts of Church discipline culminating in the banishments of Anne Hutchinson (1638) and Roger Williams (1636), the public execution of four Quakers (1659-61) in Boston, and the execution of nineteen persons accused of witchcraft in 1692. With the adoption of the American Constitution, the Churches, including the American Presbyterian Assembly (1789), adopted modifications of their constitutions, making them conform to the principle of the complete separation of Church and State. The Assembly of that year altered in a fundamental way ch. xxx. of the *Westminster Confession*. For similar modifications by British Presbyterian Churches, see art. CONFESSIONS, in vol. iii. p. 878*.

In recent times the tendency among Churches using the English tongue is to forego as far as possible the right of discipline, preferring to trust almost wholly to the effect of the public exposition of the truth from the pulpit and to the conscience of the church-member. There is also a tendency to avoid the exercise of discipline upon ministers of the gospel in the matter of doctrinal belief. The recent trials of Professor William Robertson Smith in Scotland (1877-81) and Professors Charles Briggs and Henry Preserved Smith in the United States (1892-94), and their exclusion for supposed heretical views, awakened wide-spread attention, and have raised the serious question how far liberty of opinion should be tolerated in a minister when it is accompanied by devotion to Christ and the interests of His Church.

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DISCIPLINE (Jewish).—The State under the Mosaic system being a theocracy, every offence was necessarily ecclesiastical, and its punishment a disciplinary measure. Besides the compulsory sin-offering (Lv 4¹²), the penalties imposed by the Pentateuch are fines, loss of property, flagellation, 'excision' (Gn 17¹⁴, etc.), and death. But, among the offences of which Mosaism takes cognizance, some are ecclesiastical in the stricter sense. They are, chiefly, idolatry, sacrilege, the appropriation of holy things, and the ministration of a priest when in a state of Levitical impurity. A priest's

daughter, moreover, who gave herself to prostitution was regarded as 'profaning her father,' and was to be burnt to death (Lv 21^b). The unintentional trespasser in the matter of holy things had to make full restitution to the sanctuary, and to pay an additional fifth of the value (Lv 5^{14a}). Death was the penalty for sacrilege (Nu 15¹, etc.); and the defiled priest had to wait until the evening, and then bathe, before resuming the duties of his office (Lv 22^a). Those who disobeyed imperilled their lives (*ib.*). A notable instance of sacrilege being thus punished is that of Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10^{10a}). The Israelite who ate leavened bread at the Passover, or consulted wizards, was punished with 'excision' (Ex 12^b, Lv 20^a); the Sabbath-breaker was stoned (Nu 15^{32a}); the worshipper of Molech was liable both to 'excision' and to the death penalty (Lv 20^{2a}).

A totally different kind of discipline was the self-imposed austerity of the Nazirite, who, in virtue of his vow, abstained from wine and strong drink, remained unshaven, and conformed to the laws of Levitical purity in all their rigour (Nu 6^{1a}).

For the purpose of stamping out idolatry the theory of the ban was brought into use. A person, animal, or thing, set apart or devoted to God, was known as *ḥērem*, i.e. banned, or tabu, and could not be sold or redeemed (Lv 27^{28a}). Idolatrous emblems and the cities of the seven Canaanite nations, with their inhabitants and contents, were *ḥērem*, and were to be destroyed (Dt 20¹ 3⁶ 7^a, Jos 6¹⁷). He who appropriated 'devoted things' was, so to speak, infected, and became *ḥērem* in his turn; he incurred the death penalty (Dt 7²⁶, Jos 7²⁵). A like doom overtook the idolatrous Israelite (Dt 13^{9a}). Idolatrous Israelitish cities, with their spoil, were to be burnt, and the cities to remain an everlasting ruin (Dt 13^{25a}).

By the time of Ezra disciplinary practice had become much less severe. Ezra invokes a general assembly of the Jews in order that they may purge themselves from the evil of intermarriage with their idolatrous neighbours; the property of those who refuse to attend is to be 'devoted,' and they themselves 'separated from the congregation' (Ezr 10^{7a}). There is no question here of a death penalty, and the use of the comparatively mild term 'separated' indicates a mitigation of disciplinary rigour. Ezra's action, however, seems to be a connecting link between the Pentateuchal procedure and the system of excommunication of the Talmudic régime. Under that system the term *ḥērem* changes its meaning, and now signifies the ban, not the thing banned. It is the technical term for excommunication, the most formidable weapon of the Jewish Church.

Excommunication, however, though the chief, was not the only disciplinary measure in use among the Jews. The voluntary asceticism of the Nazirite had its counterparts in post-Biblical times. Thus a man would take a vow, even registering it in a deed, to abstain, for a term or for life, from certain forms of self-indulgence. Gambling was a favourite subject of such a vow. The penalty for violation of the vow was often severe, extending even to bodily mutilation. Another self-imposed penance was fasting. A man would bind himself to fast on certain days of the week either for a definite period or for life. Further, the mediæval community or congregation would make enactments (*ṭ'kānōth*) against various offences, disobedience to which was punished by fines, exclusion from synagogal office, or refusal of the privilege of reading from the scroll of the Pentateuch during service, or of participation in some other religious rite. The imposition of a fine on the elder D'Israeli by the Spanish and Portuguese congregation in London was the immediate cause of his withdrawal

from the synagogue. Disobedience to a *ṭ'kānā* might also be visited with imprisonment (the Jews often had their own prisons in the Middle Ages). An offender might be denied Jewish burial, or his body consigned to a special section of the cemetery set apart for notorious evil-doers. Sentence of death was also passed upon flagrant transgressors, more particularly upon informers. The execution of the sentence in such cases necessarily required the consent of the Government, by whose officials it was carried into effect. Another disciplinary expedient was public denunciation in the synagogue, recourse to which was sometimes had in the case of the most venial offences—for extravagance in dress, for example, on the part of women. Nevertheless excommunication continued to be the most effective disciplinary agent of the synagogue for 2000 years.

The ban of the Synagogue falls under three categories, known respectively as *n'zifā*, *niddūi*, and *ḥērem*. The first lasted seven, the second thirty days. In Babylonia the periods were one day and seven days respectively. *N'zifā* was the penalty for slight offences, especially insult to the religious authorities. As regards *niddūi*, the ban was removed at the termination of the prescribed period if the offender made due submission, the formula being: 'Thou art absolved; thou art forgiven.' If he was recalcitrant, the punishment was renewed for a second and a third period. If he was still contumacious, excommunication in the third degree (*ḥērem*) was pronounced, which continued for an indefinite period, but might be revoked at the will of the authorities. Before sentence was pronounced, the culprit was thrice publicly exhorted to submission and repentance in the synagogue, on Monday and on the following Thursday and Monday, those being the days when the Law was read and the congregation was numerous. When this exhortation proved unavailing, the ban was pronounced in the offender's presence with the words: 'N.N. is excommunicated'; or, in his absence, with the words: 'Let N.N. be excommunicated' (cf. the expression 'anathema maranatha' in 1 Co 16²², the second word of which is perhaps a corrupt reading for *mākrām'attā*, 'thou art excommunicated'). Those on whom *n'zifā* was pronounced were compulsorily confined to their houses, and forbidden to engage in business or pleasure. Those under *niddūi* were forbidden all social intercourse save with their wives and children. They could not make up the quorum for public worship (*minyān*), but they might attend the synagogue for prayer and listen to religious discourses. They had to wear mourning, and were forbidden to bathe, to cut their hair, or to wear shoes. It is said that there was a special entrance into the Temple reserved for excommunicated persons, and men greeted them as mourners. If *ḥērem* were pronounced, the offender might not teach; nor might he be supplied with food beyond what was required for bare sustenance. His wife might be excluded from public worship and his children from school. If his offence was heresy, and he died impenitent, no funeral rites might be performed for him, and a stone was placed on his coffin.

The offences punishable by *niddūi* are drawn from every department of the religious and ethical domain. Maimonides (*Hilkoth Talmud Torah*, 6.14) enumerates twenty-four examples drawn from the Talmud; but his list is obviously not exhaustive. A few typical examples may be given: desecrating the second day of the festival (though it is a purely Rabbinical institution); unnecessary use of the Divine Name; ill-treatment of children by the parent, so that they are made to break the command 'Thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother':

the neglect by a slaughterer of cattle (*shôhēt*) to show his knife to his Rabbi so that it may be declared fit for its purpose on ritual and humanitarian grounds; business partnership between a divorced couple; selling to a Gentile land immediately adjoining the property of another Jew without indemnifying the latter for consequent injury.

Probably owing to the example of the Church, excommunication among the Jews became more drastic and more far-reaching in the Middle Ages. The catalogue of offences visited with the penalty was enlarged, the disabilities it imposed increased in number, and the right of pronouncing it extended from the Rabbinical authority to the congregation (*kāhāl*). Synods met at various times to formulate new ecclesiastical rules, all of which were enforced by the threat of excommunication. Thus the famous Synod of Worms, convoked in the 11th cent. by R. Gershon of Mayence, declared polygamy forbidden, and placed under the ban those who disobeyed this decision. On the other hand, the offences denounced by the congregation were often trivial, and resort to excommunication in their case was less justifiable. Thus the penalty became a terrible engine of oppression in the hands of ill-instructed men, who were free to give effect to their own ideas of right and wrong, unrestrained by the moderating influence of trained and educated minds. The decrees of excommunication pronounced by the congregation operated within the entire district over which it exercised jurisdiction, and, until formally repealed, through all generations. They followed the offenders even after they had severed themselves from the congregation and had removed to another district.

In some of its features the Jewish ritual of excommunication in the mediæval period bore a close likeness to that adopted by the Church. The excommunicated person, if his case was a bad one, was literally banned 'with bell, book, and candle.' Led into the synagogue, he was placed beside the reader, who stood at the ark, the most sacred part of the building, with a scroll of the Pentateuch in his arms. Inflated bladders were placed on a bier, candles were lighted, and sackcloth and ashes strewn at the offender's feet. Then the horn (*shôphâr*) was sounded, the candles were extinguished, and the bladders burst—all to strike terror into the culprit's heart. Finally came the pronouncement of the excommunication: 'In the name of God, of the tribunal of Heaven and of earth, we solemnly ban and excommunicate the sinner N.N. May all the curses of the Law rest upon his head, and this excommunication cling to the 248 members of his body!' Whereupon all present, including the culprit, answered 'Amen.'

The history of excommunication in the Jewish Church is chiefly a catalogue of more or less distinguished persons banned for heresy, or some cognate offence against authority. Breaches of the religious law were frequently visited with the penalty; but we hear less of them in this connexion than of contumacy and unorthodox teaching. That excommunication was employed to fight Christianity at its inception is to be gathered from Lk 6²² and 9²², and from other passages in the New Testament. The first undoubted instance of the imposition of the ban given in the Talmud, though we read of possibly earlier threats of it, is that of the sage Akabya ben Mahalalel (a contemporary of Jesus (?)), whose sin consisted in persisting in a view of the ritual law opposed to that of the majority of the Sanhedrin. At this period the President of the Sanhedrin was invested with the power of excommunication, and a famous President at the beginning of the 2nd cent. was Gamaliel II., a man of sterling but imperious character. A

notable victim of his overbearing temper was his own brother-in-law Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, a Rabbi of great learning and influence, upon whom Gamaliel imposed lifelong excommunication for an offence similar to that of Akabya. Gamaliel calls Heaven to witness that his severity has for its motive not a lust of power, but zeal for the Divine glory; and there is no question that his protest is sincere. But it is of such stuff that Torquemadas are made, and from such zeal that the evils they produce are wrought. Certainly this truth did not escape the attention of the Talmudic doctors; and when, in the same century, Judah the Holy threatened to place R. Meir under the ban, a resolute spirit—Bar Kappara—himself a member of the Sanhedrin, strenuously protested. It would seem, indeed, that excommunication became increasingly rare in Palestine from this time forward, flagellation being substituted for it in the case of insubordinate Rabbis. In Babylonia, however, to which the centre of gravity of Jewish life was now being shifted, the old disciplinary system was maintained, at least in principle. How often it was put into practice it is impossible to say. Only three cases are recorded, so that its mere terrors possibly sufficed to keep the rebellious in order. There were certainly Rabbis who prided themselves upon never having pronounced sentence of excommunication upon a colleague; the very act of pronouncing it was punishable with the ban. It is even recorded that a Rabbi would first put himself under the ban before imposing it upon others, so that he might remember to release them when he set himself free. But this considerate temper was by no means general, and the consequences were sometimes grotesque. Two Rabbis would excommunicate each other, and the difficulty was to know which of the two sentences was the valid one. The absurdity of such proceedings and the evil consequences generally of excommunication moved Maimonides (12th cent.) to utter a warning note.

'The Rabbi,' he said, 'has the undoubted right to punish insults to his office by excommunication; but it does not consort with his dignity to exercise this right frequently. Better that he should let the insults of coarse men go unnoticed, as the wise Solomon has said, "Take not heed unto all words that are spoken; lest thou hear thy servant curse thee"' (*op. cit.* end).

Maimonides himself was the innocent cause of increased resort to the ban. Opposition to his theological teachings broke out into active violence after his death, and the anathema was pronounced against all and sundry who should read his *Guide* or the Introduction to his *Yad*. The Rabbis of the opposing school followed suit, and excommunicated those who denounced the Master. The quarrel not only grew fiercer as time went on, but widened in scope. The ban was now directed against preachers who interpreted the Scriptures allegorically, and against all persons under 25 who engaged in the study of Greek philosophy, or of any natural science except medicine.

In Amsterdam, in the 17th cent., Uriel Acosta, having made his submission to the Synagogue after excommunication for heresy, was placed under the ban a second time on repeating his offence. Again recanting, he was again absolved; but his conflict with the authorities had unhinged his mind, and, after an attempt upon the life of his denouncer, he died by his own hand. A more illustrious heretic, Spinoza, paid with excommunication for his philosophical speculations in the same century and in the same city. He made no attempt at recantation or submission; the decree which drove him out from the Jewish community secured additional effectiveness from his self-imposed banishment and alienation. Cf. artt. ACOSTA, SPINOZA.

Nor was philosophy the only heresy. The mystical doctrine of the Kabbālā, which represented the other pole of Jewish thought, was equally anathema. Shabbathai Sebi, the pseudo-Messiah, also of the 17th cent., was put under the ban as much for his Kabbalistic teachings as for his Messianic pretensions. His followers long outlived him.

—they still survive in Turkey; and the sentence pronounced against their founder was renewed for their punishment at intervals for a century and a half. Dabbling in the Kabbalā brought not merely impostors, but also great teachers, under the ban. Indeed, the more eminent the Rabbi, the more surely does he seem to have been marked out as a fit subject for excommunication; and, on the other hand, the more obscure the Rabbi, the more ready he was to excommunicate. 'The sword and shield of ignorance and deceit'—thus a Jewish writer characterized the ban. Even to show brotherly feeling for the Karaites was an offence visited with disciplinary measures, as the famous Nachman Krochmal of Lemberg was to learn, less than a century ago. Naturally, the sect of the *Hasidim*, who exalted mysticism above conformity with the Rabbinic Law, were banned as heretics. Heresy, moreover, meant anything that was new, however innocent or positively advantageous to the Jewish cause. Thus the Synagogue, or rather its representatives in certain places, declared some of its best friends anathema—a Dr. Frankl, for example, who fifty years ago desired to found in Jerusalem an asylum for children on modern lines, and, a little later, even Sir Moses Montefiore, who advocated the teaching of European languages in the schools of the Holy City. Nor has such disciplinary procedure been quite unknown in England in recent times.

A species of excommunication was launched by the orthodox Rabbinate in 1842 against the West London Synagogue, which had just been established on principles antagonistic to the Talmudic theory of the divinity of the Oral Law. The faithful were warned against using the Prayer Book of the new congregation, and against communion with them in 'any religious rite or sacred act.' Members of the congregation were denied Jewish burial. After protracted negotiations, the ban was removed seven years later.

At the present time excommunication is virtually extinct among Jews in civilized countries. More than a century ago the famous Paris Sanhedrin, convoked by Napoleon I., anticipated matters by virtually declaring the rite of excommunication obsolete. It is significant that a note to the chapter on the ban in the latest editions of the *Shulhan Arukh*—the authoritative text-book of orthodox Judaism—declares that the prescriptions set forth in that chapter have no longer any validity (*Yorē Deah*, sect. 334). Even the most devoted adherent of the Rabbinic Law is forced to admit that these severe disciplinary measures are at once superfluous and contrary to the spirit of the age. Self-preservation is obtainable by milder and more rational means in these days of emancipation and equality. Moreover, the Jew imbued with the modern spirit recognizes, as fully as does his Gentile brother, that severity, when exercised by a religious body, defeats its own purpose by hardening the offender in his offence and confirming him in his heresy. It is a glaring self-contradiction, seeing that a Church, which necessarily claims to

be the Divine representative, should have, as its first characteristic, the Divine qualities of mildness and leniency. Thus the ban has again and again served the cause of irreligion, instead of militating against it. Moses Mendelssohn (18th cent.), the protagonist of the modern Jewish temper, has well expressed this view:

'Excommunication and proscription,' he says in the introductory pages of his *Jerusalem*, 'are directly contrary to the spirit of Religion. What!—shut out a brother who would share in my edification and lift his heart with mine to God! If Religion permits itself no arbitrary punishments, least of all can it use this spiritual torment which, alas, only they can feel who are truly religious. . . . Every society, it is urged, has the right to exclude; why not a religious society? My answer is that this is just where a religious society forms an exception. Subject to a higher law, no society can exercise a right which is directly opposed to its fundamental aims. To excommunicate a dissenter, to expel him from the Church, is like forbidding a sick man the dispensary. It is to repulse the patient whose need of medicine is all the greater because he is not conscious of his need, but deems himself in good health.'

In fairness, however, to the Synagogue, a distinction must be drawn between the needs of modern times and those of the past. There were occasions when the duty of safeguarding the existence of the community, and even of the religion, seemed to justify resort to excommunication. It possessed terrors which every other disciplinary expedient lacked. It seemed to be the only means of enforcing respect for authority and obedience to its injunctions. It supplied an effective weapon for preserving morality, personal and public, and it often averted ill-will and persecution at the hands of the general population, by preventing internal disputes from obtaining the publicity of the secular courts. Under threat of excommunication, Jewish litigants would bring their quarrels for adjustment to the *Bēth Din* (the Ecclesiastical Court) or to the *Kāhāl* (the Congregation), instead of taking them for settlement to the magistrates. But these considerations do not excuse the action of certain Rabbis, of the mediæval period more particularly, who resorted to excommunication as an easy means of crushing their personal opponents. Nor, in the case of heresy, do they avail against the objection raised by I. H. Weiss (*Dor Dor*, v.), that excommunication, even when actuated by the purest motives, did more harm than good by rendering Jewry in twain at a time when concord and union were its greatest need. Moreover, as he adds, instead of extirpating the evils at which it aimed, it often rooted them deeper. The heretic, who might have been won back by lenity and forbearance, was strengthened in his heresy, and still further estranged, by severe methods.

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DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

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DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Introductory and Primitive).—Of the two methods, the 'direct' and the 'interpretative,' by which we can study the beliefs of different peoples as regards the methods of communication, diagnosis, and treatment of disease, each has its difficulties. To

'interpret' the beliefs of a people from observation of their practices is always a dangerous procedure. The same practices may exist among widely distant peoples; yet we can never safely conclude that they are the expression of precisely the same beliefs, or that apparently identical be-

liefs have the same meaning and have been reached by the same lines of development. Take as an example certain conceptions of the cause of toothache.

In the Banks Islands, says Codrington (*The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 198), there was 'a young woman of my acquaintance' who 'had a reputation for power of healing toothache by a charm which had been taught her by an aged relative deceased. She would lay a certain leaf, rolled up with certain muttered words, upon the part inflamed; and, when in course of time the pain subsided, she would take out and unfold the leaf, and show within it the little white maggot that was the cause of the trouble.' We turn now to the Ainu of Japan. 'For toothache a nail is heated to white heat and held on the affected tooth for a few seconds. This is said to kill the insects which are supposed to be the origin of the malady' (J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, p. 293). Lastly, in ancient Assyria and among the modern Arabs of Mesopotamia, toothache is attributed to a worm.

It would be tempting to suppose that the notion of worms or insects being the cause of toothache has had the same origin in Melanesia, Japan, and Asia Minor; but all modern anthropological research points to the danger of drawing such a conclusion from a single thread of evidence. We can hope to arrive at the relationship between individual beliefs only by carefully comparing the entire cultures among which they are found; we can hope to arrive at the ultimate meaning and origin of a belief only by observing and 'directly' questioning the peoples among whom it is found, and especially neighbouring and more primitive peoples who may reasonably be considered as connected, by race or by environment, with them. On the other hand, it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain, by the 'direct' (or questioning) method, the beliefs of a people in relation to such a subject as disease. For its ideas are apt to be nebulous and in a state of flux; old practices often persist, but receive a changing explanation as in course of time the beliefs of the community develop; even old beliefs may be preserved and unreflectingly maintained, despite the fact that they are logically inconsistent with the newer beliefs which an advancing civilization or the adoption of a foreign culture brings with it.

In the face of these difficulties, we shall confine ourselves in this article mainly to the study of disease among definite primitive peoples. We shall examine specific instances instead of working with uncertain generalities. Such a study will show us how illness has been attributed first to personal (human or demonic) and later to Divine resentment, as the ideas of human magic, of interference by evil spirits, and of godhead have gradually developed. Comparing primitive and more advanced peoples with one another, we shall see how treatment becomes more complex as different diseases are allotted to different evil spirits, demons, or gods. Different medicine-men are invoked; definite remedies become attached to definitely recognized diseases. Many practices, employed even by the most primitive peoples, are continued, but are regarded in quite another light as civilization advances. They are found to have a good effect, although the original cause for their application is no longer believed in. Thus massage, or counter-irritation, and often steam are employed by many primitive peoples with the object of driving out the evil matter or spirit or the demon of the disease from the patient's body. The evil is kneaded, stamped, or pounded out of the body; or it is rubbed in a definite direction—usually from the part affected towards the feet, where it escapes; or cuts are made in the skin, causing some flow of blood. Again, the conviction felt by the patient that the medicine-man is able by his actions to control the evil spirits of disease is responsible, more than any other factor, for the success of primitive therapeutics. So, too, among the most advanced communities, despite their changed beliefs, massage, hydrotherapy, and, at all events

until recently, venesection persist as useful practices. As regards suggestion, it is open to question how far the most modern treatment, or the most 'specific' drug, can restore the patient to health, unless he has been induced to believe in its efficacy. Among primitive peoples, knowing the name of the evil spirit, using archaic language, summoning medicine-men from another tribe, are frequently important factors in effecting a cure. Among ourselves, a physician is held of slight account who cannot give a name to his patient's illness; he still writes his remedies in a dead language; and his reputation is apt to be greater abroad than at home. Although the medicinal aspect of treatment has come more and more to the front, in no part of the world can the magical aspect be said to have altogether disappeared.

1. Australia.—Turning now to various primitive peoples in order to study their practices (and, so far as is possible, their beliefs) in regard to the causation and treatment of disease, let us first examine the native Australians, who have been studied with considerable care by Spencer and Gillen (*The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1899, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, do. 1904), by W. E. Roth (*North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin 5, Brisbane, 1903), and by Howitt (*The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, London, 1904).¹ Among these peoples disease is attributed to some evil magic prepared by one man who wishes to harm another. A widely spread method of causing disease is for the sorcerer to take an *irna*, a stick or bone less than a foot long, sharpened at one end, the other end being usually tipped with porcupine-grass resin (S.-G.* 534). Any native may act as a sorcerer. He goes away into the bush with his *irna*, which he places in the ground, muttering some such curse as 'May your heart be rent asunder!', 'May your head and throat be split open!' Then he goes back to his camp, returning later to fetch the *irna*, which he hides somewhere near his camp. He bides his time until he can get near enough one night to distinguish his victim without being himself observed.

'He then stoops down, and turning his back towards the camp takes the *irna* in both hands and jerks it repeatedly over his shoulder, muttering the same curses again' (S.-G.^b 458). This pointing of the *irna* causes disease, and even death, unless the evil magic which has proceeded from the point of the *irna* can be removed. Usually a string is attached to the wax end of the *irna*, and this the sorcerer often burns in the fire to ensure the death of his victim. There is general agreement, among Europeans resident in primitive communities, that natives are extraordinarily open to suggestion, so far at least as the transmission of disease is concerned. A man who believes that magic has been exercised upon him 'simply lies down, refuses food, and pines away' (S.-G.* 537). The writer was assured, during his stay in the Torres Straits, that it was sufficient if a man recognized as having magic power made a slight movement towards another who was aware that the former owed him a grudge. The victim would then go home, refuse food, and become seriously ill. This pointing with the bone extends, with variations, throughout Australia. In some cases a spear is used with a human bone attached to it (R. § 139 f.); in others a human fibula is used (H. 358), often along with human fat (*ib.* 361), which the medicine-men are believed to be able to abstract from other victims and to use as a powerful aid (*ib.* 367). In place of the bone, stones may be employed (S.-G.^b 467; H. 378); pieces of quartz, especially in the crystalline form, are believed to be capable of projecting magic towards the victim.

¹ For brevity's sake, we shall refer to these books as S.-G.^a, S.-G.^b, R., and H. respectively.

(H. 357, 365; R. § 114). Certain stones may, from their mythical history, be exceedingly powerful (S.-G.^b 472, 469). A dead man's hair made into a girdle or worn in a necklace, lengths of opossum string (R. § 131), a dead man's head-band (S.-G.^a 538), a knout made of strands of vegetable fibre (^b 469), a woman's head-band (*ib.* 465), are also powerful objects for evil magic. Ant-hills are similarly employed; a curse is muttered into an ant-hill, which is then secretly brought back to the camp, pounded, and scattered over the ground in the camp to which the victim belongs (*ib.* 466).

There is little specialization of function among most of the Australian tribes in the causation of disease; any man can magically affect another. It is more particularly in the treatment of disease that special 'medicine-men' play a part (S.-G.^b 479). These may wear special emblems, and be compelled to submit to certain regulations in diet and training (*ib.* 485). The medicine-man may suck or knead the affected part (H. 380, 384). He may merely lay on his hands (*ib.* 382), or make passes (S.-G.^b 484), or he may suck at or bind round the patient strings of human hair or opossum fur (R. §§ 155, 156). His object is commonly to produce from the patient's body the bone or the stone which the patient's enemy has employed against him (S.-G.^b 480; H. 379, 384); he sometimes produces a bit of quartz or charcoal, or a marble, and often spits out blood somehow obtained from his own mouth after prolonged sucking. In some cases the patient is bled (H. 385), or is treated with herbs, etc. (*ib.* 384). Or it may be enough for him to place a woman's head-band upon his stomach, whereupon the evil magic passes into the band, which is thrown away into the bush (S.-G.^b 474).

There are several minor features also described by observers of the Australians; but the above may be considered to be typical of this people generally, and will suffice to show broadly their attitude towards disease. It is clear that disease is commonly regarded in Australia as an evil sent by one man to another, which is transmitted through the magic influence of pointing some such object as a bone, a stone, or a piece of quartz. It enters the body in that form, and in the same form the evil must be withdrawn from the body.

2. *Torres Straits.*—Now let us turn to the Torres Straits, between Queensland and New Guinea. Here, too, the belief in the power possessed by individuals in causing disease is accepted. It is probable that in his heart each native knows that he cannot cause disease in another; nevertheless, he is always in terror lest some enemy may have the power of causing it in himself. In Murray Island, certain families were credited with influence over the growth of bananas, coco-nuts, or yams; others were supposed to direct the movements of sharks; many erected stone images in their gardens to protect their food. There arose a belief in disease as the sequel to robbery or some similar crime, and in the value of certain stones or marks as an indication and assurance that disease would follow if the objects protected by such signs of *tabu* were disturbed.

In Murray Island the writer obtained a description of a species of sorcery, called *maid*, which was formerly inflicted by any of the older men, in cases of hatred (*maid urkeriam*) or adultery (*maid koskeriam*). Finding his victim alone, the avenger takes up a chance stone, and, pronouncing over it some magic words (*zogo mer*) in a half-whisper, spits once or twice on it, and hurls it with great force to strike the back of his enemy. The latter falls to the ground, breathing heavily, and loses consciousness. The assailant and certain relatives who have accompanied him now close in on the prostrate body of the victim, and belabour it with

their clubs. They then rub the body with a mixture of herbs and coco-nut oil, and give the victim coco-nut milk to drink. The assailant, while rubbing him, tells him to go up a coco-nut tree and to fall down from it, breaking his leg; or he orders him to be bitten by a centipede (*esi*), which will produce fatal blood-poisoning; or he may tell him to go to a certain point in the island, and then to return home and die. The avenging party now withdraw to a short distance, leaving the man's knife and some bananas and coco-nuts beside him. When he awakes and begins to wonder what has happened to him, one of the hiding party takes up a stone and hits a tree near the terrified man. This makes him start, forget his bruises, and rush home, where he lies thirsty and comatose for some days. Then (according to the order of his assailant) he will say to his wife: 'I think I shall go up that coco-nut tree.' He goes up, falls down, breaks his leg, and perhaps dies. As the informant said, 'He no go up himself. Medicine [*i.e.* the magic ceremony] make him go up.'

A third feature in the Murray Islander's attitude towards disease consists in his treatment of it. A special group of men, the *lukup zogo le*, are concerned in curing disease. The sick man is placed on the sand-beach; his eyes are closed; no one may see the approach of the *lukup zogo le*. As he comes near, previously anointed with coco-nut oil by his attendant, he halts, and, spitting or blowing on his hands, performs a series of movements with them, as if he were sweeping something from himself towards the patient. The doctor firmly fixes his gaze upon the patient throughout these actions. Then he makes some movements of the leg and further movements of the arms. Finally, he shouts the word 'Sirar' in a shrill voice and rushes off to the sea, accompanied by the sick man. Some few hours after bathing, the *lukup zogo le* visits the patient in his hut and rubs him down with a decoction of herbs, sea-weed, and coco-nut oil. This massage is repeated daily if necessary, until the patient recovers (*Camb. Exp. Torres Straits*, v. 320-326, vi. 222-240).

3. *Melanesia.*—These three characteristics—the belief that sickness is a result of disregarding a *tabu*, the use of suggestion and interference with memory in causing injury or disease, and the more elaborate ceremonial in treatment of sickness—indicate a more advanced state of culture than exists throughout Australia generally. We may trace this state among the neighbouring people of New Guinea, in the Bismarck Archipelago, in the Solomon Islands, in the Banks Islands, and in the New Hebrides; it is a Papuo-Melanesian attitude towards disease. Thus, according to Seligmann (*The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910), 'one or more . . . men who were sorcerers would follow their intended victim to his garden. . . . There he would be speared and clubbed, and, when dead [*i.e.* unconscious], cut to pieces. One end of a length of rope is then looped round the dead man's hand or knee, while the opposite end is steeped in certain "medicine" (*gorto*). The medicine passes along the rope and revives the victim. He is at first dazed, and does not know where he is or what has happened to him. He is told that he will die shortly, but he at once loses memory of this. He manages to crawl back to his village, where his friends realize what has occurred by his silly, feeble condition, although the victim can give no account of what has befallen him (*op. cit.* 170). At Savo, Guadalcanar, Malanta, and at Florida, in the Solomon Islands, the victim is met in solitude by his assailant, who 'seizes him, bites his neck, stuffs . . . [certain] magic leaves down his throat and knocks him on the head with an axe, but not so as to kill him.' The

charmed leaves make the victim forget the name of his assailant. He goes home, and dies two days later (Codrington, 206). In Lepers Island, New Hebrides, the assailant, after having overcome his victim, shoots a little charmed material at his head by means of a bow and arrow, whereupon he can remember nothing of the scene, but goes home to fall ill and die. His friends, seeing the wound, know what has happened to him (*ib.* 207).

In the central part of New Britain (Neu Pommern), Bismarck Archipelago, property is protected by tabu signs which, if disregarded, will cause headache, sores, etc., on the trespasser or the thief. If grasses are charmed and laid on the tree stems, madness will ensue. A human bone placed on the spot whence an object was stolen will cause the thief to waste (R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, Stuttgart, 1907). In the Solomon Islands the disregard of tabu marks is similarly believed to result in disease.

Among the Eastern Papuo-Melanesians of New Guinea we find a further development of the view that disease is due to some emanation from the sorcerer. At Bartle Bay, for instance, disease can be caused 'by means of a "sending" projected from the body of the sorcerer or witch. . . . The "sending" is most commonly projected from the body of a woman, and after her death may pass to her daughter, or with her spirit or shade (*aru*) pass to the other world.' At Gelaria, in the same region of New Guinea, the 'sending' is called *labuni*. *Labuni* exist within women. They are said to wear petticoats, which, however, are shorter than those worn by the women of the district. They 'produce disease by means of a sliver of bone, or fragment of stone or coral, called *gidana*, which they insert into their victim's body. A fragment of human bone or a man's tooth is a specially potent *gidana*' (Seligmann, 640 f.). The *gidana* is thrown by the *labuni* at about sixty yards' distance; only the 'spiritual' part is said to enter the victim's body. The process of removing the spell can be performed only after the woman who sent the *labuni* has been appeased by presents. The treatment is usually undertaken by a man, and consists in rubbing the body until the *gidana* is extracted in the form of a material lump, which is sucked out through the closed hands of the masseur.

This notion of the discharge of an independent emanation or spirit from a living person, which itself lives as a petticoated individual, probably led to a further development in which disease is attributed to the influence of an evil spirit. Amongst the Roro-speaking peoples of New Guinea there is 'an ill-defined but real belief in demon-producing spiritual agencies controlled by a sorcerer' (Seligmann, 291). In the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, the most powerful of evil spirits is called *Kaia*; it dwells in high trees, dark caves, and other inaccessible places which are held sacred. Any one profaning one of these sacred places invites sickness or death. *Kaia* manifests itself in the form of a snake (P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner d. Gazellehalbinsel*, Münster, 1906, p. 337). So, too, in the New Hebrides, spirits are the chief objects of veneration; a sick man always attributes his illness to a spirit which he has offended by trespassing on some spot or profaning some object belonging to it, or which some enemy has invoked to bring illness (Codrington, 184).

In the Banks Islands, on the other hand, sickness is generally attributed to the resentment, not of evil spirits, but of ghosts of the dead. Also in Florida (Solomon Islands) it is a *tindalo*, i.e. a ghost of the dead.

* that causes illness; it is a matter of conjecture which of the known *tindalos* it may be. Sometimes a person has reason to

think, or fancies, that he has offended his dead father, uncle, or brother. In that case no special intercessor is required; the patient himself or one of the family will sacrifice, and beg the *tindalo* to take the sickness away; it is a family affair.* But, if he is uncertain of the ghost, if, for instance, his child is sick, he will summon a doctor, a *mane kisu*, to decide. 'The doctor called in will . . . chew ginger and blow into the patient's ears and on that part of the skull which is soft in infants, will call on the name of the *tindalo*, and beg him to remove the sickness' (Codrington, 194 f.). If this proves unsuccessful, another *tindalo* is addressed, or another *mane kisu* is summoned. The latter may undertake to get his own *tindalo* to intercede with the *tindalo* that is causing the illness.

Thus we are able to trace in Oceania a development, along two directions, of ideas as to the causation of disease. In the one, disease is attributed to some interference on the part of the dead. Probably this belief, traces of which appear even in Queensland (R. § 114), is correlated with the growth of the cult of the dead, which is so complex in certain parts of Melanesia. Thus, according to Seligmann (*op. cit.* 12 f.), one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Western Papuo-Melanesians, ranging from Cape Possession to Orangerie Bay, is the close association of certain institutions with the shades of the dead, whereas the Eastern Papuo-Melanesians show no fear of the visitation of the deceased, and no fear of supernatural beings. They attribute disease, as we have already seen, to the discharge of a spirit from a living person, thus closely agreeing with the general Australian view.

The other line of development in Oceania consists in the attributing of disease to an offended spirit, which has to be propitiated by sacrifice. This conception finds a far higher development in Polynesia. In Samoa, for example, disease was considered due to 'the wrath of some particular deity.' The high priest of the village ascertained the cause, and ordered some sacrifice on the part of the patient, e.g. a canoe or a piece of land. Or a confession was obtained from every member of the patient's family as to the crimes each had committed or the curses he had uttered in a moment of anger against the patient or some other member of the family (G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 140). In Tahiti, again, the sickness of chiefs was attributed to the anger of the gods. 'Whole fields of plantains and a hundred or more pigs' would be taken to the temples, where prayers were offered up (W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1831, i. 349). In Polynesia generally, disease was supposed to be a visitation from the gods.

* When a person was taken ill, the priest or physician was sent for; as soon as he arrived, a young plantain-tree, procured by some members of the family, was handed to him, as an offering to the god; a present of cloth was also furnished, as his own fee. He began by calling upon the name of his god, beseeching him to abate his anger towards the sufferer, to say what would propitiate him, or what applications would afford relief' (*ib.* iii. 37). Indeed, the medicine administered (e.g. powder or infusion of vegetable matter, hot baths, etc.) was 'considered more as the vehicle or medium by which the god would act than as possessing any power itself to arrest the progress of the disease' (*ib.* 47).

In Hawaii the medicinal herbs employed were believed to have been obtained many generations ago, by a man named Koreamoku, direct 'from the gods, who also taught him the use of them' (*ib.* iv. 335).

Thus, starting from the rude Australian belief that disease was sent by one individual against his enemy, we have reached the high Polynesian conception of illness as the result of sin against the gods. Instead of employing a medicine-man to remove the stone or bone which had entered the victim, the latter relies for his recovery mainly on prayers and sacrifices offered to the offended god. Throughout Oceania the various practices we have described are combined with therapeutic measures, the most important of which, alike in the causation and in the treatment of disease, unquestionably is suggestion. Massage, with or without the external application of herbs, is a very common treatment

prescribed. Bleeding is occasionally resorted to. Trephining was practised in the Polynesian Islands, and is met with in certain more western islands, e.g. Loyalty Island, Duke of York Island, Neu Mecklenburg (New Ireland), and in the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, for the relief of severe headache and epilepsy. Hot baths are often employed in Polynesia and in other islands, e.g. the Solomon Islands, the patient being wrapped in a cloth and seated over a pile of heated stones, which are covered with herbs and leaves. Fractured bones are set with splints of bamboo. Herbs are pounded, made into decoctions, and administered to the patient internally. Sometimes they are merely warmed in a coco-nut shell over the fire, and the steam therefrom, being applied to the patient, is expected to drive away the pain or the disease. Especially in Melanesia, into which the areca has been introduced from the Malay Archipelago where it is similarly valued, betel nut, betel leaves, and lime are considered powerful medicinal substances, both for internal and for outward application.

We have attempted to trace in vague outline various stages in the attitude of different Oceanic peoples towards disease. But, as we have already pointed out (p. 724*), a people, when passing to a higher plane, does not discard the beliefs of the lower, but carries them with it, perhaps adapting them to suit its further development. Thus the Hawaiians, although they attribute disease to the gods, nevertheless believe that a sorcerer may be employed by a man to bring disease or death to his enemy. Consequently presents are made to the god, not only to appease his anger, but also to turn the disease back to the person who sent it (Ellis, *op. cit.* iv. 293). So the Samoan, despite his belief that disease is due to the wrath of a deity, protects his property by various tabus. For example, he may suspend a stick horizontally from one of his trees; this expresses 'the wish of the owner that any thief touching it might have a disease running right across his body, and remaining fixed there till he died' (Turner, *op. cit.* 186). Or he may bring some pieces of clam shell, 'erecting at the spot three or four reeds tied together at the top in a bunch like the head of a man' (*ib.*). This was recognized as expressing a wish that the thief might be seized with ulcerous sores. Thus punished, the thief would confess and make a present to the owner, who would send him in return some native herb as medicine.

We have already drawn attention to the Australian belief in the potency of human bones as a cause of disease. It is also met with in various parts of Melanesia and New Guinea. In the Banks Islands, where, as we have seen, illness is attributed to the ghosts of the deceased, a piece of human bone, belonging to the corpse of the ghost whose services are required, is applied to a fragment of food taken from the victim. The whole is then 'charmed,' and allowed to decompose or to burn. In the same islands and in Florida (Solomon Islands) a piece of bamboo is stuffed with leaves, a dead man's bone, and other magical substances. The aggressor covers up the open end of the bamboo until he meets his foe, when he opens it and lets fly the magic influence against him (Codrington, *op. cit.* 204). So, too, among the Roro-speaking peoples of New Guinea (Seligmann, *op. cit.* 239) there is a widely spread belief that parts of newly dead bodies are of value in the preparation of charms, and amongst the Eastern Papuo-Melanesians about Milne Bay (*ib.* 551) sorcerers are supposed to open graves of the dead and to eat their bodies.

From the powers over disease attributed to the human dead we may pass to those attributed to living animals, chief among which is that of the

snake. The most potent of evil spirits in the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain preferably manifests itself in the form of a snake. The man who wishes to injure another cuts up sea snakes and mixes them with leaves, roots, lime, and something—e.g. hair, blood, or footprints—connected with the victim. He places the whole in a short piece of bamboo, mutters secret words over it, and throws it into the sea, or buries it in the bush (Kleintitschen, *op. cit.* 343). In Pentecost Island (New Hebrides) delirium is attributed to a *mae*, a mysterious snake, which can be removed from the patient if he sits over the smoke of a heated coco-nut husk into which the medicine-man has breathed his charm (Codrington, *op. cit.* 200). If the *mae* snake took away a piece of food into the place that was sacred to a spirit, the man who had eaten the rest of the food would become ill as the fragment decayed. Among the Roro-speaking tribes of New Guinea disease is commonly attributed to snakes and to certain magical stones. The sorcerer is thought to be able to extract a deadly stone from the black snake, and this stone kills every person who touches it. Even the sorcerer, it is said, takes care not to come into immediate contact with it. In order to obtain a snake-stone, the sorcerer fasts in the bush alone for a fortnight, his food being limited to roasted bananas. He is particularly careful to avoid the sight of women. Sooner or later he dreams of the whereabouts of a very poisonous snake. Protecting his limbs by means of bandages, he proceeds to find and then to worry the snake, and 'as it glides away, it exposes a small stone,' which he picks up by thrusting against it a kind of fishing-spear provided with numerous closely set points. It is dropped from the spear into a bamboo tube. The snake-stone is described as being the size of a filbert, and red-hot, hissing and losing its power if dropped into salt-water. The snake can be sent by the sorcerer to bite his victim, if it has been allowed to smell the clothes or some other object belonging to the latter (Seligmann, *op. cit.* 28).

The charming of any objects belonging to the victim is believed to play so important a part in producing disease, not only in Oceania, but over the greater part of the world, that it is only natural for primitive man to take every care lest cuttings from his hair, parings from his nails, refuse from his food, his expectoration, excretions, footprints, or clothing pass into the hands of his enemy. In New Britain, for example, one or other of these objects (*panait*) is used by the sorcerer (*papaït*), who murmurs an incantation over it, burns it with lime, and blows it from his hand into the air (Parkinson, *op. cit.* 118). In Tana (New Hebrides) a sorcerer, on seeing a discarded banana-skin, will pick it up and wear it all day in a leaf hanging round his neck, thus frightening every one into thinking, 'He has got something; he will do for somebody by and by at night' (Turner, *op. cit.* 320). In Florida (Solomon Islands) a man could make another ill by secretly taking a morsel of the latter's food, and throwing it into a spot which was the known habitat of a certain ghost of the dead.

4. Malay Archipelago.—Let us now pass to another people culturally and physically most closely related to the Polynesians, among whom, in consequence, we may expect to find disease attributed to gods or spirits, and cured by the offering of prayer and sacrifices to them—the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago. Thence it will be possible to pass to the Malay Peninsula, and to trace the native ideas of disease westward to the Indian, and northward to the Mongolian, peoples.

Among the various tribes, and in the various

islands of the Malay Archipelago, there is considerable diversity in their beliefs; but, generally speaking, their spiritual world may be described as inhabited by the souls of animals (e.g. hawks, fowls, pigs, etc.), by spirits of the river, home, etc., and by the gods of thunder, harvest, life, death, etc., one of whom may be supreme over the rest. Consequently, of the two main causes attributed in this region to disease, evil spirits are one; and the treatment consists in effecting the departure of the evil spirit either by the persuasions of prayers and sacrifices or by the more cogent means of magical charms (Timor, Celebes, Bali, Java, Sumatra). The ceremony is often attended with much noise of gong- and drum-beating. Commonly, e.g. in Borneo, Ceram, Timor Laut, Buro (cf. Frazer, *GB*² 1900, iii. 97 f.), the evil spirit or the disease—for it is difficult to separate cause from effect—is induced to enter a well-provisioned model boat, which is made to sail down the river, carrying its noxious burden out to sea. This custom of sending away the disease down river extends throughout the Malay Peninsula to Burma, Siam, Annam, and even to Ceylon. Among the Milano of Sarawak the ceremony is performed in the following way:

The medicine-man (*orang bayoh*), having decided which spirit (*antu*) is responsible for the disease, returns home and prepares a log of sago palm cut in the image of that *antu*. This image, or *dakan*, may be enclosed in the model of a house or a boat. The patient's room is decorated with coloured cloths, flowers of the areca palm, and leaves fantastically plaited to represent objects, especially birds. A swing of rattan is erected, and plaited leaves connect it with the receptacle containing the *dakan*, so that the spirit may enter the latter after having been summoned by the *orang bayoh* to the swing. Several people may successively mount the swing, swaying their bodies in every possible attitude, to the sound of drums played in the background. Himself swaying on the swing, the *orang bayoh* recites 'almost in a monotone an incantation in the old language, addressed to the spirit, begging him to come down and take the sickness out of the patient's body' (Lawrence and Hewitt, *JAI* xxxviii. [1908] 391). 'The whole incantation is a succession of appeals . . . to the spirits, who come gradually nearer and nearer until the chant addresses them as if they were just outside the house, and finally as though present in the room' (*ib.* 408). At length the medicine-man falls from the swing apparently insensible; and after recovery he crosses to the patient, muttering incantations, sprinkling yellow rice, and waving over him an areca flower. Whenever the swing is unoccupied, an areca flower is hung across it. Finally, the patient himself may be transferred to the swing, and now, when the long-besought spirit is declared to be present, the patient and the *orang bayoh* proceed to enter the boat or house, the latter spitting betel-nut juice on the *dakan*, pouring water over it, and then sprinkling the drops over the patient's body, still murmuring incantations. Next day the *dakan*, provided with *padi* and yellow rice and adorned with areca flowers, is taken in procession to a stream, where it is left to rot in its receptacle, except when the receptacle takes the form of a boat. In that case, the boat is decorated with flags, manned with a crew, and armed with cannon all of pith, and it is made to float down the river or towed out to sea. No Milano, save the *orang bayoh*, will dare to touch the *dakan* after the performance of this ceremony. Generally there is a 'sound, logical connection between the sickness and *dakan* used,' the spirits of the water being responsible for dysentery, those of the air for headache and fever, those of the jungle for malaria, swellings of the legs, and other diseases attendant on jungle life (*ib.* 393).

This account is interesting as showing the complexity or the ritual which may be attained in endeavouring to drive the evil into a boat, which is then floated out to sea. The ceremony in one form or another is spread, as we have stated, throughout the Malay-peopled countries; it is also found in the Solomon Islands, which perhaps it reached with the advent of the areca or betel-nut from Malaysia. The above account is also interesting, inasmuch as it introduces certain new features—the use of the swing in driving out the disease, the transference of the disease (or evil spirit) to an image, the swooning of the medicine-man, and the attribution of different diseases to different spirits or causes.

In some cases a more simple and less public form of treatment is observed. The *dakan*, after having been incarnated by the spirit (*antu*), is taken by the medicine-man into the jungle, or hung on a tree, i.e. in the air, or placed in the river, accord-

ing as the spirit's real home is jungle, air, or water (*ib.* 390). In Amboyna a white cock is used, with which the patient is rubbed. It is then placed on a model boat and sent out to sea (Frazer *GB*² iii. 99).

The swooning of the medicine-man brings us to another important feature in the cure of disease among primitive peoples. So far as we have considered the mental state of the individual at all, it has been that of the patient, not that of the doctor. It is true that in certain parts of New Guinea and Melanesia the medicine-man finds that his magic is more efficacious if he enters upon it in a fasting state or in other ways maltreats himself. But probably in these peoples there is not that mental instability which is to be found among the Malayan races, leading, under provocation, to loss of consciousness, auto-hypnosis, or other forms of change in 'personality,' such as are exemplified in running *amok* and in *latah*. The altered mental state of the medicine-man during his treatment of disease is well exemplified in the second of the two main ideas in regard to disease which prevail in the Malay Archipelago. One of these ideas we have already considered, viz. possession or visitation by an evil spirit. The other idea, also wide-spread throughout this region, extending to Burma, the Andaman Islands, Tibet, and Northern Asia (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1873, i. 437), is that disease is due to a wandering of the soul. Just as in death the soul has finally left the body, so in sickness it is temporarily absent; therefore it has to be pursued and caught by the medicine-man. The writer happened to see this ceremony of catching the wandering soul during a chance evening stroll along one of the long verandahs of a house in Sarawak, Borneo. It has been picturesquely described elsewhere (Hose and McDougall, *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 184), and may be thus summarized:

The medicine-man, after chanting several verses with closed eyes, receives, in a dreamy state, his war-coat, shield, and sword (*parang*) from the hands of an assistant. With a short wand he sprinkles water on his *parang*, and then on each of the patients ranged before him. A young fowl is handed to him. Before cutting off its head, he prays its soul to take a message to the supreme god to remove all sickness and to preserve the people from harm. Then, waving the bird over each patient and murmuring some archaic formulae, he kills it and sprinkles its blood over the patients. With a second fowl in his hand, he describes the wanderings of his own spirit, how he has to cross a great river, where finally he meets with the soul of one of his sick patients. He lays his fingers on the head of one of the patients, and at that moment the patient's soul is believed to re-enter his body. At the same time he ties a piece of rattan cord round the patient's right wrist, to confine the soul to the body. The same performance is repeated in the case of the other patients, and then the medicine-man, after further chanting, during which his own soul is returning to his body, ties a piece of the string round his own wrist. The second fowl is now killed, and the blood-stained *parang* is wiped on the arm of the patient, and is used to cut off the ends of the wrist-string. The chanting continues, until suddenly the medicine-man gives a slight stagger and recovers consciousness. During the ceremony he had been heedless of his surroundings; and, from experiments which the writer knows to have been made at other times on such medicine-men, the claim is probably correct.

The use of strings in the cure of disease (from which perhaps the unthinking use of ligatures was derived) extends over other parts of Oceania (e.g. Queensland) which we have already studied. In the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, threads are prepared and are charmed in order to cure and to prevent disease. For the former purpose, they are worn round the affected part; for the latter, round the neck (Parkinson, *op. cit.* 119).

In the Banks Islands, a charm consisting of 'a bit of human bone, a fragment of coral, a splinter of wood or of an arrow by which a man has died,' is bound up with leaves and placed in the victim's path to strike him with disease. This charm, called *talamatai*, depends for its efficacy on the tying and binding tight with fibre (Codrington, *op. cit.* 204). The use of archaic incantations is also common in these parts. Frequently, words which are not understood are borrowed from other tribes. We have already stated that a man may

recognize his inability to cause disease, yet may fear the existence of that power in others. So, frequently a tribe may consider another tribe specially versed in the causation or treatment of disease, and may use its language or summon members of it to its aid.

In the Malay Archipelago, bits of wood, stones, or rags are sometimes drawn out of the patient's body, as demonstrating the cure of the disease. The medicine-man's chest will often contain curiously twisted roots, knotty sticks, pebbles, coloured marbles, pieces of quartz, etc., many of which, he claims, are revealed to him as medicines by benevolent spirits in his dreams. It is said that by means of the quartz crystal the medicine-man can diagnose the disease, see the soul, and catch it in its wanderings (Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British N. Borneo*, London, 1896, i. 273). Possibly this is another example of the susceptibility of the Malayan to auto-hypnosis (crystal-gazing).

Another important feature of Malayan medicine consists in the prominence of women doctors. There are instances of this feature throughout Oceania, but in certain parts of the Malay Archipelago it reaches its highest development. It is stated that in Borneo, for instance, at least in the past, a certain class of medicine-men, on adopting their profession, were emaculated, dressed in women's clothes, and thereafter treated as women (Ling Roth, *ib.* i. 270, 282). At the present day many cures in that country are undertaken by women, and most of the spirits invoked by the medicine-men receive the prefix *ini*, 'grandmother'—perhaps in accordance with the former importance of womanhood in the treatment of disease.

In the Malay Archipelago, betel-nut and pepper are the common outward remedies for almost any disease. Turmeric, honey, spices, and onions are taken internally. Cholera is treated by rubbing with *kayu putih* oil, and by water from certain sacred jars. Bleeding is practised; cupping is common—usually by means of a bamboo cane, the air within which is exhausted either by suction or by lighting a fire at the upper end. A wound may be cauterized by burning with a red-hot wire. A patient may be exposed to the smoke of a fire lighted below a bamboo grating on which he sits.

5. Malay Peninsula.—Coming now to the Malay Peninsula, we find that diseases become more distinctly personified as demons. Each disease is (not, is caused by) a different demon; the demons all arise from the thunder-god, who sends them by the winds, because of the sins of the people. There are ape-demons, black-dog-demons, tiger-demons, jungle- and river-demons, any one of which may cause disease. Certain new features, possibly of Indian or Chinese origin, begin to make their appearance here. Amulets now become important. Women obtain protection from disease by wearing combs, with inscribed patterns on them, and the patterns cause the disease-bearing wind to fall to the ground until the wearer has passed. A Semang woman may possess twenty or thirty such combs, which apparently depend for their efficacy on the particular pattern that they bear. The men's 'talismans are . . . incised on the quivers and charm-holders' (Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, i. 423). There is supposed to be some connexion between these patterns and the flowers which the good god, Ple, at one time allotted as remedies for the various diseases. The diseases were also thought to be laid by the winds on the parasitic plants of trees, between death and burial of the victims. Now, so runs the legend (which, however, must be accepted with caution), as new diseases have arisen since Ple dwelt on earth, and since the vegetable kingdom then apportioned by him to different

diseases is exhausted, such illnesses as smallpox and cholera 'have no rest, but, as soon as they have killed one man, fall straightway upon another even before the soul of the first has left the body' (*ib.* i. 212). Among the Mantra (of Malacca) also amulets are much in use; they are made of pieces of turmeric or other substance, strung on a shred of bark, and worn round the neck, wrists, or waist. The Sakai have bamboos decorated with magical patterns, which are kept from the public gaze (*ib.* ii. 252).

Incense is used in the Malay Peninsula. The Blandas of Selangor exorcize the evil demon by burning benzoin and invoking the spirits (*hantu*) of tigers or elephants or monkeys to enter the medicine-man's body. The patient lies on his back within a shelter of *nibong*-palm leaves. As soon as the spirit enters the medicine-man, he brushes the patient seven times from head to foot with certain leaves, repeating an incantation which evidently is intended to expel the demon from the body. Among the Sakai the invalid is similarly beaten with leaves, after a censer of burning benzoin has been swung over his couch. The object here is to drive the demon within a cage which is suspended over the head of the patient (*ib.* ii. 257).

Trees also assume more importance. Disease may be cured by removing roots and stumps which are suspected to be the home of the demon, and by casting saplings into the jungle so that evil spirits may accompany them.

Among all the peoples of Eastern Asia sticks are of great value for the treatment of and protection from disease. Thus among the Ainu the demons of disease are propitiated by making them what is called *inao*. An *inao* is a whittled wand; groups of *inao* are collectively called *misa*. They are sometimes worshipped as messengers to the gods; sometimes they are regarded as offerings to the gods; or they may be regarded as mere charms. 'So, when a person falls sick, the elders often meet together and make *inao* of this [willow] tree. After they have been worshipped they are taken out to the sacred place and stuck up among the *misa*' (J. Batchelor, *op. cit.* 88). Sticks of elder about four feet high are set up in a village for protection from a prevailing epidemic (see art. AINUS). So, too, in the Andaman Islands, when an epidemic occurs, the medicine-man, who is called *oko-pai-ai* (lit. = dreamer), brandishing a burning log, bids the evil spirit retire, and plants before each hut stakes painted in stripes with black bees' wax, the smell of which helps to keep the demons at a distance (Man, *JAI* xii. [1883] 97). In the Malay Archipelago, sticks with fine shavings attached also play a similar part. Among the Tibeto-Burman peoples, a kind of arbour is erected before the sick man's house, made of grass and boughs supported on four poles, round which are hung little balls of split cane rolled tightly together. Strands of cane are stretched round the house from this arbour. The demons cannot pass through this barrier, consequently those already inside the house cannot be assisted by others from without (Shakespeare, *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 378 f.).

6. Africa.—In Africa illness is commonly attributed either to the machinations of an enemy or—more usually perhaps—to resentment on the part of the ghost of a dead man owing to the disrespect with which he has been treated. In West Africa, apparently, it may even be one of the sick man's own spirits which thus vents his annoyance on the body (Tylor, ii. 130). Almost universally, before treatment is begun, the name of the ghost must be discovered. Among the Nandi, this takes place by divination. Some near relative is sent for, who takes four (for a woman, three) stalks of the castor-

oil plant or of millet, and tries to stand each upright in a fragment of pot containing water, which is placed near the patient's bed. As he takes each stalk, he calls on one of the deceased relatives of the patient by name. When one of the stalks stands erect, he exclaims, 'I have got thee, O medicine-man,' and the patient solemnly kicks it over with his big toe. The stalks are distributed in various places in or around the house; a little mud or sand mixed with the water is smeared on the forehead and throat of the invalid; 'the rest, together with some eleusine grain, beer, and milk, is sprinkled between the bed and the door and also thrown outside the house,' the relative beseeching the ghost to depart in return for the food which is being offered it (A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, London, 1909, p. 69). Among the A-Kikuyu (W. Scoresby Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People, the Aikuyu of British East Africa*, London, 1910, p. 263) such divination is practised by arranging a number of counters in equal heaps and observing the remaining unit. Among the Baganda small pieces of buffalo- or cow-hide are cast (J. Roscoe, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 40). Among the Bangala on the Upper Congo River the *ñanga*, or medicine-man, addresses questions to the patient to discover what particular *bwete*, or spirit, is causing the disease. He beats his drum, talks excitedly, and chants various incomprehensible phrases before the patient. 'The lilt of the metre together with the rhythm of the drum make the patient sway to and fro and have a hypnotic effect on him.' His body jerks and twitches, as he is now plied with questions by the *ñanga*. In this way the cause of the illness is found out (J. H. Weeks, *JAI* xl. [1910] 425). In the Sudan the writer received a description of a similar divination by means of music; the rite, which is known as *zar*, is said to be employed even in Cairo, among women. The patient is visited several times by the practitioner, who wears a different coloured dress and sings a different incantation at each visit. Ultimately one dress or incantation is discovered which presumably by its action on the demon causes the patient to swoon. This knowledge having been obtained, the patient is seated astride a live sheep, and the same dress and incantation are employed again. After the patient's second swoon the sheep is killed, the blood is smeared over her, and the meat is partly sacrificed, partly given her to eat.

The use of animals in the cure of disease is a characteristic feature throughout Africa. Thus among the Hottentots, the hand of a sick patient is introduced within the leg of an ox, which is then killed and eaten by married people who have children. A child recently recovered from a severe illness is dragged through an arch over which an ox is made to stand. The ox is killed, and eaten only by married people who have children (Frazer, *op. cit.* iii. 405). Among the Bondei, a white chicken is tied to the head of the bed-post; and later, when it has grown to a fowl, it is taken to a tall tree, killed, and eaten. The medicine-man and patient, on their return, take care not to look behind them (Dale, *JAI* xxv. [1896] 219). In these cases it appears that some good influence is derived by eating an animal which has been brought into contact with a person recently affected by disease.

But, generally speaking, the animal is used only for the transference of the disease to it. Thus, in Bechuanaland, a king after an illness seats himself on an ox stretched on the ground, the head of which is then held in water until it dies of suffocation. To cure a headache, a man will sometimes beat a lamb or goat until it falls down, with the object of transferring to it his pain (Frazer, *op. cit.*

iii. 14). A Guinea negro will tie a live chicken round his neck to cure disease (*ib.*). In such cases the animal or bird is generally driven away or killed. In the Upper Congo, the *mieta* (spirits), 'when they are troubling a family, can be driven into animals by the *ñanga ya bwaka* ['medicine-man of the wat'], and killed by him' (Weeks, *op. cit.* 378). Of all the *ñanga*, this 'medicine-man of the wat' was the most powerful. On his arrival at the sick-house, he put stakes into the ground, and, by tying a mat round them, made an enclosure, in which he sat speaking to the various *mieta*, answering 'himself in assumed voices, pretending he was holding a conversation with them' (*ib.* 383). 'A string was tied from the roof of his clients' house to one of the stakes in his mat enclosure, and the end of the string dropped inside. From this string there dangled dried plantain leaves, twigs, etc.' (*ib.*). When he was tired he shook the leaves—a signal for the lads sitting outside the enclosure to start beating their drums, and for the folk to sing their chorus. Thus he would spend several days in trying to find out which of the *mieta* was troubling the family. Finally, he makes

'a terrific noise inside the mat, as though he were fighting for his life. Shouts, screams, derisive laughter, whacks, thuds, and smacks proceed from the interior of the mat, and at last the *ñanga* rushes out, panting and sweating profusely, holding in his hand a bleeding head [really the head of a rat or lizard, but believed by the people to belong to a mysterious animal dug up from within the mat], and declaring that he has killed the animal that was possessed by the spirit that was troubling the family' (*ib.* 384).

So in Uganda, the evil spirit, which is supposed to dwell at the top of the centre hut-pole, is caught by raising a buffalo's or cow's horn, within which shells are placed so as to make a squeaking noise when the horn is shaken, which is supposed to be the spirit of the horn. When the evil spirit is thus caught, the horn is simply covered with a piece of bark-cloth, placed in a water-pot, and thrown into the river or burnt in the jungle (Roscoe, *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 125 f.).

In addition, of course, to the determination of the particular spirit causing the disease, and to the transference of it to an animal, other therapeutic measures, some of considerable complexity, are prescribed by the medicine-man. Among the Bondei, dieting is common: certain objects of food are tabooed. Among the Bageshu (Roscoe, *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 187), 'sometimes herbs are rubbed over the sick man and buried in the path. It is believed that the first person who steps over the herbs will contract the disease. . . .' In the Upper Congo, cupping is often practised, usually by sucking a horn placed over the skin. Massage is a common treatment, often terminated by the pretended extraction of a small object—a palm-nut, stone, or piece of iron—from the patient's body. Enemas and fomentations are also used. Rheumatic pains in the limbs are relieved by tying certain medicines to a brass rod, which is then worn by the patient. Knotted strings are tied round the sufferer's wrists and feet. Among the people of British Central Africa (Stannus, *JAI* xl. [1910] 285), many children's illnesses are treated by boiling certain leaves in water and holding the child over the medicated vapour-bath. Bleeding is arrested by the powdered bark of an astringent tree. Internal remedies are only sparingly used. The treatment of snake-bite is by ligature.

Among the A-Kamba (British East Africa) the medicine-man's gourd commonly contains pebbles, hard seeds, nuts, and such objects as the bone of a lion's paw, a cock's spur, pieces of porcupine quills, etc. He also carries various powders, e.g. a grey powder made from certain trees, and believed to be an antidote to magic and poison; a white powder called *iga* (also used by the A-Kikuyu, and called by

them *ira*); a blackish mixture prepared from some tree, and used to cure swellings of the limbs; a dark medicine contained in a gazelle's horn, which is of value when pointed at the abdomen of a woman in labour; and a medicine which, when mixed with water, is given internally for diarrhoea (C. W. Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 100). The A-Kikuyu sew up sword-slashes and spear-stabs. Their *chembu* is made of castor-oil, sheep fat, honey, goat's milk, water of various streams in Kikuyu, urine of a male and female goat and sheep, magumo wool, and the milky sap of wild figs. A little of this mixture placed on the penis cures hæmaturia; it is also good for a cough. Indeed, it will revive a dying man if he be touched with it on the forehead, tongue, navel, buttocks, and toes, and if some be passed five times round his head. Other Kikuyu medicines are made from seeds, leaves, roots, and from the ashes of roots and barks. They are usually kept in the form of a dry powder, and are applied by touching the patient much in the manner described. Expectoration plays an important part in the ritual of treatment, the patient at the same time exclaiming, 'I expel what is bad' (Routledge, *op. cit.* 262; Hobley, *JAI* xl. [1910] 448).

7. Central and S. America.—Among the Indians of America we naturally look for those characteristics in their attitude towards disease which we have met with in Eastern Asia and Malayo-Polynesia (see 'American' section of this article, below). As regards S. America, in South Chili the medicine-man is dressed as a woman, and the great nervous excitement, followed by a state of coma or trance into which he is thrown, forcibly recalls the shamanistic condition existing in Asia and Malaysia. But there is one striking feature in S. America which is on a distinctly lower plane of culture, viz. the persistent attribution of disease to material objects. Thus, among the Araucanos of Chili, the principal god, formerly called Pillan, the thunder-god, was served by malignant spirits called *Huecurus*, who could transform themselves into any shape and produce invisible wounds by means of invisible weapons. All disease is attributed by them to evil spirits, which produce an invisible wound or introduce some foreign body within the victim. Not only Divine beings, but the living and the dead, may, as malign spirits, assume a form, e.g. snake, ant, or lizard, which may produce disease (R. E. Latham, *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 346). Consequently diseases are treated first by discovering their source, and then by expelling the harmful substance from the body. In Central Brazil the 'good' medicine-man finds the poison which has been sent to the victim by the 'bad' medicine-man, and lays it in water, thus rendering it harmless. The sorcerer may have obtained some hair or blood from the victim, which he then mixes with the poison of wasps, ants, and other insects, prepared with oil and certain resins in a calabash. But, if he cannot obtain blood or hair, he poisons a twig or a woollen thread. He then introduces this into the victim's house, or shoots it with an arrow into a tree near where he lives. The twig is supposed to wound the victim; and so the 'good' medicine-man sucks the wound until the twig (or woollen thread) appears, and then he spits it out. Tobacco-narcosis is a very common mode of treatment, the medicine-man blowing tobacco smoke over the patient's body, kneading it with great force, while the medicine-man's groans and lamentations resound through the village. At length he begins to suck, and ultimately expectorates the cause of the illness (K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1897, p. 300).

Similarly, in Paraguay the witch-doctor is supposed to have the power of introducing beetles into a man's stomach. So, when a man is ill, he summons the medicine-man, who, to an accompaniment of rattles and the excited singing of his assistants, spits on and sucks at the patient's stomach until at length he produces a beetle, a palm-nut, or a fish-bone. The witch-doctors usually wear ear-disks faced 'with bright pieces of glass or bits of polished tin' (S. H. C. Hawtrey, *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 291).

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article. The only general book known to the writer, Max Bartels' *Die Medizin der Naturvölker* (Leipzig, 1898), cannot be strongly recommended.

C. S. MYERS.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (American).—

As certain aspects of primitive medicine will be treated in art. MEDICINE-MEN, the present discussion will be limited to the consideration of disease itself from the various points of view of the American aborigines' ideas, customs, ceremonials, etc., connected with its prevention, relief, and cure. Among a race as widely scattered as the American Indians, and occupying, for long periods of time, all kinds of environments—from the Arctic north to the tropical south, from the seashore and coastal regions to the high plateaus and mountainous areas of the continent, island regions like the Caribbean, arid plains like those of the south-western United States and parts of south-western South America, the thick forests and well-watered lands in some other directions, the valleys of the great rivers and the basins of great lakes—the prevalence of diseases, the susceptibility to them, the methods of treatment, and the psychological reaction to the general situation were naturally subject to considerable variation.

1. American Indians a comparatively healthy race.—At the time of the Columbian discovery, the Indians were, on the whole, a healthy people, and, in spite of the effects of intertribal wars and their attendant evils, were holding their own in point of numbers, or, as some authorities believe, were even increasing in population, especially in some parts of the continent. Our knowledge of diseases among the American Indians, before the coming of the whites, is not very satisfactory even for the semi-civilized peoples of Mexico, Central America, and Peru; for many of the uncivilized tribes of both North and South America the data at hand are scanty indeed. Where direct statements of early explorers, missionaries, pioneers, and colonists are lacking, certain inferences can be made from the mention of diseases in myths and legends and cognate folk-lore material. Dr. Hrdlička, our best and most recent authority on the matter, says (*Bull.* 30 BE, pt. i. [1907] p. 540):

'The condition of the skeletal remains, the testimony of early observers, and the present state of some of the tribes in this regard, warrant the conclusion that on the whole the Indian race was a comparatively healthy one. It was probably spared at least some of the epidemics and diseases of the Old World, such as smallpox and rickets, while other scourges, such as tuberculosis, syphilis (pre-Columbian), typhus, cholera, scarlet fever, cancer, etc., were rare, if occurring at all. Taking into consideration the warlike nature of many of the tribes and the evidence presented by their bones (especially the skulls), injuries, etc., particularly those received by offensive weapons, must have been common, although fractures are less frequent than among white people.'

Since contact with the whites, a marked decrease in numbers has taken place nearly everywhere, the causes of this diminution being 'the introduction of diseases (particularly smallpox), the spread of alcoholism, syphilis, and especially tuberculosis . . . and increased mortality due to changes in the habits of the people through the encroachment of civilization.' Certain tribes, however, are now beginning to show a slight increase in population, and Dr. Hrdlička thinks that, 'as more attention is paid to the hygienic conditions of the Indians, an increase comparable with that in whites may be

expected in many sections.' The writer of the present article has pointed out several cases of such increase in his art. 'Indians, North American' in *EBR*¹¹, xiv, 452. Mixed bloods are said to suffer, more than the pure bloods, from 'many disorders and diseases known to the whites,' but the evidence in this matter is by no means convincing.

2. Epidemics, etc.—As has been already noted, epidemics of disease appear to have been rare in pre-Columbian America. According to Dr. H. U. Williams (p. 342), the New World, up to the period of its discovery and occupation by the whites, offered a marked contrast to the Old in the fact that 'the American race, during its sojourn of some thousands of years apart from the rest of mankind, developed a surprisingly small number of infections peculiar to it.' Concerning certain epidemics and wide-spread outbreaks of disease contemporaneous with the settlement of various parts of the continent by Europeans, it is still somewhat doubtful whether the infection in question came from Europe (by way of white people, or, possibly, through Indians who had been taken to Europe) or was of native origin. An interesting example is the epidemic among the Indians of New England in 1616-1620, of which a critical study has recently been made by Dr. Williams. This pestilence, which was accompanied by great mortality among the Indians, from Cape Cod to the Penobscot, and sporadically outside these limits, but from which the English seem to have been mostly immune, may have been a variety of the 'bubonic' plague prevalent in London during the early years of the 17th cent., and transferred to America by sailors, colonists, or returning Indians. It could hardly have been smallpox, as some have thought; this disease raged among the Indians later on (e.g. in 1633). The idea that it may have been carried to the Indians by certain shipwrecked French sailors held captive among them is also to be considered. The European settlers of the period were prone to regard such calamities as visitations of God, just as many Indian tribes looked upon them as the work of evil spirits, etc. The idea also prevailed among the Indians that epidemics of diseases unknown before the advent of the whites were in some way let loose among the natives by the English and other white peoples. Interesting on this point is the following extract from Winslow's *Good News from New England* (1624), cited by Dr. Williams (p. 345):

'Here let me not omit one notable, though wicked, practice of this Tisquantum (Squanto); who to the end he might possess his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and so consequently of himself, told them we had the plague buried in our store-house; which, at our pleasure, we could send forth to what place or people we would and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home. Being, upon the aforementioned brabbles, sent for by the governor to this place, where Hobbamock (an Indian) was and some other of us, the ground being broke in the midst of the house, whereunder certain barrels of powder were buried, though unknown to him, Hobbamock asked him what it meant. To whom he readily answered: That was the place, wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock asked one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether we had such a command of it. Who answered No; but the God of the English had it in store, and could send it, at his pleasure, to this destruction of His and our enemies. This was, as I take it, about the end of May 1622.'

Ethically, at least, some of the English and some of the Indians were not far removed from one another.

There has been much discussion of the question whether syphilis is of pre-Columbian origin in America, or has been introduced from Europe since the discovery. Dr. A. S. Ashmead (*Amer. Journ. Dermat.*, 1908, pp. 226-233) is convinced of its pre-Columbian origin, and Dr. F. Grana identifies it with the Peruvian *huanti*; Dr. Ivan Bloch (*Intern. Amerik.-Kongr.* xiv. [1904] 57-79), from historical and osteological evidence—he has re-

cently also published a volume on the subject—is another believer in the pre-Columbian theory, which is also shared by E. G. Bourne, the American historian, who considers the legend of the culture-hero Guahagiona and his sores 'conclusive evidence that syphilis had existed in the West Indies long before the coming of the Spaniards' (*Proc. Amer. Antig. Soc.*, N.S., xvii. [1906]). Drs. Tello and Palma of Peru, who have studied the question, seem also to share the opinion that syphilis is pre-Hispanic in Peru, citing in evidence certain representations of the effects of the disease in anthropomorphic pottery, etc.; so also R. D. Wagner and Dr. Capitan, the French anthropologist (*Journ. Soc. des Amer. de Paris*, N.S., vi. [1909]). Dr. Lehmann (*Globus*, xcvi. [1910] 12-13) is of opinion that the evidence in Tello and Palma does not settle the matter satisfactorily, and Dr. Hrdlička is by no means convinced of the prevalence of syphilis in pre-Columbian America. The exact character of the Peruvian *uta*, the Columbian and Paraguayan *buba*, and some other diseases, all of which may possibly on some occasions be mistaken for syphilis, is not yet clearly decided. The idea of syphilis-infection of man from the llama—a belief occurring in certain regions of South America—is not sustained (in man and in the llama the disease is comparatively rare now in Peru). Leprosy, according to Dr. Ashmead, was introduced into America from Spain. There are other interesting S. American diseases that call for further investigation, such, e.g., as the Ecuadorian *huicho*, which seems to have some analogies with the African 'sleeping sickness.'

Among a number of American Indian peoples (e.g. the Oregonian Klamath) there are general dances and like ceremonies carried out for the purpose of avoiding or driving away epidemics and outbreaks of disease. Some of the Indians of the south-western United States tried to 'capture' the spirit of smallpox during an epidemic of that disease, and similar procedures are reported from elsewhere.

3. Conceptions of the nature, source, etc., of disease.—Under this head could be cited illustrations of all manner of ideas, from the most natural and simple to the most far-fetched and complicated, or even metaphysical. On this point Dr. Hrdlička remarks (*Bull. 30 BE*, pt. i. [1907] p. 837):

'The causation and the nature of disease being to the Indian in large part mysteries, he assigned them to supernatural agencies. In general, every illness that could not plainly be connected with a visible influence was regarded as the effect of an introduction into the body, by malevolent or offended supernatural beings or through sorcery practised by an enemy, of noxious objects capable of producing and continuing pain or other symptoms, or of absorbing the patient's vitality. These beliefs, and the more rational ones concerning many minor indispositions and injuries, led to the development of separate forms of treatment, and varieties of healers.'

Among the American aborigines one finds examples of the attribution of disease and illness in man to his own misdeeds and sinfulness, to his neglect of his ancestors, to violations of innumerable kinds of tabus and prohibitions, to the malevolence or ill-will of the dead, to the touch of ghosts, to the actions of the wind and the moon, to the machination of enemies through magic and witchcraft, etc., to the desire for revenge of the animal world ill-treated by man, to temporary loss of the soul, to the introduction of foreign objects into the body, to the shadows of certain other people (e.g. mourning widows and widowers), to women (particularly when menstruating), etc. For certain special diseases and pathological conditions very curious reasons are sometimes given. Some of the names of diseases and terms relating to or describing their symptoms are interesting psychologically. In Tsimshian the

term for 'having epileptic fits' really signifies 'like a bear'; and the word for 'crazy' means 'like a land-otter.' The Chinook term for 'rheumatism' means lit. 'tired all over'—quite an expressive name. In Kutenai the general term for 'sick' is *sanitlgōinē*, lit. 'bad-bodied he is'; the corresponding word for 'well' being *sūkitlgōinē*, 'good-bodied he is.' The term 'sick' is applied in a number of Indian languages to denote emotions and the like. Thus in the speech of the Mosquito Indians the term for 'angry' signifies lit. 'liver-sick'; in Haida, 'downcast' is 'heart-sick,' etc. By the Mosquito Indians the liver is regarded as the seat of emotional life; among the Kutenai and many other Indian tribes it is the heart. With some of them, unless the heart can be touched or struck, the efforts of the shaman to injure or kill a man turn out useless. Certain tribes believe that diseases are 'shot' into the body (e.g. 'pains' with some Californian tribes).

4. Ceremonials, magic and religious, in relation to disease and its cure.—The employment of magic rites and formulae, of religious or semi-religious ceremonials, ritual and other performances, for the purpose of preventing or curing diseases of various sorts is common in all regions of the globe, especially among uncivilized peoples, and the aborigines of America are no exception to the rule. These rites and ceremonies vary, from the simple procedures of the 'medicine-men' and 'medicine-women,' shamans, or sorcerers, who by rude incantations and noise-making with rattles, drums, etc., sought to drive away disease, or by laying on of hands, sucking, tricks of legerdemain, and the like, pretended to extract noxious objects from the body of the patient, to the more elaborate and highly developed ritual activities of 'medicine-societies' carried out sometimes for the benefit of an individual, or a whole family, and again on behalf of the entire community. The whole wide range is occasionally to be found within the limits of a single linguistic stock. Thus we have the crude rites of the lowest Athapascan tribes of Alaska and north-western Canada, on the one hand, and, on the other, the complicated system of the 'night chant' of the Navaho, who are of the same lineage; in like manner, also, the simple procedures of the shamans of the barbarous Utes and Shoshones, the lowest representatives of the Uto-Aztecan stock, contrasting with the rites and ceremonies of the Aztecs of ancient Mexico and their semi-civilized kindred, who mark the highest limit attained by this people. And S. America, while not exhibiting, perhaps, such extremes of diversity within one and the same stock, shows equal variety, if one compares the barbarous and completely uncivilized tribes of the Brazilian, Peruvian, and Venezuelan forests with the ancient Peruvians. Healing ceremonies of great interest occur among many American Indian peoples; the best known and those described in greatest detail belong to some of the Plains tribes and peoples of the Algonquian stock. As Dr. Hrdlička remarks (*Bull. 30 BE*, pt. i. p. 838):

'Among most of the populous tribes the medicine-men of this class (the priest-healer type) were associated in guilds or societies, and on special occasions performed great healing or "life-(vitality)-giving" ceremonies, which abounded in songs, prayers, ritual, and drama, and extended over a period of a few hours to nine days.'

There also existed among some tribes

'large medicine-societies, composed principally of patients cured of serious ailments. This was particularly the case among the Pueblos. At Zuni there still exist several such societies, whose members include the greater part of the tribe and whose organization and functions are complex. The ordinary members are not actual healers, but are believed to be more competent to assist in the particular line of diseases which are the specialty of their society, and therefore may be called by the actual medicine-men for assistance. They participate also in the ceremonies of their own society' (p. 838 f.).

The curative ceremonies of such people as the Navaho, when employed for the benefit of individuals, are both prolonged and costly, being exceedingly elaborate both in ritual and in paraphernalia. According to Dr. G. A. Dorsey (*ib.* p. 229):

'Among the non-Pueblo tribes of the S.W., especially among the Navaho and Apache, the extended ceremonies are almost entirely the property of the medicine-men, and must be regarded as medicine-dances. Many of these are of an elaborate and complicated nature, but all are designed for the restoration of the sick. In these ceremonies masks are often worn, and complicated and elaborate dry-pictures are made, both these features probably having been borrowed from the Pueblo tribes.'

Some of these great 'medicine' ceremonies have gathered about them practically all the ritual lore and legend of the tribe, and serve as a general outlet for the observance and dramatic sense of all the people. The great *Mide'wiiwin*, or 'grand medicine society,' of the Algonquian Ojibwa and related tribes is described in detail by Hoffman (7 *RBEW* [1891] 143-300); the medicine-men of the Athapascan Apache by J. G. Bourke (9 *RBEW* [1892] 443-603); the esoteric fraternities of the Zuni by Mrs. Stevenson (23 *RBEW* [1904]); the Cherokee medicine-men and their sacred formulae by Mooney (7 *RBEW* 301-397); the secret societies of the Kwakiutl by Boas (*Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus.*, 1895); the organizations of the Algonquian Cheyenne by Dorsey (*Anthr. Publ. Field Columb. Mus.* ix. [1905]); the 'mountain chant' of the Navaho (5 *RBEW* 379-467), and the great 'night chant' of the same people, by Matthews (*Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, N.Y., vol. vi. [1902]). For other N. Amer. Indian tribes much valuable information will be found in the various monographs of Boas (Eskimo and peoples of North Pacific coast), Dixon and Kroeber (Californian tribes), Kroeber, Wissler, Lowie (tribes of the Great Plains), etc. For general information concerning the American Indian shaman, the article of Dr. R. B. Dixon (*JAFI* xxi. [1908] 1-12) is of importance. From some points of view, the ceremonials of the Navaho are the most remarkable of American healing-rituals. For S. America, we have not much accurate and detailed material of a reliable character concerning the rites and ceremonies of the secret societies having to do with 'medicine.' The best is to be found in the recent works of Koch, Nordenskiöld, Ehrenreich, Hawtrey, Guevara, Latcham, etc. Some data are also contained in the writings of certain of the early missionaries, explorers, and historians, such as Charlevoix and others. Concerning the great 'night chant' of the Navaho, a ceremony lasting nine days, Dr. Matthews says (*Amer. Anthropol.* ix. [1896] 50):

'The principal purpose of this great ceremony is to heal the ailing man or woman, who defrays all the expenses of the ceremony; but the occasion is used, also, to implore the gods for various temporal blessings, not only for the sick man, but for all who participate in the work, with their friends and relations. This ceremony, like nearly all ceremonies, ancient and modern, is connected with a myth or legend (several myths, indeed, in this case), and many of the acts in the ceremony are illustrative of the mythic events.'

He also observes further:

'In them we find a nocturnal vigil analogous to that of the mediæval knight over his armour; we find a vigil in which men and gods, or the properties that represent the gods, alike take part; we find evidence of the belief in a community of feeling and interest between gods and men, and we have an instance of a primal feast in common or love-feast closely resembling certain ceremonial acts performed among ourselves to-day.'

5. Games and gaming implements as preventives and as remedies for disease.—That games among savage and barbarous peoples have certain preventive and curative rôles with regard to disease as well as other afflictions and calamities of mankind is not at all surprising, especially if one takes the view of their magic and religious origin expressed by Stewart Culin in his monograph on 'Games of the North American Indians' (24 *RBEW* [1907]). Among the Sacs and Foxes (Culin, p. 448 f.) the

game of ring and pole was played about the house, because 'people believe there is a spirit of sickness, Apenaweni, always hovering about to get into the lodges, and this game is encouraged in order to keep it away.' The employment among the Kwakiutl Indians of Vancouver Island of a sort of 'bean-shooter' (Dr. Newcombe calls it 'the figure 4 dart-shooter') in a medical ceremony is thus described (Culin, p. 761, quoting Newcombe):

'Among the Kwakiutl of the Nimpkish tribe, this is called *Hendlem*. In use a small stick is placed across the top of the pliant side-pieces, and is shot to some little distance by pressing on the trigger-piece, which is horizontal to the figure 4. The figure is held in front of the body with both hands, with the short end of the trigger downwards, and the perpendicular stem of the 4 horizontally. It is frequently used when children are sick, and small sticks are shot in different directions to chase away the spirit supposed to be causing the sickness. It was used as lately as two years ago at Alert Bay. Sets of four of this instrument are employed by grown-up people—relatives of the sick. The sticks are left lying about after the performance, but the guns are burned when done with. This goes on for four nights in succession. The noise of the two flexible sides coming together when the stick is ejected is supposed to aid the good work. At night the four shooters are left loaded near the sick child, to scare the ghost or spirit. They are also used as a game by children.'

This is an interesting example of the employment of the same implement or instrument in a children's game and in a 'medical' procedure. Rings or hoops, similar to those used in the hoop and pole game, are used in certain 'medicine' ceremonies by the shamans of the Ojibwa Dakota Indians (Culin, p. 435) for the purpose of aiding in the cure of the sick. On the first day of the healing rite of the Navaho, known as *Yebitchai*, similar gaming rings are made. These rings were used to touch the mouth and other parts of the patient's body, and were afterwards rolled out of the lodge. Of the 12 rings used in this ceremonial, as described by Col. J. Stevenson (8 *RBEW* [1891] 239), 'three were afterwards taken to the east, three to the south, three to the west, and three to the north, and deposited at the base of piñon trees.' We are further informed: 'The rings were placed over the invalid's mouth to give him strength, cause him to talk with one tongue, and to have a good mind and heart. The other portions of the body were touched with them for physical benefit.' Culin (p. 437) reports having seen 'actual practical game rings' used in ceremonies. Naturally, where the beginnings of the priest and the doctor are found together in the primitive shaman, the implements and objects in ceremonial use must often be the same or very similar. And the lines between 'games' and other more or less ceremonial performances are not always very marked; indeed, the former are not infrequently made a part of religious or quasi-religious observances—and this is not at all peculiar to the aborigines of the New World.

6. Medical operations, surgery, etc.—Some of the performances of the American 'medicine-men' belong rather to the field of jugglery and legerdemain than to that of operative therapeutics. Others have, doubtless, more of a religious or mystical than of a medical significance. There are, however, a number that may justifiably be classed as relating to the beginnings of medical operations and surgery as we understand them. The range of these among even quite primitive tribes may be seen from Father Morice's article (see Lit.) on the surgery of the Dénés, an Athapaskan people of British Columbia, where items relating to bleeding, burning, blistering, treatment of broken limbs, deformities, uterine troubles, child-birth, cataract, etc., are briefly considered, some new and interesting facts being reported. Some of the procedures in vogue are as follows:

Blood-sucking is in use both as a general practice and as a special procedure for wounds, cuts, bites, and stings of animals and insects, particularly those of a poisonous nature, including

wounds due to arrows and other weapons that have been tipped with deadly substances, snake-bites, abscesses, etc.

Blood-letting—by means of flint-knives, arrow-heads, etc., was practised by the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, and is also reported from a number of uncivilized tribes, such as the Central Californian Indians, the Kwikwagmiut of the Yukon (Alaska), certain tribes of the Isthmian region of Central America, the Brazilian Carayá, etc. The place of venesection differs according to the trouble, and varies with divers peoples. Bartels (p. 269) notes that for headache the Carayá incise the veins of the forehead; the ancient Peruvians cut into the veins of the root of the nose, the Indians of Honduras the veins of the leg or the shoulder; for troubles in the upper part of the body, certain Californian tribes practised venesection on the right arm, and on the left arm when the limbs were affected. Certain Indians of the Isthmian region are said to have practised venesection by shooting small arrows from a special bow into various parts of the patient's body until a vein was opened.

Scarification and kindred procedures are wide-spread over primitive America, ancient and modern, the implements used being knives, sharp pieces of stone, bits of shell, pieces of flint or obsidian, thorns, fish-spines, teeth of animals; some tribes have developed special implements for the purpose, as, e.g., the Carayá of Brazil.

Cauterization with cedar-bark is practised by several tribes of the North Pacific coast (e.g., Bilqula, Twana) for rheumatism and other diseases of a like order; by some Southern-Californian tribes with a hot coal for syphilis; by some Central American peoples with hot ashes and heated leaves for wounds, etc.; by the Choctaws and certain Nicaraguan tribes. Many North American Indian peoples practise cauterization for obstinate sores, etc.

Bone-setting is accomplished quite cleverly by a number of tribes all over the continent, particularly the Siouan Winnebagos, the Creeks of the south-eastern United States, some of the peoples of the North Pacific coast, and certain of the Brazilian tribes; splints and bandaging are employed especially by the Bilqula, Creeks, Winnebagos, and others.

Amputation does not seem to have been generally practised among the American Indians, even such peoples as the Creeks and Winnebagos, who were skilful in bone-setting, seldom or never resorting to it.

Trephining was in use in ancient Peru, as indicated by the crania from various pre-Columbian burial-places, and a special study of these has been made by Muniz and McGee (16 *RBEW* [1897] 3-72). Dr. Hrdlička (*Bull.* 30 *EE*, pt. i. p. 838) says: 'The highest surgical achievement, undoubtedly practised in part at least as a curative method, was trephining. This operation was of common occurrence, and is still practised in Peru, where it reached its highest development among American tribes. Trephining was also known in quite recent times among the Tarahumare of Chihuahua, but has never been found north of Mexico.'

For the purpose of *stopping bleeding* of a dangerous sort, many American tribes used down of various birds (*Haida*), mineral and plant substances (Dakotas, Winnebagos), hot ashes (for nose-bleeding); and the Brazilian Carayá (Bartels, p. 286) are credited with the use of bindings for the limbs. With the whites the use of gunpowder for stopping blood has come into practice with many tribes all over the continent. According to Hrdlička (*loc. cit.*, p. 837), 'antiseptics are unknown, but some of the cleansing agents or healing powders employed probably serve as such, though undesignedly on the part of the Indians.'

7. Materia medica, etc.—In both the procedures of individual shamans and the more elaborate and extensive ceremonies, such as those carried out by the Navaho, etc., a large number of 'fetishes,' charms, amulets, and the like are employed, and the principles of *similia similibus* and sympathetic magic are appealed to in innumerable ways, sometimes with exceeding skill and cunningness. Dr. Hrdlička (*l.c.*, p. 836) says:

'The fetishes used are peculiarly shaped stones or wooden objects, lightning-riven wood, feathers, claws, hair, figurines of mythic animals, representations of the sun, of lightning, etc., and are supposed to embody a mysterious power capable of preventing disease or of counteracting its effects.'

Of real *materia medica*, animal and mineral substances are comparatively rarely employed. Dr. Hrdlička (p. 837) says:

'Animal and mineral substances are also occasionally used as remedies. Among South-western tribes the bite of a snake is often treated by applying to the wound a portion of the ventral surface of the body of the same snake. The Papago use crickets as medicine; the Tarahumare, lizards; the Apache, spiders' eggs. Among the Navaho and others red ochre combined with fat is used externally to prevent sunburn. The red, barren clay from beneath a camp-fire is used by White Mountain Apache women to induce sterility; the Hopi blow charcoal, ashes, or other products of fire, on an inflamed surface to counteract the supposed fire which causes the ailment.'

The oil, grease, etc., of certain animals are used for external and internal application, often as antidotes—thus, among certain tribes of Central Mexico, scorpion-oil for scorpion-bites; among

the Caribs, snake-oil for snake-bites. Among the Yamamadi and neighbouring tribes of Brazil (Bartels, p. 120) we meet with the curious custom of plastering the affected portion of the patient's body all over with feathers. Some of the Southern-Californian Indians used pills of wild dove's dung as a remedy for gonorrhœa. Pounded charred bones are in use by the Kutenai for sore eyes. The great mass of primitive remedies, however, come from the plant-world—roots (most commonly), twigs, leaves, bark, flowers and seeds (rarely)—and are most frequently employed in the form of a decoction, made from either the fresh or the dry plant (sometimes from its powder). The 'doctrine of signatures' and similar ideas controlled a good deal of the botanical medicine of the aborigines of America, which reached its height with such peoples as the ancient Mexicans, as may be seen from Father Gerste's monograph on the subject, where the data in the old historians, are carefully brought together. In the warmer and tropical regions of America numerous vegetable gums and balsams, the use of many of which has passed over now to the white population as well, were employed for medical purposes, for stopping bleeding, curing and cleansing wounds, etc. The number of plant-remedies in use even among the uncivilized tribes is often quite large. Among the Californian Karok, 13 species of medicinal plants were reported; among the Twana and neighbouring tribes of the State of Washington, 18; among the Ojibwa (according to Hoffman), 56; the list of Schoolcraft, representing several N. American tribes, contains 89; of the plants known to the Moqui or Hopi, according to Hough (*Amer. Anthropol.*, 1898), 45 are employed for medical purposes—there being probably not over 160 indigenous species in the environment. As Bartels (p. 209) notes, the Indians possess quite a large number of plant-remedies for diseases and troubles of the eyes. Abundant emetics and astringents are also provided. Plant-remedies are in vogue for the treatment of cuts, burns, bruises, wounds, bites, stings, and stomach-ache and kindred ills, diseases of the respiratory tract, and nasal troubles, in the form of poultices and plasters (often of hot leaves), decoctions, lotions, and inhalations. With the Cherokee Indians the plants furnished all the remedies as against the animal world, which inflicted diseases upon mankind. The formulae of the medicine-men of this interesting Iroquoian people have been recorded by Mooney, and they form a body of data of great importance for the study of primitive medicine in its incantational and invocational aspects. With the sowing and gathering of medical plants there are sometimes connected certain rites and ceremonies, as, e.g., is the case with the 'medicine tobacco' of the Crow Indians of the Siouan stock. Interesting also is the sacred *rule pollen* in use among the Apache, known as *hodentín*, and 'given or applied because of its supposed supernatural beneficial effect.' Many plants 'are employed as remedies simply for traditional reasons, without any formulated opinion as to their modes of action' (Hrdlička, p. 837).

8. *Drugs, narcotics, etc.*—In connexion with puberty-rites, 'man-making' ceremonies, and performances of a kindred nature, certain narcotic and stupefying substances were employed among tribes representing all stages of culture all over the continent. In the *huskanaw*-ceremonies carried out on boys at the age of puberty among the Virginian Indians, the subjects were stupefied by a decoction of *Datura* ('jimson weed'). A variety of *Datura* was used by the shamans of the Californian Yokuts to induce religious frenzy. This was done also, in all probability, by those of the Indian tribes of the south-western United States (Navaho, Hopi, etc.)

who are acquainted with the properties of the *Datura*. Various tribes of the Gulf States employed in their ceremonial purifications the 'medicine' known as the 'black drink,' a decoction made from the leaves of the *Ilex cassine*. This 'medicine' figures in the great *Busk*, or annual green-corn thanksgiving ceremony of the Creeks. According to Hall (*Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus.*, 1885), the Creeks were in the habit of preparing and drinking it before council-meetings, because they believed that 'it invigorated the mind and body and prepared for thought and debate.' In various regions of North, Central, and South America several kinds of tobacco furnished medicine for divers diseases. Pipe-smoking for asthmatic troubles is reported from the Dakotas, Winnebagoes, Creeks, and other tribes; in several parts of Mexico, tobacco was used for similar purposes, and likewise against rheumatism. Among the Ipurina Indians of Brazil, incurable sick people are completely narcotized by tobacco and thrown into the river. In South America, tobacco was chiefly used in the form of snuff, and, according to McGuire (*Bull. 30 BE*, pt. ii. [1910] p. 768), 'there is some evidence that the plant was chewed in Central America.' McGuire (p. 768) says:

'Tobacco was cultivated in most tribes by the men alone, and was usually smoked by them only; among the Iroquois and some of the Pueblo trade tobacco was not smoked in solemn ceremonies. At times both priests and laymen smoked plants or compounds that were strongly narcotic, those using them becoming ecstatic and seeing visions. To the Indian the tobacco-plant had a sacred character; it was almost invariably used on solemn occasions, accompanied by suitable invocations to their deities. It was ceremonially used to aid in disease or distress, to ward off danger, to bring good fortune, to generally assist one in need, and to allay fear.'

The general use of tobacco all over America was much furthered when many of the European colonists devoted themselves to the planting and sale of this plant. Its fame as a medicine was really the first basis of its popularity when introduced into the Old World. Among some Indian tribes the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of tobacco had many religious or semi-religious rites and ceremonies attached to them. According to Simms (*Amer. Anthropol.*, N.S., vi. [1904]), as cited by McGuire (p. 768),

'the planting of medicine tobacco is one of the oldest ceremonies of the Crows, consisting, among other observances, of a solemn march, a foot race among the young men, the planting of seed, the building of a hedge of green branches around the seed-bed, a visit to the sweat-house, followed by a bath and a solemn smoke, all ending with a feast; when ripe, the plant was stored away, and seeds were put in a deerskin pouch and kept for another planting.'

In S. America a number of plant-juices were employed for the purpose of making more or less intoxicating or stupefying drinks, used on ceremonial occasions, etc.; and 'getting drunk' was not infrequently a common and regular occurrence, on festival occasions, with certain Brazilian and Paraguayan tribes. In N. America, according to Dr. Hrdlička (p. 837), 'among the tribes who prepare *tiswin*, or *tesvino*, particularly the Apache, parts of a number of bitter, aromatic, and even poisonous plants, especially a species of *Datura*, are added to the liquid to make it "stronger"; these are termed medicines.' Certain Californian tribes made drinks from *manzanita* berries, and the Pima and other tribes of the Arizonian region manufactured an intoxicating liquor from the fruit of the cactus. Among many tribes of ancient and modern Mexico, a decoction of *peyotl* (*Anhalonium lewinii*), a small variety of cactus, had, and still has, a very extensive use; so also in the region of the United States north of Mexico. According to Mooney (*Bull. 30 BE*, pt. ii. p. 237), it was 'formerly and [is] still much used for ceremonial and medicinal purposes by all the tribes between the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico, from Arkansas river southward, almost to

the city of Mexico.' The Nahuatl *peyotl* corresponds to the Kiowa *señi*, Comanche *wokowi*, Tarahumare *hikuli*, etc. Under the incorrect title of *mescal* it is well known to the whites, and has been even used for psychological and medical experimentation.

The 'eating of mescal buttons' takes place during ceremonies of considerable length among the Kiowa (where they have been studied by Mooney), Comanche, and other tribes. With these peoples, 'it is rather a ceremony of prayer and quiet contemplation. It is usually performed as an invocation for the recovery of some sick person; it is held in a *tipi* specially erected for the purpose, and begins usually at night, continuing until the sun is well up in the morning.' Women, as a rule, do not take part in the ceremony proper, but 'occupy themselves with the preparation of the sacred food and of the feast in which all join at the close of the performance.' 'At some point during the ceremony the sick person is usually brought in to be prayed for, and is allowed to eat one or more specially consecrated *peyotls*.' Mooney says further: 'The number of "buttons" eaten by one individual during the night varies from 10 to 40, and even more, the drug producing a sort of spiritual exaltation differing entirely from that produced by any other known drug, and apparently without any reaction. The effect is heightened by the weird lullaby of the songs, the constant sound of the drum and rattle, and the fitful glare of the fire.' The Tarahumare and some other Mexican tribes have a *peyotl* dance. The effects of 'mescal buttons' have been studied experimentally by Havelock Ellis (*Pop. Sci. Mo.* lxi. [1902] 67-71), and, as Mooney notes (p. 237), 'tests thus far made indicate that it possesses varied and valuable medical properties, tending to confirm the idea of the Indians who regard it almost as a panacea.' Father Gerste (pp. 63-66) records its use, not only as a sort of panacea for fatigue, etc., but also as a means of obtaining hallucinations, which were then taken for messages from the gods, and prophecies of the future. The Ohichimecs, according to Sahagun, consumed large quantities of *peyotl*, and they believed that 'it gave them courage, took away all fear during battle, rendered them insensible to hunger, thirst, etc., and preserved them from all dangers.'

The 'mescal button' or 'mescal' here described is not to be confounded with the mescal (food and intoxicating drink, the latter post-Columbian) produced in this region from the agave.

9. Inventions for use in 'medicine.'—Besides the vast number of amulets, charms, and talismans, of which some account is given in art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Amer.), a few 'inventions' of a medical or quasi-medical order, in use among American Indian peoples, deserve mention here. Such are, e.g., a sort of respirator of fine woven grass used by the Kwikpagmiut Eskimo of Alaska (Bartels, p. 222) to prevent the smoke from getting into the lungs of the people in the 'sweat-house'; the scarification-implements of fish-teeth made by the Carayás of Brazil (p. 267), which are of peculiar interest; the bone and horn tubes used by several North American tribes (Navaho, Ojibwa, Creek, Siouan peoples) for scarification, blood-sucking, and similar procedures. Note may be taken here also of the litters for the sick and wounded among a number of tribes (e.g. Dakotas); and the snow-spectacles of the Eskimo.

10. Hygiene, sanitation, etc.—The idea that 'cleanliness is next to godliness' was wide-spread among many American Indian peoples, as their frequent bathing, and other cleansing procedures, the very common use of the 'sweat-house' (accompanied often by elaborate ceremonials), the washing of the sexual parts, and the attention to the body during menstruation, after *coitus*, etc., abundantly indicate. Some of the tribes lowest in intelligence, apparently, are very careful to bathe frequently and thoroughly—the process beginning with the new-born infant, which, even in the cold north, is immediately plunged into the water; the mother also cleansing herself as soon as possible. This treatment of child and mother is discussed at some length in the works of Ploss and others who have written in particular of menstruation and of child-birth among primitive peoples. Fasting, bathing, and sprinkling ceremonials are found accompanying the great religious performances as well as the smaller, and they are also to be met with in connexion with preparation for and participation in games, which have often a more or less religious character. Of the Tsimshian Indians of British

Columbia, who are sun-worshippers, Boas says (5th Rep. on N.W. Tribes of Canada, 1889, p. 50):

'Men make themselves agreeable to the deity by cleanliness. Therefore they must bathe and wash their whole bodies before praying. For the same reason they take a vomitive when they wish to please the deity well. They fast and abstain from touching their wives, if they desire their prayers to be successful.'

It is evident that many tabus, among the American Indians, no less than among primitive peoples in other parts of the globe, are of this hygienic, or quasi-hygienic nature. Sometimes, as among the Tsimshian (Boas, p. 50), when a special object is to be attained, 'to make the ceremony very successful, their wives must join them; if the wife should not be true to the husband, the effect of the fasting is destroyed.' Bathing and cleansing appear also frequently, and sometimes elaborately, in connexion with mourning rites and ceremonies connected with the handling and disposal of the dead. The use of water reaches its maximum, perhaps, with the ancient Mexicans, who 'washed the soul.' The 'purification' of the soul as a means of curing the body of disease was in vogue among a number of the peoples of ancient Mexico, as Father Gerste notes (p. 18). Water was regarded as a remedy *par excellence*, because 'it cured the body by washing the stains of the soul.'

The use of the bath (with some tribes daily) as a hygienic or medical procedure, often complicated with religious or mystical ceremonies, was wide-spread in all parts of primitive America, the water used having added to it sometimes (e.g. among the Dakotas) certain decoctions of plants—occasionally for the purpose of irritating the skin. Some Indian tribes, like the Hopi or Moqui, and the Pueblos, avoided cold baths altogether; others, like the Pimas and some tribes of Lower California, preferred them. With quite a number of tribes (Dakotas, Creeks, Ojibwa, Klamath), especially in the Rocky Mountain region, hot baths were followed immediately by cold, the individual rushing at once from the 'sweat-house' and plunging into the nearest stream. Cold baths for fever were in vogue among many tribes, and the Huastecs of Mexico even submitted smallpox patients to this procedure, thereby greatly increasing the mortality from that disease. The Moqui, when suffering from fever (Bartels, p. 134), 'used to lie down in the cold water until they got well or died'—a sort of 'perpetual bath,' as the author remarks. Similar practices are reported from the Winnebagos. Aspersions with cold water is resorted to by several tribes. Among the tribes of the Columbia region and the North Pacific coast, many are very fond of hot baths, and the institution of the 'sweat-house' or primitive 'steam-bath' is wide-spread all over the continent, from the uncivilized tribes of the Plains and the Rocky Mountain regions to the more or less civilized Aztecs of ancient Mexico, with their *temezcalli*, etc. The Mayan peoples, likewise, had their *tiuk*. In Mexico, Central America, and the Pueblo region, the 'sweat-houses' were more imposing constructions, but over a large part of the continent they were simply made of willows or the like, large enough to contain a single individual, the steam being produced by pouring water over heated stones. The structure usually had a temporary covering of skins and blankets. The body was sometimes scraped before leaving the sweat-house, and some of the Eskimo are said to 'rub themselves after the bath with grass and twigs.' According to Henshaw (*Bull. 30 BE*, pt. ii. p. 661) sweating was practised among the American aborigines for three different purposes: (1) as a purely religious rite or ceremony for the purpose of purifying the body and propitiating spirits: (2) as a medical

practice for the cure of disease; (3) often as purely social and hygienic—'a number of individuals entered the sweat-house together, apparently actuated only by social instinct and appreciation of the luxury of a steam bath' (p. 662). As a religious ceremony it was used by warriors before going forth, by hunters previous to departing for the chase, by boys and girls at puberty, and by all sorts of people in time of danger, or before undertaking special exploits, etc. Moreover, 'among the Plains tribes all priests who perform ceremonies have usually to pass through the sweat-house to be purified, and the sweating is accompanied by special rituals' (p. 661). The ceremonials of the sweat-house with some tribes are elaborate and complicated, especially where there is a village or a general *temezcalli* or *estufa*. Nelson informs us that, among the Alaskan Eskimo, the *kashim* used for the sweat-bath was 'the centre of social and religious life in every village.' With most tribes also the construction of the sweat-house 'was attended with many rules and observances.'

Massage was practised in various ways by numerous American peoples (rubbing, pressure with hands or feet, etc.). Purifications of various sorts, including fasting, bathing, taking various 'medicines,' were in vogue among many tribes, previous to participation in games and other more or less ceremonial performances. Culin (*op. cit.*) refers to such 'medicines' in connexion with the foot-races of the Tarahumare, the ball-games of Zuni, Cherokee, Ojibwa, Choctaws, Mohawks, etc. Care regarding the satisfaction of natural necessities is reported from a number of American Indian peoples. According to Joest (*Int. Arch. f. Ethn.* vol. v. Suppl., 1893), the Caribs and Arawaks, who live near rivers, etc., go thither for such purposes. Otherwise, they go to some distance from the village, scratch a hole in the sand, and carefully cover up their excrement, cleansing themselves with sand. Concerning the Carayá Indians of Brazil, Ehrenreich (Bartels, p. 261) remarks on

'the feeling of decency of these savages exhibited in their manner of defecating, which is of a culture-historical interest. It is done as far away as possible from the village. A hole is made in the sand. The individual sits over it with outspread legs, hiding the upper part of his body behind a mat. The excrements are always carefully buried.'

Certain North American Indians also are very careful in the matter of relieving themselves, always doing so out of the public way, and not in view of any one.

Some of the food-tabus of American Indian peoples have at least a *prima facie* hygienic value. Careful regard for the purity of water is evident both in the Pueblo region of the south-western United States and from the early accounts of the semi-civilized peoples of ancient Mexico.

Ehrenreich reports the Carayá Indians of Brazil (cited by Bartels, p. 238) as inquiring of every stranger, 'Have you catarrh?' and permitting him to enter their cabin only after assuring themselves that there is no danger from tuberculosis—a disease upon the increase among them, and of whose infectious character they are fully aware. But this is post-European. Among the Indians of northern Mexico individuals suffering from contagious or infectious diseases are abandoned by their fellows, who, however, place water and wild fruits within easy reach before leaving (Bartels, p. 242). The ancient Aztecs, according to Gerste (p. 18), had the same fashion of treating severe cases of disease, where death might be expected. The family of the patient carried him to the highest point of some near-by mountain, placed beside him food and a vessel of water, and left him to himself, for death or cure, as the case might be, after forbidding all persons to go near him. The

segregation of the patient in order to keep away evil spirits, etc., was in vogue among many tribes. Some, like the Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin and the Mosquitos of Honduras, went so far as to surround the bed of the sick with poles on which were hung various animals, or to hedge him in with painted sticks, allowing no one but the 'medicine-man' to approach the spot (Bartels, p. 244). Hygienic motives may also enter here in part, as also in the case of the abandonment of persons suffering from contagious or infectious diseases. Here perhaps ought also to be mentioned the fact reported by Dr. Farabee of the very primitive Macheyengas of eastern Peru, that they 'are more afraid of the disease from which he died than of the dead man.'

11. Personification and forms of disease.—The disease or sickness is often given some special form and recognized as having the shape of some object or creature, whose expulsion by the shaman or other qualified person, with or without the accompaniment of primitive music, incantations, conjurer's tricks, and similar devices (the evil object is frequently 'sucked out' by the medicine-man), is followed by relief or cure, temporary or permanent. Such procedures are known all over America, from Alaska to Patagonia, and from Greenland to Brazil. The representation of the disease as a piece of bone is wide-spread; common also is the conception of it as a piece of stone or some similar object. The claws of such animals as the bear, the spines of the porcupine, etc., likewise figure in the same way. Living creatures, corporeally or spiritually, constitute the disease-cause with many American tribes, having in some way or other, of themselves, or through the machinations of shamans or other evil-disposed individuals, been introduced into the body of the patient. The Sioux Indians, like some of the tribes of Central Mexico, personify disease as a worm; the Klamath and certain of the Sioux as some sort of insect; some Indians of Central Mexico as a large ant; the Klamath, Karok, and other Californian tribes of the north as a frog; and the Dakotas as a tortoise. Another common personification is a snake. The Twana, Chimakum, and Klallam Indians of the State of Washington believe that certain diseases are caused by a wood-pecker pecking at the heart of the person affected. Even quite large animals are believed by some Indian tribes to make their way into the human body and cause disease and sometimes death. Such are the bear and deer among the Dakotas; the squirrel among the Twana and neighbouring tribes; the porcupine among the Sioux; the otter among certain tribes of the North Pacific coast region (some birds figure here also, of considerable size). Among the Twana, Chimakum, and Klallam it is believed that evil-minded shamans or sorcerers can send into the body of a man a bear, which eats at his heart and so causes him to become sick (Eells, *Ann. Rep. Smiths. Inst.*, 1887, pt. i.). Among the Nutka Indians of Vancouver Island, according to Boas (*6th Rep. N.W. Tribes*, 1890, p. 44),

'the cause of sickness is either what is called *māyatl*, i.e. sickness flying about in the shape of an insect and entering the body without some enemy being the cause of it; or the sick person has been struck by sickness thrown by a hostile shaman, which is called *menu'qéil*. Their ordinary method of removing disease is by sucking and singing over the patient.'

12. Prognostics, etc.—Devices for the prognostication and prophesying of the issues of diseases of various sorts are reported from many American tribes. Among the Kutenai Indians of south-eastern British Columbia, according to Boas (*5th Rep. p. 46*), 'if the hands of a dead man (before the body is buried) are closed so firmly that they cannot be opened, it indicates that the

tribe will be healthy and strong and free from disease.' The Indians of Michoacan (Bartels, p. 168), in Central Mexico, believe that, if the leaf of a certain plant, when placed on the sore place of the body, stays there, the man will recover; if it drops off, his death is certain. The Mayas of Yucatan are said to have used a crystal for purposes of prognostication. In other parts of the continent the medicine-men, the priests of the Mayas, used to cast lots in order to determine what offering should be made for the restoration of the patient to health.

13. Transference of disease, 'scape-animals,' etc.—The idea of curing a sick person by transferring the disease or illness with which he is afflicted to some other creature, animal or human, is met with in various regions of primitive America. Some of the Nahuas or Aztec peoples of ancient Mexico (Gerste, p. 47) had the custom, in cases of violent fever, of fabricating a little dog of maize-flour, which was then placed on a maguey-plant in the public way; it was believed that the first passer-by would carry off the disease, and thus enable the patient to recover. In like manner, certain Peruvian coastal tribes used to expose on the public road the clothes of the sick man, in the belief that any passer-by who touched them would take the disease upon himself and so relieve the patient.

14. The animal world as the cause of disease.—A typical American Indian legend of the origin of disease is that of the Cherokee reported by Mooney, and given at length in art. CHEROKEES (vol. iii. p. 505). According to this myth, the animals became so offended and outraged at the carelessness of man and the invasions of their rights on the part of mankind that they held a council and determined to obtain revenge by each of them inflicting some disease upon their human oppressors. This they did, the smallest as well as the greatest providing his share. This is why the incantations and rites of the Cherokee medicine-men are so full of references to animals, and why each disease is represented as being caused by some one of them (the interesting details will be found in Mooney's monograph upon this subject). As a result of the action of the animals, the legend goes on to state, all the plants held a council and resolved to present man with remedies for all the diseases inflicted upon him by the former. Thus it happens, also, that for every disease brought about by the animals, there is a remedy to be found in the plant world. The idea of the origin of disease from the animal world obtains among many other American tribes as well, and the doctrine sometimes suggests comparison with the modern scientific theories as to the microbe origin of many human diseases. Among the Klamath Indians of Oregon, birds such as the wood-pecker, the lark, the crane, and various sorts of ducks are believed to be the causers of disease. With them also the otter is made responsible for smallpox.

15. Natural phenomena as causes of disease.—With some American Indian peoples, the shadow of another person is often harmful. Among the Shushwap of British Columbia (Boas, 6th Rep. p. 92) widows and widowers, while observing mourning regulations, 'must avoid letting their shadows fall upon a person, as the latter would fall sick at once.' Similar beliefs prevail among the Bilqula (7th Rep., 1891, p. 13). Lightning, the moon's light, etc., are sometimes supposed to cause illness. The Klamath Indians seem to have believed that the wind had something to do with the causation of disease. In some of the incantations of these Indians the west wind, in particular, is represented as 'blowing disease' out of its mouth; the rainstorm also 'calls up' disease.

16. Human beings as causers of disease.—Besides enchantment, witchcraft, sorcery, and other active procedures of medicine-men and medicine-women, by means of which sickness or disease is caused in another individual or transferred to him, there are other ways in which men and women may infect one another or bring about a condition of ill-health. As may be seen from the abundant data in Ploss's *Das Weib*, the menstruating woman is often regarded as a disease-bringer or a disease-causer, and her segregation is justified for that reason. Among the Songish Indians of Vancouver Island, according to Boas (6th Rep. p. 22), 'menstruating women may not come near sick persons, as they would make them weak.' The maximum theory of woman's responsibility for disease is met with among the Chiquitos of Bolivia, concerning whose 'medical code' Charlevoix states (Gerste, p. 45) that 'it consists of two prescriptions,—first, to suck the part of the body of the patient affected, and, second, to kill some woman, since women are responsible for all the misfortunes of mankind.' Among the Shushwap Indians of British Columbia, according to Boas (l.c. p. 90), 'women during their monthly periods are forbidden to cook for their families, as it is believed that the food would be poisonous.' Among the causes of disease or sickness given by the shamans of the Shushwap (p. 94) are 'that a woman passed by the head of the patient, or that the shadow of a mourner fell upon him.' Ideas cognate, more or less, with the 'evil eye' superstitions of the Old World are met with in various parts of primitive America. The shamans of many tribes (e.g. Shahaptin, Klamath, and other peoples of the Oregonian-Columbian region) are believed to be able to 'shoot' diseases from their eyes. Against these instances of maleficent human beings may be cited cases of *twins as disease curers*. As already noted in art. CHILDREN (vol. iii. p. 526), several American Indian tribes, particularly in the North Pacific coast region, believe that twins are gifted with the power of curing diseases.

Thus, among the Kwakiutl (Boas, 5th Rep. p. 51), twins, who are thought to be transformed salmon, 'have the power of curing diseases, and use for this purpose a rattle called *K'oqaten*, which has the shape of a flat box about three feet long by two feet wide'; among the Nak'omgylisla (6th Rep. p. 62), 'twins, if of the same sex, were salmon before they were born. . . . The father dances for four days after the children have been born, with a large, square rattle. The children, by swinging this rattle, can cure disease and procure favourable winds and weather.'

17. Soul and disease.—In primitive America a great variety of ideas as to the relationship of the soul to disease and kindred phenomena of the human body prevailed. Indeed, we meet with all grades—from the simple belief of the Arawakan Macheyengas of eastern Peru, who, according to Dr. W. C. Farabee (*Proc. Amer. Antiq. Society*, N.S., xx.), think that the soul 'has nothing to do with life, sleep, disease, or death,' to the elaborate and quite metaphysical doctrines of some of the tribes occupying higher cultural stages, where life, sleep, disease, and death have often to be interpreted in relation to the existence of a plurality of souls, constituting sometimes a hierarchical series. Among the Indians of the North Pacific coast regions there are some (for example, certain tribes of the Fraser River, in British Columbia) who believe in the existence of 'several souls, the loss of one of which causes partial loss of life, i.e. sickness, while the loss of all, or of the principal one, entails death'; but, according to Boas (*Bull. SO BE*, pt. ii. p. 617), the idea that the 'life' is associated with the vital organs (blood, breath, etc.), the loss of which causes death, 'is not strongly developed among the American aborigines.' The Hidatsa Indians of the Siouan stock,

like the Fraser River tribes, believe in a plurality of souls, as do a number of other American peoples. The doctrine of souls and of disease among the Chinook Indians has been discussed by Boas (*JAFL*, 1893, pp. 39-43). Here there are said to be two souls, a larger and a smaller; when a man is sick, it is because the latter has left his body, and he recovers when the shaman or medicine-man has caught the soul and returned it to him. In various parts of America the devices for 'soul-catching' are sometimes detailed, with extensive ceremonial, ritual, etc. Among the Tlinkit, Haida, and Taimshian Indians, according to Boas (*5th Rep.* p. 58),

'their art consists in extracting the sickness or in finding and restoring the soul of the sick person. In trying to find it, three or four shamans sing and rattle over the sick person until they declare they have found the whereabouts of his soul, which is supposed to be in the possession of the salmon or *clachen* (candle-fish), or in that of the deceased shaman. Then they go to the place where it is supposed to be, and by singing and incantations obtain possession of it, and enclose it in a hollow carved bone. Then mountain-goat tallow, red paint, eagle-down, and other valuable objects are burnt, and the soul held over the fire. The bone is then laid upon the sick man's head, the shaman saying, "Here is your soul. Now you will be better and eat again." Sometimes the soul is supposed to be held by a shaman, who is paid for returning it.'

The soul of an individual can be removed from his body through the 'magic' of his enemies, their more powerful *orenda*, to use the term of Hewitt, and can be brought back only by the exercise of the same practices of a higher order or a greater cunning. Among the Songish Indians the lower sort of shamans, or *siöua*, who are generally women, are able to cure such diseases as are not due to the soul's absence from the body. The higher class of shamans, or *squnädm*, are able to see the soul and to catch it when it has left the body and its owner is sick. A man becomes a *squnädm* by intercourse with supernatural powers in the woods, where he acquires a guardian spirit, 'called the *tl'k'äyin*, corresponding to what is known as the *tamanowus* in the Chinook jargon, and "medicine" east of the Rocky Mountains.' The method of procedure of the *squnädm* in disease-curing and soul-catching is thus described by Boas (*6th Rep.* 30):

'When he returns from the woods, the shaman is able to cure diseases, to see and to catch souls, etc. The best time of the day for curing disease is at nightfall. A number of people are invited to attend the ceremonies. The patient is deposited near the fire, the guests sit around him. Then they begin to sing and beat time with sticks. The shaman (who uses no rattle) has a cup of water standing next to him. He takes a mouthful, blows it into his hands, and sprinkles it over the sick person. Then he applies his mouth to the place where the disease is supposed to be, and sucks at it. As soon as he has finished sucking, he produces a piece of deer-skin or the like as though he had extracted it from the body, and which is supposed to have produced the sickness. If the soul of the sick person is supposed to be absent from the body, the shaman sends his *tl'k'äyin* (not his soul) in search. The *tl'k'äyin* brings it, and then the shaman takes it and puts it on the vertex of the patient, whence it returns into his body. These performances are accompanied by a dance of the shaman. Before the dance the *siöua* must give a name to the earth, which else would swallow the shaman. When acting as conjurer for sick persons, he must keep away from his wife, as else his powers might be interfered with. He never treats members of his own family, but engages another shaman for this purpose. It is believed that he cannot cure his own relatives. Rich persons sometimes engage a shaman to look after their welfare.'

Shamans are able to make people sick, no less than to cure them of illness. The Nutka Indians, according to Boas (*6th Rep.* p. 44), have the following curious belief as to the cause of sickness:

'The soul has the shape of a tiny man; its seat is in the crown of the head. As long as it stands erect, the person to whom it belongs is hale and well; but, when it loses its upright position for any reason, its owner loses his senses. The soul is capable of leaving the body; then the owner grows sick, and, if the soul is not speedily restored, he must die. To restore it, the higher class of shamans, called *k-ok-outsmaah* (soul-workers), are summoned.'

Among the Kwakiutl Indians (p. 59):

'If a man feels weak and looks pale, the seer (shaman) is

sent for. He feels the head and roof of the nose of the patient, and finds that his soul has left his body.'

The soul is caught again at night by the shaman to the accompaniment of incantations, etc., as already described for the Songish. Among the Shushwap the bringing back of the soul is an elaborate performance. Among the Bilqula (Bel-lacoola) the following belief obtains (*7th Rep.* p. 14):

'The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a bird enclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies away, its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls. By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak, they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons, it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like that of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.'

Unlike many other Indian tribes, the Bilqula believe that the art of shamanism is a direct gift of the deity called *Suq*, obtained during illness, and not procurable by means of fasting, praying, etc. Among the Chilliwack, according to Hill-Tout (*Rep. on Ethnol. Surv. of Canada*, 1902, p. 9), the shaman sends his own soul out to catch the soul which has escaped from the body of his patient. Among the Twana Indians, who have the practice of 'soul-catching,' the reason given for its performance at night is that night on earth corresponds to day-time in the spirit-world. Among the Klamath Indians of Oregon, the treatment of the sick takes place in the winter-house in complete darkness.

18. Ghosts or spirits of the dead and disease.—

An opinion met with among many of the aborigines of America is that, in some way or other, the ghosts or spirits of the dead are responsible for the diseases and sicknesses that afflict mankind. Among the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island, to see the ghosts of the dead, when they re-appear on earth, entails sickness and death (Boas, *5th Rep.* p. 43); with certain Siouan tribes, to touch them or be touched by them as they move unseen through the air has the same effect. Many peoples, however, believe in an active rôle of these spirits in afflicting human beings with disease; this sometimes amounts to taking possession of the body or of some part or member of it. Among the coast Salish (Boas, *ib.* p. 52), it is believed that 'the touch or the seeing of ghosts brings sickness and death.' So, also, with the Songish (*6th Rep.* p. 28), who believe that 'their touch causes sickness. They make those who have not regarded the regulations regarding food and work mad. Their touch paralyzes man. When one feels afraid, being alone in the woods or in the dark, it is a sign that a ghost is near.'

The following is reported by Boas (*6th Rep.* p. 61) from the Kwakiutl:

'The sight of a ghost is deadly. A few years ago, a woman, who was waiting for her mother, suddenly fell into a swoon. The people first believed her to be dead, and carried the corpse into the woods. There they discovered that she continued to breathe. They watched her for two days, when she recovered. She told them that she had seen two people enter the house. One of them had said: "Don't cry; I am your mother's ghost. We are well off where we live." She had replied: "No; I mourn because you have left me alone." Then she had fallen into a deep swoon.'

This explanation of swooning, fainting, and similar states is common all over primitive America. Among the Shushwaps (p. 93), 'when a person faints, it is a sign that a ghost pursues him.'

19. The hereafter of those dying from sickness and disease.—Among the American Indians, one frequently meets the idea that those dying by violent deaths, women dying in childbirth, and people whose death is due to sickness or disease go to certain special abodes in the hereafter. Thus the Tlinkit, according to Boas (*5th Rep.* p. 47),

'believe that the soul, after death, lives in a country similar to ours. Those who have died a violent death go to heaven, to a country ruled by Tahiti; those who die by sickness (also women dying in childbirth) go to a country beyond the borders of the

earth, but on the same level. It is said that the dead from both countries join during the daytime. I believe that this idea, which is also held by the Haida, must be ascribed to Eskimo influence.

A special heaven for women dying in childbirth is met with elsewhere among uncivilized tribes; also in ancient Mexico.

20. Disease and the gods and demons.—The conception of disease as the work of deity or of demons has not yet vanished altogether from the minds of the civilized Christian peoples of the globe, and it is strongly entertained by many tribes of American Indians representing practically all grades of culture in the primitive New World. The Iroquoian Onondaga, *e.g.*, believe that the evil demons known as *Hondoi* cause both disease and misfortune among men and women, but, when appeased by dances and other ceremonies and by offerings of food, tobacco, and the like, they become friendly and protect them from sickness and disease, as well as from witchcraft. In the dances and kindred ceremonials of the Iroquoian 'medicine-societies,' women masked, representing these disease-demons with distorted human faces, are employed. The secret medicine-societies of the pagan Seneca have recently been studied by A. C. Parker, himself Iroquoian descent. These societies serve for the healing of disease and the furtherance of well-being in the broadest sense. In a Tsimshian myth (Boas, *5th Rep.* p. 50) 'the master of the moon,' the pestilence (*Hoiatilog*), appears as a powerful deity—something ascribable to the influence of the neighbouring Kwakiutl. The Sacs and Foxes believe that the spirit of sickness, *Apenaweni*, hovers about, seeking entrance into the lodges of the Indians. Among the Nez-Perce Indians there is a general ceremony, lasting from 3 to 7 days, carried on by all the men of the community who are between 18 and 40 years of age, with the object of conquering *Mawish*, the spirit of fatigue (Bartels, p. 235); and the Indians believe firmly that by means of it they ensure themselves great bodily strength and capacity for resistance to fatigue.

Water-demons are sometimes credited with keeping the souls of men, and thus causing various diseases and sicknesses. Examples of this are the *Tsakan* of the Mexican Coras, described by Preuss, and the *Pujio* of the Indians of the Bolivian-Argentinian border-land, of which an account is given by Boman (*Antig. de la rég. and.*, vol. i. [1903]). In the case of the *Pujio*, a rather complicated offering is made, after which the soul is called back. The soul is also called back when one is 'frightened to death.' Among the Ipurina Indians of Brazil, persons whose recovery from illness or disease is not expected, and upon whom all the arts of the shaman have been exercised in vain, are devoted to *Inkisi*, 'the great water-snake,' a prominent figure in their mythology. Ehrenreich thus describes their actions in this matter (cited in Bartels, p. 248):

'If there are any sick people who are beyond anything but the help of the Snake, one of the shamans proceeds to the river to call the Water-Spirit. After all accompanying him have disappeared, the Spirit comes forth, and asks first after what gifts have been brought. If he is satisfied with these, he declares himself ready for the reception of the sick man. The latter is stupefied with tobacco and thrown into the river, on the bottom of which he falls "with a dull thud," and wakes up. The Water-Spirit takes him into his house and restores him. The method of cure is not clearly given, but the recovered patient remains for ever in the realm of the Water-Snake, and lives there happily and gloriously, with no desire to return to earth. The accidentally drowned find the same reception, while those already dead on earth are rejected. Moribund people are often hurried into the next world by the clubs of the shamans.'

21. Disease as punishment.—The conception of disease as punishment for the known or unknown sins and offences of the individual, the family, or the community is wide-spread, and is not confined to any particular stage of culture, either in the Old

World or in the New. Primitive America furnishes a number of interesting examples. The breaking of tabus, and the disregarding of various other religious or semi-religious commandments and regulations, are believed by tribes all over the continent to be followed by punishments which often take the form of some sickness or affliction of body or mind, or of both together. The breaking of food-tabus, in particular, is thought to bring diseases of various sorts on the guilty; likewise, the non-observance or neglect of the customs and ceremonies relating to menstruation, puberty, childbirth, *coitus*, etc. The Mayas of Yucatan and the Aztecs of ancient Mexico, both representing the highest reaches of primitive American civilization, believe that certain diseases were sent upon the individual, etc., in consequence of sin; the former holding also that it sometimes was for sins unconfessed. This topic is discussed by Preuss in his article on sin in ancient Mexican religion (see Lit.). It appears that the Aztecs believed diseases and misfortunes of many sorts to be due to the sinful nature of man. Sacrilege and offences against the State were punished by the gods. Tezcatlipoca, *e.g.*, sent leprosy, sexual diseases, gout, skin diseases, dropsy, etc. Father Gerste (p. 19) says on this point that, in cases of severe illness or grave diseases, the 'doctor' told the patient that he must have committed some sin, and kept questioning him until he confessed some offence—very old, perhaps, and almost forgotten. The principle of medication here was to purify the soul first, and then the body might get well. Certain Central American peoples, of the Mayan stock, had practically the same ideas and method of procedure by confession, etc.

22. Special and protective deities of shamans, etc.—Among not a few tribes, especially those belonging to the ancient civilized peoples of Mexico, Central and South America, the 'doctors,' 'medicine-men,' etc., had their special protective divinities. Such, *e.g.*, were, among the Aztecs and closely related peoples, *Toqi*, the great, ancient mother, particularly friendly to women-doctors and midwives, who figured in the ceremonials in her honour; *Xilonen*, a goddess to whom a young maiden was offered in sacrifice; *Tzapotla tenan*, or 'the mother of Tzapotlan,' to whom was attributed the discovery of the medicinal resin called *oxitl*, and who was specially worshipped by male 'doctors'; *Ixtliltlton* (also called *Tlaltecuin*), god of song, dancing, games, etc., into whose temple sick children were taken, to dance (if they could) before his image, and drink of the holy water preserved in the sanctuary. The deities *Tlaltecuin*, *Xochicauacan*, *Oxomoco*, and *Cipactonal* especially were credited with the beginnings of medical art. Among the Mayas, the culture-hero, *Itzamna*, is said to have been the originator of medicine; the same thing is said of *Xmucan* and *Xpiyacoc* among the kindred Quiché of Guatemala. The culture-hero, as primal shaman, appears also in S. America, *e.g.*, in the Yurupari legend reported by Stradelli from the head-waters of the Orinoco. The Guarayan (Bolivia) *Abaangui* prepares the first *chicha*, or intoxicating drink, from maize. Many myths relate that the 'medicine' was received directly or indirectly from the gods themselves or their representatives, the Twins, who figure so conspicuously in the mythologies of the south-western United States, etc.; the 'transformers' of the North Pacific coast; or such animal-deities as the coyote in the Rocky Mountain region and among the Plains tribes. Hoffman has recorded the great Ojibwa myth of the transference to man by the culture-hero, *Manabozho*, of the 'grand medicine.' Cushing has also published the Zuni account of the teaching of 'medicine' to the first

men by the Twins, who are the chief culture-figures in Pueblo mythology.

23. Human sacrifice as a cure for disease.—The sacrifice of animals, etc., as a more or less religious ceremonial in connexion with the ritual of 'medicine' is known from various regions of the globe, where the process of getting well in body is carried out on lines similar to getting well in mind, and maintaining harmony between man and the powers beyond and above him. In this way human sacrifice sometimes occurs. Some of the Indian tribes of ancient Mexico, according to Orozco y Berra, cited by Father Gerste (p. 19), used, in cases of very grave illness of the father or the mother, to kill the youngest child as an expiatory sacrifice.

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A. F. CHAMBERLAIN.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyro-Babylonian).—The chief difficulty in treating of the subject of diseases in Babylonia is to separate the ideas of magic from medicine proper in the native methods of healing. The Assyrian physician never shook himself entirely free from the more supernatural side of his profession, and, apart from the magical incantations for the sick, even the more scientific medical texts depend largely on 'white magic.' The latter consist, for the most part, of short material recipes on which much of our knowledge of the Assyrian pharmacopoeia rests, but they also prescribe spells to be used simultaneously with the administration of drugs. It is therefore clear that, although many of the recipes in use were efficacious from a purely medical standpoint, they were frequently combined with a series of charmed *abracadabra* of more value to the anthropologist than to the student of medicine.

The present inhabitants of the plains of Mesopotamia and the hills of the neighbourhood are probably liable to the same diseases as their ancestors were some thousands of years ago, and we may therefore start on this hypothesis. Sudden plagues, of which cholera is one of the most appalling in its effects, are met with at all periods of the history of this country: 1° dysentery, typhoid,

and like diseases, common to all countries where the drainage is of a casual nature; smallpox and similar pests; malaria, particularly in the swamps of Babylonia; and such other ailments as are common to all mankind without distinction of locality. Particularly, too, must be mentioned the peculiar skin-eruption known variously as the 'Baghdad boil,' or 'Mosul (or Aleppo) button,' and the various forms of ophthalmia common to Eastern peoples. Naturally there are many forms of sickness on the cuneiform tablets that we cannot identify with certainty until our knowledge of the medical literature is more advanced.

The principal causes to which sickness was ascribed were the visitation of some god or goddess, the attack of a devil, and the machinations of sorcerers.¹ Demoniac possession was firmly believed in, and it is for this reason that the priest was as likely to be called in to help a patient as the real doctor. The whole of the cuneiform incantations are full of the belief that some god, demon, or ghost is plaguing the sick man, and must be expelled before the patient can be healed; and similarly we may presume that the so-called Penitential Psalms have their origin, not in the remorse of the suppliant, but in his actual physical malady, which he believes to be due to some supernatural blow. The medical texts are often explicit on this point: 'When (a man) is smitten on his neck, it is the hand of Adad; when he is smitten on his neck, and his breast hurts him, it is the hand of Istar on the necklace.'² 'When a man's temples pain him, and the neck muscles hurt him, it is the hand of a ghost.'³ 'When a ghost seizes upon a man, then mix (various substances) together, anoint him (with them), and the hand of the ghost will be removed.'⁴

There is little doubt that sickness, as understood among the Assyrians, may be reckoned to be due to breaches of the savage tabu. The man so attacked has transgressed a ban; indeed, much of the incantation series known by the name of *Surpu* deals with long lists of possible uncleanness which has caused the patient's malady, the word used being *mamit*. In one tablet there is a categorical list of as many as one hundred and sixty-three *mamit*, or tabus, each severally described briefly in one line, and the magician is supposed to repeat all these, as it is hoped that he will thereby light on the correct cause of the trouble, diagnose his case properly, and show that he possesses a knowledge of the cause of the sickness. That physical ills were held to be the result of incurring some tabu of uncleanness is quite clear from certain *mamit* of the Third Tablet, which are as follows:

To go before the Sun-god when 'Aštar (i.e. under a tabu) (l. 114), to touch a man when one is under a tabu, or to pray in the same state (l. 115, 116), or to hold converse, eat the bread, or drink the water of one under a tabu (l. 117-119), or to drink what he has left (l. 120); or, in the Second tablet, to go before a man under a tabu, or to have a man under a tabu come before one (l. 99, 100), to sleep on the bed, sit on the chair, or to eat or drink from vessels, belonging to such a man (l. 101-104).

According to modern ideas, many of these might be merely an unintelligent development of the principle of infectious diseases (which will provide an explanation in part), but the first three show distinctly that there are other principles in question. The savage tabu of 'uncleanness' is here in a later dress, and sickness is considered as the result of a breach of this very intricate belief. For, if the man for whom the series *Surpu* provides a means of relief be not really and obviously physically ill, there is no reason for the existence of such a series; we cannot suppose that a man called in a priest to relieve him from the obscure tabus which he might have incurred, unless there was some unusual physical condition demanding it.

¹ For these, see art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Assyrt.-Bab.).

² S. 951.

³ S. 1063.

⁴ K. 4070; cf. K. 4609 b.

¹ Joshua the Stylite (ed. Wright, Camb. 1882, p. 17) says, 'as all the people had sinned, all of them were smitten with the plague' in the year of Alexander. The destruction of Sennacherib's army (2 K 1935, Is 37³⁶) must have been due to some such cause.

Just as we may presume the 'unwitting' tabu (in whatever way the word *naṣṣu* may be translated) of the OT to have manifested themselves in some physical way, so must we suppose that an Assyrian would not have recourse to a priest-physician unless absolutely driven by pain or fear. Sickness is due to a demoniac or Divine influence, and it is well known that a savage fears to incur a breach of tabu from some ill-defined sense of danger from god or devil; it is clear, therefore, that the Assyrians had the same terror in their minds when they edited the *Surpu*-series for the benefit of sick men. The sorcerer must discover—or trick the powers into believing that he has discovered—the tabu which the patient has transgressed, and he can then proceed to cleanse the man from his breach, and lift the ban from him.

The principal god connected with healing is Ea, but it is his son Marduk who is appealed to by the physician as intermediary with the higher power. Marduk, when called on for help, is supposed to repair to his father to ask him for his advice as to what the sick man must do to be healed. This episode is constantly repeated in cuneiform incantations for the sick; indeed, to such an extent was it recognized as the usual procedure that it is frequently inserted in these texts in one line containing abbreviations of the three principal sentences, thus: 'Marduk hath seen'; 'What I'; 'Go, my son.' The full formula is as follows:

'Marduk hath seen him (the sick man), and hath entered the house of his father Ea, and hath said, "Father, headache from the under world hath gone forth."¹ Twice he hath said unto him, "What this man hath done he knoweth not; whereby shall he be relieved?" Ea hath answered his son Marduk, "O my son, what dost thou not know, what more can I give thee? O Marduk, what dost thou not know, what can I add unto thy knowledge? What I know, thou knowest also. Go, my son, Marduk. . . ."

Then follows the actual prescription for the patient. This method of bringing in a Divine episode is nothing more than a development of the principle of the Word of Power, which tradition demands shall be one of the sorcerer's most potent aids in spell-working. A scene is represented on certain of the magical plaques which is apparently intended to portray the sick man and the forces arrayed against him: the celestial powers, demons, protecting gods and spirits, the sick man on his bed, etc., form an interesting picture (see Frank, *LSSt* iii. 3).

Now, this Word of Power, so generally recognized in all magic, consists in its simplest form of the name of some Divine being or thing invoked against the power of evil which the physician is expelling. Hence many of the Assyrian incantations end with the line, 'By Heaven be ye exorcized! By Earth be ye exorcized!' and numerous gods are invoked in the same way.

Two other concomitants to the exorcisms are necessary to the exorcist: first, the knowledge of the name or description of the devil which is being expelled; and, second, some material with either medicinal or magical value whereby the cure may be effected. The former is as necessary as the Word of Power for a complete incantation; when the wizard has a knowledge of the name of his foe, or, in the case of demons, a full description of the ghost attacking the man, he has assumed some considerable influence over him which will finally bring him entirely into subjection. The genesis of such a belief is to be sought in the same source as the collateral superstitions where portions are collected of the hair, nails, or footprint-dust of any one whom the enchanter wishes to bewitch, or the waxen figures made in the victim's likeness. It is enough if something belonging to the person, not necessarily concrete, has been secured, and the

¹ This is the only variation in the formula, being the first line of the tablet.

name is considered as an equivalent for more tangible evidence, such as nail-parings.

The Assyrian sorcerer is compelled to recite long lists of ghosts or devils when he is trying to conjure the evil away from his patient. The idea is that, since obviously he cannot obtain the more fleshy portions of his foe as he might do in the case of a human enemy, he shall mention, in place of this, the name or powers of all possible evil spirits, and ultimately, by his much speaking, hit on the correct identification of the demon, who will then admit the magician's superiority. Hence we find in the Assyrian texts such constantly recurring phrases as, 'Whether thou art an evil spirit, or an evil demon, or an evil ghost, or an evil devil, or an evil god, or an evil fiend, or sickness, or death, or phantom of night, or wraith of night, or fever, or evil pestilence, be thou removed from before me';¹ or even longer descriptions of ghosts of people who have died unnatural deaths, or who have been left unburied, and whose only hope is to torment the living until they perform the necessary rites to give them peace.²

The third and last element of the incantation is some drug, to which in early times a magical, Divine potency was attributed, or some charm or amulet, or, in the broadest sense, some material which will aid the physician in his final effort. The simplest is pure water, which was frequently sprinkled over the patient as a cleansing medium, and this is easily intelligible. One incantation (*WAT* ii. 51b, line 1 ff.) runs thus: 'All that is evil, . . . [which exists in the body] of N. [may it be carried off], with the water of his body, the washings from his hands, and may the river carry it away downstream!' There seems also to have been some principle of enclosing the possessed man in a ring of flour or other powder spread in a circle on the ground, as a kind of *heram* through which spirits could not break. For instance, after an 'atonement' ceremony has been made, the wizard fumigates the man with a lighted censer, and then throws away the 'atonement' (in this case a kid) into the street; he then surrounds the man with flour,³ as a magic circle through which no evil demon can pass to injure him. In another incantation the sorcerer says of certain figures which he has made:

'On their raised arm I have spread a dark robe,
A variegated cord I have wound round their hands, I have placed tamarisk (and) palm-pith,
I have completed the *usurtu* (magic circle), I have surrounded them with a sprinkling of lime,
With the flour of Nisaba (the corn-god), the tabu of the great gods, I have surrounded them,
I have set for the Seven of them, mighty-winged, a figure of Nergal at their heads.'⁴

The tamarisk (or some allied species of tree) was held aloft in the hand during the priest's exorcism; one of the rituals prescribes this to the magician, who says, during his ceremonial:

'The man of Ea am I, the man of Damkina am I, the messenger of Marduk am I, my spell is the spell of Ea, my incantation is the incantation of Marduk. The ban of Ea is in my hand, the tamarisk, the powerful weapon of Anu, in my hand I hold; the date-spathe (?), mighty in decision, in my hand I hold.'⁵

On one of the late Hebrew magical bowls discovered at Niffer there is the figure of a man rudely

¹ See Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London, 1903, i. 16-17, ii. 153 ff.

² *Id.* xxiv ff., also *Semitic Magic*, p. 7 ff.

³ Tablet XI. of the *Akakku*-series (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 35). This is probably the meaning conveyed by *amelu šudtu kuwarrā esir*, and not as the present writer has translated it in the passage. See also Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. lvii ff.

⁴ Zimmern, 'Ritualtafel,' in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis*, etc., ii. 169. The curious may see much about these magic circles in the Middle Ages in Francis Barrett, *The Magus*, 1801, p. 24 ff., or even what is believed about them at the present day by certain who dabble in the 'occult,' in Mathers' *Book of Sacred Magic*, 1898, p. xxxvii.

⁵ *Utkku*-series, Tablet III. 1. 204 (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 23). The word translated 'tamarisk' is *GIS MA NU*, undoubtedly some form of tree, the Assyrian equivalent being *eru*, probably the Syriac 'arā'.

drawn, holding up the branch of some tree in his hand.¹ From Sozomen² we learn that, when Julian was about to enter a temple in Gaul, the priest, in accordance with the pagan custom, sprinkled water upon him with the branch of a tree, doubtless symbolical of a purificatory rite. It is possible that we may see some such ceremony prescribed in the Assyrian cleansing rite:

'Perform thy goodly incantation and make perfect the water thereof with priestcraft, and with thy pure incantation do thou cleanse (the man ?) and take a bundle of twigs (?), pour the water thereof on it, and the laver (or water) that cleanseth the temple of the gods,' etc.³

The comparison is, however, uncertain, as we have no right to assume that in this case the water was sprinkled upon the sick man; but Sozomen's anecdote is of value as showing that branches were used in sprinkling water.⁴ There is, however, a parallel to the Assyrian rite in another tablet,⁵ where Ea says:

'Take a bundle of twigs (?) and take water at the confluence of two streams, and perform thy pure incantation over this water, and cleanse (the man) with thy pure exorcism, and sprinkle the man, the son of his god, with this water, and bind his head with . . .'

Of other mystic plants, we find the *piri*' (which is probably the Syr. *perā*, St. John's wort), the *balti* (which may be the Syr. *bal*, the caper), and the *huld* (prob. the Syr. *hla*, the fleabane) all used to hang up on the doors of houses when a ceremony was going on, as a prophylactic against demons.⁶ The first-named, the St. John's wort, has always had great power in magic. 'Gathered on Midsummer Eve, or on Midsummer Day before sunrise, the blossoms are hung on doorways and windows to preserve the house against thunder, witches, and evil spirits.'⁷ The number of plants which occur in the medical and magical texts is very large; but, unfortunately, they are difficult to identify, and the lexicographical tablets which give the names of hundreds do not really afford much clue.

Before proceeding to the medical recipes, we have to notice that peculiar method of healing, used by all savages, and known in modern times as 'sympathetic magic.' It is quite unnecessary here to go into the various forms in which this occurs in modern witchcraft; it is enough to take as a text the homeopathic 'hair of the dog that bit one,' and quote some of the cuneiform texts in which this method is employed.⁸ The best-known examples occur in the *Surpu*-series, where the magician recites various formulæ over a clove of garlic, a date, a flock of wool, some goat's hair, etc., pulling each in pieces and burning it as he does so. As he destroys each, so will the sickness depart. One quotation of an incantation will show the method:

'As this date is cut, and cast in the fire,
The devouring flame consumes it,
Never to return to its left branch,
Nor grace the board of god or king;
So may the ban, the tabu, the pain (?), the woe (?),
The sickness, the agony, the sin, the misdeed, the wrong-
doing, the iniquity,
The sickness which is in my body, my limbs, my muscles,
Be cut off like this date.
So may the devouring flame consume it,
The tabu go forth, and I behold the light!'⁹

This is the most marked form of sympathetic magic, but the principle is used obviously in much

¹ Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 447.

² *HE*, bk. vi. ch. vi.

³ Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 143; *Semitic Magic*, 218.

⁴ In King's *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 95, at the end of one of the 'Prayers of the Raising of the Hand,' we find the direction, 'In the night before Istar thou shalt sprinkle a green branch with pure water.'

⁵ *T¹*-series, Tablet P (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 95; *Semitic Magic*, 212).

⁶ *Utukku*-series, Tablet B, l. 72 (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 187).

⁷ Frazer, *GB²* iii. 333 ff. See art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Assyr.-Bab.).

⁸ The whole question is thoroughly gone into in Frazer's *GB²* i. 9 ff.

⁹ Zimmern, 'Surpu,' in *Beitr. zur Kenntnis*, etc. i. 20.

of the cuneiform priestcraft, and it occurs in various forms in the examples given in this article.

The name of the physician proper was *asû*, but, as the treatment was frequently of a magical nature rather than purely medical, it was oftener the *asûpu*-priest than a doctor who was called in to heal a sick man. The *asûpu* is the magician who can release the patient from the tabu under which he lies; the same word occurs in Hebrew under the form *assaph*; and the name in Assyrian for the incantation is *šiptu* (from the same root).¹ He claims in his exorcism that he has come supported by the power of Ea, Damkina, and Marduk:

'The man of Ea am I, the man of Damkina am I, the messenger of Marduk am I. The great lord Ea hath sent me to revive the . . . sick man; he hath added his pure spell to mine, he hath added his pure voice to mine, he hath added his pure spittle to mine, he hath added his pure prayer to mine; the destroyer(s) of the limbs, which are in the body of the sick man, hath the power to destroy the limbs—by the magic of the word of Ea may these evil ones be put to flight.'²

Similarly, when the priest comes into the house of the patient, he declares that he is aided by several gods:

'When [I] enter the house, Šamaš is before me, Šin is behind [me], Nergal is at [my] right hand, Ninib is at my left hand; when I draw near unto the sick man, when I lay my hand on the head of the sick man, may a kindly spirit, may a kindly guardian angel stand at my side! Whether thou art an evil spirit or an evil demon, or an evil ghost, or an evil devil, or an evil god, or an evil fiend, or sickness, or death, or phantom of night, or wraith of night, or fever, or evil pestilence, be thou removed from before me, out of the house go forth! (For) I am the sorcerer-priest of Ea, it is I who [recite] the incantation for the sick man.'³

He completes the spell of the Third Tablet of the same series with the words:

'O Ea, King of the Deep, [turn thou?] to see; I, the magician, am thy slave. March thou on my right hand, help on my left; add thy pure spell to mine, add thy pure voice to mine, vouchsafe (to me) pure words; make fortunate the utterances of my mouth, ordain that my decisions be happy. Let me be blessed where'er I tread, let the man whom I (now) touch be blessed. Before me may lucky thoughts be spoken, after me may a lucky finger be pointed. O that thou wert my guardian genius, and my guardian spirit! O Marduk, who blesseth (even) gods, let me be blessed where'er my path may be! Thy power shall god and man proclaim, this man shall do thy service, and I, too, the magician thy slave.'⁴

Armed with these heavenly powers, the priest might exorcize any of the demons which assail mankind, and one of the commonest methods of treatment among the priestly gild was an 'atonement.' The word used is *kuppuru* (the noun is *takpirtu*), the same as the Heb. כָּפַר, as was pointed out by Zimmern ('Ritualtafeln,' p. 92). The idea in the Assyrian method is that the demon causing the sickness is to be offered a substitute for his victim, and hence a young pig or kid is taken, slaughtered, and placed near the patient. The devil goes forth at the physician's exorcism and takes up its abode in the carcass of the substitute, which can then be made away with, and the baneful influence destroyed. This is fully laid down in one of the magical texts against the *asakku* (provisionally translated 'fever'), where it is told how Ea, the lord of the incantation, in showing a method of treating the sick man, lays a kid before Marduk, saying:

'The kid is the substitute for mankind,
He giveth the kid for his life,
He giveth the head of the kid for the head of the man,
He giveth the neck of the kid for the neck of the man,
He giveth the breast of the kid for the breast of the man.'⁵

Instead of the kid, the substitute might be a sucking-pig, and the directions are to put it at the head of the sick man,⁶ take out its heart and put it above that of the patient, and [sprinkle] its blood on the sides of the bed; then the carcass

¹ On the *asûpu*-priest, see Zimmern, 'Ritualtafeln,' p. 91.

² *Utukku*-series, Tablet III, l. 65 (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 9).

³ *Id.* l. 141 ff. (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 15; *Semitic Magic*, xxiv.).

⁴ *Id.* l. 280 ff. (Thompson, *Devils*, i. 27; *Semitic Magic*, xxiii.).

⁵ Tablet N, col. iii. l. 37 ff. (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 21; *Semitic Magic*, 211).

The reader is referred to Frazer's *GB²* for many similar instances of the transference of illness to animals.

⁶ This is rather doubtful, owing to a mutilated line in the text.

must be divided over the man, and apparently spread upon him. The ritual continues with a purification by pure water and fumigation by a censer (as in the story of Tobit), and ends:

'Place twice seven loaves cooked in the ashes against

the shut door, and

Give the pig in his stead, and

Let the flesh be as his flesh,

And the blood as his blood,

And let him hold it;

Let the heart (which thou hast placed on his heart)

be as his heart,

And let him hold it. . . .¹

The migration of demoniac influence to the pig is closely paralleled in the story of the Gadarene swine (Mk 5).² The Indian Muslims of the present day who come to Abdulqadir, the largest mosque in Baghdad, to make a pilgrimage and offer sacrifices, 'vow that if a man who is ill begins to recover he shall go to the shrine.'

'He is stripped to the waist. Then two men lift a lamb or a kid above his head, and bathe his face, shoulders, and the upper part of his body with the blood. While the butcher kills the animal the sheik repeats the first sura of the Koran. They also wrap him in the skin of the animal.'³

The 'twice seven loaves' is paralleled in the Seventh Tablet of the *Surpu*-series: when a man has incurred a certain tabu, seven loaves of pure dough are to be taken, and, after various ceremonies, the magician makes an 'atonement' for the patient, and puts his spittle on the 'atonement' as symbolical of the removal of the tabu from the man to the substitute. The loaves are then to be carried into the desert to a 'clean place,' as in the Levitical ritual, and left under one of the thorn bushes growing there. At the present day in the Hejaz, if a child is very ill, its mother will take seven flat loaves of bread and put them under its pillow, giving them in the morning to the dogs.⁴ Another exorcism gives directions more fully; Marduk is advised by Ea to take a white kid of Tammûz:

'Lay it down facing the sick man,

Take out its heart, and

Place it in the hand of that man;

Perform the Incantation of Eridu.

(The kid whose heart thou hast taken out
Is unclean [?] meet wherewith thou shalt make
an atonement for this man.)

Bring to him a censer (and) a torch,

Scatter it (the kid) in the street.'⁵

But the Assyrians did not confine the 'atonement' ceremonies to the carcasses of animals; they had other methods for ridding a sick man of his devil, notably that of inducing the incubus to leave the human body to enter a little figure fashioned in the likeness of the patient. The magician took various herbs, put them in a pot of water, sprinkled the sick man with them, and made 'atonement' for him; he then modelled a dough image of his patient, poured out his magic water on him, and fumigated him with incense. Then, just as the water trickled away from his body, the pestilence in his body was supposed to trickle off, the water being caught in some receptacle beneath, and poured forth abroad that the sickness might be dissipated.⁶

Sympathetic magic was likewise called in as an aid in other cases. A sickness-tabu might be removed by the use of charms made of black and white hair, just as they are among modern savage tribes. Three examples from different peoples will be ample to show how closely the Babylonian methods resemble those of other nations.

¹ Tablet N, col. ii. l. 42 ff. (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 17; *Semitic Magic*, 208). Or for the fifth and seventh line translate with Fossey (*Recueil de Travaux*, new series, x. 138), 'qu'ils (les mauvais démons) s'en emparent.'

² On the custom of sacrificing sucking-pigs among the Greeks, see *AJPh*, 1900, p. 256.

³ Curtius, *Prim. Sem. Rel.*, Lond. 1902, p. 205 f.

⁴ Zwerner, *Arabia*, Edin. 1900, p. 233.

⁵ Tablet XI. of the series *Asakku* (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 33; *Semitic Magic*, 203).

⁶ Tablet 'T', l. 30 ff. (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 107; *Semitic Magic*, 159, 111); cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, Lond. 1900, p. 347.

In India the 'fair-women' take three different coloured threads and knot them twenty-one or twenty-two times, and when the work is finished it is fastened to the neck or upper arm of the patient.¹ Among the Malays it is customary to make little images of dough of beasts, etc., and to place them on a tray with betel-leaves, cigarettes, and tapers. One of the tapers is set on a silver dollar, with the end of a parti-coloured thread inserted between the dollar and the foot of the taper; this thread the patient holds during the repetition of the charm. The disease-devil is supposed to enter the images, and as soon as this has happened the magician looses three slip-knots and throws them away.² Among the modern Persians, O'Donovan saw a similar method for removing fever; a khan spun some camel's hair to a stout thread, and folding it three times on itself spun it again. He tied seven knots therein, blowing on each one, and this was to be worn on the patient's wrist, a knot being untied each day. When the last knot was loosed, the thread was to be thrown in a ball into the river.³

The prescription, as given in Assyrian, in the Sixth Tablet of the *Surpu*-series runs as follows:

'He hath turned his [steps?] to a temple-woman (?), Ištar hath sent her temple-woman (?), hath seated the wise-woman on a couch (?) that she may spin a white and black wool into a double cord, a strong cord, a mighty cord, a two-coloured cord, on a spindle, a cord to overcome the ban: against the evil curse of human ban, against a divine curse, a cord to overcome the ban. He (she) hath bound it on the head, hand, and foot of this man; Marduk, the son of Eridu, the prince, with his undefiled hands cutteth it off, that the ban, its cord, may go forth to the desert to a clean place.'⁴

Or again, in the case of headache, a method is recommended, as usual, by Ea to his son Marduk:

'Take the hair of a virgin kid, let a wise woman spin (it) on the right side, and double it on the left, bind knots twice seven times, and perform the Incantation of Eridu, and bind the head of the sick man, and bind the neck of the sick man, and bind the soul of the sick man, and bind up his limbs.'⁵

Without going further afield into details of comparative magic, it is worth mention here that the same superstition is still believed in at Mosul, close to the mound of Nineveh. A recipe for fever was given the present writer by a boy employed on the excavations, in which the physician, in this case a shaikh, takes a thread of cotton and ties seven knots in it, putting it on the patient's wrist. After seven or eight days, if the fever continues, he must keep it on; if the fever passes, then he may throw it away.⁶

In one of the Assyrian charms for ophthalmia, black and white threads or hairs are to be woven together, with seven and seven knots tied therein, and during the knotting an incantation is to be muttered; the strand⁷ of black hair is then to be fastened to the sick eye, and the white one to the sound eye.⁸ Or in another case (for a disease of the eyes called *amurrikanu*) 'pure strands of red wool, which by the pure hand of . . . have been brought . . . bind on the right hand.'⁹ A parallel to the untying of the knots in the modern charms quoted above is prescribed in one of the Assyrian tablets published by King (*Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, p. 58, l. 99 ff.); the priest must say over the sick man 'Ea hath sent me' three times, and then untie the knot which has been tied; and the man must go home without looking behind him.

We may now for the moment leave the magical side of the physician's art for the more scientific study of drugs and their administration. The efficacy of medicine on an empty stomach was well recognized by Assyrian doctors, and the prescriptions constantly end with directions for such a procedure:

'Bray these seven plants together, and put them in fermented

¹ Ja'far Sharif and G. A. Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, Madras, 1895, p. 262.

² Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 432; see also p. 569.

³ *Merv Oasis*, Lond. 1882, ii. 319. For other instances, see Frazer, *GP* 2 i. 307.

⁴ Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis*, etc., p. 33.

⁵ *T* 7, Tablet IX. l. 74 (Thompson, *Devils*, ii. 71; *Semitic Magic*, 160).

⁶ Folklore of Mossoul, *PSBA*, 1906, p. 80.

⁷ The meaning of the Assyrian word is uncertain.

⁸ *W* 1 i. 29^a, 4, O. i. 15.

⁹ Haupt, *Akkad. u. sum. Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881-82, xi. ii. 45.

drink; at the approach of the star in the morning let the patient drink them without eating, and he will recover.¹

Not only this, but the use of the enema also was well known, the directions being quite explicit:

'An enema (*hūš*) of oil thou shalt make, and introduce *per anum*.²

For stomachic troubles there were many remedies. Pains were treated with a mixture of 'salt of the mountain' and *amanu*-salt pounded together and put in fermented liquor, which was to be drunk on an empty stomach, used also as an enema, and sprinkled upon the patient;³ or a mixture of the *nukurtu*-plant and seven corns of *ši-ši*, similarly to be used as a draught and an enema.⁴ As a simpler method, the patient was to sit on his haunches and let cold water flow on his head;⁵ or the physician was to lay his head lower than his feet, and knead or stroke the back gently, repeating the formula: 'It shall be good.'⁶ If the patient have colic and his stomach will not retain its food, and there is flatulence, the prescription is to bray up together $\frac{1}{2}$ *kā* of date-juice, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kā* of cassia juice with oil and wine, three shekels of purified oil, two shekels of honey, and ten shekels of the *ammi*-plant. The patient is to drink this before the rising of the *Enzu*-star in the morning, without eating; and then this is to be followed by a draught and an enema of $\frac{1}{2}$ *kā* of *Ši-ka*, with which he is also to be sprinkled.⁷ If there are internal pains—the Assyrian being in this case, 'When a man's inside eats him'—he is to be given *hātappanu*-plant and salt pounded up and dissolved in water or fermented drink, or simply *hātappanu*, or *tiyātu*, or *Ši-Ši*. in fermented drink.⁸ When the patient's internal organs burn and he is constipated, let him drink a medicine of garlic and cummin,⁹ or the pounded rind of green *il* (a plant) mixed with swine-fat.¹⁰ Remedies are prescribed when 'garlic, leeks, beef, pork, and beer are unretained by a man,' and 'in his belching the gall is withheld (?).'¹¹ For what the Assyrian doctor describes as 'the food being returned to the mouth' the head and breast were to be bound and certain drugs eaten in honey, mutton fat, or butter, while the patient was to be kept off certain food for three days, and was not allowed to wash.¹² For liver complaints, garlic was prescribed,¹³ or cassia drunk in beer, or large draughts of beer or 'wine-water.'¹⁴ In the case of jaundice, of which the symptoms are given fully, the physicians were not so hopeful of recovery; but some prescriptions seem to have been potent:

'When a man's body is yellow, his face is yellow and black, the root of his tongue black, *ahhazu* ('seizer') is its name; thou must bake great wild *mūšdingurinna*, he shall drink it in fermented drink. Then will the *ahhazu* which is in him be silent.'¹⁵

In constipation, the patient drank a mixture of green garlic and *kukru*-rind in fermented drink, followed by dates in swine-fat or oil; or another prescription is cypress-cones pounded up and mixed with fermented drink. If, in addition to constipation, 'his inside is much inflamed,' the prescription is a decoction of *hātappanu*-plant, sweet reed, *balrukku*-plant, and cypress administered as an enema. An enema is also prescribed when a man is constipated after heavy eating and drinking, and his inside is 'angry.'¹⁶ In the case of drunkenness, the following remedy is given for the morning after:

¹ Kichler, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis der assyr.-bab. Medizin*, p. 1, ll. 2-3.

² *Ib.* p. 39, l. 44.

³ *Ib.* p. 5, l. 31.

⁴ *Ib.* l. 32.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 3, l. 13.

⁶ *Ib.* ll. 14-16. There are some other points in this prescription not yet intelligible.

⁷ *Ib.* l. 26 ff.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 5, l. 1 ff.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 23, ll. 17-18.

¹⁰ *Ib.* l. 19.

¹¹ *Ib.* p. 43, ll. 1-2.

¹² *Ib.* p. 25, ll. 36-38.

¹³ *Ib.* p. 43, l. 14.

¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 53, l. 70; 55, l. 71.

¹⁵ *Ib.* p. 61, ll. 26-27.

¹⁶ *Ib.* p. 7, ll. 10-11, 15-16, 17-20.

'When a man has drunk fermented drink and his head aches and he forgets his speech, and in speaking is incoherent, and his understanding is lost, and his eyes are fixed, bray (eleven plants) together and let him drink them in oil and fermented drink before the approach of Gula in the morning before dawn, before any one kisses him.'¹

Veneral diseases are prescribed for in various tablets;² the colour of the urine was also observed in diagnosis.³

It is curious to see how persistently the old beliefs survive among the Arabs of Mesopotamia of to-day. Toothache is still attributed to a worm, and the writer heard this story on good Mosul authority, that a man with toothache had only to fumigate his aching teeth with the smoke from dried *withanifera* (*solanaceae*), and the worm would drop out of his mouth. This is a belief not confined to the Arabs, occurring, as it does, among other peoples,⁴ and it certainly dates back to several centuries B.C., for we find a Babylonian tablet describing the genesis of this tooth-worm:

'After Anu [had created the heavens],

The heavens created [the earth],

The earth created the rivers,

The rivers created the canals,

The canals created the marshes,

The marshes created the Worm.

The Worm came and wept before the Sun-god,

Before Ea came her plaint:

"What wilt thou give me to eat,

What wilt thou give me to gnaw?

"I will give thee ripe figs,

And sweet-scented . . . -wood."

"What are your ripe figs to me,

Or your sweet-scented . . . -wood?

Let me drink amid the teeth,

And let me rest amid the gums (?),

Of the teeth will I suck the blood,

And destroy the strength (?) of their gums (?);

So shall I hold the bolt of the door."

"Since thou hast said this, O worm!

May Ea smite thee with the might of his fist."

The incantation prescribed for the toothache is:

'Thou shalt do this: Mix beer, *saklibir*-plant, and oil together. Repeat the incantation three times thereon, and put in on the tooth.'⁵

Just in the same way as the tooth has a semi-medical, semi-magical incantation prescribed for it, so do we find similar texts for the heart and eyes. For some form of 'heart' medicine the following incantation is given:

'The heart-plant sprang up in Makan, and the Moon-god [rooted it out and]

[Planted it in the mountains]; the Sun-god brought it down from the mountains, [and]

[Planted it in] the earth; its root alleth the earth, its horns stretch out to heaven.

[It seized on the heart of the Sun-god when] he . . . ; it seized on the heart of the Moon-god in the clouds,

[It seized on the heart of the ox in the stall, [It seized on the heart of the goat] in the fold,

[It seized on the heart of the ass in the stable, [It seized on the heart of the] dog in the kennel,

[It seized on the heart of the pig in the sty, [It seized on the heart of the] man in his pleasure,

[It seized on the heart of the maid in her sleeping-chamber, [It seized on the heart of N.], son of N. . . .'⁶

Magan or Makan is supposed to be the Sinaitic Peninsula, and it is there that the *Hyoscyamus muticus* grows. The Arabs call it the *sakrān* ('drunken'), from its intoxicating effect; it has long spikes very much like the fox-glove, only purple in colour, which may be compared with the 'horns' mentioned in the incantation. It seems quite possible that the Assyrians may have had a knowledge of its existence and properties; at any rate, the name 'heart-plant,' coupled with its provenance, Sinai, another description given of it, is suggestive.

In certain cases of ophthalmia, the prescription is carefully led up to by a description of the cause of the blindness:

'The eye of the man is sick, the eye of the woman is sick. The eye of man or woman is sick—who can heal(him)? Thou shalt send them to bring pure *KU-SA* of the date-palm; chew (*te-hi-pi*) it in thy mouth, twist (*te-pi-ti*) it in thy hand: thou shalt bind it on the temples of the man or woman, and the man or woman shall recover . . .'

¹ Kichler, *loc. cit.* p. 33, l. 51 ff.

² e.g. *Rm.* II. 312; cf. *Rm.* II. 315.

³ S. 516.

⁴ Cf. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 359.

⁵ See the writer's copy in *Cun. Texts from Bab. Tablets*, 1908. pt. xvii. pl. 50 (Thompson, *Devils*, II. 160).

⁶ Kichler, *loc. cit.* p. 3.

'The wind blew in heaven and brought blindness (*simme*) to the eye of the man: from the distant heavens it blew and brought blindness to the eye of the man; unto sick eyes it brought blindness. The eye of this man troubleth; his eye is hurt (?) (*a-sa-a*); this man weepeth for himself grievously. Nāru hath seen the sickness of this man, and (hath said), "Take pounded cassia, perform the incantation of the Deep, and bind up the eye of the sick man." When Nāru toucheth the eye of the man with her pure hand, may the wind which hath afflicted the eye of the man go forth from his eyes!'¹

Similarly, the sting of a scorpion is treated with an incantation against the poisonous creature, to be recited while anointing the hurt:

'Her horns stretch out like those of a wild bull,²
Her tail curls like that of a mighty lion,
Bēl hath made a house—when he maketh fast the enclosure,
When he breaketh the wall of lapis-lazuli,
May the little finger of Bēl carry it off,
May it carry off the water . . . (i.e. collected by the inflammation)!'³

It is a little uncertain what the text actually means, but it seems as if the patient puts the scorpion in the model of a house, which Bēl is supposed to have made, and, after fastening the door, he takes it out with his little finger by a hole in the wall.

Another prescription for scorpion-sting is to mix in oil of cedar various substances that have been brayed up, and anoint the wound.⁴ For snake-bite the wounded man was to peel willow root and eat it, or drink a potion of *ŠT-ŠI* plant in fermented liquor.⁵

The 'Baghdad boil,' or 'Mosul button,' was apparently as troublesome in ancient times as it is to-day. A tablet exists in the British Museum, giving the omens for what follows from the 'button' appearing on certain parts of the body.⁶ A case of the boil appears to be referred to in an astrological report to the king of Assyria:

'Concerning this evil of the skin, the King, my lord, hath not spoken from his heart. The sickness lasts a year: people that are sick all recover.'⁷

The boil is popularly supposed to last for a year.

Prescriptions are found for diseases of all parts of the body: the tongue and lips⁸ (K. 9438), the nails and fingers (K. 10464), the hands and feet (K. 9156), or the neck (K. 3637); 'if a man's ears "sing"' (*isaggruma*) (K. 9059); 'if a man's breast and *MAŠ-RA* hurt him' (K. 10728); 'when a man has palpitation (*širūti*) of the heart and his heart . . . [holds] fire (?)' (K. 8760). If a man's left side hurts him (*usannamšū*), then 'water and oil, heaven and earth—incantation, repeat seven times and

rub (*tumassa*'), Arab.  his left side, and repeat the

following incantation over his side and he will recover' (K. 8449). Two tablets (KK. 2413 and 11647) give rites and ceremonies for a woman during pregnancy. (On stones used for conception, see Oefele, *ZA* xiv. 356, and compare the Hebrew 'stones of preservation' against miscarriage called *אבן חַיִּים*.) There is a long series called by its first line, 'When a man's brain holds fire,' in which the various symptoms are carefully described, such as neuralgia of the temples, blood-shot and weeping eyes, etc. (see the present writer's tr. in *AJS*, Oct. 1907). The following are specimens (Tablet ii. K. 2611, col. ii. l. 8 ff.; *Cun. Texts from Bab. Tablets*, 1906, vol. xxii. p. 43): 'When a man's right temple hurts him and his right eye is swollen and weeps tears, it is the hand of a ghost or the hatred of a goddess against (or for) his life; mix *šihu* (tree), *arganu* (tree), *bariratu* (tree), one shekel of "river-foam," *dilbalt*-plant, ginger (?) in ground meal, steep it in beer (and) bind on as a poultice.' Similarly, when the left temple and eye are afflicted (col. iii. l. 1), the physician must bray together dates from Dilmun, thyme, and cedar-sap in oil of *gir*, and apply them before the patient breaks his fast. If the patient, in addition to the neuralgia, vomits, and his eyes are inflamed, it is the 'hand of a ghost,' and the remedy is to calcine human bones and bray them, and then rub them on the place with oil of cedar (l. 5).

These instances might be multiplied, even from the texts

¹ *WAT* iv. 29*, 4, C. II. 6 ff.

² The translation of the first line preceding this is uncertain. The last line, which has been omitted here, runs (according to the copy in Bezold's *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection*), 'May he smite a great fist upon the man (?)!'

³ *Rm.* ii. 149.

⁴ K. 7845.

⁵ S. 1357.

⁶ Virolleaud, *Babyloniaca*, Paris, 1906, i. 91.

⁷ See the writer's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, Lond. 1900, no. 257.

⁸ Something equivalent to unilateral paralysis appears to be mentioned on the tablet *Rm.* li. 143: 'When a man's lip *kuppul* to the right and he [cannot] speak.' *Kuppul* is perhaps to be referred to the Hebrew root קָפַץ, 'to double.'

which are already published; but there are many tablets on this subject in the British Museum which still remain to be copied. When this is done, it will be possible to speak with less uncertainty about the methods employed by the Assyrian physicians.

Hitherto nothing has been found in the cuneiform texts to confirm the statement of Herodotus (i. 197) that the Babylonians were wont to bring sick folk into the market-place for the advice of any that might suggest a remedy. Both the magical and the medical series go far to show that the profession of medicine was well organized and systematic, although it may well have been that the poorer folk did what Herodotus relates; but, again, if any comparison can be made between ancient and modern Semites in this respect, the deformed, maim, halt, and blind were probably to be found in the *sūk* of every town begging alms of every passer-by, and this perhaps is what Herodotus saw. The profession of the doctor carried with it grave responsibilities, even as far back as the time of Hammurabi. One has only to read the list of fines to which a surgeon was liable if he accidentally inflicted unnecessary damage on a patient in treating him.

The more human side of the healing art is shown in the cuneiform correspondence. Several letters from the physician Arad-Nanā relating to his patients are extant, dating from the 7th cent. B.C., and, inasmuch as he is writing to the king in every case, we may presume that he is the Court physician whom the king has in these instances allowed to visit certain of his staff. That this may well be so is shown by an astrological letter (No. 18 of the writer's *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*), which, in addition to giving the formal report, adds, 'Bēl-epuš, the Babylonian magician, is very ill; let the King command that a physician come and see him.' The following specimens will throw some light on the professional skill of Arad-Nanā (we append Johnston's translations, *JAOS* xviii. 162 ff., which are the best that can at present be made of a most difficult subject):

'To the King, my lord, thy servant, Arad-Nanā. A hearty greeting to the King, my lord! May Adar and Gula grant health of mind and body to the King, my lord! All goes well in regard to that poor fellow whose eyes are diseased. I had applied a dressing covering his face. Yesterday, towards evening, undoing the bandage which held it (in place), I removed the dressing. There was pus upon the dressing about the size of the tip of the little finger. If any of thy gods has put his hand to the matter, that (god) must surely have given express commands. All is well. Let the heart of my lord the king be of good cheer! Within seven or eight days he will be well' (S. 1064; see Harper, *Assyr. and Bab. Letters*, Lond. 1900, no. 392).

Similarly in K. 519: 'With regard to the patient who has a bleeding from his nose, the Rab-MUGI reports: "Yesterday, towards evening, there was much hemorrhage." These dressings are not scientifically applied. They are placed upon the ala of the nose, oppress the nose, and come off when there is hemorrhage. Let them be placed within the nostrils, and then the air will be kept away, and the hemorrhage restrained. If it is agreeable to my lord, the King, I will go to-morrow and give instructions; (in the meantime) let me hear how he does' (Harper, no. 108).

As an example of death from a wound, an incident related in a late Bab. letter (c. 400 [?] B.C.) is worth quoting, although the translation of some of the words is not certain.

'... In a brawl (?) I heard that [So-and-so, whom] the noble (?) smote, when he was smitten fell sick of a suppuration (?). He did not understand it, (and) it enlarged and spread, so that he died therefrom.'¹

It is clear, therefore, from the texts which we possess, that Assyrian medicine was worthy of being held in high repute, and, although its trend towards magic detracts much from its science, it was probably a worthy forerunner of the methods in vogue during the Middle Ages.

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R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Celtic).—The classic authority is the statement of Caesar in his *Gallie War*. The terror of disease, and the art and science of healing, came within the sphere of religion among the Celts. The nation was religious: 'Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus.' All matters connected with religion were submitted to the judgment of the Druids. They were the 'medicine-men' as well as the teachers and the priests of the Celts: 'atque ob eam causam, qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis . . . aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturus vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur.' The principle of life for life was recognized (cf. art. BLOOD-FEUD [Celtic], vol. ii. p. 725): 'quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter Deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur' (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 16).

1. **Gods of medicine.**—The God of healing is identified by Caesar with Apollo, who held the place of honour next to Mercury: 'post hunc, Apollinem et Martem et Jovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquae gentes, habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere . . .' (*ib.* vi. 17). The Druidic doctrine of immortality emphasized the value of life and health, and gave Apollo at this period a higher position than Mars.

'regit idem spiritus artus

Orbe alio; longae (canitis si cognita) vitae

Mors media est' (Lucan. *Phars.* i. 456 ff.).

Several Celtic deities of healing have been identified with Apollo. One appears as a presiding deity of healing springs and health resorts. The name occurs sometimes on inscriptions as *Borvo*: 'Deo Apollini Borvoni et Damona' (at Bourbonne-les-Bains in the Haute-Marne). Other forms are *Bormo*, in Central France, *Bormanus* in Provence, *Bormanicus* in Spain. This deity is associated sometimes with *Damona*, as at Bourbonne-les-Bains and Bourbon-Lancy in Saône-et-Loire; sometimes with *Bormana*, as at Aix-en-Diois in the Drôme. The word is akin to the Welsh *berwi*, 'boil,' and has reference to the hot springs (Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 25 f.; Anwyl, *Celtic Religion*, p. 40).

Another deity was *Grannos*. In an inscription at Horberg in the Haut-Rhin, he is called 'Apollo Grannos Mogounos.' The name Grannos has been connected with the Skr. word *ghar*, 'glow,' 'burn,' 'shine.' It is considered equivalent to the 'Posphorus' of the Dacian inscription: 'Deus Bonus Puer Posphorus Apollo Pythius.' Apollo, the dispenser of light and warmth, was regarded as the repeller of disease. The name is associated with several hot springs. The old name of Aix-la-Chapelle, or Aachen, was *Aqua Granni*. Inscriptions to him have been found at Graux in the Vosges and at Granheim near Mengen in Württemberg. The stream which receives the hot waters of Plombières in the Vosges is called *Eaux Graunnes*. Grannos was identified with Asklepios and Serapis by Caracalla (Dio Cassius, lxxvii. 15). The other name Mogounos in the Horberg inscription appears in the old name of Mainz, *Moguntiacum*. The word Mogounos points to the *bonus puer* of the Dacian inscription (Rhys, *op. cit.* p. 22).

The name *Maponos* occurs in inscriptions in the

north of England. The Armathwaite inscription reads: 'Deo Maponi' (*Mon. Hist. Brit. Inscr.* 121). It is the old Welsh *mapon*, now *mabon*, 'boy' or 'male child.' The name is therefore identical in meaning with the *bonus puer* of the Dacian inscription from Carlsburg in Transylvania. The witness to the Celtic god of healing stretches across Europe along the line of the Celtic advance (Rhys, p. 21). The memory of Grannos is still preserved in the Auvergne at the Festival of the Brands on the first Sunday in Lent. Fires are lighted in every village. The ceremony of the Grannasmias takes place after a dance round the fire. A torch of straw called *granno-mio* is lighted at the fire, and carried round the orchards. The old Gaulish deity, in his aspect as the sun-god, is invoked with song:

'Granno, mo mio!

Granno, mon pouère!

Granno, mo mouère!

('Granno, my friend . . . my father . . . my mother!'). It is considered by Pommerol to be a survival of solar worship, and the rite illustrates Rhys's derivation of the name (*Antiquary*, xxxviii. [1902] 80).

An altar found near Annecy is dedicated to a deity *Virotutes* or *Virotus*: 'Apollini Virotuti.' Rhys tentatively suggests that the word may be compounded of a Gaulish equivalent for *vir* and *tutor*, and may mean 'man-healing' or 'man-protecting' (*op. cit.* p. 21).

A bas-relief at Munich represents Apollo Grannos associated with *Sirona*. Sirona is connected with the Irish *str*, 'long.' The two deities represent the ever young sun-god and the old goddess, and may be compared with Apollo and his mother Leto in Greek mythology. The hero Mabon mab Modron of the story of Kulhwch and Olwen is probably the same deity, Maponos. Mabon and Modron are suspected of being the exact equivalents of Grannos and Sirona (Rhys, p. 29). An inscription from Wiesbaden reads: 'Apollini Toutiorigi.' The name Toutiorix means 'king of the people,' and expresses the same thought as the title ἀρχηγέτης given to Apollo as 'leader,' in Greek mythology. The name appears transmuted and transformed in Theodorich, and the mythical legends associated with Dietrich of Bern belong more to Toutiorix than to the historical Theodorich the Ostrogoth (Rhys, p. 30).

The *Brigit triad* in Irish mythology holds a place of honour among the Celtic gods of medicine. The Irish god, the Dagda, had three daughters—Brigit, the poetess and seer, worshipped by the poets of ancient Erin; Brigit, the patroness of healing; and Brigit, the patroness of smiths. This points to a Goideic goddess, Brigit, who corresponded to the Minerva of whom Caesar says, 'Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere' (*op. cit.* vi. 17). She has also been identified with the *Brigantia* of the inscriptions, from whom the Brigantes took their name (Rhys, p. 74). Brigit has also the attributes of the ancient goddess of fire (Whitley Stokes, *Mart. of Cengus*, p. 1). The hymns in honour of St. Brigit and the legends attaching to her name suggest that she has stepped into the place occupied by the Brigit of Irish mythology. In the hymn *Brigit be bithmaith*, she is addressed as 'flame golden, sparkling' (line 2), and asked to guard against disease: 'May she win for us battles over every disease!' (Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, H. Bradshaw Soc., 1897, ii. 39). In the story of the visit of the three disciples of Brigit to Blasantia (Piacenza), they are preserved from the effects of a drink of poisoned ale by reciting this hymn (*ib.* ii. 37). The story illustrates not only the healing craft of Brigit, but the memory of her ancient fame among the Celts of Italy. It is perhaps due to the same tradition of

Celtic heathenism that as late as the middle of the 18th cent. human blood was considered in Italy to be a cure for apoplexy (*Antiquary*, xxxviii. 205).

The 'cauldron of renovation' is represented as a talisman of healing in the Welsh story of Branwen, the daughter of Llyr: 'The Irish kindled a fire under the cauldron of renovation, and they cast the dead bodies into the cauldron until it was full, and the next day they came forth fighting-men as good as before, except that they were not able to speak' (*Mabinogion*, ed. A. Nutt, p. 39). This cauldron of regeneration had been brought up out of a lake in Ireland and given to Bran, son of Llyr (*ib.* p. 31). It is equivalent to the cauldron of the Dagda in Irish legend, one of the treasures of the Tuatha Dé Danann. It was called the 'undry' cauldron, for it was never empty (Rhys, p. 256 f.). It was brought from the mythical Murias, some place beneath the sea. The fire beneath the cauldron was fed by nine maidens (*ib.* p. 373). In the Taliessin verses of the *Mabinogion* it is represented as the cauldron of sciences, from which Gwion received three drops. It is with this cauldron that Caridwen was associated (*Mabinog.* p. 295, 307). In the early tales underlying the Quest of the Holy Grail the healing qualities of the Grail or Cauldron rather than its gift of fertility may have been emphasized (A. Nutt, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, p. 57).

2. Diseases and their cure.—Among the diseases which have left a lasting impression on Celtic tradition is the *buidechar*, 'yellow plague.' It is probable that it was the occasion of the composition of the *Lorica* of Gildas:

'ut non secum trahat me mortalitas
hujus anni neque mundi vanitas.'

The first outbreak of this disease was in 547 (*Irish Lib. Hymn.* i. 206, ii. 243). Ireland was especially subject to it in the 7th century. The hymn *Sen Dé* of Colman was written against it. 'Colman mac Ui Chuasaig, a scholar from Cork, made this hymn to save himself from the Yellow Plague' (*ib.* ii. 12). Gillies (*Gaelic Names of Diseases*, pp. 10, 23) states that he is unable to identify it. It could scarcely be yellow fever: 'probably it was typhoid, or perhaps typhus under its known aspect of bilious fever.'

Much of the folk-lore of disease may be traced back to the magic and medicine of Celtic heathendom. The healing powers of the *ash-tree*, whether the true ash or the mountain ash, are to be attributed to its association with ancient Celtic and Norse deities. In a Leicestershire wart-charm it is addressed:

'Ashen-tree, Ashen-tree,
Pray buy these warts of me.'

The 'shrew-ash' in Richmond Park recalls an old cure for lameness and cramp in cattle by boring a hole and enclosing a live shrew-mouse in the tree. In this there is an echo of the ancient magic of exchange or transference of disease. In the case of the wart-charm, a pin is stuck in the tree, then in the wart, finally in the tree again (*Antiquary*, xlii. [1906] 423). A curious example of the practice of exchange of disease occurs in the *Martyrology of Oengus*:

'Fursa once happened to visit Maignenn of Kilmainham, and they make their union and exchange their troubles in token of their union, to wit, the headache or piles from which Fursa suffered to be on Maignenn, and the reptile that was in Maignenn to enter Fursa' (*Mart. Oeng.*, ed. Whitley Stokes, p. 45).

The first of August was dedicated to Lug, the Sun-hero. This festival, known in Wales as *Gwyl Awst*, was transferred in Brecknockshire to the first Sunday in August. Early in the morning a visit was paid to the Little Van Lake in the Beacons, to greet the expected appearance of the Lady of the Lake. She has been regarded as a goddess of the dawn, who returned at times to

converse with her children. The eldest of them was named Rhiwallon, and had been instructed by her in the virtues of herbs. He was the founder of a family of physicians in South Wales. The physicians of Myddvai, as they were called, were attached to the house of Dynevor. Their ancestor was of mythical descent, and may be identified in the *Triads* with Rhiwallon of the broom (yellow) hair. He was thus invested with a solar character (Rhys, p. 423).

Folk-medicine consists partly in charms, partly in superstition, partly in a real knowledge of herbs. It rests ultimately on the religious ideas of Celtic heathenism. Witchcraft and medicine were different aspects of Celtic priestcraft in its better sense. The priests, if they were the sorcerers and wizards of their people, were their healers also.

Among the plants and herbs associated with Celtic medicine, the *mistletoe* takes the first rank. It was the sacred bough of the Druids, the gift of the Divine oak-tree, the gift of the Celtic Zeus himself. The Celtic Zeus was 'the Blazer of the mountain-top,' and the great stone-circles mark the sites sacred to him. A story of the Irish hero Diarmaid makes mention of the tree, the well, the pillar-stone, and the stone-circle consecrated to the Celtic Zeus.

'He saw, right before him, a great tree laden with fruit. . . . It was surrounded at a little distance by a circle of pillar-stones; and one stone, taller than the others, stood in the centre near the tree. Beside this pillar-stone was a spring-well, with a large round pool as clear as crystal' (Rhys, p. 188).

These sanctuaries in ancient days were places of healing, as well as places of worship. In the *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick the idol of Cenn Cruaich, covered with gold and silver, was surrounded by a circle of twelve other idols, covered with brass. Even in the 7th cent. these had nearly disappeared. They represent the primitive pagan sanctuary of the Goidels. The name *Cenn Cruaich*, 'Head or Chief of the Mound,' when transmuted from Goidelic to Brythonic, re-appears in the old place-name *Pennocrucium* on the Watling Street. The site is at Stretton, not far from its modern representative Penkridge in Staffordshire (Rhys, p. 203; *North Staff. Field Club Transactions*, vol. xlii. pp. 116-118).

The mistletoe, the gift of the Celtic Zeus, was the all-healer (*olliach*: 'omnia sanans' (Pliny, *HN* xvi. 95)). It was cut at a New Year Festival with peculiar ceremony—a priest in white, a golden sickle, two white oxen. 'The oxen were sacrificed, the sacrificial meal followed. The mistletoe had great life-giving powers. It healed unfruitfulness in man and beast, and was a protection against poison' (Grupp, *Kultur der alt. Kelten u. Germanen*, p. 149).

Another plant mentioned by Pliny is the *Selago*, which has been identified with the Savin-tree, a species of juniper, and with the club-moss. It had to be plucked stealthily. Bread and wine were offered, and the priest with bare feet and white robe drew near, and, putting his right hand through the left fold of his tunic, gathered it without using a knife. Like the mistletoe, it was then placed on a white cloth. For healing purposes the plant was burnt, and the fumes were regarded as beneficial for the eye (Grupp, *op. cit.* p. 150).

A similar ceremony was followed at the gathering of the *samolus*, whether the brook-weed (*Samolus valerandi*) or the watercress. It was gathered fasting, with the left hand, and with averted face. The *centaury* was also used as a cure (Grupp, p. 151). The *St. John's wort* and other plants were burnt or hung over the door to keep off disease. The *St. John's wort* (*Hypericum perforatum*) is known as *chasse-diable*.

Inscriptions and folk-lore have preserved the traditions of the gods of healing and the healing craft among the Celts.

The deities honoured in different localities would have their own peculiar rites, their own special gifts. Juvavus was a deity who gave his name to Salzburg. Alannus also occurs in certain place-names. Some of the goddesses had healing power. Stanna was the companion of Apollo Stannus. Minerva Belisama and Suleria were associated with Apollo Belenus. Alanna was the consort of Alannus (Grupp, pp. 159-162). There is still much to do in grouping together the facts preserved in the folk-lore of herbs and healing, with a view to learning more of the ancient cult of the local gods of medicine.

The folk-lore of Ireland is rich in its memories of old-time medicine. Dianecht, a member of the Tuatha Dé Danann, may almost be regarded as the Irish god of medicine (cf. CELTS, iii. 285*). A magic cauldron of renovation was ascribed to him. The methods of the Irish witch-doctors still form part of the home medicine in country districts today. *Snails* pounded in salt were prescribed as a dressing in an Irish MS of 1450. They were still used for that purpose in Staffordshire at the close of the 19th century. *Urine* was in common use for eye-disease and jaundice; *dung* was prescribed by Wesley in his *Primitive Physic*. In Ireland, as in England, these remedies were administered, to the recitation of certain charms (Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths*, London, 1902, ii. 160-205). The *rag-offerings* tied to trees and bushes in the immediate neighbourhood of holy wells are still met with in many parts of Ireland, especially in the west. They are thought by some to have a reference to the transference of disease to the tree-spirit (*ib.* ii. 84). *Saliva* was also in use as a salve. A part of the cure of epilepsy in 1450 was the *burying of a young cock alive* (*ib.* 188).

A more normal system of healing is traceable in the Irish *sweat-houses*, which were in use as a hot-air cure until the 19th century. These sweat-houses were generally of the beehive shape, covered with clay, with a low entrance. They were heated with turfs, like a brick-oven, and the patient was shut in for a given time. The bath was followed by a plunge in a pool or stream near by. This was the usual cure for rheumatism.

A custom clearly connected with medicine among the Irish was the *covade*. On the birth of a child, the father was obliged to take to his bed and submit to a vicarious process of nursing at the hands of the doctor and nurse. The custom was widely spread throughout the world in primitive times, especially among races where kinship was reckoned through the mother. At the same time it is a custom which witnesses to the responsibility of fatherhood even under conditions which exalt the privilege of motherhood (Wood-Martin, *op. cit.* ii. 40). See art. BIRTH (Introduction), vol. ii. p. 635.

In the legendary history of the invasion of Ulster by the Fir Bolg, the adult males were *en covade* and unable to defend the kingdom of Conchobar against the enemy. The defence was made in heroic manner by Cúchulainn and his father only. Rhys (p. 622) refers to this incident as the 'distress of the gods and the sun-hero's aid.' Cf. art. CÚCHULAINN CYCLER.

The Utlonian *covade* lasted five nights and four days, in accordance with the use of the number 'nine' in the reckoning of time among the Celts. It was called *essa noinden Ulad*, 'the Ulster men's sickness or indisposition of a week' (*ib.* p. 363). There is a significant correspondence between the Utlonian *covade* and the Phrygian idea of the hibernating of the gods. Rhys would place the origin of Aryan myth within the Arctic circle. He sees in the labours of Cúchulainn the sun-hero a mythical witness to the period during which the sun in the ancient home of the Aryans remained above the horizon (*ib.* p. 633). Would not the *covade*, or 'distress of the gods,' be a trace of the short period during which the sun remained wholly below the horizon, the period mythically preceding its re-birth and re-appearance in the heavens? The Utlonian *covade* does not explain the origin of the custom, but only the application of a primitive usage to the explanation of the annual birth of the sun-god just within the Arctic circle.

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THOMAS BARNES.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Egyptian).—I. From the diagnostics of the Egyptian papyri we can distinguish—even identify, in many cases—about 250 different kinds of diseases, and the Ebers Papyrus alone describes 170 varieties. Many of them are the common ills of all humanity, and we cannot even say that they were of more frequent occurrence in the Valley of the Nile than elsewhere: complaints of the stomach, the bowels, the bladder, the respiratory organs, the head, the sinuses of the face, inflammation of the teeth, headache, coryza, ordinary fever, varices, epilepsy, and nervous ailments. Other diseases seem, by comparison with modern Egypt, to have been specially prevalent,—asthma, angina pectoris, anaemia, hæmaturia,—but it cannot be decided whether the chief cause of this is the race or the country. Some are certainly connected with hygiene (or rather its absence), with feeding, and with habits. Skin diseases, smallpox (cf. Elliot Smith's investigations of the mummies in *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1900 ff., and *Bulletin de l'institut égyptien*, Alexandria, 1862 ff., *passim*; and Maspero, *Momies royales*, Paris, 1886, p. 532), the infinite variety of parasitic diseases, e.g. 'Arabian elephantiasis' (=the 'crocodile disease' of the ancients), worms, and *pyorrhœa alveolaris* are the several consequences of these in varying degrees. In the same way, it was to the manners and customs that the Egyptian woman owed her long list of infirmities as described in the Egyptian treatises from the XIIth dynasty—flux, menstruation, metritis, dysmenorrhœa, erosions, pustules, prolapsus of the vulva, and cancerous tumours. It was, finally, the combined operations of Nature—water, winds, climate—and of the Egyptian's negligence that produced the terrible frequency of ulcers, Nile boils, carbuncles on the breast and legs, and especially the appalling array of eye-troubles, among which are seen all the varieties known at this day: styes, specks, ectropion, blepharitis, leucoma, lippitude, hydropthalmia, staphyloma, conjunctivitis, purulent ophthalmia, and many more. Such lists as these do not prove the unhealthiness of a country, but rather show the degree to which the knowledge of classical Egypt had advanced in diagnostics and therapeutics; and the close resemblance between ancient and modern Egypt in this respect justifies the conclusion, in agreement with Herodotus (ii. 77) and against Pliny (xxvi. 1), that the Nile Valley was a very healthy country, where the length of life, in spite of the opinion of Chabas ('Prétendue longévité des Égyptiens,' in *Bibl. égyptol.* ii. [1905] 181), was probably in excess of that of the average man of the present day; where the general health was much better than in Greece or Italy, for example; and where, as a rule, the great scourges that so often laid waste the rest of the ancient world—endemic diseases such as malaria—were unknown.

A classification of man's ills so minute leads, even at first sight, to the postulation of ideas already far removed from 'primitive savagery.' This impression is confirmed by the fact that neither the mythology of classical Egypt nor its theologues attribute any special disease to any definite gods. We seem to see in the whole the mark of a considerable scientific and moral advance on the rest of contemporary society. If, however, the pure therapeutics of Egypt witnesses to a relative but very real perfection, on the other hand the Egyptian ideas on the causes and nature of disease exhibit conceptions, even in the historical period, much more akin than one would at first believe to those of 'non-civilized' peoples. At the same time we find that, owing to the special conditions under which Egyptian civilization was formed, this per-

sistent characteristic of the early ages has produced on the rôles of gods, kings, and priests in this connexion systematic views that are capable of finally reaching lofty and noble conceptions.

2. We read in Clement (*ap. Orig. viii. 41*) that, when any part of the body was sick, the demon to which that member belonged was invoked. In a somewhat imperfect form this explains the traditional view of the Egyptian on the nature of disease. It was always regarded as the work of demons, spirits, *jinn*, ghouls, vampires, or spirits of the dead (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Egyp.]). They insinuated themselves into the individual by the nostrils, mouth, or ears, and devoured the vital substance. The means by which they surprise man, their constant efforts to do so as they prowl around him unceasingly, and the manner in which they perform their destruction inside his body offer no special interest for the history of religion, though the numerous formal texts describing these peculiarities may interest the specialist in Egyptological science. Compared with other human civilizations the notions on this subject are essentially the same as we find in classical religions, such as the Chaldaeo-Assyrian (cf., *e.g.*, *PSBA* xxviii. [1907] 81), or among modern savages all over the world.

The idea that the power of spirits—the causes of disease—increases peculiarly at certain hours of the day, and particularly at certain seasons of the year, is shown by the papyrus of lucky and unlucky days; and, if this idea is found equally among numerous non-civilized and semi-civilized races, and is the product, in Egypt as elsewhere, of experimental pseudo-observation, yet Egyptian astrology has greatly strengthened the initial data by explaining this periodical virulence by fixed rules, based on the influences of dates of the calendar (*q.v.*) and on mythological history. On such days 'numerous harmful germs permeate the clothing,' because the struggle neutralizes the power of the good gods, who are too busy to protect man, or because great evil influences are seen to be re-commencing in this world.

On 19th Tobi and 5th Pashus, the germs 'penetrate the clothing'; then 'infection steps in and causes death.' On 17th Tobi, the anniversary of great cataclysms, any sexual intercourse predisposes to being 'devoured by infection.'¹ Those born on 4th Paophi are liable to death by 'marsh' fever. The 14th of Athyr is dangerous because it is the anniversary of the 'lesion' of the 'majesty of this god.' This last peculiarity is important to observe. Since disease was the result of the attack of a 'spirit' (or of a demon or the dead), it was of the same type for every one, and every one was exposed to it.

The veterinary papyri show that Egyptian thought conceived of animals' diseases as due to the same causes as those of men, and the same mixture of medical and magical practices was applied to both, just as the same collection of writings might contain both the art of curing men and that of curing beasts.

The question as to whether the dead suffer illness is difficult to settle. They certainly suffer hunger and thirst—which were regarded by the Egyptians as things existing by themselves and due to harmful spirits. They could die 'the second death,' which logically supposes the possibility of attacks of illness. Finally, the precautions taken that the dead may remain in good health (*udjai*) in the other world assume the contrary possibility of illness. We have, however, no decisive texts on this point. It is probably reasonable to hold that the Egyptian dead were believed to be exposed, in certain conditions, to the same dangers of spirit-attacks as the living.

What held true of animals and men also held of the rest of the world, and therefore of the gods; we know of a great number of cases where their constitution, which did not differ in qualities or in nature from that of other beings, suffered various ills, and had to submit to the intrusion of 'evil spirits.' Epigraphic texts and papyri have left us definite evidence. Every one knows how Ra

¹ On the dangers and harm resulting from connexion with women in the various religious, magical, etc., acts of Egyptian life, see art. MAGIC (Egypt.).

had to die because a serpent bit his heel; Isis suffered from a mammary phlegmon after the birth of Shu and Tefnut; Horus was stung by a scorpion, had dysentery (London Papyrus), and an anal weakness (see Oefele, *Vorhippokratische Medizin*, 64). The sky-god himself saw his eyes, the Sun and Moon, affected by sudden diseases, attributed to the attacks of evil spirits, and this was one of the numerous ways in which eclipses were explained.

Even eliminating the cases of doubtful authenticity, the official religion recognized positively that the national gods were not exempt from disease. The medical literature of the temples preserves the deposit of prescriptions used in such and such a case of indisposition by ailing gods. A remedy of this kind had been composed 'by the invalid Ra' (Ebers Papyrus, xlvi.), and there were remedies to cure fever 'in gods and men.' There was nothing, essentially, to protect the highest beings from the ills common to all. But here, as elsewhere, their quality of godhead was derived from their superior ability to concentrate their energies (see DEMONS [Egyp.]), and to contrive defences which made them triumph in the struggle. They were able to find or compose prescriptions and formulæ which, in the special case of disease, brought them out of their trouble. The revelation of the secrets of their art or magic, granted only to those men who were their heirs or ministers, is the very foundation of Egyptian medicine. It unfolds at once its characteristics, its history, and, above all, the gradual formation of its knowledge.

The warfare against disease, taught by the gods (or stolen from them), proceeded of necessity and above all from magic (gaining support gradually from medicine properly so called), since it started originally with exorcism. It is accompanied, therefore, by spells and incantations, with all their accessories, such as fumigation, aspersions, imperative gestures, etc. The knowledge of secret names at first played its usual part, and the doctor of ancient Egypt was a magician-priest, entering upon a struggle with an adversary—to discover the name of the demon causing the illness, to find by secret knowledge the name of a god who had helped in a fight against the same demon in a similar case, and to force the demon to flee. This he accomplished either by disguising himself as the conquering god and imitating his actions, or by summoning this god to his aid, or by employing the relics, talismans, and means of defence which the latter had invented. (These three methods probably constitute three successive phases in the original history of primitive Egyptian therapeutics.) As usual, 'alliteration,' or play on the sound of the words spoken, had its share in all this.

Take a case of the momentary loss of sight, *e.g.*, which was cured by adorning the crocodile; not only did people think that the same remedy which had saved the eye of the heavens (=the sun), when the crocodile tried to devour it, would also save man, and therefore use the same formula; but at the same time they made a play of words on *shu*, 'blind,' and *shu*, the ostrich-feather held by the operator while making the disease return to the crocodile supposed to have sent it.

The belief that the forces and armies of good and evil beings were grouped, like the astral forces, in the four regions of the world produced the further practice of a fourfold pronouncement of the formulæ of spells and exorcisms preceding or accompanying the giving of the material medicine (*e.g.* Ebers Papyrus, ch. 108). Therapeutics was, therefore, at this stage an operation by which the gods were subjugated by the various processes of magic, 'contagious' or mimetic.

The fundamental nature of this original art of healing was a mark of the Egyptian's struggle against disease right down to his last days. In

spite of all the gradual attenuation of magic in favour of pharmaceutical and actually experimental science, therapeutics remained closely bound to Divine influences, both in its staff of officials and in the composition of its didactic treatises. The remedy proper never entirely supplanted the ritualistic and conjuratory part of the process.

The pharmacopœia proper also suffered this general influence. A great proportion of the substances owed their supposed virtues to the magical powers of the beings or things from which they sprang, or to their supposed mythological connexion with a certain god or spirit. The pharmacopœia of curative and harmful plants is related, in origin at least, and often to the very end, to the theory of 'spirits' causing and protecting from diseases; and the Egyptian ideas on this point are found faithfully represented in the list of thirty-six magical plants of Pamphilus (*de Simplicium medicin. facultatibus*). Finally, it is natural that the magical virtues of certain objects against disease have perpetuated, in Egypt as elsewhere and for the same reasons, the use of amulets (cf. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Egyp.]).

3. For the understanding of Egyptian ideas on disease and the methods of conjuring it, it is essential to study the formation of the books relating to it. The gods having known better than any other beings how to organize a defence, it was their ministers (or their possessors) who had the exclusive monopoly of magico-medical cures, revealed as these were by the gods or seized from their secret powers. The original fetish-doctors, then, had as their inevitable successors priest-doctors; and the growth of knowledge was, above all, a mechanical growth, by the union into collective classes, of the 'arts and mysteries' at first scattered over as many sanctuaries as there were originally independent gods. The primitive connexion between the spirits of gods and protection against disease was likewise the cause of the particular manner in which the books relating to diseases and their cure were composed, and of their double character, in the historic period, of traditional compositions and compilations pure and simple, innocent of all attempts to make a harmonious general whole on a rational plan. Further, there is nothing more opposed to an understanding of them and to the exegetical method than to maintain (like Erman, *e.g.* in his *Religion* [Fr. ed., 1907, p. 226]) that the attribution of such and such a chapter of prescriptions to a certain god or fabulous king is an artifice of the editor and indicates a late date. The observation of diseases and the supposed knowledge of the names or forces to be adjured or driven off were the fruit of experience and of magical prescriptions acquired from the very earliest days of Egypt by its pre-historic 'fetichists'; and the final tradition which in the Græco-Roman period attributed to Hermes Trismegistus (Clement, *Strom.* vi. 4) the composition of six books of medicine (on the forty-two hermetical books) reproduced exactly the belief of classic Egypt in its last stages, representing Thoth as the god who invented the formulæ necessary for giving remedies their power against diseases (cf. Pietschmann, *Hermes Trismegistos*, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 20-45 ff.).

The sacred library of the proto-historic Egyptian temple became the depository of the lists of diseases and their cures, and the evidence of historical times in this regard is fully in accord with the reality of the facts, when it speaks of the library that was at Heliopolis, 'the hall of rolls,' and the prescriptions found in the temple of Ptah at Memphis (cf. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, 1878, ii. 355, 358), or when the inscriptions of the

'library' of the temple of Edfu mention the presence of books there 'for turning aside the cause of disease' (cf. Mallet, *Kasr el Agouz*, Cairo, 1909, p. 24).

The gradual formation of medical treatises properly so called came about in the same way as that of the various compositions forming the annals of the sacerdotal calendar in Egypt, its tales of feasts (see FESTIVALS [Egyp.]), its Books of the Dead, and its 'books' of the different sciences. The important sanctuaries gathered together small local collections, and later on made exchanges with each other of the collections thus obtained. They usually proceeded by simple juxtaposition. To the body of information relating to a certain disease generations gradually joined on the ancient prescriptions of different provincial 'wisdom,' and grouped around a book on eye-diseases, internal complaints, and ulcers all the cures and all the diagnostics—often contradicting each other—obtained by these combinations. The part of the body or the disease stated in the title of the work, having served as the basis for the work of compilation, did duty also as a 'rallying sign' for all works on any analogous subject, without distinction of date or origin. This is the explanation of the common sections that are found in papyrus after papyrus—parts common to the Leipzig Papyrus and those of London and Berlin, or to the latter and the Reisner Papyrus of California, and so on. Those common parts show the common origin of our papyri, and their character of compilations from much older writings. The manner in which the very scanty remains of the XIIIth dynasty treatises were composed shows that these processes of compilation, so evident in the XIXth dynasty papyri, had been employed long before. And this fact, in conjunction with a study of grammar and language, leads us to conclude that the Egyptians were stating an absolutely historical truth when they attributed the additions of these great works on diseases to the Memphite kings or to the first legendary dynasties of the Thinites. As leading priest in his kingdom, the king was naturally versed in the magico-medical art of healing, and this was formally said of the most ancient kings; *ισαρος γὰρ ἦν*, said Manetho (*apud* Africanus) of Athotis. Such an attribution to the Pharaohs of a charge to maintain the health of their subjects agreed in every point with their nature as sons of gods, and with their function, which was, above everything, to continue and maintain the work of the good gods, the founders of Egypt (*ισαριεὶν τε ἐξίστηναι καὶ βίβλους ἀνατοκοῦν συνῆραψαι* [Manetho, *apud* Eusebius]).

Being logically devoted to everything that was very ancient and so brought him a little nearer to the Divine origin of all that is good on earth, the Egyptian made scarcely any change in the basis or the form of the knowledge thus obtained; he was always eager to show how the new recension of one of these 'ancient books of knowledge beneficial to man' was attached to the origins of national history. And, indeed, criticism has proved that the Theban manuscripts proceed directly from the proto-Theban, and the proto-Theban from still earlier types. The books that had grown too old materially were piously copied. In the actual body of texts relating to a certain disease, the work of generations consisted in inserting glosses, in slightly retouching, or in supporting the efficacy of a certain formula by extolling in the margin its proved excellence (Ebers Papyrus, lxix. 17, xxxv. 18; and Reisner Papyrus, *passim*), or by telling how it had once cured such and such a mighty personage, prince or king (Ebers Papyrus, lxiv. 4, lxvi. 15). The re-copying or re-modelling of several ancient versions in circulation led the scribe to note the variants in the texts used in composing the new edition, or to insert—rather unskillfully and such as they were—the scholia of his predecessors (cf. the excellent, and unfortunately still unique, work on the Ebers Papyrus considered from this point of view, by Schäfer, *Commentationes de Papyro Medicinali Leipsiensis*, Berlin, 1892). The most serious material changes, then, were not in the idea held of disease, or in the manner of defining or conjuring it, but in the increasing of the means combined for this last purpose. This happened very rarely by the invention of new remedies, but usually, and much more mechanically, by joining to the old writings new treatises from other localities, but equally ancient. These were dismembered, and their substance was joined on according to the diseases enumerated. A work, *e.g.*, devoted to 'abscesses on all the members' became the nucleus round which gathered

everything that could be found in the various temples of the nature of formulæ relating to abscesses. Thus it happened that there were sometimes a dozen methods of curing one disease, and sometimes contradictory methods—e.g. there occurred side by side, in the same compilation, an explanation of diseases based on an anatomy in which the human body possesses twelve great blood-vessels, and another founded on the assumption that it has forty. It was not, then, that the number of remedies actually increased in Egypt throughout the ages; there was rather the diffusion among a greater number of Egyptians of one and the same material which had formerly been embodied in a multitude of petty provincial theories. A general invocation at the end to the god of the place of compilation was enough, in the compiler's opinion, to guarantee a sort of unity to the work composed in this way.

The whole result was, as we may see, far from equal to a treatise of synthetic—not to mention philosophic—character on disease or diseases. It would nevertheless be inaccurate and unfair to see in such works (as does Pierret, *Dict. d'arch. égypt.*, Paris, 1875) nothing but a collection of pharmaceutical prescriptions.

4. Religious and traditional bases so solid and so closely bound up with national beliefs and institutions have necessarily supported a structure whose characteristic lines have remained almost intact throughout the whole existence of Egypt. The science of disease was marked, to the very end of Egyptian history, by its original characteristics: it was, above all, associated with the world of the gods, and with their ministers; it was traditional and formalistic.

Thus the rule not to use remedies that the masters have not taught is to be explained not so much by the will of the legislator, looking to the social interest, as by the belief in the connexion between the virtues of the remedies and the magic teaching of the gods; and the same explanation helps us to understand the non-responsibility of the doctor in a case of death, if he had observed the rules of canonical therapeutics (Diod. i. 82). The assertion that physicians were paid from the public treasury is simply a misunderstanding in the classics, but a misunderstanding which exactly agrees, leaving out of account inexact terms, with historical truth. Born originally in the 'fetish-hut,' the science of healing fixed its abode in the temple. The masters remained the ministers and interpreters of the gods, and the series of *mastabas*, hypogæes, stelæ, and statues show that, from the Memphite Empire to the Ptolemys, the great doctors—those of Pharaoh, e.g., the *Sunu viru* (= chief physicians)—were at the same time high ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Just as the teaching remained religious, the art of healing in its three great branches (symptomology, therapeutics, and pharmacopœia) remained equally impregnated with animistic and magical concepts; thus the classical doctor continued to prepare his own medicines, like the sorcerer of primitive times, and it was held as a fact that in complicated drugs each element acted on a special part of the organism, or, rather, on the evil specially infecting that part; numerous ingredients were considered curative specially for reasons of sympathetic or contagional magic (chiefly animal substances, skin, oils, and the horrible 'coprotherapy'). And yet the universal reputation of Egyptian medicine, and the very real perfection of its equipment, diagnostics, metrology, and healing processes are, on the other hand, as certainly incontestable facts (see an excellent popular account in Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, tr. Tirard,

London, 1894). The distinction of a nation of superior endowment, like Egypt, is precisely the ability to substitute, gradually and without sudden breaks, the conception of the natural healing effect for the unexplained magical effect; and, as science and magic-religion both proceed, essentially, from experimentation, it happens in many cases that only the interpretation of the mechanism of the energies, and not the remedy itself, is evolved. Such as it is, with its original flaws, its lack of theoretical views, its crying errors, its childish complication, and its naive formalism, the Egyptian science of healing nevertheless constituted from the very beginning a system several thousand years in advance of the rest of human society. It retained this pre-eminence as long as Egypt existed. The testimony of Homer (*Il.* iv. 229), the admiration of the Persians (Herod. iii. 1 and 132), the fame and reputation of Egyptian medicine under the Saïtes and the Ptolemys, and the reputation in Rome of the Alexandrian school can only be mentioned at present. Such enduring fame is an explanation of the fact that the medicine of Greeks and Arabians, successors of the Copts, has given a great deal of the ancient Egyptian medicine to our school of Salerno, e.g., or to any other of our ancient seats of medical knowledge in the Europe of the Middle Ages and down to the time of the Renaissance.

5. The development of Egyptian science succeeded in giving a more distant and lofty character to the priest-doctor's sources of information. But it never completely suppressed the primitive notion of direct Divine intervention in cases of illness. We find gods of healing in Egypt as everywhere else; and, similarly, the great scourges—plagues or other great epidemics, *iatu*—are recognized as sent by the gods.

Egypt, however, strikes an original note, in regard to this last point, in the very restricted part played by the idea that great calamities come from the gods, though this idea was known (it may have been less familiar, however, than in the classic East, on account of the proverbial healthiness of the climate). We find mention in Manetho (Müller, *PHG* ii. 539) of the plague which devastated the country in the reign of Semempses, and a connexion is assumed in the text between this scourge and the great sins committed by men. But such statements are very rare in the Egyptian texts. The point is worth noticing, in contrast with other organized religions, for the understanding of the conception formed by the Egyptian of the general rôle of his gods. In the case of individual sicknesses, on the other hand, historical Egypt is already too far removed from the 'non-civilized' stage to establish any connexion between such and such a bodily complaint and the violation of a *iabu*; we ought to notice, moreover, that the idea of disease sent as a punishment by the gods, who either cause it themselves directly or leave the sinner defenceless against the spirits of disease, is quite foreign to the Egyptians. Texts of later date, like the hermetical books, in which mention is made of those 'divine statues which send us disease or heal our pains according to our deserts' (Menard, *Hermes Trismegiste*, 1885, p. 146), seem to be somewhat imbued with Greek or Asiatic conceptions. Disease might, however,—at least in popular cults,—be the direct punishment for a personal offence against a deity, but this is of course quite different from the conception of an infraction of moral rule (see ERNICK [Egyp.]; and, for offences against the 'goddess of the Summit,' see Maspero, *RTy* ii. [1883] 118-123).

Several, if not all, of the gods who had composed the first means of battling with disease continued to grant or reveal directly to men the means of healing; and the majority of the sanctuaries, to which numerous worshippers journeyed, for their oracles (see DIVINATION [Egyp.]) or on annual pilgrimages, retained the privilege of miraculous cures. The temples of Isis at Coptos, of Min at Panopolis, and, in general, all those temples in which the medical books locate the marvellous discovery of writings in connexion with the teaching of remedies (Hermopolis, Lycopolis, etc.) were the places where the gods were themselves able to rout, with a single blow, the infirmities of the human body. We must add to this list a great number of smaller provincial sanctuaries, the local

gods of which, though very humble, had special powers (Assuân, Gurneh, etc.).

Survivals of these innumerable places of miraculous cures in ancient Egypt are seen in the topographical coincidences with various saints' graves of the Coptic Church—having the same privilege—and, after Muhammad, with all the tombs of Musalmân *shaiḥs* which have succeeded to the veneration of ancient days for these places.

Towards the latter days of history, political events tended to group the most important of these centres of medicine round the capitals of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the infiltration of Persian and Hellenistic ideas added new elements to the rôle of the gods against disease.

6. The means used by the gods in such cases to instruct or heal patients are not well known in general. Several texts say that, under the influence of Greek ideas, the custom spread in Egypt of going to sleep inside the precincts of the temples of the gods of healing, or near the supposed tombs of those celebrated historical personages whom legend gradually confused with mythical kings and the gods of healing (see DIVINATION [Egyp.]). This is the case for Imhotep (cf. Psherenptah stela). Invalids were informed of their remedies oftenest in dreams, as is proved by a certain number of allusions in the epigraphical monuments, by the accounts in popular tales, and by the witness of Diod. i. 25. Direct cure, following upon a prayer, and without divinatory revelation, is not formally entertained except in Herod. ii. 65, according to whom sums of money equal in weight to a half or a third of the sick child's hair (?) were vowed to the gods in case of recovery, or a promise was made to buy a beast for the temple herds. The sudden inspiration of the doctor enlightened by Divine grace and working *διὰ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας* is not a very Egyptian trait, and may be due to foreign influences (cf. Berthelot, *Alchimistes grecs*, 1890, p. 226). The essentially native form of miraculous cure by the intercession of the god appears to have been worked chiefly by the direct application of the healing fluid, either by the priest who carried the Divine relics, the *nibsau*, or in important cases (demoniac possession, epilepsy, and the like), the god himself. The famous Stela of Bakhtan is a familiar example of this type of curing by exorcism worked by a Divine statue. The adoration of the demon of disease, his overthrow, and his departure from the body of the princess, are merely an instance of a practice current in all the religions or 'semi-religions' in which there is a 'dispelling of demons.' It is more interesting to note the manner in which the statue of a god was supposed by the Egyptians to be capable of possessing the necessary power. The Egyptian text proves that this power was possible only to a 'secondary' statue of the god—one of those animated, for a special series of activities, by an 'energy-soul' of distinct name. It derived its chief power from the 'essential' statue of Khonsu, the statue which contained the magic soul of the god and made his will known by movements of its head (see DIVINATION [Egyp.]). This famous statue never left Thebes; it kept the best of the Divine substance there, and consented to detach and lend its healing forces only to such and such a one of its doubles, 'by bestowing upon it (by the nape of the neck) its protective fluid at four intervals' (which is a very valuable indication of the antiquity of the magical conception). Apparently, then, the power against disease did not belong to all the 'doubles' of a god. It was the privilege of the one image in which dwelt the 'true name,' and this assumes that power against demons was a part of the ultimate reserve of the personality of a being.

Finally—the primitiveness of the practice of exorcism by statues being a traditional survival—we may hold that, at the end of a long period of evolution, the views of the Egyptian upper classes on disease often came near to really lofty conceptions. Though, as everywhere, sorcery, the bastard child of primitive religion, preserved the rudeness of the 'dispelling of spirits' of primitive days, still the fight for healing, while maintaining its character of Divine teaching, became more and more natural and scientific. If, indeed, it attributed a large share to the supernatural intervention of the gods, it also gave an important place to Divine inspiration, guiding the man of science. Thoth-Hermes, in his various names and multiple capacities, inspires sacred medicine with a higher knowledge of human infirmities, without, however, assuming the absence of resources founded on therapeutics. The priest-doctor of the later ages of Egypt is a noble figure, resembling that of the magnificent portrait left by Cheremon (FHG iii. 497). And between the magic idol (or fetish) of the first healers of Egypt and the Thoth-Hermes of the end there is the same distance (and the same long way laboriously traversed) as between the anthropophagous Osiris of the Pyramid Texts and the Greco-Egyptian Osiris, who gives a seat at his table of honour in Paradise to the poor beggar 'who had not had his share of happy days on this earth.'

LITERATURE.—There is no monograph treating the subject synthetically. A great number of details and partial theories are found scattered throughout the bibliography of Egyptian medicine. Mention may be made, amongst the works and articles treating more specially the ideas discussed above, of: H. Brugsch, *Über die medicinische Kenntnisse der alt. Ägypter*, Brunswick, 1863; F. J. Chabas, *Ouvrages*, 1903, vol. ii, *Bibl. égyptol.* ii. 173, and *La Médecine des anciens Égyptiens*, Chalon-sur-Saône, 1861; G. Maspero, *Revue Critique*, 1893, ii. 69, *Histoire*, ii. (Paris, 1896) 214-220, 238, 281, *PSBA* xiii. 501-503, xiv. 312-314, *Études mythol. archéol.* iii. (1901) 289, 301, *Journal des Savants*, Apr. 1897 and Feb. 1898, *Journal des Débats*, 23 Feb. 1906; Mallet, *Kasr el Agouz*, Cairo, 1909; E. Naville, *Sphinx*, xiv. (1910) 187; F. Oefele, *Archiv f. Parasiologie*, iv. (1901) 481, v. (1902) 461, *OLZ* ii. 23, v. 157, vi. 376, *AZ* xxxiv. (1899), 55, 140, *Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift*, 1899, no. 47, *Prager Mediz. Wochenschrift*, 1899, nos. 24-29, and especially 'Geschichte der vorhippokratischen Medizin, in die Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin, i., Jena, 1901; W. Wreszinski, *Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums*, Leipzig, 1909; and J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ed. London, 1878, ii. 354-358.

GEORGE FOUCART.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Greek and Roman).—Disease and its treatment by rational medical means belong to the domain of scientific medicine. The help of the gods was sought in illness and accidents by purely religious means—by prayer, sacrifice, and, above all, the institution of incubation. The gods granted their assistance either directly, by a miracle of healing, or indirectly, through the medium of an oracle of healing. The subject will be fully treated in the art HEALTH AND GODS OF HEALING, INCUBATION.

ED. THRAEMER.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Hindu).—1. Disease.—The earliest view of disease in India was that all morbid and abnormal states of body and mind for which no special reason was assignable were due to the attacks of demons. In the medical charms of the *Atharvaveda*, the earliest medical book of India, the diseases are constantly addressed as demoniacal beings. Thus Fever, a demon who makes men sallow and inflames them like fire, is implored to leave the body, and is threatened with annihilation if he should not choose to do so. 'O Fever,' says another charm, 'thy missiles are terrible; from these surely exempt us.' Itch (*pāman*) is called Fever's brother's son. The malevolent spirits of disease were regarded as specially dangerous to children. Thus infants were liable to be attacked by Naigameṣa, a demon

with a goat's head, who is mentioned in early Sanskrit literature, and represented in an old sculpture found at Mathurā. Jambha, another Vedic godling of disease, was supposed to cause the trismus of infants. A 'dog-demon' attacking boys is said to mean epilepsy, or perhaps whooping-cough. Another ancient superstition attributed the origin of dropsy to Varuṇa, the god of the waters, who binds the guilty, e.g. liars and false witnesses, with his terrible snake-bonds, i.e. dropsy. Elves and nightmares, called *Apsaras* and *Gandharvas*, were believed to pay nocturnal visits to men and women. Disorders of the mind were also very generally ascribed to possession by a demon (*bhūta*), even in scientific works on medicine such as the manuals of Charaka and Sūśruta. When the belief in transmigration took hold of the Hindu mind, it furnished a new explanation of the origin of disease. Diseases and infirmities were traced to sins and offences committed in a previous birth. According to this doctrine of the 'ripening of deeds' (*karmavipāka*), a mortal sinner will have leprosy in a future birth; a Brāhman-killer, pulmonary consumption; a drinker of spirits, black teeth; a calumniator, a stinking nose; a malignant informer, stinking breath; a thief of food, dyspepsia; a thief of horses, lameness; a poisoner, a stammering tongue; a usurer, epilepsy; an incendiary will be born a madman; one who kills a cow or steals a lamp will be blind, etc. (see *Viṣṇusūtra*, ch. xlv.). Most of these punishments in a future life are symbolical. As a consequence of these beliefs, religious penances were performed, for instance, by lepers in order to atone for the heinous sins in a former existence to which their illness was attributed. A more rational theory of disease was found in the idea that worms gave rise to morbid conditions—a universal belief which may perhaps be viewed as the first germ of the modern bacillus theory. Headache and ear and eye diseases, as well as intestinal diseases, were attributed to worms; worms in children and in cattle also find special mention in the hymns of the *Atharvaveda*. The ancient physician Jivaka (see below) is alleged in the Buddhist scriptures to have cured a patient by making an incision in his head and pulling two worms out of the wound. The medical Sanskrit works derive the origin of internal diseases principally from a wrong mixture of the three humours (*tridoṣa*) of the human body—wind, bile, and phlegm; and thus distinguish between wind, bile, and phlegm-diseases.

Of particular diseases, *fever* is perhaps the most important. It is called in the medical works the 'king of diseases,' and appears to have been already the most dreaded ailment at the time of the composition of the *Atharvaveda*, the symptoms mentioned suggesting true malarial fever. This corresponds with modern statistics, according to which nearly two-thirds of the deaths in India are due to fever. *Leprosy* is said to consist of eighteen varieties, seven heavy, and the remaining ones light. It is evident, however, that true leprosy became confused with various skin diseases. *Small-pox* (*masṭrikā*) is first mentioned in mediæval medical works. The *plague* is not mentioned in Sanskrit medical works, and seems to be of recent importation in India.

2. *Medicine*.—Folk-medicine in India is closely connected with sorcery. 'The most primitive witchcraft looks very like medicine in an embryonic state' (Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, 1st ser., 1907, p. 118). The earliest collection of charms found in the *Atharvaveda*, which is reckoned as one of the four Vedas, though it never attained the same degree of sanctity as the other three, probably because it contains incantations for destroying an enemy, the idea of injuring another,

be he even an enemy, being opposed to the spirit of Hinduism. In the medical charms of the *Atharvaveda* and of the *Kausikasūtra*, the diseases, and frequently the curative agencies as well, are addressed as supernatural beings (see above). The remedies applied are based, in many cases, on a rude kind of homœopathic or allopathic principle. Thus the yellow colour of a patient affected with jaundice is sent where it naturally belongs—to the yellow sun and yellow birds—the patient being seated on a couch beneath which yellow birds are tied. The hot fever is sent to the cool frog, who may be supposed to find it enjoyable. Dropsy, the disease sent by Varuṇa, the god of the waters, is cured by sprinkling water over the patient's head by means of twenty-one (three times seven) tufts of sacred grass, the water sprinkled on the body being supposed to cure the water in the body. A coral spear-amulet is used to counteract pains that seem as if from a spear—either rheumatism or colic. White leprosy is cured by applying black plants. Red, the colour of life and blood, is the natural colour of many amulets employed to secure long life and health. Amulets, mostly derived from the vegetable kingdom, are used a great deal, the idea being that the supposed curative substance has to be brought into contact with the body. The sores, tumours, and pustules apparent in scrofulous diseases are conjured to fall off, or fly away, because they were supposed to have settled like birds on the afflicted person. The cure of wounds and fractures is effected by incantations which have been compared by A. Kuhn with the Merseburg charm of German antiquity. Flow of blood is charmed to cease by a hymn which seems to indicate the use of a bandage or compress filled with sand. There are many charms for the cure of the poisonous bites of snakes, also charms directed against poison not derived from serpents. Water and fire are viewed as excellent remedies for many diseases; thus a Vedic charm declares: 'The waters verily are healing, the waters cure all diseases.' Fire is especially invoked in charms against mania, and sacrifices to the god of fire, burning of fragrant substances, and fumigation are amongst the principal rites against possession by demons. Some of the herbs used in medicine seem to owe their employment as remedies to their names only, not to any real curative properties possessed by them. The charms of the *Atharvaveda* have been fitly compared with the sacred formulæ of the Cherokees, and other spells current among the Indians of North America. On the other hand, they must be acknowledged to contain a fairly searching diagnosis of some diseases, as, e.g., of malarial fever with its accompanying symptoms, such as jaundice, headache, cough, and itch.

The second period of Indian medicine is the Buddhist period, ushered in by Jivaka Komārabhacca, the contemporary of Buddha himself, of whom the most wonderful cures are reported, and whose name indicates that he was particularly famous for the treatment of children's diseases. The canonical books of the Buddhists contain a number of medical statements. The famous Bower MS., written in the 5th cent. A.D., and called after an English traveller who discovered it at Mingai in Central Asia in 1890, contains three medical treatises, one of them being a spell against snake poison, said to have been applied with success by Buddha himself when a young pupil of his had been bitten on the foot by a cobra. Buddhist kings founded hospitals for men and beasts, and appointed regular physicians. The famous Buddhist convent at Nālanda in Bihār, of which some ruins remain, had ample accommodation, in the 7th cent. A.D., for 10,000 students of philosophy and medicine.

The third period produced the now current Sanskrit treatises of Charaka, Suśruta, Vāgbhata, Mādhavakara, Vaṅgasena, Hārīta, Bheda, Vṛnda, and others on medicine in general or on particular subjects, such as pathology, fever, infantile diseases, *materia medica*, etc. Charaka is said to have lived at the court of the Buddhist king Kaniska (c. A.D. 120); the great work of Suśruta is said to have been re-cast by the celebrated Buddhist sage Nāgārjuna; Vāgbhata was himself a Buddhist. The connexion of the modern period of medical science in India with the Buddhist epoch is thus established, and the high stage of development reached by it seems to date, in the main, from the Buddhist time. The *materia medica* in these works embraces an immense number of drugs belonging to the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms. There are special works on pharmacy and chemistry, containing ingenious processes of preparation, especially of quicksilver and other metallic medicines, which were prescribed internally as well as externally. Indian surgery, as represented in Suśruta and Vāgbhata, can boast of the practice of lithotomy and laparotomy, and of operations performed in cases of cataract, piles, disease in the uterus, for forming new ears and noses (rhinoplasty, which seems to have been borrowed by European surgeons from India), etc., with more than a hundred different surgical instruments. Indian medical works and doctors were exported into Arabia, and Charaka and Suśruta may be found quoted in the writings of Rāzi (c. A.D. 900) and other eminent Arabian doctors. Many medical Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan, and again from Tibetan into Mongolian and other languages of Central and Northern Asia. On the other hand, it appears probable that the physicians of India at an earlier period learnt a great deal from the Greeks, especially in the field of surgery, their own knowledge of anatomy being too limited to admit of the performance of difficult surgical operations. Moreover, the ancient superstitious notions were retained by them. Thus a certain form of smallpox, which is treated with cold applications, is personified as Sitalā, 'the cold deity,' and is to be worshipped with a prayer in which it is declared that, whenever a person afflicted with smallpox addresses the deity as 'Sitalā, Sitalā,' the eruptions will at once disappear from his skin, and that this goddess possesses a rain of ambrosia for those tormented by pustules. Seven forms of this disease are described, which survive in the seven smallpox sisters, including Sitalā, whose worship is very common in N. India. The more aggravated forms of mental diseases are attributed to possession by a demon, and the cure is to be effected by propitiating the devil with oblations in a fire lighted in a temple, and with gifts consisting of eatables, an umbrella, etc. Infants are particularly liable to be attacked by a demon, the symptoms described pointing to lockjaw. The treatment of snake-bites includes the recitation of charms. When a child is born, various religious ceremonies take place, such as the offering of oblations in a fire kindled for the purpose, with a view to protecting mother and child against the attacks of demons. The prognostics of disease depend in the first place on various omens, such as the appearance and dress of the messenger come to summon the physician, and the objects or persons seen by the latter on his way to the patient. The Indian physicians (*kvirājās*) of the present day, who belong to the Vaidya caste in Bengal, and to Brāhman castes in most other parts of India, have naturally been losing ground owing to the introduction of European scientific medicine into India; nevertheless they continue to be consulted by the common people, who also still adhere to the popular superstitions

of old. Various godlings of disease in nearly all parts of India are worshipped with offerings of milk, flowers, fruits, sweets, rice, betel-nuts, and sometimes a goat. When a child becomes dangerously ill with smallpox, it is sometimes carried to an image of Sitalā, and bathed in the water which has been offered to the goddess, some of which it is given to drink. There are also incantations for almost every disease—headache, toothache, fever, dysentery, leprosy, madness, burns, scalds, snake-bites, etc. In S. India devil-dancing is very common. Whenever the 'doctor' attending a sick person finds that the malady will not yield to his remedies, he certifies that it is a case of possession, and the exorcizer is then called in to expel the demon. The malignant spirits, the supposed authors of a plague, are tempted to pass into the wild dancers and so become dissipated, the devil-dancers being also thought to become gifted with clairvoyance and a power of delivering oracular utterances on any subject of common interest. See, further, DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Vedic).

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J. JOLLY.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Jewish).—I.

DISEASE.—1. **Biblical.**—Three initial stages may be traced in the perennial consideration of this subject. Disease—so it was held—is sent from the Deity; it is therefore a punishment for sins committed; that is, every one who suffers from disease has previously done some wrong for which he is atoning by his bodily afflictions. It is obvious that this case is completely covered by the larger and more general question of evil, as dealt with, for example, in Job. Yet, although the Book of Job might be said finally to solve the problem as far as contemporary thought was concerned, inquiry reasserts itself after a brief interval.

In the investigation of Biblical examples of sickness consequent on sin, care must be taken to exclude those cases where the punishment takes the form of a violent or unnatural death. These are included in the larger category of evil. Thus the case of Korah (Nu 16^{30ff}) and that of the disobedient prophet (1 K 13^{11f}) do not apply, but the death of Bathsheba's first son (2 S 12¹⁴) or the smiting of the Egyptian firstborn (Ex 12²⁹) might certainly be cited. It is also important to differentiate cases where the sinner himself is smitten from those where the punishment falls vicariously on others who may be innocent, but whom the sinner loves more than himself. To the former category belong the punishments of leprosy meted out to Miriam (Nu 12¹⁰) and Gehazi (2 K 5²⁷); to the latter, the death of Abijah, son of Jeroboam (1 K 14¹⁸), for the death of the child meant the destruction of Jeroboam's fondest hope—the foundation of a dynasty. Further, as a corollary to the latter class may be mentioned those cases in which the community suffers from disease because of (a) general and (b) individual trespass. The community would seem to be punished because it participates actively or even passively by not rejecting the criminal, for in the absence of duly appointed officials it is every one's duty to take the law into his own hands. It is also suggested that the knowledge that the commission of a certain action may involve others in disease and pain may act upon the evil-doer as a deterrent.

An enumeration of all the cases in the Bible

where disease is a punishment is unnecessary. It may suffice to mention a few examples where it is inflicted as a retribution for sin. In some cases leprosy is the means of chastisement: thus Miriam (Nu 12¹⁰), Gehazi (2 K 5²⁷), and Uzziah (2 Ch 26²¹) were smitten with this disease for slander, avarice, and presumption respectively. Shameful diseases are the result of foul crimes or irreverence (e.g. 'Er and Onan, Gn 38⁷ etc.; the Philistines, 1 S 5^{12a}); Pharaoh (Gn 12¹⁷) and his household were afflicted with plagues on account of the abduction of Sarah; Abimelech and all his house (Gn 20¹⁸) were smitten with barrenness for the same cause; the Sodomites were struck with blindness (Gn 19¹¹) for their attack on Lot; and, finally, Job's sickness is ascribed by his friends to his sinfulness. Gluttony was punished by gastric plague and death at Kibroth-hattaavah (Nu 11³⁴), and in the *Tokhehah*, or Rebuke chapters (Lv 26¹⁴ etc., Dt 28¹⁵ etc.), various diseases are enumerated which will inevitably follow disobedience to God's word.

Turning to the NT, we may trace the same tendency. Thus (1 Co 11³⁰) those who receive communion in an unworthy manner suffer disease in consequence. Further, there is the opposite case of apparently undeserved blindness (Jn 9¹⁷), as an explanation of which the possibility of sin *in utero* used to be suggested; and, finally, there are the instances where disease is said to be due to Satanic agency or demoniac possession (Lk 13¹⁶, Mk 9¹⁷, Lk 11¹⁴).

That diseases follow sin may also be inferred negatively from such passages as Ex 15²⁶ ('if thou wilt surely hearken to the voice of the Lord . . . the diseases which I put on the Egyptians I will not put on thee,' cf. Dt 28⁶⁰); or the Fifth Commandment, where longevity is the reward for obedience to parents; or, in a more general way, Lv 18⁵ ('Ye shall keep my statutes and my judgments by doing which a man shall live').¹

Although these and similar instances are capable of being classified under various different heads and of being arranged in other ways, yet it is by no means clear that alterations would produce any re-adjustment of ideas with reference to the theory of disease. It is not safe to dogmatize or to differentiate between the attitude of the Pentateuch and the Prophets; it is unwise to establish distinctions of time or place, because in no subject is there greater scope for inconsistency. The human mind hovers between the Scylla of ascribing disease to the work of the Deity, and the Charybdis of making disease accidental and so independent of Divine control, by which circumstance Divine omnipotence would be impugned. The 'golden mean' may offer a workable compromise, but it will not often bear philosophic investigation. The Semites, as has often been shown, identified cause and effect. *Pe'ullah* means both reward and the deed which merits the reward. *Hatta'ah* means both sin and sin-offering. The children who mocked the prophet were devoured by bears (2 K 2²³), and the irresistible conclusion to be drawn was *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. The writer of the Books of Kings views history purely from the standpoint of morals; happiness and misfortune, health and disease, are the result of previous conduct; and insistence on this theory was the sole justification for the study of history. The adoption of this attitude was conducive to a belief in free will, since man thus had the power and choice of avoiding disease, while the opposite theory, which made disease fortuitous, led to predestination. To such an extent did the theory that conduct alone is responsible for disease

prevail that Asa (2 Ch 16¹²) is blamed because 'in his disease he sought not the Lord but the physicians.'

The Deity, then, is the source of evil as well as of all good, since He is omnipotent. Yet already in early times it was felt to be impious to ascribe misfortune and disease directly to the Godhead. Hence all manner of expedients were adopted to avoid such a position. In the Books of Samuel 'the spirit of God' is responsible for good and happiness, while sickness and ill were wrought by 'a spirit from (נגח רוח) God.' This was largely developed in the Targums (cf. Memra, Logos, etc.). There is no escape from attacking Divine omnipotence, if disease is independent of the Godhead. Still disinclination to ascribe disease to God grew and gained strength from the earliest times. The example of Korah's sons is a case in point. All the guilty parties gather together, the innocent are warned to withdraw from their company, and finally (Nu 26¹¹) it is stated: 'notwithstanding, the sons of Korah died not.' Still stronger instances occur which afford negative proof. The wicked cannot involve the righteous in disease and death, but the righteous can, conversely, deliver the wicked. Ten good men can save Sodom (Gn 18³²); punishment extends to the third and fourth generation 'of them that hate me,' while loving-kindness prevails to the thousandth generation (Ex 20⁵⁻⁶). The *Middath ha-Rahamim* (attribute of mercy) conquers the *Middath had-Din* (attribute of justice). Finally, the teaching of Job and of Ezekiel established the idea of individual responsibility, and the doctrine that suffering and disease are not necessarily the consequence of wrongdoing.

2. Rabbinical.—In considering Rabbinic literature it will be found that the same tendencies may be traced and the same stages observed. We are brought back to earlier views such as may be found in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, and, seemingly, the teaching of Job and Ezekiel is completely gone. It will, therefore, suffice to adduce a limited number of instances. In the first place, slander is responsible for many diseases: this may be seen most clearly in *Lev. Rabba* xviii. 4 (ed. E. Schraentzel, Stettin, 1863, p. 29, fol. 15a, outer col. lines 1 ff.):

'There was *haruth* (engraving) on the tablets of stone [Ex 32¹⁶]. Read not *haruth* but *heruth* (freedom). Freedom from what? . . . from chastisements . . . R. Simeon b. Yohai says, at the hour when Israel stood at Sinai and said (Ex 24⁷) "All that the Lord hath said we will do and obey," there was not among them either one with an unclean issue or a leper or cripple or blind or dumb or deaf or mad: concerning that hour is it said (Ca 47): "Entirely fair art thou, O my companion, neither is there blemish in thee." When they sinned, not many days passed when there were found among them those with unclean issues and lepers. About that hour it is said (Nu 5²⁴), "And they dismissed from the camp every leper, etc." Henceforward Israel was liable to issues and leprosy. R. Huna . . . says . . . leprosy came for slander . . . to teach thee that plagues come only in consequence of slander. . . . [The whole passage should be studied.]

In the *Mekhilta* on Ex 23⁸ (ed. I. H. Weiss, Vienna, 1865, p. 106a, top) acceptance of bribes is said, on the basis of the Scriptural verse, to lead to blindness:

'Every one who accepts money to pervert justice (or even to execute justice) will not leave the world until he is bereft of his eyesight. According to R. Nathan, one of three things will befall him: he will lose his knowledge of the Torah, so that he will declare unclean clean, or declare clean unclean, or he will be in need of human aid, or he will lose his eyesight.'

A similar thought is expressed in the parallel passage in *Siphre* to Dt 16¹⁸ (ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864, §144), towards the end of the section. The *Mekhilta* to Ex 15²⁶ (fol. 54a) should also be regarded. This thought may be followed in a more extended form in Bab. *Erukin* fol. 16a, where R. Johanan (quoted by R. Samuel b. Nahmani) says:

¹ See Manasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator* (tr. E. H. Lindo, London, 1842), question 89, p. 138, question 104, p. 164; see also pp. 29, 114, and question 139, p. 228.

'Plagues come for seven sins, for bloodshed, perjury, unchastity, pride, embezzlement, pitilessness, and slander, as it is said (Ps 101:7), "him who slanders his neighbour secretly, him will I cut off. . . ."

The following verses are then cited to prove each case respectively: 2 S 3²⁵, 2 K 5^{23, 27}, Gn 12¹⁷, 2 Ch 26¹⁶, Lv 14^{36, 58}. See also *Aboth* v. 11 (Singer's *Prayer Book*⁶, London, 1900, p. 200):

'Seven kinds of punishment come into the world for seven important transgressions. If some give tithes and others do not, a dearth ensues from drought, and some suffer hunger while others are full. If they all determine to give no tithes, a dearth ensues from tumult and drought. If they further resolve not to give the dough-cake (Nu 15²⁰), an exterminating dearth ensues. Pestilence comes into the world to fulfil those death penalties threatened in the Torah, the execution of which, however, is not within the function of a human tribunal. . . . At four periods pestilence grows apace: in the fourth year, in the seventh, at the conclusion of the seventh year, and at the conclusion of the Feast of Tabernacles in each year; in the fourth year, for default of giving the tithe to the poor in the third year (Dt 14²⁸⁻⁹); in the seventh year, for default of giving the tithe to the poor in the sixth year; at the conclusion of the seventh year, for the violation of the law regarding the fruits of the seventh year; and at the conclusion of the Feast of Tabernacles in each year, for robbing the poor of the grants legally assigned to them' (i.e. gleanings, forgotten sheaves, corners of the field (Lv 19⁹, Dt 24¹⁹)).

The death of women at childbirth is due to three sins,

'because they have been negligent in regard to their periods of separation, in respect to the consecration of the first cake of the dough and in the lighting of the Sabbath lamp' (Mishn. *Shabb.* ii. 6 (Singer's *Prayer Book*, p. 121)).

The effect of sin (*yēser hā-rā*) on man and on the creation generally is to cause great disfigurement, and mysterious diseases are due to sin. The passage from *Bereshith Rabba* and elsewhere dealing with this point may be studied in F. R. Tennant's *Sources of . . . Original Sin*, ch. vii. ff.

Finally, R. Ami says:

'There is no death without sin, and there is no chastisement without crime' (Bab. *Shabb.* 55a foot). This passage should be carefully studied.

Outside the immediate range of the Talmud and Midrashim the idea may be traced frequently; e.g. Sir 31²⁸ (p. 24, ed. Strack, Leipzig, 1903): 'In all thy actions be modest, that no misfortune befall thee'; or Judah hal-Levi's *Kitāb al-Khazari*, pt. ii. § 58:

'It was one of the wonderful traits of God that His displeasure for minor transgressions was shown on the walls of houses and in the clothes, whilst for more grievous sins the bodies were more or less severely stricken' (p. 119, ed. Hirschfeld, 1905: see the whole paragraph).

II. MEDICINE.—Connected with the question of disease is the question of cure. The function of the priest as physician is clearly laid down in the Pentateuch; he enjoys far greater authority than the surgeon mentioned in Hammurabi's Code, probably because his sphere of treatment was more limited: in Assyria surgical operations seem to have been undertaken more commonly. The Rabbis declared that it was a positive commandment (צוה) for a man to get himself cured, on the basis of Ex 21¹⁹ (see also Rashi, *in loc.*). Healing as a result of special prayer occurs repeatedly in the Bible. According to the Rabbis, all healing is a miracle, and repentance will effect a cure. Thus Bab. *Nedarim* 41a declares:

'No sick man can recover from his disease until his sins are forgiven . . . greater is the miracle performed to a sick man by his restoration to health than that wrought to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (Dn 3^{12ff.}). For their fire was earthly and any mortal could quench it, whereas that of the sick man is from heaven and defies human hand' (see also further).

So, too, the Palestinian Rabbis denied that demons could cause or cure disease (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Jewish]), for disease came from God without reference to their agency (see also S. Schechter, *Fragment of a Zadokite Work*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 1, ch. xiv. p. 12, line 3). On the other hand, a man must not avoid sin on that account alone.

A man must not say, "I will abstain from forbidden foods in order to strengthen my body and avoid disease, but in order to do the will of my Father in heaven."

The technical nature of cures recommended by

the Rabbis does not fall within the scope of the present article. Cures by prayer were frequent. See Mishn. *Berakhoth*, v. 3 (p. 10, ed. Staerk, Lietzmann's series, Bonn, 1910):

'R. Hanina b. Dosa used to pray over the sick and used to say, "Such a one will live," "Such a one will die." They said to him, "Whence knowest thou?" he replied, "If my prayer is fluent in my mouth, I know that it will be received." . . .

Reference may also be made to קצטן (Singer's *Prayer Book*, p. 47; partly also on p. 16, § 8 of no. 58 of Lietzmann's series, *Altjüd. Gebete*, Bonn, 1910); to בְּרָכָה תְּהִי לָנוּ (p. 148 top); to the שְׁשֵׁשׁ הַקְּלָיִים, or therapeutic use of Psalms (see also art. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish]); and to the extremely beautiful prayer before reciting the Psalms in cases of sickness.¹ The prayer deserves careful study. It must be observed that, although the Rabbis fully believed in the efficacy of prayer, they did not, as the Christian Scientists do, deny the existence of disease or the power of drugs. The Essenes, for example, according to Philo, joined the care of the body to that of the soul by avoiding cities: 'just as foul air breeds disease, so there is danger of contracting an incurable disease of the soul from . . . bad associations' (*Quod omnis probus liber*, § 12, cited in *JE* v. 227, foot, inner column).

The principle of 'measure for measure,' fitting the punishment to the sin (כְּכֶּה בְּכֶה וְכֶה בְּכֶה), was strongly held by the Rabbis, as may be seen from the extracts cited above, but, in spite of this, the solution of the problem was found in the theory of עֲשֵׂת שְׁלֵם אֱהָבָה, 'chastisements of love' ('whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth'), and this is, of course, the real solution of the whole problem of evil: man's inability to realize that what is to him evil or misfortune need not in reality be so. See Mishn. *Berakhoth*, ix. 5 (p. 17, ed. Staerk, Bonn, 1910, Lietzmann's series):

קֶאֱמָרָה בְּכָל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ בְּכָל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ וְנִתְּנָה לְךָ בְּכָל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ. 'With all thy might (read not וְנִתְּנָה לְךָ but וְנִתְּנָה לְךָ) for every measure (good or evil) which He meteth to thee, thank Him.'

Misfortune is not necessarily evil, nor is disease necessarily the outcome of sin. Man cannot always distinguish good from evil, and his mind has not the power of perception, beyond a certain well-defined limit. 'From the mouth of the Lord shall there not proceed both evil and good?' (Is 45⁷). 'I the Lord make peace and create evil' (Is 45⁷). The inability of man to comprehend the Divine scheme for the government of the universe leads him to erroneous conclusions as to the nature of evil and the origin of disease. This was the generally accepted conclusion.

LITERATURE.—*JE*, art. 'Medicine'; art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Jewish) in the present work; Hamburger, art. 'Krankheiten'; Maimonides, *Guide*, ch. on the 'Evils', pt. iii. etc. (see Friedländer's tr., London, 1904); S. Schechter, *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, London, 1910, ch. xiv. etc.; C. G. Montefiore, art. 'Retribution', in *JQR*, vol. v., July 1893; F. R. Tennant, *Sources of . . . Original Sin*, Cambridge, 1903, ch. vii. etc.; S. Levy, 'Doctrine of Original Virtue', in *Orig. Virt. and Other Studies*, London, 1907; F. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, Leipzig, 1897.

HERBERT LOEWE.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Persian).—The doctrines concerning bodily diseases and their treatment by medical art form a very considerable part of the Avestan system. In strict accordance with the dualistic conception of the universe, bodily disease and its treatment by medical art correspond exactly with sin, regarded as a spiritual malady, and its treatment by religious exercises conceived as an ethical or spiritual medicine. Similarly, owing to the dualistic division of the universe into a good and an evil creation, all bodily diseases are expressly declared to be creations of the Evil Spirit (see under art. DUALISM). In *Vend.* xxii. Ahura Mazda declares that Anra Mainyu created 99,999 diseases (a fanciful number, like that of the Hindu

¹ Both of the last-named items may be seen at the end of Heidenheim's ed. of the Psalms, Roedelheim, 1866.

gods), which are variously estimated, however, as 90,000 in the Gujarati translation, or as 10,000 (*Bund.* ix. 4), or even as low as 4333 (*Dinkart*, ed. Peshotan, vol. iv. cap. 157. 41, 43). A considerable number of names of diseases are preserved in various parts of the Avesta, and have been carefully collected and discussed, especially by Geiger in his *Ostirân. Kultur*; but most of the names are decidedly obscure, and little improvement has been made since Geiger's study; even Bartholomae's great lexicon throws no further light upon the terms used.

It is fairly certain, however, that we may find in them fevers (*tafru, dazhu*), and diseases of the head (*širasti, sârama*). As skin diseases were and still are a special scourge of the Iranian countries, we naturally expect to find mention of leprosy, and as a matter of fact this dread disease apparently (in spite of de Harlez's striking argument to the contrary) is indicated by the term *pasao vitareto tanus* (*Vend.* ii. 85; *Yt.* v. 92), probably 'leprosy which segregates the body' (cf. Pahlavi *pâsâh*, Pazend *piak*, Mod. Pers. *pes*, Kurdish *piêt*). In *pâman* (*Yt.* xiv. 48) we may see either leprosy, according to the general interpretation, or itch (S. E. Dubash), which is probably also indicated by *garvnu*. Among other terms, more or less obscure, the identification of which is largely conjectural, *vâvâreshi* (*Yt.* xiii. 131) probably indicates a venereal disease; *tafru* . . . *tanuys* *zoishnuys* (*Vend.* vii. 178) may be puerperal fever; *skenda* (*ib.* v. 160) may indicate a rupture; *aghosti* (*ib.* vii. 146) and *vazem-naosti* (*ib.* xx. 9, 11) most probably signify rickets and caries of the bone; *duruka* (*ib.* xx. 14, 20) almost certainly calculus; *kurugha* (*ib.*) seems to be the Modern Persian *kurrî*, carbuncle (Eoutum-Schindler, *EDMG* xxxvii. [1883] 64 ff.). In *âstairya* we seem to have the name of some eruptive disease, like smallpox or measles. Among a number of hitherto quite unidentified terms, three beginning with *azh-* in all probability refer to diseases caused by snake-bite.

The origin of the art of medicine as recorded in the Avesta is supernatural, and associated with the name of the hero Thritha, who, according to the *Vendidad*, was the first physician, 'the first of those heroic, active, benevolent men, with magic power, brilliant, powerful, before the giving of the Law, who made the various diseases cease.' He besought Ahura Mazda for a remedy against poisons (*vish-citrem*, or perhaps 'eine von Giftpflanzen stammende Arznei' [Geiger]), and a metal knife (for surgical operations). Ahura Mazda narrates that he gave him thousands and millions of medical plants, among them the mysterious *gaokerena*, the later *gôkart* tree, the source of all medicines (*Vend.* xx. 1-17). The Yashts appear to confound this Thritha with Thraetaona, whose name seems to be a patronymic derived from the former—for his *fravashi* is invoked against diseases. Darmesteter quotes Hamza as stating that Faridûn (i.e. Thraetaona) was the inventor of medicine, and adds that the Modern Persian amulets against disease bear the name of Faridûn (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Iran.], vol. iii. p. 449*). Moreover, the genius Airyaman (apparently the personification of prayer) is also intimately connected with the medical art. Ahura Mazda calls him to come and expel disease and death (*Vend.* xxii. xxiii.). Later on, in the Pahlavi *Dinkart* he becomes the tutelary genius of physicians, to whom he gives miraculous help to cure men's bodies. As we shall see, prayer was always regarded as the most efficacious of remedies.

The commonest term to indicate indifferently 'medicine,' 'healing,' 'medicaments,' or 'physician' is *baeshasa*, corresponding to the Skr. *bhîshaj*, *bhîshaja*. In Pahlavi we find this word as *bešaj*, but more commonly under the curiously inverted form *brîshak*, as in Modern Persian and in the Armen. words *bzishak*, 'physician,' and *bzishkek*, 'heal.'

The Avesta attributes great importance to the threefold division of medicine according to the means employed: *kereta*, the knife; *urvara*, herbs; *manthra*, formula—as we should say, surgery, medicine, and prayer. This is also the well-known division of the Greeks: Pindar, speaking of Asklepios, says (*Pyth.* iii. 91-95):

... τοὺς μὲν μαλακαῖς
ἐποιδαῖς ἀμψέων,
τοὺς δὲ προσάνα, πύ-
νοντας, ἢ γυνὸς περὰσσιν πόντον
φάρμακα, τοὺς δὲ τοιαῖς ἔσσαντες ὀρθῶς.

As Pindar gives the first place to *ἐπαιδα*, so the Avesta esteems the cure by prayer or conjuration the best of all; so that the prayer-physician (*manthro-baeshaza*) is called 'the physician of physicians.' In fact, the Manthra Spenta, or sacred formula, is personified and invoked as a genius: 'Heal me, O Manthra Spenta, O brilliant one!' It is Ahura Mazda himself who speaks, and promises thousands of camels, oxen, and sheep (*Vend.* xxii. 7-10). This *manthra* is not prayer in our sense, but a conjunctory formula, as employed so often among Eastern peoples. Homer, too, shows it as employed together with surgical treatment:

ἀτελὲς δ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀνέμῳ, ἀντιθέου,
δῆσαν ἐπιστάμενος· ἐπαιδῇ δ' αἶμα κελαινὸν
ἐσχέον (Od. xix. 456-8).

There is an excellent specimen of these conjunctory formulae in *Vend.* xx. 7: 'I conjure thee, disease! I conjure thee, death! I conjure thee, burning! I conjure thee, fever! I conjure thee, headache! . . . I conjure thee, smallpox (?)!' There is a striking analogy between these conjurations and those employed by the Akkadians (Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, Eng. tr., 1877, pp. 4, 20, 280). These formulae, as with the Greeks and Hindus, may, like so many other elements in the Avesta, be derived from an earlier population (perhaps Turanian) absorbed by the Aryans.¹ The genius of metals, Khshathra Vairya, is said to have given the first physician, Thritha, a knife with a golden point for surgical operations (cf. *Vend.* xx. 3). Careful instructions are given for the training and examination of surgeons and physicians, based on the principle of *experimentum in corpore vili*. The candidate is to practise, not on a Mazdæan, but on a *daiva*-worshipper, that is, the follower of any other religion. Should he operate upon one such with fatal result, and again a second and a third time, he is declared incapable for ever of practising either medicine or surgery. Should he persevere and injure a Mazdæan, he is held guilty of a crime equivalent to homicide. After three successful experiments, however, he is considered a fully qualified medical man (*Vend.* vii. 95-104). A serious view was taken of a physician's duties: he must make all speed to visit his patients; if the disease attack one at nightfall, he must hasten to arrive by the second watch; if at the second watch, he must arrive by midnight; if during the night, then by daybreak (*Vend.* xxi. 9-11). The fees of the physician are minutely regulated according to the rank of the patient. A priest pays only by liturgical prayers and blessings. The payment for the various chiefs of a household, a village, a clan, or a province, are respectively an ass, a horse, a camel, and a yoke of four horses; whilst, for the wives, female animals corresponding are required. It would appear that later on these fees were changed into monetary payments: the Pahlavi commentator estimates the prayers paid by the priest at 3000 *stirs* (Gr. *στάρη*), whilst the yoke of four horses is valued at 70 *stirs*. It may be remarked that the Avestan physician was also a veterinary surgeon, for a scale of charges is also fixed for the treatment of cattle, great and small (*Vend.* vii. 105-117), and it is distinctly said that the same means must be employed for the cure of a rabid dog as for one of the faithful (*ib.* xiii. 97-99).

Turning now to the later Pahlavi literature, we find the whole subject of the art of medicine most fully and systematically treated in an interesting tractate incorporated in that encyclopædic work, the *Dinkart*, and forming ch. 157 of bk. iii. printed in vol. iv. of Peshotan's edition (Bombay, 11 vols., 1874-1910). It is by far the most considerable chapter of the whole work. It falls into

¹ An amusing remark by a more recent Parsi commentator quoted by Darmesteter (note to *Vend.* vii. 120) is thus naively expressed: 'He may not cure, but he will do no harm!'

four distinct parts: (1) medicine, (2) the medical man, (3) diseases, (4) remedies.

It is curious to remark that Hindu medical science also distinguished the 'four feet' (*pada*) of medicine, which, however, were reckoned as: the physician, disease, medicine, the nurse; while Hippocrates has a threefold division: ἡ τέχνη διὰ τριῶν, τὸ νόσους, ὁ νοσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἰσθρὸς (*de Morb. Vulg.* l. 1).

The author begins by defining the basis or foundation (*bān*) and the necessity of medicine, which is, of course, owing to the action of the Evil Spirit. He next distinguishes between spiritual and material medicine, and again between general and individual medicine—the former apparently applying to the maintenance of the public health, and the latter to that of individual patients. It is curious that, whilst on the whole following the medical system of the Avesta as above described, the *Dinkart* recognizes *five*, instead of three, means of healing, viz. formulæ, fire, herbs, acids, and the knife. Another interesting distinction is that of prophylactic medicine (or hygiene, as we should say) for the preservation of health, and curative medicine for the healing of disease. In accordance with this, two kinds of practitioners are also distinguished: the *drūstapat*, 'master of health' (as we might say, officer of health), and the *bišhak*, 'healer,' or doctor. In the section specially devoted to the physician several questions are treated. The supreme chief of corporal medicine is the Sovereign (*i.e.* the king); of spiritual medicine, the *Zarathustrōtēma*, or supreme high priest. The matter (*māto*) on which the physician exercises his art is defined to be, for the spiritual physician, the human soul endowed with a body; for the corporal physician, the human body endowed with a soul. The reciprocal action of body and soul is then discussed with considerable skill, and corresponds pretty much with our idea of *mens sana in corpore sano*. The description of a perfect physician of the body is worth quoting:

'He should know the limbs of the body, their articulations; remedies for the disease; should possess his own carriage and an assistant; should be amiable, without jealousy, gentle in word, free from haughtiness; an enemy to disease, but the friend of the sick; respecting modesty, free from crime, from injury, from violence; expeditious; the right hand of the widow; noble in action; protecting good reputation; not acting for gain, but for a spiritual reward; ready to listen; having become a physician by favour of Aryanman; possessed of authority and philanthropy; skilled to prepare health-giving plants medically, in order to deliver the body from disease, to expel corruption and impurity; to further peace and multiply the delights of life' (§ 19).

The regulations for the probation of the medical candidate are the same as those we have quoted from the Avesta, whilst, as for fees, the treatise simply refers to the sacred text. In the third part we meet the statement that there are two fundamental maladies, denominated *faraēbūt* and *aibibūt*, which seem to indicate rather some forms of moral evil, but their explanation is extremely obscure, although the words occur in several treatises. The Evil Spirit (*Ganāk Mīnōi*) is the cause of all evils, both of soul and body—for the former, of every kind of vice and evil passion; for the latter, of cold, dryness, evil odour, corruption, hunger, thirst, old age, pain, 'and all other causes of malady and death.' The number of diseases is given as 4333; their names are simply those of the Avesta in a slightly altered form. One interesting division of maladies is that which divides corporal diseases into voluntary (such as venereal disease) and involuntary (such as fevers); whilst the diseases of the vital principle (*jano*) are distinguished as vices tending forward (*e.g.* passion and anger) and those tending backward (*e.g.* idleness).

The fourth and last part of the treatise may be styled therapeutic. The number of remedies derived from the vegetable kingdom is said to be seventy, and they are divided again into those which are by nature beneficent, and those which of their nature are poisonous, but may be so treated as

to become medicinal. As an example of the former is given the myrobalan of Cabul—the only plant which is mentioned. The miraculous (*rajdato*) trees, the *Gokart* and the white *Hōm*—here clearly distinguished from one another—are referred to as sources of healing. Health is next divided into two kinds—health of the soul and health of the body; and the various oppositions between the powers of the former and certain vices co-existent and yet hostile are detailed at length. In the whole passage we have a well-sustained distinction between the *hamēstarik* (diametrically opposed, contradictory, excluding the opposite) and the *brātarrato* (co-existent but hostile); and the passage entirely confirms the sense of this latter difficult word which the present writer propounded in the *Academy*, xvi. [1884] 397. A similar distinction is then made between the elements of the body and the hostile forces, cold and dryness, produced by the Evil Spirit—a veritable *bellum intestinum* between the four elementary qualities as described by Galen and other early medical writers. Curiously enough, however, with the Iranians the position of dryness and moisture is reversed, dryness and cold being together reckoned among evil qualities—an inversion, no doubt, to be explained by the rarity and consequent vast importance of humidity in ancient Iran. The action of the blood, of food, and of moderation are next explained, as well as the necessary interdependence of spiritual and corporal medicine.

An interesting question is that of the relations between Iranian medicine and that of India and Greece. The researches of Haas (*ZDMG* xxx., xxxi.) and Müller (*ib.* xxxiv.) have conclusively shown the great influence exercised by Greek medicine on the Hindus, and a question of the latter writer deserves our attention here:

'A fact which concerns not Indianists, but rather students of Middle-Persian and Arabic literature, is this—it may be deduced from the Arabic texts that it is worth while inquiring by what road Indian medical literature reached the Muhammadans. We know that Indian tales reached the realms of the Chalifs through the Pahlavi: is it not therefore obvious to suppose the same road for medical science?' (see also J. Jolly, *Medicin*, *GLAP* lii. 10, pp. 17–19).

We have indicated above certain parallelisms between Iranian medical theories and those of the Greeks, though none of them can be considered very decided. History, however, bears out the probability of such influence of Greek medicine upon Persian. Greek physicians are to be found at all epochs at the courts of Iranian sovereigns. Such was the case even under the Achæmenians: we need cite only Demokedes under Darius I., the famous Ctesias, and Apollonides mentioned by the latter. Spiegel thinks it probable that in populous cities foreign physicians often competed with native ones. Under the Sasanians, too, we find Greek physicians at the royal court, and Spiegel is of opinion that Indian physicians made their way there also (*Eran. Alterth.*, Leipzig, 1878, iii. 582).

LITERATURE.—W. Geiger, *Ostiran. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 391–399; L. C. Casartelli, *Traité de médecine mazdéenne traduit du Pehlvi et commenté*, Louvain, 1886, also *La Philosophie religieuse du mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, Louvain, 1884 (Eng. tr., Bombay, 1889); S. E. Dabash, *The Zoroastrian Sanitary Code*, Bombay, 1906—a skilful attempt, by a highly qualified Parsi medical man, to bring the Avestan medical and hygienic system into correlation with modern European medical science, and 'to show my educated co-religionists how well the laws of the Vendidad, enacted for the preservation of health and for the observance of the purity of things, are in harmony with the laws of hygiene and the principles of the science of medicine.'

L. C. CASARTELLI.

DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Teutonic).—

I. Disease.—Nothing made so powerful an impression upon the feelings of primitive man as the phenomena of disease and death. Whether the end came as the inevitable result of a prolonged

struggle, or whether it befell with startling suddenness in the heyday of life—in either case the terror-stricken mind was forced to face the question as to the cause and origin of the dread occurrence.

Death from loss of blood and death by strangulation were of course more or less familiar incidents of the chase and of war. But what mysterious power was it that suddenly opened the veins within the body, and brought a comrade's life to an end by hæmorrhage; or, again, obstructed the air-passages from within, and thus caused the hale and hearty youth to perish by suffocation, convulsively clutching at his throat? The inmates of the smoky turf-cabin had often felt this malign power at work, as it squatted—crushing and squeezing—on breast and throat, and had awaked with screams of terror and bathed in perspiration: it was the dreaded *alp* (incubus, nightmare), who had all but strangled them to death. By night likewise they were seized by that frightful something which resides in the body permanently, and thus differs from the *alp* that comes by night, or even in the midday slumber, yet speedily withdraws again. The unwelcome visitations of the incubus must have made a profound impression on their victims; and it was an experience of similar character which now and again befell them in spring, when the storm was raging outside, and alternate chills and burnings seized them, causing the shiver of fever, tormenting them in sleep with wildly-rushing dreams, and at length bringing them in their delirium to the experience of things which, as their house-mates affirmed, no one else had perceived: the fell work, surely, of gruesome creatures, invisible, but to feeling all too real, which hemmed them in, prowled after them, fell upon them like stealthy foes—the spirits and demons of disease, which the causal instinct, with its unconsciously creative tendency and its power of stimulating the imagination, depicted in endlessly varied forms, corresponding to the observed phenomena accompanying the affliction. A special object of misgiving was the unseen, though living and potent, entity which dwelt in friend and foe alike, which passed from the body at death and left it behind, *i.e.* the soul, as primitive man was always obsessed by the suspicion that departed souls still pursued their friendly or hostile activities in the shadowy host of disease-spirits.

Among the Teutons the souls of the dead were believed to join the great demonic host which, comprising elves, 'mares,' *Truden*, *Schräte*, and trolls, swept along in the train of Woden and Holla: winged creatures who appeared everywhere, and had their home in the savage forest. On occasion the disease-demons assumed bodily shape, showing themselves in every variety of form, and appearing in the disease itself as worm-like threads that creep under the skin, or as actual worms living in wounds and sores, or being discharged therefrom. The idea of the wriggling worm as the embodiment of the disease-demon was widely current among the Teutons. The demon was supposed to emerge from the worm in the form of some winged being, or of an ugly, crawling, slimy toad.

Next in importance to the incubi, or spirits of the dead, who afflicted the survivors with horrible nightmares, or consorted with them lasciviously in dreams, and who, in the form of some animal, often forced their way to the fireside through holes and cracks (cf. O.N. *mara kvalði*, 'the torment of the mare,' *mara trad*, also *cauche-mar* [*cauche*, from Lat. *calcare*, 'to tread'], 'the walk of the mare'), it was the horde of *alps*—creatures fabricated by the imagination from the nightmare—the *Elben*, the race of elves (A.S. *elf-cynn*), who, as

noxious demons practised their wicked magic (A.S. *elf-siden*) upon mankind, especially in attacks of fever. They were the personal causes of the so-called elf-disease, which injures mankind as 'elf-shot' (A.S. *ylfa gescof*, O.N. *alfskud*, Danish *elverskud*), striking the skin (A.S. *on fell scoten*), the flesh (*on felse scoten*), the blood (*on blod scoten*), or the limbs and joints (*on lid scoten*); or as the less injurious elf-breath, which, when merely blown (O.N. *alvugst*, A.S. *alfblest*, Swed. *elfveblast*) upon human beings, caused a swelling of the limbs; or even as a voracious sucking (A.S. *elf-sogopa*) of blood or marrow or bone; or as some other vagrant affliction (O.N. *alfa-volkum*, 'elf-roll,' cf. 'walk') which falls upon a person in its flight. When a man fell a victim to such an 'onfall' (A.S. *on-feall*), his neighbours said 'the elves are upon him.'

Besides these, however, there were numerous other noxious spirits ill-affected towards mankind, as may be inferred from the personal cast of many of the ancient names applied to particular diseases, as, e.g., *Nessia*, *Nagedo*, *Stechedo*, *Troppho*, *Crampho*. Touching-demons caused dysentery, lymphangitis, and anthrax; stroking-demons (cf. 'moon-struck'), face paralysis and mental derangement; burning-demons, blisters and gangrene; biting, pinching, scratching, and bruising-demons, skin-affection like cancer, extravasation of blood, itch, freckles, or phlegmonous inflammation, but they could also affect the body internally, and give rise to ulcers in the stomach (O.H.G. *magobizado*). As tearing-demons they produced gnawing pains in nerves and muscles; as striking-demons they afflicted men with apoplexy and epilepsy, with blindness and mumps; as pushing-demons they brought on hiccup, and the *nösch*, which presses upon the heart and the womb; as pricking-demons they were the cause of pneumonia and pleurisy, with their accompanying pains in the side, and also of sunstroke; as choking-demons they caused disorders which constrict the throat (croup, diphtheria); as binding-demons, rickets and phimosis; as gripping-demons (*hardgreip*, *widgreip*), the swoonings and spasms of uræmia, eclampsia, and epilepsy; as blowing-demons, disorders of the eyes (especially blennorrhœa in the newly born) and the blisters of anthrax, as also smallpox and plague, though these, no doubt, were sometimes figured as dragons and griffins rushing hither and thither, and killing people with the poisonous fumes they exhaled.

Human beings were also exposed to the aggressions of certain repulsive creatures of diminutive size, such as the *dwarfs*, who caused monstrous births, local paralysis, lunacy, mumps, and similar diseases (e.g. idiocy, apoplexy, herpes), produced convulsions, molested people at night by crushing and stifling, and, in particular, brought about baneful fevers (thus A.S. *dweorg* practically means an attack of fever). Evil-disposed demonic *Schelme* (cf. Scot. 'skellum') smote man and beast with pestilence, conveying influenza (O.H.G. *skelmo*, *skelma*) and the 'black death' in fetid effluvia—an idea which reveals a glimmering sense of the danger of infection, as does also the notion of the 'Schelmenbeine' in starving cattle, the 'Pest-schelme' being supposed to take material shape in these.

Demons of disease dwelling in forests were also regarded as the less noxious *Schräte* (goblins) and *wights*, and were personified as *Düsel* (stupors), or as 'yellow hags,' yellow-bellied *Säiden*, who knit yellow vestments with yellow needles—the yellow smock-frocks which they throw over the bodies of their victims as jaundice (*Gelbsucht*), or as red skin (*Pellmergen*) in erysipelas, or as tumid skin (*Schwellmergen*) in local dropsy. This idea, as implying the personification of local affections, reveals a some-

what more advanced conception of disease, which must have coexisted from the outset with the demonistic view, the latter applying more particularly to acute and chronic infectious diseases, and the whole brood of 'nervous' disorders. The demonistic view of disease has a direct link of connexion with the NT conception of demons in the Gothic word *dæimōnars*, and at length culminates in the mediæval theory of possession by devils (A.S. *dæofolstoc* and *dæofolstocnes*).

2. Medicine.—In the practice of healing, likewise, a simple empiricism no doubt prevailed among the ancient Teutons from the first, though naturally the evidence of this fact has almost entirely disappeared. But this experimental therapeutics became almost inseparably combined with demonistic conceptions and modes of thought.

A wound was first of all cleansed and bound up with vulnerary herbs. If the bleeding was profuse, the sore was sprinkled with the dust of dried plants, and the bandage was tightened. But, as this did not always prove effective, recourse was had to the 'more potent' remedies—of which we shall speak below—as preventives, and this mode of treatment was presently applied in all cases and 'for all cases'; i.e. it became customary to use such remedies at the very beginning of the treatment, as unexpected and apparently causeless contingencies might supervene in the process of healing—complications as mysterious as they were dangerous, such as inflammation, erysipelas, diphtheria, hospital gangrene, and lock-jaw; in short, all those concomitants of bodily injuries which are now traced to infection. These unwelcome manifestations were regarded as 'gruesome companions,' the personified influences of malicious denizens of the world of spirits and demons, though they might also be due to the machinations of evil-disposed human beings who were able to move the demonic realm and make it subservient to their will. Moreover, there was always the possibility that the invalid had in some respect neglected the claims of religion. He might have fallen short in performance of his duties towards the friendly deities of his people, so that they had sent the injury as a punishment, or had given to the wicked elves, whom they generally held in check, that permission to work injury of which they so fiercely availed themselves. For all such possibilities timely and rapid measures had to be taken. Horror lowered upon primitive man from all sides, and it was the part of wise counsellors—both men and women, but, in all that related to disease, more especially women—to soothe the terror-haunted soul.

Diseases of supernatural origin, and, in fact, all painful things that could not be traced forthwith to sensible causes, might be Divine punishments, from which the sufferer could be absolved only by expiation—by the bloody or unbloody sacrifice. The sacrificing priest secured his people against the demons of plague. Odin himself, however, is the master-magician, the 'magic-father' (O.N. *galdro-father*); as the sun-god he scatters the nocturnal swarm of the 'night-goers' (*nihtgenga*); he is the mighty elf-dispeller, the scourge of the *alps* (*græti alfa*). Nevertheless, it was also the custom to offer sacrifice to the *alps* themselves (*alfablot*), who were often well-affected towards men, and had some knowledge of the plants that must be dug on moonless nights. The cult of Eir, the special goddess of healing, is of relatively late origin; she was the personification of the gentle hand of woman in nursing the sick (O.N. *eira*, 'to care for,' 'nurse'). But Odin still held his place as the supreme god of healing, and the healing 'touch' of 'Wodan's finger' was long the prerogative of English and Frankish kings—de-

scendants of Odin—as a cure for scrofula and struma ('king's evil'). At an earlier date the power of curing disease was ascribed to the god Thor, the great preserver in times of sickness and danger, the destroyer of evil spirits. But Odin the Wise knew all the secrets of the magic which counteracts the work of demons: 'succouring oracles of healing' (*Hávamál*, 11, 9), 'long, powerful runes of life' (*Rigspula*, 44), 'succouring staffs and protective runes' (*Sigrdrifumál*, 5 and 9), and 'staffs full of healing virtue' (*Hávamál*, 145).

Here we come upon the most important element in the healing magic directed against the demons of disease, viz. the *spell*, which was inscribed on rods, pieces of bark, or the skin, as, e.g., the hand, of the invalid, and which might be whispered, spoken, chanted, or shouted. All the ancient Teutonic languages furnish numerous examples of such spells or charms—more especially formulæ for the healing of wounds, the stanching of blood, and the prevention of swelling and mortification. Thus, Hartmann von Aue tells how, after a wound had been bandaged, Gawan, faithful to ancient Teutonic custom, uttered the spell: 'Zer wunden wundensegen.' Again and again in the 'blood-charms' we find the phrases: 'stant plot fasto,' 'verstand dû, bluotrinna.' Nor are other possible contingencies forgotten; thus 'dyn stekent, dyn swillent, dyn killent, dyn valent, dyn stükent, dyn swerent, dyn rennent sholt laten'—a spell which calls for uninterrupted convalescence. But the folk-medicine of the ancient Teutons comprised similar spells for many other ailments. Thus we find charms for worms, designed to expel the *nesso* (worm) with *ninn nessimchinnon* ('nine little worms') from the marrow, through veins, flesh, and skin, and so out of the body;¹ or to kill it, or cause it to drop from the sore in the form of maggots. There were also fever-charms, used for destroying or expelling 'ritten'; charms for fracture and dislocation, spoken while the injured limb was being stroked or rubbed, and supposed to help the disconnected bones to reunite; charms for the eye, which arrested runnings, swelling, pain and dimness in that organ; charms for convulsions, curing epilepsy, 'wild shot,' gout, obstruction of bowels, colic (*bermuoter*), 'cold pains,' and 'irregular' gout; charms for consumption, curing all forms of wasting disease; charms for swelling, which removed intumescences (e.g. wens) and swollen glands (*kyrrill*); charms for the teeth, which destroyed the worms of toothache and caries; birth-charms, which were uttered before the knees of a woman in labour, and helped to usher the child safely into the world and bring away the afterbirth (as, e.g., in the *Edda*, they were 'sung vigorously' for Börgny by Oddrún, supported by the birth-runes 'painted on hands and joint-bandages' as 'health-marks').

Sometimes the expedients employed took the form of slips of bast inscribed with formulæ similar to the foregoing (*zouborgiscrib*), and suspended in little boxes (*plechir*) around the invalid, or bound upon the diseased part (*ligatúra*); while they were also used as prophylactics, as amulets for the 'breaking of sickness.' But charms were likewise of avail for the transference of diseases to another place, and for conveying them to animals and trees ('branch-runes,' 'which must be learned by any one who would be a physician,' [*Edda*]). Charms were spoken or chanted in gathering medicinal and magical herbs, in making decoctions, and in other proceedings, such as passing or creeping through split trees; they were uttered over an unconscious invalid, or while a

¹ Cf. the celebrated O.H.G. 'Munich worm-charm,' which will be given in full in the art. *MAJOR* (Teutonic).

rune-embellished gold ring was being moved in a circle round his wound; probably also when an iron or bronze ring was fixed round a limb as a prophylactic against demons, and even in jumping through the solstitial fire, the smoke of which the leaper tried to catch and retain in his clothes as a protection against fever.

The practical parts of these various expedients, and many other actions of the same kind, were, no doubt, frequently—perhaps more frequently—employed without spells, the place of the latter being gradually taken by new manipulations, articles of clothing, and other paraphernalia, e.g. wooden masks, hats, cloaks, bags with the most fantastic contents, such as talons, claws, nails, hair, small bones and similar trumpery—the stock-in-trade of the witch-doctor (shaman, medicine-man) all over the world. Such objects as images of the gods were dipped in water in order to endow it with special remedial virtues; cakes were baked in the form of the powers of healing, and then eaten; wooden arms and legs were hung up in temples or groves as votive offerings, while magic stones, with or without runic writing (stones of life), were worn as amulets.

Such were the 'medical' ideas, practices, and devices by which the ancient Teutons sought to cure existing disorders and to secure themselves against possible injuries to health. But even those remedial measures which might at first sight seem to be purely natural were in many cases conjoined with a superstitious element. Thus, when applying a rolling massage to the abdomen for troubles in that region, the 'doctor' would have in his hand a beetle or some such creature, into which the disease, or the demon causing it, was supposed to pass; while, in trying to dislodge the demons of pain from certain parts of the body by fumigating them with the incense of narcotic herbs, the operator softly uttered a spell, or chanted a magic verse. The demonistic theory of disease was itself of empirical origin. Even here a slight though real element of fact underlies all that is merely fanciful, and it was only as a secondary phase that it unfolded that riotous luxuriance which took shape finally as an imaginary host of disease-demons encompassing mankind. These demons were the outcome of what might be called observation of pathological symptoms, which found its materials in all manner of deformities in men and animals; such deformities, again, adding fresh matter to the ideas born of the nightmare, and constantly confirming them by apparently positive evidence—just as the intestinal or external parasite seemed to corroborate the personifying animistic theory of disease. The parasitical theory of disease is thus intimately related to the demonistic.

The anti-demonic incantation was usually regarded as appertaining specially to the individual, who used it to protect himself against, or deliver himself from, some particular demon; while the bloody sacrifice performed by the tribal priest was designed to guard the whole tribe against surprise attacks by the host of disease-spirits. But we also find incantations of an almost general character used as safeguards against possible onsets of demons—against 'whatever elf it may be' (*ey þat ylfa þe him sie*). All conceivable combinations of the supernaturalistic therapeutics of magic and the physico-chemical therapeutics of manipulation and pharmacy have been evolved in the course of centuries, nor can it even yet be said that, in the folk-medicine of the Teutons or other races, the purely natural standpoint has finally carried the day.

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DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Vedic).—Limitation of the subject.—The distinction between charms for the cure of disease (*bhaiṣajyāni*) and other charms is frequently evanescent. They approach with special closeness the charms to secure long life (*āyusyāni*, cf. MAGIC [Vedic]) on the one hand, and the charms of exorcism (cf. WITCHCRAFT [Vedic]) on the other. Moreover, charms for easy childbirth, for abortion, and for the promotion or destruction of virility might properly be classed among them, but are in fact classed regularly among the rites pertaining to women (*stri-karmāṇi*, cf. MAGIC [Vedic]). Instead of attempting any theoretic distinction, it seems best to follow the Hindu classification, and treat in this article only charms of the type contained in the *bhaiṣajya*-chapters (xxv.-xxxii.) of the *Kaushika Sūtra*, reserving the related charms for the articles cited above.

1. Sources.—The chief source for our knowledge of the beliefs relating to disease in Vedic times and of the practices based upon them is the Atharvaveda. Of hymns or parts of hymns intended to secure the cure of more or less sharply defined diseases, the Atharvan *Saṁhitā* contains something over a hundred. The practices by which these were at one time accompanied are given in the *bhaiṣajya*-chapters of the *Kaushika Sūtra*.

It cannot, of course, be always confidently asserted that the practices there described are identical with those employed when the hymns were composed. But that the statements of the ritual are, in the main, based upon a good understanding of the hymns is shown by the flood of light that the study of the ritual has thrown upon the interpretation of the hymns (cf. the history of their interpretation which is given in the Commentary to pages 1-48 of Bloomfield's 'Hymns of the Atharva-veda,' *SBE*, vol. xlii.). That the treatment of the hymn in the ritual is secondary is sometimes too hastily assumed. Thus vi. 44 is clearly a charm against *āśvita* (diarrhoea) and *vātikāra* (production of wind in the intestines), but *Kaushika* xxxi. 6 is supposed to rubricate it in a remedial rite against slander. The position of the rite in the *Kaushika* shows that it is intended for the cure of some disease, and, if the commentator is right (as he most probably is) in saying that it is to be employed 'in case of slander,' this means only that the origin of the disease *vātikāra* is ascribed to the evil speech of an enemy (cf. below, for disease originating from curses, evil eye, and sorcery).

a naïve, but not improbable, conception. On the other hand, both the materia medica of the *Kaushika* and its therapeutic practices—alight as these are—seem more advanced than those of the *Saṁhitā* itself. In some cases also the connexion between the rite and the hymn is so superficial that there can be no doubt of the secondary mechanical adaptation of the one to the other. In such cases it is usual to assume that the rite has been made to fit the charm. In view, however, of the great conservatism that in general controls such practices, and the probable pre-historic origin of certain Atharvan charms (cf. Bloomfield, 'The Atharva Veda,' p. 61, and the literature there cited), the opposite possibility deserves more consideration. In the present state of Vedic studies, at all events, we can seldom hope to do better than understand an Atharvan hymn as the *Kaushika* understood it.

Taken together, the two sources furnish a better

picture of primitive medicine than has been preserved in any literature of so early a period. Further interest is added to the subject by the fact that these medical charms are the germ from which the later Hindu medicine was evolved. The stage of its development represented in the medical *Sāstras* implies several centuries of evolution from the standpoint of the *Kaushika*, and is now known (through the discovery of the Bower MS.) to have been attained previous to the 5th cent. of our era. The relation of the later medicine to the Atharva is recognized by the Hindus themselves, who regard the Yajurveda as an 'after-Veda' (*upaveda*) of the Atharva. Hindu medicine in turn has, through the Arabs, left its effect upon European medicine.

Other Vedic texts, owing to the purpose of their composition, do not have occasion to handle the phenomena of disease in the same concrete fashion, and to the same extent. Apart from the addition of details of a similar nature, their chief contribution consists in a picture of the general attitude of their authors and users towards disease. Into this picture as a background the details of the Atharva fit with perfect harmony. The difference between the hieratic texts (the Rigveda in particular) and the Atharva is neither a difference in time, nor a difference in enlightenment between the adherents of these Vedas. It is rather the difference in attitude of the priest and the physician (each liberal enough to employ on occasion the resources of the other) when brought face to face with disease.

2. The Atharvan practice of medicine.—(1) *Knowledge of anatomy*.—The Atharva evinces a very thorough knowledge of what may be called the coarser anatomy of the human body, naming its various external subdivisions, and many of its internal organs. Thus ii. 33 is a long list of the parts of the body from which the disease is to be torn; similar lists occur also in ix. 8, x. 2, and xi. 8. Beyond this knowledge, which was to a great extent a pre-historic acquisition (cf. O. Schrader, *Reallex. d. indogerm. Altertumskunde*, 1901, s.v. 'Körpertheile'), the Atharva can hardly be said to go. The apparent distinction between veins and arteries in i. 17. 3 is offset by the occurrence of the same words in vii. 35. 2, with the more general sense of 'internal canals,' meaning entrails, vagina, etc.—showing how vague were the ideas held with regard to such subjects. The isolated statement of ix. 8. 10, 'what is diseased shall become urine,' may be mentioned as an accidental approximation to a partial truth. To be noted, however, is the fact that the Hindu theory of the constitution of the body of three elements—bile, phlegm, and wind—does not appear in the early Atharvan texts. *Vātikṛtanāśanī* of vi. 44. 3 cannot be urged as proof to the contrary, as it means, not 'destructive of (diseases) produced by the wind in the body' (*vātikṛtanāśanī*), but 'destructive of that which has been made into wind.' Evidently, from its association with diarrhoea, it refers to wind in the intestines. The later theory, which appears first in the *Śaṣṇādhyāya*, Atharv. Par. 68, is, of course, familiar to the commentators, who endeavour to foist it upon the *Kaushika*.

(2) *Theory of the origin of disease*.—The popular mind is ever ready to see in disease the manifestation of the will of a supernatural power. To the Atharvan this power was generally one of the hosts of demons by which he believed himself surrounded. How slight was the distinction made between disease and possession may be seen from a hymn like Atharv. ii. 4, which is directed against disease and demon alike. Compare also v. 23. 2, where Indra is invoked to destroy the worms in a child, and it is immediately declared

that all the *arātī* (certain female demons) are slain. It is also clearly implied by the fact that the *Kaushika* contains, among its remedial practices, ceremonies which consist merely in the driving away of the demons that are causing the disease (cf. xxv. 22-36, xxxi. 3-4); in providing the patient with an amulet to resist their attacks (xxvi. 26 f., xxvii. 5 f., xxviii. 7); or in spells to dissipate and remove the harm they have done (xxvi. 29-32, xxviii. 9-11).

These demons of disease are generally vague in outline and indefinite in number, and are known by the names *piśācha*, *rākṣas*, *atrin*, and *kanva*. Of their various pernicious activities, it may be noted that the *piśācha* devour the flesh of their victims (Atharv. iv. 36. 3, v. 29. 5); the etymology of *atrin* points in the same direction, while the *kanva* prey especially upon the embryo (ii. 25. 3). Other unnamed demons (*id.*) are suckers of blood and takers away of fatness, while in xix. 36. 6 figure the dog-like she-demons that recall the dog-demon of epilepsy (*Āpastambīya Gṛhya Sūtra*, xviii. 1) and the dog-like *gandharvas* of Atharv. iv. 37. 11. Another class of beings to whose influences diseases are ascribed are the *gandharvas* and their consorts the 'mind-bewildering' *apsaras* (cf. Atharv. ii. 2. 5, iv. 37, xix. 36. 6). Insanity in particular is ascribed to their influence (cf. vi. 111. 4, also Rigveda x. 11. 2; Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, i. [1889] 188, and the statement of *Taittiriya Samhitā*, iii. 4. 8. 4: 'The *gandharvas* and *apsaras* render mad him that is mad'). The *rākṣas*, too (Atharv. vi. 111. 3), can steal away one's senses. In Atharv. v. 29. 6 f. is indicated one way in which the demons obtain possession of their victim—by entering him with his food. It is with this possibility in view that *Kaushika* xxvi. 10 orders as a hygienic precaution that the sacks of grain belonging to the sick man shall be surrounded with a ring of heated pebbles. As the Atharva makes but slight distinction between demon and human sorcerer, it is not surprising to find the latter causing disease (Atharv. i. 28, iv. 28, xix. 39. 1) or diseases attributed to magic (iii. 7. 6; for methods of thus producing disease, cf. art. WITCHCRAFT [Vedic]), curses, or the evil eye (ii. 7, v. 15 and 16, vi. 96. 2, xix. 35. 3, and *Kaushika* xxvi. 35, xxix. 15-17).

Theoretically the diseases themselves are demons, and in some cases, e.g. *viṣkandha* and *sauṣkandha*, it is impossible to decide whether the word should be considered the name of a demon or of a disease. But the personality of disease-demons is rarely strongly marked, and none of them is exactly comparable with the later smallpox goddess *Sitalā*. The closest approach is to be found in *takman* (fever), the Atharvan name for the disease known to the later medicine as *jaṇva* (cf. esp. the hymn v. 22, in which he is adjured to go elsewhere; and i. 25, vi. 20, and vii. 116, in which he is offered homage). Certain scrofulous sores called *apachit* are supposed to move of their own volition, as they fly through the air and settle upon their victim. So much is this the case, that earlier interpreters understood the word as the name of a noxious insect. As in other popular systems of medicine (cf. A. Kuhn, in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xlii. 49 ff. and 113 ff.), a number of diseases are ascribed to the presence of worms (practically a form of demon [cf. above]) located in various parts of the body, and most fantastically described (cf. Atharv. ii. 31 and 32, v. 23, with numerous parallels in other texts to be cited below).

Less frequently the Atharva ascribes a disease to one of the greater gods, and then often as a punishment for sin. Varuna sends dropsy to punish crime, especially falsehood (cf. Atharv. i. 10. 1-4, ii. 10. 1, iv. 16. 7, vii. 83. 1-4, xix. 44. 8; once also, i. 25. 3, the *takman* is said to be his son

[*s.e.* sent by him], and in vi. 96. 2 [a charm employed by *Kauṣika* to heal the dropsy, but probably originally of a wider scope] the prayer is to be 'freed from the toils of Varuṇa, the foot-fetter of Yama [Death], and every sin against the gods'. Certain sharp pains are ascribed to the spear of Rudra (*Kaus.* xxxi. 7); the arrow of the same god causes tumours (Atharv. vi. 57); the *takman* and the *kāśikā* (cough) are his weapons (xi. 2. 22), and in xi. 2. 26 he is said to send the *takman*. A ceremony to his children, the Maruts (*Kaus.* xxvi. 24), serves as a cure for leprosy. Diarrhoea is connected in i. 2 with the arrows of Parjanya (the rain-god), and lightning (Agni) is regarded in i. 12 as productive of fever, headache, and cough. Takṣaka, a serpent-god, is worshipped in *Kaus.* xxviii. 1, xxix. 1, xxxii. 20 (charms to cure the bites of poisonous reptiles).

The supposed hereditary nature of some disease seems implied in the name *kṣetriya* (the interpretation is disputed), but even it has demons that produce it. Finally, the *sami*-tree is supposed to have some evil influence on the hair (cf. Atharv. vi. 30. 2f., and *Kaus.* xxxi. 1).

(3) *The diseases treated.*—The identification of the diseases treated in the Atharva is difficult in the extreme. In the first place, there is nothing that can be called diagnosis in our sense of the term. The practitioner is concerned merely with the troublesome symptom; of the cause of the symptom, the disease itself, he knows nothing. Sometimes the symptom, e.g. *jālodara* ('water-belly'), is definite enough to enable us to identify the disease; more frequently it is not, e.g. the terms *apachit* ('sores') and *akṣata* ('tumours') must have covered a great variety of afflictions from the most harmless to the most malignant. In the next place, the *Kauṣika*, as a rule, does not state the disease for which its charms are intended. This important item is left to be inferred from the hymn rubricated. Unfortunately the hymns often combine the most varied diseases; extreme instances may be found in ii. 33, ix. 8.

The commentators (of much later date) endeavour to supply this deficiency. Their statements, however, are not only frequently contradictory, but are also evidently affected by their knowledge of the later Hindu medicine. As an example of the way they work may be taken Keśava's statement that *Kaus.* xxx. 13 is a cure for dropsy, heart-disease, and jaundice. Both the ritual and the hymn rubricated (vi. 24) are plainly concerned primarily with dropsy; this disease is frequently complicated with heart-disease, which is, therefore, mentioned in the hymn. But in i. 22 (a cure for jaundice) heart-disease is also incidentally mentioned. Keśava seems to have reasoned that, since the cure for jaundice (i. 22) cured heart-disease, therefore another cure for heart-disease (vi. 24) must also cure jaundice! Finally, there are many obscure terms both in the *Saṁhitā* and in the *Sūtra*.

The most dreaded disease was the 'fever' especially predominant in the autumn (*viśvaśārada*). Its later name *jvara* does not occur in the Atharva, where it is known as *takman*, a name which conversely is confined to this Veda. To it especially are devoted i. 25, v. 22, vi. 20, vii. 116; and to its specific, the *kusṭha*-plant (*Costus speciosus*), v. 4 and xix. 39; incidental mention of the disease is found in i. 12, 2, iv. 9, 8, ix. 8, 6, xix. 34, 10, 39, 1 and 10. The *Gaṇamālā*, Atharv. Par. 32, gives a long list (cf. *Kaus.* xxvi. 1 n.) of hymns that encompass its destruction. This list, *takmanāśanagana*, is made by taking the first five hymns cited above, and adding to them the hymns against *kṣetriya* (ii. 8 and 10, iii. 7), against *yakṣma* (iii. 11, vi. 85 and 127), various panacea-hymns (ii. 9, iv. 28, v. 9, vi. 26 and 91, ix. 8), and a hymn (vi. 42) originally intended to appease anger—heat forming the *tertium comparationis*. The symptoms described are alternation between heat and cold, delirium, return of the fever either (at the same hour) every day, or every third day, or omitting every third day. Associated with it are jaundice,

certain red eruptions (v. 22. 3), headache, cough, spasm, and itch (*pāman*), the last being its brother's son (v. 22. 12).

Yakṣma (also *rājayakṣma*, *ajñātayakṣma*, to which *Taitt. Sam.* ii. 3. 5. 1-3, 5. 6. 4-5 add *pāpapakṣma*) seems to have in the Atharva (cf. ii. 33, iii. 11, v. 29. 13, vi. 127. 3, ix. 8, xix. 36 and 44) no narrower signification than 'disease.' With this accords the statement of *Vāj. Sam.* xii. 97 that there are a hundred varieties of *yakṣma*. The employment of its hymns in the *takmanāśanagana* implies either a disease of marked febrile symptoms or (preferably) such an indefinite meaning. So also does the fact that *Sāntikālpa*, xiii. 2 employs *yakṣmopaghāta* as a synonymous name for this *gana*, while other texts have the form *yakṣman*, congenically adapted to *takman*. Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, 1879, p. 375 ff.), in accord with the later medicine, sees in it a pulmonary disease. But a variety of *yakṣma*, called *jāyanya* (*Taitt. Sam.* l.c.), is probably identical with the Atharvan *jāyanya*; for *jāyanya* is associated with *yakṣma* in Atharv. xix. 44. 2, and called *rājayakṣma* by Keśava at *Kaus.* xxxii. 11. All this will be correct if *yakṣma* means simply 'disease,' and still in harmony both with Dārila's statement (*loc. cit.*), that *jāyanya* is some species of tumour (*akṣata*), and the fact that both etymology and the ritual point to *jāyanya's* being a venereal disease. Venereal disease (*grāmya*) is treated in *Kaus.* xxvii. 32f., while the hymn there rubricated deals with *ajñātayakṣma* and *rājayakṣma*. Sāyana's statement, that consumption produced by sexual excesses is meant, is evidently an attempt to harmonize the ritual with the meaning of *yakṣma* in the later medicine. Here may be added the mention of 'abscesses' (*vidradha*, vi. 127, ix. 8. 20); 'serofulous swellings' (*apachit*); and the similar, but harder, 'closed tumours' (*akṣata*, vi. 25 and 57, vii. 74. 1-2, 76. 1-3). Leprosy (*kilāsa*) is the object of two hymns (i. 23 and 24). Keśava also assigns to its cure the practice (*Kaus.* xxviii. 13) with the *kusṭha*-plant, which Dārila, supported by the *Gaṇamālā*, declares to be a cure for fever. Keśava's statement has probably no deeper basis than the fact that *kusṭha* in the later language means leprosy.

Kṣetriya is another term of uncertain meaning. The Atharvavedins regularly explain it as 'inherited disease,' though 'chronic disease' has recently been suggested by Jolly. No description of its symptoms is given. As in the case of *yakṣma*, the inclusion of its hymns (ii. 8 and 10, iii. 7 [cf. besides ii. 14. 5]) in the *takmanāśanagana* suggests either a disease of marked febrile character or a general term for disease. Even if, as is most probable, the word means 'hereditary,' there is no reason to believe that the designation was accurate.

Easily identified, on the other hand, is dropsy (*jālodara*). To its cure i. 10, vi. 22-24 and 96, and vii. 83 are devoted. In vi. 24 it is associated with heart disease—an instance of good diagnosis. The mention in the same hymn of pain in the eyes, heels, and front part of the foot refers to the characteristic puffing of these parts. Heart-disease (*hrdyota*, *hrdyāmaya*) is mentioned only incidentally (i. 22. 1, v. 20. 12, 30. 9, vi. 14. 1, 24. 1, 127. 3), and probably referred to any pain in the region of the heart. Paralysis (*pakṣahata*, lit. *hemiplegia*) is mentioned in the *Kauṣika* itself (xxx. 18), but the hymn rubricated is extremely obscure, and was probably not intended for this purpose.

Excessive discharges (*āsrāva*), and in particular diarrhoea (*atisāra* of the later medicine), have for their cure i. 2, ii. 3, and probably also vi. 44 (cf. above). There is perhaps an allusion to it in

connexion with fever in v. 22. 4. The opposite troubles, retention of urine and constipation, are the subject of i. 3 according to *Kaushika* xxv. 10 ff.; the hymn itself seems, however, to be entirely concerned with the first of these diseases.

Cough (*kāś*, *kāsa*) is mentioned in connexion with fever (i. 12. 3, v. 22. 10-12), and is also the object of a separate ceremony in which vi. 105, vii. 107 are rubricated. *Balāsa* is variously interpreted as 'consumption' and as 'internal sores'; the assonance both with *kāsa* and with *kilāsa* is noteworthy, and strengthens both interpretations. The hymn in which it figures most prominently is vi. 14, rubricated by *Kauś.* xxix. 30 in a ceremony which Keśava terms a 'phlegm-cure.' This term cannot, however, be taken to indicate necessarily some throat disease, as it means any disease ascribed to an abnormal condition of the 'phlegm' in the technical sense of the later medicine (for Keśava's use of such terms cf. xxvi. 1 and 28). *Balāsa* is also mentioned in iv. 9. 8, v. 22. 11-12, vi. 127. 1-2, ix. 8. 8, 10, xix. 34. 10. In connexion with it (v. 22. 11) appears *udyuga*, perhaps 'spasm.'

Headache (*śirśakti*, *śirśāmayā*) is mentioned in i. 12. 3 and v. 4. 10, both times in connexion with fever, and also in ix. 8—an effort to enumerate all diseases. The practice of *Kauś.* xxviii. 13 is said by Dārila to be a cure for headache, while Keśava applies it in a broader fashion. Neuralgia (*viśalyaka*) is mentioned in vi. 127, ix. 8. 2, xix. 44. 2; pain in the ribs (*prṣṭyāmaya*, inter-costal neuralgia?) in xix. 34. 10; rheumatic troubles are perhaps meant by *viṣkāṇḍha*, and *śaṁskāṇḍha* (i. 16. 3, ii. 4, iii. 9. 6, iv. 9. 5, xix. 34. 5, 35. 1); with these may be associated *viśara* (ii. 4. 2), *āśarika*, and *viśarika* (xix. 34. 10). Some sharp internal pain is ascribed in vi. 90 to the spear of Rudra. Its exact nature is indeterminable, but the later medicine applies the same term to colic. A 'limb-splitting' disease (*angabheda*) also occurs in xix. 44. 2, while two hymns (ii. 33, ix. 8) aim at eradicating pain and disease from all parts of the body. Pains in the eyes (cf. also v. 4. 10, 23. 3, vi. 24. 2, 127. 3) and ears may be especially mentioned. A separate charm for diseases of the eye (*alajī* occurs also in ix. 8. 20 as the name of some form of eye disease) is found in vi. 16 according to its manipulation in *Kauś.* xxx. 1-6. The parallelism of the hymn with v. 23 suggests that the pains in the eyes are ascribed to the presence of worms. For diseases ascribed to worms cf. above.

Of more external evils a 'flow of blood' (*lohita*, vi. 127, *vilohita*, ix. 8. 1, xii. 4. 4) means, perhaps, bleeding at the nose (cf. the association with diseases of the head in ix. 8. 1). A special charm against bleeding is i. 17 (rubricated at *Kauś.* xxvi. 10), to stop, according to Keśava, either an external or internal hæmorrhage, or excessive menstruation. Against the last of these troubles is directed the practice of *Kauś.* xxviii. 15, rubricating v. 6. The cure of wounds and fractures is the object of iv. 12 and v. 5 (rubricated at *Kauś.* xxviii. 5-6 and 14). Wounds or sores of unknown origin (*ajñātārus*) are healed with vi. 83. 4. In a snake-infested country like India cures for poison were sure to be in demand. For the poisonous bites of snakes the Atharva contains three charms (v. 13, vi. 12, x. 4), besides one (vii. 56) against the bites of scorpions and other poisonous reptiles, and another (iv. 6 and 7) against the poison of arrows. Internal poisoning does not seem to have been treated separately.

In certain forms of disease, e.g. mania, epilepsy, the distinction from possession is very slight. In case of possession, iv. 20 and 37, vi. 2. 2, or 52, or 111 (this last hymn speaking unmistakably of madness), or the *chātānagaṇa* (list of hymns for

expulsion of demons) may be employed. In a rite against madness, *Kauś.* xxviii. 12, Atharv. v. 1. 7 is rubricated; epilepsy (*apasmāra*) is said by Keśava to be one of the diseases for which i. 22 is employed at *Kauś.* xxvi. 14-21. *Grāhi*, 'fit,' 'seizure,' is practically a she-demon (cf. ii. 9. 1, 10. 6, iii. 11. 1, vi. 112. 1, viii. 2. 12, xii. 3. 18). Another demon which seizes children is *jambha*—apparently a designation of convulsions or lock-jaw (cf. ii. 4. 2; *Kauś.* xxviii. 1-2).

The *Kaushika*, in accordance with its method of treating symptoms, has also cures for 'thirst' (xxvii. 9-13) and 'fright' (xxvi. 26 f.), which we should hardly class as diseases. The latter may be what we call nervousness, but V. Henry has no warrant for interpreting the former as dipsomania. Inauspicious marks (cf. art. PRODIGES [Vedic]) on the body (*pāpalakṣaṇa*, xxxi. 1; *arīṣṭa*, xxviii. 15) are also treated as diseases. Keśava thinks that the ceremony to remove wrinkles (*Kauś.* xxv. 4 f.) has reference only to wrinkles in a young man, in whom they are portentous. The ceremony to stop the loss of hair (*Kauś.* xxxi. 28), employing two hymns, vi. 136 f., evidently composed for this very purpose, is to be ascribed to the same motive rather than to vanity. A person whose hair has come into contact with a *śamī*-tree is called *śamīlīna* ('cut by a *śamī*-tree'), and is supposed to be in danger of suffering some injury to his hair. For his benefit is the ceremony of *Kauś.* xxxi. 1, and the hymn rubricated seems to have had the same case in view.

Finally, a number of ceremonies are designated as panaceas (cf. *Kauś.* xxv. 4-5, 20, 21, 22-36, xxvi. 1, 34, xxvii. 5-6, 27, 34, xxviii. 8, 17-20, xxx. 17-18, xxxi. 5, xxxii. 3-4, 18-19, 26-27), though in some cases a more narrow interpretation seems possible.

(4) *The materia medica of the Atharvans.*—That the waters should be considered healing is most natural in virtue of both their cleansing and their cooling properties. So it is stated in Atharv. ii. 29. 6 that the waters give strength, and in iii. 7. 5=vi. 91. 3 that they are remedial and expel disease (cf. also the passages from the Rigveda cited below). In the *Kaushika*, water is employed most frequently, either for its own sake (so the holy water in xxxi. 21) or as a vehicle for other remedies. To the waters are especially devoted the hymns, Atharv. i. 4-6, employed as a panacea at *Kauś.* xxv. 20, and vi. 22-24, employed as cures for dropsy at *Kauś.* xxx. 11-13. Of particularly great efficacy, however, is the water dug up by ants (cf. Atharv. ii. 3, vi. 100, and Bloomfield, *Am. Jour. Phil.* vii. 482 ff.). Hence earth from an ant-hill serves as an amulet, a drink, or an external application for the cure of diarrhoea, etc. (*Kauś.* xxv. 7), and of *kṣetriya* (xxvi. 43); and as an antidote for poison (xxxi. 26, xxxii. 6). There is the possibility of the patient's receiving sufficient formic acid (cf. art. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Vedic] for method of investiture) to act as a cathartic. In all these passages, except xxxi. 26, there is associated with it a lump of ordinary earth. The separate use of the latter as an emetic in *Kauś.* xxviii. 3 (so Dārila) is doubtful, as Keśava and Sayana understand the fruit of the *madana*-tree. Noteworthy is the fact that both the clod of earth and the ant-hill seem to be looked upon as growths (cf. their inclusion in the list of auspicious plants, *Kauś.* viii. 16). Similar remedies are earth from a mole-hill, to cure constipation (*Kauś.* xxv. 11), this material being selected because the animal makes its way through dark passages, and also because one of its names, *ākhukarīṣa*, is compounded with a word for 'excrement' (cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 1. 1. 8); and earth from a bee-hive (xxix. 10), as an antidote to poison.

Plants are to the Vedic mind the offspring and the essence of the waters, the embodiment of their curative properties. Hence they, too, are implored to bestow remedies (cf. Atharv. vi. 96, and esp. the long hymn viii. 7 addressed to all plants, and used as a panacea at *Kauś.* xxvi. 40; cf. also the *ośadhī-stuti* of the Rīgveda cited below). The list of plants employed as remedies in the *Kauśika* is long, and comprises the following: in a number of passages (xxv. 20, xxvi. 40, xxvii. 5, 20, 33, xxix. 30, xxx. 8, 11, xxxi. 8) the prescription calls simply for 'auspicious trees,' that is, the trees enumerated in viii. 15. Of trees in this list are specifically prescribed: *palāśa*=*Butea frondosa* (xxv. 30, xxvi. 34), a tree of pre-eminent holiness because of its mythical associations (cf. art. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Vedic]); *kāmpīla*=*Crinum amaryllaceae* (xxvii. 7, xxviii. 8); *varaṇa*=*Crataeva roxb.* (xxvi. 37; cf. same art.); *jaṅgīda*=*Terminalia arjuna* (xxvi. 43); *vetasa*=*Calamus rotang* (xxvii. 10). Other remedies figure in the list of auspicious plants (*Kauś.* viii. 16): *samī*=*Prosopis spicigera* (xxviii. 9, xxxi. 1); *samakā* (xxx. 1); *darbhā*-grass=*Poa cynosuroides* (xxv. 37, xxvi. 30, xxvii. 23, xxxi. 2 [Com.]); also, after its use as sacrificial straw, *barhis* (xxv. 31); *dūrva*-grass=millet (xxvi. 13); rice (xxv. 18; cf. also the use of porridges, below); and barley, *yava* (xxv. 17, 27, xxvi. 2, 35, 43, xxviii. 20, xxx. 17), efficacious because fancifully connected with *yavayati*, 'he separates.' Another plant not in this list, but evidently employed because of its holiness is the *soma*-plant (xxx. 22).

Other plants owe their efficacy as remedies to their anti-demoniacal qualities (for these qualities cf. art. WITCHCRAFT [Vedic]): *īṅgīda*-oil (xxv. 30); *tīla*, *taila*=sesamum and the oil made from it (xxvi. 1, 13, 43, xxvii. 33, xxix. 8); reed (xxvi. 27); *virīṇa* and *uśīra*=*Andropogon muricatus* (xxv. 30, xxvi. 26, xxix. 24-26, xxxii. 13); hemp (xxv. 28, xxvii. 33); *khadīra*=*Acacia catechu* (xxv. 23 f.); mustard (xxv. 23, 27, 31, xxx. 1 f.; cf. also the *Asurikalpa*, Atharv. Par. 35); *trapusa*=cucurbit (xxv. 23; also mentioned by Keśava at xxvi. 22, where it seems to be used principally for its colouring property). The use of wood from a club (xxv. 23) belongs to the same category.

A number of other plants owe their employment to more or less fanciful etymologies: *muñṣa*-grass=*Saccharum munja* (xxv. 6, xxvi. 2, 33, xxxii. 3), associated with *muñchati*, 'he loosens.' Leaves of the *paraśu*-tree, 'axe-tree,' are employed at xxx. 14 to cause sores to open, and wood of the *kṛmuka*-tree at xxviii. 2 to cure wounds inflicted by poisoned arrows, because *kārmuka* means 'bow.' Growth of the hair is promoted (xxxi. 28) by the *nītatnī*-plant, 'she that takes root,' with which are associated the *jīvi* (root *jīv*, 'to live') and the *alākā* plants. The *lākeśa* of xxviii. 5 seems to be a synonym for *arundhatī* of the hymn iv. 12, felt to contain *arus*, 'wound,' and the root *dha*, 'to set,' and hence employed to cure fractures and wounds. Bunches of grass (*stambā*) are employed (xxix. 4) to confine (root *stambh*) the effects of poison; they are also added (xxxii. 3, 14) to water with which a patient is washed or sprinkled.

In addition are employed: lotus roots (*bīsa*), combined with *āla* and *ula*, xxv. 18); *haridrā*=*Curcuma longa*, as a cure for jaundice (xxvi. 18) [because of its yellow colour], as an antidote to poison (xxviii. 4, xxxii. 7 [Com.]), or as a panacea (xxx. 5 [Com.]). It is also prescribed, according to the commentators, in the cure for leprosy of xxvi. 22. As the cure consists merely in painting out the spot, *Eclipta prostrata* or indigo may be used instead. There is mention also of *pṛśnīpārnī*=*Hemionitis cordifolia* roxb. (xxvi. 36); *pippatī*, pepper (xxvi. 38); black beans (xxvii. 14); *sadam-*

puṣpā (xxviii. 7); *kuṣṭha* (xxviii. 13); *alābu*=*Lagenaria vulgaris* (xxix. 13 f.); *khalatula* (xxix. 15 f.); *karīra*=*Capparis aphylla* roxb. (xxix. 20); *sigru*=*Moringa pterygosperma* (xxix. 23); *śāka*=*Tectona grandis* (xxx. 4); *vibhitaka*-nut=*Bellerica terminalia* (xxx. 9); *nikatā*-plant (xxx. 10); *samī-bimba*=*Momordica monodelpha* (xxx. 8); *śirṇa-pārnī*=*Azadirachta indica* (xxx. 8); *priyaṅgu*=*Panicum italicum* (xxxii. 2). The commentators at xxv. 10 also mention, as instances of substances that promote micturition, camphor, *Terminalia chebula*, and *haritaki*.

The fragrant powders employed in xxvi. 29 are probably made from plants, and owe their efficacy to their fragrance, just as the use of liquorice (xxxii. 5) is due to its sweetness. On the other hand, the *pūtika*-grass is employed (xxv. 11) in a cure for constipation, because of the offensive odour implied in its name.

Next in prominence to the plants are the products of the cow, which, as partaking of its holiness, are used either for their own efficacy, or as a suitable vehicle for other remedies: butter (*ājya* and *sarpis*, xxv. 4, 8, xxvi. 1, 8, 29-33, xxvii. 14, xxviii. 4, 13, xxix. 22 f., Com. to xxxi. 5 and xxxii. 7); curds (*dadhī*, xxvi. 13); milk (xxvi. 17, xxviii. 14, xxxi. 24, xxxii. 2); milk and butter (xxviii. 6); butter-milk (xxx. 23). The hair of a red steer is employed (xxvi. 14), cow-dung (xxvi. 22), and cow-urine, the particular remedy of Rudra (cf. below), at xxxi. 11. The *pañcagavya* (five products of the cow), which afterwards becomes a potent panacea, is not yet concocted, though all its ingredients are in use. Its preparation and administration are described in one of the Atharvan *Parīśiṣṭas*, *Brahmakūrcha-vihī*.

Food of any sort (xxviii. 12, 15, xxix. 16) may serve as a vehicle, but porridges (xxvi. 19, xxvii. 10, 31, xxviii. 3, 16, xxix. 15, Com. at xxxi. 5 and xxxii. 7), especially rice porridges (xxvi. 18, xxvii. 32, xxix. 27), are thus employed most frequently, or even separately administered. Honey (xxvi. 1, xxviii. 28, xxxi. 23) and fat (xxvi. 1) are also prescribed, and in xxxii. 1 the mother's breast serves as a vehicle for giving medicine to an infant.

A number of substances are applied, on account of their offensiveness, to sores, in the hope of inducing them to fly away: powdered shell and dog's saliva (xxx. 16); the scourings of teeth and pollen of grass (xxx. 14 f.); rock-salt and spittle (xxx. 17). Comparable perhaps is the administration of rotten fish in xxvii. 32. Of animals comparatively little use is made; the frog figures in a cure for fever (xxxii. 17), and yellow birds in a cure for jaundice (xxvi. 18), but in both cases the disease is to be transferred to them. The porcupine serves in xxix. 11 f. as an antidote to poison, because he is an animal not liable to trouble from snakes. For the same purpose also an unknown insect is employed as a representative of the mythical steed of Pedu (cf. Bloomfield, *SBE* xlii. 605 ff.). Also for mythical reasons are employed in xxxi. 18 f. earth that a dog has stepped upon, and a louse from a dog (cf. *ib.* p. 500 ff.). Manufactured articles are employed chiefly as amulets (cf. below). There occur also: wood-shavings (xxv. 11); grass from a thatch (xxv. 37, xxvii. 3, xxix. 8, xxx. 13, Com. at xxxi. 2); old clothes and broom (xxviii. 2); bowstring (xxix. 9, xxxii. 8, 10); *pramanda*, tooth-wash (xxv. 11).

The efficacy of these remedies depends not entirely upon themselves, but also upon the method of their preparation and administration. In the first place, as in other magic performances, there is a quasi-religious performance (cf. art. MAGIC [Vedic]), and the remedies are regularly daubed with the leavings (*sampātā*) of the offering. There are other requirements besides: the offerings must

sometimes be made from *cornucopiae* instead of a spoon (xxv. 30), or the medicine must be administered from *cornucopiae* (xxviii. 8), or from a particular sort of cow's horn (xxxi. 6), or a red copper vessel (xxix. 19), or through a yoke (xxvii. 1), or with a pestle (xxix. 22); or must be prepared in a vessel of reed and stirred with a reed (xxvii. 10), or stirred with poisoned arrows (xxvii. 3); or the fire used must be a forest fire (xxix. 19), or made of birds' nests (xxix. 27); or built on a mat of reeds floating in water (xxix. 30). The place of the ceremony is not always a matter of indifference: one cure of dropsy (xxxii. 14) must be attempted at the confluence of two streams, other cures at the cross-roads (xxv. 30, xxx. 18), or in a ditch (xxvii. 4). The position of the patient (xxvii. 10, 25), the clothing and food of the celebrant (xxxi. 28), are also efficacious. So, too, is the time of the ceremony: thus that of xxvii. 21-25 must be repeated at sunrise, noon, and sunset. The time most frequently prescribed is *avanakṣatre* (xxvii. 29, xxviii. 5, xxx. 9 [Dārila], xxxi. 28, 'at the time when the stars fade away'). The purpose is clearly expressed in Atharv. iii. 7. 7: 'when the constellations fade away and when the dawn fades away, (then) shall he shine away from us every evil and the *keṭtriya*.' In one case (xxxi. 28), where the purpose is to secure (black) hair, the time is further defined as 'before the crows come.'

(5) *The Atharvan methods of treating diseases.*—Of practices of a real therapeutic value the *Kausika* contains but little. The most delicate is the probing of the urethra, which seems to be prescribed (xxv. 15-16) for the relief of one suffering from retention of urine. It is instructive to observe that the discovery of this operation may be due to an attempt to carry out practically the statements of the hymn: 'I split open thy *pasas* like the dike of a lake,' and 'relaxed is the opening of thy bladder.' Originally, however, these were probably nothing but the usual statements of the conjurer that he was accomplishing what he wanted to accomplish. A similar instance (at a later period) of the evolution of a practical out of a magical proceeding may be seen in Dārila's comment on xxv. 12, where the giving of an enema is substituted for an operation, the symbolism of which should be transparent. The same hymn (Atharv. i. 3) harbours another practice, the real value of which may have helped the Atharvavedins in the cure of minor troubles. The urine is to come out with the sound 'splash,' and the ritual speaks also of the pouring out of water—a piece of symbolism to be attributed unhesitatingly to the time of the composition of the hymn. The sound of flowing water, however, does exercise a beneficial influence in such cases, especially when the trouble is of a nervous origin. A compress of sand is employed (*Kaus.* xxvi. 10) to stop the flow of blood, and the practice is indicated in the hymn itself (Atharv. i. 17. 4). In *Kaus.* xxviii. 3 an emetic is given to one wounded by a poisoned arrow. The application of leeches to sores is found in *Kaus.* xxx. 16, but accompanied by other ceremonies that one would expect to produce infection of the wound; and the same may be said of the breaking of pustules (xxxii. 10) by rubbing them against the door-post. In *Kaus.* xxxii. 24 a torch is applied to the bite of a serpent. The original intent must have been symbolic, but the result may have been some sort of cauterization.

Apart from these instances, the treatment is always magical. As usual in the Atharva, it is magic veneered with religion. The employment of a hymn is regularly accompanied with an oblation, perhaps even inserted in the elaborate framework of the New and Full Moon Sacrifice (cf. art. MAGIC [Vedic]); and it is this oblation, generally through the leavings of the offering, that gives efficacy to

the ceremony. Of the hymns but little need be said, as all are accessible in translations.¹ They are prayers addressed to the gods, or to the disease, or to the remedy, with more or less explicit indication of what is wanted of them. Sometimes the author adopts a more confident tone, especially when he knows the name or lineage of the disease, or its remedy, and thus has them in his power. Then he states what he is doing, or orders the disease to depart. For, according to a well-known principle of magic, a verbal statement is an efficient symbolical imitation of an act.

The ceremonies are of greater interest. As the diseases are generally ascribed to a demon, the problem for the practitioner is the removal of this troublesome being. The methods of accomplishing this are in general either to propitiate or to exorcise the spirit, and in this we have the division into homeopathy and allopathy. In the one case, the demon is given what is most acceptable to him, as being of his own nature; in the other case, he is brought into contact with what is presumably the most repugnant to him.

Some ceremonies in which the exorcistic character is specially noticeable are: *Kaus.* xxv. 22-36, rubrication of the *chātanaṅga* (list of expelling hymns); xxvii. 6, xxxii. 18, in which the cure is effected by the laying on of hands; xxviii. 11, in which a ring of magic powder is drawn round the house to prevent the return of the demon; xxix. 7, where the door is opened to facilitate the departure of the demon; and xxxi. 3, a curious ceremony in which the offering is made in a fire surrounded by a ditch filled with hot water, the potency of this ring having been increased by circumambulation. The apparatus seems to be a trap for the demons.

The methods by which the magical substance is brought into contact with the patient may next be noted. In cases where this constitutes the whole of the ceremony the references are in italic figures. Inhalation: wood is laid on the fire, and, according to vii. 28, the patient breathes the smoke. This is part of the ceremony for expelling demons (xxv. 23) and worms (xxvii. 17, 20, repeated at xxvii. 26, xxix. 30). Its use alone (xxv. 20 f.) as a panacea must also be simply exorcistic. Fumigation occurs at xxxi. 19 and 22. The breath of the performer is also efficacious (xxv. 9). The power in the laying on of hands has already been met with; hence it is not surprising to find that poison may be driven out (xxxii. 23) by rubbing the patient from head to foot. Rubbing is also prescribed (xxxii. 9) for sores and (xxv. 5) for wrinkles. There are many applications that must be smeared or rubbed on, as ointments (xxv. 4, xxviii. 6, 10, xxx. 5, xxxi. 9); other substances are either smeared over the whole body of the patient (xxvi. 18, 29, 36, xxviii. 13) or applied locally (xxv. 8, xxvi. 22, 34, xxix. 23, xxxi. 18, 26). All these applications seem intended to benefit the patient; but in another group of cases (cf. above) the purpose is apparently to drive sores away by applying to them the most offensive substances. Whenever any indication is given, the rubbing must be downwards, to drive the trouble into the part of the body where it can do least injury, and finally out of the feet. This rule, implied in Rigveda x. 60. 11-12, may be taken as universal; so also the precept (*Kaus.* xxviii. 13) that the rubbing must not be reversed. When this is done, its effect is destructive, and hence it is employed (xxix. 22) to kill worms.

Two other methods, *āplavana*, 'the pouring on,' and *avasechana*, 'the sprinkling on,' are distinguished also by the fact that the water in the former case contains the leavings of the offering,

¹ For such as are not included in Bloomfield's translation, cf. the Whitney-Lanman tr. of the Atharvaveda *Saṁhitā*, Harvard Oriental Series, vols. vii. and viii.

while in the latter case it is merely blessed with the hymn, unless, as in xxvii. 28, xxviii. 8, xxix. 30, there is a specific direction for the addition of the leavings. In either case the patient is wiped down (vii. 17) from head to foot, and given (vii. 26) some of the water to drink. The water may, of course, contain other substances also, and the position of the patient and the manner in which it is to be poured are also in some cases specified. Instances of the *āplavana* are xxvi. 41, xxvii. 4, 7, 84, xxviii. 19, xxix. 26, xxxii. 3, 14; of the *avasechana*, xxv. 17, 37, xxvi. 25, 31, xxvii. 1, 8, 28, 29, 33, xxviii. 2, 5, 8, xxix. 8, 9, 30, xxx. 8-10, 13, xxxi. 2, 28, xxxii. 4, 10, 15, 17. The two are sometimes combined (xxvi. 41, xxvii. 1, 4, and 7-8, xxxii. 3-4 and 14-15). In the last case hot water is used for the one, cold water for the other. Other methods of washing, chiefly of a more local nature, are xxv. 34, xxviii. 1, xxx. 17, xxxi. 1, 11, 13. The leavings of the offerings are also put directly upon the patient's head (xxvi. 39, xxix. 19), or blessed substances are inserted in his nostrils (xxvi. 8, xxxii. 21). Frequently also the magic substance is given to the patient to drink (xxv. 7, 11, 18, xxvi. 1, 12-13, 14, 17, xxvii. 12, 29, xxviii. 1-4, 6, 14, 16, xxix. 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 30, xxxi. 5, 6, 23-25, 26, xxxii. 2, 7) or to eat (xxvi. 18, xxvii. 31, xxviii. 9, 12, 15-16, xxix. 12, 15, 25, 27, 28, xxx. 3-6). In this way hot infusions (*juāla*), prepared by plunging a burning or heated substance in water, are employed (xxvii. 29, 33, xxviii. 2, xxix. 8, xxx. 8, xxxii. 10).

The medicine may also be applied as an amulet. In this case the patient will have to drink a solution in which the amulet has been steeped for three days, so that he may be benefited more than would at first sight appear (cf. art. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Vedic], and add to the instances cited: *Kaus.* xxvi. 11, a potsherd from a ruin (?) to stop the flow of blood; xxvi. 21, hairs from the breast of a red steer, glued together and wrapped with gold wire, to cure jaundice; xxvi. 26-27, four stalks of white-blooming *Andropogon muricatus* [virinal], or four pieces of reed, each burnt in three places, to cure 'fright'; xxviii. 7, *sadāmpuspā*-plant = *Calatropis gigantea*, in case of possession; xxx. 1, mustard for diseases of the eye; xxxi. 26, piece of an ant-hill, in case of poison; but the liquorice of xxxii. 5 is administered in liquid form, according to the commentators).

The transfer of a disease to another person is a wish most vigorously expressed in Atharv. v. 22. 4 ff. and vi. 26. 3. The ritual endeavours to accomplish this in xxvii. 9-13, in the interest of a person suffering from 'thirst.' More frequently the transfer is to an animal: fever to a frog (xxxii. 17), jaundice to yellow birds (xxvi. 18), madness to birds (xxvi. 33). The selection of the cross-roads for some ceremonies is doubtless to be connected with this idea, as is also the direction (xxxi. 10) for the rubbing of sores against the door-post (cf. also Atharv. xii. 2, 19, 20).

In addition to these general practices there are a number of symbolical acts adapted to the special situation, sometimes with a great deal of ingenuity, sometimes in the most banal fashion. As it is impossible to describe all these in detail, it seems best to present some typical examples of the whole process of an Atharvan cure.

Atharv. i. 12 is a prayer to lightning conceived as the cause of fever, headache, and cough. A man suffering from these diseases is given to eat fat, honey, ghee, and sesame oil that have been blessed with this hymn. The head of the patient is then covered with a turban of *mukha*-grass. This grass is not only connected by its name with the idea of loosening, but it is also a mythical home of lightning (*Agni*), from which the patient is planning to be released. He then takes in his left hand (this is inauspicious) a sieve containing parched grain (a symbol of the effect of the fever), and walks along, scattering the grain while he recites the hymn. He continues to advance, carrying in his left hand the sieve and the turban, in his right hand a

bow-string and an axe. He is followed by the celebrant, and preceded by the latter's assistant—a measure of precaution. When some manifestation of the disease occurs (so that the presence of the demon is assured), he lays down the sieve and the turban (the abode of the cause of the disease), and the procession returns. On the way home he lays down the bow-string (to stop pursuit by the demon who has been exorcized). Ghee is blessed with the hymn and put up the patient's nose. Finally the priest mutters the hymn, while touching the patient's head with a bamboo staff that has five joints (and seems to serve as a conductor of the magic potency).

In a case of jaundice, the practitioner desires to banish the yellow colour to yellow objects, and to obtain for the patient a healthy redness, or, as the hymn puts it, 'to envelop him in every form and strength of the red cows.' Hence he puts the hair of a red bull into water, blesses it with Atharv. i. 22, and gives it to the patient to sip. Then he pours water over the back of a red bull, and gives that to the patient to sip. An amulet, prepared from the part of a hide pierced by a peg, is tied on the patient while he is sitting on the hide of a red bull, and he is also given milk to drink. Next the patient is fed with a porridge mixed with yellow turmeric, and he is daubed with the rest of this porridge and with another porridge from which he has not eaten. He thus acquires a yellow coating that can easily be removed. Certain yellow birds are then tied by their left legs to the foot of the couch, and the patient is washed so that the water will fall upon the birds (carrying the yellow coating of porridge with it). If these cry out, the patient must address them with the hymn. The patient is then given a porridge and told to step forth. Finally he is provided with an amulet of hairs taken from the breast of the red bull.

Much simpler is a cure for fever by heating an axe while muttering Atharv. i. 25, plunging it in water, and pouring the water thus heated over the patient. Leprosy may be cured in an equally simple fashion by rubbing the spot with cow-dung until it bleeds, and then painting it by rubbing in yellow turmeric, *Eclipta prostrata*, or indigo, blessed with Atharv. i. 23 and 24. Or a ceremony may be performed to the Maruts, in which all the ingredients are black.

3. Statements relating to disease in other texts.

—In the R̥gveda the interest naturally centres in the relation of the greater gods to disease. Among these Rudra may claim the first mention; the twofold aspect of this god is well summarized by the author of viii. 29, a *brahmodya*, or series of theological charades. Verse 5, to which the answer is 'Rudra,' runs: 'One holds a sharp weapon in his hand, is bright, potent, and has as his remedy the *jalāsa*.' On the one hand, he is a malevolent deity armed with a 'cow-slaying,' 'man-slaying' missile, whose ill-will, if not deprecated, will bring injury and death to man and beast (cf. i. 114. 7, 8, ii. 33. 1, 4-6, 11, 14, 15, iv. 3. 6, vi. 23. 7, x. 169. 1). These are but general statements of the association of Rudra with disease which the Atharva (vi. 90, and passages cited above) expresses in concrete form. On the other hand, as the sender of disease, he is best qualified to cure it, and hence he is styled (ii. 33. 4) 'the most eminent of physicians.' His healing powers are mentioned with great frequency, as are also the choice and numerous remedies he holds in his hands. With them he is implored to remove disease and make all sound, both man and beast. His distinctive remedy, the *jalāsa*, is shown by the Atharvan ritual to be cow-urine, the medicinal use of which goes back to Indo-Iranian times, as *gao-maēza* is prescribed in the Avesta (cf. Bloomfield, *Am. Jour. Phil.* xii. 425-429). For these aspects of Rudra, cf. i. 43. 4, 114. 5, ii. 33. 2, 7, 12, 13, v. 42. 11, 53. 14, vi. 47. 3, vii. 35. 6, 46. 2, 3; Atharv. ii. 27. 6.

The Ásvins are also divine physicians, but, unlike Rudra, they are invariably beneficent (cf. i. 34. 6, 89. 4, 167. 6, vii. 71. 2, viii. 9. 15, 18. 8, 22. 10, x. 39. 5; Atharv. vii. 53. 1). What is most characteristic of them is that, in addition to general invocations of their healing aid, stories are frequently told of their cures of particular individuals, which are not to be explained as merely myths relating to natural phenomena. They restored Chyavana to youth and his powers (i. 116. 10, 117. 13, 118. 6, v. 74. 5, 75. 5, vii. 68. 6, 71. 5, x. 39. 4, 59. 1), and did the same for Kali (i. 112. 15, x. 39. 8); probably also the gift of a husband to Ghoshā (i. 117. 7, x. 39. 3, 6, 40. 5) was preceded by a similar rejuvenescence. To R̥jāśva they restored his eyesight (i. 116. 16, 117. 17-18); for Viśpalā they provided an iron leg (i. 116. 15, 118. 8), to replace

the one she had lost in battle; while Parāvṛj was cured by them (i. 112. 8) both of blindness and of lameness. For the story of their cure, in connexion with Sarasvatī, of Indra, cf. below. The methods of their cures are not indicated, but rather have the air of the miraculous. It may be noted, however, that honey is most closely connected with these gods (cf. Macdonell, *Ved. Mythol.*, 1897, p. 49), and also possesses medical efficiency (cf. above, including all cases of amulets).

In still another way Varuṇa is brought into connexion with disease. Disease is the punishment of sin, and Varuṇa is the moral governor *kar-ṣṣoḥ*. The connexion is particularly clear in i. 24. 9: 'Thy remedies, O king, are a hundred, a thousand. Let thy good will be broad and deep. Drive into the distance Nirṛti. Free us from the sin committed' (cf. also vi. 74 and x. 97). It may be taken as certain that the efforts to escape the fetters of Varuṇa and the constantly recurring prayer for forgiveness of sin are not all inspired by pure feelings of contrition and remorse, but are in part at least due to the desire to escape the payment of the wages of sin. The specific thing in connexion with Varuṇa's relation to disease is the fact that he, as the lord of the waters, sends dropsy in punishment for sin, and especially falsehood. This idea, unmistakable in other texts, is probable for the Rigveda (cf. i. 24. 8, where Varuṇa is the 'speaker away of the heart-piercing' demon; and Hillebrandt, *Varuṇa und Mitra*, 1877, p. 63 ff.), though it is not so clear as to be beyond the possibility of denial (cf. Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, 1878-83, iii. 155).

The healing power of the waters is also mentioned quite frequently. Rigv. i. 23. 16-24 is devoted to their praise; they are said to contain immortality and all remedies, and are besought to bestow their remedies and carry away sin (cf. also x. 9. 5-7, and note the frequency with which the waters appear in prayers for long life). In Rigv. vi. 50. 7 they are healing, and in x. 137. 6 they are healing and dispellers of disease.

It would, however, be a mistake to infer from such passages that the concept of the cause of disease is radically different in the Rigveda from what it is in the Atharva. The association with the Rakṣas is clear in iii. 15. 1, vii. 1. 7, 8, 6, 38. 7, viii. 35. 16-18, ix. 85. 1, x. 97. 6, 98. 12, 162. 1; furthermore, in x. 85. 31—a stanza to be recited when the bridal party passes a cemetery—is to be recognized the ascription of disease to the influence of the spirits of the dead. It is for this reason that the sun-gods (i. 35. 9, 191. 8-9, x. 87. 3, 100. 8) and Agni (i. 12. 7, 159. 5) and Bhṛaspati (i. 18. 2, x. 93. 8) are dispellers of disease—they being the great demon-slayers. The prayer for food that causes no disease (*anāmīdā īśā*, iii. 22. 4, 62. 4, x. 17. 8) may also be mentioned here as based on the idea of the disease-demon entering a man with his food. The goddess Apṛā, a drastic embodiment of 'detestation from fear' invoked in x. 103. 12, may be classed as a disease-demon (cf. Atharv. iii. 2. 5, ix. 8. 9).

Medical charms are, of course, likely to call in the assistance of and every god; but, apart from these, the explicit mention of healing in connexion with other deities than those mentioned is very sporadic, though doubtless it is conceived as included in a general fashion in their powers of giving long life and prosperity and of destroying demons. The Adityas drive away disease (viii. 18. 10); Indra cures Apālā of skin disease and her father of baldness (viii. 80; for the treatment of this legend in the Brāhmaṇas, cf. Oertel, *JAOS* xviii. 26 ff.); the Maruts, as children of Rudra, have pure, salutary, and beneficent remedies (ii. 33. 13), which they are asked to bring from various places (viii. 20. 23 ff., cf. also v. 53. 14); Vāta gives remedies (i. 89. 4, x. 186. 1); for Soma, cf. i. 91. 12, iii. 62. 14, viii. 72. 17, 79. 2, ix. 97. 43, x. 25. 11; for Soma-Rudra, vii. 74; for Vāstōpati, vii. 54. 1, 55. 1; for the Dawns, x. 35. 6; for the All-Gods, x. 63. 12; for Yama, x. 14. 11; and the more general prayers for health among other blessings, iii. 16. 3, 59. 3, x. 18. 7, 37. 7.

The number of medical charms in the Rigveda is extremely limited. They are, however, of the same general type as the Atharvan charms, and most of them recur also in the latter collection.

Rigv. i. 50. 11-13 is a prayer to Sūrya to destroy heart-disease and dropsy, upon which Atharv. i. 22 has drawn. Rigv. x. 137 = Atharv. iv. 13 is a rather colourless panacea-hymn: 'the gods are to make alive again the man that has sinned; one wind shall blow him a remedy, another shall blow away his disease; the practitioner has come to the patient with weal and health, he has brought a remedy kindly and powerfully, and is driving away the *yakṣma*; the gods, the Maruts, and all creatures shall protect the sick man, that he may be free from disease; the all-healing, disease-dispersing waters shall make for him a remedy; the performer touches him with his two hands, which confer immunity from disease. Rigv. x. 161 = Atharv. iii. 11 is a charm against *ajñāyayakṣma*, *rājayakṣma*, and *grāhi*. The performer declares his power to bring back the patient even though he has gone into the presence of Death and the lap of Nirṛti. Comparable with this is the group of hymns Rigv. x. 67-80, the purpose of which is to recall the mind wherever it may have gone. The closing verses are: 'Here the mother, here the father, here life has come. This is thy refuge, come hither, O Subandhu, enter in. As men bind a yoke with a rope that it may hold indeed; so do I hold for thee thy mind, that thou mayest live, mayest not die, mayest not be harmed. As the great mother (Earth) here supports these trees; so do I hold, etc.' From Yama, son of Vivasvant, have I brought back the mind of Subandhu, that thou mayest live, etc. Down blows the wind, down burns the fire, down milks the cow, down shall go thy disease. This hand of mine is rich in blessings, this hand richer still, this hand all-healing, this rubs auspiciously.' Subandhu ('good friend') need not have been originally a proper name, but it was felt to be so at least as early as the time of the Brāhmaṇas, which spin legends about his return to life.

Rigv. x. 163 = Atharv. ii. 33 is a charm of another type: 'From thine eyes, thy nostrils, thine ears and chin, from thy brain, from thy tongue, I tear out the disease of thy head.' The practitioner then proceeds to enumerate other parts of the body, concluding, to guard against any possible omission, with the statement that he tears the disease from the whole being of the patient.

Rigv. vii. 50 is a charm against poison—chiefly that of snakes—abounding in obscure words. Mitra-Varuṇa are to give protection, Agni is to burn it away, the All-Gods are to drive it away, and the rivers are to bestow remedies for it. Rigv. i. 191 is a charm for the same purpose, but more aggressive in its efforts to secure its ends. The beings at which it is directed are styled the 'unseen,' and seem to be chiefly scorpions and small venomous vermin; but doubtless the imaginary worms (cf. above) were also in mind. They are adjured to perish, they have been made visible to all, hence harmless. Their lineage (curiously exalted; Dyauṣ is their father, the Earth their mother, Soma their brother, and Aditi their sister) is known, hence they must be quiet. The sun grinds and burns them. The conjurer has put their poison on the sun, their poison-bag on the house of the keeper of spirituous liquor. The sun will not die, neither will their victims. Little birds and sparks of fire drink their poison without harm: twenty-one peahens and seven unmarried sisters handle it as if it were water; (a fortiori) the conjurer (and his clients), who has grasped the names of all ninety-nine plants that destroy poison, shall not be harmed. Finally, the conjurer, likening himself to the mongoose, which on coming down from the mountains proclaimed the powerlessness of the scorpion's poison, splits the creature with a rock, letting its poison flow to distant lands.

The couplet Rigv. vii. 48. 4-5 seems to be a prayer to guard against any nauseating or diarrhetic effects of drinking soma. Finally, in Rigv. 10. 97 we have the *oṣadhīratū*, or praise of the curative power of plants.

Mention of particular diseases is extremely rare in the Rigveda: *yakṣma* (x. 85. 31, 97. 11-13, 137. 4, 163. 1-6), with its compounds, *ajñāta-*, *rāja-* (x. 161. 1); [*a-yakṣma* (ix. 49. 1) is merely disease in general]; *vandana* (?) (vii. 50. 2); jaundice and heart-disease (i. 50. 11-12); heart-disease (i. 24. 8); *grāhi* (x. 161. 1); allusion to *prstyāmaya* is made incidentally in a comparison (i. 105. 13). Extremely obscure are the epithets *asipada* and *asimida*, applied to the waters and streams in vii. 50. 4; they seem to mean 'not causing the diseases *kūpa* and *śmi*,' of which no other mention is made. *Sipivīṣṭa*, however, occurs as the designation of an animal rendered unfit for sacrifice by skin disease (cf. J. Schwab, *Das altind. Thieropfer*, 1886, p. xviii), and as an epithet of Viṣṇu (*Kausītaki Brāh.* iv. 2; *Sāṅkhyaśāstra* SS. xv. 14. 4; and A. Weber, *Über die Königsweihe, den Rājāsūya*, Berlin, 1893, p. 125). Various bodily defects are more frequently mentioned; defects of sight seem especially feared (cf. *andha*,

anaṣṣa, *kāṇa*, *mīlhūḍrś*); defects of hearing (*badhira*, *abadhira*); lameness (*asreman*, *śroṇa*); loss of virility (*vadhira*).

It is neither possible nor desirable to treat at this length the whole of Vedic literature; but, as the omissions are no less important than the statements, it seems best to limit the treatment to certain texts as representative of the Yajurveda, the Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads. For the Yajur texts the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* has been chosen.

The whole system of sacrifice is an attempt to induce the gods to bestow prosperity, in which health is an important element. It is, however, a noteworthy fact that health is by no means so conspicuous an object of prayer as is wealth. Even when it is sought (cf. xxv. 14-23 = Rigv. i. 89), it is in general terms, thus resembling the charms for long life (*āyusyaṇī*) rather than the medical (*bhāṣayānī*) charms.

For such incidental prayers compare, in addition to prayers for strength, lustre, vigour, life of a hundred years, that occur *passim*, such formulae as: iii. 17, 'O Agni, thou art protector of bodies, protect my body. O Agni, thou art giver of life, give me life. O Agni, thou art giver of splendour, give me splendour. O Agni, what is wanting in my body, that do thou fill out for me'; ix. 21, 'By sacrifice may my life succeed, my vital breath, my sight, my hearing, my back' (fuller lists in xviii. 29, xlii. 33); xiv. 17, 'Protect my life, my *prāṇa*, my *apāna*, my *vyāna*, my sight, my hearing: enrich my speech, quicken my mind, protect my being.'

For other formulae of the same general type, cf. vii. 27, xv. 7, xvii. 15, xviii. 2, 6, xlii. 28, xlii. 18, xxxvi. 1, xxxix. 1, 8. Compare also such prayers for the senses as i. 20, 'Thee for sight (I take)'; and ii. 16, 'Thou art protector of sight, O Agni, protect my sight.' Numerous parallels from other texts may be found under the words *chakṣus* and *śrotra* in the Vedic Concordance. More interesting are the verses xx. 5-9, containing benedictions on various parts of the body. In xx. 26 the blessed world is described as one 'where weakness is not found,' and in xii. 105 the speaker quits 'weakness, lack of strength, and sickness.'

The incidental statements of the relation of the gods to disease are on the plane of the Rigveda, and are frequently repetitions of that text. Varuṇa in xviii. 35 is styled a healer-seer (cf. viii. 23 = Rigv. i. 24, 8, and xviii. 49, xxi. 2 = Rigv. i. 24, 11). For the healing power of the waters, cf. iv. 12, ix. 6, xviii. 35, xxxvi. 12; for Brhaspati, iii. 29 = Rigv. i. 18, 2; for Savitar, xxxiv. 25 = Rigv. i. 35, 9; for Agni, ii. 20, xv. 37, xvii. 15; for Āsvin, xviii. 9, xxviii. 7, 40, xxiv. 47. Tvāstar, the divine *artifex*, is more directly connected with the repair of the body than in the Rigveda (cf. ii. 24 = viii. 14 = Atharv. vi. 53, 3 and *Vāj. Sam.* xxxviii. 9).

Of more interest are the collections of *mantras* for ceremonies directly connected with disease. At the *sākamēdha*, the third *parvan* of the *chāturmāsya*-sacrifice, occurs a *pitṛyajña* after which are employed four verses (iii. 53-56) of one of the Subandhu-hymns (Rigv. x. 57, 3-6), to keep the spirits of those engaged in the sacrifice from following the *pitṛs* on their return to the world of Yama. Another portion of the same sacrifice is the *Traiyambakahoma* to Rudra. The formulæ are found in iii. 57-61; their purpose is to propitiate the god, and so induce him to pass to other peoples without harming the sacrificers. Of similar nature is the *Satarudriyahoma* at the *agnichayana*. The sixteenth book of the *Vāj. Sam.* is composed of its *mantras*. The concept of Rudra is essentially the same as that of the Rigveda, though worked out in fuller detail.

The *Sāutrāmāṇī* is a sacrifice originally intended to expiate the sin of excessive soma-drinking, which leads to a drunken discharge of the sacred liquid. The heavenly prototype of this ceremony is the cure which the Āsvins and Sarasvatī wrought upon Indra when he had been beguiled into *surā*-drunkenness by the demon Namuci. For the details of this story, cf. Bloomfield, *JAOS* xv. 143-163. The formulæ employed constitute books xix.-xxi. of *Vāj. Sam.* Of particular interest are: xix. 10, containing

the name of the disease-demon; xix. 80-95, the detailed account of Indra's cure; xix. 12, 16, xx. 3, 56 ff., 75, 80, xxi. 13, 18, 29, references to the healing power of his physicians and their remedies; xix. 55, 62 = Rigv. x. 15, 4, 6, prayers to the *pitṛs* for health. (For the ritual, cf. A. Weber, *Über die Königsweihe, den Rājasiṃya*, pp. 92-106, and A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, 1897, p. 159.)

Anatomically interesting are the lists of various parts of the body: xix. 81-93, xxi. 5-9, xxv. 1-9 (parts of the horse), xxxi. 10-13, xxxix. 8-10, and the statements relative to conception and birth (xix. 76). The theory of the vital breaths now begins to become prominent; but the whole of this question must be dismissed with a reference to A. H. Ewing, 'The Hindu Conception of the Functions of Breath,' *JAOS* xxii. 249-308.

Of names of disease few occur: *yaksma* is disease in general (cf. the coupling of *ayakṣma anamīva*, i. 1, iv. 12, xviii. 6, and the mention of the hundred *yakṣmas*, xii. 97). This disease is also mentioned in the *oṣadhīstuti* (xii. 75 ff. = Rigv. x. 97). Its last verse (xii. 97) is, however, peculiar to the version of *Vāj. Sam.*, and mentions *balāsa*, *upacit* (= Atharv. *apacit*), *arśas* (haemorrhoids), and *pākāru* (of uncertain meaning). *Apā* occurs in xvii. 44 = Rigv. x. 103, 12, while *Viśūchikā* (xix. 10) is an equally vivid name ('she that makes go in all directions') for the demon to whom are ascribed the nauseating and diarrhetic effects of debauch. Heart-disease is mentioned in viii. 23 = Rigv. i. 24, 8; diseases of the eye, *arman*, in xxx. 11; skin-disease in xxx. 20; leprosy in xxx. 17, 21; various deformities in xxx. 10, 21, 22.

Physicians are recognized as constituting a profession (xxx. 10). An amulet is used by the Divine physicians (xix. 80) for the cure of Indra. Finally, iv. 3 is a formula addressed to ointment from Mt. Trikakud: 'Thou art the eye of Vṛtra (for mythology, cf. Bloomfield, 'The Myth of the Heavenly Eye-ball,' *Am. Jour. Phil.* xvii. 399-408), thou art the giver of sight, give me sight.'

In the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* there is very little material bearing on the subject. Incidental allusions to various parts of the body occur, among which may be noted the distinction between the senses of taste, sight, and smell, and their organs (v. 22). The processes of procreation and birth are also frequently alluded to in the effort to produce a mystical body for the sacrificer. There is likewise a great deal of talk about the 'vital breaths'—the way in which they may be established in the sacrificer, or may be cut short. The same is true of the various senses and the power of virility; and there is the constantly recurring effort to secure vigour, splendour, sharpness of sense, and the full term of life.

All of this is too general to be of interest in the present connexion. More concrete are i. 18, where the Āsvins are said to be the physicians of the gods; v. 34, where the Brahman priest is the physician of the sacrifice. Freedom from disease is expressly sought in viii. 10 and 11; the healing power of herbs is recognized in general in iii. 40, and in particular that of collyrium for the eye in i. 3. That disease may be produced by a curse is seen in v. 1 (deformity) and vi. 33 (leprosy). Madness is alluded to in vi. 33, and in v. 29 there is mention of a girl possessed by a *gandharva*. Varuṇa's fetters, as productive of drowsy in punishment for a broken vow, figure in the story of Sunaṣṣepa (vii. 15 and 16). The origin of certain deformities is explained mythically in ii. 8. The closest approach to a cure for disease is found in iii. 19, where is imparted the knowledge that will enable one to preserve his sight to old age. In i. 25 is explained the way in which the Hotar

may cause the sacrificer to suffer from *rājayakṣma*, which here seems to mean some (scrofulous) disease of the neck.

An examination of the *Bṛhadāranyaka* and *Chhândogya Upaniṣads* shows that the chief interest of these texts in this connexion lies in their anatomical statements. Besides more isolated instances that occur *passim* may be noted the list of the parts of the horse (Brh. i. 1. 1); of the human body (ii. 4. 11); and the elaborate comparison of man with a tree (iii. 9. 28). There are also statements about the heart and its veins (Brh. ii. 1. 19, iv. 2. 3, 3. 20; Chhând. vii. 6. 1 and 6); the structure of the eye (Brh. iii. 2. 3); the disposition of food in the body (Chhând. vi. 5); the process of sleep and dreams (Brh. ii. 1. 16 ff., iv. 3. 7 ff.; Chhând. iv. 3. 3); and the process of death (Brh. iii. 2. 11 ff.). All these statements are, however, connected with the theory of the 'vital breaths,' and appear to be entirely speculative.

With regard to the origin of disease may be noted the power of a curse to produce bodily ailments implied in the threat, 'thy head shall burst' (Brh. iii. 7. 1, 9. 26; Chhând. i. 8. 8); the statement (Brh. iv. 3. 15) that the evil caused by waking a man while his spirit is abroad in dreams is hard to cure; and the mention (Brh. iii. 3. 1, 7. 1) of women possessed by *gandharvas*. Sickness is incidentally mentioned (Brh. iv. 3. 36, v. 11. 1; Chhând. iv. 10. 3, vi. 15. 1, vii. 26. 2, viii. 4. 2, 6. 4). The itch (*pāman*) is the only disease specifically mentioned; and Raikva's scratching it off under a cart (Chhând. iv. 1. 8) is probably a method of cure to be associated with the cases of transference cited above.

The full term of life is often promised as a reward for certain knowledge (Brh. i. 2. 7, ii. 1. 11 f.; Chhând. ii. 11 ff., iv. 11 ff.); an *āyusya*-ceremony is also mentioned (Brh. vi. 4. 25). In Chhând. iii. 16 are contained directions for the cure of any disease, by following which one may live 116 years.

A number of factors combine to prevent diseases and their treatment from figuring to a great extent in the *Śrauta* ritual. All connected with the sacrifice must be in good health: an animal victim must be free from blemishes, among which certain diseases (cf. J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer*, p. xviii) are included. If, after the selection of the horse for the *Āsvamedha* (*q.v.*), diseases develop in it during the year that must elapse before its sacrifice, an expiatory sacrifice is required, which varies (cf. A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-litteratur*, p. 150) according to the disease. Bodily ailments are also sufficient to prevent a priest from being chosen to officiate at a sacrifice (cf. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, 1868, x. 145 ff.); and it is expressly stated (*Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* i. 23. 20) that the priest must refuse to officiate for a *yajamāna* who is suffering from a disease. Under these circumstances it is but natural that the possibility of sickness should receive scant consideration except in so far as it is subsumed under prayers for long life and the exorcism of demons. This tendency must have been helped by the popular origin of the medical charms. In spite of this origin, they passed, as did everything, under the influence of the priesthood; but in the main they were more adapted to incorporation in the simpler form of the *Gṛhya* rites, which presented the further advantage of not bringing the diseased (*i.e.* demon-possessed) person into a contact with the priests that might prove dangerous for them. Exceptional situations, of course, occur: soma-drunkenness is a sacrificial sin, and must be healed by a sacrifice; or, as at the *pinḍapūṣṭyajña*, the lives of the participants may be exposed to special

dangers against which precautions must be taken. But an examination of some of the *Śrauta* rites will show (cf. what was said of the *mantras* of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* above) that these are primarily concerned with the securing of wealth, progeny, and triumph over enemies, much more than with health, except as it is implied in prayers for protection and long life couched in the most general terms. Secondly, however, the sacrifice may be adapted to the securing of various desires. Among these the cure of disease figures to a greater extent, though still overshadowed by other wishes.

In the ritual of the New and Full Moon sacrifice (cf. A. Hillebrandt, *Das altind. Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena, 1880) there is no allusion to the subject. In the animal sacrifice it may be noted that among the wishes that determine the choice of the tree for the *yūpa* there is none closer to our purpose (cf. Schwab, *op. cit.* p. 2) than *viryakāma* and *chakṣuṣkāma* (cf. also the wishes that determine the length of the post in *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi. 4. 7. 1, and *Taittīriya Samhitā* vi. 3. 3. 5-6). At the *mārjana* (purification) is employed (cf. p. 122) a verse which has its parallel in a remedial charm (Atharv. vi. 96. 2). The connexion between the two uses is due to the connexion between sin and disease. There is a colourless prayer for long life at the offering of *ṛṣadājya* to Vanaspati (cf. p. 147), and the prayer after the last *upayāja* (p. 155) to the waters and plants is for spirit in one's heart, a soft skin, a son, and a grandson. The prayer to Varuna at the hiding of the spit (p. 162) is found also in a cure for dropsy (Atharv. vii. 93. 2), and the place required is somewhat similar in both rituals. The final worship of the *yūpa* (p. 164) also contains a prayer for long life. This sacrifice, however, possesses greater interest for anatomy on account of the details incidental to the cutting up of the animal (cf. p. 126 ff.).

At the *pinḍapūṣṭyajña* prayers for long life also occur (cf. W. Caland, *Altindischer Ahnencult*, Leyden, 1893, pp. 7 and 10). More interesting are the attempts to call back the spirit after its communion with the *manes* (cf. above, and Caland, pp. 11 f., 178 ff., 243, and the statements that the leavings of this offering have medicinal effect, p. 191).

Of *soma*-sacrifices, the most interesting, the *Sautrāmāṇi*, has been treated above. The *Rājasūya* contains, among its preparatory ceremonies, a number that served originally for the cure of diseases, which A. Weber (*Über die Königsweihe, den Rājasūya*, p. 5) rightly takes as an indication of the fact that this sacrifice has been built up on the basis of simpler popular practices. Thus *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā* iv. 3. 1 has a ceremony against *ksetriya*, including a sacrifice upon an ant-hill. *Kātyāyana ŚS* xv. 1. 23 states that the *pañchavātiya* is a cure for disease, and xv. 3. 39 that the *charu* for Soma-Rudra is a cure for leprosy. Prayers for long life are found (*Kāt. ŚS* xv. 5. 22; cf. *Sat. Brāh.* v. 4. 1. 1), also at anointing of kings (Weber, p. 49), and while touching a gold piece worth 100 *raṭṭikā* (*Kāt. ŚS* xv. 6. 32). The recitation of the Sunahsepa-legend also forms part of this ceremony (cf. Weber, p. 49 ff.), for the purpose of releasing the king from the fetters of Varuna. The beating of the king may originally have been exorcistic, as he is assured that the beating leads him beyond death. At the *puruṣamedha* also a portion of the ceremony is (*Sāṅkhāyana ŚS* xvi. 13. 3) or may be (*Vaitāna ŚS* xxxviii. 1) devoted to the cure of the *yajamāna*.

By certain modifications a *Śrauta* sacrifice may be employed for the attainment of a special wish. The parallelism of these *kāmyeṣṭayah* with Atharvan charms has been pointed out by Caland

(*Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam, 1900, p. viii). An idea of the range of the wishes sought may be obtained from such lists as *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* iv. containing twelve modifications of the New and Full Moon Sacrifice, of which none is intended for the cure of disease; or the much longer list of *Taittirīya Sāmhita* ii. 1. 1. 1-ii. 4. 14. 5. In this are included sacrifices for one 'long ill' (*gyogamayāvin*) that will make him live 'even if his spirit is gone' (ii. 1. 1. 3; 2. 7; 9. 3 [release from Varuṇa's fetter]; ii. 4. 2; 10. 4; 3. 11. 1, cf. also iii. 4. 9. 3); for one 'seized by Varuṇa' or for release from Varuṇa's fetter (ii. 1. 2. 1; 2. 5. 1; 3. 12. 1; 13. 1); for one who wishes to live his full term of life (ii. 2. 3. 2); for one who fears death (ii. 3. 2. 1); or in case cattle or men are dying (ii. 2. 2. 3); for one wishing virility (ii. 3. 7. 2) or power of his senses (ii. 1. 6. 2; 2. 5. 4; 3. 2. 2); for one wishing sight (ii. 2. 4. 3; 9. 3; 3. 8. 1 [even though blind he sees]); for one in fear of impotence (ii. 3. 3. 4); for one in fear of skin-disease (ii. 1. 4. 3; 2. 10. 2); for one who vomits *soma* (ii. 3. 2. 6); for one whose 'mind is slain, who is an evil to himself' (ii. 2. 8. 3 [for insanity, cf. also iii. 4. 8. 4]); for one who has been suffering long from an unknown disease [cf. *ajñātayakṣma* above] (ii. 1. 6. 5); for one suffering from *pāpayakṣma* (ii. 3. 5, containing the mythical account of the origin of *pāpayakṣma*, *rājayakṣma*, and *jāyanya* [cf. ii. 5. 6. 4], and the statement that for this purpose the sacrifice must be offered at the new moon in order that the sacrificer may fill out with it).

In the *Grhya*-rites the phenomena of disease appear more frequently, though still treated in a general fashion which contrasts unfavourably with the details of the *Atharva*. Sickness is a sufficient excuse for sleep at sunrise or sunset (*Āśvalāyana* *GS* iii. 7. 1-2), and disqualifies a *yajamāna* (ib. i. 23. 20); bodily pain also stops the recitation of the *Veda* (*Sāṅkhāyana* *GS* iv. 7. 38). At the *upanayana*, Agni is invoked as the physician and maker of remedies (*Hiranyakeśin* *GS* i. 2. 18, cf. *Atharv.* v. 29. 1). At the *Śrāddha* also prayers for long life are employed (cf. Caland, pp. 26 and 43), and, according to *Hiranyakeśin* ii. 12. 9, the sacrificer, if over fifty, offers to the *pitṛs* some of his hair, with the request that they take nothing more. The reason is that he feels he is now on the down grade and desires to prolong his life as much as possible (other interpretations in Caland, p. 177). The prevention of disease and sorcery may also be attained, according to *Gobhila* *GS* iv. 6. 2, by the daily repetition of a formula. The *Āgṛayana* also, especially in its presentation in *Sāṅkhāyana* *GS* iii. 8, seems to be a rite to render the new food fit for use by driving out any demons that may be lurking in it (cf. the *Āgṛayana* *Kāmyeṣṭi* for an *annādyakāma* in *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* iv. 12). As a panacea *Sāṅkhāyana* *GS* v. 6. 1-2 prescribes an oblation of rice-grains and *gavedhukā*-grass (*Coix barbata*) with *Rigv.* i. 114; similarly *Āśval.* *GS* iii. 6. 3-4 six oblations of boiled rice with *Rigv.* x. 161 (cf. the directions for protection of the embryo in *Sāṅkh.* *GS* i. 21). Another way of securing health (*Āśval.* *GS* iv. 1. 1) is for an *āhitāgni* to leave the village when he is sick; the sacred fires will desire to return, and will consequently grant him health. This is clearly an adaptation of a popular practice.

Of special diseases: *Pāraskara* *GS* iii. 6 contains an interesting cure of headache by rubbing, while reciting a verse parallel with *Rigv.* x. 163. 1 = *Atharv.* ii. 33. 1. This verse is also employed at *Āpastambīya* *GS* iii. 9. 10 for the rubbing of a sick woman with lotus leaves and roots. When the pain is confined to one side of the head, a different formula is used, the wording of which suggests the ascrip-

tion of the pain to worms. An elaborate cure for epilepsy, conceived as due to the attack of a dog-demon upon a child, is described (*Hiranyakeśin* *GS* ii. 2. 7. 1; *Āp.* *GS* vii. 18. 1; *Pāras.* *GS* i. 16. 24). With it may be compared the exorcism of the *Vināyaka* in *Mānava* *GS* ii. 14, giving many details of the symptoms (including dreams) and of the cure. An attempt to secure a child from all diseases (*keśetṛiya* is particularly mentioned) is found at the *medhājānana* (*Hir.* *GS* ii. 3. 10; *Āp.* *GS* vi. 15. 4). For snake bites, cf. *Khādīra* *GS* iv. 4. 1 = *Gobh.* *GS* iv. 9. 16; the ceremony consists merely in sprinkling with water while muttering a verse. Worms are similarly treated in *Kh.* *GS* iv. 4. 3 = *Gobh.* *GS* iv. 9. 19, while the following *sūtras* provide for their treatment in cows; cf. also *Taittirīya* *Āraṇyaka* iv. 36. 1; *Āp.* *SS* xv. 19. 5. Other cures for cattle are *Āśval.* *GS* iv. 8. 40 (the cows are led through the smoke of a fire in which an oblation has been made; cf. *Hir.* *GS* ii. 3. 8. 10, and *Kh.* *GS* iv. 3. 13).

The *Rigvidhāna* deals frequently in cures for diseases, but not in a way to call for special comment (cf. i. 2. 5; 17. 8; 17. 9; 18. 4; 19. 1; 19. 3; 20. 3; 23. 7; 24. 3; 25. 5; 27. 1; 28. 4; 29. 2; 30. 4-31. 2; ii. 1. 3; 20. 3; 25. 10, 11; 26. 3; 33. 1-3; 34. 5; iii. 3. 2; 7. 6; 11. 3; 18. 5; iv. 1. 1-3; 9. 4-7; 16. 1; 19. 3-5).

The *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* has among its *kāmyāni* a series of ceremonies of interest: when the children of one's wife die young (ii. 2. 1; the ceremony is described in art. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Vedic]); when one is seized by a demon (ii. 2. 2); for any disease (ii. 2. 3); in case of pain in a limb (ii. 3. 1, 2); for protection from snakes (ii. 3. 3).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited, cf. P. Cordier, *Étude sur la médecine hindoue*, Paris, 1894 (additional passages from Upaniṣads); V. Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris, 1904, pp. 178-205; W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual: Probe einer Übersetzung der wichtigsten Theile des Kauṣītaka Sūtra*, Amsterdam, 1900, pp. 67-107; M. Bloomfield, 'Hymns of the *Atharva-veda*,' *SBE*, vol. xlii, pp. 1-48 and commentary thereto, also 'The *Atharva-veda*,' in *GIAP* ii. 1, B. Strassburg, 1899, pp. 58-63 (with copious references to the earlier works on the subject). Since the writing of this article, the *kāmyāni śāyāṇa* have received a full treatment in W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei: Darstellung der altind. 'Wunschopfer'*, Amsterdam, 1908. G. M. BOLLING.

DISGUST is primarily a feeling in regard to the physically repulsive, and is therefore accompanied by actual or reproduced organic sensations. In 'moral' disgust, these sensations are suggested by analogy. The emotion of repugnance, which appears in disgust, abhorrence, detestation, and horror, is a particular feeling-attitude,¹ or disposition of the self, towards an object which stands in a special relation to the nature of the individual. The object which arouses the emotion is not the hostile as such, or the merely harmful; it is the unnatural—that which involves a perversion of nature. In other words, it is at variance with that primary fitness of things which is based on the essential nature of things. This is evident in the case of the morally repulsive. The abnormal prominence of the animal nature, desires which lead to misuse of functions, desires of any kind raised to an unnatural pitch, all arouse the emotion of repugnance. The same principle is at work when merely physical objects are concerned. Objects of this kind are 'natural' in their proper place, but they may be misplaced. This is the *rationale* of all physical repugnance. The characteristic expression of this emotion in conduct is the avoidance of all relations with the repugnant object. It thus serves to protect, not so much the life of the individual, as his distinctive nature.

LITERATURE.—C. Darwin, *Expression of the Emotions*, Lond. 1872, ch. xi.; Th. Ribot, *The Psychology of the Emotions*, Eng. tr. do. 1897, pt. ii. ch. i. D. IRONS.

¹ D. Irons, *The Psychology of Ethics*, Edin. and Lond. 1903, ch. i.

DISSENT.—See NONCONFORMITY.

DISTRIBUTION (of income).¹—By the economic theory of distribution is meant the doctrine of the manner in which the products of industry are distributed among the factors producing them, viz. land, capital, labour, and enterprise.

1. The manner in which the distribution is made.—The products are distributed to the producing agents by one of them, viz. the employer, who takes the risk of the market, and, according to the price that he expects, guarantees their shares to the other agents as wages, interest, and rent. He gets his own share, viz. profit, as residuary legatee of the price. It is thus the price of commodities that pays all the shares. The price of a thing may be twopence or ten pounds; it pays for the whole past history of the thing as a commodity, from the landowner and the producer of the raw material in it, the capitalist or employer who took the risk of having it made, on through the course of its making and carriage, of commercial dealings with it, and shopkeeping, till it finally secures its twopence or ten pounds, and out of that pays them all. Thus a great many people have a cut even out of the twopence, and it may seem that some of them might be dispensed with; the money-lenders, perhaps, and the traders or middlemen, who have been called robbers and parasites on the 'real' producers. But the only share that any one takes is what he gets from a buyer who has need of his services; for the normal price of a commodity only pays those means of producing it which are necessary, and for which the spur of competition can find no better alternative.

The system is comparatively recent. Formerly the consumer was the sole or the chief employer of labour; there were few *entrepreneurs*. The present is called the 'capitalistic' system, not so much because capital has grown so huge and efficient, as because it is directed by an employing class. Real capital consists of all the fixed capital used in production and of the circulating capital, viz. raw materials and the real wages of labour. But nominal capital—money in the wide sense—is not merely the measure of real wealth. It has become the pivot on which the whole industrial system is swung, and the means by which capitalism is carried out; for it enables the employer to turn the forces of nature, labour, and real capital in one direction or another.

This was barely appreciated by the earlier writers on distribution; it was hardly time. In simplifying or generalizing their problems, as every science must, they supposed primitive conditions, and stated laws true enough in their way, but apt to mislead when applied to more complex conditions. The notorious example was the 'wages-fund' theory, which assumed that at any time there is a definite amount of capital in a country, and that the country must wait for the next harvest or so before addition could be made to the stock, especially to the stock of its circulating capital. That assumption is too remote from present conditions to be of use, and the problem is now simplified by making the opposite assumption. The nation is taken not as a lone island, but as part of the world, and the national income is taken as produced, distributed, exchanged, and consumed every day. Into this very fluid stream comes the employer to direct its course. His action is determined by the price that he expects, and it is distributed through him. He guarantees the other agents their shares, and takes the rest; he buys them out. If he is a contractor, he knows the price he will get, and what he can afford to pay the other agents. Or he may undertake the further risk of not knowing the price he

will get; he may place an order for goods in view of a demand that he hopes to find or create. Or, e.g., as a mining company, he may have to speculate at greater risk. His profit may be large, or it may be less than nothing, according to the price that he actually gets to cover his output.

The employing function is very often associated with one or more of the others in the same person, or in a company, as when a lender, or a landowner, has to take part of the business risk, or when an employer uses his own capital and land, or is his own manufacturer, manager, or workman. But the functions are distinct, and receive much the same shares on the average as when they are exercised by different persons.

It is enough merely to mention that commodities which form the real national dividend are ultimately distributed not merely to their producers, but, through their producers, as payment for all kinds of services—from professional to domestic; and that, to provide a fund for the variety of public services, all shares are more or less tapped by taxation.

2. The shares.—In dealing with the relative amounts that go to the four factors in production, one course is to treat rent, interest, and wages as prices, and to follow out the consideration that, like all prices, they are determined by this, that each has a marginal quantity and quality which it just pays the employer to buy. The margins are not independent of one another, since the employer may substitute machinery for labour, one kind of labour for another, a cheap site requiring much capital for a dear one requiring less. And he expects a certain margin of profit for his own enterprise, short of which he would prefer to join the ranks of the employed. But, as data for an ethical judgment of the system, it is better to regard the shares more directly.

(a) *The share to land or nature.*—Economic rent comes out of the price of a commodity in respect of the superiority of the soil and site concerned in its production. The growing demand for food and raw material, houses and factories, requires the use of inferior natural conditions; resort is had to inferior lands and sites, and more capital and labour are put into those already occupied, though the return per unit is less. Since it must pay to use the inferior conditions, it more than pays now to use the better. The surplus is rent. Hence it does not need a system of landlord and tenant in order that there should be rent. When a farm is cultivated by its owner, it earns the same economic rent as if he had let it, for its produce brings the same price.

In respect of the amount that goes as rent, it is best, and it is the practice, to begin by regarding a farm or a town-block as having a value estimated from its selling price, or from its earnings capitalized. Thus the earnings are all profit and interest on the selling price; rent is not something additional, it is contained in the profit and interest. To separate it out is to make a fresh analysis, tracing now the stock to its origin, and distinguishing the part that is not due to the owner's capital and labour. Besides 'the natural and indestructible powers of the soil' and the suitability of the site, this part includes the improvements, e.g. road and rail, that are due to the capital of others. Some (e.g. Pierson, *Princ. of Econ.*, London, 1902, vol. i. ch. 2) include as yielding rent, and not interest and profit, all advantages that are due to capital permanently sunk in the land. But theoretically it is better, and for the purpose of special taxation it is usually the intention, to distinguish the advantages of land and site that are due to nature or to the expenditure of others, and not due to the expenditure of owners present or past. For urban lands it is

¹ For Distribution of wealth, see art. WEALTH.

thought that from about 25 to 40 per cent of their annual value is rent, the higher figure being the estimate for London. Of the annual value of agricultural land in England, probably 23 per cent is pure rent (R. J. Thompson, *Journ. Roy. Stat. Soc.*, 1907, p. 610).

(b) *The share to capital.*—This must not only make good the capital that is consumed in producing the commodity, but pay interest on it as well. And it is the same with interest as with rent; capital need not be lent in order to earn interest. If the owners of real capital use it themselves, and use it equally well, it earns much the same interest as when the capital is borrowed, for its products get much the same price. A machine or other piece of real capital pays its costs out of its products; and, if it could produce them all at once, there would be no interest, for the price got for them in respect of the machine would just cover the cost of the machine. But to do its work the machine needs time. This involves other costs, e.g. repairs, insurance, and the risk of becoming obsolete; and these must be covered by the price of the products. But also the mere time must be paid for, and, the more time that is needed, the more the produce must pay. Interest is, therefore, a rate on the capital per unit of time; and it is paid because the time is necessary, like the power that works the machine, or like the need for repairs. One machine or process would be able to displace another equally economical in all other respects, if it made an economy merely in time. From this case of a machine and its working we may generalize regarding the interest on all capital, commercial as well as industrial, that claims a share in the national dividend; for the bulk of loanable capital is employed in the purchase and working of real capital. Interest, then, is the share of the price of commodities that goes to capital on account of the time that the capital needs to get its products and have them sold. The interest on capital that is borrowed, not for production but for consumption (e.g. a dwelling-house or a war-loan), does not concern us; it is not an additional claim to a share in the distribution of the dividend, but merely the exchange of one person's present claim for another's in the future that suits him better. It may be observed, however, that the rate of such interest follows the rate on productive capital, so far as it is pure interest, and not also a premium on the risk of loss, or an extortion from folly or distress.

It was a mistake to suppose that there must be a minimum rate of interest, below which the increase of capital would be checked, and the rate correct itself; for with the diffusion of wealth come prudence and the joy of possession. On the other hand, to prophesy that the rate must decline is hazardous, considering the demands for capital that may arise at any time to meet the increasing supply of it. But a normal rate over long periods it is quite possible to distinguish; and it is important to do so, in order to separate pure interest from the employer's share, from rent, and from gains and losses that are due to a rise or fall in the value of the capital itself. The distinction from the employer's share is already obvious, but to separate it from the other two we have to regard interest as a rate not on what the capital may have cost originally, but on its selling value. Then we can say that all capital, so far as it is used as capital, earns interest, and that competition keeps interest at a normal rate for different kinds of stock. This rate is that at which capital remains in the industry; rates are above and below the normal, and indicate the employer's profit and loss, when they tend to increase or diminish the supply of that kind of capital. When an owner or a valuator finds the average interest in a stock to be over or

under the normal, he writes the capital value up or down to a figure at which the capital earns the normal rate for that kind of stock. Similarly with government and other stocks; it is the interest that is regarded as constant, and the owner's capital that is written up or down. The more a stock is an investment stock, the more this is apparent, and it is really the same with stocks that are more speculative. The interest on first-class securities is taken as the minimum of the normal rate. The minimum varies with the demand for such securities and their supply, and for different lengths of credit. But the average interest on loans for three months on these securities is conveniently regarded as the rate of pure interest, because all factors are eliminated but time. From 1844 to 1900 the average rate of the Bank of England was £3, 12s. per cent, and the market rate about 10s. less (Palgrave, *Bank Rate and the Money Market*, London, 1903).

(c) *The share to labour.*—The rest of the product goes to the living factors. The relative amount of it cannot be estimated without an adequate census of production, and, in particular, because the estimation of interest has to be made on the earning capacity of capital, and not on its cost. But the earning capacity of the living factors may be taken to be about five times that of land and capital together (Nicholson, *Strikes and Social Problems*, Lond. 1896, v. and vi.). The struggle between labour and capital does not lie here, however; a less figure need not imply any loss to labour, for the substitution of machinery for labour is to the ultimate advantage of the latter. The struggle is not of labour against rent and interest, for we have seen how these are already fixed and inevitable, but for the division of the share that goes to the living factors. Most directly it is between the share to the labour or enterprise of the employer, and the shares to the labour of all kinds that he hires.

The hired labour may be manual or mental, industrial or commercial, the labour of workman, clerk, or manager. And it is not of theoretical importance whether the wages are paid weekly or as salaries; for whether the employer pays before selling the product is immaterial, the essential thing being that the share is made a fixed cost, independent of the business risk. But, while it is the struggle between employer and employed that is most in evidence, the real struggle is deeper. As in all buying and selling we see competition in the higgling between buyer and seller, but behind, and entirely determining the average price, there is the more vital struggle of buyer with buyer and seller with seller, so it is in the labour market. This was wrongly expressed in the 'wages-fund' theory, which required a rise in the wages of one class of labour to be met by a fall in wages elsewhere. The theory was right in holding that the action both of the buyer and of the seller of labour is limited; but the limit is not capital but the price of the product. And it was also right in saying that the classes of labour are in mutual competition; but the force of each depends ultimately on its efficiency. This is partly obscured when the power of collective bargaining is strong in one class and weak in another, and it is to be hoped and expected that the lower grades will advance more rapidly than those requiring skill, intelligence, and managing ability; but progress and competition will continue to make the great difference. They will continue to determine the supply of labour at the different grades, and thus to make the differences in wages and salaries correspond with a difference in ability. It seems unjust that in almost any industrial group it is the most wearing and unpleasant labour that gets the smallest share of the product; but the unfairness cannot be charged to

the system of distribution, so long as efficiency is taken for the test of desert. For it is no part of the system itself that competition must be greatest at the bottom and least at the top, and that the hardest and most monotonous labour should thus have to rank as least efficient. A considerable part of the rise in the average wages of manual labour has been due to the rise in occupation.

'The constant tendency away from agriculture and the textiles, where the average earnings of all employed, either through the low relative wages of the male (as in agriculture), or the large relative employment of lower-paid women and children, are low, towards the more highly-paid engineering, mining, and building industries, has had the effect of increasing the average earnings of all employed in industrial occupations more rapidly than the earnings in the occupations taken separately. . . . The Standard of Comfort of the British wage-earner is now, on the average, not less than 50 per cent, and probably nearer 80 per cent, higher than that of his predecessor in 1850, and of this advance more than one-half has been obtained during the past quarter of a century' (G. H. Wood, *Journ. Roy. Stat. Soc.*, 1909, pp. 98, 101).

(d) *The share to enterprise.*—Profit is what remains of the price of the product after the employer has paid the other shares. There are all grades of enterprise, from those requiring little capital and ability to those requiring much, and ordinarily there is competition at all grades with other employing individuals or companies. The individual profit is frequently little more than the salary of a hired manager at the same grade, and, considering the number of failures, the average is possibly less.

'There is good reason to believe that the community gets its employing done for it more cheaply than it gets any other

service, just because the speculation and the free life are very large elements in the real remuneration' (Smart, *The Distribution of Income*, p. 163).

The existence of the employer and his profit, which distinguishes the present system from its predecessors, has often been regarded as its defect; and Socialism (*q.v.*) is the view that this function should be undertaken by the State, and not by individuals or companies. The discussion on the question is beyond the scope of this article; but it may be repeated, on behalf of the present system, that many of the current economic evils are wrongly charged against it. The system of distribution would not be affected, for example, by any measures of taxation and expenditure that aimed at a better distribution of wealth; and the regulation of monopolies is an essential office of Government, which has given freedom from its old control only because it has found a more effectual substitute in competition. The most serious defects lie in competition itself; but the defects are not all inevitable, and they prevent the very efficiency which the system is meant to bring out. Cf. art. COMPETITION.

LITERATURE.—All the text-books in economics give a prominent place to distribution; several books are confined to the subject, the most distinctive being J. B. Clark, *The Distribution of Wealth*, London, 1900, and W. Smart, *The Distribution of Income*, Glasgow, 1899. Wages, interest, and rent have each a large literature; and the recent works on monopolies and trusts may be regarded as the special authorities on profits. In comparative statistics regarding wages, special reference may be made to the work done by Rowley and Wood, and for current comparisons there are the Reports of the Board of Trade mentioned under art. CONSUMPTION (Economic), to which has now to be added the corresponding Report on Wages and the Cost of Living in U.S.A. (1911). W. MITCHELL.

DIVINATION.

Introductory (H. J. ROSE), p. 775.
American (L. SPENCE), p. 780.
Assyro-Babylonian (L. W. KING), p. 783.
Buddhist (L. A. WADDELL), p. 786.
Burmese.—See BURMA.
Celtic (G. DOTTIN), p. 787.
Christian (T. BARNES), p. 788.
Egyptian (G. FOUCAULT), p. 792.
Greek (H. J. ROSE), p. 796.

Indian (H. JACOBI), p. 799.
Japanese (M. REVON), p. 801.
Jewish (M. GASTER), p. 806.
Litu-Slavic (O. SCHRADER), p. 814.
Muslim (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 816.
Persian (L. H. GRAY), p. 818.
Roman (G. WISSOWA), p. 820.
Teutonic (C. J. GASKELL), p. 827.
Vedic (G. M. BOLLING), p. 827.

DIVINATION (Introductory and Primitive).—By 'divination' is meant the endeavour to obtain information about things future or otherwise removed from ordinary perception, by consulting informants other than human. While mostly directed to foretelling coming events, it is not confined to this, but may seek to find out, *e.g.*, what is going on at home while the inquirer is abroad. Ancient as well as modern thinkers have repeatedly denounced it and exposed its fallacy; nevertheless it is still practised all over the world by the more backward races of mankind and by uneducated members of the civilized peoples. Even under the highest religions—Buddhism, Islām, Judaism, Christianity itself—diviners, like other magicians, have continued to flourish, although their arts form no part of the prevailing rites and beliefs, and, indeed, have been often and vigorously denounced by the leaders of religion. Like other pseudo-sciences, divination rests on very ancient and wide-spread convictions, inherited from lower levels of culture; and its great stronghold is in the utter inability of the undeveloped human mind to understand and appreciate a negative argument. No doubt wilful deceit on the part of diviners has done much to retain their hold on popular belief; but for the most part they have been the dupes of their own pretensions, and, like their consultants, have remembered successful predictions and forgotten unsuccessful ones.

Divination is a pseudo-science, and has a cer-

tain order and logicity in its structure, once its erroneous premisses are granted; although it must be remembered that the logic of uncivilized and semi-civilized man—or, for that matter, of our own children—is much less stringent than ours, and less quick to detect fallacies. Indeed, the whole argument for divination may be said to be based on a glaring fallacy of 'ambiguous middle.' To explain this, it is necessary to consider what train of thought may be supposed to have given rise to the beliefs under discussion.

Perhaps the first idea which suggests itself is that divination grew out of false induction. A savage, we may imagine, noticed a bird, for instance, behaving in a peculiar way, and soon afterwards met with some mishap. He put the two happenings together, did the same in several other cases, and came to the conclusion that such-and-such a movement on the part of a hawk or parrot meant that the observer was in danger of a bad fall, or would have no luck if he went fishing. That such a train of reasoning may often have taken place we do not deny; but we are of opinion that such a process would not be likely to lead to anything more than a miscellaneous series of omens, not a system such as divination often is among quite uncivilized races. Also it would result in the most arbitrary relations between omen and subsequent event; whereas between the sign and the thing signified there very often exists, allowing for uncivilized ways of thought, a perfectly

rational connexion, sometimes amounting to causality.

It seems, then, more likely that divination should be treated as a branch of sympathetic magic, and regarded as a deduction or series of deductions from a vaguely conceived principle of something like the uniformity of Nature. The reasoning may be thus paraphrased in our definite phraseology: like causes produce like effects; therefore this occurrence, which is like that other one, will produce a like result. The fallacy lies in the ambiguity of 'like,' and the reasoner's inability to differentiate between those things whose likeness to one another is real and essential and those which bear only an accidental or fanciful resemblance to one another. Thus, 'whistling for a wind' rests on the likeness between whistling and the rush of an actual breeze; while in the realm of omens, the Melanesian belief, that, if a non-domestic animal, entering the house,¹ makes any outcry, a death will ensue, seems to rest on the resemblance of the strange creature's cry to the wailing of mourners. How real the causal connexion is often felt to be is clear from the innumerable cases in all grades of civilization of avoidance or neutralization of bad omens—taking away the cause, that is, to prevent the effect. Thus the Manipuris, if they meet with a mole on a journey—a bad omen—try to kill it (Hodson, p. 132).

But this simple process is not in itself sufficient to account for all the ramifications of the diviner's art.² At least two main developments must be noted. The first is the elaboration of the supposedly causal or quasi-causal connexion between omen and event into a system, often very complex and intricate, of symbolism—a system, the gaps in which, as Tylor notes, are apt to be filled by the invention of new omens, arbitrarily, or on the analogy of those already existing. The second comes with the advance of religious belief and the growing importance of deities of one sort or another. Men come to think of omens as sent by them. A good example of this is the Dayak idea that the hawk, their chief omen bird, while it sometimes comes of its own accord to foretell the future, is regularly the messenger of Balli Penyalong, the Supreme Being.³ Finally, it must be remembered that, although the chief source of divination is probably sympathetic magic, other ideas have contributed to the long list of omens.⁴

Divination may be roughly divided into two kinds: (a) 'automatic' divination, in which an omen is looked for and interpreted, so to speak, in its own right, with no thought of appeal to any supernatural power, god, or spirit; and (b) divination proper, in the strict etymological sense of the word, which inquires of some sort of a deity, generally by means of signs conceived of as being sent by him. But of many cases it is hard to say which category they fall under. Take the well-known method of divining by the Bible and key; we doubt if the people who use this method could say definitely whether they suppose the answer to be sent by God or to come from some quasi-magical power inherent in the book itself. The same applies to many such survivals; one is in doubt whether to consider them purely magical or affected by the current religion. For the purposes of this article, we shall classify divination according to the means employed, noting roughly the distribution of each.

¹ For the ominous nature of such an occurrence in general, see below.

² It should be noted that, although no people apparently is without some system of divination, the ruder tribes (e.g. the Australian blacks) have only very rudimentary ideas of it, and even to use it but little.

³ Hose-McDougall, in *JAI* xxxi. 179.

⁴ See esp. § 7, on 'Divination from animals.'

1. **Dreams.**—That a dream may be in some way prophetic is a view held by all races at all times, and still popular, to judge by the numerous modern dream-books.¹ The simplest form is that the dreamer sees, as actually as if he were awake, what is being done or at least contemplated. A recent book² gives an excellent account of the way the Lenguas of the Paraguayan Chaco regard dreams. We quote a typical case:

'A spirit appeared in the form of a horned beetle, and, flying round the sleeper several times, eventually entered his body in the vicinity of the knee. The pain of its entrance was distinctly felt. The sleeper, awakening, noticed no mark or other sign of injury. The pain, however, was still slightly felt. What explanation could there be, according to the Indian's way of thinking, except that an actual beetle had entered, possessed by a spirit?'

The explanation usually given by savages is that the dreamer's soul, or one of his souls,³ goes away from his body and sees the things he dreams of. Hence the reluctance among many uncivilized peoples to awaken a sleeper—his soul may be shut out, or an evil spirit get in, etc.

Another idea is that the temporarily liberated spirit visits the spirit world and there secures information. This, we gather, is the Ewe belief,⁴ and it is frequently met with elsewhere. Or the revelation may be given by spirits visiting the dreamer. An excellent example of this is found in the skull-divination of the Torres Straits⁵ natives. A skull, preferably that of a kinsman, is placed, after sundry honorific ceremonies, beside the pillow of the consultant. In his sleep he hears it speaking to him, with a sound like teeth chattering. The modern method of putting bridesake under one's pillow would seem to be a survival of an even cruder kind of magic. Finally, a god, not a mere ancestral spirit, may choose this method of sending an oracle, and in that case the dream is generally sought for by sleeping in a holy place—the Greek *ἐγκομνίους* (see DIVINATION [Greek]). An example from lower culture is the N. Amer. Indian custom—found also among the Dayaks—of going to some solitary and more or less holy or haunted spot, to learn in a dream or ecstatic vision the identity of one's guardian spirit.

But, even with the simplest and crudest ideas of dream-divination, it soon becomes clear that all dreams cannot be taken literally. To enumerate all the methods of interpretation would be an endless task; perhaps the simplest case is that in which the dreamer dreams of something which, if actually seen, would be ominous: e.g. in certain parts of Australia, to dream of 'old-man' kangaroos sitting about the camp presages the advent, not of kangaroos, but of danger; and the kangaroo sometimes gives omens to men awake.⁶ With the increasing complication of dream-interpreting, the services of a professional diviner become necessary. He may either dream himself, like the Melanesian *tatua gogogore*,⁷ or interpret other people's dreams, like the Nāga *maiba*.⁸

Distribution: world-wide. Typical cases are: literal interpretation (Sea Dayaks);⁹ symbolic dreams (Malays).¹⁰

2. **Presentiments** may perhaps be noticed here, although they hardly amount to actual divination. The Zulus, for instance, believe that a man look-

¹ See Aristotle, *De div. c. somn.*, for an eminently clear-headed discussion of this belief.

² W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, 1911, p. 127 ff.

³ Men have several souls apiece, according, e.g., to the Sea Dayaks.

⁴ Spieth, p. 564.

⁵ Camb. Exp. p. 361 ff.

⁶ Howitt, p. 400 ff.; cf. Hodson, p. 129: 'The Tangkhuls say that a man who is attacked by a buffalo will lose any lawsuit in which he happens at that time to be involved. They also believe that, if a man dreams that he is attacked by a buffalo, he will suffer similar misfortune.'

⁷ Cordington, p. 208.

⁸ Hodson, p. 129.

⁹ Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks, 1871*, p. 161.

¹⁰ Skeat, p. 532 ff.

ing for a thing sometimes 'feels internally a pointing' which will guide him aright; 'but if it is done by mere head-guessing . . . he generally misses the mark,' to quote a Zulu cited by Callaway.

Distribution: not specifically mentioned by most of our authorities, but may be presumed to be universal or nearly so.

From these cases, in which a man may almost be said to prophesy to himself, we turn to the large class of—

3. *Divination from bodily actions*.—Of the various involuntary movements and noises of which the human body is capable, perhaps sneezing is the one most universally regarded as ominous, and, in nearly all cases, as a bad omen. The reason is apparently that it is feared that the internal convulsion may disturb or drive out the soul.¹ Hence the common custom of blessing the sneezer, prevalent alike in civilized Germany (*Gesundheit!*) and among the Nandi (*Ko'-weit-in Asis*, 'God be good to you!'). We cannot recall any non-classical examples of the idea that a sneeze is a sign sent to denote Divine approval of words or actions (see DIVINATION [Greek]).

A curious form of divination is the Melanesian *so ilo*. In this, the hands are rubbed above the head and a ghost (*tindalo*) invoked by a magic song. A cracking of the joints, variously significant according to the particular joint which cracks, is taken to be the spirit's answer (Codrington, 21). Other ominous signs are hiccuping, the twitching of an eyelid, and so on; but these omens are mostly trivial and not much regarded either by savages or by civilized races. The sneeze, stumbling,² and *so ilo* are the only really important ones we know of. Some voluntary actions are considered unlucky, and therefore avoided, by various races;³ but this is hardly divination, nor is the idea that 'praise to the face is open disgrace'—very common among many peoples from Europeans downwards—properly germane to our subject.

Distribution: important cases given above; minor omens from bodily actions are world-wide.

All the above forms of divination depend upon a more or less normal condition; we now proceed to consider those which depend upon an abnormal state of body or mind, or both.

4. *Divination by ordeal* may be thus classed. Ordeals are of two kinds: either a suspected person (or the suspect and his accuser) is subjected to some process which would normally injure or endanger him; or the process is a magical one, with power to hurt the guilty, but not the innocent. Examples of the first class are the ancient European 'judgment of God' or 'wager by battle,' and the Gold Coast method of making, *e.g.*, a wife suspected of infidelity plunge her hand into boiling oil.⁴ The innocent and wrongfully accused person is Divinely aided to win the combat, or protected against what would normally harm him or her. The author believes that this is the root-idea of judicial torture, at least among people so humane in general as the ancient Athenians. The idea probably was that an innocent man or a truthful witness would feel no pain.⁵ Of the second class the Nandi and Masai furnish very instructive ex-

¹ Tylor, i. 100 ff.; cf. Ellis, 208; the Ashanti believe a sneeze indicates 'something unpleasant or painful having happened to the indwelling *kra*.'

² *e.g.* among the Malays (Skeat, p. 558); also Græco-Roman (see special articles) and modern (see § 12, 'Survivals').

³ Thus a Malay child is avoided if he lies on his belly—the almost universal attitude of a resting child—as this is considered unlucky; and sundry bits of table etiquette amongst the same people have a similar sanction (Skeat, p. 531 f.). Cf. the classical habit of entering a room right foot first.

⁴ Ellis, p. 196 f., gives examples of both classes.

⁵ Ellis, p. 201, remarks that a guilty woman will often confess rather than face the ordeal, as a beating hurts less than a badly scalded hand!

amples. Among the former,¹ the accused lays a skull at the accuser's door, saying: 'If I have done this thing, may this head eat me; if I have not done it, may it eat thee,' and one or the other dies accordingly. Among the latter,² the accused drinks blood, saying: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me!' (*Ten ataaas elle-bae, naaar eng-Ai*); and, if guilty, he dies accordingly. These different methods, occurring among tribes so near to each other in territory and culture, warn us of the thinness of the party-wall between magic and religion. This *eng-Ai*, who punishes the guilty man in the latter case, is a genuine deity—a 'high god'; but in the corresponding ordeal of the neighbouring tribe, it is the inherent magical power of the skull (or the ghost), apparently, which 'eats' the false swearer. It is noteworthy that the Nandi diviners, who in other respects are exactly like their Masai confrères, are said to worship, not Asista, their 'high god,' but the ancestral spirits.³ But the root-idea is the same in any case: guilt weakens the wrong-doer, robs him of his *mana* or of Divine favour, and so renders him an easy prey to any injury, natural or magical. This weakness extends to his agents, as in the Malay ordeal by diving, described by Skeat (p. 542 f.). In this, boys, hired by the parties to a suit, plunge simultaneously under water, with the result that the representative of the party in the wrong has to come up again at once, while the other is not inconvenienced. Such a belief as this indicates a people not without some advancement in moral ideas.

Distribution: Africa, *passim*; in Asia, *e.g.* among the Nagas; also in Melanesia and among Malays; formerly in Europe; not in Australia; traces in North America.

5. *Divination by possession* ('shamanizing').—Not only do spirits visit sleepers, but they often possess a diviner or priest, rousing him to a prophetic frenzy. This belief, while adopted by some higher cults, as that of Apollo (see DIVINATION [Greek]), is most characteristic of those races in whose religion the spirits of the dead are prominent. Thus, the shamans of the Tunguses in Siberia are possessed, not by Tengri Kaira Khan, or Erlik (the leading good and bad deities respectively), or by any of their emissaries, but by the ancestral spirits—the objects, one may conjecture, of an older cult. We translate a part of Radloff's vivid account:

'The individual marked out by the might of the ancestors for shamanhood feels a sudden faintness and exhaustion . . . a heavy weight presses on his breast and suddenly wrings from him violent, inarticulate screams.' (After wild paroxysms he sinks to the ground.) 'His limbs are wholly insensitive; he snatches whatever he can lay his hands on, and swallows aimlessly everything he gets hold of—hot iron, knives, needles, . . . afterwards casting up dry and uninjured what he has swallowed.'

Apparently this eccentric diet does him no harm. His only relief is to seize the shaman's drum and begin to 'shamanize': his chief danger is that he may resist the frenzy and die or go mad. Not till after this experience does he receive any instruction in his art from other shamans. He is able, by the help of the spirits, to foretell the future, besides exercising various priestly functions. There seems to be no doubt of the sincerity of some, at least, of these men, who continue to ply their art despite Governmental prohibition. 'I must shamanize,' said one of them to a traveller, 'both for my own sake and that of my people.'⁴ What their actual state is during 'possession' we leave to physiologists to determine. The shamans of

¹ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 76.

² Hollis, *Masai*, p. 345.

³ So the Toda diviners are mostly possessed by foreign gods; and, in general, where a race's religion has advanced beyond the earliest stages, the diviners, like other magicians, represent the older and cruder forms.

⁴ Stadling, in *CR*, 1901, p. 86 f.

Northern Asia use a drum in divining; but in some other cases the possessing spirits speak by the mouth of the wizard, as among the Tshi-speaking peoples,¹ whose priests are possessed, not by spirits, but by gods. Some similar cases will be considered in the next paragraph.

Distribution: Ural-Altaic races of N. Asia and Europe; N. America (see DIVINATION [American]); more or less modified forms common in Africa and elsewhere (e.g. Todas).

6. *Necromancy.*—Death increases rather than diminishes a man's magical powers, including his prophetic faculties. Hence we find the wide-spread practice (of which, indeed, shamanizing might be considered a variant) of consulting either the souls of the dead in general or the soul of a particular dead man, or his corpse. A very crude instance of the last comes from Central Australia. Tree-burial is largely practised among these tribes, and it is the custom to observe the direction taken by the liquid matter exuding from the corpse and flowing along the ground. If the stream flows, say, north, the slayer lives to the northward;² if it is short, he is close at hand; if long, he is far away. Skull-divination has already been noticed, and might be classed under necromancy. But we are chiefly concerned with necromancy proper, or the evoking and consulting of ghosts. This, as distinct from seeing a ghost casually in a dream, or meeting or hearing one unsought, which might happen to any one, is the task of a professional diviner or a priest. Thus the Zulu witch-doctor is visited by the *amatongo* (=manes) and their voices are heard giving answers. 'The voice,' says a native witness, quoted by Callaway, 'was like that of a very little child . . . it speaks above, among the wattles of the hut'—a clear case of ventriloquism. Among the Melanesians a *tindalo*, or ghost, comes on board a canoe, its presence being detected by a *mane kisu*, or diviner, and gives affirmative or negative signs in answer to the question, 'Shall we go to such-a-place?' The Ewe diviners summon a *tro*³ in case of sickness, and from its answers—in audible to profane ears—foretell the course of the disease, and so on. In most, if not all, cases, the spirits thus consulted are given offerings of various kinds to win their favour and induce them not only to foretell, but to make things turn out as the inquirer wishes (see Spieth, *l.c.*).

One curious case might be called either necromancy or ordeal. It comes from the Gold Coast, and is used when a creditor makes a claim on a dead man's estate, about which the heirs are doubtful. The claimant drinks water in which the corpse has been washed, swearing to the accuracy of his statement; if he is lying, the power (*sisa*) of the deceased will punish him.⁴ This is an illustration of the difficulty of applying any rigid classification to a large and miscellaneous body of savage beliefs.

Distribution: in one form or another, worldwide. Typical instances are given above.

From men, living or dead, we pass to their surroundings, animate and inanimate. Beginning with the former, we find a large and interesting class.

7. *Divination from animals.*—(a) *Augury.*—The movements of birds or beasts are considered ominous in some degree by nearly, if not quite, all races. In

some cases the reason is quite obvious. Thus the Melanesians have a bird which they call *wisi*, from one of its cries. This happens to mean 'No' in the local dialect, and the creature is thus able to answer questions—its other cries being taken to mean 'Yes.' But this is 'not seriously thought of' (Coddington, p. 221), and in the vast majority of cases the omen is symbolical, frequently needing a professional diviner to interpret it. Thus the Kenyahs of Sarawak have a method of divination worthy of Etruria, by which high-born angurs, after due ceremonies, sit in a leaf-shelter and watch a particular part of the sky for hawks, until the favour of Balli Penyalong is shown by one bird flying right, another left, and a third circling.¹ Why this should be a good omen is by no means clear; the symbolism of augury is a product of many generations, and mysterious, probably, even to the initiated. A more profitable question is, Why should animals give omens at all?—for, no doubt, the original idea is that the animals themselves gave answers, not that any god sent them.² Leaving the Kenyahs for a much more primitive people, we find a case which throws great light on the origin of the belief. A certain young member of the Yui tribe had the kangaroo for his personal totem, by inheritance. Whenever this man saw an 'old-man' kangaroo coming towards him, he knew that he was being warned of danger.³ The Kenyahs are not totemic; but the Ibans (Sea Dayaks), who are of the same family, have a sort of personal totem, the *ngarong*,⁴ or 'spirit-helper,' who generally takes animal form. It is not unlikely, then, that the omen-animal or bird was originally some sort of a personal totem, or—since 'totem' is a word apt to be abused—a *manitou*, which gave warnings and advice, as friendly animals do in folk-tales of all countries. Originally only this one particular spirit-animal would give omens;⁵ this would then be extended to all its species; and, finally, with the coming of more advanced religious views, they would be considered the messengers of a god, perhaps originally a theriomorphic one. We put forward this theory tentatively, however, recognizing its difficulties, such as the existence of augury among the Kenyahs, who apparently have not even the *ngarong*, and its non-existence in Torres Straits, where totemism flourishes.

It should be mentioned that men may be counted among omen-animals. We have already dealt with the omens a man may draw from his own actions; but he may also do things significant for others, though not for himself; e.g., if twins are born, this, like almost all events a little out of the common, is held to be a good or a bad omen by various peoples; thus the Nagas⁶ hold that the birth of twins of opposite sex is unlucky. Again, the Masai⁷ believe that if, on a journey, one meets a solitary wayfarer, the journey will be fruitless.

Finally, in augury, one cannot divide the ominous creatures simply into lucky and unlucky. The same bird or beast may give opposite omens according to the place where it is heard or seen. To take one example out of many, and again from the Masai,⁸ the bird they call *tilo* (*Mesopicus spodocephalus*), if heard on the right, is good; if on the left, bad. If heard behind, on a journey, it means, 'Go on, you will be hospitably received.'

¹ Hosi-McDougall, p. 175 f.

¹ Ellis, p. 191. Note that in a few cases (as the Masai [Hollis, p. 324 f.]) a frenzy is induced by an intoxicant or other drug.

² 'Death from natural causes' is a notion quite foreign to Australian blacks; all deaths are caused either by violence or by magic. Compare Marett, *Threshold of Religion*, 1909, p. 26.

³ Spieth, p. 506.

⁴ Ellis, p. 197 f. Note the primitiveness of this rite among a people who, according to Ellis, 'implicitly believe in the superhuman power of their gods,' and do not attempt to coerce them by any magic (194 f.).

⁵ Both ideas persisted in late beliefs and speculations; see, e.g., Stat. Theb. iii. 486-8 ('seu purior axis amotumque nefas est rarum insistere terris uera docent [alites]') for the former.

⁶ Howitt, p. 400 f.

⁷ Nyarong, in Hosi-McDougall, p. 173; but this is said to be a misprint; Gomes, in *Athenæum*, 18th March 1911.

⁸ The Ibans say that not all omen-birds, but only 38 of each kind, are the messengers of Singalang Burong, the hawk-god, the others do not give true omens, and are not, like the 33 immortal.

⁹ Hodson, p. 134. ⁷ Hollis, *Masai*, p. 324. ⁸ *Ib.* p. 323 f.

(b) *Haruspicy*.—Not only living, but dead, animals can give omens, though the latter are for the most part intelligible only to professional diviners. Before passing to a consideration of these cases, it is well to notice that a dying animal is sometimes consulted. The Nāgas, for instance, sometimes kill a fowl and watch its death-struggles for omens. They also have a more economical, though less reliable, method, in which the fowl is held up by the wings. 'Should the animal cross its right foot over the left, the omen is good; the opposite, bad.'¹

Perhaps the simplest case of what might loosely be called haruspicy is that given by Gomes.² The Sea Dayaks, he tells us, consider it a very bad omen if they find a dead animal in their fields; the crops will poison the owner if he ventures to eat them, unless some one with strong *mana* removes the tabu by ceremonially eating a little, and thus absorbing the evil influence into his own powerful person.

But in haruspicy proper we have to deal with a not very primitive type of religion. The slaughtered animal is regularly a sacrificial victim; the *haruspex* is generally not merely a diviner, but a priest, where such a distinction exists; and the entrails therefore contain the cryptic message, to be read by enlightened eyes, of a god. The method of reading is a more or less complex symbolism; thus, to find the internal organs in an unusual position—heart on the wrong side, or the like—means generally some disastrous upheaval.

Distribution: augury and haruspicy both in Sarawak; augury alone in Malay Peninsula and Melanesia; haruspicy alone among Masai and Nandi; both found, singly or together, in more or less complicated forms, in nearly all parts of the world.

8. *Divination by mechanical means*.—Of mechanical means of divination there is no end. We may divide them, very roughly, into: (a) *coscinomancy*, or devices akin to the modern *planchette*, and probably worked by unconscious muscular action; (b) *sortilegium*, or devices involving some kind of a game of chance, generally of simple form.

(a) Skeat (p. 536 f.) reports a simple case of *coscinomancy* among the Malays, which he himself saw. A kind of pendulum is made, with appropriate rites—charm and sacrifice—by thrusting a fish-spine through a lemon, and suspending it on a cord of seven different coloured strands. Questions are then put to it; it says 'Yes' by swinging, 'No' by staying still. The same people use a divining-rod, which vibrates in the presence of a thief; the Melanesians³ use a similar rod in cases of illness, to discover which of the recently dead is 'eating' the patient. The stick vibrates at the right name. To take another illustration from Skeat (p. 538 f.)—a thief may be discovered, after appropriate rites, by two people holding a bowl of water between their fingers. The names of suspected persons are presented to it in writing, and at that of the guilty man it twists around and falls. In all these cases, as in *planchette* writing, if we exclude deliberate cheating, we are left with the supposition that the diviner unconsciously moves his divining-machine in the way he is expecting, or perhaps contrary to his conscious expectation and even his conscious volition.⁴ But the usual, so far as we know, the universal, explanation given by the lower races is that the movements are caused by some spirit which, to borrow the jargon of modern spiritualism, 'controls' the instrument. It may well be thought, however, considering the obvious antiquity of this

and kindred modes of divination, that, before any definitely animistic belief came to prevail, the implement, being by virtue of proper ceremonies made 'big medicine,' had in itself the power to answer.

(b) Whether or not Tylor¹ is right in seeing in *sortilegium* the origin of all games of luck, it is so wide-spread and miscellaneous that we can do no more than give a few random examples, some of which, provisionally accepting Tylor's hypothesis, we class under the main forms of games of chance. (1) *Odd and even*.—This is used among the Masai and Nandi, whose diviners shake pebbles out of a buffalo-horn, and observe whether an odd or an even number results.² On the Gold Coast a similar method is used, with nuts for pebbles and without the horn.³ (2) *The teetotum*.—The coconut, being a natural teetotum, is much used in the Pacific, both in games of chance, pure and simple, and for divination. Tylor (*loc. cit.*) gives examples of both. (3) *Dice and similar implements*.—Dice, as we understand them, are but little used among savages; but the underlying principle—something which, if thrown, may fall in any one of several different ways—is common enough. The most rudimentary form is perhaps the mangrove-embryo used by women in the Torres Straits⁴ to determine the sex of an unborn child. It is thrown between the legs, backwards, and no notice is taken of which side it falls on, but merely of whether it flies straight or crooked—the first presaging a boy, and the second a girl. The same people have a folk-tale, in which the hero holds up his throwing-stick, 'and it fell in the direction of Daudai. "I will go there by-and-by; I think I will kill them all," he said.'⁵ (4) A number of methods of mechanical divination have not, so far as we know, resulted in actual games. The most interesting is the magic drum of the shaman, the surface of which, in Lapland, was painted with various figures. A ring or bunch of rings was placed on the skin of the drum, which was then beaten with a horn hammer, 'not so much to make a Noise, as by the Drumming to move the Ring . . . so as to pass over the Pictures and shew what they seek after.'⁶ Besides particular signs given by the pictures, the ring gave a good omen if it went sunwise, bad if it went *withershins*. A simpler omen is that found among the Nāgas. 'At Mao and Marām the issue of a hunting party is prognosticated by their success in kicking small pebbles on to the top of a monolith.'⁷ More curious, because harder to explain, though it probably is a simple conjuring trick, is the Zulu divination by sticks or bones. The sticks, after proper ceremonies, rise up and jump about by way of saying 'Yes,' lie still for 'No,' and, if asked 'Where is so-and-so's ailment?' strike the questioner on the corresponding part of his body. And so on. The list might be extended indefinitely, but the principle is always the same: 'chance' is the working of some non-human power, who makes a die fall a particular way, or an odd and not an even number of pebbles jump out, or a particular man draw a particular lot, just as Athene makes the arrow of Pandaros miss its mark (*Il. iv. 127 ff.*).

Distribution: in one form or another, universal.

9. *Divination from Nature*.—(a) *Astrology*.—With the elaborate pseudo-science which grew out of the belief that the position and influence of the heavenly bodies more or less mould human affairs, we have nothing to do here; it is a product of

¹ 1. 78.

² Hollis, *Masai*, p. 324, *Nandi*, p. 69.

³ Ellis, p. 202.

⁴ *Camb. Exp.* p. 196.

⁵ *Id.* p. 74.

⁶ Scheffer, *Hist. of Lapland*, Eng. ed. of 1751, p. 23 f.; cf. *Anthropology and the Classics*, ed. Marett, Oxford, 1900, pp. 28, 80. It is not inconceivable that the pictures on playing-cards may owe their origin to some such magic figures as these.

⁷ Hodson, p. 133.

¹ Dr. Brown, *ap. Hodson*, p. 182.

² *Op. cit.* p. 156.

³ See Codrington, p. 210 ff.

⁴ The writer has had personal experience of quite genuine performances of this sort on the part of a *planchette*.

comparatively advanced civilization, and involves real knowledge of pure and applied mathematics, far beyond the capacity of most savage races. The rudiments, however, of astrology, together with star-myths of varying complexity, are early and common. Thus the Malays, along with quite a complicated foreign astrology, with calendars and lucky and unlucky days, etc.,¹ have preserved such simple bits of symbolism as that a star near the moon means an approaching marriage. Among the Maoris the moon represents a besieged *pah*, and the stars the attacking force—their relative position indicating the result of the campaign.

(b) Other natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, lightning, etc., are everywhere held to portend something—usually misfortune. But it seldom goes beyond 'something.' Homer's remark on lightning, which indicates Zeus to be 'fashioning either great rain unspeakable or hail or snow . . . or, somewhere, the great mouth of bitter battle' (*Il.* x. 5 ff.), is a good summing up of the vagueness of the beliefs usually connected with these phenomena. They are too rare, comparatively speaking, and also too noteworthy in themselves, for a system of divination to be built upon them. They frighten rather than forewarn.

Distribution: traces everywhere; so far as we know, except for civilized peoples, nowhere very important or noteworthy.

10. *Miscellaneous divination*.—Finally, we may note one or two methods which cannot be classed under any of the above heads, but are interesting in themselves. (a) *Clairvoyance*.—This is not the place to ask whether any such power really exists. It is enough for our purposes that, e.g., the Malays think it does, and some of them, according to Skeat, practise it. (b) In the Torres Straits² we get a good example of a not uncommon idea, that a small mishap of any kind is the forerunner of a greater one. Thus one of the natives, who was a skilled dugong fisher, returned empty-handed one day with his harpoon broken. Shortly after, three deaths occurred, to his great comfort, as it showed that his bad luck had been sent as an omen and was no fault of his own. (c) *Blood* is 'uncanny' and ominous. Thus a Sea Dayak,³ finding a drop of blood on the floor-mats, will consider that a spirit has shed it, and that it is a very bad omen. (d) In general, any occurrence at all unusual is ominous; and a diviner, or some skilled person, is usually consulted.

11. *Survivals*.—The methods of which we have given examples belong to the lower stages of civilization. With political and religious advance one of two things happens: either some kinds of divination are taken into the State religion (Greece, Rome; see special articles) and the others become insignificant and even disreputable, like all magic; or, as in the case especially of Christianity,⁴ the dominant faith declares against them all as either false or the work of evil spirits. The first beginnings of this we have already seen in a few instances. But the counter process, by which the higher religions degenerate into magic, must not be forgotten. Thus, the Jewish and Christian formula 'In the name of . . .' has been found in magical papyri (see Kenyon, *Brit. Mus. Papyri*, i. [1893] 65 f.; Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 1903); a chapter of the Qur'an is read as a charm during the Malay ritual of divination with a bowl of water, described above; Orphic and Mithraic rituals have been used for purely magical purposes; the Buddhist *Om mani padme hum* is often used as a charm and not a prayer. But, apart from this, popular belief

dies hard; and, for example, in modern Europe we find all kinds of beliefs which are most probably relics of pre-Christian divination, little, if at all, affected by the official religion, except that they are often not definitely felt to be magico-religious. We give a few examples of both classes.

To the class of divination by mechanical means we must add, among peoples who possess sacred writings, or books for any reason esteemed to contain great wisdom (such as was attributed to the works of Vergil in the Middle Ages), a form of *sortilegium* which consists in opening such a book at random and taking an omen from the first passage met with. The prestige won for the Bible by the establishment of Christianity in Europe has resulted in the *sortes Biblicae*, still used, we believe, among uneducated people.¹ Church festivals also have affected the popular beliefs in lucky and unlucky days, for how else can the bad reputation of Friday be explained? Astrologically it should be lucky, being the day of Venus, especially for marriages and the like; yet comparatively few people even to-day would care to be married on a Friday.

As to survivals pure and simple of ancient ideas about omens, wholly unconnected with Christian beliefs, their name is legion. The author gives a few personally known to him. A patient in a Plaistow hospital showed genuine instinct for sympathetic magic and divination by refusing to fasten on her wedding-ring when her emaciation made that desirable, because, 'if you bind up a ring you bind up poverty with it'; and the idea is common in the East End of London. Creaking furniture heralds a death in many places in Yorkshire; a bird flying into the house 'brings ill-luck with it,' in most parts of England; a stumble in going upstairs—this we cannot explain—presages a wedding. Astrology² and oneiromancy still flourish; Tylor mentions an instance of haruspicy in Brandenburg;³ palmistry, known among the Malays, is common at every fair. Augury has perhaps a survival in the habit of bowing to magpies. Cf. Shakespeare's mention of them:

Augurs and understood relations have

By magot-pies . . . brought forth

The secret'st man of blood" (*Macbeth*, iii. iv. 124-126).

Compare the custom of turning over the money in one's pocket on hearing the first cuckoo. So hardly does an ancient belief yield to either science or common sense.

LITERATURE.—On the subject in general, see E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1903, vol. i. For particular races the following will be found useful: H. Callaway, *Rel. Syst. of the Amazulu*, Natal, 1870; *Cambridge Anthropol. Exp. to Torres Straits*, 1901-8, vol. v.; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891; A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, 1887; T. C. Hodgson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*, 1911; A. C. Hollis, *The Masas*, 1905, also *The Nandi*, 1909; C. Hose and W. McDougall, 'Men and Animals in Sarawak,' *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 173; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 1904; W. Radloff, 'Das Schamanenthum und sein Kultus,' in his *Aus Sibrien*, 1898, vol. ii.; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 1900; Spencer-Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899, and *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904; J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, 1906.

H. J. ROSE.

DIVINATION (American).—Throughout the two continents of America divination and prophetic utterance were and are generally practised by the priestly class (shamans and medicine-men) of the various nations and tribes which have inhabited them. The methods of divination in use did not vary much so far as the different divisions of

¹ Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* gives a well-known example.

² Among us, as among the Malays, in two forms: (1) borrowed from the medieval systems (Zadkiel, etc.); (2) popular, as in the belief, held by nearly every one except those who know anything of meteorology, that the weather depends on the moon.

³ Compare divining from a sheep's shoulder-blade, well known from the references in Drayton and other writers. See Tylor, *passim*.

¹ See Skeat, p. 544 ff., for details.

² *Camb. Exp.* p. 361.

³ Gomes, *op. cit.* p. 158.

⁴ Buddhism is also hostile; among the Buddhist section of the Tunguses there is no shamanism, according to Radloff. The corrupt Buddhism of Tibet cannot be taken as typical.

American nationality were concerned, nor did they display much dissimilarity from those in vogue among other barbarian peoples. In ancient or pre-Columbian Mexico and Peru there was a college of augurs, corresponding in purpose to the *auspices* of ancient Rome, the alumni of which occupied themselves with observing the flight and listening to the songs of birds, from which they drew their conclusions, pretending to interpret the speech of all winged creatures. In Mexico the *calmecac*, or training-college of the priests, had a department where divination was taught in all its phases, and that the occupation was no mere sinecure will appear later. Among the less advanced communities the services of the diviner or seer were much in request, and the forecasting of the future became, sooner or later, the chief concern of the higher classes of medicine-men.

The methods adopted by the priests or shamans in the practice of divination scarcely differed with locality, but many various expedients were made use of to attain the same end. In the Peru of the Incas, besides those augurs who were supposed to interpret the songs of the feathered race, there were other castes who specialized in the various kinds of divination. Thus, some practised oracular methods in much the same way as did the priesthood in ancient Egypt and Greece. The idols became the direct mediums by which Divine wishes were disclosed or the future made clear. Necromancy was also extensively practised, the priests pretending to raise the dead, whose instructions they communicated to those who had consulted them. In the Mexico of the Aztecs, also, necromancy was in vogue, and the raising of the spirit of the Princess Papantzin, sister of the ill-fated Montezuma, who foretold the downfall of his empire and his own destruction, will be familiar to every reader of Prescott. To return to Peru, still other classes predicted by means of leaves of tobacco, or the grains or juice of coca, the shapes of grains of maize, taken at random, the appearance of animal excrement, the forms assumed by the smoke rising from burning victims, the entrails and viscera of animals, the course taken by spiders, visions seen in dreams, the flight of birds, and the direction in which fruits might fall. The professors of these several methods were distinguished by different ranks and titles, and their training was a long and arduous one, and undertaken in no mere spirit of flippancy. If their clients were deceived, it is safe to say that they themselves were as unconscious of deceit as is a modern physician who has wrongly diagnosed a case.

In considering the practice of divination and prophecy among the aboriginal peoples of America, it will be necessary to deal separately with each of the principal methods by means of which they are performed. These are (1) by observing the flight of birds; (2) by oracular and necromantic practices; (3) by means of hypnotism; (4) through the interpretation of dreams and visions, and by conditions of ecstasy produced by drugs; (5) by means of astrological practice; and (6) by the appearance of various objects.

1. By observing the flight of birds.—It has already been noticed that the Mexican and Peruvian priesthoods, or that class of them devoted to augury, made a practice of observing the flight of various birds and of listening to their songs. This observation of birds for the purpose of augury was common to other American tribes. The bird, with its rapid motion and incomprehensible power of flight, appeared to the savage as a being of a higher order than himself, and its song—the only hint of music with which he was familiar—as something bordering upon the supernatural, the ability to understand which he had once possessed, but had

lost through the potency of some evil and unknown spell. Some great sorcerer or medicine-man alone might break this spell, and this the shamans of the tribe sought assiduously to achieve, by means of close attention to the habits of birds, their motions and flights, and especially to their song. 'The natives of Brazil regarded one bird in especial as of good augury,' says an early 18th cent. traveller, Coreal (*Voyages aux Indes occidentales*, p. 203). He does not state to what bird he alludes, but proceeds to say that its mournful chant is heard by night rather than by day. The savages say it is sent by their deceased friends to bring them news from the other world, and to encourage them against their enemies. Here, it would seem, we have an example of bird-augury combined with divination by necromancy. Coreal probably alluded to the goat-sucker bird, which, with the screaming vulture, some South American tribes—the Guaycurus of Paraguay, for example—suppose to act as messengers from the dead to their priests, between whom and the deceased persons of the tribe there is thought to be frequent communication.

A typical example of augury by bird-habit has come down to us in the account of the manner in which the Nahuas of Mexico fixed upon the spot for the foundation of that city. Halting after years of travel at the Lake of Tezcuco, they observed perched on the stem of a cactus a great eagle with wings outspread, holding in its talons a writhing serpent. Their augurs interpreted this as a good omen, as it had been previously announced by an oracle; and on the spot drove the first piles upon which was afterwards built the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The legend of its foundation is still commemorated in the arms of the modern Republic of Mexico, and on its coinage and postal stamps.

2. Oracular and necromantic methods.—We have already seen that the priesthood of Peru practised oracular methods of divination by 'making the idols speak.' Whether they accomplished this by ventriloquial arts or by the more primitive means of concealing one of their number, we do not know. But we know that the *piagés*, or priests of the Uapes tribe of Brazil, practise oracular divination by means of a contrivance known to them as the *paxiuba*. This is one of their most sacred symbols, and consists of a portion of a palm-tree about the height of a man, and some 10 cm. in diameter. By a device consisting of holes bored in the part of the tree beneath the foliage, its leaves are made to tremble by the breath of the priestly ministrant, and the sound so caused is interpreted as a message from Jurupari, their principal deity. Necromancy is also practised extensively by the Uapes Indians, a class of *piagés* being set apart for this purpose solely. Indeed, in most Indian tribes the shamans or medicine-men, or a portion of them, specialize in the art. A great similarity marks the methods of procedure of most American tribes, from the Eskimos to the Nahuas. A circular lodge consisting of poles planted firmly in the ground is covered with skins or mats, a small hole only being left for the seer to make his entrance. After entering, he carefully closes the aperture, and proceeds to make his incantations. In a little while the entire lodge trembles and sways, the poles bend to breaking point, as if ten strong men were straining at them, and sounds, strange and supernatural, coming now from the depths of the earth, now from the air above, cause those who listen outside to tremble. At last the medicine-man cries out that the spirit he has invoked is present, and will reply to questions. Presents to the supernatural visitor are inserted beneath the skins, as a preliminary to consultation; and the spectators commence to interrogate the dread presence in fear and trembling. The replies received are, for sheer ambiguity, equal to the oracular answers of the pythonesses of ancient Greece. Converted Indians have repeatedly

averred that in performing this feat they were merely passive agents. But, as many of these barbarous seers excite themselves into a condition of permanent lunacy when under the influence, there is very little doubt that they are as much the victims of hallucination as are their hearers, although the taking of gifts and the occasional shrewd nature of their replies would seem to point to the possession of considerable powers of calculation.

3. Hypnotic divination.—Divination by hypnosis is no new art in America. Jonathan Carver, a British sea-captain who travelled among the Sioux in the latter end of the 18th cent., mentions it as in use among them; and J. E. Fletcher observed it among the Menominee about the middle of last century. In the 'Ghost Dance' of the Paviotso of Nevada (a ceremonial religious dance connected with the Messiah doctrine, which originated among that people about 1888 and spread rapidly among other tribes, through the agency of the pretended prophet, one Wovoka, a medicine-man who had lived among whites), hypnotic trances were frequently induced to enable the Indians to converse with their dead relatives, who were, it was said, to return to them, and sweep the earth clear of the whites in a great Armageddon. The movement was defeated, but survives to some extent in the 'Crow Dance' of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, in which prophecy by hypnotism is still practised.

4. Dreams and visions.—The business of divination by means of dreams and visions, it is hardly necessary to say, was almost completely in the hands of the priestly class in America, as is exemplified by the derivation of 'priest' in the native languages. By the Algonquians and Dakotas they were called *wakanwapi*, 'dreamers of the gods'; in Mexico, *teopixqui* or *teotecuhlli*, 'masters or guardians of divine things'; in Cherokee, *atsilung kelawhi*, 'those having the Divine fire'; in Maya, *cocome*, 'the listeners,' etc. Nearly all messages supposed to be received from the supernatural came through the medium of dreams or visions, and those who possessed ability to read or interpret the dream were usually placed in a class by themselves. The medicine-men or shamans held it as an article of belief that the glimpse into futurity with which visions or dreams provided them was to be gained only by extreme privation and by purifying the vision through hunger or the use of drugs. To induce the ecstatic condition the Indians made use of many different mediums, such as want of sleep, seclusion, the pertinacious fixing of the mind upon one subject, the swallowing or inhalation of cerebral intoxicants, such as tobacco, the *maguery*, coca, the *chucucaco*, the snake-plant *ololuhqui*, the *peyotl* (these last two in Mexico), and the *cassine yupon*, and *Iris versicolor* (among the tribes in the southern parts of the United States). According to Hawkins, the Creeks had no fewer than seven sacred plants cultivated for this purpose, among them the *Ilex vomitoria* or *Ilex cassina* of the natural order *Aquifoliaceæ*; and the 'blue flag,' *Iris versicolor*, of the order *Iridaceæ*. 'The former is a powerful diuretic and mild emetic, and grows only near the sea. The latter is an active emetocathartic, and is abundant on swampy grounds throughout the Southern States. From it was formed the celebrated "black drink" with which they opened their councils, and which served them in place of spirits' (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 315, note).

From dreams during the puberty-fast a person's entire future was usually divined by the shamans, his spiritual affinities fixed, and his life's course mapped out (see art. CALENDAR [American], vol. iii. p. 68^b). The elaborate ceremonies known as 'dances' were usually adumbrated to the priests

through dreams, and the actual performance was made to follow carefully in detail the directions supposed to have been received in the dream or vision. Many shrines and sacred places were also supposed to have been indicated to certain persons in dreams, and their contents presented to those persons by supernatural beings whilst they were in the visionary state. The periods for the performance of rites connected with a shrine, as well as other devotional observances, often depended on an intimation received in a dream. 'Visions' were also induced by winding the skin of a freshly-killed animal round the neck until the pressure on the veins caused unconsciousness, and dreams resulted, possibly from an overflow of blood to the head. Some tribes believed that the vision came to the prophet or seer as a picture, or that acts were performed before him as in a play, whilst others held that the soul travelled through space, and was able to see from afar those places and events of which it desired to have knowledge.

Numerous instances of the truly marvellous manner in which events have been foretold by American medicine-men are on record, and it is hard to believe that they do not possess the gift of clairvoyance in some degree.

In his autobiography, Black Hawk, a celebrated Sac chief, relates that his grandfather had a strong belief that in four years' time 'he should see a white man, who would be to him as a father.' Supernaturally directed, as he said, he travelled eastward to a certain spot, and there, as he had been informed in dreams, met with a Frenchman, who concluded an alliance on behalf of his country with the Sac nation. Coincidence is certainly possible here, but it can hardly exist in the circumstances of the narrative of Jonathan Carver. While he was dwelling with the Killistnoes (i.e. Cree), they were threatened with a famine, and on the arrival of certain traders, who brought them food in exchange for skins and other goods, their very existence depended. The diviners of the tribe were consequently consulted by the chief, and announced that the next day, at high noon exactly, a canoe would make its appearance with news of the anxiously looked-for expedition. The entire population came down to the beach in order to witness its arrival, accompanied by the incredulous trader, and, to his intense surprise, at the very moment forecast by the shamans, a canoe rounded a distant headland, and, paddling speedily shorewards, brought the patient Killistnoes news of the expedition they expected.

John Mason Brown has put on record an equally singular instance of the prophetic gift on the part of an American medicine-man (see *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1866). He was engaged several years previously in searching for a band of Indians in the neighbourhood of the Mackenzie and Coppermine rivers; but the difficulties of the search induced the majority of his band to return, until out of ten men who had originally set out only three remained. They had all but concluded to abandon their search, when they stumbled upon a party of braves of the very tribe of which they were in search. These men had been sent out by their medicine-men to find three villages, of whose horses, accoutrements, and general appearance the shaman had given them an exhaustive account; ere they set out, and this the warriors related to Brown before they saw his companions. Brown very naturally inquired closely of the medicine-man how he had been able to foretell their coming. But the latter, who appeared to be 'a frank and simple-minded man,' could only explain that 'he saw them coming, and heard them talk on their journey.'

Under the heading of 'dreams and visions' may also be noticed the practice, common in some parts of the American continent, of attempting to pry into the future through gazing fixedly at some polished object, until semi-insensibility is attained by self-hypnosis. The Indians of Central America employed for this purpose (and still make use of) small shining stones made of hard polished sandstone, which they at times consult when dubious as to the future.

A case is on record where a Cherokee kept a divining crystal wrapped up in buckskin in a cave, occasionally 'feeding' it by rubbing over it the blood of a deer; and similar instances might be multiplied. At the village of Teopan, Guatemala, Stephens and Catherwood saw a remarkable stone which had been placed on the altar of the church there, but which had previously been used as a divining stone by the Indians of the district. Fuentes, one of the Spanish historians of Guatemala, says of it: 'To the westward of the city there is a little mound that commands it, on which stands a small round building about six feet in height, in the middle of which there is a pedestal formed of a shining substance resembling glass, but the precise quality of which has not been ascertained. Seated

around this building, the judges heard and decided the causes brought before them, and their sentences were executed on the spot. Previous to executing them, however, it was necessary to have them confirmed by the oracle, for which purpose three of the judges left their seats and proceeded to a deep ravine, where there was a place of worship containing a black, transparent stone, on the surface of which the Deity was supposed to indicate the fate of the criminal' (Stephens, *Incidents of Travel*, II. 149). Stephens found this 'stone' to be a piece of common slate, fourteen inches by ten. For purposes of divination it would probably have been covered with water.

5. Divination by astrological practice.—Divination by astrology was, of course, resorted to only in that part of America where the knowledge of the movements of the heavenly bodies had advanced beyond the elementary stage. Among the Aztecs the planetary influences were less powerful than the arbitrary signs they had adopted for the months and days. The nature of the principal sign in each lunar cycle of thirteen days gave a colour to the whole. The figures relating to succeeding days and hours modified this, however, and it was in coalescing these opposing forces that the art of the Aztec diviner lay. No event in life, of any consequence, was permitted to pass without consulting him. On the birth of a child he was summoned in haste. He ascertained the exact time of the event with exceeding care, and then proceeded to cast the infant's horoscope, the family standing by in trembling suspense the while.

6. Divination by means of various objects or practices.—Various other methods were in vogue by means of which the native priesthood attempted to forecast the future. For this purpose fetishes and small personal idols were often consulted. The grains of cocoa in the bottom of a drained vessel were 'read,' as the remaining leaves still are in many European tea-cups. The viscera of sacrificed animals were carefully examined for signs regarding the future. The course and shape of smoke, too, was keenly watched by the shamans of many peoples.

According to Fuentes, the chronicler of Guatemala (Stephens, *op. cit.* II. 127), the reigning king of Kiche, Kichan Tanub, when informed by the ambassador of Montezuma II. that a race of irresistible white men had conquered Mexico and were proceeding to Guatemala, sent for four diviners, whom he commanded to tell him what would be the result of this invasion. They asked for time to discover the future fate of his kingdom, and, taking their bows, discharged some arrows against a rock. They returned to inform their master that, as no impression had been made upon the rock by the arrowheads, they must prognosticate the worst, and predicted the ultimate triumph of the white man—a circumstance which shows that the class to which they belonged stood in no fear of royalty. Kichan Tanub, dissatisfied, sent for the *priests*, obviously a different class from the diviners, and requested their opinions. From the ominous circumstance of an ancient stone—which had been brought from afar by their forefathers—having been broken, they also augured the fall of the Kiche empire.

Many objects, such as small clay birds, boats, or boat-shaped vessels, etc., have been discovered in sepulchral mounds in North America, and it is conjectured that these may have been used for purposes of divination. As any object might become a fetish, it is probable that any object employed appears to have been so to treat the object that the probable chances for or against the happening of a certain event would be discovered—much, indeed, as some persons still toss coins to 'find out' whether an expected event will come to pass or not. Portents, too, were implicitly believed in by the American races, and this branch of augury was, we find, one of the accomplishments of Nezahualpilli, king of Tezcuco, near Mexico, whom Montezuma consulted concerning the terrible prodigies which startled his people prior to the advance of the Spaniards upon his kingdom, and which were supposed to predict the return of Quetzalcoatl, the legendary culture-hero of Anahuac, to his own again. These included earthquakes, tempests, floods, the appearances of comets and strange lights, whilst mysterious voices

were heard in the air—such prodigies, indeed, as tradition usually insists upon as the precursors of the downfall of a mighty empire.

LITERATURE.—M. C. Balboa, *Hist. du Pérou*, Paris, 1840; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1905, and *Nagualism*, Philadelphia, 1894; F. Coreal, *Voyages aux Indes occidentales*, pt. II, Amsterdam, 1722; H. A. Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, vol. I. ('Études sur les Guyane et l'Amazonie'), Paris, 1887; A. C. Fletcher, *22 REEW*, pt. II, 1904; A. L. Kroeber, *Amer. Anthropol.* IV. no. 2 (1902); J. Mooney, *LBREW*, 1896; B. Sahagun, *Hist. gen. de las cosas de Nueva España*, lib. IV., lib. XIII, cap. I, Mexico, 1829-80; H. R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Washington, 1851-59; J. L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America*, London, ed. 1854. LEWIS SPENCE.

DIVINATION (Assyro-Babylonian).—The practice of divination entered very largely into the religious life of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Not only was it carried on by unofficial augurs and seers, whose services could be secured for a comparatively small fee by any one desirous of reading the future or of learning the interpretation of some portent which had been vouchsafed to him, but it also formed one of the most important departments of the national religion; and its rites were jealously guarded by a large and organized body of the priesthood. In fact, during the later periods of Assy. and Bab. history it had become a highly complicated science. Every great temple had in course of time accumulated a store of recorded portents, with notes as to the events which had been observed to follow on them. As a result of their classification and study by the priesthood, there had been evolved an elaborate omen literature, comprising long series of tablets dealing with every class of augural phenomena. Thanks to the literary zeal of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), we possess a wealth of material for the detailed study of Bab. divination, since a considerable portion of the literary and religious texts of which he had copies made for his library at Nineveh were works on divination in its various forms. It is true that many of these have been recovered in a far from complete condition, but enough remains to indicate the important part which the prediction of future events played in both the official and the popular religion.

That the contents of these comparatively late texts may not only be regarded as representing contemporary beliefs, but may also be employed to illustrate the practice of earlier periods, has been amply demonstrated. The texts themselves in their present form are obviously the result of a gradual process of growth and accretion, and the series under which they have been arranged bear evidence of much earlier editing and redaction. Moreover, we possess a few similar texts dating from earlier periods; while the historical and votive inscriptions furnish data by means of which it is possible to trace some of the principal forms of Bab. divination back into the earlier period of Sumerian history. That the Semitic Babylonians expanded and developed the science was but natural; but there can be little doubt that they inherited many of their augural beliefs and practices from the earlier Sumerian inhabitants of Babylonia, whom they eventually conquered and absorbed. Thus already in the reign of Urukagina, king of Lagash (c. 2300 B.C.), we have evidence of the wide-spread practice of divination by oil. From augural texts of a later period (c. 2000 B.C.), we know that in this particular form of divination the procedure consisted in pouring out oil upon the surface of water, the different forms taken by the oil on striking the water indicating the course which events would take.¹ A professional diviner

¹ See *Cuneiform Texts in the Brit. Mus.* III. pl. 2 ff., v. pl. 4 ff.; and cf. Hunger, 'Becherwahrung bei den Babyloniern,' in *Leipzig. Semit. Stud.* I. [1903] 1.

was naturally required to carry out the accompanying ritual and to interpret correctly the message of the oil, and Urukagina records that among the reforms he inaugurated was the abolition of certain exactions and fees which had been demanded in connexion with the practice, not only by the diviner himself, but also by the grand vizier and the *patesi*.¹ In the later Sumerian period we find that Gudea, when purifying Lagash before the erection of his temple, drove out the wizards and sorcerers, in addition to kindling a fire of aromatic woods. From this record it might perhaps be inferred that at this period divination was not officially recognized, were it not that Gudea himself expressly states that before starting upon his temple-building he consulted the omens and found them favourable.² Moreover, the elaborate vision in which the gods revealed their wishes to him with regard to Ningirsu's temple, and the far earlier vision of Eannatum (c. 3000 B.C.), in which Ningirsu encouraged him for battle,³ prove that the study of dreams and their interpretation had been elaborated by the Sumerians. It is, therefore, possible to regard the later augural texts as incorporating earlier practices; and deductions drawn from their study may legitimately be regarded as of general application, and not as confined to a single late period.

In attempting to classify the great range of phenomena which formed the subject of Bab. divination, a convenient distinction may perhaps be adopted which has been drawn between voluntary and involuntary divination.⁴ Under the former the diviner deliberately sought out some means of foretelling the future; under the latter he merely interpreted the meaning of portents, signs, or phenomena which, without being sought out, forced themselves on his notice or on that of his clients.

The principal method of voluntary divination was *hepatoscopy*, or divination by the liver of a sacrificial sheep. The diviner, termed the *barā*, or 'seer',⁵ after the due performance of the accompanying rites and the slaughter of the victim, exposed the animal's liver, and by an examination of its principal parts was enabled to predict the future. The chief parts of the liver which were examined in this way were the right and left lower lobes, the upper lobe and its two appendices (the *processus pyramidalis* and the *processus papillaris*), the gall-bladder, the cystic duct, the hepatic duct, the hepatic vein, and the 'liver gate' (*porta hepatis*).⁶ The system of interpretation was based mainly on an association of ideas. Thus a swollen gall-bladder was regarded as pointing to an increase of power; on the other hand, a depression in the liver gate pointed to a decrease in power; signs noted on the right side were favourable, on the left side unfavourable, etc. Moreover, the markings on the livers, due to the subsidiary veins and ducts, were carefully studied and interpreted in accordance with their resemblance to the weapons or symbols of the gods. In the tablets of liver-omens, the predictions, as is usual throughout the omen-literature, are vague enough. But these vague indications were made to apply to very

definite circumstances by means of questions addressed to the god before the sacrifice. This we gather from an elaborate series of prayers, addressed to Shamash, the Sun-god, during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, which throw an interesting light on the method of procedure.⁷ The prayers contain appeals to the oracle on political matters. Definite questions were asked as to the course of future events within a specified time, and the priests answered the questions according to the omens presented by the sacrificial victims. The questions were framed with great ingenuity, so that all contingencies might be covered. The prayers also prove that scrupulous care was taken in the preparation of the victim and the recital of the accompanying formulae, while it was also essential that the diviner, no less than the victim, should be free from any ceremonial impurity. It is interesting to note that, in these prayers to the Sun-oracle, the signs found in the victim are noted but are not interpreted. The roughly-shaped tablets on which they were written were actually used in the course of the ritual: they contain the appeal to the oracle and the oracle's answer as seen in the victim's liver. The question was first written out, and the tablet was placed before the god (cf. the Greek practice at Delphi); the god's answer was afterwards added in terms of the liver. For the diviner's interpretation of this answer to the king no doubt another tablet was employed.

Many of these oracle-tablets, especially those of Esarhaddon's time, contain appeals to Shamash to reveal the outcome of the military campaigns in which he was engaged. They also furnish evidence that the Assyrian king, doubtless following Babylonian precedent, consulted the oracle on every occasion of importance, such as the dispatch of an envoy, the giving of a daughter in marriage, the sickness of a royal relative, the appointment of a high official, etc. In the case of the Sun-oracles the answers received by the king have disappeared, but it is probable that they resembled certain oracles of Ishtar of Arbela, which the goddess vouchsafed to Esarhaddon,⁸ obviously in answer to such questions as those addressed to the Sun-god. Here the oracles are composed in the first person, the speaker representing the goddess; but in each case the name of the priest or priestess who pronounced the oracle on the goddess's behalf is given.⁹ The answers of the oracles which have been collected and preserved are invariably encouraging, and promise success to the king in somewhat vague and general phraseology. They are clearly happy omens that have been fulfilled.

The reason why the god of the oracle should reveal the future through the liver of the victim is not at first sight obvious. But it is certain that the liver, not the heart, was regarded by peoples in a primitive state of culture as the seat of life; and there is much to be said for the theory that the sacrificial animal on being accepted by the deity, was regarded as assimilated to him.¹⁰ The soul of the animal was thus put in accord with the soul of the god, and, by reading the one, the diviner read the other. This theory also underlay the practice of hepatoscopy among the Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans (see 'Greek' and 'Roman').

¹ Cf. Knudtzon, *Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1893.

² Cf. Rawlinson, *WAI* iv. pl. 61. In addition to Shamash and Ishtar, the other gods whose names are particularly associated with royal oracles are Ashur and Nabû. In Babylonia, Marduk's claim to supremacy in this, as in other departments of the national religion, was not contested.

³ To one oracle a note is added, giving directions for its presentation to the king with accompanying ceremonial. It was to be recited to the king after precious oil had been poured out, offerings made, and incense burnt (cf. Strong, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, II. [1894] 628, 630).

⁴ See Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assyriol.* II. 213 ff.

¹ See King, *Hist. of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 183.

² *Ib.* p. 266 f.

³ *Ib.* pp. 124, 266.

⁴ Cf. Jastrow, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* xlvii. [1908] 143 f., 146 ff. This distinction applies most satisfactorily to the two principal forms of official divination—hepatoscopy and astrology. It is not so clear when applied to some of the minor forms of divination (see below).

⁵ For a discussion of the *barā* and his functions, in contradistinction to the *asipu* and *zammeru* priests, see especially Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger*, Leipzig, 1896–1901, p. 82 ff.

⁶ See Jastrow, *ZA* xx. [1907] 118 f., *Trans. Philad. College of Physicians*, xxi. (3rd ser.) 117 ff., *Harper Memor.* Vol., II. (London, 1910) 281 ff., and *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II. 213 ff.

sections), who doubtless derived much of their augural lore from Babylonia.

No such theory underlay other forms of voluntary divination, such as *oil-divination*,¹ or divination by *arrows*,² or the *flight of birds*, etc. In all such cases (including possibly the flight of birds) the oracle was deliberately invoked, but there was no question of the instrument being assimilated to the deity. Each was merely a passive witness to the Divine will, which was made plain according to a traditional code having the sanction of the oracle.

The most important form of involuntary divination concerns the portents exhibited by *the heavens*. Eclipses, storms, and unusual atmospheric conditions would naturally be regarded from the earliest periods as manifestations of Divine anger, and their correct interpretation would be of the utmost importance to a race, however primitive. To go still farther, and trace a connexion between earthly occurrences and the movements of the heavenly bodies was a much later development, and undoubtedly followed the identification of the planets and principal fixed stars with the chief gods of the pantheon. Winckler's assumption that there was thought to be a perfect correspondence between heaven and earth, and that the occurrences on earth were merely a reflexion of heavenly phenomena (see STARS [Assyr.-Bab.]), is quite untrue for the earlier historical epochs, and is true only in a restricted sense for the latest periods of Neo-Babylonian speculation. The Neo-Assyrian astrological reports indicate what a careful watch was kept at that period by the royal astrologers for any indication of the Divine will, and the calendars of favourable and unfavourable days were but one result of the study which had been devoted to the astrological branch of divination. In most of the omens connected with both hepatoscopy and astrology the predictions refer to the general rather than to the individual welfare, in which we may see an indication of their official character.

Private and unofficial divination, to the continued existence of which the private letters of the later Assyrian period bear witness, bulks far more largely in the collections of augural tablets dealing with birth-omens, the interpretation of dreams, and of incidents in daily life. Monstrosities, human and animal, were naturally treated as significant, and future events were also predicted from minute variations in human infants and the young of animals. The class of general portents which were thought to foretell public disasters is well illustrated by an Assyrian copy of a list of forty-seven portents which preceded a conquest of Babylonia.³ The phenomena from which the portents were derived may be classified under two headings: (a) rare natural occurrences, and (b) events which appeared to break some law of Nature. Under the first heading we have the fall of beams in houses, the outbreak of fire in sacred places, the appearance of wild beasts and birds in Babylon, a great flood at Borsippa, when the waters of the Euphrates rose within the precincts of Nabû's temple Ezida, and a flight of meteors or falling stars. Under events which appeared to be contrary to some law of Nature may be set the story of a decapitated head crying out, the occurrence of human and animal monstrosities, cases of incest and unnatural matings of animals, fruitfulness of the male in the case of a dog and of a male date-palm, unnatural growths and appearances of de-

palms, and the appearance of evil spirits in sacred places. Under the last heading may also be set the appearance of honey on the ground at Nippur and of salt at Babylon, though these were doubtless natural secretions of the soil. The importance attached to such portents, affecting general and not individual welfare, is attested by the fact that in the Neo-Babylonian period chronicles of such events were compiled on the same lines as the historical chronicles and were regarded as of equal value and significance.¹

The tablets of unofficial portents prove that almost every event of common life was capable of being interpreted as a favourable or unfavourable sign. But it should be noted that many of the events referred to on the tablets are to be taken as occurrences in dreams, though this may not be explicitly stated in the portion of the text preserved. In fact, the interpretation of dreams was one of the most important duties of the professional seer or diviner both in unofficial and in official life. Reference has already been made to the existence of this branch of divination in the earlier period, and the Assyrian historical inscriptions prove that the gods continued to adopt this method of sending encouragement to the king or of making known to him their wishes. The visible appearance of Ishtar, to encourage Ashurbanipal's army in Elam,² may be explained as a vision in sleep, and she probably did not appear to the king himself, but to a professional seer, as is definitely stated on another occasion when she sent the king a message. Such theophanies, accompanied by direct messages, were naturally of very clear and certain interpretation; but the meaning of most dreams was quite uncertain to the dreamer, for significance attached to the most minute points in the vision, and in every case it was necessary to have recourse to a highly trained diviner.

One of the most interesting classes of unofficial omens was drawn from the appearance of the various parts of the body during sickness, for the events predicted generally concerned the chances of the sick man's recovery, and they may thus be regarded as having something in common with the scientific study of disease. Not only were the sick man's colour and his cries and groans minutely noted, but such physiological phenomena as convulsions, epileptic movements, shivering from fever, and palpitations were carefully studied and made the subject of prognostication. It may be noted that many omen-texts which were formerly regarded as connected with births are rather to be connected with this class of divination.

There is evidence that the practice of various forms of divination, like that of Bab. astrology, was adopted by the Greeks after Alexander's conquest, and so survived under modified forms into the mediæval period. The mere fact that 'Chaldean' was used by the Greeks as a synonymous term for 'astrologer' indicates the spread of the Babylonian astrological system, but there is also evidence that other forms of divination were practised by native diviners who had wandered to the coasts of Asia Minor and the West.³ It is thus possible that more than one form of divination which has survived to the present day may be traced to a Babylonian origin.

LITERATURE.—In *La Divination et la science des présages* (Paris, 1875) F. Lenormant published a very able summary

¹ Cf. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, London, 1907, i. 212 ff.

² Cf. *WAI* v. pl. v. line 95 ff. So, too, the god Ashur is said to have appeared to Gyges, king of Lydia, and to have commanded him to pay homage to Ashurbanipal (*op. cit.* pl. ii. line 98 ff.).

³ See Hunger, 'Bab. Tieromina nebst griech.-röm. Parallelen' (*MVG*, 1900, p. 3).

¹ See above, p. 785b.

² This form of divination is referred to as employed by the Bab. king in *Ezk* 21²².

³ See King, *Cuneiform Texts in the Brit. Mus.*, London, 1909, xxix. 9, pl. 48 f.

of the subject, considering the period at which he wrote. Much new material has been published and classified by A. Boissier in his *Documents assyriens relatifs aux présages* (Paris, 1894-99) and his *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyr.-babylonienne* (Geneva, 1906, etc.); see also *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*, pls. xx., xxvii. f. and xxx. f. The fullest discussion is that by M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Gießen, 1902 ff., II. 138 ff., 203 ff. For other references see the footnotes throughout the article.

LEONARD W. KING.

DIVINATION (Buddhist).—The art of divination was widely practised in India, as in Ancient Europe, at the time of the Buddha's birth. The early accounts of the latter event relate that eight Brahmins 'most versed in the science of astrology' were called in by the prince's father 'to examine carefully all the signs prognosticating the future destiny of his son' (Bigandet, *Life of Gaudama*², Rangoon, 1866, i. 46). Buddha himself, as was to be expected, when he became a teacher is invariably represented in the scriptures as discouraging and condemning divination and all allied arts. Although he personally was credited with foreknowledge, this endowment, in common with that of working miracles, etc., is regarded by Buddhists as the supernatural power (*īdhi*) inherent in every perfected saint, or *arhat*; and he is never represented as using this prophetic power for sorcery or soothsaying purposes. His chief right-hand disciple, however, Maudgalyāyana, is reputed in the scriptures of both divisions of Buddhism to have practised divination and sorcery, by means of which he is represented as having extended the popularity of that faith. For such pandering to popular prejudice he is reproved on several occasions by the Buddha, who is recorded to have said: 'That mendicant does right to whom omens, planetary influence, dreams, and signs are things abolished; he is free from all their evils' (*Sammā-paribhājanīya sutta*, 2).

Nevertheless, divination was obviously too deep-rooted in the popular life to be eradicated; it is found at the present day flourishing among professing Buddhists of all sections, and among monks as well as the laity. It is not merely that foreign aboriginal methods of divination have been accorded a measure of recognition by Buddhism in its extension as a popular religion outside India to the Mongolian races, who have been inveterately addicted to divination and shamanism from the earliest times; positive elements of Indian astrology have been introduced by the Buddhist monks, who are now the chief astrologers for soothsaying purposes, not only in Tibet and Mongolia, but in Burma, Ceylon, and Siam. The grosser forms of divination remain for the most part in the hands of the laity or of the priests and priestesses of the pre-Buddhistic cults. But even some of these have been given a veneer of Buddhism by replacing in several instances the aboriginal cabalistic words of incantation by stereotyped sentences (*mantras*) in the Indian language, culled from the Indian Buddhist scriptures.

Divination is sought after by the majority of professing Buddhists in matters of almost everyday business, as well as in the great epochs of life—birth, marriage, and death—or in sickness. It is primarily employed for the most part to ascertain the planetary influences which are lucky or unlucky, rather than those directly supposed to be caused by the demons (cf. DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Buddhist]), though the latter are usually regarded as the chief agents for executing the evil influence of the planets. The birth-horoscope of every individual, which is jealously treasured by himself, fixes the special planetary influences which are hostile throughout life. The intensity of such influence varies according to whether the planet in question is ascending or not. Then these personal unlucky days have to be compared with the

general lucky or unlucky days for that particular day and week, and these again with those for that season and the elements, according to the varying positions of the planets at the time. The results, moreover, vary with the kind of business or adventure contemplated, which introduces another set of unlucky combinations. Thus an almost endless variation in the forebodings of luck or ill-luck is made possible; and this is to be sought out beforehand, and the evil duly avoided or counteracted. In this way is usually determined which is the right day and hour on which to commence any particular work, the right direction in which to set out on a journey, etc., the issue of any special business or matter of anxiety, or the interpretation of omens and dreams.

The methods of divination practised by Buddhist peoples appear to fall broadly into three categories, namely: (a) lots—the simplest, and generally performed by the people themselves; (b) astrology, for which learned adepts are necessary, usually the higher Buddhist priests; and (c) oracles, usually given by a priest or priestess of the aboriginal religion, seldom by a Buddhist monk.

Astrology is the more reputable form of divination practised by orthodox Buddhist monks, and from the preparation of the horoscopes and the worship prescribed therein the monasteries derive a considerable amount of their income. Among the 'Northern' Buddhists the presiding genius of the astrologers is the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The oracles and professional soothsayers are almost exclusively confined to the followers of the pre-Buddhist religion of the particular country. A few isolated temples are famed for their oracles, in which the presiding divinity or demon, or, it may be, the spirit of a departed saint, is believed to inspire the officiating priest. More frequently the seer is a hermit who has gained a reputation as a prophet; but most commonly it is one of the numerous witch-doctors who is resorted to for an augury. These are of the class generally known as *shamans*, some of whom are women. They are usually illiterate, but possess a very shrewd and ready wit. They deliver their oracular response whilst in an exalted state, into which they work themselves by frenzied gesticulations. The office usually descends in the family. One of the commonest questions they have to answer is that relating to the source of the bewitchment or enchantment (Skr. *prabhāva*, Tib. *mt'u*) which is causing sickness to some particular person.

The Burmese, who may be taken as a type of the 'Southern' division of Buddhists, are fettered in the bonds of horoscopes and witch-doctors (see art. BURMA, § 19).

Amongst 'Northern' or Mahāyāna Buddhists divination is almost universal. In Chinese Buddhism it is only a little less prevalent than in that of Tibet and Mongolia, where it reaches its culminating point. Here the Indian astrological elements are largely mixed with the Chinese, and the oracular methods are of a more frankly shamanist type.

In Tibet, all three of the above-noted classes of divination are widely current. Those monks who practise the art of astrology for divination purposes are called *tsi-pa*, or 'calculators.' Each sect has its own *tsi-pa*, who are among the most learned and respected members of the monastery. The astrological methods follow the general lines already indicated; but the Chinese system of astrology largely predominates over the Indian, as has been shown in the specimens of actual horoscopes translated in detail by the present writer (*Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 458, etc.). The combinations of unlucky portents are complicated by the introduction of a more complex system of

elements and cyclical animal-years and trigrams. In arriving at the calculations an important part is played by the famous mystic Chinese trigram, 'the eight *kuā*' (Tib. *par-k'ha*), on which the mysterious 'Book of Changes,' *Yi-king*, with its 64 hexagrams, is built up. A notable difference between the Tibetan and Chinese methods is that, while the former use only the trigrams for divination, the latter employ exclusively the derived hexagrams for this purpose.

The method by lot is the most popular and common of all, and for its practice nearly every layman is equipped with a pocket divination manual called *mô-pe*, by which the augury may be ascertained. This booklet, which the present writer has translated in great part, divides the results into different sections intended to cover all the events for which an augury is likely to be sought. The usual headings are 'Household,' 'Favours,' 'Life,' 'Medical,' 'Enemy,' 'Visitors,' 'Business,' 'Travel,' 'Lost Property,' 'Wealth,' and 'Sickness.' The lots are of various kinds, and include the following:—(1) Barley-corn or other grain, or pebbles or coins drawn from a heap, or a clutch of the rosary-beads; the last being perhaps the most common of all modes. (2) Dice upon a board on which are drawn geomantic figures with Tibetan references or symbolic animals, or a magic square with 9 compartments called the 9 *sMe-ba* (pronounced *me-wa*), or magic squares of 15 or 20, etc., numbered compartments, of Indian character, or consecutive lotus leaves numbered or inscribed, also derived from India. (3) Twigs—one of the forms of sorcery-divination is called 'the green twig spell' (*sNga-sNgag*). This suggests to the present writer a parallel with the ancient Greek term for 'lot,' namely *κλῆρος*, from *κλάδος*, 'twig'; and the greenness of the twig seems to imply the living presence of the tree-god. (4) Cards on which geomantic figures or allegorical animals or signs are drawn or painted, with sentences to which Tibetan characters are assigned for reference. (5) Sheets or passages of the Buddhist scriptures drawn at random after an incantation. An official instance of divination by lot is seen in the selection in this way of the Dalai Lama by the 'Ordeal of the Urn' (see art. by present writer in *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 69-86), the result of which is believed to represent a direct expression of the Divine will. Indeed, some lamas go so far as to profess to determine by dice the particular region and state in which a deceased person has been re-born.

In all these operations the recital of Buddhist mystic formulæ (*mantras*) as magical spells or incantations plays an important part.

The oracle is a living institution in Tibet, largely resorted to by all the sects, reformed and unreformed. The monks of the yellow-cap and other sects who train as sorcerers (*sNgag-pa*, pron. *ngag-pa*) do not practise oracular divination except for ascertaining the presence and identity of evil spirits supposed to be actually causing sickness or other harm, with the view of exorcizing them. The soothsaying oracle-giver is usually a follower of the aboriginal Bon religion, and, though attached to one of the great monasteries, is not considered to be a member of the brotherhood, and is allowed to marry. The leading exception is the State Oracle at Nechung near Lhasa, at present represented by a celibate monk of the yellow-cap sect, but his origin from a non-Buddhist Mongolian source has been traced by the present writer in detail. He is given the title of 'defender of the faith' (*cho's-skyong*), and is consulted by the State on all great undertakings, and daily by the public. Among the other oracles not absorbed within the monastic order and retaining their aboriginal

features, the most important is at Karmashar in Lhasa, which purports to be inspired by the devil. The dress and equipment of these priests and their frenzied bearing identify them with the Bon cult and the shamanist devil-dancers. They possess no literature, and deliver their sayings orally in cryptic oracular form. They are ordinarily resorted to for the interpretation of omens and dreams, as well as in matters of business and anxiety. Their implements include (1) an arrow (*dah-dar*), to which coloured silken rags are attached; (2) a magic mirror of metal, which reflects the future—a Taoist and Shinto feature. For their augury they may gaze into a bowl or pool of water, or observe the smoke of a sacrificial fire, or the entrails of animals sacrificed and sheep's droppings, or the lines on charred sheep's bones, such as shoulder-blades—an ancient Mongol custom. Women frequently are the recognized oracles in the country districts. In recording several of the ways in which divining was practised in Tibet, a mediæval Chinese observer wrote: 'Notwithstanding the variety of their methods of divination, and their unskilfulness in their mode of examining, they are quite frequently surprisingly accurate.' This criticism still holds good.

LITERATURE.—W. W. Rockhill, *JRAS*, 1891, pp. 235, etc.; Sir G. Scott ('Shway Yoe'), *The Burman*, London, 1882; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, do., 1895, and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, do., 1905. L. A. WADDELL.

DIVINATION (Celtic).—According to Justin (XXIV. iv. 4), the Celts were skilled beyond other peoples in the science of augury, and Pausanias is mistaken when (x. xxi. 2) he doubts the existence of the art of divination among them. The Celts practised all kinds of divination. It was by the flight of birds that the Gauls who invaded Illyricum were guided (Justin XXIV. iv. 4). It was by lot that the Hercynian forest was allocated to Sigovesus (Livy, v. xxxiv. 4). The coincidence of two names of countries was an omen that led the Gauls to found a town in Cisalpine Gaul (Livy, v. xxxiv. 9). The Gallie king Catumandus made peace with the people of Marseilles because of a dream in which Minerva appeared to him (Justin, XLIII. v. 5). In 218 B.C. the Galatæ allied with Attalus refused to go any further because they were frightened by an eclipse of the moon (Polyb. v. lxxviii. 1). Before engaging in battle, the Gauls used to consult the entrails of victims; and once, when the entrails announced a great defeat for them, they massacred their women and children in order to gain the favour of the gods (Justin, XXVI. ii. 2). According to Strabo (IV. iv. 5 [p. 198]), the sacrifices and augural practices of the Gauls were opposed to those of the Romans; the human victim, who was very often a criminal, was killed by a sword-stroke on the back, and the future was foretold from the way he fell, the nature of his convulsions, and the flow of blood, in accordance with an ancient and unbroken series of observations (cf. Diod. Sic. v. xxxi. 3). Artemidorus relates that in a certain harbour there were two crows that had their right wings tinged with white; people who were in litigation used to lay cakes on a board, each arranging his own in such a way as to avoid all confusion. The crows swooped down on the cakes, ate the one person's and scattered the other's, and the disputant whose cakes were scattered won the case (see Strabo, IV. iv. 6 [p. 198]). Vervain was used by the Gauls for drawing lots and foretelling the future (Pliny, xxv. lix. 106; cf. Servius on *Æn.* iii. 57). Hippolytus (*Philosophumena*, 25) mentions lots by pebbles and numbers among the Celts. The evil omens noticed by the Britons of the 1st cent. were of great variety: noises outside the curia; howlings in the theatre; the appearance of a buried city at

the mouth of the Thames; the Atlantic looking like a sea of blood; human forms left on the shore by the tide (*Tac. Ann.* xiv. 32).

Ornithomancy, haruspicy, and the other methods of divination were undoubtedly practised originally by the tribal chiefs. The Galatian king Deiotarus was renowned as an augur (*Cic. de Div.* i. 15 [26-27]; cf. ii. 37 [78]); he never began an undertaking without first consulting the auspices. Once, when he had started on a journey, he was turned back by the flight of an eagle; he broke off his journey, and so escaped harm. The British queen Boudicca drew a favourable omen from the course of a hare which she had concealed among her clothes and then set at liberty (*Dio Cass.* lxii. 6). At a very early period among the Celts there were priests whose duty was to foretell the future. Justin (xxxii. iii. 9) mentions haruspices at Toulouse who, in order to free the Tectosages from an epidemic of pestilence, bade them throw the gold and silver they had got from the expedition of Brennus into the Lake of Toulouse. Diodorus Siculus (v. xxxi. 31) distinguishes the Druids and the bards from the soothsayers (*adversus*), who foretold the future by the flight of birds and by examining the entrails of victims; they enjoyed great authority. They are identical with the *oóðres* (Gr. transcription of Lat. *vates*) of Strabo (iv. iv. 4 [p. 197]). They are often confused with the Druids (*q.v.*). According to Cæsar (vi. 13), the Druids interpret the will of the gods. The Druid Divitiacus used to predict the future partly by the observation of birds and partly by conjecture (*Cicero, op. cit.* i. 41 [90]). In the time of Tacitus, Gallic Druids announced that the burning of the Capitol preaged the approaching fall of the Roman Empire and the control of the world by the Transalpinæ (*Hist.* iv. 54). A scholium tells that it was after eating acorns that the Druids foretold the future (*Usener, Commenta Bernensia*, 1869, p. 33). Lastly, the priestesses of the Island of Sena, who were endowed with various magical powers, such as the power to rouse the sea and the waves by their songs, the power of changing into animals, and of curing otherwise incurable diseases, had knowledge of the future and foretold it to those who sailed to consult them (*Mela*, iii. vi. 48).

There were women in Gaul in the 3rd cent. of our era who foretold the future. One of them warned the emperor Alexander Severus of his approaching end (*Lampridius, Alexander Severus*, 60). The emperor Aurelian consulted Gallic prophetesses on the future of his posterity (*Vopiscus, Aurelian*, 44). A female soothsayer who kept an inn at Tongres promised the Empire, it is said, to Diocletian (*Vopiscus, Numerianus*, 14).

Among the Irish, as known to us from the ancient pagan epics, divination was held in high esteem. It was practised by the Druids. The source of their predictions was often the observation of natural phenomena; the best known form was divination by the clouds, and the word *néladoir*, lit. 'one who studies the clouds,' was used to designate the soothsayers. But divination takes place very often with the help of various objects: a yew-rod marked with ogham characters; a wheel, which recalls the well-known symbol of a Gallo-Roman deity. The Druids also interpreted dreams and the cries of birds, especially the raven's croaking and the wren's twittering. Sometimes omens were taken from the howling of a dog, and from the form of a tree-root. In the *Togall Bruidne Dá Derga* we find a pig sacrificed in order to discover the future.

We have no direct information on divination among the ancient Britons. But the Cornish *teulet pren*, 'to throw wood,' means 'to draw lots'; the Welsh *coelbren*, 'wood of prediction,'

means 'lot'; and the Irish *crann-chur*, 'to throw the wood,' means 'to consult the lot.' The etymological agreement of the three dialects proves that divination by pieces of wood, mentioned by Tacitus among the Teutons (*Germania*, x.), was practised equally by the Gauls and the Britons. See also art. CELTS, vol. iii. p. 300, § 4, and COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Celtic), vol. iii. p. 750, § 5; and art. FATE (Celtic).

LITERATURE.—C. Julian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, Paris, 1907, ii. 151f.; P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, London, 1908, i. 229-238; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, vol. i., Paris, 1888. G. DOTTIN.

DIVINATION (Christian).—I. Divination was regarded by early Christian writers as a branch of magic. It was a danger to religious life, it excited a morbid curiosity, it led to needless anxiety, it held the will in bondage by destroying the sense of responsibility. St. Augustine sums up its dangers:

'Quæ tamen plena sunt omnia pestiferæ curiositatis, cruciantis sollicitudinis, mortiferæ servitutis' (*de Doctr. Chr.* ii. 24).

Christ is the door (Jn 10⁹); 'neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him' (Mt 11²⁷). 'The gates of the Divine Reason are rational, and they are opened by the key of faith' (Clement Alex. *ad Gent.* 1). And St. Clement adds the warning: 'Be not curious of ungodly shrines' (*ib.* 2). Divination is a practice which rests on occult methods, methods which had their place in primitive religion, but gave way to the higher methods of Jewish and Christian sacramentalism. This distinction of method was the guiding principle in the Christian view of divination. The diviner sees; he has an insight into Divine things. The Christian 'walks by faith, not by sight' (2 Co 5⁷); he has touch with God, but this touch is 'through the veil, that is, his flesh,' in the widest sense of the economy of the Incarnation (He 10²⁰). Divination is impatient to draw the veil aside.

Christianity, therefore, as the religion of the Incarnation, has discouraged rites and practices which set aside the limitations of the flesh, and are easily able to get beyond control. The subjective type of divination, whether in the form of psychic exaltation or prophetic ecstasy, necessitates a suspension of the intellectual energies. The 'sympathetic passivity suitable for the transmission of the Divine thought' produces a weakening or destruction of individuality, by means of 'ecstatic enthusiasm, deep sleep, sickness, or the approach of death' (Chambers's *Encycl.*, art. 'Divination', iv. 19). Christianity, in its responsibility to strengthen human nature as a whole by keeping control over the different faculties by means of Divine grace, has kept divination and ecstasy in the background as a danger to the mind and the will. This control is emphasized by St. Paul: 'The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (1 Co 14²⁹).

The history of Christian divination is the history of the subjection of divination to the control of authority. This principle is summed up by Gratian in reference to divination by lot, one of the practices which claimed for itself Apostolic authority (Ac 1²⁴):

'Sic et sortibus nihil mali inesse monstratur, prohibetur tamen idellibus, ne sub hac specie divinationis ad antiquos ydololatricæ cultus redirent' (*Corp. Jur. Canon.*, ed. Friedberg, 1879, pt. I.; *Deor. Grat.* p. li. caus. xxvi. qu. li. c. i.).

Such control was not a new thing in the exercise of religious authority. When Augustus assumed the office of Pontifex Maximus, he destroyed the magical books which were held to be of no weight, and preserved only the Sibylline books:

'quicquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latini generis nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duæ millia contracta undique cremavit; ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos' (*Sueton. Cass. Aug.* 51).

For the same reason, it is related that L. Petilius publicly burnt certain Greek books as endangering the religion of Rome:

'Graecos, quia aliqua ex parte ad solvendam religionem pertinere existimabantur, L. Petilius Praetor Urbanus ex auctoritate senatus pro victimariis igne facto, in conspectu populi cremavit' (Valer. Max. i. 1. 'de Religione', 12).

And the reason assigned by Valerius Maximus applies equally to the history of Christian divination:

'Noluerunt enim prisci viri quicquam in hac asservari civitate, quo animi hominum a deorum cultu avocarentur' (Valer. Max. 6.).

And St. Augustine, although he himself confesses that the turning-point in his life was the opening of the 'Codex Apostoli' at the words (Ro 13¹⁸) 'non in comessionibus et ebrietatibus' (Conf. viii. 12), deprecates the practice:

'Hi vero qui de paginis evangelicis sortes legunt, et si optandum est ut hoc potius faciant, quam ad daemonia consulenda concurrant; tamen etiam ista mihi displicet consuetudo' (ad inquisitiones Januarii [Ep. lv. i. 20]).

2. Rabanus Maurus (+ 856) sums up the practice of divination in the early ages of the Church in his treatise de *Magorum Praestigiis*, collected from various passages in Augustine and Isidore of Seville, and quoted in the *Decretum* of Gratian under the name of Augustine (*Corp. Jur. Can.* pt. i. p. 1024). On the authority of Varro, divination was of four kinds: 'geomanticam, ydromanticam, aeromanticam, pyromanticam.'

Geomantia is defined as 'ars e terra vaticinandi' (Ducange, *Gloss. ad Script. med. et inf. Lat.*). It is recorded that the resistance of Padua to the arms of Eccelino de Romano in 1226 was foretold by this practice:

'quidam de carceratis solliciti perquirebant per sortes, ad quem finem vester exercitus veniret. Et unus per puncta quadam unius artis, quam dicunt nescio quam Geomantiam, dicere videbatur, quod Padua non poterat hiis temporibus capi' (Rolandini Patavini, de factis in Marchia Taurisina, x. 11, ap. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, Milan, 1726, viii. 319). The same chronicler refers to it again in the preparation made by Eccelino for his last campaign in 1269 (ib. xii. 2).

Hydromantia is described by Augustine, in reference to Numa, as an act of divining by water:

'ut in aqua videret imagines deorum, vel potius ludificationes daemonum, a quibus audiret quid in sacris constituere atque observare deberet' (de Civ. Dei, vii. 85).

This practice still survives in the water of silence and other ceremonies associated with Christmas Eve, Hallowe'en, St. Mark's Eve, and Midsummer Eve. A love-couplet quoted by Abbott from *Salonica* illustrates the practice:

'A lump of gold shall I drop into the well,
That the water may grow clear, and I may see my husband
that is to be' (*Macedonian Folk-lore*, pp. 51-57).

Aeromantia is another practice of divination which, under the form of weather-signs, survives to-day.

Pyromantia has also its innocent adepts in the present day. Some see faces in the fire, some see strangers on the bars. So in Macedonia a flickering in the fire, a flaring in the candle-flame, betokens the coming of a guest (Abbott, p. 98).

Rabanus, again quoting Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* viii. 9), says: 'duo sunt autem genera divinationis: ars et furor.' Under 'ars' are the various methods of art magic which are practised by the diviner; under 'furor' the enthusiasm and ecstasy and frenzy which form the atmosphere most conducive to divination. The ecstatic condition may still be found, not only among the dervishes of the East, but in some professedly Christian sects in the West. Authority alone can exercise the control both in the practice of spiritual art and in the frenzy of the religious devotee.

Among the professors of divination referred to in the literature of the Church are *incantatores*, *arioli*, *aruspices*, *augures*, *astrologi*, *genethiaci*, *mathematici*, *horoscopi*, *sortilegi*, *salvatores* (Isid. viii. 9). The *incantator* divined by means of spells or incantations. He claimed to cure diseases, to

bless or curse the crops, to influence the weather. Constantine in 321 endeavoured to control the practice by law (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. xvi. 3). The interpretation of this law reads:

'Malefici, vel incantatores, vel immissores tempestatum, vel hii qui per invocationem daemonum mentes hominum turbant, omni genere poenae puniantur.'

In the words of Pliny (*HN* xviii. 2), such spells were an insult to human wisdom: 'virum sapientissimi cujusque respuit fides.' The writings of the Fathers, the canons of the Church, and the experience of our times prove how great a hold such practices have even among those who profess Christianity. It is to them that St. Paul alludes in Gal 3: 'O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?' Liddell and Scott (*s.v. βακαλίσω*), quoting Theocritus, write: 'The charm was broken by spitting thrice' (Theoc. vi. 39). The *tempestarii*, storm-raisers or storm-quellers, are constantly referred to in the canons, the capitularies, and *penitentiaria* of the Councils, the Emperors, and the Bishops (Ducange, *Gloss.*, *s.v. 'Tempestarii'*). In Ireland such charms have been grafted into the religious customs of the people (Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths of Ireland*, ii. 104-108). A spell against whirlwinds in Macedonia is this: 'Alexander the Great liveth, aye he doth live and reign.' Abbott (oh. xiii.) gives many examples of such spells and incantations.

The *arioli* were those who circled round the idol altars, uttering prayers, and making unhallowed offerings:

'Arioli vocati, propter quod circa aras idolorum nefarias preces emittunt, et funesta sacrificia offerunt' (Isid. viii. 9).

A law of 357 condemns the practice, and rebukes the curiosity which encourages divination: 'Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas' (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. xvi. 4). The object of the rites of the *arioli* was to receive some response. This practice of 'raising the devil' is referred to by Tertullian:

'qui aris inhalantes nomen de nidore concipiunt, qui ructando orantur, qui anhelando praefantur' (*Apol.* 23).

There may be some survival of this rite in the *Desiul*, or 'Holy round,' a circling sunwise round a rude stone monument or a well, and in the *Tuapholl*, or 'Unholy round,' which brings a curse. This cursing round was accompanied with incantations and the casting of cursing stones on the altar (Wood-Martin, ii. 51-57). The 'peccatum ariolandi' is condemned with the 'scelus idolatriae' in an Epistle of Stephen of Tournay (*Ep.* 120, ap. Ducange, *Gloss.*).

The *aruspices* are referred to in the laws of Constantine in 319 (*Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. xvi. 1-2). The *aruspex* divined by means of inspecting the entrails of a victim offered in sacrifice. The decree does not destroy, but only regulates their practice. The *aruspex* must not go into private houses. He must be consulted only in the temple: 'aras publicas adque delubra'; and in the open light: 'libera luce tractari.' 'Superstitioni enim suae servire cupientes, poterunt publice ritum proprium exercere.' The Empire as well as the Church recognized the importance of keeping the practice of divination under control.

This practice still survives. The use of the shoulder-blade in divination is an art in itself, known as *omoplatoscopy*. The colour, the spots, the lines are all read by the expert. The breast-bone of the fowl is used for the same purpose. This art flourishes still in Western Macedonia and Albania. In England the practice is remembered in the reading of the speal-bone. The breaking of the 'wishing-bone,' which many of us remember as a solemn diversion of our childhood, as enjoyable almost as the feasting on the fowl, is also to be traced to the same source. This use of the 'merry-thought' is derived from the ancient use of the

cock in divination (Abbott, p. 97 f.; Wood-Martin, p. 141).

Augury was of two kinds: 'ad oculos' and 'ad aures.' The divination was from the flight or from the song of birds. It was regulated by decrees of 357 and 358 (*Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvi. 4. 6*). There are many survivals of this kind of divination:

'A whistling maid and a crowing hen
Are hateful alike to God and men.'

The crowing of a cock out of hours, the hooting of an owl, the cawing of a crow on the house-top, are all regarded as uncanny. The pigeons which frequent the mosque of Bajesid in Constantinople and the Piazza of St. Mark's at Venice are looked on as birds of good omen. The geese in the cloister of the Cathedral of Barcelona may be a survival of the geese kept in old time in the Roman temple on the same site. The series of Dove-Bishops at Ravenna and the letting loose of pigeons at certain festivals, though now associated with the gift of the Holy Ghost, have doubtless a more ancient root in the rites of divination. A certain Hillidius delivered the people of Vieille-Brionde from a Burgundian raid by the leading of a dove: 'ut aiunt, commotione columbae alitis incitatus.' And Gregory of Tours adds:

'Quod ne quis invidet confectum de columba, et homini praestitum Christiano, cum Orosius consulem Romanum, id est Marcum Valerium, a corvo alite scribat adjutum' (*de Mir. S. Juliani*, 7; Oros. iii. 6).

The magpie in England is still greeted with the rhyme:

'One for sorrow, two for mirth,
Three for a wedding, and four for a birth.'

And the flight to right or left is a survival of the augury 'ad oculos.' The swan was sacred to the children of Llyr. The word *drean*, 'wren,' is in Cormac's *Glossary* explained as '*Druid-en*, a Druid bird, a bird that makes a prediction.' He was the 'magus avium' in Irish hagiology. The stork, the starling, and the swallow also have their place in the folklore of divination. 'A dove from heaven' protected St. Moling at his birth.

'A madman and a fox (lived with him), also a wren and a little fly that used to buzz to him when he came from matins, till the wren hopped on it and killed it; and this killing by the wren was displeasing to him, so he cursed the wren, and said: "My fly. . . Howbeit," says Moling, "but he that marred for me the poor pet that used to be making music for me, let his dwelling be for ever in empty houses, with a wet drip therein continually. And may children and young persons be destroying him!" Howbeit then, but the wren killed the fly. Then the fox killed the wren. The dog of the steading killed the fox. A cowherd killed the madman, namely, Suibne son of Colman' (Whitley-Stokes, *The Birth and Life of St. Moling*, Paris, 1906; Wood-Martin, ii. 140-150; Abbott, pp. 106-110).

Rhys tells the story of a bird-warning associated with the sunken palace of Bala Lake (*Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 409). The common saying, 'A little bird has whispered it in my ear,' shows the continuity of tradition as to augury. Wood-Martin (ii. 143) gives a picture of a bronze instrument with bird ornaments, found in a bog near Ballymoney, Co. Antrim, which has been thought by some to be a divining-rod. It is not earlier than the 6th century.

The *astrologi*, *genethliaci*, and *mathematici* were all adepts in divination by means of the study of the stars. The term *mathematici* was a common one in the 4th cent.: 'quos vulgus mathematicos vocat' (Jerome, *Com. in Dan.* c. ii. 2). So also in the 1st cent. (*Didache*, c. 3). St. Augustine has frequent references to them: 'Jam etiam mathematicorum fallaces divinationes, et impia deliramenta rejeceram' (*Conf.* vii. 6). The title of the *Theodosian Code*, under which the practices of divination are regulated, is: 'de Maleficiis et Mathematicis.' They are specially mentioned in edicts of 357, 358, 370, or 373. A decree of Honorius and Theodosius in 409 reads:

'Mathematicos, nisi parati sint, codicibus erroris proprii sub oculis Episcoporum incendio concrematis, Catholicae Religi-

onis cultui fidem tradere, nunquam ad errorem praeteritum redituri, non solum urbe Itona, sed etiam omnibus civitatibus pelli decernimus' (*Cod. Theod. lib. ix. tit. xvi. 12*).

The *horoscope* had an important place in the divination of the *mathematici* and *genethliaci*. Isidore of Seville writes: 'Horoscopi dicti, quod horas nativitatis hominum speculantur dissimili et diverso fato' (*Etym.* viii. 9). In the Morocco crisis of 1911, a heading in the *Standard* of July 28, 'The Kaiser's Horoscope,' shows that there are still some who attach meaning to these practices.

The *sortilegi* were those who divined by lot or by the chance opening either of the Scriptures or of Virgil:

'qui sub nomine fictae religionis per quasdam, quas sanctorum sortes vocant, divinationis scientiam profitentur, aut quarumcunque scripturarum inspectione futura promittunt' (*Ibid.* viii. 9).

The *sortes Sanctorum* were similar to the *sortes Vergilianae* (ap. Spartian. *Vit. Had.* 5). Severus is said to have read his destiny in the line:

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.'

Sometimes the answer was obtained by opening the book at random, sometimes by pricking the text with a pin. The practice was not regulated by the *Theodosian Code*. It was forbidden in a *capitulaire generale* of 789:

'De tabulis vel codicibus requirendis. Et ut nullus in psalterio vel in evangelio, vel in aliis libris, sortiri praesumat, nec divinationes aliquas observare' (*Op. Carol. Magn.* (Migne, *PL* xcvii. 187)).

The method of the *sortes Sanctorum* is given in a *Life* of St. Hubert of Liège (c. 714). After a fast of three days, two books were placed on the altar—a Book of the Gospels and a Sacramentary:

'Reseratur autem Evangelium hanc primum legenti sententiam obtulit: Ne times, Maria; invenisti enim gratiam apud Dominum. Liber etiam Sacramentarium in sui apertione hoc primum videnti obicit: Dirige viam famuli tui' (ib. p. 188, note).

The election of St. Martin to the Bishopric of Tours was decided by such a use of the Psalter:

'Unus e circumstantibus, sumto psalterio, quem primum versum invenit, arripuit. Psalmus autem hic erat: Ex ore infantium et lactantium. . . ' (*Sulp. Sev., de Vita S. Martini*, ch. 9).

The open practice of this mode of divination in the Church is illustrated on the occasion of the visit of Chramnus to Dijon (c. 556). The clergy determined to tell his fortune from each of the three *Lections* of the Gallican Mass:

'Positis clerici tribus libris super altarium, id est Prophetiae, Apostoli, atque Evangeliorum, oraverunt ad Dominum, ut Chramno quid eveniret ostenderet.' The three readings are then given (Greg. Tur., *Hist. Franc.* iv. 16).

In another case, three books were placed on the tomb of St. Martin:

'Id est Psalterii, Regum, Evangeliorum: et vigilans tota nocte petit ut sibi beatus confessor quid eveniret ostenderet.' This was in 577 (ib. v. 14).

The practice of learning by such means the character and administration of a newly elected Bishop became in early times an established Church custom. Ducange, in his *Glossarium* (s.v. 'Sortes Sanctorum'), gives illustrations from the *Lives* of Anianus of Orleans, Lanfranc, and others. It was known as the *Prognosticon*.

Another form of divination was also practised, known as *sortes per breviam*. In cases of doubt, papers were drawn, and the lot thus taken. In the *Chronicle of Cambrai*, it is recorded that the Bishops of Poitiers, Autun, and Arras claimed the body of St. Leger. The lot fell to the Bishop of Poitiers:

'tribus Epistolis, horum trium nominibus subscriptis, et confusa sub palla altaris obiectis, factaque in commune oratione, Pictavensi Episcopo ex indicibus sanctum corpus debere declaratum est' (ib.).

In Spain a similar kind of divination was known as *ensalmos* or *impsalmum*. The *sortes Apostolorum* was a collection of pious sayings drawn up for this purpose. At the end are these words:

'Haec sunt Sortes Sanctorum quae nunquam falluntur, neque mentiuntur: id est, Deum roga et obtinebis quod cupis. Age Ei gratias' (Smith-Cheetham, *DCA*, art. *Sortilegy*).

Charles Simeon sought for comfort in this way: 'It was not for direction I was looking, for I am no friend to such superstitions as the *Sortes Virgilianae*, but only for support. The first text that caught my eye was *Matth. xxvii. 32*' (Chambers's *Encycl.*, art. 'Sortes Virgilianae').

There is also a reference to the use of rods in the casting of lots in the *Lex Frisonum* (tit. 14. 1, ap. Ducange, s.v. 'Tenus'):

'Tunc unusquisque illorum septem faciat suam sortem, id est, tenum de virga.'

This kind of rhabdomanancy was condemned by the Council of Auxerre in 578:

'non licet ad sortileges vel ad auguria respicere, nec ad sortes, quas Sanctorum vocant, vel quas de ligno aut de pane faciunt aspicere.'

The *sors de pane* refers to purgation by bread. The guilt or innocence of an accused was tested by the eating of bread. It was known as *corsned*:

'Si quis altari ministrantium accusetur, et amicus destitutus sit . . . vadat ad iudicium, quod Anglice dicitur Corsned, et fiat, sicut Deus velit' (*Leges Canuti Regis*, cap. 6, ap. Brounpton; Ducange, s.v. 'Corsned').

The *salisatores* were those who divined by leaping:

'quia dum eis membrorum quaecunque partes salierint, aliquid sibi exinde prosperum seu triste significare praediciunt' (Isid. viii. 9).

It would also refer to what is popularly known as the 'jumps,' a twitching in the body. St. Augustine refers to it: 'His adiunguntur millia inanissimarum observationum, si membrum aliquod salierit' (*de Doctr. Chr.* ii. 20). There may be a trace of this in the *Life of St. Melling*:

'The cleric said to the Spectre: "Grant me a boon" . . . Then he bound that boon on the Spectre's hand. Thereafter he leapt his three steps of pilgrimage and his three leaps of folly. The first leap that he leapt, he seemed to them no more than a crow on the top of a hill. The second leap that he leapt, they saw him not at all. . . . But the third leap that he leapt, 'tis then he alighted on the stone-wall of the church . . . then he leapt from the stone-wall, and reached the church, and sat in his place of prayer. . . . After that he looked at the boy, and thus he was, with the glow of the anger and the fire on him, and the radiance of the Godhead in his countenance' (Whitley-Stokes, p. 161.).

3. Primitive Christianity would seem to have been more tolerant of divination than the more developed Catholic Christianity of the West. The evidence of the books of the NT points to this difference. It is in St. Matthew's Gospel alone that the Star is recorded (2^a), and that dreams are referred to as a means of revelation. The dreams of Joseph (1st 21^a, 13. 19. 22) and the dream of Pilate's wife (27¹⁹) are an echo of the early belief in this form of divination in the Jewish-Christian Church. The only instance of the Divine lot is in the cradle of Christianity at Jerusalem, in the choice of St. Matthias (Ac 1³⁶). In the extension of Christianity the Gospel triumphs over divination. Simon the Sorcerer of Samaria (Ac 8^a), Elymas the Sorcerer of Cyprus (13^a), the woman with the spirit of divination at Philippi (16¹⁶), the sorcerers of Ephesus (19¹⁹), stand condemned in the records of the early mission outside Judæa. Occultism gives way before Sacramentalism, although faint traces of the primitive faith are recognizable in the stories of the 'shadow of Peter' (Ac 5¹²), the handkerchiefs from the body of Paul (19¹²), and the trances of Peter (10¹⁰) and Paul (22¹⁷, 2 Co 12^a). Witchcraft under the form of *pharmakela* is condemned in Gal 5¹⁹, Rev 9²¹ 18²² 21⁸ 22¹⁵.

In the sub-Apostolic ages there are a few references to the practice of divination. The *Epistle of Barnabas* links together *magela* and *pharmakela* (xx. 1). St. Ignatius in his *Epistle to the Ephesians* also refers to *magela*, and speaks of the one Bread of the Blessed Sacrament as the *pharmakon* *athanasias* (xix. 2, xx. 2). Hermas calls a *magela* a heathen practice (*Mand.* xi. 4). The *Didache* forbids it: *οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις* (c. 2); and again: *τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οὐνοσκοπός . . . μηδὲ ἐπαισδός, μηδὲ μαθηματικός* (c. 3). If the 'Two Ways' is an early Jewish-Christian document, this straight teaching against augury, incanta-

tion, and astrology implies a continuance of the practice among Eastern Christians.

This is supported by the evidence of Irenæus at the end of the 2nd century. The magical arts of Marcus coloured his sacramental rites as well as his teaching (c. *Hær.* i. xiii.). The followers of Simon Magus would appear to have grafted his magic into their Christianity.

'Igitur horum mystici sacerdotes libidine quidem vivunt, magias autem perficiunt. . . . Exorcismis et incantationibus utuntur. Amatoria quoque et agogima, et qui dicuntur pædri et onirupompi, et quæcunque sunt alia perierga apud eos studiose exercentur' (ib. xxiii. 4).

The followers of Carpocrates practised the same art:

'Artes enim magicas operantur et ipsi, et incantationes, philtra quoque et charitesia, et pædros, et onirupompos . . . (ib. xxv. 3).

Dreams are here included with incantations and philtres.

Tertullian in his *de Anima* (c. 209-214) regards divination as a faculty of the soul:

'Dedimus enim illi . . . et dominationem rerum, et divinationem . . . Definimus animam . . . dominatricem, divinatricem' (ch. 22).

Dreams may be 'peculiare solatium naturalis oraculi' (ib. 46), but he points out their danger:

'Definimus enim a daemonibus plurimum incuti somnia, et si interdum vera et gratiosa, sed, de qua industria diximus, affectantia atque captantia, quanto magis vena et frustratoria et turbida et ludibria et imunda' (ib. 47).

And of the magical arts in brief: 'Quid ergo dicemus magiam? quod omnes pæne fallaciam' (ib. 57). This he wrote as a Montanist. As a Catholic (c. 197), in reply to a charge 'de sterilitate Christianorum,' he numbers among the critics of the Church 'magi, item aruspices, arioli, mathematici' (*Apol.* 43).

Clement of Alexandria refers to the practice of divination among the Germans. There were women among them who could foretell the future by looking into the whirlpools and currents and eddies of a river (*Strom.* i. 15). 'The inventors of these arts as well as of philosophy were nearly all Barbarians' (ib. i. 16). Origen more than once speaks of divination as a snare to the Christians of Egypt:

'Hæc ergo omnia, id est, sive auguratio, sive extispicium, sive quælibet immolatio, sive etiam sortitio, aut quicunque motus avium, vel pecudum, vel inspectio quæcunque libarum, ut aliquid de futuris videantur ostendere, in operatione daemonum fieri non dubito' (in *Num.*, hom. xvi. 7). He calls the 'opprobrium Aegypti' of his day 'observare auguria, requirere stellarum cursus, et eventus ex iis futurorum rimari, servare somnia cæsterique huiusmodi superstitionibus implicari. Idololatriæ namque mater est Aegyptus' (in *Libr. Jer. Nave*, hom. v. 6).

The inscriptions of Eumeneia in the 3rd cent. show that the city was to a large extent Christian. But, as it was necessary to keep up the forms of the national religion, and as the 'courtesies of society and ordinary life, as well as of municipal administration, had a non-Christian form,' the 'spirit of accommodation' must have ruled in the religious life of the citizens (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. ii., Oxford, 1897, p. 504). The disciplinary canons of the Synod of Ancyra in 314 are an echo of this 'spirit of accommodation' of an early age. The 4th cent. tightened the reins of discipline as well as the definitions of the faith. The practice of divination was condemned by canon xiii. (*al.* xxiv.):

'Qui divinationes expetunt, et morem gentium subsecuntur . . . sub regula quinquenniil jaceant' (*Decret.* p. ii. caus. xxvi. qu. v. 2).

The same need of discipline was recognized in the far West. The Synod of Eliberis (Granada) in Spain (between 314 and 324), in addition to many canons against idolatrous rites, has one canon forbidding women to frequent cemeteries: 'ne feminae in coemeterio pervigilent' (can. xxxv.). St. Jerome refers to the custom of resorting to cemeteries as a means of divining with the dead:

'sed sedens quoque, vel habitans in sepulchris, et in delubris idolorum dormiens; ubi stratis pellibus hostiarum incubare soliti erant, ut somniis futura cognoscerent' (*in* 1s. 664).

The clergy were forbidden to practise divination by the Synod of Laodicea (c. 343-381):

'non oportet sacris officiis deditos vel clericos magos aut incantatores existere, aut facere phylacteria' (can. 80, *ap. Decret. p. II. caus. xxvi. qu. v. 4*).

Priscillian and his followers were accused of practising astrology. And his writings give some grounds for the accusation, though he clearly states how far he thought it right to go:

'Addendi autem lunaris ideo cursus jubetur, non ut in eo observatio religionis sit, sed quia in ea quae videntur omnis homo vincitur et germana aelementis caro...' (*Priscill. Op.*, ed. Schepss, 1889, p. 78. 3 ff.; cf. F. Faret, *Prisc.* 1894, p. 144).

The Church of the 4th cent. was weakened by this 'curiosity' in the matter of divination. It had difficulty in detaching itself from the practice of the magical arts. At the close of the century Nicetas of Remesiana, a prominent Bishop of the old Latin Church of the Danube, writes:

'abrenuntiat inimico et angelis ejus, id est, universae magicae curiositati... renuntiat et operibus ejus malis, id est, cultus et idolis, sortibus et auguriis...' (Niceta, ed. A. E. Burn, Cambridge, 1906, *de Symbolo*, c. 1).

The Gallican Church seems to have been troubled by this curiosity in magic. It is referred to in the canons of Agde (506), Orleans (511), and Vannes (461 or 465). In a canon of the Synod of Auxerre (578), in addition to the *auguria* and *sortes Sanctorum*, mention is made of *characteres*. These were of the nature of charms:

'Phylacteria et Characteres diabolicos nec sibi nec suis aliquando suspendant, incantatores velut ministros diaboli fugiant' (Aug. *de Temp.*, serm. 163, *ap. Ducange, Glossar.*).

The Church of Spain also regulated the practice of divination. It is condemned in the *capitula* of Martin of Bracara (c. 72), and in can. 30 of the Council of Toledo in 633. But it survived throughout the West, and in the Carolingian Renaissance of discipline it required stringent treatment. In the *Decretals of Gratian* is a long extract from an unpublished capitulary which illustrates its danger under the Frank Empire:

'Episcopi crumque ministri omnibus viribus elaborare student, ut perniciosum et a sabulo inventam sortilegam et magicam artem ex parrochiis suis penitus eradicent' (*Deer. p. II. caus. xxvi. qu. v. 12*).

The Church of Rome expressed the judgment of the whole Church in the Council of 721 under Gregory II:

'Si quis ariolos, aruspices vel incantatores observaverit, aut phylacteris usus fuerit, anathema sit' (*ib. qu. v. 1*).

LITERATURE.—*Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, 1879; *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Gothofred, 1756; *Ducange, Glossar. ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, 1753; Smith-Cheetham, DCA, 1876; Chambers, *Enayc.*, 1889; G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903; W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, London, 1902.

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DIVINATION (Egyptian).—From more than one point of view it seems impossible to bring Egyptian divination under the classifications in general use in the study of mantics; we cannot make either the ordinary definitions, or the purpose, or even—to a certain extent—the means employed fit in exactly. In fact, in this study, as in so many others, the Egyptians made no attempt to formulate a theory, or even to lay down general principles. In Egypt we find nothing corresponding to the didactic treatises on mantics composed by the Chaldeans and by the Hellenic world, nothing like the prodigious variety of means of divination of the Assyrians and Greeks, including the observation of almost every phenomenon of Nature, beings, and things. The observation of the ordinary aspects of the sky is confined to the realm of astrology; its unusual aspects (meteors, shooting stars, comets, zodiacal light, eclipses) are explained in advance by mythology, and do not require an interpretation from actual divination. There is no mention of the

mantics of rain, winds, clouds, or smoke, etc., in the Egyptian texts, or of the twenty kinds of hydromancy, or of divination by 'palmistry.' In connexion with living creatures there is no ritual study of the movements or appearances of animals (ornithoscopy, ichthyoscopy, etc.); nor do we meet with haruspicy, extispicy, or teratiscopy. There are no evidences in the Egyptian texts or monuments of cledonancy, libanomancy, rhabdomancy, axinomancy, clairomancy, lithoboly, belomancy, knuckle-bones, dice, divining-rods, or, indeed, of any of the means of inquiry by the production of phenomena for interpretation.

When we apply to Egypt the classifications in general use for the mantics of other peoples, we find a certain number of divinatory processes mentioned by the ancient Greek and Roman authors, about which, however, it is very important to observe: (1) that they are of rare occurrence, or are employed only in popular superstitions and not by official divination; and (2) that they were introduced into Egypt at a late date, under the influence of Asia or of the Hellenic world.

To the first class we may assign the indications drawn from the flight of birds and encounters with serpents; e.g. the story of Alexander's expedition to the Great Oasis. This form of divination possibly belongs to Egypt, and the inscription of Hammamat (Erman, *ZÄ* xxix. [1891] 60) may be cited in its defence, in which a gazelle shows the spot in the desert where the stone of the royal sarcophagus is to be set up. But the incident was related rather as a miracle, and there is no ground for considering it a regular method of divination. The use of the divinatory vase seems equally unknown to the priests of the official cults, and the so-called magic consultation of Nectanebo is a legend of Greek origin. The divinatory vase certainly existed in Egypt in the last centuries of its history, and the demotic texts agree on this point with the Greek and Roman evidences; but it is very probable that this practice was imported from Persia, and in any case it was never employed by the court-priests, but only by magicians.

Apart from the reference in Gn 44^b to the divining cup of Joseph, which may be a non-Egyptian adaptation, we know from the classics (Plin. xxiii. 46; Plutarch, *de Iside*, lxi., lxiv.; Horapollo, i. 39, etc.) that this was a part of the cult of Anubis in particular; the god was invoked by means of a vase full of liquid or a flame; and the reading of the divinatory signs or images was performed through the medium of a child, on whom they worked by incantations and the laying on of hands. And thus, says Diodorus (xvii.), 'the soul foresees future events in the phantoms she herself creates' (cf. Virey, *Religion égypt.*, Paris, 1909, p. 227, and Ermoni, *Religion égypt.*, do. 1910, p. 122). The use of the child, because of its innocence, is a common practice in all magic, and is connected with the universal belief in the inferiority of a man who has committed a sin or has had sexual connexions, in the struggle against the spirits. Lefebvre connects these methods of divination of the later period with analogous practices occurring all over North Africa (*Revue Africaine*, 1906, no. 267, p. 211), and conjectures with great probability (*Sphinx*, vi. [1902] 61) that the material process consisted in creating in the child's brain phantoms and images of Anubis and others, by means of hypnotism and looking at a shining object. We know, besides, that these processes persisted down to our own days in the Arabic world.

It is possible, then, to find in Egypt in the last centuries some of the processes of divination of the Mediterranean and Chaldaeo-Assyrian world. The fact of their combination with innumerable popular superstitions tended to produce in the official cults a multitude of practices which do not really belong to the history of Egyptian divination.

With the above restrictions, it appears that the contents of Egyptian divination were essentially four: (1) the interpretation of dreams (*q.v.*), sought or unsought; (2) the reading of horoscopes (see STARS); (3) divinatory calculations made from the position and influences of the stars (*q.v.*); and (4) the manifestation, directly and plainly indicated, of the will of the gods themselves. This last branch includes (a) the movements of the sacred animals, (b) the responses of the 'prophetic statues,' and (c) the words spoken by the gods in their temples, i.e. oracles properly so called.

(a) The first group in the last class seems to have
¹ Herodotus and some modern authorities have confused veterinary examination to ensure the purity of sacrificial victims with examination for purposes of divination.

played a very limited part. Consultations of the bull Apis are known in the classics. Pliny (viii. 71) and Amm. Marcellinus (xxii. 14) relate that the omen was good or bad according as Apis accepted or refused the food offered by the worshippers, and that the sacred animal refused the offering of Germanicus. They also tell of prosperity or adversity being foretold for the country according as the bull chose to go into one or the other of two stalls.

There is little doubt that these superstitions are truly Egyptian and very ancient. But it is very doubtful whether, at the classical period, such manifestations were employed by the priests as means of divination; it is far more probable that they were simply popular superstitions, existing throughout all Egypt wherever sacred animals were kept in the temples, and that what the Greeks and Romans tell of Apis happened also in the case of the crocodiles of Ombos, and the rams of Elephantine or of Mendes. It may have been due to the influence of the Greeks, who were accustomed to give importance to this very type of mantics, that these customs became embodied in the priestly cult, or at least were given a greater importance as methods of divination. In fact, dreams, astrology, and, in particular, the direct consultation, in definite language, of living images of the gods, had at an early period supplied the official religion of Egypt with methods of consultation far more convenient, more explicit, and more in keeping with the fastidious genius of the race; and it is to these classes that nearly all the known examples of Egyptian divination belong.

(b) Among the most characteristic processes in the consultation of statues is the designation of the Ethiopian sovereigns by the statue of Amon-Râ at Napata. The ancient authors had been struck with it (see esp. the account of Diodorus, iii. 5, and a corrupted version in the satirical writings of Synesius [*Works*, French tr. by Bruon, Paris, 1878, p. 244]). The famous *stela* of Jebel Barkal, on which the election of Aspalut is recorded, is the most complete account of this practice accessible in the English language. After a number of ceremonies, too long to describe here (see Maspero, *Boulaq*, pp. 69, 336, and *Guide Cairo Museum*, ed. Dec. 1910, p. 215, Room S, West Side, no. 692), the candidates for the throne were brought before the statue of the god, which had been adjured to make its choice known. They filed past the idol, which remained motionless until it 'seized' the candidate it chose. The statue thereupon declared in formal terms that this was the king. The newly-elected monarch then entered the sanctuary, and was crowned by the god himself.

Recent Egyptological discoveries show that all the traits of this curious ceremonial were borrowed by Ethiopia from the divinatory ritual of Egypt. On the tomb of Nib Uônaf at Gurneh (see Sethe, *ZÄ* xliii. [1908] 90 ff.) there is an account of the election of the high priest of Amon-Râ. The candidates were led before the statue of the god. They were all shown to it in turn, 'and not to a single one of them did it make the motion *hanu* [see below for the actual gesture] except, said the King, when I pronounced thy name.' Then, Nib Uônaf being thus chosen, the statue conferred the power upon him by four magic passes. A second text, discovered later, proves that the custom was in existence even in the time of Amenhotep III., and it is quite logical to suppose that it goes back to a much earlier period; it may perhaps be even as ancient as the worship of the god himself.

The right of consulting the god is reserved, of course, to his people, i.e. to the king or the chief 'prophet' (a poor modern tr. of the word *honu*, which is, more exactly, a 'man belonging to some one'). The consultation does not take place at any time, but only, according to traditional etiquette, on one of the days of the holy image's 'going out' (*khânu* = 'assemblies', 'processions')—in the case of the Theban Amon, e.g., at 'his great festival of Apit.' There is a recognized place where it is allowable to present the divinatory request to the god, and even to interrupt the 'going out' of the god to question him. At Thebes it is the place called the 'silver pavement.' The priest approaches the shrine containing the statue and begins by an invocation (*âsh*) in court language. He then asks the statue if it is convenient for it to listen to such and such an affair. The terms used here also are traditional: 'O God of Good-

ness, my Lord,' is the beginning of the question. Then the case is stated: a theft has been committed; will the god help to find the stolen property and the culprits? A funerary monument has been robbed; does the god desire the punishment of the spoilers? Sometimes even more circumlocution is used: 'Lord, may we lay before thee a serious affair?' (e.g. among the Banis of the Great Oasis; see below). If the statue remains motionless, the request is refused, and the matter is dropped. If it consents to listen, it acquiesces (*hanu*) 'twice with decision.'

The actual gesture of consent is difficult to determine. Nearly all authorities admit that the statue 'shook its head.' The word *hanu*, always employed, without exception, in all the texts, for this method of divination, may, indeed, mean a shake of the head, according to the usual signification of the word in ordinary language. Amon-Râ of Karnak, in the long series of examples known to us, Amon 'Pakhoniti' of Memphis (cf. Pleyte, *PSBA* x. [1892] 41, 55), Amon 'Ta-Shoni' (*ib.*), Khonsu 'Nofrihâtep' of Thebes, Amenôthes I., king of the dead (cf. Erman, *SBAW*, 1910, p. 210), and the images of the Ethiopian Amon of Napata gave responses in this way (*hanu*). The same is true of Isis of Koptos (Petrie, *Koptos*, London, 1896, pl. xix. lines 11-13). There is doubt, however, in the case of Jupiter Amon of the Great Oasis (cf. Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase*, Leipzig, 1878, pl. xxii.), and the consultation granted afterwards to Alexander, on his famous journey to this sanctuary. But there is no decisive context to prove that it was the head rather than the arms that moved, and, as we have no remains of these portable statues, scientific reserve must be maintained on this material detail. The passage in the famous *stela* of Bakhtan, in which the king asks the statue of Khonsu 'to incline its face,' is nothing more than an ordinary expression in court language, meaning 'to be in a benevolent mood, or 'to consent gladly' to something. Finally, it will be observed: (1) that several passages in the inscriptions and papyri say that the statue performs *hanu* 'towards' some one hidden in the midst of a group or a crowd; (2) that, in many other circumstances besides interrogations proper, the statue 'seizes' some one, or 'holds the string' (the ritual term for founding a temple), etc. These evidences, along with others too long to give here, justify us in assuming, with equal probability, that the *hanu* may have been a movement of the arm of a jointed statue, accompanied perhaps by a sound, a whistling, or a cry, of suitable strength. We have absolutely no exact details here, though we know that, in the case of oracles proper, the god spoke; but this Divine language is itself a matter for discussion. Maspero, in all the works in which he discusses these 'prophetic statues' (see *Literature*), holds that they were actual jointed dolls, with strings attached to their arms and heads, and that the officiating priest pulled a string for each response and each gesture. In his earliest works (cf. *RHR* xv. [1887] 169 ff.) he even seems to admit the existence of actual machinery, worked, when required, by fire or steam. The explanation that the statue had a jointed head seems to be generally accepted. It is a very ingenious and satisfactory hypothesis—but nothing more, for no single text or representation supplies formal proof.

Divination was the exclusive privilege of the 'essential' statue, just as was the possession of the fluid *ad*, and the gift of exorcism, of healing, of 'vital breaths,' etc.; and—probably for reasons of magic awe—the Egyptians never made a single representation to show what such a statue was. There is one portable figure of Min, it is true, nude and ithyphallic, carried on his shield and having his 'magic-case' with him, in a number of Theban representations of processions (Luxor, Medinet Habu, and Ramesseum). This statue suggests, at the very first glance, the idea of a string hanging from the neck to the ground—which would justify the theory of statues with movable heads. But it is doubtful whether this is a 'prophetic' statue—from the very fact that they have dared to show it in bas-relief. We know, finally, that the sacred image was carried on the *bari*; and, even allowing that the *naos* was open during the consultation and that the statue was taken out of it and placed on the ground (cf. Pleyte, *PSBA* x. 43), it is difficult to see by what sort of mechanical means movements could be produced. All that we can state with certainty is that the idol indicated its wishes by a gesture, or by a gesture and a cry at the same time, and repeated twice.

After this sort of 'duty performance,' the king or the chief priest puts the question. The cases about which we know (from inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca) are of great variety (cf. Brit. Mus. Papyrus 10335; Mariette, *Catal. mon. d'Abidos*, Paris, 1881, no. 1225; Brugsch, *ZÄ* ix. [1871] 85; Erman, *SBAW*, 1910, pp. 344, 346 = Cairo Ostrakon 25242; Turin Papyrus 126, ch. 3; Erman, *Agyp. Rel.* 186; Louvre Manner Stela; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. [Chicago, 1907] 317; Naville, *Inscr. hist. de Pinodjem III.*, Paris, 1883, p. 111). A consideration of all the questions submitted shows that the majority are judicial decisions, and that

they are entirely concerned with the people and things ruled over or possessed by the god; in short, that they are cases not of interpretative divination or divination of the future, but of the divination, for the immediate present, of the god's formal decision. This remark helps us to understand how the process of the Divine response by *hanu* tended to become a settled gesture, almost a piece of legal phraseology, the divinatory element of which in the end quite evaporated (see below).

The process of questioning is controlled by rigorous fixed rules. A series of definite questions are asked, each one bringing nearer, *ne varietur*, the solution of the difficulty. To each question the statue has to reply by 'yes' (i.e. by performing *hanu* 'twice with decision') or 'no' (i.e. by remaining unmoved). In certain cases, the final decision depends entirely upon the statue's gesture. Two pieces of writing are placed before it, the one saying that an accused person is guilty, the other that he is not guilty; and the statue is required to choose. To make quite sure, this test is repeated twice. The case of the steward Thothmes is an example of this kind, in which, twice over, 'the god refused to take the writing that declared him guilty, and took that declaring him innocent' (cf. a good tr. of this typical example in Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 325).

This curious passage would lead one to suppose that, even although *hanu* means a shaking of the head, the statue certainly moved or stretched out its arm to take the writing. This evidence should be laid alongside of the various texts that seem to show that at the coronation of the king the statue of Amon-Râ put the crown on the new sovereign's head, as in Ethiopia (see below).

Taken in connexion with the indication of the Ethiopian kings and the Theban chief priests by the statue, these examples of judicial decisions throw light upon the philosophy of such proceedings. It is possible—and probable—that originally the gesture of the statue was actually divinatory, inasmuch as, though an indication was looked for from it that was the result, it is true, of solicitation, its exact answer or choice could not be foretold. In the earliest times the *hanu* of the statue was as impossible to anticipate with certainty as were the miraculous movements recorded in other inscriptions—the statue making a gesture of welcome or salutation, during a procession, as it passed before a court official (cf. Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. xix. line 11 f.), or, more frequently, before the prince who was destined one day to mount 'the throne of Horus,' and of whose future position as king of Egypt no indication had ever until then been made. The original nature of the process had a tendency gradually to become an operation in which the process of investigation, procedure, and inquiry was carried through more and more by human means, and the only uncertain element—i.e. the opinion, or the will, of the god—was reduced to the very restricted alternative of saying 'yes' or remaining motionless. Divination proper, thus reduced to the minimum of interpretative freedom, and confined to cases equally definite and real, became, by force of circumstances, rather a registration of the god's consent taken for granted in practice, and soon even simply a formality with practically no divinatory significance in it. This was almost certainly the nature of the Divine *hanu* in the cases of the election of the Ethiopian king and the nomination of the Theban chief priest; and similarly in the ratification of judicial sentences. This all serves to explain how, in the course of history, the Divine consent by a movement of the statue came to be the regular and necessary accessory of registration for all kinds of contracts, deeds of gift, marriages, wills, and even rescripts relating to funerary lots passed before the temple authori-

ties, in which there was no kind of 'divination' to be seen—unless, indeed, we give that name to the desire (or would-be desire) to be quite certain, for the sake of the validity of these actions, that the spirit of the god was not opposed to them (cf. (1) the process in the Turin Papyrus 126; (2) Erman, *ZÄ* xxxv. [1897] 12, for the registration of a will; (3) Maspero, *Boulaq*, p. 336, for the registration of a funerary decree; and (4) what Breasted says in *Anc. Records*, iv. 325, about a special work on this series of legal documents).¹

(c) From the known examples, it appears that the consultation of statues usually consisted in obtaining a series of acquiescings manifested by the *hanu*. We have seen, however, that movements of 'seizing' sometimes accompanied this manifestation of the god's will. There were also other movements of an analogous kind; e.g., when the image of Khonsu consented to grant its magic power to one of the statues of Khonsu in order to drive off a demon, it is said that it 'made four passes of the magic fluid'—from which we may assume actual movements, no matter how rudimentary, of the arms or of an arm. In some of the cases cited above, it is formally stated that the *hanu* was accompanied by spoken words, sentences more or less brief, but practically forming a short discourse; this is the case in the election of the kings of Napata. It is, indeed, certain, from a number of other texts, that the gods spoke—not, of course, to the common herd of mortals, but to their sons and their ministers (i.e. to the members of the royal family and the high priests). The gist of the wishes they manifested thus was afterwards reduced to the form of a decree (*utu*), and engraved on the walls of the temple as 'the words of the god himself'; or their wishes were embodied in one of those rhythmical prose accounts, lyrical in character, which have been rapidly enriching the *corpus* of Egyptian historical inscriptions in recent times.

These oracles are of as many varieties as the consultations of the statues examined above. Sometimes the god himself, of his own accord and unsolicited, suddenly manifested his will, making his voice heard, in the silence of the sanctuary, to the king or priest coming into his majestic presence; and he would order a mission to Lebanon for wood for his house, for stones for his temples, for perfumes and rare trees for his altars and sanctuaries (cf. Erman, *ZÄ* xxxviii. [1900] 1; and Golenischeff, *RTx* xxi. 127). Sometimes the manifestation was less unforeseen: it might be the complement of a previous warning in a dream, a formal explanation of which the god was graciously granting by request; or it might be the answer to a passionate request of the king. To the last category belongs the discourse received by Hatasu in the temple of Deir el-Bahari, when she came, after prayers and fasting, to seek a manifestation of the Divine will, and was ordered to send an expedition to the country of spices (cf. Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, London, 1898-1901, iii. 84). This famous example is a good specimen of the manner of proceeding. The other examples of the same type show that in no single case was the divination accompanied by ecstasy, religious frenzy, or hypnosis of the subject, and that the god never used mysterious language, or broken mangled words that were afterwards submitted to the interpretation of professional soothsayers. The statements made by the god were in clear and coherent terms. They were practical replies as to a fact, a decision to be taken, or the issue of a concrete imminent event. All the Egyptian precision and love of clearness are seen in these oracles, as we may call them. Seti I. implores the god, and is shown a place where he must make a well in the desert, while the god demands a sanctuary in exchange (cf. Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 82); and orders, solicited or unsolicited, relating to the construction and repair of buildings (e.g. Mariette, *Karnak*, Leipzig, 1875, pl. xii. = Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. no. 606) appear to have held the chief place in these oracles—perhaps, indeed, just because these responses more than others were engraved on the walls of the buildings with which they were thus connected. Another kind of prediction which we find of more and more frequent occurrence is the foretelling of a prince's coming to the throne. Thothmes III. was informed by the god long in advance that he would one day be king of Egypt (Inscription of the year 23 at Wady-Halfa); and this prediction was confirmed later by the statue suddenly stopping in front of Thothmes, proclaiming

¹ On the question of illusion or fraud in the above processes, see Foucart, *Religion et art dans l'ancienne Egypte*, Paris, 1908, vol. I. ch. I. p. 37 ff.; Maspero, 'Les Statues parlantes,' in *JD*, 21st Dec. 1898.

him king, crowning him, and making him a speech (cf. Breasted, 'Coronation Inscription,' in *Anc. Records*, II, 60, no. 140).

Such facts should be compared with those telling how the Divine statue proclaimed the king, appeared in public with him under its protection, and gave him his crown and diadems (e.g. Daresy, *Annales*, III, [1903] 271, for Ramses II., and similar facts for the Thothmes, the Amen-hoteps of the XVIIIth dynasty, and Harmhab). They seem to indicate that here we have, for historical Egypt, the continuation of an extremely ancient divinatory process. If we further consider the remarks of Breasted (*Anc. Records*, II, 225) on the antiquity and persistence of the coronation ritual of Heliopolis, it is a possible assumption that the whole is a survival, made regular and ritual, of a much earlier state of things, and that, in pre-historic times, the accession of a chief was actually settled by divination, the idol (or, before it, the fetish) intervening by prophetic processes to indicate the man it desired to be its minister and to rule over men in its name. Such a view would modify our ideas on the origins of Egyptian monarchy, and should be considered along with the analogous customs to be found among numerous uncivilized races of the present day relating to the designation of kings or priests by divination.

The inscriptions of the classical period published in recent years show that the gods themselves gave direct orders by speeches, and it is beyond all doubt that consultation of the gods by the kings was of very frequent occurrence, and that divination was involved in the majority of important decisions. At grave junctures, e.g. when there was a conspiracy to frustrate, a treaty to arrange, or an expedition to command, the king asked help from the god, and he did not ask it in a sign or prodigy to be interpreted afterwards; he requested an answer in articulate language and exact terms. It is difficult to find a nobler tone in the ancient literature of the East than that of some of the inscriptions in which a king relates how he came to the temple to seek for Divine wisdom, stated his business before his ancestor, asked him what he ought to do, and turned away from this mysterious interview with face lit up and heart full of joy, because he had heard his god speak to him 'as a father to his son' (cf. e.g. Bouriant, *ETR* xv, [1896] 178; *Inscription of Thothmes IV. at Konosso*). This fine formula recurs in several inscriptions relating to consultations of the god by the king.¹

To these examples of oracles of the Pharaonic period we may add, as having an Egyptian character and no foreign elements, the demotic inscriptions of Nubia, relating to the oracles of Isis of Philæ and Thoth of Pi-Nubs. The records that the 'chief of the temple held a consultation of the god' connect this method of divination with the official procedures already noticed (cf. Révillout, *Revue égyptologique*, v. nos. i.-ii., and *PSBA* x. 56-58). At the oracle of Dakke, held in great veneration by the Ethiopians and the Blemmyes, the statue of the god was consulted 'at the great feast' (*do en lo*). Texts show that a consultation of this oracle was a recognized thing when a prediction of the circumstances favourable for the celebrated yearly journey of the statue of Isis of Philæ to the Blemmyes was desired. It is also an Egyptian custom that we find at Korti, when the chief priest of the temple leaves the choice of his successor in the hands of the god (cf. *Revue égyptol.* v. no. 111, for a series of examples of all these oracles).

It is very difficult to discriminate between what is Egyptian and what is foreign in the mass of examples of divination and sanctuaries having an oracle mentioned in connexion with Egypt by Græco-Roman authors. The same restraint must be observed as for the divinatory processes discussed above in the inquiry concerning the prophetic statues. As a rule, the recently discovered

¹ As to the very difficult question of the material method by which the god spoke, Garnault (*Revue scientifique*, no. 21, May 1900, p. 643 f.) suggests ventriloquism; Maspero holds that the priest spoke by Divine inspiration in the name of the god—the most satisfactory theory in many instances. But in some cases the king alone, without the intervention of the priest, appears to have received the Divine response directly in his own soul.

information of Pharaonic age tends to confirm for the majority of cases the actual national character of the modes of divination. Thus at the oracle of Bisu in the Thebaid (Herod. i. 182; Amm. Marcellinus, xix. 12), and at that of Heliopolis (Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 30), the means of getting the future divulged consisted in reducing the questions to writing, according to carefully arranged formulæ. Such a method is fairly similar to what took place, as we saw above, in the judgment of the steward Thothmes, and the importance of the proper wording of the formulary noted by Pliny (xxviii. 3) and Juvenal (*Sat.* vi. 390) corresponds exactly with Egyptian formalism. But these formulæ, deposited under seal in the temple, and the replies given, also sealed, with the same ceremonial, are a method of Divine correspondence which the hieroglyphic inscriptions have not yet confirmed for the classic period. We know from Zosimus that in the reign of Constantine the government seized a number of oracles which were given into the hands of the Imperial police and involved a number of Egyptians in imprisonment and exile.

The cases of divination by incubation are the most complicated. If it is certain that the sanctuary of Ptah Sotmu in Memphis was giving oracles in the Pharaonic epoch to sufferers who came to consult it (see DISEASE [Egyp.]), and that the gods had been sending dreams, for long ages and almost everywhere, to reveal remedies to the patients who came to sleep in their temples, it is no less certain that the result of the combined influence of Asia and Greece was to extend and modify the essentials of these processes of divination, just as in the cases already noticed of prophecy by interpretation of inanimate things.

The famous oracle of Jupiter Amon of the Great Oasis deserves special mention. Although manifestly in decadence in the time of Strabo (xvii. 759), its advice was still held of great value in difficult questions (Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 654). A study of the principal Græco-Roman authors who describe the manner in which the god made his will known (Ptolem. § 81; *Scriptores rerum Alex. Magnæ*, ed. Müller-Didot, 1846, p. 37 f.; Arrian, *Anabasis*, III. 4. § 5; Quintus Curtius, iv. 7; Ephippus, § 8; Strabo, vii. fr. 1; Diodorus, xvii. 51; Plutarch, *Alex.* 27; and especially Callisthenes, fr. 27 and 39) shows that it was in absolute conformity with the Egyptian rule: the statue of the god, the response by gesture, and, if need be, by spoken words, the consultation by the high priest, and the questioning at the 'ceremonial going out' of the god (notice the passage of Strabo [vii. fr. 1] remarking indirectly that the responses of the oracle were given in conventional signs, *διὰ τινων συμβόλων*). We also find indirectly, from the evidence of Ephippus (§ 8), that the divinatory statue had a human form, and was provided with shoes, a mantle, and horns. This last trait—granting that the Amon of the Oasis is certainly a copy of the Theban Amon—helps to confirm the conclusion that the prophetic statue of Thebes had a ram's head. The most famous episode in connexion with this oracle was the visit of Alexander, who was summoned by Amon as his son and lawful successor upon the throne of Egypt. Maspero (*Ann. de l'École des Hautes Études*, 1897, pp. 1-32, 'Comment Alexandre devint dieu en Egypte') shows clearly that the deification of the great conqueror was carried through completely in accordance with the forms of the Pharaohs, in spite of the mistaken statements of Greek authors, who were ill-informed as to Egyptian procedure.

The consultation of statues by signs and oracles being entrusted to the priest in charge of the ordinary priestly functions led, of necessity, to the suppressing of professional soothsayers and seers filled with religious frenzy, divinatory ecstasy, etc. There was not even a set of officials whose duty it was to interpret dreams; this function was entrusted by the Pharaoh to some of his chaplains or secretaries. Finally, we know of no regular body of individuals charged with the execution of the rules of mantics as applied to time and space (cf. art. STARS [Egyp.], for a partial exception to this). It is true, of course, that innumerable trifling cases of divination in daily life engaged the attention of all classes, from the man in the street to the king himself. But these were dealt with directly, by individual

intelligence, by an answer obtained from a book of magic, or by explanations sought from some private person celebrated for knowledge and sagacity—this last word being understood in its narrowest sense of a high degree of skill in magical studies. This practice of private divination (which must be carefully kept distinct from official divination) seems to have been of wide occurrence in Egypt in all periods. It presents cases of an infinite variety of application, but these will be more appropriately discussed under MAGIC (Egypt.).

LITERATURE.—There is no monograph on the subject. A good number of testimonies of classical authors, almost entirely neglected in Egyptological works, are gathered together in J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ed. 1878, ff. 462-464, where, however, the actual facts are not stated from Egypt itself. An isolated branch—the study of prophetic statues—is treated by G. Maspero, in a great many publications (see esp. *RHR* xv. [1889] 159, 188; *RTr* I. [1882] 152; *JD*, 21st Dec. 1898 (speaking statues); *Guide au Musée de Boulaq*, Paris, 1888, pp. 69, 336; *Études de Myth. et d'Archéol.* iii. [1901] 156, 220; *Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études*, 1897). A short account is given in A. Erman, *Agypt. Religion*², Berlin, 1906, p. 186. The rest of the important documents and articles on the subject have been mentioned in the article.

GEORGE FOUCART.

DIVINATION (Greek).—Of the beliefs with regard to divination held by the Hellenes at the time of their arrival in Greece we have no knowledge. That they practised it is highly likely; and it is inconceivable that the inhabitants of Knossos, Tiryns, Mycenae, and the other centres of pre-historic culture had no belief in it; but definite information is entirely wanting. The most we can say is that certain ancient oracles very possibly date from pre-Hellenic times. We begin therefore with the feudal period of Greek history (i.e. 1200 B.C.), of whose culture we know something from Homer.

1. In Homer.—Here we find for the most part 'independent diviners' (*divins libres*, to adopt Bouché-Leclercq's convenient terminology). The oracular shrines, so famous in later ages, are scarcely mentioned at all. One instance occurs of a private consultation at Dodona,¹ and Achilles mentions the wealth of the shrine at Delphi;² but no important oracles are mentioned as emanating from either. Agamemnon, for example, does not appear to have consulted any one but the seer Kalchas with regard to the Trojan war. The famous portent of the serpent and the nest of swallows is interpreted by him, and Odysseus bids the discouraged army 'wait awhile and see whether Kalchas prophesieth aright or not.'³ So far, then, as divination is official and professional, it is the individual seer (*μάντις*, *οἰωνοδόλος*) and not any sort of priestly corporation, that we have to deal with. The *μάντις* is not, as a rule, an inspired prophet, but rather a craftsman (*δημιουργός*), classed with leeches and carpenters in a famous verse of the *Odyssey* (xvii. 384, *μάντιν, ἢ ἱγίηρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δοῦρῶν*). He practises seer-craft, *μαντοσύνη*, the later *μαντική* (*τέχνη*), as a doctor practises physic, and by the favour of the gods⁴ he has more skill in it than ordinary men. But any one can interpret an omen on occasion, just as Patroklos, who is not a regular physician, on occasion heals the wounded Eurypylos. Of anything like possession or prophetic vision, apart from the interpretation of omens, we hear very little. The most famous instance is the 'second-sight' of Theoklymenos (*Od.* xx. 351 ff.), who suddenly sees the hall filled with the ghosts of the wooers of Penelope. The typical Homeric method of foretelling the future is by the actions and cries

of omen-birds (*οἰωνοί*),¹ or sometimes of other animals, or by portents (*τέρας*).

The former of these (*ορνιθομαντεία*, *οἰωνοσκοπία*) was always of more or less importance in Greece, although it never attained the imposing dimensions of Etruscan augury. In Homer, the omen-bird is generally an eagle, and always sent by Zeus, Apollo, or Athene.² Its actions are symbolical, and need no complicated augury for their interpretation. A characteristically transparent allegory is that given by the eagle in *Il.* xii. 200 ff.:

'For a bird appeared unto them as they strove to cross, even an eagle of high flight, upon the left, staying the folk; he bore a monstrous red serpent in his talons, alive still and breathing, that was not yet forgetful of strife, for it struck at the bird that held it upon the breast by the neck, writhing back. And the eagle dropped it from him to the earth, galled by the pain, and flung it down into the midst of the throng, and himself flew with a scream on the breath of the wind. And the Trojans shuddered when they saw the writhing snake lying in the midst of them, a portent of Zeus, the ægis-bearer.'

Here the eagle represents the Trojans, the snake the Greeks, and the discomfiture of the eagle indicates the result of the contest. That it is meant as an omen is shown by the species of bird—not all birds are ominous³—and by the unusual nature of the occurrence—it is called a portent (*τέρας*). It is seen on the left, i.e. the west, the quarter of darkness,⁴ and so must be unlucky. A much simpler omen encourages Odysseus and Diomedes:⁵

'Unto them Pallas Athene sent a heron, on the right, near their path; they saw it not with their eyes through the murky night, but they heard its cry. And Odysseus rejoiced at that omen (*ὄρνις*), and made prayer to Athene.'

In neither of these cases is the diviner strictly a professional. Polydamas, who interprets the first omen, is renowned as an augur, but he is present at the battle simply as a warrior, and only incidentally interprets omens and advises Hector. Odysseus is a favourite of Athene, but has nothing of the priest or wizard about him. The method of interpretation is of the simplest in these and all other cases in Homer; and Hector, who is by no means impious, is frankly contemptuous about the adverse sign.

Portents, strictly speaking,—i.e. ominous events of a miraculous nature,—are not very common in Homer. One has already been mentioned in passing. The omen of the serpent, interpreted by Kalchas, ends by the creature being turned into stone; but no one seems to deduce anything from this. The word *τέρας*, indeed, is used to mean any sign⁶ from a god, whether miraculous or not, or any wonderful thing, like the ægis, which apparently Eris carries in *Il.* xi. 4. In any case, it is definitely from a god that the sign always comes; and this applies to the other forms of divination mentioned below. Of familiar spirits, animals which give signs of their own accord, and the like, we hear nothing in Homer.

Besides augury and portents, the most important omens are *dreams*. These are almost always definitely sent by a god, and usually speak in plain language. Generally also they are true, an exception being the 'baneful dream' sent by Zeus to deceive Agamemnon.⁷ Usually the vision takes the form of a man or woman known to the sleeper

¹ Strictly, *ὄρνις* is 'a bird, in general,' *οἰωνός*, 'an omen-bird'; but the distinction is often neglected. *οἰωνός* also means an omen given by a bird, hence an omen in general; and *ὄρνις* was used in this sense.

² See Amels on *Od.* x. 274. For the association of these three deities, of the repeated line *αὖ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι*. The eagle is 'most perfect' (i.e. most thoroughly ominous) of winged fowl (*Il.* vii. 247, xxiv. 816).

³ *Od.* ii. 182. ⁴ *Il.* xii. 239 f. ⁵ *Il.* x. 274 ff.

⁶ Called in general *σημα*. A falling star is called *τέρας* (*Il.* iv. 76). The stock reared of later times, a monstrous birth, or a birth from a mule (see, e.g., Plato, *Cratylus*, 393 B), does not occur in Homer.

⁷ *Il.* ii. 5 f. Zeus is, it would appear, the normal sender of dreams (ib. i. 63); and we hear of no other god who, so to speak, keeps dreams ready-made. The others appear themselves in sleep, or make and send phantoms.

¹ *Od.* xiv. 327; cf. xix. 296. ² *Il.* ix. 404. ³ *Il.* ii. 299 f.

⁴ *Il.* i. 72. Plato, following the recognized classification, divides divination into *μαντική* *ἐνθεός* and *τῶν ἐμφάνων ζήτησις* *τοῦ μᾶλλοντος* (*Phaedrus*, 244 B-C). The former is absent from Homer, practically, and has been ascribed (wrongly, we think) to the influence of Dionysos, by Bouché-Leclercq and others.

(in this case, Nestor). However, the clear, non-allegorical language is not invariable, and there exists a class of dream-interpreters (*ὄνειροποδοί*), but, we may safely assume, no masters of any complicated and wide-reaching science like that taught in later days by such men as Artemidoros. Part of their craft, it would seem, consisted in telling true dreams from false ones; so we gather from the apologue of the gates of horn and of ivory, in the speech of Penelope to Odysseus (*Od.* xix. 560). According to the geography of *Od.* xi., the 'folk of dreams' (*ὄμηρος ὄνειρων*) occupy a position beyond Ocean and near Hades; but such ideas have at least as much poetic fancy as genuine popular belief in them. What is important for our purposes to observe is that Penelope's dream is of the kind we have elsewhere noticed¹ as the simplest form of allegorical dream—a vision of an ominous happening. Incubation (see below) is unknown in Homer. One unusual example of a dream, or vision, not divinely sent, remains to be noted. As Achilles sleeps, the spirit of his dead and unburied friend appears to him (*Il.* xxiii. 62 ff.) to beg for speedy release from his homeless condition. But everything about this scene, including the *revenant*, is unusual, and even inconsistent with normal Homeric beliefs.

The occasional appearances of deities, who speak face to face with favoured heroes (Athenes with Achilles and Odysseus, Hermes with Priam, etc.), are foreign to our purpose; but we may note, in passing, the peculiar occurrence which later Greece called *φήμη*, Homer *ὁμφή* or *ὄσσα*—the rumour which, coming from no one knows where, spreads through a crowd. This the Greeks always recognized as heaven-sent. We mention it to introduce a similar idea, found both in Homer and in later writers, namely, that the Divine will may be made known by means of the casual words of a mortal (*καλῶδών*). Of this we have a noteworthy example in *Od.* xx. 98 ff. Odysseus, about to take vengeance on the wooers, prays for Divine encouragement; a thunder-clap answers him, and is followed by a few words from a tired maid-servant, who curses the wooers for keeping her up all night to grind corn for their feasts. Later ritual developed and systematized this method at the oracular shrine of Hermes Agoraios in Pharaï.² The consultant whispered his question into the god's ear, then stopped his own ears, went out, and, when he got beyond the market-place, listened for chance words from passers-by. These were construed into an answer. This form of divination (*cleidonomancy*) remained popular at all periods. It appears in various forms, such as the puns on names (*Ἑλένα*—*ἐλέανος*, *ἑλάρδος*, *ἐλέττολις*, in the *Agamemnon*, 686 f.), and seems to have had this great advantage, that one could either accept (*δέχεσθαι*) or disregard an omen of this kind.³

Allied to *cleidonomancy* is the omen from *sneezing* (*Od.* xvii. 541 ff.)—one of the large class of omens from involuntary human actions (*παλμοί*), elaborated in later times into a complicated system. In the Homeric instance, Telemachos' violent sneeze simply indicates Divine approval of Penelope's words. This idea lingers on to-day in Greece. If a sneeze is heard after any one has spoken, the sneezer is not only given the customary 'Good health to you!', but the words *καὶ ἀλήθεια λέει*, 'and he (the last speaker) tells truth,' are added.

Necromancy proper—the evoking of a ghost or ghosts—is not found in Homer. The nearest approach, besides the appearance of Patroklos' spirit, is in the vision of Odysseus to Hades (*Od.*

xi.). Here the ghosts are certainly approached with regular necromantic rites, blood-offerings and the like, and the whole passage suggests something other than the normal Homeric idea of the dead as 'strengthless.' It may well be that, while the Achaean lords were not ghost-worshippers, their subjects were,⁴ and that this bit of ritual has percolated up from lower levels of society. But even here the ghosts are not raised from their graves or called into the upper world; nor have they any prophetic powers, except Teiresias, who, by special grace, retains his old seer-craft or something like it. The only approach to the usual idea of a dead man's powers of divination is the foresight shown by some dying men, e.g. Hector.⁵

Such are the main forms of Homeric divination, to which Hesiod makes no addition, for his weather signs are simply crude meteorology, with nothing of magic about them.

2. Historic period.—We now pass to the historic period, which we may roughly divide into (1) the time of Greek development and political importance (8th to 4th cent. B.C.—First Olympiad to the death of Alexander), and (2) the decadence (from the 4th cent. onwards).

(1) *The period of political importance.*—In this period, besides the Homeric methods, several new forms of divination were introduced, which will be briefly discussed in their proper place; but the chief feature of it was the immense importance of the oracular shrines, and particularly of three—those of Zeus at Dodona, of Apollo at Delphi, and, later, of Zeus Ammon. The first of these is undoubtedly of great antiquity.⁶ Homer⁷ mentions its priestly tribe or caste, the *Σελλοί* 'of unwashed feet, sleepers on the ground'; and the way in which the oracles were given—by the sounds made by the sacred oak—suggests an ancient tree-worship, older than the cult of Zeus as we know it, and very possibly practised before the god was heard of. It remained respectable, though overshadowed by Delphi, until quite late times.

But the greatest of all oracles was the Delphic or Pythian. From very early times an oracle of some sort appears to have existed in this lonely and exquisitely beautiful place,⁸ and, if we may trust the legends, it was held by Ge-Themis possibly in conjunction with Poseidon. Inspiration was given by some sort of vapour rising from a cleft in the ground;⁹ this is so well established by ancient evidence that we cannot doubt it, although modern researches have shown that no large chasm existed—in fact, thanks to the French excavators, any one can now see that for himself. But, whatever it was, it was enough to serve as evidence of the presence of a chthonian power, and it was held to inspire prophecies—possibly by means of dream-visions, the characteristic form of earth oracles. To this old and well-established shrine there came, at some period of which we have no definite knowledge, a Northern tribe,¹⁰ who worshipped Apollo. Despite the non-chthonian character of this god, Delphi became Apolline henceforward. Under the management of the 'Holy Ones' ('*Οἱ ἅγιοι*'), it became the most important oracular shrine in Greece, and to some extent the official head-centre of Hellenic religion.

¹ For a discussion of the whole question, see Rohde, *Psyche*,⁴ Tübingen, 1907, vol. I. ch. I.

² See Divination (Introductory), § 6, 'Necromancy.'

³ See Farnell, *OGS* I. 33 ff.; Bouché-Leclercq, II. 277 ff.

⁴ *Il.* xvi. 233 ff.

⁵ See Farnell, IV. 180 ff., for an excellent discussion; but in our opinion he underestimates the part played by the natural advantages of the spot. The Greeks were extraordinarily sensitive to beautiful scenery, though not given to sentimentalizing about it.

⁶ Cf. Plutarch, *de Defect. Orac.* 43.

⁷ Oreste also had a traditional connexion with Delphi; see *Hom. Hym. Apoll.* 388; *Paus.* x. vi. 7; *Pind. Pyth.* v. 52. A lion's head in Knossian style has been found at Delphi.

¹ See DIVINATION (Introductory), § 1, 'Dreams.'

² Bouché-Leclercq, II. 399; Pausanias, VII. xxii. 3-4.

³ Cf. *Æsch. Agam.* 1652 f.

ΑΙ. . . οὐκ ἀνάσσειν θανέν.

ΧΘ. δαχόμενοι λεγέιν θανέν σοι.

Several methods of divination were employed at one time or another, such as the *μαντικά ψήφοι*, which appear to have resembled the Zulu divining-sticks; but the usual procedure was by possession (*μαντική ἐνθεός*). The Pythia or prophetess, after a draught of water from the underground spring Kassotis,¹ seated herself upon the tripod in the inner shrine, probably over the cleft, became inspired, and prophesied. The official interpreters (*προφῆται*) then reported her utterances, normally in hexameters.² The opportunity this gave for very liberal 'recension' of the inspired and probably quite unintelligible words of the Pythia is obvious; still, all oracles were supposed to come through her direct, as is shown by the common phrase *ἡ Πυθία χράε*. The theory was briefly this: Zeus was omniscient, and Apollo was his favourite son and his confidant. Apollo, therefore, from time to time³ made known his father's will or foreknowledge to such mortals as chose to consult him after due purification and sacrifice, employing as his medium the Pythia, who,⁴ possessed much as a shaman is possessed (*plena deo*, in Vergil's phrase), spoke not her own words but those of the god. How much of all this the 'Holy Ones' believed, we cannot say; certainly the oracle had immense influence,⁵ especially in religious matters, where it was, on the whole, conservative, except for its advocacy of Dionysiac worship and of hero-cults. In political matters it usually avoided any decided position, though it was philo-Spartan in the Peloponnesian war; and a certain vagueness and ambiguity in all fore-tellings of the future saved the god from the disagreeable position of a false prophet. In one respect, however, Apollo seems really to have acted as a useful information Bureau. Founders of colonies regularly came to him for advice, and that advice was generally good. It may be, however, that here, as in the case of codes of laws supposed to emanate from Delphi (*νόμοι Πυθόχρηστοι*), the god did no more than give his approval to a course already decided upon.

The influence of Delphi, and the lesser influence of other oracles of Apollo (Klaros, Branchidai, etc.), had its effect on legend, as is shown by the persistent torturing of myths about ancient seers into making the latter sons or pupils of Apollo, and inspired prophets rather than augurs. The great bulk of the oracles, and their proverbial obscurity, called into existence a class of interpreters (*ἐξηγηταί*) whose business it was to reveal the god's meaning to the less sharp-witted public. It was recognized that to be a good exegete one must be something of a diviner; and, later on, in the nonage of Greek culture, the collection and interpretation of oracles in the light of a degenerate philosophy occupied such men as Porphyry.

But even Apollo did not extinguish the race of *divins libres*. The craze for knowledge of the future which was very noticeable during the Peloponnesian war produced a demand for oracles which was liberally met by the circulation of the prophecies (*χρησμοί*) of various ancient sages, such as Musaios—among them those of Bakis, of whom Aristophanes makes such delightful sport in the *Knights* and elsewhere. At Athens, especially, prophecies sprang up like mushrooms, and such ominous lines as the famous

ἤξει Δωριакὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἀπ' αὐτῶ,¹ with its no less terrifying variant λιμός, were in every one's mouth. Soothsayers of all kinds plied a lively trade. Nikias was especially dependent upon them, but no general crossed a river or entered the enemy's country without consulting the *μάντεις* attached to the army.

These official diviners practised an art unknown to Homer, namely, *haruspicy*. Whereas the Homeric heroes simply sacrificed and had done with it, in later Greek rites the victim was required to give a sign (by shaking its head when the libation was poured upon it) that the god accepted it, and the entrails² were inspected for signs of Divine approval or disapproval, especially before a battle. Indeed, there is more than one instance (notably at Plataea) of a general delaying action for a considerable time until at last a victim's entrails gave a favourable omen. *Empyromancy* was also practised, i.e. the observation of the fire consuming the sacrificial flesh. If it burned low or went out, it was a bad sign, and so on. This was not restricted to altar-flames. It is hardly too much to say that everything capable of being affected by a moderate-sized fire was scrutinized for signs at one period or another.³ But most of these curious methods and most of the countless other forms of divination, of which we have no room even to give a list, were relatively unimportant, formed no part of any State religion, and were only here and there adopted by oracles. Haruspicy was the normal official method, and in important matters an oracle was consulted.

Dreams, however, deserve separate mention. The recognized medium of chthonian oracles,⁴ they were opposed by the Apolline cult, but found a footing in the worship of medicinal heroes, especially Asklepios. The cult of heroes, indeed, grew very important at this period,⁵ and Asklepios was particularly popular. His shrine at, or rather near, Epidauros—to-day one of the most interesting ruins in Greece—and many lesser shrines at Athens and elsewhere, healed the sick by means of incubation (*ἐγκοιμῆσι*, *ἐγκλισίαι*). The patient, after preliminary rites, slept in the temple, and in a dream was tended or advised—generally the latter—by Asklepios.⁶ Here, of course, the medical knowledge of the priests (*Ἀσκληπιάδαι*) came into play. That it was considerable is clear, both from a number of votive offerings describing treatments which, even by modern standards, are quite scientific, and also from the rise of the Asklepiads of Kos to well-earned renown, especially in the person of their greatest member, Hippokrates. But, even apart from this, and despite the vogue of Delphi, several heroes, notably Trophonios of Lebadeia, gave oracles by dreams or visions.

Finally, as illustrating the extent to which divination at this time became a regular profession, despite the theoretical importance of individual inspiration, mention should be made of the great prophetic families—the Iamidae of Elis and the Melampodidae of Akarnania being the most famous.⁷ Alongside of these families (or gilds)⁸ of professional diviners, we begin to hear of that curious figure of later mythology, the Sibyl.

(2) *The decadence*.—In this period we have to notice, firstly, the weakening of the Greek genius,

¹ See Farnell, iv. 188. The prophetic virtues of water from sacred springs were widely recognized.

² Other metres, and even prose, were used later; see Plut. *de Pythiæ Oraculis*.

³ The Oracle could be consulted only at certain seasons (*τερόμεναι*) and on certain days.

⁴ This was a regular Apolline method, e.g. at his ancient cave-shrine at Hyal in the Mæander.

⁵ The more so as most gods had either no oracles or none of any importance. Hence we find Apollo consulted, for example, on a question affecting the worship of Demeter at Eleusis.

¹ Thuc. ii. 54.

² Especially the liver (hepatoscopy). See, for one example of many, Plut. *Vita Arati*, ch. xliii. Cf. DIVINATION (Assyr.-Bab.).

³ See Bouché-Leclercq, vol. I., for a full treatment of this and other forms of divination, such as lecanomancy.

⁴ Cf. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1259f.

⁵ It was, as we have seen, favoured by Delphi, so long as the monopoly of prophecy was not infringed.

⁶ See Aristoph. *Plutus*, for a farcical description.

⁷ Bouché-Leclercq, ii. 62ff.

⁸ The patronymic termination often connotes no more than this; cf. *Ομηρίδας*, *Ἀσκληπιάδαι*.

and the consequent influence of foreign cults; secondly, the part played by philosophy in regard to the belief in divination; and, finally, the degeneration of the great national cults, and the consequent downfall of the official divination—oracular and otherwise—which formed part of them.

Of the foreign ideas which came in with the backwash from Alexander's conquests, the most noteworthy was the Chaldaeo-Egyptian belief in astrology.¹ Somewhat modified by Greek ideas, it pervaded the whole of Western thought, and became the principal form of divination. This is not the place to go into details as to the methods employed, but a few salient points may be noted. Firstly, it was almost wholly novel. The idea of taking omens from the heavenly bodies or from such phenomena as lightning and shooting stars is old enough in Greece, but no elaborate system, and no idea of anything like planetary influences, had ever existed. This was the product of the sideral cults of the East; it is a remarkable fact that the Greeks hardly worshipped the heavenly bodies at all.² Astrology—this is another noticeable fact—aided the late tendency to syncretism. Thus, joined with the popularity of the Eastern sun-gods, it helped to identify Apollo with Helios; Artemis was confounded with Selene; the ram-horned (and doubtfully Hellenic) Zeus Ammon with the sign Aries, and so on. Thirdly, astrology invaded all branches of divination to such an extent, that we find haruspices, palmists, etc., using terms borrowed from it, and tracing the influence of the stars in the formation of beasts' entrails and the like.

Philosophers of the decadence and of the period immediately preceding it (that in which Plato and Aristotle lived and wrote) were, on the whole, favourable to divination. Plato, at heart a mystic, while outspokenly contemptuous of the disreputable vendors of indulgences and oracles, was by no means adverse to beliefs in the supernatural, and, in fact, seems to have held that divination was not only possible, but a reality;³ and his late followers, the Neo-Platonists, who constructed an elaborate system of *dyalpeores* on the basis of the *Timæus*, found therein a full and satisfactory explanation of oracles. Epicurus, indeed, whose system denied Providence and Divine interest or interference in human affairs, was hostile to the pretensions of diviners; but the Stoics passionately championed astrology, as evidence of their doctrine of Fate.⁴ The degenerate and mongrel system, which goes by the name of Neo-Pythagoreanism, was freely credulous of all marvels, divination included, and produced its own inspired prophet, Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*).

Under pressure of foreign cults, including finally Mithraism and Christianity, the ancient State religions of Greece became gradually weaker; and this inevitably entailed a decline in the importance of the oracles, and of official diviners. Individualism also was rampant, as is shown by the popularity of the post-Aristotelian philosophies; and this meant that divination became more and more of a private affair. While it is wholly untrue that the oracles ceased at the coming of Christ,⁵ it is a fact that by about 100 A.D. they were no longer of great importance;⁶ indeed, quite

apart from other causes, the political insignificance of Greece meant, sooner or later, the insignificance of her great religious institutions. Finally, Christian opposition for the most part stamped out pagan divination.

There were, however, survivals. Astrology lingered on despite theological denunciations—political opposition it had already endured for centuries—and still survives. Oneiromancy, which had grown into a most complicated science, still retained a considerable hold on popular belief. Finally, the prophecies of the Sibyl or Sibyls—the number and names vary⁷—being in later times of Judæo-Christian origin, were hospitably received and ranked almost equal with the Hebrew prophets. 'The old man is Sibyl-mad,' says Aristophanes' slave of his master Demos; and in the Middle Ages her name was still held in reverence; 'Teste David cum Sibylla.'

LITERATURE.—A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divination dans l'antiquité*, vols. i-iii., Paris, 1879-1880; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896 ff., esp. vol. i. (Zeus) and vol. iv. (Apollo). The former work gives a full bibliography of earlier writings.

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DIVINATION (Indian).—In India, divination has gone through two phases of development. Originally it seems to have been practised chiefly with the intention of obviating the evil consequences of omens and portents; in the later period, rather to ascertain the exact nature of the good or evil which those signs were supposed to indicate. Both phases presuppose the firm belief in omens and portents, which appears to be a common feature of primitive culture. In India this belief can be traced back to the Vedic Samhitas; birds are invoked to be auspicious, and certain birds, especially pigeons and owls, are said to be messengers of death (Nirrti, Yama).² A great many details are furnished by later Vedic books, especially the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa*, which forms the last chapter of the *Saṁvimsa Brāhmaṇa* of the Sāmaveda, and the 13th chapter of the *Kaushika Sūtra* of the Atharvaveda.³ The subjects treated in the 12 paragraphs of the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* are, according to Weber's⁴ enumeration: common incidents, diseases of men and cattle, agricultural calamities, loss of ornaments, earthquakes, phenomena in the air and the sky, miraculous happenings to altars and idols, electrical phenomena, monsters; in each case the god is named to whose province the particular incident belongs, and the *mantra*, or the ceremony for the expiation of the evil sign, is prescribed. The second treatise is similar to the first; but it differs from it in this, that in it the omens and portents are more specialized and more varied, and that the Brāhmaṇa who is to prescribe the remedy for them must belong to the Atharvaveda. The last point need not surprise us, for that Veda was largely engaged with occasional and optional practices, with charms and spells; hence the house-priest (*purohita*) of the king, who had to ward off the evil influences which menaced king and country, was required to be deeply versed in the secret lore of the Atharvaveda. Therefore all that refers to mantic and magic was naturally believed to come within the province of that Veda. The last contribution to it is the 72 *Parīśiṣṭas* (appendixes or paralipomena),⁵ treatises on different subjects connected with the Atharvaveda. Some of them are of comparatively late age, since they betray an acquaintance with Greek astronomy. About a third part of this

¹ Bouché-Leclercq, ii. ch. vi.; cf. art. STARS (Greek).

² Even the sun is unimportant, as is indicated by the extreme rarity of names such as *Heliodoros* or *Heliades* before the 3rd cent. A.D. The attempts made to identify any of the leading Hellenic deities (save Zeus, who is vaguely a sky-god) with celestial phenomena are without exception unsatisfactory.

³ Socrates had certainly been of that opinion before him.

⁴ *E.g.* Manilius, iv. 14 f.

⁵ The tale is an invention of Christian apologists, who considered oracles the work of evil spirits. Archaeological evidence alone is quite conclusive against it.

⁶ See Plut. *de Defect. Orac.*, and *de Pythiæ Orac.*

¹ See Bouché-Leclercq, ii. ch. iii.

² Rigv. ii. 42, 43, x. 165; Atharv. vi. 27-29; cf. *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 15, 14.

³ Both treatises have been edited, translated, and commented upon by A. Weber (*Zwei vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta*, Berlin, 1859, p. 313 ff.).

⁴ *Ind. Literaturgesch.*, Berlin, 1878, p. 76.

⁵ The *Parīśiṣṭas* of the Atharvaveda, ed. G. Melville Bolling and Julius von Negelein, Leipzig, 1909-10.

work deals with prognostics, especially from phenomena in the atmosphere and the heavens. Here we find divination in its later development, i.e. with the object of predicting future events. But the expiatory ceremonies and *mantras*, so characteristic of the preceding period, continued to be looked upon as important matter; thus the 67th *Parīṣiṣṭa*, called *Adbhūtasānti*, is, on the whole, a metrical paraphrase of part of the *Adbhūta Brāhmaṇa* mentioned above.

The art of divination with which we have dealt as yet was part of the religion, especially of the Atharva priest, who was the orthodox soothsayer. There were probably already in early times soothsayers and fortune-tellers of no religious character (*naimitika*, *mauhūrtika*,¹ *sāmudrika*) who made single branches of prognostics their speciality. But the whole art of divination became independent of religion when Greek astronomy and astrology were introduced into India in the early centuries of our era. The astrologer possessed what was believed to be a real science of prediction, the accuracy of which was uncontestedly proved in one branch of his science—the astronomical—and was, therefore, readily believed in in the other—the astrological one. For astronomy and astrology were in India, as indeed also in Europe till quite recently, but two branches of one science. And the Indian astrologer added to these two branches a third—the art of divination, hitherto practised by the Atharva priest. We shall call the latter natural astrology, in contradistinction to judicial astrology adopted from the Greeks. An accomplished astrologer or astronomer (*jyotiṣa*) had to know astronomy, judicial astrology (*horā*), and natural astrology.² Judicial astrology is subdivided into (1) nativity (*jātaka*); (2) prognostics for journeys, especially marches of princes in war (*yātrā*); and (3) horoscopy for weddings (*vivāha*). Natural astrology is treated in works which are called *Samhitā*. The best known *Samhitā* is the *Brhat Samhitā* of Varāha Mihira, written about the middle of the 6th cent. A.D., on which an extensive and very valuable commentary was composed by Bhāttotpala in the 9th century.³ The contents of the *Brhat Samhitā* may serve as a summary of the original Indian art of divination—of course, in its last stage of development. We therefore transcribe Varāha Mihira's enumeration of them (ii. 5, tr. H. Kern, *JRAS*, 1869):

'The course of the sun and of the other eight planets, and, during it, their natural and unnatural symptoms, their size, colour, and brightness of the rays, their shape, risings and settings, their roads and deviations, their retrograde and post-retrograde motions, the conjunctions of planets with asterisms, etc., as well as the respective consequences for the different parts of the globe; the course of Canopus, the course of the Seven Seers (Great Bear), the division of things as belonging to the domain of each planet, the same as appertaining to the domain of each asterism, the conjunction of the five planets in the figure of a triangle, etc., the planetary war, the conjunction of the five planets with the moon, the effects produced by the planets on the years presided over by them, the symptoms of pregnancy of the clouds, the conjunction of the moon with Rohini, with Svāti, with Aśādhā; the forebodings of instant rain, the conclusions to be drawn from the growth of flowers and plants as to the produce of trees and crops, the mock-sun, the halo, the cloudy line piercing the sun's disk at rising or setting, the wind, the meteors, the glow of the sky, the earthquake, the glowing red of twilight, the Fata Morgana, the dust rain, the typhoon, the cheapness or dearth of the products of the earth, the prognostics for the growth of corn, the banner of Indra, the rainbow, architecture, palmistry, the auspicious or ill-lucky movements of crows, the augural circle, the movements of wild beasts, of horses, the circle of winds, the good or bad signs of temples, of statues, the consecration of statues, the treatment of trees, the observation of the

soil for finding veins of water, the lustration, the sight of wagtails, the alaying the influence of portents, miscellaneous matters, the anointment of a king; the signs of swords, of ornamental goldplates, of cocks, of tortoises, of cows, of goats, of horses, of elephants, of men, of women; reflections on woman-kind; the prognostics of bolis, of shoes, of torn garments, of chowries, of umbrella-sticks, of couches and seats, the examination of jewels, the foretokens at a lamp, the good or bad signs of tooth-sticks, etc., such as occur in common life to everybody as well as to kings,—all these things have every moment to be considered by an astrologer with undivided attention.'

As the astrologer had thus appropriated all prognostics to himself that had belonged to the Atharva priest, he became the successful rival of the latter. This change must have set in during the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.; for Garga, an early predecessor of Varāha Mihira, had proclaimed:

'The king who does not honour a scholar accomplished in horoscopy and astronomy, clever in all branches and accessories, comes to grief.'—As the night without a light, as the sky without the sun, so is a king without an astrologer; like a blind man he erreth on the road' (ib. ii. 7. 9).

It is beyond the scope of the present article to enter into details about judicial astrology as taught by the Hindus; but it must be noticed that they have also adopted Muhammadan astrology, and treated it, under the name *tājika*, as distinct from the Greek astrology, or *jātaka*.

There are several branches of prognostics which seem early to have been cultivated by specialists, and in some degree to have become independent disciplines. To this category belonged the interpretation of dreams. The belief in the significance of dreams is already found in the *Rigveda* (viii. 47, 14 ff.); dreams indicating death are enumerated in the *Āitareya Aranyaka*, iii. 2, 4; the expiation of evil dreams is treated in *Kaṣika Sūtra*, xli. 9 ff., and in the *Gṛhya Sūtras*. The 68th *Parīṣiṣṭa* of the Atharvaveda, called *Śvapnādhyāya*, deals with oneiromancy, and so do several Purāṇas in a chapter bearing the same name, and some separate works (see, further, art. DREAMS [Vedic]).¹ Interpreters of dreams, their dream-book, and its contents are frequently mentioned by the Jains.² Another important branch of prognostics is the interpretation of the marks of the body, including palmistry and physiognomy. It is an ancient discipline, for it is a tenet of the Buddhists that Buddha possessed the 32 lucky marks (*mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*) and the 80 minor marks. The art of interpreting bodily marks is called *sāmudrika*, and several works treating of it are extant; those who practise it are also called *sāmudrika*. Angry proper (*śākuna*) is, as we saw above, a very old branch of divination; it has been developed in the course of time. A very full dissertation on this subject is given by Eugen Hultzsch, *Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja's Śākuna*, Leipzig, 1879.³ Finally, it may be mentioned that sortilege was also practised in India; a specimen of this kind of divination is published by A. Weber, 'Über ein indisches Würfel-Orakel' (*MBW*, 1859).

The Jains also practised the art of divination. According to them, it had eight branches (*aṣṭaṅga-mahānimitta* [*Kalpasūtra*, i. § 64]), which are specified in the commentary to the passage in question: *divya*, *utpāta*, *āntarika*, *bhauṃa*, *aṅga*, *svara*, *lakṣaṇa*, and *vyākṣaṇa*; in another enumeration the same names are given, only that *śvapna* is added, and *divya* is omitted. As far as can be judged from this division, the Jain system of prognostics must, on the whole, have been similar to that of the Hindus in general.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works quoted in the course of the article, see A. Hillebrandt, 'Ritualliteratur,' *GIAP*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 182, and the literature quoted there, p. 184 f.

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¹ The *mauhūrtika* is the predecessor of the astrologer proper. Chāpākya, who wrote about 300 a.c., mentions the *mauhūrtika* (*Kautilīyam*, Mysore, 1909, p. 38), while Kāmandaki, a late adherent of Kaṭilya's school, speaks of *Horā-gaṇita-tattvavid* (*The Nṛsiṅga*, by Kāmandaki, Calcutta, 1884, iv. 38).

² H. Kern, *Brhat Samhitā*, Calcutta, 1866, Preface, p. 20 ff.
³ Edited, together with the text, in the Vizianagram series, 1806-97.

¹ For further details, see Pischel, in *ZDMG* xl. (1886) 111 ff.

² *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, ed. Jacobi, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 1, 74 (*SBH* xlii. 246).

³ The whole text, *Vasantarāja Śākuna*, was edited in Bombay, 1884.

DIVINATION (Japanese).—1. Definition.—The Japanese for 'divination' is *ura* or *uranahi*. If we consult the 'Vocabulary of the most ancient Words of the Japanese Language' (*TASS*, vol. xvi. pt. 3, p. 280), we find that, according to B. H. Chamberlain, the old word *ura* signifies: 'the back or hind part of anything, inside, the reverse; hence the heart, the mind, divination of things unseen, soothsaying.' The primitive meaning is clearly seen in present-day phrases: e.g. *te no ura* means the palm of the hand; *kimono no ura*, the inside of a coat; *ura no ie*, a back-house. From this we see that, for the Japanese, the idea of divination does not necessarily involve a prediction, but only the discovery of something hidden—present, past, or future. It may be employed not only to find out whether such and such an event will occur in the future, whether it will be lucky or the opposite, etc., but also to reveal the present will of the gods on such and such a point, and even to discover why a certain event—generally an untoward one—has occurred in the past.

2. Objects.—To get a good idea of the various objects of divination, we have only to look through the ancient Shintō documents, beginning with the *Kojiki*. Even in the very first pages of the sacred story we find divination playing a part in the life of the primitive couple: Izanagi and Izanami have produced badly-formed children; the cause is discovered by divination, viz. that in the marriage ceremony the woman had spoken first (see *Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain, p. 22). An eclipse of the sun takes place; the gods have recourse to various magical processes in order to stop it, and among these is divination—employed, no doubt, to discover the will of the Sun-goddess (ib. 64). At a later period, one of the first emperors, Suinin, who had a son afflicted with dumbness, learns in a dream that his child will be able to speak if a temple is built to a certain god, who does not reveal his name; by a process of divination the sovereign discovers the identity of the god, and removes the curse (ib. 237 f.). Outside of these longer mythological tales, we see divination practised in innumerable other cases, especially in the *Nihongi*. It is employed to foretell the result of a military expedition (see *Nihongi*, tr. W. G. Aston, vol. i. pp. 121, 227, 237); to reveal the cause of plague, rebellion, and other public calamities (i. 152) or private misfortunes (ii. 102); to discover what person is to be entrusted with the cult of a god (i. 153, 177); what offerings must be made to the god (i. 178); whether the Emperor should make sacrifices in person or send a representative (i. 189, 190); why the Emperor's soup almost froze into ice one day (this was due to a case of frost in the court, i. 324); what place should be selected for building a tomb (i. 355) or a palace (ii. 95); what was signified by a mysterious omen (ii. 59, 306). Finally, in addition to these cases officially reported in the ancient chronicles, we find divination constantly invoked in the life of individuals in more humble circumstances—from the maiden seeking to know when she will have a husband and what will be his name, to the person who is anxious to recover a lost possession or to find the track of a thief. In the poems of the *Manyōshū*, which give us a very true and vivid picture of ancient Japanese civilization, divination is employed fairly often in the relations between lovers and married people (see these poems in Satow, 'Ancient Japanese Rituals,' *TASS*, vol. vii. pt. 4, p. 446 ff., and in F. V. Dickinson, *Primitive and Medieval Japanese Texts*, Oxf. 1906, Romanized texts, pp. 125, 142 f., and Translations, pp. 204, 227 f.).

Divination was a regular process in certain essential points of Shintō worship: it was by

divination that the priestess of the Sun was chosen at Ise (see esp. *Nihongi*, i. 176); that, more generally, the ceremonial purity of all those taking any part in religious rites was ascertained; that it was determined, at the great festival of the first-fruits (*Ohonhe*) held at the accession of the Emperors, from which provinces the sacred rice should be brought, what local persons should prepare it, etc. At court, a special divination took place annually, on the 10th of the 12th month, to find out what misfortunes were to be feared for the Emperor in the coming months, and to provide propitiatory measures accordingly.

3. General character.—Aston says (*Shinto*, 338) that, though the art may very probably have 'passed through a non-religious phase,' yet the cases met with in the oldest records are commonly associated, explicitly or implicitly, with an appeal for divine guidance; and he quotes Hirata's definition of divination as 'respectfully inquiring the heart (*ura*) of the gods.' This view seems to exaggerate to a certain extent the religious side of divination at the expense of its magical aspect. In fact, in the most ancient documents, divination appears to be, above all, a mechanical process, the virtue of which resides in the ritual performances rather than in the will of the gods. A clear proof of this lies in the fact that the gods were no wiser than men in obscure affairs, and had themselves to resort to divination for light. As is shown by their name *Kami*, they are 'superior' beings; but their superiority is relative, and they are distinguished from men by a difference, not of nature, but only of degree. Therefore, they are not endowed, in the intellectual order, with the omniscience attributed by more advanced religions to their Deity. They are constantly in perplexity, and require the wisdom of a general assembly to guide them (see *Kojiki*, 63, 112, etc.).

The Counsellor-deity, Omohi-kane, who gives advice on these occasions, does not seem to be quite infallible: when the gods are deliberating on means of 'pacifying' the country which the future Emperor is to rule, Omohi-kane proposes that an ambassador—whom he himself selects—should be sent; the ambassador does not return; Omohi-kane chooses a second, who behaves in the same way as the first; he then finds a third, who is slain; and only after these three unsuccessful attempts does he finally succeed (*Kojiki*, 112 ff.). The gods in their celestial abode do not know what is happening on the earth: when they learn of the death of the third ambassador—the Pheasant—they do so only by means of the arrow that killed him flying to the plains of high heaven and falling bloody at their feet (*Kojiki*, 115). The gods, indeed, have no knowledge of the present, past, and future. Their first ambassador, Ame no ho-hi, made friends with Oho-kuni-nushi, whose submission he was sent to obtain; they do not know this fact. After three years, being uneasy at having received no news, they send Ame-waka-hiko, who straightway marries Shita-teru-hime, the daughter of Oho-kuni-nushi, and then devotes his whole energies to making the conquest for himself; they know nothing of this treason. It is not until eight years afterwards that they decide to send the Pheasant to try to get some news, and they have no more fore-knowledge of the accident of which he is to be the victim than they had of the former events (*Kojiki*, 113 f.). If their knowledge of material facts is thus limited, *a fortiori* they cannot guess what is taking place within hearts: when they curse the murderer of the Pheasant, their formula is conditional, because they do not know what his real intentions may have been (*Kojiki*, 115). It is for this reason—because they cannot penetrate what is hidden—that they have recourse to divination. In the case of the first children of Izanagi and Izanami, mentioned above, we are told that these two deities 'ascended to Heaven and inquired of their Augustesses the Heavenly Deities,' and that then 'the Heavenly Deities found out by the great divination' an answer to their inquiry (*Kojiki*, 22); similarly, in the collymyth we see 'the eight hundred myriad Deities assemble in divine assembly' and 'perform divination.'

This procedure manifestly lowers the gods to the level of men, making one and the same fate hover over all. Primitive Shintō seems to admit, without naming it, a vague impersonal Power, like the *Moirai* of Homer at the time before Zeus was the *Moiragetes*. Later, the Japanese theologians, like the Greek poets, were very much embarrassed by this ancient idea, which flattered

neither the wisdom nor the power of their gods. Was it not strange, for example, that, on being consulted by the first couple, the greatest gods should show themselves unable to reply until they in their turn had appealed to some sort of superior intelligence? Hirata, who is always ingenious, tries to solve the question by comparing them to a prince who has entrusted a particular function to each of his servants, and who, on being asked for information on any point whatever, begs the questioner to apply to the person who is best informed on the subject; but this ulterior excuse of an apologist cannot efface the impression left on us by the texts. In a word, since gods as well as men must have recourse to divination, it is very probable that, in ancient Shintō, divination was an affair of magic far more than of religion.

4. Various forms. — (a) *Official divination*. — Having made this important point clear, we shall now examine the forms of this magical operation. We must distinguish between the official procedure, i.e. the 'Greater Divination,' and other minor proceedings. The 'Greater Divination' consisted in *omoplatoscopy*, a process which is met with not only among the Chinese and other races of the North-East of Asia, but also among certain Western peoples, like the ancient Germans, the Greeks ancient and modern, and even, down to within a recent date, the Highlanders of Scotland (the custom of 'reading the speal'). In primitive Japan, *omoplatoscopy* was practised by flaying the shoulder-blade of a deer over a bright fire and watching the cracks produced upon it by the heat. This was the form of divination resorted to by the gods in the circumstances already mentioned, and we find that it was under the special care of the god Koyane, the legendary ancestor of the Nakatomi, or hereditary corporation of priests representing the Emperor in his sacerdotal functions (see esp. *Kojiki*, 64, and cf. a variant in *Nihongi*, i. 82f., which claims to give the mythical origin of the custom by telling how the god Koyane, at the command of the great god Takami-musubi, 'was made to divine by means of the Greater Divination, and thus to do his service'). Similarly, when we find the Emperor commanding a divination, which is then carried out by the Palace college of diviners, it is the 'Greater Divination' that is meant, though the text simply speaks of 'divination' without further epithet. This practice underwent modification very early by the substitution, in the place of the deer's shoulder-blade, of the tortoise carapace employed by the Chinese. This innovation was undoubtedly facilitated by the fact that the tortoise already held an important place in native Japanese mythology (*Kojiki*, 160; *Nihongi*, i. 113, 182, etc.).

The first reference to it is found in the *Nihongi* (i. 152): the Emperor Sujin, in the year 91 B.C., wishing to discover the cause of various calamities which had laid waste the country, decided 'to commit the matter to the Sacred Tortoise'; but this detail is certainly an anachronism, as indeed is the whole context in which it appears, for we find the Emperor attributing national calamities to his personal faults, in accordance with Chinese theory. As a matter of fact, the substitution must have taken place about the year 553, when some Koreans, of high repute in the art of divination, came to exercise their talents at the Japanese court. The *Nihongi* story shows us, at least, that the tortoise carapace was the usual means of divination at the time of its composition, i.e. in the 8th cent., and the *Engishiki* (10th cent.) mentions no other process in the descriptions of the official cult.

It was only in certain provinces that the deer's shoulder-blade of the primitive mythology continued to be employed. Just as the tortoise carapace was always used, it is said, in the island of Hachijo, where there were no deer or other large quadrupeds, but where the waters abounded in tortoises, the deer's shoulder-blade remained in use, long after the introduction of the Chinese custom, in certain villages; this survival is men-

tioned in old writings even at the end of the 17th cent. (see Satow, *loc. cit.* 453). It can, moreover, be observed even to-day among the Ainu (see N. G. Munro, 'Some Origins and Survivals,' in *TASJ*, vol. xxxviii. pt. 3 [1911], p. 46).

(b) *Secondary forms*. — Of secondary and non-official forms of divination the principal was *tsuji-ura*, or 'cross-roads divination.' We find in the poems of the *Manyōshū* that it was employed chiefly by women and lovers. The persons having recourse to this form of divination went to the cross-roads at dusk (whence the other frequent name of *yufu-ura*, 'evening divination'), planted a stick in the ground, and then took the remarks of the passers-by as an answer to what they wanted to know. In this rite, the stick represents Funado, the staff which Izanagi drove into the sand when leaving Hades, in order to check the pursuit of the infernal deities (just as the American Indians use staffs to drive off the spirits of the dead), and which was afterwards transformed into a phallic god, a powerful preserver of life, granting protection from the diseases sent by the under-world demons, and at the same time filling the rôle of patron of travellers (see Revon, *Le Shintoïsme*, 321). Still another method of *tsuji-ura* was practised by women. They went to the nearest cross-roads, and there repeated the following poetry three times:

<i>Funadosahe</i>	'Of Funadosahe,
<i>Yufuke no kami ni</i>	The god of the evening oracle,
<i>Mono toheba,</i>	When we ask things,
<i>Michi yuku hito no</i>	Ye who go along the way,
<i>Ura masa ni se yo!</i>	Deliver thy oracle truly!

[The first line is explained by the fact that the road-gods, and especially Funado, were regarded as *Sahe no kami*, 'preventive gods,' against disease and demons.]

While repeating these lines, the women drew a line of demarcation on the road and sprinkled rice; for rice, with the mysterious spirit it contains (*uga no mi-tama*), was a powerful agent against evil spirits, as is also seen in the custom of sprinkling it in the hut of a pregnant woman (see *Le Shintoïsme*, 134, 303). After this was done, each of the women, turning towards one of the roads, passed a finger along the teeth of a box-wood comb that she held in her hand, and made it sound three times; this was a means of inviting the god to speak, the word *tsuge* meaning both 'box-wood' and 'inform me.' After this, they listened for the words of the first person who came within the space marked off by the enchanted limits, and drew an answer therefrom. The *tsuji-ura*, in these more or less complete forms, seems to have enjoyed popularity for a long time: it is mentioned in the *Oh-kagami*, 'the Great Mirror,' a famous pseudo-historical work of the 12th cent. (see Satow, 448); and a passage in the dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon (Dickins, *op. cit.*, Tr., p. 66) shows how much importance was attached, even so recently as 200 years ago, to the chance words spoken by people met on the street.

Connected with *tsuji-ura* we have *hashi-ura*, 'bridge divination,' in which the same processes were employed, but on a bridge instead of on an ordinary road. We may notice also *ashi-ura*, 'foot divination,' practised, according to a poem of the *Manyōshū*, by a lover before the door of his house along with 'evening divination' (Satow, 447); but our information on this 'foot divination' is not sufficiently accurate, although it comes into one of the most ancient myths, viz. the dance of the god Ho-deri (*Nihongi*, i. 107; and cf. *Le Shintoïsme*, 210). Still another variety is mentioned along with *tsuji-ura* in the *Manyōshū* (Dickins, Tr., p. 66)—*ishi-ura*, or 'stone divination,' which consisted in foretelling the future from the apparent weight of a stone (*ishi-gami*, 'stone-deity') when lifted up. The following is a text

which, if it is not a simple imaginary divination according to the inspiration of the moment, may well contain one of the most ancient applications of this process:

'In the beginning, when the Emperor (Keikō, A.D. 71-130, according to traditional chronology) was about to attack the enemy [the *Tsuchi-gumo*, 'earth-spiders,' f.e. earth-cave-dwellers], he made a station on the great moor of Kashiawo. On this moor there was a stone six feet in length, three feet in breadth, and one foot five inches in thickness. The Emperor prayed, saying: "If we are to succeed in destroying the *Tsuchi-gumo*, when we kick this stone, may we make it mount up like a *kashiha* (oak) leaf." Accordingly he kicked it, upon which, like a *kashiha* leaf, it arose to the Great Void' (*Nihongi*, i. 186).

Other secondary forms of divination presented a local character. In the temple of Kasuga, to which belongs one of the chief rituals of ancient Shintō (*norito* no. 2), and in various other provincial temples, *mi-kayu-ura*, or 'divination by gruel,' was practised. The purpose of this divination was to find out what kinds of vegetables and cereals it would be best to sow for the year. It took place on the 15th of the 1st month, the date of the festival of *Sahe no kami* (see above). A pot was placed before the gods, and in it were boiled some *adzuki* beans (*Phaseolus radiatus*)—a little red bean whose colour served to suggest the idea of health, of victory over the demons of disease (people who visit Japan may see this used even to-day to colour sacred rice—the rice, e.g., offered on the domestic altar at the annual Feast of Ancestors). When this gruel was cooked, 54 tubes of reed or bamboo were plunged into it, each bearing the name of one of the vegetables it was proposed to cultivate; next, the priests withdrew the tubes with chopsticks, and derived prognostics as to the good or bad crops to be borne by each particular kind of grain from the manner in which the grains of rice, mixed with the bean-gruel, went into the tubes. The peasants then sowed their seed according to these indications. An analogous, but less important, process consisted in arranging beans round the hearth very near the fire, and drawing omens from the manner in which they turned black or remained untouched (Satow, 418; Aston, 342). *Koto-ura*, or 'harp divination,' was another local form. It was employed at Ise to make sure of the purity of the priests taking part in the three great annual ceremonies, as also of the tables, vessels, and other objects employed to present offerings. The night before the ceremony, at midnight, a priest stood with a harp at one of the outer doors of the temple. Turning towards the temple, he prayed the Sun-goddess to give light on the point requiring elucidation. Then he struck the harp three times, each time uttering a loud 'Hush,' after which he asked all the gods to come down from the heavens to answer his question, pronouncing the following three-fold poetic formula:

Ah! ya!	Ah! ah!
Asobi ha su to mauseanu;	We do not merely amuse ourselves;
Asakura ni,	On to your splendid seat,
Ama tsu kami kuni tsu kami,	Gods of heaven and gods of the country,
Orimashimase!	Descend!
Ah! ya!	Ah! ah!
Asobi ha su to mauseanu;	We do not merely amuse ourselves;
Asakura ni,	On to your splendid seat,
Naru Ikadzuchi mo,	Sounding Thunderbolt also,
Orimashimase!	Descend!
Ah! ya!	Ah! ah!
Asobi ha su to mauseanu;	We do not merely amuse ourselves;
Asakura ni,	On to your splendid seat,
Uha tsu ohoyo shita tsu ohoyo,	Upper great elder brother and lower great elder brother,
Mawiri tamahe!	Deign to come!

[We do not know who the two 'elder brothers' invoked in the second last line were.]

After this formula, the names of all the priests were called, and at each one the officiant asked: 'Is he clean or unclean?' He then struck the harp again, and, by a process which recalls certain rites of Polynesian sorcerers, tried to whistle by drawing in his breath; only if the whistle could be heard was the priest in question considered clean. The same rite was employed to settle the same question in regard to the people who had prepared the offerings, the offerings themselves, and the material utensils. Finally, the priest sounded his harp again three times, with a solemn 'Hush!' and sent the gods back to their own abode by reciting a formula of opposite meaning from the preceding one.

This curious ceremony, in which magic plays the dominant part, is not described in detail except in one work of the 12th cent.; but an 8th cent. document makes allusion to it, and Satow is right in thinking (*op. cit.* 450) that it is a pure Japanese custom.

Last in this class of local methods of divination we may mention 'cauldron divination,' which Aston quotes (p. 343) as employed to this day in a temple in the country of Bitchu. At the request of a member of their congregation, the priests recite a ritual, light a fire beneath a cauldron, and note the sound it produces: if it is like the bellowing of a bull, the omen is good.

Such are the processes, important and secondary, general and particular, of Japanese divination. A process which may serve as the transition between these indigenous systems and the Chinese methods gradually introduced is that known as *kitsune-tsukahi*, or 'fox-possessing.' A fox is buried alive, with only its head out of the ground; food is placed before it, which it cannot reach in spite of desperate efforts; when it dies, after this tantalizing torment, its spirit is supposed to pass into the food, which is then mixed with clay and formed into an image of the animal; the possessor of this fetish is regarded as endowed with marvellous divinatory power (W. Weston, *Mountaineering in the Japanese Alps*, Lond. 1896, p. 307). This cruel rite has a strange resemblance to another magical process, viz. that of the *inu-gami* ('dog-deity'), in which a dog is treated in almost the same way, its head being finally cut off, to be used afterwards in spells along with the furious spirit inhabiting it; and, if this rite of the *inu-gami* is of Shintō origin (see *Le Shintoïsme*, 166), the same may be the case with that of the *kitsune-tsukahi*.

We have no precise information regarding divination by birds, which certainly existed in ancient Japan (Satow, 449)—we do not even know whether it resembled the Chinese system of bird-divination. On the other hand, there is no doubt as to the Chinese origin of such methods as *astrology*, introduced by Koreans in A.D. 675, when, as the *Nihongi* tells us (ii. 326), 'a platform was for the first time erected from which to divine by means of the stars,' and also geomancy (*Nihongi*, ii. 76, 126), cheiromancy, physiognomics, etc.

(c) *Isolated cases.*—After thus treating of the regular processes of divination, it is advisable to mention the individual and accidental recourse to various means of divination invented on the spur of the moment. Occurrences of this nature are very often found in the most ancient annals. To show the process to the life, it will be of interest to quote a passage from the *Nihongi*, relating to Jimmu Tennō, the legendary founder of the Japanese Empire:

'All the places occupied by the enemy (the indigenous race who had to be conquered) were strong positions, and therefore the roads were cut off and obstructed, so that there was no room for passage. The Emperor, indignant at this, made prayer on that night in person, and then fell asleep. The Heavenly Deity appeared to him in a dream, and instructed him, saying: "Take earth from within the shrine of the Heavenly Mount Kagu (a mountain in Yamato), and of it make eighty Heavenly platters (for rice). Also make sacred jars (for

sake), and therewith sacrifice to the gods of Heaven and Earth. Moreover, pronounce a solemn impression. If thou doest so, the enemy will render submission of their own accord." The Emperor received with reverence the directions given in his dream, and proceeded to carry them into execution. . . . He caused Shihî-netzu-hiko [a fisherman whom he had with him as guide] to put on ragged garments and a grass rain-coat and hat, and to disguise himself as an old man. He also caused Ukeshi the Younger [a local chief who had joined his party] to cover himself with a winnowing tray, so as to assume the appearance of an old woman, and then addressed them, saying: "Do ye two proceed to the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and secretly take earth from its summit. Having done so, return hither. By means of you I shall then divine whether or not I shall be successful in founding the Empire. Do your utmost, and be watchful." Now the enemy's army filled the road, and made all passage impossible. Then Shihî-netzu-hiko prayed, and said: "If it will be possible for our Emperor to conquer this land, let the road by which we must travel become open. But if not, let the brigands surely oppose our passage." Having thus spoken, they set forth, and went straight onwards. Now the hostile band, seeing the two men, laughed loudly, and said: "What an uncouth old man and old woman!" So the two accord they left the road, and allowed the two men to pass and proceed to the mountain, where they took the clay and returned with it. Hereupon the Emperor was greatly pleased, and with this clay he made eighty platters, eighty Heavenly small jars and sacred jars, with which he went up to the upper waters of the River Nifu and sacrificed to the gods of Heaven and of Earth. Immediately, on the Asa-hara plain by the river of Uda, it became as it were like foam on the water, the result of the curse cleaving to them. Moreover, the Emperor went on to utter a vow, saying: "I will now make *ame* ['sweetness,' a sweetmeat made of millet, malted] in the eighty platters without using water. If the *ame* is formed, then shall I assuredly without effort and without recourse to the might of arms reduce the Empire to peace." So he made *ame*, which forthwith became formed of itself. Again he made a vow, saying: "I will now take the sacred jars and sink them in the River Nifu. If the fishes, whether great or small, become every one drunken and are carried down the stream, like as it were to floating *maki* [*Porocarpus*] leaves, then shall I assuredly succeed in establishing this land. But if this be not so, then will never be any result." Thereupon he sank the jars in the river. Their mouths turned downward, and after a while the fish all came to the surface, gaping and gasping as they floated down the stream. Then Shihî-netzu-hiko, seeing this, represented it to the Emperor, who was greatly rejoiced, and, plucking up a five-hundred-branched *masakaki* [*Cleyera*] tree of the upper waters of the River Nifu, he did worship therein to all the gods. It was with this that the custom began of setting sacred jars [in the courtyard] (*Nihongi*, i. 119-121).

In this one passage, and with a single point to elucidate, we have no fewer than four different processes of divination. The case of the famous Empress Jingô, the conqueror of Korea, is similar:

"Proceeding northwards, she arrived at the district of *Matsumura* in the land of *Hizen*, and partook of food on the bank of the River *Wogawa*, in the village of *Tamashima*. Here the Empress bent a needle and made of it a hook. She took grains of rice and used them as bait. Pulling out the threads of her garment, she made of them a line. Then, mounting upon a stone in the middle of the river, and casting the hook, she prayed, saying: "We are proceeding westward, where we desire to gain possession of the Land of *Treasure*. If we are to succeed, let the fish of the river bite the hook." Accordingly, raising up her fishing-rod, she caught a trout." And further on: "The Empress returned to the Bay of *Kashihî*, and, loosing her hair, looked over the sea, saying: "I, having received the instructions of the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and trusting in the spirits of the imperial ancestors, floating across the deep blue sea, intend in person to chastise the West. Therefore do I now lave my head in the water of the sea. If I am to be successful, let my hair part spontaneously in two." Accordingly she entered the sea and bathed, and her hair parted of its own accord. The Empress bound it up parted into bunches [i.e. in many fashions] (*Nihongi*, i. 227, 228; cf. also 229, 237, 231).

(d) *Divination by lots*.—In addition to these unimportant but picturesque secondary means of divination, it remains to notice a method of very general character, but whose lack of originality renders it somewhat less interesting; this is divination by lots. We find it already mentioned in the *Nihongi* (ii. 257), which, in telling of a conspiracy formed in A.D. 658, says that the various conspiring princes 'divined the future of their treasonous conspiracy by drawing slips of paper.' Recourse was also had to sticks on which numbers were inscribed. Sometimes this method was preceded by prayers to the gods (Aston, 343); sometimes it constituted a purely magical process, as in the case of the above-mentioned conspiracy; and sometimes it was nothing more than a handy secular

means of deciding something by chance, such as is constantly used by people to-day as far removed from religion as from magic; in Tôkyô, e.g., at *jinrikisha* stands, the *kurumaya* often have at hand a bundle of cords of different lengths all tied in a knot, and use it to decide, when a passenger appears, which of them is to have the privilege of conducting him. But this form of divination, vulgar as it is, assumes a quite outstanding importance when we consider that the drawing of lots plays a dominant part in the divination founded upon the complicated Chinese diagrams of the *Yih-king*, the 'Book of Changes' (*Eki* in Japanese). This obscure book, indeed, just because of its divinatory character, was one of the first Chinese works to be introduced into Japan (in A.D. 553, according to the *Nihongi*, ii. 68; cf. 72, 306), and it became the basis of the system of divination in use at present. Takashima Kaemon, who was the most celebrated diviner in modern Japan, took this work as the foundation for his art; when he was only a student, he was put in prison for some youthful misdemeanour, and, having nothing but this ancient classic beside him, he discovered the secret of the meditations which brought success to his brilliant career. The present writer frequently had occasion to meet this diviner, to hear from his own mouth an account of his most ingenious consultations, and even to receive his lessons, and he can say that, if the principles of the system are doubtful, its individual results are often wonderful: the value of divination is in proportion to the skill of the diviner, and the lucky financier of Kanagawa, the able promoter of so many new schemes, was always a prudent man who could see far ahead. As Chamberlain says (*Things Japanese*, Lond. 1898, p. 112), Takashima, after studying the *Yih-king*, 'realized a fortune by obedience to its precepts'; but there are many Japanese, even in the highest grades of society, who also profited by his wide experience of men and things; one has only to read the *Takashima Ekidan* of Shigetake Sugiura (Tôkyô, 1893) to get a good estimate, from numerous examples, of the penetration of his mind and the wisdom of his counsel. The Japanese, moreover, even the educated classes, still hold divination in high esteem, although it is not officially recognized by modern Shintô, and have recourse to it frequently in all sorts of circumstances, from a wedding to a removal to another quarter of the town. At the University of Tôkyô, 15 or 20 years ago, the present writer had as colleague an old professor of the ancient school, who still adhered religiously to the tuft of hair of the feudal period; the last survivor of a perished race of *savants*, he was greatly esteemed by his colleagues as the only man capable of expounding the *Yih-king*. Among the people divination is correspondingly widespread; every quarter has its modest diviner working with his divining-rods and consulting his diagrams, and telling more or less skilfully how lost possessions may be found. The writer could give personal experiences in this connexion, but prefers to quote a little anecdote of Chamberlain's (*loc. cit.*), which shows both the popularity and the weak points of divination:

"A favourite dog of the present writer's was lost in November 1892, and all search, advertisement, and application to the police proved unavailing. Meanwhile, the servants and their friends privately had recourse to no less than three diviners, two of whom were priests. One of these foretold the dog's return in April, and another directed that an ancient ode containing the words, "If I hear that thou awaitest me, I will forthwith return," should be written on slips of paper and pasted upside down on the pillars of the house. It was the sight of these slips that drew our attention to the matter. The best of it is that the dog was found, and that, too, in a month of April, namely April 1896, after having been missing for three years and five months!"

5. Ordeals.—After thus analyzing the various

forms of Japanese divination, ancient and modern, we have still a special process of its application to investigate, viz. ordeals. This judicial divination is represented in ancient mythology by a well-known story giving a case of ordeal by fire.

The Heavenly prince Ninigi, having been sent by the other gods to earth to govern Japan, married Ko-no-hana-saku-yahime (the Princess Blossoming-brilliantly-like-the-flowers-of-the-Trees); but she became pregnant after a single night, and the young husband was astonished; she then shut herself up in an underground hall (a *muro*, which here does duty for the *ubu-ya*, or lying-in hut, where the Japanese women used to retire for delivery), and set fire to the hall with her own hands, when on the point of delivery, in order to prove her innocence by the fire-test. 'If the child,' she said, 'with which I am pregnant be the child of an Earthly deity [i.e. of a god of the country], my delivery will not be fortunate. If it be the august child of the Heavenly deity [i.e. thy child and the descendant of the sun-goddess], it will be fortunate.' And the princess came out of the test victorious, after having brought into the world in the furnace three gods, one of whom was to be the ancestor of the first Emperor (*Kojiki*, 1481; cf. corresponding versions in *Nihongi*, i. 73, 85, 88).

This myth would seem to point to the existence of the fire-ordeal in the customs of the pre-historic period. In the historic period, however, it was essentially the boiling-water test that constituted judicial divination. First of all the *Nihongi* gives us an example which it assigns to A.D. 277:

A certain man, Takechi no Sukune, was slandered before the Emperor by his younger brother, Umashi-ushi no Sukune, and accused of wishing to overthrow the Emperor and seize his power. Takechi, who was at the time on a tour of inspection in the provinces, hastened to the capital to prove his innocence. 'The Emperor forthwith questioned Takechi no Sukune along with Umashi-ushi no Sukune, upon which these two men were each obstinate, and wrangled with one another, so that it was impossible to ascertain the right and the wrong. The Emperor then gave orders to ask of the Gods of Heaven and Earth the ordeal by boiling water. Hereupon Takechi no Sukune and Umashi-ushi no Sukune went out together to the bank of the Shiki river, and underwent the ordeal of boiling water. Takechi no Sukune was victorious. Taking his cross-sword, he threw down Umashi-ushi no Sukune, and was at length about to slay him, when the Emperor ordered him to let him go' (*Nihongi*, i. 251.).

A more important case was occasioned, in the beginning of the 5th cent., by the pretensions of high families who were attempting to increase their prestige by false genealogies. In the year 415, two Imperial decrees of Ingyō censured those powerful families who 'purposely lay claim to high family,' those bold functionaries who 'describe themselves, some as descendants of Emperors, others attributing to their race a miraculous origin, and saying that their ancestors came down from Heaven'; and the abuse reached such a pitch that the Emperor finally had recourse to the ordeal to remedy it.

'Single Houses,' he said, 'have multiplied and have formed anew ten thousand surnames of doubtful authenticity. Therefore let the people of the various Houses and surnames wash themselves and practise abstinence, and let them, each one calling the gods to witness, plunge their hands in boiling water.' The cauldrons of the ordeal by boiling water were therefore placed on the 'Evil Door of Words' spur of the Amagashi Hill. Everybody was told to go thither, saying: 'He who tells the truth will be uninjured; he who is false will assuredly suffer harm.' Hereupon every one put on straps of fire-fibre, and, coming to the cauldrons, plunged their hands in the boiling water, when those who were true remained naturally uninjured, and all those who were false were harmed. Therefore those who had falsified their titles were afraid, and, slipping away beforehand, did not come forward. From this time forward the Houses and surnames were spontaneously ordered, and there was no longer any one who falsified them' (*Nihongi*, i. 316-317, and cf. *Kojiki*, 387.).

A gloss on this passage of the *Nihongi*, probably as ancient as the text itself, tells us that this ordeal, known to-day under the name of *yusuguri*, was then called *kugadachi*, and adds valuable evidence of other varieties of usage at this period:

'Sometimes mud was put into a cauldron and made to boil up; then the arms were bared, and the boiling mud stirred with them. Sometimes an axe was heated red-hot and placed on the palm of the hand.'

The great prevalence of the custom is clearly shown by a complaint made to the Emperor, in the year 530, by an ambassador of Imna, a small

kingdom in Korea, against a whimsical judge, who, in order to simplify his task, abused the ordeal:

'Kena no Omi is fond of setting the cauldrons for the ordeal by boiling water, and saying: "Those who are in the right will not be scalded: those who are false will certainly be scalded." Owing to this, many persons have been scalded to death by plunging into the hot water!' (*Nihongi*, ii. 22).

Still other forms of ordeal are noticed by a Chinese traveller, who visited Japan in the year 600, and, in describing both the means of torture employed to force the confession of criminals and the tests for the purpose of distinguishing the guilty from the innocent, gives the following exposition:

'In the trial of cases where a great wrong has been suffered, those who will not confess have their knees squeezed with a piece of wood, or have their necks sawn with the tight string of a very powerful bow. Or small stones are placed in boiling water, and the disputants are ordered to take them out. It is supposed that he who is in the wrong gets his hand scalded. Or, again, a snake is put in a jar, and they are made to take it out; it being supposed that he who is in the wrong will get his hands bitten' ('Ma-Twan-Lin's Account of Japan,' by E. H. Parker, in *TASJ*, vol. xxii. pt. 2, p. 421.).

This serpent-ordeal, which is also found among other peoples, e.g. the blacks of Africa, was certainly in existence in Japan in the primitive period. We are led to this conclusion by the tests to which Susa-no-wo subjects his future son-in-law, Oho-kuni-nushi, who is made to sleep in the hut of serpents, and then in the hut of centipedes and wasps; he would never have escaped if he had not had the help of the magic scarfs of princess Suseri; and Susa-no-wo ended by showing him high esteem, because, seeing him spit red earth mixed with muku-berries (*Aphananthe aspera*), he thought he was eating the centipedes themselves (*Kojiki*, 86 f.). Later on, and down to the present period, the tests of plunging the hands in boiling water and walking bare-footed over a bed of burning coals, with, however, special precautions, were employed as a means of rousing the piety of believers; but this is no longer ordeal. On the other hand, even in the 17th cent., Kaempfer observed a curious ordeal for forcing confession of a crime, which consisted in making the accused swallow, in a little water, a small piece of paper with drawings of ravens or other black birds upon it (Kaempfer, *Hist. du Japon*, Fr. ed., Paris, 1732, bk. iii. ch. 5, p. 51). Perhaps we may see here a faint recollection of the god of scare-crows, who appears in primitive mythology and was thought to know everything under the sun (see *Le Shinntoïsme*, 156).

6. Omens and dreams.—All that now remains to be treated is omens and dreams. These come under divination, even though in them we are not dealing, in principle, with processes involving the active initiative of man, but only with spontaneous facts, outside of man, for which he seeks an interpretation after they have occurred. Omens are often mentioned in mythology and ancient annals. Without speaking of omens that are looked for by those interested, and therefore belong to the class of divinations devised on the spot (e.g., in *Kojiki*, 292, while two chiefs, on the eve of an expedition, 'hunted for an omen,' and one of them had climbed an oak, a furious wild boar uprooted the tree and devoured the man), we could give numerous examples of omens properly so called, i.e. independent of the human will. As a general rule, white or red animals, which were striking in virtue of their rarity and, further, harmonized with the favourite colours of a solar religion like Shintō, were regarded as of good omen (see, for white animals, *Nihongi*, i. 292, ii. 124, 174, 236, 237, 239, 252, 286, 322, 326, 352, 394, 410, 416; and, for red animals, *Nihongi*, ii. 337, 347, 351, 352, 357, 407, 409). But the Japanese also regarded as good omens, perhaps just when it suited them to interpret them as such, any parti-

cular occurrence whatever (e.g. an owl or a wren going into a lying-in hut [*Nihongi*, i. 277]). Earthquakes, storms, and floods were considered ill omens, foretelling war: they were the scourges calling on each other. Similarly, other extraordinary phenomena, such as the appearance of a comet (*Nihongi*, ii. 166, 167, 169, 333, 353, 364, 367), or a prolonged eclipse of the sun's light (*ib.* i. 238); strange incidents like a migration of rats from the capital (*ib.* ii. 226, 245), or the mysterious movements of a swarm of flies (*ib.* ii. 270); bad meetings, as with a blind man or a cripple, when starting on a journey (*Kojiki*, 238); disturbing incidents like a dog coming into a temple and laying down a dead hand (*Nihongi*, ii. 263); or, finally, unaccountable accidents like a leg-rest breaking with no apparent cause (*ib.* ii. 256), were all evil omens. It would be useless to attempt to study in detail all these and analogous cases, which are very numerous (see *Nihongi*, i. 227, 238, 320, ii. 59, 237, 239, 259, 266, 269, 276, 277, 293, 331, 359, etc.). Let us simply point out that this belief in omens is current to this day among the Japanese. Thus, at certain grave crises in her contemporary history, Japan has been seen more than once to turn anxiously towards the temple of the Sun-goddess, seeking for light on the future. At a critical point in the Revolution of 1867, the white horse of the temple of Ise escaped, and only returned after three days: from this it was concluded that the Imperial party would soon have the victory. During the Chino-Japanese war, the sacred horse disappeared for ten days: this foreign war, therefore, was to last three times as long as the previous civil war (rumour registered in the *Japan Mail* of 17th Sept. 1894, p. 2).

In the same way, dreams were always regarded as affording foresight, by a more or less skilful interpretation, of future events, or indications as to the future behaviour of the person interested. Take, e.g., one of the oldest documents of Shintō, the *Tatsuta no Kaze no Kami no Matsuri* (ritual no. 4), which gives its proper legendary origin. For several years, some unknown gods had spoiled all the harvests, and the diviners had not been able to discover the culprits. Then the sovereign himself 'deigned to conjure them,' and they revealed themselves to him in a dream. They were 'Heaven's-august-Pillar's augustness and Country-august-Pillar's augustness,' the Wind-gods who support the firmament. They required certain offerings from him—the foundation of a temple at Tatsuta, and a liturgy—in return for which they promised 'to bless and ripen the things produced by the great august people of the region under Heaven, firstly the five sorts of grain, down to the last leaf of the herbs' (*TASJ*, vol. vii. pt. 4, p. 442 f.). We shall now take one of the most dramatic stories of the ancient chronicles:

The Emperor Suinin is betrayed by his wife, who, at the instigation of her accomplice, the prince of Saho, attempts to assassinate him during his sleep. 'So the Heavenly Sovereign, not knowing of this conspiracy, was augustly sleeping, with the Empress' august knees as his pillow. Then the Empress tried to cut his august throat with a stiletto; but, though she lifted it thrice, she could not cut the throat for an irrepressible feeling of sadness, and she wept tears, which fell overflowing on to the Heavenly Sovereign's august face. Straightway the Heavenly Sovereign started up, and asked the Empress, saying: "I have had a strange dream: a violent shower came from the direction of Saho and suddenly wetted my face; again, a small damask-coloured snake coiled itself round my neck. Of what may such a dream be the omen?"' And the Empress, seeing that it would be useless to deny the truth, confessed her treason of which the Emperor had been warned by this dream (*Kojiki*, 231 f.; cf. *Nihongi*, i. 171).

It would be easy to multiply examples of this kind, in which the ancient documents abound (see *Kojiki*, 165, 215, 237, 295; *Nihongi*, i. 115, 153, 155, 161, 165, 281, ii. 36). These divinations given by dreams were considered so natural that they

were even attributed to animals, as the following story will show:

'There is a popular story that a long time ago there was a man who went to Toga, and spent the night on the moor. Now there were two deer which lay down beside him. When it was on the point of cock-crow, the male deer addressed the female, saying: "This night I had a dream, in which I saw a white mist come down copiously and cover my body. What may this portend?"' The female deer answered and said: "If thou goest out, thou wilt certainly be shot by men and die, and so thy body will be smeared with white salt to correspond with the whiteness of the mist." Now the man who was spending the night there wondered at this in his heart. Before it was yet dawn, there came a hunter, who shot the male deer, and killed it. Hence the proverbial saying of the men of that day: "Even the belling male deer follows the interpretation of a dream" (*Nihongi*, i. 290).

There is still one more form of divination, which plays an important part in ancient Shintō, namely, Inspiration (*q.v.*).

LITERATURE.—Sir Ernest Satow, in *TASJ*, vol. vii. [1889] pt. 4, pp. 445-452; W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, pp. 337-348; M. Revon, *Le Shintoïsme*, Paris, 1905, Index, s.v. 'Divination.' For the texts: B. H. Chamberlain, *Kojiki*, Tokyo, 1906; Aston, *Nihongi*, London, 1896; Revon, *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise*, Paris, 1910. MICHEL REVON.

DIVINATION (Jewish).—I. Introductory.—In the present article the writer follows the same system as in art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Jewish), in not attempting to fix chronological dates for the various forms of divination mentioned in ancient and mediæval writings. Without discussing here the wider meaning of magic in general, there is no doubt that magic is much older than any literary record, and that it has survived through ages, with comparatively few variations and modifications. The study of folk-lore has revealed the fact that to a surprising degree exact parallels with some of the most ancient forms of divination have been preserved to this very day, and a careful examination of the latest survivals throws light upon ancient practices which have hitherto remained in many cases obscure. It follows naturally that allusions in the Bible are only the oldest literary references to practices of magic and divination. The words denoting magical practices belong, no doubt, to the pre-Biblical period, when their original meaning may have already undergone some sort of change, although this is not very likely, as nothing is preserved with greater tenacity than magical terms and formulae. It is thus futile to attempt, on the basis of Hebrew etymology, to fix in every case the precise meaning of these technical terms. It must also be pointed out that, though the practices in question are here classed as 'Jewish,' this by no means implies that they are of Jewish origin, but only that the knowledge of them has come to us through the medium of the Bible, and that they were doubtless employed by the Jews—in direct contradiction to the spirit and teaching of Judaism—especially during the older period of Jewish history.

Nothing could be more emphatic than Dt 29²⁹ ('The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but the things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law'), but scarcely less emphatic is the condemnation of the heathen practices of divination found throughout the Bible. As late as the 2nd cent. B.C. we find Ben Sira protesting against this dabbling in mysteries (Sir 32²²; cf. Bab. Hag. 13a, and *JQR* iii. [1891] 690-8). It is a noteworthy fact that Genesis and the books grouped under the name of the 'Former Prophets' (esp. Judges, Samuel, and partly Kings) are replete with practices of divination scarcely veiled; they represent a primitive state of mind and cult in which the heathen and the Jewish elements are strangely blended; one can follow up, as it were, the transition from one to the other, but the people do not yet clearly distinguish between them. The seer

and the prophet rank no higher at the beginning than the diviner and the soothsayer, and, from the information we are able to cull from the pages of the Bible, both seem to act in the same manner, one appealing to Baal, Dagon, and other gods, the other—the prophet and the seer—appealing to the God of Israel, whilst performing almost identical ceremonies and using similar practices. Samuel, Saul, Jonathan, David, Elijah, Elisha, and others are found using divination of various forms and degrees, and by a right interpretation of their practices much is explained. No real condemnation of these practices is found in the historical books, such as appears in the other four books of the Law, and in the fiery denunciations of the 'Later Prophets.' The prophets are always conscious of the heathen origin of these practices, and in the Apocryphal literature they are traced back to the fallen angel Shemhazai (see the legend in Eth. En. 8¹ [Charles]; and cf. Gaster, *Chron. of Jerahmeel*, 1899, p. 52, ch. xxv.). But no denunciation, however strong and severe, could prevail against the desire of peering into the future and of obtaining information from whatever source or by whatever means man might learn that which is hidden from him.

2. Biblical and post-Biblical references to divination.—The chief passages in the Pentateuch in which the practices of divination are mentioned are Dt 18¹⁰, Lv 19²⁶, 31 and 20⁶, 27.

(1) It will serve our purpose best to start with the *m'nahēsh* (RV 'enchanter'), from the root *nāhash*, which is of frequent occurrence in the Bible and in post-Biblical literature. The word is used by Laban (Gn 30²⁷); it occurs twice (Nu 23²³ 24¹) in the history of Balaam; and in 1 K 20³⁸ the Aramaean servants of Benhadad watch for a good omen (RV 'observed diligently'). The history of Gideon and that of Jonathan furnish us with two more examples of this mode of divination from the 'first word' spoken by the enemy (Jg 7¹¹⁻¹³, 1 S 14^{17a}), and also that of Eliezer at the well (Gn 24¹⁴), which they took as telling them of their future success. We shall meet with a similar kind of divination later on. In the following passages the word *m'nahēsh* can also mean only prognosticator from omens, and not 'enchanter' as RV: Lv 19²⁶, Dt 18¹⁰, and 2 K 21⁸ (2 Ch 33⁹). It is evidently of Western Aram. origin. It cannot be connected with *nāhash*, 'serpent' or 'snake.' In the opinion of the present writer, there is no trace of serpent-worship among the Jews, or any of the nations with whom they came in contact. The transformation of Moses' rod into a serpent belongs to the category of magic and not to divination or worship; the brazen serpent in the wilderness was merely symbolical and a kind of protective charm, not an object of worship.

(a) A specific form of divination—by means of the cup—is found in the history of Joseph (Gn 44⁵⁻¹⁹). To judge from later parallels, the practice must have consisted in filling a cup with water or wine, and gazing intently on the surface, till the beholder saw all kinds of images. The method of divining by cups has not been entirely lost. Allusions to it are made indirectly in the Talmud, where the princes (demons) of cups (*sarē ha-kos*) and egg-cups (*sarē bēgin*) are mentioned. This system of divination is alluded to in manuscripts in the writer's possession (Cod. 443, etc.), where, in addition to these two, the princes (demons) of the cup-like palm of the hand (*sarē ha-kaf*) and the princes of the thumb-nails (*sarē ha-bohen*) are mentioned. The method of divining from the palm of the hand is also described in an anonymous compilation (*Mifaloth Elohim*, Lemberg, 1865, no. 69), where it is used for finding the thief and the stolen article. All the formulae

given for the above-mentioned modes of divination from egg-cups, etc., are identical in all essentials with the latter.

Traces of divination by the cup and by finger-nails have been preserved, though no longer understood, in the ceremonies connected with the cup of wine and the lighted candle used at the outgoing of the Sabbath at the service called *Haddalah*, or the division between Sabbath and the weekday, the beginning of the week being considered as a very propitious time. When the blessing is said over the wine-cup filled to overflowing, the man performing the ceremony at a certain moment shades the cup and looks into the wine; and, when the blessing over the light is said, it is customary to let the light of the candle fall on the finger-nails and to look at them intently. There is no doubt these are remnants of divination. Other explanations have been suggested which are wide of the mark. Closely allied with this is the following practice: *To find out whether a man will survive the year.*—Take silent water from a well on the eve of Hosh'anah Rabbah, fill a clear glass vessel with it, put it in the middle of a room, then look into it; if he sees therein a face with the mouth open, he will live, but, if the mouth is closed, he will die. This must be done in the hour of the domination of the moon. Some do it on the Day of Atonement, with a vessel filled with lighting oil instead of water (*Mifaloth*, 119).

Cup-like bowls with magical inscriptions found in Babylon and elsewhere seem to have been also used for divination, and not for purely therapeutic magic, as hitherto believed. The conjurer or person who wanted to divine, or to detect a crime, or anything of the past, present, or future, looked, no doubt, into the bowl filled with water or oil and divined from it, or the suspected person drank the contents, and according to the result was found innocent or guilty. There was a similar operation in the case of the woman suspected of adultery (Nu 5^{12a}): a cup (earthen vessel) filled with water was employed; the mysterious power by which the guilt of the woman was to be detected was also a written inscription (though blotted out in the water of bitterness), without the addition of any of the names of demons or heathen gods, as in the Babylonian bowls; and the drinking of the water showed by its consequences her guilt or her innocence. It was an ordeal (*q.v.*) through the 'divining cup.'

Instead of peering into bowls filled with shining liquid, we find it recorded in Talmudic and later times that it was customary to gaze into brass or glass mirrors for the same purpose; and a distinct formula exists for crystal-gazing, or, as it is phrased, 'seeing the princes (demons) of the crystal (*sarē hab'dōlāh*). This is distinctly different from throwing metal pieces into cups and watching the movements of the water, or divination by means of molten wax or lead poured into a cup filled with water by the conjurer who attends on the patient, in order to find out, from the shape which the wax or the lead assumes, the real cause of the illness—a universal practice among the nations of the Near East, Jews and non-Jews alike. The oldest example of this is found in the Alexander legend of pseudo-Callisthenes.

(b) Under the general term *nāhash* (from the same root *nāhash*) fall also the various forms of divination by observation of signs not produced by any direct act of the diviner; Jewish tradition is unanimous on this interpretation of the term.

(a) *Augury* in a somewhat limited form is the first to be considered. There is no passage in the Bible which refers directly to the flight of birds, or to their peculiar movements on certain occasions; the passage in Ec 10²⁰ ('A bird of the air shall carry the voice') is metaphorical. In Talmudic times the science of *haruspicy* appears to have reached the Jews from the Arabs or some other people who coined the technical expression *ṭayyar* (cf. the Arab. root *ṭayr* = 'bird,' and *mantiq al-ṭayr*). It is especially the raven that is mentioned as a bird of omen. The reference to ravens in the history of Elijah (1 K 17⁴) is not explicit enough to allow us to draw any definite conclusions, but, on the other hand, Noah's sending the raven out

of the ark on a kind of errand of divination (Gn 87) no doubt lent colour to the belief so widely spread in the significance of the mysterious movements of the raven. In Bab. *Gittin* 45a and the *Pesikta* 156b, Midr. Rabb. on Numb. sec. 19, 237b, and Midr. on Ec 10⁹⁰, divination from the flight of birds is described as the wisdom of Eastern sages. The raven by his croak warns Ilish of the danger which awaits him; one who understands the language of birds explains it to him; he takes the warning to heart, and escapes. The references in Talmudic literature are, however, not numerous enough to give us full insight into divination from birds. In the *Zohar* and in the *Tikkunim* reference is often made to the twittering of birds as foretelling future events such as the death of man, etc. In Cod. Gaster 335 numerous mediæval texts have been collected, dealing with divination from the twittering of birds, and especially from the croaking of the raven. They belong mostly to the pseud-epigraphical writings, and the Hebrew texts may be translations from the Arabic, though the original source may lie far back in ancient times. In Hebrew legends King Solomon was credited with the knowledge of the language of birds. He overheard a conversation between a swallow and its female, in which it boasted of being able to destroy the Temple with a kick of its foot, and, questioned by Solomon, said: 'Should I not boast before my wife?' (*Parables of Solomon*, ed. Constantinople, 1516). In another legend he is rebuked and humbled by an ant (*Maase Hane-malah*). A Hebrew tale older than the 12th cent. tells of a boy who was taught the language of birds, and was thereby able to solve some riddles and to foretell future events (Gaster, 'Fairy Tales from inedited Hebrew MSS', no. iv. 'Story of the Young Man and the Ravens,' in *FL* vii. [1896] 242 ff.).

The dove is also mentioned occasionally as a bird of good omen; it is identified with the nation. Through the peculiar movement of a dove Abishai learns of the danger of David, who has fallen into the hand of the giants of Nob, not to speak of the dove sent by Noah after the raven on a similar errand, or of the dove as a symbol of the Holy Ghost in the baptism of Jesus (Gaster, *ZDMG* lxii. [1908] 232 ff. and 528 ff.).

(β) Ezk 21²¹ (20) 'he looked in the liver' refers to a kind of divination (*hepatoscopy*) not otherwise known among the Jews. This is not the place to discuss what this looking into the liver may mean, and whether the future was prognosticated from a special conformation of the liver or from the convulsions or spasmodic movements of the liver of the dying animal. This latter seems to be nearer the truth, for a peculiar kind of divination is still in existence which depends upon the twitching or convulsion of the separate portions of the human body. No doubt it is a direct outcome of the practice of looking into the liver or lungs of sacrificial victims for the purpose of divination, or a parallel to it. The convulsions or twitchings of the living took the place of those of the dying victim of old. A compilation similar to that which the Greeks ascribed to Melampus appears in Hebrew literature under the title *Sepher Refafoth*. It is found already in a manuscript of the 12th century (Br. Mus. Or. 2853, fol. 62a); Judah Hasid, Eleazar of Worms, and others mention it, and Elijah de Vidas prints it from old MSS (*Midr. Talpizot*, Lemberg, 1875, fol. 8a-b; see also Chwolson, *Ssabier*, St. Petersburg, 1856, ii. 266-272).

(γ) Ancient tradition also identifies *nāhash* with omens. In the *Sifra* to Lv 19²⁰ and in the *Sifre* to Dt 18^{10a}, it is stated that *nāhash* means to see omens in such incidents as bread falling from one's mouth, or a staff from one's hand, or a snake crawling on the right side, or a fox on the left

hand, or a fox's tail trailing across the road, or a raven croaking when a man starts on a journey. All these forebode evil to his enterprise; furthermore, those who listen to the twittering of birds or the squealing of a weasel, and those who deduce from a given star being in the ascendant that the time is propitious for an undertaking, practise divination. Star-gazing was also thus included under the term *nāhash*, and these practices were called *darkē ha-Emorei* (the practices of the Amorites or heathen), and are condemned as idolatrous.

On account of their importance, we give here full references to all the passages on the ways of the Amorites in Rabbinical literature. These are: *Sifra*, ed. Weiss, p. 90; *Sifre*, ed. Friedman, ch. 1711; Bab. *Hullin* 77; *Shabb.* 67b; *Tosefta Shabb.* vi., ed. Zuckerman, pp. 117-119; *Sanh.* 65a-68; Jer. *Shabb.* vii. 2; *Yalkut. Sim.* l. fol. 169c-d, § 587; Maimonides, *Hilcot 'Aboda Zara*, ch. xi.; Jacob ben Asher, *Tur Yoreh de'ah*, ch. 179; and Karo, *Shulhan 'Aruch*, ch. 179.

(δ) A peculiar kind of divination is the study of the shadow on the moonlit night of Hosh'a'nah Rabba; for, if a man loses his shadow on that night, he is sure to die in the course of the year (cf. Chamiisso, *Peter Schlemihl*, tr. Bowring, London, 1878). Very likely the origin of this practice is found in the statement, 'For their shadow has departed from them' (Nu 14⁹).

(2) *Me'onen* (RV 'who practises augury'), another kind of divination of which even tradition has not preserved a definite interpretation. One connects it with the root *'ayin*, 'eye,' and makes the *me'onen* to be 'one who conjures,' 'one who produces hallucinations' (*ahizath 'enayin*); another seems to connect it with *'anan*, 'cloud,' probably = 'one who studies the formation of the clouds'; but it is not explained for what purpose the clouds are to be studied. (a) It appears to the writer that the *me'onen* is the *weather-prophet* in the widest sense, not one who merely studied the clouds for some purpose of divination, but one who could affect the gathering of clouds, and their dispersal. That man was of the utmost importance to an agricultural people, for he could cause drought or rain, bring rich harvest, or complete failure with famine and starvation. Weather-makers figure in the literature of popular magic throughout the whole world, and it would therefore have been surprising to find so important a man missing among those ancient diviners and soothsayers. The law would never have condemned to death a man who merely looked at the clouds; he must be a man who could cause serious hardship, and perhaps lead people astray to false beliefs. Seen in this light, the various incidents in the historical books assume a new and most satisfactory complexion. Samuel at the time of the wheat harvest calls on the Lord to bring thunder and rain—a most inopportune time (1 S 12¹⁷); here we have the very action of the *me'onen*. Then we have Elijah, who tells Ahab (1 K 17¹), 'There shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word.' Ahab seeks him everywhere, evidently believing that it lay in the power of Elijah to make and unmake drought. It will now be easier to understand the sign of Gideon, who asked that the fleece of wool should on one night be found wet. 'If there be dew on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the ground' (Jg 6³⁷), and *vice versa* (v. 30). These were the signs expected of the *me'onen*. Very likely the request of Joshua, that the sun and moon should stand still, and that a hail-storm should overtake the army of the enemy and destroy them (Jos 10^{12a}), Joshua appearing as a *me'onen*, and, finally, Elijah bringing down sheets of lightning in order to destroy the messengers of the king of Samaria (2 K 1^{10a}), may be further echoes of a similar conception. Even the prophet Amos defines the

power of God in the sentence, 'I caused it to rain upon one city and not upon another' (Am 4⁷). In the Talmud we find the story of Nakdimon ben Gorion and the twelve wells which are filled at his prayer by the appointed day, and the sun shining again although it had apparently already set (*Ta'anit*, fol. 19b-20a, Exempla no. 85; *Nissim*, fol. 19b; *Maase Buch*, no. 96), and the stories of Honi ha-me'agel, Raba, and others who force rain to come down (Gaster, 'Beiträge,' in Graetz, *Ztschr. für jud. Geschichte und Wissenschaft*, 1882 [and Bucharest, 1883, ch. xi. p. 79 ff.]).

(b) Of more importance would be the man who could foretell the weather for the coming year. R. Akiba (*Sifre*, § 171) explains *m'ōnen* to be the man who can foretell from the weather on the eve of the Sabbatical (seventh) Year [or rather on the eve of Shabuoth, Feast of Weeks] whether the year will be one of rain or drought, of plenty or scarcity. In the Talmud we find that from the form of the ascending cloud of smoke which rose from the altar in the Temple on the Day of New Year and subsequent few days the weather for the next year could be predicted, and that the weather of certain days was taken as prognosticating that of the next year (see Gaster, 'Jew. Weather Lore,' in jubilee number of the *Jewish Chronicle*, 1891, where the whole literature is given). The cloud of smoke was called Anan as the cloud of mist and rain. Transferred to the Kalendæ of January, this prognostication was attributed to Ezra (see Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocr.*, Leipzig, 1866, Prolegomena, pp. xiii-xiv).

The *m'ōnen* was the master of thunder and rain, as shown by Samuel and Elijah. The latter, moreover, has experience of wind and earthquake before the appearance of God (1 K 19^{11a}). Earthquake and lightning were further taken as premonitory signs of disaster. In Jewish literature, such brontologia and seismologia have been preserved under the title *Simanê ra'ashim ve-ra'amim* (Constantinople, n.d.). In Greek literature they were attributed to David (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep. VT*, Hamburg, 1713-33, p. 1162, and *NT*, do. 1703-19, i. 951-953; Gaster, *Lit. Pop. Rum.* 506).

(c) It is doubtful whether astrology and the observation of stars and planets come within the sphere of the *m'ōnen's* activity. Here we encounter the special name 'star-gazers.' The knowledge of astrology, star-gazing, divination by constellations, and forecasting from the new moon is clear from Is 47^{1a}, which exhibits a distinct difference between the *m'ōnen*—the weather-prophet—and the real astrologer, whose observations were limited to the changes, conjunctions, and other positions assumed by the heavenly bodies. The phrase *hōbrê shāmayim*, if it means 'dividers of heavens,' i.e. those who divide up the heavenly circle into a number of constellations and forecast the future from them, would correspond to the *gāzrîn* in Dn 2²⁷ etc. To this section belongs the horoscope and other astrological divinations dependent upon the changes of the calendar and the juxtaposition of days, and the conjunction of the stars and planets, as well as the lists of good and bad, ominous and propitious, days. This was attributed by Maimonides and Jacob ben Asher (*loc. cit.*) to the *m'ōnen*, whom they confused with the astrologer. Reference should be made in this connexion to divination from the sudden appearance of stars and comets, e.g. Balaam's prophecy (Nu 24¹⁷), to which such Messianic importance has been attached ever since by Jews, Samaritans, and Christians. So, Josephus tells us (*BJ* vi. v. 3 [Niese, § 289]): 'There was a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city,' foretelling the impending destruction of the town. For the star in the NT (Mt 2), and the further development of

the same idea in the Apocrypha, see R. Hofmann, *Leben Jesu n. d. Apokryphen*, Leipzig, 1851; Winer, *Bibl. RWB*, 1847, ii. 523 ff. A star appears at the birth of Abraham, and is interpreted as a portent of evil (*Chron. Jerahmeel*, xxiv. 1). The appearance of many suns in the dream is found in the oracle of the 'Sybil of Tibur,' probably originally a lost Biblical apocryphon (Gaster, *JRAS*, July 1910, pt. iii. p. 609); cf. also the Song of Deborah (Jg 5²⁰): 'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.'

(3) *Kōsem, kesem* (RV 'diviner,' 'divination').—(a) Taking the various passages together where this word occurs in the Bible, and also looking at the traditional interpretation, we find, in the first place, that the *kōsem* was a professional diviner, trained in the art of *kesem*, unlike the previously mentioned diviners, who practised without any special professional training, and who thereby did not obtain any official standing. The *kōsem*, on the other hand, was the professional (priestly) seer, 'seeing' in a state of trance or ecstasy brought about by one means or another, in which he spoke words of divination (oracles) concerning future events. This state of trance was brought about 'by bowing down to the earth [evidently like the attitude of Elijah, 1 K 18⁴²], and crying aloud, or looking into a brass or glass mirror, or taking a stick in the hand and leaning heavily upon it, or striking therewith the ground, until he loses consciousness and talks' (*Tur.* l.c. ch. 179). In the Bible in many passages we find the *kōsem* holding among the heathen the same position as the *hōzeh* or *rd'eh* among the Jews. But the Jewish conception of revelation is differentiated as the uncovering of the hidden by the grace and inspiration of God, from the heathen *kōsem*, who is thought to have been inspired by an evil spirit whilst he himself was unconscious. That unconsciousness is brought about by action, for action characterizes this kind of divination, and action on definite lines. The *kōsem* is not confined to Western Aramæan peoples; according to the Bible, the men of Moab, Midian, and, later on, the Philistines, had professional *kōsemim*. Balaam is the first mentioned; and it is clear, from the description given in Nu 24¹, that, after certain magical operations had been performed, such as building of altars, walking in a definite way, and using, no doubt, other means, he falls into a trance, or, as it is put there: 'And the man whose eye was closed saith: he saith, which heareth the words of God, which seeth the vision of the Almighty, falling down, and having his eyes opened [internal].' As far as can be judged, some tangible results were expected by Balak from the *kesem* of Balaam, such as a curse or blight, or a direct indication of the best means of overcoming the power which protected Israel. The *kōsemim*, together with the priests, were asked by the Philistines (1 S 6²⁻⁹) to find out the cause of the plague, and they advised a divination by means of cows walking in a definite direction.

(b) The eldest tradition in *Sifre* (l.c.) connects *kesem* also with *rhabdomancy*, i.e. divination by means of staff, rod, arrows, etc. In our opinion, the earliest example of this divination is Jacob's peeled rods (Gn 30^{37a}), an incident which has remained very obscure in spite of all the commentators, who seem to have overlooked Gn 31^{10, 12}—the vision of Jacob and the appearance of the angel. The peeling of the rods and putting them in the trough was an act of divination which was explained to him by the angel in his dream; for surely the peeling alone could not, even on the basis of physiological impressions, have had the result of producing so widely different marks as black sheep and goats, ring-straked, speckled, grised, etc.—too complex a result to be expected from

one and the same impression. R. Moses of Coucy (1235) has preserved to us the description of an oracle or divination by means of peeled rods which were thrown into the air, and, according as the peeled or unpeeled side fell uppermost, success in marriage or the opposite was indicated (R. Joseph Karo, in his commentary to the *Tur*, l.c.). The appeal to the staff as an oracle we find in Hos 4¹². With some hesitation, one might also mention here the rod of Moses wherewith he was to do the signs (Ex 4¹⁷), and which has been invested with miraculous powers by very numerous legends, and believed to have been a rod from Paradise (see *Chron. Jerahmeel*). Another rod from Paradise, used as a beam in the building of the Temple, fills an important rôle in the legend of the history of the Cross. The angel that appears to Gideon (Jg 6³¹) also holds a staff in his hands, with which he touches the meat and the unleavened bread, and fire comes out from the rock. Elisha sends Gehazi with his staff to put it on the face of the dead child of the Shunammite, so that it may revive (2 K 4²⁹), and he tells him: 'If thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any man salute thee, answer him not again.' The spell is not to be broken, whilst the action is to be completed by the staff or divining rod. Of course, it is here a miracle to be performed through the grace of God.

From this time onwards we hear of the wand of the magician; and Rabbinical tradition demands that the *kosem* shall use, among other things, a staff or a rod (*Tur*, l.c.). Mention may be made also of the budding rod of Aaron, by which his selection was to be made manifest (Nu 17⁸), to which numerous parallels exist. In most cases it is a withered rod or staff stuck in the earth, which unexpectedly buds and flourishes, and is thereby a sign to the penitent that his sin has been forgiven: e.g. the legend of Lot, who waters the rod with mouthfuls of water brought from Jordan at the bidding of Abraham; and the flourishing rod proclaims forgiveness of sin (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud.* VT.1, 428-31; Gaster, *Lit. Pop. Rum.* 284-86). Mediaeval literature knows a similar legend about a sinner appealing to R. Judah Hasid, when the rod flourished (*Maase Buch*, and Tendau, *Sagen*, 1873, no. 62; cf. the legend of Tannhäuser); and a similar selection of Joseph by the budding rod to take Mary as his ward is told in *Proten. Jacob*, ch. 8 (ed. Tischendorf, *Evangel. Apoc.*, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 15-19), and *pseudo-Matth.* (chs. iv.-viii. pp. 60-67), not to speak of the innumerable parallels in the Legends of Saints and in popular literature.

Throwing sticks into the air and watching the way they fall is still one of the many forms of *rhabdomancy*. To this kind of divination belongs the shooting of arrows, which is tantamount to sending a pointed stick high into the air and watching the direction in which it falls. It is as such an act of divination that the shooting of arrows by Jonathan is best explained (1 S 20^{20a}). The shooting of arrows for the purpose of *kesem* is found in the history of Joash (2 K 13^{18a}). The smiting of the ground seems to have been an accompanying ceremony. The use of the arrow in *kesem* appears also in Ezk 21²¹ (28). The fall of arrows was to indicate the road the king of Babylon was to take, for the arrows must have been shot straight up into the air and allowed to fall by themselves. In the legends about the fall of the Temple (Bab. *Gittin*, 56a, *Exempla* no. 70), Nero is said to have shot arrows from the four corners, and, as they all fell into Jerusalem, it indicated to him the impending fall of the town. It is still an element in Oriental, notably Gipsy, fairy-tales for the hero to shoot an arrow into the air and go in quest of it, and where the arrow falls things await him—good or evil.

(c) Akin to these forms of divination would be the *tree oracle*—the shaking of the boughs in one direction or another being taken as prognostication of some future event. This must have been the meaning of the oak of Meonen (Jg 9⁷). David heard in the noise of the shaking boughs of the mulberry tree (2 S 5²⁴) the sound of marching. In Talmudic times we find a special art of divination mentioned under the name of *shath d'palm*, the

language of trees. R. Yohanan ben Zakkai is mentioned as one who possessed this knowledge (see Bab. *Sukkah*, 28a). Abraham Gaon, who lived in the year 1140 of the Seleucid era (A.D. 829), could understand the speech of palms (*Aruch*, s.v., Sh. ii.). Through Arabic influences, special books of divination by means of palm trees or palm leaves (ascribed to Abu Iflah of Saragossa) have been preserved in Hebrew literature, in which the origin of this science is referred back to King Solomon (Cod. Gaster, 19, 329b, 523). Another species of divination mentioned in the Talmud and Midrash concerns the tree as a life token. At the birth of the child a tree is planted, and from its state of flourishing or decay one can divine the state of the man himself. By seeing the withering of Job's tree planted in their garden his three friends knew of his misfortune, and came to comfort him. Such trees were sometimes cut on the day of marriage, to be used as ornaments; the premature cutting of such a tree by a Roman general brought about, according to the Talmud, the war of Betar (Bab. *Gittin*, 57a).

(4) *Höbër* (RV 'charmer').—Not much information is found in the Bible concerning the activity denoted by this name. The tradition in *Sifre* (l.c.) which explains the *höbër* as one who could gather together (*häber*, 'companion') huge or small animals according to his skill—for what purpose is not stated—throws an unexpected light on many incidents in the Bible which have hitherto remained obscure, in which we recognize now the work of the *höbër*, though not under that name. If a similar view is to be taken of him as of the *m'ônén* (weather-maker) he must have been a man who could bring or avert, foretell the coming or disappearance of obnoxious animals. His inclusion in the list in Deut. would thus be thoroughly justified; for to bring wild animals into the land or to draw them away would be a curse or a blessing to the people. To this category would belong the priests who were asked for by the Cutheans from the king of Assyria, to be sent from Babylon to Samaria in order to drive away the lions which infested the land (2 K 17²⁴⁻²⁷). The priest sent was no doubt considered to be a powerful diviner or charmer, a *höbër*. Similarly Elisha, upon whose curse two she-bears appeared and destroyed the children after they mocked him, acts as a kind of *höbër* (2 K 2²⁴). So also a certain man from the sons of the prophets (1 K 20^{35a}), at whose bidding a lion kills the disobedient fellow-prophet, acts as a *höbër* who has power over animals for good or evil. In 1 K 13 we see the lion turning against the prophet (charmer) whose spell was broken through disobedience, although his power is still shown by the animal's standing quietly by the corpse next to the ass without hurting the latter. Going higher up the stream of Biblical tradition, we find Samson (Jg 14⁸) tearing to pieces a lion, in whose carcass bees afterwards swarm, contrary to the nature of bees, which never hive in dead bodies. Samson is able also single-handed to catch three hundred foxes and put firebrands between their tails (Jg 15⁴). Here we have an exact portraiture of a *höbër* (as interpreted by the present writer), one who is able to gather animals either for good or for evil purposes. According to later tradition, the presence of a pious man or reputed saint was sufficient to drive away obnoxious animals from a place. In the Temple area itself no fly was seen, nor did a wild animal ever hurt any visitor to Jerusalem (*Pirke Aboth*). The sanctuary took the place of the pious man in averting the evil of wild beasts (see Gaster, 'Beiträge,' ch. iv. p. 22 f., in connexion with the legends of Virgil, St. Patrick, etc.).

How far Beelzebub would fall within this cate-

gory would be difficult to state, but the Philistines attributed the plague of mice (1 S 6^{44, 19}) to the presence of the ark, and they returned golden mice as a votive offering with it. Here the ark, in inflicting the plague, acted in a similar though opposite direction to the sanctuary (ark) in Jerusalem, which prevented a plague of vermin.

It is a remarkable fact that all the acts of divination mentioned hitherto are found among the ten plagues inflicted by Moses in Egypt at the bidding of the Lord, no doubt to bring home to the Egyptians, in the manner best understood by them, that all the acts of the enchanters, augurs, charmers, weather-makers, could also be performed by a man in the name of another power against whom their own diviners and charmers could not prevail. We have—with the addition of (a) the rods of Moses and Aaron turned into snakes—(1) blood, (2) frogs, (3) lice, (4) various animals, (5) plague, (6) boils, (7) hail storm, (8) locusts, (9) darkness, and (10) the death of the firstborn. These correspond, with the exception of the last, to which reference will be made later on, to the arts of the *mānāhēsh* (a), *mē'ōnēn* (7, 9), *kōsem* (1, 3, 5, 6) and *hōbēr* (2, 4, 8). These practices known in Egypt were strictly forbidden to be practised by the Jews, and were strongly denounced in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

The process of elimination of deep-rooted practices and of transforming them in accordance with the spirit of Judaism, runs on parallel lines with those of the spread of Christianity and of Islam. Local practices and heathen ceremonies were adapted with slight changes to the new order of things; heathen gods became local saints, heathen practices became Christian in the Church. Similarly, the forbidden practices of the *mānāhēsh*, *kōsem*, *hōbēr*, etc., were adopted and adapted to the spirit of Judaism; and they were practised by leading men—seers, priests, judges, etc.—in the name of the Lord God of Israel. And thus the people were slowly educated, until, with the establishment of the Temple in Jerusalem and the era of the great prophets, they broke finally with the past, and drove even the remnants of ancient superstition out of the Jewish worship and Jewish practice.

(5) 'Ob, *yidd'ōnī*, *dōrēsh el-hammēthīm* (RV 'familiar spirit,' 'wizard,' necromancer).—There still remains another kind of divination, which rests on the conception of Animism and the survival of the dead. No hint is given in the Bible whether it was a spirit of the dead or his material body which was sought after or inquired of. It is a fact that 'ob and *yidd'ōnī* always occur together except in the history of the woman of Endor (but even there in the same chapter Saul is mentioned as having destroyed [1 S 28³] familiar spirits and wizards) and Is 29⁴, where the voice of the 'ob is described as coming from the ground. We must, therefore, conclude that these two were intimately connected with each other. 'Ob has the fem. pl. *'ōbōth*, whilst *yidd'ōnī* has the masc. pl. *yidd'ōnīm*—probably an indication of differentiation of sexes, one the female and the other the male. In Is 8¹⁹ they are described as they 'that chirp and that mutter' (RV; better, 'conjurers who whistle and groan' [cf. Magical Papyrus Paris, where the god or the conjurer whistles and groans]), and are by the prophet connected with the dead (v. 19). In both cases *dāraš* ('to seek') and the alternative *sha'al* ('to inquire') are used. We find then that the 'ob and *yidd'ōnī* were things made. In 2 K 21¹⁶ and 2 Ch 33⁶, the Heb. נָפִיץ (RV wrongly 'dealt with') means 'and he made'; and Lv 20²⁷ must not be understood in the sense that men or women have in their body a familiar spirit, but that they are the possessors of an 'ob—evidently a material thing. The translation of 'ob as 'familiar spirit' is contrary to indications in the Bible. The woman of Endor is called distinctly *ba'alath 'ob*, 'the possessor of an 'ob'; not 'one possessed by an 'ob.' She must first perform a certain ceremony, she is to use enchantment (*kesem*) in order to get the 'ob to work (1 S 28⁸ 'divine unto me'), and only after-

wards she asks Saul whom he wishes her to raise from the dead.

Now, it is a very remarkable fact that the 'ob does not occur in Genesis, in Joshua, in Judges, in 2 Sam., in 1 Kings, or in any of the latter prophets except Isaiah. Another word, equally mysterious, is used, viz. *trāphīm* [note that the word is plural, and 'obōth and *yidd'ōnīm* occur also mostly in the plural form]. The *trāphīm* are mentioned in Gn 31^{19, 34}, but not in the other four books of the Pentateuch; then they occur in Jg 17⁵ 18^{14a}, 1 S 15²³ 19^{13, 16}, 2 K 23²⁴, Ezk 21²¹ (26), Hos 3⁴, Zec 10²; only in one case are they mentioned together with the 'obōth and *yidd'ōnīm*—2 K 23²⁴, where they are said to have been put away by King Josiah. The *trāphīm* also were 'made,' e.g., by Micah (Jg 17⁵, where they are differentiated from 'a molten image and a graven image'), and they are also asked or inquired of (*sha'al*), like 'ob and *yidd'ōnī* (Ezk 21²¹ (26)); in Zec 10² they 'speak,' Laban is the first to mention them, and calls them his gods (Gn 31³⁰); Rachel hides them (v. 34) in the saddle-bag (RV 'camel's furniture'). King Nebuchadnezzar consults them (Ezk 21²¹ (26): cf. the Parthian woman in Jos. Ant. XVIII. ix. 5 [344], who conceals the images of her gods which she worships in the house). All the evidence points to a Western Aramæan origin, whilst the 'ob and *yidd'ōnī* point much more to Egyptian origin; Is 19³ connects them with Egypt. It is, therefore, perhaps not improbable that we have here two different names for practically the same object of divination, connected more or less with the dead body, or, to put it more clearly, a mummified body worshipped and used for divination. The story of Michal in 1 S 19^{13, 16} leaves no room for doubt that the *trāphīm* so closely resembled life-like human bodies (mummies, not wooden images) that the soldiers could believe that David was sleeping in the bed. A legend in Jer. Targ. to Gn 31¹⁹ relates that 'they used to slay the firstborn of a man and cut off his head, salted it, and embalmed it, and wrote incantations on a plate of gold, which they put under his tongue, and stood it up in the walls, and it spake with them; and unto such Laban bowed himself' (see also *Chapters of R. Eliezer*). Here we have the mummified head, which might be called *trāphīm* among the Western Aramæans, and 'ob and *yidd'ōnī* in S. Palestine, according to the sex of the mummy used for necromancy. In Bab. *Keritot*, 3b, we find that the necromancer burnt incense to the demon, and then questioned him. Rabbinical tradition (*Sifra*, par. 3, ch. vii.) says of the 'ob that he is the Pithom (Python) who causes the dead to speak through some part of his body, *shehi* (see also *Sanh.* vii. 7), and, furthermore, that necromancy was performed by means of the skulls of dead men—no doubt because the process of mummification had died out, and mummies were not easily accessible. The same holds good for the necromancy as practised by other peoples, in which the skull of the dead plays a prominent part. In this connexion the death of the firstborn of the Egyptians would appear in a new light.

The idea of a *familiar spirit* is of much later date; it was introduced at a time when belief in the existence of evil spirits became deeply rooted, and when it was supposed that it was in the power of man to conquer and subdue such spirits and force them to serve their master in any office to which he might choose to appoint them.

Solomon became a legendary master of the demons, or *shēdīm*. The Temple was built by *shēdīm* (*Giftn*, 68a) at his command; and through his seal, on which the ineffable name of God was engraved, he could command the obedience of all the spirits. Here two sets of thoughts and beliefs have been blended, and Solomon's power was made to rest upon the knowledge and possession of the ineffable name of God with its tremendous

efficacy. The Apocryphal Testament of Solomon and the *Clavius Solomonis* (Solomon's Key) teach how to obtain mastery over *shēdm*. We find the history of a man having a *shēd* at his disposal (Bab. *Erlin*, 105b). *Shēdm* could not be conjured up on Sabbath or holy days (*Sheelat Shēdm*, see Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 1876, s.v. 'Shēd', iv. 510). Conversation with the *shēdm* was considered a great art (*Sukkah*, 28a, see Zund, *Gottesd. Vorträge* 2, 1892, p. 173). In a Jewish fairy-tale a man overhears the conversation of *shēdm*, saves the king's daughter, and re-opens a well which had been stopped by their mischievous powers (*Exempla* no. 29, and Gaster in *FL* vii. [1896] 231). Nachmanides writes that pious Jews in Alemannia held *shēdm* in servitude, who did their bidding and carried out orders (*Responsa of R. Sal. b. Adrat*, no. 414); see also Manasseh b. Israel, *Nish. Hayyim*, iii. ch. 12, fol. 113b ff.).

Men who were reputed to hold communion with the dead were probably believed to be able to quicken the dead temporarily or permanently. The fact that Elijah (1 K 17^{17a}) and Elisha (2 K 4^{20a}) each revived an apparently dead child, and that the mere touch of the bones of Elijah was sufficient to call a man back to life again (2 K 13²¹), seems to point in the direction of such belief. But the subject is very obscure, and later tradition does not help us to elucidate the problem. Real necromancy does not seem to have flourished among the Jews. So little was this the case, that none of the later authorities gives any further information about 'ōb and dōresh *el-hammethim*, and about the *yiddē'ōnē* they tell us only that the man put into his mouth a bone of a certain animal called *yaddu'a*, which caused him to speak—which is, of course, a mere guess, or probably a misinterpretation of the use made of the bone of the dead (men and animals) for the operation of divination (see *Tur*, l.c.).

(6) Thus far we have dealt with the various kinds of divination of a heathen origin mentioned in the Bible, and practised by Jews at an early date, only after they had been stripped of their heathen garb and adapted to the teaching of Judaism. As the Law, however, condemned certain modes of divination, other means had to be found in full accordance with the true spiritual teaching of Judaism. The whole world was the creation of one God, and from Him alone the answer must come, and to Him men must turn at critical moments of their lives. The means by which the answer is to be vouchsafed is of a threefold character: by dreams, or by *Urim*, or by the vision of the prophet (seer). To such means did Saul resort (1 S 28⁶), and only when he found himself forsaken by those lawful means did he turn to the forbidden arts and go to the woman of Endor, the mistress of an 'ōb.

(a) *Dreams*.—Of dreams there are abundant examples in Genesis and in the historical books, but none of the same kind in the other books of the Pentateuch. God came to Abimelech in a dream (Gn 20³); Jacob dreamt of the ladder (28^{12a}), and again in connexion with his peeled rods (31¹¹); Laban also is warned in a dream against attacking Jacob (31²⁴). The forecasting of future events appears in Joseph's own symbolical dreams (37^{5a}), as well as in the dreams of the butler and the baker in Egypt (40⁶), and the dream of Pharaoh (ch. 41), interpreted by Joseph as a solution granted by God. No reference to such prophetic dreams occurs elsewhere in the Pentateuch, although we have the statement (Nu 12⁶) that God speaks to prophets in a dream. Quite different is the character of the dreamer of dreams (Dt 13^{1a}), rather a sinister personage, as in Jer 23²⁵⁻²⁸, 22 27⁹, where diviners, dreams, and soothsayers are mentioned together (cf. also Zec 10²). The dream of the Philistine is understood by Gideon as foretelling future success (Jg 7¹³). The Book of Daniel is full of dreams and prophetic visions of the future, which border on the higher sphere of prophecy, or the direct revelation of the future by God through His prophet. This lies outside the immediate scope of divination, for the human initiative is practically

eliminated; the prophet now acts simply as an agent selected by God, for His purpose, to carry His message to the people. The last time that God speaks to His chosen in a dream is to Solomon at Gibeon before the building of the Temple (1 K 3⁹), and immediately on its completion (9⁹); no other example after this is mentioned in the Bible—a fact of deep significance.

Apocryphal and apocryphical literature is, however, full of such prophetic dreams. In the *Chron. of Jerahmeel* alone no fewer than eight or nine such dreams are recorded; the dreams of Methuselah and Enoch (ch. xxiii. p. 48, intr. lxxi); the dream of Pharaoh foretelling the birth of Moses (chs. xlii. xlviii. p. 102, intr. lxxxvii.); the dreams of Naphthali (xxviii. 3 and 5); the dream of Kenaz (vii. 39, 40); the dream of Mordecai, Ahasuerus' dream; and the dream of Alexander the Great (xxxv. 4ff.; found also in Samaritan literature [*Abulfath*]). Mention may be made also of dreams in the *Test. of the XII Patriarchs* (Charles); Levi, Jacob, Naphthali, and Joseph; the visions of Enoch in the Book of Enoch (lxxxiii.-xc. pp. 220-259 [Charles]), and the visions of Ezra in 2 Esdras. Later Jewish literature abounds in prophetic dreams sent to the people to warn them of danger, such as that in the legend of Bostanai the exilarch (*Seder 'Olam Zutfa*).

The interpretation of dreams became a recognized art. Many examples are found in the Talmud of men who received payment for this function. Twenty-four interpreters are said to have practised at the same time in Jerusalem. A certain Bar Hadya is mentioned by name as one who shaped his interpretation according to the amount received.

Such interpretations are found in the Talmud (*Ber.* 56a ff.; *En Yaacob*, par. 110; *Jer. Ma'aser sheni* iv. 6), the *Exempla* of Rabbis (nos. 215-217), and *Maase Buch*, Amst., no. 28, fol. 7b. These form the basis of the Hebrew *Oneirokritika* which are ascribed to Joseph, Daniel, Hai (ed. pr. Ferrara, 1552), Saadya, etc., and published by Almull in his *Pitron Halomoth* (*Mefasher Halmin*, ed. pr. Lisbon (?) 149-; see Cod. Gaster, 383, 364, and 1087). Some of the sages ask that the answer should be given in the dream to their query, like Raba (*Bab. Menahot*, 67a) and R. Johanan (*ib.* 84b). He who sees an ill-omened dream fasts and recites a special prayer whilst the *kōhānim* pronounce the priestly blessing during the service (*Bab. Ber.* 55b). A curious collection of 'responses from Heaven' exists in Jewish literature, dating probably from the 12th or 13th century.

(b) *Urim and Thummim* was another means of divining the future, explaining the past, declaring guilt and innocence, dividing land, and deciding the issues of war and peace. In accordance with the system pursued of concentrating every possible sacred or sacrificial action in the hands of very few, and thus of weaning the common people from such practices, the divination by means of the Urim and Thummim was reserved for the high priest. Only he, in his priestly robes and wearing the breast-plate called 'the breast-plate of judgment' (decision) (Ex 28³⁰), could use the Urim for the purpose of obtaining an answer from God to his question. We cannot here enter fully upon the discussion as to what the Urim and Thummim may have been. These words occur altogether seven times in the whole Bible; and in two of these, Ezra and Nehemiah, as a remembrance of old (Ezr 2⁶³, Neh 7⁶⁶). To the other five passages we must add two in which the practice is implicitly referred to (Jg 1¹ and 20¹⁸, where the children of Israel went up to Bethel to inquire of the Lord, i.e. through the priest, who only could obtain the answer by the Urim and Thummim). The ephod consulted by David in K'elah (1 S 23^{9a}) was worn by the priest Abiathar. Evidently the reference is to the Urim and Thummim within the ephod, and similarly in 1 S 30^{7a}; and probably the ephod in Hos 3⁴ also means the oracle of the Urim and Thummim. In 1 S 28⁶ we are told that Saul had inquired of the Lord 'by the Urim,' and only because he got no answer he went to the woman of Endor. In 1 S 14¹⁸ Saul says to Ahijah, 'Bring hither the ark' (LXX, 'the ephod'), and in v. 4, when the guilty party is to be discovered, he says *hābāh tāmim*, which must be read *hābāh tūmmim*, i.e. Urim and Thummim; and then they cast lots, and Saul and Jonathan are first taken.

and afterwards Jonathan alone. This reminds us of the identical process in the case of Achan (Jos 7^{14a}). Rabbinical writers identify the Urim and Thummim with the twelve stones of the breastplate, and explain these names as 'lighted up' and 'dark,' stating that the stones lit up or a light shone in them (according to some the letters stood out lighted up) in the case of a favourable answer, and that they remained dark at an unfavourable one. After the establishment of the sanctuary in Jerusalem by David, no further mention is made of this kind of divination by lots and by means of the Urim. That event was the turning-point in the whole history of Jewish worship and in the practice of divination.

Special mysterious powers were ascribed to the stones of the breast-plate, and from Epiphanius onwards the literature of *Lapidaria*, or 'stone books,' has grown continuously. Hebrew literature shows a variety of such *Lapidaria* (*Kohot ha-abanim*). A number of unedited texts have been collected by the present writer in his Cod. 377, besides other MSS (Cod. Gaster, 337, 714; de Vidas, *loc. cit.* fol. 9a).

After the disappearance of the Urim and Thummim another inspired oracle took its place—the *Bible oracle* (the oral recitation of Biblical verses). Infants were asked to tell a verse to a man who met them quite unexpectedly, and from the verse which the child repeated innocently the questioner drew his own conclusions, for he saw in it the oracular answer to his query. We may look upon the passages referred to above under '*M'naḥesh*' (Gn 24^{1st}, Jg 7¹¹, 1 S 14⁸⁻¹², and 1 K 20³⁸) as the oldest examples of divination from the opening words of the enemy or interlocutor. This is the origin of the Bible oracle (stichomancy) by means of a written and later on a printed book. It consists in opening the book and looking at the first verse that meets the eye as a means of divination, or in putting in a pointer, and the passage where the pointer rests is taken as full of significance and prognostication. Samuel used to inquire through 'the Book' (Bab. *Hullin*, 95b; cf. the *sortes Vergilianae*). The Bible oracle leads to that of the *Shimmusha Rabba* (or that of selected portions of the Bible) known in the 8th or 9th century. In the *Shimmush T'hilim* the Book of Psalms is used as a means of divination (Cod. Gaster, 1094^a, and often printed with Book of Psalms; best ed. by W. Heidenheim).

At an indeterminate period in post-Biblical times a large number of magical ceremonies and practices of divination flowed into the stream of Jewish tradition, and it is often difficult to trace each of these elements to its proper source. All that was done was to copy and to borrow such material, and so change and mould it as to make it compatible with the special teaching of Judaism, though the line of demarcation between, e.g. Jews and Muhammadans in these practices is so faint as to be often indistinguishable. Nowhere does this borrowing show itself more clearly than in the books for telling future events, or fortune-telling books (*Sifre Goralot* [Amsterdam, 1700], *Urim Vethummim* [Dyrenfurth, 1700], ascribed alternately to Hai-Saadya, Aben Ezra, Pokeah, Ibrim [Venice, 1657]; Cod. Gaster, 61, 213, 439; Aben Ezra, 35, 112, 465, 470, 471, 592, 594, 702; Saadya, 602, 679, 782, 1017, 1060, 1090). A thorough investigation of the origin and filiation of these books and their interdependence is still lacking (Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, § 533, pp. 867-71).

The hand and the face of man were also used for the purpose of divination. The *Zohar* (Exodus) already contained almost a complete treatise on physiognomics (*hochmath ha-parsuf*), and the Hebrew version of the *Secretum* ascribed to Arisototele (ed. Gaster [contains in bk. xi. a treatise on physiognomy]) continued to spread and to fortify

the belief in physiognomics among the Jews. Cheiromancy (*Hochmath ha-yad*, last ed., Warsaw, 1902) is found in many manuscripts and prints, and also in translations in the Hebrew-German (Cod. Gaster, 443, fol. 90b f.).

(c) *Rô'eh*, or *seer*.—The last form of divination to which Saul resorted was through the *nābî*, the prophet, or rather the *rô'eh*, the seer, 'for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer' (1 S 9⁹). He was expected to answer not only important questions affecting the safety of the king or nation, but also trivial inquiries about lost property, e.g. the asses of Kish (1 S 9^{30a}). The seer was then acting as the Hebrew counterpart of the heathen *kōsēm* (like Balaam, etc.), who also claimed to 'see' and to be a 'seer' (Nu 24⁴⁻¹⁶). Samuel is consistently called the seer and not the prophet in 1 Ch 9²² 26²⁸ 29²⁰; and other personages belonging to the time before the building of the Temple appear under the same names of *rô'eh* and *kōsēm*, which alternate with one another and are both distinguished from *nābî*. The latter was, no doubt, considered as yet inferior to them; for we find the 'company of prophets' (1 S 10^a. 10. 11), Saul turned prophet (10¹¹), and 'the sons of the prophets' (1 K 20³⁸, 2 K 2² etc.) all playing an inferior rôle to that of the *rô'eh*. Similarly the *nābî* in the Pentateuch seems inferior to the *nābî* of the time of the kings. He is more akin to a diviner. Abraham is called a *nābî* (Gn 20⁷), although he does not prophesy, but knows of Abimelech's dream. Aaron is appointed *nābî* to Moses (Ex 7¹), certainly not as superior to him; seventy elders prophesy (Nu 11²⁶), and Eldad and Medad do so in the camp, like the bands of prophets and Saul mentioned above. In Nu 12⁶ God speaks to the *nābî* in a dream. In Dt 13^a. 18²⁰ the *nābî* is placed on the same footing as the dreamer of dreams (see above). The *nābî* of Dt 18¹⁵ must therefore be taken in the same sense as the *nābî* in all the other passages in the Pent., and loses the special significance attached to the name. It is noteworthy that Moses is called *nābî* only after his death (Dt 34⁹). Saul resorted to a *nābî* for the purpose of learning what the future had in store for him (1 S 28³), and therefore one is justified in including this *nābî* among the diviners, like the *kōsēm* and *rô'eh*—the Jewish equivalent of the heathen *kōsēm*. But from the time of David onwards a change took place in the value attached to the name. The *nābî* was no longer a man who could take any initiative, or answer questions put to him, but an inspired agent of God, selected by Him to send His messages to rulers and peoples.

With the prophets of the Second Temple prophecy had come to an end. Instead of it there was the *Bath Kōl*, i.e. the second voice, a kind of Divine echo heard within the precincts of the Temple or in answer to queries put to Heaven by the Rabbis (Bab. *Yoma*, 9b; *Sanh.* 11a; Jer. *Ber.* 3b).

The final stage of divination was by the use of the mysterious and ineffable Divine Name. This was a dangerous mode of divination; of the four great men who attempted to penetrate the Divine mysteries (*Hag.* 14b), only one, Aqiba, escaped unhurt. Practical *Qabbalā* is the final outcome of this mystical development, which has almost entirely driven out all the older forms of divination. From the time of the Essenes (2nd cent.) downwards magic and divination centre in the mystical names of God, angels, etc. Magical papyri abound, containing directions how to divine theft, or how to obtain a dream which would foretell the future. The most ancient book of this kind is the famous 'Sword of Moses' (ed. Gaster, London, 1896), a complete manual of such operations. Some of the formulæ and practices contained

therein have survived to the present day. Many a man in mediæval times was credited with insight into the future through the knowledge of this ineffable name.

The last stage in the development of the art of divination was reached when the place held in ancient times by the *kôsem* or *menahesh*, then by the *ro'eh* and *nâbi*, then by the scholar and sage, was finally taken by the *ba'al shem*, the possessor of the ineffable wonder-working name of God. He is the exact counterpart of the *ba'alath 'ob*, the female possessor of the *'ob* (woman of Endor). He also could conjure the dead, foretell the future, and perform every possible miraculous deed. The legend of the *ba'al shem* told in *Ma'ase Nissim* (see Tendlar, *Sagen*,⁴ no. 52, p. 25 f.) makes him raise out of a cup Joab b. Zeruiah (King David's general). Practically the last link in this chain is the famous *ba'al shem* (known as Besht [Ba'al Shem Tob]), the founder of the sect of the Hasidim at the beginning of the 18th cent., whose successors are the reputed wonder-working Rabbis of the Hasidim in Galicia and Eastern Europe.

But all these modes of divination have gradually disappeared. Only the Qabbalistic formulæ are from time to time resorted to and practised in addition to those borrowed from other nations; for in modern times, and especially in Eastern countries, the Jews follow the superstitions of the native population, and practise the same modes of divination for such lower purposes as to detect a thief, or to find out whether a woman will marry in the course of the year, whether her child will be a boy or girl, whether or not an undertaking will be successful. But there is nothing specifically Jewish about them.

LITERATURE.—As the writer of this article differs fundamentally in the interpretation of the Biblical terms on divination from all other scholars, he does not refer to any other article on this subject, or to any of the special books hitherto written on divination in the Bible. In addition to the references given in the text of the article itself, the following bibliography will serve the purpose of directing students to a vast field of hitherto scarcely explored literature. One name stands out prominently, that of M. Steinschneider, and his great work, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893 (notably § 589, p. 893 f.; § 641, p. 906; § 622, p. 849; § 583, pp. 867-71; § 575, p. 963 f.; and § 534, p. 871), contains the most reliable data on many of the subjects of the later period of Jewish literature, when it stood under the influence of Greek, Arabic, and mediæval Latin literature. Still even he left room for additional information. Some of it, especially MSS material, may be found in the bibliography to artt. BIRTH (Jewish) and CHARMS and AMULETS (Jewish), in which very much matter referring to divination may be found. A few more books may be now mentioned here: M. A. Delrio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, ed. Cologne, 1790, iii. p. 11 q. iv. a. 6, pp. 473, 478-480; Manasseh ben Israel, *Nishmat 'Hayyim*, ed. Amsterdam, 1652, bk. iii. chs. 4-29, fol. 101 f.; M. Güdemann, *Gesch. des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden*, Vienna, 1880, vol. I. p. 201, no. 2; M. Gaster, *Literatura Popularis Rumana*, Bucharest, 1883, pp. 324, 606 f., 517, 517a, 531, 532a; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*,² Munich, 1897, pp. 627-631 and *passim*; H. Diels, *Beiträge zur Zuckungs-literatur*, Berlin, 1908; Jacob Racah, *Kishurim le Yaakov*, Leghorn, 1850, fol. 24a-26b.

M. GASTER.

DIVINATION (Litu-Slavic).—A synopsis of the various means employed by the Prussians and Lithuanians to divine the future is given in the art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 54 f. As grounds of their predictions they had—or still have—recourse to the flight and cries of birds; appearances in the sky and other natural phenomena; sacrifices, entrails, and blood; chance meetings, the rustling of the oak, fire and smoke, dreams; various happenings and utterances at weddings; wax, lead, glass, the foam of beer, amulets, sieve-turning, plants, and innumerable other things. One of the most ancient and widely-used accessories of divination was *blood*, both of man and beast. When the Grand-duke Keistut of Lithuania was overthrown and taken prisoner by King Ludwig of Hungary in 1351, he made a treaty with the victor,

pledging himself to embrace Christianity and desist from further troubling. This treaty was ratified by a rather curious Lithuanian oath, the preliminary to which was a blood-oracle:

'Et facta est hæc promissio per regem cum tali iuramento: accepit enim bovem et in praesentia regis Ungariae et suorum fecit bovi duas venas incidere in collo, et, si sanguis ferventer exiret, bonum esse indicium futurorum; et largitus fuit sanguis effusus. Tunc rex Litowiae bovem fecit decollari et inter bovis caput et corpus progrediens iuravit, sibi sibi contingi, si promissa non servaret' (Scriptores Rer. Pruss. iii. 420).

But human blood likewise might be used for purposes of prophecy. Thus, in 1325-26, when the Grand-duke Gedimin sent twelve hundred horsemen to the assistance of King Lokietek in his struggle with the margrave of Brandenburg, 'prepositum de Bernow, hominem corpore grossum et pinguem vincunt, caput inter crura detorqueunt, dorsum eius gladiis aperunt, profluvium sanguinis attendunt, de exitu belli per ipsum divinare cupientes'; and it is also recorded that in the same campaign 'quibusdam guttura preceiderunt et divinationes suas exercebant' (cf. A. v. Mierzynski, 'Der Eid des Keistutis', *Sitzungsber. d. Altertums-gesellsch. Pruss.*, no. 18, Königsberg, 1893, p. 104).

Such incidents show that as late as the 14th cent. of our era the Lithuanians, like the prophetesses of the Cimri (cf. *ERE* ii. 54^b), were in the habit of killing their prisoners of war in order to ascertain by an inspection of their blood whether the approaching battle would result in victory or defeat.

Leaving the Baltic peoples, we proceed to speak of the Slavs, and, more particularly, of the Russians. Here, in the 16th and 17th centuries—a period from which several continuous records survive—we find an almost incredible development of the belief in omens (*primëtü*) and the practice of fortune-telling (*gadanie*). It is scarcely too much to say that among the Russians of that age the individual's course of life was entirely conditioned by premonitions. Books of magic and collections of warnings and predictions, though banned by the clergy, were passed from hand to hand. A creaking in the wall or a singing in the ears foretold a journey. An itching in the palm signified a gift of money. Itching eyes betokened weeping. The croaking of ravens or the crowing of cocks was an omen of misfortune. The cackling of ducks or geese, twitching of the eyelids, the crackling of the fire, the howl of a dog, the squeaking of mice or their nibbling of clothes, a cat appearing at the window with a captured mouse, a terrifying dream, meeting with a blind person—all these foreboded loss by fire. In a MS in the Rumjanzov Museum we read:

'When the shores heave, and the sea rages, when dry or moist winds blow, when rain, snow, or storm-clouds appear, when thunder rolls, the storm howls, the forest rustles, the trunks of trees grate on one another, wolves howl, or squirrels leap—then will ensue plague, or war, or scarcity of water; in summer fruits will grow nowhere, or they will disappear.'

The people believed in dreams, and framed an elaborate system of reading their significance. They saw portents in the act of sneezing, in the crawling movements of insects, in every sort of object they came across. It was thought unlucky to meet with a monk, a horse with hair worn off, or a pig. As early as the 12th cent. we find St. Theodosius censuring those who allowed such occurrences to scare them home again. Native and foreign superstitions were inextricably blended. The people had also complete written systems of prophecy, called *rafi*—a term of Arabic origin ('libellus astronomicus seu mathematicus Persarum' [Ducange]; Arab. *raml*, 'geomancy'); the *Domostroj* (cf. *ERE* iii. 465, note 1), § 23, warns against their use. Mention should also be made here of the so-called 'birth-magic' which the sorcerer, at the mother's request, performed over the newly-born child, and by means of which he ascertained or

¹ Cf. for what immediately follows, Kostomarov, 'Sketch of the Domestic Life and Customs of the Great Russians in the 16th and 17th Centuries,' in *Sovremennik*, vol. Ixxiii. (Russ.).

determined its lot in life. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that the Russians of that day lived from the cradle to the grave in an atmosphere of constant dread and solicitude regarding the future; and the beneficent and emancipating results of culture and enlightenment are never more profoundly felt than when contrasted with a human existence thus harrowed by omens and superstitious terrors from morning till night (cf. *ERE* ii. 55^b).

Even at the present day, however, among the Russian peasantry, the belief in omens and predictions still prevails to an extent without parallel among any other European people. The manifold superstitions of an aged Russian peasant woman are thus set forth in Turgenev's romance, *Fathers and Sons* (ch. 20, at the end):

'She was pious and impressionable to a degree; she believed in all kinds of omens, predictions, spells, dreams; she believed in lunatics (see below), in household spirits, forest spirits, unlucky forgerthings, enchantment, popular remedies, Maundy Thursday salt (the salt sprinkled on Maundy Thursday bread ranks as a powerful specific); she believed that the end of the world was at hand, that the buckwheat prospers if the candles are not extinguished at the evening service on Easter Sunday, and that mushrooms cease growing when they have been seen by a human eye,' etc.

In the present article we do not propose to deal further with this mass of detail, but will restrict ourselves to a somewhat fuller consideration of two particular points: (1) peasant weather-lore, which, amid a chaos of absurdity, nevertheless contains a certain measure of rationality, based upon experience and the observation of Nature; and (2) the interval between Christmas and Epiphany—a period during which, even in the Russia of to-day, all conceivable forms of augury and prophecy are still in full swing.

(1) The first of these topics, *peasant weather-lore*, has been dealt with by A. Ermolov in two volumes of his comprehensive work, *Agricultural Folk-wisdom in Proverbs, Sayings, and Weather-saws*: i. 'Der landwirtschaftliche Volkskalender,' Leipzig, 1905, and iv. 'Popular Weather-lore' (Russ.), St. Petersburg, 1905. It is shown in these works that, while all European peoples have a vast store of weather-wisdom, sometimes exhibiting remarkable affinities and parallels, yet the inhabitants of Eastern Europe surpass all others in this regard. In that region there is no animal so diminutive, no herb so insignificant, but its doings or properties may supply omens of future events, of weather that will be favourable or unfavourable to the husbandman; while, again, there is no natural phenomenon, occurring at some particular time, but may act as the harbinger of a good or a bad harvest. In Kasan, the Chuvashes (a Finnish, now Finno-Russian, tribe) are said to be looked upon as oracles.

'Strange as it may seem, they scarcely ever go astray in their predictions. By long-continued observation they have become sensitive to signs which enable them almost unerringly to forecast the weather.' 'Their memories are stored with a mass of all but infallible maxims inherited from the past.'

(2) The period between Christmas and the Feast of Epiphany is known in Russia as *svyatki* (from *svyati*, 'holy'), or *koljada* (from Lat. *calendae*), the latter term being also applied to the practice of going about from house to house at Christmas and on New Year's morning. During the Christmas week the practice of prognostication, which is applied in the main to affairs of love and marriage, and partly also to forecasting the weather and the harvest, attains its highest vogue (cf. *Russian Folk-poetry* [Russ.], Glasunov ed., St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 86; Stepanov, *Popular Festivals in Holy Russia* [Russ.], St. Petersburg, 1899, p. 149). When young men or young women wish to know something of their future partners in life, they have recourse to the *horse-oracle*. The young women, for example, take out a horse, and walk it over a

beam: if it stumbles, the husband of the person consulting the oracle will be a good man; if it steps clear, he will be bad.¹ Divining the future by means of a splinter of wood is also concerned with marriage. When the splinter has been partly dipped in water, it is set fire to at the dry end; then the shorter or longer interval before the flame expires foretells respectively a happy or unhappy marriage.²

The period between Christmas and Epiphany was, as already indicated, a special time for weather-prophecy, as witness the following extract from Ermolov, *op. cit.* i. 518 f.:

'In Little Russia, before the supper on Christmas eve, the oldest of the household brings a bundle of hay into the cottage, spreads it upon the bench in the front corner, covers it with a clean tablecloth, and then places above this, and just beneath the bracket for the saint's image, an untreshed sheaf of rye or wheat. During supper those present engage in reading the signs which indicate the character of the ensuing harvest. For this purpose they draw hay-stems from under the tablecloth, and from the length of these form an estimate as to the growth of the corn. They likewise pull stalks of straw out of the sheaf under the ikon; if the stalk bears a full ear, they may look forward to a good harvest; while, if the ear is shrivelled, the crops will be a failure. When the supper is over, and the housewife has cleared the table, the reading of omens is renewed, these being now found in the seeds dropped from various plants among the hay. If most of the seeds are black, the buckwheat will turn out well; while, if white or red seeds predominate, oats, millet, and wheat may be expected in abundance. At the killing of the pig before the Christmas festivities, the peasants in Little Russia inspect the pancreas. If it is large, thick, and of equal breadth throughout its whole length, the winter will not be a long one, and there will be no severe frosts; but, if the gland be of irregular shape—thick at the head end and thin at the other, or inversely—the winter will be cold at the beginning and warm towards the close, or vice versa. If the pancreas be thin about the middle, the peasants expect a thaw in mid-winter.'

This custom recalls the Roman Saturnalia and haruspication; and it is also said that the Russians have a parallel to the *signa ex tripudiis*, i.e. divination by the eating and drinking of fowls (cf. the 'Roman' section of this article). It may be said without misgiving, indeed, that analogies of the Roman auguries and their underlying superstitions are nowhere found more abundantly than in the east of Europe. It should be observed, however, that the peasantry are quite well aware that during the *svyatki* they have still one foot in paganism, for, as they say, 'the beginning [of the season] also ushers in the revelries of the Evil One and the witches, who steal the moon and the stars from the sky, keep holiday, and disport with the demons.'

While, nowadays, as the foregoing bears out, the Russian people—men and women alike—are all highly proficient in *primity* and *gadania*, these arts were formerly to a great extent in the hands of wizards and sorcerers, the various names applied to whom are enumerated and explained in the art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Slavic), vol. iii. p. 465^a. Besides these adepts, however, there are other two classes of persons to whom is attributed a special measure of supernatural and prophetic power, viz. women and lunatics.

The belief that the faculty of seeing into the future belongs in an eminent degree to women can be traced everywhere in ancient Europe, and, as existent among the Germans, finds its clearest expression in Tac. *Germ.* 8:

'Inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia auri aspernantur aut responsa negligunt'; cf. also *Hist.* iv. 61: 'veteri apud Germanos more, quo plerumque feminarum fatidicas et augecentes superstitione arbitrantur deas' (further particulars in K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1870-1900, iv. 208 ff.).

As regards the basis of fact which underlies the real or imaginary prophetic gift thus ascribed to women, and exalting them in the people's eyes to

¹ For the horse-oracle among the Indo-Germanic peoples, cf. *ERE* ii. 55.

² On this topic, cf. the present writer's remarks on the Indo-Germanic marriage in *Die Indo-Germanen*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 87 f.

the position of *Haliurunnas* (Goth. [Jordanes, *Get.* xxiv.]), 'those who know the secrets of hell, or of the under world,' we shall hardly err in tracing this element to the nervous and hysterical nature of woman, which, in moments of excitement, seems to raise her above earthly conditions. It was in the state of ecstasy likewise that the Greek *Pythia* uttered her oracles. This was also the case in the remarkable outbreak of the Russian *klikusi* (from *klikati*, 'to shriek'), the 'possessed' or 'epileptic,' who greatly disturbed the country in the 16th cent., and had to be dealt with by the Church Council of Moscow (*stoglavny sobor*) in 1551. They were principally elderly unmarried women—and thus specially liable to hysteria; they ran about barefoot and unkempt; they shook, they fell, they whirled, they writhed, and amid such doings uttered their predictions of the future. Frequently—and sometimes as a result of bribery—they brought criminal charges against individuals, who were thus rendered liable to legal proceedings. The presence of these women in a city was a veritable plague, and the Church Council referred to petitioned the Czar to order the inhabitants to expel the lying prophetesses from their midst (cf. Kostomarov, *op. cit.* p. 547).

Of a somewhat similar character are the prophetic powers ascribed among the Slavs to *lunatics*. The insane fall under the same category as the Roman *monstra*, as is borne out by the Russian terms applied to them, viz. *jurodivy* (from *urodi*, 'prodigy,' 'monster'). They filled the soul of primitive man with amazement, and even with reverential awe. Like the hysterical women just spoken of, they poured forth incoherent words and phrases, which seemed to come from another world, and to betoken a supernatural knowledge. Precisely the same process of thought manifests itself in the Greek series of words: *μολομα*, 'I rave,' *μωλία*, 'lunacy,' *μωρίς*, 'soothsayer'—a development which goes to prove that at a very early period there must have existed in Greece the same sort of prophetic lunatics as are found in ancient and modern Russia. During the reign of Boris Gudunov there lived in Moscow a lunatic of this type, who was revered as a saint. Naked and with hair dishevelled he went about the streets in the coldest weather, uttering his prophecies of coming woes. In awe-inspiring accents he arraigned Boris for the murder of the young Czarevitch; but the Czar—afraid, it may be, of offending the people, or else convinced of the man's holiness of character—made no sign, and did not attempt to interfere with him in the least (cf. Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth* [London, 1591], Hakluyt Soc., Lond. 1856, p. 118f.). Even at the present day the insane fill a somewhat similar rôle in Russian village life. In a sketch called 'Village Drama,' by J. Garin (who has a masterly knowledge of the village communities), a merchant makes inquiry regarding a certain lunatic whose favourite occupation it is to pray for the dead upon their graves, and receives the following answer:

'We believe thus: he is a great servant of God. And he has taken up his abode in the bathroom at my house. I do not know why he has chosen me, for I am more wicked than others, and wholly covered with sins, as a mangy dog with fleas. So I cannot tell why it entered his mind to live with me. Still, he has fixed upon me, and now lives with me. We cannot account for him with our thoughts, and so we can understand only by signs (*primety*)—he is, in truth, a great servant of God.'

Such are the ideas which still prevail regarding the insane among the Russian peasantry.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the course of the article.
O. SCHRADER.

DIVINATION (Muslim).—The methods of divination in use among the Muslims are enumerated in the following order by Ibn Khaldûn (*Prolegomena*, tr. de Slane, 1862-68, i. 218): (a) gazing at polished surfaces or 'crystal-gazing';

(b) haruspicy, i.e. observation of the entrails of slaughtered animals; (c) sortilege with nuts or pebbles; (d) *zajr* or *'iyâfah*, augury, or observation of the motions of beasts and birds; (e) possession; (f) casual utterance; (g) *darb al-raml*, geomancy or divination with sand; (h) (in Rabbinic phrase) *gematria*, or divination by letters. Under one or other of these heads all the forms of divination in use among the Muslims can be ranged; thus the discipline which corresponds with palmistry, but deals preferably with other lines than those on the hand, is clearly akin to haruspicy. Into most of them astrology enters, for the process is supposed to be influenced by the controlling planet.

Of these *augury* certainly goes back to pagan days, and it is noticeable that the word by which the Hebrew prophets describe their visions (*hāzōn*) comes from a root whereby in Arabic this process is described. The verses collected or invented by antiquarians in illustration of the Arabian augury indicate that it was in part etymological; the word for 'raven' comes from a root meaning 'to be a stranger,' whence the appearance of a raven indicates parting or pilgrimage; the name for the hoopoe suggests 'guidance,' whence its appearance is of good omen to the wanderer. Two ancient augural words refer to the motion of the creature from right to left and from left to right; but the usage of the terms seems to have varied with different tribes, nor were they in accord as to the favourable direction.

The following rules are given in the treatise *Mufīd al-'ulūm* of Khwārizmī:

'When mountain beasts and birds leave their places, this presages a severe winter; a plague among cattle presages a plague among human beings, but a plague among swine presages health; a plague among wild beasts presages a famine; loud croaking of frogs presages plague; snoring by a man of importance presages promotion; loud breathing in sleep presages loss of money; loud hooting by an owl in a house where there is an invalid presages his recovery; but loud croaking presages the arrival of an enemy.'

From the practice of augury it is not easy to separate divination by encounter, and indeed the Greeks are said to have applied the word 'bird' loosely to whatever came in their way. In general, meeting with anything which suggests ill-luck is unlucky; the poet Ibn al-Rūmī permitted no inmate of his house to leave it for days, because they would have to encounter a one-eyed neighbour. It is lucky to meet some one who is carrying milk; all over N. Africa it is considered good manners to permit the wayfarer to dip his finger in it (Doutté, *Magie et religion*, p. 352). In the same region it is unlucky to hear the braying of an ass (which, according to the Qur'ān, is the most disagreeable of sounds), and the hearer should pronounce an exorcism. An early European traveller records that Maghribine warriors on their way to the front regard it as a good sign to meet big game, such as lions or boars; a bad sign to meet hares or rabbits. Certain omens are drawn from the conduct of domestic animals and of children; at Ouja, when the children took to lighting bonfires in the streets in the evening, their parents knew that war was at hand. There are cases in which the symbolism is rather less intelligible. Thus in N. Africa honey is thought to be unlucky, and must not be offered to a guest on the evening of his arrival or to a bride.

Haruspicy is properly connected with sacrifice, which occupies a very subordinate place in the Islamic system. The Zenatah who lived between Tlemsen and Tiaret practised divination by inspection of shoulder-blades, taken from sacrificed animals; from the lines or formation the *haruspex* could tell whether the year was going to be good or bad. This 'scapulomancy' is called *'ilm al-aktāf*.

In Turkestan, 'the most common method of divining the course of future events is to place on the coals the shoulder-blade of a sheep, which has been carefully cleaned of the flesh. This is gradually calcined, and the cracks, the colour, and the small particles which fall away from it, denote good or bad luck or the various accidents which may happen on an expedition. Another kind of divination is very common: *kumalak*, by means of dried sheep-dung. The Kirghiz selects forty balls of dung, and divides them roughly into three heaps. He then takes four at a time from each heap, until only four or less remain in each. The remainder he also divides into three heaps, and again takes from each by fours. Three more heaps are thus made, so that at last there are three rows of three piles in each. What is left he divides by three, and sees whether the remainder be one, two, or three. The varying numbers and positions of the balls of dung can be explained by an experienced soothsayer to the intense satisfaction or to the disappointment of the one who consults him' (Schuyler, *Turkistan*, New York, 1876, ii, 31).

Similar omens are drawn in N. Africa from the excrements in the rectum of the victim, and the blood. Scapulomancy is mentioned by Jāhīz († A.H. 255) together with palmistry and another mode of augury which is far less familiar, viz. divination by the gnawing of mice: When the Khalif Manṣūr (A.D. 754-775) was in a village, a mat of his was gnawed by a mouse; he sent it to be mended, but the workman suggested that it ought to be examined by a diviner first; the diviner foretold the Khalif a quiet and prosperous reign (*Zoology*, A.H. 1323, v. 93).

The use of the polished surface or magic mirror goes back to ancient times; according to Ibn Khaldūn, who agrees in this respect with modern crystal-gazers, the image appears not on the mirror itself, but on a kind of vapour which floats between the surface and the gazer's eye. The Khalif Manṣūr had a mirror which told him whether a man was a friend or an enemy; according to Sir 12th, the mirror rusted in the case of the enemy, and this was probably how the Agamemnon of Æschylus worked his 'mirror of friendship' (line 839). The process varies very much in different places, different materials being employed, with great varieties of symbolism. In Egypt the practice called *ḡarb al-mandal* is common, and performed with liquids, e.g. water or ink, or else with solid mirrors, such as sword-blades. Lane (*Modern Egyptians*, ed. 1871, i. 337-346) gives an account of some extraordinary performances of the kind which he witnessed in Cairo; the visions were seen by a boy, casually asked to gaze, in ink placed in the palm of his hand and surrounded by certain numerals; other features were a chafing-dish with live charcoal, in which spells written on paper by the diviner were burned together with frankincense and coriander-seed. In the mirror so arranged the boy saw among other persons Lord Nelson, of whom he had never heard. Lane's story provoked considerable discussion in Europe, but was defended by Sir R. Burton (*Pilgrimage*, ed. 1893, ch. xviii.), Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, and other persons familiar with the East. This process is used for discovering offenders; according to the account of it given by Douté (p. 390), which tallies in many respects with Lane's but adds many details, the medium is supposed to command the services of ten of the *jinn*, who are first told to discharge certain domestic duties and then compelled by an oath to tell the medium anything which he wishes to know. The function of medium is limited to a small class: boys under age, negresses, *enceinte* women, and people with a long 'line of fortune.'

Possession, or inspiration by the *jinn*, appears to have been a principle of the pre-Islamic divination, and the archaeologists profess to name some of the early diviners. Probably possession was not regarded as their normal state, and they hypnotized themselves by some process or other. The importance of the casual utterance doubtless goes back to an early date in Semitic civilization;

what is required is that the utterance should either be wholly unconnected with the matter on which it is made to bear, or that it should proceed from an invisible speaker. The author of *al-Fakhri* gravely narrates cases in which information was conveyed by these mysterious channels.

The two last methods—*geomancy* and '*gematria*'—are probably the most characteristically Muslim methods of divination, and the literature on both subjects is copious. In the former, some sand casually taken up is arranged in fifteen columns of from 5 to 7 grains, bearing technical names; conventional values are assigned to the combinations of these, and these conventional values give the answers to the questions addressed. A Bodleian MS contains a dictionary of those values; but it is not very lucid as to the mode whereby the column is obtained. Divination by the values attached to the letters of men's names is a highly complicated subject; Sabti (a man of Ceuta) invented a divination-table for this purpose called *Zairjah*, consisting of concentric circles, accompanied by an explanatory poem, based partly on letter-values, partly on astrology. Ibn Khaldūn inserts it in his *Prolegomena*; but his translator, de Slane, confesses his inability to follow the system. Some use, which is not very clear, is made of such groups as 222, 333, 444, etc.—a fact which indicates, what is otherwise attested, that the 'number of the Beast' is something far more complicated than the letter-values of a man's name. An obscure discipline, based on the numerical values of the letters, is called *jafr*; the Khalif 'Alī is said to have composed two books bearing the names *Jafr* and *Jāmi'ah*, wherein, by calculations of this sort, doubtless connected with Qur'anic texts, he foretold the whole history of the world until the Day of Judgment. These books are supposed to be in possession of the descendants of 'Alī, and, as was the case with the Sibylline books, some of their contents are occasionally divulged; the author of the *Dict. of Tech. Terms in the Mussalman Sciences* saw an extract which foretold the fate of the Egyptian sovereigns.

A classical manual of the black art is the 'Goal of the Sage' of Maslamah of Madrid († A.H. 398 = A.D. 1007-8), which it took him seven years to compose, containing matter which astonishes the reader. It there appears that both the planets and the constellations divide between them the various objects to be found in the world, and the different avocations of mankind. Thus to Mars belong the power of attraction, natural science, surgery, farriery, tooth-drawing, the Persian language, the right nostril, the gall, heat, hatred, the theology which denies the Divine attributes, silk, haremskin and dogskin, iron-work, brigandage, bitter tastes, dryness, and red stones; to the Ram belong the face, pupil, and ear, yellow and red, bitterness, deserts and robbers' caves, fuel, animals with cloven hoofs. The week-days, besides their planetary assignation, belong to certain angels: Monday to Gabriel, being cold and wet; Thursday to 'Isrā'īl, being hot and wet; Saturday to 'Azrā'īl, being cold and dry; Wednesday to Michael, as being a mixture of all four. The nature of the ink to be used in charms varies with the planets and constellations; and, according to the position of the moon, a charm when written should be disposed of in earth, air, fire, and water. Those who desire the services of the planets should bow down to them, and address to them complimentary speeches calling them by their Arabic, Indian, Greek, or Yunani names. The Greek names (called by this author *Rūmī*) are correctly given. One author, Ja'far of Basrah, whom this writer cites, invented a planetary division of the Qur'ān: by counting the mystic letters contained within

these divisions, he discovered how long each dynasty was to last; for each was controlled by one of the planets.

Lane (i. 328) describes some of the consulting tables or books in use in Egypt. The table of Idris consists of 100 compartments, in each of which a letter of the Arabic alphabet is written; the questioner, after reciting a text bearing on the subject of the Divine omniscience, places his finger at random on a letter; he then makes a sentence by adding every fifth letter till he comes back to the first; the sentence thus formed tells him whether to proceed or desist; it is so constructed that the proportion of negative replies to positive is four to one. Some which the writer has seen consist of Qur'anic texts written in a mysterious alphabet; therefore only an expert can use them; the more cautious experts are ready to give general answers out of them, but decline to give replies in which any sort of exactitude is required. The use of *sortes Koranicae*, or divining by the first text that meets the eye on opening the sacred volume, is said to go back to very early times; many copies of the Qur'an contain directions for this method of using the book. One method mentioned by Lane consists in counting the number of times the letters which commence the Arabic words for 'good' and 'bad' occur on the page, and in deciding for or against a course by the majority. Another substitutes the rosary for the Qur'an, and employs the three formulae, 'God's glory,' 'Praise to God,' and 'There is no god but God,' to represent 'good,' 'indifferent,' 'bad'; two beads are then selected at random, and the formulae recited in the above order, the beads being counted between the two selected; whichever formula goes to the last bead is regarded as answering the question.

That the dream should be commonly employed for ascertaining the future is natural, and there is a considerable literature on *ta'bir*, or 'dream interpretation,' mainly founded on the work of Artemidorus. Lane mentions an Egyptian practice of praying for dreams which can be used in this way: the questioner requests to be shown something white or green, or water, if the course which he contemplates is approved; something black or red, or fire, in the other case. Certain mystical words uttered before going to sleep will produce, it is thought, veridical visions. In some places the Qur'an serves as a sort of vocabulary for the language of dreams; a ship signifies safety, because the word 'save' is used in the Qur'an in connexion with Noah's ark; to dream of a king entering an unusual abode is unlucky, because the visit of a king is said in the same book to be a prelude to disaster. Similar glosses can be got from traditions, current proverbs, or familiar usage of words, while, in other cases, the theory that dreams signify their contraries can be applied; e.g. the victor in a dream-duel will be the defeated in the real encounter. The author of the *Mufid al-'ulum* gives a brief glossary of the dream-language, in the main on these principles; a complete dictionary of it was composed by 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nablusi (printed at Cairo, 1307), including proper names; the number of meanings assigned to the symbols is unfortunately perplexing; thus, to dream of Adam may either signify a warning to repent, or presage promotion to high office, or indicate that the dreamer will be deceived by the words of an enemy, etc. There are places where veridical dreams are more likely to be obtained than elsewhere; these are sometimes caves, more often the graves of saints.

The attitude of Islamic theology towards all these practices is, in general, tolerant, and indeed the presence in the Qur'an of mystic letters strongly favours its magical employment, which is exceedingly natural in those countries in which Arabic

is little understood, though used in both private and public worship. The belief in the *jinn*, who discharge some function in many of these operations, is also orthodox. The prophet himself appears to have attached considerable importance to omens, and, as might be expected, had prophetic dreams. Astrology was a highly respected discipline, on which even orthodox theologians might write. Further, some forms of Sufism took up with ardour the Qabbalistic study of the Qur'an, and in these speculations the letter-values play a prominent part. On the other hand, students of philosophy found ways of introducing a theory of divination into their system. The two most famous essays on the subject are those of Mas'udi (ed. Barbier de Meynard, 1861-77, iii. 323-364) and Ibn Khaldun (tr. de Slane, i. 216-237, and iii. 199 ff.). The former mentions three theories to account for divination: some suggested inspiration by *jinn*; others, the influence of the planet Mercury at the diviner's birth; yet others based the diviner's special knowledge on the purity of his soul; and this last appears to be the view held by Mas'udi himself. He confirms it by the facts that the genuine diviner is usually an anchorite and devotee, and that the famous pre-Islamic diviners showed a tendency to get rid of their bodies altogether: thus the wizard Sa'ih had no bones save in his head.

Ibn Khaldun's theory is that, in all cases of divination which do not depend on calculations, the soul is detached from the senses, and so comes in contact with forms to which it (the soul) serves as matter; such powers, in the case of the Sufis, are an accident of their *askesis*; and, so long as the ascetic is only accidentally a diviner, his statements are more trustworthy than those of the astrologer; but, if he becomes a professional diviner, then he becomes less trustworthy, since some of the purity of his soul is affected by the diminished sincerity of his purpose. This theory can be accommodated to the supposed prophetic powers of the mad (which Aristotle seems to have recognized) by the supposition that, in their case, the connexion between soul and body is less stable than it is in that of the sound-minded; and it suits still better the supposed phenomenon of prophecy by persons at the point of death, or who are just going to sleep. According to Ibn Khaldun, tyrants sometimes put men to death, with the view of learning the future from their dying utterances.

LITERATURE.—E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord*, Algiers, 1910; *Ghayat al-Hakim*, by Maslamah of Madrid (MS); *Shams al-Ma'rifa* of al-Buni (MS). Cf. also the authorities cited in the article. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DIVINATION (Persian).—While the Avesta polemizes repeatedly against sorcerers and witches (*yātru*, *pairikā*; see the references collected in Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1904, cols. 1283-85, 863 f.), these attacks are levelled only against 'black magic'; magic operations for beneficent purposes, as for the counteracting of black magic, are quite permissible, and amulets are prescribed for certain contingencies, as well as the repetition of sacred texts for banishing powers of evil (*Yast* xiv. 35-40, 45, 57-60; *Vend.* ix. 45 f.; x. 1 f., xx. 12; cf., further, art. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Iranian]). A precisely similar state of affairs meets us in the *Sāh-nāmāh* of Firdusi (tr. Mohl, Paris, 1876-78), where, side by side with black magic—usually performed by a non-Iranian (a Turk raises a magic storm against the Iranians [iii. 26 ff.; cf. vi. 494 f.]; a Jew envenoms food by causing his glance to fall on milk in it [vi. 235 ff.]; a Turk sends false dreams [vi. 500 f.])—beneficent magic is mentioned, and evidently approved (King Minōšihir 'closed the gate of magic by his incanta-

tions' [i. 164]; a physician employs incantations to aid in childbirth [i. 277]; the use of a magic tamarisk arrow enables Rustam to slay Isfandīār [iv. 539 ff., 545]. There is, therefore, more than a grain of truth in the statement of Diogenes Laertius (*Proem.* 6), that the Magi 'did not know black magic' (τῆν δὲ γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν), though they 'practised the mantic art and prophecy' (δοκῶν τε καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ πρόρρησιν).

Divination relies in great part upon omens (q.v.), which may depend upon the day when they are seen. Thus, on the 'Fox-day' festival in the month of Atarō a white ram was believed to be seen on a certain mountain; if he bleated, the year would be prosperous; but, if he did not bleat, it would be sterile; and, in like fashion, the spectre of a white ox bellowed twice on the night of 16th Din if the year was to be fertile, and once if it was to be barren (al-Bīrūnī, *Chron. of Anc. Nations*, tr. Sachau, London, 1879, pp. 211, 213).

Omens were also drawn in later Zoroastrianism from the appearance of a snake on each of the thirty days of the month, each of the days of the week, and each of the signs of the zodiac (al-Bīrūnī, p. 218; Modi, *Persian Mār-nāmah*, Bombay, 1893; Salemann, in *Travaux du 10ème Cong. des Orientalistes*, St. Petersburg, 1879, II. 497 f.; Gray, 'Alleged Zoroastrian Ophiomancy and its Possible Origin,' in *Hoshang Mem. Vol.*, Bombay, 1911, pp. 454-464), and also from the first appearance of the moon in each of the signs of the zodiac (Gray, 'Parisi-Persian Burj-Nāmah,' *J.A.O.S.* xxx. [1910] 336-342; Rosenberg, 'Burdz-Nāmah,' in *Trans. Orient. Sect. Imp. Russ. Archaeolog. Soc.* [Russ.], 1911). These omens Gray seeks to derive ultimately from Babylonia, while Rosenberg finds their source rather in India. Besides all this, certain days were lucky, and others the reverse, as in a calendar for A.H. 1099—A.D. 1687 (ed. Beck, *Ephemerides Persarum*, Augsburg, 1696), where the lucky days are Arjavāhišt 8, 10, Horvādāt 1, 6, 30, Tir 9, Amerōdat 2, 24, Satvairō 2-3, Mitrō 4, Atarō 1, 16, 30, Din 3, 20, Vohūman 7-8, Spendarmāt 10, 25, and the first epagomenal day; while the unlucky days are Fravartīn 23, Arjavāhišt 11, 23, 30, Horvādāt 26, 28, Tir 28, Amerōdat 28, Satvairō 4, Mitrō 14, Din 4, 23, Spendarmāt 9, and the third epagomenal day.

That omens were not regarded as unlawful among the Iranians is clear from the mention of their study without condemnation in the *Epistles of Manuṣcihar* (I. i. 2, II. i. 3 [SBE xvii. 280, 326]), and in the *Sāh-nāmah* they also find a place.

Chosrū Parviz sees a portent of his approaching downfall when a quince rolls from his hand (vii. 295 f.), and a happy omen is drawn by Bahrām Gōpīn (vi. 475). It was, however, possible to avert an omen. When Isfandīār was on the march, a camel in the van lay down and refused to move, thus delaying the entire army. This was an evil portent, and the general ordered the camel's head and feet to be cut off, 'that the misfortune might fall upon the camel' (iv. 464). On the other hand, omens might be misinterpreted, as when, just after the completion of the bridge across the Hellespont and the canal around Athos, an eclipse of the sun occurred, which the Persian astrologers explained to Xerxes as foreboding the eclipse of the Greek power, whereas the reverse was actually the outcome (Herod. vii. 19).

The regular forms of divination among the Iranians were astrology (which may here include horoscopy [see, further, the 'Persian' section in art. STARS]), oneirismancy, cylicomancy, and rhabdomancy.

1. **ASTROLOGY.**—Reserving for the art. STARS (Persian) a full discussion of that astrological and astronomical knowledge to which the Persians were indebted for no small part of their fame in the classical world, we may note here that the Pahlavi *Dinkart* (9th cent.)—a work which, though late, may be regarded as authoritative in its field—has an interesting summary of the Iranian views regarding astrology (ed. and tr. Peshotan Behramjee Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., p. 590 f. [vol. ix.]):

'The star-readers understand the worth of the allotment (of destiny) by the stars. How long are the chief allotting (stars) to move in bad aspects? How long are they in conjunction with the malignant owner of bad aspects? How long does the man (influenced by such stars) work in the way of wisdom? The laws relating to these and other (astrological) details the astrologers learn from writings on the earth (i.e. from astrology). Astrologers can foretell the good events of a man's (life) from his horoscope.'

Although astrology is not mentioned in the *Avesta*, there is no reason to doubt that it existed

in Irān from a very early date. The first mention in any Pahlavi text thus far accessible, however, seems to be in the romance *Kārnāmāh-i Artaxšīr-i Pāpakān* (dating probably from the middle of the 6th cent.), which relates that Ardavān (Artabanos V. [A.D. 215-224]) summoned before him the sages and astrologers and asked them:

'What do you observe regarding the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac, the position and the motion of the stars, the condition of the contemporary sovereigns of different kingdoms, the condition of the peoples of the world, and regarding myself, children, and our family?' The answer from the two chief astrologers was: 'The *Nahāstg* [Capricornus] is sunk below; the star Jupiter has returned to its culminating point and stands away from Mars and Venus, while Haptōrang [the Great Bear] and the constellation of Leo descend to the verge and give help to Jupiter; whereupon it seems clear that a new lord or king will appear, (who will) kill many potentates, and bring the world again under the sway of one sovereign. . . . It is so manifest that any one of the male servants who flies away from his king within three days (from to-day) will attain to greatness and kinship, obtain his wish, and be victorious over his king' (ed. and tr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay, 1896, p. 10 f.). The servant in question (the hero of the romance) does flee, and the king again inquires of the astrologers, learning that the fugitive must be captured in three days, or not at all (p. 15 f.).

The richest source for examples of Iranian astrology is unquestionably the *Sāh-nāmah*, the enumeration of the principal instances in which is as follows:

Farīdūn casts the horoscope of his son Salm (I. 104); the astrologers and mobeds (priests) do the like for Zāl, the father of Rustam (I. 184); astrologers declare to king Miθōdīr that his death is approaching (I. 298); they find that the children alleged to have been born of Sūdābāh were neither begotten of the king nor brought forth by her (II. 185); they foretell misfortune to a city built by Sāvaxā (II. 274); they choose a lucky day for the departure of the army of Kai Chosrū to Tīran (III. 9); they prophesy the fortunes of battle to Tīā (III. 24); they are among those sought to inquire the reason of the disfavour of heaven toward Irān (IV. 186); the famous Jāmāsp (the hero of the *Jāmāsp-nāmah*, ed. and tr. Modi, Bombay, 1903) foretells to Gūstāsp the outcome of battle (IV. 309 ff.) and the death of Isfandīār (IV. 453 ff.); astrologers draw an ill-omened horoscope for Saghād (IV. 567); Queen Humāi has a lucky day chosen by the astrologers for the commencement of her campaign against Rūm (Greece) and for the coronation of Dārāb (Darius III.) (V. 24, 33); the Āskānian Ardavān directs the astrologers to divine the future, and they foretell sorrow (V. 228); the horoscope of Bahrām Gūr is cast by the astrologers (V. 396 f.); Yazdagird, the father of Bahrām Gūr, seeks from them the day and manner of his death (V. 418); ill forebodings are given to Bahrām Gūr by the astrologers (VI. 55); defeat is prophesied for Bahrām Gōpīn in his expedition against Sāvāh (VI. 474); Aīn Gūšāp seeks the future from an aged female astrologer, her evil tidings confirming a former astrological prognostic concerning him (VI. 561 f.); it was prophesied to Chosrū Parviz that he would die far from his retainers by the hand of a slave, between a mountain of gold and one of silver, under a heaven of gold and on an earth of iron (VII. 286); the same king had had a horoscope cast for his son, Qubād (VII. 299 ff.); and an astrologer foresees evil for Yazdagird, the last of the Iranian kings (VII. 350).

Precisely similar methods of astrology are ascribed by Firdūsī to the Chinese (VI. 276, 463), the Arabs (V. 399), and the Greeks (VII. 89); while the Persians are represented as using not only their own astrological tables, but also those of the Hindus (V. 276) and the Greeks (V. 396). At the court of Farīdūn there was a council of sages, scholars, priests, and astrologers (I. 112). It may also be noted that the *Caḥr Maqlā* of Niẓāmī of Samargand (tr. Browne, *JRAS*, 1899, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad, London, 1910) has an entire chapter on astrologers and their art, and there are many other notices on the matter, as that the poet Anvarī made a notably unsuccessful forecast of the weather (Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, London, 1902 ff., II. 367 f.), though here we are no longer on purely Iranian ground.

2. **ONEIRISMANCY.**—Early in his invasion of Greece, Xerxes had three disturbing dreams, the last of which was (somewhat artificially) interpreted by his magi as portending the subjection of all the world to the Persian sway (Herod. vii. 12 ff.; see also the dream of Cyrus interpreted by Hystaspes [Herod. i. 209 f.], another dream of Cyrus recorded by Dinon [in Cicero, *de Divinat.* i. 23], and the dream of the mother of Cyrus given by Nicolaus Damascenus [frag. 66; *FHG* iii. 399]). In Pahlavi literature the *Kārnāmāh-i Artaxšīr-i Pāpakān* (p. 3 f.), which is closely followed by the *Sāh-nāmah* (V. 218 f.), ascribes to Pāpak a vision, duly interpreted by the diviners, of the future greatness of Sāsān, the eponymous ancestor of the Sasanian dynasty; and in like manner, ac-

according to the late *Zarātūst-nāmāh* (ed. and tr. Rosenberg, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 23f.), Zoroaster himself had a prophetic dream, for the understanding of which the services of an 'interpreter of dreams' were necessary. But it is in the *Sāh-nāmāh* that we find the richest material for a knowledge of the system of interpretation of dreams in Persia.

The evil Dahhāk (the Azi Dahāka of the Avesta) sees in a dream his approaching downfall at the hands of Faridūn (i. 51ff.); Sām has two visions which cause him to find and restore to favour his son Zāl, whom he had exposed in infancy (i. 171ff.; cf. *ERE* i. 79); a lucky dream of Kai Qubād is interpreted by the hero Rūstām (i. 863f.); the Turanian king Afrāsiāb has a dream of evil portent (ii. 206ff.); Siāvaxš is warned by a dream of his impending death (ii. 311), and himself appears in a vision to Pirān, the general of Afrāsiāb, to announce the birth of Kai Chosrū (ii. 333); the archangel Srōš tells Gūdarz in a dream of the future great deeds of Kai Chosrū (ii. 380f.); Jarirāh is told in a dream of the death of her son, Farid (ii. 603f.); Siāvaxš appears in a dream to Tūs and foretells the successful outcome of the impending battle (iii. 55); a vision of ill omen is seen by Bizan (iii. 254f.); the archangel Srōš in a dream warns Kai Chosrū of his approaching death (iv. 182f.); Nūšīrvān the Just has a vision which is interpreted by the famous sage Buzurjmihr (vi. 190ff.); Bahrām Gōpīn, on the eve of battle with Sāvah, had a dream foretelling defeat; but this was a false vision, sent by a Turk, and it was Sāvah who was routed in fact (vi. 491, 501). Firdūsī also records similar prophetic dreams by a Greek princess (iv. 239f.) and a Hindu king (v. 88ff.).

3. **Cylicomancy.**—Divination by cups is mentioned among the Persians both by Athenæus, on the authority of Hermippus (*Deignosoph.* 478 A: τὸ δὲ κούριον ἐστὶ Περσικὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑίδος δ' ἔχει, ὡς φησὶν Ἑρμιππος, ὡς ὁ κόρυς, ἐξ οὗ τῶν θεῶν τὰ θαύματα καὶ τὰ καρπώσια γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ γῆς: διὸ ἐκ τούτου σπένδεσθαι), and by the *Sāh-nāmāh* (iii. 274ff., 281f.). The latter work refers specifically to the magic cup possessed by Kai Chosrū, whose properties are thus described (iii. 275; ed. Vullers-Landauer, Leyden, 1877 ff., p. 1100, lines 2-6):

'He took that cup in his hand and looked. In it he perceived the seven *kūnars* [regions of the world]; of the activity and character of high heaven he made evident the what, and the how, and the how much. Within the cup he perceived the reflection all at once from Pisces to Aries; what Saturn, what Mars, what Jupiter and Leo, how the sun, and how the moon, and how Venus and Mercury—the magician ruler of the world saw within it all that was to be.' By this method of divination, which is precisely that of crystal-gazing (*q.v.*), the king was enabled to discover the exact plight of the hero Bizan and to take steps for his rescue from captivity. This magic cup was later said also to have been possessed by the earlier and wholly legendary monarch Jamsīd (the Yima of the Avesta, concerning whom see art. BLEST, *ASOM* or *THE* [Persian]); and 'Umar Khayyām could even allegorize the legend, when he wrote (quatrains 355, ed. and tr. Whinfield, London, 1883):

'To find great Jamshed's world-reflecting bowl
I compassed sea and land, and viewed the whole;
But, when I asked the wary sage, I learned
That bowl was my own body, and my soul!'

4. **Rhabdromancy.**—The use of rods for divining is recorded by Dinon (frag. 8 [*FHG* ii. 91]) among the Medes, and by Herodotus (iv. 67) among the Iranian Scythians, whose 'ancestral mantic' (*μαντική πατρική*) was by means of willow rods, employed as follows:

'When they have brought great bundles of rods, they lay them on the ground and untie them, and, putting the rods one by one, they divine; and while saying this they collect the rods and again lay them together one by one. . . . They also practise divination with the bark of the linden; when one has split the linden in three parts, he unweaves and separates it (*διανέμειν* . . . καὶ διαλύει) in his fingers.'

There is also a trace of hippomancy in Persia. According to Herodotus (iii. 84-87), after Darius and six other Persian nobles had slain the pseudo-Smerdis, they agreed that he should be king whose horse should first neigh after sunrise, when they had mounted their steeds. It is true, if we may believe Herodotus, that the choice of Darius in this manner was won by trickery, but the fact remains that the selection of a king by an animal is frequently mentioned in the East. A noteworthy parallel is the repeated account in Indian folk-tales whereby he who is chosen by an elephant (sometimes accompanied by a hawk) is made

king (Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1893, pp. 17, 159, 169f., 309; Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, Bombay, 1884, p. 140f.; Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, London, 1883, p. 100). And, according to Agathias (ii. 25), the Persians sought to know the future by gazing into the sacred fire—a practice which he thought might be derived from the Chaldeans or some other nation.

In conclusion, mention may be made of an interesting form of minor divination practised by the sage Buzurjmihr, as recorded in the *Sāh-nāmāh* (vi. 371ff.; see also Tha'ālibī, *Hist. des rois des Perses*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, Paris, 1900, pp. 633-636). He had been imprisoned by Nūšīrvān the Just, to whom the Emperor of Byzantium sent a sealed casket, the contents of which were to be divined without opening it. All the *moheds* failed, and Buzurjmihr was accordingly set at liberty and requested to use his skill. As he passed along a road, the sage met three women—one having a husband and child, the second married but childless, and the third unmarried; and he accordingly was able to inform the king that the casket contained three pearls under more than three wrappers—one of the pearls being pierced, the second half-pierced, and the third unpierced.

LITERATURE.—The passages in the classics regarding Persian divination are indicated by Rapp, *ZDMG* xx. [1896] 76f. The Iranian material appears to have remained unconsidered hitherto.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DIVINATION (Roman).—Among the inhabitants of ancient Italy we find abundant evidence of the desire to hold intercourse with the gods as a means of securing intimations of their will and disclosures regarding the future. In Italy, however, this desire assumes forms essentially different from those met with in Greece. Thus, the Italians were strangers to the idea that the Deity takes possession of the mental and spiritual faculties of a human being, making him *εθεος*, and using him as the medium for the revelation of its designs; and even if—as has recently been conjectured (W. F. Otto, *ARW* xii. [1909] 548 ff.)—they had in the word *superstitio* a term signifying the state of trance, and thus corresponding to the Gr. *ἐκστασις*, yet the former carried with it from the outset a suggestion of something odd and sinister. In Italy there was no practice of inquiring into futurity by the trance or by immediate Divine enlightenment, and accordingly no trace of that species of divination which the Stoics called *ἀρεχρον* καὶ δόξιακτον *μαντικής γένος*, in contradistinction to the skilled interpretations of casual appearances in the external world (Plut. *de Vita et Poesi Homeri*, ii. 212; cf. Cic. *de Div.* ii. 26 f.). Among the Italian peoples, therefore, we meet neither with predictions emanating from Divinely inspired prophets and prophetesses (the word *vates* being probably borrowed from the Celt.), nor with dream oracles in which the gods vouchsafe their revelations to inquirers sleeping in temples. When Vergil (*Æn.* vii. 81 ff., imitated by Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 649 ff.) tells us that King Latinus performed the rite of incubation, and received a dream-oracle, in a sanctuary of the god Faunus near Tibur, we shall hardly err in regarding the narrative as a product of the poet's fancy (cf. R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 174, note 2), for which the descriptions of famous Greek incubation-shrines, such as that of Trophonios in Lebadeia, may have supplied the model. It is true that, when the Greek cult of the Epidaurian Asklepios migrated to Rome, it carried thither its associated practice of *ἐγκοιμήσις* (cf. M. Besnier, *L'Île Tiberine dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1902, p. 223 ff.); yet it did not force its way into the ancient Roman or Italian cults; for, of course, the language of

Plantus, *Curc.* 266, 'namque incubare satius te fuerat Iovi,' in no sense implies that incubation was practised in the Capitoline temple, as the poet is merely in jest contrasting Juppiter as the god of oaths with Asklepios; while the testimony of Schol. *Pers.* ii. 56, 'cum Romani pestilentia laborarent, Castor et Pollux in somniis populum monuerunt quibus remediis uterentur,' is not sufficient to justify the hypothesis that incubation was practised in the temple of the Dioscuri in the forum (L. Deubner, *de Incubatione*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 79; *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altert.* ix. [1902] 384 ff.). The inscriptions, no doubt, furnish a large number of dedications which were made 'inssu,' 'imperio,' 'ex praecepto,' 'ex visu,' etc., to various deities, or in which the dedicator speaks of himself as 'somno monitus' (instances in Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, Leipzig, 1885, iii. 100, note 7; A. De Marchi, *Il culto privato di Roma antica*, Milan, 1896, i. 285 ff.); but the majority of these inscriptions are connected with the worship of alien deities, such as Asklepios, Isis, Juppiter Dolichenus, Mithra, etc.; while, again, such dedications as *CIL* xiv. 23 (Ostia): 'Iovi optumo maximo ex viso aram aedificavit,' or v. 2472 (Ateste): 'C. Titius C. l. Pelops a Iove ex visu iussus posuit,' refer, not to incubation at all, but to ordinary dreams, which naturally attracted notice in Italy as elsewhere. L. Coelius Antipater, the historian, who revelled in stories of dreams that came true (*Cic. de Div.* i. 49, 55 f.), and who was probably the object of Sisenna's polemic *somniis credi non oportere* (*ib.* i. 99), no doubt borrowed this artifice for enlivening historical narrative from his Greek models, but he could not have resorted to the expedient unless the Italians had shared the general belief in the significance of dreams. Our contention is, however, that neither the dream nor the dream-oracle was an element in the religious practice of the Italic peoples.

Nor do we find the *gnomic oracle* on Italian soil. The reference of Ennius (*Ann.*, frag. 214, Vahlen, Leipzig, 1903) to the 'versus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant' (cf. Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vii. 36), and the ascription of *ἑρμηνεῖα χρησμοί* to the goddess Carmenta (Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 56), are simply hypotheses designed to favour the etymology of the time (Faunus from *fari*, Carmenta from *carmen*), like the derivation of *ager Vaticanus* 'a vaticiniis' (Aul. Gell. xvi. 17. 1; cf. Paul. p. 379). The *carmina Marciana* certainly gained official recognition at the hands of the Roman authorities in 212 B.C., but, as appears from the text in which Livy (xxv. 12) renders them, they were simply Greek Sibylline sentences in a Latin redaction, and their supposed author, Cn. Marcus vates (*Fest.* p. 165), has as little right to be regarded as an ancient Italic soothsayer as the Publicius vates mentioned only by Cicero (*de Div.* i. 114, ii. 113). In point of fact, the oracle as met with in Italy never signifies an utterance emanating from an individual possessed and inspired by a divinity; it involves no more than the listening for and interpretation of the mysterious voices and noises to be heard in the world of Nature. It is to such manifestations likewise that the fragment of the 'Mysteria' of Varro's *Satura Menippeae* (326, Buecheler) refers: 'prisca horrida silent oracula crepera in memoribus.' The belief in the prophetic powers of certain water-nymphs, such as Carmenta and the Camenae, may be supposed to indicate a practice of drawing cryptic revelations from the murmur of springs. In the rustling of the forest was heard the voice of the god Faunus, or his later representative Silvanus—the voice, e.g., which on the stricken field at length announced the sternly contested and long doubtful victory

(Dion. Hal. *Ant.* v. 16. 2 f.; Livy, ii. 7. 2; cf. *Cic. de Div.* i. 101, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 6, iii. 15); while at Tiora Matiene, a place in the old Sabine country, the woodpecker, the sacred bird of Mars, perched upon a wooden pillar, exercised its prophetic gift (Dion. Hal. *Ant.* i. 14. 5; the 'picus Feronius' mentioned in *Fest.* p. 197, has, no doubt, a similar reference). There are numerous stories of supernatural voices which, echoing forth from sacred woods and temples, intimate the warnings or behests of the Divine powers (e.g. Livy, i. 31. 3, vi. 33. 5; *Cic. de Div.* i. 101); and the unknown divinity who in a communication of this kind had foretold the irruption of the Gauls was honoured—as Aius Locutius—with a shrine erected on the slope of the Palatine Hill above the temple of Vesta—at the very spot, in fact, where his voice had been heard (Livy, v. 32. 6, 50. 5, 52. 11; *Cic. de Div.* i. 101, ii. 69; Varro in Aul. Gell. xvi. 17. 2, etc.).

The distinctively Italic method of divining the future was carried out by means of *sortes*, i.e. small rods or plates bearing inscriptions and strung together (*serere*, whence *sors*); one of these was drawn, and the inscription upon it was read and interpreted in such a way as to provide an answer to the question put by the inquirer. The fact that in process of time the word *sors* came to mean 'fate' in general, and was even used as a designation of Fortuna, the goddess of destiny and luck (thus, according to the inscription *CIL* x. 6303 [Terracina], a 'Sortis signum memphiticum' is dedicated to Isis), clearly shows the importance of the device of sortilege in Italic divination. Cicero (*de Div.* i. 34) draws a rigorous contrast between the oracles 'quae aequatis sortibus ducuntur' and those 'quae instinctu divino adfatuque funduntur.' The procedure followed in drawing the lots is described most precisely in the accounts of the celebrated oracle at Praeneste, which maintained its reputation till the later years of the Imperial period. According to Cicero's description (*de Div.* ii. 85 f.), the *sortes*—mysteriously discovered in some remote age—were inscribed upon tablets of oak, and in this form were preserved in a chest (*arca*) made from the wood of a sacred olive tree; it was from this chest that Juppiter, who shared this particular sanctuary with Fortuna, derived his appellation of Acreanus (*CIL* xiv. 2937, 2972; cf. 2852=Buecheler, *Carm. epigr.*, Berlin, 1897, no. 249, 17). At the bidding of the goddess, a boy mixed the lots and then drew one out; the technical terms for this were *trahere*, *tollere*, and *ducere* (Serv. *En.* i. 508: 'trahuntur sortes'; Tibull. i. 3. 11: 'sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit'; cf. *CIL* v. 5801: 'sacro suscepto, sortib(us) sublati'; Juven. vi. 583: 'sortes ducet'). Denarii of M. Platorius Cestianus from Cicero's time show on the reverse a figure of the boy, with a tablet below him bearing the word *SORS* (E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la répub. rom.*, Paris, 1885, ii. 315, no. 10; also H. Dressel, *SBAW*, 1907, p. 371). To bring the gnome thus drawn into connexion with the question asked, and to interpret it accordingly, was the work of the *sortilegi* (*Cic. de Div.* i. 132, ii. 109; Lucan, ix. 581; Isid. *Orig.* viii. 9. 28; Porph. on Hor. *Sat.* i. 9. 29), of whose function we have direct evidence, not only as regards the worship of Fortuna at Praeneste (*CIL* xiv. 2989: 'sortilegus Fortunae Primigeniae'), but also in connexion with other localities (*CIL* iv. Suppl. 5182, vi. 2274, viii. 6181). When a favourable prediction was fulfilled, it was customary for the inquirer to express his gratitude by a votive offering to the goddess, as is shown by the inscription *CIL* x. 2862: 'Fortunae Iovis puero Primigeniae d. d. ex sorte compos factus Nothus Ruficanae L. f. Plotillae.' The oracle was open for

consultation only on certain days—in particular on one of the two annual feast-days of the goddess (according to *CIL* i.² p. 339: '[hoc biduo sacrificium maximu[m] Fortunae Prim[ig]eniae): utro eorum die oraculum patet, ii viri vitulum immolant,'] the Praenestine festivals fell on the 11th and 12th of April); but exceptions were no doubt permitted in the case of distinguished inquirers, as, e.g., the Emperor Domitian, who, on New Year's Day for many years in succession, obtained a *sors* of happy omen, but received a forecast of disaster in the year of his overthrow (Suet. *Domit.* 15). The Emperor Tiberius, having become sceptical of the Praenestine oracle, resolved to destroy the *sortes*, and had the sacred *arca* sealed and conveyed to Rome; here, however, it was found that the tablets were no longer in the box, and the supposed miracle induced the Emperor to abandon his harsh design (Suet. *Tiber.* 63). In the later period of the Empire the '*sortes Vergilianae*' (*Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 2. 8; *Alex. Sev.* 14. 5) were resorted to at Praeneste as elsewhere, e.g. in the temple of Apollo at Cumae (*Hist. Aug. Clod. Alb.* 5. 4), and on the Apennines (*ib. Claud. Got.* 10. 4-6). In this form of divination the tablets were inscribed with verses from Vergil which seemed peculiarly pregnant with meaning and capable of various interpretations; thus, e.g., Alexander Severus, at the time when Elagabalus was harbouring designs upon his life, received the premonition in *Æn.* vi. 883 f.: 'si qua fata aspera rumpas, tu Marcellus eris' (*Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev.* 4. 6). Still another Italic cult of Fortuna, that, namely, located at Antium, with its two images of the goddess, was associated with an oracle, and it is recorded 'apud Antium promoveri simulacra Fortunarum ad danda responsa' (Macr. *Sat.* i. 23. 13; cf. Suet. *Calig.* 57; Martial, v. i. 3), but we do not know whether *sortes* were employed there or not. They were still in vogue, however, at Cære (Livy, xxi. 62. 5-8; cf. Sidon. *Apoll. Carm. ix.* 190), and Falerii (Livy, xxii. 1. 11; cf. Plut. *Fab.* 2), and in the cult of the river-god Clitumnus at Mevania in Umbria (Plin. *Ep.* viii. 8. 5; cf. Suet. *Calig.* 43) and of Jupiter Appenninus at the summit of the mountain pass near Iguvium ('Appenninis sortibus', *Hist. Aug. Firm.* 3. 4; cf. *Claud. Got.* 10. 4); also in the so-called Oracle of Geryon at Fons Aponi near Patavium, where lots were cast by means of dice; it was here that Tiberius, while on the march to Illyria, was advised, *sorte tracta*, to make a throw into the fountain with golden dice, and in the event gained the maximum number of points (Suet. *Tib.* 14). According to a most felicitous conjecture of Mommsen, the seventeen bronze tablets which were discovered in the 16th cent. and then—all but three—lost again, and whose texts are given in *CIL* i. nos. 1438-1454, as also in Buecheler, *Carm. epigr.* no. 331, came originally from the shrine at Fons Aponi. They consist of little bronze plates, with a ring to hang them upon, and each is inscribed with a hexameter verse. Their language, prosody, and metre are archaic (cf. F. Ritschl, *Opusc. philol.* iv., Leipzig, 1878, 395 ff.), and would appear to be traceable to a renovation of older material made—with many misunderstandings—about Cicero's time. In purport they are banal to the last degree, and doubtless all the better adapted to supply answers to any kind of question; thus, e.g., 'credis quod deicunt? non sunt ita, ne fore stultu(s),' and 'nunc (nuncine, Ritschl) me rogitas, nunc consulis, tempus abit iam.' The three *sortes* found in the Forum novum near Parma, and now in the museum of that city, are of a somewhat different character (*CIL* xi. 1129); on each of their four sides they bear a gnomic saying, composed, so far as we can judge

from the much mutilated text, in hexameter verse of very irregular type (cf. A. Swoboda, in *Wiener Studien*, xxiv. [1902] 485 ff.).

While the practice of supplying oracles by means of *sortes* was thus indigenous to Italy, and prevalent everywhere on Italian soil, yet the Roman State religion took up a curiously disparaging attitude towards it. None of the recognized divinities of the ancient Roman régime delivered oracles, and, while Paulus (p. 368) speaks of deities called 'Tenitae, quae credebantur esse sortium deae, dictae quod tenendi haberent potestatem,' we cannot say whether he was thinking of Roman deities at all, or whether his statement has any better foundation than the obviously absurd etymology of the name. The only reference to *sortes* connected with the city of Rome is supplied by the inscription of a '*sortilegus ab Venere Erucina*' (*CIL* vi. 2274)—an item of evidence emanating from a cult of Greek origin, and dating from a time when the lines of demarcation between native and foreign divination had been obliterated in private life, and when all kinds of Greek and Oriental soothsaying had found adherents in Rome. But the injunction by which the Senate, as late as 241 B.C., prohibited the consul Q. Lutatius Cero from consulting the Praenestine *sortes* (Val. Max. *Epit.* i. 3. 2), and the scornful question of Cicero (*de Div.* ii. 87): 'quis enim magistratus aut quis vir industrius utitur sortibus?' are really explained by the fact that the State religion took a narrower view of the character and purpose of divination than that which prevailed in Greece, or, indeed, among other Italian tribes; note the tone of disdain in which Cicero (*ib.* i. 105, 132, ii. 70) refers to 'Soranus augur' and 'Marsus augur.' From the Roman point of view, the operations of divination were concerned, not with those things 'quae fortuitae putantur, praedictio atque praesensio' (*ib.* i. 9), but exclusively with the determination of the question whether an action just about to be performed had or had not the sanction of the gods. It is true that in Cicero's day there emerged within the Collegium of the official representatives of Roman divination—the '*interpretes Iovis optimi maximi publici augures*' (*de Leg.* ii. 20)—a conflict of opinion as to the function of the augurs, viz. whether they merely expounded a system of doctrine which had been devised for reasons of State, or whether they could actually furnish a '*praesensio aut scientia veritatis futurae*' (*de Div.* i. 105). Cicero, who himself became an augur in 53 B.C., and to whom Ap. Claudius Pulcher (Consul in 54 B.C.), the champion of the second of these views, had dedicated his work *de Disciplina Augurali* (Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* iii. 4. 1), took up a mediating position, holding, on the one hand, that the augural science of his day was nothing more than an instrument put into the hands of statesmen for political ends, while maintaining, on the other, that it had originally been a '*divinatio rerum futurarum*' (*de Div.* ii. 75; *de Leg.* ii. 32 f.). Even on the latter hypothesis, however, the *disciplina auguralis* had never besought the Deity for light upon the occurrence and course of future events (*de Div.* ii. 70): 'non enim sumus ii nos augures, qui avium reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus', but had merely solicited indications of the Divine consent to intended actions, and endeavoured to recognize the warnings proceeding from the gods; and, accordingly, Cicero is quite correct in speaking of the '*rerum bene gerendarum auctoritates*' as the subject-matter of the science (*de Har. Resp.* 18). Such indications of the Divine will, the interpretation of which was the function of the *disciplina auguralis*, were called *auguria* or *signa*, and were either the solicited intimations of the Divine compliance (*auguria impetrativa*), or signs—chiefly of

disapproval and foreboding—spontaneously vouchsafed by the gods (*auguria oblativa* [Serv. *Æn.* vi. 190, xii. 259]). Solicited omens—so far, at least, as concerned the magisterial consultation of the gods, yet not the priestly operations of the augurs—were originally taken solely from phenomena connected with birds, and thus the word *auspicium* (= *avispicium*) became the general term for those intimations of the Divine will which, approving or dissuading, guided human conduct, as also for the art of identifying and interpreting such intimations. Consultation of the *auspicia* was in ancient times an indispensable preliminary to all important actions both in public and in private life (Cic. *de Div.* i. 28 = Val. Max. ii. 1. 1): thus, we are told that the species of hawk called *agithus* was held to be ‘*prosperrimi augurii nuptialibus negotiis et pecuarie rei*’ (Pliny, *HN* x. 21). Latterly, however, the practice was discarded in private affairs, leaving as its sole vestige the designation ‘*nuptiarum auspices*,’ which was applied to certain witnesses in marriage contracts (Varro, in Serv. *Æn.* iv. 45, etc.). In public affairs, on the other hand, the science of the *auspicium* was practically the basis of official authority, as every public functionary had to make sure of the Divine sanction for every action within his jurisdiction. Accordingly, the prerogative of taking the auspices coincided with the official warrant for undertaking any particular action, so that the *auspicium*, as the Divine guarantee of success, was co-ordinate with the *imperium*, or secular authority, and the phrase ‘*auspicium imperiumque*’ covered the entire range of official power (cf. the expression ‘*ductu auspicio imperioque eius Achaia capta*,’ in the epitaph of L. Mummius [CIL vi. 331]).

As regards the mode of procedure in taking the auspices, we have numerous sources of information (e.g. Fest. p. 348; Serv. *Æn.* vi. 197; Cic. *de Div.* i. 71). When the consul had occasion to perform some duty which must be undertaken *auspicato*,—if, e.g., he was about to enter upon office, to direct the proceedings of the *comitia*, to hold a meeting of the Senate, or to set out upon a campaign,—he proceeded, in the early morning of the day of action, and in company with one or more assistants (‘*qui in auspicio sunt consuli*’), to the scene of the proposed task (in the case of an expedition, to the Capitol). Here a tent (*tabernaculum*) was pitched, open on the one side. Within the tent the consul, having first uttered a prayer, seated himself on a solid chair (*solida sella*), and then, directing his gaze towards the field of vision on the open side, awaited the advent of favourable auguries. It was, however, only a relatively small number of species of birds that were taken into account for the *augurium impetrativum* (Cic. *de Div.* ii. 76); the books of the augurs contained full lists of the *aves augurales* (Serv. *Æn.* i. 398), with precise regulations as to the circumstances in which, for any particular case, the omen was to be recognized as favourable or the reverse. With some kinds of birds the *auspicia* were determined by their flight, with others by their cries, and, accordingly, the augural birds were divided into the two classes of *alites* and *oscines* (Fest. p. 197; Serv. *Æn.* iv. 462). Many species, again, were propitious at one season of the year, and unpropitious at another (Pliny, *HN* x. 30: ‘*cornix . . . inauspicatissima fetus tempore, hoc est post solstitium*’). The Divine assent was intimated by the appearance of certain birds on the right hand of the observer, of others on the left (Plaut. *Asin.* 259 f.: ‘*impetratum inauguratumst, quovis admittunt aves: pius est cornix ab laeva, corvos parra ab dextera consuevunt*’; cf. Cic. *de Div.* i. 85). The auguries, in fact, were subject to an elaborate system of casuistry, certain details of which are

given in the extract in Pliny, *HN* x. 6–42 (cf. D. Detlefsen, in *Hermes*, xxxvi. [1901] 5 ff.). If during the period of observation one of the recognized favourable omens appeared (the technical phrase for this was ‘*adducit aves*’; cf. Livy, i. 36. 3, 55. 3, xxvii. 16. 15; Fest. p. 241), the phenomenon was accepted as evidence of the Divine consent; but, if such favourable omen did not present itself, or if the proceedings were interrupted by the fall of some object (‘*caduca auspicia*,’ Paul. p. 64), or by a disturbing noise, e.g. the squeak of a mouse (Pliny, *HN* viii. 223), or by a deprecatory portent (Paul. p. 64: ‘*clivia auspicia dicebant quae aliquid fieri prohibebant*’), e.g. the appearance of *obscenae aves* (Serv. *Æn.* iii. 241; Aul. Gell. xiii. 14. 6), such as owls or owlets, the consultation was regarded as having miscarried, and the action for which Divine sanction was sought could not be undertaken without a *repetitio auspiciorum*; this, however, could not usually take place until the following day (Livy, ix. 38. 15, 39. 1).

Even when a consultation had resulted favourably, however, it was still possible that the divinity might in some way interfere with the provisionally sanctioned undertaking by sending intimations that had not been asked for. The range of such *auguria oblativa* was very extensive. In the system of the augurs five varieties of *signa* were distinguished, viz. ‘*ex caelo*,’ ‘*ex avibus*,’ ‘*ex tripudiis*,’ ‘*ex quadrupedibus*,’ and ‘*ex diris*’ (Fest. p. 261), but this classification was by no means exhaustive. An official who was about to discharge some duty of State might find a propitious or deprecatory sign in any occurrence in Nature or in his immediate surroundings which he was willing to bring into relation with his intended action. Here lay the vast province of *omina*—events which in many cases were of an altogether indefinite character, but in which the person concerned might read a significance favourable to his design, and which he could, so to speak, press into his service by pronouncing the words ‘*accipio omen*’ (examples in Cic. *de Div.* i. 103 f.). Of the omens thus spontaneously granted, those which were unfavourable were naturally of greater account than the favourable, as the latter merely confirmed the result of the antecedent solicited auspices, while the former actually reversed the Divine consent already granted, and gave warning that the previously sanctioned course of action should not be carried out or persisted in: ‘*etenim dirae* (i.e. all events of an abnormal and therefore alarming nature) sicut cetera auspicia, ut omnia, ut signa, non causas adferunt cur quid eveniat, sed nuntiant eventura, nisi provideris’ (ib. i. 29). Among such prohibitory omens, the phenomena of thunderstorms were regarded as of special importance. The lightning-flash was a solicited portent of great significance, not indeed for the divination of the magistrates, but for certain priestly ceremonies of the augurs (*auguria*), in which the latter sought to make sure of the Divine consent to specific actions by *auguria celestia* (Paul. p. 64): with their *lituus* they divided that portion of the heavens lying within their field of vision into four regions (‘*antica*,’ ‘*postica*,’ ‘*dextra*,’ ‘*sinistra*’), and then decided, by a special *legum dictio* (Serv. *Æn.* iii. 89), the regions in which the celestial signs were to be regarded as favourable. The best-known example of this procedure is the inauguration of priests which Livy (i. 18) describes in full detail, but Cicero (*de Leg.* ii. 20) refers to other *auguria* of a similar kind, regarding which strict secrecy was maintained (Paul. p. 16), so that the actual character of many of them, such as the *vernix auripia* (Paul. p. 379) and the *augurium canarium* (Pliny, *HN* xviii. 14; Fest. p. 285; Philarg. on Verg. *Georg.* iv. 425), is very obscure, while the frequently

mentioned *augurium salutis* (Cic. *de Div.* i. 105; Dio Cass. xxxvii. 24 f., li. 20. 4; Suet. *Aug.* 31; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23) is expressly spoken of as *μάρτυρας τῆς γλώττης* (Dio Cass. xxxvii. 24. 1), in which the divinity was asked whether it was permissible to pray for the *salus publica*. The latter ceremony is referred to in a *cippus* recently discovered in Rome, and bearing the inscription (*Notiz. d. Scavi*, 1910, p. 133): 'Auguria: maximum quo salus p(opuli) R(omani) petitur, quod actum est (here follow the names of the consuls in A.D. 3 and 7), quae acta sunt (consuls of the years 1, 2, 8, 12, and 17 A.D.)' In all these augural rites the lightning-flash, and especially the *fulmen sinistrum*, was a highly favourable *impetrativum auspicium* (Cic. *de Div.* ii. 74; such an augural ceremony is probably indicated also by the African inscription *CIL* viii. 774, bearing the representation of a lightning-flash, together with the words: 'Deo loci, ubi auspicium dignitatis tale, nuncipes Apisenses'—a dedication which dates, at all events, from the time when the lightning was regarded as a solicited sign even in magisterial divination). As a spontaneously given sign, on the other hand, lightning was assumed to be wholly unfavourable. Thus, a marriage by the solemn rite of *confarreatio* could not be proceeded with if a peal of thunder was heard (Serv. *Æn.* iv. 339), and the supreme deliberative assemblies of the Roman people were subject to the principle, 'Iove tonante fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas' (Cic. *de Div.* ii. 43; cf. in *Vatin.* 20; *Philipp.* v. 7), so that thunder or lightning led to the adjournment of the comitia as inevitably as did an epileptic seizure ('*morbus comitialis*') (Fest. p. 234). It is true that in these, as in all other cases of the unsolicited sign, it rested with the presiding official to decide whether he would apply it to the matter in hand and take account of it (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 17; Serv. *Æn.* xii. 260); such emergencies fell under the maxim of Cato the Elder, viz. 'quod ego non sensi, nullum mihi vitium facit' (Fest. p. 234)—a principle according to which the magistrates tried their best to avoid the possibility of even noticing unwelcome signs (Cic. *de Div.* ii. 77). But, as such disregard of Divine warnings might result in serious mischief to the State, the legislature put an obstacle in the way of anything like extreme neglect of unfavourable signs by enjoining that the magistrates must, without further investigation, take full account of all such *auguria oblativa* as were announced to them either by another magistrate ('*obnuntiatio*'), or by the augur who was officially in attendance ('*nuntiatio*'). This injunction came to have great influence upon the procedure of the comitia, and in the political conflicts of the day it became an effective instrument of obstruction, as a meeting which took a course unsatisfactory to any party could be adjourned simply by an announcement that a flash of lightning had been seen (cf. I. M. J. Valeton, 'De iure obnuntiandi comitiis et conciliis,' in *Mnemosyne*, N.S., xix. [1891] 75–113, 229–270).

This political perversion of a statute which was in its origin the expression of a religious sentiment is but a symptom of that general deterioration of the auspices which showed itself more and more during the later years of the Republic. The stringency of the ancient regulations was relaxed first of all in the army, and especially during war, as the conditions were then frequently most unfavourable for the ceremonious and protracted observation of the flight of birds. For a time, as would appear, the place of the traditional ceremony was taken by a special *auspicium militare*, which involved some sort of observation of spear-points ('*ex acuminibus*') (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 9; Arnob. ii. 67), but, when—during the Second Punic War—this device had at length been abandoned (Cic.

de Div. ii. 77), every other expedient for divining the will of the gods was superseded by the observation of *signa ex tripudiis*, i.e. the manner in which fowls pecked the food strewn by the *pullarius*—the point being, not simply that they ate, but that they fed so greedily that part of what they picked up fell to the ground again (*tripudium* = *terripavium*, *pavire enim ferire est* [Paul. p. 244; Cic. *de Div.* ii. 72]). Such accidental dropping of food was formerly considered a favourable *signum oblativum*, and might as such be mediated not only by birds of any kind, but also by quadrupeds (Cic. *de Div.* ii. 73; Pliny, *HN* viii. 83). These *pullaria auguria* (Serv. *Æn.* vi. 198) eventually degenerated into a mere form, especially as the act of feeding could be so managed as greatly to influence the result of the *signum* (Cic. ii. 73); and a similar fate befell municipal divination, in which the observation of birds was at length abandoned in favour of observation of the sky (*de calo servare*); this, however, was performed, not by the official himself, but by his servant the *pullarius* ('iam de calo servare non ipsos censes solitos, qui auspicabantur? nunc imperant pullario, ille renuntiat' [Cic. ii. 73]). On account of the comparatively rare performance of the augural ceremonies, it had been possible to solicit a lightning-flash as an indication of Divine consent, but with the manifold applications of magisterial divination such a demand could be met only by way of a gross fiction, so that Cicero is perfectly justified in saying (ii. 71): 'haec certe, quibus utimur, sive tripudium sive de calo, simulacra sunt auspiciorum, auspicia nullo modo.'

The performance of divination during war came to be still further circumscribed by the circumstance that in the *imperium militiæ* the duty was assigned—from Sulla's time regularly, and often before—not to the real functionaries of the *auspicium*, i.e. consuls and prætors, but to the holders of prorogated authority, the proconsuls and propraetors, who had no *auspicia* of their own (Cic. *de Div.* ii. 77: 'ubi ergo avium divinatio? quae, quoniam ab iis, qui auspicia nulla habent, bella administrantur, ad urbanas res retenta videtur, a bellicis esse sublata'). But, as it still remained necessary to make sure of the Divine sanction before entering upon any decisive line of action, divination by ordinary methods was superseded in the field by *extispicium*, i.e. the inspection of entrails ('omitto nostros, qui nihil in bello sine extis agunt, nihil sine auspiciis domi' [Cic. i. 95; cf. 28]), which, however, had been previously employed as a supplementary expedient; thus, e.g., according to Livy, xxvii. 16. 15, before Fabius Maximus moved his camp from Tarentum to Metapontum, he first of all inquired by means of birds, and then, not having received the required indication of Divine consent, he caused the *haruspex* to inspect the entrails of a victim. But it should be clearly understood that the inspection of entrails as a means of ascertaining the future was a foreign, not a Roman, method of divination. It is true that the indigenous religious practice sanctioned the inspection of the *exta* of a sacrificial animal—not, however, for purposes of divination, but only as a part of the requisite test applied to the victim in order to determine whether it was acceptable to the deity and suitable for a sacrifice. In such instances the entrails of the victim were examined in connexion with the body as a whole ('*adhaerentia exta inspicere*' [Paul. p. 100]), and boiled in a pot (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 98); if any abnormality was discovered, the animal was regarded as unsuitable, and the sacrifice could not be validly performed—it did not become a *lītatio* ('*non perlitatum est*'). An abortive sacrifice of this sort might, of course, bear the character of a *signum*

oblativum, and thus be recognized as a Divine warning (as was the case, e.g., in the incident related by Livy, xli. 15), and it was therefore possible to speak of *auspicia* in connexion with *extispicia* (e.g. Paul. p. 244: 'pestifera auspicia esse dicebant, cum cor in extis aut caput in iecinore non fuisset'); but, as already said, this Roman *extispicium*, with its scrutiny and interpretation of entrails, was never resorted to for the purpose of acquiring information as to the course of coming events.

This function, however, was the distinctive feature of the Etruscan *haruspicina*, which had found its way into Rome at the time of the Second Punic War, and in process of time gained so firm a footing that in the closing century of the Republic the *haruspex* became permanently attached to the staff of the commander-in-chief. The Etruscan *haruspicio* (CIL vi. 32328, l. 78) was performed prior to all important undertakings, such as the departure of the army for war, or the beginning of a battle; and its object was, from an inspection of the entrails of a victim slaughtered expressly for the purpose (animals from which 'voluntas dei per exta exquiritur' were called *consultatorie hostiae* [Serv. *En.* iv. 56; Macr. *Sat.* iii. 5. 1]), to deduce information regarding the issue of the proposed action—information which was not confined merely to a presage of success or non-success, but frequently extended to details, as, e.g., an ambushade of the enemy (Livy, xxvii. 15. 16), or a case of imminent death (Ammian. Marc. xxii. 1. 1). The interpretation was arrived at upon the basis of a highly complex system of doctrine, involving a most precise observation of the nature, and especially the abnormalities, of the victim's inner organs—more particularly the liver. The celebrated bronze liver of Piacenza¹ is a direct survival from the practice of the *haruspices*, and, by means of its precise division of the organ, with its various convexities and indentations, and the inscribed names of the gods associated with the several parts, gives us some idea of the procedure of the priests. Moreover, the fact that models of the livers of animals, formed of terra cotta and covered with inscriptions, have been found also in Babylon,² points to a relationship between Etruscan and Chaldean haruspicy which awaits a more thorough investigation.

The Etruscan divination of the future, which, as we have seen, went far beyond the limits of the Roman practice, makes its influence felt likewise in the official treatment of prodigies, i.e. unnatural and alarming occurrences, such as showers of stones, earthquakes, monstrous births (see PRODIGES AND PORTENTS [Rom.]), regarded as signs of Divine resentment. To the Roman mind such phenomena were an evidence that the normal relations between the community and the higher powers were disturbed, as also an admonition to take the necessary steps towards retrieving the *pax et venia deum*, and those who in such emergencies wished to ascertain the measures requisite to an effective reconciliation had recourse either to the *pontifices*, as the custodians of the ancient Roman ritual, or to the representatives of foreign cults, such as the *decemviri* (later, the *xv. viri sacris faciundis*, who were proficient in the *Græcus ritus*, and the Etruscan *haruspices* (Cic. *de Div.* i.

97, 98). The *haruspices*, however, did not confine themselves to a simple specification of the means of reconciliation; on the contrary, they also undertook to deduce from the character and course of the prodigy an answer to the question, 'quid portendat prodigium?' i.e. to discover the future events, such as civil war and conspiracy (Cic. *de Har. Resp.* 18), foreboded by the prodigy. Cicero's oration *de Haruspicio Responso* gives us a clear conception of the matter and form of such a professional finding. The sacred books of the *Etrusca disciplina* supplied full directions for the interpretation of *ostenta*, and in particular they contained a doctrine regarding the interpretation of lightning which was absolutely alien to the augural science of the Romans. According to Roman ideas, the lightning might be either an *augurium impetrativum* (as in the sacred rites of the augurs), or an *augurium oblativum* (as in the proceedings of the magistrates), and in both cases it required to be weighed as a token of Divine consent or prohibition; or, again, especially if it struck something and wrought damage, it was regarded as a *prodigium*, and in that case had to be rendered innocuous by certain acts of propitiation. The procedure of the Etruscan *haruspices*, however, was of a very different character (for their system, cf. e.g. Pliny, *HN* ii. 138 ff.; Seneca, *Nat. Quest.* ii. 39 ff.). They first of all ascertained the region of the heavens whence the flash proceeded, and thereby identified the deities from whom it came; further, they defined the several kinds (*manubiæ*) of lightning-flash sent forth by particular gods, and determined the place, the time, the effect, etc.; then from all these data they elicited not only the kind of propitiation required, but also the import of the phenomenon. Nor did they rest satisfied with a simple announcement that the lightning signified the deity's consent to, or warning against, a given design ('consiliaria fulmina' [Seneca, *Nat. Quest.* ii. 39. 1]), but they also gave quite definite predictions of future events, such as an extension of the frontier and a defeat of the enemy (Livy, xlii. 20. 1), or the approaching death and deification of the Emperor (Suet. *Aug.* 97).

It is a fact worthy of note that this mode of divination was always regarded by the Romans as outlandish and unreliable, and this explains why the *haruspices* were never admitted into the official priesthood, and why their teachings never found a place in the Roman *disciplina auguralis*; so that, when the Senate wished to have the opinion of the *haruspices* in any particular case, it summoned them from Etruria expressly for the purpose (the regular phrase for this was 'haruspices acciendos ex Etruria' [Cic. *de Har. Resp.* 25]). This proceeding, however, must be regarded in the same light as the action of the Roman State in sending ambassadors to lay certain questions before the Greek oracles, such as that at Delphi; the first deputation of this kind was sent just after the battle of Cannæ (Livy, xxii. 57. 5, xxiii. 11. 1). Livy's statements as to still earlier consultations of the Delphic oracle (i. 56. 9, v. 15 f.) are rightly regarded by H. Diels (*Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1891, p. 49, n. 3) as without foundation in fact. The truth is that, in times of severe national trial, the Roman people habitually resorted to the vaticination of foreign cults, but they did not thereby admit such practices into their own religion. The case was different with the so-called Sibylline Oracles (*libri fatales*), which were authoritatively introduced into Rome as early as the period of the Tarquins, and had their official custodians and interpreters in the *duoviri* (later *decemviri* and *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*). The Sibyllines, however, were not oracles in the proper sense, but *kabappul*; i.e. the sentences specified the

¹ Cf. W. Deecke, *Etruskische Forschungen*, iv. 'Das Templum von Piacenza,' Stuttgart, 1880; L. Stieda, *Anatomisch-archäol. Studien*, i., Wiesbaden, 1901; G. Körte, *Röm. Mitteil.* xx. (1905) 248-379; C. Thulin, 'Die Götter des Martians Capella u. der Bronzeleber von Piacenza,' *Religionsgesch. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, lii. (Giessen, 1906).

² Cf. A. Boissier, *Note sur un monument babylonien se rapportant à l'extispicium*, Geneva, 1899, *Note sur un nouveau document babylonien se rapportant à l'extispicium*, Geneva, 1901; cf. also C. Bezold, in *Religionsgesch. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten*, ii. (1905) 246 ff.

particular measures—sacrifices, *lectisternia*, supplications, admission of new cults—by which impending dangers could be turned aside and the anger of the gods appeased; but actual predictions of future events lay outside their province, and were first deduced from them at a relatively late period, the earliest known instance dating from 187 B.C. (Livy, xxxviii. 45. 3).

We may thus venture to affirm that the aversion to an over-curious prying into the unborn future, as also to the practice of consulting the Deity with reference to coming events, was a characteristic feature of ancient Roman life, and that the Romans manifested this reluctance in considerably greater measure than the other peoples of Italy. For, as we have seen, they asked no more from their auguries than an assurance of Divine concurrence with their actions, and were unwilling to do anything in opposition to the Divine counsel, being for the rest content to abide the issue, and seeking no further revelation of the future. But, when we bear in mind that in times of calamity even the supreme authorities succumbed to the temptation of resorting to the practitioners of foreign divination for the occult knowledge which their own religion failed to supply, we cannot wonder that in private life all manner of mantic devices of exotic origin acquired in process of time a great and growing influence. Cato the Elder already found it necessary to insert among his directions for the conduct of an estate steward (*vilicus*) the warning: 'haruspiciem augurem hariolum Chaldaeum ne quem consuluisse velit' (*de Agri Cult.* 5. 4); while Cicero gives quite a list of fortune-tellers who, finding their clientele among the middle and lower classes, made a profitable trade of forecasting the future: 'nunc illa testabor, non me sortilegos neque eos qui quaestus causa hariolentur, ne psychomantiam quidem . . . agnoscere; non habeo denique nauci Marsum augurem, non vicianos haruspices, non de circo astrologos, non Isiacos coniectores, non interpretes somniorum' (*de Div.* i. 132). These references are elucidated by evidence from the Imperial period, which shows that the people were in the habit of consulting soothsayers regarding such things as sickness (Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 20, 2 ff.), prospects of marriage (Juvén. vi. 588 ff.), the whereabouts of runaway slaves, or the advisability of purchasing an estate (August. *de Civ. Dei.* x. 11). A further illustration is supplied by a collection of oracular sayings of very general application—and, as it would seem, from a Greek original—extracted from the Merobaudes palimpsest of St. Gall, and published by H. Winnefeld (*Sortes Sangallenses*, Bonn, 1887); from these sayings the inquirer probably selected his particular oracle by means of dice.

The most influential of these exponents of exotic divination were the *Chaldaei*, or, as they were subsequently styled, *mathematici* (Aul. Gell. i. 9. 6), i.e. the professors of Babylonian astrology, who pre-saged the destiny of individuals by means of the horoscope (hence they were also called *genethliaci* [*ib.* xiv. 1. 1]), and gave information regarding the future according to the movements of the heavenly bodies. These astrologers were banished from Rome and Italy for the first time in 139 B.C., in consequence of an edict of the Prætor peregrinus, Cn. Cornelius Hispanus (Val. Max. *Epit.* i. 3. 3), but in the Imperial period, by a long series of resolutions passed—often at short intervals—by the Senate, they were made liable not to expulsion only, but to the severest penalties (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 82, xii. 82, *Hist.* ii. 62; Dio Cass. lxxv. 9. 2; Ulpian, *Mos. et Rom. leg. coll.* [1768] 15. 2). These measures, however, brought about no considerable diminution of their activity (Juvén. vi.

553 ff.), as their clientele included people of the highest rank, and even the Emperors themselves made use of their art. Hence Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 22) could with perfect justice speak of the *mathematici* as 'genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.' In later times it was only the seeking and giving of information bearing upon the life of the Emperor and the succession to the throne—and, in the case of slaves, consultations regarding the duration of their master's life—that ranked as capital crimes (Paul. *Sent.* v. 21. 3-4; Mommsen, *Röm. Strafrecht*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 861 ff.); and, indeed, Alexander Severus actually instituted public chairs of astrology in Rome, and endowed them from the national exchequer (*Hist. Aug. Alex. Sev.* 27. 5; 44. 4). Then at length Diocletian, in A.D. 294, issued a universal interdict against the 'ars mathematica damnabilis' (*Cod. Just.* ix. 18. 2). The death-blow to divination in Rome, however, was given by the severe decree (25th Jan. A.D. 357) of the Emperor Constantius (*Cod. Theod.* ix. 16. 4 = *Cod. Just.* ix. 18. 5; cf. also *Cod. Theod.* ix. 16. 6 and 8): 'Nemo haruspiciem consulat aut mathematicum, nemo hariolum, augurum et vatum prava confessio conticescat. Chaldaei ac magi et ceteri, quos maleficos ob facinorum multitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas. etenim supplicium capitis feret gladio lotore prostratus, quicunque iussis obsequium denegaverit.' Nevertheless, in spite of all such repressive measures, the deep-seated craving of the human heart for light upon the future still continued to assert itself, even after the triumph of Christianity, as is shown by the zeal and vigour with which Christian evangelists like Cæsarins of Arles and Martin of Bracara made war upon the vestiges of pagan divination. The first-mentioned gives a long and detailed list of the various modes of soothsaying still in vogue in his own day (6th cent. A.D.): 'nullus ex vobis caragos vel divinos vel sortilegos requirat . . . nullus sibi præcantatores adhibeat . . . similiter et auguria observare nolite nec in itinere positi aliquas aviculas cantantes attendite nec ex illarum cantu diabolicas divinationes annuntiare præsumite' (Migne, *PL* xxxix. 2269); to these must be added the 'sortes Sanctorum' mentioned later in the records of Councils (cf. R. Boese, *Superstitiones Arelatenses e Cæsario collectæ*, Marburg, 1909, p. 42 f.), i.e. the practice of opening the Scriptures at random in order to find a sentence which might furnish the solution of a stubborn dilemma or give information regarding the future ('qui de paginis evangelicis sortes legunt' [August. *Ep.* lv. 37, p. 212, 3, Goldbacher])—a device which Augustine himself had employed (*Conf.* viii. 12. 29), and which was at an earlier day applied in exactly the same way to the works of the ancient poets, especially Vergil (*ib.* iv. 3. 5). Cf. art. DIVINATION (Christian).

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ib. xxi (1908) 103-126; F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1907 [Germ. tr. by G. Gehrich, Leipzig and Berlin, 1910, pp. 191-214].

G. WISSOWA.

DIVINATION (Teutonic).—Tacitus (*Germ. x.*) states that the German tribes practised augury and divination by lot as much as any people. He proceeds to describe the latter, which, he says, was used in both public and private life, and which from other references appears to have been a common custom. He says that it consisted in picking up and interpreting chips of wood that were inscribed with some kind of signs (which may possibly have been runic characters), and that had been scattered haphazard:

'If the twigs prove unfavourable, the matter is left over for that day; while, even if they are favourable, the confirmation of augury is still required. For they are also familiar with the practice of consulting the notes and the flight of birds; and it is a characteristic of this people to seek warnings and omens from horses. There are kept at the public expense, in the woods and groves, white horses, free from all taint of human labour; these, yoked to a consecrated chariot, are accompanied by the priest or king or chief person of the community, who observe their manner of neighing and snorting. Nor is there greater reliance on any form of augury, both among the common people, the nobility, and even the priests; for they regard themselves as the ministers of the gods, the horses as acquainted with their will.'

We may compare a passage in the *Flateyjarbók* (saga of Olaf Trygvason, 322), where we hear of horses sacred to Frey at a sanctuary in the Thronðhjem fiord. In the sagas we hear also of wolves being used in augury, but the majority of the instances are concerned with birds, usually the raven. This bird was evidently considered to possess wisdom and knowledge of events, and is specially connected with battle; should one be heard thrice screaming on the roof, it bodes death to warriors; but the appearance of ravens following a host or a single warrior will bring good luck in battle.

A striking instance of the significance of the raven occurs in the saga of Olaf Trygvason in the *Heimskringla*. Earl Hakon, after the defeat at Danevirke, made a great blood-sacrifice, and 'there came two ravens flying, which croaked loudly, and now, thought the earl, the blood-offering has been accepted by Odin, and he thought good luck would be with him any day he liked to go into battle' (tr. Laing). Here the two birds were perhaps supposed to have been Odin's own ravens, Hugin and Munin, from whom he learnt all that was going on in the world. In this connexion we may mention the raven banner of the Northmen described in Anglo-Saxon records; it was woven of plain white silk, but on it in war time there became visible a raven, which by its drooping or flapping wings portended defeat or victory.

Augury from the voices of birds is frequently found in the form of a belief that certain specially gifted persons could understand the language of birds. Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* iv. 20) gives the story of Hermigislaus, king of the Varni, who interpreted the loud and incessant croaking of a bird as presaging his own death. In the sagas various birds act thus as soothsayers—the raven, the crow, and the nut-hatch. Thus in the poem *Fafnismal*, Sigurd, after tasting Fafnir's blood, is able to understand the speech of certain nut-hatches which warn him of the treachery prepared by Reginn; and the *Ynglinga Saga* gives the legend of a certain king Dag who had a sparrow which he greatly valued, since, like Odin's ravens, it flew to different countries and brought him much news.

Divination appears to have been largely practised by 'wise women,' both among the early Teutonic peoples of the Continent, and in later times in the North. Strabo (bk. vii. ch. ii. [p. 294]) states that the Cimbrî were accompanied to war by grey-haired

prophetesses, who presaged victory in battle from the blood and entrails of slaughtered prisoners; Tacitus has several references to the prophetess Veleda, who was held in much reverence by the Bructeri, and who had predicted the success of the Germans and the destruction of the legions; and Caesar and other writers also refer to the divinations of 'wise women' among the Teutonic armies.

In the sagas, too, we hear of the 'wise woman,' such as Thorbjorg, who, in the saga of Eirik Raudha, visits the house of Thorkel. She has a special dress, seat, and food, and further requires one of the women of the house to sing the 'warlocks,' or spell song. Then she predicts the end of the sickness and famine, and foretells the future of many of the people.

In addition to these forms, we have vague references to some sort of inquiry of the gods, accompanied by sacrifices; as, for example, in the *Eyrbýggja Saga*, where Thórolf of the Mostr makes a great sacrifice and consults Thor, 'his well-beloved friend,' as to whether he shall emigrate or make peace with the king, 'but the word showed Thórolf to Iceland.'

We hear also of divination by dreams, and of the practice of single combat, as a kind of ordeal by battle, to decide disputes, which Tacitus (*loc. cit.*) states was also used to presage the result of a war.

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DIVINATION (Vedic).—The Vedic art of divination, when contrasted with the Greek art, presents striking differences. Institutions comparable with the wide-reaching influence of the Greek oracles were never developed, and, while the gift of prophecy could, like other mystic powers, be acquired and increased by religious austerities (cf. *Mahābhārata*, 3. 16,870, Calc. ed.), still the power of seeing what is hidden, especially what is hidden in the future, depended in the main not on inspiration or personal gifts, but on the knowledge of how to interpret certain omens and portents. The chief reason for this fact must be sought in the great development of the other branches of magic (cf. MAGIC [Ved.]). A man who is in possession of the magical means to acquire any desired blessing has little reason to inquire what the future has in store. Indeed, his only motive for inquiring about the future can be to learn when danger is impending, in order that he may avert it by the timely performance of the necessary rites. It was primarily to this need that the observance of omens and portents in India was due, though further development was sure to follow, as the attempt to define an evil portent leads of itself to the observation of favourable omens.

The omens and portents recognized in the Vedic system of divination may be classified as follows: (1) ominous appearances and actions of animals, especially birds—*śakuna*; (2) phenomena at variance with the usual course of Nature—*adbhuta*; (3) physical marks—*lakṣana*; (4) omens of an astrological nature; (5) omens drawn from occurrences at the sacrifice; and (6) dreams.

With regard to the omens drawn from the sacrifice, it must be noted that, while they depend in part upon things not wholly subject to the regulation of the celebrant (e.g. the movements and colour of the fire), in part they depend upon things that are subject to his will (e.g. when it is stated that Parjanya will give rain if both or one of the bulls that draw the cart is black [*Satapatha*

Brāhmaṇa, 3. 3. 4. 11]), and so pass over by almost imperceptible transitions from divinatory observations into directions about the sacrificial technique required to obtain a desired object. This subject will be referred to in other articles (cf., e.g., art. DREAMS [Vedic]), and the present article will be devoted to the ceremonies the purpose of which is the attainment of knowledge (*viññāna*), usually of future events, which is unattainable by natural means.

1. Sources.—As was to be expected, the chief source for such ceremonies is the *Kauśika Sūtra*, which is supplemented by an interesting chapter in the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 4. Sporadic instances occur in other Vedic texts, sufficient to show that such practices were not confined to these two schools, and that the reason why they are not more frequently mentioned in other texts is to be sought in the nature of the literature.

2. The ceremonies.—The most widely attested *viññāna*-ceremony is the test of the bride, advised or enjoined by the *Grhya Sūtras* (*Āśvalāyana*, 1. 5. 4-5; *Gobhila*, 2. 1. 3-9; *Āpastambīya*, 3. 14-17; *Mānava*, 1. 7. 9-10; *Kāthaka*, 14; *Bhāradvāja*, 1. 11 [the last two in Caland, p. 127, n. 8]; *Kauśika*, 37. 7-10; cf. Winternitz, *Das altind. Hochzeitsrituell*, 1892, p. 37). It is based upon the principle of *attractio similitum*, and consists in offering from four to nine clods of earth, taken from different places, to the bride, whose choice is ominous. *Āśvalāyana*'s list is typical, and comprises clods from a field that yields two crops a year, from the stable of a cow, from a *vedī* (altar), from an undrying pool, from a gambling-place, from cross-roads, from a barren spot, and from a cemetery. They signify respectively that the bride's offspring will be rich in food, rich in cattle, rich in holy lustre, rich in everything, addicted to gambling, wandering in different directions (according to *Kauśika*, that she will be unfaithful, poor, and the cause of the death of her husband (according to *Kauśika*, that she will not live long). When there is a ninth clod (*Gobhila* and *Kāthaka*), it is mixed of all these substances. The ceremony is recommended when it is impossible to determine the bride's qualities from the marks on her body (*lakṣaṇāni*), but *Āpastamba* implies that her family have a right to object to this test. An alternative in *Kauśika*, 37. 11-12, is to require the bride to pour out a handful of water that has been blessed. If she does this in an easterly direction it is a good omen.

With this may be compared the practices for the purpose of seeing whether the ground selected for a house is suitable (*Āpast.* GS 2. 8. 1-8), though these may appear to us practical rather than magical, and the impression is strengthened by the absence of all religious elements from the ceremony. A pit is dug and refilled. If the earth more than refills it, the site is good; if it fails to fill it, the site is bad; if it fills it exactly, the site is indifferent. Or, after sunset, the pit is filled with water. If, in the morning, there is water still in it, the site is good; if the ground is dry, it is bad; and if it is moist, it is indifferent.

Another method of divination in the *Kauśika*, with parallels in the hieratic literature, is based upon the wide-spread belief that a man's reflexion or shadow is part of his personality. Hence, when one cannot see his reflexion, his spirit is gone (he is *gatāsu*, *itāsu*, or *gatamanas*), and he is in danger of death. The *Kauśika*, 15. 9-10, employs this idea as follows: Before a battle the king causes his warriors to look, two by two, into a vessel of water over which *Atharva Veda*, 5. 2. 6, has been recited; if any warrior does not see his reflexion he must not take part in the approaching battle. Similar applications of this idea are found in *Taittirīya Samhitā*, 6. 6. 7. 1; *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*,

4. 7. 2; *Āśvalāyana Srauta Sūtra*, 5. 19. 5; *Āpastamba ŚS.* 13. 14. 3. 4; *Kātyāyana ŚS.* 3. 3. 6 (cf. Oldenberg, p. 526, n. 4).

Another method of divination practised before a battle is as follows: Three ropes, made of bowstrings, are laid upon heated coals, and *Athar. Ved.* 5. 6 is recited over them. The middle string represents death, the other strings the two armies. If the middle string passes over one of the other strings it forebodes the defeat of that army; if one of the outside strings passes over the middle string it signifies the victory of the army it represents. Further auguries as to the rank of the men who will fall are drawn from the portion of the string that curls—the top, middle, and bottom of the strings denoting men of similar standing. Reed-stalks (*īṣikā*) may be used instead of the ropes (cf. *Kauśika*, 15. 15-18). The *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* (3. 4. 10) attains the same purpose in the following manner: each contestant is represented by a pile of glowing smokeless coals; these are sprinkled at the same time with gḥi. He will be victorious whose pile first blazes up with flames free from smoke and moving from left to right.

To learn who will live long (*jīvita-viññāna*) the same test (3. 4. 11) proceeds in a similar way, but in this case the gḥi must be made from woman's milk and churned on the same day. The favourable omen in this case is for one's pile to burn longest. For the same purpose the *Kauśika*, 15. 13-14, directs that three ropes of bowstrings be laid on heated coals; if they curl upwards it is a good omen.

Another augury before the setting out of a warlike expedition is to produce an inauspicious smoke by sprinkling grass with *ingīda*-oil, reciting certain hymns over it, and burning it with an uncanny fire (for these details cf. art. WITCHCRAFT [Ved.]). The expedition will conquer the region towards which the smoke goes (cf. *Kauśika*, 14. 30-31).

The direction in which a lost object must be sought is discovered in the following ways: A water pitcher is covered with a new cloth and placed upon a bed which is not in its usual position, and the leavings of an offering made with recitation of *Athar. Ved.* 2. 1 are poured over it. The faces of two girls who have not yet menstruated are covered with a cloth so that they cannot see, and they are told to remove the pitcher. The lost object is in the direction in which they carry the pitcher. Dice may be used instead of the pitcher and a plough instead of the bed (cf. *Kauśika*, 37. 4-6). Another method consists of throwing down and spreading out at cross-roads twenty-one pebbles blessed with *Athar. Ved.* 7. 9, but how they indicate the direction is not specified (cf. *Kauśika*, 52. 12 ff.).

Whether a woman will get a husband is ascertained by tying calves to a seven-ply rope, smeared with the leavings of an offering made with recitation of *Athar. Ved.* 2. 36, and bidding her loose them. If she does so in order from left to right she will marry (cf. *Kauśika*, 34. 17). The direction from which the wooer will come is discovered by letting loose a steer, whose head is covered with a new cloth on which have been placed the leavings of an offering made with recitation of *Athar. Ved.* 2. 36 (cf. *Kauśika*, 34. 18-19). The same information is gained, at an oblation offered at dawn to *Aryaman* to obtain a husband for one's sister, by observing the direction from which the crows come (cf. *Kauśika*, 34. 21-24).

The sex of a child is foretold by placing four fruits of the flax plant in the mother's hand, blessing them with *Athar. Ved.* 1. 11, and pouring water over them. If they adhere to one another the child will, for obvious reasons, be a boy. Or the priest may whisper the same hymn over the son of a

Brāhman and order him to touch the mother. If the name of the limb touched is grammatically masculine, the child will be a boy (cf. Kausika, 33. 17-20). The conclusions drawn from the appearance of the root of a plant dug for a charm to secure easy delivery, and from the fact that the symbolical drawing apart of the *muñja*-grass is accomplished without tearing them, are to be considered as the observation of omens rather than charms of divination (Kausika, 33. 12. 3).

The prediction of the weather was an especial object of divination, and apparently undertaken by means of the smoke of burning dung. The idea readily passed into the form that the weather prophet controlled the weather. Hence, Athar. Ved. 6. 128 says: 'When the stars made Sakadhūma (he who predicts the weather from the smoke of dung) their king, they bestowed good weather upon him. "This shall be his dominion," they said.' The hymn is employed in Kausika, 50. 15-16, for the propitiation of Sakadhūma by one who is about to start on a journey (cf. Bloomfield, *AJPh* vii. 484 ff.). Among the Parisistas of the Atharva Veda is also a text entitled *Sadyovṛṣṭilakṣaṇa*, and devoted to the signs of rain that will come immediately.

In addition to these, the Kausika has a number of charms for obtaining the answer to any question. They are referred to briefly, with rubrication of the hymns required, in Kausika 37. 1-3, but fuller details are given in the commentary of Keśava. The first is as follows. The questioner thinks either to himself or aloud of the question he wishes answered. Then he recites a hymn over a milk-porridge; while it is cooking he thinks, 'This porridge is done,' or 'This porridge is not done.' If he has guessed correctly, the answer to the original question will be according to his wish. Similarly, the answer may be made to depend upon whether a substance laid upon heated coals will curl upwards or not; whether the number of blades in a bunch of grass is odd or even; whether a flower will close on the day after a hymn has been recited over it; whether he can foretell the direction in which a reed or arrow shot straight upwards will fall, or the side towards which a yoke or *kāmpīla*-branch (*Crinum amaryllaceae*) balanced on his head will fall; whether the quantity of milk he takes will be sufficient to fill to overflowing a vessel partly filled with water; whether the smoke from the fire moves from left to right, or *vice versa*; whether he can foretell the throw of the dice;¹ whether he can divide twenty-one pebbles into two heaps in such a way that the odd and even numbers will be in the hand that he expected.

On the same principle rest two charms of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, 3. 4. 9 and 6. Two heaps of unhusked grains are designated respectively as 'to be' and 'not to be,' and the person who is consulting the oracle is told to take his choice. Or the celebrant orders two pupils (*brahmachārins*) to raise two bamboo poles; if they bend (as he expects them to do), it is a sign of success. In both of these cases the necessary magic potency is imparted to the apparatus by the celebrant keeping it with him over night, and singing over it a certain *sāman*. At dawn this *sāman* is sung again, and the test takes place. In the same way, a maiden who has not yet menstruated is enabled to see the future in a mirror or spoonful of water (3. 4. 4, 5); a rod is made to forebode success by growing longer in the night (3. 4. 7); and the seeds that will thrive are distinguished by their increase of weight on the night of the full moon of the month of Aṣāḍha (3. 4. 8).

¹ For a late text containing elaborate oracles from dice, cf. Weber, 'Ueber ein indisches Würfeln-Orakel,' *Indische Streifen*, I. (Berlin, 1868) 274 ff.

As an example of such practices in a *śrauta*-text may be cited Taittiriya Saṁhitā, 3. 3. 8. 4, where directions are given to cook a cake of a certain size on the *ekāstakā* (the first or last night of the year), and in the morning to attempt to set fire with it to a thicket. If the thicket burns, it will be a lucky year. The same text also (ii. 509; Hiraṇyakeśin SS. 22. 13-14) employs a horse as a weather prophet. But the ceremony enjoined in Gobhila GS 4. 8. 14 ff.—one goes out of the village in an easterly or northern direction, and erects at cross-roads or on a mountain a pile of the dung of wild beasts, sets it on fire, sweeps the coals away, and makes an oblation of butter with his mouth: if the butter catches fire, he will get twelve villages; if it smokes, three—is less a means of divination than a charm to effect the desired purpose, combined with an augury from the ceremony, comparable with such practices as those of Kausika, 19. 21, 47. 29, and others.

In looking back upon these performances, certain common features may be observed: (1) A religious or quasi-religious ceremony is necessary to impart efficacy to the apparatus. (2) The general principle upon which most of them rest is the idea that, an association being established between two questions, the answer to the one will be the answer to the other, or that the person can answer both correctly who can answer one correctly. This is but a particular application of the fundamental principles of magic, that the part may be substituted for the whole, and that objects connected in any way, even though merely by an association of ideas, constitute a whole. (3) It is noteworthy that none of the *mantras* seems to have been primarily intended for the purpose for which they are here employed. (4) There is a marked tendency for the charms to pass from an inquiry about the future into a means of compelling a desired end.

In some cases the indication of success is the occurrence of what we would term a miracle, e.g. a growing rod, seeds increasing in weight. This idea is employed in several forms of the ordeal (*daivya*, *divya*), while in other cases the ordeal is merely a particularly intensified form of oath. Hence it is also called *śapatha*, literally 'oath' or 'self-curse.'

In reality the ordeal is but a particular form of divination, the question being the guilt or innocence of a suspected man. In view of the occurrence of this belief among other Indo-European peoples (Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, s.v. 'Gottesurtheil'), it is surprising to find only two incidental allusions to the practice in Vedic literature. The first of these is Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, 14. 6. 6, where the story is told of how the Rṣi Medhātithi taunted the Rṣi Vatsa with being not a Brahman, but the son of a Śūdra woman. The latter proposed that they should both pass through the fire to see which was the better Brahman. They did so, each singing the *sāman* that bears his name, and Vatsa emerged without losing a hair, for that was his wish, and the Vatsa *sāman* is a winner of wishes. The other passage is Chhândogya Upaniṣad, 6. 16. 1-3, where the trial of a man accused of theft, by a form of the fire ordeal in which the instrument is a heated axe, is employed as a parable. Another passage, Kausika, 52. 8, may bear upon the question. Among the practices assigned to the hymn Athar. Ved. 6. 106, which is used to prevent or heal the effects of fire, is the *sūtra*, *śāpyamāṇāya prayachekhati*. Sāyana, who is following Keśava, and who is followed in turn by Caland, explains that in place of the *taptamāṇa* ordeal (cf. below), the celebrant must recite the hymn over the oil or other substance employed before handing it to the person who is undergoing the ordeal. This interpretation cannot be correct, as such magical aids are especially forbidden in

the case of the *viṣa* ordeal; and, according to the *paribhāṣā* (general rule), Kauṣika, 7. 7, the *sūtra* must mean that the hymn is recited over a stirred drink and porridge which are given to the *śāpyamāna*. If it has anything to do with the ordeal, it must refer to a secret preparation, which would have been forbidden had it been detected. In this sense the middle, not the passive participle, should have been employed, and it is best to give to the word the general sense of 'one who is suffering from a curse.' That in later times the ceremony may have been performed especially by those about to undergo with guilty consciences the *taptamāṣa* (and *agni*?) ordeal is not improbable, and Keśava may be accepted as a witness to the fact; but there is no reason to believe that the ceremony was originally devised for such cases, or ever restricted to them.

Further evidence for the fire ordeal was formerly found in Athar. Ved. 2. 12. 1-8 (so Schlagintweit, *Die Gottesurtheile der Inder*, 1866, p. 9; Weber, *Indische Studien*, xiii. (1876) 164 ff.; Ludwig, *Der Rig-veda*, iii. (1878) 445; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 1879, p. 183 f.; Kaegi, *Alter und Herkunft des germ. Gottesurtheils*, 1887. The interpretation was first doubted by Roth (cf. Grill, *Hundert Lieder des Atharva Veda*, 1888, p. 16), and the ritualistic manipulation of the hymn in the Kauṣika Sūtra finally disclosed its true nature as an imprecation against an enemy for thwarting holy work (cf. Bloomfield, *AJPh* xi. 330 ff.; *SBE* xlii. 89, 294 ff.).

The earliest lawbooks, also, make but slight reference to the practice, most probably because it was not considered of great importance, and because they were consequently willing to leave the details to be decided by local customs. These have been gathered and systematized by the later treatises on law, which finally recognize nine forms of ordeal.

(1) By the scales (*dhata*, *tulā*). The accused is placed in one scale of a balance and his weight in stones and sand in the other scale. He descends from the scale, and after certain ceremonies is again placed on the balance. If he is lighter, he is innocent; if heavier, guilty. Equality of weight is generally considered proof of guilt in a less degree, though the authorities differ upon this point and upon the significance of accidents to the apparatus.

(2) By fire (*agni*). The accused, whose hands are more or less protected by leaves and grains, is required to step in seven circles, while holding in his hands a piece of heated iron. If his hands are burnt it is a proof of his guilt.

(3) By water (*salila*). To prove his innocence, the accused must remain under water until a swift runner can bring back an arrow shot at the time of submersion.

(4) By poison (*viṣa*). If no ill effects are observable within a certain time after the accused has taken the poison, he is declared innocent.

(5) By holy water (*koṣa*). An image of a god recognized by the accused is bathed in water, which is then given to the accused to drink. If he does so without betraying his guilt, and no misfortune happens to him within a certain time, he is innocent.

(6) By rice grains (*tapaṇḍula*). Grains of unhusked rice are soaked in water in which an image of a god has been bathed, and are given to the accused to chew. He is then required to spit upon a leaf. If there is no blood evident, and his gums are uninjured, he is innocent.

(7) By a heated gold-piece (*taptamāṣa*). The accused is required to take a gold-piece from a vessel of heated gḥi and oil. Quivering and blisters are proofs of guilt.

(8) By a ploughshare (*phāla*). The accused, to

establish his innocence, must lick a heated ploughshare without burning his tongue.

(9) By lot (*dharmādharma*). Representations of innocence and guilt are placed in a vessel, and the accused is required to draw one.

The form of ordeal is determined by the nature of the crime, the position of the accused, and the season of the year. There is observable, as always in Hindu law, the tendency to favour the upper castes, but there is also a tendency to moderate the conditions of the ordeal in favour of the accused, and the accuser is generally required to undergo the penalty in case the accused is acquitted. The ordeal can be applied only in the absence of human evidence, and, as was to be expected, is accompanied by religious ceremonies (for further details cf. J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, 1896, p. 144 f., and esp. A. F. Stenzler, 'Die ind. Gottesurtheile,' *ZDMG* ix. 661-682).

The practices described must be much older than the texts in which they are contained. There is no warrant for declaring the essentials of any one form later than another; and the familiar nature of the Vedic allusions to the fire ordeal as something well known warrants the belief that similar, if not identical, practices were in vogue in Vedic times.

Allusions to ordeals are found in the classic literature in Rāmāyana, vi. 101-103 (Gorresio), where Sītā proves her innocence by walking through fire; and in the *Mṛcchhakatikā*, 9. 43, p. 156 S., where the ordeals by fire, water, poison, and the scales are referred to.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the articles cited, cf. Victor Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris, 1904, pp. 69-73; A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 190; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 609 ff.; and the indexes to 'Hymns of the Atharva-Veda' (tr. M. Bloomfield), in *SBE* xlii., Oxford, 1897, and W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberitual*, Amsterdam, 1900.

G. M. BOLLING.

DIVINE RIGHT.—Divine right is a right conferred by God, sanctioned or inspired by Him, and based on His ordinance and appointment. The phrase is generally used to express the theory that kings hold their authority, not from the choice or consent of their subjects, but from God Himself alone. In English history it came into specific use in the 17th century, during the disputes between the Stuarts and their people. The claim of Divine right was pre-eminently made for that dynasty; the doctrine became the badge of Tories and High Churchmen; and at the Restoration in 1660 it was the accepted royalist creed. It was seriously maintained that hereditary monarchy, as opposed to every other form of government, has the Divine approval; that no human power can justly deprive a legitimate king of his rights; that the authority of such a king is necessarily always despotic; that constitutional liberties are not rights of the people, but concessions freely made by the king and liable to be resumed at his pleasure; that treaties which he may make with his subjects merely inform them of his present intentions, and are not contracts of which the performance can be demanded.

The chief representative of the Divine right party was Sir Robert Filmer, who in his books and pamphlets laid down the doctrine that the government of a family is the true original and model of all government, that all kings and governors derive their absolute authority from the patriarchs, and that to the end of the world the king will always have the natural right of a supreme father over a multitude. This fantastic theory was fully developed in his *Patriarcha*, a posthumous work (1680), but his position was sufficiently indicated in works published during his lifetime, his 'Freeholder's Grand Inquest touching our Sovereign Lord the King and his Parliament'

(1648), his 'Anarchy of a Limited and Mixed Monarchy' (1648), his 'Observations upon Mr. Hobbes' Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmasius, and H. Grotius, *De jure belli et pacis*, concerning the Original of Government' (1652). It amounted to a paternal despotism: the king alone is the maker of laws, the Lords only give counsel to the king, and the Commons merely 'perform and consent to the ordinances of parliament.' It was this 'patriarchal' theory of government, doggedly adhered to by the Stuarts, that rent the fabric of the constitution in the reign of Charles I., and drove the long-suffering nation to the Revolution of 1688.

In the previous century, Richard Hooker (c. 1553-1600) had given a philosophical statement of the principles of government, making the consent of the people the prime requisite:

'Without which consent there were no reason that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another; because, although there be according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of servile disposition; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceful contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary.'

'To fathers within their private families Nature hath given a supreme power; for which cause we see throughout the world, even from the foundation thereof, all men have ever been taken as lords and lawful kings in their own houses. Howbeit over a whole grand multitude having no such dependency upon any one, and consisting of so many families as every politic society in the world doth, impossible it is that any should have complete lawful power, but by consent of men, or immediate appointment of God; because, not having the natural superiority of fathers, their power must needs be either usurped, and then unlawful; or, if lawful, then either granted or consented unto by them over whom they exercise the same, or else given extraordinarily from God, unto whom all the world is subject' (*Eccle. Polity*, i. 10; Keeble's edition, i. 302 L).

To popularize the principles of the liberty of subjects, the fiery logic of Samuel Rutherford did more than the massive learning of Hooker. His *Lex Rex* (1644) was intolerable to the Royalists. Not only was it burnt by the hangman in Edinburgh in 1661, and by the hands of Sharpe under the windows of its author's college in St. Andrews, but it would probably have cost him his life, as he was about to be tried for high treason when he 'got another summons before a superior Judge.'

'The king,' he contends, 'hath no mastery dominion over the people, but only fiduciary' (116). 'That the power of the king is fiduciary, that is, given to him by God in trust, Royalists do not deny; but we hold that the trust is put upon the king by the people' (124). 'The people may be without the king, but not the king without the people' (144). 'Though God immediately without any action of the people make kings, this is a weak reason, to prove they cannot unmake them' (148). 'I utterly deny that God ever ordained such an irrational creature as an absolute monarch' (216). 'Whatever the king doth as king, that he doth by a power borrowed from the Estates, who made him king. He must then be nothing but an eminent servant of the State' (233).

The democratic principle was argued for in another classical work on English constitutional law and polity—Locke's *Two Treatises on Government* (1690). In the 'First Treatise' he subjects the writings of Filmer to a searching analysis, going over his arguments *seriatim*, and in the 'Second Treatise' he maintains that civil rulers hold their power not absolutely but conditionally, government being a moral trust which is forfeited if the conditions are not fulfilled by the trustees. Written for the immediate purpose of vindicating the Revolution, Locke's work contains the essential principles which have regulated political progress for over two centuries, and gradually moulded the British constitution.

Carlyle, in his lecture on 'The Hero as King,' remarks that 'much sorry stuff, written some hundred years ago or more, about the "Divine right of kings"' had better be left to rot silently in the Public Libraries. At the same time he does not wish to 'let the immense rubbish go without leaving us some soul of it behind.'

'Find me the true *Könning*, King, or Able-man, and he has a divine right over me. That we knew in some tolerable measure how to find him, and that all men were ready to acknowledge his divine right when found: this is precisely the healing which a sick world is everywhere, in these ages, seeking after!' (*On Heroes*, People's ed. p. 138 f.). 'He that models Nations according to his own image, he is a King, though his sceptre were a walking-stick; and properly no other is' (*Frederick the Great*, People's ed., vol. i. p. 236). In this high sense Cromwell is a king by Divine right; while Pitt is 'not born a King,—alas, no, not officially so, only naturally so; has his kingdom to seek. . . . tragical it is . . . to see a Royal Man, or Born King, wading towards his throne in such an element. But, alas, the Born King . . . so seldom can arrive there at all' (*ib.* vii. 139 f.).

The older doctrine had an ephemeral revival at the time of the Holy Alliance (1814), which, while to all appearances an attempt, inspired by the religious idealism of the Czar Alexander I., to find in the 'sacred precepts of the Gospel' a common basis for a general league of European governments having for its object the preservation of peace, was really a brotherhood of sovereigns holding the reins of government by Divine right. The same high doctrine was dear to the first German Emperor, who intensely believed himself to be the vicegerent of the 'God of battles'; and it is held as firmly by his grandson, who habitually lays stress on the Divine right by which alone the kings of Prussia rule, sincerely holding that they are appointed and inspired to shape their people's destinies. 'Considering myself as the instrument of the Lord, without heeding the views and opinions of the day, I go my way' (Königsberg speech, 1910). The principle is logically applied in Russia, where the Emperor places the crown (as the first Napoleon did) on his own head, deriving his kingly prerogative from no man, and being answerable to no man.

The Old Testament has often been regarded as teaching the Divine right of kings. But it speaks with a somewhat uncertain voice. In gratitude for the monarchy, which, arising out of natural beginnings, drew together all the vital energies of Israel in devotion to one God and one king, the prophets went to all lengths in proclaiming the king's person sacrosanct and his rule Divine. The earthly monarch was sent in the place of the heavenly; he was Jahweh's anointed and His son, the mediator through whom help, salvation, and blessing came to the people. The Civil State was a miracle, a gift of God, and even the glorious kingdom of the future was inconceivable without a heaven-sent king. Time, however, brought disillusionment; a succession of weak and unrighteous kings were unfaithful to the pure religion; Hosea (13¹) regarded the monarchy itself as an evil; and, according to a late stratum of the historical books, Samuel from the very beginning foresaw a dangerous rivalry to the kingship of Jahweh, an autocracy substituted for a theocracy (1 S 8⁷). It is certain that the prophets never renounced their Divine right of criticizing the policy and the character of their kings, and that long before the end came they remorselessly foretold the dissolution of the State and the abolition of the monarchy, at least until the Messiah should come to restore all things.

In the New Testament, Christ Himself acknowledges the rights of Caesar (the reigning Emperor was Tiberius) within his own sphere (Mk 12¹⁷), and St. Paul declares that the Powers that be (*ἐξουσίαι θεραπεύουσαι*) are ordained of God, so that resistance to the Power is resistance to the ordinance of God (Ro 13¹). The Divine-right party in the Jacobean and Caroline period regarded such utterances as strongly supporting their cause; and even Bishop Berkeley appears to have interpreted them as prescribing an unlimited obedience. 'Loyalty is a moral virtue, and "Thou shalt not resist the Supreme Power" a rule or law of nature, the least breach whereof hath the inherent stain of moral

turpitude' (*Works*, iv. 111 [quoted by Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, Edin. 1895, p. 372]). But the early Christians, who were so loyal to Cæsar 'for conscience' sake' (Ro 13⁵), were loyal to Christ for the same reason; and, when Cæsar went beyond his sphere and claimed from them Divine honours, they not only refused to bow to his authority, but branded him as 'the Beast.'

In truth, the despotic claim of Divine right must always make kings either odious or ridiculous. King James I., who was in the habit of telling his Parliament that 'they held their privileges merely during his pleasure, and that they had no more business to inquire what he might lawfully do than what the Deity might lawfully do' (Macaulay, *Hist. of Eng.*, ed. London, 1871, i. 37), was reminded by Melville that, though he was king over men, he was only 'God's silly vassal.' It was not a courtly speech, any more than Knox's memorable saying to Mary, 'Your will, Madam, is no reason.' But such bold utterances—the expression of the Divine and indefeasible right of private judgment—becoming household words, created an atmosphere in which the doctrine of Divine right to unlimited power ultimately died a natural death. Faint and ghostly echoes of it are still frequently heard abroad, as when Martensen (*Christian Ethics [Social]*, Eng. tr., Edin. 1882, p. 187) advocates hereditary monarchy, 'because of its full manifestation of the fact that the king exists not by the will of the people, but by the will of God, that the king and his authority are given us, that he is exactly the person whom we ought to have, that subjective arguing is in this matter of as little use as it would be to complain that we have not other parents than those whom God has given us, although those parents may have undeniable imperfections, to which we need not be blind, but by which our dutifulness must not be disturbed.'

The ideal State is that in which the Divine right of every personality is recognized, and the throne thus broad-based upon the people's will. In such a State each individual can say, in a much higher sense than was meant by the Grand Monarque, 'L'état c'est moi.' It is vain to imagine that 'there's such divinity doth hedge a king' (*Hamlet*, iv. v. 123), when the king happens to be Hamlet's stepfather, lawless and murderous; but the words have a profound significance when the Divine protection of a good king is mediated by the fervent loyalty of a great nation.

'Where the king doth guide the state, and the law the king, that commonwealth is like a harp or melodious instrument, the strings whereof are tuned and handled all by one, following as laws the rules and canons of musical science' (Hooker, viii. 2, Keble's ed. iii. 440).

See also art. GOVERNMENT, and Literature there cited. J. STRAHAN.

DIVORCE.—See MARRIAGE.

DOCETISM.—I. Name and definition.—Docetism (δοκρητισμός) is the heresy which teaches that Christ had no real material body and human nature, but only an apparent body, a phantasm of humanity (like the angel Raphael in To 12⁹). His acceptance of the ordinary laws that govern our life, His eating, drinking, birth, and death, are so many illusions (δόκεῖν, in the sense of 'seeming' only).

The name δοκρηταί (δοκρηταί) appears first in a letter of Serapion of Antioch (191-203 [reproduced by Euseb. *HE* vi. 12]), in which he forbids the reading of the apocryphal Gospel of Peter because it is corrupted by the 'successors of those who preceded Marcion, whom we call Docetes.' It appears again in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. 13 (*PG* viii. 1192), vii. 17 (*ib.* ix. 553), in Hippol. *Philos.* viii. 8 (*ib.* xvi. 3347), in Theodoret (*t. c.* 468), *Ep.* 82 (*ib.* lxxviii. 1264): 'Marcion, Valentine, Manes, and the other Docetes.' But the heresy existed long before the time of these writers. There are traces of it in the NT, it recurs in the Apostolic Fathers, it became part of the Gnostic system, continued in various forms among Manichæans and Monophysites, lasted into the Middle Ages, and was adopted (in part) by Muhammad.

Docetism was not so much a definite system as a tendency. There was not one organized Docetic sect; nor was the idea of a phantasmal body of Christ adopted for its own sake, for the sake of apparent reasons of philosophy, or on the ground of texts of Scripture, or other such arguments. It is rather the consequence to which other heresies led. It is found, moreover, in various forms, more or less perfect. One school had only few Docetic tendencies, another more; it was possible to hold Docetic views about our Lord's birth or conception, but not about His death, and *vice versa*. So we find it in many grades, ranging from a slight tendency to consider Christ's humanity as privileged, more spiritual than ours, less subject to humiliating conditions (in which form it might be held by orthodox Christians), to the extreme school which made all His life on earth a senseless mystification.

2. In the NT and the Apostolic Fathers.—Docetism is the first known Christian heresy. 'The blood of Christ was still fresh in Judæa,' says Jerome, 'when His body was said to be a phantasm' (*adv. Lucif.* 23 [*PL* xxiii. 186]). There are passages in the NT against those who deny the reality of our Lord's body. Certain texts in St. Paul which insist on Christ's birth from a woman, or on His having flesh (Gal 4⁴, Ro 1³ 9⁸; cf. He 2¹⁴), are sometimes supposed to be directed against Docetes. In any case, there is undeniably a polemic anti-Docetic meaning in the Epistles of St. John: 1 Jn 1³ and 4³ clearly have this sense, just as 2²² rejects the Gnostic basis of Docetism. In 2 Jn 7 there is the statement that 'many deceivers are gone forth into the world, even they that confess not that Jesus Christ cometh in the flesh' (A. Wurm, *Die Irrlehrer im ersten Johannesbrief*, Freiburg, 1903, pp. 53-62).

It may seem strange that Docetism should thus be the earliest of all heresies. One would have thought that the first and second Christian generations would at any rate have had no doubt about our Lord's real manhood. The explanation is that Docetism did not develop by a perverse process from the gospel and the Christian system, but came to Christianity from without. Already, before the time of Christ, the philosophy of dualism (*q.v.*) was in possession in Greek and Jewish schools. The concept of the universe as the battle-ground between two worlds—a good world of spirit and a bad world of matter—had a large number of adherents when the Christian gospel was first preached. Dualistic philosophies, then, combining with the Christian faith, produced the long chain of heresies that we class together as Gnosticism and Manichæism. In all the problem of evil (Tertullian, *de Præscr.* 7: 'unde malum et quare') is explained by dualism; and it must be remembered that dualism is not so much a Christian heresy as a totally un-Christian, pre-Christian, philosophy. Certainly in some of the extreme Gnostic schools there is hardly any Christianity at all. Docetism is a corollary of Gnostic dualism. All these combinations of the old Persian philosophy with the new religion took from the gospel at least the name of Jesus Christ as the leading champion of the good world of spirit, if not a final emanation from God its creator and protector. It followed, then, that He could not be Himself polluted by matter. He had come down to redeem men's souls by freeing them from matter; He Himself must be pure spirit. The body is bad, made by the powers of darkness and evil; therefore the Saviour could have no body. So all the passages of the Gospels that refer to His flesh, or to His dependence on matter in birth, eating, death, must be understood as describing mere appearances. It was necessary that He should seem to

have a material body, but this was only what seemed to be.

Docetism in the first period is always the corollary of some Gnostic system. F. Chr. Baur (*Die christliche Gnosis*, p. 258) held that all Gnostics were Docetes. This is not correct. There were Gnostic schools, as that of Basilides, which solved the problem in another way, denying any essential union between Christ, the spiritual Saviour-Æon, and the man Jesus—thus foreshadowing Nestorianism. But more or less advanced Docetic ideas accompany most Gnostic systems; although we cannot say that all Gnostics were Docetes, we may safely say that all early Docetes were Gnostics. Docetism was always a consequence of that representation of matter as evil which is the common element of Gnostic schools. It was a feature of Gnosticism specially hateful to the early Fathers, because it made of the Gospel story—all the Life that is to be our example (Jn 13¹⁵)—a vain pretence. 'Spare the one hope of the whole world,' says Tertullian to Marcion (*de carne Christi*, 5 [PL ii. 760]). Although this theory was not a separate heresy, but rather a consequence of the larger issue about dualism, it could be refuted separately. Apart from the general question whether matter be an emanation from the evil principle, it was possible to defend the real humanity and so the material body of Christ; it was possible to show to any one who accepted the story of His life in the Gospels that He was a real man, subject to the normal conditions of human life. Many Fathers accordingly discuss this question separately, and refute those who deny it, without dealing with the reason of their denial. So they have left us the concept of Docetism as a special heresy, and of Docetes as a particular class of persons.

The *Epistle of Barnabas*, v. 12 ('God says that the stroke of his flesh is from them [*sc.* the Jews]'), is sometimes supposed to contain a Docetic idea ('naiver Doketismus' [Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* i. 215]), but unjustly. The text goes on to declare the reality of the Passion and Crucifixion; the words quoted mean only that this was the fulfilment of prophecy (Funk, *Patres apost.*, Tübingen, 1901, i. 53, n. 12). *Ignatius of Antioch*, in the Greek version of his Letters, repeatedly and vehemently denounces those who say that Christ 'suffered apparently' (τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι [Trall. 10]), and insists on the reality of His flesh (*Eph.* 7, 18; *Trall.* 9-10). All the first part of *Smyrna*. (1-6) is devoted to anti-Docetic polemic.¹ *Polycarp* quotes 1 Jn 4^{2d}, adding that whoever does not confess the witness of the Cross is of the devil, and whoever denies the Resurrection and the Judgment is the first-born of Satan. He describes these ideas as 'the folly of many people' (*Phil.* vii. 1-2). This is generally believed to be directed against Marcion and his followers. Irenæus tells the story of Polycarp meeting Marcion and calling him the first-born of Satan (*Hær.* iii. iii. 4). *Justin Martyr* counts Marcionites among the other Gnostics who 'in no way worship Jesus, but only confess Him in words' (*Dial.* 35 [PG vi. 551]), and insists on Christ's real human nature (*ib.* 43 [568]).

3. Docetism in apocryphal scriptures.—There are traces of Docetism in several apocryphal books that circulated for a time among early Christians. We have seen that Serapion of Antioch forbade the reading of the *Gospel of Peter* because it had been corrupted by Docetes. The fragment lately discovered (in 1887 at Akhmim in Upper Egypt, published by U. Bouriant in 1892) confirms his judgment. Verse 10 says (of Christ on the cross); 'But he remained dumb, as one who feels no pain

(Harnack, 'Evang. u. Apokal. des Petrus,' *TU* ix. 2 [1893], p. 9).

Except those of Paul, all the apocryphal *Acts* of Apostles contain more or less Docetic ideas, often together with a certain amount of Encratism (a similar corollary of hatred of matter). The *Acts of John* (early 2nd cent.; cf. Euseb. *HE* iii. 25) exhibits the most pronounced form. At the Last Supper, St. John, leaning on Christ's breast, found it non-resisting (89 [Hennecke, *NT Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1904, p. 451]); at the entombment, the body of Christ was at one moment apparently solid, at another it was 'immaterial and incorporeal and like nothing' (93 [*ib.* 452]). The Crucifixion was only an appearance; at the same moment Christ appeared to John on the Mount of Olives and explained this (97 [*ib.* 454]). The *Acts of Peter* (cf. Euseb. iii. 2) has the statement, characteristic of one school of Docetism, that God sent His Son 'through the Virgin Mary' (7 [Hennecke, 399]). The material Passion was an appearance: 'What appears is quite different from this suffering, as it was from the passion of Christ' (37 [*ib.* 421]). The *Acts of Andrew* is strongly Encratite; its Docetism appears in § 6 (Hennecke, 466), where man is said to be 'immaterial, holy, light,' etc. In the *Acts of Thomas*, Docetism is less evident, but the usual Gnostic antithesis between matter and spirit is supposed throughout; Christ is spirit (Hennecke, 480-544). Only the *Acts of Paul* (*ib.* 369-383) seems free from any trace of this heresy.

In many cases the Docetism of these apocryphal scriptures is latent rather than manifest, or it shows itself only in one or two sentences. For the rest they speak of our Lord in much the same tone as the Canonical books. This explains how they could be read in orthodox circles often without suspicion. On the other hand, they were rejected by authority (cf. Euseb. iii. 25) because of their heretical tendency, shown chiefly in the form of Docetism.

4. The Gnostic Docetes.—The apocryphal scriptures quoted were composed in Gnostic circles; the quotations have anticipated part of what follows. With regard to Docetism the Gnostic schools fall into three classes: (1) those which were not Docetic at all, but distinguished Christ the spiritual Saviour from the normal man Jesus; (2) the milder Docetes, who admitted a body of Christ, though it was a spiritualized one (σῶμα ψυχικόν or πνευματικόν), and only passed through His mother, was not formed of her; (3) the extreme Docetes, who denied all reality to the body of Christ; He was born in no sense at all, and all His human life was a mere phantasm (Harnack, i. 285).

(1) *Basilides* (*q.v.*) (in Alexandria at the time of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138 [Euseb. iv. 7]) was not a Docete, but solved the Gnostic problem in the other way, by distinguishing the man Jesus from the Spirit, the *voûs*, who entered into Him at His baptism. Irenæus says that Basilides' account of the Crucifixion was that Simon of Cyrene was crucified by mistake, 'and Jesus Himself took the form of Simon, and stood by and laughed at them' (*Hær.* i. xxiv. 4). If Basilides really taught this [it is disputed], it shows a trace of one idea, common to most Docetes, namely, the denial of the Crucifixion.

(2) The milder school is represented by Valentinus, Apelles, Bardesanes, and Marinus. *Valentinus* (c. 120-160) taught that Jesus had a 'psychic' body which could not decay, was not subject to the normal laws of matter (Letter to Agathopus in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 7 [PG viii. 1161]): He passed through His mother as water through a pipe (καθάπερ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλῆνος [Iren. i. vii. 2]). He was an emanation from the thirty Æons, the visible appearance of the pre-existent Christ produced

¹ These passages are wanting in Cureton's Syriac version (Lightfoot, *The Apost. Fathers*, pt. ii. vol. i. [1889] p. 320).

through Mary by the lowest (female) *Æon*, Sophia, and the power of the Creator-demiurge (*ib.* i. xi. 2, 3). Later Valentinian schools developed and modified the founder's ideas in various directions. Some, keeping the idea of the non-natural body of Jesus, further distinguished between Him and Christ as two persons (*ib.* iii. xiv. 1). Mark (Irenæus) contemporary of this school) distinguished two baptisms of Jesus, one the (psychic) baptism of the 'apparent Jesus' (τοῦ φαινομένου Ἰησοῦ) by John for the forgiveness of sins, the other a pneumatic baptism, to which Mk 10^{38a} refers, in which He received Christ, or the Spirit, for His perfection (*ib.* i. xxi. 2). This represents exactly the combined milder Docetism and (as we should say) Nestorianism of this school. Marcion's disciple *Apelles* so far modified his master's teaching that he, too, must be classed among the milder Docetes. He admitted that Christ had a real body, formed from the stars and 'higher' substances of the world, not really born of Mary, but like the body of an angel (*sic*) (Tert. *de carne Christi*, 6 [PL ii. 763]; *adv. Marc.* iii. 11 [*ib.* 335]). We hear nothing of Docetism in *Bardesanes* himself (in Syria, A.D. 154-223? [Euseb. iv. 30]). Ephraim Syr. in his account (*Serm. polem. adv. hæc.* 1 [Opp. Syr., Rome, 1740, ii. 437-439]) says nothing of Christological errors, nor does Epiphanius (*Hæc.* lvi. [PG xli. 989-993]). But *Marinus* and others of Bardesanes' school taught the milder form of Docetism—that Christ had a 'heavenly' body, was not born of a woman, and suffered only apparently (Adamantius, *Dialog. de recta in Deum fide*, iii. [PG xi. 1793]).

(3) The chief defenders of extreme Docetism are Cerdo, Saturnil, and Marcion. *Cerdo* (Κέρδων, a Syrian in Rome at the time of Hyginus, c. 136-140 [Iren. i. xxvii. 1; cf. iii. iv. 3]) is known chiefly as the teacher of Marcion. He is said to have denied absolutely the reality of Christ's body and of all His apparently human actions (birth, death) on earth (Epiph. xli. [PG xli. 692-693]; Hippol. *Philosoph.* x. 19 [PG xvi. 3435-3438]). Irenæus (*ib.*) counts him a follower of Simon Magus, the supposed father of all Gnostic and Docetic theories. *Saturnil* (Saturninus, a Syrian [2nd cent.]), mentioned already by Justin (*Dial.* 35 [PG vi. 552]), was a consistent dualist in all his system, and carried his principles to their logical consequence in absolute Docetism. Our Lord was the Saviour, opposed to the God of Israel, and came to separate the sparks of life and spirit in men from matter. His own freedom from matter is emphasized strongly.

'He said the Saviour was unborn, incorporeal, without figure (*sine figura*), without real matter, apparently seeming a man; and he said the God of the Jews was one of the angels. . . . Christ had come to destroy the Jewish God and for the salvation of those who trusted Him (Christ); these are they who have a spark of His life' (Iren. i. xxiv. 2; cf. Hippol. *Philosoph.* vii. 25 [PG xvi. 3322]).

The most famous of all Docetes is *Marcion*. He was a sailor from Pontus (Tert. *Præscr.* 30 [PL ii. 481]; Euseb. v. 13), who became a Christian at Rome at the time of Eleutherius (c. 177-190? [Præscr., *ib.*]). Then he was attracted by Gnostic circles, and evolved a Gnostic system of his own which obtained a considerable following. Marcionites occur among the heretics in all the anti-Gnostic Fathers. Irenæus traces the line of Marcion's heresy through Cerdo from Simon Magus (*Hæc.* i. xxvii. 1). His Docetism, as regards the beginning of Christ's life, was complete. His followers read a corrupt version of St. Luke (*Hæc.* iii. xii. 7; *adv. Marc.* iv. 2 [PL ii. 364]), in which all the account of the birth and infancy was cancelled. Suddenly Christ appeared as a grown man: 'In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius He descended into the city of Galilee Capernaum

from the heaven of the Creator, into which He had already descended from His own' (*adv. Marc.* iv. 7 [PL ii. 369]); cf. Lk 3¹ 4²¹ (*adv. Marc.* i. 19 [*ib.* 267]; Iren. *Hæc.* i. xxvii. 2). He was in no sense really a man, had no real body; any connexion between the Divine Spirit Christ and matter is impossible (Tert. *de carne Christi*, 3 [PL ii. 757]). Marcion accepted the idea of the sacrificial death of Christ. For this reason it is often said that he admitted a real passion and death. But there is reason to doubt this. It seems that, although he constantly spoke and wrote of the death of Christ as did orthodox Christians, he understood it in a merely Docetic sense. Nikephoros i. of Constantinople (806-815) quotes a sentence from a lost work of Marcion: 'Christ seemed to suffer and be buried' (*Antirrhetika*, 21, in Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, Paris, 1852, i. 406). Tertullian devotes *adv. Marc.* iii. 8-11 (PL ii. 331-336) to proving, against the heretic, that Christ did not have a 'corpus phantasticum.'

There remains *Simon Magus*, the reputed author of Docetism, as of all Gnostic theories (Iren. *Hæc.* i. xxiii. 2; ii. Præf.; iii. Præf.). His name appears repeatedly as the inventor of this idea; but it is very doubtful how far he is not simply a type to whom all Gnostic developments are traced back.

Clement of Alexandria refers to Docetes (δοκῆται) in *Strom.* vii. 17 (PG ix. 553); in iii. 13 (*ib.* viii. 1192 f.) he alludes casually to a certain *Julius Cassianus* (Ιούλιος Κασσιανός), who, he says, was the leader of the sect of Docetes and a disciple of Valentinus. But the passage tells us nothing about Julius' Docetic ideas; the fragments that Clement quotes of his works (*ib.* iii. 13 and 14 [PG viii. 1192-1196]) show only Enactism. Jerome (*Com. in Gal.* vi. 8 [PL xxvi. 460]) repeats that Cassianus was a Docete. Otherwise nothing is known of him.

The Docetes, besides their principle that the Saviour could not be defiled by a material body, quoted certain texts of Scripture in favour of their view. Marcion made much of Mt 12⁴⁸, as showing that Christ had no mother (*adv. Marc.* iv. 19 [PL ii. 404]). He also quoted Ro 8³ (ἐν ὁμοιωματι σαρκός); so Nikephoros (in Pitra, *loc. cit.*). On the other hand, the Fathers had no lack of texts to quote against Docetism. The Epistles of St. John supplied, of course, many such. Polycarp quotes 1 Jn 4² (*Phil.* vii. 1); Ignatius uses Lk 24³⁹ (*Smyrn.* iii. 2). Iren. *Hæc.* iii. xxii. 1-3 and Tert. *de carne Christi*, 15 (PL ii. 779 f.), are good examples of contemporary controversy against Gnostic Docetism. It may be noted, too, that the body of Christ in the Holy Eucharist is frequently used as an argument against Docetes. Already in the time of Ignatius, Docetes 'abstain from the Eucharist and prayer (προσευχή, prayer of oblation?) because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ' (*Smyrn.* vii. 1). Irenæus (*Hæc.* iv. xviii. 5, v. ii. 2-3) and Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 40) use the Eucharist as a proof of the reality of Christ's body.

5. *Docetism in the Fathers.*—Certain Fathers have been accused of Docetic ideas. We have seen that Docetism admits of many degrees. It may be a question whether an otherwise orthodox Father conceived some mild form of it with regard to certain incidents of Christ's life. The *Epistle of Barnabas* has been accused wrongly (see above, p. 833*), nor does there seem to be any foundation for the alleged Docetism of Origen (cf. Harnack, i. 688). The case of Clement of Alexandria is more serious. Photius accuses him of this heresy (*Biblioth.* 109 [PG ciii. 384]). Yet he categorically rejects it (*Strom.* vii. 17 [PG ix. 553], iii. 17 [viii. 1205]); he says that our Lord was really a man

(*Pæd.* iii. 1 [viii. 556]), speaks of His flesh and blood (cf. *Strom.* v. 6 [ix. 58]; *Pæd.* ii. 2 [viii. 409]; *Quis dives salv.* 37 [ix. 641]), etc. His alleged Docetism consists of an idea that the body of Christ was not subject to natural desires, nor His soul to human passions, such as joy, sorrow, etc. (*Strom.* vi. 9 [ix. 292]; *Pæd.* i. 2 [viii. 252]). And in his *Adumbr. in Joh.* i. 1 (*PG* ix. 735) he repeats, as a tradition, the story told in the *Acts of John* (see above, p. 833^b), that at the descent from the cross, St. John, trying to touch the body of Christ, found a void there (the legend is told by Leukios Charinos, for whom see Photius, *Bibl.* 114 [*PG* ciii. 389]). Hilary is quite clear as to the reality of the body of Christ and its natural qualities (*de Trin.* x. 19 [*PL* x. 357]); but he calls it a 'heavenly' body (x. 18 [*ib.*]), and thinks that Christ's soul was not naturally subject to pain (x. 23 [*ib.* 361]). This idea, not uncommon among the Fathers, occurs as a supposed consequence of the hypostatic union, and can hardly be considered Docetism of even the mildest kind (Harnack, ii. 316 f.).

6. The Docetes in Hippolytus.—Hippolytus twice describes a sect whom he calls Docetes (*Philosoph.* viii. 8–11 [*PG* xvi. 3347–3358] and x. 16 [*ib.* 3434]). These people seem to have hardly anything of what is generally called Docetism; their use of the name is difficult to explain. Hippolytus says they call themselves Docetes (δοκῆτας, *ib.* viii. 11); he explains the name (ironically) as derived from the *beam* (δοκός) in their eye (Mt 7^a). Their system ('a much-tangled and inconsistent heresy' [*ib.* 11]) is one of the many forms of tortuous Gnostic philosophy about the origin of the universe. God is like a grain of the fig-tree, very small in size, infinite in power of development. From the seed come forth three emanations—branches, leaves, fruit; so from God three Æons, and all other things from them. Each Æon becomes perfect, that is, tenfold; so we have 30 Æons. They are male and female; they generate a middle Æon, who is the Saviour. So it goes on. One Æon, a fire-god, is the Creator-demiurge. Souls transmigrate. In a long tangle of wild nonsense the only trace of what we call Docetism is the statement that our Lord (whose life was as in the Gospels [*PG* xvi. 3355]) received at His baptism another body, the 'image and seal of the body born of the Virgin.' When His material body was crucified, His soul put on this other one, evidently a spiritual Docetic body. He lived 30 years, in each year manifesting the teaching of a different Æon. No wonder, then, that so many different heresies can appeal to His teaching! But only the Docetes, who are 'from the middle decad and the best ogdoad,' can really understand Him.¹

7. Later Docetism.—The Manichæans, as a consequence of their dualism, took over the Docetic idea. Augustine represents Faustus as denying the birth of Christ (c. *Faust.* ii. 1 [*PL* xlii. 209]), as describing His body as not human but formed of celestial elements (v. 1 [219]; cf. xi. 1 [243]), as denying the reality of His passion and death (xiv. 2 [296]). Mani's Docetism is further complicated by a curious distinction between the *Iesus impatibilis*, who is 'living spirit,' and the *Iesus patibilis*, who is the Soul of the world (G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre u. seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 35, 258, 337 f.).

Later developments of Manichæism continued the Docetic idea. The Priscillianists in Spain were not Docetes, though they were Dualists

(*Prisc. Can.* 17; ed. G. Schepss, *Corp. Script. eccl. Lat.* xviii. 118, Vienna, 1889). But the Cathari, Albigenses (*q.v.*; see especially vol. i. p. 281^b), and other mediæval Manichæan sects adopted Docetism as part of their system. The Albigenses carried it so far that they taught that the Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, St. John, as well as our Lord Himself, were all angels in the appearance of men (see documents in Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengesch. des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1890, ii. 34, 58, 66 f., etc.). In the year 1017 a Synod at Orleans condemned a number of heretics who denied the reality of the body of Christ (Mansi, xix. 377; Döllinger, i. 65, gives the date as 1022).

Pope Leo I. accuses the Monophysites of Docetism (*Ep.* xxvi. [*PL* liv. 745] etc.). There is something of this heresy in their system and in that of their predecessor Apollinaris, inasmuch as they taught that the body of Christ, absorbed in the Divinity, lost the natural qualities of human flesh. Julius of Halicarnassus († c. 518) and his followers, the Aphthartodoketæ, held this view as their distinguishing theory (cf. Liberatus, *Breviarium*, 19 [*PL* lxxviii. 1033 f.]). Muhammad adopted a Docetic view of the Crucifixion (*Qur'an*, iii. 45, tr. E. H. Palmer, *SBE* vi. [1900] 53 and n. 3). Some Anabaptists were Docetes (see ANABAPTISM, vol. i. p. 410). Lastly, various modern revivals of old heresies—theosophy and such like—have adopted Docetic ideas. Mrs. Eddy introduced a kind of Docetism as part of her 'Christian Science.' Her literary adviser, Rev. J. H. Wiggin, recognized her system as 'an ignorant revival' of Gnostic and Docetic theories (G. Milmine, *Life of M. B. G. Eddy*, London, 1909, p. 337).

LITERATURE.—For Gnostic Docetism the chief sources are Irenæus, *adv. Hæc.* (*PG* vii. 437–1224); Tertullian, *adv. Marcion.* (*PL* ii. 245–524), and *de carne Christi* (*ib.* 763–792); Hippolytus, *Philosophumena* (*PG* xvi. 3347–3358, 3434); Clem. Alex. *Strom.* (*PG* viii. 685–ix. 602), and *Pedagog.* (*PG* viii. 249–682). For Manichæan Docetism: Augustine's works against the Manichæans, esp. c. *Faust.* (*PL* xlii. 207–618); A. Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristentums*, Leipzig, 1884; A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch.*, new ed., 8 vols., Tübingen, 1909–10 (Eng. tr. of 3rd ed., 7 vols., London, 1894–9); F. Chr. Baur, *Die christliche Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1885; Hilgers, *Krit. Darstellung der Häresie*, Bonn, 1884; L. J. Tixeront, *Hist. des dogmes*, Paris, 1909, i. 196–207; G. Salmon, art. in *DCB*; J. Arendzen, art. in *Cath. Encyclopedia*; G. R. S. Mead, *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, London, 1906.

ADRIAN FORTESCUE.

DOCTETISM (Buddhist).—I. Origin and nature.

—Speaking generally, the Buddhist religion has a strong tendency towards docetic ideas as to the personality of its founder. The strictly orthodox Theravādins adhered to the practical moral teaching of the Master, and limited themselves to pious obedience to the rules and traditions of the community. This is the reason why they, and they alone, resisted strongly the docetic tendency of the heterodox Mahāsaṅghikas. On the other hand, the latter, not content with the mere formulae of the doctrine, tried in various ways to amplify the teachings of the Buddha and to pursue them to their respective consequences. The more they deified the Master and developed the idealistic sides of his doctrines, the less they came to think of his historical personality. They were more broad-minded, so to speak, and were not afraid to fly above the clouds of mythical fancies or of metaphysical speculations. On this account the men of this tendency called themselves the Mahāyānists, in contrast to the orthodox Hinayānists (see artt. MAHĀYĀNA, HINAYĀNA), though the origin and date of the former are still involved in obscurity. In this way we may fairly say that the Mahāyānists were more or less docetists, as their mythic fancy or idealistic speculation laid less stress on the historical Buddha.

Though a sharp demarcation can hardly be drawn between these two forms of Buddhism (the Mahāsaṅghikas, for example

¹ There is so little resemblance between the ideas of Hippolytus' Docetes and ordinary Docetism that Salmon in the *DCB* treats them separately as representing different heresies (l. 865–870).

stand midway between them), one of the characteristic differences is that the Hinayanists believe in a single Buddha, whereas many Buddhas are recognized by the Mahāyānists. The former believe in Gautama or Śākyamuni as the sole Tathāgata who is to be adored in this world-period, while the latter see in him one of the Buddhas residing in various Buddha-lands and influencing believers. The *Ekottara-gama*,¹ the Mahāsaṅghika counterpart of the Pāli *Aṅguttara*, tells of Maṇḍalyāyana's visit to the land of the Buddha Śikhī. This belief is extended to the ten directions, in each of which there is a Buddha-land, where a Buddha or many Buddhas reside in the state of bliss and attract their respective believers. It was inevitable, when faith was in this way extended to mythical Buddhas, that the concentration of belief in the actual Buddha should become more difficult or less necessary, and that the historical personality of the present Buddha should become more and more ephemeral and rarefied. This mythologizing and mystifying process of Buddhological speculations went on parallel or conjointly with the metaphysical identification of all the Buddhas in their essential reality. A Buddha appeared once in this world-period, and his historicity is established; but the importance and significance of his personality do not lie in his actual life, but in his connexion with the universal Buddhahood, the so-called *Dharmakāya* (see below).

Thus, docetism, or, to speak more generally, the docetic tendency in Buddhism, made its progress in two ways: one the way of mythical fancies about the Buddha's superhuman qualities, and the other that of metaphysical speculations on his personality as a Tathāgata and on its relations with the truth (*dharma*) which he revealed. So long and so far as the faith of Buddhists in the Master amounted to the reverence paid towards a sage who, having practised all the three branches of the Buddhist training, attained Buddhahood and led his followers in the same way, the Buddha remained a Tathāgata who, starting from the position of a human being, attained to his superhuman (Pāli *manus-suttara*) state.² Whatever his merits and powers, his earthly life was believed to have been as real as that of any other human being. But, as soon as the pious thoughts of believers began to place him side by side with a mythical Chakravartin or to make him far superior to the highest deity Brahmā, whether in his lifetime or after his death, his personality became more mythical and less human. Progress along this line is seen in the myth of his pre-existence in the *Tuṣitā* heaven and also in various *Jātakas* and *Nidānas* (such as that of the king Sudassana); and the tendency reached its acme in the mythologizing biographies, like that of the *Mahāvastu* or *Lalitavistara*. Of course, these mythologizers did not all go so far as to deny the reality of the Buddha's earthly life, yet their ideas verged on docetism and had a close kinship with the decidedly docetic theories, or at least supplied the materials to docetists.

Though the development of these ideas and their mutual relations cannot now be traced historically, it seems nearly certain that the mythologizing began soon after the Master's death, and found many adherents outside of the pale of the strictly orthodox teachers. The resistance of the orthodox Theravādins to this stream of thought is clearly seen in the *Theses* (*Kathāvatthū*), composed in the reign of Aśoka.³ The materials and composition of the *Mahāvastu*, above referred to, may be earlier than, or contemporary with, this orthodox defence of the historicity of the Buddha's life.

A more powerful impetus to docetic tendencies was supplied by the philosophical speculations contained even in Buddha's own teaching. The five *skandhas*, under which he classified the constituents of our bodily and mental life, had been declared to possess no final reality. He also emphasized the illusiveness of the six senses and of the desires arising from them.⁴ In short, the Buddhist ideal of an Arhat or of a Buddha consisted in transcend-

ing the passions and turbulence of physical life, and in finally overcoming life and death. Though the Buddha was not a nihilist, it was not without reason that his doctrines were charged with being 'a nihilistic wisdom' (*suñhāgāra-hatā paññā*). Vacuity (*suñhātā*) was one of his most important tenets, and, though this final vacuity could be attained only after the cessation of the bodily life, the aim of a Buddhist sage was to realize this ideal, among others, even in this life. Thus arose the question whether the Tathāgata existed or not after his death. Though this question was not answered in the negative (or in the affirmative), and though it did not raise the question of the reality of the Master's earthly life, the solution turned inevitably in the direction of docetism, when the transient life on earth was contrasted with the profound abyss of the vacuity beyond. The vacuity of the phenomenal world was still more emphasized in the later 'non-mark' (*alaksana*) philosophy of the Mahāyāna school, and it became a decidedly docetic theory, as applied to the personality of Buddha.

Another direction taken by Buddhist philosophy had its origin in the emphasis laid on the reality of the truths (*dharma*) revealed by the Buddha. His personality and his personal life are not ignored, but he is the Master and the Tathāgata, because he taught men truths according to reality (*yathā-bhūtam, tathatāya*). These truths are set forth, first of all, apparently in his sermons and doctrines (*dharma*), but they are universal in their nature as truths (*dhammatā*), and the capacity or dignity of a Buddha is due to the realization of them. So it is said that all the Buddhas have attained their Buddhahood by respecting these truths and living according to them.⁵ Moreover, they are stable (*dhamma-tiṭṭhā*) and fixed (*dhamma-niyamatā*),⁶ whether the Tathāgata arises or not in this world. Buddha's own utterance that he who sees the *dhamma* sees him, and *vice versa*,⁷ brings out clearly the identification of his personality with the truths, and this may further be noted as implying a distinction between his transitory life and his life as the Tathāgata according to truth. Here we have the clue to, and the source of, the idea of the *dharmakāya*, i.e. the Buddha's personality identified with *dharma* and opposed to his physical life. Though the followers of this school, sometimes called the Dharmalakṣaṇa, do not deny the reality of a corporeal existence of the Tathāgata, they are always inclined to emphasize the metaphysical or transcendental side of the Buddha's personality, and to regard his earthly life as a mere manifestation or a condescension for the sake of common mortals. The tendency is manifested in the *Lalitavistara*,⁸ and is represented chiefly by the *Suvarṇaprabhā* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. Those who developed from this thought a systematic Trinitarian theory were Aśvaghoṣa (*q.v.*) and Vasubandhu (*q.v.*), whose followers in this respect are the majority of Buddhists in the Far East.

2. The Mahāsaṅghikas.—While the orthodox Theravādins adhered strictly to the realistic view of the person of their Master, the heterodox progressionists, or Mahāsaṅghikas, boldly proceeded to idealize the Tathāgata. This tendency had long been fostered, as we have seen, and the materials for it were ready to hand in the belief in the Buddha's pre-existences both in this world and in the *Tuṣitā* heaven. The results of the idealization,

¹ Preserved in a Chinese tr. (Nanjio, *Catal.*, Oxt. 1883, no. 542).

² The present writer cannot agree with Kern (*Manual*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 64) in explaining *Aṅguttara*, iv, 38, in a docetic sense. There the expression 'not man' is to be understood in the sense 'not a common man,' i.e. that he is in the world but undetected by the world, as is said in *Aṅg.* iv, 36; *Saṃ.* 22, 94, etc. On this point other passages might be adduced.

³ *Kathāvatthū*, xvii, 1.

⁴ See *Saṃyutta*, xxii., xxv.; *Uddāna*, I, 10, viii, 1.; *Dīgha*, 11; *Kevaladdha Sutta* (tr. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896, pp. 308-313), etc.

⁵ *Saṃ.* 6. 1. 1; *Aṅg.* iv, 21.

⁶ See *Aṅg.* iii, 134 (Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. xiv, where the translation does not bring out the full sense of the word *dhamma*), and *Saṃ.* 12, 20. The same idea is expressed in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, ch. ii. vv. 100-103 (vv. 99-102 in Kern's tr. *SBE*, vol. xxi, p. 63).

⁷ *Itiv.* 92.

⁸ ed. Lefmann, Halle, 1902, pp. 436-437.

according to the authority of Vasumitra,¹ manifested themselves clearly in the schism of the schools, the orthodox and the heterodox. The idealizing process led to the identifying of the actual Buddha, in the essence of his personality, with all the Buddhas of the past, and thus to the neglecting of his historical personality. It was thought and taught that all the Buddhas were beyond worldly fetters (*lokottara*) and freed from all human passions. This is not very heterodox, but the Mahāsaṅghikas further argued that the single utterances of every Tathāgata implied the revelation of all truths at once. The physical body (*rūpakāya*) of a Tathāgata, they taught, has no limit in space, his virtues and powers are infinite, and his life has an immeasurable duration. How they thought of the infinity of the physical body is unknown, but probably they identified his personality with the cosmos (*dharmadhātu*) itself, as was done by the later Mahāyānists and Tantrists (see below). Further, they taught that the Buddha neither sleeps nor dreams. He is all the time in the state of complete union with all truths, in a deep contemplation, *yoga* (here we have a trace of the Ādibuddha [q.v.] or Dhyanibuddha), and therefore what he preaches is expressed by no notions or names. He is omniscient, comprehending all things at once, in the thought of one single moment, because in his mind is always present the mystic store of the *prajñā* wisdom. In his thought are constantly present at the same time the wisdom of extinction (*kṣiṇa-prajñā*, i.e. the consciousness that all pains are extinguished) and the wisdom of non-growth (*anupāda-prajñā*, i.e. in which is assured extinction in the future for ever). In these theses we see an idealizing identification of the Buddha's person with a universal Buddhahood, despite times and circumstances, the essential quality of a Buddha being his identification with the universe.

Quite naturally from these fundamental ideas is deduced the illusiveness of the corporeal life of a Buddha or of a Bodhisattva, i.e. of one who is preparing for Buddhahood. 'All Bodhisattvas,' the Mahāsaṅghikas say, 'enter the mother's womb, but they do not take up (the successive stages of embryonic development) *kalalāma*, *arabūda*, *peṭi*, and *ghana* in their own bodies.' They would be born in the various forms of transmigration, as brutes or as human beings, as told in *Jātakas*; but this happens not by necessity, but owing to their own decision and for the purposes of accumulating merit and of leading other beings to salvation. Their bodies are furnished with sense organs, which seem to be sometimes attached, sometimes unattached, to outward objects, and appear to be nourished by the bodies. Nevertheless, the Bodhisattvas do not see forms and colours by eyes, or hear sounds by ears, or smell by noses, or taste by tongues, nor have their bodies any real sense of touch; but their minds receive all impressions at once and thoroughly (this state is called the *samākṣa* [?]). What they utter in speech or act by body is done for the sake of others, in order to enlighten them. Therefore, when all is done that is to be done (*kṛta-karāṇīya*), they shut themselves out from all outward impressions and objects. In short, they are supra-men, and their physical lives are mere appearance, in contrast with their eternally serene essence.

Thus we see that the Mahāsaṅghikas were thorough doctetists, whose ideas seem to have proceeded parallel or conjointly with the mythologizing of the Buddha's life, as we see it in the *Mahāvastu* or the *Lalitavistara*.²

¹ See Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, pp. 253-262. The following statements as regards a Buddha and Bodhisattvas are founded on this authority.

² See *Mahāvastu*, ed. Sénart, Paris, 1890, and his *Essai sur la légende de Buddha*, Paris, 1882. The present Sanskrit

3. The Prajñā school.—Though the name *prajñā* meant originally intellectual training in general, it became gradually restricted to the exercise of contemplation transcending all discursive and rational knowledge. The content of this kind of meditation amounts to transcending self and all actual aspects of things, and ascending to the highest region of mystic union (*yoga*). In the Buddha's teaching we repeatedly find admonitions to this exercise, and it is said that his profound doctrine consisted in the teaching of vacuity (*śūñātā*, Skr. *śūnyatā*).¹ Among his disciples Subhūti is praised by the Master as the foremost of those who practised this method of contemplation among forest trees, as the man of meditation abandoning every thought of visible forms.² It is he to whom are ascribed the occasions of the conversations on the subject, and the various texts known as the *Prajñā-pāramitā* are handed down to us bearing his name. Though the longest of the texts is said to contain 100,000 *ślokas*, the gist of the whole amounts to nothing but the vacuity of all phenomena. All possible arguments, including a number of similes and parables, etc., are used to convince man of the non-reality of what is deemed by the common mind to be reality. Thus it is quite natural that the argument should be applied to the person of Buddha, and a most decided doctetism is represented by this group of texts and its followers, whom we would now call the Prajñā, or Alakṣaṇa, school.

Seeing the non-entity of everything phenomenal, and attaining to the height of mystic contemplation, one could realize in himself the depth of the *prajñā* wisdom.³ Buddhahood is the position wherein this wisdom is fully enlightened and the highest illumination is seen face to face. Even when denying any reality, the Prajñā school could not deny the reality of this state of illumination. Not only are a hundred thousand words and phrases used to describe this condition, but it is regarded as the most real of realities and is called the mother of all the Buddhas, the source from which they derive their enlightenment. Thus the innermost qualities of Buddhahood can be sought nowhere else than in the profound abyss of the *prajñā*. The natural consequence of this thought is that the earthly life of the Buddha Śākyamuni, including its incidents and his teachings, is in reality nothing but illusion, like all other phenomena of the visible world (*loka*). As the five constituents (*skandhas*) of the visible world are mere manifestations of what is in itself beyond all these forms, so the person of Śākyamuni is a perfect manifestation of omniscience (*sarvajña-jñāna*) which consists in the full realization of vacuity. All that he did and preached during his lifetime was only a matter of pedagogic (*upāya-karṣaṇa*), intended to admonish men to the exercise of the method and to lead them to this ultimate truth. He showed himself to have accumulated all possible merits of the six Pāramitās and to have accomplished his attainments in behaviour (*śīla*), contemplation (*śamādhi*), wisdom (*prajñā*), deliverance (*vimukti*), and the realization of the knowledge leading to it (*vimukti-jñāna-darśana*); but all these were done not for himself, but for the text is said to belong to the Mahāsaṅghika school, but, according to the Chinese version (Nanjio, no. 680), it used to be revered by the other schools also. We can trace the development of the legends and materials from the Pāli *Vinaya* (with which the Mahāsaṅghika and the Dharmagupta traditions stand nearly on the same level) to the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* (Nanjio, no. 1121) and then to the present text. The accumulation of biographical materials with addition of *nidānas* and *avadānas*, and the adoration of the life incidents through mythologizing, can be exhibited by bringing these texts together in a series.

¹ See above, p. 836.

² *Abh.* 1. 14. 2. *Udāna*, 6. 7.

³ The following statements are founded mostly on the *Alakṣaṇikā*, esp. pp. 63, 135 f., 256-278, 300-308, 512 f. (ed. Mitra, Calcutta, 1885).

sake of common men, in order to admonish (*anumodana*) them to similar attainments.

The final extinction (*parinirvāṇa*) of his physical body was, of course, not the end of a mortal, but was meant to be a visible example of ultimate absorption into the depth of vacuity. This applies to all Buddhas, past as well as future, who are infinite in number and nothing but individualized manifestations of the mother Prajñā. The name *Buddha* means the one who has realized the omniscience of the truth and identified himself with vacuity; and *Tathāgata* is a title applied to him on account of his revelation of this ultimate truth (*tathatā*) of vacuity. Common men see in him one who has attained this truth by the accomplishments of Buddhahood (i.e. *tathā-gata*), and who has appeared among men to reveal it to them (i.e. *tathā-āgata*). But, just as every phenomenon leaves no trace (*apada*) either of whence it comes or of whither it goes, so the *Tathāgata* in reality comes from nowhere (*na āgamaṇa*) and goes to nowhere (*na gamaṇa*). In this respect he is like space, and his person has essentially nothing other than the ultimate quality of all things, vacuity. The thirty-two special marks attributed to him are in reality 'non-marks' (*alaksanā*), and 'non-mark' is the characteristic of any *Tathāgata*. He teaches men and leads them to deliverance; still they are mere illusions, and the *Tathāgata* convinces them of their own vacuity. If this paradoxical argument be followed out, the conclusion runs as follows:

'They who saw me by form, and they who heard me by sound,
They engaged in false endeavours, will not see me.
A Buddha is to be seen from the Law (*dharma*); for the
Lords have the Law-body (*dharmakāya*);
And the nature of the Law cannot be understood, nor can
it be made to be understood.'¹

4. Nāgārjuna.—We do not know where or when these Prajñā texts originated. But we have before us one of them translated into Chinese in the 2nd cent. A.D. (Nanjiō, no. 5). A tradition says that the *Aśṭasāhasrikā* was first preserved in Southern India, and was then transmitted to the West and to the North of India.² Whatever the authenticity of the tradition may be, we see in Nāgārjuna, who is believed to have lived in Southern India in the 2nd or 3rd cent., a conspicuous propounder of the doctrine. He was a great dialectician, and pursued the negative dialectics of the Prajñā school till he reached a complete denial of any definite thought about anything, especially in his *Madhyamika-śāstra* (Nanjiō, no. 1179). In the 22nd chapter of this treatise he denies step by step every quality thinkable of the person of the *Tathāgata*. He has no physical body; yet, apart from physical body (which is in reality vacuity), there is no existence. He has no mind; yet, apart from mind, he is an inconceivable thing. Inconceivable and unthinkable as he is, he is not a non-existence. Being (*sat*) or non-being (*asat*) is never to be predicated of him, because both are illusions. He is neither a being nor a non-being, neither a non-being nor a non-nonbeing. In short, he has no substance (*ātma-bhāva*), just as every other being, both in his lifetime and after his death, has none. Any attribute, any thought of his substance, is to be denied, and thorough negations of relativities could lead to the deep insight into it in which is realized the contemplation of *prajñā*.

Thoroughgoing docetist as Nāgārjuna was, he did not deny the historicity of the Buddha's life, and thus was compelled to distinguish between the empirical and the transcendental standpoints in his Buddhology. This distinction is pointed out in his commentary³ on the *Satasāhasrikā*, the

largest of the Prajñā texts. In this work he does not employ negative dialectics, but endeavours to state the common view, i.e. the so-called 'Hīnayānist standpoint, faithfully, according to its adherents, and then to elevate it to, or explain it away from, his own transcendental, i.e. Mahāyānist, standpoint. Thus he admits therein the actuality of the occurrences and teachings in the Buddha's lifetime. In this respect his treatise is a kind of encyclopædia of Buddhist legends and doctrines, and the author reproduces faithfully the anti-docetic arguments, as found in the *Kathāvatthu* (or elsewhere), enumerating the incidents of the Buddha's life and their respective scenes. But Nāgārjuna's arguments run finally to the conclusion that all these earthly incidents belonged to the phenomena of the Buddha's physical body (*jātakāya*, i.e. 'born in flesh'), in contrast with his real substance (*dharmakāya*, also called *ātma-bhāvakāya* and *prajñākāya*). The former view is admitted from the standpoint of the earthly principle (*loka-artha*), and the latter is the only true view according to the first principle (*parama-artha*) of Prajñā. The thirty-two marks, etc., may be attributed to a Buddha only from the former point of view, and the final truth should amount to non-marks (*alaksanā*). If the *dharmakāya* should be stated positively, it fills up the infinite space in all directions, being furnished with all possible and imaginable qualities and dignities. Its activities have no limit; it preaches ceaselessly, and leads all beings to enlightenment with every means and method beyond our imaginations. The *jātakāya* may be of any number and of any kind, the Buddha Śākyamuni being one of them, and the most conspicuous to every eye in this world-period. Yet he was a mere manifestation of the true body, adapted to the needs of common men, who could be educated only by a phenomenal manifestation and by verbal teachings of the *Tathāgata*, appearing in a physical body like themselves. The sunlight pervades everywhere in space, but it can be seen by physical eyes only when reflected from a material body.

Thus Nāgārjuna does not wholly reject the existence of an historical Buddha, but this is a concession made to the common view, just as the physical life of a *Tathāgata* is a condescension for the sake of ordinary men. Yet it is undeniable that Nāgārjuna's speculations proceeded from faith in Śākyamuni's personality as a Buddha; hence he recognizes a distinct personality in Śākyamuni, as one of the innumerable Buddhas, and his descriptions of the Buddha's life and capacities are on the same lines as in the other forms of Buddhism. In short, Nāgārjuna's docetism was a necessary consequence of his philosophical standpoint; but his Buddhology is characterized by a sharp distinction between the *jātakāya* and the *dharmakāya*, in emphasizing the sole reality of the latter according to the fundamental principle of the Prajñā doctrine, and in admitting the historicity of the Buddha's life as a concession to the common view, and also as a manifestation of the Buddha's mercy and potency for the sake of the beings to be led.

5. Eternal Buddhahood.—Just as in Christianity the dogmas of *homoousia* and the Trinity stood in opposition to Docetism, so we see, in Buddhist history, similar aspects of the Buddhological speculations opposed to pronounced docetism. But most Buddhist thinkers had hardly reached a clear understanding of the demarcation between docetism and anti-docetism, and even among those Mahāyānists who, upon the whole, occupied an anti-docetic standpoint very few combated docetic tendencies so decidedly as the earlier Theravādins. The truths (*dharma*) revealed by the Buddha con-

¹ *Vajracchedhika* (SBE xlix. 140-141).

² *Aśṭasāhasrikā*, pp. 224-245.

³ Nanjiō, no. 1169.

tinued to hold the first place, and his person, Tathāgata, the second.

In this way a derivation of the personal Buddha from the original universality of the Truth or Buddhahood constantly taxed their ingenuity. Many thinkers tried to solve the problems in a way very similar to the Christian theories of the Logos and *kenosis*, but with this difference, that their ideas constantly verged on a docetic tendency in emphasizing the Buddhahood *a priori*, thus sacrificing more or less the actuality of the Buddha's life. Some of them laid special stress upon the eight (or four) important incidents in his life as the 'signs' (*lakṣaṇa*) of his Buddhahood; yet those signs were merged in the all-absorbing universality or monotony repeated in the career of each of the innumerable Buddhas. Even the anti-docetic Theravādins saw in Sākyamuni one of the Buddhas who appeared in the past and will appear in the future, and so his Buddhahood was made to consist in the realization of the one road (*ekayāna*) common to all Buddhas.¹ This capacity or dignity of a Buddha is expressed by means of the appellation Tathāgata. Hence the questions arise whether the various Buddhas, though individualized in personal distinctions, are one in substance, and whether the true personality of the present Buddha should be sought beyond his earthly life.

A solution of those questions was attempted in the *Suvarṇaprabhā*,² which took the question of the duration of the Tathāgata's life (*Tathāgata-āyus-pramāṇa*) as its text. In order to answer this question raised by an inquirer, the Buddha manifests himself in heavenly brilliancy, surrounded by the Tathāgatas Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitābha, and Dundubhīśvara on four sides; the questioner utters verses in praise and admiration of the Buddha's infinite life. Further, it is explained that his appearance in this world is with a view to the education of common mortals (*sattvaṇam paripācāya*), in a way adapted to their capacities. Thus what is essential in a Tathāgata is not his temporary appearance (*nirmāṇa-kāya*), but the eternal and universal life, in full possession of the Truths, *i.e.* the *dharma-kāya* (or *dharma-dhātu*), of which any particular Buddha partakes, and on account of which he becomes a Buddha.³ 'All the Buddhas are identical in their substance (*sama-rūpa*):⁴ therein lies the essence (*dharma*) of the Buddha. The Reverend One is not a maker, nor the Tathāgata a born one.' Thus the universal predominates over the particular, and a docetic tendency is manifest in this idealistic speculation in connexion with the mythologizing processes.

Another book, the 'Lotus of the True Law' (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*),⁵ tries to answer the same question on similar lines, and on a grander scale, but in a less docetic fashion. We might call this book 'the Johannine Gospel of Buddhism,' and the quintessence of the whole argument consists in identifying the actual Buddha with the Buddha who had no beginning. His appearance in this world as Sākyamuni was 'for the sole object, the sole aim, . . . of exhibiting to all beings the sight of the Buddha; . . . of opening the eyes to the sight of Tathāgata-knowledge.'⁶ For this purpose, for the sake of all beings, the Buddha adopted the expedient (*upāya-kauśalya*) of being born among the Sākyas, and manifested himself to have attained Buddhahood under the Bodhi tree, near Gayā, and to have entered into nirvāṇa. But in reality he has neither beginning nor end. He existed from eternity, and is to live for ever.⁷ Thus the second chapter of the book, which explains the cause and purpose of the Buddha's appearance, forms the centre of the introductory part; the fifteenth, which reveals the eternity of his essence, the centre of the middle, or main part; and the twentieth, the centre of the concluding part, shows the efficiency of the Buddha's teaching and authority for ever in the future. In other words, we have in the first place the actual appearance of the Buddha among men, as their father and the Lord of the world;⁸ then is revealed the original (*āgama*) essence of the Tathāgata, existing and acting from eternity (*ahimsa*); in the conclusion we have the assurance of the endurance of his personal influence as well as the mission of the Paraclete, so to speak, who is to appear in the latter days of the world. In these statements, however mythical and fantastic they may be in many passages, the text never loses sight of the Buddha's

personality.¹ At all events, we have in this book a Buddhist parallel to the Christian doctrines of the Logos and *kenosis*, if it does not wholly agree with them. Without going into the philosophical ideas underlying these Buddhological speculations, we can easily see how, according as the emphasis is laid on one or other of these two aspects of the Buddhahood,—the eternal and the temporary,—one who derives his ideas from this book may be led to an anti-docetic or a docetic view of the Buddha.

After a profound and elaborate system of Buddhist scholasticism, known as the T'ien-t'ai school, was organized by Ch'i-i² (531-597), the disputes were revived, both among his followers and among his opponents, as to which of the above two aspects was to be emphasized. The original (Chinese *pen*) and fundamental Buddhahood is the real essence, untouched by changes; and the Buddha, when viewed from his own substance, is nothing but his eternal person (the T'ien-t'ai school does not see in this a mere 'thatness,' *tathatā*, as did Nāgārjuna, but constant activities for the good of all beings). On the other hand, the derivative (Chinese *chi*, which means 'trace') Buddhahood is the trace left by the real Buddha among men, in order to educate them. Though Ch'i himself emphasized the inseparable unity of the two aspects, the disputes never ceased about the difference between the two, and as to the superiority of one over the other. Those who emphasized the original as superior to, or more real than, the other took refuge, more or less, in Nāgārjuna's philosophy, and thus inclined towards docetism. The difference of opinion continues to this day in Japan. Among the followers of Nichiren, the most ardent expounder of the orthodox T'ien-t'ai, the problem is shifted, and concerns the importance to be attached to either the Truth (*Dharma*) revealed by, or the person of, the Buddha, but the question remains substantially the same as before.

6. The Trinitarians.—The contrast between the eternal and the temporary aspects of the Buddha's person led to the assumption of a third aspect, which, after the fashion of Gnosticism, was to be the revelation of the Buddha to himself and to the superhuman beings, the Bodhisattvas. We see in Aśvaghōṣa (*g.v.*), the Buddhist Origen, the first systematization of the Trinitarian theory.³ The ultimate principle of his philosophy is the identity of Mind (*chitta*), which is 'thatness' or essence, in the person of the Buddha and in common men. This 'thatness' (*tathatā*) is the *dharma-kāya* of the Buddha, or the *tathāgata-garbha*, *i.e.* the womb and source from which every being derives its existence and activities. The Buddha does not remain in tranquillity in the womb, but manifests himself in the various conditions of bliss, according to the respective merits and enlightenment of the superhuman beings. These manifestations make up the bliss-body (*sambhogakāya*). Further, he adapts himself to the individuation-consciousness of common mortals, and appears in this world in condensation or incarnation, *i.e.* the *nirmāṇa-kāya*. Men see in it a body composed of gross matter which, though in itself not different from mind, is considered by them to be something outward, and thus what they look upon as the Buddha is only something like shadow or reflexion. Aśvaghōṣa's theory of the Trinity is, in this way, based upon an idealistic philosophy similar to the Prajñā school, at the same time with a Gnostic gradation of the Buddha's manifestations to all kinds of existence, and in this respect his Buddhology verges on a docetic view, almost abolishing the distinction of persons in the Trinity through its emphasis on the identity of the substance.

Another representative of the Trinity theory is

¹ On this point the present writer differs from Kern's remarks on p. xxvi of his translation.

² See Nanjio's *Catalogue*, Oxford, 1883, Appendix III no. 12.

³ In his work 'The Awakening of Faith' (Suzuki's Eng. tr. Chicago, 1900).

¹ *Dīpa*, 14; *Mahānīdāna* and *Saṅghyutta*, 47, 18, 47.

² ed. Sarad Chandra, fasc. 1, Calcutta, 1898.

³ *Suvarṇaprabhā*, pp. 6-8.

⁴ This translation of the word *rūpa* is given on the authority of the two Chinese translators.

⁵ ed. Kern-Nanjio, St. Petersburg, 1908-1911. Kern's tr. is in *BBE*, vol. xxi.

⁶ Tr. p. 40.

⁷ See tr. pp. xxv, 54-57, 292-297, 307-310.

⁸ Especially in this part, chapters ii-vii, we can trace many passages to the Pāli *Nikāyas* of the Theravādins.

Vasubandhu, together with his brother Asaṅga. His standpoint is essentially that of Āsvaghōṣa, differing from the latter only in nomenclature and subdivision. Vasubandhu is a theosophist, or a Gnostic, in his way of thinking and in his descriptions of the various mystic attainments. Moreover, he almost loses sight of a definite incarnation, such as Śākyamuni, and believes in innumerable condescension bodies (which he calls apparitions, *nirmīta*), appearing everywhere in any form, in the visions of the Bodhisattvas. These apparitions can meet and cross one another without any hindrance, and can assist one another in their educative purposes. Thus Vasubandhu, though an ardent believer in Maitreya, the future Buddha, opposes most decidedly the view that there appears only one Buddha in one world-period. The universe he sees is filled with all possible apparitions of Buddha, from gross matter, plants, and animals, up to the highest manifestations in the states of bliss.¹ Mysticism, Theosophy, Gnosticism, and Pantheism are combined in his doctetic Buddhology, which at last amounts to nothing else than Cosmology and Psychology.

Lastly, a similar doctetic Buddhology is represented by a chapter entitled the 'Triṭkāya' in the *Suvarṇaprabhā*, which is found only in I-tsing's translation, and is probably a later interpolation from the pen of a follower of Vasubandhu. This is apparently intended to be a further interpretation of the second chapter. Nevertheless, the writer makes no mention of the actual Buddha Śākyamuni, but emphasis is laid on the substantial identity of all the Buddhas, who are considered to be mere apparitions of the sole essence, the *dharma-kāya*. He thinks that, if one sees in the Buddha or Buddhas this identity of substance, as well as of intention and activities, according to truth (*dharma-tathātāyā*), there can be no talk about life or death, sleep or dream, thirst or hunger in the Tathāgata, because his own mind is, in reality, always tranquil in profound contemplation (*yoga*).

Thus we see Trinitarianism finally reaching a decided doctetism, though it started from a standpoint different from that of the Prajñā school. Āsvaghōṣa's psychological cosmology did not decidedly deny the reality of the condescension body. Nevertheless, the idea of unity in the Trinity proceeded, in Vasubandhu and his followers, to that of identity (*satatā*), verging on the negation of differences, as we have found in Nāgārjuna. These doctetists, however, did not go to the extreme of the latter's doctrine, but developed the Mahāsaṅghikas' Pantheism into their own theosophy. This theosophy is again worked up in the mysticism of the Mantra system, another form of decided doctetism, at which we shall now give a glance.

7. Mantra Buddhism.—Though we know very little about the origin and history of Mantra (Jap. Shingon) Buddhism, or Buddhist Tantrism, it shows a most abstruse form of religion, made up of extremely idealistic and materialistic elements. Its origin is ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and it has certainly his all-identifying idealism at its basis, but at the same time mystic interpretations of the material as well as ideal worlds, as found in Vasubandhu, play a great part. Numerous texts and formulæ were produced in India and were widely prevalent there in the last centuries of Buddhist history. We see them also used by the Lamas to-day side by side with their Prajñā texts. The most important text of this mysticism, the *Mahāvairocana-abhiśambodhi*, was brought to China by an Indian, Subhakarasiṃha († 735), and its final systematization was carried out in Japan by Kūkai († 835).

The Buddha, according to this philosophy, is nothing but the whole universe, the *dharma-dhātu*, including its six elements—earth, water, fire, air, space, and consciousness. It is his real body, the *dharma-kāya*, and it may be divided into two complementary constituents, the mental and the material. The former is called the *Garbhadhātu*, corresponding with the *Tathāgatagarbha* of Āsvaghōṣa; and the latter the *Vajradhātu*, the indestructible substance. The individualized phenomena are, in this way, nothing but the Buddha's revelation to himself, and at the same time the methods of benediction (*adhiṣṭhāna*) embracing all beings. The whole is called the Buddha Mahā-Vairocana. The numberless manifestations of his body, such as Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Vajrapāṇis, Padmapāṇis, etc., make up the whole pantheon of the religion, which is represented symbolically in the two sets of cycles or assemblages (*maṇḍala*), corresponding to the above divisions of the *Dhātu*. We shall not here enter into the details of this symbolism, for, as we might naturally expect, the historical Buddha dwindles almost to naught in this recondite system of mysticism. The name Śākyamuni is preserved in one corner of the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, but his actual personality means so little that these mystics have almost nothing to say of his life or teaching. A disciple of Subhakarasiṃha tried, in his commentary on the text named above, to explain the eternal Buddha taught in the Lotus as identical with Mahā-Vairocana, and later on some Japanese Mantrists identified Śākyamuni with their supreme Buddha. But all these attempts were carried on to neglect of the historical signification of Śākyamuni. In short, the person of the Buddha is, with them, dispersed and diffused over the whole universe, and he is ranked on the same level as any other superhuman beings. He is elevated on one side to the all-embracing *dharma-kāya*, and on the other is degraded to mere dust. This was a consequence of Buddhist materialism and idealism. It is only natural that, with the disintegration of the personal Buddha, the Buddhist religion, in this form, reached dissolution, and all kinds of abuses and superstitions were accepted and justified.

LITERATURE.—Besides the references and original materials cited above, see W. Wassilief, *Buddhismus*, St. Petersburg, 1860, p. 128 f.; E. Burnouf, *Introd. à l'hist. du Bouddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844, pp. 108-123, 219-220, 438-444, 514-555; L. de la V. Poussin, *Bouddhisme: études et matériaux*, Paris, 1896, *Bouddhisme: opinions sur l'histoire de la doctrine*, Paris, 1909, p. 248 f.; D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London, 1907, chs. vi. ix.-xii.; B. Nanjio, *Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects*, Tokyo, 1886, chs. iv. v. vii. viii. xi.

M. ANESAKI.

DOCTRINE AND DOGMA.—See CHURCH, CONFESSIONS, CREEDS.

DOG.—See ANIMALS.

DOLMEN.—See DEATH (Europe, pre-historic).

DOM.—The menial tribe of Dravidian origin, widely spread under various names in most parts of continental India. The Census returns of 1901 (*Census India*, ii. 323) show their numbers to be 977,026; and of the Dommarā, Domar, or Dombar, 97,456. But there must be some error in the tabulation, as none are shown in Bengal, where the Maghāyā Doms of Bihār are an important tribe. The Doms seem to be of diverse origin, and the social position of their various branches is very different. They certainly belong to a large extent to one of the non-Aryan races; but in many places they may be the descendants of the mixed race of serfs or slaves of the early conquerors. As Risley remarks:

¹ See esp. ch. xx. of his *Vijñānīmātrā* (Nanjio, no. 1216).

'The fact that for centuries past they have been condemned to the most menial duties, and have served as the helots of the entire Hindu community, would of itself be sufficient to break down whatever tribal spirit they may once have possessed, and to obliterate all structural traces of their true origin' (*Tribes and Castes*, i. 241).

The Doms of Northern India may be divided into three territorial groups, the ethnological connexion of which can be only a matter of speculation: (1) the eastern branch of the tribe found in the Plains districts to the east of the United Provinces and in Bihār; (2) the Doms of the Himalayas; (3) the Dom or Dūm Mirāsīs of the Panjāb.

1. *The Doms of the Ganges Plains.*—These are divided into numerous sub-tribes, such as the Bānsphor (*q.v.*), the Basor, and others. They differ in social position according to the business in which they are engaged, and in particular their rank depends upon whether they do or do not practise scavenging. The most interesting of these groups is that of the Maghaiyā Doms, who take their name from the ancient kingdom of Magadha or South Bihār. They are found in the western districts of Bengal and to the east of the United Provinces. In their original state they are vagrants pure and simple, who do not possess even mat shelters or tents to protect them in the cold and rainy season, but cower under trees, or lurk in cattle-sheds or under the eaves of houses. They live by burglary, petty theft, and begging, and their women are prostitutes. In Gorakhpur they have two special divinities of their own—Gandak and Samaiyā. Gandak is said to have been hanged for theft a long time ago, and when he was dying he promised to help the Maghaiyās in times of trouble. He is worshipped by the whole sub-tribe, and is invoked on all important occasions; but he is pre-eminently the god of theft. A successful raid is always celebrated by a sacrifice and feast in his honour. Samaiyā is a female deity, and apparently, as is usual among the Dravidians, she is recognized in a vague way to be the consort of Gandak. She is without special history or legend, and no sharp line of distinction is drawn between her functions and those of Gandak; but she seems to be especially invoked at childbirth and in illness. Both these deities are honoured with sacrifices of young pigs, with an offering of spirits mixed with sugar and spices. The Maghaiyās employ no priests; any of their number is capable of performing the rite. The meat and other things, after dedication, are divided among the worshippers. Sometimes at childbirth, or when a child is teething, a pig is specially sacrificed to Samaiyā, or this is done in fulfilment of a vow. They have no idol, altar, or religious platform. When a sacrifice is to be made, a space is cleared in a field, and the rite is performed.

Among those branches of the tribe whose social rank is superior to that of the Maghaiyās there is some approach to Hinduism, and the Mother goddess is worshipped as Bhavāni, while they have some vague idea of an all-powerful male deity called Paramēśvar, 'the great god,' who punishes the guilty, and of a hell; but what it is and how sinners are punished they know not. As Risley, writing of Bihār, remarks (*op. cit.* i. 245):

'The religion of the Doms varies greatly in different parts of the country, and may be described generally as a chaotic mixture of survivals from the elemental or animistic cults characteristic of the aboriginal races, and of observances borrowed in a haphazard fashion from whatever Hindu sect happens to be dominant in a particular locality. The composite and chaotic nature of their belief is due partly to the great ignorance of the caste, but mainly to the fact that, as a rule, they have no Brāhmins, and thus are without any central authority, or standard, which would tend to mould their religious usages into conformity with a uniform standard.'

The Maghaiyās, apparently as a survival of the matriarchate in some form, employ a sister's son to act as funeral priest and to recite the spells

(*mantra*) which are intended to lay the ghost of the dead.

'If a man dies of snake-bite, say the Maghaiyā Doms of the Gya district, we worship his spirit as a *Sāmpariyā* [snake godling] lest he should come back and give us bad dreams; we also worship the snake who bit him, lest the snake-god should serve us in like fashion. Any man, therefore, conspicuous enough by his doings in life or for the manner of his death to stand a chance of being dreamed of among a tolerably large circle is likely in course of time to take rank as a god' (*ib.* i. 247).

Hence arises the worship of Syām Singh, the deified ancestor of the Doms of Bihār, who may have been a successful robber, or of Gandak, to whom reference has already been made. The Bihār branch, again, worship Sansāri Māi, whom some identify with Kālī, but who is probably, as her name implies, the Earth Mother, known to most primitive religions.

'No image, not even the usual lump of clay, is set up to represent the goddess: a circle one span and four fingers in diameter is drawn on the ground and smeared smooth with cow-dung. Squatting in front of this the worshipper gashes his left arm with the curved Dom knife, and draws five streaks of blood with his finger in the centre of the circle, praying in a low voice that a dark night may aid his designs; that his booty may be ample; and that he and his gang may escape detection,' with which Risley (*op. cit.* i. 247 f.) aptly compares the prayer to Laverna:

'Da mihi fallere, da justo sanctoque videri,
Noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem'
(Horace, *Ep.* i. 16. 61 f.).

Similarly in the United Provinces the Doms, whose business it is to slay ownerless dogs, have a female deity called Kūkarmari, 'slayer of dogs,' to whom a sacrifice of a young pig and an offering of spirits are made as a propitiation for the death of the animals of which she is the guardian. The Dom executioner, on the same principle, as he lets the gallows fall, calls to the Emperor, the judge, and all who are concerned in the conviction and sentence of the criminal, to take the guilt of his death upon their own heads, and to save him thus from responsibility. In a still lower grade of belief are the so-called fetishistic practices of worshipping the 'jemmy' with which the Dom burglar makes entry into a house. They also when encamped near a village worship the local gods of the place.

This branch of the Doms feels the dread of evil spirits which is found among all races in a similar stage of culture. Mari Masān, the death spirit of the cremation ground, represents the impersonated dread which attaches to such uncanny places, and it is considered necessary to appease the ghosts of the dead by an annual celebration, if they are not to appear in dreams and afflict the living.

2. *The Himalayan Doms.*—These are in a much higher grade than those of Bihār and the neighbouring districts. They carry on various trades which in the Plains are each allotted to a separate caste. Their beliefs are of the same animistic type as those of the Doms of Bihār. In the first place, they worship a number of deified ghosts who are specially commemorated on account of the tragic circumstances of their death. Ganganāth was a prince murdered on account of a sexual intrigue, and he and his paramour are worshipped. When any one is aggrieved by a wicked or powerful enemy, he goes for aid to Ganganāth, who invariably punishes the wrongdoer. He sometimes possesses one of his followers, and through him prescribes the offerings which must be made to propitiate him. Bholanāth is a deity of the same type, the ghost of a prince who was assassinated. He is represented by a small iron trident placed in a corner of the house, to which offerings are made when any sudden calamity attacks the inmates.

Another class of deities represents the impersonated horror of graveyard or forest. Masān lives at a burning-ground, is black in colour and hideous in appearance. He comes from the ashes of a funeral pyre and chases passers-by at night, some of whom die of fright, whilst others go mad and linger for a

while. He possesses the sick, causes disease, and can be expelled by exorcism. Khabish lives in remote, dark glens, sometimes imitating the bellow of a buffalo, the cry of a goatherd, or the grunt of a wild pig. He frightens and besets unwary travellers. Besides malignant ghosts of this kind they also worship Khetrpāl, 'protector of the land,' the male consort of the Earth Mother, and Kalbisht and Chūmā, kindly deified ghosts who protect the herds and flocks. More terrible is Rāniyā, who rides from village to village on immense boulders, the impersonation of the avalanche or of the rocks falling from the mountain side. He attacks only females; and, should any one attract his attentions, she invariably wastes away, haunted by her demon lover, and joins him in spirit land.

3. *The Dom or Dūm Mirāsī*.—Quite different in occupation, at least from the Maghaiyā or Himālayan Doms, is the Dom or Dūm Mirāsī of the Panjāb, who has been well described by Ibbetson (*Panjāb Ethnography*, 289). He is a minstrel and ballad-singer, plays on the little drum, cymbals, and fiddle, and his women amuse ladies in zanānas by appearing as jesters and singers. It would not be difficult to show that these arts may have developed among the more savage Doms. But the Panjāb Doms are now quite distinct from the Maghaiyās and the Doms of the Himālayas, and in religion they have become nominally Muhammadans, though they still retain many of the animistic beliefs of the other branches of the tribe.

LITERATURE.—For Bengal, see Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 240 ff.; Wise, *Races, Castes, and Trades of Eastern Bengal*, London, 1883, p. 265 ff.; Gait, *Census Report Bengal*, 1901, i. App. vii. p. xlix. For the United Provinces, see Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Provs. and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1898, ii. 512 ff.; Atkinson, *Himālayan Gazetteer*, 1882-84, ii. 319 ff. For the Panjāb, Ibbetson, *Panjāb Ethnography*, Calcutta, 1883, p. 289. For the Dōmba of the Madras Presidency see Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, ii. (1909) 178. W. CROOKE.

DOMESTICATION.—The term applied to the control by human beings of the conditions under which animals and plants live and propagate their species. The extent of this control varies from case to case, and, although, logically, German authorities who include oysters and silkworms among domesticated animals are justified by the definition, the term as a rule is limited to such animals and such plants as are necessary for the existence or well-being of the human race—among animals, to the dog, the horse and the ass, the cow and other ruminants, the rabbit and similar rodents; to animals of great value for transport like the camel and the elephant, and to some birds; among plants, to cereals, roots, and tubers which have an agricultural value, various species of trees, and plants like flax and hemp which contain fibres of great use to man. The most primitive men do not possess either domesticated animals or domesticated plants. So far as at present is ascertained, palæolithic man in Europe possessed neither, though in a stratum intermediate between palæolithic and neolithic, at Mas d'Azil in the South of France, Edouard Piette found representations of heads of horses which in the woodcut look certainly as if they were fitted with halters (though this has been denied). Piette found also a little heap of wheat, which, except in one form, is no longer known in Europe as a wild plant. In rock-shelters of the palæolithic period many admirable drawings have been found of such animals as the reindeer, the horse, and the mammoth, and also large quantities of their bones. But it is generally believed that the bones came into the shelters clothed with flesh intended for food. Even in the 'kitchen-middens' of the coast of Denmark, which belong to the neolithic age, the only animal which can be identified as domesticated is the dog, so

that we may imagine the state of civilization of that period to resemble in the main that of the native Australians at the present day. These have no cultivated plants, and the only animal which can be called in any sense domesticated is the dingo—the native dog. As even the dingo in the pairing season often deserts its master, it cannot be considered entirely domesticated. Other animals are obviously not likely to be long kept as pets among savages who lay up no stores and at certain times of the year find natural products so scarce that they are driven to devouring their own children. The primitive savage has, however, undoubted ability to make friends with dumb animals, and in South America, where the conditions of life are on the whole easier than in Australia, the huts of the natives are full of animals, mostly birds, which they have tamed. The native, however, turns them to no practical use, and when he has been presented with ordinary fowls he uses neither their eggs nor their flesh. When the American Indians were given cattle, they could not imagine any other method of treatment for them than as animals to hunt.

The domestication of animals has obviously been a process continued over a long period of time, and in the case of most animals repeated at many different places by different persons. The stages in this process are not very clear. The most important animal to man in many ways is the cow. Its flesh and milk supply food; its skin provides clothing; its sinews, bones, and horns yield primitive implements. From very early times it has also been used as a means of exchange. As an early Persian writer says in the *Bahrām Yasht* of the Avesta, developing the texts of an earlier Yasna, 'in the ox is our strength, in the ox is our need; . . . in the ox is our food, in the ox is our clothing; in the ox is tillage, that makes food grow for us' (*SBE* xxiii. 247). In other circumstances the goat is of hardly less importance, while the sheep has been much more modified by its contact with man than these; and its bones, in Northern Europe at any rate, are found later and more rarely than those of the ox and goat. The conditions in which the horse was domesticated are also obscure. But this animal became indispensable in countries where large herds of cattle more or less domesticated came into existence. Sheep and goats can be controlled by shepherds with dogs; large herds of cattle can be controlled only by the mounted cowboy, who on the great plains of both the Old World and the New has become an important political factor. The geographical conditions which brought about the domestication of the camel and the elephant were much more limited in range. In the case of the pigeon it has been shown by Darwin that all varieties have arisen, under domestication, from the 'blue rock.' The goose was early domesticated; in the *Odyssey* (xv. 161-2) an eagle carries off one of Helen's geese as she feeds them in the courtyard at Sparta. The goose, duck, and pigeon were domesticated with a view to their use as food, but the turtle-dove was often kept simply as a pet, while the game-cock (the 'Persian bird' of the Greek poets) was kept from a sporting interest. It is impossible here to discuss other birds which have become thus domesticated in different parts of the world in more modern times, e.g. the turkey, the guinea-fowl, the pheasant, and the ostrich.

The causes which produce domestication in animals were classified nearly half a century ago by Francis Galton (*Trans. of the Ethnol. Soc. of London*, 1868, p. 123 ff.). To his analysis, though rarely quoted in recent times, later writers have added nothing of importance. He shows that animals which become domesticated must have an

inborn liking for man, be fond of comfort, be useful to savages, be hardy, breed freely, and be gregarious. The cat, it may be argued, is not gregarious; but it is fond of comfort, and, except in rare instances, is more attached to a place than to a person. The pig, on the other hand, has many of the qualities in which the cat is lacking, but it has for various obvious reasons never been domesticated in the same way, and even the crofter of the Hebrides or of Western Ireland, who shares his habitation with the cattle, as a rule excludes the pig. Some animals are kept by man in captivity without their being in the proper sense domesticated. Till lately the wild elephant had to be tamed, because elephants did not breed in captivity. But the speculations to which this fact has given rise are in the main ill-founded. The tame elephant in conditions approaching his wild state does breed (Darwin, *Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, popular ed., 1905, ii. 165).

Besides the natural causes postulated by Galton, the existence of animals both domesticated and undomesticated was probably to some extent guaranteed by religious or quasi-religious sanctions. In Persia and in Germany white horses were specially sacred (Herod. i. 189; Tac. *German*. 9, 10). In India animal life generally is sacred, but in Greece and Rome the ox which drew the plough was not to be killed. What effect totemism had upon the maintenance of particular animals and plants will be clearer when experts have decided precisely what totemism is (see Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 4 vols., London, 1910; and, for a different view, A. Lang, art. 'Totemism,' in *EB*,¹¹, 1911). Hahn's contention (*Die Haustierte*, 1896) that the domestication of kine began with animals kept in an enclosure by a temple for purposes of sacrifice has no real evidence in its support. The great enclosures belonging to the Persian kings, called in Avesta *pairi-daeza*, a word borrowed by Greek in the form *παρδείος*, had, it is true, many animals contained within them; but their religious character is not more obvious than that of an English gentleman's park. Most Greek temples stood in an enclosure (*révevos*), but the presence of cattle except at the time of sacrifice was not encouraged there, and in the Æolic inscription published by Kretschmer in 1902 (*Jahresh. d. oester. arch. Inst. in Wien*, v. 141) it is distinctly laid down that such animals are not to be fed in the precinct: *[μὴ σὺλφῆναι δὲ μὴδὲ κτήνηα μὴδὲ βοσκήματα ἐν τῷ ρέμειναι]*. That, however, there were several stages in the domestication of cattle, as Hahn contends, may be readily admitted. Some people, like the Chinese, who have domesticated cattle, look with disgust upon the use of their milk; others, who use both their flesh and their milk, have never employed them as draught animals. But Hahn probably exaggerates the length of time that it took to accustom the cow to yield her milk to a milkman or milkmaid instead of to her calf—a difficulty which is as present to a modern farmer with a cow that has been once allowed to suckle her calf as it was in early times. Probably milking began in the case of cows which had lost their calves, and to which milking was a relief, if they were already, in the Latin phrase, *mansuetæ*, 'accustomed to handling.' The careful selection through untold ages of animals which were 'good milkers' has no doubt increased the size of the cow's udder, but from the beginning the cow and the mare differ in this respect that the foal accompanies its mother from the first, while the cow in her native state when she goes to pasture leaves her calf in a brake and often does not return to it for a long time.

The domestication of plants is not exactly

parallel with the domestication of animals. While savage herdsmen like the Bechuanas object strongly to the women interfering with their animals, woman is undoubtedly the first gardener and agriculturist. As Lummholtz says (*Among Cannibals*, 1889, p. 160),

savage woman 'must do all the hard work, go out with her basket and her stick to gather fruits, dig roots, or chop larvae out of the tree-stems. . . . The stick in question, the woman's only implement, is indispensable to her on her expeditions after food. It is made of hard tough wood four or five feet long, and has a sharp point at one end made by alternately burning it in the fire and rubbing it with a stone. Even at dances and festivals the married women carry this stick as an emblem of dignity, as the provider of the family.'

This stick survives as an agricultural implement even among civilized peoples. The next step, and a long one, is to plant seeds the produce of which will be at hand when it is wanted. But for this several conditions are necessary which do not exist among the lowest savages even now: (1) the family must be either settled in a particular place or wandering in a very circumscribed area; (2) the planter of the seeds must be able to secure by some kind of sanction that they will not be injured by other persons; and (3) the planter himself must have more foresight than the lowest savages, so as to wait for the ripening of the fruit. At present there are hardly data by which we can explain how this was accomplished, but we may guess that the dibbling of seeds began with persons who found movement from place to place difficult, e.g. through the encumbrance of infant children, or through lameness or other physical disability. The protection of the plants, as it seems, could be secured only by superstitious dread. A precinct must be made which it would not be safe for other persons to invade. In other words, a *tabu* protected them. How such a *tabu* developed into law is well seen in the case of the sacred olives (*μωπία*) in ancient Attica, which were protected with a fence (*ἐγκός*), and damage to which was punished with confiscation and banishment.

Here we are faced once more with the problem which arose in connexion with the domestication of animals. Is this protective *tabu* totemism? F. B. Jevons (*Introduct. to History of Religion*, London, 1904, pp. 114 ff., 156, 210 ff.), who is followed by S. Reine (*Culte, mythes et religions*, 1 (Paris, 1905) 86 ff.), would attribute domestication of both animals and plants entirely to totemism; van Gennep (*Tabou et totemisme à Madagascar*, Paris, 1904 [Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes-études, sciences religieuses, xvii.]) no less emphatically argues for the existence of other causes (pp. 241 ff., 307 ff., and *passim*).

From the gathering of grass seeds, as still practised, e.g. in Australia, among the Hottentots, and among the lowest natives of the Pacific slopes of America, there was no doubt a gradual progress (which we cannot trace) to the planting of cereals. The Hindu writer who says that barley was the first of plants is from the point of view of food-grains probably right, but wheat in its many varieties speedily became of equal, if not greater, importance. It is on the different forms of grain that domestication has had more influence than anywhere else. Hence, for wheat, at any rate, the only species for which a wild original has been found is *Triticum monococcum*, of which the origin is said to be *Triticum agiopoloides*. This is found wild from Servia through Asia Minor to Mesopotamia and Antilibanus.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned above, see art. AGRICULTURE AND ANIMALS in vol. i. A good account of the domestication of animals and plants is given by H. Schurtz, *Urgesch. der Kultur*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 258 ff.; but this, like L. Reinhardt's *Kulturgech. der Nutzpflanzen* (2 parts, vol. iv. of *Die Erde und die Kultur*, Munich, 1911), is vitiated for scientific purposes by a lack of references. See also A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, Lond. 1884; G. Buschan, *Vorgeschichtl. Botanik der Kultur- und Nutzpflanzen der alten Welt*, Breslau, 1896; E. Hahn, *Die Haustierte*, Leipzig, 1896, and other works; C. Keller, *Die Abstammung der ältesten Haustierte*, Zürich, 1902, and a charming short account by the same author, *Die Stammesgesch. unserer Haustierte*, Leipzig, 1909, in Teubner's series, *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*.

P. GILES.

DONATISTS.—'Donatists' is the name given to the adherents of a schismatic Church which was formed in N. Africa at the beginning of the 4th cent., and continued, in spite of severe persecution, for more than a hundred years. Within the area which it affected, Donatism was for the greater part of the 5th cent. numerically the preponderating form of Christianity, but its influence was practically confined to the dioceses of Numidia and Mauretania. While in its origin it was largely due to personal and provincial rivalries, the schism came rapidly to involve serious problems concerning the nature and the functions of the Church, and it was crushed only by a combination of force applied by the State and the dialectical ability of Augustine.

The persecution under Diocletian had revived the question whether a priest or a bishop who had shown weakness or unfaithfulness could continue in, or be restored to, his office. The question had been answered with an unhesitating negative by Cyprian:

'They who have brought grievous sin upon them, that is, who by sacrificing to idols have offered sacrilegious sacrifices, cannot claim to themselves the priesthood of God, or offer any prayers in His sight for their brethren' (*Ep. lxx. 2; cf. lxxv. 2, 8*).

When, on the death of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage (A.D. 311), the deacon Cæcilian was elected as his successor, and consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga, objection was at once raised to the election, on the threefold ground that Cæcilian himself was unworthy of the office; that he had been elected only by the bishops in the district of Carthage, and not by those of the whole province of Numidia; and that his consecration was invalid, having been conferred by one who was himself a *traditor*. The opposition was led and organized, in the first place, by Secundus, bishop of Tigisis and primate of Numidia, who visited Carthage attended by seventy other bishops, excommunicated Cæcilian and those who adhered to him, and consecrated in his place Majorinus, a 'reader' who belonged to the opposite party. The Church of N. Africa was rent in twain. Each side excommunicated the other. Both appealed to the Emperor Constantine, ignoring thereby Tertullian's principle, '*Quid Imperatori cum ecclesia?*', and setting an evil precedent for the future. The Emperor, who, under the guidance of Hosius, bishop of Cordoba, had already shown favour to Cæcilian, yielded to the request of Majorinus, and called on Miltiades, bishop of Rome, with the assistance of the bishops of Arles, Autun, and Cologne, to investigate the dispute, and especially whether Felix was indeed a *traditor*. Their decision cleared the reputation of Felix and confirmed the consecration of Cæcilian, and also condemned Donatus of Casae Nigrae, a leader of the opposite party, on the ground that he had re-baptized Christians and re-ordained bishops who adhered to the schism. As the principles at issue were thus brought to the surface, the Donatists were only confirmed in their resolve to separate from the Church, and Constantine remitted the whole matter to a Synod which he convoked to meet at Arles (A.D. 314). This Synod, which, though described by Augustine as '*plenarium universae ecclesiae concilium*,' cannot claim to be more than a General Synod of the Latin West, condemned the Donatists on all points of their contention. The schism, nevertheless, continuing to spread, and Majorinus having been succeeded by Donatus Magnus, from whom the schismatic Church probably took its name, Constantine proceeded to civil measures, issuing a decree threatening to deprive the schismatics of their churches and to banish their bishops (A.D. 316). The policy of forcible suppression was pursued with great severity by

Ursacius, the Imperial commissioner, but with little success; and in 321 Constantine instructed both Ursacius and Cæcilian to adopt a policy of moderation.

Under his successor, Constans, the history of the schism followed much the same course. Both the persecution and the resistance were more determined. It was a period of much social distress and disturbance in Africa. The Donatists, as ecclesiastical rebels, provided a rallying-point for all the discontented and seditious elements in the population. There was a breakdown of social order. Bands of dispossessed peasants and escaped slaves infested the country, committing abominable outrages and exposing themselves to death with fanatical enthusiasm. They sought to make common cause with the Donatists, and called themselves *milites Christi agonistici*, but are better known as *circumcelliones*, 'hut-haunters.' The Donatists were discredited by these excesses, and suffered in their suppression. Many of them were put to death, many others were banished, and their churches were closed or confiscated. The accession of Julian brought a temporary relaxation to them, as to other schismatics and heretics, but under Gratian and Honorius the persecution was renewed. The schism continued, however, to flourish. Donatus Magnus, who died in exile, was succeeded by Parmenianus, and he by Primi-anus. The situation which Augustine found at Hippo was probably characteristic of many districts; the Catholics were in a minority, and the Donatists refused to supply them with bread. Towards the end of the century the movement was seriously weakened by internal dissension. Tychonius, the celebrated grammarian, was condemned by a Donatist Synod in 390 for having acknowledged that there were saints in the Catholic Church. A further breach took place over the question of admission to the Eucharist. Moreover, the continued and vigorous polemic undertaken by Augustine began to tell. A conference between the two parties was arranged by him at Carthage in 411, and was attended by 286 Catholics and 279 Donatist bishops. It led to no satisfactory conclusion, but provided an excuse for again putting the civil law in motion. Augustine himself provided the first reasoned defence of the persecution of Christians by Christians, though he demurred to the infliction of the death penalty. Fines, imprisonment, and confiscation followed, and in 415 the Donatists were prohibited from meeting for worship. Along with the Catholics they suffered grievously in the Vandal invasion, but there were still traces of their existence as late as the 7th cent., when they are referred to by Gregory the Great.

Donatism was not a heresy; neither did it develop any heretical teaching. It was not a dispute as to the organization of the Church, or even one concerning discipline merely, which underlay the schism. Both parties held by the episcopate, as both held to the Creeds. Donatism represents an attempt—the final one for a thousand years—to resist the process of secularization by which the Church was gradually transformed from a community of holy persons into an institution of mixed character, offering to secure salvation for its members by means of grace over which it had sole control. It belongs, therefore, to the same series of movements as is represented by the Encratites (*q.v.*), Montanists (*q.v.*), followers of Hippolytus, and Novatians (*q.v.*). Insistence on a minimum of personal worthiness in the clergy at least was 'the last remnant of a much more earnest conception' of the Church. It was met by the defenders of Catholicism with a new emphasis on the objective character of the sacraments, and upon

the holiness of the Church apart from the holiness or otherwise of its members and clergy. It was in the controversy with the Donatists, therefore, that the Catholic doctrine of the Church was completely developed. To the foundation principle of Donatism ('qui fidem a perfido sumserit, non fidem percipit sed reatum') Optatus of Mileve opposes an equally fundamental position, 'sacramenta per se esse sancta, non per homines.' It was not difficult for Augustine to show how many practical difficulties were involved in the Donatist contention, chief among them the difficulty, amounting to impossibility, of knowing the true character of the officiating priest. But he went further, and, by asserting the indelible character of Orders, whereby an ordained person retains the power to celebrate a valid sacrament, whatever be his views or his conduct, and the mixed composition of the Church as containing not only 'vessels for honour' but 'vessels for dishonour,' stamped its final form on the Catholic doctrine of the Catholic Church. It is true that in doing so he had to abandon the position taken by Cyprian, and assert the validity of all baptism, even that performed by heretics, provided that it was in the name of the Trinity. It is true also that baptism in this way came to lose some of its significance and to represent only a 'marking' of the recipient, the beginning of a process which, though it might begin anywhere, could be consummated only within the Catholic Church and by the addition of 'charity' to faith. Moreover, in the theory of the Church thus developed in opposition to the Donatists, Augustine at least prepares the way for the Reformation distinction between the Church visible and the Church invisible.

LITERATURE.—Optatus Milev., *de Schismate Donatistarum* [PL xi.]; Augustine, *c. Epistolam Parmeniani, de Unitate Ecclesie, de Baptismo contra Donatistas, c. Literas Petiliani, c. Cresconium, Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis, c. Gaudendum, Ep. ad Bonifacium*; F. Ribbeck, *Donatus und Augustinus*, Elberfeld, 1858; D. Völter, *Ursprung des Donatismus*, Freiburg, 1882; L. Duchesne, *Dossier du Donatisme*, Paris, 1890; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., 1894-99, esp. vol. v.; N. Bonwetsch, art. 'Donatismus,' in *PRE* 3, iv. 788-798.

C. A. SCOTT.

DOOM, DOOM MYTHS (Teutonic).—The belief in supernatural powers who preside over the destinies of mankind is met with among all the Teutonic peoples. These powers have more especially the end of life in their control, and they are accordingly now and then identified with the spirit of death. They are believed to become incarnate in female form, now coalescing in a single being, now appearing as three sisters, or even in whole multitudes. According as they dispense good or evil fortune to men, they are distinguished as friendly or hostile. To the individual they frequently reveal his fate in dreams, and this explains why dreams hold so important a place, not only in the common life, but also in the literature, of the Teutonic race (cf. W. Henzen, *Über die Träume in der altnordl. Sagalitteratur*, Leipzig, 1890).

The ancient Teutonic dialects possess several designations for the powers of destiny, and in not a few cases the terms have already acquired an abstract sense. All the tribes had the word meaning *fatum* or *eventus* which appears in O.H.G. *wurt*, A.S. *wyrd*, O.N. *urðr*, and which sometimes signifies the spirit of death or destiny, and sometimes death or destiny itself. In the old Saxon and Scandinavian dialects, again, the name found in O.S. *metod*, A.S. *meotod*, O.N. *mytöðr*, the power which 'metes out' or 'orders,' was in current use; while among the Southern Teutons we find O.H.G. *gascapt*, O.S. *giskap*, A.S. *gescap*, 'the spirit who creates' ('shapes'), which is given in Græco-Latin glosses as the equivalent of *parca*. In works of the 15th cent. the *gachschepfen* are still referred to as powers who bestow life upon man and order its course (Vintler, *Blume der Tugend*, 1411, line 7865).

The belief in the powers of destiny has assumed an altogether peculiar form in northern Scandinavia. Here they are known for the most part by the name of *nornir*. *Norn* is a word of obscure etymology, but appears to be connected with Swed.

norna, *nyrna*, 'to tell secretly,' 'to warn,' and Mid. Eng. *nyrnen*, 'to recite.' The fate of man is the work of the Norns (*skop norna*), and none can evade their decree. Even the destiny of the gods lies in their control. Hence they make their appearance at the birth of human beings, and support the mother in the pains of labour. People seek to win their favour by offerings. In the Faroe Islands it is still the custom for mothers to eat the 'Norn-groats' (*nornagreytur*) after a birth—a survival of the ancient oblation. The Norns then set the tokens of their goodwill upon the finger-nails of the child, and those who have white spots, the 'Norn-marks,' on their nails are children of fortune. Like the *fylgjur* (see art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Teutonic], vol. iv. p. 633), the Norns continue their good services to human beings throughout life. Óðin puts his protégé Sigurðr on his guard against the evil Norns, who in battle stand on either side of a man, wishing that he may receive wounds. The blows of fate are supposed to be the work of angry Norns, and defeats in war are also traced to their dictates. A person's death is likewise due to their decree. We thus see the hostile aspects of their character becoming more and more pronounced, and hence, as is stated in the *Völuspá* (8 ff.), they were believed to have sprung originally from the race of giants, and the golden age of the gods came to an end when the Norns came into being. From their leading representative, *Urðr*, is taken the name of the only fountain in the under world, the *Urðr* fountain; here, according to Snorri, lay their abode, and from this retreat they exercised their sway over the fruitfulness of the earth.

The Norns are often found in a group of three, or in three companies. It is possible that in this point the classical myths of the *Parce* may here and there have had an influence upon the sagas of the Norns. They are depicted as maidens who spin the thread of destiny for man. Their doings at the birth of Helgi, the slayer of the Hundinges, are narrated as follows:

'Night lay over the house when the Fates came to forecast the hero's life. They said that he should be called the most famous of kings and the best among princes. With power they twisted the strands of fate for Borghild's son in Bralund; they spread the woof of gold and made it fast under the midst of the moon's hall. In the east and the west they hid the thrums; all the land between was to be his. Neri's sister fastened one strand in the sides of the north, and prayed that it might hold for ever' (*Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, ii. 2 ff., *Corp. poet. bore.*, 1883, ii. 181).

The story of Meleager likewise appears among the Norn myths. The fatal three are present at the birth of Nornagest. The two elder sisters ordain fortune and renown for the child, but the younger decides that he shall live only so long as the taper by his cradle remains unconsumed. Thereupon the elder sister seizes the taper, extinguishes it, and hands it to the mother, thus conveying to mother and child the power of fixing the term of the child's life (*Nornagests saga*, ed. Bugge, 1865, p. 77).

The names *Verðandi* and *Skuld*, sometimes given to two of the Norns, are due to a learned blunder of the 12th cent., and have no better authority than an interpolation in the *Völuspá*. The author of the passage erroneously connected the name *Urðr* with the preterite stem of the verb *verða*, 'to be,' and interpreted it as denoting the Norn of the past; he then proceeded to fabricate a *Verðandi* as the Norn of the present, and a *Skuld* as the Norn of the future, taking the former from *verða*, and the latter from *skulu*, the word used to denote the future tense. The idea that the three Norns inscribe the life of man on tablets emanates from the same writer (*Völuspá*, 20).

LITERATURE.—J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Göttingen, 1875, i. 335 ff.; E. Mogk, *Germanische Mythol.*, Strassburg, 1907, p. 62 ff.; E. H. Meyer, *Mythol. d. Germanen*, Strassburg, 1908, p. 251 ff. E. MOGK.

DOOR.—Doors, whether of dwellings or of temples, play an important part in ritual and belief over a very wide area. Often the dwelling-place of a spirit or divinity, the door has almost invariably a sacred character. The origin of the latter is perhaps best sought in the conception of the door as separating between two worlds—the outside world, where are innumerable hostile influences and powers, and the region within the limits of the house, the influences and powers of which are friendly. The door is at once the barrier against those hostile influences, and that which gives entrance to those who have a right to pass to the sacred region within. Hence those who pass through the door—the limit of the sacred region, and therefore itself sacred—must do so with care and often with certain ritual acts. Thus the sacredness of the door was probably at first independent of its connexion with a god or spirit. But that connexion, once established, could only add to its sacred character. Again, being the dividing line between hostile and friendly spheres, the doorway was supposed to be a place where evil influences clustered, or sometimes even dwelt. But more usually the household spirits dwell at the door and protect it. As these are generally connected with the hearth, it is not clear why they should also be associated with the door. But two reasons may be suggested. The door is the exterior limit of their dominion, where their influence would first be met with, and where they might reasonably be supposed to dwell. And when men dwelt in rock-shelters, caves, or half-open huts, the fire would be at or near the entrance, as it still burns in front of savage huts.¹ When, later, it was taken into the house, the connexion of ancestral ghosts with the hearth would be shared with the entrance, their former exclusive domain. In some cases also burial takes place at the doorway.

Besides being sacred as a whole, the door has special sanctity in its more important parts—threshold, side-posts, and lintel—as will be seen in the course of this article. But it is impossible, with Trumbull, to regard the sacredness of the threshold as originating in its having been the primitive altar—first of the house, then of the temple. The many rites connected with threshold or door by no means bear out this theory, though, where sacrifice is performed at the door, the threshold stone may become for the nonce a species of altar. But more probably the sacrifice is not slain on the threshold, just as the fire at the entrance would not have the threshold for a hearth, while the altar of primitive tribes is unconnected with the threshold (see ALTAR).

The sacredness of the door as the passage to a different domain is seen in many folk-tales of the Forbidden, or Tabued, Door, through which certain persons must not pass, and beyond which lie matters into which they must not penetrate. To do so is generally followed by fatal consequences (cf 306 ff.). Similarly the stranger must not, without due preparation, pass the family door, nor may the profane cross the temple threshold.

1. Ritual acts at doors.—The sacredness of the door as a means of passage from one state to another appears in numerous rites connected with the threshold.

(a) *The bride must step across the threshold of the husband's house with the right foot foremost*, the bridegroom in the ancient Vedic ceremonial instructing her to do so (SBE xxx. 193). This custom is also found in more modern times elsewhere. Or, again, an animal is sacrificed at the threshold, and the bride must step across the outpoured blood—a custom existing among the Somalis, in Syria, Armenia, and with the Copts in Egypt (FLJ vi. [1888] 121; Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, 1896, p. 26; Garnett, *Women of Turkey*, 1890, p. 239; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 1846, iii.

¹ Cf. BRE II. 356 for instances among the Hereroes.

192). Or an offering is made, the materials being often presented to the bride, while she smears the door-posts with them, before crossing the threshold (see Trumbull, 29 f.). Even more wide-spread is the custom of carrying the bride across the threshold—a rite occurring among the Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Mordvins, Abyssinians, in Syria and Egypt, and found as a survival in parts of England and Scotland (Plut. *Rom. Quest.* 29; FL i. [1890] 459, 487; Bruce, *Travels*, 1804, vii. 67; Burckhardt, *Arab. Proverbs*, 1875, p. 137; NQ, 8th ser., x. [1896] 328; Dalyell, *Darker Sup. of Scotland*, 1835, p. 291; Gregor, *Folk-lore of N.E. of Scotland*, 1881, p. 51; Van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909, p. 186; for other refs., see Trumbull, 38 ff.). The last custom has sometimes been explained as a relic of marriage by capture, but it forms one of a group of rites by which it is sought to safeguard the sanctity of the threshold. Generally, before a stranger can be received, certain rites must be performed to remove the contagion of tabu resting on him *qua* stranger. The bride, belonging primitively to a different kin, was so far a stranger, and therefore dangerous. Hence certain precautions must be taken to render propitious the spirit or divinity of the threshold—an offering is made, or the bride is carried over the sacred spot (carrying or suspending above ground of tabued persons is a common rite), or she steps over, not on, it, but always with the right foot foremost, or she steps over the blood by which the spirit is propitiated, and through which, perhaps, she is brought into a kin or covenant relation with him. This is seen more clearly in a Panjāb rite. The bride holds the door-frame of the bridegroom's house. His mother gives her a cup of water to drink and welcomes her, and presents are given by members of the husband's family. Cotton is laid down, and she is bidden to come in. She steps on it, and is now an integral member of the family (FL ix. [1898] 152 f.). In some cases the bridegroom makes an offering at the threshold of the bride's house—perhaps a relic of those marriages in which the husband went to live in her home. Crooke (FL xiii. [1902] 238, 'The Lifting of the Bride') sees in the lifting a charm to promote fertility in some instances, in others a method of protection against evil influences. It should also be noted that in Lapland and Hungary stepping over the threshold ensures the protection of the family and of the tutelar spirit (Jones and Kropf, *Folk-Tales of the Magyars*, 1889, p. 410 f.).

(b) *Treading on the threshold is frequently forbidden, or is considered unlucky.* It must be stepped over, usually with the right foot first (cf. FL i. 459 [Tatars]; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 1883, p. 293 [Syrians]; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 118; Morier, *Second Journ. through Persia*, 1818, p. 254 [Muham. mosques]; Trumbull, 12 [Finns and Teutons]; 1 S 51⁵ [ætiological myth explaining why a temple threshold is not trodden on]). This scrupulous care in stepping over the threshold of a temple, e.g. that of Baal and of Jahweh, is also referred to and condemned in Zeph 1⁹. It is obvious that the act had the force of a religious rite. Similarly, novices, on initiation into a secret society among the Bella Coolas, had to leap over the threshold of the dancing house (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, iii. 512). Hence it is also unlucky to stumble on the threshold, especially when going on a journey or on business, etc. (Highlands, Germany, Transylvania, Malaysia, Syria, etc.; see Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 1815; FL i. 156, xviii. [1907] 59). Pythagoras refers to this belief, and says that 'he who strikes his foot against the threshold should turn back' (*Frag. Phil. Græc.*, ed. Mullach, 1868, i. 510). It is also dangerous to sneeze at the threshold, to sit, or to linger at it; or

for women to suckle their children there (Hindus, Slavs, Syrians, etc. [Crooke, *PE* i. 241; Trumbull, 11-12; *FL* xv. [1904] 208—negroes of Jamaica believe that 'duppies' will take those who sit at thresholds; *FL* xviii. 59]).

(c) The sacredness of the door, and especially of the threshold, demands also that *acts of reverence be paid there*. The threshold is to be crossed with the right foot first. Or a charm or prayer or sacred formula should be said ('Bismillah' [Arabs], Palgrave, *Arabia*, 1865, i. 51; a formula of blessing when the door is first opened in the morning [Hebrides], *FL* x. [1899] 261). Or prostration and touching the threshold with the forehead, kissing it or the door, taking off the shoes, crossing oneself on entering, are practised ([Muhammadans] Trumbull, 11, 123; Morier, 254; *Frag. Phil. Græc.* i. 510; Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, 1872, p. 137; Layard, *Nineveh*, 1849, i. 69).

(d) The sacredness of the door¹ makes it a place to deposit objects which are to be preserved in safety. In Iceland the caul, in which the child's guardian spirit or a part of its soul resides, was buried under the threshold, possibly with a view to re-birth in the event of the child dying. The spirit would pass into the mother as she crossed the threshold (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 874). Among the Baganda, at the monthly ceremony connected with the king's placenta, to ensure his life and health, it is deposited in the doorway for a night and a day (Roscoe, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 63, 76).

(e) The door is a usual place at which to offer sacrifices, either to propitiate the household spirit or god, and so to unite the 'house' with him, or to repel evil influences, or to remove the contagion of uncleanness from all in the house.

In Zindero two human victims were sacrificed, one at the threshold, which was smeared with the blood, before a new king entered the royal hut (Bruce, *Travels*, ii. 514). In W. Africa, in time of smallpox or expected trouble, gateways are sprinkled with sacrificial blood (Kingsley, *Travels in W. Afr.*, 1897, p. 451; Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Afr.*, 1904, p. 93). The Dayaks sprinkle the doorway with the blood of a pig sacrificed as an expiation for unchastity, and also with sacrificial blood at seed-time (St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, 1862, i. 64, 157). Among the Aztecs it was also usual to smear the temple doors with the blood, the sacrifice being offered on an altar near the door (Réville, *Native Rel. of Mexico*, 1884, pp. 179, 183). A similar custom may be seen in Herodotus' account (ii. 48) of the sacrifice of a swine to Osiris, at the door of each house. The carcass was given to the swineherd, so that the main part of the rite was the blood-shedding. In Bab. rituals a lamb was sacrificed at the gate of a house, and its blood smeared on lintel and doorposts, and on the huge images guarding the entrance (Zimmern, *Beiträge z. Kenntnis der bab. Rel.*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 127; cf. Layard, ii. 202). In Muslim houses it is usual to dip the hand in the blood of sacrifices offered on special occasions, and to mark the surface near the door in order to repel the *jinn* (*FL* xviii. [1907] 66). For other examples, Abyssinian, Hindu, see *ERE* i. 56b, iii. 445^a. The same rite of smearing the doorway with blood occurs as a survival in European folk-custom, e.g. in Greece at Easter, and in Ireland on St. Martin's eve, to keep out evil spirits during the year (*FL* i. 275; Mason, *Stat. Account*, 1814-9, iii. 76). It can hardly be doubted that the Hebrew Passover rite goes back to a sacrifice by which the household divinity dwelling at the doorway was propitiated and his protective power secured against the evil powers (the 'destroyer'). The blood was smeared on doorposts and lintel, and was perhaps first poured on the threshold (Ex 12²⁸ 'bason' ['threshold']).

The custom of slaying a sacrificial victim at the door to welcome a guest, or before the entrance of a stranger, or even on the return of the master of a house from a journey, which is so wide-spread, especially in Africa, Syria, and the East (see *FL* xviii. 66; Trumbull, i ff.), had probably the primitive intention of neutralizing the contagion of evil which a new-comer brings with him, and also of making the household gods propitious to him. From this it may have passed into a species of covenant rite—by the blood shed the new-comer or guest was made one with the household or its god. In other cases salt is sprinkled on the threshold, or bread and salt are offered to the

guest (cf. Trumbull, 3 ff., where the importance of the covenant aspect is perhaps over-emphasized).

Other offerings occur at the door. In ancient Vedic law the householder had to place an offering on the threshold, at the same time reciting a *mantra* (*SBE* ii. 107, 203). At seed-time in N.W. India a cup-shaped cake of cow-dung filled with corn, and water poured over it, is placed on the threshold (*FLR* v. [1882] 34). The first bundle of corn is placed near the threshold, and between it and the threshold a libation is poured forth, forming an offering of first-fruits to the household god (*ib.*; Trumbull, 16). In the north of Scotland, part of the first load of sea-*'waar'* used for manure was placed on New Year's day at each door of the farm to bring good fortune (Gregor, in *FLJ* ii. [1884] 331). In Babylonia, libations of oil, honey, and wine were poured over the thresholds of temples, and honey and wine over bolts (Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.*, 1898, p. 664 f.).

(f) The frequent use of sacrifices at or near doors of temples is seen from the fact that in many temples an altar stands beside the door or entrance. Among the Hebrews the altar of burnt-offering stood at the entrance of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting (Ex 40⁶). Offerings were brought to the door of the tent of meeting and slain, and the blood sprinkled on the altar (Lv 1⁵-5 3⁴ 4⁴, etc., cf. 17³⁴). Similarly, in the temple the altar of burnt-offering stood before the entrance to the Holy Place, like the large altar of the outer court of Bab. temples. The greater Greek and Roman altars frequently stood before the entrance to the *vab*s or *cella*. Trumbull notes other instances from Assyria and Asia Minor, Mexico, Polynesia, etc. (115, 121, 144, 150; cf. Ellis, *Pol. Researches*, 1832-6, iv. 89). In Dahomey little moulds of earth are often found at doorways, and on them offerings are laid (Schneider, *Rel. der afrik. Naturvölker*, Münster, 1891, p. 115); and in Greece altars were often placed at gateways or doors. The sanctity of the door or threshold is also emphasized in the OT. At the door of the tent of meeting took place the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Ex 29⁴⁴). In Ezekiel's ideal temple the 'Prince' is to worship at the threshold of the gate of the inner court (46⁹). When Moses spoke to Jahweh, the pillar of cloud descended and stood over the door of entrance to the tent of meeting; and in Ezekiel's temple the glory of Jahweh mounts up from the cherub and stands over the threshold of the house (Ex 33⁸, Dt 31¹⁵, Ezk 9¹⁰). The thresholds of the tent of meeting had their guardians (1 Ch 9²²), and later those of the temple (2 K 22⁴ 23⁴, 2 Ch 23⁴, Jer 35⁴; cf. Ps 84¹⁰). The office of doorkeeper (*θυρωπολ*, *πυλωπολ*) soon came into existence in the Christian Church (Cornelius, *ap. Euse. HE* vi. 43; Bingham, *Antiq.*, 1829, i. 293, cf. 257).

The ancient custom of baptism and font being outside the church (Euse. *HE* x. 4; Cyril, *Catech. Myst.* l. 2), preceded by the custom of baptizing in any place where there was water (*Gen. de Bapt.* 4; Justin, *Apol.* i. 61), is connected with the general idea that none but the initiated can enter the sanctuary, and also with the ritual of purification before sacrificing, entering a temple, etc., for which special vessels stood near the entrance—the *νεπιπαραρτια*, or fonts, at the entrance of the Greek *vab*s, the jars for ablutions which stood beside the altars of Bab. temples, the Bab. *apen*, and the lavers and brazen sea of Solomon's temple (Jastrow, 652-3; Sayce, *Rel. of Anc. Egypt and Bab.*, 1902, p. 468; 2 Ch 4²⁻⁷).

2. Guardian spirits and divinities of doors.—The sacredness of the door was connected with its spirit² or Divine guardianship. In many cases we find deliberate methods resorted to in order to secure a spirit guardian, in the first instance, of the door of a house, and later, of the gate of a city. One of these is *burial*. House burial is of very wide occurrence, and is probably primitive. It usually takes place under the floor, but there are occasional instances of its occurrence under the threshold

¹ The Celto-Iberian custom of dancing at the doors at the time of full moon may be noted (Strabo, iii. 4. 16).

(Ralston, 326 [Slavs]; Jastrow, 599 [Bab.]; *ERE* iii. 34* [Burma]). Burial at gates is also found in Greece—Ætolus was buried in a tomb in the gate leading to Olympia, and, from his grave over the Sæan gate at Troy, Laomedon was believed to guard the city. Neoptolemus was also buried under the threshold of the temple at Delphi (Pausanias, ed. Frazer, v. 4. 4 and notes). The ashes of Belinus, a British god, were said to have been preserved at the gate on the Thames (= Billingsgate [Geoff. Mon. iii. 1])—a myth founded on gate-burial and Divine guardianship of the gate. In other cases, sacrifice was resorted to. At the building of a hut or house a human victim is often placed under the roof-post, the four corners, the threshold, or the foundation, whatever that may be, or the walls; and the same is true of the building of a gate. There is no proof, however, that (as Trumbull supposes [*op. cit.* 21]) the threshold stone was originally the foundation stone. The victims may be intended to propitiate the earth-spirits whose domain is disturbed by the digging, but they are also expected to act as guardians of the house, door, or gate. In old Canaanite houses new-born children were sacrificed and buried under floor, corners, or threshold—a custom later commuted to burial of a lamp or bowls in these places (*PEFS*, 1903, pp. 10 f., 36 ff.). The passages in Jos 6²⁶, 1 K 16³⁴ have an undoubted reference to this custom. In Phœnicia, men were buried beneath gates to make the town secure (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, Berlin, 1840, ii. 46). Instances of sacrifices at the building of a city gate are cited from the farther East (Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law*, 1871, p. 212 [Siam]; Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*, 1903, i. 106; *ERE* iii. 27* [Tenasserim, Mandalay]), and in Senegambia it was formerly the custom to bury alive a boy and girl before the chief door of the town, in order to make it impregnable (Waitz, *Anthrop.*, Leipzig, 1860, ii. 197). The coins placed under the door in China and Syria at the building of a house are probably surrogates for such sacrifices, like the Canaanite lamps. In Syria a cock is sacrificed, and its blood poured over the lintel and steps of a new house (Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, 1866, ii. 75; *FL* xviii. [1907] 59).

On foundation-sacrifices in general, see Sartori, *ZE* xxx. [1898] 1 f.; Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 284 f.; Gomme, *Folk-Lore Relics*, 1883, p. 24).

In all such cases it is evident that the spirit of the door is connected with the household spirit, and that both are ultimately ghosts of the dead, though the sacrifice or burial took place there because the door or threshold was already considered an important part of the house. Souls were supposed to dwell under the threshold in ancient India (Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 553). Among the Slavs the *domovoj*, or house-spirit, associated with the hearth, is propitiated at certain times by offerings buried beneath the threshold (Trumbull, 19). Similarly the household *penates* of the Mordvins receive offerings at the door, which is their seat (*FL* i. 422 ff.). In Germany a spirit sits between door and doorpost; hence the door must not be banged, and other precautions must be taken lest he leave and take the luck with him (Grimm, 1820; *FL* xiii. [1902] 238 ff.). In Irish and Scots belief the household fairies reside at the threshold (Crooke, *PR* i. 241). In Samoa the tutelary spirit is also associated with the doorway, and is angry when water is spilt on the threshold (Turner, *Samoa*, 1884, p. 37).

In many regions the door or gate is put under the protection of special divinities, or is called by the name of a god. The Ainu have a god of door-posts, and to him, as to the gods of other parts of the hut, worship is paid at its construction, and offerings of *inao* are made at other times (*FLJ* vi.

[1888] 40; Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folk-lore*, 1901, p. 129). The Japanese have gods of doors and gates who guard against 'unfriendly things from below and above,' and are in some cases personifications of the gates, since these were conceived as living things exercising protective powers. Small prints of the *Ni-ō*, guardians of holy places, are set on the doors for protection (Reyon, *RHR* li. [1905] 389 f.; Aston, *Shinto*, 1905, pp. 168, 283). In China the usual gods of the doors are Shen-Shu and Ju-Lu, though other divinities or guardians occur. They guard the house and other buildings; and images of them, larger or smaller, or pictures of them, or simply their names, are found at the door, with a shrine on the left hand (de Groot, *Les Fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emou*, tr. Chavannes, Paris, 1886, p. 597 ff.; Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, New York, 1848, i. 731). In India, Vātuma is the threshold god, dwelling there, to whom offerings are made when the doorway is set up. Or, as among the Muls of Chotā Nāgpur, Dvāra Gusāin is lord of the house door, and is propitiated with rites and offerings, in time of calamity, at the doorway. Images and pictures of gods are also placed round doors (Trumbull, 95; Crooke, *PR* i. 104). In Egypt each building had its protecting deity, as doorway inscriptions prove, while sphinxes guarded the entrances of tombs and protected them from the attacks of the spirits of the desert. An inscription runs: 'I protect thy sepulchral chamber, I keep away the stranger, I overthrow the foes with their weapons.' In other cases a royal statue, wearing the magic *uraeus* diadem, guards the tomb (*ZA*, 1880, p. 50; Wilkinson, i. 362 f.; Maspero, *Études de myth.*, Paris, 1893, i. 79). The gates of Thebes were each dedicated to a planet, and connected with planetary worship (Nonnus, *Dionys.* v. 64). In Babylonia and Assyria gates of cities, palaces, etc., were often dedicated to gods or named after them, and each part of a house doorway was associated with the great divinities to whom appeal was made (Maspero, *Life in Anc. Eg. and Assy.* 1891, p. 220; Jastrow, 237). But, besides this, human-headed winged bulls, lions, and other monstrous forms stood at the entrances of temples and palaces to guard them against the approach of the demons, the brood of Tiamāt, with their composite forms (Maspero, 198 f.; Jastrow, 263; Sayce, 119). In Guatemala, Chahalka was the god of houses, and his protection was assured by sprinkling the doors with sacrificial blood. The great doorways of Central American temples were also guarded by human male and female or animal figures (Trumbull, 98, 146). In Rome, Janus was the primitive *numen* of the doorway of the house and the city-gate, preventing the passage of all evil things into the house, and so one of the Penates. He was god of the *jani*, gates in the form of arches on the roads, etc., the most ancient of which was that of the Forum, originally a temple in the form of a gateway. But Janus, as god of doors and gates, was rather god of the entry and departure through the gate or door. This is seen by the fact that each part of the door had its *numen*—Limentinus, of the threshold; Forculus, of the leaves of the door; Cardea, of the hinges (Wissowa, *Rel. u. Kult. der Römer*, Munich, 1902, p. 91 ff.; Toutain, *Études de myth.*, Paris, 1909, p. 197 ff.; Tert. de *Corona*, 13). In Greece, Apollo Agæus or Thyreus and the Antelii were concerned with entrances and doors. Images of Hecate stood at doors, to prevent the entrance of evil spirits and ghosts, and she was also invoked before the threshold for protection against them. At doors and gates stood also the *æqual*, protective images or symbols of Hermes (*CGS* ii. 509, 516; Brunck, *Analecta*, 1772-78, iii. 197; Tert. de *Cor.* 13). See *ERE* iii.

155, for Cambodian spirit-guardians of the door. The belief in Divine guardians of the doorway among the Hebrews is suggested by Ex 21⁹, where the bondman who does not wish to go free is brought to the *Elohim*, to the door or doorpост, where his ear is pierced with an awl (cf. *ERE* i. 445^b).

The presence of the household spirit or god makes the doorway sacred. This receives illustration in other directions in which sacred persons confer sacredness on the door. In Polynesia, when the king or queen entered a temple, the door was shut up as being sacred (Turner, *Polynesia*, 1861, p. 328). In India, any one ill of smallpox, being possessed by the smallpox deity, makes the house sacred, and the door is tabu to certain persons, or must only be crossed with a due ritual (Crooke, *PR* i. 125; cf. *ERE* iii. 312^b). In the South Sea Islands, the first-born being sacred, no one can pass through the door by which he enters his father's house (Gill, *Life in S. Isles*, 1876, p. 46). Cf. also Ezk 44² (the door by which Jahweh enters the temple is to be shut, and none but the 'Prince' can enter it).

The gates and doors of temples are always peculiarly sacred, since the temple is the abode of a god. The outer courts of Buddhist temples in China and Japan have single or double roofed gateways, *mon*, coloured a dull red, with figures on either side. In front are the 'heavenly dogs,' and under the gateway in some instances is the figure of Buddha, and the *Ni-ô*, or two kings, hideous and gigantic figures guarding the gate. Other hideous forms of the thunder and wind gods are set on niches in the gates. Petitions are made to the *Ni-ô*, written on paper pellets, which are chewed and flung against them. Before the inner sanctuary is reached many other gates must first be passed (Curzon, *Problems of the Far East*, 1894, p. 109; Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1893, pp. 21 f., 59).

Not only is the temple door sacred, and therefore highly decorated with carving or precious metals, but an isolated gateway or entrance arch is often found in front of it. This is a duplicate of the door, serving the same purpose, but acting as a preliminary entrance to the sacred precincts and a barrier against evil influences. It may be derived originally from the barriers or porticoes hung with charms which are often stretched across roads and entrances to villages to prevent the intrusion of all malicious things, e.g. in Africa (Kingsley, 450-1; van Gennep, 22). Such isolated doorways are placed in front of other buildings than temples, or they occur in other isolated situations, for particular purposes, e.g. monumental memorials. The *torii* of Japan is found in front of all Shinto and many Buddhist temples and shrines. It consists of two uprights and two or more cross-beams painted red, the upper projecting and curving upwards at both ends. Though now regarded as a bird perch, i.e. for the birds sacred to the gods, its original purpose is unmistakable (Aston, 231-2; Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 1890, p. 356; Bird, 148). In Korea the isolated gateway, *hong-sal-mun*, is a symbol of majesty and government, and is erected in front of palaces, government buildings, temples, and monasteries under royal patronage. The primitive purpose of the *hong-sal-mun* as a doorway is seen in the *geo-man*, an archway outside the western gate of the capital on the road to Peking, where the king goes to meet the Imperial envoys (Curzon, 142). In China these arches, *pailoo*, are of a commemorative nature. Similarly, the triumphal arch of the Romans suggests its primitive purpose as the gate through which the triumphant soldier returned from a hostile country into his own district. The *propylon*, or towered gateway, of Egyptian temples, with its flanking towers, obelisks, or statues, and tall masts, all led up to by an avenue of sphinxes, forms another example of such gateways. In Babylonia, before the gateway of the great court of the temple, stood two detached pillars, like the Egyptian gate obelisks. They correspond to the pillars Jachin and Boaz in front of Solomon's

temple (1 K 7²¹), and were doubtless the originals of these. Such pillars were commonly placed before Semitic temples, e.g. at Paphos and Hierapolis (Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 16; W. R. Smith², 457, 483).

Sayce regards the Bab. pillars as representing *Nin-gis-zida* ('Lord of the upright post') and Tammuz, wardens of the gate of heaven, just as the flanking towers of the Egyptian gate were said to represent Isis and Nephthys. In his opinion, Jachin is a translation of *Nin-gis-zida*, and Boaz perhaps a corrupt reminiscence of Tammuz (Sayce, *op. cit.* 350, 459-60; Jastrow, 624 f.).

3. Amulets at doorways.—Images of divinities and monstrous figures at doors and gates are intended to repel evil influences and powers, and to guarantee the protection of the doorway gods. The process is largely a magical one. As the demoniac figures keep off demons, so also the Medusa head, represented on door-knockers, has the same effect, or repels the evil eye. Such door-knockers or handles were used in ancient Italy, and are still common in modern Italy for the same purpose, while the female face on English door-knockers is derivative from these (*FL* xiv. [1903] 217). The same purpose was served by the small images of protective divinities, often with invocations printed on them, buried under the threshold of Assyrian houses, palaces, or temples, or placed at the doors to keep the house from the entrance and malice of fiends or enemies (Jastrow, 289). But, since amulets of all kinds are placed on the roofs, gables, windows, and walls of houses to ward off evil influences, they are naturally also fixed on doorways through which their entrance might so easily be effected. The custom is found from the lowest up to the highest levels of civilization. It is also very ancient. This is proved by the fact that, on the entrances of Neolithic cave-dwellings in Palestine, cup-markings which undoubtedly were religious symbols or served a magical purpose are found (see *ERE* iii. 178^a). In various parts of Africa, charms are hung on the doors to prevent evil spirits from entering; and in civilized Greece, doors and gates of all kinds were similarly protected (Kingsley, 450; Mackay, *Mackay of Uganda*, 1890, p. 112; *ERE* iii. 438^b). The door amulets used among all peoples are of various kinds, and only the principal varieties need be alluded to here.

(a) *Sacred plants, flowers, or branches* are commonly used, especially on particular occasions when evil forces are most to be dreaded, e.g. at a birth.

In Bab. incantations against demons, various plants are mentioned as having been hung on the lintel (Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Bab.*, 1903-4, i. 137). In India, at a birth, leaves and flowers along with a sickle, edge outwards, are placed outside the door to bar the demons (Billington, *Woman in India*, 1895, p. 2). The Greek and Roman practice of crowning the door with sacred garlands on various occasions (*Part. de Covona*, 10) had more than a festal purpose. In Attica, at the birth of a boy, an olive-wreath was hung on the door (Hesychius, s.v. *στέφανον ἐκέλευε*). In Rome, doorpост and threshold were touched thrice with an arbutus branch, and water was sprinkled at the entrance, at a birth, to keep off witches. Branches and wreaths were also hung up at the Pallida (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 721 ff., vi. 156). In modern Greece, a piece of wild onion is placed over the lintel to keep off the evil eye, or garlands of flowers and garlic are hung up on May-day for the same purpose (*FL* x. [1899] 181, 200). In China, at a birth, pumello-leaves and slips of a fragrant thorn are suspended over the door to keep off evil spirits (*FL* v. [1887] 222). In Japan, on New Year's day and on other occasions, branches, etc., are fixed up as averters, or a rope of rice straw with fern and holy leaves is hung up (Aston, 191, 312 f.). The Ainus place *ino* in doorways as charms against evil (Batchelor, 91). In Ireland, on May-eve, the threshold is strewn with marsh marigolds to keep out fairies and to bring luck (*FL* xv. [1904] 467). For similar practices in European folk-custom, see Frazer, *GB* 2 iii. 334; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* iii. 1200, 1209, 1211; and for additional instances, see *ERE* iii. 354^a, 394^b; Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, 1846, ii. 77. In the W. Highlands, pearl-water placed on the lintel keeps out ghosts (Campbell, *Witchcraft and Second Sight*, 1902, pp. 108, 172).

(b) *Salt* is sometimes strewn on the threshold, on account of its apotropaic properties, as in Syria (*FL* xviii. [1907] 70). In Aberdeenshire it was placed

with fire on the threshold of a byre, before a cow after calving left the byre (*FLJ* ii. [1884] 330). *Pebbles and grains* are sprinkled on the doorstep to keep out ghosts, who must count them and cannot get beyond three (*FL* xv. 214). *Iron* is also a powerful charm at doors as in other places, especially at birth, when an iron weapon or utensil is placed at the door (India [Campbell, *Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885, p. 387], and very commonly in European folk-custom at birth, after a funeral to keep the ghost out [*JAL* xv. 69], and on other occasions). Both because it is made of iron and also because of other reasons connected either with the former sacred nature of the horse or with its supposed resemblance to the form of the female sex organs, the *horse-shoe* is a very common door charm in most countries. Usually the charm is effective only when the ends are placed upwards. It keeps out fairies, witches, ghosts, and other evil powers, and keeps in or brings luck; and for this purpose it is found on house-, byre-, or stable-doors, doors of mosques, temples, or even Christian churches (see R. M. Lawrence, *Magic of the Horse-shoe*, Boston, 1899; Farrer, *Primitive Manners and Customs*, 1879, p. 293; Crooke, *PR* ii. 15 [India]; *ERE* iii. 451^b [Japan]; *FL* xi. [1900] 108, *FLR* iv. [1881] 189 [England]; *FLR* iv. 102, *FL* xvi. [1905] 70 [Jamaica]; Campbell, 12, 13, 15 [Hebrides]; *FLJ* ii. 43 [Turcomans]; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1867, p. 307 ff.). This charm is also very common on houses in the West Highlands.

(c) *A hand with the fingers extended* is represented on or above doors. Sometimes it is formed by dipping the hand in the blood of an animal slain at the door, and then making an impression of it on the door. Or the hand is painted—usually in vermilion—or carved. The custom is very common in the East among both Jews and Muhammadans (*FL* vi. 174, xv. 189, xviii. 66; Luncez, *Jerushalayim*, Vienna, 1892, i. 19; Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 1883, p. 275 f.). It is found in India, Japan, ancient Assyria, in Babylon and in Carthage (see *ERE* iii. 411^a, 446^a; Trumbull, 75, 78, 323). The hand thus serves the purpose of the open hand in folk-belief, as a powerful charm against the evil eye, and it also distracts and repels evil spirits (see Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, 1895, p. 233 ff.). Used to make an impression of blood, its purpose as the sign of a covenant between the contracting parties, human and Divine (so Trumbull, 66 ff.), if it exists at all, is secondary, as, wherever the hand is used, it is believed to be apotropaic, like the blood sprinkled on the doorposts. It is then, in fact, a double charm, both hand and blood having repellent powers. Analogous to the use of blood in this way is the touching of the doorposts with menstrual blood or urine, to dissolve spells of witchcraft or to keep off fairies, ghosts, or the evil eye (Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 24; Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900, p. 36, *Witchcraft*, 11, 137).

(d) *Sacred symbols* are affixed to doors as a powerful means of protection, like the Divine images at doors and gates. In Christian lands no symbol is more effective than the cross marked on the door or simply signed upon it or some particular part of it, or signed on oneself when entering or going out. It keeps off ghosts, witches, and all powers of evil (*FL* x. [1899] 178, 260, xvi. [1905] 50, 70; Grimm, iv. 1781; Trumbull, 18; cf. Tert. *de Cor.* 3). The *svastika* symbol is commonly marked on doors in the East for the same purpose (Hindus, Buddhists, etc. [Crooke, *PR* i. 12, 160; *ERE* iii. 412]). Perhaps the figures of cherubim carved on the doors of Solomon's temple served the same end (1 K 6²²⁻²⁵), as well as figures of the Paschal lamb, and other symbols on ancient synagogue lintels in

Palestine (Trumbull, 70). For a door charm composed of dust from Muhammad's tomb, see Lane, ii. 76. Over the doors of Egyptian temples was placed the winged disk of the sun, to drive off demons from the building (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 1894, p. 272).

(e) *Sacred formulae* written on doors have also a powerful apotropaic virtue, and are of very wide occurrence.

In Babylonia, tablets with sentences from the sacred texts were hung up to protect against demons (Jastrow, 269). In ancient Egypt, names and sentences of a lucky or favourable import were written over the doors or on the doorposts to secure a good dwelling (Wilkinson, i. 346, 361). In modern Egypt, and among all Muhammadans elsewhere, invocations to God, descriptions of His might, or passages from the Qur'an, are inscribed on doors (Lane, i. 26, ii. 74; Porter, *Travels*, 1821-2, i. 440). The Greeks placed inscriptions and wishes for 'good luck' over their doorways. Similar usages are found in India and China (Crooke, *PR* i. 160; Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, i. 731), while the Buddhist prayer poles and flags outside doors are analogous to door inscriptions. These usages show that the command to write the words of laws on 'the door posts of thy house, and upon thy gates' (Dt 6⁹ 11²⁰) was intended to take the place of some analogous heathen custom, though by the Hebrew words must have been regarded as efficacious against evil powers. If the household gods had been associated with doors, this dedication of the door to Jahweh showed that He was intended to take their place. Later Jews still fix the *mezuzah* to doorposts in the form of an amulet with sacred words and Name. This is touched with a finger of the right hand and kissed on going out, while a sacred formula is repeated. For the use of sacred writings or pictures affixed to doors among Christians see *ERE* iii. 425^b, 428^a. Texts carved on the lintel are commonly found on old houses, and this custom is undoubtedly derived from the older practice.

The wide-spread use of these door charms shows that the attack of ghosts, evil spirits, witches, or fairies was chiefly dreaded at the door, through which they sought to enter and do harm to those in the house. Hence at the Compitalia the Romans hung up effigies of all in the household, hoping that the ghosts coming to the door would be satisfied with these and not enter to take the living. But a closed door is not sufficient to keep out ghosts and demons, as in Babylonia they slip through bolts, doorposts, and sockets (Jastrow, 265); hence the value of charms to prevent this. But in some cases the evil powers actually dwell at the door or in its vicinity.

In Germany they are banished to between the door and doorpost (Grimm, iv. 1515). In Jerusalem the powers of evil are supposed to infest the threshold, doors, and entrances (*FL* xvii. [1907] 58). Among the Birhors of Bengal the spirits lurk at the door (Crooke, *PR* ii. 56), and in Burma different evil spirits reside at doors and gates (*ERE* iii. 254). These beliefs perhaps explain the curse of Allatu to Uddishu-namir, 'the threshold be thy dwelling', suggesting that in Babylonia it was the abode of dangerous spirits who would torment him.

But even against such door-dwelling spirits charms were efficacious, since they could keep them in check.

4. *Magic rites at doors.*—Many magical rites are performed at the door, either (1) to transfer evil to those who enter or pass out; or (2) to secure the assistance of the spirits, good or bad, dwelling or lurking there; or (3) simply because the doorway is a sacred place.

For examples of (1), see *FL* xv. [1904] 60; Crooke, *PR* i. 164; Lane, ii. 46; Grimm, 1095^t; of (2), Jastrow, 268; of (3), Trumbull, 18, 20; Theocritus, *Idyl.* ii. 63; *FL* xii. [1901] 299; Campbell, *Witchcraft*, 287.

Other magical rites take place there, to keep off and get rid of ghosts and evil spirits. Of this class was the Roman birth-rite, in which three men struck the thresholds with an axe and a pestle, and swept them with a broom. The iron axe and the pestle tipped with iron had apotropaic virtues; the action of the broom was perhaps symbolic, though all three, being connected with vegetation and agricultural usages, may have had magical virtues, and are charms against spirits and witches. In this case they were supposed to keep out the god Silvanus, and they later supplied names to the three protecting spirits—Intercidona, Pilemnus, and Deverra (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 9). Among the Letts, at the feast of souls, the ghosts were got

rid of by taking the staff which served as a poker, cutting it in two with an axe on the threshold, and bidding them go (Frazer, *Adonis*², 1907, p. 312). See also § 1.

5. Gate as seat of judgment.—On account of the sacred nature of the gate, the seat of a spirit or god, it is often a place of judgment, especially in the East. Kings, chiefs, and judges hear complaints, try causes, and decree judgments at the gates of the palace, house, or city. Examples of this are found in ancient Babylonia, Persepolis, Egypt, and among the Hebrews (Trumbull, 60 f.; Dn 2⁴⁹, Ex 32²⁸, Dt 16¹⁸ 21¹⁹, Ru 4⁴, 2 S 15² 19⁸, Pr 24⁷; cf. Am 5¹⁸, Zec 8¹⁶). Probably connected with this custom of administering justice at the gate is that of a person fasting at the door of another against whom he has a claim or proffers a request. In cases where this is refused the claimant starves to death at the door [cf. Celts] *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, Dublin, 1869-70; Joyce, *Soc. Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, 1903, i. 204 f.; [India] Crooke, *PR* i. 191-2).

6. The door and death-rites.—In many regions it is not customary to carry a dead body, especially that of a suicide or criminal, through the door of a house, and various expedients are resorted to in order to avoid this.

Thus the body is taken through the window of the house, or through a special opening made in roof or wall. This is a widespread custom, found, e.g., in W. and S. Africa, Siam, Indonesia, India, China, Tibet, among the Ostiaks and Eskimo, in Fiji, with the ancient Norse, and as a folk survival in Europe (Scotland, Germany). See Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 373; Frazer, *JAI* xv. 70; Tylor, i. 261; Westernmark, *MI* ii. 587; Rameyer and Kuhne, *Four Years in Ashantee*, 1876, p. 60; Dubois, *Hindu Manners*, Oxford, 1897, ii. 27; Williams, *Fiji*, 1890, i. 197; Gregor, *Folklore of the N.E. of Scotland*, 1881, p. 206; Wuttke, *Der deut. Volksaberglaube*, Berlin, 1900, § 756; Lippert, *Die Seelenkult.*, Berlin, 1881, p. 11). Or the body is passed through an opening made under the threshold (Hyllen-Cavallius, *Värend och Wird.*, Stockholm, 1869-8, i. 473 [Sweden]; Birlinger, *Volkskultisches aus Schwaben*, i. [1861-62] 321 [Swabia]; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 726 [Germany]; Ralston, *Russ. Folk-tales*, 1873, p. 318 [Slavs]).

The usual reason assigned for these practices is that they are used to confuse the ghost, and prevent its finding its way back into the house (Liebrecht, 414; Frazer, *JAI* xv. [1886] 69 f.). The special aperture is afterwards closed up, or the window is kept shut after the burial (it is often opened to allow egress to the soul when a person is dying, and again closed to prevent the soul's return); or often both windows and doors are closed when a funeral is passing, lest the soul should enter the house (Liebrecht, 372 f.; *FLJ* i. 218, vi. 243; Wuttke, § 250). Or, again, when the body is taken through a hole in the roof, this may be an archaic survival of a time when entrance and egress were obtained through the roof of the hut, as among the Eskimo and Aleuts (Liebrecht, 372, 426). Hence, in some cases, one supposed dead must not, when he returns, enter by the door, but by the roof (Plut. *Quest. Rom.*, no. 5; Brugsch, *Aus dem Orient*, Berlin, 1864, ii. 110 [Persians]). Here the thought of death is enough to suggest its contagion, and entrance must not be first made by the sacred door. But, whatever be the origin of the customs referred to, they are certainly connected with the sacredness of the door, which must not be polluted by the passage of the dead body. If it were merely the return of the ghost which was feared, that could be prevented by door charms (§ 3), and it should be remembered that ghosts at the yearly festivals of the dead are invited to enter by the door and then pass out by it. That it is the pollution of death which is feared for the sacred doorway may be established by other rites of mourning and by analogous tabus.

Thus the Banjara of Khandesh move the hut, and make a new entrance after a funeral, as the door has been polluted by the passage of the corpse (Crooke, *PR* ii. 56). Propitiatory rites are in some cases performed at the door when a corpse has been carried out by it (the threshold is sprinkled with salt

[Japan: Griffls, *Mikado's Empire*, New York, 1876, pp. 467, 470], or with wine [Greece: *FLJ* i. 218]). Among the Kwakiutl Indians, mourners must not use the house door, as they are unclean; a separate door is cut for them (Westernmark, *MI* ii. 537); and in China a messenger who brings news of a death should not pass the threshold (de Groot, *Rel. System of China*, 1894, ii. 1. 644). In various regions a special door or gate in house or city wall is used for the passage of a corpse and for no other purpose (Burma [Sangermano, *Burm. Empire*, 1833, p. 143], Korea [Lander, *Korea*, 1896, p. 118], Italy, Holland [Trumbull, 24, 325]; cf. the 'sacred gate' at Athens, used for funerals [Theophr. *Char.* 14]).

Analogous cases are those in which women at puberty, or during menstruation and pregnancy (tabu states), must not leave the hut by the usual door without special rites; or, again, the flesh of animals slain in hunting is carried in by a special opening (*ERE* ii. 643²; Westernmark, ii. 587; Frazer, ii. 416). Perhaps connected with the danger of female pollution is the superstition that a male, not a female, should be the 'first-foot' i.e. the first person to cross the threshold at New Year; but he must not come empty-handed (*FLJ* iii. 282, vii. 68; Campbell, *Witchcraft*, 229).

7. Doors and gates of the Other-world.—The eschatological beliefs of many peoples show that they consider heaven and the under world to be regions and abodes with doors or gates, bars and bolts, and guardians. The doors of heaven shut out those who have no right to enter there; the doors of the under world enclose those who would fain leave it.

In Bab. writings, reference is made to gates of heaven, especially that of Anu, guarded by Tammuz and Gish-zida. In the account of creation, the great gates attached to both sides of the heavens by Marduk are mentioned. They are secured by bolts, and guarded by scorpion men. Through them the sun passes at morning and evening. The under world, Arallu, has also gates and bolts, seven, or fourteen in number, and a warder stands at the outer gate. They are graphically described in the Descent of Ishtar (Jastrow, 301, 436, 523, 549, 569; Sayce, 79). The Egyptian Other-world was plentifully supplied with gates. Duat or Hades, through which the boat of Rā travelled by night, had twelve divisions and as many fortified pylons with closed doors and serpent guardians, or gates with other keepers. The gates opened at the repetition of magic formulæ, and thus entry was freely obtained. Each gate had its own name. The heaven of Osiris was also entered by a gate in the mountain of the West, and this domain in the fields of Aalu had numerous gates, with porters, warders, and heralds. But all these opened to those who knew the true formulæ and names of gates and guardians (Maspero, *Études*, Paris, 1893, i. 377, 381, ii. 27 ff., 165 ff.; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, 1903, i. 170; *Book of the Dead*, ch. 147 ff.). The classical Hades and Tartarus had also their gates, those of Tartarus being of iron with a bronze threshold. Cerberus guarded the gate of Hades, a hydra with 50 gaping mouths that of Tartarus (*Il.* viii. 15; Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 576). The Scandinavian Valhalla had 540 gates, and Hel had also its portals (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* 818). In Mandæan mythology, the seven lower worlds of the dark powers have doors which can be made secure by magic spells and talismans (Brandt, *Mand. Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, p. 147 ff.). The Hebrew Sheol had gates and bars (Job 17¹⁶ 38¹⁷, Ps 107¹⁸, Is 38¹⁰, cf. Mt 16¹⁸). It had divisions, and in later belief these (of hell) were 7 in number, with as many doors (Pr 7²⁷; Gfrörer, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, Stuttgart, 1838, ii. 45-6). The 'gate of heaven' is already spoken of in Gn 28¹⁷ (cf. Ps 78²³), and the seven heavens of later Jewish theology had gates. Serpent-like guardians of the gates of hell are referred to in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* 42¹. The entrance to Eden was guarded by cherubim (Gn 3²⁴, cf. *Enoch* 42²), and the two gates of the heavenly paradise were of rubies and guarded by myriad angels (Gfrörer, ii. 44). These ideas are found in early Christian theology. Hades has gates of brass, bars of iron, bolts, keys (Rev 1¹²), and warders; but they are burst open by Christ as He descends there (*Gospel of*

Nicodemus, § 5, and many other writers referring to the descent; cf. Rev 1st). Paradise is often described as a city with walls and gates guarded by angels (e.g. *Passio Perpetuæ*, § 11). The analogy is that of the heavenly Jerusalem with its twelve gates and angel guardians (Rev 21st). In those documents which uphold the old idea of several heavens, each has its gate or door (*Apoc. of Paul*, § 19 ff.; *Test. of Abraham*, § 11), while Ps 24th was frequently applied either to Christ's bursting the gates of Hades or to His ascension through the heavens, e.g. by Hippolytus, who speaks of Christ passing through the heavenly gates (Hippol. in *Theod. Dial. 1*; *Comm. on Prov.* [Mai, *Bibl. nova Patrum*, Rome, 1854, ii. 72]; cf. also Rev 4th 'a door was opened in heaven'). Those Gnostic groups which taught the existence of seven or more heavens ruled by the Demiurge and Archons, assigned to these heavens doors guarded carefully. This is found, e.g., among various Ophite groups and the followers of Bardesanes. The gates were themselves dangerous in some cases—'a fiery gateway'—and the Archons or door-keepers would have kept them closed against souls ascending to the Pleroma. But the Gnosis, initiation into sacraments and mysteries, possession of the names of the Archons and of the true magic formulæ, or of symbols and amulets, caused the doors to be opened (see Hippol. v. 8. 9, 26; Wright, *Apoc. Acts*, 1871, ii. 26; Origen, c. *Cels.* vi. 31; *Pistis Sophia*, bk. i. § 20 f.). These ideas of the magical opening of the gates are derived from Egyptian beliefs, and also, perhaps, from Mithraic teachings of the ascent of the soul through the planetary heavens with their gates (Origen, vi. 22). Mystico-magical cults having affinity to Mithraism knew also of the fiery gates of the upper spheres, which opened at the utterance of the names of the gods (Wessely, 'Griech. Zauberpapyrus,' *Denk. d. Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Wien*, xxxvi. [1888] 56 ff.).

8. The door being regarded as a means of passage from one state to another, it was easy to apply the word in a metaphorical sense. Christ speaks of Himself as the 'door.' 'By me if any man enter in, he shall be saved' (Jn 10th, cf. Eph 2nd). This idea is repeated in Christian theology. Ignatius calls Christ 'the door of the Father by which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets enter in, as well as the apostles and the Church' (*ad Philad.* ix.). In *Hermas* the gate of the tower is the Son of God (*Sim.* ix. 12); and in the *Clementine Recognitions* (ii. 22) the gate through which men enter the city, the kingdom of the Father, is 'the true Prophet.' The same ideas were current in Gnosticism. The heavenly Christ is the true gate, through which the Gnostic ascends to the Pleroma (Hippol. v. 8, 9). In the hymn used by the Priscillianists, but which was Gnostic in origin, Christ says: 'Janua sum tibi, quicunque me pulsas' (*Aug. Ep. cccxxxvii.* § 8). Among the Bābis the name *Bāb*, assumed by the first preacher of this new religion in 1844, means 'gate,' and was formerly the title given to those intermediaries through whom, as through a gate, communication was made by the Imām to his followers (see art. BĀB, BĀBĪS).

LITERATURE.—A. van Gennep, *Les Rites du passage*, Paris, 1909; H. C. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, New York, 1906; and the authorities cited in the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

DOSĀDH, DUSĀDH.—A menial tribe in Northern India, of Dravidian origin, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 1,253,125, of whom the vast majority are found in Bengal and the United Provinces.

1. Religion in Bengal.—In Bengal they profess to be orthodox Hindus, and it is true that in some districts they employ in their religious rites Brāh-

mans of a degraded class, while some belong to the Srinārāyaṇī sect, or follow the doctrines (*panth*) of Kabir, Tulsi Dās, Gorakhnāth, or Nānak (for which see BENGAL). These beliefs, however, seem to be of comparatively recent origin, and the basis of their religion is Animism.

(a) *Worship of Rāhu.*—Their tribal deity is Rāhu, 'the seizer,' who seems to have been adopted from the pre-Aryan races, and to have been transformed by the Hindus into a Daitya or Titan, who is supposed to cause eclipses by swallowing the sun and moon. The Dosādhs, in order to avert disease and in fulfilment of vows, offer to him annual sacrifices and the fruits of the earth through a tribesman who is known as Bhakat or Chatiyā.

On special occasions a stranger form of worship is resorted to, parallels to which may be found in the rustic cult of the Roman villagers and the votaries of the Phœnician deities. A ladder, made with sides of green bamboos and rungs of sword-blades, is raised in the midst of a pile of burning mango wood, through which the Bhakat walks barefooted and ascends the ladder without injury. Swine of all ages, a ram, wheat flour, and rice-milk are offered up; after which the worshippers partake of a feast and drink enormous quantities of ardent spirits' (Risley, i. 255).

In another form of this rite, the man who has vowed to offer a fire sacrifice to Rāhu must build within the day a thatched hut, in which the Bhakat or priest, himself a Dosādh, must spend the night, sleeping on the sacred *kusa* grass with which the floor is strewn. In front of the hut a bamboo platform is erected, and beyond that a trench is dug, which on the feast day is filled with mango wood soaked in butter, while two earthen vessels of milk are placed close to the platform. The Bhakat bathes and dons a new cloth dyed with turmeric. He mutters a number of mystic formulæ (*mantra*), and worships Rāhu on both sides of the trench. The fire is then kindled, and the Bhakat solemnly walks three times round it in the course of the sun, keeping his right hand always towards it. The end of the third round brings him to the east end of the trench, where he takes by the hand a Brāhman retained for this purpose with a fee of two new wrappers, and calls on him to lead the way through the fire. The Brāhman walks along the trench from east to west followed by the Bhakat. Both are supposed to tread with their bare feet on the fire and to escape unharmed. Risley supposes that this is the result of optical illusion, because by the time they start the flames have subsided and the trench is so narrow that an active man may walk along it resting his feet on either edge, without touching the smouldering ashes at the bottom. Meanwhile the milk has been boiled, and it appears that in some cases the Bhakat pours the boiling liquid over his body, being, it is said, uninjured.

'By passing through the fire the Bhakat is believed to have been inspired with the spirit of Rāhu, who has become incarnated in him. Filled with the divine or demoniac afflatus, and also, it may be surmised, excited by drink and *gānjā* (hemp), he mounts the bamboo platform, chants mystic hymns, and distributes to the crowd *tulsi* (basil) leaves, which heal diseases otherwise incurable, and flowers which have the virtue of causing barren women to conceive. The proceedings end with a feast, and religious excitement soon passes into drunken revelry lasting long into the night' (Risley, i. 255 f.).

The ritual is a good illustration of Dravidian shamanism. Accounts of fire-walking among the S. Indian Dravidians will be found in Thurston (*Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906, p. 471 ff.). Frazer (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*², London, 1907, pp. 88, 136 f.) regards it as a commutation of an original human sacrifice by means of fire.

(b) *Worship of deified robbers.*—The Bengal Dosādhs worship a host of deified heroes, in honour of whom huts are erected in various parts of the country. Many of these are the ghosts of bandit chiefs, such as Goraiya, Salesb, Chūthar, or Choar Mal, and others. In none of these shrines are there any idols, and the officiating priests are

always drawn from the Dosādh tribe, who minister to the Sūdra or menial castes which frequent them. The offerings usually are appropriated by the priest or by the head of the Dosādh household performing the worship; but, where this worship has adopted some of the principles of Islam, the fowls sacrificed to the Saint Miran and the Pāñch Pir (see PĀNCHPIRIYA) are given to local Muhammadans.

2. Religion in the United Provinces.—Here also the cult of Rāhu prevails, and it is carried out in a manner much resembling that of Bengal. In one form of the rite the priest climbs the rungs of sword-blades with his naked feet, pours some milk on the ground in honour of Rāhu, sacrifices a cock tied to the summit of the ladder, or, descending, slays a young pig with repeated blows of a spear. Some spirits are poured on the ground, and the meat and the remainder of the offerings are consumed there and then by the worshippers (Crooke, *Pop. Rel.*², 1896, i. 18 ff., *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 355, where one of the songs in honour of Rāhu will be found).

They also worship Chhath or Chhathi, the impersonated sixth day after birth, when, owing to lack of sanitary precautions at childbirth, the child is likely to be attacked by infantile lockjaw. On the day before the feast the worshippers purify themselves with fasting, and go singing to the river side. Here they strip and walk into the water, remaining facing the east till the sun rises, when they stand with folded hands and bow in reverence, making offerings of cakes and other kinds of food, which are consumed by the worshipper and his friends. Their other tribal deities are Bandi, a female, and Manukh Deva, the deified ghost of some tribal worthy, who are propitiated by the sacrifice of a pig or fowl and an oblation of spirits. Seven cups of milk and seven pairs of cakes are also offered round the earthen mound which is the common abiding place of the tribal gods. They observe most of the Hindu holidays, particularly those like the Holi spring fire feast, and the Kajari of the autumn season, which are the occasion of coarse orgies accompanied by drinking and sensuality.

LITERATURE.—H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 262 ff.; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Prov. and Oudh*, do. 1896, i. 846 ff.; E. A. Gait, *Census Report Bengal*, 1901, i. App. vi. p. xlix; *N. Ind. Notes and Queries*, ii. 18, 617, 111, 2071, v. 204; F. Buchanan, in M. Martin, *Eastern India*, 1838, i. 492; S. Wise, *Races, Castes, and Tribes of Eastern Bengal*, 1889, p. 268 ff.; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 326.

W. CROOKE.

DOUBLES.—The beliefs to which the term 'double' refers may be traced back to two psychological sources. In the first place, they may result from elementary speculation on the category of duplication; in the second place, the phenomena on which the notion of the divisibility or duality of personality is based are such that a potentially duplicate existence was inevitably ascribed to every concrete object of thought. The two sources constantly mingle. The main characteristic of the former is that a double or counterpart arises by multiplication; of the latter, that it arises by division. A secondary characteristic is that in the latter the counterpart tends to be of a different substance, though of the same accidents—the so-called 'spiritual double.' Again, the connected categories of duality, substitution, representation, impersonation, and so forth, combine with such results of the category of duplication as identity, original and copy, idea and reality, to complicate the general conception of doubleness in pre-scientific speculation; and the whole combination binds together a number of customs, some of which are apparently widely dissimilar in origin, though

all, psychologically speaking, are based on the mathematical ideas of multiplication and division. We shall refer to these subsidiary forms of the notion only for the purpose of illustrating what is sociologically the main connotation of the term, namely, the double in the sense of *Doppelgänger*, second self, visible or invisible counterpart, spiritual or material double.

1. Duplication in general.—It is not surprising that in early thought two became a sacred number, when we consider the mystery so often connected with duplication. Conversely, in the creation of certain abnormal mythical beings, the mind frequently unifies a natural duality, as in the one eye of the Cyclopes, and the combination of horse and rider in the Centaurs, and, most notably, in androgynous ancestors and deities. Duplicity in nature is still enough of an abnormality to warrant its inclusion in the list of magical or sacred centres of mystery.

Thus, in Samoa all double things were sacred. Among the native deities were two household gods, represented as 'Siamese Twins,' Taema and Titi. They appear to have been regarded as a sort of gods of doubleness.¹ Similar ideas were connected in Roman religion with the deity Janus, and in Greek with the Dioscuri. The images of many Mexican idols had double faces, back and front, like the Roman *Janus bifrons*.

'The reason,' E. J. Payne observes, 'why the features were duplicated is obvious. The figure was carried in the midst of a large crowd; the duplicate at the back was for the benefit of those who followed. Probably it was considered to be an evil omen if the idol turned its face away from its worshippers; this the duplicate obviated. . . . This duplication of the features, a characteristic of the very oldest gods, appears to be indicated when the numeral *ome* (=two) is prefixed to the title of the deity. Thus the two ancestors and preservers of the race were called Ometsuhtli and Omechuati (=two-chief, two-woman).'²

A close connexion is constantly maintained between diet and conception or the nature of the offspring. A frequent belief is that if a woman eats anything double—a double cherry or a double banana, for example—her child will be double.³

Twins themselves are a striking example of the mystery attached to double objects. See, further, art. TWINS.

Various miscellaneous applications of the double idea may be grouped together here. The law of equivalence, as illustrated by the *lex talionis*, is often superseded by the enforcement of a double penalty. Among the Bedawin the family of a slain man may slay two of the murderer's family. In this case the feud continues. If they slay but one, it is ended.⁴ The Hebrews condemned a thief taken *flagrante delicto* to restore double.⁵ Hence the moral principle of receiving double as a form of pardon.

'The Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before.' 'For your shame ye shall have double . . . in their land they shall possess double: everlasting joy shall be unto them.' 'She hath received of the Lord's hand doubles for all her sins.' 'Even to-day do I declare that I will render double unto thee.'⁶ Similarly in moral retribution: 'Render unto her even as she rendered, and double unto her the double according to her works: in the cup which she mingled, mingle unto her double.'⁷

A double share may be either an honour or a security. 'Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me.'⁸ The idea of corroboration and finality belongs to repetition.

'The dream of Pharaoh,' Joseph says, 'is one: what God is about to do he hath declared unto Pharaoh. The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years; the dream is one. . . . For that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, it is because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.'⁹

¹ G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 56.

² *Hist. of America*, Oxford, 1892-99, i. 424.

³ J. Garnier, *Océanie*, Paris, 1871, p. 187.

⁴ Burchhardt, *Bedawins and Wahabys*, London, 1880, p. 86.

⁵ Ex 224-7. ⁶ Job 42:10, Is 61:7, 40:2, Zec 9:12.

⁷ Rev 18:6.

⁸ 2 K 2:9.

⁹ Gn 41:26-30.

A similar principle is reached from a different origin in such beliefs as that an echo is a confirmation.

Miracles and magic acts of duplication and multiplication have a psychological interest in connexion with the development of the metaphysical theory of creation and the mechanical or biological theory of evolution (see below). Such bits of folklore as the notion that turning one's money when one sees the new moon causes it to increase have a significance in both respects. The influence of the waxing moon has been well illustrated.¹ As the moon grows, the money will grow. No doubt, the act of turning the money is also a piece of imitative magic. Turning an object shows its reverse side, its double face, and is equivalent to a duplication of it. On a similar elementary fallacy perhaps depends the actual point of miracles of multiplication (which in the Christian examples lies in the handling or the breaking of the food). It may consist, that is, in an application of a vague theory of *homœomeria* (see below, p. 857^b), according to which each particle of a substance or thing is a miniature duplicate of the whole. Breaking bread would thus produce a multitude of microscopic loaves; their manipulation in the hands is sufficient to institute growth by apposition (analogous in principle to the production of separate pieces of money by turning them), especially if the hands are instinct with *mana*. The case of natural objects is identical, for to the pre-scientific mind there is no essential difference between the artificial growth of a manufactured article and the natural growth of an organism.

There is a fairly large class of customs in which the chief performer—as a rule a sacred person or a person engaged for the time being in a sacred function—is attended, or represented, or impersonated, by one or more persons who are his duplicates in appearance or action. The principle may be either sympathy or the impulse of imitation—'Never alone did the king sigh, but with a general groan' (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. iii. 23)—or delegation for reasons of safety or convenience.

In European folk-custom, particularly in Germany, it is frequently the rule for bride or bridegroom to be attended by one or more persons dressed in the same attire. At Egyptian weddings the bridegroom walks between two friends dressed precisely as he is.² In Abyssinia a bride is accompanied by her sister; both are dressed alike, and their horses are also caparisoned alike.³

In such cases, and in others which follow, the motives originally prompting the custom were no doubt mixed. Sympathy and fellow-feeling may be combined with the idea of safety in duplication or in numbers generally. Duplication is a form of concealment and security. It is commonly employed for the protection of a palladium, as the sacred *ancile* by the ancient Romans, who kept it among a set of duplicates, on the same principle as a valuable jewel is protected by a worthless copy. It is possible that customs like the following of the Kaffirs have a similar underlying meaning.

A Kaffir king employed 'a sort of valets,' who wore his cast-off clothes. When he was sick, they were wounded in order that a portion of their blood might be introduced into his system. They were killed at his death.⁴ The motive is explicit in the Abyssinian custom. The king has four officers, called *Uka mankuva*, 'who have to clothe themselves exactly like the king,' so that the enemy may not be able to distinguish him. 'It is an honourable and dangerous post,' and was once filled by an Englishman, Mr. Bell.⁵ On the Gold Coast an important person

bought a slave of his or her own sex, termed *crabbah* or *corah*. This slave was looked upon 'as the soul or spirit, *alter ego*, of the master or mistress.'

Thus service, substitution, disguise, and 'other-selfhood' shade into each other.

Many cases of mock kings may be resolved into duplication by way of disguise or impersonation. In Siam and Cambodia the king's temporary representative impersonates him in function, performing his magical duties.⁶ The 'king' of the Babylonian festival *Sacaea* was dressed in the king's robes.⁷ In the evolution of the monarchy a frequent stage is the division of the office into temporal and sacred. But such duplication of the king may arise in various ways. When actual substitution is practised in sacrifice, the vicarious sufferer tends to become a spiritual double or unreal phantom. A case in point is the belief found in early Christian speculation that a phantom of Jesus was crucified in place of Jesus Himself. Impersonation is frequently found in funeral customs. Thus, among the Eskimo the first child born after a death bears the dead man's name, and has to represent him at festivals. To these 'namesakes' of the dead, offerings of food and drink and clothes are made. They eat and drink and wear the clothes 'on behalf of the ghosts.'⁸ A case which may be compared with the Kaffir and Abyssinian royal customs is from Fiji.

A certain clan has the duty of supplying the king with a special sort of attendants, who nurse him when he is ill and bury him when he dies. In particular, they conceal his death; in one locality the head attendant 'personates the dead chief, and issues his orders from within the mosquito curtain of native cloth, in the faint querulous tones of a sick man.'

The art of the actor is essentially representation. He is a duplicate of the character, its 'person.' Similarly, his understudy or substitute is, both in English and French terminology, a 'double.' Lastly, the ideas of friendship approximate the friend to the status of the material duplicate. 'Fellow' is a word used in this connexion with a distinct reference to its meaning of a replica. A similar play of thought is seen in the word 'pair.' A friend is, in the commonplaces of literature, a second self, an *alter ego*. Duplication by division is applied here also; the pair being the unit, one or other of them is the 'half'; just as on the other principle he is the 'double.'

The impersonation of a man by a 'spiritual' being cannot always be distinguished from the appearance of a man's ghost or wraith. But there are clear cases—chiefly in connexion with the supernatural impregnation of a wife—where a man's double is a 'spiritual' impostor.

In the Dutch East Indies it is commonly believed that male and female evil spirits, *nita*, can assume the form and personality of lovers and friends. A man or woman keeping an assignation in the forest is liable to be duped in this way. A person who has intercourse with a *nita* dies in a few days. The *nita* is supposed to take away the soul. In some islands an ancestral spirit, named *Boia*, is the bogey of women working in the forest. He assumes the form and appearance of their husbands. The occurrence is proved later when the victim suffers from hemorrhage. The practice is followed even by human magic-workers. The Babar Islanders believe that a male *suwanggi* is able to take the shape of a young woman's husband and cause her to conceive.⁹

When the double, either visible or invisible, does not impersonate, but attends as a helper or enemy, it is not clear whether this can be traced back to beliefs about the soul. Primitive psychology succeeded thoroughly in dividing human personality into two more or less identical duplicates, and there are many cases where the derivation of the guardian angel from the separable soul is explicit. Of course, when developed, the two notions easily pass into one another, and the soul itself is con-

¹ T. J. Hutchinson, in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.*, new ser., i. (1861) 238.

² Frazer, *GP* 1900, ii. 155 ff.

³ E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London, 1836, i. 212.

⁴ W. C. Harris, *Highlands of Ethiopia*, London, 1844, ii. 235.

⁵ J. Shooter, *Kaffirs of Natal*, London, 1857, p. 117.

⁶ J. L. Krapp, *Travels, etc.*, in *Eastern Africa*, London, 1860, p. 464.

⁷ Frazer, *GP* 181. ⁸ *ib.* 24.

⁹ E. W. Nelson, *18 RBEW* (1890), p. 363 f.

¹⁰ L. Fison, in *JAI* x. (1881) 140.

¹¹ Riedel, *Stuk-en kroeshar. rassem*, 1886, pp. 57, 22, 340.

stantly regarded as a protecting spirit. The illustration of this belongs to another inquiry, but a typical case may be cited, where the guardian is actually the double. In Upper Egypt it is believed that with every child there is born a *jinn* companion, which acts as a guardian angel, but sometimes evilly entreats its possessor. It is termed *karina*, and is exactly like the person it attends.¹

In some cases a spiritual entity passing into another form leaves behind it, automatically, a double of itself. It is as if a man, when leaving a place, automatically left a duplicate in his stead. The example which follows comprises this naïve instinct for having one's cake as well as eating it, together with other ideas. In Central Australia, 'when a spirit individual goes into a woman' (who thereby conceives), 'there still remains the *Arumburinga*, which may be regarded as its double.' Spencer-Gillen also speak of this as the double of the person himself, and as his guardian spirit.²

A man may be regarded as a dual person because he is attended by an invisible protector. Such a conception is implicit in the European folk-belief about the guardian angel. This belief is extremely vague in its form, but it shows a tendency to regard the angel as a double of the person, his eternal counterpart, which after his death is, like even the Australian *Arumburinga*, 'changeless and lives for ever.'³ The following example is a case of duplication by apposition, distinct in origin from other forms. The Japanese pilgrim to the Thirty-three Holy Places, or to the Eighty-eight Holy Places of Shikoku, wears a special hat with this inscription—'Two pilgrims travelling in company to such and such a shrine.' This reference to two persons is explained by the idea that the pilgrim is not alone, but is accompanied by the great saint Kōbō Daishi, or the Goddess of Mercy, who

'travels with him along the stony path, supporting his footsteps, encouraging his religious fervour, guarding him from evil all along the way. Therefore not one only but two walk under that broad-brimmed hat on the road to Paradise.'⁴ Similar ideas of the invisible Divine helper are found in most of the organized religions; and, where it is part of the general teaching that the worshipper may become a sort of incarnation of the god by following in his footsteps, we have an interesting case of duplication in the form of the individual as microcosm and the god as macrocosm, the latter being indefinitely multipliable or indefinitely ubiquitous.

Thaumaturgic persons are sometimes credited with a similar ubiquity or power of self-multiplication. There need be no implication that the duplicate in such cases is a spiritual replica, or an entity of different substance. It is simple multiplication, without any question of the method or the vehicle. The ordinary limitations of ordinary humanity are merely suspended. The legends of many Christian saints refer to this power of being in two places at once—bilocation. Thus, it is recorded of St. Alfonso di Liguori, that

'a person going to confession at the house where Alphonsus lived found him there at the very time for beginning the sermon in the church. After he had finished his confession, he went straight to the church, and found Alphonsus a good way advanced in his sermon.'⁵

2. The spiritual double.—The special meaning of the term 'double,' as the so-called 'spiritual double,' is the 'wraith' or visible counterpart of the person, seen just before or just after, or at the moment of, his death. This belief is derived directly from the theory of the soul. Hallucination corroborates it. Few phenomena seem to be better attested than the subjective perception of a

'phantasm of the living' in the circumstances mentioned. It is a remarkable agreement between psychological fact and primitive psychological theory, but the latter is alone quite sufficient reason for the genesis of the belief.

The soul itself constantly tends to be a counterpart or duplicate, a spiritual-material double of the person. The reason for this tendency is to be found in the main source of the belief in the soul. This is the mental percept and the memory-image of an object, which is inevitably a replica of the sensational percept (though possibly not technically identical in its physiological causation), somewhat incomplete, but often vivid enough.¹ It is called up most vividly in dreams, but also in waking memory. It may include roughly the whole personality, or be confined to one aspect of it; but its general foundation is visual.

Some cases may be cited where the soul shows this tendency to be, or actually is, a double. It is to be premised that speculation frequently draws a distinction between this form of the soul and a later transcendental conception.

The *kelah* or *lā* of the Karens 'cannot be distinguished from the person himself,' when, as sometimes happens, it appears after death. It is described as 'the individuality, or general idea, of an inanimate object. It is also the individuality of the animated being. It, in fact, personates the varied phenomena of life.' 'It is distinct from the body,' and 'its absence from the body is death,' yet it is not regarded as the soul proper, which is the *thah*. 'The body and the *lā* are represented as matter and spirit, yet materiality belongs to the *lā*.' It is also described as a guardian spirit, walking by a man's side or

'wandering away in search of dreamy adventures. If it is absent too long, it must be called back with offerings. When the *lā* is absent in our waking hours, we become weak or fearful or sick, and, if the absence be protracted, death ensues. Hence it is a matter of the deepest interest with a Karen to keep his *lā* with him. He is ever and anon making offerings of food to it, beating a bamboo to gain its attention, calling it back, and tying his wrist with a bit of thread, which is supposed to have the power to retain it.'

Not only every living creature, but also every inanimate thing—axes and knives, for instance, as well as all trees and plants—has its *lā*, which is 'liable to wander away from the individual.' When, thus wandering, it is 'interfered with by an enemy of any kind, death ensues to the individual' to whom it belongs. If a man drops his axe while up a tree, he looks down and calls out, '*Lā* of the axe, come, come!'

'When the rice-field presents an unpromising appearance, it is supposed that the rice-*kelah* is detained in some way from the rice, on account of which it languishes. It is recalled with this invocation—"O come, rice-*kelah*, come! Come to the field. Come to therice. With seed of each gender, come. Come from the river Kio, come from the river Law; from the place where they meet, come. Come from the West, come from the East; from the throat of the bird, from the maw of the ape, from the throat of the elephant. Come from the sources of rivers and their mouths. Come from the country of the Shan and Burman. From the distant kingdoms come. From all granaries come. O rice-*kelah*, come to the rice."¹

As distinguished from the *thah*, the *lā* or *kelah* 'is not regarded as the responsible agent in human action. . . . When we sin, it is the *thah*, or "soul," which sins.' 'By some the *kelah* is represented as the inner man, and with others the inner man is the *thah*.' It may leave the body in sleep. Such an absent *lā* may be caught by a wizard, and transferred to a dead man, who is thereby resuscitated. In this case the friends of the robbed man procure another *lā* from another sleeping man, and so on. The same Karens hold that the world is more thickly peopled with 'spirits' than with men, and that 'the future world' is a counterpart of this. Lastly, every organ of the body has its *lā* counterpart. Blindness is due to an evil spirit having devoured the *lā* of the eye.

¹ Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, London, 1909, pp. 73-78, 193-207.

¹ O. B. Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, London, 1878, p. 338.

² Spencer-Gillen, p. 514.

³ E. H. Chamberlain, in *JAI* xxii. (1893) 361.

⁴ J. Gardner, *Faiths of the World*, Edinburgh and London, 1858-60, s.v. 'Bilocation.'

The *lā* in all cases, though not immortal, 'exists before man, and lives after him. It is neither good nor bad, but merely gives life.'¹ In analogous cases this last detail is negated, and it is precisely a mystic unrealized element that is supposed to produce the phenomena of life.

The Lushai term *thla* is possibly connected with the Karen *lā*. It is 'a sort of double.'²

The Chinese hold that the soul may exist outside the body, 'as a duplicate having the form of the body, as well as its solid consistency.' De Groot describes it also as 'the invisible duplicate' of a person, and speaks of 'a conviction which calls up the body immediately before their eyes when-ever they think of the soul.'³

Some striking examples apply the principle so as to form a double creation. Thus, the Asabas of the Niger hold the following opinion:

'Every one is considered to be created in duplicate, and the representative, or, as it were, the reflection in the spirit world of the body and of its possessions, is the *chi* and its possessions. A man's *chi* marries the *chi* of the woman the man marries, and so on. In addition, the *chi* . . . acts as a guardian spirit. . . . *Chi i me jīm*. 'My *chi* has done badly,' is a not uncommon expression. 'Entirely distinct from his *chi*' is the spirit *mon*, which inhabits the man himself.'⁴

The Ba-Huana believe in a soul, *bun*, and a double, *doshi*. Only adults have *bun*; animals and fetishes have *doshi*, but no *bun*. The *doshi* appears in dreams. The *bun* of a dead man may be seen only at night; it is in human form, white and misty.⁵ The peasants of Sicily believe that 'every material thing has an impalpable image or double, which can be detached, and can penetrate other bodies.' The phenomena of dreams are thus explained.⁶ The Zapotecs regarded the soul as a 'second self.'⁷

The tribes living at the southern end of Lake Nyassa believe that the *mzim*, or soul, has the form of the owner, but is intangible and unsubstantial, though it can talk and act as well as the real man. It is visible only in dreams, and the shadow is a 'part of' it.⁸ The Delawares used for 'soul' a word indicating repetition, and equivalent to a double or counterpart.⁹ The Iroquois soul was 'an exceedingly subtle and refined image,' yet material, 'possessing the form of the body, with a head, teeth, arms, legs,' etc. The spectre or wraith was animated by the soul.¹⁰ The Aht soul was 'a being of human shape and of human mode of acting.'¹¹ The Eskimo say that the soul 'exhibits the same shape as the body it belongs to, but is of a more subtle and ethereal nature.'¹² Andamanese souls 'partake of the form of the person to whom they belong.'¹³ The Sihanaka hold that the mirage is the soul of the reflected scene.¹⁴ The soul is regarded by the East Indian Islanders as like the person in every respect, with all his qualities and defects; it is a copy or abstract of him, but is always 'material.' In Java the term for soul is 'refined body'; in Celebes, 'image'; in Toubulu, 'companion'; in Sangir, 'duplicate.'¹⁵

¹ E. B. Cross, in *JAOS* iv. (1884) 800-812; F. Mason, in *JASBe* xxvii. (1885) 195-202.

² T. C. Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, Lond. 1911, p. 169f.

³ J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1891-1907, iv. 99, i. 248, 355.

⁴ J. Parkinson, in *JAI* xxxvi. (1906) 812 ff.

⁵ Torday and Joyce, in *JAI* xxxvi. (1906) 290 f.

⁶ Morriño, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1897, p. 874.

⁷ H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, New York, 1885, i. 661.

⁸ H. S. Stannus, in *JAI* xl. (1910) 299.

⁹ D. G. Brinton, *The Lenapé and their Legends*, Philadelphia, 1885, p. 69.

¹⁰ J. N. B. Hewitt, in *JAFL* viii. (1896) 107.

¹¹ G. M. Sprock, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, London, 1868, p. 178.

¹² H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, Edinburgh and London, 1875, p. 38.

¹³ E. H. Man, 'The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' in *JAI* xii. (1888) 94.

¹⁴ Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 134.

¹⁵ A. C. Kruif, *Het Animisme in den Indisch. Archipel*, Hague, 1906, pp. 10, 253, 13.

The Malagasy *ambiroa* and the Dayak *amirua*, *hambaruan*, and *bruwa* are connected with a word meaning 'two.'¹ Among the Karo Bataks the soul is 'the copy of the owner, his other self.' The soul which appears after death is the dead man's *Doppelgänger*.² Codrington describes the Melanesian *atai*, 'reflection-soul,' as an 'invisible second self.'³ The soul of the Tongans was not 'a distinct essence from the body, but only the more ethereal part of it, and exists in Bolo-too (the spirit world) in the form and likeness of the body the moment after death.'⁴ In the Hervey Islands the soul was regarded as an airy but visible copy of the man. 'The visible world itself is but a gross copy of what exists in spirit-land. If the axe cleaves, it is because the fairy of the axe is invisibly present.'⁵ The Tahitian soul resembled the body; everything had a soul.⁶ The *wairua* of the Maoris 'seems to have signified a shadowy form.' It was sometimes mistaken for the man himself, and only by melting into thin air was its 'ghostship' recognized. It is described also as a 'similitude.'⁷ The soul of the Dénés is described as a double.⁸

Frequently the soul-double is regarded as a miniature duplicate, varying in size from half size, or that of a child-copy of the person, to microscopic dimensions. In Egypt it occurs as half-size.⁹ In Fiji it is found as of 'a little child,' or of 'small stature.'¹⁰ In Australia, tribes near Adelaide held it to be of the size of 'a boy eight years old,'¹¹ elsewhere 'a little body.'¹² The Dayaks of Sarawak regarded it as a 'miniature human being.'¹³ This is the prevalent notion in the East Indian Islands, as among the Minangkabauers of Sumatra, the Tontemboan of Minahassa, the Toradjas of Celebes; the Semang of the Malay Peninsula regard it as of the size of a grain of maize; the Malays as a kind of 'thumbing,' a 'thin, insubstantial human image,' or 'mannikin,' of about the size of the thumb.¹⁴ The Hindus regarded it as of the size of the thumb.¹⁵ The Nukkas, the Indians of the Lower Fraser River, the Hurons, the ancient Mexicans, the Macusis, certain South African tribes, the Greeks, the Teutons, and other early European peoples also held it to be a miniature copy of the owner.¹⁶

The Egyptian *ka* is a classic example of these beliefs (see BODY [Egyp.] and DEATH, etc. [Egyp.]). The *ka* could live without the body, but the body could not live without the *ka*. Yet the *ka* was material.¹⁷ It is represented not only as a miniature duplicate of the person, but sometimes as half

¹ A. C. Kruif, *op. cit.* 12.

² *Ib.* 8.

³ *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 251.

⁴ W. Mariner, *The Tonga Islands*, London, 1818, ii. 99, 102.

⁵ W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, London, 1876, pp. 154, 171, 199.

⁶ W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1859, i. 361, 397.

⁷ E. Tregear, in *JAI* xix. (1890) 118, 120.

⁸ A. G. Morice, *Proc. of Canadian Institute*, 1888-9, p. 158.

⁹ A. Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egypt. Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, p. 12.

¹⁰ L. Fison, in Frazer, *GB* 2 i. 250, and in *JAI* x. (1881) 147 f.

¹¹ E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, London, 1845, ii. 356.

¹² Frazer, *GB* 2 i. 248.

¹³ Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, London, 1862, i. 177 f.

¹⁴ J. L. van der Toorn, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederl.-Indië*, series 5, v. (1890) 481, 58, 61; J. A. T. Schwarz, in *Mededeelingen van roege het Nederl. Zending-Genootschap*, xlvii. (1903) 104; A. C. Kruif, p. 12.

¹⁵ W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 41, 194 f.; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 47 ff.

¹⁶ Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, London, 1891, p. 28.

¹⁷ J. G. Swan, in *Smithsonian Contributions*, xvi. 84; Boas, 6th Rep. on N.W. Tribes of Canada, 44, 9th Rep. on N.W. Tribes of Canada, 461; *Rel. des Jésvites*, (1684) 17, (1688) 104, (1689) 143; Payne, *Hist. America*, ii. 407; Im Thurn, in *JAI* xi. (1882) 363; J. Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*, 1898, p. 321; Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, 186 f.

¹⁸ Wiedemann, 19.

the size, sometimes as full size.¹ After death it became the man's personality proper, being incorporated with the mummy. In 'the everlasting house,' the tomb, it dwelt as long as the mummy was there. It might go in and out of the tomb and refresh itself with meat and drink, but it never failed to go back to the mummy, 'with the name of which it seems to have been closely connected.' In hieroglyph it was 'represented by two upraised arms, the acting parts of the person,' with a depression in the centre of the horizontal bar which joins them, to suggest the head.²

Before discussing the relation between the full-sized and the miniature double, it is as well to repeat the fact that early thought insists very strongly on the principle of duplication, and extends the application very widely. It serves as a theory of the soul and of a future existence. It also serves as a theory of biological reproduction and of physical evolution generally. Without going into the subject of pre-scientific psychology, it is necessary to note the connexion between the belief in the miniature double and certain widely spread notions about the soul. Corresponding with the percept is the fact that the soul is invisible when its owner is visible, unless, as we shall see, there are special limiting circumstances. The comparative permanence and generalized nature of the memory-image of individuals correspond with the generalized idea of species, as an ideal of which individuals are copies. A belief which may almost be regarded as universal is that children are re-incarnations of the souls of parents or of ancestors. A connected and frequent belief is tantamount to a germ-plasm theory of the soul. Parallel with this is the notion that reproduction can be effected, even in the human species, by fission or budding. All these various beliefs are cases of duplication. They include good reasons why the soul should be regarded as a miniature, whether as germ or embryo, or as a child. A full-grown man develops from a smaller copy of himself, and this from an infinitesimally minute replica which has proceeded from another individual. The theory is applied in early thought far more than in a scientific age which professes practically the same theory. Thus, an Australian, rebuking his son, will say to him: 'There you stand with my body, and yet you won't do what I tell you.'³

The minute size of the soul is explained by the Australians as depending upon the necessity that it should be able to enter a woman's body. But there is also the widely spread recognition of the fact that it leaves the body, both in sleep and illness, and at death. The body remains. Two views are possible, and both are found. Firstly, the duplicate may be a film, easily separable from the body; this would correspond to an outer soul, the soul of the outer man. Or, secondly, the duplicate may be an inset, and therefore an eject. Small enough to leave the body by the mouth, or even by the fontanel, it is often regarded as expandable, filling the body as an inner shape, the soul of the inner man, or the 'inner man' himself. Its flimsy and insubstantial nature, whether in dreams, memory, or hallucinations, agrees well with this elasticity.⁴

The link between the soul as shape and the soul as inner movement may be found here, even if we do not identify the soul as germ and the soul

as inner man. Each of the latter applies to its own peculiar circumstances, and neither is inconsistent with the theory of films. This last theory, in its converse aspect, has been made into a standard metaphysical theory of physical and aesthetic creation by Greek philosophy. It has even been elevated into a theory of vision and sensation generally. In the former application the filmy duplicate of savage thought becomes the transcendental Form, or *εἶδος*, which is impressed upon Matter, or *ὕλη*. Similarly, the savage theory of species and individual was canonized in the Ideal Theory of Plato.

The *oiaron* of the Iroquois¹ is paralleled in many rude philosophies. It is a permanent ideal duplicate of each individual of the species. When it is regarded as a reality, the difficulty of bilocation recurs, not to speak of the problem, Which is the essential reality, the original or the copy? —or, in other words, Which is the original? The Iroquois believed that the *oiaron*, the 'type or model,' was 'larger and more perfect' than any single member of the species. It was sometimes called 'the old one.' Thus, converting type into prototype, the Indian was perhaps more scientific than metaphysical.

The problem of personal identity (similar to that of original and copy in the case of duplicates) is raised in a curious way and with curious results by the duplication theory of reproduction. When the soul of a dead man is re-incarnated in a child, there is no practical embarrassment. But, according to Mann, the father is conceived in the body of his wife, and is himself re-born as his child.² A man is thus his own father and his own son simultaneously. Some analogous notion, combined with a fear of personal insecurity or loss of power caused by this division of personality, seems a not impossible factor in the superstitious form of infanticide.³ A Kaffir will frequently kill one of his twin children, the belief being that otherwise 'he will lose his strength.'⁴

In some psychologies each part of the person has its 'spiritual' duplicate. The theory of *homœomeria* is foreshadowed so frequently in early speculation that we may fairly suppose it to be implicit in early atomic philosophy. When Chinese doctors speak as if the soul were breakable and divisible into molecules,⁵ and when we read of Malay tin-magic that 'each grain of ore appears to be considered as endowed with a separate entity or individuality,' and that it possesses the power of reproduction,⁶ it may well be that each atom is implicitly viewed as a minute replica of the whole.

Duplication by a process of fission or of budding (gemination) is occasionally hinted at in early philosophy. The Central Australians tell how in the time of 'the ancestors' a man would shake himself, and spirit-children would then drop from his muscles. An ancestor suddenly found a duplicate of himself appearing at his side, and exclaimed, 'Hullo! that is me.'⁷

The development of dual personality by a process of division may be illustrated from Hindu theology. 'The One Being was not happy, being alone. He wished for a second. He caused his own nature to fall in twain, and thus became husband and wife.'⁸ This duality is rather that of mirror-images; 'this (second) was only a half

¹ Hewitt, *loc. cit.*

² Mann (or G. Bühler, in *SBE* xxv. [Oxford, 1880] 829).

³ See Westermarck, *MT* i. 461.

⁴ D. Kidd, *The Essential Kaffir*, London, 1904, p. 202.

⁵ De Groot, v. 8021.

⁶ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, 266; A. Hale, in *J.R.A.S.*, Straits Branch, xvi. (1885) 319.

⁷ Spencer-Gillen, b. 156.

⁸ Monier-Williams, *op. cit.* p. 29, quoting the *Satopatha Brahmana* (xiv. 4), and *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (i. 2).

¹ Wiedemann, 12, 15; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1849-60, III. 21. 87.

² Wiedemann, 191; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Mummy*, Cambridge, 1893, p. 328; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1906, pp. 8 ff., 17; B. V. Lenzoni, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, Turin, 1888, v. 387 ff., 390 ff., 1197 ff.

³ A. W. Hewitt, in *JAI* xiv. (1885) 145.

⁴ See, on the whole subject, Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 280 ff.

of himself, as the half of a split pea is.' Combination produces completeness, 'as a split pea is (completed) by being joined with its other half.'¹

Modern psychology has studied many cases where the unity of personality is disturbed. The so-called double personality of such cases adds one more apparent confirmation of the ancient theory of duplication by division of what may be described as a two-layered unity. In the ethical sphere the ancient distrust of 'double-mindedness' implies more than a mere tendency to deceit and treachery. It implies the existence of two souls, or a double soul, in one person. Cf. 1 Ch 12⁸³ 'that were not of double heart' (lit. 'without a heart and a heart'); Ps 12² 'with a double heart [lit. 'with a heart and a heart'] do they speak.' Duplication involves not only duplicity but instability; 'a double-minded man, unstable in all his ways.'² It is possible that one factor in the general desire for sincerity was a superstitious notion of the danger of unreality. If a man professes non-reality, he may become non-real himself. 'There is,' says Westernmark, 'something uncanny in the untrue word itself.'³ Cicero observed: 'Nothing that is false can be lasting'—a rhetorical remark which to a savage might express a physical law. It is a curious fact that in civilization a sort of specific insincerity or double-mindedness is popularly ascribed to the artistic temperament, particularly in the case of actors. As the actor is a double, and plays a part on the stage, so is he regarded in his own character. Cf. art. DOUBLE-MINDEDNESS.

The analogy of the soul to the portrait, reflexion, and shadow has led to certain curious examples of the pictorial double. The easiest method of induction is by similars, and early thought seems to have noted identity far more than difference.

This tendency is well exemplified in Chinese psychology, and has to be taken into account in estimating many cases of spiritual identification.

'When a Chinese sees a plant,' for example, 'reminding him, by its shape, of a man or some animal, . . . he is influenced immediately by an association between it and that being. This being becomes to him the soul of the plant, anthropomorphic, or shaped as a beast. . . . Thus, association of images with beings actually becomes identification, both materially and psychically. An image, especially if pictorial or sculptured, and thus approaching close to the reality, is an *alter ego* of the living reality, an abode of its soul, nay, it is that reality itself.' . . . This kind of association is the backbone of Chinese religion.⁴

The soul of the Yaos, we saw, bears to the body 'the relation which a picture has to the reality.' But the Chinese go much further. For all practical purposes the life-sized picture of a dead man is a duplicate personality. It enables the deceased 'to live on among his descendants.' There are stories of statues and portraits acting for the persons they represent, and even begetting children.

There once existed also an art, *Khwai shuh*, by which life could be infused into a statue or portrait. The living image was then made use of, as Frankenstein employed his monster.⁵

Animal-souls or fetish-souls, external souls generally, are frequently described by observers under the term *alter ego*. Tribes of the Niger believe that each person has

'an *alter ego* in the form of some animal, such as a crocodile or hippopotamus. It is believed that such a person's life is bound up with that of the animal to such an extent that whatever affects the one produces a corresponding impression upon the other, and that if one dies the other must speedily do so too. It happened not very long ago that an Englishman shot a hippopotamus close to a native village; the friends of a woman who died the same night in the village demanded and eventually obtained five pounds as compensation for the murder of the woman.'⁶

In the Euahlayi tribe of Australia the *yunbeai*, or individual totem, is an 'animal familiar,' 'a sort of *alter ego*.' 'A man's spirit is in his *yunbeai*,

and his *yunbeai*'s spirit in him.' A medicine-man 'can assume the shape of his *yunbeai*.'¹ The *tona*, second self, soul, or tutelary genius, of the Zapotecs was an animal.

'It was believed that health and existence were bound up with that of the animals, in fact, that the death of both would occur simultaneously.'²

Even a substitute may be similarly described. Among the Bataks a piece of wood the length of the sick man's body is left at the place where the evil spirit that has taken the man's soul is believed to reside. Snouck Hurgronje describes this log as a *dubbelganger*.³

Examples might be multiplied. It is natural that, when once the notion of 'spiritual' duplication has been formed, it may be applied to any thing that strikes the fancy. The origin of external souls generally cannot be ascribed to a desire for safeguarding the life of the owner. At least the method is a very dangerous one. The soul is far more likely to be safe when it is in, or in combination with, the body of the owner. Moreover, this external soul not only dies when its 'original' dies, but involves in its own death the death of the owner. Duplication here simply duplicates danger; and it is unlikely that the derivation of the external soul is from any notion of placing the actual soul of a man in an external hiding-place. In fact, the theory of the soul which involves the belief in the appearance of a man's double or wraith shortly before, or at, or just after, his death brings into very strong relief the danger of making the unity of the person into a duality.

The phenomena of this wraith or double might be illustrated at great length, but they present hardly any variation of detail. A curious and significant fact is the large number of carefully studied cases in modern civilization of such 'phantasms' of the living or the lately dead, which have been seen by educated and intelligent persons, quite free from pathological abnormality.⁴ It is a no less curious fact that the appearances present precisely the same features as are mentioned in mediæval and savage folklore. There is no doubt about the modern appearances, as far as their subjective reality is concerned; nor can there be any doubt about appearances in earlier culture. They are, so far as we know, cases of visual hallucination. Such hallucination may be defined as 'the projection of a mental image outwards when there is no external agency answering to it.'⁵ Hallucination is not to be denied for earlier stages of human evolution, but there is no probability that it increases inversely as mental development. Be that as it may, the remarkable thing is this, that the 'primitive' notion of the soul supplies in theory not only what actually happens in practice, but also adequate speculative reasons for such happenings, though these reasons are both pre-scientific and opposed to all scientific facts. It is unnecessary to enter into any definition of 'ghost,' 'wraith,' 'spectre,' 'phantom,' and similar terms. The occasion of the appearance of the double has been noted. It remains to supply some typical examples and to draw out their spiritualistic explanation.

In Teutonic folklore to see one's 'angel' was regarded as an omen of approaching death.⁶ In English folklore the belief still obtains that at midnight of St. Mark's Eve one may see from the church porch all those who are to die in the course of the year.⁷ Mr. Baring-Gould knew of a young carpenter in Devonshire who was firmly convinced he had seen his own double on St. Mark's Eve. He went to the church porch in a spirit of bravado. 'All he could say was that he had seen

¹ K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, London, 1906, pp. 21, 30.

² Bancroft, i. 661, li. 277.

³ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajo-land en zijne bewoners*, Batavia, 1903, p. 310.

⁴ See F. W. H. Myers and F. Podmore, *Phantasms of the Living*, London, 1886, *passim*.

⁵ J. Sully, *Illusions*, London, 1895, p. 113.

⁶ J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Eng. tr. 1880-88), li. 876.

⁷ Cf. James Montgomery's poem, *The Vigil of St. Mark*.

¹ Monier-Williams, *op. cit.* p. 188.

² Ja 18.

³ *de Officiis*, li. 12.

⁴ *de Officiis*, li. 12.

⁵ *de Officiis*, li. 12.

⁶ *de Officiis*, li. 12.

⁷ C. H. Robinson, *Hausaland*, London, 1896, p. 36 ff.

himself go past him, thrust open the church door, which he knew was locked, pass inside, and shut the door after him. He could not be mistaken; the figure had turned and looked him full in the face, and he knew himself as surely as when he glanced into mother's looking-glass.' The young man took to his bed, though nothing ailed him, and died of sheer fright.¹ Shelley declared a few days before his death that he had seen his double. Goethe (who, by the way, practised the visualization of mental images) records his having seen 'an exact counterpart of himself coming towards him.'² Robert Perceval, second son of the Right Honourable Sir John Perceval, saw his own apparition, 'bloody and ghostly, whereat he was so astonished that he immediately swooned away, but, recovering, he saw the spectre depart.' Soon afterwards he was found dead, under mysterious circumstances, in the Strand.³ In 1899, Mrs. Milman, wife of Mr. A. J. Milman, assistant clerk to the House of Commons, declared that her rooms in the Speaker's Court were haunted, and had been haunted for many years, by a spiritual double of herself, which had been seen by many people when she was elsewhere, though she herself had never seen it.⁴ A well-known M.P. died suddenly when away from the House. It was stated that he was seen by several members in the lobby at the time he died.⁵ In Alsace the belief is marked; *se voir soi-même, sich selbst sehen*, are familiar phrases. To see one's self, or meet one's double, portends one's death. A Strassburg man returning home saw himself, and soon after died. It is noted that in Alsace the occurrence is rare compared with the appearance of a man to others. An interesting detail, recurring elsewhere, is that, after seeing his double, a man has 'no repose.'⁶ A question implying the same belief was put to Shelley by the lady to whom he confided his having seen his double. Art and literature are full of examples which might well be founded on fact. D. G. Rossetti's *How they met themselves*, and Calderon's *Purgatory of St. Patrick*, are examples. Sir Walter Scott observed that increasing civilization had 'blotted out the belief in apparitions.' This was to reckon without the phenomena of vision on which they depend.

These phenomena explain both the fact of the appearance of doubles, and also the pre-scientific theory of it which is a part of the early doctrine of the soul. According to that doctrine, the soul is separable from the body. This separation occurs at death, and may occur in illness, and even in a mere attack of fright, in sleep, and in other circumstances which need not be considered here. The soul is more or less universally regarded as a material, but etherialized, visible duplicate of the owner, whether full-sized or miniature, and as constituting his life. When it is removed, he is either dead or in danger of death. Primitive philosophy would say, perhaps, not that when a man dies his soul departs, but that he dies because his soul has departed. The soul of another is invisible when the man himself is seen, alive and well. In this case of full perception there is no mental image. But, when the man is not perceived, the mental image of him in the mind of the subject may suggest possibilities of separation, of division of personality. From another point of view, the man's appearance in death, sleep, or illness suggests the loss of something. Here, too, there is a percept, but it does not answer to the completeness of other percepts of the same object. Thus, whether as a film of the man's outward appearance, or as an ejected but expandible inner duplicate, the soul is easily supposed to leave its possessor. To the former view correspond those cases in which it is said to 'loosen itself' from the body, to the latter those in which it slips away from the mouth or other apertures. Before death the Haida soul 'loosens itself from the body.'⁷ Of course, one cannot press the meaning of such descriptive phrases. But the fact remains that the separated soul is, when seen, a filmy double. The general belief that the soul is away from the body during sickness is significant. The Chinese hold that even in a fainting fit a man's soul is not united with his body.⁸ The 'other self,' *netsein*, of Déné belief, 'was invisible as long as a man enjoyed

good health,' but wandered away when he was sick or dying.⁹ This account is very apt to the point. It explains how the spiritual counterpart of a man is sometimes described as invisible, sometimes as visible. It is invisible, in other words, when it is united with its owner. It may be visible, to himself or others, when it is no longer united. On this line of thought, combined with ideas of the life-giving property of the soul, is developed the notion that health and strength are the soul, or at least an outward show of it. The Minangkabau people of Sumatra regard the *sumange* as

'the cause of the impression a man makes on others: . . . it gives strength, splendour, and vitality to a man's appearance; it is expressed in his look and carriage. A man whose external appearance is weak or sickly, or who has little expression in his face, is said to have a feeble soul.'¹⁰

Similarly, the natives of the Congo identify health with the word *moyo*, and 'in cases of wasting sickness the *moyo* is supposed to have wandered away from the sufferer.'¹¹ The Malagasy supply a complete case. The *ambiroa*, or *ameroy*, the 'apparition' of a man, is, when seen, an omen of his approaching death. But this term is also applied to the soul of a man when there is no actual question of death; for instance, if a man is thin and does not thrive well on his food.¹²

It is clear from the above both why the soul should be away from the body just before, or at, or after, death, or even in illness, and also why it is then visible both to the owner and to others.

The double which appears after death might be supposed to be a duplicate of the man with the marks of death upon him. And so it is sometimes in early belief. Thus, among the Fijians the ghost is decomposed; it is the corpse 'walking.' But, with natural inconsistency, it 'can eat fruit, drink kava, throw stones, weep, laugh, compose poetry, and dance.'¹³ So difficult is it for the mind to get away from the complete idea of the man. In a case already cited, the double appearing before death had the marks of the owner's violent end impressed upon it proleptically. But, as a rule, the 'spiritual' double is the exact counterpart of the owner as he was when last seen. Thus, by the natives of Paraguay

'the souls (*aphangak*) of the departed are supposed, in the ethereal state, to correspond exactly in form and characteristics with the bodies they have left. A tall man and a short man remain tall and short as spirits; a deformed man remains deformed. A kindly-natured man continues so in shade-land. . . . The spirit of a child remains a child and does not develop, and for this reason is not feared. No punishment follows the murderer of an infant, nor is its murder attended by the ordinary superstitious fears.'¹⁴

The Polynesians were familiar with apparitions of the dead. These appeared also in dreams, and their 'shape or form resembled that of the human body.'¹⁵ The natives of the Panjāb believe that 'the little entire man or woman inside the body retains after death the tattoo marks of the person whom it has left.'¹⁶ Among the Nagas the ghost is 'an exact image of the deceased as he was at the moment of death, with scars, tattoo marks, mutilations, and all—and as able to enjoy and to need food and other sustenance.'¹⁷ In some cases the disembodied 'soul' after death is distinguished from the dead man himself, who is believed to 'walk.' The Australians speak of the ghost returning to the grave to contemplate its mortal remains.¹⁸ But there are cases where it is practically the man himself, revived and as he was in life. The Ovaherero believe

¹ A. G. Morice, *loc. cit.*

² J. L. van der Toorn, *loc. cit.* v. 481.

³ H. Ward, in *JAI* xxiv. (1895) 237.

⁴ Ellis, *loc. cit.*

⁵ B. H. Thomson, in *JAI* xxiv. (1895) 354.

⁶ W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, London, 1911, p. 120.

⁷ W. Ellis, *Polyn. Res.* i. 361, 397.

⁸ H. A. Rose, in *IA* xxxi. (1902) 298.

⁹ T. C. Hodson, *op. cit.* p. 159; cf. Kruijt, p. 236.

¹⁰ A. W. Howitt, in *JAI* xlii. (1884) 187.

¹¹ S. Baring-Gould, in *Sunday Magazine*, 1895, p. 744.

¹² Bully, *Illusions*, p. 116.

¹³ T. F. Thielson Dyer, *Strange Pages from Family Papers*, London, 1895, p. 160 f.

¹⁴ *Evening News*, 30 June 1899.

¹⁵ A. Barth, in *FL* i. (1890) 227 f.

¹⁶ G. M. Dawson, 'Haida Indians,' in *Geological Survey of Canada*, App. A, p. 121 f.

¹⁷ De Groot, i. 243.

¹⁸ *Id.*

that the ghost speaks to people, drinks their milk, and takes their food; also that he is apt to seduce women and girls, and can even marry and live with a woman without her being aware that her husband is a ghost.¹

In the Gospel narratives of the appearances of the risen Jesus it is remarkable that various tests are employed to prove that the form was no ghost or double, but the Lord Himself (cf. Lk 24^{39, 43}). A test frequently employed in cases of the double is to ascertain whether the form casts a shadow or reflexion. For the 'spiritual' double, being itself a sort of reflexion, a visible but 'immaterial' copy, obviously cannot produce a reflexion itself. Hence stories are found, the point of which is either that a supposed real person is unreal, or that a real person, casting no shadow, has *ipso facto* lost his soul. We are thus led to the principle that the 'spiritual' duplicate, while supplying life to its owner, is 'real,' but in a different genus from the body or from the complete person. More precisely, the difference is a question of degree; the dead or sick body is negatively, the life-double is positively, real; the truth of both is the total living unity.

Most significant, perhaps, of the phenomena of doubles is the fact that they are seen just before death, and by their owners in particular. A usual endowment of the medicine-man is that he can see a soul at any time. But this capacity is often limited by the accepted principles of the doctrine of the soul. Thus the shamans of the Thompson Indians are able to see the soul

'before and shortly after it leaves the body, but lose sight of it when it gets further away towards the world of souls. . . . When a shaman sees a soul in the shape of a fog, it is a sign that the owner will die.'²

The rescue and restoration of the straying duplicate is universally, in early culture, the business of the soul-doctor, as in civilization the restoration of health is the business of the physician. The fact that, though ordinarily invisible, it is seen away from its place of location is the best proof that its owner is threatened with its permanent absence. This contingency receives the strongest confirmation when the apparition is seen by the threatened person himself. The inconsistency of the fact that he himself is still alive is one of those which cause no difficulty to the unscientific mind. The soul is separated from the body; that is enough for an absolute proof.

The persistence of the belief in the apparition of the double is precisely one of those cases which cannot be explained by any theory of survival or tradition. The belief is kept alive by hallucinations, and in uncultivated minds by the normal phenomena of visualization.

LITERATURE.—This is fully given in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

DOUBLE-MINDEDNESS.—It is clear that many things in morality and religion which are censured as insincerity and hypocrisy are more accurately describable in terms of double-mindedness. The difference is that in double-mindedness a certain fraction of the entire complex personality—a special set of related states and processes—is so 'split off' from the rest of the self that it acts on its own account and forgets its relation to the full round of diverse elements of the ego. In cases of hypocrisy, if such exist, during the inconsistent act or attitude which has momentarily taken possession of the field of consciousness there is a haunting sense that it is not in harmony with the deeper-lying currents of the selfhood.

1. Pathology of the sense of self.—The diseases conditioned by the splitting of the self are those

¹ Viehe and Palgrave, in *South African Folklore Journal*, I. (1879) 656 ff.

² J. Teit, in *Mem. of Amer. Museum of Nat. Hist.* I. (1900) iv. 363.

of double personality, in which two fairly defined selves in turn struggle for the possession of the field of consciousness, or may exist side by side, each more or less ignorant of the other; multiple personality, with the condition just described, existing among more than two split-off parts illustrated in the work of a skilful hypnotist, who can call up in turn as many selves as he chooses; and alternating personality, in which the two or more selves, like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, take turns at ruling the field of consciousness.

Among the remarkable cases that have been studied are: Lucie, Louise, and Léonie, described by Janet, *L'Automatisme psychologique*, 1889; Férida, studied by Azam, *Hypnotisme, double conscience et altérations de la personnalité*, 1887; Mary Reynolds and Ansel Bourne, cited by W. James, *Princ. of Psych.* 2, 1906, I. 388 ff.; the case of Sergeant F., described by Mesnet and quoted by Binet, *Alterations of Personality* (Eng. tr.), 1896; 'Miss Beauchamp' with her four personalities, the subject of Prince's exhaustive study, *The Dissociation of a Personality*, 1906; the autobiographical account of the restoration of a personality by Beers, *The Mind that Found Itself*, 1908; the instance of 'D. F.', a patient of Sidis, reported in his *Psychopathological Researches: Studies in Mental Dissociation*, 1909; and many others.

These studies are in essential agreement on many points in regard to the nature of the self, and throw light upon the milder forms of double-mindedness. The central fact underlying them is that the conscious self at any moment is only a small part of the entire personality, the larger share of which is the subconscious self. This sphere of the subconscious consists in the sum of partially lapsed memories, plus the sum of dimly appreciated instinct feelings and organic experiences, past and present. The elements of the entire self are always somewhat imperfectly knit together, and at best become organized in spots and sections, as determined, for example, by harmonious instinct reactions or a relatively consistent set of vocational experiences, personal habits, and intellectual interests.

The conscious self really consists in the drifting to the surface, out of the submerged selfhood, of certain fairly well organized cores or nuclei of related states and processes. Self-consciousness is potentially bound up in any and all of the elements of the personality. The ego is not a fixed entity that stands apart and watches the life processes go on. The self-feeling, on the contrary, is latent in every psychosis, and emerges when any group of processes is sufficiently organized and so far intensified as to form a warm spot in the usually somewhat diffuse group of experiences that cohere in the single organism. Whenever such a warm spot is formed, the self-feeling crystallized about it and everything else is sharply severed from it and stands as object. There are in the normal personality certain deep-going lines of organization that are fairly constant, and give some stability to the selfhood. It is shown, however, by the use of hypnotic suggestion, that there is no part of the personality that may not in turn be made subject and object. The same subject may seem to himself to be in turn king and peasant, preacher and humorist, saint and sinner, child and adult, kindly and irritable, motor- and visual-minded. While each character is in the centre of the arena acting out its part, it gathers to itself allies from the entire range of the self, and works them out into seeming consistency, and is entirely oblivious to the existence of other selves.

Now, the condition underlying double-mindedness is that two or more centres of related processes, or selves, may drift above the threshold of clear consciousness in rapid succession, while each is imperfectly cognizant of the other. Indeed, it is certain that one set of central processes can be 'thrown out of gear' with the rest, 'so that the processes in one system give rise to one conscious-

ness, and those of another system to another *simultaneously* existing consciousness' (W. James, *Princ. of Psych.* i, 399). Let us represent the entire self, consisting fundamentally of a mass of subliminal processes, by a sphere S. Two smaller spheres, A and B, within the larger one may represent the integrated nuclei of conscious selves. In so-called normal consciousness, these two selves, A and B, will be so nearly coincident, due to the continuity and consistency in the stream of experiences, as to have almost everything in common, M. Although the quality of mentality at any moment or in any situation is different from that of the next moment or situation, so that A and B each has a region exclusively its own, the large common ground M carries over into each successive state of consciousness a rich stock of memories, and accordingly a sense of personal identity. If, however, in an impulsive or impressionable person the successive consciousnesses are inharmonious—call them A¹ and B¹—and so separated as to have only a small region M¹ in common, we have the typical case of double-mindedness. There lie beyond these the extreme instances described above, when, due to some lesion, or to hypnotic influence, the consciousnesses A² and B² are so thrown apart that they have no background of definite memories to unite them.

Among the advantages of considering double-mindedness as lying in a progressive series between a highly unified consciousness on the one hand and alternating personalities on the other, are: (a) it is normal, but may become pathological; (b) the progressive decline of the memory of other selves in pathological cases shows the distinction between double-mindedness and wilful deception and insincerity. A religious enthusiast and propagandist, for example, impelled by the combined effect of auto-suggestion and social-suggestion may at other times be morose, unkind, and even treacherous, and still be only faintly aware of the incongruity. (c) There is, however, a subconscious interaction between the selves. Binet and Janet have shown (Binet, *Alterations of Personality*, Eng. tr. New York, 1896, p. 215 ff.) that, although either member of a double personality may seem to be entirely oblivious of the existence of the other, there is, nevertheless, a leakage between them through the deeper strata of personality. (d) The integration of the self is best brought about, if not invariably, in terms of the subconscious. In chronic cases of double personality there seems to be no way so effectual of healing the cleavage as by a vigorous use of suggestion, the blending of the different selves into the deeper-lying regions of the submerged selfhood. From this point of view the success of religion in the world may be accounted for by its consistent appeal to the 'divided selves,' 'sick souls,' and all who hunger after the higher life, that they renounce the lesser selves and, by an act of faith, sink them into the absolute righteousness of a limitless personality.

2. Sources of double-mindedness.—Whether or not the self is fundamentally or transcendently a unity, it is more just to concrete facts of the mental life to assume that self-consciousness is inherent in the separate psychic processes themselves. Rather than try to explain the incongruous obsessions of the self, therefore, it is more judicious to accept the multiplicity of streaks and strains that inhere in the same personality as the given fact, and then to regard the integrity of the self as a selected product of development. Its utility, let us say, is found in the value to the individual of a self-consistent history, and the increased efficiency of a social order whose units are somewhat similar. The most potent fact about the self is the constant mutations that are going on

within it (cf. W. James, *Princ. of Psych.*, chs. ix. and x.; Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*², 1897, ch. ix.). In any normal individual there are ceaseless alterations and re-combinations of the elements of the self in response to the situations that call them into activity. Each person is in turn, especially and for the moment, a bodily self, a social self, a courageous, a blushing, a righteous, an ambitious, a passionate, a logical self, and so on through a long list. There are conditions which tend to fix these various selves and perpetuate them. In the first place, it is the fate of states of consciousness to be self-limited in proportion to their intensity. To see with rapt interest a bit of colour harmony in a landscape is for the moment to be blind to all else. To feel the thrill of a heroic encounter creates a soldier whose heart is closed to every other 'calling.' The laws of habit get in their work, while vocational activities and the fixity of social customs assist in building the texture of the personality into a seemingly constant and consistent type. The twists and strains of split personality now arise through

'the irruption into the individual's life of some new stimulus or passion, such as love, ambition, cupidity, revenge, or patriotic devotion' (W. James, *Var. of Rel. Exp.*, 1902, p. 176).

It may arise from an enforced change of occupation when the cross currents are aggravated by a psychopathic temperament. The condition existing in milder forms is best seen in abnormal cases.

A young woman, early abandoned to a life of shame, and later placed in a convent, would pass, as the result of nervous disorders, through two periods, believing herself to be alternately prostitute and nun; and in each her tone, manner, dress, and speech were radically different and appropriate' (Baldwin, *DPhP* ii, 236).

One of the chief sources of split personality is the difficulty of a smooth readjustment, during the growth periods from childhood to maturity, to the new demands of later stages. This is most marked during the age of most rapid readjustment in the early teens. The old habitual self of childhood persists with great tenacity. The instinctive uprush of new life floods the youth with a feeling of new possibilities and a sense of awakening, though dimly appreciated, ideals. The struggle between the old self and the new is the crisis long known as 'storm and stress.'¹ The period is well characterized by W. James as that of the

'divided will, when the higher wishes lack just that last acuteness, that touch of explosive intensity . . . that enables them to burst their shell, and make irruption efficaciously into life and quell the lower tendencies for ever' (*Var. of Rel. Exp.* p. 178).

3. Double-mindedness and immorality.—It would seem that most blemishes of character and nearly all misdeeds and crimes might be traceable to split personality. A passionate, shamming, or partial self, either too callous or too sensitive, loses its connexion with, and setting in, the full round of life. Treacheries, for example, are the obverse side of little loyalties, just as are foolish loves and misguided philanthropies. It would appear, too, from the stress which moral codes and precepts place upon such virtues as integrity, sincerity, consistency, *temperantia*, and the like, that the normal evolution of character chiefly consists in the straightening out and unification of the inner self.

'As a fletcher makes straight his arrow,' says the *Dhammapāda* (88), 'a wise man makes straight his trembling and unsteady thought, which is difficult to keep, difficult to turn.'

Something like this is, apparently, the purport of the golden mean of Aristotle, the middle path and the will of Heaven of Confucius, the harmony with the universe of the Stoics, and the straight and narrow way of Jesus.

The danger of a duplicity of the self has been almost universally recognized by morality and

¹ See, for a description of the accompanying phenomena, W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, N. Y., 1902, chs. vi. vii. viii.; Starbuck, *Psychology of Religion*², 1901, chs. v. xii. xvii. xviii.

religion. To heal up its ruptures and knit the entire life into a consistent whole has been their heroic task. Two extreme methods of unification have been advocated, with many gradations of the intermingling of both. At one extreme is the Stoical method of renunciation of everything which can disturb, distract, or fear asunder, so that the soul stands undisturbed in the midst of a changing universe, superior to all things in life or death. The opposite method is to extend the self until it is at one with all things in heaven and earth. Since the self, then, is at one with all-reality, there is nothing that can mar its serenity. One can distinguish at least four types of this latter method of unification: the mystical or baptismal or psychopathic, which would bathe in a limitless ocean of blessedness; the rational or Socratic, which would rise to higher definition and sink to profounder insight until the deeper wisdom catches up all virtue into itself; the æsthetic, as illustrated, for example, in Jesus, which is guided by a warm, refined sense of eternal values; and the practical or 'tough-minded,' represented by those who gird up their loins and preach and practise a doctrine of utmost consistency in thought and deed.

4. **The value to morality of double-mindedness.**—It is an instructive fact that the biography of so many moral and religious geniuses betrays a struggle between the cross currents of the self in the direction of good and evil. Like St. Paul and St. Augustine, what they would not, that they do, and, when the impulses lead towards the higher life, there is a stubborn inner resistance that is hardly overcome. It is probable that, just as an act of clear thought is bought of necessity at the price of severe mental tension, so a world of clean-cut moral values can exist only in the midst of conflicting inner impulses. It is 'when the struggle begins within himself' that 'man's worth something.' It is only then that 'the soul awakes and grows' (Browning, *Fine de la Fair*).

'Of necessity every distinctly moral choice involves the previous presence of a certain tendency to choose the wrong. Yes, moral choice is essentially a condemnation of the neglected motive, as well as an approval of the accepted motive. Otherwise it could be no moral choice. A being possessed of but one motive could have no conscience. . . . You might as well try to define a king without his subjects as to define a moral deed without the presence in the agent of some evil motive' (Royce, in *JJE* iv. [1893-4] 57).

If, now, in the midst of the struggle the agent conquers the lesser motive, he may issue forth into a complex world of specific moral relationships and corresponding moral values, and so come to live victoriously in a 'two-storey universe' instead of floating along a misty stream of indefinite experiences into whose gloom the light of a bedimmed conscience can scarcely shed its radiance. The value of the conflicts, too, in the social order has long been recognized by students of ethics.

'The means which Nature uses to bring about the development of all the capacities she has given man,' says Kant, 'is their *antagonism* in society, in so far as this antagonism becomes in the end a cause of social order. . . . Men have a great propensity to isolate themselves, for they find in themselves at the same time this unsocial characteristic, and each wishes to direct everything solely according to his own notion, and expects resistance just as he knows that he is inclined to resist others. It is just this resistance which awakens all man's powers' (quoted in Dewey-Tufts, *Ethics*, 1908, p. 87).

The study of biographies would even suggest that, the greater the number of antagonisms and oppositions that play against each other, the more is the personality enriched, if only they can be so neatly balanced against each other as not to waste the energies, and if the central stream of life is so directed that the habit of conquering becomes the

habit of growth. Luther, *e.g.*, is an instructive instance of a person containing what Ribot (*Diseases of Personality*, Eng. tr. Chicago, 1895, pp. 112, 126 ff.) designates 'successively' and 'even simultaneously contradictory characters.' He was jocose and serious, joyous and melancholy, submissive and independent, active and meditative, stoical and sensuous, warm-hearted and vindictive, mystic and hard-headed organizer, scholar and poet, and many things besides. The intimate relation between the presence, in such minds, of various cross currents and their moral strength is probably not an accidental one.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references in the text, the reader may consult: J. Royce, *Studies of Good and Evil*, N.Y., 1898, ch. on 'Anomalies of Personality'; E. Sidis, *The Psychol. of Suggestion*, N.Y. 1911; J. M. Baldwin, *D.P.P.* 1901-2, art. 'Personality, Disorders of'; D. H. Take, *Dict. of Psych. Med.*, 1892, art. 'Double Consciousness'; Worcester, McComb, and Coriat, *Relig. and Med.*, N.Y. 1908; H. Münsterberg, *Psychotherapy*, N.Y. 1909, pt. iii.

EDWIN D. STARBUCK.

DOUBT.—1. **Definition and scope.**—Doubt is the negation of belief, the condition of not having reached a positive conclusion for or against any proposition. In this negative nature doubt differs from *disbelief*, which is a positive conviction of falsity. Disbelief is a form of belief; it is a belief in some proposition which involves the falsity of another, with reference to which the attitude of mind is called 'disbelief.' We disbelieve the Ptolemaic theory because we believe the Copernican. Doubt, on the other hand, implies no such contrary belief. It implies suspense of judgment rather than a positive judgment to the contrary. It is the state of being unconvinced. In this sense an agnostic should be in the attitude of doubt, lacking knowledge (see art. **AGNOSTICISM**). Whether there is ever an absolute suspense of judgment may be questioned, but in the doubting attitude there is at least the absence of a categorical or of a settled judgment with reference to the idea in question. There may be the disjunctive judgment that A or B is true, but doubt as to which alternative is correct, or there may be an alternation of judgments, but no fixed conclusion. In the latter case doubt corresponds to deliberation, although expressing the negative element rather than the consideration of reasons.

As to the *objects* of doubt it is customary to distinguish between theoretical doubt and doubt as to values. The former may concern either (1) the evidence of sense, or (2) the truth of theories. The latter may be doubt as to the validity of our (3) æsthetic or (4) moral judgments. Since religion, as commonly understood, involves judgment as to both facts and values, religious doubt may be of either of the two main kinds.

The distinction sometimes drawn between *universal* and *particular* doubt is a verbal rather than a real one, the former being incompatible with sanity in things theoretical, and with life in things practical. The conscious life is essentially an active, assertive process by which objects are either assimilated, or neglected for those capable of assimilation. This limitation of doubt in the field of knowledge was shown by Descartes, and in the sphere of practice by Hume (see § 2).

The temporal relation of doubt to belief depends upon the conception of the nature of belief. If belief be taken as identical with the instinctive or immediate reality sense, doubt is a subsequent state arising from the conflict of primitive beliefs, especially as involving the disappointment of expectation and the checking of motor impulse. If belief be conceived as a reflective result dependent upon evidence, it is subsequent to doubt, and its legitimate outcome. The condition of doubt lasts as long as the idea in question fails to find its

place relative to the system which represents for us reality. When its position is discovered, the attitude towards it is one of belief—either positive as acceptance, or negative as rejection.

The resolution of doubt, consisting as it does in this determination of the place of an idea relatively to the reality system, involves the exercise of will. Yet this volition cannot be taken as a perfectly free or arbitrary action, without undermining the whole idea of truth. Doubt has significance only in so far as there is pre-supposed a system of conditions to which thought must adjust itself. There is doubt only where knowledge is possible, for doubt is always as to the judgment which ought to be passed if the purpose of thought is to be fulfilled. The resolution of doubt is therefore never a mere 'will to believe,' but a will to believe what conforms to given conditions of belief. The will is not absolute and alone in belief. See also articles BELIEF, FAITH, SCEPTICISM.

LITERATURE.—J. M. Baldwin, *Handb. of Psychol.*, 1889, ch. vii., 'Feeling and Will,' DPhP, artt. 'Doubt,' 'Belief'; F. Brentano, *Psychologie*, Leipzig, 1874, vol. i. bk. ii. ch. vii.; G. Vorbrödt, *Psychologie des Glaubens*, Göttingen, 1895; R. Adamson, *EBR*, art. 'Belief'; W. James, *The Will to Believe*, 1897; E. E. Saisset, *Le Scepticisme*, Paris, 1865; see, further, references below, and under BELIEF.

NORMAN WILDE.

2. The meaning and value of doubt as influenced by one's philosophical or theological position.—A person's attitude towards doubt and his conception of its meaning will depend much upon his philosophical or theological point of view. Apart from realism, whose psychological and epistemological ground-work is extremely varied, there are at least two general types of philosophizing, viz. absolutism and dynamic idealism, which directly influence one's estimate of doubt and its place in the moral and religious life; the former tending on the whole to disparage, and the latter to encourage, it.

(1) *Absolutism*.—Those who hold that truth or rightness is of a fixed and changeless nature fall into several groups with a variety of shades of gradation among them. For our purpose it will be sufficient to mention two as types; (a) rationalists or a-priorists, and (b) absolutists basing their views upon Divine authority.

(a) Absolutism of the rationalistic sort. There are those whose confidence in a fixed and static truth is so implicit, and who believe so firmly that this truth is of the nature of pure reason and can be attained through a logical process, that doubt is to them synonymous with ignorance. It means failure, up to any given moment of time, to have discovered the whole of truth. Such an attitude is often found among logicians, mathematicians, and theologians who have built upon a rationalistic psychology, although some of them take the matter of doubt more seriously, if, like Plotinus, they have a mystical temperament, or if, like Augustine, they are oppressed by the contrast between finite knowledge and infinite intelligence. Doubt is sometimes employed systematically as a helpful scientific or philosophical procedure by those who, like Descartes, use it as a means of sifting out from the manifold experience the pure elements of knowledge that are changeless. During the quest, rationalism has employed doubt consistently and whole-heartedly. Having established a system of truth or belief, it tends towards dogmatic certainty.

(b) A fixed and static truth or rightness based upon an external authority. From this standpoint doubt means perverseness, waywardness, or even sin, and is dealt with by disapproval, censure, condemnation, excommunication, punishment, or execution.

When either of the types of absolutism just described exists in its relatively pure form, implicit

faith is demanded within the range of the firm foundation of the system, while doubt may in all other matters prevail. There are many also, among Catholics, Protestants, and non-Christian devotees, who accept the finality of both reason and authority and insist upon their oneness. An instructive instance in point is the case of Cardinal Newman. He says (*Gram. of Assent*, pp. 214, 146):

'Now truth cannot change; what is once truth is always truth; and the human mind is made for truth. . . . once certitude, always certitude. If certitude in any matter be the termination of all doubt or fear about its truth, it carries with it an inward assurance that it shall never fail.' 'The difficulty is removed by the dogma of the Church's infallibility. The "One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church" is an article of the Creed. It stands in the place of all abstruse propositions in a Catholic's mind, for to believe in her word is virtually to believe in them all. Even what he cannot understand he can believe to be true; and he believes it to be true because he believes in the Church.'

(2) *Types of idealism with a dynamic or developmental conception of reality*.—This philosophical position, somewhat older than Aristotelianism, has arisen with new life during the last century and a half. It has been steadily undermining dogmatism and certitude, and not only accepting doubt as a wholesome mental regimen, but interpreting it as a necessary and intimate part of the growth process. Its representatives may be separated into two groups: (a) rationalists, who, like Hegel, abandon the law of identity and contradiction and posit a rational world-consciousness in a process of becoming or evolution; and (b) the large class, including pragmatists, voluntarists, and affectionists, to whom reality seems to be of a plastic, non-rational sort, which the thought-processes, since they are its products, can only symbolize, not reveal.

(a) Hegel may be taken as a representative of the idealists who hold a dynamic and teleological conception of reality, and insist that the 'cosmic spirit unfolds in a strict and vigorous logic, whose consummation is thought of thought' (Cushman, *Hist. of Phil.*, 1911, ii. 281). The absolute reason proceeds everywhere and always according to a law of negativity—passes over into its other or opposite only to return to itself enriched by the contradiction. There is always the threefold act, whether in the personal life or in history—affirmation, contradiction, and return-to-itself (the thesis, antithesis, and synthesis of Fichte and Schelling). The law of contradiction which formal logic and static rationalism respect is not 'true,' but only represents the second step in an endless process of becoming. The unfolding of the Absolute must of necessity, and by its very nature, have contradictions within it, as the condition of passing on to a richer synthesis. Doubt in the individual, therefore, and scepticism in history (see, e.g., Hegel's discussion of the Sceptics, in his *Hist. of Philos.*, 1892-96) are not simply justifiable on account of their stimulating and intensifying power, but are wholly essential parts of the evolution of spirit.

(b) Non-rational idealism. Hegel's philosophical justification of negation was but the formulating of a world-attitude towards the value of doubt that had been developing during the Renaissance and has been gaining momentum to the present time. No reference is here made to its value in the way of mental clarification and as a means of arriving at certainty as in the Yes and No procedure of Abelard and Aquinas, or to the method by which Descartes doubted away everything possible in order to arrive at clear and distinct ideas and therefore dogmatic certainty; what we have in view is rather a growing conception that reality is of a non-rational kind which cannot be truly represented by the cognitive processes. The thought-life is one (among others) of the ways in which the world of being manifests itself. It is epiphenomenal. Its reports are suggestive and

symbolical, not final. Dogmatism is, from this point of view, no longer possible, and the tentative reliance upon a 'truth' so far forth apprehended, of which doubt is the wholesome sign, is fundamentally justifiable. Following upon the acute scepticism and criticism which culminated in Hume and Kant respectively, confidence in the power of pure reason to transcend itself and report objective reality was undermined, and with it the belief was displaced that the universe was constructed on logical principles. The conviction grew insistent that reality is plastic or dynamic, and is of the nature of feeling or will. Being so, its meaning is to be read out in terms of feeling or symbolized through ideation. Illustrative of the affectionists may be mentioned: Kant's faculty of taste and æsthetic judgment as the synthesizing principle behind reason and judgment; Schelling's notion that ideas have not logical worth, but are God's intuitions of Himself, and that æsthetics and religion contain the deeper wisdom which will resolve all contradictions; Schleiermacher's doctrine that religious ideas are forms of the manifestation of religious feeling; and Schiller's and Goethe's conception of the 'Beautiful Soul' revealed through 'disinterested contemplation.' The volitionists are equally numerous and commanding. Illustrations of these are the 'God-will' of Kant, the 'Deed-act' of Fichte, and the 'World-as-will' of Schopenhauer, with his teaching that Reason and Idea are indeed distorted expressions of this fundamental world-will. The doctrine of biological evolution is a concrete form of the prevailing passion (which had possessed the best minds for more than half a century before it was formulated by Darwin) for a developmental account of reality, and in turn has given vast impetus to the conception. Some of the modern forms into which it has become crystallized are pragmatism, radical empiricism, vitalism, and voluntarism. All these give up the possibility of the dogmatic certainty of a unified system of beliefs. As summarized by A. J. Balfour:

'No philosophy or theory of knowledge can be satisfactory which does not find room within it for the quite obvious but not sufficiently considered fact that, so far as empirical science can tell us anything about the matter, most of the proximate causes of belief, and all its ultimate causes are non-rational in their character' (*The Foundations of Belief*, 386-8).

The attitude of all these towards doubt and certainty may be typified by the following from W. James:

'The safe thing is surely to recognize that all the insights of creatures of a day like ourselves must be provisional. The wisest critic is an altering being, subject to the better insight of the morrow, and right at any moment, only "up to date" and "on the whole." . . . "Heartily know, when half-gods go, the gods arrive." . . . I do indeed disbelieve that we or any other mortal men can attain on a given day to absolutely incorrigible and unimprovable truth about such matters of fact as those with which religions deal' (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, p. 333 f.).

3. Doubt for its own sake.—Most writers make a distinction between doubt as an end and its use in the growth of knowledge. Even those who justify it most unqualifiedly within its proper limits condemn it just as cordially as a chronic obsession.

James goes so far as to observe: 'It is often practically impossible to distinguish doubts from dogmatic negation. . . . Scepticism in moral matters is an ally of immorality. Who is not for is against. . . . in theory as in practice, dodge, or hedge, or talk as we like about a wise skepticism, we are really doing volunteer service for one side or the other' (*The Will to Believe*, 1899, p. 109). Sir William Hamilton, who believes that 'doubt is the first step toward philosophy,' observes: 'Doubt, as a permanent state of mind, would be, in fact, little better than an intellectual death. The mind lives as it believes,—it lives in the affirmation of itself, of nature, and of God; a doubt upon any of these would be a diminution of its life—a doubt upon the three, were it possible, would be tantamount to a mental annihilation' (*Lect. on Met. I*, 91).

The danger of doubting is not only that it may become a fixed habit, but that interest may centre

in the process itself as severed from the complex of normal mental activities and healthy enthusiasms and become a mania (doubting-madness; *folie du doute*; *Grübelnsucht*). Pathologists have accepted this as a special type of insanity (see, for example, B. Ball's art. 'Doubt, Insanity of,' in Tuke's *Dict. of Psychol. Medicine*, 1892). Its symptoms are a state of persistent intellectual unrest, a devouring metaphysical hunger, a morbid anxiety for mental satisfaction, accompanied not infrequently by a Hamlet-like paralysis of the will.

4. Doubt as the condition of knowledge and of its growth.—The dictum of Hamilton, 'we doubt in order that we may believe' (*loc. cit.*), has been, as the result of modern psychological analysis of the nature of the thought-processes, settling into a truism. According to James, 'belief and disbelief are but two aspects of one psychological state. . . . we never disbelieve anything except for the reason that we believe something else which contradicts the first thing' (*Princ. of Psych.*, 1890, ii, 234). Such a conception becomes self-evident through an analysis of the mental conditions involved in certitude. This is shown even in the simplest acts of cognition. No act of perception would be possible without selective attention, a narrowing of the field of consciousness, and a more or less sharp discrimination of the object perceived from related objects. Such an act often, if not generally, involves an artificial cutting away of the object from its setting, as hand from arm, leaf from branch, child from adult, day from night, and the like. Further perceptual processes almost invariably make cross-cuttings of these cuttings as hand-wrist-arm, leaf-twigg-branch, normal-abnormal child, twelve-hours, six-months day, and the like. The growth of knowledge consists just in the healing of the cleavages, and the organization, through judgments, of the discrete elements of experience into wholes after they have been necessarily severed, as the condition of having clear images and states of consciousness. Without dissatisfaction with the accuracy and finality of the discrete perceptual images already experienced (which dissatisfaction is doubt in the making), the further organization, in terms of judgments, of which knowledge consists, would not be possible. All the higher acts of conception involve similar discriminations and artificial separations as the condition that they become clear. They are always interested in a part of experience at the expense of all the rest. Then, when general judgments are formed, it is inevitable that discord should arise between these and each and all the diverse details that they have sought to harmonize. Wenley, in a chapter on 'Pre-established Discord,' has given a faithful analysis of the principle as it concerns the limitation of science and the behaviour of scientists:

'Any science, that is, any body of judgments about a part of experience, becomes self-centred, if you insist that it transform itself into a rational account of experience as a whole. Nay, it may be maintained that, precisely in proportion as science conforms to the ideal of exactness, it declines in truth when universalized, just because it is able to grasp, or adjust, individual cases: advance in knowledge depends upon awareness of problems, of contradictions. Science as a process of investigation consists in an effort to erase these blotches upon consistency' (*Mod. Thought and the Crisis in Belief*, pp. 200-210).

Without the intensification of consciousness resulting from clean-cut images along with their often necessary distortions, there would exist only a dim, confused state of general awareness or a 'feeling of simple reality.' All belief, in every case, has for its criterion, on the contrary, 'a feeling of resolved doubt.' 'What I believe has its pros and cons, and however vaguely, still really, I am better satisfied with the pros than with the cons. Now for the first time, therefore, we have belief' (Baldwin, *Handb. of Psych.*, 1889, p. 158). From

such a consideration it is evident that doubt is bound up necessarily with any act of faith. As expressed by Ladd:

'Skepticism and agnosticism remain legitimate and valuable (even indispensable) attitudes of the mind toward all the objects both of knowledge and of so-called faith. . . . To doubt and inquire, to refuse to affirm, and to deny, whether applied in the 'interest of conduct, of science, or of speculative thinking, are as essential to the process of cognition as are faith and affirmation of the most positive and undisturbed kind' (*Phil. of Knowledge*, p. 369).

The necessity of doubt to knowledge arises also from the retarding effect of a native inertia which causes a discord between thought and action; and this condition is aggravated by the deadening effect of habit and custom, which must constantly be transcended and replaced by a habit of growth, or, in other words, the habit of readjustment. Foster has compared doubt to the moulting of a bird by which it accommodates itself to the rotation of the seasons, and to the process of elimination in digestion. Doubt is therefore the 'purgative, eliminative, excretive side of religious experience, as faith is its nourishing; and therefore we are saved by doubt as well as by faith' (*The Funct. of Relig. in Man's Struggle for Existence*, p. 138 f.).

5. Development of doubt in the personal life.—A valuable suggestion as to the place of doubt in the constructive life of morality and religion is found in the fact that it is the rule rather than the exception, in the growth from childhood credulity, imitativeness, and external authority, into a personal grasp of spiritual verities, that men and women pass through, usually in the late teens, a stage of mental perturbation, and of inquiry into the groundwork of faith. The youth 'turns logician and proves everything, and accepts that only which seems to possess a reason.' A study of biographies and autobiographies seems to show that 'the higher life-purposes develop and intensify simultaneously with the growth of doubt. . . . Doubt is a process of mental clarification; it is a step in the process of self-mastery; it is an indication that all the latent powers are beginning to be realized' (Starbuck, *Psychol. of Relig.*, pp. 223, 242).

6. The cultivation of the science and art of doubting judiciously and constructively.—The number of recent sympathetic discussions by psychologists and theologians of the meaning of doubt would indicate that leaders of thought have come rather generally to accept a constructive interpretation of it when kept within certain limits. The art of judicious doubting was first formulated by Aristotle, who saw in it the golden mean between the scepticism of the Sophists and the logismatism of the popular mind:

'It will contribute towards one's object, who wishes to acquire a faculty in the gaining of knowledge, to doubt judiciously, for a subsequent acquisition in the way of knowledge is the solution of previous doubts. . . . They who carry on an investigation without doubting first are similar to persons ignorant where they ought to walk. . . . There is a necessity that a person should be better qualified for forming a judgment who has heard all the reasons, as it were, of adversaries and opposing disputants' (*Met. ii.*).

It has been an advance over even that great hinker to discover the necessary relation of doubt to the acts of knowledge and belief, and so to find the element of faith which lies embedded in 'honest doubt,' provided one 'clings ever to its sunnier side.' In this view doubt is an index of the direction in which life's deeper problems lie. This has been tersely formulated by Royce:

'In these matters the truly philosophic doubt is no external opinion of this or that person; it is the very essence of our thought. . . . The doubt is inherent in the subject-matter. This doubt is to be accepted as it comes and then to be developed in all its fullness and in all its intensity. For the truth of the matter is concealed in that doubt, as the fire is concealed in the stony coal. You can no more reject the doubt and keep the innermost truth than you can toss away the coal and hope to retain the fire. This doubt is the insight partially attained' (*Relig. Aspect of Philos.*, p. 229 f.).

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EDWIN D. STARBUCK.

DOUKHOBORS [in pronunciation the *k* is scarcely heard, and the accent is on the last syllable; there are other forms of the name, but this is the form now usually employed].—The name Doukhobors was used at least as far back as the year 1785, and means 'spirit-wrestlers,' as the Doukhobors claim to fight not with carnal weapons, but armed with the Spirit of Truth. They regard as the founder of their sect a retired non-commissioned Prussian officer who lived and taught in a village of the Kharkof Government about the year 1740, and who, it is thought, was a Quaker. There is every reason to believe this anonymous leader to have been a man of high character, and devoted to the service of his fellow-men. Towards the close of the 18th cent. Doukhobors were scattered from the Volga southward and westward over Southern Russia, with adherents in various other parts of the Empire. The Czar Paul on his accession adopted a policy of toleration towards them, but changed his mind when, in 1799, some Doukhobors openly preached that rulers were not needed. Alexander I. allowed many of the Doukhobors to come together from various parts of Russia and to form a settlement of their own at the 'Milky Waters,' near the sea of Azof (1801-1824). This was a turning-point in their history. From being a religious sect held together by unity of beliefs, anxious to propagate their views among their neighbours, the Doukhobors became a community, and ceased to be propagandists. During the same period, moreover, their leader, Saveli Kapoustin, gained such power over his followers that he could declare himself to be an incarnation of Christ, and could claim for himself and his successors Divine honours; while, on the other hand, his adherents were forbidden to acknowledge that they recognized any earthly leader, so that, even to the present, they endeavour to confuse any outsider who may seek to study their beliefs. It would also appear that the successors of Kapoustin, all of whom gained control of great wealth by the introduction of communism among the Doukhobors, sanctioned the assassination of those who opposed them. At all events, the Russian Government made a thorough investigation of these charges, and in 1841 the Doukhobors were banished from the Milky Waters to the Wet Mountains in Georgia, where the wild hill-tribes were favourably impressed by their non-resisting neighbours, who, when molested, neither retaliated nor sought police protection. There they led a prosperous existence, and later numbered about 20,000. In 1887, when general conscription was introduced in the Caucasus, came the last crisis in their history. Not even the power of the whole Russian Empire

could induce them to join the army once they were persuaded that it is wrong for men to kill one another. Even when they endured it, the Doukhobors had regarded military service as a tyrannous imposition. Meanwhile Tolstoi and his friends, intentionally kept in ignorance of the theocratic claims of the Doukhobor leader, and believing the sect to be merely harmless Anarchists of the Tolstoi type, became interested on their behalf, and at last, in 1898, permission was given them to leave Russia. Far removed and destitute, they suffered much until rescued by the united efforts of Russian, English, and American philanthropists, who came to their assistance in defraying the expenses. Aided by the Canadian Government, 7363 Doukhobors were in 1899 established in Canada, leaving in the Caucasus about 12,000 who did not wish to emigrate. At present their number in Canada exceeds 9000. The welcome given to the first contingent in Canada was overpowering in its cordiality. A salute of artillery greeted them at the port, and the railway journey was a triumphal procession. They were in Canada three years before their leader, Piotr Verigin, was liberated by the Russian Government after sixteen years of exile. The Doukhobor settlements are situated in N.E. Assiniboia, about a day's drive from Yorkton; they stretch still farther to the N.E. over into Saskatchewan on the north, and touch slightly on Manitoba in the east.

The first known leader of the sect was Sylvan Kolesnikof (1750-1775). He was succeeded by Ilarion Pobirohin (1775-1785), and he by Savely Kapoustin (1790-1817), the founder of a Doukhobor dynasty, and the most remarkable of all the leaders. By him communism was also introduced among the Doukhobors. He was succeeded by his son Vassily Kalmikof (1817-1832), and he by Ilarion Kalmikof (1832-1841) and Peter Kalmikof (?-1864). Peter Kalmikof was succeeded by his wife Loukeriya, who proved an exceptionally able leader. She died in 1886, and was succeeded by Piotr Verigin, the present [1911] leader. But his accession provoked such hostility on the part of an important minority that the Government was forced to intervene and to send him into banishment. From his exile he issued mandates, influenced by Tolstoi's teachings, which seemed to the Doukhobors so severe that a considerable split took place in the sect. In consequence, as already noted, less than half of the Doukhobors followed Verigin, these being the ones who emigrated to Canada. Besides those Doukhobors who have been under the leadership of this dynasty, there are other bodies scattered throughout Russia, the exact accounts of whom are so fragmentary that it is difficult to present a consecutive history of them.

Their history shows that, unfortunately, their ills were not always from without. They did not always hold their faith with the same amount of zeal, and it is a history of constant backsliding and revivals. That these revivals were due to the advent of some worthy leader of men seems clearly demonstrated. Recognizing the Doukhobors as morally a race of giants, we must in speaking about them acknowledge the clearness of their perception of certain fundamental formal principles and the heroic tenacity with which they have upheld them. The sect has erred and split in pieces in the past, but the validity of certain principles to which they have testified will remain. The Doukhobor statement of truth is sometimes calm, moderate, persuasive, imparting a philosophic truth to conventional phrases, and at all dangerous points taking refuge in mysticism. At times, on the other hand, it is clear, resolute, radical, and contemptuous of all authority.

The tenets of these men, who will not acknow-

ledge an earthly rulership, may be stated as far as possible to the following effect. There is one God. Their leader Pobirohin in the 18th cent. is said to have explicitly taught that God does not exist by Himself, but is inseparable from man. It is for the righteous in a way to give Him life—a curious doctrine, perhaps, but one which seems to be the mainspring of their innate character. They explain away rather than affirm the doctrine of the Trinity. Jesus Christ was the spirit of piety, purity, etc., incarnate. He is born, preaches, suffers, dies, and rises again spiritually in the heart of each believer. He is the Son of God; but in the same sense we also are the sons of God. The inward word reveals Him in the depths of our souls. It existed in all ages, and enlightens all who are ready to receive it, whether they are nominally Christians or belong to some other religious community. Our souls existed and fell before the creation of the material universe. The Church is a society selected by God Himself. It is invisible and scattered over the whole world; it is not externally marked by any common creed. Not Christians only, but Jews, Muhammadans, and others may be members of it, if only they hearken to the inward word. The Scriptures must be understood figuratively to represent things that are inward and spiritual; and the Bible has less authority than 'the Living Word' (which may imply either an 'Inner Light' or the oral teachings of the head of the Doukhobors). The Christ within is the only true Hierarch and Priest. Therefore no external priest is necessary. The sons of God should worship God in spirit and in truth. The external sacraments have no efficacy. To baptize a child with water is unbecoming, but an adult baptizes himself with the word of truth by the true priest, Christ, with spirit and with fire. Confession is heartfelt contrition before God. The external sacraments are offensive to God, for Christ desires not signs but realities. The forms of worship of all Churches in the world are in themselves but dead signs, mere figures. To pray in temples made with hands is contrary to the injunction of the Saviour. Yet a son of God need not fear to enter a temple of any religious community. Icons are regarded as idols; the saints should not be prayed to; fasting should consist in fleeing from lusts. Marriage should be accomplished without any ceremonies; it needs only the will of those who are united in love to one another, and an inward vow in the souls of those who are marrying. An external marriage ceremony, apart from the inward marriage, has no meaning. The Doukhobors hold that no man and woman should continue to live together as man and wife unless they love and reverence each other. They wish to live up to their belief in 'peace at any price'; to go to war is forbidden. They refuse military service, which was the cause of their persecution in Russia and the reason of their emigration to Canada. Taxation, law courts, and all police regulations are condemned. Commerce is despised, and agriculture should be the great source of livelihood. All men are equal, and all rank and power is unnatural and mere usurpation. They believe that men gifted with reason should not use violence against others, but should influence one another by the appeal of mind to mind. Less violence, crime, vice, poverty (apart from the effects of persecution), superstition, luxury, or wretchedness is to be found among the Doukhobors than among their neighbours. They are sober, laborious, and frugal, clean and tidy in their houses and clothing, and attentive to their agriculture, which is their chief occupation. Those in Canada are almost all vegetarians, total abstainers, and non-smokers.

Under their present leader, Piotr Verigin, the

commune in Canada appears to be a financial success. He arrived there immediately upon his release from the Siberian mines, and has proved himself to be an eminently practical man. The Doukhobors adopted improved agricultural machinery, and established various mills, such as flour mills, oatmeal mills, saw mills, flax mills, etc. They also acquired a brick- and tile-making plant. The communism of their villages in Canada is centralized so that the communal funds of both the Doukhobor North and South Colonies are now all under the control of a Committee of Three. A large warehouse for the distribution of goods among the villages is situated in a convenient position on the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Doukhobor community is the largest experiment in pure communism that has ever been attempted. The Doukhobors of the Prince Albert Colony are more individualistic; they do not hold their land in common, and only to a small extent co-operate with the North and South Colonies.

Previous to Verigin's arrival in Canada, there was much confusion among the Doukhobors, who

were too ignorant, under new conditions, to arrange their plans; and even after he had come there was some friction with the authorities owing to the Doukhobor reluctance to recognize any allegiance except to Verigin. It is about this question, indeed, that all the trouble of the Canadian Government with the sect has centred, and in consequence more than a thousand Doukhobors, forming the Prince Albert Colony, have formed a sub-sect, marked chiefly by their refusal to render to Verigin the honours to which he lays claim.

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DRAMA.

Introductory (L. H. GRAY), p. 887.
American (L. H. GRAY), p. 871.
Arabic (C. PRÜFER), p. 872.
Chinese (T. L. BULLOCK), p. 878.
Greek (D. M. ROBINSON), p. 879.
Indian (E. J. RAPSON), p. 883.

Japanese (A. LLOYD), p. 888.
Javanese (L. H. GRAY), p. 895.
Jewish (L. H. GRAY), p. 897.
Persian (L. H. GRAY), p. 897.
Polynesian (L. H. GRAY), p. 898.
Roman (K. F. SMITH), p. 898.

DRAMA (Introductory).—1. Definition and affinities.—In the most primitive sense of the term, the word 'drama' denotes simply 'deed,' 'action,' as in *Æsch. Agamem.* 532 f.:

Ἡ δὲ δράμα οὐτε συντελεῖς πόλις
ἐξήχεται τὸ δράμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον,—

but before long it had gained the signification which it was henceforth to bear: 'a representation by persons (less frequently by puppets and the like), usually suitably disguised by dress, masks, etc., of acts believed to have been performed, or supposed to be performed, by other beings, the effect often enhanced by appropriate scenery. etc. That this is true was perceived centuries ago by the most rigidly analytic of all thinkers, Aristotle, in whose *Poetics* tragedy and comedy are among those arts "which are all in their original conception modes of imitation" (*πάσαι τευχάνουσι οὖσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον* [i. 2]); hence, some say, the name of "drama" is given to such poems, as representing action' (*ὅθεν καὶ δράματα καλεῖσθαι τινες αὐτὰ φασιν, διὰ μιμοῦνται δρώντας* [iii. 3]; for the Aristotelian meaning of 'imitation' ['an idealized representation of human life—of character, emotion, action—under forms manifest to the sense'], see Butcher's discussion in his *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, London, 1902, ch. ii.).

Whether the idealization implied by Aristotle may fairly be sought in primitive drama, or in comedy as a whole at any period, or in certain specimens of modern tragedy, is not beyond question; but there still remains the fact that 'imitation'—and imitation only—accounts for the rise of drama and for the attraction which it holds to-day, as in the remote past when it originated. To-day, as in its primitive form, drama is designed to reproduce events which already have happened or which are supposed to be happening; and, since such reproduction normally requires the spoken word, it is obvious, as Aristotle already saw, that the drama is closely connected with the epic and the lyric, the difference being that the epic and the lyric require only the spoken word, while the drama always requires action and, except in rare

instances, words as well. These exceptions are formed chiefly by the puppet plays, or marionettes (on which see Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Halle, 1900 [Eng. tr., London, 1902]; Magnin, *Hist. des marionettes*, Paris, 1862; Mairdour, *Marionettes et guignols*, Paris, 1900; Rehm, *Buch der Marionetten*, Berlin, 1905), which, doubtless originating in India, have spread thence throughout Europe (finally degenerating into the 'Punch-and-Judy show') and also far into the East (cf. the interesting varieties discussed below in the 'Javanese and Further Indian' section). Another exception might possibly be considered to be formed by the modern 'moving pictures,' but these have no right to come under the dramatic category at all.

Drama is also linked to yet another art, the pictorial; but the imitation by means of pictorial art, besides lacking the spoken word, is static, whereas dramatic art is continuous throughout the time which the production may consume. Far otherwise is the case with two more of the fine arts—music (whether instrumental or vocal, or both together) and the dance (using this term in its widest connotation). Indeed, so closely connected with the drama is the dance that the Skr. term for 'drama' is *nāṭya*, which literally means 'dance'; and even on the modern stage an entire drama may be performed by pantomimic dance, without the utterance of a single word.

2. Origin.—By the Aristotelian definition of drama, which is neatly epitomized by Suidas and the *Etymologicum Magnum* as 'a doing, an action . . . and also those things mimetically performed by actors, as in a rôle' (*ποίημα, πᾶγμα, ὡς καὶ δράσαι, πράξει. λέγεται δὲ δράμα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν θεατρικῶν μιμητῶν γινόμενα ὡς ἐν ὑποκρίσει*), it is an imitation of something. The question then arises, Of what or of whom? On the modern stage this imitation may be of some event known to have happened or supposed to have happened in past time, in both cases considerable elaboration, and even departure from strict historical or traditional accuracy, being allowable to heighten dramatic effect. Such

a drama may be represented by the *Herod* or by the *Ulysses* of Stephen Phillips. Or we may have an acted imitation of a purely fanciful series of events, as in the case of the greater number of Ibsen's plays. Yet it may well be questioned whether in origin the drama admitted any merely imaginary themes. This is, of course, a subject upon which it is extremely dangerous to dogmatize, and our knowledge of the mental processes of primitive man is by no means sufficient to warrant hard and fast conclusions.

The problem with regard to the origin of the drama is here precisely that which confronts us with regard to the folk-tales. It is perfectly true that at a relatively early period folk-tales may be told for the entertainment which they afford, and in like manner a primitive drama, because it chances to give pleasure to its spectators, may come to be regarded as pleasure-giving, and may conceivably be produced time and again for the mere purpose of pleasure. In spite of all this, it seems to the writer highly problematical whether any notion of pleasure, either to actors or to spectators, was intended by drama at its inception. The best evidence at our command seems to show that for primitive man life was by no means simple delight or poetic outlook upon the beauties of Nature, but rather a matter of deadly earnest, a struggle for existence, and a terror of mishap of which we, in modern days, can scarcely form an adequate conception. If such was the case, there can have been scant opportunity of amusement for amusement's sake. We have no right even to assume that the few carvings of primitive European man which have been preserved were made by him for his own delectation; for aught we know they may have been magical in purpose—the figure of a reindeer, for example, being drawn to gain power over reindeer; or they may have been historical—a picture of a reindeer that the particular artist had either tamed or killed (cf., for example, the American Indian 'winter counts'). This is a conjecture, but it is one that must be reckoned with. Again, in the popular stories told as fairy tales to children to-day there is unquestionably present an element—and that element the essential one—which was once believed to be no mere tale to amuse an idle moment, but a fact of grim and terrible reality. The story of Bluebeard is now a common nursery story which the most simple child knows was never 'really and truly so'; but there was undoubtedly a period when it was regarded as an historic and awful instance of the peril of broken tabu (see *CF*, ch. xi.). Throughout their history the drama and the folk-tale have been interlinked; and in India this was also true (cf. Gray, 'The Sanskrit Novel and the Sanskrit Drama', in *WZKM* xviii. [1904] 48-54). Perhaps the 'dramatized novel' really reproduces at least a portion of the process through which the primitive drama passed. The same principle receives another exemplification from children's games. Without citing the mass of American Indian games to which Culin (*24 RBEW* [1907]) attributes a purely religious origin, it may here be sufficient simply to allude to the basal idea of the English and American game of 'London Bridge' (see *ERE* ii. 852*).

If stories, games, and the like were thus profoundly serious in their origin, may not the drama have been equally serious? It must not, of course, be forgotten that early man, like all his succeeding generations, was an imitative creature, and that within the sphere of everyday life he may have seen happening to his fellows events which awakened either his concern or his ridicule, and these he doubtless narrated to his companions with appropriate gestures. In the ludicrous events of

this sort, and in the rough jests on his fellows which primitive man may have occasionally permitted himself, may well be found some of the germs of what was later to develop into comedy. Yet, on the whole, it would appear that drama took its origin, not from the imitation of men, but from the actions, whether legendary or mythological, of far more worshipful beings than men, that is to say, of Divine beings, the very gods themselves, as comes out most clearly in the masks worn in the Hopi *katchinas* (cf. below, p. 871 f.). Nor, if this hypothesis be correct, is the reason for such imitation far to seek. The motive was no idle one, nor had it merely a didactic end. It was probably rather one of the wide-spread manifestations of that homeopathic principle of primitive religion conventionally known as 'sympathetic magic.' By representation of an action believed to be performed, or in past time to have been performed, by worshipful beings, it was held that these worshipful beings would be constrained, were the ritual unerringly performed, to repeat the action in question. The drama would thus be, in origin, a part of magic, and, since the action represented by the drama would be desirable to the community, and since the chief needs of a primitive community are normally connected with the food supply and with other matters more or less conditioned by the powers of Nature, there is reason to suppose that the earliest drama was, in the main, associated with the worship of Nature-gods. The theory here advanced seems to receive confirmation from the development of the Egyptian drama (see *ERE*, vol. iii. pp. 99^b, 101 f.), especially when it is remembered that the ancient Egyptians were singularly tenacious of primitive concepts; so that in many ways they recall the far ruder religious principles which we may still find in vogue among the African *Naturvölker*. Yet more elaborate is the drama as a mimetic representation of the acts of worshipful beings among many American Indian tribes, such as the Kwakiutl (Boas, *Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus.*, 1895, p. 500 ff.), but more especially the Tusayans, the Hopi, and the Zuni (Fewkes, *15 RBEW* [1897], p. 251 ff., *21 RBEW* [1903], p. 40 ff.; Stevenson, *23 RBEW* [1904], pp. 66 ff., 217 ff.). The actors are masked to represent the appropriate deities; and so important is the connexion of dancing with these primitive dramas that one is strongly tempted to seek in some similar phenomenon the origin of the designation of the Sanskrit drama by the simple term 'dance' (*nāṭya*). It is furthermore noteworthy that in the Hopi and Zuni dramas religious ritual and mimetic representation are so interwoven that any strict limitation of the two is practically impossible. Indeed, Grosse (*Beginnings of Art*, New York, 1897, p. 224 f.; cf. von Schröder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 13 ff.) goes so far as to declare that the drama 'appears, from the point of view of development of history, as a differentiated form of the dance.' In this connexion it is interesting to note that Hindu tradition declares that the first dramatic representations in the presence of the gods were of three sorts: *nṛtta*, simple dance; *nṛtṭya*, a dance with gestures, but without words; and *nāṭya*, a dance with words and gestures (von Schröder, p. 14).

There is yet another vital resemblance, not only between the American Indian and the Sanskrit drama, but also between both these and the Greek. This is song normally accompanied by instrumental music. Without here entering upon the theory of poetry, it will be sufficient to observe that the poem, so far as it relates to drama, falls into two large categories, which we may roughly describe as epic and lyric. Epic poetry is pre-eminently narrative, and originally it was perhaps simply a rhythmic narration of events first told in prose.

Lyric poetry, on the other hand, is produced under stress of some sort of emotion. The outworking of this dramatic use of epic and lyric may be seen at its best in the Greek tragedians; but in the Sanskrit drama, on the other hand, although the Hindus were well acquainted with the epic, we have what is in all probability a more primitive type than the Greek; for here we have, not epic and lyric, but prose and lyric, and the Hopi drama shows that, just as in the Sanskrit drama, the lyric is the essential portion of what we may term the text. A clear light is thrown on this matter by the Buddhist *jātakas*, in which the essential teachings of the tales are in verse, the prose being a mere expansion of them; and the same holds true of the *gāthās* in the northern Buddhistic *Lalitavistara*. There is, therefore, much to be said for the theory of Oldenberg (*ZDMG* xxxvii. [1883] 78-82; cf. von Schröder, p. 4 ff., and Geldner, *GIRP* ii. 29 f.) that certain hymns of the Rigveda and the Iranian *gāthās* originally contained a framework of prose, although only the verse, as being the most essential portion, has survived.

We have seen that drama is an imitation of the acts of worshipful beings; and this implies that, to the primitive mind, the actor is, for the time being, the deity whom he represents. It is for this reason that only those deities can be represented with whom the actor believes that he can become identified. In the most primitive stage of belief probably no deity would thus be excluded, but with the development of religion some Divine beings assume a character which no human being can hope to possess. It is universally recognized that the Greek drama was closely connected with the cult of Dionysus, and Miss Harrison is doubtless correct when she writes (*Proleg. to the Study of Gr. Rel.*², Cambridge, 1908, p. 568):

'Surely it is at least possible that the real impulse to the drama lay not wholly in "goat-songs" and "circular dancing places," but also in the cardinal, essentially dramatic conviction of the religion of Dionysos, that the worshipper can not only worship, but can become, can be, his god. Athene and Zeus and Poseidon have no drama, because no one, in his wildest moments, believed he could become and be Athene or Zeus or Poseidon. It is indeed only in the orgiastic religions that these splendid moments of conviction could come, and, for Greece at least, only in an orgiastic religion did the drama take its rise.'

The drama falls into two main types, which we conventionally term comedy and tragedy. In the very beginning there was probably no such division, for the acts of Divine beings are in themselves neither tragic nor comic; they are events, either desirable or undesirable, and consequently to be deprecated or sought; just as in life itself grave alternates with gay—all blended in one whole. Yet certain events, being more important than others, naturally receive emphasis, and certain seasons when the primitive dramas were presented lent their colour to the mimic action. It was particularly in the spring and at the harvest that the more joyous element was predominant. Many Sanskrit plays explicitly state that they were produced at the spring festival, and we know that the harvest feast was the time in ancient Italy when the *Fescennini* and other rude folk-dramas were enacted (*Verg. Georg.* ii. 385 ff.; *Hor. Ep.* ii. i. 139 ff.; *Tibull.* ii. i. 55 ff.; cf. also *Liv.* vii. 2), in which connexion it is noteworthy that the *Fescennini* were also sung at weddings (*Catull.* lxi. 122 f.; for further refs. see Teuffel-Schwabe, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.*², Leipzig, 1886, p. 5). The Greek word *κωμῳδία* in itself means simply 'revel song' (Meyer, *Handbuch der griech. Etymol.*, Leipzig, 1901-2, ii. 345), and Aristotle was, therefore, right when he said that comedy originated from the leaders of phallic songs (*Poet.* iv. 12). Every trait of comedy points to the conclusion that it was a manifestation of happiness at the re-juvenation and re-birth of Nature, and an expression of joy that Nature

had given birth to the crops; but, by the wanton and even indecent spirit which this joy often excited, it was doubtless believed that, through the principle of sympathetic magic, a genesiac energy would be inspired in the Divine wedlock of heaven and earth, that similar, and even richer, fertility might be experienced in seasons to come. It is evident that what we call indecency must not be regarded as a primitive motive of comedy at its beginning; yet it must be confessed that libidinous pleasure was doubtless aroused by witnessing or taking part in these comedies. With increasing forgetfulness of the primary purpose of the comedy, the salacity which had at first been a mere incident, and designed (from the point of view of primitive man) for a good and desirable end, came to be the dominating motive; and it is the indecency of the comedy that accounts for many of the protests which, from the days of Tertullian to the present time, have been levelled with only too much justice against the entire drama.

Far different, in all probability, was the origin of the second great type of the drama—tragedy. It is true that this, as well as comedy, has been derived by more than one classical scholar from the same source—the worship of Dionysus (Harrison, p. 568 ff.; Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, p. 1436; Farnell, *CJS* v. 229 ff.); but this theory rests on slender evidence. It is far more probable to suppose, with Crusius (*Preuss. Jahrbücher*, lxxiv. [1893] 394), Hirt (*Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1905-7, pp. 477 f., 727), and Ridgway (address before the Hellenic Society, 3rd May 1904 [cf. *Athenæum*, no. 3995, p. 660], and especially in his *Origin of Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1910 [see esp. ch. i.]), that the ultimate source of tragedy was in the funeral songs and funeral games celebrated in honour of deceased heroes, the whole being performed to honour and appease the dead. A noteworthy instance here was the case of Adrastus, a hero-king of Sikyon, where his *ἥρῳς* stood in the market-place. Regarding him, Herodotus (v. 67) writes that

'the Sikyonians were wont especially greatly to honour Adrastus. . . . Both in other respects the Sikyonians honoured Adrastus, and in addition they celebrated his misfortune by tragic choruses (τὰ δράματα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ὑψαυον), not honouring Dionysus, but Adrastus. . . . But Kleisthenes gave away (ἀνέδωκε) for the force of this verb, see Ridgway, *Tragedy*, p. 28 f., and of the parallel ἀνέδωκεν ὅσους in this same passage) the choruses to Dionysus, and the rest of the sacrifice to Melanippos.'

This theory finds a support in the hypothesis of Hazen, to be cited below (p. 896), that the Javanese *wayang* was originally a form of ancestor-worship; and Forster (*Reise um die Welt*, ed. Leipzig, 1843, i. 330 f.) saw primitive dramas produced at funeral feasts on the Society Islands.

Here, at a funeral, two young girls danced to the music of three drums, and 'zwischen den Acten führten drei Mannsleute ein pantomimisches Drama auf, in welchem schlafende Reisende vorgestellt wurden, denen einige Diebe mit grosser Geschicklichkeit die Baggage weggestahlen, unerachtet sich jene, grösserer Sicherheit wegen, rund um dieselbe herum gelegt hatten.'

A further confirmation of the theory here advocated appears to lie in the essentially epic movement of the action of the Greek tragedy, and there may be more meaning than is commonly supposed in Plato's characterization of Homer (*Theaet.* 152 E) as 'the foremost poet of tragedy.' In fact, there seems to the writer to be scant reason for connecting the rise of Greek tragedy with the worship of Dionysus, who was essentially a revel god, or, indeed, with any other specific Greek deity. Primarily the son of Semele, an ancient Thracian goddess of Mother Earth, Dionysus was, it is true, later identified with Attis, Adonis, and Osiris, and in an obvious way he was regarded also as a chthonic deity and as releasing from the under world (see the full discussions in Harrison, ch. viii.; Gruppe, pp. 1407-1440; *CJS* v. ch. v.); but

all this seems scarcely sufficient to account for the rise of tragedy from this cult, whereas, on the principles set forth above, his connexion with comedy is readily explicable. At most his association with tragedy rests on the slender logic that, since comedy was (reasonably enough) connected with his cult as a Nature-deity, and since tragedy, like comedy, was a division of drama, therefore tragedy also must be associated with him. Cf. and cf. the 'Greek' art. below.

In this connexion it may not be out of place to consider the original meaning of the word 'tragedy,' which the writer hopes to discuss in fuller detail in the more appropriate pages of a technical philological journal, giving merely his summarized conclusions here. The conventional derivation of *τραγῳδία* from *τραγός* + *οἶον*, 'goat-song,' while possible so far as mere phonology and noun-composition are concerned, has long been felt to be unsatisfactory on any of the theories (1) that a goat was the prize for the best performance; (2) that a goat was sacrificed at or during the performance of the play; or (3) that the actors were dressed in goat-skins. It has accordingly been supposed by Miss Harrison (most recently in *Proleg.* p. 420 f.) that tragedy really means 'spelt-song' (from *trápos* in its meaning of 'a mass of groats made of wheat, spelt,' etc.). This, however, seems little more satisfactory on the score of semantics. Since comedy is repeatedly contrasted with tragedy, and since 'comedy' almost certainly means, as already noted, 'revel song,' one would expect 'tragedy' to have some meaning antithetic to 'comedy.' If, then, in view of the unsatisfactory derivations commonly assigned to the word, we may resort to the principles of comparative philology for a solution, it may be suggested that the first part of *τραγῳδία*, *τραγο-* (the second part, *οἶον*, plainly means 'singing'), is etymologically connected with O. Norse *þrækr*, 'strength, courage, daring,' Anglo-Saxon *þracu*, 'attack, fury, conflict, pressure' (for further, less certain, cognates, reference may be made to the projected article). This would be the second full grade of the Indo-Germanic base **tereg-*, and the base meaning appears to be 'mighty, bold, terrible,' or the like. On this hypothesis, the meaning of *τραγῳδία* would be 'the singing of bold (or terrible) things'—a signification that would not only contrast admirably with the 'revel song,' but would also correspond with all known characteristics of the tragedy, as well as harmonize with the theory of the origin of this type of drama favoured in this article, that it was primarily connected with the funeral rites of deceased heroes (cf. also the noteworthy passage of the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, s.v. *τραγῳδία*: *Κωμῳδία τραγῳδίας διαφέρει· κωμῳδία γὰρ ἐστὶ βωτικῶν πραγμάτων διήγησις· τραγῳδία δὲ ἥρωικον πάθος*).

The original functions of the drama, as here outlined, were soon obscured among all those peoples, as the Greeks and Hindus, with whom it became a distinct form of literature and amusement. The two features which now became prominent, and which have remained the most important ever since, were the light vein of comedy and the heavy vein of tragedy, while the religious foundation survived only in isolated and obscure fragments. Thus comedy became, as with Aristophanes, a means of satire, whether of the 'suffragettes' of his day (as in the *Ecclesiazusæ*) or of the radicalism of Euripides, whom he lashed, and with very good reason. With the rise of the 'New Comedy,' as represented by the fragments of Menander and, most fully, by Plautus and Terence, we have a comedy of manners which finds its analogues in many of the better-class comedies of the present day. India is conspicuous for having no tragedy, though there are scenes, as in the *Nāgānanda* and the *Mālatīmādhava*, which closely approach the tragic, just as in our melodrama.

3. Divisions.—It seems scarcely necessary to enter here into a discussion of all the possible subdivisions of the drama, whether of Polonius's 'tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral,' of the minute Skr. classification into ten 'forms' (*rūpakas*) and eighteen 'sub-forms' (*uparūpakas*; see Lévi, *Théâtre indien*, Paris, 1890, i. 140 ff.), or of the more technical division into classic and romantic tragedy, romantic drama, melodrama, emotional drama, spectacular drama, musical drama, classic and romantic comedy, comedy of manners, farce, burlesque, burletta, comedietta, and vaudeville (Hennequin, *Art of Playwriting*, New York, 1890, chs. vii.-ix.); nor is it needful to consider the

problems of the unities, climaxes, catastrophes, scenery, 'business,' and the like. It is, however, worth while to note two forms of drama—opera, and the morality. The opera, which is a drama accompanied by music, and often by an elaborate ballet, is a survival of the very primitive type in which the dialogue was regularly associated with instrumental and vocal music and with dancing; and the writer has elsewhere ventured to suggest that the whole Sanskrit drama 'is to be compared with an opera rather than with a play' (*JAOS* xxvii. [1906] 5). The other type of play, the morality, is of particular value for the student of religion, for in it there is a deliberate effort to present, under allegorical form, a distinct moral or religious teaching. This form of play, to which more special attention will be given in art. MIRACLE PLAYS, is found not only in Europe, but also in India, as is evinced by the Skr. *Prabodhachandrodāya* ('Rise of the Moon of Intellect,' tr. J. Taylor, Bombay, 1812, 1893); and that the morality has not ceased to charm in our own day is shown by the welcome accorded, both in Britain and America, to the charming production of *Everyman*. Finally, it may be noted that, as the writer once heard Brander Matthews say in a lecture, the most primitive form of drama to be found at the present day is that in the lowest type of music hall, with its rough jests and horseplay, its dances (all often of a somewhat questionable character), and its scanty plot.

4. Actors.—The position of the actor in the primitive drama is, of course, a most honourable one; for, where the player is enacting the rôles of the gods themselves, he cannot be other than a most highly respected person; the esteem accorded him is precisely what is accorded, e.g., to the actors in the Passion Play of Oberammergau. But this position of honour does not last long; and in China, Japan, India (cf. the Skr. proverbs given by Böhtlingk in his *Ind. Sprüche*, St. Petersburg, 1870-73, nos. 1593, 2235, 2278, 3165, 5315, 6284), and Rome the actor was regarded as an outcast, this, doubtless, being due, as Krause (*Parivölker der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 3 f.; cf. Beneke, *Von unehrlichen Leuten*, Leipzig, 1863, p. 21) says, to the fact that the actor's profession demanded a roving life, so that he could not belong to any regular community, while his subordination of his own personality to the rôles which he was to play robbed him of respect in the eyes of the spectators. In consequence, the actors suffered certain civic disabilities, as when they were debarred from being witnesses in courts of law, or when, as in China, their descendants were forbidden to compete in public examinations for three generations (cf. also Post, *Afrikan. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1887, i. 171 f.). Equal contempt was manifested towards actresses, so that in India they were classed among courtesans and bawds (Schmidt, *Beitr. zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 283, 778 f.); and, as in India and China, many peoples have forbidden women to appear upon the stage, their rôles being taken by men and boys. More or less social ostracism still attaches to the great majority of those connected with the stage, and it is unfortunately true that the lives of many players, with their flagrant disregard of social conventions, and even of common morality, have given only too much reason for disfavour. To the peculiar temptations of stage life, increased greatly by the wanderings to which the actor is normally doomed, only allusion is necessary. Yet it must not be forgotten that this darker side is, in reality, nothing but an unhappy incident; only the faults are generally known, and the brighter and nobler side of the actor's life is too little recognized. Accurate statistics of the moral and intellectual standard of the

acting profession would, doubtless, compare favourably with similar standards of many other professions.

5. The ethical aspect of the drama.—Outside the Christian world this problem seems to have received slight consideration. The Buddhist 'Ten Precepts' for monks include 'abstinence from the sight of dancing, singing, music, and shows' (*naccagītavādītaṇṇasūkadassanā veramanī* [*Khud-dakapāṭha*, 3; cf. the citations in Lévi, ii. 54]); but the history of Buddhism proves that this interdiction was ill obeyed (Lévi, i. 319-323). The theoretical position of Jainism against the theatre was the same (*Āyāraṅgasūtra*, ii. xi. 14), with the same disregard of it in actual life; and we have not only the fine Buddhistic drama *Nāgārāṇḍa*, but also such Jain plays as the *Rājamatiprabodha* (Lévi, i. 323 f., ii. 57).

The chief objection to the drama from the ethical standpoint has arisen from Christianity. In the case of the pagan dramas this can readily be understood. They were pagan, and countenanced idolatry (Tertullian's first objection to them in his *de Spectaculis*); they were frankly immoral; and the ascetic tendency of Christianity was against such idle amusements (cf. 'Roman' art. below). With the decay of paganism and the creation of a purer sentiment the first two objections disappeared, while the value of the stage as an educational factor led the Church to encourage the drama; nor is there any doubt that the theatre was a powerful agent in bringing the less educated to a knowledge of Bible history and in enforcing the Church's moral teachings (see MIRACLE PLAYS). The whole tradition of the Catholic Church, whether Roman or Anglican, has been, like that of Lutheranism in Protestantism, distinctly favourable to a pure and lofty drama. Far different was the position of Reformed Protestantism. The most fervent admirers of Calvin, Zwingli, Knox, and their followers would be the most unwilling to deny that these men, one and all, set their faces against everything that they deemed folly; nor can the warmest advocate of the theatre deny that much had come into the drama to arouse antagonism even from men of more compromising type. But, unfortunately, they, as the German proverb has it, 'shook out the child with the bath,' and condemned the theatre utterly. In England, attacks on the stage have come almost entirely from the Puritans, as in Northbrooke's *Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, vaine Playes or Enterluds . . . are reprovved* (1577-79, ed. Collier, for the Shakespeare Society, 1843), Gosson's *School of Abuse* (1579, ed. Collier, 1843), Stubb's *Anatomic of Abuses* (1583, ed. Furnivale, New Shakespeare Soc., ser. vi., 1876-82), and especially Prynne's *Histrio-Mastrix* (1632; on all these see Ward, *Hist. of Eng. Dramatic Lit.*, London, 1899, i. 459-461, iii. 239-245). But suppression of the theatre was hopeless, and has ever since remained hopeless. The Reformed Church has, nevertheless, maintained its position; and in this it has been followed by the Wesleyans and, on the whole, by the Baptists, as well as by many of the smaller sects of the United States, though here, too, practice lags far behind precept. On the other hand, the Anglican Church, by its Actors' Alliance, has set an example which other communions might do worse than follow.

But is the suppression of the theatre desirable? The writer is inclined to doubt it. That there is much represented on the stage which is utterly vile is only too apparent; and that should be crushed (cf. also art. CENSORSHIP). On the other hand, there is an abundance that is of the highest ethical value, and this becomes the more important when it is remembered that the theatre

is largely patronized by the non-churchgoing classes. Without entering into a technical discussion of Ibsen, it would seem that his dramas are full of moral lessons of a Puritanical sternness: the fearful consequences of the sins of the fathers in *Ghosts*, the need of absolute confidence between husband and wife in *A Doll's House*, or the seathing condemnation of hypocrisy in *The Pillars of Society*. And Ibsen is but one of a host of dramatists who for centuries have conveyed through the stage lessons of value for mankind who might otherwise never have received them. There is, moreover, in humanity a real need for the stage; had it not been so, the long-waged war on the theatre would have been crowned with success. From this point of view the question of attending the theatre merges into that of amusements (*q.v.*). The theatre has perhaps yet another *raison d'être*, often overlooked. In a famous passage (*Poet.* vi. 2) Aristotle defines tragedy as 'an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude . . . through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions' (*μῦθος πρῶτος σπουδαίος καὶ τελείος, μέγεθος ἐχούσης* . . . δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περλαύονσα τὴν τῶν τοιοῦτων παθόντων κάθαρσιν); and this has been admirably explained by Butcher (*op. cit.* ch. vi.) as meaning that the witnessing of a tragedy rouses in the spectator emotions of fear and pity which expel those same emotions that are lying latent within himself, while 'in the pleasurable calm which follows when the passion is spent, an emotional cure has been wrought.' On this principle, the attendance on any good drama would, in like manner, effect a pleasurable and healthy excitation, and a discharge of emotions, latent indeed, but so seldom aroused as to be in danger of atrophy.

LITERATURE.—The bibliography of the drama is enormous, though much is irrelevant in the present connexion, and more special branches will be given in the literature appended to the following special sections. This section has been intentionally restricted to problems of the origin, primitive purpose, and general ethics of the drama; and the history—here omitted—will be more appropriately discussed in the following sections. There is no complete history of the drama, the most important works on which are Klein, *Gesch. des Drama's* (14 vols., Leipzig, 1865-86); Pröls, *Gesch. des neueren Drama's* (Leipzig, 1880-83); Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du théâtre en France* (Paris, 1880 ff.); Berendt, *Schiller-Wagner* (Berlin, 1901); Ward, *Hist. of Eng. Dramatic Lit. to the Death of Queen Anne* (2 vols., London, 1899); Seilhamer, *Hist. of the American Theatre* (Philadelphia, 1888-91). For interesting studies of some of the great modern dramatists, see Archer, *English Dramatists of To-Day* (London, 1882); Huneker, *Iconoclasts* (New York, 1905); Hale, *Dramatists of To-Day* (New York, 1905). Special attention is due to the edition and commentary on the *Poetics* of Aristotle by Butcher (*Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*³, London, 1902), and Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy, with Special Reference to the Greek Tragedians* (Cambridge, 1910). The technical side is conveniently treated by Freytag, *Technique of the Drama* (tr. MacEwan³, Chicago, 1900); Woodbridge, *The Drama, its Law and Technique* (Boston, 1898); Price, *Technique of the Drama* (New York, 1892); Henneguin, *Art of Playwriting* (New York, 1896). For an interesting form of primitive drama among the Manes of N.W. Siberia, see Gondatti, *Traces of Paganism among the Aborigines of N.W. Siberia* (Russ.) (Moscow, 1888; epitomized by Schmidt, in *Cultur der Gegenwart*, i. part 7 [*Die orientalischen Literaturen*], Leipzig, 1906, p. 21 f.).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DRAMA (American).—In America, particularly in Mexico and Peru, the drama reached a relatively high degree of development. Even at an earlier stage, North American Indian pantomimic dances, usually named after the animals imitated, show an approximation to the drama. Thus, among the Dakotas, a youth on admission to full tribal rights was clothed in a bearskin and pantomimically hunted by the members of the Greek tribe—a scene which reminds one of the Greek mimetic dance described by Xenophon (*Anab.* vi. 1). Among the Puebloan Tusayans and Hopis an elementary form of drama is found in the *katsinas*, which are primarily 'spirits of the ancients of the

Hopis, and personations of them by men bear the symbols which are supposed to have characterized these ancients' (Fewkes, 'Hopi Katsinas,' p. 16). In a secondary meaning *katsina* also connotes a dance in which these heroes are impersonated; and such dramas are presented at stated festivals in honour of the arrival or departure of the heroes or gods. Other *katsinas*, while equally religious in origin and spirit, are given only occasionally. Some *katsinas*, such as the *povamá*, or bean-planting, are performed partly in the open air, and occupy a number of days; but others are given in the *kivas*, or assembly-houses, and approximate more closely to the drama proper. One of the latter class, described in considerable detail by Fewkes (*op. cit.* pp. 40-51; *Proceedings of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, Washington, 1900, ii. 607-626), is noteworthy for its elaborate mimetic dances, while dialogue, as in the Polynesian dramas, plays but a minor part. In the Hopi play, moreover, scenery is employed and stage properties are used, while marionettes are not unknown. Costume is, of course, an important feature of the *katsinas*, and the masks are a characteristic part of the entire ceremony (cf. the collection reproduced by Fewkes, *op. cit.* plates i.-lxiii.).

In Yucatan a form of drama was known, in which 'buffoons' (*balzam*) represented ancient legends, interspersed with jests at the expense of local dignitaries; but such plays seem to have had no connexion with religion (Fancourt, *History of Yucatan*, London, 1854, p. 122). Both in ancient Mexico and in Peru mimetic dances were known (Klein, *Gesch. des Drama's*, Leipzig, xi. [1874] 97 f.), the former being in great part fertility-ceremonies, and accompanied with phallic gestures. The Aztecs also had, however, a more developed drama, of which an example has survived in the *Rabinal-Achi*, a sort of ballet with dialogue. This play is concerned with the tragic fate of Prince Cavec Quiche Achi, who is captured after a long struggle by the hero, Rabinal-Achi. As a dramatic production the *Rabinal-Achi* is of little value, excepting as an interesting example of a play produced by a people devoid of contact with other nations possessing a developed drama.

The Inca *amantas*, according to Garcilasso de la Vega, ii. 26 (tr. by Markham, Hakluyt Society, London, 1869, xli. 194), composed both comedies and tragedies, which were presented at important festivals before the king and high nobles, while the actors, who received rich presents for their services, were themselves men of rank. The tragedies 'always related to military deeds, triumphs, and victories, or to the grandeur of former kings and of other heroic men. The arguments of the comedies were on agriculture and familiar household subjects. . . . They did not allow improper or vile farces; but all the plays were on decorous and important subjects, the sentences being such as befitted the occasion.'

The only Inca drama which has survived in its entirety, however, is the play of *Ollanta*, which seems to date from the reign of the Inca Huayna Capac, in the first decade of the 16th century. The scene is laid in the reign of the Inca Yupanki, in the early part of the 15th cent., and the theme is one of love. Ollanta, raised from a humble station to the dignity of a chief by the Inca Pachacutec, falls in love with Cushi Cooyllur, the daughter of Pachacutec, but his suit is denied by the Inca. Ollanta then declares war upon his sovereign, and, though at first successful, is at last betrayed to his enemy. Meanwhile the princess had been imprisoned, and in her cell had given birth to a daughter, who, however, was allowed her freedom. The captive Ollanta, condemned to death by Yupanki, who had succeeded Pachacutec in

the course of the ten years' war, is later spared, and even declared the heir-apparent to the throne. At this juncture, Ollanta's daughter, learning that her mother is a captive, implores the Inca to release her, whereupon he repairs to the cell, accompanied by his retinue, and in the happy *dénouement* Cushi Cooyllur is re-united with Ollanta. The drama may well have a historic basis, and it is noteworthy that it contains songs which strikingly correspond to the Greek chorus.

Another Inca drama has been preserved, the *Usca Pawcar*, treating of the love of its hero for the beautiful Coori-tica; but it has been so changed by later interpolations that it is of relatively little value for a knowledge of the Inca drama. While a generalization on such scant data may be deemed hazardous, it may perhaps be suggested that in the bloody fate of the Aztec Rabinal-Achi, who dances to his death on the sacrificial stone amid twelve eagles and wild beasts, as contrasted with the beauty and pathos, with a happy ending, of the drama of *Ollanta*, there is a suggestion of the cardinal traits of the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians themselves. Dramatically, moreover, the Aztec play is far inferior to the Inca—the former a mass of repetition, the latter a work of art, which is most closely paralleled in its supreme devotion to the theme of love, as Klein has well pointed out, with the drama of ancient India. In the number of acts, exceeding the conventional five, and in the disregard of the 'unities,' the *Ollanta* presents another point of similarity with the Sanskrit drama.

LITERATURE.—Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, iii. 210 (Leipzig, 1862); Fewkes, 'Tusayan Katsinas,' in *16 REEW* (1897) 251-313; 'Hopi Katsinas,' *21 REEW* (1903) 1-126; Klein, *Gesch. des Drama's*, iii. 513-598 (Leipzig, 1866); Preuss, 'Phallische Fruchtbarkeit-Dämonen als Träger des altmexikanischen Dramas,' in *AA*, new series, i. 129-188; Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Gramm. de la langue quiché* (Paris, 1862; containing the text and a French tr. of the *Rabinal-Achi*); Tschudi, 'Ollanta, ein altperuanisches Drama,' in *DWAW*, philos.-hist. Classe, xxiv. 169-384; Fletcher, 'Dramatic Representation,' in *Bull. 30 BE*, part 1, p. 400 (Washington, 1907).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DRAMA (Arabic).—It is a strange feature of Arabic literature (otherwise so rich, developed even to the point of degeneration) that the art of the drama has never advanced beyond the very crudest beginnings.¹ Even to-day there is no Arabic drama; there is only a drama in the Arabic language; for all plays that have appeared in the language of Muhammad during the last fifty years are nothing but translations, or, at best, imitations, of European works; and, before this period, all that was written and played in the form of dialogue can hardly be called drama in the real meaning of the word; it was simply a rudimentary form of it.

The earliest traces of Arabic dramatics are to be found, as Horovitz says, in the art of the *haki*,² or *mugallid*, the imitator of dialectic³ and personal peculiarities. This individual, though not now known under the same name, is still to be frequently seen in modern Egypt. A certain Ahmad Fahim al-Far in Cairo, for instance, enjoys a wide-spread popularity because of his ability to reproduce the cries of different animals and to depict comic scenes of all kinds, especially those of harem and peasant life.⁴ Women, in particular, are very fond of such

¹ Richard F. Burton, in the terminal essay of his tr. of *The Thousand Nights and a Night* (Benares, 1885), vol. x. p. 166, says: 'Turkey is the only Moslem country which has dared to produce a regular drama.'

² Horovitz, *Spuren griech. Mimen im Orient* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 18-21; Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 66.

³ Dialectic peculiarities still play an important part in the Arabic farce, the shadow-play, and the puppet-show.

⁴ Ahmad al-Far, known under the name Ibn Rabiya, works with a troupe of about 12 persons, exclusively men, who also play the female rôles. His most popular pieces are the *fasl etturugi*, a most indecent farce picturing the deeds of a charlatan who expels a devil, an *'afrit*, from a woman; the *fasl ega'idi*, wherein

performances. A similar figure in the streets of Cairo is the well-known, but nowadays rarely seen, fun-maker, 'Alī Kākā,¹ who appears occasionally at *mūlids* (birth festivals), and at the fair held every week on the open square below the Citadel. He is the prototype of the coarse, half-idiotic, clownish peasant who, to the music of two flutes and a *darabukka* (earthenware drum), performs ape-like, obscene dances and makes absurd jokes. He goes barefoot, and wears a bent tail of stiffened cotton; in one hand he holds a long peasant's stick (*nabbūt*), and in the other a so-called *fargilla*, a kind of long, thick, noisy, but harmless, whip of twisted cotton, with which he constantly lashes his musicians, and even his audience.

The recitations of the story-tellers (*rāwī*), who were formerly to be found throughout the Arabic Orient, and who related in public places tales from the *Arabian Nights*, had without doubt, as the manner of the stories themselves proves, a dramatic character;² and this is certainly so in the case of the recitations of the modern epigones of the *rāwīs* — the *šū'ara* and *muḥaddithin*,³ who, to the accompaniment of the *rubāba* (a kind of stringed instrument), recite in coffee-houses the stories of 'Antar, Abū Zaid, Ṣāhir Bibars,⁴ and other national heroes. Worthy of note is the fact that Dozy,⁵ quoting Pedro de Alcalá, gives for the word *šā'ir* the meaning 'acteur, qui joue un rôle (representador de comedias, de tragedias).' Female reciters are also occasionally, though not often, seen at fairs in Cairo.

Of this kind of folk-literature the classical and highest expression was reached by the poets of the *Maḡāmāt*, by Hamadhānī⁶ (967–1007), Ḥariri⁷ (1054–1122), and many others. The *maḡāma*, called by Cheney⁸ 'a kind of dramatic anecdote,' relates, in a most vivid and animated but somewhat artificial style, the deeds and speeches of wandering scholars, beggars, and jugglers, and has not even yet entirely disappeared from modern Arabic literature.⁹

In spite, however, of all these preparatory mimic and dramatic elements in their literature, the Arabs, as has already been stated, have never found their way to the actual drama. At all events, there seems to be no positive proof of the existence of an early Arabic stage. If, occasionally, we meet with the word *ḥijāl* or *ḥajāl*,¹⁰ it means, in all probability, nothing more than the already mentioned *taḡlād*,¹¹ the mimicry of comical personal characteristics, or the presentation of short, loosely connected scenes, not a theatrical piece. The complete lack of all dramatic texts, the absence even of the description of any dramatic

representation, would be, when one considers the numerous chronicles of mediæval Arabic amusements, an altogether too remarkable omission to be regarded as possible, had there been a stage. The earliest description of an Arabic drama known to the present writer is that given by the famous Danish traveller, Carsten Niebuhr,¹ who visited Cairo a hundred and thirty years ago; but even this performance, which bears a close resemblance to the scenes of Aḥmad al-Fār, seems to correspond in form only, not in substance, to our conception of the drama.

The reasons for this curious failure of the Arabic mind to produce anything really dramatic have been discussed upon at length by Jacob in his history of the shadow-play.² He points out that the Muhammadan view of life, with its autocratic idea of God and fate, has absolutely no comprehension of individual conflict, of rebellion against the 'eternal mover,' the Muḥarrrik, or of any combat between will and duty, and has therefore no comprehension of the dramatic. Joy in tragedy, that most individualistic form of dramatic art, must seem to the passively feeling and thinking Arab a very great absurdity. The artistic pleasure which we feel in the beauty of the awe-inspiring, in magnificent decline, in the grandeur of the desperate battle of life, without hope and without success, is entirely foreign to the Arab. His ideal hero is too practical to allow himself to be uselessly conquered, and no Arab poet would venture to represent him in such a manner. He does not defy fate: he gets round it! It never occurs to the Arab to try to determine the main lines of his own life, for 'there is no strength or power but in God the Great'; his eye is turned towards that which lies nearest, to the detail, that which is decorative only; all Arabic art is nothing but detail work, merely putting on the finishing touches; it is never original creating; the great decisive tendencies and forms of art have always come to the people of Muhammad from other lands.³ Their manner of thinking, too, is epic, and opposed to all rapid development. For them accumulation, repetition of the same motif, is not tiring or an evidence of bad taste; on the contrary, they consider it a most effective artistic principle. Quick action in the progress of a story, that which is really dramatic, is therefore actually unpleasant to the Arab. He relates everything with epic breadth, never referring to an already related incident without repeating the whole story to the point of tediousness. Tension in the plot is unknown to him; when he has found a theme that pleases him, he makes variations upon it until the subject is completely exhausted. This is well illustrated by Arabic music. A European listener, after half an hour of such music, with its constant reiteration of the same series of tones, its interminable variations of the same melody consisting of scarcely a dozen notes, sinks into a state of despair, whereas the Oriental never has enough of it.

The only form of dramatic art which, though probably not originated by the Arabs, has nevertheless been developed to a certain degree by them, is the shadow-play, the *ḥajāl eddill*.⁴ The history of the Arabic shadow-play, thanks to the thorough investigations of Jacob,⁵ and to the publications of Littmann,⁶ Kern,⁷ Prüfer,⁸ Wetzstein-Jahn,⁹ and, lately, those of Kahle,¹⁰ is now, in its essential points, very well known. There is undoubtedly no question that the shadow-play was brought to the Muhammadan peoples of the Orient from the Far East.¹¹ Which of those peoples was the first to cultivate this curious kind of theatrical art, it is

are described the adventures in Cairo of a stupid, yet shrewd, peasant of Upper Egypt; and the *faṣl el-Higāz*, the pilgrimage to Mecca. Aḥmad al-Fār's performances are given only at weddings and other private festivities.

¹ See Kern in the Appendix (p. 104) to Horovitz's work cited above.

² Burton (*op. cit.* x, 9, note 1): 'No wonder that the *Nights* has been made the basis of a national theatre amongst the Turks.'

³ An exact description of the *šū'ara* and *muḥaddithin* and of their performances is to be found in Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1836, chs. 21–23.

⁴ The subjects of these recitations have all been published in romance form. See, for example, *Širet ez-Zāhir Bibars* (Cairo, 1908, 50 vols.); *Širet Bani Ḥilāl* (Beirut, 1891, 62 vols.); *Ṭaḡribet Bani Ḥilāl* (Beirut, n.d., 26 vols.); and *Širet 'Antara* (Cairo, A.H. 1306–11, 24 vols.).

⁵ *Suppl. aux Dict. arabes* (Leyden, 1831), vol. I, p. 764.

⁶ See Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.* (Weimar, 1898), vol. I, pp. 93–95.

⁷ *Id.* I, 278 f.

⁸ *The Assemblies of Al-Hariri* (London, 1867), Preface, p. 40.

⁹ For the dramatic elements in the *maḡāmāt* poetry, see Horovitz, *op. cit.* pp. 21–27.

¹⁰ For the meaning and literature of the word *ḥajāl*, see Jacob, *Gesch. des Schattentheaters* (Berlin, 1907), p. 23 f. Dozy quotes Pedro de Alcalá as giving for the meaning of the words *la'ābū'l-ḥijāl*, 'momo contrahedor.'

¹¹ See Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 100 f.

¹ *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, vol. I. (Copenhagen, 1774) p. 187.

² Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 98 f.

³ In using the Arab. name for the shadow-play, we have chosen its Egypt. dialect pronunciation (classic *ḥijāl* *zūlū*).

⁴ Zur Gesch. des Schattenspiels (*Kelebi Sezmle*, I. [Budapest, 1900] 235–236); 'Drei arab. Schattenspiele aus dem 15. Jahrhundert,' (ib. II. [1901] 76 f.); *Das Schattenspiel in seiner Wanderung vom Morgenland zum Abendland* (Berlin, 1901); *Textproben aus dem Escorial-Codez des Muhammad ibn Daniyal* (Erlangen, 1902); *Gesch. des Schattentheaters*.

⁵ 'Ein arab. Karagoz-Spiel' (ZDMG liv. [1900] 661); *Arab. Schattenspiele* (Berlin, 1901); 'Arabic Humor' (*Princeton Bull.* xiii. [1902] 92–99).

⁶ 'Das ägypt. Schattentheater,' Appendix to Horovitz's *Spuren griech. Mimen im Orient*.

⁷ *Ein ägypt. Schattenspiel* (Erlangen, 1906); 'Das Schiffspiel' (*Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, II. [Münch., 1906]).

⁸ Wetzstein, 'Die Liebenden von Amasia,' a Damascene drama, ed. by G. Jahn, in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. xii. no. 2.

⁹ Zur Gesch. des arab. Schattentheaters in Egypten (Leipzig, 1909); Zur Gesch. des arab. Schattenspiels in Egypten (Halle, 1909); 'Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Egypten,' in *Der Islam*, vol. I. nos. 3 and 4 (1910), and vol. II. nos. 2 and 3 (1911).

¹⁰ Cf. Jacob, *Gesch. des Schattentheaters* (Berlin, 1907), p. 4.

¹¹ 'Die Forschung der letzten Jahre hat darüber keinen Zweifel benommen, dass die Heimat des Schattentheaters im fernem Osten zu suchen ist' (p. 4).

difficult to say, but there is no great probability that the credit belongs to the Arabs. The earliest mention of the shadow-theatre in Arabic literature is found in the verses of Wagih ad-Din Dihjā' b. 'Abd al-Karim el-Munawi (13th cent.), quoted by Ghuzūlī and translated by Jacob.¹ It is obvious, however, that the play must have been known in Egypt before that time, because Ibn Higge² speaks of a shadow-player who performed before the Sultan Ṣalāh ad-Din (1169-1193) in Cairo. From this time onwards the existence of an Arabic shadow-stage, especially in Egypt, which, as Jacob observes,³ seems always to have been the land where the *ḥajāl eddill* has flourished the most, has been proved by several passages in Oriental and Occidental literature.⁴ If Kahle,⁵ influenced by statements made by a modern shadow-player of Cairo, and by the self-glorifying poetry of the father of the same player, thinks that the *ḥajāl eddill* was unknown in Egypt from the beginning of the 19th cent. until about 1860, the present writer fears that his opinion is not wholly tenable. There is evidence that the shadow-play existed during this period of time in Egypt. Lane, for instance, of whom Kahle asserts that he does not mention the shadow-play with a single word,⁶ speaks of such a play, although the *ḥajāl ed-dill* (sic!) which he mentions was given in the Turkish language.⁷ It is not clear from the statement of Didier,⁸ who saw a 'lanterne magique' (*kara-queuz*) in Cairo, in the year 1859, whether he witnessed a Turkish or an Arabic performance, but at all events it was a shadow-play at which he was present. The probable truth of the matter is that the play did in fact become for a time almost obsolete in Egypt, and that Hasan el-Qassās, the father of Kahle's informant, the self-styled re-inventor of the play in this country, came into possession, in some manner, of the old manuscripts, and may thus very likely have acquired an influence on the development of the play. Certain it is that the Egyptian shadow-performers of to-day regard Ḥasan el-Qassās and his son Derwīš as their masters.⁹ Some of the manuscripts are now in Kahle's hands.¹⁰

Kahle's texts and three pieces written by the Egyptian physician, Muḥammad ibn Dānījāl,¹¹ in the 12th cent. A.D., are up to the present time the only two known shadow-play manuscripts. The poetic form that is common to both has given place, in the modern productions, to a prose dialogue, which is only occasionally interrupted by songs and passages in rhymed prose. In the Syrian pieces, published by Littmann, the poetic lines seem to be entirely lacking. The pieces of Ibn Dānījāl have disappeared from the present shadow-stage, while

Kahle's plays, although in essentially different form, are still given in Cairo. The repertoire of the Cairo shadow-players is not very large; only the *li'b eddēr*,¹ consisting of many acts (*faṣl*), and the much shorter *li'b elmarkīb*,² undoubtedly influenced by the Turkish Karagöz-play, *Kayk cünü*,³ are still frequently produced. The other pieces mentioned by Prüfer and Kern⁴ are very seldom given, and then only by special request. The above-mentioned Syrian plays are, in material and *dramatis personæ*, much nearer to the Turkish Karagöz than are the Egyptian pieces.⁵

The shadow-theatre, as a folk-amusement, can now hardly be said to fill an important rôle in the Arabic Orient. In fact, most of that which is indigenous, including native art-ideas, is slowly disappearing behind a thin veneering of European culture. The Europeanized *efendi* snobbishly prefers the Frankish theatre, even though it bore him, to his own native stage; and the *seḥ* and small bourgeois do not dare to risk their reputations by letting themselves be seen in the obscure dens in which the shadow-play has been obliged to take refuge from European innovation. Thus there now remains only the lowest class to form an audience for a production, of which an unknown Arab poet has written: ⁶

A meaning deep is in the shadow-play
For him who sits on wisdom's highest throne.
Figures and forms pass by and fade away,
Then all is gone, the ruler stays alone.

The scenic apparatus (*idda*) of the *ḥajāl eddill* is the simplest imaginable.⁷ The player (*uṣṭā*) sets up his *kusk*, a movable wooden booth, wherever he wishes it; there he sits behind a tightly stretched muslin curtain (*sās*), which is lighted from behind by a primitive oil lamp (*š'la*), and presses the transparent leather figures against the curtain by means of wooden sticks fastened to the figures at the back, and serving at the same time to move their limbs. The player is supported by his troupe (*gag*), who help him with the manipulation of the figures and in reciting the different rôles.

The only shadow-stage where continual performances were given, the little theatre in the ill-famed Cairo Fish Market, has been closed, by order of the police, since the beginning of the summer of 1909; so that, for the time being, at any rate, the play can be seen only on the occasion of folk-festivals, or, sometimes, at weddings and other family merry-makings.

As Kahle⁸ tells us, figures older than forty years are not to be found in the hands of the Egyptian shadow-player of to-day, and one can hardly judge from the present figures what the old ones were like. Derwīš shows, with pride, pictures and fashion-plates of the early seventies, and says that they were the models for the modern figures.

Besides the *ḥajāl eddill*, there exists in Egypt a marionette show; whose hero bears the same name as the protagonist of the Turkish shadow-play—Karagöz, pronounced in the Cairo vernacular, *Aragöz*.⁹ Under this name the puppet-show is mentioned in the *Description de l'Égypte*.¹⁰ Carsten Niebuhr¹¹ also describes at length the Cairo marionettes. The picture, however, which he

¹ Cf. Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 80 f.

² *Ib.* p. 32 f.

³ Jacob gives an exhaustive index of the shadow-play literature in his *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Welt-Litteratur* (Berlin, 1906). It may be added that the shadow-play was mentioned in a work written at the end of the 17th cent., the *Hazz el-ghufi* of Serbini (Bulaq, A.N. 1274 [A.D. 1857]), p. 32.

⁴ See Kahle, *Zur Gesch. des Schattentheaters in Ägypten*, p. 4 f. Kahle himself, in his very important *Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Ägypten* (1911), modified his former opinion somewhat.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 3.

⁶ Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 359. 'Les ombres chinoises' are mentioned also in *Description de l'Égypte*, vol. xviii, p. 441.

⁷ *Les Nuits du Caire*, Paris, 1860, p. 853: '... et à côté la lanterne magique, *kara-queuz*, ravissait la foule par de fabuleuses obscénités.'

⁸ Parts of the texts of the shadow-player Mūsā Eṣṣā'ir are in Kern's possession.

⁹ Derwīš is still in possession of a number of fragments of shadow-play manuscripts.

¹⁰ An extensive study of these three pieces may be found in Jacob's *Gesch. des Schattentheaters*, pp. 34-75. Besides the two manuscripts of Ibn Dānījāl's plays described by Jacob, another exists in Cairo. It is in the hands of Ahmad Bē Teimūr, who kindly gave the present writer permission to have it copied. The manuscript, which is not clearly dated, seems to be not much older than 800 years.

¹ See Prüfer, *Ein ägypt. Schattenspiel*.

² See Prüfer, 'Das Schiffspiel' (*Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Or.*).

³ Jacob, *Gesch. des Schattentheaters*, p. 82.

⁴ Prüfer, *Ein ägypt. Schattenspiel*, p. xii; Kern, *Das ägypt. Schattentheater*.

⁵ For information concerning the Maghribine shadow-play, see Quedenfeldt, 'Das türk. Schattenspiel im Maghrib' (*Ausland*, lxviii [Stuttgart, 1890] pp. 904-908 and 921-924).

⁶ Cf. Jacob, *Gesch. des Schattentheaters*, p. 77, and Seybold, 'Zum arab. Schattenspiel', *ZDMG* lvi. (1902) 413 f.

⁷ See the description given by Prüfer in *Ein ägypt. Schattenspiel*, pp. v-ix.

⁸ *Zur Gesch. des arab. Schattentheaters in Ägypten*, p. 6 f. After this was written Kahle found in Egypt a great number of very fine old shadow-play figures, which may have been manufactured as early as the 13th century.

⁹ Kern, *Das ägypt. Schattentheater*, p. 104.

¹⁰ *Description de l'Égypte; Etat moderne*, xviii. 170 (1825).

¹¹ *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, I. 188.

shows on plate xxvi. does not give a correct idea of the modern marionette stage, and very likely not of the old one. Didier¹ speaks of 'polichinelle arabe.' But an exact description of the Egyptian Aragöz-play² has never been published, nor have its texts ever appeared in print.

The only Aragöz-player known to the writer at the present time [1911] is the *usta* Ahmad 'Ali el-Hudari, who lives in Bulag, in the Turguman quarter. His little theatre is even simpler than that of the shadow stage; it consists of a folding booth of cloth, not much higher than a man's head; the front side is somewhat lower than the other sides, and the player sits inside this *kuşk*, moving on his fingers, just above the edge of the front side, the roughly made wooden figures, which are dressed in bits of coloured cloth, the puppets being visible to their hips. More than two figures cannot appear at the same time. The repertoire is very limited, and, just as in the Turkish shadow-play, but in contrast to the Egyptian *hajal eddill*, some types of the *dramatis personæ* re-appear in every play (if these loosely strung scenes and dialogues can be called plays): e.g. Aragöz, the cruel, stupid, yet sly clown, similar to the characters Punch, Kasperle, and Pulcinello, and the dialect types,³ such as the loud-mouthed Turkish soldier, the uncouth Nubian, and the Italian or Greek priest; then the sancy beggar, and the different female figures from the lively Ezbekije quarter. A characteristic feature of Aragöz is the high, nasal voice, produced by the player by means of the *zummar*, a little whistle which he holds in his teeth. Aragöz wears the *tarfûr*,⁴ or pointed fool's-cap. The player has an assistant who joins the audience and carries on the conversation with Aragöz when the latter is alone on the stage and addresses the public.

Considered æsthetically and as an element in the development of Arabic culture, the Aragöz-play stands on a much lower plane than the *hajal eddill*. Written texts apparently do not exist, and the tradition has therefore not much stability. Improvised jokes and the mood of the player change the wording of the piece without let or hindrance. The show is occasionally to be seen at fairs and at weddings of the lowest order.

The following is a *faşl*, or marionette play, dictated to the writer directly by Ahmad el-Hudari:

Aragöz: essalâm 'alékum nahârak salîd wemûbarak salâm! 'akrafîna⁵ wâgarastûnâ.⁶ âh jâna min gharâmuh win kunt ahibbak lam 'alai ja malâma.

Gindî (a Turkish soldier who had been asleep): abradana sana sitikihim? fallâh haşşâş banzir jaba elkalb jin'al abû ummak.

Aragöz: inta magnûn wallâ masfûl.⁸
Gindî: ana ba'dên amauwitak.

¹ *Les Nuits du Caire*, p. 353: "... et tout près le polichinelle arabe débitait aux badauds ses lazzi grivois, car le théâtre de guignol n'est pas le privilège exclusif des Champs-Élysées."

² For the connexion between the figure of Aragöz (Karaköz) and the Egyptian vizier Karakûş of the 13th cent., see Casanova in *Mémoires publ. par les membres de la mission archéol. française du Caire*, vi. (1897) 447; and Kahle, *Zur Gesch. des arab. Schattentheaters in Egypten*, p. 17 f.

³ Dialectic peculiarities form an essential part of Egyptian folk-humour, just as they do in Turkish folklore. Cf. Jacob, *Türk. Litteraturgesch. in Einzeldarstellungen*, pt. I. "Das türk. Schattentheater," Berlin, 1900, pp. 29-37.

⁴ See Prüfer, *Ein ägypt. Schattenspiel*, p. 40, note 3.

⁵ A comical over-politeness such as one often finds among ignorant Egyptians. Cf. Prüfer, *op. cit.* p. 38.

⁶ Said jokingly for *amistûnâ*, "we are glad to see you."

⁷ Barbarous Turkish for *örada anasnyin silidim*.

⁸ "Intoxicated" (Spiri, *Arab.-Eng. Vocabulary*, Lond. 1895).

Aragöz: taljib rûh ihâlak.

Gindî: win ma-kuntîs arûh. (*Aragöz* beats him.) ti mil é ja wâd ba'dên amauwitak.

Aragöz: 'akrafîtinâ wânistînâ ja si mauwitak.

(The soldier beats him and goes away.)
Aragöz (to the audience): mauwitûni wâgarabûni wâmazza'û minna 'esakkô wazza-bûl.¹

Voice from the audience: wâba'dên baqâ.

Aragöz: aqûl limrâti.

Voice: ismihâ é.

Aragöz: Bahîta ja bint jâ Bahîta ja mara ja Bahîta.

Bahîta (who is not his wife, but a woman of a public-house): sabâhak bër.

Aragöz: a'ûzu billâh jâ Bahîta.

Bahîta: mâ lak ja habibi mâ lak ja salât ennabi 'alek wa 'ala tarfûrak ja habbet 'eni ta'ala ja habibi nerûh genenet el-Ezbekije nittassah sauwa.

Aragöz: rûhi 'tlassahî fi harârâ imshî nin hina ja mara jalla.

Bahîta: ana wihsâ ana muş a'gibak.

Aragöz: inti wişşik zaiş wişş abû sabat.²

(*Aragöz* beats Bahîta off the stage, and knocks with his *nabbûl* on the wall.)

Aragöz: jâ bint jâ Dûdû (calling another woman).

(Dûdû, abominably ugly, appears, coughing excessively.)

Aragöz: bass bass 'ala bêt abûki 'ala 'tûl.

(He beats her away from the stage.)

Aragöz: (knocking again) ja wûled jâ barbari.

Barbari (from inside): jâ Aragöz mâ lak.

Aragöz: fên hûwa 'Ibarbari (the Berberine appears) da barbari iswid wamukâssar tijdim ja barbari.

Barbari: haddâm markûbak 'ala habbet 'enak min foq.³

Aragöz: elbadawije⁴ ja salâm 'alék wâ'alaija.

(Berberine disappears.)

Sahhât (beggar): 'âgiz mas-kin ardabbé bânja⁵ wânûş lillâh.

Aragöz: wûdê da kamân.

Sahhât: 'ahhât 'âwiz jakul.

Aragöz: takul é.

Sahhât: âkul ruzzê wûruze.

Aragöz: ruzzê é wûruzzê é.

Sahhât: ruzzê bilaban wûruzzê mefalil.

Aragöz: (imitating his accent) wûruzzê mefalil.

Sahhât: wâbitûngân qûta.

Aragöz: (beats him) hûd ruzzê wûruze.

Gindî: kamandârî⁶ nimritak fîlet fî 'I askarije tâhûd rubet sawîş riglak eljenin gamb eššimâl imsik elbarûda.

Aragöz: tôb 'I'alaija jâ rabb.

All right! Go about your business.

And if I won't go? What are you doing, boy? Afterwards I shall kill you!

You have honoured us and made us happy, Mr. I-shall-kill-you!

(They have killed me, and beaten me, and torn my jacket and my smock-frock!)

Well, and then?

I shall tell my wife!

What's her name?

Bahîta. Girl! Bahîta Woman! Bahîta!

May your day be happy!

God save me, Bahîta!

What is the matter with you, my dear? What is the matter with you, oh you, on whom and whose *tarfûr* be the prayer of the prophet! You pupil of my eye! Come, my dear! Let us go to the Ezbekije garden, and take a walk there together.

Go to walk in the cesspool! Go away from here, woman! Go!

Am I ugly? Don't I please you?

Your face is like the face of a centipede.

(*Aragöz* beats Bahîta off the stage, and knocks with his wall.)

Girl! Dûdû!

Enough, enough! [curses] upon the house of your father at once!

Little boy, Berberine!

What's the matter, Aragöz?

Where is the Berberine then! That is a Berberine, black and sullen! Are you in service, Berberine?

Servant of your shoe! Upon the pupil of your eye from above.

Oh, ye saints! Mercy on us, you and me!

(I am) infirm, poor! For the sake of God, one and a half *ardabb bânja*!

Now what's this again?

A beggar, who wishes to eat What do you wish to eat?

I would like to eat rice and rice.

What kind of rice and what kind of rice?

Rice with milk and rice *pilaw*.

And rice *pilaw*!

And tomatoes.

Take some rice and rice!

Who is there? Your number came out for military service. You will have the rank of a *sawîş*. Your right foot beside the left! Take the musket!

Lead me to repentance, O Lord!

¹ 'Sarrau de laine brune, ouvert depuis le cou jusqu'à la ceinture et ayant les manches larges, que les hommes du peuple portent en Egypte, surtout en hiver' (Dozy).

² Instead of *sabâth* ('millepieds, scolopendre' [Dozy]).

³ The meaning of this sentence is very ambiguous. It may mean the expression of obedience as well as that of a curse.

⁴ The derwishes of the order of Saiyid Ahmad el-Badawi.

⁵ One *ardabb*, a measure for cereals, is equal to 197.75 cubic litres. *Bânja*, hibiscus (leguminous plant) (Spiri, *Arab.-Eng. Vocabulary*).

⁶ For *kimdir*.

⁷ For *tauwîb*.

Gindī: hāz dūr bir hik.¹
Aragōz: hāz dūr (kills him).
Voice from audience: mau-wittūn.
Aragōz: wana mā li jā būja ana mā-mauwittūā.
 (He brings a bier, on which he puts the dead body.
 A priest appears and sings a parody of a mass.)
Priest: morto buona sera Dead! Good evening! Adieu, addio si forjī.
Aragōz: lā ilāha illa 'llāh wā-Muhammad rasūl allāh qūl kida jā 'akrūt.
Priest: Mā ilāha illa 'llāh. There is no God but God!
 (Exit *Aragōz*.)
Priest (singing): morto, Dead, dead, dead!
 morto, morto!
 (Enter *Aragōz*.)
Aragōz: kaffartina jā šēh You have made us infidels, (kills him). old chap!

Real dramatic art, in the European sense of the word, is, as we said before, a foreign and comparatively recent phenomenon in the Arabic literature. The farce which Carsten Niebuhr saw in the house of an Italian in Cairo, and which had to be broken off prematurely owing to its lasciviousness, seems, according to his account, to have been nothing more than a series of lewd-comic scenes without any kind of plot or catastrophe, in the manner of the *Thu Rābiya* performances, manifestly neither more nor less than an *Aragōz* representation, played by living persons.² The piece described by Lane,³ giving a vivid picture of the corruption of public officials of the time of Muhammad 'Alī, is of a little higher order, and is of the same type as the modern Arabic comedy, the *faṣl muḍḥik*, as it is played in Cairo to-day. All that Lane, that unrivalled observer of Egyptian folk-life, has said about the *Mohabbazeen*, the actors of such dramatic performances, is true now of the *faṣl muḍḥik*: 'Their performances are scarcely worthy of description. It is chiefly by vulgar jests and indecent actions that they amuse and obtain applause.' To-day, too, the 'actors are only men and boys,' the latter appearing in female rôles;⁴ and the *faṣl muḍḥik*, like Lane's example, still has some didactic elements, even when the only lesson taught is that of getting the better of a European by beating and cheating him. A shade better are the productions of the Syrian *faṣl muḍḥiks* from Beirut or Damascus.⁵ A Syrian troupe, with women taking the female rôles, was playing, until a little while ago, in Cairo in the Syrian Café Kāmil; but there is no great difference between the performances of this company and those which one could see, up to a short time ago, in the two small theatres that were formerly in the Fish Market but are now in the Sārī Wagh el-Birke.

The *faṣl muḍḥik* last seen by the present writer in one of these cafés consists of a number of clownish scenes, that always end in the whipping of one of the participants. The chief character of the flimsy plot is the servant Ḥusēn, who appears in a pierrot costume.⁶ He makes a dupe of his master (an officer) by entering into illicit relations with the latter's wife. The deceived husband notices from time to time, of

course, the love-making that is going on behind his back, and the result is a series of roughly ludicrous mistakes and mystifications. For instance, the servant embraces his master, who has seated himself, unnoticed by the servant, in his wife's chair, and receives as a reward a box on the ear. A boastful, silly European—a Greek (dialect type), with a battered tall hat and a bright red British uniform—is beaten continually throughout the play. The other characters are a saucy beggar woman, a cook, and three *ḥaramiye* (robbers); the last named, with the help of the servant, steal the clothes of the officer from his body while he sleeps. The dialogue, as is always the case in a *faṣl muḍḥik*, is in prose, and in the vernacular of the lowest elements of the population. It is full of invectives and obscenities. Sometimes the *faṣl muḍḥik*, of which there is a great variety, are preceded by a performance of the famous *dance de ventre* or by a *faṣl* of the shadow-play.

A number of such farces in the vernacular have been published in Cairo of late;⁷ but they are very seldom played, as they naturally do not contain the flagrant indecencies which would make them popular with the public. One of the best of these pieces is *Hāt li min de*, 'Give me some of That,' by Ahmad Hamdi er-Raṣīdī. The piece, a modern variation of an old fairy-tale subject, shows clearly the characteristics of the *faṣl muḍḥik*. Nadīm Efendi has engaged the Syrian Amin as a servant and watcher for his daughter Farīda. Amin, who is a very impudent man towards his master, and falls in love with Farīda. The three friends of Nadīm—Si Gara, Si Fān, and Si Finga—come one by one to sue for the hand of Farīda for their sons 'Aziz, Gamīl, and Farīd. Nadīm gives his consent to each one provided he presents a bridal gift of unsurpassable value. The curious names of the guests ('Cigarette,' 'Siphon,' and 'Sponge') are a source of rude jokes for the jealous Amin. In the second act the three suitors meet by chance in a hotel in Malta. Each displays his bridal gift. Gamīl has a mirror in which one can see things at a great distance; Farīd has lemons that can waken the dead; and 'Aziz has a carpet upon which one can ride through the air. In order to test their presents they look into the mirror and see Farīda upon her death-bed, whereupon they travel quickly on 'Aziz's carpet to Cairo, and by means of the lemons bring Farīda back to life. Then (third act), since they cannot agree among themselves as to who shall marry her, they go to the *qāḍī* Si Bōja, whose daughter gives a *fatwa* (judgment founded on canon law) in favour of Farīd, and, in characteristic Oriental manner, consolingly advises the other two suitors to sell their bridal gifts. Amin, who acts the clown throughout the piece, also goes with the others to the *qāḍī*, but his suit naturally meets with no success.

Besides these more or less original Arabic works, there is to-day a European drama that has been consciously and artificially transplanted into the Arabic Orient. The initiative herein came from Syria. Mārūn b. Iljās b. Miḥā'il-Naqqāš (born 1817 at Saïda in Lebanon) was the first who tried to make this innovation. Of the life and works of this man we have an excellent account in the records made by his brother and follower Niqālā.⁸ While he was still a boy, Mārūn's family moved to Beirut, which was then, as now, the intellectual centre of Syria. Here he was brought up according to old-fashioned Arabic ideas, his naturally good taste being therefore quickly spoiled by the forced learning of syntax, grammar, stylistics, metrics, and all the rest of the huge chaos of scholastic knowledge. When he was but eighteen years of age, he began to compose poems. This did not prevent him, however, from studying European book-keeping and commercial law, and from learning Turkish, French, and Italian. In his thirtieth year he went to Italy, where he saw for the first time a large European theatre. The play so impressed him that, after his return to Beirut in the year 1848, he wrote a drama in the Euro-

¹ *Riwāyat hāt li min de*, by Ahmad Hamdi er-Raṣīdī (Cairo, 1907). Other pieces of this kind are: *Riwāyat Ba'gar*, by Muhammad Efendi Husni (Cairo, n. d.); and the *Riwāyat ez-zawaj binnabih walbāḥil el'akrūt* (Cairo, anon. and n. d.). The latter is a variation of the popular type of *L'Avare*, who is cured of his greed after great money-losses. The same theme is treated by Muhammad Efendi Safig, in the *faṣl elbāḥil*. Still other pieces are *Sadr elbaghāka*, by Amin Saiyid Ahmad 'Abd el-Wāḥid ez-Zaiyāt (Cairo, n. d.), a piece in which the different beggar types are shown; a play with a purpose of the kind described by Lane is the *Riwāyat elmuḥaddamin*, by Muhammad Bē 'Othmān Galāl, printed after the death of the author. This little comedy scourges the deceptions and tricks of servant-intermediaries.

² After the death of his brother, Niqālā published three of his theatrical pieces under the title *Arzat Lubnān* (Beirut, 1899). He gives an extensive biography of his brother in the preface. A strangely mistaken remark concerning this book is found in C. Huart's *History of Arabic Literature* (Enc. ed. London, 1903), p. 420: 'Nicolas Naqqāš, who was born at Saïda in 1817, died at Tarsus in 1856, having written a play called *Arzat Lubnān*.'

¹ Military terms in barbarous Turkish.

² Almost the same description is found in *Description de l'Egypte* (1825), p. 172 f.

³ *Manners and Customs*, pp. 357-359.

⁴ See Kern, *Das ägypt. Schattentheater*, p. 103 f.

⁵ See Kern, 'Neuere ägypt. Humoristen und Satiriker' (*Mitteilungen des Seminars f. orient. Sprachen*, ix. [Berlin, 1906]). A Syrian *faṣl muḍḥik* is the *Riwāyat elghulā elmuḍda 'in bil'um*, by Ibrahim Bek ef-Taḥib, Beirut, n. d.

⁶ The European fool's costume of Ḥusēn points to the Frankish origin of the *faṣl muḍḥik*, and, just as in the *Aragōz*-play, which is without doubt nothing but a Pulcinella theatre orientalized by the influence of the Turkish *Karagöz*, some of the dramatic persons are the same types for all pieces. From these types one easily recognizes Italy as the home of the *faṣl muḍḥik*. The Arlecchino of the Italian *commedia dell'arte* is the stupidly bold, silly servant; and the cowardly boasting Greek we also find in *Saramaica*; the coquetish, amiable little woman, who is not altogether too scrupulous in keeping her nuptial vows, is the Columbine type. The dialectic humour is perhaps the result of shadow-play influence.

pean style, called it *Elbaḥūl*¹ ('The Miser'), and soon afterwards produced it in his own house before an invited audience, amongst whom were all the foreign consuls and the governor of the Lebanon Province. The actors were young friends of the author. This attempt was followed by a second in 1850, *Abū Ḥasan el-Mughaffal*, a dramatic version of the well-known story of Ḥārūn ar-Rašīd and Abū Ḥasan from the *Arabian Nights*; and then, encouraged by the success of this piece (which, by the way, is still given), Mārūn Naqqāš, with the permission of the Sultan, founded in Beirut a permanent stage, where he brought out his *Riwāyat elhasūd* ('The Jealous Man'). The plays of his brother Niqlā, *Eṣṣḥ elghāhil* (written 1840) and *Rabī'a ibn Zed elmukaddam* (written 1852) also made their first appearance in this theatre. In 1855, while on a business trip, Mārūn died of fever in Tarsus, and two years later his body was transferred by his family to Beirut and there buried with great ceremony.

After Mārūn's death the theatrical art suffered a decline,² and it was not until 1860 that Niqlā Naqqāš resuscitated the *Hasūd* on his brother's old stage. In the same year Niqlā published, in one book,³ Mārūn's three pieces, which are a kind of light opera, comedies with musical accompaniment and interspersed with numerous songs and dances.

We give, as an example, the contents of the first piece. The extremely miserly, rich Qarrād, a man of advanced years, had made an agreement with the greedy old Tha'labi to marry the latter's daughter Hind, a young widow. He comes for the wedding to the house of Tha'labi, but Hind loves young 'Isā, the friend of her brother Ghālī. These three, and the old servant Umm Riṣa, slyly plot together to make Qarrād give up his plans of marriage, and at the same time to part with some of his beloved money. Hind makes such extravagant demands of Qarrād that he finally wishes nothing more ardently than to be rid of her. Hind, however, now declares that she will not release him; in the meantime Ghālī appears, disguised as a Turkish *aga*, with his secretary 'Isā and several soldiers. By means of threats and thrashings they force Qarrād to pay to 'Isā a large sum of money as a compensation to Hind, who thereupon marries 'Isā. Finally, the supposed Turks confess their deception to Qarrād, who is by this time very much ashamed of himself, and freely forgives them.

The language of the play is affected and heavy, the piece itself, with its five weak acts, extremely tiresome. When the author makes a joke, the publisher thinks it necessary to call the reader's attention to the fact in a footnote. Here again we have, as the comic elements, the dialect types—Umm Riṣa the peasant woman from Lebanon, Ghālī the Turk, and 'Isā the Egyptian secretary.

Under the influence of the brothers Naqqāš, several theatrical companies were formed in Syria; but, as there were no trained actors to be had, the authors or translators saw themselves obliged, if they wished to have their plays produced, to form and train a troupe of amateurs. Famous as author, director, and *régis seur* all in one person, were especially Sēḥ Abū Ḥalīl el-Qabbānī in Beirut, and Iskander Farāḥ in Damascus. The latter, more organizer and actor than author, was born in Damascus in 1855, the year of the death of Mārūn Naqqāš. He attended the Jesuit school in that city and there became acquainted, through amateur school dramatics, with European drama. Encouraged by Midhat Pasha, who lived at the time in Damascus, he produced, in a public garden, his first play, a translation from the French. He then moved to Beirut, where he joined with Sēḥ Abū Ḥalīl in forming a theatrical enterprise; but owing to intrigues his licence was taken from him, so that he saw himself compelled to settle permanently with Abū Ḥalīl in Cairo (in 1882), where he and his partner had already made successful tours. From this time dated the existence of a theatre in European style in Egypt. In the *Gōg elmiṣrī el'arabī* (in the *Šārī* 'Abd el-Aziz in Cairo)

¹ See *Arat Lubnān*, p. 4: '... The play *Elbaḥūl*, which was the first drama given in our Arabic tongue.'

² *Id.*, p. 5: 'Hereafter this kind of art was buried with its initiator and nearly forgotten.'

³ *Arat Lubnān* (Beirut, 1860)

a great many pieces—mostly translations and only a few original works—have appeared above the footlights.

This theatre has not proved to be a success of late, owing partly to the death of Iskander Farāḥ's partner, Abū Ḥalīl, but especially because of the attitude of one of the actors, Sēḥ Salāma el-Higāzī, whom Farāḥ himself had taught. Salāma separated from his master and founded a theatre of his own,—the *Dār ettamthīl el'arabī*,—and induced a number of Farāḥ's actors to accompany him. In contrast to the Christian Syrian Iskander Farāḥ, Salāma was a Muslim and an Egyptian, and that was enough to secure him the affections of the Cairo public. Then, too, he laid more weight on the musical part of his performance than his old master had done, and the Egyptians love nothing so much as singing and the music of their national orchestra. In 1909, Sēḥ Salāma had an apoplectic stroke, which partially paralyzed him, so that his acting days are probably over.

A number of small wandering theatrical troupes have branched off from the theatre of Iskander Farāḥ. One often stumbles upon them in Syria and Egypt. The best known in Egypt are the companies of 'Anwād Farīd, Aḥmad Higāzī, Ibrāhīm Aḥmad, and Sēḥ Aḥmad el-Šāmī. The last named was to be seen in the winter of 1908 in Luxor in *Romeo and Juliet*. The late Nagīb el-Haddād, one of the most prolific translators of European plays, also experimented with a troupe of his own. In Syria, 'Aziz 'Id and Raḥmīn Bibis are the chief followers of Iskander Farāḥ's school; the only one of Farāḥ's pupils who went to the Maghrib—Solīmān el-Qirdāḥī—died in the summer of 1909 in Tunis.

Amateur theatrical clubs have been started in several places in Egypt. The most important of these is the *Gamīyet el-Ma'arīf* in Cairo; it was founded by Iskander Farāḥ in 1886, and is still under his direction. There was a similar club by the name of *Gamīyet taragqī 'ttamthīl el'adabī* in Mansūra.¹

It is utterly impossible to give an approximately complete bibliography of the Arabic dramatic literature of to-day, as there is an unusually great productivity along this line at the present time. Most of the works are translations, of which the only really valuable ones are the excellent renderings, in the vernacular, of some of the writings of Racine and Molière by the late Muḥammad Bē 'Othmān Galāl.² Unfortunately these pieces, in which the highly talented translator has shown his ability to render the tone of the originals in the idiomatic peculiarities of his own language, have never been recognized by the stage. The stiff, ridiculous Shakespeare translations³ do not show the least trace of the spirit of the great British master, and still less worthy of mention are the childishly Arabized French dramas⁴ of the Romance period. A little better are the different dramatizations of the stories from the *Arabian Nights*⁵ and

¹ We are indebted to Mr. Tawfīq Farāḥ, the brother and manager of Iskander Farāḥ, for the greater part of these statements.

² See Nallino, *L'Arabo parlato in Egitto* (Milan, 1900), pp. 349-351. The translations of Muḥammad Bē 'Othmān Galāl are as follows:—*Eṣṣḥ elmatlūf* (*Tartuffe*, by Molière), Cairo, 1873, reprinted in 1890 with *Ennisā' ul 'alimāt* (*Femmes savantes*); *Madrasat el'azwāg* (*Ecole des Maris*); and *Madrasat ennisā' (Ecole des Femmes)* under the title *El'arabā riwāyat min ruḥab etṭijārāt*; *Eṣṣawāḥ elmuḥāda fi 'lma' ettararīda* (*Esther, Tiphaine and Alexandre*, by Racine), Cairo, 1895; *Riwāyat atṭuḡalā* (*Les Fâcheux*, by Molière), Cairo, 1896. The *Sēḥ matlūf*, the *Madrasat el'azwāg* and *Ennisā' ul 'alimāt* have been published in European transcription. See Vollers, 'Der neuarab. Tartuffe' (ZDMG xlv. [1891] 88-96); Sobernheim, *Madrasat el'azwāg*: arab. Comédie transkribiert und ins Deutsche übersetzt (Berlin, 1896); Kern, *Innisā' ul 'alimāt*: neuarab. Bearbeitung von Molière's Femmes savantes transkribiert, übersetzt, etc. (Leipzig, 1898).

³ For example, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*.

⁴ *Hernani*, *Marie Tudor*, by Victor Hugo; *Katherine Howard*, by A. Dumas; *Fernande*, by Sardou; *Séville Torrel*, by Olmet; *L'Africaine*, by Scribe, and many others. The chief translators, besides the already mentioned Nagīb Haddād, are Tanūs 'Abduḥ, Ḥalīl Mīrṣāq, Farāḥ Anṭīn, Bisāra Kanān, and Sam'an el-Aṣḡar.

⁵ From the *Arabian Nights* have been dramatized, among others, the stories of Ḥārūn ar-Rašīd and Qūt al-Qulūb, by Maḥmūd Wāḡīf, and Uns al-Galīs, by Abū Ḥalīl el-Qabbānī.

from the Arabian history and hero-legends.¹ The only other class that is somewhat worthy of notice is the drama with a political purpose.² Here genuine feeling has succeeded in instilling a little life into the inflexible, stilted, Arabic literary style.

Whether a well-developed branch will ever grow from the scion of Western dramatics that has been grafted upon the Arabic literature seems to the present writer to be somewhat doubtful, and it is not only the lack of dramatic feeling, natural to the Arab through race and religious peculiarities, that prevents him from finding the way to dramatic art; it is also the character of his language. The Arabic literary language is petrified—an artificially preserved corpse, which pleases only its preservers, the literary gild and the *ulamâ*. The people hardly understand this language, and do not recognize themselves or their feelings when so presented to them. The living idiom, on the other hand, that in which the Arab thinks and speaks, is scorned and regarded as vulgar by priests and pseudo-learned men, who see the end of their own glory in the decay of that idolized, thousand-year-old mummy, the fetish of the holiness of God's language. Before anything great can be created, either in the province of the drama or in Arabic literature in general, the modern writer must cease to work with forms, words, and metaphors of the language of nomadic desert tribes of fifteen hundred years ago.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given fully in the footnotes.

CURT PRÜFER.

DRAMA (Chinese).—Music and dancing are frequently mentioned in the Chinese classics. For instance, in the days of Confucius we read of the services held in the ancestral temples of princes and great nobles, when there were men arranged in rows, who moved in time with the music, and brandished feathers, flags, or other articles. Moreover, in those times, and even later, dancing of a slow and dignified character formed part of civil as well as of religious ceremonies. Thus at public feasts there were performances representing the joys of harvest, the fatigues of war, the pleasures of peace, and suchlike subjects. According to one theory, the regular drama was gradually evolved from these displays; but there are persons who maintain that it was purely exotic, having been introduced into China from the West. One writer says, perhaps with some boldness:

'The whole idea of the Chinese play is Greek. The mask, the chorus, the music, the colloquy, the scene, and the act are Greek.' 'The Chinese took the idea, and worked up the play from their own history and their own social life.' 'The whole conception of the play is foreign, while the details and language are Chinese' (J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese* 4, p. 707).

The highest literary authorities among the Chinese agree in dividing the history of their drama into three distinct periods. The first of these is the latter part of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 720-906); the second, the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1126); the third, the Chin and Yüan dynasties (A.D. 1126-1367). One very great writer of the 13th cent., Ma Tuan-lin, gives 581 instead of 720 as the earliest date; but it is generally agreed that his view was based on a misconception.

No specimens of the T'ang dynasty plays have been preserved; but it is said that they were historical in character, and also that pieces were played of which the prologue was recited by an actor called 'the introducer of the play.'

In the time of the Sung dynasty, it was custom-

ary to sing the greater portion of the play. The plot was very simple, and everything was sacrificed to the lyric parts. Further, the action was hampered by a convention limiting the number of the actors in the play to five.

The third, or Yüan, period is the golden age of the Chinese drama. The plays written at that time, or shortly afterwards, not only surpassed their predecessors, but have never been equalled by later writers. Moreover, the alterations and novelties then introduced have since remained unchanged. Indeed, it may be said that the drama of the Yüan times 'is to all intents and purposes the drama of to-day' (H. A. Giles, *Chinese Literature*, p. 258).

The list of the Yüan dramatic authors comprises 85 persons, of whom four were women ('actresses,' as the name by which they are described should probably be translated). There are extant 564 plays, of which 105 are by anonymous writers. Practically all kinds of subjects are represented among them. There are mythological, historic, religious, and domestic plays; comedies of character, and comedies of intrigue. There is no formal division into tragedy and comedy; but a play belongs to one class rather than to the other, according to the subject and the way in which it is treated. Every rank of life is represented, from the Emperor to the humble slave girl. Even gods and goddesses appear and speak. It is nominally illegal to put on the stage Emperors, Empresses, and great men of old; but the law is entirely disregarded. The dialogue is in the ordinary spoken language, varying in some degree according to the social position of the character speaking. In the historical plays it is further removed than in the others from the language of common conversation. There is no chorus, but the actors constantly break out into song. These songs express the most passionate parts, and therefore they are given only to the leading characters.

A play consists usually of five acts, or rather of four acts and an introductory part, called 'the opening,' in which the principal characters come on, describe themselves, and give any information that may be necessary as to former doings. If there is no 'opening,' the descriptions and information are given in the first of the four acts, and the unfolding of the story is left to the second. But, as there is no curtain to fall, and no stopping at the end of the acts, the distinction between them is hardly noticeable on the stage. Entries and exits are marked in the books, and so are the 'asides,' for which there is a technical name. The famous play called the *Pi-pa-ki* consists of 24 scenes, or, according to another arrangement, of 42 scenes.

In theory every Chinese play should have a moral object, and the serious drama is supposed to place on the stage scenes which will lead the spectator to the practice of virtue. Actually, their tendency is on the side of justice and morality; and, as regards decency, they are, at any rate in their written form, entirely free from objection.

In addition to the serious pieces, which form the bulk of the plays acted, there are also farces, which are generally brought in at the conclusion of the bill, and are highly appreciated by the audience. They 'depend for their attractiveness upon the droll gesticulations, impromptu allusions to passing occurrences, and excellent pantomimic action of the performers' (S. W. Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, i. 715). In these farces there is much 'gagging,' and the actors often lapse into coarseness.

To return to the serious drama. It is true that Chinese plays do not, as a rule, possess much intricacy of plot; but we think that their merits, in many respects, will not be denied by any one who

¹ e.g. *Riwāyat Salāh addin*, by Nagīb el-Haddād, Alexandria, 1898.

² The most prominent are *Riwāyat al-'Azhār* (Cairo, 1909), and *Riwāyat Denkalādī* (Cairo, 1907), by Hasan Mar'ī. The latter is reviewed in the *Revue du Monde musulman*, vol. III. Nov.-Dec., nos. 11-12, Paris, 1907, pp. 504-509. The representation of both pieces is forbidden by the Egyptian Government.

can keep in mind that both Chinese ideals and Chinese modes of expression often differ considerably from our own. They are certainly remarkable in both distinctness and consistency of characterization. As regards other qualities, a very high authority has recently said of the famous 'Story of a Lute' (*Pi-pa-ki*), that 'it is not only truly pathetic in the conception and the main situations of its action, but includes scenes of singular grace and delicacy of treatment' (A. W. Ward, in *EBR*¹¹, viii. 486). Of another great play, 'The Sorrows of Han,' its distinguished translator, Sir John Davis, wrote that 'the grandeur and gravity of the subject, the rank and dignity of the personages, the tragical catastrophe, and the strict award of poetical justice, might satisfy the most rigid admirer of Grecian rules' (*China*, p. 92). In order to give the reader some idea of what the Chinese historical drama is like, we insert here a short sketch of this play. The events described in it are partially founded upon fact. The scene is laid in the 1st cent. B.C., at a time when China was weak and the Tatars were strong.

The play opens in Tartary. The Tatar Khan appears, and announces that, in accordance with an hereditary right, he has sent to demand of the Emperor of China the hand of a princess in marriage. The second scene is in China, and shows the Emperor entrusting a minister with the task of selecting beauties for his harem. The minister discovers a maiden of surpassing loveliness. He demands from her parents a large sum of money as a bribe, but they are too poor to give it to him. He therefore contrives that, though the maiden is admitted to the palace, her charms shall remain unknown to the Emperor. A chance causes them to be discovered, and she becomes the Imperial favourite. The faithless minister is condemned to death; but he escapes, and takes refuge at the court of the Khan. To revenge himself, he shows the Khan the lady's picture, declaring that she would have come in response to the Khan's demand, but the Emperor would not permit her; he (the minister) had remonstrated with his master for thus embroiling two nations, and had been forced to flee for his life; let the Khan demand the princess, and she must be given to him. Overcome by the beauty of the portrait, the Khan despatches an envoy with a threat of war, and prepares for the invasion of China. Next, the lady, now a princess, is adorning herself in the palace; the Emperor comes in, and shows his admiration. The chief minister enters and reports the arrival of the envoy with the Khan's demand. The envoy is received. After the audience the Emperor takes counsel with his ministers. He wishes to appeal to arms; but the case is adjudged hopeless. The princess declares her willingness to sacrifice herself for her country's sake, in spite of her love for the Emperor. The Emperor at last consents, and the sad parting takes place. The Khan is seen at the head of his troops, leading away the princess. The army is on the march. It arrives at the bank of a river, the boundary of the Chinese empire. The princess addresses the Khan: 'Great King, I take a cup of wine and pour a libation towards the south, my last farewell to the Emperor.' She pours the libation, and cries, 'Emperor, this life is finished. I await thee in the next.' She throws herself into the river and is drowned. The Khan laments, orders her burial, and declares that he will maintain peace with China. Now we are back again in China. The Emperor is wandering in the palace at night, still overwhelmed with grief, and unable to attend to affairs of state. He sleeps, and we see the princess, escaped from her captors, appearing to him in a vision. A Tatar soldier comes in and carries her off again. The Emperor awakes to fresh grief. The arrival is announced of a Tatar envoy. He is come to tell the sad story and bring back the faithless minister. The traitor is led away to execution.

We think the reader will acknowledge that this story is one well fitted for dramatic representation.

The scenery of a Chinese theatre is very simple. It consists of a few mats, perhaps rudely painted, arranged at the back and sides of the stage, and some tables, chairs, and couches, which serve for many purposes, and are brought in from the robing rooms as required. The imperfections of the scenery are made good by simple devices: a courier, on being despatched, seizes a whip, and lifts his leg as though he were mounting a horse; passing over a bridge is indicated by stepping up and then down, crossing a river by imitating the rolling motion of a boat. The actors are dressed in costumes appropriate to their parts, and of antique style. The robes are very splendid, made of bright-coloured silks and satins and really magnificent embroideries, which have cost large sums of money; but in the humbler theatres they are much tarnished and worn.

Only in Peking and the great towns of the North are there permanent play-houses. The simplicity, however, of Chinese theatrical arrangements enables performances to be given without difficulty all over the country, even in small towns and villages. Subscriptions are collected on the occasion of a festival, or a rich man wishes to give his neighbours a treat. A travelling company of players is engaged; and, in a couple of days, sheds, which serve their purpose sufficiently well, are erected, at little cost, with rough planks, poles, and mats. The humbler members of the audience stand in the pit, without any protection from the weather. The performances frequently last for three days, with intervals only for eating and sleeping. This does not mean that the plays are long. In the acting editions they are usually short, but a very large number are produced on such occasions.

As was the case not long ago in France, the profession of an actor is, at least nominally, considered disreputable. Members of it are classed with barbers and domestic servants, and, with their sons and grandsons, they are not allowed to compete in the public literary examinations.

Translations into French of several Chinese plays will be found in the published works of A. Bazin and Stanislas Julien.

LITERATURE.—A. Bazin, *Théâtre chinois*, Paris, 1838, also *Chine moderne*, do. 1839; J. F. Davis, *China*, London, 1852; S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, new ed., New York, 1883; H. A. Giles, *Hist. of Chinese Literature*, London, 1901; J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*⁴, London, 1904.

T. L. BULLOCK.

DRAMA (Greek).—I. Origin of the drama.—From the time of its origin down to the days of its latest representatives, Greek drama was closely associated with religion. A Greek tragedy or comedy was a religious service rendered by the State to one of its gods. Plays were performed only at the festivals of Dionysus—at the *Lenææ*, the festival of the wine-press in January; at the country *Dionysia* held in the villages in December; and at the city *Dionysia* in March (this the most important and brilliant). There was no long season, and plays were given all day long during the festivals, the spectators paying no admission fee except what the State provided, and often bringing their own lunch and cushions. Not until the 3rd cent. B.C. did the drama, as was natural, become a secularized performance arranged by the head of a troupe and often financed by private liberality.

The development is paralleled in mediæval times by the Mystery and Miracle plays, which at first were attached to the Church but in time became dissociated from religion and formed a true dramatic literature, the actors, like Thespis, wandering about and performing their plays wherever convenient, whether in church or inn-yard. In modern times we have the Passion Play at Oberammergau, which is beginning to be more than a merely religious performance, although the Bavarian peasants have refused an enticing offer to play in America. Just as the old Greek play always began with a sacrifice to Dionysus at the altar or *thymele*, so to-day at Oberammergau every performance is preceded by Mass, in which all the actors and members of the Greek-like chorus participate.

That the spirit of the Greek drama was strictly religious is evident from its early history. In a larger, more philosophical sense, it is the outgrowth of the mimetic or play instinct in humanity, and the sense of the pathetic. The mimetic element is well illustrated in the dances and burlesques on Greek vases from the 7th to the 4th cent. B.C., especially on Corinthian, Cæretan, Boëtian, and Attic vases. The sense of the pathetic Croiset (iii. 24 f.) finds in the legends of heroes and the religion of Dionysus. As Plato (*Rep.* 394, 595, 598 f.) and Aristotle (*Poet.* ch. 4 f.) say, Homer is the real author of tragedy, which is a novel all dialogue, or an epic all speeches, wherein the poet omits his own narrative comment and leaves in the amebian speeches. Æschylus (cf. Athenæus, 347 E) said

that his tragedies were but crumbs from Homer's table. But historically the drama, though latent in the epic and drawing upon it for subject-matter and retaining much of the epic technique, especially in the messenger's speeches, developed out of the lyric—not the personal passionate lyric of Archilochus, Sappho, and Alcaeus, but the choral lyric of a disciplined chorus chanting in unison to the measure of the dance. This choral lyric of Alcman and Stesichorus, which later reached its zenith in Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar, and the choruses of the Greek drama, flourished chiefly among the Dorians of early Sparta, Sicily, and Magna Graecia. There were many forms, such as hymns to the gods, marching songs, dancing songs for boys and girls.

We have preserved to us, on a papyrus discovered by Mariette in Egypt, a penthemimeron, or highly dramatic virginal song, by Alcman, which consisted of 140 verses in ten strophes, of which the first two and part of the third are missing. This song gives a pretty picture of a dance of Spartan maidens in honour of Artemis, by the banks of the Eurotas, such as we see on a beautiful Attic red-figured crater in the Museo di Villa Papa Giulio at Rome (cf. Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1904, pls. 17-18). The chorus addresses the poet, and the poet speaks to the whole body of dancers or to an individual.

This kind of choral lyric combined with its praise the epic recital of a local or national or religious legend.

The specific and immediate origin of the Greek drama, however, is in one form of this choral lyric—the dithyramb or hymn, usually to Dionysus, though not confined to his ritual. The word 'dithyramb' first occurs in Archilochus (fl. c. 670 B.C.), who was the first to use to any great extent the iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter, the two chief metres in Greek tragedy. We do not know its derivation. Many etymologies might be given, each more absurd than another. Originally it may have been an epithet of Dionysus, the name not of the hymn but of the god to whom the hymn is sung, commemorating possibly his double birth from Semele and from the loins of Zeus—the scene on Greek vases which perhaps was the prototype of the Christian representations of Eve springing out of Adam's side (cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 519 f.). More probably 'dithyramb' is connected with *thriambos*, meaning 'mad song.' It appears from Archilochus that the dithyramb was either a banquet song or more probably a popular rude rustic hymn in honour of Dionysus, who introduced from Thrace the wild orgiastic ceremonies so foreign to Greek soberness. Out of these rustic dithyrambs—not always licentious, but often solemn hymns—after they had received a systematic form under the Dorian choral lyric, tragedy grew (cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* iv.). The dithyramb, pathetic as well as comic, flourished throughout Greece long before Arion of Lesbos (600 B.C.) gave it a distinct artistic and recognized form, fixing the number of the chorus at fifty and dressing them in the likeness of satyrs, half-animal, half-human, with the legs, ears, and snub-nose of a goat; although, according to Herodotus (i. 23), who tells the famous dolphin story about him, Arion was the best lyricist of his time and the first to compose, name, and teach the dithyramb at Corinth. His chorus had fifty satyrs or goat-men, the same number as we find in the earliest play of Aeschylus, the *Suppliants*, noted for its depth of religious feeling. The chorus of satyrs or goat-men (singers clad in goat-skins) danced and sang about a circular orchestra, and so were called a cyclic chorus (from *kúklos*, the orchestra) or tragic chorus (from *τράγος*, a goat or satyr; cf. Aesch. fr. 207). Of course, this chorus of satyrs was replaced in later times by a chorus appropriate to the plot, except in the Satyr-drama, which retained the satyr chorus; but tragedy originally meant a goat-song rather than a spelt-song,

as Miss Harrison (*loc. cit. infra*) argues. This is also more likely than that the goat was the prize, as might be argued from a vase in the British Museum, which, however, is not Attic. It is more likely than that the goat was the sacrifice, because other prizes were given, and the bull was equally associated with Dionysus. Dionysus was a bull-god as well as a goat-god, and often appears in Greek art with bull's horns. He had no monopoly of the goat-skin, which was the primitive costume in ancient times, and is worn by peasants in Greece to-day and at modern Dionysiac plays in Thrace (cf. *JHS*, 1906, p. 191 ff.) and at the performances of rude dramas in Thessaly and elsewhere. It is difficult, then, to agree with Farnell that the origin of Greek tragedy is an ancient European mummery which was a winter-drama of the seasons, in which the Black Personage, Dionysus *Μελαγάρης* or *Μελαρβός*, killed Xanthus, the Fair One, the actors wearing the black goat-skin of their god. The word 'tragic' did not mean at first dramatic or pathetic, and Aristotle (*loc. cit.*) says that the grotesque diction of earlier times was not discarded till late for the statelier manner of tragedy. But tragic soon became associated with the pathetic, because the habitual theme of the dithyramb was the adventures and sorrows of Dionysus, the new religion which had to struggle to win its way. The limitation to Dionysus was not essential, as the story in Herod. v. 67 shows. About 600 B.C. the people of Sikyon honoured their local hero Adrastus and celebrated his sufferings in tragic choruses, but Cleisthenes, being hostile to the cult of Adrastus, restored the choros to Dionysus.

Ridgeway makes large use of this to support his theory that the origin of Greek tragedy was in the worship of the dead. There is, to be sure, much of this in our extant dramas, since they naturally deal with death for the most part, and undoubtedly the worship of the dead, the Orphic and Eleusinian Mysteries in which Dionysus or Iacchus was associated with Persephone, the farces and burlesques, as at the later sanctuary of the mystic chthonic Cabiri near Thebes, who became closely connected with Dionysus, and the rude choral songs and mimetic dances contributed much, but they were all swallowed up by the coming of Dionysus, whose cult spread over the whole Greek world and was easily grafted on the native worship. Cf. and cf. art. *DRAMA* (Introductory).

Many elements, therefore, combined to make the Greek drama, but the main one was the worship of Dionysus, the god of wine, vegetation, and moisture. Dionysus, the youngest of the Greek gods, a mystic Phrygian deity, came into Greece over the mountains of Thrace, met with opposition in Thrace and Boeotia, but finally reached Delphi and the villages of Icaria and Eleutherae. From the country he made his way into the town of Athens under Pisistratus, although legend said that, under king Amphictyon, Pegasus of Eleutherae had introduced him into Athens (cf. Paus. i. 2. 4, and schol. to Aristoph. *Acharn.* 243). Dionysus is already known to Homer, by whom he is mentioned twice in the *Iliad* (vi. 132, xiv. 325) and twice in the *Odyssey* (xi. 325, xxiv. 74). The opposition to his worship in Thrace is embodied in the story of his harsh treatment by Lycurgus (*Il.* vi. 132); in Boeotia in the legend of Pentheus, the subject of lost plays by Thespis and Aeschylus, and of the most Dionysiac play of Euripides, the *Bacchae*, written at the court of Archelaus at the very birthplace of Dionysiac performances. The village of Eleutherae claimed to have been founded by Dionysus and to have been his birth-place, whence the archaic wooden image, or *Ekavor*, of the god was brought to Athens by Pegasus to the precinct beside the Dionysiac theatre on the southern slope of the Acropolis, where in the front row is still to be seen the seat of the chief priest, *tepeis* 'Eleuthereis', so named from Eleutherae. At Icaria, where Thespis, the founder of Greek tragedy, was born, there was a story, of which there are many illustrations in art, that Dionysus came and was hospitably received by the farmer Icarus. Dionysus gave

him wine, which the people thought was poison, and they slew Icarus. Erigone, his daughter, hanged herself, and Dionysus sent a plague, which was appeased by instituting the festival of the swing.

The Americans excavated Icaria in 1888 and found many inscriptions illustrating the origin of the Greek drama and many traces of the worship of Dionysus (cf. Dyer, *Gods in Greece*, 1891, pp. 104-117; Frazer, *Pausanias*, li. 461 f.; *Papers of American School at Athens*, v. [1892] 48 f.; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, bk. xlvii.).

The story was a favourite subject in the Greek drama. Phrynichus, Philocles, Cleophon, and others treated the theme, although it was avoided by the three great dramatists. Naxos, where the story of the waking of Ariadne is laid, Crete, Corinth, Athens, and other places are also intimately associated with the beginnings of the Greek drama and Dionysus. Dionysus was the god of life, enthusiasm, and rustic merriment, the liberator of men's lips and hearts, rightly called Dionysus Eleutherius. His orgiastic and religious influence was connected with the resurrection of life and immortality (cf. Wheeler, *Dionysus and Immortality*, 1899). Legends told how the god slept in winter and awoke in summer, or was bound in winter and released in spring. Flogging also filled an important rôle in the rites of Dionysus, as in the Dionysiac rites in Thrace to-day. Even women were flogged in being initiated into the Dionysiac rites (cf. Paus. viii. 23. 1, and the recently discovered Pompeian painting, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1910, 4, pl. xvii.). At Delphi, the centre of Greek religion, where a ceremony described by Plutarch represented his mystical resurrection and the waking of the new-born child after his winter sleep, he was important enough to have his coffin beside the image of Apollo and to share with him the pediment of the temple. So Dionysus was also the god of sorrow and pathos, acquainted with grief. What more natural than that tragedy and comedy should arise in the worship of a deity the thought of whom covered the whole field of human emotion, whether grief or gaiety, 'a complete religion, a complete sacred representation of the whole of life'? Even before the coming of Dionysus there were the crude beginnings of the drama. If we seek the ultimate and final source, perhaps we can find it mainly, but not entirely, in the cult of the dead. The main real historical source was the poetic and literary inspiration of the wine-god, especially as exhibited in the dithyramb. Aristotle rather than anthropology should guide us in this question.

The dithyramb of Arion was, if not dramatic, mimetic, and the chorus by its dancing illustrated the story told in words. The drama proper, however, began to evolve when the choral chant was interrupted by a rude dialogue, perhaps improvised, between the leader and the chorus. The dithyramb was sung at the spring festival of the wine-god, and at any time the coryphaeus may have stepped out and spoken to the chorus as a whole. When that happened, the song became dramatic, and drama was born. Pollux (iv. 123) and the *Etym. Magnum* (s.v. θυμέλη) say that there was a kind of table on which, before Thespis, one mounted and answered the chorus. This rustic use of tables as extemporized platforms is confirmed by illustrations on Greek vases (cf. Cook, *CR* ix. [1895] 370 f.; Ridgeway, p. 44 f.). While tragedy developed out of the dithyramb, the dithyramb continued at Athens and elsewhere. The intermediate forms have been lost, and only a few notices and a list of poets from Arion to Thespis remain to fill the gap. Pindar is said to have composed seventeen tragic dramas in addition to his dithyrambs, but we know almost nothing of their character. A few years ago, however, a new piece of evidence was found in the newly-discovered eighteenth poem of Bacchylides—a short dramatic lyric dialogue,

which some call a dithyramb, between Ægeus and the chorus. Although written about the time of Sophocles, it illustrates the development from the dithyramb to the drama. The evolution of the drama consists, as Croiset says, in the elimination of the satyric element, the transformation of the primitive narrator into an actor, and the constitution of a regular plot. Thespis did this and employed a regular actor. Thus the element of acting was now added to that of impersonation, that is, he himself stepped out and recited to the others, for in early days the poets were also actors. Thespis was born in Icaria, where, as we have seen, the worship of Dionysus flourished and where tragic choruses performed in his honour. Thespis first produced his tragedies at the city *Dionysia* in 534 B.C. He is also said to have invented the mask, which is ritualistic and reflects the origin of tragedy in a Dionysiac festival. The successors of Thespis and immediate predecessors and rivals of Æschylus were especially Pratinas, Chœrilus, Phrynichus.

According to Suidas, Pratinas was the first to compose a satyr-drama. During the performance of one of his plays in competition with Æschylus (499 B.C.), the temporary wooden seats collapsed, leading to the erection of a regular theatre at Athens. His son Aristæas wrote among other satyr-dramas one called *Cyclops*—the title also of the only extant satyr-drama, written by Euripides and translated by Shelley. Chœrilus also distinguished himself in the satyr-drama, and won for himself the title of king among the satyrs. The satyr-drama, illustrated by the satyric masks with semi-bestial features, was originally a gross licentious Dionysiac rite, which with its Sileni and satyrs came down into Greece from Thrace. There dwelt a tribe called Satyræ, among whom was the chief sanctuary of Dionysus, and who were thought to be lax in their morals and given to wild orgiastic rites. Even to-day in Thrace and Greece one may see phallic and Dionysiac dances [the writer has witnessed them in Boeotia and Thessaly], which resemble the scenes on Greek vases which were inspired by, and inspired, the satyr chorus (cf. Furtwängler-Reichhold, pls. 47, 48). So from the Satyræ perhaps arose the name 'satyrs,' the constant companions of Dionysus in art and literature. It was necessary only to change the costumes of the chorus to widen the scope of subjects. This was done, and Greek tragedy got further and further away from Dionysus; and almost the whole of Greek mythology was drawn on for the plots of the Greek plays. Even the chronicle-play, or drama of contemporary events, was invented. The only extant example is the *Persæ*, in which Æschylus avoided the fate of Phrynichus (who was fined a thousand drachmas for his *Sack of Miletus*) by mentioning no contemporary Greek name in the play, and by placing the scene at the remote court of Susa. But the Dionysiac element was kept to a large extent in the coarser satyr-drama, which every tragic poet must present after a trilogy, or set of three dramas. Sometimes, however, a tragedy of a comic character, like the *Alcestis* of Euripides, could be substituted, and later only one satyr-drama instead of three was given at each festival, to remind one of the origin of tragedy in the worship of Dionysus. Then, as we know from inscriptions, it had the least important place, namely, at the beginning of the festival, and not at the end as previously. The satyr-drama, like tragedy, was a regular ritual supported by the State.

2. Tragedy.—The three great Greek tragedians were Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, whose plays are full of religious and ethical ideas (discussed in the articles about them in this Encyclopædia). Æschylus added a second actor, thus introducing true dramatic action, and diminished

the songs of the chorus. Of about seventy dramas by Æschylus we still have seven, among them the only Greek trilogy preserved, the *Oresteia*, the masterpiece of Greek drama, produced in 458 B.C. Æschylus, born at Eleusis in the strong religious atmosphere of the Mysteries, extended the bounds of tragedy to deal with the great moral and religious problems of life and the relation of man to man and to God. He developed the plot, made tragedy a dignified instructor in ethics and religion, and laid down the principles followed by all succeeding Greek tragedians with few changes. One of the great features of Æschylean theology is the predominance of Zeus, to whom even Destiny is coadjutor. This is perhaps best seen in the *Suppliants*, which has been pronounced 'one of the most truly religious poems in ancient literature' (Adam, *Rel. Teachers*, p. 142). Æschylus verges almost on monotheism, or rather pantheism (fr. 70: 'Zeus is æther, Zeus is earth, Zeus is heaven; Zeus in truth is all things and more than all'). Sin is *ὄψος*, or insolence, and must be expiated by suffering; and punishment is for the most part retributory. He protests against the doctrine of the envy of the gods (cf. *Agamemnon*, 749 f.), and emphatically affirms that the world is governed by Justice. As is well expressed in Abbott's *Hellenica* (1880, p. 66), 'the undertone of Divine vengeance running through the dramas of Æschylus seems in Sophocles to pass away into an echo of Divine compassion, and we move from the gloom of sin and sorrow towards the dawning of a brighter day in which strength is made perfect in weakness.'

Sophocles, who added a third actor and raised the number of the chorus from twelve to fifteen and employed scene-painting, in contrast to Æschylus, is the poet of reconciliation and not of strife between right and wrong. He was the most religious of the Greek poets, and piety is the basis of his religion. In Euripides, the gnomic poet of everyday life and realism, there is much polemic against popular religion, much scepticism and cynicism. He robbed tragedy of its idealism, but brought in romance and pathos and melodrama, which made him very popular in his own and later times. Euripides still further diminished the importance of the chorus as an organic part of the drama, made the prologue serve to tell who the persons were, and largely employed the *deus ex machina* to close his dramas, of which we still have nineteen, including the doubtful *Rhesus*. After Euripides, new tragedies continued to be written, down to the 3rd cent. A.D., and old tragedies of the 5th cent. were reproduced along with the new. But there was little growth or innovation except in better stage-machinery and improved scene-painting. Professional actors took the stage in the 4th cent. B.C., and troupes were sent out to the villages by the guilds of the Dionysiac artists. Almost every town after the 4th cent. B.C. had its theatre and its performances. For Delos, Samos, Delphi, and other places we still have several of the choregic inscriptions.

3. Comedy.—As in the case of tragedy, the origin of Greek comedy is connected with the worship of Dionysus, and especially with the Dorians. Comedy arose in the phallic song of Bacchic dancers and revellers, a comus-song (from *κῶμος*, 'a revel,' not *κῶμῳ*, 'a village,' as Aristotle says). One sees such a phallic procession in honour of Dionysus in Aristophanes' *Acharn.* 237 f., and on many Greek vases. The primitive rude impromptu performance was developed by Susarion of Megara, who substituted verses of his own, and introduced into these indecent performances the abuse of individuals. Susarion brought these comic performances from Megara first to Icaria, where, as we have seen, tragedy also was born.

Till Epicharmus, comedy was only a series of unconnected episodes and burlesques; but Epicharmus, the Sicilian father of Greek comedy, introduced unity of subject and plot, though he seems not to have had the comic chorus, which developed out of the comos. He was the first to bring forward the character of the parasite. His comedies were of two kinds—mythological travesties, and comedies with scenes from daily life, which developed into comedies of intrigue. But the comos of Attica was combined with the episode-comedy of Epicharmus and Sicily to form Attic comedy, though, of course, the *agon*, or contest, also played an important part, as Zielinski has shown. But the *agon* theory, according to which comedy arose from *γεφύρισμα*, or the jibing at one another at the bridge passed over by the initiates on their procession to Eleusis (cf. Gildersleeve, in *AJP* x. [1889] 383, xviii. [1897] 243), would make comedy belong to Demeter and Persephone rather than to Dionysus. Whichever theory is right, Attic comedy in its origin certainly was clearly separated from tragedy and the satyr-drama, which were regarded as regular rituals by the State. But comedy grew out of mere buffoonery, and had no claim to religious respect, though it was given unofficially at festivals of Dionysus. The State did not take it up until comedy was developed on the lines of tragedy as a legitimate form of drama. Probably about 487 B.C., as Capps thinks,—and not so late as 467, as Wilamowitz argues,—comedy was officially recognized at the city *Dionysia*. Chionides and Magnes are the first great names, and from their time onwards comedy developed after the pattern of tragedy. Three comedies were given at the *Dionysia* and *Lenæa* by five separate poets. From 425 to 405 B.C. the number was only three. The number of actors who could take part in the discussion at any time was three, as in tragedy (though, as Rees has shown, this does not mean that only three actors were employed to give a tragedy or comedy). The number of the chorus was twenty-four—double the number in tragedy before Sophocles. Comedy, like tragedy, had its prologue, *parodos*, *exodos*, and choruses; but two features, the *agon* and *parabasis*, are peculiar to comedy alone. The *agon* is a debate between two antagonists and the chorus, and often seems to be the essence of the comedy. So, in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes the *agon* is the contention of the Just and Unjust Arguments for the Athenian boy. The *parabasis* is the part where the chorus faces the spectators and addresses them in the name of the poet.

Three periods of comedy are distinguished—the Old (down to, say, 390 B.C.), the Middle (from 390 to, say, 324—the date of Menander's first play), and the New (from 324 onwards). The Old Comedy, of which Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes are the three great poets, ridiculed with gross abuse and obscenity an individual or any subject, whether from mythology, literature, Utopias, daily or public life. Imitations of animal life were common, and there were choruses of snakes, wasps, fishes, or birds, as in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, the prototype of Rostand's *Chanticleer*. Such choruses existed even before Aristophanes, since a vase in the British Museum of the 6th cent. B.C. shows men dressed as birds dancing to the sound of the flute. Great licence was allowed in ridiculing statesmen and politics, but for a while it became necessary to curb the satire and forbid the comedians to satirize individuals by name. The plays of the middle period of Aristophanes are not so pungently political as the earlier ones, and the *Plutus* belongs to Middle Comedy. Aristophanes was the greatest representative of the Old Comedy, and of his fifty-four plays we have eleven preserved entire—the

only extant examples of a complete Greek comedy. The Middle Comedy, best represented by Alexis and Antiphanes, in which political and personal satire hardly appears at all, is a period of transition to the more refined and less personal New Comedy, which developed the comedy of manners with its stock characters and with the every-day interests of eating, drinking, and intrigue. The greatest poets of the New Comedy were Philemon (who in a life of ninety-nine years produced about ninety plays), Menander, Diphilus, Apollodorus, and Posidippus. Recently considerable fragments of four plays of Menander have been recovered in Egypt (cf. Capps, *Four Plays of Menander*, 1910), but we still get our best idea of the Greek New Comedy from the Roman comic poets Terence and Plautus, who took their plots from the Greek, and led the way to the comedy of Molière and modern Europe. See DRAMA (Roman).

4. The structure of the theatre.—It is impossible even to touch on all the subjects connected with the Greek drama in this article, but something should be said about the form of the Greek theatre, which to-day is the most conspicuous ruin throughout Greek lands. The best preserved auditorium is that of the beautiful and harmonious theatre of Epidauros; the best preserved stage-building is that of Priene. All date after the middle of the 4th cent. B.C. The first stone theatre in Athens dates from the time of Lycurgus,—long after the days of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides,—and would seat about 15,000 people. With the semi-circular auditorium rising in tier after tier of seats divided into *kekphides*, or wedges, by aisles, the theatre of Lycurgus probably reproduces the plan of the temporary structure in which Aeschylus acted his own dramas. The performance was always out of doors, and the spectators sat on the slope of the hill, which was made into the form of a semi-circle with the ends extended. Generally even in later times the side of a hill was used for the auditorium of stone, but at Eretria an artificial embankment had to be heaped up. The chorus and actors performed in a circular orchestra at the bottom of a semi-circular auditorium. Here was an altar of Dionysus, at which every performance was begun with sacrifice; and, as the Greek drama was essentially a religious service, not far away there often was a temple, generally of Dionysus, in whose precinct the theatre was. Part of the 6th cent. temple of Dionysus remains even to-day, to the south of the stone theatre of Dionysus in Athens, although the later 4th cent. temple is better preserved. However, we must remember that, while Dionysus was the usual deity associated with the theatre, we sometimes find others. So the stage-building of the theatre at Oropos, which seems to have had wooden seats, with the exception of a few stone ones for the priests and dignitaries, bears an inscription to Amphiaraus. At first there was no scenic background, but, when painted scenery had been introduced, a *skênê* was erected behind the orchestra containing dressing rooms, and was later adorned with a proscenium of half columns, originally wood, but later stone, between which were slabs, or *pinakes*, on which the scenery was painted. These slabs could be removed when the actors came out into the orchestra. Even when there was a stone *skênê* and proscenium, most scholars now agree that the actors performed in the orchestra, where even a whisper could be heard by the topmost row, as the writer can bear witness from experiments at Epidauros. The gods, of course, appeared on top of the proscenium, or *theologion*. Ghosts, like that of Darius in the *Persæ*, would appear by 'Charon's stairs,' which descended in the middle of the orchestra and connected with an underground passage to the *skênê*,

as at Eretria and Sicyon. The actors were distinguished from the chorus by their costume, often padded, and by their wigs and masks. It used to be thought that their height was increased by the *cothurnus* on the feet and the *onchos* on the head. But it is likely that the *cothurnus* was unknown till late times. Doubt has also been thrown on the use of the *ecycloëma*, or machine to roll out the corpse, since no murder could be represented in full view of the spectators. But there seems to be evidence for its use. Men played the part of women. There was no curtain, as in the Roman theatre, so that there was rarely a change of scene; but the three unities of time, place, and action were often violated, and not consciously formulated by the Greeks.

LITERATURE.—Of the different histories of Greek Literature, esp. Croiset, *Hist. de la litt. grecque*, iii. (1891), tr. in abridged form by Heffelflower (1904); Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Literatur* 4, 1905; Fowler, *Hist. of Ancient Gr. Literature*, 1902; Capps, *From Homer to Theocritus*, 1909, pp. 182-300, 414-440 (one of the best accounts of the subject); Wright, *Short Hist. of Gr. Literature*, 1907; Verrall, *Student's Manual of Gr. Tragedy*, 1891; Barnett, *Gr. Drama*, Temple Primer, 1900 (an excellent little book, with a good account of the origin and early history of the drama); Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, 1896, *The Attic Theatre*, 1889 (3rd ed. by Pickard-Cambridge, 1907); Moulton, *Ancient Classical Drama*, 1890; Weil, *Études sur le drame antique*, 1897; Campbell, *Guide to Gr. Tragedy for English Readers*, 1891; Ridgeway, *The Origin of Tragedy*, 1910 (the most recent and important treatment); Farnell, 'The Megala Dionysia and the Origin of Tragedy' (*JHS* xxix. [1909] p. xvii), also *Cults of the Greek States*, v. [1910], s.v. 'Dionysus'; Reisch, 'Zur Vorgesch. der attischen Tragödie' (*Festschrift für Gomperz*, 1902, p. 459 f.). For the religious side, cf. esp. J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, 1908; Campbell, *Religion in Greek Literature*, 1898; Dyer, *Gods in Greece*, 1891; Foucart, *Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique*, 1904; J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Greek Religion* 3, 1908 (esp. pp. 359-458); Pater, *Greek Studies: A Study of Dionysus*, 1895; Wernicke, 'Böckschöre und Satyr-drama' (*Hermes*, xxiii. [1897] 200 f.). For the ruins of theatres and their interpretation, cf. Dörpfeld, *Das griech. Theater*, 1896; Puchstein, *Die griech. Bühne*, 1901. On the dramatic inscriptions, cf. Wilhelm, *Urkunden dram. Aufführungen in Athen*, 1906, and the art. by Capps cited there, esp. the 'Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia' (*Chicago Decennial Publications*). Other important works are the editions of Aristotle's *Poetics* by Butcher (1898) and Bywater (1909); O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, 1908; Rees, *The So-called Rule of Three Actors*, 1908; Smith, 'The Use of the Buskin in Greek Tragedy' (*Harvard Studies*, xvi. [1905]); Hains, 'Gr. Plays in America' (*Classical Journal*, vi. [1910] 24 f.). Other books on the Greek drama are being prepared by Capps, Harris, Harry, Flickinger, and others. DAVID M. ROBINSON.

DRAMA (Indian).—1. The classical Indian drama.—The extant masterpieces of the Indian drama belong to the most flourishing period of classical Sanskrit literature, which may be supposed to begin with the establishment of the Gupta Empire in A.D. 319, and to extend to about the year 800, though the literature of the next three or four centuries, which may be regarded as the silver age, includes a number of dramas of considerable interest and importance; and this species of composition has continued to be cultivated in India even down to the present day. But these later productions are destitute of originality. They are either imitations of the old models, or exercises constructed in accordance with the rules of the rhetoricians and the writers on the dramatic art. Recent discoveries have, however, shown that the antiquity of the classical drama is much greater than is represented by the extant literature. Fragments of Indian palm-leaf MSS found in Central Asia show that a dramatic literature possessing substantially the same chief characteristics (§ 2) was flourishing several centuries earlier in the Kuṣāṇa period (§ 3).

Like all other works of the classical period—such as the romances, the literary epics, and the lyrical poems—the Sanskrit dramas are of an artificial and highly elaborated character. The rules which govern their language, their structure, the choice of their *dramatis personæ*, and their plots are

those which had been already fixed by grammarians and theorists. Dependent as they are for their interest, not so much on originality of plot or a life-like portrayal of character, as on their power to excite emotion, on refinement of language, and on subtlety of expression, they can have appealed only to cultivated audiences. We thus find the drama, at its first appearance in literature, to be a perfected work of art, the form of which, already definitely settled, does not subsequently undergo any important modification.

This drama must have had a history; but such earlier forms as might have enabled us to trace its origin and growth directly were either not committed to writing or have disappeared in the course of time. References in early literature prove, indeed, that a drama of some kind flourished in India at least as early as the 4th cent. B.C. (see § 8); but there is nothing actually extant in Indian literature which stands to the classical drama in the same relation as the early epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*—the oldest portions of which probably go back to c. 500 B.C.—stand to the later epics of the classical period. All that can be now known of the history and development of the Indian drama must be inferred: (1) from the plays themselves, (2) from works dealing with the arts of dramatic composition and dramatic representation, (3) from references in other literature, and (4) from a consideration of the popular theatre which continues still to flourish in India.

2. **Chief features.**—Some of the most important characteristics which are common to all Sanskrit plays are the following:—

(1) *The benediction.*—Every play begins with a solemn prayer in verse, addressed to some deity—usually Śiva or Viṣṇu or some Divine personage connected with them. In the case of one drama, the *Nāgānanda*, Buddha is invoked.¹ This prayer, called the *nāṇḍī*, was pronounced by the manager of the theatre (*sūtradhāra*), who was also usually the principal actor. It formed part originally of an introductory religious ceremony called the *pūrvavāṅga*, and remained prefixed to the drama as a sign of its religious origin.

(2) *The prologue.*—At the conclusion of the *nāṇḍī*, the manager calls to his side one of the actors or actresses; and the dialogue which follows is adroitly used to bespeak the good-will of the audience, to give some account of the piece to be performed, and to lead up to the action of the opening scene by calling attention to the character or characters who now appear on the stage. This introduction (*āmukha* or *prastāvanā*) differs from the prologue in the Latin, French, or English comedy, in so far that it is not definitely separated from the play itself, and is intended to set the plot in motion.

(3) *The acts.*—The play thus begun divides itself naturally into acts (*akṣa*), each forming, as it were, a chapter in the story. The hero appears in each act; and an act comes to an end when all the characters have gone off the stage. The unity of time is preserved only within each act and not throughout the whole play; and even within the act the rule is liberally interpreted by a proviso that the events described must not be supposed to have lasted more than twenty-four hours. The time supposed to elapse between one act and another is, in theory, limited to a year; but in practice a longer interval is sometimes permitted.² The audience is made acquainted with events which have taken place between acts by means of interludes (*viṣkambhaka* or *praveśaka*), which take the

form of monologues or duologues. The unity of place is not observed. Journeys from one spot to another, or from the earth to the sky, for instance, may be represented dramatically within the act.

(4) *Expression of emotions.*—The object of the dramatic art is to produce emotion in the mind of the spectator; and to this end everything else is subordinated. In the course of a play all the emotions (*rasa*), enumerated as eight,³ may be excited; but those of love and heroism should preponderate. Death and fighting must not be represented on the stage; and every play must have a happy ending. Tragedy, therefore, in the ordinary sense of the word, finds no place in the classical Hindu theatre. These characteristic aims and limitations produce in Sanskrit plays a sentimental and conventional atmosphere which distinguishes them in a very marked manner from the tragedies and comedies of ancient Greece and Rome.

(5) *Verse and prose mixed.*—A no less striking contrast is presented by their form. Sanskrit plays are written partly in verse and partly in prose. The verse portions consist of short lyrical poems descriptive of the beauties of Nature, the charms of women, feelings of love, joy, despair, etc., and these are connected by a prose dialogue. The action of the plot is carried on almost entirely in prose, while the personal feelings of the characters inspired by their surroundings are expressed in the most formal verse. These lyrics, couched in a great variety of metres, and adorned with all the devices of rhetoric, are highly polished specimens of the poetic art such as could have been appreciated, or even understood, only by a cultured audience. It seems probable that, in the earlier stages of the drama, the verses only were fixed, while the connecting dialogue was left to improvisation, as in the popular plays at the present day.

(6) *Sanskrit and Prakrit.*—The *dramatis personae* speak either the literary language (Sanskrit) or one or other of the popular dialects (Prakrit). The distribution of languages among the various characters may be given as follows from the *Dasa-Rūpa* ii. 97-99 (ed. and tr. Haas, p. 75):

'Sanskrit is to be spoken by men that are not of low rank, by devotees, and in some cases by female ascetics, by the chief queen,⁴ by daughters of ministers, and by courtesans. Prakrit is generally (to be the language) of women, and Sauraseni in the case of male characters of low rank. In like manner Pāṣāṇas, very low persons, and the like are to speak Pāṣāṇī and Māgadhī. Of whatever region an inferior character may be, of that region is his language to be. For a special purpose the language of the highest and subsequent characters may be changed.'

This diversity of tongues would seem to indicate that the drama assumed its final form at a period when the educated classes were in the habit of using Sanskrit as an ordinary means of communication, while the uneducated classes still continued to employ their own dialects. But, though the classical drama may thus show conventionalized a state of things which must at one time have had its basis in actual fact, its Prakrits are no longer the genuine language of the people. They, too, have become conventional; that is to say, they are merely Sanskrit changed into the various Prakrits in accordance with what were supposed to be the phonetic peculiarities of each, in much the same way as the Scotch and Irish characters on the English stage are often made to speak a jargon which is nothing more than perverted English—the work of a dramatist who has no knowledge of the living dialects. These dramatic Prakrits are, further, assigned to different classes of characters, and applied to different uses in the plays, in a manner which is also purely conventional. The Prakrits thus represented most commonly are three in number—Sauraseni, Māhā-

¹ See § 3; cf. also the fragments of plays discovered in Central Asia (ib.). These are definitely Buddhist in character.

² See Jackson, 'Time Analysis of Sanskrit Plays,' in *JAOS* xx. (1899) 341-359, xxi. (1900) 88-108.

³ For an elaborate study of the *rasas*, see Regnaud *Rhetorique sanskritte*, Paris, 1884, pp. 267-364.

⁴ In the extant plays the queen regularly speaks Prakrit.

rāṣṭri and Māgadhī; but a number of others are found occasionally. Śaurasenī, the dialect of the region of the Mathurā (Muttar), is used in prose by the queen and her attendants and by the higher subordinates generally. In verse the same characters use Māhārāṣṭri, the language of the Mahāratta country. The lower subordinate characters speak either Māgadhī, the dialect of Māgadhā (Bihar), the country around Pāṭaliputra (Pāṭna), or some peculiar *patois* of their own. A fourth Prakrit, Pāśācī, spoken in certain districts of N.W. India, is said by the grammarians to have been used in the drama, but is known at present only from their quotations, and has not been found in any extant play.¹

The predominance in the plays of Śaurasenī, the dialect of the country of Mathurā, the holy land of Kṛṣṇaism, lends some support to the theory, which is not improbable otherwise, that the drama had its origin in religious performances celebrating the life and exploits of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa.

(7) *The characters, etc.*—The characters in a play may be either semi-Divine or human; and, as according to Hindu ideas there is no very definite line of demarcation to be drawn between these two classes, they are often brought into association, as, for instance, when a king falls in love with an *apsaras*, one of Indra's nymphs.

The plot may be taken from legend or from history, or it may be founded on contemporary life and manners. In any case, the main interest almost invariably centres in a love-story. For a rare exception, see § 3, vi. 'Mudrārākṣasa.'

The scenes are predominately, though by no means exclusively, those of court life; and the persons most frequently represented are kings and queens and their *entourage*. There can be no doubt that the classical drama was developed mainly under the influence of royal patronage, and that the dramatists were usually also court poets. The dependants of the court, too, supplied certain types which are especially characteristic of the Indian stage. The most noteworthy of these are the *vidūṣaka* (who appears in nearly all the plays except those of Bhavabhūti), the *viṭa*, and the *śakāra* (who are known chiefly from the *Mṛcchhakatikā* [see § 3] and the text-books).

The *vidūṣaka*, who has often been compared with Shakespeare's clown, is the king's confidant and go-between. His gluttony, his stupidity, and his foibles make him the comic character of the piece. Although a Brahman, he speaks Prakrit, like the uneducated characters. This fact probably denotes that the type has been borrowed by the literary drama from the popular stage.²

The *viṭa*, another associate of the king, is a person of wit and refinement, who combines the graces and the subserviency of the courtier.

The *śakāra* is the brother of one of the inferior wives of the king, and is represented as an insolent, overbearing upstart. The name, according to the grammarians, denotes a person of Śaka descent (Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, ad Pāṇini, IV. i. 130). As Sylvain Lévi (*Le Théâtre indien*, p. 361 f.) has pointed out, this etymology is historically important, as showing that the character in question first found a place in the Indian drama at a period

when Śaka princes were ruling in India, and matrimonial alliances between royal houses of Hindu and Śaka nationality were possible. The peculiar language spoken by this character is also said to be that of the Śakas (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 81, 85).

Historically interesting also on account of their name are the *yavanis*, who attend the king as armour-bearers. These must have been originally Yavana ('Greek') women, although, like the French word *suisse*, the term may at a later date have been used to denote any attendant of a particular kind.¹

(8) *Buildings and stage-properties.*—From the prologues to the dramas we learn that they were usually performed on the occasion of a festival—most frequently the Spring Festival (see § 10). The simple arrangements of the Indian stage required no building fitted with special contrivances like our own theatres or the Greek *thēatron*. The plays were, as a rule, given in the hall of a royal palace which was used for exhibitions of singing and dancing (*samgita-sālā*).

No doubt the hall was sometimes specially intended for dramatic representations, and was, therefore, called *prekṣa-grha*, 'play-house.' Such buildings are described in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (see § 4). Inscriptions in a cave at Rāmāgadh seem to indicate that it was intended to be used as a theatre (see Bloch, *ZDMG* lviii. [1904] 466; *Ann. Rep. of the Archaeol. Survey of India*, ii.).

The stage was open to the audience in front, while the background was formed by a curtain divided in the centre. The tiring-room (*nepathya*) was immediately behind the curtain. When characters came on the stage in a dignified manner, the two halves of the curtain were drawn aside by attendants; but, when haste was to be indicated, the actor entered 'with a toss of the curtain' (*apāti-kṣepṇa*).

One of the names for this curtain, *yavanikā*, was supposed by Weber (*ZDMG* xiv. [1860] 269, *Ind. Stud.*, Leipzig, 1863, xiii. 492) to mean 'the Greek cloth,' and the etymology was used by him to support his theory of Greek influence in the Indian drama. The word, however, more probably denotes some fabric made by the Yavanas. If so, it is, like *śakāra* and *yavani*, interesting as evidence of the period in which the drama assumed its form.

Stage-properties of the most obvious description only, such as thrones and chariots, were used; and there was no scenery in the ordinary sense of the word. Its lack was supplied by lyrics describing the imaginary surroundings, supplemented by mimetic action, and by an elaborate system of gesture to which a conventional significance well understood by the audience was attached, somewhat in the style of the modern ballet.

3. The most important plays.—

The earliest specimen of the Sanskrit drama was formerly supposed to be the *Mṛcchhakatikā*, which was referred to the 4th cent.; but, since the appearance of Sylvain Lévi's *Le Théâtre indien*, it is now generally believed to belong to a later period (see below, iii. 'Sūdraka'). The earliest complete plays which have been published would seem to be those of Kālidāsa, who probably lived in the reign of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II. Vikramāditya (A.D. 401-415). But, in the prologue to what is usually regarded as Kālidāsa's earliest drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, he records the names of some 'far-famed' predecessors—Bhāsa, Rāmilla, Saumilla, and Kavi-putra. Until recently only fragments of plays by these dramatists were known; but, in May 1910, Pandit T. Ganapati Śāstri discovered, in an old library in Travancore, MSS of ten dramas of Bhāsa, including the *Śvapna-vāsavadattā*, of which Bhāsa was previously known to be the author, and the *Daridra-chārudattā*, from which the plot of the *Mṛcchhakatikā* was borrowed. Editions of these plays may be expected to appear shortly in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (see Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.* xvi. [1910] 383).

Fragments of Indian (Buddhist) dramas of a much earlier date have been discovered in Central Asia. These belong to the early Kusana period, when Central Asia formed part of the Indian Empire; and one of them is actually the work of Aśvaghoṣa, the court poet of Kaniska. The chronology of the Kusana period is at present in an unsettled state; and the age of these fragments will be variously estimated according to the different views which scholars hold as to the epoch of Kaniska.

¹ For the period to which these foreign invaders belong, see § 10.

¹ For a fuller account of the Prakrits, see R. Pischel, *Gram. der Prakrit-Sprachen* (GIAP i. 8, Strassburg, 1900); on the Pāśācī, see also Konow, 'The Home of Pāśācī,' in *ZDMG* lxiv. [1910] 95-118.

² Pischel (*Home of the Puppet-play*, Eng. tr., London, 1902) supposes the *vidūṣaka* to be the original of the buffoon who appears in various forms in the popular theatres of medieval Europe. It is perhaps more probable that some such character is inevitable wherever a popular drama is developed. A nearer parallel to the *vidūṣaka* would seem to be supplied by the friar, who was often represented as a comic character. On the *vidūṣaka*, see especially Huizinga, *De vidūṣaka in het indisch Tooneel* (Groningen, 1897). Cf. also Schmidt, *Beiträge zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 200-208.

That is to say, while some will suppose them to belong to the 1st cent. B.C., others will assign them to the 1st or to the early part of the 2nd cent. A.D. These dramas are of the conventional form (see § 2), and do not differ essentially in language or style from the well-known examples of the classical period. Their evidence is extremely important, as showing that the structure of the drama was already settled at a period which may be from three to four and a half centuries anterior to Kālidāsa (see § 10 (4)). See *Königlich Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen: Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte*, Heft 1, 'Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen herausgegeben von Heinrich Lüders', Berlin, 1911; *Das Śāriputra-prakarapa, ein Drama des Aba-gghosa*, by Heinrich Lüders, Berlin, 1911 (Sitzungsber. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, p. 388).

The number of extant plays recorded in Schuyler's *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama* exceeds five hundred, but a great number of these are late and purely imitative productions of little interest or literary value. The following list contains the titles, with short descriptions, of the most important:

I. KĀLIDĀSA.—(1) *Mālavikāgnimitra*: the story of King Agnimitra and the Princess Mālavikā (repeatedly translated, e.g. Tawney², Calcutta, 1891). The play is singular in the sense that some of the characters are known to history. Agnimitra was the second member of the Śunga dynasty, which succeeded the Mauryas in the kingdom of Vidisha (E. Malwa), c. 178 B.C. Incidents referred to in the play, such as the war with Vidarbha and the defeat of the Yavanas, are also perhaps historical. (2) *Sakuntalā* (the most popular of Skr. plays; first tr. Jones, Calcutta, 1789): the story of King Dussyanta and the nymph Sakuntalā, taken from bk. i. of the *Mahābhārata*. (3) *Vikramorvāṣī* (repeatedly translated, e.g. by Wilson): the story of King Purūravas and the Nymph Urvaśi, which goes back to Vedic times. A dialogue between these two personages is found in the *Rigveda* (x. 95).

II. HARṢA (reigned A.D. 606–c. 648).—(1 and 2) *Ratnāvalī* (Eng. tr. by Wilson) and *Priyadarśikā* (tr. Strehly, Paris, 1888; Eng. tr. in preparation by A. V. W. Jackson), named after their heroines. The plots are taken from the cycle of stories about the adventures of King Udayana of Vatsa. (3) *Nāgānanda*: founded on the Buddhist story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana (Eng. tr. by Boyd, London, 1872). In the opening benediction Buddha is invoked.¹

III. ŚŪDRĀKA. *Mr̥cchhakaṭikā*, 'The Clack Cart': a comedy of middle-class contemporary life. The plot gathers around the love of the rich courtesan Vasantasenā for the poor but well-born Chārudatta (Eng. tr. by Wilson, and especially Ryder, Cambridge, Mass., 1905). This, the most human and amusing of Sanskrit plays, is now known to be an adaptation of Bhāsa's *Daridra-chārudatta*, 'Poor Chārudatta'.²

IV. BHAVABHŪTI (flourished at the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, c. A.D. 690).—(1 and 2) *Mahāvīra-charita* (tr. Pickford, London, 1871) and *Uttararām-charita* (several translations, e.g. by Wilson): founded on the story of Rāma. (3) *Mālatī-mādhava*: a comedy of contemporary life named after the two chief characters Mālatī and Mādhava (Eng. tr. by Wilson).

V. BHĀṬYA NĀRĀYAṆA (before the second half of the 9th cent.).—*Veṇiśāhpāra* (Eng. tr. by Tagore, Calcutta, 1880): the plot is taken from the *Mahābhārata*.

VI. VIŚĀKHADATTA or VIŚĀKHADĒVA (about the same date as the last).—*Mudrārākṣasa*: a political drama with no principal female characters and no love interest (Eng. tr. by Wilson). The plot is historical. It turns on the fall of the Nandas and the coming to power (c. 315 B.C.) of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, the *Σανδρόκοττος* of Alexander the Great's historians.

VII. RĀJĀŚEKHARA (lived at the court of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, c. A.D. 900).—(1) *Viddhaśālābhajikā*, 'The Pierced Statue' (Eng. tr. by Gray, JAOIS xxvii. [1906] 1–71); (2) *Karpūramajirī*, 'The Camphor Cluster' (ed. and tr. Konow and Lanman, Cambridge, Mass., 1901); (3 and 4) *Bāla-rāmāyana* and *Bāla-bhārata*. The first of these is, in some respects, an imitation of the *Ratnāvalī*; the second is noteworthy as being the only extant example of a play written altogether in Prakrit; the third and fourth are founded respectively on the stories of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*.

VIII. KṚṢṆAMIŚRA (11th cent.).—*Prabodha-chandrodaya*, 'The Rising of the Moon of Wisdom': an allegorical play in which the characters are abstract ideas, virtues, or vices.³ Its object

is to glorify the Vedānta philosophy and to inculcate the worship of Viṣṇu (Eng. tr. by Taylor², Bombay, 1893).

For dramas inscribed on stone, see Kielhorn, 'Bruchstücke ind. Schauspiele in Inschriften zu Ajmere' (GGN, 1901); and Hultzsch, *Epigr. Ind.* viii. [1906–6] 96.

4. Works on the theatre.—Of the Sanskrit treatises which deal with dramatic composition and theatrical representation the following are the most important:—

The *Nāṭya-śāstra* is an encyclopædia dealing with the theatre and all the arts associated therewith. It is regarded as the highest authority, and is supposed to be of Divine authorship. It is said to have been revealed as a fifth Veda by the god Brahmā to the sage Bharata, who is often mentioned in the plays as the stage-manager of the gods. It is at least as old as the earliest extant dramas, and may be much older. The list of foreign invaders of India mentioned in it—Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, Bāhlikas—seems to indicate the same period as the dramas themselves (see Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, Appendix, p. 3).

The *Dasa-Rūpa* (ed. and tr. Haas, New York, 1911) of Dhananjaya, who lived in the reign of Muñja or Vākpatirāja, king of Malwa (last quarter of the 10th cent.), deals only with the dramatic art, which it analyzes under four headings: (1) the plot, (2) the hero and the other characters, (3) the prologue and the various species of dramatic composition, (4) the poetry and the sentiments to be expressed.

The *Sāhityadarpana* (ed. and tr. Ballantyne and Mitra, Calcutta, 1875) of Viśvanātha, of uncertain date, treats not only of the drama but also of the whole art of poetry.

These works show a subtle power of analysis which is characteristically Indian; but the analysis is rather of the form than of the spirit, and is as alien as possible from what has, since the days of Aristotle, been regarded as dramatic criticism in the West. Thus, the principles in accordance with which dramas are classified are founded on what we should consider accidents rather than essentials; for example, the rank of the hero, the number of the acts, the kind of language (whether partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit, or altogether in Prakrit, etc.). According to such principles, all dramas are divided into two main classes—a higher (*rūpaka*), of which there are 10 varieties; and a lower (*uparūpaka*), of which there are 18 varieties. Of the *rūpaka*, the first variety is the *nāṭaka*, which must consist of not fewer than 5 and not more than 10 acts, and in which the hero must be a god or a prince, e.g. *Sakuntalā*. The next variety is the *prakaraṇa*, a love-story of real life, in which hero and heroine must be of good family, e.g. *Mr̥cchhakaṭikā*. Of the *uparūpaka* the chief variety is the *nāṭika*, which has the same type of hero as the *nāṭaka*, but is confined to 4 acts, e.g. *Ratnāvalī*. Another variety, the fourth in the enumeration, is the *saṭṭaka*, which (according to the *Sāhityadarpana*) is like the *nāṭika*, except that it is written entirely in Prakrit, e.g. *Karpūramajirī*.

[In addition to the *rūpaka*s and *uparūpaka*s just noted, the following types described by the Indian dramaturgists are also accessible, though the majority of them are still untranslated.

1. RŪPAKAS.—(i) The *Bhāga*, or monologue, descriptive of the passing throng or of a rasal's exploits (e.g. *Vasantatilaka* of Varadacharya, ed. Vidyāśāgara, Calcutta, 1872; Eng. tr. in course of preparation by L. H. Gray). (ii) *Prasana*, or farce (e.g. *Jyotiśvara's Dhūrtasamāgama*, tr. Marazzi, *Teatro scelto indiano*, Milan, 1871–74, li. 189–231). (iii) *Dina*, or presentation of terrible events, the effect of the combats, etc., often being enhanced by sorcery, colicopes, and the like (e.g. *Rāma's Man-mathonmathana*, ed. R. Schmidt, ZDMG lxiii. [1909] 406–437, 629–664). (iv) *Vyayoga*, or military spectacle, on which the sentiment of love is excluded (e.g. *Kāncanacharya's Dhananjayavijaya*, ed. Śivadatta and Parab, Bombay, 1896).

2. UPARŪPAKAS.—(i) The *Trotaka*, merely a variety of the *nāṭaka* (e.g. the *Vikramorvāṣī* [§ 3, i.]). (ii) *Srīgadita*, in which the name of the goddess Śrī ('Fortune') is frequently mentioned, or the divinity is imitated by the heroine (e.g. *Mā-*

¹ Although these three plays bear the name of King Harṣa-vardhana Śilāditya of Thanesar, and each contains a verse asserting the royal authorship, it is probable that they were the work of a court poet, perhaps Bāna, to whom also a play entitled *Pārvaṭi-parīkṣā*, 'Pārvaṭi's Wedding' (tr. Glaser, Trieste programme, 1886), is attributed (on this whole problem, see Eisinghausen, *Harṣa Vardhana, empereur et poète*, Paris, 1906).

² King Śūdraka, to whom this comedy is attributed, is the central figure of a group of legends, from which no exact information as to his date or locality can be obtained. As in other similar cases, it is probable that the actual author was some court poet. The *Mr̥cchhakaṭikā* may perhaps belong to the 6th or 7th century.

³ Allegorical characters are also found in one of the Buddhist plays of which fragments have been discovered in Central Asia.

dharma Bhatta's *Subhadrāharana*, ed. Durgaprasāda and Parab, Bombay, 1888). (iii.) *Bhāṣikā*, a comic piece in one act (e.g. Kūpa Govardana's *Danaketikaumudī*, ed. Jiva Govāmi, Muralidābād, 1881).

To these should be added, though unmentioned by the native dramaturgists, the very interesting *Chāyānāṭaka*, or 'shadow play' (e.g. Subhata's *Dūtāngada*, tr. Gray, *JAOS* xxxi. [1911]; see below, § 6).—L. H. GRAY.]

In the same spirit the theorists delight in arranging into divisions and sub-divisions—according to rank, character, and circumstances—all the conceivable types of hero and heroine, and all the possible varieties of plot. Artificial and meticulous as is the theory of drama thus presented, it is substantially observed in all the plays extant, and it acquires a more binding power as time goes on, so that the later productions are no longer works of art, but exercises written to illustrate rules.

5. Prakrit nomenclature a sign of popular origin.—The whole nomenclature of the drama, however, as employed and expounded by the theorists, supplies indisputable evidence of its popular origin. The terms denoting acting and actors, the different kinds of plays, theatrical appliances, etc., are pre-dominantly Prakrit and not Sanskrit, as they must have been if the drama had been literary from the first. The very root *nat*, 'to act,' is the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *ṛt*, 'to dance,' in the Indian sense, that is, 'to express by mimetic action.' It occurs in Pāṇini's grammar (iv. iii. 110, 129; 4th cent. B.C.), and both Pāṇini himself and, still more explicitly, his commentator Patañjali (2nd cent. B.C.) show that, at their respective dates, the educated classes spoke Sanskrit, while the common people still continued to use their native dialects. The drama, then, had its origin among the common people; and, at the later period when it assumed a literary form, its nomenclature was so firmly established as not to suffer change through the influence of its new surroundings.

6. Influence of the puppet-play.—Further evidence of a popular origin has been seen in the titles *sūtradhāra* and *sthāpaka* applied to the manager and to his principal assistant. The word *sūtradhāra* means literally 'the holder of the strings,' and *sthāpaka* 'the placer.' These terms are supposed to have been borrowed from the puppet-play, which was undoubtedly a very ancient form of dramatic representation in India, and is alluded to by Nilakantha in his commentary on *Mahābhārata*, XII. cxcv. 5 (Shankar Pandit, in notes to *Vikramorvaśī*, p. 4, Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1879; Pischel, *Home of the Puppet-play*, and 'Das altind. Schattenspiel,' *SBW* xxiii. [1906] 482-502; Gray, introduction to his tr. of the *Dūtāngada*, in *JAOS* xxxii. [1912]).

The *sthāpaka*, who is well-known from the text-books, has almost vanished from the stage. He probably, however, appears in the *Karpūramahārī*, although the MSS are not in agreement on this point (see Konow and Lannan, *Karpūramahārī*, p. 196, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. iv. [1901]).

7. Popular plays (yātrās).—The classical drama is, therefore, a popular product which has received a literary development. This development took place, as is, indeed, true of classical Sanskrit literature generally, under royal patronage. The plays, as we learn from the prologues, were most frequently performed at palaces on the occasion of the Spring Festival; the characters represented are most commonly kings and queens and the *personnel* of the court; the dramatists are usually court poets; and the authorship of a number of plays is attributed to the kings themselves.

The popular drama, however, did not cease to exist because it assumed a more polished form at courts. While the works of a Kālidāsa or a Bhavabhūti were being performed before a courtly audience in the hall of the palace, the popular

plays were appealing to humbler folk in the open air. They still survive in India under the name of *yātrās*, a name which declares their religious origin; for *yātrā* means a festival in honour of some deity. The plots, too, of these popular plays are still religious in character. They are still taken from the legends of the gods and heroes of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*. The striking similarity between the *yātrās* and the 'mysteries' of mediæval Europe has been pointed out by Nisikānta Chattopādhyāya (*The Yātrās, or the Popular Dramas of Bengal*, London, 1882, p. 3; *Ind. Essays*, Zürich, 1883, p. 3), and there can be no doubt that the theatre in India, as in Europe, had its origin in religion.

8. References to drama in early literature.—The earliest certain mention of a dramatic literature appears to occur in Pāṇini's grammar (c. 350 B.C.), iv. iii. 110-111, where he gives rules for the formation of the names denoting the followers of two text-books on the drama—those of Sīlālin and Kṛśāśvin. These treatises are lost; it is probable that they and all other works of the same nature were superseded by the *Nāṭya-sāstra* (see § 4). Pāṇini's commentator, Patañjali (c. 140 B.C.), often refers in his *Mahābhāṣya* to actors, and mentions two plays by name—*Kamsavadha*, 'the Slaying of Kamsa,' and *Balibandhana*, 'the Binding of Bali'—with the additional information that in the former the adherents of Kamsa and Vāsudeva respectively reddened and blackened their faces (Weber, *Ind. Studien*, xiii. 487; cf. also Keith, *ZDMG* lxi. [1910] 534-536). As both of the earliest recorded plays celebrated the exploits of the god Viṣṇu, it has been suggested that the drama may have taken its origin from religious performances in his honour. There are also other indications that this view may possibly be correct (see § 2 (6)).

9. Dramatic character of some early literature.—The earliest literature of India, extending back to a period c. 1200 or 1500 B.C., includes certain compositions which are to some extent dramatic in character, and which may well have supplied the germ of a regular drama. In the *Rigveda* there are fifteen hymns written in the form of dialogues, which, if recited with appropriate action and with the parts assigned to separate actors, would make diminutive plays.¹

The ancient epic poems, the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, contain many scenes which might well be acted. The step from the epic to the drama, if such a development had taken place in India, would have been a short one, since the change of speaker in the epic is denoted by a short prose statement, which is little more than a stage direction—'A. spake'—and not by a line of verse incorporated in the poem, as in Homer.

The Brāhmaṇa literature, dating from c. 800 B.C., also contains accounts of performances of a dramatic character which took place in connexion with certain religious ceremonies:

'On solemn occasions, such as that of the sacrifice of a horse, it was the custom in Vedic times to recite old histories and songs; and the performers, the priests of the *Īg*-veda and the *Yajur*-veda spoke turn and turn about' (Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Literatur* *GLAP* iii. 2, Strassburg, 1897, p. 160). On the day of a *Mahāvratā* an Ārya and Śūdra appeared, who disputed about a skin (Hillebrandt, *Roman. Forsch.* v. [1890] 827); and at the ceremony of the purchase of soma a buyer and seller were introduced, who held an animated conversation about the price. The buyer made his offer, the seller raised his price. If the soma-dealer proved refractory, the purchaser was bound to tear the soma from him, and also to take away the gold and the cow which he had given for the soma. If the dealer resisted, the buyer had to beat him with a leather strap or with billets

¹ For these '*samvoda*' hymns, see Oldenberg, *ZDMG* xxxvii. (1888) 64, and xxxix. (1885) 52; Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.* 301; von Schröder, *Mysterium u. Mimus im Rig-veda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 1; Winternitz, *WZKM* xlii. [1909] 102; Hertel, 'Ursprung des ind. Dramas und Epos,' *ib.* xviii. (1904) 59-63, 187-168; Keith, in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 979.

of wood (Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau, 1891-1902, I. 75; Pischel, *Home of the Puppet-play*, p. 12).¹

10. Origin of the drama.—The foregoing paragraphs contain a summary of such evidence as bears on the question of the origin of the drama. From a consideration of the evidence thus summarized, the following four points would seem to be established:

(1) The drama was of popular, not of learned, origin (see § 5). It is, therefore, difficult to suppose any connexion between it and the *saṃvāda* hymns of the R̥gveda (see § 9).

(2) The drama is of lyric, not of epic, origin. The actual plays are essentially lyrical. Their frame-work consists of a number of little poems about the beauties of Nature, or personal feelings, somewhat after the manner of Heine's *Lieder*. The prose dialogue which connects these is of minor importance, and originally was probably left to improvisation (see § 2 (5)). It is probable, then, that the drama arose from songs associated with gestures, i.e. 'dancing,' in the Indian sense. Its form could not be explained if it were supposed to be of epic origin (see § 9).²

(3) Its origin was religious. This is inferred from the existence of the *nāṇḍī* (see § 2 (1)), from the analogy of the *yātrās* (§ 7), and from the titles of the earliest recorded plays (§ 8). The fact that dramas were regularly performed at the Festival of Spring would seem to indicate that the rites from which they derived their origin may have been originally associated with some primitive form of Nature-worship, like those which are found incorporated in Brāhman ritual (§ 9). It is quite possible that, in certain parts of India, the worship of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, with which the drama would appear to be especially connected (§§ 2 (6), 8), may have been at a later date superimposed on some popular festival of the kind.

(4) A drama of some kind certainly existed as early as 350 B.C. (see § 8), and, at some period between this date and the date of the fragments found in Central Asia (see § 3), the form of the classical drama was stereotyped. The peoples of foreign nationality who have left their traces in the drama, and who are mentioned in the dramatic text-books, are those who occur in the other literature—epics, grammatical works, law-books, etc.—and in the inscriptions which fall within this period (Rapson, *B. M. Cat.*, 'Andhra Dynasty,' etc., London, 1908, p. xeviii).

11. The question of Greek influence.—The view, formerly widely accepted, and most fully expounded by Windisch ('Der griech. Einfluss im ind. Drama' [*Verh. d. 5 Internat. Or.-Cong.*, Berlin, 1882, II. ii. 3]), that the Indian drama had been influenced by the Newer Attic Comedy of Menander and Philemon (340-260 B.C.), probably finds few supporters at the present day. The arguments of Windisch are carefully considered one by one by Sylvain Lévi (*op. cit.*), who finds none of them convincing; and, as has been pointed out (§§ 2, 10), there are so many fundamental differences between the Indian and the Greek drama that, *prima facie*, they have all the appearance of being independent developments.

LITERATURE.—The standard work on the Sanskrit drama is Sylvain Lévi, *Le Théâtre indien*, Paris, 1890; the best collection of English translations is still that of H. H. Wilson, *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus* = vols. xi. and xii. of *Works of H. H. Wilson*, London, 1871; the best *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama* is that of Montgomery Schuyler, vol. iii. of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, New York,

¹ To the reference given by Pischel add von Schröder, *Mysterium u. Mimus*, and Keith, *Sāṅkhayana Arāṇyaka*, London, 1908, Appendix on the Mahāvratā, p. 73.

² An extremely polished form of the primitive *yātrā* probably exists in Jayadeva's *Gitagovindā* (12th cent.), made accessible in Sir Edwin Arnold's *Indian Song of Songs* (London, 1876).

1906. A survey of Indian dramaturgic literature, with references to parallel passages, is given by G. C. O. Haas, in his ed. and tr. of the *Dakṣa-Rūpa* in the same series (New York, 1911). Reference may also be made to A. V. Williams Jackson, 'Certain Dramatic Elements in Sanskrit Plays, with Parallels in the English Drama,' in *AJPh* xix. (1898) 241-254, and 'Children on the Stage in the Ancient Hindū Drama,' in *Looker-On* v. (1897) 509-516; and to L. H. Gray, 'The Sanskrit Novel and the Sanskrit Drama,' in *WZKM* xviii. (1904) 48-54.

E. J. RAPSON.

DRAMA (Japanese).—1. Origin.—The Japanese themselves do not hesitate to carry back the drama to mythological times.

The *Kojiki* tells us how the great sun-goddess Amaterasu-ō mikami-no-mikoto, angry with her mischievous and turbulent brother Susa no ō, god of winds and storms, hid herself in a cave and refused to come forth. The gods, distressed by the eclipse of light which ensued, sought to lure her from the cavern, and at last succeeded in doing so by means of a simple play. A young and beautiful deity, Amatsu-uzume-no-mikoto, clad in moss from the mountain of Kayou, garlanded with flowers from the spindle-tree, and bearing in her hand a bunch of bamboo-fronds, was set to dance a hieratic dance at the entrance to the cavern. The dance (it is still exhibited at Ise and Nara, and in Izumo) was found vastly amusing by the crowd of gods assembled at the cave to witness the success or failure of the experiment, and a roar of delighted laughter went up from them. The sulking sun-goddess was filled with woman-like curiosity, peeped out from her hiding-place, and was finally persuaded to return to her proper sphere. Thus the *Amatsumiwado-no-kagura*, or 'play before the celestial gate,' came to be looked upon as the germ from which has sprung the classical drama of old Japan.

The value of the above legend depends on the view taken as to the historic value of the *Kojiki*, a compilation of the 8th cent. A.D., to which few foreigners would assign the same high position that is accorded to it by the Japanese. Under the year A.D. 671, however, the *Nihongi* speaks of a *tamai*, or 'rice-field-dance,' connected with the ingathering of the harvest; and this, by the beginning of the 11th cent., had developed into a more or less formal pantomime under a Chinese name *dengaku*, which signifies the same thing as *tamai*. The *tamai*, however, seems to have been a purely Shintoistic dance, connected with the indigenous Nature-worship: the *dengaku* was more or less buddhized, and was performed by men with shaven crowns who were called *dengaku-bōshi*, or teachers of the law connected with the rice-field-dance, and who belonged (doubtless irregularly) to the Buddhist clergy. We have here a point of contact with the history of Buddhist developments in Japan. During the 9th and 10th cents., when the miseries of the country were very great, and when little, if anything, was done for the amelioration of the people by the selfishly cultured monks whose chief seats were in Nara, Kyoto, Hieizan, and a few other seats of monastic piety, travelling priests belonging to no particular sect of Buddhism itinerated throughout the country, gathering the people round them by simple dances and religious performances, and teaching the elements of popular religion. These men were known as *odori-nembutsu*, 'dancing reciters of prayers.' They were also *dengaku-bōshi*. The most famous of these men was Kāya Shōnin (9th cent.), a prince of the Imperial blood, who travelled all through the country with his mystery plays and dances. It is in these itinerant preachers that we find the true successors of that faith in Amitābha alone, which, developed in the 7th cent. by the Chinese patriarch Zendō, and encouraged by Shōtoku Taishi, disappeared for a while under the ritualistic burdens of the systems in vogue at Nara and Kyoto, to reappear in the simpler Jōdo systems of Hōnen and Shinran.

But the 'rice-field-dances' developed in another direction. By the side of the solemn and sedate *dengaku*, with its religious tone, there arose the *sangaku*, or 'Chinese dance,' full of humour and comedy, and hence changed in popular parlance to *sarugaku*, or 'monkey-dance,' which presently became the most popular of all the forms of

dances, and eventually developed into the 'nō' *par excellence*.

The word *nō* presents certain difficulties. Used as a verb it means 'to be able,' 'to have the power'; as a noun it signifies 'power,' 'faculty,' 'capacity,' 'talent.' It is much used in Buddhist philosophy, though this fact does not throw much light on its employment as a designation for lyrical dramas. Péri (*op. cit. infra*) quotes Motoori (1730-1801) as suggesting that the character is a contraction for *waza*, a term frequently used to denote 'actions,' 'liturgies,' 'dances.' We have *kami-waza*, 'liturgies'; *mai-waza*, 'dances'; *oko-waza*, 'comic spectacles'; and Fujiwara Akihara (1020-1068) even speaks of *sarugaku-no-waza*. There is much to be said for this theory, but it still leaves untouched the problem as to how the pronunciation *waza* came to be changed to *nō*. Can it be that there lurks in *nō* some echo of the Indian word *nāṭa* ('naught')? The *nō* came into vogue in Japan at a time when Japan had close intercourse with China, when China was greatly influenced by India; and there is much in the *naught* that reminds one of the *nō*. Motoori's theory, that *nō=waza*, is strengthened by the fact that the principal actor in a *nō* drama is called *shī-te* (lit. *ποικητής*).

2. The 'nō.'—Apart from the philological difficulty involved in the name, the *nō* is a lyric drama composed mainly of two factors—singing and posturing. Of these, posturing is the more ancient. We have seen that the Japanese assign the origin of the *nō*, as of the temple-dance itself, to that original *kagura* dance which was performed at the cave of the sun-goddess, and which is still perpetuated in the *kagura* dances at shrines and temples. The *tamai* was also mainly a dance, probably not unlike the country dances which still survive in remote country districts, wherever the police can be persuaded to shut their eyes, in connexion with the Feast of *O-bon*. These dances are almost invariably accompanied by some rude instrumental music, and it is almost inevitable that singing should ensue when the bodies of a company of men and women are set in harmonious motion by the sound of some simple instrument. The country dances of all peoples are accompanied with song. The dialogues connecting the various songs and dances came in later, but so subsidiary is the place assigned to what in Europe would be considered the most important portion of the drama, that they are frequently omitted altogether from the *utabon*, or printed copies of the *nō* dramas! The place where the dialogue should come in is indicated by the simple addition at the end of the song of the words *shika-jika*, 'and so forth,' or *serifu ari*, 'there are words spoken' (Péri, *op. cit.* 263).

When the *nō* appeared in its perfected condition during the Nambokuchō and Muromachi periods (1332-1603), it had a libretto, or book of words, many of which have come down to us. Over a thousand *nō* dramas are known to have existed: they were divided into two classes—*uchi*, the inner circle, the plays most commonly represented; and *soto*, the outer ring of less familiar, because less popular, plays. Common parlance speaks of *naigwai* (= *uchi soto*) *ni-hyaku ban*, 'the 200 pieces inner and outer,' but the number extant is a little in excess of that. There are about 250 which are now actually current (for their names see Péri). A new *nō* play occasionally finds its way to the stage even now, but rarely with great success.

The *nō* are classified according to their subjects, as follows: (1) *Kami nō*, or *shinji nō*, dramas which concern the gods or things divine, i.e. mythological pieces or pieces relating to the legends connected with some particular god or temple. These pieces are also termed *waki nō*, though the reason for this term is not quite clear. (2) *Shūgen nō*, or 'dramas of good wishes,' written for the purpose of celebrating heroes, famous men, emperors, etc. Some dramas evidently are capable of being treated as either *kami nō* or *shūgen nō*. This class includes nearly all the so-called *otoko mono*, or *shūra mono*—pieces relating to warriors, whom Buddhism relegated to the path of the

Shura (or *Asuras*) as a punishment for the bloodshed connected with their lives. (3) *Yūrei nō* and *seirai nō*, dramas connected with apparitions, ghosts, spirits—the former class referring to the spirits of warriors or women; the latter, to the manifestations of the spirits of animals, plants, flowers, etc. In these plays (hence called *jo* or *onna mono*) the principal actor, or *shī-te*, is always a woman, the name *katsura mono* being also given to them from the *katsura* head-dress worn by the female character. Many of the plays classified as *kami nō* or *genzai nō* may be put down as *onna-mono* as well. (4) *Genzai nō*. Whilst all the dramas hitherto considered have dealt with problems of another world, the gods great and small, the spirits and souls of the righteous and unrighteous, the fourth class deals with problems, not of the present time, but of the present world. It represents the human side of the lyrical drama, scenes more or less historical, illustrations of manners and customs, etc.

A second classification, dating apparently from the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), gives a fivefold division—*jin*, *dan*, *jo*, *kyō*, *kī*, 'god, man, woman, folly, demon'—the fourth practically corresponding to the *genzai nō* of the classification just given.

3. The 'kyōgen.'—The writers of the *nō* dramas were all either Buddhist monks or persons impregnated with the spirit of Buddhism. The present world is to Buddhism nothing but 'folly,' and it is easy to see how the plays of the *genzai nō* came to be classed as *kyō*, 'folly.' But the present world has a constant tendency to assert itself even in the most monastic of minds, and not only do we find the *kyō*, or *genzai mono*, occupying their own position among the legitimate dramas of the *nō*, but we find evolving out of them a new species of theatrical composition, the *kyōgen*, or satirical farce, which came to form a pendant to the lyrical drama, just as a satiric drama was appended to the conclusion of a Greek trilogy.

Nō and *kyōgen* are acted on the same stage, but never by the same actors. In the *nō* the actors wear masks, in the *kyōgen* they wear none; the dances are the same, but the manner of execution is different. In the *nō* everything is solemn, stately, impressive; in the *kyōgen* there is a sound of laughter, mixed with an undertone of sadness. In the *nō* we have the Buddhist clergy preaching their highest doctrines of life, and setting up an ideal which shall influence society; in the *kyōgen* there is the sense of the ridiculous and the sense of sadness which both alike come from the consciousness of failure to attain to an ideal. If the *nō* gives us the high ideals of life as dreamed of by the recluse priesthood of the period, the *kyōgen* gives us a true picture of the degenerate national life of the Ashikaga (or Muromachi) age. It would be possible to re-construct a picture of the social conditions of the age from the texts of the extant *kyōgen*. Following the analysis given by Florenz, we should see, in the sketches made by these anonymous satirists, a nobility and clergy effeminate and worldly, and meriting the disdain of the fighting classes whose hand was uppermost in the affairs of the distracted empire, a low state of social morality, much poverty and distress, no efficient system of police, and, above all, a general callousness and indifference to suffering which acquiesced in the ridiculing of the blind, the maimed, and the suffering. Read in connexion with works like the *Tsurezure gusa* and the voluminous correspondence of men like Nichiren, Rennyo, and others, now being gradually made accessible to Western readers, the *kyōgen* texts are invaluable for all students of Japanese life and society during the Middle Ages.

4. The 'kabuki.'—The *nō* and *kyōgen* were never popular performances. They were composed for the amusement of certain privileged

classes in the capital and elsewhere; they were patronized by Shōguns and courtiers; and, when the *kyōgen* had lost their sting by reason of the *pax Tokugawica* introduced by Iyeyasu (1603-32), almost every *daimyō* of any importance or wealth kept his own troupe of actors at his little court. But for the common people, the merchant, the farmer, and the artisan, the lyrical dramas were never intended.

About the year 1569 there appeared in Kyoto a woman named Izumo no O Kuni, whose genius produced a remarkable revolution in the dramatic world of her country. O Kuni was the daughter of an Izumo blacksmith, and, being a girl of prepossessing appearance, was early engaged as a *mikō*, or *kagura*-dancer, at a temple in the village of Kitsuki. The temple was destroyed by fire, and O Kuni started on a quest for money to rebuild it. It is probable that she went first to Sado, where gold had recently been discovered, and where money was readily spent. Soon afterwards, in 1569, she made her appearance at Kyoto, where she set up a booth (or *shibai*) in the dry bed of the Kamogawa, and began giving performances which speedily became very popular. She was dressed in the black robe of a priest of the Shinshu sect of Buddhists, and her dancing was of the style known as *yaya-odori*, or *nembutsu-odori*, the pantomimic sacred dance which, as we have seen, Kuya Shōnin and others used in their itinerant preachings through the country. She accompanied her dancing by rude songs on the impermanency of this transient world. Her performances attracted much attention, and her quest for the temple was soon accomplished. In the meantime she had discovered her vocation. To this she was helped by a certain Nagoya Sanza-burō, the son of a *samurai* in Owari, who had been educated by monks at Odawara, and adopted later by Gamo, lord of Aidzu, one of the political supporters of the Taikō Hideyoshi. Nagoya was a handsome and brave man, with a great reputation as a lady-killer. It was said that the fair Yodogimi was one of his conquests, and that Hideyoshi's reputed son, Hideyori, was in reality his. Gamo died in 1595, and Nagoya, now a *rōnin*, or masterless knight, came presently to Kyoto, where he became attached to O Kuni, who was some fifteen years his senior. Under his influence, she changed her methods. She discarded her priest's robe for the dress of a two-sworded *samurai*, sang popular ditties instead of *nembutsu* hymns, and began to act on themes of a purely secular nature. Her popularity increased still more. Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Hideyoshi's son, Hideyasu, invited her to act in their presence, and there is an old print in the Museum at Ueno, which represents her performing before a crowded house in which several Europeans are to be seen. This touch of the West in contact with the East is not without its significance. Every resident in Japan knows how marvellously quick the Japanese are to adopt the latest ideas from foreign countries, and it is quite possible that the modernized drama which was thus instituted by O Kuni and Nagoya contained elements derived from the European drama. Shakespeare was in the zenith of his power when O Kuni was acting, and there were but few Englishmen in Japan who could have told the Japanese of him. Corneille was not yet born; but the Spanish drama had been at its topmost point of fame for many years, and there were many Spaniards, clerical and other, in the Imperial city. It is possible that the Europeans represented in the old print in the Tokyo Museum are Spaniards.

The popular name for these representations was *shibai*, a name still in universal use to denote a

theatre, the secular drama, or a secular play. The name chosen for it by its founders was *kabuki*, a word originally signifying comedy and licence, but in later days ennobled so as to denote 'the art of singing and dancing.' Tokyo still boasts of a *kabuki-chō*, or street devoted to this sort of drama, and of a *kabuki-za* theatre, which has hitherto attracted to itself some of the greatest names of the Japanese theatrical world.

The year 1604 marks the height of O Kuni's personal popularity. About that year, Nagoya, who had returned to his *samurai* life, was killed in a brawl, and O Kuni, who was getting on in years, retired to a nunnery in her native place, where she died in obscurity, nine years later.

5. The 'onna-kabuki.'—Imitation is always one of the greatest tests of popularity. Before O Kuni retired from the histrionic life, her theatres had already found imitators in various cities, notably at Osaka and Yedo, and the movement showed signs of permanent vigour. But the *onna-kabuki*, as it was called, fell into disgrace with the Shōgunate, and its prominent feature was prohibited by the police of Iyeyasu in 1629. One of the chief novelties of O Kuni's representations had been her bold assumption of male attire. But when she fell in with Nagoya she was no longer a young woman, and it does not seem that there were other women directly associated with her in the enterprise. What was probably harmless in her case became a precedent of doubtful character in the hands of others. Women of uncertain reputation were brought on the stage in the rival *kabuki* theatres; with them were associated men of low life, and the result seemed very dangerous to the public morals. The employment of women in *kabuki* plays was therefore prohibited by the Shōguns' police. No woman was employed as an actress in a theatre from the year 1629 until the début, in the so-called *sōshi-shibai*, of Sada Yakko, at the end of the 19th century.

6. The 'ningyō-shibai.'—The prohibition of women actors was, for the time being, an almost crushing blow to the *kabuki*. The place of the women, banished by the decree of 1629, was taken by young boys, who played the women's parts; but the moral consequences of the so-called *wakashū-shibai* were worse than those of the *onna-shibai* had been. Besides, the boy-actors had not yet been trained, and some time had perforce to elapse before the *kabuki* could regain its former popularity. In the meantime a new species of dramatic performance got an innings, which its promoters used to great advantage. The visitor to Japan will still sometimes meet with a travelling mendicant, carrying on his back a portable shrine containing some religious image or symbol which is the pilgrim's object of devotion. It is probable that in these mendicant vagrants we have a relic of the ancient *odori-nembutsu*, and that the itinerant preachers carried with them an idol, before which they performed their simple religious dances, and which they used as a visible emblem of the faith they preached. O Kuni had discarded the emblems, whilst retaining for a while the religious dance and song; but there were (and still are) travelling priests who retained them. The founders of the *ningyō-shibai*, or 'dolls' theatre, made these dolls or images the central feature of their art. The itineration ceased, and the idol, settled in a permanent abode, developed into a marionette, or set of movable dolls. The marionettes of the *ningyō-shibai* were extremely popular during the whole period of the Tokugawa government, and performances of this sort are still to be met with, especially in Osaka. Strange to say, the marionettes had a considerable influence on the subsequent developments of the *kabuki*.

'Among the things,' says Balet, in a lecture delivered before the Alliance Française at Yokohama, Feb. 1911, 'which strike and shock us most in the popular theatre must be placed the singular gesticulation of the actors. Stiff, and moving by brusque starts, their gestures completely lack the ease and naturalness of real life; one would say they were marionettes, and not without good reason; for the actors of the *kabuki* took the marionettes of the booths in the fairs as their models. By an incomprehensible aberration, the Japanese have imitated these gestures, have elaborated them, and have fixed them permanently in the drama—except in comedy,—thus keeping aloof from the true imitation of life, falsifying the expression of even the simplest sentiments, to the point of making them a pure pantomime. From the theatre, these gestures passed insensibly into daily life. It is not difficult to find traces of them in the current expression of certain emotions; anger, scorn, especially defiance, are often expressed among the Japanese in the manner of the actors of the *kabuki*. Apart from this influence of gestures, the other—that of the manners and morals preached up *ad nauseam* in bloodthirsty tragedies—has not been the least effective in the formation of the Japanese mentality.' It is not necessary to follow Balet in all his conclusions and inferences. The main thing is to note the effect of the marionette theatres on the gestures of the *kabuki* actors.

7. The 'jōruri.'—Japan, like every Oriental country, has always had its story-tellers and wandering minstrels, whose répertoire included stories and legends of gods, heroes, and personages famous in national history, such as Benkei, the fighting monk. One of the most popular of these stories was the history of Jōruri, the famous mistress of Yoshitsune—a story belonging to the same cycle of epos as Benkei (see *Saitō Musashi-bō Benkei*, by de Benneville, Yokohama, 1910). The story of the loves of this celebrated woman was so popular that it overshadowed all the rest and gave its name to the whole class of minstrel narrative, so that a *jōruri* came to be the generic name for this class of recitals. The *jōruri* stories were originally unwritten, handed down from minstrel to minstrel in substance but not in letter. Ōta Nobunaga, the rival of Hideyoshi, and a man of considerable literary judgment, is said to have suggested that it would be an improvement to the *jōruri* to have an established written text, and his mistress, Ono no Ō Tsu, is said to have been the first person to commit a *jōruri* to writing. A few years later, about A.D. 1600, a *jōruri* singer, Menukiya Chōzaburō, conceived the idea of a partnership with the master of a marionette show near Osaka, and the result was a form of *ningyō-shibai*, which soon gained the popular favour. In 1635, a certain Takemoto Gidayū opened a marionette theatre, bearing his own name, in Osaka, and the *jōruri* came to be equally well known under the new name of *gidayū*.

8. The Genroku theatre.—The influence of the marionette show on the legitimate drama is seen in the fact that some of the greatest dramatists of Japan under the Tokugawas, notably Chikamatsu and Takeda (middle of 18th cent.), were also writers of *gidayū*. From the marionette theatre they had learned the value of the literary side of the drama. They appreciated the fact that it was something more than a mere collection of lyric songs loosely strung together by words which were scarcely worth recording, more than a mere exhibition of gestures and movements such as could be done by marionettes quite as well as by living men—above all, that it was more than the diversion of the passing hour by realistic, but motiveless, imitations of scenes of real life. Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724) stands a very long way behind Shakespeare, but he understood, as Shakespeare and his contemporaries had done, the vocation of the dramatic poet. He aimed at, and to a certain extent succeeded in, putting the dramatic poet into his proper place as the creator of a drama with ideals, representing life, and forming manners. The mediæval *nō* had been the sole property of the ruling military and cultured classes; Ō Kuni's work had been an appeal to the vulgar; Chika-

matsu and his school, without excluding the educated or despising the ignorant classes, made their appeal to the great common-sense *bourgeoisie*, which forms the mainstay of every nation. That their appeal was not made in vain, may be seen in the immense influence exercised by Takeda's *Chūshingura* in keeping alive in the people's heart the spirit of loyalty to the Imperial throne.

9. Difficulties besetting the 'kabuki.'—One of the great difficulties in the way of realizing the highest dramatic ideals lay, and still lies, in the despised position of the actors. The *kabuki* has never quite effaced the bar sinister in its escutcheon. Its founders, Ō Kuni and Nagoya, were deemed none too respectable; the *onna-kabuki* were performed mostly by prostitutes; the lads who acted in the *wakashū-kabuki* were connected with vices which flourished in one of the 'cities of the plain.' There was reason in abundance for the Tokugawa government to take alarm: there was not merely the love of pleasure and the increase of luxury among the people to be feared, but also the danger to the social order, and the confusion of classes and castes. The Shōgunal government did not weaken in the carrying out of what it conceived to be its duty. In 1609, Iyeyasu prohibited all theatres in Shidzuoka, which was at that time his residence; in 1610 certain court ladies at Kyoto were sent into exile for going to a theatre, the manager of the theatre being executed. In 1629 every performance in which women appeared was forbidden. In 1641 a manager who had allowed his 'young men' to appear as women on the stage was severely punished. A few years later, under strict regulations, a few actors were allowed to appear in female characters, but they were forbidden to wear silk or brocades, and had to shave the front of their head. Theatres, like brothels, were relegated to certain quarters, *samurai* were forbidden to attend them, and the actors were not allowed to associate with the ordinary citizens. They were classed apart, like the *eta*, and the numeral substantive used for them classed them with animals rather than with men, as though one should say, 'so many head of cattle,' 'so many head of actors.' The term *kawara-mono* refers to the origin of the *kabuki* amongst the heap of broken 'tiles' and rubbish in the dry river-bed of the Kamogawa. Under such circumstances it was extremely difficult for the *kabuki* drama to struggle into respectability.

10. Earliest written 'kabuki.'—We have already seen that the writing of *jōruri* influenced the production of regular dramas. It is worthy of notice that, in 1655, a theatre in Yedo produced a consecutive drama of several acts, entitled *Soga no Jūban Kiri*, which required 15 actors. Another play, in 1666, also produced in Tokyo, was written by Kawara Jonnosuke, and was entitled *Soga no Kyōgen*. One may see from the titles of these plays how strong was the appeal made to the national imagination by the stirring events of the Middle Ages, which have furnished Japan with a genuine, if informal, epic poem.

11. Actor families.—One of the results of the Tokugawa legislation, which compelled the actors to live by themselves, apart from their fellow-citizens, was the formation of an actor class. This was quite in accordance with ancient Japanese tradition. Japan has, from the earliest times, had castes of doctors, wrestlers, sword-makers, painters, etc., and the result of the system may be seen in the specialized skill of production combined with a marvellous lack of creative power, which marks almost all Japanese work, especially in the various departments of art. In the Japanese drama, we observe the rise of great actor families, e.g. that of Ichikawa Danjurō, which has, as it were, stereo-

typed the dramatic art along certain definite lines, and thereby produced an article perfect in its own way, but which has stifled originality and well-nigh killed the art of the playwright. Judged by its own standards, the Japanese *kabuki*, with its posturings and intonations reminiscent of the recitatives of the *nô* and the *jôruri*, its stilted language, and its simple dignity, is a thing as perfect as an art influenced by very imperfect ideals can make it. But what playwright could do his best, if he were 'bossed' from the beginning to the end of his composition by a clique of hereditary actors, who said that things had always been just so in their family?

12. The Meiji theatre.—Like everything else in Japan, the drama stagnated from about the end of the second decade of the 18th cent. to the end of the seventh decade of the 19th. The actors were a class of social outcasts, but they had the supreme sway in their own little kingdom, where things went leisurely along the old grooves. The Meiji Restoration swept away all class distinctions, and the actors emerged from their isolation. In 1876, at the opening of the Shintomiza theatre in Tokyo, the Foreign Ministers and members of the *corps diplomatique* accepted invitations to be present at the opening performance. It was a great shock to Japanese conservatism, but it proved to be a wholesome example; in 1886, Count Inoue ventured to give a performance at his own residence, at which Ichikawa Danjurô acted, in the presence of the Emperor himself. The visits of distinguished personages, e.g. Prince Arthur of Connaught, gave opportunities for official recognition of the dramatic profession; and, in 1903, Prince Ito delivered a funeral oration in honour of the popular Danjurô. The old ostracism has not yet quite gone; a statue of Danjurô, erected a few years ago in front of the Kabukiza theatre, had to be removed; but it is abundantly evident that the actors are winning for themselves a recognized position in the Japanese world.

13. The 'sôshi-shibai.'—One of the most hopeful signs connected with the modern Japanese stage is that the monopoly of the great actor families has been broken. The *sôshi-shibai*, born some 25 years ago, presents many points of resemblance to the earlier enterprise of O Kuni and Nagoya, coming into the world, as did its predecessor, at a time when 'a fever of reform and innovation' was raging throughout Japan. Kawakami Otojiro, the flighty son of a toy-dealer, had an undistinguished course at school at Fukuoka, and then flung himself into political stump-oratory, after the fashion of young Japan in the early days of Meiji. He had many fellow-travellers along the paths of stump-oratory; the Japanese of the day invented a word to denote these political adventurers. They were known as *sôshi*; they were oftener than not impecunious. Kawakami and a few brother-*sôshi* formed themselves into a sort of amateur dramatic company, and their plays were called *sôshi-shibai*. They gave representations of actual life, and gained many hearers. Their first object was to make money, but success gave them higher ambitions. They declared war against the *kabuki* school, and announced a programme of theatrical reform. In this they have not succeeded. Kawakami has been ably seconded by his wife, Madame Sada Yakko, and the Kawakami troupe has been well received in Europe and America. They draw their material from many quarters: from Dumas and Maeterlinck, from Shakespeare and Ibsen. But they have presented crude, ill-adapted matter, strongly impregnated with a Western flavour, to an audience that can only relish the sauces of Japan, and they have not yet succeeded in capturing the popular taste. The dramatist is lacking

who can draw, as did Shakespeare, on all the wealth of accessible literature, and yet present it to his audience in a thoroughly native form. The lack of a dramatist has been acknowledged in many quarters. Writers like Fukuchi, Tsubouchi, Ihara, and Masuda have tried to supply the vacancy. They are undoubtedly on the right track; but a Shakespeare is born, not made, and Japan may perhaps still be said to be waiting for the 'mother of Shakespeare.'

Efforts have also recently been made to conform the architecture of Japanese theatres to European ideas and requirements. This is notably the case in Tokyo with the Yurakuza (built 1909) and the Teikokuza (opened 27th Feb. 1911). It is impossible as yet to say what effect these buildings are likely to have on Japanese dramatic developments. A recently established training school for young actors and actresses will, if successful, be a step in the right direction, as eliminating the hereditary principle which has done so much in the way of fossilization. It also provides a way by which a young woman of respectable family can adopt the stage as a profession in an honourable manner without the loss of caste.

14. Actors in the 'nô.'—The *nô* is essentially a piece to be acted by two players, and this fundamental idea is maintained, however great may be the number of players actually employed in the performance of any particular piece. The principal personage is the *shi-te*, the *πρωτης*, or actor. His duty is both to dance and to sing, and his rôle is the pivot on which the whole piece turns. We may call him the protagonist. By his side is the *waki* ('side'), who may be compared with the deuteragonist of the Greek classical stage. As the name implies, his rôle is secondary to that of the *shi-te*; but he is nevertheless a necessary adjunct, because it is his presence on the stage that gives the requisite stimulus to the activities of the *shi-te*.

Some plays require the presence of only two actors; and we may with justice consider them as types of the primitive drama. When more actors are required, they are considered as assistants or companions to the *shi-te* or *waki*. They are designated as *tomo*, 'companions,' but more frequently as *tsure*, and appear as *shi-te-dzure* or *waki-dzure*, according to the part they represent. But they can scarcely be said to have an independent personality: 'ce sont deux voix qui se répondent, et non deux personnages qui se parlent' (Péris). In some pieces there appears another actor, known as the *kogata*, or 'child,' whose rôle is occasionally of some importance, as when, e.g., he represents an emperor or nobleman; and in a few places we find indefinitely designated personages, *otoko* and *onna*, 'man' and 'woman.' Again, in one or two plays we have companies of people representing, e.g., pleasure-seekers, or attendants. These are known as *tachi-shii*. The clown's part is assigned to a personage known as *kyôgen* or *okashi*. He is sometimes entrusted with comic parts during the play itself, but more frequently with the comic interlude, *ai*, which separates the first act of a *nô* drama from the second. This *ai no kyôgen* is not to be confounded with the independent *kyôgen* which comes between two distinct *nô* dramas. He had his part in these also.

15. The chorus.—The chorus, *ji* or *ji-utai*, consists of from 8 to 10 musicians, under the command of a *ji-gashira*. The musicians wear the ordinary clothes of the citizen, and have no functions beyond those of music and singing. The chorus sometimes takes part in the *nô* drama by acting as a substitute for a *shi-te* in the rendering of some song, and sometimes it will take part, in a sort of impersonal way, in the dialogue. It has some of the functions of a Greek chorus, but it never represents

a definite group of persons, such as, e.g., the Phœnician women.

In addition to the actors and chorus, there are two persons whose functions are of the greatest importance in the performance of the *nō*—the *kōken* and the *mono-kise*. The former, in plain clothes, has the duty of looking generally after the performance, bringing in swords, fans, etc., as required, and removing them unostentatiously when no longer needed. The *mono-kise* has the superintendence of the wardrobe, and assists the actors in their changes of costume, etc.

16. The orchestra.—This is composed of three, sometimes four, instruments. These are: (1) *fue*, (2) *ko-tsutsumi*, (3) *ō-tsutsumi*, (4) *taiko*. The first is a flute; the second and third are a small and a large drum, struck with the hand, the former carried on the right shoulder, the latter on the left knee. The fourth, which is a species of tambourine, is used only when something awe-inspiring is going on, such as the appearance of a demon or spirit, or the 'lion-dance.' The general name for the musicians is *hayashi-kata*, each individual being designated by his instrument—*fue-kata*, *taiko-kata*, etc. It is extremely probable that a comparison of these instruments with the musical instruments in use in ancient China, India, etc., might throw much light on the origin of the *nō* dramas.

17. Schools of 'nō' actors.—We have seen that the *nō* actors are divided into three classes—*shi-te*, *waki*, and *kyōgen*. These are further subdivided into various schools, or *ryū*. The most important are the schools of the *shi-te*—*kwanze*, *hōshō*, *komparu*, *kongō*, and *kita*—which between them furnish most of the *shi-te* and *shi-te-dzure*, also the *tomo*, *kogata*, *jū*, *kōken*, and *mono-kise*. These five 'schools' are by far the most important. The *waki* are also subdivided into five schools—*harufuji*, *fukubō*, *shindō*, *takayasu*, and *hōshō*. There is a further distinction made in these two classes, which is of some importance. They are divided into *kami-gakari*, and *shimo-gakari*, according as they base their acting on traditions derived from Kyoto (*kami*) or Nara (*shimo*). We shall see the importance of this distinction if we remember that the Kyoto Buddhism, mainly that of the Tendai sect, with its offshoots, is of Chinese origin, whilst the Nara Buddhism was predominantly Hindu. The *kyōgen* actors are subdivided into three classes, each named after its founder—Sagi, Izumi, Ōkura—as indeed are also the various classes of the *shi-te* and *waki*. All these families of *nō* actors were originally connected with the *kagura* dances of the Shinto and Ryōbu-Shinto rites, and it is in the *kagura* that the origin of the *nō* drama as found in Japan must be sought.

18. The 'nō-kyōgen' stage.—The *nō* was originally intended, like the *kagura*, for outdoor performance, and this fundamental theory is still preserved in the arrangement of the stage. It is a perfectly simple platform about six yards square, with three of its sides open. The fourth side is a wall of plain wood panel, with a painting of an old pine-tree to suggest an open-air performance. The actors have their exits and entrances on the right hand of the stage, the chorus on the left. One of the pillars supporting the roof is called the *kōken bashira*, and it is from behind this pillar that the *kōken* keeps a watchful eye on the performance. The green room or vestry is behind the wood-panelled wall.

19. Sung forms.—The *nō* drama is a metrical composition, the measure adopted being known as a *kusari*, or 'chain,' for the structure of which the reader is referred to Péri's solid treatise already quoted. Terms especially noticeable are, e.g., the

shidai, very often used as an introduction, and containing a statement of the general purpose and 'circumstances' (*shidai*) of the piece. The *issei* is very similar to it, only more definite, the *shidai* giving, as it were, only a general statement, while the *issei* explains some particular point. The *uta*, or 'song,' is the prerogative of the *waki* and his assistants; it has nothing in common with the *tanka* of later Japanese literature. To take an example: in the *uta*, the *waki* and his friends will describe the journey they have taken in order to reach the scene of action. The *sashi* and *kuri* are two minor forms: the former a simple recitative, which is not used by the *kami-gakari* schools, the latter a lively song, serving as an introduction to the *kuse*. The *kuse* may be looked upon as the form out of which the *nō* has developed. It is accompanied by a dance, and is a remnant of the ancient *kuse* dances which have been so popular in Japan since the 10th century. It is the *kuse* which brings us into touch with the itinerating *odori-nembutsu* preachers. The *rongi*, or 'discussion,' a dialogue chanted by *shi-te* and chorus, is another remnant of the Buddhist influence. It is a relic of the scholastic discussions of the Buddhist monasteries, especially of those in the Kyoto schools of Buddhism. In the *waka*, which follows the *rongi*, we have, it is said, the remnants of the popular songs chanted by the *shirabyōshi*; and the gestures of the actors at this point are generally suggestive of the same origin. The *kiri* is the closing song, and is often closely connected with the *waka*.

20. Spoken forms.—The spoken forms are the *nanori*, or 'announcement of the name,' spoken by the actor on his first appearance, or, for a woman, by the chorus; the *mondō*, or dialogue; the *yobikake*, or words addressed to a person supposed to be at some distance from the speaker; and the *katari*, or narration. In the *kyōgen* we have also various forms of *ai*, 'interludes.' In the *katari-ai* the *kyōgen* actor gives a new exposition, sometimes with considerable variations, of the plot of the drama. The *tachi-ai*, while ultimately connected with the development of the drama, is spoken by outside personages, as, for instance, by a *deus ex machina* in the form of a god or spirit. The *ashirai-ai* is an interlude in which a servant, boatman, etc., plays a principal part.

21. Masks used in the 'nō'.—There are about thirty masks in common use for *nō* representations—though there are, of course, special masks for use in the rarer pieces. The particulars of these masks are given in Kamen-fu, Nōgaku Unnōshū, and Nōgaku Shōzoku.

The introduction of masks into Japan is generally attributed to Shōtoku Taishi (572), the great patron of Buddhism. This is another indication of a point made elsewhere in this article, that the *nō* is of Indian origin, for the Buddhism which Shōtoku favoured was notoriously of the Indian variety. Other famous mask-makers of primitive times are Tankaikō, Kōbō Daishi, and Kasuga—all well-known carvers of Buddhist images. These were succeeded by the Jissaku, or ten mask-makers, of the Heian (800-1186) and Kamakura (1186-1332) ages, and these by the Rokusaku and Chūsaku schools, who bring us down to the end of the Ashikaga period. We then come to the well-known Kawachi, who at one time worked as a saddler in the retinue of the great Taikō Hideyoshi (1536-98). Hideyoshi was a great patron of the lyrical drama, which he treated with almost religious respect. One day Kawachi peeped from behind some curtains at his master robing himself for a dramatic performance. Before he donned his mask Hideyoshi held it over his head and did obeisance. From that moment Kawachi determined to abandon the calling of a saddle-maker and devote his energies to the making of masks.

22. Fans.—The fans used are of two kinds—*sukeyō* and *shimai-ōgi*. The former seem to correspond with the rôle of the actors. Thus we have *okina-ōgi*, the 'grown man's fan,' with a representation of waves and of *hōrai*, the Elysium of perpetual felicity, which, like the classical Islands of the Blest, is supposed to exist in the midst of the Ocean. Another, the so-called *shūra-*

ôgi, represents the world of the Asuras, the Buddhist world of bloodshed and slaughter. Significantly enough, there are two forms of *shûra-ôgi*, the *genji-shûra* and the *heike-shûra*, which thus perpetuate the memory of Japan's most famous period of internal strife. Other memorials of that sad time may be found in the *kyôjô-ôgi* and *kyôjô-ironashi-ôgi* (respectively, the 'insane woman's fan,' and the 'insane woman's colourless fan'), the latter with its sad pictures of the heron amongst the snow, and the ill-omened crow sitting on a withered tree. It would be beyond our scope to describe all these varieties. The *shimnai-ôgi* does not present so many varieties. The simplest form, the *midzumaki-no-ôgi*, 'water-sprinkler's fan,' is used by the lowest grade of actors, whose humble performances are fitly symbolized by the unobtrusive but necessary work of the 'water-sprinkler'—an important functionary in hot dusty countries. When the actor-student has been promoted to a higher grade, and is allowed to dance for the first time, he uses a *midzuhiki* fan, i.e. the fan of the 'water-drawer'; while the next promotion, to the rank which permits him to perform the *mochidzuki* dance, is marked by the use of a fan known as *chidori*. Buddhist influence, chiefly of the Hosso and Kogon schools, may be seen in the clouds—five, seven, or nine, according to circumstances—which distinguish other fans of a higher order. But the gradation of actors, dramas, and dances is very clearly due to Chinese thought.

It would take us too long, for the purposes of this article, to trace the connecting points between the Japanese lyric drama and the drama of the Hindus. But there certainly are such points of connexion, traceable through fans, masks, musical instruments, dresses, and dress-materials, not only with India, but with the Levant. Thus, for instance, there are two names for dress-materials much used in the *nô-donsu* and *shu-su*, translated by Brinkley as 'damask' and 'satin'—which are said, though perhaps not with much probability, to point to a Damascene and Syrian origin for these materials. But these are points which still await investigation.

23. Peculiarities of construction of the 'kabuki' theatre.—The word *shibai* means 'a lawn,' or 'on the lawn.' There is an old tradition, connected with the Nan-yen-dô temple at Nara, which says that, at a very remote period, the earth opened with a yawning cavity right in front of the temple, with much exhalation of poisonous gases and smoke. It being evidently advisable to propitiate the incensed deities who had brought about this calamity, the Government of the day ordered that the *okina* and *sanbasô* dances should be performed in front of the chasm. This was done on the smooth grass before the temple, and with the desired effect. This incident is still commemorated by the *Takigi-no-Nô* at Nara, which is always performed 'on the lawn.' It is possible, therefore, that O Kuni, in inaugurating the *shibai* or *kabuki* drama, meant it to be a resurrection, as far as possible under altered circumstances, of the primitive dances of pre-historic times.

The first theatre in Kyoto was erected in 1632; in Osaka, in 1633; in Yedo, in 1624; and the construction of these places of amusement was speedily followed by others. The first theatrical building in Yedo was the Saruwakaza, which was the outcome of the philanthropic efforts of a certain Saruwaka Kanzaburo. The Genna period (A.D. 1615-1643), whilst enjoying the firm hand of the Tokugawa Shôgunate, was still one of considerable confusion and unrest. The cessation of the long-continued civil wars and the subsequent dissolution of many of the opposition clans had filled the country with unemployed men-at-arms (*rônin*), who flocked to the larger cities in search of employment. Yedo was naturally their chief place of refuge, and in the crowded quarters of Asakusa, Ryôgoku, and Shiba, they might be seen in their hundreds, concealing their faces beneath large

straw hats, and waiting for any chance opportunity of congenial occupation. When they could do nothing else, they beat drums and sang ballads, and thus gained a few *rin* from the good-natured citizens. Saruwaka saw that these unemployed fighting men constituted a real danger to the State, and set to work to find safe outlets for their superfluous energies. He built himself a large villa, the construction of which gave employment to many hands; he lived luxuriously and ostentatiously, and kept large retinues of servants; at last, the idea occurred to him of founding a theatre as an institution by which many of these unemployed warriors might gain a living, and all might find recreation and amusement. The idea was very well received, the *rônin* organized themselves *con amore*, the Government gave its consent to the undertaking, and a dream in which Saruwaka saw a crane flying towards him, with the leaf of an *ichô* (*Ficus religiosa*) on a plate in its bill, was interpreted as an omen of the best sort. Saruwaka's theatre was the first permanent *kabuki* building in Japan, and gave a model which all subsequent *kabuki* theatres have followed. The *nô* dramas in the Middle Ages were performed in the most flimsy of temporary booths.

The construction of the old *kabuki* theatres may be understood by the consideration of certain theatrical words which are still in use, but which cannot be made clear except by reference to old usages and peculiarities. Thus the word *haneru*, 'to turn aside,' is, in theatrical parlance, 'to finish a performance.' In Saruwaka's building, the entrance was protected by a hanging mat, which the spectators had to push aside in order to enter. When the performance came to an end, the mat was 'turned aside' to facilitate egress, and left so. Similarly, *futa wo akeru*, 'to open the lid,' is used of the opening of a theatre—the heavy, lid-like shutters all round the building being tightly closed when there was no drama in course of performance. The quasi-military character of the actors in Saruwaka's theatre showed itself in the *yagura*, or castle-tower (now disused), erected on the roof to give the building something of the appearance of a feudal castle. On two sides of the *yagura* were suspended *zai*, the baton used by a Japanese general in the direction of a battle. But these theatrical *zai* were known as *bonten*—the name given by Buddhists to Brahmâ, the greatest of the guardian deities—and replaced the Shintô *gohei* which O Kuni had used in her temporary erections. The use of the *bonten* and *gohei* is a proof of the existence of a certain amount of religiosity, but need not be pressed further.

While certain of the minor structural features of the early *kabuki* have disappeared, certain others remain. Thus the modern Japanese stage is distinguished by: (a) the *hanamichi*, or 'flower-way'—a raised platform or corridor by which the actors have access to the stage from the other end of the theatre, passing right through the spectators in the pit. The *hanamichi* was at one time bordered with flowers, hence its name. It is always on the left hand of the spectators; on their right there is sometimes another passage of the same sort, called the *karibanamichi*, or 'temporary flower-bridge.' (b) Between the *hanamichi* and the stage is a space called *hashi-gakari*, 'bridge-space,' sometimes also known by a term derived from the usages of the camp—*musha bashiri*, 'warriors running.' It is through this space that warriors reach the stage. Near it is the *okubyô-guchi*, 'coward's hole,' the significance of which is obvious. (c) The *butai-ban*, or 'stage-watch,' with its reliefs of sentinels, again betrays a quasi-military origin. (d) The central part of the stage is made to revolve (*maruari-butai*)—an arrangement which calls to

mind the *ἐκκόκλημα* of the Greek stage; the machine which works this is situated in the *naraku*, 'hell,' below the stage, where is also to be found the *seriage*, or *serdashi*, by which actors are 'pushed up' through the flooring of the stage. There are two or three trap-doors for this purpose (*kiri-ana*) on the stage itself, and a similar one (*suppon*) on the *hanamichi*. Only the larger theatres were allowed to have *mawari-butai*—possibly only they could afford the luxury. (e) The *kōken* calls to mind primitive conditions in the history of the European drama. He is the attendant (supposed to be invisible) of the principal actors, wears black clothes, removes articles that are not required, adjusts the actors' robes, and holds a candle for them. (f) The *tedai*, who represents the proprietor and is charged with the business of the theatre, sits, during the performance, near the main entrance of the house. When there is nothing on, his office is in the *shikiri-ba*, or accountant's room. The *tōdori* has the supervision of everything connected with the performance and the actors. His office (*tōdori-ba*) is in the back part of the building, as are also the *hayashi-beya*, or room for the musicians, the *gakuya*, or 'green room,' for the actors, and the *sakusha-beya*, or 'authors' room.' This last calls for a few words. The Japanese have scarcely any dramatic writers, and none of great note. Very few of the *nō* dramas can be assigned to any particular writer, and the same remark holds good of the *kabuki* drama. The actors themselves, sitting in committee, compose the play as a joint-effort, and it is this, perhaps, more than anything else that has helped to keep the Japanese stage so stagnant and unprogressive. Recent efforts at reform, such as Kawakami's *sōshi-shibai* and the construction of the new Imperial Theatre, must be looked upon as so many efforts to overthrow the tyranny of the player-actors. The student of English literature will see here the point of analogy with the pre-Shakespearean dramatists of the Elizabethan age.

24. Influence of the drama on the development of 'Bushidō.'—The *nō* drama had its first glory in the Middle Ages, when the military and chivalrous spirit of Japanese knighthood was at its prime. We may seek for its origin in the oldest religious sentiment of the people, in the Buddhism of the Nara age, in Chinese and Indian influences. But the fact still remains that the drama never took root until the spirit of the nation was moved by the incidents of that great national epic (for it was nothing less) which gathers round Yoshitsune, Benkei, Yoritomo, and the great warriors of the Genji and Heike. Then it was that the heart of Japan went forth in sympathetic response to the great ideals set before it during that period of national distress. It was then that the imagination was quickened, and the image formed of the ideal hero, brave, loyal, patient, quick in honour's quarrel—and yet a religious mystic, whose poetic insight enabled him to see, dimly perhaps, but with faith, the underlying verities of existence. This is the ideal set before us in the *nō*, and the idealization was much assisted by the quietistic teachings of the Zen school of Buddhism.

The ideals were, however, indistinct, and the principles underlying *Bushidō*, or the 'Way of the Ideal Knight,' were felt rather than understood. It was reserved for a later age to elaborate the philosophy of life with which *Bushidō* presents us, and Yamaga Sokō (born 1622), the disciple of Hayashi Razan, and the instructor of Oishi Kuranosuke, who headed the celebrated band of the forty-seven *rōnin*, has been often singled out as the first formal exponent of *Bushidō*. According to Yamaga (the present writer is here following the Rev. J. T. Imai, who in his turn follows Prof.

Inouye Tetsujirō), *Bushidō* may be summarized somewhat as follows:

To know one's proper work or duty, to have the will to do it, and to carry out one's good intentions with diligence and zeal. True manliness is shown by not being moved by poverty, wealth, or power. In order to reach that ideal, there should be acquired large-mindedness, a noble ambition, gentleness, courtesy, contentment; a power of discerning right from wrong, gain from loss; uprightness, honesty, constancy. These virtues are to show themselves in the deportment, in gravity, in the care taken in seeing, hearing, and speaking, in the expression of the countenance, in temperance and propriety in dress, houses, furniture, diet. The knight must have a right way of using his time, his wealth, his pleasures (J. T. Imai, *Bushidō*, Tokyo, 1910).

It has been said that the old-fashioned *Bushidō* of the mediæval knights gave its last expiring flicker in the deaths of Oishi Kuranosuke and his band of *rōnin* in 1703. Certainly the *paw Tokugawica* which lay on Japan from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 19th century was no favourable soil for the production of so delicate a flower. But Yamaga Sokō and his Confucianist successors were in the meantime busy laying the foundation of a new *Bushidō*, and in this they were ably aided and abetted by the dramatists, both of the *kabuki* and of the *ningyō-shibai* (marionettes).

'It was at this period,' says Imai (*op. cit.*), 'that the historic dramas began to be produced by Chikamatsu, Takeda, Izumo, and later writers. They were exponents of *Bushidō* to the mind of the people, to men and women alike of all classes, just as Sokō and others were to the learned. It was through these historical plays . . . that *Bushidō* influences acted and re-acted on the Japanese people.'

We can scarcely over-estimate the influence that the stage has had and still has in forming popular ideas of religion and morality in Japan, but we must remember that the words 'honour,' 'loyalty,' 'duty,' 'honesty,' and 'truth,' which these plays directly and indirectly illustrate, are not quite the equivalents of the same words when found in Christian writings. They must be interpreted according to the standards of morality which were generally accepted in 18th cent. Japan.

LITERATURE.—Students desiring to pursue their studies beyond the limits traced by this article are recommended to consult, for European and American authorities, the very complete Bibliographies published by von Wenckstern, in 1894 and 1904; and, for Japanese writers, the list given by Péri in *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, vol. ix. pp. 254-273. The writer's own obligations are to the works of W. G. Aston, esp. *History of Japanese Literature*, London, 1898; K. Floren, *Geschichte der japanischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1901; M. Revon, *Manuel de la littérature japonaise*, Paris, 1910; Péri, articles in *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, 1904-5; Balet, articles in *Japan Daily Herald*, Yokohama, Nov.-Dec. 1910; and B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, London, 1905; also to various articles which have appeared from time to time in the *TASS*. A. LLOYD.

DRAMA (Javanese and Further Indian).—The Javanese drama is one of the most interesting of the entire Orient, particularly through its high development of the 'shadow-play.' Seven distinct forms of drama in Java are enumerated by Juny-boll (*AE* xiii. 4-5): (1) *wayang purwa*, which are played with puppets of buffalo leather, which cast their shadows on a curtain, and draw their themes from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, or the Javanese *Manik Maya*; (2) *wayang gedog*, the same as the preceding, except that the subjects are drawn from the native Javanese *Panji-cycle*; (3) *wayang klitik* or *kertutyl*, which are played with flat unclothed wooden puppets, and draw their themes from the cycle of *Damar Wulan*; (4) *wayang golek*, which are played with round clothed puppets, and draw their themes from the *Damar Wulan* and the Muhammadan *Amir Ambiyah* cycles; (5) *wayang topeng*, with a repertoire identical with that of the first three classes, but played with masked actors; (6) *wayang wong*, the same as the last, except that the actors are unmasked; and (7) *wayang beber*, with the same repertoire as the preceding, but represented by a pictured scroll which is unrolled and explained by the *dalang*. The usual mode of presentation of a

wayang is as follows:—A white sheet (*kélar*) is stretched on a wooden frame (*panggung*). At the top of this frame a lamp (*blékon*) is placed so as to cast its light upon the screen, and on the same side as the lamp the 'director' (*dalang*) squats, having on his left a chest (*kotak*) containing the puppets (*wayang* or *ringgit*). On the side of this chest are a few small plates of metal, which are struck by the *dalang* to imitate warlike sounds. Near him, moreover, is a bowl of incense, and also a basin containing the offerings (*sayen*) for the spirits. The men in the audience are seated on the same side of the curtain as the *dalang*, while the women are placed on the opposite side, so that they do not see the puppets, but only their shadows. All the lines are recited by the *dalang*, who varies his voice or gives other indications of the change of character. This holds good, at least in some cases, even in the *wayang wong*, or plays with unmasked human actors. In the *wayang topeng*, played with masked actors, on the other hand, the players themselves speak the lines. Both women and men may act, as in the ancient Sanskrit drama.

The *dalang* of the Javanese drama corresponds closely to the *sūtradhāra* of India (cf. Pischel, *Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Halle, 1900, pp. 8–10), both being primarily 'thread-pullers (of the puppets),' although the word *dalang* itself seems to connote originally much the same as the English 'stroller' (Hazeu, *Bijdrage*, pp. 23–24).

The Javanese *wayang* was undoubtedly religious in origin, as has been elaborately shown by Hazeu (*op. cit.* pp. 39–59), who calls attention to the offerings (*sayen*) to the spirits, to the incense offered before the presentation begins, to the fact that the plays are given at night, when the spirits are abroad, and to the circumstance that the presentation is a meritorious act on the part of the patron who hires the troupe, and that a *wayang* should be given by all means at certain important periods in the life of the individual, such as the festivals at the seventh month of pregnancy and the cutting of the navel-string. According to him, moreover, the entire shadow-play sprang from a desire to represent the ghosts of departed ancestors by what resembled them most closely, that is, by shadows, while the *dalang*, who causes the puppets to cast their shadows on the screen and recites lines for them, is primitively a priest performing a religious ceremony of ancestor-worship. The religious character of the Javanese *wayang* is also confirmed, perhaps, by the phallic character of many of the puppets, since nudity is not only a well-known fertility-charm (cf. Serrurier, *De Wajang Poerwā*, pp. 187–203), but also a potent means of frightening away demons (Hazeu, *op. cit.* p. 43; cf. Crooke, *PR*, 1896, i. 68–72). At a later period this phallicism may, of course, degenerate into mere obscenity, as in the Turkish *karagöz*.

The age of the drama in Java is uncertain, but it is at least clear from allusions to it in the literature that it was popular by the beginning of the 11th cent. A.D. Its origin is still more problematical, the leading authorities on the subject holding views diametrically opposed. Serrurier, Hageman, Poensen, and others believe that the Javanese drama was profoundly influenced by the Hindu; while Crawford, Niemann, Brandes, and especially Hazeu, deny that Hindu plays formed the model of the *wayang*. An absolute decision of the matter is not easy, but in the present state of knowledge it would seem that the Javanese drama is indeed an original device. India, it is true, numbers among its dramatic categories a 'shadow-play' (*chāyānāṭaka*), which has been elaborately discussed by Pischel in his 'Das altindische Schattenspiel' (*SBAW*, 1906, pp. 482–502; cf. his

Heimat des Puppenspiels), with the conclusion that the shadow-play in the technical sense of the term was known in India. Nor is there any inherent impossibility that the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhata (produced in Feb.–Mar. 1243; tr. Gray, *JAOS* xxxii. [1912] 1–20)—the only *chāyānāṭaka* thus far edited—was produced somewhat like the Javanese *wayang*; nevertheless, the difference in spirit between this and other plays of the Rāma cycle in India (cf. Lévi, *Théâtre indien*, Paris, 1890, pp. 267–295), as compared with the Rāma plays of Java (Juynboll, 'Indonesische en achter-indische tooneelvoorstellingen uit het Rāmāyana,' in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 6th series, vol. x. pp. 501–565), must be taken into serious consideration. The profound influence of the literature of India upon Java is too well known to require emphasis (cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1861, iv. 524–531), and it is obvious, moreover, that both Hinduism and Muhammadanism have given themes to the Javanese drama. If a conclusion may be hazarded, one may say that the Javanese *wayang* is indigenous, and that foreign influence is manifested only, or at least chiefly, in the subjects of many of the Javanese plays.

From Java the drama seems to have spread to Burma, Siam, and Cambodia (cf. Serrurier, *op. cit.* pp. 170–186; Hazeu, *op. cit.* pp. 28–37). In all these countries the Rāma cycle forms the favourite theme, although Buddhistic plays are also frequent in Burma. The Burmese drama is divided into *zahl-pués*, in which men and boys (but never women) act, and *yoht-thays*, or puppet-plays. Here again the drama is partly religious, not only in subject, but also in occasion, as at the birth of a child. It is, furthermore, produced chiefly at night, and is thus obviously designed to frighten away demons. The Siamese plays, in many of which only the verse is written, the prose being improvised, deal chiefly with the theme of Rāma, while the classifications recall those in Java, the chief ones being *len khon* (plays by masked actors), *len hun* (puppet-plays), and *len nang* (rolls of ox-hide pricked with patterns through which the light of a fire is allowed to shine).

Among the Malays, finally, the *Rāmāyana* is likewise an important theme, and the drama shows the influence not only of Siam and India, but also of China. Here the religious basis of the plays is strongly evidenced both in the invocation (*lagu pémanggil*), which is performed by a *pawang* ('magician') to the accompaniment of various musical instruments, and in the propitiation of spirits (*buka panggong*). The Malays are extremely partial, moreover, to shadow-plays, where, as in Java, the showman repeats all the lines, while in Siam this monologue becomes a real dialogue between two persons. Throughout Java and Further India, then, the drama is characteristically either a shadow-play or a mask. There seems, therefore, to be little association with the mimetic dance-drama of the Polynesians; while, on the other hand, masks are undoubtedly one of the most primitive forms of all drama, as is clear from the analogies of the American Indian and of Greek tragedy, to say nothing of the early Roman *fabula Atellana*. So far as evidence now accessible goes, it would seem that the dramatic art of Java and Further India is an indigenous product, despite later undoubted influence from India.

LITERATURE.—Serrurier, *De Wajang Poerwā* (Leyden, 1896); Hazeu, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van het javaneesche Tooneel* (Leyden, 1897); Juynboll, 'Wajang Keltik oder Kertjiti,' in *AE* xiii. 4–17, 97–119, also 'Das javanische Maskenspiel,' *ib.* xiv. 41–70, 81–111; Hazeu, 'Eine "Wajang Beber" Vorstellung in Jogjakarta,' *ib.* xvi. 128–135; Bohatta, 'Das javan. Drama,' in *Mitt. anthropolog. Gesellsch. Wien*, xxxv. [1905] 278–307; Shway Yoe, *The Burman, his Life and Notions* (London, 1882); Bastian, *Reisen in Siam* (Jena, 1867); Hallett, *A*

Thousand Miles on an Elephant (London, 1890); Bock, *Im Reiche des weissen Elefanten* (Leipzig, 1885); Müller, 'Nāng, sian. Schattenspielfiguren im kōnigl. Museum für Völkerkunde zu Berlin' (supplement to *AE* viii.); Moura, *Le Royame du Camlodge*, ii. (Paris, 1883); Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900); Knosp, 'Théâtre en Indochine,' in *Anthropos*, iii. [1908] 280-293; Jacob, *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Welt-Litt.* (Berlin, 1906), also *Gesch. des Schattentheaters* (Berlin, 1907), pp. 9-15.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DRAMA (Jewish).—Dramatic literature among the Hebrews, as among all Semitic peoples, was scanty. Attempts have indeed been made to interpret the song of Moses (Dt 32¹⁻⁴³), the song of Miriam (Ex 15²⁰⁻²¹), and, above all, the Song of Songs (cf. *HDB*, s.v.), as dramatic; but these endeavours have been unsuccessful. Nor is the Book of Job a drama in any true sense of the term. Whatever the Jews accomplished in the drama was, and is, due to imitations from the Indo-Germanic races with whom they have come in contact. The earliest Jewish play dates from the 2nd cent. B.C., when Ezekiel of Alexandria attempted to dramatize the events of the Exodus. Fragments of his play have been preserved by Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. 23, 155) and Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* ix. 29); and Schürer (*GVV* iii. 373-376) believes that this drama was intended for the stage, although it is difficult to imagine its production. In Ezekiel's work the influence of the spirit of Euripides is evident, and his object seems to have been not only to instruct the Alexandrine Jews in Biblical history, but also to wean them away from Gentile plays.

The general attitude of the Jews, however, towards the drama was extremely hostile, in conformity with their policy of self-imposed isolation, and their bitterness was increased by their hatred of the Romans and their suspicion of the Greeks. It was not until the middle of the 17th cent. that the increased scope allowed to Jews gave rise to a Neo-Hebrew drama, modelled, of course, upon the theatre of the Christians by whom they were surrounded. The first of these plays was the *Yesodh 'Olam*, by Moses Zacuto, a Marano, or renegade crypto-Jew, of Amsterdam, and its theme is the Talmudic legend of Abraham's destruction of his father's idols. The plots of the Neo-Hebrew drama are either religious or ethical, as in the *Asire ha-Tikkoth* of Joseph ben-Isaac Penzo (Amsterdam, 1673) and the *La-Yesharim Tehillah* of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (Amsterdam, 1743), the former play having as its theme the attempts of Understanding, Providence, and an angel to lead back to the path of rectitude a king distracted, against his will, by his impulses, his wife, and Satan; while the latter drama is an allegory designed to show the victory of truth over falsehood. No fewer than forty-six Neo-Hebrew plays are enumerated by Seligsohn, the majority of them based on Biblical or ethical themes.

Many foreign plays have also been translated into Hebrew, including, for instance, the *Gemul 'Athalyah* of David Franco-Mendes—an adaptation from Racine and Metastasio (Amsterdam, 1770)—and versions of Racine's *Esther*, Schiller's *Die Räuber*, Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* and *Die Juden*, and Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Macbeth*. The Yiddish dramatists are active, and many great cities support one or more Yiddish theatres which cater to the Jewish population. These plays are, however, for the most part translations or adaptations of dramas by non-Jewish authors. The Jewish drama must, therefore, be regarded merely as a literary parasite; even its apparently original productions are really copied from Indo-Germanic sources.

LITERATURE.—Kuyper, 'Le Poète juif Ezéchiel,' in *REV* xiv. 48-78, 161-177 [French tr. from *Mnemosyne*, new series, xxvii. 237-280]; Seligsohn, 'Drama, Hebrew,' in *JE* iv. 648-661;

Wiernik, 'Drama, Yiddish,' *ib.* 653-654, and the bibliographies appended to the two latter articles; Freidus, 'List of Dramas in the New York Public Library relating to the Jews, and of Dramas in Heb., Judeo-Spanish, and Judeo-German, together with Essays on the Jewish Stage,' in *Bull. N.Y. Pub. Lib.* xi. 18-51.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DRAMA (Persian).—The drama of Persia is both scanty and late, due in part, at least, to Muhammadan rule, which has never been favourable to the development of this art, reflecting herein the dramatic poverty of the entire Semitic race. There are, however, two categories of Persian plays, exclusive of the marionettes or shadow-plays (*karagöz*), which are of Turkish origin. The native Persian drama, then, may be divided into comedies (*tamāsa*) and mysteries (*ta'ziya*, lit. 'consolation, condolence'). The comedies are, for the most part, improvised by *lūlīs*, or itinerant buffoons, and offer little of interest. It is very different, however, with the *ta'ziya*, which is the most striking mystery-play of the entire Orient, and possesses a sway over the Shi'ite Persians comparable with that of the Passion-Play of Oberammergau over Christians. The individual *ta'ziyas* are comparatively short, and are concerned entirely with religious subjects, especially with the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, the sons of 'Ali, who was the first cousin of Muhammad and the husband of the Prophet's youngest daughter Fatima. 'Ali, the rightful successor of Muhammad, was rejected in favour of Abu Bakr at the instigation of 'A'isha, and was later assassinated, while Hasan's own wife poisoned him in obedience to the Sunnite Muawiyah, and Husain was later slain in battle with the adherents of the rival sect. The Persians, being Shi'ites, have accordingly adopted Hasan and Husain as martyrs of the faith, and commemorate their death annually during the first ten days of the month of al-Muharram. In each house that can afford it a place is constructed for the representation of the mystery, and on the side towards Mecca is set the model of the tombs of the martyred Hasan and Husain. The actors of the drama are not specially trained for the purpose, but their deep religious feeling, and their regard for their performance as for a sacred duty, lend a power to the presentation which works the audience into a frenzy and renders it necessary to provide for the safety of the hated Sunnites whom they may meet as they go in procession through the streets. These processions occur especially on the fifth, seventh, and tenth days of al-Muharram, the most important being the two last, symbolizing respectively the marriage of Kasim with Fatima and the death of Husain. The concluding day is often marked by bloody conflicts between the Shi'ites and Sunnites.

Dramatically the mystery-play of Hasan and Husain, which is essentially a series of *ta'ziyas*, is rude but effective, gaining strength from the very popularity and vulgarity of its style. Its length is prodigious, and the unities of time, place, and even action are set at defiance. The author of the play as a whole or of its parts is unknown, and it is doubtless a product of the people, revised and altered according to need by those who act it, rather than a definite dramatic work. The number of *ta'ziyas* composing it varies, but it would seem that the play is of comparatively recent development, possibly as late as the beginning of the 19th century. As an independently developed Passion-Play, untouched, apparently, by non-Persian influence, the drama of Hasan and Husain is one of the most remarkable dramaturgic creations in the history of the religious stage.

LITERATURE.—Ethe, *Morgenländ. Studien* (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 174-194, also in *GlP* II. [1900] 315-316; Chodzko, *Théâtre persan* (Paris, 1878); Folly, *The Miracle Play of Hasan and*

Husain, Collected from Oral Tradition (2 vols., London, 1879); Montet, 'Religion et théâtre en Perse,' in *RHR* xiv. 277-290.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DRAMA (Polynesian).—Among the Polynesians, rudiments of the drama may be traced. While these embryo plays were often comic in character and analogous to the early Roman *fabula Atellanæ*, particularly in Raiatea (Cook, *Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World*, London, 1777, i. 173-176), they were evidently derived ultimately from religious sources. This is distinctly affirmed by Moerenhout (*Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, Paris, 1837, i. 133-134), who states that the dramas were presented under the auspices of the *Arii*, while the plays themselves were devoted to the description of the two principles, Taaroa and the matter with which he unites, the creation of the universe, the gods, elements, spirits, plants, and other productions of the earth; then the life of the demi-gods or heroes, their journeys, combats, and the like; then love-themes, dialogues between lovers (laments, quarrels, true comedy-scenes); and the presentations invariably ended in dances. It is also noteworthy that, according to the same traveller, the 'musicians, singers, and declaimers' at these plays had an orchestra slightly elevated above the rest, while the 'actors or dancers' occupied a special place before or in a house. It would therefore seem that the function of the Polynesian actor was primarily that of the mimetic dancer, the words being supplied by separate reciters, a proceeding for which parallels may be found elsewhere, as among the Javanese. The religious basis of the Polynesian drama receives an additional confirmation in the fact that plays were also presented in connexion with funerals.

LITERATURE.—Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker* (Leipzig, 1872), vi. 99-100.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DRAMA (Roman).—**1. Native Italic drama.**—The Roman critics were deeply interested in the Italic beginnings of their drama, and investigations of the subject seem to have begun as early as the time of Accius (c. 100 B.C.). Two generations later the whole subject was taken up and examined anew by Varro, notably in his lost *Origines Scenicae*. His views, so far as they survive, are found in the treatises of Diomedes and Donatus de *Comedia*. The intermediary was probably Suetonius. Apart from scattered references in various authors, we also have Horace (*Epist.* ii. 1. 139 ff.) and Livy (vii. 2). It is quite clear, however, that the Roman critics discovered nothing very definite.¹ This is shown by their lack of agreement on any given point, by their inconsistencies and incredible combinations; above all, by their frequent appeals to etymology, that last resort of the desperate investigator. It is impossible, for example, to reconcile Livy's famous account with facts, probabilities, or even possibilities. Jahn saw that it was the result of etymology and of mere philological 'combinations'; Leo pointed out that there was a more than suspicious parallelism with Aristotle's *ὑποκρίματα*, the standard work on the origins of the drama at this time; Hendrickson² followed and elaborated Leo by showing that Livy goes back to Accius—perhaps by way of some Annalist (Valerius Antias). Horace's account adds something to Livy's, but seems to have been derived more or less indirectly from the same source. Varro, as Hendrickson

¹ For the remains of antique discussion and criticism of the drama, see esp. G. Kaibel, *Comic Græcor. Frag.*, Berlin, 1899, vol. i. 1, p. 87. For the early period of the Roman drama the most important literature is cited by Schanz, *Röm. Literatur*, i. 1, 1898, par. 9.

² 'The Dramatic Satura and the Old Comedy at Rome,' *AJP* xv. (1894) 1-80. For Jahn, see *Hermes*, ii. (1867) 225; and for Leo, *ib.* xxiv. (1889) 67.

shows, was inclined to distrust the earlier (Accian?) account, and appears to have concluded that the Italic origins were a *terra incognita*.

Such were the views of the greatest Roman scholar; and, on the whole, we are still constrained to agree with them. Neither for him, however, nor for us do they preclude the existence of a native Italic drama in the wider sense. The Romans, like the Greeks, were gifted with a keen dramatic instinct and a large modicum of the mimetic faculty.

The liturgies of the *Salii* and of the *Arval Brothers*, the *carmina triumphalia*, the *versus Fescennini*, the songs of beggars and of shepherds—all indicate clearly enough that the temperament which is responsible for the modern *Commedia dell'Arte* is the same as that which greets us at the very dawn of history on the Italian Peninsula. Irrespective of the character and credibility of the testimony offered by the Roman critics, we may safely agree with Mommsen—and so far as the present discussion is concerned this is quite sufficient—that the simplest elements of the mimetic art were in Latium and Hellas altogether the same. The dance (*triumphus*, *θρίαμβος*, *διόθραμβος*), the use of masks or their equivalent, the accompaniment of the pipe, the rude songs ceremonially abusive and obscene (to avert the evil eye, as the *carmina triumphalia*, and the *versus Fescennini* at weddings), the wearing of the phallus for the same purpose—all in honour of the gods and associated from the first with rustic festivals—this protoplasm of the drama, to which Horace gives the indefinite name of *Fescennina licentia*, may be assumed for Italy quite as much as for Greece. In fact, if *Fescenninus* in this connexion (*Fescenninus versus*) is to be derived from *fascinum*, *Fescenninus* literally = *φαλλικός*, and the parallelism is complete between *Fescennina licentia* and *ῥὰ φαλλικά*, the phallic verses characterizing Aristotle's first division of the Comedy. The derivation from Fescennium (another antique theory) might have been suggested, though this is more than doubtful, by a trustworthy tradition that this old Latin town, so long under the influence of Etruria, was a centre of the worship referred to.

It is neither possible here nor necessary to discuss the vexed and vexing question of the dramatic *satura*, the name given by Livy to a play with a more or less amorphous plot and rude improvised dialogue assumed by his authority as the second stage in the development of dramatic art on Latin soil. It is not unlikely *per se* that a play of the type described did develop in Latium as it did in Greece, but, if *satura* is the traditional name of such a play instead of being (as Hendrickson suggests) merely a later invention, we should agree that the word was a corrupted form of *σάτυρος*, and look to Southern Italy for its ultimate origin.

However that may be, it is fairly certain that the Romans were affected at an early period by the Dorian comedy of their neighbours to the South. This is shown by Bethe's investigations,¹ and is in harmony with Livy's statement (vii. 2), under the year 364 B.C., that *histrío* is an Etruscan word, and that the artistic beginning of the drama came from Etruria. This means ultimately Magna Grecia, for in such matters Etruscan influence was Greek influence at second hand. Etruria was not creative in the sphere of art, it was not even a first class imitator; but it was a good purveyor.

2. The 'Palliata.'—Let us turn, however, from the crude beginnings of mimetic art, Italic or otherwise, to a brief consideration of the Roman drama as a literary production. From this point of view the Roman critics, especially after Varro, agreed that the first definite event in the history

¹ *Proleg. zur Gesch. des Theaters im Alterthum*, Leipzig, 1896.

of the department was associated with the year 240 B.C. The long war with Carthage had just been brought to a successful termination, and it is a matter of record that, in order to indicate its especial gratitude for Divine protection, the Government, among other things, commissioned the Greek freedman Livius Andronicus to enlarge the usual scope of the *Ludi Romani* by the presentation of two plays, a comedy and a tragedy, translated, or, more properly speaking, adapted from the Greek for a Roman audience. For the one he resorted to the New Comedy, which, being both contemporary and cosmopolitan, was best fitted to reach the hearts of another nationality; for the other he had a large body of old favourites from which to choose. The experiment was eminently successful, and it is characteristic of Roman conservatism, especially in connexion with any religious rite, that the types thus established were in certain respects rigidly adhered to. The *Comœdia Palliata* (from *pallium*, a Greek soldier's cloak) is always the adaptation of a play from the sphere of the New or occasionally (as perhaps in the case of the *Amphitruo*) of the Middle Comedy; the scene, the characters, and, as the name indicates, the costumes, are all Greek. The Greek atmosphere is not always consistently preserved, especially in Plautus; but even here, though the man lived and wrote during and immediately after the blazing excitement of the Second Punic War, deviations are for the most part unimportant and, so to speak, accidental. Comparison, however, with fragments of the Greek originals, wherever available, shows that the poet treated his exemplar with great freedom, both in content and in form, changing what was originally a dialogue in trimeters into the lyric measures of a *canticum*, abridging here, expanding there, and otherwise manipulating his text to suit his taste and that of his Roman audience. Frequently, too, he enlivened the action of his play by constructing an underplot from a certain number of scenes supplied by a second Greek exemplar. This process was technically known as *contaminatio*. On the whole, however, the *Palliata* is a faithful representation of the New Comedy of Greece. Indeed, owing to the loss of all complete originals, it is our only representative. The characteristics of this comedy of manners, or, as Ben Jonson would say, of 'humours,' are familiar to all.

The popularity of the *Palliata* and the creative period of its existence belong in round numbers to the century lying between 240 and 140 B.C. The names of at least twelve comic dramatists belonging to this period are known, and the number of *Palliata* written by them must have been not less than four hundred. We now have the six plays of Terence and twenty plays, more or less complete, of Plautus. Of the remainder, we have the names of about one hundred and forty plays, and fragments amounting in the aggregate to about eight hundred lines. Apart from Plautus and Terence, the great names of the department were Nævius and Cæcilius Statius. In the famous canon of Volcacius Sedigitus—which from time to time some scholar claims to understand—the order of merit is Cæcilius, Plautus, Nævius, Licinius, Atilius, Terence, Turpilius, Trabea, Luscius Lanuvinus, Ennius. Apparently the latest of the group was Turpilius, who died at Sinuessa in 103. He had already outlived the popularity of his department by nearly a generation.

The *Palliata* was carefully studied in the two great eras of Roman scholarship—the age of Varro and the age of Suetonius. Many plays of that type were doubtless composed, especially by 'persons of quality,' in the time of Domitian, when it was the fashion to write books. But, after the

first great period of its existence, the stage tradition of the *Palliata*, so far as we are now able to trace it, is largely the stage tradition of Plautus and Terence. Indeed, the only Roman comedy to survive, apart from these two authors, is a re-working of the *Aulularia*, belonging probably to the second half of the 4th cent. A.D., and known as the *Querolus*.¹

3. The 'Togata.'—This was the successor of the *Palliata* in public favour. Its *floruit* belongs to the two generations between the fall of the *Palliata* and the time of Sulla, and the great names of the department are Titinius, L. Afranius,² and T. Quintius Atta. Little is known of these men personally, except that Atta died in 77 B.C., and that Afranius was an older contemporary. Seventy titles and about four or five hundred fragments, mostly lexical, are all that remain of this type.

According to the ordinary Roman definition (e.g. esp. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 288), which we have inherited, the *Togata* was the Roman parallel of the *Palliata*. It was a Roman comedy of manners, representing Roman life, as the *Palliata* was a Greek comedy of manners representing Greek life. The scene was Roman and the costumes were Roman; hence, of course, the name. Thanks to Varro, however, we learn that this is not a definition of the *Fabula Togata* as a whole (which ought to mean any play distinctively Roman), but of its most important sub-variety, the *Tabernaria*. The distinction is valuable to us, because the word itself is more significant and descriptive than is *Togata*. Moreover, Diomedes adds that '*tabernariae dicuntur et humilitate personarum et argumentorum similitudine comoediis pares, in quibus non magistratus regesve sed humiles homines et privatae domus inducuntur, quae quidem olim quod tabulis tegebantur communiter tabernae vocabantur.*' This statement is amply supported by the titles and, so far as they go, by the fragments. The scene was generally (perhaps always) outside of Rome, and for the most part in the small towns of Southern Latium. Indeed, Mommsen claimed that the scene had to be laid in a town of the Latin league, because the poet was not allowed to represent either Rome or a Roman citizen on the stage. Hence Mommsen would connect the death of the *Togata* in Sulla's time with the extension of citizenship to the Latin towns at that date. If so, why was it that the *Togata* of the great masters were popular on the stage until late in the Empire?

The fifteen titles of Titinius represent what was originally about twenty thousand lines of text. About one hundred and eighty fragmentary verses survive. So far as form is concerned, the model was the *Palliata*. In his metrical art, Titinius followed the greater regularity of Terence, but in language and temperament he seems to have had more in common with Plautus. His plays were all family pieces, and it is clear that the life depicted was that of the lower classes and of the country folk. The prominence of women, noticeable not only in Titinius but in other authors of this type, is itself characteristic of Italian life. There is no sign of the kidnappers, and very little of the slaves which Festus tells us were standard characters in these plays. The only type suggesting the *Palliata* is the parasite. The others are more Italic, and remind us rather of the *Atellana* and the mime than of the *Palliata*.

By far the greatest, the most prolific, and the best known of the trio was Afranius. Indeed, like Molière and Ben Jonson, Afranius seems to have

¹ *Querolus* sive *Aulularia*, ed. by R. Peiper, Leipzig, 1876, etc.

² F. Marx, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 708 f. For the *Togata* as a department, see esp. Edmond Courbaud, *de Comœdia Togata*, Paris, 1899.

been an excellent illustration of Gildersleeve's statement that 'in literature as in life the greatest borrowers are often the richest men.' Cicero (*Brut.* 187) says that he imitated G. Titius the orator, and even in the disjointed fragments now surviving we hear echoes of Pacuvius, possibly even of Cato, but above all of Menander. In fact, enough is left of his prologue to the *Compitalia* to show not only that he followed Menander, but that he was criticized for it. His reply was that 'he borrowed not alone from Menander, but from any other writer, Greek or Latin, whenever he found something suitable to his purpose.' 'Why not? Is any Latin writer comparable with Terence in either language or wit? At the same time, was there ever such a borrower?' Evidently we have here the echoes of a lively discussion among the critics of the Gracchan Age—one which was doubtless taken up in some of the lost satires of Lucilius. Cicero (*de Fin.* i. 7) explains the nature of the debt to Menander. It concerned not plots, or scenes, or characters, but *locos quosdam*, detached passages; it was the same relation which Ennius bore to Homer that every first-class Roman poet bore to his Greek models. But in itself the genius of Afranius seems to have had much in common with that of Menander, and Horace's (*Epist.* ii. 1. 57) 'dictur Afranili toga convenisse Menandro' was evidently the prevailing opinion of critics in his time. Doubtless, he did not entirely accept it; nevertheless, he quotes it without comment. Forty-three titles and over four hundred lines of fragments survive. Noticeable in Afranius as compared with Titinius, and in Atta perhaps as compared with Afranius, is the steady growth towards the literary *Atellana* and mime, those rivals of the *Togata* which were already at hand.

The *Togata* was much read and admired as a classic in the age of Hadrian and the Antonines. After that we hear little of it. In all the great library of antique realism, now gone beyond recall, there is probably no department, at least so far as Rome is concerned, which we could so ill afford to lose. The literature of Rome as it now survives is largely the literature of a great capital—in other words, that portion of the written word which was capable of appealing to the common denominator of taste for a long stretch of time in a universal empire. Whatever was local or peculiar in form or content was for that very reason heavily handicapped in the struggle for existence all through the arid waste which lies between the 3rd or 4th century and the Renaissance. The *Togata* was the artistic comedy of the Roman bourgeoisie. It must have been an incomparable picture of the ordinary life of the Italian countryside, of old towns like Præneste or Veliternum, with all their local ambitions, characters, and peculiarities, during the 2nd cent. B.C. As it is, our knowledge of this aspect of antique Italian life must be derived for the most part from the priceless fragments of Petronius, and the great palimpsest of Pompeii written over by the hand of Vesuvius.

4. Tragedy.—The rules of the Roman tragedy founded by Livius Andronicus and developed by his followers are practically the same as those already stated for the *Palliata*. The great names are Ennius, his nephew Pacuvius, and Accius. Accius survived until the youth of Cicero, but it is clear that even then the stage tradition of the tragedy lived in the fame of the great actor Asopus rather than by the popularity of the department as such. The tragedy of this period, the only great period of its existence on Roman soil, is now represented by nearly one hundred titles and about twelve hundred lines of fragments. Among the numerous lost tragedies written in later times the famous *Thyestes* of Varius and the equally famous

Medea of Ovid were the most important. Irrespective of such monstrosities as the *Medea* of Hosidius Geta (a Vergilian cento [see *Anth. Lat.* 17, R]), the only survivors of this department are the plays of Seneca, belonging to the time of Nero. It has often been said, though the statement is really quite without warrant, that they were never intended for the stage. However that may be, it is certain that their influence on the early tragedy of England and France is one of the most important chapters in the formative history of the modern drama. Their connexion, if they have any, with the tragedy of the Republican period cannot be stated definitely. Formally speaking, the choruses go back to the school of Horace, and the plays throughout were deeply affected by contemporary rhetoric.

5. The 'Prætexta.'—The *Prætexta*, the Roman parallel to the *Tragædia* of Livius and his followers, as the *Togata* was the Roman parallel to the *Palliata*, was the invention of Nevius, the greatest constructive genius, perhaps, of Roman poetry. But, owing in part, no doubt, to the comparative poverty of native Roman legends, the idea was not especially fruitful. One example, however, survives. This is the *Octavia*, a play by some unknown author, probably of the Flavian period, and possibly connected in some way with the house of the Annæi, inasmuch as it has come down to us in the corpus of Seneca's tragedies.

So much for a brief survey of the Roman drama as a purely literary production from beginning to end (*Palliata* and *Togata*, *Tragædia* and *Prætexta*). It remains to consider those types of the drama which had a popular as well as a literary history. The most important of these, and the only ones with which we need to be concerned in the present inquiry, are the mime and the *Fabula Atellana*. Strictly speaking, the *Atellana* should be considered a variety of the mime. Here, however, we take it up first, not only because as a literary form it is the immediate successor of the *Togata* in public favour, but also because as a popular form it is probably the oldest dramatic entertainment known to have existed on Roman soil.

6. The 'Atellana.'—The *Fabula Atellana*¹ is the 'play from Atella,' a little town in Campania. Campanian origin is also attested by the fact that the play was known as 'Oscan,' and the characters as 'Oscæ personæ' (Diomedes, i. 490, i.e. Varro). Generally speaking, of course, these plays were acted in Latin, but Strabo (v. 233; cf. Sueton. *Jul.* 39) tells us that in his time (the Augustan Age) they were still acted in Oscan *κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν πάτριον*, 'during the national festival.' This statement, so far from being incredible, as many have thought, is merely an excellent illustration of the well-known tendency of liturgy to linguistic conservatism (compare the use of Sumero-Akkadian by the Babylonians; of Greek in the Roman worship of Ceres, as attested by Polybius, xxx. 14, and Cic. *Balb.* 55; of Greek in the Russian, and of Latin in the Roman Church, etc.). It proves beyond a doubt not only that the play was Oscan, but that the Romans took it over in the first place in consequence of some vow or in connexion with some special occasion, and acted it at 'the national festival.' It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the small and obscure town of Campania recorded in the title *Atellana* was either the centre of the worship commemorated or in some way associated with its adoption. The date, though uncertain, was at least anterior to the time of Livius Andronicus, and probably by a considerable period. This is shown in two ways. The first is

¹ F. Marx, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1914 ff., with ref.; A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella, Pompejanische Wandbilder und römische Satyrspele*, Leipzig, 1897.

derived from the special and peculiar privileges of the actors. The first actors hired by Livius Andronicus were either slaves or freedmen. Hence the invariable rule of later days that no Roman citizen could go on the stage without *ipso facto* incurring *infamia*, i.e. the loss of certain important civic rights (as exemplified, for instance, by the famous case of the mimograph Laberius in Caesar's time). The one exception was the *Atellana*. Here and here only the actor was not obliged to remove his mask, and a citizen could take part without incurring any legal disability. This can only mean that the *Atellana* was introduced at a time when the Romans had no professional actors, and probably no festival at which theatrical performances were regularly given. The *Atellana* had been acted by Campanian citizens. The Romans followed their model, and acted the play themselves as best they could. When the Greek drama was introduced in 240 B.C. with its professional actors (slaves and freedmen), the business ceased to be honourable, and Roman citizens gave it up. But that they had once taken part in the *Atellana* was reflected in the freedom from *infamia* which ever after remained a privilege of the actors in this particular type of drama. The special privilege of retaining the mask also shows that the *Atellana* came early to Rome; not, however, because the professional played without a mask in early times, but because of the extreme antiquity of masks in the religious rite.

The second argument for the high antiquity of the *Atellana* among the Romans is derived from the well-known principle that, unless the ground is already occupied, the play always brings its theatre with it. Now, Bethe (*Proleg. zur Gesch. des Theaters im Alterthum*, Leipzig, 1896) has shown, we think conclusively, that the peculiar shape of the Roman stage, about which so much has been written, is not due to the fact that it was a modification of the Hellenistic type. On the contrary, it reflects the type associated from time immemorial with the *Atellana*. In other words, when Livius Andronicus brought out his first Greek plays, the *Atellana* was already in possession, and he adopted its stage as a matter of course. The same rule and the same line of investigation applied to the stage of the *Atellana* itself tend to prove that this play was not an Oscan invention. It was a popular Oscan representation of the *φλόακες*, one of the oldest types of the ancient Dorian comedy in Southern Italy.

The importation of the *Atellana* to Rome may have been due to some incident in connexion with the fall of Campania in 338. Perhaps, too, Livy's description of the play which he calls a *satira* may go back ultimately to a confused recollection of the Roman *Atellana* in those early days.

Like all genuine folk-dramas, the *Atellana* was not committed to writing. The actors merely agreed upon the plot. The dialogue was improvised. The characters were confined to a certain number of fixed types, each with a generic name, and there were no women. These features are all typical of genuine folk-drama the world over, and the last two, especially, indicate the high antiquity of the play. The use of masks has already been mentioned. This and the wearing of the phallus are ceremonial, and show the antiquity of the type. The use of masks also accounts for the extreme liveliness of gesture characteristic of the *Atellana* (Juvenal, vi. 71). They were also peculiarly applicable for 'Oscan personae,' for a play in which all the characters were fixed. The plot, whatever it happened to be, attached itself to these familiar personified types, and represented their various adventures in the given situations. As befitted the roaring farce, the situation was always ludicrous and the plot

full of intrigue. In fact, 'intrigue' is derived from *trix* (Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, 98, n. 2), and *trix*, 'tricks,' was the word used to describe the action of these plays (Varro, *Sat. Men.* 182 B; cf. Ribbeck, *Leipzig. Stud.* ix. [1886] 337). The language was conversational, and the life depicted was the life of ordinary people (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vii. 84). Obscenity was notably prominent (Quint. vi. 3. 47, etc.); but this, too, was ceremonial and traditional as well as a matter of choice. The most striking and instructive modern parallel—in fact, if we may believe Dieterich, the actual descendant and representative of the *Atellana* in the world of to-day—is the Neapolitan *Commedia dell' Arte*.

The four fixed characters of the *Atellana* are Maccus, Bucco, Pappus, and Dossenus. Maccus (probably Oscan and borrowed from μακκοῦς, to sit 'mooning') is stupid, greedy, and lustful—the butt of every one. He corresponds to *Strupidus* in the mime. His weapon is the 'clava scirpea' (Novius, 79 R), for which we have a striking parallel in Bajazzo (of the *Commedia dell' Arte*), i.e. Pagliazzo, the man with the 'hay club' (Dieterich, p. 112). Bucco (a popular derivation from vulgar Latin *bucca*, as the name indicates; cf. Gr. *βυβων*) is a great eater, a huge talker, an unconscionable braggart, an arrant coward. 'Over-large jaws,' as we learn from the old *Scriptores Physiognomonici* (i. 412, 7 Foerster), 'betoken a blockhead, a babler, a well-spring of words, words, words,' a man who 'talks with his mouth' (*bucca*), as our popular expression goes. Bucco is the talkative and aggressive fool, the 'cheerful ass,' as opposed to Maccus the great gaby, the simple and confiding blockhead. Pappus (from Greek πάππος) is the 'old man,' avaricious, surly, lustful, foolish, conceited, therefore always being overreached: in short, Pappus is Pantalone. Dossenus (from *dorsum*, a pure Latin word) is 'the man with the back,' i.e. the hunchback. In the popular conception this affliction has always implied wisdom and cunning (cf. Æsop) as well as certain powers more or less uncanny. Hence, in the *Atellana*, Dossenus, like his modern representative *Il Dottore*, in *Pulcinella*, is the sly and cunning rascal, the 'professor,' the caricature of the scholar and philosopher. His second name of Manducus (cf. *manducare*, *mangiare*, *manger*) shows that, like Bucco, he is also a great eater.

Such were the standard characters, and such seem to have been the main characteristics of the *Atellana* in its traditional and purely popular form.

For a brief period this old folk-drama was raised to the dignity of a literary department, and succeeded the *Togata* in public favour. The period is the time of Sulla, and the great names are Pomponius of Bologna and Novius. The lines upon which they worked out the problem were doubtless suggested in no small degree by the dramatic studies of Accius and his contemporary, C. Julius Cæsar Strabo. These men investigated the Roman drama in connexion with Greek models, the question of correct titles (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* x. 70), of masks, etc. Influence of the *Palliata* and *Togata* is suggested, though not proved, by occasional identity of titles. We also hear of *cantica* in Galba's time (Suet. *Nero*, 39, *Galba*, 13), and it is natural to suppose that in raising the old farce to the dignity of a literary product something was borrowed from the higher types. It is clear, however, that the essential characteristics of the folk-drama were all preserved. The dialogue was now written out, of course, and the statement of Terentianus Maurus (vi. 396 K), that the metre used was the *septenarius*, is borne out by the fragments. In other words, there was no recitative, the play was all comic. Indeed, in language, humour, and situation these plays were more distinctly

Aristophanic than anything else in Roman literature. Equally Aristophanic was the habit of personal criticism, the *ὀνομαστικὴ κωμωδία*, of which we hear during the Empire from Tiberius to Trajan (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 14; Suet. *Tib.* 45, *Calig.* 27, *Nero*, 39, *Galba*, 13, etc.).

With the rise of the *Atellana* to a literary form, we have to deal with a confused and confusing tangle of testimonies regarding the *Atellana*, the *Exodium*, the *Rhinthonica*, and the Greek Satyr-drama.

The conclusion seems to be (cf. schol. Juv. iii. 175, vi. 71; Suet. *Tib.* 45; Cic. *Fam.* vii. 1, ix. 16) that the literary *Atellana* was used as an *exodium*, and the first mention of the word in Lucilius (180-103 B.C.) coincides with its development in this sphere. A short piece of three to four hundred lines, and with only a few actors (Ascon. on Cic. *Verr.* 15), it seemed hardly worth while, so to speak, to put it on the stage by itself. Apparently, therefore, it was the analogy of the Satyr-drama that suggested the use of the literary *Atellana* as an *exodium*, an after-piece. By later critics it actually was identified with the Satyr-drama (schol. Juv. vi. 71; Porphy. on Hor. *Ars Poet.* 221, etc.). But it is hard to see how the two could coalesce. The literary model for the *Atellana* to follow ought to be the *Hilarotragedia*, the *Rhinthonica* (Porphy. l.c.; schol. Juv. l.c.), and that it actually did so is suggested by certain titles of Pomponius (Vahlen, *Rhein. Mus.* xvi. [1861] 472). As Rhinthon's plays were travesties of Euripides, so the *Rhinthonica* of Pomponius and Novius were travesties of Pacuvius and Accius. Were the *Rhinthonica* of Pomponius and Novius *Atellanae*, or is this idea of later critics due to the fact that Pomponius and Novius wrote both kinds and used both kinds as *exodia*? We believe Marx is right in adopting the second alternative. In fact, the loss of all these departments, the similarity in type, use, titles, and characters, make it extremely difficult to decide whether the *Atellana*, *Rhinthonica*, and Satyr-drama ever did coalesce to any extent. Probably not. The explanation seems to be that Pomponius and Novius wrote all three and used them for *exodia*.

The *Atellana* was evidently popular under the Empire; the old folk-drama was never forgotten, but as a living department of literature it seems to have been largely the creation of these two men, and as early as 55 B.C. (cf. Cic. *Fam.* vii. 1, 3 [written in 46]) the literary *Atellana* as an *exodium* had already given way to the mimes of Decimus Laberius and Publius Syrus, the only two men of note who raised the mime to a literary form in the Latin language. If this were all, or if this chapter could be dealt with independently, the mime might be dismissed with the few phrases usually accorded to it. We have learned from Reich,¹ however, that this cannot be done, and with his general conclusions we must agree in the main. The literary productions of Laberius and Syrus, like the *Atellana* by which the mime was preceded, are a mere branch of the parent stock.

7. The mime.—In its larger sense the mime is the most important phenomenon in the history of dramatic art; it appears in a dozen different forms, it is responsible for a dozen others; the history of it is the history of the growth of realism, of the rise of the democracy; it has popular periods and literary periods, a Greek history, a Roman history, a Græco-Roman history, a modern history. Indeed, after reading Reich one may sum up the whole story of the antique drama with the simple phrase, 'Mime thou wert, to mime didst thou return.' For the complete and detailed discussion of this long and interesting development, the reader is referred to Reich himself. Here it is manifestly impossible to give anything more than some of the important facts in outline.

The earliest appearance of the word 'mime' is as a title for the famous compositions of Sophron (5th cent. B.C.). These dramatic presentations of single incidents or situations, according to Suidas, were in prose and written in the Doric dialect. The substitution of the *scæzon* for prose gives the form and the atmosphere of the *mimiambi* of Herondas, the Teniers of Alexandrian life. A more elevated metre, on the other hand, starts us, by way of Sophron's imitator Theocritus, on the long history of bucolic poetry. A convenient generic term for

this type is Reich's *mimologia*, i.e. the mime as a recitation.

There were also purely lyric mimes, which were sung. To these Reich gives the generic title of *mimodia*. Particular species of it are *magodia*, *Simodia*, *hilarodia*, *Lysiodia*. Between the two we have *kinaidologia* and *Ionikologia*, all in verse, but partly recited, partly sung. Finally, in the Alexandrian period, comes the fully developed mimetic drama, which was a combination of *mimologia* and *mimodia*, and retained the characteristics of both. With a fully developed plot, it had prose parts and iambic parts, like the *mimologia*, and lyric parts—*cantica*—like the *mimodia*. With the conquests of Alexander this new invention began to spread in the Greek East, and soon took entire possession of it. Indeed, the time came when it ruled the stage, even to the exclusion of its ancient rival, the comedies of Menander.

Toward the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., after the Romans conquered the East, and especially after Sulla's time, they brought the dramatic mime to Rome. From Rome it spread over the West, and thenceforth held possession of the entire Græco-Roman theatre until the fall of the Empire. The irruption of the Barbarians upon the West made an end of the theatre. Only the *mimi* survived, and they did so by returning to their primitive original function of *θαυματοποιὸι* and *γελωτοποιὸι*. Such were those tumblers, jugglers, etc., of later times who went on with the ancient art of the *mimus*. It was thus that the mime of antiquity was enabled to survive the Middle Ages and reach modern days alive. In the Greek East the mime was not subjected to the same strain. For centuries the Byzantines clung to the classic dramatic mimes of Philistion. They also produced a large number of mimographs, and a number of new mimic types and figures were added to the old stock inherited from classical times. Here, as in the West, the regular classical drama had long since disappeared from the stage. When Byzantium fell, the remains of Greek culture took refuge in Italy, to reappear there at the Renaissance. Only the mime remained, and in a debased form survives to-day in the Turkish popular drama known as the *karagöz*. Two distinguishing features of the mime from beginning to end and in all its types and variations have been the mimic dance and the wearing of the phallus. The mime of all times and forms is also realistic; the very name implies it. Of course, all poetry was properly defined as *μυμνῆσις*, but the mime was felt to represent a specific type; to give the substance of Diomedes' definition (i. 491 K), it was realism unmitigated and undiluted. We get an idea of the relentless realism of the mime when we see how much of it is still left in the refined literary representatives of it furnished by Theocritus and Herondas. Without the restraint of higher genius and literary form, it was easy for the realism of the mime to sink to mere obscenity and its wit to mere dullness.

The realism of the mime is also seen in its characters. Many of them, perhaps all, were creations of the ancient folk-mime, and had long been familiar to all classes from this source. As early perhaps as the 6th or 7th cent. B.C. we have the first development of this species of folk-composition by quasi-professionals, those *θαυματοποιὸι*, jugglers, rope-dancers, ventriloquists, and other homeless nomads who had been wandering about through Greece and elsewhere from time immemorial. They must soon have seen the advantage of the mimic dance, and of the mime itself, whether spoken or sung, for getting together an audience. In this way, thinks Reich, sprang up a new profession, that of the wandering *mimi*.

Among all the varieties of dramatic composition

¹ Reich, *Der Mimos, ein literar-entwickelungsgeschichtl. Versuch*, vol. i., Berlin, 1908.

the mime was the lowest, as it were, in the social scale. The same was true of the actors. Even the players of the *kithara* and flute were admitted to the Dionysiac gild, but never the *mimus*; he was always looked down upon by his more distinguished colleagues. The difference was marked from the first by the fact that the actors wore no masks, and that women's parts were taken by women. Doubtless, this was inherited from their early days as jugglers, but the 'regulars' even in their own later and evil days would never join the *mimi* on account of the women.

A convenient division of the mime as a whole is afforded by the words *παλινος* and *ὑπόθεσις*. The mimic *ὑπόθεσις* is the developed mimic drama, the regular dramatic mime; the *παλινος* is everything below it, i.e. *hilarodia*, *magodia*, etc., mentioned above, *kinaidologia*, *Ionikologia*, *φλόακες*, even the works of Sophron, etc., none of which were regular dramas. Frequently the *παλινος* is what we should call a music-hall 'turn.' It was extremely popular in both Greece and Rome; and there were many varieties, such as educated animals (Vopiscus, *Carinus*, 19; Plutarch, *de Sollert. Anim.* 19, etc.), and special feats of imitation. Imitation of pigs seems to have been particularly popular (Phaedrus, v. 5; Plutarch, *Mor.* 674 B; *Paræm. Græc.* ii. 84, etc.). Plato (*Rep.* iii. 8) speaks of performers who could give perfect imitations of animals, the sound of running water, the sea, thunder, etc. See also Friedländer's *Petronius*, 1891, pp. 64, 68, 69, and 293 (note). These varieties of *μῦθους* are eternally popular.

The most important figure in the history of the department is Philistion, who lived and wrote in Rome during the 1st cent. A.D. He is the classic of the mimic *ὑπόθεσις*, the regular dramatic mime; hence the comparison of him with Menander, the classic of the New Comedy.¹ The statement of Cassiodorus (*Var.* iv. 21), that he invented the (dramatic) mime, is doubtless due to the fact that he was the first to write it all out, i.e. the dialogue as well as the songs. Evidently he was the culmination of the mime among the Greeks. But the beginnings of it take us back to pre-historic times. The mime of Sicily and Italy came from the Peloponnese with the early Dorian settlers. It was extremely popular in Sicilian Megara and Syracuse. Tarentum was especially fond of the Italic mime, the *φλόαξ*. All these cities were founded near the beginning of the 8th cent. B.C.

The original kernel of the mime, the source from which it sprang, was the mimic dance, the beginnings of which belonged to the Stone Age, and may be seen to-day among all peoples who still belong to that stage of civilization. The ancients never forgot the connexion between the two. The mimic dance survived in all types, and the *mimus* himself was always a trained dancer. The *kinaidologi*, for instance, were originally dancers who thus accompanied their *δοῦρα ἰωνικά* (cf. Petron. 23); Hesyehinus describes the *magodia* itself as *ὀρχήνης ἀπαλή*, the Romans designated the action of the *ὑπόθεσις* by *saltare*, and the actresses were known as *saltatriculæ*. The use of *gesticulatorius* in the same connexion indicates the kind of dance.

The development of troupes of regular professional *mimi* from the old wandering *γελοιοποιοί* of primitive times seems to have taken place about the 3rd cent. B.C. These primitive ancestors of the mediæval *jongleurs* had gradually taken up all the types and themes of the old rustic mime. They travelled everywhere, they were great favourites at the court of Philip, and hordes of them followed Alexander into Asia Minor. Here the Dorian

mime met the Ionian mime, and the result was the *ὑπόθεσις*, the regular dramatic mime. The Dorian mime was originally prose (hence Sophron), although great artists like Epicharmus put it into metre. The dramatic mime (*ὑπόθεσις*), however, was noted for its *cantica*, and this combination of Dorian prose (*mimologia*) and Ionian song (*mimodia*) is what ensured the lasting success of the dramatic mime. Great emphasis was laid upon *mimodia*, and this brings the dramatic mime near to the modern opera or operetta. In this way, too, we get a substitute for the missing chorus of the *Palliata*. Plautus took over *mimodia*, and the result is the mimic *canticum* of his comedies. Pomponius and Novius seem to have done the same thing for their *Atellanae*.

Now, the Ionian *mimodia* itself, like the *ὑπόθεσις*, throughout its entire history, falls into a mythological and a 'biological' type (cf. Aristox. *ap. Athen.* xiv. 621 C), the one, *hilarodia* (and *Lysiodia*), dealing with mythology and the gods (paratrage and burlesque), the other, *magodia*, with real life. Both were entirely melic, and in both singing was accompanied and supported by mimic dance and gesture; but the accompaniment of *hilarodia* was stringed instruments, of *magodia*, drums and cymbals (Athen. 620 D-621 D), and the choice of instruments itself indicates that the dancing of the latter was much freer and more lascivious.

Hilarodia and *magodia* were wide-spread and very popular in Ionia, and acquired literary form—*hilarodia* through Simos of Magnesia, *magodia* through Lysis. Hence these new literary types were called after their founders *Simodia* (*hilarodia*) and *Lysiodia* (*magodia*). Through famous poets and a regular class of actors these two types of Ionian *mimodia* survived into Roman times. Sulla's friend Metrobius was an actor of the *Lysiodia*.

Kinaidologia, or *Ionikologia*, was another type of the Ionian mime. This was not really sung, although accompanied by the mimic dance (hence it was more *mimologia* than *mimodia*). This also was very popular in Ionia, and was cultivated by such famous poets as Sotades, Alexander Aetolus, Pigres, etc.

It will thus be seen that we have an unbroken connexion between the mimic-dramatic dances of the primitive Greeks, the ancient folk-mimes of the Dorians, the Italic *φλόακες* of the 8th cent. B.C., and the dramatic mime of later times (not only in its popular form, but in its literary form; Laberius and Syrus on the Latin side, Philistion and his successors on the Greek side).

The relation of Rome to Greece in the matter of the mime now becomes more definite. Antiodemis (Antipater Sidon. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 567), the actress of *Lysiodia*, came to Rome in the 2nd cent. B.C.; Metrobius, as we have seen, in the 1st cent. B.C. In 211 B.C. an old *mimus* (Festus, 326) danced to the flute in the Roman theatre. His dance was an intermezzo, but his mere presence shows that the *mimi* had already reached Rome. The *mimi* who satirized Lucilius and Accius (150 B.C.) from the stage were following an old-established custom of the dramatic mime (*ὑπόθεσις*). The fact that they took such liberties shows that even then they must have been in Rome for a long time. The satire in question must have taken place at the *Floralia* (April 28-May 3), which was the special feast at which mimes were given. The *Floralia* were first celebrated in 238 B.C., and every year after 173. It is quite possible that the mime was connected with this feast from the first. In that case, the dramatic mime, which was established in the Greek East by the 3rd cent. B.C., was already settled in Rome in connexion with the *Floralia* by the end of the same century. Thus we see how the mimodic portion of the dramatic mime was the suggestion

¹ Σίγκριππος Μενάνδρου καὶ Φιλιστίωνος, ed. Boissonade, *Anecd. Græcæ*, 1829, l. 147-152; and by Studemund, *Lektionskatalog*, Breslau, 1887.

of the *cantica* of Plautus and Cæcilius Statius. The introduction of the mime and of *mimi* at that time was facilitated by the fall of Tarentum in 272, and by the fact that in 190 Scipio Asiaticus returned from Antioch, a centre of the dramatic mime, just as long afterwards Verus (Capitol. viii. 7) came back from his Parthian campaign with shiploads of *mimi*.

The early *mimi*, of course, acted in Greek, and the *scena Græca* remained in Rome until Theodoric.¹ One is reminded of such modern parallels as the *Théâtre italien* in Paris, etc. The Latin mime was a copy of the Greek (technical terms, rules, etc.).²

Having traced the history of the department as a whole, let us pause a moment upon the fully developed dramatic mime of the best period. We have already seen that it inherited dialogue in prose and iambic verse, also lyric portions (*cantica*), accompanied by music and the traditional mimic dance. The same principle also justified the introduction of *salvina*, such as trained animals, imitations, etc. In plot, too, and in length it was fully equal to the old classical drama; in compass and variety it was superior.

A good example of the type is an old favourite, well known to Ovid, and still popular in the days of Chrysostom and Choriokios.³ The name of the piece has not survived; we might, however, for convenience call it *Divorçons*, as it is an early exploitation of the inevitable 'triangle'. In the first scene we have the facile young wife and the jealous husband. Then the lover, the *cultus adulter* as he is called, appears, and with the help of Thyme's faithful abigail, the *cata carressa*, gains an interview with her mistress in the absence of Corinthus. In the following scenes the jealous husband is subjected to all sorts of tricks and mystifications, *artes mimice*. Finally, the lover has to hide from him in a large chest (*perituri cista Latini*). He is discovered. The husband, breathing fire, tells the slave to fetch him a knife, large and very sharp, as he proposes to render the *cultus adulter* harmless. Then he changes his mind, and decides to air his wrongs in court. Then comes the court scene, and the piece is brought to an end in some farcical fashion.

The final tableau of *Divorçons* requires not only the three principal characters and the judge to be on the stage at the same time, but also a throng of slaves, witnesses, court officials, supernumeraries, etc. Other plays show even more clearly that in the mime, as in the modern drama, with which, in fact, it has much in common, the actor played but one part and the number was unrestricted. It is also clear that the 'unities' were disregarded.

Variety in form was accompanied by variety in characters. True to its composite origin, the mime is hospitable to all, from thieves and prostitutes to emperors and gods.⁴ The same was true of costume. The *Stupidus*, or clown (a typical character inherited from the primitive stock), wore the regular clown's costume, the *centunculus* (cf. the mediæval 'motley'), a shaved head, an *apeca*, a mimic club (like Maccus and Bajazzo), and always the phallus. The old women, too, wore a burlesque costume. Otherwise, as in the modern drama, the dress was according to the character and the situations.

So, too, the whole gamut of human emotions was played upon: comic and tragic, humour and sentiment, go hand in hand, as in the Romantic comedy of the Elizabethan Age. The titles of Laberius suggest realistic plots for the most part. It is doubtful, however, whether such mimes as his *Necyomantia* and *Lacus Avernus* were altogether realistic. In fact, even when the mime dealt with contemporary life and was purely realistic, great emphasis was laid on the unusual, strange, and astonishing. Nothing indicates more clearly the really popular origin of the mime.⁵ A favourite character was the beggar who suddenly

becomes rich (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 27); another, the rich man who becomes a beggar (Sen. *Epist.* 113. 6). Shipwreck was a favourite *motif* (Sen. *Dial.* iv. 2, 5; Petron. 114 and 115). The *Laureolus*, a favourite mime of Domitian's time, gave the romantic adventures of a robber chieftain, and ended with his execution. Especially characteristic of the mime was some serious crime, something unusual and horrible, like parricide or incest or poisoning. Trials for perjury or poisoning are frequent, and generally serve for the *dénouement*. An interesting example, which will also illustrate the part occasionally taken by animals (cf. such titles of Laberius as *Catularius* and *Scylla*, and see Petron. 95), is given by Plutarch, *de Solert. Anim.* ix. 7.

This was a mime with a large number of characters and a complicated plot, which he saw in the theatre of Marcellus. Vespasian himself was present. The intrigue centred in what purported to be a poison, but was in reality a sleeping potion. As in the case of Juliet, whoever took it apparently died, but after a time revived. One of the star actors was a trained dog, and the most important incident of the mime, because it doubtless led to the *dénouement*, was trying the effect of the supposed poison upon him. As soon as he had eaten the piece of bread upon which the poison had been placed, he began to tremble and stagger, his head grew heavy, and he finally stiffened out as if dead, and allowed himself to be carried about in that state. When it was time to recover, he imitated perfectly all the phases of returning consciousness, and, while the actors indicated their astonishment at the fact that the supposed victim of a deadly dose had come to life again, the dog himself ran to his master and joyously fawned upon him.

The connexion of this incident with the plot is not stated, but we may believe with Reich that there was a connexion, and that the probable nature of it is illustrated by (the mime from which was derived?) the famous story of Apuleius, *Met.* 10. 2. A rich old grandee took for a second wife a young and very beautiful woman. She fell violently in love with her stepson, but was rejected by him, and her passion was turned to hatred. (Note that this *motif* has been a popular favourite ever since the days of Joseph and Hippolytus. It appears constantly in folk-tradition, in the mime, in that echo of the mime, the rhetorical *controversie* and *suasoria*, in the Italian *novelle*, etc.) A slave procures her a sudden and deadly poison, she drops it in a cup of wine, and the pair leave it where the young man will take it without arousing suspicion. Presently, however, her own son returns from school, and, being thirsty—as small boys always are—drinks the wine and falls dead on the spot. (Hell is the unexpected turn of fortune which the mime, that faithful interpreter of the popular mind, so dearly loves.)

It is, of course, clear to all that the child has died of poison. The woman accuses her stepson of the deed, and alleges as a cause that he had attempted incest with herself. The young man is arrested, there is a great trial scene in court, and, after much oratory on both sides, he is condemned to death. At this point, however, we have another unexpected turn. An old judge, who is also a skilful physician, has been quietly listening to the trial all this time. At this point he rises to his feet and informs the court that he himself had sold the drug to the slave, and that it is not a poison at all, but a sleeping potion. 'Let us go now to the tomb,' said he, 'the child will soon be waking up.' Thus the woman's guilt was discovered; but, true to the mime, she was merely turned adrift, not executed.

Another plot eminently characteristic of the mime is Phædrus, *App.* xiv. 'The two suitors,' which reappears in an old French *fabliau* known as 'Le vair Palefroi,' 'The grey Horse.'

This is Romantic comedy. So, too, the mime takes us into the world of phantasy. Witches, warlocks, magicians, prophets, ghosts, are all favourite characters. In the old Dorian mime popular demons were presented, and the metamorphosis of men into animals, which is well attested for the mime of all periods, takes us straight into the fantastic land of 'the Frog King,' of 'Beauty and the Beast,' of 'the Golden Crab,' of 'the Three Citrons,' and the like. In this function the mime is a curiously complete prototype of Carlo Gozzi's famous experiment with the fairy tales of Italy. To the same category belong the mythological mimes, *Priapus*, *Anna Perenna*, *Anubis Moechus*,¹ *Kinyras* and *Myrrha* (Jos. *Ant.*

the survival of the *Sententie* of Syrus. These were extracted from his mimes at an early date, and published as a sort of *vademecum* for the use of students and professors, from which might be drawn those sententious observations so dearly loved by the rhetoric of the Silver Age. For those who wish to recover the plots, scenes, and *motifs* most characteristic of the mime, the practice declamations of the rhetorical schools probably afford the richest field for investigation.

¹ See esp. Zieliński, *Die Märchenkomödie in Athen*, St. Petersburg, 1885; Weinreich, *Trug des Nektanebos*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 25.

¹ Cicero, *Fam.* vii. 1; Sueton. *Jul.* 20, etc.

² See Reich, *op. cit.* p. 561 f., for details.

³ Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 497 f., etc.; Juvenal, viii. 193, vi. 42; Chrysost. II. 318. 13; Choriokios (Reich, p. 204 ff.). In Juvenal's time the wife was acted by Thyme, the husband by Corinthus, the lover by Latinus. They were all famous 'artists.' Thyme well might be called the Mrs. Bracegirdle of the Flavian period.

⁴ See esp. Cyprian, *de Spect.* 6. Many titles of Laberius and Syrus speak for themselves in this respect.

⁵ The Latin mimes were carefully studied in the rhetorical schools during and after the Augustan Age. To this fact is due

XIX. i. 15), *Paris and Cēnone* (cf. Suet. *Dom.* 19), Philistion's *Deukalion* and *Pyrrha*, etc.

It will be seen that in form and type the mime was not subject to the restrictions of the classical drama most familiar to us. It may be added that the same was true of many details of its presentation. First and most important, the actors, as we have already seen, never wore masks. It is not necessary to explain what this means for dramatic art. The *mime* wore his own face only; indeed, one of the principal characters of the mime was known in Latin as *Sannio* (Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 61), i.e. 'the man who makes faces'—a speciality of the mime.¹ So, too, as we have seen, only in the mime were women's parts always taken by women. And, as there was no restriction of type, the characters included women of all ages and kinds. It is characteristic of the mime as a whole, however, that old women should be a speciality. This enabled a talented actress to keep on indefinitely (Pliny, *HN* vii. 48).

The original stage of the mime, as we see from old vase paintings of the *phylakes*,² was a platform on props about three feet from the ground, and with steps in front by which the actor mounted. Change to the regular stage was very slow. With the beginning of the theatres the mime was acted on a small platform in the orchestra and in front of the regular stage. It was thus given as an *emboliarium* (Diomed. 490) or *intermezzo*. The next step was to the regular stage, upon which in Cicero's time the mime took the place of the *Atellana* as an *exodium* (Cic. *Fam.* ix. 16). At the *Floralia*, however, it had always been acted independently, and it gradually drew away from its function as an *exodium* (Diomed. 491 f.), until in the early Empire it took to the regular stage, upon which, together with the pantomime, it finally ruled alone. One distinction, however, survived. The mime was acted in front of the *siparium*, and it was through this that the actors made their exits and entrances. The stage was dressed as in Shakespeare's time, but, as also in Shakespeare's time, there was no scene-shifting. Claudian (*Epig. Græc.* 6) shows that there was, as we might assume, a regular *corps de ballet*. Doubtless it filled the same place and did much the same thing as in our times.

In view of what has been said, it is not difficult to understand why the fully developed dramatic mime, in spite of its faults, finally ruled alone. If the drama springs from the people, and if its highest function is to represent their life and their point of view, then the dramatic mime has a greater right to be called the national drama of the Græco-Roman world than has the classical drama of Greece or its short-lived and always more or less exotic representative in Rome. It is likely that Quintilian's verdict of 'in comœdia maxime claudicamus' might have been applied with equal justice to the Roman tragedy. Cicero was a notorious lover of the mime, a man of judgment and taste in such matters, if there ever was one. It is true, of course, that the mime was the drama of the age, and that the age was an age of realism. For that reason alone the average man of to-day would doubtless have agreed with him. But, after all, the realism of Cicero's time, however relentless, was not the realism of our time. The mimograph of those days, realist though he was, still possessed the vivid imagination, the nimble fancy, and, therefore, the sentiment of his race and time—those qualities without which the bubbling well-spring of humour and invention must soon dry up. Moreover, his audience was

endowed with the same qualities. It still believed in ghosts and magic, it still had a folk-lore, it still possessed an incomparably rich mythology. Hence the real world of antiquity finds its parallel in the age of Elizabeth rather than in our own. It was only partially real after all. And so the mime, like the Elizabethan 'tragi-comedy,' was now wildly humorous, now fantastically horrible. The Romantic and the real, humour and pathos, comic and tragic, fact and fancy—all these and more were called upon to picture a life which, real as it once was, is no longer ours and will never be ours again.

The dramatic mime, however, seems never to have taken its position as a great literary department. In the long run the habit of leaving the dialogue to the actors proved to be inveterate, and this alone would have been fatal. But the most serious menace to the mime was its own splendid inheritance of versatility. Dialogue and plot, music, singing, dancing, an occasional weakness for 'specialities'—the combination is unstable, and, except in the hands of a great genius like Philistion, one or another was sure to be magnified at the expense of the rest. Audiences are uncritical, playwrights are human, actors are—actors. Between the three the mime of the 4th cent. A.D. no doubt deserved the adverse criticism bestowed upon it by Donatus and Cassiodorus. But, whatever its faults and virtues, the vitality of the mime was amazing. Time and change, national ruin, ecclesiastical fulmination and anathema—nothing could prevail against it. We cannot ignore a dramatic type which finally ousted both Euripides and Menander from the stage, and ruled alone for over half a millennium.

8. State control of the theatre.—The Roman theatre,¹ like the Roman play, and, for the most part, the details of its presentation, were a continuation and development of the Greek prototypes as they existed in the Alexandrian period. All derive ultimately from the one fact that the Roman play, like its predecessor, was clearly and distinctly an act of worship to the gods. It was, therefore, given at festivals, more especially at those festivals which the State religion, hence the State itself, had set apart for purposes of public worship. The plays were merely one item of the ritual observed. Other items were the races, gladiatorial combats, etc., which gave the general name of *ludi* to these occasions. In the time of Augustus, the regular annual *ludi*, during which plays were given, were the *Megalenses* (April 4–10), the *Ceriales* (April 12–19), the *Florales* (April 28–May 3), the *Apollinares* (July 6–13), the *Romani* (Sept. 4–19), the *Plebeii* (Nov. 4–17). Other *ludi* of the Augustan Age, during which plays were or could be given, were generally sporadic and meant to commemorate some special occasion, such as a great victory or the death of some distinguished man. Later in the Empire the tendency to increase the regular annual *ludi* became very marked, and serious attempts to reduce the number were made by several of the Emperors, notably Nerva, Septimius Severus, and Macrinus. Nevertheless, according to the calendar of 354, not less than 175 days in the year were given to *ludi*, and 101 of this number to plays.

The play was managed by the State. It is true that *ludi* were given by persons more or less in private life, but they were still an act of worship, the consent of the State had first to be secured, and, lastly, they were supposed to be under the

¹ Quint. vi. 8, 8; the epitaph of the *mime* Vitalis, in *Anth. Lat.* 487a, R. etc.

² See Bethe, *op. cit.* ch. 13, for the full discussion.

¹ The best authority for Rome here is L. Friedländer in Marquardt-Mommsen's *Handbuch der röm. Altertümer*, vi. (1885) 482 f. See also G. Oehmichen, 'Das Bühnenwesen der Griechen und Römer,' in Müller's *Handbuch der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, Munich, 1890, v. 3, pp. 181–804. For colour in theatrical tradition, see especially Donatus, *de Comœdia*.

general supervision of State officials. At no time apparently was the antique theatre a purely private enterprise; still less was it ever a purely financial one. One or two exceptions under the Empire are mentioned by Tacitus, but with such disapprobation that they illustrate rather than invalidate the rule.

Until the time of Augustus five of the six great annual *ludi* mentioned above were in charge of the various *ædiles*. The sixth, the *Apollinæres*, which occurred in July, was managed by the *prætor urbanus*. The officer in charge had everything to do. Indeed, in earlier times, as we learn from Plautus, he even attended to the matter of costumes. He also built the theatre, and afterwards had to clear it away and put the place in order. Oddly enough, Rome never seems to have had but two permanent theatres—the theatre of Pompey, built in 55, and the theatre of Marcellus, which belongs to the Augustan Age. The *ædile* also had charge of the audience during the performance. In this he was assisted by his corps of *designatores*, or ushers. The *designator*, however, was a vastly more important person than is the modern usher. He was a regular deputy of the civil magistrate in charge, and as such the majesty of the law was with him. He had lictors, and was expected to move or remove people whenever necessary. In the 2nd cent., as we learn from the jurist Ulpian, this office was in the gift of the Emperor, and was of great value. The *ædile* had a regular sum allowed him from the State treasury to meet the bills incurred. But this *lucrum*, as it was called, had been fixed as early as the Second Punic War, and was far from keeping pace with the growing expenses of the function for which it was designed. Nevertheless, the office of *ædile* as *maître de plaisir* made one so prominent and popular that it was much sought after by the aristocracy as a means to further advancement, and they spent fabulous sums in giving the shows devolving upon them. But at the accession of Augustus no patricians could be found who were willing to accept the office. He, therefore, transferred the management of theatrical matters to the *prætors*, and this remained the law under the Empire.

It is well known that one's seat at the theatre was determined by one's position in the State, and that it was regulated by law. The theatre was a religious institution, in charge of the Government. Such being the case, a seat at the theatre, like a right to vote or to bear arms, was a privilege of citizenship, and therefore to be assigned according to that principle. For that reason, in the earlier days of the Republic, slaves could not attend the theatre; and the same must have been true of strangers unless they were guests of the State. But in the time of Augustus these restrictions had ceased to be in force. The law on the subject of seating as it existed under the Empire rested for the most part upon enactments of Augustus, although these had been largely anticipated by generations of growth in Republican times. The orchestra, though the name reflecting its original use was and still is retained, was set apart for the senators. This rule had been in force since 194 B.C. Representatives of foreign States and, under the Empire, certain members of the reigning house were allowed to sit here. The position of the knights was finally established by the *Lex Roscia Theatralis*. This famous law was pushed through by L. Roscius Otho, tribune of the people in 67 B.C. Among other things it provided that the property qualification of a Roman knight should be raised to 400,000 sesterces, and that the first fourteen rows behind the orchestra should be set apart for the exclusive use of this order. The law

also provided that even within these rows careful distinctions should be made among the knights themselves. For example, the first two rows were reserved for those knights who had served as military tribunes or land-commissioners. The younger knights also had a separate section, which under the Empire was known as the *Cuneus Germanici*. Even insolvent knights, *decoctores*, were obliged to sit in a group by themselves.

Previous enactments were extended and strengthened by the *Lex Julia Theatralis* of Augustus. This law, which was much affected by Greek theatrical ordinances, prescribed the place of every one in all parts of the house. The general public sat according to *tribus*, or wards. But even here distinctions were made—for instance, in favour of husbands and fathers as against bachelors and spinsters. The women, and with them the young children, had to sit by themselves on the back rows. The one most notable exception was the Vestals, who had seats of honour near the front. So the various colleges of priests and other officials had seats of their own, often of a special form, with backs, arms, etc. Sometimes a certain seat was given a man in *perpetuum*, usually in return for distinguished services rendered to the State. Such a seat was also used by his family and could be inherited.

The usual time for a play to begin was early in the morning. A play of Plautus, including the music, would take about three hours. Whether two or more should be given in succession, as was sometimes the case, was left to the official in charge. Plays were never given at night except for ceremonial reasons. This was always the case when mimes were acted at the *Floralia*. Other details, so far as they bear upon the present discussion, have already been dealt with elsewhere.

9. The Roman drama not truly national.—In view of what has been said in the previous pages, we might perhaps conclude that as a literary production the life of the Roman drama was surprisingly brief, its great authors comparatively few, its genuine popularity problematical. We cannot agree, however, that the reasons for it were that the *Palliata* died of too much Greek, that the mimic sorrows of the tragedy could not appeal to an audience steeped in the bloody realities of the arena, that idealism does not and cannot reach a generation of realists. These are all true, but they are symptoms, not causes. There were plenty of men in the Golden Age of Pericles who preferred cock-fighting to comedy, and athletics to *Æschylus*. Nevertheless, the drama really did reach the hearts of the people. This was because it was theirs, because it was truly national. The Roman drama, on the contrary, both as an institution and as a department of literature, was profoundly affected by the intrusion upon it at an early date of the fully developed Hellenic tradition and the long-established Hellenic masterpieces. The consequence was that the Roman drama as we know it, and as the Romans themselves knew it during the historical period, was not really national, and had no deep roots in the national life. The atmosphere of the *Palliata* was foreign, the material of the tragedy was not only foreign but comparatively remote; even the worship of Dionysus—god of the drama—was an exotic, and the feeling of mistrust entertained by the genuine old Roman is clearly indicated by the famous *Senatusconsultum de Bacanaliis*. His affections, his traditions, his beliefs were deeply rooted in his own deities, the old rustic deities of the Italian countryside. Foreign gods, above all foreign gods with 'mysteries,' did not appeal to him. He was opposed to Dionysus, as long after

wards he was opposed to the Christians, and it was the same feeling which prompted him to ignore for generations the intrusion of the Hellenistic week of seven days, each under the protection of a planetary deity. The actor, too, as we have seen, was a foreigner or its equivalent. In other words, the profession which in Greece was a consecration, involved in Rome the loss of civic rights. Who shall say how far the development of histrionic talent and the appreciation of it as such were affected by this absurd but entirely logical rule?

We have seen that two types of drama among the Romans remained popular for an indefinite period. The statements just made, however, are proved, rather than disproved, by these exceptions. The *Atellana* was a folk-drama, which in itself ensures longevity; it was also very old, and for the average Roman it was Roman from the first. The mime also was very old, but in its developed dramatic form it was neither Greek nor Roman, but really the child of the new era. It was Græco-Roman, and belonged to the Empire. The mime, too, as was said above, maintained itself for an indefinite period. In the long run, however, its vitality was due not to its superiority as an organic play, but to its enormous flexibility and to its power of adapting itself to the tastes of the passing hour. It always had a residuum of folk-elements, such as a few fixed characters and the habit of improvising dialogue; it could introduce popular songs and dances, also imitations and other music-hall 'turns.' In short, whatever it was capable of or had once been under Philistion and his compeers, it survived only as a theatrical performance, not as a high-class dramatic composition.

10. Parody of Christian rites.—Hatred of the Christians, for example, was long popular, and the consistent appeal of the mime to the populace is seen in the fact that as early, perhaps, as the beginning of the 2nd cent. the 'Christian' (ὁ Χριστιανὸς κομψοδούμενος [Greg. Naz. *Orat.* ii. 84]) had become a regular character in the mime. The favourite act was parodying the rites of the Christian Church, especially baptism. The candidate was brought on the stage accompanied by bishops, priests, and deacons; and all the ceremonial was gone through with.¹ A number of early saints were *mimi* who in the course of time had been converted then and there by the Divine power of the rite they were parodying, had confessed their faith from the stage, and had suffered martyrdom soon after. The most famous was Genesius in Diocletian's time. His speciality had been to imitate the 'working of the spirit' with a pretended fit, after which he proceeded to baptism. A church was erected to him, and to this day Saint Genesius still remains a specialist on epilepsy.² Even martyrdom was depicted in the most realistic fashion. But this was nothing new. In the old mime of *Laureolus*, the robber chieftain was (apparently) nailed to the cross, and, as Josephus tells us (*Ant.* xix. i. 13), the realism was heightened by a large supply of blood brought in for the occasion. In fact, Domitian once put the last touch to this delectable speciality by substituting the genuine crucifixion of a condemned criminal. That such an entertainment could still remain a burlesque is partly due to the fact, as Reich observes, that the sufferer was the clown. It is expressly stated that Saint Gelasinos was the *μῦθος δειρεπός*, i.e. the *μῦθος* or *stupidus*.

Occasionally the *mima* was converted. The famous case was that of Pelagia by Bishop Nonnos.³ As a rule, however, the *mima* was a

much harder nut to crack. The Christian Fathers were especially fond of designating her as a *πορνή* (Chrys. vii. 665 f. etc.).

It is only just to add that the *mimus* was not really to be blamed for his parodies. Throughout paganism he had ridiculed the ancient gods. This was characteristic of Hellenism, and no one thought anything of it. In their case, however, the Christians objected to it—a new point of view had come in from the East. And, when Christianity won the upper hand, the mime returned again to the old gods of paganism.

11. Christian opposition.—Attacks on the theatre begin with the first Christian writers (so Minucius Felix, Tatian, Arnobius, Augustine, Lactantius, Gregory Naz., etc.). Special works aimed at the theatre alone were written by Tertullian and Cyprian; and Chrysostom rarely forgets this his special vessel of wrath. In the course of time all this bitter polemic was systematized, supported, and connected by the dialectic of the law and of the Church.

All the old gods are devils (Tert. *Spect.* 19): Dionysus the old god is the lord of the theatre; therefore, the theatre belongs to a devil, the devil. He built it himself, and says expressly that it belongs to him (Tert. *op. cit.* 26). In the same way all dramatic arts come from the devil (pseud.-Cyprian. *Spect.* 4; Tatian, *Orat. ad Græc.* 22). This is a favourite topic for Chrysostom: through the mouth of the monks Christ speaks, through the mouth of the *mimi* the devil speaks (vii. 676 B). The songs of the mime are Satan's own, the dances of the mime are not otherwise (vi. 77 B, vii. 422). Πορνὴ πάντα ἔστί, etc., the whole show and all that is said and done by and during the same is inspired of hell, a demon's litany, a devil's sacrament (viii. 6 C, ix. 323 B). All who go to the mime become the devil's own (viii. 114 C). Therefore the Christian who goes to it is a perjurer, for when he was baptized he swore to renounce the devil and all his works (viii. 6 C). Everything about the mime shows that it comes hot from hell. Disssembling, disguise, imitation, *μῦθος*, is the devil's stock-in-trade, his reason for existence, the origin of his name. The chief aim of the mime is to raise a laugh. But laughter and gaiety come not from God—θεὸς οὐ γαίγεται—but from the devil (x. 590, vii. 97).

Long and fiery passages are given up to the various actors, above all to the *mimæ*. They curl their hair, they paint their cheeks, they roll their eyes, they glitter in jewels and gold—and who are these *mimæ*? The daughters of butchers, of shoemakers, even of slaves! Most seductive of all is the beautiful voice with which they know how to sing their *ὄδαι πορνικαί*, their *ὄδαι σατανικαί*, their 'ballads of the brothel,' their 'devil's own ditties.' Then, too, the language is common, vulgar, frivolous, full of oaths, not even intelligible, eking out its meaning with shouting and squealing! Yet the Christians are forever talking about the actresses, what they say, how they look, what they wear. Which one of these Christians can repeat the Psalms or passages from the Scriptures? Which one of them does not know all the songs from the mimes? The young people are singing them the entire day long. The mime is the theatre of concupiscence, an incurable plague, a poison, a snare of death (vii. 172), the training school of immorality, the seed of iniquity, the haunt of impurity and lewdness, the fiery furnace of the Babylonians heated to seventy times seven by the devil himself, etc. etc.

The above is a fierce arraignment, but of no great value except to indicate why Bishop Johannes was given the name of 'Chrysostomos.' As a matter of fact, the anathema of the Church was utterly powerless. Indeed, the Church actually lost ground, as there was evidently a large body of more or less conscientious Christians that saw no such harm in the mime as Chrysostom would have us suppose. Until the very end of the Eastern Empire interest in the mime never abated in the slightest degree, and it is well known that the metres, if not the music, of these same *ὄδαι πορνικαί* and *ὄδαι σατανικαί* attacked by Chrysostom actually entered into the hymnology of the Greek Church. Arius was accused of the same thing by Athanasius. Every hymnology bears traces of a similar process, and, as a matter of fact, this is by no means the only indication that neither time, nor change, nor creed has ever been able finally to sever the ancient bond between the Church and the theatre.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the text and footnotes. Cf. also the list of authorities appended to art. DRAMA (Greek).

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¹ Migne, *PG* cxviii. 134 and 144.

² *Acta Sanctorum*, Bolland. v. 120 (August).

³ See esp. Usener, 'Legenden der Pelagia,' *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 191-215.

